## GUIDE TO THE MS25 TUAREG FILE

[The MS25 Tuareg file is composed of eight sources, three of which are translated from the French. The sample group is the Hoggar tribe of nomadic herdsmen living in the Ahaggar mountains.

One of the two basic sources is 1: Lhote, translated from the French. This source, by a French ethnologist, covers most aspects of Hoggar life and culture. 2: Briggs is a principal English language source. It is a survey ethnography, based in part on older source material. 3: Holiday and 5: Nicolaisen are specialized treatments of, respectively, music and political organization. 4: Benhazera, translated from the French, is a general account, chiefly valuable because of its relatively early date. 6: Blanguernon, also translated from the French, is a recent work by a French educator. It is highly generalized in many cases, but contains much important information on recent developments in the area, as well as a good section on the natural ecology. 7: Nicolaisen is the second basic work, focusing on ecological adaptations, subsistence ecology and technology, and general material culture. 8: Vinogradov is a cultural summary based on materials already in the Tuareg file. This file contains most of the worth-while literature on the Hoggar. Coverage of Hoggar culture is extensive, if not always as detailed and explicit as could be desired. When using the file, the researcher should be aware of the cultural focus of the information he is using - there are significant variations between various Tuareg groups. In addition, there are differences in the terminology used by the various authors. In 7: Nicolaisen, "tribe" has been marked for Category 614, with various components of the tribe being marked for Category 613. The most significant and permanent political unit, the drum-group (ettebel) has been marked fro Category 634. Political federations have been marked for Category 642. The file was processed between 1961 and 1967.]

113, 101, 184, 565, 463 Tuareg MS25

[For information on the Tuareg see 1: Coon, M1 Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 204-210.]

/149/

# Book IV

## The Tuareg of the Ahaggar

## Social Organization

## The Ahaggar Confederation

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### Chapter 1

### Social Organization

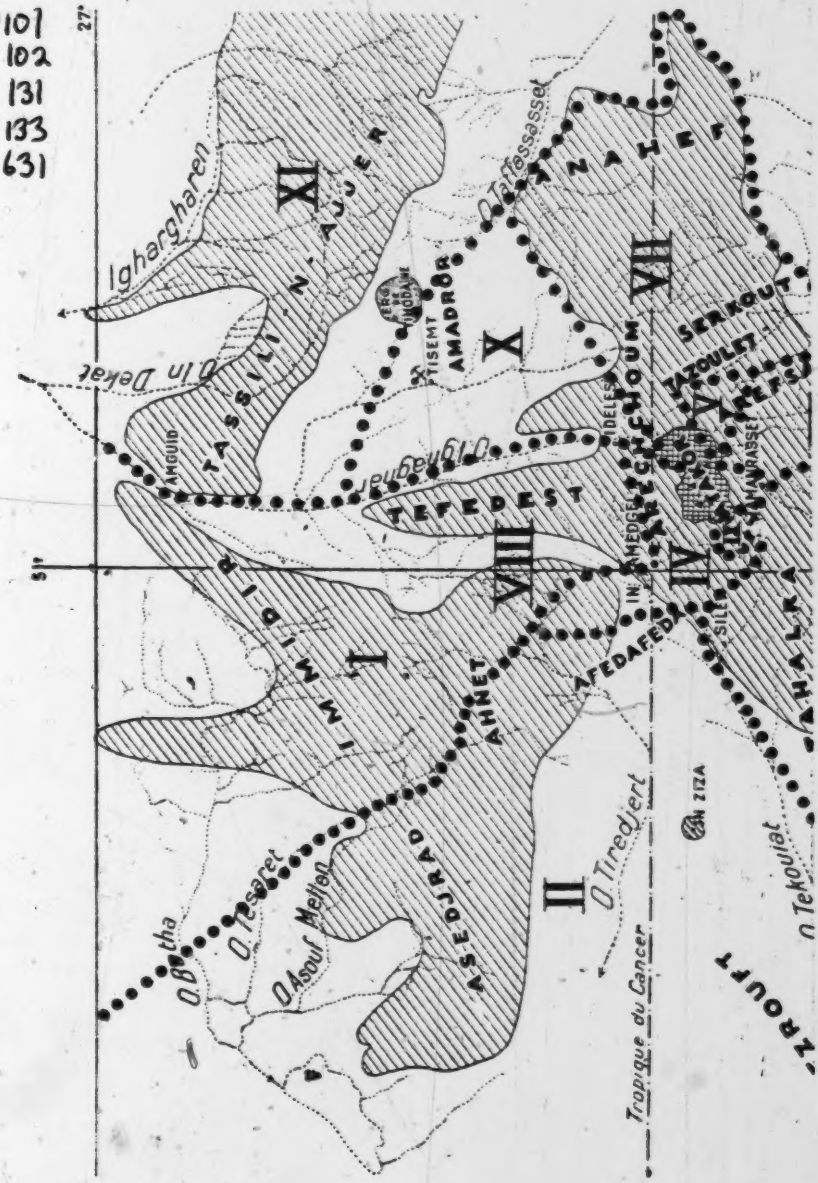
101 Here we shall speak of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar. But since all of the Tuareg form a quite homogeneous ethnic group, what we [184 177] say about their /Tuareg of the Ahaggar/ social organization will, in general, be valid for the whole, although their social organization remained more sheltered from foreign influences than that of the other groups, because of their isolation in the heart of the Sahara.

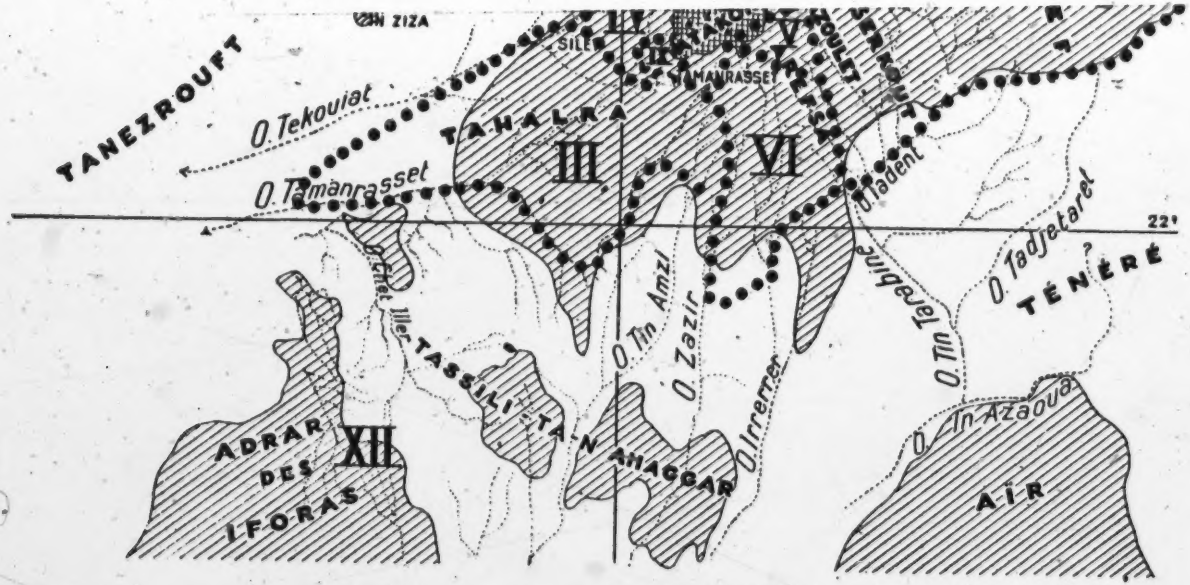
The Ihǎggaren /Ahaggaren/ may thus be considered, as a result of that isolation, the witnesses and representatives of Tuareg civilization.

565 Classes and castes. -- Social organization among them /the Tuareg/ shows strong analogies with our ancient feudal system. Indeed, there is a chief whose nominal authority holds sway over all the tribes, a class system (aserkam) which divides tribes into suzerains and vassals, religious elements and serfs, enfeoffed the ones to the others, and an artisan class.

564 565 Classes in so-called primitive societies are born out of private property, wealth, and the authority of the strong who become the protectors of the weak, and have had as a corollary war and slavery. The caste system, which is an accentuated form of the class system,

1: Lhote--41a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25






Map IV. Areas of nomadization of Ahaggar tribes.

I. Issekkemâren.
S. f. Kel In-Rhar'
Kel Amgid
Kel Tâfedest
Kel Immîdir
Ihéiaoueà-Hâda
Isselamaten
Kel I-n-Tounîn
Kel Terourirt

II. Tâitok et Kel Ahnet

III. Ikechchemâden
Iklan-en-Tâoussit
Tégéhé-n-Efis

IV. Dag-Râli
Ibettenâten
Irréguénaten

V. Kel Tazoûlet

VI. Agouh-en Tehlé

VII. Ait Loajen

VIII. Tégéhé-Mellet

IX. Ikâdeien

X. Zone of salt marshes open to all tribes, but owned by the Aménokal.

XI. Ajjer Tuareg

XII. Zone of exceptional nomadization of the Ibettenâten, Irreguenaten, Ikadeien, and Kel Ahnet.

Scale: 1/5, 000, 000.

631 The amrar of the Ťaitok is named according to matriarchal rules, and his election must be approved by the chiefs of the Imrad tribes. However, it must be pointed out that since Amrar Salah the chiefs have succeeded from father to son upon several occasions.

The Ťaitok sometimes give the name Ar'rerf Ǎhnet to /205/ 101 their group, from the name of the region where they range most of the time and also from their Imrad. (1)

1. "Ar'rerf" corresponds here to "tobol." According to Nicolas, op. cit., "Agref," following his orthography, means small fraction.

631 The Ťaitok live on very good terms with their vassals, and the 565 vassals, proud of being called Ťaitok, espouse all the rivalries of [582] their lords. Marriages between different castes are not uncommon, and many nobles have married Imrad women, which causes their children to lose political rights to the tobol. But the greater and greater extension of this custom will necessarily bring about modifications in the customary law of filiation, or else patriarchy will finally replace matriarchy.

[651] The Imrad pay a lump tioussé which is divided among the different Imochar. There is no longer any individual right /droit/ like that still found among the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

631 Thieves to end all thieves, the Ťaitok have still been able to 648 keep alliances almost everywhere outside their country in the regions [10] they have to cross to carry out their robberies; these alliances are military or protective. Thus, in order to keep from being robbed, the Sékakna and the Mazil, Arab tribes from the environs of Ǎkabli who sometimes nomadized in the Ǎdrar Ǎhnet, paid them a slight due. They were allied with the Fergoumoussen, an Imochar tribe from the Adrǎr, with the Tarat Mellet, the Kel Boujbiha, the Kel Arouan, the Tadjakant, the Arib, and the Kel Taoudeni. These

412 Each mistress of a tent has a little
356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses, and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,
492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are
[462] left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving;
[565] only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in moving only if it is a long trip.

/230/ Chapter 3

## Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding
262 peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea, bechena (Sorghum cernuum Host.), a kind of millet cultivated in the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during
[252 their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in
484] the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong cultural-
[101] ly to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

177 In the last few years a number of notables, including the
492 aménokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the
643 Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them
133 to avoid rocks.

101 The Ihaggaren never travel on zebus and never use them for
492 transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

/321/ Chapter 2

## War and Raiding

721 The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

182 When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those
221 present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were
361 most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to
721 spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

727 Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not
42 own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case
74

114 closer look and find out just what really does go on in the bosom of such a seemingly impossible community. The best general source on the Ahaggar Tuareg is probably Blanguernon (1955), while Benhazera (1908) gives some valuable demographic data and Lhote (1947 and 1955) supplies a mass of miscellaneous details. But all these works are in French: Rodd (1926), writing in English, gives a fairly good general picture of the Tuareg as a whole although he deals primarily with the Aïr.

●101 The Tuareg of the Sahara proper, as we have defined it, are divided into three confederations, those of the Tassili n Ajjer, the Ahaggar and the Adrar n Ifoghas, distributed in that order from Northeast to Southwest. [161] There are probably only about 10,000 or 11,000 of them in all, for most of the Tuareg, some 140,000 strong, now live outside our area in the Aïr and the northern central Sudan. We will take the Ahaggar confederation as our Tuareg socio-economic sample because this group not only seems to have remained the least affected by foreign influence but has also been the most extensively studied and described, and because it is the only one with which the author is personally familiar.

101 The Tuareg as a whole used to range over
166 an enormous territory extending roughly as far north as Ouargla, eastward to Gatroun,
131 westward to a bit beyond a line running from Aoulef to Timbuctoo, and southward to below the Niger Bend and the northern border of Nigeria. The eastern, northern and western limits of this range have been slowly driven back over the last few centuries, first by ever stronger Arab pressure from the East and North and then by the gradual southward extension of French and, more recently, Italian control. These steadily increasing pressures have produced a steadily increasing though fluctuating flow of the Tuareg population southward from the Desert proper, through the Aïr and the Adrar n Ifoghas and into the Sudan. Under the stimulus of disaster in one form or another, this flow has occasionally become torrential for brief periods, as when, following the suppression of the 1916–18 rebellion, a great wave of Aïr Tuareg moved into British Nigeria (Rodd, 1926, p. 361) and the main body of the Taïtoq tribe left their home range in the western Ahaggar for the

101 country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote,
166 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the
131 latest major episodes in a general southwestward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

631 The military administrative unit known as the *Amexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds fairly closely to the present normal range of [101] the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabitants in 1950), and supports a total native popu- [161] lation of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

162 Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

197 The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

619 **Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these are divided into tribes which are subdivided 565 into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] *A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

551 *Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in as many different ways as are the geographical names
104 of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

622 *A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

565 theory, to that of ordinary vassals (Lhote,
173 1955, p. 236), but in fact they are looked
614 down upon as greatly inferior to Tuareg vassal clans (Blanguernon, 1955, p. 52). Although the Issoquamaren clans and fractions have been parceled out among various tribes of the Ahaggar confederation, they still seem to retain some remnants of the social structure of a single and united tribe. Since the Issoquamaren have become rich in camels, they have regained in practical power and influence most of what they once lost in hierarchical prestige.

[131] The Irreguenaten are based on the Tamesna region south of the Ahaggar, and nomadize from there northwestward across the Adrar n Ifoghas sometimes even as far as the Erg Chech (pronounced *Sbesh*). They are believed to have sprung from a series of marriages between Gouraran and Kounta Arab men and Tuareg women of the Ibotenaten clan. The descendants of these unions became so numerous and so very rich, in camels and in slaves, that they were finally able to establish a separate clan of their own. Although they are included in the vassal category, they enjoy a nebulous but well-recognized position of precedence in relation to most of the other Tuareg vassal clans.

The Irreguenaten constitute a matri-clan subdivided into two patri-clans, the Haggarenin and the Settafnin, which are based on supposed descent from two ancestral Arab groups, one of them thought to have been of Shorfa stock. And this is very interesting as an example of a matrilineal clan structure that has been effectively split into two patrilineal clans while still remaining basically a unit in the matrilineal terms of Tuareg social and politico-economic organization and, to a great extent, in terms of its own internal economic organization too.

565 It will be noted that the partly Arab clans
614 of the Ahaggar Tuareg confederation live for the most part outside the Ahaggar proper,
●101 and are distributed in an arc that curves around its southwestern, western and northwestern borders. The northwestern extremity
131 of this arc continues curving eastward, then southeastward and finally on southward around the territory of the Ajjer Tuareg confederation. The southern gap in the circum-

565 ference of the resulting oval is closed by the
614 Negro-Tuareg contact zone of the southern
● 101 Aïr. The Ahaggar massif lies at the center of
131 this oval refuge area: it is a Berber island, so to speak, whose broad beaches are continually swept by waves of the surrounding Arab sea and, along the southern and southeastern shores, by the negroid "Gulf Stream" of the Sudan.

565 There have probably never been many
174 Shorfa or Maraboutic families established in
563 the Ahaggar itself, although a few of them have lived there for a long time now. Arab
[797] Shorfa missionaries from Morocco first arrived probably in the 7th or early 8th century. They soon set up a theocratic dynasty, the Imenan, who ruled the Ahaggar and the Ajjer Tuareg as a single confederation until about 1650, when Goma, last of the Imenan "sultans," was murdered by Biska, a noble of the Oraghen tribe of Ajjer Tuareg. There followed a long period of anarchy and civil wars out of which finally arose, about the middle of the 18th century, the main framework of the Tuareg political structure which we now know. Descendants of immigrant Arab holy men are very few and scattered in the Ahaggar today, and their power has been reduced to no more than a faint shadow of what it used to be. People of this kind are much more numerous, united and powerful in the northeastern and southwestern corners of Tuareg territory, among the Ajjer and the Ifoghas of the Adrar, than they are in the region with which we are directly concerned at the moment. It is significant, however, that as recently as 1900 a Shorfa holy man exerted decisive influence in the electoral council of the Ahaggar confederation when that body found itself seriously divided over the choice of a new amenokal (Benhazera, 1908, p. 126).

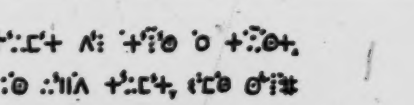
We know that Arab blood has been seeping very gradually into the topmost level of the Tuareg aristocracy, for at least a century,
[591] through the occasional marriages of noble Tuareg women with Arab men. In all such cases residence is strictly matrilocal. Since
[611] rank is inherited through the mother, a son of this kind of union ranks as a Tuareg noble and can become a chief. Duveyrier (1864, pp. 22–23) describes the case of the Ajjer Tuareg governor of Ghat in 1861, whose father was

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.

174 [714] [411] 194 212 174



[539]

**The Bible in Tamahaq**

(*Ruth. Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

*"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."*

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

771 [10] [932]

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

567 61 565 567 [291]

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

# *Political Systems Of Pastoral Tuareg In Air And Ahaggar.*

By Johannes Nicolaisen

101 The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive
131 area of the Western Sahara and adjacent regions of the Sudan. The territory
169 dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° North Latitude and between
5° West Longitude and 10° East Longitude. They fall into seven main groups or major political units (fig. 1) comprising 240,000–300,000 individuals, their negro slaves excluded. The two northernmost groups (the Kel Ahaggar and the Kel Ajjer) live in the true desert country and number less than 10,000 or about 3% of all Tuareg. In Ahaggar the number according to statistics of 1950 is 4,611. The Air Tuareg further south are more numerous and seem to comprise more than 20.000 individuals (cf. Lhote 1947, p. 15f. & 1955, p. 157).

114 This study of Tuareg political systems has as its foundation a part of my own field material collected in 1951 (in Ahaggar), 1952 (in Tassili-n-Ajjer), 1953 (in Ahaggar), and 1954–55 (in Ahaggar including Ahnet, and in Air). I have spent about two years in these Tuareg countries living most of the time in Ahaggar and adjacent regions, while my stay further south in Air was limited to six months.

121 It is my intention here to describe the political systems of Air and Ahaggar, but as my final task is concerned with their origin I find it necessary to take up also more general aspects of Tuareg culture and the distribution of certain cultural
[127] traits. I shall make use also of Tuareg oral traditions and of the very comprehensive material on Tuareg history gathered by Arab historians and geographers of the Middle Ages. Thus I do not follow the ordinary lines of any particular anthropological school.

000 I am much indebted to Dr. Birket-Smith (University of Copenhagen) from whom I acquired my general anthropological knowledge together with a keen interest in historical problems, and to Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry of the London University where I have learnt what I know about social anthropology. Dr. Phyllis Kaberry has taken a profound interest in my studies, and I feel grateful for her kind help and assistance in all matters concerning Tuareg political systems and Tuareg social structure in general.

122 My journeys among the Tuareg were carried out by means of grants from various Danish foundations, notably Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond, Carlsberg Fondet, Knud Rasmussen Fondet, and Jens Lohmand Rasmussens Rejselegat. During my last journey The University College London assigned me a grant without which I should not have been able to gather the material here presented

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



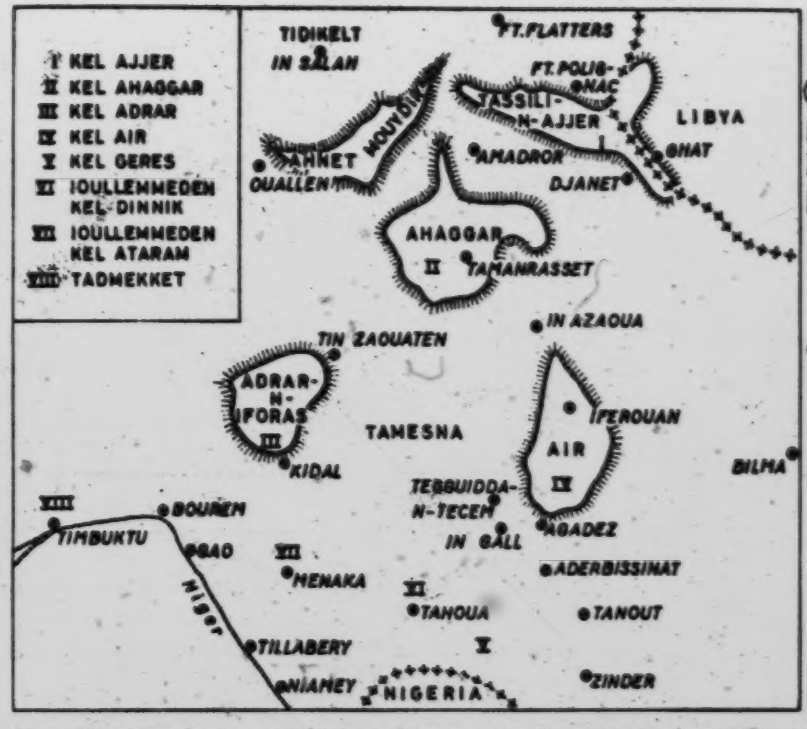


Fig. 1.–Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg, who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups as mentioned in the text are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. – The Tadmekket Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Ioullemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 160 kilometres.

those surviving, although emaciated, will quickly recover as soon as the rainfall starts again. In addition it is often very difficult to take goats through the barren desert country south of Ahaggar without severe loss. With camels, which are also very important domestic animals, things are different. Camels make a great demand on fodder, they are very valuable, can be sold for rather high prices in the oases, and they have a very slow increment compared with goats. For these reasons it is necessary or desirable to keep herds of camels in the south when pastures are dry in Ahaggar, and camels can be taken through the barren desert country without much difficulty. In dry years many Ahaggar Tuareg have their camel-herds in Tamesna, about 500 kilometres from the camps in Ahaggar, and there are even nomads who keep their she-camels constantly in these regions, where the animals are guarded by herdsmen who are frequently slaves.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



114 174 233 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau apparaissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe, il semble qu'au VII[e] siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227)

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chameliers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui fait leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 249). Most Arab historians confirm that the 175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the ●101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions: 233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 168ff.).

It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature 175 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding 233 (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. – Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. – Leo Africanus p. 940f.). To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly 171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is 233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds apparently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415f. – Murray 1935, p. 92ff. – Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the [177] true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black [342] tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. – Herskovits 1926. – Kroll 1928). The common [462] traits seem to be the following:– 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is [825] done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their [538] breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently characterised by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925-30, I-II).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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174 mentioned that the word *Ihaggaren (Ahaggar)* is perhaps derived from *Hoouara*,
[192] which was a common term for certain Berber tribes particularly living in Tripoli-
tania in the Middle Ages. According to Edrisi the Hoouara Berbers were originally
Arabs who adopted Berber language (Edrisi p. 66ff.). This is not proved by Ibn
[114] Khaldoun's important work on the history of the Berbers. But Ibn Khaldoun
states that the Hoouara came under Arab influence at a very early date, and some
of the pastoral Hoouara people apparently migrated southwards to the desert at a
later date than the Lemta (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275ff.).

I think that the ancestors of the noble Tuareg introduced the camel into the Sahara. I think too that this may have happened before the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. But some of the dominating noble Tuareg have emigrated from Tripolitania after the Arabs have arrived. And it is probable that the political systems of the Tuareg already very early were influenced by the Arabs among whom a class system is found even nowadays as described from Cyrenaica by
171 Evans-Pritchard. In that region there are client tribes known as *Marabtin alsaqan*
565 because they pay *sadaka*, a fee, to a free tribe for protection and for the privilege of using the earth and water. Some fragments of client tribes even to-day have a very inferior social position and are forced to make payments to, and to perform services for, the free tribes among whom they live (Evans-Pritchard 1949, p. 53).

The word *sadaqa*, a fee, is known to the Tuareg, and there are other Arabic
171 words connected with their political systems. Here I shall content myself with
192 reference to the word *khalifa* used among the Northern Tuareg for the deputies of a chief, and the very important word *ettebel* meaning "drum", "drum-group", and in Air also "drum-chief". Ultimately the history of Tuareg political systems should
174 probably be viewed in connection with those of Arabs.
● 10)

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291 /100 cont./ The layers of leather may be a centimeter thick; the sewing of the leather with large stitches permits decoration. A long thong connects the leather buckles sewn on the sole and is tied over the instep. The elegant footwear is the "ighatimen."

293 A description of the Targui's apparel must include all of the objects he wears including weapons.

The "taralabt" is a leather wallet hung from the neck. An ingenious system of grooved closings keeps it from opening; it is always black and artistically decorated with yellow, green, or red stitching. Numerous inside pockets serve to hold the mirror, the "tazolt" (eye blacking, sometimes kept in a special case), the "chemma" (chewing tobacco), the "kelbou" (natron used to make tobacco milder), personal papers, and sometimes money.

Amulets called "tera" hang from the neck by a leather string; these are small leather rectangles containing either papers written by a taleb /public scribe/ or magic products protecting against sickness, the Kel es Souf /genii/, and misfortune in general. Each Targui is abundantly provided with tera, which make his life bearable.

293 /101/ The "iremdan" ("menguech" in Arabic) is an in-
752 dispensable instrument; it consists of a cutting blade, an awl,
296 and small pincers (something like eyebrow tweezers) These blades pivot around an axis; a ring makes it possible for the iremdan to be hung, but it is often carried in a special case. This tool is in turn a surgeon's kit for pulling tahla thorns from the soles of the feet and a cobbler's tool for repairing nalls /sandals/. A Targui never undertakes a trip without his iremdan.

301 We have already mentioned the "abidj," or polished stone bracelet. The "tissak" is a small silver ring without artistic value. The key to the Tuareg padlock, which is often suspended on the chest, is a much prized ornament.

411 No Targui undertakes an important trip without his "takouba," the sword worn at the side which gives that

7: Nicolaisen

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[For an extensive list of the names of Tuareg political and other social groups or categories, including relevant page references, see category 116, pp. 534-37.]

114 (2) In winter 1950 I visited several *Kabyle* villages in the Djurdjura Mountains, and stayed for some
121 time in the regions which I had already visited in summer 1947. I wanted to gather supplementary material on the consequences of the drought period, and also to acquire some personal knowledge of winter life among nomads. – Part of the material collected 1947 and 1950 has been published (Nicolaisen 1950).

101 On later journeys to Northern Africa I have studied culture and society of pastoral Tuareg:—

114 (3) In summer 1951 I spent about five months (May September) in Ahaggar. I arrived at Algiers
122 from where I travelled southwards by car to make short stops at Djelfa, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El
[124] Golea, and In Salah. Reaching Tamanraset in Ahaggar in the month of May, I hired an interpreter to visit many Tuareg camps of the important vassal tribes *Aguh-en-tehlé* and *Dag Rali* on journeys accomplished by means of camels and donkeys. Part of the time I also lived at Tamanraset where I was visited daily by Tuareg informants. Apart from Tamanraset I visited the following centres of
[12] cultivation:— Tit, Utul, Terhenanet, and I-n-dalag. My investigations concentrated upon economics
[126] and material culture in relation to environment, and about 300 ethnographic specimens were collected. I left Tamanraset for Algiers by plane via Ganet (Djanet), Rat (Ghat), Ft. Flatters, and Wargla.

(4) I returned to North Africa in summer 1952. The length of this visit was about three months and a half. From Algiers I went by train and trucks to Arris in the Aurès Mountains where I stayed for about five weeks among the semi-nomadic Berber-speaking *Chawiya*. I rode through the valleys of this montain massif on a mule, and the journey terminated with my arrival at the oasis of Biskra. From Biskra I went by train to Tuggurt from where I continued by truck to Wargla. I left this oasis by a French military plane for Ganet in Tasilé-n-Ajjer via El Golea, In Salah, and Tamanraset. At Ganet I hired camels and a native guide and went westwards via Ft. Ghardel to Afara, where I had the opportunity to meet the supreme chief of the *Kel Ajjer* living in French territory. From Afara I went up the valley named Aharhar and across the Tasilé Mountains to Éléżi (Ft. Polignac). After a short rest with the French garrison I went northwards to the region of Hassi Issendjel, where I visited various Tuareg camps, notably of the tribes *Kel Terurit* and *Urapen*. I stayed in Tasilé-n-Ajjer for six weeks, and returned by plane to Algiers via Ft. Flatters and Wargla. From Algiers I made a very
[126] short trip to the *Kabyle* of the Djurdjura Mountains. From the Kabyle, the Chawiya, and the Ajjer Tuareg an ethnographical collection of about 70 specimens was made.

(5) From autumn 1952 until summer 1954 I studied social anthropology in University College London under Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry. My studies in London were interrupted in summer 1953 when I went to North Africa to stay for three months among the Ahaggar Tuareg. I lived most of the time in camps of the vassal tribes *Dag Rali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*, but I also visited the *Iklan-en-tawsit* and camps of certain *Isekkemaren* tribes, notably the *Iheyawen-Hada*. I also paid a visit to camps of the *Kel Rezzi* Tuareg (*Ahl Azzi*) who descend patrilineally from Arabs, and I spent several days in the camp of the *Amenukal*, that is the supreme chief elected from the dominant noble tribe of *Kel Rela*. Among agricultural settlements visited the most important were Abalessa and Silet –
[12] apart from Tamanraset. My studies concentrated upon social and political organization, but I made
[126] an ethnographical collection of more than a hundred specimens. The journey from Algiers to Tamanraset and return was made by plane via El Golea and In Salah.

(6) My sixth journey to North Africa was undertaken 1954–55 and comprised about 14 months' field-work among Northern and Southern Tuareg. I left Algiers by car via Djelfa, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El Golea to In Salah at the beginning of the autumn 1954. At In Salah I bought four camels and hired an Arab guide of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe. After a short visit to his camp we went southwards to the region of the Ahnet Massif where I visited camps of *Kel-ahem-mellen* (a small noble tribe), *Kel-Immidir* (*Iseḳkemaren*), *Ayt Lowayen* of the *Kel Turha* section, *Kel Rezzl*, and notably the *Kel Ahnet*. Two small camps visited claimed to belong to the noble *Taytoḳ* tribe, but they had no matrilineal relationship to that tribe which is now found in the Tamesna plains west of Ayr. I left Ahnet for Tamanrasset about the middle of December, and in the following months I travelled alone with my camels in Ahaggar as I now knew Tuareg language sufficiently to dispense with an interpreter. Until the beginning of April 1955 I lived in camps of the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes, and passed some days in the *Amenukal*'s camp. I also had a house at Tamanrasset where I could work more peacefully with problems connected with kinship, land tenure, and political organization. In this work I was mainly assisted by two older Tuareg of the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes. Apart from Tamanrasset I visited the following cultivation centres:— Utul, Tahart, Ti-n-amenser, Ennedid, Iglen, Abalessa, Amsel, and Tarhawhawt. – On the 3rd of April, 1955, I left Ahaggar for Ayr together with two Ayr Tuareg who were returning to their camps at Northern Ayr after a caravan journey to Tamanrasset. We travelled south-eastwards via the small cultivation centre Tagnut and thence into the very barren country separating Ahaggar from Ayr. We refilled our six skin-bags with water at the wells of I-n-abeggi and I-n-azawa, and had no water again until we arrived at a fairly large and permanent waterhole (*agelmam*) known as Tamengoyt, situated on the northern outskirts of the Ayr Massif. Close to this place we met the first Tuareg camps of the *Kel Tédalé* who dominate the northern parts of Ayr. The following days we saw several camps of these Tuareg. At last we arrived at the camp of one of my companions who belonged to the *Iḳḳoberen* tribe though his family was very mixed with *Kel Tédalé*. This camp was situated in the Azel valley, where we stayed for about ten days to regain full strength. Thereupon we continued to *Iferwan* which constitutes the northernmost village of the Ayr Massif. I lived in this village for about three weeks and then I continued towards Agadez together with a Tuareg of the *Kel Akerra* tribe. We visited camps of various tribes on our journey southwards (*Kel Rarus*, *Iforas*). The journey was a difficult one as two of my camels were worn out. We left them in a camp of *Ikoljejiten* Tuareg. This was situated at the Afarak valley from where we continued to Agadez via the small agricultural settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses. From Agadez I went by truck down to Zinder, but returned quickly to make a more complete investigation of the Ayr Tuareg. The situation was now very difficult as my two camels left at Afarak died and I was too short of money to buy a new animal. My financial problems were rather acute and were solved only by the very kind and resolute help rendered me by Professor Daryll Forde of University College London. I was thus able to continue my studies for another six months. I hired a house in Agadez where I could work peacefully, and bought a fine riding camel in order to be able to visit Tuareg camps in the vicinity. The most extensive journey made went to the village of Awderas, north-east of Agadez and close to the Begzen Mountains. On this journey I revisited the small settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses, and visited pastoral camps of the *Iforas*, the *Ikoljejiten*, the *Kel Tamat*, the *Igen-*

●101 114 122 *déynen*, and the *Imezzureg*. If not staying in Agadez I lived mainly in camps of the latter tribe, and spent a considerable time in one particular camp. My studies were concluded with a visit to the camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief north of Aderbissinat. I remained in his camp for about a fortnight and also visited camps of the *Echchikhen* Tuareg and the Fulani who are numerous in this area. I left Agadez by air via Tawa, Niamey, Bamako to Dakar whence I returned to Denmark by ship, and a [126] few days later returned to London to resume my studies at University College. On this comparatively long journey among the Tuareg I did not make any large ethnographical collection, as I could not afford to buy much, but brought back with me about fifty different specimens plus a few archaeological objects.

(7) In 1956 I returned to Copenhagen from London. I was then planning a new journey to North Africa, but for many reasons this had to be postponed until the autumn 1959. The journey was a very short one of only two months. I left Copenhagen by air on the second of August and arrived at Niamey the next day. After a week's stay at Niamey I continued by plane via Maradi and Zinder to Agadez. The day after my arrival at this ancient capital of the Ayr people I was able to join a car expedition organized by Mr. J. Demonceau, who was studying locust migrations, and by Mr. Claude Gardin of the "Pelotom Nomade", who was looking for Tuareg camel thieves. We went first to Ingal and from there continued northwards to the village and salt pits of *Tegidda-n-tésemt*. We went further north but stopped at the well of I-n-abanferit, then going eastwards across the Talak Plains to the western edge of the Ayr Massif. Our journey back to Agadez followed the road through the mountains. Though this journey did not take much more than a week it was of great importance to my studies, as I had for the first time an occasion to see the extensive plains west of Ayr – a region of great economic value to many tribes not only of Ayr Tuareg but also to certain tribes of Ahaggar. On the journey I visited camps of *Idaléyen*, *Kel Tédalé* and *Iforas* (Ayr Tuareg), of [121] *Iregenaten* (Ahaggar Tuareg), and of *Tégehé-n-Efis* (originally Ahaggar Tuareg). In all these camps I collected much valuable material concerning tent structures and economics. – Shortly after my [123] return to Agadez from this brief journey I met a Tuareg of the *Imézzureg* tribe. I knew him well from my visit to Ayr in 1955, and he was in fact my classificatory elder brother. I went immediately to his camp situated not very far from Agadez, and I lived with him and his kinsmen for the rest of the time left at my disposal. During this period the camp was frequently broken and taken to the best possible pastures of annual plants. I left the camp only once for a week when my brother and I made a camel journey westwards to Tegidda-n-tagayt and Tegidda-n-edrar. In these regions we visited several Ayr tribes which I had never been among previously (e.g. *Imezzuren*, *Ijakarkaren*), and we were lucky enough to meet during this journey the supreme chief of the noble *Kel Azel* tribe. We also visited the camp of the drum-chief of the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, who move northwards to Ayr at the end of the rains. I finished my field-work about the sixth of October and was back in Copenhagen by plane via Zinder, Maradi, and Niamey on the tenth. I made a very small ethnographical collection [126] comprising about twenty specimens. My investigations were not concentrated on any particular [121] subject. I acquired valuable supplementary material on such different matters as traditional political systems, kinship, ecology, and technology.

(8) Participating in The First International Congress of Africanists at Accra I had the opportunity

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



to visit Niamey for one week at the beginning of December 1962. Here I studied the very valuable ethnographical collections of The IFAN Museum, and I spent two days in camps of *Bélla* and Tuareg of the *Western Iwllemmeden* east and north-east of Ayoru on the Niger. Of particular value was my visit to a camp of the dominant noble tribe, *Kel Tahabanat*. Its supreme chief *Amder* and his family gave me important information on Tuareg culture in this little known area. My visit to Tuareg and *Bélla* near Ayoru was made possible by the very kind assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Bernus of the IFAN. They put a truck with its driver at my free disposition.

Altogether I have spent almost three years among North African pastoralists – mainly among the Tuareg. This length of time is not so impressive as it may seem, for my investigations have been carried out over an extensive territory ranching from the Mediterranean to the outskirts of the Sudanese savannah. A detailed study of Tuareg ecology and culture necessitates a detailed knowledge of change and variation in environment within and without the country in which the Tuareg live.

The literature which deals with the Tuareg is very comprehensive as can be seen from the bibliography at the end of this book, but most publications are of very little value and many of them are almost inaccessible.

The Tuareg are first mentioned in literature by Arab authors of the Middle Ages, but most of these historians and geographers did not know the Tuareg country and even the few of them who travelled in the Sahara tell us very little about the Tuareg in early Arabic texts generally called *Muletthemin*, that is "the veiled ones". The most important Arab authors who mention the Tuareg are Ibn Hawkal (10th century), El-Bekri (11th century), Edrisi (12th century), Ibn Batutah (14th century), and Ibn Khaldun (14th century). Ibn Khaldun gives the most intimate description of the Tuareg though apparently he never met them. But they played a very important part in his attempt to recount the ancient history of the North African Berbers. After Ibn Khaldun came Leo Africanus (16th century) who published information gathered by himself on journeys in the Sahara. His book was first published in Italian. There are certain later Arab authors who have contributed to our knowledge of North African cultures and the Tuareg, e.g., Es-Sadi who lived in the 17th century. We must also mention in this connection that there are other valuable Arabic manuscripts, notably those generally referred to as the Agadez Chronicle, which contain much historical material on the Ayr Tuareg (cf. Palmer 1910; 1928; 1936; Urvoy 1934).

The first modern description of the Tuareg was given by Hornemann who travelled from Cairo to Murzuk in 1798. Throughout the 19th century many European travellers contributed to our knowledge of the Tuareg, and it is very important now to have their accounts which derive from a time when traditional political systems were unaffected by European colonization. Among these travellers we should mention such outstanding names as Lyon, Caillié, Denham & Clapperton & Oudney, Richardson, Barth, Duveyrier, Rohlfs, Hourst, Foureau, and von Bary. Lyon gives a very valuable description of the Tuareg who live around Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but by far the most important among these authorities are Barth, who wrote about the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Ayr*, and the *Iwllemmeden*, and Duveyrier, who published an excellent monograph on the Northern Tuareg with particular reference to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. At the beginning of the present century military posts were established in the Sahara, and literature about the Tuareg became more abundant. Thus Benhazera wrote a good book on

# The Tuareg

The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive area of Western Sahara and the northern parts of the Western Sudan. The territory dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° Northern Latitude and between 5° Western Longitude and 10° Eastern Longitude. 101 131

The Tuareg fall into several main groups which correspond largely to political units. These groups are the following:—

I. *Kel Aijer*, in the mountains named Tasilé-n-Ajjer in the eastern part of the Algerian Sahara and in adjacent parts of Libya. Northwards they reach Tripolitania and the great sandy desert Erg Oriental around Radames.

II. *Kel Ahaggar*, in the Ahaggar Mountains, in the mountains of Ahnet, Immidir, and Téfedest – and in adjacent parts of the lowland. Certain tribes of the Ahaggar group live in the southern plains of Tamesna between the mountain massifs of Adrar-n-Foras and Ayr, particularly around I-n-abanrerit and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

III. *Kel Adrar*, in the mountains of Adrar-n-Foras south-west of Ahaggar.

IV. *Kel Ayr*, in the mountain massif of Ayr and in the plains to the west and south. The Tuareg of Ayr form several semi-independent units of which the more important are the *Kel Ewey*, the *Kel Tamat*, the *Kel Faday*, and the *Kel Ferwan*.

V. *Kel Geres*, south of the Kel Ayr in the plains around Tessawa. Late in summer at the end of the rains they move up to Southern Ayr around the watering places of Tegidda-n-edrar, Tegidda-n-tagayt, and Tafadek.

VI. *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*, that is the eastern *Iwllemmeden*, in the plains around Tawa. At the end of the rains they move northwards to the region of Ingal which is within the country of the Ayr Tuareg.

VII. *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*, that is the western *Iwllemmeden*, in the plains around Meneka and along the Niger.

VIII. *Kel Tademaket* comprising several tribes and groups of tribes around Timbuktu and Lac Faguibine. Important among these Tuareg are the *Tengerregif* and the *Kel Inteser*. The *Tademaket* Tuareg from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*.

The two former groups, the *Kel Aijer* and the *Kel Ahaggar*, are frequently referred to by the generic term of *Northern Tuareg*, while the six latter groups living on the outskirts of the true desert and in the Sudanese savannah are known as *Southern Tuareg*. In addition to these groups there are certain small Tuareg groups which in recent times have left their original homeland. After the French penetra- 101 167

[p. 7]

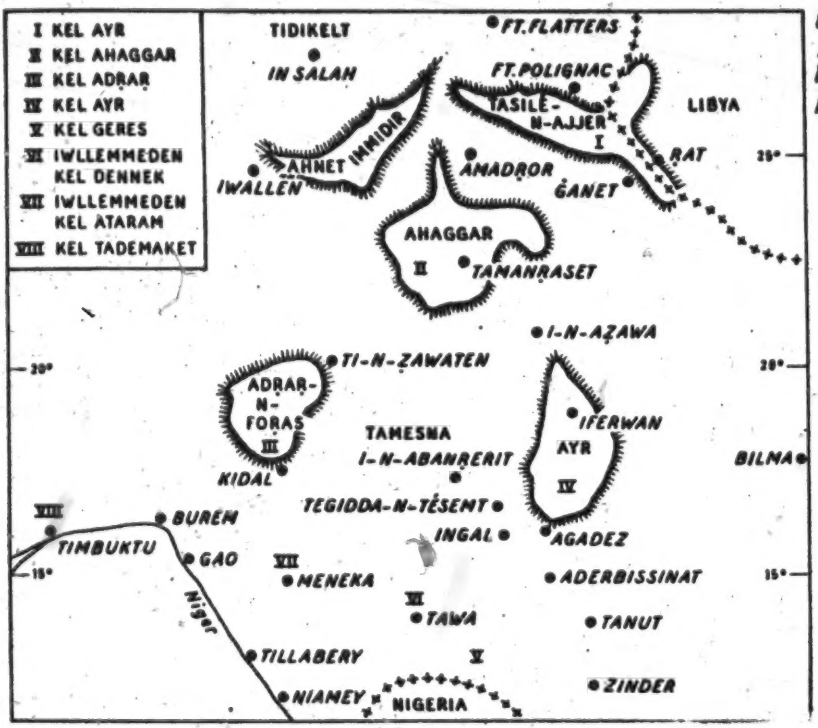


Fig. 1. Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups, as mentioned in the text, are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. The *Kel Tademaket* Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 125 kilometres.

known and used particularly women. There are slight distinctions in the characters of the alphabet used by various Tuareg groups. I here reproduce the characters generally used in Ahaggar (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and in Ayr. In transcribing *tifinar* into the Roman alphabet I have on the whole adopted the system used by Foucauld who has made the most profound studies of the northern dialect (Foucauld 1918-20, 1920, 1925-30, 1940, 1951-52), but certain alterations have been made in agreement with the proposal of K.-G. Prasse. The Ayr dialect is very badly known. Its grammar and its peculiar vocabulary has never been studied.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



565 619 *Imrad* (sing. *Amerid*). People of this class are sometimes called "serfs" in literature, but the word "vassals" is also used. I prefer to use the latter term, but add that the word *Imrad* is most difficult to translate into an European language. The vassal class is represented in all groups with the exception of the *Kel Geres*. Among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden* the word *Kel Ulli* (sing. *Agg Ulli*) is used synonymously with *Imrad*. Among south-western Tuareg around Timbuktu the word *Daga* or *Dara* is also used to designate vassals. The *Imrad* class is by far the most numerous in most groups. The relationship between these vassals (*Imrad*) and the noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren, Imajeren*) forms the basis of most political systems which are described later (p. 393 ff.).

101 565 Members of the above-mentioned classes are true Tuareg, though the word *Ineslemen* is also used for marabuts of other peoples and for marabuts of various black-skinned castes found among the Tuareg. Among the Northern Tuareg all people of the above-mentioned classes with the exception of certain *Ineslemen* or marabuts are called *Imuhar* (sing. *Amahar*). The Ayr Tuareg have no such common term to designate the people known to us as *Tuareg*, but occasionally they use generically the word *Imajeren* though strictly speaking this term should be reserved for Tuareg of the supreme noble class.

101 The word *Tuareg* (sing. *Targi*) is never used by the Tuareg themselves, but by Arabs. Duveyrier claims it to be derived from an Arabic word of the root *terek* meaning "to abandon". The meaning of the word accordingly should be "those abandoned (by God)", and should refer to the fact that many Tuareg do not follow Islamic rules very strictly (Duveyrier 1864, p. 317 f.). The same explanation has also been given to me by an Arab of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe of Tidikelt. However, the origin of the word "*Tuareg*" is perhaps a different one: – It may be related to the word *Targa* (Ayr) or *Targa* (Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer), which name is used by the Tuareg to designate the part of the Sahara generally known to us by the Arabic word *Fezzan*. This is very likely, as we know from Arab authors of the Middle Ages that the word *Targa* or *Targa* was then used as a name for a very important Tuareg group living in that area and adjacent regions (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 83 f.; Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 534; Rodd 1926a, p. 273 f.).

142 144 The Tuareg are fair-skinned people who in certain regions and particularly in the south have mixed with Negroes. The Northern Tuareg are predominantly fair-skinned, and many of them are as "white" as Europeans though perhaps a little yellowish or brownish. It is difficult to determine their exact skin colour because they are burned and tanned by the sun and the hot wind characteristic of desert climate. In addition, the Tuareg wear clothes dyed with indigo which comes off on the body, and they rarely wash. When I lived among them my own skin-colour and that of the Tuareg were practically identical. Among the Ayr Tuareg there are also many fair-skinned people, but the Ayr Tuareg are more mixed with Negroes than the Northern Tuareg, and most *Kel Ewey* are predominantly negroid. Very mixed also are the *Kel Geres* and the same seems to hold for other Tuareg groups of the south. A few blond individuals have been recorded from the *Kel Ajjer* living around the oases of Rat and Radames, and they may be the offspring of unions between Tuareg women and caravan traders of the north (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 162 f.). The blond individuals met in Southern Ayr are the offspring of the fairly numerous marriages between Frenchmen and Tuareg women, but it is claimed that a few years ago a very blond girl was born to parents of families which had never contracted marriages

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 12. Blacksmith woman. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

563 they more frequently refer to mulattoes as *Ichardanen* (sing. *Acharda*). Such mulattoes do not form any particular class or caste.

It is stated in almost all writings on the Tuareg that the offspring of mixed marriages will acquire the social status of their mothers, but though this may be theoretically true in some Tuareg groups actual conditions are more complicated. Among *Ineslemen* Tuareg and generally in southern Tuareg [564] groups there is a strong tendency to acknowledge patrilineal affiliation. In Ahaggar classes and castes [565] should ideally be matrilineal organizations. However, this is not always so. A man who descends from a vassal mother and a noble father will not become a true vassal. He will not have to perform any of the obligations characteristic of the vassal class, and to-day he is normally considered noble 563 though he cannot succed to chieftainship in his father's tribe. If a pastoral Tuareg marries a woman 591 of one of the black-skinned castes the children who grow up in the father's camp will frequently remain there as pastoralists and members of their father's tribe. Conversely children descending from a black-skinned father of an agricultural settlement and a fair-skinned pastoral woman will often remain in the settlement to practise agriculture even after their father's death. As to offspring of marriages between Tuareg men and slave women, they will continue to live in the father's tribe as pastoralists, and will frequently acquire the social position of the father as mentioned later in the description of Tuareg slavery. Mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and people of black-skinned castes constitute a minority. But it seems as if such marriages are on the increase.

101 All the above mentioned peolpe are Tuareg-speaking though part of the sedentary agriculturists of 563 Ahaggar (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) have Arabic as their mother tongue. In Ahaggar there are also many [197] true Arabs – particularly at the administration centre of Tamanraset. There are also Arabs at certain other villages in Ahaggar, and there are Arab pastoralists. They have largely mixed with the Tuareg, and certain Arab pastoralists such as the *Ahl Azzi* (*Kel Ṛezzi*) should be classed rather with Tuareg than with Arabs. There are also some Arabs in Ayr. There are Arab traders at Agadez, Iferwan, and Ingal, and there are a few Arab pastoralists who have mixed with pastoral Tuareg of Northern Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



But pastoralists of Arab descent are limited to a few scattered individuals or families in the Ayr area in contrast to the extended Sudanese country around the Niger, where whole pastoral tribes claim patrilineal descent from Arabs, while matrilineally most of them are Tuareg. 101 563

There are many other people within the extended country inhabited by the Tuareg. Very important in the south is a numerous population of Hausa-speaking Negroes. The so-called *Imeggedezen* (sing. *Ameggedez*) of Agadez speak Hausa which language is spoken by various other sedentary people of that region and further south. There are also a few Sonray-speaking people at Agadez, and Ingal further west is predominantly inhabited by Sonray-speakers known to the Ayr Tuareg as *Isaweren*. The Sonray, as is well known, are now found almost exclusively along the Niger, but Ayr was once conquered by the Sonray, and Barth describes Agadez as a Sonray-speaking city. [197]

In the south the pastoral Fulani are now invading the grazing grounds formerly reserved to and owned by the Tuareg. Camps of pastoral Fulani are frequently seen nowadays even as far north as the southern outskirts of the Ayr Massif around Agadez and Ingal. When grazing is good the Fulani may even move further north into the Talak plains with their herds of long-horned cattle. Many other people are frequently met in Tuareg country, e.g. the Tebu, and the Kanuri, who frequently come to Agadez. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are even a few individuals who descend from Tebu women.

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Fig. 13. Mother and son. Slaves of the Tuareg in Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

# Environment

Tuareg country ranges from comparatively fertile savannah in the south to barren desert in the north, where the nomads live in or near mountainous regions. Four Tuareg groups are named after the dominant mountains of the Western Sahara, namely those of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, Adɾaɾ-n-Foɾas, and Ayr. 133 [101]

The mountains of Ahaggar are by far the highest. They consist predominantly of archaic and proterozoic rocks, and of basalt and tufa from a relatively recent period. They are generally of a very dark colour and characterized by formations of rugged ranges, craters and isolated peaks which also bear evidence to former volcanic activity. But the rugged contours of the Ahaggar Mountains are also created by a complicated network of river valleys eroded mainly during the pluvial periods contemporary with the European Ice Age.

The Ahaggar Mountains fall into three main massifs of which that named Atakor is the most important and the highest, with peaks up to 3000 metres above sea level (Ilaman, Tahat). To the north is the massif of Téfedest with peaks which surpass an altitude of 2000 metres, and to the east the lower massif named Anahef. In geological structure these three mountain massifs of Ahaggar differ from the mountains of Ahnet, Immidir (Mouydir), and Tasilé-n-Ajjer which surround Ahaggar in the north. These latter massifs consist predominantly of paleozoic sandstone. They are not so high above sea level and form comparatively flat plateaux. The maximum altitude of Ahnet is 1300 metres while the peaks of Immidir rise to 1680 metres. The extensive plateau of Tasilé-n-Ajjer is on average 1200 metres above sea level, but a few peaks in the south exceed 2000 metres. Parts of the Tasilé-n-Ajjer mountains are covered with basalt rocks, and the river valleys of the comparatively level plateau often form true canyons which make traffic much more difficult than in the higher and more rugged mountains of Ahaggar. Between and around the northern mountain massifs the country consists mainly of flat plains covered with gravel and stone. Extensive areas of sandy desert are rare except in parts of the *Kel Ajjer* territory. [137]

Far to the south of Ahaggar are the low mountains of Tasilé-ta-n-Ahaggar, which are structurally related to the *tasilé* mountains in the north. This area is of little importance to the Tuareg and, in contrast to the higher and more extensive massifs of Adɾaɾ-n-Foɾas and Ayr, is not regularly inhabited. [131] While the mountains of Adɾaɾ-n-Foɾas are everywhere below 1000 metres, the peaks of Ayr rise to almost 2000 metres above sea level in the east and the north where the country is covered with basalt rocks. Idukalen in the Begzen Mountains is 1900 metres above sea level, while the Tamgak Mountains in the north have a maximum altitude of about 1800 metres. In its most mountainous parts the Ayr

[p. 25]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



temperatures which may be below zero. At a later date the plants of wheat and barley are watered less frequently, and watering ceases completely some time before harvesting in order that the plant may ripen more easily. 243

The agriculturists of Ahaggar do not manure the garden plots used for wheat and barley. Only a new garden plot never previously cultivated is manured, and when such a garden is made the wild vegetation of grasses, herbs, bushes, and trees is often set on fire. Wheat and barley can be grown in the same garden plot for three or four years in succession, and the soil then needs at least one year's rest. In this way, the same garden plot can be kept under cultivation for many years without manuring: this continuous cultivation on the same spot with a one year's rest for each three or four years cultivation is possible partly because there is a certain crop rotation with other plants grown in summer, but mainly because the agriculturists during the period wheat and barley are grown carry fresh soil to their gardens. This is done not only before sowing but also throughout a long period of the winter when the plants are tender and green. When I stayed in the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel in the months of January and February (1955), all agricultural households worked strenuously from morning to night carrying soil to the green garden plots of wheat and barley. The soil was carried in plaited baskets (cf. Fig. 135) on the head, or in bigger baskets carried by donkeys. The soil was left in small heaps (one in every garden bed) to be spread over and between the green plants (cf. Fig. 137). This extremely strenuous work, I was told, would continue until the month of March. [101] [482] [492] [461]

In spite of the fact that cultivation in Ahaggar is done intensively and much work is connected with it, the yield of winter crops is not a very considerable one. In Abalessa it is said that seed-corn of wheat and barley will normally amount to about 50 kgs, and about 500 kgs is to be considered a normal yield, though certain gardens which are extremely well cultivated may yield more and in rare cases up to one thousand kilogrammes. The gardens I saw at Amsel and Taṛhawhawt were smaller than those seen in Abalessa. At Taṛhawhawt the quantity of wheat and barley sown, was said to amount to about 35 kilogrammes.

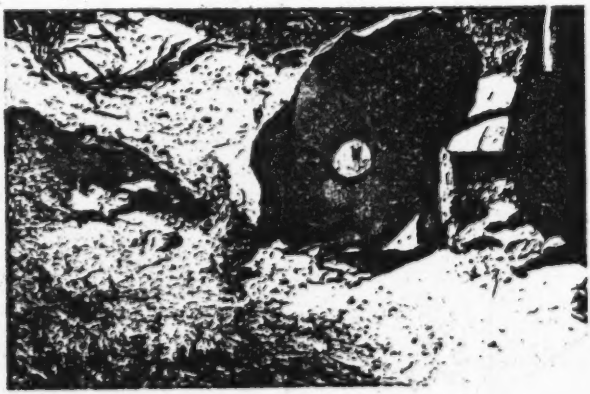

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Fig. 134. The flat stone (*awfil*) inserted between the water basin (*tihemt*) and the canal (*tegahamt*) which leads water towards the gardens. Irrigation stops and the basin runs full of water when a cotton stopper is put into the round hole in the middle of the flat stone. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

**B.2.b.** ***Skin tents with semi-arches over horizontal cross-bars*** 342*

I have seen such tents among Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, and it is from this area that I describe the following structure:—

B.2.b.1. Three tents of this type were seen in the *Iregenaten* camp which comprised eight tents south of *I-n-abanerit*. One of the tents was very large with a sheet measuring about 7.00×7.00 m, while the two others were comparatively small. The two small tents had a maximum height of about 1.50 m, while the large tent was about 1.70 m high. Structurally the three tents were identical, as follows:— [361]

Three pairs of forked sticks with horizontal cross-bars were placed parallel to one another at right angles to the longitudinal direction. The middle pair of sticks was a good deal higher than the two outer pairs; the two central poles or sticks were called *igetten* (sing. *aget*) and the sticks of the two outer pairs *tigettewin* (sing. *tegettewt*). The three horizontal cross-bars were all known as *iregeraqaten* (sing. *aregaraqa*). The skeleton of these three cross-bars resting upon pairs of sticks had in addition two semi-arches known as *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*). Each of these semi-arches consisted of two slender rods, tied together at their thin ends resting upon the central cross-bars to which they were also fastened with cords, while the thick ends of the semi-arches were tied to the two outer cross-bars close to their edges. This structure, we see, is not very different from the B.2.a.2 type. The sole distinction between these two types is that the latter has a central arch instead of a central cross-bar resting upon upright poles. Actually, the types B.2.b.1 and B.2.a.2 were seen in the same camp and constituted five out of the total eight tents found in it. The wooden structure of the B.2.b.1. tents was also made from boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*). The sheet was attached to a number of poles, both in the front and at the back, while the narrow ends were kept close to the grounds by means of short wooden pegs. The ordinary *afezu* mats belonged to all three tents (Fig. 275).

B.2.b.2. This is a very small tent depicted by Lhote from the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg around Gao. Its structure appears to be related to that just described (cf. Lhote 1947a, photo 79 p. 113). [131]

B.2.b.3. This is a most interesting type of skin tent which is described by Lhote from the south-western Tuareg – the *Tengerregif* and the *Kel Inteser*. The type is illustrated by excellent photographs which clearly indicate the structure, namely:— There are two long semi-arches each of which is made from two curved sticks lashed together. The semi-arches are attached at their thick ends to two horizontal cross-bars, each of which rests upon a pair of forked sticks. The horizontal cross-bars are very short so that the distance between the two parallel semi-arches which follow the longitudinal direction of the structure is also very short. The semi-arches are further supported by two other short cross-bars each resting upon two sticks. These sticks with their cross-bars are not always erected in the same way. In summer, the sticks are upright, while in winter they are placed obliquely towards the inside. All poles and sticks which make up the structure are buried solidly in the ground, and this is also the case with the very large number of poles placed along the sides for fastening the sheet. According to Lhote, some of these poles are termed *igem* and *ounousen* (*unnusen*), which words are also used in Ahaggar for certain poles. Though the structure is a very narrow one, these tents may nevertheless be very large as the sheet is fastened to many poles placed at some distance from the narrow structure (Lhote 1947a, p. 100, 160 f., photographs nos. 85–93 p. 128–129). [101]

*342 The sheet rested upon the cross-bar frame and upon the outer cross-bars, being fastened to poles at the back and the front; it was kept close to the ground at the narrow ends where it was fastened to small wooden pegs. The tent sheet measured about 6.00×4.00 m and had five *tarda* (cf. p. 362). The whole structure was made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*).

B.2.g.8. The tent to be described under this heading is used among the *Kel Dennek*. It is structurally akin to the ordinary *Kel Dennek* tent mentioned above as B.2.g.6. (p. 379) but it is provided with a cross-bar frame much like that just mentioned from the *Iregenaten* Tuareg. The type is described by Nicolas. The central post is called *tageffut*, and has a prong at its top to support the frame known as *agegu* made from two sticks to which are tied three other sticks, one of which rests in the prong of the central post. The stick which rests in the prong is placed parallel to the longitudinal direction of the tent, and cords are fastened to the cross-bar frame and to four sticks as customary for *Kel Dennek* tents. Nicolas says of this cross-bar frame that it is a cross-bar "de fortune" (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154 Fig. 30 f.). He does not mention this type of cross-bar in his 1938 study of Tuareg tents, and we may perhaps take this as a proof that it is not very common among the *Kel Dennek*.

One might perhaps be tempted to take these two cross-bar frames as primitive types from which other types of cross-bars have developed, the evolution thus passing from the more elaborate to the more simple type. This, however, is hardly possible. It seems difficult to conceive the framelike cross-bars as a true development from a particular type of dwelling. They are most probably a kind of emergency cross-bars used because the more general type, which is made by blacksmiths, is not available for some reason or other. The ordinary type of cross-bar is no doubt the traditional and the oldest type. I revert to this again later in this chapter in my final analysis of Tuareg tents. Here I content myself with the statement that it seems as though the evolution of T-shaped posts followed another direction. They did not originate from the structurally more elaborate cross-bar frames. It may seem remarkable that the term used for a cross-bar frame among the *Kel Dennek* (*agegu* according to Nicolas) among the Northern Tuareg (*agegu*) designates a tent arch (cf. p. 356, 367). This term, however, does not literally refer to "arch". It derives from the verb *gagg* which means to "to load" or "to be loaded" with something (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 406 ff.). – I now come to my last [184] structural group of Tuareg skin tents. It is only represented among the Tuareg most to the south-west from where it has been recorded by Lhote:—

B.2.h. *Skin tents with two central oblique posts carrying a short cross-bar*

[101] B.2.h.1. The tent is found among the *Kel Inteser* Tuareg who live in the region of Lac Faguibine. It is supported by two central oblique posts which carry a slightly curved cross-bar of which a specimen collected by Lhote is conserved in the Musée de l'homme. It has a total length of about 0.45 m, and is 0.07 m broad. It has a decorated inner side and close to the edges two thickenings in which holes are carved for the two posts (Musée de l'homme, 41.19.870; cf. Lhote 1947a, Fig. 4 (2) p. 39, p. 117). Lhote has informed me verbally that the two posts are oblique, but that they do not cross each other, and that the cross-bar is also placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction. – I revert to this type later as it contributes to our knowledge of tent development among the Tuareg.

# Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg

In the introductory chapter on the Tuareg I mentioned that they fall into a number of main groups. These groups or federations constitute the largest political units and are the following:— the *Kel Ahaggar*, the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Adrar*, the *Kel Ayr*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*, and the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*. The federation of *Kel Tademekket* in the region of Timbuktu was subjected to the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* from about A.D. 1800 (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). In this chapter I attempt to outline the structure of some of the federations, and to consider certain problems connected with their historical development.

The two groups of Northern Tuareg which are so intimately related to one another, both culturally and linguistically, formed originally one large political group under the command of the very powerful noble tribe, the *Imenan* in the region of Ganet. It was not only considered noble to a very high degree, but it was very highly estimated because of its supposed relationship to the Prophet. Many noble Tuareg to-day, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, will claim themselves to be *Echcherifen* through relationship to the ancient *Imenan*, whose leader was the supreme chief of all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer until about A.D. 1650 or somewhat later in the 17th century. The *Imenan* about that date lost their power owing to insurrections led by the powerful noble tribe, the *Uraren*. A Tuareg of this tribe killed the supreme chief named *Guma* and the leadership of the *Kel Ajjer* now passed over to the chief of the *Uraren*.

The political system of the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century has been described in some detail by Duveyrier with particular reference to the *Kel Ajjer* among whom he lived in 1859 (cf. Duveyrier 1864). Among the authors who visited the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century Duveyrier is by far the most important, and his brief description of political organization is of particular value.

When the *Imenan* lost their supreme authority owing to the rising of the *Uraren*, they retained their titles of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*), which are used for all descendants of the *Imenan*, their women even to-day being known as *Timenukalin* (sing. *Tamenukalt*). The chief of the *Imenan* was still "the *Amenukal*", a title used for supreme and independent chiefs of large political units. It is a word known to all Tuareg, and there have been some discussion about its proper meaning. The meaning according to Duveyrier is "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this interpretation is that generally followed by modern authors (e.g., Lhote 1955, p. 189; Blanguernon 1955, p. 47), though Foucauld does not go into the proper meaning of the word *Amenukal* but contents himself with the statement that it is the title of "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1213 f.). According to Prasse *Amenukal* is very probably a composit of

1: Lhote--74b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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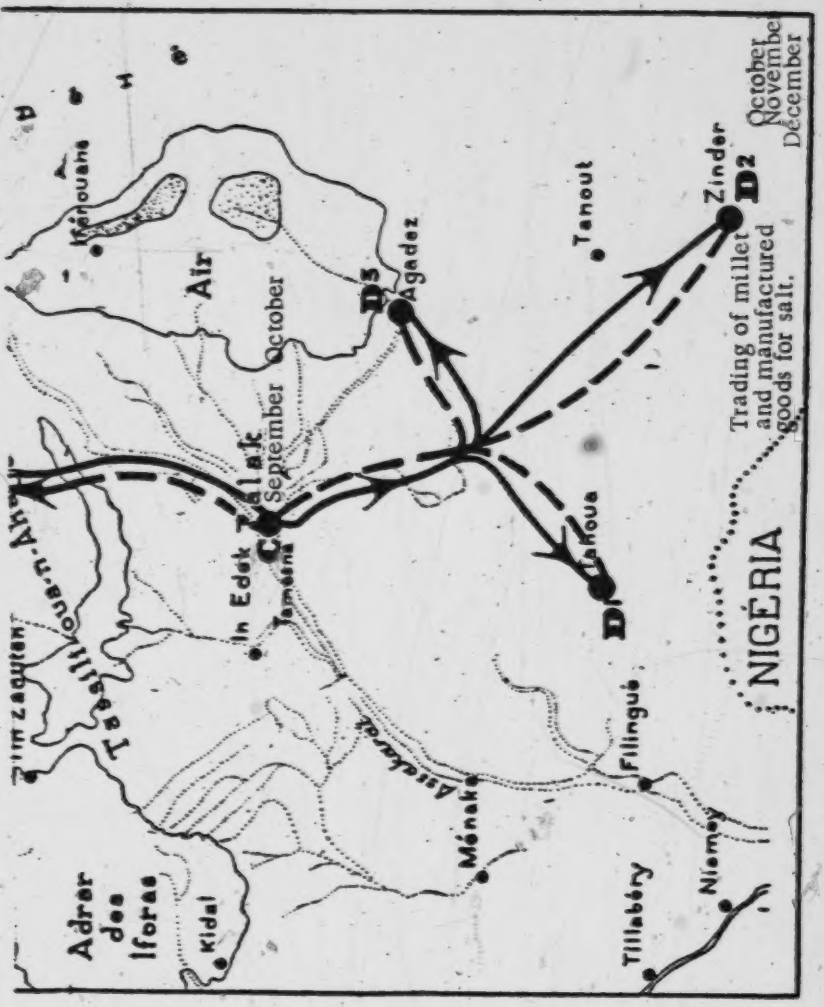
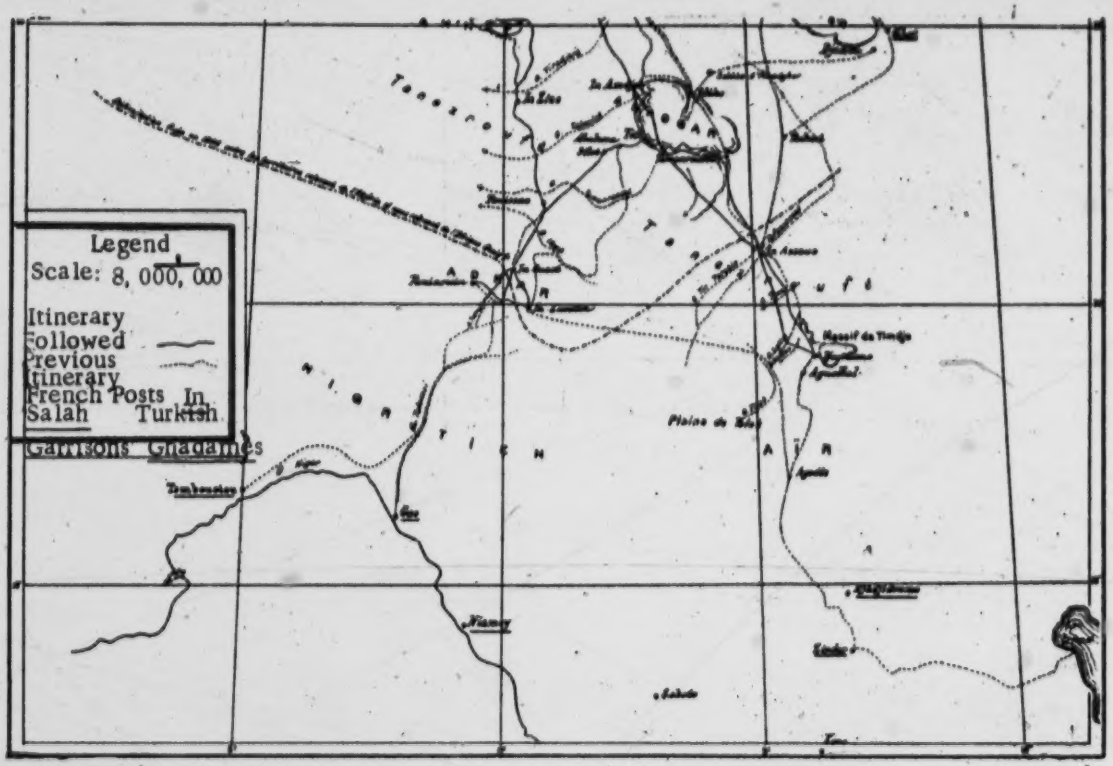



E. Center of trade of manufactured goods and dried meat for dates after return from A.

4: Benhazera--iii C-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar




Lithographic printer, A. Jourdan, Algiers

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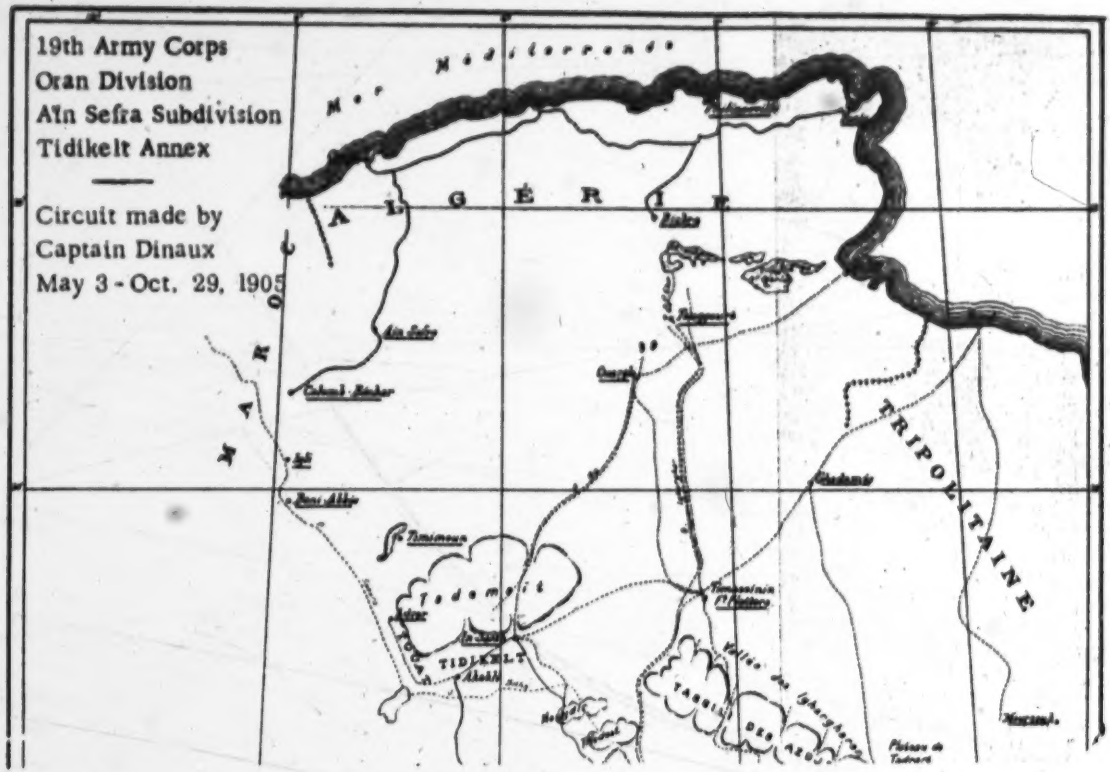
4: Benhazera--iv G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



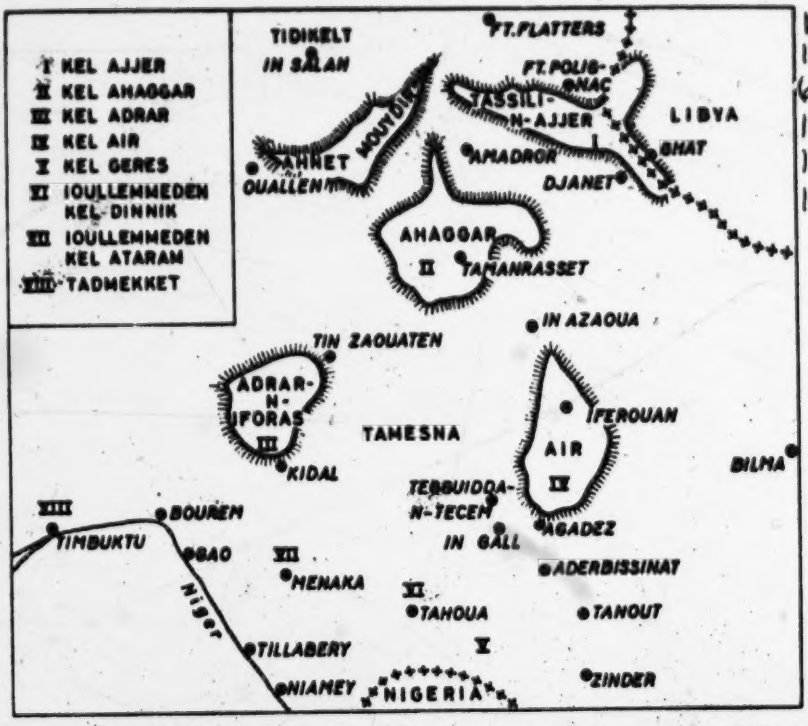


Fig. 1.–Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg, who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups as mentioned in the text are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. – The Tadmekket Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Ioullemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 160 kilometres.

those surviving, although emaciated, will quickly recover as soon as the rainfall starts again. In addition it is often very difficult to take goats through the barren desert country south of Ahaggar without severe loss. With camels, which are also very important domestic animals, things are different. Camels make a great demand on fodder, they are very valuable, can be sold for rather high prices in the oases, and they have a very slow increment compared with goats. For these reasons it is necessary or desirable to keep herds of camels in the south when pastures are dry in Ahaggar, and camels can be taken through the barren desert country without much difficulty. In dry years many Ahaggar Tuareg have their camel-herds in Tamesna, about 500 kilometres from the camps in Ahaggar, and there are even nomads who keep their she-camels constantly in these regions, where the animals are guarded by herdsmen who are frequently slaves.

6:Blanguernon--ii Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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[Frontispiece]

Language

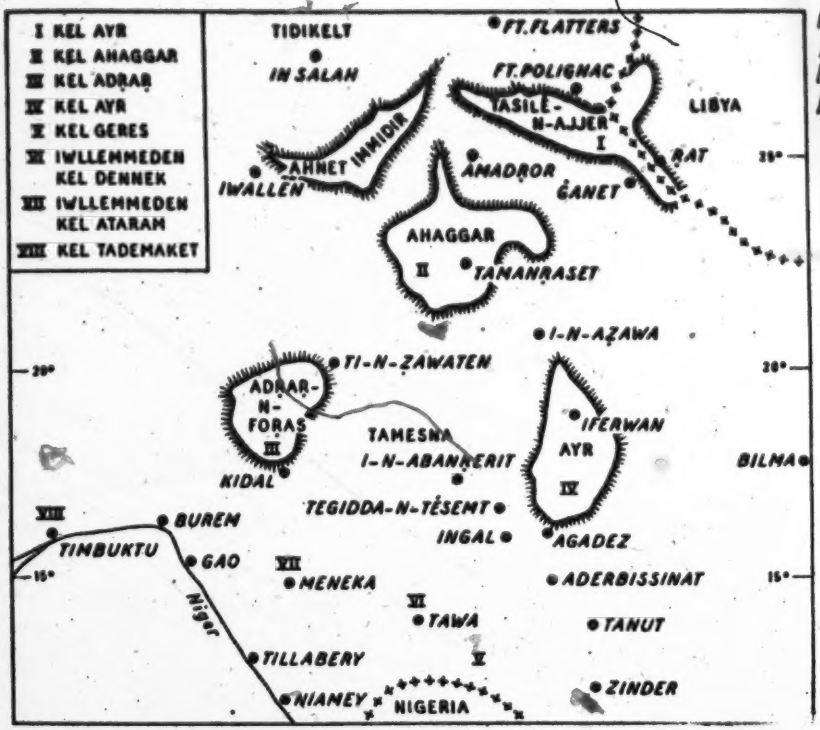


Fig. 1. Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese area inhabited by the Tuareg who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups, as mentioned in the text, are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. The *Kel Tademaket* Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 125 kilometres.

known and used particularly by women. There are slight distinctions in the characters of the alphabet used by various Tuareg groups. I here reproduce the characters generally used in Ahaggar (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and in Ayr. In transcribing *tifinar* into the Roman alphabet I have on the whole adopted the system used by Foucauld who has made the most profound studies of the northern dialect (Foucauld 1918–20, 1920, 1925–30, 1940, 1951–52), but certain alterations have been made in agreement with the proposal of K.-G. Prasse. The Ayr dialect is very badly known. Its grammar and its peculiar vocabulary has never been studied.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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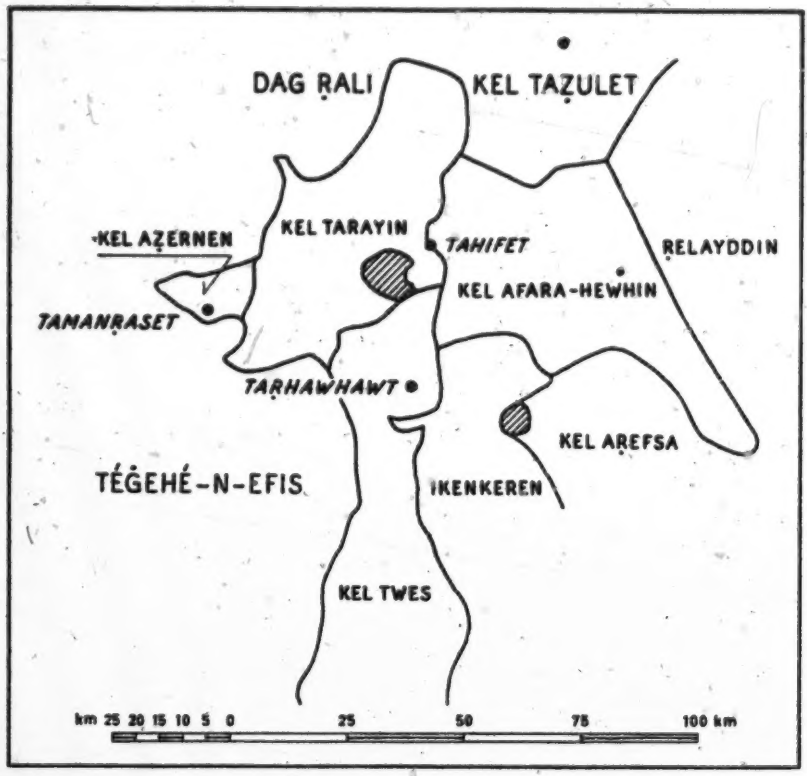
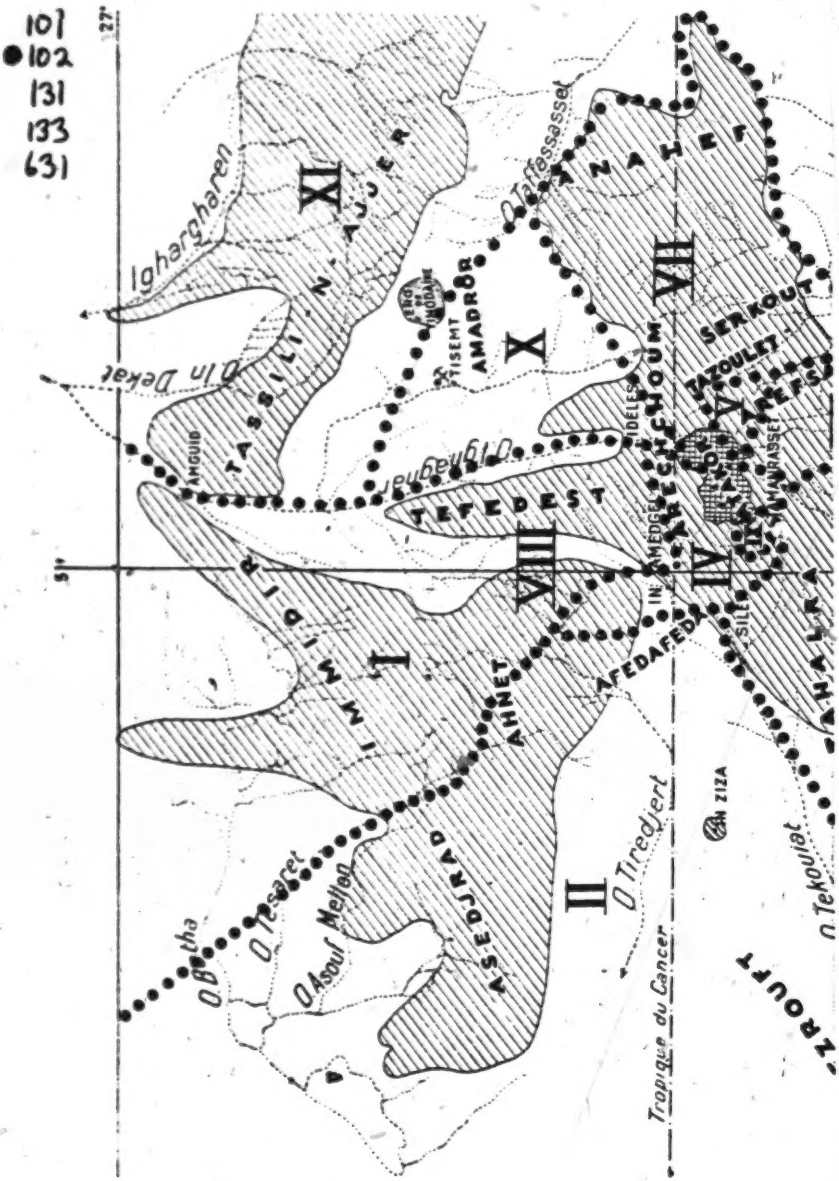
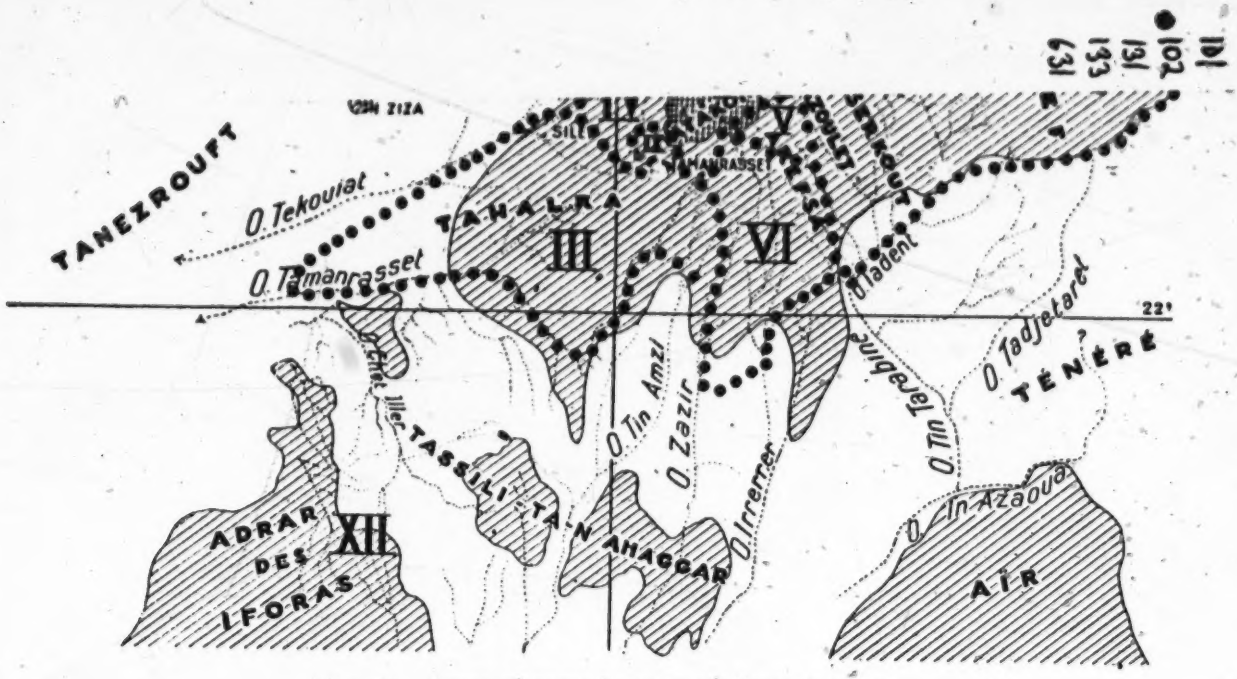



Fig. 104. Map showing the sub-areas of the territory of the *Aḡuh-en-tehlé* tribe. The sub-areas have no proper limits towards the south where the country changes into barren and uninhabited desert. The hatched areas are mountainous regions which are not considered parts of sub-areas. West of the *Aḡuh-en-tehlé* territory is the territory of the *Téġehé-n-Efis* tribe where two sections of the *Aḡuh-en-tehlé* have their normal grazing grounds. To the north are the territories of the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Kel Taẓulet* tribes. The *Kel Aẓernen* section frequently camps in the *Dag Ṛali* territory and intermarries with the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section of that tribe. To the east is the territory of the *Ṛelayddin* who are now considered part of the *Aḡuh-en-tehlé*. The *Aḡuh-en-tehlé* territory chiefly belongs to the *Abada* zone, but the northern parts of the two northernmost sub-areas are within the zones of *Tarayin* and *Asakor*.

1: Lhote--41a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25






Map IV. Areas of nomadization of Ahaggar tribes.

I. Issekkemâren.
S. f. Kel In-Rhar'
Kel Amgid
Kel Tâfedest
Kel Immîdir
Ihéiaouea-Hâda
Isselamaten
Kel I-n-Tounîn
Kel Terourirt
II. Tâitok et Kel Ahnet
III. Ikechchemâden
Iklan-en-Tâoussit
Tégéhé-n-Efis
IV. Dag-Râli
Ibettenâten
Irréguénaten
V. Kel Tazoûlet
VI. Agouh-en Tehlé
VII. Ait Loajen
VIII. Tégéhé-Mellet
IX. Ikadeien
X. Zone of salt marshes open to all tribes, but owned by the Amenokal.
XI. Ajjer Tuareg
XII. Zone of exceptional nomadization of the Ibettenâten, Irreguenaten, Ikadeien, and Kel Ahnet.

Scale: 1/5, 000, 000.

1: Lhote--74a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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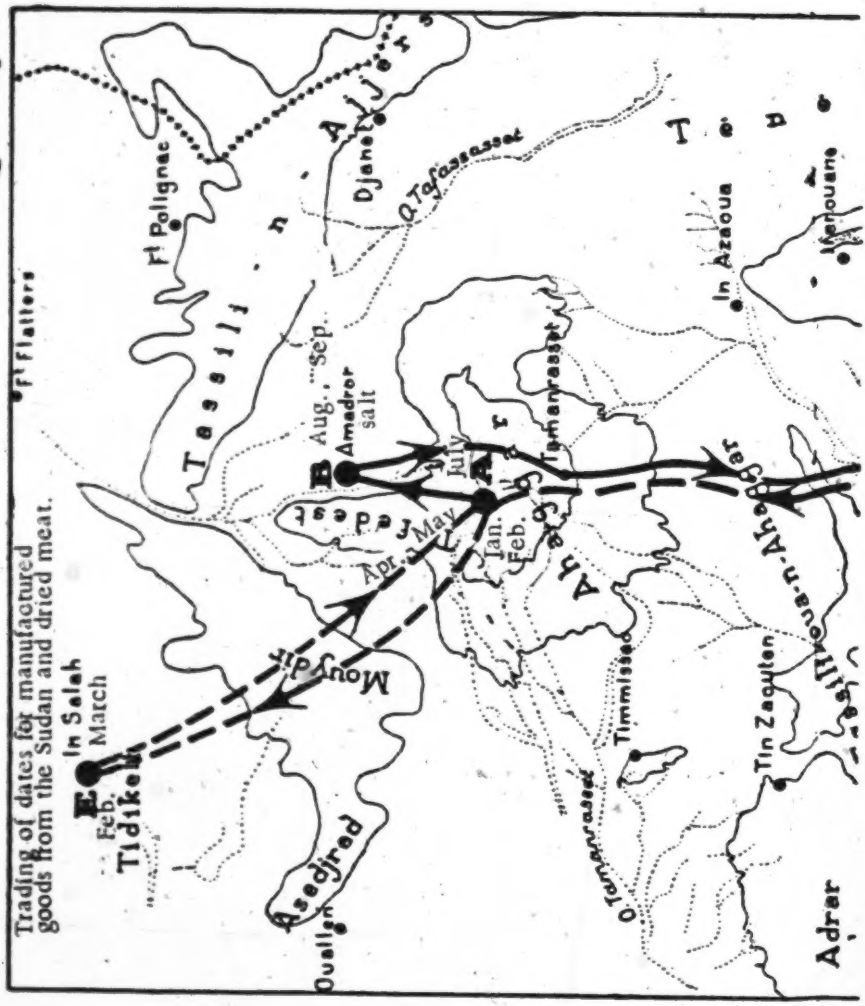
221
439
487
133




**Map V. Diagram of the caravan cycle of the Ahaggar Tuareg.**

A. Center of transhumance and point of departure of the caravan cycle. B. Center of salt extraction. C. Region of stocking of salt and of temporary nomadization. $D^1$ $D^2$ $D^3$. Center of trade of salt for grain.

1: Lhote--74b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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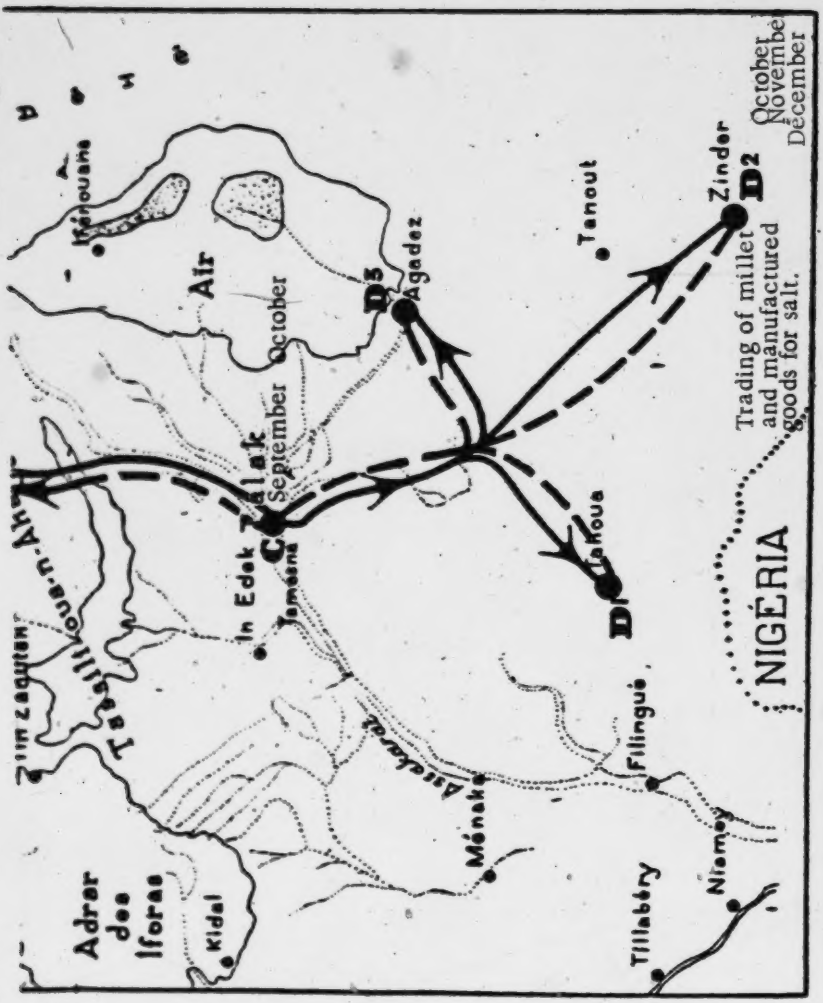


E. Center of trade of manufactured goods and dried meat for dates after return from A.

the proportion of one to four. After several dry years some agricultural centers must be completely abandoned. This was the case of Tit, Aïtoklane, Tâhârt, Dar-Mouli, etc., in the last few years.

In 1940, 555 hectares of land were seeded. This is the figure for a good year, which can occasionally be surpassed but can also be reduced by more than half.

The population of the agricultural centers, which was 1, 310 people in 1916, was 2, 280 in 1938, which denotes a great effort made in favor of agriculture. This could be realized thanks only to the state of peace due to the French occupation.

Here are the figures for each of the principal centers, according to the archives of the Tamanrasset post (1):

1. Florimond report, 1938.

| | 1911 | 1938 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tamanrasset | 150 | 686 | |
| Ăbalessa | 272 | 250 | |
| I-n-Amgel | 180 | 206 | |
| Iglen | | 168 | |
| Ideles | 70 | 160 | |
| Tazerouk | 150 | 148 | |
| Tit | 75 | 98 | had to leave for other centers after the summer of 1938. |
| Tărhaouhaout | 140 | 91 | |
| Amsel | 90 | 66 | |
| Tahifet | | 39 | |
| /248/ Tigeneouin | 25 | 23 | |
| Mertoûtek | | 60 | |
| Hirhafok | | 80 | |
| Iâman | 10 | | |

162
103

| | 1911 | 1938 |
|---|---|---|
| T-i-n-Ămenser . . . . . | 36 | temporarily abandoned |
| Tifert . . . . . | 50 | " " |
| Essélésékin . . . . . | 30 | |
| T-i-n-Târâbin . . . . . | 15 | abandoned |

166 621 [648] These figures bring out the weakening of some centers to the advantage of others. Thus, a number of cultivators from Tarahouhaout (where the French post was formerly located) came to settle at Tamanrasset, and the group of little centers in the outskirts of Ăbalessa, Iglen, Tăfarit, etc., has absorbed the groups from other abandoned centers like Tifert, Essélésékin, Ilâman, Tarahananet, etc.

[241 312] Together these centers number about 400 gardens and 80 feggaguir.

262 439 433 The wheat harvested is partly consumed by the cultivators and chiefly intended for export; it is exchanged at the Touat for dates. The total harvests in the Ahaggar corresponds to only one -fifth of the needs of its inhabitants, even in good years.

621 433 There are fifteen agricultural centers exploited in the Ahaggar: Tamanrasset, Tărhaouahout, Tahifet, Tăzerouk, Ideles, Ăbalessa, Hirhafok, Iglen, I-n-Amegel, T-i-n-Ămenser, Amsel, Tigeneouin, Talan-Tedit, Mertoûtek, and Esselésékine.

[166] In addition there are twenty-two other centers which have been abandoned for some years as a result of dryness or lack of manpower: Aïtoklane, Ădenek, Ămrah, Ăbezou, Ăglil, Bloûmet, Déhine, Dar Mouli, Ennedid, Innezal, Ilâman, In Ămertek, Ilafok, Outoul, Ouhet, Souaïka, T-i-n-Târabin, Touakin, Teberbert, Tarahananet, Tahart, and Joraf.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



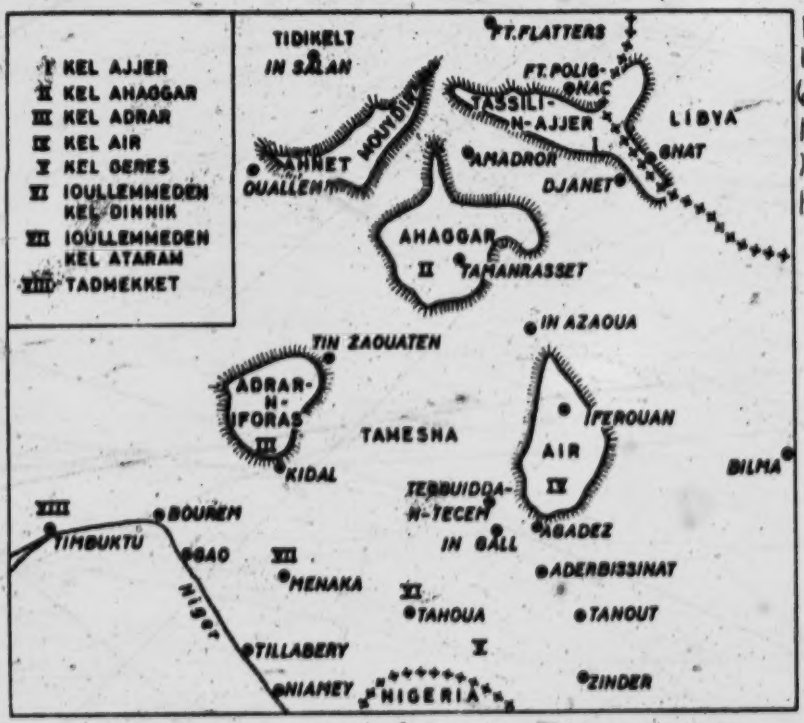


*Fig. 1.*—Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg, who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups as mentioned in the text are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals.—The Tadmekket Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Ioullemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 160 kilometres.

those surviving, although emaciated, will quickly recover as soon as the rainfall starts again. In addition it is often very difficult to take goats through the barren desert country south of Ahaggar without severe loss. With camels, which are also very important domestic animals, things are different. Camels make a great demand on fodder, they are very valuable, can be sold for rather high prices in the oases, and they have a very slow increment compared with goats. For these reasons it is necessary or desirable to keep herds of camels in the south when pastures are dry in Ahaggar, and camels can be taken through the barren desert country without much difficulty. In dry years many Ahaggar Tuareg have their camel-herds in Tamesna, about 300 kilometres from the camps in Ahaggar, and there are even nomads who keep their she-camels constantly in these regions, where the animals are guarded by herdsmen who are frequently slaves.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa. 136 [132] [137]

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tarahamt)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of weels *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekebar)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters. [44] 74 [567] [167] [177] [312] [342] [312] [342] 567

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while [144] [114] [103] [192] 563 601

133 /18 cont./ increases, for /19/ the tributary basins converge and form an immense flat plain called aciaf by the Tuareg.

Seen from afar the tassilis appear to be impassable barriers whose tops, eaten by water erosion and battered by wind, give the illusion of a fortified city. Eroding wadis have cut through these sandstone plateaus, and their deep valleys with vertical sides constitute savage gorges at the bottom of which a relatively dense vegetation contrasts with the aridity of the plateau, which is wholly bare and raked by the winds. Numerous gueltas, often fringed with tahlis (a kind of reed), are found in these tassilis.

[103] Note. -- A few altitudes:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tahat | 3, 003 meters | In the Atakor |
| Ilaman | 2, 823 " | " " " |
| In-Taraïn | 2, 762 " | " " " |
| Asekrem | 2, 804 " | " " " |
| Tozat | 2, 400 " | " " " |
| Akarakar | 2, 216 " | " " " |
| In-Afilal | 2, 157 " | " " " |
| Garet el Djenoun | 2, 327 " | In the Tefedest |
| Ifetessen | 1, 680 " | In the Mouydir |

## The Climate

132 Meteorological observations are regularly made only at Tamanrasset and only since 1929. There is a lack, therefore, of exact data for the whole territory. If it is known from Tuareg reports that it has rained in a certain place, the intensity of the precipitation is not known. The information concerning the winds and temperatures is still more vague. However, by taking into account the observations made at Tamanrasset and by examining the vegetation at different places in the Ahaggar annex, as well as the distribution of the fauna, one can distinguish three climatic zones, which correspond almost exactly

/167/ Remarks on the Rainfall

132 M. Dubief of the Algiers Institut de physique du globe has made a very interesting study of the rainfall in the Ahaggar territory, using information furnished by the Tuareg and covering 80 years for the central Ahaggar and 60 years for the Ahnet and the Mouydir.

This research shows that the system of rains in the central Ahaggar is unrelated to that of the northern Sahara.

Moreover, the distribution of the rains in the central Ahaggar has some relation to the distribution in the Tefedest, little to that of the Mouydir, and none to that of the Ahnet; it is completely independent of the Tamesna.

Finally, the dry periods do not seem to exceed seven years (the term "dry" is not used here in its meteorological sense, but relatively speaking, indicating for the nomads a lack of pastures).

Some Tuareg claim to have observed a cycle of seven years in the duration of the ground-water level.

The observations made at Tamanrasset record as years of heavy precipitation: 1924, 1933, 1943, and 1951, which would give a cycle of about nine years.

/169/ IV

Wells or Water Points on the Caravan Trails

From Tamanrasset to Tin-Zaouaten

103 Amsel: Tiggert /natural outflow of water/ and tanout
312 /well for irrigating gardens/. Permanent agricultural center.

Tin-Tounatine: Tigget /sic/ and abankor /water hole/ in the Tamanrasset wadi.

103
312

/169 cont./ Amselka: Permanent well in the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tinef: Permanent, plentifully filled well, 1.20 meters deep, in the Tamanrasset wadi.

In-Abalesse: Permanent abankor, 0.50 meters deep, in the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tidjenaouine: Agricultural center in the Tamanrasset wadi.

In-Amelloutine: Plentifully filled abankor, 0.60 meters deep, in the Tamanrasset wadi.

Timdjaouine: Ten kilometers south of the Tamanrasset wadi, Mount Debla, fairly plentiful water, ten meters deep.

Abankor ouan Mellouline: In the Immazarène Tin-Reroh wadi, east of the tassili. Not very plentiful.

Tin-Reroh: In the tassili, plentiful, permanent, 40 kilometers from the automobile road.

In el Tobol: In the Adrar In el Tobol, not very plentiful, 15 kilometers from the automobile road.

In-Tedeini: Six kilometers north of Tin-Zaouaten, permanent, ten meters deep, shored up with gasoline drums, three kilometers from the automobile road.

/170/ Tin-Elhaoua: In the Tin-Elhaoua wadi, ten kilometers north of Tin-Zaouaten. Lined shaft, with stone drain, never dry.

Tin-Zaouaten: Three wells, a temporary guelta /natural pool/.

From Tamanrasset in the direction of Tessalit (Sudan)

Up to Silet, various agricultural centers.

Timissao: Well in the wadi, north of the tassili, shored up with stones. Very plentiful water, nevery dar. Depth: six meters.

Tamada: Temporary guelta, rarely dry, east of the tassili, surface about five meters square; very deep.

•103 312 /170 cont./ In-Azaoua: Southwest edge of the tassili. Well, 1.50 meters, never dry.

Tiggueurt: Copious spring, in a tassili valley, three hours' march southeast of In-Azaoua, two hours to the west of Tamada. Site unusual because of verdure.

Aguelman de l'oued En-Nefis: Temporary guelta two hours' march from In-Azaoua.

Ameg: Permanent guelta in an outlier of the tassili, south of Tirek, at the head of the In-Allarène wadi.

Tirek: Permanent guelta, plentiful water, in the northern part of the Tirek ta Settefet tassili.

In-Ouzzal: In the In-Ouzzal wadi, near the confluence of the Ighelian wadi. Plentiful. Depth: eight meters.

In-Djezzal: Plentifully filled well, never dry, 23 meters deep.

Timiaouine: Permanent lined well, never dry, eight meters deep.

## From the Adrar des Iforas (Timiaouine) toward the Tidikelt

The wells of Ilafok and Guernen are filled in; in winter the caravans go straight to In-Ziza, in summer they pass by Timissao.

In-Ziza: Very large guelta, about 20 meters square, varying from five to ten meters in depth, never dry. There are 17 others.

/171/ Aït el Kra: Very copious tiggert in the tassili sandstone near Foum-Ezgag.

Tin-Senasset: Fairly copious spring.

Tin-Eddi: Poorly filled well, sometimes dry.

Tin-Akhenfous: Permanent well.

Tikebetatine: Four or five springs, fairly copious flow.

In-Rhellal: Poorly filled well, 150 kilometers from the first wells of the Tidikelt.

/171 cont./ From Tamanrasset toward In-Salah

•103
312

By the automobile road:
Outoul: Agricultural center.
Tit: Agricultural center.
Tilok: Well.
In-Amguel: Agricultural center.
Iniker: Plentifully filled well.
Tesnou: Plentifully filled well.
Amsir: Well.
Meniet: Well.
Arak: Tiggert and guelta.
Tadjmout: Agricultural center, spring.
In-Takoula: Well.
Tiguelguemine: Guelta.
Djoraf: Hot spring.
Hassi el Khenig: Brackish water.

By the camel trail, west of the automobile road.
From Tamanrasset to Abalessa: Various agricultural centers.
Tin-Felki: Large well, never dry, in the Tekouiat wadi.
Tinn-Maroka: Very plentifully filled well in the Afesfes wadi.
Amsir or Arak.
Hassi Takoumbaret: Permanent.
Hassi Belrem: Plentiful, last well before the Tidikelt.

/172/ List of Selected Wadis

Atakor region:
Northern slope, whose waters are collected by the In-Amguel wadi, which flows toward the Tekouiat and which loses itself in the Tanezrouft to the south of In-Zize.

/172 cont./

103
312

| | |
|---|---|
| Issakarassène wadi<br>Hirafok wadi<br>Ifrak wadi<br>Tidjilgaouine wadi<br>Abdassène wadi<br>Zerzoua wadi<br>In-Tehoulli wadi | toward the<br>In-Amguel wadi |

Southern slope, whose waters are drained by the great Zazir and Tin-Amzi wadis, which flow toward the valley of the Azaouak.

| | |
|---|---|
| Tefougigine wadi<br>Ihérane wadi<br>Izerzi wadi<br>Ihoular wadi<br>Taguiemoute wadi<br>In-Tarkit wadi | toward the<br>Tin-Amzi wadi |
| Teredjine wadi<br>Effeg wadi<br>Anfeg wadi<br>Tihararte wadi<br>Ahahabarougue wadi<br>Téguerine wadi | toward the<br>Zazir wadi |
| In-Dalag wadi<br>Tahifet wadi<br>Tarahouaout wadi<br>Foutès wadi | toward Irharraar<br>(southern) |

Eastern slope, whose waters flow toward the Tin-Tarabin /173/ wadi, which itself joins the valley of the Azaouak.

| | |
|---|---|
| Itakaline wadi<br>Azrou wadi<br>Tiféréfine wadi<br>Tilékine wadi<br>Sersouf wadi (of Attoklane) | toward Tin-Tarabin |

/173 cont./

103
312

| | |
|---|---|
| Afrahounine wadi<br>Tibelarhlarhène wadi<br>Tigoulgouline wadi | toward Tin-Tarabin |
| Telhouat wadi | toward Igharghar (northern) |

Western slope, all the waters of which join the Tamanrasset wadi, either directly or by its large affluent, the Amded wadi.

| | |
|---|---|
| Tilok wadi<br>Ilaman wadi<br>Terhenanet wadi<br>Outoul wadi<br>Tit wadi<br>Selbourak wadi<br>Tiffert wadi<br>Abalessa wadi | toward the Amded wadi |
| Tisatine ouan Tiratine wadi<br>Tinef wadi (which drains the waters of the Tahelra)<br>Imezzarene ouan Tin-Reroh wadi<br>Silet wadi<br>Aguelman wadi | toward the Tamanrasset wadi |

Region north of the Adrar des Iforas and of the southern tassili

Slope of the Tamanrasset wadi:

Inouzzal wadi
Ilafer wadi
/174/ Ilafok wadi
In-Kadiouène wadi
Temesguidda wadi
Tirek wadi
Iller wadi

Slope of the Azaouak:

Tin-Zaouaten wadi
In-Atankarer wadi

/174 cont./

103 Anesbaraka wadi
312 Slope of the Timersoï wadi:
Izedelazen wadi

Region of the Tefedest:

Western slope of the Tefedest: the waters flow toward the Tekouiat wadi.

Ohet wadi
In-Takoufi wadi
Idjioualène wadi
Sersouf wadi
Mertoutek wadi
Abezzou wadi
Adenek wadi
In-Ebeggi wadi

Eastern slope of the Tefedest: all of the waters empty into the great Igharghar.

Taharakit wadi
Idelès wadi
Dehine wadi
Aguelmam wadi
Ousselatine wadi
In-Berhadjane wadi
Tin-Kerkoz wadi
Amrha wadi
Ahatès wadi
} toward Igharghar

/175/ Southern slope of the Tefedest:

Takormiasse wadi
Aethès wadi
Tin-Eleft wadi
} toward the In-Amguel wadi

Region of the Immidir and the Ahnet:

The waters flow chiefly toward the north, losing themselves in the sebkha of the Tidikelt; they are mainly drained by the Botha and Djaret wadis.

/175 cont./

103 312 Arak wadi
Gourdane wadi
Tadjmout wadi
Tiratimine wadi
Tibratine wadi
Takoula wadi
Takoumbaret wadi
Asabal wadi
Amguid region, slope of the Igharghar:
et Tarara wadi
Hesses wadi
Rharis wadi
El Mahek wadi
Teghert wadi
Hamsa wadi
In-Herreki wadi

Region east of the Serkout massif:

This part of the Ahaggar is very little known; the wadis are tributaries of the Tafassasset wadi.

/177/ V

Flora

| 137 824 Tamahaq Name | Arabic Name | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|
| Ahtès | | Acacia albida. Rare. |
| Aliou | | Olea laperrini. In the high mountains. |
| Adjiar | El Iatim | Argan tree (?). Hardwood, pasturage for camels, edible berries. |

301 /183 cont./ Tisabatin: The tisabatin are ear pendants, simple rings of silver whose diameter is about ten centimeters; two tisabatin weigh 120 grams.

Teraout: large silver triangle worn on the chest; the hidden side is made of iron.

Ahbedj (plural: ihebdjen): The women always wear two. They are bracelets, the most popular type of which has the form of a simple ring with an opening. The two ends are polyhedral and are decorated with geometrical designs.

Tissegouar: silver pendants for the temples.

The Tuareg do not use gold; silver alone is used to make jewelry and the amulet cases called teraout.

The men wear smaller rings than the women.

/185/ VII

## List of Agricultural Centers

•103 Abalessa (altitude: 850 meters).
361 This was the largest agricultural center before our arrival
621 in the Ahaggar; since then, Tamanrasset has surpassed Abalessa.

Abalessa is located 100 kilometers west of Tamanrasset in the Ibarras wadi at the confluence of the Abalessa wadi, which receives the waters of the Tit, Outoul, Tiffert, and Iglène wadis.

The population consists of more than a thousand harratin.

The cultivable surface is 150 hectares during favorable years; generally, the crops cover 80 hectares.

The owners of the gardens are some Kel Rela, Ta'ltok, Dag Rali, and Iklan Taoussit.

There are 11 foggara, the longest and deepest in the Ahaggar; some reach six kilometers in length, and the head wells are eight to ten meters deep.

•103 /185 cont. / Approximately 300 palms grow freely or
361 nearly so; almost all have grown from nuts, and half are
621 dokkar (males)

Abalessa has a bordj /a small fort or solidly constructed house/ and an infirmary.

The tumulus of Tin-Hinan is located two kilometers from the bordj in the Tiffert wadi.

Centers of the Tiffert wadi.

Tounin Akourin.

A small center seven kilometers upstream from Abalessa. Two foggara and a tanout.

/186/ The amenokal has his permanent camp near gardens that he owns.

Tiffert Foulani.

Five kilometers upstream from Abalessa. Three foggara. There are about 30 palms. An active center, it is owned by the local harratin. Here is the residence of Si Ahmed Foulani, a well-known taleb /scribe/, who plays the role of cadi for the Tuareg.

Tiffert Tahtani.

Three kilometers upstream from Abalessa. Three foggara. Active and permanent center. Small village constructed of toub, overlooking some 40 palms.

Tin-Tazarouk.

One kilometer from Abalessa on the trail to Silet. One foggara. Zériba. Large quantity of diss (a large grass).

Centers of the Outoul wadi.

Outoul.

A long-abandoned center which is being revived; located between the old and new trails to In-Salah, 20 kilometers from Tamanrasset. Five foggara, two of them upstream. Several fruit trees.

Tahart.

Eighteen kilometers downstream from Outoul. Three foggara and one tanout. Owners: Taltok and Tédjéhé n'Néfi.

103 /186 cont. / About 100 palms, numerous fig trees and
361 vines. A tiggert with abundant tahli. Very picturesque site.
621 Assileskine (altitude: 960 meters).

Center located six kilometers downstream from Tahart. Often abandoned. Owners: Ta'ltok. Three foggara, about 30 residents. Vines and several young palms. Rock drawings near the zéribas.

Ennedid (altitude: 914 meters).

Four kilometers downstream from Assileskine in a gorge at the confluence of the Outoul wadi. About 60 residents, nearly 100 palsm. Owners: Kel Rela, Dag Rali, and Iklan Taoussit. Very pretty site.

/187/ Centers of the Tit wadi.

Tit (altitude: 1, 127 meters).

Located in the Tit wadi, 50 kilometers from Tamanrasset. Fairly important center, more than 100 residents, houses of toub and zeribas. About 30 palms, numerous fig trees, and enormous vines. At this time, four foggara. Very important site for rock drawings.

Tin-Emensar.

Ten kilometers downstream from Tit. Abandoned center.

Dar Mouli.

Three kilometers downstream from Tin-Emensar, a small garden is cultivated. Site of an annual celebration where the Tuareg gather for the ziara of Moulay Abderrahmane.

Centers of the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tamanrasset (altitude: 1, 470 meters).

Fort Laperrine, administrative headquarters of the Ahaggar.

The military bordj was constructed in 1919 and used in 1920 after the abandoning of Tarahouaout.

In 1920, Tamanrasset had 40 residents. It was a small, unimportant center with three foggara; a few rare éthel and fersig lined the wadi.

103 361 621 /187 cont. / The French occupation created out of nothing the built-up area which became a road center after the creation of automobile roads from Tamanrasset toward In-Salah and Algiers;

from Tamanrasset toward Agadès and Fort Lamy;

from Tamanrasset toward Tin-Zaouaten and Gao.

Secondary roads of local or tourist interest were later opened:

from Tamanrasset to Djanet by way of Idelès and Serouanout;

from Tamanrasset to Idelès by way of Tarahouaout, Tahifet;

from Tamanrasset to In-Azaoua (not completed);

from Tamanrasset to the Asekrem massif by way of the Illamane peak (tourist);

from Tamanrasset to the Asekrem massif by way of the [491] Imalaoulaouen guelta and the Akarakar. This road, finished in 1952, makes it possible to circle around the high peaks of the Atakor; it /188/ completes the one mentioned just before. Its route, laid out by the head of the Tamanrasset annex, provides maximum protection against the rains; it discloses a succession of splendid panoramas and ends at the foot of the Asekrem plateau after having crossed the strangest assortment of peaks imaginable. This road is prolonged in the direction of the Issakarassen guelta, then will continue toward the Hirafok agricultural center to end in the Tefedest.

[439] Arab and Mozabite merchants very quickly installed themselves at Tamanrasset, offering merchandise coming from Tell and buying wheat, millet, and butter from the Tuareg, making usurious loans, in a word, draining away the Tuareg's small supply of cash to direct it toward the Mzab.

The houses are built for the most part on the right bank of the wadi in the nonirrigable areas. Tamanrasset has no local color whatsoever, but the red tint of the exterior plastering, the cleanliness and charm of the streets shaded by éthel and adorned by geraniums, produce a pleasing over-all

103 /188 cont./ effect. An admirable and almost unique thing
361 in the Ahaggar is the circle of mountains which surrounds the
621 village; from the south bank of the wadi the view at sunrise or sunset is sensational.

At the present time Tamanrasset has some 20 foggara and a dozen tanout. The owners of the foggara are: the commune, some Adjouh n'Téhélé, some Tédjéhé n'Néfis, some harratin, and some merchants. The foggara are from four to five kilometers long. The gardens extend nearly six kilometers from the ksar /former fortified village/ of the Adriane to the ksar of Teggert. The cultivated area is about 70 hectares, counting the gardens of the small center of Tihegouine three kilometers downstream, watered by a foggara.

The commune owns a magnificent garden where all sorts of fruit trees are tried; it sets an example for the local gardeners. Many European houses have a small garden irrigated by foggara or by well.

The present population is about 2,000 residents. This enormous growth in population presents a terrible /189/ water problem. It appears that an agricultural center in the Ahaggar cannot grow indefinitely without considering hydraulic works.

103 Tamanrasset, although favored from the point of view of
361 water resources, is a proof of what could be attempted in the
621 other agricultural centers if the French could advise the
648 harratin and furnish them examples.

The French population is divided in the following way:

A captain, annex head, administrator of the commune.

Two or three officer assistants.

Secretaries.

A school. Seven teachers, three of them nomads.

An observatory of global physics. Three physicists.

A telecommunications service. Four radio operators, two weather men.

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/189 cont. / A branch of the Company of Tropical Transportation.

An auxiliary postal receipts office.

A hotel.

A few retired persons at Tamanrasset without occupation.

From the military point of view, Tamanrasset is generally the base for a company of the camel corps. Units of the Saharan Engineer corps maintain the road from In-Salah to Tamanrasset and Agadez.

The French population totals about 120 persons; this number is subject to frequent fluctuations.

The number of Mozabite and Arab merchants, including their families, comes to about 100 individuals.

There are about 1, 900 harratin, an approximate figure, for many gardeners come and go from one agricultural center to another.

It is impossible to speak of Tamanrasset without thinking of General Laperrine and Father de Foucauld. The body of the general rests at Tamanrasset near the tomb where the priest was buried after his tragic death. The bordj where Father de Foucauld lived during the last years of his life is a tourist attraction; it is also possible to visit the hermitage built by the Father on the wadi's left bank.

/190/ Near the village of Adriane are found the tombs of Moussa ag Amastane, the Laperrine's amenokal friend, and of Dassine, the famous poetess.

In the house which was Moussa ag Amastane's, the maalmines, artisans of the Tuareg tribes, work.

Tamanrasset, administrative center, a necessary stop on the road from French West Africa and from French East Africa, is also an airplane stop destined to become more and more important.

Tourism tends to conquer the Ahaggar; the Touring Club of France has organized excursion caravans for several years. Scientists from all fields, enlightened travelers,

103 /190 cont./ mountain climbers in quest of virgin peaks, are
361 attracted to the still little-known country. For all of them
62 Tamanrasset is a departure base but not a place to linger.
[648]

Tissenaouine

In the Tissenaouine wadi at its confluence with the Tamanrasset wadi. One foggara belonging to a hartani. Very well-cultivated garden.

Tagrambaït

In the Tamanrasset wadi, 15 kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Three foggara, well-cultivated gardens. Little possibility for growth.

Amsel (altitude: 1, 180 meters)

Located in the Amsel wadi a little before its confluence with the Tamanrasset wadi, about 30 kilometers south of Tamanrasset.

The owners of the gardens are the Adjouh n'Téhélé and the Tédjéhé n'Néfis. The gardens are located upstream and downstream from the tiggert, a veritable stream of running water where abundant tahli grow. Six foggara and three tanout. There are about 60 residents. The cultivable surface totals 30 hectares; there would be possibilities for extending the center downstream. Several fruit trees.

Intnérin

In the Tamanrasset wadi seven kilometers south of Amsel. Tiggert and numerous tahli. Two foggara. Unimportant /191/ center, with no possibility for growth. Boxed-in, very hot valley.

Idikel

In the Tamanrasset wadi 15 kilometers south of Amsel. Difficult to reach by auto. Three foggara and two tanout. Large amount of cultivable land but endangered by the big floods of the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tiguenouine

In the Tamanrasset wadi seven kilometers south of Tamanrasset. A large amount of tahli at the Amelalouline tiggert. Three foggara, abundant water.

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/191 cont. / Centers located on the In-Azaoua road

Izerzi

Fifteen kilometers south of Tamanrasset in the Izerzi wadi. A long-abandoned center revived in 1952.

Talan Téhédit

A long-abandoned center 20 kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Cultivated since 1951. Abundant water. Tiggert, tahli. Garden owners: Adjouh n'Téhéle and Tédjéhé n'Néfis. Three foggara and two tanout. Possibility for growth.

Ifok

Thirty kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Running water, tiggert, tahli. The gardens are upstream and downstream from the tiggert. Two foggara and three tanout. A frequently abandoned center.

Region of the Atakor

Ilaman (altitude: 2, 000 meters).

Highest center in the Ahaggar. Abandoned for a long time, traces of nine former foggara.

At the present time the village of Ilaman has a dozen residents. One foggara and two tanout are in operation. The Dag Rali own the gardens; their millet silos give the village a curious appearance.

Terhénanet (altitude: 1, 950 meters)

Located in the Terhénanet wadi on the edge of the Taessa massif. /192/ Like the village of Ilaman the village of Terhenanet is at the side of the road leading to the Asekrem. A small guelta is found downstream from the gardens. An unimportant center: about ten residents, two living foggara, four dead ones.

Centers of the southeastern Atakor

Tarahouaout (altitude: 1, 317 meters) -- (Fort Motylinski)

Located in the Tarahouaout wadi 80 kilometers from Tamanrasset by the automobile road. It was the administrative

103 361 621

/192 cont. / capital of the Ahaggar from 1908 to 1921. One may see the old bordj overlooking the wadi, as well as old houses at the foot of the cliff.

An important center, it is the fief of the Adjouh n'Téhélé tribe. Fifty-two hectares are cultivable, irrigated by ten foggara. There are numerous tanout. Fruit trees are in decline but there are still fig trees, apricot trees, and vines.

Numerous pre-Islamic tombs are evidence of a very ancient occupation of this water point. Three rock-drawing sites exist on ridges downstream from the bordj.

Six kilometers downstream from the gardens, an enormous stand of tahli announces the entrance to very narrow gorges, in which one may follow over a distance of ten kilometers a veritable stream connecting a string of guelta. This is perhaps the most important permanent flow of water in the Ahaggar.

In-Dalag (altitude: 1,450 meters)

Located in the In-Dalag wadi, this very important center extends over a length of 15 kilometers. The water table is fed by waters running from the southeast of the Atakor and from the Ahéléheg djebel. The Adjouh n'Téhélé own the gardens. In dry periods this center is partly abandoned, as well as the small villages downstream: Tehi n'Oudi, Tin-Tsoumar, Tabarakaten, In-Tinsi, In-Tolouline.

There are five foggara at In-Dalag. Downstream from the cultivated centers gorges are found where great numbers of tahli grow.

/193/ Tahifet

An important center located in the wadi of the same name 50 kilometers north of Tarhaouaout. The Adjouh n'Téhélé are owners of the gardens. The cultivable surface comes to 22 hectares; there are eight foggara. Six kilometers downstream from the gardens is a tiggert surrounded by a large amount of spontaneous vegetation. The site is very picturesque.

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/193 cont. / Centers of the northern Atakor

Ideles

Very important center in the Tarouda wadi, overlooked by the Adrar Taderaz. The village is located on the automobile road from Tamanrasset to Djanet 265 kilometers from Tamanrasset. The village consists of a bordj and an infirmary, as well as numerous stone houses. The residents, who number about 300, were originally from the Tidikelt. The ruins of an old ksar may be seen.

The gardens belong to the Kel Rela, the Dag Rali, the Kel Tazolé, and the Kel Amguid. The cultivable area amounts to about 40 hectares, irrigated by eight foggara and about ten tanout. About 300 palm trees are fairly well cared for; there are also numerous fig trees and vines.

Amenselane

Very small center six kilometers from Ideles. One foggara. Numerous tahli near the tiggert.

Tazerouk

A center which used to be very important but whose cultivable land is often carried off in pieces during big floods. Located 188 kilometers from Tamanrasset by the Ideles automobile road. The population is made up of freed Negroes who own the gardens but whose laziness has jeopardized this favored oasis. The altitude is 1, 896 meters; two wheat harvests per year are possible. The cultivable area amounts to 45 hectares, with hardly half of it sown. Enormous, untended fig trees grow, /194/ as well as very many peach trees and apricot trees. The summer climate at Tazerouk is the most pleasant in the Ahaggar.

In the wadis which end at Tazerouk, agricultural centers are established during the rainy years; these are: Sellemal, Ihebert, Teberbert, Taouakim, Tin-Ezzar.

Tizzeit

Unimportant center, long abandoned, now cultivated, located on the camel trail from Ideles to Tazerouk. Land

103 361 621 /194 cont./ belongs to the Ibardjien, an ancient tribe on the way to extinction, redoubtable mountaineers and clever hunters of wild sheep. Alkaline spring, tanout. Vines, fig trees, and numerous palms.

Tin-Founès

Abandoned center located on the Amadror road; numerous untended palms.

Hirafok (altitude: 1, 510 meters)

Located in the Hirafok wadi, on the automobile road from Tamanrasset to Ideles. The gardens run lengthwise and are well tended. Twenty-four hectares of cultivable land irrigated by five foggara and five tanout. A few fig trees. A bordj is constructed by the side of the road. The wadi valley is fairly well wooded; there is a tiggert downstream.

Im-Amguel (altitude: 1, 037 meters)

Large agricultural center located in the In-Amguel wadi on the road from Tamanrasset to In-Salah, 144 kilometers from Tamanrasset. A bordj and an infirmary. Four hundred residents. Ten foggara water well-tended gardens. There are some 100 palm trees, half of which are dokkar. Vines, fig trees, apricot trees, peach trees. Poultry.

Ifrok

Upstream from In-Amguel on the automobile road from Ideles. A center long abandoned, now cultivated. One foggara. The wadi is very well wooded.

Tasakimt

An abandoned center located between Ideles and Tazerouk. One tiggert upstream from which existed a foggara and four /195/ tanout. Abundant vegetation consisting of fersig and oleander.

Centers of the Tefedest

Mertoutek

A center in decline. There now exist two living foggara compared to ten before. Altitude: 1, 450 meters. Located in

103 361 621

/195 cont./ the Mertoutek wadi, to the east of the Tefedest, 260 kilometers from Tamanrasset. A few fruit trees. Important rock-drawing sites (Coche-Chasseloup-Laubat, Lelubre and M. Cousin sites).

In-Amertek

Abandoned center downstream from Mertoutek.

Ohet

Abandoned center to the northwest of the Tefedest. Two dead foggara. Land belonging to the Tédjéhé Mellet.

Adenek

Abandoned center in the Adenek wadi at the confluence of the Dehine wadi. Land belonging to the Kel Tefedest. There still remain a few fig trees and vines.

Abezzou

Abandoned center, land belonging to the Kel In-Rhar and Eouen n'Hada. Only a few zéribas and traces of guemoun are evidence of former cultivation.

Dehine

Center located six kilometers north of Mertoutek. Abandoned. There remain a few palms and fig trees as reminders of a former prosperity.

Other agricultural centers

Silet (altitude: 775 meters)

Located 151 kilometers from Tamanrasset on the road to Tin-Zaouaten. The Silet wadi forms a large basin which receives the waters of the Tahelra. There is a very shallow water table, which makes it possible for palms to grow without irrigation. There are about 6,000 palms which receive practically /196/ no care. Artificial fecundation is rarely practiced. This palm grove was created about 200 years ago by Arabs from the Tidikelt. The owners of the palms are some Kel Rela, Iklan Taoussit, and Dag Rali. An attempt to establish a palm grove has been made by the Annex with djebars of Téguezza.

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/196 cont./ Some ten residents live at Silet and cultivate small gardens irrigated by three foggara. A bordj. Ruins of an old Arab fort. Numerous pre-Islamic tombs.

Tibeghim

Five kilometers from Silet. Small palm grove in a semi-wild state, which gives it a very picturesque appearance. The palms belong to the Kel Rela and the Iklan Taoussit.

Aïtoklane

Center located in the Sersouf wadi 40 kilometers south of Tazerouk. Long abandoned, now cultivated. Far from the automobile roads, this center is rarely visited. The cultivable area is great.

Tin-Tarabin

In the Tin-Tarabin wadi, away from the automobile roads, this center is rarely visited. Abandoned, then revived a short time ago. This center could prosper, for the cultivable area is large.

Tadjmout

Located on the road from Tamanrasset to In-Salah in the intra-tassili depression of the Mouydir tassili. A few gardens belonging to the Kel Immidir. Palm trees (about 100 grow freely in the gorge one kilometer from the road).

Izghan -- Izeghaf -- Djoraf

Abaondoned centers in the interior of the tassili massif. Numerous palms belonging to the Kel Immidir and the Kel Ahnet. These sites are never visited and remain unknown to all.

Tin-Teredjine

Upstream in the Teredjine wadi (In-Guezzam road). Tiggert, abundant water, abandoned garden. Tomatoes /197/ grow without being cared for. An Adjouh n'Téhélé family gathers them from time to time.

Inroudiden

In the Tahelra massif (south of Tiffert), in the Inozzorou wadi, a tributary of the Tinef. Owners: Iklan Taoussit. Unimportant.

Isernan and Sédéouen

During rainy years, gardens are established upstream from the tiggert in these two wadis, tributaries of the In-Dalag wadi.

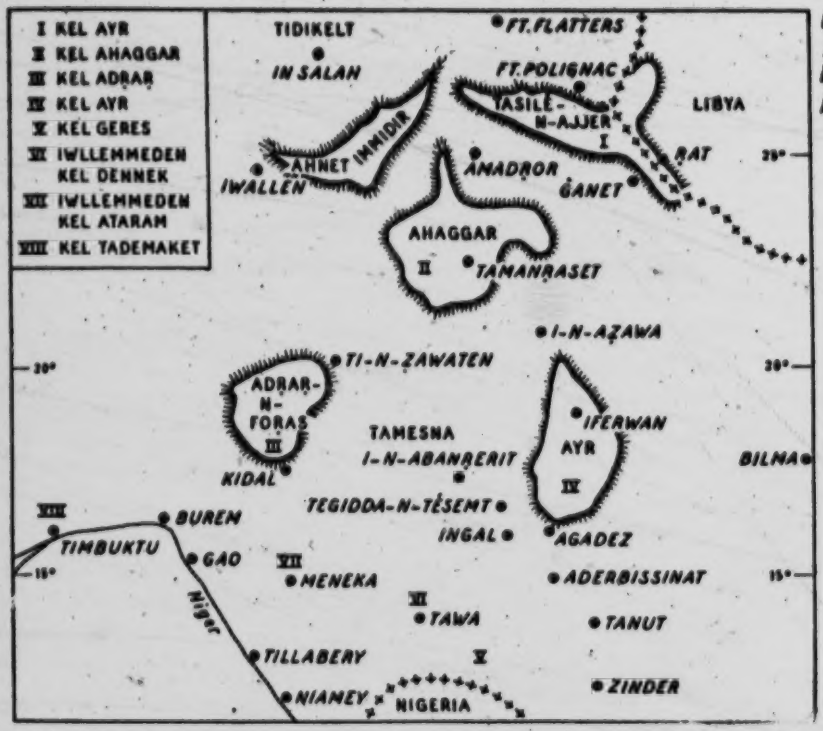


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Fig. 1. Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese [illegible] inhabited by the Tuareg who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups, as mentioned in the text, are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. The *Kel Tademaket* Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 125 kilometres.

known and used particularly by women. There are slight distinctions in the characters of the alphabet 212
used by various Tuareg groups. I here reproduce the characters generally used in Ahaggar (Tasilé-n-
Ajjer) and in Ayr. In transcribing *tifinar* into the Roman alphabet I have on the whole adopted the [104]
system used by Foucauld who has made the most profound studies of the northern dialect (Foucauld
1918–20, 1920, 1925–30, 1940, 1951–52), but certain alterations have been made in agreement with
the proposal of K.-G. Prasse. The Ayr dialect is very badly known. Its grammar and its peculiar [114]
vocabulary has never been studied.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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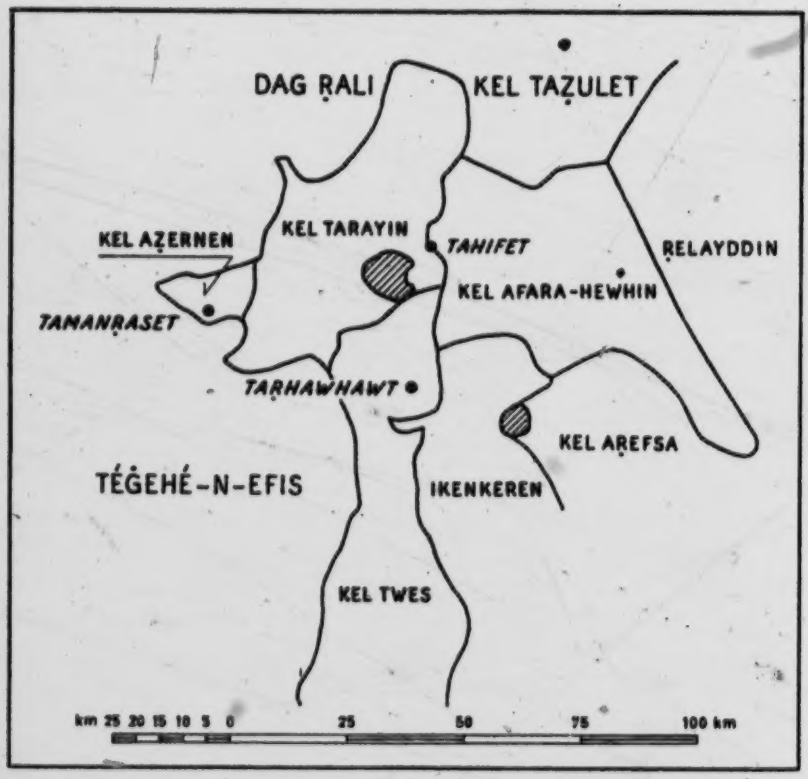


Fig. 104. Map showing the sub-areas of the territory of the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe. The sub-areas have no proper limits towards the south where the country changes into barren and uninhabited desert. The hatched areas are mountainous regions which are not considered parts of sub-areas. West of the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* territory is the territory of the *Téǵehé-n-Efis* tribe where two sections of the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* have their normal grazing grounds. To the north are the territories of the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Kel Taẓulet* tribes. The *Kel Azernen* section frequently camps in the *Dag Ṛali* territory and intermarries with the *Kel Tamaiwaset* section of that tribe. To the east is the territory of the *Ṛelayddin* who are now considered part of the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé*. The *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* territory chiefly belongs to the *Abada* zone, but the northern parts of the two northernmost sub-areas are within the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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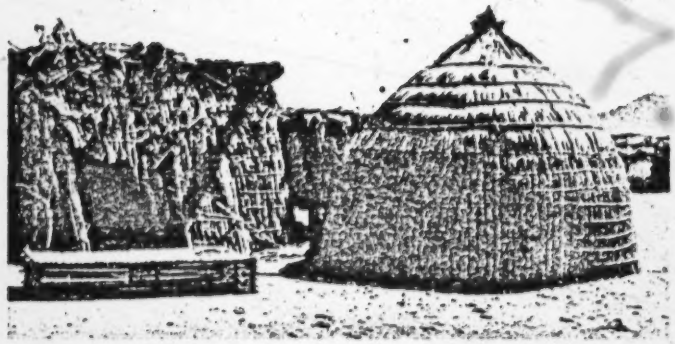

[352]

Fig. 257. A square *téjira* hut (left) and a beehive hut of the *taṭṛamt* type (right). To the left is also seen a bed of palm fronds lashed together with hide. These beds are used by sedentary agriculturists. Ayr, Awderas.

palm leaves. The upper part of the hut is generally covered with palm leaves kept together by means of outer circular rods, but, before the roof is laid on, a small plaited mat attached to a wooden frame and known as *tégelengelt* (pl. *tigelengelin*) is placed over the top of the structure as a protection against rain. Seen from the outside beehive huts of this type bear a resemblance to cylindrical huts with conical roofs. Beehive huts of the structure just described vary much in size. A normal hut is about 1.75–2.00 metres high with a diameter of about 2.50–3.00 metres.

Beehive huts possibly different from those mentioned above are described by Rodd. They are said to have a frame made of palm-frond ribs planted in the ground and tied together at the top, and according to illustrations they are covered exclusively with straw. Rodd's illustrations of beehive huts are taken from the villages of Towar and Timia (Rodd 1926a, p. 184, pl. 20). Huts akin to those mentioned by Rodd have also been depicted by Buchanan (Buchanan 1926, p. 140).

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Beehive huts are extremely common in Southern Tuareg countries and adjacent regions. In Ayr I have seen beehive huts of the *taṭṛamt* type in all villages visited from Iferwan to Agadez, and they also occur in Damergu together with cylindrical huts with conical roofs. I have not seen beehive huts at Zinder, but they are found among the sedentary Hausa of the Birni – N'Koni region – according to the excellent exhibition of the IFAN Museum at Niamey. Hausa beehive huts differ as to construction. Some huts have a cylindrical wall built of mud and supporting the roof, which may also be plastered with mud at the inner side, while other huts have a cylindrical mud wall inside the lower part of the structure and a pronged central post to support the roof. There are also very simple beehive huts which serve for sleeping huts; they are sometimes placed upon high platforms where mosquitoes are less embarrassing. Beehive huts are extremely common along the Niger where I have seen them

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



these regions and are now extremely rich in stock, though they are said to have had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr for the southlands in the 18th century. 174 175

The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg who probably came to Ayr in the 14th century took up grazing grounds in Central and Eastern Ayr. There were originally seven tribes of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, and five of these still exist. Like the *Itésen* and most other Tuareg, these tribes claim descent from a common ancestress. But the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg have largely mixed with the negroid village population which is also now known as *Kel Ewey*, and there are very few fair-skinned pastoralists among them nowadays. Barth mentions that the true *Kel Ewey* tribes are related to the very powerful tribe of *Uraṛen* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372).

As to the origin of the noble nuclei of the two important drum-groups of *Kel Ferwan* and *Kel Faday*, the date of their arrival is most difficult to determine. The name of the *Kel Ferwan* is derived from the village of Iferwan in the north (*Kel Ferwan* = "the people of Iferwan") but they were nevertheless true nomads who originally lived in Northern Ayr. Urvoy thinks that they came to Ayr at the same time as the *Kel Ewey* or somewhat later, and that they lived in Northern Ayr around Iferwan until the 17th century when they moved southwards to the region of Agadez. But this statement is not in agreement with traditions I have collected in Ayr. It is perhaps not to be taken very seriously that all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they came to Ayr before other Tuareg groups, but the present Sultan *Umar* of Agadez says that all Tuareg groups now living in Ayr had arrived in the country when the sultanry was established in the year 1405 A.D., at which time the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg lived at Tafadek north of Agadez. There are different traditions about the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. One mentioned by Urvoy claims Egypt as their homeland; this probably implies immigration from or via the Fezzan (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). Barth says they are related to the *Uraṛen* (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 385). According to my own investigations they came from a country situated towards the east or northeast, or from Awjila, but there are also many Tuareg of this group who claim that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg originally lived in Ahaggar as close kinsmen to the dominating *Kel Ṛela* tribe of that region. Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg will even go so far as to hold that even after their arrival in Ayr they continued to intermarry with the *Kel Ṛela* of Ahaggar. According to Nicolas their ancestress is named *Tadawelt* (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474), while I have been told her name was *Sabenas*. [103]

As to the origin of the *Kel Faday*, their name is derived from a mountainous part of Northern Ayr. According to Urvoy they migrated southwards towards the south-west to the region of Ingal, where they took up grazing grounds at the end of the 18th century (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). The *Kel Faday* Tuareg are said to be related to the *Taytok* of Ahaggar (Duveyrier 1864, p. 322; Urvoy 1936, p. 150; Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Barth however is of the opinion that they came from different regions but in particular from Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 384).

Among the latest Tuareg immigrants are to be mentioned the *Kel Tamat* who came possibly three or four centuries ago. Urvoy mentions Ahaggar as their homeland (Urvoy 1936, p. 150), while Nicolas says they are related to the *Uraṛen* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471). Even later came the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who in Ayr attached themselves to the *Kel Tamat*. According to Urvoy they came from Ahaggar (Urvoy 1936, p. 151), according to Nicolas they descend partly from the *Taytok* of Ahaggar, partly from the *Imanṛasaten* and the *Uraṛen* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Tuareg of the *Ikezkezen* told me that they are related to the *Uraṛen*.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



According to the *Agadez Chronicle* five tribes of the *Itésen* went out to discover a Sultan. They found him in a country written in translations *Arim Sotafan* (Palmer 1936, p. 55) or *A'arem-Cattafane* (Urvoy 1934, p. 154). The meaning of this word – correctly written *Arrem Settefen* – is "black town". This seems to indicate that the first Sultan came from a Sudanese state, and it is stated by all Tuareg that all known Sultans of Agadez have been black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives, the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office. 175 643

The fact that the Sultan of Agadez has four ministers like most kings of Sudanese states (cf. Frobenius, Atlas Africanus, H.3; Baumann 1940, p. 58) may perhaps point to a connection between the establishment of the Ayr Sultanry and the Sudan, and this seems also to be intimated in the *Agadez Chronicle*. Nevertheless, the popular tradition about the origin of the Ayr Sultanry goes against this assumption. For it is told all over Ayr, both among Tuareg and the so-called *Imeggedezen*, that the first Sultan of Agadez came from Constantinople. This tradition, which is not mentioned in the *Agadez Chronicle*, is also claimed to be true by the present Sultan of Agadez. He says that the *Itésen* tribes, or representatives from these tribes, went to Constantinople to ask the Sultan to give them one of his sons as the first Sultan over Ayr. The Sultan of Constantinople had three fair-skinned wives who all refused to let their sons go to Ayr with the deputation. But he also had four black-skinned wives or concubines and the first of them who was asked to let her son become the Sultan over Ayr agreed. So it happened that the deputation of *Itésen* Tuareg returned to Agadez with their first Sultan who patrilineally is descended from the Sultan of Constantinople, matrilineally from a slave woman. There are some people who claim this tradition to be spurious, but it is admitted by most people as a true account of the origin of the Ayr Sultanry. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg it is claimed that the Sultan was fetched by people of the *Kel Ferwan* group, or that the *Itésen* deputation was sent out to fetch the Sultan on the initiative of the *Kel Ferwan* group. This variation of the tradition is also recognized by the present Sultan. [645] 173 643

In the *Agadez Chronicle* we are told that the Sultan at first had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chaman from where he moved to Agadez which seem to have been founded as a city at the middle of the 15th century A.D., a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Ayr (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 102, 364 f., 409; Urvoy 1936, p. 164). 175 643 [103]

The present Sultan *Umar*, who has reigned since 1919, says that the first Sultan who came to Ayr had the great task to learn the Ayr Tuareg good manners of living. Before the establishment of the Sultanry the whole country of Ayr had been dominated by the *Izran* (of the Lake Tchad region) who had claimed as their annual tribute a young girl from all Tuareg tribes of Ayr. When the first Sultan arrived the Tuareg lived like donkeys in the rocks. They had extremely bad manners, and there were even people who married with their sisters. The Sultan taught them good manners and brought justice and order to the country. He was the true owner of the land from the northern outskirts of Ayr to the region of Madawa where the *Kel Geres* Tuareg now live. He divided the land between the main groups of Tuareg, and allotted to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who lived around Tafadek a large part of Ayr up to 173 643

Tamga'azellet, ancient tribe of Ayr 412
Taytok, noble tribe, Ah. 3, 15, 34, 140, 155, 217, 219, 395-399, 401-403, 406, 408, 413, 414
Teğehe Mellet, noble tribe, Ahaggar 395, 396, 399, 406
Tégehé-n-Efis, vassal tribe, Ah. 4, 130, 140, 145, 147, 356
Tégehé-n-Elimen, ancient name of the Aguh-en-tehlé tribe, Ah., 140
Tengerregif, Tuareg group of the Kel Tademaket 7, 8, 294, 303, 362, 365, 371
Tindeku, section of the Igendéynen tribe, formerly the slaves of that tribe, Ayr 423
Ti-temekkeret, the dominant tribe of the Kel Geres 432
Urajen, the leading noble tribe of the Kel Ajjer 2, 105, 115, 147, 336, 393-395, 398, 410, 412, 413, 490
Wochimbagen, probably wa chenbeyen "the black-headed one" = black-smith (Ayr, ténet word) 20

## GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Abada, the lowlying country of Ahaggar 29, 129, 130, 145, 147, 149, 179
Abalemma, well, grazing ground south of the Ayr Massif 424
Abalessa, village, Ah. 2, 3, 18, 20, 28, 42, 49, 100, 128, 150, 184-188, 190-194, 200, 205, 207, 212, 235, 252, 258-260, 263, 266, 267, 275, 284, 329 331, 338, 339, 369, 379, 406 408
- sub-area of the Dag Rali territory, Ah. 148
Ader, part of the Iwi. Kel Dennek country 340
Aderbissinat, village, Damergu 4, 9, 164, 168, 294, 421, 426
Adrar-n-Foras, the Iforas Mountains, 6-9, 18, 25, 26, 33, 42, 52, 83, 110, 113, 160, 210, 224, 308, 313, 320, 339, 357, 373, 406, 425, 485
Afara, region covered with persistent vegetation, Tas.-n-Aj. 2, 339
Afarak, valley north of Agadez, Ayr 3, 425
Agadez (Égedez), the capital of Ayr 3, 4, 9, 14, 22, 23, 26, 27, 32, 48, 50, 52, 55, 63, 78, 81, 93, 94, 111-113, 119, 121, 167, 200, 201, 203, 205, 210, 211, 213-215, 218, 233, 237, 252, 258, 260-262, 269, 295, 298, 299, 302, 303, 306, 327-329, 344, 355, 368, 412, 414-420, 427, 430, 474, 481
Ağelhok, well, valley, Ad.-n-Fr. 27
Ahaggar, mentioned throughout the text
Aharhar, valley, Tas.-n-Aj. 2, 185, 339
Ahnet, mountain massif 3, 7, 9, 25, 27, 31, 42, 63, 128, 131, 157, 176, 200, 208, 210, 212, 218, 219, 397, 491
Akadaney, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 424
Akal-ereren, sub-area of the Dag Rali tribe, Ah. 148
Alarses, village close to Agadez, Ayr 3, 201, 202
Amadror, salt pit north-east of Ahaggar 9, 210, 211, 214-216, 218
Amsel, village, Ah. 3, 42, 49, 188, 191, 334
Anahef, mountain massif, Ah. 25
Anoyaran, grazing ground, Ayr 424
Anu Mekkeren, valley of Central Ayr 108, 167, 412, 432
Anwacher, grazing ground, Ayr 424
Anyalen, grazing ground, Ayr 424
Arakayana, quarter of the village Abalessa, Ah. 329
Arawan, town (village) of the Azawad desert 294
Arechchum, sub-area of the Dag Rali tribe, Ah. 148
Arrem Settefen, "black town (village)", the unknown homeland of the first Sultan of Agadez 415
Asckrem, mountain plateau, Ah. 179, 408
Asodey, the ancient capital of the Anesiafidet, Kel Ewey, Ayr 416
Asongo, town on the Niger 297, 358
Assa, valley, grazing ground north of Agadez, Ayr 425
Atakor, the highest mountain massif of Ahaggar 25, 31, 129, 130, 145, 147, 149, 179, 365, 492, 493
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Awjila, 412-414, 421
Awlef, oasis of Tidikelt 210
Ayoru, town on the Niger 168, 302, 308, 345, 357, 361, 372, 373, 457
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Azawad, desert north of the Niger Bend 307
Azawar, the plains south-west of Ayr 49, 52, 132, 133, 154, 214, 412
Azben, the Hausa word for Ayr 32
Azel, valley of Northern Ayr 3
Azzal, village near Agadez, Ayr 3, 347, 348
Begzen, mountains, Ayr 3, 25, 26, 113, 307
Beynabu, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 424
Bilma, oasis east of Ayr 9, 132, 214-216, 218, 416
Birni N'Konni, town near the Nigerian border 344
Blanko, village between Tanut and Zinder 416
Bukhelfa, quarter of the village Abalessa, Ah. 329
Burem, town on the Niger 9, 27, 357
Burhal, valley near Agadez, important grazing ground 423
Dabaga, valley north of Agadez, Ayr 208
Damergu, the plains south of the Ayr Massif 10, 21, 35, 110, 111, 153, 202, 207, 213, 214, 216, 233, 239, 253, 340, 344, 358, 412, 417, 422
Dori, town west of Niamey 457
Édeles, village, Ah. 27
Éderi, village, Fezzan (ac. to Barth) 339

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25




●103 Éfeli-n-Dag Ḫali, quarter of the village Abalessa, Ah. 329
Éherir, valley, Tas.-n-Aj. 185, 330
Ékawél, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 424
Éknawen, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 423
Elbarbar, name of an eastern country said to be the homeland of all Tuareg 414
Éleleg, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 424
Éléẓi, Fr. Polignac, Tas.-n-Aj. 2, 289, 336
Emdegra, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 424
Ennedid, village, Ah. 3, 406
Gao (correctly Gewgo), 9, 27, 298, 345, 357, 371, 414, 434, 457
Gufat, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 423, 424
Ganet, oasis, Tas.-n-Aj. 2, 9, 18, 20, 27, 32, 160, 187, 215, 303, 332, 334, 393-395
Idukalen, mountains, Ayr 25
Iferwan, village, Northern Ayr 3, 9, 22, 27, 50, 165, 204-207, 254, 260, 332, 333, 339, 342-344, 413, 421
Iglen, cultivation centre, Ah. 3
Ilaman, mountain, Ah. 25
Imechchamelawen, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 424
Immidir, mountain massif, Ah. 7, 9, 25, 27, 176, 496
I-n-abanṭerit, well, Tamesna Plains 4, 7, 9, 31, 366, 371, 383
I-n-aǧriwal, cultivation centre, Ah. 149
I-n-azawa (Ayr), I-n-azawa (Ah.), well north of Ayr 3, 9, 215, 485
I-n-dalag, cultivation centre, Ah. 2, 149, 276
– sub-area of the Dag Ḫali territory, Ah. 148
I-n-abeggi, well south-east of Ahaggar 3, 215
Ingal, village west of Agadez, Ayr 4, 7, 9, 22, 23, 31, 51, 164, 201, 213-215, 329, 339, 340, 360, 378, 416-418
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In Salah (correctly Insalakh), oasis, Tidikelt 2, 3, 9, 200, 210, 282, 303, 312
I-n-ẓawen, cultivation centre, Ah. 331
Iṛarṛaren, valley, Tas.-n-Aj. 394
Iskram, sub-area of the Dag Ḫali territory, Ah. 148
Iwallen, well or water-hole west of Ahnet, Ah. 9, 27
Katsena, town, N. Nigeria 422
Kidal, the capital of Adṛar-n-Foṛas 9, 27, 42, 373
Kurubobo, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 424
Madawa, town near the Nigerian border 412, 415, 417
Maramaru, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 423
Meneka, town in the country of Iwl. Kel Ataram 7, 9, 27, 52, 298, 303, 424, 434
Meygawey, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 424
Rhergo, town or village on the Niger 357
Ḫadames, oasis 12, 27, 186, 219, 303, 338, 394, 405
Ḫat, oasis 2, 9, 12, 18, 27, 160, 186, 187, 215, 219, 282, 303, 323, 411, 414, 457
Serdeles, oasis north of Ḫat 282
Silet, cultivation centre, Ah. 2, 150, 185, 187, 330, 338, 340, 405, 406
Sokoto, town, N. Nigeria 301
Tabankort, valley, watering place, Ad.-n-Fr. 357
Tabello, Ayr 203
Tabeydag, village, Ayr 3
Tadeliza, cultivation centre, Ayr 415
Tademaket (Es Suk), ancient town, Ad.-n-Fr. 320
Tafadek, watering place, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 7, 413, 415, 424, 425
Tagedufat, well south of Ayr 421
Taǧmart, sub-area of the Dag Ḫali territory, Ah. 148
Taǧnut, cultivation centre, Ah. 3, 186
Tahart, cultivation centre, Ah. 3, 406
Tahat, mountain, Ah. 25
– sub-area of the Dag Ḫali territory 148
Tahifet, cultivation centre, Ah. 145, 149
Talak, plains west of Ayr 4, 23, 26, 416, 423
Tamanṛaset, the capital of Ahaggar 2, 3, 9, 14, 26, 27, 43, 48, 50, 65, 66, 78, 79, 115, 145, 149, 187, 205, 210, 212, 215, 231, 233, 236, 240, 241, 244, 248, 249, 252, 259, 263, 266, 274, 301, 329, 448, 486
Tamengoyt, waterhole north of Ayr 3
Tamesna, plains west of Ayr 3, 7, 9, 26, 33, 52, 53, 59, 61, 133, 150, 210, 211, 213, 277, 308, 364, 366, 367, 370, 371, 379, 383, 398, 399, 437
Tamgak, mountains Ayr, 25, 108, 165
Tanut, town, Damergu 9, 110, 210, 213, 214, 416
Taṛayin, the middle mountain zone, Ah. 31, 129, 130, 145
Targa (Ayr), Tarǧa (Ah.), Fezzan, name of ancient Tuareg people 12, 410, 411
Taṛhawhawt, cultivation centre, Ah. 3, 42, 145, 149, 163, 189, 191, 197, 241, 248
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Tasilé-ta-n-Ahaggar, mountains south of Ahaggar 25
Tawa, Ṭawa in Ah., capital of Iwl. Kel Dennek country 4, 6, 7, 9, 27, 119, 210, 218, 282, 356, 412, 433, 485
Ṭawat, the oases north-west of Ahaggar, including Tidikelt 18, 200, 203, 282, 411
Tédeyin, valley, grazing ground north of Agadez, Ayr 425
Téfedest, mountain massif, Ah. 7, 25, 31, 288
Tegama, region south of Ayr 412
Tegidda-n-edrar, well west of Agadez, Ayr 4, 7, 132, 457
Tegidda-n-tagayt, well, cultivation centre west of Agadez, Ayr 4, 7, 132, 133, 330
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Tekhammalt, valley, Tas.-n-Aj. 394

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Tdlewa, valley, grazing ground, Ayr 423, 425
Telhecham, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 423
Temenţiţ, oasis of Tawat 18
Tereszet, valley, grazing ground near Agadez, Ayr 423
Terhenanet, cultivation centre, Ah. 2, 187
Tesawa, town of the Kel Geres country 7, 27, 421
Téwendegit, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 423
Tezza, mountain, sub-area of the Dag Ḃali territory 148
Tibeghin, cultivation centre, Ah. 150, 185, 187
Tillabery, town on the Niger 9
Timbuktu (correctly Tinbuktu), 6, 7, 9, 113, 168, 170, 217-219, 294, 345, 358, 388, 393, 414, 416, 434
Timia, village, Ayr 217, 293, 344
Ti-n-amenser, cultivation centre, Ah. 3
Ti-n-Chaman, Ayr 415
Ti-n-Dawin, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 424
Tindar, quarter of the village Abalessa, Ah. 329
Ti-n-Tebezgin, valley, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 423
Ti-n-Teburak, valley, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 423
Ti-n-zawaten, watering place north of Adrar-n-Foras 9, 131
Tirezrin, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 424
Tit, village, Ah. 2, 187, 330, 399, 409
Tombalaga, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 424
Towar, village, Ayr 344
Turuf, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 424
Uraren, grazing grounds, Northern Ayr 423
Utul, cultivation centre, Ah. 2, 3, 335
Wan Abu, Tas.-n-Aj. 159
Zinder (correctly Zender), 3, 4, 9, 210, 241, 344, 416, 485
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Afareḳ, Ah. 148
Agg-Elkhir, late drum-chief of the Kel Ferwan 419, 426, 427, 462
Ag-Mama, Amenukal of Ahaggar about 1830 397
Ahitarel, Amenukal of Ahaggar 1877-1900 397
Akawali, Ah. 149
Akhamuk, Amenukal of Ahaggar 1920-1941 379, 397
Akhasen, Ah. 148
Akhenukhen, supreme chief of the Uraren and the Kel Ajjer (19th century) 395
Akkar, a supreme chief of the now extinct Isebeten tribe 408
Amder, chief of the Kel Tahabanat of the Iwi. Kel Ataram 5, 372, 373, 377, 435, 437
Amenukal, son of Sabenas, the ancestress of the noble Kel Ferwan 426
Amma, Ah. 148
Arumbulu, chief of the Ifesen Tuareg when the Ayr Sultanry was established 412, 414
Atisi, Amenukal of Ahaggar 1900-1905 397
Azerezzer, chief of Iferwan at the time of Sabenas' arrival in Ayr 421
Azeror, late drum-chief of the Kel Ferwan 426
Bay, Amenukal of Ahaggar from 1950 397, 403, 411
Bubeker, late drum-chief of the Kel Ferwan 426
Bukha, present drum-chief of the Kel Ferwan 426, 427
Buskeyas, Ah. 148
Danguchi, Ah. chief of the Dag Ḃali tribe 148
Demoni, Ah. 148
Deyni, Ah. 149
Éfis, Ah. ancestor of the Téghé-n-Efis tribe 140
Elkarebi, son of the ancestress of the noble Kel Ferwan, Sabenas 426
Elkhaj Akhmed, Amenukal of Ahaggar 1830-1877 18, 187, 397
Émenni ag-Khedidda, Ah. descendant of the Isebeten tribe 408
Ésebet, Ah. a woman's name 408
Guma, Tuareg of the Uraren who killed the supreme chief of the Imenan 393, 395
Hanu, Ah. 149
Joluta, ac. to tradition a rumi who built the tomb of Ti-n-Hinan 407
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Kawchen, the leader of the great Tuareg revolt in Ayr 1917 489
Kella, Ah. the ancestress of the noble Kel Ḃela tribe 140, 395
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Khofa, Ah. 149
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Kutiya, late drum-chief of the Kel Ferwan 426
Lemta, the ancestor of the Ilemedyen tribe 411
Lemtuna, ac. to tradition the ancestress of all Tuareg 405
Lowayen, Ah. the ancestor of the Ayt Lowayen tribe 140
Marli agg Amayas, Ah. khalifa of the Ahaggar Amenukal, Bay 403
Meslar, Amenukal of Ahaggar 1941-1950 397
Mokhammed, late drum-chief of the Kel Ferwan 426
Mokhammed ag-Kerku, Ah. a descendant of the Isebeten tribe 408
Mokhammed ag Mokhammed, drum-chief of the Taytoḳ of Ahaggar 399
Mokhammed Aman, son of the ancestress of the noble Kel Ferwan, Sabenas 426

country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote, 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the latest major episodes in a general southwestward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

The military administrative unit known as the *Amexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds fairly closely to the present normal range of the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabitants in 1950), and supports a total native population of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

**Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these are divided into tribes which are subdivided into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] [6] A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

[7] Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in as many different ways as are the geographical names of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

[8] A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

4: Benhazera--vii G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

TAMASHEK ALPHABET

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Method of Transcription Adopted

| Forms of the Letters | Names | Value | Arabic Equivalents | Observations |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| • | t'arerit | A I OU | ا و ي | |
| ⊖ ⊟ | ieb | B | ب | |
| + | iet | T | ت | |
| ⌶ | iej | J | ج | With the Kel Rela |
| ∷ | iekh | KH | خ | Spanish J |
| V ∧ ⊓ ⊔ | ied | D | د | |
| ⧗ | iez | Z (soft) | between ز and ذ | |
| ◻ ○ | ier | R | ر | |
| ⊡ ⊙ | ies | S | س | |
| ⧈ | iech | CH | ش | |
| ∃ | iedh | DH | ض | |
| ⇤ | iedht (iett) | TT | ط | |
| # | iezz | Z' or ZZ | between ز and ظ | |
| ⁝ | ier' | R' | غ | (1) |

(1) The transcription by R' is preferable to that by GH, which is generally used. In fact it is best to write R'adamès, R'ardaïa

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| Forms of the Letters | Names | Value | Arabic Equivalents | Observations |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ⵅ ⵉ ⵀ |ief | F | ف | |
| ⵇ | ieq | Q | ق | |
| ⵅ | iek | K | ك | |
| ⵍ | iel | L | ل | |
| ⵎ | iemm | M | م | |
| ⵏ | ienn | N | ن | |
| ⵀ | ieh | H (aspirate) | ه | |
| ⵓ | ieou | OU | و | |
| ⵢ ⵉ ⵢ | iey | Y | ي | |
| ⵊ | iej | j | ج | Among the Taïtoq |
| ⵖ | iegue | Gu (before e, i); G (before a, o, u) | ق | |
| ⵜ | iedj | Dj | between ج and ق | Special pronunciation |

Radamès and Rardaïa, than to write Ghadamès and Ghardaïa and pronounce Gadamès and Gardaïa. The first transcription is closer to the true pronunciation.

Note: The Arab ح (H') has no equivalent in Tamashek. The Tuareg always pronounce it KH ( خ ). Thus they say Mokhammed for Mohammed; El Khadj for El Hadj.

The Arabic ع (âa) no longer has an equivalent in Tamashek. The Tuareg always pronounce it R' ( غ ). Thus they say R'ali for Ali; br'ir for bâïr. /xix/

4: Benhazera--ix G-5 (1905)1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## COMPOSITE LETTERS

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| Forms | Names | Value | Arabic Equivalents |
|---|---|---|---|
| | iebt | bt | بت |
| | iejt | jt | جت |
| | iert | rt | رت |
| | ieft | ft | فت |
| | iemt | mt | مت |
| | iecht | cht | شت |
| | iennt | nt | نت |
| | ielt | lt | لت |
| | iest | st | ست |
| | iezzt | zt | زت |
| | iennb | nb | نب |
| | iennd | nd | ند |
| | ienngue | ng | نڭ |
| | ienn | nn | نن |
| | iennk | nk | نك |

4: Benhazera-- x G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



Arab or Tamashek Words Used in this Study

***Abetor'*** ..... Waterskin.
***Abser'*** ..... Acacia arabica.
***Afezzou*** ..... Panicum turgidum. Graminaceae.
***Aguezzeram*** .. Star lizard.
***Ahal*** ..... Musical meeting.
***Akh.*** ..... Milk.
***Alhinen*** ..... Genii.
***Amenokal*** ... Chief of a confederation of Tuareg tribes.
***Amezar'*** ..... Group of several tents, a douar.
***Amr'ar*** ..... Chief of a noble tribe or of an imr'ad fraction.
***Amr'id*** ..... Tributary, bondsman, client. Subject to a noble to whom he pays a tribute. In the plural: imr'ad.
***Amz'ad*** ..... A kind of violin with a single string.
***Anou*** ..... A well.
***Ar'ata*** ..... Varan, a large lizard. Synonym: ourane, uran.
***Aremmas*** .... Atriplex halimus. Salsolaceae.
***Ar'er*** ..... Shield.
***Az'ekka*** ..... Grave.
***Bazina*** ..... Ancient grave, shaped like a small tower.
***Bechna*** ..... White-grain sorghum. Graminaceae.
***Berdi*** ..... Typha angustifolia. Typhaceae.
***Bir*** ..... A well.
***Botta*** ..... Box of hide made in the A'ir. It is made in all sizes. /xxii/

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*Chegga*.....Blue cotton cloth, dyed with indigo which comes off easily.
*Chemma*.....Snuff.
*Chih*.....Artemisia herba-alba. Composeae.
*Chouchat*....Ancient grave in the shape of a truncated cone.
*Diss*.....Imperata cylindrica. Graminaceae.
*Djinns*.....Genii.
*Djohala*.....Pagans.
*Dobb*.....Star lizard.
*Drinn*.....Arthraterum pungens. Graminaceae.
*Ethel*.....Tamarix articulata. Tamaricaceae.
*El yatil*.....A kind of acacia.
*Gueto/*.....Atriplex halimus. Salsolaceae.
*Guerba*.....Waterskin.
*Had*.....Cornulaca monacantha. Salsolaceae.
*Haïk*.....Garment. A long, narrow piece of woolen cloth.
*Haouli*.....Synonym for haïk.
*Harratine*..Colored men, mulattoes. In the singular: hartani.
*Hegueb*.....Camel-hair rope which serves to hold on a mehari saddle.
*Ibiiar'*.....Waterskins.
*Ihaggaren*..Nobles.
*Ihallen*.....Musical meetings. Plural of ahat.
*Ikerhi*.....Tuareg woman's veil.
*Imr'ad*.....Clients, tributaries, who pay a tribute to the nobles. In the singular: amr'id.
*Imz'aden*...Plural of amz'ad, a kind of violin with a single string.
*Inelli*.....White-grain sorghum. Graminaceae.
*Ir'atimen*...Sandals made in the Aïr. Habitual Tuareg footgear.
*Izabbaren*..Ogres. Plural of zabbar.
*Iz'ekouane*..Graves. Plural of az'ekka.
*Kehal*.....Black material which is used for face veils.
*Kel Esouf*...People of the void, or ghosts. /xxiii/

4: Benhazera--xii G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
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*Kessa* ..... Synonym for haïk.
*Mahmoudi*... White cotton cloth.
*Malti*..... Unbleached calico.
*Merokba*..... Panicum turgidum. Graminaceae.
*Mezoued* ..... Leather bag in the shape of a waterskin for holding food provisions.
*Mitqal*..... Piece of money. Value 2.50 francs.
*Oudi*..... Butter.
*Ourane* ..... Varan, a large lizard.
*R'ouaouet* ... Pagans.
*Sebkha*..... Salt lake, salt pit. /Also sebka in English./
*Taba* ..... Smoking tobacco.
*Tadjart* ..... A kind of acacia.
*Tadjethé*..... Violin, "amz'ad," bow.
*Tagalt*..... Bride price.
*Taheli*..... Typha angustifolia. Typhaceae.
*Takouba* .... Large double-edged Tuareg saber.
*Tamaheq* .... Name of the language spoken by the northern Tuareg.
*Tamat* ..... A kind of acacia.
*Tanekfaït*.... Diplotaxis duveyrierana. Cruciferae.
*Tchoqqit*..... Name for chegga in Tamashek.
*Teborak*..... Balanites aegyptica. Simaroubaceae.
*Teheredjelé*... Artemisia herba-alba. Composeae.
*Terik* ..... Mehari saddle.
*Tidjelmoust*.. Face veil.
*Tifinar's* .... Term for the symbols of the Tamashek language.
*Tikamarine*.. Dry cheeses from the Aïr.
*Tioussé*..... Tribute paid by the imr'ad to the nobles.
*Tobol*..... Group of tribes subject to the authority of the same chief. The right to command over the imr'ad and to the collecting of the tioussé.
*Toulloult* ... Arthraterum pungens. Graminaceae.
*Tounine*.... A well.
*Zabbar*..... Ogre.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



on the Air Tuareg. I wish to express my sincere thanks to the above mentioned foundations and their directors. 122

For the transcription of Tuareg letters I have on the whole adopted Foucauld's system (cf. Foucauld 1920 & 1951–52):- 104 212

| Tuareg Letters (*Tifinaq*) | Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters | | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| ⵓ | b | ب | |
| ⵛ | ch | ش | |
| ⵔ | d | د | |
| ⵉ | ḍ | ض | Emphatic |
| ⵖ | f | ف | |
| ⵗ | g | | Hard |
| ⵊ | ǧ | | A peculiar soft pronunciation something between g, d, j, and i |
| ⵀ | h | ه | Aspirated |
| ⵉ | i | ي | Used both as consonant and vowel at the end of a word. At the beginning and in the middle of a word only as consonant. |
| ⵊ | j | | |
| ⵅ | k | ك | |
| ⵇ | q | ق | |
| ⵅ | kh | خ | Foucauld 1951–52 has the transcription ḫ [114] |
| ⵍ | l | ل | |
| ⵎ | m | م | |
| ⵏ | n | ن | |
| ⵄ | ɛ | | Foucauld 1920 does not mention this letter [114] |
| ⵓ | ou | و | Consonant or vowel as for i mentioned above |
| ⵔ | r | ر | |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



| Tuareg Letters (*Tifinagh*) | Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters | | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| ⋮ | r | غ | Prononcunced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in literature. |
| ⊙ | s | س | |
| + | t | ت | |
| ⋿ | ṭ | ط | Emphatic |
| ⋇ | z | ز | |
| ⌗ | ẓ | | Emphatic |

For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that of the maps edited by Institut Géographique National. The pronunciation of vowels is not indicated. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels with a dot, which may stand for any vowel.

*Pastoral Ecology in Ahaggar and Air.*

The Tuareg of the true desert country have their camps in or close to mountain massifs of which the more important are Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. Geographically these two regions have many traits in common. In Ahaggar, which rises to 3000 metres above sea level, the annual precipitation according to official statistics is between 20 mm and 40 mm. These figures are extremely low, but more characteristic of the desert country is the irregularity of the rainfalls. In some years there may fall no rain at all, while in others precipitation is much bigger than appears from the figures above. Several dry years may follow each other alternating with periods of abundant rainfall. According to investigations by Dubiéf four years out of ten are so dry that rainfall is of no importance for the regeneration of pastures (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23). Owing to the scarcity and the fluctuations of precipitation in Ahaggar a persistent vegetation cannot generally exist outside river valleys and depressions which are flooded during heavy rain. In the valleys perennial plants comprise not only grasses and herbs but also tall trees among which tamarisk and acacia are prominent. In dry years the perennial plants have little value as fodder for the domestic animals of the Tuareg. A great many goats may then die from hunger, and to avoid such a disaster some Tuareg take their flocks to the plains of Tamesna or to the Adrar-n-Iforas Mountains where rain is normally more plentiful and grazing better than in Ahaggar. However, even in dry years the majority of Ahaggar Tuareg will remain in their native country with their goat-flocks. For although they run the risk of losing a great many goats during a drought in Ahaggar

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



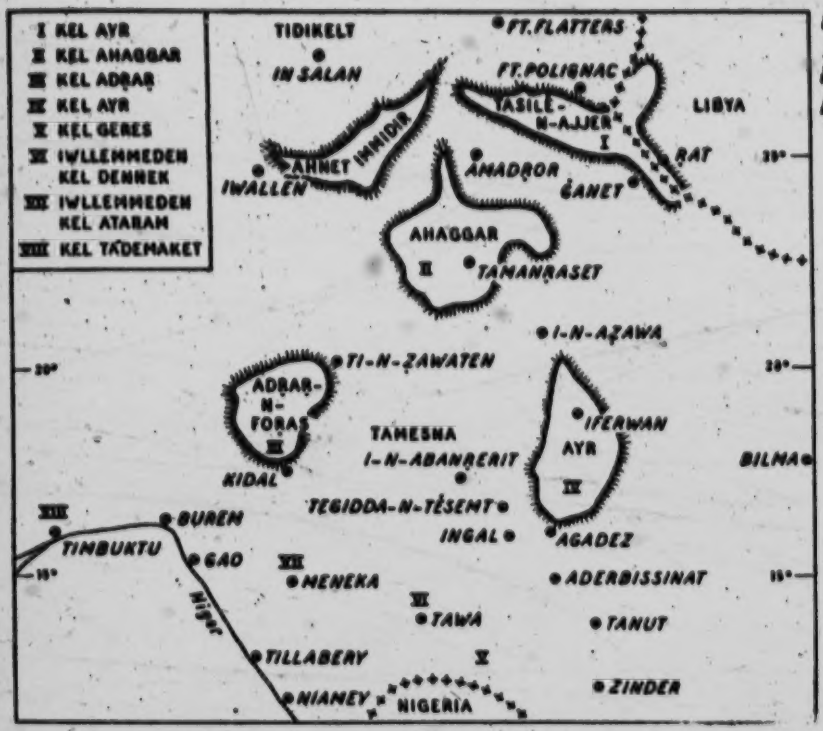


Fig. 1. Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese [illegible] inhabited by the Tuareg who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups, as mentioned in the text, are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. The *Kel Tademaket* Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 125 kilometres.

known and used particularly by women. There are slight distinctions in the characters of the alphabet used by various Tuareg groups. I here reproduce the characters generally used in Ahaggar (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and in Ayr. In transcribing *tifinar* into the Roman alphabet I have on the whole adopted the system used by Foucauld who has made the most profound studies of the northern dialect (Foucauld 1918–20, 1920, 1925–30, 1940, 1951–52), but certain alterations have been made in agreement with the proposal of K.-G. Prasse. The Ayr dialect is very badly known. Its grammar and its peculiar vocabulary has never been studied.

565 619 The true Tuareg in most groups fall into several classes as follows:—

*Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), or *Imajeren* (sing. *Amajer*). These two words designate the supreme Tuareg class which is generally referred to in literature as "nobility". The term *Ihaggaren* is used only among the Northern Tuareg, while *Imajeren* is employed in Ayr and also among Sudanese Tuareg. The two terms are synonymous, and so-called noble Tuareg are found in most Tuareg groups. However, the *Kel Geres* employ the term *Imajeren* for all true Tuareg. Among the *Kel Adrar* certain tribes claim to be noble, but though these tribes have very much the same position as noble tribes in Ahaggar and in Ayr, they are not recognized as true noble Tuareg by people of other groups.

*Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). This class is that of *Mrabetin* or marabuts, the religious class established after the introduction of Islam. In most Tuareg groups there are whole tribes of *Ineslemen* under the leadership of their own chiefs, but in Ahaggar there are only a few scattered families. The political position of the *Ineslemen* varies greatly from one group to another. Certain tribes in Ayr which are *Ineslemen* by origin have the same status as the true vassals to be mentioned below, while other *Ineslemen* tribes like the *Iforas* of the *Kel Aïïer* have much the same status as noble Tuareg with the exception that they have no vassals. The *Ineslemen* perform religious duties connected with certain [793] rites of passage. Any Tuareg can acquire the position of *Aneslem* after training in reading the Koran and education in the divine laws under the tutorship of another *Aneslem* or marabut.

*Echchikhen* (sing. *Echchikh*). This word also refers to people of religious status, and is used almost synonymously with *Ineslemen*. Certain tribes of Ayr (Damergu) have a kind of noble status and possess vassals. The word does not have the meaning of *Echcherifen* (sing. *Echcherif*), which refers to descendants of the Prophet. Individual Tuareg families – particularly in noble tribes – often claim relationship with the Prophet.

*Isekkemaren* (sing. *Asekkemar*). A class which is found only in the two northern groups – particularly among the *Kel Ahaggar*. The *Isekkemaren* Tuareg descend from Arabs, or from unions between Arab men and Tuareg women. They are vassals who have a somewhat different status from that of true vassals, who are mentioned below.

*Iregenaten* (sing. *Aregenat*). This name is not always applied to people of a particular class. It is used as a proper name for one Ahaggar tribe which has its origin from mixed marriages between (noble) Tuareg women and Arabs. In most groups the term *Iregenaten* (*Iregenaten*) is applied to Tuareg descending from unions between noble Tuareg men and vassal women.

212 104 184 Fig. 2. The Tuareg alphabet (*tifinar*). The distinctions between Tuareg alphabets of Ahaggar and Ayr are less essential than appears from this list, for some differences are due to the fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg for certain letters prefer an edged form, the Ayr Tuareg a curved one. But both forms are known to all Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg normally write from the right to the left like the Arabs, while the Ayr Tuareg consider it correct to write the letters in vertical rows from bottom to top. It can be seen from the list that the Ahaggar Tuareg have an alphabet of 25 consonants while the Ayr Tuareg have only 21. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels with a dot, which may stand for any vowel. This simple vowel letter is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tagrelit*, to the Ayr Tuareg as *tetrmelit*. The dialect of the Ayr Tuareg is very little known and most Ayr words mentioned in this study have never been published previously. Even my collection of Ahaggar words seems to contain terms lacking in Foucauld's dictionaries. For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that generally used for geographical maps.

[text continues on p. 12]

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| Ahaggar | | Ayr | | Transcription and value in Arabic letters | | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | yeb | | eb | b | ب | |
| | yech | | ech | ch | ش | |
| | yed | | ed | d | د | |
| | yeḍ | | | ḍ | ض | Emphatic |
| | yef | | ef | f | ف | |
| | yeg | | eg | g | | Hard |
| | yeǧ | | | ǧ | | A peculiar soft pronunciation something between g, d, j, and i |
| | yeh | | eh | h | ه | Aspirated |
| | yey | | ey | y (i) | ى | Used both as consonant and vowel at the end of a word. At the beginning and in the middle of a word only as consonant |
| | yej | | ej | j | | |
| | yek | | ek | k | ك | |
| | yeḳ | | eḳ | ḳ | ق | |
| | yekh | | ekh | kh | خ | Foucauld 1951-52 has the transcription ḫ |
| | yel | | el | l | ل | |
| | yem | | em | m | م | |
| | yen | | en | n | ن | |
| | yeñ | | | ñ | | |
| | yew | | ew | w (u) | و | Consonant or vowel as for i mentioned above |
| | yer | | er | r | ر | |
| | yeṛ | | eṛ | ṛ | غ | Pronounced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in litterature |
| | yes | | es | s | س | |
| | yet | | et | t | ت | |
| | yeṭ | | | ṭ | ط | Emphatic |
| | | | et' | t' | | Palatised t |
| | yez | | ez | z | ز | |
| | yeẓ | | | ẓ | | Emphatic |

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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# Glossary of Tuareg Words

*Normalization advised by K.-G. Prasse*

## GENERAL VOCABULARY

abubah, pl. ibubah (Ah.), cross-cousin 449, 450
abakar (Ah.), ceramic drum 257, 259
abakhul (Ah.), pack-camel 99
abangor (Ah.), dish of untanned skin 233
abatul (Ah.), roasting under the ashes 232, 233, 240, 325
abaun (Ah.), skin bag 93
abayor, water bag 271-274
- (Ayr), the membrane of the placenta (of a she-camel) 57
- (Ayr), camel's neck vein close to the animal's head 122, 123
abba (Ah.), father 449, 450, 453
abegu (Iwl.f, pouch to prevent the sucking of camel calves 311
abegü (Ah.), pouch to prevent the sucking of camel calves 61, 62, 67
abekni (Ah.), hare (*Lepus harterii*) 160
abelbod (Ah.), skin bag 163, 228, 277, 280, 285
abellag (Ah.), a tribute to the Amenukal from his vassals 400, 403, 404
abellengad (Ah.), *Reseda villosa* Coss. 177
aberhoh (Ah.), long-haired dog 114
abernuh (Ah.), burnus 304
aberog (Ayr), greyish camel 64, 96
abezber (Ah.), dish of tender plants of wheat and barley 250
abezey (Ayr), *Cassia tora* L. 181, 243
abhaw (Ah.), reddish-brown camel 96
abiyawi (Ah.), he-goat having no horns 35
abora, sorghum 192, 193, 202
abora maser (Ayr), "Egyptian sorghum", *Zea mays* L. 202
aborak (Ayr), *Balanites aegyptiaca* Del. 121
aboryal (Ah.), *Tribulus alatus* Del. & *T. macropterus* Boiss. 495
abrof (Ah.), cotton blanket 176
abser (Ah.), *Acacia Raddiana* Savi 29, 129, 132, 159, 177, 230, 241, 248, 262, 273, 494
abubaz, pl. ibubazen (Ayr), cross-cousin 429, 451, 452
abuheg (Ah.), type of skin-stockings 303
abuleg (Ah.), he-goat not yet fully grown 34, 35
abunkelu (Ah.), weaned kid 34
aburi, wooden prong attached to a cow's foreleg 51
wooden club 168, 170
- threshing stick 205
abûzag, pl. ibuzagen (Iwl.), a type of skin-stockings 303
abzaw (Ayr), whitish camel 96
abzaw (Ah.), whitish camel 96
achchebket (Ah.), transportation bag of date palm bast 79
acheku (Ayr), *Glossonema Boveanum* Decne 181
achellewen (Ayr, Kel Ewey), *Cistanche* sp. 181
achenkod (Ayr), *Gazella dorcas sp.* 164
acheror (Ayr), *Sorghum virgatum* Stapf 181
achwal (Ayr), locusts 167
adabar (Ayr), cord around the mouth of kids, lambs, etc. to prevent suckling 51
adabun (Ah.), skin bag 279
- (Ah.), basket 266
adalil (Ayr), woman's head-cloth 14, 293, 462
adamam (Ah.), *Ozyris alba* L. 174, 176, 178
adawal (Ah.), he-goat not yet fully grown 34, 35
adda (Ayr), father 451-453, 475
adder (Ah.), a bunion of camels 121
adebara (Ah.), greyish donkey 106
adebel (Ah.), ceremonial sand-hill 471-473
adeggal, pl. idulan (Ayr), father-in-law 444, 453
adegnas (Ah.), camel of dirty white colour 96
adélen (Ayr), joking relationship 429, 454, 455
adermag (Ah.), he-goat having very small ears 35
adreylal (Ayr), *Astragalus Vogelii* (Webb.) Bornm 133, 216
adyaw (Ah.), large herd of camels 101
adeggal, pl. idulan (Ah.), father-in-law 453
adreylal (Ah.) *Astragalus sp.* 128, 129, 494
afagag (Ayr), *Acacia Raddiana* Savi 30, 31, 38, 63, 84, 86, 104, 127, 132, 180, 262, 273, 351
afarag (Ayr), enclosure for kids and calves, garden 36, 51, 202
afarag (Ah.), enclosure for kids and calves, garden 36, 198

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afaras (Ayr), tortoise 167
afarfar (Ah.), *Crotularia Saharae* Coss. 494
afawa (Ah.), greyish donkey with white stomach 106
aferegak (Ah.), *Chrozophora Brocchiana* (Vis.) Schweinf. 121
aferhalaɣ (Ah.), *Crambe Kralikii* Coss. 493
afessur (Ah.), *Fagonia Bruguieri* D.C. 494
afezu (Ayr), *Panicum turgidum* Forsk. 30, 31, 127, 132, 180, 225, 234, 268, 269, 308, 333, 341-343, 349, 362, 364, 366, 367
afeẓu (Ah.), *Panicum turgidum* Forsk. 31, 128, 129, 140, 155, 159, 175, 179, 284, 362, 363, 365, 367, 371, 378, 380, 385, 460, 491, 496
aflek (Ayr), woman's shirt 293, 295, 462
afleẓẓen (Ah.), *Zilla spinosa* (L.) Prantl 493
afus, hand 140
agar (Ayr), *Maerua crassifolia* Forsk. 30, 132, 255
agayis (Ayr), a bustard, *Choriotis arabs stieberi* 164
agazagi (Ayr), edible seeds of a grass 181
agedagodu (Ayr), edible seeds of an annual plant 181
agedelchit (Ayr), the period of the day when the sun is getting high in the heavens 490
agegu (Iwl.), a cross-bar frame of a skin tent 384
agelgali (Ah.), pack-camel 99
agemmun, pl. igemmunen (Ah.), garden bed 190
agera, a leather bag 20
agerengefa (Ah.), mixture of fresh milk and buttermilk 221
ageruf (Ayr), *Tribulus terrester* L. 132, 180
aggasit (Ah.), *Farsetia Hamiltonii* Royle 176, 493
aggawit (Ah), *Chenopodium murale* L. 492
agg elet ma (Ah.), sister's son 450, 452, 454
aggezzeram (Ah.), a lizzard, *Uromastix acanthinurus* 162, 233
aggwr (Ah.), jackal, *Thos aureus sp.* 160
aginest (Ah.), *Malikia callosa* (Vahl) 495
agusrer (Ayr), camel with greyish back and neck, the remainder of the animal being white 96, 98
agzir (Ayr), a hot wind 30
aga (Ah.), a leather bucket 133, 134, 273
agar (Ah.), *Maerua crassifolia* Forsk. 176, 255
agedetsit semmiḍet (Ah.), the period from sunrise until 1½-2 hours later 490
agedetsit tekkuset (Ah.), the period of the day when the sun is getting high in the heavens 490
aḡegu, pl. igegan (Ah.), a tent arch 356, 367, 368, 384
agelhim (Ah.), a hoe 204
agelmam (Ah.), a waterhole 3, 165
agenesnes (Ah.), *Glaucium corniculatum* (L.) 493
agera (Ah.), a skin bag 176
agerwa (Ah.), *Antirrhinum ramosissimum* Coss. & Dur. 496
aget, pl. igetten (Ah.), central pole (poles) of a tent or fixed dwelling 371, 375, 380, 383
agiwir (Ah.), churning bag 221, 222, 227
aglim (Ah.), sheep-skin worn as a mantel 296, 298
agror (Ah.), stone enclosure for kids 36, 38
agula (Ah.), a little stick 74, 159, 160
agum (Ah.), material of date palm leaves 192, 247, 266, 267, 269, 286
ahaggar (Ah.), camel of red colour 96
ahaga (Ah.), tanning receptacle of camel hide 175, 270, 271, 460
ahahel, pl. ihahelewen (Ah.), *Cistanche Phelypaea* (L.) P. Cout. 174, 178, 179, 237, 497
ahammal (Ah.), a herd of male camels 101
aharagen (Ah.), camp far from wells or water pools 149
aharay (Ah.), *Danthonia Forskahlei* (Vahl) Trin. and/or *Aristida sp.* 492, 497
aharet (Ah.), *Brassica Rapa* L. & *B. oleracea* L. 193
ahay, ahay (Ayr), signal to call donkeys 135
ahaya, pl. iheyawen (Ah.), grandchildren, descendants 452
ahayif (Ah.), saddle-girth 75, 84, 91, 110
ahayoy (Ah.), the dummy-calf 57
ahbeḡ, pl. ihebgan (Ah.), arm-ring 256, 460
ahellum, pl. ihellumen (Ah.), rope of goat's hair 263, 264
ahenderremma (Ah.), camel which has the habit of neighing with joy 98
ahenkoḍ (Ah.), *Gazella dorcas sp.* 157
ahennaka (Ah.), the roof of a woman's saddle 89
aher (Ah.), to raid, to plunder 409
aheṛeṛa (Ah.), *Alyssum libycum* 176
aheyi (Ayr), signal to drive away donkeys 135
ahni (Ah.), congestion due to heat-apoplexy of camels 121, 122
ahokhak (Ah.), the early morning before sunrise 490
ahoyyar (Ah.), *Cleome arabica* (L.) 121, 493
ahrey (Ah.), black he-goat with white colour on the ears 35
ahres (Ah.), *Acacia albida* Del. 177, 494
ahu (Ah.), an annual plant 496
ahular (Ah.), fully grown he-goat 34
ahulil (Ah.), wild donkey 107
ahwar (Ah.), carpet, blanket 461, 471
ahyas (Ayr), type of riding saddle 81, 313
ajako (Ah.), an annual plant 179, 496
ajawad (Ayr), *Sarcoptes scabiei var. Cameli* 121
ajmilal (Ayr), camel with numerous small circular spots 97, 98
akabar, milking bowl 51, 58, 59
– (Ah.), mortar without a foot 235, 240
akaber (Iwl. acc. to Nicolas), cylindrical strawhut 340
akabur (Ah.), a type of camel trotting 99
akaba (Ah.), oil derived from teḡellet, *Colocynthis vulgaris* 121
akahami (Ah.), black he-goat with a red belly 35
akal, land, country 108, 394, 416
akala, rope noosed around the lower jaw of a camel 68, 72, 77

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akammar (Ah.), rennet, the abomasum of kids 225
akara (Ah.), stick placed in the mouth of kids to prevent suckling 37, 39–41
akarab (Ayr), cord around the hind legs of a cow during milking 51
akarben (Iwl. ac. to Nicolas), cylindrical strawhut 340
akasa (Ah.), vegetation of annual plants 29, 128
– (Ayr), vegetation of annual plants, the rainy season 29, 30, 38, 39, 56, 72, 112, 118, 127, 132, 134, 154, 184, 213, 216, 225
akekkemaẓ (Ah.), wild pigeon, *Columbia livia turgia* 160
akemhur (Ah.), a very fine camel 105
akeroga (Ayr), type of sandals 301, 302
akeskabbu, headgear for riding camels 70, 71, 73, 314
akeywoḍ (Ah.), *Typha australis* Schum. & Thonn. 175, 497
akh, milk 221
akh imsayen (Ah.), mixture of fresh milk and buttermilk 221
akh kefayen (Ah.), fresh milk 221
akh n aǧiwir (Ah.), buttermilk 221
akh n ezenu (Ayr), sour milk 221
akhami (Ah.), short-haired slender dog 114
akhamil (Ah.), rope 76, 271
akhawi (Ah.), large woman's saddle 89, 96, 308
– (Iwl.), a woman's saddle 437
akhelkhali (Ah.), pack-camel 99
akhorhi (Ah.), fennec, *Fennecus zerda* 160
akimbab, a muzzle 52, 53, 63
aknar n amis (Ah.), a toy camel 100
akrafal (Ah.), a ceramic drum 257, 259
akru (Ah.), a curdled mass of milk
akum (Ayr), the sheet of a skin tent 364
akundaḥ (Ah.), *Musonjiera sp.* 160
akus (Ah.), milk-bowl 39, 43, 257, 461
akker (Ah.), untanned hide of most animals 270
ala, leaves of tamat acacias used for tannin 277
alaway (Ayr), pack-camel walking in a caravan 101
alechchu, pl. ilechchan, Sudanese indigo cotton for veil and head-cloth 14, 287, 462
alegges, pl. ilusan, a camel 2–3 years old 101, 460
brother-in-law 101, 453
alegutgut, pl. alegutguten (Ah.), plaited basket 267, 269
– (Ah.), skin bag with coiled bowl for bottom 280, 281
alekkin (Ah.), earthen cooking pot 231, 248
alekkoḍ (Ah.), camel whip 84
alellewa, pl. ilellewan (ilellewasen) (Ayr), semi-arches of a hut or tent 348, 351, 356, 367, 371
aleln (Ayr), skin bag which also serves for donkey saddle 111
alem, pl. imnas (Ayr), male camel 93
alem n akabur (Ayr), camel walking with quick steps 99
alem n emehal (Ayr), camel taking very long steps 99
alemdeyyas (Ah.), camel taking very long steps 98
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000

## SOCIAL & POLITICAL GROUPS

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792 the power that is entrusted to him; and the man of the sword pays. It is indeed his turn."
000 As a typical example of a nomad warrior buying the benediction of a holy man, Monod cites the transaction between Abram and Melchizedek, "the priest of the most high God" (Genesis, *14:* 18–20), and he reconstructs the scene in imaginative but wholly convincing detail drawn from his long experience among desert nomad tribes. After Melchizedek had invoked the blessing of God on Abram, the latter said: "How much will that be?" "Nay, my lord is joking," replied Melchizedek, "It's free, I *give* my blessing; I *give* it to him." And Abram bowed down and said (thinking that after all if the blessing wasn't paid for it might not work, and knowing only too well moreover what his interlocutor meant by "gift"): "Harken unto me: I give the price of the blessing and of the amulets for my camels; accept it of me." And Melchizedek answered him: "Let not my lord be vexed, and may he harken unto me: I do not sell him power, I give it to him. But if in return he chooses to bring me the tenth part of all that is his, what is that between us?" And Abram understood, "And he gave him tithes of all" (Genesis, *14:* 20).[14] Nothing could be more characteristic of desert nomads and revealing of the basic relationship between them and holy men in the Sahara Desert and elsewhere.

●105 Summary. The Tuareg of the Ahaggar are a diversified pastoral nomadic group who live in a very arid mountainous massif, an environment that requires extreme mobility.

Their social organization seems to be based on essentially matrilineal and patriarchal extended and joint family clans which are grouped into tribes that form a confederation. There are two main social classes, commonly referred to as "nobles" and "vassals," and rank, which embodies the right of succession to authority, is inherited in the female line, but a new chief can take and hold office only by consent of a general council of all male heads of families or clans who come under his control. This is doubtless because the clans that are strongest in terms of material wealth and fighting manpower as well are in the

[14] The King James Version of the Old Testament does not make quite clear just who gave tithes to whom, but Knox (1948, p. 18), in his translation of

105 "vassal" class. Thus the government is in effect a republic of basically Berber type which is kept from turning into either a democracy or an hereditary autocracy by the presence of a double descent system whose origin is unknown.

The economy is now based on the conservational domestication of camels, goats and hairy sheep, and on crop sharing with sedentary Haratin tenant gardeners. The flourishing caravan trade of the Tuareg has been largely destroyed by mechanized competition, while the exaction of toll charges from passing caravans of other groups and the practice of systematic raiding have been suppressed altogether by the French authorities. Thus the whole economic structure has been thrown seriously out of balance and is now disintegrating fast.

Manual labor and domestic services are performed by Negro slaves of Sudanese origin, who are usually present in numbers roughly equal to those of their masters. Manufactured goods are obtained mainly from outside the area in exchange for salt that is mined locally. Equipment maintenance and the occasional manufacture and decoration of articles of metal, wood and leather, are in the hands of a few small and scattered families of semi-sedentary smiths about whom almost nothing is known.

Shelter takes the form of small lightweight tents of leather or sometimes grass huts. Clothing is loose, voluminous and light in weight, and men wear a combination veil and turban which protects their eyes from glare and their faces from wind and sunburn. Tuareg costume is an ideal mechanism for the purposes of insulation, ventilation and sweat-loss control in the climate of the Ahaggar, although the Tuareg themselves claim to have no knowledge of or interest in its very great practical value.

Thus we see that the Tuareg of the Ahaggar had achieved an adaptation to their chosen environment that was about as perfect as could be, in terms of social, political and economic organization and of material culture, until the forces of European culture contact

the Vulgate as interpreted in the light of earlier Greek and Hebrew texts, leaves no room for doubt on this point.

105 began to destroy the economic base and so to undermine the entire structure.

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



533 The melody of this attractive little song is more advanced than the two preceding examples, but the accompanying rhythm is now restricted to a straight beat that never varies:

Voices in Unison

Rhythm

535 Dancing among the Tuareg seems to be restricted to the men; a kind of war dance, nowadays no more than a remembrance of things past, in which they stamp and whoop and brandish their weapons in time to the chanting of the women. It is possible, though not likely, that Tuareg women do dance at the "ahals"; but in the absence of actual corroboration the supposition may be discounted: the role of women would appear to be predominantly passive, the initiative being the prerogative of the men. It must be remembered that the Tuareg has not the settled village existence of the African tribe and as a result his life is marked less by organised ceremony, less by religious observance, however primitive. Aloof and alone the Targui remains the "last of the desert". Within two days' journey of his territory his name becomes legendary: little is known of his customs and his music is unheard. He is the Abandoned of God.

105

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



585 602 laws do not change to a very great extent. There will then already be a relationship of respect between husband and wife, a respect relationship to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law which continues unchanged, and in Ayr the relationship to the mother-in-law does not switch from joking into avoidance. Tuareg wedding ceremonies correspond functionally with the traditional preferential marriage with [84] cross-cousins. But the wedding ceremonies described are strictly followed at all Tuareg marriages except in the case of important marabuts, who dispense with most ceremonial traits, allowing no public gathering with camel-riding and music, and the groom and the bride enter the wedding tent without formalities.

105 Kinship systems, rules of kinship behaviour, the payment of bride-wealth, and wedding rites seem to be functionally adapted to cross-cousin marriage. All this seems to hold for the Tuareg of Ahaggar and also for those of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group in Ayr. However, we have also observed that there are certain differences in social organization in Ahaggar and Ayr. In both regions Koranic law is valid for inheritance. The rules of succession in Ayr have become predominantly patrilineal, but is matrilineal in Ahaggar. There is also little doubt that most *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg to-day follow patrilocal rules of residence. The Ayr Tuareg are predominantly patrilineal but have remnants of matri- [58] lineal traits. I note in this connection that some Ayr Tuareg also claim that it is preferable to practise the levirate and the sororate in the way that a widow can marry her deceased husband's younger brother, a widower his deceased wife's younger sister. They hold that this is adopted from Islamic rules.

[60] In Ahaggar matrilineal rules still play a very great rôle as kinship terminology evinces for the term for "mother's brother" is used exclusively for people of the mother's family and mainly for such people of ascending generations who are matrilineally related to Ego – including very distant matrilineal kinsmen. We have also seen that tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and that matrilineal rules are valid for succession to territorial rights, for relations between noble Tuareg and vassals, and ultimately for residence.

105 177 Tuareg social organization has been submitted to change. Islamic influence has produced a predominantly patrilineal system among the Southern Tuareg, including the *Kel Geres* and the *Kel Ayr*, while among the Northern Tuareg matrilineal rules of succession and residence are still acknowledged.

105 177 178 184 It may perhaps seem rather odd that the Ayr Tuareg, like many Sudanese Tuareg, have been much influenced by the patrilineal rules of Islam in their social organization, while the Ahaggar Tuareg have been far less impressed by these rules in spite of having lived in intimate contact with Arabs for generations, adopting many Arab cultural traits which are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. What is the reason for these distinctions in cultural change among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr? I believe that the answer may lie in the differences in political systems. In pre-European times there was in Ahaggar an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals within the drum-groups, several small noble families being linked with their individual groups of vassals. This relationship (*temazlayt*) was, as we have seen, predominantly an economic one, advantageous to both classes and not least to the noble Tuareg, who were much dependent upon their goat-breeding and caravan-trading vassals. There seem to be little doubt that, before the introduction of Islam, this relationship was organized on the basis of matrilineal rules. And it may perhaps have been very difficult to adopt patrilineal rules and to re-organize relations between noble Tuareg and vassals accordingly. When the first French

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



administrators settled in Ahaggar, the noble Tuareg under the leadership of the *Amenukal* are said to have claimed that the French should respect their ancient matrilineal organization. It seems as though such an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals was unknown in Ayr in pre-European times. Subsistence in Ayr is easier than in Ahaggar, and the noble Tuareg there were not so dependent upon their vassals for food as was the case in Ahaggar.

The fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg have conserved matrilineal rules in their social organization though influenced by Islam and the patrilineal Arabs for centuries, may perhaps explain why they have come to consider marriage with a mother's sister's daughter (or her daughter) as a better type of mating than cross-cousin marriage. Marriages with a classificatory sister (or sister's daughter) are, according to the Ahaggar Tuareg, not to be considered a recent phenomena, but have been practised for generations. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that these marriages are most suitable because they do not give rise to changes of residence for the children. It is very probable that such marriages, which do not harmonize with traditional kinship rules, indicate the transition towards fully-fledged patrilineal rules among the Northern Tuareg.

We have no knowledge about Tuareg social organization in pre-Islamic times, but there can be little doubt that matrilineal traits are very ancient, for they are mentioned by Ibn Batutah (cf. p. 457), and most Tuareg have traditions of their descent from an ancestress. Bates thinks that the Libyans of antiquity possessed a type of social organization which was partly or fully matrilineal, though he admits that indications of the existence of the matriarchate are strong, but not conclusive (Bates 1914, p. 111 f.). Gsell, on the contrary, thinks that the ancient Libyans did not have a social organization of a matrilineal type. They were patrilineal like most Northern Berbers of to-day (Gsell 1920-28, V, p. 37 f.).

Baumann states that Tuareg matrilineal organization derives from the so-called Old Mediterranean Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 66). This is perhaps not the true explanation, for Frobenius is probably right in his statement that the Syrtic Culture was a high one which gained little influence among pastoralists, but became very important to sedentary people of North Africa and the Western Sudan (Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 11). On the other hand the theory advanced by Frobenius that the Tuareg matriarchate is an old Hamitic custom does not constitute a satisfactory explanation (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 238 f.; Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 5).

The history of Tuareg matriarchate has been analysed very recently by Murdock, who states that its origin can be explained in three distinct ways:— (1) The Tuareg may have preserved the matrilineate from a very early period of Berber culture, perhaps also reflected among the extinct Guanche of the Canary Islands. This, however, is not considered very probable, because matrilineal traits do not exist among the many other North African Berber tribes, and also because the present relative isolation of the Tuareg is historically recent, dating from the Hilalian Arab invasion. (2) The indigenous *Bélla* were characterized by avunculocal residence and matrilineal descent, and they transmitted these rules to the conquering Tuareg. This second theoretical possibility is discarded by Murdock on the ground that the *Bélla* were presumably akin to the Hausa peoples on the southern border of the Tuareg country, and the Hausa are strictly patrilineal. (3) The ancestral Tuareg, while still resident in Tripolitania, were patrilineal, like all other mainland Berbers, and the matrilineate was developed as an

# TUAREG CULTURAL SUMMARY

105

The Tuareg are Berber-speaking nomadic stockbreeders who live in the Western Sahara and adjacent regions of the Sudan. They fall into seven main groups or political units, comprising around 240,000-300,000 individuals (excluding Negro slaves). The Tuareg speak various dialects of Tamahaq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber. The peculiarity of Tamahaq as a Berber language is that it can be written with its own characters, which are called tifinagh.

The Tuareg of the Sahara proper are grouped into three confederations: the Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Ahaggar, and the Adrar-n-Ifighas, distributed in that order from northeast to southwest. The Ahaggar confederacy, isolated in the heart of the Sahara desert and the most extensively studied to date, will serve as the sample for the following summary of Tuareg culture. The Ahaggar Tuareg number around 4,400 and comprise twenty-six clans. Approximately 4,000 Negro slaves are attached to the Ahaggars.

The question of the origin and early history of the Tuaregs is still unresolved. Aside from certain somatic traits such as tall stature, an arm span often greater than their height, smooth or

105 wavy black hair and a lack of hirsuteness, the chief distinguishing characteristics of the Tuaregs are the unity of their language, their use of tifinagh characters, and their complex social organization, with its matrilineal and matriarchal elements. Their history, going back to their first contact with Moslem Arabs (probably Shorfa missionaries from Morocco) in the seventh or early eighth century, is one of incessant conflict between Negro kingdoms and Tuareg, between Arabs and Tuareg, and between different Tuareg tribes. They were more or less united under a noble tribe, the Imenanes, until the middle of the seventeenth century, when the Imenanes, following defeat in battle, were obliged to divide their lands and authority. The partition into the present groups dates from that time.

The Tuareg possess a highly stratified and complicated social system. In general they are divided into three main classes: the Tuareg nobles, imochar, the Tuareg vassals, imrad, and a third lower class comprised of Negroid and mixed people grouped into three castes based on occupation (gardeners, harratin, domestics and slaves, iklan, and artisans, inaden). Rank is a quality of the clan rather than the individual, for the Tuareg speak of "noble clans" and "vassal clans." The Ahaggar confederacy is made up of three tribes: the Kel Bela, the Tegehe Mellet, and the Taitoq, each headed by a noble clan which gives its name to the tribe as a whole. Noble clans

●105 and their dependent vassal clans are arranged in order of precedence, and the chief of the premier clan (the Kel Bela) is also chief of the Kel Bela tribe and ipso facto the paramount chief, amenokal, of the Ahaggar confederacy. Vassal clans are the traditional pastoralists, camel and goat breeders. They hold exclusive pasturage rights to a definite territory upon which no one may encroach without permission excepting the noble clans, who are always free to use the pasture of their vassal clans. Many Tuareg also own garden plots in agricultural centers which are leased to harratin share croppers or are worked by slaves.

All vassal clans pay tribute to their tribal chiefs, who in turn pay it to the paramount chief, the amenokal. Tribute is normally in grain and/or livestock. In return, the noble clans pledge to supply the warriors and protect their vassals in case of external aggression. Chieftainship is hereditary in the female line, but within fairly broad and seemingly rather indefinite limits of degree of relationship, so that an undesirable heir apparent can easily be passed over in favor of a less direct but more acceptable heir. The chief is chosen from the premier clan of the tribe by a council made up of male heads of households and is confirmed in his office by male representatives of all the component clans of his tribe.

105 Tribal chiefs act as judges, and the amenokal is chief justice of his confederation. The amenokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum called a tobol. This instrument is so representative of command to the Tuareg that they often refer to the amenokal and his whole clan as tobol. The original role of the paramount chief was that of a war leader, and in normal times he still arbitrates conflicts. In principle, he has the power of life and death; on the other hand, in his national role, vis-à-vis neighboring or foreign tribes, the amenokal's decisions do not have full authority unless they have been approved by an assembly of notables called the arollan. This assembly is composed of the principal chiefs of all the factions, plus the nobility. It should be emphasized at this point that the position of a Tuareg clan is not firmly fixed within the framework of the confederation. Component clans may break away from the tribe and attach themselves to a more powerful tribe. At least one clan, the Ibotenaten, was reduced from noble to vassal status by a crushing defeat suffered in the course of a blood feud. In all the Tuareg confederations, the vassals, or imrad, outnumber the nobles in the ration of five to one.

Both manual labor and domestic service are performed by the third class in the Tuareg society. This class is composed of

105 heterogeneous and ethnically mixed peoples living in symbiotic relationship with their masters, the Tuareg. The iklan are the Negro slaves or descendents of former slaves who are attached to Tuareg families and take care of herding, cooking, and all other domestic chores. The artisans and smiths of the Tuareg are the inaden of mixed racial origin, who manufacture all that the nomadic Tuareg needs and in addition act as barber-surgeons. These form a closed caste and are found in single families or small numbers at agricultural centers or attached periodically to Tuareg encampments. The third group are the harratin, Negroid sedentary tenant farmers who rent land from the Tuareg and work it on share cropping basis. The Tuareg hold the three groups in low social esteem.

The economy of the nomadic Tuareg is based on conservational domestication of camels, goats, and hairy sheep, and on crop sharing with the harratin tenant gardeners. The once flourishing caravan trade of the Tuareg has been largely destroyed by mechanized competition, while the exaction of toll charges from passing caravans of other groups and the practice of systematic raiding has been suppressed by French authorities. The Tuareg pitch their camps in or close to mountain massifs, of which the most important are Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. Rainfall is

105 irregular, and a persistent vegetation cannot generally exist outside river valleys and depressions. Pasturage is either very sparse or very scattered, with the result that the people are continually breaking up into small and highly mobile camp units moving at intervals of between a week to a month, always within the territorial limits of the tribe. Herds of camels and flocks of goats and hairy sheep constitute the bulk of the capital investment and the primary basis of the economy. Trade used to be very important, with salt the chief article of export. In July, salt from local mines, camels, donkeys, and dates (from oases in the north) were taken south to markets in Nigeria and exchanged for millet, cotton cloth, tea, sugar, and tobacco. This trade is still practiced, but on a very limited scale.

The Tuareg live on the products of their animals, but meat and milk are not enough, especially in dry years. The basic elements of their diet are milk, millet, and dates. Millet, enelè, is cultivated both in the Saharian oases and the Sudan. It is usually crushed with pestles and winnowed to keep only the white flour, which is used in many dishes. Asink is the national dish: coarse millet flour is boiled into thick porridge to which fine sifted flour is later added. This is served with milk and/or butter. Milk, another basic food, is drunk fresh, sour, or curdled, and is also

105 made into butter and cheese. Meat is highly preferred, but is eaten irregularly. The meat most used is that of goats. Mutton is eaten less often, and camel only in exceptional circumstances, since camels are very rarely slaughtered for food. Meat of gazelles and wild sheep is highly esteemed but is not frequently available. Practically speaking, the Tuareg never eat fresh vegetables, but they do use dried onions and tomatoes. Chicken, eggs, and fish are never eaten by the Tuareg. They drink water, milk, and tea. Green tea is very popular and is served aromatized with mint or other local herbs. Coffee is rarely used and then only medicinally.

Shelter takes the form of small lightweight tents of leather or sometimes grass huts. Clothing is loose, voluminous, and light in weight. Men wear a dark blue or black combination veil and turban that covers all of the head and face except for the eyes. These veils are not removed, even for eating. Women go barefaced but with a head kerchief.

Although the Tuareg still retain many of their pre-Islamic magico-religious beliefs and practices, they are all nominally Moslems. They are known to be lukewarm as to religion, and even the important annual Moslem fast of Ramadhan is not generally observed. Occasionally some fanatic North African Moslem sect

105 (such as the Sanussi of Libya) may rally one clan or another of the Tuareg to its cause. But these conversions do not last long, and the Tuareg revert to a passive, vague form of Islam which is permeated by local superstition and magic. Amulets are very common, and belief in jinns and spirits is not confined to women. Several Marabout and Shorfa families (all claiming some descent from the prophet Mohammad or his Arab clan) are found in the area, and some run Koranic schools in the garden centers. These Marabouts may be called upon by the Tuareg to write amulets or to say prayers at funerals, but in no way are they as active or powerful as they are in the rest of North and West Africa.

Marriage is usually, though not always, within the clan. Cross-cousin marriage is said to be the preferred pattern. Statistically, however, the most common type is for a man to marry a maternal cousin or her daughter. In this way a man and his father may belong to the same matrilineage. The question of Tuareg matriarchy is debatable. The Tuareg practice a system of double descent, following matrilineal principles in specific cases and patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged. Traditionally, the matrilineal principle is valid for (1) succession to chieftainship (since a Tuareg child

105 always inherits rank and position through his mother) (2) succession to land rights, and (3) succession to property considered indivisible. Islamic rules of inheritance, on the other hand, are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit in such a way that a son gets twice the amount allotted to a daughter. Authority is vested in the father, never the maternal uncle or the mother. A newly married couple live in the camp of the bride's parents for about a year, then usually move over to the camp of the husband. Tuareg camps are known by the name of the highest ranking male member of the community. A widowed woman and her unmarried children are usually taken into the family circle of her brother. It is a peculiarity of the Tuareg social organization, which seems to be based on essentially matrilineal and patriarchal extended and joint family clans, in that it resembles groups in West Africa rather than their immediate neighbors, the Arabs or the Berbers.

The usual age for marriage is twenty to twenty-five for women and close to thirty for men. Monogamy is the universal rule, and divorce is both unusual and generally frowned upon. A bride price is given to the parents of the bride, part of which is turned over to the bride as her personal property. She retains full title to this and to any other wealth she has, and is under no obligation

105 to contribute to the household expenses. Women are treated with respect and deference, but they can hold no office nor exercise any command beyond the limits of their tents. Premarital relations between the sexes are conducted at social gatherings, the chief function of which seems to be getting the young people to know each other. These gatherings or "open houses" are of two main types: tendi and ahal. Tendi are held on the afternoon, and ahal at night. At both types, young men and women, dressed in their best, gather in open areas around one or more young women who play musical instruments, sing, or recite poetry. Often the group participates in singing, storytelling, or improvising poetry. Such a gathering is a perfect occasion for young people to show their wit and musical abilities and to arrange secret rendezvous.

Marriage always involves a bride price, which varies according to the beauty and social standing of the bride and the wealth of the husband. Wedding festivities take place in the bride's camp. Children are highly desired in the community, and the sterility of one of the partners is one of the few valid causes for divorce. Nursing lasts from two to two and one half years, with boys being nursed a little longer than girls. All boys are circumcised collectively when they are three or four years old. The occasion is a

105 simple one, and there are no special festivities. Children hang around the camp, the boys helping their fathers with the herding while the girls assist their mothers. At the age of fifteen or sixteen, "when the hair on the face begins to show," the father gives his son a blue veil called a tidjelmoust. This is usually done at the annual Moslem feast. Along with the veil, the boy is given some good advice by his father and gifts of tobacco from his mother and sisters. With the wearing of the veil, the boy has entered the class of men.

The men's veil, or tidjelmoust, is the most distinctive and arresting article of clothing among the Tuareg. Self-respecting Tuareg think it shockingly indecent for a man to let his mouth be seen by anyone to whom he owes formal respect; nor will he show his face to anyone whose social standing he considers superior to his own. The veil is always arranged so that the eyeslit is as narrow as possible. The standard variations in ways of wearing the veil are indicative of the social status, tribal and clan affiliations, and even the moods of the wearer. The most preferred veils are dyed indigo, though many make do with black ones.

Death is not feared by the Tuareg. The deceased are washed, draped in new clothes, and buried in a nearby high spot. If a

105 Marabout is available, he reads the Moslem prayers. There is no wailing nor any public display of sentiment. The camp is immediately broken and the place is not used again. Condolences often include the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you love is now in the paradise of God."

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Identification

The Ahaggar (Ahaggaren, Ihaggaren, Hoggar, Kel Ahaggar) are a tribe of Tuareg belonging to the Berber branch of the Hamito-Semitic linguistic stock. They number just under 5, 000 (Demoulin), 4, 250 (Lhote), 4, 400 including 1, 150 sedentary Harratin (Foley). All are Moslems, and, despite numerous theories to the contrary, it is extremely doubtful whether they (or any other Tuareg) were Christian before their conversion to Islam. There is general literacy, especially among women, in an old Berber system of writing with an alphabet of 24 characters, mainly consonants. This is derived from a Libyan Berber alphabet of about the 4th century B. C. The Ahaggar country has yielded Chellean-Aucheulian and Levalloisian artifacts.

Basic Economy

Primarily pastoral and nomadic, though a very moderate amount of agriculture is done with irrigation and hoe cultivation. The chief crop is wheat (Triticum durum). Also grown are barley (Hordeum vulgare), bulrish millet (Pennicillaria spicata), "bechena" (Sorghum cernuum), and a little sorghum (Andropogon sorghum). Some dates (Phoenix dactylifera) are raised, but only one-fourth of the local consumption. Other fruits are figs (Ficus carica), peaches (Amygdalus persicus), apricots (Prunus armeniaca), and grapes (Vitis vinifera). Vegetables grown are carrots, beans, lentils, peas, onions, rape, eggplant, tomatoes, squash, cucumbers, melons, watermelons, peppers, and garlic. A very little cotton and tobacco are raised.

Numerous camels, donkeys, sheep (with hair), and goats are kept, and a very few zebu cattle, horses, and chickens, but no cats or pigs. The flesh of dogs, horses, and donkeys is not eaten; chickens and eggs are eaten only by Negroes. Meat is consumed only for feasts. Milk, drunk both fresh and sour, is the principal food, and both butter and cheese are made. Camels, sheep, and goats are milked, but not donkeys (though Demoulin disagrees with other authorities on this point). Some hunting (with dogs) and trapping are done, and ostriches were formerly hunted for their plumes. The meat of antelope and gazelles is dried or salted; it is stored and also exported. Fishing is done only by Negroes; nobles and Imrad do not eat fish. Plants gathered for food include Aristida pungens, Cenchrus echinatus, Eragrostis cynosuroides, Panicum turgidum, Phelipaea violacea, and jujube (Zizyphus lotus); the foods thus secured are a fairly important supplement to the diet. There is considerable caravan trade with In Salah in Tuat to the N and with Air and Gamergu to the S, and a little with Fezzan and Tripolitania to the NE. Salt (mined in Amadror) and livestock are traded to

the S in exchange for grain, cloth, and articles of apparel. Livestock, butter and cheese, dried and salted meat, and formerly captured slaves and ostrich plumes are traded to the N in exchange for dates, cotton goods, and firearms.

Sex Division of Labor

Men alone hunt and herd. Agriculture is done only by Negro slaves and Harratin, gathering by slave and Imrad women. In general, women do not engage in primary food production.

Property

The chief wealth is in livestock, of which a large proportion is owned by women. Each tribe has collective property rights in special grazing grounds. Subject to the eminent domain of the paramount chief, all classes except slaves and Harratin can acquire usufruct rights in unused land by bringing it under cultivation.

Bissuel reports patrilineal inheritance--one sixth by widow, the remainder by children with sons taking double shares, in default of children by siblings in same manner. Duveyrier, however, reports patrilineal inheritance only of movable property, by children equally regardless of sex, and states that all customary privileges and rights to real property are inherited matrilineally without partition, by ElSiElSo; Lhote seems to confirm this in his data on succession.

Social Stratification

There is an elaborate social stratification, with the following divisions:

a. Nobles, called Imochar or Ihaggaren, who handle all political affairs, engage in warfare and raids, and provide protection for the other classes. They lead a parasitic life, engaging in no manual labor except to maintain riding and transport camels and a few goats to provide a daily milk supply. Their herds are tended mainly by their vassals.
b. Marabouts, called Inislimen. They eschew war and politics for a life of piety and scholarship, and are exempt from taxation.
c. Semi-nobles, called Iradjenaten, mentioned only by Bissuel. They are the offspring of

noble fathers and Imrad mothers. Demoulin, however, says there are tribes of mixed blood, or who, being weak, have forfeited their independent position for security in return for tribute.

d. Vassals, called Imrad. They outnumber the higher classes 5 to 1 (Lhote), 8 to 1 (Duveyrier). They bear arms and fight, but are mainly engaged in herding flocks, operating caravans, and occasionally doing agriculture. They are organized in tribes of their own, which are tributary to particular noble tribes, to whose chiefs they pay an annual tribute in livestock, butter, tanned hides, and grain. They must also feed nobles whenever visited by them. Some as pure Caucasian, but many are somewhat mixed with Negro blood.

e. Artisans, called Enaden. They are few in number, are endogamous, pay no tribute, and make jewelry and knives or work in wood.

f. Tenant serfs, called Harratin. They are freed slaves and the descendants thereof, and are overwhelmingly Negroid. They come mainly from Tuat and engage in agriculture on a share-crop basis. Comparable to them are the Merabtin, sedentary Arabs from Tuat also working as share-croppers.

g. Slaves or hereditary serfs, called Iklan. They are Negroes, the descendants of Negroes captured in war or raids. They are extremely numerous; there are few upper-class or Imrad families which do not own slaves. Some do house work, but the majority herd the flocks or till the land of their masters.

Marriage

Individuals select their own marriage partners. Arrangements are made through an intermediary, often a marabout. A bride-price of at least six camels is customary among nobles, less among vassals. It is paid to the bride's parents, who may contribute it toward the dowry which they provide their daughter.

The almost universal prevalence of monogamy is stressed by all sources. Lhote states that a few marabouts, versed in Koranic law, are polygynous, and both he and Demoulin report occasional concubinage with slave women.

Family

The independent nuclear family is apparently the residential unit, though bands may have some of the characteristics of extended families.

Residence

Residence is initially matrilocal for one year, thereafter patrilocal with the band of the groom's father. The ultimate rule is often if not usually avunculocal, for on the death of their father children (with their widowed mother) are reported to remove to the group of their maternal kinsmen (though they remain with their Fa if their Mo is divorced).

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Islamic marriage restrictions are in force, involving the prohibition of marriage between any primary or secondary consanguineal relatives but allowing marriages between first cousins.

Descent is matrilineal. Children are affiliated with the social class of their mother and also with her kin group. There is inferentially a segmentary matri-lineage organization.

Kinship Terminology

A man shows respect toward his parents-in-law.

Settlement Pattern

The Ahaggar live mainly in small nomadic bands. Their temporary camps consist of 5-6 dismountable tents arranged in a rough circle to form a corral. Tents are made of 30-40 tanned sheep or goat skins sewn together, dyed red, supported on a framework of wooden poles, and pegged to the ground. There are two principal types of framework, one composed of arches, the other of forked posts with crossbars. The walls are commonly surrounded with woven grass mats. In cold weather, beehive huts of straw (mats?) are often used instead of tents. The sedentary Harratin live in rectangular flat-roofed houses of sun-dried bricks, usually isolated and surrounded by a fence. Transhumance occurs, but it is irregular rather than seasonal.

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Community Organization

Lhote and Duveyrier report that a band is composed of close relatives. Boys are circumcised at the age of 3-5, but clitoridectomy is not practiced.

Local Government

Each tribe (tausit) has a chief (amrar) and an assembly of adult males. Succession to the headship is matrilineal--by YoBr, then MoElSiElSo, then ElSiElSo. (This strongly suggests avuncu-clans).

State

Tribes are aggregated into three confederations (tobol), each headed by one of the three most important tribes (Kel Rela, Tidjehen, and Taitoq); each has a sheikh (amrar) and council. The three confederations recognize a single paramount chief (amenokal) and a council of notables (arollan) composed of tribal chiefs and nobles. The paramount chief is elective within a single matri-lineage, and can be deposed. Succession is normally by a YoBr, MoSiSo, or SiSo. The paramount chief receives fees from passing caravans, the product of particular lands and herds, and annual tribute in livestock, hides, butter, grain, and slaves. He arbitrates disputes, but is primarily a war leader, and his actions are subject to approval by the council. Bissuel also reports that the Ahaggar have a single judge (alem), normally a marabout, who is chosen by the council and travels about dispensing justice.

Warfare

The Ahaggar are warlike raiders and pillagers of caravans. Raids for slaves and livestock have been particularly common against the Aulliminden, Chaamba, and Berabish.

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Identification

The Asben (Air, Kel Air) are a Tuareg tribe numbering about 20, 000, all Moslems. They speak a language of the Berber branch of the Hamito-Semitic linguistic stock. They have their own ancient system of writing, and there is widespread literacy, especially among women. They include numerous sub-tribes, of whom the Gress (Kel Gress) Oui (Kel Oui), and Tadele (Kel Tadele) are among the most important. Urvoy (1936) gives the population of the Asben as 18, 500. Lhote (1944) reports a population of 28, 000. Urvoy says that the country was originally inhabited by Hausa-speaking Negroes, and that the Tuareg arrived between the 11th and 16th centuries (allegedly from the Maghreb and Tripolitania. The Negro indigenes were progressively evicted, mainly to Gobir. A period of anarchy was ended by the establishment of the sultanate in 1405. The Air were conquered by the Songhai in 1515; a century of prosperity followed, then a decline. Even before, Air, as an important center in the caravan trade, had been fought over and sometimes conquered by the rulers of Bornu, Mali, and Katsena. Shortly before 1700 Air was conquered by the Hausa state of Ader. During and following the 18th century there were many severe raids on Bilma, and in the 19th century there were bloody wars with the Soliman. The French occupied Agades permanently in 1906.

Basic Economy

Primarily pastoral, with transhumance, with important auxiliary agriculture, using irrigation and animal manure. The staple crop is millet, followed by sorghum. A little wheat is grown, and some vegetables, including carrots, onions, pumpkins, and squash. Dates are a staple food (whether grown or imported is not reported). Jean gives a census of livestock for all tribes except the Kel Gress, as follows (with numbers in parentheses including estimates for the Kel Gress): 20, 250 (23, 000) camels, 544 (600) horses, 2, 520 (3, 000) donkeys, 2, 490 (3, 000) cattle, and 32, 400 (37, 000) sheep and goats. Rodd says chickens are common and are eaten. Mutton and beef are eaten at religious feasts and family reunions, but the flesh of camels horses, and donkeys is consumed only in times of famine. Dogs and a few cats are kept as pets . Milk products are the principal article of diet; milk is drunk fresh or sour, and both butter and cheese are made. Cattle, both humpless and humped, are sometimes used for pack and riding animals, as well as camels, horses, and donkeys.

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Sex Division of Labor

Herding and all other labor in food production (except food preparation and making of butter and cheese) are done exclusively by men. Fatness is admired in women. Agriculture was formerly done by slaves.

Property

Cowries were formerly used as currency. Each extended family or tribe has its own grazing territory and water sources.

Rodd states that inheritance is matrilineal--by SiSo. Jean reports only the strict Koranic rule of an eighth to widows and the remainder divided equally among the children with sons receiving double shares. For the Tadele Joubert reports that children share equally in four fifths of an estate, with sons receiving 4 times as much as daughters, and with one fifth going to other heirs.

Social Stratification

Air society is stratified into nobles (Imajeghan), marabouts (religious and learned men who do not engage in commerce), vassals (Imrad), and slaves (divided into house slaves and field slaves). The status of vassals is relatively high; they are attached, not to individual nobles, but to groups of nobles (lineages?). Nobles can marry Imrad women and take slave-concubines, but Imrad men cannot marry noble women. Jean reports, however, that the children of a noble man and an Imrad wife are semi-nobles (Iradjenaten) and if males,can marry noble womentand produce noble offspring. Slaves are Negroes purchased or captured in the Soudan and their descendants; ordinary slaves can be sold, but not house slaves.

Marriage

A groom pays a variable but substantial bride-price, consisting of several camels or the equivalent in money or other livestock. The bride receives a dowry of livestock and often slaves; it is in part provided by her mother, in part contributed by the groom.

Polygyny, exclusively of the non-sororal type, and concubinage are permitted by Koranic law. Rodd reports that monogamy is the norm and that polygyny is rare. Joubert similarly states that the great majority of men are monogamous, though a fair number have 2-3 wives, and adds that concubines are never taken. Jean indicates that polygyny with a chief wife is common and that nobles often keep slave concubines (mistresses?) in the slave sections of the towns. Secondary

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unions are allowed with WiSo after death of Wi, forbidden with BrWi, SoWi, and WiMo (Joubert on Tadele).

Family

The residential unit is a nuclear (or polygynous) family with their house slaves. The band, however, seems to be normally an extended family.

Residence

Residence is normally initially patrilocal. Children live with their parents until they marry, when daughters join their husbands and sons establish independent households commonly (but not always) adjacent to that of their parents. Ultimate residence, however, appears to be avunculocal. When their father dies, children return with their mother to their maternal kinsmen; if the mother dies before the father, they may remain with the latter for a time but eventually join their maternal relatives.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Marriage is forbidden with primary and secondary consanguineal relatives, but is permitted between first cousins.

Matrilineal descent prevails for social class status and for kin-group membership. Tribes or "clans" (Rodd) show a marked fissive tendency, and there is almost certainly a segmentary matri-lineage organization.

Settlement Pattern

The Air are for the most part organized in nomadic bands, but there are four permanent villages (and other ruined ones) and one sizable town, the capital, Agades, with a population of about 1, 000 (formerly several times as many). Agades was formerly surrounded by a mud wall. Here and in the permanent villages there are rectangular houses with flat roofs and walls of stones laid in mud. The usual semi-permanent house is round and consists of a framework of flexible poles set in the ground and joined at the top; it is of beehive shape and is covered with grass mats. In nomadic camps the Air use dismountable tents of approximately rectangular shape made of flexible arched poles set in the ground, covered with tanned hides with mats around the sides; the roof is a low dome. In a camp each family often pitches its tents (1 for family head, 1 for his Wi, and 1-2 for his children and servants) as much as several hundred yards distant from other families.

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Community Organization

Jean intimates that a band is essentially an extended family or localized lineage, but Joubert reports for the Tadele that a band is based on friendship rather than on kinship. Boys are circumcised. Age-grades are apparently lacking.

Local Government

Each band has a headman. Succession is either non-hereditary by election or matrilineal, by a SiSo (Rodd); succession is normally elective within a particular matri-lineage--by YoBr or SiSo (Jean).

State

The Air are politically organized into a loose confederation under a paramount chief, the sultan of Air. However, the Kel Gress in the W have an independent chief, and the tribes on the caravan routes in the N acknowledge the authority of a chief called Anastafilet. The sultan of Air is elected from the lineage of the founder by the Itessen sub-tribe of the Kel Gress--an old prerogative. The candidate most liberal with gifts is normally selected. The sultan can be deposed by a special council of seven representing several tribes. His authority is extremely limited. He levies no direct taxes and derives his income largely from caravan fees, estates without heirs, and fines.

Warfare

The Air are warlike and much given to raids for booty in livestock and slaves. They are particularly hostile toward Arabs.

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Identification

The Antessar (Kel Antessar), with whom are included the Tengeredief (Tengeregif) and other tribes descended from the Aulliminden and Tadmekket (Kel Tademeket) in the general region of Timbuctoo N of the Niger River, are a Tuareg nation belonging to the Berber branch of the Hamito-Semitic linguistic stock. They are Moslems. They are sprung from the Iforas of Adrar. The Tadmekket, defeated by the Aulliminden in 1653, sought refuge with the Moroccan pashas in the Timbuctoo region and westward. The Aulliminden pressed behind them, waged frequent wars with the pashas, and finally conquered Timbuctoo in 1787, dominating it until the arrival of the French about 1900. Lhote (1944) gives the population of this group of tribes as about 40,000.

Basic Economy

Primarily pastoral and nomadic, although considerable agriculture is practiced by the Bella serfs. The chief crops are rice, millet, and sorghum, but some wheat, maize, onions, watermelons, peppers, radishes, and even cotton are grown. Numerous camels, horses, donkeys, cattle (chiefly zebu but some humpless), sheep, and goats are kept, as well as dogs, chickens, and pigeons. Milk (drunk both fresh and sour), butter, and cheese are basic items in the diet. Some hunting and gathering of wild seeds are done, but only Sorko Songhai fish. Hides, meat, and milk products are exchanged at the markets for grain and various necessities, but trade is left mainly to the Songhai and Berabich.

Sex Division of Labor

Men hunt and herd. Women make butter and cheese and trade in the markets. Only the Bella serfs engage in agriculture.

Property

The chief wealth is in livestock.

Both Aymard and Miner report that inheritance is patrilineal--contrasting with the matrilineal rule of most Tuareg.

Social Stratification

There is a complex stratification into largely endogamous social classes or castes:

a. Nobles, called Imochar or Surgu (Songhai), who do not work except herding and are prone to war

and pillage. They include a sub-class of marabouts, who bear no arms, are literate, and engage in animal husbandry and religious activities.

b. Vassals, called Imrad or Daga (Songhai), who live by by herding and pay regular tribute to the dominant nobles.

c. Serfs, called Iklan or Bella (Songhai), who are Negroes descended from former slaves and captives and engage in agriculture. Some are house slaves.

d. Outcastes, called Inadan, who include smiths and woodworkers, leather workers, and griots (musicians and bards). The smiths, who are Negroid, occupy an ambivalent position, both despised and esteemed.

Marriage

Marriage is arranged by a youth's father or ElBr. It involves a substantial bride-price, ranging in amount from a dozen sheep to a dozen camels. The bride brings a dowry into marriage. Premarital sex freedom is general, and virginity is not demanded.

The upper classes are exclusively monogamous, but polygyny with a chief wife is common among the Bella serfs. The levirate and sororate (but not sororal polygyny) are allowed, but are not common.

Residence

Patrilocality prevails, but avunculocal residence is not uncommon.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Local agamy is inferential.

Marriage is forbidden with primary and secondary consanguineal relatives but is permitted with any first cousin. Cross-cousin marriage, despite a verbal preference, for it, is actually not common.

Descent is matrilineal, and Miner speaks of "lineages." There is, however, no unilinear exogamy. Marriages across caste lines do occur, though they are rare, but a man is strictly forbidden to marry a woman of a caste higher than himself. It is in consequence of this prohibition, coupled with matrilineal inheritance of class status, that the Tuareg have succeeded (far better than the Arab) in maintaining their racial purity.

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Kinship Terminology

Fa--abba. Mo--anna. So--rurer. Da--eller. Br--angar. ElBr--amakar. YoBr--amadrai. Si--teceqqaq. ElSi--tamakart. YoSi--tamadrait. Hu--ahales. Wi--hanner.

FaBr--angasnabba. MoBr--angasnanna, angatmar. FaSi--wuletmasnabba. MoSi--wuletmasnanna. For other terms see special kinship sheets.

FaBrCh--aramedden. MoSiCh--tangaten. FaSiSo, MoBrSo--ababash. FaSiDa, MoBrDa--tababasht.

Settlement Pattern

The Antessar live in nomadic bands and camp in portable tents of tanned sheep or goat skins, commonly dyed red. Their slaves live in mat shelters at the edge of the camps; those who are sedentary, however, occupy beehive huts of grass thatch over a wooden framework with the huts of a family enclosed in a fenced compound. Zeltner describes the tent as a vast rectangle of about 60 tanned goat or sheep skins sustained by a tall pole in the middle and shorter ones on either side with the edges fastened to stakes. He says that E of 2° W the dwelling type changes to a mat tent, and that at the border of Air this changes to camel-hair tents of Hoggar type.

Community Organization

Aymard reports that those who camp together constitute a "family" (possibly a lineage). Circumcision is practiced at about the age of 8. The Bella of Timbuctoo have true age-grades, with a span of about 10 years, possibly in acculturation to the Songhai.

Local Government

Each band elects a headman.

State

Tribes are organized under paramount chiefs (amenokal), elected by an assembly of headmen.

Warfare

The Antessar, like all Tuareg, are confirmed warriors and raiders.

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Identification

The Aulliminden (Awellimiden, Illemmeden, Oulimminden, Oulliminden) are a tribe of Tuareg, belonging to the Berber branch of the Hamito-Semitic linguistic stock. Their population is not reported. Urvoy (1942) states that there are about 300,000 Tuareg in the French Soudan, including their Bella (Ifrauellen) slaves, but the same author (1936) estimates the total population of pure-blood Tuareg (including Imrad) at no more than 50,000. Temple (1922) reports 45,000 Tuareg (presumably Aulliminden) in NW Nigeria, including their Hausa serfs. Jean gives the population of the Aulliminden in 1909 as about 7,000. Zeltner (1914) reports 87,000 Tuareg in the French Soudan. Lhote (1944) gives the population of the Aulliminden group of tribes (including the Igwadaren and Udalen) as about 162,000, of whom 94,000 are Negro slaves; he gives the total Tuareg population (all groups) as about 240,000. Urvoy (1936) states that the present country of the Aulliminden was originally occupied by Negroes, mainly Hausa, and that the Aulliminden are derived from the Iforas of Adrar. When Adrar was liberated from Songhai rule by the Moroccan conquest, the Aulliminden first defeated and expelled the Tadmeket, who sought refuge in the Timbuctoo region. After 1690 the Aulliminden pressed S from Adrar to the Gao region, where they became increasingly turbulent, warring against the Kunta, Tadmeket, and the pashas of Timbuctoo. Offshoots occupied much of the country within the Niger bend. In 1787, the Aulliminden conquered Timbuctoo, which they continued to dominate, with brief interruptions, until the advent of French rule. Delafosse (1912) says that the Aulliminden were attracted to the Gao region during the rule of the Songhai in the early 16th century, and embraced Islam at that time.

Basic Economy

Primarily pastoral. Camels, horses, cattle, sheep, and goats, are kept. Milk, butter, and cheese are a mainstay of the diet.

Sex Division of Labor

Women are fattened and do little productive work. They are, however, said to milk cows.

Property

The chief wealth is in livestock.

Inheritance is reported by Hourst to be patrilineal, inheritance by SiSo having been repudiated.

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Social Stratification

The society is stratified into noble tribes, vassal tribes (Imrad), and Negro slaves.

Marriage

A bride-price in livestock is inferential.
Monogamy prevails. Cicisbeism is said to be common.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Hourst reports that matrilineal descent for class status has been shifted to patrilineal descent with the result that the Aulliminden are more Negroid than other Tuareg tribes. Nicolas reports patrilineal descent.

Settlement Pattern

The Aulliminden wander in nomadic bands and live in tents. Hourst describes the tent as made of skins which are upheld by a central pole with the edges fastened to pegs. Urvoy (1942) describes the typical Tuareg (apparently characteristic of the Aulliminden area) as made of tanned sheep or goat skins stretched over a framework. He also reports that Bella slaves often occupy hemispherical mat shelters.

Community Organization

The Aulliminden are aggregated into camps (amezzar), groups of these into tribes (tausi).

State

Each tribe (tausi) has a chief (amrar). The Aulliminden are a confederation of three tribes (the Kel Ahar, Kel Tedjucan, and Kel Kumeden) headed by a paramount chief belonging to the Kel Kumeden; he is succeeded by his next younger Br, then ElBrElSo.

Warfare

The Aulliminden are a warlike tribe of raiders.

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Identification

The Azjer (Adjeur, Ajjer, Ashar, Azger, Azguer, Kel Azdjer) are the northeastern-most principal group of Tuareg. They speak a language of the Berber branch of the Hamito-Semitic linguistic stock, and have preserved a very old system of writing; nearly all the women and a third of the men are literate. The Azjer are composed of the Imanan, Oraghen, and four other noble tribes, two maraboutic tribes, and a number of vassal or serf tribes. Lhote (1944) reports a population of 1, 500 exclusive of Azjer in Italian territory. All are Moslems.

Basic Economy

Primarily pastoral and nomadic, but considerable agriculture is done in the oases and on the borders of Fezzan. The staple crop is dates (Phoenix dactylifera), followed by "blé" or wheat (Triticum durum) and "orge" or barley (Hordeum). Negroes cultivate considerable bulrush millet (Penicillaria spicata), and a little sorghum (Sorghum vulgare) and broom-corn millet (Panicum miliaceum) are also grown. Important fruits, other than dates, are figs (Ficus carica), olives (Olea europaea), pomegranates (Punica granatum), apricots (Prunus armeniaca), "coignassier" or quinces (Cydonia vulgaris), and grapes (Vitis finifera) for raisins; some apples (Malus communis), peaches (Amygdalus persicus), plums (Prunus domesticus), and oranges (Citrus aurantium) are also grown. Important vegetables are broad beans (Faba vulgaris), hyacinth beans (Dolichos lubia), peas, (Pisum sativum), chick peas (Cicer arietinum), okra (Hibiscus esculentus), purslane (Portulaca oleracea), "aubergine" or eggplant (Solanum melogena), onions (Allium cepa), "navet" or rape (Brassica napus), beets (Beta vulgaris), tomatoes (Lycopersicum esculentum), "citrouille" or pumpkins (Cucurbita pepo), "potiron" or squash (C. maxima), cucumbers (Cucumis sativa), muskmelons (Cucumis melo), and watermelons or "pastèque (Citrullus citrullus); some carrots (Daucus carota), and cabbage (Brassica oleracea) are also grown. As condiments, considerable cumin (Cuminum cyminum), coriander (Coriandrum sativum), and peppers (Capsicum annuum) are grown, as well as a little garlic (Allium sativa) and fennel (Nigella sativa). Crops grown for other purposes than food are henna (Lawsonia inermis), tobacco (Nicotiana rustica), gourds (Lagenaria vulgaris), Lygeum spartum (a fiber plant), and a little indigo (Indigofera argentea), hemp (Cannabinus sativa) for hashish, and cotton (Gossypium herbaceum).

Numerous camels, donkeys, sheep (with hair), and goats are kept, some zebu cattle, a few horses, dogs, and (in permanent settlements only) cats, chickens, and pigeons, but no pigs. Camels, sheep, and goats are milked, and cheese and butter are made; milk products form an important constituent of the diet. Fowl and eggs are not eaten by nobles. The flesh of camels, sheep, and goats is eaten. Some hunting is done, and the dried meat of antelopes and gazelles, used on caravan journeys, is marketed at Ghadames. There is a little fishing, by serfs and Negro slaves only, in the lakes on the Tavili plateau. Dog flesh is not eaten. There is considerable gathering--of sorrel (Rumex vesicarius), the fruits of the Nitraria tridentata, Salvadora persica (toothbrush tree), and Zizyphus spina-christi (jujube) and mushrooms (Cheiromyces leonis) as food, of rosemary (Rosmarinus officinalis) and thyme (Thymus hirtus), of the seeds of Aithatherum pungens and the stalks of Phelipaea violacea which are dried and made into flour as famine foods, and of gum arabic (Acacia aribica), the seeds of colocynth (Citrullus colocynthus) as a gout remedy, and the grains (for oil) of African rue (Peganum harmalia) for export. Trade is done at the caravan centers of Ghadames and Ghat. Salt is obtained in Amadghor in the W or by trade from Fezzan.

Sex Division of Labor

Women do not engage in food-producing activities.

Property

Property is divided into two categories: (1) personal property, including everything acquired by the individual's own efforts, including money, weapons, livestock, purchased slaves, and agricultural produce, and (2) "illegitimate" property, owned only by nobles, and including all rights based upon force, i.e., rhefer (customary rights to exact dues from caravans and travelers), gharama (protection paid by other peoples to avoid raids), melak (title to agricultural land, pasturage, and water sources), imhrad (personal and property privileges with respect to Imrad or vassals), and soltna (authority to command and to exact obedience). Most personal property, especially in livestock, is owned by women. So-called "illegitimate" property is apparently associated with headship of a family.

Personal property is patrilineally inherited--by children, who receive equal shares regardless of sex. So-called "illegitimate" property is matrilineally inherited--by ElSiElSo, without partition.

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Social Stratification

There is a complex social stratification, composed of the following elements:

a. Nobles (Ihaggaren), the members of five noble tribes. They alone exercise political authority; they do no productive labor except camel herding; they refuse to eat fish, fowl, or eggs, which other classes except marabouts eat; they police the tribal territory, protect caravan routes, wage war if necessary, and engage in raids on other groups. They are fed and supported by the sedentary oasis dwellers around the harvest season, by caravan merchants during the caravan season, and by the serfs at other times.

b. Marabouts, the members of two maraboutic tribes, noble in origin, but who have eschewed political for religious activities; they are literate and educated, and act as teachers, judges, and arbiters of disputes.

c. Serfs (Imrad), who outnumber the nobles and marabouts about 4 to 1. Some are nomadic herders, others sedentary tillers. They are organized into tribes, which are tributary to noble (or marabout) tribes, their annual tribute being reported as a camel a year and the milk from 12 ewes or goats. Some are clearly of Caucasian blood, but the majority are strongly mixed with Negro blood because freed slaves and their descendants become Imrad; it is considered a pious act to free slaves at the death of their master, and a slave woman married to a free man becomes free. Serfs bear arms and fight.

d. Slaves (Ikelan). All are Negroes purchased or captured from other tribes. They are owned mainly by nobles and are employed as house servants, to tend herds, and to conduct convoys. Women are sometimes taken as concubines or even wives. The transmission of slave status, indeed all status, is matrilineal.

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Marriage

A bride-price in livestock is customary. There is considerable elaboration of the ideal of romantic love, and women enjoy a very high status.

Strict monogamy prevails, and even the taking of slave concubines is apparently rare.

Family

The system of property suggests an extended family (or possibly lineage) organization.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Matrilineal descent prevails with respect to social class status, and there is inferentially a segmentary matri-lineage organization.

Settlement Pattern

The nobles and other pastoral groups live in migratory bands. A camp consists of tents pitched in a circle around a corral for livestock. The tents are made of tanned skins sewn together and dyed red, and/or of mats, supported by posts and pegged to the ground. Sedentary serfs live in villages of huts with thatched roofs and walls of branches, each hut being surrounded by a fence.

Community Organization

A sedentary settlement is said to be occupied by 6-12 families forming a "famille consanguine."

Local Government

Each "tribe" (tausit) is governed by an assembly (mia'ad) of adult males, over whom one presides by right of seniority.

State

In the 17th century the Azjer and the Ahaggar were united under a single paramount chief (amanokal) of the noble Amanan tribe, but since then they have been split into two independent confederations. The Azjer confederation is headed by a hereditary sheik (amghar), who is succeeded by a SiSo. The Azjer are protectors of the commercial towns of Ghat and Ghadames, and the effectiveness of this protection is largely responsible for their economic prosperity.

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Warfare

Though warlike, the Azjer are characterized by a greater degree of order and less anarchy than any other Tuareg tribe.

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Identification

The Ifora are a Tuareg tribe, especially closely related to the Aulliminden. They belong to the Berber branch of the Hamito-Semitic linguistic stock, and are Moslems. Lhote (1944) gives their total population as about 4,200. They are divided into four divisions --the Kel Tassile, Igedad, Dag-Elemtei, and Ouqqiren. They use an old Berber system of writing.

Basic Economy

Primarily pastoral and nomadic. Very little agriculture is done. Dates are the chief crop, but some onions, peppers, tobacco, and a very little barley, wheat, and millet are cultivated in irrigated gardens. Numerous camels, donkeys, cattle, sheep, and goats are kept, as well as dogs and a few horses, but no chickens. The sheep have hair, rarely wool. Cattle are of the zebu breed, and there are some pack oxen. Women ride donkeys. The staple food is milk, drunk sweet or sour, and cheese (butter is not made). Camels, goats, and sheep are milked (no mention of cows in this connection). There is a fair amount of hunting, but no fishing. Collecting produces the principal supplement to the milk diet. Many wild grains are collected, including the seeds of Pennisetum distichum. A modest amount of trade is done. Luxury objects and rugs are obtained from Ghat or Ghadames via the Ahaggar. Small caravans are conducted to Bourem on the Niger, where rice and sorghum are obtained in exchange for livestock. Salt and leather goods are obtained from Air. Caravans from Tuat bring dates, cloth, tobacco, and pottery to exchange for camels, sheep, and captured slaves.

Sex Division of Labor

Men do all herding, hunting, and milking. Agriculture is done only by slaves and Haratin. Women do not engage in food production.

Property

Each tribe has collective ownership in particular grazing grounds.

Inheritance is said to follow the Koranic law, one seventh (sic) going to the widow and the rest being divided equally among the children with sons taking double shares.

Social Stratification

There is a complex structure of social classes, composed of the following elements:

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a. Nobles (Ihaggaren), who live mainly by warfare and raiding.
b. Marabouts (Zaouia), members of one tribe with sub-tribes. They engage in herding and often in caravan trade, do not bear arms, are literate in Arabic and Tuareg, and act as teachers.
c. Vassals (Imrad), who are organized in tribes but are attached to individual nobles, for whom they herd and whom they accompany in raids. The nobles never intermarry with them.
d. Serfs (Harratin), owned by the families of chiefs, for whom they do agricultural work.
e. Slaves, who are Negroes obtained in raids or by purchase. Their status is hereditary, though manumission is common and is considered a pious act. Children born to slaves are never sold.
f. Artisans of Negro blood form a strictly endogamous caste. They manufacture tools, weapons, utensils, jewelry, and wooden objects.
g. Irreganaten, a special group descended from Arab nobles of Tidikelt who married Tuareg women and lived matrilocally with them in Ifora country.

Marriage

Marriages are arranged through an intermediary. A bride-price is required, consisting of two camels. The bride receives from her parents a dowry of 2-3 camels, a set of clothing, a new mat tent, and a female slave.

Absolute monogamy prevails. Unlike the Ahaggar, the Ifora do not even take Negro slaves as concubines.

Residence

A newly married couple set up their tent near that of the bride's parents, but there is no indication that such matrilocal residence is permanent.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Descent is patrilineal. An Ifora is stated specifically to belong to the tribe of his father, not that of his mother. "Les Ifor as ne cherchent pas à se marier dans leur propre famille."

Settlement Pattern

The ruined town of Es-Souk has remains of rectangular houses with courts which imply a population of 2, 000 or more. Today, however, the Ifora live exclusively in tents of tanned goat or sheep hides dyed red, sewn together, supported on a wooden framework, and fixed to the ground by ropes and pegs. There are two shapes. The most common is round, with a central post, peripheral posts, a slightly domed roof, and walls covered with mats. Less common are smaller tents with a framework of 4-6 vertical poles with crossbars and an open veranda at one side.

Local Government

Each noble and vassal tribe has a sheik (amrar).

State

All the Ifora tribes acknowledge one paramount chief (amenukal), whose authority is nominal, who receives no tribute and is supported only by his own Imrad, and whose decisions must all be ratified by a council of 5-10 members, all representative of noble tribes. Succession is by election of the council from within one patri-lineage, with the order of preference a younger brother, then the eldest among the sons and brothers' sons. The Ifora have normally paid regular tribute to the Aulliminden.

Warfare

The Ifora are warlike raiders. Captured booty is divided equally among noble and Imrad members of the raiding party, with a special share to the chief. The hereditary enemies of the Ifora are the Air, Berabish, and Kunta.

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Identification

The Ihajenen (Ihadjenen, Ihadshenen), with the associated Ibakammazen, Rhafsa (Kel Rhafsa), Tarat (Kel Tarat), and Telaq) (Kel Telaq) of less noble origin, are the basic Berber inhabitants of Ghat, an important oasis city with a population in 1864 of 4, 500, including outlying villages. They speak a language akin to but dialectically different from Tuareg, and thus belong to the Berber branch of the Hamito-Semitic linguistic stock. The town is essentially an outpost of Fezzan. Unlike Ghadames, it has no known ancient history. It was founded, according to local tradition, about five centuries ago by the Berber groups listed above. They have received large accretions from elsewhere, especially merchants from Ghadames, Touat, Sokna, and Djalo who have married local women and left descendents of heterogeneous composition.

Basic Economy

Primarily commercial, with agriculture by irrigation and animal husbandry. There are extensive groves of date palms and many cultivated gardens. There is considerable handicraft industry, but trade is all-important. Ghat lies at the cross-roads of major caravan routes to Ghadames in the N, Murzuk in the E, and Agades in the S.

Property

Most of the dwellings, gardens, and springs are owned by the Ihajenen women.

Inheritance is inferentially matrilineal.

Social Stratification

There are Negro slaves, serfs, and free Berbers and Arabs.

Settlement Pattern

Ghat is an oasis town surrounded by a circular wall and includes a number of surrounding villages. The houses are small apartments built around the edges of a rectangular court.

Community Organization

The town is divided into six quarters.

Local Government

The town is ruled by a hereditary sheik or sultan (amghar). Succession to this office is matrilineal--by SiSo. There is also an assembly.

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State

The town of Ghat has maintained political independence, but is under the protection of the Ajjer Tuareg. Turkish rule was established in 1874 with a qaimakam and a garrison of 200, ending the previous period of Tuareg "protection."

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Identification

The Udalan (Oudalen, Wadalen), with whom are included the Logomaten, Kel Gossi, Tingeregedech, and a series of lesser tribes tributary to the last, are a Tuareg nation, speaking a language of the Berber branch of the Hamito-Semitic stock. The tribes of this group are more closely akin to the Aulliminden than to the Antessar and Iguadaren. They are offshoots of the Iforas of Adrar. The Tingeregedech and Logomaten entered their present location as a branch of the expanding Aulliminden about 1825, but the Udalan arrived much earlier. The French occupied the country in 1899 and 1900. All the tribes of the group are Moslems. The Udalan proper number about 11, 600, including their Bella serfs, according to Gaalon (1939), but Coutouly (1923) reports 3, 500 Tuareg and 10, 700 Bella in the same region.

Basic Economy

Primarily pastoral, with transhumance. Only the Bella slaves do a little "millet" agriculture. Cattle, sheep, goats, horses, donkeys, and camels are kept. Milk, together with butter and cheese, constitutes the principal element in the diet. Wild seeds, especially of Cenchrus catharticus, are gathered to tide over the food shortage just before the harvest.

Sex Division of Labor

Milking is done by men.

Property

Livestock are the chief form of wealth and movable property. Each tribe has its definite grazing territory, which all members are free to use. Eminent domain over all land is vested in district chiefs, from whom permission to clear must be obtained in return for 10% of the harvest. Tuareg (except Bella) who use a piece of land for a number of years acquire heritable usufruct therein, but without power of sale.

Inheritance is matrilineal--by sisters' sons, then nearest matrilineal kinsman.

Social Stratification

There are sharp caste distinctions. Each caste (or class) is largely endogamous, and membership is determined by matrilineal descent. The several castes are:

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a. Imochar or nobles, who are pure Caucasian in race and disdain all work except herding as degrading. There are very few of them (Coutouly says only 92 in the Dori district).
b. Imrad or vassals, who are mixed Caucasians and Negroes descended from former subjugated peoples. They are much more numerous than the nobles, to whom they pay tribute in grain or livestock. Many of the Imrad of the region are now independent and rank, in fact, as nobles. The Imrad are organized in distinct tribes from the Imochar.
c. Marabouts, a pious and literate class, whose status in this region is inferior to that of the Imrad.
d. Bella or serfs, descendants of Negroes captured in wars and raids. They own no heritable property, could formerly be sold by their owners, and can still be given as part of a dowry. Bella are not organized into tribes of their own, but groups of them are attached to each Imochar or Imrad tribe--some as house servants, most settled in separate villages, where they conduct agriculture and pay annual tribute in grain and livestock to their owners. They greatly outnumber the Tuareg proper in this region.
e. A special caste of free Bella coppersmiths who are not liable to taxation.

Marriage

Marriage involves a substantial bride-price, paid by the groom's father to the parents of the bride. It consists normally of two camels, 8-10 cattle, or 40 sheep. A bride is also endowed with a dowry of livestock or even Bella. Virginity is not demanded, and its lack is never a reason for annulment.

Monogamy is overwhelmingly preponderant, and even concubinage is forbidden. Secondary unions are permitted with BrWi and WiSi.

Residence

Children live with their father only as long as their mother lives or

resides with him. On her death or divorce they go to live with their MoBr, only remaining with their Fa if his wealth in livestock assures them an easy existence. A MoBr, if he thinks his SiCh is being mistreated, can take him away from the Fa at any time.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Marriage is forbidden with any aunt, niece, or granddaughter, but is allowed with first cousins.

Descent is matrilineal. Membership in tribal groups and social classes follows that of the mother. There is a suggestion of segmentary matri-lineage organization.

Settlement Pattern

The Tuareg proper (Imochar and Imrad) live in nomadic bands, many of the Bella in settled villages. Dwellings are of several types. The Tuareg proper normally live in tents of tanned cowhide stretched over a simple framework of four upright forked poles with two crossbars (the skins are often dyed red), but frequently they live in elliptical mat tents, and sometimes in temporary straw shelters; in all cases the dwellings are dismountable and transported on camels or donkeys. The sedentary Bella often live in round huts with conical thatched roofs and cylindrical walls of mats or sorghum stalks.

Community Organization

The Tuareg are organized in tribal groups, said to correspond with the villages of the neighboring sedentary tribes. To each is attached one or two villages of sedentary Bella. Circumcision is practiced, but not clitoridectomy.

Local Government

Each nomadic band has a chief.

State

The Udalan proper are organized under twelve district chiefs (amenokal) of noble blood. Succession is matrilineal--by SiSo. The Tingeregedech, Logomaten, and a series of vassal and tributary tribes have been organized since 1900 into a unified confederation under a Tingeregedech paramount chief. All were at one time at least nominally tributary to the Aulliminden.

105

Warfare

Warfare and raids were formerly endemic.

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Coutouly, F. de. Les populations du cercle de Dori. Bulletin du Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, VI, 269-301, 471-496, 636-671, 1923. (Has a moderate amount of information on the Udalan and Logomaten).

Gaalon, R. de. Coutume Touareg. Publications du Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, ser. A, X, 217-237. 1939. (Has considerable information on the Udalan).

Urvoy, Y. Histoire des populations du Soudan central. Publications du Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, ser. A, V, 1-350. 1936. (A very few items; mainly historical.)

1: Lhote, Henri. Les Touaregs du Hoggar. /The Hoggar Tuareg./ Paris: Payot, 1944.

Pp. 415; 8 plates; 42 text figures; 2 maps

[Hraf MS: pp. viii, 190]

Yale: Nkd81 T7 944ℓ

[Omitted from translations: Books I-III, VIII-IX]

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Mary-Alice Sipfle]

[Books IV to VIII have been translated for the files. The omitted sections deal with geology and French Colonial History. This section offers a general account of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It includes material on the different classes of Tuareg society with the author's reconstructions as to their historical roots, materials on the political system, and data on descent, marriage, childbirth and adolescence. However these sections on social and political relationships are too scanty to give the reader a working knowledge of Tuareg society. The data on economic organization and material culture are, for the most part,

1: Lhote, Henri.

much better. Here the author offers materials on pastoral and agricultural activities, foreign trade and caravan routes, property systems, diet, dress, toilet, and some data on crafts. There is also a brief section on religion which is primarily devoted to a consideration of pre-Islamic beliefs and their persistance into modern times. The author is an ethnologist who did field work among the Tuareg.--Analyst]

Field date: 1929-1940
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

2: Briggs, L. Cabot. The Living Races of the Sahara Desert. Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. 28, No. 2, Pp. 83-103, 163-166. Cambridge: The Peabody Museum, 1958.

Pp. xii, 217; frontispiece (in color); preface; 15 tables; 74 figures (5 line-cut); index

[Processed for this file: pp. 83-103, 163-166; 14 plates]

Yale: C52.011. 28 L2

[This source, by Cabot Briggs, a specialist in the ethnology of the North African area, is a survey of the Tuaregs of the Sahara (especially the Hoggar), and deals in great part with the nonmaterial aspects of their culture (social organization, morality, etc.). Subjects covered are: morality and personal hygiene, tribal divisions, social organization, marriage, property rights, descent systems, land tenure and tribute, economy and class systems, trading, livestock, raiding, types of shelter, clothing and cosmetics, slavery, smiths and their work, and religion and religious orders. Pages 163-166 deal almost

2: Briggs, L. Cabot.

exclusively with the Physical Anthropology of the Tuaregs. The study is based on source material, supplemented with the results of a field trip to the area. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1956
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1960

3: Holiday, Geoffrey. The Tuareg of the Ahaggar. African Music, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 48-52. Roodeport, Union of South Africa: African Music Society, 1956.

Boston University, African Research and Studies Program

[This brief article begins with a summary of the Tuareg environment and their culture, emphasizing those aspects which the author believes most influence the music. He then characterizes the music by origin (Moorish and Negro), performers (male and female), instrument and song type. He describes the instruments used, the manner of performing, occasions, and dances. Included are four lines of musical notation illustrating examples of different types. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1955
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Journalist-5
Processed in 1960

4: Benhazera, Maurice. Six Mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar [Six Months among the Ahaggar Tuareg]. Alger: Typographie Adolphe Jourdan, 1908.

Pp. xxiv, 79; illustrations; end map [HRAF manuscript pp. i-xii, 1-69]

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Anne R. Coleman.]

[This study by a French army interpreter is the result of a six months' tour of French army posts in the Sahara, particularly in the Ahaggar region. The section translated is divided into two parts, treating the Tuareg in their private and in their public life -- touching upon a miscellany of subjects in each section. None of the information is given in great detail. The source is valuable as a record of the culture of the Ahaggar Tuareg before extensive contact with the French had modified their way of life appreciably. --Analyst]

Field date: 1905
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1960

5: Nicolaisen, Johannes. Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg in Air and Ahaggar. Folk, Vol. 1, pp. 67-131. Copenhagen: Dansk Etnografisk Forening, 1959.

Bibliography; map; 12 charts and tables; 7 plates.

HRAF copy

[This article deals with the political system of two Tuareg groups, the Air and Ahaggar. It offers a description of the relations between noble and vassal tribes, and the role of the central authority and thelimitations on his powers. Functionalist interpretations are given for these relationships and these are couched largely in economic terms. In addition there is a brief but clear discussion of environmental differences in the areas inhabited by these two Tuareg groups and the variations in the cycle of economic activities are described. Occasional references to other Tuareg groups are also included. There is also a rather lengthy discussion of Tuareg history and the authors' hypotheses about the introduction of the camel into North Africa. The source has been sub-headed for the Air and Ahaggar divisions. References to other Tuareg groups have been marked for the appropriate

5: Nicolaisen, Johannes.

cultural categories but no additional subheadings have been given. --Analyst]

Field date: 1951-1955
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1960

6: Blanguernon, Claude. Le Hoggar [The Hoggar]. Paris: B. Arthaud, 1955.

Pp. 208; 56 plates; 1 map; 7 appendices; index

Yale: Bk14 Y Ah12 955B [HRAF ms. pp. 1-246]

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Thomas Turner.

[This source, by a French teacher living among the Tuareg, deals generally with the life and habitat of the Hoggar. The coverage of climate, geography, flora, etc. is particularly thorough, both in the text and through the use of appendices. The coverage of the Tuareg's life is somewhat less thorough and exact. Social organization and the life cycle are dealt with in some detail, but the author apparently was not able to obtain material in any depth on the religion of the group. Material culture is covered in some detail. --Analyst]

Field date: 1937-1954
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Educator-5
Processed in 1961

7: Nicolaisen, Johannes. Ecology and Culture of the Pastoral Tuareg, with particular reference to the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr. Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Etnografisk Raekke, 9. Copenhagen: The National Museum of Copenhagen, 1963.

Pp. xvi, 540; numerous plates and figures; 1 map; bibliography.

Yale: Nk10+C79d 9. DLC: DT346, T7N5. DLC order no: 64-5718.

An eight page resumé in Danish has not been processed for the Files.

[ This is the most complete and up-to-date study available of pastoral Tuareg ethnography. The author, a Danish ethnologist, spent nearly 2 1/2 years among the Tuareg during the course of 6 field trips spread over a ten-year period. His most concentrated period of field work was for 14 months in 1954-55. From 8 to 10 months was spent among the Southern Tuareg, mainly with the Kel Ayr, while the remainder of the time was spent among the Northern Tuareg, mainly with the Kel Ahaggar. The monograph focuses upon ecological adaptations, subsistence economy and technology, and general material culture, while a shorter but very interesting section is devoted to sociopolitical organization and kinship. Throughout, the author combines historical and functional approaches in an attempt to analyze Tuareg culture in historical perspective, and especially to trace the impact of Arab Islamic influences upon the traditional culture. Some of these data have already been reported in previous articles (cf. this file, source no. 5).

The researcher should be especially cautious when reading the section on political organization, because some of the terminology used by Nicolaisen may be quite misleading, and required special marking decisions.

7: Nicolaisen, Johannes.

This is particularly true of the social units which he calls "tribes": according to his description of these units they seem to match most closely the OCM definition of sibs, and have thus been marked for category 614. In fact, in Nicolaisen's previous article referred to above, he uses the term "clans" rather than "tribes" for these units, and also gives the pertinent Tuareg term taousit, which seems to be omitted from this book Correlatively, the subdivisions of "tribes" which Nicolaisen calls "sections" have been marked for category 613, as have the subdivisions of these "sections" which he does call lineages.

There are two other special marking decisions of particular importance. The most significant and permanent political unit among the Tuareg, namely the drum-group (ettebel: pl. ettebelen), has been marked for category 634. Usually, several drum-groups are allied to compose a larger political federation such as that of the Kel Ahaggar and the Kel Ayr. These represent the highest level of political integration among the Tuareg, although their significance is relatively minor, and they have been marked for category 642. However, when the drum-group is a politically independent unit, as is the case with the Kel Geres and the Kel Adrar, it has been marked for category 642.

For further information and commentary on this source, the researcher may consult the highly commendatory review by Robert F. Murphy in the American Anthropologist 68: 554-56 (1966), and especially the detailed review article by Gast in Libyca 12: 335-341 (1964).]

Field date: 1951-1962
Analysts: A. Vinogradov
Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965-67

8: Vinogradov, Amal. Tuareg Cultural Summary. Unpublished manuscript. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1965.

Pp. 12 (typescript)

HRAF copy

/This brief source is a summary of the contents of the Tuareg file as of late 1964. Mrs. Vinogradov is a professional anthropologist with a specialty in the cultures of North Africa and the Middle East. ---Analyst/

Field date: no date
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 4
Processed in 1965

113, 101, 184, 565, 463 Tuareg MS25

[For information on the Tuareg see 1: Coon, M1 Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 204-210.]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



174 mentioned that the word *Ihaggaren (Ahaggar)* is perhaps derived from *Hoouara*, [192] which was a common term for certain Berber tribes particularly living in Tripolitania in the Middle Ages. According to Edrisi the Hoouara Berbers were originally Arabs who adopted Berber language (Edrisi p. 66ff.). This is not proved by Ibn [114] Khaldoun's important work on the history of the Berbers. But Ibn Khaldoun states that the Hoouara came under Arab influence at a very early date, and some of the pastoral Hoouara people apparently migrated southwards to the desert at a later date than the Lemta (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275ff.).

I think that the ancestors of the noble Tuareg introduced the camel into the Sahara. I think too that this may have happened before the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. But some of the dominating noble Tuareg have emigrated from Tripolitania after the Arabs have arrived. And it is probable that the political systems of the Tuareg already very early were influenced by the Arabs among whom a class system is found even nowadays as described from Cyrenaica by Evans-Pritchard. In that region there are client tribes known as *Marabtin alsaqan* 171 565 because they pay *sadaka*, a fee, to a free tribe for protection and for the privilege of using the earth and water. Some fragments of client tribes even to-day have a very inferior social position and are forced to make payments to, and to perform services for, the free tribes among whom they live (Evans-Pritchard 1949, p. 53).

The word *sadaqa*, a fee, is known to the Tuareg, and there are other Arabic 171 words connected with their political systems. Here I shall content myself with 192 reference to the word *khalifa* used among the Northern Tuareg for the deputies of a chief, and the very important word *ettebel* meaning "drum", "drum-group", and in Air also "drum-chief". Ultimately the history of Tuareg political systems should 174 10 probably be viewed in connection with those of Arabs.

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M525 Tuareg M525



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May, 1959

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Fig. 60. Riding saddle of *tekokeyt* type (*térik*). Bought in Ahaggar by Olufsen, manufactured in Ayr. Dimension: 0.70 m high, 0.50 m long, 0.35 m broad. (N.M. G. 1.124).

[284] *Hammu* obtain their riding saddles from Ayr. All three sub-types of the *térik*-saddle are construc-
[237] tionally identical, being made from pieces of wood lashed together with raw hide and then covered
[113] with coloured leather. The structure of this *térik*-saddle is described and depicted in literature (cf. notably Gabus 1949, pl. XII; 1957, p. 176 & Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 48, p. 179).

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Fig. 62. Riding saddle of *bersekes* type (*ṭérik*). This saddle was brought to the Musée de l'homme by Duveyrier. From Tasilé-n-Ajjer, probably manufactured in Ayr.

*492 mainly by blacksmiths of Aḍraṛ-n-Foṛas, which region is considered its original homeland, but it is
564 also made at Agadez in Ayr where the wooden skeleton is often covered with hairy ox hide. The wooden
237 structure of this saddle type is described in literature (Gabus 1949, pl. XII; 1957, p. 176).
113 In Ayr and further south in Damergu I have often seen a very simple riding saddle which has never been mentioned in literature. It is known as *kantarki* or *delobi* (Figs. 64–65), and it is very interesting

[Text continues on p. 84]

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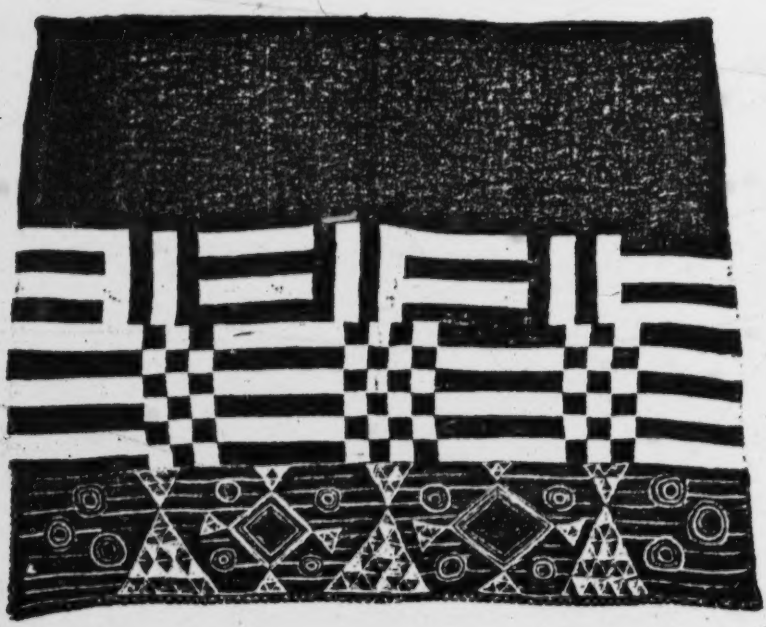
saddle known as *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* and described above p. 76 (Fig. 57). The Ahaggar Tuareg have four sub-types of women's saddles:— (1) *akhawi*, that is a very large saddle at each side provided with a wooden arch; (2) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tkéwin*), a lighter saddle provided with similar wooden arches; (3) *aregen*, a large and heavy saddle without side-arches; (4) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tehḍaḍ*), a light saddle without side-arches. These saddle types, particularly the former type known as *akhawi*, are exhaustively described by Foucauld in his dictionary (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 723), and a very beautiful specimen is here depicted from the collection of the Musée de l'homme (Fig. 75). Very elaborate saddles as that depicted are always made by the blacksmiths, but light saddles of the *tkhawit* types may also be manufactured by Tuareg women. Thus women of the *Ireḡenaten* tribe south of the Ahaggar Massif make saddles of the lighter type themselves. Women's saddles may sometimes be provided with a roof made from curved and bent boughs covered with cotton or blankets. This peculiar construction is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ahennaka*.

492* 562 [113] [564] [462]



492* 248 531

**Fig. 67. Saddle cloth (*amesluḳ*) of cotton and embroidered with coloured thread. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.771 × 0.620 m. (N. M. G. 5190).**

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Fig. 88. Riding saddle of the type manufactured at Agadez and used by horse-riding Tuareg and Negroes in Ayr and further south. Note the very narrow stirrups which are often used for the insertion of only one or two toes. (Musée de l'homme, Collection Henri Lhote, 38/617).

231 there are perhaps less than ten horses which are all owned by sedentary people (blacksmiths and
[563] Arabs). Conditions for horse-breeding are better in Ayr, but even there pastoral Tuareg do not generally breed horses which for a large part of the year must be fed on barley, millet, or on milk. In Ayr,
[563] horses are mainly bred by sedentary Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group and by the negroid citizens of Agadez who hold horses in very great esteem. There are perhaps 100–200 horses in and around Agadez, where the animals are kept in or at the houses most of the year to be fed on cereals and on hay of annual grasses cut with a sickle (cf. Fig. 143 f). During the period of *akasa* it is common to let the
*492 animals graze on annual pasture, and they are then very tightly hobbled. The Ayr peoples use a bit
[171] (*araba*) (Fig. 89) similar to the type used by Arabs in the North, but their saddles are not of the general Arab type (cf. Fig. 88). The very broad Arab stirrups also seem to be unknown to the *Kel Ayr* and to the *Kel Geres*, who have many horses. The stirrups used by horse-riding Tuareg are generally very thin and slender, and they are frequently used for the insertion of only one or two toes.
[113] The riding-gear used by the *Kel Ayr* (including the *Imeggedezen*) and the *Kel Geres* is described in detail in literature (cf. Foureau 1905, III, p. 879 ff. & 921 ff.). This is very complete, and was, perhaps,
[175] introduced fairly recently, for we know that the Libyans of Antiquity rode without a saddle and governed their horses mainly by means of a stick (Bates 1941, p. 96 f.), and we are informed by Ibn Batutah that in the Middles Ages the people of Ayr rode without saddles (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 442).
231 The history of the horse in Africa constitutes a very important problem. It is generally admitted
174

232 [1/4] killed. This does not agree with Nicolas' statement that selective breeding is unknown among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek* for all types of domestic animals (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 133).

Superfluous bull-camels are generally castrated very late – rarely before they are six or seven years old, and frequently much later. But this is not to say that all bull-camels are used in breeding, as those used for riding and transportation are generally hobled during grazing and copulation is thus effectively prevented. Bull-camels used in breeding are not always used for riding and pack animals, as they may be very savage and dangerous. In the rutting season they are left unhobled among the she-camels.

The Tuareg consider it best to castrate bull-camels late, and say that bull-camels if castrated at a very early age will not develop fully, or become such good riding and pack animals. Bull-camels which have not been allowed to mate are not so difficult to control during the periods when she-camels are on heat. Nevertheless, when bull-camels are castrated they become more docile. But to the Tuareg it is more important that gelded animals easily grow fat and thus acquire the strengh and endurance to enable them to perform the long and arduous expeditions connected with caravan trading and, in the past, also with raiding. In brief, castration of bull-camels is done as follows:— The legs of the animal to be operated are tied tightly with strong cords, and it is kept firmly to the ground by the weight of people sitting upon it. The operator thereupon cuts two slices in the animals scrotum and pulls out the testicles together with the spermatic cords. This must be done with great care because, it is said, the animal may die if one of the spermatic cords breaks. This method of castration by extraction is the only method used foı camels, and it may also be applied to other domestic animals such as bulls, rams, he-goats, and in Ahaggar also to donkey stallions. In the north this extraction method is known as *aselbi* while the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr use the word *azam*. The latter people claim that castration by means of cutting and extraction should be performed in spring (*tabsit*) or during the early rains (*akasa*), as the wounds will heal properly at these seasons. The other important castration method used among the Tuareg is that of chrushing the spermatic cords, it is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *áddar*, and is never used for camels but is frequently applied to he-goats, rams, and bulls. Chrushing of the spermatic cords is done by means of stones or pieces of wood – frequently by [4/2] beating with the heavy wooden pestle of the large millet mortar (cf. Fig. 177). I believe that this method is that most commonly applied to he-goats and rams, and Tuareg of Ayr claim that they can use this method all the year round as it leaves no wounds to be healed. Rams and he-goats may be castrated at any age and even very old animals are castrated to make them fat for slaughtering. It is claimed that it is best to castrate superfluous lambs and kids very early, preferably as soon as they are weaned.

I believe that the examples given above confirm my statement that the Tuareg are mainly rationalists in their stock-breeding methods. To elucidate this in more detail I shall now present my material on Tuareg veterinary knowledge. This material is unfortunately not very precise because the Tuareg distinguish between very many stock-diseases, and the treatments applied can be studied scientifically only by a veterinary surgeon. A description of stock-diseases is available for the northern parts of the [1/3] Sahara ("Notice sur l'Institut Pasteur d'Algérie", I–II, 1934–1949), but there seems to be no particular study of Tuareg stock-diseases, which I know only by their Tuareg names. As I have not studied this [1/4] rather special subject in great detail, I supplement my own material with informations gathered from literature.

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When Tuareg get lost in the desert and lack water, they bleed their camels and 261
drink the blood (cf. p. 235). In situations of great distress they may also kill their camels in order to obtain the water supply conserved in the animal's stomach.

(3) Treatment by burning. Wounds are cauterized by means of a redhot iron known as *tamak* 232
(Ayr), or *taterkemt* (Ahaggar). Burning with a redhot iron is also practised for camels with swollen feet as already described (p. 121). It is also common to burn a line around wounds or other sites of disease in order that it shall not spread, and burning is even practised for internal diseases, as is the case with the *tozo*-disease of camels (p. 121). Redhot irons are, on the whole, used particularly for camels. Wounds of sheep and goats, e.g., wounds from jackal bites, are cauterized by means of glowing camel dung. Certain stomach diseases, such as types of tympanites, are cured by a bunch of flaming grass swept under the animal's belly. I have seen this practised with donkeys which, like horses, may suffer from a kind of tympanites known in Ahaggar as *tahagd*.

(4) Instruments and bandages. Enema should be mentioned under this heading. It is known in 232
Ahaggar as *sebegiwen*, and is applied to humans and to animals by means of a funnel or by a special 757
apparatus made from a piece of hollow cane connected with a skin-bag. I never had the opportunity [13]
to see this apparatus, which is depicted by Lhote who also gives some information about the use of enemas with human beings (Lhote 1955a, p. 303, Fig. 36). He mentions that an enema is also given by a mother to her little children by blowing water into the anus with her mouth. I have seen this done to children in Ahaggar, but I do not know whether this method is practised with animals also. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the Tuareg apply wooden splints to their domestic animals with broken 232
legs. I have seen this device only in Ahaggar where wooden splints are known as *tifesasin* (sing. *tafasast*). They are used for sheep and goats (Fig. 92), and, by the sedentary agriculturists, also for cows. The wooden splints applied to goats are sometimes replaced by a leather bandage solidly tied [237]
around the broken leg. I mention under this heading that camels bred and born in stony or mountainous 492
countries cannot always stand the long journeys through plain and sandy deserts. Their feet suffer

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Fig. 93. Tuareg bleeding a camel at the place of the neck vein known as *abayor*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

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Fig. 94. Tuareg operating a camel's foreleg with a knife. Northern Ayr, the *Kel Tédalé*.

492 from the constant friction against the sand, and it may become necessary to provide the animals with leather shoes, that is pieces of ox-skin sewn around the hoofs. These leather shoes are known to [113] the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tissal* (sing. *tasselt*). Their appearance is excellently depicted by Lhote (Lhote 1951 b, photographs p. 224).

232 824 (5) Medical treatment which forms an important part of Tuareg veterinary knowledge. I have mentioned in the description of camel diseases the use of certain plants for the external treatment of scabies. The Tuareg also use various plants for drugs. Seeds of certain annual plants are mixed with milk and given to goats and sheep which suffer from stomach-diseases. Leaves of various plants are also considered laxatives. The Tuareg know many drugs made from wild plants, and they are aware that there are several wild plants that are dangerous to domestic animals. A very dangerous venomous plant is *élel* (*Nerium oleander*) which is extremely common in the higher parts of Ahaggar. It contains a kind of strychnine, and camels which eat *Nerium* leaves will die from this poison. The Tuareg say that camels bred and born in Ahaggar know the plant to be dangerous. These camels do not eat the *Nerium* leaves but others introduced to Ahaggar from the south may do so. To prevent camels from eating *Nerium* leaves the Tuareg put a leaf of the plant into their nostrils, or burn *Nerium* leaves so that the smoke and the scent of the plant enter the animal's nostrils. In this way camels come to loathe it. There are, according to Foucauld, other venomous plants in Ahaggar, e.g. *awrhed* (*Perralderia coronopifolia*), *arenked* (*Leptadenia heterophylla*, and/or *Cocculus pendulus*) which are fatal to goats and sheep (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1524 & IV, p. 1647; Maire 1933, p. 230, 236). The species [682] known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*) is very venomous for human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies.

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human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poision their enemies. However, this plant does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, p. 192). One plant (*iéhereggelé*) (*Artemisia judaica*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten venomous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for domestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe they have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings (Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be understood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil mouth (*tehoj* in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as *eltama* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding camels in Ayr:— Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order that their riding animal may not stumble.

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Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikebren*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhet* tribe (*Isekkemaren*).

423
422
224 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 148).

423
241 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Ṛali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

685
643 Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the
423 violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant
[428] dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally
[613] the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary
[114] sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

## AYR

422
* 233 The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark.
[428] However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *éjwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and
● [113] Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

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Fig. 200. Neolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isebeten* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045–0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

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Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*ameywan*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

The pottery made in

323 Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from
[531] Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have
[114] been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing
[113] of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information
[437] (Lhote 1947b, p. 145–154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

[462] In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 507–512).

[Text continues on p. 260]

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/2/ viewpoints in a particular book on the subject (Graebner 1911). A later contribution was made by Wilhelm Schmidt who classified all cultures into world-embracing culture complexes based mainly upon social characteristics, therein differing from the culture complexes established by Graebner (cf. Schmidt & Koppers 1924, p. 75 ff.; Schmidt 1937).

The establishment of world wide culture complexes has been of some value for our knowledge of cultural evolution in Africa. But scholars who have adhered to this particular method of historical reconstruction have committed many fallacies, not only because they recognized no other scientific approach but the study of distributions, but also because they were so convinced about a relationship between all cultures that they did not take the trouble to produce evidence of their theories about historical connections.

The methodological approach concerned with the establishment of culture complexes within the African continent was also founded by Leo Frobenius. In 1904, when Graebner and Ankermann established their culture complexes for Oceania and Afrika, Frobenius claimed that he now dissociated himself from this method which he had himself created. From then on he was concerned almost exclusively with the study of African cultures. He firmly believed that most African cultures had been introduced from outside, and he tried to show how these foreign influences had penetrated into the continent. He did this not only by means of distributional studies, but tried to demonstrate how certain trait-distributions should be explained in the light of archaeological finds in African coastal regions. By this method Frobenius established certain culture complexes to which he added two particular cultures which could not be explained in this way. The cultures that could not be explained in the light of archaeological finds he termed "Urkulturen", and he named them the "Ethiopian Culture" and the "Hamitic Culture". Frobenius has written on African cultural developments in numerous books and articles. His method and his culture complexes are best described in "Atlas Africanus" I–VIII, 1920 ff., and in "Kulturgeschichte Afrikas", 1933. His culture complexes are the following:—

[/3]

(1) *The Ethiopian Culture*. A primitive culture ("Urkultur") which constitutes the foundation of many cultures of tropical Africa.

(2) *The Hamitic Culture*. A primitive culture ("Urkultur") mainly represented among pastoralists of North and East Africa.

(3) *The Atlantic Culture*. A high culture which came from the Mediterranean, through the Straits of Gibraltar, along the North-west African coast, and settled around the Guinea Coast where there are numerous ruins and archaeological finds.

(4) *The Syrtic Culture*. A high culture which influenced a large part of North-western Africa. It came from the Mediterranean and reached as far south as Senegal – Niger – Tchad – Benue. The Garamantes played an important part in the spreading of this culture.

(5) *The North Erytrean Culture*. A high culture connected with certain North-east African states, notably Axum and the old Kuchitic states in and around Ethiopia. From these regions the culture spread over the Sudan and adjacent regions. But the traits of this culture complex are not limited to any definite period.

(6) *The South Erytrean Culture*. A high culture which like its northern counterpart came from the

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Near East. It was brought across the sea and along the East African coast by a foreign people who /21/ settled in the region between Limpopo and Zambezi. It is connected with ancient ruins, notably with those of Zimbabwe.

There are many extremely weak points in these culture complexes.

The so-called Ethiopian and Hamitic cultures are nothing more than accidental groupings of cultural traits, and the Atlantic culture seems to be a compilation of traits, which did not come to West Africa from the sea in the way Frobenius thought. When all this has been said, it must be admitted that he started a valuable work. For his *Syrtic Culture* and the two *Erytrean Cultures* were founded upon a realistic methodological principle entirely new to African historical anthropology, namely the combination of distributional studies with archaeology.

Frobenius had many followers, who have contributed much to advance his theories (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 7 f.), but since Frobenius no scholar has been of such importance for the establishment of African culture complexes as has Hermann Baumann. He acknowledges the value of some cultures established by Frobenius, and in an early paper he states that the culture complexes of Africa should be elucidated mainly by studies within the continent. Culture complexes should be intra-continental, and not inter-continental (Baumann 1934). As early as 1927 Baumann outlined some of his culture complexes in a study of the Azande and the Mangbetu (Baumann 1927), and the year after he published an important paper on the division of work in African hoe culture, in which paper he stressed the importance of social organization for the establishment of culture complexes (Baumann 1928). Bau- [113] mann has published other significant papers on various aspects of African cultures, but his main work is "Völkerkunde von Afrika" (1940), in which book he has outlined his view on the historical development of African cultures. They are divided into the following culture complexes:—

(1) *The Pygmy Culture*. This is limited to the parts of Central Africa, where the Pygmies live. The culture is founded upon hunting and collecting and is very poor in material objects.

(2) *The Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture*. A primitive hunting culture which is represented mainly among the Bushmen though it can be traced over a large part of the African continent in the steppe and savannah regions.

The so-called "Mahalbi" Culture established by Frobenius at the outskirts of the Sahara (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 70 ff.) is incorporated in the Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture, which is not limited to any particular ethnic group. It is found among khoisanid and negroid peoples alike, and in part it is represented among ethiopid and even europid tribal groups. However, it is considered likely that this particular culture in its origin was linked with people of the khoisanid race, which seems to have existed over most of the African continent in the remote past. This hunting culture seems to have been of great importance to people of the Sahara which appears from rock engravings representing hunting scenes, and traits of the Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture were found among the Ancient Libyans of Northern Africa. The Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture, and also the khoisanid race, seem to be connected prehistorically with the Wilton- and Smithfield Cultures of South Africa, the Elementeita Culture in Kenya, the Capsian Culture of North Africa, and perhaps also with the well-known rock engravings of Eastern Spain. Characteristic of the Eurafrican hunting culture are particular hunting rites and hunting methods (hunting in disguise by means of animal masks, poi-

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by means of a tongue inserted in the wooden handle, but the digging stick is also known. The typical type of dwelling is the cylindrical house with a conical roof. /21/

(6) *The Young Sudanese Culture*. This is largely identical with the *North Erytrean Culture* established by Frobenius. Its main area of distribution lies between the Senegal River and the Red Sea around Ethiopia, and its culture elements derive from Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and above all from India. It is attached to state organization characterized by divine kingship, and many traits of highly-developed techniques in crafts are particularly attached to the royal court. It is a most refined culture in comparison with the above mentioned *Old Sudanese Culture*. Its original foundation was perhaps a developed agricultural technique based on artificial irrigation, manuring, and the terracing of fields. Certain agricultural implements are also characteristic of this culture complex, notably the socket-shafted hoe and other implements hafted in this way, the sickle, particular knives for rice-harvesting, and crescent-shaped spades. Megalithic monuments are perhaps also peculiar to this culture.

(7) *The Rhodesian Culture*. This is largely identical with the *South Erytrean Culture* established by Frobenius, and has many traits in common with the *Young Sudanese Culture*, notably state organizations characterized by divine kingship. Many other cultural traits are common to the two cultures.

(8) *The Old Mediterranean Culture*. This is largely identical with the *Syrtic Culture* established by Frobenius. It is a high culture, which has been introduced from the Mediterranean into a large part of the Western Sudan between the Senegal River and Lake Tchad. It is less prominent in other parts of the Sudan. It is characterized by the mother-right of the Berbers, and this social trait derives from the old Aegean-Iberian culture of the Mediterranean. Mother-right was introduced into the Western Sudan together with the invasion of fair-skinned Berbers whose racial traits can be traced in numerous chief-families of West Sudanese states. The ancient mother-right of the Berbers even reached the Gold and Ivory Coasts. In the north it disappeared in most places, but was conserved among the isolated Tuareg and the Beja. Many developed cultural traits are considered part of the Old Mediterranean Culture, but as this culture in the Sudan has mixed with the Young Sudanese Culture it is often difficult to determine whether cultural elements of the Western Sudan have been introduced from the east or from the north. An important characteristic of the Old Mediterranean culture is clay or mud architecture, including huts and store rooms of cylindrical form with a conical roof, dome-shaped dwellings, drums made from clay, large earthen jars for storing cereals, painted pottery, refined leather work, stone-carving, the manufacture of beads and glass, etc.

Many scholars other than those mentioned have contributed to our understanding of African cultural development, but none has made so systematic a study as has Baumann. More recently, however, a most important work on the distribution of African cultural traits has been published by Sture Lagercrantz. This deepens our knowledge of African cultures by its distribution maps, founded [/13] upon an enormous knowledge of African literature (Lagercrantz 1950). Lagercrantz follows Baumann in the establishment of culture complexes, stating that the results achieved by Baumann are likely on the whole to prove of permanent value (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 8). In what follows I attempt to elucidate certain aspects of Tuareg culture in the light of Baumann's African culture complexes.

There can be no doubt that in the past an *Old Mediterranean Culture*, or a *Syrtic Culture*, has greatly /74 influenced North Africa with related regions. I think that the influence from such a high culture in

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105 Marabout is available, he reads the Moslem prayers. There is no wailing nor any public display of sentiment. The camp is immediately broken and the place is not used again. Condolences often include the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you love is now in the paradise of God."

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643 According to the rules cited above, the political succession of an aménokal goes in the first degree to his brother; in the second degree, that is, if he has no brother, to his first cousin, the eldest son of his maternal aunt; and in the third degree, to the eldest son of his eldest sister. In fact, this is what comes out of the genealogical [114] study of the Ahaggar chiefs made by Mr. Benhazéra, (1) modifying

1. Six mois dans l'Ahaggar /Six Months in the Ahaggar/.

the order indicated by Duveyrier who attributed the succession to the eldest son of the eldest sister. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord /The Northern Tuareg/, p. 397.

For reasons we do not know, these rules have not always been followed. Thus, Aménokal Younès succeeded his /155/ father Mohamed el Khir, and Aménokal Ăitarel /succeeded/ his cousin El Khadj Akhmed, even though the latter had closer relatives. More recently, upon the death of Aménokal Akhamouk, his second cousin Meslah was named to replace him, although he had a first cousin, son of the sister of the former Aménokal Moussa ag Ămâstan, who was removed from command because of incompetence.

184 643 Among the Tenguériguif /Tehgeredief/, chiefs are chosen alternately from two lateral lines descended from the same chief, Ikhmed. Thus the deceased aménokal can never be succeeded by his brother, but by a second or third cousin, who is not necessarily taken from the uterine branch. The nomination of the aménokal is submitted to an assembly of notables for their approval, just as among the Ihăggaren.

Among the Ioullimmiden, since Aménokal Our Ilmet (1650-1715), out of fourteen chiefs who succeeded one another, we note six successions from father to son, two from brother to brother, two

565 Unions, or more exactly concubinage, between Imrad and
[595] Negresses are very common.

Imrad have the right to possess black slaves who are employed
[567] in household work and in keeping the herds.

Schirmer has said that the Ahaggar Imrad were sedentary peoples
114 entrusted with keeping the gardens; (1) he has committed an error,
241
565

1. Le Sahara, p. 298.

certainly because of erroneous information. This is all the more curious since Duveyrier had already defined exactly the position of the Imrad. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 334.

114 Duveyrier translated the word amrid by the word "serf," which
565 corresponds exactly to the Arab expression ra'aya, and also because
566 the ra'aya are subjects liable to forced labor and taxes, whom the marabouts are not allowed to possess by Moslem law. Duveyrier believed he was confirmed in his opinion because of the fact that the Inislimen of the Ajjer did not have the right to have Imrad. This is an error of interpretation. This Arabic term cannot be suitable under the circumstances, for the social class of the Tuareg Imrad has no equivalent among the Arabs.

We have preferred the term "vassals" which is more suitable in our minds, because the Imrad are not unconditionally subject to
[651] forced labor, they pay a perfectly defined vassalage fee, their
[643] chiefs participate in the election of the amenokal, and they them-
[657] selves own slaves.

/167/ Moreover, the term "vassals" has been adopted by Richer, Deniker, Verneau, etc.

563 and may be owners of slaves and herds. They sometimes seek
[582] matrimonial alliances with the Imrad, but the latter, who hold
them in rather great contempt, most often refuse.

According to Nicolas, the Iborelliten might be captives of a
114 higher origin. (2) For de Foucauld, (3) Aborelli (plural, Ibourelliten)
563
[192]

2. Loc. cit., pp. 579-586.

3. Dictionnaire touareg-français
/Tuareg-French Dictionary/,
vol. I, p. 79.

designates a mulatto of a white man and a Negress, or inversely. In our opinion, it should be added that one of the parents is of Taureg origin; and we are all the more convinced that this trait is
[192] indispensable since de Foucauld elsewhere refers to the ordinary mulatto by the name of Achardan (plural, Ichardanen). (3)

3. Dictionnaire touareg-français
/Tuareg-French Dictionary/,
vol. I, p. 79.

We have gathered information in the regions of Tahoua and Gao, where éborelli refers to a child born of an Amajer and a non-captive Negress, or of a foreign woman. The Iborelliten are therefore mulattos born of mixed parentage, Tuareg and Negro.

563 As groups of Iborelliten we shall cite the Igdâlen of /169/ the Aïr and the Aboghelitè spoken of by Barth, (1) who were born of

1. Op. cit., vol. I, p. 204.

Tuareg mothers (Imochar, according to Barth) and Negro fathers. Another Iborelliten tribe, of Tuareg and Peul stock, said to have

567 have been freed as a group as a reward for some outstanding action. Nicolas mentions the present Tamjert fraction in the center of Tahoua who were freed after the battle of Izerwan where they had courageously resisted the Kel Ahaggar (1898). Many Iderfan go back to cultivation. They often live with the sedentary groups, with whom they join forces. They do small services for the latter, such as tending their flocks.

114 563 567 Nicolas likens them to the Harratines of the Kel Ahaggar. This is only partially justified, for, although it is true that a few former slaves work in the centers of cultivation of the Ahaggar, the majority of the Harratin are Negroes from the Tidikelt who freely came to get jobs among the Tuareg. Thus, we must not confuse the Harratin with the Iderfan.

567 As in the case of the Iklan-n-Egef, there are no Iderfan in the Ahaggar except in isolated cases.

564 The Enaden. -- The Enaden (singular, Enad) form the artisan class of the Tuareg. In the Sudan they are called /174/ garassa or gargassa, which is very probably of Sonrhaï origin.

[192] The word Enadan probably comes from enad, meaning "the other," extended to mean "those we don't talk about." (1) This is

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

because the Enaden form a closed caste, scorned and cursed by the Tuareg whose repulsion for manual labor is well known.

463 564 Their role is to manufacture anything the Tuareg may have need of: weapons, wooden table utensils, tent pegs, mehari saddles, and harnessing articles.

In addition, they also willingly engage in the business of barber-[757] surgeon, and with the little instruments they make they adroitly do 752] bloodletting, cupping, scarification, and other little operations of the same order, including tooth extraction. They are remunerated [465] for their work when they work for tribes, or, if they are attached to a master, he has them entirely at his disposal.

## Tobol of the Tăitok

631 565 The Tăitok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin, [602] Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Tăitok.

According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin [173] ~~as~~ the Imenân sultans, that is, descendants of Idris, and the other part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Aïr where the stock /souche/ still exists. (1)

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 322.

114 631 565 The Tăitok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Inifel in 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity with the Ihăggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live; our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the Ăjjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of

2. Les Touareg de l'Ouest
/The Western Tuareg/, p. 18
(Algiers, 1888).

any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

579 631 643 [181] 175 They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela and the suzerainty of the aménokal of the Ahaggar. After the division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the aménokalat, which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/ by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Tăitok are bound by numerous marriages and are all more or less cousins.

631 It will be noted that there are no marabout tribes in the divers
793 Ahaggar tobol. The Ifôra who nomadize in the Témaçinine (Fort Flatters) region are completely independent. They maintain amicable relations with the Ihaggaren and the Kel Ajjer, but these relations are very few and far between and have no political or religious character. They do not send any chaplains among the Ihaggaren. Their chief has settled at the little zāwiyah of Témaçinine, near which his ancestors are buried, and where he enjoys great /213/
[D78 repute. All the Tuareg, Ihaggaren or Ajjer, who pass near this
788] place never fail to stop and pay a visit to the sheik and go pray on the tomb of Si Othman, a famous saint of this marabout lineage.

This zāwiyah is affiliated with the Tijaniyyah brotherhood.

There are several marabouts who live in the midst of the Ihaggaren camps, but all of them are of Arab origin and none of them are Ifôras.

631 The Ifôras are under the administrative control of the Ajjer annex, and politically they are much more a part of the Kel Ajjer than of the Ihaggaren.

They are subdivided into three fractions:

Ifôras-oui-n-Oukkîren

Ifôras-oui-n-Egdad

Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel

The first two, who are of sherif descent, were in the habit of espousing the cause of the Ouraren, while the third was attached to the Imenân sultans.

• 114 Duveyrier said that the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel were provided with
533 drums and continued to constitute the court and the music corps
631 of the fallen sultans; he concludes by saying that their role is limited to making noise. (1) Now the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel have never been

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 361.

musicians, but their name, which can be confusing, means "those who are attached to the amenokal," just as Iklân-en-Tâousit (of the Ahaggar) means "servant of the tribe or of the group of tribes

114 forming the tobol" and, by extension, "servant of the tobol."
533 At the present time these three fractions number about 150
631 people.
[162] We call attention to them here only as a reminder.

Book V

Material Life

Chapter 1

Living Conditions Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

133 The Ahaggar, as we have already said, is a mountain refuge. We do not know why the Tuareg have continued to live there when they could have found much better countries to the south where they could have had a much easier life. Perhaps we should attribute this to attachment to the country or, quite simply, to an ancient state of things which forced them to take refuge against their will in the middle of the rocks.

13 A superficial examination shows that the Ahaggar is a very poor
[511] country with negligible resources, which imposes a living standard lower than the average. The pasture reserves are calculated, as
[312] are the water reserves. The subsoil possesses nothing, or almost nothing, which is marketable, except a little salt. Consequently, the possibilities for life there are quite limited. For the inhabitants to live, then, they must have recourse to outside resources.

264 The Tuareg use spoons. The use of this implement is peculiar
[415] to them, for their Arab or Negro neighbors eat with their hands.
The custom must be related to the wearing of the veil, which they
[182 do not take off to eat and which prevents them from putting their
291] hands full of food to their mouths. They carry food to their mouths
while slightly holding up the ends of their veils.

[271] For beverages they drink only water, whether it is clean or
272 polluted, and milk.

For half a century they have had the habit of drinking green tea in the Arab manner: they aromatize it with mint or some perfumed plants of the Ahaggar, /238/ chih (Artemisia herba alba) in particular. Coffee, which was formerly much used by them, is now
[757 taken mainly as a medication to calm violent coughs or stomach
178] aches.

276 If we now seek consumer goods taken as stimulants or narcotics, we see that the Tuareg know only tobacco, which they chew or take as snuff.

Smoking is not one of their customs. The young men who are
[177] in contact with the French like to beg a cigarette, but it is simply in the spirit of imitation.

Duveyrier, however, has said that the Tuareg smoke. Was this,
● 114 perhaps, the fashion among the Tuareg who visited Ghat? Before
276 him Barth wrote that all riverain people living along the Niger loved to smoke. "It is very seldom that they leave their pretty little clay pipes, and all the Rouma, like the Tuareg, cover their mouths when smoking, so that all one sees is a pipe bowl coming out of the shawl which covers the face." (1)

1. Voyage en Afrique, vol. IV, p. 137.

[114] 276 For his part, Commander Cauvet, in describing Tuareg clothing, said that men kept their pipes and tobacco in the pocket of their big blouses.

Thus all these testimonies coming from such trustworthy travelers tried to make us believe that the Tuareg are pipe smokers. For our part, we have never seen any.

On the other hand, they are very fond of chewing tobacco, and their wives also practice this custom, so that they finally have a deformation of the lower lip caused by the craze they have of stowing the quid between the gum and lower lip.

[439] Tobacco is not cultivated in the Ahaggar; it is imported from the Touat by the Arabs. The Sudanese Tuareg get it from the sedentary peoples of the Niger or through caravaneers from Upper Dahomey. They generally add a few natron crystals to it to take away the acridity, or else the ashes of graminaceae which play the same role as natron.

177 276 Many Nigerian Tuareg have formed the habit of chewing kola nuts; this is a powerful stimulant which the Negroes use a good deal. A few Ihaggaren /239/ indulge in this practice when they go to the Sudan, but they have not introduced it into their everyday mores and never use kola when they are in their own country.

262 The Tuareg are subject to a rather large number of dietary interdicts. First, like Moslems, they may eat only meats from ritually butchered animals. They must abstain from eating the [273] meat of pigs and wart hogs and from drinking fermented drinks which are harīm. The meat of fowls--except the ostrich -- and fish is also forbidden and considered impure. But these are customs which go back before Islam. They also may not eat the [825] meat of the uran, because this lizard is considered to be the descendant of their maternal uncle.

301 [114] This stone ring (ahbeg) has been described by the explorer Duveyrier as a weapon. Actually it is only ornamental in nature, for it is so fragile that it could not withstand strong pressure without shattering, which might seriously wound the man wearing it.

Fig. 41. Types of bracelets worn above the elbow by the Tuareg. 1, 2, and 3 are in soft schist from Aïr, and 4 is made of marble from the Hombori region.

[171] At the present time the Tuareg are the only African people who wear this stone ring, except for some groups of people who live in contact with them and have adopted it in a spirit of imitation.
172 It was, however, in very common use among Neolithic peoples,
301 and it is not rare to find fragments of them in the middle of ancient

551 not bring about any substitution of names for either sex. If the father's name is Mohamed, one would say Anaba ag (son of) Mohamed, or Chékou oult (daughter of) Mohamed. Nominal filiation is therefore patrilinear.

Nicknames are numerous in the Ahaggar. Father de Foucauld tells us that "they are sometimes proper-names of persons different from the one already received, sometimes names recalling a physical peculiarity or an event, sometimes meaningless names. A great many people have no nicknames. Among those who do have them, some accept them and others are insulted by them. Sometimes nicknames are temporary, known only to a few intimate friends and quickly forgotten. Sometimes they become so attached to the person that he is never referred to in any other way and his real name falls into oblivion." (2)

2. Dictionnaire abrégé Touareg-Français des noms propres /Short Tuareg-French Dictionary of Proper Names/, p. xv.

842 Conception and nursing. -- As for conception, the Tuareg see in it nothing but the will of God. However, they also establish the causal relationship of sexual intercourse and do not discuss the possibility that a woman can conceive without contact with a man. The existence and role of spermatozoa are unknown, but the Tuareg /285/ recognize the action of the seminal liquid and women practice spraying as a contraceptive measure. Professor [114] Gautier has even spoken of a primitive douche. This apparatus is not known by Tuareg women, and Gautier surely must have confused it with the enema.

841 Menstruation (iba-n-amoud) begins between the ages of thirteen [145] and fifteen years for Tuareg girls and causes them great fright. While they are indisposed they make no intimate toilet and often take no precautions to absorb the flow, which spots their clothing. [783] They also abstain from making prayers as if they were in a state of impurity.

000 In the third century B. C., the Massyles, a Numidian nation, worshipped Cronus, it is said, and offered him human victims. (1)

1. Gsell, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord /Ancient History of North Africa/, vol. IV, p. 289.

The Byzantine author Corripus tells us, on the other hand, that the /301/ Louata and the Hoouara professed paganism. They pictured divinity in the shape of a bull who was the source of other native gods also having the shape of young bulls. One bore the name of Gurzil. They had holy idols whose names they shouted during battles, and these idols were watered with the blood of sacrifices on the eve of the battles.

114 175 Christianization. -- Much has been said about an early Christianization of the Tuareg. Duveyrier in particular attributed the high place of women in Tuareg society to Christian influence. He wanted to see the same influence in the existence of a certain number of Latin words of religious origin in Tamashek, as well as in the decorative motifs of some objects where the cross is often represented (on warriors' bucklers, in saddle pommels, on the handles of daggers and swords, in a little pendant worn around the neck by women).

Furthermore, Duveyrier is not the only one of this opinion. One has only to look at the drawing given by Barth (vol. I-II, no. 12), picturing a Tuareg meharist, where the crosses on the saddle and the buckler are clearly Christian. Such a document, which has no connection with reality, is well calculated to propagate a belief based on imagination rather than on the facts.

First we must examine what the true position of Christianity was in North Africa, where it took root in the first years of the Christian era. From the very first the new religion made great progress; many bishops were created who took the new faith from Caesarean Mauritania to Byzacène /Byzacium? Tr./ reaching the High Plateaus

114 175 and even the Chott Djerid. According to Tertullian, not only was all of proconsular Africa Christian, but also all the Syrta /Syrtis Minor? Ed./ region and some Getulian tribes as well. However, Father Mesnage, to whom we owe important works on Christianization in Africa, has asked with justification whether the ministers of the gospel were sufficiently careful of the quality of the new converts. The spectacle given in particular by the community of Carthage in 250, at the time of the persecution of Decius, was really lamentable, and the apostates numbered thousands. The Numidians, by converting to Christianity, /302/ adopted the religion of their conquerors, or at least they seemed to be converted, for the masses remained pagan. What, then, are we to think of the nomadic tribes who still escaped the masters of North Africa? In a letter written to Hesychius, Bishop of Salone in Dalmatia, Saint Augustine said "that the gospel had not been preached among the barbarians, and as for the more remote nations who did not in any way recognize Roman power, they did not belong to the Christian religion through any of those who make it up." (Letter no. 199)

Speaking of the Berbers to whom the gospel had been preached, Saint Gregory said, in another connection, that many had remained pagan and continued to worship stones and trees. (1)

1. Saint Gregory, IV, 23, 27; VIII, loc. cit, Mésnage, Le Christianisme en Afrique /Christianity in Africa/, vol. I, p. 75.

On the other hand, Procopius tells us that about 548, under Emperor Justinian, the Nasamonians from Ghadames were converted and that in 569 the Garamantians from Fezzan concluded a peace treaty with the empire and were also converted. "Never was the faith so widespread in Africa," says Father Mesnage.

114 175 "The conversion of these new peoples spread the influence of the church or the empire quite deeply into the interior of Africa. But was it solid? Religious propaganda was for a long time one of the favorite forms of Byzantine expansion. It follows from this that the conversions which it caused were especially political and were made without previous instruction in the catechism, consequently without conviction on the part of the converts. It lasted, alas, only as long as political interest remained in agreement with personal interests." (2)

2. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. II., p. 72.

The Arab author Ibn Khaldoun said in the fourteenth century, while speaking of the Islamization of the Sanhadja Berbers, that this pagan people had never adopted the Christian religion.

Thus it seems probable that the Tuareg were never Christians. [531] Nothing in their present mores betrays the least trace of it. The cross found on the bucklers, weapons, saddle articles, and jewelry has no typically Christian character; it is a decorative motif to be found in ornamentation used among peoples who have nothing to do with Christianity. Only the Latin words introduced into the Tamashek language may indicate /303/ that the Tuareg must have [192 1714] been in more or less distant relations with the Christian peoples, but they cannot vouch for the early Christianization of the Tuareg by themselves alone.

175 Judaism. -- Although Christianity certainly no more than 797 grazed the North African Berbers and by repercussion the Saharian nomads, it is perhaps quite different with Judaism. Indeed, the Jews settled early in North Africa, where paganism was then professed, and they made many adepts among the Berber peoples. Entire tribes were converted, and when Christianity came to take root in its turn, it found before it numerous groups, both Judaic and Judaized. The position of the followers of Israel was

411 and, if it is of good quality, it is liable to split a buckler in two.
714 The hand is protected by a little rectangular iron guard which gives the shape of a cross to the upper part of the sword.

114 Duveyrier, the explorer, noted that the Tuareg used the bow.
411 We have not found this weapon among them, nor any evidence as to what it used to be used for.

[714
281]

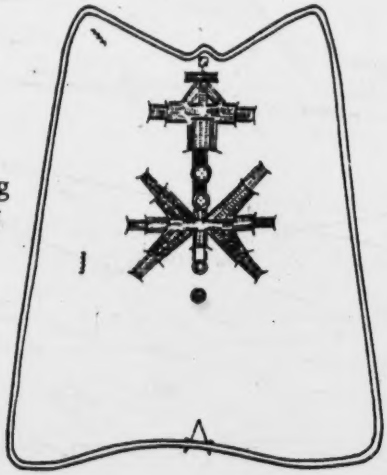

Fig. 58. Tuareg buckler made of oryx antelope skin.

411 All of these weapons have become very archaic in view of the arrival of rapid-firing weapons. The Ahaggar Imochar still
[554] hold to their sword, which they always wear over their shoulders, and which seems to be used more to indicate their social rank than for warring action. In the Sudan almost all the Tuareg still carry lances, and some of them carry forearm daggers. In Aïr one may still see a buckler hung from the saddle of a mehari. But in a few years all these objects will be good for filling trophy cases.

2:Briggs E-4,5 (ca.1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[Pp. i-xii, 1-82 not processed]
[ P. 83B]

# THE TUAREG

114 Most of what has been written about the Tuareg is of very little value for the purposes of modern ethnological study. Much of it is merely superficial and more is the result of serious but amateurish work by men who were often enough sincerely dedicated students of mankind, but whose great enthusiasm could not make up for their lack of that broad yet specialized professional grounding without which no one is fully equipped to analyze socio-economic patterns of human communities, however simple they may be.

This may sound like an unjustly harsh and pretentiously stuffy statement, but it is not. What fever-stricken soldier in his right mind would go to the colonel's office for medical attention? What farmer would take a broken-down tractor to the village minister to be repaired? It is an inconvenient fact that highly specialized work can be well done only by people with sound professional training or great experience, preferably both; but this simple fact has been ignored all too often in ethnological research where there is no compelling force like commercial competition to make it obvious. Ethnological research in the Sahara Desert has suffered grievously as a re-

114 sult, and the Tuareg have been among the most spectacular victims.

The famous veil of these great desert warriors (figs. 25, 26, and 51) has cast its shadow of romantic mystery not only over the faces of its wearers but over their whole culture, and so both opportunity and temptation to romanticize have overcome to some extent many of those who have written about the Tuareg tribes. In the summer of 1956 the author heard a well-known public lecturer and traveler, who had even been to Tamanrasset for a few days, declare to his unsuspecting audience of honest New England farmers that the Tuareg are probably descended from a little band of crusaders who got cut off in the rock-walled valley of Petra (in what is now the Kingdom of Jordan), whence they finally escaped and found their way (heaven knows how) clear across Africa to the mountains of the Ahaggar. He added that Tuareg men are [141] about 7 feet tall—and he was speaking in a church—although the tallest one so far recorded measured just over 6 feet 5½ inches, while the average Targui stands only about 5 feet 8 in his sandal-feet (*see* table A-2).

114 515 Tuareg morality and personal hygiene have been the subjects of hardly less exaggeration. Several generations of frustrated readers have by now found vicarious satisfaction in titillating tales of the great ladies of the Ahaggar, beautiful of face and graceful, gracious and unclean, skilled in the arts of love, poetry and music, fascinating and refined and evil-smelling. These unattractively attractive custodians of a spuriously antique chivalrous tradition have been said to welcome to their bosoms and their beds nearly all socially presentable admirers, while their docile husbands stand modestly aside and show their good breeding by 114 concealing their emotions. Few authors seem to have been bothered by the glaring contrast between this rather pitiful picture of long-suffering patience and the very different one that they usually present only a few pages earlier, in which we see the fire-breathing knights of the Ahaggar, those seven-foot sons of the flower of Christian chivalry, busily chasing each other up and down the rocky mountain slopes when there doesn't happen to be anyone else around to kill. But this contrast bothers us—surely there must be something wrong somewhere. So let us take a

114 closer look and find out just what really does go on in the bosom of such a seemingly impossible community. The best general source on the Ahaggar Tuareg is probably Blanguernon (1955), while Benhazera (1908) gives some valuable demographic data and Lhote (1947 and 1955) supplies a mass of miscellaneous details. But all these works are in French: Rodd (1926), writing in English, gives a fairly good general picture of the Tuareg as a whole although he deals primarily with the Aïr.

101 The Tuareg of the Sahara proper, as we have defined it, are divided into three confederations, those of the Tassili n Ajjer, the Ahaggar and the Adrar n Ifoghas, distributed in that order from Northeast to Southwest. [161] There are probably only about 10,000 or 11,000 of them in all, for most of the Tuareg, some 140,000 strong, now live outside our area in the Aïr and the northern central Sudan. We will take the Ahaggar confederation as our Tuareg socio-economic sample because this group not only seems to have remained the least affected by foreign influence but has also been the most extensively studied and described, and because it is the only one with which the author is personally familiar.

101 The Tuareg as a whole used to range over an enormous territory extending roughly as 166 far north as Ouargla, eastward to Gatroun, westward to a bit beyond a line running from 131 Aoulef to Timbuctoo, and southward to below the Niger Bend and the northern border of Nigeria. The eastern, northern and western limits of this range have been slowly driven back over the last few centuries, first by ever stronger Arab pressure from the East and North and then by the gradual southward extension of French and, more recently, Italian control. These steadily increasing pressures have produced a steadily increasing though fluctuating flow of the Tuareg population southward from the Desert proper, through the Aïr and the Adrar n Ifoghas and into the Sudan. Under the stimulus of disaster in one form or another, this flow has occasionally become torrential for brief periods, as when, following the suppression of the 1916–18 rebellion, a great wave of Aïr Tuareg moved into British Nigeria (Rodd, 1926, p. 361) and the main body of the Taïtoq tribe left their home range in the western Ahaggar for the

326 grubbing gardeners alike. They have turned their status as "untouchables" to their own advantage and so remain untouched.

326 Physically the smiths of the Ahaggar cover
142 the whole range of human variation between the Bush Negro type on the one hand and the Berber variety of Mediterranean on the other, but they seem to fall mostly within a highly variable category characterized in general by "European" features combined with a yellowish brown or occasionally coppery skin, thickish lips, and curly or frizzled hair. They are lean in build as a rule, but seem softer and less wiry than the more active Tuareg (fig. 57, *a*).

326 And this brings us to another exasperating
174 blank in our picture of Saharan peoples. The smiths of the Ahaggar claim to have come from the Adrar n Ifoghas and to be related to the families of smiths who live there now, and Benhazera (1908, pp. 221 and 223) reproduced an old Arabic text which states that "the smiths and the Fulani have the same mother." Cline (1937, p. 141) maintained that the art of smelting iron was introduced into the western Sudan by "camel-riding Berbers" from the North, across the Sahara. But no one really has any idea where the smiths of the Ahaggar actually did come from or when, where and from whom they first learned their trade. No one, so far as the present writer knows, has ever published measurements or blood group classifications of a single one of them, and no one seems to have found out anything to speak of about their social organization or even their kinship terminology. Not a dozen photographs of their faces are available to students. Why? Simply because the Tuareg are spectacularly romantic while the smiths are not.[18] The smiths of the Ahaggar and of the Sahara as a whole have suffered the same fate that the Spanish gypsies might have suffered had George Borrow not been born, and, like the Spanish gypsies, they are
614 disappearing fast.

565 A number of vassal clans of the Ahaggar
173 confederation are said to be of Arab or mixed

[18] Here the author has laid himself wide open to a very embarrassing question. "Why," he seems to hear the frustrated reader ask, "haven't you done something to fill this aching void yourself since you find it so distressing?" The author's time in the field has been severely limited by the exigencies of writing this preliminary survey, and recently by political

[114]

565 173 614 Arab and Tuareg ancestry. Benhazera (1908, pp. 90, 102 and 222–23), Lhote (1955, pp. 234–36) and Blanguernon (1955, pp. 52–55) all agree in lumping most of them together in a special almost tribelike class known as the Issoquamaren, but they do not agree entirely on just which clans should be included in this group. According to Benhazera the Issoquamaren once claimed descent from a woman purchased in the Adrar n Ifoghas country by Arab invaders who came there straight from Mecca about the middle of the 7th century A.D., and he adds that they are thought to have moved northward to the Touat early in the 12th century. The first part of this tale is very characteristic of the marginal Arab schools of historical fiction, or fictional history if you prefer, which are often no more reliable than is the modern school of lecturers who tell us, for example, that the Tuareg are descendants of veteran crusaders who came to the Ahaggar from the Levant. This parallel that spans the centuries is funny, to be sure, but there is much more in it than just an amusing concidence. It is a striking illustration of the fact that uncritical minds, Moslem and Christian alike, are always deeply moved by thoughts of the past glories of their race and of "that old time religion." We must never forget the dangers of grotesque misinterpretation that result from the action of this powerful subconscious force. Most of the Saharan peoples who have been converted to Islam stubbornly insist against all sense and reason that they are of Arabian Moslem origin.

According to Lhote (1955, p. 236) the Issoquamaren are believed to be the descendants of Arab fathers and Tuareg mothers of the Tademaït region, whence they were recruited as mercenaries by the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, but Blanguernon (1955, p. 52) holds that they are descended from a group of Arab tribes of the Tidikelt and the Touat who were defeated and then assimilated by the Ahaggar Tuareg in the 18th century or possibly before. The Issoquamaren have been thought by some to enjoy a social status superior, at least in

[114] unrest as well, and so he has had to resign himself to filling in small but important gaps in relatively complete pictures rather than run a serious risk of getting bogged down for months or doing only a superficial job in attempting to reconstruct pictures whose main outlines even are as yet unknown.

143 curiously enough, seem to be slightly less "pure" in this respect. The latter group, however, has a very low incidence of *B*, which is another typically Berber character and suggests, moreover, a relatively low degree of negroid admixture.

The Ajjer Tuareg are the only people of the Sahara who have been examined for blood group factors other than those of the *ABO* series, and they have been tested in addition only for gross *Rh* positive and negative reactions. The results of these tests indicate that the Saharan Tuareg have an extremely high incidence of *Rh* —, comparable to what one finds among Moroccan Berbers. Kabyles too have moderately high *Rh* — percentages, which, however, do not appear to exceed those of Arabic-speaking groups of Morocco and northern Algeria (Briggs, 1955b, p. 112). This latter situation is due probably to the fact that speakers of Berber and Arabic have intermingled extensively over the last 900 years in most of Barbary, excepting the more remote mountain districts of Morocco. Tuareg of the Aïr, which lies south of the Ahaggar and outside of the Sahara proper, have a very low incidence of *Rh* —, indicating extensive negroid admixture which has, nevertheless, had surprisingly little effect on their outward appearance.

In closing our discussion of Tuareg serology, we may add that the typically Berber combination of very high *O*, low *B* and very high *Rh* — finds a striking parallel among the Basques, who live in the mountainous frontier country that lies between France and Spain. We are still in no position, however, even to make a guess as to what this extremely curious coincidence may mean.

174 The possible origins of the Tuareg have been discussed far more extensively and by more authors than those of any other Saharan
● [114] people. Barth (1857–58), Duveyrier (1864), Rodd (1926), Lhote (1955) and Blanguernon (1955), to mention only a few, have devoted dozens of pages to the subject. But their original sources consisted only of the writings of Classical and Mediæval Arab historians and travelers, whose verbose, obscure and contradictory statements hardly allow of any broad deductions above the level of rough guesswork, and of the traditions of the Tuareg

144 The question of the racial origin of the Tuareg, as a branch of the Berber stock, is so intimately bound up with the problem of their origin in the broader sense which we have just been discussing that there is not much left for us to say about it separately. The learned 144 authors cited earlier in this section have all had 174 their say, but we have seen that their conclusions rest on evidence which is unavoidably [114] fragmentary and usually equivocal as well, since there is no other kind available at present. As for ourselves, we shrink as did Leblanc (1928–29, vol. 39, p. 44) from the temptingly spectacular but risky sport of skating over such thin ice in pursuit of a dream, no matter who the dreamer may have been. We are already in substantial agreement with the opinion of Vallois (1948, p. 40) that the Tuareg came into the Sahara probably from the North and possibly about the beginning of the Chris-

11. "Djer mouhaden, " that is, "between prayers, " because it comes between the feasts. It corresponds to Zu'lkadah. 805

12. "Tafaski, " that is, "the sacrifice. " It corresponds to Zu'lhijjah, in which the feast called "Aïd el Kebir, " also called by the Arabs "Aïd el Adha" عيد الأضحى , or "feast of sacrifices, " takes place. [177]

There is no book in Tamashek, at least that is what was told me. However, the secretary of the amenokal Moussa /46/ ag Amastane informed me that there was, at the Ahaggar, a book written in the Tamashek language, but with Arabic characters, which was the translation of a work on law of which Ibn Achir was the author (1). 177 213

1. This book is at present in the possession of someone called Salakh ag Meguemmed of the Isoqqamaren. /47/

Part Two

The Tuareg in their Public Life

Chapter I

Nobles and Imr'ad

Duveyrier has described so well the characteristics which distinguish a noble from an amr'id (1) that I think it 114 565

1. Les Touareg du Nord /The Northern Tuareg/, pages 331 to 335.

unnecessary to review this matter after him. I want to limit [114] myself simply to noting some observations which I was able 565 to make in the course of my stay among the Tuareg of the Ahaggar confederation.

First of all, the striking thing is that at the end of a short period of contact, one can easily guess if one is in the presence of a noble or of an amr'id. His look, his walk, his carriage, his features (if the veil is lifted to the forehead), an indefinable something, all lead correctly to the conclusion that the Tuareg before you is really a noble. However, in the course of palavers im'rad, many of whom are rich, often come as well dressed as the nobles. But their features are less fine, their bearing less easy, their look less assured, and one thinks, "This is an amr'id."

Furthermore, the Tuareg will tell you, "An amr'id may /48/ act well, dress in fine clothes, and bear fine arms, but he is still 'iamir'ed, '" that is to say, "he lacks something," [196] and it is from this verb that they have derived the name amr'id, plural imr'ad.

Should it be thought that the imr'ad are a less pure race 173 than the nobles because of long-ago crossings with the Negro 174 race? The sheik Ben Djellas states that the mother of the 565 Issoqqamaren (an imr'ad tribe of the Ahaggar) was bought by the first inhabitants of Es-Souk. On the other hand, we will see how the Adjouh-n-Taheli and the Tedjehé-n-Efis came from Aïr to place themselves under the protection of the noble Kel R'ela and Taïtoq.

Should the admitted differences be attributed to the state of subjection and dependence in which the imr'ad have been for a long time in relation to the nobles? I would be tempted to accept this second hypothesis as more in line with the facts of history.

And from what I have seen and ascertained, I cannot 565 bring myself to translate the word "amr'id" as "serf," a word 631

Concerning inheritance. We have seen that private in- [428]
heritance is passed on to the natural heirs, according to the 611
rules of Mohammedan law. As for political inheritance, that 631
is to say, the right to the title of chief of a tobol and to the collection of the "tioussé," or tribute from the imr'ad, this is handed down according to special rules.

Duveyrier has told us that these rights are handed down [114]
"to the oldest son of the oldest sister." I would never have dared to go on record as disagreeing with a statement from such an authority if I did not have complete assurance that the order of inheritance is not exactly that which Duveyrier indicated, and I will furnish proofs of this assurance in the chapter entitled "Genealogy" in the second book of this study /not translated/.

I would therefore say that with the Tuareg when a tobol chief dies there are to succeed him: /51/

1. His brother (the oldest of those living, if there are several)
2. The oldest son of his maternal aunt
3. The oldest son of his oldest sister

This last one is only the third in line.

It is the ancestress, it is her daughters who hand down
to their children the right to the "tobol." At present the Kel [173]
R'ela trace back their laws of inheritance and of access to the tobol to Kella, their ancestress, and the Taïtoq to Sakina, a contemporary of Kella and a collateral relative.

The son follows the tobol of his mother. Thus, if the father belongs to the tobol of the Kel R'ela, for example, and the mother to the tobol of the Taïtoq, the son would belong to the tobol of his mother. This is what happened to Sidi ag Keradji, the present amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet, whose father was of the tobol of the Kel R'ela and whose mother was of the tobol of the Taïtoq. The same applies to Attici ag Amellal and his brother Anaba, whose father belonged to the tobol of the Tedjehé Mellet, and who /themselves/ at present belong to the tobol of the Kel R'ela.

As a rule, an amicable solution is finally reached, but the 728
part of the loot which is returned to the deputation is always
far less than that which was taken. The Tuareg say, "Alaï
ouala," that is, "the restitution is never complete."

It may also happen that the raiders refuse to return anything. 721
The raided tribe, if it [701]
considers itself too weak, 728
solicits the support of
another tribe with which
it has good relations, and
then there is fighting. /56/

[411]

Dautheville
Tuareg Shield

When caravans of 484
traders have been raided, 486
since these caravans have 721
usually placed themselves
under the protection of
noble tribes to which they
pay dues, the controversy
is settled between the pro-
tecting tribe and the
raiders' tribe.

In the Ahaggar it seems that the old amenokal, Aïtar'el, 728
established the restitution of loot taken from caravans protected
by the Azdjer in the following manner:

1. Complete restitution of the pack camels taken from the caravans

2. For each load of merchandise taken, one "amadjour" camel for each man who took part in the raid and rode a mehari of his own

3. One "aleggues" (a young camel of three years) or a half-grown camel for each man who borrowed or hired the mehari which he rode in the raid.

The arms of a Tuareg and the harness for his mount have 114
been described in detail by Duveyrier, and there is no need to
review them here. /57/

Should one see here some agreement with what we have 114
read in Dozy, or might the uran have been a "totem" among 825
the Tuareg, as among the Redskins of America?

Nobles do not eat the "dobb" (star lizard) either, which 262
is called "aguezzeram" in Tamashek. As a reason for this 565
abstinence, they quoted me these two lines of nine syllables: 825

Our ekcher' aguezzeram idit [539]
Iladhou ichchaden ilir'it.

This means:

"I do not eat the aguezzeram because it smells bad and has a rough skin" (1).

1. Iladhou is put instead of "ili adhou." Similarly, ilir'it is put for "ili ir'it." Ir'it, plural ir'ten, means hide (of beef, camel, etc.).

Finally, they firmly refuse to eat chickens and eggs, and chickens are found nowhere among the Tuareg, except among [231]
some "harratine" /Haratin/ Arabs of the Ahaggar villages. They claim that this abstinence dates back for a long time. Aziouel ag Ser'ada when pressed ended by telling me that it was because chickens seek their food in manure. In the Niger, according to a study by officer-interpreter Merle, the French are called egg eaters. But I believe that the following is the 262
real reason for this abstention: The Tuareg, like all the 565
Berbers, had embraced Kharijism. Among the chiefs who took 825
part in the insurrection of the Kharwarij /plural of Kharijite. 773
Ed./ was Tarif, who made the first invasion into Spain (the city of Tarifa still bears his name). His son Salih, or Salah, claimed to be a prophet and composed a new Koran. Elijah, or Elias, son of /62/ the latter, openly remained Moslem, and it was only Salih's grandson, Jonah, or Younes, (end of the eighth century), who spread the new doctrine, which was a much modified Islamism. According to one of the precepts of

5:Nicolaisen E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

# *Political Systems Of Pastoral Tuareg In Air And Ahaggar.*

By Johannes Nicolaisen

101 The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive
131 area of the Western Sahara and adjacent regions of the Sudan. The territory
162 dominated by the Tuareg [redacted] n 14° and 30° North Latitude and between
5° West Longitude and 10° East [redacted] ngitude. They fall into seven main groups or major political units (fig. 1) comprising 240,000–300,000 individuals, their negro slaves excluded. The two northernmost groups (the Kel Ahaggar and the Kel Ajjer) live in the true desert country and number less than 10,000 or about 3% of all Tuareg. In Ahaggar the number according to statistics of 1950 is 4,611. The Air Tuareg further south are more numerous and seem to comprise more than 20.000 individuals (cf. Lhote 1947, p. 15f. & 1955, p. 157).

•114 This study of Tuareg political systems has as its foundation a part of my own field material collected in 1951 (in Ahaggar), 1952 (in Tassili-n-Ajjer), 1953 (in Ahaggar), and 1954–55 (in Ahaggar including Ahnet, and in Air). I have spent about two years in these Tuareg countries living most of the time in Ahaggar and adjacent regions, while my stay further south in Air was limited to six months.

121 It is my intention here to describe the political systems of Air and Ahaggar, but as my final task is concerned with their origin I find it necessary to take up also more general aspects of Tuareg culture and the distribution of certain cultural
[12] traits. I shall make use also of Tuareg oral traditions and of the very comprehensive material on Tuareg history gathered by Arab historians and geographers of the Middle Ages. Thus I do not follow the ordinary lines of any particular anthropological school.

000 I am much indebted to Dr. Birket-Smith (University of Copenhagen) from whom I acquired my general anthropological knowledge together with a keen interest in historical problems, and to Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry of the London University where I have learnt what I know about social anthropology. Dr. Phyllis Kaberry has taken a profound interest in my studies, and I feel grateful for her kind help and assistance in all matters concerning Tuareg political systems and Tuareg social structure in general.

122 My journeys among the Tuareg were carried out by means of grants from various Danish foundations, notably Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond, Carlsberg Fondet, Knud Rasmussen Fondet, and Jens Lohmand Rasmussens Rejselegat. During my last journey The University College London assigned me a grant without which I should not have been able to gather the material here presented

S: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



on the Air Tuareg. I wish to express my sincere thanks to the above mentioned foundations and their directors. 122

For the transcription of Tuareg letters I have on the whole adopted Foucauld's system (cf. Foucauld 1920 & 1951–52):- 104 212

| Tuareg Letters (Tifinag) | Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters | | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| ⵓ | b | ب | |
| ⵛ | ch | ش | |
| ⵔ | d | د | |
| ⵇ | ḍ | ض | Emphatic |
| ⵖ | f | ف | |
| ⵗ | g | | Hard |
| ⵜ | ǧ | | A peculiar soft pronunciation something between g, d, j, and l |
| ⵀ | h | ه | Aspirated |
| ⵉ | i | ي | Used both as consonant and vowel at the end of a word. At the beginning and in the middle of a word only as consonant. |
| ⵊ | j | | |
| ⵅ | k | ك | |
| ⵍ | l | ل | |
| ⵃ | ḥ | ح | Foucauld 1951–52 has the transcription ḫ [114] |
| ⵍ | l | ل | |
| ⵎ | m | م | |
| ⵏ | n | ن | |
| ⵄ | ʕ | | Foucauld 1920 does not mention this letter [114] |
| ⵓ | ou | و | Consonant or vowel as for i mentioned above |
| ⵔ | r | ر | |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tarahamt)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of weels *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters.

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45 – Urvoy 1936, p. 138ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



24/ culture is never practised without irrigation. Rodd thinks that the Air agriculturists
[114] gave up shifting cultivation because they are too poor to-day to risk losing their
[174] seed in the event of inadequate or irregular rainfall (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I rather think the reasons are that the agriculturists of the massif nowadays grow very little millet and have a better irrigation system than in the past. In summer maize forms by far the most important crop, and it needs irrigation which is comparatively easy when using zebus for drawing water. However this may be we can assume that a type of agriculture related to Sudanese shifting cultivation was formerly important to the Air agriculturists, and although irrigation is nowadays used everywhere agriculture in certain places of Air is still a kind of shifting cultivation. Many agriculturists do not resort to manuring nor do they carry fresh soil to the gardens as in Ahaggar. With crop rotation they utilize one and the same plot for a few years but then have to cut trees and brush-wood somewhere else to make a new
[312] garden. A new well must then also be dug, but as irrigation wells are rather shallow this work is comparatively easy.

171 There are in Air certain agricultural implements related to those of Sudanese
412 farming cultures. We must mention in particular a small hoe hafted by means of a thong *(tagoumit)*. It is unknown both in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer as well as further north in the desert while extremely common among Sudanese shifting cultivators. Feilberg has classed it with the so-called Old Sudanese Culture es-
[114] tablished by Baumann (Feilberg 1934, p. 260ff. – Baumann 1940, p. 50ff.; 1944, p. 213ff.). Baumann claims that this culture did not know the sickle, considered by him an implement of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 56ff.; 1944, p. 283ff.). The sickle (Air: *elegesouar*, Ahaggar: *amreh*) is in fact unknown in many Air villages, and is according to my investigations not generally used for the harvesting of crops but for cutting annual grasses to be stored for
241 fodder. In Air the harvesting methods are as follows:– millet is cut with a knife,
171 maize is cut at the root by means of the above-mentioned hoe, while wheat and barley are pulled up with the hands. Similar harvesting methods seem to be known in the Sudan (Baumann 1944, p. 295ff.). As a Sudanese trait we can
[415] perhaps also recognize the large clay amphoræ used for the storage of cereals (Rodd 1926, p. 317. – Nicolas 1950a, p. 146).

We can conclude this section as follows:– While the negroes of Ahaggar ap-
174 parently have arrived in that country later than the fair-skinned Berbers the oldest
144 known population in Air were Hausa-speaking negroes subsisting predominantly
563 as agriculturists. Their original culture apparently was closely related to that of Sudanese shifting cultivators. Contacts with the north and in particular invasions of fair-skinned Tuareg have changed their cultural position. Mixing with the Tuareg they have also changed their physical type, but they are still predominantly negroid. They have adopted a Tuareg dialect but have retained part of their old vocabulary.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*Tuareg Invasions into Air.*

174 The connection between the Mediterranean and the Sudan by means of caravans through the Sahara is of very great but unknown age. Caravans have crossed the Sahara as far back as historical knowledge reaches (cf. Bates 1914, p. 101 ff. – Gsell 1920–28, I–VIII – Bovill 1958, p. 24). At the beginning donkeys and oxen were probably used as beasts of burden and the latter animals were employed also as draught animals for carriages as were horses at a later date (cf. Lhote 1953, p. 1138–1228). With the introduction of the camel, caravan trading through the desert was no doubt highly intensified. For although donkeys and also oxen can cross the Sahara in winter without much difficulty camels are better suited to desert journeys.

The first Tuareg who came to Air may have been caravan traders attracted by the excellent grazing grounds of this country. When they arrived we do not know but it seems possible to follow in broad outline the history of the Air Tuareg a thousand years back in time and to distinguish between several invasions. It must be admitted that these cannot be precisely dated and that our historical knowledge is on the whole very fragmentary. It is derived partly from oral traditions, partly [127] from written historical sources among which the so-called Agadez Chronicle is of particular value. It consists of various Arabic manuscripts in the care of the Sultan [114] of Agadez. They have been published in translation and abstracts (Palmer 1910; 1928; 1936. – Urvoy 1934). Several authors have made valuable contributions to the history of the Air Tuareg (Barth 1857, I. – Rodd 1926a, 1926b, 1938. – Palmer 1936. – Urvoy 1936. – Nicolas 1950a; 1950b), but to my mind the best general account is given by Urvoy whom I follow in outline.

As early as the 7th century A.D. extensive migrations of pastoral Berbers including the two important tribal groups of Lemta and Zaraoua passed through the desert. The Lemta settled around the Niger and gave rise to the Sonrai Empire, while the Zaraoua reached the Lake Tchad country where the state of Kanem-Bornou was created. At this time pastoral Berbers also arrived in Air where new states were created. The name of one of them is known, namely the Hausa state of Gober or Gobir which existed in Air up to the 12th century A.D.

New invasions took place in the following centuries. The ancestors of the clans of Igdalen (now in Tegama and Damergou south of the massif) and Iberkhoreen (now in Azaoua north of Tahoua) have probably immigrated before the year 1000 A.D. as may also be the case of the Kel Tamgak clan in Northern Air.

As mentioned the excellent grazing grounds of Air were probably the reason for the first Tuareg invasions. From the 11th century A.D. another factor seems to have been responsible, namely the arrival in North Africa of the Arab bedouins of Beni Hilal and Beni Soleim. Nomads of the latter group invaded the Tuareg countries of Tripolitania and Fezzan (Ibn Khaldoun, I, p. 134 ff.) with the result [614] that Tuareg clans migrated southwards to Air. Among them was a group of seven clans (Itesen, Ijadaranein, Ifadalen, Tamakou'at, Tamaga'azellet, Iza'aran, and

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



Ibrazouen) descending from daughters of one and the same mother. The Itesen clan had as its particular ancestress the oldest daughter. The clans were united into a federation also named the Itesen, as its supreme chief known as the *Aremboleu* was elected from this clan. The Itesen group settled in Central Air, where for a long time it held an extremely powerful position. At a certain date a group named Immikitan was separated from the Itesen federation to form an independent or semi-independent political unit with its own chief by the title of *Emekki*. Tuareg of the Itesen-stock including the Immikitan are nowadays very few in number and mainly live in the savannah south of the massif where most of them took refuge owing to wars with later immigrants. Two of the oldest clans mentioned still exist, namely the Ifadalen in Damergou, and the Iza'aran partly in Damergou, partly in Air. 174 [614]

According to tradition the Itesen Tuareg came from the oasis of Aouidjila (Aujila) in Libya, and we may assume that they have immigrated from Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan or adjacent parts of the northern desert. The group of Tuareg known as the Kel Geres is said to have come also from Aouidjila. They invaded Air at a time between the 12th and the 14th century.

At the end of the 14th century both the Kel Geres and the Itesen came under the pressure of Tuareg invaders known as the Kel Ooui who are said to have had Aouidjila as their original homeland like the Itesen and the Kel Geres. They fought these two groups and in particular the Kel Geres who left Air finally in the 18th century to take up grazing grounds in the region of Madoua of the Nigerian borderlands. There were originally seven clans of Kel Ooui Tuareg, and five of them still exist. Like the Itesen and other Tuareg they claim descent from a common ancestress. The Kel Ooui pastoralists have largely mixed with the negroid village population also now known as Kel Ooui. Barth mentions that the true Kel Ooui clans are related to the very powerful clan of Oraren of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 372).

At the same time as the Kel Ooui, or somewhat later, a clan or a group of clans known as the Kel Ferouan came to Air from the north. Their name is derived from the village of Iferouan (Kel Ferouan = "the people of Iferouan") but they were nevertheless true nomads roaming the northern parts of Air until the 17th century when they moved southwards to live around the city of Agadez. There are different traditions about their origin. One mentioned by Urvoy claims Egypt as their home-land; this probably implies immigration from or via Tripolitania (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). Barth says they are related to the Oraren clan (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). According to my own investigations they claim to have lived originally in Ahaggar as close kinsmen to the dominating Kel Rela clan of that region. Some Kel Ferouan Tuareg will even go so far as to hold that even after their arrival in Air they continued to intermarry with the Kel Rela of Ahaggar. According to Nicolas their ancestress in named Tadaouelt (Tadawelt) (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474), while I have been told her name was Sabenas. 114 174

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air



Later than the Kel Ferouan other clans or groups arrived in Air from the north. Prominent were the Kel Fadei who are said to be related to the Taitoḳ clan of Ahaggar (Duveyrier 1864, p. 322. – Urvoy 1936, p. 150. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Barth however is of the opinion that they came from different regions but in particular from Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 384). The Kel Fadei Tuareg first lived in Northern Air and their name is derived from the mountains of Fadei in these regions. At the end of the 18th century they migrated towards the south-west to the region of In Gall where they still have grazing grounds.

Still later immigrants are the Kel Tamat who came possibly three or four centuries ago. Urvoy mentions Ahaggar as their homeland (Urvoy 1936, p. 150), while Nicolas says they are related to the Oraṛen clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471). Even later came the Ikaskazan Tuareg who in Air attached themselves to the Kel Tamat. According to Urvoy they came from Ahaggar (Urvoy 1936, p. 151), according to Nicolas they descend partly from the Taitoḳ of Ahaggar, partly from the Imenṛasaten and the Oraṛen of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Tuareg of the Ikaskazan told me that they are related to the Oraṛen.

It is well known that all over Northern Africa numerous Arabs and Berbers claim relationship with the Prophet and his family. Most of these traditions seem to be mere fake. We may, to mention an extreme example, take the negroid blacksmiths of Ahaggar who firmly hold that their ancestor lived in Mekka as the blacksmith of the Prophet. All traditions relating clans to Islam have been omitted in this brief account of Tuareg history in Air. This does not mean, of course, that we can rely on the above traditions which are very often contradictory. An obvious case is that of the Kel Ferouan. In literature there are traditions of Tripolitania or Tassili-n-Ajjer as their homeland, while I have been constantly told that they came from Ahaggar as close kinsmen of the Kel Ṛela. I think this latter tradition gathered by myself does not contain much historical truth but perhaps reflects political relations of the past. The Kel Ferouan apparently were on quite good terms with the Kel Ṛela of Ahaggar whom they admired because of their power. The Kel Ṛela had many quarrels with the Taitoḳ and also with the Kel Fadei, and the latter Tuareg again were enemies of the Kel Ferouan. As the Kel Fadei claimed themselves related to the Taitoḳ it may have been quite natural for the Kel Ferouan (the most important clan in Air) to claim relationship to the Kel Ṛela (the most important clan of Ahaggar).

We can never rely on oral traditions of origin, but they may contain some historical truth. All traditions mentioned point to a northern origin of the Air Tuareg and in particular to Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and adjacent regions. In support of these traditions we can refer to the fact that the most important northern trade road from Air leads to the oasis of Ghat, Tripolitania, and the Fezzan.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*The Sultanry of Air.*

The Agadez Chronicle referred to above gives an interesting description of the establishment of the Air Sultanry in 1405 A.D. Before that time, it is said, a growing anarchy reigned all over the country, and the Arombolou, supreme chief of the Itesen, therefore took the initiative to elect a Sultan to act as an arbitrator among the various groups of Tuareg. 175

According to tradition representatives of the Itesen clans were sent to the Sultan of Constantinople to persuade one of his sons to become the first Sultan of Air. After eight years' absence the deputation returned with a slave who became the ruler over the Air people. This peculiar story as stated by Urvoy is not mentioned in the Agadez Chronicle nor in any other written account (Urvoy 1936, p. 162), and I shall add to this that although even nowadays it is told all over Air, there are many Tuareg who consider it spurious. Actually we do not know from which country the Sultan came nor can we know if he was in fact a slave. But according to the Tuareg all known Sultans have been black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office. 173 643

Although the Sultanry was created by the initiative of the Itesen, the Sultan was also recognized by the Kel Geres who then lived in Air, by the Kel Ooui, and later by other Tuareg groups. At first he had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chamane from where he moved to Agadez which was founded at *the middle of the 15th century A.D.* as a *centre* of the then extremely flourishing trade through Air (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 102, 364f., 409. – Urvoy 1936, p. 164). To the Tuareg the Sultan is known by the title *Amenokal* – a word used for supreme chiefs by most Tuareg. The meaning of this word is not exactly clear. Foucauld does not discuss its origin but only identifies its meaning as "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1213f.). According to Duveyrier *Amenokal* means literally "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this meaning is also ascribed to the word by Lhote (Lhote 1955, p. 189) and Blanguernon (Blanguernon 1955, p. 47). It is my own view that although there can be no doubt that *Amenokal* is connected with *akal* meaning "land", it may perhaps be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". 643 114

In practise the Sultan had little power. The Agadez Chronicle refers to Sultans who acted as war leaders of all Air Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states; but within Air it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, 175 643

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air



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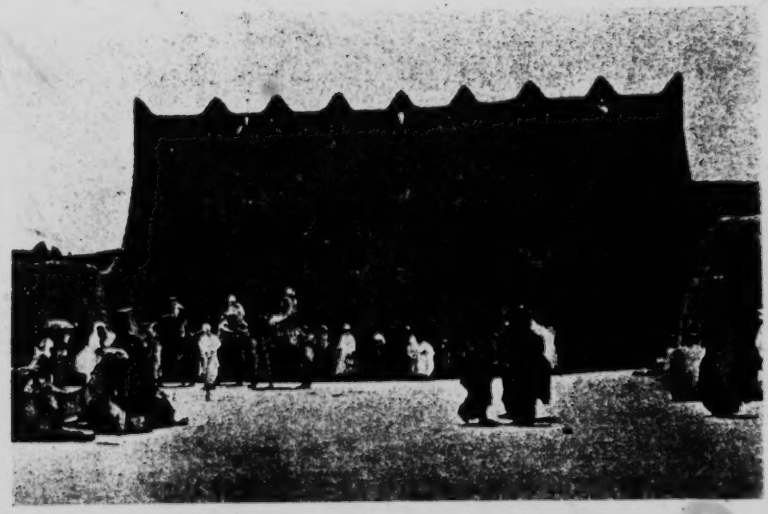

[533] Fig. 4.–The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. – The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing [534] various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

175 of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief
565 had as his sole insignia a drum named *ettebel*, or *arazou*. The name of the drum
631 *ettebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is adressed by this very word, and *ettebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command. I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat, the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs. There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikhen of Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

175 The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but
643 they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:– From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission was given by the Kel Ooui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461f.). Jean who gives a more [114] detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of election (Jean 1909, p. 159ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Fig. 5.–Mat-covered tent typical of the pastoral Air Tuareg. The tent in this photograph is inhabited by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the Kel Ferouan drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of the rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered trees and bushes of thorny acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats. [643] [137]

Kel Ooui formed the important political units of Air. The Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan at the establishment of the Sultanry had not yet arrived or lived at the northern outskirts of the massif. 175 643

In the 19th century the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan paid very little respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation the Kel Fadei even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of In Gall (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was afraid that the Kel Fadei would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the Ioullemmeden (Barth 1857, I, p. 478). As for the Kel Ferouan their chief was the most prominent leader of all Air. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103f.) and it is told over and over again by all Air Tuareg to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, and he thinks that the Kel Ferouan originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or Amenokal was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This agrees with informations I have gathered among the noble Kel Ferouan, who will also claim that their clan came to Air before all other Tuareg. The truth however seems to be that they had originally nothing to do with the Sultanry. They took up grazing [114]

175 642 643

[text continues on p. 87]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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631

| Clans | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ifadeyen (2 clans) | | | Kouroubobo<br>Imechameloua<br>Toroof<br>Beinabo |
| Igetofen | | | Ti-n-Daouine<br>Aniaben<br>Abelemma<br>Ekaouel |
| Iraouelen | | | Tombalaga<br>Akadanci<br>Meigaouci |
| Elbaraten | | | Onouachor |
| Itagan | | | Eleleg |
| Isakaranen | 653 107 | | Ti-n-Tebezgin |
| Kel Tedale (3 clans) | 1300 | They may be noble by origin. | Talak<br>Ourarene<br>Zounika |
| Kel Akarra | 164 39 | Said to be of noble origin and to have had the Ibararochiten clan as their particular vassals. | Ti-n-Teborak |
| Ibararochchiten | | Said to have been the particular vassals of the Kel Akarra clan. | Emdegra |

175 grounds round Agadez in the 17th century, and were probably called to this
642 region by a Sultan who needed them to keep order in the country. The actual
643 power then passed into the hands of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief.

### *The Kel Ferouan Tuareg.*

114 Lists of clans which belong to the Kel Ferouan drum-group have already been
614 published. Jean has fourteen clans in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427f. – Abadie 1927, p. 391f.), while Nicolas refers twenty-two clans to the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f., 480). My own list comes
614 close to that of Nicolas but contains a few additional names which however may
127 refer to sections of the other clans. In my list I have indicated the relationship
162 between the clans and their traditional grazing grounds. I have not been able to
[631] get precise particulars about the size of clans, and I therefore quote the figures

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air
Ahaggar



sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullemmeden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, p. 213; 1950c, p. 492f. – Richer 1924, p. 3, 52) an interesting matrilineal custom has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhazera (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Dubief has further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubief 1956, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes. In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law *(alegges*, pl. *ilousan)*,
[601] or sisters-in-law *(taleggest*, pl. *tilousin)*, while the spouses of descendants of all
brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law *(aḍeggal*, pl. *iḍoulan)*, or
[606] daughters-in-law *(taḍeggalt*, pl. *teḍoulin)*. These terms are always used reciprocally, and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized
634 his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the
614 members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble
565 origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is
[687] said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the
634 Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the
614 Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other
565 drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel
114 Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427) The Kel Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related to the Ihaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from
634 the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power
614 over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the
565 Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibararochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by
[558] vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief
[669] had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air



634 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the
565 noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzouren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had con-
[463] stantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly
[701] by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers and protectors.

Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals *(Imghad)*
114 as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:– "One of the functions
565 of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for
614 long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the
[422] camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible
[672] for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p. 141f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen
[562] both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much about this.

Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin.
174 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air
565 from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of
614 noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a, p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg have emigrated.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar



The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *taousit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Ṛela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Ṛali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan.

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult.

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg.

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage.

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar



It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1955, p. 279). Killian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Killian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Ṛali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent *(ehars-n-amerdal)* paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:–

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. – Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Ṛali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatos.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
●114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
643 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation
692 of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer.
643 The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had
178 in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
643 to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[59[] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
Scale raiding.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar



for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food. 233 511 [492] [439]

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like. [234] [262] [281] [291] [283]

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Rela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temaẓlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. [422] [565] [114] 565 651 [421] [431]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar
Air



dominating an extensive area of North Africa and particularly in Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and adjacent regions before the Arab invasion of the 11th century A.D. This theory was set forth already by Ibn Khaldoun, who says that *Hoouara* has changed into *Heggar* (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory has no other foundation but mere speculation (Nicolas 1953, p. 14). This, however, is not correct as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *ou* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *ou* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533). 565 192 [114] [194]

The term used in Air for vassal Tuareg is *Imrad* (sing. *Amrid*), a word which seems to be known to all Tuareg. Foucauld gives no particular explanation of its meaning (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1933f.). Nicolas claims the word related to *ereid*, literally meaning "a kid" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189). If this explanation given by Nicolas is correct, *Imrad* refers to goat-breeding. So does another term for vassals used more frequently among the Northern Tuareg and the Ioullemmeden, namely *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), which means literally "the goat people". In Air this word is never used as a term for the vassal class, but only as a proper name for one particular vassal clan attached to the Ikaskazan.

One of the terms for vassals and maybe both terms are thus connected with goat-breeding, while one of the terms for noble Tuareg seems to refer to raiding, which among the Tuareg was intimately connected with camel-breeding. Camels were not only the means by which raiding was carried out, but they were also the main object of raiding expeditions as they could be abducted very quickly from foreign camps. So we may perhaps see from some of the terms used for vassal and noble Tuareg that the two classes originated from the meeting of two distinct cultures, a goat-breeding and a camel-breeding culture. And we have already seen that in the past the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar were in particular camel-breeders, the vassals breeders of goats and donkeys. [233] [721] [174] [233]

The Ahaggar Tuareg – in contrast to the Tuareg of Air – have traditions about the origin of the class system. References to these traditions are common in literature (Benhazera 1908, p. 89ff. – Reygasse 1950, p. 88. – Foucauld 1951 – 52, II, p. 533ff. – Lhote 1955, p. 213ff. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 99f.). There are in fact two conflicting traditions, but some Tuareg will nevertheless acknowledge both. It seems, however, as if one tradition had its origin among the nobility, the other among vassals. The tradition which originated in the noble class says that the dominant noble clans of Ahaggar had a woman named Ti-n-Hinan as their ancestress. She immigrated to Ahaggar from Tafilelt in Morocco together with her servant girl named Takama, who became the ancestress of the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The two women were both Islamic and belonged to the Beraber tribes. They found the country uninhabited except for the higher parts of the massif, where a pagan people named the Isebeten lived. This tradition 173 565

5:Nicolaisen E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Aggar



173 is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to
565 be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Ṛali and the Ait Loaien). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

[114] I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and
184 vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's
565 milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much import-
492 ance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble
[234] Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

184 Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects,
565 and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:– 1) In noble
[583] clans bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal clans one to three camels which may be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas
[422] true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Ṛali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble
[342] Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post – that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-
[614] breeding clan Iregenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed
[173] marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. – Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Iregenaten Tuareg met in Air.

342 Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently
184 referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. – Lhote

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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1947, p. 38f., phot. 15, p. 33, p. 117. – Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247ff. – Moberg 1927, photographs p. 229 & 257). Among the Southern Tuareg T-shaped posts are used in Air, where, according to my inquiries, they are found notably among the Kel Tedale, the Ikaskazan, and the Kel Fadei – Tuareg who have immigrated fairly recently from the North and are noble or predominantly noble by origin. Air tents with T-shaped posts are published by Lhote and Chudeau (Lhote 1947, fig. 4 p. 39, photo 50 p. 81. – Chudeau 1909, pl. VIII p. 62). T-shaped posts are also said to occur among the Kel Geres, and they are common in skin tents of the Kel Dinnik (Eastern Kullemmeden) from where detailed descriptions are given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1938, p. 34ff.; 1950a, p. 133ff., p. VIII.). For other Southern Tuareg there seem to be no reliable information on the use of T-shaped posts in skin tents. 342 184

The central T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin tents may probably be considered as related to similar posts in certain black tents (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143). This is interesting particularly when viewed in connection with Feilberg's theory that there may perhaps be a certain connection between the black tent and the one-humped camel or dromedary because of approximately similar distributions, and because camels and black tents seem to have arrived in North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Feilberg 1944, p. 117, 225ff.) – a view which has also been accepted by Hatt (Hatt 1944–45, p. 260). Obviously a theory connecting camels and black tents in Northern Africa fits very well with our assumption that the camel was introduced to Ahaggar by noble Tuareg among whom we also find the use of central T-shaped posts characteristic of certain black tents. Accordingly we have to test two theories:– 1) The theory that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin-tents are in fact derived from similar constructions of black tents, and 2) the theory that camels and black tents are historically connected in Northern Africa. 171 342 233 [174]

I think it can be proved that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are derived from similar elements in black tents, and my arguments are the following:– 171 342

1) The Tuareg live in contact with Arab pastoralists who have black tents. It is stated in literature that black tents are common among the Northern Tuareg (Zeltner 1914, p. 364. – Campbell 1928, p. 247), but this is not correct. It is true, however, as already mentioned by Duveyrier, that black tents are used by some Northern Tuareg (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403f.). But as far as my knowledge goes they occur only among the northernmost Kel Ajjer, the Iforas clans, who belong to the religious Ineslemen class and by some Tuareg are claimed to be noble. Black tents seem to be used occasionally in the south by Tuareg who live in close contact with Arabs. But these Tuareg apparently use black tents only when travelling, and not in ordinary camps (Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). Black tents are thus adopted by a few Tuareg, and many Tuareg of the north and the south-west have contact with Arab and Moorish black tent dwellers. [648] [114]

2) The Iforas Tuareg just mentioned use T-shaped posts both in black tents

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



Berbers and particularly those of Central Morocco use for their black tents and for important parts of their tents terms derived from Arabic (Laoust 1930, p. 168f., 227f.). [171 342 [192]]

We cannot disregard the possibility that black tents were known in Northern Africa before the first Arab invasion. But there can be little doubt that outside of the Atlas black tents are characteristic of Arabic-speaking people, and we seem to be on safe ground if we state that the Arabs are responsible for the present fairly large distribution of black tents in the desert regions between the Red Sea and the Atlantic. And the black tent may have been unknown to the Berbers before the Arab invasion. In connection with this I wish to quote the very eminent scholar Stéphane Gsell who states his opinion on the age of the black tent in Northern Africa as follows:– "Cependant elle s'est répandue tardivement chez les Berbères. Ce fut surtout après la conquête musulmane qu'ils l'adoptèrent, à l'exemple de leurs noveaux maîtres: au VIIIe siècle, un grand nombre d'entre eux avaient des tentes, semblables à celles des Arabes" (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 216. – cf. El Bekri p. 139). [174]

In discussing the theory of a connection between camels and black tents, our next task is concerned with the history of the camel. For although camels and black tents have different distributions they may nevertheless be historically connected and introduced together. [171 233 342]

Much has already been written on the history of the camel. René Basset's theory that the camel was introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1905) is contrary to all historical information. For we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived, though it does not seem to be of very great age, contrary to Cauvet's statement (Cauvet 1925–26). Already Barth suggested that the camel came to North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3ff.), and this theory seems to be valid (cf. Gautier 1942, p. 190ff. – Walz 1951). [114 174 233]

Gautier claims that there is a certain connection between the introduction of the camel and the immigration to North-Western Africa of Berber tribes known as the Zenata, who lived in the northern steppes and desert regions from Tripolitania to Western Algeria. According to Ibn Khaldoun quoted by Gautier the Zenata had many traits in common with the Arabs: they lived in tents, they were camel-breeders, and they rode on horseback (Gautier 1942, p. 217 ff., 227. – cf. Ibn Khaldoun III, p. 179). The theory that the camel was introduced by the Zenata is accepted by Feilberg, who thinks that these people may have introduced the black tent together with the camel (Feilberg 1944, p. 119f., 226).

A connection between the Zenata and the camel is extremely difficult to prove. Gautier's theories on North African history are frequently very hazardous and very contradictory. Thus in his book *Le Passé de l'Afrique du Nord* we find the following statements about the introduction of the camel:– 1) "A tant de bienfaits Rome en a ajouté un dernier: elle a introduit le chameau, permettant ainsi la mise en

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



114 174 233 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau apparaissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe, il semble qu'au VII^e siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227)

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chameliers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui fait leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the 175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the 101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions: 233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 168ff.).

It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature 175 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding 233 (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. – Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. – Leo Africanus p. 940f.). To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly 171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is 233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds apparently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415f. – Murray 1935, p. 92ff. – Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the [177] true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black [342] tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. – Herskovits 1926. – Kroll 1928). The common [462] traits seem to be the following:– 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is [825] done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both [538] camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently characterised by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925-30, 1-11).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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174 mentioned that the word *Ihaggaren (Ahaggar)* is perhaps derived from *Hoouara*,
[192] which was a common term for certain Berber tribes particularly living in Tripoli-
tania in the Middle Ages. According to Edrisi the Hoouara Berbers were originally
Arabs who adopted Berber language (Edrisi p. 66ff.). This is not proved by Ibn
[114] Khaldoun's important work on the history of the Berbers. But Ibn Khaldoun
states that the Hoouara came under Arab influence at a very early date, and some
of the pastoral Hoouara people apparently migrated southwards to the desert at a
later date than the Lemta (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275ff.).

I think that the ancestors of the noble Tuareg introduced the camel into the Sahara. I think too that this may have happened before the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. But some of the dominating noble Tuareg have emigrated from Tripolitania after the Arabs have arrived. And it is probable that the political systems of the Tuareg already very early were influenced by the Arabs among whom a class system is found even nowadays as described from Cyrenaica by
171 Evans-Pritchard. In that region there are client tribes known as *Marabtin alsaqan*
565 because they pay *sadaka*, a fee, to a free tribe for protection and for the privilege of using the earth and water. Some fragments of client tribes even to-day have a very inferior social position and are forced to make payments to, and to perform services for, the free tribes among whom they live (Evans-Pritchard 1949, p. 53).

The word *sadaqa*, a fee, is known to the Tuareg, and there are other Arabic
171 words connected with their political systems. Here I shall content myself with
192 reference to the word *khalifa* used among the Northern Tuareg for the deputies of a chief, and the very important word *effebel* meaning "drum", "drum-group", and in Air also "drum-chief". Ultimately the history of Tuareg political systems should
174 probably be viewed in connection with those of Arabs.
10

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133 /12 cont./ Beyond any doubt the country was destined to fire the imagination. This mass of mountains, rising below the northern Sahara, appears closed and hostile.

The deep gorges which traverse the tassilis /mountains/ are the doors to a region that seems to isolate itself from the world.

Leaving these somber gorges, one enters a domain of stone. Rocks are encountered in the strangest forms imaginable; there are immense domes of granite surging from a sand plain, or monoliths standing like a forest of dolmens; there are curious fissile schist formations, which seem like the leaves of some monstrous book. This landscape continues over hundreds of kilometers, unveiling a desert nature which adorns itself with the most extraordinary rock forms.

But the strangest is yet to be seen, the heart of the country: each valley there is an enigma; the volcanic crags which border the ravines seem to menace the intruder who dares to violate this domain.

The soil shows hues going from a delicate yellow to black, streaked with violet, green, blue, or pink veins. Jagged and smooth boulders pile up in indescribable chaos, and immense stretches of black and swollen stones seem to come from some devil's caldron.

114 The inhabitants once seemed to be as mysterious as the country which sheltered them. Their tall stature, their proud and disdainful bearing, and their faces veiled by the blue taguelmoust /veil/ were so many factors to stimulate the imagination. Stories circulated throughout the Sahara vaunting the warrior virtues of the Tuareg, their courage, their cruelty joined to a /13/ chivalrous sense of honor. They were, for some, the last of the Atlantes, for others, ancient Francs, whose sword in the form of a cross symbolized the lost faith.

However, little by little, explorers, administrative officers, scholars were to bring things into focus and to show the Ahaggar as it really is.

•114 /13 cont. / The first clarification in the general knowledge of the region came from the reports of Barth and Duveyrier. Then followed the scientific works of Flamand, Maire, Reygasse, Kilian, Monod, Lelubre, Bordet, Follot, Dubief -- who laid the solid foundations for as exact a knowledge as possible of the country and its people.

The linguistic work of Father Foucauld portrayed in remarkable fashion the Tuareg and their language at the time he knew them.

Many explorers, notably M. Lhote, have left precise observations joined to personal impressions of the country.

Finally, the novel has spotlighted the Ahaggar, and for many of the French, L'Atlantide, that delightful fabrication by Pierre Benoît, furnishes the picture they have of the country. The last books of Frison-Roche also deserve a great deal of credit for the tourist movement which has begun to the Ahaggar.

## Morphology and Relief

133 The mountain system which constitutes the Ahaggar seems, at first view, to lack coherence as an entity; its form is better seen upon closer examination. In order to have a schematic idea of the system, one can divide it into three large concentric zones: a central core, a peripheral trench, and the outside belt of tassilis.

In the center of the Ahaggar is an almost circular massif, a sort of plateau with an average altitude of 2, 000 meters, spiked with peaks reaching nearly 3, 000 meters: this is known to the Tuareg as the Atakor (skullcap). A rocky spur projects toward the north: this is the Tefedest, which reaches /15/ 2, 327 meters with the Garet el Djenoun at its northern extremity.

Around the central core, a sort of circular depression, varying in altitude from 500 to 800 meters, forms an almost perfect crown in which rise, here and there, granite crags of volcanic remains.

312 /29 cont./ shallow wells are found in agricultural centers; generally, they are upstream from the rock shelves. The water is drawn by men or, most often, by an ox, in which case a rudimentary scaffolding supports a pulley by which a goatskin full of water may be drawn up and dumped into a basin by an ingenious system.

The last method used to tap underground water is the foggara, called by the natives the "efeli" (plural: "ifelan"). The foggara is used only to irrigate gardens; we shall see how it works when we study agriculture.

## Flora and Fauna

137 [114] The flora of the Ahaggar is more varied than that of the northern Sahara. The work of M. Maire constitutes the basic study one should refer to for information on the spontaneous vegetation. The list of plants given in the appendix was established by questioning the Tuareg in order to learn the varieties most often encountered. Very incomplete as far as herbaceous vegetation is concerned, this enumeration includes the vast majority of trees growing naturally.

There is no forest in the Ahaggar. However, information from the Kel Immidir Tuareg makes it possible to suppose the existence of a wooded stretch in the Ifetessen massif, a region still not thoroughly explored in its entirety. Perhaps it may merely be a case of wadis covered with a particularly luxuriant vegetation. In the Ahaggar almost all the flora grows in wadis. A few plants also grow on the most watered high summits, and, at the time of particularly propitious rains, the regs are covered with patches of acheb /pasturage/, which resemble a thick, sprouting beard.

The distribution of the spontaneous flora in the Ahaggar obviously /30/ is related to the climatic zones we have already discussed. There are some plants which are peculiar to a specific zone, while there is an interpenetration of most of the other vegetation.

565 /59 cont./ to possess few intellectual or moral qualities, they
241 are perhaps nonetheless readily adaptable.

## The Language

197 The Tuareg speak a Berber language. This language is certainly the strongest link which unites the scattered populations from the regs of the Tidikelt to the banks of the Niger; it is, more than the ethnic type, the element characteristic of these peoples. It is through the language that is maintained what may still be called "Tuareg culture," which survives in the traditions, mores, and superstitions.

This language, which is called "Tamahaq" in the Ahaggar and "Tamacheq" in the Sudan, has several dialects: that spoken by the Kel Ahaggar is called "Tahaggart," thus designated by the Kel Ajjers and the Taïtoks; in the Aïr it is called "Taïrt"; in the Adrar des Iforas, "Tadrak," and the dialect of the Aoullimiden is called "Taoullemmet."

These dialects are very similar to each other; a few local differences in pronunciation distinguish them, as well as certain idioms.

Tahaggart, the language of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, has been studied the most, chiefly in the noble tribes because, Father de Foucauld said, "the language is pure only as spoken by the nobles."

114 It is a complex language, rich and full of nuances, with a precise and difficult syntax. General Hanoteau succeeded, with the help of Tuareg captured during a battle, in writing a /60/ Tuareg grammar; this was the first formal study of Tamashek.

Dictionaries were compiled by Cid Kaoui and M. Masqueray, but the most remarkable work, which constitutes a summary, is the dictionary of Father de Foucauld. Father de Foucauld's grammar and the texts he has collected afford the best material for studying Tamashek.

114 /60 cont./ It would be impossible to praise too highly the work of the "hermit of the Ahaggar," for it has in a sense illuminated a civilization for history.

212 194 /61/ The peculiarity of Tamashek as a Berber language is that it can be written with its own characters, which are called "tifinagh."

There are 25 tifinagh characters, to which must be added compound letters formed by the combination of two simple elements.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | B | | | Q |
| | | CH | | | KH |
| | | D | | | L |
| | | D(strong) (ar) | | | M |
| | | F | | | N |
| | | G | | | OU consonant |
| | | DJ | | | R rolled |
| | | H | | | R |
| | | I | | | S |
| | | J | | | T |
| | | K (arak) | | | T (strong) |
| = Z (soft) | | [As in rase] | | = Z (strong) | [As in zero] |
| • = vowels | | : A, E, e | ou i | | |

Table of tifinagh letters.

164 /110 cont. / The country then is sufficiently free of serious
114 diseases; one scourge, however, must be noted: malnutrition, described and well studied by the doctor, Captain Galan, in a publication of the Pasteur Institute of Algeria: Contribution à l'étude du problème alimentaire au Hoggar /Contribution to the Study of the Nutrition Problem in the Ahaggar/.

757 The Tuareg and the Negroes are beginning to like
278 European medication and are coming more frequently to the infirmary; they value above all aspirin, quinine (which is becoming a generic term for all pills), and penicillin. They remain faithful to their pharmacopoeia, chiefly based on plants, of which here are several examples:

Pulmonary diseases: strong pimento and rellachem /see Appendix, Flora/ are specifics; for pleurisy, one must melt camel fat with the ta'noust (fruit of the acacia), eat it as hot as possible, and constrict one's chest with a rope.

For the stomach, butter mixed with tahist.

In cases of diarrhea, takamezout is the sovereign remedy, taken in tea or eaten in leaf form. This takamezout has a great reputation among the Tuareg: it comprises, they say, 40 remedies, but will not heal broken legs.

Constipation is vanquished by adjardjar and taharadjellé. Headaches have no remedy, yet tea is /111/ to be taken in preference to anything else. The liver is treated with ihemhad taken in milk. The victim of ganglions at the groin or under the armpit may easily make them disappear by rubbing them lightly with saliva very early in the morning; another method, more efficient, consists of heating goat dung and placing it on the nails of the affected member.

[752] For an open wound, make a plaster with milk and powdered tassa.

Rheumatism is easily treated; a sort of well is dug, one meter in diameter and 1.50 meters deep, the patient gets in it, a cover is put on the well, and the patient is given an infusion of otaq to make him sleep. A spring called In-Ahadja exists which is supposed to be equally as good in treating rheumatism.

# Preface

In this book I aim at the combination of historical and functional methods of anthropology to analyse the development of Tuareg culture with particular reference to food-producing activities. I do not, therefore, present all my Tuareg material. 121

My general anthropological outlook is doubtless largely due to my training under influential scholars of historical and functional methods. I was introduced to historical methods at the University of Copenhagen by Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith, who taught with that caution and sense which must be the foundation of all anthropological science. His strict demand that anthropology must proceed on the basis of knowledge forms the most valuable part of my whole anthropological training, and for this I express to him my sincere gratitude. 114

I freely admit that I am much attached to the traditional methods of Danish anthropology. Among its scholars I am greatly indebted also to Professor C. G. Feilberg with whom I have a large field of interests in common. From the very day I began my studies in Copenhagen he offered me all possible help in discussing with me the major problems of cultural history in the Near and Middle East, and in Africa, and using much of his spare time to teach me Arabic. His detailed study on the black tent and its history forms an important cornerstone for my chapter on Tuareg tent development.

When I began my studies in Copenhagen Professor Feilberg acted as curator in the Danish National Museum where, like other students of these days, I was generously helped by the curator, Jens Yde – my closest friend. Though his main field of interest is the Indians of the Americas, he has also a surprisingly comprehensive knowledge of African cultures. I hold in very high esteem Mr. Jens Yde's scholarly realistic outlook which has been extremely stimulating to my own work. I express my gratitude also to Dr. Helge Larsen, leader of The Ethnographical Collection of The Danish National Museum, and to the curator Mr. Werner Jacobsen.

My interest in functional anthropology dates right back to my University years in Copenhagen. For though Danish anthropology is in the main historical, it was Dr. Birket-Smith's demand that students should read the important works of such functional or social anthropologists as Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, Firth, Evans-Pritchard, and others. But most knowledge I have of functional anthropology came to me under a two years' study, granted me by The British Council, at The University College London with Professor C. Daryll Forde as my principal teacher. I wish to acknowledge my sincere gratitude for his unusual kindness and valuable help during my stay in London, and for his readiness to consider any problem in the light of his very deep and versatile knowledge. In this book I acknowledge his clear view of the problems connected with the development of food-producing activities advanced in 1934 when many scholars were shooting in the dark.

[p. vii]

[p. vi is blank]

114 My gratitude to Dr. Phyllis Kaberry, who acted as my supervisor during my London studies, is not easily expressed in words. Nobody has taken so profound an interest in my studies as Dr. Kaberry, and if my descriptions of economics and political systems contain views of any value this is due largely to her extreme interest in my Tuareg material. Much of my later field-work among the Tuareg has also been carried out along lines suggested by Dr. Kaberry.

My stay in London was indeed a fruitful one as I was also able to attend lectures and seminars by Professor Raymond Firth and Professor I. Schapera, and to benefit from the rich knowledge of East African cultures possessed by Mr. G. W. B. Huntingford of The School of Oriental and African Studies.

121 I try to reconstruct history within the limited area of Northern Africa occupied by the Tuareg. In
[122] doing so I use methodologies of different anthropological schools, and also include material available from written sources, from Tuareg traditions, and from archaeology. I feel confident that my procedure is justified, but present it to the reader's judgement with a quotation from the great anthropologist E. E. Evans-Pritchard, who speaks about the rejection of the reconstruction of history by functional anthropologists as follows: "A case can be made out for this rejection, though not in my opinion so strong a case as is usually supposed, for all history is of necessity a reconstruction, the degree of probability attending a particular reconstruction depending on the evidence available" (Evans-Pritchard 1962, p. 21).

114 The real foundation of my book is the field-material I have been able to gather during eight journeys
122 to Northern Africa. I made the first two short trips on my own account, while later journeys were paid by Danish foundations, notably by *Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond*, *Carlsbergfondet*, *Rask-Ørsted Fondet*, *Knud Rasmussen Fondet*, and by grants from the University of Copenhagen. I have also been supported economically by The Danish National Museum and by The Museum of Prehistory in Aarhus, which museums now contain my collections of ethnographical sepcimens. My first Tuareg journey carried out in 1951 owes its beginning to economic and moral support from the former leader of the Aarhus Museum, Professor P. V. Glob, now Director-General of the Central Office and of the Museum of National Antiquities in Denmark. My journey to the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr 1954-55 was partly paid by The University College London on the very kind initiative of Professor Daryll Forde.

122 I express my sincere thanks to the above-mentioned institutions and their directors.

The results achieved on my journeys are due largely to friendly help rendered me by the Algerian administration and the administration of the Niger Republic in Niamey and at Agadez. In Algeria I met at an early date Mr. Pierre Bataillon and Mr. Josef Kniebihly of the Civil Administration at Djelfa. They willingly offered me their friendship and did everything to help me during the three weeks of 1947 when I suffered very greatly from malaria. On my journeys to the Ayr Tuareg I have been very kindly assisted by all governmental offices, and I thank heartily Mr. G. Feral, formerly civil governor of the Cercle d'Agadez, Mr. J. Demonceau, Mr. Claude Gardin, and Mr. and Mrs. Bernus of the IFAN at Niamey.

My two Danish friends, Niels Wismer, Norwegian Vice-Consul in Algeria, and Clas Wismer have been of outstanding importance for all my journeys among North African pastoralists. They supported me morally and practically every time I came to Algiers, and they gave me their friendship which I treasure most highly.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

I also acknowledge with grateful thanks the valuable help of the Danish Consulate of Algeria under the leadership of the Vice-Consul, Mr. E. Hartvig. 122

The valuable North African collections preserved in the Musée de l'homme, Paris, Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistoire du Bardo, Algiers, and in the Musée de la ville de Neuchâtel have been of extreme importance to my studies, and I wish to thank sincerely the directors of these museums for their kindness in allowing me free admission to all interesting objects. I thank the Musée de l'homme for its courtesy in permitting me to reproduce the illustrations Figs. 62, 75 & 88. For the photograph Fig. 254 I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Erik Smidt, Copenhagen. 127

Anthropology necessitates co-operation with many other sciences, and this I have often experienced when working on my book. I wish to thank sincerly my friend Mr. K.-G. Prasse for his readiness to let me benefit from his profound knowledge of all structural problems connected with Tuareg language and other Berber dialects. He has kindly undertaken the work of checking the spelling of Tuareg words used in this book, and I owe him much for discussions about the meanings of such Tuareg words that may be important from a culture-historical viewpoint. I also thank my friend Dr. Hans Helback of The Danish National Museum for his assistance on problems connected with cultivated plants, and the veterinary surgeon Mr. Niels Grunnet for his comments on Tuareg stock-diseases. 114

I wrote this book in English which was kindly corrected by Major C. L. Bayliss of The British Embassy in Denmark. As to the drawing of diagrams, maps, etc., they are made by Mr. Arne Morell Nielsen whose readiness to help a friend is unrivalled.

The book was written mainly during eight months of 1961 and nobody has rendered me so much real help as my wife Ida.

I cannot in this way convey my heart-felt thanks to Tuareg friends, but my thoughts are among them with my brothers of the Aguh-en-tehlé and the Imezzureg tribes.

*Copenhagen, June 1963*

JOHANNES NICOLAISEN

[p. ix]

# Introduction

This book is the result of several years' study of North African pastoralism. My interest in this subject began under climatic conditions rather different from those of North Africa. In the winter 1945–46 I journied on skis through Northern Sweden, Finland, and the Norwegian Finmark. For about three months I lived among the Lapps, and, watching the techniques of reindeer-breeding, I became very interested in the problems connected with the history and evolution of stock-breeding. Shortly after my return from this trip I began to study anthropology in the University of Copenhagen under Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith, and as the main subject of the degree of M.Sc. acquired in summer 1950, I chose pastoral cultures of the Near and Middle East. I had already then made two short journeys to North Africa. 114 121

(1) In summer 1947 I spent about three months in Central Algeria to investigate Arab nomads in the steppes of the High Plateau and the adjacent parts of the Sahara. I travelled around the towns of Djelfa, Zenina, Aflu, Laghwat, and Ghardaya. I had little money at my disposal and could never afford to engage native assistants or to have a horse or a mule for riding and transportation. I walked through the barren steppes and deserts carrying as my main luggage several bottles filled with water. This journey was certainly not easy, and at its end I suffered very badly from malaria. Nevertheless, I managed to get into contact with camps of nomadic tribes such as the *Ulad Naïl*, the *Larba*, and the *Suit Otba*, and for shorter periods I followed them during their migrations towards the south. I also contacted certain semi-nomadic tribes living around Aflu in Djebel Amour of the Sahara Atlas. I did not, however, understand Arabic, and the nomads, who were rather shy and suspicious of Europeans, generally had no knowledge of French. It is evidently most difficult to collect ethnographical material under such circumstances. And if I had not received the very kind assistance of French administrators and officers, of native Arab caids, and of Arabs who had formerly served in the French Army, I should indeed have acquired nothing. The year 1947 followed upon a long period of drought which had caused severe losses to all nomads. Many of them had lost all their livestock, and famine occurred all over pastoral Algeria. The consequences of the drought when at its worst can be illustrated by the following example:— Arriving at Aflu in the Djebel Amour, I discovered a small camp the tents of which apparently belonged to a type constructionally different from those used among Central Algerian nomads. I went to the camp where I was told that it belonged to semi-nomads of the *Adjaletes* and *Ulad Sidi Brahim* tribes. They all suffered extremely from famine, and entering the first tent I found three dying children under filthy rugs. I now concentrated upon the problems connected with this dreadful disaster which seemed to prove the insufficiency of pure pastoralism in the barren countries of North Africa. 114 122 73 [121]

114 (2) In winter 1950 I visited several *Kabyle* villages in the Djurdjura Mountains, and stayed for some
121 time in the regions which I had already visited in summer 1947. I wanted to gather supplementary material on the consequences of the drought period, and also to acquire some personal knowledge of winter life among nomads. – Part of the material collected 1947 and 1950 has been published (Nicolaisen 1950).

101 On later journeys to Northern Africa I have studied culture and society of pastoral Tuareg:—

114 (3) In summer 1951 I spent about five months (May September) in Ahaggar. I arrived at Algiers
122 from where I travelled southwards by car to make short stops at Djelfa, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El
[124] Golea, and In Salah. Reaching Tamanrasset in Ahaggar in the month of May, I hired an interpreter to visit many Tuareg camps of the important vassal tribes *Aguh-en-tehlé* and *Dag Rali* on journeys accomplished by means of camels and donkeys. Part of the time I also lived at Tamanrasset where I was visited daily by Tuareg informants. Apart from Tamanrasset I visited the following centres of
[12] cultivation:— Tit, Utul, Terhenanet, and I-n-dalag. My investigations concentrated upon economics
[126] and material culture in relation to environment, and about 300 ethnographic specimens were collected. I left Tamanrasset for Algiers by plane via Ganet (Djanet), Rat (Ghat), Ft. Flatters, and Wargla.

(4) I returned to North Africa in summer 1952. The length of this visit was about three months and a half. From Algiers I went by train and trucks to Arris in the Aurès Mountains where I stayed for about five weeks among the semi-nomadic Berber-speaking *Chawiya*. I rode through the valleys of this montain massif on a mule, and the journey terminated with my arrival at the oasis of Biskra. From Biskra I went by train to Tuggurt from where I continued by truck to Wargla. I left this oasis by a French military plane for Ganet in Tasilé-n-Ajjer via El Golea, In Salah, and Tamanrasset. At Ganet I hired camels and a native guide and went westwards via Ft. Ghardel to Afara, where I had the opportunity to meet the supreme chief of the *Kel Ajjer* living in French territory. From Afara I went up the valley named Aharhar and across the Tasilé Mountains to Éléżi (Ft. Polignac). After a short rest with the French garrison I went northwards to the region of Hassi Issendjel, where I visited various Tuareg camps, notably of the tribes *Kel Terurit* and *Urarren*. I stayed in Tasilé-n-Ajjer for six weeks, and returned by plane to Algiers via Ft. Flatters and Wargla. From Algiers I made a very
[126] short trip to the *Kabyle* of the Djurdjura Mountains. From the Kabyle, the Chawiya, and the Ajjer Tuareg an ethnographical collection of about 70 specimens was made.

(5) From autumn 1952 until summer 1954 I studied social anthropology in University College London under Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry. My studies in London were interrupted in summer 1953 when I went to North Africa to stay for three months among the Ahaggar Tuareg. I lived most of the time in camps of the vassal tribes *Dag Rali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*, but I also visited the *Iklan-en-tawsit* and camps of certain *Isekkemaren* tribes, notably the *Iheyawen-Hada*. I also paid a visit to camps of the *Kel Rezzi* Tuareg (*Ahl Azzi*) who descend patrilineally from Arabs, and I spent several days in the camp of the *Amenukal*, that is the supreme chief elected from the dominant noble tribe of *Kel Rela*. Among agricultural settlements visited the most important were Abalessa and Silet –
[12] apart from Tamanrasset. My studies concentrated upon social and political organization, but I made
[126] an ethnographical collection of more than a hundred specimens. The journey from Algiers to Tamanrasset and return was made by plane via El Golea and In Salah.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 .MS25 Tuareg MS25



(6) My sixth journey to North Africa was undertaken 1954–55 and comprised about 14 months' field-work among Northern and Southern Tuareg. I left Algiers by car via Djelfa, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El Golea to In Salah at the beginning of the autumn 1954. At In Salah I bought four camels and hired an Arab guide of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe. After a short visit to his camp we went southwards to the region of the Ahnet Massif where I visited camps of *Kel-ahem-mellen* (a small noble tribe), *Kel-Immidir* (*Isekkemaren*), *Ayt Lowayen* of the *Kel Turha* section, *Kel Rezzi*, and notably the *Kel Ahnet*. Two small camps visited claimed to belong to the noble *Taytok* tribe, but they had no matrilineal relationship to that tribe which is now found in the Tamesna plains west of Ayr. I left Ahnet for Tamanraset about the middle of December, and in the following months I travelled alone with my camels in Ahaggar as I now knew Tuareg language sufficiently to dispense with an interpreter. Until the beginning of April 1955 I lived in camps of the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehli* tribes, and passed some days in the *Amenukal*'s camp. I also had a house at Tamanraset where I could work more peacefully with problems connected with kinship, land tenure, and political organization. In this work I was mainly assisted by two older Tuareg of the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehli* tribes. Apart from Tamanraset I visited the following cultivation centres:— Utul, Tahart, Ti-n-amenser, Ennedid, Iglen, Abalessa, Amsel, and Tarhawhawt. – On the 3rd of April, 1955, I left Ahaggar for Ayr together with two Ayr Tuareg who were returning to their camps at Northern Ayr after a caravan journey to Tamanraset. We travelled south-eastwards via the small cultivation centre Tagnut and thence into the very barren country separating Ahaggar from Ayr. We refilled our six skin-bags with water at the wells of I-n-abeggi and I-n-azawa, and had no water again until we arrived at a fairly large and permanent waterhole (*agelmam*) known as Tamengoyt, situated on the northern outskirts of the Ayr Massif. Close to this place we met the first Tuareg camps of the *Kel Tedale* who dominate the northern parts of Ayr. The following days we saw several camps of these Tuareg. At last we arrived at the camp of one of my companions who belonged to the *Ikkoberen* tribe though his family was very mixed with *Kel Tedale*. This camp was situated in the Azel valley, where we stayed for about ten days to regain full strength. Thereupon we continued to *Iferwan* which constitutes the northernmost village of the Ayr Massif. I lived in this village for about three weeks and then I continued towards Agadez together with a Tuareg of the *Kel Akerra* tribe. We visited camps of various tribes on our journey southwards (*Kel Rarus*, *Ifoyas*). The journey was a difficult one as two of my camels were worn out. We left them in a camp of *Ikojjejiten* Tuareg. This was situated at the Afarak valley from where we continued to Agadez via the small agricultural settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses. From Agadez I went by truck down to Zinder, but returned quickly to make a more complete investigation of the Ayr Tuareg. The situation was now very difficult as my two camels left at Afarak died and I was too short of money to buy a new animal. My financial problems were rather acute and were solved only by the very kind and resolute help rendered me by Professor Daryll Forde of University College London. I was thus able to continue my studies for another six months. I hired a house in Agadez where I could work peacefully, and bought a fine riding camel in order to be able to visit Tuareg camps in the vicinity. The most extensive journey made went to the village of Awderas, north-east of Agadez and close to the Begzen Mountains. On this journey I revisited the small settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses, and visited pastoral camps of the *Ifoyas*, the *Ikojjejiten*, the *Kel Tamat*, the *Igen-*

101 114 122 *déynen*, and the *Imezzureg*. If not staying in Agadez I lived mainly in camps of the latter tribe, and spent a considerable time in one particular camp. My studies were concluded with a visit to the camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief north of Aderbissinat. I remained in his camp for about a fortnight and also visited camps of the *Echchikhen* Tuareg and the Fulani who are numerous in this area. I left Agadez by air via Tawa, Niamey, Bamako to Dakar whence I returned to Denmark by ship, and a [126] few days later returned to London to resume my studies at University College. On this comparatively long journey among the Tuareg I did not make any large ethnographical collection, as I could not afford to buy much, but brought back with me about fifty different specimens plus a few archaeological objects.

(7) In 1956 I returned to Copenhagen from London. I was then planning a new journey to North Africa, but for many reasons this had to be postponed until the autumn 1959. The journey was a very short one of only two months. I left Copenhagen by air on the second of August and arrived at Niamey the next day. After a week's stay at Niamey I continued by plane via Maradi and Zinder to Agadez. The day after my arrival at this ancient capital of the Ayr people I was able to join a car expedition organized by Mr. J. Demonceau, who was studying locust migrations, and by Mr. Claude Gardin of the "Pelotom Nomade", who was looking for Tuareg camel thieves. We went first to Ingal and from there continued northwards to the village and salt pits of *Tegiddha-n-tésemt*. We went further north but stopped at the well of I-n-abanferit, then going eastwards across the Talak Plains to the western edge of the Ayr Massif. Our journey back to Agadez followed the road through the mountains. Though this journey did not take much more than a week it was of great importance to my studies, as I had for the first time an occasion to see the extensive plains west of Ayr – a region of great economic value to many tribes not only of Ayr Tuareg but also to certain tribes of Ahaggar. On the journey I visited camps of *Idaléyen*, *Kel Tédalé* and *Iforas* (Ayr Tuareg), of [121] *Iregenaten* (Ahaggar Tuareg), and of *Tégehé-n-Efis* (originally Ahaggar Tuareg). In all these camps I collected much valuable material concerning tent structures and economics. – Shortly after my [123] return to Agadez from this brief journey I met a Tuareg of the *Imezzureg* tribe. I knew him well from my visit to Ayr in 1955, and he was in fact my classificatory elder brother. I went immediately to his camp situated not very far from Agadez, and I lived with him and his kinsmen for the rest of the time left at my disposal. During this period the camp was frequently broken and taken to the best possible pastures of annual plants. I left the camp only once for a week when my brother and I made a camel journey westwards to Tegidda-n-tagayt and Tegidda-n-edrar. In these regions we visited several Ayr tribes which I had never been among previously (e.g. *Imezzuren*, *Ijakarkaren*), and we were lucky enough to meet during this journey the supreme chief of the noble *Kel Azel* tribe. We also visited the camp of the drum-chief of the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, who move northwards to Ayr at the end of the rains. I finished my field-work about the sixth of October and was back in Copenhagen by plane via Zinder, Maradi, and Niamey on the tenth. I made a very small ethnographical collection [126] comprising about twenty specimens. My investigations were not concentrated on any particular [121] subject. I acquired valuable supplementary material on such different matters as traditional political systems, kinship, ecology, and technology.

(8) Participating in The First International Congress of Africanists at Accra I had the opportunity

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to visit Niamey for one week at the beginning of December 1962. Here I studied the very valuable ethnographical collections of The IFAN Museum, and I spent two days in camps of *Bélla* and Tuareg of the *Western Iwllemmeden* east and north-east of Ayoru on the Niger. Of particular value was my visit to a camp of the dominant noble tribe, *Kel Tahabanat*. Its supreme chief *Amder* and his family gave me important information on Tuareg culture in this little known area. My visit to Tuareg and *Bélla* near Ayoru was made possible by the very kind assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Bernus of the IFAN. They put a truck with its driver at my free disposition.

Altogether I have spent almost three years among North African pastoralists – mainly among the Tuareg. This length of time is not so impressive as it may seem, for my investigations have been carried out over an extensive territory ranching from the Mediterranean to the outskirts of the Sudanese savannah. A detailed study of Tuareg ecology and culture necessitates a detailed knowledge of change and variation in environment within and without the country in which the Tuareg live.

The literature which deals with the Tuareg is very comprehensive as can be seen from the bibliography at the end of this book, but most publications are of very little value and many of them are almost inaccessible.

The Tuareg are first mentioned in literature by Arab authors of the Middle Ages, but most of these historians and geographers did not know the Tuareg country and even the few of them who travelled in the Sahara tell us very little about the Tuareg in early Arabic texts generally called *Muletthemin*, that is "the veiled ones". The most important Arab authors who mention the Tuareg are Ibn Hawkal (10th century), El-Bekri (11th century), Edrisi (12th century), Ibn Batutah (14th century), and Ibn Khaldun (14th century). Ibn Khaldun gives the most intimate description of the Tuareg though apparently he never met them. But they played a very important part in his attempt to recount the ancient history of the North African Berbers. After Ibn Khaldun came Leo Africanus (16th century) who published information gathered by himself on journeys in the Sahara. His book was first published in Italian. There are certain later Arab authors who have contributed to our knowledge of North African cultures and the Tuareg, e.g., Es-Sadi who lived in the 17th century. We must also mention in this connection that there are other valuable Arabic manuscripts, notably those generally referred to as the Agadez Chronicle, which contain much historical material on the Ayr Tuareg (cf. Palmer 1910; 1928; 1936; Urvoy 1934).

The first modern description of the Tuareg was given by Hornemann who travelled from Cairo to Murzuk in 1798. Throughout the 19th century many European travellers contributed to our knowledge of the Tuareg, and it is very important now to have their accounts which derive from a time when traditional political systems were unaffected by European colonization. Among these travellers we should mention such outstanding names as Lyon, Caillié, Denham & Clapperton & Oudney, Richardson, Barth, Duveyrier, Rohlfs, Hourst, Foureau, and von Bary. Lyon gives a very valuable description of the Tuareg who live around Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but by far the most important among these authorities are Barth, who wrote about the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Ayr*, and the *Iwllemmeden*, and Duveyrier, who published an excellent monograph on the Northern Tuareg with particular reference to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. At the beginning of the present century military posts were established in the Sahara, and literature about the Tuareg became more abundant. Thus Benhazera wrote a good book on

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114 the Tuareg of Ahaggar who were also visited by other scientists and explorers. The most important work on these Tuareg is the great dictionary edited by Foucauld, who lived several years in Ahaggar until his death in 1916. Later works are those of Lhote and Blanguernon. From the Tuareg of Tasilê-n-Ajjer literature is scarce, but recently good studies on them have been published by Dubief, who has also contributed to our knowledge of the Ahaggar Tuareg. From Ayr we have one early book by Jean, who is often unreliable, while the later book by Rodd contains much valuable material. More recently our knowledge of the Ayr Tuareg has also been extended by the studies of Lhote and Nicolas. The latter author has published a good survey of the tribes and groups inhabiting Ayr and adjacent regions, but Nicolas' most important studies deal with the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* around Tawa. Our knowledge of the south-western Tuareg along the Niger and around Timbuktu (the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* and the *Kel Tademaket*) is unfortunately very sparse. There are only two books to be mentioned, namely those of Aymard and Richer. As to the Tuareg north of the Niger in the mountains of Adrar-n-Foras, they have been described by Cortier, and there is no other important work about them.

Very recently our knowledge of the Tuareg has also been increased by important works dealing more generally with the Tuareg or with particular aspects of their culture, e.g., the works of Lhote, Gabus, and Briggs. But none of these authors has tried to describe in detail Tuareg social organization. Nobody but Miner, who writes mainly on culture and social life of Timbuktu, has published a Tuareg kinship system. This system, which is taken down among the *Bélla* who are the former slaves of the Niger Tuareg, does not seem to be entirely correct in the sense that it does not indicate the true classificatory terms. I may add that I have myself published one Tuareg kinship system incorrectly, namely that of the Ayr Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1959, p. 102). This will be correctly re-published in this book.

Tuareg literature is largely superficial, but there are a few good studies. In some of them you will find information also given in this study. When I mention observations which have also been made by earlier authorities, I do not refer to them in case they may be said to be generally known and made by several authors. Many of the works which I mention in my bibliography are of extremely little value. However, I wish to describe cultural features in detail, and a few interesting notes may be found even in more popular travelling books which are also sometimes furnished with good photographs. [126] Almost all photographs published in this book are of my own taking or represent objects collected by myself among the Tuareg. Where other pictures are used reference to authorities is given.

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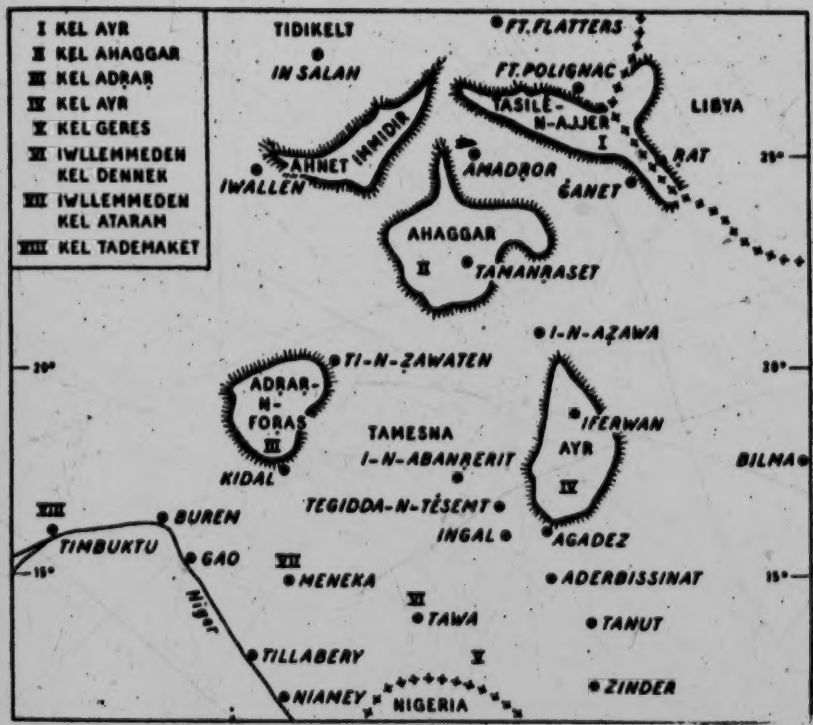


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Fig. 1. Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups, as mentioned in the text, are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. The *Kel Tademaket* Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 125 kilometres.

known and used particularly by women. There are slight distinctions in the characters of the alphabet 212
used by various Tuareg groups. I here reproduce the characters generally used in Ahaggar (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and in Ayr. In transcribing *tifinar* into the Roman alphabet I have on the whole adopted the [104]
system used by Foucauld who has made the most profound studies of the northern dialect (Foucauld 1918–20, 1920, 1925–30, 1940, 1951–52), but certain alterations have been made in agreement with the proposal of K.-G. Prasse. The Ayr dialect is very badly known. Its grammar and its peculiar [114]
vocabulary has never been studied.

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826 get more sexual satisfaction from intercourse with them. "A fat woman is like a woman who has never
832 known a man", they say. Some women are steatopygous though never to the same extent as women
142 among the Bushmen and the Hottentot. Very comprehensive studies of Tuareg physical anthropology
114 are lacking. Readers are referred to the chapter written by Lhote who has also published a brief bibliography of studies on this subject (Lhote 1955a, p. 158–170, 433), and to the recent and valuable publication by Briggs (Briggs 1958, p. 163 ff., 183 ff.).

291 The custom of Tuareg face veiling has attracted the curiosity of many scholars and travellers. Much has been written about the fact that Tuareg men wear a veil (*tagulmust* in Ahaggar, *tagulmust* in Ayr) while their women are unveiled in contrast to Arab custom. There have been given various explanations of the origin of the custom of Tuareg face veiling. Most authors refer it to hygienic conditions: the veil protects the face from sand and dust, and it prevents mouth, nose, and throat from drying up in hot weather. The fact is that the veil has the latter function, and Arab bedouins of the Sahara will also frequently veil their faces during journeys in the hot season. But the hygienic explanation is definitely not the reason why the Tuareg also veil themselves in many situations where face veiling is unpractical and unpleasant. Another explanation of the custom of face veiling is that the veil may perhaps have certain religious or magic functions. This explanation is apparently also insufficient. A
[254] few Tuareg have claimed that the veil may yield protection from persons having an "evil eye" or an "evil mouth" beliefs known in Ahaggar as *tehoj*, in Ayr as *tugarchet*. But as I have stated elsewhere
291 (Nicolaisen 1957a, p. 112; 1961, p. 114) the proper function of face veiling seems to be a social one.
576 Many Tuareg will leave their face uncovered in family camps or on journeys, but they will always
[602] cover mouth, nose, and brow in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) and in the
[604] presence of their parents-in-law (particularly their mothers-in-law). Towards such persons it is also considered very indecent to show one's legs. It has been overlooked by most authors that Tuareg women wear a head-cloth (*ekerhey* in Ahaggar, *adalil* in Ayr), which is similar to the veil worn by men in form and shape. The headcloth and the veil are properly made from Sudanese indigo cotton, and both the veil and the headcloth are therefore also known as *alechchu*. It is true that Tuareg women do not veil their face by means of this headcloth in the same way as do the men. But in the presence
[602] of foreigners (particularly foreign men) and towards fathers-in-law the women will draw their head-
[604] cloth over their mouth (cf. Fig. 297a). The man's veil and the woman's headcloth have identical social functions which is also proved by the fact that young men and women adopt veil or headcloth at initiation (Ahaggar), or at marriage (Ayr). Both the veil and the headcloth are worn by people of various black-skinned castes of Tuareg country but the custom of face veiling seems to be more strictly observed among the true Tuareg.

181 The custom of face veiling is one characteristic of all Tuareg. Another quality peculiar to all Tuareg, and particularly to those of the noble class, is their "snobbishness" as it is frequently called by many Frenchmen living at Tamanrasset and Agadez. There are a great many things a Tuareg cannot do, and there are many situations in which he will have to act in a very special way if he is to be regarded as a man worthy of respect and prestige. Tuareg attitudes to etiquette are not easily described in words. Gait, gestures, and posture are all intended to express qualities of elegance, arrogance, refinement, and strength. Vanity with regard to dress and ornaments is another characteristic of all true Tuareg.

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*tamat, Acacia seyal*) and tamarisks (*tabarekkat, Tamarix aphylla & azawa, Tamarix gallica* and related species). Other important perennial species are the grasses *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tullult* (*Aristida pungens*) the latter grass being found especially around the northern massifs of Anhet and Téfedest, and in Tasilé-n-[illegible]er. 137

2) *Tarayin*, the middle mountain zone which has the following characteristics:— Acacias are lacking or are very rare and badly developed. The big tamarisk (*tabarekkat*) is lacking while the smaller species (*azawa, T. gallica*) is common in certain valleys. Two trees are found which do not grow in the lower zone, namely *tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) and *alew* (*Olea Lapperrini*). The *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is missing and the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) is scarce.

3) *Atakor*, the highest part of Ahaggar with the following characteristics:— There are no trees with the exception of *alew* (*Olea Lapperrini*), and there are on the whole very few perennial species while annual species are abundant in case of rainfall.

It should be noted that only the important characteristics of the three Tuareg zones are here mentioned, and I add that a few perennial plants are found within all three zones. Thus the perennial species *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*) occurs along the valleys in all three zones, but it is of very low stature high up in the mountains, while it forms very high and bush-like tufts in the lower parts of the country.

In Ayr there is also a change of vegetation according to altitude but a general description of this is rather complicated. The lower parts of the Ayr Massif as well as the southern plains are dominated by acacias (*afagag, Acacia Raddiana & tamat, A. flava*) like the lower parts of Ahaggar, and the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) is very common almost everywhere throughout the country, while the *tullult* grass is found only in sandy regions at the eastern slopes of the Massif. Species of tamarisks are extremely rare, and this is true of certain other species which are common in Ahaggar. The trees *tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) and *alew* (*Olea Lapperrini*) grow only in isolated mountainous parts of Ayr. The extensive plains west of the Ayr Massif around Ingal are dominated by acacias and the *afezu* grass, but these perennial plants become less and less common towards the north, so that the regions around I-n-abanerit have very little persistent vegetation but a rich vegetation of annual plants. For further information on the botany of Ayr I refer to the study of Miré & Gillet who describe all known species and indicate their division into particular vegetational zones (Miré & Gillet 1956). I conclude this outline of Tuareg botany with the statement that Ahaggar and Ayr have many important species in common. But there are northern species which do not thrive in Ayr while some southern species are unknown in Ahaggar, e.g., the dum palm *tagayt* (*Hyphaena thebaica*) which plays a great role with the Ayr Tuareg. [114]

Climatically as well as botanically the Ahaggar Mountains are situated on the frontier of two distinct zones, namely the Mediterranean and the Tropical zones, while Ayr is predominantly tropical. This seems true also zoologically, as the Ayr fauna contains a great many species of birds and mammals characteristic of tropical Africa. The bird life of Ayr seems very akin to that of the Sudanese savannah, and, for instance, guinea fowl is extremely common even in valleys of the northern-most parts of the Massif. As example of tropical mammal life in Ayr we may here mention that the wart-hog lives in Central Ayr, and that oryx antelope and giraffe are found in the plains immediately south and west of the Massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Ayr and Ahaggar, but [132] 136 13

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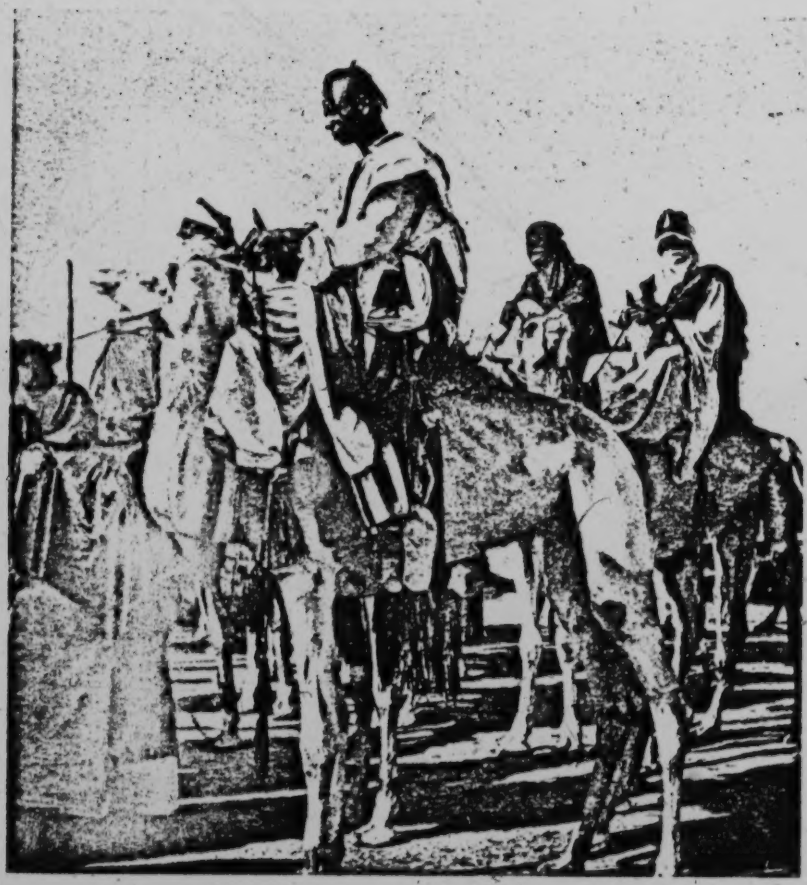

Fig. 34. Tuareg camel riders. The young man seen in the front has not yet adopted the veil. Ayr, Agadez.

camels among the Northern Tuareg, as there are cross-breeds between camels of this type and Tuareg camels. There are also to-day some Tuareg camels among Arab pastoralists of the Sahara, but I was told among *Ulad Ba Hammu* Arabs that originally all their camels were of the *marroki* type, while camels of the southern Tuareg breed were introduced among them more recently. I have not been able to prove or to refute Cauvet's theory that northern and southern camel-breeds differ in dentition

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Fig. 35. A young camel (about 14 months old) sucks its mother before milking. The Tuareg boy bends up the right foreleg of the she-camel and ties it in this bent position to the left foreleg – a method known as *ésemmetil*; it is applied to she-camels that are restless during milking. The camel has the colour name *téserift*, its big calf that of *aïlar*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

*233 (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 15, 76 ff.). I have inquired about this, and the Tuareg seem to hold that
● [114] all camels have an identical number of teeth.

She-camels should ideally be reserved for breeding which is a very slow process. A severe loss of goats during a drought can be restored quickly once rainfalls start again, but this is not so with a loss of camels. She-camels are not generally mated until they are about three years old, and their gestation period is about one year. In addition, she-camels get only one calf which has a long period of sucking so that a she-camel is frequently not mated until one year after the birth of a calf. In other words:—
[435] One she-camel has only one calf every two years. For this reason, and because a grown camel has about the same value as 25–30 goats, the Tuareg pay much more attention to camel-breeding than to the breeding of goats and sheep.

Most she-camels are mated during the cold season in Ahaggar, while the proper season of mating in Ayr is *akasa* with the beginning of *ṛarat*, though some she-camels are also mated in the spring period known as *tabsit*. As the gestation period is about one year most camel calves are born during the cold season in the north, in the rainy season when annual plants are well developed in the south. The rutting male camels roam freely in search of she-camels on heat, and a Tuareg may own several she-camels and not even possess a bull-camel for breeding. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr there are Tuareg who try to keep their very excellent bull-camels away from herds other than their own, but this is considered very bad conduct. In fact, there are Tuareg who do not know with which bull-camels their she-camels mate though the act of mating is normally seen and heard by somebody. Mating is also very frequently arranged by the Tuareg who then assist the bull-camel in introducing its penis into the she-camel's vagina. The act of mating may be connected with some difficulty for the bull-camel because the she-camel has to lie down on the ground during copulation.

A she-camel is well looked after during the period it is expected to have a calf. She stands upright while bearing the calf, and the umbilical cord breaks when the calf falls to the ground. The birth of a calf is not always seen by the owners but they will generally be present at least a few hours after birth.

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Fig. 42. She-camel provided with the plaited pouch (*abegu*) which covers its udder. The pouch is attached as follows:— A cord is tied around the body in front of the animal's hump while another cord runs along the back at both sides of the hump to pass under the tail. The three cords which form part of the pouch are tied to the tail cord in front of the hind thighs and at the tail. To milk a she-camel carrying a pouch around its udder the hind pouch-cord fastened at the animal's tail is untied. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

[234]

*233 they are hobbled by means of a cord (*téffart*) attached around their forelegs (p. 72, Fig. 45b–e) and
[284] are kept away from the mother animals during grazing in day-time. In Ahaggar as well as elsewhere in Northern Tuareg country suckling of calves are normally regulated by another method, namely a plaited pouch (*abegu*) which covers the udder of the mother camel, and the calf can thus be allowed to graze freely together with its mother (Fig. 41–42). This device is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr as *ébeyembey*, but though they know it by name they do not use it. They say, however, that it is in use among the *Kel Ewey* of the Ayr Massif.

The plaited pouch just described also serves as a means of weaning half-grown calves, but there are other weaning methods, namely the following:— (1) *ikembar*, that is cuttings on the bridge of the nose as described above for cow calves (p. 51). In addition to these cuttings, the scars of which form small bumps, it is common to cut the calf also under the chin, the visible result of such a cut being a hanging patch of skin. This method is known both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, and it is, I believe, nowadays carried out mainly for aesthetic reasons as the bumps and the hanging patch of skin adds, in Tuareg opinion, to the beauty of riding camels (Fig. 43). In fact, the cut made under the chin does not seem to hurt a sucking calf, and this cut is not made on cow calves (cf. Fig. 30). – (2) A method
[114] which is described by Cauvet from the oasis of In Salah may perhaps also be known to the Northern Tuareg though I have not recorded it. It consists of a thorn put into a patch of skin cut loose on the

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bridge of the nose of a calf, so that it hurts its mother when it tries to suck (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 359). – 233*
(3) *akimbab*, that is a plaited muzzle which allows the calf to graze, but prevents it from sucking. I have been told both in Ahaggar and Ayr that such muzzles are used for camel calves, but apparently they do not constitute a normal weaning method. – (4) *azedres* or *ameru* are said to be synonymous terms for the weaning method generally adopted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. The method is as follows:— The upper lip of the calf is pierced on both sides of the harelip so characteristic of all camels. A piece of thin root of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) is drawn through these holes so [124]
that the ends of the root protude at both sides, and a knot is made at both ends that the root will not fall out. These knots hurt the udder of a she-camel when the calf starts to suck, but this is not the real idea of the device. For the root-piece keeps the pierced holes open and the calf is therefore unable to suck at all.

A she-camel may yield about ten litres of milk at the beginning of its lactation period, but at the 234
end of this period it does not yield more than two or three litres even with good grazing. The yield is always dependent on grazing conditions. Thus during my stay in Ahnet and Ahaggar 1954–55, a Tuareg who owned about twenty she-camels acquired only two litres of milk a day in all from these animals. But conditions of camel-breeding are much better in Ayr and in the southern plains where [433]
she-camels are tolerably good milk-yielders most of the year, and camel's milk is therefore very im-
portant to some pastoralists of these regions. Camel's milk is drunk and not generally used for food [272]
in other ways. It is much esteemed by all Tuareg, who claim that it possesses a particular power and gives strength. It is never stored in the shape of butter or cheese. The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr [262]
never eat camel's butter which they consider possesses a poor taste, and, besides, it is very difficult to churn. They make butter of camel's milk only when butter of milk from other domestic animals is [302]
lacking for the greasing of the hair. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr butter is then churned by the men in a rather peculiar way:— A skin bag containing an amount of camel's milk is attached to the riding [415]
saddle of a camel which is then ridden at very fast speed for some time. But even with this method, it is said, camel's milk gives very little butter, and it is also definitely stated that the milk cannot be used for cheese-making. These Tuareg statements seem to be confirmed by analyses of veterinaries, [114]
who claim camel's milk to contain very little casein, and it has been proved difficult to separate butter from camel's milk (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 707 ff.).

She-camels can mate and yield milk until an age of about 25, and their average length of life is 233*
estimated by the Tuareg at about 30 years. But pastoral Tuareg do not generally keep their camels until they die a natural death. In Ayr I was told that she-camels more than twenty years old should be sold or killed. Most Tuareg sell their old camels in the oases of the Central or Northern Sahara [432]
where a large population of sedentary farmers is constantly yearning for meat. Very few camels are [366]
killed by the butchers of Agadez, where meat from oxen, sheep, and goats is always available and [262]
fairly cheap, but a great many old camels are slaughtered at the market places of the oases further north.

Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr very rarely kill their own camels to eat them. They will slaughter a camel 262
which suffers from some severe disease as all animals dying by accident or from disease are unlawful to eat. However, there are also some Ayr Tuareg who will never eat camel's meat. They say that they [261]
would feel very sick at heart were they to do so, and some Tuareg even say that they would vomit

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Fig. 46. A resting she-camel with the colour name *tawinak*. The colour term of the young she-camel standing in the back-ground is *ténilt*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

In Ayr the Tuareg do not 237
use camel's hide in their crafts, but give it to the blacksmiths who use it for lashing, or to people 564
who manufacture beds from ribs of palm leaves (cf. Fig. 257). The Northern Tuareg use camel-skin 352
for the manufacture of a few household implements and also use it for lashing (cf. p. 84, 110, 222, 824
270 f. & Figs. 70, 86, 132a–b, 161a–d, 162, 213). But even in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer the skin of camels is little used compared with the skin of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep.

When employed in craft, camel's hide is normally used raw and unprepared after soaking in water, 281
but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that for certain purposes the hide is treated with salt. In literature there 114
are many statements about the tanning of camel's hide. Thus it is stated by Cauvet that the hide is tanned with plant material in Algeria, and Cauvet also quotes Duveyrier's statement that the Northern Tuareg tan camel's hide to use it for tents and various other implements (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 714 ff.). I very much doubt the correctness of this, as all Tuareg asked about it have stated that the hide of camels is not fitted for proper tanning. Camel's hide is therefore of very limited use to the Tuareg, and the same is the case with camel's hair or wool. Tuareg camels in Ayr have very little wool, and 237
among the Northern Tuareg most animals have less wool than Arab camels of the Northern Sahara. The Northern Tuareg pluck a little wool with the hands or cut it off with a knife. It is spun into cords 283
to be used for certain minor objects, notably for the manufacture of the plaited pouch (*abegw*) to prevent the suckling of calves (p. 62, Fig. 41) and for the particular cord (*asarun*) tied around the foreleg of camels to keep them in a reclining position (p. 72, Fig. 45a). Mixed with goat's hair the wool is 286
also used for a kind of primitive weaving (p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

Camels are very important to the Tuareg as pack-animals for the caravan expeditions which will 492*
be mentioned in a later chapter when other means of subsistence have been described. 484

In the past camels were also extremely valuable as riding animals on raiding expeditions which 492*
721

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of riders and their camels. This is intimated by the following poem quoted from Foucauld's excellent books on the poetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg:—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ébeydeǧ, é ti n ami mellen* | My white camel, O woman with white teeth |
| *W-allahi! iḍeǧ ul ifel kem* | I swear by God, it shall not go raiding, shall not leave you |
| *Ula daṛ ikk am akal ien* | It shall not go away from you to another country |
| *U i ḍineṛ ar y arabuh ennem* | I lead it to the pastures only to visit you with love again |
| *Ula taharǧit d asemmeḍren* | Neither in dreams nor in thought |
| *Innin é ham yekk akal ien* | Shall it go away from you to another country |

(cf. Foucauld 1925-30, I, p. 210 f. for a literal translation).

## DONKEYS

Donkeys are very important domestic animals in the Tuareg groups I have studied. Most animals are grey or greyish but there are other colours for which the Tuareg have special terms. From Ahaggar the following colour-terms can be mentioned:— *adebara* (greyish), *afawa* (greyish with a white stomach), *ewriṛ* (yellow-brown), *éhenbey*, or *takenbawt* (donkey with a black head), *ékawél* (black). Black donkeys seem to be more common among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara than among the Tuareg.

Donkeys vary less in colour than other domestic animals among the Tuareg. It is interesting to note in this connection that there are fairly big herds of wild donkeys, or asses, in the mountainous massifs of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr. These animals are generally greyish like most domestic donkeys.

Fig. 83. Women carrying cereals in skin bags loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, the *Dog Ǧali* tribe.

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Fig. 89. Horse bit of iron. Made by blacksmith of Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: ca. 0.11 m broad. (N.M. G. 6667).

that the horse was introduced to Egypt with the Hyksos invasion about 1700 B.C. From Egypt it 231
spread to other African peoples, and it was common among the Libyans during the reign of Rameses 174
III (about 1200 B.C.). This first horse-breed introduced among the North African Berbers seems to have been of the pony type (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96 f.; Adametz 1920, p. 46 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 284) which is still represented in Africa. I believe that the so-called Togo-pony which is found in scattered and isolated parts of the Western Sudan belongs to the old pony-breed, though this theory is not accepted by Doutressoulle on the ground that such ponies are not found nowadays in North Africa and Egypt (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238). Doutressoulle has made a detailed study of the horse-breeds 231
of the area formerly known as French West-Africa. Apart from the pony-type just mentioned above, 171
there are three main types:— (1) the *Aryen type* known in Ayr as the Begzen horse. It is an Arab breed [114]
introduced from the North – from Tripolis according to tradition. Horses of this type are found scattered throughout Ayr, Adrar-n-Foras, and Hodh. (2) the *Barbe type* found mainly among the Moors west of Timbuktu. (3) *the Dongolawi type* mainly found to the east of the Niger (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 237 ff.).

Horses become valuable riding animals to many Tuareg living in the true savannah country. The 492*
*Kel Geres* Tuareg use horses for short riding trips though they prefer camels for riding on long journeys. They claim horses of the Begzen breed to be the very best riding animal. In the remote past when the 492*
horse was introduced into North Africa and the Sahara, horses may have been important also to 174
Libyans and Tuareg living further north in the desert, where the climate may then have been more favourable to horse-breeding than it is in modern times. Lhote has studied the ancient rock-pictures representing horses, horse-riders, and horse-drawn waggons in the Sahara, and he ascribes to the horse very great importance for the opening up of the desert country and invasions into these regions by fair-skinned Berbers (cf. Lhote 1953a). This theory is perhaps supported by the fact that the Ahaggar [192]
Tuareg though they do not breed horses have a fairly extensive vocabulary connected with horses and horse-breeding. Briggs states as his opinion that horses were probably never common in the Sahara (Briggs 1960, p. 21). This, of course, we cannot know, but it seems safe to say that in the Sahara the horse has never had the same economic value as the camel later has had.

# Rationality and Beliefs in Stock-Breeding

Literature on so-called primitive pastoralists often states that these peoples are irrational stock-breeders. It is said that they attach an enormous value to big flocks and herds which overgraze and deteriorate pastures, that they take too little interest in selective breeding with the result that they do not castrate their superfluous male animals or perform this operation too late, and that they take an overwhelmingly large interest in the aesthetic qualities of their animals. 121

Tuareg stock-breeding is essentially rational and is well adopted to environment. This viewpoint can be proved by reference to the description of stock-breeding given in the preceding chapter. I have here described in some detail the system used in the mating of sheep and goats, and how mating is regulated in accordance with the development of pastures. From this description of mating regulations it also appears that the Tuareg are not only interested in having large flocks. They also want flocks of healthy and strong animals, and they generally kill or sell domestic animals before they grow barren. It should be added that the Tuareg very well know that there is a limit to the number of animals (goats and sheep), which can be herded in one and the same place. The Tuareg certainly want to be rich and to possess large flocks and herds, but they are also aware that there is a limit to size. Regarding Tuareg interest in the aesthetic qualities of their animals, I have mentioned that it is mainly focused on camels, and I have described in some detail the value attached to colours. It is clear, however, that the Tuareg interest in their animals is not confined to the aesthetic. The true value of any domestic animal is always judged rationally, and takes into consideration such qualities as age, build, stature, and the like. The Tuareg also know that qualities of domestic animals are inherited and are aware that it is necessary to have good breeding animals. Cauvet states that pastoral Tuareg attach very little importance to the quality of she-camels used in breeding, while greatly interested in the build and stature of bull-camels. In this, he says, the Tuareg differ from Arab pastoralists, who think that camel calves inherit their qualities mainly from the mother-camels (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 348). This statememt, I believe, is not quite correctly expressed, for the Tuareg I have asked about this have stated that a camel-calf inherits qualities from both parents and they have also stressed the necessity of having good she-camels to produce the best possible calves. But most Tuareg have so few camels that they are forced to mate all their she-camels. They cannot afford to select certain she-camels for breeding, while it is easy for them to select one or two good bull-camels. All Tuareg I have asked admitted the great value of selective breeding, and said that superflous rams and he-goats should be castrated or

233 232 [556] 232 [171] [114]

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232 [114] killed. This does not agree with Nicolas' statement that selective breeding is unknown among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* for all types of domestic animals (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 133).

Superfluous bull-camels are generally castrated very late – rarely before they are six or seven years old, and frequently much later. But this is not to say that all bull-camels are used in breeding, as those used for riding and transportation are generally hobled during grazing and copulation is thus effectively prevented. Bull-camels used in breeding are not always used for riding and pack animals, as they may be very savage and dangerous. In the rutting season they are left unhobled among the she-camels.

The Tuareg consider it best to castrate bull-camels late, and say that bull-camels if castrated at a very early age will not develop fully, or become such good riding and pack animals. Bull-camels which have not been allowed to mate are not so difficult to control during the periods when she-camels are on heat. Nevertheless, when bull-camels are castrated they become more docile. But to the Tuareg it is more important that gelded animals easily grow fat and thus acquire the strengh and endurance to enable them to perform the long and arduous expeditions connected with caravan trading and, in the past, also with raiding. In brief, castration of bull-camels is done as follows:— The legs of the animal to be operated are tied tightly with strong cords, and it is kept firmly to the ground by the weight of people sitting upon it. The operator thereupon cuts two slices in the animals scrotum and pulls out the testicles together with the spermatic cords. This must be done with great care because, it is said, the animal may die if one of the spermatic cords breaks. This method of castration by extraction is the only method used for camels, and it may also be applied to other domestic animals such as bulls, rams, he-goats, and in Ahaggar also to donkey stallions. In the north this extraction method is known as *aselbi* while the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr use the word *azam*. The latter people claim that castration by means of cutting and extraction should be performed in spring (*tabsit*) or during the early rains (*akasa*), as the wounds will heal properly at these seasons. The other important castration method used among the Tuareg is that of chrushing the spermatic cords, it is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *éddaz*, and is never used for camels but is frequently applied to he-goats, rams, and bulls. Chrushing of the spermatic cords is done by means of stones or pieces of wood – frequently by [112] beating with the heavy wooden pestle of the large millet mortar (cf. Fig. 177). I believe that this method is that most commonly applied to he-goats and rams, and Tuareg of Ayr claim that they can use this method all the year round as it leaves no wounds to be healed. Rams and he-goats may be castrated at any age and even very old animals are castrated to make them fat for slaughtering. It is claimed that it is best to castrate superfluous lambs and kids very early, preferably as soón as they are weaned.

I believe that the examples given above confirm my statement that the Tuareg are mainly rationalists in their stock-breeding methods. To elucidate this in more detail I shall now present my material on Tuareg veterinary knowledge. This material is unfortunately not very precise because the Tuareg distinguish between very many stock-diseases, and the treatments applied can be studied scientifically only by a veterinary surgeon. A description of stock-diseases is available for the northern parts of the [113] Sahara ("Notice sur l'Institut Pasteur d'Algérie", I–II, 1934–1949), but there seems to be no particular study of Tuareg stock-diseases, which I know only by their Tuareg names. As I have not studied this [114] rather special subject in great detail, I supplement my own material with informations gathered from literature.

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A chest disease for which the Ayr Tuareg have no particular name. It is cured by cutting two rows of small slices through the animal's skin at both sides of the fore thighs so that blood flows. 233* 232

*awaras*, that is swelling of the foot caused by an acacia-thorn or other pointed object. The remedy is to remove the thorn by means of knife and awl and then burn the upper side of the foot with a red-hot iron.

*tafadé*, that is wounds on the camel's back caused by galling of the saddle and the loads. Very many camels have such wounds which are treated by pressing out the pus, by cutting, and by burning.

*ajawad*, that is scabies (*Sarcoptes scabiei* var. *Cameli*) which is extremely common. The Tuareg living around Agadez treat it in two distinct ways:— (1) an animal bone is crushed in a large mortar and the pounded mass is put into a cooking pot to be heated over the fire. A black liquid with a consistency like that of liquid butter comes out of the bone-substance after heating. It is rubbed into the skin of the infected animal. (2) Fruit of the *aborak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*) are put into a cooking pot to be heated over the fire. A black liquid comes out of the fruits after heating. This is rubbed into the skin. [824]

Camels in Africa are considered to suffer from only three major infectious diseases (*anthrax*, *pasteurellosis*, *trypanosomiasis*), but several types of local infections can be met with. 233*

I believe that camel diseases of Ayr and Ahaggar are not very different, but I have not collected much material on the subject in the north. I give a few additional examples from Ahaggar: *adder*, that is a bunion close to the junction of leg and body of camels. The bunion is produced by rubbing of the fore thigh against the chest during walking, and some camels suffer from such bunions during long journeys. I do not know if there is any treatment for it. *gelek*, that is the swelling of camels which have drunk too much water after the consumption of salty plants; this swelling disappears by itself. *irelenrwahen*, a nose disease which attack camels and goats. The nostrils are filled with pus so that the animals have difficulty in breathing. The treatment is burning. *amerwas*, swelling of the feet which are washed with hot water. *loza*, a chest disease considered contagious. The animals lose their appetite. The remedy is burning. Dr. Grunnet thinks that it could be an oedematous form of *pasteurellosis* (*haemorrhagic septicaemia*). – For scabies the Ahaggar Tuareg seem to know several treatments. They use pounded leaves of *ahoyyar* (*Cleome arabica*) and of *telulut* (*Capparis spinosa*) added to sour milk and rubbed into the camel's skin. According to Maire, who has made use of information from Voinot, there are other treatments for scabies, namely the use of ashes of the *aferegak* plant (*Chrozophora Brocchiana*), tar extracted from the *azawa* tree (*Tamarix gallica* ssp. *nilotica*), charcoal of *turha* (*Calotropis procera*) which is pounded and mixed with butter, seeds of *tegellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*) which are boiled into a black oil called *akaha* (cf. Maire 1933, p. 145, 156, 172, 200). Congestion due to heat-apoplexy (*ahni*) is cured as mentioned in the case of the Ayr Tuareg. [114] 233* 232 232 824

From the above description of camel diseases and their treatment it will be seen that the Tuareg know several types of veterinary methods. In brief the veterinary techniques can be summarized under the following five items:— 232

(1) Treatment by the hand, e.g., *Corpus luteum* which is squeezed out of the ovary by the manipulation (cf. *sanes*, p. 120), and massage treatments which the Tuareg practise with human beings and with domestic animals. [257]

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human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poision their enemies. However, this plant does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, p. 192). One plant (*téhereggelé*) (*Artemisia judaica*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten venomous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for domestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe they have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings (Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be understood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil mouth (*tehoj* in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as *ettama* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding camels in Ayr:— Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order that their riding animal may not stumble.

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428 sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mothers) while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal
[114] kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar (and in Ayr) denied this.

428 Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Rela* drum-group has
643 no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however,
[632] will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *éhéré wa n eṭṭebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group"), or *éhéré wa n butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

422 It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually,
[858] and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may
[553] own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions,
422 e.g., on the naming day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong
592 to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic
422 unit of closely related stock-owners.

*233 All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar
[114] Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite
[576] to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks
[602] so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual
422 ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which
*233 time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark
565 their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe (the *Dag Rali*) donkeys are also branded with a redhot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar

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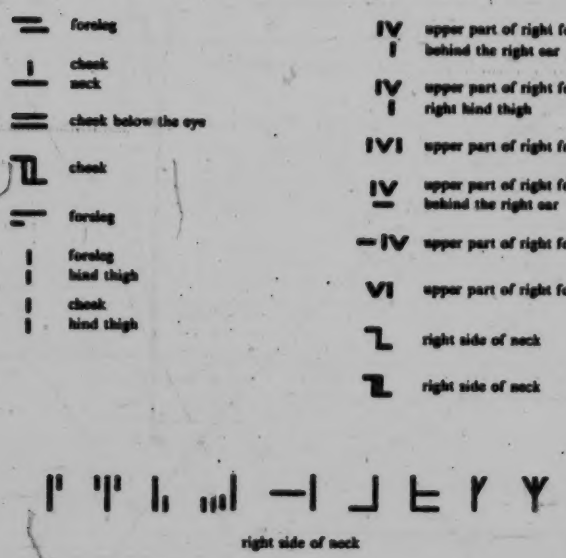


Fig. 101 a–c. Camel-brands of three Ahaggar tribes.

a. Brands of the *Kel Rele* tribe.
b. Brands of the *Afuh-en-tehit* tribe. The main brand of this tribe is V called *tamazert*. The brands ⌉ & ⌉ are due to intermarriage with the *Ikiao-en-tawait* tribe where the principal brand is ⌉ called *amezlaq*.
c. Brands of the *Dag Rali* tribe. The main brand characteristic of this tribe is | placed on the right side of the camel's neck. This brand was that used by the founder of the tribe named *Rali* and to-day it forms part of most *Dag Rali* brands which are always placed on the right side of the camel's neck. The *Dag Rali* brands have individual names. The last one is known as *tikkilt n ayalaq*, that is "the raven's foot".

*Dag Rali* tribe may claim that these two halves are matrilineally related to one another, b[illegible]at they do not descend from sisters. It seems in fact as if these two halves stand in a cross-cousin relationship to one another, and it is in agreement with this that the *Dag Rali* proper speak of the *Imezzilliten* as "children of their mother's brother". The two halves in the past intermarried much though marriages between them are very rare nowadays. Thus in 1951 there were only two marriages between people of the two tribal halves.

I believe that other tribes of Ahaggar have a structure similar to that of the *Dag Rali*, but the structure of Tuareg tribes is extremely difficult to grasp because very few Tuareg know their genealogies more than three or four generations back.

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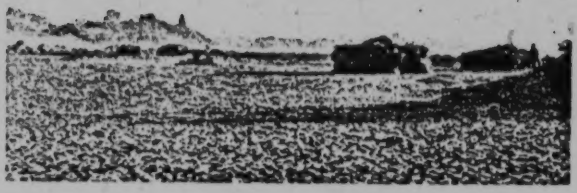

Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikebran*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhet* tribe (*Iseḳkemaren*).

423 422 224 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 148).

423 241 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Ṛali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

685 643 423 [428] [613] Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Ạmenukal*, the indemnity falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to [114] forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

## AYR

422 233 [428] The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark. However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Iġdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *éjwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and [113] Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

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Fig. 117. Fishing pool (*aḡelmam*) in Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

136 sunset. There are wild pigeons by the thousand and innumerable flocks of guinea fowls and partridges (*Alectoris* sp.). Two species of turtle-dove are almost as common in Ayr as is the sparrow in Europe. 224 Possibilities of hunting are much more favourable in Ayr than in Northern Tuareg countries, yet, [410] nevertheless, the Ayr Tuareg engage even less in hunting than do the Ahaggar Tuareg. One reason for this is perhaps that very few Ayr Tuareg possess guns. It is extremely rare to meet hunters in Ayr. 224 They are found mainly within one tribe, namely that of *Imedderaren* (or *Kel Tamgak*) living in the 433 Tamgak Mountains of Northern Ayr. I have myself never visited camps of these people, but all Tuareg agree that they live largely as hunters and possess few domestic animals. Unfortunately, these people [119] have never been studied in detail. Buchanan, who met a hunting band of these Tuareg in 1920, says [222] that they have neither goats nor grain, but live by hunting and the collection of wild edible plants (Buchanan 1921, p. 191), while Campbell, who met them at Iferwan in 1926, describes them as hunters who also breed goats and sheep (Campbell 1928, p. 204 f.). Rodd also states that the *Kel Tamgak* have goats and sheep, but that they do not possess camels (Rodd 1926a, p. 307). This is in agreement with information gathered by myself at Iferwan where I met a few Tuareg of this group. There are 224 no Ayr Tuareg who live exclusively by hunting and collecting. The number of game animals killed

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



catching wild donkeys in the mountains around the valley of Anu Mekkeren. The method is not used for proper game animals. 224

(7) A pulling and a throwing snare are both known as *tuṛunt*. They are said not to be used for hunting, though commonly employed to catch wild donkeys and domestic animals which have gone astray; cf. p. 108 f.

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*tawchit*) provided with a noosed rope (*tuṛunt*) attached to a stick. This is used for gazelle and bigger game animals in isolated places rarely visited by representatives of the administration. According to Buchanan, the spiked wheel-trap is used for ostriches in the plains south of Ayr (Buchanan 1921, p. 117 ff.). Large traps of this type are also used for giraffe by certain hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 453).

(9) The torsion trap (*tenderbat*) akin to that of Ahaggar. It is used for big game animals, notably for barbary sheep.

(10) Snares (*tazek*, pl. *t'izagin*) made from strips of dum palm leaves are used for guinea fowl and other edible birds. They are generally set near water where birds come to drink. Little boys of the negroid *Imeggedezen* of Agadez also make snares of hair to catch small birds (Fig. 118). [223] [857]

These are the hunting methods known to the Ayr Tuareg, who do not engage much in hunting with the exception of the *Kel Tamgak* mentioned above. Most Ayr Tuareg refuse the small types of game and beasts of prey, and reject not only the *aṛata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.), but also the smaller lizzard known in Ahaggar as *aggezzeram*, in Ayr as *emekkechchu* (*Uromastix acanthinurus*), though it is claimed that the latter is eaten among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The two lizzards do not play any part in Tuareg mythology – the *aṛata* lizzard is greatly detested by the Ayr Tuareg who kill it with stones or sticks whenever possible. The Ayr Tuareg, including those of noble descent, have no taboos about birds and eggs, and many pastoral Tuareg collect guinea fowl eggs late in summer after the rains. There are a few animals not mentioned above which are considered edible among the Ayr Tuareg, e.g., the tortoise (*aṛaras*) which is found in the plains south of the Massif. With the exception of the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg the people of Ayr do not collect locusts (*tahwalt* in Ahaggar, *achwal* in Ayr). Locusts are eaten by all people of the two Northern Tuareg groups. The animals are roasted in the ashes or are boiled in a cooking pot to be pounded in the large mortar together with dried dates. This dish is very esteemed by the women who say that it is fattening and in this way adds to their beauty. [252] [832]

Certain weapons have not been mentioned above because they either cannot be considered proper hunting weapons, or because it is doubtful whether they exist among the Tuareg or not. 411 [114]

Traditional Tuareg arms comprise an iron lance (*allaṛ*), a sword (*takuba*), and a dagger (*télek*) carried in a sheath fastened to the left arm. The iron lance may serve as a hunting weapon, and this is true also of the sword. Thus the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group said that wild animals were occasionally killed with the sword, and they claimed that two Tuareg of the past had killed lions with the weapon.

The bow (Ahaggar, *taṛayyé* or *taṛañhé*; Ayr, *taganzé*) and arrows (Ahaggar, *imurren*, sing. *amor*, or *tinassabin*, sing. *tanassabi*; Ayr, *imeran*, sing. *amer*) are not traditional Tuareg weapons. Nowadays very ineffective bows and arrows are used as toys by little Tuareg boys, but they are never used by [524]

[text continues on p. 169]

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p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *éfezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals – there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Ineslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Koran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120 b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. To-day true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Tamgak* or *Imedderaren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Rali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals withing two hunting territories where barbary sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

| Age | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . . | *awhim* | *tawhimt* |
| Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . . | *ahjar* | *tahyart* |
| Fully grown animal . . . . . | *ahenkoḍ* | *tahenkoṭ* |

Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—

(1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

# Collecting

In this chapter on collecting such edible plants are mentioned as play a part in Tuareg nourishment. Wild plants are also collected for other purposes. Many species are important to craft or have a medicinal value. Some of these latter species are mentioned elsewhere in this study.

## EDIBLE PLANTS OF THE AHAGGAR AREA

Wild plants which yield edible fruits, seeds, stems, or roots in Ahaggar comprise more than fifty different species. But the importance of collecting should not be judged from this, as all these plants are never found within the same area, and most are eaten only occasionally as a kind of relish or when agricultural food (wheat, barley, millet, dates) is lacking. I have supplemented my own list of edible plants with important information from Maire's study of Ahaggar botany (Maire 1933 & 1940). In my list the letters Tr., L.M., and U?M. stand for Maire's botanical zones, namely the Tropical Zone, the Lower Mediterranean Zone, and the Upper Mediterranean Zone. The following edible plants are collected in Ahaggar and adjacent regions:—

*tirfas* (sing. *tarfest*) (*Terfezia ovalispora*). Tr., L.M. A fungus which, according to Maire, lives on the roots of *Helianthemum Lippii* & *H. ellipticum* known to the Tuareg of Ahaggar as *urruǧ* (Maire 1933, p. 22, 159 et suiv.). This white fungus, which is frequently termed *tirfas n urruǧ* by the Tuareg, is prepared for eating together with various other dishes. It is frequently added to the so-called kus-kus.

*tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*) Tr. Roots and certain lower parts of the stem are eaten raw or boiled. When vegetable food is scarce they are also pounded or ground into flour.

*akeywoḍ* (*Typha australis*) Tr., L.M. Roots of this plant are ground into flour.

*téseñǧelt* (*Saccharum Ravennae*). Tr., L.M. "Cette plante ... laisse très souvent exsuder un liquide sucré qui se concrète en masses plus ou moins cristallisées; les Tuareg utilisent ce sucre" (Maire 1933, p. 54).

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). Tr. A perennial grass extremely common in the lower valleys of Ahaggar. Seeds are collected in receptacles (e.g., *ahaǧa*, Fig. 213) by beating the ears of the grass with a stick. The seeds are not suitable for bread, but are esteemed for porridge and *tébik*, that is seeds pounded in the mortar and eaten without further preparation. Ashes of this grass contain soda and are often mixed with tobacco for chewing.

[p. 175]

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[231]

Fig. 132b. Cf. text Fig. 132a.

deep, and are dug into the sandy river bed to lead its water to the gardens of the valley terrace. A map of the foggara aqueducts placed in the river valley of Tarhawhawt is reproduced by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, Fig. 18 p. 328). There are many advantages attached to the use of foggara systems of the Ahaggar type, for once the aqueducts are dug water automatically flows to the garden. But there are also disadvantages. If a foggara valley is heavily flooded after rains and changed into a roaring stream, the aqueducts are destroyed and the crops also. In general it will be necessary to abandon a foggara system after some years, as it must be cleaned at intervals and in time it becomes too dangerous to work in them as subsidences may occur and kill workers. It may also happen that a river valley is not flooded at all for a period of years when it becomes essential to move to another valley, rich in water under the sandy river bed, to make a new foggara there. For all these reasons deserted foggara systems are common in the river valleys of Ahaggar. [114]

The *foggara* system is unknown south of Ahaggar and has on the whole a rather limited distribution in the Sahara. One reason for this is perhaps that the construction and maintenance of the aqueduct imply the agricultural co-operation of several households. This is not the case with the other common system in Ahaggar, the use of wells (*tunin*, sing. *tanut*) from which water is raised by animal traction. The wells are usually shallow and not very difficult to dig out, and the maintenance of the whole system is usually limited to occasional mendings of the zebu's harness and of the large waterbag. While a foggara canal is always used for the irrigation of several gardens (6–12), the wells are used for single gardens. The irrigation wells are dug into the valley terrace so that they are not destroyed by a flood, and in dry years watering from wells is considered the better system. But in the period when crops need much water irrigation by means of wells is hard work for the garden owner who must drive his ox all day long. [184] [476]

Irrespective of the system resorted to irrigation of a garden is done in the same manner. Water from the *foggara* aqueduct or water raised from well flows into a large basin (*tihemt*) through a canal

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433 439 in the Sudan for such articles as camel saddles, sandals, swords, millet mortars, indigo cotton, earthenware pots, and the like. The Tuareg may also buy quantities of butter and cheese for sale to the sedentary people of Tidikelt and for their own use in dry years.

The Sudanese trade constitutes the great stabilizing factor in the economy of pastoral Tuareg of [262] Ahaggar. In return for the valuable rock-salt, pastoral Tuareg obtain the bulk of their agricultural food products (millet), butter and cheese for their own consumption in dry years, many important artefacts and notably their camel saddles and their millet mortars. They also get a surplus of millet and goods for investment in their Ahaggar gardens and for selling to the sedentary people of the Tidikelt oases.

There are certain Tuareg who do not engage in the Sudanese salt trade, notably those living in Ahnet; and these Tuareg nowadays have no irrigated gardens either. They acquire their necessary vegetable food products from Tidikelt (dates) and from Abalessa and Tamanrasset (wheat). They buy these vegetable products with their surplus of goats, sheep, camels, butter and cheese, and an occasional [511] barbary sheep. In a good year they can meet their needs of food in this way, but it is most difficult for them to subsist in dry years; and it may happen that two dry years come in succession. When I [114] stayed among the Ahnet Tuareg in 1954–55, all camps visited were very short of food, while the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif who engage much in the salt trade (the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé*) possessed what they needed of wheat, barley, dates, and millet.

[366] To-day there is a rather important market at Tamanrasset where many Tuareg sell surplus livestock, and where they can also buy cereals and dates. But it is always profitable to sell livestock and meat [435] in the Tidikelt oases where meat, butter and cheese are very expensive articles. Dates are cheap in these 000 oases, European goods and woven blankets are also cheaper than at Tamanrasset. The trading expedi-

804 322 177

Fig. 150. Wooden measure (*muda*) which contains one kilo of cereals, or the like. The Tuareg have adopted the kilogramme into their own weight system. The proper Tuareg unit is the *taṣiwa* which, according to Foucauld, corresponds to three kilogrammes (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1160), but nowadays the Ahaggar Tuareg count one *taṣiwa* as equal to two kilogrammes and a half. The Tuareg have wooden or metal measures of *taṣiwa* size, and there are also larger measures to be used for grain, dates, and the like. For units smaller than *muda* the Tuareg sometimes use a wooden measure called *tamakast* which holds half a kilogramme. Smaller quantities are measured with the hand held half open, and it is recognized in Ahaggar that one *taṣiwa* corresponds to 99 handfuls. In Ayr it is very common to use a little plaited bowl (*téfakemi*) as the smallest unit of measurement. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.125 m in diameter at the rim. (F.M. 168).

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by the Tuareg of Ayr, the *Kel Gerez*, and other Tuareg. The Tuareg obtain salt generally in exchange 437
for millet, but they also bring with them dried meat, and meat from animals newly slaughtered; and 439
although this meat is largely rotten when it arrives at Bilma it is easily sold to the oases dwellers who
are yearning for meat. The oases dwellers have little to subsist upon but dates of which they have a
surplus. This is purchased by the Tuareg, who get two loads of dates for one load of millet. The [178]
Bilma trade is less important nowadays than it was at the beginning of the century. In 1922 the Bilma [484]
caravans comprised about 7000 camels (Buchanan 1926, p. 83), while in 1908, when the trade was
already decreasing, caravans numbered about 20,000 camels (Abadie 1927, p. 292). Caravans still go [438]
to Bilma to fetch salt and dates, but the salt trade is not so profitable to-day when Bilma salt can be [494]
bought fairly cheaply at Agadez, as the trucks bringing provisions from Agadez to the French admin-
istration and to the merchants of Bilma, take salt back with them when they return. The Ayr Tuareg 437
do not organize their trading expeditions within family groups or sections as in Ahaggar. A Tuareg [602]
who does not want himself to go to Bilma may let a kinsman or a friend trade for him with his camels.
The payment for this is a large loaf of salt which constitute one sixth or one seventh of a camel load.

The Ayr Tuareg do not generally obtain salt from the pits of Tegidda-n-tésemt though this place 317
is not very far from the Massif to the west. They say that the Tegidda salt is not as good as 439
Bilma's. The salt of Tegidda-n-tésemt is purchased mainly by the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* when
visiting the regions around Ingal after the rains. Some of the *Kel Ayr* who live in the extreme north [437]
(the *Kel Tédalé*, and others) occasionally go to Amadṛor in the north to fetch salt which is taken down
to the Sudanese towns and villages. In years when drought prevails in Ahaggar these Tuareg take their 437
surplus of livestock to the market at Tamanṛaset, for in dry years the provision of meat, butter, and 438
cheese consumed in Ahaggar come mainly from Ayr and adjacent regions. When I stayed in Ahaggar [114]
in 1954–55 a great many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* came to Tamanṛaset to sell camels, donkeys, sheep,
goats, and zebus, and also brought with them large quantities of cow's butter and cheese. The route 437
followed from Northern Ayr to Ahaggar runs via I-n-aṛawa and I-n-abeggi which are the only wells 487
between the two mountain massifs. Water is very scarce and so is pasture, which is mainly limited to
a scattered vegetation of annual plants; over very large areas there is no vegetation at all. It is easy
to drive camels and donkeys through these regions, while more difficult for sheep, goats, and cattle.
The zebus easily get cut hooves from walking on stony ground, while sheep and goats suffer much
from thirst. In spite of this, all kinds of livestock can be driven through the barren desert from Ayr
to Ahaggar, even as late as the month of March which is extremely hot in the barren desert country.
The Tuareg frequently lose animals which die from thirst and hunger during the journey, but the trade [435]
is nevertheless extremely profitable as prices of livestock are high in Ahaggar in dry years, while prices
of European goods such as tea, sugar, cotton, metal vessels, and the like are extremenly low compared
with the prices asked for these goods in Ayr.

The Ayr Tuareg, though owning more livestock than the Tuareg of Ahaggar, have a certain demand 433
of agricultural food products. These products are mainly grown outside of the Massif, for the farmers 439
of Ayr grow little millet, very few dates, and part of the wheat grown in Ayr is exported to the oases
of Ganet and Ṛat in the north. Though these vegetable products can be purchased at Agadez, it is
profitable to fetch them where they are cheap, namely in the Sudan (millet) and in Bilma (dates). And

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1888, p. 21 f.). Duveyrier says that among the *Kel Aïjer* all noble Tuareg had slaves, while only some of the vassals were slave owners. He says that slaves were bought and sold in towns (Duveyrier 1864, p. 339). Information about the Tuareg slave trade is given by Richardson, who undertook his journeys mainly to collect material on slavery which is described throughout his journals. According to Richardson's descriptions there can be little doubt that the Tuareg engaged in the slave trade, but I think that perhaps his statements are tinged by his deep antipathy to slavery (cf. Richardson 1848, I–II & 1853, I–II). It is most possible that the Tuareg slave caravans he mentions were organized by Arab merchants of Ṛat and Ṛadames. The former engagement of pastoral Tuareg in the slave trade has also been mentioned by Lyon (Lyon 1821). 175 567 [114]

As to Tuareg caravan trade throughout the 19th century, we can add that all Tuareg tribes did not trade to the same extent. Within most groups there were certain tribes of particular classes which did not go in so much for warfare and raiding, but were keen traders. This was true of tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class in Ahaggar, and in Ahnet there were two Arab tribes allied with the drum-group of *Tāyoḳ*, namely the *Sekakna* and the *Mazil* who were responsible for the very important trade with Timbuktu (Bissuel 1888, p. 24). Among the *Kel Aïjer* the *Iforas* tribes traded on a much larger scale than other tribes (Duveyrier 1864, p. 359 ff.). In Ayr the same was true of certain tribes of the *Kel Ewey* group. 175 437 184

However, throughout the 19th century all Tuareg, with the exception of those of the nobility, engaged in caravan trading which played a great part for the pastoralists, providing them with cereals and dates necessary for their subsistence. Already in this century certain pastoralists had taken up irrigation agriculture, and some of them practised a very primitive type of agriculture, but vegetable products were acquired mainly through caravan trading. 175 437 433

[text continues on p. 221]

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**Fig. 164. Pail (*éṛir*) made from tinned brass by blacksmiths. It is used for storing butter to be used for food preparation in the tent. Pails of this type form part of the dowry in the *Dag Ball* tribe. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.155 m high, 0.230–0.235 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5820).**

Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food 231
they perform a sacrifice, the idea of which seems to be an identification of the man and the killed animal. 282
This idea appears most clearly at the sacrifice made on the occasion of the name-giving feast seven 825
days after the birth of a child. A marabut, that is a Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class, and the father of 553
the child stand close together with their faces towards Mecca while the animal to be sacrificed is kept 282
to the ground. The marabut cuts the animal's throat and doing so cries out the name to be given to [565]
the child, and this name is thereupon repeated by the child's father. When the killing is performed in [442]
this way the knife (*elmusi* in Ahaggar; *ézegiz* in Ayr) and the cut across the throat are washed with
water before skinning is undertaken. I have dealt with certain ideas of Tuareg sacrifice elsewhere, 114 ●
and have stated that on certain occasions they may sacrifice not to God but to the *Kel Asuf* spirits 282
(Nicolaisen 1961, p. 122 f., 147 f.). But whatever may be the ideas attached to Tuareg sacrifices all 231
animals, with the exception of the camel (cf. above p. 65), are killed by cutting their throat.

The methods of meat preparation are almost identical in Ayr and Ahaggar. The most common 252
method everywhere is cooking in an earthen pot, known in Ahaggar as *ufrun*, *téṛirt*, *alekkin*, or *talekkint* 415 *
according to its size and form, or in a metal pot (*éṛir*) of European origin. Such European pots are [77]
common everywhere in Tuareg camps, but earthen pots are still used though less durable, for earthen
pots are cheap. Pots made of metal or copper, which are also known as *éṛir*, were also found among

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Fig. 171. Ordinary meat-knife (*elmust*) of the type used among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Its broken handle is mended with hide of barbary sheep sewn with leather thread. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m (total length). (F.M. 249).
All knives are manufactured by blacksmiths.

wheat bread is eaten particularly during migrations and on trading expeditions, or in periods when 262
butter is rare (Lhote 1955a, p. 262). This statement disagrees with my own experience. Wheat bread [114]
is an ordinary diet of many Northern Tuareg. Bread is also baked from barley and from certain wild [324]
seeds (notably *tawit*, *Chenopodium Vulvaria*; *éhéyefyef*, *Aizoon canariense*; *tullult*, *Aristida pungens*)
and wild roots (*ahahel*, *Cistanche Phelypaea*), while millet and sorghum are considered less suitable
for baking. Seeds are generally prepared for baking by grinding them into flour by saddle querns or 252
handmills. In Northern Tuareg country there are two types of bread which have been introduced as [172]
a result of contact with Arabs or the Arabic-speaking *Harratin*. One type is named *elfetat* and is baked

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Fig. 172a–b. Meat knives.
a. Knife (*ézegiz*) of Tebu type to be carried in its sheath around the upper arm. These knives are sometimes used in Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.370 m. (total length). (N.M. G. 6620a–b).
b. Knife (*ézegiz*) of the double-edged type normally used in Ayr. The *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.377 m (total length). N.M. G. 6665a–b).

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by blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*ameywan*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talak*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akralal, abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *taḍeft n ejrana*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Ajjuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

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Fig. 200. Neolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isebeten* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045–0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

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Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*amerwan*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Agub-en-sehlé* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

The pottery made in

323 Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from
[53] Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have
[114] been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing
[113] of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information
[437] (Lhote 1947b, p. 145–154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

[462] In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 507–512).

[Text continues on p. 260]

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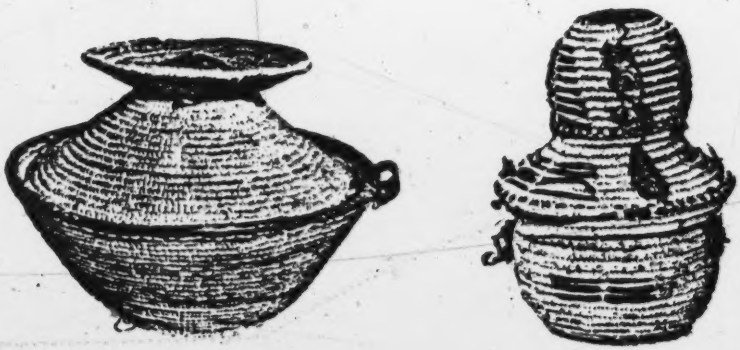

Fig. 210a–b. Two coiled baskets provided with lids.

[462] a. *takhulit*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*aḡum*) and reinforced with coloured leather (goat-skin). Manufactured by women of the sedentary *Kel Ḡat* in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, bought from blacksmiths at Tamanrasset in Ahaggar. Dimension: 0.13 m high. (F.M. 227).

b. *adabun*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*aḡum*). It is ornamented with coloured leather thread and with woollen yarn. Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.205 m high. (N.M. G. 5837a–b).

283 This stick, which is held in the right hand, is turned around its own axes while the hair taken out from the mass with the left hand is occasionally moistened with water or with spittle. The stick upon which the hair is spun is known as *aseggelem*. I have noted in Ahaggar that a length of 50–60 metres of spun hair can be made in about twenty minutes. Such a lenght of spun hair is trebled and attached to two sticks also known as *aseggelem* (pl. *iseggelam*). It is twisted together by two women each holding one of the sticks, and may be conserved for some time before it is finally made into a rope by further trebling and twisting (cf. Fig. 208). Certain cords to be used in connection with riding camels (e.g., reins) are not twisted in the above manner, but are plaited (cf. Fig. 51). The spun hair is used for the manufacture of certain objects without twisting (cf. Fig. 167a–b). Lhote states that the hair growing on the knees and neck of barbary sheep is also used for spinning (Lhote 1955a, p. 319).

[237] The Northern Tuareg spin camel's hair or wool (*tedhit*) which is used for very few purposes (cf.
[286] p. 67). But camel's hair is sometimes mixed with goat's hair to be spun for thread used for a primitive type of weaving; true weaving is an unknown craft among the Tuareg while important to Arab pastor-
286 alists of the Northern Sahara. The Tuareg type of primitive weaving with spun hair is carried out
* [415] with no other implement but the hand; it is used for small transportation bags known as *tirrar* (sing.
[114] *téṛerirt*), a word, according to Foucauld, derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776) (cf. Fig. 209a–b). I have myself never had the opportunity to see how weaving of this type is done.

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A photograph illustrating a women making a bag from spun hair is reproduced by Lhote, who states 286 that bags of this nature are rarely manufactured nowadays and are made exclusively by a few noble 415* women of the *Kel Rela* tribe (Lhote 1955a, p. 319 f., pl. XV p. 384). This statement does not agree 462 with information gathered by myself in Ahaggar, where I was told that bags were made from spun 565 hair by Tuareg women of other tribes and notably by women of the *Isekkamaren* class. 114

In Ayr spinning of cotton is performed mainly to obtain sewing thread, which is considered superior 283 to European thread for sewing cotton clothes. To my knowledge most pastoral women do not spin [432] their own cotton thread but buy it at the market of Agadez. However I have noted the existence of [171] simple cotton bows in a *Kel Tédalé* camp in the northern part of the Ayr Massif. The occurrence of [248] the simple cotton bow among the Ayr Tuareg should no doubt be viewed in connection with the use [172] of this implement in the Western Sudan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 260 ff.) from where the cotton plant has also been introduced.

Coiled basket-work plays an important part with the Tuareg, particularly the Northern Tuareg 285 who are experts in this technique which is related to sewing. A very primitive type of coiled basketry

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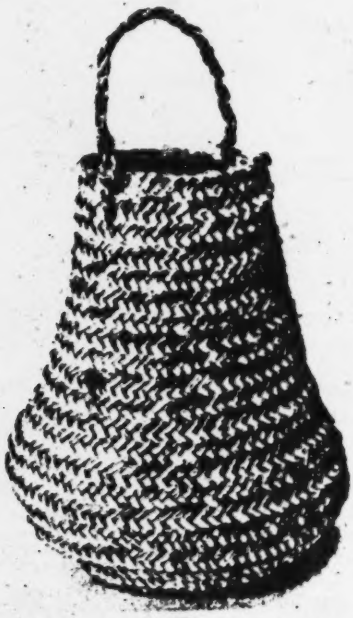

Fig. 211. Basket (*aleguegur*) plaited from date palm leaves (*aguni*). The handle is of date palm bast (*asan*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abelessa. Dimension: 0.38 m high. (N.M. G. 5835).

[text continues on p. 269]

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Fig. 238. Loin-cloth consisting of a piece of tanned and depilated goat-skin. It is known as *arḡaḡ* and is worn mainly by boys and young slaves. Dimension: 0.715 × 0.575 m. Ahaggar, the *Aḡah-en-tehli* tribe. (N.M. G. 5258).

291 *liga* or *tagua* for this garment piece; (2) *téri*, a large piece of cotton worn as a skirt wound around the waist in the same way as in the north; (3) *tesegbes*, a large piece of cotton used as a petticoat.

[114] Lhote has published some very interesting information on the dress of Tuareg women. Thus he mentions that certain women among Sudanese Tuareg wear a kind of shawl over the shoulders instead of a poncho shirt. I have myself seen this garment among pastoral Arabs south of Ayr and close to [587] Aderbissinat, but I have never seen it among the Tuareg. Still more interesting is Lhote's description of a skin skirt worn by slave women among the *Iwillemmeden* (Lhote 1955a, p. 308). This leather skirt, which is laced around the waist by means of a leather cord, is also recorded from the *Bélla* of Timbuktu by Dupuis-Yakouba (cf. Seabrook 1934, p. 251), and some skirts of the same type are conserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. One skirt among those found in the Paris museum (no. 33.78.9) comes from the Sudanese *Bélla*, and was collected in the region of Arawan by the "Expedition du [294] Hall" in 1945. It is made from several pieces of decorated leather sewn together with leather thread; its total length is about 0.70 m. Another skirt of the same type, but without a museum number, is perhaps of the same origin. In addition to these two skirts the Paris museum possesses three other leather skirts of the same type. They were collected by Lhote in 1939 among Tuareg living in the south-west. One of these skirts is from the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (mus. no. 41.19.845) while the two others [587] come from the *Kel Inteser* (mus. no. 41.19.846 & 847). The skirts are known as *ekraite* according [565] to the museum's card-index, where it is stated that they are worn by slave women, and it is added that similar leather skirts were worn by slave women and poor women of the vassal class among the

Ayr Tuareg up to the French occ[illegible] of Ayr

[Text continues on p. 296]

291 l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

292 In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the [232] Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen [177] blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aglim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-[294] skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl (*ilstent*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather [184] cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

128 Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like 291 many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

291 The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *ifatimen* (sing. *ifatim*) which [257] word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south. [438] The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where the type is also known by the Hausa word *takelmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in 294 detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig. [114] 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manu-291 facture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takelmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The [137] very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal [285] is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *slisleplatine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

[Text continues on p.300]

It is 291 never manufactured by noble women, but noble Tuareg obtain this footwear from vassals, or have them made by their slaves. Lhote states that *imerkeden* sandals in the past were more common among [294] the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar (Lhote 1952a, p. 605). *Imerkeden* sandals are very common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. They are said to be known among the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg under the name *tadakat*. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that they have a related type, but this I have never seen. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg almost exclusively wear sandals of *takalmi* type.

A third main type of sandals is that known to most Tuareg as *tagliezez*. Like other sandal types it [114] is described in detail by Lhote in his study on Tuareg sandals (Lhote 1950d, p. 512–533). Sandals [294] of this type are generally made from one piece of hide or leather which is bent up over the toes. The system of attachment consists of a leather strap attached to the bent-up flap of the sole and passing around the heel through two loops at the back of the sandal. These sandals are extremely common all over the steppes and savannahs of the south, and in Ayr they are used among the *Kel Ewey* and other Tuareg who make them from untanned hide of oxen. In Northern Tuareg country this sandal [184] type is rare and generally not used by pastoral Tuareg who do not manufacture them. However, a pair of sandals resembling this type was brought from Ahaggar to the National Museum of Copenhagen by Olufsen (museum number G 1.8) (Fig. 243). Sandals of *tagliezez* type are nowadays used by many sedentary people of Tamanraset in Ahaggar. They are esteemed by Europeans and by Tuareg and Arabs of the camel corps in Northern Tuareg country. But the sandals worn by the last-mentioned people are manufactured by professional craftsmen. The sandals illustrated Fig. 244 were bought at [439] the market of Agadez, but derive from the south – from Sokoto it is said. I have noted their name as *akeroga*. – The type of sandal here called *tagliezez* is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *téfedilt* (pl. *tifedilin*) (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 304).

A fourth type of sandal is described by Lhote under the name of *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*). It is made of a single piece of untanned hide which is treated as described above for the *takalmi* type, and Lhote thinks that this type of sandal, which is common in the south among poor people, is the most primitive type. Lhote believes that the same type occurs also in Ahaggar because the word *éfekil* is mentioned by Foucauld in his dictionary (Lhote 1950d, p. 525 f., Fig. 18). This does not seem to be correct, for [114] the word *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*), according to Foucauld, is used synonymously with *émerked* (pl. *imerkeden*) (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 313).

Lhote writes that the sandals worn by the Tuareg can be divided into three main types, namely the 291 *ératim*, (or *takalmi*), the *émerked*, and the *éfekil*, and that these three types correspond to different 182 types of environment, namely desert, mountain, and steppe (Lhote 1950d, p. 528 f.). Perhaps one should substitute the word *éfekil* with *tagliezez*. There seems to be a certain correspondance between footwear and environment, but it should be added that the distribution of sandal types cannot be explained solely by reference to natural conditions. The *ératim* (or *takalmi*) type of sandal, for example, is used throughout Tuareg country from the Sudan to the central and northern parts of the Sahara, an extremely large area comprising great environmental differences. Nor are they suited to all types of desert. They quickly wear out when used on stony ground, and it is very tiring to wear them when walking through deep sand as the broad soles do not bear upon the surface. The *émerked* type of sandal is doubtless the best for walking in mountains, for it is fixed firmly to the foot and its sole of

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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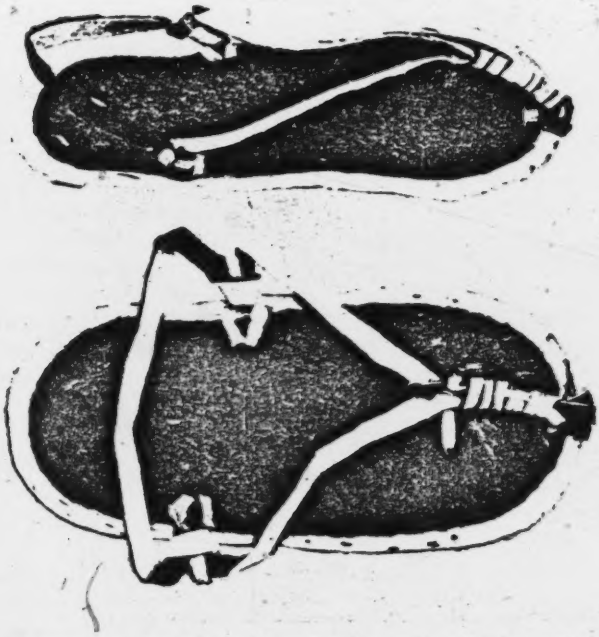

[439] Fig. 244. Sandals known to the Ayr Tuareg as *okeroga*. Bought at Agadez, said to be manufactured at Sokoto in Nigeria. Similar sandals were very common among the *Kel Asarum* Tuareg I saw near Ayoru on the Niger. Dimension: ca. 0.29 m. (N.M. G. 6641).

291 tanned skin does not so easily slide upon the rocks. But sandals of this type are used by a great many
182 Tuareg who do not live in proper mountain areas. The distribution of cultural traits can rarely be explained by mere reference to environmental factors.

292 A most interesting type of footwear, known to the Northern Tuareg and to those of Ayr, is a kind of skin-stocking which is worn with sandals in the winter. I have never myself seen it among the Tuareg and though it has been described in literature published prior to my investigations I failed to enquire
[114] about its use and manufacture. The fact that I have not seen Tuareg skin-stockings does not prove that they are rarely used, for while I have stayed among the Tuareg throughout five summer seasons I have only been among them for one winter, when I mainly lived in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Massif. Most Tuareg I met that winter went barefooted or wore sandals, and those who wanted an extra protection against the cold wore various types of European footwear and stockings.

Lhote describes the skin-stockings (*abuheg*) used among the Ahaggar Tuareg as having a very particular cut, so that the first toe is separated from the other toes in order that the stocking may be worn with sandals. The following description of Tuareg skin-stockings is additionally given:— "Cette chaussette monte un peu plus haut que les chaussures européennes à tiges et se lace de même au moyen d'un lacet de peau. Il y a une petite languette et la jonction empeignetige est renforcée par une rondelle de peau fixée par une couture. La semelle est une simple peau de filali qui serait vite usée si l'on marchait directement dessus. *L'aboûheg* est fait en peau de mouton ou en peau de gazelle tannée, et souvent avec des chutes de mauvaise qualité. Les peaux sont ordinairement teintes en noire et la rondelle de renforcement en vert. Mais il y en a aussi qui sont faites en filali rouge de bonne qualité. Le prix de ces dernières est plus élevé et elles sont généralement faites sur commande. On trouve sur le marché d'Agadez, des *iboûhegen* qui sont l'oeuvre des artisans cordonniers de cette ville. Nous n'en avons jamais vu faire chez les Touareg du Nord, qui les font aujourd'hui confectionner par des artisans de Tamanrasset et s'en procurent également à Agadez. De même, nous n'en avons jamais vu porter chez les Ioullimiden de Ménéka ou chez les Tenguéréguifs. Les gens d'In Salah et de Djanet la connaissent ainsi que les Chaamba" (Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). According to Lhote, just quoted, *abouheg* (*abuheg*) is described by Foley not as stockings, but as boots, which form part of the ceremonial equipment of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while Foureau (1894, p. 203) says that wealthy Tuareg among the *Kel Aïr* wear boots made of soft leather and manufactured at Rudames, Rat, and in Ayr. These boots according to Foureau have a separate space for the first toe in order that they may be worn with sandals, and as claimed by Lhote, they are not true boots, but skin-stockings (cf. Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). Duveyrier also speaks of the use of soft leather boots known as *ibôhadjen* sometimes worn by chiefs (Duveyrier 1864, p. 407), and in the case of the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* Nicolas mentions the use of a type of boots ("la botte de cavalier") known as *abūzag* (pl. *ibuzāgen*) (Ar. *tmāg*) (Nicolas 1950a p. 174).

Foucauld speaks of *abuheg* as a type of soft leather boots, but he mentions that this same word is also used for knitted stocking. Such stocking are also known by the feminine form *tabuhek*, though the proper meaning of this latter word is "slipper". Slippers are worn by a few men and women in winter, and a woman frequently wears them during the period of isolation (4 months and ten days) after her husband's death. According to Foucauld the leather boots (*abuheg*) are never worn by women but only by a very few men (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 36). It is a great pity that the authors who refer to the use of soft leather boots or stockings have reproduced no illustration which clearly indicates their cut. But fortunately there is a pair of leather stockings in the collection of the Ethnographical Museum at Neuchâtel. There can be little doubt that this garment serves as a stocking and not as a boot, for it has a separate space for the first toe which would be meaningless if not worn with sandals. The leather stocking is made from three pieces of leather:— (1) A sole or rather a bottom piece which is bent slightly up over the foot, notably at the heel; (2) A piece of leather covering the instep and sewn to the forepart of the bottom piece; (3) A piece of leather forming the leg and sewn to the instep and bottom pieces. It is interesting that all three pieces are of the same type of leather and that the bottom piece resembles that of moccasins.

The sort of slipper termed *tabuhek* by Foucauld and worn by both sexes, is identical with leather slippers or shoes provided with a distinct sole. These shoes seem to be of Arab origin, and I have

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492 an ancient North African custom. It is the method generally applied by the Tuareg and those Northern
171 Arabs who use saddles of the *térik* or *tahyast* types; it is also practiced among the Moors of Mauretania (cf. Monteil 1952, Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129), and is known to the Tebu (Cline 1950, p. 34). It would appear that the use of nostril rings for riding camels has much the same distribution in North Africa as have saddles of *térik* or *tahyast* types including the Moorish saddle, which is also placed in front of the animal's hump.

The Tuareg halter made of iron or metal shackles and used in connection with the nostril ring so that the camel is controlled by means of a double rein (*akeskabbu*; cf. p. 73, Fig. 50–52), is perhaps a combination of two originally different systems, for the Tebu use this peculiar halter without any attachment to a nostril ring, the camel being controlled by a single rein combined with the halter (cf. Le Coeur 1950, p. 133, pl. XXIX Figs. 111–112 & Cline 1950, p. 34).

136 Much has been written on the history of the camel in North Africa, and I do not want to take up
174 this question in great detail as I can add very little to what is already known. René Basset's theory
● 114 that the camel was first introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1907) is contrary to all historical information, for we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived. Contemporary with Basset it was pointed out by Flammand, that skeletal remains of camels from North Africa proved the exsistence of these animals as early as "les temps quaternaire moyens" (Flammand 1907). But while Flammand states that the camel disappeared with a more humid climate, Cauvet later tried to substantiate the theory that the camel did not disappear, but continued to exist further south in Africa. Thus, he claims, the southern camel-breed descends from the ancient camel found in Africa even during the mio-pliocene of the tertiary period, while the northern breed was introduced by the Arabs (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 15 ff.). I can agree with Cauvet's latter statement regarding a connection between northern camels and the Arabs, but his theory of the existence of the one-humped camel in Africa since tertiary time is most difficult to accept. The camel breed which existed in Africa prior to the Arab invasions was no doubt comparatively recently introduced from Asia. Barth pointed out that the camel came to North-western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3 ff.). This theory has later been supported by many scholars, notably by Gautier (Gautier 1928,, p. 99 f., ed. 1946, p. 129 ff.; 1942, p. 190 ff.). Quite recently the various problems connected with the history of the camel in North Africa have been re-examined by Walz. He largely accepts Barth's theory of its introduction in antiquity, but also points out that the camel, which seems to appear in Egypt about 500 B.C. or somewhat earlier, may have been introduced to southern parts of Africa via the Bab-el-Mandeb Straits at an earlier date (Walz 1951, p. 29–51; 1954, p. 45–87).

Gautier states that the Romans had a certain responsibility for the introduction of the camel into North-Africa, though he also claims that it was introduced by the Berber-speaking *Zenata* tribes
174 (Gautier 1942, p. 209 f., 227). It is to be doubted that the Romans introduced the camel into North-
177 Africa, and on the whole it seems as if the Romans have influenced Tuareg culture very slightly. It is difficult to point to any definite traits of material culture taken over from the Romans, though Foucauld states that certain lamps of Roman form are found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1399). A fair number of Latin words can be proved to exist in Tuareg dialects. This fact is

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



with hot stones, which is still used for certain dishes, constituted in the past a very important method of food preparation being used for milk, meat, and for vegetable dishes alike. Also an ancient implement is perhaps the quern-stone, though it has to be admitted that it occurs throughout the world in many farming cultures. Tuareg dishes known as *tébik* and *téderka* (cf. p. 175 ff., 251) should doubtless be considered very ancient, and this is probably also the case with Tuareg method of bread-baking which is different from the methods used among most North African farmers. Bread is frequently baked from wild seeds, and it is not made from true dough but rather from a kind of gruel to be baked according to the *abatul*-method. /174

The existence among the Tuareg of leather garments of simple poncho type is of particular interest, the more so as such shirts are extremely rare in Africa. In literature they seem to be mentioned only in the case of the Tebu, and there is a well-preserved shirt from this people in the Musée de l'homme (Paris). It is made of the skin of barbary sheep, and is sewn together at both sides, but the upper parts of the sides are left open to form very large and wide arm-holes; patches of leather with ornamented fringes are sewn to the shoulders to form a kind of open sleeves. This skin shirt, which resembles that of the Ahaggar Tuareg, is said to be worn by blacksmiths (Musée de l'homme, no 35.50.107). Le Coeur mentions leather shirts from the Tebu stating that they are but little used nowadays:— "Seuls les hommes de condition servile le portent encore". He provides a photograph showing a Tebu blacksmith in a long skin shirt which has a kind of open sleeves attached to the shoulders (Le Coeur 1950, p. 100, pl. XXXIII Fig. 124). Leather shirts are mentioned from Central Tibesti by Fuchs, who depicts a shirt of this kind which is now in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna (Fuchs 1961, p. 23 f., Fig. 7 p. 24). Lebeuf says that among the Tebu, skin shirts are worn mainly by the Aza who make them from antelope skin, but they are also found among the Danoa of Kanem. These two peoples, the Aza and the Danoa, are related to each other. They never live in villages, but are roaming hunters who use the bow and arrow but mainly hunt by driving animals against cords. The Aza form small sections and are attached to the nomadic Daza as a kind of vassals (cf. Lebeuf 1959, p. 9, 16, 24, 39, 44). The origin of these peoples is uncertain. They seem to constitute remnants of an ancient hunting population. /171

Tuareg garments of leather or skin are in general of simple form and cut, and most probably constitute types of early dress development. This is perhaps also true of sandals of the *imerkeden* type, and perhaps even of skin stockings. If this be so it is very remarkable that we find among the Tuareg a poncho shirt of very primitive cut together with sandals and stockings, for we know from Hatt's brilliant analysis of arctic dress development that the oldest complex of skin garments in Arctic Eurasia and America – the so-called "Sandal System" – consists of (1) Clothing developed from the poncho type; (2) Breeches developed from leggings, in some cases probably from leggings combined with a triangular genital cloth; (3) Boots and shoes developed from stocking and sandals (cf. Hatt 1914, p. 214 ff. 1934, p. 2755 ff.). /174

I think that this brief description of Tuareg culture in the light of African culture complexes can adequately be concluded as follows:— Most of Baumann's cultural groupings have little value for an analysis of the historical development of Tuareg culture. His classifications are often too vaguely defined, and he does not always substantiate his theories by archaeological facts. The so-called Old /121 (114)

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



## B. PORTABLE DWELLINGS

*342 Portable dwellings represent a great diversity of types among pastoral Tuareg. I speak of all these dwellings as "tents". For practical reasons I distinguish between "mat tents" and "skin tents", and to make it easy to refer to definite types I give them particular numbers. I believe that most portable [12] dwellings of the Tuareg *are* historically related to each other and the problem of historical development is considered later in this chapter.

### B.1. *Mat Tents*

285 *342 Mat coverings are nowadays used only in Southern Tuareg groups, but they were formerly known also to the Northern Tuareg, for Duveyrier states that the Northern Tuareg may use for their tents a covering *éhen* "en tissu de chaume" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403).

Tent mats are of two different types, the more common one being that made from dum palm leaves plaited into long narrow bands which are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of a large needle (cf. Fig. 220b). Mats of this type are collectively known as *asalu* (pl. *isalan*). The innermost mats which cover the upper part of the tent among the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*, among whom dum palm mats always form the main covering, are made from pieces of straw or similar material which are not plaited, but are attached horizontally to one another by means of thread in much the same way as the mats described p. 269, that is like mats of the *éseber* type. Where dum palm material is not available the tents may be covered exclusively with mats manufactured in this way, and a tent of this kind may then be referred to as *éwerwer* (pl. *iwerweren*), the word used for tent mats of this type. The *éwerwer* type of mat tents is described from the *Kel Dennek* country (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f., Fig. 31a–d), and it seems as if tents exclusively covered with mats of *éwerwer* type also occur among the *Bélla* along the Niger (cf. Chudeau 1909, pl. XXXII & XXXIII p. 218).

*342 My knowledge of Tuareg mat tents derives from my studies among the Ayr Tuareg, the Ahaggar [14] Tuareg living in or close to the Ayr Massif, and the *Kel Geres*. Mat tents used among these Tuareg are largely identical, and the material I have collected in these Tuareg groups will now be presented:—

B.1.a. This is a mat tent like that generally used among the *Kel Ayr*. It has an elaborate structure:—

(1) Three wooden arches each consisting of two curved pieces of wood, lashed together when the tent is erected. These three arches are placed in the middle of the tent at right angles to its longitudinal direction. The two curved wooden pieces which together constitute an arch are not of equal length. The arch piece which is fixed in the soil at the frontal side is very long, while the other curved piece attached to it and buried in the ground at the back is shorter. The short curved arch-pieces of all three arches are known as *ineggebela* (sing. *aneggebalu*), while the three long wooden arch-pieces to which they are attached have different names. The curved frontal piece of the middle arch, higher than the two outer arches, is called *tekkekkewat* (pl. *tekkekkewatin*). The frontal arch-pieces of the two outer and lower arches are known as *t'ilisawin* (sing. *t'ilisawt*). These latter names are also used to designate the erected arches made from the arched pieces lashed together, so that the central arch is referred to as *tekkekkewat*, while the two lower arches are called *t'ilisawin*. – The curved pieces

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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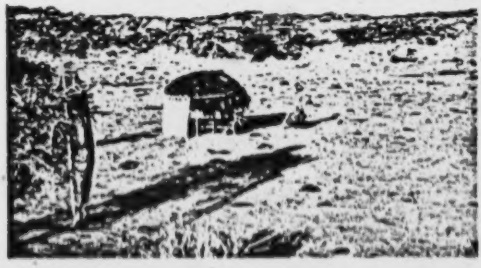

Fig. 270. An arched barrel-vaulted tent covered with a sheet of skin. In the background two arched mat tents. In the foreground to the left two cotton bows. Ayr, the *Kel Tédalé* tribe.

*342 true structure, and structurally there is a great diversity of tent types. It seems as if these tent structures can be divided into a few main groups which I shall describe in detail.

B.2.a. *Skin tents of arch construction.*

Tents which have one or more arches, generally placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction are widely found in Tuareg country. They are in fact more common than appears from the literature which has been so far published on Tuareg culture. The wide distribution of this particular structure in skin tents is interesting, the more so as it is related to the structure of mat tents. There are the following types of arch structures:—

B.2.a.1. This tent was seen in a camp of the *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg of North-western Ayr. It is known that skin tents are found among them (cf. Joubert 1939, p. 252 f.), but they have never been described. The Ayr Tuareg say that in the past many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* lived in skin tents which, however, are less common among them nowadays. This agrees with my own experience. I have visited several *Kel Tédalé* camps, but I have only seen the skin tent here mentioned. This was found in a camp of three tents, the two others being ordinary mat tents. The skin tent I saw in this camp was also of the normal structure used for mat tents in Ayr, though shorter. The lower part was partly covered, not by a mat plaited from dum palm leaves, but by an *afezu* mat.

[114] [361]

B.2.a.2. Under this heading I describe two identical tents seen in a camp of *Ireġenaten* Tuareg who belong to the Ahaggar federation but have their traditional grazing grounds west of the Ayr Massif in the Tamesna Plains. The camp was actually situated in the region between Tegidda-n-tésemt and I-n-abanṛerit, where perennial vegetation is extremely scarce and mainly comprises scattered *tamat* acacias (*Acacia flava*). The camp visited had eight skin tents among which were the two of arch construction as follows:—

[221] [361] [137]

Both tents were very small, and their wooden structure was made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*). In the middle of the tent and at right angles to its longitudinal direction there was an

[824]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



upon this structure is attached to poles fixed in the ground at the sides (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 84 ff., 123 ff., 154 f., photographs Nos. 59–65, p. 96–97). 342*

B.2.f.2. This type, described from the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* by Lhote, is similar to the above-mentioned type but has four pairs of forked sticks provided with cross-bars. The two middle pairs of uprights are somewhat higher than the two outer pairs. This structure is used for particularly large tents among the Western *Iwllemmeden* (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 85).

Lhote says that the above-mentioned two types of structure are also found among the Kel Adrar (Lhote 1947a, p. 108 f.) and this would also seem quite natural in view of the fact that these Tuareg once formed part of the *Iwllemmeden* group. Cortier says that the *Kel Adrar* have tent structures of uprights with horizontal cross-bars (Cortier 1908, p. 327 f.). I have myself been told by Iforas Tuareg whom I met in Ahaggar that they possess tent structures similar to those commonly used in Ahaggar nowadays, and these Ahaggar tents resemble those described from the *Iwllemmeden* by Lhote. I shall now describe these structural types of Ahaggar.

B.2.f.3. This tent, which has three pairs of uprights carrying horizontal cross-bars, has been frequently described and depicted in literature. A most valuable description, with many photographs showing the wooden structure, has been published by Lhote in his book on Tuareg tents (Lhote 1947a, p. 34 ff., photographs Nos. 1, 5, 7, 8, 13, 20, 27, 36, 37). The structure is also described by the same author in his general work on the Ahaggar Tuareg (Lhote 1955a, Fig. 22 p. 254). I present my own [22] observations from Ahaggar, where I have lived in such tents over extremely long periods. A tent which I measured among the noble *Kel Rela* may be taken as an example of the normal structure of this type. It was made from boughs of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*) which is generally [24] used for wooden tent structures in the north. The boughs had a diameter of about 0.05–0.07 m, the upright poles being somewhat thicker than the horizontal cross-bars. The three pairs of uprights had small prongs to which the cross-bars were firmly attached by cords of goat hair. The cross-bars were slightly curved, as is normal for this structure. All three cross-bars are called *ireğerağaten* (sing. *areğarağa*). The two pairs of outer poles are termed *tiğeffewin* (sing. *tiğeffewi*), while the middle pair of uprights are called *iğetten* (sing. *ağet*). Lhote gives the name *tamankayt* to the middle pair of sticks [14] (cf. Lhote 1955a, Fig. 22 p. 254), but this is not correct as the term *tamankayt* is used properly for a central T-shaped post to be described in the next section. The sheet rests upon the structure of uprights with their cross-bars, and pieces of old cotton are normally wrapped around the place where the cross-bars rest in the prongs in order that the sheet may not be galled by the prongs. It should be noted that the cross-bars are lashed separately to their uprights, and not by longitudinal cords as among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*. A piece of cord is tied around the end of a cross-bar and around one of the prongs of its uprights, and is then drawn along the cross-bar to be tied around its other end resting in the prong. All upright poles are fixed in holes dug 0.30–0.50 m deep in the ground, like the holes for the outer poles to which the sheet is fastened with cords of goat hair.

B.2.f.4. This tent differs from that just described in that it has two equally high pairs of uprights in the middle of the tent. These middle uprights (*iğetten*) are higher than the two pairs of outer uprights (*tiğeffewin*). There are in other words four parallel pairs of uprights carrying cross-bars which are frequently slightly curved as in the above-mentioned structure. This structure, with an additional pair

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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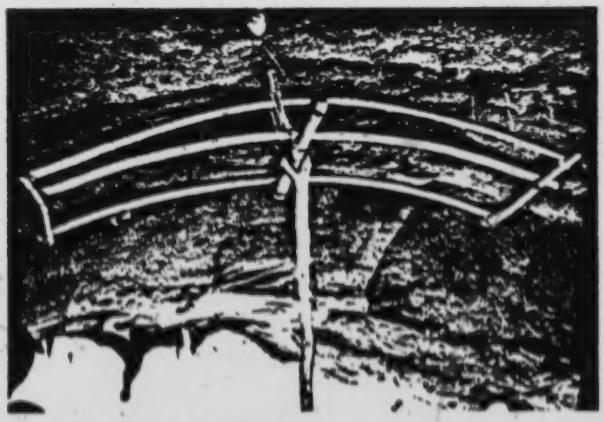

Fig. 283. Cross-bar (*tamankayt*) of the B.2.g.7 type. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Ireğenaten* tribe.

in case of very extreme heat in the summer make a kind of primitive T-shaped post from a simple bough of tamarisk, to the top of which they attach a short stick of the same material. They then wrap pieces of old cotton around the place of attachment in order that the post shall not gall the sheet. [214] But though I have lived among vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar over extremely long periods of the hot season I have seen such primitive T-shaped posts only once. As already stated T-shaped posts seem to be advantageous also during heavy showers of rain as the water quickly runs off the sheet. However, I have never seen vassal Tuareg use simple T-shaped posts in case of heavy rainfall, for they content themselves with holding a stick or pole against the sheet as long as rain falls. Primitive T-shaped posts like those just described from Ahaggar and consisting of a simple post at the top of which a short horizontal stick is attached, seem to be a mere imitation of the true T-shaped posts. However, there is another and very interesting type of T-shaped post, which I describe below under the two headings:—

[361] B.2.g.7. This tent I saw in a camp of *Ireğenaten* Tuareg not far from I-n-abanrerit in the Tamesna Plains. The tent had two pairs of forked sticks (*tiğeffewin*) each pair carrying a horizontal cross-bar (*areğarağa*). These forked sticks with their cross-bars were about 0.70 m high. While these sticks were buried in the ground there was between their two cross-bars a central forked post (*ağet*) about 1.20 metres high. In its prong it carried a most unusual cross-bar called *tamankayt*. This consisted of a wooden frame 1.44 m long and 0.72 m broad made from three long sticks attached to three short ones the middle one of which was particularly heavy and rested in the prong of the central post (cf. Fig. 283). The short sticks were parallel to the two outer cross-bars and at right angles to the longitudinal direction. In other words, the length of this cross-bar frame followed the longitudinal direction of the tent, but in spite of this we can speak of a cross-bar placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction, as one of the short sticks of the frame rests upon the central post. The frame-like cross-bar was not fastened to the outer cross-bars with cords, and the central post was not buried in the ground.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



In literature there are tent descriptions which I have omitted in my survey of Tuareg tent structures, partly because the descriptions are unclear, and partly because they clearly indicate tents which are not erected according to any definite method (cf. Demoulin 1928, p. 159; Campbell 1928, p. 205; Bernard quoted by Laoust 1930, p. 225). 342*

Finally, I add that the sheet of skin is very commonly used for a kind of wind-screen among the Tuareg. Such wind-screens are of two types:— (1) The sheet is attached to three or four sticks buried in the ground. A wind-screen of this kind is depicted in Fig. 284a. It serves as a temporary shelter for visitors in a camp. (2) The sheet is supported by three or four sticks placed in one row with a long stick resting horizontally in their prongs. Such wind-screens are seen in Figs. 284 b-c. They are used by the members of a household in ordinary camps, and it is quite common to erect tents in this manner during seasons when rainfall is not expected. Indeed, many Ahaggar Tuareg use their skin tents only for a part of the year, for skin tents are not too well adapted to the burning hot desert climate. If possible, many Tuareg prefer to live in the shade of rocks and trees, and if efficient shade of this type is found the skin tents are generally not erected. But the Tuareg will then erect part of the wooden structure, namely the forked sticks carrying cross-bars, as these elements serve not only as supports of the sheet, but also for the suspension of skin bags and various domestic implements (cf. Fig. 106). [574] [182] [352]

Capot-Rey writes that the Tuareg skin tents are also less waterproof than mat tents (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 225), but this is not correct. During the rains, as we have seen, skin tents are preferred by many Tuareg who at other seasons live in mat tents, and we have also seen that many Ayr Tuareg will then cover their mat tents with skin. If skin tents were not well fitted for rain they would indeed be very badly adapted also to the Sudanese zone where they are widely found among the Tuareg. [114] [182]

There can be little doubt that the use of skin sheets is very old, for all over the world we find them used for portable dwellings among people at primitive subsistence levels. It is also substantiated by Feilberg that we have throughout the Near and Middle Easts isolated occurrences of skin tents, and that these seem to have been more common in these regions in the past. Feilberg mentions in particular the use of skin for tents among the Tuareg and among the Sluba of Central Arabia (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144). When Feilberg wrote his book on tent development in the Near and Middle East, a description of the structure of Sluba tents was not available. But later investigations have intimated that some skin tents of the Sluba do not seem to be structurally related to ordinary Tuareg skin tents, but rather constitute a kind of wind-screen (cf. Lundbæk 1962). I have mentioned above that the Ahaggar Tuareg also use their tent skins as wind-screens, but it is evident that structurally the normal skin tents in all Tuareg groups have nothing to do with wind-screens. 342* 171

It is possible that the use of skin for wind-screens is extremely old among the Tuareg, but there seem to be some evidence that plaited grass mats for covering the true tents are older. We have seen that among Tuareg who use mat tents (the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*), the inner layer of mats covering the dome-shaped top consists of *ćwerwer* mats made of plant stems tied together, and it has also been mentioned that certain arched tents among the *Kel Dennek* and the Sudanese *Bélla* are covered exclusively with mats produced on this principle. According to Duveyrier mats of straw were formerly used for tent covering among the Northern Tuareg, and it is possible that the *qfezu* mats, which seem to constitute the walls of all Tuareg skin tents, may be considered a survival from tents 342* 174

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 174 covered exclusively with straw mats. Tuareg skin tents may perhaps have originated from tents covered with grass-mats which had the dome-shaped top covered with a sheet of skin during the rains. At all events I assume that most Tuareg skin tents have developed from a type of barrel-vaulted dwelling, and it is most significant that rudiments of arch constructions occur in skin tents within all Tuareg groups.

The development of Tuareg tents is difficult to explain by mere reference to environment, and we should also try to take into consideration historical factors. I believe that tents with upright forked poles which carry horizontal cross-bars developed from a barrel-vaulted structure. I believe that this is indicated by the material presented above. Thus most or all barrel-vaulted dwellings among the Tuareg have at their narrow ends a pair of forked poles with a horizontal cross-bar placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction and parallel to the arch or the arches, which are placed in the middle of the tent. We have also noted that we have tents of one central arch and two outer pairs of sticks with cross-bars covered with two semi-arches, and tents in which this middle arch is substituted by a pair of sticks carrying a cross-bar. It seems quite natural to consider all tents supported exclusively by pairs of sticks carrying horizontal cross-bars as deriving from barrel-vaulted dwellings. One would perhaps then be tempted to suppose that such an evolution took place in the true desert country, where it might seem easier to make tents from a certain number of sticks tied together than from curved arches. However, as far as our knowledge goes, an evolution of portable dwellings among the Tuareg from arched types to types exclusively consisting of cross-bars resting in forked sticks seems to have taken place outside of the proper desert country. All old Tuareg of Ahaggar admit that the common type of tent structure in their childhood was that of two arches, while these arches, they say, have now been replaced by cross-bars resting in pronged poles. This agrees with the fact that Foucauld, [114] who lived in Ahaggar from 1905 to 1916, does not mention tents of the cross-bar type which are now almost exclusively used by the Ahaggar Tuareg. According to Foucauld, Ahaggar tents fall into two main types, namely those supported by arches and those supported by T-shaped posts. When the structure made exclusively with forked poles and cross-bars was adopted we do not know, but I believe that it may perhaps have taken place in the twenties. In any event there seems to be little doubt that [114] they were common at the end of the twenties, for they are depicted by Moberg from his journey to Ahaggar 1929-30 (cf. Moberg 1933, p. 59, 63, 65). The question now arises why the Ahaggar Tuareg *342 178 gave up their arched dwellings, which are so extremely rare nowadays, and adopted the upright forked poles-crossbar structure? Lhote thinks that in Ahaggar there were perhaps the following reasons:— (1) The arched structure is better adapted to rain, but has become less useful owing to the increasing dryness of Ahaggar; (2) It is more difficult to procure the long roots of tamarisks for arches; (3) The arches used in ancient times were difficult to carry from camp to camp; (4) The structure consisting of cross-bars resting in forked poles may perhaps have been introduced owing to contact with the *Iullemmeden*, who use a similar type of tent-structure (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 42 f.; 1955a, p. 256). Of these arguments I find the last the most convincing, the more so as I have myself been informed that the tents of cross-bars resting on forked prongs have been introduced owing to contact with the Southern Tuareg who have similar tents. One might perhaps assume that the tent was actually introduced owing [388] to contact with the *Kel Adrar*, as the Ahaggar Tuareg have married women of that Tuareg group

[text continues on p. 388]

173 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Fou-
565 cauld 1951-52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day.
[172] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten* people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides, two men known as *Mokhammed ag-Kerku* and *Êmenni ag-Khedidda*, both members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* claim that their tribe descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten* formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Ṛali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten* were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and introduced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient *Isebeten* contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much
[551] difficulty. For the word *Ésebet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending from the woman *Ésebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had
[114] a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Ṛali*
[428] tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a, p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent
614 conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are
565 known by the name *Kel Ulli*, that is "the goat people", or by the name *Imṛad* which perhaps also refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *eṛeyd* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas
[433] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly
[224] important to the *Dag Ṛali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this ancient people.

173 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ*, said to descend from
565 *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Beraber*, and that they were Islamic. The claim that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyound doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Isamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

## THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has
614 fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie
[114] 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore
[162] quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared,
634 and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when
648 the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to
121 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr,
634 where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were
115 most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

173 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*,
614 and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above
634 (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

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Fig. 288. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



the *Al-Ḳadi*. In this respect the position of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is similar to that of drum-chiefs among the Ayr Tuareg, and though the present drum-chief says that the *Kel Geres* were never divided into noble and vassal tribes, he nevertheless claims that part of any war-booty taken by *Kel Geres* Tuareg in the past should be given to the drum-chief who had the right to *témaggedaz* and *téwit* (cf. p. 428). The drum (*ettebel*) of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is akin to drums of other Tuareg chiefs. The drum must not touch the ground, but the drum-chief did not believe that its power would be spoilt were it to be touched by women.

## THE KEL ADṚAṚ

The *Kel Adṛaṛ* are very superficially described in literature, but their political system has been outlined by Cortier. They constitute only one drum-group under the leadership of an *Amenukal* who is the possessor of the drum (*ettebel*). The class-division is rather similar to that of most other Tuareg groups. There are certain vassal tribes (*Imṛad*) and certain noble tribes though the latter are not considered noble in the usual sense. They are known as proper *Ifoṛas* Tuareg and they are to be grouped rather with the *Ineslemen* class than with the proper noble class termed *Ihaggaren* or *Imajeṛen*. However, their position within the drum-group is almost identical with that of noble Tuareg in other groups. The *Amenukal* is elected according to patrilineal rules being succeeded by his younger brothers and next by his sons, but the vassal tribes do not participate in the election. Within the drum-group there are many smaller divisions of noble families who have their individual vassals, so that from any vassal tribe there are always certain families living in the camp of a noble lord to work for him and to guard his domestic animals. A noble Tuareg can also claim what he wants from his particular vassals while on the other hand the vassals do not pay any fixed tribute to the noble chiefs, not even to the *Amenukal*. The power of the *Amenukal* is a very limited one, and his position is mainly determined by his personal qualities (cf. Cortier 1908, p. 274 ff.).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL DENNEK

The *Kel Dennek*, that is the *Eastern Iwllemmeden* around Tawa, have been described in detail by Nicolas who, however, is not very clear as to particulars. Apart from the class of *Ineslemen* the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg are divided into the classes of noble Tuareg (*Imazeṛen*) and vassal Tuareg (*Imṛad*, or *Kel Ulli*). These vassal Tuareg are politically attached to four drum-groups (*ettebel*) in which the drum-chief is elected from a noble tribe according to patrilineal rules. One of these drum-groups has a leading position, as its chief with the title of *Amenukal-n-akal* is the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Dennek* group known as *tégezé*. In addition to his drum this supreme chief (*Amenukal-n-àkal*) has a burgee or flag to be used in case of a holy war and on certain ceremonial occasions such as the installation of an *Amenukal*. This flag is made of silk and is green, blue, and red in colour. The title *Amenukal* is

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The title of Amenukal is

634 used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *ettebel* is reserved to those
565 chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-*
651 *akal*, have the right to an annual tribute known as *šiuse* (*chiwsé*) from their individual vassals, and it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaḳa* or *tamessadeḳ* must also be given to them, because the drum-chief is inseparable from his *Ḳadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasit* or *takote* (*takuté*), that is the
634 right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain
565 delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels. The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. – These are the
[178] main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been
[642] no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579–586 & 1950a, p. 188–193, 201–209).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

642 The *Kel Ataram* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that
565 in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel*
[114] *Tademaket* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchar*) and vassals (*Imrad*, sing *Amerid*, or *Dara*). The dominant noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with
[567] Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Bélla*). They pay *tiwsé* to the noble Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals, but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All
[614] tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amrar*, but all important decisions are made
[648] by the *myad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This
643 council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with warfare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of
642 the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position
565 (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). – To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:—
[614] Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Idnanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.

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602 However, the Tuareg say, a man can complain in very extreme cases when sons or sister's sons constantly take animals from him. I have met several Tuareg who have lost many animals taken by sons and sister's sons. One Tuareg had lost seven camels, taken by his oldest son, who had sold them. The Tuareg was very annoyed about this but he had not complained about it directly to his son. The old drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group was constantly complaining to me about his sisters' sons, who took his animals so that he could not leave so large a fortune to his son. He openly called his sisters' sons "thieves", but as far as I know he did not complain about it to them. I was also told in Ayr that the fact that a man could take animals from herds and flocks of his true mother's brothers would not normally lead to conflict between them. Some Ayr Tuareg said that they were as fond of their sisters' sons as they were of their own children. It can be added that if a man has taken many animals from a mother's brother the latter's son may perhaps be able to retaliate as he has the right to take belongings from this man, who is his cross-cousins.

(6) As the last characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour it may be mentioned that, among certain Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, it is normal for a man to inherit the kinship status of his parents on their death, in the way that he adopts their joking relationships with their classificatory cross-cousins, but he will never inherit a joking relationship with the true cross-cousins of his deceased father and mother.

The above-mentioned rules of kinship behaviour seem traditional to Tuareg social organization and very different from those considered valid among the Arabs. The social systems of Tuareg and 177 Arabs are on the whole most disssimilar, but nevertheless the Arabs and the Tuareg of to-day have 428 exactly the same rules of inheritance which follow Koranic law. It is evident that these rules have been introduced among the Tuareg owing to contact with the Arabs who brought Islam to North Africa. It is very difficult to determine when the Tuareg adopted Islamic inheritance rules, and also to learn about their pre-Islamic inheritance system.

634 In regard to Tuareg rules of succession there can be no doubt that the matrilineal principle was 643 originally recognized in all groups, but the patrilineal principle has been introduced into certain groups owing to Arab influence. The Tuareg who have adopted patrilineal succession are notably the two groups of *Iwllemmeden*, the *Kel Adrar*, and Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class in various groups (cf. Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.; 1950a, p. 213). In fact we know that the *Iwlemmeden* adopted patrilineal succession as early as in the 17th century (cf. Richer 1924, p. 3, 52; Nicolas 1950a, p. 54 f.), and patrilineal succession is undoubtedly also of great age among the *Kel Adrar*, where the dominant tribes belong to the *Ineslemen* class. As to the two important groups of Southern Tuareg, the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, Nicolas states that succession among them is matrilineal, as it is in Ahaggar (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.), and matrilineal succession is also mentioned as traditional to the Ayr Tuareg by Rodd (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). I have not been able to confirm these statements [119] during my investigations among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. All people questioned in these two groups claimed that the proper successor to chieftainship would be the deceased chief's son, though it was admitted among the Ayr Tuareg that a sister's son might be elected chief if considered better fitted for this position than a son. It would be correct to state that both the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* to-day acknowledge the patrilineal principle of succession, but it is not quite certain when they

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634 Nicolas says that a maternal cousin is the first in line of succession, not only among the Northern Tuareg,
643 but also among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). This, however, is not correct.
[114] I have been told by many Tuareg in Ahaggar that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies seem to intimate that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Ahaggar Tuareg, whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom, claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statement this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

591 The rules of residence have been outlined in a previous chapter (cf. p. 142 ff.), and I have mentioned
768 that in Ahaggar residence is based upon both the patrilocal and the matrilocal principle as follows:—
586 A man remains with his father after marriage, but after his father's death he joins the camp of his mother and her brothers to live with his matrilineal relatives. A woman after marriage moves to her husband's camp. At her husband's death she will return to her father's camp, and if her father be dead she will join the camp of her mother and her mother's brothers. In case of a divorced woman the same rule is observed, but the children of a divorced couple belong to the father, and stay in his camp as long as he is alive. After his death they belong to the camp where their mother lives. However, the Ahaggar Tuareg sometimes dispense with this rule in case husband and wife belong to different classes or castes (cf. p. 22). It may even happen that children of a dissolved marriage, where husband and wife come from the same class or caste, grow up with their mother – particularly if, when the divorce takes place, the children are so small that they need their mother's care. On the whole, however, the Ahaggar Tuareg follow the rules of residence indicated above, and we have already seen that these particular rules are strongly supported by the authority of the *Amenukal*. The same practise
[178] was perhaps once also followed by the Ayr Tuareg, but, as we have seen (p. 152 f.), in the *Kel Ferwan* group there is nowadays a strong tendency for a man to remain with his patrilineal kinsmen after his father's death. The rules of residence do not play a very important part to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg nowadays. The political unit of the drum-group has very little practical value, economic and political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals have disappeared, and there are no land rights to which certain individuals succeed.

582 In the light of what has been said so far about Tuareg social organization, we shall now consider their traditional rules of marriage. Preferential marriage is that with a cross-cousin; the very best is to marry a mother's brother's daughter, but father's sister's daughter is also considered a suitable choice. An exchange of spouse between two family groups is considered most excellent. It is thus considered ideal for brothers of family A to marry sisters of family B, for brothers of family B to marry sisters of family A.

If Ego marries a classificatory cross-cousin it seems preferably for him to marry one of his mother's
[43] family. This is intimated by a custom connected with marriage in Ahaggar:— At the beginning of the wedding ceremony a pair of sandals should be given to the man who does not marry the bride though traditionally possessing a sort of prior entitlement to do so. Such men are:— (1) the bride's father's sister's son; (2) the bride's father's mother's sister's daughter's son; (3) the bride's father's father's brother's daughter's son.

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The custom of giving sandal gifts to a cross-cousin of the bride is unknown among the *Kel Ferwan* 582
Tuareg, who also claim that cross-cousin marriage and particularly that with a true mother's brother's
daughter is the best type of marriage. But though they consider such marriages ideal they admit that
some cross-cousin marriages will not last long. For closely related cross-cousins have frequently grown 586
up together, and it is said that such cousins when they have married sometimes agree to dissolve their
marriage on the ground that they feel like brother and sister so that there is no mutual attraction or
love between them. This is only one of many reasons for divorce which is extremely common in all
tribes of Ahaggar and Ayr. Briggs' statement from the Ahaggar Tuareg that divorce is both unusual [114]
and generally frowned upon is absolutely untrue (Briggs 1959, p. 86).

According to the Tuareg there are many reasons why a man should preferably marry a cross-cousin 582
and ideally a mother's brother's daughter. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg I have collected the following
arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage:— (1) All people (that is, all Tuareg) descend from one
and the same woman, and her sons and daughters consequently had to marry one another. Their offspring
established cross-cousin marriage which has been the rule since then. (2) There are many stories told
to confirm the contention that cross-cousin marriages are good, while other marriages are bad. There
is, for example, the following legend:— Once upon a time the parents of a young Tuareg arranged for
him to marry a cross-cousin. This Tuareg, however, was not in love with his cross-cousin but wanted
to marry another woman with whom he had no kinship bonds. The result of all this was that he
married both his cross-cousin and the other woman. After this it so happened that a heavy punish-
ment was imposed on him by the Sultan. It could be atoned for in one of the following two ways:
He could give all his livestock as a fine. or he could have one of his hands cut off. To make his
choice he now asked his two wives whether they thought he should loose his hand or rather give
away all his stock. The wife to whom he had no bonds of kinship considered that he should keep his
animals and have his hand cut off, while his cross-cousin wife asked him to dispose of flock and herd
to save his hand. He thus realized that it is best to marry a cross-cousin. (3) It is considered good to
marry a cross-cousin because cross-cousins are always extremely good friends. (4) The institutional
joking relationship between cross-cousins is considered an important institution in preventing con-
flicts between married partners. For though joking between two cross-cousins stops on marriage, the
mere fact that there has once been joking between them prevents quarrels and adds to the stable
relationship between husband and wife. (5) Cross-cousin marriage has an important economic function
as it establishes a constant exchange of persons, goods, and livestock between two families.

The three latter arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage are also supported by the Ahaggar
Tuareg. These arguments are very important and will now be discussed in some detail. There is no 605
doubt at all that cross-cousins of both sexes are extremely good friends. They do not joke just to annoy
each other, and when joking they laugh and feel very pleased. Cross-cousins who have not seen each
other for a considerable time are always pleased to meet. When doing so after a long separation they
may make jocular remarks and gestures, but they will also be very kind to each other. They frequently
address each other heartily as "cross-cousin", and male cousins will walk around hand in hand, while
a woman will do her outmost to please a visiting male cousin. She will serve him the best possible (533)
food, will mend his clothes, and she will play her violin for him. Joking goes with intimate friendship. 582

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administrators settled in Ahaggar, the noble Tuareg under the leadership of the *Amenukal* are said to have claimed that the French should respect their ancient matrilineal organization. It seems as though such an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals was unknown in Ayr in pre-European times. Subsistence in Ayr is easier than in Ahaggar, and the noble Tuareg there were not so dependent upon their vassals for food as was the case in Ahaggar.

The fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg have conserved matrilineal rules in their social organization though influenced by Islam and the patrilineal Arabs for centuries, may perhaps explain why they have come to consider marriage with a mother's sister's daughter (or her daughter) as a better type of mating than cross-cousin marriage. Marriages with a classificatory sister (or sister's daughter) are, according to the Ahaggar Tuareg, not to be considered a recent phenomena, but have been practised for generations. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that these marriages are most suitable because they do not give rise to changes of residence for the children. It is very probable that such marriages, which do not harmonize with traditional kinship rules, indicate the transition towards fully-fledged patrilineal rules among the Northern Tuareg.

We have no knowledge about Tuareg social organization in pre-Islamic times, but there can be little doubt that matrilineal traits are very ancient, for they are mentioned by Ibn Batutah (cf. p. 457), and most Tuareg have traditions of their descent from an ancestress. Bates thinks that the Libyans of antiquity possessed a type of social organization which was partly or fully matrilineal, though he admits that indications of the existence of the matriarchate are strong, but not conclusive (Bates 1914, p. 111 f.). Gsell, on the contrary, thinks that the ancient Libyans did not have a social organization of a matrilineal type. They were patrilineal like most Northern Berbers of to-day (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 37 f.).

Baumann states that Tuareg matrilineal organization derives from the so-called Old Mediterranean Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 66). This is perhaps not the true explanation, for Frobenius is probably right in his statement that the Syrtic Culture was a high one which gained little influence among pastoralists, but became very important to sedentary people of North Africa and the Western Sudan (Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 11). On the other hand the theory advanced by Frobenius that the Tuareg matriarchate is an old Hamitic custom does not constitute a satisfactory explanation (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 238 f.; Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 5).

The history of Tuareg matriarchate has been analysed very recently by Murdock, who states that its origin can be explained in three distinct ways:— (1) The Tuareg may have preserved the matrilineate from a very early period of Berber culture, perhaps also reflected among the extinct Guanche of the Canary Islands. This, however, is not considered very probable, because matrilineal traits do not exist among the many other North African Berber tribes, and also because the present relative isolation of the Tuareg is historically recent, dating from the Hilalian Arab invasion. (2) The indigenous *Béla* were characterized by avunculocal residence and matrilineal descent, and they transmitted these rules to the conquering Tuareg. This second theoretical possibility is discarded by Murdock on the ground that the *Béla* were presumably akin to the Hausa peoples on the southern border of the Tuareg country, and the Hausa are strictly patrilineal. (3) The ancestral Tuareg, while still resident in Tripolitania, were patrilineal, like all other mainland Berbers, and the matrilineate was developed as an

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174 114 adjustment to special local conditions after their displacement into the Sahara. Murdock accepts this. He believes that the Tuareg, when adopting the very un-Berber caste stratification of the Arabs, may well have instituted matrilineal affiliation for inter-caste marriages in order to preserve their purity of race. He seems to believe that patrilineal affiliation among the *Iwllemmeden* and the *Iforas* is old, while matrilineal affiliation is recent (cf. Murdock 1959, p. 408 f.).

In the main Murdock's theory was advanced already by Gsell, who also stated that the Tuareg constituted the only known example of a people who had substituted their patrilineal type of affiliation with a matrilineal system (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 38). The problems connected with father-right and mother-right in Tuareg society are complicated. It seems as if patrilineal succession among the Tuareg mainly, perhaps exclusively, is due to Arab influence. The existence of a pre-Islamic patrilineal system in the ancestral tribes of certain noble Tuareg can neither be discarded nor confirmed. However, there is absolutely no doubt that Tuareg matriarchate is very old and constitutes the traditional system in vassal tribes. I have shown above that matrilineal succession was once recognized in most Tuareg groups (cf. p. 456 ff.) and that certain vassals of the *Iwllemmeden* even to-day follow matrilineal rules of inheritance.

Briggs believes that pre-Islamic social organization was characterized by matrilineal inheritance and succession to authority, while residence was patrilocal so that the household consisted of a patriarchal extended family (Briggs 1958, p. 87). This is perhaps not very likely for the present custom of ultimate matrilocal residence is undoubtedly very ancient.

I find it adequate to conclude this chapter about diffusion and function in Tuareg social organization as follows:—

Tuareg patrilineal succession seems to be recent and post-Arabian; this holds also for present inheritance rules which follow Koranic law. Thus there can be no doubt that social organization changes owing to the diffusion of certain social traits. Murdock's statement that social traits diffuse only under circumstances where the traits would have developed independently is contrary to the known facts.

805 Tuareg. Some people are able to reckon only five or ten years back in time, but there are also Tuareg who can count many years back so that they can determine the exact age of most members of their [114] household. The chronology of Ahaggar years has been studied by Foucauld, who gives the names from 1860 to 1906, and a remarkable study has been published by Dubief (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1538 ff.; Dubief 1942). In later studies on the chronology of the years among the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, Dubief has shown that there is no uniform calendar for the *Kel Ajjer*. The *Uraṛen*, the *Imanṛasaten*, and the *Iforas* have their particular chronologies (cf. Dubief 1948, 1950, 1956). In addition to these chronologies for larger groups of Tuareg comprising several tribes, there are also special chronologies for individual tribes referring to events within these units.

To indicate future events the Tuareg may use the lunar calendar and refer to a particular day (night) of a particular month. They normally count in nights but to indicate the length of a journey they will frequently count in days. The sub-divisions of the day among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr are mentioned in the list below:—

(1) The early morning before sunrise, when one begins to see but does not see very clearly. It is a very short period known in Ahaggar as *ahokhak*, in Ayr as *dengelwak*.

(2) The period from sunrise until 1½–2 hours later during which the sun is low and the heat not very trying. This is known in Ahaggar as *agedelsit semmidet*, in Ayr as *aṛora*.

(3) The period when the sun is getting high in the heavens. People will now avoid the sun and rest in the shade. The name of this period, which corresponds to late morning or forenoon, is in Ahaggar *agedelsit tekkuset*, in Ayr *agedelchit*.

(4) The period when the sun is very high. It comprises a certain period before and after midday, and is known as *tarut* (Ahaggar) and *terut* (Ayr).

(5) The early afternoon which begins around two o'clock. It is called *tazerrahat* in Ahaggar, *tézzar* in Ayr.

(6) The late afternoon from about four o'clock until sunset is known as *aẓellewaz* in Ahaggar and as *takkes* in Ayr.

(7) The period of dusk which is known as *almeẓ* and *almez*, respectively.

For the night the divisions are few and less clear, and it seems as if they are based mainly upon normal activities such as eating time, bed time, and the time of the early morning when it is considered preferable to set out upon a journey.

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(6) My sixth journey to North Africa was undertaken 1954–55 and comprised about 14 months' field-work among Northern and Southern Tuareg. I left Algiers by car via Djelfa, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El Golea to In Salah at the beginning of the autumn 1954. At In Salah I bought four camels and hired an Arab guide of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe. After a short visit to his camp we went southwards to the region of the Ahnet Massif where I visited camps of *Kel-ahem-mellen* (a small noble tribe), *Kel-Immidir* (*Isekkemaren*), *Ayt Lowapen* of the *Kel Turha* section, *Kel Rezzi*, and notably the *Kel Ahnet*. Two small camps visited claimed to belong to the noble *Taytok* tribe, but they had no matrilineal relationship to that tribe which is now found in the Tamesna plains west of Ayr. I left Ahnet for Tamanrasset about the middle of December, and in the following months I travelled alone with my camels in Ahaggar as I now knew Tuareg language sufficiently to dispense with an interpreter. Until the beginning of April 1955 I lived in camps of the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribes, and passed some days in the *Amenukal*'s camp. I also had a house at Tamanrasset where I could work more peacefully with problems connected with kinship, land tenure, and political organization. In this work I was mainly assisted by two older Tuareg of the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribes. Apart from Tamanrasset I visited the following cultivation centres:— Utul, Tahart, Ti-n-amenser, Ennedid, Iglen, Abalessa, Amsel, and Tarhawhawt. – On the 3rd of April, 1955, I left Ahaggar for Ayr together with two Ayr Tuareg who were returning to their camps at Northern Ayr after a caravan journey to Tamanrasset. We travelled south-eastwards via the small cultivation centre Tagnut and thence into the very barren country separating Ahaggar from Ayr. We refilled our six skin-bags with water at the wells of I-n-abeggi and I-n-azawa, and had no water again until we arrived at a fairly large and permanent waterhole (*agelmam*) known as Tamengoyt, situated on the northern outskirts of the Ayr Massif. Close to this place we met the first Tuareg camps of the *Kel Tédalé* who dominate the northern parts of Ayr. The following days we saw several camps of these Tuareg. At last we arrived at the camp of one of my companions who belonged to the *Ikkoberen* tribe though his family was very mixed with *Kel Tédalé*. This camp was situated in the Azel valley, where we stayed for about ten days to regain full strength. Thereupon we continued to *Iferwan* which constitutes the northernmost village of the Ayr Massif. I lived in this village for about three weeks and then I continued towards Agadez together with a Tuareg of the *Kel Akerra* tribe. We visited camps of various tribes on our journey southwards (*Kel Rarus*, *Iforas*). The journey was a difficult one as two of my camels were worn out. We left them in a camp of *Ikojjejiten* Tuareg. This was situated at the Afurak valley from where we continued to Agadez via the small agricultural settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses. From Agadez I went by truck down to Zinder, but returned quickly to make a more complete investigation of the Ayr Tuareg. The situation was now very difficult as my two camels left at Afarak died and I was too short of money to buy a new animal. My financial problems were rather acute and were solved only by the very kind and resolute help rendered me by Professor Daryll Forde of University College London. I was thus able to continue my studies for another six months. I hired a house in Agadez where I could work peacefully, and bought a fine riding camel in order to be able to visit Tuareg camps in the vicinity. The most extensive journey made went to the village of Awderas, north-east of Agadez and close to the Begzen Mountains. On this journey I revisited the small settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses, and visited pastoral camps of the *Iforas*, the *Ikojjejiten*, the *Kel Tamot*, the *Igen-*

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to visit Niamey for one week at the beginning of December 1962. Here I studied the very valuable ethnographical collections of The IFAN Museum, and I spent two days in camps of *Bélla* and Tuareg of the *Western Iwllemmeden* east and north-east of Ayoru on the Niger. Of particular value was my visit to a camp of the dominant noble tribe, *Kel Tahabanat*. Its supreme chief *Amder* and his family gave me important information on Tuareg culture in this little known area. My visit to Tuareg and *Bélla* near Ayoru was made possible by the very kind assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Bernus of the IFAN. They put a truck with its driver at my free disposition.

Altogether I have spent almost three years among North African pastoralists – mainly among the Tuareg. This length of time is not so impressive as it may seem, for my investigations have been carried out over an extensive territory ranching from the Mediterranean to the outskirts of the Sudanese savannah. A detailed study of Tuareg ecology and culture necessitates a detailed knowledge of change and variation in environment within and without the country in which the Tuareg live.

The literature which deals with the Tuareg is very comprehensive as can be seen from the bibliography at the end of this book, but most publications are of very little value and many of them are almost inaccessible.

The Tuareg are first mentioned in literature by Arab authors of the Middle Ages, but most of these historians and geographers did not know the Tuareg country and even the few of them who travelled in the Sahara tell us very little about the Tuareg in early Arabic texts generally called *Muletthemin*, that is "the veiled ones". The most important Arab authors who mention the Tuareg are Ibn Hawkal (10th century), El-Bekri (11th century), Edrisi (12th century), Ibn Batutah (14th century), and Ibn Khaldun (14th century). Ibn Khaldun gives the most intimate description of the Tuareg though apparently he never met them. But they played a very important part in his attempt to recount the ancient history of the North African Berbers. After Ibn Khaldun came Leo Africanus (16th century) who published information gathered by himself on journeys in the Sahara. His book was first published in Italian. There are certain later Arab authors who have contributed to our knowledge of North African cultures and the Tuareg, e.g., Es-Sadi who lived in the 17th century. We must also mention in this connection that there are other valuable Arabic manuscripts, notably those generally referred to as the Agadez Chronicle, which contain much historical material on the Ayr Tuareg (cf. Palmer 1910; 1928; 1936; Urvoy 1934).

The first modern description of the Tuareg was given by Hornemann who travelled from Cairo to Murzuk in 1798. Throughout the 19th century many European travellers contributed to our knowledge of the Tuareg, and it is very important now to have their accounts which derive from a time when traditional political systems were unaffected by European colonization. Among these travellers we should mention such outstanding names as Lyon, Caillié, Denham & Clapperton & Oudney, Richardson, Barth, Duveyrier, Rohlfs, Hourst, Foureau, and von Bary. Lyon gives a very valuable description of the Tuareg who live around Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but by far the most important among these authorities are Barth, who wrote about the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Ayr*, and the *Iwllemmeden*, and Duveyrier, who published an excellent monograph on the Northern Tuareg with particular reference to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. At the beginning of the present century military posts were established in the Sahara, and literature about the Tuareg became more abundant. Thus Benhazera wrote a good book on

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



## THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has
614 fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie
[114] 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore
[162] quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared,
634 and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when
648 the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to
121 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr,
634 where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were
115 most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

173 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*,
614 and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above
634 (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

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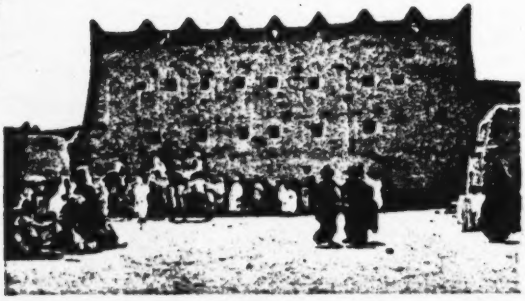

**Fig. 288. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.**

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# The Hoggar Tuareg
(Les Touaregs du Hoggar)

By Henri Lhote

Paris: 1944
Payot

Translated from the French by Mary-Alice Sipfle

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/Title page/

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# Book IV

## The Tuareg of the Ahaggar

## Social Organization

## The Ahaggar Confederation

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## Chapter 1

## Social Organization

101 Here we shall speak of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar. But since all of the Tuareg form a quite homogeneous ethnic group, what we [184 177] say about their /Tuareg of the Ahaggar/ social organization will, in general, be valid for the whole, although their social organization remained more sheltered from foreign influences than that of the other groups, because of their isolation in the heart of the Sahara.

The Ihǎggaren /Ahaggaren/ may thus be considered, as a result of that isolation, the witnesses and representatives of Tuareg civilization.

565 Classes and castes. -- Social organization among them /the Tuareg/ shows strong analogies with our ancient feudal system. Indeed, there is a chief whose nominal authority holds sway over all the tribes, a class system (aserkam) which divides tribes into suzerains and vassals, religious elements and serfs, enfeoffed the ones to the others, and an artisan class.

564 Classes in so-called primitive societies are born out of private 565 property, wealth, and the authority of the strong who become the protectors of the weak, and have had as a corollary war and slavery. The caste system, which is an accentuated form of the class system,

565 includes hereditary specialization, hierarchy, repulsion between the
564 different groups, and refusal to associate with people of a different caste. These principles are partly in force among the Tuareg, whose type of social organization borrows from the two systems.

/150/ Furthermore, there are great analogies between the two systems. This sort of aristocratic organization is well suited to nomadic life, in opposition to democratic organization which is more commonly found among sedentary groups.

According to some authors, the caste system is specifically
171 Hindu; it only existed in its pure state in India and to a lesser de-
564 gree in ancient Egypt. (1) Thus we are hardly surprised to find this

1. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre /The Races and Peoples of the World/, p. 489.

organization among the Tuareg who, culturally, belong to the same cycle of civilization.

182 The crystallization of that organization among this people,
564 who on the whole possess quite high intellectual qualities, as well as the material crystallization, can only be explained by the isolation in which it was confined as a result of circumstances where climate has certainly played a large role.

565 The Tuareg are divided into suzerains (Imochar) of a specifically warlike nature, vassals (Imrad) most commonly shepherds, religious men (Inislimen), and serfs (Iklân). Other elements from different origins are enfeoffed to them, such as the Issekkemâren, the Iboroliten, and the Enaden.

The present hierarchy obviously results from a series of wars
174 and civil conflicts. In the fight for life each person endeavored to
182 get his share, and as always this was at the expense of the weaker.
565 Tribes achieved a predominance which they were not always able

174 to maintain, which others seized from them, and suzerains became
182 vassals. But in spite of these contingencies of war, the Tuareg
565 attach great importance to blood origins and always respect high-
[554 727] born people, even though they may be their vanquished /adversaries/.

Thus, at the present time, the nobles of the Ahaggar and the
554 Ajjer may be seen to seek alliances with women of the fallen fraction
565 of the Imenan Sultans. This adds to the luster of their high origin
581 a certain character of religious nobility, which is much appreciated among Moslems.

000 Monogamy and matriarchy. -- To understand Tuareg society, one must remember two important facts, facts which are, moreover, not completely independent of each other, monogamy and matriarchy.

/151/ While the Tuareg are Moslems and have polygamous
174 peoples as neighbors, it is astonishing to note that they practice
562 monogamy. This is an evident indication that women occupy an
[595] important place in their society, in no way comparable to what they occupy among the Arabs. This was very striking to the first travelers who thought they saw traces of an ancient Christianity in the persistence of monogamy. This argument might be held if we did not know, on the other hand, that the social organization of the Tuareg rests on matriarchy, an ancient custom much earlier than the Christian era, which explains monogamy and the particularly high position of women.

Gautier writes on this subject: "It may be said that the Tuareg practice chivalrous gallantry; the expression is inadequate only because of the association it evokes. Our chivalry has a Christian origin; the respect of the Tuareg for women has much deeper and more remote reasons. It goes back to matriarchy, which is earlier than the notion of the state and even that of the family. It is a living witness of completely primordial humanity, a sentiment, if I may say so, of the quaternary age." (1)

1. La conquête du Sahara /The Conquest of the Sahara/, p. 33.

174 Matriarchy, in fact, goes back to the times when primitive man had no exact notions on the causes of childbirth.

For, "it seems," Gautier continues, "that primitive man attributed all birth to parthenogenesis and could only imagine a conception which was immaculate. He saw no ineluctable connection between caressing and gestation. Although he practiced fertilization by instinct, he had no clear idea of this. The word 'father' had no sense for him, and consequently the children could only group themselves around the mother." (2)

2. La conquête du Sahara, p. 190.

On the other hand, since rules of marriage had not yet been established in that period, it was impossible to seek out paternity. It is from this state of things that filiation by the uterine branch is derived. With the totemic beliefs to be found in lower civilizations, the matrilocal system found still another reason for existence. It was linked with exogamy, preventing unions between the closest relatives and between people of different castes, and making incest impossible.

171 In certain primitive Australian groups, /152/ the study of which
601 helps us understand the evolution of societies, there is a system of kinship by classes of kin that is found among the Tuareg and the peoples of the Sudan. It was defined by Morgan, and groups in the first degree brothers, sisters, and cousins; in the second degree the father, mother, and their siblings; in the third degree the grandparents with their siblings, etc.

174 In matriarchy, the natural protector of the child is the brother of his mother. In the same way the obligation for the husband to live with his wife's family is connected with matriarchy. This
591 custom is practiced in the Ahaggar, where the husband must live
[851] one year in the camp of his parents-in-law, this time being shortened when the young wife has borne a child. When a woman becomes
768 the widow of a man who does not belong to her tribe, she rejoins her tribe and takes her children with her.

000 tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has
586 adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an
177 Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

184 One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes
which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between
614 his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation.
It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has
written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus
that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which
the Tuareg live.

[174] In their case we are confronted at the present time by a
562 matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman
[178] ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights,
her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the
[611] man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many
[554] Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's
position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in
[584] matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on
choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has
[421] free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes,
and even has a greater freedom of mores.

174 It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy
among the Tuareg.

174 It seems to have existed in ancient times among all the Hamites. Frobenius sees traces of it in traditional customs which leave the raising of the tent to the women and give them a monopoly on leather-work. These singular characteristics reveal the primordial nature of the sentiment of life among the Hamites. (1)

1. In Jenson, "Les orbes culturels de l'Afrique /Culture Spheres of Africa/, " L'Afrique, Cahiers d'art, 1931.

428 554 622 Among the Ihaggaren, the wife wills her social and political rights to her children. These are particularly important when it is a question of the succession of a chief. Political filiation of the first degree is made to the brother; in the second degree to the eldest son of the maternal aunt; in the third degree, to the eldest son of the eldest sister, which constitutes a guarantee for blood descent in the line of chiefs.

184 622 The Ioullimmiden /Aulliminden/ do not practice political succession according to matriarchal rules. The explorer Barth has even reported that they consider this custom shameful "and show that the chief has little confidence in his wife's virtue." (2)

2. Voyages et découvertes en Afrique /Travels and Discoveries in Africa/, vol. I, p. 205.

174 Though command is now the privilege of the men, it is not impossible that in the past women were invested with power. We have evidence of it in the story of the Berber queen, Kahéna, who for a long time resisted the Arab invaders who were trying to conquer Aurès in the eighth century. The legend of Ti-n-Hinan, maternal ancestor of the Ihaggaren Tuareg, leads us to believe that the woman was their queen. In 1475, a Berber fraction settled

174 in the Sudan, the Sanhadja-Nounou, was governed by a woman named Bikoun-Kabi, whom the Sonrhaï /Songhai/ emperor Sonni-Ali had to conquer in order to seize her territory. Es-Sadi, author of the Tarik-es-Soudan, reports several facts of this kind.

The Islamization of the Berber tribes certainly had a part in the elimination of the custom. Women no longer play any official [562] political role in our times. But they have made themselves the guardians of ancestral customs and folklore, and their authority is [626] so strong that one /154/ can only quote the answer of a Tuareg to an Arab who admonished him upon the subject of Tuareg mores: "No one would dare do otherwise, for then no woman would look at us any longer."

162 The persistence of monogamy among the Tuareg is also favored 182 by the considerable excess of men found among them, an exceptional 515 fact and contrary to what we observe in other human groups.

The aménokal. -- Aménokal means in Tamashek "possessor of 643 the country" (from am, possessive prefix, and akal, "country").

[192] In the Ahaggar this title is conferred only upon the supreme chief reigning over a whole of noble, vassal, or assimilated tribes. [184] In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, it may be applied to heads of fractions, indeed even to mere camp chiefs.

The aménokal is designated according to hereditary rules deriving from the matriarchal system. He is always chosen, not only in the same tribe, but in the same line which one could compare to the clan. His domination, to be effective, must be sanctioned by the approval of the nobles to whom are joined for the occasion the chiefs of vassal tribes. For the latter, approval involves an agreement to pay tribute later.

Sometimes there are several pretenders to the title; perhaps a descendant of a formerly ousted family asserts his rights, or perhaps the natural heir is recognized incapable of leadership. This brings about a competition where hereditary rules are not always respected.

643 According to the rules cited above, the political succession of an aménokal goes in the first degree to his brother; in the second degree, that is, if he has no brother, to his first cousin, the eldest son of his maternal aunt; and in the third degree, to the eldest son of his eldest sister. In fact, this is what comes out of the genealogical [114] study of the Ahaggar chiefs made by Mr. Benhazéra, (1) modifying

1. Six mois dans l'Ahaggar /Six Months in the Ahaggar/.

the order indicated by Duveyrier who attributed the succession to the eldest son of the eldest sister. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord /The Northern Tuareg/, p. 397.

For reasons we do not know, these rules have not always been followed. Thus, Aménokal Younès succeeded his /155/ father Mohamed el Khir, and Aménokal Ăitarel /succeeded/ his cousin El Khadj Akhmed, even though the latter had closer relatives. More recently, upon the death of Aménokal Akhamouk, his second cousin Meslah was named to replace him, although he had a first cousin, son of the sister of the former Aménokal Moussa ag Ămâstan, who was removed from command because of incompetence.

184 643 Among the Tenguériguif /Tehgeredief/, chiefs are chosen alternately from two lateral lines descended from the same chief, Ikhmed. Thus the deceased aménokal can never be succeeded by his brother, but by a second or third cousin, who is not necessarily taken from the uterine branch. The nomination of the aménokal is submitted to an assembly of notables for their approval, just as among the Ihăggaren.

Among the Ioullimmiden, since Aménokal Our Ilmet (1650-1715), out of fourteen chiefs who succeeded one another, we note six successions from father to son, two from brother to brother, two

184 from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin.
643 The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions
gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet,
[173] the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out,
611 it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except
631 among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the
651 titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll.
He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his
[644] appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/
[178] today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It
[644] benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum
[534 called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum, "
177 "cylinder of a drum. "
192]

643 This instrument is so representative of command in the eyes of the Tuareg that they often refer to the aménokal and all the tribes which he holds under his command as "tobol."

184 Among the eastern Ioullimmiden (Kel Dinnik), the aménokal
643 always had a standard placed in his tent, which was taken out exceptionally for war or the enthroning of a new aménokal. It was in blue-green and red silk. (1)

1. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik /Notes on the Society and State of the Dinnik Tuareg/," Bulletin de l'Institut Français. Afrique noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, p. 586.

Among the Ihăggaren, the tobol tribe, that is, the one from which the aménokal is always chosen, is the Kel Rela; however, the tobol has presumably changed hands over the centuries. The memory
[173] of another chief-tribe, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, has remained, and thus the former Aménokal Altarel was accustomed to saying that the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi formed the back (of the political organization of the Ihăggaren), /while/ the Kel Rela, the Tăltok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet /formed/ the sides, but that the back was weakening to the profit of the sides. (2) This modification was caused by the total

2. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs de l'Ahaggar, p. 107.

extinction of the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi.

578 The aménokal's role is chiefly that of a war chief. In normal
643 times he arbitrates the conflicts which set the tribes against one
692 another, and he has the power of life or death, in principle. His authority is often contested by the Imochar of his own tribe, who try

578 to arrogate rights over vassals for themselves. There are internal
643 disputes of the sort: "Who made you a count? And who made you
692 king?"

It is particularly in the relations with neighboring or foreign
643 tribes that the aménokal's role takes on a more national aspect, yet his decisions do not have full authority unless they have been approved by an assembly of notables -- the arollan -- composed of the principal chiefs of fractions and nobles.

/157/ The aménokal lives like the other Tuareg, and there is no ceremony surrounding his person. All comers present themselves
[644] at his tent with no more formality than that. There is no court or court etiquette.

Only the tobol, generally placed at the entrance to the tent,
534 indicates the rank of the host.
643 This drum is in the shape of a hemisphere, hollowed out of a tree trunk and covered with a cowhide with the hair still on it. The hide is held by leather thongs with the hairy side up. It may be as much as 80 centimeters in diameter. Two leather handles on the sides are used to carry it. For gatherings, two men strike it alternately with a camelskin drumstick (imîtkar). Only the aménokal has the right to have it sounded, which he does only on the most important occasions. Upon his death, his brother or his caliph is entrusted with it until it can be given to his successor. The aménokal does not go
[492] far without his drum, which is carried on a camel led by a trusted man; when he gives the order to beat the drum, another meharist /man mounted on a mehari, or fast dromedary/ approaches to take the other handle, and the two men march side by side, striking alternately. Any warrior who hears it is supposed to rally to the call and at the same time inform the people he meets. In case of war,
[202] the beating tells whether they are dealing with foot soldiers or meharists, depending on whether there are one or two imîtkar.

When the hide of the tobol is worn out, the most renowned
[554] warrior of the tribe is entrusted to replace it.

643 644 The aménokal generally has one or two caliphs charged with taking his place or representing him with the fractions.

The amrar. -- Each tribe, called taousit, has its amrar, who, 631 like the aménokal, is chosen according to matriarchal rules.

Amrar, in Tamashek, [192] means "the old," "the respectable," "the ancient," /158/ and by extension, [643 534] "possessor of wisdom." It is the equivalent of the Arab word "sheik."

Fig. 16. The tobol, symbol of the aménokal's command, with its "imîtkar."

The amrar is the intermediary between the people of his tribe and the aménokal. He transmits orders from the latter and sees that they are carried out. He collects the tioussé intended for the aménokal from the Imrad and sets the share that each is to pay. He settles minor disputes between the people of his tribe and fixes the pasturing zone to be used by each camp.

He takes part in the vote which sanctions the election of the aménokal and at the arollan, which discusses major decisions concerning the life of the confederation.

In a confederation subject to an aménokal, a grouping which the Ahaggar Tuareg also call tégéhé, there may be several tobol, that is, several suzerain tribes, each with its vassals. The name taousit, making double use of the word for tribe, is sometimes used to designate the whole whose chief also bears the name of amrar among the Ihaggaren and agoalla among the Kel Aïr /Asben/.

The amrar has no characteristic symbol of command, at least [171] among the Ihaggaren. In certain Sudanese tribes, many formerly had a drum analogous to that of the aménokal.

565 192 The Imochar. -- The Imochar (singular, Amacher) form the aristocratic class. This word means "man of dominant stock

565 /Fr. race/, " "aristocrat, " and not "noble" as some have written.
[192] This would be said elli (plural, illellan) in Tamashek. (1)

1. Cf. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik, " Bulletin de l'Institut Français, Afrique Noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, pp. 579-586.

In Sudanese dialects, amacher, by transposition into local
192 phonetics, becomes amajer (plural, imajeuren). As we have already
197 said, it is easy to find in these names the old Berber root amazir, which formerly referred to certain Libyan peoples and which still exists in the name of a considerable Berber fraction in Morocco.

The Imochar, who hold the political rights, are the real masters
565 of the country. All of them claim to be of sherif origin, more or
[173] less descendants of the Prophet; however, this claim has no solid foundation, except the desire to assume a high birth affiliating them to Islamism and its founder a long time back, but this is not true.

/159/ Among themselves, the Tuareg refer to men of old nobility and old stock /Fr. race/ as loumet.

All the Imochar are essentially warriors. They owe their high
565 social position to the saber, and they know no other occupation than
701 war and raiding. Their role as suzerain makes them parasites of the
631 vassal classes, and they used to constitute a scourge to caravans
[181 crossing their country. Their way of life has always been pillage,
461] and in their eyes manual labor is a disgrace which only slaves can accept.

Covering the desert on their camels, fighting, risking death in
181 faraway escapades -- that is what the life of a man of noble blood,
565 who intends to remain one, must be. They take their vassals on their escapades and save part of the booty for them, by right of participation. Scorn for manual labor is a class prejudice with them

181 and not caused by a state of laziness, for although they would not
565 consider working the land at any price, they would not mind traveling thousands of kilometers under often difficult and quite dangerous conditions to go pillage opposing tribes. Once back in camp, they intend to lead a life free from any material cares, shifting the burden to their vassals.

422 They entrust the keeping of the captured herds to the Imrad,
565 reclaiming the beasts from them when they need them and the necessary usufruct for their food. For themselves, they keep only
[231 mounts for war and for transporting household objects and are content
234] with small herds of goats with only the number of head strictly necessary to assure their daily milk needs. In the same way, they
[567] do not own many slaves of their own, for the latter would make so many months to feed, which they are wary of.

565 Although they rely on their Imrad for everything, they do not abuse them, for, as a Tuareg proverb says, "we must not kill the camel which feeds us," and their demands always take into account the wealth and the possibilities of the moment.

566 Every year the Imochar levy a vassalage tax called a tioussé
631 on the Imrad. This tax, fixed for each tribe, includes an annual
651 contribution of a certain number of head of livestock, loads of grain, miscellaneous items /160/ waterskins, tent stakes, etc.),
[643] tanned hides, butter, etc. In principal it is invariable and paid to the amenokal who disposes of it as he wishes, making allowances for the needs of the Imochar.

643 The amenokal leaves the animals which he levies under the
651 management of the Imrad, who furnish him the usufruct from them.

Individual rights of Imochar over Imrad do not exist in principal.
565 Actually they do exist when a man is the last representative of a
631 tribe and levies for himself the rights falling to his tribe.
651 On the other hand, some undertake to make small levies on the Imrad; the latter never refuse. And we must say in defense of the nobles that they treat their Imrad quite generously when a fortunate raid makes them temporarily well off.

565 In exchange for the rights of suzerainty which the Imochar exer-
631 cise over the Imrad, they owe the latter absolute protection, defend their interests each time that they are threatened, and endeavor to obtain reparation if they are pillaged by an opposing tribe.

The Imochar spend lavishly as great lords and have kept this
177 mania in spite of the change in regime brought by the French peace.
631 Their way of living like parasites has taken away any idea of fore-
565 sight, and because of this they are more often in want than well off.
511 In fact, the first consequence of the French occupation was to stop the state of war and the pillaging, which deprived the Imochar of their principal resources. They became poor people, while the Imrad, as herd owners, saw their wealth increase and become stabilized. This social disturbance could have had serious consequences, but the Imrad did not totally abandon the Imochar, despite the opportunity which was offered them to emancipate themselves from their ancestral guardianship. Perhaps we can be glad of this, for one might wonder what the material situation of the Imochar would have been and, consequently, their state of mind with regard to us.

291 The terms "black Tuareg" and "white Tuareg" have often been
565 used to designate the Imochar and the Imrad. "In the north, "
178 Seligman says, "the nobles have black veils and the subjects white ones." (1) This distinction in dress does not exist today, when the

1. Les races de l'Afrique, p. 129.

Tuareg indiscriminately wear black or white veils according to their taste and wealth. /161/ It is possible that the Imrad formerly could not obtain indigo veils, always considered a luxury item, and had to be content with ordinary cotton veils; that would explain the division into black and white Tuareg.

According to Duveyrier, the white Tuareg, "Touareg-el-biodh," were probably the Oulad Ba Hamou, Arabs of the region of In-Salah. They took from the Tuareg the habit of wearing veils, but in white instead of dark indigo.

565
554 The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished
[302] than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing
[516] nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad
by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant
[195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words
foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of
appearance and language is even more perceptible among the
554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their
562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their
574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society.
Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well
[533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The
qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know-
[565] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather
articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know-
565 ing how to play the violin.
[83] Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part
513] of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the
[842 Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which
582] are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the
other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it,
[648] and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the
last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original
stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting it-
self to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could
bring it.

565 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class
[793 among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/
871] and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the
children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite
[651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

565 from all vassalage taxes and are often the object of much respect
[651] and consideration wherever they go. Thus, in the Ahaggar, they are treated on an equal footing with the Imochar, and the latter
[582] sometimes accept marriages with them, while at the same time re-
[641] fusing to grant political rights to the children born of these unions.
[184] On the other hand, among the Ioullimmiden, the Imochar reject any alliance with them and make them pay a vassalage due. These
[582] /Inislimen/ of the Damergou, contrary to the rule, are considered nobles; they own Imrad and may wage war. Furthermore, they have made themselves noticed as the most bellicose among the A'ir tribes. Finally, those of the Adrar succeeded in forming a confederation after the Ioullimmiden abandoned the country; they have Imrad, but the Imochar from the other confederations do not want to regard them as their equals.

They are often referred to under the name of Ichériffen, or
[192] Chériffen, which comes from the Arab word sherif, meaning "noble," or, by extension, "descendant of the Prophet." But among the Tuareg, Ichériffen has a more specialized meaning and designates persons of a religious nature, without their necessarily being descendants of Mahomet.

The marabout tribes include the Ichériffen properly so called and the Ifôra.

This religious nature has various origins and qualities.

Some elements really number sherifs among their ancestors; such is the case of the Ifôra from the Adrar and certain Kel Es-Souq fractions. But opposed to them are others who have only an accidental religious character.

174 Concerning this, Commander Cauvet says that these marabout
565 tribes often appear to be noble collectivities, who were formerly
793 strong and became too weak to continue enjoying the rights and prestige of the strong. They declared themselves withdrawn from the business of arms and devoted to pious practices for love of God and Islam. "A tribe threatened with losing its preponderance,

174 its rank, or even its class as a result of events of war or of too fre-
565 quent or too strong splits, sometimes decides to declare itself /163/
793 marabout. Piety is not indispensable for this; the tribe need only stop pillaging its neighbors and bearing arms. If some of them display the appearances of pious Moslems, learn a bit of the Koran, and wear beads, particularly if they can refer to some Arab ancestor, who formerly took refuge in the tribe, they succeed in being classed as marabouts after a certain time." (1)

1. Commander Cauvet,
Les noms des tribus Touaregs
/Names of Tuareg Tribes/,
p. 10.

565 In tribes which really practice their religion in a more serious
793 way than most of the Tuareg, he continues, there is surely an instillation of foreign blood, sometimes Semitic and often earlier
[144] than the Arab invasion. Without discussing here the reasons on which Commander Cauvet stands in speaking of the infusion of
[142] Semitic blood into the Ichériffen, we shall recall what we have already said, that we were strongly struck to find persons of a Semitic appearance, particularly marked in the old man, among the Ichériffen from the region of Gao and the Kel Es-Souq of Mohamed Ouguinat.

565 The explorer Duveyrier, who lived for a long time among the
631 northern Ifôra, considered them former nobles "who had abdicated
793 any political role in the administration of the confederation in order to conquer a greater religious authority, necessary in a society where justice is represented by no power." (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 132.

He attributed to them a great moral and religious activity. It is true that certain Ifôra chiefs, like Sheik Othman who was one of

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Iḫaggaren and the Kel Ăjjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifora were pillaged themselves upon several occasions by the Iḫaggaren and forced to seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

The influence of the Inislimen on the Iḫaggaren and the Kel
[797] Ăjjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact, they are generally quite ignorant.

[554] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving, they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and disapproved of the belligerent action of the Iḫaggaren against us, in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Ṭăḍemaket
565 and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.
797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to
[648] become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifora was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Ṭăḍemeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents. They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721 Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
181] refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
701 other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Cheriffen are divided into ordinary Cheriffen and warrior Cheriffen.

184 The Inislimen way of life is the same as that of the Tuareg.
565 They speak the same language and administer themselves with no
793 intervention from the Imochar. A few cases of polygamy have been
[631] observed among them. This is the result of their gradual Islamization,
[595] which favors the custom, and of patriarchy which was already in practice in some Sudanese tribes.

565 The Imrad. -- Imrad probably comes from the Tamashek root
[192] Égeid, Égeit, which means "kid, " "little goat, " and from the prefix
[422] am indicating possession. In short, this means "possessors of goats. " In fact, the Imrad formerly could own only goats, for the Imochar reserved the possession of camels for themselves.

Their nickname is Kel Oulli, which also means "goat people, " a name which they prefer to Imrad, which is probably a bit degrading for them.

[631] /165/ They make up tribes enfeoffed to the Imochar and are their vassals.

The Imochar have a certain scorn for them and consider them people of low birth, not of the pure Tuareg race; the name Taouia Settefet, meaning "of black descent, " is often applied to them. (1)

1. Among the Ioullimmiden they are referred to as Idinet.

173 Nothing indicates a racial inferiority of the Imrad to the Imochar,
565 however. If we want to interpret the old legends of the Ahaggar,
144 everything leads us to believe that the Imrad were in most instances the first occupants of the country, and the Imochar, who were the invaders, were conquerers who made themselves masters of the country by force. The crossbreeding with the blacks cannot be a decisive criterion, for many Imrad tribes are not physically more "Negroid" than the Imochar. It is also true that the Imrad are
[186] less rigorous than the Imochar in maintaining the integrity of old
[184] Tuareg customs. They have less greatness of soul and sentiment, as well as less ethnic pride.

565 Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of
[511] the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of
[177] prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting
631 matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs internally as they see fit, without intervention of the amenokal or the
[642] Imochar in their affairs.

162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps
565 because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by
721 their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often
[727] organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some
701 Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among
[714] the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded
631 in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for
[582] their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

565 Unions, or more exactly concubinage, between Imrad and
[595] Negresses are very common.

[567] Imrad have the right to possess black slaves who are employed in household work and in keeping the herds.

114 Schirmer has said that the Ahaggar Imrad were sedentary peoples
241 entrusted with keeping the gardens; (1) he has committed an error,
565

1. Le Sahara, p. 298.

certainly because of erroneous information. This is all the more curious since Duveyrier had already defined exactly the position of the Imrad. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 334.

114 Duveyrier translated the word amrid by the word "serf," which
565 corresponds exactly to the Arab expression ra'aya, and also because
566 the ra'aya are subjects liable to forced labor and taxes, whom the marabouts are not allowed to possess by Moslem law. Duveyrier believed he was confirmed in his opinion because of the fact that the Inislimen of the Ajjer did not have the right to have Imrad. This is an error of interpretation. This Arabic term cannot be suitable under the circumstances, for the social class of the Tuareg Imrad has no equivalent among the Arabs.

We have preferred the term "vassals" which is more suitable
[651] in our minds, because the Imrad are not unconditionally subject to
[643] forced labor, they pay a perfectly defined vassalage fee, their
[657] chiefs participate in the election of the amenokal, and they themselves own slaves.

/167/ Moreover, the term "vassals" has been adopted by Richer, Deniker, Verneau, etc.

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote
[602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general-
[582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihǎggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihǎggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were
[643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores
[124] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous
[567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar,
[582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

563 There are also important tribes in the Sudan who bear the name of Daoussak. They are generally considered /168/ Imrad, but actually the Daoussak were probably former Ioullimmiden shepherds who were not authorized to carry the lance and take part in combats. They tend to give themselves a certain marabout air, and they multiply the Koranic schools in their camps.

[174] [701] [793]

Iborelliten. -- We can rank among assimilated vassals still other free tribes, quite little known until now, who bear the name of Iborelliten (singular, Aborelli).

They speak the Tamashek language and on the surface are in no way different from the Tuareg in the midst of whom they live. In some confederations they form very distinct tribes, depending in general only on the direct authority of the chief of the confederation; such tribes are those of the Aïr who are under the command of the anastafidet of the Kel-Oui. (1)

1. The Kel-Aïr are divided into Kel-Gerès and Kel-Oui, placed under the authority of the Sultan of Agadez. The Kel-Oui, probably of Oraren /Ouraren?, see below p. 37./ origin, have mixed enormously with the sedentary Hausa. Because of that they have diminished in the eyes of their racial brothers, who now consider them Negroes. They have a peculiar organization, and their chief bears the name of anastafidet.

They are more or less colored depending on the group, and some are as white as the Tuareg. They intermarry among themselves

563 and may be owners of slaves and herds. They sometimes seek
[582] matrimonial alliances with the Imrad, but the latter, who hold them in rather great contempt, most often refuse.

According to Nicolas, the Iborelliten might be captives of a
114 higher origin. (2) For de Foucauld, (3) Aborelli (plural, Ibourelliten)
563
[192]

2. Loc. cit., pp. 579-586.

3. Dictionnaire touareg-français /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, vol. I, p. 79.

designates a mulatto of a white man and a Negress, or inversely. In our opinion, it should be added that one of the parents is of Taureg origin; and we are all the more convinced that this trait is
[192] indispensable since de Foucauld elsewhere refers to the ordinary mulatto by the name of Achardan (plural, Ichardanen). (3)

3. Dictionnaire touareg-français /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, vol. I, p. 79.

We have gathered information in the regions of Tahoua and Gao, where éborelli refers to a child born of an Amajer and a non-captive Negress, or of a foreign woman. The Iborelliten are therefore mulattos born of mixed parentage, Tuareg and Negro.

563 As groups of Iborelliten we shall cite the Igdâlen of /169/ the Aïr and the Aboghelitè spoken of by Barth, (1) who were born of

1. Op. cit., vol. I, p. 204.

Tuareg mothers (Imochar, according to Barth) and Negro fathers. Another Iborelliten tribe, of Tuareg and Peul stock, said to have

563 become sedentary, exists in the Sudan, in the Niafunké region.

There seems to be a category of low-class Iborelliten who are 563 referred to as Irraouellan. Nicolas considers them former captives 567 who have been liberated. Chudeau reported an Irraouellan tribe, [727] whose members were said to be freedmen or descendants of former captives. He adds that the children of a Tuareg man and a slave are by law Irraouellan.

We shall add to these different definitions that in the Aïr a slave woman who marries a Tuareg becomes free as does her family, and the children born of her marriage are then called Ikalalen.

[184] Among the Kel-Ahaggar, we do not find any true Iborelliten or Irraouellan tribes, although there are men belonging to these social classes.

567 The Iklan. -- The Iklan (singular, Akli; feminine singular, Taklit) are the serfs, or slaves, of the Tuareg. The name Iklan [192 144] comes from the Tamashek root Kl, meaning "black being"; (2)

2. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

and indeed these people are foreign to the Tuareg race. They are Negroes of all origins, formerly captured in the Sudan and reduced to slavery by the Tuareg. They form a separate class, which is not a tribe, except when they are freed conditionally or completely. Then they are called Iklan-n-égef or Iderfan, depending on which is the case.

[144] They have founded a family among the Tuareg and given birth to a new race with the most diverse characteristics, from which the white element is not excluded.

[181] Slaves are employed in keeping the flocks, and in the household work of the camp; they share the life of their masters and from their contact with them have acquired an independent nature which makes them love the freedom of nomadism, so much so that it would now be difficult for them to resume the sedentary life of their Ancestors.

567 of their ancestors. Ahaggar slaves are perfectly adapted to the desert and possess physical qualities of sobriety much superior to those of their racial brothers /170/ in the Sudan, who have difficulty living there when they are transported from the Sudan.

The Akli is subject to forced labor at the will of his master. He owes all his work to his master and is his property, but he receives a few advantages and can use a few days of work a week for himself.

In the Ahaggar the Iklan are treated perfectly well by their masters, to whom they are quite attached. They share meals with them and sustain with an even temper the good or bad fortune which the camp enjoys. Their children are reared with those of the Tuareg and on the same footing.

They benefit from certain humanitarian rules which do credit to the Tuareg. Thus a slave who is too young or too old cannot be liberated and must be supported by his master.

[428] The Iklan are bequeathed as a heritage; they may be possessors of animals, whose usufruct they then have; but upon their death these animals fall to their masters and not to their own children.

The Imochar, Inislimen, and Imrad have all rights over their slaves. The latter cannot marry without their consent. Generally, 567 when there are a man slave and a woman slave in the same camp, 582 they are married to each other, and the man receives a goat which 583 he gives to his wife as a bride price. If the slave wants to seek a wife for himself and finds one in another camp, he receives nothing from his master and must find the means to pay his wife's bride price by himself; this bride price is commonly fixed at ten goats. The slaves put in charge of keeping the flocks and who are often absent from the camp because of their occupation usually do not [836] marry. "They take their pleasure where they find it," said Father de Foucauld.

665 The Tuareg often take slave women as concubines. There are 567 several advantages to this: first, they have no bride price to pay, 595

565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
567 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as
[428] his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can inherit from their father.

565 /171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with
833 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
558 not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that
[842] the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
167 other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found
[838 for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.
679]

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed
[272] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves
[304 first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not
234] hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former amenokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Amastan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or
567 when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally
685 does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense, the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice, according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

567 his property. In cases of this nature the two parties have usually
[685] come to an agreement beforehand.

The Iklan are responsible for introducing a quantity of words
[177 and new expressions into the Tamashek language, all of them
192] naturally of Sudanese origin. They have a very vulgar language and murder the language of their masters abominably, so that they make a real argot of it.

They have kept a great many characteristics of their folklore,
[536] which we /172/ find in their dances, the pantomimed scenes that they organize among themselves at the time of public rejoicing or of events in the family life of their masters.

Social evolution due to the French occupation will in an indefinite time bring about the disappearance of bondage, which we must explain does not have the inhumane nature that one might presume.

567 It would have been a blunder to immediately impose the
liberation of the Iklan, and it would have been contrary to their own
648 interests. Attempts made in this direction in the Sudan have given deplorable results. Iklan liberated from one day to the next are unsettled in class; they cannot and do not want to go back to working the land and thus find it impossible to earn a living.

The disappearance of slavery will come about gradually and individually. It will occur slowly, but inexorably, and it will bring important social transformations among the Tuareg.

One can already observe this evolution among the Ioullimmiden, in Adrar, and particularly around Timbuktu where Imrad women occupy themselves from now on with grinding millet and doing the heavy housework, which was formerly left to the captives.

567 Iklan-n-Egef. -- Liberation of captives, furthermore, has always existed among the Tuareg in more or less attenuated forms.

It may have several causes, first of which is the excess of captives, which makes a great many useless mouths to feed. The Tuareg thus gave a halfway freedom to some of them whom they

567 charged with tending their flocks. These are the Iklan-n-Egef, or dune captives. In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Bella or Bouzou.

Secondly, captives may be liberated through generosity in return for services rendered; then they are called Iderfan.

The Bella, without being definitely freed, live freely, and the Tuareg let them earn their living the best they can. In addition to tending the flocks, many of them engage in small industries. They [463] gather up wood to sell in the urban centers, make charcoal /173/ for the same destination, and some women have become potters.

They are then organized in tribes and live like nomads in tents, just as the Tuareg, practicing endogamy, but remaining enfeoffed to an Imochar or Imrad tribe. In case of a conflict they side wholeheartedly with their masters and participate in combats as foot soldiers armed with javelins.

Several of these tribes are known in the region of Timbuktu, among the Igouadaren and the Tenguéréguif, in the Gao region, among the Ioullimmiden, and among the Kel Dinnik (eastern Ioullimmiden) from the Tahoua region. There are none among the Ihaggaren, however.

In the Ahaggar there are no Iklan-n-Egef except in individual cases.

Iderfan. -- The word Iderfan comes from the root sederf: "to free (by amplification) one who is no longer able to render good service." (1)

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

In principal, one cannot get rid of a slave by freeing him if he is stricken by old age or slows down in his work.

Actually the case comes up from time to time, especially among the Sudanese Tuareg. But emancipation may be the result of a pious gesture on the part of the master. At other times, some

567 have been freed as a group as a reward for some outstanding action. Nicolas mentions the present Tamjert fraction in the center of Tahoua who were freed after the battle of Izerwan where they had courageously resisted the Kel Ahaggar (1898). Many Iderfan go back to cultivation. They often live with the sedentary groups, with whom they join forces. They do small services for the latter, such as tending their flocks.

114 Nicolas likens them to the Harratines of the Kel Ahaggar. This
563 is only partially justified, for, although it is true that a few former
567 slaves work in the centers of cultivation of the Ahaggar, the majority of the Harratin are Negroes from the Tidikelt who freely came to get jobs among the Tuareg. Thus, we must not confuse the Harratin with the Iderfan.

567 As in the case of the Iklan-n-Egef, there are no Iderfan in the Ahaggar except in isolated cases.

The Enaden. -- The Enaden (singular, Enad) form the artisan
564 class of the Tuareg. In the Sudan they are called /174/ garassa or gargassa, which is very probably of Sonrhaï origin.

[192] The word Enadan probably comes from enad, meaning "the other," extended to mean "those we don't talk about." (1) This is

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

because the Enaden form a closed caste, scorned and cursed by the Tuareg whose repulsion for manual labor is well known.

463 Their role is to manufacture anything the Tuareg may have need
564 of: weapons, wooden table utensils, tent pegs, mehari saddles, and harnessing articles.

In addition, they also willingly engage in the business of barber-
[757 surgeon, and with the little instruments they make they adroitly do
752] bloodletting, cupping, scarification, and other little operations of the same order, including tooth extraction. They are remunerated
[465] for their work when they work for tribes, or, if they are attached to a master, he has them entirely at his disposal.

564 The Tuareg, who heartily scorn them because of their obscure origin and servile profession, recognize their good qualities and are happy to profit from them. They also fear them a good deal, for [754] they credit them with supernatural powers of sorcery and magic. Possessors of fire, mistreating the earth and the minerals by beating them, they are placed in a world apart, inhabited by the genii with whom they are likely to enter into relations. Although the Moslem [751] marabouts willingly sell amulets, which the Tuareg prize, the latter do not hesitate, in case of need, to ask the Enaden for amulets in preference.

The Enaden are still more despised because they have no moral principles and willingly serve as spies and traitors; they spy on the Iklan and the wives of their masters and also act as go-between for [837] lovers. Like the jesters in our Middle Ages, they have the right to go anywhere, including among the women. Everyone finds this natural, for this is a right which is all but acknowledged.

Sometimes they take part in raids, and they are reputed to fight [726] bravely, although no one wants to stay beside them during combat, since they seem to possess talismans so powerful that javelins directed toward them deviate /175/ from their route and are apt to strike those [626] nearby. The Tuareg never kill an Ènad, for this brings misfortune and the Ènad might take revenge from beyond the tomb.

In Sudanese tribes they are called ag'gou (plural, ag'gouten) and 184 sometimes play the part of jesters (griot). Some are musicians and 564 storytellers. This role is not widespread, but it happens that the amènokal of the Tenguéréguif, Chéboun, has several griots attached to his person. They avenge themselves on people who are not [626] generous enough to them by making satirical songs against them to which the Tuareg are often very sensitive.

564 They are willing to do anything to earn a bit of money, which 426 they spend as fast as they get it. A blacksmith always has his debts, 454 but people give him credit for they know that he will be shrewd enough to repay them one day.

564 We must acknowledge that the
[153] Enaden often have very open minds and are gifted with an intelligence higher than the average of the ma-
564 jority of the Tuareg. That is why
644 they have sometimes filled trusted posts with the principal chiefs, who have used them as emissaries or interpreters, indeed even as
[152] counselors.

Thus, at the time of the Hourst mission in 1896, Madidou, amenokal of the Ioullimmiden, officially delegated one of them to Gao to deal with the French officer.

564 The Enaden live either in camp
361 groups or in isolated tents or even individually; they are attached to a chief or a tribe.

Although they are foreign to
564 the Tuareg race, they still enter into the components of the great family of veiled men, for the lives /176/ of the two groups are often intermingled. They speak Tamashek,
[198] more specifically a special dialect, tenet, which they alone understand and which is a bit secret in nature. This dialect is unknown in the Ahaggar.

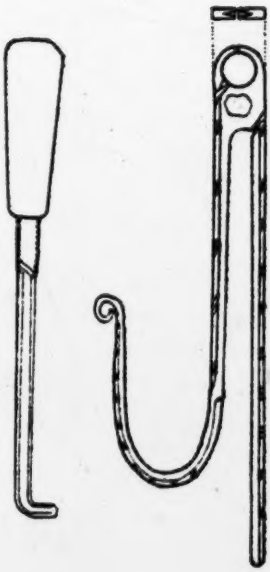


Fig. 17. Forceps for extracting teeth and instrument used for laying bare the roots.

[173] Legend attributes to them a common ancester named Tamamenet, and all of their fractions are supposed to have originated in Adrar des Iforas. Their true origin is as obscure as
[174] can be; we are apt to say that they are descendants of the Jews who formerly lived at the Touat, in the Tamentit oasis, from which they

174 564 were chased by Arab marabouts at the end of the fifteenth century. It is plausible that a number of Jews from Tamentit, particularly those practicing the crafts of jeweler or blacksmith, very respected professions among the Tuareg, found refuge with them. Perhaps the Tuareg received a new artistic influence through them. Their knowledge /177/ of fire [30] [531] and treatment of ores must have permitted the introduction of a larger scale of iron industry among the Tuareg, as well as the use of metal instruments which certainly could not have been very developed before that time; in general, the techniques of the nomadic shepherds was limited to leather and wood. There is no doubt of the artistic relationship between Tamentit jewelry and the Jewish goldsmith's work from North [17] Africa, on the one hand, and the goldsmith's craft now in vogue among the Tuareg, on the other; this can justify the opinion that part of the Enaden are of Israelite origin. But Sudanese elements have also contributed to the physical formation of the group. We must see the peculiar Tuareg art, at the same time heavy in its forms and delicate in detail, through this heteroclite mixture.

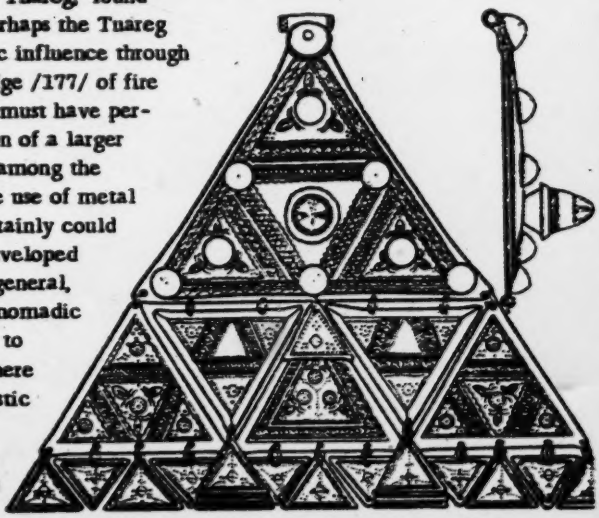


Fig. 18. Silver pendant worn around the neck by Ahaggar women. In the composition are found the triangular motifs common to Kabyle art and to some Berber tribes from Atlas.

564 [527] The Enaden of the Ahaggar are few in number. They include five or six families who recently settled in the country following raids on them by the Ihaggaren. /178/ Most of them are natives of Adrar des Iforas

and were enfeoffed to the Kounta tribe, or Dag-Ech-Cheich. The origin of the oldest known families goes back no more than two generations. They are the Ehellellou, who have left descendants, the Badahol and Mohamed /families/, today extinct, and the Rati w[illegible] descendants are n[illegible] settled among the Taitok. 564

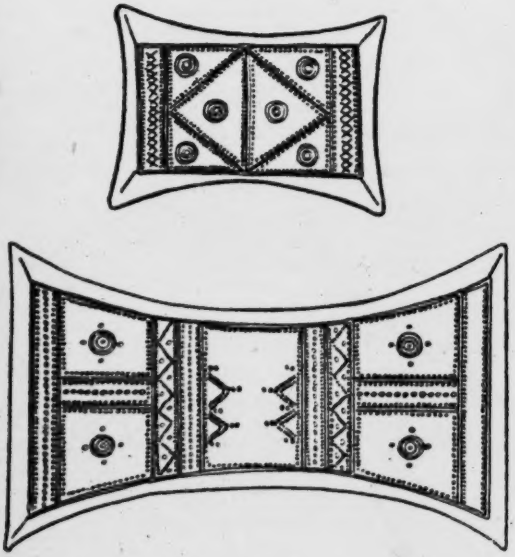


Fig. 19. Silver amulets worn by men on the crests of their hairdo.

At the time of Amenokal Attici (1899) there was a chief of the blacksmiths named Alamine whose role was to oversee and distribute the work and to reduce the newly captured blacksmiths from the Sudan to obedience. He also had judiciary power. 564 326 [301 789 531] [697]

Formerly endogamy was the general rule, but since the occupation it has been violated numerous times, and artisans often take their wives from the Harratin and the Eklan. 564 [582 177]

Their industry is limited to the fabrication of jewels, padlocks, knives, and a few wooden utensils. They are particularly occupied with repairing worn articles.

/179/ In the Sudan the Enaden are much more numerous. That is why industries there are found to be much more developed, even more so since more varied and more abundant raw materials are at their disposal. 564

564 The Enaden do not pay any vassalage dues. Socially, they [651] occupy a place halfway between the Imrad and the Iklan. In certain cases they can even possess captives, and many of them have [567] at their command an affluence unknown among the Imrad, and

[414 531 326]

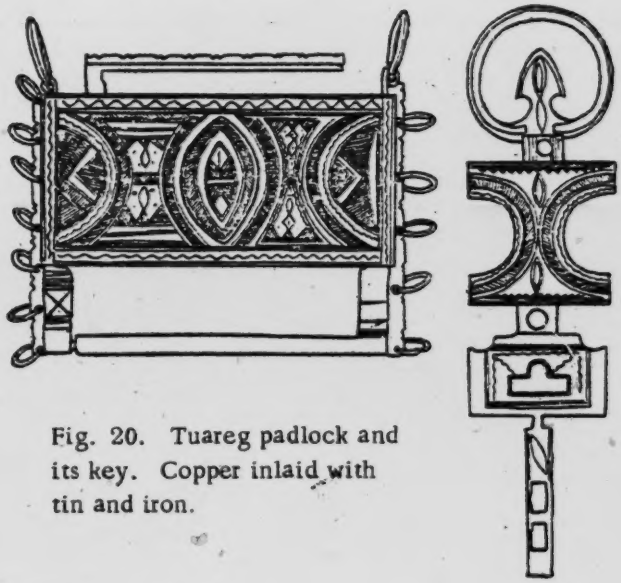


Fig. 20. Tuareg padlock and its key. Copper inlaid with tin and iron.

even among some Imochar.

/180/ Chapter 2

Confederation of the Ahaggar

173 Oral traditions handed down among the northern Tuareg maintain that they originally came from the city of Es-Souq in Ăḍrar des Iforas, known as Tăḍemeka in ancient times, and equidistant from Timbuktu and In-Salah.

173 This tradition is also found among the Ioullimmiden and in all the fractions now camped in the Adrar and on the banks of the Niger, which implies the idea of a common origin in their minds.

Another legend, which originated in Arabic writings, takes the arrival of the Ihaggaren in their present habitat back to the sixteenth century. Formerly they had been settled in the Ajjer and Fezzan.

As we have already related, the Ahaggar nobles claim, on the one hand, to be of sherif origin descended from the Edrissides of Fez. This claim cannot be believed, except with regard to a few families who contracted alliances with marabouts coming to settle among them. In fact, tradition relates that the Arab sherifs came to settle among the Tuareg after Islamization and established great authority over them. Profiting, then, from the anarchy which reigned there, kept up by the constant rivalry between clans, the sherifs seized power and were able to keep it for a long time. These sherifs belonged to the family of Imenan, "sultan," who founded families by marrying high-born Tuareg women, thus forming a new nobility. They kept their authority for a long time, thanks to the support of an important tribe, the Imanrassâten, descended from the eastern Arabs.

The Imanan /sic/ sultans then grouped the Tuareg of the Ahaggar and the Tassili-n-Ajjer under their authority. But the national character, sharpened by the vitality of the old Berber customs, finally revealed itslef among the Tuareg. As a result of extortion on the part of the Imanan, several tribes revolted /181/ in a show of independence, and an Ajjer noble named Biska from the Oûraren fraction killed the Imenan Sultan Goma. This was the beginning of a series of wars between the Oûraren tribe, which made itself the champion of independence, and the Imanan and their Imanrassâten allies, a fight in which the Oûraren, after battles some favorable and some unfavorable, finally triumphed.

As a result of these events, the suzerainty of the Imanan was henceforth destroyed. The successors of Goma, who still bore the title of amenokal, tried in vain to re-establish their authority during interminable strife.

173 Sultan Goma was killed about 1650, and the independence of the Ahaggar tribes dates from that epoch. They profited from this event and from the Ouraren-Imanrassâten struggle to free themselves from the yoke of the Imenân.

The Ahaggar nobles formed only a single tribe in the beginning, the Kel Ehan Mellen tribe divided into fourteen fractions, which, according to pasture needs, split off and detached themselves from the original branch. The Kel Ehan Mellen probably lived in the Tidikelt in primitive times, whence they were chased by the Arab invasion. At the present time all that remains of them are the Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the Kel Ehan Mellen-ouan-Taghert.

At one time, one of these extinct tribes, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, was in power in the Ahaggar, but it gradually became weaker and weaker through misalliances, to the advantage of the present tribes of the Kel Réla, the Tâitok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet, who gradually absorbed the other fractions.

Among the Kel Réla today we find the last elements of the three tribes mentioned who descended from the Kel Ehan-Mellen.

The Kel Réla, Tâitok, and Tégéhé-Mellet each enjoyed the most complete independence. However, through political inheritances, the Kel Réla became the most important and the holders of the tobol.

Later, about 1755, profiting from the weakness of Aménokal Salah (called Mokhamed el Khir), the Tâitok and Tégéhé-Mellet obtained a distribution of the Imrad tribes among the three groups, at the same time still recognizing the authority of the aménokal. But the Tâitok, in spite of these considerable advantages, were dissatisfied and wanted to seize the tobol from the Ihaggaren, which set off a series of internal struggles with their Kel Réla cousins.

175 /182/ When the Ahaggar Tuareg surrendered to France, the
631 Tâitok and the Tégéhé-Mellet were organized as free tobol, and
643 their chiefs bore the title of aménokal, although recognizing at the
648 same time the authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Amâstan, who had just been enthroned by the French. Azioul,

175 the Taïtok chief, and Ser'ir ag Bedda, the chief of the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet, accepted this vassalage without question, but later on they
643 raised endless difficulties. This policy, which had been initiated to
648 reinforce the authority of Moussa ag Amastan, caused us several disappointments. As early as 1910, Captain Niéger, Adjutant Commander of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, interpreted the dissidence of two Imrad tribes, the Ait Loaien and the Kel-i-n-Tounin, as the beginning of serious complications.

We were able to measure his perspicacity during the revolt of 1916-1918, and the misunderstanding between the Kel Réla and Taïtok still persists today. But since the Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet participated in the revolt of 1916-1918 and their chiefs did not live up to the confidence which had been placed in them, they were placed under the direct authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, with the title of amrar.

## Tobol of the Kel Rela

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela is the most important in the Ahaggar,
643 and its chief is at the same time the aménokal of the confederation.

It is formed by a certain number of noble families, several of
565 which have been reduced to one or two tents. They are the Inemba,
631 the Iboglan, the Ikerremlen, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the
643 Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal; all of whom are entitled to the tobol, and the Kembiden, the Oulad el Goute, the Oulad Amechaoui, and the Oulad Ibra, who lost their right to the tobol through misalliances.

173 Legend recounts that the Kel Rela nobles were descended from a woman by the name of Ti-n-Hinan, who came from the Tafilalet with her servant Takamat. Then her people bore the name of Kel Ehan Mellen (meaning "white-tent peoples") as opposed to another tribe, the Issetafenine, "black-tent peoples," who were the ancestors of the Ioullimmiden.

Later the dominant fraction was the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, /183/ which was that fraction of the former Aménokal Sidi, and which was composed of the Kel Rela, the Taïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet.

173 Another fraction, the Ikerromoïen, was formed meanwhile. The ancestor of this tribe, named Akerromoï, was of guérissouten origin from Aïr, and had married a noble Ahaggar woman, daughter of the tobol; their most famous descendant was Aménokal Moussa ag Ámâstan.

As for the Iboglân, their ancestor is a man called Khatita, brother of Sakal, the chief of the Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal. He had married a Kel Réla woman.

The Tégéhé-n-ăgg-Ali gave birth to the Inemba, and their name disappeared with the last men of that old tribe.

According to legends gathered among the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, Ti-n-Hînân had seven daughters, three of whom had children who were the forefathers of the present tribes. The first engendered the Iboglân and the Inemba; the second, the Ikerremoïen and the Kel Ehan Mellen; the third, the Kel Rela, the Tăïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet.

Let us interpret the legend by saying that descendants of the three daughters of Ti-n-Hînân are found in the different tribes mentioned.

173 According to another legend current in the Ahaggar and reported by Mr. Benhazera, (1) Ti-n-Hînân had three female descendants

1. Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 92.

who were the ancestors of the three principal noble families of the Ahaggar; we do not know how many generations separated them. They are:

Tinirt, the antelope, who was the ancestor of the Inemba

Tahenkat, the gazelle, who was the ancestor of the Kel Rela

Tamerouelt, the doe rabbit or female of the hare, who was the ancestor of the Iboglân

The Kel Rela (alteration of the word Kella) owe their right to the tobol to Kella, a descendant of Tahenkat, who was married to Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir.

173 The Kel Rela have accurately kept the memory of the filiation of their amenokal from Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir down to the present amenokal. Formerly, the filiations were established through the women, but aside from a few of them, their names have been forgotten. This very clear demarcation dating from the seventeenth century indicates a profound modification /186/ in the rules of succession and a pronounced weakening of the absolute matriarchal system.

Succeeding Amenokal Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir (ca. 1750) were the following:

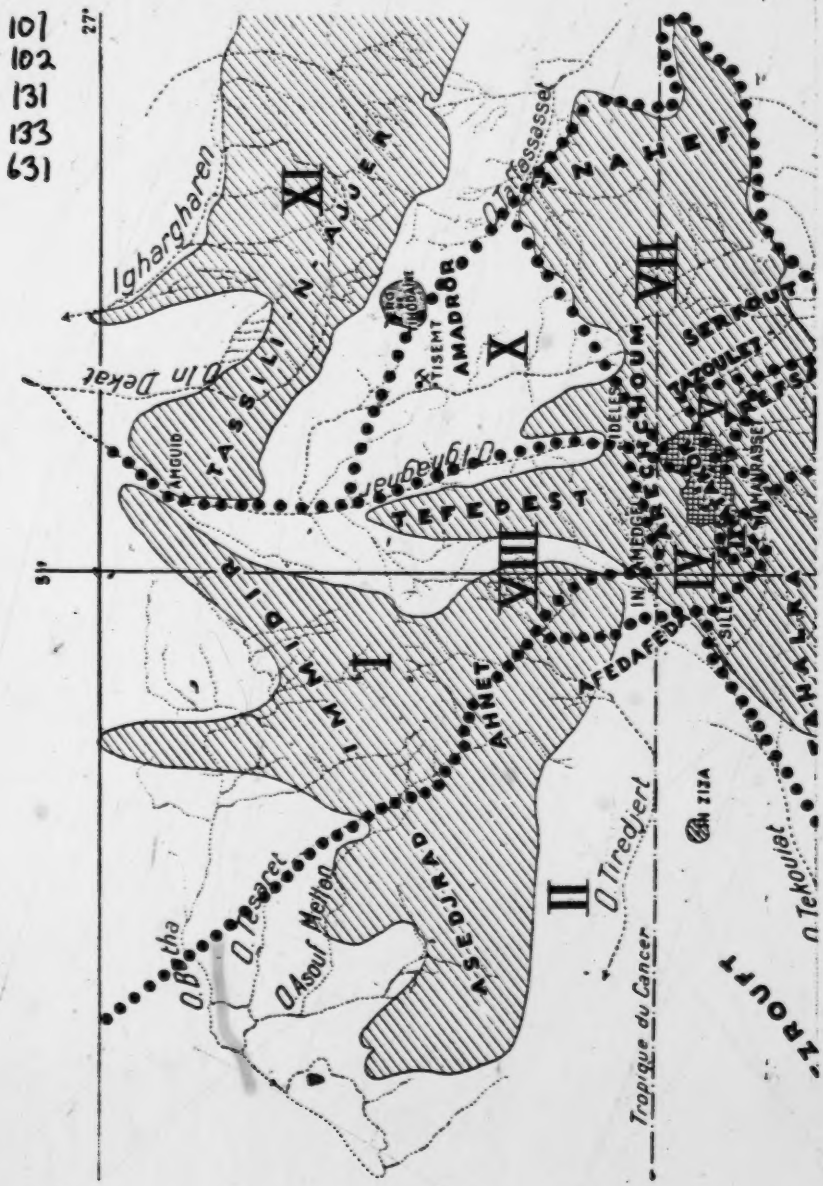
Younès ag Sidi (ca. 1790)
Ag Mama ag Sidi (in 1830)
El Hadj Ahmed ag El Hadj el Bekri (1830-1877)
Aitarel ag Mohamed Biska (1877-1900)
Attici ag Amellal, named at the same time as /the following/
Mohamed ag Ourzig (1900-1905)
Moussa ag Amastan (1905-1920)
Akhamouk ag Yema (1920-1941)
Meslah ag Amyas (1941- )

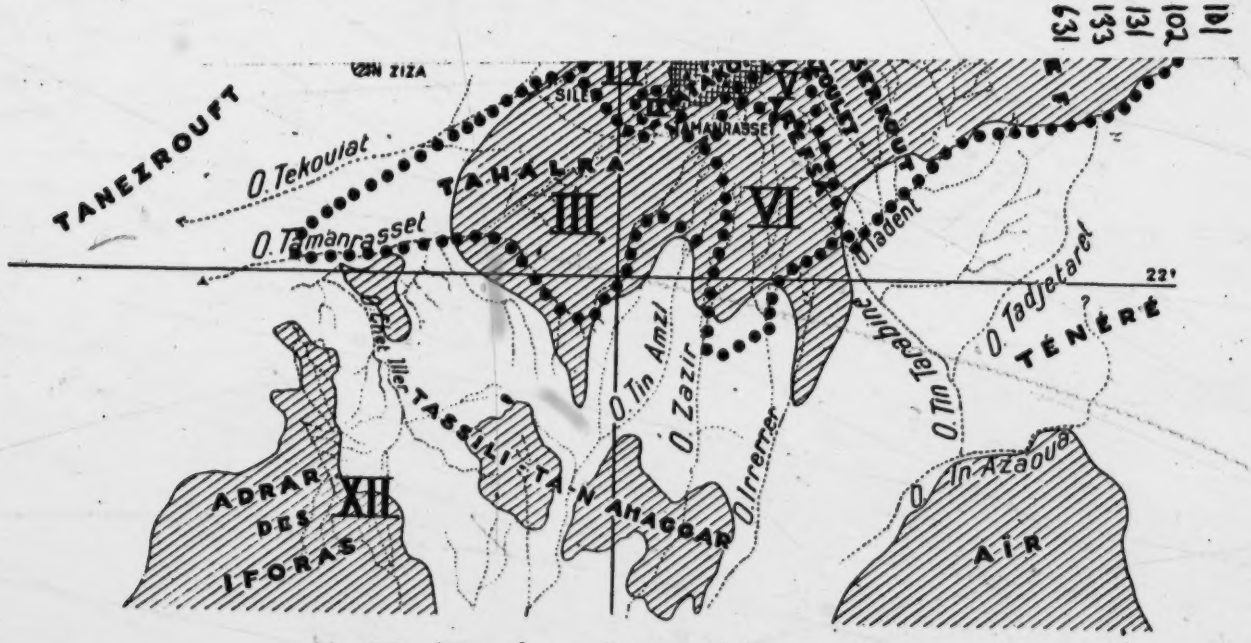
Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir ag Salah married Kella, great-granddaughter of Tahenkat, herself the daughter of Ti-n-Hinan, the ancestor of the Ahaggar Tuareg. He had nine children, six of them girls, who are the ancestors of all the great present-day families from whom the following amenokal were taken. He is the founder of the tribe of the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi.

He died about 1790, after having yielded, or so it seems, to all the demands of the Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet on the subject of the dividing up of the Imrad. He had to carry on a war with the Taïtok, but finally conquered them, and peace was made. His two sons then married two Taïtok women.

Younes ag Sidi succeeded his father. He was the eldest of the children of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir. He married a Taïtok woman by whom he had a son, Amechaoui, who later became amrar of the Taïtok through the blood of his mother.

1: Lhote--41a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25






Map IV. Areas of nomadization of Ahaggar tribes.

I. Issekkemâren.
S. f. Kel In-Rhar'
Kel Amgid
Kel Tâfedest
Kel Immîdir
Ihéiaoueà-Hâda
Isselamaten
Kel I-n-Tounîn
Kel Terourirt

II. Tâitok et Kel Ahnet

III. Ikechchemâden
Iklân-en-Tâoussit
Tégéhé-n-Efis

IV. Dâg-Râli
Ibettenâten
Irréguénaten

V. Kel Tazoûlet

VI. Agouh-en Tehlé

VII. Ait Loajen

VIII. Tégéhé-Mellet

IX. Ikâdeien

X. Zone of salt marshes open to all tribes, but owned by the Aménokal.

XI. Ajjer Tuareg

XII. Zone of exceptional nomadization of the Ibettenâten, Irreguenaten, Ikadeien, and Kel Ahnet.

Scale: 1/5, 000, 000.

173 Ag Mama ag Sidi was the brother of Younès ag Sidi and the second son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir. Like his brother he married a Tăïtok woman, who bore him a son, Mohamed, who also later became amrar of the Tăïtok. Ag Mama reached the age of 100 before he died.

175 El Hadj Ahmed ag el Hadj Bekri was the grandson of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir through the latter's daughter, Zahra, who was married to El Hadj Bekri from the Ifôra tribe. He was the nephew of the preceding aménokal, being the son of his eldest sister. He had to fight against the Tăïtok, because one of them, Mohamed ag Mama, the son of the preceding aménokal, wanted to succeed him.

During his reign a long war broke out with the Ăjjer, when the Ihăggaren wholeheartedly supported the descendants of the Sultan Imânen. He was killed during this fight.

/187/ Aïtarel ag Mohamed Biska was the grandson of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir through his third daughter Ăménéna, married to Mohamed Biska of the Tégéhé-Mellet tribe.

In relation to the preceding aménokal, he was his first cousin, the eldest son of his father's sister. He led a very eventful life. He had to fight the Ăjjer over whom he won a great vitory at Edjmidhan, and he was subjected to Tăïtok attacks. Under his aménokalat the Flatters mission was massacred, and he was largely responsible for it.

He died in 1900, leaving a daughter who married Ămayas ag Khelbi, by whom she had a son, Meslah, now aménokal of the Ahaggar.

Ăttici ag Ămellal was the nephew of the preceding aménokal, as the eldest son of his second sister. He was named at the same time as his cousin Mohamed ag Ourzig, the eldest son of the eldest daughter of Ăïtarel; the tobol ordinarily would have gone to the latter, but he was old and tired and could not assert his rights. This was a long period of anarchy, for which the Imrad had to bear the consequences, and which ended with the French occupation and the nomination of Moussa ag Ămâstan.

175 Moussa ag Ămâstan, Ăttici's cousin and great-grandson of Sidi Mohamed el Kheir by the latter's last daughter, Tar'aoussist, and by his grandmother Tiguent, was born about 1865 of a Kel Rela mother and an Ikerremoïen father. The latter, very acute in nature, had advised against the massacre of the Flatters mission, although it has been asserted that he participated in it.

Moussa was still young when his father died, and his uncle Ămdor brought him up. Ămdor lived with the Ifôra from the Adrar, and it is there that Moussa made the acquaintance of a very famous Kounta marabout, who had established his religious center at Teleya and must have had great influence on Moussa.

Later he always lived north of the Adrar, which permitted him to make raids among the Ioullimmiden, the Ifôra, the Idnân, the Kounta, and the Bérabiches, who finally paid him dues to secure peace. But Moussa ag Ămâstan never raided the poor or the weak, making himself their protector instead.

When the Tăïtok were raided by the Kel Tădelé (from the A'ïr) [578] they accused Moussa of it; the animosity which still prevails between them dates from that day. Since his brother had been killed by the Ioullimmiden, he organized a raid composed of Kel Tădelé, /188/ Tăïtok, and Ifôra. En route, however, the Tăïtok pillaged the herds of the Kel Tădelé. Moussa was deeply angered by this conduct and did not hesitate to attack the Tăïtok to punish them and take back their loot. The Ihăggaren became indignant at this gesture and demanded that Moussa return the raided animals to the Tăïtok. He refused and withdrew to the home of the Ioullimmiden aménokal, Firhoun, where he worked to re-establish peace between his hosts and the Ihăggaren. He did the same with the Kel A'ïr, which made it possible for the Issekkemâren and the Imrad to go to the Sudan on business, and did much to establish his fame.

Leaving the Sudanese camps, he then approached the Ahaggar and followed events closely.

175 It seems that Ăitarel had designated him as his successor, but he refused the job in view of the anarchy which reigned in the Ahaggar and did not oppose Ăttici, who was elected by the party hostile to peace with the French.

Events moved very rapidly; in 1903 he talked with Kaid Bilou of In-Salah, one of our trusted men, about the surrender of the Ihăggaren. Then he went to Ghat to visit the chief of that region, In Gueddassen, in order to invite him to come to In-Salah with him. When In Gueddassen refused, he went directly to In-Salah to discuss the surrender of the Ahaggar people.

The history of his life after that is the history of the French penetration.

Moussa married late and lived until 1910 in concubinage with a captive who bore him a daughter. Then he married the daughter of Ibedi ag Bassi, Tihit, from the Tăitok tribe, who gave him a second daughter. After that he left for France on the invitation of General Laperrine.

The following year, as a reward for services rendered, he was made an officer of the Legion of Honor.

Through his efforts, thus recompensed by the French, Moussa ag Ămăstan saw his people rally completely, but he was not to enjoy his triumph for long. He died rather mysteriously on December 30, 1920.

Sickly by nature -- syphilitic, it is said, and asthmatic -- he was taken one day by sickness which he attributed to the aftereffects of a serious chest wound received at the time of a fall from a horse. He had to take to his bed the sixth day, but he seemed to be getting better when, during the night, he asked to make his prayer. At that time, he was camped /189/ near Tamanrasset and had the resident officer informed. When the latter arrived to visit him, however, Moussa had just died, not without having first advised the chiefs in attendance to always follow the French.

The members of his family were overwhelmed by such a sudden death, and one Ăjjer man who had arrived in camp within the

175 previous ten days, was accused of having poisoned him. He was made to swear on the Koran, but he swore that he had no hand in the death of Moussa and was set free.

A marabout from the zāwiyah /monastery --ed./ of Teleya, Sidi Mohamed ben Badi, a mkaddam delegated by the great religious leader of the Kounta, Bey el Bekkay, was present at the death of [787] Moussa. He claimed to have been sent by Bey, to whom the death of Moussa ag Ǎmastan had been revealed in a dream.

This assertion did much to dissipate the doubt in people's minds, at the same time as it increased the reputation of the marabout from Teleya as a "saint."

A few days later, the djemaa met and named as a replacement [643 648] Akhamouk ag Yema, informing the authorities by the following letter:

30 December 1920

"Glory to the one God.

"On the part of your friend Boukhelil ben Douka to your Lordship the honorable Captain Depommier, head of the dependency of In-Salah and the Ahaggar. May salvation be yours.

"I have the honor to inform you that our father, Moussa ag Ǎmâstan, is dead, may God bless him.

"We, the Kébar Tuareg nobles, have met with the Kébar of the Imrad. Without any exception, we have accepted Ǎkhammouk ag Yéma to replace Moussa. Be well assured that while Moussa was alive, we entrusted to him all the affairs with which he was charged in dealing with the French military authority.

[648] "I would have you know that today we shall make all possible efforts to serve the French government in good faith as before, and even better, and we shall do in good part all that we can do."

Ǎkhamouk ag Yema was the first cousin of Moussa ag Ǎmâstan, the eldest son of the latter's maternal aunt. Through his mother he descended from the Inemba. He was a childhood companion of /190/ Moussa, undergoing his cousin's influence and following him

175 in everything. Much less intelligent than Moussa, he was none the less a faithful chief who knew how to make himself respected.

He married twice and had seven children.

175 Meslah ag Ǎmayas is a second cousin of Ǎkhamouk. He is a
643 grandson of the former Aménokal Ǎ'ltarel and a second cousin of Mohamed ag Ourzig and Ǎttici ag Ǎmellal. The tobol thus came down in the branch of Ǎmennaï, the third son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, for want of male descendants in the branch of Héguier. This follows the rules of matriarchal succession.

Although Moussa ag Ǎmâstan's sister, Rakhma, who married Ǎnaba ag Ǎmellal, brother of Aménokal Ǎttici, left a son named Louki, he was bypassed by the Imochar as weak-minded.

651 The aménokal levies the tioussé on the Imrad and assimilated
[643] vassals. Some of them also pay dues /Fr. droits de redevance/ to the descendants of the old noble families. Thus the Dǎg Ra'li pay an annual due to the Inemba Kel Tǎhat, and the A'lt Loa'len to the Inemba Kel Emori. The latter levy four percent of the loads of grain brought back from the Sudan by the A'lt Loa'len.

[178 But these duties levied are tending to disappear gradually with
161] the extinction of the old Ahaggar families, some of which are no longer represented by more than a few individuals.

631 The Kel Rela tribe has been gathering strength in a singular way
644 for a century. It is all powerful by the number of its representatives, and matriarchy has only accentuated this situation. Indeed, since
[643] only Kel Rela women are capable of giving birth to an aménokal, young men from other noble tribes seek alliances with them, abandoning the women of their own tribe. This new blood has given
[582] the Kel Rela a certain physical vigor by preventing them from becoming impoverished through too close and too repeated inbred alliances.

631 643 578 For more than a century the life of the Kel Rela has consisted of a constant struggle against the Taïtok. The latter, belligerent and jealous, dreamed only of seizing the aménokalat of the Ahaggar, and the history of the Tuareg of this country is nothing but a long succession of wars where the two fractions were alternately /191/ successful, but where the Kel Rela always kept the advantage thanks to their numerical superiority. The account of these events may be found in the book of Mr. Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 99 ff.

[162] In the 1838 census the Kel Rela included 312 persons, 38 of them men. In 1905, according to Benhazéra, they numbered 55 to 60 tents.

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela at the beginning included only two tribes, the Dăg Râli and the Ăgouh-en-Tèhlé, as well as a large part of the Issekkemâren. Since then, other fractions have come to seek their protection or to assimilate themselves. Such is the case of the Aït-Loaïen and the Relaiddîn.

[65] The Imrad call the Kel Rela "the people who cost dearly," thereby making an allusion to the dues which they are obliged to pay them.

The Dăg Rali. -- The Dăg Râli form the principal fraction of the [643] Kel Rela tobol, on whom the aménokal of the Ahaggar has always relied to enforce his rights, and without whom he would be nothing and could do nothing.

With the Kel Ăhnet, they originally formed the Imessîlîten tribe, and they were said to be the descendants of Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, the ancestor of the Kel Rela. They sprang from four sub-fractions: the Ikechchemâden, attached to the Taïtok tobol, the Imessîlîten, the Oulad Ir'dal, the Dăg Mertemek.

At the present time they are subdivided into: 1) Kel Tăhat, 2) Kel Tarahananet, 3) Kel Tamanrasset, 4) Kel Hirhâfok, 5) Kel Ărechchoum. To the Dăg Râli must be added a few individuals, today completely assimilated with them; they are descendants of

631 a very ancient tribe, the Isbeten, who were the autochthons of the Ahaggar and whom the Dăg Rali would have found in Ătakor when they came to settle there.

After the battle at Tit where they lost more than 100 fighters, the Dăg Râli still numbered 60 warriors. The 1938 census gives 1, 090 [161] persons, 334 of them men, including the Iklan. This increase is quite [177] rare among the Tuareg and reflects their wealth and the improvement [511] of their living conditions since the French occupation.

They nomadize in the western part of the Koudia, which is their absolute fief where no other fraction is admitted.

/192/ On the east, the boundaries of the lands over which they range are fixed by the right bank of the Tamanrasset wadi and the Interkadène wadi as far as Ideles; on the south by the southern zone of the Tahalra as far as Tin Dahar; on the west by In Eker; and on the north by the line from In Eker to Hirhafok to Ideles.

631 The Dăg Râli pay a tribute of ten bags of dates or sorghum to the 651 amenokal; in addition, each family which sends a caravan to the Sudan pays him a small bag of sorghum. If the pastures are good, they add several "botta" of melted butter and the milk of twenty ewes. In the case of a successful raid, they pay the nobles half of the ewes.

631 The Dăg Râli are now the richest people in the Ahaggar. They 233 own more than 1, 200 goats and more than 1, 000 camels. Thanks to 556 their beasts of burden, they can take many very remunerative caravans 439 to the Sudan and to the Tidikelt. They hold in common escheated flocks which are called Edjeré-n-boutelma. When the pastures are insufficient to feed all their livestock, they entrust their camels to the Irréguénaten who graze them on the Saharo-Sudanese border.

631 Since they are very open-minded, they were in favor of cultivation 241 in the centers of the Ahaggar, and at the present time they possess 423 lands at Ilâman, Tarahananet, Tamanrasset, Abălessa, Iglen, Tăfârit, I-n-Ămegel, and Silet, which Negroes cultivate for them. The aménokal has granted them a certain number of palm trees in the Silet oasis which formerly belonged to the Tăitok.

Plate IX

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Young Tuareg woman of noble class brushing her teeth with an irak stem. Notice behind her the mat called asaber used to surround the tent.

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Young Tuareg couple seated in the shelter of the asaber. Behind them is a household servant, a taklit of Sudanese origin.

Plate X

342

Tent belonging to the amenokal of the Kel Ahaggar. It has eight poles inside, and the awning is made of 60 skins sewn together. The separate poles in the foreground are used to hold up the asaber in the evening.

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The tent is always set up by the women, mainly by servants. They make holes in the ground to put the pole in, then pile sand around it. When the pole is in place, the skin is attached by a thong.

631 781 [794] The Dăg Râli are the most pious people in the Ahaggar. The majority of them are affiliated with the order of the Tijanyyah, although some of them adhere to the Sanusiyyah and the order of the Qādiriyyah; these affiliations seem to be purely formal, however, for, with a few exceptions, they do not follow the rites of these religious orders.

797 The activity of Father de Foucauld was particularly effective in this tribe. Because of his installation at Tamanrasset and later at his hermitage at Ăsekrem, Father de Foucauld was in constant contact with the Dăg Râli. At first they were mistrustful of him, but they were not long in coming to him, and they were the first beneficiaries of his good deeds, for the Father went to them, caring for the sick and rendering them many services.

[622] Their chief, Ouksem ag Ourar, was a short, stocky man of average intelligence, but very crafty, especially when it was a question of material interest for him or even that of his people. /193/ He saw the benefit that he could draw from this getting together. Little by little the priest did his best to conquer him and win his affection, and he supported his interests with the authorities of Fort Motylinski. Thus, a few months later, Ouksem was completely won over.

[648] Ouksem gained a certain importance with the authorities, which made him proud and which he knew he owed to Father de Foucauld.

622 631 797 Later on he was a good help in the pacification of the Ahaggar. During the dissidence of 1915, he showed himself very eager to please us, which made Father de Foucauld write to General Laperrine: "Ouksem, chief of the Dăg Râli, could not be better; he does not [648] cease to make progress. It is evident that he is bent not only on being faithful, but on showing his fidelity in a dazzling way by his attitude." He did nothing without asking the Father's advice, and he followed this advice by creating a garden at the Ilâman wadi in [777] order to use the waters which descended from the mountain. This garden was established, and to flatter this meritorious effort which was an example, Ouksem received the Medal of Agricultural Merit, a unique feat in the annals of the Tuareg even up to the present

622 631 717 time. Unfortunately the garden was abandoned after Father de Foucauld was gone.

Although it is difficult to imagine, Father de Foucauld had even thought of Ouksem ag Ourar as a possible aménokal, against all Tuareg social rules.

But what remains of all that? The dead are quickly forgotten among the Tuareg, and although Ouksem may recall from time to time that the marabout was his good friend, it is to be presumed that he, no more than his Dăg Râli, understood the devotion and the affection which was to cost the life of the hermit in the Sahara.

631 The Ikechchemâden, whom we have mentioned previously, have always lived near the Dăg Râli, with whom they used to form only a single tribe. Upon the distribution of the Imrad, they became the vassals of the Tăîtok, but they remained with the Dăg Râli and contracted numerous unions with them so that it is difficult to tell them apart. And so, in 1907, they asked to be attached to the tobol of the Kel Rela.

173 631 The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. -- The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé form the most important Imrad tribe in the Ahaggar after the Dăg Râli. They are said to have formerly nomadized in the neighborhood of In /194/ Gall in A'ir and have emigrated into the Ahaggar because of the demands of the Sultan of Agadez on whom they originally depended. The latter had polygamous mores and each year demanded of them a young and pretty virgin. Tired of this custom, which was contrary to Tuareg mores, they left the country and came to place themselves under the protection of the aménokal of the Kel Rela, Younès, the son (?) of Kella (ca. 1700). (The version reported by Mr. Benhazéra says "son of Mohamed el Kheir.")

Before coming to seek protection from the Ihăggaren, they belonged to the tribe of the Tégéhé-n-Élimen, a name by which they are still called sometimes. One fraction of this tribe remained in A'ir and bears the name of Ir'Alaman or Kel Rapsa. They were the ones chiefly responsible for founding the Ghat oasis.

173 Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé means "reed people." Legend has it that they
631 were forced to eat the roots of that plant during their flight from the Aïr. Their chief was then a man of Herculean size named Assékal ag Louka; the legend says that his feet were so big that when his pursuers saw the footprints, they preferred to abandon the chase.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé claim to be originally from Mecca where their remote ancestor received a camel from the Prophet. He was supposed to drink only the milk of the camel, but he committed the sin of killing it. Therefore, they had to flee, and after long years of wandering, they settled in Aïr.

At the time when the Imrad were divided up (1750), they were part of the Issandaten. The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé went to the Kel Rela, and the other fraction, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, went to the Tăîtok.

631 The land over which they range borders on that of the Dăg Râli. It goes from Tamanrasset to Ourchi wadi, then from the Koudia as far as Afrahouhine and Tamaghine.

[651] They pay a tribute to the aménokal, the same size as that of the Dăg Râli, but they do not share captured goats and sheep with him.

They are currently allied with the Dăg Râli and the Relaiddîn.

They took sides against us in the battle of Tit where they had
[648 about ten men killed. During the insurrection of 1916-1918, they rose up, and their women even seized thirty mehari /dromedaries/
669] belonging to the meharist company at Fort Motylinski. On the other hand, they did not take part in the revolt directly and were the first to ask for mercy.

[161] /195/ Totaling 60 men in 1905, the tribe numbers about 150 persons at the present time.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé own nearly a thousand camels, which they
[233] graze on the Saharo-Sudanese borders, and 1,200 to 1,400 goats.
[651] Every year they pay a tribute to the amenokal of 12 bags of dates, 6 pots of butter, and the usufruct of 10 goats. Most of the cultivated
[423] land and the foggara of Tarhaouaout and Tahifet belongs to them,
[241] and they have gardens at Ămsel, Tamanrasset, and Talan-Tédit.

631 427 [175] The founding of Tamanrasset is attributed to them; it is said to be the work of the chief of the Issenda (Issendaten) fraction, Ilachen by name. This creation goes back some sixty years, but the irrigable lands were the property of the Ajjer. In the last few years, the Imanrassatên, who were the true proprietors of the cultivable lands at Tamanrasset, came several times to claim the rental price which was one ass or a sheep per year according to the place. But this claim was only payable if the owners presented themselves; the year not claimed was gained by the renter.

[651] They often found themselves in conflict with the aménokal, because they made difficulties in paying the tiousée.

631 They are subdivided into Kel Aguelella or Kel Tarhaouhaout, into Kel Rapsa or Kel Ezarounfat, and into Issendaten or Kel Tahîfet.

631 173 [192] The Aït Loaien. -- The Aït Loaien get their name from the verb élouai, which means "to attach camels in Indian file." (1)

1. According to Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, p. 148.

Through their ancestor Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, they are said to be of the same origin as the Dăg Râli and the Kel Ăhnet. At the time of the division of the Imrad, it is said they were bestowed half upon the Inemba and half upon the Tégéhé Mellet. They are subdivided into Irayen (today extinct), Kel Torha or Dăg Houa, and Aït Loaien proper.

631 [651] The Aït Loaien pay the tioussé to the family of the Téjéhé-n-ăgg-Ali, also called Kel Ahamellen (Kel Rela), and the Dăg Houa group pays it to the Tégéhé Mellet.

[578] Formerly allied to the Imekkérressen of the Ajjer group by numerous marriages, they separated from them following disputes and the murder of one of them, the Tuareg Reskou /196/ ag Yahia, famous in all the Ahaggar. Since then, the Imekkérressen have settled in the Ajjer.

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Ẋrokam, Serouanout, and in the Ẋnahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[233] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are [241 423] their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

631 669 They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the Iheaouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up [797] the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 The Aït Loaien form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which [181] must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[651] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokal.

The Relaiddin. -- The Relaiddin probably came from Aïr, like the Ẋgouh-en-Tehlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162 651] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tioussé to the Iboglin.

This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 [177 233] camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1,500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

631 /197/ They do own a few gardens at Tazerouk, Ti-n-Tarabine, Attoklane, and Sersouf, but all lie fallow.

[669] During the revolt, they left the Agouh-en-Tehlé in dissent, but they soon surrendered, for their position between the Ahaggar and the Ajjer always put them at the mercy of raids by the latter.

[651] The Relaiddin pay an annual tribute of two loads of grain, a pot of butter, and a goat to the amenokal.

[162] To the Relaiddin must be added a small fraction on its way toward disappearing; they are the Kel Bardjen, of undetermined origin.

[674] Numbering some ten warriors, they are recognized as inveterate robbers, always encroaching on the nomadic territories of others.

[423] Bardjen is located between Tazerouk, Imerera, and Ideles. The territory of the Kel Bardjen was probably marked off about 1750 and

[212] defined by monoliths, some of which bear tifinagh characters.

The Ibettenaten. -- The Ibettenaten are not "Imrad," properly speaking. According to Benhazera, this tribe was formerly noble. They were probably subjugated by the Kel Rela following the murder of an Amacher /singular of Imochar, the aristocratic class. Ed./ committed by one of them. Since then, they pay the tioussé to the

[651] aménokal.

The Ibettenaten probably descended from Kel Afella Ifora on the maternal side and from Tidikelt Arabs on the paternal side.

631 About thirty tents are nomads in the Sudan near Bou Djbiha, but they go up as far as Taoudart and In Ouzal in the Adrar des Iforas,

162 following the pasture grounds. Fifteen other tents enfeoffed to the Kel Fadel camp in Air.

They number 160 persons, 62 of them men, in the 1938 census.

631 They are entirely herders, making very few caravans and owning

233 no cultivated lands. They have very fine pasture grounds at their disposal. They own about 800 camels, 1,000 sheep, and (a rare thing, but quite in keeping with their area of nomadization) nearly 100 cows.

631 They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since
[669] they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaïa.

565 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tâousit, still called
644 Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they
631 made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be
[184] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion
[241] to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and
[162] they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[231] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tâhalra, and in the region of Silet-Âbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers
[241] of Tîgeneouin, Âbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm
423 grove at Tibeghîn, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is
563 synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and
631 Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hâda
Kel In Rhar'
Kel Tâfedest
Kel Immîdir
Kel Tâzoûlet
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Téroûrirt
Kel Ouhet

563 They are not vassals like the Irréguénaten and the Ibettenâten,
631 but are incorporated.

563 According to a tradition reported by Dr. Richer, (1) the
173

1. Les Oulliminden, p. 71.

Issekkemâren are the descendants of the family of the Sagmara, pointed out in the Ádrar des Iforas and in the region of Gao by El Bekri. They were driven back by the Sonrhai invasion and came to take refuge among the northern Tuareg while a small fraction remained in the south in the environs /199/ of Timbuktu and today has a marabout character.

Although they are more Islamized than the other tribes, they are
[799] nonetheless Tuaregized in the sense that they follow Tuareg customs
197 and speak Tamashek. Many of them speak Arabic fluently, either
[648] because of their origin or because of their constant relations with the Tidikelt.

173 At the time of the division of the Imrad, some tribes were be-
563 stowed upon the Kel Rela, others on the Tâitok and the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet. The tribes attached to the Kel Rela are the Ihéiaouen Hâda, the Kel Immidir, the Kel Tâzoûlet, the Kel Tâfedest, and the Kel In Rhar'.

563 They are all great caravaneers who trade a great deal on the
439 Tidikelt markets. They own a large number of camels and their
484 camel raising is particularly renowned.
233

The Iheiaouen Hada. -- The Iheiaouen Hada, also called Oulad
563 Elias or Ihéiaouen-n-Temounent, are said to be descended from an
[173] Arab woman who was seized at Touat. The word Iheiaouen means in Tamashek "the grandsons of . . . ," so that we must conclude that the people of this tribe are the descendants of a woman named Ada.

They nomadize in the Tâfedest massif near Ádenek, Abezou, In Takoufi, Eguelougal, and Tidessi. During dry periods they lead
[221] their camels to the Saharo-Sudanese borders in the neighborhood of the Tamaïa well.

963 [162] They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elias, Oulad Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

[233] They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout, [423 241] which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and manpower. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the [795 788] sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

[669] In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Tăfedest.

/200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by [173] Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

[162] Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Tăfedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

[233] Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head. [241 423] They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them entirely, and at I-n-Ămegal, Déhine, and Ăbézou.

[795] Like the Ihéiaouen Hăda, they are mostly affiliated with the Tijaniyyah sect.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us, which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

[224] They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

[651] The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the aménokal six bags of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Tăfedest. -- The Kel Tăfedest or Kel Tégatoufé (or ant [162] people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

563 They nomadize near the Garet ed Djenoun, the Ăseksem, Ămegid, and the Ădrar Torha; they own about 300 goats and 30 [233] camels. (1938 census, as opposed to 600 goats and 200 camels in 1905.)

[241 423] They are the owners of a few gardens in the Tăfedest.

[795] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah order.

[651] The Kel Tăfedest annually pay the amenokal four loads of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Immîdir. -- The Kel Immîdir, or Kel Mouydir, are still called Ihéiaouen-n-Tin-Emma. They are of the same origin as the Ihéiaouen Hâda and the Kel Tazoulé.

[162] They are subdivided into Kel Terahart and Kel Raris and include about 50 people. They nomadize in the Immîdir massif toward Joraf and Tagmout and have areas for nomadization between Ifetessen and In Eker.

[233 464] They are poor people who own about 20 camels and 250 goats. Very good merchants and excellent caravaneers, they hire themselves out to camel owners to provide for their needs.

/201/ The Isselamaten must be added to the Kel Immidir. They [162] are a small fraction of about 15 tents which lives with them and nomadize near Aneserfa, Ărak, Ahohor, Tagemout, and Tiredjert.

The Kel Tazoûlet. -- The Kel Tazoûlet or Dăg el Mesk camp in [162 233] the Tăzoûlet region and near Tăzerouk. They number about 225 people and own 285 camels and more than 2, 000 goats. They dryness [132] of the region which they inhabit forces them to take refuge in the Sudan when there are no rains in the Ahaggar.

[241 423] They possess gardens at Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine, and at Tăzerouk.

[669] They were in contact with the Aït Loaien and followed the latter in revolt, participating with them in the battles of Tit and the Ilaman wadi.

[795 788] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah. Four or five of their number have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

563 [651] Every year they pay the aménokal three loads of dates and three young goats.

[554] The Irréguénaten. -- The Irréguénaten, like the Issekkemâren, are assimilated vassals of a social rank superior to that of the Imrad.

They are of Tuareg mothers from the Ibettenâten tribe and Arab fathers from the Kounta tribe.

They are divided into two groups: 1) the Adrar Irréguénaten or Issettafénine Irréguénaten, who descended from a sherif of Gourara named Abdelmoumen, whose two sons Mouima and Inchelane married Ibettenâten women; 2) the Ahaggar Irréguénaten or Ihaggarénine Irréguénaten, who descended from the Dermachaka, an incorporated tribe of Kounta and Ibettenâten.

All of them nomadize in the northern Ăadrar des Ifôras and the Timétrine and even push as far as Erg Chech. They also visit the Ăhnet and Tamasna.

[233] This is a very rich tribe engaged in raising camels. The Irréguénaten own more than 2, 300 camels, 350 cows, and more than 2, 350 goats and sheep.

[162] In 1908 they numbered 50 to 60 men, according to Benhazéra. The 1938 census raises the figure to 358 persons, 100 of them fighters.

[651] /202/ They pay the tioussé to the descendants of the Inemba and to the descendants of Si Mohamed ag Othman.

[669] Although they associated with the Adrar Kounta, they maintained relations with the rebellious marabout Abidine, who took refuge among the Kel Ahnet. They probably even served him as spies, and the people of Ăadrar des Ifôras held them in suspicion for a long time.

[281] 462 Their camel raising is very well known, and their wives are quite expert in leatherwork.

[602] There are also Irréguénaten in the Niger loop, but they have no bonds of kinship with the Ahaggar Irréguénaten.

## Tobol of the Taïtok

631 The Taïtok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with
565 the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin,
[602] Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Taïtok.

According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin
[173] as the Imenan sultans, that is, descendants of Idris, and the other part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Aïr where the stock /souche/ still exists. (1)

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 322.

114 The Taïtok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Inifel in
631 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity
565 with the Ihaggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live; our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the Ajjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of

2. Les Touareg de l'Ouest
/The Western Tuareg/, p. 18
(Algiers, 1888).

any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without
579 balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela
631 and the suzerainty of the amenokal of the Ahaggar. After the
643 division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the amenokalat,
[181] which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These
175 battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/ by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Taïtok are bound by numerous marriages and are all more or less cousins.

175 The dissensions began with respect to the Imrad tribes depend-
579 ing on the Kel Rela; they were shamelessly stolen by the Tăitok,
631 necessitating the intervention of the suzerains. The Tăitok, fewer
643 in number than the Kel Rela, got the worst of it most of the time, but that never prevented them from beginning again a short time later.

This was still the state of affairs at the end of the last century when Amĕnokal Ăttarel, a very peace-loving man, succeeded in bringing about a cessation of hostilities between the two rival tribes.

The chief of the Tăitok at that time, Sidi ag Kĕradji, was the nephew of Ăttarel through his father; consequently, he was a Kel Rela, while he held the right to the Tăitok tobol from his mother. Ăttarel, as his uncle, strove to protect him from the Kel Rela as well as from some Tăitok elements whom this truce did not suit.

Sidi, feeling the situation escape him, renounced his tobol, believing that by so doing he was ensuring the safety of his wealth and his person in case hostilities broke out again. He took refuge in the Ahaggar with the Kel Rela.

But upon the death of Ăttarel, rivalry reawakened, and the Kel Rela begged Sidi to leave their camps. Where could he go when the Tăitok had only enemies?

Anarchy reigned everywhere, and the Kel I-n-Toûnîn, Imrad of the Tăitok, took advantage of this to emancipate themselves. They appealed to the Oûraren, a noble Ăjjer tribe. Sidi resolved to settle among them, when Aziouel, a pretender to the tobol, was trying to seize it.

[81] Aziouel was the typical Tăitok, the typical desert looter, with cruel and unrestrained instincts. Captain Métois, former chief of the Annex of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, called him a "man of fine saber blows and abusive language, and in addition, a liar, thief, and traitor." He negotiated the surrender of the Tăitok, while Sidi ag
643 Kĕradji was kept as amĕnokal.
175 Aziouel was guided by his taste for robbery to lead an enormous
631 raid in the Hodh in 1905, but he had a run of bad luck. Pushed
[82]

175 back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of
631 the men, including Azioueł, died of thirst in the desert.
643 /204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

579 At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the
631 suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and
[648] more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

[511] Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of
631 their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the
651 nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ădrar des Iforas, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis and Isoknâten of the Aïr.

[162 Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400
233] camels and about 1,000 goats.

During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at
175 first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave
631 us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his
648 Imrad Kel I-n-Tounin. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops. He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of
[423] Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastân.

631 The amrar of the Ťaitok is named according to matriarchal rules, and his election must be approved by the chiefs of the Imrad tribes. However, it must be pointed out that since Amrar Salah the chiefs have succeeded from father to son upon several occasions.

101 The Ťaitok sometimes give the name Ar'rerf Ǎhnet to /205/ their group, from the name of the region where they range most of the time and also from their Imrad. (1)

1. "Ar'rerf" corresponds here to "tobol." According to Nicolas, op. cit., "Agref," following his orthography, means small fraction.

631 565 [582] The Ťaitok live on very good terms with their vassals, and the vassals, proud of being called Ťaitok, espouse all the rivalries of their lords. Marriages between different castes are not uncommon, and many nobles have married Imrad women, which causes their children to lose political rights to the tobol. But the greater and greater extension of this custom will necessarily bring about modifications in the customary law of filiation, or else patriarchy will finally replace matriarchy.

[651] The Imrad pay a lump tioussé which is divided among the different Imochar. There is no longer any individual right /droit/ like that still found among the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

631 648 [101] Thieves to end all thieves, the Ťaitok have still been able to keep alliances almost everywhere outside their country in the regions they have to cross to carry out their robberies; these alliances are military or protective. Thus, in order to keep from being robbed, the Sékakna and the Mazil, Arab tribes from the environs of Ǎkabli who sometimes nomadized in the Ǎdrar Ǎhnet, paid them a slight due. They were allied with the Fergoumoussen, an Imochar tribe from the Adrǎr, with the Tarat Mellet, the Kel Boujbiha, the Kel Arouan, the Tadjakant, the Arib, and the Kel Taoudeni. These

631 alliances give a glimpse of the scope of the Tăitok raids.
[648] The tobol of the Tăitok includes the Irechchoûmen, a little noble tribe which lost its rights to the tobol as a consequence of misalliances, the Kel Ăhnet, the Tégéhé-n-Efis, the Kel I-n-Toûnin, the Iouarouaren, the Ikouttissen, and the Ikechchemâden.

The Irechchoûmen. -- The Irechchoûmen, also called Iradjenaten (mixed blood), usually camp in the Ăhnet, going as high as Aoulef. The head of the family was Ibédi ag Bassi, who married a daughter of the Oulad Zenan (Aoulef Arabs) and had for sons-in-law Aziouel and Tacha ag Serada of the Tăitok, both dead as a result of raids. (2)

2. Aziouel's widow married Moussa ag Amastân, aménokal of the Ahaggar, in 1910.

[582] They are allies of the Tăitok through numerous marriages, and also of the Imrad Kel Ăhnet. They also marry with /206/ Arab
[643] women from the Touat, and these multiple misalliances have made them lose their right to the tobol.

[173] According to a tradition reported by Duveyrier, the Irechchoûmen originally came from Es Souq. Part of the tribe descends from the Edrissians, and others have the Ikadeien for their ancestors.

[162] They include only about ten tents, or 60 persons, at the present time.

The Kel Ăhnet. -- The Kel Ăhnet are of the same origin as the
[173] Dag Râli with whom they formerly made up the Imessiliten fraction. This schism occurred under the aménokalat of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, at the time of the distribution of the Imrad among the different noble tribes, and the Kel Ăhnet were bestowed upon the Tăitok.

They were among the first to come and surrender, and their chief, Badjeloud ag Maklia, came to In-Salah as early as 1902.

631 Taken away from the Tăitok and made free, they were put back under their command in 1909.

631 131 They nomadize from Silet to Reggan and Aoulef. The land over which they range includes all of the Ădrar Ăhnet, the Ăseg'rad, and part of the Immidir. The boundaries which separate them from the Issekkemaren are as follows: Tin Tir'atimine and Tagemout (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the northeast; Arak wadi as far as Amsir, and Méniet (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the east, by the In Rabir well; they have at their disposal all the mountainous part on the south, including In Ziza and Nahalet, that is, the whole region bordering on the Tanezrouft and bounded on the east by Ouallen, the last watering place before the Tanezrouft; to the north by the Ăsouf Mellen wadi.

[132] In dry years they descend to the Sudan in the region of In Abangarit-In Gall and Tamaïa. They camp near the Tăitok in the Ădrar Tazerzaït, where they escape the control of the Algerian and Sudanese authorities.

They formerly exploited a sebkha in the In Méraguen wadi.

631 [162] In 1905 they were a group of 35 to 40 tents. In the 1938 census, they numbered no more than 58 persons, 21 of them men.

[181 721] Rather pugnacious by nature, they always accompany the Tăitok on their expeditions and share the loot with them in equal parts.

[669] During the World War, they stayed in the Ăhnet and /207/ took part in the revolt only individually by supplying the rebels, willingly or by force. Only at the end of 1917, under the influence of Ăjjer elements, did they rise up and pillage in Ădrar and at Ăkabli.

[181 795] They are rather unreligious; they follow the Malekite rite, and some are members of the Tijaniyyah order. They profess great respect for the marabouts and willingly receive them in their camps. At the beginning of the conflict the agitator Abidine of [669] the Timbuktu Kounta, took refuge among them; he had led the struggle against us in Timbuktu for a long time.

173 Let us add that the Kel Ăhnet claim to be of Beraber origin
631 through Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hînân. But the Tăitok say that it is not known where they come from, except that they must have inhabited the Ahaggar long before the arrival of Ti-n-Hînân.

631 The Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis. -- The Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis are of the same origin as the Tégéhé-n-Eîmen.

They used to nomadize in Aïr and had to leave that country as a result of the murder of the sultan who wanted to force them to pay too heavy a tax. Efis was their chief, and it is he who decided to leave. The descendants of these families thenceforth bore his name.

They formed only a single tribe with the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. When Mohamed el Kheir was aménokal, the Tégéhé-n-Eîmen came to ask protection from the Ihăggaren -- some say this was under Mohamed el Kheir's grandson, Younès.

During the war which put the Kel Rela and the Tăitok in conflict, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis took refuge on the Aïr borders. Afterwards, they returned for the most part, but some ten tents remained in the Sudan.

[162] In 1905, they numbered about 30 tents; in the 1938 census there were 164 persons, 51 of them men. They own 80 camels, and 250
[233] goats. They are the proprietors of cultivated lands at Tîgenouin,
[241] Amsel, Ăbalessa, and Tahart. They also see to the cultivation of
423] gardens at Tamanrasset, which have belonged to the Imekkeresen (an Imrad tribe of the Ajjer Tassili) for a long time. By rights they should pay the latter a due, but it is never asked for.

They nomadize in the Tahalra (southwest of Koudia) and migrate on the parallel Amsel, Tîgeneouin, Tâmaïa. The line of demarcation separating their area from /208/ that of the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé is formed by the Tamanrasset wadi.

They were bestowed upon the Tăitok at the time of the distribution of the Imrad, and they have followed their suzerains in all their affairs.

The Kel I-n-Toûnîn. -- The Kel I-n-Toûnîn are Issekkemâren.
[173] They were given to the Tăitok under Sidi's aménokalat (1755) when the Kel Rela tobol was split up, while the Kel Ouhet and the Kel Téroûrirt were given to the Tégéhé Mellet.

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Plate XI

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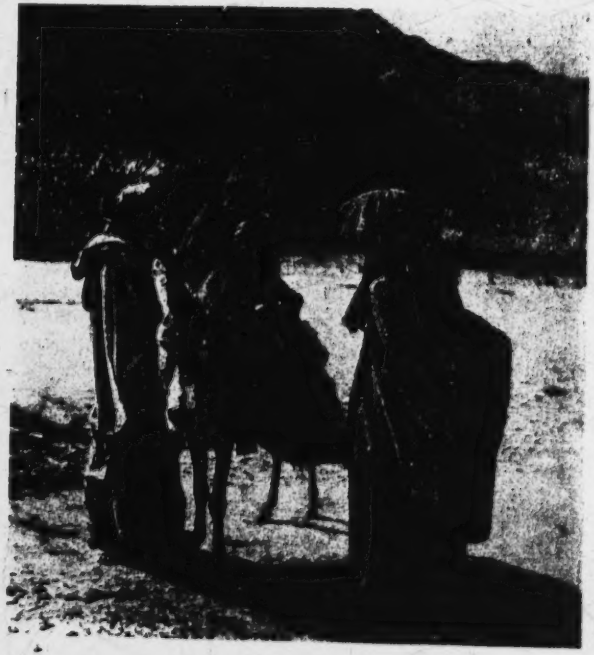
The inside of a tent. The baggage is hung from the tent poles. Very young children play on the ground, where a thick layer of fine sand has been placed.



Kel Ahaggar women, especially the Imrad women, often ride on the backs of asses. One of them has just met two friends, with whom she is exchanging news on the maharists who have gone far away.

Plate XII

Hunting with dogs is common among the Tuareg, who use saluki something like Arabian greyhounds for the purpose. Their eklan /Iklan? Ed./ are often famous hunters. In this photograph we see one of them holding two dogs on a leash and getting ready to go track wild sheep.

Besides hunting with dogs, the Tuareg engage in trapping. Here we see a trap with radial points being set. The lasso is being tied to a big tree branch sunk in the ground and hidden by a layer of sand.

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1: Lhote--66c E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| KEL RELA | or | on the right cheek. on the right front. | KEL IN-TOÛNÎNE | // | on the neck. |
| DÂB RALÎ | | crossing the neck, at the right. | TÂÎTOK | or | at the right front, on the cheek. |
| ÂJOUH-EN-TÊHLÉ | or | on the right front, on the neck, to the right. | KEL ÂHNET | | on the neck, to the right. |
| ÎKLÂN-EN-TÂOUSÎT | | at the top of the right thigh | TÉGÉHÉ-N-ÊFIS | | on the right cheek. |
| KEL TÂZOÛLET | + | on the neck, to the right. | ÎROUÂROUAREN | | on the right cheek. |
| KEL ÎN RHAR' | | on the right thigh. | ÎKOUTTÎSEN | or | on the neck. |
| RELAÎDÎN | IV | on the neck. | TÉGÉHÉ MELLET | | on the right cheek. |
| ÎHEAOUEN HADA | +I | on the right thigh. | ÎRECHCHOÛMEN | | |
| KEL ÎMMÎDIR | + | on the right thigh. | KEL OHET | | on the right thigh. |
| KEL TÂFEDEST | — | on the right thigh. | ÎKERREMOÎEN | | |
| KEL AMGUID | λ | on the right thigh. | ÎNEMBA | | |
| ÂÎT LOAÎEN | or | on the right cheek. | TÉGÉHÉ-N-AGALÎ | | |
| ÎRRÉGUÉNATEN | XI-XI or | on the neck, to the right. on the right cheek. | TÉGÉHÉ-N-OUSIDI | | |
| KEL TEROÛRÎRT | | on the neck. | ÎBOGLÂN | | |
| ÎBETTENÂTEN | ± | on the right cheek. | | | |

Table of the brands applied to camels in the different Ahaggar tribes.

631 The Kel I-n-Toûnîn owe their name to the wadi near which they ordinarily nomadize in the Tăfedest massif. At the end of the last century they took advantage of the dissensions existing between the Tăitok and the Kel Rela as well as the internal strife of the
[651] Tăitok to free themselves of the latter. They moved to the Ăjjer, claiming kinship with them, but they pay them no taxes.

After their surrender to the French, the Tăitok reclaimed them, and General Laperrine agreed to their demand.

[669] They took a big part in the rebellion of 1916 and were the first to rise up, for they were under the direct influence of the Ăjjer.

Taking refuge in Fezzan at first, they set about combating us by launching raids against the fractions under our influence. Later they participated in the combat of Aïn el Hadjadj. Then they went to the Sudan, where they succeeded in taking with them a number of Tăitok, their Chief Amri among them, in spite of the efforts Moussa ag Ămastân made to keep them.

[162] They number about 20 tents which camp in the north of the Tăfedest massif and go up as high as the Ădrăr Ifetessen on the foothills of Immîdir.

[582] They are allied to the Tégéhé Mellet by recent marriages.

Famous as good herders, they own about 100 camels and 300
[233 439] goats. They are also good caravaneers who trade on the markets of In Salah, Ghat, and Ghadames.

[241] They have a few gardens cultivated at Ideles and in the Tassili centers of cultivation.

[162] The Iouarouaren. -- The Iouarouaren form a little tribe of about 15 tents, which nomadizes with the Kel Ăhnet in the Adrar.

Some say they are natives of Aïr, others say of the Ăjjer.

173 /210/ When an Ăjjer (or Ifôras) woman had been taken prisoner by the Aïr people, according to Sidi ag Kéradji, it was Ămastân
631 ag Ourzig, maternal uncle of Sidi, who paid her ransom and married her to a Kel Ăhnet; from this union sprang the Iouarouaren. (1)

631
[173]

1. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 177.

[582] They often camp near the Dăg Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Tăitok in their peregrinations.

[423] They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghîn, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given [233] to Moussa ag Ămastan. They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The tioussé paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a [65] bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemaden live mixed in with the Dăg Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Tăitok tobol.

[192] Their name means "the very ugly ones," from the Tamashek akechchemdh, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Ămastân.

[162] They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them [423] in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dăg Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dăg Râli.

[162] The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ăjjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

[162] The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeïen form a little tribe of some 15 tents, whose camp lies near Tit and Tigeneouin.

631 /211/ Originally from Es Souq in the Xdrâr des Iforas, they are mixed with the Ahl Azzi from In-Salah.

Without being Imrad of the Taitok, properly speaking, they may be considered satellites of this tobol.

## Tobol of the Tégéhé-Mellet

173 The Tégéhé-Mellet make up the third and least important of the three Ahaggar tobol.

631 According to oral tradition, they are the descendants of Ti-n-Hinân through her daughter Tahenkat. More recently they are said to be descended from the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi. But according to another tradition they are of Chaamba origin, from the Oulad Messaoud tribe. More exactly, we are led to believe that some Oulad Messaoud men came to settle among them and founded families; for some, this would make their pure Imochar origin questionable. On the other hand, they married Kel-I-n-Tounîn women, while Tégéhé Mellet women married Issekkemâren.

They obtained their independence at the same time as the Taitok while Sidi Mohammed was amenokal, and were assigned a certain number of vassal tribes. Since then, however, they have played only a very unobtrusive part in the history of the Ahaggar, and the Tégéhé Mellet are on the way to disappearing.

631 According to Duveyrier, they had the reputation of bringing a conciliatory spirit into the often strained relations between the Ihaggaren [578] and the Xjjer Tuareg. The geographical position that they occupied between the two opposing groups quite naturally drafted them for the role.

619 They were formerly a free tobol, and only with the French occupation were they placed under the guardianship of Moussa ag Xmastân.

648 Ser'ir ag Bedda, their amrar, protested for a long time and never stopped claiming his independence. In connection with this state of mind, many Tégéhé Mellet rebelled and left with the

619 Kel-I-n-Toûnîn Imrad rather than accept the supremacy of Moussa
648 ag Ămastân and the Kel Rela. For a long time they kept up the agitation, encouraged by the former Amenokal Attici ag Ămellal, and they were one of the causes of our difficulties with the Ăjjer.

619 It is now a small tribe of about 15 tents nomadizing near
[162] Ămegid, the Ounane, the Eguéré, and /212/ Tiramar. Its strength comes especially from its vassals, who could not be more turbulent.
[669] They probably participated in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and Attici and Ănaba ag Ămellal, the leaders of the drama, belonged to that fraction.

The Tégéhé-Mellet have no Imrad properly speaking, but several Issekkemâren fractions are enfeoffed to them.

The Kel Terourirt. -- The Kel Terourirt are Issekkemâren and nomadize northeast of the Ahaggar near Tiramar, Tahihaout,
[162] Ounane, the Eguéré, and the Garet ed Djenoun. They number 25 tents at the moment:

[669] During the 1916 events, they followed the Kel Ouhet and the Kel I-n-Toûnîn in rebelling.

[651] They pay the amrar of the Tégéhé Mellet a tioussé which annually adds up to four bags of dates and four goats.

The Kel Ouhet. -- Like the Kel Térourirt, the Kel Ouhet are Issekkemâren. They are subdivided into several small fractions: the Kel Raris, the Dăg-Khamaya, and the Dăg Iknân. In all there are
[162] about 40 tents (51 persons in the 1938 census, 23 of them men).

They camp in the northern part of the Tăfedest massif and go as far as Amegid and into the Igharghar Valley.

[233] They own a number of camels and frequently visit the markets
[439] of the Tidikelt and Ghat.

Some of them have left the Ahaggar and now live in the Ăjjer.

The Kel Torha. -- The Kel Torha, or Dăg Houa, are Aït Loaien and their small fraction is in the process of disappearing. Although they live with the Aït Loaien who belong to the Kel Rela tobol,
[651] they pay the annual tioussé of a mézoued of dates to the Tégéhé-Mellet.

631 It will be noted that there are no marabout tribes in the divers
793 Ahaggar tobol. The Ifôra who nomadize in the Témaçinine (Fort Flatters) region are completely independent. They maintain amicable relations with the Ihaggaren and the Kel Ajjer, but these relations are very few and far between and have no political or religious character. They do not send any chaplains among the Ihaggaren. Their chief has settled at the little zāwiyah of Témaçinine, near which his ancestors are buried, and where he enjoys great /213/
1978 repute. All the Tuareg, Ihaggaren or Ajjer, who pass near this
1988 place never fail to stop and pay a visit to the sheik and go pray on the tomb of Si Othman, a famous saint of this marabout lineage.

This zāwiyah is affiliated with the Tijaniyyah brotherhood.

There are several marabouts who live in the midst of the Ihaggaren camps, but all of them are of Arab origin and none of them are Ifôras.

631 The Ifôras are under the administrative control of the Ajjer annex, and politically they are much more a part of the Kel Ajjer than of the Ihaggaren.

They are subdivided into three fractions:

Ifôras-oui-n-Oukkîren

Ifôras-oui-n-Egdad

Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel

The first two, who are of sherif descent, were in the habit of espousing the cause of the Ouraren, while the third was attached to the Imenân sultans.

114 Duveyrier said that the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel were provided with
533 drums and continued to constitute the court and the music corps
631 of the fallen sultans; he concludes by saying that their role is limited to making noise. (1) Now the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel have never been

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 361.

musicians, but their name, which can be confusing, means "those who are attached to the amenokal," just as Iklân-en-Tâousit (of the Ahaggar) means "servant of the tribe or of the group of tribes

114 forming the tobol" and, by extension, "servant of the tobol."
533 At the present time these three fractions number about 150
631 people.
[162] We call attention to them here only as a reminder.

Book V

Material Life

Chapter 1

Living Conditions Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

133 The Ahaggar, as we have already said, is a mountain refuge. We do not know why the Tuareg have continued to live there when they could have found much better countries to the south where they could have had a much easier life. Perhaps we should attribute this to attachment to the country or, quite simply, to an ancient state of things which forced them to take refuge against their will in the middle of the rocks.

13 A superficial examination shows that the Ahaggar is a very poor
[511] country with negligible resources, which imposes a living standard
[312] lower than the average. The pasture reserves are calculated, as are the water reserves. The subsoil possesses nothing, or almost nothing, which is marketable, except a little salt. Consequently the possibilities for life there are quite limited. For the inhabitants to live, then, they must have recourse to outside resources.

233 721 The Tuareg are herders. It does not seem that they ever knew any other stage of civilization, except hunting which is the prelude to animal husbandry. But even by judicious use of pasturage they cannot own a great number of domestic animals, and in the last analysis herding falls into the background in their means of existence. Since the country could not feed them, they had to look elsewhere for what they lacked. They therefore looked to their sabers for the rest.

181 721 Like the majority of herders, the perpetually famished Tuareg are born warriors, because from time immemorial they have had to dispute the rich lands with the sedentary peoples. Their free life has made them independent and anarchistic. The wealth /215/ of others has not inspired any respect in them, but rather a sentiment of envy which no moral rule has been able to check. Pillage has thus been raised to the state of an institution, and the Tuareg have become masters of the trade.

721 The raid, now a continual state of war with their neighbors, may be considered the principal social achievement of the Tuareg. [182] And thus we may see the important role that the Ahaggar Mountains play; they are not only a refuge for life, but also a refuge for brigands who want to shelter themselves from the possible investigations of their victims.

579 627 The raid is organized, even ordered, pillage. It is an institution with its rules which the antagonists respect. Its simplest form is taking the neighbor's herds; once the deed is done, the raider makes a deal with him and compromises by giving him back a certain number of animals so that he can subsist, keeping for himself what is judged to be the surplus. The complicated form occurs when the attacked man defends himself or tries to take back his property. That can lead to pitched battles and, as a consequence, dead men. From that time on, it is fratricidal war which demands blood and which creates eternal hatred.

That was what the life of the Ahaggar Tuareg was before the French occupation.

579 In addition, they robbed caravans who happened into their country, hatefully ransoming the voyagers. Sometimes they 721 727 went to empty the granaries of the sedentary people of the oases or the Sudanese villages, capturing Negroes and Negresses to [492] sett as slaves.

439 When peace reigned in their country, they willingly organized /218/ caravans to go to the Tidikelt or Touat oases and bring back dates, or else to the Sudan to get supplies of millet. They also made themselves the protectors of caravans [486] crossing their country, naturally making the caravaneer pay a consistently high duty in merchandise.

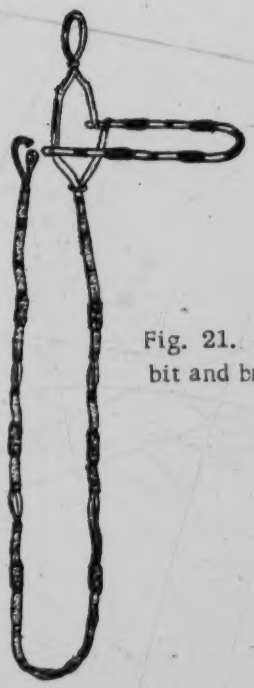

Fig. 21. Camel bit and bridle.

135 The Ahaggar has famous salt mines in the region called 182 Ɣmadror which lies to the east of 439 the Tɣfedest massif in a large depression. They are an appreciable resource for the Iheggaren, but manpower is needed to exploit them. Then, transportation and circulation demand a general state of peace in which the numerous herds of pack camels can be protected from possible surprise attacks [721] and raids. That is why the Ɣmadror salt deposits remained unexploited for a long time before the French occupation, because of the state of perpetual war existing between Ahaggar Tuareg and Tassili Tuareg.

1: Lhote--74a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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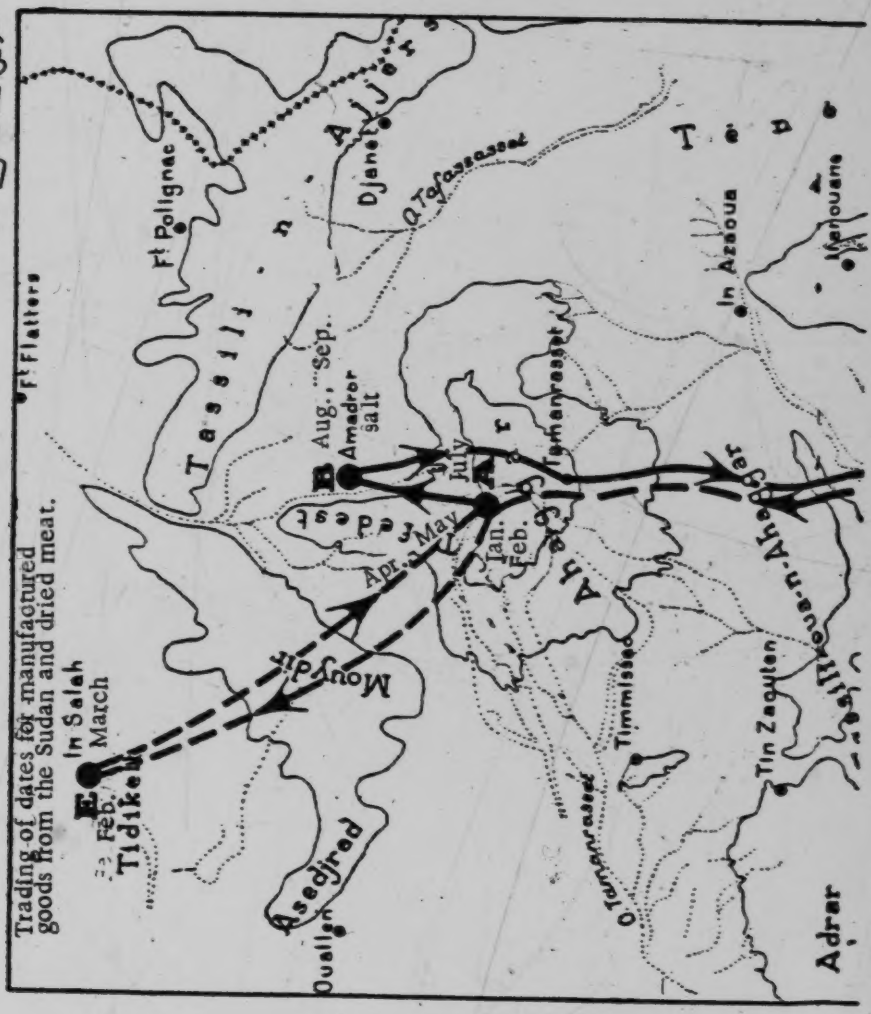


**Map V. Diagram of the caravan cycle of the Ahaggar Tuareg.**

A. Center of transhumance and point of departure of the caravan cycle. B. Center of salt extraction. C. Region of stocking of salt and of temporary nomadization. $D^1$ $D^2$ $D^3$. Center of trade of salt for grain.

1: Lhote--74b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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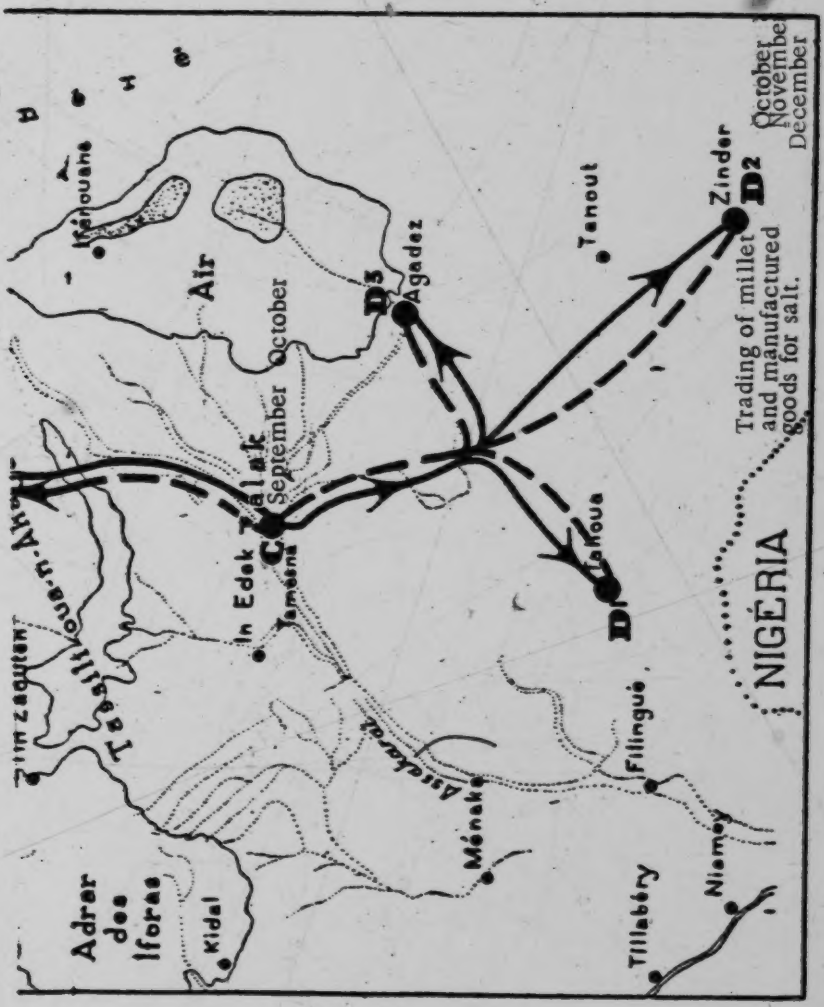


E. Center of trade of manufactured goods and dried meat for dates after return from A.

436 The ideal medium of exchange is the salt which [492] abounds in the Sahara and which is totally lacking in the Sudan. 439 Thus we see a caravan cycle spread out over a whole year and thousands of kilometers. This is all the more viable /sic/ for the Ihaggaren since it makes use of their many camels which otherwise might remain unused in part.

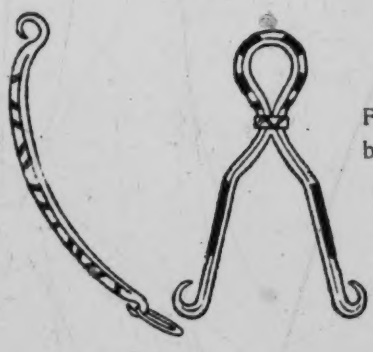

Fig. 22. Camel bit (detail).

317 The starting point is naturally the salt deposit. The mine /219/ is open; one [415] need only detach the salt in pieces and place it in leather bags to transport it. This labor is kept for the Iklan, who arrive at the salt deposits during the summer and [492] stay there from three weeks to a month. Each camel owner operates at will, and transports the salt to his camp after extracting it.

Fig. 23. Device for attaching the camel's bridle.

439 Toward mid-September, all the 481 caravaneers gather together by tribes. Soon they leave their families in the Ahaggar and take the long route [487] for the Sudan, crossing the Tanezrouft. Thus one may see caravans of 100 to 150 camels, but rarely more, for the pasture grounds would not allow it. The arrival in the Sudan must occur after the rainy

season which generally ends with the month of September. 439
When the caravaneers arrive earlier, they wait in the Tamasna 484
region and protect their salt by hiding it in the crags of the rocks.

At any rate they always stay at least two months in that region so that their camels may regain their strength. Then, they go in small groups toward the Damergou where they know people in some villages with whom they exchange their salt for millet. These exchanges are made on variable bases, depending on whether or not the millet harvest has been abundant, or whether the salt has arrived in greater or lesser quantity. Most generally they are made on the basis of one load of salt for three loads of millet, but sometimes in the proportion of one load of salt for ten loads of millet, which is much to the advantage of the Ihaggaren.

[291]
[177]

Fig. 24. Irratimen sandal of Hausa make, such as the Ihaggaren wear.

[435]

Since they do not have enough camels to carry all this grain back, and since they do not need that much grain in the Ahaggar, they sell or exchange a good part of it for manufactured objects, which are easy to transport and /220/ easy to dispose of -- sandals, saddle bags, camel saddles, leather boxes,

439 cotton clothes, and Sudanese-made lithams /veils/. Then after
484 two months of rest spent in the Sudan, during which time the camels revel in the rich pasture, they all set out again for the Ahaggar, where they arrive from January on. February and March see them leave again for the Tidikelt or Touat. At that time they take only a few camels and exchange the excess manufactured articles which they collected in the Sudan and trade dried mutton for dates. This trip lasts an average of two months, and toward the end of April everyone is back in the Ahaggar, as a rule. There is a rest of a few weeks, and everyone thinks about the next salt campaign he is going to have to prepare.

Thus we see a complete caravan cycle which, by itself, could allow the Tuareg a normal life. But as we have said, it implies a
[461] state of peace which was previously the exception, as well as an amount of work to be furnished which is not always in harmony with the warlike tastes of the Imochar.

224 Hunting supplies some employment for the Tuareg, as does gathering. But both of them are only uncertain pastimes, without
221 much profit. The life of the Tuareg may thus be summed up in a few lines: basic animal husbandry doubled by brigandage raised to the state of an institution, and accessorily by some caravaneering. Now we shall see the domestic life of the Tuareg.

/221/

## Chapter 2

## Dwellings

361 The camp. -- The camp is the traditional Tuareg form of
621 habitation; it is connected with nomadism which always implies animal husbandry. It includes a certain number of people gathered together under a patriarchal authority by very close bonds of kinship.

312 The question of water is fundamental in the formation of the
[361 camp, both for the choice of its location and for the number of tents
182] to be included.

Water is obviously a problem for all life; it plays a role in the location of our small European villages, but this role is still greater in desert countries where water is quite rare. The existence of watering places is not only necessary for human life but also for the life of the domestic animals.

137 To this primordial condition of the existence of a watering
182 place must be added the condition of pasture for the domestic
312 animals. Therefore, we see that the establishment of a camp among
361 the Ihaggaren is conditioned by two main factors whose character may vary in time, depending on the seasons and the abundance or scarcity of rain. But in the last analysis the pasture needs take precedence, for, generally speaking, pasture is even rarer than
137 water, since it can sometimes be completely lacking. This need
182 for pasture forces tribes to split up and camps to be dispersed in
361 order to exploit it rationally. The situation is such that there are
621 rarely more than five or six tents in each group. Only the amenokal's
[643] camp may number as many as 15 or 20 tents, but this is quite exceptional, involving the question of prestige and social order at the same time. Indeed, the amenokal supports a numerous family, his caliphs, his servants, etc. But this grouping around the chief is quite artificial, and the flocks which the people own are not with them but are /222/ spread out in the mountains, kept by Imrad or servants.

361 The camp is always established rather far from the watering
312 places, for it is preferable to be closer to the pastures. It is often five or six kilometers from water. The animals go there to drink
[482 every two or three days, and the people use the occasion to get
492] their water supply, which will be carried in waterskins on their backs or under the stomach of the asses. Tuareg, moreover, do not like
361 to settle near a watering place, for it is always a stopping point for
609 transients, and they avoid making their presence known to strangers.

361 When a state of war existed, concealment was a capital necessity
609 easy to understand. By atavism, it seems that they have taken the
[121] habit of always placing themselves in spots where they escape the
investigation of indiscreet glances.

361 They set up their tents on valley terraces, and sometimes in a
[132] valley itself, if they do not have to fear the rains, which usually fall
at the end of the summer.

221 Because of the need to seek out pastures, camps are continually
361 being moved. They stay from one to two weeks, depending on
whether the grass has been revived by rains or whether it is dry. But
these moves are never of any great distance, not exceeding seven
or eight kilometers. If we take as an example the Dag Rali tribe
which nomadizes in the western part of Koudia, we find the camps
set up in the high mountain valleys, as high as 2,400 meters
altitude, in summer. In winter, on the other hand, they settle on
the slopes or in the low parts, seeking places sheltered from the wind.
This, of course, is in a normal period of average pasture. But
during the summer of 1940, following a long dry period, the Upper
Koudia saw a great number of its watering places dry up, and
vegetation was nonexistent, so to speak. Therefore, all the nomads
took refuge in the low parts of the massif, in the Outoul, Eferer,
and I-n-Amegel valleys where water was more abundant and where
a trace of pasture still remained. At the beginning of September,
the whole massif benefited from abundant rains. A week later, all
the tents moved into the mountains in order to use the alpine pastures
before winter and to save the lower valley grass for winter.

312 /223/ The watering places of Atakor are chiefly natural reser-
voirs (aguelmam) and springs flowing at ground level in the hollows
of the valleys. In the middle part, there are mainly rédir (abankor),
or little wells, dug less than one meter down in the soil to reach
the water layer, which is often retained by rocky sills. These
rédir are exhausted in time if rains do not come to renew the water
accumulated in the sandy wadi bed. The lower part of the Ahaggar
benefits from all the water trickling down from the high mountains

312 and from all the subterranean flows; thus it is richer in watering places. There are rédir, or wells, varying from 5 to 10 meters in depth.

342 The tent. -- This kind of habitation is found from the western Asian steppes to the Atlantic, where nomads have generally adopted the camel's-hair tent. Tuareg, who do not own any camels with long hair, use skins.

The tent is composed of a large awning formed by assembling [281] 30 to 40 wild-sheep or goat hides, with the hair removed and tanned. Because of the scarcity of wild-sheep skins, goatskin and even cow-[184] hide are gradually being substituted for them. Cowhide is used exclusively by the Ioullimmiden Tuareg. The awning is held up by a frame of arches or poles. The Kel Ahaggar, moreover, have two kinds of tents: one with vertical supports and one with arches. The former is more widespread at the present time. It includes a central pole with a wooden ridge tile and six secondary poles placed in a circle. The highest part of the awning is about 1.5 meters from the ground. The edges of the skin hang down almost level with the ground where they are attached by small pegs in order to keep out the sandstorms which are very common in spring and summer, and keep out the winter cold.

The ridge tile on a central pole is especially used in summer when rains are feared, for it gives the proper slope to the awning so that water can flow off. In other seasons this ridge tile is replaced by two poles supporting a crosspiece.

Although one cannot stand inside, the Tuareg tent is spacious 323 enough. The poles are in tamarisk wood, with coarse sculpture, 531 pyrography, and paintings on the upper part. /224/ This type of tent is used by the Kel Rela, the Dăg Râli, and most of the Kel Ahaggar.

[184] The other model is now used only among the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. It appears that the Kel Ăhnet and the Kel In Rhar may still use it, too. The center stake of the type described above is replaced by one or two arches made of éthel /atle? Ed./ roots joined by a

342 crosspiece forming the central frame; four vertical stakes are placed two by two on each side of the tent.

[171] This model used to be much more widespread in the Ahaggar, and it seems to be an older form, for the model presently used must have been taken from the Ioullimmiden. All the old people recall having seen it used in their youth in all camps on an equal basis with the vertical stake form.

The tent with arches, the upper part of which forms a kind of dome, is better able to withstand the rains than the other. If [182] that was its raison d' [132] être, we may understand why it disappeared with the gradual drying out of the Sahara. This disappearance may also have been caused by the difficulty of procuring large roots to make the arches.

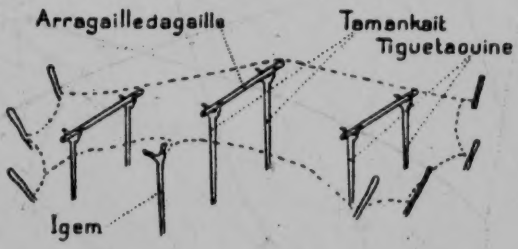


Fig. 25. Tent used by the Kel Rela. During the rainy season, the two central stakes are replaced by a single stake holding up a ridge tile.

[386] The awning is always covered with a coat of red ocher which protects it from the heat of the sun and from the rain.

[285] In both models, the tent always includes a sort of detachable closing made of a long mat (asaber) woven from the stems of graminaceae. It is unrolled inside around the stakes to close the tent completely. High up in the mountains the Tuareg reduce the inside area of the tent in order to keep warmer, and provide the part opposite /225/ the opening with a little stone wall which effectively protects them from the cold. The door is always opened toward the south.

The tent is occupied by only one household, and each of the married couple has his own side. The man's side is to the left as one enters the door; there he keeps his mehari saddle, his weapons, and his bags of salt. To the right is the woman's place, where she keeps her bag of personal things, her saddle if she has one, the bags containing the food supplies, and the kitchen implements which she has charge of. 592 [422]

In summer when it is very hot, the Tuareg sometimes use straw huts, as much to save hides as to be a bit more comfortable. The leather tent, in fact, is made almost useless by the heat, and nomads often seek shelter during the heat of the day under neighboring trees when there are any or else in the rocks. 342 [184]

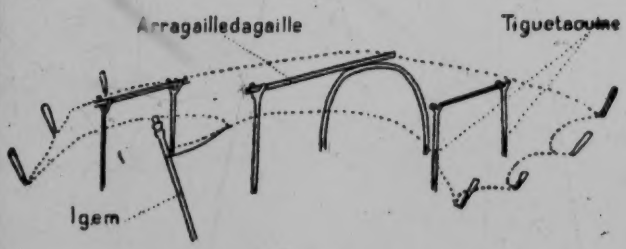


Fig. 26. Tent used by the Agouh-n-Tehlé. Sometimes the stake supporting the aragailledagaille may be replaced by a second arch. In some tribes, particularly among the Kel Ahnet, the arches were placed crosswise.

trees when there are any or else in the rocks.

Captives never have tents. They build themselves little shelters with a few branches on which are hung scraps of leather or cloth. [727]

It falls entirely to the women to put up the tents. [462]

Granaries. -- One of the most characteristic facts of nomadic life is its lack of foresight in questions of food. For the most part, the nomad lives from one day to the next, following the seasons, without accumulating anything. This is somewhat the case for the Tuareg. Still, the Sahara is not a country where one can find supplies easily. 251 343

251 Thus, they are forced to keep supplies on hand, /226/ but it is a
343 limited stock, consisting of two or three bags of sorghum or dates which are transported each time the camp is moved. It is customary, when supplies are more considerable, to leave them in the rocks of the mountains in spots known to the people of the tribe. These granaries (ekaham) allow them to travel lighter and at the same time put supplies in safe places. In case camps are raided they make a sufficient food reserve so that the people are not driven to starvation.

184 Some tribes which have gardens in the centers of cultivation
343 often have food deposits there; they are stored for a whole family
423 group. Thus the Dag Rali have stores in the Koudia, at Ilaman,
251 Tarahananet, Abalessa, etc., where they entrust the care of their goods to their local representatives. These centers have secret granaries; they are scarcely used these days, but they were used before the French occupation for reasons of safety in case of raids. We have seen hiding places of this kind at Tit and at Bloumet, and there are probably some at Tazerouk and Ideles. They consist of cellars dug in the soil at ground level and hidden from the eyes of passers-by. Merchandise was thus protected from men and rodents.

171 While we are on the subject, let us add that granaries dug in rock are common among all Berbers. Today they may still be seen in Morocco and among the Chaouia /Shawia/ of Aurès. This custom seems to have been common in Mediterranean countries, in Syria, and especially in Palestine where it was already reported in Biblical times.

343 The Akhamouk amenokal was the only person who had real
643 granaries. He had three or four of them constructed of stone bound
251 with clay using the Sudanese technique. They were placed at the top of a rocky crest on the left bank of the Abalessa wadi, near the place where his camp was most often established.

513 Sleeping arrangements. -- Bedding includes only one or two
[56] sheepskins sewn together, or more rarely a rug among the rich people.

513 No one has a bed except the aménokal, who owns one of the Hausa
[352 177 643] type; this model has also been adopted in a certain number /227/ of Kel Oui /Owey/ camps. (1) The man and woman each sleep on

1. Contrary to what has been said, the bed is not Tuareg but Hausa. Its use is spread among the sedentary people of Aïr, Damergou, and Sokoto, and it is made by Hausa smiths.

his or her own side of the tent, the boys with their father and the girls with their mother.

354 There are no cradles for babies among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and young children are placed on a skin or on blankets. Sometimes a hemispheric wicker frame is put over them and covered with a cloth to cut off the light or protect them from sandstorms.

The Kel Aïr and the Tenguéréguif have little cradles which are suspended from the top of the tent.

354 Fire. -- In front of each tent there is a hearth, generally made of three stones. It is not intended for cooking purposes, but rather for warmth in the evening after the sun has gone down when all the people gather in the shelter of the asaber, which is unrolled in an arc in front of the tent. The flame warms up hearts and
[272] bodies and synthesizes family and friendship. Sometimes a container of water is placed on the three stones to heat in order to make tea.

343 The cooking fire is set apart, generally some three or four
354 meters from the tent, in the shelter of a little stone wall in order to protect it from the wind.

372 We have not been able to find any myth on the origin of fire
773 among the Tuareg. According to them it was created by God, who gave it to man to cook food. Iblis (Satan) wanted to seize the secret of how it was made, and God punished him by creating

773 the tortures of hell. Iblis, however, communicated his secret to
372 the blacksmiths, who since that time have known how to use it for metalworking.

The Tuareg used to obtain fire by friction, using a board of
372 torha (callotropis procera) and a branch of hardwood; they caught
[824] the spark on a tuft of silk from the fruit of the callotropis and blew on it until they got a flame, which required about a minute. They have kept this practice and still use it occasionally.

Today they find matches sold by /228 Ahamanrasset merchants,
[439 but they all have tinderboxes
177] with flint and a bent piece of iron.

They do not keep up the
[415 fire. They carry it from
439] one tent to the other in a fragment of an old gourd or sometimes hold a glowing ember in their hands without burning themselves.

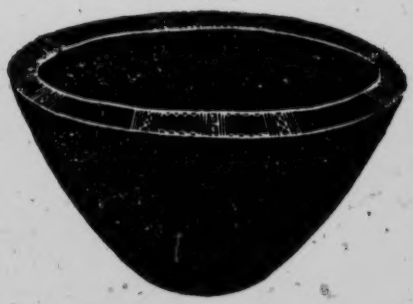

Fig. 27. Ahaggar Tuareg dish, imported from Hausa country.

[237 When they want to transport
484] it long distances, they use camel-dung embers.

The Tuareg commonly
[237] use the excrement of camels and goats as fuel. In the high
[137] mountains, wood is quite rare, but in the lower parts of the Koudia old acacia or éthel /atle? Ed. / stumps are to be found. They never
[824] use the wood of the callotropis, which is the devil's tree and makes muffled noises when it is burned.

Basalt blocks are never used to make the hearth, since they be-
[823] lieve that basalt is possessed by genii and will explode violently when heated.

352 Furniture. -- We have briefly described the objects furnishing the parts of the tent reserved for the husband and wife. To these must be added a certain number of objects which make up the

362

furniture. These objects are not numerous and reflect the primitive life led by the Tuareg.

On the left side of the tent is generally found the goatskin water bag, hung on two wooden stakes placed in a V-shape. An old piece of cloth often covers it to protect it from the sun. The waterskin is often empty, for the Tuareg are not very farsighted. When there is water, they drink; when /229/ they are out of it, they stay there waiting a half day until the Iklan get back from the well. [415 271]

Fig. 28.
Tent shovel.

[412]

[574]

When a traveler passes by, he is most generally assailed with demands for water, while he himself often hoped to find some in the camp.

In front of the door and close to all the tents is an enormous wooden mortar and its pestle, in which the servant girl crushes millet and dates. By searching a bit in the tent or in the shelter used as a kitchen, one may find two or three hemispheric wooden dishes destined to hold food and two or three conical bowls serving as drinking vessels. Hanging on one of the outer stakes of the tent are a wooden milking vessel, an esparto winnowing basket for sifting millet flour, serving at the same time as a dish cover, one or two little esparto mats which can serve the same purpose, and finally a few wooden spoons. Each mistress of a tent has a little 412 415 [357] [252] [285]

412 Each mistress of a tent has a little
356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses, and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,
492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are
[462] left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving;
[565] only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in moving only if it is a long trip.

/230/ Chapter 3

## Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding
262 peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea, bechena (Sorghum cernuum Host.), a kind of millet cultivated in the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during
[252 their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in
484] the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong cultural-
[101] ly to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

243 he generally carries with him in his migrations. Wheat raising
262 goes down to the Sudan as far as Timbuktu, Aïr, and a little north of Nigeria; but everywhere it has been introduced recently, due to the influence of the Arabs, who have not abandoned their traditional food.

Béchena is a food they adopted because of their exodus toward [412] the Sudan; they are at the present time much closer to the Sudan than they are to North Africa from the point of view of material living conditions, that is, unless this plant formerly existed in a self-sown state in the Sahara, as Professor Chevalier has assumed, and was one of the principal food resources of its first inhabitants.

Fig. 29. Caravaneer's mortar and pestle.

177 By its agriculture and its production, the Sahara is completely Negro. Agricultural
244 methods, except for irrigation, /231/ are borrowed from the Sudanese, especially work with the hoe (daba), while North Africa mainly uses the plow which is unknown in the intertropical zone.

252 Béchena is eaten as a cooked flour porridge, as raw flour, or
262 mixed with liquids, water or milk.

Dates also play a large part in the diet of the Tuareg. Every year each family head organizes a little caravan to the Touat or [438 484 512] Tidikelt to bring back two or three loads of poor-quality dried dates which are crushed with a pestle and eaten with camel's milk.

262 According to what we know of the production of the cultivated
433 lands of the Ahaggar itself and according to what the Tuareg are obliged
439 to import, we may know approximately their needs. During the good years, local production is equivalent to only one quarter of the needs. It may be evaluated at 150 tons. To this must be added wheat production, but this cannot be taken in con-
237 sideration insofar as con-
415 sumption is concerned, since
234 it is almost entirely destined for export. It follows from this that import needs amount to 4,000 loads of millet a year, calculated at 150 kilograms each, making 600 tons, which are for the most part bought or exchanged at Damergou or in the Tahoua region. The annual demand for dates is 400 loads.

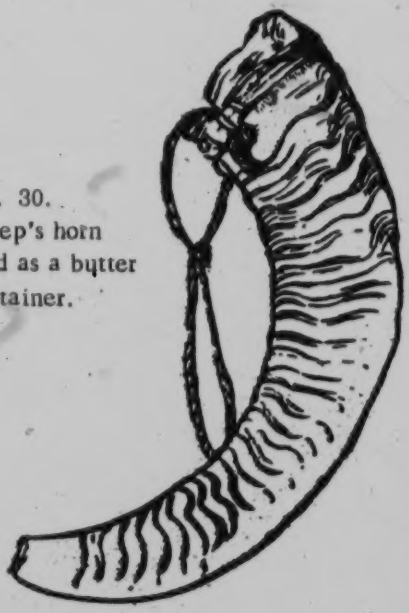

Fig. 30. Sheep's horn used as a butter container.

From these figures it
146 follows that the annual needs per person are approximately one load of
262 millet and one-tenth of a load of dates.
511

Individual consumption may thus be estimated at 187 kilograms of millet and 15 kilograms of dates per year, while an identical calculation /232/ for the Saharian Arabs has given us 180 kilograms of wheat and 75 kilograms of dates. But we must not deceive ourselves. These figures are drawn up for years, if not of abundance, at least of relative facility. Indeed, the annual average is very much lower, for the Ihaggaren do not always have at their disposal the means of exchange to meet their needs, and one may reduce the figures cited above by a good third, sometimes even by half.

824
222

To make up this deficiency in graminaceae, the Tuareg have recourse to products of gathering.

After a rain the captives and the Imrad women gather the seeds [262] of certain plants which grow in the Ahaggar valleys. They are the afasso (Panicum turgidum F.) and the oulloul (Aristida pungens D.). But the size of the yield varies with the abundance of rain, and one may say that most of the time it is quite /233/ uncertain. This is not the case in the Sudan, where the Iklan gather whole bags of wild seeds, particularly cram-cram (Cenchrus echinatus), every year.

[233 281 415 234]

Fig. 31. Little leather flask used as a butter container.

To be sure, there are a few wild berries in the Ahaggar, such as those from the jujube tree (Zizyphus lotus D.) and the téborak (Balanites aegyptiaca). In case of [73] famine the Tuareg fall back on other seeds, such as those of the colocynth, the Acacia tortillis, etc. [262] However, all these plants play only a secondary role in the Tuareg diet.

The Tuareg have at their disposal milk from their camels, 272 goats, and ewes. They drink it either whole or diluted with water, either fresh or sour.

The luxury of drinking whole milk is reserved for young [264] mothers and children. Adults generally drink fresh milk morning and

[264]
272 evening after the milking, and at the noon meal they drink milk which has already soured. It may accompany the dishes /234/ of
[262] béchena, serve as a sauce, and also be taken as a drink. When they make long moves, the Tuareg carry a bag full of skim milk on their camels. This turns rapidly and gives a sour-tasting whey which is very refreshing. But milk is particularly appreciated for its by-products, butter and cheese.

234 Butter -- oudi -- is obtained by churning milk in a
[415 237] little leather bag; a woman shakes it on her knees, making it swing from right to left and from left to right. The butter col-
[237 415] lected is placed inside a sheep's horn which serves as a receptacle. When butter production exceeds daily consumption, the butter is placed in leather containers, in the shape of a flask, where the heat usually keeps it liquid or very fluid, except in winter when it is necessary to heat it to get it out of the container.

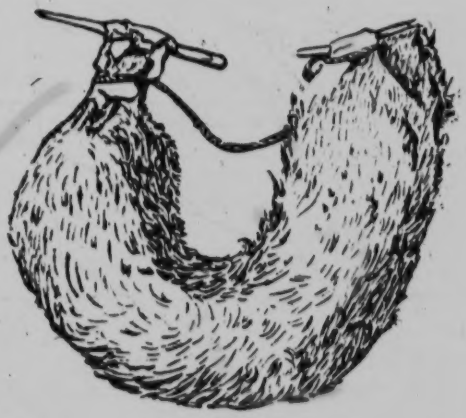

Fig. 32. Butter container made from the skin of a camel's neck.

Butter is mainly eaten as a sauce; béchena gruel or wheat
262 cakes are moistened with it. The Tuareg never cook it, as in fried foods.

In years when pasturage is particularly good, which assures an
234 abundance of milk from the animals, the Tuareg make cheese -- tikomaren. They sour the milk, squeeze the curds in little mats

234 to extract all the water, and then dry them on /235/ small screens placed in the branches of trees. It goes without saying that cheese making is very rare in the Ahaggar and that the Tuareg make it [438] particularly when they are nomadizing in the Sudan. Every year the Ihaggaren bring back large supplies of cheese from their stay in the Sudanese zone; these cheeses, dry as a bone, are either made by the Ihaggaren or bought from the southern tribes. They make 252 an important contribution to the Tuareg diet. These dry cheeses 262 are ground in a mortar and reduced to small fragments so that they have the consistency of flour. Then they are mixed with food, either in béchena gruel or in a drink of béchena flour and dates.

262 It might be supposed that meat plays a very large role in the Tuareg diet. But let us recall one of our old French proverbs which says that the shoemaker is always the worst shod. We could apply this adage to herders, who perhaps eat less meat than anyone else. A herder has animals for the use of their products, but he very seldom eats them, for each butchering is a loss of capital.

Indeed, the Tuareg kill their animals only under very unusual [233] circumstances, especially at the time of religious and family festivals. These killings recall somewhat the religious meaning of sacrifices. This does not mean that they do not like meat, for when they raid a rival camp, they hasten to make drastic inroads on the smaller livestock and eat until they are about to burst.

224 Hunting furnishes them a little additional meat. Each year 262 they kill a certain number of gazelles and wild sheep, eating part [251] of the meat fresh and drying the rest to keep it on hand.

They capture star lizards (Uromastix acanthinurus), jerboas, 222 gondi (Ctenodactylus sp.), sometimes even jackals and hares. We 262 can add to their meat diet grasshoppers (Shistocerca gregaria), [324] which they grill in the embers and then dry in order to pulverize [252] them. All Saharian nomads are very fond of grasshoppers, and since remotest antiquity some North African tribes are supposed to

222 have made them the base of their diet; for this reason they were
262 nicknamed acridophages. The Nasamonians of Herodotus prepared them in the same way the Tuareg do, and the /236/ similar diets of the two peoples is perhaps not pure coincidence.

There are a few fish ponds in the Ahaggar, but the Imochar
226 and the Imrad do not eat the flesh of these animals; only the
262 Issekkemâren catch barbels and sometimes catfish, or rather they gather them up in the wadis after floods, for they do not know how to fish, properly speaking.

The sedentary peoples raise chickens, but the Tuareg do not
262 eat them either, since they consider the meat impure. The same interdict is extended to eggs. The only bird which is an exception is the ostrich. There are no longer any ostriches in the Sahara, but
[223] when the Ihaggaren go to the Sudan they capture them if they have the chance; in addition, they eat ostrich eggs cooked in the ashes.

Times of scarcity were sometimes experienced. They are rare
262 now that caravans can circulate freely, but they were much more
731 frequent when the state of war continued for a long time. The
224 Tuareg fell back on wild plants which do not generally enter into their diet: the young growths of tahlé (Typha elephantina), the
[824] leaves of the tanekfit (Eruca aurea) and the aramas (Atriplex halimus), the underground stems of the danoun (Cistanche lutea) which resembles asparagus, and many other plants of very dubious food value, which they ate to assuage their hunger. The state of famine can
[252] become so pronounced that they sometimes gather up old bones, grind them up, reduce them to flour, and make gruels of them. It
[519] goes without saying that it is during these periods that pillaging is at its height. People steal from camp to camp, from tribe to tribe, and everyone forgets his brother and his friend, thinking of only one thing -- survival by any means.

264 Before the French occupation the Tuareg as a general rule had only one meal a day, in the evening, after milking the animals. During the day they contented themselves with drinking a little milk.

252 262 The national dish of the Tuareg is asink, which is a porridge of millet cooked in water and moistened with butter or whey. This meal is especially popular in winter and during the entire cold season. During the very hot months, they prefer a beverage of water or whey in which they throw millet flour, diluted sometimes with dry cheese or powdered dates. This is alakoh. Dates are also eaten /237/ in summer, ground and mixed with water or milk.

252 When the Tuareg kill a sheep, they prepare the intestines which they enclose inside the stomach. After having tied the two extremities of the stomach, they put it on a bed of ashes to cook. This way of cooking, which is the one most commonly used by hunters, is called abatoul. Meats are prepared boiled or cooked under the ashes. Those that are boiled are particularly the ones which were previously dried (wild sheep, gazelle, sometimes sheep). In this case, they are first crushed between two stones, for they are as hard as wood; the meat is then spread in pieces on a dish of asink.

The Tuareg do not prepare roast meat over embers, but they place it under the ashes. When they want to cook a whole sheep, they open it in two and then put it under the ashes, taking care to turn it once during the roasting.

252 262 For great occasions -- religious festivals, marriages, or receptions for prominent guests -- the Tuareg butcher young camels. They serve them with a couscous of coarse-grained wheat.

The domestic animals slaughtered are goats, sheep, camels, and cattle when there are any. They do not eat horses, asses, or dogs.

[727] Cooking is done by the captives, close by the masters' tents.

264 Men take their meals by themselves and receive the food first. Women and children eat in their turn,, and the Iklan receive the rest.

264 [415] The Tuareg use spoons. The use of this implement is peculiar to them, for their Arab or Negro neighbors eat with their hands. The custom must be related to the wearing of the veil, which they do not take off to eat and which prevents them from putting their [182 291] hands full of food to their mouths. They carry food to their mouths while slightly holding up the ends of their veils.

[271] 272 For beverages they drink only water, whether it is clean or polluted, and milk.

For half a century they have had the habit of drinking green tea in the Arab manner; they aromatize it with mint or some perfumed plants of the Ahaggar, /238/ chih (Artemisia herba alba) in particular. Coffee, which was formerly much used by them, is now [757 78] taken mainly as a medication to calm violent coughs or stomach aches.

276 If we now seek consumer goods taken as stimulants or narcotics, we see that the Tuareg know only tobacco, which they chew or take as snuff.

Smoking is not one of their customs. The young men who are [177] in contact with the French like to beg a cigarette, but it is simply in the spirit of imitation.

Duveyrier, however, has said that the Tuareg smoke. Was this, 114 perhaps, the fashion among the Tuareg who visited Ghat? Before 276 him Barth wrote that all riverain people living along the Niger loved to smoke. "It is very seldom that they leave their pretty little clay pipes, and all the Rouma, like the Tuareg, cover their mouths when smoking, so that all one sees is a pipe bowl coming out of the shawl which covers the face." (1)

1. Voyage en Afrique, vol. IV, p. 137.

[114] 276 For his part, Commander Cauvet, in describing Tuareg clothing, said that men kept their pipes and tobacco in the pocket of their big blouses.

Thus all these testimonies coming from such trustworthy travelers tried to make us believe that the Tuareg are pipe smokers. For our part, we have never seen any.

On the other hand, they are very fond of chewing tobacco, and their wives also practice this custom, so that they finally have a deformation of the lower lip caused by the craze they have of stowing the quid between the gum and lower lip.

[439] Tobacco is not cultivated in the Ahaggar; it is imported from the Touat by the Arabs. The Sudanese Tuareg get it from the sedentary peoples of the Niger or through caravaneers from Upper Dahomey. They generally add a few natron crystals to it to take away the acridity, or else the ashes of graminaceae which play the same role as natron.

177 276 Many Nigerian Tuareg have formed the habit of chewing kola nuts; this is a powerful stimulant which the Negroes use a good deal. A few Ihaggaren /239/ indulge in this practice when they go to the Sudan, but they have not introduced it into their everyday mores and never use kola when they are in their own country.

262 The Tuareg are subject to a rather large number of dietary interdicts. First, like Moslems, they may eat only meats from ritually butchered animals. They must abstain from eating the [273] meat of pigs and wart hogs and from drinking fermented drinks which are <u>harīm</u>. The meat of fowls--except the ostrich -- and fish is also forbidden and considered impure. But these are customs which go back before Islam. They also may not eat the [825] meat of the uran, because this lizard is considered to be the descendant of their maternal uncle.

252 They may not heat camel's milk which has just been milked
825 under penalty of causing sickness to the animal which gave it.

264 Insofar as personal interdicts are concerned, there are none to speak of, for although men and women must not eat together, this is a custom rather than an interdict.

[606] A married man must not eat with his parents-in-law, and the oldest son must not eat with his father. These are mainly marks of respect, perhaps traces of ancient practices of a religious nature.

/240/ Chapter 4

## Hunting and Fishing

080 We shall now say a few words on the industries allied to the problems of food, that is, on hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, and agriculture.

136 Hunting. -- In a country where fauna was at all dense, hunting would have brought a not inconsiderable dietary supplement to the
174 Ihaggaren. In the past it was very much esteemed in the Sahara. Many rock drawings and paintings prove this, for they depict hunting scenes which interpret the state of civilization of the men, their preoccupation, and at the same time the nature of the fauna, which has changed a great deal since then.

[132] Today, with the very advanced drying out of almost all the Saharian districts, the fauna has come out into the open and the
224 species likely to be usefully hunted are reduced to a few. Only gazelles and wild sheep are still hunted. We cannot mention the addax and oryx antelopes, for the former is in the process of becoming extinct in the Sahara, while the second is confined to the steppe zone. The hare and jackal may be accessorily added.

224 Among the Tuareg hunting is the business of a few men, a few
[463] specialists who have made it their profession; however, we see a
[567] large proportion of Iklan who seem to have more aptitude and more taste for hunting than their masters. There is certainly an atavistic character in this, a vestige of ancestral mores influenced by the original forest environment, where hunting was most often the basis of human activity. But it is nonetheless true that many Tuareg are very good hunters. The most renowned seem to be among the Issekkemâren and the Dăg Răli.

Hunting with hounds is the most popular. They hunt wild sheep
224 and gazelles with saluki-type greyhounds, who serve at the same
231 time as camp dogs /241/ for the Tuareg. These animals, who stand tall, belong to a race halfway between the Kabyle dog and the Berber saluki and must also possess jackal blood. They are particularly suited for running and have innate talent for hunting.

The hunter's job is to track down the animal, to succeed in
224 discovering him, either grazing or in his lair, and to set the dogs on him at the propitious moment when he does not expect it and at a suitable distance. An epic battle between the animal and the dogs sometimes results from this; often the battle necessitates the man's intervention, for example when there is a wild sheep which does not hesitate to confront its assailants. The hunter, who is
[411] usually armed with a long javeline with a wooden shaft, then tries to stick his weapon in the animal's body and kill it. When it is a question of gazelles, he only needs let the dogs alone. If they can catch it, the animal will be quickly neutralized by the powerful jaws of the saluki.

Beside the common hunting with hounds, the Tuareg engage in trapping, which is a lazy method of hunting. It is all the more appreciated in the Sahara because game is rare and wary, and a certain amount of luck is always involved in capturing it.

The Ihăggaren use two types of traps: traps with radial points and torsion traps in the shape of an arc.

224 The radial-point trap is the one described by Montandon (1)

1. Traité d'ethnologie culturelle /A Dissertation on Cultural Ethnology/, p. 222, fig. 8.

[M1] and was already known by the Egyptians. It is spread over all of central and intertropical Africa. It is composed of a disk made of vegetable matter to which are attached the stems of rather resistant graminaceae which converge toward the center. The apparatus is placed on a little pit with a diameter a little less than its own, then covered over with straw /242/ and sand. It is arranged under trees whose leaves are still green and which the gazelles come to browse on. While going around the tree, the beasts finally step on it, and the hoof which passes through the stems is caught in the disk. In spite of all efforts and movements, the disk remains attached, thus preventing the animal from getting away. The hunter then steps in. He gets on the animal's trail, follows it, and finally catches up with it. He kills it with a thrust of his lance. Sometimes a lasso is placed on the disk with its end attached to the trunk of the tree or to an old stump.

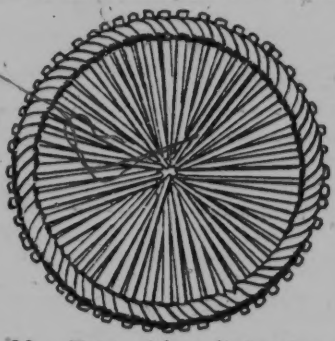

Fig. 33. Trap with radial points used to capture gazelles.

The torsion trap in the shape of an arch is a more complicated system. It is composed of a fragment of oryx antelope horn on [M3] which is set a layer of tendons coming from the same animal and

224 which is rolled up on a stick, one end of which is cut in a point. A
[237] second apparatus consists in a little wooden disk covered with hide, the whole mounted on another stick a little longer than that of the first apparatus which is embedded between the layer and the arc, while the pointed stick is fastened in the hole of a bead or on a little leather ring fixed on the leather disk. A lasso is placed on this disk, and its end is fastened on the main part of the pointed stick.

This trap is generally placed on the paths frequented by gazelles and lightly covered with sand. If the animal puts its foot on the leather disk, the pressure that it causes unhooks the pointed stick; the shock of this can break a paw and in any case it tightens the lasso around the paw.

More recently the Tuareg have used the metallic spring trap
[177] of the English type, which their blacksmiths now know how to make.
324 They have replaced the balanced bait pan by a taut skin on which they have attached a large glass bead. The bait is fixed to the bead and is more sensitive to the touch. This trap may accidentally catch gazelles, but the most common catches are hares and jackals.

224 The Tuareg hunt on the lands over which they range and have
423 no right to hunt on the lands of the neighboring tribes. If such a case occurred, they would be obliged to give the game to the owners of the area. The latter may at least grant back part of the meat, but they keep the skin, especially when it is a wild sheep.

/243/ Some regions are the hunting fief of a single man. So, in the Koudia, no one has the right to hunt on Tahat Peak without the permission of its owner, who is a descendant of the old Isebeten tribe. At any rate, the skin, head, and half of the animal must be handed over to him.

224 The Ahaggar Tuareg have had rapid-firing guns at their
411 disposal for a few years. They are not good shots, but they know admirably well how to approach game, so that they have made massive massacres which will take a long time to repair.

224 The administration fortunately has decided to confiscate these
[411 648] weapons.

It is very difficult to get an exact idea of the number of animals killed annually by hunters. But we believe we are close to accurate in giving the figure 300. Thus we say that hunting holds a very small place in Ahaggar Tuareg economy.

226 Fishing. -- Fishing is not done by the Tuareg for the reasons
[184] we have given. Only the Issekkemâren and the Iklan engage in it. They fish when the pond water is very low. In the Tassili they dig little ditches on the lower side at water level, leading to little reservoirs where the fish find refuge and are then surely caught.

[251] When fishing has been fruitful, the Issekkemâren dry the fish to keep them for periods of scarcity.

/244/ Chapter 5

## Agriculture

241 The Ahaggar Tuareg have never attached more than a very secondary importance to agriculture. Their nomadic turn of mind is at the opposite pole from land ownership and still more from exploiting it, which implies sedentary life. There are, however, a number of centers of cultivation in their country; they are of undeniable interest and could be extended more widely if improper legislation did not hinder their development.

177 The creation of most of these centers of cultivation does not
241 go back more than a century. It was accomplished under the influence of Arab groups settled in the Ahaggar. Only the Silet and Tibeghîn oases are much older and probably date from the time of the Imanan sultans who had brought into the Ahaggar some

177 marabouts from the Touat who brought with them the system of
241 irrigation by foggara. The Tuareg later grasped the advantage they could gain from multiplying these centers, and so, at the moment of the French occupation, more than forty centers were being exploited.

423 The enjoyment of land appertains to the people who first culti-
241 vated it. Land of itself appertains to the amenokal, but he leases it out and in return levies an annual tax -- mesk -- on the harvest, in
[427 the amount of four guessa of wheat, or about 10 kilograms per garden.
651] The land may thus have as proprietors Imochar or Imrad, indeed Enaden, but Iklan may not hold gardens.

Gardens are not cultivated by their proprietors but by Negro
241 tenant farmers, natives of the Touat or Tidikelt, who are called
427 harratin (singular hartani). An arrangement is worked out between them and the proprietors on the following terms: the proprietor furnishes the hartani two loads of millet a year for his sustenance,
[312] seeds, a hoe, and then pays for digging /245/ the wells of the foggara. Once the foggara has been dug, the hartani is responsible for keeping it up. He sows, waters, harvests, threshes the grain, and keeps one-fifth of the harvest. Furthermore, he has the right to sow on his own account in the irrigation canals and to cultivate several beds of vegetables.

[311] Centers of cultivation are set up on the terraces of valleys when
312 they are wide enough and have old alluvial deposits. The feggaguir
[241] /plural of foggara -- translator/ of the Ahaggar have nothing in common with those of the Tidikelt or those in the Saoura oasis, which pipe water to the gardens from great distances, from the geological faults where it is retained. In the Ahaggar rain water collects in the wadi beds and is stored under the sand. The feggaguir are therefore dug in the wadi bed and seek water at distances varying from one to seven kilometers. The wadi presents a certain slope, and it is necessary to bring the water gradually to the same level or to a level slightly higher than that of the gardens. The feggaguir

include a first subterranean part made of numerous wells of depths varying from two to four meters, linked together by a small canal serving as a water conductor; then comes a part on top of the ground in the form of a canal, first at the same level as the wadi, then at a slightly higher level. They empty into the distribution reservoirs (majem), which by secondary canals (seguia) carry water to the gardens to be irrigated.

These agricultural centers therefore extend along the wadi on both sides of its banks. The cultivators settle near their gardens and live in straw or reed huts or little clay houses.

There are five centers in the high mountains between 1, 500 and 1, 800 meters in altitude, but the majority are located between 1, 200 and 1, 500 meters. Some of them can be lower, such as Silet (730 meters) and I-n-Amegel (1, 030 meters).

Some are small date groves such as Silet and Tibeghîn, which have 10, 000 palm trees, Ideles, Tâhârt, and Ăbalessa, but because of its altitude, the Ahaggar does not seem to be very suitable for date growing. The instability of the harratin is also an obstacle to the development of arboriculture which demands continual care. Cultivators who can be here today and gone tomorrow would not be capable of interesting themselves in work from which they could not draw immediate profit. The country would lend itself, however, to rather large-scale cultivation of peaches, /246/ apricots, figs, and grapes. The little center of Tăzerouk has many peach trees, and the center at Tit produces a famous raisin.

The Ahaggar soil is of a high quality, owing part of its richness to elements of volcanic origin which make up a large proportion of the alluvial deposits. Furthermore, the climate favors agriculture so much that the natives obtain two or even three harvests a year.

In the medium altitude centers, they sow wheat and barley in December and harvest it in May. Barely finished with this, they sow millet which is harvested at the beginning of October. In between the natives also engage in kitchen gardening: carrots,

241 turnips, onions, garlic, pimento, beans, pumpkins, native melons, watermelons, various gourds of local origin, and sometimes lentils. [422] These vegetables belong properly to the cultivator and not to the [269] proprietor of the garden. They are consumed by him, for the Tuareg generally disdain them and eat them only when they are staying in the agricultural centers.

But these centers may be handicapped by numerous climatic 132 factors.

241 Rains are obviously beneficial when they come at the right 312 time; unfortunately, they most often fall in winter or in summer, seasons which do not correspond to the largest growth of vegetation. The plants benefit from them only when the rains are very abundant and the ground can store up water for several months. But still, rainfall must not be too strong, or else it can cause the wadies to overflow and immediately destroy the feggaguir. It then requires several months to reconstruct them and in the meantime the crops which cannot be irrigated dry up on the spot and are completely lost.

Cold can also have a disastrous effect. Winter wheat does not 132 suffer from it but its development is slowed up. It is much worse 241 for arboriculture, for if it is late and comes after the trees have blossomed, which sometimes occurs in January, it is likely to stop pollination completely. Fortunately, trees in arboricultural centers like Tazerouk bloom much later and there are only sudden frosts to fear.

/247/ The wind which blows violently in the spring may also hinder arboriculture by knocking down flowers or young fruits, indeed even fruits which are almost ripe. The great hot summer winds endanger the harvest by the intense drying they cause, unless this difficulty is overcome by abundant watering. Now, it is precisely at this time that the flow of the feggaguir decreases as a result of the heating of the soil and the intense evaporation.

It may thus be seen that agriculture in the Ahaggar is subject to many risks and that the harvests may be very variable. The abundance or scarcity of water causes the seeded areas to vary in

132 241 [166] [731] the proportion of one to four. After several dry years some agricultural centers must be completely abandoned. This was the case of Tit, Altoklane, Tâhârt, Dar-Mouli, etc., in the last few years.

In 1940, 555 hectares of land were seeded. This is the figure for a good year, which can occasionally be surpassed but can also be reduced by more than half.

162 241 [648] The population of the agricultural centers, which was 1, 310 people in 1916, was 2, 280 in 1938, which denotes a great effort made in favor of agriculture. This could be realized thanks only to the state of peace due to the French occupation.

162 103 Here are the figures for each of the principal centers, according to the archives of the Tamanrasset post (1):

1. Florimond report, 1938.

| | 1911 | 1938 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tamanrasset | 150 | 686 | |
| Abalessa | 272 | 250 | |
| I-n-Amgel | 180 | 206 | |
| Iglen | | 168 | |
| Ideles | 70 | 160 | |
| Tazerouk | 150 | 148 | |
| Tit | 75 | 98 | had to leave for other centers after the summer of 1938. |
| Tarhaouhaout | 140 | 91 | |
| Amsel | 90 | 66 | |
| Tahifet | | 39 | |
| /228/ Tigeneouin | 25 | 23 | |
| Mertoûtek | | 60 | |
| Hirhafok | | 80 | |
| Ilâman | 10 | | |

162
103

| | 1911 | 1938 |
|---|---|---|
| T-i-n-Ămenser . . . . . | 36 | temporarily abandoned |
| Tifert . . . . . | 50 | " " |
| Essélésékin . . . . . | 30 | |
| T-i-n-Târaâbin . . . . . | 15 | abandoned |

166 These figures bring out the weakening of some centers to the
621 advantage of others. Thus, a number of cultivators from
Tarahouhaout (where the French post was formerly located) came
[648] to settle at Tamanrasset, and the group of little centers in the outskirts of Ăbalessa, Iglen, Tăfarit, etc., has absorbed the groups from other abandoned centers like Tifert, Essélésékin, Ilâman, Tarahananet, etc.

[241 Together these centers number about 400 gardens and 80
312] feggaguir.

The wheat harvested is partly consumed by the cultivators and
262 chiefly intended for export; it is exchanged at the Touat for dates.
439 The total harvests in the Ahaggar corresponds to only one -fifth of
433 the needs of its inhabitants, even in good years.

621 There are fifteen agricultural centers exploited in the Ahaggar:
433 Tamanrasset, Tărhaouahout, Tahifet, Tăzerouk, Ideles, Ăbalessa, Hirhafok, Iglen, I-n-Amegel, T-i-n-Ămenser, Amsel, Tigeneouin, Talan-Tedit, Mertoûtek, and Esseléséкine.

[166] In addition there are twenty-two other centers which have been abandoned for some years as a result of dryness or lack of manpower: Aïtoklane, Ădenek, Ămrah, Ăbezou, Ăglil, Bloûmet, Déhine, Dar Mouli, Ennedid, Innezal, Ilâman, In Ămertek, Ilafok, Outoul, Ouhet, Souaïka, T-i-n-Târabin, Touakin, Teberbert, Tarahananet, Tahart, and Joraf.

/249/

# Chapter 6

## Animal Husbandry

233 If we study mainly the tribes which live in the Sudan, in a country which lends itself perfectly to animal husbandry, we observe that the Tuareg are experienced herders, capable of making their herds prosper. The scarcity of pastures in the Sahara has evidently put animal husbandry in the background among the northern Tuareg, but it was certainly not always that way. The example that we have before us in the Sudan allows us to class all the Tuareg among the great herders. [184]

Animal husbandry is at the very foundation of their living conditions. It is probably the source of their migrations and their swarming over the Sahara and the Sudan. On these grounds the Tuareg, like all shepherds, may be reproached for their thieving and destructive bent, the effect of which is often felt by urban groups and always by the vegetation which they shamelessly destroy. With these reservations, however, they have brought with them some elements of cultural civilization which have played a considerable role both in the Sahara and the Sudan. [167]

The Ihaggaren are forced to count on the income from their herds and could not live without them. That is why they devote a large part of their work to animal husbandry, despite the difficulties imposed on them by caring for the animals.

This animal husbandry, moreover, is peculiar to the Saharian regions and is totally different from that of the Sudanese Tuareg. The Sudanese own cattle, great quantities of sheep, and horses; the Sahara could not support such flocks. [184]

The Ahaggar Tuareg raise camels, goats, sheep, and asses.

174 The camel. -- We have seen previously what we must think about the introduction of the camel into the Sahara. Whether it was

174 /250/ introduced before or after the Christian era, it is nonetheless true that the ancestors of the Tuareg must have introduced it.

At the present time, human life in the Sahara, which is al-
182 ready of little consequence, would be reduced to zero without
233 the camel. This is a fundamental fact which has been amply demonstrated and which it is useless to dwell on. Th. Monod, who dedicated one of his works "To the camel and the goat, the vehicle and the container, the two sole conquerors of the Sahara, " (1)

1. Méharées/ Meharis/.

has not only been literary and witty, he has put the truth in a few words. Without the camel, no relation would be possible between the oases, no relation between North Africa and intertropical Africa.

233 One may therefore easily understand that the animal plays a large part in the life of the Saharian Tuareg, and that the latter make a great effort to raise camels. They have always endeavored to own many camels, and at the present time their livestock has increased to more than 10, 000 head.

[132] Although the camel has adapted perfectly to the Saharian
[492] pastures and terrain, it is nonetheless true that the aridity is such that he has difficulty keeping in good condition, and that a slightly prolonged march has to be compensated for by a rest period lasting twice as long as the period during which he was tired out. That is
[361] why the Ihaggaren nomadize with their camels on the borders of the Sahara in the steppe where there are acacias and graminaceae.

Ahaggar breeding is very famous. It furnishes animals which
232 are resistant, very frugal eaters, capable of braving mountain rocks or marching for weeks on end over the granite regoliths of the Tanezrouft, something the Sudanese -bred camels could not do.

The Tuareg select the animals when they are very young, destining them either for saddle camels or for pack camels. The meharis are castrated and undergo special training. In speaking of

232 these saddle camels, one may not, therefore, refer to a particular breed /race/ adapted for speed, as one may commonly hear spoken of.

436 The camel has a well determined exchange value among the Tuareg. It is one of the bases for comparison in their commercial transactions.

233 Each tribe marks his animals with a particular sign, and /251/
422 the owners who have many camels also have their own signs, marked with a hot iron on one of the parts of the animal's body -- neck, cheek, or thigh.

The sheep. -- Sheep are raised only accessorily in the Ahaggar,
233 because grass is not abundant enough. But it occupies a large place
[137] in Sudanese animal husbandry.

[136] It is a very peculiar animal with short hair and a long tail. It stands tall, a characteristic which has won for it the name of Ovis
[174] longipes. The Tuareg certainly introduced it into West Africa. Zoologists never refer to it except as Tuareg sheep. Its antiquity in North Africa is well known. The ram of Ammon is pictured with its characteristic form, and it is also recognizable in the splendid rock drawings of Géryville and Tiout. It seems to descend from the Corsican wild sheep rather than from the Algerian wild sheep. Today it is an animal found exclusively in Tuareg camps of the Sudan or in their area of influence.

574 Sheep is the dish served at great feasts, and its skin is used as
262
237 a ground rug, a blanket, or to make harnessing articles.

The goat. -- The goat is the mountain animal par excellence,
233 as frugal an eater as can be, resisting both cold and heat, and able to be content with the meagerest pastures. It is thus quite natural to find many of these goats among the Ihaggaren.

[136] /252/ The Ahaggar species is small with long black hair. In the Sudan it is different colors -- white and black, or red -- with
[232] short hair; it stands taller than the Ahaggar species and is often crossed with the dwarf female goat in the southern tribes.

The origin of the goat is less certain than that of the sheep. Very
136 widespread all over the world, it must have been domesticated at

136 several different spots, and it is not impossible that the species
[172] bred today in the Ahaggar is of African origin. Bones of the species are found in the Neolithic layers of the Sahara.

137 At the present time there is a death struggle between the goats
233 and trees in the Ahaggar. The goat itself is capable of browsing
185 the lower branches and destroying them, thanks to its agility. The Tuareg do the rest when pasture is scarce, by felling the main branches to put them within the reach of the animals. And so, in a relatively short time, trees, and the tahla (Acacia sp.) in par-particular, will be only a memory in the Ahaggar. Nothing has

[412
326]
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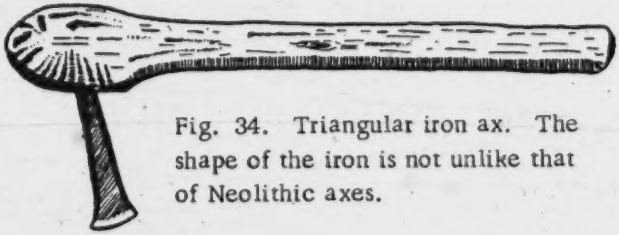

Fig. 34. Triangular iron ax. The shape of the iron is not unlike that of Neolithic axes.

been done by the French administration in the Ahaggar to protect the trees, when it would be sufficient to close some valleys for several years, while taking into account the needs of the shepherds. Measures of this kind have been taken in the environs of Goundam and have given very good results.

132 Prolonged dryness which causes a lack of pasture often puts
233 goat raising in difficulties. The birth rate is stopped short, and mortality may result to such a great extent that the number of animals sometimes falls to one fifth. Then many years are needed to build up the flocks, granting, of course, the arrival of favorable rains.

232 The careless and fatalistic Ihaggaren do not even try to step up breeding by buying sires in Adrar or in A'ir. They let their weak flocks reconstitute themselves by their own means, which
[272] sometimes requires many years. In case of an overabundance of births, they limit the number of animals, for they are well aware

of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled, and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and sometimes tents.

The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact number of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them, and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used. These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg, have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia where they are called "onager."

The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihaggaren have kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage, and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

262
237 The ass is never eaten, and its skin is not used.

233 The horse. -- The horse is not a Saharian animal. In 1929 there were four horses in the Ahaggar belonging to the aménokal.
[643 Today there are about twenty of them belonging to the members of
644] his family or to the notables of his camp.

This is an expensive luxury, for these animals must be fed with
[184 barley, and there is not enough barley for the people themselves.
262] It tends to replace the camel for the Sudanese Tuareg.

/254/ The zebu. -- A few years ago the aménokal owned a
[648] small herd of zebus which he had had sent from the Sudan. This
[137] animal is not raised in the Ahaggar proper, and it could not be, for lack of appropriate pasture.

[312] The zebus serve in the agricultural centers by drawing water. They are furnished to the tenant farmer by the proprietor of the land,
[427] and they are very poorly fed on hardship rations of hay and grass, or else they are put in rush pastures, which are generally plentiful in the agricultural centers.

[438] When the animal is tired, the owner exchanges him if that is at all possible. The privations which the zebus must undergo bring about their death in a relatively short span of time, and so in the Ahaggar it is a question of keeping them alive rather than raising them. In any case, they never follow the camps in their moves and never live near them.

361
136 When we talked about the camp, we told how the search for pasture directed its location.

233 Insofar as animal husbandry properly speaking is concerned, we
361 observe that the small animals -- sheep, goats, and asses -- always stay in the Ahaggar and move with the camp.

As for camels, this is not the case; they are often put out to pasture far from the tents, watched only by a few shepherds. The majority are even kept in the Sudan 800 kilometers from their owners'

233 tents, where a few camps live permanently, filling the function of
361 shepherds for the people remaining in the Ahaggar.

At the same time, then, there is nomadism and transhumance.

Definitions of the two kinds of life are as follows: there is nomadism when the tribe accompanies the moving livestock, and transhumance when the flocks are accompanied only by shepherds. And so we see that it is not possible to link the Tuareg to one category or the other, but that they engage in the two kinds of life, even in a mixed system in some instances. Quite often, in fact, the goats are pastured in the Ahaggar with a few shepherds, while the women stay in the mountains, and all the men are in the Sudan with the camels.

/255/ The migrations of these little herds of goats recall the moving of flocks which Vidal de la Blache has described as "mountain transhumance," that is, the camps move regularly from the summer pastures located on the peaks to the winter pastures in the
[192] plain. These moves cannot be as regular as they are in our country, in view of the irregularity of the rains.

It may thus be said that the Ahaggar Tuareg are small nomads by the short range of the moves of their camps, but that they are, on the other hand, great transhumants.

## Rules Concerning Passage and Nomadization With Flocks

423 The lands over which the tribes range are fixed by the amenokal
643 to whom the land appertains. The origin of the tiousse comes
651 partly from the pasture rights which he grants.

Each tribe is proprietor of its land, with full and exclusive
423 enjoyment of it. Others can come settle among the tribe only with
621 the authorization of the tribe's amrar, but the right of way, including the right to water flocks, is secured for everyone.

These rules may be modified in periods of great dryness or in periods following plentiful rains.

423 When pasture is scarce as the result of a long dry period, an
621 understanding is reached between the different tribal chiefs, and
311 one of them may authorize the other's tribe to come nomadize on his territory, on the condition, of course, that they not do any damage, mutilate the trees, or engage in hunting.

185 When a region has been abundantly favored by rain, the amrar
423 decrees the land forbidden -- ganent. No one can go there, in-
621 cluding the people of the tribe. This measure is designed to protect
311 young growths from the teeth of the animals and let the pasture grow to maturity. A few weeks later the interdiction is raised, the land is free, and anyone, without distinction, may profit from it, always conforming, of course, to the jurisdiction /sic/ concerning the protection of trees and to the hunting interdiction.

423 Animals straying on the land of a neighboring tribe are /256/
621 returned to their owners without the intervention of any sanction.
685 But when a flock is surprised on ganent land, the owner is fined one head of livestock -- one goat if it is a flock of goats, one sheep if it is a flock of sheep, one camel if it is a herd of camels.

A branch cut by a member of a neighboring tribe entails a fine
[185] of one goat or one sheep. This rule is not often applied, however, for the Tuareg have little respect for the protection of trees.

/257/ Chapter 7

## Care of the Body and Bodily Habits

515 Cleanliness and care of the body. -- In a country where water is scarce, it is natural that the people are not inclined to wash every day. The Tuareg, through living in the desert far from wells, have lost the habit of washing themselves. It is not that they despise

515 care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed [826] every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

751 For them the main question is protecting the different parts of the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the body is to that end.

291 302 They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired color.

302 [171] To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

515 [412] [824] The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth. They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed to form a brush. For this purpose they use irak branches (Salvadora persica) or palm jereed.

302 /258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring for the hair.

Young boys have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed [593] by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer 276 them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region. [184] They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a [884] certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have themselves shaved completely.

302 The women also wear their hair braided in a number of plaits which hang beside the temples. They coif each other, and since the job requires many hours, it is done only once or twice a month. [412] They begin by untangling the hair by means of a small comb, at the same time filling the hair with sand and wood ashes. Next they [515] proceed to delouse it, for each Tuareg head of hair generally harbors a whole little world of insects. Then the hairdresser separates the hair into bunches, using a small knife, soaks it with water and butter, and braids it, either in large braids so that there are three or four hanging on each side, or in many small braids. [751] They smear their hair with butter for no other reason than to protect it against the sun and especially against the dry air which makes it brittle.

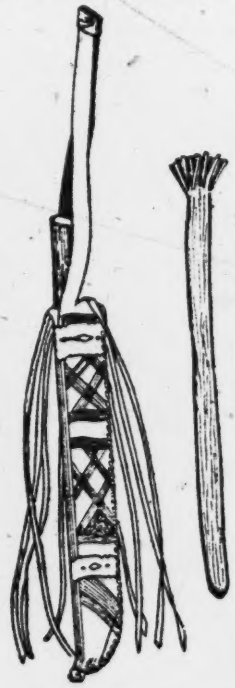

Fig. 35. Tooth brush of irak wood with its leather case.

The men let their beards grow, but they almost always shave their mustaches or cut them very short so /259/ that they do not get in the way under the veils which cover the lower part of their faces.

Men and women shave the pubis.

[754] After dressing the hair or shaving, the Tuareg always bury their hair or down, for fear that people who wish them harm might get hold of them and take them to some sorcerer who could use them to make fearful evil spells.

302 751 Men and women make rings around their eyes with kohl; they put it not only on the eyebrows, but especially at the roots of the eyelashes. They do this for medical purposes, for they attribute [164] to kohl the ability to protect them against eye maladies, in particular against ophthalmia which strikes many of them.

[326] The Tuareg appreciate the long, narrow hands of people who do no manual labor. They do not take any particular [412] care of them and are [531] satisfied merely to cut [212] their nails rather short. As they do for hair, they bury the scraps so that no one can take them.

Fig. 36. Hairdressing knife, bearing the name of the artisan who made it in tifinagh characters.

304 [171] Tattooing. -- Make-up. -- Unlike the Kabyle and the Berbers, the Tuareg are not tattooed. This detail, which may seem insignificant, nevertheless indicates that the relationship of these different human groups is not nearly as close as one might believe, since there are such appreciable differences in mores.

184 304 Some women blue their gums and sometimes their lips by tattooing them, but this custom is particularly prevalent in the Sudanese tribes of the Timbuktu region.

302 [751] On the other hand, make-up is used on a large scale among Tuareg women. They put red ocher on their faces to protect the skin from the /260/ sun. For aesthetic reasons they also blue their [517] lips and around their mouths with indigo.

302 For festive occasions, some women bear paintings on their faces, white or ocher dots above the bridge of the nose, under the [517] cheeks, and on their chins. These paintings have only an aesthetic nature, or so it seems.

304 751 All Tuareg, men and women, have two or three small linear scars on their foreheads and temples, and the indigo from their clothing which is often inlaid there gives them the appearance of tattoos. They are incisions made for medico-magic reasons when [855] the children are very young to protect them from headaches and convulsions.

[856] It also seems that this custom contributes to make them strong and making them walk very early. (1)

1. De Foucauld, Textes en prose /Prose Texts/, p. 64.

757 Medicine and surgery. -- If we now turn our attention to medicine and surgery among the Tuareg, we shall observe that their knowledge is not very extensive and has nothing singular about it.

753 In their minds the Tuareg classify sickness in two categories: those which are the result of an external action, visible and determinable, and those whose origin cannot be explained by any causal link. The former are treated with appropriate medical treatments, the latter by magic procedures.

757 The medical procedures, which belong rather to surgery, are clearly empirical. A few of them serve for a quantity of ills. They chiefly include bleeding and applying heat. In bleeding, the operator relieves congestion in the diseased part; in applying heat, he limits the pain, at the same time relieving congestion.

278 [177] The Ihaggaren have a whole stock of drugs which they borrowed from the Sudanese. These are roots, plants, and seeds which grow in the Sudan and in which the Tuareg have a great deal

278 of trust. Every time they take a caravan down south, they purchase
[439] many drugs, either for their personal use or to resell in their country or at In-Salah.

164 There are not many diseases in the Ahaggar. The country is relatively healthy because of its very dry climate /261/ and the bracing action of the sun, which at the same time destroys microbic germs. Moreover, this is very fortunate, for with the small amount of hygiene practiced by the Tuareg it would be impossible to fight disease. It may also be true that this absence of hygiene stems from the fact that the Tuareg have not had to see the necessity of it.

[165 The Ahaggar people die of old age or of war wounds. Of course,
731] there are sometimes epidemics capable of doing damage, but they are rare because of the isolation of the camps. The great distances which separate one from the other are a natural defense against mass contagions. These epidemics always come through the medium
[361] of the caravaneers or the people who return from the Sudan, where they have stayed among sedentary people. We may mention smallpox, very common in the Sudan, which sometimes works great ravages in the tribes. Typhus, spread by lice, may decimate a whole tribe in a few days, and it is not uncommon among the Tuareg. But these two diseases are the exception when they are reported in
[751] the Ahaggar. When a man returning from the Sudan is stricken with one of them, his case is reported by messengers long before his arrival, and the sick man is systematically isolated.

The Tuareg under the circumstances recognize the state of
753 contagion, but they do not see the causes of disease. According to
[771] them, it is caused by the action of bad genii. As good Moslems, they pretend not to believe in these genii, but in reality most of the talismans they wear on their persons are intended to protect them from these. To obtain them, they go to the marabouts or to men
[756] with a reputation for their knowledge of the occult sciences; these sorcerers are known as amekelléou.

755 When a bad genie is supposed to inhabit a person's body, people gather together and make a frightful uproar around him, accompanied by the tom-tom. The object of this is to put him in a trance so that the genie finally becomes frightened and decides to go away. [233] They use the same method for camels who are sometimes stricken with nervous difficulties.

A few years ago, a noble Ahaggar woman was subject to epileptic seizures. She had hallucinations and said she was possessed by an evil genie which she saw and felt in her. And so, each time the seizure occured, the people of her camp engaged in their /262/ habitual demonstrations. One day she got it into her head to get rid of her guest and slit her throat to allow him to leave. She wounded herself so badly that her life was in great danger for a long time afterwards. Scarcely had she recovered, however, when she had another attack and slit her throat a second time.

759 The surgery of the Kel Ahaggar is as elementary as their 752 medicine. First let us say that there are no surgeons among them, no more than there are persons known for their medical knowledge. Medicine and surgery are everybody's business; the knowledge that they possess is everybody's domain, and each Tuareg is able to care for himself or for the people in his camp. For surgical operations, nevertheless, the Enaden are called upon by preference, 752 since they are generally more adroit than the others. They usually 413 have small instruments that they make themselves -- forceps, instruments for baring the neck of teeth, scarificator, cupping glasses, tonsil cutters, etc. -- and with which they operate quite skillfully.

They have been very aptly compared to our barber-surgeons of days gone by. (1)

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413

1. Dr. Foley, Moeurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar /Mores and Medicine among the Ahaggar Tuareg/, p. 85.

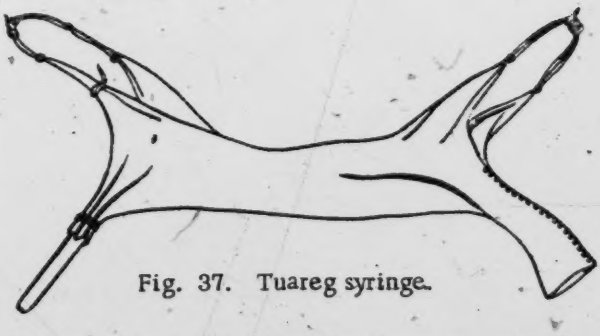


Fig. 37. Tuareg syringe.

752 [278] The warlike and eventful life of the Tuareg exposes them to many wounds or accidents. They care for war wounds by sprinkling the wound with sugar or smearing it with plasters of vegetable origin, chopped leaves of the Zizyptus lotus, or ground resin of the Balsamodron africanum. Sometimes they pour butter on it, and if the wound is infected they apply plasters of butter and ashes of aferegak (Chrozophora brocchiana).

But we have been able to observe that the use of this ash was of no great efficacy, that the wounds took a very long time to heal, and that in many cases they preferred to call on a European doctor.

Fractures are cared for with absolutely the same methods as those used by our European doctors. The fractured member, after being set, is coated with a flour plaster, furnished with a little cushion of goat hair, and braced by means of splints made of wooden boards attached to a sheepskin and kept in place by leather cords.

/263/ We have never seen any amputation among the Tuareg, and we do not know whether or not they know how to do it.

757 413 287 The Tuareg also know the use of enemas. The apparatus is made of a sheep's bone, one end of which has been rounded and

757 polished and whose other end is inserted in a small goatskin water
[413 bottle which holds the liquid to be injected. During the operation
237 one presses on the bag so as to make the liquid penetrate, while
the patient has his head down and his feet attached to a tree. The
[278 enema is generally composed of water, butter, and ground afasso
roots. When it is a question of giving an enema to a young child,
[855 the mother fills her mouth with water and, putting her lips against
the anus, blows the liquid with all her might.

/264/ Chapter 8

Dress. Adornment.

291 Clothing. -- The portrait of the Tuareg is now well known. Draped in a long, dark-colored blouse, belted at the waist, and with his head surrounded by a black veil placed in the shape of a haumier /?/, he makes a silhouette as majestic as it is mysterious
[492 when he is mounted on his slender mehari. Hanging from the saddle, as well known as the man, is the broad antelopeskin buckler.

The Tuareg, even though they are poor, are very natty. Although they have only sordid rags, they always are able to wear them with good taste and to keep a proud and dignified attitude under all circumstances.

The costume for men is the same in all confederations. It is made up of: 1) a very full pair of trousers, drawn in at the waist by a cord of braided leather; the leg is nipped in at the instep /sic/ and blouses over it so that it sometimes drags the ground; 2) a big, very full blouse, formed of a rectangular-shaped piece of cloth, sewn by a stitch at the four corners, and provided with an opening in the middle to let the head go through; it descends to the knees

291 and is worn loose or, more often, drawn in at the waist by a belt; 3) a veil covering the face, letting only the top of the head and the eyes show.

This is the simplest dress of the Tuareg.

292 The holiday garb includes several blouses placed one on top of the other -- a white blouse underneath, an indigo-blue blouse on [556] top of that, and finally, for rich people, a third blouse made of bands of cotton, worked in the Sudan. This last blouse, usually with a

[291]

Fig. 38. Ahaggar men's costume.
1) Amrid with his gandurah pulled up over his shoulders.
2) Akli wearing a leather gandurah.
3) Amajer in ceremonial costume with a takoumbout on his head.

[531] purplish background color and large and small embroidery over the chest and the shoulders, includes a wide, deep pocket on the left side of the chest. Broad bands of white and red material gird the loins by forming a belt and cross over the chest to form a shoulder belt. Large silk cords with red or green tassels finish off the costume which gives the Tuareg such an impressive air.

291 /265/ Clothes, except for the gandurah made of cotton bands,
439 are made of material imported from Europe. This material, called
chêga, is heavily dyed with indigo, giving it a very dark gloss; it
[556] is the favorite material of Tuareg men and women, but it is replaced by ordinary cloth among less well-off people.

Veils are manufactured in English Nigeria, in the village of Koura near the large city of Kano. They are made by assembling
[435] a multitude of little cloth bands. They are very expensive and can cost from three to five goats, depending on the quality. In
[177] Hausa language they bear the name toukourdi, which has been adopted by the Tuareg. For a long time they have served as ex-
[436] change currency for commercial transactions.

It has been asked many times why the Tuareg were led to veil
291 their faces. Hygiene, which has often been mentioned, and the
174 need to protect their respiratory tracts against sandstorms, are not sufficient reasons to explain this practice. There is something else, a /266/ very ancient enigmatic custom whose origin is lost in the night of time and which is kept up without their really knowing why. It is so deep rooted among the Tuareg, however, that they cannot conceive of a self-respecting man who can forego wearing the veil.

The headless men and acephalous people of ancient authors certainly owed their cognomen only to this very peculiar custom of hiding their faces, a custom which must have already existed in this remote epoch. One can only construct hypotheses on the origin of this veil.

We know through Ibn Khaldoun that the wearing of the veil was in general use among the peoples who inhabited the Atlantic coast and adjacent countries in the fourth century. This establishes that the custom is very ancient.

In the rock paintings from prehistoric or protohistoric times which have been discovered in the central Sahara in the last few years, we have noted the very peculiar method of representing the

174 heads of human figures. It seems, under the circumstances, that
291 there was a taboo against representing facial characteristics.

Can the substitution of zoomorphic heads in the human figures drawn at a very early epoch on the Tassili-n-Ajjer rocks, springing from totemic beliefs, also contribute to explaining the origin of the veil? This is a permissible hypothesis.

291 What is certain is that, at the present time, it is shameful for
826 a Tuareg to show his mouth and that the veil is the principal part of his dress. When he goes to draw water from a well, he will take off his gandurah and rull up the bottom of his trousers to be more comfortable, but he will take care that his veil is always in place.

291 Wearing the litham /veil/ -- or tiguelmoust -- includes an entire ritual which implies the existence of beliefs whose details have escaped us, because the Tuareg themselves no longer elucidate its meaning.

184 The style of wearing the veil and of placing the different parts
291 on the head may differ from one tribe to another, and there are local modes which some prefer by personal taste. And so, in recent years, the young men of the Ahaggar adopted the style of wearing the veil used by the Kel Férouan from the Aïr. This, moreover, earned them harsh criticism from the elders of their tribe.

156 /267/ But apart from these different ways of placing the veil
291 according to local or personal modes, the shape and knack make it more or less elegant. There is also a veil psychology, and when one knows a man, the way his veil is fixed may indicate his state of mind -- the reserved, modest way used when he presents himself in a camp where there are women; the elegant, studied manner for going to lover's meetings; the haughty manner of a warrior conscious of his importance; and the whimsical air of the Imrad or the swaggering slave. There is also the jovial, good-natured fellow's style of wearing the veil loosely and sloppily, and the disorderly style of the unstable, easily irritated man.

156 291 The veil can express a fleeting sentiment. Thus, it is pulled down over the eyes before respectable people or women, while it is raised over the forehead, on the contrary, as a sign of familiarity. To laugh freely at a joke, a Tuareg will raise the lower part of his veil very high over his nose. When he is irritated, he will tighten it like a chin strap to mask his anger.

292 In the festive garb worn on the occasion of religious or family festivals, the veil is complicated with many turbans made of white muslin and bands of colored silk. The upper part receives a sort of frame which lets them arrange many cotton bands, interlacing them to form a kind of crest. The top part of the cranium is never covered, and the veil lets tufts of braided hair stick out. At marriages, it was formerly the custom to wear the takoumbout, a sort of big chéchia made of wool fortified with enormous flosses of cotton and covered with silvery appliqués. This headdress is on its way to disappearing completely, and there are no more than one or two in the whole Ahaggar today.

291 The Ihaggaren use two kinds of sandals: the broad cowhide sandal called irratimen with simple red leather straps crossing over the instep, and a sandal called imerkéden made of a number of scraps of goatskin sewed together, with a strap going around the heel and tying with a knot on the instep.

[184 556] The irratimen are particularly worn by well-to-do men and especially appreciated in sandy regions where their large carrying area keeps one from sinking too deep. /268/ This sandal, which [177 439] is manufactured by Hausa artisans from Agadez or Damergou, was borrowed from these peoples by the Tuareg. Its origin must not be attributed to the Tuareg.

The true sandals of the Ahaggar people are the imerkéden, [184 556] which they still wear and which the mountain people always prefer, since they are especially well adapted to walking on rocks. They are worn by the common people and by the Iklan who have no money to buy Sudanese sandals, while they all know how to make very comfortable imerkéden with a few old pieces of goatskin.

184 Although men's costume does not vary at all, or very little,
291 this is not the case for women's clothing. That worn by Ahaggar women is peculiar to that region, while Aïr or Ioullimmiden women dress in their own way.

Fig. 39. An imerkéden, sandal made of skins sewed together and worn by Ahaggar mountaineers.

291 Tuareg women do not wear trousers but have a white cloth skirt wound around the loins. Ahaggar women wear over it a large white cloth blouse, similar in shape to that of the men, but closed
[556] on the sides. Well-to-do women wear a second blouse on top, made of indigo-dyed cloth.

184 In Aïr the blouse is replaced by a little bolero, and in
291 Ioullimmiden tribes women usually go bare chested or content themselves with a rectangular piece of material which they casually throw over their shoulders.

291 They do not veil their faces like the men. A little mantilla made of one or two toukourdi is worn wrapped around the head and

face to hide their features in front of strangers. During their moves, Ahaggar women use a big, broad-brimmed straw hat -- the téléé -- to protect themselves from the sun. 291 [484]

/269/ They wear irratimen on their feet like the men, but more often they go barefoot. In the Sudan, during the rainy season, they replace the leather irratimen by very light wooden irratimen, which fulfill the same function there as wooden shoes do for us.

[184]

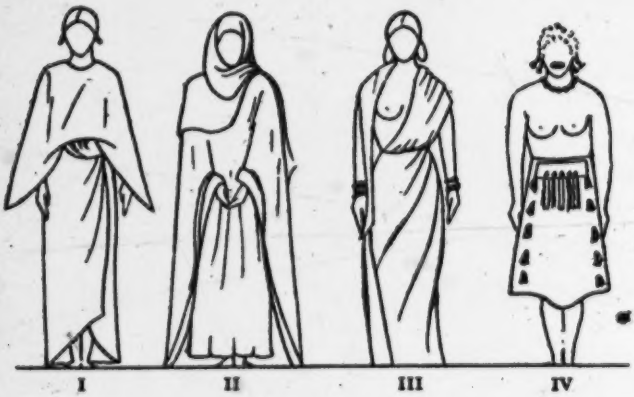



Fig. 40. Costume of Tuareg women.

1) Costume of Aïr Tuareg women, which includes a skirt and a little bolero.
2) Ahaggar Tuareg women's costume, including a skirt and a big gandurah reaching to the feet.
3) Sudanese Tuareg women's costume, including a skirt and a shawl around the shoulders.
4) Leather skirts for servant girls, in use in Ioullimmiden tribes.

In the Ahaggar and the Tassili, men and women wear a large white wool haik to wrap up the head and shoulders. During the cold period of winter they wrap up in a long woolen blanket (dokkali) made by the Arabs in Touat. The latter exchange them with the Ihaggaren for sheep. [439]

[177] Cloth garments have certainly been used only recently among
291 the Tuareg; they used to wear leather clothing. A few Ahaggar
174 Iklan still wear these knee-length blouses with fringes over the chest, sides, and sleeves. Evidences of these leather clothes are still to be found among captives from the Sudan and the Timbuktu region. They wear skirts tight at the waist, dyed half red and half yellow, and decorated with multicolored fringes. In Aïr little girls still wear /270/ a kind of small leather apron, and little boys, little leather trousers.

These seem to be the ancestral clothes of the Tuareg. The description of the dress of Libyan women which Herodotus has given us corresponds in all details to the leather dress used in the Timbuktu region, and some rock drawings of the Tassili are the very image of the small leather tunic of the Koudia Iklan.

832 Ornaments. Jewelry. -- The coquetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg is a most remarkable thing and quite unexpected among people who live under such primitive conditions and whose natural instincts must lead them first of all toward the spirit of self-preservation and material preoccupations. However, it reflects their rather superficial
[181] life, their light mores, and that pleasurable existence which the nobles intend to lead.

And so the Tuareg sacrifice everything to their coquetry, depriving themselves of food and parting with some of their goods in order to procure lustrous clothes, multicolored ribbons to set off the brilliancy of their coiffure, and amulet boxes which are carried more for aesthetic than religious reasons.

301 Women conform to the same faults and know no rest until they
832 have a certain number of jewels with which to adorn themselves.

For men, adornment consists of a few jewels, especially cases for amulets. As regards jewelry, they wear only one or two silver rings on their fingers, a heavy and coarse kind of ring, either plain or slightly twisted. In addition they wear a stone ring above the elbow.

301 [114] This stone ring (ahbeg) has been described by the explorer Duveyrier as a weapon. Actually it is only ornamental in nature, for it is so fragile that it could not withstand strong pressure without shattering, which might seriously wound the man wearing it.

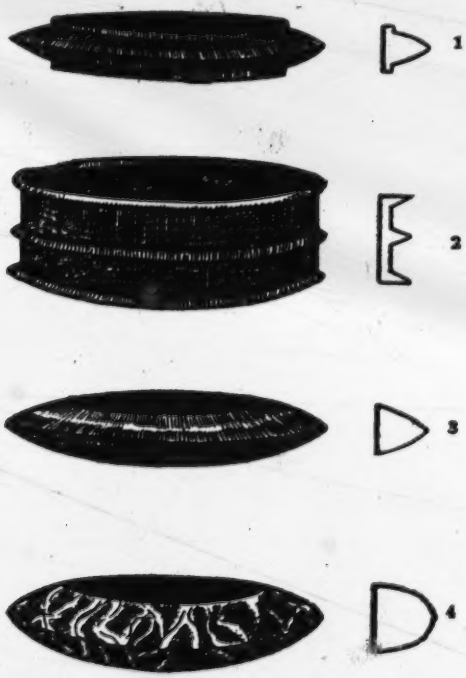



Fig. 41. Types of bracelets worn above the elbow by the Tuareg. 1, 2, and 3 are in soft schist from Aïr, and 4 is made of marble from the Hombori region.

[171] At the present time the Tuareg are the only African people who wear this stone ring, except for some groups of people who live in contact with them and have adopted it in a spirit of imitation.
172 It was, however, in very common use among Neolithic peoples,
301 and it is not rare to find fragments of them in the middle of ancient

[172] 301 layers /271/ dating from that epoch. Its origin must be sought there, and it is now nothing more than a Neolithic vestige.

A number of little cases which the Tuareg wear suspended around the neck and resting on the chest may be considered ornaments. [531] They are little leather cases -- decorated, painted or embroidered, or even stamped in relief -- and they contain various little instruments. [415] Thus, there are mirror cases, needle cases, razor cases, scissor cases, toothbrush cases, etc., and little wallets in which the Tuareg put what they prize most -- money, a /strike-a-light/ steel box and its flint, or tobacco.

/272/ They also wear 301 75 quantities of amulets in leather or metal cases on their chests, their arms, or their hair. But [178] this custom, religious in origin, has evolved in the direction of ornamentation, for many of these amulet cases contain nothing.

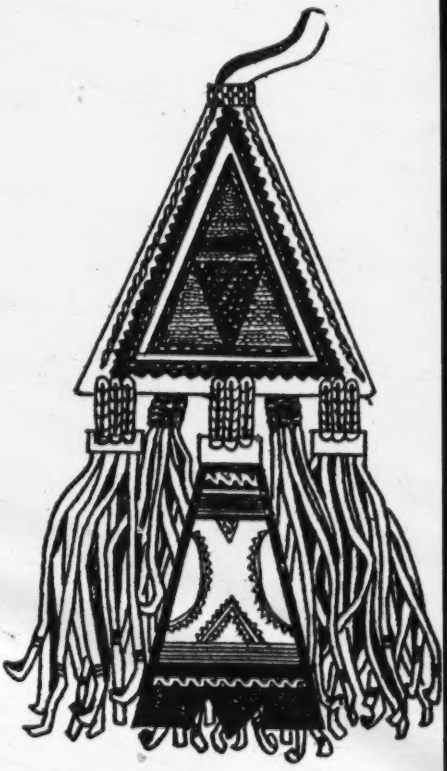


Fig. 42. Needle case of worked leather, with knife slits and embroidery. The background is red; the ornamental painting, black; the embroidery, red and green cotton.

301 Female jewelry is much richer and more varied. It is [328] all made of silver; gold jewelry is never seen among the Tuareg. They maintain [223 777] that gold is unlucky for the possessor and that this metal corrupts people.

/273/ On their fingers Ahaggar women wear big, round-shaped rings, made of small cases in which there is a little pebble which tinkles like a bell. Rich women wear two or three on each hand. 301 [556]

The wrists are adorned with hollow silver bracelets with triangular cross sections, bearing little linear drawings. There are also rather

[531]

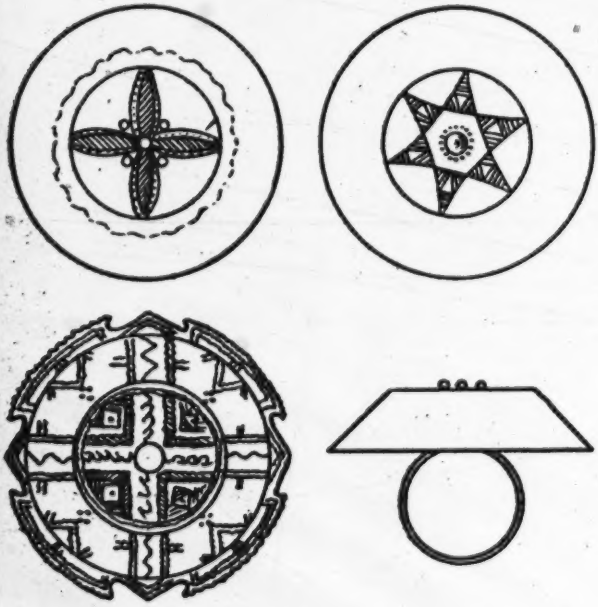


Fig. 43. Ahaggar women's rings.

broad black horn bracelets. Bracelets of Sudanese origin made of multicolored beads mounted on leather are also adopted by a few women. [177]

The neck is ornamented with a necklace bearing an oval (?) shell or a substance coming from a native Nigerian animal, which could very well be the manatee. This jewel (ameréouan) is extremely valuable and very rare in the Ahaggar. It is handed down from mother to daughter. [237] [428 556]

301 Under the necklace Tuareg women wear /274/ pectoral pendants, a small one shaped like a lozenge with a red stone set in it and embellished at the base with little triangular plaquettes, and another [531] large-sized one made of several triangles with big silver cabochons, each one decorated at the base with small triangular plaques.

The style of these jewels is simple and quite peculiar to the Tuareg. Although their triangular shape recalls somewhat that of Kabyle jewels, it is nonetheless true that they show no relationship with the [531] North African goldsmith's craft and that it is very difficult to explain their origin.

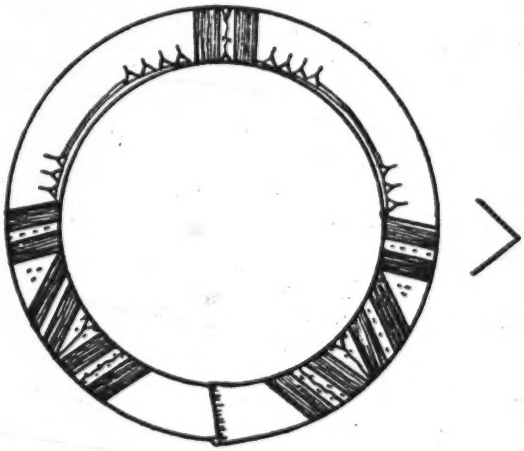


Fig. 44. Silver bracelet worn at the wrist by women.

Tuareg women of the Ahaggar do not wear earrings but great massive silver rings which are hung on each side at the height of the ears by a leather thong which passes over the top of their heads.

Very often they also wear little hair pendants which are attached to the ends of their braids of hair.

301 412 Both men and women are supplied with little tweezers to extract thorns (the irremdan), which they wear over the shoulder. That of the women, which is copper and bi-triangular shaped, /275/ takes on the nature of a jewel, for it is carefully worked and has a real artistic character. That of the men is simpler; it is completed with a little awl and a knife blade and serves as a small portable surgical kit.

1: Lhote--134 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

People adorn themselves with their jewels only during festivals; 30 they are ordinarily kept in bags closed by a curious rectangular padlock, which is provided with one or two interior bolts; it must be undone with an enormous key which the Tuareg always have on their person. [527] [414] [415]

Fig. 45. Ahaggar Tuareg women's ear hoop.

/276/ Chapter 9

## Arts and Crafts Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

The nomadic and pastoral life which the Tuareg lead obviously 32 limits the development of craft techniques and that of art itself. For them, all is reduced to the immediate necessities of everyday life -- articles for the household and the house itself, harnesses, clothing, and, accessorily, adornment. [532]

If we look for the raw materials used and at the disposal of the Tuareg for making the different objects which they need, we observe that wood comes first, then leather, then certain graminaceae stems, and finally metals.

32 If, secondly, we look for the aptitudes which the Tuareg have for working these different raw materials, we notice that their enumeration follows the same order as above, with the reservation 325 that none of them know how to work metals. The latter occupations 463 are the prerogative of the Enaden, that is to say, the artisans, and 564 it is evident from this that without the artisans' help Tuareg industry would be limited to work in wood, leather, and esparto. In short, it is the cultural cycle of the pastoral peoples of the steppe.

[174] It is only much later, when the Tuareg had integrated the Enaden with their social organization, that they used metals. Therefore, 415 531 we perceive the considerable role which artisans must have played in technical evolution and that of art itself.

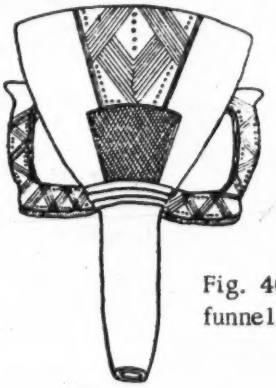


Fig. 46. Wooden funnel.

/277/ The presence of Enaden in the camps has reduced the manual labor [322] of the Tuareg, but the latter are still able to make wooden articles -- milking vessels, bowls, tent stakes, etc.

565 One of their most curious customs is that women from the high 462 nobility work wooden vessels and funnels with their hands by means 322 of a little adze. They usually give them to the wives of their Imrad, 431 who are very appreciative of these gifts. In the Ahaggar camps we found many little utensils which were the work of famous noblewomen, of tamenokalin whose names are piously kept; these objects were saved with much veneration. This custom is even more re- [174] markable since we know the scorn that the Tuareg have for manual labor; we must see in it a relic of woodworking which must formerly have been everyone's work, without distinction, before the creation of the artisan class.

Wood furnishes containers for food, drinking vessels, milking 322
vessels, mortars, pestles, tent stakes, crosspieces and boards for making saddles. The Ahaggar does not have more than five or six species of woods which can be worked, and the articles, very simply shaped, are much less varied than in the Sudanese tribes.

All Ahaggar women, noble or vassal, know how to tan, re- 281
move hair from, sew, decorate, and embroider leather. They are 462
able to make a waterskin needed to carry water, prepare skins to make tents, and manufacture bags for transporting food and personal objects. They have all become so expert in these labors that it is

[415
862]

Fig. 47. Amoula, a little wooden "bottle" for young children to drink from.

difficult to find any other peoples in the world who possess such a developed leather craft.

The scarcity of vegetable materials in the Ahaggar is one of [137]
the reasons why the use of esparto is relatively restricted. Only the 285
stems of a graminacea common in the wadies (Panicum turgidum) [824]
are used to make mats -- large enclosing mats which surround the tent, sleeping mats, mats for covering plates.

/278/ The stems are bound by little leather thongs, and the [283]
combination of graminacea and leather is extremely effective; it [531]
allows very regular geometric decorations at the same time as a very solid work.

There are no esparto vans among the Tuareg. The women 291
use palm-leaf vans and hats, but these articles are the work of the 416
Harratin from the little palm groves of Silet, Ideles, and Abalessa. 438

283 Spinning is done by all Tuareg women. They spin the hair of the
462 goat, the camel, and the wild sheep, making very solid cords and saddle girths.

286 Weaving is limited to the making of goat's-hair, or more rarely camel's-hair, bags. This is a very primitive technique which does not require any loom and which is, furthermore, in the process of disappearing from the Ahaggar, where only a few noblewomen still practice it. It is completely extinct in Sudanese tribes.

324 Stonework, a relic of Neolithism, was still carried on in the Ahaggar
438 a few years ago to make arm rings. Layers of granitoid schists were formerly worked
[415] at Aseksem and Terahart in the Tafedest. We also found
322] an ancient workshop south of Silet on the banks of the Tamanrasset wadi. Today all stone bracelets come from Aïr and a few from Hombori, where they are manufactured by Tuareg or Hausa artisans.

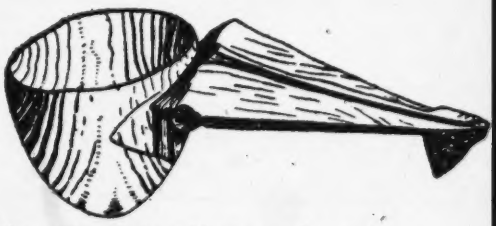


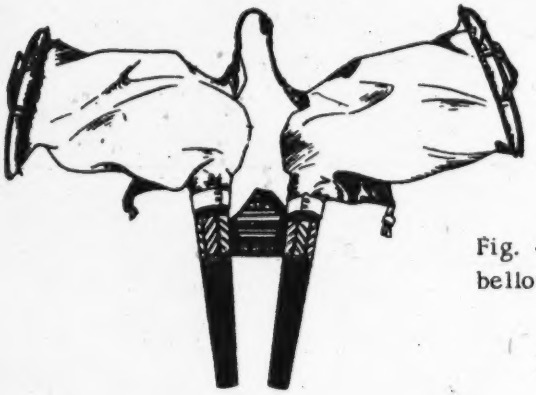
Fig. 48. Tabarekkat wooden ladle, also serving as a drinking vessel.

326 Metalworking is exclusively in the hands of the Enaden, who transform
[56] silver, copper, and iron. These materials, with the exception of iron, do not exist in a native, workable state in the Ahaggar. But although iron
[135] ore is common /279/ in some volcanic rocks of their country, the Tuareg do not have it exploited, for it is found in such small particles that it necessitates a disproportionate amount of forge work for the quantity likely to be recovered. Nevertheless, the memory of casting ore still remains among the Enaden. They use several forges at once, but do not know
[439] the blast furnace. The caravaneers coming from the north or from the Sudan used to bring metals.

177 At the present time silver comes from coins which are melted. For
326 years the Tuareg have had Maria Theresa dollars at their disposal; these

coins were for a long time the money standard in all of Central Africa. 177 326
(1) Copper is chiefly furnished by cartridge cases, and iron by abandoned

1. The Maria Theresa dollar was introduced into Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century by navigators [177 436]



[325]

Fig. 49. Double forge bellows.

and traders who visited the Gulf of Guinea. With the iron bar, it became the basis of commercial exchange, and it was circulated in the interior of West Africa as well as in Abyssinia.

scraps of old carriages, auto springs, sheet metal, tin cans, etc.

Aluminum, which is beginning to penetrate into the Niger region, 177 is not yet utilized in the Ahaggar. So far the pipes and guys left to the 328 four corners of the desert by wrecked airplanes have served only to make tent poles.

326 /280/ Silver is used to make jewelry--pendants, pendants for the
[301] hair, bracelets, rings, earrings, amulet cases, etc.

Copper furnishes a number of more important and naturally more
[492] commonly used
414 articles -- saddlery
articles, cavessons for
[412] camels, highly
ornamented padlocks
with keys, hair knives,
etc. This metal is generally better worked than silver. It is often
chiseled, engraved, and topped with applications of tin by a technique
[531] which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little
knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

Fig. 50. Hammer.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta
crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them
is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or
with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian
Arabs and the Sudanese.

Fig. 51. Blacksmith's tongs.

438 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms;
326 they merely repair them. Sahara, daggers, and
411 lances were for the most part manufactured by black-
smiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimmiden from
Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and
mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel
Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an
iron mine which is located beside the village of
Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally
not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the
[172] Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments
are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic
period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized
in the camps.

323

Pottery is made by Negresses, the wives /281/ of Harratin, or freed former captives who live in the agricultural centers.

This outline of the techniques and industries of the Kel Ahaggar Tuareg brings out their poverty.

Can we speak of art among the Ihaggaren? That seems difficult, for aside from a few rare objects, all those that they use are more or less in use in the Ahaggar are imported from Aïr or Adrar des Iforas, and that is explained all the better by the fact that the artisans are more or less originally from these regions. 438 531 517

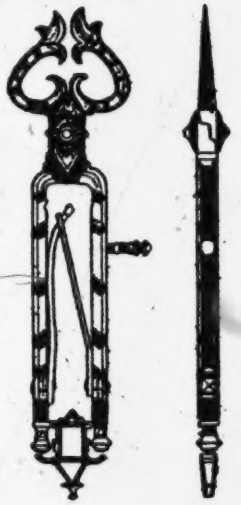


Fig. 52. Sugar tongs.

[415]

It is difficult to determine the origins of Tuareg art in general. It is in reality a composite art taken from all their neighbors, which, is not, for the most part, the achievement of the Tuareg themselves but of their artisans. It is among the latter that the distant origins /of Tuareg art/ must be sought. 177 517

The tastes of the Tuareg appear to be unchangeable. They have been fixed for centuries; therefore, in ancient documents some hundred years old one finds the same shape, the same dimensions, the same coloring as today. In this regard we shall say that the Enad is not an artist. He is a worker who may have taste, but who is, on the whole, incapable of creating. He faithfully reproduces the model which has been handed down to him. He 517 [178 172]

517 may do this with more or less finesse, but his inspiration will stop there. Only work in leather and wood are definitely the achievement of the Ihaggaren, for they derive from ancient needs and the techniques have been preserved in their hands and not in those of the Enaden.

/282/ Book VI

Social Life

Ancient Cults, Religions, and Beliefs of the Tuareg

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Chapter 1

Social Life

842 We are now going to observe the Tuareg in the details of their social life.

Birth. -- When young people are married, it is seldom that the bonds of marriage are not soon strengthened by the birth of a child. [586] It is very bad form for a young couple not to have a child, and sterility of one of the partners is often a cause for divorce.

843 The pregnant Tuareg woman continues to see to the household tasks, surrounded by the respect of her associates.

844 When the time for delivery approaches, the woman has herself taken to her parents' camp, if she is not there already, for she will give birth in her husband's camp only in case of absolute necessity.

A tent is set up where the woman is installed. She is usually assisted by a midwife who massages her belly and makes sure that

844 the child is in a good position; she also rolls her on the ground to put the child in place if need be, but she never makes a vaginal exploration.

845 If the birth does not go normally, the midwife may ask the [756] marabout's help. The latter comes and stands outside the tent, giving verbal advice but never intervening personally; he cannot go near the parturient woman.

844 To give birth the woman squats down on her knees and braces herself on the center stake of the tent. Generally /283/ the baby falls on a layer of fine sand which has been prepared for that purpose. The midwife immediately cuts the umbilical cord, washes the baby in warm water, and makes him cry by pinching him to make sure he is alive. Then the mother takes him, puts a bit of her milk in [856] his nostrils, stretches his nose so that it will be long and narrow, and presses his head between her hands to give it an elongated shape. [174] This custom is certainly a vestige of cranial deformation, which is no longer practiced among the Tuareg but which was formerly common among the Egyptians.

As soon as the father learns of the birth of the baby, he has a sheep butchered and sends it to the wife's camp. The sheep is meant 846 to feed her and the people who have assisted her. The woman is made to absorb a great deal of meat bouillon. Sometimes the new mother gets up two or three days after confinement.

851 The birth of a boy is welcomed with more joy than that of a girl. [842] In the first case, all the people, men and women, come to congratulate the mother, but if it is a girl only the women come to [852] see her. During this visit the women often put yellow ocher under [751] their eyes and around their mouths to keep away the bad genii which are always supposed to prowl around in tents where a newborn baby has just arrived.

846 On the seventh day after the birth, the woman returns to her husbands camp, accompanied by the women of her family and her brothers, if she has any. The father then sees his child for the first time.

553 852 Naming the child. -- It is then that the child is named. A choice is made among several names by drawing straws. In the tribes of the Aïr, when there is a dispute over the choice of a name, each of the parties present brings a small goat and secretly gives it the preferred name. The mother, who does not know who has donated each goat, chooses the one she likes and has it slaughtered. [574] The child must then bear the name which had been given the goat for the occasion. Then a meal is served to the people of the camp [431] and to the guests, and a present is given to the marabout if one came.

[302] The same day the newborn's hair is cut for the first time, and the marabout places an amulet around his neck.

551 /284/ The names given to children are quite varied and sometimes very whimsical. They observe customs like those of the American Indians, and so the parents take into account certain fortuitous circumstances which surrounded the birth. We have seen a young girl who bore the name of Tédigrès, meaning "hail," because there was hail at the moment she came into the world. Others bear the names of animals such as Ǎnaba, the panther; Ǎbagui, the jackal; Acotey, the jerboa; Tinirt, the antelope; Ǎhenkatt, the gazelle, etc.

[177] Because of Arab influence, the Tuareg have adopted many names taken from the Bible and Arabized, e.g., Moussa from Moses, Firhoun from Pharaoh, Younès from Jonas, etc.

They also bear very ancient names which come to them through tradition and whose meaning and origin they are ignorant of: Akhamouk (masc.), Amastane (masc.), Yklou (masc.), Chékou (fem.), Tinguelous (fem.). (1)

1. This name may come from the Latin angelus.

From then on the child has his father's name joined to his and keeps it all his life. There are no family names and marriage does

551 not bring about any substitution of names for either sex. If the father's name is Mohamed, one would say Anaba ag (son of) Mohamed, or Chékou oult (daughter of) Mohamed. Nominal filiation is therefore patrilinear.

Nicknames are numerous in the Ahaggar. Father de Foucauld tells us that "they are sometimes proper names of persons different from the one already received, sometimes names recalling a physical peculiarity or an event, sometimes meaningless names. A great many people have no nicknames. Among those who do have them, some accept them and others are insulted by them. Sometimes nicknames are temporary, known only to a few intimate friends and quickly forgotten. Sometimes they become so attached to the person that he is never referred to in any other way and his real name falls into oblivion." (2)

2. Dictionnaire abrégé Touareg-Français des noms propres /Short Tuareg-French Dictionary of Proper Names/, p. xv.

842 Conception and nursing. -- As for conception, the Tuareg see in it nothing but the will of God. However, they also establish the causal relationship of sexual intercourse and do not discuss the possibility that a woman can conceive without contact with a man. The existence and role of spermatozoa are unknown, but the Tuareg /285/ recognize the action of the seminal liquid and women practice spraying as a contraceptive measure. Professor [114] Gautier has even spoken of a primitive douche. This apparatus is not known by Tuareg women, and Gautier surely must have confused it with the enema.

841 Menstruation (iba-n-amoud) begins between the ages of thirteen [145] and fifteen years for Tuareg girls and causes them great fright. While they are indisposed they make no intimate toilet and often take no precautions to absorb the flow, which spots their clothing. [783] They also abstain from making prayers as if they were in a state of impurity.

841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
842 a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[788] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old
[782] tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
769 pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout
[431] an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
846 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.
431 Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
862 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his
854 stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
[184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullímmiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This
[171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are some-
[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
851 Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517 ennobles the woman.

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
[412 302] an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of
Tagant and Hodh.

Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
291 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
855 girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear
[556] trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From
that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while
the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated for either the boy or girl.

The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
868 the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
857 which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
[462] milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of
this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then
fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games
between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet
stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly
speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a
camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
[212] Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they
are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
[145] when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
291 ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good ad-
[431] vice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

881 From this day on the boy enters into the class of men. He
884 may go to war and attend the ahal.

668 Education of girls is hardly more interesting. At six or seven, the little girl begins to see to household duties, participating in cleaning the tent and making meals, etc. A little later she learns to weave mats, work little copper articles, and spin goat hair.

[534] Musical and literary education for young girls is very much esteemed among the Tuareg and [212] most particularly among the Imochar. Little girls learn to write tifinagh letters and play the amzad, a sort of small one-stringed violin which brightens up the dull evenings of the Tuareg.

Fig. 53. Amzad, or one-stringed violin of Ahaggar Tuareg women, and its bow.

534 The amzad is made
237 of half a hollowed-out and dried gourd, over which a goatskin or uran /lizard/ skin has been stretched, attached by cords (in the Ahaggar) or little acacia thorns (in the Aïr). The skin is pierced by one or two holes to increase the resonance. The handle is made of a stick which penetrates into one side of the gourd through a hole and is secured at the other side by a point, or else it may go through that side too. The string is formed of several pieces of horsehair separated from the skin by a little bridge made of two small pieces of wood tied together crosswise. The bow (taganhé) forms an arc with

534 horsehair attached to the ends. During the music the player from
[237] time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum
[314] tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The amzad skins are often
decorated with painted motifs in very vivid colors, or else they
[532] are covered with tifinagh inscriptions indicating the name of the
owner and bearing love verses for the use of admirers.

Among the Ihaggaren violins are usually large, reaching as
much as 40 centimeters in diameter. In Sudanese tribes, on the
[171] other hand, they are much smaller, rarely exceeding 25 to 30
centimeters.

533 The amzad plays an important role among the Tuareg, who
really make a true cult of it. Young men go to listen to the girls
play it. After they are married, they love to hear their wives, who
charm in this way the empty hours of summer evenings. Not play-
533 ing the amzad is a punishment that the women inflict on the men,
626 and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives
593 or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no amzad,"
they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This
prospect was often sufficient to restore their courage and incite
them to go efface their defeat.

882 The ahal. -- At about the age of sixteen, boys and girls have
access to adult society and begin to participate in the ahal.

571 The word ahal means "meeting, conversation, interview." A
521 synonym for it is édébuenné. These musical and literary meetings
have a more or less peculiar nature, depending on whether or not
they are mixed with asri.

517 Asri, literally "to run with the bridle loose," means the practice
521 of some very free mores. To live in a state of asri is to exist under
571 conditions which permit one to practice loose mores. Those who
533 can be in a state of asri are pubescent boys and girls, widowers,
and divorced people of either sex.

These meetings take place near the camps in the shelter of
a wadi, but always out of the sight of old people and respectable
people of the tribe. They usually take place before the evening

Plate XIII

136

Long-haired Ahaggar goat. This species is localized in the mountain massifs of the Central Sahara (Ahaggar, Aïr, Adrar des Iforas, Tibesti).

Daman sheep, or Tuareg sheep, very widespread in the Sahelian steppe, is also rather common in the Ahaggar, but it is raised there only accessorily. It is a very sturdy beast, and many caravaneers import them from Adrar des Iforas by making them cross the Tanezrouft. It is characterized by its long legs and long tail.

[439]

1: Lhote--148b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Plate XIV

Typical men's hair styles. The hair is braided and taken around to the back. The veil encircles the forehead, leaving the top of the head uncovered.

302
291

517 meal, which is taken very late, and more rarely after the meal if
521 it is to entertain a stranger. Everyone sits in a circle. Each per-
571 son takes a place in the order of his arrival, in such a way as to
533 alternate men and women. When everyone has arrived, they elect a male president and a female president, whose job is to see that the usages and customs of the ahal are respected and, as a joke, /289/ to inflict forfeits on those who bring on themselves the recriminations of the others. Sometimes only a female president is elected, but never a male president alone.

The presence of several girls in a camp is often sufficient
[574] cause for organizing an ahal mixed with asri. The young men come from neighboring camps, always dressed in their dressy clothes. Some of them sometimes come hundreds of kilometers to attend a meeting where they know they will find pretty girls and pleasant distraction. Then one of those present plays the violin. The sourish, plaintive, monotonous sounds which come out of it are quite in harmony with the wild setting made by nature and man. The men accentuate the rhythm by singing "ho ho" on the beat and finally by a hummed accompaniment. And every-
[538 one jokes and tells broad stories, for the poetic part is often of a
522] very doubtful quality, if not made up of more or less vulgar repartee.

Then the violin is silent, and laughter bursts out on all sides.
[832] Men and women make very free contacts and rub noses which is the peculiar form of the Tuareg kiss. These meetings end very late at night, and everyone returns to his camp, not, however, without having made an appointment by a special language of hand gestures to finish these amorous love feasts in a more intimate way.

836 The mores of the girls are indeed very licentious, so much so that Father de Foucault stated that the word "virginity" did not exit in Tamashek. (1) "There is no question of keeping the girl

1. Dr. Vermale, Au Sahara pendant la guerre européenne /In the Sahara During the European War/, p. 172.

836 pure until her marriage, " said Dr. Vermale elsewhere. "Those are sentiments which the Tuareg do not understand. Thus, as soon as she is nubile, she goes to the ohal and it is not long before she is deflowered. Virginity does not exist and has no representative value in the eyes of the Tuareg. " (2) Indeed, the women are

2. Op. cit., p. 171.

more or less easy. Some give themselves to the first comer; others grant their favors to only a small group of friends. To grant them [839 only to a single person, however, would be judged in very bad 577] taste and a sign of perversion.

No one finds fault with their free mores, on the condition [554] that they let themselves be courted only by men of a social condition equal to their own. Some women let themselves be courted by slaves and that is considered a shame for them.

842 /290/ One may be astonished that unwed mothers are not more numerous with such dissolute mores. Contraception is com- [833] monly used, and, as Dr. Foley said, effusio seminis inter crura is probably the frequent conclusion of the nocturnal rendezvous after the ahal. (1) These restrictive measures must not be unre-

1. Moeurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar /Ahaggar Tuareg Mores and Medicine/, p. 56.

lated to the low birth rate of the Tuareg, and it is quite possible that the married Tuareg woman continues to practice them.

847 Bearing children out of wedlock and bastardy (agama) are the [848] object of public discredit. The Tuareg rarely practice abortion, but infanticides used to be quite numerous, and no one thought of being offended by them. When a woman finds herself pregnant

847 under these circumstances, she usually goes to visit a relative and tries to hide her pregnancy. No one is taken in, but nobody says [756] anything. She goes to see a marabout who, for a rather high price, makes a few mysterious signs before the sinner, writes a few words in Arabic on a small board, washes the writing, and gathers the water in a gourd for the woman to drink. In case these practices are successful (?), a second sum identical to the first one is paid. [278] If not, the woman tries several mixtures, generally with a base of adjerdjir (Cassia abavata), and in case the results are still negative, the baby is simply strangled when it comes into the world. Although these mores are still more or less in force, they seem some- [797] what reduced by Islamization, and unnatural mothers are some- 848 times punished severely.

174 The ahal seems to have existed in ancient North African Libyan tribes. Herodotus mentioned the community of women among the Nasamonians, and the ahal is, in fact, only a derived and evolved form of it, if one could call it evolved.

582 Marriage. -- With the existence of such easy mores, it is understandable that young men and women do not care to marry early. Women rarely marry before the age of twenty, and men, before thirty.

584 Although the girl is free with her body, as we have seen, she still needs her father's authorization to marry. On the other hand, [593] however, it is rare for a husband to be imposed on her or for her to be married before puberty, as is the custom among the Arabs.

/291/ Mates are chosen in the lovers' meetings which form a sort of trial marriage. The suitor must ask the young girl's father through one of his parents or through a religious person if there is one in the region.

[184] Among the Ihaggaren everyone is informed of the suit, but in Aïr this is not the case; there the mother and the family of the girl are informed only when everything is arranged. If the [587] woman has already been married, her father's permission is no longer necessary.

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and [584 565] less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats, or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses [562] fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's [421] fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or decreases.

584 As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter [184] custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents, where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company. During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women, among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the [533] tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of "aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to [174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

585 A new tent is prepared with all the accessories -- mats, cords,
342 tent stakes -- also new. Inside on the left side is built a little sand mound, oval in shape, on which the consummation is to take place. Afterward, when the camp is forced to move, this edifice is respected and stays in place for several months.

585 On the seventh day, the girl's father has the marriage confirmed by a marabout. Then, in the evening the fiancée, who
[533] has stayed hidden all day at the home of a relative, is led amidst a procession of women playing tambourines to the nuptial tent, where the young man has preceded her.

The next day the young people gather in the tent of the newlyweds, as they do during the days of festivity which follow the marriage. This meeting is called tigedelsatin.

591 The newlyweds live in the camp of the girl's parents for a year. This institution of "service time" /temps de service/ is
[171] mentioned on several occasions in the Old Testament and was practiced by the Hebrews. It means that the fiancé must live with his future family, or quite near it, for a temporary or permanent period of time. This custom results in temporarily restricting the
[593] husband's authority and assuring that they become acquainted and that the young wife is well treated.

587 If the bride has already been married, she leaves for her
591 husband's camp on the seventh day, mounted on a camel and accompanied by her friends and her servants.

In the first case, new festivities are held a year later. The
585 men and women belonging to the husband's camp go one evening
591 to the bride's camp and simulate an armed abduction. The meharists who have stealthily approached then rush into the midst of the tents and utter war cries, answered by the cries of terror of the camp women. They surround the tent of the young wife and claim her as belonging henceforth to their family.

[492] /293/ This is the occasion for new gastronomic flights, and the next evening the young woman, wrapped in a big white shawl,

585 accompanied by her women relatives mounted on asses, leaves,
591 followed by the men on camel back, for her new home. There she
[492] is received by the chief and the old women.

While the married couple take refuge in their tent, the company carouses and dances. The festivities begin at sunset and do not end until dawn the next day, when all those present are exhausted.

593 The young women is then a member of her new family, which
[574] she will leave only in case of divorce or the death of her husband. In the meantime, she does not have the right to go visit her parents, but they may come to her camp.

562 Tuareg women keep a great deal of independence in marriage.
593 It is hard to tell whether they are faithful wives or whether they take advantage of their husbands' often prolonged absences to mis-
837 behave. According to some (Duveyrier) their conduct is exemplary; according to others (de Foucauld, Vermale) they leave much to be desired, and the wives continue to practice the light mores learned at the ahal. "Their unique preoccupation," says Dr. Vermale, "is love; having lovers is their only aim." It is certain that former lovers from the lovers' meetings continue to come visit the married women and to praise their charms in the ahal. But it must be explained that the husbands do not show jealousy, which would be in the worst taste, and that this courting seems quite Platonic. It is very difficult to ask questions on this subject, for the Tuareg are careful of their wives' reputations and maintain that they are above reproach.

As for the men, their conduct is proper in their camps, although some do not hesitate to make use of their women slaves. But when they go on caravans and arrive in the centers far from their country, they give free rein to their passion which a long abstinence has made more impetuous.

684 Adultery (aker) of women is often punished by death. The man does justice himself without anyone thinking to reproach him, killing the guilty parties by his own hand.

593 The very independent Tuareg woman has a very bad /294/ temper and in addition is often quite jealous. At the least misconduct by her husband, she goes home to her parents. She restores conjugal rights only after material compensation. For his part, the man is violent, and that often provokes disagreement in the household.

582 Obstacles to marriage. -- The cases of obstacles to marriage are identical with those fixed by Moslem law. It is forbidden to marry one's near relations, one's nurse or the child of one's nurse, or a woman having been fed with the same milk as oneself.

Alliances between Imochar and Imrad are very rare, for the Imochar who marries a woman from the vassal class makes his children lose the rights attached to his rank.

Noble and vassal women are willing to unite with Arabs, especially if they are marabouts, always on the condition that they respect monogamy, conform to Tuareg mores, and promise to live in the woman's camp. Tuareg men very seldom marry Arab women.

586 Divorce. -- Separation does not exist, so to speak, among the Tuareg, who make use of divorce, but do not abuse it. It is allowed by the Koran and is not subject to opprobrium. A Tuareg woman may ask for a divorce, while an Arab woman may not. The woman instigates it much more often than the man. The reasons set forth by the wife are usually bad treatment by her husband, insufficient support, embezzlement of animals, misconduct (which is a more rare motive), and sometimes nonpayment of the balance of the bride price.

The man more commonly sets forth misconduct, his wife's sterility, dispute over the bride price of animals, incompatibility, and often misunderstanding between the wife and her parents-in-law.

A few diseases such as leprosy may be grounds for divorce.

Divorces seldom take place without difficulties, and if a wife wants to leave her husband, any motive is good. The act of

586 refusing herself is a case for divorce, but disgrace is then thrown on the woman, who is rarely able to remarry afterwards. The man has only to say to his wife, "I send you back to your parents," to break the marriage. But more /295/ often he hides what he is doing and sends his wife home to her family for a few days. He then delegates an old woman from his camp to announce the breaking of the marriage to the wife's parents.

If the husband has instigated the divorce, the bride price remains the property of the wife's parents, but in any case the children remain the property of the father.

587 The woman cannot remarry before three months and ten days.
587 This forced retirement for women, which is prescribed by the Koran, is called ettef or ellouddet in Tuareg language. The women themselves are called tannanleft during this period. When this period has ended, her parents and the people of her camp organize a little celebration to announce that the woman is resuming her life of "free mores."

587 Many women do not want to undergo this retirement, and to
587 escape it they shift the responsibility onto a tree called agar in
824 Tamashek (Maerua crassifolia). They address the tree as if it were a person and say to it: "Agar, relieve me of my retirement which weighs on me too much; take the burden upon yourself." They place at the foot of the tree, by way of an offering, some antimony powder, a little perfume, and a fragment of cloth, which symbolize the attributes of a woman in the state of asri. Then, without waiting any longer, they resume their life of free mores.

587 If the husband wishes to take his repudiated wife back, a new marriage is necessary and a new bride price, smaller than the first, must be paid to the woman's parents.

Murder. -- Murder is rather rare among the Tuareg. It is
682 punished by retaliation when it was premeditated and by material
628 compensation in other cases. The vendetta, which was formerly common among the Tuareg, has disappeared, making way for the dia, or tax of blood. The custom sometimes demanded that the

682 assassin be returned to the victim's family. If he was not known,
628 however, the djema, or assembly of notables, designated a man from the tribe to go make himself prisoner in his place. There is
[692] no example of the hostage's having been put to death in such a
[643] case. Serious cases were usually judged by the aménokal, who was aided by four assessors, two taken from each side.

762 /296/ Suicide. -- Suicide is as rare as murder among the Tuareg. When one occurs, the person who committed suicide is
[766] abandoned on the ground unburied, and the camp is moved and abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the Tuareg regard the suicide as if he had never existed and must never speak of him again.

Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

[775] The soul of a suicide cannot find refuge and wanders forever. It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and people claim that they can hear it nearby in the evening and that it makes so much noise that it is impossible to sleep.

[761] Death. -- The Tuareg do not fear death. When one of them sees that he is dying, he gathers his relatives around him and gives
763 his last instructions. Then, according to the religious principles which he may have neglected during his life but which he recalls at the final moment, he pronounces the "Fatika /fatiha? Ed./" or
[209] if he does not have the strength for that, he raises the index finger of his right hand and breathes his last.

764 The body is immediately washed in lukewarm water and wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the
[567] slaves go to dig the grave on a neighboring high spot. The grave is made of a little trench with two stages such as the Arabs use.
[483 The body is carried on a kind of stretcher ans taken to the burial
417] place, head first, by four men. It is then placed on its right side with the face turned in the direction of Mecca.

764 A marabout or a literate man reads the Moslem prayer, and the men, standing behind him with their hands coupled and open at [782] chest height, repeat it with him. Women do not participate in the 763 [562] burial.

Modern Tuareg tombs have stone markers (chouabed), one at the feet and one at the head for men, one at the head and two at the feet for women. They are oval in shape and the mound is slightly dome-shaped. They usually have stones around them, forming a gully with a forward part open to the east. One often finds wooden stakes or tent stakes stuck into the two ends of the grave, as well as large balls of hyaline quartz which, /297/ according to the Tuareg, were used to rub the body of the dead man before burying him. In many places where there are hyenas, as in the Sudan, the tomb is generally covered over with thorny branches to prevent them from digging up the dead man.

After the burial the persons who came for the occasion present [264 765] their condolences to the family. The family has a meal served for them in memory of the deceased.

768 The dead man's clothing are given to the marabout or to the person who washed him.

[766] Then camp is immediately broken, and the people never return to camp at that place.

765 Mourning does exist among the Tuareg. It lasts only a short time for the man who has lost his wife. For three days he stays shut up in his tent. During this time the ahal and all rejoicings are forbidden in the camp. For the wife who has lost her husband, mourning is a real retreat which lasts four months and ten days, during which time she must not appear in public. The end of the retreat is marked by a little ceremony: the women of the camp take the widow to see the sunrise, present her with an open book of piety, and show her some salt.

761 The Tuareg never bewail the death of a person, and condolences often have the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you loved is now in the paradise of God."

1: Lhote--159 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

/298/

# Chapter 2

## Ancient Cults, Religions, and Beliefs of the Tuareg

797 The Tuareg are Moslem today, but their conversion to Islam is very superficial and relatively recent. Although, like all new converts, they strive to hide their former beliefs, it is nonetheless true that these beliefs have left still visible traces among them. For a few years they have made a point of honor of calling themselves good disciples of the Prophet, and they have even tried to claim a sherif origin. Thus it is very difficult to obtain the least enlightenment on their former religion from them.

What were these ancient beliefs? Idolatry or fetishism? On this subject we can only interpret some facts which will always remain very vague, for, as Gautier says, the Tuareg are Islamized enough to have lost all curiosity about their own pre-Islam past.

172 Prehistoric and protohistoric cults. -- If we closely examine the rock drawings and paintings discovered in the Central Sahara in the last few years, we find a certain number of elements which can give us an idea of the beliefs of these ancient inhabitants. Perhaps there is no connection between the latter and the Tuareg, which is probable, but it can also be granted that there were common points of contact down through the centuries which have left traces in the different peoples who inhabited the regions we are interested in.

In the precameline drawings, earlier than the bovid period, the totemic nature is brought out by several persons with zoomorphic heads (dog, mastiff) and false tails; they recall the representation of the old gods of ancient Egypt and at the same time the ritual disguises still used among African Negroes. They may be either appropriate disguises used for hunting in order to be able /299/ to approach game more easily, or else they are persons wearing masks

172 for religious reasons. At any rate it may be stated positively that the fertility cult was in vogue at the same epoch, to judge from the many drawings which are erotic in character. Finally, we may add that magic was practiced with regard to some animals -- antelopes, hippopotamuses. Their reproductions are often connected with cabalistic signs, such as a double spiral or an appendage between the horns resembling the uraeus of the Egyptians. Several stone statuettes, probably from the Neolithic age, have been found at Tit, Tazerouk (Ahaggar), and Tabelbalet (Tassili). They represented animals, rams or bovids and owls, which were surely the object of idolatry.

In the so-called bovid period, identical observations may be made. Several cows wear disks between their horns or else a little ring representing a slip knot. Perhaps these drawings are related to ram worship which was very much in vogue in North Africa and especially in the oasis of Ammon; this cult seems to have been replaced in the Central Sahara by worship of the cow. This animal was still honored as a god by the Berbers, who called it Doul Korneïn. The Sudanese Peul had no mystic life except
[171] their cow worship. We must explain that no similar belief has been discovered among the Tuareg.

The rock paintings, which are on the whole more recent than the oldest drawings, also give us a few indications to be remembered. Near Djanet a large painted panel represents a series of more or less steatopygic women dancing in the middle of a circle of people who are clapping their hands; then on his side, a man enters in turn into the dance, wearing a mask topped with horns (he is a sorceror or wears an ancestors' mask). This is exactly the picture of the magic scenes which we see among the Sudanese, where they periodically organize dances in which the masks of family ancestors participate. Traces of these dances have even been maintained
[532 535] in the Djanet oasis; every year there, on the occasion of the festival of "zébiba," people dress in tawdry finery and masks topped with horns. At Mertoûtek one may also see a large

172 personage painted in the back of an apse resembling an altar; his head is crowned /300/ by an enormous disk which must be religious in nature. Finally, many little human figures are headless, which, according to several scholars, Gautier in particular, must be interpreted as an interdiction relating to the head; the wearing of the veil among the Tuareg would be a reminder of this.

Let us also recall that in Tuareg country there are numerous stone disks, large in diameter, which might be ancient altars intended for sun worship (Gautier). There are also many pagan tombs where the bodies lie in a fetal position, a custom of religious nature which was widespread in all of North Africa and in pre-Pharaonic Egypt.

Religion of the ancient Libyans. -- We have only very little
000 information on the religion of the ancient Libyans, most of it left by Herodotus. This author tells us that the Nasamonians venerated the tombs of those of their ancestors who passed for having been the most just and the best, and that they swore on them by going to touch their tombs (CLXXII). The Ammonians from the Ammon oasis practiced ram worship, which must have been borrowed from Thebes, where Zeus, the god of that locality, was pictured as a human being with a ram's face (CLXXXI). The Auseans worshipped the goddess Athena, daughter of Poseidon and the limmê Tritonis (CLXXX). As for the Atlantes, greatly renowned for their wisdom, they did not dream dreams (that is, they did not use oracles as most of the Mediterranean peoples did) and ate nothing which had been alive (CLXXXIV); this may be interpreted as a vestige of totemism. Herodotus tells us further that all the Libyan nomads, who lived from Egypt to Lake Tritonis and ate meat and milk, imitated the Egyptians and abstained from eating beef and pork; their wives also followed that rule out of respect for Isis, the Egyptian goddess (CLXXXVI). They all made sacrifices to the moon and to the sun. Those of Lake Tritonis made sacrifices to Athena, then to Triton and Poseidon (CLXXXVIII).

000 In the third century B. C., the Massyles, a Numidian nation, worshipped Cronus, it is said, and offered him human victims. (1)

1. Gsell, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord /Ancient History of North Africa/, vol. IV, p. 289.

The Byzantine author Corripus tells us, on the other hand, that the /301/ Louata and the Hoouara professed paganism. They pictured divinity in the shape of a bull who was the source of other native gods also having the shape of young bulls. One bore the name of Gurzil. They had holy idols whose names they shouted during battles, and these idols were watered with the blood of sacrifices on the eve of the battles.

114 Christianization. -- Much has been said about an early
175 Christianization of the Tuareg. Duveyrier in particular attributed the high place of women in Tuareg society to Christian influence. He wanted to see the same influence in the existence of a certain number of Latin words of religious origin in Tamashek, as well as in the decorative motifs of some objects where the cross is often represented (on warriors' bucklers, in saddle pommels, on the handles of daggers and swords, in a little pendant worn around the neck by women).

Furthermore, Duveyrier is not the only one of this opinion. One has only to look at the drawing given by Barth (vol. I-II, no. 12), picturing a Tuareg meharist, where the crosses on the saddle and the buckler are clearly Christian. Such a document, which has no connection with reality, is well calculated to propagate a belief based on imagination rather than on the facts.

First we must examine what the true position of Christianity was in North Africa, where it took root in the first years of the Christian era. From the very first the new religion made great progress; many bishops were created who took the new faith from Caesarean Mauritania to Byzacène /Byzacium? Tr./ reaching the High Plateaus

114 and even the Chott Djerid. According to Tertullian, not only
175 was all of proconsular Africa Christian, but also all the Syrta /Syrtis Minor? Ed./ region and some Getulian tribes as well. However, Father Mesnage, to whom we owe important works on Christianization in Africa, has asked with justification whether the ministers of the gospel were sufficiently careful of the quality of the new converts. The spectacle given in particular by the community of Carthage in 250, at the time of the persecution of Decius, was really lamentable, and the apostates numbered thousands. The Numidians, by converting to Christianity, /302/ adopted the religion of their conquerors, or at least they seemed to be converted, for the masses remained pagan. What, then, are we to think of the nomadic tribes who still escaped the masters of North Africa? In a letter written to Hesychius, Bishop of Salone in Dalmatia, Saint Augustine said "that the gospel had not been preached among the barbarians, and as for the more remote nations who did not in any way recognize Roman power, they did not belong to the Christian religion through any of those who make it up." (Letter no. 199)

Speaking of the Berbers to whom the gospel had been preached, Saint Gregory said, in another connection, that many had remained pagan and continued to worship stones and trees. (1)

1. Saint Gregory, IV, 23, 27; VIII, loc. cit, Mésnage, Le Christianisme en Afrique /Christianity in Africa/, vol. I, p. 75.

On the other hand, Procopius tells us that about 548, under Emperor Justinian, the Nasamonians from Ghadames were converted and that in 569 the Garamantians from Fezzan concluded a peace treaty with the empire and were also converted. "Never was the faith so widespread in Africa," says Father Mesnage.

114 "The conversion of these new peoples spread the influence of the
175 church or the empire quite deeply into the interior of Africa. But was it solid? Religious propaganda was for a long time one of the favorite forms of Byzantine expansion. It follows from this that the conversions which it caused were especially political and were made without previous instruction in the catechism, consequently without conviction on the part of the converts. It lasted, alas, only as long as political interest remained in agreement with personal interests." (2)

2. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. II., p. 72.

The Arab author Ibn Khaldoun said in the fourteenth century, while speaking of the Islamization of the Sanhadja Berbers, that this pagan people had never adopted the Christian religion.

Thus it seems probable that the Tuareg were never Christians.
[531] Nothing in their present mores betrays the least trace of it. The cross found on the bucklers, weapons, saddle articles, and jewelry has no typically Christian character; it is a decorative motif to be found in ornamentation used among peoples who have nothing to do with Christianity. Only the Latin words introduced into the
[192 Tamashek language may indicate /303/ that the Tuareg must have
174] been in more or less distant relations with the Christian peoples, but they cannot vouch for the early Christianization of the Tuareg by themselves alone.

175 Judaism. -- Although Christianity certainly no more than
797 grazed the North African Berbers and by repercussion the Saharian nomads, it is perhaps quite different with Judaism. Indeed, the Jews settled early in North Africa, where paganism was then professed, and they made many adepts among the Berber peoples. Entire tribes were converted, and when Christianity came to take root in its turn, it found before it numerous groups, both Judaic and Judaized. The position of the followers of Israel was

175 continually strengthened by the constant arrival of new subjects
797 from Egypt. Therefore, a few years later under the Byzantine Empire, their influence was so great, in the cultural as well as in the political sphere, that it offended the established authorities, and Emperor Justinian undertook to drive them out. Many of them fled to the interior of the continent and even took refuge in the Sahara, where they formed numerous active communities. So it is that a Jewish state was formed at the Touat, as we have already pointed out.

When the Arabs appeared in their turn in North Africa, they also found many Jewish groups there. This was the occasion for violent persecutions and a new exodus, and many Israelite communities were forced to embrace Islamism.

In the fifteenth century there were still some Jews in the Sahara. They disappeared as Israelites under the pressure of the Moslem conquerors who abhorred them, and they must have merged with the peoples of the Niger loop.

[174] It seems that the tribes who gathered around Kahéna to defend the independence of the Berbers were Judaized. The very name of the heroine of Aurès -- Kahéna -- sounds Jewish, and could come from the Hebrew cohen (priest) which would mean "the priestess."

Father Mesnage has pointed out that several fractions of the Haouara /hawara/ were Judaized, particularly the Herreneha, who today live northeast of Aurès. (1)

1. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. III, pp. 95-107.

We have remarked elsewhere that the Jewish type was found
[173 /304/ in some Tuareg groups of the Niger loop, that the star of
53[] Solomon often decorated articles they used, and that legend attributes a Jewish origin to their artisans.

797 Islamism. -- According to Arab tales, the Islamization of the
173 Tuareg, and of the Ahaggar Tuareg in particular, was led by

797 173 Abd Allah Ed-Djafar, a lieutenant of Sidi Okba ben Nafi (died in 683), whose two companions died near a little Hirhafok village, at Tiokine exactly, where their tombs are still the objects of veneration to a certain degree.

In legends the natives even claim that Sidi Okba was killed by a Tuareg (Koceilata), thus confusing their history with that of the people from Aurès and the Kounta Dag Ech Cheikh who call themselves the descendants of Sidi Okba. This explains the ancestral hate which exists between them and the Tuareg. It has, however, been proved that Sidi Okba ben Nafi never penetrated into the Sahara, although perhaps it is a question of a confusion of names or a homonym.

[172] In addition to the Tiokine tombs, there is the rock inscription painted on the ceiling of a grotto at T-i-m-missao which testifies to the passage of the first Islamizers. This was pointed out for the first time by Duveyrier and followed up by Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, pp. 205-208. Since then, this inscription has been the subject of a detailed study by Th. Monod, Journal des Africanistes, vol. VIII, part 1, 1938, pp. 83-95.

[177] We must not believe that the Tuareg adopted Islamism right away, for although they accepted the Koran as a guide to their religious faith, they gave up nothing of their mores or their former pagan customs. The Arabs even claim that they apostasized as much as fourteen times, and they still consider them very lukewarm Moslems today. Furthermore, they probably belonged for a long time to the heretical sect of Wahabis, with whom they [169] were allied; this was just another way of rebelling against the conquerors.

1: Lhote--166a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Plate XV

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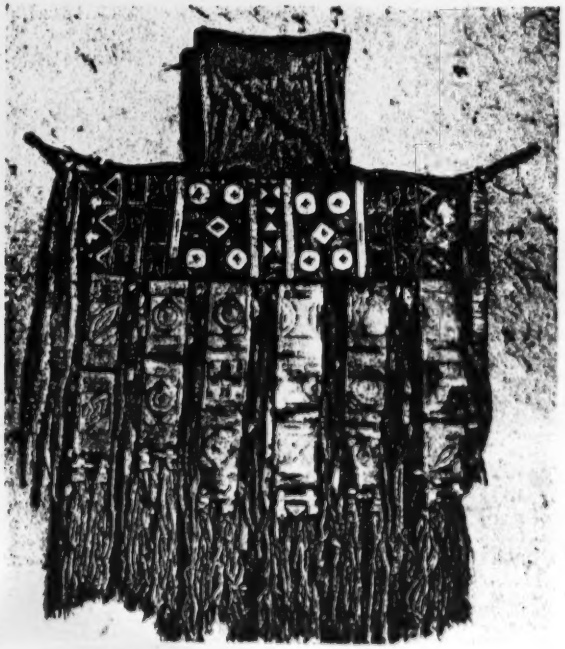
Old noblewoman from the Kel Rela tribe weaving a bag with goat's hair thread.



Goatskin bag used by women to transport their personal clothing. The very delicate decoration is obtained by cutting out the skin and applying embroidered leather.

1: Lhote--166b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Plate XVI

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Settled in improvised camps, blacksmiths work in the open air making weapons and utensils needed by the Tuareg.

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The Imrad women are in charge of taking the flocks to pasture and water. Every two or three days they go to the wells, drawing water for the goats, who drink out of wooden bowls or out of skins used as containers by placing them on mounds of sand in the shape of a basin. They fill the waterskins which will be transported to the camp by asses.

771 They are little versed in the religion and are incapable of reading the Koran, with the exception of a few men among the Tăitok, [743 for example, or in the Sudanese tribe of the Kel es Souq. There 212] are very few marabouts among them, and those who are there, with a few exceptions, live there in a spirit more mercenary than anything else. Among the Tuareg there are no imam or mufti, and [346] /305/ mosques are reduced to simple prayer places formed of an alignment of stones.

[781] Many Tuareg do not follow the prescriptions of the Koran, and a few years ago some chiefs relied on the marabouts "to make their prayers for them!" Those who practice do it ostentatiously. 795 A great number are affiliated with religious orders, but they are 175 usually ignorant of the meaning of the rites. Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the brotherhood of the Tijaniyyah was powerful among them. The majority of the people that the explorer Foureau met during his voyages in the Tassili were members, but he points out that there were also a few Qādiriyyah. Chief In Guéddassen and a certain number of nobles of the Ghat region were Senusi /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. So long as the Oulad Sidi Cheikh, who were the most important groups of the Tijaniyyah, fought France, the majority of the Tuareg remained attached to that brotherhood, but afterwards many of them adopted Senusism. The principal representatives of the Tijaniyyah in Tuareg country were the Tassili Ifôra, whose zāwiyah of Témaçinine had been founded by one of them, El Hadj el Foki. His son Moussa acquired very great renown as a holy man, and so his tomb, located near the little palm grove, is honored by all the northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg of the Ădrar des Ifôras are affiliated with the Qādiriyyah and received the ouerd from Cheikh Bay, a former Kounta marabout from Teleya; he died a few years ago, and his renown extends over the whole Sahara. Among the Ioullimmiden, some tribes are Qādiriyyah (Kel es Souq) and others Tijaniyyah (Daoussahak).

771 The religious lukewarmness of the Tuareg is such that they do
781 not always profess great respect for marabouts and very few of them
[788] make the pilgrimage to Mecca. When Duveyrier made his trip to Ghat (1860) there were some thirty pilgrims among the northern Tuareg (1); at the present time there are probably only three men

1. Op. cit., p. 413.

among the Ihăggaren who can be honored with the title of El Hadj.

But this tepidity does not always exclude fanaticism. Barth already mentioned that he had to face it during his trip and that he was assailed by questions and had to discuss different religious dogmas with some Tuareg; he extricated himself from this by a perfect knowledge of the Koran and of Moslem mores. /306/ Their
[669 religious ignorance makes them, at the same time, easy instru-
773] ments in the hands of marabouts who have often profited from this to stir up hate for the Christians and to push them into a holy war, as was the case for the revolts of 1915 - 1916 - 1917. In spite of the bitter failures which resulted, their confidence in their thaumaturgy was not at all diminished.

871 At the present time there are several Koranic schools in the
783 Ahaggar conducted by Arab marabouts and set up in the agricultural centers. They are mainly attended by Harratin children, for Tuareg children, who stay in their parent's camps, cannot go to them because they are too far away. A marabout family, originally from Cheurfa d'Aoulef (Tidikelt) settled in the Ahaggar some forty years ago and enjoys a great veneration. Not long ago it was fixed in the little center of Dar-Mouli, where it enhanced the value of the place, but as a result of the dryness of the spot it was moved to Esselissekine. There each year a great alms feast takes place,
[796 and all the Ahaggar Tuareg come. Its present chief, Moulay el
554] Ouafi ben Moulay abd Allah is an example of piety, although still quite young, and he is surrounded by great respect.

797 In speaking of the Islamization of the Tuareg, Henri Basset said that the latter had taken almost nothing from Islam, except

797 sometimes the Koran as an amulet, but that they had kept its fatalism. (1) Many authors also take pleasure in pointing out

1. Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, p. 388.

their more than superficial polish in matters of Islamism.

781 In spite of all this, we must not exaggerate the degree of
797 irreligion of the Tuareg. Since the French occupation, the
177 action of marabouts who cross the country trading is growing
648 slowly but surely. The state of lethargy into which the suppression of their life of brigandage has thrown them is gradually pushing them toward religion, and it is becoming more and more common
[517 to see young nobles kill time by reciting in front of a small
565] Koran board.

771 Superstition is very strong in them. They have not succeeded in breaking away from their ancient beliefs, and they wear a
[789] quantity of amulets which are often pagan in origin (jackal's foot, lizard's head, hyena skin, etc.).

[776] One observes certain noble families /307/ that, along with orthodox saints, invoke mysterious personages who can only be ancient minor gods they never got rid of. (1) In the old legends

1. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara, in Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

of the Ahaggar, Father de Foucauld has found the names of some of them: Tamâres, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Ouerdaz, Noulana, Radès. The Ihaggaren used to call on them to make their wishes come
[177 true, but today these personages have fallen into oblivion, and
782] only a few old people still remember their names. (2)

2. In Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

177 Some Tuareg scrupulously practice fasting, and the different
785 Moslem holidays are now followed punctually. But along with that
795 they keep the ahal, monogamy, and matriarchy.

774 Pagan survivals. -- Ten centuries of Islamism have not completely rid the Tuareg of their former beliefs. They still believe in the existence of an animated world peopled by elements acting visibly or invisibly, living in minerals, vegetables, water, etc. To be sure, these beliefs are growing blurred, dwindling and losing their intensity, but the Tuareg still live with them, even going so far as to practice certain rites, just as in the country in France.

Their belief in supernatural matter is more than we could possibly imagine. They believe in genii (ahinnen or imdounen) who
776 inhabit the mountains, springs, steep places, and some trees. They
[755] protect themselves from them by numerous talismans, which they beg from the marabouts, or by the practice of exorcizing. The women are even more credulous than the men on this point. They
769 consult the dead by going to pray on their tombs and ask them news
787 of those who are absent.

778 Petrographic cults are still very much alive among the Tuareg.
782 They believe that some stones are haunted, and to gain the good will of the spirits they place votive offerings in the form of pebbles nearby. Therefore, at the crossing of some mountain passes and some unavoidable paths one often finds enormous piles of stones imitating tumuli, or else many little piles placed on both sides of some camel trails. Some ancient tombs are the object of a quite peculiar worship, for example the one discovered at Tazerouk a few /308/ years ago by Captain Niéger. This tomb, on which lay several stone statuettes, polished axes, and numerous Neolithic objects, was still visited in recent years until the time when it was excavated by the French. The Tuareg deny this, of course, but the discovery of objects placed there recently (fragments of cloth,
773 beads, etc.) proves it. The stone statues represented the Tibaradines,
778 that is, "the maidens." They were supposedly a highborn woman
782 and her servant who were turned into stone because the mistress

773 had asked God to escape a raid which was coming to pillage her
778 camp. After the raid had passed, however, God kept the women
782 in the state of stone in spite of their entreaties, and it was so that life might be returned to them that the Tuareg came to leave different objects every time they passed near the tomb. The worship
[174] of the Tibaradines is certainly a trace of pre-Islamic and perhaps Neolithic beliefs which must have been deformed through the centuries. One of the statuettes represents a cow and is clearly related to the one found at Silet.

771 The remains of totemism are still affirmed by food taboos.
260 The nobles refuse to eat fish or bird flesh, as well as birds' eggs; only the ostrich escapes this interdiction. On the other hand, a
[825 legend even reports that the uran, or great sand lizard, is the
773] maternal uncle of all the Tuareg.

Some trees are also the object of worship. The Maerua
824 crassifolia which the Tuareg call agar is supposed to be inhabited by a genie which they chase away by striking the tree with stones every time they want to get in its shade. As we have already pointed out, repudiated women who do not wish to stay in the prescribed retirement as imposed by custom and want to take up the state of free living, rely on the tree to take over this retirement which bothers them so much.

754 Sorcery. -- Divination. -- Besides these more or less religious beliefs the Tuareg practice sorcery, divination, and the interpretation of dreams.

Some men, often blacksmiths, are known as sorcerors and make potions intended to cast spells; these are generally made of animal skins /309/ and are given to people who wish to cast a spell
[825] on someone, with the intention of taking him by surprise. The uran lizard plays a large part in the making of these sorceries.

787 Divination, practiced especially by women, is done in several ways and always aims to ask news of absent ones.

We have already mentioned divination through tombs. There is also what the Tuareg call tachilet (the viper). It is done either

787 with a mirror or else with a lizard, which are questioned following different forms and which must answer the questions asked.

Dreams are interpreted in different ways. If a man dreams of black, it is a bad sign; of white, he will receive money; of dates, some one around him or he himself will be wounded; of a viper, some one will cast an evil spell on him, etc. (1)

1. Cf. Vermale, op. cit., pp. 185 and 186.

We shall add that the Tuareg also believe in omens and interpret the unexpected presence of animals, crows, gazelles, and sparrows. Certain days or certain months, certain even or uneven numbers, are considered good or bad omens.

/310/

# Book VII

## Relations With the Outside World

### Chapter 1

### Trade, Caravans, Caravan Trails, and Transport

680 As far back as one goes into the past, one notices that the Sahara has always played the role of bridge between North Africa and Africa below the equator, and that there has never been a watertight bulkhead erected between the two regions.

The North Africans have always given their attention to the wealth of the Sudan. We have several proofs of this, among others the periplus of the Carthagenian Hanno, who was instructed to explore the African coast west of the Pillars of Hercules, and the voyage of the three young Nasamononians who tried to cross the desert in the time of Herodotus.

The subtropical zone is Negro country. The Egyptians were well aware of that, and they drew much profit from this distant neighbor. Their Pharaohs did not hesitate to send military expeditions to bring back gold, ivory, ostrich plumes, and human livestock! The North African inhabitants were not ignorant of it either, and soon the riches of the Sudan were a fact known by all. Great caravan routes grooved the whole Sahara from north to south.

Their trail seems to have bypassed the Ahaggar. We do not know the real reasons for this, but we can guess them. The mountain must have been avoided because of the obstacles it presented, its altitude and the rocky nature of the ground. The shortest trail which follows a north-south direction therefore cannot pass through the Ahaggar but can run along beside it. That is what happened. The reputation as brigands and highway robbers which the Tuareg enjoyed is perhaps not irrelevant to this turning away of the caravan trails either.

/311/ The great arteries which furrow the immediate approaches of the Ahaggar tie important oases together. They were able to prosper because of the fact that these oases participate directly in the life of the Tuareg and because the Tuareg need them to ensure their food supplies.

The largest and most frequented trail is the one connecting the oases of the Touat and Tidikelt to the city of Agadez. For the Ihăggaren this is the granary route: dates at the Tidikelt, millet in the Sudan. It takes 40 days to go from Akabli to Agadez, and the Ahaggar is halfway between. There is a mountain near the guelta /well? Ed./ of Outoul located 18 kilometers west of Tamanrasset which the Arabs call Ounous and which marks exactly half the way. This trail is, in fact, used by the Arabs, for whom the Sudan is an attraction. They gain very great benefits from these transactions, and everyone's dream is to be able to take a caravan to the Sudan, whence he hopes to return a rich man.

After leaving In-Salah the trail crosses the Ahaggar through the Arak gorges, reaches Lower Koudia at I-n-Ămegel, passes to

487 Tamanrasset, crosses the Tanezrouft through In Guezzam, and reaches the Sudanese zone either by the well of In Abangarit or by the well of Taket-n-koutat.

From Agadez the caravaneers usually go toward Zinder, Kano, or Sokoto.

Another trail, less frequented today but which formerly played a very important role, is the one connecting the oases of Ghadame and Ghat to Timbuktu or Gao. This is the route which the Sonrhai pilgrims used to take to go to Egypt. It was then much more a religious route than a trade route, for transactions between Fezzan and Timbuktu were very little developed and centered around the gold which came from Bambouk.

The trail, leaving Ghat crossed the plain of Xdmer, cut across Xdrar Xnahef, reached Aïtoklane, Xbalessa, and Silet, and crossed the Tanezrouft either by Tin Rerhoh or T-i-m-missao to end up at Tin Zaouaten. Then, crossing Xdrar des Iforas it arrived either at Gao by following the hollow of the Tilemsi, or at Timbuktu.

It is by this trail that the Arab traveler Ibn Batouta returned home from Gao. He left the trail after having crossed the Tanezrouft and entered the Ahnet to reach Touat.

There used to be another trail, Ghadames-Ghat-Timbuktu, /312/ which completely avoided the Ahaggar and went from Ghat to In-Salah by crossing Tassili-n-Ajjer. This detour obviously made the route longer, but it was much safer for the caravaneers than the Ahaggar route, for it was entirely under the control of the Tassili Tuareg, who were on good terms with the people of the oases of Ghat and the Touat. It takes 25 days to go from Ghat to In-Salah by this itinerary, and one months from In-Salah to Gao.

The road from In-Salah to Gao is still very much frequented at the present time, not only by Arabs from the Touat, but also by [439] the Ahaggar Tuareg and the Tuareg from the Xdrar des Iforas. This is the "sheep" trail, the one used by the caravaneers who are engaged in trading in livestock on the hoof and who supply meat to

487 the oases of the Tidikelt and Touat which have none. Thanks to
[439] the wells of T-i-m-missao and In Ziza, the sheep succeed in crossing the Tanezrouft without too much suffering.

484 This trace movement is evidently engaged in only during
221 the coolest months of the year, that is, from October to April, and it demands great precautions from the caravaneers.

312 Here is a list of the wells, starting from Timetaouine (Ădrar
484 des Iforas), where the animals are watered, as well as the number
487 of days of march between them, according to the information furnished us by El Bak el Fassi, the Amrar of the Kel Ăhnet.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Timetaouine (well, watering place) | | |
| I-n-Gezzal | 1 day | Ădrar des Iforas |
| Efenargh | 1 " | |
| In Ouzzal | 1 1/2 days | |
| Tirek | 3 " | Tanezrouft |
| Ti-m-missao | 2 " | |
| Tin Senatet | 5 " | Ăhnet |
| In Torha | 1/2 day | |
| Aleg'nenou | 5 days | |
| Tin Khalifa | 2 " | |
| In Belret | 1 day | |
| El Khenig | 1 1/2 days | Immidir |
| In-Salah | 3 " | Tidikelt |

Or 26 1/2 days' march.

484 /313/ Depending on whether pasture is more or less abundant,
439 caravaneers suffer more or less losses in their flocks. Sometimes this loss is complete, sometimes it is none at all.

We saw a Kel Ăhnet make the trip at the end of the month of April, a period which is not favorable, with 35 sheep and not have to kill more than one of them on the way.

487 When one speaks of a caravan trail, one must banish the idea of a route more or less arranged to facilitate traffic. The Saharian trails are simply marked on the ground by the tracks which the camels make, passing there in the same place for centuries. In the Ahaggar they look like a long, light ribbon running through the middle of the black rocks. The trail may be made up of two, three, or six ribbons which run parallel to each other, depending on its importance and the lay of the land.

Trails always follow the sides of valleys, naturally linking one well to the other and passing from one valley to another through the most accessible passes. They are never marked out. Of course in some places there are a few redjem, a kind of pile of pebbles to mark the passes or the nearness of certain wells, but these are rare and on the whole recently constructed, for the Ihaggaren have always strived to hide the routes through their country from strangers.

[648 312 20]

In sandy places and in regolith terrain where the ground is always more or less transformed by the action of the wind, the trail often becomes invisible, and the caravan must then trust to the knowledge of a guide or a man who has already traveled over the road several times and knows it.

Secondary trails. -- There are within the Ahaggar numerous secondary trails which are used for local needs. They all go from one well to another. All the agricultural centers are connected by a network of well-marked trails which are easy to follow without any great knowledge of the country. There are also pasture trails, little routes marked by the repeated trampling of goats going from one valley to the other and winding around the mountains; the animals follow them every day. This network is unbelievably extensive, and one might say that every mountain and every plateau is furrowed by several of these little paths. /314/ They are to be found in the most inaccessible and barest places, which shows that the Ahaggar used to be traversed in all directions.

[174]

174 in its remotest regions, the result of more intensive goat raising
487 and proof that pastures used to be more numerous than they are today.

492 There are very appreciable differences in the way Tuareg and
484 Arab caravaneers travel. The Arabs always push their camels in front of them; these camels march in a line freely, without any bridle or /head/ rope. The Tuareg, on the other hand, always advance in file, the camels attached one behind the other and guided by a man who takes the head of the convoy by holding one of the animals by the bridle, or else by riding it.

These different methods are imposed for two reasons, both connected with the structure of the terrain. The Arab Sahara is generally a flat country where it is easy to move about and where no natural obstacle opposes the animals' walking. In mountainous country, however, as in the Ahaggar, the narrowness of some trails, particularly going through certain passes, forces them to take precautions to control the camels' march, unless they want to see them crowd up on one another to the detriment of the baggage with which they are loaded. Moreover, pastureage also occurs under different conditions. In the northern Sahara, where the soil consists mainly of calcareous formations, vegetation is always diffuse, which forces the camels to move about a great deal, browsing from one tuft to another. Thus the Arabs have got in the habit of never putting their animals on a leash in order to let them gather tufts of vegetation which are within their reach, all the time they are moving.

In the Ahaggar, as we have had occasion to say, vegetation is, on the contrary, concentrated and sheltered in the valleys where water is hidden under the sandy alluvial deposits. Therefore there is no point in leaving any liberty to the camels; quite the opposite, they must not lose a minute on the trail but must reach

492 484 the pasturing place as rapidly as possible, and so they assure a strictly disciplined march for the caravan.

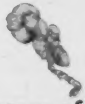
From this come the two systems of proceeding used respectively by the Arabs and the Tuareg.

486 643 648 /315/ Caravans which used to cross the country of the Ihaggaren were obliged to place themselves under the latter's protection by paying a toll agreed upon in advance. The duty went to the amenokal, but protection was ensured only within the bounds of his authority, which quite often did not go beyond the limits of his own tribe. And so the caravaneer was subject to continual solicitations from the people living on the land he crossed, and it was often very difficult to escape them. A guide was sometimes placed at his disposal and received remuneration in kind.

When the boundary of the territory was reached, the protection stopped there, and the greed of the Tuareg was so great [579] that they sometimes did not hesitate to go pillage outside their territory the caravan they had just protected. This often brought on conflicts from tribe to neighboring tribe, but in the final analysis everything was settled at the expense of the caravaneer.

427 492 Sometimes the Tuareg rented out their camels. Some Tassili tribes made a specialty out of transport between Ghademes and Ghat, while the Issekkemaren agreed to rent their animals between In-Salah and the Sudan. They derived considerable profits from this work.

As a result of these continual deductions in advance, the caravaneer could transport only goods whose trade was very remunerative.



484 674 Caravaneers have a custom of placing provisions needed for their return in the rocks or in sheltered places. These provisions are left without a guard, and nobody would think of taking them.

484 This was observed by Duveyrier, Captain de Bonnemain, and
674 Bou Derba on the Ouargla-Ghat itinerary. We have witnessed similar actions ourselves, but the goods stored in this way belonged to some Ihaggaren, and no one would have dared lay a hand on
[609] them. The thing is less safe in the case of a stranger's property.

When a camel dies en route, the load that it was carrying is left [illegible] spot and put under public protection. The caravaneer is always certain to find his property, even six or eight months later. In this regard, it is well to say that the Tuareg, raiders though they must be, are not thieves. When a theft has been committed in their /316/ country, the guilty party is generally a Negro, but rarely a Tuareg of the white race.

439 What were the products transported? Manufactured goods, for the most part, generally made in Europe. There were fabrics and silks which the Tuareg and the Sudanese eagerly sought, and there were knickknacks, unmounted sword blades, sugar, and coffee
[177 272] (tea only recently made its appearance in the Sahara).

All these goods were resold or exchanged for ten times their value. On the return trip the caravaneers brought back ostrich plumes, gold dust, ivory, and little Negro girls and boys bought as slaves and resold for very high prices in the cities of Algeria. Leather was also the object of an intensive traffic, as well as medications of plant or animal (ostrich fat) origin which were part of the Sudanese pharmacopoeia and much appreciated by the Arabs.

177 Today, except for gold and ivory, which have become rare
439 and whose traffic is in the hands of Europeans, and except for the sale of slaves, which has been forbidden since the French
[486] occupation, trade has remained the same. But the routes have become free and the Tuareg can no longer count on their former profits. There was one resort left, that of making themselves caravaneers in their turn and using their many camels in that way. This is what they have done.

439 [437] Sheep trading, which has grown greatly in these last few years, is largely carried on by barter. It is especially done by Arab caravaneers from the Touat who go to the Sudan with dates, tobacco, fabrics, and blankets, which they exchange not in the markets but in the camps. Tuareg from the Adrar des Iforas and Kounta Arabs also do the opposite and take their sheep to the Tidikelt and Touat.

439 435 In 1939 the sale price of sheep on the market at In-Salah was from 75 to 100 francs. The purchase price in the Sudan varied from 35 to 45 francs, but as we said, barter was most often the basis for all transactions.

And so for a camel that they received the Adrar Tuareg gave 120 sheep. One sheep alone was exchanged for 12 or 15 cubits of cloth or /317/ 10 guêcâa of dates. A dokkali, a large blanket from the Touat which the Tuareg hold in high esteem, was worth 10 sheep in the Sudan and 7 in the Adrar.

436 [177] The camel served as a basis of exchange. The Tuareg have never used money, although they did accept the Maria Theresa dollar which circulated in the Sudan and the Turkish livre which was widespread in Tripolitania. Sudanese tribes negotiated with toukourdi, the band of material serving as a veil, and with kori [825] (Cypraea moneta), a little seashell native to the Indian Ocean.

648 439 Since the French occupation we have seen a certain number of native merchants settle at Tamanrasset, the administrative capital of the Ahaggar. They are for the most part Mozabites and a few Arabs from Metlili who have constructed shops and have merchandise sent them by their correspondents in the Algerian Tell.

This recent state of affairs tends to grow more and more [305] extensive, and the postal agency at Tamanrasset records several million transactions every year.

439 These transactions are chiefly centered around tea, sugar, cloth, perfumes, hardware, carbide, and blankets from the Touat. They cause quite an appreciable movement of camels from which the Ihaggaren benefit, along with the Arabs from In-Salah who rent their camels to traders.

Transport. -- We need not repeat that without the camel the 492 Sahara would be uninhabited today. Indeed, it plays a capital role in transport between oases; it is the mount used by warriors and people who are moving and the vehicle for baggage. People would not be able to do without its services the moment it is a question of crossing a hundred or so kilometers in a region not supplied with watering places.

The ass also plays a big role, but its use is more localized. [312] It is confined to the edges of the massif, where it is rare not to find water during a day's march. The ass really assures all internal transport -- that necessitated by moving camps, transport of water [565] and even of persons -- for although the Imochar never travel except on camels, the Imrad /318/ commonly make use of the ass, and their wives know no other mounts. Its role is even more appreciated because it saves camels which, in the Ahaggar, must be submitted /only/ to moderate labor. In addition, it is always handy, for it lives near the camps while camels are often several days' march away because of pasture needs.

Meharists have a special harness: light saddles which are placed on the animal's withers and which are designed to receive the different bags of salt and waterskins.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have several kinds of saddles: 1) the tarik, with the pommel in the shape of a cross and covered with [261] red leather; 2) the tamzak, shaped the same way, but much more [531] luxurious, with the outside of the pommel and the back decorated with little perforated metal plates and copper studs; 3) the tahiast, [531] a coarse saddle with a palette-shaped pommel, either in bare wood [322] or covered with leather-decorated with geometric designs.

492 The tarik is the saddle commonly used by the Ahaggar Tuareg, the one which is peculiar to them and which they must have known from time immemorial. The tamzak, which is a decorated variant [177] of the tarik, owes the origin of its decoration to Hausa influence. In fact, the peculiar technique of applying perforated metal bands [171] enhanced by colored leather fabrics is found in horses' saddles of the

[531]

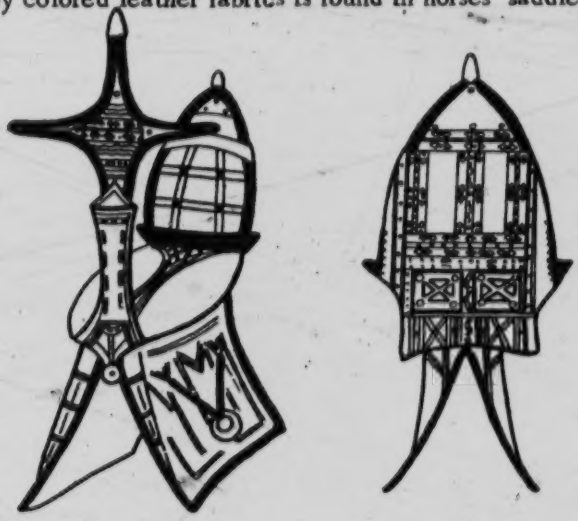


Fig. 54.. 1 2

The camel saddle called tamzack. Detail of the back of the saddle.

Hausa from the Damergou, Sokoto, etc., and there is no doubt that that art, which is unrelated to that of the Tuareg, is much more developed among those peoples.

438 The two saddles are usually made in Aïr, indeed even at Agadez, but the old Tuareg blacksmiths manufacture only the 326 tarik. The tamzak is the work of artisans, who are usually settled 492 at Agadez and more or less crossed with artisans of Hausa origin. 492 Ahaggar blacksmiths make only the tahiast, which is the saddle 171

492 adopted by all the Tuareg of the Ydrar des Iforas, which the
171 Chaamba Arabs also use, and which is derived from the saddle of the Moors of the western Sahara.

492 Ahaggar noblewomen, who travel only on meharis, have
[565] special saddles resembling the basour of the Arabs but without the arch covered in cloth. These saddles are called akhaoui; they
[322] are made /319/ of wood and ornamented with large pommels in front and small plaques trimmed with copper nailheads on the side.
[531] For long moves these saddles can be provided with a wicker cage covered with cloth, but this is not a common practice.

Saddles hold leather bags which contain either a change of
[415] clothes or food reserves as well as the waterskins constituting the necessary provision for crossing regions without wells.

For transport, camels are provided with a special packsaddle made of palm fibers which literally crowns their backbone. Most of these packsaddles are made in the Tidikelt. For caravans which last a long time the animals are loaded with about 100 kilograms, plus the waterskins that are generally added to the baggage. The servants, who accompany the animals and do not have personal mounts at their disposal, /320/ ride on top as excess weight and make the whole trip under these conditions.

[481] The Tuareg are very poor walkers and cannot conceive of a person's going on foot, even to spare the mount for a few kilometers.

Asses, which as we have said are used for transport within the massif, are provided with a little packsaddle serving as a saddle at the same time. When camp is moved, they are loaded with the tent, tent stakes, and bags containing food reserves. They also
[312] assure the carrying of water from the well to camp.

484 When an Amrid travels alone on a voyage, he takes an ass to
492 carry his water, his small baggage, and his blanket. Pushing the
[481] ass before him, he walks behind carrying his lance over his shoulders. He mounts on it only during the hot hours of the day.

177 In the last few years a number of notables, including the
492 aménokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the
643 Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them
133 to avoid rocks.

101 The Ihaggaren never travel on zebus and never use them for
492 transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

/321/ Chapter 2

## War and Raiding

721 The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

182 When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those
221 present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were
361 most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to
721 spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

727 Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not
426 own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case
714

727 of captures, however, he had to give half of the captured animals
714 to the lender. In case of failure and death of the camel, he did
426 not have to reimburse him.

721 The men met, discussed the planned expedition, and uttered
726 a ritual formula (narhal allar) which bound them together for the duration of the expedition, during which time they were to give mutual assistance to one another.

Then they named a chief who was not necessarily an Amajer /sing. of Imochar - Ed. / but a man renowned for his courage, his /322/ suitability, and his experience on expeditions of this kind. Then the group left, preceded by scouts.

726 All baggage was left behind. Everyone mounted on camel back, taking only the bare necessities for the road, for it was necessary to go quite fast and try to keep the animals in good condition. Before sunrise, the raid was already on its way, and the rapid pace was maintained without stopping until evening. The men ate only
[262 a few dates at noon, did not take their siestas, and ate a meal
264] only in the evening -- all was sacrificed to the speed of the march, which was the key to success.

Nearing their goal, the raiders forced their march even more if that were possible, and they often divided into two parties; one was entrusted with seizing the animals and bringing them to a specified point, the other created a diversion in the enemy camps to sidetrack them.

The surprised enemy was attacked with gunshots by a few men
[411] deployed as riflemen, while meharists swooped down on them, hurled their javelins, and then soon came to hand-to-hand fighting. The people who were attacked, for their part, tried to find out the strength of the assailants, and depending on the case they retreated or themselves attacked.

In spite of this martial deployment and the vigor of the attack, these combats were not very deadly, in general, and did not always cause deaths.

721 When raids were led against Sudanese camps, they were as in-
727 terested in the Negroes and Negresses as they were in the camels.
567 The kidnappers kept some of them to serve as servants and sold the others on the markets of In-Salah and the Touat.

726 Once the booty was stolen, the raiders went by forced march to the point agreed upon in advance, where they rejoined the other group of meharists.

The raided people, on the other hand, organized themselves, but they did not try to overtake the raiders immediately and did not wear themselves out in vain pursuit. As the return route of the raiders was known, they tried to reach a well where they had to pass; if they were successful in arriving before them and cutting them off from water, the real combat began, this time fierce and often quite deadly.

411
531
326
281

Fig. 55. Tuareg lance. The iron blade is decorated with copper inlays. The part where the hand is put is covered with leather, and a little leather loop placed behind is intended to hold the index finger which gives greater propulsion to the lance when it is thrown.

Hard pressed, the Tuareg formed in a square behind their camels and defended themselves under cover of their bucklers; /323/ when they saw it was impossible to take possession of the well, they abandoned their loot. The battle came to an end, and the raiders were rarely pursued. In the opposite camp, a certain number of men were left as sentries to guard against return offensives, and the others tried to gather up their animals and lead them back to the douar /encampment/.

727 When the raiding party was safe, the men divided up the booty in more or less equal parts, depending on each person's merits during the fight. But in some tribes, customs related to the tioussé demanded

727 that the Amrid paid part of it to the Imochar. The lender of arms or meharis was compensated in his turn, and that part of the booty was called abellag.

726 The Tuareg had the reputation of acting treacherously in battle and not always following the rules of chivalry for Saharian war.

In battle a man who threw himself at the feet of his conqueror and touched his clothes placed himself under his protection and
727 had a right to live; but the Tuareg did not always value this rule and often killed their prisoners.

When a tribe had been pillaged illegally, that is, when there had been no previous acts of hostility authorizing reprisal, a delegation of warriors from that tribe came to the opposing camp to try to negotiate for the return of the captures. This is what the Arabs call the myad, a term which has been adopted by the Tuareg. There again the Tuareg did not always show themselves to be very chivalrous, and they often savagely massacred the defenseless ambassadors.

726 During wars and raids, women enjoy the rare privilege of
562 being respected by the combatants. During the operations of the French occupation, men were often seen fleeing the camps, abandoning the women /324/ and children to the conquerors.
[648] This conduct has often caused the Tuareg to be accused of cowardice. This was a false intepretation of the facts, for the Tuareg acted that way prompted by the immunity which women enjoyed.

184 It is shameful during a raid to forget this rule of protection
726 and do violence to women, strip them of their clothes, or
562 penetrate into their tents. The infractions committed were often the acts of unscrupulous persons without honor. Most of the Imrad and Iklan, it appears, are in the habit of stripping women of their clothes and their jewels, going so far as to leave them completely nude, and it even happens that they rape them. The

184 more chivalrous Imochar and a few rare Imrad try to oppose this,
726 but in warlike escapades the Iklan and people with few morals are
562 often more numerous than the others.

721 Abuses of women always called for vengeance, which the
adversaries usually received before long. Acts of this kind were
628 enough to raise up entire tribes against one another. And so, in the Sudan, the exactions of Marabout Abidine's people on the Kel Ádrar Tuareg, at the time of the murder [411] of their amenokal Safikroum in 1912, made irreconcilable enemies of these two fractions.

[648] At the beginning of the French occupation, when lieutenants Cottenest and Guilho-Lohan carried out their reconnaissance missions in the Ahaggar, they found women abandoned in the camps by their husbands. The good care which was taken of them made it easier to make peaceful contact later with the Ihaggaren.

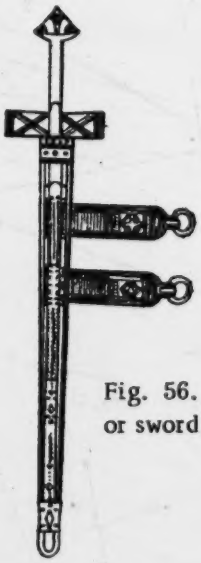


Fig. 56. The tacouba, or sword.

411 Tuareg weapons include iron lances, javelins with wooden staff, swords, daggers, and a buckler.

[177] /325/ Even before the French occupation the Tuareg knew how to use firearms and possessed a certain number of guns. They [439] were for the most part projectile weapons or archaic models of the

Lefaucheux type. But their prices were high for Tuareg pocket- 411
books, and it was difficult to procure powder and bullets, which 439
made firearms uncommon and often the prerogative of the chiefs. 554

Tuareg weapons vary according to the circumstances. The
Imochar carries the arms he likes: they include the sword 184
(tacouba), which is the 411
weapon par excellence 565
of the nobles; the iron
lance (allar') carried by
nobles and vassals; [531]
javelins with iron shoulder
and point and wooden
staff (tarda), which are
set aside for vassals and
slaves; and the forearm
dagger (télak) provided
with a leather ring so that
it may be hung from the
wrist. In the Sudan slaves
also carry wooden clubs
(tabouri), heavy branches
with a knot at one end.

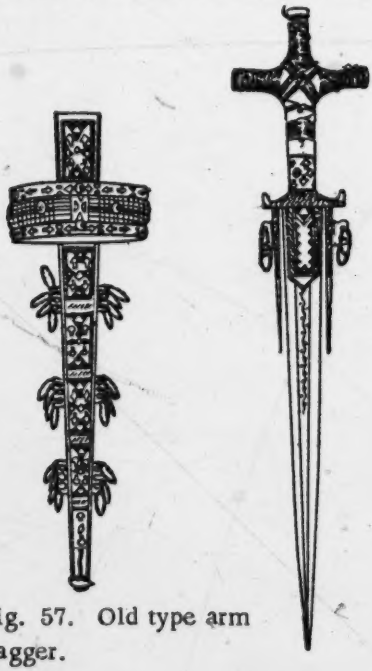


Fig. 57. Old type arm dagger.

The Tuareg have only
one defensive weapon,
the buckler (ahrer) which
is made of oryx antelope
skin. It was generally the prerogative of the nobles, and only
they had the right to carry it. It recalls the coat of arms by its [531]
shape and the ideology which surrounds it; the decorative motifs
which it bears have a magic character.

The Tuareg are adroit fencers, fighting hand /326/ to hand 411
with their swords while protecting themselves with their bucklers, 714
which cover their bodies and which they handle with a great deal
of dexterity in spite of the volume and weight. The sword cuts

411 and, if it is of good quality, it is liable to split a buckler in two.
714 The hand is protected by a little rectangular iron guard which gives the shape of a cross to the upper part of the sword.

Duveyrier, the explorer, noted that the Tuareg used the bow.
114 We have not found this weapon among them, nor any evidence as
411 to what it used to be used for.

[714 281]

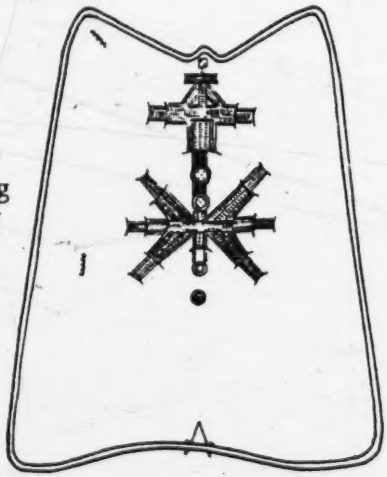
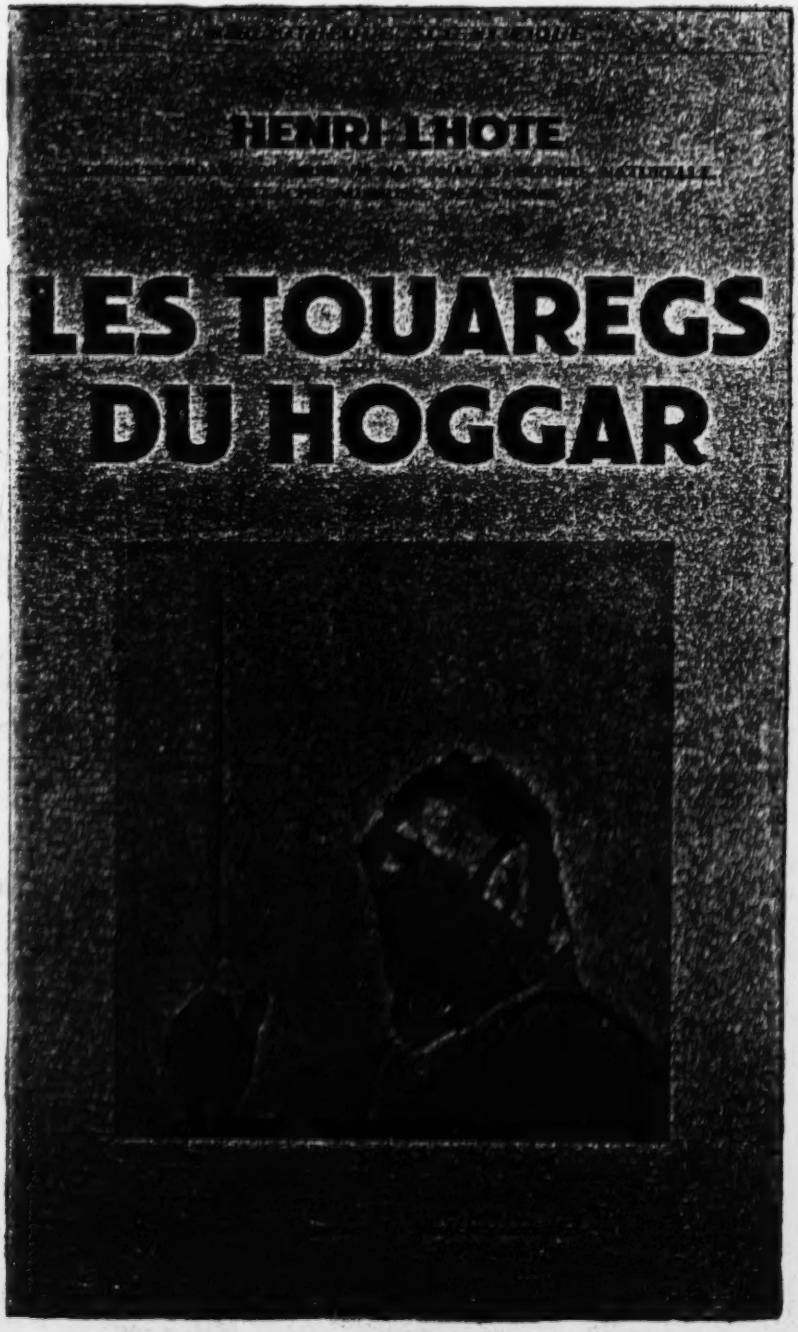


Fig. 58. Tuareg buckler made of oryx antelope skin.

411 All of these weapons have become very archaic in view of the arrival of rapid-firing weapons. The Ahaggar Imochar still
[554] hold to their sword, which they always wear over their shoulders, and which seems to be used more to indicate their social rank than for warring action. In the Sudan almost all the Tuareg still carry lances, and some of them carry forearm daggers. In Aïr one may still see a buckler hung from the saddle of a mehari. But in a few years all these objects will be good for filling trophy cases.

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1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg

*BIBLIOTHÈQUE SCIENTIFIQUE*

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# LES TOUAREGS DU HOGGAR

## (Ahaggar)

*Avec 58 figures, 5 cartes et 16 planches hors-texte.*

PAYOT, PARIS
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1944

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# *AVANT-PROPOS*

La littérature, les récits de voyages, les reportages journalistiques ont fait, ces dernières années, connaître au Grand Public le Hoggar et ses habitants, les Touaregs. Le goût de l'exotisme, comme une connaissance plus approfondie des populations indigènes placées sous notre drapeau, se sont faits de plus en plus sentir et au moment où le Sahara entre dans une phase nouvelle de son histoire, il était désirable que le grand public pût trouver une documentation succincte sur le mystérieux pays de l'Atlantide et ses non moins mystérieux hommes voilés.

Le dernier ouvrage d'ensemble sur les Touaregs du Hoggar remonte à 1908. Il est l'œuvre de l'officier interprète Benhazéra. A l'occasion de cette publication, le général Laperrine, alors lieutenant-colonel, tint à signaler toute son importance, sa valeur documentaire et les services qu'elle était appelée à rendre, en particulier aux officiers des Affaires Indigènes destinés à administrer les Touaregs.

Il souligna également le fait qu'elle faisait suite à l'ouvrage célèbre de l'explorateur Duveyrier, lequel fut publié en 1865 et intitulé *Les Touareg du Nord.*

Trente-cinq ans ont passé depuis et ces deux ouvrages sont introuvables, même dans beaucoup de bibliothèques. D'autre part, bien des événements se sont produits depuis 1908 et nos connaissances du désert et des Touaregs se sont notablement augmentées. Beaucoup d'officiers des Affaires Indigènes d'Algérie, stimulés par l'esprit toujours en éveil du général Laperrine, ont écrit des rapports pleins d'intérêt, malheureusement enfouis dans les archives des postes et qui restent inaccessibles à la plupart des travailleurs.

A côté de ces travaux, plusieurs missions importantes : mission du Transsaharien (capitaines Nieger, M.M. Cortier, Chudeau, Dubuc, Némorin) ; mission Olufsen (Bourcart) ; mission de Prorok ; mission Augiéras-Draper (Th. Monod, Besnard) ; mission du Hoggar organisée par M. le Gouverneur de l'Algérie Carde (MM. Foley, Leblanc, Maire, de Peyerimoff, Seurat, Reygasse, P. E. Dubois) ; des explorateurs isolés parmi lesquels Chudeau, E. F. Gautier, C. Kilian, Th. Monod, R. Perret, ont apporté, chacun dans leurs disciplines, des documents nouveaux pour notre connaissance du Grand Désert.

De plus, ces dernières années, d'importantes découvertes archéologiques ont été faites, qui bouleversent l'idée que l'on se faisait autrefois du passé du Sahara. C'est ainsi que l'on possède à l'heure

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



actuelle les relevés de milliers de gravures et de peintures rupestres qui jettent une lueur nouvelle sur la préhistoire saharienne. A celles-ci, le nom du capitaine Brenans restera attaché pour avoir fait connaître les importantes stations de l'oued Djorat qu'il a découvertes et qui sont les plus curieuses du genre. Enfin, grâce aux travaux méthodiques de René et André Basset, qui ont publié les notes linguistiques laissées à sa mort par le Père de Foucauld, les chercheurs, linguistes et ethnographes, possèdent une mine inépuisable de documents de grande valeur.

A l'issue de toute cette documentation, il était possible de tenter un ouvrage d'ensemble en rapport avec nos connaissances actuelles. C'est ce que je me suis efforcé de réaliser et cru autorisé de faire par neuf années de séjour chez les Touaregs.

J'ai cru bien faire en ajoutant à la partie scientifique deux chapitres historiques, l'un sur la pénétration européenne au Sahara, l'autre sur l'occupation de l'Ahaggar et l'histoire de la soumission des Touaregs, qui sont assez peu connues, et qui mettent en relief le courage des premiers explorateurs et l'héroïsme de nos militaires des Compagnies sahariennes vis-à-vis desquels la France a contracté une dette de reconnaissance. Le Sahara ne s'est pas conquis tout seul et son épopée restera une des plus belles pages de l'histoire coloniale française, car elle synthétise tout à la fois le cran et l'âme généreuse de notre race.

On peut dire à ce sujet que pas une goutte de sang ne fut versée inutilement ; c'est avec leur cœur plus qu'avec leurs armes que nos chefs militaires, dressés à l'école de Laperrine, ont imposé la France aux plus grands des pirates du désert, au point de forcer leur estime et d'obtenir leur amitié. De cela, nous pouvons nous enorgueillir et en citer l'exemple aux jeunes générations qui, dans la France rénovée, auront à poursuivre l'œuvre de leurs aînés.

Je ne saurais terminer cet avant-propos sans remercier ici Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'A. O. F., pour l'intérêt bienveillant qu'ils ont accordé à mes missions, Monsieur le Général Meynier, ancien Directeur des Territoires du Sud, le commandant Lehuraux, ainsi que MM. les Officiers des Affaires Indigènes, les Officiers et Administrateurs des postes soudanais, qui ont facilité mon séjour dans le sud.

Je ne saurais, non plus, oublier d'évoquer le nom d'un homme qui m'a fortement encouragé à écrire cet ouvrage et qui fut enlevé trop tôt à ses nombreux amis et à l'affection des indigènes à qui allait toute sa sollicitude. Je veux parler du colonel Carbillet, Commandant du Territoire des Oasis, mort à Ouargla pendant la guerre par suite de surmenage, dont l'œuvre administrative et politique fut immense, qui fut le protecteur des faibles et des humbles et qui encouragea tous les chercheurs désintéressés.

Octobre 1942. Henri LHOTE.

# AVERTISSEMENT AU SUJET DE L'ORTHOGRAPHE DU MOT "*TOUAREG*"

Le mot *Touareg* est d'origine arabe, il est le pluriel de *targui*. Dès lors, s'il devait suivre les règles grammaticales de cette langue, il ne devrait jamais porter d'*s*. C'est toutefois la règle adoptée par les dictionnaires français.

Pourtant un grand nombre d'auteurs et non des moindres ont cru mieux faire de franciser complètement le mot Touareg en lui faisant suivre les règles grammaticales de notre langue. Parmi eux, on peut citer : Deniker, E. F. Gautier, Henri Basset, Chudeau, etc...

L'application des règles grammaticales arabes aurait obligé à dire la langue *targuia*, les femmes *targuiat*, alors que ces règles n'ont même pas été appliquées pour le mot *arabe* que l'on devrait écrire *arab*, et que l'usage a adopté les termes *arabe*, pour *arbi*, en parlant d'un homme, et *arabe*, pour *arbia*, en parlant de la langue ou d'une femme.

Nous appliquerons donc les règles grammaticales françaises et nous dirons la langue touarègue, les femmes touarègues, les techniques touarègues, etc....

Par contre, pour les autres mots touaregs et arabes dont l'usage n'est pas encore entré dans notre vocabulaire, nous suivrons les règles touarègues et arabes. Dans la mesure où les difficultés actuelles de l'édition nous l'ont permis, nous avons suivi, pour les noms propres touaregs, l'orthographe du dictionnaire des noms propres du Père de Foucauld, publié par M. André Basset.

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# LES TOUAREGS DU HOGGAR

## *LIVRE PREMIER*
## *GÉOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE*

*LE PAYS — SON CLIMAT — SA FLORE — SA FAUNE*

### INTRODUCTION

Par ses diverses richesses en eau, en végétation, la montagne a toujours joué le rôle de refuge pour les populations environnantes, et dans un pays où l'assèchement est poussé à un degré extrême, on conçoit que ce rôle ait une grande importance. Elle est un îlot au milieu d'un océan, où l'on aborde avec joie après une longue navigation. C'est ce qui fait que l'on trouve aujourd'hui au Hoggar, massif montagneux situé au centre du Sahara, une population bien vivante, et d'autant plus curieuse qu'elle a vécu presque en vase clos depuis des siècles, séparée du reste du monde par des bandes désertiques atteignant par endroits 6 et 700 kilomètres.

Le nom de « Hoggar », employé communément pour désigner ce pays, est une altération arabe du nom targui « Ăhaggar », dérivé du mot Ăhag, plur. Ihaggen, qui veut dire bosse aplatie surmontée d'une crête, terme usité pour désigner la bosse du chameau surmontée de poils.

Le pays d'Ăhaggar ne comprend pas seulement cette partie caractéristique de la montagne, mais ses abords assez étendus, toute la région occupée par les Touaregs Ihaggaren approximativement entre les 21e et 25e parallèles de l'hémisphère nord, donc à cheval sur le tropique du Cancer, et les 3e et 6e degrés Est du méridien de Greenwich.

Il couvre une superficie d'à peu près 530.000 kilomètres carrés. A titre de comparaison rappelons que la superficie de la France est de 551.000 kilomètres carrés.

L'Ăhaggar est resté, jusqu'à la moitié du siècle dernier, parfaitement ignoré des géographes du vieux monde et la « Terra Incognita » des vieux atlas antérieurs à cette époque

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



était sensée être un affreux désert de sable, plat, dénudé, s'étendant uniformément jusqu'à la Nigritie, très loin, au bout d'un autre monde également mystérieux.

C'est en 1849, qu'un document cartographique intéressant nous est fourni par le géographe Mac Carthy, de l'Université d'Alger, qui, d'après des renseignements recueillis par Messieurs Daumas et Aussone de Chancel [1], avait dressé une esquisse du Sahara. On voit, sur cette carte, un important massif montagneux occuper le centre du Sahara, et des parties vertes laissant entrevoir un pays nullement désertique. Les massifs de l'Aïr et de l'Ăhaggar étaient confondus en un tout et étaient sensés être l'habitat des Touaregs « Haggar, Azkar et Kyl Ouy ».

La construction était un peu fantaisiste, mais pourtant un examen approfondi et raisonné fait concevoir le bien-fondé, sinon de l'ensemble du travail, tout au moins du détail. Si le massif était assez inexactement représenté au point de vue de sa forme, et mal localisé, les pistes, et c'est là chose capitale au Sahara, étaient bien tracées, en particulier celles allant d'In Salah à « Aghedès » et à « Ghrat ». Ce détail indique que les renseignements avaient été fournis par des caravaniers qui avaient traversé la région et ne connaissaient pas l'arrière-pays.

La carte de l'Afrique Septentrionale publiée en 1863 par l'explorateur allemand Henri Barth, après son voyage à travers l'Afrique, porte un massif dénommé « Hogar » ou « Hagara », nettement séparé de l'Aïr. Quoique plus proche de la réalité que la précédente, elle présente encore de grosses inexactitudes.

C'est au géologue français, Henri Duveyrier, que l'on doit une conception plus exacte de l'important massif central saharien. Parti en 1861 de Tripoli, il réussit à pénétrer jusqu'au milieu des Touaregs Ăjjer, parvint à Rhât, et effleura les falaises du Tassili.

L'Ăhaggar était son but secret. Mais pour des raisons d'insécurité, il dut renoncer à l'atteindre. Grâce à la perspicacité de ses informateurs, il put rapporter un croquis du massif, ainsi qu'une foule de renseignements que, de nos jours, on consulte encore avec fruit.

La première mission Flatters (1879) devait confirmer en

1. *Le Grand Désert*, Paris, 1849. Nous verrons au Livre II, chapitre II, qu'il existe des cartes plus anciennes mais dont la lecture est difficile.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



partie les renseignements de Duveyrier, mais elle ne put pénétrer jusqu'à l'Ăhaggar.

En 1888, le capitaine Bissuel, du Bureau des Affaires Indigènes d'Alger, dressait la carte du massif de l'Ăhnet, qui est un district de l'Ăhaggar, de la façon la plus curieuse. Il avait profité de la présence, dans les prisons d'Alger, de plusieurs pillards touaregs capturés par les Chaamba, au cours d'un contre-rezzou. Mettant devant les Touaregs des petits tas de sable, il les avait invités à reproduire leur pays, et ceux-ci s'en acquittèrent très bien. Bissuel fournit alors aux géographes une carte des plus originales.

De 1890 à 1900, Fernand Foureau entreprit, avec une ténacité remarquable, l'exploration du Sahara central. Ses raids l'amenèrent jusqu'aux abords du Tidikelt et il pénétra même dans le Tassili des Ăjjer, remontant l'oued Imirhou jusqu'aux premiers points d'eau, mais il dut battre en retraite devant l'attitude agressive des Touaregs.

Cette ténacité devait d'ailleurs entraîner la formation de la mission Foureau-Lamy qui parvint, la première, à traverser l'Ăhaggar et à nous rapporter des relevés exacts (1899).

Désormais, l'Ăhaggar nous était connu, et grâce à l'activité des officiers du général Laperrine, dix ans plus tard nous en avions un levé parfait au millionième.

# CHAPITRE PREMIER

## APERÇU GÉOLOGIQUE ET GÉOGRAPHIQUE

Le relief de l'Ăhaggar apparaît en zones bien distinctes, correspondant à des terrains d'origine différente.

Grâce aux travaux récents de plusieurs géologues[1], les grandes lignes de sa structure nous sont bien connues ; le terrain étant presque partout à nu, les recherches en ont été grandement facilitées. Seulement la rareté des fossiles a paralysé le travail pendant plusieurs années et fait commettre, au début, quelques erreurs d'interprétation.

L'Ăhaggar proprement dit n'a jamais été immergé. Ce qui fait l'originalité de la structure géologique de cette région est la présence au Nord et au Sud de terrains semblables s'opposant symétriquement. La description géologique s'en trouve donc énormément simplifiée.

Le centre du pays est de formation vraisemblablement archéenne, composé de schistes métamorphiques (argilo-cristallins) où le gneiss et les micaschistes dominent ; cette structure ancienne a été percée par places par des roches granitoïdes qui se présentent ordinairement en dôme et qui donnent à certaines régions un aspect très particulier. Il faut ajouter des roches d'origine volcanique qui ont été déposées sur le massif soit par épanchement, soit par projection, les plus anciennes, très probablement à la fin du tertiaire, les autres au début du quaternaire.

Cette masse rocheuse se prolonge par une pénéplaine désertique, de formation également cristalline, qui l'isole des falaises du Tassili ; c'est ce que les géographes ont appelé la pénéplaine post-tassilienne.

Les Tassili sont formés de strates de grès très épaisses, d'âge primaire, dévono-siluriens. Ils s'étendent en arc de cercle, au nord et au sud du massif de l'Ăhaggar, formant vis-à-vis de lui un véritable bouclier. On doit une belle étude du Tassili

1. Gautier, Chudeau, Bourcart, C. Kilian, Th. Monod, Savornin, Perret.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



du Nord au géologue C. Kilian, qui en a donné une coupe très détaillée [1] dont nous nous sommes inspirés pour établir le schéma du profil Ăhaggarien (fig. 1).

Le Tassili se présente sous forme de deux falaises gréseuses, l'une en assise sur l'autre, d'où la division en Tassili externe et Tassili interne.

Les grès du Tassili externe sont éodévoniens, formation continentale qui jusqu'à présent ne s'est pas révélée fossilifère. Ils reposent sur des schistes siluriens à graptolithes qui ont permis de dater ces différents terrains.

Les grès du Tassili interne appartiennent au silurien supérieur et n'ont pas livré de fossiles.

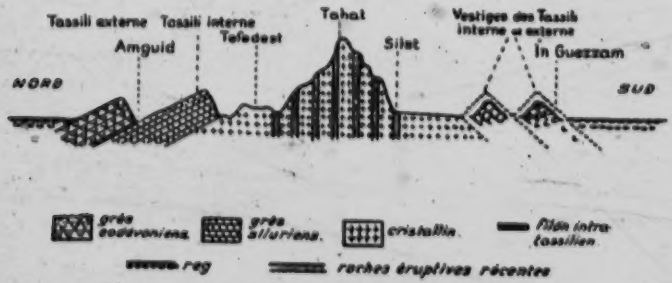



Fig. 1. — Coupe schématique nord-sud de l'Ahaggar.

La détermination de l'origine de ces grès, de formation continentale, puisque ne possédant pas de fossiles dans l'ensemble, a soulevé des problèmes très délicats. Pour Gautier, il s'agirait d'anciennes dunes consolidées [2]. Cette hypothèse permettrait alors de dire que le Sahara aurait déjà connu dans son histoire un climat désertique, que ce climat lui serait même familier si l'on tient compte du fait que les grès albiens que l'on trouve plus au nord auraient la même origine que les grès siluro-dévoniens sur lesquels ils reposent.

Les falaises du Tassili sont précédées d'un reg désertique, de formation dévonienne (méso et néo-dévoniennes), de largeur variable auquel on a donné le nom de pénéplaine prétassilienne.

Les plissements des montagnes de l'Ăhaggar sont dans leurs grandes lignes orientées S-SE, N-NO, et ce massif aurait donc

1. *Au Hoggar*, 1925.
2. *Le Sahara*, p. 61.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



été altéré par le mouvement hercynien qui a formé la grande dorsale Médéa, Laghouat, Tadmaït, Tăfedest, Ăhaggar.

Le pays est extrêmement bouleversé et il doit ce caractère à de multiples émissions volcaniques qui l'ont littéralement truffé de roches éruptives récentes, le surélevant notablement en de nombreux endroits. L'étude de ce volcanisme est encore à faire en détail. Mais déjà le géographe Perret a démontré le processus de formation de l'Ăhaggar. En compagnie de A. Lombard, avec qui il a parcouru la Koudia en 1931, il a établi que les émissions de phonolithe étaient antérieures à celles d'andésite et de trachytes comme à l'Ăkarakar [1]. C'est ainsi que le Pic Ilâman, qui est formé de phonolithe, émerge au milieu d'une masse de basalte.

Le volcanisme n'est d'ailleurs pas localisé dans la Koudia. On en connaît également d'importants centres dans le bas Ăhaggar (Silet) sur le bord est de la dépression d'Ămadror, dans le Tassili où le massif de l'Ădrar (Ăzéo-Settefen) déborde sur le pays cristallin, dans la plaine d'Admer, dans le Ténéré, aux abords d'In Ezzan, ainsi qu'à I-n-Ziza dont l'appareil a plus de 30 km. de diamètre, et au Djebel Nahalet, dans le Tanezrouft.

Dans l'étude qu'il a faite, M. Perret distingue d'abord un vieux socle granitique soulevé d'un bloc qui fut altéré par des émissions volcaniques violentes, nous ayant laissé ces curieuses aiguilles, ces dykes altiers qui donnent un profil si dantesque à la haute Koudia où dominent la phonolithe, les andésites et les trachytes, et qui peuvent être rattachées au système pelléen.

Ce premier phénomène volcanique fut suivi d'une période d'érosion assez longue, puis d'une nouvelle période d'activité plutonienne avec formation de foyer d'émission, d'appareils de type *hawaïen*, provoquant des coulées de laves à l'état fluide qui couvrirent les plateaux.

L'Ăhaggar aurait alors bénéficié d'une période de pluviosité intense et les eaux auraient violemment entaillé les basaltes, creusant de profondes vallées. Il devait ensuite connaître une nouvelle période de volcanisme avec formation d'appareils de type *strombolien*, provoquant des coulées de laves très épaisses qui s'épanchèrent dans les vallées.

Enfin suivit une période de stabilité qui dure encore.

1. Robert Perret et A. Lombard, Itinéraire d'In Salah au Tahat, *Ann. de Géog.* juillet 1932, p. 232.

# CHAPITRE II

## LES RÉGIONS NATURELLES

La partie centrale de l'Ăhaggar, qui en est en même temps la plus élevée, est l'axe orographique du Sahara. Elle forme une masse assez compacte et tabulaire d'où émerge une pléiade de pics et de « gada ».

L'absence de toute formation forestière sur les montagnes donne au pays un aspect très particulier, revêche, inhospitalier. Toutes les roches sont noires, luisantes comme du charbon. Les crêtes sont démantelées, déchiquetées et, devant tant de grandeur naturelle, le voyageur est saisi, étreint, incapable de trouver les termes qu'il faudrait pour décrire un pays si fantastique, où se mêlent tout à la fois le merveilleux et le sinistre.

Les Arabes ont donné à l'Ăhaggar, le surnom de « Pays de la Peur ». On a raillé parfois cette appellation romanesque un peu trop employée par les reporters en mal de créer une ambiance d'épouvante. Pourtant nous imaginons facilement, pour l'avoir nous-même ressentie, l'impression écrasante qui devait saisir le voyageur au temps de l'insécurité lorsqu'il traversait sur son chameau les gorges d'Ărak ou de Takoumbaret et qu'il apercevait le Targui à l'air sinistre, tout de noir habillé, juché sur son méhari, la lance au poing.

L'Ăhaggar est vraiment un pays à la tonalité extraordinaire. Les masses « charbonneuses » sont coupées par des oueds aux sables blancs qui contrastent violemment avec elles. Dans les lits de ces oueds, quelques touffes de végétation, quelques épineux rabougris, tout en jetant une note plus claire, accentueraient, si possible, l'âpreté du pays. Ce n'est que dans la basse Koudia qu'apparaissent, dans de larges vallées, de belles taches vertes formées par d'énormes tamaris.

Les Kel Ăhaggar distinguent dans leur domaine six massifs principaux : l'Ătakor, la Tăfedest, l'Immidir ou Mouydir, l'Ăhnet, l'Ănahef et les Tassili.

L'Ătakor et ses dépendances. — L'Ătakor est le plus élevé et le plus important de tous ces massifs et c'est lui qui



[p. 17]

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



conditionne tout le réseau hydrographique du Sahara central. Il culmine à 3.000 mètres (pic Tăhat). Son socle se trouve entre 900 et 1.000 mètres et s'étend sur environ 130 km. de long et 90 à 100 km. de large. Deux sous-régions le flanquent : ce sont l'*Arefsa* et le *Tazôulet*.

L'Ătakor proprement dit, ou « crâne » de l'Ăhaggar, forme la partie centrale et son altitude moyenne est de 2.200 mètres. Surmontée d'aiguilles volcaniques qui lui donnent un profil en dents de scie, cette partie est la plus pittoresque du pays. Son accès est toujours difficile et l'altitude s'y élève très rapidement, sur de très courtes distances, par des décalages brusques et violents.

Les Touaregs distinguent dans l'Ătakor un pays long (haut)

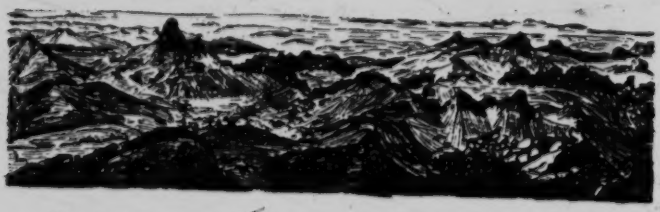


Fig. 2. — Panorama des environs de l'Ilâman, vu du Pic Tahat.

l'Ăhaggar-oua-hegrin, et un pays court (bas) l'Ăhaggar-ouagezzoulen.

C'est le premier, en effet, qui supporte les plus hautes aiguilles et « gada », le Tăhat (3.000 m.), l'Ilâman (2.900 m.), l'Ăsekrem (2.780 m.) ; ce dernier célèbre par l'ermitage qu'y avait installé le Père de Foucauld et d'où l'on découvre un panorama unique.

L'Igezoulen est beaucoup moins tourmenté. Ce haut pays est le domaine du volcanisme. Les coulées de basalte recouvrent les vieux socles primaires et ont nivelé les dépressions anciennes formant de larges plateaux.

L'Ărefsa est contigû à l'Ătakor et s'abaisse en direction sud-sud-est jusqu'aux abords de la pénéplaine de reg. C'est dans l'ensemble un énorme massif granitique, aux formes arrondies dans la partie sud (Ădrar Ăzrou-n-Fad), plus bouleversé dans la région nord.

De larges vallées s'infléchissent vers le S-SO parallèlement à l'orientation générale du massif. La traversée Est-Ouest

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



s'opère par le passage d'un oued dans l'autre, en franchissant de petits cols peu élevés. Deux importantes montagnes dominent toute la région : l'Ilamane Outiline et le Tanarouatine.

Le Tăzôulet doit son nom à l'existence dans la région de petits gisements de fer (tazôuli). Le relief y est moins accidenté que dans les régions précédentes, les vallées sont plus larges, les cols moins abrupts. Aux granits verdâtres de l'Ărefsa se substituent des quartzites aux formes arrondies, très caractéristiques du pays cristallin. Un important massif au profil dentelé, le Seddereg, orienté NO-SE, forme la charnière entre l'Ărefsa et le pays du Serkout.

Les massifs sont de forme allongée et à dôme arrondi, ou

FIG. 3. — Paysage du Haut Ahaggar (Région du Tazoli) vu du Pic Serkout.

bien constituent par place des amas de gros blocs superposés les uns aux autres. Les régions intermédiaires entre deux dômes ne sont jamais complètement plates, mais toujours ravinées, formant des bassins de réception en éventail largement étalé; les roches désagrégées laissent sur le sol d'énormes grains de quartz qui rendent la marche pénible et provoquent parfois la chute des chameaux. Dans toute cette région, la végétation est rare, hormis dans quelques oueds où le *talha* s'est adapté et se maintient. C'est le pays de prédilection d'un curieux petit animal, très craintif, qui ressemble à la marmotte — le daman — et que les Touaregs appellent akaokao.

Le volcanisme a joué également un rôle important dans cette région. On y trouve de nombreux cratères et certains sols sont couverts de scories, de laves cordées de teinte rougeâtre qui leur donnent un aspect tourmenté.

Au nord du Tăzôulet s'étend un grand plateau qui, du sommet du Serkout, apparaît comme une vaste plaine ravinée,

où des pitons, la Takasint, l'Oul, l'Oukasi, l'Elakel, le Tăzôuli et l'In Tifar, émergent comme autant de doigts levés.

Le Tăzôulet, avec le Mont Ăleksod, à sa pointe nord, marque la ligne de partage des eaux entre les bassins de l'Igharghar et du T-i-n-Târabine, deux fleuves importants qui coulaient respectivement vers le nord et vers le sud. Mais au nord du petit centre de Bloumet cette démarcation est souvent indécise et l'on observe des phénomènes de capture visibles en plusieurs endroits. Le pays est bien pourvu d'eau et c'est ainsi que des terrains de culture irrigués ont pu être créés dans la vallée, entre Bloumet et Tazerouk, sur près d'une dizaine de kilomètres.

C'est ce bloc de l'Ătakor que les Touaregs Ihăggaren habitent de préférence tant que l'état du pâturage le permet, et qu'ils ne quittent qu'à regret pour des contrées plus favorisées. Les autres régions sont des annexes, le domaine de tribus plus ou moins récemment inféodées au groupe principal.

L'Ănahef. — A l'est, on trouve le massif de l'Ănahef, longue série de collines orientées N-NO-S-SE, donnant au nord sur la cuvette de Sérouanout qui marque la limite entre le terrain de parcours des Ihăggaren et celui des Touaregs Ăjjer, alors qu'au sud il s'ennoie dans le Ténéré.

La Tafedest. — Au nord-ouest de la Koudia, séparé de celle-ci par l'étranglement de l'Ărechchoum, s'allonge le massif de la Tăfedest, imposante chaîne montagneuse orientée Nord-Sud. Elle s'élève progressivement du sud au nord, et se termine par une énorme montagne en dôme, l'Oûdan, surmontée d'un clocheton au nom de légende, la Garet-ed-Djenoun, ou montagne des Génies.

La Tăfedest, d'environ 1.100 mètres d'altitude moyenne, n'est en fait que le prolongement de la Koudia, dont elle a été séparée à l'époque des grands plissements.

Les granits roses, souvent injectés de pegmatites, dominent dans sa constitution, qui semble assez homogène, à en juger par la similitude des formes qui se répètent constamment, et l'aspect général du pays.

Les coulées basaltiques de la Koudia ont atteint la partie sud-est du massif ; au-dessus du petit village d'Hirhafok, on peut voir de belles chaussées de basaltes verticaux qui limitent à certains endroits le lit de l'oued Gif-Aman. Aucun système

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



volcanique n'a été reconnu jusqu'à ce jour dans la Tăfédest même, et il n'en existe vraisemblablement pas.

Il a été signalé au nord, entre le Mont Edjeleh et l'Oûdan, des coulées basaltiques établies en nappes [1], mais l'Oûdan lui-même que l'explorateur Henri Duveyrier, et après lui, R. Chudeau et E. F. Gautier avaient supposé être volcanique, ne l'est pas. C'est une énorme masse granitique aux flancs abrupts qui en interdisent l'ascension avec les moyens rudimentaires dont on dispose au Sahara [2]. Son altitude, estimée primitivement à 2.770 m., n'est en réalité que de 2.375 m. [3]. L'intérieur du massif est d'un accès assez difficile, car les vallées et les cols praticables sont peu nombreux. Il ne peut être traversé transversalement qu'en quelques points et, ordinairement, les voyageurs le longent sur ses versants.

La Tăfedest est favorisée par la présence de points d'eau assez nombreux et, dans les oueds, l'eau se présente souvent à fleur de terre, coulant parfois en surface sur plusieurs centaines de mètres. Si la région a bénéficié de quelques pluies, un abondant pâturage couvre les hautes vallées, ce qui permet à plusieurs fractions de Touaregs Issekkemâren d'y nomadiser.

Tout autour des régions qui viennent d'être sommairement décrites, s'étend un véritable désert de reg, sans végétation, sans puits. C'est un pays usé, sénile, où pointent encore quelques rochers de granit, qui restent là comme des témoins des périodes reculées où les éléments n'avaient pas encore fait leur œuvre formidable de destruction.

Nous avons déjà parlé des Tassili, de leur nature géologique et du bouclier qu'ils forment tout autour de l'Ăhaggar.

Le Tassili-n-Ăjjer. — L'« enceinte tassilienne » se subdivise en plusieurs régions bien distinctes : Tassili-n-Ăjjer, Immidir, Ăhnet, et les petits Tassili qui, au sud, ferment incomplètement la barrière gréseuse que les Touaregs désignent sous le nom de Tassili-ta-n-Ădrar, Tassili-oua-n-Tin Rerhoh, Tassili-oua-n-Ăhaggar.

1. C. Kilian, *Au Hoggar*, 1925, p. 91.
2. La Garet-ed-Djenoun a été escaladée pour la première fois par les membres de la mission française alpine au Hoggar le 20 avril 1935 ; dans l'intéressant compte rendu qu'il en a donné, le capitaine Coche fait allusion en parlant de la Garet-ed-Djenoun, à un « formidable butoir de granit », mais ne signale pas de volcanisme.
3. Capitaine Coche, *la Montagne*, déc. 1935. C'est à quelque chose près la hauteur que lui avait accordée le Dr Maire (Mission du Hoggar, 1928).

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Avec eux, nous pénétrons dans une région très uniforme d'aspect, particularité due à l'homogénéité géologique.

Les deux étages de grès déclinent l'un sur l'autre, en pente douce, sur la périphérie de l'Ăhaggar, pour aller s'immerger dans le reg de la pénéplaine prétassilienne.

Le Tassili-n-Ăjjer s'étend de la Tripolitaine à la vallée de l'oued Igharghar. C'est le plus compact, le moins tourmenté des Tassili. Il ne fait pas partie politiquement de l'Ăhaggar proprement dit ; mais géographiquement, il est difficile de l'en séparer. Son altitude moyenne est de 1.200 mètres ; il est coupé par de nombreux oueds qui ont créé des vallées encaissées, des cañons très profonds.

Le massif de l'Ădrar, situé sur le rebord sud, n'est autre qu'un très puissant appareil volcanique qui a surélevé la région de plusieurs centaines de mètres, couvrant le pays de laves, de scories et de bombes dans un rayon de 50 km. Grâce à sa haute altitude (2.300 m.) l'Ădrar draine chaque année une certaine quantité d'eau de pluie qui s'infiltre entre les blocs de basalte pour réapparaître à quelque distance de là sous forme de source et même de véritable rivière comme à Ihérir.

Le Tassili-n-Ăjjer est très probablement la partie la plus riche en eau du Sahara ; il est de tous les Tassili le plus élevé ; il s'étend sur plusieurs centaines de kilomètres, et ce sont ces conditions qui lui ont certainement valu d'être favorisé en humidité.

La végétation des Tassili est concentrée dans les cuvettes, comme dans la plaine de Dider et surtout dans les vallées. De nombreuses mares, plus ou moins persistantes, nous ont conservé les témoins d'une faune aquatique ancienne, d'énormes poissons-chats, des barbeaux ; et c'est dans la même région que fut retrouvé, il y a quelques années, l'un des derniers crocodiles qui aient vécu au Sahara central.

L'Immîdir. — L'Immîdir est le prolongement vers l'ouest du Tassili-n-Ăjjer. Incliné vers le N-O il est remarquable par sa forme oblongue, concavo-convexe. On y rencontre également des cañons pittoresques et de superbes torrents. C'est à Hâssi-el-Khenig que furent trouvés par Voinot, les premiers schistes à graptolithes qui s'intercalent entre les deux falaises gréseuses et ont permis de dater ces terrains. L'énorme massif de l'Ifetesen préside à la répartition des eaux qui vont

rejoindre le collecteur oued Myia ; son sommet, l'Iref-n-Ăkli culmine à 1.680 m., alors que l'altitude moyenne de l'Immidir est d'environ 550 m., donc beaucoup moins élevée que celle du Tassili-n-Ăjjer. Les points les plus pittoresques en sont certainement les gorges de Takoumbaret et d'Ărak, profonds cañons encombrés d'éboulis énormes. La traversée de l'Immidir, par la piste automobile de l'oued Ărak, entre les hautes falaises abruptes avec leurs clochetons ruiniformes, provoque l'émerveillement de tous les voyageurs.

Le pays est riche en eau et on a pu relever les traces d'anciennes cultures aujourd'hui abandonnées par suite du manque de main-d'œuvre. Il possède plusieurs sources sulfureuses, à Joraf, en particulier, où la température de l'eau s'élève à 40 degrés.

L'Ăhnet. — L'Adrar Ăhnet prolonge vers l'ouest les falaises de l'Immidir sans toutefois qu'il y ait continuité entre ces deux massifs qui sont séparés par l'oued Tésaret ; sur les autres faces, il confine au Tanezrouft.

Ce pays est maintenant bien connu. Monod et Bourcart nous en ont donné une monographie très complète.

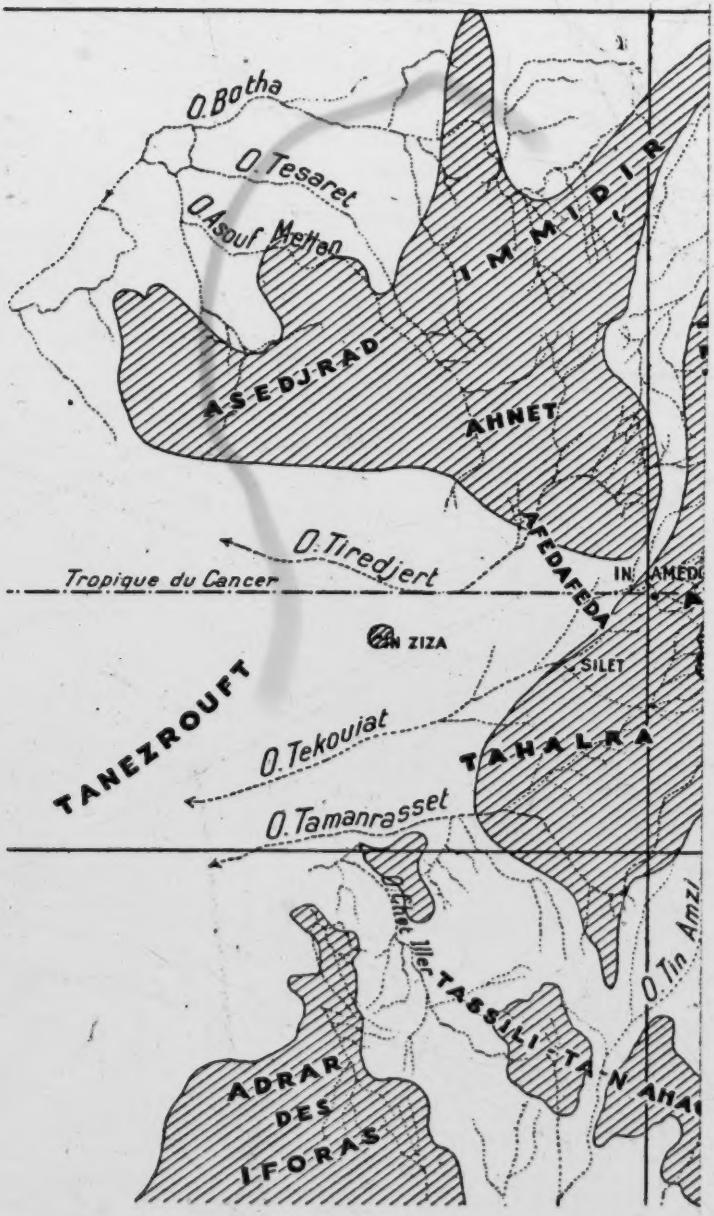
L'Ăhnet n'est, en somme, que la pointe occidentale de l'enceinte tassilienne, mais l'homogénéité de cette enceinte ne s'y retrouve pas comme dans le Tassili-n-Ăjjer. Le plateau est torturé, et les masses gréseuses plus ou moins écartelées, coupées en de nombreux endroits, sont séparées par des « blancs » qu'a noyés le reg (à Alegn'ou, en particulier, d'après Monod).

L'Ădrar Ăhnet culmine vers 650 m., et son altitude moyenne avoisine 350 m. ; cette faible hauteur, alliée au voisinage immédiat du Tanezrouft, a une influence défavorable sur le climat du massif, nettement déshérité quant à l'humidité, comparativement à l'Ăhaggar, au Tassili-n-Ăjjer, et même à l'Immidir. On n'y observe aucun lieu de culture et, dit Monod, « il n'y a rien dans l'Ăhnet de comparable aux couloirs humides, voire aux marécages des régions voisines avec leur exubérante végétation » [1].

L'Ăhnet a la forme d'un fer à cheval au centre duquel on trouve l'erg Ennefous.

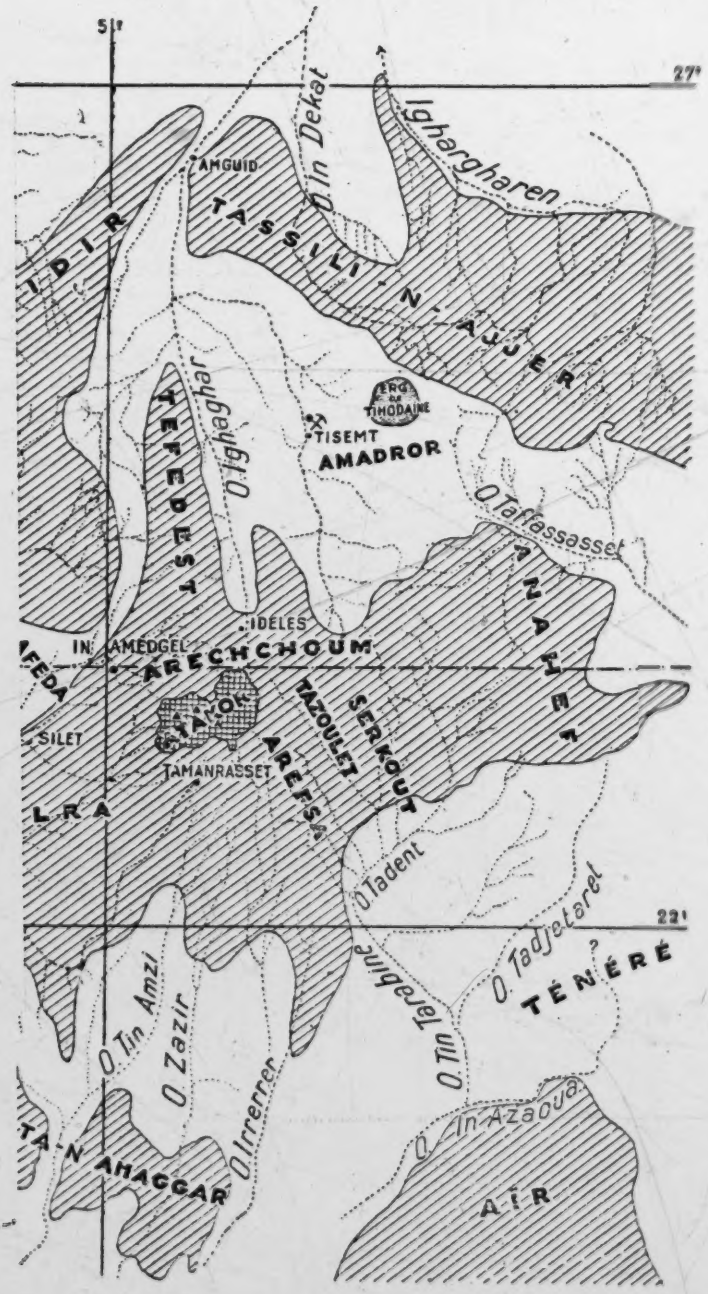
L'est du système est constitué par l'Ădrar Ăhnet propre-

1. Th. Monod, *l'Adrar Ahnet*, p. 113.




I. L'Ahaggar et ses
Échelle 1/5.000.0

[p24]




Ahaggar et ses abords.
helle 1/5.000.000

[p. 25]

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



ment dit, et les reliefs moins importants de l'Ădrar Tarit et des monts Ădoukrouz.

L'Ădrar est une longue falaise tombant à pic, inaccessible ; les cols qui permettent la traversée du massif ne sont pas nombreux ; Foum-ez-Zgag, Imméden, Igliten, Mérédou, sont ceux employés par les principales pistes qui le coupent.

Au sud de l'Ăhnet, à une centaine de kilomètres dans le Tanezrouft, se trouve l'Ădrar I-n-Ziza, d'origine éruptive, avec sa belle marmite creusée dans la ryolithe, où viennent boire tous les moutons qui, de l'Ădrar des Iforas, sont conduits au Touat par les caravaniers.

Il y a d'ailleurs plusieurs points d'eau dans l'Ădrar I-n-Ziza qui, avec celui de Ouallen, à la limite sud-ouest de l'Ăcedjerad, ont une grande importance militaire et commerciale, car ils commandent le Tanezrouft.

Un peu au sud, à une vingtaine de kilomètres, se dresse un autre bloc volcanique, l'Ădrar Nahalet dont l'intérieur est d'un accès très difficile. Les quelques cañons qui y sont creusés sont encombrés d'éboulis énormes qui barrent la route aux chameaux. Plusieurs points d'eau y ont été reconnus, situés assez haut dans la montagne.

Tassili du Sud. — Au sud de Nahalet se trouve le petit Tassili-ta-n-Ădrar, infléchi en direction NE-SO, apparenté au Tassili de Tin Rerhoh que l'on trouve au SE. Situé dans le reg du Tanezrouft, long d'une soixantaine de kilomètres, il peut avoir 25 à 30 km. de largeur et ses falaises dominent la pénéplaine d'une cinquantaine de mètres.

Il forme un bloc compact où serpentent quelques ravins de peu d'importance ; il possède à l'heure actuelle trois points d'eau qui peuvent être considérés comme permanents : le *tilmas* [1] d'In Ăzaoua sur le versant NO, le puits de Ti-m-missao et l'aguelmame de Tamada sur le versant NE.

Une piste chamelière traverse le massif qui ressemble à une hammada ; le vent du Tanezrouft déferle sans cesse sur le Tassili et l'ensable par place, au grand avantage des chameaux, d'ailleurs, qui y trouvent un peu de pâturage (had) dans les endroits ensablés.

L'oued Ti-m-missao menace, par contre, de disparaître sous les dunes, et son puits est souvent obstrué par le sable. Ce

1. Le tilmas est un trou creusé à peu de profondeur dans le lit sablonneux d'un oued ; c'est un terme tamahak, équivalent de l'arabe *rédir*.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



petit Tassili n'est pas un lieu d'habitat, mais son intérêt militaire est très grand : c'est un des « ponts » entre l'Ădrar des Iforas et l'Ăhaggar où passent également les caravanes allant sur I-n-Ziza, lorsqu'elles veulent éviter la grande chaleur du Tanezrouft.

Le Tassili de Tin Rerhoh est beaucoup plus déchiqueté que celui de Ti-m-missao et l'érosion a découpé ses grès, par place, en blocs aux formes étranges ressemblant parfois à des cheminées de fées, ou les a élimés considérablement à la base. L'épaisseur du massif ne dépasse jamais une vingtaine de kilomètres. Assez compact au sud du puits de Tin Rerhoh, il s'abaisse dans son prolongement vers le Tassili ta-n-Ăhaggar, et présente alors de nombreuses déchirures. Vers In Guezzam, il n'est plus marqué que par quelques buttes-témoins, perdues dans le sable du reg.

Il est assez curieux de constater à quel point l'enceinte tassilienne du sud est démantelée et érodée comparativement à celle du nord. Plusieurs voyageurs ont signalé ce phénomène sans trop en approfondir les raisons. C'est sa situation dans la zone inter-tropicale nord, soumise à l'action ininterrompue des vents alizés, qui est la raison de cette érosion intense. Elle confine à la zone soudanaise et, à ce titre, a dû recevoir dans le passé beaucoup plus de pluies que la barrière tassilienne du nord, ce qui n'a pas dû être sans conséquence sur l'érosion. Il suffit d'avoir séjourné un peu dans les deux régions pour se rendre compte de l'importance que joue actuellement le vent et comment celui-ci a une action beaucoup plus destructive au sud qu'au nord.

A part le Tassili-n-Ăjjer, et l'Immidir, les Tassili ne sont pas habités régulièrement par les nomades. Toutefois, nous devons signaler que l'Ăhnet, aujourd'hui déserté de plus en plus, était, il y a un demi-siècle, beaucoup plus fréquenté et constituait le fief d'une tribu qui, en raison de la sécheresse, tend à se fixer aux confins soudanais.

## CHAPITRE III

## HYDROGRAPHIE DU MASSIF CENTRAL SAHARIEN

Le caractère propre du Sahara actuel est son état désertique poussé à l'extrême, grâce à l'absence totale de rivières ayant encore une vie normale.

Il y a bien dans certains endroits du Sahara Central quelques mares persistantes et des filets d'eau coulant en surface, mais ils sont rares.

L'exploration du Sahara a révélé l'existence d'anciens fleuves puissants, aux affluents nombreux, mais remontant à des périodes très reculées et dont les restes se cachent bien souvent sous le sable, au point d'être parfois totalement invisibles.

Des cañons profondément creusés, des vallées largement entaillées, sont les témoins d'un régime fluvial intense. Mais pour trouver de l'eau d'une façon permanente, dans ces fleuves puissants, il faudrait remonter au début des temps quaternaires.

Nous avons vu que Perret, en étudiant les différentes manifestations volcaniques dans l'Ăhaggar, avait séparé plusieurs stades d'évolution du relief, et avait montré qu'après les coulées de basalte qui avaient recouvert les plateaux, une période d'érosion intense, due aux eaux, avait fortement entaillé les premières coulées.

Il n'est pas possible d'établir une chronologie certaine, ni de définir les différents stades de creusement des vallées; mais, d'après ce que nous connaissons de l'Égypte; d'après ce que nous apprennent les différents gisements paléolithiques reconnus au Sahara, les grandes glaciations quaternaires qui affectèrent l'Europe auraient eu comme contre-coup en Afrique septentrionale une période de grande humidité. C'est l'avis de tous les géographes qui se sont attachés à résoudre la question.

La haute altitude de l'Ăhaggar a donné naissance à la for-

[p. 28]

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



mation d'importants bassins : au nord, le bassin de l'Ighargar, au sud, le bassin du Tāmanrasset, et au sud-est, les bassins de l'In Ăzaoua et du Taffassasset.

Le caractère commun de ces bassins, sauf en ce qui concerne celui de l'oued d'In Ăzaoua, est de se terminer dans des cuvettes fermées, les rivières n'ayant pu atteindre leur exutoire naturel : la mer.

Ce fait, propre à toutes les régions sahariennes, démontre péremptoirement que le régime des pluies au Sahara a été dès le quaternaire assez régulier ; suffisamment fort pour que les fleuves creusent de longues vallées, pas assez cependant pour leur permettre de franchir les principaux obstacles qui leur barraient la route. Et ce caractère a eu sur l'avenir des fleuves et du climat, une influence considérable, car les matériaux de démolition, provenant des grandes hauteurs, étaient déposés dans le cours inférieur des fleuves, ce qui surélevait progressivement leur lit, finissait par l'obstruer, modifiait constamment le niveau de base, et les empêchait de trouver un profil d'équilibre normal. Par ce phénomène, les fleuves se sont détruits eux-mêmes en partie, livrant leurs eaux, par épandage sur de grandes surfaces, à l'évaporation et en privant d'autant le sous-sol et la végétation génératrice d'humidité. C'est par ce processus de surélévation et d'épandage que E. F. Gautier explique l'existence de beaucoup de regs qui seraient, pour certains, des alluvions déposées et plus ou moins égalisées par les vents. Cette interprétation, toutefois, ne doit pas être généralisée, car, comme l'a signalé Th. Monod dans le Tanezrouft [1], certains plateaux où il n'y a jamais eu de rivières, portent des alluvions dues à la désagrégation d'anciens conglomérats.

La disposition du réseau hydrographique de l'Ăhaggar est dominée par la nature volcanique des parties les plus élevées, et comme on l'observe toujours près des anciens volcans, les vallées sont disposées comme les rayons d'un cercle. Les anciens cratères ont été démolis par l'érosion, des barrancos se sont formés sur leurs flancs, faisant disparaître les parties meubles, s'arrêtant aux roches compactes plus résistantes. La présence de basaltes autour des principaux systèmes a protégé le relief, mais là où il n'en existait pas, la roche a été violemment attaquée par les eaux de ruissellement.

Les oueds ont un cours très irrégulier et, en montagne, toujours un caractère torrentiel. Les pluies, lorsqu'elles se pro-

1. Th. Monod, *Bull. Soc. Géol. de France*, t. V, 1935, pp. 513-518.

1: Lhote M525 Tuareg



duisent, provoquent des crues violentes, mais les roches dans lesquelles est entaillé le thalweg étant de dureté variable, l'érosion n'a pas joué régulièrement et le profil d'équilibre a été rompu en de nombreux endroits, aggravant encore le caractère torrentiel des crues. Dans la moyenne Koudia, les marmites de géants sont assez communes là où les roches granitoïdes dominent immédiatement les schistes argileux ou lorsqu'il y a accident tectonique.

Dans la basse Koudia, les vallées s'étalent largement dans les schistes, franchissant les derniers contreforts dans des cavées profondes en profil de V, et gagnent ainsi la pénéplaine où elles ne tardent pas à aller se perdre sous les sables des ergs ou des regs.

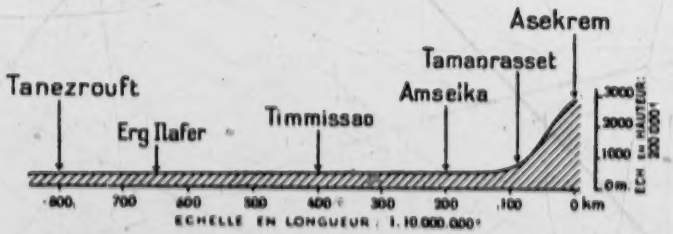



FIG. 4. — Profil de l'oued Tamanrasset. L'échelle en altitude a été exagérée 200 fois par rapport à celle en longueur. On voit donc que la pente de l'oued, au sortir de la partie montagneuse, est presque nulle.

Dans les Tassili de nature gréseuse, quoique le régime des eaux y soit à quelque chose près aussi irrégulier que dans l'Ăhaggar, le profil des oueds comporte beaucoup moins de ruptures, dues alors à des accidents tectoniques. Le profil, transversal et longitudinal, des oueds tassiliens est assez différent de celui des oueds de l'Ăhaggar.

Dans l'oued Djorat, en particulier, on distingue plusieurs terrasses superposées, l'inférieure étant composée de gros galets pris dans un ciment très dur, la supérieure d'alluvions meubles de moindre taille. Dans le fond de l'oued, qui coule directement à même sur la roche tassilienne, un cañon s'est creusé, profond et étroit.

On distingue donc là deux stades de creusement qui correspondent à deux périodes de grande activité, et le petit cañon est le travail récent des filets d'eau, qui coulent parfois plusieurs semaines après des pluies exceptionnelles entraînant

de grandes crues. Ces crues ne dépassent jamais à l'heure actuelle la première terrasse, comme en témoignent les fragments de troncs d'arbres ou de branches déposés par les eaux sur cette dernière.

Un caractère très marquant de l'Ăhaggar est l'absence presque totale de puits, en dehors, bien entendu, de ceux qui peuvent exister dans les terrains de culture ; c'est ce qui fait souvent l'admiration des Arabes habitués, dans leur Sahara calcaire, à aller chercher l'eau à une grande profondeur. Ils envient pour cela le pays des Touaregs qu'ils disent favorisé par la nature, car dans celui-ci l'eau se présente sous plusieurs

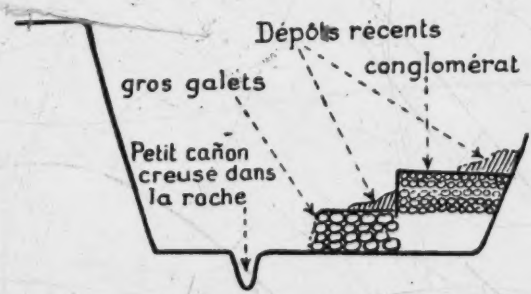



Fig. 5. — Coupe transversale de l'oued Djorat (Tassili-n-Ajjer).

formes : la source, le *rédir* ou *tilmas*, la *guelta* ou *aguelmame*, toujours situés dans le lit des oueds.

Les sources de surface sont peu nombreuses et se trouvent généralement dans les hautes altitudes, coulant suivant les saisons sur une longueur très variable, pouvant atteindre plusieurs centaines de mètres. Si dans le Tassili, à Ăhérir certaines peuvent prendre l'allure de petites rivières, elles ne forment, pour la plupart, qu'un tout petit filet d'eau. Dans la Koudia, l'oued Issekkerâsen, encaissé dans les basaltes, roule en surface pendant 5 ou 6 kilomètres, alimenté par une série de *guelta*, mais celles-ci finissent par tarir partiellement lorsque la période de sécheresse se prolonge.

L'eau disparaît alors sous le sable, dans le lit même de l'oued. Pour l'atteindre, les indigènes enlèvent le sable sur une profondeur de 30 à 40 cm., et trouvent la nappe phréatique : c'est le *tilmas*, le point d'eau pas excellence de la montagne touarègue, beaucoup plus courant que la source ou la guelta, mais

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



dont la persistance est liée aux pluies qui peuvent se produire à des périodes plus ou moins éloignées. Le tilmas est, si l'on peut dire, ubiquiste ; on le trouve aussi bien aux plus hautes altitudes que dans les parties basses de la Koudia.

Les *guelta* ou *aguelmame* sont des cuvettes naturelles creusées dans la roche, marmites plus ou moins profondes qui se remplissent d'eau au moment des crues ; elles sont presque toujours en relation avec une rupture de pente, et situées au pied de cette dernière.

Ces cuvettes peuvent atteindre jusqu'à 35 ou 40 mètres de diamètre. Ce sont elles qui ont permis la conservation de ce que l'on a appelé la *faune relique aquatique*, constituée par des poissons, des batraciens, des sauriens même, des insectes dulcaquicoles, des crustacés et des mollusques.

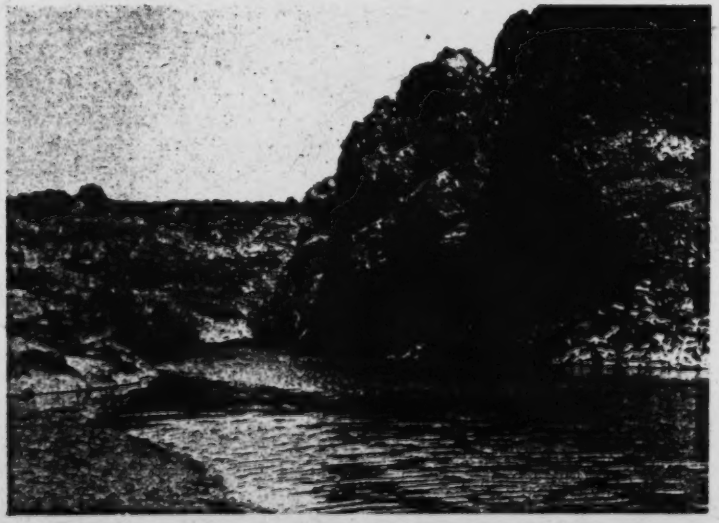
L'ennemi de la guelta est le soleil et ces grandes surfaces d'évaporation ne peuvent souvent se maintenir que grâce à l'existence de seuils de retenue qui conservent l'eau dans les sables à un niveau supérieur ; cette eau finit par suinter à l'étage inférieur, alimentant ainsi la guelta. L'évaporation est tellement sensible que le niveau d'eau est toujours supérieur en hiver où la chaleur est moins forte, qu'en été, même s'il n'a pas plu entre temps. Le phénomène d'évaporation joue également sur les rochers, formant réservoir d'eau, comme dans l'Ădrar du Tassili-n-Ăjjer et sur les sables des oueds ; un des cas les mieux connus est celui du petit village de Ăhérir où le niveau maximum des eaux est atteint vers janvier pour baisser ensuite progressivement, au fur et à mesure que l'on avance dans la saison chaude.

On connaît au Sahara central quelques résurgences thermales : près du massif de l'Ădrian, au sud de l'Ădrar Tedjaren, dans l'Ăhaggar, à Jôraf dans l'Immidir, à Tihoubar dans le Tassili-n-Ăjjer.

Bassin de l'Igharghar. — L'Igharghar est le plus important des oueds du Sahara français et s'étend du 23e au 34e parallèle, soit sur une longueur de 1.400 km. Ce serait l'ancien Nigris de Pline, le fleuve Triton d'Hérodote. Ses sources ne sont pas dans l'Ătakor proprement dit, mais dans le Tazôulet. La tête de l'Igharghar est représentée par l'oued Tarouda qui prend ses sources vers 1.900 mètres d'altitude. La ligne de partage des eaux est formée par l'Ădrar In Taraïne à l'ouest, les crêtes qui dominent le petit centre de culture de

PL. 1.

Type de paysage dans le Haut Ahaggar. Nous voyons ici le massif granitique du Serkout. La végétation disséminée dans l'oued, faite d'acacia et de chebrok, donne un aperçu de la densité des plantes dans les hautes vallées de la montagne.



Aguelmame d'Issekkerasen après une crue récente de l'oued. Ces mares plus ou moins pérennes abritent parfois une faune résiduelle, poissons, batraciens, insectes, etc. Le crocodile qui a été découvert dans le Tassili-n-Ajjer, n'existe pas dans l'Ahaggar.

[p. 30 A]

PL. II.

L'oued Imirhou, paysage type du Tassili-n-Ajjer avec ses hautes falaises à pic surplombant les vallées de plusieurs centaines de mètres. On aperçoit dans le fond de la vallée la piste chamelière que suivent les gens et les caravanes.

Certaines régions du Tassili sont très démantelées et les roches présentent souvent de profondes alvéoles où les Touaregs trouvent abri contre la chaleur et y construisent de petits enclos de pierres pour parquer les chevreaux. C'est sur les parois de ces alvéoles que l'on a découvert des peintures rupestres millénaires abritées ainsi des agents d'érosion et de destruction.

[p. 32 B]

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Bloumet d'une centaine de mètres, l'Ădrar Edekel, et au nord-est, le Djebel Ounane. Il ne collecte donc qu'une faible partie des eaux de la Koudia ; pourtant, dès le petit centre de culture d'Idelès, son lit prend une ampleur considérable qui ne fait que s'accentuer en allant vers le nord, car les massifs de la Tăfedest, de l'Edjereh, du versant est de l'Ifétessen, viennent lui apporter leurs eaux ; avant qu'il ait quitté l'Ăhaggar, l'Igharghar est vivifié par plus de 130 sources. Une fois passé le Tassili à Ămegid, il reçoit à travers et sous les dunes d'Issaouane toutes les eaux du versant nord du Tassili-n-Ăjjer. Suivant le synclinal oriental de la grande dorsale hercynienne Ăhaggar, Laghouat, Médéa, l'Igharghar devient le collecteur de toute cette immense région, mais malgré cela il ne put jamais franchir le seuil de Gabès pour gagner la mer, et vient mourir au pied de l'Atlas saharien, dans la dépression des grands Chotts, à un niveau inférieur à celui de la mer.

Bassin de l'oued Tamanrasset. — L'oued Tămanrasset, originaire de la Haute Koudia, prend ses sources au pied du massif de l'Ăsekrem (2.780 m.). Il coule en direction sud-ouest entre le 23e et le 21e parallèles ; son lit n'est plus visible après le 1er degré Est de Greenwich, et le fleuve, comme l'Igharghar, doit aller mourir dans un bassin fermé. Dans le Tanezrouft, il reçoit plusieurs affluents provenant de la partie occidentale de la Koudia, ainsi que le Tekouiat dont les tentacules glanent des eaux depuis les contreforts du pic Ilaman jusqu'aux abords de la Tăfedest.

Son bassin de réception est formé, au nord de la Koudia, par les montagnes d'Hirhafok, le versant sud-ouest de la Tăfedest, à l'ouest par l'Asegrad et le versant sud de l'Ădrar Ahnet, au sud par l'Ăkarakar et l'Ădrar Haggérène.

L'oued Tămanrasset est torrentueux jusqu'à la cuvette de Tămanrasset et accuse plusieurs ruptures de pentes très sensibles ; au sortir des montagnes, c'est-à-dire dans le Tanezrouft, son lit ne se signale plus que par la présence d'un lacet argileux sur lequel poussent encore, par ci, par là, quelques touffes de graminées. Ces crues se font pourtant encore sentir jusqu'aux abords de Ti-m-missao.

Bassin de l'Ăzaouak. — L'Ăzaouak est la seule rivière qui au quaternaire put atteindre l'océan ; son débit fut certainement beaucoup plus considérable que celui de ses voisins, et cette force peut s'expliquer par le fait qu'en dehors des eaux

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



de l'Ăhaggar, il reçoit également celles du versant occidental de l'Aïr, du Tégama, de l'Ădrar Tahoua, du Damergou, etc... car l'Ăzaouak n'est pas autre chose que la tête primitive de l'actuel Niger. On a longtemps supposé que l'oued Taffassasset était le même oued que celui qui passe au puits d'In Ăzaoua ; des explorations récentes ont démontré qu'il n'en était rien, qu'une ligne de hauteurs séparait le Taffassasset de l'In Ăzaoua, qui forment deux bassins différents, l'un allant vraisemblablement vers le Tchad, l'autre vers l'Atlantique. Les véritables sources de l'In Ăzaoua sont situées dans le Ténéré, et des eaux, venues très certainement du versant oriental de l'Ănahef ainsi que du versant nord de l'Aïr, viennent grossir son cours avant le puits d'In Ăzaoua. Plusieurs grands oueds issus du versant sud de l'Ăhaggar, le Ti-n-Tărabin, l'Irarrer, le Zazir, le rejoignent aux environs d'In Guezzam, et les indigènes lui donnent alors le nom de T-i-m-Mersoï. Il forme, un peu au sud, une vaste dépression connue sous le nom de Tessellamane ; arrêté à cet endroit par les falaises crétacées, il y fut peut-être retenu un certain temps, formant un vaste lac, jusqu'au jour où il put franchir la falaise et continuer vers le sud. Cette dépression du Tessellamane a été visitée par la mission du Transsaharien en 1912 et le géologue Chudeau la comparait alors au « glint » scandinave.

C'est sur les bords de cette dépression et aux alentours que fleurit une des plus belles civilisations sahariennes connues jusqu'à ce jour : celle de Taferjit-Tamaïa, qui nous a laissé une industrie osseuse pleine d'intérêt.

L'Ăzaouak entre ensuite dans la zone sahélienne qui est encore vivifiée annuellement par des chutes d'eau importantes, et son lit, taillé dans les argiles, est profondément marqué.

Le Niger actuel serait le fruit d'une capture relativement récente, et il devait primitivement se perdre au nord ou au nord-ouest de Tombouctou ; ce n'est qu'après avoir franchi le seuil de Tosaye qu'il put rejoindre l'Ăzaouak et s'unir à lui, revivifiant le cours inférieur de ce dernier, alors que son cours supérieur, comme celui du Niger saharien, était la proie de la sécheresse et de l'érosion éolienne.

Bassin du Taffassasset. — Le Taffassasset a ses sources dans le Djebel Ounane, qui domine la dépression de l'Ămadror, et c'est par conséquent un oued ahaggarien, mais il doit son importance aux eaux qui lui sont fournies par le versant

sud du Tassili-n-Ăjjer et en particulier par le massif de l'Ădrar. La confusion, qui eut lieu pendant longtemps à propos des cours respectifs des oueds Taffassasset et In Ăzaoua, a été éclaircie. En 1935, une reconnaissance put remonter le cours de l'In Azaoua jusqu'aux sources et constater l'existence de deux bassins différents [1].

Le caractère du Taffassasset est de couler de bout en bout sur un terrain de reg presqu'entièrement cristallin. Il a un profil d'équilibre de pente douce et régulière, sans que son cours soit marqué par des décalages de niveau brusques et c'est pourquoi il a été très facilement la proie du vent et du sable.

A une vingtaine de kilomètres de ses sources, son lit est représenté par des touffes de graminées presque complètement ensablées. Au puits d'In-Ăfaleleh on trouve encore une belle forêt de tamarix, et les berges de l'oued, entaillées dans des affleurements gréseux, sont nettement conservées. On peut encore le suivre très facilement pendant 150 km., après quoi il disparaît sous le sable ; pourtant le lit se révèle, de loin en loin, par une très vague dépression à fond argileux, dans laquelle on trouve des coquillages d'eau douce, des ossements de poissons, et surtout beaucoup d'outils préhistoriques, qui sont autant de témoins des habitats humains anciennement fixés sur ses bords.

La dépression argileuse suit une direction Nord-Sud jusqu'à hauteur de Bilma, et plusieurs vallées de moindre importance, issues du massif de l'Aïr, d'une part, et du Tassili oriental, d'autre part (région de Ahola-Er-Roui), viennent la rejoindre.

Sur l'itinéraire Achegour-Aïr, il existe une vaste cuvette qui peut atteindre 80 km. de large. S'agit-il d'une cuvette terminale, ou bien, comme nous le pensons, du lit de l'oued qui poursuit son cours plus au sud pour aller vraisemblablement rejoindre le Tchad ?

A ces bassins très importants il faut ajouter la dépression fermée des Sebkra Mekerrhane, et Azzel Matti, qui reçoivent plusieurs oueds, issus des versants nord de l'Ăsegrad et de l'Ăhnet, et de la pointe nord-ouest de l'Immirdir (oued Ăsouf Mellen, Tessaret et el Djaret). Les oueds, issus du versant sud de l'Ăhnet, vont se perdre sous les sables du Tanezrouft, pour rejoindre peut-être l'oued Tămanrasset.

1. Capitaine Arnould, lieutenant Florimond, Henri Lhote.

# CHAPITRE IV

## CLIMATOLOGIE

Le caractère désertique du climat saharien est connu depuis la haute antiquité, et tous les auteurs anciens ont décrit les régions se trouvant au sud de l'Afrique du Nord comme impénétrables à cause de leur aridité.

L'étude géologique du Sahara semble démontrer qu'au cours des différentes époques il connut déjà des périodes d'assèchement, et c'est ainsi, comme nous y avons déjà fait allusion, que les grès albiens, d'une part, les grès siluro-dévoniens d'autre part, ne seraient pas autre chose que des dunes consolidées.

Il y eut également de grandes périodes d'humidité. L'ancienne faune de l'Afrique du Nord ainsi que celle que nous ont révélée les gravures rupestres du Sahara et quelques gisements préhistoriques attestent nettement l'existence d'un climat beaucoup plus humide que l'actuel. Il ne faut pas croire cependant que ce climat pouvait être semblable à celui qui règne de nos jours sur les régions équatoriales.

La faune, en effet, semble avoir toujours eu des affinités avec celle que nous observons dans les steppes, ce qui correspond à un climat d'humidité moyenne, avec une somme annuelle de précipitations s'établissant autour de 1.000 m /m.

L'état désertique du Sahara devait être un fait accompli à l'époque romaine.

Les causes directes et indirectes de la formation du désert sont le climat et la structure. Par sa situation à la limite de la zone intertropicale, cette grande masse continentale est le centre d'une aire de hautes pressions continues que l'absence de barrière rocheuse sur la côte Atlantique n'a pas atténuée, comme cela s'est produit sur la côte ouest de l'Amérique. Le sol, privé des précipitations atmosphériques qu'éloignent les zones de haute pression, soumis à une succion ininterrompue de l'air sec toujours en mouvement, sous une latitude où la chaleur solaire est encore très élevée, a fini par refuser la vie à la

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végétation. Il y a eu déséquilibre entre l'humidité relative du sol et le pouvoir d'absorption des vents au bénéfice de ces derniers.

Le climat désertique, d'après les manuels de géographie [1], est caractérisé par une somme annuelle de précipitation inférieure à 250 millimètres. Au Sahara cette somme dépasse rarement 100 millimètres et, certaines années, elle n'est pas atteinte. L'Ăhaggar, par sa haute altitude, est un peu privilégié. On peut dire qu'il ne se passe pas une année sans que le massif ne reçoive quelques pluies, ce qui ne veut pas dire qu'il pleuve alors partout. Tămanrasset est resté plusieurs années sans recevoir une goutte d'eau et la sécheresse dans le massif est parfois si forte que les Touaregs sont obligés d'aller transhumer sur les confins du Soudan.

C'est naturellement sur les hauts pics qu'on enregistre le plus de précipitations : les orages éclatent généralement en été, alors que la zone des basses pressions équatoriales s'étend parfois jusqu'au désert. En hiver, sous l'influence de vents d'ouest, la pluie peut survenir. Au cours de l'année 1929, nous n'avons pas enregistré moins de onze journées de pluie, en mars, avril, mai, juin, juillet et août ; mais à part trois grosses pluies qui ont entraîné des coulées d'oueds, il s'agissait de petites averses fines qui marquaient à peine le sol.

On observe parfois des chutes de grêle, et certains hivers, particulièrement rigoureux, la neige recouvre, pour quelques heures, les pics de l'Ătakor.

L'Ăhaggar suit, au point de vue des saisons, le régime des zones tempérées, c'est-à-dire un cycle divisé en quatre périodes dont le milieu correspond, à quelques jours près, aux solstices et aux équinoxes, mais le passage d'une saison à l'autre est beaucoup plus brusque que chez nous. Le printemps est frais, agréable, l'automne est d'abord chaud comme l'été (influence du passage du soleil au zénith), puis brusquement froid comme l'hiver ; ce dernier est très accusé.

Les Touaregs distinguent quatre saisons : *Aouellen*, *Amaouane*, *Tadjreste* et *Tafçite*.

*Aouellen* correspond à l'été et s'étend de la mi-mai à la mi-août. C'est la période où le cœur bat, disent-ils, où l'on est oppressé par la chaleur, où les tilmas sont généralement taris. Ils définissent cette saison en précisant que c'est celle de la vie active dans les terrains de culture.

1. DE MARTONNE, *Traité de Géographie Physique*, 2e éd., p. 220.

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*Amaouane* va de la mi-août à la mi-novembre ; c'est la saison où l'on n'a pas besoin de boire beaucoup, où il n'y a pas beaucoup d'eau dans les tilmas. C'est au cours de cette saison que sont célébrés les mariages ; par extension, c'est la période où l'on revêt de beaux vêtements et pendant laquelle on s'amuse beaucoup.

*Tadjreste* va de la mi-novembre à la mi-février. Le nom de cette saison est synonyme de « se recroqueviller ». C'est la saison froide où l'eau est abondante dans les tilmas, où le beurre reste consistant dans les récipients. Les Touaregs en profitent pour entreprendre de grands voyages.

*Tafçite* va de la mi-février à la mi-mai. La chaleur fait couler le beurre, qui est conservé liquide dans les récipients.

La température de l'Ăhaggar est celle des régions désertiques chaudes ; l'amplitude thermique annuelle est considérable et peut atteindre 46° (— 4 + 42) [1] ; cette amplitude est malgré cela très inférieure à celle du bas Sahara, pays plat avec ses dunes et ses Tanezroufts. La mission Foureau-Lamy a enregistré — 14° le 29 décembre 1899 à une journée de Tiressoutine. Il a été noté — 8° en janvier 1935 dans l'erg d'Admer pour + 52 à l'ombre l'été, aux abords de l'Immidir, ce qui fait une amplitude de 66°. On enregistre une moyenne de 6 à 8 jours de gelée par an, à Tămanrasset, mais il va de soi qu'aux hautes altitudes il faut doubler ou même tripler ces chiffres.

Les amplitudes journalières sont également très accusées, plus fortes l'été que l'hiver (28 et 22). Ce qui est remarquable, c'est l'abaissement de la température en montagne à la tombée du soleil ; en l'espace de 20 minutes, de 17 h. à 17 h. 20, le thermomètre descend de 8° à 10° (observation faite en septembre 1931 à Tămanrasset).

Par suite de la grande sécheresse de l'air, la nébulosité du Sahara est très faible et on peut compter au Nord de l'Ăhaggar jusqu'à 220 journées de ciel pur par an [2]. L'Ăhaggar ne bénéficie pas d'un ciel si pur et un chapeau de nuages recouvre souvent les hautes montagnes de la Koudia, hiver comme été. L'été, le contre-coup des tornades soudanaises entraîne une nébulosité plus forte qu'en hiver, et l'on compte une moyenne de 8 jours de ciel pur en juillet pour 13 jours en janvier. Cette

1. Ces chiffres n'ont pas été relevés à Tamanrasset, mais à différentes altitudes du massif.

2. Voir à ce sujet le tableau VII dans l'aperçu météorologique par Lasserre in : *Les territoires du Sud de l'Algérie*, t. 1, pp. 177-262.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



nébulosité est plus forte le matin, diminue avec les heures chaudes de la journée ; les nuits sont par contre d'une grande luminosité et, comme l'a fait remarquer Perret, on comprend mieux lorsqu'on a vu les merveilleuses nuits étoilées de l'Afrique que les Égyptiens et les Arabes aient été des astronomes remarquables [1].

Le vent est l'élément climatique le plus gênant du Sahara et de l'Ăhaggar, car il est pour ainsi dire de tous les instants.

Il trouve une prise facile dans les éléments désagrégés des roches, et se transforme alors en vent de sable qui oblige, gens et animaux, à se mettre à l'abri. Dans les Tanezroufts, il acquiert toute sa violence et, du matin au soir, particulièrement l'été, il souffle avec une force insoupçonnée, transportant une quantité prodigieuse de poussières sablonneuses et de petites boules de quartz qui viennent aveugler le voyageur osant affronter ces régions à des époques si peu propices. Il ne permet pas de voir à plus de quelques mètres devant soi, et son action est désastreuse pour le caravanier car il active, avec une vitesse inouie, l'évaporation de l'eau de réserve contenue dans les outres en peau de bouc.

Le brassage des couches d'air atténue et aide à supporter, en certaines circonstances, l'action thermique du soleil.

Le climat de l'Ăhaggar est, en fait, à considérer comme sain, mais la sécheresse extrême de l'air le rend malgré tout très anémiant et déprimant pour les Européens dès qu'ils dépassent un certain temps de séjour.

Pour les Touaregs qui ne savent pas se protéger contre les changements brusques de température, il est un agent de sélection puissant dans le bas-âge, les enfants chétifs et malingres disparaissent, et chez les adultes les bronchites et les pneumonies font tous les ans un grand nombre de victimes dans les campements.

1. Le climat du Sahara, *Ann. de Géog.*, t. XLIV, 15 mars 1935.

# CHAPITRE V

## LA FLORE

Un pays montagneux n'est pas seulement un refuge pour les hommes, mais aussi pour les animaux et les plantes que l'homme ne fait que suivre. C'est le cas de l'Ăhaggar, comme celui de tous les massifs montagneux du Sahara. Lorsqu'on parle à un caravanier arabe du pays des Touaregs, son visage resplendit, et il évoque immédiatement les oueds à la végétation luxuriante, les « forêts » denses aux arbres merveilleux, les pâturages d'une richesse inusitée. Pour tout cela, aux yeux d'un Arabe, l'Ăhaggar est un pays riche. Ce jugement est un peu fantaisiste et exagéré, mais bien dans l'esprit des descendants du Prophète qui aiment à tout enjoliver. La vérité, c'est que le massif central saharien possède une flore beaucoup plus variée que tous les pays avoisinants, que cette flore acquiert, lorsqu'elle existe, une certaine densité inconnue du Sahara arabe.

L'Ăhaggar assez bien pourvu en eau, avec ses vallées et ses flancs de montagne abrités, a permis à certaines essences de se maintenir, et même de prospérer, tout au moins lorsque les pluies sont abondantes.

C'est de cette végétation que dépend, en fait, la vie des Touaregs, car la rareté des puits peut limiter le rayon d'action de l'homme ; la vie des animaux qui le nourrissent et le transportent est liée aux pâturages et l'on s'aperçoit que les déplacements des campements sont beaucoup plus en relation avec le tapis végétal qu'avec les points d'eau.

Mais pour subsister au Sahara et même dans l'Ăhaggar, la flore a dû faire des prodiges d'adaptation pour résister à la sécheresse parfois prolongée et à la forte chaleur. On peut même dire que les plantes qui n'ont pas su s'adapter ont dû disparaître, ont été éliminées d'office. L'on s'aperçoit aussi que par le changement de climat, un monde entier meurt alors qu'un autre naît.

Parmi les caractères les plus saillants de la flore désertique, on observe une disproportion anormale de la taille entre les

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



organes souterrains et les organes aériens. Les premiers sont extrêmement développés en longueur et rayonnent de façon à augmenter la surface d'absorption d'humidité, alors que les seconds sont généralement réduits à leur plus simple expression de façon à présenter le moins de surface possible à l'évaporation. D'autres artifices permettent à la plante de résister à la sécheresse de l'air : couvrant l'épiderme, une fine pellicule de sel, tirée du sous-sol, fait fonction de capteur d'humidité, ou bien encore des poils masquent ses pores et les protègent de l'action trop violente du soleil, tout en formant autour d'eux une petite chambre à atmosphère intermédiaire entre celle de l'extérieur et celle de la plante.

Dans certains cas, ce sont les racines qui sont enfermées dans un étui calcaire de sable agglutiné qui les protège de l'échauffement du sol.

Ce sont là des caractères bien faits pour frapper l'imagination et surtout attirer l'attention des biologistes et des savants.

Ces phénomènes d'adaptation ne sont pas très anciens, car la flore saharienne n'a pas toujours eu ce caractère désertique et l'Ăhaggar, grâce à sa haute altitude et à son climat plus tempéré, a conservé ce que l'on peut appeler une flore relique.

Cette flore recèle aux hautes altitudes des plantes d'origine méditerranéenne, alors que le bas pays possède des arbres essentiellement soudanais. Tout cela confirme le passé humide du Sahara, en est plus ou moins le vestige.

Quelle était alors l'allure de la végétation de ce passé ? Elle devait avoir un caractère steppique et ressembler à celle que l'on trouve de nos jours dans la zone soudanaise, caractérisée par les mimosées et les graminées. La montagne devait posséder des essences particulières et constituer des îlots où le mélange des flores devait être courant.

On a pu penser que cette flore saharienne avait eu un caractère plus « forêt tropicale ». L'existence de lianes comme « salvadora persica » qui ont évolué en arbres, réalisant une adaptation fort curieuse, peut le faire supposer, mais les témoins actuels sont beaucoup plus steppiques que forestiers.

Il se peut que cette steppe ait eu par endroits un caractère de savane, comme on l'observe dans certaines régions du Soudan, et qu'elle ait possédé des marécages assez étendus et permanents. Le professeur Chevalier a décrit des graminées de

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



marais découvertes dans l'Ădrar des Iforas [1], ce qui confirme ce dernier point de vue.

Le Docteur Maire, professeur de botanique à l'Université d'Alger, a dressé ces dernières années un inventaire complet de la flore du Sahara central, qui peut être considéré comme définitif. On est stupéfait de constater qu'il a pu établir la liste de 616 plantes différentes dans un pays au caractère désertique bien marqué.

Le Saharien averti, sans être botaniste, est lui-même frappé par la diversité de la flore et son attention est retenue par le grand nombre d'espèces représentées, mais, par contre, par le petit nombre de représentants de chacune. Le Docteur Trabut a bien mis ce caractère en relief et fait ressortir surtout que ce phénomène ne peut être que le résultat d'un déboisement énorme dont l'homme, en particulier le nomade, destructeur éternel de la végétation, est peut-être aussi responsable que le changement de climat.

Le Docteur Maire a défini dans l'Ăhaggar trois étages botaniques différents : étage tropical, étage méditerranéen, étage méditerranéen supérieur.

1° Étage tropical. Pénéplaine, et jusqu'à 1.700-1.800 mètres d'altitude. Étage le plus riche au point de vue végétal, sinon pour la densité des espèces, du moins pour le nombre de variétés puisque l'on en a identifié jusqu'à 511. La végétation est surtout caractérisée dans les vallées par des épineux (Acacia tortilis et Acacia seyal) associés à une graminée (Panicum turgidum) et à un grand nombre d'arbres et arbustes de types soudanais : l'*Irak* (Salvadora Persica), le *Téborak* (Balanites Egyptiacus), le *Tagart* (Maerua crassifolia), le *Tourha* (Calotropis procera), l'Acacia blanc (acacia albida).

2° Étage méditerranéen, qui va de 1.800 à 2.300-2.400 m. Compte 209 espèces, en comprenant celles existant à l'étage inférieur qui montent au-dessus de 1.800 mètres. A cet étage la végétation change complètement d'aspect ; les arbres d'affinité soudanaise ont disparu pour faire place à une végétation d'affinité méditerranéenne dont certaines espèces, comme l'olivier sauvage (Olea Laperrini) et le pistachier (Pistacia atlantica) sont considérées comme de véritables

1. Aug. Chevalier, Sur une plante fossile de la période fluviale saharienne, *Bull. du Muséum*, t. V, n° 1, 1933, pp. 83-87. Nous avons trouvé nous-même des graminées fossiles du même genre, au sud de l'Ahaggar et dans le Ténéré, souvent associées avec des bois d'acacias.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



reliques. L'Oléa (l'*oléo* des Touaregs) ne se reproduit plus dans l'Ăhaggar. On ne voit pas de jeunes pieds, mais au contraire des vieilles souches noueuses ne portant que quelques ramures vertes ; la floraison et la fructification en sont des plus irrégulières ; l'arbre végète doucement. Il descend jusqu'à 1.400 mètres (O. Outoul, bas Tarhananet), et est souvent associé au *Télokat* (Ficus Salicifolia), bel arbre qui fleurit et fructifie régulièrement et dont les Touaregs mangent la petite baie. Mieux adaptés, de beaux peuplements de *Télokat* descendent plus bas que l'Oléa et trouvent leur plein épanouissement vers 1.800 mètres. L'arbre le plus commun de tout cet étage est le *Tahounek* (Rhux oxyacantha), à tronc noueux, et dont les branches portent de longues épines. Il ne monte pas si haut que l'oléa et descend plus bas. Il en existe de superbes groupements dans les oueds In Daladj, Ilâman, Tarhananet, Eferer.

Il y a dans l'Ăhaggar un arbre également très commun ; c'est le *defla*, ou laurier rose (Nerium Oleander) qui remonte très haut, jusqu'à 2.000 mètres, et vit dans tous les endroits humides où la nappe aquifère est à peu de profondeur ; les chameaux qui se laissent tenter par ses fleurs roses, lorsqu'ils ne les connaissent pas, meurent empoisonnés [1].

3° Étage méditerranéen supérieur, qui va de 2.300 à 3.000 mètres, c'est-à-dire jusqu'aux plus hautes cimes. Ici, la flore est purement méditerranéenne comme l'indique la présence de *Clematis flammula*, et on ne compte pas plus de 36 espèces. L'olivier se rencontre encore, mais on sent que cet arbre, plus que partout ailleurs, n'est plus dans son élément naturel.

La végétation ne se tient plus uniquement dans les vallées, mais elle envahit volontiers les flancs des montagnes, les éboulis et plateaux basaltiques, formant un tapis aux couleurs délicates où viennent se repaître chèvres et chameaux.

Parmi les plus grandes curiosités botaniques du Sahara, il faut citer un conifère dont l'espèce s'est maintenue au Tassili des Ăjjer, un magnifique cyprès, (Cupressus dupreziana), pouvant atteindre plus de 10 mètres de haut et 6 à 8 mètres de circonférence dont les représentants, aujourd'hui réduits à

1. Il est curieux de constater que les chameaux nés dans l'Ahaggar ne mangent jamais de laurier rose. Ils en connaissent d'instinct le danger et leurs maîtres s'efforcent de les en dégoûter en leur frottant le nez avec des feuilles. Ce sont surtout les chameaux nés au Soudan, où cet arbre n'existe pas, et transportés dans l'Ahaggar, qui en sont les victimes.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



une vingtaine, sont tous groupés dans la région de Tamrit (1.200 m. d'altitude) exactement dans l'oued Inaléouen. C'est là un témoin éloquent d'un climat tempéré.

La plupart des arbres et plantes de l'Ăhaggar sont comestibles pour les chameaux et les chèvres, et sont d'autant plus nutritifs que, grâce à la nature du terrain, ils sont tous assez riches en sel. Ces qualités ont été mises à profit par les indigènes qui se font les agents directs du déboisement en abattant, à coup de hache, les grosses branches des arbres, en particulier des acacias, pour les mettre à la portée de leurs animaux.

C'est le cœur serré que l'on parcourt certaines vallées de la Koudia en avançant au milieu de peuplements importants, complètement décimés, dont les troncs sont sectionnés à un mètre du sol.

Pour la végétation arboricole, l'absence de jeunes sujets est quasi totale, ce qui permet d'envisager la disparition complète des arbres dans un temps relativement court, si l'on n'y remédie pas. Jusqu'à ce jour personne ne s'en est soucié. Une lutte à mort est déclarée entre la chèvre et l'acacia, où les deux antagonistes ont bien des chances de n'en sortir vivants ni l'un ni l'autre, et ces régions qui, grâce à leur altitude et par conséquent à leur climat privilégié avaient pu conserver un certain nombre d'espèces végétales rendant encore possible la vie, risquent d'être réduites à l'état de désert absolu avant qu'il soit longtemps.

# CHAPITRE VI

## LA FAUNE

La faune d'un pays aussi désertique que le Sahara, dont le climat s'est desséché depuis des siècles, présente logiquement des caractères très spéciaux. Elle ne peut comprendre que des formes résiduelles d'espèces anciennes ayant pu s'adapter à un état de fait nouveau.

C'est aujourd'hui une faune très pauvre par les espèces comme par les individus.

Faune antique. — Nous avons vu, dans les chapitres qui précèdent, par quels stades physiques le Sahara est passé ; l'état d'humidité dont il bénéficia longtemps, en provoquant une vie végétale active, devait avoir des conséquences semblables sur la faune.

En fait, on a retrouvé des ossements d'éléphants antiques, de buffles antiques, de zèbres, de poissons datant de la période pléistocène, des ossements d'hippopotames, de rhinocéros, de girafes, de crocodiles, de poissons, etc... de la période néolithique.

Des hommes ont même bien connu cette période, puisqu'ils se sont complus à nous laisser sur les rochers de multiples gravures représentant des animaux qui leur étaient contemporains.

Lorsqu'on se trouve devant un tas d'ossements considérable d'où émergent des dents d'hippopotames ou des mâchoires d'éléphants, qu'alentour il n'y a que du sable à perte de vue, l'on croit volontiers rêver !

Pourtant les faits sont là.

Cette période n'est d'ailleurs pas très éloignée de nous.

L'Afrique du Nord carthaginoise a connu les éléphants, et les animaux dont se servait Annibal pour décimer les légions romaines étaient capturés sur les marches du Sahara, dans la région des chotts, peut-être dans les régions encore humides des pentes sud de l'Atlas.

Cette ancienne faune du Sahara était nettement d'affinités

[p. 45]

soudanaises, elle se rapportait à ce que les naturalistes appellent la faune éthiopienne.

C'est celle que, à peu de choses près, on retrouve de nos jours dans la zone de la savane à 1.500 km. plus au sud.

Mammifères. — Établir la liste des mammifères actuels du Sahara, et particulièrement de l'Ăhaggar, n'est pas bien difficile : quelques ongulés, deux ou trois carnassiers, quelques rongeurs et insectivores. L'originalité de ces animaux est leur parfaite adaptation au milieu désertique. Tous sont capables de franchir rapidement de grandes distances. Ils sont coureurs ou sauteurs, aptes par conséquent à de grands déplacements pour la recherche de leur nourriture ou pour une fuite rapide devant des ennemis dont ils seraient sans cela facilement la proie, les éléments où normalement ils pourraient se dissimuler étant absents. Certains autres sont fouisseurs, ce qui est une autre façon de résoudre le problème et se mettre en même temps à l'abri des rayons du soleil.

On remarque aussi chez eux la teinte uniformément isabelle du pelage qui les identifie au sable, et un développement anormal des conques auditives qui sont autant d'éléments d'auto-défense bien propres au milieu.

Tous ces mammifères ont un caractère nettement éthiopien.

Parmi les ongulés, on compte cinq antilopes, un mouflon et un curieux petit animal, le daman, qui s'est réfugié dans tous les massifs montagneux du Sahara central.

Le plus commun est la gazelle. C'est une variété de *gazella dorcas*, propre à l'Ăhaggar, la *gazella dorcas neglecta* qui vit dans les vallées du massif et remonte dans l'Ătakor jusqu'à 2.500 mètres. A côté d'elle, beaucoup moins commune, vit la *gazella leptoceros*, facilement reconnaissable à la bande noire qu'elle porte sur le flanc.

Une autre espèce, surtout répandue au Soudan, *gazella dama*, fait encore quelques incursions dans l'Ăhaggar. Elle est surtout localisée dans la région de Silet, et peut-être en existe-t-il encore quelques individus dans la Tăfedest, où nous croyons l'avoir aperçue. Ce sont là des bêtes de taille petite ou moyenne. Les grandes antilopes ont un habitat beaucoup plus localisé : l'Addax, dans les dunes, l'Oryx, sur les confins saharo-soudanais.

L'addax *Addax nasomaculatus* était autrefois un animal

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



très répandu au Sahara. A la suite de chasses inconsidérées des militaires de nos compagnies sahariennes, il est en voie de complète disparition. On le trouve encore dans l'Ăhaggar, isolé ou par groupes de quelques individus, dans les ergs d'Ămegid, de Tihodaïne et d'Ădmer. Au nord, il habite encore la région de Ohanet, et au sud, le Ténéré, où les difficultés d'accès de cette région le mettent encore, pour un temps, à l'abri de la destruction.

Quant à l'oryx *oryx leucoryx*, on ne le rencontre qu'à la limite sud de l'Ăhaggar. C'est surtout un animal de la steppe à qui il faut une abondante nourriture que le désert ne saurait lui fournir.

Le mouflon *ammotragus lervia* Pall. est le gibier typique des montagnes des pays touaregs. Il habite l'Ăhaggar et ses dépendances, l'Aïr, l'Ădrar des Ifôras. C'est la bête de choix des chasseurs, car il unit à la finesse, la ruse, l'agilité, la résistance et la force. Il tient pour cela une grande place dans le folklore des Touaregs.

Les fauves sont devenus rares. Il devait y avoir autrefois des lions dans l'Ăhaggar, à en croire les gravures rupestres qu'on y a retrouvées, mais ils en ont disparu devant le peu de nourriture qu'ils pouvaient s'y procurer. L'hyène rayée ne l'habite plus non plus, et la présence de l'hyène tachetée, *Hyaena crocuta*, n'est pas bien établie.

Le seul fauve vraiment digne de ce nom est le guépard, *Acinonyx jubatus guttatus* Herrm, animal d'erg qui vit surtout derrière les troupeaux d'Addax, mais que l'on trouve encore dans les montagnes de la Tăfedest.

Il y a quelques chats sauvages, probablement *Félix ocreata*, qui font des dégâts dans les poulaillers des centres de culture.

Parmi les petits fauves, surtout mangeurs de charogne, citons le chacal, *Vulpes pallida harterti*, qui est ubiquiste, et le fennec, *Fennecus zerda*, ce dernier localisé dans les dunes.

Parmi les rongeurs, plusieurs variétés de gerbilles et de gerboises et surtout une curieuse petite bête qui vit dans les rochers, le ctenodactyle, *ctenodactylus gundi*, le *telout* des Touaregs que les enfants de ces derniers chassent pour le manger.

Le lièvre, *Lepus harterti. T.*, est commun dans toutes les vallées et remonte jusqu'aux plus hautes altitudes.

Parmi les insectivores existent quelques chéiroptères et le hérisson.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



On a beaucoup parlé de deux mammifères qui auraient été les hôtes de l'Ăhaggar : un loup et un âne sauvage. C'est l'explorateur Henri Duveyrier qui en parla le premier et les désigna respectivement sous les noms d'Adjoulé et d'Ahoulil.

L'adjoulé a été identifié depuis. C'est le *Lycaon pictus* ou loup peint dont un individu a été tué dans le nord de l'Adrar des Iforas par le capitaine Augiéras en 1928. Cet animal n'est pas à proprement parler ahaggarien, mais il peut faire parfois des incursions dans le massif, comme ce fut certainement le cas en 1928, d'après ce qu'ont rapporté les Touaregs qui s'en plaignirent à la suite de dégâts dont leurs troupeaux firent les frais. Il fut certainement beaucoup plus commun autrefois, et c'est ainsi que plusieurs points d'eau portent son nom, Tin Tirès, dont un au nord du massif de la Tăfedest.

Quant à l'âne sauvage, il s'agit d'une confusion, l'ahoulil étant un âne de l'espèce domestique, devenu sauvage à la suite de son abandon dans la montagne.

Oiseaux. — L'avifaune saharienne est surtout composée de rapaces, de passereaux et de quelques gallinacés. Elle se rattache à la faune paléoarctique avec des caractères d'adaptation aux terrains sahariens, comme chez les mammifères. L'homochromie avec le sol est flagrante dans la plupart des espèces.

Parmi les rapaces, on a signalé le gypaète, mais il est rare, le faucon, *Falco biarmicus abyssinicus*, l'épervier, *Accipiter nisus punicus*, la crécerelle, *Falco tinnunculus*. Il se peut que le busard fréquente l'Ăhaggar. D'une façon générale, ces oiseaux sont peu nombreux. Ils font des dégâts dans les terrains de culture où ils s'emparent des poulets qu'élèvent les cultivateurs. Le percnoptère est très commun et procède au nettoyage des chameaux et des animaux morts.

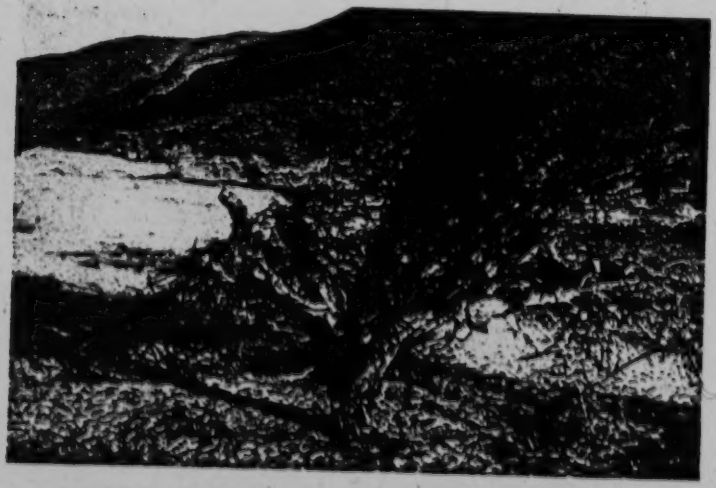
Parmi les rapaces nocturnes, nous ne connaissons que le hibou ascalaphe qui est une forme saharienne du grand-duc d'Europe.

Ce sont les petits passereaux qui tiennent la plus grande place. Le nombre des espèces se compte par plusieurs dizaines, parmi lesquelles se trouve une grande quantité d'alouettes. Ils vivent sur les regs et la rocaille, faisant leur nid sous les cailloux des plateaux.

Dans les oueds, le traquet deuil anime la solitude et égaie le voyageur par sa familiarité. Dans les centres de culture, on observe l'existence de plusieurs fauvettes.

PL. III

L'oued Taffassasset à 25 kilomètres de ses sources, au nord du puits de Serounout. Le lit est complètement ensablé et marqué par place de touffes de mrokim (panisettum turgidum).



Les arbres, déjà rares dans l'Ahaggar, sont souvent mutilés par les bergers touaregs qui abattent les branches maîtresses pour mettre le feuillage à portée des chèvres et des moutons. Des peuplements entiers sont souvent livrés de cette manière à la dévastation.

[p. 48 A]

PL. IV.

Type de tumulus à grande soutache (Région tassilienne).

Tumulus en margelle de puits avec soutassement (Haute Koudia).

[p. 48 B]

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Signalons les autres espèces, la pie-grièche, le moineau blanc, l'hirondelle de rivage, le martinet, l'engoulevent, le grand corbeau, la huppe.

Les pigeons et gallinacés sont représentés par le pigeon biset *Columba livia targuia* Geyr. et la tourterelle *Strepto pelia turtur hoggara* Geyr. qui fréquente surtout les centres de culture où il existe des palmiers (Idelès, Ăbalessa, Sîlet, Tahart), ainsi que par plusieurs espèces de canga dont *Pterocles coronatus coronatus* Licht.

Parmi les oiseaux d'eau, seul l'ibis noir habite l'Ăhaggar et niche dans les centres de culture.

Les regs de la pénéplaine prétassilienne sont souvent jonchés de débris de coquilles d'œufs d'autruche, mais cet oiseau n'habite plus l'Ăhaggar depuis longtemps et il a pratiquement disparu du Sahara.

Le naturaliste Lavauden a signalé que l'Ăhaggar n'était pas sur la route des oiseaux migrateurs qui traversent le Sahara. D'après lui, ils suivraient les côtes de Mauritanie ou bien la vallée du Nil. La vallée de la Saoura avec son chapelet d'oasis constituerait une voie de deuxième ordre et les oiseaux que l'on rencontrerait dans les autres endroits seraient des isolés, des dissidents, des égarés.

Pourtant, nous avons observé régulièrement dans l'Ăhaggar des vols importants d'oiseaux migrateurs qui passent toujours à la même époque. C'est le cas des chasseurs d'Afrique, des canards et des cigognes. Tous les automnes, les maisons des centres de culture sont remplies d'hirondelles de rivage et des hérons envahissent les seguia. Beaucoup d'entre eux sont à bout de souffle et meurent quelques jours après leur arrivée. Le fait est constant, et l'on peut se demander s'il s'agit d'individus atteints par la vieillesse ou épuisés par les rigueurs du voyage.

Reptiles. Batraciens. — La faune des reptiles est peu nombreuse. Elle comprend une dizaine d'espèces de lézards, huit d'ophidiens, dont trois venimeuses, et une de batraciens.

Parmi les lézards, le groupe des agames tient la plus grande place. Certains sont adaptés aux terrains de reg, d'autres à la rocaille de la montagne. Tous appartiennent à la faune tropicale.

Huit espèces d'ophidiens ont été jusqu'à ce jour identifiés dans l'Ăhaggar, mais deux ou trois ont dû échapper à l'investigation des chercheurs. Quelques-unes qui habitent la Kou-

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



dia sont méditerranéennes alors que les autres sont apparentées aux formes tropicales.

Le serpent venimeux le plus commun est le *Cerastes cornutus*, très répandu dans tout le Sahara ; mais dans l'Ăhaggar, on ne rencontre que sa forme « mutila » c'est-à-dire sans cornes. Le naja, que l'explorateur Duveyrier avait signalé d'après des renseignements indigènes, n'a jamais été trouvé dans le massif central saharien et n'y existe sûrement pas.

Les batraciens ne sont représentés que par le crapaud vert *Bufo viridis*, espèce purement méditerranéenne et qui est un témoin des plus caractéristiques de la faune résiduelle. Il est venu là par le canal de l'oued Igharghar et on le retrouve près de tous les points d'eau de surface permanents de l'Ăhaggar où il se reproduit à presque toutes les périodes de l'année. Il n'y a pas de grenouilles, comme dans le Tassili-n-Ăjjer [1] et on n'a pas retrouvé le *Bufo* mauritanien commun dans ce dernier pays.

On peut compter, à juste titre, le crocodile comme étant un des hôtes du Sahara. Deux exemplaires ont été capturés dans le Tassili-n-Ăjjer, près du petit centre de Ăhérir, construit sur un affluent de l'oued Emirhou (Mihéro, des anciens auteurs). A l'heure actuelle, l'espèce semble éteinte dans cette région, et des recherches récentes sont restées sans résultats. Il existe encore en Mauritanie et au Tibesti, mais il est absent de l'Ăhaggar, et s'il y a existé autrefois, ce qu'affirment les indigènes, il y a de grandes présomptions qu'il n'y soit plus.

Poissons. — Parmi les éléments de la faune relique du Sahara, ce sont les poissons qui ont le plus étonné les naturalistes. Ce pays était celui où l'on pouvait le moins supposer leur existence.

Dans l'Ăhaggar proprement dit, une seule localité a livré des poissons. C'est le point d'eau d'Issekkerâssen, situé à 2.000 mètres d'altitude, au centre de la Koudia. Ces poissons ont été signalés pour la première fois par la mission Coche, en 1935, et nous avons pu les identifier nous-mêmes en 1940. Ce sont des *Barbus desertii* Pelleg., espèce déjà connue du Tassili-n-Ăjjer, trouvée pour la première fois à Ifédil, en 1909, par le capitaine Cortier.

1. La grenouille a été signalée à In-Amegel mais malgré toutes les recherches que nous avons faites dans cette localité, il nous a été impossible de la trouver. Elle a été récemment importée d'In Salah à Tamanrasset, mais nous ne savons pas si elle s'est adaptée.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Deux autres localités, Ămegid, dans le Tassili, et Ărak dans l'Immidir, ont livré respectivement le *Barbus biscarensis* et *Tilapia zilli*, *Barbus desertii*, *Astatotilapia desfontainesi*.

Le *Barbus de Biskra* est apparenté au type européen, ce qui est assez curieux, tandis que le *Barbus desertii* est proche du *Barbus ablabes* Bleeker de l'Afrique occidentale.

Les silures, communs dans le Tassili-n-Ăjjer, n'ont pas été signalés dans l'Ăhaggar.

La faune aquicole de l'Ăhaggar groupe donc, à la fois, des éléments méditerranéens, venus par le canal de l'Igharghar, et des éléments soudanais, le massif marquant la ligne de partage entre les eaux des rivières du versant septentrional et les bassins du Niger et du Tchad.

Insectes. — Les insectes sont relativement peu nombreux, situation logique en étroite relation avec le peu de densité de la végétation et la rareté de l'eau.

Ils sont, comme partout, dispersés en fonction des conditions naturelles offertes à leurs différents types de vie. On ne compte, au Sahara central, que 402 coléoptères, alors que par exemple le massif de Mouzaïa, en Algérie, en possède 2.102 ! Ces deux chiffres donnent un aperçu exact de la disproportion qu'il y a entre la faune désertique et celle des pays tempérés.

Dans l'Ăhaggar, les Phytophages représentent environ 36 % des espèces, les Hygrophiles 28 % et les Terricoles 19 % [1]. C'est parmi ces derniers que se retrouvent les coléoptères les plus typiquement désertiques : les Ténébrionides Mélasomes, dont 43 espèces se rencontrent au Sahara central.

Comme nous l'avons observé pour les mammifères et les oiseaux, les formes sahariennes présentent différents types d'adaptation. Les coureurs ont des pattes très allongées (Pimelia) terminées en pioche ou en houe. Chez les fouisseurs, fixés au contraire au sol, les membres se raccourcissent et les tarses disparaissent parfois entièrement.

Ces mélasomes, typiquement sahariens, appartiennent à deux groupes distincts : 1° ceux d'origine africaine peuplant toute l'Afrique et l'Asie antérieure (*Erodiinae*, *Zophosinae*, *Adesmiinae*) ; 2° ceux d'origine asiatique, peuplant l'Asie centrale et occidentale et la moitié nord de l'Afrique (*Akidinae*, *Platyopinae*, *Pimelinae*).

1. De Peyerimhoff. Physionomie de la Faune entomologique (coléoptères) au Sahara. La vie dans la région désertique nord tropicale de l'ancien monde. *Société de Biogéographie*, Paris, 1938.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Au point de vue général, d'après Peyerimhoff, on peut donc dire que sur une faune désertique, fixée depuis longtemps, ont déferlé deux courants opposés, l'un tropical, l'autre méditerranéen. Le courant tropical, datant probablement de la fin du tertiaire, a amené des éléments dont certains vivent encore au bord de la Méditerranée. Le courant méditerranéen est plus récent et date probablement du glaciaire. Il a amené des formes froides dont de nombreuses reliques se retrouvent dans les parties montagneuses où elles forment l'essentiel de la faune. La période de dessèchement actuelle tend à détruire les colonisateurs aussi bien tropicaux que méditerranéens.

Mollusques. — Le climat actuel du Sahara ne favorise pas la vie des mollusques. On en rencontre pourtant vivant dans les eaux des sources ou des gueltas du Tassili-n-Ăjjer et de l'Ăhaggar. Ce sont des planorbes, des melania et des ferussacia.

Mais il est intéressant de retrouver également des espèces subfossiles, et cela au centre de l'Ătakor-n-Ăhaggar. Il n'est pas rare de recueillir sous les pierres des petites volutes qui sont autant de preuves d'un climat très humide du Sahara. Dans des tumuli de type tronconique du Tassili-n-Ăjjer que nous avons été amenés à fouiller, nous avons trouvé des quantités de coquilles subfossiles sous les pierres. Il ne s'agissait pas de coquilles ayant servi de bijoux ou de parures, mais d'animaux venus mourir là.

# *LIVRE II*

# *L'HOMME*

## *LE PASSÉ DU SAHARA, SON PEUPLEMENT*

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## CHAPITRE PREMIER

## L'ĂHAGGAR PRÉ ET PROTO-HISTORIQUE

Par ce qui précède, nous avons vu que le Sahara avait connu un climat beaucoup plus humide que l'actuel, qu'une végétation et une faune plus nombreuses y avaient prospéré. C'étaient là des facteurs propres à faciliter la vie de l'homme.

Pourtant l'existence de ce dernier au Sahara, dans les temps préhistoriques, fut longtemps sujette à caution, et beaucoup de savants en doutèrent. Aucun fait précis ne venait, en effet, apporter des éléments décisifs, soit squelette, soit gisement archéologique bien en place.

Les premiers voyageurs qui pénétrèrent au Sahara furent frappés par la grande quantité d'outils, d'armes en pierre, qui jonchaient les regs, le fond des vieilles vallées et les fonds de cuvettes de certains ergs. Pêle-mêle on pouvait ramasser des objets de facies paléolithique, des « coups de poing » chelléens, des haches polies, des pointes de flèches finement retouchées. Tout cela reposait à même le sol, sans ordre, sans juxtaposition d'une industrie sur une autre et il était pratiquement impossible de classer et surtout de dater ces objets.

Mais un fait était malgré tout certain : c'est que le Sahara avait connu, antérieurement à ses habitants actuels, une civilisation très développée de la pierre qui avait utilisé presque tous les types « industriels » d'Europe.

Les outils en pierre n'étaient d'ailleurs pas les seuls éléments archaïques laissant supposer un habitat très ancien. Des tumuli de formes diverses s'accrochent aux flancs des montagnes, sur le bord des vallées et certains dans des endroits si éloignés de toute région habitée qu'il ne peut s'agir de monuments récents.

[p. 53]

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Enfin, il existe sur les rochers et dans les grottes des massifs montagneux des gravures et des peintures extrêmement curieuses qui furent signalées par les premiers explorateurs, Barth, Henri Duveyrier, Erwin von Bary et, après eux, par Foureau. Mais là aussi, il était impossible de donner une date à ces documents devant l'absence de stratigraphie.

Après l'occupation française, la prospection de l'Ăhaggar se fit progressivement, et beaucoup d'officiers des Compagnies Sahariennes s'improvisèrent archéologues, faisant parvenir dans les laboratoires de la métropole ou de l'Algérie des séries d'objets. Certains fouillèrent des tumuli, comme le capitaine Voinot (1909), et la richesse du matériel recueilli attira l'attention des spécialistes.

T. E. Hamy publia des notes sur les objets rapportés par la mission Foureau-Lamy ; Verneau, son successeur à la chaire d'Anthropologie du Muséum, guida dans ses recherches le capitaine Cortier et analysa ses collections. Th. Monod, d'abord comme membre de la mission Augérias-Draper, ensuite comme militaire de la Compagnie Saharienne du Hoggar, fit faire un grand pas à nos connaissances sur l'homme préhistorique au Sahara. Il ramena d'Ăsselar un squelette archaïque découvert par les militaires du poste et publia une monographie très complète de l'Ădrar Ăhnet, qui est un district du bas Ăhaggar.

Le squelette d'Ăsselar fut étudié par Boule et Vallois qui définirent sa haute antiquité, le considérèrent comme datant du paléolithique supérieur et le placèrent au point de vue somatique entre l'Homme de Grimaldi et les Bushmen de type ancien. Mais il n'y a malheureusement aucune faune ni aucun outil qui accompagnent ce squelette.

L'exploration du Sahara central a été suffisamment poussée ces dernières années pour que l'on puisse avoir un aperçu sur les populations anciennes qui l'habitèrent. Malgré des lacunes inévitables, on a tenté d'établir une classification typologique rationnelle ainsi que l'aire de répartition de chaque outillage connu, avec la réserve que l'exploration détaillée de certaines régions doit encore être faite, et apportera certainement de nouveaux éléments qui modifieront peut-être ou confirmeront nos connaissances actuelles.

Les Industries lithiques. — Si l'industrie de la pierre est répandue sur toute la surface du Sahara, il est à remarquer

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



qu'elle l'est beaucoup plus abondamment dans les régions des dunes, dans les Tanezroufts et surtout le long des anciennes vallées des grands fleuves quaternaires. On constate sa rareté dans les massifs montagneux, et c'est le cas de l'Ăhaggar en particulier. Le massif de l'Ăhnet fait un peu exception à la règle et a livré de nombreux objets de facies très divers, allant du moustérien au néolithique. Cela tient peut-être à la proximité du Tanezrouft qui lui, comme nous l'avons dit, est fort riche en outillage de toute sorte.

Dans l'Ăhaggar proprement dit, beaucoup de pièces chelléo-acheuléennes ont été recueillies isolément dans la région de Sîlet, dans l'Ătakor et aux abords du puits de Sérouanout. On connaît enfin deux beaux gisements de levalloisien avec quelques pièces sbaïkiennes, l'un à Tiguelguemine [1], l'autre à Esselesikine [2].

L'Ădrar des Ifôras et ses abords immédiats ont livré un outillage très important, des bifaces chelléo-acheuléens et du néolithique qui semble être particulier aux régions soudanaises, où l'on retrouve beaucoup de haches à forme allongée, plus ou moins cylindriques, qui leur ont valu le surnom de hache en forme de boudin. Ces instruments sont accompagnés de meules dormantes, de pilons, de broyeurs ; certains ont l'axe de frappe transversal et légèrement incurvé, ce qui laisse supposer qu'ils étaient utilisés comme houe. C'est fort possible et il est indéniable que ces pièces reposent toujours près des anciennes vallées qui devaient être des lieux propres à l'agriculture.

Au Tidikelt, sur le rebord nord-ouest de l'Ăhaggar, on a trouvé, ainsi qu'en Mauritanie, des pièces en silex et en quartzite taillées, qu'on a rattachées à l'atérien (facies nord africain du levalloisien) suivant les uns, au néolithique dit « berbère », suivant les autres. Ces pièces, en particulier des pointes à pédoncules qui gisent sur le sol, mélangées à des lames et des grattoirs de type néolithique, ne peuvent être datées avec précision, car si dans les gisements découverts à Bir el Ater, dans le département de Constantine, la stratification les place incontestablement dans le paléolithique moyen, leur juxtaposition au Sahara avec des pièces néolithiques peut laisser supposer que dans cette région, le paléolithique moyen s'est prolongé sans discontinuer jusqu'au néolithique.

1. Découvert par Reygasse.
2. Découvert par l'auteur.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Au nord de l'Ăhaggar, au delà de la ceinture tassilienne, s'étend l'Erg Oriental, où l'on trouve d'énormes bifaces chelléens, des amandes moustériennes, des pointes atériennes, des haches en boudin et surtout une multitude de pointes de flèches à pédoncule et à ailerons auxquelles on a donné le nom de « pointes de Ouargla ». L'aire de répartition de cette industrie englobe les deux ergs ainsi que la Mauritanie. Elle a pénétré dans l'Ăhaggar par la vallée de l'Igharghar, mais n'a pas franchi le massif.

L'outillage du type de Ouargla, que l'on trouve dans les régions de dunes, sur le reg, souvent à de grands distances des vallées principales, devait être utilisé par des nomades chasseurs, comme l'indiquerait l'abondance des pointes de flèches, des grattoirs et des petits silex à dos rabattu qui devaient servir au travail des peaux, alors que les haches épaisses, les meules dormantes de grand diamètre qui abondent au sud dans la région du moyen Niger, laissent supposer que les populations vivaient beaucoup plus de culture que de chasse.

Plusieurs découvertes faites ces dernières années viennent apporter quelques précisions sur les différents stades de la préhistoire saharienne, d'autant plus intéressantes que l'on se trouve cette fois devant des gisements où l'industrie est associée à une faune abondante et déterminable.

L'erg d'Ădmer et l'erg Tihôdaïn ont livré chacun, à quelques mois d'intervalles, deux gisements de paléolithique inférieur.

Situés sur les hautes terrasses d'anciennes vallées quaternaires qui disparaissent aujourd'hui, en partie, sous les dunes, les gisements contenaient un grand nombre de gros bifaces de types acheuléens en quartzite de l'Ăhaggar, ou en calcaire très dur. Parmi ces pièces, il faut signaler la présence d'un grand nombre de hachereaux, semblables à ceux que l'on connaît en Afrique du Sud, et à ceux trouvés ultérieurement à Ti-m-missao en plein Tanezrouft.

Ce matériel reposait au milieu d'ossements d'éléphants antiques, de buffles antiques et de zèbres, et de milliers d'arêtes de poissons de grande taille.

La zone située juste au sud de l'Ăhaggar et qui confine au Soudan, a livré des documents d'un intérêt également considérable se rapportant à des industries néolithiques. Ce sont d'immenses amas de débris de cuisine, des tas « d'ordure » comme on en trouve de nos jours autour des lieux habités par

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



des sédentaires et que les préhistoriens désignent sous le nom de « kjökkenmöddings ».

Au milieu d'un magma de cendres charbonneuses, il y a des coquilles de bivalves, des fragments d'os à demi carbonisés, des débris de poterie et des outils de toute sorte, brisés ou intacts. A côté de pointes de flèches à base concave et convexe, de hachettes plates en schiste, on trouve des harpons en os, des anneaux de bras et des perles également en os.

Parmi les espèces animales qui ont pu être déterminées d'après les ossements, on trouve des hippopotames, des rhinocéros, des antilopes, des girafes, des phacochères, des crocodiles, etc....

Les gisements sont toujours situés sur les bords des anciennes vallées, et les rejets de cuisine, par l'abondance des coquilles et des arêtes de poissons dont ils se composent en majeure partie, démontrent qu'il s'agit là de l'habitat d'anciennes populations de pêcheurs.

Entre les vallées, sur les flancs de petits dunes mortes, il existe également des stations de bien moindre importance dont l'industrie lithique est sensiblement la même, mais où les harpons en os font complètement défaut. Il n'y a pas, non plus, parmi les rejets de cuisine, ni arêtes de poissons, ni coquilles de mollusques, et l'impression qui se dégage de ces gisements est qu'ils ne sont pas tout à fait de la même époque et appartiennent à des populations dont les genres de vie étaient différents.

Les deux principaux gisements sont ceux de Taferjit et de Tamaïa Mellet. D'autres ont été trouvés à Tazerzaït, à In Tékébrine, et à In Guezzam. Leurs industries présentent beaucoup d'analogie avec celle du Fayoum étudiée en Égypte par Miss Caton Tompson, où les facies des pointes de flèches et des harpons sont sensiblement les mêmes.

L'intérêt de ces découvertes est encore augmenté par la présence au milieu des ossements d'animaux, de plusieurs squelettes humains en partie silicifiés, laissant supposer une longue immersion dans l'eau.

Malgré la fragmentation des crânes qui rend les déterminations difficiles, le Professeur Leblanc, doyen de la Faculté de Médecine d'Alger, a pu faire l'examen de l'un d'eux et déterminer ses caractères négroïdes. Fait important qui précise les différents stades de la préhistoire saharienne et nous montre que l'habitat septentrional des noirs, aujourd'hui confiné aux

régions soudanaises (sauf en ce qui concerne les oasis qui peuvent être considérées comme des îlots artificiels), s'étendait beaucoup plus au nord à la période néolithique.

Ces gisements « in situ » confirment donc pleinement l'existence de l'homme préhistorique au Sahara et permettent de considérer l'outillage lithique saharien comme très archaïque.

Malgré l'absence de faune, les gisements de Tiguelguenine (Immidir), d'Essélesikine (à la base de l'Ătakor-n-Ăhaggar), de Ohanet (au sud-est de l'Erg Oriental), à facies levalloisien, complètent utilement les découvertes dont nous venons de parler et laissent entrevoir l'existence, au paléolithique moyen, de populations dont l'habitat semble beaucoup plus rapproché des régions montagneuses que celui des « chelléens » ou des néolithiques.

L'immense plaine désertique du Ténéré, aujourd'hui inhabitable pour l'homme, recèle des milliers de vestiges d'industries humaines, mais, jusqu'à ce jour, de facies essentiellement néolithique. Un type très particulier et bien localisé s'en dégage au milieu de pièces communes à d'autres régions. C'est une industrie en roche verte, comprenant des haches polies globuleuses, des lames, des pointes à base concave et surtout des pointes de grande taille finement retouchées sur les deux faces, à base rectiligne formant ciseau. Il existe aussi, et c'est le trait le plus caractéristique de cette industrie, des disques finement retouchés sur les deux faces et sur les bords, dont l'usage est des plus énigmatiques. Elle occupe le bassin de l'oued In Ăzaoua et celui du Taffassasset ; elle n'a pas atteint l'Ăhaggar proprement dit.

Cette même région a livré aussi de nombreuses haches polies à gorge, d'un fini remarquable, qui constitue le stade le plus évolué du néolithique saharien. La forme de ces haches établit une sorte de transition entre la hache néolithique classique et les haches de bronze de l'Égypte, à large tranchant, semi-circulaire. Ces pièces recueillies le plus ordinairement isolées, sans autres pièces constituant l'outillage industriel, grattoirs, lames, etc... ont peut-être été utilisées simultanément avec le métal, et peuvent être, par présomption, attribuées à l'énéolithique. Reygasse a donné à ce type particulier le nom de Ténéréen. Des pièces isolées ont été recueillies au sud de l'Ăhaggar, mais le « centre industriel » semble être beaucoup plus oriental et le désert de Libye en a livré des séries nombreuses.

GRAVURES ET PEINTURES RUPESTRES. — Des gravures et des peintures rupestres viennent à leur tour jeter une vive lumière sur le passé du Sahara.

Tout au début de l'occupation française de l'Algérie, le Sud Oranais attira l'attention des archéologues par la présence de gravures rupestres particulièrement abondantes.

Dans l'Ăhaggar, les premières reconnaissances en découvrirent dans les districts de l'Immidir et de l'Ătakor, et d'autre part, les explorateurs Barth, Duveyrier, Von Bary avaient signalé dans le Tassili et au Fezzan des gravures représentant

FIG. 6. — Gravure d'époque préhistorique représentant la capture d'un buffle antique (Oued Djorat, Tassili-n-Ajjer).

des grands animaux et des hommes armés de boucliers et de javelots.

L'avenir devait nous révéler que tous les massifs montagneux en recèlent un grand nombre. Leur répartition des extrêmement étendue et embrasse l'Atlas saharien, le Sahart central, l'Ădrar, l'Aïr, le Tassili, le Fezzan, le Tibesti et la Mauritanie, mais c'est le Tassili-n-Ăjjer, massif essentiellement gréseux, qui possède les plus riches stations rupestres que l'on connaisse jusqu'à ce jour au Sahara.

Les gravures sont loin de présenter toujours la même facture ; l'art est plus ou moins sûr, et elles sont souvent si différentes, qu'il est facile d'y distinguer plusieurs étages.

L'étude du trait, des patines, du style, à défaut d'autres critères plus décisifs, a apporté des éléments de sélection qui ont été renforcés par l'étude de la faune et des figurations

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



humaines représentées. La présence de caractères alphabétiques — libyco-berbères et tifinagh — associés à un certain nombre de ces gravures, permet de donner à celles-ci une limite inférieure dans le temps, ce qui élimine l'idée qu'elles puissent être considérées comme préhistoriques.

Les gravures, qui ont un caractère artistique, sont généralement de grande taille, souvent de la grandeur naturelle de l'animal représenté. Le trait du contour est creusé profondément et poli ; il est, de plus, fortement patiné, ce qui ne le fait distinguer que difficilement de la roche encaissante.

Au Tassili, où ce genre de gravures est largement représenté, la faune reproduite comprend l'éléphant, l'hippopotame, le rhinocéros, le bubale, la girafe, l'autruche, des antilopes, des fauves, le python, le crocodile, etc.... Les figurations humaines, généralement de grande taille, sont casquées ou à tête zoomorphe, le plus ordinairement dotées d'un fourreau phallique, avec stéatopygie souvent prononcée.

Les espèces animales représentées dans ce groupe, toutes actuellement disparues du Sahara sauf le crocodile [1], attestent la haute antiquité de ces gravures qui, d'après ce que nous savons de leur point de gisement sur les terrasses supérieures de certains oueds, sont au moins néolithiques.

Ces belles gravures, dont certaines pleines de vie et admirables de conception, dénotant de la part de leurs auteurs la possession d'un art réel, voisinent avec d'autres d'un trait moins sûr, où les bovidés dominent et où les hommes sont souvent armés de l'arc. Enfin, il y a une multitude de dessins de petite taille, plus ou moins schématiques, qui peuvent être divisés en deux étages, l'un où le cheval prédomine, l'autre où cet animal est remplacé par le chameau.

L'étude du trait a montré que si celui des gravures du premier groupe était généralement régulier, large, profond, la teinte de la patine différant peu de la roche encaissante, celui des gravures des autres groupes est martelé, creusé irrégulièrement et la patine en est souvent claire, d'autant plus claire que la gravure est plus récente.

L'étude de ces patines a été faite par le géologue G. B. M. Flamand, qui a expliqué la formation de cette espèce de vernis, qu'on appelle communément vernis du désert, et qui n'est pas seulement formé par la calcination solaire et l'action

1 Il a été retrouvé au Tassili des Ajjer, en Mauritanie et dans l'Ennedi.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



éolienne, mais surtout par l'oxydation en surface des produits, généralement ferrugineux, attirés par capillarité à la suite de l'évaporation, qui forment, suivant les roches, un enduit silico ou calcaréo-ferrugineux, comme l'indique sa couleur rouge foncé plus ou moins atténuée.

La seule classification des patines ne peut suffire à déterminer l'âge respectif des gravures, car l'on voit des inscriptions tifinagh extrêmement patinées, l'être autant que certaines gravures anciennes, sans qu'il soit possible pour cela de les considérer comme contemporaines. Il faut considérer que l'oxydation et la patine ne se produisent pas uniformément

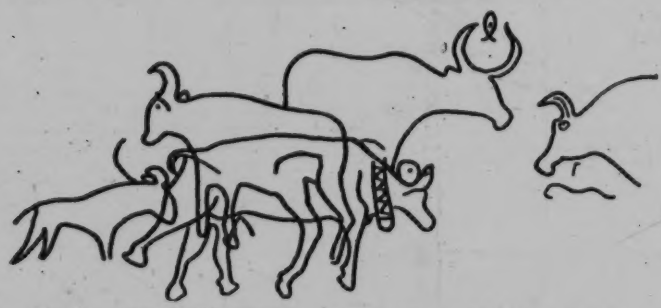


Fig. 7. — Gravure d'époque plus récente que la précédente, mais vraisemblablement d'âge préhistorique également. Dans ce groupe les bovidés remplacent les animaux sauvages (Oued Tadjerdjert, Tassili-n-Ajjer).

sur des roches dont la composition varie ; il ne faut donc pas exagérer l'importance de ce facteur de détermination.

Le classement basé sur la faune, puis sur les figurations humaines, fournit des éléments plus appréciables, la patine n'intervient qu'en troisième lieu.

On distingue de prime abord deux grands groupes de gravures. Les pré-camelines, ou gravures anciennes, et les camelines ou gravures récentes. Le premier peut lui-même se subdiviser : 1° en grandes gravures à faune éthiopienne, 2° en gravures moyennes avec prédominance des bovidés, 3° en petites gravures, avec chevaux.

Voici donc trois étages pour le groupe pré-camelin, qui donnent un aperçu du peuplement ancien du Sahara. Le premier appartiendrait à un néolithique ancien, avec une population composée essentiellement de chasseurs.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Cette classification, qui peut nous satisfaire en gros, ne correspond pas en détail à trois groupements humains homogènes. Il y a dans chaque groupe des diversités d'école, de style, qui démontrent la pluralité de chacun, mais qu'il est très difficile de définir dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances. Cette difficulté est d'autant plus grande que l'on s'aperçoit, à l'étude, que chaque district saharien a ses styles propres.

A côté des gravures, il existe des peintures rupestres découvertes ces dernières années par centaines. Elles se trouvent dans des abris sous roches qui les ont protégées des injures du

1 2 3 4

Fig. 8. — Différents types de peintures rupestres de l'oued Djorst. 1° Femme de style boschiman ; 2° femme de style espagnol ; 3° personnage avec bâton coudé (boomerang ou akfa) ; 4° homme masqué (d'après calques originaux d'Henri Lhote, cf. R. Perret, Recherches archéologiques au Tassil des Ajjers, *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, 1936, t. VI, fasc. I, Pl. XV).

temps. Leur synchronisation avec les gravures n'a pas été tentée, car leur diversité locale est encore plus complexe que celle de ces dernières. On possède quelques points de repère, et certaines ne sont que la réplique peinte de figurations gravées. A Mertoutek, dans le petit massif de la Tâfedest attenant à la Koudia de l'Ahaggar, la mission alpine française a découvert des stations extrêmement intéressantes appartenant à l'étage des bovidés.

De même, pour l'époque « chevaline », il existe un groupe de documents peints et gravés, que l'on a désigné sous le nom de garamantiques où figurent des chars de guerre. Pour ce

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



dernier, il est évident que l'on ne se trouve plus devant des documents préhistoriques, mais protohistoriques. Quant à l'étage des bovidés, il y a tout lieu de le considérer comme

FIG. 9. — Peinture rupestre de la grotte de Tamajjart (Tassili) (d'après un relevé du Cap. Brenans). Figurations humaines à style filiforme.

ancien, plus exactement comme néolithique. Nous avons vu personnellement les stations de Mertoutek, et nous avons pu faire des fouilles à la base des rochers peints. Nous y avons

FIG. 10. — Peinture à l'ocre de l'abri de Tiror (Tassili-n-Ajjer) (d'après un calque d'Henri Lhote), représentant un char de guerre attelé de trois chevaux.

trouvé des fragments de haches polies, des broyeurs, des fragments de meules et de poteries. Étant donné l'état d'isolement et les difficultés d'accès de ces stations, il est bien improbable que ces documents ne soient pas issus d'un même groupement humain. Ce n'est pas hier que les bœufs pouvaient paître dans

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



le Sahara, et la faune représentée ainsi que les haches polies semblent bien être contemporaines.

L'étage de la cavalerie et de la charrerie est capital pour l'histoire de l'ancien peuplement de l'Ăhaggar. Il constitue l'un des chaînons qui nous manquaient entre les périodes néolithique et actuelle. Nous sommes même, avec ces peintures, entre gens de connaissance, car les scènes qu'elles représentent sont justement celles qu'a décrites l'historien grec Hérodote. On pouvait douter des textes que cet écrivain a laissés, mais le plus extraordinaire est de pouvoir constater la véracité de

Fig. 11. — Peinture à l'ocre violacé de l'abri de Tadjerdjert (Tassili-n-Ajjer), d'après un calque d'Henri Lhote, dont le style des personnages rappelle celui de l'Assyrie.

ces écrits, car peu de savants auraient admis, avant la découverte des peintures et des gravures représentant des chars de guerre, que de pareils véhicules aient circulé au Sahara, cinq siècles avant J.-C. Parmi ces documents, l'existence de deux types humains, l'un svelte, l'autre stéatopyge, toujours opposés l'un à l'autre dans les scènes de guerre, nous raconte les épisodes de la lutte entre blancs et noirs, pour la conquête du Sahara. Nous avons ainsi une précision nouvelle sur l'état physique du Sahara à cette époque, car comment imaginer l'utilisation du cheval, en tant que monture guerrière, sinon par l'existence d'un climat plus humide, de points d'eau plus nombreux que de nos jours. Peut-on admettre que ces chars aient été tout simplement représentés de mémoire par des artistes ? Cela n'est guère possible. Nous croyons, au contraire,

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



qu'ils ont véritablement roulé au Sahara, car comment expliquer leur reproduction aussi sincère et en si grand nombre en des points aussi éloignés que la Tripolitaine et l'Ădrar des Ifôras, où l'on en a trouvé. Faut-il admettre aussi comme une coïncidence, que l'aire de répartition de ces manifestations rupestres corresponde justement à la zone où les auteurs anciens nous situaient l'Empire des Garamantes que traversait l'ancienne route des caravanes qui reliait le Fezzan avec l'Ădrar des Ifôras, et où l'on retrouve, par hasard, les ruines de Tădemeka qui fut l'antique capitale des Berbères soudanais ?

Un problème se pose, celui du roulage, car devant l'état cahotique de certaines régions du Sahara, en particulier de celle du Tassili, on peut se demander comment pouvaient se comporter des chars dans un pays sans routes. Les peintures font justement bien ressortir qu'il s'agissait de chars très légers, et il n'y a aucune raison de ne pas admettre la possibilité d'utiliser le char au Sahara, lorsque l'on sait que son emploi a été largement mis à profit par les Égyptiens et par les populations de l'Afrique du Nord. Rappelons le texte d'Hérodote, qui dit que « les Garamantes font la chasse aux Éthiopiens Troglodytes sur des chars à quatre chevaux »[1]. Ces Troglodytes devaient être des noirs et le Tassili-n-Ăjjer a bien des chances d'être leur ancien habitat.

FIG. 12. — Peinture à l'ocre rouge de Mertoutek (Ahaggar) (d'après un calque d'Henri Lhote). Femmes à coiffure en cimier.

LES TUMULI. — Les populations sahariennes ne nous ont laissé aucune manifestation architecturale pouvant nous éclairer sur leur histoire, à part quelques tombeaux.

Ce trait est commun à tous les peuples nomades et pasteurs dont la vie errante et primitive, en leur donnant l'amour des grands espaces et de la liberté, leur enlève l'idée de s'attacher

1. St. GSELL, *Hérodote*, p. 22.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



moralement à un point quelconque de la terre. Au Sahara, le manque de matériaux de construction n'a pu que développer ce sentiment, et les tombes ne sont, en fait, que des tas de cailloux.

Alors que dans l'Afrique du Nord ces tas de cailloux sont groupés en nécropoles, ce qui indique une vie rurale et des règles d'urbanisme, plus au sud, au delà du *limes*, ancienne limite de l'influence romaine, les tombes sont, au contraire, éparpillées au hasard, souvent isolées, jamais groupées au delà d'une dizaine. Leur aire s'étend sur tout le Sahara et sur la zone nord de la steppe soudanaise. Ces tumuli ne sont pas de même forme et de même grandeur, et il peut exister dans les mêmes parages des types différents, encore que certains d'entre eux puissent être localisés ou dominent dans certaines régions.

Les Touaregs, qui donnent le nom d'*idebnan* à ces tumuli, les attribuent aux populations Izzabaren, hommes légendaires, de grande taille, appartenant à la religion païenne et qui habitaient le Sahara avant eux.

Au Sahara central, on distingue huit types principaux de tumuli :

I. des tas de cailloux simples, de forme conique dont le diamètre peut aller de 1 m. 50 à 8 mètres,

II. des tas de cailloux tronconiques, plus ou moins évidés à l'intérieur, de même taille que les précédents,

III. des tombes en forme de margelle de puits, dont les parois sont montées avec des pierres plates, très régulièrement posées et dont le diamètre peut aller de 3 à 10 mètres,

IV. des tas de cailloux de taille moyenne, à cheval sur des bandes rectangulaires, formées par des pierres, précédés d'un alignement rectangulaire dont le côté interne est ouvert.

Ces tombes ont été surnommées à « anse de panier » ou à « soutache », cet appendice pouvant avoir de 5 à 9 mètres de long.

V. des tumuli coniques comportant deux empâtements formant un grand V ouvert, pouvant atteindre jusqu'à 76 mètres de long,

VI. des tumuli en forme de quartiers d'orange et à section en V retourné pouvant avoir jusqu'à 8 mètres de diamètre,

VII. des tumuli tronconiques avec un large encorbellement irrégulier et plus ou moins ovalaire ayant jusqu'à 25 mètres de diamètre.

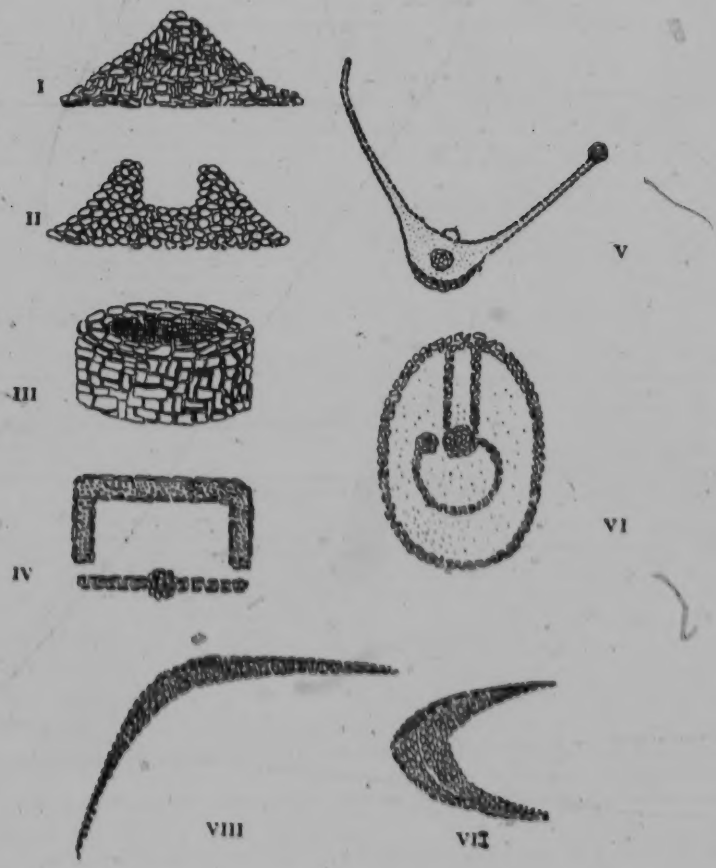



Fig. 13. — Différents types des tumuli du Sahara Central :

I. Tumulus à forme conique.
II. » » à évidement intérieur.
III. » en margelle de puits.
IV. » à soutache.
V. » à empâtement en V.
VI. » en quartier d'orange.
VII. » à encorbellement.
VIII. » en quartier d'orange aux pointes prolongées.

(p. 67)

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



VIII. des tumuli semblables au n° VI, mais dont les extrémités sont énormément prolongées et peuvent atteindre jusqu'à 25 mètres.

On voit donc que, dans l'ensemble, il s'agit de monuments de grande taille qui ont demandé de gros efforts de construction, ce qui dénote des croyances religieuses étendues devant le fait de la mort. Jusqu'à ce jour, il a été impossible d'en faire un classement systématique et de les dater. Les fouilles n'ont donné que des résultats partiels et disparates. Tout ce que l'on peut dire c'est qu'ils sont pré-islamiques. Certains sont protohistoriques et d'autres, peut-être, néolithiques.

Il existe des variantes et des formes de transition entre la période protohistorique et islamique, car certaines tombes de forme ancienne sont dotées à l'intérieur de pierres témoins, comme dans les tombes musulmanes, ou de « msella » formant lieu de prière.

Le premier type est le plus primitif de construction. Dans l'Ăhaggar, il est commun dans les parties basses du massif, mais ne remonte pas sur les hauts sommets. Pourtant, nous l'avons vu dans les hautes vallées de la Tăfedest à proximité des stations de peintures de Mertoûtek. Par contre, c'est lui qui prédomine dans le Tanezrouft, dans le Ténéré, dans les régions qui accusent le maximum d'état désertique. Il est commun dans tout le Sahara. D'après Chudeau [1], la limite sud de cette forme de tombe serait entre Tahaoua et Matankari. Nous en avons rencontré à 15 km. au nord du village de Dabnou dans l'Ădrar Doutchi. Étant donné leur architecture primitive et leur situation en région désertique, il y a tout lieu de supposer que ces tas de cailloux sont très anciens, les plus anciens de toutes les formes que nous connaissons et qu'ils appartiennent vraisemblablement à l'époque néolithique.

Le type II est une forme évoluée du type I. On le rencontre également dans les parties les plus reculées du Tanezrouft, mais il pénètre à l'intérieur des massifs montagneux et sur les bords des vallées de la haute Koudia.

Le type III, auquel les indigènes de l'Afrique du Nord ont donné le surnom de « chouchet », semble être localisé dans les massifs. On en a bien aperçu dans le Tanezrouft, mais le fait est assez exceptionnel, alors que l'on peut en observer d'importants groupements dans l'Ăhaggar, en particulier aux

1. Chudeau, *Bull. Soc. Anthr.*, t. VIII, 1907, pp. 138-146.

abords des centres de culture. Il en existe à Tămanrasset, près de Tît, près d'I-n-Ămegel, près de Silet, près de Tazerouk, près de Tahart, près d'Ăbalessa, près d'Iglène, etc... ainsi que sur les pentes de la Koudia. Cette forme est également commune dans l'Ăhnet, dans le Tassili-n-Ăjjer, ainsi que dans l'Ădrar des Iforas. D'après Chudeau, on la trouverait également en Mauritanie. En Aïr, elle est très rare. M. Reygasse a fouillé plusieurs des tombes de ce type qui se trouvaient autour de l'enceinte fortifiée de Tăfârit, près d'Ăbalessa, au centre de laquelle a été découvert le squelette d'une femme qui, d'après la légende, serait l'ancêtre des tribus nobles actuelles, Ti-n-Hinân, femme berbère de haute lignée, venue du Tafilalet. Il a exhumé plusieurs squelettes qui ont été étudiés par le Docteur Leblanc, doyen de la Faculté d'Alger, lequel les a identifiés en majorité comme étant ceux de nègres. M. Reygasse considère ces tombes comme étant tout au plus du haut moyen âge.

Le type IV, dit à anse de panier ou à soutaches, est très courant dans l'Ăhaggar. Il y en a souvent près des centres de culture, et nous en avons aperçu dans la haute Koudia où l'alignement des pierres est souvent remplacé par d'autres tumuli (jusqu'à 6). C'est une forme commune dans le Tassili-n-Ăjjer, que nous avons également rencontrée dans l'Ădrar des Ifôras et moins communément en Aïr. On ne saurait rien dire sur l'origine de ces monuments. Les Touaregs les attribuent aux Beni-Hilal.

Le type V, ou tumulus à empâtements, est rare dans les hautes montagnes de l'Ăhaggar. Il en a été observé vers Tahart, au nord d'Idelès, près d'Ămegid ainsi que dans l'Ăhnet. Certains alignements de pierre sont tellement longs que l'on a l'impression d'avoir à faire à des murettes effondrées, et qu'il faut souvent un certain recul pour pouvoir saisir toute l'architecture du monument. Les branches de celui qui fut fouillé par Voinot, à Ămegid [1] avaient 76 mètres. La bissectrice de l'angle formé par les deux branches est ordinairement orientée à l'est ou au sud-est. Nous avons observé un grand nombre de ces tombes dans la partie orientale de l'Ădrar des Ifôras, qui couronnaient le sommet de petites montagnes et dont les bras jalonnaient les flancs.

Il existe un modèle dérivé du tumulus, dont les branches sont réduites à la plus simple expression. C'est le quartier

1. Notes pour servir à l'étude de l'Ethnographie ancienne du Sahara Central. *Soc. de Géog. et d'Arch. d'Oran*, déc. 1908, p. 335.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



d'orange (type VI) que Chudeau a signalé à Taoudéni et Monod dans l'Ăhnet [1] et que nous avons observé nous-même en abondance sur les flancs du Tassili de Ti-m-missao, aux abords de Tin Rerhoh, dans l'Ănahef (vers Isolane), et dans la vallée du Ti-m-mersoï avant et après In Guezzam.

Le tumulus à enclos ou à encerclement (type VIII) comporte souvent, à proximité du tumulus central, un second tumulus de plus petite taille. Des fouilles faites dans les deux tumuli ont souvent donné des résultats positifs. Chacun abritait des ossements humains, et les deux tombes peuvent être considérées comme de même époque. Cette forme est orientale, commune au Tassili-n-Ăjjer, et rare dans l'Ăhaggar. Nous avons observé des monuments de ce genre au nord-est de l'Ănahef, aux environs d'Idelès ; au sud du massif, il en existe vers Tin Rerhoh et dans la partie nord-est de l'Ădrar des Ifôras.

Avec les monuments lithiques, nous nous trouvons en présence de tombeaux typiques, et si dans le nombre de ceux qui ont été fouillés plusieurs ont été trouvés vides, dans les 7/10 des cas les fouilles ont été positives, ce qui ne veut pas dire que les trois autres dixièmes n'aient jamais servi de sépulture, car la vétusté de certains squelettes démontre leur mauvaise conservation.

Sur le mode d'inhumation, il semble que quelquefois le cadavre ait simplement été placé sous le tas de pierres mais, par contre, l'on observe souvent des fosses ovalaires creusées en puits, parfois dallées, profondes en moyenne de 50 cm, mais pouvant atteindre 1 m. 50, comme à Ti-n-Esekfou (Imeldir) [2]. Dans l'Ăhnet, Th. Monod a trouvé à différentes reprises plusieurs squelettes dans le même tombeau (du type à margelle de puits), en particulier deux fois deux, et une fois trois.

Ces squelettes ne sont pas des facteurs déterminants permettant d'avoir des données précises sur les anciens habitants du Sahara. Certains sont négroïdes, d'autres europoïdes, et ce que l'on peut dire, c'est qu'à ces époques reculées, les deux races vivaient déjà côte à côte, phénomène que nous observons actuellement chez les Touaregs ou dans les oasis.

On peut retenir le mode d'ensevelissement qui paraît avoir été constant, en particulier l'attitude du cadavre, qui était toujours déposé dans la position latérale. C'est la règle presque absolue pour tous les tombeaux de l'Ăhnet fouillés par Monod.

1. Th. Monod, *l'Adrar Ahnet*, p. 48.
2. Th. Monod, *ouvr. cité*, p. 53.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Dans les tombes de Tăfârit, Reygasse signale que la plupart des squelettes étaient dans une position légèrement repliée, mais plus près de l'allongement que du repliement complet.

On peut noter que l'ensemble des tombes de Tăfârit appartient au type chouchet et date du moyen âge saharien postérieur au IVe siècle, mais antérieur à l'introduction de l'Islam au Sahara. L'ensemble des tombes de l'Ăhnet est au contraire du type tronconique à évidement central qui est à notre sens beaucoup plus ancien. C'est lorsque des fouilles systématiques auront été faites que l'on pourra espérer avoir des éclaircissements plus précis et une classification plus méthodique.

Le mobilier funéraire relevé dans les tombes n'est pas riche. Une seule fois il a été trouvé une pointe de flèche en silex taillé [1] ; on a relevé aux abords des sépultures des débris de poteries, ce qui peut faire supposer que des récipients étaient déposés sur les tombes comme cela se fait encore à l'heure actuelle dans certaines tribus berbères chez les Zénata du Tidikelt, du Touat et du Gourara. Nous avons exhumé une poterie entière dans un tumulus, près de Djanet. On a trouvé des colliers en coquilles d'œufs d autruche, des perles de verre d'un modèle classique de l'antiquité méditerranéenne, des débris de cuir, restes probables de vêtements, enfin quelques anneaux de cuivre et un bracelet en fer. Si ces dernières trouvailles font repousser l'idée d'une civilisation néolithique, il n'en est pas moins vrai que l'oxydation de certaines pièces indique un climat beaucoup plus humide que l'actuel. Ceci est confirmé par la présence entre les pierres de coquilles de mollusques dont les espèces sont actuellement éteintes au Sahara.

Monuments lithiques. — D'autres monuments lithiques ont également attiré l'attention des voyageurs. Ce sont des cercles de pierres posées sur une ou plusieurs rangées, atteignant souvent un grand diamètre (jusqu'à 12 mètres). Ils sont le plus généralement isolés, sans qu'il y ait de tumuli aux abords. Les pierres sont généralement très enfoncées dans le sol et il faut être dessus pour les apercevoir. L'origine et la signification de ces cercles sont assez mystérieuses. Quoique plusieurs aient été fouillés dans l'Ăhaggar, l'on n'a jamais

1. Fouille Voinot. Tombeau en V de Tin Felki. Notes pour servir à l'étude de l'ethnographie ancienne du Sahara central. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. et Arch. d'Oran*, déc. 1908, p. 336.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



trouvé de squelettes ou d'ossements [1], mais par contre, l'humus semblait contenir un peu de cendre, ce qui porterait à croire que ces cercles avaient une destination rituelle, soit pour l'incinération de cadavres, soit pour le sacrifice d'animaux. L'explorateur allemand Henri Barth, qui avait vu des cercles de ce genre pendant son voyage, leur supposait le caractère religieux de cercles sacrés où les victimes expiatoires étaient sacrifiées. Les Touaregs disent que ce sont des cercles autour desquels les méharistes tournaient à l'occasion des fêtes de mariage, alors que les femmes se tenaient au centre, comme cela se fait aujourd'hui dans la cérémonie de l'*Iloujan* [2].

Fig. 14. — Cercle de pierres à double rangée.

En fait, on ne peut bâtir que des hypothèses sur la destination de ces monuments.

On a parlé de pierres dressées dans l'Ăhaggar, à Tit, dans la Koudia, dans l'Immidir. Certaines sont des marques de frontière entre tribus, telles celles que l'on peut voir au nord d'Idelès et qui marquaient l'ancien terrain de parcours des Ibaradjen (Kel Bardjen). Nous ne les mentionnons ici que pour mémoire.

On a signalé des ruines de constructions à Tit, à Silet, aux Ăjjer, dans l'Ămadror, et même dans le Ténéré, où d'anciennes cartes du service géographique portent interrogativement le terme de « Ruines Garamantiques ».

Les ruines que nous avons pu voir dans le Tassili sont des vestiges d'habitations construites en argile, fait qui éloigne toute idée d'ancienneté bien reculée. Quant aux ruines garamantiques, elles sont encore à découvrir ! Il semble qu'il s'agisse là de renseignements indigènes sans fondement.

Kasba de Ti-n-Hinân. — Il nous reste à parler du célèbre tombeau situé près du petit centre de culture d'Ăbalessa. En 1925, la mission de Prorok, dont faisait partie M. Rey-

1. Il y a une exception connue à la règle. Entre Zénaga et Beni-Ounif, c'est-à-dire très au nord de l'Ahaggar, un squelette a été trouvé par Frobénius. Cit. Monod, *L'Adrar Ahnet*, p. 41.
2. Voir page 323.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



gasse, se rendait à Ăbalessa où les légendes touarègues situaient le tombeau d'une femme de haut rang que les Touaregs considéraient comme leur ancêtre et qu'ils désignaient sous le nom de Ti-n-Hinân. Construit sur la rive gauche de l'oued Ăbalessa, au lieu dit Tăfârit, il donne l'impression d'un tumulus d'une quinzaine de mètres de relief, au sommet duquel se trouverait une dizaine de tombeaux. Le centre de l'édifice fut fouillé et révéla l'existence de plusieurs murs en pierre formant des pièces adjacentes. Au fond de l'une de ces pièces plusieurs grosses dalles recouvraient un caveau qui livra un squelette féminin bien conservé, ainsi qu'un mobilier funéraire fort important : plusieurs bracelets d'or et d'argent, une statuette de pierre, une écuelle en bois et l'empreinte d'une pièce de monnaie à l'effigie de l'empereur Constantin, ce qui date la tombe, *a quo*, du IVe siècle de notre ère.

Au début de 1933, M. Reygasse entreprit de fouiller complètement le mausolée, mais après un travail de déblaiement assez considérable dans lequel aucune tombe, aucun squelette n'avaient été mis à jour, il s'aperçut qu'il se trouvait devant un petit fortin composé de huit salles. Entre différentes découvertes, il exhuma une petite lampe romaine en argile, des pointes de flèches, de très longs clous en fer.

Il y a une mode chez les savants, nous nous excusons de le dire. C'est ainsi qu'au Sahara, il fut une période où l'on voyait partout des vestiges romains ; quelques années plus tard, la mode fut en faveur des Garamantes, puis des influences byzantines. Avouons que dans la majorité des cas, cette mode cache pas mal d'ignorance, masque la complexité de découvertes qui ne sont pas bien signées.

Nous nous refusons, pour nous-même, à voir dans les ruines de Tăfârit un fortin romain ou un refuge d'étapes sur une route caravanière problématique dont ces ruines seraient les seuls vestiges.

Il s'agit vraisemblablement d'une construction fortifiée, résidence d'un chef de haut rang, ayant eu des rapports avec la région méditerranéenne. La légende de Ti-n-Hinân, rapportée par les Touaregs, suffirait, le cas échéant, pour expliquer l'origine et la destination de ce monument.

Elle dit que cette reine vint du Tafilalet en compagnie de sa servante Takamat, et s'installa dans l'Ăhaggar où toutes deux engendrèrent les tribus actuelles des Kel Rela et des Dăg Mertemek. Cela suppose évidemment une migration de

tribus berbères primitivement fixées dans le sud marocain, région où l'on s'explique très bien la présence de monnaies romaines, de lampes d'argile de même origine qui auraient donc été transportées dans le voyage.

Nouveaux installés dans le pays, les chefs éprouvèrent peut-être le besoin de construire une résidence pour mettre leurs richesses et eux-mêmes à l'abri des coups de main des autochtones, à qui, par la suite, ils s'imposèrent.

Quant au fait que le squelette trouvé à Tăfârit soit du sexe féminin et que la légende fasse remonter toute l'origine et l'histoire des Tribus Ihăggaren à deux femmes, ils s'expliquent d'eux-mêmes lorsqu'on sait que l'organisation sociale des Touaregs repose entièrement sur le matriarcat.

Influence carthaginoise ? C'est fort possible, mais acquise au Tafilalet. La présence d'une lampe près du squelette de Ti-n-Hinân n'est-elle pas la survivance d'une coutume punique qui consistait à placer une lampe allumée à côté du mort ? Dans les tombes puniques on rencontre à peu près partout des lampes. Jusqu'à une époque assez voisine de la destruction de Carthage, elles étaient munies d'une mèche et allumées dans la tombe [1]. De même que dans les tombes carthaginoises postérieures au IVe siècle, l'on trouvait des pièces de monnaie ainsi que des statuettes en pierre tendre « qui étaient destinées à tenir compagnie au mort » [2].

Aucune trace d'occupation romaine n'a été découverte jusqu'à ce jour au Sahara central. L'empreinte de monnaie retrouvée dans le tombeau de Ti-n-Hinân est le seul élément se rapportant à cette époque. Des pièces en bronze ont été trouvées dans le Grand Erg, aux environs de Fort-Flatters, mais là encore il doit s'agir d'objets transportés.

D'après ce qui précède, on voit que les éléments préhistoriques et protohistoriques que nous possédons de la région qui nous intéresse dans cette présente étude ne sont pas d'une grande netteté. Pourtant, après les avoir analysés tous, on peut tenter un essai sur le peuplement ancien de l'Ăhaggar.

Nous nous efforçons de le faire très succinctement.

Pour la période du *paléolithique inférieur* (outillage chelléo-acheuléen) on constate :

1° que les gisements en place sont situés sur les parties

1. Step. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, t. IV, p. 458.
2. Step. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, t. IV, p. 459.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



supérieures des berges des anciennes rivières, et comportent une faune à caractère fluviatile ;

2° qu'il n'existe pas de gisements dans le massif proprement dit, mais sur les abords ; que seules des pièces isolées ont été recueillies dans la montagne. On peut donc en conclure que les hommes de cette époque reculée fréquentaient les plaines actuellement désertiques qui entourent le massif, et que ce dernier était visité par des individus ou des campements isolés.

Pour la période du *paléolithique moyen* (outillage levalloisien) l'homme avait pénétré dans la montagne, mais semble avoir limité son occupation aux étages inférieurs.

On ne sait rien des périodes du *paléolithique supérieur* ou du *mésolithique*.

Pour la période *néolithique*, on est amené à adopter les mêmes conclusions que pour le paléolithique inférieur, à savoir que la montagne a été délaissée au profit de la plaine, mais surtout à celui des grandes vallées qui devaient fournir des ressources alimentaires considérables. Les populations ont dû atteindre une très grande densité, se livrant à des occupations diverses : pêche, chasse, agriculture, élevage. On doit pouvoir rattacher à cet étage les tumuli coniques et les grandes gravures rupestres.

Les populations, pasteurs, éleveurs de bœufs, couvrirent alors tout le Sahara. Les peintures rupestres de Mertoûtek évoquent les bergers et bergères peuls que nous trouvons aujourd'hui dans la steppe soudanaise à la limite sud du pays touareg, et il n'est pas déplacé de les attribuer à des proto-hamites, venus de la Haute-Égypte comme les Peuls. Les pasteurs durent émigrer vers des régions meilleures par suite du caractère désertique que prenait alors le Sahara, et furent remplacés par les cavaliers de l'Empire des Garamantes. C'est la période protohistorique. Le Sahara est encore relativement humide, mais la plaine commence à s'assécher et les populations cherchent un refuge dans la montagne où les points d'eau sont plus nombreux. La diversité de forme des tumuli évoque l'idée de populations d'origines diverses et l'Ăhaggar semble avoir été un centre d'attraction pour les tribus à la recherche d'un site hospitalier. La période qui suit, celle des Libyco-berbères, marque l'envahissement du pays par les populations berbérophones d'origine africaine qui couvrent le vieux fond Garamante, en sont peut-être issus et contribuent vraisemblablement à fonder avec lui la nation touarègue actuelle.

# CHAPITRE II

## LE PEUPLEMENT DU SAHARA CENTRAL ET L'ORIGINE DES TOUAREGS

Nous ne nous méprenons pas sur les difficultés que représente la tâche de reconstituer l'histoire des Touaregs et de rechercher leurs origines. Les documents sont rares et à travers les siècles, il y a des périodes d'obscurité complète qui rendent les recherches très délicates. Le peuple targui n'est d'ailleurs pas une unité somatique bien déterminée, mais est fait de composantes multiples qui se sont groupées à travers les âges.

Ce n'est pas auprès des Touaregs que l'on peut avoir des renseignements sur leur origine. Ils sont sans culture et ils n'ont pour l'histoire de leur passé que la plus grande indifférence.

A l'explorateur Duveyrier, qui leur demandait d'où ils venaient, ils répondirent : « Nous sommes Imohagh, Imocharh, Imajirhen et notre langue suivant les tribus s'appelle tamâhaq ou tamâchek ; tous ces mots dérivent de la même racine, le verbe iohargh qui signifie : il est libre, il est franc, il est indépendant, il pille. Et si tu nous demandes de mieux préciser les origines de chaque tribu, et de distinguer les nobles des serfs, nous te dirons que notre ensemble est mélangé et entrelacé comme le tissu d'une tente dans lequel entre le poil du chameau avec la laine du mouton. Il faut être habile pour établir une distinction entre le poil et la laine. Cependant nous savons que chacune de nos nombreuses tribus est sortie d'un pays différent [1]. »

A 80 ans d'intervalle, nous n'avons pas pu obtenir de meilleure réponse.

Les légendes, que l'on peut recueillir au Sahara, n'ont jamais un caractère historique. Qu'elles soient rapportées par les Touaregs ou par leurs voisins, elles sont toujours plus ou moins déformées pour les besoins de la cause, les premiers

1. *Les Touareg du Nord*, p. 319.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



veulent se donner une origine chérifienne ou yéménite, les seconds, les Arabes en particulier, leur attribuent, comme il va de soi, une origine peu flatteuse. On ne peut en tirer raisonnablement parti.

On ne connaît, jusqu'à présent, aucune relation en écriture tifinagh, et tout ce que rapportent quelques vieillards, est plus ou moins tiré de l'auteur arabe Ibn Khaldoun, qui écrivit au XIVe siècle une histoire très documentée sur l'origine des Berbères.

Un manuscrit aurait, paraît-il, existé chez l'ancien aménokal de l'Ăhaggar, Moussa ag Ămâstan. Il aurait été rédigé en tifinagh suivant les uns, en arabe suivant les autres. Mais il n'a pu être retrouvé. D'après certains passages qui nous ont été cités, il doit s'agir d'un fragment ou d'une citation d'Ibn Khaldoun, rapporté par le « Tarik Kounta ».

Les Touaregs Soudanais, en particulier les Kel es Souq, qui sont les chapelains des Ioullimmiden, possédaient quelques chroniques dont les plus célèbres étaient la propriété de Mohamed Ouguinat ; la bibliothèque de ce marabout fut malheureusement détruite par un incendie, lors du combat d'Ăghiar, en juillet 1916.

Ce qui frappe avant tout chez les Touaregs, c'est leur unité ethnique.

Par leur langue, ils s'identifient aux Berbères, qui sous bien des rapports de mœurs et de coutumes ressemblent beaucoup aux Touaregs. On est obligé de remarquer entre eux une parenté qui est manifeste. Les linguistes ont l'habitude de réunir les unes et les autres sous le vocable de « famille berbère », encore que cette appellation englobe une multitude de groupements disparates, physiquement et culturellement.

Mais on ne peut parler des Berbères sans penser aux origines de tout le peuplement Nord-Africain. C'est donc là qu'il faut essayer de rechercher celle des Touaregs.

Beaucoup de savants, dont Hamy, H. de Mortillet, Labarowsky, Maspéro, Berthelot, croient à l'unité ethnique des populations autochtones de l'Afrique septentrionale.

Mais d'autres reportent en Asie le berceau de la civilisation pharaonique, et la Bible donne elle-même une origine asiatique aux anciens Égyptiens. La question est extrêmement controversée.

L'unité fondamentale de la civilisation nord-africaine n'est

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



pas en contradiction avec ce que l'on connaît de la préhistoire saharo-algéro-égyptienne. Cette unité semble avoir été facilitée par la structure même du pays, car l'Afrique du Nord a constitué ce que les géographes et les préhistoriens appellent un « asile », c'est-à-dire une région qui a été isolée, en même temps qu'elle a échappé aux cataclysmes physiques (glaciations, inondations, bouleversements tectoniques), ce qui a facilité la survivance d'une flore, d'une faune et où des civilisations ont pu se développer sans à-coup.

Un savant géographe, M. Berthelot, qui s'est efforcé, ces dernières années d'éclaircir l'histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord [1], distingue deux foyers de civilisation, l'Égypte et la région hispano-maure, procédant l'un et l'autre d'une civilisation néolithique déjà perfectionnée connaissant l'élevage, la culture, la poterie.

C'est déjà d'ailleurs l'impression d'Hérodote qui pensait que les Berbères étaient des autochtones de l'Afrique du Nord, à peu de chose près, des régions où nous les retrouvons aujourd'hui.

Documents tirés de l'histoire de l'Ancienne Égypte. — Les plus anciens documents que nous possédons sur l'histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale sont égyptiens. Le nom des Libyens s'y retrouve souvent. C'est donc à la lumière de l'histoire d'Égypte que nous devons essayer de voir un peu clair dans le passé des peuples de l'Afrique du Nord.

Nous procéderons chronologiquement sans vouloir tirer des textes plus qu'ils ne nous donnent.

D'abord l'on peut se demander de quelle origine étaient les tribus et les peuplades qui contribuèrent à former la civilisation égyptienne. Sans entrer dans les détails des différentes civilisations néolithiques (Tasienne, du Fayoum, de Merimde) et énéolithiques (Badarienne, Amratienne) qui se succédèrent sur les bords du Nil, on observe au début une certaine unité ethnique qui sera légèrement modifiée ultérieurement par l'arrivée de nouveaux éléments humains venus du Sud, du Nord, peut-être de l'Est. Mais le fond semble être purement africain, formé par des populations pratiquant essentiellement l'élevage, y associant la chasse et la pêche, les-

1. Voir *L'Afrique Saharienne et Soudanaise* », un vol. in-8, Payot, Paris, 1927.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



quelles populations étaient venues de l'intérieur des terres, des plateaux libyens et du Sahara.

Plus tard, avec la civilisation du Fayoum, la culture naîtra en Égypte, en particulier sur les bords des lacs, vestiges d'inondations du Nil, ensuite sur les bords du Nil même lorsque le fleuve aura été discipliné, que les cultivateurs plus au courant des procédés de culture sauront tirer parti des périodes de crues et de décrues. Ce sont ces premières installations de sédentaires qui formeront les grandes villes égyptiennes dans lesquelles naîtra l'organisation urbaine et avec elle les dynasties pharaoniques.

Dès l'Amratien, nous voyions l'art se manifester dans la poterie par des marques de propriété imprimées sur les vases, représentant des animaux, des plantes, parmi lesquels beaucoup s'apparentent au style des gravures rupestres sahariennes. Cet art, d'après Gordon Childe, serait dû à l'arrivée de populations typiquement sahariennes qui, sous l'influence du climat, fuirent leur pays qui devenait désert pour envahir la vallée du Nil et se mêler aux gens de la civilisation badarienne. Et c'est cette rencontre « de civilisations opposées et de traditions divergentes qui aurait provoqué le grand pas en avant qui marque l'avènement de la première culture prédynastique »[1].

Dès lors les nomades installés à l'ouest du Delta que le Égyptiens appelleront les Temhou, les Tehenou et plus tard les Lebou, dont les Grecs feront les Libyens, joueront constamment un rôle dans l'histoire de l'Égypte.

Sur les plus vieux documents archéologiques, en particulier sur un couteau en silex à manche d'ivoire retrouvé au Djebel el Araq et datant de 3500 env. (S. D. 63 de Petrie) on voit un combat où figurent des hommes vêtus d'un pagne court, portant un étui phallique, présentant une grosse tête, assénant des coups de massues à leurs adversaires, lesquels ont des têtes plus fines surmontées d'une mèche de cheveux qui pend sur l'épaule, signe distinctif de populations libyennes. Un autre combat, figuré sur une autre face où plusieurs bateaux sont en présence, nous montre les bateaux libyens couchés sur le flanc, vaincus par leurs adversaires qui semblent être des étrangers. Mais ces bateaux étrangers portent les emblèmes de Letopolis et étaient au service du chef du Delta, si bien

1. Gordon CHILDE, *L'Orient préhistorique*, Paris, Payot, 1935, p. 86.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



que l'on peut interpréter cette scène, soit comme un groupe d'Égyptiens du Nord utilisant des bateaux étrangers, soit d'étrangers envahisseurs de la Basse-Égypte subjuguant les Libyens installés à cette époque dans le Delta [1].

Une palette dite « des Chasseurs », datant du même âge, représente le vêtement et l'armement des Libyens de l'époque. Ils sont vêtus de pagnes serrés à la taille par une ceinture à queue d'animal, ils portent une chevelure nattée, une longue barbe et une plume placée en arrière de la tête. L'armement consiste en casse-têtes et boomerangs, en haches doubles emmanchées par le milieu rappelant par la forme la double hache crétoise [2].

L'emploi du fourreau phallique est en usage dès cette époque comme on le voit sur un autre document représentant un taureau foulant à ses pieds un Libyen [3].

Le portrait du Libyen sera dorénavant toujours le même : nattes, plumes dans les cheveux, pagne serré à la ceinture, fourreau phallique ou *Karnata* boomerang au poing, portrait, comme on peut s'en rendre compte, singulièrement proche de celui de certaines figurations humaines rupestres du Tassili-n-Ăjjer.

C'est deux siècles plus tard que commence l'histoire « écrite » de l'Égypte.

Avant que se constitue la première dynastie pharaonique nous voyons les populations de la Haute et de la Basse-Égypte en venir aux mains. C'est le combat mythique de Seth et d'Hôrus, qui devait se terminer par la victoire du dernier et par l'unification de l'Égypte sous sa couronne. Mais au cours des longues luttes qui mirent aux prises les deux partis, les Libyens intervinrent souvent et sous le roi Narmer, l'un des prédécesseurs du premier pharaon, les Tehenou s'allient aux Égyptiens du Delta, avec lesquels ils ont probablement de nombreux liens de parenté, contre les Égyptiens du Sud. Narmer les combattit victorieusement, envahit la Marmarique et en rapporta des milliers d'animaux domestiques.

Dès ces temps reculés, les nomades venaient déjà en Égypte pour y commercer, apporter les produits de leur pays en échange des graminées de la vallée du Nil. Ces produits étaient

1. Voir Moret, *Histoire de l'Orient*, t. I, p. 90.
2. Voir la palette des chasseurs dans Capart, *Les Débuts de l'art en Égypte*, pl. I, et Moret, *Des clans aux Empires*, fig. 3.
3. Capart, *ouv. cit.*, fig. 166.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



le bétail et les sous-produits du lait, lait caillé, beurre, fromage et une essence aromatique fort prisée des Égyptiens qui était appelée « essence de Libye ».

La lutte se continua sous Menès, le premier pharaon de la première dynastie Thinite, mais les Libyens et leurs alliés sont vaincus si bien que le pharaon peut unifier l'Égypte et transporter le siège de la ville royale à Memphis. Mais bientôt, mettant à profit l'éloignement du pharaon, les Égyptiens du Nord soutenus par les Libyens et des Asiatiques essayent de reconquérir sans succès leur indépendance. Dans tous les monuments de l'époque de Menès on voit toujours les Libyens des oasis ou du Sud (Nehesiou) [1] figurer dans les défilés des vaincus [2].

Au cours de la deuxième dynastie memphite, sous le pharaon Neferkarâ, les Libyens de Nubie, qui étaient peut-être des Éthiopiens, inquiètent à nouveau l'unité de l'Empire mais sont battus, comme l'indique une stèle trouvée à Hiérakonpolis.

Sous la Ve dynastie les Libyens, toujours tentés par les richesses et la prospérité de l'Égypte, se lancent à nouveau contre le delta, malgré des fortifications établies à l'Est par les pharaons las des attaques constantes des pillards. Le pharaon Sephrès (d'après les tables de Manethon) les repoussa, les poursuivit en Marmarique pour les punir et s'empara « de 123.400 bœufs, 223.400 ânes, de milliers de moutons et de chèvres qui furent ramenés en Égypte par les chefs libyens prisonniers » [3].

A la suite de cette victoire, un compromis s'établit entre les pillards et les pharaons et les Libyens entrèrent dans la garde de ces derniers comme mercenaires rétribués, ce qui était une façon comme une autre de détourner de l'Égypte un danger permanent, en utilisant leur instinct batailleur.

A partir de cette Ve dynastie on voit le pouvoir pharaonique diminuer, évoluer, de la monarchie divine qu'il était jusqu'alors, à la monarchie oligarchique au profit des prêtres, des hauts fonctionnaires et des chefs des nomes. Une lente

1. Le nom de Nehesiou qui, à l'origine, désignait essentiellement des populations libyennes, finit par s'appliquer, après le milieu du IIIe millénaire, aux nègres africains aussi bien qu'aux Libyens.

2. Moret, *Histoire de l'Orient*, tome I, p. 193.

3. Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*, II, p. 13. Ce chiffre de 123.400 bœufs semble quelque peu exagéré et est d'ailleurs mis en doute par de nombreux auteurs, entre autres Moret.

évolution de la plèbe s'accomplit, sous la VIII^e dynastie on assiste à une révolution totale et tout ce qui représente la classe dominante est détruit. L'Égypte dès lors vit en régime féodal jusqu'à la XI^e dynastie Thébaine, fondée par Antef, chef du nome de Thèbes qui règne sur la Haute-Égypte.

Pendant toutes ces périodes les arts et les sciences sont délaissés et l'histoire de l'Égypte est assez obscure, mais il est certain que les Libyens durent profiter de l'absence d'autorité et de forces militaires régulières pour pénétrer en Égypte et piller. Ils s'étaient en particulier installés en Basse-Égypte et n'en furent expulsés que sous Mentouhetep IV (2060) qui rétablit l'unité de l'Empire à son profit. Mais l'Égypte devait alors connaître une invasion bien plus dangereuse que celle des Libyens, qui devait bouleverser sa vie pendant plusieurs siècles et transformer par contre-coup toute celle de l'Afrique du Nord : c'est l'invasion des Hyksos.

Les Hyksos firent leur apparition en Égypte à la fin de la XIII^e dynastie, s'en emparèrent de vive force, sans toutefois rencontrer une bien grande résistance et installèrent leur chef à Memphis. Les Égyptiens leur donnèrent le surnom de « Hegou Shasou », ce qui voudrait dire « les chefs de voleurs », suivant les uns, ou « Rois Pasteurs » suivant les autres, et qui fut traduit par les Grecs : Hyksoussos.

Qui étaient les Hyksos ? On a dit qu'ils faisaient partie du peuple de Pount, par conséquent d'origine chaldéenne. Il y aurait eu parmi eux des individus sémites, d'autres qui avaient ni le type sémite, ni le type égyptien et ils formaient en somme un ramassis de peuplades les plus diverses unies en la circonstance pour l'aventure. D'après une stèle découverte récemment à Napata, ils seraient en fin de compte des Mitaniens [1].

Ce qui donna aux Hyksos une supériorité considérable sur les Égyptiens, c'est qu'ils possédaient — outre d'excellentes armes telles que lances, épées, boucliers, cuirasses de bronze et de fer — des chevaux que les Égyptiens ignoraient jusqu'alors, et qu'ils connaissaient l'emploi des chars de guerre qui jetèrent la panique dans les armées pharaoniques. C'est de cette époque que date l'introduction du cheval en Afrique (env. 1750) et cet événement à lui seul suffit à faire comprendre les modifications profondes qui apparurent ultérieurement dans le peuplement de l'Afrique Septentrionale.

1. MORET, *Hist. de l'Orient*, t. I, p. 475.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Pendant la domination des Hyksos, les rois égyptiens se réfugièrent en Haute-Égypte, probablement avec le secours des Libyens de la région de Saïs, mais ils durent néanmoins reconnaître la suzeraineté des souverains Hyksos d'Avaris et leur payer tribut.

Pendant toute cette période nous ignorons quelle fut l'attitude des Libyens, quelles furent leurs relations avec les envahisseurs. La supériorité militaire de ces derniers dut les inciter à rester tranquilles.

Les Hyksos furent rejetés d'Égypte par les princes thébains qui, après leur départ, fondèrent la XVIII^e dynastie et firent refleurir en Égypte les arts et les lettres, que les Hyksos avaient tant soit peu délaissés. Cette période porte le nom de Nouvel Empire et va de 1580 à 1085. Les Égyptiens ont adopté à leur tour les chevaux et les chars et cette arme nouvelle aidera les pharaons à rétablir rapidement leur autorité. Nous savons qu'ils firent la conquête du couloir syro-palestinien pour mettre l'Égypte à l'abri de nouvelles incursions d'envahisseurs venant de l'Est, qu'ils refoulèrent les Nubiens jusqu'en amont de la 4^e Cataracte, et qu'ils recevaient des droits de souveraineté des Libyens.

A cette époque apparaît sur les monuments égyptiens un nouveau type de Libyen à yeux bleus, à cheveux et à teint clairs, alors que précédemment les populations nomades de la rive gauche du Nil étaient toujours représentées avec le type hamitique, c'est-à-dire, avec le teint rougeâtre, les cheveux abondants et tressés et la barbe en pointe. Ces nouveaux venus sont appelés : Tembou.

Cette modification importante dans la représentation des Libyens implique l'arrivée de populations nouvelles, de type physique très différent pour que les artistes égyptiens en aient si bien accusé les traits, et c'est là un problème qui fut très discuté, car il pose l'origine du type à cheveux blonds et à yeux bleus jusqu'alors inconnu en Afrique, ou tout au moins en Égypte.

Le dernier avis en date sur l'origine des Libyens blonds qui fasse autorité est celui de Moret qui considère cet élément ethnique nouveau comme d'origine nordique, venu d'Europe « par le Sahara et les Oasis » [1]. A notre sens cela est peu probable. Qu'il s'agisse de populations d'origine européenne, dans le sens qu'elles habitaient l'Europe avant de venir en

1. MORET, *Histoire de l'Orient*, t. II, p. 487.

Afrique, cela est très plausible ; mais qu'elles soient venues d'Europe en passant par le Sahara, ce qui implique une migration par l'Espagne, on peut poser là un point d'interrogation, car aucun élément ne permet, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, de déceler le moindre mouvement de migrations allant de l'Ouest en Est à travers le Sahara. Aucun squelette ancien, aucun élément archéologique n'a été découvert permettant d'apporter la moindre lueur sur ce point. Par contre, on peut admettre facilement que des éléments blonds venus de Crète ou de Grèce et débarqués en Marmarique se soient glissés à travers les anciennes tribus libyennes jusqu'au contact de l'Égypte.

D'ailleurs, plus tard, et ceci confirme notre hypothèse, sous la XIX^e dynastie thébaine, des bas-reliefs de Karnak, non datés, mais se rapportant certainement à l'époque de Sethi I^er (1318-1298) nous montrent le pharaon combattant des Libyens aux yeux bleus, aux cheveux blonds, qui attaquent l'Égypte *en relation avec les Peuples de la Mer*, lesquels s'efforcent de s'installer en Marmarique.

Qu'étaient ces nouveaux arrivants, d'où venaient ces « Peuples de la Mer » ?

Vers 1232 les migrations européennes venues des Balkans et des plaines du Nord de la Mer Noire provoquent un bouleversement dans le bassin méditerranéen oriental. En Grèce les Achéens sont écrasés par un peuple nouveau, les Doriens, armés de lances en fer, et passent en Crète, ruinant les foyers de civilisation mycénienne, dont une partie des populations se réfugia en Asie Mineure. Vainqueurs, vaincus se bousculent les uns les autres et comme poussés par un instinct grégaire, sont à la recherche de terres nouvelles. L'Égypte, en face d'eux, est bien tentante. Alors que certains exécutent leur mouvement vers l'Asie Mineure, d'autres cherchent à débarquer en Marmarique où sont déjà installés les Shardanes, les Loukou, les Sheklal, de même origine qu'eux. Un texte retrouvé à Karnak nous décrit deux peuplades nouvelles, les Lebou et les Akaïouasha. Les premiers sont des hommes à peau blanche, à cheveux blonds, à yeux bleus, portant des cuirasses et des armes de bronze et ils donneront leur nom, qui venait de l'hébreu *loubim* ou *loubahim*, à la région située à l'Ouest de l'Égypte, la Libye.

Cette migration n'est pas essentiellement guerrière, c'est tout un peuple en marche qui vient non seulement avec son

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



attirail guerrier, en particulier de nombreux chars de guerre, mais aussi avec ses femmes, ses enfants, ses serviteurs, ses trésors, son mobilier [1].

Tehenou, Temhou, gens de la mer, semblent s'entendre à merveille, ce qui peut, peut-être, s'expliquer par des affinités d'origine.

Dès la deuxième année du règne de Ramsès II (1297), les Peuples de la Mer, Shardanes (d'origine indo-européenne) et Mashaouasha (qui sont des Libyens Tehenou, les Maxyes des Grecs, nom dans lequel on retrouve celui des Imajeurcn Touaregs) aidés des Temhou attaquent l'Égypte. Mais ils subissent un échec cuisant et un grand nombre sont faits prisonniers. Ces prisonniers intégrés dans l'armée pharaonique participeront quelques années plus tard avec succès à la bataille de Kadesch (1294) gagnée par Ramsès II sur les Hittites.

Ces premiers assauts des Peuples de la Mer contre l'Égypte étaient le prélude d'autres beaucoup plus puissants, coïncidant avec l'arrivée de nouveaux envahisseurs.

Une alliance se forme groupant les Tehenou, les Temhou, les Shardanes, les Toursha, les Sheklal et tous, sous le commandement du roi libyen Merjej, fils de Did, se lancent sur le Delta au nombre de 30.000, en l'an V du règne de Mer-n-Phtah (1227).

Le moment est critique pour l'Égypte. Le pharaon Mer-n-Phtah, fils de Ramsès II, rassemble rapidement tous ses guerriers et ses chars disponibles, livre bataille à Per-irt, bouscule les confédérés, leur tue des milliers de guerriers, fait 9.000 prisonniers et s'empare d'un nombreux butin. Les Libyens déçus par cet échec, demandent la paix, en même temps que l'autorisation de vivre comme autrefois sur le sol de l'Égypte, ce qui leur est accordé ; mais sitôt cette autorisation reçue, ils s'efforceront de se dérober aux obligations de vassalité qui leur sont imposées.

L'Égypte subit alors une crise. Le joug du pharaon semble avoir pesé lourdement sur ses administrés, si bien qu'il se produit un soulèvement général des peuples soumis, Mag, Sémites, Éthiopiens auxquels se joignent naturellement les Libyens. Le manque de cohésion de la part des insurgés ruine leurs efforts. Une attaque des Mashaouasha, des Temhou, sur le Delta, échoue et ils sont rejetés au désert par Ramsès III.

1. MORET, *Histoire de l'Orient*, t. II, p. 580.

Quelques années plus tard, en 1195, nouveau débarquement des Peuples de la Mer, venus d'Asie Mineure où ils s'étaient introduits auparavant et d'où ils sont rejetés par les Philistins. Cette nouvelle vague d'envahisseurs entraîne une nouvelle coalition des Lebou, Shardanes, Toursha et autres et, sous le commandement du chef Mashouasha, Kapour, se jette encore une fois sur le Delta. Ramsès III les arrête sur les frontières de son territoire et parvient à les battre grâce à ses milices locales, lesquelles, par un curieux état de chose, sont composées pour beaucoup d'anciens prisonniers Shardanes et Toursha auxquels ont été adjoints des Éthiopiens, des Philistins, des Zakal. Sur un mur du temple de Médinet Kabou, près de Thèbes, on voit encore gravée la scène des prisonniers libyens enchaînés, que Ramsès III présente au Dieu Ammon et à la Déesse Moût. Leur manière de se vêtir est toujours la même et ils portent sur le côté de la tête une longue tresse ou une boucle recourbée tombant sur l'épaule qui rappelle la coiffure actuelle des Touaregs.

Une autre vague des Peuples de la Mer venue cette fois de l'Est, et composée en partie de Philistins, attaque à son tour l'Égypte mais n'est pas plus heureuse et un grand nombre de Philistins sont faits prisonniers et internés dans les citadelles égyptiennes. Cette tentative des émigrés de l'Est, semble avoir été faite en accord avec les envahisseurs de l'Ouest, avec lesquels ils étaient apparentés, dans un but commun de s'emparer de l'Égypte par tous les moyens.

Ces échecs successifs ruinent définitivement les ambitions guerrières des peuples de la mer vis-à-vis de l'Égypte et, dès lors, ils ne seront plus cités dans les textes égyptiens. Ramsès III sûr de sa force accordera la vie aux prisonniers et les embrigadera dans ses milices.

Mais les Libyens, qui semblent décidément ne pas pouvoir trouver dans leur pays les moyens de subvenir à leur existence, s'avancent pacifiquement vers l'Est, se font tolérer sur le sol de l'Égypte, et comme leur poussée qui se fait au long des années est insensible, ils s'infiltrent jusque dans le Delta, en le colonisant virtuellement.

Pendant cette période, l'Égypte subit une nouvelle crise politique qui favorise l'action des Libyens. Les prêtres thébains et les rois de Tanis sapent l'autorité pharaonique qui devient de plus en plus chancelante et qui est obligée de faire des concessions à toute une foule de petits seigneurs qui règnent

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



dans les villes. Grâce à cette demi-anarchie, les chefs Libyens s'érigent en féodaux et l'un d'eux, Sheshonq, vers 1070, en épousant une reine veuve se haussera au titre de prince royal ; son petit-fils, qui portera le nom de Sheshonq I, fondera la XXIIe dynastie, désignée sous le nom de Bubastite dans la chronologie égyptienne [1].

Dès 950, le Delta est partagé en principautés militaires commandées par des chefs libyens qui sont représentés sur les monuments, coiffés de plumes. C'est en somme la « libyennisation » de l'Égypte et « les contes populaires du temps, nous dit Moret, sont des romans de chevalerie tout retentissants de défis, de guerres entre chefs, de passes d'armes, de tournois où paradent des preux libyens aux belles armures » [2].

On ne peut mieux comparer cette littérature à celle des Touaregs, que l'on connaît grâce aux travaux du Père de Foucauld.

Une certaine anarchie dans le commandement suivra l'installation des Libyens et l'on voit se créer plusieurs dynasties superposées, à Tanis, et à Saïs. « Ces pharaons, nous dit encore Moret, sont des Libyens Temhou venus du désert libyque, bien après les Tehenou et les Mâ du Delta. Enterrés dans des fosses rectangulaires surmontées de tumuli, des pointes de flèches en silex, une céramique pauvre, des perles d'or, tel est le mobilier de ces nomades très en retard sur la civilisation thébaine [3]. » Dans des tumuli on a retrouvé inhumés près du guerrier ses chevaux d'armes par groupe de 4, ou de 6, ou de 8, ce que, d'après Moret, on n'a jamais vu en Égypte, et qui indiquerait une coutume libyenne.

Un demi-siècle plus tard (750) on trouve traces d'une dynastie libyenne à Napata, capitale du pays de Kousch, sur le Haut-Nil, qui sera la XXVe dynastie des rois éthiopiens, parallèle aux XXII, XXIII, XXIVe dynasties des rois régnant dans le Delta. Ces rois de Napata s'imposeront plus tard sur le Delta et, vers 725, le pharaon Piânkhi marchera sur Thèbes dont il s'emparera après avoir obligé les roitelets du Nord à reconnaître sa suzeraineté. A peine de retour dans sa capitale, l'un des chefs du Nord, Tafneknt, prend le cartouche royal et règne sur Saïs, Héliopolis et Memphis. Son fils, Borchoris qui lui succède est capturé plus tard par Shabaka, frère et

1. Moret, *Histoire de l'Orient*, t. II, p. 665.
2. *Ouvr. cit.*, p. 667. Voir Maspéro, *Contes Populaires*, pp. 220-230.
3. *Ouvr. cit.*, p. 670.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



successeur de Piânki qui, après cette victoire, quitte Napata pour s'installer définitivement à Thèbes.

Les Assyriens, qui s'étaient déjà présentés en 720 devant l'Égypte pour l'attaquer et qui avaient été repoussés par Borchoris, reviennent en 671 avec une armée puissante, traversent le désert du Sinaï, grâce aux chameaux prêtés par leurs alliés arabes qui transportent l'eau, les vivres et le matériel nécessaires, et s'emparent de Memphis et de la Basse-Égypte. Leur roi, Asaraddon, mettra à profit les discussions traditionnelles des roitelets libyens pour tenir en main le pays en se servant tour à tour des uns et des autres.

Le pharaon Taharga reprend Memphis aux Assyriens (669), mais Assourbanipal reconquiert la ville, grâce à l'appui que lui fournissent les Libyens du Delta restés fidèles et qui sont, par surcroît, les ennemis de Taharga dont la force est faite d'éléments éthiopiens.

Le successeur de Taharga, Tanoutamon, reprend Memphis à son tour, fait mourir les chefs libyens alliés des Assyriens, mais échoue devant les forteresses du Delta, ce qui donne le temps à Assourbanipal d'envoyer une armée contre lui qui l'oblige à battre en retraite et à rentrer à Napata (663). Dès lors la dynastie éthiopienne se repliera sur elle-même, coupera toute relation avec l'Égypte, s'africanisera de plus en plus et transportera même sa capitale plus au sud, à Meroé, perdra la pratique de l'écriture hiéroglyphique ainsi que celle de la langue égyptienne pour adopter un dialecte africain [1].

En Basse-Égypte, Psamétik, fils de Néchao, chef libyen qui régnait à Saïs pour le compte d'Assourbanipal, réduit à sa merci les autres petits roitelets du Delta avec l'aide de Cariens et de mercenaires ioniens et, fort de ces premiers succès, parvient à libérer l'Égypte du joug assyrien.

Psamétik et ses successeurs, peu sûrs des éléments libyens toujours prêts à faire défection et à épouser la cause d'un prétendant adverse, constituent une garde avec des éléments ioniens et cariens, leur allouent des terres et l'on assiste alors à l'hellénisation de l'Égypte. Des fonctionnaires grecs remplacent les Libyens, la langue grecque se répand de plus en plus, si bien que devant cet état de fait, les troupes libyennes se révoltent et émigrent au nombre de 240.000 ? (d'après Hérodote) chez les Éthiopiens où elles reçoivent un bon accueil.

1. Moret, *Histoire de l'Orient*, t. II, p. 697.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Les Grecs s'implantèrent de plus en plus en Égypte et en Marmarique où le chef dorien Battos vint fonder Cyrène (631), ce qui provoqua une réaction des Libyens qui voyaient leur commerce leur échapper. Ils firent appel au pharaon Apriès. Celui-ci envoya contre les Grecs des contingents égyptiens qui furent battus par Battos près d'Irasa, en Cyrénaïque. Ces contingents égyptiens se révoltèrent alors contre Apriès qui fut tué tandis qu'il marchait contre eux et nommèrent à sa place leur général Amasis qui sera le dernier des pharaons (525).

Dès lors, l'Égypte pharaonique a vécu. En 525, l'armée perse conduite par Cambyse traverse le désert du Sinaï, attaque les défenses du Delta gardées par des mercenaires cariens et ioniens, pénètre en Égypte et s'empare de Memphis.

Ici disparaissent les documents égyptiens écrits susceptibles de nous éclairer sur le passé des Lybiens.

Cet aperçu succinct de l'histoire de l'Égypte, ou plus exactement du rôle que les Libyens y jouèrent, pourra sembler long au lecteur et peut-être un peu éloigné du sujet de l'ouvrage. Il a permis de voir pourtant que la civilisation pharaonique a été constituée par des éléments importants venus des régions situées à l'ouest du Nil et probablement du Sahara.

Ces tribus « libyennes » que la nécessité contraignit à s'infiltrer constamment vers l'Égypte pour s'emparer de ses richesses, comme de notre temps les Touaregs vis-à-vis des oasis, jouèrent ultérieurement, comme on a pu le voir, un rôle considérable en Égypte, au point de s'emparer à un moment donné du pouvoir. Leurs mœurs, leurs coutumes, leurs noms présentent de telles affinités avec ceux de nos Touaregs, qu'il est impossible de ne pas voir en eux la souche des tribus sahariennes actuelles. Dans ce remue-ménage des peuples qui bouleversa l'Orient pendant trois millénaires, nous voyons également d'autres éléments ethniques — en particulier les Peuples de la Mer — s'infiltrer en Marmarique, en Cyrénaïque, se fondre avec les anciens éléments libyens, leur apporter des éléments culturels nouveaux, lames en fer, boucliers ronds, chevaux, chars, etc.., modifiant également les types physiques, le costume, les mœurs. Et ces faits à eux seuls expliquent les différentes influences artistiques que l'on observe dans les gravures et les peintures rupestres du Sahara Central qui se trouvait lui-même en dehors des sphères d'influence politique de l'Égypte, mais qui était le refuge, le déver-

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



soir des populations de la Marmarique et de la Cyrénaïque toujours en mouvement.

Toutes ces tribus libyennes nous les retrouverons quelques siècles plus tard à l'ouest du Nil où la conquête d'Alexandre les aura rejetées et où le climat qui a bien dû changer entre le quatrième millénaire, date à laquelle commence l'histoire de l'Égypte, et le v^e siècle avant J.-C., les aura obligées à s'essaimer le long de la côte ou à l'intérieur des terres.

Documents tirés des auteurs grecs et latins. — Parmi ces historiens anciens, le premier en date et le plus remarquable est le Grec Hérodote, que l'on surnomme très justement le « Père de l'Histoire ». C'est avec lui que commence véritablement l'histoire « écrite » de l'Afrique septentrionale et à qui l'on doit le premier aperçu sur les populations du Sahara Central.

Hérodote était né à Halicarnasse en 484 av. J.-C. et il aurait écrit son ouvrage vers 430 à Thuriès, en Italie, où il mourut quelques années plus tard. Il avait, paraît-il, bénéficié des travaux de deux géographes célèbres, Thalès de Millet et surtout Hécatée, auteur du premier traité de géographie, qui avait beaucoup voyagé pour recueillir la documentation de son ouvrage.

Hérodote visita lui-même l'Égypte, remonta le Nil assez loin, mais il ne visita pas la Libye. C'est par des Égyptiens, et surtout par de nombreux voyageurs grecs, qu'il obtint ses renseignements concernant les populations qui vivaient dans cette région.

Dans la description des pays eux-mêmes, des distances les séparant les uns des autres, il a certainement commis des erreurs d'appréciation inévitables si l'on tient compte qu'il devait la plupart de ses renseignements à d'autres personnes, et aussi de l'absence de mesures angulaires. Ces sources d'erreurs ont fait que l'orientation des côtes a été faussée et que, partant de là, tous les lieux cités dans l'arrière-pays se sont trouvés plus ou moins déplacés et cela a été, bien entendu, une source de divergences de vue entre ses commentateurs modernes.

Nous avons, grâce à lui, une description de toutes les peuplades qui habitaient depuis l'Égypte jusqu'au delà de la Petite Syrte et en suivant ses descriptions, et en tenant surtout compte de la forme des côtes, on obtient la carte ethno-

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



graphique (carte II) qui permet d'embrasser d'un coup un schéma des plus intelligibles et qui a de grandes probabilités d'être exacte.

Nous n'entrerons pas ici dans tous les détails des textes d'Hérodote, que l'on trouvera d'ailleurs commentés très judicieusement dans un ouvrage de St. Gsell[1], car cela nous entraînerait à des discussions longues et fastidieuses. Partant du delta égyptien, Hérodote nomme successivement les Adyrmachides, les Giligames, les Asbytes, les Auschises, les Nasamons, les Psylles, les Macès, les Guidanes, les Lotophages, les Machlyes, les Auses. Puis, au-dessus d'eux, à l'intérieur des

II. Carte du peuplement des Syrtes, du Fezzan et de l'Ahaggar au Ve siècle av. J.-C., d'après les textes d'Hérodote.

terres, c'est-à-dire au Sud, se trouve la Libye des bêtes sauvages. A dix jours de marche, précise-t-il, sont les Ammoniens, puis à dix jours d'une oasis nommée Aujila (l'Aoudjila actuelle) sont les Garamantes qui font la chasse aux Éthiopiens troglodytes, sur des chars à quatre chevaux, puis à dix autres jours des Garamantes habitent les Atarantes, enfin à dix jours encore se trouve le mont Atlas qui a donné son nom aux gens qui habitent autour : les Atlantes.

A cette énumération, Hérodote a joint de nombreux détails de mœurs sur l'alimentation des indigènes, la façon de se vêtir, de se coiffer, d'ensevelir les morts, de célébrer certaines fêtes, etc..., qui font de cet auteur le premier ethnographe.

1. *Textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'Afrique du Nord, Hérodote*, Alger Jourdan, 1915.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Nous ne connaissons pas l'origine des noms des tribus qu'il a énumérés et qui sont certainement dus aux gens de sa nation et appliqués peut-être d'après des détails de mœurs, tel celui des Lotophages qui veut dire mangeurs de lotus.

Dans celui des Nasamons, on retrouve le nom sémitique de Nas-Ammon, ou gens d'Ammon, c'est-à-dire adorateurs du dieu Ammon, qui doit avoir la même signification qu'Ammoniens mais qui désignait peut-être exclusivement les habitants de l'oasis d'Ammon.

Un autre nom doit retenir tout particulièrement notre attention, celui de Macès, qui deviendra plus tard Maxyes, Makes [1], Mazikes [2], etc.... Peut-être vient-il des tribus Mâ ou des Mashaouasha que nous avons vus se jeter sur le Delta pendant les périodes pharaoniques. En tous les cas, il apparaît à des époques diverses en des lieux très différents, dans le golfe des Syrtes pour Diodore de Sicile, vers le Sersou pour Ptolémée, et nous le retrouvons de nos jours au Maroc dans la tribu berbère des Imazighen, dans le nom même que se donnent aujourd'hui les Touaregs de classe suzeraine.

L'auteur arabe Ibn Khaldoun qui, suivant les habitudes des chronologistes de sa nation, a essayé, pour établir l'origine des Touaregs, de dresser leur généalogie, leur donne pour ancêtre un certain Mazigh, fils de Canaan, fils de Cham, dans lequel on retrouve également la racine M.X.S.

Au XVIe siècle, au temps de Léon l'Africain, le mot Amazigh désignait les populations et la langue des Berbères, et si l'on se réfère aux travaux du Père de Foucauld, Mazies, Mazigh, Tamzigh, Imohar, Imajeuren n'ont qu'une seule et même racine : iohargh.

Ces analogies linguistiques, qui se retrouvent à travers les siècles, ne peuvent pas être fortuites et l'on doit pouvoir conclure que les Macès constituaient une tribu libyenne qui a contribué à la formation des Berbères et en particulier des Touaregs.

Dans les mœurs qu'attribue Hérodote aux différentes populations qu'il a décrites, un grand nombre sont à rapprocher de celles des Touaregs. Les Nasamons, par exemple, chassaient les sauterelles, les faisaient sécher au soleil, les pilaient, versaient du lait dessus et se nourrissaient de ce mélange. C'est là un plat bien connu des Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar que nous

1. Diodore de Sicile.
2. Ptolémée.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



avons souvent partagé avec eux dans leurs campements. Les mêmes Nasamons se rendaient le soir près des tombes de leurs ancêtres pour prier et interroger l'avenir ; cette coutume est encore pratiquée par les femmes touarègues lorsqu'elles veulent obtenir des nouvelles des personnes absentes ou être fixées sur le sort des personnes qui leur sont chères. Le rite funéraire décrit chez les Nasamons, qui consistait à enterrer leurs morts dans la position assise « en prenant soin, quand un homme rend l'âme de le tenir sur son séant et d'empêcher qu'il ne meure sur le dos », semble s'être maintenu au Sahara jusqu'à la période islamique comme tendent à le prouver les squelettes repliés dans la position fœtale retrouvés dans les tumulis anciens.

Cette coutume a d'ailleurs dû être beaucoup plus généralisée que ne l'indique Hérodote et d'autre tribus que les Nasamons devaient procéder de même. L'aire de répartition des tumuli à squelette à position fœtale s'étend à toute la zone occupée aujourd'hui par les berbérophones, et ce n'est certainement pas là une simple coïncidence.

Dans les descriptions des façons différentes de se coiffer des tribus de la Marmarique, Hérodote nous a donné des précisions qui permettent d'identifier ces tribus avec les Libyens de la période égyptienne. Les Macès, par exemple, laissaient subsister une crête de cheveux sur le dessus de la tête, les Machlyes les laissaient pousser sur le derrière et les Auses sur le devant. Tout en constatant qu'il n'est jamais fait allusion au port du voile, on peut rapprocher ces différentes façons de se coiffer de celles des Touaregs qui gardent les cheveux longs et les tressent de manières différentes suivant les tribus, les rasent sur le devant et les côtés, ou bien encore ne laissent susbister qu'une crête ou qu'une touffe sur le dessus de la tête.

Dans les descriptions vestimentaires, Hérodote signale à plusieurs reprises que les Libyennes portaient des jupes en peau de chèvre, agrémentées de franges également en peau et teintes en rouge. Cette façon de se vêtir des femmes libyennes est encore celle des femmes des Eklan Ioullimmiden, en particulier de la région de Tombouctou, qui portent des jupes en peau faites en deux parties, celle du devant étant teinte en jaune ornementée de dessins rouges, celle de derrière étant teinte uniformément en rouge et garnie de longues lanières de peau qui sont animées, lorsque la femme marche, d'un mou-

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



vement ondulatoire du plus joli effet. Si de nos jours l'on ne voit ces vêtements portés que par des femmes de classe servile, les autres préférant des jupes en tissu de coton, il est certain que cette préférence ne date pas de longues années et le souvenir est même resté où toutes les femmes sans distinction s'habillaient de peau. Dans une des fouilles qu'il a pratiquées dans l'Ădrar Ăhnet, Th. Monod signale la trouvaille d'un fragment de cuir teint en rouge qui semble avoir appartenu à un vêtement [1]. Cette découverte établit donc la tradition de l'emploi des jupes de cuir entre les Libyennes et les femmes Touarègues en même temps que leur parenté.

Nous examinerons maintenant les descriptions géographiques qui nous ont amené à placer les Atlantes d'Hérodote dans l'Ăhaggar, car l'Atlas de l'historien grec ne peut être la région montagneuse du Maroc qui porte ce nom aujourd'hui, quoique cette façon de voir ait été admise par plusieurs savants.

Le Professeur Berlioux, que Pierre Benoit a rendu célèbre dans son roman sous les traits du Professeur Le Mège, a consacré aux Atlantes un ouvrage entier dont on ne peut plus faire beaucoup cas aujourd'hui. Il a contribué à donner naissance à de multiples hypothèses sur l'existence de l'Atlantis et à faire prendre en considération le mythe de l'Ile Atlantide submergée par les flots. Il faisait des Atlantes des gens d'origine européenne et on retrouverait aujourd'hui les traces de leur civilisation non seulement en Afrique, mais aussi en Amérique, et, quoiqu'il ait serré les textes d'Hérodote de très près, emporté par son idée, il n'a pas vu les divergences qui existaient entre cet auteur et ceux qui lui ont succédé. Car, en effet, Hésiode, Phérécyde, Eschyle, Diodore de Sicile, Agrippa, Pomponius Méla, Pline, ont tous situé l'Atlas sur les bords de l'Océan, à l'extrême occident des terres connues. Mais comme aucun d'eux n'avait, en fait, visité la région, il y a bien des chances qu'ils se soient tous répétés et qu'une erreur initiale se soit ancrée au point de devenir un jour une vérité. Cette divergence entre Hérodote et ses successeurs a été notée par St. Gsell, mais sans que celui-ci ait identifié l'Ăhaggar comme le pays des Atlantes.

L'origine du mot Atlas est encore très vague. Pour Platon, d'après les prêtres égyptiens, Atlas était un roi, fils de Poséi-

1. Th. Monod, *L'Adrar Ahnet, Étude archéologique d'un district saharien*, p. 24.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



don ou de la mer, et pour Diodore un dieu mythique, frère du Caucase, qui à eux deux gardaient les deux colonnes qui soutenaient le ciel. Plusieurs savants se sont demandé s'il ne s'agirait pas d'une altération grecque du mot Ădrar, qui est le nom berbère de montagne [1], et Hérodote de son côté qui, sauf erreur, a été le premier à parler de l'Atlas, ne fait aucune allusion à propos de son nom à un personnage mythique. Pour lui c'est simplement le nom de la montagne à laquelle les habitants doivent le leur : les Atlantes.

Hérodote a eu une connaissance géographique relativement juste de l'intérieur des terres et de l'Ăhaggar et nous ne pouvons mieux faire que de citer les textes mêmes qui s'y rapportent : « A dix jours de marche des Garamantes, dit-il, il y a un autre tertre de sel et de l'eau ; autour habitent des hommes nommés Atarantes (XLIX). Puis à dix autres journées de marche existe un autre tertre de sel, de l'eau et des hommes qui habitent autour. Auprès de cet amas de sel, se trouve la montagne qu'on nomme Atlas (XXII). Elle est étroite et ronde de tous les côtés, et si haute, dit-on, qu'il est impossible d'en voir les sommets, car les nuages ne s'en écartent jamais, ni pendant l'été, ni pendant l'hiver. Les gens du pays disent qu'elle est la colonne du ciel. C'est à cette montagne que ces hommes doivent leur nom, car ils s'appellent Atlantes (XLIX). On assure qu'ils ne mangent rien de ce qui a eu vie (LX), qu'ils ne font pas de rêves. » Les Garamantes habitant, de l'avis de tous, la région que l'on appelle le Fezzan, l'habitat de leurs voisins les Atarantes devait être le Tassili-n-Ăjjer et ce tertre de sel, les salines d'Ămadror que les Touaregs exploitent encore aujourd'hui. A une dizaine de jours de marche, l'on trouve l'Ăhaggar ce qui permet donc d'identifier l'Atlas d'Hérodote avec les montagnes du Sahara Central. Berlioux, qui admettait que les Atarantes (qui, d'après lui, étaient une fraction détachée des Atlantes, en quoi il avait peut-être raison) habitaient la région de Rhâdamès, a identifié l'Atlas, on ne comprend plus pourquoi, avec les montagnes de l'Aurès [2]. Il a pourtant constaté comme un fait curieux qu'Hérodote ait laissé de côté le littoral même de la Petite Syrte et les régions situées au nord de l'Atlas pour suivre les pays de l'intérieur [3], ce qui aurait dû l'amener naturelle-

1. Voir Gsell, *Hérodote*, p. 108.
2. *Les Atlantes*, p. 64.
3. *Ouvr. cit.*, p. 68.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



ment à chercher l'Atlas au sud-ouest du pays des Atarantes.

On fera remarquer que les 50 jours de caravane qu'indique Hérodote, pour se rendre d'Égypte aux Colonnes du Ciel, correspondent à peu près à la distance des oasis du Nil à l'Ăhaggar, alors qu'il faudrait en compter près du double pour atteindre l'Atlas marocain.

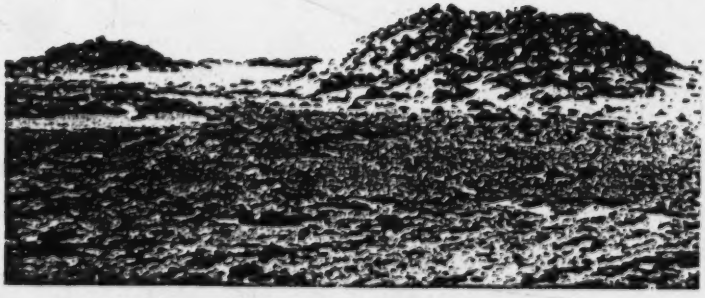
On peut s'assurer de l'identité de l'Atlas et de l'Ăhaggar en suivant le texte d'Hérodote qui dit encore : « Jusqu'à ces Atlantes, je puis énumérer les noms de ceux qui habitent sur l'élévation (de sable), mais non au delà. L'élévation s'étend presqu'aux Colonnes d'Héraclès et même en dehors (XII-XXIII). On y trouve à des intervalles de dix journées de marche, une mine de sel et des habitants. Les maisons de tous ces hommes sont construites avec des blocs de sel (LXI). Ces parties de la Libye ne reçoivent pas de pluie, car s'il pleuvait, les murs étant en sel ne pourraient pas tenir debout. Le sel qu'on extrait de ces lieux est d'un aspect blanc et rouge (XXIII). Au-dessus de cette élévation, vers le midi, et à l'intérieur de la Libye, le pays est désert, sans eau, sans animaux, sans pluie, sans bois et dépourvu de toute humidité (XXVI). » Or, au delà de l'Ăhaggar, c'est-à-dire vers l'Ouest, dans la direction des Colonnes d'Héraclès, nous trouvons le Tidikelt, si l'on part de l'Immldir, ou le village de Taodeni, si l'on part des points d'eau extrêmes de la zone de nomadisation des Touaregs Kel Ăhnet. Dans l'un ou l'autre lieu il existe des salines et les villages sont construits en terre très chargée de sel (à In Salah) ou complètement en barre de sel (à Taodeni), si bien que lorsqu'il y a des pluies un peu violentes les maisons s'effondrent comme châteaux de cartes, complètement diluées par l'eau. Le sel de Taodeni se présente en couches, les unes très pures, les autres plus ou moins chargées d'argile, si bien que là encore l'on peut trouver une justification au texte d'Hérodote [1]. Vers le midi, c'est le Tanezrouft, véritablement le pays désert, sans eau, sans animaux, sans pluie, sans bois décrit par le célèbre historien grec.

M. Berthelot, à qui l'on doit la compulsion des textes de tous les auteurs anciens et l'ouvrage le plus moderne et le plus sérieux traitant des connaissances africaines des Anciens

1. Les salines de Taodeni ont été exploitées tardivement (xv^e siècle), mais auparavant il existait d'autres points d'extraction du sel tout proche, en particulier à Teghaza, dont l'exploitation remonte dans la nuit des temps.

PL. V.

Cercle de pierre d'origine très ancienne que l'on suppose se rapporter à un culte solaire. Photographie prise près du mont Serkout.



Tumuli de forme tronconique, le plus souvent commun dans les régions désertiques du Tanezrouft et du Ténéré où ils sont groupés par petit nombre sur le bord des anciennes vallées ou sur des éminences rocheuses.

[p. 96 A]

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg

PL. VI.





Types touaregs. L'individu de gauche appartient à la tribu des Kel Ohet, celui de droite à celle des Dag Rali. Le premier est du type targui à nez à pointe tombante, l'autre à nez droit et moyen de type berbère.

[p. 96.]

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



et dans lequel nous avons beaucoup puisé, a conclu que l'Atlas d'Hérodote était sans nul doute possible dans le Sahara Central et il le situe au Mont Oudan, à la pointe nord du Massif de la Tăfedest, lequel est coiffé de la légendaire montagne des Génies (Garet-ed-Djenoun). Mais pour qui connaît l'Ăhaggar, cette identification de l'Oudan ne peut être retenue. Cette montagne est certes très imposante, mais nullement comparable à l'Ătakor dont les cimes sont constamment entourées d'un chapeau de nuages et qui la dépasse de plus de 625 mètres. L'Ătakor est, dans l'ensemble, presque rond et évoque parfaitement un de ces piliers susceptible de supporter le ciel, comme le croyaient les anciens ; c'est lui qu'il faut identifier plutôt que le Massif de l'Oudan.

Les convergences ethnographiques et géographiques nous permettent donc de conclure avec M. Berthelot, réserve faite pour l'Oudan, que l'Atlas d'Hérodote correspond bien à l'Ăhaggar et que les Atlantes sont bien les anciens habitants de ce pays, sinon les ancêtres des Touaregs. Les Atarantes, de leur côté, ont dû participer à la formation de la nation targuie, de même que les Garamantes. La découverte des célèbres peintures rupestres du Tassili-n-Ajjer, ainsi que les fouilles pratiquées à Garama par les archéologues italiens, ont fait ressortir l'importance considérable de cet empire garamantique qui régna au Fezzan et sur son pourtour pendant les cinq siècles (?) qui précédèrent l'ère chrétienne et les cinq siècles qui suivirent.

Que sont devenues ces populations depuis ? Il est impossible de répondre à cette question, mais ce qui est certain, c'est que c'est de cette souche archaïque que sont sorties la plupart des tribus berbères et en particulier les Touaregs.

Les Atlantes, que nous venons d'identifier comme les anciens habitants de l'Ăhaggar, ont été rendus plus célèbres par les textes de Platon — dans le *Critias* et le *Timée* — que par ceux d'Hérodote. Il n'est pas besoin d'insister pour dire combien ces textes ont fait couler d'encre et le crédit tout relatif qu'on doit leur accorder. L'œuvre de Platon est postérieure d'un peu moins un siècle à celle d'Hérodote, cet auteur ayant vécu de 429 à 347. Il est plus que probable que la fantaisie tienne dans son œuvre, en ce qui concerne les Atlantes, une plus grande place que les faits historiques. L'époque à laquelle il fait vivre ses héros, 9.000 ans avant la date où il vivait lui-même, d'après le récit que lui en avait fait le prêtre

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égyptien Solon [1], est manifestement fausse, puisqu'alors Athènes existait déjà et que les batailles qu'il relate ont eu lieu entre le règne de Cécrops et de Thésée [2]. D'ailleurs il n'y avait pas besoin de chercher si loin, puisque moins d'un siècle avant lui Hérodote signalait leur existence au cœur du Sahara. Nous relèverons simplement quelques détails dans les textes de Platon qui, à eux seuls, devraient contribuer à détruire plus d'une légende, ceux concernant la présence du cheval chez les Atlantes et l'armement de ces derniers, qui comprenait des chars de guerre, des javelots, des arcs, des frondes, des pierriers, de petits boucliers [3]. Or nous savons que le cheval a été introduit en Afrique par les Hyksos, vers 1800 avant l'ère, et que ce sont eux qui ont probablement introduit également les chars, que par conséquent les faits rapportés par Platon ne pouvaient pas remonter au delà de cette date. Quant aux javelots et au petit bouclier, c'est l'armement même qui est figuré dans de nombreuses gravures et peintures rupestres du Sahara Central où le char de guerre est souvent représenté, documents qui, dans l'ensemble, ont été attribués à la période dite égéo-garamantique qui peut se situer entre 1200 et 400 avant l'ère. On serait donc tenté d'affirmer que les Atlantes de Platon sont les mêmes que ceux d'Hérodote, qu'ils habitaient les mêmes lieux et que le reste est vaine littérature.

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Au milieu du IVe siècle av. J.-C., Scylax de Coryanda confirme la situation des tribus libyennes sur les côtes méditerranéennes. Nous y trouvons les Adirmachides, les Marmariques, les Nasamons, les Makes, les Lotophages s'échelonnant comme au temps d'Hérodote du delta du Nil jusqu'au golfe de la Petite Syrte.

Scylax, qui avait accompli le périple de la Méditerranée, n'apporte aucun renseignement nouveau sur l'intérieur des terres et en particulier sur le Sahara Central.

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Vers 280 av. J.-C., le navigateur carthaginois Hannon accomplit un périple autour de l'Afrique. Son récit ne nous apprend rien non plus sur les habitants de l'Ăhaggar, mais il nous dit que des nomades habitaient de l'autre côté de Gibral-

1. *Critias*, édition « Les Belles Lettres », p. 108 *d*.
2. Berlioux, *Les Atlantes*, p. 5.
3. *Critias*, p. 118 *d*.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



tar sur le fleuve Lixos, qui est l'oued Draa ou la Seguiet el Hamra suivant Berthelot, ou l'oued Sous, suivant Vivien de St-Martin. Les nomades Lixites y faisaient alors paître leurs troupeaux, ce qui montre l'homogénéité culturelle des populations qui habitaient le Sahara et que le nomadisme était répandu sur ces terres bien avant les grandes invasions (les nomades chameliers de Gautier) qui devaient apporter de nombreuses perturbations dans l'habitat primitif des Berbères.

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Avec le géographe Strabon, 54 av.-21 après J.-C., nous entrons, si l'on peut dire, dans la littérature romaine. Cet auteur ne connaissait l'Afrique que par l'Égypte où il avait séjourné plusieurs années ; de la Libye il ne savait pas grand chose et il l'avoue lui-même car, dit-il, « la plupart des peuples qui habitent la Libye sont inconnus, car il n'y a pas pénétré beaucoup d'expéditions militaires, ni d'étrangers et les indigènes qui sont venus chez nous font des récits peu croyables et incomplets ». Dans les quelques descriptions qu'il donne, il place les Garamantes au Fezzan, au nord de ces derniers, les Gétules, puis le long de la côte, en partant de l'Égypte, les Marmarides, des Psylles, les Nasamons, puis les Asbytes, et les Byzakes, ces derniers confinant à Carthage. Plus à l'ouest se trouvent les Maurusiens, ultérieurement les Maures, les Massesyliens et les Massyliens. Ces deux dernières tribus devaient devenir célèbres dans le rôle qu'elles jouèrent pendant les guerres puniques et l'occupation romaine. Strabon nous a laissé une description de l'armement des Libyens, peuple de cavaliers — il ne parle plus de chars dont l'usage avait dû disparaître — qui se composait d'un glaive, d'une petite lance et de boucliers en peau d'éléphants ou d'autre animal. Nous retrouvons donc aux environs de l'ère chrétienne un armement sensiblement analogue à celui qui nous avait été décrit par Hérodote et par Platon, et que l'on reconnaît dans les gravures rupestres de la période « chevaline » comme nous l'avons déjà signalé, moins toutefois le char.

L'intérieur du Sahara, et surtout la région ouest confinant à la côte Atlantique, était mieux connu qu'au temps d'Hérodote. C'est ainsi que Strabon parle des Gétules qui habitent au sud de l'Atlas. C'est la première fois que les populations Gétules, qui seront citées ultérieurement par d'autres auteurs, sont signalées. Ce nom, que l'on doit prendre dans un sens étendu,

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



doit désigner un ensemble de tribus libyennes, différentes ethniquement des tribus de l'Est. Au sud, dit encore Strabon, habitent les Pharusiens et les Nigrites, lesquels, comme les Éthiopiens, combattent avec des flèches. D'après Vivien de St-Martin, il faudrait placer les Pharusiens dans le Maroc méridional, mais Berthelot croit meilleur de les situer dans l'actuelle Mauritanie.

Pharusiens et Nigrites sont des populations complètement différentes des Libyens orientaux. Il s'agit de populations plus ou moins négroïsées et l'emploi de l'arc tend à le confirmer. Nous voyons donc que le Sahara était à cette époque-là complètement habité et que le peuplement, comme de nos jours, était loin d'être uniforme.

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Pomponius Méla a consacré également quelques chapitres à l'histoire des peuples du Sahara Central. Partant du delta, il décrit les Libyégyptiens, c'est-à-dire les Libyens égyptianisés, les Leucoéthiopiens, c'est-à-dire les Éthiopiens blancs, nom que l'on peut interpréter comme désignant un groupement humain métissé de noirs et de blancs, puis les Gétules.

Dans le même ordre, mais certainement plus au Sud, il signale les Garamantes, puis les Augiles et les Troglodytes, — enfin plus vers l'occident les Atlantes. A l'intérieur du Sahara se retrouveraient encore les Aegipans, les Blemyes, les Gamphasantes, les Satyres, nomades qui sont des demi-bêtes, errant de pâturages en pâturages. Les Blemyes seraient acéphales et les Aegipans auraient un corps de chèvre ! Peut-être dans ces Blemyes acéphales doit-on voir les premiers porteurs de voile qui se dissimulaient la figure au point de faire penser qu'ils n'avaient pas de tête ? Explication peut-être fantaisiste, mais qui peut avoir aussi sa valeur, car comment expliquer la légende de l'existence d'hommes sans tête ?

Outre ces appellations nouvelles de Libyégyptiens et de Leucoéthiopiens qui définissent deux groupements humains différents des autres Libyens, il est intéressant de retrouver, cinq siècles après Hérodote, les Atlantes dans la même région où ils avaient été signalés pour la première fois. Mais d'après Berthelot, on ne doit tenir qu'en médiocre estime les descriptions africaines de Pomponius Méla qui n'aurait fait que de reprendre médiocrement les textes d'Hérodote [1]. Pourtant

1. Berthelot, *ouv. cit.*, p. 251.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



l'introduction de noms nouveaux indiquerait des connaissances nouvellement acquises.

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Diodore de Sicile, qui écrivit aux environs de l'ère chrétienne un volumineux ouvrage d'histoire et qui visita lui-même l'Égypte, nous donne quelques renseignements sur les peuples de la Libye. Il désigne à l'est de l'Égypte quatre groupements humains : les Marmarides, qui occupent la zone du littoral, au sud les Nasamons, à l'ouest les Aushises, puis les Makes. Mais il ignore le nom des peuples qui se trouvent à l'intérieur de la Libye, qui sont simplement connus pour les mœurs anarchiques et leurs pratiques du pillage. Lui aussi a connu le nom des Atlantes — descendant d'Atlas, dit-il, qui était fils d'Ouranos et frère de Kronos (Saturne), lesquels étaient apparentés aux Nasamons par Rhéa, femme d'Ammon et sœur de Saturne, mais Diodore ne situe pas leur habitat et se contente de les faire guerroyer avec des populations habitant dans la région du lac Tritonis. Ce détail laisse supposer que Diodore n'a fait que reprendre lui aussi les textes de ses prédécesseurs, en particulier Hérodote et Platon, en y introduisant les personnages de la mythologie grecque.

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Avec Pline l'Ancien, 23-79 après J.-C., nos connaissances du Sahara Central s'augmentent notablement, non seulement parce que cet auteur a compilé d'une façon que l'on peut appeler scientifique, les ouvrages de tous ses prédécesseurs, mais aussi parce qu'entre-temps eurent lieu plusieurs expéditions militaires qui poussèrent fort loin au sud et qui rapportèrent de nombreux renseignements. Ce sont surtout des connaissances géographiques, car Pline ne nous apprend pas grand chose sur le peuplement du Sahara Central.

Nous retrouvons dans son œuvre, avec quelques modifications, les peuples énumérés par Hérodote en Marmariquè et en Fezzanie. Le pays des Syrtes est décrit comme des terres désolées sans eau ni végétation, et au sud se trouve le peuple des Garamantes, puis à 12 jours d'eux les Augyles qu'il faudrait donc placer au sud du Fezzan, au delà des monts de Tummo ou vers Djado, comme le voudrait Berthelot [1]. Depuis Hérodote, ils auraient donc exécuté une migration vers le S.-O. Au nord des Augiles, se trouvent les Psylles. Sur le littoral

1. *Ouvr. cit.*, p. 271.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



il place les Marmarides, puis les Araraucèles, nom cité pour la première fois dans l'énumération des anciennes populations libyennes, puis les Nasamons, les Asbytes et les Macès. Au delà, vers l'occident, les Amantes qui construisent leur maison en sel, et à sept jours d'eux, les Troglodytes.

Si nous suivons le récit de Pline, les Asbytes sont transposés du milieu de la Cyrénaïque dans la Petite Syrte. Les Amantes, que nous trouvons seulement sous la plume de Pline, doivent être placés vers Rhadamès, un peu au nord de l'ancien domaine des Atarantes dont il n'est plus fait mention, mais qui sont peut-être les mêmes. Le Fezzan, grâce aux expéditions du général romain Cornélius Balbus, est alors bien connu, car un grand nombre de villes, de fleuves, de nations sont cités dans son triomphe : Matelgae, Debris, Garama, Cydamus, Tabidium, Rapsa, Thapsagum, Mons Giri, Mons Ater, etc.... Dans les noms cités on peut identifier Rhâdamès (Cydamus), Rhât (Rapsa), nom que l'on retrouve dans celui de la tribu touarègue des Kel Rapsa ou des Kel Rafsa, Djerma (Garama). Berthelot a identifié le Tassili pour le Mons Ater, et croit devoir situer Matelgae et Debris à l'intérieur du Tassili [1]. Nous croirions plus volontiers que le Mons Ater correspond mieux au Baten de Tinghert. En effet, Pline dit qu'à partir de Cydamus, une montagne que les Romains nomment « montagne Noire », s'étend du levant au couchant, qu'au delà de cette montagne s'étendent des déserts. Cette description correspond exactement au Baten qui s'allonge vers l'ouest un peu au sud de Rhâdamès jusqu'au delà du méridien d'In Salah et qui est caractérisé par sa couleur noire. Au sud du Baten se trouve un erg désertique coupé de larges regs qui s'étend sur plusieurs centaines de kilomètres.

Quant à Matelgae peut-être s'agit-il d'Ăharir, comme le propose Berthelot, encore qu'il soit bien improbable que les expéditions des Romains aient pu découvrir cette petite palmeraie située dans un endroit presque inaccessible et qui, encore de nos jours, n'a été vue que par un petit nombre d'Européens. L'identification de Debris avec les Sources de Tihoubar-n-Afella est problématique, car en ce dernier lieu, ou aux environs, il n'existe aucune ruine laissant supposer une agglomération de quelque importance. Le texte de Pline au sujet des villes conquises par Cornélius Balbus n'aide d'ailleurs nulle-

1. Cette identification du Tassili avec le Mons Ater de Pline avait déjà été faite par Duveyrier (*Les Touaregs du Nord*, p. 461.)

ment à l'identification de toutes ces localités, car on ne sait pas où ce général conduisit ses légions et si les noms cités dans son triomphe coïncident chronologiquement avec sa marche.

Les connaissances du Sahara Central de l'auteur de l'*Historia Naturalis* semblent s'arrêter là, car pour le reste il a dû reprendre les textes d'Hérodote et de Pomponius Méla. Il raconte, en effet, que les Éthiopiens ont des villes bâties dans le désert, que près d'elles vivent les Atlantes qui n'ont pas de noms propres, dont les usages humains ont dégénéré, qu'ils injurient le soleil qui les brûle et détruit leur champ (coutumes attribuées aux Atarantes par Hérodote), que les Aegipans sont des demi-bêtes aux formes inhumaines, que les Gamphasantes vivent nus, ne se battent jamais et fuient les autres hommes, que les Blemmyes n'ont pas de tête, qu'ils ont le visage et les yeux à hauteur de la poitrine, que les Himantopodes avancent à la manière des serpents ! etc....

Pline, par contre, a eu connaissance du Niger, et sauf erreur, c'est lui qui a donné le premier son nom au grand fleuve soudanais. Il parle, en effet, du fleuve Niger « qui sépare l'Afrique de l'Éthiopie » et auxquelles confinaient les différentes tribus Gétules. Ce détail est plein d'intérêt car le Niger sépare effectivement notre Afrique du Nord et le Sahara (Afrique des Anciens) habités par des Blancs, de l'Éthiopie (pays des Noirs des Anciens) habitée par des Nègres. On voit donc que dès cet époque des populations de race blanche, vraisemblablement d'origine libyenne, avaient déjà atteint le Soudan, et ceci réduit donc l'hypothèse de tribus libyennes cherchant une issue vers le sud sous la poussée des invasions arabes. Les Gétules habitaient, en effet, le sud marocain et la bande sahélo-soudanaise qui va de l'Atlantique jusqu'au méridien de Tombouctou.

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Après Pline, les connaissances de l'intérieur du désert s'augmentent notablement, en particulier pour le Fezzan et le Sahara Central, grâce aux deux expéditions militaires qu'y menèrent les Romains, celles de Septimus Flaccus et de Julius Matternus. Septimus Flaccus partit de Garama, se rendit au pays des nègres et y parvint après 3 mois de marche — quant à Julius Matternus, il choisit Leptis Magna pour point de départ de sa colonne et, guidé ensuite par le roi des Garamantes qui était devenu l'allié des Romains, il se dirigea surtout vers le sud et atteignit un pays qui s'appelait Agy

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



simba, dans lequel vivaient des rhinocéros, et qui semble correspondre aux montagnes de l'Aïr.

Ces connaissanees furent mises à profit par le géographe Ptolémée qui, dans son ouvrage général sur l'Afrique, consacre un important chapitre à la Libye. Si aucune reconnaissance militaire ne semble avoir atteint l'Ăhaggar, ce pays était toutefois connu sous le nom de Ousargala, que l'on retrouve d'ailleurs plus tard sous la plume de Léon l'Africain et sur la carte de Henricus Martellus Germanus datée de 1489 déposée à la bibliothèque du British Museum [1]. Dans les monts Ousargala plusieurs fleuves importants prenaient leurs sources : le Bagradas, qui était l'Igharghar, et le Gir, que l'on peut identifier avec le Taffassasset. Au nord-est des monts Ousargala se trouvaient les monts Girgiri qui sont notre Tassili-n-Ăjjer, et peut-être le mont Giri de Pline, lequel donnait naissance au fleuve Cinyps qui peut être le faisceau d'oueds connu aujourd'hui sous le nom de Ighargharen quoique, d'après Berthelot, le Cinyps est en réalité l'oued Kam qui débouche à la mer près de Leptis Magna. Les sources de l'oued Kam n'étant pas encore connues, peut-être les anciens croyaient-ils qu'elles étaient situées dans le Tassili.

Parmi les populations décrites par Ptolémée l'on retrouve un grand nombre de tribus citées par les auteurs anciens, mais aussi une quantité de noms nouveaux.

Ces modifications, quoique inexplicables dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, ne sont peut-être pas fortuites et, d'une façon générale, on observe dans la plupart des cas un déplacement assez sensible vers l'est. Faut-il admettre l'arrivée de populations nouvelles, une poussée de peuples envahisseurs ? Il est impossible d'y répondre. Si les Marmarides habitent toujours la région qui confine à l'Égypte, on trouve les Lotophages près de Leptis Magna, les Nasamons dans l'oasis de Djerboub, les Makès au sud de la Syrte, les Asbytes, les Psylles également plus à l'est qu'aux lieux où les situait Hérodote. Quant aux Auschises, ils sont maintenant dans le désert. Parmi les populations aux noms nouveaux, Ptolémée cite les Astacures, dans le Djebel Néfousa, les Nigitimes, de la Petite Syrte au Cinyps, les Sammamyciens et les Cinyphiens, sur le bord occidental de la grande Syrte, d'autres encore : Éropées, Dolopes, Erebides, Tidamenses, Nygbènes, Nycpiens, vers

1. Cf. Ch. de la Roncière, *La découverte de l'Afrique au Moyen Age*, t. II.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



l'oasis de Bondjem, etc..., dont les noms ne nous éclairent aucunement sur les origines de nos tribus touarègues. Les Garamantes sont décrits comme le peuple le plus important de la Libye dont le domaine occupe tout le bassin du Cinyps (Vallée des Ighargharen) jusqu'au lac Nouba (qui peut être le lac Tchad), ce qui était notablement leur aire de répartition depuis l'époque d'Hérodote. Il semble donc occuper vers l'ouest l'ancien domaine des Atarantes dont il n'est plus question. On ne trouve plus trace non plus des Atlantes, et Ptolémée nous apprend qu'au nord et au sud de l'Ăhaggar vivent respectivement les Natembes et les Soubourpores.

Au sud-est du Tassili vivaient les Lynxamates et les Samamykes dont Berthelot fait les habitants, soit des oasis de Djado, soit du Tibesti.

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On peut donc résumer rapidement quel a été le peuplement du Sahara Central entre les v^e siècle avant et II^e siècle après J.-C. Toute la région comprise entre le Nil et l'Ăhaggar était le domaine de populations libyennes dont l'histoire égyptienne nous a antérieurement décrit les mœurs. Ces populations qui semblent fortement apparentées entre elles, appartenaient à une même souche ethnique à laquelle sont venus s'agréger des envahisseurs d'une part peut-être asiatiques, d'autre part sûrement méditerranéens. L'identité de mœurs de certaines de ces tribus libyennes avec les Touaregs, l'analogie de certains noms de tribus, laissent supposer que les populations actuelles du Sahara Central descendent plus ou moins de ces tribus libyennes. Parmi ces dernières la tribu des Atlantes constitue l'élément humain le plus anciennement connu, mais à côté d'elle, celle des Garamantes semble avoir joué un rôle considérable dans l'histoire du Sahara Central et avoir étendu progressivement son domaine vers l'ouest, au point d'avoir vraisemblablement absorbé les Atarantes, les Atlantes d'Hérodote, les Natembes et les Soubourpores de Ptolémée. Leur nom restera célèbre en Europe bien des siècles plus tard où il désignera encore les populations du désert, sur des cartes du XV^e siècle, où il voisine avec celui des Monts Usargala qui est l'Ăhaggar. Après les siècles qui suivirent, on entre dans une période mieux connue de l'histoire de l'Afrique du Nord, celle de Carthage, des guerres puniques et de la domination romaine. Mais cette histoire, en dehors de quelques expéditions militaires dont nous avons parlé, est désespérément muette au

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



sujet du Sahara et cette situation se maintiendra de nombreux siècles après. C'est qu'entre le IIe siècle de notre ère et le haut moyen âge l'exploration du continent africain se ferme aux Européens, qui seront alors forcés d'emprunter aux auteurs arabes les connaissances géographiques nouvelles. En dehors de ces derniers, il faudra attendre le voyage et la narration de René Caillé qui marqueront le début d'une ère nouvelle et décisive, celle de l'exploration scientifique du Sahara. D'autre part, entre le IIe siècle de notre ère et les premiers auteurs arabes (Xe siècle) subsiste un vide immense dans nos connaissances, d'autant plus regrettable qu'il semble s'être passé des événements très importants dans le peuplement de l'Afrique septentrionale qui ont dû avoir leurs répercussions au Sahara Central. C'est cette période que le Professeur Gautier a appelé très justement « les Siècles Obscurs du Maghreb ».

Éléments apportés par les gravures et les peintures rupestres du Sahara Central. — Mais avant d'aborder cette nouvelle phase de l'histoire de l'Afrique du Nord et des Berbères, peut-être est-il bon de faire un retour en arrière pour essayer d'accorder les textes avec les documents rupestres du Sahara.

Nous avons adopté le point de vue de Th. Monod et de C. Kilian sur la division des gravures en précamelines ou analphabétiques, et en camelines ou alphabétiques. Celles du premier groupe sont, à notre avis, pour la plupart néolithiques.

Les découvertes des magnifiques stations de l'oued Djorat (Tassili-n-Ăjjer) ont apporté de nouveaux éléments d'appréciation et la preuve d'un habitat important du Sahara Central aux époques néo et énéolithiques. Le Professeur Gautier, qui les a vues lui-même, a jugé utile plus tard, lorsqu'il s'est agi de rééditer son ouvrage sur « les Siècles Obscurs du Maghreb » de faire précéder le texte ancien, d'un nouveau chapitre où, avec son génie intuitif, il a analysé les différents groupes de gravures et de peintures.

En ce qui concerne les gravures, il remarque que cet art rupestre est unique en Afrique septentrionale. Il voit dans certaines figurations humaines à tête animale, les motifs favoris de l'art égyptien *mais qui sont antérieurs à cet art*. Certaines portent des queues postiches et le « karnata » qui sont des attributs courants dans les figurations humaines antérieures à la 1re dynastie, soit 4000 ans avant notre ère. Et il en

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vient à penser que la civilisation égyptienne, n'étant pas née toute seule sur les bords du Nil, qui ne possède pas de gravures préhistoriques, peut bien avoir eu des sources au Sahara central.

L'origine saharienne de la civilisation égyptienne a déjà eu des partisans et en particulier de Morgan. Plus récemment, Georges Poisson, traitant de l'origine des Égyptiens pré-pharaoniques, conclut qu'au mésolithique le dessèchement progressif du Sahara provoqua un refoulement de ses populations sur le Nil; que l'Égypte, quoiqu'ayant reçu les grands éléments de la civilisation de l'Asie, fut l'enjeu de deux courants, l'un venu d'Asie avec le culte d'Osiris, l'autre de Libye avec celui de Seth. La lutte de ces deux groupes se termina après le triomphe passager de Seth sur Osiris et la mort de celui-ci, par le triomphe du fils de la victime, Horus [1].

Ajoutons l'opinion émise par plusieurs savants, en particulier des anthropologues, sur le caractère autochtone des peuples de l'Afrique du Nord et non venus de l'Est, comme d'aucuns l'affirment [2].

M. de Chasseloup-Laubat [3] a émis une idée semblable en analysant les peintures de Mertoutek et voit en elle les vestiges d'une civilisation hoggarienne qui aurait rayonné sur toute l'Afrique septentrionale. Mais nous ne pensons pas être d'accord avec lui car il s'appuie, pour établir sa thèse, sur des documents presque historiques beaucoup plus récents que les grandes gravures de l'O. Djorat. En fait s'il a existé au néolithique ancien un mouvement centrifuge, avec l'Ăhaggar et le Tassili pour point de départ, ces régions ont dû être, des siècles plus tard, l'objet de migrations centripètes.

Parmi les peintures rupestres, Gautier discerne plusieurs types différents.

Le premier s'apparente aux peintures néolithiques espagnoles du style hispano-cantabrique. Le Professeur Breuil, qui a bien voulu examiner les documents que nous avons rapportés de l'oued Djorat, est net sur ce point, et cette parenté ne doit pas être fortuite, car des échanges certains se sont produits au néolithique et au mésolithique entre la Berbérie et l'Espagne.

1. *Le Peuplement de l'Europe*, p. 122.
2. On verra à ce sujet : Maspéro, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, p. 46 ; A. Wildemann, Les modes d'ensevelissement dans la nécropole de Négadah et la question de l'origine du peuple égyptien, in de Morgan, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte*, Paris, Leroux, 1897.
3. *L'art rupestre au Hoggar*, Paris, Plon, 1938.

Le deuxième type s'apparente aux peintures actuelles des Boschimans de l'Afrique du Sud. On retrouve la stéatopygie caractéristique de cette race, et il y a concordance dans la polychromie, emploi simultané de l'ocre, du blanc et du noir. Pour Gautier, les Boschimans ont été refoulés de l'Afrique centrale et septentrionale qu'ils devaient occuper entièrement. Dans un passé lointain, il fut un moment où ils ont occupé le Maghreb [1].

Il est certain que le squelette d'Asselar possède des caractères buschménoïdes et que les squelettes néolithiques de Taferjit et de Tamaïa Mellet sont négroïdes, mais sont-ce là des éléments suffisants pour affirmer un ancien peuplement bushman au Sahara ?

Le troisième type de peintures est celui où dominent des chars que Gautier appelle égéens non sans raison [2]. Ces chars n'ont en effet rien de commun avec ceux des monuments égyptiens ou chaldéens et leur style est bien connu : « le galop volant », celui des Peuples de la Mer, Lyciens, Shardanes, Tyrsènes, auxquels nous avons fait allusion précédemment et qui ont envahi l'Afrique du Nord vers 1235-1225 avant J.-C. Les charreries, nous dit Gautier, ont disparu du bassin méditerranéen à la fin du IVe siècle avant J.-C. pour faire place à la cavalerie. Dans la littérature des Berbères, on ne parle plus d'eux après le IVe siècle, ce qui constitue donc une date *ad quem* alors que l'on peut placer le terminus *a quo* huit siècles plus tôt.

Pour les gravures anciennes à faune éthiopienne, qu'il appelle faune du Zambèze, Gautier propose la date de 7000 avant J.-C. Il insiste particulièrement sur la présence d'animaux à sphéroïdes, béliers et bœufs. Les premiers ont une aire de répartition qui couvre toute l'Afrique septentrionale alors que les seconds sont essentiellement limités au groupe rupestre oriental. Ce culte des bovidés est confirmé par la découverte de deux statuettes en pierre polie, celle trouvée à Silet, actuellement au Musée du Bardo à Alger, et celle de Tazerouk, recueillie par le général Niéger [3]. Il était en pratique chez les Berbères de l'Afrique du Nord, au temps du poète Corripus, qui nous a

1. *Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 34.
2. On trouvera un lumineux exposé sur la question des chars dans PERRET : Recherches archéologiques et ethnographiques au Tassili des Ajjers, *Journ. Soc. des Afric.*, t. VI, 1936.
3. Une nouvelle statuette représentant un petit mammifère a été trouvée récemment, près de Djanet, par le Cap. Brenans.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



transmis le nom du dieu Taureau : Gurzil. Gautier, donnant ainsi une origine saharo-maghrébine aux vieux dieux de l'Égypte, voit dans le bélier l'ancêtre du dieu de Thèbes Ammon Râ, dans le bœuf celui de la déesse égyptienne Hathor.

Sur l'origine même des Berbères, Gautier dit ceci : « La supposition la plus raisonnable les ferait progresser d'est en ouest ; il semble bien que, à l'extrémité occidentale, les massifs montagneux du Maroc aient été peuplés tardivement. Mais une supposition chimérique, peut-être, et par cela même séduisante, associe les Berbères à l'Atlantide, ce qui impliquerait une poussée d'ouest en est. Ce sont là de pures vues de l'esprit, qui ne reposent sur rien [1]. »

Mais ce savant ne nous dit pas où il place l'Atlantide. Le fait qu'il invoque l'autorité du Professeur L. Germain, laisse entendre qu'il admet son existence en temps qu'île océanique. Pour nous, le pays des Atlantes, ceux d'Hérodote, nous l'avons déjà dit, est l'Ăhaggar.

Aux influences hispano-cantabriques, boschimanes, égéennes et égyptiennes que voit Gautier dans les gravures et les peintures rupestres du Sahara, il faut en ajouter d'autres. Tous les documents n'ont pas encore été publiés par leurs découvreurs, et beaucoup n'appartenant pas aux styles classiques ne sont pas de ceux que les archéologues pouvaient étiqueter aisément. Que dire, en effet, des figurations humaines filiformes trouvées à l'oued Tamajert par le Cap. Brenans ? (fig. 7). Comment interpréter ce bœuf harnaché monté par un dignitaire barbu auquel un autre personnage non moins barbu rend hommage, ensemble qui évoque l'Assyrie ? (fig. 9). Ce sont des produits artistiques qui appartiennent à d'autres éléments ethniques que ceux cités plus haut, qui attestent des multiples influences dont le massif central saharien a été l'objet.

E. F. Gautier n'a pas parlé des stations rupestres de Mertoûtek. Elles méritaient à elles seules un examen spécial. Nous possédons des reproductions remarquables de ces peintures grâce à M. de Chasseloup-Laubat.

Lorsque nous étions nous-même à Mertoûtek, un rapport immédiat s'est imposé à notre esprit entre les scènes que nous avions sous les yeux et celles vues chez les populations peules de l'Issa Ber, de Bandiagara, de l'Adamaoua.

1. E. F. Gautier, *Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 41.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Les figurations humaines, en particulier les danseuses et les petites gardiennes de bœufs, évoquent à s'y méprendre les silhouettes des jolies femmes peules, aux formes élancées, graciles, aux membres bien moulés et surtout à la coiffure en cimier ou en crête de coq. Le rapport est complété par l'association de ces figurations avec celles de bovidés, car les Peuls sont essentiellement des éleveurs de bœufs dont la vie est intimement liée à celle de leurs troupeaux [1].

Cette ressemblance des Peuls avec les personnages de Mertoûtek, M. de Chasseloup-Laubat l'a signalée avant nous. Mais il fait des Peuls une race essentiellement hoggarienne qui, sous les effets de l'assèchement, aurait gagné le Niger par le canal de l'oued Tămanrasset [2]. Nous ne pouvons être d'accord avec lui à ce sujet.

L'origine des Peuls est encore bien controversée. Mais si nous nous référons aux travaux de Tauxier [3], nous constatons que l'avis général fait d'eux des Kamito-Kouschites, des populations apparentées à celles de la Haute-Égypte et de la Nubie. C'est aussi l'avis des anthropologues Tautain, Verneau et Chantre.

Ils seraient les descendants du peuple de Phout qui habitait la Basse-Égypte, 600 ans avant notre ère. Ils auraient ultérieurement gagné le Soudan en suivant la lisière nord du Sahara d'est à ouest, puis le Sud-Marocain, auraient longtemps séjourné dans la région de Tischit-Oualata et se seraient installés au Fouta-Toron vers le VIIIe siècle.

Pourquoi les auteurs supposent-ils que les Peuls ont contourné le Sahara pendant leurs migrations ? Il n'y a aucun document qui permette une interprétation dans ce sens. Mais comme il faut bien qu'ils soient passés quelque part, cette route septentrionale a été désignée comme la plus plausible et il semble bien que les Pyrrhy-Aethiopiens — voire les Leuco-Aethiopiens — de Ptolémée soient les ancêtres des Peuls. Aucun écrivain n'a supposé qu'ils aient traversé le Sahara, car la sécheresse légendaire de ce pays en a éloigné l'idée, d'autant plus qu'on ne sépare jamais les Peuls de leurs bovidés que l'on ne voit pas très bien s'aventurer dans le désert : mais maintenant que nous savons que ce Sahara

1. G. Viellard, Notes sur le caractère des Peuls, *Outremer 1er tri.*, 1932.
2 Ouvr. cit., p. 35.
3. L. Tauxier, *Mœurs et histoire des Peuls*, Paris, 1938.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



ne fut pas toujours un désert, la question se pose différemment.

Nous avons dit que des fouilles pratiquées à la base de la grande fresque à bovidés de Mertoûtek nous avaient livré des haches en pierre polie, des broyeurs, des fragments de meules et de poterie de facies néolithique. Cela nous autorise à considérer les peintures comme d'époque néolithique, ce qui correspond bien à la faune représentée qui s'intercale, chronologiquement, entre les grands animaux de la faune éthiopienne et le cheval de la période égéo-garamantique.

Si la station de Mertoûtek nous a livré des documents peints qui sont encore les seuls du genre que nous connaissions au Sahara, elle nous a fait connaître aussi le *style gravé* qui correspond à celui des peintures. Et nous nous apercevons alors, qu'il est répandu sur tout le Sahara, depuis le désert de Nubie jusqu'à la Mauritanie. La « civilisation du bœuf » a couvert toute cette vaste région et il n'y a plus aucune raison d'imaginer une « race hoggar ancienne » plus ou moins apparentée avec les Peuls actuels, comme le suggérait M. de Chasseloup-Laubat, car si les Peuls ont habité le Sahara, aucun élément ne milite pour leur donner l'Ăhaggar comme pays d'origine.

Un détail important, qui n'a pas été suffisamment relevé, c'est que les animaux représentés à Mertoûtek sont des *bœufs* et non des *zébus*. On ne peut pas dès lors ignorer l'avis des zoologistes qui ont identifié en Égypte une race ancienne de bœufs probablement domestiquée sur place.

C'est d'Égypte qu'ont dû partir les bovidés de Mertoûtek et les multiples gravures nous indiquent que leur espèce a essaimé dans tout le Sahara. Quels étaient les pasteurs qui les conduisaient ? Peut-on évoquer les Peuls, ne serait-ce que de nom ?

L'analogie entre les figurations humaines à coiffure en cimier accompagnées du bœuf, d'une part, et les Peuls, éleveurs de bovidés, d'autre part, est tellement frappante qu'il doit y avoir un rapport racial entre ces deux groupes, et l'on doit pouvoir prononcer le mot de proto-peul pour qualifier ces anciens éleveurs sahariens [1].

1. Cette coiffure en cimier a été interprétée de plusieurs façons. Chasseloup-Laubat y voit une déformation cranienne alors que certains archéologues en font une auréole ou un disque à caractère religieux. Chasseloup-Laubat avait pourtant remarqué que chez les Peuls on observe une silhouette analogue (ouvr. cit., p. 26). Il suffit d'avoir vécu au milieu des Peuls de la boucle du Niger pour en être convaincu.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Cette ancienne vague kamito-kouschite sur le Sahara a dû laisser une empreinte chez certaines tribus berbères du Fezzan et de l'Afrique tellienne, et il n'est pas extraordinaire de trouver entre eux des rapports linguistiques, culturels et somatiques.

C'est le moment de dire, comme le Professeur Gautier, que la formation de la nation touarègue est un archaïsme ethnographique [1].

Reprenons maintenant la suite des origines des Berbères à la période où nous l'avons laissée précédemment, c'est-à-dire « aux siècles obscurs du Maghreb ».

Période Post-islamique. — Il y a en effet une grande période obscure entre la fin de la période romaine et la conquête arabe où l'histoire reprend une consistance intelligible. Cette obscurité s'applique à l'histoire du Maghreb, mais que dire alors de celle du Sahara où il faut, pour avoir des éléments nouveaux, attendre les récits des voyageurs arabes après que l'islamisation du pays fut faite ?

Il semble que pendant ces huit siècles d'obscurité une transformation considérable se soit effectuée dans la vie au Maghreb. Et cette transformation serait due à l'arrivée du chameau en Afrique du Nord. On a pu constater qu'il était absent dans les gravures rupestres sahariennes anciennes [2], qu'il ne figurait que dans le groupe des « graffiti » libyco-berbères, d'époque relativement récente.

Les opinions ne concordent d'ailleurs pas toutes à ce sujet. Le Ct Cauvet, qui est un chercheur méticuleux, a consacré deux gros volumes à la question du chameau [3], et il conclut à son archaïsme en Afrique. Des ossements ont été retrouvés dans des gisements néolithiques. Mais depuis, il aurait disparu, et ce ne serait que vers le IIe siècle qu'il aurait fait sa *réapparition*, d'après ce qu'affirme Gautier.

Il faudra trancher la question, et c'est là un sujet digne d'intéresser les zoologistes, car jusqu'à présent, ces derniers ne nous ont pas dit pourquoi le chameau du nord (chameau arabe) avait 34 dents, alors que le chameau soudanais (chameau targui) en avait 36.

1. Gautier, *La Conquête du Sahara*, p. 190.
2. Il y existe pourtant, mais à un seul exemplaire. Il a été trouvé à l'oued Djorat. R. Perret en possède un beau cliché et nous avons nous-même le calque original grandeur naturelle.
3. Ct Cauvet, *Le Chameau*, Alger, Jourdan.

PL. VII.

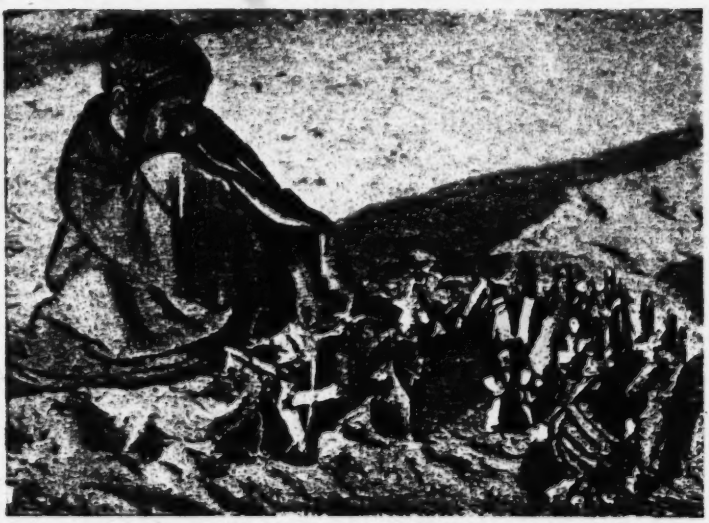
Jeune femme des Kel Ahnet portant la coiffure à tresses multiples. On aperçoit sur la poitrine les tatouages d'inspiration coranique.

Targui des Kel Rela. Disposition du voile. Ici la partie supérieure recouvre l'inférieure, mais il existe également une mode contraire, laquelle est d'ailleurs plus rare.

[p. 112 A]

PL. VIII.

Jeune enfant touareg. La tête est rasée sauf le sommet où on laisse pousser une petite touffe de cheveux.



Jeune fille touarègue jouant sur le sable avec des petites poupées en étoffe habillées en guerriers.

[p. 112 B]

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Cette différence anatomique peut être simplement fortuite, comme elle peut cacher deux espèces distinctes. Pour qui a vu les bêtes trapues, rablées, poilues des caravaniers telliens et les méhara élancés aux attaches fines et aux poils ras des Touaregs soudanais, il ne peut s'agir d'une même espèce. Cette croyance s'affirme d'autant plus pour qui sait les difficultés d'adaptation du chameau targui aux steppes du Sahara septentrional où il finit toujours par périr s'il n'est pas l'objet de soins attentifs. Ce qui nous amène à dire que le chameau a bien pu exister au Sahara méridional antérieurement au IIe siècle, mais que ce n'est qu'à cette époque qu'il fit son apparition en Afrique du Nord. Pour le Sahara central, nous rappellerons d'après les légendes des Touaregs que ce sont ces derniers qui ont amené le chameau, ce qui pourrait confirmer la thèse de Gautier. Ce même savant nous apprend que le texte le plus ancien où il soit question du chameau est un passage des commentaires de César : à l'issue de sa victoire sur le roi Juba l'armée romaine s'empara de 22 chameaux.

Pline, postérieur d'un siècle à Juba, nous parle du chameau de la Bactriane qui a deux bosses et du chameau qui n'en a qu'une ; jusqu'alors le dromadaire est rare en Afrique du Nord et est encore un phénomène que l'on note méticuleusement.

Mais au IVe siècle tout change. Le chameau est la monture de guerre des grands nomades, remplaçant presque partout le cheval, si bien que le général Romanus peut exiger des habitants de Leptis Magna (Tripoli) 4.000 chameaux à titre de contribution de guerre. Il y a donc eu, en l'espace de trois siècles, une transformation radicale dans le cheptel nord-africain.

Le chameau serait un nouveau venu, non seulement en Afrique du Nord, mais encore en Égypte. Les civilisations pharaoniques n'auraient jamais connu le chameau et cet animal n'est jamais figuré sur les monuments égyptiens. Localisé en Asie et particulièrement en Arabie, le chameau n'aurait pénétré en Afrique qu'à partir de l'invasion assyrienne, et surtout au moment de l'invasion persane [1]. Mais il mit plus d'un siècle à s'acclimater chez les Berbères du Maghreb [2].

Dès lors, c'est un remue-ménage sans fin dans toute l'Afrique du Nord et les tribus chamelières continuellement en déplacement vont bouleverser le vieux Maghreb citadin. Si bien que, lorsque l'histoire reprend son cours avec les récits d'El

1. Gautier, *Les Siècles Obscurs du Maghreb*, p. 205.
2. Gautier, ouv. cit., p. 206.

Bekri et d'Ibn Khaldoun, les populations se trouvent divisées en deux groupes : celui des ruraux cultivateurs ou petits nomades moutonniers, et celui des grands nomades chameliers, duquel la Gétulie, c'est-à-dire le pays situé au delà du limes romain, devient le domaine.

Qu'étaient les Sahariens jusqu'à l'Empire romain ? Des nègres, répond Gautier [1]. On est étonné de trouver cette réponse si affirmative et si généralisée sous la plume de cet écrivain si averti, encore qu'il aimât employer des exemples tranchants pour mieux faire ressortir les contrastes. Des nègres il y en avait, comme il y en a encore de nos jours, mais il y avait surtout ces multiples tribus libyennes et en particulier les Garamantes dont E. F. Gautier nous a vanté lui-même le vaste empire à base militaire [2] et qui furent soumis par le général romain Cornélius Balbus, au début de l'ère chrétienne. Mais ces tribus réfugiées dans le désert n'avaient peut-être plus la force de faire parler d'elles. Leur nom, en tous cas, disparaît de l'histoire quelques siècles plus tard.

Si le chameau est venu tardivement, nous ne savons pas par qui il a été introduit en Afrique du Nord. Si nous en croyons Gautier, ce serait là l'œuvre de Rome [3]. Mais si Rome a favorisé l'extension du chameau, ce n'est pas sans le secours accidentel de tribus chamelières donc de nomades sahariens, et d'où ces derniers les tenaient-ils ?

Documents tirés des auteurs arabes. — A ce sujet les textes de l'historien arabe El Bekri suggèrent bien des choses. D'après lui, les Berbères seraient originaires de Syrie où ils étaient autrefois établis en « Filistin ». Après que leur roi Thalout (David) eut tué Djalout (Goliath) ils se rendirent dans le Maghreb en passant par l'Égypte occidentale [4].

Plus loin il dit que les Zénata, les Méghila et les Darisa se fixèrent dans la partie montagneuse du pays et les Louata occupèrent le territoire de Bargah (Barca) ; les Hoouara s'installèrent dans le pays de Tripoli de Barbarie.

Nous ignorons quelle valeur il faut attribuer à cette origine syrienne des Berbères (ou d'une partie des Berbères), mais nous devons signaler l'existence dans le folklore targui de la légende

1. E. F. Gautier, ouv. cit., p. 224.
2. E. F. Gautier, *Du nouveau au Sahara*.
3. E. F. Gautier, ouv. cit., pp. 208-209.
4. Kitab el Messalik, de Abou Obeid Allah Abdallah el Bekri, dans l'*Histoire de l'Afrique, de Léon l'Africain*, t. I, p. 327.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



de David et de Goliath. A-t-elle été conservée depuis les temps immémoriaux ou a-t-elle pris racine après le texte d'El Bekri venu à la connaissance des Touaregs par quelque lettré arabe ?

Cette croyance à l'origine syrienne des Berbères est encore répandue chez les lettrés sahariens. C'est ainsi qu'un marabout targui de la tribu des Kel es Souq remit, en 1907, au capitaine Cortier, une note sur l'origine des Ioullimmiden, où il est dit que les ancêtres de cette tribu sont venus d'Asie Mineure, qu'ils sont issus des Phéniciens, qu'ils auraient quitté leur sol 313 ans avant l'apparition d'Alexandre de Macédoine, qu'ils passèrent en Afrique où ils fondèrent Tunis, Tripoli, Kairouan, qu'ils furent refoulés dans le Sahara par les Romains, où ils bâtirent des villes comme Ăgadez, Gao [1].

Décrivant les peuples de l'Afrique du Nord, l'écrivain arabe Ibn Khaldoun divise ceux-ci en deux groupes : les Berbères et les Zénata. Les Berbères, d'après Gautier, sont localisés dans les parties montagneuses alors que les Zénata occupent les plaines méridionales et le Sahara septentrional depuis la Cyrénaïque jusqu'aux rives de l'Atlantique.

Pour Ibn Khaldoun, les Berbères et les Zénata ne sont pas gens de même race. Les Zénata parlent une langue différente de celle des Berbères [2], et, en se référant à l'avis d'un généalogiste de son temps, il donne pour ancêtres éponymes, aux premiers, un nommé Bernès, et aux seconds, un nommé Madghis. « Comme ce dernier était surnommé El-Abter, on appelle ses descendants Botr, de même que l'on désigne par le nom de Beranès les familles qui tirent leur origine de Bernès [3]. »

Les Botr étaient composés en partie de tribus tripolitaines, les Hooaara, les Néfouça, les Louata, les Matmata. Parmi les Bèranès, il y avait les Sanhadja (qui sont nos Kabyles actuels), les Masmouda, dans l'Atlas marocain et les Auréba dans l'Aurès.

Mais pour les populations qui habitaient l'intérieur du Sahara, les renseignements d'Ibn Khaldoun sont moins précis.

Un détail vestimentaire lui a particulièrement sauté aux yeux : « Ils se voilent la figure avec le litham, objet d'habillement qui les distinguait des autres nations [4] ». Il les appelle les Lemta et les Lemtouna. Mais il y a un cas d'espèce. Ces voilés

1. Cortier, D'une rive à l'autre du Sahara — Appendice in fine — p. 394.
2. Ibn Khaldoun, *Histoire des Berbères* t. III p 179.
3. Ibn Khaldoun, ouv. cit., t. I, p. 168.
4. Ibn Khaldoun, ouv. cit., t. II, p. 116.

se subdivisent en deux groupes, les occidentaux et les orientaux. Les deux tribus Lemta et Lemtouna appartiennent aux occidentaux ; quant aux orientaux, dit Gautier, ce sont les Hoggars, dans le nom desquels on retrouve celui de Hoouara, tribu bien connue des premiers conquérants arabes ; ces Hoouara, sans contestation possible, sont venus de Cyrénaïque, de Tripoli ; ils ont joué un rôle en Tunisie, dans l'Aurès. C'est l'avis aussi de Mercier [1] et de Benharéra [2]. Ce seraient donc des Botr, frères des Néfouça et des Louata [3].

Ibn Khaldoun donne à tous les porteurs de litham une ancêtre commune : c'est Tiski la Boiteuse ! Ce renseignement n'est déjà pas si sot, dit Gautier, qui y voit une justification du matriarcat encore en usage chez les Touaregs [4]. Mais avouons que c'est bien peu de choses pour qui cherche à débrouiller les origines de nos Sahariens, de savoir qu'ils eurent pour ancêtre une boiteuse !

Il n'y a plus de nos jours de « voilés » dans le Sahara occidental mais, par El Bekri et par Ibn Khaldoun, nous savons qu'il y en a eu, et nous savons par les Touaregs que l'ancêtre de la tribu des Kel Rela, Ti-n-Hînân, dont le squelette a été exhumé près d'Ăbalessa était venue du Tafilalet. Ti-n-Hînân appartenait-elle aux Hoouara ou aux Lemta? Ce qui ne fait aucun doute, c'est que cette femme était une Zénète, et les textes d'Ibn Khaldoun s'accordent donc bien avec la légende touarègue.

La date d'arrivée de Ti-n-Hînân au Ăhaggar est assez imprécise, entre le IVe et le IXe siècle, ce qui peut concorder avec ce qu'a dit Ibn Khaldoun.

La légende attribue un frère et une sœur à Ti-n-Hînân. Le frère serait l'ancêtre des Touaregs Tăděmaket. Quant à la sœur, elle se serait fixée au Touat où elle aurait engendré la tribu actuelle des Tégéhé Mellet [5]. Ti-n-Hînân, pendant son voyage, était accompagnée par une « dame de compagnie » du nom de Takamat. Or les vivres vinrent à manquer et le sort de la petite caravane était gravement compromis, lorsque cette

1. *Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à la conquête française.
2. *Six mois dans l'Ahaggar*.
3. GAUTIER, *Le Passé de l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 240.
4. Ouv. cit., p. 241.
5. Y a-t-il eu deux courants de migrations, l'un venant de Tripolitaine et l'autre du Tafilalet, ou bien le mouvement parti de Tripolitaine aurait-il abouti à l'Ahaggar en passant par le Tafilalet ? Ibn Khaldoun a situé les Hoouara dans les deux régions.

suivante eut l'idée de fouiller des fourmilières dans lesquelles elle trouva des petites provisions de grains qui sauvèrent les voyageuses. Arrivée dans l'Ăhaggar, Ti-n-Hinân affecta le centre du pays, c'est-à-dire l'Ătakor, à Takamat et à sa descendance, les Dăg Mertemek, que nous y retrouvons encore aujourd'hui dans les tribus Dăg Râli et Kel Ăhnet. L'Ăhaggar, à cette époque, était habité. Les Touaregs nous disent par qui : par les Isebeten.

Qui étaient les Isebeten? Les Isebeten, suivant les légendes touarègues, étaient des gens sans culture, qui parlaient en aboyant comme des chiens, qui ne connaissaient pas le chameau, qui n'avaient comme animaux domestiques que des ânes et des chèvres. Ils se battaient avec des pierres et passaient leur temps à chasser. Leur chef était Akkar. C'était un géant qui avait la folie de la chasse et pourchassait tous les moutons de l'Ăhaggar. Un jour, il fit faire par ses gens, une battue générale dans la montagne pour rassembler tous les moutons dans la région d'Ăbalessa où il avait l'intention de chasser. Mais les Isebeten interprétèrent ce projet comme un signe de folie. Son désir de chasse, dirent-ils, va si loin qu'un jour il finira par nous tuer nous-mêmes. Et ils décidèrent de le mettre à mort. Pour être sûrs qu'il ne revint pas à la vie, ils l'enterrèrent sous un énorme tas de cailloux que l'on peut encore voir aujourd'hui et qui se trouve à la tête de l'oued Taroumout, au pied de la montagne Ăsékrem.

Cette légende est bien connue de tous les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar et les Isebeten ont encore des représentants qui ont été intégrés dans la tribu des Dăg Râli.

Les Touaregs insistent toujours sur la médiocrité intellectuelle des Isebeten. Ils ne disent pas si l'occupation de l'Ăhaggar entraîna des batailles, mais il semble que leur installation ne souleva pas de grandes difficultés.

Ce qui est intéressant à retenir c'est, d'une part, que les Isebeten ne possédaient pas de chameaux, d'autre part, qu'ils se servaient encore d'un outillage de pierre. En étaient-ils encore au stade néolithique? S'il en était ainsi, on devrait retrouver beaucoup plus d'objets en pierre qu'on en a recueillis jusqu'à ce jour. Cependant, on doit pouvoir admettre que l'emploi de certains outils en pierre s'était maintenu chez eux. Le tombeau d'Akkar (Azzaka-n-Akkar) est un tumulus de type préislamique, de forme conique et de grande taille, et c'est là l'une des formes funéraires des anciens habitants de l'Ăhaggar.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Les Isebeten devaient donc être, tout à la fois, les vestiges de populations préhistoriques et libyennes.

Leurs descendants actuels sont encore renommés comme de bons chasseurs et cette activité devait être à la base de leur condition de vie.

Ils possèdent encore des terrains de chasse sur lesquels ils ont des droits de propriété absolus. C'est ainsi que le massif du Tăhat était le fief d'un nommé Mahaoua ag Mohamed qui est mort il y a quelques années et qui le laissa à son jeune fils.

Il semble qu'il y ait eu également une autre influence au Sahara central, celle des Beni Hilal.

Les Beni Hilal, ou Arabes Hilaliens, furent jetés sur le Maghreb en 1051 par le sultan Fatimide du Caire, qui voulait tout à la fois se débarrasser d'une tribu particulièrement turbulente et se venger du sultan de Kairouan qui s'était rebellé contre lui. Campés autrefois en Arabie septentrionale, ils passèrent sur le continent africain où ils s'installèrent entre la Mer Rouge et le Nil, puis plus tard, sur la rive gauche du Nil.

Pour gagner le Maghreb ils durent emprunter la route de la Cyrénaïque, mais on peut supposer que certaines fractions, parties de Haute Égypte, furent tentées par la route saharienne. Au temps de Léon l'Africain, « les Beni Hilal habitaient aux frontières du royaume de Télensin et d'Oran, errant de çà et de là par les déserts de Tégorarin » (T. I, p. 56). Or Tégorarin est le pluriel de Gourara, région qui se trouve située à la limite du pays targui actuel. Toujours est-il que leur passage est resté en mémoire dans l'Ăhaggar. Les tumuli avec anse de panier leur sont attribués par les Touaregs, mais ils n'ont pas dû faire souche dans le pays et aucune fraction Ihăggaren ne les revendique dans sa généalogie. Cependant on retrouve au Soudan une tribu vassale des Ioullimmiden, les Rattafanes, qui a pris part aux invasions hilaliennes, s'est fixée sur le bord du Niger dans la région de Tillabery, et s'est complètement targuisée [1].

Nous trouvons le nom de Hoggar pour la première fois sous la plume du voyageur arabe Ibn Batouta qui fit un voyage au Soudan vers 1350. Après avoir gagné Sidjimessa, ancienne capitale du Tafilalet, il se rendit aux mines de sel de Teghaza qui étaient encore exploitées, puis de là, parvint à Iwalaten (Oualata) où après un séjour de 50 jours il se mit en route pour Melli, capitale d'un empire puissant. Il gagna le « Nil », c'est-à-

1. Richer, *Les Oulliminden*, p. 41.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



dire le Niger [1], passa à Kabara, à Tenboktou (Tombouctou) et à Koukou (Gao-Gao). Puis avec des caravanes originaires de Rhâdamès il alla, à chameau, à Takedda [2] le pays des *Berdama*, qui, dit-il, sont des Berbères de teint très blanc, vivant sous des tentes de cuir. Il signale l'embonpoint remarquable des femmes Berdama qui grossissent volontairement en absorbant du lait de vache et de la farine de dorra [3] (farine de mil mélangée de fromage sec pilé). Ibn Batouta raconte aussi que lorsqu'un étranger épouse une Berdama, il doit s'établir dans leur pays. Cette coutume est encore en usage chez les Touaregs.

Les Berdama sont évidemment les Touaregs qui habitaient à ce moment là l'Adrar des Ifôras, Tăděmaket, Kel Aïr, Kel Ădrar, et les Soudanais les désignent souvent sous le nom de Bourdames dans lequel il n'est pas difficile de retrouver le mot Berdama.

A Takedda, Ibn Batouta séjourna chez le caïd nommé Abou Ibrahim Isahc ed Djanati, c'est-à-dire, originaire de Djana, indique le traducteur (de Slane) ; nous croirions plus volontiers de Djanet, ce qui fait voir qu'il existait alors des relations entre Rhât, Rhâdamès et le Soudan, détail confirmé par le fait que les compagnons d'Ibn Batouta étaient originaires de Rhâdamès. Cette route était d'ailleurs à cette époque celle que suivaient les pèlerins originaires de la région de Tombouctou pour se rendre à La Mecque.

De Takedda, Ibn Batouta se rendit à Kaher, affronta ensuite « le désert inhabité et dépourvu d'eau qu'il fallut trois jours pour traverser », puis il marcha pendant 15 jours jusqu'à un endroit où la route se partage en deux, l'une allant sur le Touat, l'autre sur l'Égypte, en passant par Rhât.

« C'est là que se trouve le pays des Heggar [4]. C'est une tribu berbère qui porte le litham et qui est très pauvre. Les gens demandèrent des vêtements comme droit de passage. »

« Leur pays, a-t-il noté, est pauvre en herbe et plein de cailloux qui rendent la vie très difficile. » Il rencontra une

1. Le Niger fut longtemps confondu avec le Nil par les auteurs arabes qui n'avaient pas reconnu les sources de ce dernier fleuve et les croyaient d'une part dans les monts de la Lune (Kilimandjaro) et, d'autre part, dans le Fouta Djallon.

2. Takedda a été identifiée comme étant la saline de Tegguidda-n-Teçumt, à l'ouest de la ville d'Agadez.

3. Ibn Batouta. Voyage dans le Soudan, Trad. de Slane, 1843, *Journal asiatique*, p. 47.

4. Ouv. cit., p. 54.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



autre tribu de Berbères voilés comme les premiers qui nomadisait au sud du Touat, mais dont il ne donne pas le nom. Ibn Batouta fixe donc la position des voilés au XIVe siècle et nous donne des détails de mœurs qu'il est facile de reconnaître pour celles des Touaregs.

Vers la même époque, l'Ăhaggar était venu à la connaissance des géographes européens et c'est ainsi que la mappemonde de la cathédrale de Hereford (Angleterre), datant de la fin du XIIIe siècle, porte au centre du Sahara les monts Uzarae (Euzarée).

Un autre planisphère dû aux frères vénitiens Pizzigani, datant de 1367, porte à la même place les monts Urgalem, qui deviendront Uuggar dans les planisphères majorquins de Mecia de Viladestes dessinés en 1413, et Ugar sur une carte catalane, également du XVe siècle, déposée à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Naples. (Les cartes sus-nommées ont été reproduites dans : *L'exploration de l'Afrique au moyen âge*, par Ch. DE LA RONCIÈRE, Le Caire, 1925.)

Si par ailleurs nous avons dit qu'il fallait attendre le voyage de René Caillé pour avoir sur le désert des renseignements géographiques précis, il semble que le Sahara ait été visité à plusieurs reprises par des Européens. Nous devons en particulier à M. Ch. de la Roncière la découverte récente et le déchiffrement d'une relation de voyage très ancienne, datant de 1447 et décrivant minutieusement le Touat ainsi que les pays circumvoisins. Cette narration, due à un certain Antonio Malfante et adressée à un Gênois, fait par ailleurs mention des Touaregs que le voyageur a côtoyés dans les oasis et qu'il désigne, tout comme El Bekri, sous le nom de Philistins.

« Innombrables, dit-il d'eux, ils règnent en maître sur la terre de Gazola depuis les confins de l'Égypte jusqu'à l'Océan, jusqu'à Messa et Sofi, et sur toutes les villes nègres qui les avoisinent. De race superbe et de haute mine, ces blancs sont d'incomparables cavaliers qui montent sans étriers avec de simples éperons. Des lois les gouvernent, mais leur législation offre cette particularité que l'héritage passe aux fils de leurs sœurs. Ils ont la bouche et le nez couverts d'un voile. J'en ai vu plusieurs ; comme je leur en demandais, par un interprète, la raison : « Telle est la coutume héritée de nos ancêtres » dirent-ils. Ce sont les ennemis acharnés des juifs qui n'osent passer chez eux : ils ont la religion des nègres. Leur nourriture est faite de lait et de viandes, sans blé ni orge, mais avec beau-

coup de riz. Leurs troupeaux de brebis, de bœufs et de chameaux sont innombrables. Certaine espèce de chameaux, blanche comme la neige, couvre en un jour la distance qu'un cavalier mettrait quatre jours à franchir. Grands batailleurs, ces peuples se battent continuellement entre eux. Les États qui sont sous leur domination sont aux confins du pays des nègres. » Et Malfante cite parmi les principales agglomérations, Teghidda (Tegguidda-n-Téçumt), Es Souq, Koukiya, Tombouctou, Dienné [1]. Cette relation, quoique très courte, nous fait voir quelle était l'influence politique des Touaregs au xv^e siècle, en particulier celle des Ihaggaren, lesquels, comme de nos jours, fréquentaient les oasis du Touat. Elle nous révèle, d'autre part, l'existence de cette colonie juive de Tamentit dont nous parlerons ultérieurement.

Le voyageur Léon l'Africain, qui commença à voyager en Afrique du Nord et en Égypte vers 1507 nous précisera la position des voilés sahariens parmi lesquels se trouvent les Terga et les Berdéoa, ces derniers campés entre le Fezzan et le désert de Barca [2]. Dans la transcription du mot Terga, d'origine arabe, il n'est pas difficile de voir une transposition d'accentuation et de reconstituer le mot targui.

Faisant la description du Sahara central, Léon l'Africain dit que le désert commence aux limites d'Ighidi (Iguidi) s'étendant presqu'aux confins de celui que le peuple Berdéoa a pris pour demeure. Au nord il se joint avec le désert de Techort, de Guargula (Ouargla) et de Gademis (Rhâdamès). Au midi, il va jusqu'au pays des noirs (Kano).

Quant aux Touaregs, il les situe entre l'Aïr et l'Iguidi (Haïr et Ighidi) alors qu'au nord leur pays est bordé par les déserts de « Tuathl Tegoram et Mezab » [3]. C'est exactement l'emplacement actuel des Touaregs Ăhaggar.

Léon l'Africain ajoute que le désert est sec et dangereux pour les marchands qui le traversent. Les habitants (les Touaregs) se prétendent des droits sur la Seigneurie de Ouargla dont ils pillent et dévalisent tous les marchands qui passent sur leur territoire et tuent quiconque vient chez eux.

« Les Berdéoa (les Toubou) habitent à la suite de ce désert qui confine au nord aux déserts de Fezzan et de Barca et au milieu

1. Ch. de la Roncière, *La découverte de l'Afrique au Moyen Age*, t. I, p. 146.
2. *Histoire et description de l'Afrique*, tierce partie du monde, t. I, p. 12.
3. Ouv. cit., t. III, p. 270.

va jusqu'au désert de Bornah. Seuls peuvent le traverser les gens qui prennent des convoyeurs à Rhâmadès lesquels sont fort alliés et amis avec les habitants de ce désert. »

L'embonpoint traditionnel des femmes touarègues est également venu à sa connaissance : « Leurs femmes sont fort charnues, dit-il, mais aucunement brunes, ayant les parties de derrière fort pleines et mouffletées semblablement l'estomac..., etc... » [1] ; et il nous dépeint leur légèreté de mœurs et leurs coutumes particulières en termes très savoureux.

Les nomades sahariens vivaient alors comme de nos jours. Ils se nourrissaient frugalement de lait de chamelles, passaient leur temps en déplacements pour faire paître leurs bêtes, ainsi qu'à la chasse.

L'ignorance des lettres et des arts était flagrante, si on en croit Léon l'Africain, état qui n'a pas changé, et les tribus sahariennes vivaient en état d'anarchie, sans chef bien déterminé, sans assemblée de notables, de chambre de justice ou autre [2].

Léon l'Africain signale parmi les Hoouara une tribu qui porte le nom d'Azgar [3]. On peut supposer que ce sont les Ajjer actuels que certains auteurs nomment Asdjer, Asjer, Azgueurs, Azger, et qui vécurent longtemps avec les Ihăggaren dont ils se séparèrent politiquement vers le XVIIIe siècle.

L'écrivain arabe Edrissi avait déjà cité cette tribu dans la région qu'elle occupe aujourd'hui, sous le nom de Azgueurs.

Pour les autres tribus du désert, il est difficile de suivre Léon l'Africain et il suffit de jeter un coup d'œil sur la carte jointe à son ouvrage, pour se rendre compte de la confusion inextricable qui existait alors dans la géographie saharienne.

Il semble que les Lemtouna aient également participé à la formation de la nation touarègue. Certaines de leurs tribus, après avoir détruit l'empire du Melli se fixèrent dans la région de Tombouctou où, d'après Ibn Khaldoun, ils forcèrent les nègres à adopter la religion musulmane à laquelle ils étaient eux-mêmes récemment convertis.

Bien avant cette époque, des éléments berbères, encore païens, avaient acquis une influence prépondérante sur les peuples noirs de la boucle du Niger, s'étaient imposés à eux, et avaient fondé le premier empire sonrhaï de la dynastie des *Diâ* (670), qui se maintint jusqu'au XVIe siècle (cf. Tarikh el

1. Ouv. cit., t. I, p. 70.
2. Ouv. cit., t. I, p. 69.
3. Ouv. cit., t. I, p. 8.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Fettach)[1]. Cette dynastie fut évincée par des éléments sonrhaïs qui rejetèrent les Touaregs vers le Nord, détruisirent leur capitale Tădemeka (Es Souq), ce qui détermina la migration d'une partie des habitants de cette ville vers les pays d'Ăjjer et du Ăhaggar (VIIIe siècle de l'Hégire)[2].

On note donc deux grandes migrations berbères qui convergèrent à l'intérieur du Sahara.

La première qui serait très ancienne, bien antérieure à la venue des Arabes, peut-être même à l'ère chrétienne, composée d'éléments Lemta et Hoouara qui occupèrent l'Ădrar, descendirent jusqu'au Niger et poussèrent peut-être jusqu'à l'Aïr.

La seconde, plus récente, était issue des Hoouara[3], qui sous la poussée des Arabes seraient partis de la Tripolitaine et du Fezzan et auraient rejoint le premier groupe.

La dernière composante des Touaregs semble être celle de Sémites sahariens encore installés au Touat, en 1447, dans l'oasis de Tamentit[4] qui, un demi-siècle plus tard, en 1492, furent chassés du Touat par le réformateur musulman El Merhili. Beaucoup furent massacrés et un certain nombre purent s'enfuir au Soudan où ils reçurent l'hospitalité de l'Askia El Hadj Mohamed, empereur de Gao[5].

Delafosse a toujours vu dans ces Sémites sahariens qui seraient venus de Cyrénaïque en 115 après J.-C., à la suite de leur rebellion contre les autorités romaines, les ancêtres des Peuls. Cette hypothèse a été vivement combattue depuis[6]. Nous croirions plus volontiers que ces éléments sémitiques ont dû progressivement s'intégrer aux Touaregs. On donne souvent une origine juive à leurs artisans, forgerons et peaussiers. C'est toutefois ce que disent les légendes.

Il y aurait plus exactement une composante juive dans cette caste formée aujourd'hui d'autant d'éléments blancs que de noirs, mais il se peut que des groupes, après avoir embrassé l'islamisme, se soient fondus dans les tribus. Nous avons souvent été frappés du type sémitique très accusé de certains

1. Cette origine berbère des Diâ est controversée par H. Houdas, le traducteur du Tarikh es Soudan.
2. Duveyrier, *Les Touareg du Nord*, p. 326.
3. On verra à ce sujet Richer, *Les Oulliminden*, p. 58, qui était déjà arrivé à cette conclusion.
4. Lettre d'Antonio Malfante, commentée par Ch. de la Roncière. *Revue hebdomadaire*, n° 40, 5 octobre 1918, Paris, Plon.
5. Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal et Niger*, t. I, p. 219.
6. Se référer pour ce sujet à *Mœurs et Histoire des Peuls*, de Tauxier, Paris, Payot, 1938.

Touaregs, en particulier chez les Icheriffen de la région de Gao. Richer a, de son côté, fait la même observation. Ces caractères ne ressortent pas dans les séries anthropologiques où ils se sont fondus avec quantité d'autres, mais des séries appropriées les mettraient probablement en valeur. Chez les Ioullimmiden on trouve de curieuses nattes de lit en sparterie où des motifs décoratifs sont formés d'étoiles de Salomon à six branches qui pourraient bien être les vestiges du judaïsme saharien.

Il y a chez tous les Musulmans actuels d'origine non arabe, Peuls, Berbères, etc..., tendance à se réclamer de la descendance du Prophète. C'est le cas également pour les Touaregs qui se donnent une origine chérifienne. Duveyrier eut connaissance d'une note rédigée par le Cheikh Brahim Oult Sidi, réputé l'homme le plus instruit parmi les Touaregs, destinée au Grand Maître de la Confrérie des Tidjanyia. Elle prétendait que les Ihăggaren descendaient des Edrissides de Fez, quelques-uns étant venus de Chinguit, d'autres de l'Adhagh [1]. C'est peut-être le cas de quelques hommes qui s'intégrèrent aux grandes familles touarègues, mais cette assertion ne peut être valable pour l'ensemble.

Notons que l'Ădrar revient toujours dans les légendes comme étant le foyer originel de dispersion des tribus touarègues, aussi bien chez les Ihăggaren que chez les Ioullimmiden.

L'Ădrar a dû jouer effectivement un rôle prépondérant dans le peuplement primitif. C'est là d'ailleurs que les historiens du moyen âge fixent l'habitat ancien des Lemtouna et des Sanhadja.

Et Duveyrier conclut qu'une extension politique avait porté les migrations touarègues du nord au sud, qu'une réaction des Soudanais les refoula du Sud au Nord [2].

On voit que les Touaregs forment un complexe ethnique inextricable, résultante de multiples métissages de peuples d'origines les plus diverses et dans lequel il est difficile de déterminer les proportions relatives des principales souches. Nous verrons un peu plus loin que c'est aussi ce que confirme leur étude anthropologique.

Mais ce qui est extraordinaire et ce qui surprend le plus l'ethnographe, c'est de trouver un groupement de nature si disparate présentant une aussi grande uniformité ethnique,

1. Duveyrier, *Les Touaregs du Nord*, p. 318.
2. *Ouvr. cit.*, p. 323.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



alors que nous savons qu'ils n'ont jamais formé une nation au sens propre du mot, et n'ont eu ensemble que des attaches politiques très lâches. Cette homogénéité peut s'expliquer par le mouvement des tribus qui, au cours des temps, sont passées d'un groupe à l'autre, de l'Ădrar à l'Ăhaggar, de l'Ăhaggar à l'Aïr, etc..., se façonnant les unes au contact des autres par les mariages inter-groupes qui furent très nombreux, également par des conflits qui les opposèrent constamment tribu à tribu, qui donnaient alternativement à l'une d'entre elles une suprématie temporaire sur les autres, favorisant l'interpénétration des différents éléments se rattachant au peuple targui.

# *LIVRE III*

# *LES TOUAREGS*

## *DIVISIONS POLITIQUES. CARACTÈRES PHYSIQUES. LANGUE, ÉCRITURE ET LITTÉRATURE ORALE*

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## CHAPITRE PREMIER

## DIVISIONS POLITIQUES

Les Touaregs occupent une vaste région qui étend ses limites à la fois sur le Sahara et le Soudan. Leur domaine commence à la lisière du Grand Erg Oriental et s'étend jusqu'au delà du Niger pour s'arrêter à peu près vers le 15e degré de latitude nord, embrassant toute l'aire comprise entre le 5e degré à l'ouest et le 10e degré à l'est du méridien de Greenwich.

Si la présente étude porte particulièrement sur les populations de l'Ăhaggar, il est bon de savoir que ces dernières ne comptent que pour une infime partie dans l'ethnie touarègue.

Les Touaregs se divisent en plusieurs groupements, plus ou moins inféodés à un chef, groupements auxquels nous avons donné le nom de confédérations. Ce terme a l'avantage pour nous de définir un ensemble déterminé de tribus, mais il ne peut être pris dans son véritable sens qui comporte une organisation hiérarchisée, une entente entre plusieurs états indépendants, liés entre eux par un pacte commun. Ce n'est pas tout à fait le cas, chez les Touaregs, comme nous le verrons plus loin.

Dans l'état d'anarchie où nous avons trouvé les Touaregs, lors de l'occupation de leur pays, il est assez difficile de dire comment étaient composées ces différentes confédérations. Les définitions employées par les auteurs sont en réalité celles qui correspondent à l'organisation des Touaregs d'il y a plusieurs

[p. 126]

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



siècles, c'est-à-dire avant que d'importantes scissions ne se soient produites. Il semble qu'au moyen âge, il existait deux groupes : celui des Touaregs du Nord ou Ihăggaren, et celui des Touaregs soudanais, rassemblés sous le nom de la tribu chef des Tădemaket dont l'habitat initial fut l'Ădrar des Ifôras. Les tribus du Sahara formaient un seul groupement qui se scindait vers le XVIe siècle *en deux groupes différents*, celui des Kel-Ăhaggar et celui des Kel-Ăjjer [1].

La division des Touaregs Tădemaket date du XVIIe siècle à la suite du départ d'un groupe important, celui des Ioullimmiden, qui alla se fixer au nord de la boucle du Niger, alors que des tribus moins importantes en profitaient pour s'affranchir et allaient s'établir sur les rives du fleuve.

Le peuplement du massif de l'Aïr et de ses abords fut plus tardif et comprit des tribus issues des groupes précédents.

Avant l'occupation française, les Touaregs se divisaient en :

1° Ihăggaren ou Kel-Ăhaggar, habitant le massif de l'Ăhaggar et ses dépendances,

2° Kel-Ăjjer, habitant le Tassili-n-Ăjjer, le sud Tripolitain et la pointe sud-est de l'Erg Oriental, autour des villes de Ghât et de Rhâdamès.

On désigne quelquefois ces deux groupements sous le nom de Touaregs du Nord ou Touaregs sahariens.

3° Ioullimmiden, ou Oulliminden, localisés aujourd'hui dans la région de Ménéka et dont dépendaient les Touaregs de l'Ădrar des Ifôras, les Touaregs de l'intérieur de la boucle du Niger et les Kel Dinnik. Ces derniers, qui sont des Ioullimmiden, se sont séparés du groupe principal vers le XVIIIe siècle. Les Ifôras, de leur côté, avaient obtenu une indépendance presque complète.

4° Tenguéréguifs, descendants directs des Tădemaket, qui occupent tous les abords du lac Faguibine ; ils étaient les suzerains de Tombouctou.

Ces différents groupements sont souvent désignés sous le nom de Touaregs nigériens, Touaregs du Sud, ou Touaregs soudanais.

5° Kel-Aïr, ou Kel-Ăzben, comprenant les Kel Geres et les Kel Oui placés nominalement sous l'autorité du Sultan d'Agadez, d'ailleurs fort fictive. On les désigne quelquefois sous le nom de Touaregs du Sud-Est.

1. Le mot « Kel » veut dire « gens de... ».

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



On comptait donc cinq groupes différents. Aucun lien politique n'existait entre eux. Il n'y avait pas de chef suprême susceptible de rallier toutes les tribus pour une action commune. Ce besoin d'ailleurs semble ne s'être jamais fait sentir et, d'autre part, l'état d'anarchie a toujours été de règle chez les Touaregs. Leur valeur guerrière très élevée leur a suffi pour s'imposer aux peuplades noires voisines. Si pendant un certain temps les anciens groupements Tăděmaket durent accepter la suzeraineté de l'Empereur sonrhaï de Gao, celle-ci fut toute fictive et un compromis survint rapidement qui donna aux tribus touarègues un des rôles principaux dans l'armée sonrhaï.

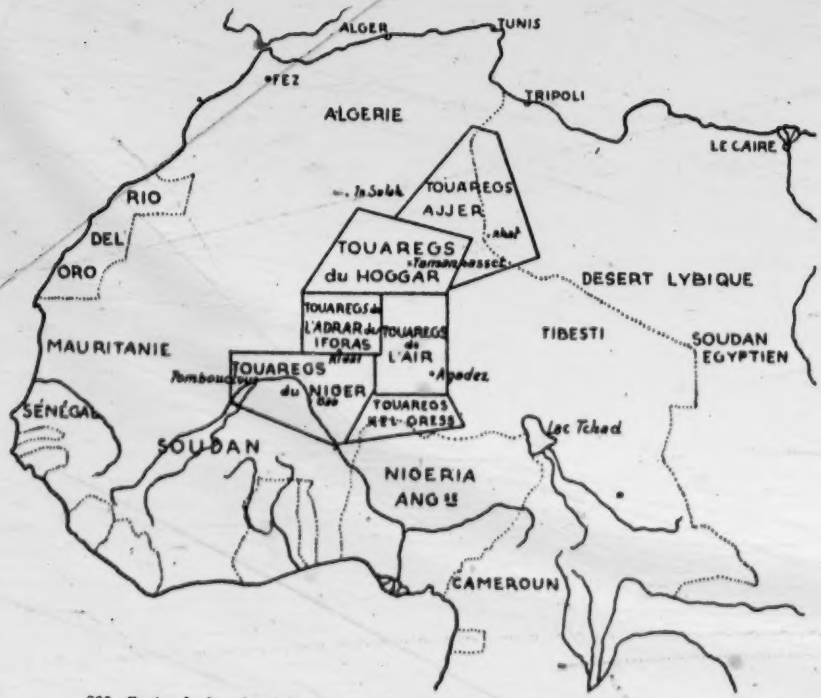
L'indépendance des groupes n'exclut pas la possibilité d'ententes militaires et il n'est pas rare qu'un appel soit fait aux tribus voisines pour une défense contre un ennemi commun. Cet appel était d'autant plus entendu que les luttes étaient l'occasion de pillages et de profits éventuels dont les Touaregs sont toujours friands.

D'après des recensements qui remonteraient à 1933-1938, l'effectif des différents groupes touaregs serait celui-ci : Ihăggaren : 4.254 ; Kel Ăjjer : 1.508 [1] ; Kel Aïr (Kel Oui et Kel Geres) : 27.765 ; Tengueréguifs : 40.000 ; Kel Ădrar : 4.223 ; Ioullimmiden (y compris les Touaregs de la Boucle et les Kel Dinnik) : 161.160. Soit au total : 238.910.

Ce chiffre est très supérieur à celui donné par les recensements qui dataient d'avant 1920. Il faut défalquer, parmi les Ioullimmiden, environ 94.000 serviteurs qui ont été recensés avec les Touaregs. Il semble que pour des raisons d'impôts, faciles à comprendre, les effectifs avoués des tribus aient été volontairement réduits. Beaucoup de fractions n'ont d'ailleurs pas encore été recensées nominalement, ce qui fait que ces chiffres n'ont pas une autorité absolue.

Nous voyons donc que les Ihăggaren, qui nous intéressent particulièrement dans la présente étude, ne représentent que 1,78 % des populations touarègues.

1. Ce chiffre ne comporte pas celui des Touaregs soumis aux autorités italiennes qui doit être de l'ordre de quelques centaines, ni les Ksouriens de Djanet et des petits centres de culture qui sont sous leur autorité.




III. Carte de la répartition des différents groupements politiques touaregs.

## CHAPITRE II

## CARACTÈRES PHYSIQUES DES TOUAREGS

Lorsqu'un voyageur décrit les populations qu'il a visitées, il a une tendance à définir « un type » uniforme qui correspond en fait à une somme des caractères qui l'ont le plus frappé. Or, il est bien rare de ne trouver qu'un type dans un groupement humain de quelque importance.

En ce qui concerne les Touaregs, gens de race blanche, donc logiquement d'origine méditerranéenne, placés entre les Blancs de l'Afrique du Nord et les Noirs du Soudan, il aurait été bien extraordinaire qu'il n'en soit pas ainsi.

Pourtant presque tous les voyageurs qui les ont visités se sont efforcés de nous décrire un type targui, grand, élancé, aux hanches effacées, aux attaches fines, aux mains petites, aux yeux très grands et très foncés, aux cheveux longs, noirs et lisses ou légèrement ondulés.

Ce portrait ne correspond qu'en partie à la réalité. Il y a beaucoup de Touaregs très grands, mais il y en a beaucoup également de taille moyenne. Aussi a-t on voulu les différencier en castes, en nobles et en vassaux, les premiers présentant une pureté raciale mieux accusée que les seconds, ce qui peut être partiellement exact.

En ce qui concerne les Touaregs, une autre erreur d'appréciation a été commise, très compréhensible d'ailleurs : parce que les Touaregs du Nord ont été les premiers et les plus souvent visités, ce sont eux qui ont servi à faire le portrait type du Targui, alors que l'on ignorait les tribus soudanaises qui comptent pourtant un effectif en hommes vingt fois supérieur. Plus tard, lorsque d'autres voyageurs influencés par les premiers écrits, ont été en présence des Touaregs soudanais, ils ont conclu que ces derniers étaient de type moins pur et qu'ils devaient cette caractéristique raciale à des métissages nègres. Cette opinion est nettement exagérée car, par exemple, l'abaissement de la taille chez les Touaregs soudanais par rapport à

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



ceux de l'Ăhaggar, n'est pas dû à des influences nègres. Les populations noires environnantes sont, dans l'ensemble, d'assez grande taille, 170 cm. pour les Sonrhaïs, 173 pour les Dendi, les Boudouma et les Kouri, alors que les vassaux des Ioullimmiden n'ont que 167 cm. 8. C'est donc autre part qu'il faut chercher l'origine de cette taille moyenne. Et ce simple trait démontre que le type physique des Touaregs est loin d'être uniforme. Il doit y avoir des composantes multiples et le chapitre consacré à leur passé le laisse facilement entrevoir.

Nous possédons, à l'heure actuelle, un assez grand nombre de mensurations sur le vivant, recueillies par des voyageurs et des anthropologues.

De Zeltner a mesuré 143 individus appartenant aux Touaregs du Sud ; de Gironcourt, au cours de sa mission dans la région de Gao-Bourem, a effectué 63 mensurations, dont l'étude a été faite par le Professeur Verneau. Le Dr Leblanc, doyen de la Faculté d'Alger, en a étudié 50 au cours d'un séjour de plusieurs mois dans l'Ăhaggar. Nous-même, au cours d'une mission exécutée en 1934-35, avons pu mesurer 190 individus masculins qui comprennent 2 Kel Ăhaggar, 6 Kel Ăjjer, 22 Imrad de l'Aïr, 38 Ifôras, 116 Ioullimmiden.

Nous examinerons successivement ici la stature, la forme du crâne, et quelques données somatiques.

*Stature*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kel Ăjjer suzerains | 156 | Lhote |
| Ioullimmiden Daoussak | 164,11 | » |
| » Debakkar | 167,42 | » |
| » vassaux | 167,8 | » |
| Kel Aïr vassaux | 169,33 | » |
| Ifôras suzerains [1] | 170,2 | » |
| Ifôras vassaux [1] | 172,32 | » |
| Kel Ăjjer vassaux | 173 | » |
| Ihăggaren | 174,4 | Leblanc |
| Ioullimmiden Ichadahanaren | 175,8 | Lhote |

Ces variations énormes dans la stature sont un signe de la

1. Il s'agit ici des Ifôras de l'Adrar. Leblanc a trouvé 174,1 chez les Ifôras de l'Ahaggar qui forment un groupe complètement différent de celui de l'Adrar.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



diversité des composantes somatiques des Touaregs. En effet, plus une race est pure, c'est-à-dire moins mélangée, plus les chiffres de la stature des groupes mensurés séparément se rapprochent les uns des autres. Les Norvégiens, par exemple, qui sont parmi les plus purs des nordiques, ont une stature moyenne de 170,9 avec oscillation entre 168,1 et 171,6.

*Indice céphalique horizontal*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ioullimmiden vassaux | 71,68 | Lhote |
| » suzerains | 72,24 | » |
| Kel Ahaggar suzerains | 73,37 | » |
| Ifôras suzerains | 74,32 | » |
| Kel Ăhaggar vassaux | 74,48 | » |
| Kel Dinnik suzerains | 75,91 | » |
| Kel Ăjjer suzerains | 76,9 | » |

L'indice céphalique horizontal est beaucoup plus homogène dans ses chiffres que la stature. Il va de 71,68 à 76,9, ce qui fait que tous les Touaregs sont dolichocéphales. Comparés aux autres populations berbères, ce sont même eux qui le sont le plus ; cependant quelques traces de brachycéphalie ont été trouvées chez ceux du Sud, et plusieurs individus mensurés par de Gironcourt ont donné un indice de 82,01. Le Professeur Verneau, qui a étudié les documents de ce voyageur, s'est demandé à quelle influence raciale était dû ce raccourcissement de la tête de ces individus aberrants, et il a songé aux Kabyles brachycéphales. Notons que le crâne de Ti-n-Hinân a un indice céphalique de 78,4, qui le fait classer parmi les brachycéphales. Il n'est donc pas impossible qu'il y ait eu autrefois des brachycéphales chez les Touaregs, mais à l'heure actuelle ils constituent des exceptions.

L'indice céphalique des vrais nègres (nègres soudanais) varie entre 73,43 (chez les Kouri) et 75,41 (chez les Baribas). Ces chiffres étant très près de ceux des Touaregs ne peuvent donc être d'aucun secours pour déceler une influence quelconque. Mais les Touaregs ont un front très étroit par rapport au diamètre transversal du crâne, et ce serait, d'après Verneau, un caractère propre au type targui. Presque tous le présentent.

*Indice nasal*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kel Ăjjer suzerains | 63,02 | Lhote |
| Kel Ăhaggar suzerains | 64,81 | Leblanc |
| Kel Ăhaggar vassaux | 65,38 | Leblanc |
| Ioullimmiden Daoussak | 70,47 | Lhote |
| Ioullimmiden vassaux | 73,41 | » |
| Ifôras vassaux | 75,47 | » |
| Kel Aïr vassaux | 81,89 | » |

L'indice nasal est un des plus importants pour la détermination des races, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de discerner les Blancs des Noirs, les premiers ayant toujours le nez étroit et long alors que les seconds l'ont large et court. Les variations que nous trouvons chez les Touaregs sont assez sensibles, et les Kel Aïr doivent certainement l'épaisseur de leur nez à des métissages négroïdes. Ces métissages sont d'ailleurs bien connus, en particulier chez les Kel Oui où la population est formée à parties égales de Touaregs et de Haoussa. Il n'en a pas fallu plus pour altérer le type de tous les Kel Aïr.

Mais dans l'ensemble des groupes, la leptorhinie est nettement supérieure à la mésorhinie (indice de 70). Verneau avait déjà signalé l'existence de deux types de nez chez les Touaregs ; l'un étroit, l'autre moyen. Mais il y a des variantes assez sensibles dans les formes. Parmi les leptorhiniens, la ligne du nez peut être droite ou courbe. Le Docteur Leblanc a fait, à ce sujet, sur les Kel Ăhaggar, des observations très intéressantes. D'après lui, le nez chez les Touaregs a une valeur anthropologique considérable, car il a une forme très particulière que l'on ne retrouve pas ailleurs, et qu'il considère comme un stigmate de la race touarègue ancienne.

Le nez targui est mince à la racine, long, légèrement aquilin, mais jamais convexe en totalité comme on le trouve dans les types sémites. L'arête légèrement courbe est coupée à la partie supérieure par une bosselure allongée. *Il se termine en pointe étroite et tombante.* Les ailes sont peu larges et les narines à direction oblique et légèrement ouvertes [1].

Les nez droits, que l'on retrouve chez les Kel Ăhaggar et en particulier chez les Ifôras, seraient la résultante de croisements éloignés avec des nègres. Nous dirons aussi avec des

1. Les Touaregs, *Revue Anthropologique*, janv. 1929, p. 20.

Arabes, et il y a également chez les Touaregs des individus présentant des nez aquilins à caractères plus ou moins arménoïdes. Quant aux mésorhiniens, ils sont nettement apparentés aux Kabyles et aux Chaoulas de l'Afrique du Nord.

Parmi les autres caractères anthropologiques des Touaregs, notons que la face est longue, avec les pommettes saillantes ; ils sont donc leptoprosopes et ne présentent jamais de prognatisme. Beaucoup accusent un facies caucasique assez marqué. Nous l'avons observé chez les Touaregs du Nord aussi bien que chez les Touaregs soudanais, et Duveyrier l'avait signalé parmi les Kel Ăjjer vus lors de son voyage au Tassili [1]. De même dans les fractions Ioullimmiden de la région de Gao, en particulier chez les Icheriffen, nous avons été vivement frappés par le facies sémitique de beaucoup d'individus ; nous y avons déjà fait allusion.

Les membres sont longs, effilés et les extrémités très fines.

Mais si le type qui frappe le plus communément le voyageur est grand et sec, il existe également des individus rablés et assez épais.

La peau, observée sous l'aisselle, est blanche, légèrement couleur d'ivoire, mais le hâle provoqué par le soleil ainsi que l'habitude de porter des vêtements indigotés qui déteignent, lui donnent un aspect foncé qui fausse facilement les observations.

Les cheveux sont noirs, très foncés, lisses ou légèrement ondulés ; ils sont portés longs et souvent tressés sur le sommet de la tête alors que le pourtour de celle-ci est rasé.

L'ouverture palpébrale est allongée et l'œil a une pigmentation brun foncé.

Plusieurs voyageurs ont signalé la présence de blonds à yeux bleus chez les Touaregs. Or, parmi les 446 individus qui ont été mesurés, il ne s'en trouvait aucun, et tous les auteurs, au contraire, insistent sur leur complexure brune.

Pourtant Duveyrier signale des yeux bleus chez les Touaregs de Rhât [2] et l'explorateur Largeau a parlé d'individus blonds [3]. S'agit-il de cas tout à fait aberrants ou bien d'individus étrangers ou récemment intégrés aux Touaregs ? Nous croirions d'autant plus à cette dernière hypothèse que ces sujets

1. *Les Touareg du Nord*, p. 382.
2. *Les Touareg du Nord*, p. 382.
3. C. Kilian nous a affirmé avoir vu également des blonds chez les Touaregs du Tassili.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



semblent avoir été rencontrés sur les confins de la Tripolitaine, dans la région de Rhât et de Rhâdamès, où existe un brassage assez important de populations et, en particulier, des métissages avec des caravaniers berbères venant du Nord, dont quelques-uns ont peut-être pu se fixer chez les Touaregs.

Personnellement, parmi les 50 ou 60.000 Touaregs que nous avons été amenés à cotoyer au cours de plusieurs années de séjour dans leur pays, nous n'avons jamais aperçu ni blonds, ni yeux bleus.

Cette courte étude anthropologique laisse voir l'existence de deux types bien différenciés chez les Touaregs, tous deux dolichocéphales et à complexure brune, l'un de grande taille, leptorhinien, l'autre de taille moyenne, leptorhinien, mais avec tendance à la mésorhinie ; exclusion faite, naturellement, des individus marqués de négroïdisme. On est donc amené à faire des comparaisons avec d'autres types de race blanche, en particulier avec les populations de l'Afrique du Nord étudiées par Bertholon et Chantre, qui ont décelé trois types principaux :

Iº Type de petite taille, dolichocéphale, mésorhinien, à complexure brune ;

IIº Type de petite taille, brachycéphale, mésorhinien, à complexure brune ;

IIIº Type de grande taille, dolichocéphale, leptorhinien, à complexure claire (cheveux blonds et yeux bleus, peau rosée), donc type nordique.

Bertholon et Chantre distinguent une variété du type III, grands, dolichécéphales, mésorhiniens qui, d'après eux, devraient leur complexure brune à des métissages avec des nègres. Pour eux, il n'existe pas de grand dolichocéphale brun. Leblanc, d'après ses études sur les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar, réfute cette opinion sur la possibilité de métissages avec des négroïdes, insuffisants à expliquer la substitution de la couleur foncée des cheveux et des yeux à l'ancienne couleur des Nordiques, alors que les autres caractères resteraient les mêmes que chez ces derniers.

D'après Bertholon et Chantre, comme le fait remarquer Leblanc, les Touaregs seraient donc des dolichocéphales blonds métissés de nègres. Cela est d'autant moins concevable qu'il n'existe pas de blonds chez eux, et qu'aucune population blonde n'habite à proximité.

Le type targui de taille moyenne, dolichocéphale, leptorhi-

nien, mais avec tendance à la mésorhinie, à complexure brune, s'apparente donc au type I de Bertholon et Chantre, alors qu'il n'y a pas de Touaregs présentant des rapports avec le type II de ces auteurs.

Le type targui de grande taille ne peut être comparé au type III de Bertholon et Chantre, et il faut reconnaître, avec Leblanc, l'existence d'un grand dolichocéphale brun dont *les origines et les affinités nous sont jusqu'ici inconnues.*

Si nous prenons maintenant les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar qui nous intéressent plus particulièrement, nous nous reporterons à l'étude détaillée qu'en a faite le Dr Leblanc.

A l'encontre des autres chercheurs qui se sont contentés de calculer des moyennes sur un grand nombre de sujets, il s'est efforcé de déterminer un type pur, caractérisé par des signes constants, en éliminant des mensurations tout ce qui pouvait laisser supposer un mélange ou une influence étrangère possible.

Le procédé est très délicat, car il est très difficile de discerner sans erreur les caractères anciens des caractères acquis d'un type humain déterminé, alors que les Touaregs pris dans l'ensemble sont issus de composantes multiples. Mais d'un autre côté les moyennes d'une multitude de mensurations désordonnées peuvent donner des chiffres qui ne correspondent pas au véritable type racial, et entraîner à des confusions regrettables. C'est pourquoi le Dr Leblanc s'est efforcé de rechercher des types prédominants. « C'est, dit-il, la fixation anatomique des types avant l'anthropométrie, à l'encontre de l'autre méthode qui pratique l'anthropométrie avant de fixer les types [1] ».

Et d'après ce procédé, qui a évidemment sa valeur, le type le plus pur et le plus caractérisé des Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar serait le dolichocéphale de grande taille, à complexure brune. Il représenterait le Berbère ancien, spécial à l'Ăhaggar, et surtout bien conservé parmi les nobles et quelques imrad.

Il en fait le portrait suivant : taille debout, 174,4 ; dolichocéphale, 74,9 ; leptoprosope à pommettes saillantes, fortement écartées ; face triangulaire à partir des zygomas, menton étroit ; leptorhinien, 66 chez les Kel Rela et 69,5 de moyenne avec modelé très spécial de la courbure brisée et à pointe tombante du nez ; orthognathe à bouche petite, à lèvres minces ; grande envergure, supérieure à la taille debout.

1. Leblanc, *Revue Anthropologique*, janv.-mars 1929, p. 36.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Mais à côté de ce type bien caractérisé, Leblanc admet, chez les Kel Ăhaggar, l'existence du type I de Bertholon et Chantre, ce qui les apparente, pour une partie d'entre eux, aux différents groupes berbères de l'Afrique du Nord.

Les chiffres obtenus pour les Touaregs coïncident souvent avec ceux donnés pour les Berbères, et particulièrement avec ceux des Kabyles. Mais il serait imprudent, sur la seule foi de ces chiffres, de consacrer la parenté étroite des deux groupes.

Un élément capital sépare les Touaregs des Berbères de l'Afrique du Nord, dit très justement Leblanc, car il n'y a pas de blonds chez eux.

Il est évident que l'on peut trouver chez les Touaregs d'une part, chez les Kabyles, les Chaouïas, les Marocains et Tunisiens d'autre part, des analogies qui, quoique trop vagues pour faire accepter, en toute certitude, l'origine commune de ces différents groupes, sont, malgré tout, suffisantes pour y faire penser.

Il est intéressant de noter que le type berbère ancien, que Leblanc a situé par sélection, se trouve en proportion imposante dans les populations de l'Ăhaggar, ce qui est d'une valeur considérable et réduit la critique que certains pourraient adresser à sa méthode, car les 8.000 mensurations de Bertholon et Chantre n'arrivent pas à constituer un type aussi déterminé, aussi évident que celui des Touaregs.

L'opinion de Leblanc, qui considère le grand dolichocéphale brun de l'Ăhaggar comme un vestige de la race berbère ancienne, est d'autant plus plausible que « sauf métissage apparent, les Touaregs, nobles surtout, du fait de leur isolement géographique et de leur sélection de caste relativement rigoureuse, doivent être ce qu'étaient leurs ancêtres très éloignés [1] ».

Mais d'où vient alors ce type qui ne cadre avec aucune des données somatiques de l'Europe et du bassin méditerranéen ?

Il fait songer au type de Cro-Magnon, de grande taille, fort probablement à complexure brune, et dont les Canariens, d'après Verneau, seraient peut-être les vestiges les plus caractéristiques. Mais le crâne des hommes de Cro-Magnon, comme celui des Berbères dolichocéphales et leptorhiniens, est très souvent disharmonique, à face large et courte, à orbites presque carrées. Le crâne targui au contraire, est harmonique, la face

1. Leblanc, Les Touaregs, *Revue Anthropologique*, janv.-mars 1929, p. 39.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



est longue, bien que large et à pommettes saillantes, comme nous l'avons déjà dit.

La conclusion de Leblanc est celle-ci : « le type targui de l'Ăhaggar a des analogies lointaines, celles des grandes catégories, avec d'autres types dits berbères, mais se séparant nettement d'eux, par des caractères morphologiques. La séparation remonte loin, et même Kabyles et Touaregs ne sont pas nettement distincts dès leur apparition en Afrique du Nord [1] ».

On voit donc qu'il existe dans l'Ăhaggar deux types bien déterminés, l'un de grande taille, tout à fait particulier, et l'autre de taille moyenne, apparenté aux Berbères de l'Afrique du Nord, qui se classe dans la grande famille des Méditerranéens.

A côté des Touaregs, il faut citer d'autres populations berbérophones moins pures. Ce sont les Issekkemâren issus de Touaregs et d'Arabes du Touat et du Tidikelt. Leblanc, qui les a étudiés également, leur a trouvé, malgré ces croisements, des caractères très proches de ceux des Kel Ăhaggar. Ils sont un peu plus dolichocéphales que ces derniers, le visage est un peu plus long, le front un peu plus étroit, les pommettes moins saillantes et *ils sont mésorhiniens*.

Nous compléterons cet exposé en disant un mot des femmes touarègues.

On ne possède d'elles que peu de mensurations. Seul le Docteur Leblanc en a donné. Elles portent sur un petit nombre de sujets, car il est toujours difficile de soumettre les femmes à un examen anthropologique. D'après lui, la femme touarègue est beaucoup plus petite que l'homme et n'a que 151 cm. de moyenne contre 174,1. Son crâne est moins allongé et nettement mésocéphale, sa face est moins longue, son front plus large que celui de l'homme, le rapport tête-taille debout est plus élevé que chez ce dernier. Le tronc est plus long et les membres inférieurs, quoique longs, le sont proportionnellement moins que chez l'homme.

Si nous nous plaçons maintenant sur un plan général, nous dirons que les Touaregs constituent une belle race, résistante, bien adaptée au désert, grâce à la sélection très sévère due au climat et aux conditions très dures de l'existence.

Les hommes sont secs, et moyennement musclés, avec des formes un peu saillantes dues à l'absence de graisse. Les

1. Leblanc, Les Touaregs, *Revue Anthropologique*, janv., mars 1929, p. 39.

femmes, au contraire, sont souvent potelées, caractère qu'elles doivent au régime lacté et au peu d'exercice physique que leur vie nonchalante sous la tente favorise. Certaines présentent un développement considérable des parties glutérales qui évoque la stéatopygie et qui peut être due à d'anciens croisements négroïdes ou au fait d'être, la majorité du temps, dans la position assise.

On ne peut pas parler de beauté physique chez les hommes. Tous les voyageurs ont été frappés de la vivacité de leur regard, de la beauté de leurs yeux. Mais le voile cache souvent un visage osseux, sans aucune finesse, sans aucune noblesse de traits, au point que les Arabes disent souvent que les Touaregs portent un voile pour masquer la grossièreté de leur visage. Inutile de dire que ce n'est pas là l'origine du voile, mais ce trait acerbe de leur ennemi ancestral est bien fait pour situer leur degré de beauté physique.

Seuls les Ifôras font un peu exception à la règle et ce détail est bien connu des Touaregs eux-mêmes, dont un des dictons est : « beau comme un Afaris ».

Les femmes ont le visage agréable, aux traits généralement plus réguliers que ceux des hommes, un « type » quelquefois plein de noblesse, mais le regard souvent dur, le front têtu et volontaire, leur enlèvent une certaine féminité qui aurait été loin de nuire à leur beauté.

Elles sont souvent affligées d'un prognatisme alvéolaire et d'un écartement des dents fâcheux. Par contre, elles ont une chevelure abondante et très belle, rehaussée par des coiffures très esthétiques formées de multitudes de tresses tombant harmonieusement sur les épaules. Les attaches sont fines, les mains petites et délicates, mais la jambe est généralement grêle.

Beaucoup cherchent un engraissement qu'elles s'efforcent de provoquer en absorbant de grandes quantités de lait ou des plantes médicinales telles que l'*afalezlez el bétina*, une jusquiame très commune dans certaines régions du bas Ăhaggar.

Mais cette coutume, du fait de la carence alimentaire qui est une règle presque générale dans l'Ăhaggar, tend de plus en plus à disparaître, sauf chez les femmes de chefs, alors qu'elle est encore très en honneur dans les tribus de la zone soudanaise.

Nous terminerons ce chapitre en disant qu'il se forme sous nos yeux un petit groupe ethnique nouveau dans l'Ăhaggar. C'est ainsi que d'anciens militaires chaamba des compagnies sahariennes ont pris leur retraite dans le pays. Ils ont épousé

des femmes touarègues, ont fondé des foyers et vivent maintenant au milieu des campements, à la manière des Touaregs. Leurs familles groupent, à l'heure actuelle, environ 70 individus susceptibles, dans l'avenir, d'apporter des éléments somatiques nouveaux aux Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar.

*Groupes sanguins*

On sait l'importance qu'a prise l'étude des groupes sanguins dans l'anthropologie biologique. A ce sujet, les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar ont fait l'objet d'une enquête de la part de M. Kossovitch qui donne les chiffres suivants : [1]

| | O | A | B | AB | Indice |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Touaregs nobles ..... | 55,8 | 34,2 | 8,2 | 2,0 | 3,62 |
| Touaregs imrad..... | 52,6 | 26,8 | 17,5 | 3,1 | 1,45 |

lesquels font ressortir d'une façon générale la prédominance du groupe O et la supériorité des éléments A (élément européen) sur les éléments B (élément afro-asiatique).

Les imrad révèlent par contre un pourcentage de B très élevé et inversement plus faible en A que chez les nobles, ce qui indique une plus grande proportion de sang noir. Kossovitch a traduit ce phénomène en disant que « le métissage des Touaregs « nobles » avec les éléments négroïdes a donné un nouveau groupe ethnique, dit « Touareg-Imrad ». Ce n'est pas exact, car s'il est vrai que les vassaux accusent un sang plus teinté que les suzerains, ce n'est pas à leur métissage qu'ils doivent leur vassalité, mais à un fait politique qui n'a rien à voir avec leurs alliances négroïdes qui sont dues à l'existence de lois sociales moins rigoureuses chez les Imrad que chez les Imochar.

On notera que ce chiffre 8,2 B des Imochar de l'Ăhaggar en fait les moins négroïdisés des Blancs de l'Afrique du Nord, sauf les Berbères tunisiens (7,8), alors que les Egyptiens ont 29,3 et les Juifs et les Arabes du Maroc 19,9.

On manque jusqu'à présent de données pour les Touaregs soudanais.

1. Recherche séro-anthropologique chez quelques peuples du Sahara Français, *C. R. Soc. Biologie*, Paris, T. CXVI, 1934, pp. 759-760 ; — Benoit et Kossovitch, Les groupes sanguins chez les Berférophones. (Ile de Djerba, Hoggar, Maroc), Paris, *C. R. Soc. de Biologie*, T. CIX, 1932, pp. 198-200.

# CHAPITRE III

## LANGUE, ÉCRITURE ET LITTÉRATURE ORALE DES TOUAREGS

Langue. — La langue parlée par les Touaregs porte le nom de *tàmâhak* ou de *tàmâcheq* suivant que l'on a affaire à des tribus sahariennes ou soudanaises. Elle appartient au berbère et en est un des dialectes resté vraisemblablement parmi les plus purs.

Si l'on veut en rechercher les origines, nous voyons que le berbère appartient à ce que les linguistes ont dénommé le *chamito-sémitique*, qui comprend le *sémitique*, l'*égyptien*, le *libyco-berbère* et le *couchique*, c'est-à-dire à un groupe de langues qui avaient un ancêtre commun et qui sont actuellement répandues, dans leur forme moderne, en Arabie et sur ses limites nord, et dans toute l'Afrique du Nord. Par leur langue, les Touaregs appartiennent donc à la civilisation proche-orientale.

Le tămâhak descend du libyco-berbère, lequel était répandu au v^e siècle avant J.-C. sur tout le nord de l'Afrique, hypothétiquement sur une partie du Sahara, du Cap Juby aux rives du Nil. Le libyco-berbère se conserva longtemps parmi les tribus d'origine libyenne et malgré les invasions romaines, vandales, byzantines, qui se succédèrent en Afrique du Nord, il ne semble pas avoir été altéré par ces influences étrangères, sauf peut-être par le punique qui fit de grands progrès autour de Carthage. Dans sa forme moderne, c'est-à-dire le berbère, il devait céder du terrain devant la langue arabe, et cette dernière, par son caractère religieux, fit rapidement entrer les dialectes berbères en régression ; ce phénomène, commencé au VIII^e siècle, se prolonge encore sous nos yeux au point que le berbère semble avoir perdu toute chance de former une langue de civilisation. En Afrique du Nord, la langue berbère est encore parlée par 30 % de la population dont une grande partie comprend aussi l'arabe ; elle s'est maintenue dans l'Aurès, en Petite Kabylie, aux environs de Lalla-Marnia et chez

les Chleuhs du Maroc, autrement dit dans des pays de montagne où le nomade chamelier, vecteur de l'islamisme, ne pénètre pas, et chez les Touaregs.

Ce recul actuel du berbère peut s'expliquer par son manque total d'unité, d'écriture et de règles grammaticales bien établies. Les Berbères ont pourtant possédé un alphabet que l'on retrouve, sous une forme évoluée, chez les Touaregs — le tifinagh — mais on ne possède aucun manuscrit rédigé avec ces caractères et il paraît acquis que le punique, puis le latin leur ont servi de langue écrite, ensuite l'arabe qui est d'un usage courant chez les lettrés berbères qui y ajoutent certains signes propres à rendre certains phonèmes de leur langue, inexistants dans la langue arabe.

Le tămâhak se divise en plusieurs dialectes : celui parlé par les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar et du Tassili ; celui des Touaregs de l'Aïr ; celui des Touaregs de l'Ădrar ; celui des Ioullimmiden et des Touaregs du fleuve et de la région de Tombouctou. Des noms locaux les distinguent les uns des autres, et c'est ainsi que le dialecte de l'Ăhaggar s'appelle le *Tahaggart*, celui de l'Ădrar, le *Tadrakt*, et celui des Ioullimmiden le *Taoullemet*. Ils présentent d'assez grandes différences entre eux, au point que les Touaregs de régions différentes, éprouvent souvent quelque difficulté pour se comprendre. Le propre du tămâhak, en effet, est de ne pas être fixé et la construction des phrases, qui est très inconstante, varie d'une fraction à une autre lorsque ce n'est pas d'un individu à l'autre.

Le dialecte de l'Ăhaggar, qui a été étudié par le Père de Foucauld, peut être considéré comme le plus pur, n'ayant fait que peu d'emprunts aux langues étrangères voisines. On y retrouve, ce qui est curieux, un certain nombre de mots latins se rapportant à des sujets religieux ainsi qu'à la division du temps, ce qui a fait songer à une ancienne christianisation des Touaregs. Ils les doivent certainement à d'anciens éléments qui habitaient autrefois l'Afrique du Nord et qui purent être plus ou moins légèrement christianisés, ou simplement en contact avec des tribus chrétiennes. L'introduction de la religion musulmane a provoqué de son côté l'adoption d'un assez grand nombre de termes religieux. Les dialectes des Touaregs du Soudan sont beaucoup plus touchés par les langues voisines, haoussa et sonrhaï, étant donné l'interpénétration qui se produit entre nomades touaregs et sédentaires soudanais.

Le tămâhak, comme le berbère, est difficile à comprendre

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



pour des étrangers. L'embarras devant lequel les auteurs anciens, grecs et romains, se sont trouvés pour comprendre les Libyens, s'est perpétué dans les temps modernes et si Corippus pouvait qualifier leur langage de « murmure », les Arabes, les Sonrhaï et les Haoussa du Soûdan désignent souvent les Touaregs par « ceux que l'on ne comprend pas ». Et c'est à juste titre, car les Touaregs parlent avec une rapidité déconcertante, sur un ton sans inflexion, que vient encore embuer le port du voile.

Il est intéressant de noter l'unité de la langue des Touaregs qui, ajoutée à leur unité culturelle, prouve que l'on se trouve en face d'un groupement humain qui s'est trouvé isolé du reste des Berbères depuis fort longtemps, duquel il diffère d'ailleurs sur beaucoup de points.

Écriture. — L'une des plus grandes surprises qu'eurent les voyageurs et les savants qui étudièrent les Touaregs, fut de retrouver chez eux l'alphabet tifinagh encore bien conservé.

Le tifinagh est un dérivé du libyco-berbère, lequel est considéré comme un dérivé du punique. Le phénicien-punique, introduit en Afrique du Nord avec les Carthaginois, fut employé dans tout le bassin méditerranéen. Les plus anciennes inscriptions connues remonteraient au IXe siècle avant J.-C. Quant aux inscriptions libyques elles leur sont très nettement postérieures et aucune ne semble être authentiquement antérieure au IVe siècle avant J.-C. Elles ont une aire de répartition très vaste et elles sont répandues du Mont Sinaï aux îles Canaries ; elles abondent particulièrement dans l'ancien domaine de Carthage.

Le libyco-berbère a succédé au libyque et les inscriptions qui se rapportent à cette écriture sont surtout répandues dans l'Afrique septentrionale, dans tout le Sahara et dans la bande sahélienne du Soudan qui y confine. Pour cette raison, elles sont parfois appelées libyco-berbères ou sahariennes. Le libyco-berbère constitue une liaison entre le libyque et le tifinagh.

Le tifinagh comprend 24 caractères, de formes géométriques simples, composés de points, de traits, de cercles, ou de figures dérivées. Ces 24 caractères sont essentiellement des consonnes et l'alphabet ne possède pas de voyelles, sauf un signe correspondant à *a*, mais qui n'est employé qu'au commencement et surtout à la fin des mots. La moitié de ces caractères

concorde avec le libyque dont six lettres de ce dernier s'apparentent au phénicien. Son emploi tombe de plus en plus en

| Caractères Tifinâgh | nom | VALEUR | LIBYQUE | Caractères Tifinâgh | nom | VALEUR | LIBYQUE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| • | tar'erit | A E I | | ⵀ ⵃ ⵄ ⵅ H | ief | F | ⵉ ⵊ |
| ⵍ ⵎ ⵏ ⵓ | yeb | B | ⊙ ⊡ | ⵖ ⵗ ⵘ ⵙ | ieg | G' | ⵚ ÷ |
| + | ïet | T | + × ⵛ | ⵜ = | iel | L | ⵝ = |
| ∩ ∧ ∪ ⵡ | ied | D | ⵢ ⵣ | ⵤ ⵥ ⵦ | iem | M | ⵧ ⵨ |
| I ⵩ ⵪ | iej | J | | I _ | ien | N | I _ |
| # ⵫ | iez' (em | Z phat | ⵬ ique) | ⵭ ⵮ ⵯ | iek | K | ⵰ ⵱ |
| ⵲ ⵳ ⵴ | iez | Z | | ... | iak | Q | |
| □ ○ | ier | R | ○ □ | ⵵ ⵶ ⵷ ⵸ | iesch | CH | |
| ⊡ ⊙ | ies | S | | ⵹ ⵺ | rah | H | ⵻ ⵼ |
| ⵽ ⵾ ⵿ ⶀ | ieg | G | ⊤ ⊥ | ⶁ ⶂ ⶃ | dad'h | DH' | |
| ⶄ ⶅ | rakh | KR' | ⶆ | ⶇ ⶈ ⶉ ⶊ | ié | i | |
| ⶋ | ieu | EU OU | ⶌ ⶍ | ⶎ ⶏ | iet' | T' | |

FIG. 15. — Alphabet tifinagh et ses affinités avec le libyque.

désuétude et il n'est plus que très rarement employé pour la correspondance. Étant complètement phonétique, le tifinagh varie suivant les dialectes et ne peut donc contribuer à

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



la fixation de la langue. Il s'écrit de droite à gauche, de gauche à droite, de haut en bas, de bas en haut, quelquefois en colimaçon, et n'a aucun signe de ponctuation, de majuscules ou de signes secondaires pour séparer les mots ou les phrases, si bien que chaque individu l'emploie suivant son caprice. A l'heure actuelle il sert à envoyer de courts messages, à graver ou à inscrire des devises ou des vers amoureux sur les rochers, sur les bracelets de pierre des guerriers, sur les instruments de musique de leur maîtresse, ou plus simplement à marquer la propriété d'un objet. Certaines inscriptions de l'Ăhaggar indiqueraient des passages difficiles, la direction de certains points d'eau, d'anciennes délimitations de terrains de parcours ; on ne connaît pas, jusqu'à présent, de stèles funéraires gravées en caractères tifinagh.

L'usage du tifinagh est maintenant si peu courant qu'une inscription quelconque est souvent un véritable rébus pour un Targui connaissant lui-même cet alphabet. L'homme est obligé de se livrer à une véritable gymnastique intellectuelle, il épelle les signes les uns après les autres et c'est après plusieurs essais de ce genre qu'il arrive à deviner le sens de la phrase plutôt qu'il ne la traduit, si toutefois il y arrive. Les femmes touarègues semblent à ce sujet plus douées que les hommes, et dans l'ensemble, elles sont plus savantes, mais leurs connaissances ne vont jamais jusqu'à un emploi courant de l'écriture.

Il semble que cet état de choses soit très ancien, car, comme pour le libyque et le libyco-berbère, on ne connaît aucun manuscrit, aucun texte écrit en tifinagh.

Nous avons pu voir des messages très courts écrits sur peau, sur papier, gravés sur pierre ou sculptés sur bois.

Il n'existe pas de langage tambouriné chez les Touaregs, sauf les coups de tobol conventionnels pour appeler les hommes à la guerre. Ils emploient des bâtons-mémoires pour se souvenir de certains chiffres, en faisant de petites encoches dans une branche de bois, et ils se servent de la numération décimale.

Littérature orale. — Le nomade targui est un poète né. La solitude l'enchante, l'émeut, et, seul dans le désert, il écoutera sa voix pour passer le temps ; il dira ses peines, ses joies et ses espoirs au vent qui les emportera sans renvoyer d'écho.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Cet affamé perpétuel, ce coureur de grandes routes a soif de poésie, et malgré sa rudesse culturelle, il se laisse émouvoir par les récits rapportant les beaux coups d'épée, le charme des femmes, les qualités de son méhari.

Grâce au Père de Foucauld, on possède sur la littérature orale des Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar une documentation unique qui atteste leur caractère poétique. Le fait de composer des vers n'est pas le propre de quelques-uns, mais tous sont susceptibles d'en faire, nobles, vassaux, esclaves, aussi bien hommes que femmes, mais les nobles ont la renommée d'être plus éclectiques que les autres.

En examinant la littérature orale des Touaregs du Nord, il ressort que les sujets les plus courants de la poésie touarègue portent principalement ssr les événements guerriers, les voyages, les femmes, l'amour, ce qui reflète en somme les mœurs des Touaregs et remplit leur vie. Une place de choix est réservée à leur méhari et cela s'explique par le rôle capital que cet animal joue dans les déplacements et les guerres.

C'est un jeu, un passe-temps pour les Touaregs de faire des vers ; très frondeurs, ils se plaisent à en composer sur leurs amis, quelquefois à les tourner en dérision, sur leurs ennemis ou leurs rivaux des cours d'amour, et ceci donne lieu à des joutes littéraires qui se prolongent au cours de plusieurs soirées.

Les vers peuvent être récités ou chantés, accompagnés ou non de musique. On les chante ou on les déclame le soir au cours des réunions musicales, ou bien encore le long des pistes sahariennes en se laissant aller au pas lent du méhari, pour chasser la monotonie de la route.

Certains poèmes sont connus de tous, on les dit et redit pour leur beauté, pour le charme qu'ils procurent aux oreilles, de même que certaines chansons devenues classiques se chantent en canon.

La versification touarègue a des règles que les meilleurs poètes respectent et suivant le nombre de pieds formés de syllabes longues, brèves ou moyennes, les vers appartiennent aux formes *seienin*, *heinena*, *il-aner-Ialla* et *aliouen*. La forme *seienin* comporte généralement quatre pieds ; la forme *heinena*, deux hémistiches dont le premier de trois pieds et le deuxième d'un seul ; la forme *il-aner-Ialla* a quatre pieds, mais le premier comprend une syllabe brève et une longue, le deuxième, une syllabe brève et une longue, ou une brève sans règle déterminée, alors que dans la forme *seienin*, les deux premiers pieds

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



se composent invariablement d'une syllabe brève et d'une longue ; enfin la forme *aliouen*, vraisemblablement très ancienne et qui se perd à l'heure actuelle, semble être composée de douze syllabes en deux hémistiches.

D'après le Père de Foucauld. la forme *seienin* serait originaire de l'Ăhaggar et aurait un caractère national ; au contraire, la forme *heinena* viendrait de l'Ăjjer et serait employée beaucoup plus récemment que la *seienin*, vieille d'une centaine d'années ; la forme *il-aner-Ialla* (Dieu nous possède), originaire également des Ăjjer, très en usage vers le milieu du siècle dernier, serait plus ancienne que la *seienin*. Ces trois formes servent pour tous les sujets alors que la forme *aliouen* (les oliviers) n'est employée que chantée par les femmes dans les fêtes du mariage.

Il existe encore d'autres formes, mais dont l'usage se perd de plus en plus : telles sont les formes *târe*, *ahellel* et *âzahalag*.

A chacune de ces formes correspond un certain nombre d'airs de violon, mais ces derniers ne sont pas très variés, ce qui est normal, étant donné que l'instrument ne possède qu'une unique corde et qu'il est déjà assez extraordinaire de pouvoir en tirer des sons harmonieux qui s'enchaînent.

A la forme *seienin* correspondent des airs de chant dits de la *Kedouha*, d'*Agg-Amma*, des *Kel Rela*, etc.... A la forme *heinena*, ceux de *Gôgi*, *Chêt-Gânet*, *Kel-Ăras*, *Oukkiren*, etc... ; le rythme *il-aner-Ialla*, par son caractère cérémonial, n'est chanté que sur deux airs, celui des Ăjjer et celui de l'Ăhaggar. Le nom de ces airs correspond aux noms des hommes pour lesquels ils ont été innovés, ou bien aux noms des tribus dans lesquelles on a l'habitude de les jouer.

La musique touarègue ressemble beaucoup à celle de certaines tribus berbères de l'Atlas et si l'étude n'en a pas encore été faite, il est certain que l'on découvrira un jour une parenté musicale entre ces différentes tribus.

Quant aux réunions musicales, leur tenue n'est pas toujours d'une haute qualité littéraire. Parfois les vers qu'on y entend sont d'une grossièreté et d'une vulgarité sans pareille, mais il faut dire aussi, pour l'excuse des Touaregs, qu'à l'heure actuelle, ils n'ont plus tout à fait les beaux sujets de versification d'autrefois.

Il existe également chez les Touaregs des contes, des fables, des proverbes et de nombreuses légendes. Les contes et les

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fables sont surtout à l'usage des enfants ; les vieilles femmes les leur racontent pendant les soirées où tout le monde est rassemblé autour des feux de camp. Les animaux, le chacal, l'hyène, sont souvent les héros de ces histoires à caractère moral. Il semble d'ailleurs que tous ces récits ne sont pas propres aux Touaregs, mais qu'ils sont répandus dans toute l'Afrique septentrionale, et même chez les Soudanais. Quant aux légendes, elles forment un folklore très étendu de toute la vie ancienne de l'Ăhaggar, elles se rapportent à d'anciens personnages ayant habité autrefois le pays, aux montagnes, à certains arbres également à qui les Touaregs attribuent une vie propre, vestiges d'anciens mythes qui à travers les siècles se sont transmis jusqu'à nous.

# *LIVRE IV*
# *LES TOUAREGS DE L'AHAGGAR*
## *ORGANISATION SOCIALE*
## *CONFÉDÉRATION DE L'AHAGGAR*

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## CHAPITRE PREMIER

## ORGANISATION SOCIALE

Nous parlerons ici des Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar. Mais comme tous les Touaregs forment un groupe ethnique assez homogène, ce que nous dirons de leur organisation sociale sera, d'une façon générale, valable pour l'ensemble, quoique la leur soit beaucoup plus restée à l'abri des influences étrangères que celle des autres groupements, du fait de leur isolement au cœur du Sahara.

Les Ihăggaren peuvent donc être considérés, grâce à cet isolement, comme les témoins et les représentants de la civilisation touarègue.

Classes et castes. — L'organisation sociale présente chez eux de fortes analogies avec notre ancien système féodal. On y trouve, en effet, un chef dont l'autorité nominale s'exerce sur toutes les tribus, un système de classes (aserkam) qui divise les tribus en suzeraines et vassales, des éléments religieux et des serfs, venant s'inféoder aux uns ou aux autres, et une caste artisanale.

Les classes, dans les sociétés dites primitives, sont nées de la propriété privée, de la richesse, de l'autorité des forts qui deviennent protecteurs des faibles, et ont eu pour corollaire la guerre et l'esclavage ; le système des castes, qui est une forme accentuée de celui des classes, comporte la spécialisation héréditaire, la hiérarchie, la répulsion entre les différents groupes, le refus de frayer avec les individus de caste différente, principes en partie en vigueur chez les Touaregs, dont le type d'organisation sociale emprunte aux deux systèmes.

[p. 149]

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Il y a d'ailleurs entre les deux régimes de grandes analogies. Cette espèce d'organisation aristocratique convient bien à la vie nomade, à l'encontre de l'organisation démocratique que l'on trouve plus communément chez les sédentaires.

Selon certains auteurs, le système des castes serait spécifiquement hindou ; il n'aurait existé, à l'état de pureté, que dans l'Inde, et à un degré moindre, dans l'ancienne Égypte [1]. Nous ne sommes donc guère surpris de retrouver cette organisation chez les Touaregs qui, culturellement, appartiennent au même cycle de civilisation.

La cristallisation de cette organisation chez ce peuple qui, dans l'ensemble, possède des qualités intellectuelles assez élevées, de même que la cristallisation matérielle, ne peuvent s'expliquer que par l'isolement dans lequel il est confiné par suite de circonstances où le climat a certainement joué un grand rôle.

Les Touaregs sont divisés en suzerains (*Imochar*) à caractère spécifiquement guerrier, en vassaux (*Imrad*) plus généralement pasteurs, en religieux (*Inislimen*), en serfs (*Iklân*), auxquels viennent s'ajouter des éléments d'autres origines qui leur sont inféodés, tels les *Issekkemâren*, les *Iboroliten* et les *Enaden*.

Cette hiérarchie actuelle provient évidemment d'une suite de guerres et de compétitions intestines. Dans la lutte pour la vie, chacun s'est efforcé de tailler sa part et comme toujours ce fut au détriment du plus faible. Des tribus ont atteint une prédominance qu'elles n'ont pas toujours pu conserver, que d'autres leur ont ravie, et de suzeraines sont devenues vassales ; mais malgré ces imprévus de la guerre, les Touaregs attachent une grande importance aux origines du sang et respectent toujours les gens de haute naissance, fussent-ils leurs vaincus.

C'est ainsi qu'à l'heure actuelle, on voit les nobles de l'Ăhaggar et des Ăjjer rechercher les alliances avec des femmes de la fraction déchue des Sultans Imenan, ce qui ajoute aux fleurons de leur haute origine un certain caractère de noblesse religieuse qui, chez les musulmans, est fort apprécié.

Monogamie et matriarcat. — Pour comprendre la société touarègue, il faut retenir deux faits importants, qui ne sont d'ailleurs pas tout à fait indépendants l'un de l'autre, la monogamie et le matriarcat.

1. Deniker. *Les races et les peuples de la terre*, p. 489.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Alors que les Touaregs sont musulmans, qu'ils ont pour voisins des peuples polygames, on est étonné de constater qu'ils pratiquent la monogamie. C'est un indice évident que la femme tient dans leur société une place importante, nullement comparable à celle qu'elle occupe chez les Arabes. Ceci a frappé beaucoup les premiers voyageurs qui ont cru voir, dans la persistance de la monogamie, des traces d'une ancienne christianisation. Cet argument serait peut-être à retenir si l'on ne savait, d'autre part, que l'organisation sociale des Touaregs repose sur le matriarcat, coutume ancienne bien antérieure à l'ère chrétienne, qui explique la monogamie et la situation particulièrement élevée de la femme.

« On peut dire, a écrit Gautier à ce sujet, que les Touaregs pratiquent la galanterie chevaleresque ; l'expression n'est inadéquate que par l'association d'esprit qu'elle évoque : notre chevalerie est d'origine chrétienne ; le respect du Touareg pour la femme a des raisons bien plus profondes et bien plus lointaines, il remonte au matriarcat, il est antérieur à la notion de l'État et même à celle de la famille, c'est un témoin resté vivant de l'humanité tout à fait primordiale, un sentiment, si l'on peut dire, de l'âge quaternaire [1]. »

Le matriarcat remonte, en effet, au temps où les primitifs n'avaient pas de notions exactes sur les causes de l'enfantement.

Car « il semble, dit encore Gautier, que l'humanité primitive ait attribué toute naissance à une parthénogénèse et n'ait imaginé d'autre conception qu'immaculée ; elle n'a pas vu de lien inéluctable entre la caresse et la gestation : tout en pratiquant d'instinct la fécondation, elle ne s'en est pas fait une idée nette. Le mot de père n'a pas eu de sens pour elle et par conséquent les enfants n'ont pu se grouper qu'autour de la mère [2]. »

D'autre part, les règles du mariage n'étaient à cette époque pas encore établies, ce qui rendait la recherche de la paternité impossible. C'est de cet état de fait que découle la filiation par la branche utérine. Avec les croyances totémiques que l'on trouve dans les civilisations inférieures, le système matrilocal trouva encore une raison d'être, fut lié à l'exogamie, empêcha les unions entre les parents les plus proches, entre gens de castes différentes, et rendit l'inceste impossible.

Il existe dans certains groupements primitifs de l'Australie

1. *La conquête du Sahara*, p. 33.
2. *La conquête du Sahara*, p. 190.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



dont l'étude nous aide pour la compréhension de l'évolution des sociétés, un système de parenté par classes de parenté que l'on retrouve chez les Touaregs et les peuples du Soudan. Il a été défini par Morgan et groupe au premier degré les frères, les sœurs, les cousins, au deuxième degré le père, la mère et leurs frères et sœurs, au troisième degré les grands-parents avec leurs frères et sœurs, etc..., etc...

Dans le matriarcat, le défenseur naturel de l'enfant est le frère de sa mère ; de même, se rattache au matriarcat l'obligation pour le mari d'habiter dans la famille de sa femme, coutume pratiquée dans l'Ăhaggar où le mari doit rester un an au campement de ses beaux-parents, temps qui est abrégé lorsque la jeune épouse a enfanté. Lorsqu'une femme devient veuve d'un homme qui n'appartient pas à sa tribu, elle rejoint cette dernière en emmenant ses enfants avec elle ; mais si elle divorce et si elle a des enfants adolescents, ces derniers restent avec le père. On retrouve ici une influence islamique en même temps qu'un système mixte matri-patriarcal.

Une des conséquences du matriarcat est de provoquer des différends qui opposent les cousins et mettent le père, partagé entre son affection paternelle et ses liens claniques, dans une situation embarrassante. Le cas est différent pour la filiation masculine qui, comme l'a écrit Lowie [1], bien que ne créant pas à elle seule la solidarité, favorise la formation d'unités politiques plus vastes et stables, et c'est ainsi que l'on pourrait expliquer en partie l'état tant soit peu anarchique dans lequel vivent les Touaregs.

Chez eux, nous nous trouvons, à l'heure actuelle, devant un matriarcat évoluant vers le patriarcat, et si la femme donne la caste à ses enfants, assure leurs droits politiques, sa position sociale n'est pas prédominante par rapport à celle de l'homme qui est le chef de famille. Nous retrouvons cette notion dans beaucoup de tribus australiennes à matriarcat archaïque où la situation de la femme n'est pas meilleure dans les tribus matrilinaires que dans les tribus patrilinaires [2].

Cependant la femme dispose dans les sociétés matriarcales d'une plus grande liberté que dans les sociétés patriarcales ; elle est consultée, en ce qui concerne son mariage, sur le choix de son mari, elle a la libre disposition de ses biens, les gère sui-

1. *Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle*, p. 292.
2. Lowie, ouv. cit., p. 292.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



vant sa fantaisie et dispose même d'une plus grande liberté de mœurs.

Il est assez difficile de préciser l'origine du matriarcat chez les Touaregs.

Il semble avoir existé anciennement chez tous les Hamites. Frobénius en voit des traces dans les coutumes traditionnelles qui laissent le montage de la tente aux femmes, lui donnent le monopole du travail du cuir, traits particuliers révélant le caractère primordial du sentiment de la vie chez les Hamites [1].

Chez les Ihăggaren, la femme lègue à ses enfants ses droits sociaux et politiques. Ceux-ci sont particulièrement importants lorsqu'il s'agit de la succession d'un chef. La filiation politique du premier degré se fait au frère, au deuxième degré, au fils aîné de la tante maternelle, au troisième degré, au fils aîné de la sœur aînée, ce qui constitue une garantie pour a transmission du sang dans la lignée des chefs.

Les Ioullimmiden ne pratiquent pas la succession politique suivant les règles du matriarcat. L'explorateur Barth nous a même rapporté qu'ils considèrent cette coutume comme honteuse « et ne témoignant que du peu de confiance du chef en la vertu de sa femme [2] ».

Si le commandement est actuellement le privilège des hommes, il n'est pas impossible que dans le passé les femmes aient été investies du pouvoir. Nous en avons un témoignage dans l'histoire de la reine berbère, la Kahéna, qui résista longtemps aux envahisseurs arabes qui tentaient de soumettre l'Aurès, au VIIIe siècle. La légende de Ti-n-Hînân, ancêtre maternelle des Touaregs Ihăggaren, laisse supposer que cette femme était alors leur reine. En 1475, une fraction berbère installée au Soudan, les Sanhadja-Nounou, était gouvernée par une femme du nom de Bikoun-Kabi, que l'empereur sonrhaï Sonni-Ali eut à vaincre pour s'emparer de son territoire. L'auteur du Tarik-es-Soudan, Es-Sadi, rapporte plusieurs faits de ce genre.

L'islamisation des tribus berbères n'est certainement pas étrangère à l'élimination de cette coutume. De nos jours, les femmes ne jouent plus aucun rôle politique officiel. Mais elles se sont faites les gardiennes des coutumes ancestrales et du folklore, et elles sont si fortes de leur autorité que l'on

1. In: JENSEN, Les orbes culturels de l'Afrique, *L'Afrique, Cahiers d'art*, 1931.
2. *Voyages et découvertes en Afrique*, t. I, p. 205.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



ne peut que citer la réponse d'un Targui à un Arabe qui lui faisait une remontrance au sujet des mœurs touarègues : « Personne n'oserait faire autrement, car ensuite, aucune femme ne voudrait plus nous regarder. »

La persistance de la monogamie chez les Touaregs est, de plus, favorisée par le surnombre très important d'hommes que l'on trouve chez eux, fait exceptionnel et contraire à ce que l'on observe dans les autres groupements humains.

L'Aménokal. — Aménokal veut dire, en langue tămâhak, possesseur du pays (de am, préfixe de possession, et de akal : pays).

Dans l'Ăhaggar, ce titre n'est conféré qu'au chef suprême régnant sur un ensemble de tribus nobles, vassales ou assimilées, alors que dans les tribus soudanaises il est parfois appliqué à des chefs de fraction, voire même à de simples chefs de campement.

L'Aménokal est désigné d'après des règles héréditaires découlant du système matriarcal, et est toujours choisi, non pas seulement dans la même tribu, mais dans la même lignée que l'on pourrait comparer au clan. La domination, pour être effective, doit être sanctionnée par l'approbation des nobles auxquels se joignent, pour la circonstance, les chefs des tribus vassales. L'approbation entraîne pour ces derniers, l'acceptation de payer ultérieurement un tribut.

Il y a parfois plusieurs prétendants au titre, soit qu'un descendant d'une famille évincée antérieurement fasse valoir ses droits, soit que l'héritier naturel ait été reconnu inapte au commandement ce qui entraîne une compétition où les règles héréditaires ne sont pas toujours respectées.

Suivant les règles précitées, la succession politique d'un aménokal revient au premier degré à son frère, au deuxième degré, c'est-à-dire au cas où il n'a pas de frère, à son cousin germain, fils aîné de sa tante maternelle, et en troisième degré, au fils aîné de sa sœur aînée. C'est en effet ce qui ressort de l'étude de la généalogie des chefs de l'Ăhaggar faite par M. Benhazéra [1] et modifiant l'ordre indiqué par Duveyrier, qui attribuait la succession au fils aîné de la sœur aînée [2].

Pour des raisons inconnues, ces règles n'ont pas toujours été suivies. C'est ainsi que l'Aménokal Younès succéda à son

1. *Six mois dans l'Ahaggar.*
2. *Les Touareg du Nord*, p. 397.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



père Mohamed el Khir et l'Aménokal Ăitarel à son cousin El Khadj Akhmed, alors que ce dernier avait des parents plus proches. Encore récemment à la mort de l'Aménokal Akhamouk, ce fut son cousin au deuxième degré Meslah qui fut nommé pour le remplacer, alors qu'il avait un cousin au premier degré, fils de la sœur de l'ancien aménokal Moussa ag Ămâstan, qui fut éloigné du commandement pour incapacité.

Chez les Tenguériguifs, les chefs sont choisis alternativement dans deux lignées latérales, issues du même chef, Ikhmed, si bien que l'Aménokal décédé ne peut jamais avoir son frère pour successeur, mais un cousin au deuxième ou troisième degré, qui n'est pas pris obligatoirement dans la branche utérine. Comme chez les Ihăggaren, la nomination de l'Aménokal est soumise à l'agrément d'une assemblée de notables.

Chez les Ioullimmiden, depuis l'Aménokal Our Ilmet (1650-1715), sur quatorze chefs qui se sont succédés, nous remarquons six successions de père à fils, deux fois de frère à frère, deux fois d'oncle à neuveu et deux fois de petit cousin à petit cousin. La coutume matriarcale n'a pas été suivie, mais on sait, d'après les traditions recueillies chez les Ioullimmiden, qu'à l'élection d'Our Ilmet, l'ancêtre éponyme de la tribu, les Touaregs se battirent entre eux au sujet de la coutume successorale, et que le parti qui soutenait Our Ilmet, candidat patriarcal, finit par l'emporter [1].

Comme nous l'avons déjà noté, et comme l'a fait remarquer Seligman, on constate, qu'en dépit du fait que la descendance soit matrilinaire (sauf chez les Ioullimmiden) le gouvernement de chaque unité est patriarcal, et pour le principal similaire à ce qu'il est dans une tribu arabe nomade [2].

L'Aménokal n'est pas inamovible, et le titulaire peut être, pour une raison ou pour une autre, dépossédé par un chef plus populaire. Il perçoit annuellement sur chaque fraction un tribut, soit sous forme de vivres, graines, beurre, animaux, domestiques, soit de peaux et d'objets travaillés ; les caravanes lui paient une dîme de passage ; il reçoit le produit de certaines terres et de certains troupeaux qui sont son apanage. En échange, il doit entretenir les membres de son entourage et les parents de son prédécesseur.

Il existait jadis, chez les Touaregs du Nord, une coutume

1. Dr Richer, *Les Oulliminden*.
2. *Les races de l'Afrique*, p. 128.

aujourd'hui tombée en désuétude, qui s'appelait le droit de *tamaa*, dont bénéficiait l'héritier éventuel du commandement, et qui consistait en une redevance sur les tributs payés par les vassaux ; cette coutume était encore en usage il y a un peu moins d'un siècle.

L'insigne de commandement de l'aménokal est un énorme tambour de guerre qui porte le nom de *tobol*, d'origine arabe qui signifie tambour, caisse.

Cet instrument est aux yeux des Touaregs si représentatif du commandement qu'ils désignent souvent sous le nom de tobol l'aménokal, et toutes les tribus qu'il tient sous son commandement.

Chez les Ioullimmiden de l'Est (Kel Dinnik). l'Aménokal avait un étendard toujours placé dans sa tente et qui était sorti exceptionnellement pour la guerre ou l'intronisation d'un nouvel aménokal. Il était en soie : vert bleu et rouge [1].

Chez les Ihăggaren, la tribu tobol, c'est-à-dire celle dans laquelle est toujours choisi l'Aménokal, est celle des Kel Rela ; mais le tobol a vraisemblablement changé de mains à travers les siècles ; le souvenir d'une autre tribu-chef, celle des Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi est resté, et c'est ainsi que l'ancien aménokal Aïtarel avait coutume de dire que les Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi formaient le dos (de l'organisation politique des Ihăggaren), les Kel Rela, les Tăitok, les Tégéhé-Mellet, les côtes, mais que le dos s'affaiblit au profit des côtes [2]. Cette modification a été provoquée par l'extinction totale des Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi.

Le rôle de l'Aménokal est surtout celui d'un chef de guerre. En temps normal, il arbitre les conflits qui opposent les tribus les unes aux autres, et il a en principe droit de vie et de mort. Son autorité est souvent contestée par les Imochar de sa propre tribu, qui tentent de s'arroger des droits sur les vassaux. Ce sont des disputes intestines du genre : « Qui t'a fait comte ? Et toi qui t'a fait roi ? »

C'est surtout dans les relations avec les tribus voisines ou étrangères que le rôle de l'aménokal prend une allure plus nationale, mais ses décisions n'ont toute leur autorité que si elles ont été approuvées par une assemblée de notables, *l'arollan*, composée des principaux chefs de fraction et des nobles.

1. Nicolas, Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik, *Bull. Inst. Français. Afrique noire*, t. I, nos 2-3, 1939, p. 586.
2. Benhazéra, *Six mois chez les Touaregs de l'Ahaggar*, p. 107.

L'Aménokal vit comme les autres Touaregs et le cérémonial qui entoure sa personne est inexistant. Chaque arrivant se présente sous sa tente, sans plus de formalité. Il n'y a ni cour, ni étiquette de cour.

Seul le tobol, placé généralement à l'entrée de la tente, indique la qualité de l'hôte.

Ce tambour est de forme demi-sphérique, creusé dans un tronc d'arbre et recouvert d'une peau de bœuf non épilée, maintenue par des cordes de peau, le poil au-dessus. Il peu avoir 80 cm. de diamètre. Deux poignées latérales, en peau, servent à le porter. Pour les rassemblements, deux hommes le frappent alternativement au moyen d'un percuteur en peau de chameau (imitkar). Seul, l'Aménokal a le droit de le faire battre, chose qu'il ne fait que dans les grandes circonstances. A sa mort, c'est son frère ou son khalife qui en est dépositaire en attendant qu'il soit remis à son successeur. L'Aménokal ne fait pas de grands déplacements sans son tambour qui est porté par un chameau mené par un homme de confiance ; lorsqu'il donne l'ordre de battre la caisse, un autre méhariste s'approche pour prendre la deuxième poignée, et les deux hommes marchent côte à côte, en frappant alternativement. Tout guerrier qui l'entend doit se rendre à l'appel et prévenir en même temps les gens qu'il rencontre. En cas de guerre, le battement, suivant qu'il est fait avec un ou deux imitkar, signifie que l'on a affaire à des fantassins ou à des méharistes.

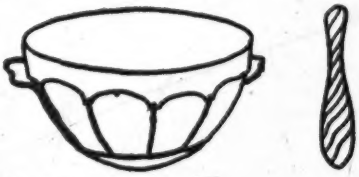

Fig. 16. — Le Tobol, insigne de commandement de l'Aménokal et son « imitkar ».

Lorsque la peau du tobol est usée, c'est le guerrier le plus renommé de la tribu qui est chargé de la remplacer.

L'Aménokal a généralement un ou deux khalifes chargés de le suppléer ou de le représenter auprès des fractions.

L'Amrar. — Chaque tribu, qui porte le nom de *Taousit*, a son amrar nommé comme l'Aménokal, suivant les règles matriarcales.

Amrar, en tămâhak, veut dire le vieux, le respectable, l'an-

cien par amplification, celui qui détient la sagesse. C'est l'équivalent du mot arabe cheikh.

L'amrar est l'intermédiaire entre les gens de sa tribu et l'Aménokal. Il transmet les ordres de ce dernier et les fait exécuter. Chez les imrad, il collecte la *tioussé* destinée à l'Aménokal, et définit pour chacun la part à verser. Il règle le petitss différends entre les gens de sa tribu et fixe pour chaque campement la zone de pâturage à utiliser.

Il participe au vote qui sanctionne l'élection de l'Aménokal, et à l'*arollan*, qui discute des grandes décisions concernant la vie de la confédération.

Dans une confédération soumise à un Aménokal, groupement que les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar appellent aussi *Tégéhé*, il peut exister plusieurs tobols, c'est-à-dire plusieurs tribus suzeraines ayant chacune des vassaux. Le nom de *Taousit*, faisant double emploi avec le nom de tribu, est quelquefois employé pour désigner cet ensemble dont le chef porte également le nom d'Amrar chez les Ihăggaren et d'Agoalla chez les Kel Aïr.

L'Amrar n'a pas de signe distinctif de commandement, du moins chez les Ihăggaren, car dans certaines tribus soudanaises, beaucoup avaient autrefois un tambour analogue à celui de l'Aménokal.

Les Imochar. — Les Imochar, sing. Amacher, forment la classe aristocratique. Ce mot veut dire homme de race dominante, aristocrate, et non noble comme on l'a écrit, ce qui se dirait en tămâhak *elli*, plur. illellan [1].

Dans les dialectes soudanais, Amacher, par transposition de phonétique locale devient *amajer*, plur. imajeuren. Il est facile de retrouver dans ces noms, comme nous y avons déjà fait allusion, la vieille racine berbère Amazir, qui désignait autrefois certaines populations libyennes et qui subsiste encore dans le nom porté au Maroc par une fraction berbère importante.

Les Imochar, qui détiennent les droits politiques, sont les véritables maîtres du pays. Ils prétendent tous être d'origine chérifienne, plus ou moins descendants du Prophète, mais cette prétention ne repose sur rien, sinon sur le désir de s'attribuer une haute naissance les affiliant de longue date à l'islamisme et à son fondateur, ce qui n'est pas.

1. Voir à ce sujet Nicolas, Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik, *Bull. Inst. Français, Afr. Noire*, t. I, nos 2-3, 1939, p. 579-586.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Les Touaregs désignent entre eux des hommes de vieille noblesse et de vieille race sous le nom de *loumet*.

Tous les Imochar sont essentiellement guerriers. Ils doivent leur haute situation sociale à leur sabre et ils ne connaissent pas d'autre occupation que la guerre ou les rezzou. Leur rôle de suzerains en fait des parasites des classes vassales et ils constituaient autrefois un fléau pour les caravanes qui traversaient leur pays. Leurs moyens d'existence n'ont jamais été autres que le pillage et le travail manuel est à leurs yeux une déchéance que seuls les esclaves peuvent accepter.

Courir le désert sur leurs chameaux, se battre, risquer la mort dans des équipées lointaines, voilà ce qui doit être la vie d'un homme de sang noble et qui entend le rester. Ils associaient leurs vassaux à leurs équipées et leur réservaient une partie des prises à titre de participation. Le mépris du travail manuel est chez eux un préjugé de classe, et non le fait d'un état de paresse car si, à aucun prix, ils n'acceptaient de travailler la terre, ils ne regardaient pas à franchir des milliers de kilomètres dans des conditions souvent pénibles et fort dangereuses pour aller piller les tribus adverses. Rentrés au campement, ils entendaient mener une vie dégagée de tous soucis matériels et se déchargeaient à ce sujet sur leurs vassaux.

C'est aux Imrad qu'ils confiaient la garde des troupeaux de prise, leur réclamant des bêtes lorsqu'ils en avaient besoin et l'usufruit nécessaire à leur nourriture. Pour eux-mêmes ils ne gardaient que quelques montures pour la guerre et le transport des objets ménagers et se contentaient de petits troupeaux de chèvres du nombre de têtes strictement nécessaire pour assurer leurs besoins journaliers en lait. De même, ils ne possédaient pas en propre beaucoup d'esclaves, car ces derniers auraient constitué autant de bouches à nourrir, ce dont ils n'avaient cure.

S'ils se reposaient en tout sur leurs Imrad, ils n'abusaient d'ailleurs pas de ces derniers, car, dit un proverbe targui : « il ne faut pas tuer la chamelle qui nous nourrit », et leurs demandes tenaient compte de la richesse et des possibilités du moment.

Les Imochar perçoivent chaque année sur les Imrad un impôt de vassalité qui s'appelle *tioussé*. Cet impôt, établi pour chaque tribu, comporte une contribution annuelle d'un certain nombre de têtes de bétail, de charges de grains, d'objets

divers (outres, piquets de tente, etc...), de peaux tannées, de beurre, etc.... Il est en principe invariable et est versé à l'Aménokal qui en dispose à son gré en tenant compte des besoins des Imochar.

L'Aménokal laisse les animaux qu'il perçoit en gérance aux Imrad qui en fournissent l'usufruit.

Le droit individuel des Imochar sur les Imrad n'existe pas en principe. En fait, il existe lorsqu'un homme est le dernier représentant d'une tribu, et qu'il perçoit pour lui-même les droits afférents à sa tribu.

D'un autre côté, certains se font fort de faire des petits prélèvements sur les Imrad ; ceux-ci ne refusent jamais, et il faut dire, à la décharge des nobles, qu'ils traitaient assez généreusement leurs Imrad lorsqu'un rezzi heureux les avait mis momentanément à l'aise.

En échange des droits de suzeraineté que les Imochar exerçaient sur les Imrad, ils devaient à ceux-ci une protection absolue, défendaient leurs intérêts chaque fois qu'ils étaient menacés et s'efforçaient d'obtenir réparation, s'ils étaient pillés par une tribu adverse.

En grands seigneurs, les Imochar dépensaient largement, manie qu'ils ont conservée malgré le changement de régime apporté par la paix française. Leur façon de vivre en parasites leur a enlevé toute idée de prévoyance et ils connaissent, de ce fait, beaucoup plus la gêne que l'aisance. L'occupation française, en effet, a eu pour première conséquence de supprimer l'état de guerre et les pillages, ce qui a privé les Imochar de leurs principales ressources. Ils sont devenus des pauvres, alors que les Imrad, possesseurs de troupeaux, ont vu leurs richesses augmenter et se valoriser. Cette perturbation sociale aurait pu avoir des conséquences graves, mais les Imrad n'ont pas totalement abandonné les Imochar, malgré l'occasion qui leur était offerte de s'affranchir de leur tutelle ancestrale. Nous devons peut-être nous en réjouir, car on peut se demander quelle aurait été la situation matérielle des Imochar, et, par contre-coup, leur état d'esprit à notre égard.

On s'est souvent servi des termes : « touaregs noirs » et « touaregs blancs » pour désigner les Imochar et les Imrad. « Dans le Nord, dit Seligman, les nobles ont un voile noir et les sujets un voile blanc »[1]. Cette distinction vestimentaire n'existe pas de nos jours où, suivant les goûts et la richesse de chacun,

1. *Les races de l'Afrique*, p. 129.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



les Touaregs portent indifféremment des voiles noirs ou blancs. Il se peut qu'auparavant les Imrad n'aient pu disposer de voiles indigotés, toujours considérés comme un objet de luxe, et aient dû se contenter d'un voile en toile ordinaire ; cela expliquerait cette division en Touaregs noirs et blancs.

Les Touaregs blancs, « Touareg-el-biodh », seraient, d'après Duveyrier, les Oulad Ba Hamou, Arabes de la région d'In Salah qui ont pris aux Touaregs l'habitude de porter le voile, mais de couleur blanche au lieu d'indigo foncé.

Les Imochar sont, par contre, beaucoup plus distingués que les Imrad ; leur toilette est plus recherchée et leur démarche plus noble, au point qu'il est souvent facile de les distinguer des Imrad à leur port plus majestueux. Ils affectent également un langage plus élégant d'où sont bannis les expressions vulgaires, les mots étrangers à leur langue, importés chez eux par les esclaves, et cette distinction d'allure et de langage est encore plus sensible chez les femmes. Ces dernières étonnent parfois par leur grâce et leurs manières racées ; ce sont vraiment de grandes dames qui, sous leurs tentes de cuir, tiennent aussi dignement salon que des femmes européennes de la bonne société. Elles mettent d'ailleurs une certaine ostentation à bien recevoir leurs hôtes et à les charmer des sons mélodieux de leur violon ; les qualités prisées chez une jeune fille touarègue bien née consistent à savoir tenir sa tente, confectionner quelques beaux objets de cuir brodé destinés à être offerts à des amis ou à son chevalier servant, et à savoir jouer du violon.

En dehors de leurs courses dans le désert, les Imochar passent une partie de leur vie à courtiser les femmes et l'autre à dormir.

Les mœurs, beaucoup plus relâchées chez les Imochar que chez les Imrad, entraînent des mariages tardifs et par conséquent des unions le plus souvent peu prolifiques. L'occupation française a, d'autre part, enlevé à leurs yeux, leur véritable raison d'être, et une certaine neurasthénie semble, depuis quelques années, s'être emparée d'eux. Il serait bien regrettable de voir disparaître cette race si originale, mais devant son inertie à s'adapter aux conditions nouvelles, on ne voit pas bien quel palliatif on pourrait lui apporter.

Les Inislimen. — Les *Inislimen* forment chez les Touaregs la classe religieuse, jouent le rôle de chapelains, de marabouts,

1:-Lhote MS25 Tuareg



et sont chargés de la formation et de l'éducation religieuse des enfants.

Ils occupent donc une situation sociale importante, très supérieure à celle des Imrad. Dans certaines confédérations, ils sont exempts de tout impôt de vassalité et sont souvent l'objet, partout où ils passent, de beaucoup d'égards et de considération. C'est ainsi que dans l'Ăhaggar, ils sont traités sur le même pied que les Imochar et que ces derniers acceptent parfois les unions avec eux, tout en refusant l'octroi des droits politiques aux enfants issus de ces unions. Par contre, chez les Ioullimmiden, les Imochar repoussent toute alliance avec eux et leur font payer une redevance de vassalité. Ceux du Damergou, contrairement à la règle, sont considérés comme des nobles ; ils possèdent des Imrad et peuvent se livrer à la guerre. Ils se sont d'ailleurs fait remarquer parmi les tribus de l'Aïr, comme les plus belliqueux. Enfin, ceux de l'Ădrar, après l'abandon de ce pays par les Ioullimmiden, ont réussi à former une confédération ; ils ont des Imrad, mais les Imochar des autres confédérations ne veulent pas les considérer comme leurs égaux.

Ils sont souvent désignés sous le nom d'*Ichériffen*, ou *Chériffen*, qui vient du mot arabe chérif, qui veut dire noble et, par extension, descendant du Prophète. Mais chez les Touaregs, Ichériffen a un sens plus spécial et désigne les individus ayant un caractère religieux, sans qu'ils soient nécessairement descendants de Mahomet.

Les tribus maraboutiques comprennent les Ichériffen proprement dit, et les Ifôras.

Ce caractère religieux a des origines et des qualités diverses.

Certains éléments comptent vraiment des chérifs parmi leurs ancêtres ; tel serait le cas des Ifôras de l'Ădrar et de certaines fractions Kel Es-Souq, mais à côté d'eux, d'autres n'ont qu'un caractère religieux accidentel.

A ce sujet, le Commandant Cauvet dit que ces tribus maraboutiques paraissent être souvent des collectivités nobles et autrefois puissantes, devenues trop faibles pour continuer à jouir des droits et du prestige du fort, et qui se déclarent éloignées du métier des armes et consacrées aux pratiques pieuses par amour de Dieu et de l'Islam. « Une tribu qui, par suite d'événements de guerre, d'essaimages trop fréquents ou trop forts, se trouve menacée de perdre sa prépondérance, son rang ou même sa classe, prend parfois le parti de se dire

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



maraboutique. La piété n'est pas indispensable pour cela, il suffit que la tribu cesse de piller ses voisins, que ses membres ne portent plus d'armes ; si quelques-uns d'entre eux affichent les apparences de pieux Musulmans, apprennent quelque peu le Coran et portent des chapelets, surtout s'ils peuvent se recommander de quelque ancêtre arabe, réfugié autrefois dans la tribu, ils arrivent, au bout d'un certain temps, à être classés comme marabouts [1]. »

Dans les tribus qui pratiquent réellement leur religion d'une manière plus sérieuse que la plupart des Touaregs, dit-il encore, il y a assurément une infusion de sang étranger, parfois sémite et souvent antérieure à l'invasion arabe. Sans discuter ici des raisons sur lesquelles s'appuie le Commandant Cauvet pour parler d'infusion de sang sémite chez les Ichériffen, nous rappellerons ce que nous avons déjà dit, que nous avons été vivement frappé de trouver chez les Ichériffen de la région de Gao et les Kel Es-Souq de Mohamed Ouguinat, des individus présentant un facies sémitique, particulièrement marqué chez les hommes âgés.

L'explorateur Duveyrier, qui séjourna longtemps chez les Ifôras du Nord, les considérait comme d'anciens nobles « ayant abdiqué tout rôle politique dans une gestion des confédérations, pour conquérir une plus grande autorité religieuse, nécessaire dans une société où la justice n'est représentée par aucun pouvoir » [2].

Il leur attribuait une très grande action morale et religieuse. Il est vrai que certains chefs Ifôras, comme cheikh-Othman qui fut l'un des protecteurs de Duveyrier pendant son séjour dans le Tassili, acquirent sur les Ihăggaren et les Kel Ăjjer, une réelle autorité qui servit certainement les causes de la paix ; leur action générale est beaucoup moins importante qu'il ne l'a dit, et l'on peut en donner comme preuve que ces mêmes Ifôras furent eux-mêmes pillés à plusieurs reprises par les Ihăggaren et obligés de venir se mettre à l'abri de nos postes du Sud Algérien.

L'influence des Inislimen sur les Ihăggaren et les Kel Ăjjer n'est pas bien grande, car leur prosélytisme religieux n'est guère actif et ils sont plus diligents à faire prospérer leurs troupeaux qu'à répandre la loi du Prophète, dont ils sont, d'ailleurs, assez ignorants dans l'ensemble.

1. Cᵗ Cauvet, *Les noms des tribus Touaregs*, p. 10.
2. *Les Touareg du Nord*, p. 132.

Ils sont, malgré cela, très estimés et leur chef est entouré d'un très grand respect ; très pacifiques, ils établirent avec nous de longue date des rapports confiants et désapprouvèrent l'action belliqueuse des Ihăggaren à notre égard, en particulier lors du massacre de la mission Flatters.

Chez les Tădemaket et les Ioullimmiden, les Inislimen jouent un rôle plus important, diffusant activement l'islamisme. Certains sont des lettrés accomplis et ils enseignent le Coran dans les campements.

Alors que les éléments maraboutiques du Nord étaient les premiers à se rapprocher de nous, nous avons eu dans leurs frères du Sud, les plus irréductibles ennemis, et c'est eux qui furent, par leurs prédications, à la base de toutes les agitations, de toutes les révoltes et qui prêchèrent, avec le plus d'ardeur, la résistance à l'occupation française.

Le berceau des Ifôras serait l'ancienne capitale berbère de Tădemeka, dont le nom arabe actuel est Es-Souq, qui a été donné à la principale tribu. Ils ont essaimé de part et d'autre de la boucle du Niger, par tribus entières ou par petits groupes de quelques tentes. On en retrouve dans tout le pays targui.

Beaucoup, prétextant de leur caractère religieux, refusent de prendre part à la guerre, mais à côté de ces groupes pacifiques, d'autres sont nettement guerriers, et chez les Ioullimmiden, les Chériffen sont divisés en Chériffen ordinaires et en Chériffen guerriers.

La manière de vivre des Inislimen est celle des Touaregs ; ils parlent la même langue et s'administrent entre eux sans que les Imochar interviennent. On a signalé chez eux quelques cas de polygamie ; c'est le résultat de leur islamisation progressive qui favorise cette coutume ainsi que le patriarcat déjà appliqué dans un certain nombre de tribus soudanaises.

Les Imrad. — *Imrad* viendrait de la racine tămâchek *égeid*, *égeit*, qui veut dire chevreau, petite chèvre, et du préfixe *am* qui désigne la possession. Ce qui signifie, en somme, ceux qui possèdent des chèvres.

Auparavant, en effet, les Imrad ne pouvaient posséder que des chèvres, les Imochar se réservant la propriété des chameaux.

Leur surnom est *Kel Oulli*, ce qui veut dire aussi gens des chèvres, nom qu'ils préfèrent à celui d'Imrad, qui serait pour eux quelque peu avilissant.

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Ils forment des tribus inféodées aux Imochar et sont leurs vassaux.

Les Imochar ont un certain mépris pour eux et les considèrent comme des gens de basse extraction, n'étant pas de pure race touarègue ; le nom de *Tao ·ia Settefet*, qui veut dire la descendance noire, leur est souvent appliqué.[1] Rien, pourtant, n'indique une infériorité raciale des Imrad par rapport aux Imochar ; si l'on veut interpréter les vieilles légendes de l'Ăhaggar, tout porte à croire que les Imrad furent, dans bien des cas, les premiers occupants du pays, et que les Imochar, qui furent les envahisseurs, des conquérants qui se sont rendus maîtres du pays par la force. Le métissage avec les noirs ne peut être un critère décisif, car beaucoup de tribus Imrad ne sont pas, somatiquement, plus « négroïdes » que les Imochar. Il est vrai aussi que les Imrad sont moins rigoristes que les Imochar pour le maintien de l'intégrité des vieilles coutumes touarègues. Il y a chez eux moins de noblesse d'âme et de sentiment, comme également moins de fierté ethnique.

Si leur situation actuelle est, comme nous l'avons dit, plus florissante que celle des Imochar, ils ne s'arrêtent pas aux considérations de prestige de ces derniers, et depuis l'occupation, ils ont pu se constituer, par l'élevage et les caravanes, un revenu appréciable.

Les Imrad sont organisés par tribus, élisent un chef, et respectent, comme les Imochar, les règles matriarcales. Ils s'administrent intérieurement comme ils l'entendent, sans que l'Aménokal ou les Imochar s'immiscent dans leurs affaires.

Dans toutes les confédérations, les Imrad sont plus nombreux que les Imochar, dans la proportion de un à cinq (Touaregs du Nord) et de un à huit (Ioullimmiden).

De caractère plus pacifique que les Imochar, parce que peut-être moins virils et moins courageux, ils furent bien souvent, contre leur gré, entraînés par ces derniers dans les rezzou, et le goût du lucre aidant, ils ne furent pas longs à piller à leur tour, chaque fois qu'une bonne occasion se présentait. Ils organisaient souvent des expéditions de leur propre initiative, mais, en cas de succès, ils devaient verser une certaine part du butin aux nobles. C'était une garantie pour l'avenir, disaient les Imochar, qui savaient bien qu'un rezzi entraîne un contre-rezzi, et qu'ils étaient susceptibles de supporter,

1. Chez les Ioullimmiden ils sont désignés sous le nom de *Idinet*.

un jour ou l'autre, les contre-coups des « inconduites » de leurs vassaux.

Certains Imrad acquirent même une renommée de grands guerriers, et des Imochar acceptèrent, devant leur supériorité, de se mettre, au cours d'un coup de main, sous leur commandement.

Ches les Ioullimmiden il existe des Imrad ordinaires, gardiens de chèvres, et des Imrad guerriers. Les premiers ne participaient pas à la guerre, alors que les autres étaient de tous les combats et, à ce titre, avaient droit au même armement que les Imochar, moins le bouclier.

Certaines tribus devinrent même militairement si fortes qu'elles réussirent à s'affranchir totalement de la tutelle des Imochar. C'est le cas des Kel Gossi de la boucle du Niger.

Des Imochar épousent parfois des femmes Imrad renommées par leur beauté, mais des cas inverses ne sont pas venus à notre connaissance. Des unions, ou plus exactement des concubinages, entre Imrad et négresses sont très courants.

Les Imrad ont le droit de posséder des esclaves noirs qui sont employés aux travaux ménagers et au gardiennage des troupeaux.

Schirmer a dit que les Imrad de l'Ăhaggar étaient des sédentaires et qu'ils étaient chargés d'entretenir les jardins [1] ; il a commis une erreur, due très certainement à des informations erronées. Cela est d'autant plus curieux que Duveyrier avait déjà défini exactement la situation des Imrad [2].

Duveyrier a traduit le mot *amrid* par le mot serf qui correspond exactement à l'expression arabe *ra'aya*, et parce que les ra'aya sont des sujets corvéables et contribuables que, suivant la loi musulmane, les marabouts ne doivent pas posséder. Duveyrier s'est cru confirmé dans son opinion par le fait que les Inislimen des Ăjjer n'avaient pas le droit d'avoir des Imrad. Il s'agit là d'une erreur d'interprétation. Ce terme arabe employé en la circonstance ne peut convenir, car la classe sociale des Imrad touaregs n'a rien d'équivalent chez les Arabes.

Nous avons préféré le terme de vassaux qui convient mieux, à notre sens, parce que les Imrad ne sont pas corvéables à merci, qu'ils versent un droit de vassalité parfaitement défini et que leurs chefs participent à l'élection de l'Aménokal et qu'eux-mêmes possèdent des esclaves.

1. *Le Sahara*, p. 298.
2. *Les Touareg du Nord*, p. 334.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Le terme « vassaux » a d'ailleurs été adopté par Richer, Deniker, Verneau, etc....

Au Soudan, on les désigne souvent sous le nom de *Daga*, mot d'origine sonrhaï, comme le mot *Bourdame* qui désigne les Imochar.

Possesseurs d'un grand nombre de chèvres, les Imrad de l'Ăhaggar sont tenus à de petits déplacements, mais ne sont pas sédentaires. Ils sont les possesseurs effectifs d'un grand nombre de centres de culture, mais ne les cultivent pas eux-mêmes ; ils emploient à cet effet des nègres du Tidikelt, les *harratines* qui jouent le rôle de fermiers et de cultivateurs.

Vassaux assimilés. — On assimile généralement aux Imrad des tribus qui portent le nom d'Issekkemâren et d'Irréguénaten. Celles-ci, quoique également vassales des Imochar, diffèrent notablement des Imrad au point de vue social.

Les Issekkemâren, les Irréguénaten, ne sont pas, aux yeux des Touaregs, des gens de leur race ; liés à eux par certains liens de parenté éloignés, ils sont considérés comme des mélangés, des mêlés, comme l'indique exactement leur nom ; ils sont le produit de mariages mixtes, généralement de femmes touarègues avec des Arabes ou des Berbères. Le terme d'Irréguénaten a même été étendu à des groupements issus de femmes imochar ou d'hommes imrad. Il en existe dans plusieurs confédérations ; on trouve des Irréguénaten chez les Ihăggaren ainsi que chez les Touaregs du fleuve, des Issekkemâren chez les Ihăggaren et dans la région de Tombouctou.

Socialement, ils occupent un rang plus élevé que les Imrad ; ils sont libres, et leur vassalité vis-à-vis des Imochar est beaucoup plus libérale. Ils se sont mis sous leur protection, parce que trop faibles pour assurer leur propre défense, et à ce titre, ils versent à l'Aménokal une indemnité annuelle qui porte le nom de *rharama*. Ils s'administrent exactement comme les Imrad, et ont les mêmes mœurs que les Touaregs. Extérieurement, on ne peut les en distinguer. Parlant également le tămâhak, ils sont moins rigoristes, il est vrai, pour le maintien des traditions. Ils possèdent des esclaves, mais ne manifestent pas une répugnance aussi vive pour le travail que les Imochar et les Imrad. Il n'y a jamais d'unions entre eux et les Imochar, et elles sont assez rares avec les Imrad.

Il existe au Soudan des tribus importantes qui portent le nom de Daoussak. On les considère généralement comme

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des Imrad, mais, en réalité, les Daoussak seraient des anciens bergers des Ioullimmiden que l'on n'autorisait pas à porter la lance et à prendre part au combat. Ils tendent à se donner un certain caractère maraboutique et multiplient les écoles coraniques dans leurs campements.

Iborelliten. — On peut encore ranger parmi les vassaux assimilés, des tribus libres, jusqu'ici assez peu connues, et qui portent le nom de Iborelliten, sing. aborelli.

Ils parlent la langue tămâhak et ne diffèrent extérieurement en rien des Touaregs, au milieu desquels ils vivent. Ils forment, dans certaines confédérations, des tribus très distinctes, ne dépendant, en général, que de l'autorité directe du chef de la confédération, tels ceux de l'Aïr qui sont sous le commandement de l'anastafidet des Kel-Oui [1].

Ils sont plus ou moins teintés suivant les groupes, et certains sont aussi blancs que les Touaregs. Ils se marient entre eux et peuvent être possesseurs d'esclaves et de troupeaux. Ils recherchent parfois des alliances matrimoniales auprès des Imrad, mais ces derniers, qui les tiennent en assez grand mépris, s'y refusent le plus souvent.

D'après Nicolas, les Iborelliten seraient des captifs d'une origine plus élevée [2]. Pour de Foucauld [3], aborelli, pl. ibourelliten, désigne un mulâtre d'un blanc et d'une négresse, ou inversement ; il faut ajouter, à notre sens, dont l'un des parents est de race touarègue ; et nous sommes d'autant plus persuadé que ce caractère est indispensable que de Foucauld désigne, d'autre part, le mulâtre ordinaire sous le nom d'Achardan, pl. ichardanen [3].

Nous avons recueilli des renseignements dans les régions de Tahoua et de Gao, où éborelli désigne l'enfant issu d'un Amajer et d'une négresse non captive, ou d'une étrangère. Les Iborelliten sont donc des mulâtres issus de parents mixtes, Touareg et nègre.

Nous citerons, comme groupe d'Iborelliten, les Igdâlen de

1. Les Kel-Aïr sont divisés en Kel-Gerès et en Kel-Oui, placés sous l'autorité du Sultan d'Agadez. Les Kel-Oui, qui seraient d'origine oraren, se sont énormément métissés avec les sédentaires haoussa et se sont diminués, pour cela, aux yeux de leurs frères de race, qui les considèrent maintenant comme des nègres ; ils ont une organisation particulière et leur chef porte le nom d'anastafidet.
2. Loc. cit., pp. 579-586.
3. *Dictionnaire touareg-français*, t. I, p. 79.

l'Aïr, les Aboghelités dont parle Barth [1] qui seraient issus de mères touarègues (Imochar, d'après Barth) et de nègres. Il existerait au Soudan, dans la région de Niafunké, une autre tribu Iborelliten, issue de Touaregs et de Peuls, et qui se serait sédentarisée.

Il semble qu'il existe une catégorie d'Iborelliten de basse classe qui sont désignés sous le nom d'Irraouellan. Nicolas les considère comme d'anciens captifs libérés. Chudeau a signalé une tribu Irraouellan, dont les membres seraient des affranchis, ou les descendants d'anciens captifs ; il ajoute que les enfants d'un Targui et d'une esclave sont, de droit, Irraouellan.

Nous ajouterons à ces différentes définitions, qu'en Aïr, la femme esclave qui épouse un Targui devient libre ainsi que sa famille, et les enfants issus de son mariage sont alors appelés Ikalalen.

Parmi les Kel-Ăhaggar, on ne rencontre pas de véritables tribus Iborelliten ou Irraouellan, mais il existe des hommes appartenant à ces classes sociales.

Les Iklan. — Les Iklan, sing. Akli, fém. sing. Taklit, sont les serfs, les esclaves des Touaregs. Le nom d'Iklan viendrait de la racine tămâhak *Kl* : être noir [2] ; et, en effet, ces gens sont étrangers à la race touarègue. Ce sont des nègres de toutes origines, jadis capturés au Soudan par les Touaregs et réduits en esclavage. Ils forment une classe à part, mais qui n'est pas tribale, sauf lorsqu'ils sont affranchis sous conditions ou entièrement. Ils portent alors le nom d'Iklan-n-égef, ou d'Iderfan, suivant qu'ils se trouvent dans l'un ou l'autre cas.

Ils ont fait souche chez les Touaregs et donné naissance à une race nouvelle, aux caractères les plus variés d'où l'élément blanc n'est pas exclu.

Les esclaves sont employés à la garde des troupeaux, aux travaux ménagers du campement ; ils partagent la vie de leurs maîtres et, à leur contact, ont acquis un caractère indépendant qui leur fait aimer la liberté du nomadisme, à tel point qu'il leur serait, actuellement, bien difficile de reprendre la vie sédentaire de leurs ancêtres. Ceux de l'Ăhaggar se sont parfaitement adaptés au désert et possèdent des qualités physiques de sobriété très supérieures à celles de leurs frères de

1. Ouv. cit., t. I, p. 204.
2. Nicolas, ouv. cit., pp. 579-586.

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race du Soudan qui, lorsqu'ils y sont transportés, éprouvent des difficultés à y vivre.

L'Akli est corvéable à merci. Il doit tout son travail à son maître, il est sa propriété, mais il reçoit quelques avantages et peut disposer de quelques jours de travail par semaine pour lui-même.

Dans l'Ăhaggar, les Iklan sont parfaitement bien traités par leurs maîtres, auxquels ils sont très attachés ; ils partagent les repas avec eux et subissent, d'une humeur égale, la bonne ou la mauvaise fortune dont jouit le campement. Leurs enfants sont élevés avec ceux des Touaregs et sur le même pied qu'eux.

Ils bénéficient de certaines règles humanitaires qui font honneur aux Touaregs, et c'est ainsi qu'un esclave trop jeune ou trop vieux, ne peut pas être libéré et doit être entretenu par son maître.

Les Iklan se lèguent par héritage ; ils peuvent être possesseurs d'animaux, dont ils ont alors l'usufruit ; mais à leur mort, ces animaux reviennent à leurs maîtres et non à leurs propres enfants.

Les Imochar, les Inislimen, les Imrad, ont tous les droits sur leurs esclaves ; ces derniers ne peuvent pas se marier sans leur consentement. Généralement, lorsqu'il y a un homme et une femme esclaves dans le même campement, on les marie, et l'homme reçoit une chèvre qu'il rend comme dot à sa femme. Si l'esclave veut chercher lui-même sa femme, et qu'il la trouve dans un autre campement, il ne reçoit rien de la part de son maître, et doit trouver lui-même les moyens de payer la dot de sa femme, ordinairement fixée à dix chèvres. Les esclaves préposés à la garde des troupeaux et qui, par leur occupation, sont souvent absents du campement, ne se marient généralement pas. « Ils cherchent leur petit profit où ils peuvent », disait le Père de Foucauld.

Les Touaregs prennent souvent des femmes esclaves comme concubines ; ils y trouvent plusieurs avantages ; en premier lieu, ils n'ont pas de dot à payer et, en second lieu, ils ont affaire à une femme qui se soumet à leurs caprices plus facilement qu'une femme de leur race, et qu'ils peuvent changer à leur gré. Les enfants issus de ces concubinages sont libres, mais ne font pas partie de la classe de leur père. Ce dernier les reconnaît comme les siens, mais ils sont moralement considérés comme des esclaves. Ils peuvent cependant hériter de leur père.

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Les femmes touarègues de la classe noble, qui ont des rapports avec les Iklan, sont déconsidérées auprès des leurs ; mais le fait ne serait pas très rare, paraît-il, d'autant plus qu'une légende prétend que les rapports entre femmes imochar et captifs sont stériles.

Les Iklan ont des mœurs très corrompues, coutumiers de pédérastie et d'autres vices. Voler, mentir, sont dans leur instinct, défauts qui se trouvent du reste chez la plupart des noirs soudanais.

C'est ainsi qu'ils ont l'habitude, lorsqu'ils gardent les chèvres au pâturage, de les têter. Aussi, dans certains campements, ne reçoivent-ils jamais de lait, puisqu'on suppose avec raison qu'ils se sont servis les premiers. Certains maîtres, pour se garantir contre ces rapines, n'hésitaient pas à cadenasser la bouche des gardiens de leurs troupeaux, en leur perforant les lèvres. Il y a quelques années, il y avait encore dans l'Ăhaggar une vieille femme qui avait subi cette mutilation.

Ils vivent avec leur maître dans une grande familiarité et quelques-uns ont mérité leur confiance, soit par leur intelligence, soit par leur courage au cours des rezzou. L'ancien Aménokal de l'Ăhaggar, Moussa ag Ămâstan, était toujours accompagné de son nègre Chernach, et les faits de guerre qu'ils accomplirent ensemble font encore l'objet aux veillées des campements des récits les plus merveilleux.

Un esclave peut demander à changer de maître lorsqu'il est maltraité ou qu'il espère des avantages supérieurs ; comme généralement le Targui ne veut pas se séparer gratuitement de son esclave, ce dernier a recours à un subterfuge qui consiste à couper l'oreille à un animal du troupeau du maître à qui il veut désormais appartenir, ou à commettre une déprédation du même ordre. Ce délit entraîne un droit de vie ou de mort sur l'esclave qui en est l'auteur, au profit de la personne lésée et dans la pratique, suivant la coutume admise, cet esclave devient automatiquement sa propriété. Dans les cas de ce genre, les deux parties se sont ordinairement mises d'accord, au préalable.

On doit aux Iklan l'introduction d'une quantité de mots et d'expressions nouvelles dans la langue tămâhak, tous naturellement d'origine soudanaise. Ils ont un langage très grossier et écorchent abominablement la langue de leurs maîtres, au point d'en faire un véritable argot.

Ils ont gardé beaucoup de traits de leur folklore que l'on

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retrouve dans les danses, les scènes mimées qu'ils organisent, entre eux, lors des réjouissances publiques ou des événements de la vie familiale de leurs maîtres.

L'évolution sociale, due à l'occupation française, entraînera, dans un temps indéterminé, la disparition du servage qui, il faut le préciser, n'a pas le caractère inhumain que l'on pourrait lui supposer.

Il aurait été maladroit d'imposer immédiatement la libération des Iklan et c'eût été contraire à leurs propres intérêts. Des tentatives faites en ce sens au Soudan ont donné des résultats déplorables. Les Iklan libérés du jour au lendemain sont des déclassés ; ils ne peuvent et ne veulent se remettre au travail de la terre et se trouvent alors dans l'impossibilité de gagner leur vie.

La disparition de l'esclavage se fera progressivement et individuellement ; elle se produit lentement, mais inexorablement, et elle apportera des transformations sociales importantes chez les Touaregs.

On peut déjà observer cette évolution chez les Ioullimmiden, en Ădrar, et surtout aux environs de Tombouctou, où les femmes Imrad s'emploient dorénavant elles-mêmes à piler le mil et à faire les gros travaux de ménage, jusqu'alors réservés aux captifs.

Iklan-n-Egef. — La libération des captifs a d'ailleurs existé de tous temps chez les Touaregs sous des formes plus ou moins atténuées.

Elle peut avoir plusieurs causes et en premier lieu, le surnombre des captifs qui constitue une quantité de bouches inutiles à nourrir. Les Touaregs ont donc rendu une demi-liberté à un certain nombre d'entre eux qu'ils ont chargés de la garde de leurs troupeaux. Ce sont les Iklan-n-Egef, ou captifs de dune. Au Soudan, on les désigne souvent sous le nom de *Bella* ou de *Bouzou*.

En deuxième lieu, des captifs peuvent être libérés par générosité pour récompenser des services rendus ; ils portent alors le nom d'Iderfan.

Les Bella, sans être affranchis définitivement, vivent librement, et les Touaregs les laissent gagner leur vie comme ils l'entendent. Beaucoup, en dehors de la garde des troupeaux, se livrent à de petites industries. Ils ramassent du bois qu'ils vont vendre dans les centres citadins, fabriquent du charbon

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de bois pour la même destination, et quelques femmes se sont faites potières.

Ils s'organisent alors en tribus, et vivent en nomades sous la tente, comme les Touaregs, pratiquent l'endogamie, mais restent inféodés à une tribu imochar ou imrad. En cas de conflit, ils prennent fait et cause pour leurs maîtres, participent aux combats comme fantassins et sont armés de javelots.

On connaît plusieurs de ces tribus dans la région de Tombouctou, chez les Igouadaren et les Tenguéréguifs, dans la région de Gao, chez les Ioullimmiden, chez les Kel Dinnik (Ioullimmiden de l'Est) de la région de Tahoua, mais il n'en existe pas chez les Ihăggaren.

Dans l'Ăhaggar, il n'y a d'Iklan-n-Egef qu'à titre individuel.

Iderfan. — Le mot Iderfan vient de la racine sederf : affranchir, par amplification, qui n'est plus capable de rendre de bons services [1].

En principe, on ne peut se débarrasser, en l'affranchissant, d'un esclave atteint par l'âge ou dont le rendement de travail a baissé.

En fait, le cas se présente de temps en temps, surtout chez les Touaregs soudanais. Mais l'affranchissement peut être le résultat d'un geste de piété de la part du maître. D'autres fois, certains ont été affranchis en bloc en récompense d'une action d'éclat. Nicolas cite dans le centre de Tahoua la fraction actuelle des Tamjert qui furent affranchis après la bataille d'Izerwan où ils avaient courageusement résisté aux Kel Ăhaggar (1898). Beaucoup d'Iderfan reviennent à la culture, ils vivent souvent avec les sédentaires, avec lesquels ils s'allient ; ils rendent de menus services à ces derniers, en gardant leurs troupeaux.

Nicolas les assimile aux Harratines des Kel Ăhaggar. Cela n'est qu'en partie justifié, car s'il est vrai que quelques anciens esclaves travaillent dans les centres de culture de l'Ăhaggar, la majorité des Harratines sont des nègres du Tidikelt, qui viennent s'employer librement chez les Touaregs. Il ne faut donc pas confondre les Harratines avec les Iderfan.

Comme pour les Iklan-n-Egef, il n'existe d'Iderfan dans l'Ăhaggar qu'à titre individuel.

Les Enaden. — Les Enaden, sing. Enad, forment la caste artisanale des Touaregs ; au Soudan, on leur donne le nom de

1. Nicolas, ouvr. cit., pp. 579-586.

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*garassa* ou de *gargassa*, qui est très probablement d'origine sonrhaï.

Le mot Enaden viendrait de *enad* qui veut dire l'autre, par amplification « ceux que l'on ne nomme pas »[1]. C'est que les Enaden constituent une caste fermée, méprisée et maudite par les Touaregs dont la répulsion pour le travail manuel est bien connue.

Leur rôle consiste à fabriquer pour les Touaregs tout ce dont ils peuvent avoir besoin, armes, ustensiles de vaisselle en bois, piquets de tente, selles de méhari, objets de harnachement.

En plus, ils exercent volontiers le métier de barbier-chirurgien, et au moyen de petits instruments qu'ils fabriquent, pratiquent adroitement des saignées, posent des ventouses, les scarifient et font d'autres petites opérations du même genre, y compris l'extraction des dents. Ils sont rémunérés pour leurs travaux lorsqu'ils travaillent pour les tribus, ou bien, s'ils sont attachés à un maître, ce dernier les a entièrement à sa charge.

Les Touaregs, qui les méprisent cordialement pour leur origine obscure et leur profession servile, reconnaissent leurs qualités dont ils sont bien heureux de profiter. Ils les craignent également beaucoup, car ils leur attribuent des pouvoirs extranaturels de sorcellerie et de magie. Possesseurs du feu, maltraitant la terre et les minerais en les battant, ils sont placés dans un monde à part, habité par les génies avec lesquels ils sont susceptibles d'entrer en relation. Si les marabouts musulmans se font volontiers marchands d'amulettes que les Touaregs apprécient, ces derniers n'hésitent pas, le cas échéant, à aller en demander de préférence aux Enaden.

Les Enaden sont encore méprisés parce que, sans principes moraux, ils jouent volontiers le rôle d'espions, de traîtres, épiant les Iklan et la femme de leur maître, se faisant également les entremetteurs des amoureux. Comme les bouffons de notre moyen âge, ils ont le droit d'accéder partout, y compris chez les femmes et tout le monde trouve cela naturel, car c'est un droit qui leur est presque reconnu.

Ils participent parfois au rezzou et ont la réputation de se battre bravement, mais personne ne veut rester à côté d'eux pendant le combat, car ils possèdent, paraît-il, des talismans tellement puissants que les javelots dirigés sur eux dévient

1. Nicolas, ouvr. cit., pp. 579-586.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



de leur route et risquent d'atteindre ceux qui sont proches. Le Touaregs ne tuent jamais un Enad, car cela porte malheur et l'Enad s'en vengerait par delà la tombe.

Dans les tribus soudanaises, ils portent le nom d'*ag'gou*, pl. *ag'gouten* et jouent parfois le rôle de bouffons (griot). Certains sont musiciens et conteurs d'histoires. Ce rôle n'est pas généralisé, mais c'est ainsi que l'Aménokal des Tenguéréguifs, Chéboun, a plusieurs griots attachés à sa personne. Ils se vengent des gens qui ne sont pas assez généreux à leur égard en faisant contre eux des chansons satiriques auxquelles les Touaregs sont souvent sensibles.

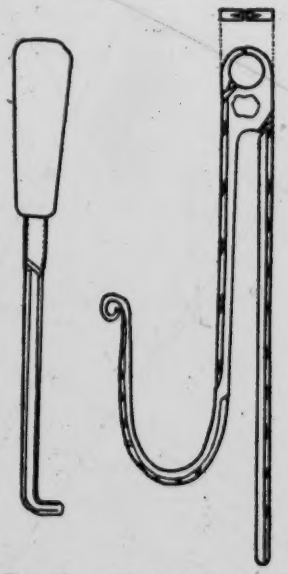

Fig. 17. — Davier à extraire les dents et appareil utilisé pour les déchausser.

Tout leur est bon pour gagner un peu d'argent, qu'ils dépensent, d'ailleurs, aussi vite qu'ils le reçoivent. Un forgeron a toujours des dettes, mais on lui fait crédit parce que l'on sait qu'il sera toujours assez malin pour s'en acquitter un jour.

Il faut reconnaître que les Enaden ont souvent l'esprit très ouvert, sont doués d'une intelligence supérieure à la moyenne de la plupart des Touaregs, et c'est pourquoi ils ont parfois occupé des places de confiance auprès des principaux chefs qui les ont utilisés, comme émissaires ou comme interprètes, voire même comme conseillers.

C'est ainsi que lors de la mission Hourst, en 1896, Madidou, Aménokal des Ioullimmiden, délégua officiellement l'un d'eux à Gao, pour traiter avec l'officier français.

Les Enaden vivent, soit en campement groupé, soit par tentes isolées, ou même individuellement ; ils sont attachés à un chef ou à une tribu.

Étrangers à la race des Touaregs, ils rentrent malgré tout dans les composantes de la grande famille des voilés, car la vie

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



des uns et des autres est souvent confondue. Ils parlent le tămâhak et plus particulièrement, un dialecte spécial : *le tenet*, compris d'eux seuls et qui a un caractère un peu secret. Ce dialecte est inconnu dans l'Ăhaggar.

La légende leur attribue un ancêtre commun du nom de Tamamenet et toutes leurs fractions auraient vu le jour dans

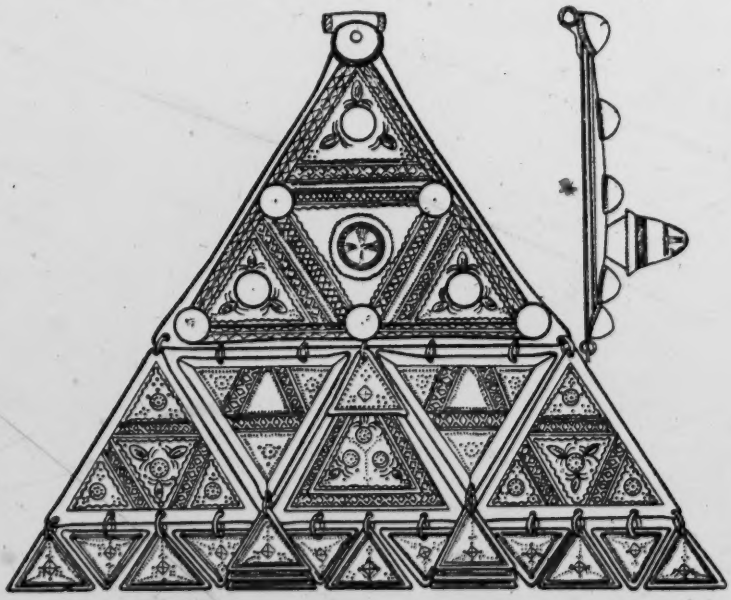

FIG. 18. — Pendentif pectoral en argent porté par les femmes de l'Ahaggar. On retrouve dans la composition les motifs triangulaires communs à l'art kabyle et à certaines tribus berbères de l'Atlas.

l'Ădrar des Ifôras. Leur véritable origine est certainement des plus obscures ; on dit volontiers qu'ils sont les descendants des juifs installés jadis au Touat, dans l'oasis de Tamentit d'où ils furent chassés, à la fin du XV^e siècle par les marabouts arabes. Il est plausible qu'un certain nombre de juifs de Tamentit, en particulier ceux qui pratiquaient le métier de forgerons ou de bijoutiers, très en honneur chez eux, aient trouvé refuge chez les Touaregs. Peut-être ces derniers reçurent-ils, par leur intermédiaire, une influence artistique nouvelle. Leur con-

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



naissance du feu et du traitement des minerais a dû permettre, chez les Touaregs, l'introduction sur une plus grande échelle de l'industrie du fer ainsi que l'emploi d'instruments en métal qui, auparavant, ne devait certainement pas être très développé, les techniques des pasteurs nomades se limitant généralement au cuir et au bois. La parenté artistique des bijoux de Tamentit avec celle de l'orfèvrerie juive de l'Afrique du

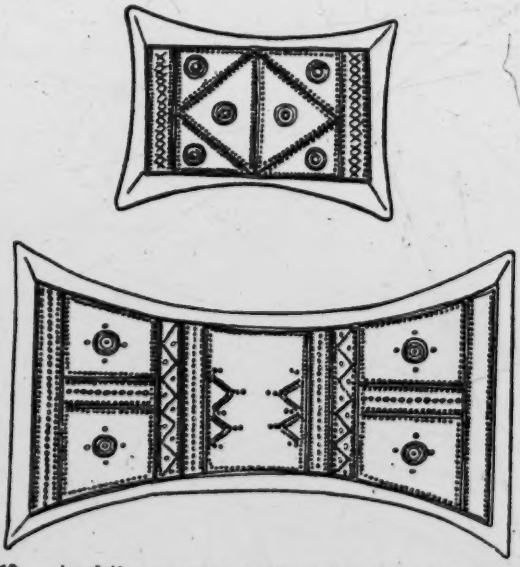

FIG. 19. — Amulettes en argent, portées par les hommes sur le cimier de la coiffure.

Nord, d'une part, et celle actuellement en honneur chez les Touaregs d'autre part, n'est pas douteuse, et peut justifier l'opinion de l'origine israélite d'une partie des Enaden. Mais des éléments soudanais ont également contribué à la formation somatique du groupe, et c'est à travers ce mélange hétéroclite qu'il faut voir l'art touareg si particulier, à la fois lourd dans ses formes et délicat dans le détail.

Les Enaden de l'Ăhaggar sont peu nombreux. Ils comprennent cinq ou six familles récemment fixées dans le pays à la suite de razzia dont ils furent l'objet de la part des Ihăgga-

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



ren. La plupart sont originaires de l'Ădrar des Ifôras et étaient inféodés à la tribu Kounta, ou Dăg-Ech-Cheich. L'origine des familles les plus anciennement connues ne remonte pas à plus de deux générations. Ce sont celles d'Ehellellou, qui a laissé une descendance, de Badahol et de Mohamed, disparues aujourd'hui, et de Rati dont la descendance est actuellement fixée chez les Tăitok.

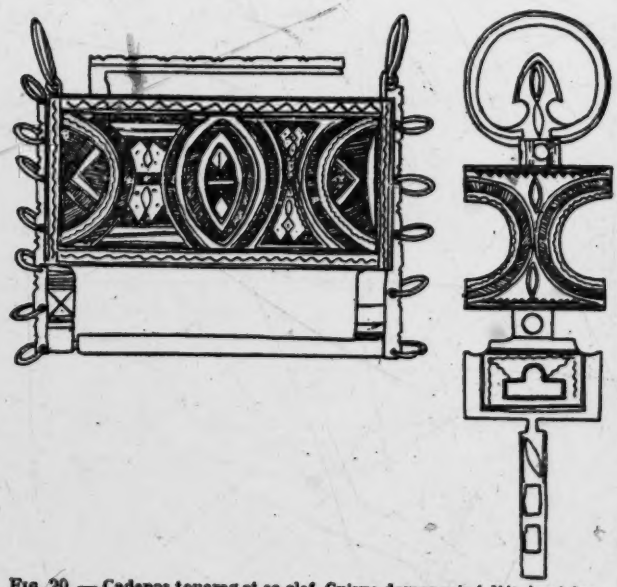

Fig. 20. — Cadenas touareg et sa clef. Cuivre damasquiné d'étain et fer.

Au temps de l'Aménokal Attici (1899), il y avait un chef des forgerons du nom d'Alamine dont le rôle était de surveiller et de répartir le travail, de mettre au pas les forgerons nouvellement capturés au Soudan et qui avait aussi un pouvoir judiciaire.

L'endogamie était auparavant la règle générale, mais depuis l'occupation, elle subit de nombreuses entorses, et les artisans prennent souvent femme parmi les Harratines et les Eklan.

Leur industrie est limitée à la fabrication de bijoux, de cadenas, de couteaux, de quelques ustensiles en bois et ils s'occupent surtout de réparer les objets détériorés.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Au Soudan, les Enaden sont beaucoup plus nombreux, et c'est pourquoi, on y trouve des industries beaucoup plus développées, d'autant plus qu'ils disposent de matières premières également plus variées et plus abondantes.

Les Enaden ne versent aucun impôt de vassalité. Socialement ils occupent une place intermédiaire entre les Imrad et les Iklan. Ils peuvent même, dans certains cas, posséder des captifs, et beaucoup disposent d'une aisance que ne connaissent pas les Imrad, ni même certains Imochar.

## CHAPITRE II

## CONFÉDÉRATION DE L'ĂHAGGAR

Les traditions orales des Touaregs du Nord prétendent que ceux-ci sont originaires de la ville d'Es-Souq, dans l'Ădrar des Ifôras, connue dans l'antiquité sous le nom de Tădemeka, et qui se trouve à égale distance de Tombouctou et d'In Salah.

On retrouve également cette tradition chez les Ioullimmiden et dans toutes les fractions campées actuellement en Ădrar et sur les bords du Niger, ce qui suppose, dans leur esprit, l'idée d'une origine commune.

Une autre légende, qui aurait pour origine des écrits arabes, fait remonter l'arrivée des Ihăggaren dans leur habitat actuel au XVI^e siècle. Auparavant ils auraient été fixés aux Ăjjer et au Fezzan.

Comme nous l'avons déjà rapporté, les nobles de l'Ăhaggar prétendent, d'autre part, être d'origine chérifienne, issus des Edrissides de Fez. Cette prétention ne peut trouver créance qu'à propos de quelques familles ayant contracté alliance avec des marabouts venus s'installer chez eux. La tradition rapporte, en effet, que des chérifs arabes vinrent se fixer chez les Touaregs après l'islamisation et y prirent une grande autorité. Profitant alors de l'anarchie qui régnait chez eux, entretenue par de constantes rivalités de clans, des chérifs s'emparèrent du pouvoir qu'ils surent conserver longtemps. Ces chérifs appartenaient à la famille des Imenân, les « Sultans », qui firent souche en épousant des femmes touarègues de haute naissance, constituant ainsi une nouvelle noblesse, et qui maintinrent longtemps leur autorité grâce à l'appui d'une importante tribu, celle des Imanrassâten, issue des Arabes de l'Est.

Les Sultans Imanan groupaient alors sous leur autorité les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar et du Tassili-n-Ăjjer ; mais le caractère national, aiguisé par la vitalité des vieilles coutumes berbères, finit par se réveiller chez les Touaregs. A la suite d'exaction de la part des Imanan, plusieurs tribus se soulevèrent

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dans un sursaut d'indépendance, et un noble Ăjjer du nom de Biska, de la fraction des Oûraren, tua de sa main le Sultan Imenân Goma. Ce fut l'origine d'une suite de guerres entre la tribu des Oûraren, qui se fit la championne de l'indépendance, et les Imanan et leurs alliés Imanrassâten, lutte dans laquelle les Oûraren, après des combats tantôt heureux, tantôt malheureux, finirent par triompher.

A la suite de ces événements, la suzeraineté des Imanan fut désormais détruite et les successeurs de Goma qui portaient toujours le titre d'Aménokal, essayèrent en vain, au cours de luttes interminables, de rétablir leur autorité.

Le Sultan Goma fut tué vers 1650, et c'est de cette époque que date l'indépendance des tribus de l'Ăhaggar, qui profitèrent de cet événement et de la lutte Oûraren-Imanrassâten pour s'affranchir du joug des Imenân.

Les nobles de l'Ăhaggar ne formaient, à l'origine, qu'une seule tribu, celle des Kel Ehan Mellen, divisée en quatorze fractions qui, suivant les nécessités du pâturage, essaimèrent et se détachèrent de la branche originale. Les Kel Ehan Mellen auraient habité primitivement au Tidikelt, d'où ils auraient été chassés par l'invasion arabe. Il ne reste d'eux, à l'heure actuelle, que les Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal, les Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali et les Kel Ehan Mellen-ouan-Taghert.

A un moment donné, l'une de ces tribus disparues, celle des Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, détint le pouvoir dans l'Ăhaggar, mais elle s'affaiblit progressivement par des mésalliances, au profit des tribus actuelles des Kel Réla, des Tăîtok et des Tégéhé-Mellet, qui, petit à petit, absorbèrent les autres fractions.

Parmi les Kel Réla, on retrouve aujourd'hui les derniers éléments des trois tribus citées issues des Kel Ehan-Mellen.

Kel Réla, Tăîtok, Tégéhé-Mellet, jouissaient chacun de leur côté de la plus complète indépendance mais, par suite d'héritages politiques, les Kel Réla devinrent les plus importants et les détenteurs du tobol.

Plus tard, vers 1755, profitant de la faiblesse de l'Aménokal Salah, dit Mokhamed el Khir, Tăîtok et Tégéhé-Mellet obtinrent une répartition des tribus imrad entre les trois groupes, tout en reconnaissant toujours l'autorité de l'Aménokal. Mais les Tăîtok insatisfaits de ces avantages pourtant considérables, auraient voulu s'emparer du tobol des Ihăggaren, ce qui déclencha une suite de luttes intestines avec leurs cousins Kel Réla.

Lorsque les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar firent leur soumission à la France, les Tăïtok et les Tégéhé-Mellet furent organisés en tobol libre et leur chef porta le titre d'aménokal, tout en reconnaissant l'autorité de l'aménokal de l'Ăhaggar, Moussa ag Ămâstan qui venait d'être intronisé par les Français. Le chef des Tăïtok Aziouel et celui des Tégéhé-Mellet Ser'ir ag Bedda, acceptèrent cette vassalité sans la discuter, mais par la suite, ils soulevèrent des difficultés sans nombre. Cette politique, qui avait été instaurée pour renforcer l'autorité de Moussa ag Ămâstan, nous valut plusieurs déboires et, dès 1910, le Capitaine Niéger, Commandant l'Annexe du Tidikelt-Hoggar interpréta la dissidence des deux tribus imrad des Ăït Loaïen, et des Kel-i-n-Toûnîn, comme le début de complications graves.

On put mesurer sa clairvoyance au cours de la révolte de 1916-1918, et la mésentente entre Kel Réla et Tăïtok persiste encore aujourd'hui. Mais les Tăïtok et les Tégéhé-Mellet ayant participe à la révolte de 1916-1918, et leurs chefs n'ayant pas répondu à la confiance qui avait été mise en eux, furent replacés sous l'autorité directe de l'Aménokal de l'Ăhaggar avec le titre d'amrar.

## Tobol des Kel Rela

Le Tobol des Kel Rela est le plus important de l'Ăhaggar et son chef est en même temps l'Aménokal de la Confédération.

Il est formé par un certain nombre de familles nobles dont plusieurs sont réduites à une ou deux tentes. Ce sont les Inemba, les Iboglân, les Ikerremoïen, les Tégéhé-n-ăgg-Ali, les Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal, qui toutes ont droit au tobol, et les Kembiden, les Oulad el Goute, les Oulad Amechaoui, les Oulad Ibra qui à la suite de mésalliances n'ont plus droit au tobol.

La légende raconte que les nobles Kel Rela eurent pour ancêtre une femme du nom de Ti-n-Hînân, venue du Tafilalet avec sa servante Takamat. Ses gens portaient alors le nom de Kel Ehan Mellen — qui veut dire « gens des tentes blanches » — par opposition à une autre tribu, les Issetafenine, « gens des tentes noires », qui seraient les ancêtres des Ioullimmiden.

Plus tard, la fraction dominante fut celle des Tégéhé-n-

ou-Sidi, qui était celle de l'ancien Aménokal Sidi, et dont faisaient partie les Kel Rela, les Tăïtok, les Tégéhé-Mellet.

Une autre fraction se forma sur ces entrefaites, celle des Ikerremoïen. L'ancêtre de cette tribu, nommé Akerremoï, était d'origine Iguérissouten, de l'Aïr, et avait épousé une femme noble de l'Ăhaggar, fille de tobol, et dont le descendant le plus célèbre fut l'Aménokal Moussa ag Ămâstan.

Quant aux Iboglân, ils ont pour ancêtre le nommé Khatita, frère de Sakal, le chef des Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal, qui avait épousé une femme des Kel Réla.

Les Tégéhé-n-ăgg-Ali donnèrent naissance aux Inemba, et leur nom disparut avec les derniers hommes de cette vieille tribu.

D'après les légendes recueillies auprès des Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar, Ti-n-Hinân aurait eu sept filles dont trois eurent des enfants qui sont à l'origine des tribus actuelles. La première aurait engendré les Iboglân et les Inemba, la deuxième, les Ikerremoïen et les Kel Ehan Mellen, la troisième, les Kel Rela, les Tăïtok, les Tégéhé-Mellet.

Interprétons la légende en disant que c'est dans les différentes tribus citées que l'on retrouve les descendants des trois filles de Ti-n-Hinân.

D'après une autre légende répandue dans l'Ăhaggar et qu'a rapportée M. Benhazéra [1], Ti-n-Hinân aurait eu trois descendantes qui seraient les ancêtres des trois principales familles nobles de l'Ăhaggar, sans que l'on sache combien de générations les ont séparées. Ce sont :

Tinirt : l'antilope, qui serait l'ancêtre des Inemba ;

Tahenkat : la gazelle, qui serait celle des Kel Rela, et

Tamerouelt : la hase ou femelle du lièvre, qui serait celle des Iboglân.

C'est à Kella, descendante de Tahenkat, et mariée à Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir que les Kel Rela (altération du mot Kella) doivent leur droit au tobol.

Les Kel Rela ont gardé avec précision le souvenir de la filiation de leurs aménokalen depuis Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir jusqu'à l'Aménokal actuel. Auparavant les filiations étaient établies par les femmes, mais à part quelques-unes d'entre elles, leurs noms ont été oubliés. Cette démarcation très nette et qui date du XVII^e siècle indique une modification profonde

1. *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar*, p. 92.

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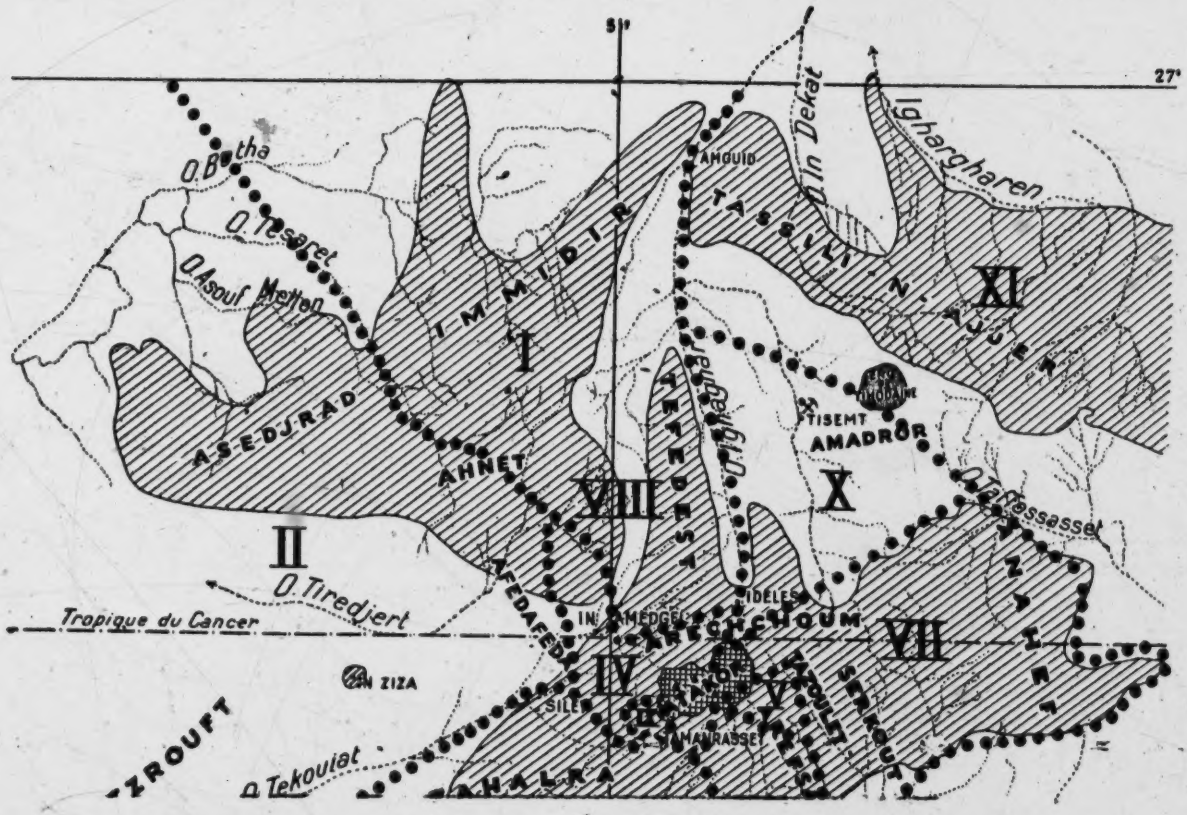


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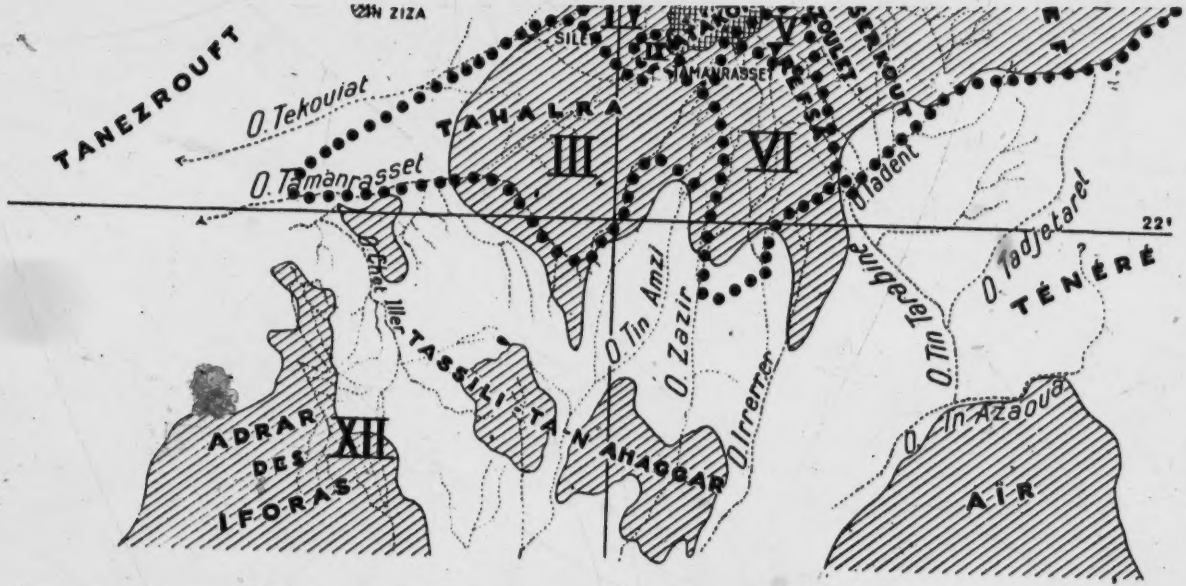


IV. Terrains de nomadisation des tribus de l'Ahaggar.

1. Issekkemaren.
   S. f. Kel In-Rhar'.
   Kel Amgid.
   Kel Tâfedest.
   Kel Immidir.
   Ihéinoucà-Hâda.
   Isselamaten.
   Kel I-n-Toûnin.
   Kel Terourirt.

II. Tâitok et Kel Ahnet.
III. Ikechchemaden.
   Iklân-en-Tâoussit.
   Tégéhé-n-Efis.
IV. Dâg-Râli.
   Ibettenâten.
   Irréguénaten.
V. Kel Tâzoulet.
VI. Agouh-en-Tchlé.

VII. Ait Loaien.
VIII. Tégéhé-Mellet.
IX. Ikadelen.
X. Zone des salines ouverte à toutes les tribus ; mais propriété de l'Aménokal.
XI. Touaregs Ajjer.
XII. Zone de nomadisation exceptionnelle des Ibettenâten, des Irreguenaten, des Ikadelen et des Kel Ahnet.

Échelle : 1/5.000.000.

[p.185]

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dans les règles successorales et une atténuation marquée du régime matriarcal absolu.

A l'Aménokal Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir (1750 env.) ont succédé :

Younès ag Sidi (vers 1790) ;
Ag Mama ag Sidi (en 1830) ;
El Hadj Ahmed ag El Hadj el Bekri (1830-1877) ;
Ăitarel ag Mohamed Biska (1877 à 1900) ;
Ăttici ag Ămellal, nommé en même temps que
Mohamed ag Ourzig (1900-1905) ;
Moussa ag Ămâstan (1905-1920) ;
Ăkhamouk ag Yema (1920-1941) ;
Meslah ag Ămyas 1941-

Sidi ag Mohamed El Kheir ag Salah, marié à Kella, arrière-petite-fille de Tahenkat, elle-même fille de Ti-n-Hinân, ancêtre des Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar. Il eut neuf enfants, dont six filles, qui sont à l'origine de toutes les grandes familles actuelles au sein desquelles furent pris les aménokalen suivants ; il est le fondateur de la tribu des Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi.

Il mourut vers 1790, après avoir, semble-t-il, cédé à toutes les demandes des Tăitok et des Tégéhé-Mellet, au sujet de la répartition des Imrad. Il eut à supporter une guerre contre les Tăitok, finit par les vaincre, et la paix fut signée. Ses deux fils épousèrent alors deux femmes des Tăitok.

Younes ag Sidi, succéda à son père. Il était l'aîné des enfants de Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir. Il épousa une femme des Tăitok, de qui il eut un fils, Améchaoui qui, par le sang de sa mère, devint plus tard Amrar des Tăitok.

Ag Mama ag Sidi, était le frère de Younès ag Sidi et deuxième fils de Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir. Comme son frère, il épousa une femme des Tăitok dont il eut un fils, Mohamed, qui devint plus tard, également, Amrar des Tăitok. Ag Mama mourut centenaire.

El Hadj Ahmed ag el Hadj Bekri, était le petit-fils de Sidi ag Mahomed el Kheir, par la fille de ce dernier, Zahra, qui s'était mariée avec El Hadj Bekri, de la tribu des Ifôras. Il était le neveu de l'aménokal précédent, étant fils aîné de la sœur aînée. Il eut à lutter contre les Tăitok dont l'un, Mohamed ag Mama, fils du précédent aménokal, aurait voulu lui succéder.

Sous son règne éclata une longue guerre avec les Ăjjer, alors que les Ihăggaren avait pris fait et cause pour les descendants du Sultan Imânen. Il fut tué au cours de cette lutte.

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ĂITAREL AG MOHAMED BISKA, était le petit-fils de Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, par sa troisième fille Ăméněna, mariée à Mohamed Biska, de la tribu des Tégéhé-Mellet.

Par rapport à l'aménokal précédent, il était son cousin germain, fils aîné de la sœur de son père. Il eut une vie très mouvementée ; il dut lutter contre les Ăjjer sur lesquels il remporta une grande victoire à Edjmidhan, et fut en butte aux attaques des Tăitok. C'est sous son aménokalat que fut massacrée la mission Flatters, massacre dont il porte la plus grande responsabilité.

Il mourut en 1900, laissant une fille qui épousa Ămayas ag Khelbi, dont elle eut un fils, Meslah, aujourd'hui Aménokal de l'Ăhaggar.

ĂTTICI AG ĂMELLAL était le neveu du précédent Aménokal, comme fils aîné de sa deuxième sœur. Il fut nommé en même temps que son cousin MOHAMED AG OURZIG, fils aîné de la sœur aînée d'Ăitarel, à qui devait normalement revenir le tobol, mais qui, âgé et sans énergie, ne put affirmer ses droits. Ce fut une longue période d'anarchie dont les Imrad eurent à subir les conséquences, et qui prit fin avec l'occupation française et la nomination de Moussa ag Ămâstan.

MOUSSA AG ĂMASTAN, cousin d'Ăttici, arrière-petit-fils de Sidi Mohamed el Kheir par la dernière fille de ce dernier, Tar'aoussist et par sa grand-mère Tiguent, était né vers 1865, de mère Kel Rela, mais son père était des Ikerremoïen. Ce dernier, d'esprit très averti, aurait déconseillé le massacre de la mission Flatters, quoiqu'on ait assuré qu'il y eût participé.

Moussa était jeune lorsque son père mourut et il fut élevé par son oncle Ămdor. Ce dernier vivait avec les Ifôras de l'Ădrar et c'est là que Moussa fit la connaissance d'un marabout Kounta de grand renom qui avait établi son centre religieux à Teleya et qui devait avoir sur lui une grande influence,

Plus tard, il vécut toujours au Nord de l'Ădrar, ce qui lui permettait de faire des incursions chez les Ioullimmiden, les Ifôras, les Idnân, les Kounta, les Bérabiches qui, pour obtenir la tranquillité, finirent par lui payer une redevance. Mais Moussa ag Ămâstan ne razziait jamais les pauvres ni les faibles, et il s'en faisait, au contraire, le protecteur.

Les Tăitok ayant été razziés par les Kel Tădelé (de l'Aïr), ils accusèrent Moussa, et de ce jour data l'animosité qui régna toujours entre eux par la suite. Son frère ayant été tué par les Ioullimmiden, il organisa un rezzou composé de Kel Tădelé,

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



de Tăitok et d'Ifôras ; mais en route, les Tăitok pillèrent les troupeaux des Kel Tădelé ; Moussa, profondément indigné de cette conduite, n'hésita pas à se jeter sur les Tăitok pour les châtier et reprendre leurs prises. Les Ihăggaren s'indignèrent de ce geste et demandèrent à Moussa de rendre aux Tăitok les animaux razziés. Il refusa et se retira chez l'Aménokal des Ioulimmiden, Firhoun, où il s'employa à rétablir la paix entre ses hôtes et les Ihăggaren. Il en fit autant avec les Kel Aïr, ce qui permit aux Issekkemâren et aux Imrad de se rendre au Soudan pour leurs affaires, et contribua pour beaucoup à établir sa renommée.

Quittant les campements soudanais, il se rapprocha alors de l'Ăhaggar et suivit les événements de très près.

Ăïtarel l'avait, paraît-il, désigné pour lui succéder, mais il refusa devant l'anarchie qui régnait dans l'Ăhaggar, et ne fit aucune opposition à Ăttici, qui fut élu par le parti hostile à la paix avec les Français.

Les événements se précipitant, il s'entretint de la soumission des Ihăggaren avec le Caïd Bilou d'In Salah (1903) lequel était un de nos hommes de confiance. Puis il alla à Rhât, rendre visite au chef de cette région, In Gueddassen, pour l'inviter à venir à In Salah, avec lui. C'est alors qu'In Gueddassen ayant refusé, il se rendit directement à In Salah, pour discuter de la soumission des gens de l'Ăhaggar.

L'histoire de sa vie est ensuite toute celle de la pénétration française.

Moussa se maria tard et vécut jusqu'en 1910 en concubinage avec une captive dont il eut une fille. Il épousa alors la fille de Ibedi ag Bassi, Tihit, des Tăitok, qui lui donna une deuxième fille. Il partit ensuite pour la France sur l'invitation du Général Laperrine.

L'année suivante, en récompense des services rendus, il était fait Officier de la Légion d'Honneur.

Ses efforts, ainsi récompensés par les Français, Moussa ag Ămâstan vit le ralliement total de ses gens, mais il ne devait pas jouir longtemps de son triomphe et mourut assez mystérieusement en 1920 (30 décembre).

Maladif de nature, syphilitique, dit-on, et asthmatique, il fut pris un jour d'un malaise qu'il attribua aux suites d'une grave blessure à la poitrine reçue lors d'une chute de cheval. Il dut s'aliter et le sixième jour, il semblait aller mieux lorsque dans la nuit, il demanda à faire sa prière. Campé à cette

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



époque à proximité de Tămanrasset, il fit prévenir l'officier résidant, mais lorsque celui-ci arriva pour lui rendre visite, Moussa venait d'expirer, non sans avoir auparavant conseillé aux chefs présents de toujours suivre les Français.

Les membres de sa famille furent atterrés d'une mort si brusque, et un homme des Ăjjer, arrivé au campement depuis une dizaine de jours, fut accusé de l'avoir empoisonné. On lui fit prêter serment sur le Coran, mais il jura qu'il n'était pour rien dans la mort de Moussa, et il fut laissé libre.

Un marabout de la Zaouia de Teleya, Sidi Mohamed ben Badi, Mokhadem délégué du grand chef religieux des Kounta, Bey el Bekkay, était présent à la mort de Moussa. Il prétendit avoir été envoyé par Bey, à qui la mort de Moussa ag Ămâstan aurait été révélée dans un songe.

Cette assertion aida beaucoup à dissiper le doute dans les esprits, en même temps qu'elle augmentait la réputation de « saint » du marabout de Teleya.

Quelques jours après, la djemaa réunie nommait en remplacement Ăkhamouk ag Yéma et en prévenait les autorités par la lettre suivante :

« Du 30 Décembre 1920.

» Louange à Dieu l'Unique.

» De la part de votre ami Boukhelil ben Douka, à la Seigneurie de l'honorable Monsieur le Capitaine Depommier, Chef de l'annexe d'In Salah et du Ăhaggar. Que le salut soit sur vous.

» J'ai l'honneur de vous rendre compte que notre père, Moussa ag Ămâstan est mort, que Dieu le bénisse.

» Nous, Kébar Touaregs nobles, nous nous sommes réunis ainsi que les Kébar des Imrad, tous sans exception, nous avons accepté comme remplaçant de Moussa, Ăkhammouk ag Yéma. Sachez que du temps où Moussa était vivant, nous lui avons confié toutes les affaires pour lesquelles il était chargé près de l'autorité militaire française.

» Sachez qu'aujourd'hui nous ferons tous nos efforts possibles pour servir de bonne foi le Gouvernement français comme avant et même plus, et nous lui ferons (en bien) tout ce que nous pourrons faire. »

Ăkhamouk ag Yema était le cousin germain de Moussa ag Ămâstan, fils aîné de la tante maternelle de ce dernier. Par sa mère, il descendait des Inemba. Compagnon de jeunesse de

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Moussa, il subit l'influence de son cousin et le suivit en tout. Beaucoup moins intelligent que lui, il n'en fut pas moins un chef fidèle et qui sut se faire respecter.

Il se maria deux fois et eut sept enfants.

Meslah ag Ămayas, est un cousin d'Ăkhamouk, mais au deuxième degré. Il est petit-fils de l'ancien aménokal Ăïtarel et il était le petit-cousin de Mohamed ag Ourzig et d'Ăttici ag Ămellal. Le tobol revenait ainsi dans la branche d'Ămennaï, 3e fils de Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, faute de descendants mâles dans la branche d'Héguier, répondant aux règles des successions matriarcales.

La sœur de Moussa ag Ămâstan, Rakhma, qui a épousé Ănaba ag Ămellal frère de l'Aménokal Ăttici a bien laissé un fils du nom de Louki, mais ce dernier a été écarté par les Imochar pour faiblesse d'esprit.

L'aménokal perçoit la *tioussé* sur les Imrad et vassaux assimilés. Certains d'entre eux versent également des droits de redevance aux descendants des vieilles familles nobles. C'est ainsi que les Dăg Râli versent une redevance annuelle aux Inemba Kel Tăhat et les Aït Loaïen, aux Inemba Kel Emori. Ces derniers perçoivent un pourcentage de 4 % des charges de grains rapportées du Soudan par les Aït Loaïen.

Mais ces droits de perception tendent à disparaître de plus en plus, avec l'extinction des vieilles familles de l'Ăhaggar dont certaines ne sont plus représentées que par quelques individus.

La tribu des Kel Rela s'est singulièrement renforcée depuis un siècle. Elle est toute puissante par le nombre de ses représentants et le matriarcat n'a pu qu'accentuer cette situation. En effet, les femmes des Kel Rela étant seules susceptibles de donner le jour à un aménokal, les jeunes gens des autres tribus nobles recherchent leur alliance, délaissant les femmes de leur propre tribu. Ce sang nouveau a donné aux Kel Rela une certaine vigueur physique en leur évitant de s'appauvrir par des alliances consanguines trop proches et trop répétées.

Depuis plus d'un siècle, la vie des Kel Rela a été faite d'une lutte constante contre les Tăïtok. Ces derniers, batailleurs et envieux, ne rêvaient que de s'emparer de l'aménokalat de l'Ăhaggar et l'histoire des Touaregs de ce pays n'est qu'une longue suite de guerres où les deux fractions furent alternati-

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



vement heureuses, mais où les Kel Rela gardèrent toujours l'avantage grâce à leur supériorité numérique. On trouvera le récit de ces événements dans le livre de M. Benhazéra [1].

Les Kel Rela comprenaient, au recensement de 1838, 312 personnes dont 38 hommes. En 1905, d'après Benhazéra, ils comptaient 55 à 60 tentes.

Le tobol des Kel Rela ne comprenait, à l'origine que deux tribus, les Dăg Râli et les Ăgouh-en-Tèhlé, ainsi qu'une grande partie des Issekkemâren. Depuis, d'autres fractions sont venues demander leur protection ou s'intégrer à eux. Tel est le cas des Ait-Loaïen et des Relaiddin.

Les imrad appellent les Kel Rela « les gens qui coûtent cher » faisant ainsi allusion aux redevances qu'ils sont obligés de leur verser.

Les Dag Rali. — Les Dăg Râli constituent la principale fraction du tobol des Kel Rela sur laquelle l'aménokal de l'Ăhaggar s'est toujours appuyé pour faire valoir ses droits, sans laquelle il ne serait et ne pourrait rien.

Ils formaient primitivement, avec les Kel Ăhnet, la tribu des Imessiliten, et ils seraient les descendants de Takamat, la servante de Ti-n-Hinân, l'ancêtre des Kel Rela. Ils sont issus de quatre sous-fractions : les Ikechchemâden, rattachés au tobol des Tăitok, les Imessiliten, les Oulad Ir'dal, les Dăg Mertemek.

Ils se subdivisent, à l'heure actuelle, en : 1° Kel Tăhat, 2° Kel Tarahananet, 3° Kel Tămanrâsset, 4° Kel Hirhâfok, 5° Kel Ărechchoum. Il faut ajouter aux Dăg Râli, quelques individus, aujourd'hui complètement assimilés à eux, descendants d'une tribu très ancienne, les Isebeten, qui seraient les autochtones de l'Ăhaggar et que les Dăg Râli auraient trouvés dans l'Ătakor lorsqu'ils vinrent s'y installer.

Après le combat de Tit, où ils perdirent plus de cent combattants, les Dăg Râli comptaient encore soixante guerriers. Le recensement de 1938 donne 1.090 personnes, dont 334 hommes, y compris les Iklan. Cette progression assez rare chez les Touaregs est le reflet de leur richesse et de l'amélioration de leurs conditions d'existence depuis l'occupation française.

Ils nomadisent dans la partie ouest de la Koudia, leur fief absolu, où aucune autre fraction n'est admise.

1. *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar*, p. 99 et suiv.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



A l'est, les limites de leurs terrains de parcours sont fixés par la rive droite de l'oued Tămanrâsset, l'oued Interkadène jusqu'à Idelès, au sud, par la zone méridionale du Tahaïra jusqu'à Tin Dahar, à l'ouest par In Eker et au nord par la ligne In Eker, Hirhafok, Idelès.

Les Dăg Râli payent à l'Aménokal un tribut de dix sacs de dattes ou de sorgho ; en outre, chaque famille qui envoie une caravane au Soudan lui verse un petit sac de sorgho ; si les pâturages sont beaux, il est ajouté plusieurs « bottas » de beurre fondu et le lait de vingt brebis. En cas de razzia heureuse, ils versaient aux nobles la moitié des brebis.

Les Dăg Râli sont actuellement les gens les plus riches de l'Ăhaggar ; ils possèdent plus de 1.200 chèvres et plus de 1.000 chameaux. Ils peuvent faire, grâce à leurs bêtes de somme, de nombreuses caravanes très rémunératrices au Soudan et au Tidikelt. Ils possèdent en commun des troupeaux en deshérence qui portent le nom d'Edjeré-n-boutelma. Lorsque les pâturages sont insuffisants pour nourrir tout leur bétail, ils confient leurs chameaux aux Irréguénaten qui nomadisent sur la lisière saharo-soudanaise.

D'esprit très ouvert, ils ont favorisé la culture dans les centres de l'Ăhaggar et possèdent à l'heure actuelle des terrains à l'Ilâman, à Tarahananet, Tămanrâsset, Abălessa, Iglen, Tăfârit, I-n-Ămegel, Sîlet, qu'ils font cultiver par des nègres et l'Aménokal leur a octroyé un certain nombre de palmiers de l'oasis de Sîlet appartenant autrefois aux Tâïtok.

Les Dăg Râli sont les gens les plus pieux de l'Ăhaggar. Affiliés en majorité à l'ordre des Tidjanyia, quelques-uns ont cependant adhéré à la Sénoussyia et à l'ordre des Kadryia, mais ces affiliations semblent être de pure forme car, à quelques exceptions près, ils ne suivent pas les rites de ces ordres religieux.

C'est dans cette tribu que l'action du Père de Foucauld se fit particulièrement sentir. Par le fait de son installation à Tămanrasset et plus tard à son ermitage de l'Ăsekrem, le Père de Foucauld se trouvait en contact permanent avec les Dăg Râli qui, restant d'abord dans l'expectative à son égard, ne furent pas longs à venir à lui et furent les principaux bénéficiaires de ses bienfaits, car le Père allait à eux, soignant les malades et leur rendant de multiples services.

Leur chef, Ouksem ag Ourar, petit homme trapu, d'une intelligence ordinaire, mais très rusé, surtout lorsqu'il s'agissait d'intérêt matériel pour lui, voire même pour les siens, vit

PL. IX.

Jeune femme touarègue de classe noble se brossant les dents avec une tige d'irak. On aperçoit derrière elle la natte d'entourage de la tente appelée « asaber ».

Jeune ménage touareg assis à l'abri de l'asaber. Derrière, une taklit d'origine soudanaise, servante du ménage.

[p. 192 A]

PL. X.

Tente de l'Aménokal des Kel Ahaggar. Elle comprend 8 piquets intérieurs, et le vélum est fait de 60 peaux cousues ensemble. Les piquets isolés qui sont au premier plan servent, le soir, à maintenir l'*anaber*.

La tente est toujours montée par les femmes, en particulier par les servantes. Elles font des trous en terre pour y placer le piquet autour duquel elles tassent ensuite du sable. Le piquet en place, la peau y est attachée par une lanière

[p. 192 B]

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



le bénéfice qu'il pouvait tirer de ce rapprochement. Petit à petit, le Père s'efforça de le conquérir, de se l'attacher, et soutint ses intérêts auprès des autorités de Fort-Motylinski ; c'est ainsi que quelques mois plus tard Ouksem lui était tout acquis.

Ouksem prit auprès des autorités une certaine importance dont il était fier et qu'il savait devoir au Père de Foucauld.

Il fut par la suite un bon auxiliaire pour la pacification de l'Ăhaggar et, lors de la dissidence de 1915, il se montra très empressé à nous satisfaire, ce qui faisait écrire par le Père de Foucauld au Général Laperrine : « Ouksem chef des Dăg Râli, est bien entre tous ; il ne cesse de faire des progrès ; i est évident qu'il tient non seulement à être fidèle, mais à montrer sa fidélité d'une manière éclatante par son attitude. » Il ne faisait rien sans demander conseil au Père et suivit les conseils de ce dernier qui l'encourageait à créer un jardin à l'oued Ilâman, afin d'utiliser les eaux qui descendaient de la montagne. Ce jardin fut fondé, et pour flatter cet effort méritoire qui était un exemple, Ouksem reçut la médaille du Mérite agricole, fait unique, même encore à l'heure actuelle, dans les annales des Touaregs. Malheureusement, le Père de Foucauld disparu, le jardin fut abandonné.

Quoique cela se conçoive difficilement le Père de Foucauld avait même songé à Ouksem ag Ourar comme aménokal possible, ceci contre toutes les règles sociales touarègues.

Mais que reste-t-il de tout cela ? Les morts chez les Touatègs sont vite oubliés et si Ouksem rappelle de temps à autre que le marabout était son bon camarade, il est à présumer que pas plus lui que ses Dăg Râli n'ont compris le dévouement et l'affection qui devaient coûter la vie à l'ermite du Sahara.

Les Ikechchemâden, dont nous avons précédemment parlé, ont toujours vécu auprès des Dăg Râli avec lesquels ils ne formaient autrefois qu'une seule tribu. A la répartition des Imrad, ils devinrent les vassaux des Tăltok, mais demeurèrent avec les Dăg Râli, contractant avec eux de nombreuses unions au point qu'il est difficile de les différencier. Si bien qu'en 1907, ils demandèrent à être rattachés au tobol des Kel Rela.

Les Ăgouh-en-Tehlé. — Les Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé constituent, après les Dăg Râli, la tribu imrad la plus importante de l'Ăhaggar. Ils auraient nomadisé auparavant dans les environs d'In

Gall en Aïr, et auraient émigré dans l'Ăhaggar à la suite des exactions du Sultan d'Agadez duquel ils dépendaient primitivement. Ce dernier, aux mœurs polygames, exigeait d'eux, chaque année, une jeune et jolie vierge. Las de cette coutume, contraire aux mœurs touarègues, ils quittèrent le pays et vinrent se placer sous la protection de l'Aménokal des Kel Rela, Younès, fils (?) de Kella (vers 1700). (La version recueillie par M. Benhazéra dit : fils de Mohamed el Kheir.)

Avant de venir demander protection aux Ihăggaren, ils appartenaient à la tribu des Tégéhé-n-Elimen, nom qu'on leur donne encore parfois. Une fraction de cette tribu est restée en Aïr et porte le nom de Ir'Alaman ou de Kel Rapsa. Ce seraient eux, en particulier, qui auraient fondé l'oasis de Rhât.

Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé veut dire : gens du roseau. La légende rapporte qu'ils furent obligés de manger les racines de cette plante au cours de leur fuite de l'Aïr. Leur chef était alors un nommé Assékel ag Louka, homme de taille herculéenne, aux pieds si grands, dit la légende, que lorsque ses poursuivants en virent les empreintes, ils préférèrent abandonner la poursuite.

Les Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé prétendent être originaires de La Mecque où leur lointain ancêtre reçut du Prophète une chamelle dont ils ne devaient boire que le lait. Mais ayant commis la faute de la tuer, ils durent s'enfuir et, après de longues marches, se fixèrent en Aïr.

Au moment du partage des Imrad (1750) ils faisaient partie des Issandaten. Les Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé revinrent aux Kel Rela, et l'autre fraction, les Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, aux Ţăîtok.

Leur terrain de parcours confine à celui des Dăg Râli. Il va de Tămanrasset à l'oued Ourchi, puis de la Koudia jusqu'à Afrahouhine et Tamaghine.

Ils paient un tribu à l'Aménokal, du même ordre de grandeur que celui des Dăg Râli, mais ils ne partageaient pas avec lui les chèvres et les moutons razziés.

Ils s'allient couramment avec les Dăg Râli et les Relaiddin.

Ils prirent part, contre nous, au combat de Tit où ils eurent une dizaine de tués. Pendant l'insurrection de 1916-1918, ils partirent en dissidence, et leurs femmes s'emparèrent même de trente méhara de Fort-Motylinski appartenant à la Compagnie méhariste. Par contre, ils ne prirent pas part directement à la révolte et furent les premiers à demander l'aman.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Totalisant 60 hommes en 1905, la tribu compterait, à l'heure actuelle, 150 personnes environ.

Les Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé possèdent près d'un millier de chameaux qu'ils font paître sur les confins saharo-soudanais et 1.200 à 1.400 chèvres. Ils versent annuellement à l'Aménokal un tribut de 12 sacs de dattes, 6 pots de beurre et l'usufruit de 10 chèvres. La majorité des terrains de culture et des foggara de Tărhaouaout et de Tahifet leur appartient et ils ont des jardins à Ămsel, Tămanrasset, Talan-Tédit.

On leur attribue la fondation de Tămanrasset qui serait l'œuvre du chef de la fraction des Issenda (Issendaten), nommé Ilachen. Cette création remonterait à une soixantaine d'années, mais les terres irriguables seraient la propriété des Ăjjer. Ces dernières années, les Imanrassâten, qui seraient les véritables propriétaires des terrains cultivables de Tămanrasset, sont venus à plusieurs reprises réclamer le prix de location qui était d'un âne ou d'un mouton par an suivant les endroits. Mais ce droit n'était payable que si les propriétaires se présentaient, l'année non réclamée étant acquise pour le locataire.

Ils se trouvèrent souvent en conflit avec l'Aménokal à qui ils faisaient des difficultés pour payer la tioussé.

Ils se subdivisent en Kel Aguelella ou Kel Tărhaouhaout, en Kel Rapsa ou Kel Ezarounfat et en Issendaten ou Kel Tăhifet.

Les Aït Loaien. — Les Aït Loaien tiennent leur nom du verbe « élouai » qui veut dire : attacher les chameaux à la file indienne [1].

Ils seraient de même origine, par l'ancêtre Takamat, servante de Ti-n-Hinân, que les Dăg Râli et les Kel Ăhnet, et auraient été attribués, au moment du partage des Imrad, à parts égales aux Inemba et aux Tégéhé Mellet. Ils se subdivisent en Irayen (aujourd'hui éteints), en Kel Torha ou Dăg Houa et en Aït Loaien proprement dits.

Les Aït Loaien paient la *tioussé* à la famille des Téjéhé-n-ăgg-Ali, appelés aussi Kel Ahamellen (Kel Rela) et le groupe des Dăg Houa la verse aux Tégéhé Mellet.

Anciennement alliés aux Imekkérressen du groupe Ăjjer par de nombreux mariages, ils se séparèrent d'eux à la suite de discussions et du meurtre d'un des leurs, le targui Reskou

1. D'après Benhazéra, *Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar*, p. 148.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



ag Yahia, renommé dans tout l'Ăhaggar. Depuis, les Imekkérressen se sont fixés aux Ăjjer.

Ils nomadisent vers Idelès, Tin Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Ărokam, Serouanout et dans l'Ănahef.

Ils comptent actuellement 50 hommes et 102 femmes. Cette prédominance du nombre de femmes est assez rare dans les tribus touarègues.

Ils possèdent environ 350 chameaux et un millier de chèvres.

Les centres de culture d'Aïtoklane et de Tin-Tarabine sont leur propriété, mais ils sont laissés en friche depuis plusieurs années faute de main-d'œuvre.

Ils prirent part au massacre de la mission Flatters, et le guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh qui la conduisit dans le guet-apens de l'oued Ihéaouen, avait des alliances dans la tribu. Ils furent aussi à Tit, et partirent en dissidence dès décembre 1916. Ils portent la responsabilité entière de l'assassinat du Père de Foucauld et composaient la majorité du rezzi qui vint le tuer à Tămanrasset.

Plusieurs reconnaissances furent lancées contre eux (Sgt Remiot), ce qui ne les empêcha pas de donner l'hospitalité aux Ăjjer dissidents et de prendre part au combat d'In Eker avec les bandes révoltées du chef Abeuh ag Khabelli, l'un des plus grands pillards du Tassili.

Les Aït Loaien forment une tribu parfaitement indisciplinée qu'il faut constamment rappeler à l'ordre et qui est toujours prête à échapper au contrôle lorsqu'on lâche un peu la main.

Ils versent annuellement à l'Aménokal un tribut de six sacs de dattes.

Les Relaiddîn. — Les Relaiddîn seraient, comme les Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé, auxquels ils sont apparentés, venus de l'Aïr. Ils campent près d'eux dans la partie nord-est de la Koudia et remontent vers T-i-n Tarabine et Aïtoklane.

Ils comptent une douzaine de tentes seulement, et une dizaine d'hommes valides. Ils paient la *tioussé* aux Iboglân.

Cette tribu, anciennement riche et forte, qui possédait près de 400 chameaux au moment de l'occupation française, n'en compte qu'une vingtaine à l'heure actuelle, et 300 chèvres contre 1.500. Ils doivent cet état de fait aux pertes qu'ils subirent pendant la révolte de 1916-1918 et qu'ils ne purent jamais compenser.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Ils possèdent bien quelques jardins à Tazerouk, Ti-n-Târabine, Aïtoklane et Sersouf, mais tous sont laissés en friche.

Pendant la révolte, ils partirent en dissidence avec les Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé, mais ils demandèrent bientôt l'aman, car leur situation entre l'Ăhaggar et les Ăjjer les mettait toujours à la merci des rezzou de ces derniers.

Les Relaiddîn versent annuellement à l'Aménokal un tribut de deux charges de grains, un pot de beurre et une chèvre.

Aux Relaiddîn, il faut ajouter une petite fraction en voie de disparition, les Kel Bardjen, d'origine indéterminée. Comptant une dizaine de guerriers, ils sont reconnus comme des pillards invétérés, empiétant constamment sur les terrains de parcours d'autrui. Le Bardjen est situé entre Tazerouk, Imerera et Idelès. Le terrain de parcours des Kel Bardjen aurait été délimité vers 1750 et marqué par des monolithes dont quelques-uns portent des caractères tifinagh.

Les Ibettenaten. — Les Ibettenâten ne sont pas à proprement parler des « imrad ». D'après Benhazéra, cette tribu était auparavant noble. Ils auraient été asservis par les Kel Rela à la suite du meurtre d'un Amacher commis par l'un des leurs, et depuis ils paient la *tioussé* à l'Aménokal.

Les Ibettenâten seraient issus d'Ifôras Kel Ăfella du côté maternel et d'Arabes du Tidikelt du côté paternel.

Une trentaine de tentes nomadisent au Soudan vers Bou Djbiha mais ils remontent, suivant les pâturages, jusqu'à Taoudart et In Ouzal, dans l'Ădrar des Ifôras. Quinze autres tentes inféodées aux Kel Fadéï campent en Aïr.

Ils comptaient 160 personnes dont 62 hommes au recensement de 1938.

Ce sont des éleveurs intégraux, ne faisant que peu de caravanes et ne possédant aucun terrain de culture. Ils disposent de très beaux pâturages, sont propriétaires d'environ 800 chameaux, d'un millier de moutons et, chose assez rare, mais bien en rapport avec leur terrain de nomadisation, de près d'une centaine de bœufs.

Ils ne prirent pas part à la révolte de 1916-1918. Mais ayant quitté les environs de Kidal, malgré l'ordre qui leur avait été donné d'y rester, ils furent rejoints et razziés par la colonne du capitaine Depommier aux environs de Tamaïa.

Les Iklan-en-Taousit. — Les Iklân-en-Tăousit, appelés encore Kel Koas, seraient d'anciens serviteurs des Imenân ;

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



ils auraient constitué la garde du Sultan et relevaient encore de son commandement à la fin du siècle dernier.

Leur nom signifie « serviteur de la tribu ». On les dit de basse extraction et contrairement à tous les autres Touaregs, ils ne répugnent pas à travailler la terre. Ils contractèrent des alliances avec les gens de l'oasis de Djanet.

Ils se subdivisent en Iklân Settafen, et Iklân Mellen, et groupent environ 180 personnes, dont une soixantaine d'hommes.

Ils possèdent environ 250 chameaux et 400 chèvres qui nomadisent dans le bas Ăhaggar, dans le Tăhalra, la région de Silet-Ăbalessa, ainsi qu'au nord-est de l'Ădrar, vers Tin Zaouaten.

Très intéressés par la culture, ils sont propriétaires de jardins dans les centres de Tigeneouin, Ăbalessa, Tifert, ainsi que de la petite palmeraie de Tibeghin, à côté de Silet.

Pendant la révolte de 1916-1918, ils ne firent pas parler d'eux.

Aujourd'hui, ils fournissent une bonne partie de nos groupes méharistes.

Les Issekkemaren. — Les Issekkemâren, dont le nom est synonyme de « mélangés », seraient de pères arabes et de mères touarègues.

Ils se subdivisent en huit tribus qui sont :
les Iheiaouen Hâda,
les Kel In Rhar',
les Kel Tăfedest,
les Kel Immidir,
les Kel Tăzoûlet,
les Kel I-n-Toûnin,
les Kel Téroûrirt,
et les Kel Ouhet.

Ce ne sont pas des vassaux comme les Irréguénaten et les Ibettenâten, mais des agrégés.

D'après une tradition recueillie par le Dr Richer [1], les Issekkemâren seraient les descendants de la famille des Sagmara, signalée par El Bekri dans l'Ădrar des Ifôras et dans la région de Gao. Ils auraient été refoulés par l'invasion sonrhaï et seraient venus se réfugier chez les Touaregs du Nord alors qu'une petite fraction serait restée dans le sud, aux envi-

1. *Les Oulliminden*, p. 71.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



rons de Tombouctou, et aurait à l'heure actuelle un caractère maraboutique.

S'ils sont plus islamisés que les autres tribus, ils n'en sont pas moins targuisés en ce sens qu'ils suivent les coutumes touarègues, et parlent le tàmâhak. Beaucoup d'entre eux, soit par leur origine, soit par leurs relations constantes avec le Tidikelt, parlent couramment l'arabe.

Lors du partage des Imrad, certaines tribus furent attribuées aux Kel Rela, d'autres aux Tăltok et aux Tégéhé-Mellet. Les tribus rattachées aux Kel Rela sont les Ihéiaouen Hâda, les Kel Immidir, les Kel Tăzoûlet, les Kel Tăfedest et les Kel In Rhar'.

Ce sont tous de grands caravaniers qui trafiquent beaucoup avec les marchés du Tidikelt. Ils sont possesseurs d'un grand nombre de chameaux et leur élevage est particulièrement renommé.

Les Iheiaouen Hada. — Les Ihéiaouen Hâda, appelés aussi Oulad Elias ou Ihéiaouen-n-Temounent, descendraient d'une femme arabe qui fut razziée au Touat. Le mot Iheiaouen signifiant en tàmâhak « les petits-fils de... » on doit conclure que les gens de cette tribu sont des descendants d'une femme nommé Ada.

Ils nomadisent dans le massif de la Tăfedest, vers Ădenek, Abezou, In Takoufi, Eguelougal et Tidessi. Pendant les périodes de sécheresse, ils conduisent leurs chameaux sur les confins saharo-soudanais, aux environs du puits de Tamaïa.

Ils se subdivisent en trois fractions : Oulad Elias, Oulad Asseroum et Oulad Fassi, groupant environ 120 personnes.

Ils possèdent une centaine de chameaux et 280 à 300 chèvres. Autrefois ils s'occupaient des petits centres de cultures de Sékaïa et de Tagemouṭ, dont ils sont les propriétaires, mais qui furent abandonnés par suite du manque d'eau et de main-d'œuvre. Très religieux, ils sont en majeure partie affiliés à la secte des Tidjanyia, quatre ou cinq d'entre eux ont adhéré au senoussisme. Fait assez rare, ils comptent deux pèlerins qui ont fait le voyage de La Mecque.

En 1904, ils furent complètement razziés par le Lieutenant Besset et se tinrent en dehors de la révolte de 1916-1918.

Les Kel In Rhar'. — Les Kel In Rhar' doivent vraisemblablement leur nom au village d'In Rhar', dans le Tidikelt, où ils ont dû séjourner avant de venir se fixer dans la Tăfedest.

Leur tradition orale rapporte qu'ils furent conquis par le Sultan Goma et attribués aux Kel Rela lors du partage des Imrad.

Au nombre de 150 personnes environ, ils campent sur le versant est de la Tăfedest, et nomadisent également dans la région de Méniet et dans l'Immidir.

Ils possédaient avant la guerre de 1914 près de 800 chameaux et 1.500 moutons et chèvres. Leur cheptel camelin est actuellement tombé à 200 têtes. Ils sont propriétaires de jardins à Mertoutek, petit centre qui leur appartient entièrement, à I-n-Ămegel, Déhine et Ăbézou.

Comme les Ihéiaouen Hâda, ils sont affiliés en majeure partie à la secte Tidjanyia.

Pendant la révolte de 1916-1918, ils refusèrent de se soulever contre nous, ce qui leur valut d'être razziés par les Touaregs Ăjjer.

Ils sont renommés comme de très grands chasseurs de moufflons.

Les Kel In Rhar' versent annuellement à l'Aménokal six sacs de dattes et un chamelon.

Les Kel Tafedest. — Les Kel Tăfedest ou Kel Tégatoufé (ou gens de la fourmi) se composent d'une petite fraction très pauvre comprenant une cinquantaine de personnes, dont 18 femmes.

Ils nomadisent vers la Garet ed Djenoun, l'Ăseksem, Ămegid, l'Ădrar Torha, et possèdent environ 300 chèvres et 30 chameaux. (Recensement de 1938, contre 600 chèvres et 200 chameaux en 1905.)

Ils sont propriétaires de quelques jardins dans la Tăfedest.

Assez religieux, ils sont affiliés à l'ordre des Tidjanyia.

Les Kel Tăfedest versent annuellement à l'Aménokal quatre charges de dattes et un chamelon.

Les Kel Immidir. — Les Kel Immidir, ou Kel Mouydir, sont encore appelés Ihéiaouen-n-Tin-Emma; ils sont de même origine que les Ihéiaouen Hâda et les Kel Tazoulé.

Ils se subdivisent en Kel Terahart et en Kel Raris, et groupent une cinquantaine de personnes. Ils nomadisent dans le massif de l'Immidir vers Joraf, Tagmout, et ont des terrains de parcours entre l'Ifetessen et In Eker.

Ce sont de pauvres gens qui possèdent une vingtaine de chameaux et 250 chèvres. Très commerçants et excellents caravaniers, ils s'emploient pour le compte de propriétaires de chameaux afin de subvenir à leurs besoins.

Aux Kel Immidir, il convient d'ajouter les Isselamaten, petite fraction comprenant une quinzaine de tentes, qui vit avec eux et nomadise vers Aneserfa, Ărak, Ahohor, Tagemout et Tiredjert.

Les Kel Tazoûlet. — Les Kel Tăzoûlet ou Dăg el Mesk, campent dans la région du Tăzoûlet et vers Tăzerouk. Ils comptent environ 225 personnes, possèdent 285 chameaux et plus de 2.000 chèvres. L'aridité de la région qu'ils habitent les oblige, lorsqu'il n'y a pas eu de pluies sur l'Ăhaggar, à se réfugier au Soudan.

Ils sont propriétaires de jardins à Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine et à Tăzerouk.

En contact avec les Ait Loaien, ils suivirent ces derniers en dissidence et participèrent avec eux aux combats de Tit et de l'oued Ilâman.

Assez religieux, ils sont affiliés aux Tidjanyia et comptent quatre ou cinq des leurs ayant fait le pèlerinage de La Mecque.

Ils versent annuellement à l'Aménokal trois charges de dattes et trois chevreaux.

Les Irréguénaten. — Les Irréguénaten sont comme les Issekkemâren, des vassaux assimilés et d'un rang social supérieur à celui des imrad.

Ils seraient de mères touarègues, de la tribu des Ibettenâten, et de pères arabes, de la tribu des Kounta.

Ils sont divisés en deux groupes : 1° les Irréguénaten de l'Ădrar ou Irréguénaten Issettafénine, qui descendraient d'un chérif du Gourara nommé Abdelmoumen, et dont deux fils. Mouima et Inchelane, auraient été mariés à des femmes Ibettenâten ; 2° les Irréguénaten de l'Ăhaggar ou Irréguénaten Ihăggarénine, qui seraient issus des Dermachaka, tribu agrégée aux Kounta et d'Ibettenâten.

Tous nomadisent dans le Nord de l'Ădrar des Ifôras, le Timétrine, et poussent même jusqu'à l'erg Chech. Ils fréquentent également l'Ăhnet et le Tămasna.

C'est une tribu très riche qui se livre à l'élevage des chameaux. Les Irréguénaten posséderaient plus de 2.300 chameaux, 350 bœufs et plus de 2.350 chèvres et moutons.

En 1908, ils comptaient, d'après Benhazéra, 50 à 60 hommes. Le recensement de 1938 porte 358 personnes dont 100 combattants.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Ils paient la tioussé aux descendants des Inemba et aux descendants de Si Mohamed ag Othman.

Fréquentant les Kounta de l'Ădrar, ils restèrent en relations avec le marabout dissident Abidine, réfugié chez les Kel Ăhnet. Ils lui auraient même servi d'agents de renseignements, et les gens de l'Ădrar des Ifôras les tinrent longtemps pour suspects.

Leur élevage camelin est très renommé et leurs femmes sont très expertes aux travaux du cuir.

Il existe également des Irréguénaten dans la boucle du Niger, mais qui n'ont aucun lien de parenté avec ceux de l'Ăhaggar.

## Tobol des Taïtok

Les Tăitok sont avec les Kel Rela et les Tégéhé Mellet les nobles de haute souche de l'Ăhaggar.

Ils sont apparentés aux Kel Rela par la cousine de Kella, Sakina, qui fut mariée à Amer el Khadj, amrar des Tăitok.

D'après Duveyrier, une partie de cette tribu serait de même origine que les sultans Imenân, c'est-à-dire de descendance édrisside, et l'autre partie serait originaire des Kel Fadei, du pays d'Aïr où la souche existe encore [1].

Les Tăitok, capturés à Hassi Inifel en 1887, par les Chaamba Mouadi, ont rapporté au Capitaine Bissuel qu'ils repoussaient toute fraternité avec les Ihăggaren : « Nous sommes originaires du pays que nous habitons, nos pères y sont nés, nos aïeux aussi, et cela depuis que le monde existe ; nos ancêtres ne sont pas venus d'un pays étranger. A aucune époque nous n'avons été les frères des Hoggar ni des Ăjjer, ni d'aucune autre tribu [2]. » Cette version semble sans grande valeur, et le capitaine Bissuel la donne sous réserves en invoquant l'ignorance probable de ses informateurs.

D'esprit très indépendant, ils ne purent jamais subir sans regimber la prédominance, même nominale, des Kel Rela, et la suzeraineté de l'Aménokal de l'Ăhaggar. Après le partage des tribus imrad ils s'efforcèrent toujours de s'emparer de l'aménokalat, ce qui donna lieu à des luttes fratricides avec les Kel Rela. Ces luttes méritent d'autant plus le nom de fra-

1. *Les Touareg du Nord*, p. 322.
2. *Les Touareg de l'Ouest*, p. 18, Alger, 1888.

tricides que Kel Rela et Tăitok sont liés par de nombreux mariages et que tous sont plus ou moins cousins.

Les dissentions commencèrent au sujet des tribus imrad dépendant des Kel Rela, pillées sans vergogne par les Tăitok, ce qui nécessita l'intervention armée des suzerains. Les Tăitok, inférieurs en nombre aux Kel Rela, eurent le plus souvent le dessous, mais cela ne les empêcha jamais de recommencer quelque temps après.

Les choses en étaient encore là, à la fin du siècle dernier, lorsque l'Aménokal Ăltarel, homme très pacifique, réussit à faire suspendre les hostilités entre les deux tribus rivales.

Le chef des Tăitok d'alors, Sidi ag Kéradji, était par son père, le neveu d'Ăltarel ; il était par conséquent Kel Rela, tandis qu'il tenait de sa mère le droit au tobol des Tăitok. Ăltarel, en sa qualité d'oncle, s'efforça de le protéger aussi bien des Kel Rela que de certains éléments Tăitok à qui cette trêve ne convenait pas.

Sidi, sentant la situation lui échapper, renonça au tobol, croyant ainsi mettre son bien et sa personne en sécurité en cas de reprise des hostilités, et il se réfugia dans l'Ăhaggar, au milieu des Kel Rela.

Mais à la mort d'Ăltarel les rivalités se réveillèrent à nouveau, et les Kel Rela prièrent Sidi de quitter leurs campements. Où pouvait-il aller, alors que les Tăitok n'avaient que des ennemis ?

L'anarchie régnait partout et les Kel I-n-Toûnîn, imrad des Tăitok, en profitèrent pour s'affranchir ; ils se réclamèrent des Oûraren, tribu noble des Ăjjer. Sidi prit la résolution de se fixer chez eux, alors qu'un prétendant au tobol, Azioul, cherchait à s'emparer de ce dernier.

Azioul était le type du parfait Tăitok, du parfait pillard des sables, aux instincts cruels et sans retenue. « Homme de beaux coups de sabre, disait de lui dans un rapport un ancien chef de l'Annexe du Tidikelt-Hoggar, le Capitaine Métois, de toutes les sottises, et de plus, menteur, pillard et traître ». Ce fut lui qui négocia la soumission des Tăitok, tandis que Sidi ag Kéradji était maintenu comme aménokal.

Azioul, dirigé par ses goûts de pillard, mena en 1905 un gros rezzi dans le Hodh, mais il joua de malheur. Repoussés par les Bérabers après un dur combat, contraints de s'enfuir, la plupart des hommes, y compris Azioul, moururent de soif dans le désert.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



A la suite de ce rezzi, Sidi ag Kéradji devenu vieux fut relevé de son commandement et remplacé par Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

Les Tăitok avaient également subi un échec cuisant en 1887 au puits d'Inifel où les Chaamba Mouadhi avaient détruit un rezzi venu les attaquer. Ces échecs successifs réduisirent la tribu à une quarantaine d'hommes.

A l'heure actuelle, les Tăitok n'acceptent encore que de mauvaise grâce la suzeraineté de l'Aménokal, plutôt nominale qu'effective, sous laquelle on les a placés. Des altercations, souvent violentes, ont encore lieu entre eux et les Kel Rela. Ils se sont réfugiés au Soudan, dans la région de In Gall – In Abangarit, et tendent de plus en plus à vouloir passer sous le contrôle des autorités soudanaises pour ne plus avoir affaire avec les Kel Rela et l'Aménokal de l'Ăhaggar.

Pauvres, comme tous les imochar, les Tăitok vivent au détriment de leurs nombreux imrad. Autrefois, ils percevaient également une redevance sur les campements arabes nomadisant entre l'Ăhnet et Ăkabli, sur les Asoudji et les Ferguémoussen de l'Ădrar des Ifôras, les Tégéhé-n-Éfis et les Isoknâten de l'Aïr.

Ils groupent une trentaine de tentes et possèdent trois à quatre cents chameaux et un millier de chèvres.

Pendant la guerre de 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed qui, au début, nous avait donné toute satisfaction, fut un des premiers à partir en dissidence, entraîné par ses Imrad Kel I-n-Toûnîn, chez le chef de la révolte, Kaocen ; mais il faut dire à sa décharge qu'il ne prit pas les armes contre nos troupes. Il fut fait prisonnier devant Agadès par les troupes soudanaises.

A la suite de ces faits, il fut relevé de son commandement, et celui-ci fut remis à Mohamed ag Mohamed, l'amrar actuel.

Les Tăitok possédaient, par leurs Imrad, la palmeraie de Silet qui leur fut enlevée par le Général Laperrine pour les punir de leur dissidence, et donnée à Mousa ag Ămastân.

Chez les Tăitok, l'amrar est nommé suivant les règles matriarcales, et son élection doit être approuvée par les chefs des tribus imrad. Pourtant, il faut le signaler, depuis l'amrar Salah les chefs se sont succédés à plusieurs reprises de père en fils.

Les Tăitok donnent quelquefois le nom de Ar'rerf Ăhnet à

leur groupement, du nom de la région où ils nomadisaient la plupart du temps ainsi que leurs Imrad [1].

Les Tăitok vivent en très bonne intelligence avec leurs vassaux, et ces derniers, fiers de se dire Tăitok, épousent toutes les rivalités de leurs seigneurs. Des mariages entre castes différentes ne sont pas rares, et beaucoup de nobles ont épousé des femmes imrad, ce qui entraîne pour leurs enfants la perte des droits politiques au tobol. Mais l'extension de plus en plus accusée de cette coutume, apportera obligatoirement des modifications dans le droit coutumier de filiation, ou le patriarcat finira par remplacer le matriarcat.

Les Imrad versent une *tioussé* globale qui est répartie entre les différents imochar; il n'existe plus de droit individuel comme on le trouve encore chez les Kel Rela et les Tégéhé Mellet.

Pillards entre tous, les Tăitok avaient su se réserver des alliances un peu partout en dehors de leur pays, dans les régions qu'ils avaient à traverser pour aller exercer leur rapines : alliances militaires ou alliances de protection. C'est ainsi que pour ne pas être pillés, les Sékakna, les Mazil, tribus arabes des environs d'Ăkabli, qui nomadisaient parfois dans l'Ădrar Ăhnet, leur payaient une légère redevance. Ils étaient alliés des Fergoumoussen, tribu imochar de l'Ădrar, aux Tarat Mellet, aux Kel Boujbiha, aux Kel Araouan, aux Tadjakant, aux Arib, aux Kel Taoudeni. Ces alliances donnent un aperçu de la portée des rezzou des Tăitok.

Le tobol des Tăitok comprend : les Irechchoûmen, petite tribu noble, mais ayant perdu ses droits au tobol par suite de mésalliances, les Kel Ăhnet, les Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, les Kel I-n-Toûnin, les Iouarouaren, les Ikouttissen et les Ikechchemâden.

Les Irechchoûmen. — Les Irechchoûmen, appelés également Iradjenaten (sang mêlé), campent ordinairement dans l'Ăhnet et remontent jusqu'à Aoulef. Le chef de famille était Ibédi ag Bassi, qui avait épousé une fille des Oulad Zenan (Arabes d'Aoulef) et avait eu pour gendres Azioueł et Tacha ag Serada, des Tăitok, morts en rezzou [2].

Ils sont alliés avec les Tăitok par de nombreux mariages, ainsi qu'avec les Imrad Kel Ăhnet. Ils se marient aussi avec

1. Ar'rerf correspond ici à tobol. D'après Nicolas, ouv. cit. Agref, suivant son orthographe, veut dire petite fraction.
2. La veuve d'Azioueł épousa en 1910 Moussa ag Amastân, Aménokal de l'Ahaggar.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



des femmes arabes du Touat, et ces multiples mésalliances leur ont fait perdre le droit au tobol.

D'après une tradition rapportée par Duveyrier, les Irechchoûmen seraient originaires d'Es Souq. Une partie de la tribu descendrait des Edrissiens et une autre aurait pour pères des Ikadeien.

Ils ne comprennent, à l'heure actuelle, qu'une dizaine de tentes, groupant une soixantaine de personnes.

Les Kel Ăhnet. — Les Kel Ăhnet sont de même origine que les Dăg Râli avec lesquels ils formaient auparavant la fraction des Imessiliten. Cette scission s'est faite sous l'aménokalat de Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, au moment du partage des Imrad entre les différentes tribus nobles, et les Kel Ăhnet furent attribués aux Tăitok.

Ils avaient été parmi les premiers à venir faire leur soumission et leur chef, Badjeloud ag Maklia, était venu à In Salah dès 1902.

Retirés aux Tăitok et rendus libres, ils furent remis sous leur commandement en 1909.

Ils nomadisent depuis Silet jusqu'à Reggan et Aoulef. Leur terrain de parcours englobe tout l'Ădrar Ăhnet, l'Ăseg'rad et une partie de l'Immidir. Les limites qui les séparèrent des Issekkemâren sont au nord-est, Tin Tir'atimine, Tagemout (aux Kel Immidir) ; l'oued Arak jusqu'à Amsir, Méniet (aux Kel Immidir) à l'est, par le puits d'In Rabir ; au sud, ils disposent de toute la partie montagneuse, y compris In Ziza et Nahalet, c'est-à-dire toute la région qui confine au Tanezrouft et est limitée à l'est par Ou[illegible]ien, le dernier point d'eau avant le Tanezrouft ; au nord, par l'oued Ăsouf Mellen.

Dans les années de sécheresse ils descendent jusqu'au Soudan dans la région d'In Abangarit – In Gall, Tamaïa, campent près des Tăitok dans l'Ădrar Tazerzaït où ils échappent au contrôle des autorités algériennes et soudanaises.

Anciennement, ils exploitaient une sebkha dans l'oued In Méraguen.

En 1905, ils groupaient 35 à 40 tentes. Au recensement de 1938, ils ne comptaient plus que 58 personnes dont 21 hommes.

Assez batailleurs, ils accompagnaient toujours les Tăitok dans leurs expéditions et partageaient le butin avec eux à parts égales.

Pendant la Grande Guerre, ils restèrent dans l'Ăhnet et

ne prirent qu'individuellement part à la révolte en ravitaillant les rebelles de gré ou de force. Ce n'est qu'à la fin de 1917, sous l'influence d'éléments Ăjjer, qu'ils partirent en dissidence et allèrent piller en Ădrar et à Ăkabli.

Assez peu religieux, ils suivent le rite malékite, et quelques-uns sont affiliés à l'ordre des Tidjanyia. Ils professent un grand respect pour les marabouts et en reçoivent volontiers dans leurs campements. C'est chez eux qu'au début de la conquête s'était réfugié l'agitateur Abidine, des Kounta de Tombouctou, qui avait longtemps mené la lutte contre nous dans cette dernière région.

Ajoutons que les Kel Ăhnet prétendent être d'origine Béraber par Takamat, la servante de Ti-n-Hinân. Mais les Tăitok disent que l'on ne sait pas d'où ils sortent, sinon qu'ils devaient habiter l'Ăhaggar bien avant l'arrivée de Ti-n-Hinân.

Les Tégéhé-n-Efis. — Les Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis sont de même origine que les Tégéhé-n-Elimen.

Ils nomadisaient auparavant en Aïr et durent quitter ce pays à la suite du meurtre du Sultan qui voulait les obliger à payer un impôt trop lourd. Efis était leur chef et c'est lui qui les décida à partir. Les descendants de ces familles portèrent désormais son nom.

Ils ne formaient avec les Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé qu'une seule tribu. Ce serait sous l'aménokalat de Mohamed el Kheir que les Tégéhé-n-Elimen vinrent demander protection aux Ihăggaren — certains disent de Younès, petit-fils du précédent.

Au cours de la guerre qui mit aux prises Kel Rela et Tăitok, les Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis se réfugièrent sur les confins de l'Aïr. Par la suite, ils rentrèrent en grande partie, mais une dizaine de tentes restèrent au Soudan.

En 1905, ils comptaient une trentaine de tentes ; au recensement de 1938, ils comptaient 164 personnes dont 51 hommes. Ils possèdent 80 chameaux et 250 chèvres. Ils sont propriétaires de terrains de culture à Tigeneouin, Amsel, Ăbalessa, Tahart. Ils font également cultiver, à Tămanrasset, des jardins qui appartiendraient de vieille date aux Imekkerresen, tribu imrad du Tassili des Ăjjer. A ce titre, ils devraient payer à ces derniers une redevance, mais elle n'est jamais réclamée.

Ils nomadisent dans le Tahalra (sud-ouest de la Koudia) et se déplacent sur le parallèle Amsel, Tigeneouin, Tâmaïa. La ligne de démarcation qui sépare leur terrain de parcours de

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



celui des Ăgouh-en-Tăhlé est formée par l'oued Tămanrasset.

Attribués aux Tăitok lors du partage des Imrad, ils ont suivi leurs suzerains dans toutes leurs affaires.

Les Kel I-n-Toûnin. — Les Kel I-n-Toûnin sont des Issekkemâren. Ils auraient été attribués aux Tăitok sous l'aménokalat de Sidi (1755) lors du fractionnement du tobol des Kel Rela, alors que les Kel Ouhet et les Kel Téroûrirt étaient donnés aux Tegéhé Mellet.

Les Kel I-n-Toûnin doivent leur nom à l'oued auprès duquel ils nomadisent ordinairement, dans le massif de la Tăfedest. A la fin du siècle dernier, ils profitèrent des dissensions qui existaient entre Tăitok et Kel Rela ainsi que des disputes intestines des Tăitok pour s'affranchir de ces derniers, passer aux Ăjjer, se réclamer d'eux, mais ils ne leur paient pas d'impôts.

Après leur soumission aux Français, les Tăitok les réclamèrent et le Général Laperrine acquiesça à leur demande.

Ils prirent une grande part à la rébellion de 1916 et furent les premiers à partir en dissidence, car ils étaient sous l'influence directe des Ăjjer.

Réfugiés primitivement au Fezzan, ils s'employèrent à nous combattre en lançant des rezzou contre les fractions soumises à notre influence. Plus tard, ils participèrent au combat d'Aïn el Hadjadj. Passant ensuite au Soudan, ils réussirent à entraîner un certain nombre de Tăitok parmi lesquels leur chef, Amri, malgré les efforts que fit Moussa ag Ămastân pour les retenir.

Ils comptent une vingtaine de tentes qui campent dans le nord du massif de la Tăfedest et remontent jusqu'à l'Ădrar Ifetessen sur les contreforts de l'Immidir.

Ils sont alliés aux Tégéhé Mellet par des mariages récents.

Renommés comme bons éleveurs, ils possèdent une centaine de chameaux et 300 chèvres. Ce sont également de bons caravaniers qui trafiquent entre les marchés d'In Salah, Rhât et Rhâdamès.

Ils font cultiver quelques jardins à Idelès et dans les centres de culture du Tassili.

Les Iouarouaren. — Les Iouarouaren forment une petite tribu d'une quinzaine de tentes qui nomadise avec les Kel Ăhnet dans l'Ădrar.

D'après les uns, ils seraient originaires de l'Aïr, des Ăjjer suivant les autres.

L'intérieur d'une tente. Les bagages sont suspendus aux montants. Les enfants en bas âge jouent sur le sol où a été placée une épaisse couche de sable fin.

Les femmes des Kel Ahaggar, en particulier celles des Imrads, voyagent souvent à âne. L'une d'elles vient de rencontrer deux ânes avec lesquelles elle échange des nouvelles des méharistes partis au loin.



[p. 208 A]

PL. XII.

La chasse à courre avec chien est commune chez les Touaregs qui emploient à cet effet des slougis rappelant le lévrier arabe. Leurs éklan sont souvent des chasseurs réputés. On voit sur cette photographie l'un d'eux tenant un couple de chiens en laisse et s'apprêtant à aller pister des moufflons.

En dehors de la chasse à courre avec chien, les Touaregs pratiquent le piégeage. On voit ici la pose d'un piège à pointes radiaires et l'arrimage du lasso sur une grosse branche d'arbre enfoncée dans le sol et dissimulée par une couche de sable.

[p. 208 B]

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| KEL RELA | | à la joue droite. sur l'antérieur droit. | KEL IN-TDÛNÎNE | // | au cou. |
| DÂG-RALÎ | | barrant le cou, à droite. | TÂÎTOK | | à l'antérieur droit sur la joue |
| ÂJOUH-EN-TÊHLÉ | | à l'antérieur droit. au cou, à droite | KEL ÂHNET | | au cou, à droite. |
| IKLÂN-EN-TÂOUSÎT | | au sommet de la cuisse droite. | TÉGÉHÉ-N-ÊFIS | | à la joue droite. |
| KEL TÂZOÛLET | + | au cou, à droite | ÎRDUARDUAREN | | à la joue droite. |
| KEL ÎN RHAR' | Λ | à la cuisse droite. | IKOUTTÎSEN | | au cou. |
| RELAÎDÎN | IV | au cou. | TÉGÉHÉ MELLET | | à la joue droite |
| IHEADUEN HADA | +I | à la cuisse droite. | IRECHCHOÛHEN | | |
| KEL ÎMMÎDIR | | à la cuisse droite. | KEL OHET | | à la cuisse droite. |
| KEL TÂFEDEST | — | à la cuisse droite. | IKERREMDIEN | | |
| KEL AMBUID | λ | à la cuisse droite. | INEMBA | | |
| ÂÎT LDAÎEN | | à la joue droite. | TÉGÉHÉ-N-AGALÎ | | |
| ÎRRÉGUÉNATEN | | au cou, à droite. sur la joue droite. | TÉGÉHÉ-N-DDSIDI | | |
| KEL TEROÛRIRT | | au cou. | IBOGLÂN | | |
| IBETTENÂTEN | | à la joue droite. | | | |

Tableau des marques de propriété appliquées aux chameaux dans les différentes tribus de l'Ahaggar.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Une femme des Ăjjer (ou des Ifôras) ayant été faite prisonnière par les gens de l'Aïr, ce serait, d'après Sidi ag Kéradji, Ămastân ag Ourzig, oncle maternel de Sidi, qui aurait payé sa rançon et l'aurait mariée à un Kel Ăhnet, et c'est de cette union que seraient issus les Iouarouaren [1].

Ils campent souvent près des Dăg Râli et les unions entre ces deux tribus ne sont pas rares.

Pendant la révolte de 1916-1918, ils suivirent les Tăitok dans leurs pérégrinations.

Ils étaient les propriétaires de la petite palmeraie de Tibéghîn, près de Silet, mais elle leur fut enlevée après ces événements pour être remise à Moussa ag Ămastân. Ils possèdent une cinquantaine de chameaux et une centaine de chèvres. La *tioussé* payée à l'amrar des Tăitok se composait d'un sac de dattesou de sorgho, un pot de 10 kg. de beurre, la moitié du butin en cas de razzia heureuse.

Les Ikechchemaden. — Les Ikechchemâden vivent mélangés avec les Dăg Râli et sont souvent compris parmi ces derniers quoiqu'ils appartiennent au tobol des Tăitok.

Leur nom signifie « les très laids », du tàmâhak *akechchemdh* qui désigne un homme laid et mal vêtu.

En 1907, ils demandèrent à être mis sous les ordres de Moussa ag Ămastân.

C'est une petite tribu qui ne comprend pas plus d'une quinzaine d'hommes.

Ils possédaient en partie l'oasis de Silet qui leur fut retirée en 1916, mais leur accointance avec les Dăg Râli fait qu'ils ont toujours l'usufruit de leurs palmiers.

On n'a aucune donnée précise sur leur origine, et il est probable qu'ils s'intégreront rapidement aux Dăg Râli.

Les Ikouttisen. — Les Ikouttisen nomadisent vers le Tassili des Ăjjer et comptent encore 70 hommes. Ils tiendraient leur nom d'une de leurs aïeules, nommée Takottis.

D'après un renseignement de Benhazéra les gens de cette tribu ne vont jamais en rezzi. Il n'en précise pas les raisons qui sont peut-être d'ordre religieux.

Les Ikadeien. — Les Ikadeïen forment une petite tribu d'une quinzaine de tentes qui campent vers Tit et Tigeneouin.

1. Benhazéra, *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar*, p. 177.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Originaires d'Es Souq, dans l'Ădrar des Ifôras, ils sont mélangés avec les Ahl Azzi, d'In Salah.

Sans être à proprement parler imrad des Tăitok, les Ikadelen peuvent être considérés comme des satellites de ce tobol.

### Tobol des Tégéhé-Mellet

Les Tégéhé-Mellet forment le troisième tobol de l'Ăhaggar, le moins important des trois.

Suivant une tradition orale, ils seraient les descendants de Ti-n-Hinân, par sa fille Tahenkat. De filiation plus récente, ils seraient issus des Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi. Mais d'après une autre tradition, ils seraient d'origine Chaamba, de la tribu de Oulad Messaoud. Plus exactement, il faut penser que certains hommes des Oulad Messaoud vinrent se fixer chez eux et y fondèrent des foyers, ce qui leur fait contester, par certains, leur pure origine imochar. D'autre part, ils ont épousé des femmes des Kel-I-n-Toûnin alors que des femmes Tégéhé Mellet auraient épousé des Issekkemâren.

Ils obtinrent leur indépendance en même temps que les Tăitok sous l'aménokalat de Sidi Mohamed, avec l'attribution d'un certain nombre de tribus vassales. Mais depuis, ils n'ont joué qu'un rôle très effacé dans l'histoire de l'Ăhaggar et les Tégéhé Mellet sont en voie de disparition.

D'après Duveyrier, ils avaient la réputation d'apporter un esprit de conciliation dans les rapports souvent tendus entre les Ihăggaren et les Touaregs Ăjjer. La position géographique qu'ils occupaient entre les deux groupes adverses les désignait tout naturellement pour ce rôle.

Ils étaient auparavant tobol libre, et ce n'est qu'avec l'occupation française qu'ils furent placés sous la tutelle de Moussa ag Ămastân.

Ser'ir ag Bedda, leur amrar, protesta longtemps, et n'a cessé de réclamer son indépendance. En relation avec cet état d'esprit, beaucoup de Tégéhé Mellet partirent en dissidence avec les Imrad Kel-I-n-Toûnin plutôt que d'accepter la suprématie de Moussa ag Ămastân et des Kel Rela. Ils maintinrent longtemps l'agitation, encouragés par l'ancien aménokal, Attici ag Ămellal, et furent une des causes de nos embarras avec les Ăjjer.

C'est actuellement une petite tribu comprenant une quinzaine de tentes, nomadisant vers Ămegid, l'Ounane, l'Eguéré et

Tiramar. Sa force est faite surtout de ses vassaux, entre tous, très turbulents. Ils auraient participé au massacre de la mission Flatters, et Attici et Ănaba ag Ămellal, qui furent les meneurs du drame, appartenaient à cette fraction.

Les Tégéhé-Mellet n'ont pas d'Imrad proprement dits, mais plusieurs fractions Issekkemâren leur sont inféodées.

Les Kel Terourirt. — Les Kel Térourirt sont des Issekkemâren, et nomadisent au nord-est de l'Ăhaggar, vers Tiramar, Tahihaout, Ounane, l'Eguéré et la Garet ed Djenoun.

Ils comprennent actuellement 25 tentes.

Lors des événements de 1916, ils partirent en dissidence suivant les Kel Ouhet et les Kel I-n-Toûnîn.

Ils paient à l'amrar des Tégéhé Mellet une *tioussé* qui se monte annuellement à quatre sacs de dattes et quatre chèvres.

Les Kel Ouhet. — Comme les Kel Térourirt, les Kel Ouhet sont des Issekkemâren. Ils se subdivisent en plusieurs petites fractions : les Kel Raris, les Dăg-Khamaya, les Dăg Iknân, et groupent en tout une quarantaine de tentes (51 personnes au recensement de 1938, dont 23 hommes).

Ils campent dans la partie nord du massif de la Tăfedest et remontent jusqu'à Amegid et dans la vallée de l'Igharghar.

Ils possèdent de nombreux chameaux et fréquentent les marchés du Tidikelt et de Rhât.

Un certain nombre d'entre eux ont quitté l'Ăhaggar et vivent maintenant aux Ăjjer.

Les Kel Torha. — Les Kel Torha ou Dăg Houa sont des Aït Loaien et forment une petite fraction en voie de disparition. Quoique vivant avec les Aït Loaien qui appartiennent au tobol des Kel Rela, ils versent aux Tégéhé-Mellet la *tioussé* qui se monte annuellement à un mézoued de dattes.

On remarquera qu'il n'y a pas de tribus maraboutiques dans les différents tobols de l'Ăhaggar. Les Ifôras qui nomadisent dans la région de Témaçinine (Fort-Flatters) sont complètement indépendants. Ils entretiennent avec les Ihăggaren et les Kel Ăjjer des relations amicales, mais celles-ci sont très espacées et n'ont aucun caractère politique ou religieux. Ils n'envoient aucun chapelain chez les Ihăggaren. Leur chef s'est fixé à la petite zaouïa de Témaçinine auprès de laquelle sont enterrés tous ses ancêtres, et où il jouit d'une grande

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



notoriété. Tous les Touaregs, Ihăggaren ou Ăjjer, qui passent à proximité de ce point, ne manquent jamais de s'y arrêter, de rendre visite au Cheikh, et d'aller prier sur la tombe de Si Othman, saint réputé de cette lignée maraboutique.

Cette zaouia est affiliée à la confrérie des Tidjanyia.

Il existe plusieurs marabouts qui vivent au milieu des campements Ihăggaren, mais tous sont d'origine arabe, aucun d'eux n'est Ifôras.

Les Ifôras dépendent administrativement de l'annexe des Ăjjer et politiquement, ils font beaucoup plus partie des Kel Ăjjer que des Ihăggaren.

Ils se subdivisent en trois fractions :

Les Ifôras-oui-n-Oukkiren,

Les Ifôras-oui-n-Egdad,

Les Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel.

Les deux premières, qui sont de descendance chérifienne, avaient coutume d'épouser la cause des Oûraren, alors que les troisièmes étaient attachées aux sultans Imenân.

Duveyrier a dit que les Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel avaient été pourvus de tambours et continuaient à constituer la cour et le corps de musique des sultans déchus, et il conclut en disant que leur rôle se borne à faire du bruit [1]. Or les Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel n'ont jamais été musiciens, mais leur nom, qui peut prêter à confusion, signifie « ceux qui sont attachés à l'Amenokal », comme Iklân-en-Tăousit (de l'Ăhaggar) veut dire « serviteur de la tribu » ou de « l'ensemble des tribus formant le tobol » et par extension « serviteur du tobol ».

A l'heure actuelle, ces trois fractions comptent environ 150 personnes.

Nous ne les signalons ici que pour mémoire.

1. *Les Touareg du Nord*, p. 361.

# LIVRE V
# LA VIE MATÉRIELLE

## CHAPITRE PREMIER

## LES CONDITIONS DE VIE CHEZ LES TOUAREGS DE L'ĂHAGGAR

L'Ăhaggar, nous l'avons déjà dit, est une montagne refuge. On ne sait pourquoi les Touaregs ont continué à l'habiter alors qu'ils auraient pu trouver au sud des pays bien meilleurs, où ils auraient eu une vie beaucoup plus facile. Peut-être faut-il voir là les signes d'un attachement au pays ou, tout simplement, un état de fait ancien qui les a obligés à se réfugier au milieu des cailloux contre leur volonté.

Un examen, qui n'a pas besoin d'être bien approfondi, laisse voir que l'Ăhaggar est un pays très pauvre, aux ressources infimes, qui imposent un standard de vie au-dessous de la moyenne. Les réserves en pâturage sont calculées, celles en eau également, le sous-sol ne possède rien, ou presque, qui soit marchandable, à part un peu de sel. Les possibilités de vie y sont par conséquent fort limitées ; il faut donc que pour vivre les habitants aient recours aux ressources de l'extérieur.

Les Touaregs sont des éleveurs. Il ne semble pas qu'ils aient jamais connu un autre stade de civilisation sinon la chasse qui est le prélude de l'élevage. Mais même en utilisant judicieusement les pâturages, ils ne peuvent posséder un grand nombre d'animaux domestiques et, en fin de compte, l'élevage passe au second plan dans leurs moyens d'existence. Le pays ne pouvant les nourrir, il a fallu chercher ailleurs ce qui leur manquait, et ils ont demandé le surplus à leur sabre.

Les éternels affamés que sont les Touaregs sont, comme la plupart des éleveurs, des guerriers nés, parce que de tous temps ils ont dû disputer les terres riches aux sédentaires. La vie libre les a rendus indépendants, anarchistes, et le bien

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



d'autrui ne leur a inspiré aucun respect, mais un sentiment d'envie qu'aucune règle morale n'a pu réfréner. Le pillage a donc été élevé à l'état d'institution et les Touaregs sont devenus des maîtres en la matière.

Les rezzou, maintenant un état de guerre continuel avec leurs voisins, peuvent être considérés comme le principal fait social des Touaregs. Et c'est alors que l'on voit le rôle important que jouent les montagnes de l'Ăhaggar ; elles sont non seulement un refuge de vie, mais un refuge pour brigands qui désirent se mettre à l'abri des investigations possibles de leurs victimes.

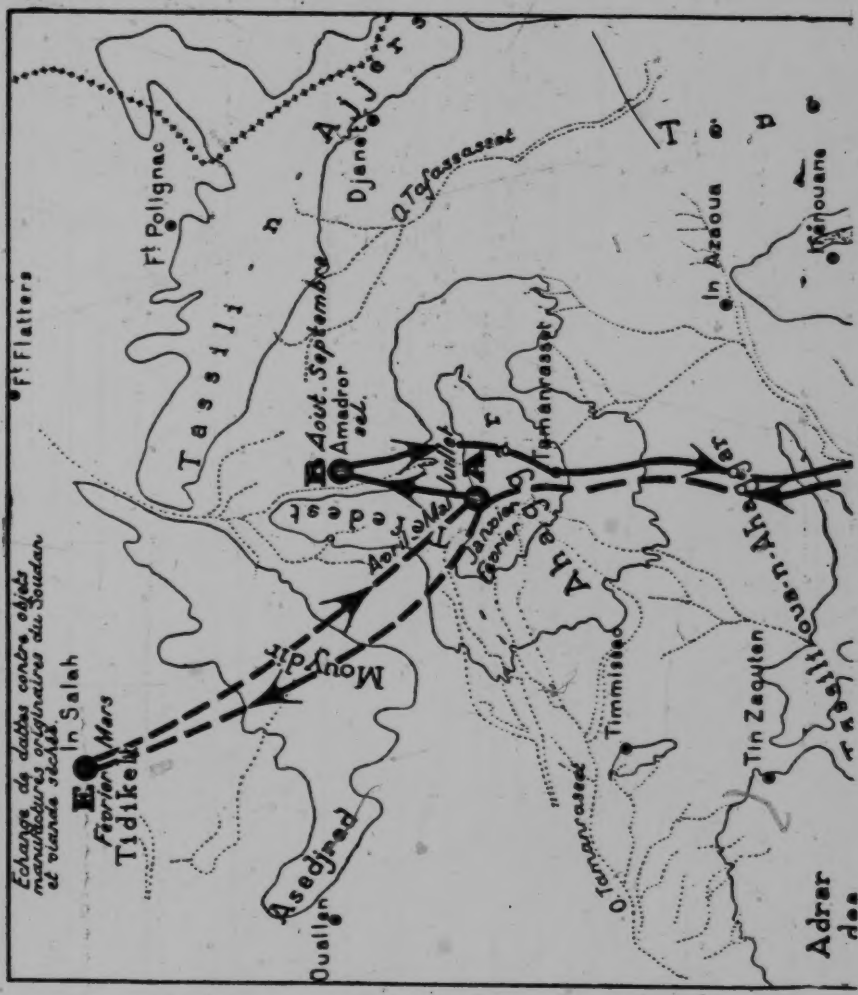
Le rezzi, c'est le pillage organisé, voire même ordonnancé. Il est une institution qui a ses règles, que les antagonistes respectent. Sa forme la plus simple est la prise des troupeaux du voisin ; le coup fait, on s'arrange avec lui, on transige en lui rendant un certain nombre de bêtes pour qu'il puisse subsister, et en gardant par devers soi ce qui est jugé être l'excédent. La forme compliquée, c'est lorsque l'assailli se défend ou tente de reprendre son bien. Cela peut entraîner des batailles rangées, et par conséquent, mort d'hommes ; dès lors, c'est la guerre fratricide qui exige du sang et qui crée des haines éternelles.

Fig. 21.
Mors et bride de chameau.

Voilà quelle était, avant l'occupation française, la vie des Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar.

De plus, ils pillaient les caravanes qui s'aventuraient dans leur pays, rançonnaient odieusement les voyageurs et de temps en temps, allaient vider les greniers des sédentaires des oasis ou des villages soudanais, capturant les nègres et les négresses pour les vendre comme esclaves.

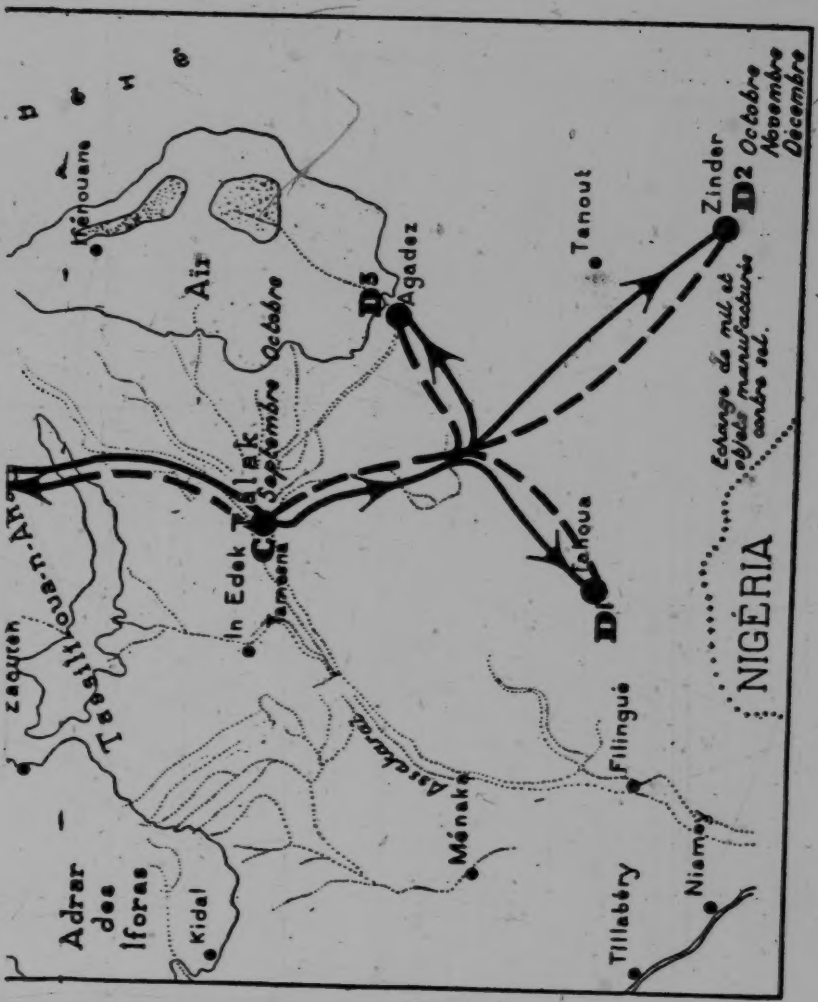
Lorsque l'état de paix régnait dans le pays, ils organisaient




V. Schéma du cycle caravanier des Tou

A. Centre de transhumance et point de départ du cycle caravanier. — B. Centre d'extraction D¹ D² D³. Centre d'échange sel contre grains. — E. Centre d'échange de produits manufacturés et

[p. 216]




nier des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar.

d'extraction du sel. — C. Région de stockage du sel et de nomadisation temporaire.
nufactarés et de viande séchée contre dattes après retour en A.

[p. 217]

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



volontiers des caravanes qui se rendaient dans les oasis du Tidikelt ou du Touat pour chercher des dattes, ou bien au Soudan, pour s'y approvisionner en millet. Ils se faisaient aussi protecteurs de caravanes pour la traversée de leur pays, en faisant naturellement payer au caravanier un droit en marchandise toujours élevé.

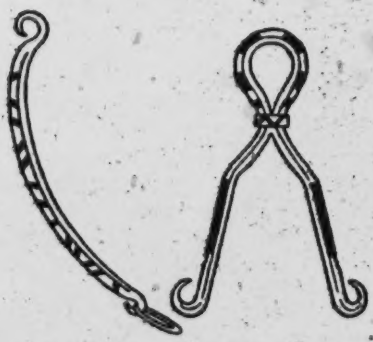


Fig. 22. — Mors de chameau (détail).

L'Ăhaggar possède des mines de sel célèbres, dans la région qui porte le nom d'Ămadror et qui se trouve dans une grande dépression située à l'est du massif de la Tăfedest. Elles sont pour les Ihăggaren une ressource appréciable, mais leur exploitation demande d'abord de la main-d'œuvre, ensuite le transport et la circulation exigent un état de paix général mettant les nombreux troupeaux de chameaux transporteurs à l'abri des surprises possibles et des coups d'un rezzi. C'est pourquoi, avant l'occupation française, les salines d'Ămadror restèrent longtemps inexploitées du fait de l'état de guerre perpétuel qui existait entre Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar et Touaregs du Tassili.

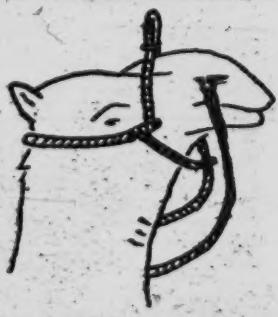


Fig. 23. — Dispositif de fixation de la bride du chameau.

La matière d'échange idéale est le sel qui abonde au Sahara et qui manque totalement au Soudan. Et c'est ainsi que l'on voit un cycle caravanier s'échelonner sur une année entière et sur des milliers de kilomètres. Il est d'autant plus viable pour les Ihăggaren qu'ils trouvent là l'emploi de leurs nombreux chameaux qui, autrement, resteraient en partie inutilisés.

Le point de départ est naturellement la saline. La mine

se trouve à ciel ouvert ; il suffit de détacher le sel en morceaux et de le placer dans des sacs de peau pour le transporter. Ce travail est réservé aux Iklan qui arrivent sur les salines au cours de l'été et y séjournent de trois semaines à un mois. Chaque propriétaire de chameaux opère à son gré, et après l'extraction, transporte le sel dans son campement.

Vers la mi-septembre, tous les caravaniers se rassemblent par tribus, et bientôt, laissant leurs familles dans l'Ăhaggar, ils prennent la longue route du Soudan qui traverse le Tanezrouft. On voit ainsi des caravanes de 100 à 150 chameaux, mais rarement plus, car le pâturage ne le permettrait pas. L'arrivée au Soudan doit se faire après la saison des pluies qui se termine généralement avec le mois de septembre. Lorsque les caravaniers arrivent avant, ils restent en attente dans la région du Tămasna et mettent leur sel à l'abri en le cachant dans les anfractuosités des rochers.

Fig. 24. — Sandale « irratimen », de fabrication haoussa, portée par les Ihaggaren.

De toutes façons, ils restent toujours au moins deux mois dans cette région pour que leurs chameaux reprennent des forces. Puis, par petits groupes, ils se dirigent vers le Dămergou où, dans certains villages, ils connaissent des gens avec qui ils échangent leur sel contre du millet. Ces échanges se font sur des bases variables, suivant que la récolte de millet a été abondante ou non, ou que le sel est arrivé en plus ou moins grande quantité. Ils se font le plus généralement sur la base d'une charge de sel contre trois charges de millet, mais quelquefois dans la proportion d'une charge de sel contre dix charges de millet, ce qui est très avantageux pour les Ihăggaren.

Comme ils n'ont pas suffisamment de chameaux pour emporter tout ce grain, dont la quantité dépasse d'ailleurs leurs besoins dans l'Ăhaggar, ils en vendent ou en échangent une bonne partie contre des objets manufacturés, d'un transport

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



et d'un écoulement faciles. Ce sont des sandales, des sacs de selle, des selles de chameaux, des boîtes en peau, des vêtements de coton, des lithams de fabrication soudanaise. Et après deux mois de repos passés au Soudan, pendant lesquels les chameaux se délectent sur les gras pâturages, tous reprennent la route de l'Ăhaggar où ils arrivent à partir de janvier. Février-mars les voit repartir pour le Tidikelt ou le Touat. Ils n'emmènent alors que très peu de chameaux, et vont échanger là-bas le surplus des objets manufacturés qu'ils ont recueillis au Soudan et de la viande de mouflon séchée contre des dattes. Ce voyage dure en moyenne deux mois et vers la fin avril tout le monde, en principe, est rentré au Ăhaggar. C'est un repos de quelques semaines, et chacun songe à la prochaine campagne de sel qu'il va falloir préparer.

Nous nous trouvons donc devant un cycle caravanier complet qui, à lui seul, pourrait permettre une vie normale aux Touaregs. Mais, comme nous l'avons dit, il implique un état de paix qui auparavant était une exception, et ensuite une somme de travail à fournir qui n'est pas toujours en accord avec les goûts guerriers des Imochar.

La chasse fournit aux Touaregs quelques occupations, de même que la cueillette. Mais l'une et l'autre ne sont que des passe-temps aléatoires, sans beaucoup de profits. La vie des Touaregs peut donc se résumer en quelques lignes : élevage à la base, doublé d'un brigandage élevé à l'état d'une institution et accessoirement organisations des caravanes. Nous allons voir maintenant les Touaregs dans leur vie intérieure.

# CHAPITRE II

## L'HABITATION

Le campement. — Le campement est la forme d'habitat traditionnelle des Touaregs qui s'allie avec le nomadisme qu'implique toujours l'élevage. Il groupe un certain nombre de personnes réunies sous une autorité patriarcale par des liens de parenté très proches.

A la base de la constitution du campement, pour le choix de son emplacement, pour le nombre de tentes à grouper, il y a la question de l'eau.

L'eau est évidemment le problème de toute vie ; elle joue un rôle dans l'installation de nos petits villages d'Europe, mais ce rôle est encore bien plus grand dans les pays désertiques où elle est très rare. L'existence de points d'eau n'est pas seulement nécessaire pour la vie des hommes, mais aussi pour celle de leurs animaux domestiques.

A cette condition primordiale de l'existence d'un point d'eau, il faut ajouter celle du pâturage pour les animaux domestiques. On voit donc que l'installation d'un campement chez les Ihăggaren est conditionnée par deux éléments principaux dont le caractère peut varier dans le temps, suivant les saisons et l'abondance ou la rareté des pluies. Mais en fin de compte, ce sont les nécessités du pâturage qui priment, car, d'une façon générale, il est encore plus rare que l'eau, puisqu'il peut être parfois complètement absent. Cette nécessité du pâturage oblige au morcellement des tribus, à la dispersion des campements pour son exploitation rationnelle et elle est telle que chacun d'eux groupe rarement plus de cinq ou six tentes. Seul le campement de l'Aménokal peut compter jusqu'à quinze ou vingt tentes, mais c'est tout à fait exceptionnel ; il y a là une question de prestige et en même temps d'ordre social qui joue. L'Aménokal entretient, en effet, une nombreuse famille, ses khalifes, ses serviteurs, etc.... Mais ce groupement du chef est tout à fait artificiel et les troupeaux dont les gens sont propriétaires ne sont pas avec eux, et sont

[p. 221]

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



répartis dans la montagne, gardés par des Imrad ou des serviteurs.

Le campement est toujours installé assez loin des points d'eau, car il est préférable d'être plus près des pâturages. Il en est souvent distant de cinq à six kilomètres. Les bêtes s'y rendent pour boire tous les deux ou trois jours, et les gens en profitent pour faire leur provision, qui sera transportée dans des outres sur le dos ou sous le ventre des ânes. Les Touaregs n'aiment d'ailleurs pas s'installer à proximité d'un point d'eau, car celui-ci est toujours un endroit de passage, et ils évitent de signaler leur présence aux étrangers. Lorsque l'état de guerre existait, la dissimulation était une nécessité capitale facile à comprendre, et il semble que, par atavisme, ils aient pris l'habitude de toujours se placer dans des endroits où ils échappent à l'investigation des regards indiscrets.

Ils installent leurs tentes sur les terrasses des vallées, parfois dans la vallée même s'ils n'ont pas à craindre les pluies qui tombent le plus souvent à la fin de l'été.

Par la nécessité de la recherche du pâturage, les campements sont en déplacements continuels ; suivant qu'il a été revivifié par les pluies ou qu'il est sec, ils prolongent plus ou moins leur séjour qui peut être de 8 à 15 jours. Mais ces déplacements ne sont jamais d'une grande ampleur, ne dépassant pas plus de 7 à 8 kilomètres. Si nous prenons pour exemple la tribu des Dăg Râli qui nomadisent dans la partie ouest de la Koudia, nous trouvons en été les campements installés dans les vallées de la haute montagne, jusqu'à 2. 400 m. d'altitude. En hiver, ils s'installent au contraire sur les pentes, ou dans les parties basses, recherchant les endroits abrités du vent. Ceci, naturellement dans une période normale, c'est-à-dire de pâturage moyen. Mais au cours de l'été 1940, à la suite d'une longue période de sécheresse, la haute Koudia voyait un grand nombre de ses points d'eau taris, et la végétation pour ainsi dire inexistante ; aussi, tous les nomades se réfugiaient-ils dans les parties basses du massif, dans les vallées d'Outoul, d'Eferer, d'I-n-Amegel, où l'eau était plus abondante et où il restait encore un vestige de pâturage. Au début de septembre, tout le massif bénéficia de pluies abondantes ; huit jours plus tard, toutes les tentes s'ébranlèrent dans la montagne afin d'utiliser le pâturage des alpages avant l'hiver, et de réserver pour cette saison celui des vallées inférieures.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Les points d'eau de l'Ătakor sont surtout des réservoirs naturels — *aguelmam* — et des sources coulant à fleur de terre, dans le creux des vallées. Dans la partie moyenne, ce sont surtout des rédir — *abankor* — ou petits puits creusés à moins d'un mètre du sol pour atteindre la couche d'eau souvent retenue par des seuils rocheux mais ces rédir s'épuisent avec le temps si les pluies ne sont pas venues renouveler l'eau accumulée dans le lit sablonneux des oueds. La partie basse de l'Ăhaggar bénéficie de tous les suintements de la haute montagne, de toutes les coulées souterraines, et elle est plus riche en points d'eau. Ceux-ci sont des rédir ou des puits dont la profondeur varie de 5 à 10 mètres.

La tente. — On retrouve ce mode d'habitat depuis les steppes de l'Asie occidentale jusqu'à l'Atlantique, où les nomades ont généralement adopté la tente en poil de chameau. Les Touaregs qui ne possèdent pas de chameaux à longue laine utilisent la peau.

La tente est composée d'un grand velum formé par l'assemblage de 30 à 40 peaux de mouflon ou de chèvre, épilées et tannées. La rareté des peaux de mouflon fait qu'on leur substitue de plus en plus la peau de chèvre, voire même la peau de bœuf ; c'est même cette dernière qui est exclusivement utilisée chez les Touaregs Ioullimmiden. Le velum est soutenu par une armature d'arceaux ou de montants. Les Kel Ăhaggar possèdent d'ailleurs deux genres de tentes : une à supports verticaux, l'autre à arceaux. La première est actuellement la plus répandue. Elle comporte un montant central avec une faîtière en bois et six montants secondaires placés en cercle ; la partie la plus élevée du velum se trouve à environ 1 m. 50 du sol. Les extrémités de la peau sont abattues presque au ras du sol et fixées par des petits piquets afin de faire écran aux vents de sable très communs au printemps et en été, et de protéger du froid en hiver.

La faîtière à montant central est surtout employée en été lorsqu'on craint les pluies, car elle donne une inclinaison appropriée du velum pour l'écoulement de l'eau. Dans les autres saisons, cette faîtière est remplacée par deux montants supportant une traverse.

Quoiqu'on ne puisse se tenir debout à l'intérieur, la tente touarègue est assez spacieuse. Les montants sont en bois de tamarix, grossièrement sculptés dans la partie supérieure,

pyrogravés et peints. Ce type de tente est employé chez les Kel Rela, les Dăg Râli et la plupart des Kel Ăhaggar.

L'autre modèle n'est plus employé que chez les Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. Les Kel Ăhnet et les Kel In Rhar l'utiliseraient, paraît-il, encore. Le piquet central du type précédemment décrit est remplacé par un ou deux arceaux en racines d'éthel reliés par une traverse formant l'armature centrale, et quatre piquets verticaux placés deux par deux de chaque côté de la tente.

Ce modèle était autrefois beaucoup plus répandu dans l'Ăhaggar et il semble être d'un emploi plus ancien dans ce pays, car le modèle actuellement le plus en usage a dû être pris aux Ioullimmiden. Tous les vieillards se rappellent l'avoir

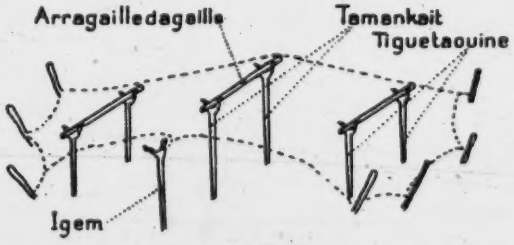



Fig. 25. — Tente utilisée par les Kel Rela. Pendant la saison des pluies les deux piquets centraux sont remplacés par un piquet unique soutenant une faîtière.

vu, dans leur jeunesse, utilisé dans presque tous les campements à égalité avec le système à piquets verticaux.

La tente à arceaux, dont la partie supérieure forme un peu dôme, est plus apte que l'autre à affronter les pluies. Si c'était là sa raison d'être, on comprend sa disparition avec l'assèchement progressif du Sahara, disparition qui peut aussi avoir pour cause la difficulté de se procurer de grandes racines pour la confection des arceaux.

Le velum est toujours recouvert d'un enduit d'ocre rouge qui le protège des ardeurs du soleil et de la pluie.

Dans l'un ou l'autre modèle, la tente comprend toujours une espèce de clôture mobile faite d'une longue natte — asaber — en tiges de graminée que l'on déroule intérieurement autour des piquets pour la clore complètement. En haute montagne, les Touaregs réduisent la surface intérieure de la tente pour avoir plus chaud, et garnissent la partie opposée

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



obligé, mais un stockage réduit, consistant en deux ou trois sacs de sorgho ou de dattes qui sont transportés dans tous les déplacements du campement. Il est de coutume, lorsque les réserves sont plus importantes, de les abandonner dans les rochers de la montagne en des endroits connus des gens de la tribu. Ces greniers — *ekaham* — permettent de s'alléger et de mettre en même temps les réserves en lieux sûrs, si bien que dans le cas où les campements sont razziés, elles constituent l'appoint alimentaire suffisant pour que les gens ne soient pas acculés à mourir de faim.

Quelques tribus qui possèdent des jardins dans les centres de culture y ont souvent des dépôts de vivres ; ceux-ci sont emmagasinés pour tout un groupe familial. C'est ainsi que les Dăg Râli possèdent des magasins dans la Koudia, à Ilâman, à Tarahananet, à Ăbalessa, etc... où ils confient la garde de leurs marchandises à leurs représentants locaux. Ces centres possèdent des greniers secrets ; ils ne sont plus guère utilisés, mais l'étaient toujours avant l'occupation française, pour des raisons de sécurité vis-à-vis des rezzou. Nous avons vu des cachettes de ce genre à Tit, à Bloûmet, et il en existerait à Tazerouk et à Idelès. Elles consistent en des caves creusées dans le sol à fleur de terre et dissimulées aux regards des passants ; les marchandises étaient ainsi à l'abri des hommes et des rongeurs.

Nous ajouterons à ce sujet que le grenier creusé dans le roc est un fait courant chez tous les Berbères. De nos jours on peut encore en observer au Maroc et chez les Chaouias de l'Aurès. Cette coutume semble avoir été commune dans les pays méditerranéens, en Syrie, en Palestine notamment où elle était signalée déjà dans les temps bibliques.

L'Aménokal Akhamouk était le seul à posséder de vrais greniers. Au nombre de trois ou quatre, ils sont construits avec des pierres reliées par de l'argile suivant la technique soudanaise, et placées au sommet d'une crête rocheuse, sur la rive gauche de l'oued Ăbalessa, à proximité de l'endroit où son campement était le plus souvent installé.

Le couchage. — Le matériel de couchage ne comprend qu'une ou deux peaux de mouton cousues ensemble, plus rarement un tapis, chez les gens riches. Il n'existe pas de lit, sauf chez l'Aménokal qui en possède un, de type haoussa, modèle qui a été également adopté dans un certain nombre de

campements des Kel Oui [1]. L'homme et la femme couchent chacun de leur côté, les garçons avec le père, les fillettes avec la mère.

Il n'existe pas de berceaux pour les bébés chez les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar, et les jeunes enfants sont déposés sur une peau ou sur des couvertures. Quelquefois, on place au-dessus d'eux une espèce d'armature hémi-sphérique en osier, que l'on recouvre d'étoffe pour les isoler de la lumière ou les protéger du vent de sable.

Les Kel Aïr et les Tenguéréguifs possèdent de petits berceaux qui sont suspendus au faîte de la tente.

Le feu. — Devant chaque tente se trouve un foyer généralement composé de trois pierres. Il n'est pas destiné à la cuisine, mais au chauffage, le soir, lorsque le soleil est couché, quand tous les gens viennent se rassembler à l'abri de l'*asaber* déroulé en arc de cercle devant la tente. C'est la flamme qui réchauffe les cœurs et les corps, qui synthétise la famille et l'amitié. Parfois on place sur les trois pierres une bouillotte pleine d'eau à chauffer pour la confection du thé.

Le feu de cuisine est placé à l'écart, généralement à trois ou quatre mètres de la tente, à l'abri d'une petite murette de pierres pour le protéger du vent.

Nous n'avons pu recueillir chez les Touaregs aucun mythe sur l'origine du feu. D'après eux, il a été créé par Dieu qui l'a donné aux hommes pour cuire les aliments, Iblis — Satan — a voulu s'emparer du secret de sa fabrication et Dieu l'a puni en créant le martyre de l'enfer ; mais Iblis a communiqué son secret aux forgerons qui depuis savent l'utiliser pour le travail des métaux.

Les Touaregs obtenaient autrefois le feu par frottement en utilisant une planche de torha (callotropis procera) et une branche de bois dur ; ils recueillaient la poussière charbonneuse sur une touffe de soie provenant du fruit du callotropis et soufflaient dessus jusqu'à obtention de la flamme, ce qui demandait environ une minute. Ils ont conservé ce procédé et l'utilisent encore accidentellement.

Aujourd'hui, ils trouvent des allumettes chez les commer-

1. Contrairement à ce qui a été dit, le lit n'est pas touareg, mais haoussa. Il est répandu chez les sédentaires de l'Aïr, du Damergou et du Sokoto et ce sont des forgerons haoussa qui le fabriquent.

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çants de Tamanrasset, mais tous possèdent un briquet à silex fait d'une tige de fer recourbée.

Ils ne conservent pas le feu. Ils le transportent d'une tente à l'autre dans un fragment de vieille calebasse ou tiennent quelquefois une braise dans leurs mains sans se brûler. Lorsqu'ils veulent le transporter à une assez grande distance, ils utilisent des braises de crottes de chameau.

Les Touaregs emploient communément comme combustible des excréments de chameau et de chèvre. En haute montagne, le bois est assez rare, mais dans les parties basses de la Koudia, ils trouvent de vieilles souches d'acacia ou d'éthel. Ils n'utilisent jamais le bois du callotropis qui est

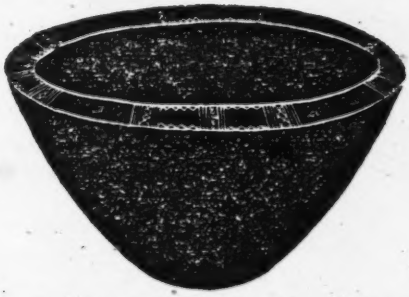

Fig. 27. — Plat des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar, importé du pays haoussa.

l'arbre du diable et qui fait entendre des bruits sourds lorsqu'on le brûle.

Pour la confection du foyer, ils ne prennent jamais de blocs de basalte, le basalte étant d'après eux possédé par les génies et éclatant violemment sous l'action de la chaleur.

Mobilier. — Nous avons décrit sommairement les objets qui meublaient les parties de la tente réservées aux conjoints ; il faut leur ajouter un certain nombre d'objets qui constituent le mobilier. Ces objets ne sont d'ailleurs pas nombreux et sont le reflet de la vie primitive que mènent les Touaregs.

Sur le côté gauche de la tente se trouve généralement l'outre à eau, accrochée sur deux piquets de bois placés en V. Une vieille étoffe la recouvre souvent pour la protéger du soleil. L'outre est fréquemment vide, car les Touaregs sont peu prévoyants. Lorsqu'il y a de l'eau, ils boivent, mais lors-

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qu'il n'y en a plus, ils restent là à attendre pendant une demi-journée que les Iklan soient revenus du puits, si bien que lorsque le voyageur vient à passer, il est le plus généralement assailli de demandes d'eau alors que lui-même espérait bien souvent en trouver au campement !

Devant la porte, et à proximité de toutes les tentes, on aperçoit un énorme mortier en bois et son pilon dans lequel la servante pile le millet ou les dattes. En fouillant un peu la tente ou l'abri servant de cuisine, on trouve deux ou trois plats en bois, de forme hémisphérique, destinés à contenir les aliments, deux ou trois écuelles coniques servant de récipient pour boire, et accrochés à l'un des piquets extérieurs de la tente, un vase à traire en bois, un van en sparterie pour cribler la farine de millet et servant en même temps de couvre-plat, une ou deux petites nattes en sparterie pouvant servir au même usage, et enfin quelques cuillers en bois. Chaque maîtresse de tente possède un petit racloir en bois qui lui sert à nettoyer le sol de la tente, lequel est généralement recouvert d'une couche de sable fin prélevé dans le lit de l'oued voisin.

Fig. 28.
Pelle de tente.

Une ou deux marmites en terre, des petites théières et des petits verres pour le thé, et nous avons là un aperçu du mobilier des Touaregs, qui, comme on peut s'en rendre compte, est réduit à la plus simple expression.

Lorsque le campement se déplace, tous ces objets sont chargés sur des ânes munis pour la circonstance d'un petit bât. C'est aux femmes qu'incombe le pliage des bagages, leur chargement et leur transport sur les ânes. Elles montent elles-mêmes sur les bagages pendant le transport, et il n'y a que les femmes nobles qui voyagent à dos de chameau. Ceux-ci ne sont utilisés au cours des déplacements que s'il s'agit d'un long voyage.

## CHAPITRE III

## L'ALIMENTATION

On a pu dire que les Touaregs, comme beaucoup de populations d'éleveurs, vivaient du lait de leurs troupeaux. Ils vivent plus exactement des produits de leurs bêtes, mais le lait et la viande à eux seuls ne sauraient suffire. En fait, la base de leur nourriture est une graminée, le *béchena* (sorghum cernuum Host.), sorte de millet cultivé dans les oasis sahariennes et au Soudan.

Les Touaregs consomment un peu de blé, mais tout à fait exceptionnellement. C'est surtout pendant leurs déplacements, au cours des caravanes, qu'ils mangent des galettes de blé cuites dans le sable, car elles sont d'une confection simple et rapide.

Il est assez curieux de constater que les Touaregs qui, culturellement, appartiennent à la civilisation méditerranéenne — qui peut être appelée la civilisation du blé — n'aient pas conservé le blé comme base alimentaire comme l'ont fait toutes les autres populations de l'Afrique du Nord. Pourtant la question de la nourriture est l'une de celles qui rattachent le plus l'homme à son milieu natal et qu'il transporte généralement avec lui dans ses migrations. La culture du blé descend au Soudan jusque dans la région de Tombouctou, en Aïr, et un peu au nord de la Nigeria ; mais elle est partout d'introduction récente due à l'influence des Arabes qui n'ont pas abandonné leur aliment traditionnel.

La *béchena* est un aliment d'adaptation dû à leur exode vers le Soudan, pays duquel ils sont à l'heure actuelle beaucoup plus près au point de vue des conditions d'existence matérielle, que de l'Afrique septentrionale, à moins que cette plante ait existé autrefois à l'état spontané au Sahara, comme l'a supposé le Pr Chevalier et qu'elle ait été l'une des ressources alimentaires principales de ses premiers habitants.

Le Sahara, par ses cultures et ses productions, est complètement nègre. Les méthodes de culture, sauf l'irrigation,

à l'ouverture d'une petite murette en pierre qui protège efficacement du froid. La porte est toujours ouverte au sud.

La tente n'est habitée que par un ménage et chaque conjoint a son côté réservé : l'homme, à gauche en entrant ; c'est là qu'il place sa selle de méhari, ses armes, ses sacs de selle ; la femme à droite ; c'est là qu'elle dépose son sac à affaires personnelles, sa selle, si elle en possède une, les sacs contenant les réserves de nourriture, ainsi que les instruments de cuisine, dont elle a la garde.

L'été, lorsqu'il fait très chaud, les Touaregs utilisent parfois des huttes de paille, tant pour économiser les peaux que

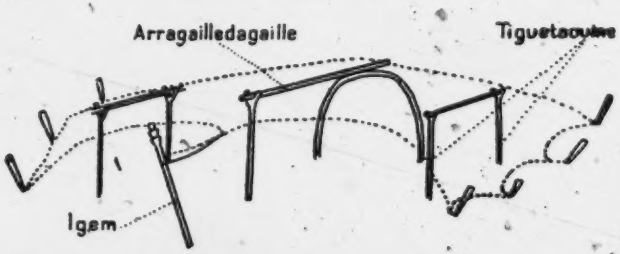


FIG. 26. — Tente utilisée par les Agouh-n-Tehlé. Parfois le piquet support de l'arragailledagaille peut être remplacé par un deuxième arceau. Dans certaines tribus, en particulier chez les Kel Ahnet, les arceaux étaient placés transversalement.

pour avoir un peu plus de confort. La tente de cuir est, en effet, rendue presque inutilisable par la chaleur, et les nomades vont souvent chercher abri, aux heures chaudes, sous les arbres voisins lorsqu'il y en a, ou bien dans les rochers.

Les captifs n'ont jamais de tentes. Ils se construisent de petits abris avec quelques branches sur lesquelles sont tendus des lambeaux de peau ou d'étoffe.

Le montage des tentes incombe entièrement aux femmes.

LES GRENIERS. — L'un des faits les plus caractéristiques de la vie du nomade est son imprévoyance pour les questions alimentaires et la plupart du temps il subsiste au jour le jour, au fil des saisons, sans rien accumuler. C'est un peu le cas pour les Touaregs. Pourtant le Sahara n'est pas un pays où l'on trouve à se ravitailler facilement. Il y a donc chez eux stockage

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sont empruntées aux Soudanais, et en particulier le travail à la houe — le *daba* —, alors que l'Afrique du Nord emploie surtout la charrue qui est ignorée dans la zone intertropicale.

La *béchena* est consommée en farine bouillie cuite, en farine crue, ou mélangée à des liquides, eau ou lait.

Les dattes jouent également un grand rôle dans l'alimentation des Touaregs, et tous les ans chaque chef de famille organise une petite caravane au Touat ou au Tidikelt pour en rapporter deux ou trois charges de dattes sèches de mauvaise qualité qui sont écrasées au pilon et consommées avec du lait de chamelle.

Fig. 29.
Mortier des caravaniers et son pilon.

D'après ce que nous savons de la production des terrains de culture de l'Ahaggar lui-même et d'après ce que les Touaregs sont obligés d'importer, on peut connaître approximativement leurs besoins. Au cours des bonnes années, la production locale n'équivaut qu'au quart du nécessaire. Elle peut être évaluée à 150 tonnes. Il faut y ajouter la production en blé, mais celle-ci ne peut être prise en considération en ce qui concerne la consommation, car elle est presqu'entièrement destinée à l'exportation. Il en ressort que les besoins d'importation s'élèvent à 4.000 charges de mil par an qui, calculées à 150 kg. chacune, font 600 tonnes, lesquelles sont en majeure partie achetées ou échangées au Damergou ou dans la région de Tahoua. Les besoins annuels en dattes sont de 400 charges.

De ces chiffres, il ressort que les besoins annuels par personne sont, à peu de chose près, une charge de mil et un dixième de charge de dattes.

La consommation individuelle peut donc être estimée à 187 kg. de mil et 15 kg. de dattes par an, alors qu'un calcul

identique nous a donné, pour les Arabes sahariens, 180 kg. de blé et 75 kg. de dattes. Mais il ne faut pas s'illusionner ; ces chiffres sont établis d'après des années, sinon d'abondance, du moins de facilité relative. En fait, la moyenne annuelle est très au dessous, car les Ihăggaren ne disposent pas toujours de moyens d'échange propres à assurer leurs besoins, et on peut

Fig. 30. — Corne de mouflon servant de récipient à beurre.

réduire les chiffres donnés plus haut d'un bon tiers, parfois même de la moitié.

Pour suppléer à cette carence en graminées, les Touaregs ont recours aux produits de la cueillette.

Les captives et les femmes des Imrad recueillent, après les pluies, les graines de certaines plantes qui poussent dans les vallées de l'Ăhaggar. Ce sont celles de l'afasso (panicum turgidum F.), de l'oulloul (aristida pungens D.) ; mais l'importance de cette cueillette est en fonction de l'abondance des pluies, et l'on peut dire que la plupart du temps elle est bien

aléatoire. Il n'en est pas de même au Soudan où, tous les ans, les Iklan ramassent des sacs entiers de graines sauvages et en particulier celles du cram-cram (cenchrus echinatus).

Il y a bien dans l'Ăhaggar quelques baies sauvages : celles du jujubier (zizyphus lotus D.), du téborak (balanites aegyptiaca) ; d'autres graines encore auxquelles les Touaregs font appel en cas de disette, telles celles de la coloquinte, de l'aca-

FIG. 31. — Petite gourde de peau servant de récipient à beurre.

cia tortillis, etc..., mais toutes ces plantes ne jouent qu'un rôle bien secondaire dans l'alimentation des Touaregs.

Les Touaregs disposent du lait de leurs chamelles, de leurs chèvres et de leurs brebis. Ils le consomment soit entier soit coupé d'eau, soit frais, soit aigri.

C'est un luxe de boire du lait entier que l'on réserve aux jeunes mamans, aux enfants. Les grandes personnes en boivent généralement le matin et le soir, après la traite, et au repas de midi alors qu'il est déjà aigri. Il peut accompagner les plats

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



de béchena, servir de sauce, et être également pris comme boisson. Lorsqu'ils font de grands déplacements, les Touaregs emportent sur leur chameau une outre pleine de lait écrémé. Celui-ci caille rapidement et donne un petit lait au goût aigrelet qui est très rafraîchissant. Mais le lait est surtout apprécié par les sous-produits qu'il fournit, le beurre et le fromage.

Le beurre — *oudi* — est obtenu par barratage du lait dans une petite outre en peau qu'une femme secoue sur ses genoux en la faisant basculer dans un mouvement de droite à gauche et inversement. Le beurre recueilli est placé à l'intérieur d'une

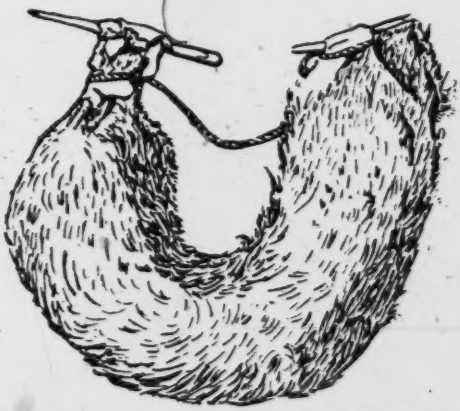

Fig. 32. — Réservoir à beurre fait d'une peau du cou de chameau.

corne de mouflon servant de vase. Lorsque la production en beurre dépasse la consommation journalière, on le place dans des récipients en peau, en forme de gourde, où la chaleur le tient généralement liquide ou très fluide, sauf l'hiver où il est nécessaire de le réchauffer pour le faire sortir du récipient.

Le beurre est essentiellement consommé comme sauce ; on en arrose les bouillies de béchena ou les galettes de blé. Les Touaregs ne le font jamais cuire comme dans les fritures.

Dans les années où le pâturage a été exceptionnellement développé, ce qui assure une lactation abondante des bêtes, les Touaregs fabriquent du fromage — *tikomaren*. — Ils font cailler le lait, pressent le fromage blanc dans de petites nattes pour en extraire toute l'eau et le font sécher ensuite sur de

petites claies placées dans les branches des arbres. Il va sans dire que la fabrication du fromage est très rare dans l'Ăhaggar et que c'est surtout lorsqu'ils nomadisent au Soudan que les Touaregs la pratiquent. Chaque année les Ihăggaren remontent, de leur séjour dans la zone soudanaise, de grandes provisions de fromages qui sont secs comme du bois, produits de leur fabrication ou achetés dans les tribus du Sud. Ils constituent un appoint non négligeable dans l'alimentation. Ces fromages secs sont pilés dans le mortier, réduits en petits fragments, au point de leur donner la consistance de la farine et mélangés ensuite aux aliments, soit bouillie de béchena, soit breuvage à la farine de béchena et de dattes.

On pourrait supposer que la viande joue un très grand rôle dans l'alimentation des Touaregs. Mais que l'on se rappelle l'un de nos vieux proverbes français qui dit que le bottier est toujours le plus mal chaussé. On pourrait appliquer cet adage aux éleveurs qui sont peut-être les moins gros mangeurs de viande qui existent. Un éleveur a des bêtes pour tirer parti de leurs produits, mais il ne les mange que très rarement, car chaque mise à mort est un préjudice porté à son capital.

En fait, les Touaregs ne tuent leurs bêtes que très exceptionnellement, surtout lors de fêtes familiales et religieuses, et ces mises à mort rappellent un peu le sens religieux des sacrifices. Ce qui ne veut pas dire qu'ils n'aiment pas la viande, car lorsqu'ils razziaient un campement adverse, ils s'empressaient de faire des coupes sombres dans le petit bétail et mangeaient jusqu'à en étouffer.

La viande de chasse leur fournit un maigre appoint. Ils tuent tous les ans un certain nombre de gazelles et de mouflons, en consomment une partie fraîche, faisant sécher l'autre pour la tenir en réserve.

Ils capturent des lézards stellion (Uromastix acanthinurus), des gerboises, des gondi (Ctenodactylus sp.), quelquefois même des chacals et des lièvres. On peut ajouter à leur alimentation carnée, les sauterelles (shistocerca gregaria) qu'ils font griller dans la braise, sécher ensuite, pour les réduire en poudre. Tous les nomades sahariens sont très friands des sauterelles, et dès la plus haute antiquité, certaines tribus de l'Afrique du Nord étaient censées en faire la base de leur nourriture, ce qui leur a valu le surnom d'acridophages. Les Nasamons d'Hérodote les préparaient de la même façon que le font les Touaregs, et le

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



rapprochement alimentaire que l'on peut faire entre ces deux populations n'est peut-être pas du domaine du seul hasard.

Il y a bien dans l'Ăhaggar quelques mares à poissons, mais les Imochar et les Imrad ne mangent pas la chair de ces animaux ; seuls les Issekkemâren capturent des barbeaux et quelquefois des silures, ou les ramassent dans les oueds après les crues, car ils ne connaissent pas la pêche proprement dite.

Les sédentaires élèvent des poulets, mais les Touaregs n'en mangent pas non plus, considérant leur viande comme impure. Le même interdit est étendu aux œufs. Le seul oiseau qui fait exception est l'autruche. Il n'en existe plus au Sahara, mais lorsque les Ihăggaren vont au Soudan, ils la capturent s'ils en ont l'occasion ; de même, ils mangent ses œufs cuits dans la cendre.

Les disettes se font parfois sentir. Elles sont rares maintenant que les caravanes peuvent circuler librement, mais elles étaient beaucoup plus fréquentes lorsque l'état de guerre se prolongeait longtemps. Les Touaregs se rabattaient sur des plantes sauvages qui n'entrent généralement pas dans l'alimentation, sur les jeunes pousses de *tahlé* (typha elephantina), sur les feuilles de la *tanekfit* (eruca aurea), de l'*aramas* (Atriplex Halimus), sur les tiges souterraines du *danoun* (cistanche lutea) qui ressemblent à l'asperge, et sur bien d'autres encore, de qualité alimentaire très douteuse, qu'ils mangeaient pour calmer leur faim. L'état de famine peut devenir si accusé qu'ils ramassent parfois les vieux os pour les piler, les réduire en farine et en faire des bouillies. Il va sans dire que c'est pendant ces périodes que les pillages battent leur plein. Les gens se volent de campement à campement ; de tribu à tribu ; et chacun oublie son frère, son ami et ne songe qu'à une chose : subsister par tous les moyens.

Avant l'occupation française, les Touaregs ne faisaient en principe qu'un repas par jour, le soir, après la traite des bêtes. Dans la journée, ils se contentaient de boire un peu de lait.

Le plat national des Touaregs est l'*asink*, qui est une bouillie de mil cuite à l'eau, arrosée de beurre ou de petit lait. C'est le repas surtout en honneur l'hiver et pendant toute la saison froide. Pendant les mois de forte chaleur, ils préfèrent un breuvage d'eau ou de petit lait dans lequel ils jettent de la farine de mil, allongée parfois de fromage sec et de dattes pilées. C'est l'*alakoh*. Les dattes, également, sont surtout consom-

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



mées en été concassées et mélangées avec de l'eau ou du lait.

Lorsque les Touaregs tuent un mouton, ils préparent les intestins qu'ils renferment à l'intérieur de l'estomac, et après avoir lié les deux extrémités de ce dernier, ils le placent sur un lit de cendres pour le faire cuire. Cette cuisson, qui est celle le plus couramment employée par les chasseurs, s'appelle l'*abatoul*. Les viandes sont préparées bouillies ou cuites sous la cendre. Celles qui sont bouillies sont surtout celles qui ont été préalablement séchées (mouflon, gazelle, quelquefois mouton) ; dans ce cas, on les broie d'abord entre deux cailloux, car elles sont aussi dures que du bois ; la viande est alors répandue en fragments sur le plat d'asink.

Les Touaregs ne préparent pas de viande rôtie sur la braise. mais ils la placent sous la cendre. Lorsqu'ils veulent cuire un mouton entier, ils l'ouvrent en deux et le placent ainsi sous la cendre, prenant la précaution de le retourner une fois pendant la cuisson.

Lors de grandes fêtes, fêtes religieuses, de mariage ou réception d'un hôte de marque, les Touaregs égorgent de jeunes chamelons. Ils les servent avec un couscous de blé à gros grains.

Les animaux domestiques livrés à la boucherie sont : les chèvres, les moutons, les chameaux, les bœufs lorsqu'ils en ont. Ils ne mangent pas le cheval, ni l'âne, ni le chien.

La cuisine est préparée par les captives, à proximité de la tente des maîtres.

Les hommes prennent leurs repas à part et reçoivent les plats en premier ; les femmes et les enfants mangent de leur côté et les Iklan reçoivent les restes.

Les Touaregs se servent de cuillers. L'emploi de cet instrument leur est particulier, car leurs voisins arabes ou nègres mangent avec leurs mains. Cette coutume doit être afférente au port du voile qu'ils ne retirent pas pour manger et qui leur interdit de porter la main pleine d'aliments à la bouche. Ils portent la nourriture à cette dernière en soutenant légèrement l'extrémité de leur voile.

Comme boisson, ils ne boivent que de l'eau, même si cette dernière est plus ou moins propre, plus ou moins polluée, et du lait.

Depuis un demi-siècle, ils ont pris l'habitude de boire du thé vert à la mode arabe ; ils l'aromatisent avec de la menthe ou certaines plantes parfumées de l'Ahaggar, en particulier

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



du *chih* (artemisia herba alba). Le café, qui était répandu chez eux autrefois, est surtout pris maintenant comme médicament, pour calmer les toux violentes ou les douleurs d'estomac.

Si nous cherchons maintenant les produits de consommation absorbés comme excitants ou comme stupéfiants, nous voyons que les Touaregs ne connaissent que le tabac, qu'ils chiquent ou qu'ils prisent.

Il n'est pas dans leurs mœurs de fumer. Les jeunes gens qui sont en contact avec les Français aiment à quémander une cigarette, mais c'est par simple esprit d'imitation.

Duveyrier a pourtant dit que les Touaregs fumaient ; peut-être était-ce la mode chez les Touaregs qui fréquentaient Rhât ? Avant lui, Barth a écrit que tous les riverains du Niger aimaient beaucoup à fumer. « Il est fort rare, dit-il, qu'ils quittent leurs jolies petites pipes d'argile, et tous, Rouma comme Touaregs, se couvrent la bouche en fumant, de sorte qu'on ne voit qu'une grêle tête de pipe sortir du châle qui leur couvre la face »[1].

De son côté, le Commandant Cauvet, en décrivant le vêtement targui, a dit que les hommes déposaient leur pipe et leur tabac dans la poche de leurs grandes blouses.

Aussi, tous ces témoignages, venant de voyageurs si dignes de confiance, tentaient de faire croire que les Touaregs sont des coutumiers de la pipe. Pour notre part, nous n'en avons jamais vu.

Par contre, ils aiment beaucoup chiquer et leurs femmes pratiquent également cette coutume, au point qu'à la longue elles ont une déformation de la lèvre inférieure, résultat de la manie qu'elles ont de caler leur chique entre la gencive et la lèvre inférieure.

Le tabac n'est pas cultivé dans l'Ăhaggar, mais il est importé du Touat par les Arabes. Les Touaregs soudanais s'en procurent chez les sédentaires du Niger ou par l'intermédiaire des caravaniers du Haut-Dahomey. Ils y ajoutent généralement quelques cristaux de natron pour lui enlever l'âcreté ou bien des cendres de graminées qui jouent le même rôle que le natron.

Beaucoup de Touaregs nigériens ont pris l'habitude de mâcher de la noix de kola, laquelle est un stimulant puissant dont les Noirs font un très grand usage. Quelques Ihăggaren

1. *Voyage en Afrique*, t. IV, p. 137.

se livrent à cette pratique lorsqu'ils vont au Soudan, mais ne l'ont pas introduite dans leurs mœurs d'une façon courante et ne consomment jamais de kola lorsqu'ils sont dans leur pays.

Les Touaregs sont soumis à un assez grand nombre d'interdits alimentaires. D'abord, comme Musulmans, ils ne doivent consommer que des viandes provenant d'animaux égorgés rituellement. Ils doivent s'abstenir de manger la viande de porc et de phacochère, et de boire des boissons fermentées qui sont *haram*. La viande d'oiseau — sauf celle d'autruche — et celle du poisson sont également interdites et considérées comme impures. Mais il s'agit là de coutumes très antérieures à l'Islam. De même qu'ils ne doivent pas manger la chair de l'ourane, ce lézard étant considéré comme le descendant de leur oncle maternel.

Ils ne doivent pas faire chauffer le lait de chamelle qui vient d'être trait sous peine de provoquer des maladies chez la bête qui l'a donné.

En ce qui concerne l'interdit des personnes, il n'y en a pas à proprement parler, car si hommes et femmes ne doivent pas manger ensemble, il s'agit là d'une coutume plutôt que d'un interdit.

Un homme marié ne doit pas manger avec ses beaux-parents et le fils majeur ne doit pas manger avec son père. Ce sont surtout là des marques de respect, peut-être vestiges de pratiques anciennes à caractères religieux.

# CHAPITRE IV

## LA CHASSE. — LA PÊCHE

Nous dirons maintenant quelques mots sur les industries liées aux problèmes de l'alimentation, c'est-à-dire sur la chasse, la pêche, l'élevage, l'agriculture.

La chasse. — Dans un pays à la faune un peu dense, la chasse aurait procuré aux Ihăggaren un apport alimentaire non négligeable. Elle fut, dans le passé, très en honneur au Sahara. Les multiples gravures et peintures rupestres l'attestent, car beaucoup représentent des scènes de chasse qui traduisent l'état de civilisation des hommes, leur préoccupation, en même temps que la nature de la faune dont les caractères ont bien changé depuis.

De nos jours, avec l'assèchement très avancé de presque tous les districts sahariens, la faune s'est clarifiée et les espèces susceptibles d'être chassées utilement sont réduites à quelques-unes. On ne chasse donc plus que les gazelles et les mouflons. Nous ne pouvons pas citer les antilopes addax et oryx, car la première est en voie d'extinction au Sahara, et la seconde confinée dans la zone de la steppe. Accessoirement on peut ajouter le lièvre et le chacal.

Chez les Touaregs, la chasse est le fait de quelques hommes, de quelques spécialistes qui en ont fait un métier, mais on observe une forte proportion d'Iklan qui y semblent plus aptes, plus disposés que leurs maîtres. Il y a certainement là un caractère atavique, un vestige des mœurs ancestrales influencées par le milieu originel de la forêt où la chasse était le plus souvent la base de l'activité humaine. Mais il n'en est pas moins vrai que beaucoup de Touaregs sont de très bons chasseurs. Les plus renommés semblent être chez les Issekkemâren et les Dăg Râli.

La chasse la plus appréciée est celle au chien courant. Elle est pratiquée contre le mouflon et les gazelles avec des lévriers du genre slougûi qui servent en même temps de chiens de cam-

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



pement aux Touaregs. Ces animaux, hauts sur pattes, qui appartiennent à une race intermédiaire entre le chien kabyle et le slougui berbère, et doivent également posséder du sang de chacal, sont particulièrement aptes à la course et possèdent des qualités innées pour la chasse.

Le rôle du chasseur est de dépister l'animal, d'arriver à le découvrir, soit au pâturage, soit au gîte, et de lâcher les chiens dessus au moment propice où il ne s'y attend pas et à une distance convenable. Il s'ensuit parfois une lutte épique entre l'animal et les chiens, lutte qui nécessite souvent l'intervention de l'homme lorsqu'il s'agit, par exemple, d'un mouflon qui n'hésite pas à tenir tête à ses assaillants. Le chasseur, armé ordinairement d'un long javelot à hampe de bois, s'efforce alors de planter son arme dans le corps de l'animal et de le mettre à mort. Lorsqu'il s'agit de gazelles, il n'y a qu'à laisser faire les chiens, et s'ils peuvent la rattraper, la bête sera rapidement neutralisée par les mâchoires puissantes des slougui.

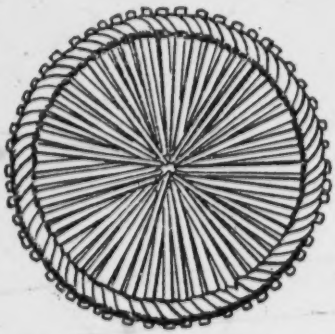

Fig. 33. — Piège à pointes radiaires utilisé pour la capture des gazelles.

A côté de la chasse au chien courant, les Touaregs se livrent au piégeage, qui est une méthode paresseuse de la chasse d'autant plus appréciée au Sahara que le gibier est rare, méfiant, et que sa capture suppose toujours une certaine part de chance.

Les Ihăggaren utilisent deux genres de pièges : le piège à pointes radiaires et le piège à torsion en forme d'arc.

Le piège à pointes radiaires est celui décrit par Montandon [1] qui était déjà connu des Égyptiens et qui est répandu dans toute l'Afrique centrale et intertropicale. Il se compose d'un disque en matière végétale sur lequel sont fixées des tiges de graminées assez résistantes qui convergent vers le centre. L'appareil est placé sur une petite fosse d'un diamètre un peu moindre que le sien, recouvert ensuite de fétus de paille

1. *Traité d'ethnologie culturelle*, p. 222, fig. 8.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



et de sable. On le dispose sous les arbres au feuillage encore vert, que les gazelles viennent brouter ; en tournant autour de l'arbre, les bêtes finissent par marcher dessus et la patte qui passe au travers des tiges est prise dans le disque qui, malgré les efforts et les mouvements, reste fixé dessus, empêchant ensuite la bête de fuir. Le chasseur intervient alors ; il prend les traces de l'animal, le suit, et finit par le rejoindre ; il le met à mort d'un coup de lance. Quelquefois, un lasso est placé sur le disque alors que son extrémité est fixée au tronc de l'arbre ou à une vieille souche.

Le piège à torsion en forme d'arc est un système plus compliqué. Il se compose d'un fragment de corne d'antilope oryx sur lequel est monté un tendeur en tendons provenant du même animal et que l'on enroule au moyen d'un bâton dont l'une des extrémités est taillée en pointe. Un deuxième appareil comporte un petit disque de bois recouvert d'une peau et le tout est fixé sur un autre bâton un peu plus long que celui du premier appareil qui vient s'encastrer entre le tendeur et l'arc alors que le bâton épointé vient s'accrocher dans le trou d'une perle ou sur un petit anneau de peau fixé sur le disque de peau ; un lasso est placé sur ce disque et son extrémité est fixée sur le corps du bâton épointé.

Ce piège est généralement placé sur les sentiers fréquentés par les gazelles et légèrement recouvert de sable. Si l'animal pose la patte sur le disque de peau, la pression qu'il provoque décroche le bâton épointé qui peut, sous le choc, lui briser une patte, et qui dans tous les cas, resserre le lasso autour de sa patte.

Plus récemment, les Touaregs ont employé le piège à ressort métallique du type anglais que leurs forgerons savent maintenant fabriquer. Ils ont remplacé le porte-appât à bascule par une peau tendue sur laquelle ils ont fixé une grosse perle en verre à laquelle l'appât est fixé et qui est d'un décrochage plus sensible. Ce piège peut prendre accidentellement des gazelles, mais les captures les plus courantes sont des lièvres et des chacals.

Les Touaregs chassent sur leurs terrains de parcours et n'ont pas le droit de chasser sur le terrain des tribus voisines. Si le cas se produisait, ils seraient tenus de remettre le gibier aux propriétaires du terrain, lesquels peuvent toujours en rétrocéder une partie, mais gardent la peau, surtout s'il s'agit d'un mouflon.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Certaines régions sont le fief de chasse d'un seul homme. C'est ainsi que dans la Koudia, personne n'a le droit de chasse sur le pic Tăhat sans l'autorisation de son propriétaire qui est un descendant de l'ancienne tribu des Isebeten. De toutes façons, la peau, la tête et la moitié de la bête doivent lui être remises.

Depuis quelques années, les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar disposent de fusils à tir rapide. Ils ne sont pas de bons tireurs, mais savent admirablement approcher le gibier, si bien qu'ils ont fait des massacres massifs qui seront longs à réparer.

L'Administration a heureusement pris la décision de confisquer ces armes.

Il est très difficile d'avoir une idée exacte du nombre de bêtes tuées annuellement par les chasseurs. Mais en donnant le chiffre de 300, nous croyons être très près de la réalité. On voit donc que la chasse tient une très petite place dans l'économie des Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar.

La pêche. — La pêche n'est pas pratiquée par les Touaregs pour les raisons que nous avons données. Seuls les Issekkemâren et les Iklan s'y livrent. Ils pêchent les poissons lorsque l'eau des mares est très basse. Au Tassili, ils creusent sur les bas-côtés des plans d'eau, des petites rigoles, qui aboutissent à de petits réservoirs où les poissons viennent se réfugier et où ils sont alors sûrement capturés.

Lorsque la pêche a été fructueuse, les Issekkemâren font sécher les poissons pour les garder pour les périodes de disette.

# CHAPITRE V

## L'AGRICULTURE

Les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar n'ont jamais attaché qu'une importance très secondaire à l'agriculture. Leur mentalité de nomades est à l'opposé de la propriété du sol et encore plus de sa mise en valeur, qui implique la sédentarisation. Il existe pourtant, dans leur pays, un certain nombre de centres de culture dont l'intérêt n'est pas niable et qui pourraient prendre une plus grande extension si une législation mal appropriée n'entravait pas leur développement.

La création de la plupart de ces centres de culture ne remonte pas à plus d'un siècle. Elle s'est faite sous l'influence d'éléments arabes installés dans l'Ăhaggar. Seules les oasis de Silet et de Tibeghin sont beaucoup plus vieilles et datent probablement du temps des sultans Imanan qui avaient fait venir dans l'Ăhaggar des marabouts originaires du Touat qui apportèrent avec eux le système d'irrigation par foggara. Les Touaregs saisirent par la suite tout l'intérêt qu'ils avaient à multiplier ces centres, et c'est ainsi qu'au moment de l'occupation française, près de quarante centres étaient en exploitation.

La jouissance de la terre appartient à ceux qui l'ont cultivée les premiers. La terre, par elle-même, appartient à l'Aménokal, mais celui-ci la cède à bail et, en contre-partie, perçoit chaque année un impôt — mesk — sur la récolte, à raison de quatre *guessa* de blé, soit environ 10 kg. par jardin. La terre peut donc avoir pour propriétaires, soit des Imochar, soit des Imrad, voire même des Enaden, mais les Iklan ne peuvent pas posséder de jardin.

Ce ne sont pas ces propriétaires qui les cultivent, mais des fermiers de race nègre, originaires du Touat ou du Tidikelt qui portent le nom *d'harratin* (sing. hartani). Un arrangement s'opère entre eux et les propriétaires sur les bases suivantes : le propriétaire fournit à l'hartani deux charges de mil par an pour son entretien, les semences, une houe, et paie le creuse-

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



ment des puits de la foggara. La foggara creusée, son entretien est ensuite à la charge de l'hartani. Ce dernier sème, arrose, moissonne, bat le grain et perçoit un cinquième de la récolte. De plus, il a le droit de semer pour son compte dans les canaux d'irrigation et de cultiver plusieurs planches de légumes.

Ces centres de cultures sont installés sur les terrasses des vallées lorsqu'elles sont assez larges et possèdent des alluvions anciennes. Les feggaguir de l'Ăhaggar n'ont rien de commun avec celles du Tidikelt ou des oasis de la Saoura qui vont capter l'eau à de grandes distances des jardins, aux coupures géologiques où elle est retenue. Dans l'Ăhaggar, l'eau provenant des pluies se réfugie dans le lit des oueds et s'emmagasine sous le sable. Les feggaguir sont donc creusées dans le lit de l'oued et vont chercher l'eau à des distances qui peuvent varier entre un et sept kilomètres. L'oued présente une certaine déclivité, il s'agit d'amener progressivement l'eau au même niveau, ou à un niveau légèrement supérieur à celui des jardins. Les feggaguir comportent une première partie souterraine faite de nombreux puits d'une profondeur variable, de deux à quatre mètres, reliés ensemble par un petit canal servant de conducteur d'eau, puis d'une partie aérienne, sous forme de canal, d'abord au même niveau que l'oued, ensuite à un niveau un peu supérieur. Elles débouchent dans des réservoirs de distribution — majem — qui, par des canaux secondaires — seguia, — déversent l'eau dans les jardins à irriguer.

Ces centres de culture s'étendent donc tout le long de l'oued, de part et d'autre de ses rives. Les cultivateurs s'installent à proximité de leur jardin et habitent des huttes en paille ou en roseau, ou de petites maisons d'argile.

On compte cinq centres de haute montagne entre 1.500 et 1.800 mètres d'altitude, mais la plupart sont situés entre 1.200 et 1.500 mètres ; quelques-uns peuvent être en dessous, comme Silet (730 mètres) et I-n-Amegel (1.030 mètres).

Certains sont de petites palmeraies comme Silet et Tibeghin qui comptent 10.000 palmiers, Idelès, Tâhârt, Ăbalessa, mais l'Ăhaggar, par son altitude, ne semble pas être très apte à la culture de la datte. L'instabilité des harratin est aussi un obstacle au développement de l'arboriculture qui demande des soins suivis et les cultivateurs qui travaillent ici aujourd'hui, autre part demain, ne sauraient s'intéresser à un labeur dont ils ne tirent aucun profit immédiat. Le pays se prêterait pourtant à la culture sur une assez grande échelle, du pêcher,

de l'abricotier, du figuier, et de la vigne, et c'est ainsi que le petit centre de Tăzerouk possède de nombreux pêchers, que celui de Tit donne un raisin renommé.

Les terres de l'Ăhaggar sont de haute qualité et doivent en partie leur richesse aux éléments d'origine volcanique qui, dans une large proportion, entrent dans la composition des alluvions. Le climat favorise, d'autre part, la culture au point que les indigènes obtiennent deux ou même trois récoltes par an.

Dans les centres d'altitude moyenne, on sème du blé et de l'orge en décembre pour faire la moisson en mai, puis celle-ci à peine terminée, on sème le mil qui est récolté au début d'octobre. Entre temps, les indigènes pratiquent aussi des cultures potagères : carottes, navets, oignons, ail, piment, haricots, potiron, melons indigènes, pastèque et diverses cucurbitacées d'origine locale, parfois des lentilles. Ces légumes appartiennent en propre au cultivateur et non au propriétaire du jardin ; ils sont consommés par lui, car les Touaregs les dédaignent généralement et n'en mangent que lorsqu'ils séjournent dans les centres de culture.

Mais ces cultures peuvent être handicapées par de nombreux facteurs d'ordre climatique.

Les pluies sont évidemment bienfaisantes lorsqu'elles arrivent au bon moment ; malheureusement elles tombent le plus souvent en hiver ou en été, époques qui ne correspondent pas à la grande poussée de la végétation. Celle-ci n'en bénéficie que lorsque les pluies sont très abondantes et que le sol peut emmagasiner de l'eau pour plusieurs mois. Mais encore faut-il que les chutes d'eau ne soient pas trop fortes, car si elles entraînent des coulées d'oueds, les feggaguir sont irrémédiablement détruites ; leur reconstruction demande alors plusieurs mois, et entre-temps, les cultures qui ne peuvent pas être irriguées se dessèchent sur place et sont complètement perdues.

Le froid peut également avoir une action néfaste. Le blé qui pousse l'hiver n'en souffre pas, mais son développement est ralenti. Il est bien plus mauvais pour l'arboriculture, car s'il est tardif et qu'il vienne après la floraison qui se produit parfois dès janvier, il risque d'arrêter complètement la fécondation. Heureusement la floraison dans les centres arboricoles comme Tăzerouk est bien plus tardive, et il n'y a à craindre que les gelées brusques.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Le vent qui souffle violemment au printemps peut entraver également l'arboriculture en faisant tomber les fleurs ou les jeunes fruits, voire même les fruits venus presqu'à maturité. Les grands vents chauds de l'été, par le dessèchement intense qu'ils provoquent, compromettent la récolte si l'on n'obvie pas à cet inconvénient par des arrosages abondants. Or c'est précisément à cette époque que le débit des feggaguir baisse, conséquence de l'échauffement du sol et de l'évaporation intense.

On voit donc que les cultures de l'Ăhaggar sont sujettes à bien des aléas et que les récoltes peuvent être très variables. L'abondance ou la rareté de l'eau font que les surfaces ensemencées varient dans la proportion de un à quatre. Après plusieurs années de sécheresse des centres de culture doivent être complètement abandonnés. C'était le cas, ces dernières années, de Tit, Aïtoklane, Tâhârt, Dar-Mouli, etc....

En 1940, les terres ensemencées étaient de 555 hectares. C'est le chiffre d'une bonne année qui peut être exceptionnellement dépassé, mais aussi réduit de plus de moitié.

La population des centres de culture, qui était de 1.310 personnes en 1916, était de 2.280 en 1938, ce qui dénote un gros effort fait en faveur de l'agriculture, qui n'a pu être réalisé que grâce à l'état de paix dûe à l'occupation française.

Voici les chiffres de chacun des principaux centres, d'après les archives du poste de Tămanrasset [1] :

| | 1911 | 1938 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tămanrasset .... | 150 | 686 | |
| Ăbalessa ..... | 272 | 250 | |
| I-n-Amgel ..... | 180 | 206 | |
| Iglen ..... | | 168 | |
| Idelès ..... | 70 | 160 | |
| Tazerouk ..... | 150 | 148 | |
| Tit..... | 75 | 98 | ont dû s'expatrier dans les autres centres dès l'été 1938. |
| Tărhaouhaout ... | 140 | 91 | |
| Amsel ..... | 90 | 66 | |
| Tahifet ..... | | 39 | |

1. Rapport Florimond, 1938.

| | 1911 | 1938 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | — | — | |
| Tigeneouin ..... | 25 | 23 | |
| Mertoûtek ..... | | 60 | |
| Hirhafok ..... | | 80 | |
| Ilâman ..... | 10 | | |
| T-i-n-Ămenser | 36 | | abandonné provisoirement |
| Tifert ..... | 50 | | » |
| Esséléséḳin ..... | 30 | | |
| T-i-n-Târâbin .. | 15 | | abandonné |

Ces chiffres font ressortir l'affaiblissement de centres au profit d'autres. C'est ainsi qu'un certain nombre de cultivateurs de Tarahouhaout (où se trouvait auparavant le poste français) sont venus s'installer à Tămanrasset et que le groupe des petits centres installés aux environs d'Ăbalessa, Iglen, Tăfarit, etc... a absorbé les éléments d'autres centres abandonnés comme Tifert, Esséléséḳin, Ilâman, Tarahananet, etc...

Ces centres réunis comptent environ 400 jardins et 80 feggaguir.

Le blé récolté est consommé en partie par les cultivateurs, et surtout destiné à l'exportation, échangé au Touat contre des dattes et l'ensemble des récoltes de l'Ăhaggar, même pour celles des bonnes années, ne correspond que dans la proportion d'un cinquième aux besoins de ses habitants.

On compte dans l'Ăhaggar 15 centres de culture exploités ; ce sont ceux de Tămanrasset, Tărhaouahout, Tahifet, Tăzerouk, Idelès, Ăbalessa, Hirhafok, Iglen, I-n-Amegel, T-i-n-Ămenser, Amsel, Tigeneouin, Talan-Tedit, Mertoûtek, Esseléséḳine.

Il existe d'autre part vingt-deux autres centres qui sont abandonnés depuis un certain nombre d'années, par suite de la sécheresse ou du manque de main-d'œuvre. Ce sont ceux de : Aïtoklane, Ădenek, Ămrah, Ăbezou, Ăglil, Bloûmet. Déhine, Dar Mouli, Ennedid, Innezal, Ilâman, In Ămertek, Ilafok, Outoul, Ouhet, Souaïka, T-i-n-Târabin, Touakin, Teberbert, Tarahananet, Tahart, Joraf.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg

# CHAPITRE VI

## L'ÉLEVAGE

Si nous étudions en particulier les tribus qui vivent au Soudan, dans un pays qui se prête parfaitement à l'élevage, nous constatons que les Touaregs sont des éleveurs émérites, capables de faire prospérer des troupeaux. La rareté des pâturages sahariens a évidemment mis l'élevage au second plan chez les Touaregs du Nord, mais il n'en fut certainement pas toujours ainsi, et l'exemple que nous avons sous les yeux au Soudan nous permet de classer tous les Touaregs parmi les grands éleveurs.

L'élevage est à la base même de leurs conditions d'existence, il est probablement à l'origine de leurs migrations, de leur essaimage au Sahara et au Soudan. On peut, à ce titre, reprocher aux Touaregs, comme à tous les pasteurs, leur esprit pillard et destructeur dont l'effet se fait sentir très souvent sur des groupements urbains, et toujours sur la végétation qu'ils détruisent sans vergogne, mais ces réserves faites, ils ont apporté avec eux des éléments de civilisation culturelle qui ont joué un rôle considérable tant au Sahara qu'au Soudan.

Les Ihâggaren sont obligés de compter sur les revenus de leurs troupeaux et ne pourraient pas vivre sans eux. C'est pourquoi, malgré les difficultés que leur impose leur entretien, ils consacrent une grande part de leurs occupations à l'élevage.

Cet élevage, d'ailleurs, est propre aux régions sahariennes et diffère totalement de celui des Touaregs soudanais. C'est une question de pâturages évidemment. Les Soudanais possèdent des bœufs, des moutons en grande quantité, des chevaux ; le Sahara ne pourrait pas entretenir de pareils troupeaux.

Les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar élèvent des chameaux, des chèvres, des moutons et des ânes.

Le chameau. — Nous avons vu précédemment ce qu'il faut penser de l'introduction du chameau au Sahara. Qu'il ait été

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



introduit avant ou après l'ère chrétienne, il n'en est pas moins vrai que ce sont les ancêtres des Touaregs qui ont dû s'en faire les introducteurs.

A l'heure actuelle, sans le chameau, l'humanité du Sahara, qui n'est déjà pas très importante, serait réduite à zéro. C'est un fait capital qui a été amplement démontré et sur lequel il est inutile d'insister. Th. Monod, qui a dédié l'un de ses ouvrages « Au chameau et au bouc, au véhicule et au récipient, aux deux seuls vainqueurs du Sahara »[1], n'a pas seulement fait là de la littérature et de l'esprit, mais il a situé la vérité en quelques mots. Sans le chameau aucune relation ne serait possible entre les oasis, aucune relation entre l'Afrique du Nord et l'Afrique intertropicale.

On conçoit donc que cet animal joue un grand rôle dans la vie des Touaregs sahariens, et que ces derniers fassent un gros effort pour son élevage. Ils se sont toujours efforcés de posséder beaucoup de chameaux et, actuellement, leur cheptel s'élève à plus de dix mille têtes.

Si le chameau s'est parfaitement adapté aux pâturages et aux terrains sahariens, il n'en est pas moins vrai que l'assèchement est tel qu'il éprouve des difficultés pour s'y maintenir en bon état et qu'une marche un peu prolongée demande en compensation une période de repos d'une durée double à celle pendant laquelle il a fatigué. C'est pourquoi les Ihăggaren font nomadiser leurs chameaux sur les confins du Soudan, dans la steppe à acacias et à graminées.

L'élevage hoggar est très réputé ; il fournit des bêtes résistantes, très sobres, aptes à affronter la rocaille de la montagne, comme à marcher des semaines entières sur les regs granitiques du Tanezrouft, chose que ne sauraient faire les chameaux de l'élevage soudanais.

Les Touaregs sélectionnent les animaux dès leur jeune âge, les destinant soit à la selle, soit au portage. Les méhara sont castrés et subissent un dressage spécial. En parlant de ces chameaux de selle, on ne peut donc faire allusion à une race particulière, propre à la course, comme on l'entend communément dire.

Le chameau a, chez les Touaregs, une valeur d'échange bien déterminée. Il est une des bases de comparaison dans leurs transactions commerciales.

Chaque tribu marque ses animaux d'un signe particulier et

1. Méharées.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



les propriétaires qui en possèdent beaucoup ont également un signe à eux, marqué au fer rouge, sur une des parties du corps de l'animal : cou, joue, cuisse.

Le mouton. — Le mouton n'est élevé qu'accessoirement dans l'Ăhaggar parce que l'herbe n'y est pas suffisamment abondante. Mais il tient une grande place dans l'élevage soudanais.

C'est un animal très particulier, à poils ras, à longue queue, haut sur pattes, caractère qui lui a valu son nom d'ovis longipes. Les Touaregs ont certainement été son introducteur en Afrique occidentale. Les zoologistes ne le désignent jamais autrement que sous le nom de mouton targui. Son antiquité

Fig. 34. — Hache à fer triangulaire.
La forme du fer rappelle celle des haches néolithiques.

en Afrique du Nord est bien connue. C'est sous sa forme caractéristique qu'est représenté le bélier d'Ammon et il est reconnaissable également dans les splendides gravures rupestres de Géryville et de Tiout. Il semble descendre du mouflon de Corse plutôt que du mouflon d'Algérie. Aujourd'hui, c'est un animal que l'on retrouve exclusivement dans les campements touaregs du Soudan ou dans leur zone d'influence.

Le mouton est le mets des grands festins et sa peau est utilisée comme tapis de sol, comme couverture, ou pour confectionner des objets de harnachement.

La chèvre. — La chèvre est l'animal de montagne par excellence, sobre au possible, résistant aussi bien au froid qu'à la chaleur, sachant se contenter des pâturages les plus maigres. Il est donc tout naturel de la trouver en abondance chez les Ihăggaren.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



L'espèce de l'Ăhaggar est de petite taille, à poils longs et noirs. Au Soudan, elle est de couleur variable, blanche et noire, ou rouge, à poils ras, elle est plus haute sur pattes que l'espèce de l'Ăhaggar et souvent métissée, dans les tribus du sud, avec la chèvre naine.

L'origine de la chèvre est moins certaine que celle du mouton. Très répandue sur le globe, elle a dû être domestiquée en plusieurs points différents, et il n'est pas impossible que l'espèce élevée actuellement dans l'Ăhaggar, soit d'origine africaine. On en trouve des ossements dans les gisements néolithiques du Sahara.

A l'heure actuelle, c'est dans l'Ăhaggar une lutte à mort entre la chèvre et l'arbre. La chèvre elle-même est susceptible, grâce à son agilité, de brouter les branches basses et de les détruire ; le Targui fait le reste, lorsque le pâturage vient à manquer, en abattant les branches maîtresses pour les mettre à la portée de ses bêtes. Si bien que dans un temps relativement proche, les arbres, et en particulier les *tahlĕ* (acacia sp.) ne seront plus qu'un souvenir dans l'Ăhaggar. Rien n'a été fait par l'Administration française dans l'Ăhaggar pour la protection des arbres, alors qu'il suffirait de consigner certaines vallées pendant plusieurs années, tout en tenant compte des besoins des pasteurs. Des mesures de ce genre ont été prises aux environs de Goundam, et ont donné de très bons résultats.

La sécheresse prolongée entraînant l'absence de pâturage met souvent l'élevage caprin en difficulté. La natalité est arrêtée d'un coup et la mortalité peut s'ensuivre, très importante au point que le nombre des bêtes tombe parfois à un cinquième. Il faut alors des années pour reconstituer les troupeaux, en admettant, bien entendu, l'arrivée de pluies favorables.

Les Ihăggaren insouciants et fatalistes n'essayent même pas alors d'intensifier la reproduction en achetant des géniteurs en Ădrar ou en Aïr ; ils laissent leurs faibles troupeaux se reconstituer par leurs propres moyens, ce qui demande parfois de nombreuses années. En cas de surabondance dans les naissances, ils limitent le nombre des bêtes car ils connaissent bien les ressources moyennes de leur pays, et ne laissent jamais leurs troupeaux dépasser un certain nombre de têtes, celui qui est nécessaire aux besoins en lait de leur famille, soit dix à douze bêtes par personne. Le surplus est consommé ou vendu aux sédentaires des centres de culture.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



La chèvre de l'Ăhaggar donne un lait très riche qui fournit un beurre excellent. La chair, qui est un peu résistante, est consommée bouillie, et la peau est appréciée pour la confection des sacs de selle, des outres et parfois des tentes.

L'ANE. — Les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar possèdent beaucoup d'ânes. Ils ne les élèvent pas à proprement parler, ne s'occupant pas d'eux, et les laissant se reproduire en liberté. Beaucoup de Touaregs ne savent pas exactement le nombre d'ânes qu'ils possèdent, car ne les utilisant pas tous, ils les abandonnent dans la montagne où ils deviennent plus ou moins sauvages. Les jeunes, nés entre-temps, ne se laissent pas approcher, et il faut les piéger, puis les dresser pour pouvoir les utiliser. Ces ânes en liberté, que les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar nomment haoulil, ont donné naissance à une légende d'ânes sauvages. Gautier, à leur sujet, a cité l'aventure du Général Laperrine qui, ayant fait chasser un âne « sauvage » par ses goumiers, s'aperçut après coup que l'animal avait été castré !

S'il n'y a plus d'ânes sauvages dans l'Ăhaggar, il est à peu près certain qu'il y en a eu. Il est figuré dans les gravures rupestres de l'oued Djorat et il existe encore en Abyssinie où on lui donne le nom d'onagre.

L'âne est, dans l'Ăhaggar, bien dans son milieu. Il est possible qu'il ait été domestiqué sur place. Les légendes des Ihăggaren ont gardé le souvenir des premiers habitants, les Issebeten, qui ne possédaient que des ânes et des chèvres.

Dans leurs petits déplacements, les Touaregs utilisent les ânes pour le transport des bagages et les hommes comme les femmes s'en servent aussi comme montures. C'est avec les ânes également que les serviteurs assurent le ravitaillement en eau, leur faisant porter les lourdes outres sur le dos ou sous le ventre.

L'âne n'est jamais mangé, et sa peau n'est pas utilisée.

LE CHEVAL. — Le cheval n'est pas un animal saharien. En 1929, il existait dans l'Ăhaggar quatre chevaux qui appartenaient à l'Aménokal. Aujourd'hui, il en existe une vingtaine qui appartiennent aux membres de sa famille ou aux notables de son campement.

C'est un luxe qui coûte cher, car il faut nourrir ces animaux avec de l'orge dont les gens n'ont déjà pas trop pour eux-mêmes. Chez les Touaregs soudanais, il tend à remplacer le chameau.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Le zébu. — Il y a quelques années, l'Aménokal possédait un petit troupeau de zébus qu'il avait fait venir du Soudan. Dans l'Ăhaggar même, l'élevage de cet animal n'est pas pratiqué et ne pourrait l'être, faute de pâturages appropriés.

Les zébus servent dans les centres de culture pour le puisage de l'eau. Ils sont fournis au fermier par le propriétaire du terrain et ils sont nourris, très mal, avec les moyens du bord, de fanes, d'herbes, ou mis dans les pâturages de joncs généralement abondants dans les centres de culture.

Lorsque la bête est fatiguée, le propriétaire la change si toutefois il en a la possibilité. Les privations auxquelles sont soumis les zébus entraînent leur mort dans un laps de temps relativement court, et il s'agit donc dans l'Ăhaggar, de les entretenir plutôt que de les élever. Dans tous les cas, ils ne suivent jamais les campements dans leurs déplacements et ne vivent jamais près d'eux.

Nous avons dit, lorsque nous avons parlé du campement, dans quelle mesure la recherche du pâturage présidait à son installation.

En ce qui concerne l'élevage proprement dit, nous constatons que les petites animaux, ovins, caprins, asiniens, restent toujours dans l'Ăhaggar et suivent les déplacements du campement.

Quant aux chameaux, il n'en est pas de même ; ils sont souvent mis au pâturage loin des tentes, gardés seulement par quelques bergers. La majorité est même installée au Soudan, à 800 km. de la tente de leurs propriétaires où quelques campements vivent à demeure, remplissant la fonction de bergers pour les gens restés dans l'Ăhaggar.

Il y a donc à la fois nomadisme et transhumance.

La définition des deux genres de vie est celle-ci : il y a nomadisme lorsque la tribu accompagne le bétail en mouvement et transhumance lorsque les troupeaux sont seulement accompagnés par les bergers. Nous voyons donc qu'il n'est pas possible de rattacher les Touaregs à l'une ou l'autre des deux catégories, mais qu'ils pratiquent les deux genres de vie, voire même, dans certains cas, un système mixte. Bien souvent, en effet, les chèvres sont au pâturage dans l'Ăhaggar avec quelques bergers, alors que les femmes restent dans la montagne et que tous les hommes sont au Soudan avec les chameaux.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Les migrations de ces petits troupeaux de chèvres rappellent la transhumance que Vidal de la Blache a décrite sous le nom de transhumance montagnarde, c'est-à-dire que les campements se déplacent régulièrement des pâturages d'été, qui se trouvent sur les sommets, à ceux d'hiver qui sont dans la plaine. Ces déplacements ne peuvent pas avoir la régularité qu'ils ont dans nos pays, étant données les irrégularités des pluies.

On peut donc dire que les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar, par le peu d'amplitude des déplacements de leurs campements, sont de petits nomades, mais sont, par contre, de grands transhumants.

*Règles concernant le passage et le nomadisme des troupeaux*

Les terrains de parcours des tribus sont fixés par l'Aménokal à qui appartient la terre, et c'est du droit de pâturage qu'il octroie, que vient en partie l'origine de la *tioussé*.

Chaque tribu est propriétaire de son terrain, en a la pleine jouissance, à l'exclusion des autres. Celles-ci ne peuvent venir s'installer chez elle qu'avec l'autorisation de l'amrar de la tribu, mais le droit de passage est acquis pour tous, y compris celui d'abreuver les troupeaux.

Ces règles peuvent être modifiées dans les périodes de grande sécheresse ou dans celles succédant à des pluies abondantes.

Lorsqu'à la suite d'une longue période de sécheresse, le pâturage vient à manquer, une entente s'établit entre les différents chefs de tribus et l'un d'eux peut autoriser la tribu de l'autre à venir nomadiser sur son territoire, à la condition, bien entendu, de ne pas y commettre de dégâts, de ne pas mutiler les arbres et de ne pas se livrer à la chasse.

Lorsqu'une région a été abondamment favorisée par les pluies, l'amrar décrète le terrain interdit — *ganent*. — Personne ne pourra alors y venir, y compris les gens de la tribu. Cette mesure a pour but de protéger les jeunes pousses de la dent des animaux, de laisser venir le pâturage à maturité. Quelques semaines plus tard, l'interdiction est levée, le terrain est libre, et tout le monde, sans distinction, peut venir en profiter, en se conformant, bien entendu, à la juridiction concernant la protection des arbres et à l'interdiction de la chasse.

Les animaux égarés sur le terrain d'une tribu voisine sont

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



rendus à leurs propriétaires sans qu'aucune sanction n'intervienne. Mais lorsqu'un troupeau est surpris sur une terre *ganent*, le propriétaire est mis à l'amende d'une tête de bétail, d'une chèvre s'il s'agit d'un troupeau de chèvres, d'un mouton, s'il s'agit d'un troupeau de moutons, d'un chameau s'il s'agit d'un troupeau de chameaux.

Une branche coupée par un membre d'une tribu voisine entraîne une amende d'une chèvre ou d'un mouton. Mais cette règle n'est pas souvent appliquée, car les Touaregs n'ont que peu de respect pour la protection des arbres.

# CHAPITRE VII

## ENTRETIEN ET PRATIQUES SE RAPPORTANT AU CORPS

PROPRETÉ ET SOINS DU CORPS. — Dans un pays où l'eau est rare, il est naturel que les gens ne soient pas portés à faire des ablutions journalières. Les Touaregs, à force de vivre dans le désert, loin des puits d'eau, ont perdu l'habitude de se laver. Ce n'est pas qu'ils méprisent les soins à donner au corps, mais ils trouvent les ablutions complètement inutiles et même néfastes à la santé. Ils prétendent même que s'ils se lavaient tous les jours, ils deviendraient malades, et ils donnent comme argument que les ablutions journalières sur les membres font écailler la peau.

Pour eux, la grande question est de protéger les différentes parties du corps des ardeurs du soleil. Tous les soins qu'ils donnent au corps n'ont pas d'autre but.

Ils ont l'habitude de porter des vêtements de toile fortement indigotés qui déteignent abondamment sur la peau, au point de lui donner une couleur bleue foncée. Loin d'essayer d'enlever cette teinture par un lavage, ils sont d'autant plus fiers d'eux-mêmes que la couche de bleu est plus épaisse. Ils se frottent les membres et la figure avec des étoffes neuves pour obtenir la teinte désirée.

Pour rendre la peau plus douce et plus brillante ils s'enduisent les membres avec des corps gras, du beurre ou des graisses d'origine animale. C'est une coutume adoptée également par les nègres soudanais et les Arabes du désert.

C'est à la bouche et aux dents que les Touaregs portent le plus d'attention. Ils se rincent la bouche à grande eau après chaque repas et se brossent les dents avec de petites branches dont l'une des extrémités est mâchée et forme brosse. Ils emploient à cet usage des branches d'*irak* (Salvadora persica) ou des djerid de palmier.



[p. 257]

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Les hommes et les femmes apportent beaucoup de coquetterie dans les soins de leur chevelure.

Les jeunes garçons ont la tête rasée sauf une crête ou une touffe de cheveux qui est laissée sur le sommet. Les hommes portent les cheveux longs et tressés alors qu'une petite auréole sur le devant de la tête est rasée. Ils se font coiffer par leurs sœurs ou leurs amies, moyennant quoi ils leur offrent un peu de tabac. Les coiffures varient suivant les régions, soit qu'elles comportent un plus ou moins grand nombre de nattes, soit que ces dernières tombent en arrière ou soient relevées sur le sommet de la tête. A un certain âge, lorsque les cheveux commencent à grisonner, les hommes se font complètement raser.

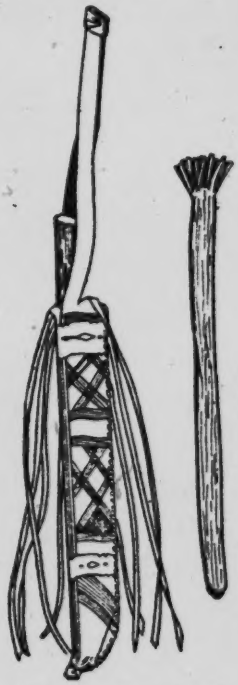

Fig. 35. — Brosse à dents en bois d'Irak et son étui de peau.

Les femmes portent également des cheveux tressés en un grand nombre de nattes qui tombent sur les côtés des tempes. Elles se coiffent entre elles et ce travail demandant de nombreuses heures n'est fait qu'une ou deux fois dans le mois. Elles commencent par démêler les cheveux au moyen d'un petit peigne tout en les imprégnant de sable et de cendre de bois ; ensuite il est procédé à l'épouillage, car chaque chevelure touarègue abrite généralement tout un petit monde d'insectes ; puis la coiffeuse les sépare en paquets au moyen d'un petit couteau, les imprègne d'eau et de beurre et les tresse, soit en grosses nattes de façon à ce qu'il y en ait trois ou quatre qui tombent de chaque côté, soit en de multiples petites nattes. Le fait d'enduire les cheveux avec du beurre n'a pas d'autre but que de les protéger contre le soleil et surtout contre l'air très sec qui les rend cassants.

Les hommes laissent pousser leur barbe, mais ils se rasent presque toujours la moustache ou la coupent très court pour

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



qu'elle ne gêne pas sous le voile qui recouvre la partie inférieure du visage.

Les hommes et les femmes se rasent le pubis.

Après s'être coiffés ou rasés, les Touaregs enterrent toujours leurs cheveux ou leurs duvets, de peur que des personnes qui leur voudraient du mal ne s'en emparent pour les porter à quelque sorcier capable de s'en servir pour confectionner des maléfices redoutables.

Les hommes et les femmes se cernent les yeux de kohl : ils en mettent non seulement sur les sourcils, mais surtout à la naissance des cils et cela dans un but médical, car ils attribuent au kohl des qualités protectrices contre les maux d'yeux et en particulier contre l'ophtalmie dont beaucoup sont atteints.

Les Touaregs apprécient des mains fines et longues qui sont celles de gens ne pratiquant aucun travail manuel. Ils ne les soignent pas particulièrement, et se contentent de couper leurs ongles assez ras. Comme pour les cheveux, ils en enterrent les débris pour que personne ne puisse s'en emparer.

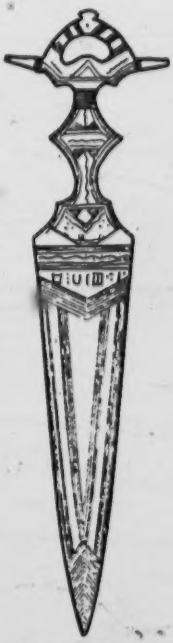

Fig. 36. — Couteau à coiffure. Il porte le nom de l'artisan qui l'a ouvré en caractères tifinagh.

Tatouages. — Fards. — Contrairement aux Kabyles et aux Berbères, les Touaregs ne portent pas de tatouages. Ce détail, qui peut paraître insignifiant, indique malgré tout que la parenté de ces différents groupements humains est beaucoup moins étroite qu'on pourrait le croire pour qu'il y ait des différences de mœurs aussi sensibles.

Certaines femmes se bleuissent les gencives et parfois les lèvres par le procédé du tatouage, mais cette coutume est surtout usitée dans les tribus soudanaises de la région de Tombouctou.

Par contre, l'emploi des fards est pratiqué chez les femmes touarègues sur une grande échelle. Elles se mettent de l'ocre rouge sur la figure pour se protéger la peau contre l'action du

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



soleil, et dans un but d'esthétique, se bleuissent les lèvres et le tour de la bouche avec de l'indigo.

A l'occasion des fêtes, certaines femmes portent des peintures sur le visage, des points blancs ou ocres au-dessus de la racine du nez, sous les joues et sur le menton. Ces peintures n'ont, paraît-il, qu'un caractère esthétique.

Tous les Touaregs, hommes et femmes, portent deux ou trois petites cicatrices linéaires sur le front et sur les tempes, et l'indigo des vêtements qui s'est souvent incrusté dedans leur donne l'aspect d'un tatouage. Il s'agit là d'incisions faites dans un but médico-magique lorsque les enfants sont en très bas âge pour les protéger des maux de tête et des convulsions.

Il paraît aussi que cette coutume contribue à les rendre forts et à les faire marcher très tôt [1].

Médecine, Chirurgie. — Si nous étudions maintenant la médecine et la chirurgie chez les Touaregs, nous constatons que leurs connaissances ne sont pas bien étendues et n'ont rien de bien particulier.

Les Touaregs classent, dans leur esprit, les maladies en deux catégories : celles qui sont le fait d'une action extérieure visible et déterminable, et celles dont l'origine ne peut être expliquée par aucun lien de causalité. Les premières se soignent par des traitements médicaux appropriés, les secondes par des procédés magiques.

Les procédés médicaux, qui appartiennent plutôt à la chirurgie, sont nettement empiriques ; au nombre de quelques-uns ils servent pour quantité de maladies. Ce sont, en particulier, la saignée et l'application du feu ; dans la saignée, l'opérateur décongestionne la partie malade, et dans l'application du feu, il circonscrit le mal tout en décongestionnant.

Les Ihăggaren possèdent toute une pharmacopée qu'ils ont empruntée aux Soudanais. Ce sont des racines, des plantes, des graines qui poussent au Soudan, et dans lesquelles les Touaregs ont une très grande confiance. Chaque fois qu'ils descendent en caravane dans le sud, ils en font de nombreux achats, soit pour leur usage personnel, soit pour les revendre dans leur pays ou à In Salah.

Les maladies ne sont pas nombreuses dans l'Ăhaggar, car ce pays est relativement sain, du fait de son climat très sec

1. De Foucauld, Textes en prose, p. 64.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



et de l'action tonifiante du soleil qui, en même temps, détruit les germes microbiens. C'est d'ailleurs très heureux, car avec le peu d'hygiène que pratiquent les Touaregs, il serait impossible de lutter contre les maladies ; il est peut-être vrai aussi que cette absence d'hygiène peut découler du fait que les Touaregs n'ont pas eu à en constater la nécessité.

Les gens de l'Ăhaggar meurent de vieillesse ou de blessures de guerre. Il y a bien parfois des épidémies susceptibles de faire des dégâts, mais elles sont rares du fait de l'isolement des campements, les grandes distances qui les séparent les uns des autres étant une défense naturelle contre les contagions massives. Ces épidémies viennent toujours par le canal des caravaniers ou de gens qui rentrent du Soudan, où ils ont séjourné dans les centres des sédentaires. Nous pouvons citer la variole, très commune au Soudan et qui fait parfois de grands ravages dans les tribus. Le typhus, transmis par les poux, qui peut décimer une tribu entière en quelques jours, n'est pas très rare chez les Touaregs ; mais ces deux maladies sont exceptionnellement signalées dans l'Ăhaggar. Lorsqu'un homme qui rentre du Soudan est atteint par l'une d'elles, son cas est signalé par les messagers bien avant son arrivée et le malade est systématiquement isolé.

Les Touaregs qui reconnaissent en la circonstance l'état de contagion, ne voient pas les causes de la maladie. D'après eux, elle est provoquée par l'action de mauvais génies. Ils prétendent, en bons Musulmans, ne pas croire à ces génies, mais en réalité, la plupart des talismans qu'ils portent sur eux en abondance n'ont pas d'autres buts que de s'en protéger. Pour s'en procurer, ils s'adressent à des marabouts ou à des hommes réputés pour leur connaissance des sciences occultes, sortes de sorciers qui portent le nom d'*amekelléou*.

Lorsqu'un mauvais génie est censé habiter le corps d'une personne, les gens se réunissent et mènent autour d'elle un vacarme épouvantable accompagné de tam-tam, qui a pour but de la mettre en transe afin que le génie finisse par prendre peur et se décide à s'en aller. Ils procèdent de même pour les chameaux qui sont parfois atteints de troubles nerveux.

Il y a quelques années, une femme noble de l'Ăhaggar était sujette à des crises d'épilepsie. Elle avait des hallucinations, elle se disait possédée par un mauvais génie qu'elle voyait et sentait en elle-même, si bien, que chaque fois que la crise éclatait, les gens de son campement se livraient à leurs démons-

trations habituelles. Un jour elle se mit dans la tête d'extirper son hôte et se trancha la gorge pour lui permettre de sortir. Elle se fit une blessure si grave que ses jours furent longtemps après en grand danger, mais à peine fut-elle remise qu'elle fut reprise de ses crises, et qu'elle s'ouvrit la gorge une deuxième fois.

La chirurgie des Kel Ăhaggar est aussi élémentaire que leur médecine. Nous dirons d'abord qu'il n'existe pas chez eux de chirurgiens, pas plus qu'il n'y a d'individus renommés pour leurs connaissances médicales. Médecine et chirurgie sont le fait de tous ; les connaissances qu'on en possède sont du domaine de chacun, et chaque Touareg est capable de se soigner lui-même ou de soigner les personnes de son campement. Pour les opérations chirurgicales, il est fait malgré tout appel de préférence aux Enaden, généralement plus adroits que les autres. Ils possèdent ordinairement de petits instruments qu'ils fabriquent eux-mêmes, davier, déchausse-dents, scarificateur, ventouses, coupe-amygdales, etc..., avec lesquels ils opèrent assez adroitement.

On a pu très justement les comparer à nos chirurgiens-barbiers d'autrefois [1].

La vie guerrière et mouvementée des Touaregs les expose à de multiples blessures ou accidents. Ils soignent les blessures de guerre en saupoudrant la plaie de sucre ou en l'enduisant d'emplâtres d'origine végétale, des feuilles hachées du *Zizyptus lotus*, ou de la résine pilée du *Balsamodron africanum*. Parfois, ils versent du beurre dessus, et, si la plaie est infectée, mettent des emplâtres de beurre et de cendre d'*aferegak*, *chrozophora brocchiana*.

Mais nous avons pu observer que l'emploi de cette cendre n'était pas d'une grande efficacité, que les plaies étaient très longues à cicatriser, et que, dans bien des cas, on préférait faire appel au médecin européen.

Les fractures sont soignées absolument avec les mêmes méthodes que celles employées par nos médecins européens. Le membre fracturé, après avoir été remis en place, est enduit d'un emplâtre de farine, garni d'un petit matelassage de poils de chèvre, et consolidé au moyen d'attelles faites de planchettes de bois fixées sur une peau de mouton et maintenues en place par des cordelettes de peau.

1. Dr Foley, *Mœurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar*, p. 85.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Nous n'avons jamais vu d'amputation chez les Touaregs et nous ignorons s'ils savent la pratiquer.

Les Touaregs connaissent également l'emploi du bock à lavement. L'appareil est constitué par un os de mouton dont une des extrémités a été arrondie et polie et dont l'autre est montée sur une petite outre en peau de chèvre qui reçoit le

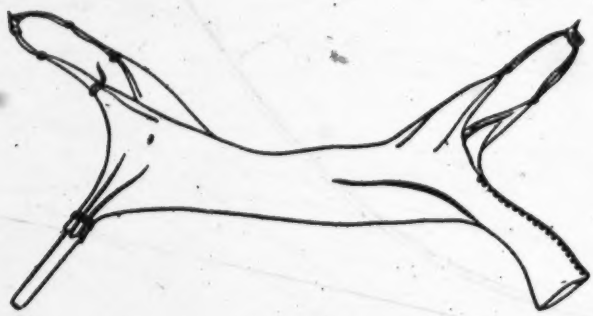

Fig. 37. — Bock à injection touareg.

liquide à injecter. Pendant l'opération, on presse sur l'outre de manière à faire pénétrer le liquide alors que le patient a la tête en bas et les pieds attachés à un arbre. Le lavement est généralement composé d'eau, de beurre et de racines d'afasso pilées. Lorsqu'il s'agit de donner un lavement à un jeune enfant, la maman s'emplit la bouche d'eau et appliquant ses lèvres contre l'anus, elle souffle le liquide de toutes ses forces.

# CHAPITRE VIII

## HABILLEMENT. — PARURE

Les vêtements. — Le portrait du Targui est maintenant bien connu. Drapé dans une longue blouse de teinte sombre, serrée à la ceinture, la tête entourée d'un voile noir placé en forme de haumier, il se profile majestueux autant que mystérieux sur son fin méhari, à la selle duquel, aussi célèbre que l'homme, pend le large bouclier de peau d'antilope.

Les Touaregs, même pauvres, sont très coquets ; ils ont beau ne posséder que des haillons sordides, ils sauront toujours les placer avec bon goût et garder en toutes circonstances une attitude fière et digne.

Le costume masculin est le même dans toutes les confédérations. Il se compose : 1° d'un pantalon très ample, serré à la ceinture par une cordelette de peau tressée ; la jambe est pincée sur le cou-de-pied et blouse sur ce dernier au point de traîner parfois à terre ; 2° d'une grande blouse très ample formée par une pièce d'étoffe de forme rectangulaire, cousue par un point aux quatre angles et munie d'une ouverture en son milieu pour permettre le passage de la tête ; elle descend jusqu'à mi-jambe et est portée flottante ou, le plus souvent, serrée à la taille par une ceinture ; 3° d'un voile recouvrant la figure, ne laissant voir que le dessus de la tête et les yeux.

Telle est la tenue la plus simple des Touaregs.

La tenue de gala comprend plusieurs blouses superposées les unes sur les autres : une blouse blanche en dessous, une bleue indigotée par-dessus et enfin, pour les gens riches, une troisième blouse faite de bandes de coton, travaillées au Soudan, dont la teinte de fond est généralement violacée, portant des grandes et fines broderies sur la poitrine et sur les épaules ; elle comporte une poche large et profonde sur le côté gauche à la hauteur du sein. De larges bandes d'étoffe, blanches et rouges, ceignent les reins en formant ceinture et se croisent sur la poitrine en forme de baudrier ; de grands cordons de soie avec glands rouges ou verts terminent le costume qui donne si grand air aux Touaregs.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Les vêtements, sauf la gandourah faite de bandes de coton, sont en étoffe d'importation européenne, très fortement indigotée, nommée *chêga*, donnant un lustrage très foncé ; c'est l'étoffe préférée des hommes et des femmes touaregs, mais qui est remplacée chez les gens moins aisés par de l'étoffe ordinaire.

Les voiles sont fabriqués en Nigéria anglaise, dans le village de Koura, près de l'importante ville de Kano. Ils sont faits de

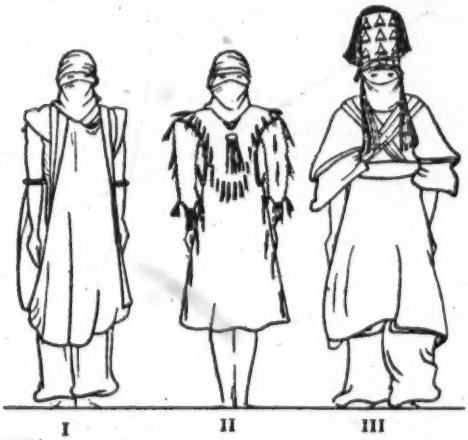


Fig. 38. — Habillement des hommes de l'Ahaggar.
1° Amrid avec gandourah relevée sur les épaules.
2° Akli portant la gandourah en peau.
3° Amajer en tenue de cérémonie portant sur la tête la takoumbout.

l'assemblage d'une multitude de petites bandes de toile ; leur prix est très élevé et peut atteindre, suivant la qualité, de trois à cinq chèvres. Ils portent en langue haoussa le nom de *toukourdi*, qui a été adopté par les Touaregs, et ils ont longtemps servi de monnaie d'échange pour les transactions commerciales.

On s'est maintes fois demandé les raisons qui ont amené les Touaregs à se voiler la face. L'hygiène que l'on a évoquée souvent, le besoin de se protéger les voies respiratoires contre le vent de sable, ne sont pas des raisons suffisantes pour expliquer cette habitude. Il y a autre chose, une coutume

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



énigmatique très ancienne dont l'origine s'est perdue dans la nuit des temps, qui s'est maintenue sans que l'on sache trop pourquoi, mais qui est tellement bien ancrée chez les Touaregs que ces derniers ne conçoivent pas qu'un homme qui se respecte puisse s'abstenir du port du voile.

Les hommes sans tête, les acéphales des auteurs anciens, n'ont certainement dû leur surnom qu'à cette coutume très particulière de se cacher la face, coutume qui devait déjà exister à cette époque reculée. On ne peut qu'échafauder des hypothèses sur l'origine de ce voile.

Nous savons par Ibn Khaldoun qu'au XIVe siècle le port du voile était généralisé chez les populations qui habitaient la côte atlantique et les pays adjacents, ce qui établit que cet usage est très ancien.

Dans les peintures rupestres, d'âge pré ou protohistorique qui ont été découvertes ces dernières années au Sahara central, on a remarqué la façon toute particulière de représenter la tête des figurations humaines. Il semble qu'en la circonstance, il existait un tabou qui interdisait de représenter les signes du visage.

La substitution de tête zoomorphe dans des figurations humaines d'époque très ancienne, gravées sur les rochers du Tassili-n-Ăjjer, dérivée de croyances totémiques, peut-elle contribuer également à expliquer l'origine du voile ? C'est une hypothèse permise.

Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'à l'heure actuelle il est honteux pour un Targui de montrer sa bouche et que le voile est l'élément capital de son vêtement. Lorsqu'il tirera l'eau d'un puits, il enlèvera sa gandourah, il relèvera le bas de son pantalon, pour être plus à son aise, mais il veillera à ce que son voile soit toujours en place.

Le port du litham — ou tiguelmoust — comporte tout un rituel qui implique l'existence de croyances dont les détails nous ont échappé, parce que les Touaregs eux-mêmes n'en dégagent plus la signification.

La façon de porter le voile, de placer sur la tête ses différentes parties, peut varier d'une tribu à l'autre, et il y a des modes locales que certains préfèrent par goût personnel. C'est ainsi que ces dernières années les jeunes gens de l'Ăhaggar adoptèrent la façon de porter le voile des Kel Férouan de l'Aïr, ce qui leur valut d'ailleurs les critiques acerbes des anciens de la tribu.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Mais en dehors des différentes manières de placer le voile suivant les modes locales ou personnelles, il y a la tournure, le tour de main qui fait qu'il est plus ou moins élégant. Il y a aussi une psychologie du voile et lorsque l'on connaît l'homme, la façon dont est placé son voile peut indiquer son état d'esprit. Il y a la manière réservée et pudique usitée lorsqu'on se présente dans un campement où il y a des femmes, la manière élégante et recherchée pour aller aux réunions galantes, la manière altière du guerrier conscient de son importance, comme celle fantasque de l'imrad ou de l'esclave fanfaron. Il y a aussi la façon de porter le voile, détachée, lâche, du garçon jovial, bon enfant, désordonnée de l'homme instable de caractère et facilement irritable.

Le voile peut exprimer un sentiment passager. C'est ainsi qu'il est rabattu sur les yeux devant des personnes respectables ou devant des femmes, alors qu'au contraire relevé sur le front il est signe de familiarité. Pour rire à son aise d'une facétie un Targui relèvera très haut la partie inférieure de son voile sur son nez et lorsqu'il sera irrité il la serrera comme une jugulaire pour masquer sa colère.

Dans la tenue de gala portée à l'occasion des fêtes religieuses ou familiales, le voile se complique de nombreux turbans de mousseline blanche et de bandes de soie colorées ; la partie supérieure reçoit une espèce de bâti qui permet de dresser de multiples bandes de coton, de les entrecroiser et de former ainsi une sorte de cimier. La partie supérieure du crâne n'est jamais couverte et le voile laisse apparaître des touffes de cheveux tressés. Lors des mariages, on avait coutume, autrefois, de porter la « takoumbout », sorte de grande chéchia de drap munie d'énormes floches de coton et couverte d'appliques d'argent. Cette coiffure tend à disparaître complètement et il n'en existe plus qu'une ou deux dans tout l'Ăhaggar.

Les Ihăggaren utilisent deux sortes de sandales : la sandale large, en peau de bœuf, avec brides simples en cuir rouge se croisant sur le cou-de-pied et appelée *irratimen*, et une sandale faite d'une multitude de fragments de peau de chèvre cousues les unes sur les autres, avec bride passant derrière le talon et venant s'attacher par un nœud sur le cou-de-pied, et appelée *imerkéden*.

Les *irratimen* sont surtout portées par les hommes aisés et particulièrement appréciées dans les régions sablonneuses où leur grande surface portante permet de ne pas trop enfoncer.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Cette sandale, qui est fabriquée par les artisans haoussa d'Agadez ou du Damergou, a été empruntée à ces populations par les Touaregs, et ce n'est pas à ces derniers qu'il faut en imputer l'origine.

Les véritables sandales des gens de l'Ăhaggar sont les *imerkéden*, que portent encore et que préfèrent toujours les gens de la montagne, car elles sont particulièrement bien adaptées à la marche dans les rochers. Elles sont portées par les gens du commun, par les Iklan qui n'ont pas les moyens d'acheter des sandales soudanaises alors que tous savent confectionner des imerkéden très confortables avec quelques vieux morceaux de peaux de chèvre.

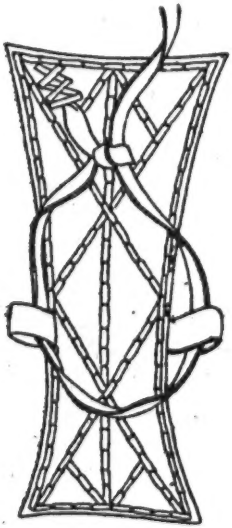

FIG. 39. — L'imerkéden, sandales faites de peaux cousues les unes sur les autres et portées par les montagnards de l'Ăhaggar.

Si le costume masculin ne varie pas, ou varie très peu, il n'en est pas de même du vêtement féminin. Celui porté par les femmes de l'Ăhaggar est propre à cette contrée, alors que les femmes de l'Aïr ou des Ioullimmiden s'habillent à leur manière.

Les femmes touarègues ne portent pas de pantalons, mais elles ont un jupon de toile blanche enroulé autour des reins. Celles de l'Ăhaggar portent dessus une grande blouse en toile blanche, semblable, pour la forme, à celle des hommes, mais fermée sur les côtés. Les femmes aisées en portent une deuxième par-dessus, en toile indigotée.

En Aïr, la blouse est remplacée par un petit boléro et dans les tribus Ioullimmiden les femmes vont généralement le torse nu ou se contentent d'une pièce d'étoffe rectangulaire qu'elles jettent négligemment sur les épaules.

Elles ne se voilent pas la figure comme les hommes et portent une petite mantille faite d'un ou deux toukourdi avec lesquelles elles s'entourent la tête et la figure dont elles dissimulent les traits devant les étrangers. Pendant les déplacements, les femmes de l'Ăhaggar utilisent un grand chapeau de paille à large bord — le *télé* — pour se protéger du soleil

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Elles se chaussent d'irratimen, comme les hommes, mais elles vont le plus souvent pieds nus ; au Soudan, pendant la saison des pluies, elles remplacent les irratimen en peau, par des irratimen en bois très léger qui jouent là-bas, le même rôle que les sabots chez nous.

Dans l'Ăhaggar et au Tassili, hommes et femmes portent un grand haïk de laine blanche dont ils s'enveloppent la tête et les épaules, et pendant la période froide de l'hiver, ils s'enveloppent d'une longue couverture de laine — le *dokkali*

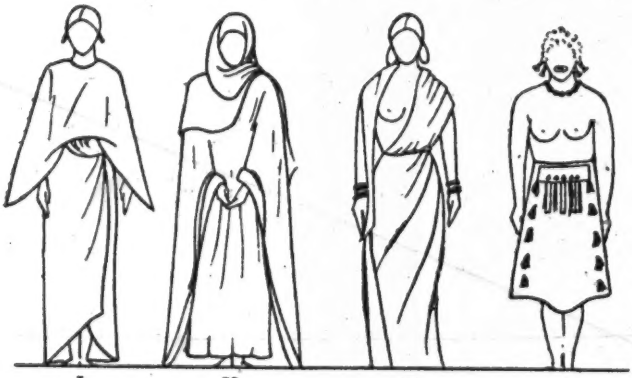


FIG. 40. — 1° Habillement de femmes touarègues de l'Aïr comprenant un jupon et un petit boléro.
2° Habillement des femmes touarègues de l'Ahaggar comprenant jupon et grande gandourah tombant jusqu'aux pieds.
3° Habillement des femmes touarègues du Soudan comprenant un jupon et un châle recouvrant les épaules.
4° Jupes en peau des servantes usitées dans les tribus Ioullimminden.

— fabriqué par les Arabes du Touat et que ces derniers viennent échanger aux Ihăggaren contre des moutons.

Les vêtements de toile sont d'un usage certainement récent chez les Touaregs qui auparavant portaient des vêtements en peau. Quelques Iklan de l'Ăhaggar portent encore de ces blouses s'arrêtant aux genoux, garnies de franges sur la poitrine, les côtés et les manches. On trouve encore des témoins de ces vêtements de peau chez les captives du Soudan et de la région de Tombouctou qui portent des jupes serrées à la taille teintes à moitié en rouge, moitié en jaune, et ornementées de franges multicolores. On voit encore en Aïr les fillettes porter

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des espèces de petits tabliers en peau et les garçonnets de petits pantalons de peau.

Il semble que ce soient là les vêtements ancestraux des Touaregs. La description de la robe des femmes libyennes, que nous a donnée Hérodote, correspond en tous points à la robe de cuir en usage dans la région de Tombouctou et certaines peintures rupestres du Tassili évoquent à s'y méprendre la petite tunique en peau des Iklan de la Koudia.

Parures. Bijoux. — La coquetterie chez les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar est une chose fort remarquable et assez inattendue chez des gens qui vivent dans des conditions très primitives et dont les instincts naturels doivent porter avant tout vers l'esprit de conservation et les préoccupations matérielles. Mais elle est le reflet de leur vie un peu superficielle, de leurs mœurs légères, de cette existence de plaisir que les nobles entendent mener.

Et c'est ainsi que les Touaregs sacrifient tout à leur coquetterie, se priveront de nourriture, aliéneront une partie de leurs biens pour pouvoir se procurer des vêtements bien lustrés, des rubans multicolores pour relever l'éclat de leur coiffure, des étuis à amulettes qui seront beaucoup plus portés dans un but esthétique que religieux.

Les femmes sacrifient aux mêmes travers et ne connaissent pas le repos tant qu'elles n'ont pas un certain nombre de bijoux pour se parer.

Chez les hommes, la parure consiste en quelques bijoux et surtout en porte-amulettes. En fait de bijoux, ils ne portent qu'une ou deux bagues d'argent aux doigts, sortes d'anneaux lourds et grossiers, soit unis, soit légèrement torsadés, et un anneau de pierre passé au-dessus du coude.

Cet anneau de pierre — *ahbeg* — a été décrit par l'explorateur Duveyrier comme une arme. Il n'a, en réalité, qu'un caractère ornemental, car il est tellement fragile qu'on ne saurait lui faire subir une forte pression sans le faire éclater, ce qui risquerait de blesser gravement l'homme qui le porte.

A l'heure actuelle, les Touaregs sont les seuls parmi les populations africaines à porter cet anneau de pierre, à part certains groupements humains qui vivent à leur contact et qui l'ont adopté par esprit d'imitation. Il était pourtant d'un usage très courant chez les populations néolithiques, et il n'est pas rare d'en trouver des fragments au milieu des gisements

anciens, datant de cette époque. C'est là qu'il faut chercher son origine, et il n'est pas autre chose, à l'heure actuelle, qu'un vestige néolithique.

On peut considérer comme parures une foule de petits étuis que les Touaregs portent suspendus au cou et reposant sur la

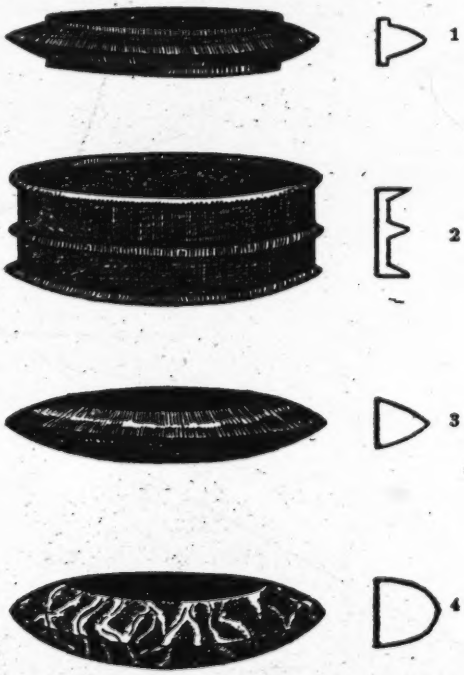


Fig. 41. — Types de bracelets portés au-dessus du coude par les Touaregs. 1, 2, 3 sont en schiste tendre de l'Aïr, 4 en marbre de la région de Hombori.

poitrine. Ce sont de petits étuis en peau, décorés, peints ou brodés, ou encore impressionnés en relief, qui contiennent de petits instruments variés. Il existe ainsi des porte-glacé, des porte-aiguilles, des porte-rasoir, des porte-ciseaux, des porte-brosse à dents etc..., et de petites sacoches porte-monnaie dans lesquels les Touaregs enferment ce qu'ils ont de plus précieux : de l'argent, un briquet et sa pierre, du tabac.

Ils portent également sur la poitrine, au bras ou sur la coiffure, des quantités d'amulettes dont l'étui est en peau ou en métal. Mais cette coutume, d'origine religieuse, a évolué dans

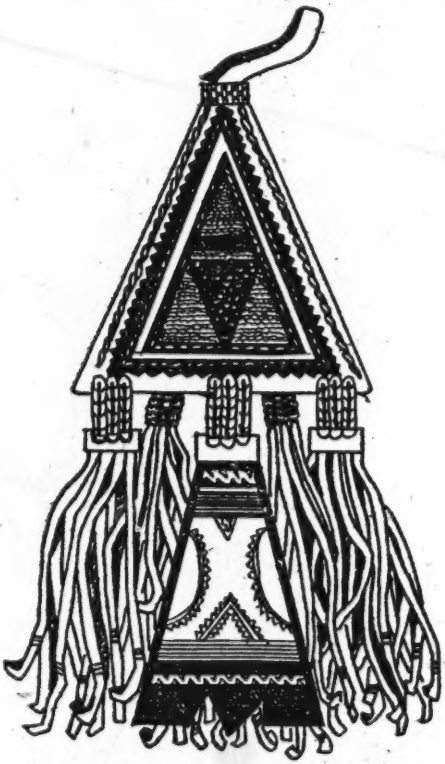

FIG. 42. — Porte-aiguilles en peau travaillée, incisions au couteau et broderie. Fond rouge, décor noir, broderie en coton rouge et vert.

le sens ornemental, car beaucoup de ces porte-amulettes ne contiennent rien.

La bijouterie féminine est beaucoup plus riche et variée. Elle est toute fabriquée en argent, et l'on ne voit jamais chez les Touaregs de bijoux en or. Ils prétendent que l'or porte malheur à qui le possède et que ce métal corrompt les gens.

Les femmes de l'Ăhaggar portent aux doigts de larges bagues de forme ronde, constituées par de petits boîtiers dans lesquels est un petit caillou qui tinte comme un grelot. Celles qui sont riches en ont deux ou trois à chaque main.

Les poignets sont ornés de bracelets en argent à section triangulaire, et creux, portant de petites gravures linéaires.

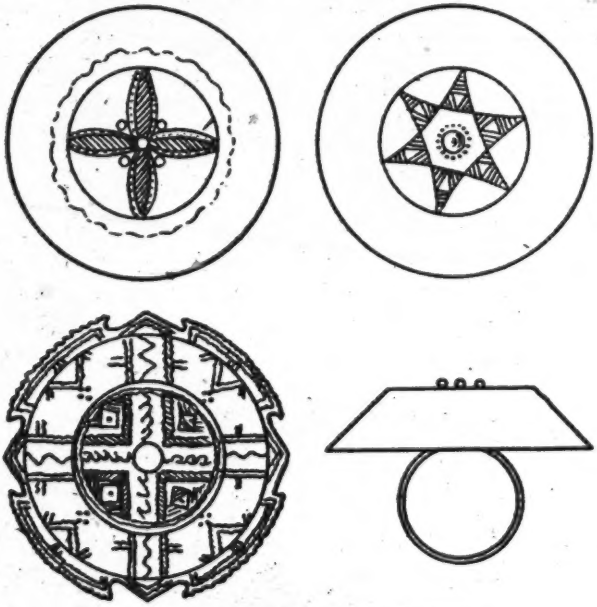

Fig. 43. — Bagues des femmes de l'Ahaggar.

Il existe également des bracelets assez larges, en corne noire, et les bracelets d'origine soudanaise faits de perles multicolores montées sur peau sont également adoptés par quelques femmes.

Le cou est orné d'un collier portant un coquillage ovale (?) ou d'une matière provenant d'un animal originaire du Niger et qui pourrait bien être le lamentin. Ce bijou — *ame-éouan* — a une grosse valeur et est très rare dans l'Ăhaggar. Il se transmet de mère en fille.

Au-dessous du collier, les femmes touarègues portent des

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



pendentifs pectoraux, l'un de petite taille, en forme de losange, avec une pierre rouge sertie à l'intérieur et agrémenté à la base d'une série de petites plaquettes triangulaires, l'autre de grande taille, formé de plusieurs triangles, avec de gros cabochons d'argent, agrémentés chacun à la base de petites plaques triangulaires.

Le style de ces bijoux est simple et très particulier aux Touaregs. Si leur forme triangulaire rappelle un peu celle des

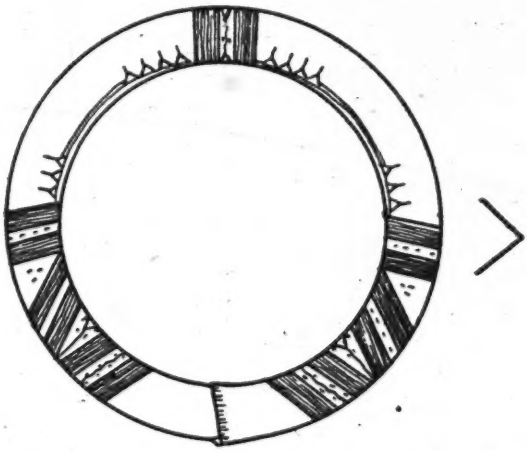

FIG. 44. — Bracelet en argent porté au poignet par les femmes.

bijoux kabyles, il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'ils ne présentent aucun rapport avec l'orfèvrerie nord-africaine et qu'il est bien difficile d'expliquer leur origine.

Les femmes touarègues de l'Ăhaggar ne portent pas de boucles d'oreilles, mais de grands anneaux d'argent massif qui sont suspendus de chaque côté et à hauteur des oreilles par une lanière de cuir qui passe sur le dessus de la tête.

Très souvent, elles portent également de petits pendentifs de chevelure qui sont fixés à l'extrémité des nattes des cheveux.

Hommes et femmes sont munis d'une petite pince pour enlever les épines — *l'irremdan* — portée en sautoir. Celle des femmes, qui est en cuivre et de forme bi-triangulaire,

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



prend le caractère d'un bijou, car elle est soigneusement travaillée et présente un réel caractère artistique. Celle des hommes, plus simple, est complétée par un petit poinçon et une lame de canif, et joue le rôle d'une petite trousse de chirurgie portative.

Ce n'est qu'au cours des fêtes que chacun se pare de ses bijoux ; ils sont généralement placés dans des sacs fermés par

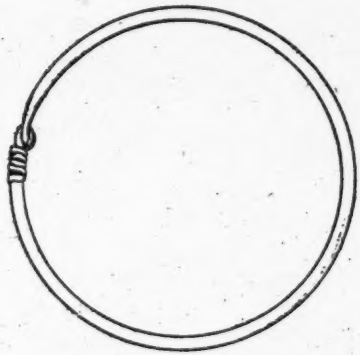

FIG. 45. — Anneau d'oreille des femmes touarègues de l'Ahaggar.

un cadenas curieux, de forme rectangulaire, muni d'un ou deux pènes intérieurs qu'il faut dégager avec une énorme clé que les Touaregs ont toujours sur eux.

# CHAPITRE IX

## ARTISANAT ET ART CHEZ LES TOUAREGS DE L'ĂHAGGAR

La vie de nomades et de pasteurs que mènent les Touaregs limite évidemment le développement des techniques artisanales, et celui de l'art lui-même. Tout se résume chez eux aux nécessités immédiates de la vie courante, donc aux objets ménagers, à ceux de l'habitation, aux harnachements, aux vêtements, et accessoirement à la parure.

Fig. 46. — Entonnoir en bois.

Si l'on cherche quelles sont les matières premières employées et dont disposent les Touaregs pour la confection des divers objets qui leur sont nécessaires, on constate que le bois tient la plus grande place, ensuite la peau, puis certaines tiges de graminées et enfin les métaux.

Si, en deuxième lieu, on cherche quelles sont les aptitudes des Touaregs eux-mêmes à travailler ces différentes matières premières, on s'aperçoit que leur énumération suit le même ordre que précédemment avec cette réserve qu'aucun d'eux ne sait travailler les métaux. Ces derniers travaux sont l'apanage des Enaden, c'est-à-dire des artisans, et il en ressort que sans le concours des artisans l'industrie des Touaregs se limiterait aux travaux du bois, de la peau et de la sparterie. C'est en somme le cycle culturel des peuples pasteurs de la steppe.

Ce n'est que bien plus tard, lorsque les Touaregs eurent intégré les Enaden à leur organisation sociale, qu'ils utilisèrent les métaux et l'on saisit dès lors le rôle considérable que durent jouer les artisans dans l'évolution technique et dans celle de l'art lui-même.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



La présence des Enaden dans les campements a réduit l'activité manuelle des Touaregs, mais ceux-ci sont encore capables de confectionner des objets en bois : vases à traire, écuelles, piquets de tentes, etc....

L'une des coutumes les plus curieuses est celle des femmes de haute noblesse qui travaillent de leurs mains, au moyen d'une petite herminette, des vases en bois, des entonnoirs, qu'elles offrent généralement aux femmes de leurs Imrad, lesquelles se montrent très sensibles à ces cadeaux. Nous avons retrouvé dans les campements de l'Ăhaggar des multitudes de petits ustensiles qui étaient l'œuvre des femmes nobles célèbres, de taménokalin dont les noms sont pieusement gardés, et qui étaient conservés avec beaucoup de vénération. Cette coutume est d'autant plus remarquable que l'on sait tout le mépris qu'ont les Touaregs pour les travaux manuels et il faut y voir la survivance du travail du bois, lequel devait être autrefois le travail de tous, sans distinction, avant la création de la caste artisanale.

Fig. 47. — L'amoula, petit biberon en bois pour faire boire les jeunes enfants.

Le bois fournit des récipients pour les aliments, des vases à boire, à traire, des mortiers, des pilons, des piquets de tentes, des traverses et des planches pour la confection des selles. L'Ăhaggar ne possède pas plus de cinq à six essences susceptibles d'être travaillées, et les objets, de forme très simple, sont beaucoup moins variés que dans les tribus soudanaises.

Toutes les femmes de l'Ăhaggar, nobles ou vassales, savent tanner, épiler, coudre, décorer et broder les peaux. Elles sont capables de confectionner une outre nécessaire au transport de l'eau, de préparer les peaux pour la confection des tentes, de fabriquer des sacs pour le transport des vivres et des objets personnels. Toutes sont devenues expertes dans ces travaux au point qu'il est difficile de trouver dans le monde d'autres populations possédant une technique du cuir aussi développée.

La pauvreté de l'Ăhaggar en matière végétale est une des raisons pour lesquelles l'emploi de la sparterie est relativement restreint. Seules, les tiges d'une graminée commune dans les oueds — le Panicum turgidum — sont utilisées pour la confection des nattes : grandes nattes de clôtures qui entourent la tente, nattes de couchage, nattes couvre-plats.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Les tiges sont liées par de petites lanières de peau et l'association graminée-peau est du plus heureux effet ; elle permet des décorations géométriques très régulières en même temps qu'un travail très solide.

Il n'existe pas de vans en sparterie chez les Touarega. Les femmes utilisent des vans et des chapeaux en feuilles de palmier, mais ces objets sont l'œuvre des harratines des petites palmeraies de Sîlet, d'Idelès et d'Ăbalessa.

Le filage est pratiqué par toutes les femmes touarègues. Elles filent le poil de chèvre, de chameau, de mouflon, pour faire des cordes d'une très grande solidité et des sangles de selles.

Le tissage est limité à la confection de sacs en poils de chèvre, plus rarement en poils de chameau. C'est une technique

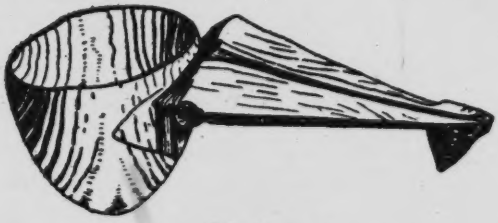

Fig. 48.
Louche en bois de tabarekkat, servant également de vase à boire.

très primitive qui ne comporte pas de métier et qui est d'ailleurs en voie de disparition dans l'Ăhaggar, où seules quelques femmes nobles la pratiquent encore ; elle est complètement éteinte dans les tribus soudanaises.

Le travail de la pierre, survivance du néolithisme, était encore pratiqué dans l'Ăhaggar il y a quelques années pour la fabrication des anneaux de bras. Des gisements de schistes granitoïdes étaient auparavant exploités à Aseksem et à Terahart, dans la Tăfedest et nous avons retrouvé au sud de Sîlet, sur les bords de l'oued Tămanrasset, un ancien atelier de fabrication. De nos jours, tous les bracelets de pierre proviennent de l'Aïr, quelques-uns de Hombori, où ils sont façonnés par des artisans touaregs ou haoussa.

Le travail des métaux est exclusivement entre les mains des Enaden qui transforment l'argent, le cuivre, le fer. Ces matières, sauf le fer, n'existent pas à l'état natif et exploitable dans l'Ăhaggar. Mais si le minerai de fer est commun

dans certaines roches volcaniques de leur pays, les Touaregs ne le font pas exploiter, car il se trouve en si petites particules, qu'il nécessite un travail de forge disproportionné avec les quantités susceptibles d'être recueillies. Le souvenir du coulage du minerai est malgré tout resté chez les Enaden qui utilisaient plusieurs forges à la fois, mais ne connaissaient pas le haut fourneau. Ce sont les caravaniers venant du nord ou du Soudan qui apportaient autrefois les métaux.

FIG. 49. — Soufflet de forge double.

Actuellement l'argent provient des pièces de monnaie qui sont fondues ; depuis des années les Touaregs disposaient de thalers de Marie-Thérèse qui furent longtemps la monnaie étalon dans toute l'Afrique centrale[1]. Le cuivre est surtout fourni par des étuis de cartouches, et le fer par des débris abandonnés des vieilles voitures, des ressorts d'autos, des plaques de tôle, des boîtes de conserves, etc....

L'aluminium qui commence à pénétrer dans la région du Niger n'est pas encore utilisé dans l'Ahaggar, et les tubes, les haubans abandonnés aux quatre coins du désert par les avions en perdition, n'ont jusqu'ici servi qu'à faire des montants de tentes.

1. Le thaler de Marie-Thérèse fut introduit en Afrique au début du XIXe siècle par les navigateurs et commerçants qui fréquentaient le golfe de Guinée. Il devint avec la barre de fer la base des échanges commerciaux et il eut cours dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique Occidentale ainsi qu'en Abyssinie.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



L'argent est utilisé à la confection des bijoux : pendentifs, pendeloques de coiffures, bracelets, bagues, boucles d'oreilles, porte-amulettes, etc....

Le cuivre fournit un nombre d'objets plus important et naturellement d'un usage plus courant : objets de sellerie, caveçons pour chameaux, cadenas avec clés très ouvrés, couteaux à cheveux, etc.... Ce métal est généralement mieux travaillé que l'argent ; il est souvent ciselé, gravé et surmonté d'applications d'étain dont la technique rappelle le damasquinage. Différents objets, petits couteaux, trousse médicale, portent des applications de cuivre sur fer.

Fig. 50. — Marteau.

Le cuivre et l'argent sont coulés dans de petits creusets en terre cuite et la température élevée que réclame leur fonte est obtenue par une forge à double soufflet à mains, ou à soufflet unique, du modèle employé par les Arabes sahariens et par les Soudanais.

Les Enaden de l'Ăhaggar ne fabriquent pas d'armes et se contentent de les réparer. Sabres, poignards, lances, étaient pour la plupart fabriqués par les forgerons de la tribu des Kel Dinnik (Ioullimmiden de Tahoua). Les lames de sabre étaient importées de Rhât et montées par les artisans ; les lances venaient de chez les Kel Geres où les Enaden de ce groupement exploitaient une mine de fer qui se trouve à côté du village de Tassaoua.

Seuls quelques poignards étaient fabriqués dans l'Ăhaggar.

Fig. 51. Pince de forgeron.

La poterie est d'un emploi courant chez les Touaregs. Elle n'est généralement pas en usage chez les nomades. Pourtant elle est répandue depuis longtemps au Sahara, car on trouve des quantités de tessons et de fragments sur les regs qui sont bien postérieurs à la période néolithique, et d'ailleurs son emploi se généralise de plus en plus dans les campements.

Les poteries sont fabriquées par des négresses, femmes

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



d'harratines, ou anciennes captives libérées qui vivent dans les centres de culture.

Cet aperçu des techniques et industries des Touaregs Kel Ăhaggar fait ressortir leur pauvreté.

Peut-on parler d'art chez les Ihăggaren ? Cela semble difficile car, à part quelques rares objets, tous ceux qu'ils emploient sont plus ou moins en usage dans les tribus du Soudan. C'est ainsi que tous les modèles de bijoux portés dans l'Ăhaggar sont importés de l'Aïr ou de l'Ădrar des Ifôras. Et cela s'explique d'autant mieux que les artisans sont plus ou moins originaires de ces régions.

Fig. 52. — Pince à sucre.

Il est difficile de déterminer les origines de l'art targui en général. C'est en réalité un art composite qui a pris à tous ses voisins, qui n'est pas, pour une grande part, le fait des Touaregs eux-mêmes, mais de leurs artisans. Et c'est chez ces derniers qu'il faudrait en chercher les origines lointaines.

Les goûts des Touaregs semblent être immuables. Ils sont fixés depuis des siècles et c'est ainsi que l'on retrouve dans les documents anciens, vieux d'une centaine d'années, la même forme, les mêmes dimensions, les mêmes coloris qu'aujourd'hui. Nous dirons à ce sujet que l'Ênad n'est pas un artiste. C'est un ouvrier qui peut avoir du goût, mais qui, dans l'ensemble, est incapable de créer ; il reproduit fidèlement le modèle qui lui est transmis, il peut le faire avec plus ou moins de fini, mais son inspiration s'arrêtera là. Seuls, les travaux du cuir et du bois sont bien le fait des Ihăggaren, car ils dérivent de besoins anciens et les techniques se sont conservées dans leurs mains et non dans celles des Enaden.

# *LIVRE VI*

# *LA VIE SOCIALE*

## *CULTES ANCIENS, RELIGIONS ET CROYANCES DES TOUAREGS*

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## CHAPITRE PREMIER

## LA VIE SOCIALE

Nous allons suivre maintenant les Touaregs dans les détails de leur vie sociale.

La naissance. — Lorsque des jeunes gens se sont mariés, il est rare que les liens du mariage ne soient pas bientôt fortifiés par la naissance d'un enfant. Il est de très mauvais ton pour un jeune ménage de ne pas avoir d'enfant et la stérilité d'un des conjoints est souvent un motif de divorce.

Enceinte, la femme touarègue continue à vaquer aux travaux du ménage, entourée du respect de son entourage.

Lorsque le moment de l'enfantement approche, la femme se fait conduire au campement de ses parents, si toutefois elle n'y est pas encore, car ce n'est qu'en cas de force majeure qu'elle accouche au campement de son mari.

Une tente est dressée où l'on installe la femme et elle se fait ordinairement assister d'une matrone qui lui masse le ventre, s'assure de la bonne position de l'enfant, la roule sur le sol pour le mettre en place s'il y a lieu, mais ne fait jamais d'exploration vaginale.

Si l'accouchement ne se fait pas normalement, la matrone peut demander le secours du marabout. Celui-ci vient, se tient à l'extérieur de la tente, donne des conseils à la voix, mais n'intervient jamais personnellement et ne peut accéder près de la parturiente.

Pour accoucher, la femme se tient accroupie sur les genoux et s'arqueboute au piquet central de la tente. Généralement

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



l'enfant tombe sur une couche de sable fin qui a été préparée à cet effet. Aussitôt, la matrone coupe le cordon ombilical, lave l'enfant à l'eau chaude, le fait crier en le pinçant pour s'assurer de sa vitalité. La mère le prend ensuite, lui trait un peu de son lait dans les narines, lui étire le nez pour qu'il devienne long et fin, lui presse la tête entre ses mains pour lui donner une forme allongée. Cette coutume est certainement un vestige de la déformation crânienne qui n'est plus pratiquée chez les Touaregs, mais qui était commune autrefois chez les Égyptiens.

Aussitôt que le père apprend la naissance de l'enfant, il fait égorger un mouton qu'il envoie au campement de sa femme ; ce mouton est destiné à sa nourriture et à celle des personnes qui l'ont assistée. On fait absorber à la femme beaucoup de bouillon de viande. La jeune maman se relève quelquefois deux ou trois jours après ses couches.

La naissance d'un garçon est accueillie avec plus de joie que celle d'une fille. Dans le premier cas, tous les gens, hommes et femmes, viennent féliciter la maman, mais si c'est une fille, seules les femmes viennent la voir. Au cours de cette visite, les femmes mettent souvent de l'ocre jaune au-dessous des yeux et autour de la bouche pour éloigner les mauvais génies que l'on présume toujours rôder dans les tentes où vient d'arriver un nouveau-né.

Le septième jour après la naissance, la femme retourne au campement de son mari, accompagnée par les femmes de sa famille et par ses frères, si elle en a. Le père voit alors son enfant pour la première fois.

L'apposition du nom. — C'est alors qu'a lieu l'apposition du nom. Il est fait choix de plusieurs noms qui sont tirés à la courte paille. Dans les tribus de l'Aïr, lorsqu'il y a discussion sur le choix du nom, chacune des parties présentes apporte une petite chèvre et lui donne secrètement le nom préféré. La mère, qui ignore les donateurs des chèvres, choisit celle qui lui plaît et la fait égorger ; l'enfant doit alors porter le nom qui avait été donné à la chèvre pour la circonstance. Ensuite, un repas est servi aux gens du campement et aux invités, un cadeau est offert au marabout, s'il en est venu un.

Le même jour, on coupe les cheveux pour la première fois au nouveau-né, et le marabout lui fixe une amulette autour du cou.

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Les noms que l'on donne aux enfants sont très variés et quelquefois très fantaisistes. On observe des coutumes semblables à celles des Peaux-Rouges, et c'est ainsi que les parents tiennent compte de certaines circonstances fortuites qui ont entouré la naissance. Nous avons vu une jeune fille qui portait le nom de Tédigrès, qui veut dire la grêle, parce qu'il avait grêlé au moment de sa venue au monde. D'autres portent des noms d'animaux tels que : Ănaba : la panthère, Ăbagui : le chacal, Acotey : la gerboise, Tinirt : l'antilope, Ăhenkatt : la gazelle, etc....

Avec l'influence arabe, beaucoup de noms tirés de la Bible et arabisés ont été adoptés par les Touaregs. Ainsi : Moussa, de Moïse, Firhoun, de Pharaon, Younès, de Jonas, etc....

Ils portent également des noms très anciens qui leur viennent par la tradition et dont ils ignorent la signification et l'origine : Akhamouk (m), Amastane (m), Yklou (m), Chékou (f), Tinguelous (f) [1].

Dès lors l'enfant porte accolé à son nom celui de son père et le garde toute sa vie. Il n'y a pas de noms de famille et le mariage n'entraîne aucune substitution pour l'un ou l'autre sexe. On dira Anaba ag (fils de) Mohamed, ou Chékou oult (fille de) Mohamed, si le père s'appelle Mohamed. La filiation nominale est donc patrilinaire.

Les surnoms sont nombreux dans l'Ăhaggar, nous dit le Père de Foucauld, « ce sont tantôt des noms propres de personnes différentes de celui qu'on a reçu, tantôt des noms rappelant une particularité physique ou un événement, tantôt des noms sans signification. Bien des personnes n'ont pas de surnom ; parmi celles qui en ont, certains les acceptent, d'autres s'en offensent. Parfois les surnoms sont passagers, connus seulement de quelques intimes et vite oubliés ; parfois ils s'attachent tellement à la personne qu'elle n'est plus désignée autrement et que son nom réel tombe dans l'oubli » [2].

La conception et l'allaitement. — Au sujet de la conception, les Touaregs y voient seulement la volonté de Dieu, mais établissent aussi la relation de cause à effet dans les rapports sexuels, et ne mettent pas en discussion l'idée qu'une femme ne peut concevoir sans le contact de l'homme. L'existence et le rôle des spermatozoïdes sont ignorés, mais les Tou-

1. Ce nom viendrait du latin *angelus*.
2. *Dictionnaire abrégé Touareg-Français des noms propres*, p. xv.

aregs reconnaissent l'action du liquide séminal et les femmes pratiquent des aspersions d'eau dans un but anticonceptionnel. Le Professeur Gautier a même parlé d'un irrigateur rustique. Cet appareil est inconnu des femmes touarègues et Gautier a certainement fait confusion avec le bock à lavement.

Les menstrues — *iba-n-amoud* — apparaissent chez les jeunes filles touarègues entre 13 et 15 ans, et leur causent de grandes frayeurs. Pendant leur indisposition, elles ne pratiquent aucune toilette intime, ne prennent souvent aucune précaution pour absorber le flux qui tache leur vêtement et s'abstiennent de faire la prière comme étant en état d'impureté.

L'arrêt des menstrues pendant la grossesse est judicieusement interprété, à savoir que l'enfant est nourri du flux et en rejette les déchets à sa naissance (placenta).

Lorsqu'une femme ne peut pas avoir d'enfant, son mari va trouver un marabout qui lui remet contre paiement, une amulette que la femme doit porter sur elle, à même la peau. La femme, de son côté, va prier auprès des vieilles tombes connues comme étant celles de personnages vénérés, demandant à Dieu le pardon de ses fautes et au mort de l'exaucer auprès du créateur. Si la femme conçoit, le mari porte au marabout une offrande qui s'élève parfois à plusieurs têtes de bétail.

Après l'accouchement la femme n'a pas de rapports avec son mari avant un mois et dix jours. Le quarantième jour, le mari fait cadeau à sa femme de sandales et de vêtements neufs.

L'allaitement dure en moyenne deux ans à deux ans et demi, mais les garçons sont sevrés six mois plus tard que les filles, car ils sont, paraît-il, plus fragiles et ont besoin d'une plus forte alimentation.

Au campement, l'enfant en bas âge est placé sur un coussin, couché sur le ventre, et maintenu par une bande de toile qui passe sur les reins et est nouée sous le coussin ; les poignets sont parfois aussi attachés. On place quelquefois au-dessus de lui un cadre de bois fait d'arceaux qui supporte des étoffes et le protège à la fois des mouches, de la lumière et du vent de sable. Les Touaregs Ioullimmiden utilisent de petits berceaux qui sont accrochés aux arceaux de la tente.

Dans les déplacements, la mère porte son enfant sur le dos ou sur la hanche, retenu par un pagne, noué au-dessus des seins. Cette méthode, employée également chez les Soudanais ne semble pas incommoder l'enfant malgré les mouvements

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souvent fort brusques de la mère. S'il crie, elle lui met le sein dans la bouche jusqu'à épuisement et il n'est nullement question d'heures de tétées, ni de mesure.

Le long allaitement ainsi que le système de portage entraîne un affaissement rapide des seins dès la première maternité, mais pour les Touaregs, l'esthétique compte moins que la maternité qui ennoblit la femme.

Circoncision. — Les garçons sont circoncis vers trois ou quatre ans, généralement par un marabout. La circoncision — *amoud*, ou *amilli*, ou *azemmoued* — ne donne lieu à aucune fête et est pratiquée collectivement. L'instrument contondant employé est un petit couteau à lame de fer, utilisé par les hommes comme rasoir. Pendant la période de cicatrisation l'enfant reste au campement de ses parents et est soigné par eux.

Les fillettes ne sont pas excisées comme chez les Maures du Tagant et du Hodh.

Les enfants vont nus jusqu'à cinq, six ans, suivant l'état de fortune ou la prévoyance de leurs parents. Les fillettes portent un pagne vers six, sept ans, et les garçons un pantalon du même modèle que celui des hommes.

Éducation. — L'éducation des enfants commence après le sevrage. Dès lors, le garçon passe sous la coupe de son père alors que la fille reste sous la direction de sa mère. Cette éducation, pour l'un comme pour l'autre, n'est guère compliquée.

Dès cinq ans, le garçonnet, de lui-même, s'occupe du gardiennage des chèvres et des moutons ; plus tard, on lui confie des chameaux qu'il mène au pâturage et à l'abreuvoir, et il s'initie à traire les chèvres, car chez les Touaregs ce sont les hommes qui, en principe, sont chargés de ce travail. Vers sept ans il commence à monter à chameau. Alors, sous forme de jeux, des combats au sabre ou à la lance s'organisent entre enfants du même âge, les armes étant remplacées par des tiges de mil ou des branches d'arbres. Ceci ne fait pas partie, à proprement parler, de l'éducation, mais est le fait des enfants eux-mêmes.

L'éducation religieuse est assez délaissée chez les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar où les marabouts sont rares. Lorsqu'il y en a un dans un campement, il enseigne aux enfants et aux jeunes gens les rudiments du Coran qu'ils apprennent par cœur, en le chantant à longueur de journée car ils sont toujours ignorants de l'écriture arabe.

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C'est vers 15 ou 16 ans, lorsque les duvets de l'aisselle commencent à apparaître, que le litham est remis au jeune garçon ; cette remise est faite par le père, le plus souvent à l'occasion de la fête du Ramadan. Elle n'est l'objet d'aucune cérémonie extérieure. Le père donne quelques conseils de sagesse à son fils et les jeunes femmes et jeunes filles lui remettent du tabac en cadeau.

De ce jour, le jeune garçon entre dans la classe des hommes, il peut aller à la guerre et assister aux *ahal*.

L'éducation des filles n'offre guère plus d'intérêt. Vers six ou sept ans la fillette commence à vaquer aux soins du ménage, participe au nettoyage de la tente, à la confection des repas, etc.... Un peu plus tard, elle apprend à travailler les nattes et les menus objets de cuir, à filer le poil des chèvres.

L'éducation musicale et littéraire des jeunes filles est fort appréciée chez les Touaregs et tout particulièrement chez les Imochar. Les fillettes apprennent à écrire les caractères tifinagh et à jouer de l'*amzad*, sorte de petit violon monocorde qui égaie les soirées de langueur des Touaregs.

FIG. 53. — Amzad, ou violon monocorde des femmes touarègues de l'Ahaggar, et son archet.

L'*amzad* est fait de la moitié d'une courge évidée et séchée sur laquelle on a étendu une peau de chèvre ou d'ourane, fixée par des cordes (Ăhaggar) ou de petites épines d'acacia (Aïr). La peau est percée d'un ou deux trous qui augmentent la résonance. Le manche est constitué par un bâton qui pénètre par une ouverture dans un des côtés de la calebasse et est fixé à l'autre par une pointe, à moins qu'il ne la traverse aussi. La corde est formée de plusieurs crins de cheval écartés de la peau par un petit chevalet fait de deux petits morceaux de bois liés en croix. L'archet — *taganhé* — forme un arc de cercle aux extrémités duquel sont fixés des crins. Pendant la musique, la joueuse frotte de temps en temps les crins avec un morceau de résine de gommier qui fait office de colophane.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Les peaux des *amzad* sont souvent décorées de motifs peints avec des couleurs très vives, ou sont couvertes d'inscriptions tifinagh indiquant le nom de la propriétaire, et portant des vers amoureux à l'usage des admirateurs.

Chez les Ihăggaren, les violons sont généralement de grande taille et atteignent jusqu'à 40 cm. de diamètre, tandis que dans les tribus soudanaises, ils sont beaucoup plus petits, ne dépassant que très rarement 25 à 30 cm.

L'*amzad* joue un grand rôle chez les Touaregs qui lui portent un véritable culte. Jeunes, ils vont l'écouter jouer par les jeunes filles ; mariés, ils aiment entendre leur femme, qui charme ainsi les heures creuses des soirées estivales. C'est une punition que les femmes infligent aux hommes en ne leur jouant pas d'*amzad* et dans les combats, les guerriers cherchaient toujours à être braves de peur que leurs femmes ou leurs fiancées ne les privent de musique. « Il n'y aura pas d'*amzad*, » disaient-ils au retour d'un rezzi malheureux et cette perspective suffisait souvent pour leur redonner du courage, et les inciter à partir effacer leur défaite.

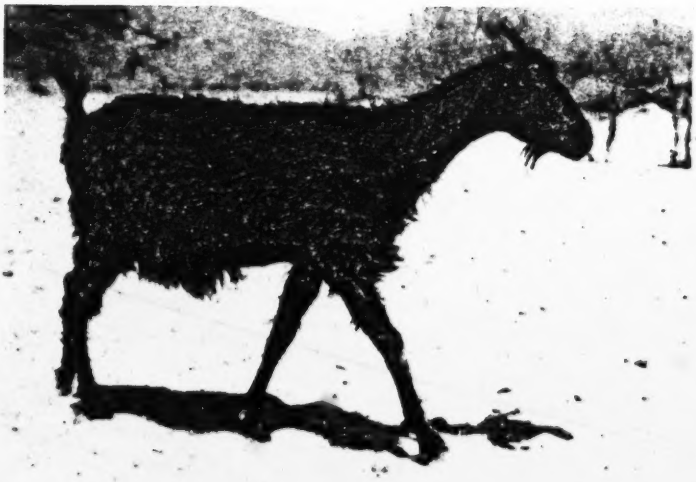
L'AHAL. — C'est vers seize ans que jeunes gens et jeunes filles ont accès à la société des grandes personnes et commencent à participer aux ahal.

Le mot *ahal* signifie réunion, conversation, entretien ; il a un synonyme qui est *édéouenné*. Ces réunions musicales et littéraires ont un caractère plus ou moins particulier, suivant qu'elles sont mêlées d'*asri* ou non.

L'*asri*, littéralement, courir à bride relâchée, signifie la pratique de certaines mœurs très libres, et vivre en état d'*asri*, c'est être dans des conditions permettant de pratiquer les libertés de mœurs. Peuvent être en état d'*asri*, les jeunes gens et jeunes filles pubères, les veufs et les divorcés des deux sexes.

Ces réunions se font à proximité des campements, à l'abri d'un oued, mais toujours en dehors de la vue des vieux et des personnes respectables de la tribu ; elles ont lieu ordinairement avant le repas du soir, qui est pris très tard, plus rarement après si c'est pour fêter un étranger. Tous s'assoient en rond. Chacun prend place suivant son ordre d'arrivée, de manière à alterner les hommes et les femmes. Lorsque tout le monde est là, on élit un président et une présidente, dont le rôle est de faire respecter les us et coutumes de l'*ahal*, et, par plaisan-

PL. XIII.

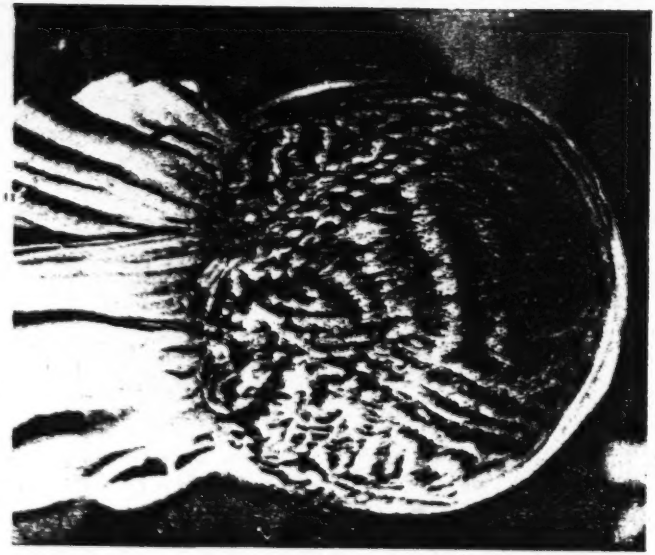


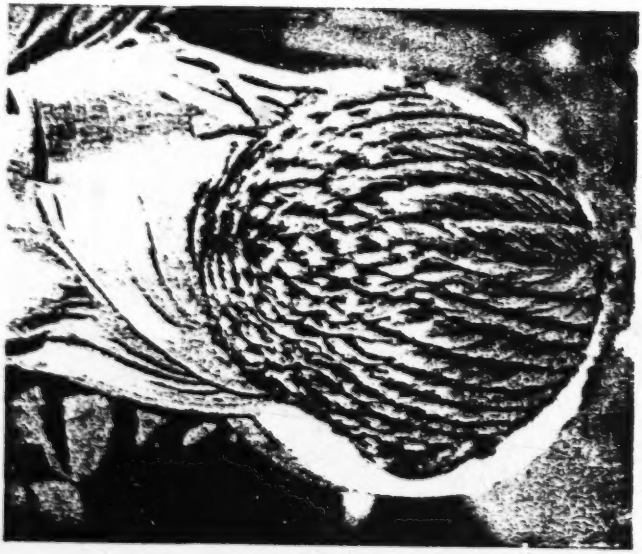
Chèvre de l'Ahaggar à longs poils. Cette espèce est localisée dans les massifs montagneux du Sahara central (Ahaggar, Aïr, Adrar des Iforas, Tibesti).

Le mouton daman ou mouton targui, très répandu dans la steppe sahélienne est assez commun dans l'Ahaggar, mais n'y est élevé qu'accessoirement. Bête très robuste, beaucoup de caravaniers en importent de l'Adrar des Iforas en leur faisant traverser le Tanezrouft. Il est caractérisé par ses longues pattes et sa longue queue.

[p. 288 A]

PL. XIV.





Types de coiffures portées par les hommes. Les cheveux sont tressés et ramenés en arrière, laissant le sommet de la tête découvert.

[p. 288 B]

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terie, d'infliger des gages à ceux qui s'attirent les récriminations des autres. Parfois, il n'est élu qu'une présidente, mais jamais un président seul.

La présence de plusieurs jeunes filles dans un campement suffit bien souvent pour qu'il s'y organise un *ahal* mêlé d'*asri*. Les jeunes gens des campements voisins y viennent, toujours vêtus de leurs vêtements d'apparat et certains font parfois des centaines de kilomètres pour assister à une réunion où ils savent trouver de jolies personnes et une distraction agréable. Alors une des assistantes joue du violon. Les sons sortent aigrelets, plaintifs, monotones, s'accordant bien avec le décor sauvage fait par la nature et les gens. Les hommes accentuent le rythme par des ho-ho cadencés chantés et finissant en sourdine. Et chacun plaisante, lance des gauloiseries, car la partie poétique est souvent d'une qualité fort douteuse, sinon faite de réparties plus ou moins grossières.

Puis le violon se tait, et les rires fusent de toutes parts ; hommes et femmes se font des attouchements très libres et se frottent le nez l'un contre l'autre, ce qui est la forme particulière du baiser targui. Ces réunions se terminent très tard dans la nuit, et chacun retourne à son campement, non sans s'être, par un langage spécial du jeu des mains, donné rendez-vous pour terminer d'une manière plus intime ces agapes amoureuses.

Les mœurs des jeunes filles sont, en effet, très licencieuses, au point que le Père de Foucauld affirmait qu'en tămâhak, le mot virginité n'existait pas [1]. « Il n'est pas question, dit d'autre part le Docteur Vermale, d'amener la jeune fille pure jusqu'à son mariage. Ce sont là des sentiments que les Touaregs ne comprennent pas. Aussi dès qu'elle est nubile, elle va à l'ahal et ne tarde pas à être déflorée. La virginité n'existe pas, n'a aucune valeur représentative aux yeux des Touaregs [2]. » En fait, les femmes sont plus ou moins faciles, certaines se donnent au premier venu, d'autres n'accordent leurs faveurs qu'à un petit groupe d'amis, mais les accorder à un seul serait jugé de très mauvais goût et comme un signe de perversion.

Personne ne trouve à redire à leur liberté de mœurs, à condition qu'elles ne se laissent courtiser que par des hommes de condition sociale égale à la leur. Certaines se laissent courtiser par des esclaves et cela est regardé pour elles comme une honte.

1. Dr Vermale, *Au Sahara pendant la guerre européenne*, p. 172.
2. Ouvr. cit., p. 171.

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On peut s'étonner qu'avec des mœurs si dissolues, les filles-mères ne soient pas plus nombreuses. Les habitudes restrictives sont couramment employées, et comme dit le Docteur Foley, l'*effusio seminis inter crura* serait la conclusion fréquente des rendez-vous nocturnes, après l'*ahal*[1]. Ces habitudes restrictives ne doivent pas être sans rapport avec la faible natalité des Touaregs et il est fort possible que mariée la femme touarègue continue à les pratiquer.

L'enfantement hors du mariage et le bâtard — *agama* — sont l'objet de la déconsidération publique. Les Touarègues pratiquent rarement l'avortement, mais auparavant les inanticides étaient fort nombreux et personne ne songeait à s'en offusquer. Lorsqu'une femme se trouve enceinte dans ces conditions, elle part ordinairement chez une parente et s'efforce de dissimuler sa grossesse. Personne n'est dupe, mais nul ne dit rien. Elle va voir un marabout qui, pour une assez forte somme, fait devant la pécheresse quelques signes mystérieux, écrit quelques mots en arabe sur une planchette, lave l'écriture et recueille dans une calebasse l'eau que la femme doit boire. Au cas où ces pratiques réussissent (?) une seconde somme identique à la première est versée. Sinon, la femme essaie plusieurs mixtures, généralement à base d'adjerdjir *cassia abavata* et, au cas où les résultats sont toujours négatifs, l'enfant est tout simplement étranglé lorsqu'il vient au monde. Si ces mœurs sont toujours plus ou moins en vigueur, elles semblent tant soit peu s'atténuer avec l'islamisation, et les mères dénaturées sont quelquefois sévèrement punies.

L'*ahal* semble avoir existé dans les anciennes tribus libyennes de l'Afrique du Nord. Hérodote a signalé la communauté des femmes chez les Nasamons, et l'*ahal* n'est en fait qu'une forme dérivée et, si l'on peut dire, évoluée.

Le mariage. — Avec l'existence de mœurs aussi faciles, on comprend que jeunes gens et jeunes filles ne tiennent pas à se marier de bonne heure, et il est rare que les femmes convolent avant 20 ans et les hommes avant 30 ans.

Si, comme nous l'avons vu, la jeune fille est libre de son corps, l'autorisation paternelle ne lui est pas moins nécessaire pour se marier, mais, par contre, il est rare qu'un mari lui soit imposé ou qu'elle soit mariée avant d'être nubile comme chez les Arabes.

1. *Mœurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar*, p. 56.

Les époux se choisissent dans les réunions amoureuses qui constituent une sorte de mariage à l'essai. Le prétendant doit faire sa demande au père de la jeune fille, par l'intermédiaire d'un de ses parents, ou bien par un personnage religieux s'il y en a un dans les environs.

Chez les Ihăggaren tout le monde est mis au courant de la demande, mais en Aïr, il n'en est pas de même et la mère de la jeune fille n'est prévenue, ainsi que la famille, que lorsque tout est arrangé. Si la femme a déjà été mariée, l'autorisation paternelle n'est plus nécessaire.

La dot — *taggalt* — à verser par le futur époux est alors fixée. Elle est généralement de sept chamelles chez les imochar, de moindre importance chez les imrad, où elle peut être constituée par des chameaux, des moutons et des chèvres, mais il n'est jamais donné d'ânes. Cette dot peut être versée en une ou plusieurs fois. Elle devient la propriété des parents de la jeune fille qui, à son tour, peut être dotée par eux.

Dans le mariage — *addoubâl* — la femme conserve la libre disposition de ses biens et elle ne subvient en aucune mesure aux besoins du ménage. Les frais de ceux-ci incombent entièrement au mari, si bien que par ce système, les fortunes féminines s'accroissent rapidement alors que celles des hommes restent stationnaires ou diminuent.

La question de la dot réglée, la date du mariage est fixée, quelquefois à quelques jours de la demande, d'autres fois à un an, voire même à deux, si la jeune fille est très jeune ; mais cette dernière coutume est surtout en usage dans les tribus du Soudan.

Les fêtes du mariage ont lieu au campement de la jeune fille et la consommation n'a lieu que le huitième jour. Les frères et les parents du fiancé viennent au campement des parents de la jeune fille où ils sont fêtés et où leur est offert un somptueux repas. Pendant les sept jours qui précèdent la consommation du mariage, le fiancé n'a pas le droit de venir au campement pendant la durée du soleil. Il se réfugie alors dans une tente à l'écart où ses amis lui tiennent compagnie et il porte pendant toute cette période le nom d'*anesdiben*.

Les divertissements qui accompagnent les fêtes du mariage consistent en une fantasia exécutée par les méharistes qui passent et repassent par groupes de deux ou quatre, devant le groupe des femmes, au milieu duquel est la fiancée ; les femmes jouent du tambourin et du violon accompagné de

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chants. Au Ăhaggar le chant du mariage se joue sur le rythme musical « aliouen », c'est-à-dire les oliviers. Cette coutume serait, d'après le Docteur Vermale, un reste de l'influence du paganisme ancien où l'olivier était l'arbre consacré à la déesse de l'amour [1].

Une tente neuve est préparée avec ses accessoires, nattes, cordes, piquets, également neufs. A l'intérieur, sur le côté gauche, on édifie un petit tertre de sable de forme ovalaire sur lequel devra avoir lieu la consommation. Par la suite, lorsque le campement est obligé de se déplacer, cet édifice est respecté et reste plusieurs mois en place.

Le septième jour, le père de la jeune fille fait ratifier le mariage par un marabout, et le soir la fiancée, qui est restée cachée toute la journée chez une parente, est conduite à la tente nuptiale, où l'a précédée le jeune homme, au milieu des femmes en procession jouant du tambourin.

Le lendemain, les jeunes gens se réunissent sous la tente des mariés, et ainsi pendant tous les jours de fêtes qui suivent le mariage. Cette réunion s'appelle : *tigedelsatin*.

Les nouveaux époux habitent le campement des parents de la jeune fille pendant un an. Cette institution du « temps de service » est signalée à plusieurs reprises dans l'Ancien Testament et était pratiquée chez les Hébreux. Elle implique que le fiancé doit résider dans sa future famille, ou tout près d'elle, pour une durée temporaire ou permanente. Cette coutume a pour conséquence de restreindre temporairement l'autorité maritale et de prendre des garanties pour que l'accoutumance se fasse et que la jeune femme soit bien traitée.

Si la nouvelle épousée a déjà été mariée, elle part le septième jour au campement de son mari, montée sur un chameau, accompagnée de ses amis et de ses serviteurs.

Dans le premier cas, une nouvelle fête a lieu un an après. Les hommes et les femmes appartenant au campement du mari s'en vont un soir au campement de la femme et simulent un enlèvement à main armée. Les méharistes qui se sont approchés en se dissimulant, se jettent alors au milieu des tentes en poussant des cris de guerre, auxquels répondent les cris de terreur des femmes du campement ; ils entourent la tente de la jeune femme et la réclament comme appartenant dorénavant à leur famille.

1. Vermale, ouv. cit., p. 175.

C'est alors l'occasion de nouveaux écarts gastronomiques, et le lendemain soir, la jeune femme enveloppée dans un grand châle blanc, accompagnée de ses parentes montées sur des ânes, s'en va, suivie des hommes montés à chameau, vers sa nouvelle demeure où elle est reçue par le chef et les vieilles femmes.

Pendant que les époux se réfugient sous leur tente, l'assistance ripaille et danse, et la fête commencée au coucher du soleil, ne s'arrête que le lendemain au petit jour, lorsque tous les assistants sont épuisés.

La jeune femme est alors entrée dans sa nouvelle famille, qu'elle ne quittera qu'en cas de divorce ou de mort de son mari et, en attendant, elle n'aura pas le droit d'aller rendre visite à ses parents, mais ceux-ci pourront venir à son campement.

Dans le mariage, les femmes touarègues conservent une grande indépendance. Il est difficile de savoir si elles sont des épouses fidèles ou si elles profitent des absences souvent prolongées de leurs maris pour se mal conduire. Suivant les uns (Duveyrier), leur conduite est exemplaire ; suivant d'autres (de Foucauld, Vermale), elle laisserait grandement à désirer, et les épouses continueraient à pratiquer les mœurs légères apprises à l'*ahal*. « Leur unique préoccupation, dit le Docteur Vermale, c'est l'amour, avoir des amants, voilà leur seul but. » Il est certain que les anciens amants des réunions galantes continuent à venir rendre visite à la femme mariée, à vanter ses charmes dans les *ahal* ; mais il fait préciser que le mari ne s'en montre pas jaloux, ce qui serait du plus mauvais goût, et que cette cour serait toute platonique. Il est très difficile d'enquêter à ce sujet, car les Touaregs, soucieux de la réputation de leurs femmes, prétendent à leur irréprochabilité.

Quant aux hommes, leur conduite est convenable dans leur campement, encore que certains n'hésitent pas à user de leurs esclaves ; mais lors des caravanes, une fois arrivés dans les centres, loin de leur pays, ils donnent libre cours à leur fougue qu'une longue abstinence a rendu plus impétueuse.

L'adultère — *aker* — de la femme est souvent puni de mort, c'est-à-dire que l'homme rend sa justice lui-même sans que personne ne songe à le lui reprocher, tuant les coupables de sa main.

La femme touarègue, très indépendante, a très mauvais

caractère et de plus est souvent très jalouse. A la moindre inconduite de son mari, elle retourne chez ses parents, et ne réintègre le foyer conjugal qu'après une compensation matérielle. De son côté, l'homme est violent et cela provoque souvent des dissentiments dans les ménages.

Empêchements au mariage. — Les cas d'empêchements au mariage sont identiques à ceux fixés par le droit musulman. Il est interdit de se marier avec ses proches, avec sa nourrice ou avec l'enfant de sa nourrice, ou avec une femme ayant été nourrie du même lait féminin que soi-même.

Les alliances entre imochar et imrad sont très rares, car l'imochar qui épouse une femme de la classe vassale fait perdre à ses enfants les droits liés à son rang.

Les femmes nobles et vassales acceptent de s'unir à des Arabes, surtout s'ils sont marabouts, à condition toutefois qu'ils respectent la monogamie, se plient aux mœurs touarègues et s'engagent à habiter au campement de la femme. Les Touaregs n'épousent que très rarement des femmes arabes.

Le divorce. — La séparation n'existe pour ainsi dire pas chez les Touaregs qui usent du divorce, sans toutefois en abuser ; il est admis par le Coran et n'est pas sujet à l'opprobre. La femme touarègue peut demander le divorce, alors que chez les Arabes la femme ne le peut pas. C'est beaucoup plus souvent la femme qui le provoque que l'homme. Les raisons invoquées par la femme sont généralement les mauvais traitements de son mari, l'insuffisance d'entretien, le détournement d'animaux, l'inconduite, ce qui est un motif plus rare, et parfois le non-paiement du reliquat de la dot.

L'homme invoque le plus ordinairement l'inconduite, l'infécondité de sa femme, la contestation de dot ou d'animaux, l'incompatibilité d'humeur, très souvent la mésentente entre la femme et ses beaux-parents.

Quelques maladies, comme la lèpre, peuvent être l'occasion de divorce.

Les divorces se passent rarement sans histoire, et si une femme veut quitter son mari, tous les motifs lui sont bons. Le fait de se refuser est un cas de divorce, mais l'opprobre est alors jeté sur la femme qui trouve ensuite rarement à se remarier. L'homme n'a qu'à dire à sa femme : « Je te renvoie chez tes parents, » pour que le mariage soit rompu ; mais le plus

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



souvent, il dissimule son jeu et envoie sa femme pour quelques jours dans sa famille. Il délègue alors une vieille femme de son campement aux parents de sa femme pour leur annoncer la rupture du mariage.

Si c'est le mari qui a provoqué le divorce, la dot reste la propriété des parents de la femme, mais dans tous les cas, les enfants restent la propriété du père.

La femme ne peut se remarier avant trois mois et dix jours. Cette retraite obligatoire pour les femmes, qui est prescrite par le Coran, porte en langue touarègue le nom d'*ettef*, ou d'*elloud-det* et les femmes elles-mêmes, pendant cette période, sont désignées sous le nom de *tananleft*. Cette période terminée, ses parents et les gens de son campement organisent une petite fête qui est l'annonce que la femme reprend la vie de « liberté de mœurs ».

Beaucoup de femmes ne veulent pas tenir cette retraite, et pour y échapper, elles se déchargent sur un arbre appelé en tămâhak *agar* (Maerua crassifolia). Elles s'adressent à l'arbre comme s'il s'agissait d'une personne, et lui disent : « Agar, décharge-moi de ma retraite qui me pèse trop, prends-en la charge, » et elles déposent au pied de l'arbre, en guise d'offrande, de la poudre d'antimoine, un peu de parfum, un fragment de tissu qui synthétisent les attributs de la femme en état d'*asri*. Puis elles reprennent, sans attendre davantage, la vie de liberté de mœurs.

Si le mari veut reprendre sa femme répudiée, un nouveau mariage est nécessaire et une nouvelle dot, moins importante que la première, doit être payée aux parents de la femme.

Le meurtre. — Le meurtre chez les Touaregs est assez rare. Il est puni de la peine du talion lorsqu'il a été prémédité, et par une compensation matérielle dans les autres cas. La vendetta, autrefois commune chez les Touaregs, a disparu pour faire place à la « dia » ou impôt du sang. La coutume exigeait quelquefois que l'assassin fût remis à la famille de la victime, mais s'il n'était pas connu, la djema, ou assemblée de notables, décidait un homme de la tribu qui allait se constituer prisonnier à sa place. Il n'y a pas d'exemple qu'en pareil cas, l'otage fût mis à mort. Les cas graves étaient ordinairement jugés par l'Aménokal qui était aidé par quatre assesseurs, pris deux par deux, dans chacun des partis.

Le suicide. — Le suicide est aussi rare que le meurtre chez les Touaregs. Lorsqu'il s'en produit, le suicidé est abandonné sur le terrain, sans sépulture, et le campement est levé et abandonné pour toujours. Le Coran réprouve le suicide et les Touaregs considèrent le suicidé comme s'il n'avait jamais existé, et l'on ne doit plus jamais en parler.

Il est reproché deux crimes au suicidé : celui de s'être supprimé, ce qui n'est pas permis à un être humain qui doit sa vie à Dieu, et celui d'avoir offensé Dieu en cette circonstance.

L'âme du suicidé ne peut trouver refuge, et vagabonde sans cesse. Elle aime à revenir à l'endroit où elle a quitté son enveloppe mortelle, et les gens prétendent qu'on peut l'entendre le soir à proximité, et qu'elle fait tant de bruit qu'il est impossible de dormir.

La mort. — Les Touaregs ne craignent pas la mort. Lorsque l'un d'eux se voit mourir, il réunit les siens autour de lui, fait ses dernières recommandations, puis, conformément aux principes religieux qu'il a peut-être négligés au cours de son existence, mais qu'il se rappelle au moment suprême, il prononce la « Fatika », ou s'il n'en a pas la force, il lève l'index de la main droite, et rend le dernier soupir.

Le corps est aussitôt lavé à l'eau tiède et enveloppé dans un linceul, dans lequel sont introduits des aromates, pendant que les esclaves vont creuser la tombe sur une éminence avoisinante. La fosse comprend une petite tranchée à deux étages comme celle des Arabes. Le corps est transporté sur une espèce de brancard et conduit au lieu de sépulture porté par quatre hommes, la tête en avant ; il est ensuite déposé sur le flanc droit, la face tournée dans la direction de La Mecque.

Un marabout ou un lettré lit la prière musulmane et les hommes, se tenant debout derrière lui, les mains accolées et ouvertes à hauteur de la poitrine, la répètent avec lui. Les femmes ne participent pas à l'enterrement.

Les tombes touarègues modernes portent des pierres témoins — *chouabed* — une aux pieds et une à la tête pour les hommes, une à la tête et deux aux pieds pour les femmes. Elles sont de forme ovale et le tertre est légèrement en dôme ; elles comportent généralement un entourage de pierre formant couloir avec une avancée ouverte à l'est. On trouve souvent des piquets de bois, ou des piquets de tente enfoncés aux deux extrémités, ainsi que de grosses billes de quartz hialin, qui,

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



d'après les Touaregs, ont servi à frotter le corps du mort avant de l'ensevelir. Dans bien des endroits où il existe des hyènes, comme au Soudan, la tombe est généralement recouverte de branches d'épineux pour les empêcher de déterrer le mort.

Après l'enterrement, les personnes venues pour la circonstance, présentent leurs condoléances à la famille qui leur fait servir un repas en souvenir du mort.

Les vêtements du mort sont remis au marabout ou à la personne qui l'a lavé.

Puis le campement est immédiatement levé et les gens ne reviennent jamais camper à cet endroit.

Le deuil existe chez les Touaregs. Il est de courte durée pour l'homme qui a perdu sa femme. Pendant trois jours, il reste enfermé dans sa tente. Pendant ce temps les *ahal* et toutes les réjouissances sont interdites au campement. Pour la femme qui a perdu son mari, c'est une véritable retraite qui dure quatre mois et dix jours pendant lesquels elle ne doit pas paraître en public. La fin de la retraite est marquée par une petite cérémonie : les femmes du campement emmènent la veuve voir le lever du soleil, lui présentent un livre pieux ouvert et lui font voir du sel.

Les Touaregs ne s'apitoient jamais sur la mort d'une personne et les condoléances ont souvent cette formule : « Tu es heureux, celui que tu as aimé est maintenant dans le paradis de Dieu. »

# CHAPITRE II

## CULTES ANCIENS, RELIGIONS ET CROYANCES DES TOUAREGS

Les Touaregs sont aujourd'hui musulmans, mais leur islamisation est très superficielle et relativement récente. Si, comme tous les nouveaux convertis, ils s'efforcent de dissimuler leurs croyances anciennes, il n'en est pas moins vrai que celles-ci ont laissé des traces encore visibles chez eux. Depuis quelques années, ils mettent un point d'honneur à se dire bons disciples du Prophète et tentent même de s'attribuer une origine chérifienne, si bien qu'il est très difficile d'obtenir d'eux le moindre éclaircissement sur leur ancienne religion.

Quelles furent ces anciennes croyances ? Idolâtrie ou fétichisme ? Nous ne pouvons, à ce sujet, qu'interpréter des faits qui resteront toujours très vagues, car, comme dit Gautier, les Touaregs sont suffisamment islamisés pour avoir perdu toute curiosité de leur propre passé préislamique.

Cultes préhistoriques et protohistoriques. — Si nous examinons de près les gravures et les peintures rupestres découvertes ces dernières années au Sahara central, nous y trouvons un certain nombre d'éléments susceptibles de nous donner une idée sur les croyances de ses anciens habitants. Peut-être n'y a-t-il entre ces derniers et les Touaregs aucun rapport, ce qui est vraisemblable, mais on peut admettre aussi qu'il y ait eu, à travers les siècles, des points de contact communs qui ont laissé des traces dans les différents peuples ayant habité les régions qui nous intéressent.

Dans les gravures précamelines, antérieures à la période des bovidés, le caractère totémique est accusé par plusieurs personnages à tête zoomorphe (dogue, chien) et à queue postiche, qui rappellent tout à la fois la figuration des vieux dieux de l'ancienne Égypte et les déguisements rituels encore en usage chez les nègres de l'Afrique. Il peut s'agir, soit de déguisements appropriés, utilisés pour la chasse afin de pouvoir

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approcher plus facilement le gibier, soit de personnages portant des masques dans un but religieux. On peut affirmer, en tous cas, qu'à la même époque, le culte de la fécondation était en honneur, à en croire les nombreuses gravures à caractère érotique. Enfin, on peut encore ajouter que la magie était pratiquée vis-à-vis de certains animaux, antilopes, hippopotames, dont les reproductions sont souvent associées à des signes cabalistiques, spirale double, ou appendice entre les cornes rappelant l'urae des Égyptiens. Plusieurs statuettes en pierre, vraisemblablement d'âge néolithique, ont été trouvées à Tit, Tazerouk (Ăhaggar), à Tabelbalet (Tassili) ; elles représentaient des animaux, bélier ou bovidé, chouette, qui furent certainement l'objet d'idolâtrie.

Dans l'étage dit des bovidés, on peut faire des observations identiques. Plusieurs bœufs portent des disques entre les cornes, ou bien une petite boucle rappelant un nœud coulant. Peut-être ces gravures sont-elles en rapport avec le culte du bélier qui fut très en faveur en Afrique septentrionale et en particulier dans l'oasis d'Ammon, lequel culte semble avoir été remplacé au Sahara central par celui du bœuf. Cet animal était encore honoré comme un dieu chez les Berbères sous le nom de Doul Korneïn, et les Peuls du Soudan ne séparent pas leur vie mystique de leurs bovidés. Nous devons préciser qu'aucune croyance semblable n'a été retrouvée chez les Touaregs.

Les peintures rupestres qui sont, dans l'ensemble, plus récentes que les plus anciennes gravures, nous donnent également quelques indications à retenir. Près de Djanet, un grand panneau peint représente une série de femmes plus ou moins stéatopyges, dansant au milieu d'un cercle de personnages tapant des mains, alors que de son côté, un homme portant un masque surmonté de cornes — un sorcier ou un porteur de masque des ancêtres — entre à son tour dans la danse. C'est exactement la reproduction des scènes magiques que nous voyons chez les Soudanais où périodiquement des danses sont organisées auxquelles participent les masques des ancêtres familiaux. Le vestige de ces danses s'est même maintenu dans l'oasis de Djanet où chaque année, à l'occasion de la fête de la « zébiba », certains individus se revêtent d'oripeaux et de masques surmontés de cornes. A Mertoûtek, on peut voir également un grand personnage peint au fond d'une conque ressemblant à un autel, dont la tête est surmontée

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d'un énorme disque qui doit avoir un caractère religieux. Enfin, de nombreuses petites figurations humaines sont acéphales, ce qui d'après plusieurs savants, en particulier Gautier, doit être interprété comme un interdit se rapportant à la tête et dont le port du voile, chez les Touaregs, serait une réminiscence.

Rappelons également l'existence en pays targui de nombreux disques de grand diamètre en pierre, qui seraient d'anciens autels destinés à un culte solaire (Gautier) et de nombreux tombeaux païens où les corps reposent dans la position fœtale, coutume à caractère religieux qui était répandue dans toute l'Afrique du Nord et dans l'Égypte prépharaonique.

Religion des anciens Libyens. — Sur la religion des anciens Libyens nous n'avons que très peu de renseignements, la plupart laissés par Hérodote. Cet auteur nous dit que les Nasamons vénéraient les tombeaux des ancêtres, de ceux qui passaient pour avoir été les plus justes et les meilleurs, et ils juraient par eux en allant toucher leurs tombeaux (CLXXII). Les Ammoniens, ceux de l'oasis d'Ammon, pratiquaient le culte du bélier, ce qui devait être un emprunt fait à Thèbes où Zeus, le dieu de cette localité, était représenté par un personnage humain à figure de bélier (CLXXXI). Les Auses vénéraient la divinité Athéna, fille de Poséidon et de la *limmé* Tritonis (CLXXX). Quant aux Atlantes, dont la renommée de sagesse était très grande, ils ne faisaient point de rêves (c'est-à-dire qu'ils ne pratiquaient pas les oracles comme la plupart des peuples méditerranéens) et ne mangeaient rien de ce qui a eu vie (CLXXXIV), ce qui peut être interprété comme un vestige de totémisme. Hérodote nous dit encore que tous les Libyens nomades qui vivaient depuis l'Égypte jusqu'au lac Tritonis, et qui se nourrissaient de viande et de lait, imitaient les Égyptiens et s'abstenaient de manger de la vache et du porc et que leurs femmes suivaient également cette règle, par respect pour Isis, la déesse égyptienne (CLXXXVI). Tous sacrifiaient à la lune et au soleil. Ceux du lac Triton, à Athéna, ensuite à Triton et à Poséidon (CLXXXVIII).

Au IIIe siècle avant J.-C., les Massyles, nation numide, adoraient, dit-on, Cronos, et lui offraient des victimes humaines [1].

L'auteur byzantin, Corripus, nous dit d'autre part que les

1. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, t. IV, p. 289.

Louata et les Hoouara professaient le paganisme. Ils se représentaient la divinité sous la forme d'un taureau qui était la souche d'autres dieux indigènes ayant aussi la forme de jeunes taureaux. L'un portait le nom de Gurzil. Ils avaient des idoles sacrées, dont ils criaient le nom pendant les combats et ces idoles étaient, à la veille des combats, arrosées du sang des sacrifices.

Christianisation. — On a beaucoup parlé de l'ancienne christianisation des Touaregs. Duveyrier, en particulier, a attribué à l'influence du Christianisme la situation élevée de la femme dans la société touarègue. Il a voulu voir la même influence dans l'existence d'un certain nombre de mots latins d'origine religieuse dans le tămâhak, ainsi que dans les motifs décoratifs de certains objets où la croix est souvent représentée (sur les boucliers des guerriers, dans les pommeaux des selles, dans les poignées des poignards et des épées, dans une petite pendeloque portée au cou par les femmes).

D'ailleurs Duveyrier n'a pas été le seul à abonder dans ce sens ; il n'y a qu'à regarder la gravure donnée par Barth (T. I-II, n° 12) représentant un méhariste targui où la croix de la selle et celle du bouclier sont nettement chrétiennes. Un tel document, qui n'a aucun rapport avec la réalité, est bien fait pour propager une croyance basée plutôt sur l'imagination que sur les faits.

Il faudrait examiner auparavant ce que fut la véritable situation du christianisme en Afrique du Nord où il s'implanta dans les premières années de l'ère chrétienne. Dès son introduction, la religion nouvelle fit de grands progrès ; beaucoup d'évêques furent créés qui portèrent la foi nouvelle de la Mauritanie césarienne à la Byzacène, atteignant les Hauts-Plateaux et jusqu'aux Chotts Djérid. D'après Tertullien, non seulement toute l'Afrique proconsulaire était chrétienne, mais encore toute la région des Syrtes et certaines tribus gétules également. Mais le Père Mesnage, à qui l'on doit d'importants travaux sur le Christianisme en Afrique, s'est demandé avec juste raison si les ministres du culte veillaient suffisamment sur la qualité des nouvelles recrues. Le spectacle donné en particulier par la communauté de Carthage en 250, lors de la persécution de Dèce, a été vraiment lamentable, et ce fut par milliers que se comptèrent les apostats. Les Numides, en se convertissant au Christianisme, adop-

taient la religion du vainqueur, ou toutefois semblaient s'y convertir, car la masse était restée païenne. Que penser alors des tribus nomades qui échappèrent toujours aux maîtres de l'Afrique du Nord ? Dans une lettre écrite à Hésychius, évêque de Salone en Dalmatie, saint Augustin disait « que l'Évangile n'avait pas été prêché chez les barbares et que, quant aux nations plus reculées qui ne reconnaissaient nullement la puissance romaine, elles n'appartenaient à la religion chrétienne par aucun de ceux qui la composent » (lettre n° 199).

En parlant des Berbères évangélisés, saint Grégoire disait d'autre part que beaucoup étaient restés païens et continuaient à adorer les pierres et les arbres [1].

Par contre, Procope nous dit que vers 548, sous l'empereur Justinien, les Nasamons de Rhâdamès se convertirent et qu'en 569 les Garamantes du Fezzan conclurent un traité de paix avec l'Empire et se convertirent également. « Jamais la foi, dit le Père Mesnage, n'avait eu une telle extension en Afrique. La conversion de ces nouveaux peuples étendait l'influence de l'Église ou de l'Empire assez profondément vers l'intérieur de l'Afrique. Mais était-elle solide ? La propagande religieuse a été de longtemps une des formes favorites de l'expansion byzantine. Il s'ensuivait que les conversions qu'elle provoquait étaient surtout politiques, *se faisaient sans instruction catéchistique préalable*, par conséquent sans conviction de la part des convertis. Elle ne durait, hélas, qu'autant que les intérêts politiques restaient en accord avec les intérêts personnels [2]. »

L'auteur arabe Ibn Khaldoun, au XIVe siècle, disait, en parlant de l'islamisation des Berbères Sanhadja, que ce peuple païen n'avait jamais adopté la religion chrétienne.

Il semble donc peu probable que les Touaregs aient jamais été chrétiens. Rien dans leurs mœurs actuelles n'en trahit la moindre trace. La croix retrouvée sur les boucliers, sur les armes, sur les objets de sellerie, dans les bijoux, n'a aucun caractère typiquement chrétien ; elle est un motif décoratif que l'on retrouve dans l'ornementation usitée parmi les populations qui n'ont rien à voir avec le christianisme. Seuls, les mots latins introduits dans la langue tāmâhak peuvent indi-

1. S. Grégoire, IV, 23, 27 ; VIII, *loc. cit.* Mésnage, *Le Christianisme en Afrique*, t. I, p. 75.
2. *Le Christianisme en Afrique*, t. II, p. 72.

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quer que les Touaregs ont dû être en rapports plus ou moins éloignés avec les populations chrétiennes, mais ne peuvent, à eux seuls, attester leur ancienne christianisation.

Le judaïsme. — Si le christianisme n'a certainement fait qu'effleurer les Berbères de l'Afrique du Nord et par contrecoup les nomades sahariens, il en est peut-être tout autrement du Judaïsme. En effet, les Juifs s'installèrent de bonne heure en Afrique du Nord où était alors professé le paganisme et firent beaucoup d'adeptes parmi les populations berbères. Des tribus entières s'étaient converties et au moment où le christianisme vint s'implanter à son tour, il trouva devant lui de nombreux éléments tant judaïques que judaïsés. La position des sectateurs d'Israël se trouva sans cesse fortifiée par l'arrivée continuelle de nouveaux sujets venus d'Égypte. Si bien que quelques années plus tard, sous l'Empire Byzantin, leur influence fut tellement grande aussi bien dans le domaine culturel que politique, qu'elle porta ombrage aux autorités établies et que l'empereur Justinien entreprit de les chasser. Beaucoup s'enfuirent alors à l'intérieur du continent et se réfugièrent même au Sahara, où ils formèrent des collectivités nombreuses et actives. C'est ainsi, comme nous l'avons déjà signalé, que se forma un état juif au Touat.

Lorsque les Arabes se présentèrent à leur tour en Afrique du Nord, ils y trouvèrent eux aussi de nombreux éléments juifs. Ce fut l'occasion de persécutions violentes, d'un nouvel exode et beaucoup de collectivités israélites furent contraintes d'embrasser l'islamisme.

Au XVe siècle, il existait encore des Juifs au Sahara, lesquels disparurent en tant qu'israélites sous la poussée des conquérants musulmans qui les abhorraient, et ils durent se fondre dans les populations de la boucle du Niger.

Il semble que les tribus réunies autour de la Kahéna pour défendre l'indépendance des Berbères étaient judaïsées. Le nom même de l'héroïne de l'Aurès, la Kahéna, est de consonance juive et viendrait de l'hébreu cohen : prêtre, ce qui voudrait dire : la prêtresse.

Le Père Mesnage a signalé que parmi les Haouara, plusieurs fractions étaient judaïsées, en particulier celle des Herreneha, aujourd'hui fixée au nord-est de l'Aurès [1].

Nous avons dit par ailleurs que le type juif se retrouvait

1. *Le Christianisme en Afrique*, t. III, pp. 95-107.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



dans certains éléments touaregs de la boucle du Niger, que l'étoile de Salomon décorait souvent certains objets utilisés par eux et que la légende attribue une origine juive aux artisans.

Islamisme. — D'après les récits arabes, l'islamisation des Touaregs, et en particulier de ceux de l'Ahaggar, aurait été menée par Abd Allah Ed-Djafar, lieutenant de Sidi Okba ben Nafi (mort en 683), dont deux compagnons seraient morts près du petit village d'Hirhafok, exactement à Tiokine, où leurs tombes seraient encore l'objet d'une certaine vénération.

Dans les légendes, les indigènes prétendent même que Sidi Okba fut tué par un Targui (Koceïlata), confondant ainsi leur histoire avec celles des gens de l'Aurès et des Kounta Dag Ech Cheikh qui se disent les descendants de Sidi Okba, expliquant de cette manière la haine ancestrale qui existe entre eux et les Touaregs. Preuve est pourtant faite que Sidi Okba ben Nafi n'a jamais pénétré au Sahara, mais peut-être s'agit-il d'une confuson de noms ou d'un homonyme.

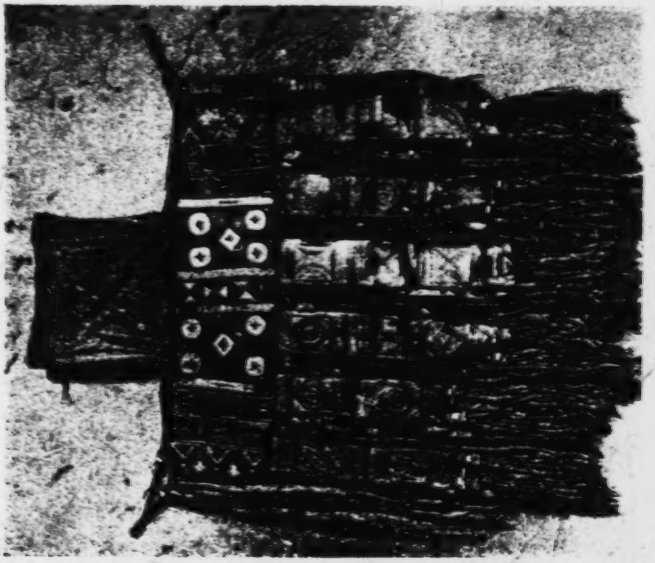
Le passage de ces premiers islamisateurs serait attesté, en plus des tombes de Tiokine, par l'inscription rupestre de T-i-m-missao peinte au plafond d'une grotte, qui a été signalée pour la première fois par Duveyrier et relevée par M. Benhazéra [1].

Il ne faut pas croire que les Touaregs adoptèrent d'emblée l'islamisme, car s'ils acceptèrent le Coran pour guide de leur loi religieuse, ils n'abdiquèrent rien de leurs mœurs ni de leurs anciennes coutumes païennes. Les Arabes prétendent même qu'ils apostasièrent jusqu'à quatorze fois, et encore aujourd'hui, ils les considèrent comme de bien tièdes musulmans. De plus, ils auraient appartenu longtemps à la secte hérétique des Ouahabites à laquelle ils se rallièrent, ce qui était une façon comme une autre de s'insurger contre les vainqueurs.

Ils sont peu instruits dans la religion, sont incapables de lire le Coran, sauf quelques-uns, chez les Taïtok, par exemple, ou dans la tribu soudanaise des Kel es Souq. Il y a chez eux très peu de marabouts et ceux qui y sont, à quelques exceptions près, y vivent par intérêt dans un esprit par-dessus tout mercantile. Il n'existe chez les Touaregs ni *imam*, ni *mufti* et

1. *Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar*, pp. 205-208. Depuis, cette inscription a fait l'objet d'une étude détaillée de Th. Monod, *Journal des Africanistes*, t. VIII, fasc. 1, 1938, pp. 83-95.

PL. XV.



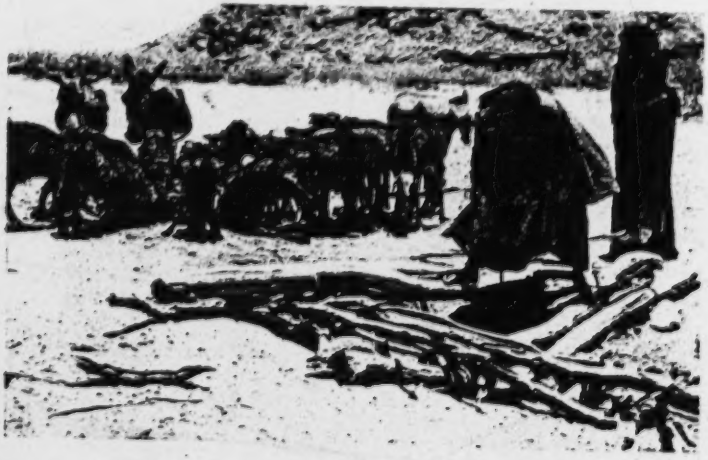
Sac en peau de chèvre servant aux femmes pour le transport de leurs vêtements personnels. Le décor très fin est obtenu par découpage de la peau et application de cuir brodé.

Vieille femme noble de la tribu des Kel Rela tissant un sac avec des fils en poils de chèvre.

Cp.304 A]

PL. XVI.

Installés dans des campements sommaires les forgerons travaillent en plein air confectionnant les armes et les ustensiles nécessaires aux Touaregs.



Les femmes des imrads s'occupent de faire paître et abreuver les troupeaux. Tous les deux ou trois jours elles se rendent aux puits, tirent l'eau pour les chèvres qui boivent dans des écuelles en bois ou dans des peaux formant récipient placées sur un monticule de sable en forme de cuvette. Elles remplissent les outres qui seront transportées au campement par les ânes.

[p. 304 B]

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



les mosquées sont réduites à de simples lieux de prières formés d'un alignement de pierres.

Beaucoup de Touaregs ne suivent pas les prescriptions coraniques et certains chefs, il y a quelques années, s'en reposaient sur les marabouts « pour faire leurs prières à leur place ! » Ceux qui pratiquent le font avec ostentation. Un grand nombre sont affiliés à des ordres religieux, mais ignorent généralement la signification des rites. C'est ainsi qu'au milieu du XIXe siècle, la confrérie des Tidjanyia fut puissante chez eux. La majorité d'entre ceux que l'explorateur Foureau rencontra au cours de ses voyages dans le Tassili en faisaient partie, mais il signale qu'il y avait aussi quelques Kadryia ; le chef In Guéddassen et un certain nombre de nobles de la région de Rhât étaient senoussistes. Tant que les Oulad Sidi Cheikh, qui étaient les plus importants éléments des Tidjanyia, combattirent la France, la majorité des Touaregs resta attachée à cette confrérie, mais ensuite beaucoup se rallièrent au Senoussisme. Les principaux représentants des Tidjanyia en pays targui étaient les Ifôras du Tassili dont la Zaouia de Témaçinine avait été fondée par l'un d'eux, El Hadj el Foki. Son fils Moussa acquit une très grande renommée de sainteté et c'est ainsi que son tombeau, situé près de la petite palmeraie, est honoré par tous les Touaregs du Nord.

Les Touaregs de l'Ădrar des Ifôras sont affiliés aux Kadryia et ont reçu l'ouerd de Cheikh Bay, ancien marabout Kounta de Teleya, mort il y a quelques années et dont la renommée s'étend sur tout le Sahara. Chez les Ioullimmiden, certaines tribus sont Kadryia (Kel es Souq), d'autres Tidjanyia (Daoussahak).

La tiédeur religieuse des Touaregs est telle qu'ils ne professent pas toujours un grand respect pour les marabouts et que bien peu font le pèlerinage de La Mecque. Lorsque Duveyrier fit son voyage à Rhât (1860) il y avait une trentaine de pèlerins chez les Touaregs du Nord [1] ; à l'heure actuelle, il n'y aurait que trois hommes parmi les Ihăggaren qui peuvent s'honorer du titre d'El Hadj.

Mais cette tiédeur n'exclut pas toujours le fanatisme. Barth signalait déjà qu'au cours de son voyage, il avait eu à lui faire face, et qu'il avait été assailli de questions et avait dû discuter avec certains Touaregs des différents dogmes religieux, ce dont il se tira par une parfaite connaissance du Coran et des mœurs

1. *Ouv. cit.*, p. 412.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



musulmanes. Leur ignorance religieuse en fait, en même temps, des instruments faciles entre les mains des marabouts qui en ont souvent profité pour attiser la haine du chrétien et les pousser à la guerre sainte, comme ce fut le cas pour les révoltes de 1915-1916-1917 ; malgré les échecs cuisants qui s'ensuivirent, leur confiance dans leurs thaumaturges ne fut aucunement diminuée.

A l'heure actuelle, il existe plusieurs écoles coraniques dans l'Ăhaggar tenues par des marabouts arabes, installées dans les centres de culture, et surtout fréquentées par les enfants des Harratines, car les enfants des Touaregs qui restent dans les campements de leurs parents, ne peuvent y aller du fait de leur éloignement. Une famille de marabout originaire des Cheurfa d'Aoulef (Tidikelt) s'est installée il y a une quarantaine d'années dans l'Ăhaggar et jouit d'une grande vénération. Elle était fixée, il n'y a pas longtemps, dans le petit centre de Dar-Mouli qu'elle mettait en valeur, mais, par suite de la sécheresse du lieu, elle s'est transportée à Esselissekine où tous les ans a lieu une grande fête d'aumônes à laquelle se rendent tous les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar. Son chef actuel, Moulay el Ouafi ben Moulay abd Allah, quoique encore tout jeune, est un exemple de piété et est entouré d'un grand respect.

En parlant de l'islamisation des Touaregs, Henri Basset a dit que ces derniers n'avaient presque rien pris à l'Islam, sauf parfois le Coran comme amulette, mais qu'ils en avaient retenu le fatalisme [1]. Beaucoup d'auteurs se plaisent à signaler aussi leur vernis plus que superficiel en matière d'islamisme.

Il ne faut pas, malgré tout, exagérer le degré d'irreligion des Touaregs, et depuis l'occupation française, l'action des marabouts qui traversent leur pays en commerçant, se fait lentement, mais sûrement. L'état de léthargie dans lequel les a jetés la suppression de leur vie de brigandage, les pousse petit à petit vers la religion et il devient de plus en plus courant de voir de jeunes nobles tuer le temps en psalmodiant devant une planchette coranique.

La superstition est très forte chez eux ; ils n'ont pas réussi à se dégager de leurs croyances anciennes et portent sur eux quantités d'amulettes qui ont souvent une origine païenne (patte de chacal, tête de lézard, peau d'hyène, etc...).

Conjointement on observe dans certaines familles nobles

1. *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, p. 388.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



qu'à côté des saints orthodoxes, on invoque des personnages mystérieux qui ne peuvent être que de vieux petits dieux mal éliminés [1], et le Père de Foucauld a retrouvé dans les vieilles légendes de l'Ăhaggar, les noms de certains d'entre eux : Tamârès, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Ouerdaz, Noulana, Radès. Les Ihăggaren les invoquaient autrefois pour exaucer leurs désirs, mais aujourd'hui ces personnages sont tombés dans l'oubli, et seules quelques personnes âgées se souviennent encore de leur nom [2].

Certains Touaregs pratiquent scrupuleusement le jeûne, et les différentes fêtes musulmanes sont maintenant suivies ponctuellement. Mais à côté de cela, ils conservent l'ahal, la monogamie et le matriarcat.

Survivances païennes. — Dix siècles d'islamisme n'ont pas complètement débarrassé les Touaregs de leurs croyances anciennes. Ils croient encore à l'existence d'un monde animé, peuplé d'éléments agissant visiblement ou invisiblement, habitant les minéraux, les végétaux, les eaux, etc.... Certes, ces croyances s'estompent, s'amenuisent, perdent de leur intensité, mais les Touaregs vivent encore avec elles, au point, comme dans nos campagnes, de pratiquer certains rites.

Leur crédulité en matière surnaturelle dépasse tout ce que l'on peut imaginer. Ils croient aux génies — *alhinnen* ou *imdounen* — dont ils peuplent les montagnes, les sources, les endroits escarpés, certains arbres, et s'en protègent par le port de nombreux talismans qu'ils vont quémander aux marabouts, ou par la pratique de l'exorcisation. Les femmes, à ce sujet, sont encore plus crédules que les hommes. Elles consultent les morts en allant prier près des tombeaux et en leur demandant des nouvelles des absents.

Les cultes pétrographiques sont encore très vivaces chez les Touaregs. Ils croient certaines pierres hantées, et pour se concilier les esprits, placent à proximité des ex-voto sous forme de cailloux. C'est ainsi qu'au passage de certains cols, de certains sentiers inévitables, on rencontre souvent d'énormes tas de pierres imitant des tumuli, ou bien encore de multiples petits tas placés de part et d'autre de certaines pistes chamelières. Certaines tombes anciennes sont l'objet d'un culte très particulier, telle celle de Tazerouk, découverte il y a quelques

1. Gautier, *La conquête du Sahara*, cit. Vermale, *ouv. cit.*, p. 184.
2. Cit. Vermale, *ouv. cit.*, p. 184.

années par le Capitaine Niéger. Cette tombe sur laquelle reposaient plusieurs statuettes de pierre, des haches polies, de nombreux objets néolithiques, était encore fréquentée ces dernières années, jusqu'au moment où elle fut fouillée par les Français. Les Touaregs s'en défendent, naturellement, mais la découverte d'objets déposés là récemment (fragments de tissus, perles, etc...) l'atteste. Les statuettes de pierre représentaient les Tibaradines, c'est-à-dire les fillettes, lesquelles étaient censément une femme de haute naissance et sa servante, qui avaient été transformées en pierre à la demande qu'en avait faite à Dieu la maîtresse pour échapper à un rezzi qui venait piller son campement. Mais ce rezzi passé, Dieu maintint les femmes à l'état de pierre, malgré leurs prières et c'est pour que la vie leur soit rendue que les Touaregs venaient déposer des objets divers à chaque fois qu'ils passaient à proximité de la tombe. Le culte des Tibaradines est certainement un vestige des croyances préislamiques et peut-être néolithiques qui a dû être déformé à travers les siècles. L'une des statuettes représente un bovidé et s'apparente nettement à celle trouvée à Silet.

Les restes de totémisme sont encore affirmés par les tabous alimentaires. Les nobles se refusent à manger du poisson, de la chair d'oiseau, ainsi que les œufs de ces derniers ; seule, l'autruche échappe à cet interdit. D'autre part, une légende rapporte même que l'ourane, ou grand lézard des sables, est l'oncle maternel de tous les Touaregs.

Certains arbres sont également l'objet de pratiques cultuelles. *Le Maerua crassifolia* que les Touaregs appellent *agar* est censé être habité par un génie qu'ils chassent en frappant l'arbre à coups de pierre, chaque fois qu'ils veulent se mettre sous son ombre. Comme nous l'avons déjà signalé, les femmes répudiées qui ne veulent pas garder la retraite réglementaire imposée par la coutume pour reprendre l'état de liberté de mœurs, vont se confier à l'arbre et lui demandent de prendre à son compte cette retraite qui les gêne tant.

Sorcellerie. — Divination. — A côté de ces croyances plus ou moins religieuses, les Touaregs pratiquent la sorcellerie, la divination et interprètent les rêves.

Certains hommes, souvent des forgerons, sont connus comme sorciers, fabriquent des philtres destinés à jeter des sorts qu'ils confectionnent généralement avec des dépouilles d'animaux

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



et qu'ils remettent aux personnes qui veulent jeter un sort à quelqu'un avec mission de le leur faire prendre par surprise. Le lézard ourane joue un grand rôle dans la confection de ces sortilèges.

La divination, surtout pratiquée par les femmes, se fait de plusieurs manières et a toujours pour but de demander des nouvelles des absents.

Nous avons déjà signalé la divination par les tombeaux. Il y a aussi celle que les Touaregs appellent *tachilet* (la vipère) ; elle est pratiquée également avec un miroir ou bien encore avec un lézard, qui sont interrogés suivant différentes formes et qui doivent répondre aux questions posées.

Les rêves sont interprétés de différentes manières. Si un homme rêve de noir, c'est un mauvais signe ; de blanc, il recevra de l'argent ; de dattes, quelqu'un de son entourage ou lui-même sera blessé ; de vipère, c'est que quelqu'un lui jette un mauvais sort, etc... [1].

Nous ajouterons que les Touaregs croient aussi aux présages en interprétant la présence inopinée d'animaux, corbeaux, gazelles, traquets, et que certains jours ou certains mois, certains chiffres pairs ou impairs sont considérés comme de bon ou de mauvais augure.

1. Voir à ce sujet VERMALE, *ouv. cit.*, p. 185 et 186.

# *LIVRE VII*
# *LA VIE EXTÉRIEURE*

## CHAPITRE PREMIER

## COMMERCE, CARAVANES, PISTES CARAVANIÈRES ET TRANSPORTS

Aussi loin que l'on remonte dans le passé, on s'aperçoit que le Sahara a toujours joué le rôle de pont entre l'Afrique du Nord et l'Afrique subéquatoriale, qu'il n'y eut jamais une cloison étanche dressée entre les deux pays.

Les Nord-Africains se sont toujours préoccupés des richesses du Soudan et nous en avons plusieurs preuves, entre autres le périple du Carthaginois Hannon, qui fut chargé d'explorer la côte d'Afrique à l'ouest des Colonnes d'Hercule, et le voyage des trois jeunes Nasamons qui, du temps d'Hérodote, tentèrent la traversée du désert.

La zone subtropicale, c'est le pays des nègres. Les Égyptiens savaient bien cela, ils tiraient maints avantages de ce lointain voisinage et leurs Pharaons n'hésitaient pas à y envoyer des expéditions militaires pour en ramener de l'or, de l'ivoire, des plumes d'autruche, et du bétail humain ! Les habitants de l'Afrique du Nord n'en ignoraient rien non plus, et bientôt la richesse du Soudan étant un fait connu de tous, de grandes routes caravanières sillonnèrent tout le Sahara du nord au sud.

Il semble que l'Ăhaggar fut écarté de leur tracé. On en ignore les véritables raisons, mais on peut les supposer : la montagne dut être évitée pour les obstacles qu'elle présentait par son altitude, par la nature rocailleuse de son sol. Le tracé le plus court, qui suit une direction nord-sud ne peut donc pas passer par l'Ăhaggar mais le longer sur ses flancs. C'est ce qui s'est produit. La réputation de brigands et de bandits de grand chemin dont jouissent les Touaregs, n'est peut-être pas étrangère non plus à ce détournement des pistes caravanières.

[p. 310]

Les grandes artères qui sillonnent les abords immédiats de l'Ăhaggar, relient des oasis importantes les unes aux autres, et elles ont pu prospérer du fait que ces oasis participent directement à la vie des Touaregs et que ces derniers en ont besoin pour assurer leur ravitaillement.

La plus importante et la plus fréquentée de ces pistes est celle qui relie les oasis du Touat et du Ṭidikelt à la ville d'Agadez. Pour les Ihăggaren, elle est la route des greniers : dattes au Tidikelt, mil au Soudan. Il faut quarante jours pour aller d'Akabli à Agadez et l'Ăhaggar se trouve à mi-chemin. Il y a une montagne près de la guelta d'Outoul, située à 18 km. à l'ouest de Tămanrasset que les Arabes appellent Ounous et qui marque exactement la moitié de la route. Cette piste est en effet empruntée par les Arabes pour qui le Soudan est une attraction. Ils réalisent par les transactions de très gros bénéfices et le rêve de chacun d'eux est de pouvoir faire une caravane au Soudan, d'où il espère revenir riche.

Au départ d'In Salah, la piste franchit l'Ăhaggar par les gorges d'Arak, atteint la basse Koudia à I-n-Ămegel, passe à Tămanrasset, traverse le Tanezrouft par In Gueżzam et atteint la zone soudanaise soit par le puits d'In Abangarit, soit par celui de Taket-n-koutat.

D'Agadez, les caravaniers se dirigent ordinairement sur Zinder, Kano ou Sokoto.

Une autre piste, aujourd'hui moins fréquentée mais qui joua autrefois un rôle très important, est celle qui relie les oasis de Rhâdamès et de Rhât à Tombouctou ou à Gao. C'est la route qu'empruntaient autrefois les pèlerins sonrhaï qui se rendaient en Égypte. Elle était alors une route beaucoup plus religieuse que commerciale car les transactions entre le Fezzan et Tombouctou étaient peu développées et portaient ordinairement sur l'or qui venait de Bambouk.

En partant de Rhât, la piste traversait la plaine d'Ădmer, coupait l'Ădrar Ănahef, gagnait Aïtoklane, Ăbalessa, Sîlet et traversait le Tanezrouft, soit par Tin Rerhoh, soit par T-i-m-missao, pour aboutir à Tin Zaouaten ; traversant ensuite l'Ădrar des Ifôras, elle aboutissait soit à Gao, en suivant la dépression du Tilemsi, soit à Tombouctou.

C'est par cette piste que le voyageur arabe Ibn Batouta rentra de Gao dans son pays ; il la quitta après avoir traversé le Tanezrouft et s'engagea dans l'Ăhnet pour gagner le Touat.

Il existait une autre piste, Rhâdamès, Rhât, Tombouctou,

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



qui évitait complètement l'Ăhaggar et allait de Rhât à In Salah en traversant le Tassili-n-Ăjjer. Ce détour allongeait évidemment la route, mais celle-ci était beaucoup plus sûre pour les caravaniers que celle de l'Ăhaggar, car elle était entièrement sous le contrôle des Touaregs du Tassili, en bons rapports avec les gens des oasis de Rhât et du Touat. Il faut 25 jours pour aller, par cet itinéraire, de Rhât à In Salah, et un mois d'In Salah à Gao.

La route d'In Salah à Gao est à l'heure actuelle encore très fréquentée, non seulement par les Arabes du Touat, mais aussi par les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar et par ceux de l'Ădrar des Ifôras. C'est la piste des « moutons », celle employée par les caravaniers qui se livrent au commerce du bétail sur pied et qui ravitaillent en viande les oasis du Tidikelt et du Touat qui en manquent. Grâce aux puits de T-i-m-missao et d'In Ziza, les moutons arrivent à franchir le Tanezrouft sans trop souffrir.

Ce mouvement commercial n'est évidemment pratiqué que pendant les mois les plus frais de l'année, c'est-à-dire, d'octobre à avril, et demande aux caravaniers de prendre de grandes précautions.

Voici la liste des puits, au départ de Timeïaouine (Ădrar des Ifôras) où les animaux sont successivement abreuvés, ainsi que le nombre de journées de marche qui les séparent l'un de l'autre, d'après les renseignements qui nous ont été fournis par l'Amrar des Kel Ăhnet, El Bak el Fassi.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Timeïaouine (puits, abreuvoir) | | Ădrar des Ifôras |
| I-n-Gezzal | 1 jour | |
| Efenargh | 1 — | |
| In Ouzzal | 1 jour 1/2 | |
| Tirek | 3 jours | Tanezrouft |
| Ti-m-missao | 2 — | |
| Tin Senatet | 5 — | Ăhnet |
| In Torha | 1/2 jour | |
| Aleg'nenou | 5 jours | |
| Tin Khalifa | 2 — | |
| In Belret | 1 — | |
| El Khenig | 1 jour 1/2 | Immidir |
| In Salah | 3 jours | Tidikelt |

Soit 26 journées 1/2 de marche.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Suivant les années, c'est-à-dire la plus ou moins grande abondance de pâturages, les caravaniers éprouvent plus ou moins de pertes dans leurs troupeaux. Parfois cette perte est totale, d'autres fois elle est nulle.

Nous avons vu un Ḱel Ăhnet faire le voyage à la fin du mois d'avril, période peu favorable, avec 35 moutons, et n'avoir été obligé d'en tuer qu'un seul en cours de route.

Lorsqu'on parle d'une piste caravanière, il faut éloigner l'idée d'une route plus ou moins aménagée pour faciliter la circulation. Les pistes sahariennes sont simplement marquées sur le sol par les traces qu'y font les chameaux, passant là depuis des siècles à la même place. Dans l'Ăhaggar, elles apparaissent comme un long ruban clair, circulant au milieu de la rocaille noire. La piste peut être composée de deux, de trois ou de six rubans, qui courent parallèlement les uns aux autres, suivant son importance et la disposition du terrain.

Les pistes suivent toujours les flancs des vallées, reliant naturellement les puits les uns aux autres, passant d'une vallée à l'autre par les cols les plus accessibles. Elles ne sont jamais balisées. Il y a bien par endroits quelques « redjem », espèce de tas de cailloux signalant les cols ou la proximité de certains puits, mais ils sont rares et dans l'ensemble ils ont été construits récemment, car les Ihăggaren se sont toujours efforcés de dissimuler les routes de leur pays aux étrangers.

Dans les endroits sablonneux, dans les terrains de reg, dont le sol est toujours plus ou moins transformé par l'action du vent, la piste devient souvent invisible, et la caravane doit alors se fier aux connaissances d'un guide ou d'un homme qui a déjà fait le chemin plusieurs fois et qui le connaît.

Pistes secondaires. — A l'intérieur de l'Ăhaggar existent de nombreuses pistes secondaires utilisées pour les besoins locaux. Elles vont toutes d'un puits à un autre. Tous les centres de culture sont reliés entre eux par un réseau de pistes bien tracées qu'il est facile de suivre sans avoir des connaissances bien grandes du pays. Il existe aussi des pistes de pâturage, petites routes marquées par le piétinement répété des chèvres allant d'une vallée à l'autre, contournant les montagnes et que les bêtes suivent journellement. Ce réseau est incroyablement étendu et l'on peut dire que toute montagne, que tout plateau est sillonné par plusieurs de ces petits che-

mins. On en retrouve dans les endroits les plus inaccessibles, les plus dénudés, ce qui démontre que l'Ăhaggar était parcouru autrefois en tous sens, dans ses moindres régions, résultat d'un élevage caprin plus intense et preuves de l'existence de pâturages plus nombreux que de nos jours.

Il y a des différences très sensibles dans la façon de marcher des caravaniers, soit qu'ils soient Arabes, soit qu'ils soient Touaregs. Les Arabes poussent toujours leurs chameaux devant eux, ces chameaux marchent *en ligne*, librement, sans aucune bride ni attache. Les Touaregs, au contraire, avancent toujours *en file*, les chameaux attachés les uns derrière les autres, et guidés par un homme qui prend la tête du convoi en tenant l'un des animaux par la bride, à moins qu'il ne soit monté dessus.

Ces méthodes différentes sont imposées pour deux raisons, l'une et l'autre en rapport avec la structure du terrain. Le Sahara arabe est généralement un pays plat où la circulation est facile, où aucun obstacle naturel ne vient s'opposer à la marche des bêtes, tandis qu'en pays de montagne, comme dans l'Ăhaggar, l'exiguïté de certaines pistes, au passage de certains cols en particulier, oblige à prendre des précautions, à régler la marche des chameaux, si l'on ne veut pas les voir se bousculer les uns sur les autres au détriment des bagages dont ils sont chargés. D'autre part, les pâturages se présentent aussi dans des conditions différentes : dans le Sahara du Nord, dont le sol appartient surtout aux formations calcaires, la végétation est toujours diffuse, ce qui oblige les chameaux à se déplacer énormément pour aller brouter d'une touffe à l'autre. Aussi les Arabes ont-ils pris l'habitude de ne jamais mettre de laisse à leurs bêtes afin de leur permettre de cueillir les touffes de végétation qui se trouvent à leur portée, tout en marchant.

Dans l'Ăhaggar, comme nous avons eu l'occasion de le dire la végétation est au contraire concentrée, réfugiée dans les vallées où l'humidité se dissimule sous les alluvions sablonneuses. Il n'y a donc aucun intérêt à laisser une certaine liberté aux chameaux, mais au contraire, il ne faut pas perdre une minute sur la piste pour gagner le plus rapidement possible le lieu du pâturage, donc assurer une stricte discipline de marche à la caravane.

De là les deux systèmes de marche employés respectivement par les Arabes et les Touaregs.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Les caravanes qui traversaient autrefois le pays des Ihăggaren étaient obligées de se mettre sous la protection de ceux-ci, en versant un droit de passage convenu d'avance. Le droit revenait à l'Aménokal, mais la protection n'était assurée que dans la mesure de son autorité, qui ne dépassait pas, bien souvent, les limites de sa propre tribu. Si bien que le caravanier était l'objet de quémandages perpétuels de la part des gens habitant le terrain traversé, auxquels il était bien souvent difficile d'échapper. Un guide était parfois mis à sa disposition et recevait une rémunération en marchandises.

Lorsque la limite du territoire était atteinte, la protection s'arrêtait là et la cupidité des Touaregs était tellement grande qu'ils n'hésitaient pas, parfois, à aller piller, en dehors de leur territoire, la caravane qu'ils venaient de protéger. Cela entraînait souvent des conflits de tribu à tribu voisine, mais en fin de compte tout s'arrangeait sur le dos du caravanier.

Parfois les Touaregs se faisaient loueurs de leurs chameaux. Certaines tribus du Tassili s'étaient fait la spécialité des transports entre Rhâdamès et Rhât, de même que les Issekkemâren acceptaient de louer leurs bêtes entre In Salah et le Soudan. Ils retiraient de ce travail des bénéfices appréciables.

Comme conséquence de ces prélèvements continuels, le caravanier ne pouvait transporter qu'une marchandise dont l'échange était très rémunérateur.

Il est une coutume, chez les caravaniers, qui consiste à déposer dans les rochers ou dans des endroits à l'abri, les vivres de réserve nécessaires à leur retour. Ces vivres sont abandonnés sans gardien et personne ne songe à s'en emparer.

Ceci a été observé par Duveyrier, le Capitaine de Bonnemain, M. Boû Derba, sur l'itinéraire Ouargla-Rhât. Nous avons été nous-même témoin de faits semblables, mais les marchandises ainsi entreposées appartenaient à des Ihăggaren, et personne n'aurait alors osé y porter la main. La chose est moins sûre s'il s'était agi du bien d'un étranger.

Lorsqu'un chameau meurt en cours de route, la charge qu'il portait est abandonnée sur place et mise sous la sauvegarde publique. Le caravanier est toujours sûr de retrouver son bien, serait-ce six mois ou huit mois plus tard. A ce sujet, il est bon de dire que les Touaregs, tout pillards qu'ils soient, ne sont pas voleurs. Lorsqu'un vol a été commis dans leur

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



pays, le fautif, est généralement un nègre, mais rarement un Targui de race blanche.

Quels étaient les produits transportés ? Des objets manufacturés pour la plupart, généralement de fabrication européenne. C'étaient des tissus, des soieries que les Touaregs et les Soudanais recherchaient avec empressement, c'était de la bimbeloterie, des lames d'épées non montées, du sucre, du café (le thé n'a fait son apparition au Sahara que récemment).

Toutes ces marchandises étaient revendues ou échangées à dix fois leur valeur. Au retour, les caravaniers ramenaient des plumes d'autruche, de la poudre d'or, de l'ivoire, des négrillons et des négrillonnes achetés comme esclaves et revendus très cher dans les villes d'Algérie. Les cuirs étaient également l'objet d'un trafic intense, ainsi que des médicaments d'origine végétale ou animale (graisse d'autruche) faisant partie de la pharmacopée soudanaise, très appréciés chez les Arabes.

De nos jours, sauf l'or et l'ivoire, qui sont devenus rares et dont le commerce est entre les mains des Européens, sauf la vente d'esclaves qui est interdite depuis l'occupation française, le trafic est resté le même. Mais les routes sont devenues libres et les Touaregs ne peuvent plus compter sur leurs anciens profits. Il leur restait une ressource, celle de faire les caravaniers à leur tour, et d'utiliser ainsi leurs nombreux chameaux. C'est ce qu'ils ont fait.

Le commerce des moutons, qui a pris ces dernières années un grand développement, se fait essentiellement par échange. Il est surtout le fait des caravaniers arabes du Touat qui se rendent au Soudan, avec des dattes, du tabac, des tissus, des couvertures, qu'ils échangent non pas sur des marchés, mais dans les campements. Des Touaregs de l'Ădrar des Ifôras et des Arabes Kounta procèdent aussi à l'inverse, et conduisent leurs moutons au Tidikelt et au Touat.

En 1939, les prix de vente des moutons pratiqués à In Salah étaient de 75 à 100 francs. Les prix d'achat au Soudan variaient de 35 à 45 francs, mais comme nous l'avons dit, les échanges étaient le plus souvent à la base de toutes les transactions.

C'est ainsi que pour un chameau qu'ils recevaient, les Touaregs de l'Ădrar donneient 120 moutons. Un mouton lui-même était échangé contre 12 à 15 coudées de toile, ou 10 *gué-*

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



*çâa* de dattes. Un *dokkali*, grande couverture du Touat très appréciée des Touaregs, valait 10 moutons au Soudan et 7 dans l'Ădrar.

Le chameau servait de base aux échanges. Les Touaregs ne se sont jamais servi de monnaie ; ils acceptaient par contre le thaler de Marie-Thérèse qui avait cours au Soudan et la livre turque qui était répandue en Tripolitaine. Les tribus soudanaises traitaient en *toukourdi*, bande d'étoffe servant de voile, et en *kori*, (Cypraea moneta), petit coquillage marin originaire de l'Océan Indien.

Depuis l'occupation française on a vu un certain nombre de commerçants indigènes s'installer à Tămanrasset, la capitale administrative de l'Ăhaggar. Ce sont pour la plupart des Mozabites et quelques Arabes de Metlili, qui ont construit des boutiques et qui se font expédier des marchandises par leurs correspondants du Tell algérien.

Cet état de choses récent tend à se développer de plus en plus et l'agence postale de Tămanrasset enregistre tous les ans plusieurs millions d'affaires.

Ces affaires portent particulièrement sur le thé, le sucre, les tissus, les parfums, la quincaillerie, le carbure, les couvertures du Touat. Elles provoquent un mouvement chamelier assez important dont les Ihăggaren sont les bénéficiaires, avec les Arabes d'In Salah qui louent leurs chameaux aux commerçants.

Les transports. — Il n'est plus à répéter que sans le chameau le Sahara serait aujourd'hui inhabité. Il joue, en effet, dans les transports pour les relations entre oasis, un rôle capital ; il est la monture des guerriers, des gens en déplacement et le véhicule des bagages. On ne saurait se passer de ses services dès l'instant qu'il s'agit de franchir une centaine de kilomètres en région démunie de points d'eau.

L'âne joue aussi un grand rôle, mais son emploi est plus localisé, confiné aux limites du massif dans lequel il est rare de ne pas trouver d'eau au cours d'une journée de marche. C'est l'âne qui, en réalité, assure tous les transports internes, ceux que nécessitent les déplacements des campements, les transports de l'eau et même des personnes, car si les Imochar ne voyagent jamais autrement qu'à chameau, les Imrad

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



mettent couramment l'âne à contribution et leurs femmes ne connaissent pas d'autres montures. Son rôle est d'autant plus apprécié qu'il ménage les chameaux qui, dans l'Ăhaggar, doivent être soumis à un travail modéré, et de plus, on l'a toujours sous la main, car il vit à proximité des campements, alors que les chameaux sont souvent, pour des nécessités de pâturage, à plusieurs journées de marche.

Les méharistes possèdent un harnachement particulier : des selles légères qui se placent sur le garrot de l'animal et qui sont conçues pour recevoir les différents sacs de selle et les outres d'eau.

Les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar possèdent plusieurs genres de selles : 1° la *tarik*, avec pommeau en forme de croix, recouverte d'une peau rouge ; 2° la *tamzak*, de même forme, mais beaucoup plus luxueuse, dont les faces externes, du pommeau et du dossier sont garnies de petites lamelles métalliques ajourées et de cabochons de cuivre ; 3° la *tahiast*, selle grossière à pommeau en palette en bois nu ou recouvert d'une peau décorée de dessins géométriques.

La *tarik* est la selle couramment employée par les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar, celle qui leur est propre et qu'ils ont dû connaître de temps immémorial. La *tamzak* qui est une variante décorée de la *tarik*, doit l'origine de sa décoration à des influences haoussa. On retrouve, en effet, la technique particulière de l'application des bandes métalliques ajourées et relevées de tissus de peaux coloriés dans les selleries pour chevaux des haoussa du Damergou, du Sokoto, etc..., et il ne fait aucun doute que cet art, qui est sans relation avec celui des Touaregs, est beaucoup plus développé dans ces populations.

Les deux selles sont généralement faites en Air, voire même à Agadez, mais les vieux forgerons touaregs ne fabriquent que la *tarik*, alors que la *tamzak* est l'œuvre d'artisans ordinairement fixés à Agadez et plus ou moins croisés avec des artisans d'origine haoussa. Les forgerons de l'Ăhaggar ne fabriquent que la *tahiast*, qui est la selle adoptée par tous les Touaregs de l'Ădrar des Ifôras, que les Arabes Chaamba utilisent aussi, et qui est dérivée de la selle des Maures du Sahara occidental.

Les femmes nobles de l'Ăhaggar qui ne voyagent qu'à méhari possèdent des selles spéciales, ressemblant au basour des Arabes mais qui ne comportent pas d'arceaux recouverts d'étoffes. Ces selles portent le nom d'*akhaoui* ; elles sont faites

en bois et sont ornementées de gros pommeaux, à l'avant, et de plaquettes sur le côté, garnies de clouteries de cuivre. Plusieurs coussins placés au centre assurent le confort de la voyageuse. Lors des grands déplacements ces selles peuvent être munies d'une cage en osier recouverte d'étoffe, mais cet usage n'est pas courant.

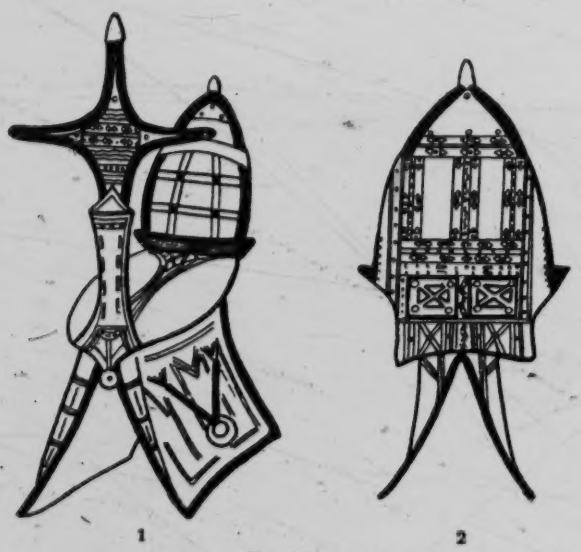



FIG. 54.
1. Selle de chameau dite *tamzack*. — 2. Détail du dossier de la selle.

Les selles reçoivent des sacs en peau qui contiennent soit les vêtements de rechange, soit les vivres de réserve, de même que les outres d'eau constituant la provision nécessaire à la traversée des régions dépourvues de puits.

Pour les transports, les chameaux sont munis d'un bât spécial fait en fibres de palmier qui couronne littéralement leur arête dorsale ; la plupart de ces bâts sont fabriqués au Tidikelt. Pour les caravanes de longue durée, les bêtes sont chargées à cent kilos environ, plus les outres d'eau que l'on adjoint généralement aux bagages. Les serviteurs, qui accompagnent les bêtes et ne disposent pas de montures person-

nelles, montent en surcharge par-dessus et font tout le voyage dans ces conditions.

Les Touaregs sont de très mauvais marcheurs et ne conçoivent pas que l'on puisse aller à pied, ne serait-ce que pour ménager la monture pendant quelques kilomètres.

Les ânes qui, comme nous l'avons dit sont utilisés pour le transport à l'intérieur du massif, sont munis d'un petit bât servant en même temps de selle. Lorsque le campement se déplace, on les charge de la tente, des piquets, des sacs contenant les vivres de réserve, et ce sont eux qui assurent le transport de l'eau du puits au campement.

Lorsqu'un Amrid se déplace seul pour accomplir un voyage, il prend un âne pour porter son eau, ses menus bagages et sa couverture et, le poussant devant lui, il marche derrière, portant sa lance en travers sur les épaules. Il ne monte dessus que pendant les heures chaudes de la journée.

Ces dernières années un certain nombre de notables, parmi lesquels l'Aménokal, se déplaçaient à cheval, mais seulement lorsqu'ils voyageaient dans le bas Ăhaggar, qui est sillonné de larges vallées permettant d'éviter la rocaille.

Les Ihăggaren ne voyagent jamais à zébu et ne l'emploient jamais pour les transports. Au Soudan, cet animal est au contraire employé comme animal de selle et de bât.

## CHAPITRE II

## GUERRE ET REZZOU

Les Touaregs distinguent deux sortes d'expéditions guerrières : la guerre déclarée entre fractions ou peuples qu'ils appellent *annemensi* ou *amdjer*, et le rezzi, *édjen* ou *égen*, qui a pour but le pillage par surprise d'un campement ou d'un troupeau.

Si la guerre était assez rare, les rezzou étaient, au contraire, très fréquents. Ils étaient provoqués par le goût atavique des Touaregs pour ce genre d'expédition et rassemblaient, pour la circonstance, les éléments les plus disparates animés du même esprit d'aventure et de bataille.

Lorsqu'une expédition était décidée contre un campement, les assistants s'efforçaient de réunir le nombre d'hommes convenable. C'est l'été qu'elles étaient les plus fréquentes, car les campements étant dans l'obligation de se disséminer dans les pâturages, les surprises étaient rendues plus faciles.

La guerre, au contraire, était menée l'hiver, alors que les caravanes étaient rentrées et que les provisions nécessaires à la vie de la tribu étaient assurées pour de longs mois, ce qui enlevait toute préoccupation matérielle aux guerriers sur le sort de leurs familles.

Chaque homme avait à se procurer des armes, et s'il ne possédait pas de méhari personnel, il trouvait prêteur, mais devait, en cas de prises, remettre à ce dernier la moitié des animaux capturés. Il n'était pas tenu en cas d'échec et de mort du chameau de rembourser celui-ci.

Les hommes se réunissaient, discutaient de l'expédition projetée et prononçaient une formule sacramentelle, *narhaï allar*, qui les liait les uns aux autres pendant toute la durée de l'expédition et pendant laquelle ils devaient se porter une aide mutuelle.

Ils nommaient ensuite un chef qui n'était pas forcément un Amajer, mais un homme réputé pour son courage, son



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à-propos et son expérience des expéditions de ce genre. Et le groupe partait précédé d'éclaireurs.

Tous impedimenta étaient écartés. Chacun était monté à méhari, n'emportant que le strict nécessaire pour la route, car il fallait marcher vite tout en s'efforçant de maintenir les bêtes en bon état. Avant le lever du soleil, le rezzi était déjà en route et la marche rapide était poussée sans arrêt jusqu'au soir. Les hommes ne mangeaient que quelques dattes à midi, ne faisaient pas de sieste, ne prenaient qu'un repas le soir, tout était sacrifié à la rapidité de la marche qui était la clé du succès.

A proximité du but, le rezzi forçait encore la marche si cela était possible et il se partageait souvent en deux parties ; l'une était chargée de s'emparer des bêtes et de les amener à un point déterminé, l'autre faisait diversion sur les campements ennemis pour donner le change.

L'ennemi surpris était attaqué à coups de fusil par quelques hommes déployés en tirailleurs, alors que les méharistes se précipitaient dessus, lançaient leurs javelots, puis en venaient bientôt au corps à corps. De leur côté, les gens attaqués s'efforçaient de connaître les forces des assaillants et, suivant le cas, ils battaient en retraite ou passaient eux-mêmes à l'attaque.

Malgré ce déploiement guerrier et la vigueur de l'attaque, ces combats n'étaient en général guère meurtriers, et n'entraînaient pas toujours mort d'hommes.

Lorsque des rezzou étaient menés contre des campements soudanais, les nègres et négresses étaient enlevés avec autant d'intérêt que les chameaux. Les ravisseurs en conservaient quelques-uns pour leur servir de domestiques et allaient vendre les autres sur les marchés d'In Salah et du Touat.

Le butin enlevé, le rezzi se rendait à marche forcée au point convenu d'avance, où il rejoignait l'autre groupe de méharistes.

Les gens razziés, de leur côté, s'organisaient, mais ne s'efforçaient pas de rejoindre immédiatement le rezzi et ne s'usaient pas en vaine poursuite ; comme la route de retour du rezzi était connue, ils essayaient d'atteindre un puits où il devait forcément passer et s'ils réussissaient à le devancer et à lui couper l'abreuvoir, le véritable combat commençait, cette fois acharné et souvent très meurtrier.

Serrés de près, les Touaregs se formaient en carré derrière leurs chameaux et se défendaient à l'abri de leur bouclier ;

lorsqu'ils se voyaient dans l'impossibilité de se rendre maîtres du puits, ils abandonnaient leurs prises. La bataille prenait fin et les razzieurs étaient rarement poursuivis. Dans le camp adverse, un certain nombre d'hommes étaient laissés en sentinelles pour parer à des retours offensifs et les autres s'efforçaient de rallier leurs bêtes et de les ramener au douar.

Une fois que le rezzi était à l'abri, les hommes se répartissaient les prises en fraction plus ou moins égales, suivant les mérites de chacun pendant le combat. Mais dans certaines tribus, des coutumes se rapportant à la *tioussé*, voulaient que l'amrid en versât une partie aux Imochar. Le prêteur d'armes ou de méhari était à son tour indemnisé et cette part du butin s'appelait *abellag*.

Dans les combats, les Touaregs avaient la réputation d'agir par traîtrise et de ne pas toujours suivre les règles de chevalerie de la guerre saharienne.

FIG. 55. — Lance touarègue. La lame en fer est garnie d'incrustations en cuivre ; la partie où se pose la main est recouverte de peau et une petite boucle de peau placée en arrière est destinée à recevoir l'index qui au moment de lancer donne une plus grande propulsion à l'arme.

Dans la bataille, un homme qui se jetait aux pieds de son vainqueur et touchait ses habits se mettait ainsi sous sa protection et avait droit à la vie ; mais les Touaregs ne faisaient pas toujours cas de cette règle et tuaient souvent leurs prisonniers.

Lorsqu'une tribu avait été pillée illégalement, c'est-à-dire lorsqu'il n'y avait pas auparavant d'actes d'hostilité autorisant une réciprocité, une délégation de guerriers de cette tribu venait au campement adverse, essayer de négocier la restitution des prises. C'est ce que les Arabes appellent le *myad*, terme qui a été adopté par les Touaregs. Là encore, les Touaregs ne se montraient pas toujours très chevaleresques et, souvent, massacraient sauvagement les ambassadeurs sans défense.

Au cours des guerres ou des rezzou, la femme jouit d'un privilège rare, celui d'être respectée par les combattants. On a souvent vu pendant les opérations de l'occupation française, les hommes fuir les campements, abandonnant les femmes et

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



les enfants aux vainqueurs, et cette conduite a souvent valu aux Touaregs d'être taxés de lâcheté. Il y a eu une fausse interprétation des faits, car les Touaregs agissaient ainsi en s'inspirant de l'immunité dont jouissent les femmes.

Il est honteux, au cours d'un rezzi, d'oublier cette règle de protection, de faire violence aux femmes, de les dépouiller de leurs vêtements, de pénétrer dans leurs tentes. Les infractions commises étaient souvent le fait d'éléments sans scrupules, de gens sans honneur. La plupart des Imrad et des Iklan sont, paraît-il, coutumiers du fait de dépouiller les femmes de leurs vêtements et de leurs bijoux au point de les laisser complètement nues, et il arrive même qu'ils les violent. Les Imochar, plus chevaleresques, quelques rares Imrad, s'efforcent de s'y opposer, mais dans ces équipées guerrières les Iklan et les gens de peu de morale sont souvent plus nombreux que les autres.

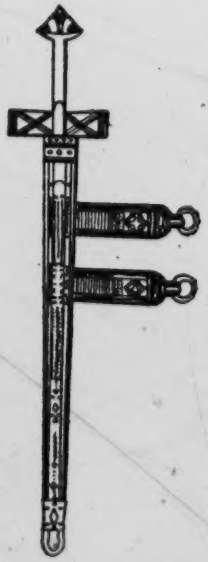

Fig. 56. — La tacouba ou épée.

Les abus commis sur des femmes demandaient toujours une vengeance que les adversaires n'étaient généralement pas longs à subir ; des faits de ce genre suffisaient pour dresser des tribus entières l'une contre l'autre. C'est ainsi qu'au Soudan, les exactions des gens du marabout Abidine sur les Touaregs Kel Ădrar, lors du meurtre de leur aménokal Safikroum, qui eut lieu vers 1912, ont fait de ces deux fractions des ennemis irréconciliables.

Au début de l'occupation française, lorsque les lieutenants Cottenest et Guilho-Lohan poussèrent leurs reconnaissances dans l'Ăhaggar, ils trouvèrent des femmes dans les campements abandonnés par leurs maris ; les bons soins dont elles furent entourées facilitèrent par la suite notre prise de contact pacifique avec les Ihăggaren.

L'armement des Touaregs se compose de lances de fer, de javelots à hampe de bois, d'épées, de poignards et d'un bouclier.

Dès avant l'occupation française, les Touaregs connaissaient l'emploi des armes à feu et étaient en possession d'un certain nombre de fusils. C'était pour la plupart des armes de traite ou de modèle archaïque, type Lefaucheux. Mais leurs prix élevés pour la bourse des Touaregs, la difficulté de se procurer de la poudre et des balles en faisaient des armes peu courantes qui étaient souvent l'apanage des chefs.

L'armement des Touaregs varie suivant les cas. L'Imochar porte les armes qui lui plaisent ; elles comprennent : l'épée — *tacouba* — qui est l'arme par excellence des nobles, la lance en fer — *allar'* — portée par les nobles et les vassaux, les javelots à talon et pointe en fer, à hampe de bois — *tarda* — réservés aux vassaux et aux esclaves, et le poignard d'avant-bras — *télak* — muni d'un anneau de cuir qui permet de le suspendre au poignet. Au Soudan, les esclaves portent également des matraques en bois — *tabouri* — sorte de grosses branches munies d'un nœud à l'une des extrémités.

Fig. 57.
Poignard de bras de type ancien.

Les Touaregs n'ont qu'une arme défensive, le bouclier, — *ahrer* — qui est fait en peau d'antilope oryx. Il était généralement l'apanage des nobles et eux seuls avaient le droit de le porter ; il rappelle le blason par sa forme et l'idéologie qui l'entoure, et les motifs décoratifs qu'il porte ont un caractère magique.

Les Touaregs sont des escrimeurs adroits, combattant corps

à corps à l'épée en se garantissant de leur bouclier qui leur couvre le corps et qu'ils manient avec beaucoup de dextérité malgré son volume et son poids. L'épée frappe d'estoc et est susceptible, si elle est de bonne qualité, de fendre un bouclier en deux. La main est protégée par une petite garde rectangulaire en fer qui donne une forme de croix à la partie supérieure de l'épée.

L'explorateur Duveyrier avait signalé que les Touaregs se

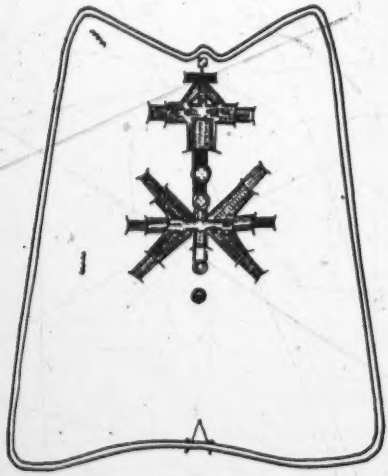

Fig. 58. — Bouclier touareg en peau d'antilope oryx.

servaient de l'arc. Nous n'avons pas retrouvé cette arme chez eux, ni aucun témoignage comme quoi elle était employée autrefois.

Tout cet armement devient bien vétuste devant l'arrivée des armes à tir rapide. Les Imochar de l'Ăhaggar tiennent encore à leur épée qu'ils portent toujours en sautoir, et qui semble beaucoup plus servir à situer leur rang social qu'à toute action guerrière. Au Soudan, presque tous les Touaregs portent encore la lance, quelques-uns le poignard d'avant-bras, et en Aïr, il arrive encore de voir un bouclier suspendu à la selle d'un méhari. Mais dans quelques années, tous ces objets seront bons à garnir des panoplies.

# *LIVRE VIII*

## *LA PÉNÉTRATION EUROPÉENNE CHEZ LES TOUAREGS*

(1800-1900)

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La pénétration européenne au Sahara n'entra vraiment dans une phase active qu'au début du XIXe siècle. Et encore fallut-il arriver au milieu de celui-ci pour que nous ayons des données à peu près exactes sur l'intérieur du désert. Le Sahara était pourtant un sujet de curiosité et plus d'un voyageur songeait à s'y aventurer, mais les éléments restaient les plus forts et les obstacles semblaient insurmontables. Conjointement, nous ne savions rien sur les Touaregs.

En 1798, un Anglais du nom de Mungo Park fit le projet d'atteindre le désert, partit de la Sierra Leone, arriva jusqu'à proximité de Tombouctou, mais dut faire machine arrière devant les difficultés qui s'amoncelaient sur sa route. Pourtant, en 1804, il renouvelait sa tentative et parvint à Kabara, le port de Tombouctou, sans pouvoir gagner la ville, et continua à descendre le Niger, prenant pour la première fois contact avec des tribus touarègues, de la confédération des Ioullimmiden qui étaient campés sur les bords du fleuve. Mais attaqué par les riverains des villages, aux rapides de Boussa, qui se trouvent un peu au sud de l'actuelle frontière de la Nigéria anglaise, il périt noyé et ses notes de voyage ne purent jamais parvenir en Europe.

C'est au Français René Caillé que devait revenir l'honneur de traverser le premier le pays targui et le Sahara. Parti de la Sierra Leone, en 1828, il put atteindre Tombouctou et séjourner quelques jours dans la ville, en passant par Djenné, d'où il gagna le Maroc à travers le Tanezrouft. Malheureusement, René Caillé qui accomplit son voyage dans des conditions très difficiles, ne put rapporter que des renseignements très fragmentaires sur les Touaregs.

[p. 327]

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Quelques années avant son voyage, un officier anglais, le major Gordon Laing, avait essayé de gagner Tombouctou en partant de Tripoli. Il fut le premier, parmi les Européens, à prendre contact avec les Touaregs du Nord et à atteindre l'Ăhaggar. Il entra en rapport avec le marabout targui de la Zaouia de Temaçinine, nommé Cheikh Othman, qui accepta de le mener de Rhâdamès à In Salah. Laing put ensuite gagner Tombouctou en passant par le puits d'In Ziza et l'Ădrar des Ifôras, mais au retour, à quelques jours d'Araouan, il fut massacré par ses guides arabes. Cheikh Othman, qui devait par la suite jouer un grand rôle dans la pénétration française au Sahara, s'offrit pour aller à In Salah essayer de récupérer les notes de route laissées par Laing, mais ses tentatives restèrent sans succès, et les documents qui devaient présenter un très grand intérêt ne purent jamais être retrouvés.

En 1849, le célèbre explorateur allemand, Henri Barth, partait de Tripoli.

Pendant quatre ans il devait visiter le Fezzan, l'Aïr, les pays du Tchad, le Damergou, traverser sans encombre le pays des Touaregs Ioullimmiden, gagner Tombouctou et rentrer à Tripoli en passant par le Kaouar. Cette exploration magistrale peut être considérée comme la plus importante du XIXe siècle et son auteur, comme le premier d'une phalange qui devait compter les Duveyrier, les Speke, les Grant, les Livingstone, les Stanley, les de Brazza, les Foureau, les Monteil, etc....

Il avait laissé l'Ăhaggar en dehors de ses itinéraires et ne rapporta sur ses habitants que des renseignements fragmentaires ; il put affirmer qu'au cas où les Français, qui occupaient déjà presque toute l'Algérie, voudraient pousser leur occupation plus loin, tous les Touaregs, Ihăggaren en tête, s'y opposeraient de toutes leurs forces.

En 1855, le Gouverneur général d'Algérie, désireux d'amorcer des relations avec les Touaregs du Sahara central, fit inviter, par l'intermédiaire du caïd d'Ouargla, Si Hamza, le Cheikh Othman à venir à Alger. Si Othman accepta et vint traiter de l'organisation de caravanes commerciales dans son pays.

En 1856, sur le conseil de Cheikh Othman, le Capitaine de Bonnemain entreprit un voyage à Rhâdamès. Il reconnut la piste allant d'El Oued à Rhâdamès et fut assez bien accueilli dans cette dernière ville. Il enrichit la géographie d'un double

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



itinéraire et du plan de la ville, rapporta également de nombreux renseignements d'ordre commercial.

En 1858, Cheikh Othman revint à Alger. De retour dans son pays, il ramena avec lui l'interprète militaire, Ismaïl Bou Derba, et le conduisit à Rhât. Métis français, Bou Derba était particulièrement apte à mener à bien la mission commerciale qui lui avait été confiée. Il entra en rapports avec le chef des Touaregs Ăjjer, Ikhenoukhen, qui l'accueillit aimablement et le protégea même contre les gens de Rhât qui témoignaient de sentiments hostiles contre sa personne. Son enquête fit ressortir que tout le commerce européen qui se faisait dans la région était entre les mains des maisons anglaises de Tripoli.

Il put ramener également de nombreux renseignements d'ordre géographique.

Puis, en 1859, ce fut le voyage de l'explorateur Henri Duveyrier à Rhât et au Tassili des Ăjjer d'où il rapporta des documents d'une grande valeur sur les Touaregs du Nord.

Le 8 mai, il se dirigeait de Biskra sur l'oasis El Goléa dont les habitants s'étaient soumis tout récemment à notre influence. Mais, malgré cela, ils firent un très mauvais accueil au jeune explorateur qui, devant les menaces de mort dont il était l'objet, jugea prudent de quitter la ville, gagna Ghardaïa, puis Laghouat, rejoignit Biskra et se dirigea sur Touggourt. De cette ville, il s'achemina à travers le Souf sur Rhâdamès, non sans avoir sillonné les itinéraires qui vont de Tripoli à Rhât et à Mourzouck. A Rhâdamès il entra en contact avec Ikhenoukhen, l'aménokal des Ăjjer et séjourna longtemps dans la ville pour étudier la langue tămâhak. Puis afin de s'assurer des recommandations nécessaires pour la poursuite de son voyage et prendre les instructions du Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, il gagna Tripoli et revint quelques mois après à Rhâdamès où il rejoignit Ikhenoukhen. Avec ce chef il se dirigea sur Rhât mais il ne put pénétrer dans la ville dont les habitants étaient alors en mauvais termes avec les Touaregs d'Ikhenoukhen et ce dernier eut fort à faire pour protéger le jeune Français contre les fanatiques qui n'auraient pas hésité à aller jusqu'au crime. S'étant lié d'amitié avec Ikhenoukhen, il décida ce dernier à l'accompagner jusqu'à Mourzouck où tous deux furent reçus par un haut personnage turc. Puis il poussa jusqu'à Zouila et revint enfin à Tripoli, par la longue route de Sokna, après 28 mois d'absence.

Pendant tout son voyage au pays des Touaregs, Duveyrier

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



fut accompagné par Cheikh Othman dont le frère, El Hadj Ahmed, était alors l'aménokal de l'Ăhaggar et c'est à lui qu'il dut la réussite de son voyage. Très intelligent, Cheikh Othman fut un informateur précieux pour Duveyrier à qui il donna une foule de renseignements sur les Touaregs du Nord qui constituent encore aujourd'hui une documentation inestimable.

Pour des raisons d'insécurité, Duveyrier ne put visiter le massif d'Ăhaggar comme il l'aurait tant désiré, mais il en rapporta un aperçu très exact grâce à la perspicacité de ses différents informateurs. Possédant une forte préparation scientifique, le jeune voyageur put étudier en détail la géologie, la météorologie, la flore, la faune, et faire de nombreuses observations astronomiques qui provoquèrent la publication des *Touareg du Nord*, rédigée sous la direction du Docteur Warnier, protecteur et directeur scientifique de Duveyrier.

Ses relevés topographiques ne comprenaient pas moins de 74 feuilles qui permirent de construire la carte du Sahara central. Au point de vue politique, le voyage de Duveyrier n'était pas dénué d'intérêt : il était entré en rapport avec l'Aménokal Ikhenoukhen, ainsi qu'avec plusieurs chefs touaregs, avec les commerçants rhâdamésiens, ce qui laissait présager l'établissement de relations de bon voisinage avec les Touaregs du Tassili et de Rhât.

C'est ainsi que quelques années plus tard, en 1862, le cheikh Othman, sur les instances de Duveyrier, accepta de se rendre à Paris, où il fut présenté à Napoléon III et où il mena pendant plusieurs semaines une vie très mondaine qui fit une grosse impression sur lui. A son retour au Sahara, il accepta d'emmener avec lui l'explorateur Gerhard Rholfs et le conduisit ensuite d'In Salah à Rhâdamès.

Devant ces résultats heureux, dus en grande partie à Duveyrier, le Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie se décida à envoyer une mission à Rhâdamès pour conclure un traité commercial avec l'Aménokal des Ăjjer. La mission était composée du Commandant Mircher, du Capitaine de Polignac, de l'interprète Bou Derba, du Docteur Hoffmann et de l'ingénieur Vatonne. Le traité ne devait avoir qu'un caractère commercial celui « de faciliter et de protéger à travers leurs pays, jusqu'au Soudan, le passage de nos négociants et de nos marchandises ».

Le chef targui ne vint pas comme nous l'espérions. Le

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



traité fut tout de même conclu et le 26 novembre 1862, le Cheikh Othman et un délégué d'Ikhenoukhen signaient la convention dite de Rhâdamès et des tribus Ăjjer.

La période qui suivit fut marquée par une série d'événements fâcheux pour la pénétration européenne. C'est d'abord une exploratrice hollandaise, Mademoiselle Tinné, qui voulait se rendre à Mourzouck et qui était massacrée par ses guides à deux jours de la ville sur les instigations du Targui El Hadj Cheikh ag Abelnar, cousin d'Ikhenoukhen (1869). C'étaient ensuite en 1874, les Français Dourneaux-Duperré et Joubert qui, remontant les premiers l'oued Igharghar jusqu'à Bir el Achiya, puis se dirigeant sur Rhâdamès à travers l'erg, étaient assassinés sur les instigations des commerçants de Rhâdamès par des Arabes révoltés contre l'autorité française, alors qu'ils tentaient d'atteindre Rhât.

En 1875, le Français Victor Largeau partait de Touggourt dans le but de traverser le pays des Touaregs et pour cela il songea d'abord à aller s'assurer des amitiés à Rhâdamès et voir quelle était la position des commerçants de cette ville vis-à-vis du commerce français. Il remonta donc l'oued Igharghar, plus haut que ne l'avaient fait Dourneaux-Duperré et Joubert, jusqu'à Hassi Botthin, et coupa ensuite à travers l'Erg jusqu'à Rhâdamès. Il eut des entrevues avec les autorités turques de la ville, put s'entretenir longuement avec les commerçants rassemblés spécialement, traita avec eux et obtint l'attestation que les commerçants français ou sujets français pourraient venir librement à Rhâdamès et la promesse que de leur côté, les Rhâdamésiens viendraient sur nos marchés du Sud algérien.

Il retourna l'année suivante à Rhâdamès en compagnie de trois jeunes Français, Louis Say, Gaston Lemay et Faucheux. Ils furent très bien reçus, et des commerçants leur proposèrent de rentrer avec eux à Alger. Mais ils se dédirent au dernier moment, de peur de s'attirer des ennuis en mécontentant le pacha de Tripoli, lequel était influencé par le consul anglais de cette ville qui veillait aux intérêts des commerçants de son pays. Le hasard fit que la petite mission française rencontra les assassins de Dournaux-Duperré et de Joubert ; les Arabes de son escorte les prirent en chasse et purent tuer plusieurs d'entre eux.

Quelques mois plus tard, les RR. PP. Paulmier, Ménoret et Bouchard, de la Confrérie des Pères Blancs, faisaient le projet

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de se rendre à Rhâdamès et ayant obtenu la grâce de trois pillards touaregs qui avaient été capturés et se trouvaient emprisonnés à Alger, ils les prirent comme guides, mais à peine avaient-ils quitté nos postes qu'ils étaient assassinés par eux.

En 1872, Louis Say, qui s'était déjà rendu à Rhâdamès avec Victor Largeau, s'enfonçait à nouveau dans le désert avec l'intention de pénétrer dans l'Ăhaggar. Il gagnait Témaçinine, mais il y rencontrait des Touaregs qui menacèrent de le tuer s'il essayait de descendre plus au sud. Force lui fut donc de rentrer.

La même année, le R. P. Richard se rendait seul à Rhâdamès, pouvait établir là-bas des relations en vue d'y fonder plus tard une mission et rentrer au Souf sans être inquiété.

En 1877, l'explorateur allemand Erwin von Bary atteignit Rhâdamès, puis Rhât sans encombre. De là il se rendit dans l'Aïr en passant par le puits d'In Ăzaoua et parvint jusqu'à proximité d'Agadez. Puis il rentra à Rhât, mais ayant été invité à déjeuner par le Gouverneur turc de cette ville, il mourait le lendemain, empoisonné par son hôte. Il avait pu pousser une reconnaissance dans le Tassili, pénétrer dans l'oued Emirhou, au delà de Tihoubar, et constater la présence de crocodiles dans certaines mares de cet oued.

Deux ans plus tard, le Cardinal Lavigerie, Supérieur des Pères Blancs, qui songeait à installer des missions dans tout le Sahara, envoyait le Père Richard chez les Ăjjer, en compagnie du Père Kermabon. Les deux missionnaires atteignirent Rhâdamès, puis gagnèrent Ohanet et l'oued Imoulay ech Chergui. Ils rencontrèrent le chef des Imanrasâten, Fenaït, chez lequel ils séjournèrent longtemps et établirent avec lui des liens de cordialité. Puis ils se rendirent à l'oued Tifachay, traversèrent le plateau de Tadjentourt et arrivèrent à l'oued Tikhammalt. Ils rejoignirent ensuite Fenaït dans l'oued Emirhou, gagnèrent Temaçinine, en passant par l'oued Tidjoudjelt et le lac Menghough et rentrèrent à Rhâdamès.

Il se produisit à cette époque des divergences de vues entre les derniers sultans Imanan des Ăjjer et la fraction noble des Oûraren. Les Ihăggaren, pour des intérêts particuliers, prirent fait et cause pour les premiers, et Ikhenoukhen se sentant menacé, conseillé par son cousin, Djebbour, demanda la protection des Turcs qui vinrent occuper Rhâdamès.

C'était le début d'une lutte entre Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar et

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



des Ăjjer qui devait durer plusieurs années. Mais du fait de l'occupation de Rhâdamès par les Turcs, les marchés de cette dernière ville nous furent fermés et les autorités algériennes songèrent à traiter avec les gens de l'Ăhaggar pour contrebalancer la soumission d'Ikhenoukhen aux Turcs. Ce fut l'origine de la mission du Lieutenant-Colonel Flatters.

A cette époque, il était déjà question d'un projet de chemin de fer transsaharien dont le Ministre des Travaux publics d'alors, M. de Freycinet, était un des partisans les plus enthousiastes. Une commission dite du Transsaharien avait été instituée et était chargée de l'étude des différents projets du tracé dont le but était de relier nos possessions de l'Afrique du Nord à notre jeune colonie de l'Afrique Occidentale. Le Colonel Flatters adjoignit donc aux Officiers qui devaient l'accompagner, plusieurs ingénieurs qui devaient étudier l'itinéraire du futur chemin de fer.

La mission quittait Ouargla le 5 mars 1880 et se composait de 25 Européens, de 30 indigènes d'escorte et de 50 chameliers. Le colonel avait donné à ses hommes une allure pacifique pour mettre les Touaregs en confiance. La mission traversa l'Erg Oriental sans difficulté et atteignit le centre de Temaçinine. De ce point, des émissaires furent envoyés aux chefs des Ăjjer et de l'Ăhaggar pour leur demander le passage sur leurs territoires afin de pouvoir se rendre au Soudan. Les réponses se firent attendre vainement et ne pouvant s'éterniser à Temaçinine, le Colonel Flatters décidait de se porter sur Rhât pour essayer de négocier directement avec Ikhenoukhen que l'on disait dans la région. Mais arrivée au lac Menghough, la mission trouvait la route barrée par les Touaregs de la tribu des Imanrassâten, qui tout en lui assurant que la route de Rhât lui serait ouverte, lui interdirent d'aller plus loin tant que la réponse d'Ikhenoukhen ne serait pas arrivée.

Du fait de ces arrêts forcés, les vivres s'épuisaient rapidement et la colonne n'avait pas la possibilité de refaire ses approvisionnements ; de plus, les Touaregs quémandaient sans vergogne, sous différents prétextes, se faisaient héberger et rendaient la situation encore plus précaire. Un malaise planait dans les rangs des Arabes de l'escorte qui, ne voyant pas venir les autorisations nécessaires ne voulaient pas s'engager plus au sud et se livraient à des actes d'indiscipline journaliers.

Voulant couper court à tout, le Colonel décidait alors de

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



poursuivre la route en avant et le 20 avril il donnait l'ordre du départ.

Mais à peine la colonne avait-elle parcouru 500 mètres qu'elle trouvait les Touaregs, au nombre d'une centaine, rangés en bataille et lance au poing, résolus à barrer le passage. Devant cette attitude menaçante, il fallut s'arrêter et l'un des membres de la mission, M. Le Chatelier, fut envoyé en parlementaire auprès des Ăjjer. Il rentrait bientôt au camp accompagné de plusieurs chefs qui déclaraient sans ambages qu'ils s'opposeraient au passage de la mission, tant qu'une réponse d'Ikhenoukhen ne l'autoriserait pas à marcher en avant.

Le Colonel n'eut plus d'autre ressource que d'ordonner la marche en arrière car il sentait les Touaregs décidés et de plus il n'était pas sûr de la fidélité de son escorte. La Mission était de retour à Ouargla le 17 mai 1880.

On sut plus tard ce qui s'était passé parmi les Touaregs, pourquoi la réponse du chef Ikhenoukhen ne nous était pas parvenue et pourquoi les Imanrasâten avaient agi ainsi à notre égard.

Les Imanrasâten étaient les ennemis d'Ikhenoukhen. Leur but fut donc de nuire à ce dernier en interceptant le courrier, ce qui eut pour conséquence de lui supprimer les profits que normalement il aurait dû tirer du droit de passage de la mission, et d'obtenir plus d'avantages pour eux en nous extorquant de l'argent !

Le Colonel Flatters s'était rendu compte, sans l'avouer, du danger qu'avait couru la mission et, de retour à Paris, il fit ressortir la nécessité d'une organisation plus militaire de l'escorte.

Entre-temps, trois Pères Blancs, les RR. PP. Morat, Richard et Pouplard, gagnaient Rhâdamès et essayaient d'atteindre Rhât pour remettre des cadeaux à Ikhenoukhen, mais avant d'arriver à cette dernière ville, ils furent massacrés, sur l'instigation des Imanrasâten. Le mot d'ordre de ces derniers était : « pas de koufar, pas d'infidèles dans notre pays. »

Le Colonel Flatters décida se renouveler sa tentative et il réorganisa une mission à Laghouat, constituant son escorte avec des volontaires tirés des régiments indigènes de la garnison. Mais dans l'ardent désir qu'il avait de repartir, il négligea de faire valoir certaines considérations et pris par ses propres déclarations optimistes, il se contenta de 80 tirailleurs au lieu de constituer l'escorte régulière de 200 hommes, que pendant son premier voyage il avait regretté de ne pas avoir.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Le personnel européen fut réduit de 25 à 11 membres dont 4 avaient participé à la première mission ; c'étaient MM. Béringer, Roche, Guiard et Masson. Mais il commit encore une grosse erreur, celle de ne pas donner un caractère nettement militaire à sa troupe en faisant quitter leur tenue à ses hommes, ce qui portait atteinte à l'esprit de corps, voire même à la discipline, si précieux dans de semblables expéditions.

Le 14 décembre 1880, la colonne quittait Ouargla forte de 98 personnes, dont 14 Européens montés à cheval. Elle reprit le chemin du Tassili, en traversant le Grand Erg, s'engagea dans la vallée de l'Igharghar, atteignit Ămegid, passa ensuite au puits d'In Zimane, puis à Thiksine, point d'où fut datée la dernière lettre que l'on devait recevoir d'elle. Quelques semaines plus tard, des indigènes apportaient la nouvelle à Ouargla que la mission avait été massacrée à l'oued Inouaouen, dans l'Ăhaggar.

On sut dans la suite, par quelques réchappés, ce qui s'était passé. Dès le départ un flottement s'était produit ; le Colonel hésitait sur la route à suivre et il se demandait s'il devait emprunter la route du Tassili et de l'oued Emirhou ou bien celle d'Ămegid et de l'Ămadror. Il finit par opter pour cette dernière.

Le sort de la mission était pourtant marqué, car sa réussite pouvait avoir des conséquences très grandes, en particulier celle d'asseoir définitivement notre influence sur le Sahara et l'Afrique Centrale. Elle aurait ouvert une route caravanière nouvelle qui aurait eu pour conséquence de menacer le commerce tripolitain organisé sur la route Rhâdamès, Rhât, Damergou. Des intérêts commerciaux et politiques étaient donc en jeu. Il fut facile de faire ressortir aux commerçants tripolitains et rhâdamésiens tout l'intérêt qu'ils avaient à faire échouer la mission Flatters et ces derniers s'employèrent de leur mieux auprès des chefs Touaregs de leur connaissance, attisèrent leur fanatisme, leur haine du chrétien déjà très développée, et désormais le drame allait s'accomplir.

Le 30 janvier, le courrier arrivait à Ămegid, en même temps qu'un courrier de l'Aménokal Ăïtarel. Celui-ci déconseillait presque ouvertement au Colonel d'aller plus avant, puis un deuxième courrier arrivait, lui demandant, s'il persistait dans son projet, de renvoyer les guides Ifôras et de prendre les guides Ihăggaren porteurs du message.

Flatters commit l'erreur d'accéder à cette demande et le

départ des Ifôras fit une mauvaise impression sur les Chaamba de l'escorte qui flairaient sous cette intervention un traquenard possible. Les nouveaux venus ne leur inspiraient pas confiance et ils étaient désormais à la merci de gens qui n'en feraient qu'à leur fantaisie. La mission s'enfonça enfin dans la plaine d'Ămadror. Les pâturages étaient secs et les chameaux trop chargés souffrirent de la route, si bien que six jours plus tard, en arrivant au puits de Sérouanout, elle avait perdu 40 montures !

C'est alors que le rôle douteux d'un guide de l'escorte, Ser'ir ben Cheikh, apparut. Ayant été envoyé à Tihohaït, il tarda à revenir, et ses allures indépendantes, sa façon de s'habiller en targui, de fréquenter assidûment les guides touaregs, déplaisaient profondément à l'escorte et à Flatters lui-même. Il rejoignit enfin la colonne, mais accompagné de plusieurs Touaregs que le Colonel n'avait pas sollicités, et ce dernier voyait avec méfiance ces hommes bleus s'incorporer à sa mission et se mêler à ses gens. A Temaçinine, arrivèrent un jour des émissaires d'Ăïtarel, parmi lesquels son neveu, Engadi, chef d'Idelès, qui offrit au Colonel de le conduire dans ce village, mais pour ne pas se détourner de la route du Soudan, Flatters refusa son offre, ce qui ne fut pas du goût des Touaregs. Dès lors, leurs frères, qui devaient guider la mission, prétendirent ne pas bien connaître la région et la firent marcher au petit bonheur. Le 16 février, au matin, l'un d'eux déclara soudain qu'il reconnaissait les lieux et qu'un puits ne devait pas être bien loin, mais comme il n'était pas très sûr du chemin, il proposa au colonel de faire camper la colonne et d'aller avec lui reconnaître le puits.

Sans méfiance, Flatters donna l'ordre de barraquer et partit à cheval, accompagné de MM. Roche, Guiard, Béringer et du Capitaine Masson. Deux heures plus tard, ils arrivaient au puits qui se trouve dans l'oued Inouaouen et allaient se reposer sous le feuillage de plusieurs arbres qui se trouvaient à proximité lorsqu'ils virent une nuée de Touaregs déboucher d'un ravin voisin et se précipiter sur eux, lance au poing, en hurlant comme des forcenés.

Le Colonel pensa, à ce moment, à rejoindre son cheval, mais il vit Ser'ir ben Cheikh l'enfourcher et se sauver avec, pendant que l'un des guides abattait M. Béringer d'un coup de sabre. Revolver au poing, Flatters et le Capitaine Masson firent face à la ruée, mais bientôt ils étaient transpercés de

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



coups de lances, alors que MM. Guiard et Roche étaient massacrés au milieu des arbres voisins. Après avoir dépouillé les morts de leurs vêtements, les Touaregs placèrent les corps au milieu des arbres et y mirent le feu. Un groupe de tirailleurs qui se trouvait en arrière fut surpris et massacré à son tour.

Au camp, le lieutenant de Dianous, chef de l'escorte, alerté par plusieurs tirailleurs qui avaient assisté de loin au massacre, s'organisa pour la résistance. Il fit l'appel et constata avec consternation que la mission avait perdu 32 hommes dont le Colonel et quatre Européens, ainsi que toutes les montures, les Touaregs s'en étant emparés entre temps alors qu'elles étaient au pâturage. On s'attendait d'une minute à l'autre à l'attaque du camp mais elle ne vint pas. Pour les Touaregs, le résultat était acquis et ils jugèrent raisonnable de ne pas s'exposer inutilement. En hommes du désert, ils avaient réalisé la situation : que pouvaient faire, en effet, les restes de la mission privés de leurs montures ?

Le lieutenant de Dianous n'eut bientôt plus qu'une perspective, celle de rentrer à pied à Ouargla avec les survivants ! Ils reprirent donc la route en sens inverse, marchant 12 et 14 heures par jour, pliant sous le fardeau des bagages. Ils firent eau à Témasint, puis s'engagèrent sur le reg brûlant d'Ămadror et parvinrent, épuisés, aux falaises d'Ămegid ; mais ils s'aperçurent alors que les Touaregs ne désarmaient pas et les suivaient à distance. Tels des rapaces, ils épiaient les rescapés, guettant le moment propice où ils pourraient fondre dessus.

La situation du lieutenant de Dianous et de ses hommes était critique car ils n'avaient plus à manger et déjà, malgré la défense qu'en avait faite l'officier, les Arabes avaient tué les quatre chiens de chasse de la mission et les avaient dévorés.

Avant Aïn Kerma, la découverte d'un vieux squelette de chameau mit la colonne en joie ; la peau parcheminée fut mise à tremper et assura la nourriture pour une journée. Une lueur d'espoir vint une fois ranimer le courage des pauvres diables ; une petite patrouille partie en flanc-garde avait découvert quatre chameaux qu'elle ramena au campement. Grâce à ces animaux, on put alléger les hommes fatigués et les charger des outres d'eau.

A Aïn Kerma, les Touaregs avaient devancé la colonne et occupaient déjà le puits. Il fallut parlementer longtemps avec eux, et la position n'étant pas avantageuse pour eux, ils cédèrent la place devant l'attitude résolue du Lieutenant de

Dianous, prêt à faire usage de ses armes, et finirent par lui envoyer un émissaire. Celui-ci prétendit que les gens qu'il représentait n'avaient rien de commun avec ceux qui avaient massacré le Colonel Flatters et ses compagnons et proposa d'apporter le lendemain des dattes et des moutons.

Conformément à leurs promesses, les Touaregs revinrent, apportèrent quatre moutons et la valeur de six kilogs de dattes pilées ; ils furent largement rétribués dans l'espoir qu'ils renouvelleraient leur envoi le lendemain, mais ils se contentèrent de rapporter encore quelques kilos de dattes, et ce fut tout. Ils s'éloignèrent ensuite pour devancer la colonne et aller s'installer à la source d'Ămegid afin de lui en interdire l'accès.

Quelques heures après leur départ, l'on vit les tirailleurs et les chameliers qui avaient mangé des dattes s'agiter dans le camp. Une espèce de folie furieuse s'était emparée d'eux et tous étaient pris d'un délire inexplicable. Ensuite, le lieutenant de Dianous et les Français subissaient le même phénomène : c'étaient les Touaregs qui avaient empoisonné les dattes en y mélangeant des graines d'*el bĕtina*, poison fameux des montagnes de l'Ăhaggar. Un chaambi qui n'avait pas été empoisonné, se rappela à ce moment là le remède applicable en la circonstance et fit boire de l'eau tiède aux malades pour les faire vomir. De Dianous revint à lui, se rendit compte de l'affreux état de ses hommes, et il songea, encore tout hébété, à gagner Ămegid. Au moment du départ, on s'aperçut que l'ingénieur Santin était mort. La marche épuisante reprit donc vers Ămegid où les Touaregs s'étaient retranchés. Dès les abords du puits, le combat s'engagea, mais les malheureux étaient tous encore sous l'effet de l'*el bĕtina*, et se lançaient sur les Touaregs sans même songer à se protéger. De Dianous commit lui-même cette imprudence et tomba, tué d'une balle à la tête. A la nuit, la tuerie cessa et le Maréchal des Logis Pobéguin, à qui revenait dès lors le commandement, put compter 13 cadavres parmi les nôtres. Les Touaregs ayant fait plusieurs prisonniers, les obligèrent à escalader la haute falaise qui domine la source, et de là, les précipitèrent dans le vide où ils vinrent s'écraser aux pieds de leurs camarades.

Pobéguin et les survivants gagnèrent à marche forcée le puits d'Es Sola avant que les Touaregs aient eu le temps de l'occuper. Les blessés souffraient mille morts et comme il n'y avait plus rien à manger, pas même des herbes, on tua l'un

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



des chameaux. Il s'agissait maintenant de gagner le puits d'El Hadjadj. La souffrance et l'épuisement des hommes étaient difficiles à imaginer. Pobéguin lui-même était à bout de forces, mais conscient de son rôle de chef il se raidissait contre la douleur ; il était le premier levé, veillant à tout et faisant l'admiration de ses hommes. Un matin, au départ, deux blessés d'Ămegid furent trouvés morts et le lendemain un coup terrible devait encore frapper la mission : quatre hommes, profitant de la nuit, s'étaient enfuis avec un chameau ; trois jours plus tard, deux autres tirailleurs en faisaient autant avec le dernier animal.

Chaque étape voyait la petite troupe s'éclaircir, laisser ses morts derrière elle. Un jour, plusieurs hommes partirent en arrière dans l'espoir de tuer une gazelle. On entendit plusieurs coups de feu et quelques instants plus tard, ils étaient de retour au campement présentant des morceaux de viande à Pobéguin, mais celui-ci s'aperçut bien vite qu'il s'agissait de chair humaine et il refusa d'en manger. Les tirailleurs avaient achevé les blessés restés en arrière et les avaient dépecés. Dès lors, des drames du même genre se répétèrent chaque jour. Le 29 mars, il ne restait plus que sept hommes avec Pobéguin exténué, à demi-mort. Un chaamba du nom de Belkacem, le voyant dans cet état, proposa à l'un de ses camarades de le tuer. Comme l'autre s'y opposait, il s'ensuivit entre eux un combat au cours duquel Belkacem lui tira un coup de revolver dans le dos ; il tua ensuite Pobéguin agonisant, le dépeça avec son poignard et partagea la chair avec les survivants ! Le Sahara venait de voir s'accomplir le plus horrible drame de son histoire.

La cruauté des Touaregs souleva une violente indignation chez les Arabes de Ouargla et le chef de cette région proposa de former aussitôt une méhalla pour aller les punir, mais les autorités françaises ne donnèrent pas suite à sa demande.

Les Touaregs, de leur côté, exultaient. Ils avaient vaincu les Chrétiens, et Ăitarel, dans une lettre au Kaïmakam de Rhâdamès, s'en glorifiait hautement.

« Au nom de Dieu Clément et Miséricordieux, écrivait-il, vous nous aviez recommandé de surveiller les routes et de les préserver contre les gens hostiles, c'est ce que nous avons fait. Aujourd'hui ne voilà-t-il pas que les Chrétiens veulent suivre nos routes ! Ils sont venus dans l'Ăhaggar, mais les gens de cette contrée les ont combattus pour la guerre sainte de la manière la plus énergique, les ont massacrés et c'est fini. Main-

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



tenant, il faut absolument, ô cher ami, que la nouvelle de nos hauts faits parvienne à Constantinople. On dit que les Chrétiens sont énergiques et batailleurs, donc, ô cher ami, faites parvenir mes paroles à Constantinople et dites en haut lieu que je demande à ce que les musulmans viennent à notre aide pour soutenir la guerre sainte [1]. »

La pénétration saharienne fut à la suite de ce terrible drame arrêtée pendant 20 ans. Aucun ministre ne voulait plus entendre parler du Sahara et encore moins prendre l'initiative d'une nouvelle mission. Ceci, bien entendu, ne put que fortifier les Touaregs dans leur idée d'invincibilité et dans leur volonté de résister à outrance contre toute tentative ultérieure de pénétration venant de notre part. Il y eut une recrudescence religieuse et l'on vit se développer chez eux un sentiment national qui ne semble pas avoir existé auparavant. « Le jour, a écrit le Général Meynier, où Flatters vint donner aux Touaregs le sentiment que leur chère indépendance, pour eux le plus précieux des biens, était menacée, il y eut dans tout le désert une réelle poussée de patriotisme instinctif, sinon raisonné, qui groupa toutes les tribus nobles [2]. »

Les Touaregs Ifôras étaient consternés de la marche des événements, car eux-mêmes ne demandaient que l'établissement de bons rapports avec nos postes du sud qu'ils fréquentaient régulièrement pour leur commerce.

Un peu plus tard, le chef de la Zaouia de Guémar, Si A'rounsi ben Si Mohamed Ser'ir, s'entremit pour essayer de renouer des relations avec les Touaregs Ăjjer et Ihăggaren. Appartenant à la confrérie religieuse des Tidjanyia, il s'était aperçu du coup porté au prestige de cette dernière par le massacre de la mission Flatters, laquelle était accompagnée pour sa sauvegarde par Si Abd el Kader ben Hamida, moqqadem des Tidjanyia. Il envoya donc aux Kel Ăhaggar un de ses gens pour les travailler et surtout leur faire comprendre qu'ils seraient un jour incapables de résister à notre poussée et que leur intérêt était de se rapprocher de nous. Les représentants de l'Ăhaggar et des Ăjjer se réunirent donc à Idelès, chez Ăïtarel, pour écouter l'envoyé de Si A'rounsi. Il y avait là Moulay ben Kheddach qui commandait les tribus aux environs de Rhâdamès et Mohamed ag Aklouf, représentant les tribus de la région de Rhât. Après avoir mûrement réfléchi,

1. Cit. Schirmer, *Le Sahara*, p. 393.
2. *Les Conquérants du Tchad*, p. 25.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



ils décidèrent d'envoyer une délégation en Algérie. C'est ainsi que quatre Ifôras parmi lesquels Abd el Nebi, petit-fils de Cheikh Othman, Timiri et Issaka, familiers et hommes de confiance d'Ăïtarel, trois Issekkemâren et deux affranchis se rendaient au Souf, puis à Alger, où ils arrivaient le 16 novembre 1892. L'année suivante, le 16 novembre 1893, une délégation d'Ifôras des Ăjjer et de l'Ăhaggar venait à la Zaouia de Guémar sous un prétexte religieux et demandait notre secours contre les excès des Tripolitains, se plaçant ainsi sous notre protection. En 1894, le chef Kounssi ben Moussa, des Touaregs Ăjjer, présentait une réclamation du même genre contre les Arabes Chaamba qui lui avaient dérobé plusieurs chameaux au cours d'un rezzi.

Enfin, plusieurs familles touarègues Ifôras venaient s'installer sur le territoire d'El Oued.

Ces résultats politiques étaient dus à l'action intelligente de Si el A'rounsi et à ses serviteurs religieux, et s'ils n'eurent pas une portée immédiate, le grain semé devait germer plus tard avec Moussa ag Ămâstan, futur aménokal de l'Ăhaggar.

La période de 1890 à 1900 fut marquée de notre côté par les différentes explorations de Fernand Foureau. Installé comme colon dans l'oued Rhir', Foureau était un véritable apôtre de la pénétration saharienne et il entendit y participer directement. Déjà en 1882, il avait reçu une mission du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et fait une grande reconnaissance dans l'Erg Oriental où, après avoir atteint Aïn Taïba, il avait poussé jusqu'à Hassi Oulad Aïch.

En 1890, il se lançait à nouveau à travers l'Erg et atteignit le plateau de Tadmaït. En 1892, il parvenait à la piste Rhâdamès-In Ṣalah, puis gagnait Temaçinine, s'engageait ensuite dans l'Erg, reconnaissait la dépression du Djoua, parvenait à El Abiodh et terminait son raid en allant reconnaître le puits de Messeguen. A son retour, il rencontrait à Aïn Taïba M. Méry, rentrant d'un voyage qui l'avait mené jusqu'à Tabelbalet. M. Méry avait tenté d'atteindre le pays des Ăjjer, mais avait dû renoncer à son projet sur le refus de son guide d'aller plus loin.

Ce voyageur renouvelait l'année suivante son exploit, en compagnie de M. Guilloux ; il remontait entièrement le cours de l'oued Igharghar, de là se rendait à Tabelbalet, puis à Aïn El Hadjadj et au lac Menghough, mais arrivé à ce point, ses guides chaamba refusaient d'aller plus loin, considérant comme dangereux de s'aventurer dans le pays des Touaregs. A proxi-

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



mité du lac Menghough. il rencontra In Gueddassen, neveu de l'Aménokal des Ăjjer avec lequel il eut les entretiens les plus cordiaux et les plus prometteurs pour nos relations à venir avec les Touaregs du Tassili. Ils échangèrent entre eux leurs armes en signe d'amitié et In Gueddassen l'engagea à revenir par la suite. Quelques jours plus tard, le chef Moulay, cousin et successeur désigné de l'Aménokal, venait le voir à son tour et confirmait entièrement ce qu'avait dit In Gueddassen.

En même temps que M. Méry, Foureau était reparti pour une quatrième mission. Il gagnait Temaçinine, puis traversait pour la première fois la dépression du Djoua, gagnait Hassi Imoulay sur les confins tripolitains, après une traversée très pénible de l'Erg, au cours de laquelle il était resté dix jours sans pouvoir se ravitailler en eau. D'Hassi Imoulay, il gagnait Rhâdamès et rentrait à Ouargla à travers le Grand Erg. Les renseignements politiques qu'il rapportait étaient en contradiction avec ceux de M. Méry. Pour lui, les Touaregs du Tassili n'avaient aucunement l'intention de donner suite au traité de Rhâdamès et ne nous faciliteraient jamais le passage au Soudan. Il en arrivait à conclure que seule la force nous permettrait d'atteindre le but que nous poursuivions, c'est-à-dire nous assurer la route Algérie-Tchad.

L'année suivante, sans se décourager, Foureau se lançait dans une nouvelle tentative, chargé de mission par les Ministères de l'Instruction Publique, des Affaires Étrangères et des Colonies. Il commençait d'abord par reconnaître la piste d'El Goléa à In Salah, en poussant jusqu'à El Moungar, petit village situé à une journée de chameau de la grande oasis. Pour avoir plus d'aisance dans sa marche, il n'avait emmené avec lui qu'une faible escorte de cinq hommes, puis ce raid accompli, il gagnait El Hadjadj Moussa où il retrouvait une escorte importante à qui il avait donné rendez-vous. Continuant sa reconnaissance sur El [illegible]iodh, Témaçinine, il traversait le plateau d'Eguélé et arrivait à l'oued Tikhammalt dans l'espoir d'y rencontrer les chefs Ăjjer auxquels il avait envoyé un messager pour annoncer son arrivée. In Gueddassen venait à lui quelques jours après et lui assurait que la route du Soudan lui serait ouverte. Laissant là son escorte il partait aussitôt plein d'espoir en compagnie du Targui Moulay, mis à sa disposition par In Gueddassen et qui devait lui servir de guide et de protecteur. Il s'engageait aussitôt dans l'oued Emirhou, dépassait le point d'eau d'Oursel, mais il était arrêté avant le

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lac Emirhou par un nommé Cheikh ag Mohamed, qui, excité par un marabout fanatique des Kounta de Tombouctou, alors présent au campement, s'opposa à laisser passer un infidèle sur son territoire, malgré les efforts que fit Moulay pour le dissuader de son intransigeance, contraire aux ordres donnés par In Gueddassen. Rien n'y fit, et Foureau, désespéré de cet échec, dut renoncer à aller plus loin. Il rentra à la boussole à travers l'erg d'Issaouan qu'aucun de ses guides ne connaissait, et gagna le puits de Tabankort.

Dans le même temps M. Méry, auquel s'étaient joints MM. d'Attanoux, Bonnel de Mézières, les Pères Hacquart et Ménoret, gagnait Aïn Taïba, Témaçinine et le lac Menghough. Mais arrivés là, ils étaient arrêtés par un envoyé de la Djemaa des Ăjjer qui leur interdisait d'aller plus loin.

Ces multiples échecs de la pénétration saharienne vers la route du Soudan confirmèrent ce qu'avait déjà dit Foureau, à savoir que seule une force armée capable de résister aux Touaregs nous ouvrirait la route, qu'autrement les Touaregs nous feraient toujours des promesses qu'ils ne tiendraient jamais, car si certains chefs étaient assez bien disposés pour les Français, ils n'avaient pas une autorité suffisante pour faire respecter leurs ordres, comme cela s'était produit pour Foureau avec In Gueddassen.

Foureau, qui s'était entretenu de cet état de choses avec le Commandant Lamy, chef du Poste d'El Goléa, fit, avec cet officier, le projet d'obtenir la formation d'une colonne militaire qui descendrait jusqu'au Tchad. Le Commandant Lamy, qui était attaché quelques mois plus tard à la Présidence de la République, put profiter de sa position pour réaliser le projet qui fut d'autant mieux pris en considération qu'à la même époque nos troupes soudanaises d'une part, et nos troupes d'Afrique Équatoriale d'autre part, approchaient du Tchad, et qu'une liaison générale sur les bords du lac devenait possible, sinon nécessaire. Ce fut l'origine de la mission Foureau-Lamy.

On connaît la célèbre odyssée de cette mission. Partie de Ouargla le 23 octobre 1898, elle comprenait dix officiers, quatre membres civils, 286 militaires algériens montés à méhari, sauf les officiers, et 13 spahis montés à cheval. Après avoir gagné Aïn el Hadjadj elle s'engageait dans le Tassili, le traversait par l'oued Samen et débouchait dans l'Erg de Tihodaïne, puis après avoir coupé l'oued Taffassasset, elle gagnait l'Ănahef, poussait une pointe à l'oued Inouaouen pour recon-

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



naître l'endroit où étaient tombés Flatters et ses compagnons, et traversait le Ténéré pour aboutir au puits d'In Ăzaoua. Devant le déploiement d'une telle force, les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar virent qu'il était impossible de s'attaquer à la mission. Ils suivirent sa marche, quelques-uns acceptèrent de lui vendre des animaux et finalement Ăïtarel, en réponse à une lettre que lui avait envoyée le Commandant Lamy, lui donnait l'autorisation de traverser l'Ăhaggar pour se rendre au Soudan.

La preuve était donc faite qu'une troupe suffisamment nombreuse et bien armée pouvait défier toute attaque des Touaregs et que la force de ces derniers avait été manifestement exagérée. Jusqu'alors ils n'avaient agi que sur des personnes isolées ou bien par traîtrise.

Il faut rendre hommage à Fernand Foureau pour sa persévérance, sa perspicacité, car c'est en fait à lui que fut dû le succès de la mission Foureau-Lamy. Par son entêtement à vouloir pénétrer au Soudan par-dessus le pays touareg, par sa connaissance profonde des gens et des choses du Sahara, il fut le pionnier et l'artisan le plus sûr du succès. Grâce à lui, des milliers de kilomètres nouveaux avaient été relevés à la boussole, un matériel scientifique considérable avait été accumulé, complétant la documentation rapportée par Duveyrier, et préparant le terrain à des recherches futures. Aucun Européen n'a circulé dans le Grand Erg Oriental comme il l'a fait, et enfin les quatre gros volumes qu'il publia au retour de la mission constituent un monument scientifique auquel géologues, géographes, archéologues, ethnographes, etc... aiment à se reporter.

Il faut associer à cet hommage le Commandant Lamy, chef militaire de la mission, qui paya de sa vie son succès, tué à Kousseri en donnant l'assaut à la forteresse du sultan nègre Rabah, le dernier potentat de l'Afrique centrale.

Au moment même où la mission Foureau-Lamy traversait l'Ăhaggar, une autre mission, celle de M. Flamand, auquel était adjoint le Capitaine Pein, se dirigeait vers le Tidikelt. Attaquée par les indigènes près des villages d'Igostène et d'In Rhar', elle se défendait énergiquement, battait les assaillants, ce qui lui permettait d'entrer quelques jours plus tard à In Salah et de prendre définitivement possession de l'oasis au nom de la France.

L'occupation définitive du Sahara entrait désormais dans une phase active.

# *LIVRE IX*

## *HISTOIRE DE L'OCCUPATION FRANÇAISE ET DE LA SOUMISSION DES TOUAREGS DE L'AHAGGAR*

(1900-1920)

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En 1899, l'occupation de l'oasis d'In Salah et le succès de la mission Foureau-Lamy, marquaient une étape décisive pour la pacification du Sahara. Nous occupions l'un des principaux centres de ravitaillement des Kel Ăhaggar et nous étions amenés à entrer tôt ou tard en relations avec eux. Ceux-ci marquaient d'ailleurs leur dépit en lançant des rezzou contre les campements arabes soumis à leur autorité. Les Tăitok étaient les plus acharnés dans cette action et sous la direction de leur amar, Sidi ag Keradji, pillaient les campements sans défense en leur déclarant « vous êtes maintenant sujets des chrétiens, nous pillerons tous ceux qui les servent ».

L'Aménokal des Ihăggaren, Ăĭtarel, voyait d'ailleurs le danger de tels actes, en mesurait les conséquences et tout en se tenant vis-à-vis de nous sur la réserve, tentait de freiner l'ardeur des Tăitok. Il s'ensuivit des rapports très tendus entre eux et lui. Sidi ag Kéradji prétendait être poussé par ses gens et ne pas approuver leur conduite, redoutant comme Ăĭtarel les conséquences des actes de brigandage commis par les siens ; mais était-il sincère ou ne cherchait-il pas plutôt à créer des ennuis aux Kel Rela, fraction avec laquelle ses gens étaient en rivalité ?

Malgré cela, le 10 octobre 1900, 80 chameaux furent razziés par les gens de l'entourage d'Ăĭtarel jetant la confusion dans les tribus. Sur ces entrefaites, Ăĭtarel mourut.

Il avait, jusqu'au dernier moment, maintenu tant bien que mal l'autorité dans le pays et sa disparition devait être l'occasion d'une anarchie complète.

[p. 345]

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Immédiatement l'Ăhaggar fut plongé dans le plus grand désordre, car si les coutumes touarègues règlent automatiquement la question successorale, il n'en reste pas moins vrai que le candidat doit posséder certaines qualités, entre autres celle d'en imposer aux ambitieux qui se présentent toujours dans de pareilles circonstances.

Le commandement devait revenir à un certain Mohamed ag Ourzig, mais ce dernier, déjà vieux, n'avait pas l'énergie nécessaire et ne put asseoir son autorité. Il y eut autant d'aménokal que de nobles et les vassaux furent pressurés outre mesure, ce qui ne contribuait pas à apaiser les esprits.

Attici ag Chikkat, dit ag Ămellal, percevait la *tioussé* d'aménokal au nom de Mohamed ag Oursig, mais il la conservait pour lui et le vieux Mohamed ne pouvait arriver à se faire rendre raison.

Attici, qui avait participé au massacre de la mission Flatters, ayant préparé de ses mains les dattes empoisonnées qui, à Ămegid, devaient être si fatales aux rescapés du massacre, avait sur les Touaregs un gros prestige dû à son courage. Son père avait été amar des Tégéhé Mellet et sa mère était la sœur d'Ăïtarel. Le rôle odieux qu'il avait joué contre nous, le fit le chef naturel du parti opposé à la paix. Mais un autre parti ne fut pas long à se constituer et à se grouper autour d'un jeune chef dont les idées pacifiques étaient bien connues : ce jeune chef était Moussa ag Ămâstan, homme estimé pour son courage, sa générosité, son esprit chevaleresque, et qui rallia ses partisans dans l'Ădrar des Ifôras. Par ailleurs, un autre prétendant, Mohamed ag Othman, petit-fils d'El Hadj Ahmed el Bekri, prédécesseur d'Ăïtarel, s'installait près du village de Tazerouk, et régentait tous les environs à son profit.

Par nos agents de renseignements, nous pûmes avoir connaissance de ce qui se passait dans l'Ăhaggar, de l'état d'esprit des Imrad et de l'influence grandissante de Moussa ag Ămâstan.

Pendant toute cette période, notre influence se trouva combattue par l'action d'un marabout fanatique ; c'était le cheikh Abidine qui devenait célèbre dans tout le Sahara. Il se trouvait alors dans l'Ăhaggar et voyant les conséquences funestes que pouvaient causer les divergences dans le choix d'un aménokal, il intervint, prêchant la concorde, et il réussit à faire nommer, contre toute règle, deux aménokal à la fois, c'est-à-dire les candidats connus pour leur esprit anti-français, alors

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que Moussa ag Ămâstan était évincé. En même temps, il conseillait aux Kel Ăhaggar de s'opposer par la force au passage de toute caravane française ou composée de nos protégés à travers leurs montagnes, d'inquiéter nos lignes de ravitaillement et de cesser tout rapport avec le Touat et le Tidikelt ; quelques mois plus tard, il jetait même l'interdit sur les dattes venant du nord, pour accentuer la coupure entre les Touaregs et les Arabes soumis à notre obédience.

Abidine, qui était un dissident de la fraction arabe des Kounta, s'était, après la prise de Tombouctou, réfugié dans l'Ăhaggar, où il prit une femme dans la tribu des Kel Ăhnet, dont il eut un fils Sidi Aïb Allah. C'est tout à la fois son autorité de guerrier et de marabout qui lui permit de s'immiscer dans les affaires de l'Ăhaggar. Indiquons tout de suite quelle sera son action : En septembre 1902, il se rendra chez les Bérabers pour chercher des renforts, des fusils et de la poudre, passera à Reggan et à la Zaouia Kounta alors que ses tentes resteront avec celles de Mohamed ag Ourzig et de Baba ag Tamaklast près de T-i-m-missao. En 1905 le Colonel Laperrine, qui avait reçu le commandement des oasis sahariennes quelques années plus tôt, passera à une journée de ses campements, mais sur l'instance de son entourage qui lui promet de l'amener à composition, il ne l'inquiétera pas. Ce geste généreux sera malheureusemens sans résultat, car plus tard, en 1906, il prendra le large, annonçant le « Madhi » et opérera sur nos groupes méharistes et sur les indigènes de l'Ădrar des Ifôras et du Timétrine, pendant plus de vingt ans, finissant par se retirer chez les Bérabers du Rio de Oro.

En juin 1901, quelques fractions inféodées aux Tăitok, gênées par la rupture commerciale avec les oasis du Touat, font une demande d'aman à In Salah, et les Kel Ăhnet s'efforcent d'entretenir de bonnes relations avec nos administrés. C'est alors que se produisit un fait insignifiant au premier abord, mais qui devait bouleverser les affaires de l'Ăhaggar.

Au début de l'année 1902 le nommé Mohamed ben M'sis, de la petite oasis d'In Rhar' et sa sœur Fatma, qui revenaient de l'Immidir, sont attirés par les Touaregs dans l'oued Telzaghet et pillés par Baba ag Tamaklast, des Kel Rela, et ses gens. Cet acte créait un état d'hostilité déclarée vis-à-vis des Arabes du Tidikelt et des autorités françaises. Il aurait été fomenté par Mohamed ag Ourzig qui aurait conseillé à Baba de

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marcher sur les Touatiens pour provoquer la venue des Français et créer des embarras à son usurpateur Attici.

Toujours est-il que le Capitaine Cauvet, qui commandait la compagnie saharienne du Tidikelt-Hoggar, ainsi que l'annexe d'In Salah, autorisait alors la fraction arabe des Ahel Azzi à porter secours à ses gens habitant l'Ăhaggar, et pour qu'ils ne pillent pas inconsciemment les fit escorter par le lieutenant Cottenest et quelques méharistes. Le goum ainsi constitué se montait à 130 indigènes, comprenant 40 Moghaznis chaamba, 30 Oulad Dahane, 20 Oulad Yaya, 10 Oulad Bahamou, 10 Ahel Azzi, 10 Ahel Moktar, un interprète et 4 cavaliers. La colonne, partie d'In Salah le 23 mars, arrivait à Idelès le 23 avril après avoir fouillé tous les massifs de l'Immidir et de la Tăfedest. L'amrar des Kel Immidir, fait prisonnier par une reconnaissance d'Ouled Dahane, avait été envoyé à l'Aménokal Attici pour lui faire part de nos intentions, mais ce dernier et ses gens, fuyant le danger, étaient remontés vers le Tassili. Le 28 avril, la colonne arrivait à Tazerouk dont les habitants s'étaient enfuis pour se cacher dans la montagne. En fouillant les habitations, le lieutenant Cottenest retrouvait quelques objets ayant appartenu à la mission Flatters.

Dans la nuit du 29 au 30 avril, des éclaireurs touaregs vinrent à proximité du camp et tirèrent quelques coups de feu qui ne firent heureusement aucun mal. Le 4 mai, le goum arrivait à Tărhaouhaout, n'ayant trouvé que le vide sur son passage. La veille, les fuyards avaient abandonné une tente qui fut identifiée comme ayant appartenu au Marquis de Morès.

Le 7 mai, le groupe avait quitté Tămanrasset à 5 heures du matin et à 15 heures et demie était en vue du petit village de Tit. Vers 16 heures, une patrouille de flanc-gardes revenait et annonçait qu'elle avait aperçu dans le lit de l'oued un groupe très important de Touaregs à pied dont les méhara étaient barraqués un peu plus loin ; en apercevant la patrouille, ils avaient rejoint les chameaux. Quelques minutes plus tard, on voyait les Touaregs sortir de l'oued Tit et le petit groupe du lieutenant Cottenest n'avait que le temps de se retrancher sur une petite montagne toute proche. Dès lors le contact était pris avec les Kel Ăhaggar. Parmi ces derniers, se trouvaient des gens de la tribu des Dăg Râli, des Ăgouh-n-Tĕhlé, des Iklân-en-Tăoussit, plusieurs Kel Rela, dont Sidi ag Chedab khalife actuel de l'Aménokal, et quelques Issekkemâren.

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Le convoi du lieutenant Cottenest était barraqué et les méhara mis à l'abri derrière des rochers ; l'avant-garde et les flanc-gardes avaient disparu derrière les collines, et la proximité des Touaregs empêchait de les prévenir du danger ; de ce fait, le groupe était réduit à 70 fusils.

Au tout petit trot de leurs montures, les Touaregs avançaient en poussant des cris en tămâhak et en arabe, invitant les nôtres à se rallier à eux : « Lafia Dăg Râli, Tola Mérabtines, » « la paix aux Dăg Râli, grâce sera accordée aux Mérabtines. » Le groupe est alors à 600 mètres et le lieutenant Cottenest ne sait s'il a affaire à des amis ou à des ennemis.

Au signal d'un coup de feu, les Kel Ăhaggar se lancent sur les nôtres au galop de leurs méhara en poussant leurs cris de guerre, auxquels répondent les cris de rage de nos chaamba et les claquements des coups de feu. Des lances en fer tombent de tous côtés, puis, mettant pied à terre, les Touaregs s'avancent fusils et lances en main, sabre au côté. Se sentant débordé par ce flot humain, le lieutenant Cottenest a successivement son interprète et un oulad Moktar tués à ses côtés ; il reçoit à l'épaule une balle ayant précédemment blessé un Moghazni qui s'était courageusement jeté devant son chef.

Vers 17 heures, les petits groupes de reconnaissance, alertés par la fusillade, entraient en ligne ; un corps à corps terrible se produisit alors et le lieutenant Cottenest n'hésitait pas à passer à l'offensive.

« Nous nous précipitons sur eux, écrit-il dans son rapport, les chassons de notre convoi après un corps à corps des plus acharnés ; des armes se brisent sur les crânes, des crosses sont fendues par des coups de lance, des coups de feu à bout portant enflamment les vêtements. »

La poursuite dura jusqu'à 20 heures et le Kébir Douro, des Arabes Mérabtines, tua à lui seul 22 Touaregs. Le goum avait brûlé 14.000 cartouches et avait eu 3 morts et 10 blessés. 71 cadavres furent retrouvés sur le terrain, auxquels il faut ajouter les 22 tués dans la poursuite. Nos prises étaient de 91 méhara sellés, de 83 fusils, dont 11 Remington, 13 pistolets, 90 lances, 89 sabres, 49 poignards qui furent détruits le lendemain. Plusieurs familles appartenant aux tribus des Kel Rela et des Ihadanaren, qui s'étaient enfuies dans le Ténéré, y périrent de soif.

Que s'était-il passé chez les Touaregs pour qu'ils prissent l'initiative d'une attaque contre nous ? On se rappellera que

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l'auteur de l'incident qui occasionna le contre-rezzi était un Kel Rela, qu'il n'engageait que sa responsabilité et que, d'autre part, les terrains de parcours sur lesquels nous portions notre action étaient ceux d'une autre fraction, les Dăg Râli, qui n'étaient nullement responsables de l'affaire de l'oued Telzaghet. La destruction, par nos gens, des greniers de I-n-Ămgel, de Idelès, de Tazerouk, frappait directement les Dăg Râli ; de plus, nous n'avions pas ménagé leurs troupeaux. Leur amrar, Mohamed ag Abessa, réunit la Djemaa et suscita l'envoi d'un message de paix au lieutenant Cottenest ; mais ce sage avis ne prévalut pas et entraînés par la jeunesse de la tribu, les Dăg Râli optèrent pour la guerre. C'est alors qu'ils se portèrent sur Tit pour barrer la route aux nôtres et tous y firent des prodiges de valeur ; Mohamed ag Abessa lui-même y fut tué.

Le combat de Tit fit grande impression. C'était la première rencontre de nos troupes avec les Kel Ăhaggar depuis le massacre de la mission Flatters ; en même temps qu'une magistrale démonstration de notre force, elle représentait la vengeance, trop longtemps retardée et la destruction des illusions que les Touaregs avaient de leur puissance militaire. Après la mission Foureau-Lamy, après le combat de Tit, preuve était faite qu'une petite colonne bien organisée pouvait s'aventurer sans grand danger au Sahara central. L'Ătakor était violé pour la première fois par les nôtres et en dehors de ce beau succès militaire, le lieutenant Cottenest rapportait d'importants renseignements d'ordre géographique. Un autre point était acquis : à savoir que les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar ne pouvaient mettre guère plus de 300 guerriers sur pied.

Pendant que le lieutenant Cottenest effectuait son raid, les gens de l'Ăhnet venaient faire leur soumission à In Salah, et leur chef, Badjeloud, nous promettait un concours sans réserve ; après Tit, beaucoup de Kel Rela songeaient à se soumettre, mais Abidine les retenait et prêchait la résistance.

L'attitude des Dăg Râli se modifiait ; avant Tit, ils s'étaient empressés près de nous à In Salah pour que nous laissions passer tranquillement leurs caravanes, mais pendant le même temps, ils envoyaient des émissaires chez les Ifôras du Nord pour les inviter à se joindre à eux.

L'année suivante, dans le but de reprendre quelques chameaux razziés et rapatrier un certain nombre d'harratines, le lieutenant Guilho-Lohan partait d'In Salah le 1er octobre, traversait l'Immîdir, le massif de la Tăfedest, la Koudia, en

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passant au pied de l'Ilâman, et rentrait par l'oued Tit et Ăbalessa. Le vide se fit partout devant lui sans qu'il lui ait été possible à aucun moment de rejoindre les Touaregs.

Le résultat politique n'en fut pas moins important, il montra une fois de plus aux Kel Ăhaggar que l'Ătakor n'était pas inviolable [1] et que nous étions en mesure de les inquiéter quand nous voudrions.

Le lieutenant Guilho-Lohan rapportait en même temps d'importants renseignements géographiques et les premiers clichés photographiques de ces régions ; en dehors de l'ascension du pic Ilâman, il avait relevé le parcours d'I-n-Ămegel à Idelès, il augmentait notablement nos connaissances sur la Koudia et confirmait les renseignements précédemment recueillis.

Les bruits de paix se répandirent aussitôt et le parti de Moussa ag Ămâstan qui attendait le ralliement de ses gens pour entamer les conversations, se renforçait de jour en jour.

Sidi ag Keradji, qui ne sait à quel saint se vouer, est évincé par ses gens et remplacé par Azioual ag Serada comme « amrar » des Tăitok. Ces derniers viennent bientôt faire leur soumission ; Sidi ag Keradji demande à son tour l'aman pour lui-même et Moussa ag Ămâstan se décide à entrer en relations avec le Capitaine Cauvet, par l'intermédiaire du Caïd d'Akabli, Moulay Omar. C'est alors que le Commandant Laperrine partit en tournée. Auparavant, Moussa ag Ămâstan avait demandé qu'on lui envoyât comme agent politique El Hadj Ahmed ben Mohamed Bilou, qui devait devenir plus tard le Caïd des Ahl Azzi, car il n'avait plus confiance en l'agent que nous avions mis à côté de lui, Mouley Omar, qu'il supposait être inféodé aux Tăitok. Ce fut son nègre Chernach qui vint faire cette demande à In Salah : il expliqua que Bilou pourrait certainement seconder Moussa pour le ralliement qui n'était pas encore complètement fait. La demande de Moussa fut agréée et Bilou partit le rejoindre.

La soumission des Kel Ăhnet et des Tăitok fut suivie par celle des Touaregs Ifôras qui vinrent à In Salah sur le conseil du marabout Kounta, Bay el Bekkay, qui jouissait dans l'Ădrar d'une grande réputation et qui, tout en s'abstenant d'entrer en rapport avec nous, préconisait la soumission, car

1. En 1875, pendant la guerre contre les Ajjer, elle avait été razziée par les Ouled Boussif, fraction arabe du Fezzan.

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il avait une juste appréciation de notre force et se rendait compte que la résistance des Touaregs était parfaitement inutile.

Avant de venir à In Salah, Moussa ag Ămâstan avait voulu avoir une entrevue avec l'Aménokal des Ăjjer, In Gueddassen, pour essayer de l'associer à son projet et il partit pour Rhât. Entre temps, il avait envoyé l'un des siens à son campement pour lui rapporter ses vêtements d'apparât afin de se présenter décemment devant les autorités françaises, mais l'homme fut dévalisé intentionnellement en route par un nommé Amma ag Doua, ce qui retarda l'arrivée de Moussa à In Salah jusqu'au 21 janvier 1904. Moussa avait, d'autre part, échoué auprès de In Gueddassen.

Le vol d'Amma ag Doua n'avait d'autre but que de nuire à Moussa et de l'empêcher d'aller à In Salah, car il est de coutume, chez les Touaregs, qu'un chef de grande tente se présente toujours recouvert de ses plus beaux accoutrements. Amma ag Doua était le soupirant évincé d'une des plus jolies filles de l'Ăhaggar, Dassine oult Yema, cousine de Moussa, et il avait agi par vengeance, car il n'avait pas trouvé auprès de ce dernier l'aide qu'il en espérait pour obtenir la main de la jeune femme.

Le 2 mai 1904, le Commandant Laperrine rencontrait à Tin Zaouaten le chef des Tăitok, Sidi ag Keradji, à qui l'on avait remis son commandement ; à son passage à Ăbalessa, Baba ag Tamaklast, l'auteur de l'affaire de l'oued Telaghet, était allé le voir, et le Commandant, très paternellement, l'avait plaisanté amicalement, lui faisant ressortir que sans lui l'Ăhaggar n'aurait peut-être pas été placé si tôt sous le contrôle des Français.

Le Bordj de Témaçinine était alors créé ; on lui donnait le nom de Fort-Flatters.

L'Ăhaggar s'ouvrait de plus en plus à notre activité.

En 1905, le lieutenant Clor y séjourna du 3 septembre au 26 novembre. Le Professeur Gautier, partant d'In Salah, peut atteindre le Niger en toute sécurité ; l'officier-interprète Benhazéra accompagne le lieutenant Clor, étudie les mœurs et la langue des Touaregs, pendant que le Père de Foucauld vient s'installer au cœur du pays. La même année, le capitaine Dinaux poussait une reconnaissance sur Iferouane, y conduisant le géologue Chudeau qui, seul, gagnait sans encombre, Agadez.

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1906 fut marqué par le voyage de M. l'interprète de Motylinski ; il fut attaqué à Tămanrasset par quelques Ăjjer, et un de ses goumiers fut transpercé par un coup de lance. Le lieutenant Clor renouvelait la liaison avec Iférouane et donnait la main aux méharistes soudanais.

La situation n'était pas encore très nette. L'agitateur Abidine, sans se départir de son attitude, menait toujours une campagne anti-française. Le frère de l'ancien aménokal Attici, Ănaba, qui avait participé également au massacre de la colonne Flatters, nous donnait quelques inquiétudes par son attitude douteuse. Moussa ag Ămâstan restait deux mois sans nous donner de ses nouvelles, ce qui n'était pas sans nous impressionner fâcheusement. La soumission des Touaregs était-elle sincère ? Il était permis d'en douter.

Moussa revint enfin et organisa un rezzi contre les Ăjjer pour punir le meurtre de notre méhariste et venger les coups de main lancés contre les campements des Kel Ăhaggar par un nommé Reskou, chef de bande de la tribu des Ouraren. Ce dernier est tué le 23 décembre et 26 chamelles, 70 chameaux, 600 moutons sont ramenés dans l'Ăhaggar.

En 1907, Moussa ag Ămâstan reçut la Légion d'Honneur en remerciement de l'aide qu'il nous avait apportée dans la soumission des Kel Ăhaggar et de son attitude correcte avec nous ; il éprouvait de grosses difficultés avec ses gens, car les Tăitok étaient travaillés par Abidine, alors que les Kel I-n-Tounin se laissaient influencer par les Ăjjer, eux-mêmes soutenus par les Turcs. Notre passivité devant les Ăjjer, des bruits de révolte plus ou moins tendancieux qui circulaient en Aïr, n'étaient pas sans l'inquiéter. Une tournée du Capitaine Dinaux dans l'Ădrar des Ifôras permit de vérifier l'état d'esprit des Tăitok et des Kel Ăhnet en même temps que nous faisions notre jonction avec les troupes soudanaises du cercle de Tombouctou.

L'année suivante vit se construire le Bordj de Tărahouahout et de Fort-Polignac, l'un dans l'Ăhaggar, l'autre aux Ăjjer.

Sur les conseils appréciés de Moussa, qui nous aide en même temps contre les Ăjjer, l'Ăhaggar s'organise, la politique très éclairée de Laperrine facilite les choses, politique d'autant plus éclairée que cet officier connaît bien les mœurs et l'organisation touarègue [1].

1. Laperrine, alors qu'il était capitaine aux Spahis Soudanais, avait fait connaissance avec les Ihaggaren en 1896. C'est en effet en mars de

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Les Tăitok furent réorganisés et les Kel Ăhnet leur furent rattachés comme auparavant.

Aux Ăjjer, nous avions à lutter contre les empiétements très hardis des Turcs, auxquels les Kel Ăjjer avaient fait appel, et qui auraient bien voulu s'installer à Djanet. Le Kaïmakan de Rhât, Djani Bey, soutenu par les Senoussistes, membres d'une confrérie religieuse très importante dont nous aurons à nous occuper plus tard, travaillait nos gens qui émigraient vers le Tassili tout en affirmant leur loyalisme à notre cause.

Les Turcs, poursuivant leur politique envahissante, s'avançaient jusqu'à la plaine d'Admer où ils se heurtaient à un de nos détachements, et étaient obligés de rétrograder sur Djanet. En 1903, une reconnaissance, conduite par le capitaine Touchard, avait visité Djanet. Le 18 juin 1907 nous y entrions à nouveau pour nous y installer.

Notre politique pouvait se résumer en ceci : alors que dans l'Ăhaggar nous nous efforcions de renforcer l'autorité de l'Aménokal, dans l'Ăjjer nous essayions de vaincre l'influence des Imochar sur les Imrad.

Beaucoup de Touaregs ne voulaient pas encore croire à leur défaite et comme nous ne pouvions être partout à la fois, des éléments turbulents entretenaient toujours une certaine agitation. Quelques-uns tenaient encore le maquis, avaient refusé de se soumettre, et une petite rencontre avait eu lieu le 28 mars 1909 à Titersine, contre ces irréductibles.

Dans le but de renforcer l'autorité de Moussa ag Ămâstan en même temps que pour lui faire voir notre force, le général Laperrine l'envoyait faire un voyage en France. Il visita les usines du Creusot, il participa à la vie mondaine de Paris, et il rentra dans ses campements très fortement impressionné.

Mais pendant ce temps, ses gens qui nomadisaient sur le territoire de l'A. O. F., manquant de direction morale, faisaient preuve d'indiscipline et malgré l'ordre qui leur avait été donné, ne rentraient que six mois plus tard dans l'Ăhaggar ; encore fallut-il une intervention énergique du lieutenant Clerget de Saint-Léger ; cela ne les empêcha pas l'année sui-

cette année même qu'un de leurs rezzou était venu razzier nos protégés Bérabich, au nord-est de Tombouctou. Laperrine les avait rejoints à Akenken et les avait mis en déroute.

L'année suivante, en juin, les Ihaggaren revinrent sur le fleuve et surprirent les lieutenants de Chevigné et de la Tour à Séréré, petit village entre Bamba et Koriomé ; il les massacrèrent avec leur escorte.

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vante de récidiver, et obligea le lieutenant Sigonney à les ramener par la force.

Pendant la même période, le Groupe Mobile de l'Ăhaggar ne restait pas inactif et s'efforçait de protéger les campements soumis contre les incursions des Bérabers et des gens d'Abidine, qui, après chacun de leurs coups, se réfugiaient au Tafilalet. Ils avaient, au cours de raids audacieux, tué le chef Safikroun, Aménokal de l'Ădrar, et massacré le goum Kounta avec leur chef Hamoadi, ainsi que le détachement français du lieutenant Lelorain.

Le 4 novembre 1912, l'adjudant Gautier, avec 30 hommes, rencontrait 75 pillards marocains dans l'erg d'In Guiern, leur causait 10 morts, faisait deux prisonniers, leur reprenait 16 nègres razziés au Soudan et 317 chameaux. Le reste du Groupe mobile, commandé par le Capitaine Charlet qui avait été alerté, rejoignait quelques jours après l'adjudant Gautier et, de concert, ils poursuivaient le rezzi qu'ils atteignaient le 29 à Bir Zmila après une course de dix jours au cours desquels ils avaient franchi 800 kilomètres. Le rezzi, campé à 20 km. du puits, était brusquement surpris et, avant d'avoir eu le temps de se défendre, voyait toutes ses prises enlevées. L'attaque de nos méharistes composés essentiellement de Chaamba, avait couché 19 Bérabers à terre et de l'important groupe qui depuis des mois ravageait la région nord de Tombouctou, il ne restait qu'une vingtaine d'hommes qui ne purent s'échapper qu'avec de grandes difficultés. De retour au puits de Zmila, le Capitaine Charlet pouvait inventorier ses prises : près de 300 chameaux, 52 fusils ; de plus 8 nègres, 13 négresses, 8 négrillons, qui avaient été enlevés sur les bords du Niger, étaient rendus à leurs villages. La petite troupe ramena son butin à Tombouctou où la population lui fit un chaleureux accueil. En passant à Aïn Guettara, le Capitaine Charlet avait ramené les restes du lieutenant Lelorain et du commis des Affaires Civiles Rossi, qui avaient dû être inhumés sur place. Après quoi, le Capitaine Charlet rentrait sur l'Ăhaggar, mais repartait aussitôt pour le Tassili où l'appelaient de nouveaux événements.

Dans le but d'établir une liaison avec le groupe de Bilma, le lieutenant Gardel avait été chargé de pousser une reconnaissance sur In Ezzan, accompagné d'un groupe de 40 méharistes. En cours de route, il apprenait la formation d'une forte harka à Rhât et il se portait rapidement en avant pour couvrir le

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



poste de Djanet. Le 10 avril 1913, il rencontrait la harka à Esseyen-n-Afella et, vers 15 heures, il était brusquement attaqué par 350 hommes touaregs et arabes. Cernée, la patrouille devait lutter toute la soirée et toute la nuit, et au petit jour, serrée à 30 mètres par les détachements ennemis, qui se montraient de plus en plus audacieux, elle était forcée de se dégager par une charge à la baïonnette qui couchait 23 hommes à terre et obligeait l'ennemi à abandonner la lutte.

Ce combat épique est un des plus beaux faits de guerre de la pénétration saharienne, et le récit du lieutenant Gardel vaut d'être cité en entier [1] :

« Vers 15 heures, la sentinelle devant les armes signale, en même temps que les sentinelles de la dune se replient et que les sentinelles montées de garde au pâturage vont au grand galop vers les animaux. Signal d'alerte. Les méhara sont poussés vers le camp. Je crie d'économiser les munitions. A ce moment le brigadier Ahmed ben Amar se retire sur la ligne de feu, il se traîne entre deux chameaux morts, il est blessé, son visage exprime la pire souffrance. Un doigt sur la bouche, je lui fais signe de se taire. Il lance ses cartouches vers les combattants et crie : O mes amis, doucement les cartouches, doucement, et ce sera sa recommandation jusqu'à la nuit. Il est superbe. Deux balles l'ont atteint coup sur coup ; une a traversé la cuisse gauche, dans les chairs, en séton, l'autre est entrée par le mollet droit et ressortie à la cheville, fracassant le péroné.

» Au nord, sur la dune, une sorte d'état-major est en vue ; deux cavaliers caracolent ; le Saharien Ahmed ben Abdela, excellent tireur, en prend un pour cible à 600 mètres. Après deux ou trois coups, on voit le cavalier s'affaisser et tomber de cheval ; on se précipite sur lui, on l'emporte. Ce doit être un personnage. Un instant après c'est le tour de l'autre cavalier dont le cheval s'abat.

» Sur notre droite, l'ennemi avance vers le sud ; le brigadier Deconclois et six hommes sont envoyés sur un monticule au sud de notre réduit. Les adversaires se rapprochent de nous. Le ravage du plomb sur nos animaux est effrayant. Deux chameaux atteints, fous de douleur, fuient ; vingt autres à leur suite prennent au trot le large vers le sud. Nous ouvrons le feu sur nos montures pour qu'au moins elles ne soient d'aucun profit à l'ennemi. Les deux antennes adverses se sont rejointes vers le sud. A la faveur de petites dunes que nous n'avons pas eu le temps d'organiser, les guerriers de la harka viennent se grouper au point que le brigadier Deconclois et ses hommes viennent d'évacuer par ordre. Il y a là 60 à 80 adversaires poussant de grands cris sauvages ; cependant qu'au nord-est derrière une ligne de tamarix, au nord dans un repli de terrain, à l'ouest occupant une petite dune, d'autres ennemis nous fusillent. Nous sommes encerclés. La baïonnette est mise au bout des mousquetons. La face sud de notre réduit a été renforcée par des hommes prélevés

1. Le Lt Gardel comme le Lt Cottenest, comme le Cne Charlet, comme tant d'autres héros de la pénétration saharienne, devait trouver plus tard une mort glorieuse sur les champs de bataille de France.

sur les autres faces moins immédiatement menacées. Le Saharien Lakdar ben Boudjema qui reçoit l'ordre de changer de place déclare que depuis plus d'une demi-heure il est blessé au pied gauche et ne peut pas bouger. Il s'est pansé lui-même avec son chèche et a prié ses camarades de n'avertir personne de sa blessure. Il n'a cessé de faire le coup de feu. Il est 18 heures. A ce moment au signal d'une fusée, le groupe ennemi du sud qui est le plus dense et le plus proche de nous, après un feu très nourri, s'élance avec des clameurs épouvantables. L'instant est critique, l'ennemi se précipite. Il est reçu par un feu à bout portant. Quatre guerriers tombent sur place, d'autres fuient laissant des traînées de sang. Mais les adversaires sont arrivés jusqu'au milieu de nos bagages. L'idée du pillage est la plus forte chez eux ; ils s'emparent de nos ralha [1], de nos sacs, se chargent du butin que beaucoup teignent de leur sang. Nous n'avons même pas la ressource d'une contre-attaque. La crainte que notre carré ne soit envahi si nous sommes repoussés nous l'enlève. Le brigadier Ali ben Larbi est atteint d'une charge de chevrotines dans le bras gauche ; il continue de tirer ; une autre balle traverse en séton sa cuisse gauche ; il ne quitte pas sa place de combat. La nuit vient. Après son effort, l'ennemi se calme. La consommation de munitions chez l'ennemi a été énorme. Nous pensons qu'il n'a peut-être plus beaucoup de projectiles. La nuit s'est faite. Le premier quartier de la lune apparaît. L'ennemi entretient un feu lent et lance trois fusées incendiaires qui ne causent aucun dégât. Toutes les indications, tous les commandements faits à haute voix par les Français, sont ponctués de coups de fusils de l'ennemi. Il en sera ainsi toute la nuit. On s'insulte de part et d'autre ; le Saharien Mohamed ben Taïeb hausse le ton et sert les injures par bordées. Par ses saillies il parvient à faire rire ses camarades. En arabe et en tamachek, les adversaires crient entre autres choses : « Abandonnez les infidèles, ô Musulmans, venez à nous, nous n'en voulons qu'aux Chrétiens. Lâchez ! lâchez ! les koufars » ; puis : « C'est vous que nous voulons ô Biska ag Sidi, ô Chebeki ag Hemma, Bellay ag Younès (ce sont nos goumiers et guides touaregs). » Le Saharien Aflan ag Salem, un Targui noble du Hoggar. répond : « « Les Français sont nos frères, nous n'avons que le bien de leur part, nous ne les abandonnerons pas jusqu'à la mort. » On lui crie : « O toi, le raisonneur, demain matin nous serons trois cents de plus et tu ne parleras plus. » Aflan ag Salem lance : « Demain au jour vous fuirez devant nous, chiens, fils de chiens ! » J'ordonne le silence. Plus un mot, plus une détonation. L'ennemi tiraille toujours. Le Saharien Brahim ag Bocca, un Targui Ahaggar, s'étend à terre sans un cri. On le croit mort et on le dépouille de ses cartouches. Il n'est que blessé, mais fort sérieusement. Une balle a labouré son front. Le feu de l'ennemi devient plus vif. Le Saharien Sliman ag Abdennebig est tué d'une balle dans la tête. Un moment avant, il criait à l'ennemi : « O fils de prostituées, nous souillerons vos mères ; ô filles de gazelles vous prendrez la fuite devant nous, » et comme je le faisais taire : « sois sans crainte, mon lieutenant, de cette affaire, il ne sortira que de l'honneur pour nous. » Le brigadier Ali ben Larbi, déjà blessé deux fois, est atteint par une balle qui heureusement se plaque contre un des chargeurs du montant gauche de son baudrier à cartouches ; une deuxième balle viendra encore mourir au même point.

1. Selle de méhari.

» A 21 heures le feu de l'ennemi est très dense, c'est une reprise du combat. Du milieu de la fusillade on entend monter les cris d'un chant de guerre, accompagnés de hurlements de loups ; ce sont les Toubou qui sont là. Les chanteurs martellent du pied le sol de sable pour scander le chant en même temps qu'ils entrechoquent leurs larges sabres. Le Saharien Mohamed ben Messaoud est atteint légèrement d'une balle en séton, à la cuisse droite. Ce soldat, durant deux heures, cheveux au vent, a paru comme un véritable démon. Il est resté debout dans un coin, fouillant la pente devant lui. On ne saura qu'il est blessé que le lendemain après le combat. Après cette alerte une accalmie se produit. Dans la nuit, on aperçoit au loin des feux ; l'ennemi par séries se réconforte avec nos vivres pillés. Vers 23 heures, le feu adverse reprend ; le Saharien Abidine ben Sidi Mohamed est tué d'une balle qui brise sa baïonnette et pénètre par le front dans la tête. Ce tout jeune homme avait fait preuve du plus grand sang-froid, bravant l'ennemi en langue tamâhak, traduisant à son lieutenant les imprécations de la horde adverse. Il est mort en brave. Je le fais enterrer ainsi que Sliman ag Abdennebig pour éviter au jour un triste spectacle aux survivants. Le Saharien Ali ben Ali est atteint d'une balle à la tête, elle lui sillonne profondément le cuir chevelu sur une dizaine de centimètres. La commotion lui paralyse le bras gauche. Une petite accalmie a lieu. Je juge notre position critique et demande au Saharien Korben ag Chemmet, Targui ajjer des Idjerad Jiriouen, ex-pâtre du Tassili, de se dévouer pour traverser la ligne ennémie et aller presser l'arrivée du secours que j'attends de Djanet. Korben acccepte sans hésiter et part dans la nuit. Ce vaillant aura la chance d'échapper à nos assaillants, de gagner Djanet, de remplir sa mission le lendemain à 22 heures après avoir parcouru plus de 30 kilomètres au travers du plateau montagneux. Dans la tranchée, malgré eux, nos hommes ne peuvent résister au sommeil. Je permets de tirer de temps en temps pour se tenir éveillé. Jusqu'au matin, ce sera la même tirerie dans la nuit. Elle n'est pas sans danger. Le Saharien Mohamed ben Abdel Kader, jeune soldat, appelle ses camarades, les maintient éveillés, s'informe des uns et des autres, échange des souhaits avec ses voisins ; il soutient l'ardeur du petit groupe dans lequel il est. Le Saharien Chérif ben el Hadj Ali reçoit une balle qui lui fait une forte éraflure à la tête, il dit : « il faut que je leur renvoie ça » ; il ajuste lentement et tire. Vers le matin, le brigadier Messaoud ben Ali est atteint en séton léger au muscle des gouttières droit. Au petit jour le brigadier Kaddour ben Mohamed et six hommes se portent sur une petite dune évacuée par l'ennemi à l'ouest de notre réduit. Il a ordre de tirer sur le groupe adverse qui nous inquiète au sud. Un adversaire pieux fait appel à la prière musulmane de l'aube. Peu après une fusée part. A l'est on aperçoit une troupe ennemie à 300 mètres. Le feu reprend intense. Le Saharien Mohamed ben Abderhaman de l'escorte du brigadier Kaddour ben Mohamed est blessé d'une balle qui traverse la cuisse gauche près du genou. Le Saharien Bouaf ben Khaled est atteint très légèrement au mollet droit. Il importe de se dégager avant l'arrivée des renforts. La face sud de notre retranchement est encore renforcée par prélèvements faits sur les autres faces. Il faut faire appel au courage des hommes. Nous allons charger à la baïonnette. Ils sont prêts. Le brigadier Deconclois est laissé à la garde de notre position avec quelques hommes. Il veillera sur les blessés. Un feu d'un chargeur est exécuté au

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



cri de « En avant ! » Le maréchal des logis Bagnères et moi sortons de la tranchée la baïonnette haute ; il y a un instant d'hésitation chez nos hommes ; nous crions toujours : « en avant ! » en courant. L'ennemi est à 30 mètres, têtes baissées par notre feu derrière une petite dune. Les Sahariens se précipitent. En un clin d'œil nous sommes sur les adversaires. Ils font une décharge qui n'atteint personne et plient. C'est la victoire ! Les baïonnettes se plantent dans les dos, dans les poitrines, dans les ventres. Toubou, Kel Tin-Alkoum, Ajjer, tombent, pantelants. 23 d'entre eux râlent à terre, les autres fuient. La charge partie vers le sud remonte vers le nord à la poursuite des fuyards. Une vingtaine d'hommes décidés vient d'en faire fuir plus de 50 en face d'eux et de 20 à 30 indirectement. Je fais arrêter la poursuite. Nos hommes sont harassés ; ils n'ont rien bu ni mangé depuis la veille 11 heures. 47 morts dans un rayon de 200 mètres. Les blessés ont été relevés pendant la nuit. Parmi les morts, El Madani, demi-frère du sultan Ahmoud, et l'un des cavaliers abattus ne serait autre qu'In Gueddassen, l'Aménokal des Ajjer. »

L'ennemi avait eu en tout 70 tués. De notre côté, nous n'avions eu que 2 morts et 11 blessés. Nous avions brûlé 4.843 cartouches. La mort de nos méhara tués au début du combat avait forcé le petit groupe à rentrer à Djanet à pied, emmenant tous les blessés. Le capitaine Charlet accourut de Djanet pour protéger la retraite de ces braves.

Quelques jours plus tard, nous occupions la petite oasis d'El Barka.

Après les multiples succès de nos armes, nous pouvions penser que la conviction des Touaregs en notre force était définitivement acquise et que nous n'avions plus rien à redouter d'eux.

C'est maintenant qu'il nous faut dire deux mots du Senoussisme dont l'action devait avoir ultérieurement des répercussions considérables.

Dans la deuxième partie du XIXe siècle, un mouvement de réforme religieuse se produisit dans tout le monde musulman. Il était causé, d'une part, par le réveil de la foi et, d'autre part, par le désir de réunir toutes les sectes au nom de l'établissement d'une doctrine unique.

On assistait alors à l'action des nations européennes qui pour faire diversion à leurs préoccupations intérieures et extérieures s'attaquaient de part et d'autre aux pays musulmans. L'Autriche, poursuivant un vieux rêve, s'efforçait de rejeter les Turcs hors d'Europe, et la France s'installait dans les pays barbaresques, pendant que l'Angleterre établissait sa

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domination dans l'Inde et en Égypte. Comme corollaire, le commerce européen s'introduisait partout, apportant avec lui les « mœurs évolutives » des Chrétiens abhorrés. En pays d'Islam, une réaction s'opère à tous les échelons de la société et se traduit en premier lieu par une recrudescence d'esprit religieux. Les succès des Français en Algérie épouvantaient bon nombre de musulmans qui finirent par douter de la puissance de leurs prêtres et de leurs thaumaturges ; leur confiance en eux s'était fortement ébranlée, et les confréries soufites firent des adeptes de tous les désillusionnés, préparés par leur défaite à se réfugier en Dieu.

L'une des plus importantes écoles de rénovation, qui naquit de ce mouvement, fut celle des Kadryia, fondée vers 1820 par le Cheikh Si Ahmed ben Idriss el Fassi qui, lorsqu'il mourut, laissa deux disciples dont l'un était Mohamed ben Ali ben es Senoussi. Ce dernier, qui devait devenir le grand chef de la future confrérie des Senoussistes, était né à Torch, dans l'arrondissement de Mostaganem en 1791. Il avait quitté son pays à 30 ans à la suite de querelles familiales et après de longues pérégrinations à travers l'Afrique du Nord et la Tripolitaine, il se rendit au Caire. Mais son action dans le milieu des tolba le fit bientôt désigner comme un novateur et un réformateur dangereux, si bien qu'il dut quitter la ville et se réfugier à La Mecque. Il retrouva à Sobia son maître spirituel Si Ahmed ben Idriss qui, comme Senoussi au Caire, avait été obligé de s'exiler pour les mêmes raisons.

A la mort de Si Ahmed, la secte s'était scindée en deux branches rivales et, en 1843, Cheikh Senoussi, ce sera désormais son nom, de nouveau en butte à l'hostilité des détenteurs du pouvoir politique, quitta La Mecque, laissant à un moquaddem la direction de sa zaouia [1] d'Abou Gobaïr, et se rendit dans le Djebel Lakdar, en Tripolitaine, où il construisit à Beida une nouvelle zaouia. D'autres zaouia se fondèrent en Égypte, à Rhât, à Rhâdamès et en Arabie. En 1855, Es Senoussi s'installa à Djerboub où il mourut en 1859.

Le fils d'Es Senoussi, Sidi el Madhi, qui succéda à son père, étendit son autorité spirituelle sur toute la Tripolitaine, le Sahara, le Soudan, le Tibesti et le Ouaddaï, et la suprématie de la doctrine senoussiste fut reconnue effectivement par les Touaregs Ăjjer et nominalement par les Ihăggaren (Imanat de Djerboub).

1. Centre religieux.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



En 1895, le siège de la confrérie fut transporté de Djerboub à Koufra pour des raisons d'isolement et peut-être pour se trouver plus au centre de son aire d'activité.

Le rôle intérieur de la confrérie était de s'efforcer d'activer la renaissance de la foi, de restaurer l'ancienne loi islamique, et de rétablir l'autorité canonique : sur le plan extérieur, une formule de Cheikh es Senoussi résumait ses espérances, et indiquait le but poursuivi : « Turcs et Chrétiens, je les briserai d'un seul coup », ce qui ne l'empêchait pas d'entretenir des relations très cordiales avec la Porte dont il s'efforçait de tirer avantage. En ce qui concerne les contrées soi-disant « infidèles », soumises de fait à la domination chrétienne, Senoussi se contentait d'entretenir chez elles des agents de renseignements.

En 1848, la Révolution avait eu son contre-coup en Algérie ; profitant de la désorganisation de notre jeune colonie, les Senoussistes, aidés par la tribu des Derkaoua, essayèrent de nous créer des embarras en annonçant notre future expulsion de l'Algérie et fomentèrent des troubles chez les Oulad Sidi Cheikh, les Zibans, les Zaoua, les Guechtoula. Après ce premier insuccès, ils s'abstinrent de toute propagande, de toute intervention qui fut de nature à provoquer un conflit entre eux et quelques nations européennes ; ne pouvant songer à une lutte inégale, ils se bornèrent à prêcher l'exode des vrais croyants hors des contrées infidèles. Il semble même que les Senoussistes ne se soient pas plus mal comportés que d'autres avec les Européens ; l'on ne peut faire retomber sur eux seuls les massacres des voyageurs et, en 1897, le Capitaine Monteil put traverser leur pays sans être inquiété.

C'était une action plus profonde et plus générale qu'ils cherchaient en mettant dans le cœur de chaque musulman la haine de tout ce qui était chrétien.

« Véritable ciment de son ouvrage, cette haine s'est infiltrée dans les âmes et le degré de développement religieux une fois atteint, tout progrès moral arrêté, le Senoussiste fervent s'est donné lui-même des chaînes qu'il ne peut rompre sans offenser Dieu. Alors, plongé dans l'immobilité, cette essence même de l'Islam, il garde et gardera jalousement sa position jusqu'au jour où le terrible choc de l'Europe retentira au désert [1]. »

Les événements devaient confirmer entièrement cette terrible prophétie.

1. Depont et Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses*, p. 557.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



La guerre de 1914, en effet, devait remettre en cause tous les résultats acquis. Les bruits de nos défaites du début se répercutèrent fâcheusement au Sahara tandis que l'annonce de notre évacuation prochaine était colportée dans les campements.

Immédiatement la propagande senoussiste se réveillait et annonçait l'arrivée du Madhi.

Le moment était très propice. En pays targui sévissait une crise économique peu commune qui ne contribuait pas à apaiser les esprits ; les centres de culture de l'Ăhaggar et des Ăjjer étaient ravagés à plusieurs reprises par les sauterelles, et les indigènes étaient obligés de réensemencer jusqu'à trois fois. Une sécheresse prolongée entraînait une situation proche de la famine et les campements devaient fuir au Soudan, par des exodes en masse qui occasionnaient de gros déchets dans le bétail. Tous ces faits qui, dans une période normale, n'auraient eu qu'une importance secondaire, prenaient là une allure catastrophique car, profitant de cette ambiance déficiente, les marabouts rappelaient toutes les prédications au sujet de l'arrivée du Madhi qui devait être précédée par des calamités sans pareilles pour le monde musulman.

Heureusement nos postes veillaient, tout resta calme sur notre territoire.

Mais en Tripolitaine les Senoussistes avaient fomenté la révolte, avaient assiégé les postes italiens et s'efforçaient de rejeter ceux-ci à la mer. La ville de Mourzouk voyait ses communications coupées d'avec Tripoli et bientôt les postes de Rhât et de Rhâdamès étaient abandonnés par les Italiens, obligés de venir se réfugier dans nos postes, abandonnant un important matériel aux rebelles. Ceux-ci étaient commandés par Si Labed, oncle et Khalife du grand Senoussi, auquel s'était joint Boubékeur, le chef targui de Rhât. Si Labed, qui avait exigé des Touaregs le versement du matériel de guerre pris aux Italiens, essayait de nous endormir par des protestations d'amitié, prétendant qu'il menait la bataille contre nos ennemis communs, lesquels étaient, d'après lui, le sultan Ahmoud, l'ancien chef de Djanet, et In Gueddassen l'aménokal des Ăjjer. Mais, en même temps, il préparait l'attaque de Djanet en sous-main, et envoyait dans le Tassili deux étendards destinés à déclencher le signal de la révolte.

Les Tăitok, jamais en retard pour se mêler à tout ce qui peut toucher à de l'agitation, manifestaient alors quelques

mouvements d'indiscipline, mais Moussa ag Ămâstan, qui nous était complètement rallié, s'efforçait de combattre toutes les mauvaises influences.

Au Soudan, la situation était également trouble. La soumission des Touaregs Ioullimmiden du secteur de Gao n'avait jamais été effective, et les tribus maures de l'ouest saharien, travaillées par des agitateurs venus du Rio de Oro, étaient en effervescence marquée. La tribu des Oulad Djerid se signalait par son activité peu commune et par des rezzou continuels.

En décembre 1915, les tribus touarègues de la région de Dori, travaillées par le marabout Mohamed Ahmet, s'étaient révoltées et n'étaient rentrées dans l'ordre qu'après plusieurs expéditions punitives.

Chez les Ioullimmiden, l'arrivée d'un marabout suspect, du nom de Mohamed Alamine, avait suffi à créer un mauvais état d'esprit et leur aménokal, Firhoun, contre toute attente, se proclamait le chef de tous les Touaregs, laissant entendre que si les Français ne partaient pas il faudrait les mettre à la porte des postes. Ce furent alors des alternatives très embrouillées où Firhoun fut arrêté plusieurs fois pour sa mauvaise volonté à se plier à nos ordres. Évadé de Tombouctou où il avait été mis en résidence forcée, il put rejoindre ses campements et aller porter le siège devant notre poste de Ménéka.

Le 19 mars 1916, la nouvelle de la révolte arrivait à Kidal et le groupe méhariste du Capitaine de la Roche, qui nomadisait dans les environs, se portait aussitôt au secours de Ménéka assiégé. Le 9 avril, le détachement qui se composait de 35 Chaamba arrivait devant le poste et le 17, 200 Ihăggaren, qui avaient été demandés à Moussa ag Ămâstan, venaient les rejoindre, ce qui obligeait les Ioullimmiden à lever le siège et à se réfugier près de la mare d'Andéramboukane. Cernés par les différentes colonnes qui avaient convergé vers Andéramboukane, les Ioullimmiden ne purent éviter le combat et le 9 mai 1916 ils subissaient une lourde défaite qui mettait fin à la révolte. Les Chaamba, comme les Ihăggaren s'étaient battus bravement et ces derniers avaient ainsi trouvé une occasion de piller leurs frères Ioullimmiden, ce qui leur était autrefois coutumier et qu'ils n'avaient pu faire depuis l'occupation française. Le 11 mai, la colonne de la Roche, son rôle terminé, remontait sur Ménéka convoyant un officier blessé très grièvement et, le 20, elle arrivait à Ansongo, après être

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



passée à Kidal pendant que le groupe des Ihăggaren était rassemblé à Elioug. Quelques-uns d'entre eux en profitèrent pour aller piller les vaincus et c'est au cours de l'attaque d'un campement que l'un d'eux tua l'Aménokal Firhoun, que d'ailleurs il ne connaissait pas (25 juin 1916).

Tous ces événements eurent une répercussion morale sur les Touaregs, y compris les gens de l'Ahaggar, malgré le fait qu'ils nous avaient apporté leur aide pour réduire les Ioullimmiden ; la propagande senoussiste en tirait parti, gagnait en influence au point que les Harratines des centres de culture ne faisaient plus la prière que suivant le nouveau rite. Le pouvoir de la « baraka » (bénédiction) de Sidi Labed se répandait partout et à Djanet, les gens encore plus influencés que les autres par la proximité des troupes senoussistes, commençaient à croire que la puissance française pourrait bien décliner devant la volonté de Dieu au profit de l'Islam.

C'est alors que les Senoussistes jugèrent opportun d'agir. Le 27 février 1916, ils lançaient sur Djanet une méhalla commandée par Abd el Selem, Kaïmakan de Rhât, et le sultan Ahmoud, où elle arrivait le 5 mars, accueillie à bras ouverts par les gens des villages. Les membres purent coucher dans les ksours sans que personne ne vînt prévenir les Français, et le 6 mars, le poste fut assiégé, canonné, pendant que toutes les fractions du Tassili prévenues par des émissaires rejoignaient les révoltés.

La colonne senoussiste était composée de 400 hommes armés de fusils italiens à tir rapide, pourvus abondamment de munitions, alors que la garnison ne comprenait qu'une quarantaine de Sahariens commandés par le Maréchal des logis Lapierre. Pourtant le détachement français tint dix-huit jours dans le petit poste, puis, éprouvant des difficultés pour se ravitailler en eau, sur le point de manquer de munitions, coupé de toutes communications, il décidait de tenter de gagner Fort-Polignac. Trompant la vigilance de l'adversaire, il exécutait une sortie de nuit qui réussit et s'enfonçait dans la montagne.

Pendant que la garnison se dirigeait à pied vers Fort-Polignac, à 300 km. de Djanet, une colonne de 120 fusils venait à son secours, constatait la prise de Djanet dont elle croyait la garnison prisonnière, et était obligée de se dégager rapidement, assaillie de tous côtés.

La garnison, de son côté, recoupait le 25 mars les traces

fraîches de la colonne, et sans hésiter, le Maréchal des logis Lapierre décidait de suivre ses traces pour la rejoindre, et revenait sur Djanet où il se heurtait de nouveau à la méhalla sans pouvoir atteindre la colonne qui avait battu en retraite par une autre route. Ce dramatique chassé-croisé devait entraîner sa perte. Elle était poursuivie et après une cruelle odyssée de 150 km. elle était capturée le 27 mars entre la plaine d'Admer et Djanet.

Devant ces événements, le commandant militaire décidait de reprendre Djanet et une colonne, commandée par le Commandant Meynier et pourvue de deux canons et de deux sections de mitrailleuses, arrivait devant Djanet le 12 mai. Le sultan Ahmoud avait organisé le fortin et toutes les crêtes environnantes étaient couvertes de tireurs abrités dans les rochers ; il fallut faire un véritable siège et, après quatre jours de combats opiniâtres, l'ennemi abandonnait la place, faute de munitions.

Au point de vue militaire, la chute de Djanet, était sans aucune importance, mais il n'en était pas de même au point de vue politique. Notre prestige avait été fortement atteint et des éléments qui jusqu'alors étaient restés tranquilles rejoignaient les troupes senoussistes.

Les difficultés de la défense du fort de Djanet, à l'intérieur duquel il n'y avait pas de puits, pour le ravitailler en vivres et en munitions, nous obligeaient à l'abandonner définitivement le 4 juillet.

Les actes de guerre allaient maintenant se succéder et il nous sera difficile d'y répondre en attendant notre réorganisation militaire. Le 20 septembre, un détachement commandé par le Capitaine Duclos, se rendant de Fort-Flatters à Fort-Polignac, est attaqué au passage de l'oued Ehan, par 300 Senoussistes, Kel Ouhet, et Kel I-n-Foûnin rassemblés. Devant la disproportion des effectifs, le combat prend immédiatement un caractère épique. L'adjudant Lenoir s'y signale tout particulièrement en enflammant ses hommes par son courage et en se jetant sur les assaillants. Tirant debout, sans se soucier des balles, il reçoit l'une d'elles au front et tombe raide mort en même temps que son adversaire qu'il avait lui-même ajusté. Devant cette résistance opiniâtre, l'ennemi arrête le combat.

Le 27 novembre, un convoi était assailli à Aïn Zabebalt où six goumiers et l'adjudant François étaient tués ; le 4 décembre, un détachement de 25 tirailleurs commandés par le

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



sergent Bonain était enlevé. A Fort-Polignac, la garnison était décimée par le scorbut et devant les difficultés de son ravitaillement qui imposait des servitudes trop dangereuses, nous décidions de l'évacuer, d'autant plus que la garnison ne pouvant rayonner, était impuissante contre les nomades qui attaquaient les colonnes en des points et à des moments choisis par eux.

Dès ce moment se détache la figure d'un chef de bande targui du nom de Kaocen, originaire de la tribu des Ikaskazan, des environs d'Agadez, qui s'était réfugié au Fezzan après l'occupation de l'Aïr par nos troupes (1907). Plusieurs rezzou heureux où il s'était montré d'un courage féroce avaient suffi pour imposer son autorité à ses coreligionnaires.

Bientôt des chefs influents de l'Ăhaggar le rejoignaient : Ănaba et Attici ag Ămellal, Ăflan ag Doua, le mari de Dassine, la cousine de l'Aménokal, et d'autres encore de moindre importance. Kaocen renvoyait Ăflan avec un détachement de 50 fusils vers les Tăitok pour décider ces dernier à partir en dissidence. Moussa ag Ămâstan, dès lors, se sentait débordé ; il se rendait compte du terrain que gagnaient tous les jours les Senoussistes, demandait l'autorisation d'aller disperser les bandes ennemies, appuyé en cela par son khalife, Souri ag Chikat, l'un des guerriers les plus renommés de l'Ăhaggar.

Son attitude pleine de loyauté lui faisait écrire la lettre suivante :

« Kaocen a quitté Rhât à la tête d'une forte méhalla armée d'un canon et de deux mitrailleuses ; arrivé à quelques jours d'In Ăzaoua, il a fait demi-tour sur un ordre de Sidi Labed. 60 fusils seulement ont continué sur l'Aïr pour renforcer les 40 qui s'y trouvent depuis un certain temps et dont Amri a le commandement temporaire. Je suis certain que ce renfort est envoyé dans le seul but de m'attaquer. Je demande avec insistance — mes connaissances des choses sahariennes me le permettant — à l'autorité de bien vouloir faire occuper un puits que j'ai indiqué au Lieutenant Constant (à deux jours à l'est d'In Ăzaoua et point de passage toujours emprunté par les rebelles), par 50 fusils. Prévenu de cette opération, je me porterai avec tout mon monde pour refouler l'ennemi vers l'est ; ainsi ceux dont je n'aurais pu avoir raison seront cueillis au passage à In Ăzaoua. J'affirme de toutes mes forces que cette opération aura un grand retentissement dans le Sahara. Les autorités ne doivent pas ignorer que si la guerre

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



dure encore, c'est tout simplement parce que l'Aïr approvisionne nos ennemis en méhara et en mil ; coupés de leur base de ravitaillement, ils seront bien obligés de se rendre. Je réponds du succès complet des idées que je suggère. »

Quelques temps avant, Moussa ag Ămâstan avait reçu une lettre du sultan Ahmoud qui l'invitait à entrer en dissidence, mais au lieu de suivre ces mauvais conseils, il la communiqua lui-même à l'officier de Fort-Motylinski. Les Senoussistes avaient également voulu se servir de lui pour transmettre une lettre à Abidine, dans le but de réaliser l'unité contre nous, mais Moussa nous avait également remis cette lettre.

Le Capitaine de la Roche était en Ădrar pour combattre dans les campements la propagande des Bérabers menés par Abidine. Aussi, le sultan Ahmoud annonçait-il une harka prochaine sur l'Ăhaggar, qui eut pour premier effet d'entraîner les Aït Loaien en dissidence et d'amener un état d'effervescence dans toutes les tribus de la Koudia, qui attendaient l'arrivée de Kaocen, toujours campé vers Rhât avec canons et mitrailleuses.

Enfin, coup terrible, on apprend que le 2 décembre, le Père de Foucauld a été assassiné à Tămanrasset.

Nous ne rappellerons que brièvement les détails de ce meurtre qui est maintenant entré dans l'histoire. Kaocen avait l'intention de mener une harka sur Agadez ; pour donner une diversion, il avait envoyé un rezzi dans la Koudia qui poussa jusqu'à Tămanrasset où le Père de Foucauld résidait seul comme Français. Ce rezzi avait pour chef un nommé Abeuh ag Khabelli, de Djanet, et se composait de 15 Aït Loaien, d'un Djaneti et d'un Irréguénaten. Avait-il eu pour mission de tuer le Père de Foucauld ? Il est impossible de l'affirmer et les gens qui l'ont assassiné connaissaient le bien qu'il avait fait à tous les Touaregs, de quel respect il était entouré par tous dans l'Ăhaggar. Le rôle d'Abeuh, il est vrai a pu être capital, et peut-être avait-il reçu des instructions en conséquence, car les Senoussistes n'ignoraient pas la grosse influence que le Père avait sur Moussa ag Ămâstan et sur les gens de la Koudia.

Ce fut un hartani de Tămanrasset, un de ceux que le Père avait le plus secouru, qui fut l'instrument de la trahison.

Le Père ayant été mis sous la garde d'un jeune Targui du nom de Serni ag Thora, il fallut l'arrivée de deux méharistes se rendant à Fort-Motylinski pour précipiter le drame ; alors

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qu'il était agenouillé et qu'il priait pendant que les Touaregs l'exhortaient à prononcer la profession de foi musulmane, des coups de feu éclatèrent à l'entrée du village. Serni ag Thora apeuré, croyant à l'arrivée d'un groupe de méharistes, perdit tout sang-froid, plaça le canon de son fusil contre la tempe du Père de Foucauld, sans que celui-ci fît le moindre mouvement de résistance, et pressa sur la détente. Le drame était consommé.

Cette mort tragique fut considérée comme une calamité par les Imrad de l'Ăhaggar restés dans la montagne, et qui prévoyaient les suites fâcheuses qu'entraînerait cette lâcheté.

Le Docteur Richer, dans un remarquable ouvrage sur les Ioullimmiden, avait cru pouvoir disculper les Ihăggaren du meurtre du Père de Foucauld. Des renseignements complémentaires obtenus par la suite, de même que la composition exacte du rezzi, suffisent à démontrer la culpabilité des Ihăggaren.

Le 17 décembre, le sergent Rémiot réussissait à rejoindre les assassins vers l'oued Tin Tarabine, mais après 5 heures de combat au cours duquel il leur tua 12 hommes et 20 chameaux, il fut obligé de battre en retraite devant un ennemi supérieur en nombre, bien retranché dans les rochers.

Le 1er janvier 1917, quatre Harratines d'Amsel, Akhamouk ag Chaouch, Amrar, Kechkrech, Kebdou, étaient passés par les armes sur l'ordre du Capitaine de la Roche qui, après l'assassinat, avait eu connaissance du complot fomenté contre le Père. Vers le 22 septembre, ils s'étaient rendus de nuit à Tămanrasset et ils n'avaient renoncé à leur projet qu'en voyant le Père bien gardé. On retrouva à ce sujet une note dans les papiers de l'ermite de Tămanrasset, qui avait eu vent de la chose, n'en avait rien dit et s'était contenté de prendre quelques précautions.

A la date du 13 décembre 1916, tous les Ăjjer étaient dans un état d'insurrection déclarée. Des émissaires du sultan Ahmoud avaient été vus chez les Aït Loaien, où ils avaient été bien reçus, et le Capitaine de la Roche, qui commandait à Fort-Motylinski, s'attendait, en cas de venue du sultan Ahmoud devant le poste, à une insurrection générale. Les Français avaient songé un moment à évacuer Fort-Motylinski pour se reporter sur une position plus défendable, mais le Capitaine de la Roche y renonça et démentit ces bruits qui auraient pu avoir une influence morale néfaste et il s'employa à fortifier les abords du fort.

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Pour punir les dissidents, la razzia des centres de culture du bas Ăhaggar, et en particulier d'Ăbalessa, fut décidée. Cette mission fut confiée au Lieutenant Lehuraux qui s'empara de 4.600 litres de blé, et de 3.700 litres d'orge. C'était par là qu'il aurait fallu commencer.

Le 28 décembre, le courrier d'Agadez arrivait apportant la nouvelle de l'investissement prochain du poste.

Le 13 février de l'année suivante, le poste d'Aïn el Hadjadj était attaqué de nuit. Les assaillants qui avaient réussi à s'approcher du poste, débordaient nos lignes de résistance et au début de l'action le Docteur Vermale était tué d'une balle au cou, alors qu'il se défendait à coups de revolver. Pour nous, la surprise avait été complète et l'ennemi très mordant bondissait par-dessus les murs, commençait à envahir le fortin et n'était arrêté qu'à coups de grenades par la section du sous-lieutenant Gélass. Le poste de T.S.F., situé à quelque distance du poste principal, était également attaqué, mais grâce à l'énergie du caporal qui le commandait, la petite garnison résistait courageusement dans son blockhaus. C'est alors que le Capitaine Levasseur donnait l'ordre au Sous-Lieutenant Gélass de contre-attaquer et d'opérer un mouvement tournant vers le sud-ouest ; l'ennemi, décontenancé par les grenades, était obligé de battre en retraite après deux heures de combat, laissant 20 tués sur le terrain. L'affaire nous coûtait la vie d'un officier (Dr Vermale), de deux sous-officiers et de plusieurs Sahariens.

Le 20 mars, les Ăgouh-n-Tèhlé, aidés par leurs femmes, enlevaient les 29 chameaux du poste. Le Sergent Vella les poursuivait, leur reprenait les chameaux razziés et s'emparait à son tour de 500 chèvres.

De faux bruits circulaient partout, de fausses nouvelles savamment répandues disaient qu'Agadez était pris, que Moussa avait rejoint Kaocen devant cette ville, qu'il marchait avec lui et qu'il était en route pour l'Ăhaggar dans l'intention d'assiéger Fort-Motylinski. Des émissaires nous rapportaient que les Dăg-Râli, apprenant ces bruits avaient décidé d'agir sans tarder, d'attaquer nos détachements au pâturage et d'investir le poste en attendant Moussa. La nouvelle de l'investissement de Fort-Motylinski parvint même au commandement supérieur.

Il est certain que la situation devenait critique pour les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar. L'état d'insurrection générale avait

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arrêté toute transaction commerciale. De son côté, Kaocen avait retenu en Aïr les chameaux appartenant à Moussa, et d'autre part, les autorités soudanaises de Tahoua avaient réquisitionné 400 chameaux portant du mil destiné au ravitaillement des tribus de l'Ăhaggar. La razzia d'Ăbalessa les avait privés de 60 charges de céréales, les marchés du Tidikelt leur étaient fermés, si bien que pour les Ihăggaren, piller n'était plus le fait d'un état de guerre, mais celui du besoin de se nourrir.

Les Dăg Râli, les Ăgouh-n-Tĕhlé, les Tegéhé-n-Ĕfis, les Relaiddin, s'étaient rassemblés vers l'Asekrem. On disait qu'un rassemblement général se faisait vers Tazerouk et Idelès. Aussi pour faire cesser toute incertitude sur l'attitude réelle des Touaregs de la Koudia, une colonne, dirigée par le Capitaine Masson, quittait Fort-Motylinski le 20 mars, accompagnée par le Capitaine Depommier. Mais devant les nouvelles contradictoires que cet officier recevait sur les agissements de Moussa, il décidait de se replier immédiatement sur Fort-Motylinski pour le protéger en cas de besoin et de ramener les troupeaux sous la surveillance du poste.

Le 5 mai, au petit jour, la colonne du Capitaine Masson reprenait sa marche dans l'oued Ilâman, lorsqu'à un endroit très encaissé et dominé par des crêtes garnies de rochers, la patrouille d'éclaireurs qui la précédait était accueillie par une vive fusillade tirée presque à bout portant, alors qu'un Targui, brandissant une lance, plantait en terre un fanion qu'il tenait dans l'autre main, tout en poussant des cris de guerre. La colonne était entourée de tous côtés et les assaillants s'excitaient de la voix en tirant dessus. Surpris et dominés de partout, nos hommes étaient ralliés sur la rive droite de l'oued, mais le Capitaine Masson, blessé par une balle au côté droit, devait passer le commandement au Sous-Lieutenant Constant. Un combat terrible s'engageait qui durait jusqu'au soir, faisant de nombreuses victimes des deux côtés. Pendant la nuit, chacun resta sur ses positions. Tous les chameaux du convoi avaient été tués et nous avions perdu 21 hommes, dont 11 tués et 10 disparus. Étant donné la nature du terrain où nous avions le désavantage, il était impossible de déloger les Touaregs de leur position et le lendemain la colonne se repliait à pied sur Tămanrasset, en emmenant ses blessés.

C'étaient les Dăg Râli, qui jusqu'à ce moment nous étaient demeurés fidèles, qui avaient été les principaux acteurs de ce

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guet-apens, appuyés par des dissidents Ăjjer, commandés par Abeuh ; tous étaient abondamment pourvus de fusils et de cartouches, en majeure partie du modèle italien [1].

Quelle était alors la situation de Moussa ag Ămâstan ? Il se trouvait vers Tin Zaouaten lorsqu'il avait reçu la nouvelle de l'évacuation de Fort-Polignac, suivie de celle du siège d'Agadez et de l'enlèvement du convoi Français. La réquisition de 400 chameaux par les autorités de Tahoua lui avait causé du souci et les Imrad qui n'espéraient pas les récupérer, faisaient pression sur lui pour qu'il se rendit à Agadez, ce à quoi il se décida lorsqu'il apprit que Kaocen lui avait enlevé 600 bêtes et qu'une harka se dirigeait vers lui.

Kaocen savait pourtant ne pas pouvoir compter beaucoup sur lui, car Ănaba, qui s'était rencontré avec lui et s'était déclaré son partisan, lui avait dit que Moussa ag Ămâstan était l'homme des Français.

Le chef des Ihăggaren, arrivé à Agadez, Kaocen le tint en suspicion, le mit à l'écart et le fit surveiller par ses gens, au point de le considérer comme un véritable prisonnier.

Le Capitaine Depommier, qui avait donné rendez-vous à Moussa à Tin Zaouaten, ne l'y avait pas trouvé et les nouvelles alarmantes qu'il recevait de toutes parts lui laissaient supposer que Moussa avait rejoint les dissidents. Pourtant il ne voulait pas désespérer de lui ; « a-t-il cru, lui aussi, que les Français étaient à bout et l'abandonnaient ? écrivit-il dans un rapport. On peut l'admettre sans qu'il soit équitable de lui en faire grief ». Il lui envoya un message lui donnant l'ordre de venir le rejoindre, faute de quoi, il serait traité de rebelle.

Kaocen finit par rendre les chameaux à Moussa et ayant eu à s'absenter, il lui remit le commandement de la méhalla pour finir de le compromettre à nos yeux.

Pendant ce temps, le Capitaine Depommier se dirigeait vers l'Aïr lorsque le 13 mars, Litni, khalife de Moussa, se présentait à lui, protestait du loyalisme de son chef et le suppliait d'aller tirer Moussa de la mauvaise situation où il se trouvait et d'où il ne pourrait sortir seul.

En apprenant la venue du détachement, Moussa, qui était campé à l'oued Tanesfert avec cinq ou six cents de ses gens, désormais sûr de notre protection, lançait un rezzi sur les der-

1. Les Dag Râli se glorifient aujourd'hui de cette affaire disant qu'ils ont pris là leur revanche de leur défaite de Tit.

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rières de Kaocen, puis il vint rejoindre le Capitaine Depommier.

De retour sur l'Ăhaggar, il apprit en cours de route, l'affaire de l'oued Ilâman et en fut vivement affecté. Il s'efforça aussitôt de rassembler les dissidents et Ouksem ag Ourar, l'amrar des Dăg Râli, qui avait accompagné Moussa en Aïr, vint au poste pour demander l'aman de sa tribu. Mais les Ăjjer s'efforçaient de les maintenir en dissidence, lançaient des rezzou sur nous dans la région de Fort-Flatters (3 et 10 mai) et quelques jours plus tard ils réussissaient à enlever un convoi de 100 chameaux. Abeuh ag Khabelli talonnait toujours les campements de la Koudia et les Imrad, qui pensaient être trahis par Moussa, ne venaient toujours pas au poste comme ils l'avaient promis. Le mouvement de soumission que l'on escomptait ne se produisait pas et Moussa ag Ămâstan semblait être atteint dans son autorité ; chacun pillait pour son compte, poussé par la nécessité de se nourrir.

Le Général Laperrine, mobilisé au début de la guerre sur le front de France, avait été rappelé au Sahara comme Commandant supérieur ; son retour ramena immédiatement la confiance dans les troupes de même que chez les Touarégs fidèles, et le Gouverneur Bonnamy pouvait aller sans encombre d'In Salah à Tombouctou pour régler les affaires entre les autorités algériennes et soudanaises et établir une cohésion dans l'action des deux gouvernements.

Kaocen subissait alors de graves revers en Aïr. Obligé d'abord de lever le siège d'Agadez, qui avait duré près de trois mois, il était rejoint près des Monts Baghezan par nos tirailleurs sénégalais et le Lieutenant Bourgès lui reprenait un des trois canons avec lesquels il avait bombardé le poste, heureusement sans grand succès.

Dans l'Ăhaggar, situation inchangée malgré la nouvelle de ces événements. Le 15 juin, une patrouille commandée par le Maréchal des Logis Pietri était attaquée à In Eker. Cette patrouille avait pour mission de joindre le courrier venant d'In Salah et de le détourner sur Tin Felki où se trouvait le Lieutenant Lehuraux. Elle retrouvait le chameau du courrier dans des conditions très bizarres sans pouvoir trouver trace du postier dont le fusil et les cartouches étaient encore accrochées à la selle ; le sac postal avait disparu. Ne comprenant rien à cette affaire, le groupe s'était arrêté pour camper, lorsque les sentinelles placées en avant du campement prévinrent qu'un important groupe de méharistes de deux à trois

cents combattants avait l'air de suivre les traces de la patrouille. S'étant retiré sur le sommet d'une petite montagne avec ses gens, le Maréchal des Logis Pietri organisait rapidement la défense pendant que les assaillants l'entouraient et engageaient le combat, envoyant une grêle de balles qui blessaient plusieurs Sahariens et Pietri lui-même l'atteignant au bras et au poignet. Dès le début, la bataille prenait une tournure violente et des deux côtés, suivant l'habitude saharienne, les deux camps s'invectivaient, ponctuant chaque coup de fusil d'une injure à l'adresse de l'adversaire « Ouenni [1], viens, approche, sors des rochers, crient les Touaregs, et vous autres, vous mangerez chez nous ce soir, vous êtes nos invités ; pour le sultan Ahmoud, pour le drapeau du sultan Ahmoud ! »

Se voyant serré et près d'être débordé, le Maréchal des Logis Pietri décidait de charger à l'arme blanche et, après avoir rassemblé ses hommes, il s'élançait le premier au cri de : « En avant ! à la baïonnette ! en avant et mourons s'il le faut ! » Sous la pluie de balles qui les accueillait, beaucoup de militaires tombaient et après avoir dévalé la montagne, la petite troupe cherchait un refuge vers le massif d'In Eke. Un groupe ennemi qui les croise demande qui ils sont. « Nous sommes des gens fatigués et qui ont soif, répond le méharistes Cheikh ben Hamida, qui soutenait le Maréchal des Logis exténué et assoiffé... » et la patrouille passa sans insister.

A ce moment, le Maréchal des Logis s'aperçut de l'absence de deux militaires tués pendant la charge, dont il ignorait la mort ; il ne voulut pas les abandonner malgré le conseil de ses gens et les appela dans la nuit. Accroché aussitôt par un détachement ennemi qui les cherchait, le Maréchal des Logis, se sentant épuisé et voyant la résistance impossible, donna l'ordre à ses gens de fuir chacun de son côté et resta sur place avec trois militaires grièvement blessés. L'un d'eux put s'échapper pendant la nuit ; un autre, le méharistes Cheikh ben Hamida, opposa aux assaillants une défense héroïque, jusqu'à l'épuisement complet de ses munitions et fut tué à bout portant dans l'abri rudimentaire qu'il avait eu la présence d'esprit d'aménager. Le Maréchal des Logis Pietri fait prisonnier, fut mis en demeure de confesser l'islamisme ; sur son refus, il fut lâchement assassiné. La méhalla possédait deux étendards

1. Ouenni était un maréchal des logis de la compagnie saharienne renommé pour sa grande bravoure et qui était d'origine ouarègue. Il devint plus tard Caïd d'Aoulef.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



rouge et jaune, et l'on sut par la suite que plusieurs Dăg Râli en faisaient partie, dont leur amrar, Ouksem ag Ourar, qui, malgré ses efforts, ne put empêcher le meurtre du sous-officier français.

Le 20 juin, Moussa ag Ămâstan voyant son impuissance à ramener ses gens par la parole, nous signalait les tribus dissidentes, les Dăg Râli, les Ăgouh-n-Tĕhlé, les Aït Loaien, les Relaiddîn, les Kel Tăzôulet, les Issekkemâren, et demandait aux autorités d'In Salah de lui fournir les moyens de les combattre. Mais nos effectifs réduits ne nous permettaient pas d'envisager des opérations de grande envergure dans une région si propice à la guerilla. D'autant plus que les Bérabers qui connaissaient nos difficultés, croyant le terrain libre en Ădrar, en profitaient pour razzier les Touaregs Ifôras qui jusqu'alors nous étaient restés fidèles ; avec une poignée de méharistes, le Lieutenant Lemaire les repoussa bravement et put protéger la région de Kidal dont la garnison avait, elle aussi, été réduite.

Une escarmouche se produisait encore le 2 juillet à Tagemout où le convoi de l'Adjudant Croq était accroché par la bande de Felka, dissident des Ăjjer, qui fut vertement repoussé par les gardiens du convoi.

A ce moment, un revirement se produisit dans les tribus harcelées par la faim. Abeuh quittait l'Ăhaggar pour se rendre aux Ăjjer, sans que l'on puisse savoir les raisons de son déplacement, puis on apprenait qu'Ănaba et Souri ag Chikkat, deux des principaux chefs rebelles des Kel Rela, demandaient l'aman, tandis qu'Aflan ag Doua tenait toujours la campagne et razziait au petit bonheur dans les environs de l'Immidir et de l'Ifettessen.

Les Compagnies sahariennes se réorganisaient progressivement, étaient dotées d'un armement moderne, mitrailleuses, grenades V. B. et l'on annonçait la venue de plusieurs avions.

On apprenait pourtant qu'un nombre important de dissidents était assemblé dans la région de Tehi-n-Akli. Aussitôt le lieutenant Lehuraux se portait à leur rencontre, mais devant sa fougue, ils préféraient fuir plutôt que d'accepter le combat. Le raid du lieutenant Lehuraux, quoique sans effets militaires immédiats, eut une grande portée morale, car il prouvait que nous changions de tactique, et que, de la défensive où nous avions été obligés de nous confiner jusqu'alors, nous passions à l'offensive.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Dès lors, tout changea : les Touaregs comprenaient que nous étions désormais capables de répondre à leurs attaques. C'est à ce moment que l'on apprit les motifs du départ d'Abeuh qui, abandonné par les Imrad et ne voyant pas venir la harka annoncée, commençait à être las de n'être pas aidé efficacement par les Senoussistes et avait pris la décision de rentrer dans ses campements.

Au mois d'août, le mouvement de soumission se déclenchait. Ouksem ag Ourar amenait ses gens à Fort-Motylinski suivi des représentants des Ăgouh-n-Tĕhlé et des Issekkemâren. Les Aït Loaien, beaucoup plus coupables que les autres, avaient peur de notre répression et préféraient se tenir encore sur la réserve. Enfin, en septembre, Moussa ag Ămâstan pouvait se rendre à In Salah avec un grand nombre de chefs et de nobles pour discuter les conditions d'aman pour ses tribus dont le mouvement de soumission était maintenant général. L'aman fut accordé par le Gouverneur de l'Algérie, sauf pour les assassins du Père de Foucauld dont le Général Laperrine avait établi une « liste noire ».

Les conditions d'aman n'étaient d'ailleurs pas trop dures et les Touaregs eux-mêmes s'étonnèrent de notre générosité. Les différentes clauses prévoyaient la restitution des armes et des animaux enlevés et le retour des tribus sur leurs terrains de parcours habituels. Les prises que de notre côté nous avions faites pendant les opérations nous restaient acquises et les Touaregs étaient tenus, pour la forme, de transporter gratuitement 200 charges de chameaux de Fort-Motylinski à In Salah.

Pour nous montrer leur retour dans la bonne voie, un groupe de partisans Ihăggaren sous les ordres de Bou Khelil attaquait des dissidents Ăjjer sur la route de Djanet et ramenait les prises à Fort-Motylinski. La révolte de l'Ăhaggar était donc terminée et seuls les gens qui avaient de trop gros crimes sur la conscience restèrent à l'écart de nos postes. Les Tăitok, réfugiés en Air, ne rentrèrent qu'en juin 1918 et acceptèrent à leur tour les conditions d'aman. Leur chef Amri fut destitué et le tobol des Tăitok fut rattaché à celui de Moussa ag Ămâstan.

En novembre 1918, la méhella de Moussa ag Ămâstan, appuyée par un goum régulier, réoccupait Djanet. Boubékeur, le Caïd de Rhât, venait s'entretenir avec Moussa et de son côté le Sultan Ahmoud tâtait le terrain, pendant que Kaocen et Tegama, le sultan d'Agadez, se réfugiaient au Tibesti.

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



Ainsi se terminait une période troublée qui avait duré près de deux ans et nous avait créé de sérieux ennuis. Le Senoussisme était vaincu, mais il faut avouer que ce mouvement religieux avait été bien près d'atteindre son but.

Que s'était-il passé depuis le début de la guerre, quels étaient les facteurs qui avaient fait évoluer la situation ? Les Turcs qui ne désespéraient pas de reprendre la Tripolitaine aux Italiens avaient profité de la situation créée par la guerre et par l'agitation religieuse qui suivit. Ils encouragèrent donc les Senoussistes dans la révolte et, avec cette idée, ils avaient à plusieurs reprises débarqué sur la côte tripolitaine, au moyen de sous-marins, des officiers, des armes et des munitions. Ces débarquements auraient, paraît-il, été très fréquents en mars et avril 1917 et se seraient faits à Mesrata [1]. Le propre frère d'Enver-Pacha, Nouri-Pacha, avait été nommé Gouverneur de la Tripolitaine.

Au début, les Turcs trouvèrent des alliés dans les Senoussistes et Ahmed Chérif, Cheikh des Senoussistes, après avoir gagné Pola en sous-marin, s'était rendu à Vienne, puis à Constantinople, dans le but de renforcer les liens religieux et politiques, unissant l'Islam à la Turquie et au Khalifat. En septembre 1918, ils avaient essayé d'attirer Moussa ag Ămâstan à eux et lui avaient fait des propositions fermes pour l'amener à se révolter.

La défaite d'Agadez et la soumission des Kel-Ăhaggar qui suivit, ruinait les projets turcs en même temps que la tentative des Senoussistes de créer un empire religieux. Deux clans s'étaient formés : celui des Senoussistes auquel s'était rallié le sultan Ahmoud et dont les relations avec les Turcs n'étaient pas toutes de sympathie et celui des Turcs auquel s'était joint Boubékeur ag Alegoui, le caïd de Rhât. Aussi, après les revers successifs, les inimitiés anciennes reprirent le dessus et la force qui résultait de leur union se dissolvait d'elle-même. Le

1. Jaafar Pacha, officier de l'armée turque, originaire de Bagdad, avait été choisi par Enver Pacha pour organiser les troupes du cheikh el Senoussi. Il gagna la Tripolitaine en sous-marin, réussit à faire de ces hommes sauvages des combattants présentables. Fait prisonnier par les Britanniques lors d'un engagement avec eux, il fut interné dans la citadelle du Caire en compagnie d'autres officiers capturés avec lui. S'étant rallié au parti nationaliste du roi Hussein et de l'Émir Faiçal, les Britanniques le mirent à la disposition de l'émir qui lui confia la direction de son armée. (Colonel T. E. Lawrence, de l'Intelligence Service, dans « La Révolte dans le désert », 1914-1918. *Histoire de l'Indépendance de l'Arabie et la formation du Royaume du Hedjaz.*)

1: Lhote MS25 Tuareg



caïd Brahim ag Abakada, qui était alors le chef le plus représentatif du Tassili, se décidait à son tour à demander l'aman et apportait la soumission des Touaregs Ăjjer (août 1919).

Le 15 juillet 1920, Moussa ag Ămâstan était nommé suzerain de Djanet au détriment du sultan Ahmoud et nous l'aidions à prendre possession de son fief. C'est alors qu'eut lieu le dernier combat de cette période troublée. L'adjudant-chef Vella, qui rentrait de surveillance, était attaqué au col d'Assakao ; après un combat des plus violents qui jetait 15 hommes sur le terrain, notre groupe méhariste rentrait à Djanet, ramenant 1.000 chèvres, 65 chamelles, 70 ânes et 15 fusils.

Dès lors, la France allait pouvoir continuer en tout quiétude son œuvre saharienne à laquelle les noms de Laperrine, de De Foucauld, de Charlet, de Cottenest, de Gardel, de Duclos, de Niéger, de Sigonney, de Meynier et de tant d'autres resteront attachés.

Depuis, les Touaregs de l'Ăhaggar ne nous ont donné que des témoignages de loyalisme et de fidélité.

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[Title Page] Hoggar

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PAPERS
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# THE LIVING RACES OF THE SAHARA DESERT

BY

L. CABOT BRIGGS

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2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
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A Targui noble of the Ahaggar, beside his tent. (Photograph by L. C. Briggs.)

[Frontispiece]

2:Briggs E-4,5 (ca.1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
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# THE TUAREG

114 Most of what has been written about the Tuareg is of very little value for the purposes of modern ethnological study. Much of it is merely superficial and more is the result of serious but amateurish work by men who were often enough sincerely dedicated students of mankind, but whose great enthusiasm could not make up for their lack of that broad yet specialized professional grounding without which no one is fully equipped to analyze socio-economic patterns of human communities, however simple they may be.

This may sound like an unjustly harsh and pretentiously stuffy statement, but it is not. What fever-stricken soldier in his right mind would go to the colonel's office for medical attention? What farmer would take a broken-down tractor to the village minister to be repaired? It is an inconvenient fact that highly specialized work can be well done only by people with sound professional training or great experience, preferably both; but this simple fact has been ignored all too often in ethnological research where there is no compelling force like commercial competition to make it obvious. Ethnological research in the Sahara Desert has suffered grievously as a re-

114 sult, and the Tuareg have been among the most spectacular victims.

The famous veil of these great desert warriors (figs. 25, 26, and 51) has cast its shadow of romantic mystery not only over the faces of its wearers but over their whole culture, and so both opportunity and temptation to romanticize have overcome to some extent many of those who have written about the Tuareg tribes. In the summer of 1956 the author heard a well-known public lecturer and traveler, who had even been to Tamanrasset for a few days, declare to his unsuspecting audience of honest New England farmers that the Tuareg are probably descended from a little band of crusaders who got cut off in the rock-walled valley of Petra (in what is now the Kingdom of Jordan), whence they finally escaped and found their way (heaven knows how) clear across Africa to the mountains of the Ahaggar. He added that Tuareg men are
[141] about 7 feet tall—and he was speaking in a church—although the tallest one so far recorded measured just over 6 feet 5½ inches, while the average Targui stands only about 5 feet 8 in his sandal-feet (*see* table A-2).

114 Tuareg morality and personal hygiene have
515 been the subjects of hardly less exaggeration. Several generations of frustrated readers have by now found vicarious satisfaction in titillating tales of the great ladies of the Ahaggar, beautiful of face and graceful, gracious and unclean, skilled in the arts of love, poetry and music, fascinating and refined and evil-smelling. These unattractively attractive custodians of a spuriously antique chivalrous tradition have been said to welcome to their bosoms and their beds nearly all socially presentable admirers, while their docile husbands stand modestly aside and show their good breeding by
114 concealing their emotions. Few authors seem to have been bothered by the glaring contrast between this rather pitiful picture of long-suffering patience and the very different one that they usually present only a few pages earlier, in which we see the fire-breathing knights of the Ahaggar, those seven-foot sons of the flower of Christian chivalry, busily chasing each other up and down the rocky mountain slopes when there doesn't happen to be anyone else around to kill. But this contrast bothers us—surely there must be something wrong somewhere. So let us take a

114 closer look and find out just what really does go on in the bosom of such a seemingly impossible community. The best general source on the Ahaggar Tuareg is probably Blanguernon (1955), while Benhazera (1908) gives some valuable demographic data and Lhote (1947 and 1955) supplies a mass of miscellaneous details. But all these works are in French: Rodd (1926), writing in English, gives a fairly good general picture of the Tuareg as a whole although he deals primarily with the Aïr.

101 The Tuareg of the Sahara proper, as we have defined it, are divided into three confederations, those of the Tassili n Ajjer, the Ahaggar and the Adrar n Ifoghas, distributed in that order from Northeast to Southwest.

[161] There are probably only about 10,000 or 11,000 of them in all, for most of the Tuareg, some 140,000 strong, now live outside our area in the Aïr and the northern central Sudan. We will take the Ahaggar confederation as our Tuareg socio-economic sample because this group not only seems to have remained the least affected by foreign influence but has also been the most extensively studied and described, and because it is the only one with which the author is personally familiar.

101 The Tuareg as a whole used to range over an enormous territory extending roughly as
166 far north as Ouargla, eastward to Gatroun, westward to a bit beyond a line running from
131 Aoulef to Timbuctoo, and southward to below the Niger Bend and the northern border of Nigeria. The eastern, northern and western limits of this range have been slowly driven back over the last few centuries, first by ever stronger Arab pressure from the East and North and then by the gradual southward extension of French and, more recently, Italian control. These steadily increasing pressures have produced a steadily increasing though fluctuating flow of the Tuareg population southward from the Desert proper, through the Aïr and the Adrar n Ifoghas and into the Sudan. Under the stimulus of disaster in one form or another, this flow has occasionally become torrential for brief periods, as when, following the suppression of the 1916–18 rebellion, a great wave of Aïr Tuareg moved into British Nigeria (Rodd, 1926, p. 361) and the main body of the Taïtoq tribe left their home range in the western Ahaggar for the

101 country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote,
166 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the latest major episodes in a general southwest-
131 ward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

631 The military administrative unit known as the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds fairly closely to the present normal range of
[101] the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabit-
[161] ants in 1950), and supports a total native population of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

162 Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

197 The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

619 **Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these are divided into tribes which are subdivided
565 into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] *A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

551 †Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in as many different ways as are the geographical names
104 of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

622 *A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

565 three main classes, the Tuareg nobles (fig. 46) and vassals (fig. 47) and the Negro slaves.

565 Rank seems to be essentially a quality of the clan rather than of the individual, for the
614 Tuareg commonly speak of "noble clans" and "vassal clans," and, when one is in doubt about
[554] a person's social status, one does not ask what his rank is but what clan he belongs to. The "tobol,"[6] the symbol of precedence, is clan property and belongs to no particular family, although it is kept by the chief of the premier clan of a tribe as the symbol of his authority.

619 The Ahaggar confederation comprises three tribes, the Kel Rela, the Tégéhé Mellet and the
614 Taïtoq, each headed by a noble clan which gives its name to the tribe as a whole[7] (figs. 25, 26, *b* and 27). Noble clans by definition outrank vassal clans, so that the chief of a noble Ahaggar clan is usually chief of his tribe as well. The noble clans and their dependent vassal clans with them are arranged in an order of precedence, and so the chief of the premier
[643] clan (the *Kel Rela*) is also chief of the Kel Rela tribe and paramount chief (*Amenokal*) of the Ahaggar confederation.

614 It is men who govern at all levels of Ahaggar society. Among the Tuareg a tribal chief is
622 chosen from the premier clan of the tribe by
562 a clan council made up of the male heads of households, but he must be confirmed in office by a council of male representatives of all the component clans of his tribe because his tenure depends materially on the willingness of these clans to pay him tribute. For the same reason, the final confirmation of an amenokal rests with a council made up of male representatives of all the clans in the whole confederation. Tribal chiefs also act as judges, and an amenokal is the chief justice of his confederation.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary in the female line,[8] but within fairly broad and seemingly rather indefinite limits of degree of relation-

thereabouts, but this succession may not have been thought of as brother-to-brother inheritance after all. It seems perhaps more likely that the successor in such a case is looked on as an heir of the former chief's mother rather than of the former chief himself. Ancient Egyptian records, cited by Bates (1914, p. 112), tell of at least one Libyan chief who was succeeded by his younger brother in preference to his son. It would be a waste of time for us to try to explain the few early cases of father-to-son inheritance that have been reported because the circumstances surrounding them are not at all clear.

622 ship, and so an undesirable heir-apparent can easily be passed over in favor of a less direct heir who is considered acceptable (Butaye, 1957).

614 The position of an Ahaggar Tuareg clan is not firmly fixed within the framework of the confederation. Component clans will sometimes break away from one tribe in times of adversity and attach themselves to another and more powerful tribe that is better able to protect them. In the old days vassal clans were sometimes swapped back and forth between noble clans, and so had their tribal allegiance changed for them more or less arbitrarily. At least one clan, the Ibotenaten, has been reduced from noble to vassal status, in this case by a crushing defeat suffered in the course of a blood feud. Thus the distribution of the various clans within the tribal framework of the confederation tends to change gradually [578] over the years, while internal tribal crises and intertribal warfare naturally accelerate the process.

[582] Marriage is usually although not always within the clan but outside the first degree of 614 cousinship and outside the camp community or fraction. A child of Tuareg parents inherits 611 rank and privileges through the mother, re- 428 gardless of whether she is a member of the father's clan or not; but the child is known as "Such-and-such, child of So-and-so," the parent thus referred to being the father, and inheritance of property follows Moslem law (*see* the Koran, iv, 12 and 175) which provides that a male heir shall receive twice as much as a female heir who is related to the deceased in the same degree. Today a Targui, asked to give his ancestry, will recite the list of male forebears in his father's line, although Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 321) tells us that in the 14th century descent was counted through the mother's brother, and a man's heirs were his sister's children rather than his own. Bates (1914, p. 112), citing Duveyrier (1864, p. 397), says that property acquired by force of arms used to be inherited by "the eldest son of the eldest sister of the deceased."

591 A newly married couple live in the camp of the bride's parents for about a year and then usually move over to a camp of the husband's people, but they sometimes settle permanently among the clansfolk of the bride if she and her

591 husband are of different clans. A Tuareg camp is usually known, however, by the name of the highest ranking male member of the camp community. Children are normally brought up and continue to live among the group which their parents finally joined on a permanent basis, although boys are sometimes brought up by a maternal uncle. A widowed woman and her unmarried children are usually taken into the family circle of one of her brothers or married sons.

837 The question of moral laxity hardly con-
cerns us here, for even if irregular sexual rela-
[835] tions were as general among the ladies of the Ahaggar as some authors would have us believe, they are still confined as a rule to the kinship group of the clan or at least to that of the tribe. But even so we will do well to examine briefly a widespread popular misconception. In point of fact we can probably
[582] accept Blanguernon's (1955, p. 141) statement that a substantial majority of Tuareg ladies remain virgin until wed, even though the usual age at marriage is 20 to 25 for women and close to 30 for men. Monogamy is the uni-
586 versal rule and divorce is both unusual and
837 generally frowned on. Adultery is probably no more common than it is in most societies where husbands and wives are frequently separated for periods varying from a couple of days to several months. An injured husband
[684] theoretically has the right to kill both his wife and her lover if they are caught in the act, but in practice he usually repudiates his wife although he may decide to keep her regardless of her faults, in which case he appeals to the Amenokal who then fines the corespondent. The injured wife of an unfaithful husband simply packs up and goes back to her own people, unless she prefers to ignore the whole affair.

837 It has been said that Tuareg women of the Ahaggar, single or married, lend themselves freely to male friends and guests as a general rule, but this is certainly a myth. We get the impression that in this matter, and in others too, some authors have not only been influenced subconsciously by the conditioning of their own societies, but have also extrapolated hypothetical Tuareg behavior from behavior sometimes observed among the Tuareg when in contact with their new European rulers.

837 There can be little doubt that the behavior patterns of the Tuareg on such occasions are often different from those which characterize them when they are among themselves.

We must not forget either that irregular sexual activities, before or after marriage, are all but impossible to conceal in the wide open spaces of a desert, whereas it is no trick at all to hide them among the blocks and skyscrapers of great cities like Paris and New York or even in such provincial capitals as Boston and Algiers. All things considered, it seems rather unlikely that sexual laxity is more common among the Ahaggar Tuareg than it is in the urban communities of western Europe and America, at least in cases where husbands and their wives are separated as often and for comparable periods of time.

593 A bride retains full title to all her personal
422 property including livestock, while the husband pays all the family expenses out of his own pocket although his wife may contribute if she feels so inclined. Women are treated
562 with the greatest respect and deference, but they can hold no office nor can they exercise any command beyond the very limited field of their own household affairs, nor can they appear in council or appoint speakers to represent them there. On very rare occasions a noble woman may intervene as an official peacemaker in a quarrel so serious that it might lead to a blood feud if allowed to go unchecked, and this can happen even in cases where the parties to the quarrel are not related to her by either blood or marriage, but only an older woman of very high rank and renowned for her intelligence, strength of character and diplomacy can ever play such a role.

The discerning reader will have noticed that
611 the picture we have just examined is full of gaping holes which cannot be filled in at present for lack of the necessary information. In spite of this we get a distinct impression of a double descent system as defined by Gibson (1956): "the utilization in one society of both patrilineal and matrilineal principles of affiliation resulting in two lineage systems cross-cutting each other." Among the Ahaggar Tuareg the patrilineal descent system is "conjunctive" in that it provides channels of interaction between segments of a "disjunctive" matrilineal system which "divides the society

611 into separate corporate bodies," and so the situation in the Ahaggar appears to be the reverse of that which Gibson found among the cattle-raising Herero of Ngamiland, in southwestern Africa. The Tuareg descent system is like that of the Herero, however, in that "The present function is in terms of a wide range of kin-like relationships leading to economic co-operation and to intermarriage among persons unrelated patrilineally" (although rarely "of scattered origin"). "Double descent, therefore, permits a society such as the Herero," or the Tuareg as a whole, "highly fractured into scattered and politically independent local groups, to maintain cultural uniformity and social cohesion. . . . The segmentation of matri-clans . . . appears to be no more than a mechanism for limiting the wide extension of exogamy and special privilege to persons not too distantly related; it was quite likely a concomitant of an expanding population and the scattering of the tribe."

It is not unnatural to jump to the conclu-
121 sion, as Gautier (1935, pp. 33 and 109), Lhote
611 (1955, pp. 186–88) and others have done, that the ancestral Tuareg of ancient times were
[174] exclusively matrilineal and fully matriarchal as well, and that the patrilineal elements we find in modern Tuareg culture were acquired relatively recently through Moslem influence, but this is not necessarily so. The concept of double descent was stated for the first time by Rattray (1923, pp. 77–78) in his description of the pagan Ashanti of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), among whom "Inheritance and succession to authority follow the female line and the avunculate exists, but residence is patrilocal and the household consists of a patriarchal extended family" (Murdock, 1940, p. 557, paraphrasing Rattray), a situation which was probably characteristic of the pre-Islamic Tuareg as well. The Ashanti also have matri-sibs based on "blood" inherited in the maternal line, and patri-sibs based on "spirit" inherited through the father, and this again suggests that the basic concepts underlying the double descent systems of the Ashanti and Tuareg have much in common.

Gibson (1956, p. 137) seems inclined to think that the double descent systems of the Herero and of the southwestern Bantu in general evolved "as a whole," matrilineal and

611 patrilineal elements being present together in
121 a single complex from its beginning, and we have no good reason to suppose that this tentative assumption may not be equally applicable to the Tuareg. But we are hedged about with lack of information. We are faced here with yet another instance of the futility of empirical deduction unsupported by adequate field investigation of the culture concepts that lie at the root of our problem.

423 **Land Tenure and Tribute.** The Amenokal of
643 the Ahaggar is said to be "the owner of the land" by virtue of his position as paramount chief of a warrior aristocracy. We are inclined to suspect, however, that this may be an oversimplification of the case, for the land of the various tribes that make up the Ahaggar confederation is apparently treated as basically communal property, the title to which is vested in each succeeding Amenokal as an executive trustee rather than as a proprietor. This brings out the very important point that the Amenokal of the Ahaggar Tuareg seems to be essentially a chief executive and not a true king or autocratic chief in the commonly accepted sense of those terms. And, theoretically at least, he can be forced out of office by popular demand. All things considered, his position is not so very different in fact from
643 that of the President of the United States.

622 The Amenokal and the noble tribal chiefs
565 under him collect tribute from those whose
[651] destinies they control, but they are also supposed to protect these people by force of arms when necessary. When the warriors of a noble
[721] clan go raiding they often take the men of one or more of their vassal clans along, and these vassals receive a substantial share of plunder if the raid is a success, but vassals also have an obligation to fight at the side of their noble masters in intertribal wars.

423 Each vassal clan holds exclusive pasturage
[565] rights to a definite territory upon which no one else may enter, without express permission of the Amenokal, excepting noble clans who are always free to use the pastures of their own vassals as and when they please. Some men also hold exclusive hunting rights to certain specified areas. Many Tuareg own garden plots in agricultural centers, and sometimes date palms and fruit trees of other kinds as well, all of which holdings are now par-

423 celed out to Haratin sharecroppers although some of them used to be worked by slaves. Since ownership of land is never outright in
[427] any case, each leaseholder must pay rent in one form or another to someone or other at least once a year.

565 Vassal clans usually pay annual tribute to their tribal chiefs or to the Amenokal, or
651 both. This tribute includes such things as dates, millet, congealed melted butter, baby camels, sheep, goats and manufactured articles of various kinds, a share of all merchandise imported by the clan as well as a share of the profits from any caravan commerce they may have, and about half of any booty they may capture in independent raids. Each vassal family used to contribute towards the upkeep of a particular noble family, and the nobles in their turn, men and women alike, were constantly begging from their vassals who could hardly afford to refuse them. But if this begging became unbearable, the vassals would sometimes pull up stakes and move quietly out of reach of their noble parasites.

Lhote (1955, pp. 190–91) says that all adult
651 males, potential warriors that is, of the Ahaggar confederation, were supposed to pay an annual head tax of 5 francs (then worth about 4 cents) each to the Amenokal as recently as 1948. Hunters annually paid in mouflon for exclusive local hunting rights. After each harvest each Hartani would pay a third of a bushel (more or less) of grain to the Amenokal for each garden plot that he worked, in addition to a share of the produce which he paid to the local leaseholder. But much of this fiscal system has fallen into disuse in re-
651 cent years, for the Amenokal together with
178 his whole camp is now supported almost entirely by the French Government, which also contributes free grain weekly to many of the poorer Haratin. Once more it is the middle class, the vassal Tuareg and the lesser nobles in this case, who suffer most severely from the stresses of cultural change.

**Tuareg Economy and the Roots of the Class**
233 **System.** All Saharan nomads live primarily off
137 their livestock, and livestock lives off pasturage. There are two main kinds of pasture in the Sahara, the permanent growth of wiry yellowish grass, little woody shrubs and thorny bushes that one finds scattered very thinly

233 across much of the land and concentrated
[137] along dry river bottoms, and the small patches of thick, lush, emerald green grass that flourish briefly in hollows here and there following rainstorms. Pasturage is always either very sparse or very scattered in the Ahaggar and so the nomadic inhabitants of the area must move often, for the supply in the immediate neighborhood of a camp is quickly exhausted.
[312] To make life still more difficult, water points are often few and far between as we already know, and it is not unusual to find good pasturage so far from any water that it cannot be used for more than a day or two, if at all. This combination of circumstances has
233 made it necessary for the Ahaggar Tuareg
221 to break up into small and highly mobile camp units composed of fractions of clans, or even single families, and each of these units must move at intervals of usually somewhere between a week and a month and often over considerable distances, although always within the territorial limits of the tribe (fig. 36).

As soon as a camp or constellation of neighboring camps is established in a new location, the head men first set up the daily grazing routine of the flocks and then set out at once to scout far and wide in search of the next pasture to be used and the next camp sites that their families will occupy. And so it goes the year around, and so the Tuareg of the Ahaggar are highly mobile nomads by force of circumstances, for they cannot survive otherwise in the region which they have made their own.

565 It is in the compelling circumstances of
233 their environment that we find the roots of the class system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, for,
463 quite apart from the question of mobility, such conditions can be met successfully only
182 by a well conceived and firmly established division of labor. In the Ahaggar it is the nobles of a tribe and the headmen of the vassal clans who ride out in search of new pastures and at the same time act as military scouts, always on the watch for enemy raiders as

[423] *The fundamental difference between the two systems lies in the fact that the basis of land tenure among the Tuareg is not that of the *beneficium* while personal allegiance is not based on the concept of the *comitatus*. The true feudal system of mediæval Europe was based on the conferring of privilege by an absolute ruler (or one of his vassals) on a less

565 well as for potential victims, alien camps or
233 caravans which they can raid themselves. The
463 vassals in their turn are responsible for the daily management and immediate protection of the flocks and herds, and also constitute an armed reserve that can be called up quickly in case a battle becomes imminent or the opportunity for a major raid presents itself. The
[567] slaves take care of the domestic service and household chores of the camps while their boys go out as shepherds to the flocks.

Thus it is clear that the Tuareg class system
565 is a necessity of pastoral life in the Ahaggar;
642 for no pastoral community can survive there without nomadizing, and no community of
[182] nomads can survive without a rigidly formalized division of labor and authority similar to that embodied in the class system of the Tuareg. It now becomes clear also that the seemingly paradoxical combination, within the social framework, of rigidity during the period of a single adult lifetime and a relative fluidity over slightly longer periods still so short as to span often no more than a couple of generations and sometimes less, is not in fact a paradox at all. It merely reflects in simple functional terms the fact that extreme conditions call for an extreme response, that the framework within which the allocation of authority is made at various levels in the communal structure must be very firmly established but must also allow considerable freedom periodically in the choice of those who are to occupy critical positions of decision and command so as to avoid the danger of having such positions filled automatically by persons unfit to occupy them, a danger that could well be quickly fatal to the whole community.

And finally we see that Tuareg government really has nothing essential in common with the feudal system of mediæval Europe to which it has so often been confusingly compared.[9] In the last analysis authority resides in the vassals, for they can make and at least
[643] in theory break the mightiest of all the nobles, the Amenokal himself, and they can do all this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.

powerful neighbor in exchange for some specified kind of continuing or periodic service. Among the Tuareg the relationship between "noble" and "vassal" looks much the same at first glance, but this is an optical illusion, a case of merely superficial resemblance.

565 this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.
642 Ancient Egyptian records tell of a Libyan chieftain, Meryey who was peacefully deposed and replaced by a younger brother following a disastrous defeat in battle (Bates, 1914, pp. 114–15, 218 and 221). It is some of the vassal clans that are the biggest numerically and also the richest on a *per capita* basis; and if vassal clansmen pay tribute to their noble "masters" it is only because they choose to do so, because they find it in their interest to keep the nobles on their payroll so to speak. Thus the Tuareg government of the Ahaggar is in fact a kind of republic and not a real monarchy or true military aristocratic autocracy at all.

233 **Livestock.** Herds of camels and flocks of hairy sheep and goats constitute the bulk of the capital investment and so form the primary basis of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar. The quantity and composition of the total livestock investment has been variously estimated, but the following rough approximations are probably not far from the true figures: camels—12,000, sheep—2,000, goats—20,000, donkeys—5,000 and cattle (zebus)—300 or thereabouts.
[231] Donkeys, as we have seen, are unproductive except as beasts of burden, and the cattle are so few as to be of negligible importance. Only some 4,500 camels are actually kept in the Ahaggar while the rest are put out to pasture in the Tamesna region on the northern edge of the Sudan, roughly half way between the Aïr and the Niger Bend. Most of the sheep too are pastured outside the Ahaggar proper, mainly in the country around Tin Zaouaten, southwest of the Ahaggar and northwest of the Tamesna.

235 The Haratin of the Ahaggar keep chickens,
262 but only the eggs are eaten as a rule. The Tuareg eat neither eggs, fowl nor fish, but we will discuss this further in the section on *Nomad Diet* in the following chapter.

232 It has been said that the Tuareg have no special breed of riding camels but that likely looking animals are picked out early and given special training for use as mounts. The fact remains, however, that the young of famous stud camels are always the preferred choice, and these animals are specially marked shortly after birth. The method of marking consists of pinching up three small folds of skin in a row, about 2 to 3 inches apart, along

232 the ridge of the nose, and then tying a very thin leather thong very tightly around the base of each fold much as a string is tied around the opening of a toy balloon to keep the air in. After a while the thongs are cut away and three little round knobs, about the size of the end of your index finger, remain for the rest of the camel's life as a kind of hallmark of outstanding quality (fig. 26, *a*). Riding camels are very carefully and patiently trained from the age of about 2 years on, and the males are castrated when about 5 years old.

**Trading.** We have now seen that pastoralism 439 is the central column and garden rent a corner post of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar. Trade is the second corner post, and salt is, as we have seen, the chief article of export. [317] In April or May some of the Ahaggar Tuareg send their slaves to the salt mines of the Amadror for two or three weeks. In July they go south with their cargoes of salt, through the [487] rich pastures of the Tamesna region where they rest their animals for a while or exchange them for fresh ones, and then on to the commercial centers of the country just north of the Nigerian frontier. Here trading begins in earnest, late in October as a rule, and endless discussions and bargaining go on for a couple of months or so. Salt, and also camels, donkeys, and dates obtained from the North, are exchanged chiefly for millet but also for a variety of manufactured articles such as cotton cloth and clothing, leather goods, sandals, saddles and bridles, wooden household utensils and tools and weapons of iron and steel. In January the Ahaggar Tuareg turn north again, pause once more for a while in the Tamesna, and finally reach their homes in March or early April.

Camels, hairy sheep, goats, donkeys and congealed melted butter used to be traded in the oases of the Tidikelt and the Touat mainly for dates, and also for cotton cloth, thin woolen blankets from the Gourara, tea, sugar and tobacco. Caravans engaged in this trade used to leave the Ahaggar in January or early February and return in April. Over the last 30 years or so, however, this commercial current has been reduced to a mere trickle by middlemen with trucks who have gradually taken over delivery of the goods that caravans used to fetch from the North. The trade still exists in a sense, but it has become indirect

439 and its focus is now strictly local as far as the Tuareg are concerned.

Salt and dates were once traded in the Niger Bend country for camels, sheep, millet and rice, and camels, sheep and goatskins used to be traded to Ghadamès in exchange for swords, richly embroidered cloaks, dates, tea and sugar. Ghadamès is still an important center for the production of metal utensils and occasionally weapons.

**Protection.** Aside from their own trading ac-
439 tivities, the Tuareg used to control caravan
486 trade in general over a very wide area, and this was the third corner post of their economy. Barth (1857, vol. 1, p. 238), writing a century ago, tells us that in his day the Amenokal of the Ahaggar, Guémama, controlled all trade routes between Mourzouk and Timbuctoo, and it seems likely that this situation already dated back over a considerable period. The Ahaggar Tuareg used to control all trade in the southwestern Sahara as far west as Ouadane and southward into northern Nigeria at least as early as the beginning of the 15th century, but their grip on much of this area, and notably on the salt trade of the southwestern Desert, was broken by the Moroccans at the end of the 16th century, and the Tuareg never seem to have extended it again much beyond Aoulef in the Northwest or southwestward beyond Timbuctoo.

The mechanism of control was based on the furnishing of guides and armed escorts to caravans passing through areas under Tuareg domination, and for these services there was a fairly uniform customary scale of charges based on the estimated value of a caravan's cargo and the reputed wealth of the owners. Caravan leaders sometimes failed to agree on the figure to be paid and proceeded on their own, while big caravans occasionally brought guides and guards along with them and small ones now and then tried to slip through unobserved. The Tuareg, however, succeeded in making such expedients unprofitable in most cases by themselves raiding reluctant customers along the road. Thus a highly profitable protection racket was maintained for several centuries before the period of European domination.

**Raiding.** The fourth economic corner post
721 of the Ahaggar Tuareg was raiding pure and

721 simple, and this activity can be divided into two main types according to the chief object in view. Raiding for booty was practised irregularly but fairly often, especially in times of hardship or in connection with intertribal feuds. Sneak attacks by small bands who lifted livestock and then promptly fled with it were typical. Slave raiding was practised on a fairly regular basis. In the nomad camps of the
727 Ahaggar the number of Negro domestic servants is usually about equal to the number of Tuareg present, and this labor force used to be replenished when necessary by raids on Negro villages in the desert fringe of the Sudan and occasionally even on Tuareg camps in the Aïr, Tamesna and Adrar n Ifoghas regions. The present writer knows a mulatto freedwoman who was taken in this way from the Aïr some 40 years ago, and has long been happily settled at Tamanrasset; and she is by no means an exception. Thus raiding, the fourth corner post of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar, was primarily a mechanism designed to keep the supply of livestock, both animal and human, at a satisfactory level in an area where the environment caused a steady normal decrease in the local supply.

**Economic Summary.** We have seen that pas-
177 toralism was the central column and crop shares, trading, protection and raiding the four
182 corner posts of the economic structure of the Ahaggar Tuareg. With the coming of European domination the last two pillars were kicked away, the third buckled and bent to a mere fraction of its former height, and the roof fell in along three sides and part of the fourth. The Ahaggar Tuareg presumably never lived a life of ease—no pastoralist can in such a rigorous environment—but their greatest perils used to be those of warfare. These dangers have been removed completely by the new European rulers of the area, and yet the Tuareg of the Ahaggar as a whole are undoubtedly in worse economic shape today than they have ever been before. Their old
182 culture, whatever some may think of it on the basis of modern European standards, was remarkably well adapted to conditions in their chosen homeland. The destruction of two of its five main supports and the progressive weakening of a third have thrown their economic structure so seriously out of balance that the whole edifice is obviously doomed,

182 and the Tuareg of the Ahaggar as a nation, too stubborn to adapt themselves to any way of life other than their own, have at last signed their name to the ever-lengthening list of vanishing peoples.

Shelter. The typical dwelling of the Ahaggar
342 Tuareg is a leather tent, made preferably of the skins of goats although sometimes those of sheep or even calves are used (fig. 36). A tent of moufion skins is considered the height of luxury and elegance, but it is almost impossible to come by enough of them to make such a tent nowadays. The prepared skins are
281 very soft and have a pleasing dull red brick
342 color which is produced by rubbing them on both sides with a mixture of red ocherous clay and dried camel dung. After being prepared and cut down to rectangular form, they are sewed together with fine strips of leather. Anywhere from 30 to as many as 150 may be used to make a single tent, but the first number is not far below the average. A finished tent of ordinary size weighs about 50 pounds more or less.

342 Tents are mounted on wooden frames of various closely similar types, the most common of which consists of three elements, each composed of two uprights with a horizontal member laid across their tops. The highest element is set in the middle with one upright in front and the other in the back, and the two remaining elements are set up parallel to it, one on either side. The tent covering is then stretched over this framework, with its back and sides pegged down and the front left open, usually facing south. In good weather the overhanging front of the roof is stretched out horizontally to form an awning held in place by three supplementary posts, one in the middle and another at each end. The average tent is 6 to 10 feet deep from front to back, 10 to 15 feet wide and 4 to 5 feet high in the middle, with the roof sloping away very gently on both sides and toward the back wall. The structure is completed by
[285] long strips of stiff, yellow matting made of
351 thin reeds, roughly 3 feet wide and up to 20 feet long more or less, with simple geometric designs in black or reddish brown leather ribbon woven into them. These strips are set on edge around the inside of the tent so as to make an inner wall at the back and sides,

351 and are extended out in front to form a sheltered enclosure which is usually semicircular with the entrance opening in the middle. The little forecourt and the ground inside the tent as well are covered with clean sand or very fine gravel from the bed of a nearby stream. Tuareg camps are always very tidy and astonishingly clean.

Both in the forecourt and in the tent itself
562 the men's place is on the right as you enter
342 and the women's and children's on the left, which is the reverse of the arrangement customary among Arabs. It has often been said that the men's place is on the East, but this is simply because tents are almost always pitched facing south.

Household furniture and effects include
352 sheepskins, or rugs obtained from the North
[439] by trade, leather bags of food and personal belongings, saddles, bridles and weapons,
[415] wooden bowls, funnels and spoons and maybe an earthenware cooking pot or two, a wooden
[412] mortar and pestle or perhaps two sets of different sizes, and a stone quern which may be either of the Neolithic saddle type or the small rotary model of the Roman Legions. Arms and food are stored in the men's half of the tent and equipment connected with food preparation in the women's half. A guerba full of water is hung from two long stakes just outside the forecourt. A brush
[343] windbreak built nearby shelters the outdoor kitchen, and another windbreak, some 50 to 100 yards away, shelters the family slaves.

Sometimes in the hottest months, and particularly when a camp remains stationary for a considerable length of time as it does in periods so dry that it is dangerous to move far from a permanent water supply, the tents may be stowed away and zeribas set up in their place. We recall that these are cubical or cylindrical structures made of reeds, long grass or palm fronds laid over a wooden framework measuring roughly 10 to 15 feet across and 8 to 10 feet high (fig. 37, *a*). The Amenokal's camp was installed in zeribas when the writer visited it in November, 1955, near the end of an unusually long period of drought.

361 Camps are always pitched in an inconspicuous spot and always on high ground except on very rare occasions when the sky is cloud-

361 less and there is no immediate fear of a sudden downpour that might produce flash floods. Each tent is occupied by a single family unit
592 and there are almost never more than 5 or 6
361 tents at the most in any normal camp. In the camp of the Amenokal there are usually 15
644 to 20 tents or even more, and one sees no flocks nearby, but this is a wholly artificial situation made possible only by the fact that the Amenokal and his personal retinue receive most of their supplies by truck from the nearest French Army post, and so can live in a way that would be impossible in the Ahaggar under anything approaching normal conditions.

**Clothing, Cosmetics and Cleanliness.** In the old
291 days the Tuareg used to wear leather shirts that reached below the knee and were sometimes elaborately decorated with fringe. Monod (1947, p. 47) recalls that Herodotus (IV, 189) described Libyan women as wearing fringed garments of red leather some 2,500 years ago, and he adds that some Tuareg women of the Niger Bend country still do so. Lyon (1821, p. 110 and plates facing pp. 110 and 113) tells us that leather shirts were worn by many of the Tuareg who visited Mourzouk while he was there in 1819, but Duveyrier (1864, p. 406) found that they were already becoming scarce only 40 years later. The present writer has seen no leather clothing worn by anyone in the Ahaggar, although Benhazera (1908, p. 37) says that poor folk wore leather clothes there 50 years ago while Reygasse (1950, p. 97) states that leather shirts are still worn by some of the slaves and Capot-Rey (1953, p. 226) adds that they are often worn by smiths.

Another once characteristic article of Tuareg dress that has now gone largely out of use was the high, conical fezlike cap, made of soft red felt and worn sticking up through the middle of the turban, that Lyon (1821) saw at Mourzouk. Barth (1857a, vol. 1, p. 424, footnote) says that caps of this kind were "obnoxious to the" Tuareg "tribes of pure blood" in 1850 but this is probably either an error or a matter of local eccentricity, for they were still standard equipment in Duveyrier's time. They disappeared almost completely from the Ahaggar, however, in the course of the next 50 years or less although

29 some Moroccan Arab tribes wear them even now. This type of headdress seems to have been exactly or almost exactly like the tall, fezlike tasseled cap that we see worn, though without a turban, by Chusor Phtah in portraits that occur on coins struck probably during the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. at the provincial Berber capital of Lixus, the modern Tchemmich, an old Phoenician settlement on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, roughly half way between Rabat and Tangier (Mazard, 1955, pp. 60, 64, 125 and 153; figs. 630–35, 640–42). Chusor Phtah has been identified as the diety who was supposed by the Phoenicians to have brought order out of primeval chaos. And so we are left wondering if the high-crowned floppy fez of the Tuareg was originally a northwestern African Berber invention or a Phoenician import from the Near East. In any case it suggests the possibility of [177] a very early relationship of some sort between the Tuareg and the northwestern coastal fringe of Barbary.

Tuareg men today wear very loose, baggy trousers made of dark indigo blue or black cotton cloth,[10] which are held in place in the same way as our pajama trousers are but with a braided leather cord by way of drawstring. The seat is baggy and hangs down below the knees, the ends of the legs are sewed up so as to fit closely around the ankles, and there are no pockets and no fly. A loose, white cotton shirt, rather like a nightgown with very wide sleeves of medium length, used to be the standard undergarment, but the gandoura [177] of the Arabs finally replaced it and is now being replaced in turn by the European type of shirt. The Tuareg gandoura is made of a huge rectangle of cloth, roughly 7 to 8 feet wide by 8 to 9 feet long. This is folded over on itself and the free corners are sewn together so as to leave the bottom and most of both sides open, a V-shaped opening for the head and neck is cut out of the fold at the top, and a large patch is sewed on inside so as to make a roomy pocket placed just below the left breast. The gandoura worn next to the skin, or directly over the undershirt, is usually made of white cotton, and a second

[10] Frequent reference to the plates will make the following descriptions easier to understand.

291 one, of dark indigo blue cotton cloth this time, is customarily worn over it. On gala occasions some of the Tuareg wear a third gandoura, made of very narrow vertical strips of Sudanese cotton cloth dyed a lurid pinkish violet or of alternate strips of violet and white or dark blue, often with two large spiral patterns embroidered in coarse white thread, one over the left breast and the other on the back between the shoulders. This third type of gandoura has gone almost completely out of use within the last few years, but, like the white tie and tails of our own formal dress, it is still worn occasionally and is considered very elegant. A Tuareg gandoura should be wide enough so that when the upper corners hang down freely they cover the hands, but they are usually rolled up over the forearms so as to leave the hands free and sometimes are folded over the shoulders, thus freeing the whole arm.

A woolen outer garment is occasionally worn in cold weather. Lightweight blankets from the Gourara and the Touat used to be worn like giant shawls, but these have been replaced to a great extent by the "burnous" (Arabic = *bernoos*) of the Arabs, a long hooded cloak made of wool or of camel's hair mixed with wool.

The Tuareg have two types of footgear. The older type, a sandal with the end folded back over the toes, is held in place by a narrow strip of leather which passes around the heel below the level of the ankle, and is attached to the sole directly between the great and second toes and indirectly by a loop on either side of the foot halfway between the instep and the heel. The second type, [439] usually imported from the Sudan, is a large flat sandal which extends out about an inch beyond the foot in all directions. It is held in place by a V-shaped pair of broad strips of leather with the arms of the V attached directly to the sole on either side of the foot and the point attached to a thin roll of leather which passes between the great and second toes. The older type is rarely seen today, but still survives in some of the more mountainous regions.

And so we come at last to the mysterious "teguelmoust," the men's veil that has done so much to make the Tuareg so famous. The

291 teguelmoust is actually a combination veil and turban made of a band of lightweight cotton cloth some 10 feet long by a foot or so wide, preferably dark indigo blue in color but often white or black nowadays. This band is wound around and around the head and face so as to leave exposed only the eyes and a small patch on the crown of the head. The lower edge of the eye opening is often doubled over in the middle so as to draw the cloth tighter across the bridge of the nose, thus preventing the veil from slipping down. The slit left open for the eyes is made as narrow as possible on formal occasions, and is then strikingly reminiscent of the snow goggles of the Eskimos.

Self-respecting Tuareg still think it shockingly indecent for a man to let his mouth be seen by anyone to whom he owes the least formal respect, so much so in fact that Lhote (1955, p. 307) was able to write of Tuareg women married for over 20 years who claimed never to have seen the mouths of their own husbands. When a man is eating or drinking, the left hand is slid up underneath the fold of cloth that covers the face so as to hold it out away from the mouth without raising it above chin level, and the spoon, bowl or glass containing food or drink is then passed up under the veil with the right hand in such a way that the mouth and even the chin remain concealed during the entire process. A Targui about to enter a camp other than his own must stop first and arrange his veil so that the eye slit is very narrow, for to do otherwise would place him in a position similar to that of a stranger ostentatiously whistling at the girls in a small American town. It may be taken as a general rule that a Targui will never show his face to anyone whose social standing he considers superior to his own.

But when, where and from whom did the Tuareg get the curious idea that men must all wear veils while women go without? All that Lyon, Barth, Duveyrier, Benhazera, Reygasse, Rodd, Bovill, Lhote, Blanguernon and your humble servant, among others, have been able to elicit from the Tuareg themselves over a period of a century and a quarter of patient effort is that self-respecting men wear veils and always have, simply because it is the proper thing to do. Duveyrier (1864, p. 391), followed more recently by Rodd (1926, p.

291 288) and Lhote (1955, p. 305), held that the teguelmoust cannot have had a utilitarian origin because it is worn by men whose womenfolk habitually go unveiled in spite of the fact that both sexes are exposed to the same rigorous environment. Benhazera (1908, p. 39) agreed with this theory, and cited as evidence the fact that Tuareg men questioned by him all denied flatly that the veil was intended to serve any useful purpose. Other equally serious investigators have gone to extremes of both fantasy and caution. Barth 1857a, vol. 1, p. 424), for example, suggested that the veil, turban and floppy fez "combine to imitate the shape of the helmet" of a mediæval knight, although the supposed resemblance is about as farfetched as any that one can think of, while Blanguernon (1955, p. 99), after noting that the veil is in fact very useful whatever its chief purpose may now be, prudently declined to speculate as to its origin on the very reasonable grounds that there is no factual evidence at all to go on. It has been suggested too that Tuareg men hide their mouths only because they think it shameful to expose either end of the alimentary canal, just as we think it shameful to expose the lower extremity thereof (Foley, 1930, p. 25, among others); but if this is so, then why are women's mouths not considered just as shameful as those of men?

The arguments advanced in favor of the theory that the teguelmoust cannot have had a utilitarian origin fail to convince the present writer, for several reasons. In the first place we must remember that the men of all Saharan nomad tribes often veil their faces with a fold of the turban when out in the sun and wind or in a sandstorm, although being veiled or not seems to have no ceremonial implications for any of them except the Tuareg. Everyone who has traveled at all extensively in hot deserts knows that it is often advantageous to the point of being almost essential when on the trail to cover the head, nose and mouth with light, loosely woven cloth, for such a covering protects the wearer from the sun and wind and also maintains a pocket of relatively moist air, kept humid by the breath, around the mouth and nostrils. This last function is of great practical importance in that it protects the mucous membranes of the respiratory

291 tract which otherwise suffer severely in an arid climate, even when the ambiant temperature is only moderately high. Thus it is clear that the teguelmoust does have a very real practical value, regardless of what the Tuareg may say; and it is clear also that the men who wear it need it far more than do their womenfolk who go without.

291 It is not true that Tuareg women of the Ahaggar (fig. 48) are exposed to the rigors
512 of their environment either as much or in the same way as are their menfolk. The men are
462 out and about a good deal of the time, riding here and there across the countryside on errands of one sort or another or on long journeys far away, while the women sit quietly in the shelter of their tents, gossiping, telling folk tales, doing fancy leatherwork, and teaching tribal lore and sometimes Tifinagh [11] to the children. Every family that is not miserably poor has at least two or three
[567] slaves to fetch and carry water, prepare the meals and do the other daily chores, so that the mistress of a normal Tuareg household in the Ahaggar has no need to take a single step outside her tent except when camp is moved, or to visit with her neighbors and to answer calls of nature.

291 Although it is true that Tuareg women do not wear veils, it is also true that women
171 of the other Saharan nomad tribes, Arabs included, seldom if ever wear veils either, except on the very rare occasions when they visit a sedentary settlement or town, and even then not always by any means. But Tuareg and other Saharan nomad women alike all draw a corner of the head shawl (or turban cloth) across the nose and mouth occasionally as a simple matter of physical protection, and this has the same practical effect as putting on a veil does.

291 All this data on the wearing of veils and going without them proves nothing, to be sure, but it does go to show that the Tuareg teguelmoust itself can have had a strictly utilitarian origin, after all, as Blanguernon (1955, p. 99) implied, quite apart from the origin of the elaborate and rigid ceremonial
291 quality with which its use has become imbued.
177 As for the date at which the teguelmoust

[11] The Tuareg alphabetic script.

291 177 was introduced among or developed by the Tuareg, we have as yet only negative evidence to go on and precious little of that. All we can say with any assurance is that it cannot very well be older than the introduction of cotton cloth, which is self-evident, and that it could easily have been derived from some quite ordinary type of turban, like that of the Arab Chaamba for example. Cotton cloth must have been introduced into the Sahara on a commercial scale very soon after the introduction of camel domestication had led to the establishment of a regular caravan trade with Egypt, if not before. There are indications 291 175 that it may have been known in the Ahaggar as early as the 5th century A.D. (Reygasse, 1950, p. 98) and perhaps even in late Neolithic times, and yet there is no evidence in the literature that the Tuareg were wearing veils before the 10th or early 11th century. As Rodd (1926, p. 328) has said: "It seems very strange that none of the classical and post-classical authors should have recorded a feature which so distinguishes this people from other races. There is no reference to the Veil until we come to the first Arab authors. . . ." Desert raiders remarkably like the Tuareg are known to have been in increasingly frequent and violent contact with Romans, Vandals and finally with Byzantines from probably as early as the dawn of the Christian era until the first wave of Arab invaders arrived some 600 years later, and after that they were in contact with the Arabs for another 350 years or so before we begin to hear talk of veiled men in the Sahara.

El Bekri (Lhote, 1955, p. 128) describing the city of Tademekka (in the Adrar n Ifoghas country) as it was early in the 11th century, wrote of the inhabitants that ". . . they veil their faces as do all Berbers of the desert . . . ," while Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338), writing 300 years later, said: " . . . we came to the country of the Haggar, who are a tribe of Berbers; they wear face veils and are a rascally lot." But these statements too are very strange, for the matter-of-fact language in which they are couched seems to suggest that even El Bekri may have taken it for granted that his readers were already familiar with veiled men of Saharan Berber tribes, presumably the northern

Tuareg.

291 Tuareg. It is all very puzzling and mysterious indeed.

Tuareg women wear either a short cotton skirt that reaches just below the knees or a pair of baggy trousers, like those of the men but shorter. Like the men they usually wear a white gandoura with a blue one over it, but the under one at least is sewed farther up the sides leaving open arm slits only 1½ to 2 feet long. The costume is topped off with a shawl and a head scarf of indigo blue cotton cloth, the first measuring roughly 9 feet by 6 and the second about 4 by 2 feet as a rule. Lightweight woolen shawls, measuring as much as 10 feet by 6½ and white or darkish pink in color, used to be worn on festive occasions but have practically disappeared in recent years. Lhote (1955, p. 107) says that Tuareg women sometimes wrap goatskins around their shoulders in wintertime. Straw hats with very high conical crowns and enormously wide, floppy brims, made of narrow interwoven strips of palm fronds, were always worn in summertime by women of rank, especially when on a journey, but these too have almost completely disappeared. We have already seen that Tuareg women never wear a veil, which is just as well since many of them are extremely good-looking, but they often drape a fold of the head shawl loosely across the nose and mouth when sitting out in the open or riding on the trail, simply as a matter of physical protection. Young unmarried Tuareg women and girls are inclined to be overcome with giggles when strange foreigners arrive in the camp, and then they hide their faces with a corner of the shawl or whatever piece of clothing is most handy, just as little girls do everywhere in the world.

Tuareg women sometimes plaster their fore-
302 heads and cheeks with mudpacks of red or yellow ocher, and smear their mouths with indigo and the region of the eyes with black pigment made of powdered antimony or char-
coal mixed with grease. This lurid make-up
[751] gives fairly good protection against sun and wind, and the Tuareg consider it very beautiful as well although to our eyes it makes the wearer look absolutely frightful. Men also use black pigment around the eye openings,
291 especially on gala occasions.

439 The reader will have noticed that the

291 Tuareg attach considerable importance to
[439] indigo blue cotton cloth, a product which they get from the Sudan. This material is commonly known as "chegga" (pronounced *shegga*), and the most archaic and highly prized variety is made of a multitude of long strips about an inch wide sewn tightly together. The cloth itself, of very ordinary quality, is so heavily impregnated with crude indigo as to be literally stiff with it. A brand new piece looks black when seen at a distance or in a poor light, but in bright sunlight it is a dark purplish blue with a coppery sheen like that of cheap carbon paper; and the indigo dye comes off on your fingers at the slightest touch, just as the ink on carbon paper does but much more so.

302 Obviously, anyone who wears clothes made of such material is soon stained with indigo from head to foot, and the Tuareg even rub it into their skins on purpose. Women often smear it on their foreheads, cheeks and temples and around their mouths by way of make-up. The
[751] Tuareg claim that indigo not only protects human skin from the direct effects of sun and wind but also lubricates it and so prevents cracking, and they are quite right, at least up to a point. If the Tuareg wash themselves only
[515] very rarely, it is partly to preserve the accumulated protective coating of indigo, the humble practical value of which has been
[554] gradually enhanced by an ever-increasing value of prestige that has risen in proportion to the rising cost of indigo-dyed cloth. A dirty looking, bluish skin is admired by the Tuareg just as much as a rich golden tan is admired in midwinter by the business men and women of New England and New York.

515 It should be noted that in the Sahara Desert proper one can go unwashed for long periods without either feeling or looking noticeably dirty. The air is so dry that perspiration usually evaporates instantly upon reaching the surface of the skin, and so it is unusual for anyone to sweat visibly. Most of the nomadic
[147] natives are in excellent physical condition in that they are very lean and wiry, and so they sweat relatively little in any case. Thus it is extremely rare to meet one who has any perceptible body odor at all, regardless of whether he looks clean or not. White foreigners are seldom in anywhere near as good physi-

515 cal condition, and they appear to sweat much more, perhaps in part because nearly all of them persist in maintaining their European eating and drinking habits. There is a strong hint here that a systematic investigation of the relationship between diet and sweat loss in the Sahara might produce some very interesting and useful results.

When an Arab nomad of the northern Desert goes to town, the first thing he usually does is to head for the public baths and get himself thoroughly steamed and scrubbed all over, but the Ahaggar Tuareg almost never visit any town big enough to have public or even private baths. A few permanent waterholes and a number of seasonal ones are to be found, however, scattered thinly through most of the Ahaggar massif, and the Tuareg of the region make use of such pools occasionally, though perhaps not quite as often as do their cousins of the Aïr, of whom Rodd (1926, p. 163) wrote as follows: "In justice to my friends, I must admit that they washed their clothing, and especially their white trousers, very frequently, and when they washed their person, they did so very thoroughly from head to foot, with much rubbing and a prodigious splashing of volumes of water." The Tuareg of the Ahaggar, women as well as men, wash themselves with equal gusto when they wash at all, and this is not the kind of thing that one would expect of people who have any real dislike or fear of water as such.

And finally it should be noted that among Saharan peoples in general, including the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, bodily cleanliness seems to show a pretty uniform positive correlation with economic status, as it so often does elsewhere in the world.

**Racial Minorities, Parasitic Groups and Race**
567 **Mixture.** We have already gone far enough into the question of slavery in the Ahaggar so that not much remains to be said about it here beyond a brief summing up of the situation. The slaves are almost all Negro captives from the Sudan, or the descendants of such captives. They are chattels which can be bought, sold and inherited, and they do all the manual labor and housework around the camp and also acts as shepherds. A slave can seldom marry without the permission of his master, who usually advances the necessary

567 dowry. But slaves are well fed and cared for as a rule; they get two or three days off each week to look after their own affairs, their children are brought up with the children of their masters, and custom forbids the freeing of a slave who is either too old or too young to fend for himself. A slave may even have a few goats of his own, although when he dies they are not inherited by his family but revert to his master instead. Barth (1857a, vol. 1, p. 387) notes as a striking exception that he saw slaves hitched to a plow and driven with whips in the Auderas Valley, some 60 miles northwest of Agadès.

567 Female slaves are often taken as concubines by Tuareg men of the Ahaggar, who prize
595 them because they are less capricious and overbearing than Tuareg women are and "be-
[827] cause they have cool skins," a point which would bear further investigation with a skin temperature machine. The children of such unions are often recognized by their fathers but do not inherit from them, and, although free, they have a debased social standing little better than that of their slave forebears. Moussa ag Amastan, who was Amenokal of the Ahaggar from 1905 to 1921,[12] remained unmarried for over 50 years, during most of which time he lived with a bevy of Negro concubines and a young Tuareg girl, named Harendou, whom he had captured on a raid into the Niger Bend country (Benhazera, 1908, p. 142; Lhote, 1955, pp. 221–23). Although this case was exceptional, it was by no means unique.

567 The slaves of the nomadic Tuareg, like those of sedentary communities in the Sahara, seem to have no tribal or clan organizations, but they too have a strong feeling of corporate solidarity that finds expression now and then in nocturnal jamborees which are Sudanese in character.

326 The smiths of the Ahaggar present a familiar culture pattern that characterizes groups
171 of smiths and tinkers which, as we have seen, are to be found living among a whole series of nomadic peoples scattered all the way from Baluchistan through Arabia and on, southwest-

[217] [12] Lhote (1955, p. 220) gives the date of Moussa's death as 1920, the official genealogical table of the Ahaggar nobility, which is kept in the archives of the French Army post at Tamanrasset, gives it as 1921, and Foley (1930, p. 9) gives it as 1922. In 1956

326 ward and then westward, across the North
African hinterland to the shores of the Atlan-
[171] tic. The general description of this pattern, given above in chapter V under the sub-heading *Special Classes and Minority Groups* in the section on *Agricultural Centers,* leaves little more to add.

Smiths of the Ahaggar usually live in single
326 family units or small groups widely separated
463 from each other (fig. 50). A few families follow Tuareg groups on their seasonal rounds, but the great majority remain sedentary most of the time in one agricultural center or another, and go out only now and then for a few weeks or months, to do a general repair and re-equipment job in the camps of some nomadic tribe or clan. The men work wood
[759] and metals and are also barber-surgeons, while the women specialize in fancy leatherwork and embroidery. In addition to these functions
[584] and those previously mentioned, both sexes of the smith community act as both go-betweens and spies in clandestine love affairs. They also engage in intertribal secret intelligence work. And a major Tuareg chief may sometimes have a smith as his most trusted counsellor and confidant.

The smiths usually dress as do the poorer
326 Tuareg. The men all wear the teguelmoust
[291] but in a sloppy fashion, and they seem to have no qualms about exposing their mouths.
[582] They are endogamous and monogamous as a general rule, although a few have more than one wife and some of them marry Haratin or occasionally slaves. Ostensibly because of their lowly social status, but probably in fact more because of the fear of sorcery that they inspire, they come and go everywhere as they please, although always with a cringingly ingratiating manner. Even after one has come to know them fairly well they still give an impression of constant watchfulness and profoundly sycophantic tact of the delicately oiled as opposed to the heavily greased variety. The smiths are the most perspicacious and cleverly adaptable of all Saharan peoples, for they have learned to live off and so outlive flamboyant warriors with their retinues and

[217] the author was so fortunate as to obtain a copy of the genealogical table in question, thanks to the very kind co-operation of Captain Roger Bret, Commandant of the *Annexe du Hoggar*, and Claude Blanguernon, Director of Nomad Schools.

326 grubbing gardeners alike. They have turned their status as "untouchables" to their own advantage and so remain untouched.

326 Physically the smiths of the Ahaggar cover
142 the whole range of human variation between the Bush Negro type on the one hand and the Berber variety of Mediterranean on the other, but they seem to fall mostly within a highly variable category characterized in general by "European" features combined with a yellowish brown or occasionally coppery skin, thickish lips, and curly or frizzled hair. They are lean in build as a rule, but seem softer and less wiry than the more active Tuareg (fig. 57, *a*).

326 And this brings us to another exasperating
174 blank in our picture of Saharan peoples. The smiths of the Ahaggar claim to have come from the Adrar n Ifoghas and to be related to the families of smiths who live there now, and Benhazera (1908, pp. 221 and 223) reproduced an old Arabic text which states that "the smiths and the Fulani have the same mother." Cline (1937, p. 141) maintained that the art of smelting iron was introduced into the western Sudan by "camel-riding Berbers" from the North, across the Sahara. But no one really has any idea where the smiths of the Ahaggar actually did come from or when, where and from whom they first learned their trade. No one, so far as the present writer knows, has ever published measurements or blood group classifications of a single one of them, and no one seems to have found out anything to speak of about their social organization or even their kinship terminology. Not a dozen photographs of their faces are available to students. Why? Simply because the Tuareg are spectacularly romantic while the smiths are not.[13] The smiths of the Ahaggar and of the Sahara as a whole have suffered the same fate that the Spanish gypsies might have suffered had George Borrow not been born, and, like the Spanish gypsies, they are
614 disappearing fast.

565 A number of vassal clans of the Ahaggar
173 confederation are said to be of Arab or mixed

[13] Here the author has laid himself wide open to
[114] a very embarrassing question. "Why," he seems to hear the frustrated reader ask, "haven't you done something to fill this aching void yourself since you find it so distressing?" The author's time in the field has been severely limited by the exigencies of writing this preliminary survey, and recently by political

565 Arab and Tuareg ancestry. Benhazera (1908,
173 pp. 90, 102 and 222–23), Lhote (1955, pp.
614 234–36) and Blanguernon (1955, pp. 52–55) all agree in lumping most of them together in a special almost tribelike class known as the Issoquamaren, but they do not agree entirely on just which clans should be included in this group. According to Benhazera the Issoquamaren once claimed descent from a woman purchased in the Adrar n Ifoghas country by Arab invaders who came there straight from Mecca about the middle of the 7th century A.D., and he adds that they are thought to have moved northward to the Touat early in the 12th century. The first part of this tale is very characteristic of the marginal Arab schools of historical fiction, or fictional history if you prefer, which are often no more reliable than is the modern school of lecturers who tell us, for example, that the Tuareg are descendants of veteran crusaders who came to the Ahaggar from the Levant. This parallel that spans the centuries is funny, to be sure, but there is much more in it than just an amusing concidence. It is a striking illustration of the fact that uncritical minds, Moslem and Christian alike, are always deeply moved by thoughts of the past glories of their race and of "that old time religion." We must never forget the dangers of grotesque misinterpretation that result from the action of this powerful subconscious force. Most of the Saharan peoples who have been converted to Islam stubbornly insist against all sense and reason that they are of Arabian Moslem origin.

According to Lhote (1955, p. 236) the Issoquamaren are believed to be the descendants of Arab fathers and Tuareg mothers of the Tademaït region, whence they were recruited as mercenaries by the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, but Blanguernon (1955, p. 52) holds that they are descended from a group of Arab tribes of the Tidikelt and the Touat who were defeated and then assimilated by the Ahaggar Tuareg in the 18th century or possibly before. The Issoquamaren have been thought by some to enjoy a social status superior, at least in

[114] unrest as well, and so he has had to resign himself to filling in small but important gaps in relatively complete pictures rather than run a serious risk of getting bogged down for months or doing only a superficial job in attempting to reconstruct pictures whose main outlines even are as yet unknown.

565 theory, to that of ordinary vassals (Lhote,
1955, p. 236), but in fact they are looked
173 down upon as greatly inferior to Tuareg vas-
sal clans (Blanguernon, 1955, p. 52). Although
614 the Issoquamaren clans and fractions have
been parceled out among various tribes of the
Ahaggar confederation, they still seem to re-
tain some remnants of the social structure of
a single and united tribe. Since the Issoquama-
ren have become rich in camels, they have
regained in practical power and influence
most of what they once lost in hierarchical
prestige.

[131] The Irreguenaten are based on the Tamesna
region south of the Ahaggar, and nomadize
from there northwestward across the Adrar
n Ifoghas sometimes even as far as the Erg
Chech (pronounced *Shesh*). They are be-
lieved to have sprung from a series of mar-
riages between Gouraran and Kounta Arab
men and Tuareg women of the Ibotenaten
clan. The descendants of these unions became
so numerous and so very rich, in camels and
in slaves, that they were finally able to estab-
lish a separate clan of their own. Although
they are included in the vassal category, they
enjoy a nebulous but well-recognized position
of precedence in relation to most of the other
Tuareg vassal clans.

The Irreguenaten constitute a matri-clan
subdivided into two patri-clans, the Hag-
garenin and the Settafnin, which are based on
supposed descent from two ancestral Arab
groups, one of them thought to have been of
Shorfa stock. And this is very interesting as
an example of a matrilineal clan structure that
has been effectively split into two patrilineal
clans while still remaining basically a unit in
the matrilineal terms of Tuareg social and
politico-economic organization and, to a great
extent, in terms of its own internal economic
organization too.

565 It will be noted that the partly Arab clans
of the Ahaggar Tuareg confederation live for
614 the most part outside the Ahaggar proper,
and are distributed in an arc that curves
101 around its southwestern, western and north-
131 western borders. The northwestern extremity
of this arc continues curving eastward, then
southeastward and finally on southward
around the territory of the Ajjer Tuareg con-
federation. The southern gap in the circum-

565 ference of the resulting oval is closed by the
614 Negro-Tuareg contact zone of the southern
101 Aïr. The Ahaggar massif lies at the center of
131 this oval refuge area: it is a Berber island, so to speak, whose broad beaches are continually swept by waves of the surrounding Arab sea and, along the southern and southeastern shores, by the negroid "Gulf Stream" of the Sudan.

565 There have probably never been many
174 Shorfa or Maraboutic families established in
563 the Ahaggar itself, although a few of them have lived there for a long time now. Arab Shorfa missionaries from Morocco first ar-
[797] rived probably in the 7th or early 8th century. They soon set up a theocratic dynasty, the Imenan, who ruled the Ahaggar and the Ajjer Tuareg as a single confederation until about 1650, when Goma, last of the Imenan "sultans," was murdered by Biska, a noble of the Oraghen tribe of Ajjer Tuareg. There followed a long period of anarchy and civil wars out of which finally arose, about the middle of the 18th century, the main framework of the Tuareg political structure which we now know. Descendants of immigrant Arab holy men are very few and scattered in the Ahaggar today, and their power has been reduced to no more than a faint shadow of what it used to be. People of this kind are much more numerous, united and powerful in the northeastern and southwestern corners of Tuareg territory, among the Ajjer and the Ifoghas of the Adrar, than they are in the region with which we are directly concerned at the moment. It is significant, however, that as recently as 1900 a Shorfa holy man exerted decisive influence in the electoral council of the Ahaggar confederation when that body found itself seriously divided over the choice of a new amenokal (Benhazera, 1908, p. 126).

We know that Arab blood has been seeping very gradually into the topmost level of the Tuareg aristocracy, for at least a century,
[591] through the occasional marriages of noble Tuareg women with Arab men. In all such cases residence is strictly matrilocal. Since
[611] rank is inherited through the mother, a son of this kind of union ranks as a Tuareg noble and can become a chief. Duveyrier (1864, pp. 22–23) describes the case of the Ajjer Tuareg governor of Ghat in 1861, whose father was

565 an Arab merchant from the Touat, Leblanc
563 (1946, table facing p. 40) mentions an heir to
an Ajjer Tuareg chieftainship whose father
174 was an Arab, and the son of a Maraboutic Arab from Ouargla is at present one of the potential heirs to the paramount chieftainship of the Ahaggar confederation.

The question of Tuareg mixture with the Teda has been discussed above, in the section dealing with the latter group.

771 Although the Tuareg of the Ahaggar still retain much of the pre-Islamic magico-religious practices and doctrine of their animistic ancestors, they are all Moslems now, at least nominally, but are not very pious as a rule. It has been said that the Tuareg once had a Berber translation of the Koran, in the 8th and 9th centuries (Benhazera, 1908, p. 57), but it was long ago destroyed or lost (if indeed such a text ever did exist) in the course of a religious reform movement. The annual
[796] Moslem fast, during the month of Ramdhan, is not very generally observed, although in the middle of the 14th century Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338) noted that the Ahaggar Tuareg suspended raiding operations during this period.

The religious order of the Tidjani used to
794 count an overwhelming majority of the Ahaggar Tuareg among its followers, but the Senoussi have built up a substantial following in the region during the last 70 years or so, much aided in this by Tuareg who passed through Senoussi territory on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Very few Tuareg from the Ahag-
778 gar have been to Mecca in recent times, although Lyon (1821, pp. 101–102) saw a single group of roughly 150 of them pass through Mourzouk on their way there in May, 1819 (before the Senoussi order was founded). The
643 Amenokal, Mecca pilgrim or not, has usually been the local model of formal piety. Bey ag
771 Akhamouk, the present Amenokal of the Ahaggar, is an unusually good example of this, as was Moussa ag Amastan in the early years of the present century. There are indications that in ancient times Tuareg chieftains may have been vested with religious as well as temporal primacy (Bates, 1914, p. 117).

The European conquest of the Sahara Des-
648 ert has done much to stimulate the Islamiza-
797 tion of the Tuareg in general during the last

648 100 years, for Marabout and Shorfa families
797 of the North often found it advantageous to move southward and attach themselves to Tuareg tribes or clans whom they then proceeded to stir up against the French and Italian newcomers. In this way the Koran became a kind of battle flag of local resistance to European penetration throughout the Sahara. The Camel Corps troops, who have long maintained order for the European rulers of the Desert, have always been recruited mainly from among Moslem Arab nomad tribes, notably the Chaamba, and their thinly scattered garrisons and outposts in the Tuareg country soon came to serve as centers for the continuing diffusion of Islamic doctrine. And finally it has
[582] become less and less unusual for noble ladies of the Ahaggar to marry men of Arab Shorfa or Maraboutic families. Thus racial and religious penetration have marched hand-in-hand into the Tuareg country, following the path that leads through adversity to union in a common cause, and so to bed.

792 The basic relationship between the "living saints" and the warlike nomads of the Sahara Desert is clearly stated in the Old Testament, as Monod (1947, pp. 72–73) has pointed out with keen insight and inimitable wit. In Esau and Jacob he recognized the pastoral nomad warrior and the holy man of the Sahara, where Marabouts and Shorfa families used to parley instead of fighting and bought off raiders just as Esau bought off Jacob long ago (Genesis, *32*). In Monod's words: "The Marabout's soul is in anguish at this extreme but inevitable generosity which he imposes on himself, but he would a thousand times rather have anguish in his soul than brought into his body in the shape of a sharp javelin ending its whistling flight between his shoulders. But there are times when the Marabout gets his revenge for the humiliating brutality of the warrior. The latter is indeed too simple not to be superstitious, and so, with the roles reversed, there comes a day when he in turn will tremble before the religious chief and implore the blessing of the sorcerer on his raids; for who would dare undertake such an expedition without the magic formulae and the amulet which will assure success for the enterprise and personal safety in combat? The man of God alone confers, and not without a price,

792 the power that is entrusted to him; and the man of the sword pays. It is indeed his turn."
000 As a typical example of a nomad warrior buying the benediction of a holy man, Monod cites the transaction between Abram and Melchizedek, "the priest of the most high God" (Genesis, *14:* 18–20), and he reconstructs the scene in imaginative but wholly convincing detail drawn from his long experience among desert nomad tribes. After Melchizedek had invoked the blessing of God on Abram, the latter said: "How much will that be?" "Nay, my lord is joking," replied Melchizedek, "It's free, I *give* my blessing; I *give* it to him." And Abram bowed down and said (thinking that after all if the blessing wasn't paid for it might not work, and knowing only too well moreover what his interlocutor meant by "gift"): "Harken unto me: I give the price of the blessing and of the amulets for my camels; accept it of me." And Melchizedek answered him: "Let not my lord be vexed, and may he harken unto me: I do not sell him power, I give it to him. But if in return he chooses to bring me the tenth part of all that is his, what is that between us?" And Abram understood, "And he gave him tithes of all" (Genesis, *14:* 20).[14] Nothing could be more characteristic of desert nomads and revealing of the basic relationship between them and holy men in the Sahara Desert and elsewhere.

105 **Summary.** The Tuareg of the Ahaggar are a diversified pastoral nomadic group who live in a very arid mountainous massif, an environment that requires extreme mobility.

Their social organization seems to be based on essentially matrilineal and patriarchal extended and joint family clans which are grouped into tribes that form a confederation. There are two main social classes, commonly referred to as "nobles" and "vassals," and rank, which embodies the right of succession to authority, is inherited in the female line, but a new chief can take and hold office only by consent of a general council of all male heads of families or clans who come under his control. This is doubtless because the clans that are strongest in terms of material wealth and fighting manpower as well are in the

[14] The King James Version of the Old Testament does not make quite clear just who gave tithes to whom, but Knox (1948, p. 18), in his translation of

105 "vassal" class. Thus the government is in effect a republic of basically Berber type which is kept from turning into either a democracy or an hereditary autocracy by the presence of a double descent system whose origin is unknown.

The economy is now based on the conservational domestication of camels, goats and hairy sheep, and on crop sharing with sedentary Haratin tenant gardeners. The flourishing caravan trade of the Tuareg has been largely destroyed by mechanized competition, while the exaction of toll charges from passing caravans of other groups and the practice of systematic raiding have been suppressed altogether by the French authorities. Thus the whole economic structure has been thrown seriously out of balance and is now disintegrating fast.

Manual labor and domestic services are performed by Negro slaves of Sudanese origin, who are usually present in numbers roughly equal to those of their masters. Manufactured goods are obtained mainly from outside the area in exchange for salt that is mined locally. Equipment maintenance and the occasional manufacture and decoration of articles of metal, wood and leather, are in the hands of a few small and scattered families of semi-sedentary smiths about whom almost nothing is known.

Shelter takes the form of small lightweight tents of leather or sometimes grass huts. Clothing is loose, voluminous and light in weight, and men wear a combination veil and turban which protects their eyes from glare and their faces from wind and sunburn. Tuareg costume is an ideal mechanism for the purposes of insulation, ventilation and sweat-loss control in the climate of the Ahaggar, although the Tuareg themselves claim to have no knowledge of or interest in its very great practical value.

Thus we see that the Tuareg of the Ahaggar had achieved an adaptation to their chosen environment that was about as perfect as could be, in terms of social, political and economic organization and of material culture, until the forces of European culture contact

the Vulgate as interpreted in the light of earlier Greek and Hebrew texts, leaves no room for doubt on this point.

105 began to destroy the economic base and so to undermine the entire structure.

2:Briggs E-4,5 (ca.1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P.163A] Hoggar
[Pp. 103B-162B not processed]



141 We have already seen that the Saharan Tuareg are famous for their extreme tallness, which, however, has often been grievously exaggerated. The fact remains, nevertheless, that they are the tallest people in our area and among the tallest in the world. The mean stature of males is approximately 5 feet 8 inches, a bare ½ inch below the American male mean, but individual statures vary widely, from about 5 feet to 6 feet 5½ inches in the series that have been published. The legs of Tuareg men are relatively long but their arms are of only ordinary length in relation to their stature. Leblanc (1928–29, vol. 39, p. 22), followed occasionally by more recent authors (*e.g.*, Lhote, 1955, p. 165 and Blanguernon, 1955, p. 43), listed excess of span over stature as one of the two most distinctive physical peculiarities of the Tuareg. A glance at table A–11 shows that his theory has no foundation whatever in fact, for span exceeds stature in nearly all human populations everywhere, while even the Mzabites and humble Haratin are set apart much more distinctly in this respect than are the Tuareg. Tuareg shoulders are narrow both relatively and absolutely, by European standards, and hips are rather narrow too. Chests are small and relatively flat.

The heads of the Tuareg are typically longish, with a mean cephalic index just below the lower limit of mesocephaly, but occasional individuals have low brachycephalic indices. Faces are moderately short and wide, with foreheads that are often very broad by European standards although relatively narrower than those of other Saharan groups. Lower jaws are narrow both relatively and absolutely.

[1] Dixon (1923, p. 21) described his fundamental "Proto-Negroid" type merely as Dolichocephalic (long headed), Hypsicephalic (high headed) and

2:Briggs E-4,5 (ca.1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P.163B] Hoggar



141 Noses are of medium length and fairly broad, with a mean index that is high by European standards but only average for the Sahara. Ears are moderately large in size and of ordinary proportions (figs. 46–54).

142 Leblanc (1928–29, vol. 39, p. 20), again followed by Lhote (1955, pp. 162 and 165), has laid great stress on the nasal profile as the prime distinctive racial characteristic of the Tuareg. "The Targui nose," he wrote, "is high, narrow at the root, long, slightly aquiline, but never convex in its entirety as one finds among Semitic types. . . . *It ends in a narrow and drooping point*" (the italics are his). But this peculiar nasal profile does not appear to occur in females, nor is it found in all of the men by any means. In fact, the present author is inclined to think that it is probably not a heritable character at all, but merely an artificial deformation produced by the pressure of the veil which the older boys and men of the Tuareg bind, often tightly, across the lower half of the nose (fig. 26, *b*).

Unexposed skin is usually white or pale brunet. As Duveyrier (1864, p. 382) wrote, it is white in infancy but becomes quickly bronzed by exposure to the sun. The degree of tanning is extremely variable, however, and may sometimes be related to incipient blondism or rufousity on the one hand or to negroid admixture on the other.

Eye color varies normally from light to very dark brown, but blue and mixed eyes do occur occasionally in spite of all that has been said to the contrary (Leblanc, 1928–29, vol. 39, pp. 20 and 33; Lhote, 1955, p. 163). In April, 1956, Henri J. Hugot (*verb. com.*) met a Targui of

Platyrrhine (broad nosed), and his "Caspian" type as Dolichocephalic, Hypsicephalic and Leptorrhine (narrow nosed).

142 the Mouydir region who was about 5 feet 10 inches tall, and had "an ivory white skin and very pure sky-blue eyes." General Daumas (1845, p. 326) and Duveyrier (1864, p. 382) both reported blue eyes as occurring now and then among the northern Tuareg, while Saïd (1903, p. 36), Verneau (1916, p. 240) and Rodd (1926, p. 161) speak of blue and gray eyes among their southern cousins. Eyes other than brown must be really rare in the Ahaggar, however, for the author has not observed any there himself, while both Blanguernon and Pierre Cocquet (one of the oldest European inhabitants of Tamanrasset) could remember only two Tuareg men with blue or gray-blue (or light mixed?) eyes when he questioned them on this subject in November, 1955.

Hair color in adults is practically always very dark brown or black. Lhote (1955) says, however, that blond babies are not uncommon, which suggests the possible presence of a partially submerged factor for blondism. He also mentions having seen an adult male Targui of the Ajjer who had red hair and "albino eyes." Hair form varies normally from straight to curly, with a small minority in the frizzly to woolly range.

Tuareg women appear to be fairly tall, but with arms and legs of only moderate length in relation to their bodies. The few female facial measurements that have been recorded suggest that their faces are both smaller and relatively narrower than those of males—and yet, the author cannot refrain from recording his impression that the flaring malars of Tuareg women often give them a startling resemblance to Indian women of the southwestern United States and Mexico, a trait that does not seem to be shared by their menfolk. Female noses are markedly narrower than are those of men, but this again may be due only to the fact that women wear no veils.

143 The Tuareg of the Sahara, and even their cousins who live south of the Desert proper, all show typically Berber *ABO* blood group patterns which set them clearly apart from all other Saharan peoples whose blood has been examined, except for the Teda. In fact we can say that the northern and southern Tuareg, of the Ajjer country and the Air respectively, are "super-Berbers" in their very high *O* percentages, while the Ahaggar Tuareg,

143 curiously enough, seem to be slightly less "pure" in this respect. The latter group, however, has a very low incidence of *B*, which is another typically Berber character and suggests, moreover, a relatively low degree of negroid admixture.

The Ajjer Tuareg are the only people of the Sahara who have been examined for blood group factors other than those of the *ABO* series, and they have been tested in addition only for gross *Rh* positive and negative reactions. The results of these tests indicate that the Saharan Tuareg have an extremely high incidence of *Rh* —, comparable to what one finds among Moroccan Berbers. Kabyles too have moderately high *Rh* — percentages, which, however, do not appear to exceed those of Arabic-speaking groups of Morocco and northern Algeria (Briggs, 1955b, p. 112). This latter situation is due probably to the fact that speakers of Berber and Arabic have intermingled extensively over the last 900 years in most of Barbary, excepting the more remote mountain districts of Morocco. Tuareg of the Aïr, which lies south of the Ahaggar and outside of the Sahara proper, have a very low incidence of *Rh* —, indicating extensive negroid admixture which has, nevertheless, had surprisingly little effect on their outward appearance.

In closing our discussion of Tuareg serology, we may add that the typically Berber combination of very high *O*, low *B* and very high *Rh* — finds a striking parallel among the Basques, who live in the mountainous frontier country that lies between France and Spain. We are still in no position, however, even to make a guess as to what this extremely curious coincidence may mean.

174 The possible origins of the Tuareg have been discussed far more extensively and by more authors than those of any other Saharan [114] people. Barth (1857–58), Duveyrier (1864), Rodd (1926), Lhote (1955) and Blanguernon (1955), to mention only a few, have devoted dozens of pages to the subject. But their original sources consisted only of the writings of Classical and Mediæval Arab historians and travelers, whose verbose, obscure and contradictory statements hardly allow of any broad deductions above the level of rough guesswork, and of the traditions of the Tuareg

174 themselves, which are either hopelessly vague and sketchy or obvious fabrications of Islamic inspiration, or a combination of the two, and which also are often contradictory. In the opinion of the present author it seems unreasonable to hope to learn much about Tuareg origins from literary sources, either written or preserved by word of mouth.

Fortunately, other kinds of sources are open, 172 to us. The so-called tomb of Tin Hinan (fig. 40), the legendary ancestress of the Ahaggar 174 Tuareg (*see* Reygasse, 1950, pp. 88–106, and Wheeler, 1955, pp. 107–11), yielded a rich collection of jewelry including objects of gold, silver and iron and beads of glass and semiprecious stone, as well as various other odds and ends such as fragments of leather clothing (?) and wooden furniture, Roman lamps and glassware, arrow (or javelin?) points and nails of iron, and thin discs of gold that had been pressed over a coin or coins of Constantine the Great. Specialists consulted by the author[2] agree on two points: firstly, that most of this material bears no resemblance to anything we know from Egypt or the Sudan while all of it may well have come from elsewhere; and, secondly, that the whole assemblage has a distinctly eastern Roman flavor and may date from as early as the 4th or as late as the 6th century A.D. The iron projectile points are faintly disturbing, for they look almost exactly like those used on arrows by the modern Teita who live in the Coastal Province of Kenya Colony (Prins, 1955). All of this does not help us much, however, for as Wheeler (1955, p. 111) says: "In the absence of comparable relics within hundreds of miles of Tin Hinan, it is impossible at present to put her fortlet and tomb into a wider context." The one important lesson to be learned here is that we may hope to learn more about the origins of the Tuareg from future excavations of similar monuments and ancient habitation sites in the Tuareg country and surrounding regions. In the meantime we can only fall back once more on physical, linguistic and cultural evidence.

144 Physically the modern Tuareg of the Sahara

[2] These authorities included Christine Alexander and Vera K. Ostoia of the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, New York City, Anthony J. Arkell of University College London, Dows Dunham of the

144 seem to be very close to northern Berbers, and particularly to relatively isolated and supposedly purer populations, notably the Rifians and Baamaranis (figs. 66 and 67), of northeastern and southwestern Morocco. They resemble these peoples in arm length, head form, facial proportions in general, nose length and nasal profile, hair form and skin color. They differ from the northern Berbers chiefly in that they have narrower shoulders and hips, longer legs, slightly broader noses, longer ears and darker hair and eyes. Their chests are smaller and flatter than those of Rifians or Kabyles but no more so than those of Baamaranis. Tuareg women are distinguished particularly by their short upper faces, narrow foreheads and long noses. We note in passing that the Tuareg seem to be closer in general to the Rifians and Baamaranis than to their eastern cousins.

Thus it is apparent that, metrically speaking, the Tuareg are markedly differentiated from northern Berber stocks only by a more elongated and refined general morphology, the details of which may well be adaptive characters developed locally in response to the extreme stresses of the central Saharan environment, as Bates (1914, p. 33) noted long ago. The broadness of adult male noses is probably due to nothing more than the pressure of the veil, although there may be an adaptive factor also involved. The rareness of light hair and eyes may possibly have been [143] brought about by genetic drift operating in a population where endogamy within the tribe and usually within the clan has long been customary.

Thus we see that the Saharan Tuareg seem to fit very well, both metrically and morphologically, into the great Berber family of Northwest Africa in which their membership has already been established on the basis of both linguistic and serological evidence. But much work still remains to be done before we can even begin to define their relationships to other members of this family or to the other peoples of the Sahara who surround them on three sides.

Boston Museum of Fine Arts, George M. A. Hanfmann and Hugh Hencken of Harvard University, and Raymond Mauny of the *Institut Français de l'Afrique Noire* at Dakar.

144 The question of the racial origin of the Tuareg, as a branch of the Berber stock, is so intimately bound up with the problem of their origin in the broader sense which we have just been discussing that there is not much left for us to say about it separately. The learned 144 authors cited earlier in this section have all had 174 their say, but we have seen that their conclusions rest on evidence which is unavoidably [114] fragmentary and usually equivocal as well, since there is no other kind available at present. As for ourselves, we shrink as did Leblanc (1928–29, vol. 39, p. 44) from the temptingly spectacular but risky sport of skating over such thin ice in pursuit of a dream, no matter who the dreamer may have been. We are already in substantial agreement with the opinion of Vallois (1948, p. 40) that the Tuareg came into the Sahara probably from the North and possibly about the beginning of the Chris-

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tian Era, and we had better let it go at that for the time being. There are indications in the mythology of the Tuareg that they were already Berber-speakers when they arrived in their present homeland. There are vague hints too, in the tales of Herodotus as well as in the serology of the Teda, that people something like those whom we now call Berbers may have been living in the eastern half of the Sahara for centuries before the birth of Christ, but whether or not they could have qualified as Tuareg, or even Berbers, in the sense in which we have been using those terms, is about as moot a question as one could hope to find. More and much fuller studies of physical morphology, blood groups and linguistics would go far toward helping us to solve the mystery of the Tuareg, but in the meantime our hands are tied.

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 221]

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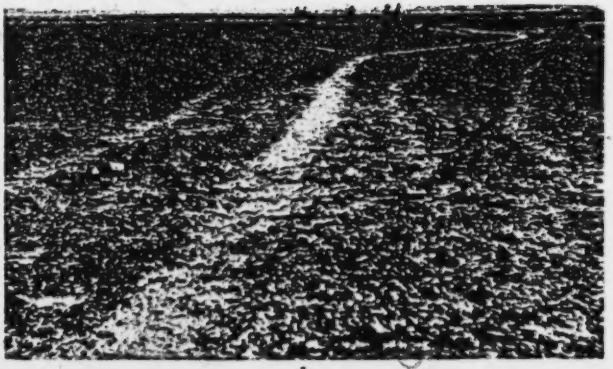

*b*

Fig. 6. Sandy desert and stony desert. *a*, The Great Western Erg. *b*, A camel trail in the Ahaggar. (Photographs courtesy of OFALAC, Algiers.)

[photo a not processed - Analyst]

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 228]
[Pp. 222-227 not processed]



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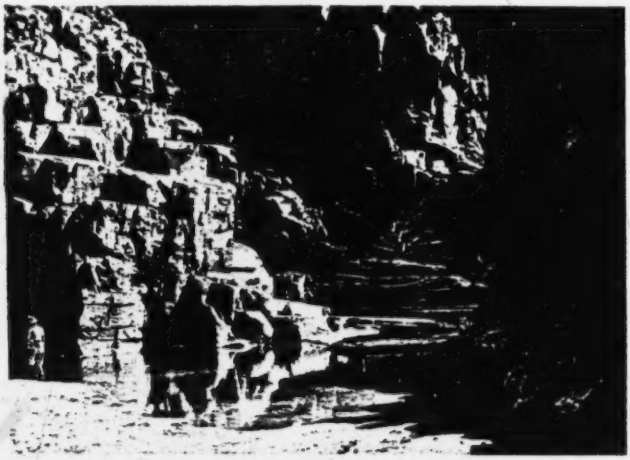

*a*

*b*

Fig. 13. Waterholes in the Ahaggar. (Photographs by A. J. Weber.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 229]



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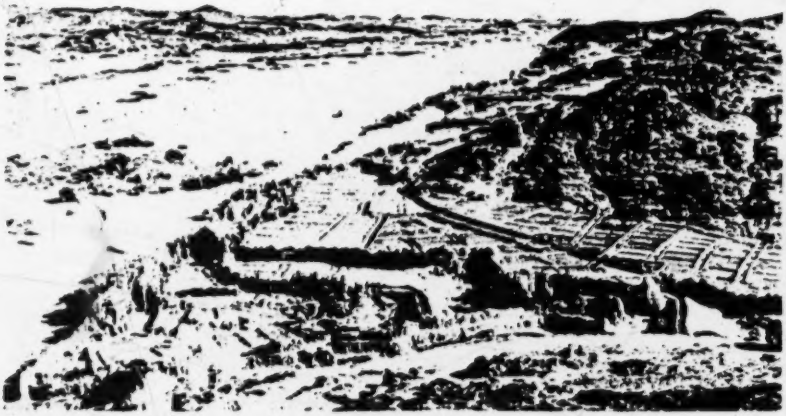

Fig. 14. Gardens at In Amguel, in the Ahaggar (80 odd miles north of Tamanrasset). Here we see the typical disposition of gardens in the agricultural centers of the central Sahara. A checkerboard of square garden plots, separated and at the same time connected by little irrigation ditches, is located just above the dry bed of an occasionally torrential stream, and just below the village, which is perched high enough above it to be safe from freshets and flash floods. (Photograph by Chaseloup-Laubat, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

[361]

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 235]
[Pp. 230-234 not processed]



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Fig. 20. a, Bey ag Akhamouk, heir apparent (and now paramount chief) of the Ahaggar Tuareg, with one of the last horses of the central Sahara.

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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[Pp. 236-238 not processed]



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Fig. 24. Tuareg warriors of the Ahaggar in single combat. (Photograph by P. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 240]



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Fig. 25. Young Tuareg nobles of the Ahaggar, come into town for a spree. (Photograph by I. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P. 241] Hoggar



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*a*

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*b*

Fig. 26. Tuareg of the Ahaggar. *a*, Camel Corps soldiers. *b*, A young noble of the Kel Rela Tribe. (Photographs: *a*, by A. J. Weber; *b*, by L. C. Briggs.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
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Fig. 27. A noble woman of the Ahaggar Tuareg (Kel Rela Tribe). (Photograph by A. J. Weber.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 251]
[Pp. 243-250 not processed]



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*a*

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415

*b*

Fig. 36. *a*, A typical camp site and tent of the Ahaggar Tuareg. *b*, A chief of the Ahaggar Tuareg sits before his tent, camel whip in hand and surrounded by his family. (Photographs by Chiseloup-Lauber, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 261]

[Pp. 252-260 not processed]



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Fig. 46. Noble Tuareg (Kel Rela) of the Ahaggar. (*After* Draper, 1931, pls. 33 and 34.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 262]



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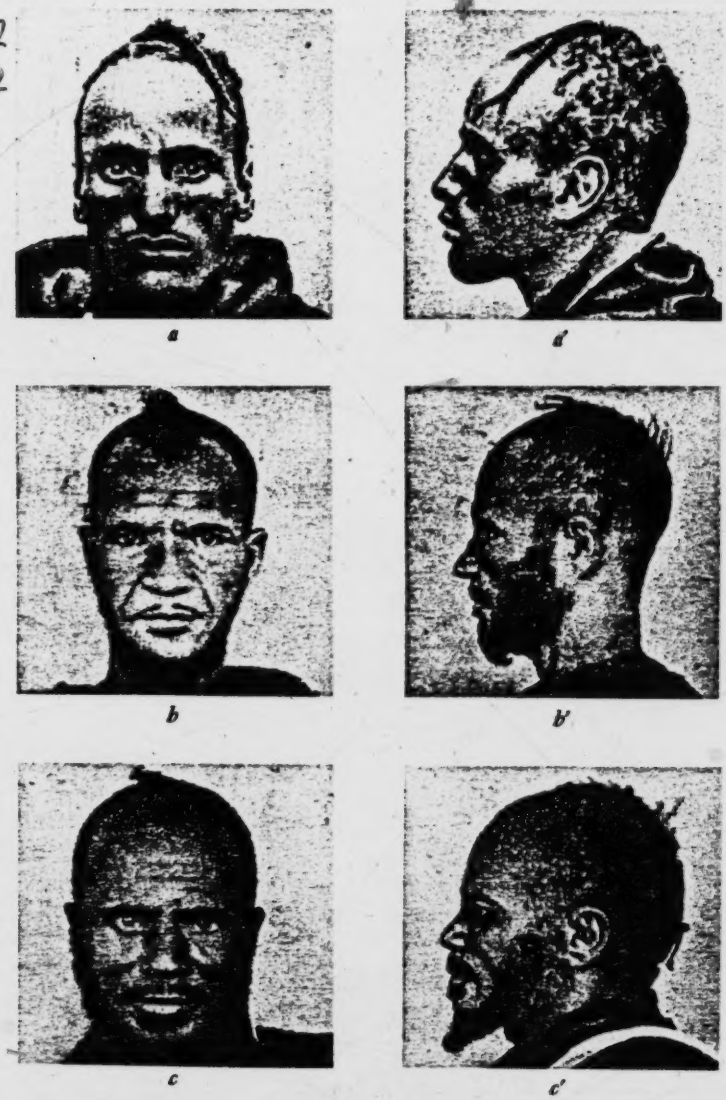


Fig. 47. Vassal Tuareg of the Ahaggar. (*After* Draper, 1931, pls. 32 and 34.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P. 263] Hoggar



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*a*

*b*

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*c*

Fig. 48. Tuareg women of the Ahaggar. (Photographs: *a*, by *Life* photographer David Douglas Duncan, © *Time*, Inc.; *b*, by A. J. Weber; *c*, by P. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
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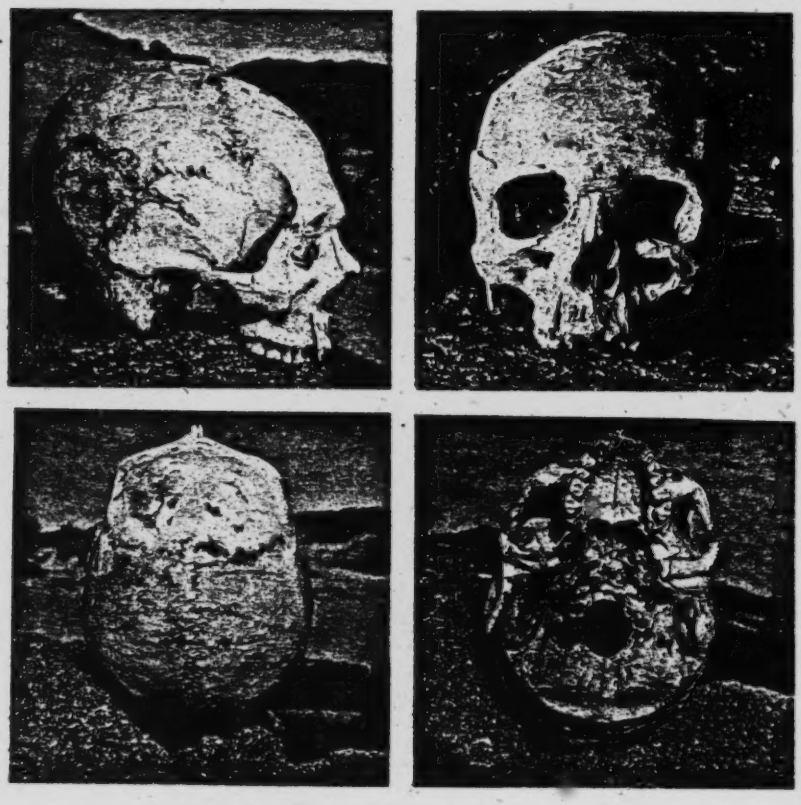

Fig. 49. The skull of a warrior of the Ahaggar Tuareg, killed at the battle of Tir (May 7, 1902), aged 25–30. (Note the extreme development of all muscular attachments, the very light wear on the teeth, and the absence of the upper third molars.) (Photographs by L. C. Briggs.)

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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# AFRICAN MUSIC

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[Title page]

3: Holiday J-5 (ca.1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



# THE TUAREG OF THE AHAGGAR

*by*

GEOFFREY HOLIDAY

131 The Ahaggar region of the Sahara desert, with its administrative headquarters at Tamanrasset (Fort Laperrine) provides an almost exact geographical centre for the territory inhabited by the Tuareg; the nomadic tribes of the "blue veil". At the northernmost point is In Salah and to the south, Agadez. Eastward there is Djanet in the Tassili des Ajjer and the western boundary is formed, perhaps, by the line of the Tanezrouft. [361] Within this area the Tuareg wander from oasis to oasis or, in the case of a few, dwell peaceably in the shadow of the French towns and outposts that mainly owe their location to the existence of water tempered by administrative and strategic factors.

977 186 The Tuareg would appear, at first glance, to be one of the few remaining peoples of the world possessing a culture of their own that is entirely free of influences, direct or indirect. Some among the tribes still believe that the desert is the world, inhabited admittedly by many different kinds of people, but the world nevertheless. This is the extreme view, obviously not shared by those who have travelled on the great caravan routes as far south as Kano or to Timbucktu and the Niger. It may not be the view of [648] the younger generations who, to an increasing extent, are benefiting by the primary education facilities inaugurated by the French administrators; particularly in Algeria where the Ahaggar region lies at the foot of the Territoires du Sud: a knowledge of the French language does not necessarily bring about a lessening of superstitions or a widening of perspectives. One is always faced with the parallel of the farmer (who should have known better) and the ostrich: 'There ain't no such animal!' Nevertheless, from this aspect the influences are so few as to be negligible and are more likely to come from the varied genre of the official and semi-official indigenous population gathered together under the Tricolour at the towns and outposts of the region than from direct contact with the European. The Tuareg are almost the exception that proves the rule of man's gregariousness, though, naturally enough, they are gregarious in that they possess very strong tribal instincts.

291 751 As a tribe the Tuareg have very marked characteristics that immediately set them aside from any other social group in what may be termed loosely north Africa. To begin with, the men are seldom seen unveiled: the women, who can be very beautiful, never cover their faces although, often they will wear a head covering, presumably as protection against sun and sand. The men, however, do not wear the veil solely as protection against the elements. Discounting those few who have become soldiers under the French flag, a Tuareg man—or, more properly, a Targui—assumes the veil on approaching manhood and wears it continuously, even for eating and drinking. He unveils to no one, not even in the sanctuary of his tent alone, let alone in the presence of his wife. This veil wound low round his forehead and across the bridge of his nose covers the mouth, ears and nostrils. Since the other openings of his body are concealed by his robes he has complete protection against evil spirits entering and taking control—and this is the key to why the veil is worn. To protect his eyesight against the Evil One amulets are worn from a chain round the neck and doubtless also such amulets provide a measure of safety in battle.

174 The origins of the Tuareg tribe are particularly interesting in that they have as yet to be definitely established. Their antecedents go back anything between 600 and a 1,000 years and it is supposed that they are an offshoot of the Berber Arabs, driven into the desert during one of the many invasions of the Tel, the fertile coastal belts of Algeria and Morocco, that continued up to the 13th century when the Moors became really established on the Barbary coast. Likewise, the Berbers with their light skins and blue

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.

174 [714] [411] 194 212 174

[539]

ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵀⴰⵇ ⴰⵏ ⵜⴰⵏⵏⵓⵏ ⵏ ⵜⵎⵓⵜⵜⴰⵏ
ⵜⴰⵔⵉ ⵏ ⵓⵏⵏⴰⵏ ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵀⴰⵇ, ⵉⵜⵜⵓⵏ ⵓⵜⵜⵓⵔ

**The Bible in Tamahaq**

(*Ruth, Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

*"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."*

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

771 [101] [832]

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

567 611 565 567 [291]

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

177 533

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



533 For example, a rough division can be made straight away between the songs that seem
[177] to suggest a negro origin and those whose flavour is indisputably, let us say Moorish, rather than Arabic. First of all it would be as well to deal with the few instruments used by the Tuareg in relation to the type of song they accompany; for, here again, the same division occurs.

534 The nearest that the Tuareg possess to an instrument capable of producing a melodic line is the "amzhad" (or "imzad". The plural of the word, "imzaden" meaning "hair"). This is a single stringed instrument of the lute variety comprising a sound box usually made from a gourd and covered with stretched membrane, a rough neck of stick being fixed across the diameter and projecting about 12 inches. The string is passed over a rudimentary bridge made of two short pieces of stick lashed together so as to form a shallow "V" and tied to the end of the curved neck. The pitch of the string is determined first of all by a sliding loop further down the neck and controlled during performance by the musician's left hand. A bow is used and it is from this that the instrument derives its name, since the bowstring is made from the hair of the women. The instrument is pitched on the open string usually at an approximate middle "C", though this can vary since an "E" above middle "C" frequently becomes the tonic note. Its range is roughly an octave and a third, accompaniments often being played in the top part of the register. Intervals approximating to perfect intervals predominate during performance.

Two kinds of percussion are used by the Tuareg, not counting group handclapping that features with many of the songs: a tom-tom with a wooden shell and single head, and a more hybrid contraption involving a gourd and a bowl of water. The tom-tom, which is played with the flat of the hand, has a head of stretched gazelle skin fastened by a cord made of goat hair and can be tuned by damping with water. Dry, the tom-tom produces a "treble" note, and wet, a bass one. The shape of the shell resembles an eggcup, and although tom-toms vary in size they are roughly a foot in diameter and eighteen
[439] inches high. The wood comes from the French Sudan, but the tom-tom is to be found wherever the Tuareg go. The gourd and bowl of water suggest that it is a recent innovation, since bowls are not readily obtainable in the Sahara except through foreign manufacture and trade, i.e., foreign to the Tuareg. Indeed, the bowl largely favoured is an ordinary enamelled affair about six inches deep and perhaps eighteen inches across such as is found in the kitchen of any European home. Filled with water and this surface struck rhythmically with an inverted half gourd it produces a deep, damped note comparable to a well-tuned bass drum.

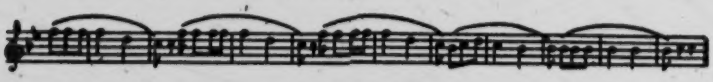
Wind instruments are unknown among the Tuareg and the "amzhad" and the two percussion instruments mentioned above are the only musical devices used. Certain distinctions govern the use of these three instruments that have their roots in tradition.
462 All of them are played by the women who, particularly with the "amzhad" display con-
533 siderable virtuosity: for a Targui to play an instrument would be *infra dig*. Consequently, much of the propagation of folk-culture is in the hands of the women, though the men-
[170] folk do not consider the heroic beneath their dignity. However, the war songs, recounting the deeds of great warriors, are practically extinct since the Tuareg have passed from being a fighting race, levying protective tolls upon the caravans, to become a quiet, almost passive people, anxious for survival in the face of encroaching modern civilisation that has already dissipated the often considerable wealth amassed before the French gained control in the Sahara.

533 The music of the Tuareg falls into the two types mentioned earlier: songs that seem
[177] to owe their origin to negro influences, and those that have certain Moorish characteristics. It is curious to note that none of the songs of the women feature the use of mordents or shakes, whereas those of the men invariably do so. Secondly, percussion other than handclapping is never used to accompany the men, while the "amzhad" is never used to accompany the songs of the women. When the "amzhad" is used, perhaps because

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



of its delicate tone and lack of volume, handclapping is always absent, though a particular song with differences in tempo and rhythmic attack is often sung either with "amzhad" accompaniment or handclapping. In the latter case the melodic embellishments tend to disappear and the tune emerges in its basic form: 533



Targui Love Song

Most of the songs of the men are love songs, such as are sung during the "ahals" and it is logical to deduce that the "amzhad", which is used exclusively for love songs, is the female voice, the necessary complement to a declaration of love and, indeed, the phrasing of the "amzhad" is more that of obbligato than of counter-melody.

It is the chant-like quality of the women's singing that suggests the negro influence; the tom-tom rhythms used in accompaniment are invariably simple and without the intricate cross-rhythms found south of the Sahara. For instance, this song, which describes the lope of the camel, has a rhythm set against it that shifts to imitate the changes in gait of the camel as it quickens its pace to the equivalent of a gallop:

Voices in Unison

Rhythm

This example is from Agadez in French West Africa. A mere hundred miles further south at Tanout the same song introduces a second melody note, observing the same intentions in its rhythmic shifts, but in total effect is very much simpler:

Voices in Unison

Rhythm

Although the cycle of this simple theme is short, variances in the stresses and inflections suggest that several cycles are woven into a larger metric pattern of which the key to them would be a knowledge of the language. In this next example, a semi-humurous song about "a father and mother camel", the length of the cycle is varied by the omission of the fourth bar or the introduction of another, similar to the preceding one, before the tune resolves itself onto the tonic. These variations do not occur at regular intervals in the cycles, but seem to be anticipated instinctively by the performers.

3: Holiday J-5 (ca.1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



533 The melody of this attractive little song is more advanced than the two preceding examples, but the accompanying rhythm is now restricted to a straight beat that never varies:

Voices in Unison

Rhythm

535 Dancing among the Tuareg seems to be restricted to the men; a kind of war dance, nowadays no more than a remembrance of things past, in which they stamp and whoop and brandish their weapons in time to the chanting of the women. It is possible, though not likely, that Tuareg women do dance at the "ahals"; but in the absence of actual corroboration the supposition may be discounted: the role of women would appear to be predominantly passive, the initiative being the prerogative of the men. It must be
105 remembered that the Tuareg has not the settled village existence of the African tribe and as a result his life is marked less by organised ceremony, less by religious observance, however primitive. Aloof and alone the Targui remains the "last of the desert". Within two days' journey of his territory his name becomes legendary: little is known of his customs and his music is unheard. He is the Abandoned of God.

4: Benhazera G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

# Six Months among the Ahaggar Tuareg
(Six Mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar)

by Maurice Benhazera

Algiers, 1908

Typographie Adolphe Jourdan

Translated from the French by Anne R. Coleman

Human Relations Area Files

1960

/Title Page/

4: Benhazera--i G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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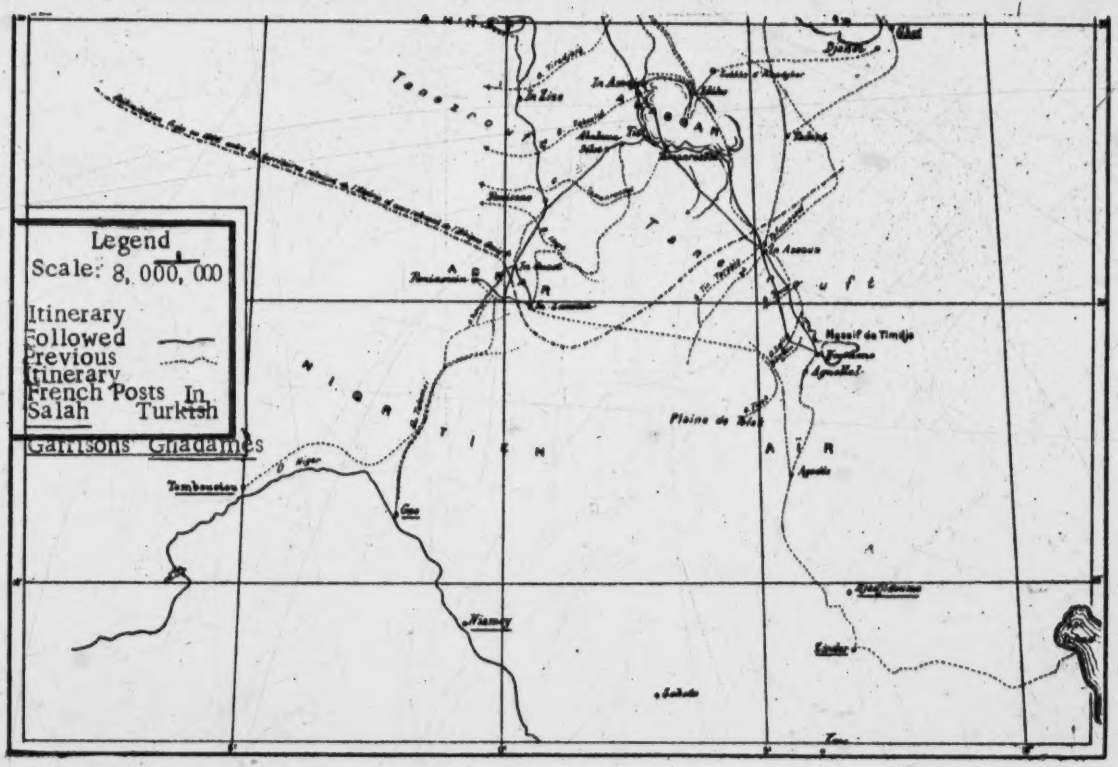


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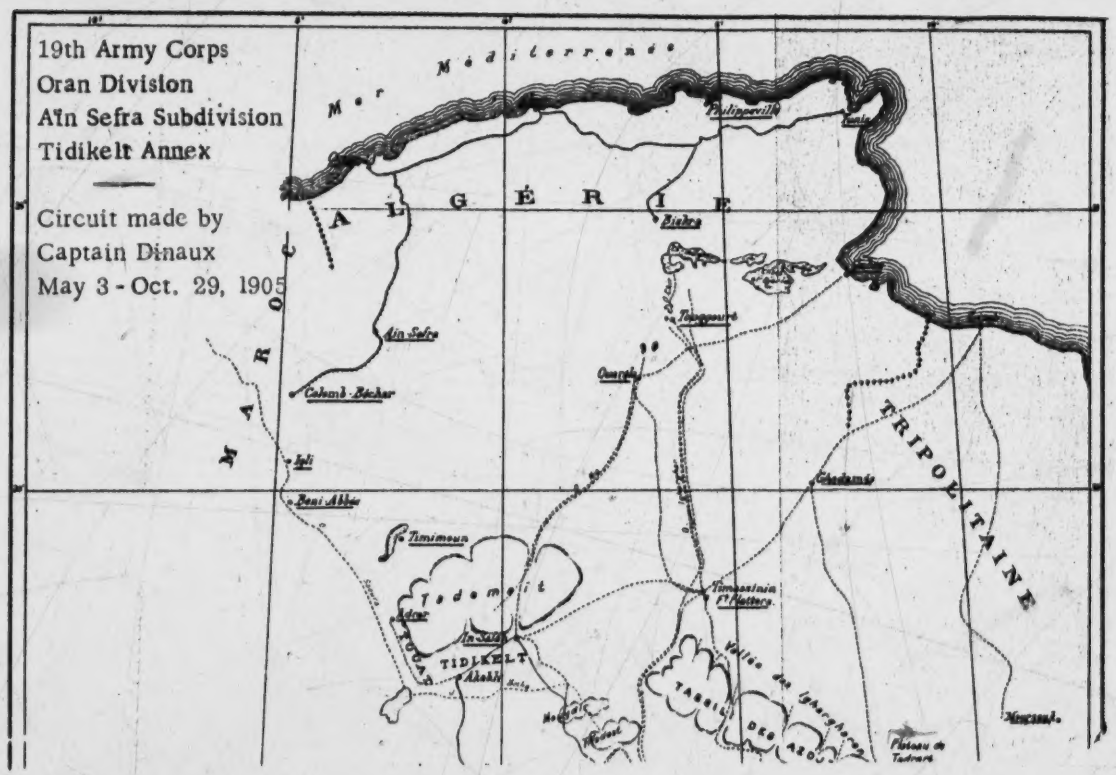


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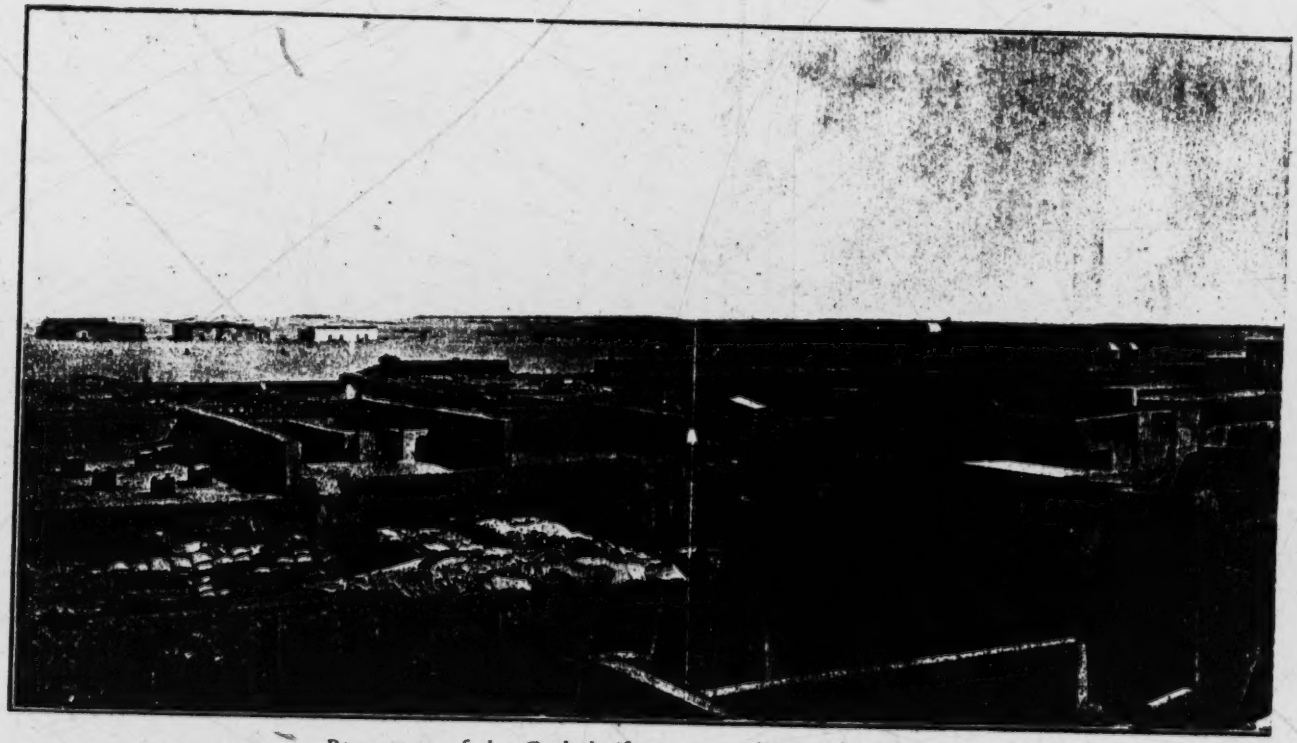

Panorama of the Casbah (fortress) and the Village of Adrar, Command Post of the Saharan Oases Territory.

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Panorama of the Casbah (fortress) and the Village of Adrar, Command Post of the Saharan Oases Territory.

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# TAMASHEK ALPHABET

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## Method of Transcription Adopted

| Forms of the Letters | Names | Value | Arabic Equivalents | Observations |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| • | t'arerit | A I OU | ا و ي | |
| ⊖ ⊖ ⊟ ⊟ | ieb | B | ب | |
| + | iet | T | ت | |
| 工 | iej | J | ج | With the Kel Rela |
| : : | iekh | KH | خ | Spanish J |
| V ∧ ⊓ ⊔ | ied | D | د | |
| ⧗ | iez | Z (soft) | between ز and ج | |
| □ ○ | ier | R | ر | |
| ⊡ ⊙ | ies | S | س | |
| ⊡ | iech | CH | ش | |
| ∃ | iedh | DH | ض | |
| +∃ | iedht (iett) | TT | ط | |
| # | iezz | Z' or ZZ | between ز and ظ | |
| ⁝ | ier' | R' | غ | (1) |

(1) The transcription by R' is preferable to that by GH, which is generally used. In fact it is best to write R'adamès, R'ardaïa

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| Forms of the Letters | Names | Value | Arabic Equivalents | Observations |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ⵅ ⵉ ⵀ |ief | F | ف | |
| ⵇ | ieq | Q | ق | |
| ⵅ | iek | K | ك | |
| ⵍ | iel | L | ل | |
| ⵎ | iemm | M | م | |
| ⵏ | ienn | N | ن | |
| ⵀ | ieh | H (aspirate) | ه | |
| ⵓ | ieou | OU | و | |
| ⵢ ⵢ ⵢ | iey | Y | ي | |
| ⵊ | iej | j | ج | Among the Taïtoq |
| ⵖ | iegue | Gu (before e, i); G (before a, o, u) | ق | |
| ⵜ | iedj | Dj | between ج and ق | Special pronunciation |

Radamès and Rardaïa, than to write Ghadamès and Ghardaïa and pronounce Gadamès and Gardaïa. The first transcription is closer to the true pronunciation.

Note: The Arab ح (H') has no equivalent in Tamashek. The Tuareg always pronounce it KH ( خ ). Thus they say Mokhammed for Mohammed; El Khadj for El Hadj.

The Arabic ع (âa) no longer has an equivalent in Tamashek. The Tuareg always pronounce it R' ( غ ). Thus they say R'ali for Ali; br'ir for bâïr. /xix/

4: Benhazera--ix G-5 (1905)1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## COMPOSITE LETTERS

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| Forms | Names | Value | Arabic Equivalents |
|---|---|---|---|
| | iebt | bt | بت |
| | iejt | jt | جت |
| | iert | rt | رت |
| | ieft | ft | فت |
| | iemt | mt | مت |
| | iecht | cht | شت |
| | iennt | nt | نت |
| | ielt | lt | لت |
| | iest | st | ست |
| | iezzt | zt | زت |
| | iennb | nb | نب |
| | iennd | nd | ند |
| | iennġue | ng | نڭ |
| | ienn | nn | نن |
| | iennk | nk | نك |

4: Benhazera-- x G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

104

Arab or Tamashek Words Used in this Study

***Abetor'*** ..... Waterskin.
***Abser'*** ..... Acacia arabica.
***Afezzou*** ..... Panicum turgidum. Graminaceae.
***Aguezzeram*** .. Star lizard.
***Ahal*** ..... Musical meeting.
***Akh.*** ..... Milk.
***Alhinen*** ..... Genii.
***Amenokal*** ... Chief of a confederation of Tuareg tribes.
***Amezar'*** ..... Group of several tents, a douar.
***Amr'ar*** ..... Chief of a noble tribe or of an imr'ad fraction.
***Amr'id*** ..... Tributary, bondsman, client. Subject to a noble to whom he pays a tribute. In the plural: imr'ad.
***Amz'ad*** ..... A kind of violin with a single string.
***Anou*** ..... A well.
***Ar'ata*** ..... Varan, a large lizard. Synonym: ourane, uran.
***Aremmas*** .... Atriplex halimus. Salsolaceae.
***Ar'er*** ..... Shield.
***Az'ekka*** ..... Grave.
***Bazina*** ..... Ancient grave, shaped like a small tower.
***Bechna*** ..... White-grain sorghum. Graminaceae.
***Berdi*** ..... Typha angustifolia. Typhaceae.
***Bir*** ..... A well.
***Botta*** ..... Box of hide made in the A'ir. It is made in all sizes. /xxii/

104

*Chegga*.....Blue cotton cloth, dyed with indigo which comes off easily.
*Chemma*.....Snuff.
*Chih*.....Artemisia herba-alba. Composeae.
*Chouchat*....Ancient grave in the shape of a truncated cone.
*Diss*.....Imperata cylindrica. Graminaceae.
*Djinns*.....Genii.
*Djohala*.....Pagans.
*Dobb*.....Star lizard.
*Drinn*.....Arthraterum pungens. Graminaceae.
*Ethel*.....Tamarix articulata. Tamaricaceae.
*El yatil*.....A kind of acacia.
*Gueto/*.....Atriplex halimus. Salsolaceae.
*Guerba*.....Waterskin.
*Had*.....Cornulaca monacantha. Salsolaceae.
*Haïk*.....Garment. A long, narrow piece of woolen cloth.
*Haouli*.....Synonym for haïk.
*Harratine*..Colored men, mulattoes. In the singular: hartani.
*Hegueb*.....Camel-hair rope which serves to hold on a mehari saddle.
*Ibiiar'*.....Waterskins.
*Ihaggaren*..Nobles.
*Ihallen*.....Musical meetings. Plural of ahat.
*Ikerhi*.....Tuareg woman's veil.
*Imr'ad*.....Clients, tributaries, who pay a tribute to the nobles. In the singular: amr'id.
*Imz'aden*...Plural of amz'ad, a kind of violin with a single string.
*Inelli*.....White-grain sorghum. Graminaceae.
*Ir'atimen*...Sandals made in the Aïr. Habitual Tuareg footgear.
*Izabbaren*..Ogres. Plural of zabbar.
*Iz'ekouane*..Graves. Plural of az'ekka.
*Kehal*.....Black material which is used for face veils.
*Ket Esouf*...People of the void, or ghosts. /xxiii/

*Kessa* .....Synonym for haïk.
*Mahmoudi*...White cotton cloth.
*Malti*.....Unbleached calico.
*Merokba*.....Panicum turgidum. Graminaceae.
*Mezoued* .....Leather bag in the shape of a waterskin for holding food provisions.
*Mitqal*.....Piece of money. Value 2.50 francs.
*Oudi*.....Butter.
*Ourane* .....Varan, a large lizard.
*R'ouaouet* ...Pagans.
*Sebkha*.....Salt lake, salt pit. /Also sebka in English./
*Taba* .....Smoking tobacco.
*Tadjart* .....A kind of acacia.
*Tadjethé*.....Violin, "amz'ad," bow.
*Tagalt*.....Bride price.
*Taheli*.....Typha angustifolia. Typhaceae.
*Takouba* ....Large double-edged Tuareg saber.
*Tamaheq* ....Name of the language spoken by the northern Tuareg.
*Tamat* .....A kind of acacia.
*Tanekfaït*....Diplotaxis duveyrierana. Cruciferae.
*Tchoqqit*.....Name for chegga in Tamashek.
*Teborak*.....Balanites aegyptica. Simaroubaceae.
*Teheredjelé*...Artemisia herba-alba. Composeae.
*Terik* .....Mehari saddle.
*Tidjelmoust*..Face veil.
*Tifinar's* .....Term for the symbols of the Tamashek language.
*Tikamarine*..Dry cheeses from the Aïr.
*Tioussé*.....Tribute paid by the imr'ad to the nobles.
*Tobol*.....Group of tribes subject to the authority of the same chief. The right to command over the imr'ad and to the collecting of the tioussé.
*Toulloult*...Arthraterum pungens. Graminaceae.
*Tounine*....A well.
*Zabbar*.....Ogre.

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Hoggar

Book One

The Tuareg in their Private and Public Life

Part One

The Tuareg in their Private Life

Chapter I

Birth. Childhood

In Tamashek, birth is called "tiouit" ⵜⵉⵡⵉⵜ. There is no 844
special observance to note concerning the birth of a child
among the Tuareg. However, there is greater joy if it is a [842]
boy. People come to congratulate the parents and, seven days 851
later, the latter serve a more or less lavish feast, depending
on their means, the feast being preceded by the recitation of
the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran). Those present who do [788]
not know Arabic limit themselves during this recitation to
holding their open hands together like a book. It is on this [533]
day that the child is given its name.

On this subject, I think I should note that especially 551
among the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe of the Ahaggar), many [565]
children were given the names of wild beasts or animals.

Examples of Men's Names

Amellal, addax, meha /?/
Abeggui, jackal
Amayas, cheetah
Akhou, wild animal

551

Anr'eroubou, lion
Ahar, lion
Eknissi, hedgehog /4/
Akouti, rat
Amadjour, camel
Amder', giraffe, etc.

Examples of Women's Names
Tamerouelt, hare
Tahenkatt, gazelle
Tinirt, mohr antelope
Tamer'ouant, cowrie shell
Tadar'ine, grains (of wheat, barley, etc.)

In the course of this study there will be found many proper names of men and women which might give rise to interesting comparisons with names used among other Berber tribes of North Africa.

The Tuareg child is brought up heedlessly, with the 854
negresses' children. It is chiefly the negress who takes care of him. He lives out-of-doors, often quite naked or hardly dressed, and his body is toughened early. During the nursing period the negress makes a kind of hammock out of an old haïk, the two ends of which are fastened to tree branches or to the tent pegs, and this kind of cradle is called "taoulioula" .||:||:+ (from the verb "eouilaouel" ||: ||: , to swing).

While he is still very young, barely seven years old, the 857
child is employed as a shepherd and acquits himself very well at his task.

Then, as soon as possible, he is perched on a mehari [492
(racing camel), for he must know his regular mount thoroughly. 868]
Young Harendou, an orphan of the Aoulimmiden /Aulliminden/, taken in by Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal of the Ahaggar, was already an excellent meharist at the age of ten. At his side he wore a "takouba" .□•:+ (saber) larger than himself of which he was very proud. /5/

4: Benhazera--3 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter II

## Circumcision

In Tamashek, "azemhoud-n-baradhen" (circumcision of children) from the verb "ezmahad" , to circumcise. 304 852

There is no set age for circumcision; generally it is carried out after the age of five.

The operator is summoned to the amazar' (douar), and all the people present take part in the operation, carried out as follows:

The operator holds the foreskin with a bit of "saâf" (djerid or palm leaf) and cuts it with a well-sharpened knife. To cicatrize the wound, it is dusted with leaves of atle (Tamarix articulata) and skins of dried pomegranates ground to powder. [278] Then it is washed with camel urine, and all painful contact is avoided by means of splints held by strings fastened behind the back. [237]

Then there is a feast: a sheep's throat is cut, and it is eaten by the guests.

## Chapter III

## Puberty

In Tamashek, "tamendjott" . As soon as he is of an age to fast, that is to say, as soon as he has reached puberty, the boy begins to wear the "tidjelmoust" veil which he will never leave off thereafter. 882 291

As to the girl, a celebration is held as soon as she reaches 881
the age of puberty, that is to say, at the start of her menses,
in Tamashek /6/ "ba-n-amoud" ⵎⵏ ⵍ ⵎⵓⴷ (literally,
"cutting of prayer," since during her indisposition the woman [841]
is in a state of impurity and cannot pray). The young girl is [291]
dressed in her prettiest clothes, and on her head is placed a
black veil, "ikerhi" ⵉⴽⵔⵀⵉ, which falls on either side of
her face without hiding it. She also never leaves it off.

If her parents are well-to-do, she will learn to play the 883
amz'ad ⴰⵎⵣⴰⴷ, an instrument which has an important [556]
place in Tuareg life. It is a kind of violin with a single string 534
whose box is made of a large "kabouia," or a dried and
scooped-out gourd, covered with a stretched hide and pierced
with two holes, which is provided with a handle. The string
is made of horsehair, "az'iou" ⴰⵣⵉⵡ, as are the strings
of the bow, "tadjelhé" ⵜⴰⴷⵊⵍⵀⵉ, made of a stick bent into
an arc.

It is chiefly an instrument to accompany singing. The [533]
woman slides her fingers over the string without pressing,
while working the bow; she prolongs the final phrases, which
are drawn out.

If a young girl knows how to play, she may shine at the [832]
musical gatherings, where she will be courted.

## Chapter IV

## Musical Gatherings

A young man and a young girl often go to meet together, 533
and this occurs especially in those gatherings which, to be 584
accurate, we will if you permit call "musical gatherings," and 832
which the Tuareg call "ahal" ⵄⵀⴰⵍ, plural "ihallen" ⵉⵀⴰⵍⵍⴰⵏ.

/7/

The ahal takes place very often. All that is needed is for 533
a group of men and women to be gathered together in a camp. 584
Often a man comes from a considerable distance to court the 832
girl of his choice. When the year is good, that is to say, when [361]
the rains have brought the pastures to life and the camels are
giving much milk, several camps are set up close to each other,
and the ahal begins right after sunset.

The men of the camps gather with those who have come
especially because some woman attracts them. The women
bring their "imz'aden" violins. All those attend the ahal who [602]
are not afraid to be in the presence of one of their relatives
to whom they owe respect, such as a father, uncle, older
brother, etc. Young girls, married women, divorcées or widows,
all attend the ahal.

[361]

Dautheville

Tuareg Troup at Amr'a (Black Tifedest)

Gallantry, "asri" ⵄⵔⵉ is required, and jealousy [577]
strictly prohibited. Besides, this latter feeling is unknown [626]
among the Tuareg, and if one of them should think of showing it, he would be booed and everyone would make fun of him.

When a Tuareg arrives at the ahal near a woman whom he wishes to court, he approaches her with his veil carefully lowered and does not greet her with the usual "essalamou r'

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584
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[576]

laïkoum" (May the greeting be on you!). Silently he holds his hand out to the woman in the Tuareg manner (that is to say, holding his hand /8/ out open flat and sliding it over the open hand of the woman), and he sits down, saying: "iselane" (What news?). If the woman answers: "elouane" (There is a lot), he begins to pay his court. The Tuareg are not very religious, and it sometimes happens that the woman asks such questions as: "Whom do you love more, God or me?"

The songs begin, and the imz'aden play the accompaniment. The men sing in snatches lines that they have composed on the charms of the ladies of their dreams, the feats that they have done, the raids in which they have taken part, or else satires on their enemies. The women extol courage. In general, a noble woman does not sing, but only plays the amz'ad.

There are three musical rhythms:

The "seyenine" /.|ξ ⊙ rhythm, lively and quite fast, used among the Kel R'ela and the Taïtoq.

The "ahinena". /|ξ ⁝ rhythm, slow and drawn out like a chant, used especially among the Kel R'ela.

The "asaher'" ⁝⁝ ⊙ rhythm, used among the Tuareg of the Azdjer /Azjer/ confederation.

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Then there are simple games. The women elect a "sultana," or queen; the men a "sultan," or king, who will inflict the punishments incurred and will set the fines to be paid. It is a context of wits. A man must be able to answer the questions asked. If, for example, to this question: "Whom do you like better, this one or that one?," he answers: "I prefer this one," he would be booed, would incur a punishment or pay a fine, and the woman who is preferred would be ridiculed by her companions, for one must not show preference openly but must answer, "I like them both."

Another kind of question: "What would you do if you found yourself in the following situation: /9/

4: Benhazera--7 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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584
832
[539]

"Tamott tekness
"Ehere iouof
"Tathett ter'tess
"Tir'irt touoss"

which means:

The woman who argues.
Flocks that scatter.
The she-ass that breaks her tether.
The pot that tips over.

In a joking way, to be a real wit, the man could answer: "If I should find myself in this situation, I would first gather the flock, I would re-tether the ass, I would put the pot back on the fire, and only then would I pay attention to the woman, " and there would be a chorus of indignant protests.

The woman makes it a point of honor to have as many admirers as possible. This is a proof that she is pretty and will not have trouble in getting married. 584 832

The ahal, begun after sunset, lasts quite late into the night, and the pale light that is shed by the stars allows shamelessness to have free rein. Although the married women joke and take part in the games, they behave themselves comparatively well. The others, however, may sit on the knees of their admirers. They kiss, but in a special way. Since the man must never uncover his mouth, he lowers his veil under his nose, and he piously smells the nose! of his loved one, who herself may kiss him. Even intimate handling (proh pudor! /oh, shame/) is allowed, which is never seen among the Arabs. 533 584 832

During these gatherings, when the amz'ad is played, it is listened to with great pleasure. This instrument has a way of exciting /10/ the Tuareg, who utter "Ouh! ouh!" as a sign of pleasure. They have even made a verb of it: isouhouh. [201]

But now is the time when the camels come from the pasture. They must be milked: that is the az'ouz'edj ' ' # # (from ez'edj ' ' # , to milk). The women get up, and those present are given milk to drink. They will have to disperse. [272]

The men leave, the women go back into the tents, but 832
the fortunate ones who have succeeded by means of assiduous 836
courtship to touch the heart of their love, will soon come back secretly or will go to the place which has been appointed for them. Let us draw a veil!...

One might wonder what can become of the virtue of 585
young girls with such customs. Almost always it has gone up 836
in the air. But a Tuareg will not pay attention to this detail when it is a matter of getting married. He knows with what to be content: he has often profited by it. It is all the same to him.

The ahal is one of the reasons for late marriages among the 582
Tuareg. Marriage requires expenditures upon which one does 836
not decide until one has been able to acquire a little means, and that is why it is not unusual among the Tuareg to see men marry at the age of forty. With all he finds to entertain him, the Tuareg does not feel the need to get married. This does not mean that many do not marry around twenty-five, but in general a man marries quite late.

Farther on, in the little collection of songs, will appear 000
the qualities which a man must have in order to succeed at the ahal, as well as the kind of songs which are sung there. /Not translated./ /11/

## Chapter V

## The Role of the Woman in Tuareg Society

At every step one sees the influence of the woman in 562
Tuareg society. In Tuareg history, the inheritance, the life, the thought, and the behavior, everywhere her influence is felt.

In the matter of history, it is from her that the Tuareg 173
says he is descended. Thus the nobles of the Ahaggar will tell 562

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 562
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé, "
or tribute from the "imr'ad, " or serfs. Not only is the son [611
noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless 565]
of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child, "
but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her
husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is 562
not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except [576]
as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi, " over
her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, [574
etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances 431]
between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives
her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is [595]
the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" 562
.V] , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, 572
while she gives him something for his personal use. He is,
in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine
embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal
of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while
Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines
which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man [574]
who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

4: Benhazera--10 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

and gaiety, always on condition that the conversation does not take place in the presence of relatives to whom the Tuareg who is addressed owes respect. 521 562 602

The Tuareg woman intervenes effectively in quarrels between the men of her family and, in order to please her, reconciliation takes place. Thus it was thanks to Rakhma, sister of Moussa ag Amastane, that the latter became reconciled with his brother-in-law, Anaba ag Amellal. 562 [593 578]

In short, one may say that nothing is ever done or said among the Tuareg in which the influence of the woman is not found, always and everywhere, and this will be seen as the reading of this article continues. /14/

[291]

Dautheville
Tuareg Group in the Oued Ti-n-amadal Settafen (Tifedest).

## Chapter VI

## Proposal of Marriage

Proposal of marriage, "ibadrahen" ⵉⴱⴰⴷⵔⴰⵀⴻⵏ, is governed by a definite rule of procedure. 584

The suitor for a woman's hand sends marabouts, if there are any, to her parents, or tolbas, or, lacking these, influential people who state his request.

The proposal must be known to all the relatives of the woman without exception; they must all be notified and

their permission asked, even those who are far away. It would 584
be very bad to marry a young girl without the knowledge of one
of the members of her family.

Since a girl usually marries at twenty to twenty-five years, [582]
she is consulted. Even if she is a virgin and, as such, subject
to parental authority according to Moslem law, she is usually
not forced to marry against her will. If the case arises, she
has only to refuse herself to her husband, and he does not insist
but sends her back to her parents.

Just as among the Arabs, a woman who has already been [587]
married must give her consent.

## Chapter VII

## Marriage

Marriage, "adouben" ⵏⵓ ⵎ or "tedout" ⵜⵉⵎⵜ 585
has some quite curious features.

The proposal of marriage has been accepted. The day
of the wedding has been set. If a quite influential noble is [554]
getting married, the wedding /15/ will have many guests.
If it is an "amr'id" (serf), the celebration will be much simpler
and more private, but the ceremonies and songs will be the
same.

The men guests, mounted on their best meharis, arrayed
in their most beautiful clothes and finest arms, arrive at the
bride's camp where the wedding is to take place. The women
go to the bride's home with their "imz'aden" (violins) and
their "tobol" (drums).

If the women are poor they go there by donkey; if they [492
are rich they arrive by mehari, in their saddles which are 556
shaped like sedan chairs and of which we will find a description 562]
below.

4: Benhazera--13 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The celebration begins about one o'clock in the afte- 585
noon. The men saddle their meharis and the camel-back [541]
games, "iloudjan foull imnas" ⵍⵓⴷⵊⴰⵏ ⴼⵓⵍ ⵉⵎⵏⴰⵙ , will begin.
The women gather, beat their tobol, sing and play the amz'ad [533]
to excite the riders. The latter, in groups of two or more, abandon themselves to a wild race on their meharis, which they throw into a gallop.

During this time the bride, hidden at the home of her maternal aunt or a relative on the maternal side, must veil her eyes and not watch the games. If by mischance she should [752]
look at one of the riders, he would fall, and there would be an accident.

As to the groom, he does not take part in the games. Mounted on a white mehari, "ebidedj" ⵉⴱⵉⴷⵊ , he is present beside one of his friends, but he must remain impassive, his face carefully veiled.

The games last until sunset.

At this point two "tolbas" and two friends of the groom go to find the bride's father, if she is still a virgin, or the woman herself if she has already been married, to ask him or her to name a representative. The groom is also asked to name his representative.

These two representatives meet with the tolbas and the 583
friends, and the marriage is contracted. It is at this time that 585
the bride price, /16/ "tagalt" ⵜⴰⴳⴰⵍⵜ , is set. For nobles [554]
it consists, as a rule, of seven camels; for imr'ad it may consist, depending on their means, of one camel or several sheep or goats. The groom pays part of the bride price: one or two camels if he is a noble; three or four sheep if he is an amr'id and if he is not rich; the rest he owes. The animals which have been paid have their throats cut and provide the wedding feast. Then the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran) is read to [782]
call divine blessing on the newlyweds.

After the contract the women meet, the amz'ad is played 585
for a moment, but the bed of the newlyweds must be prepared.

4: Benhazera--14 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The women get up and make a sort of mattress of sand or earth, 585
which is called "adebel" ⵍⵍ ⵉⵏⵎ and which is covered with
a haïk. Over it will be set the skin tent on two wooden arches,
"idjedjan" ⵍ ⵉⵏⵏ , and the usual pegs.

But at this point the men intervene and seize the tent
cover. Two on one side and two on the other, they throw it [777]
back and forth three times, calling "Saoula iaoulit (throw and
send back)." This brings good fortune.

Then the tent is finally set up. The men lead the groom
to the tent. He is made to go around it three times; then he [777]
enters, taking care to put his right foot in first, again because
this brings good fortune.

The groom is in the tent with his friends. The women 585
then accompany the bride while singing: 533
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"Bismillaten ar essa .ⵉⵓⵍⵜⵍⵏⵉⵏⵏ
"Se iz'ar isem n yalla .ⵍⵣⵍⵏⵉⵓⵔⵎⵣⵉ
"Foall ilik ner' as tedoua".ⵏⵍⵜⵍⵍⵉⵍⵏⵔⵏⵏⵣⵍⵍⵏⵏ

which means:

"In the name of God on them up to seven times,
"Preceding the name of God,
"On our daughter who left in the evening (for her
husbands's home)." /17/

A few meters from the tent the son of the bride's maternal 585
aunt comes forward and wants to hold the bride back, telling 431
her: "I will not let you leave before receiving my gift, my
sandals. Aouid ir'atimen (give me my sandals)." The groom
or his friends then pass him a pair of sandals which were set
aside for this purpose or, lacking these, another gift.

Then the women in chorus ask questions to which the men 585
reply in chorus: 533
539

Women's chorus:

Nellouz ⵏⵍⵍⵓⵣ We are hungry.

Men's chorus:

Atekchimet ⵜⵍⵉⵣⵎⵉⵜ You will eat.

Women's chorus:

Ner'loul ⵏⵍⵔⵍⵍⵓⵍ We are naked.

Men's chorus: 585

Atelsimet ⵜⵍⵙⵉⵎⵉⵜ You will be clothed. 533 539

Women's chorus:

Nerdjih ⵏⵔⵊⵉⵀ We are afoot.

Men's chorus

Atar'ermet ⵜⵄⵔⵎⵉⵜ You will be mounted.

Then the bride and the women, addressing the groom, sing these two lines:

Outterir' inelli n isakan ⵓⵜⵜⵔⵉⵔ ⵉⵏⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⵉⵙⴰⴽⴰⵏ

Essoufeq inelli n foudan ⵉⵙⵙⵓⴼⵉⵇ ⵉⵏⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⴼⵓⴷⴰⵏ

"I do not want any bechna (carried by) young camels.

"I prefer bechna (carried by) strong and solid camels, " meaning by this that she expects of her husband the deeds of a strong, brave man and not the behavior of a child. /18/

Then the bride enters the tent, and the guests withdraw 585 and go to feast.

For seven days the groom's food is provided by the bride's relatives. During this time the newlyweds do not leave their tent, but people go there to entertain and visit them.

Custom decrees that the newly weds live beside the wife's 591 parents for a year in order to give her time to get used to separation from them, which they call "az'alaï" ⴰⵣⵄⵍⴰⵢ (from the verb "ez'li" ⴰⵣⵄⵍⵉ, to separate).

Monogamy is the absolute rule. 595

We have said that the ahal is one of the reasons for late 582 marriages. Another reason lies in the fact that many Tuareg 595 are satisfied with Negro concubines.

## Chapter VIII

## Divorce

Divorce, in Tamashek "tellef" ⵜⵍⵍⵉⴼ or "ouloufi" 586 (from the verb "ellef" ⵍⵍⵉⴼ, to divorce), ⵍⵍⵉⴼ

occurs quite often, but most generally on the initiative of the 586
wife, for the husband who gives notice of repudiation is bound to pay her the remainder due on the bride price, while when it is the wife who initiates the break by refusing herself to him and taking refuge with her parents, her husband owes her nothing.

Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and Kel Ahnet, could never keep a wife with him. He divorced very often. Each time he went back to his negresses, whom he held in high regard. Meanwhile, he tried to remarry ( he was [581
seventy to seventy-five years old), but it seems he had some 587]
difficulty, considering his matrimonial past. /19/

## Chapter IX

## Adultery

Adultery, in Tamashek "tikra". O·:+ (from the verb 837
"ouker" O ·· , to steal), is certainly common. 684

The Tuareg may say that in a case of adultery they do not hesitate to kill the woman, but I asked them to cite me such a case which had occurred within the past several years, and they admitted that they could not cite any, adding that this was just because no act in flagrante delicto had ever been established. Others told me that many are satisfied to get [586]
divorced and that some even say no more about it

4: Benhazera--17G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter X

## Games

Children play a game with a ball, "tekerikera", O·:O·:+, which they hit with curved sticks /20/ ("iggaten tekerikera," they hit the ball). Two camps are formed and the ball must be made to go into the opposing camp. 526 857

But their greatest amusement is to make out of clay little sticks and stones, all kinds of animals and people, which they call "isounar" O|⊙ . Thus they make a mehari with its saddle, a camel with its young, a horse, etc., or they may make a mehari with a man on it, "aknar" O|·: , or a woman in her bassour, "taknart" ⊕|·:+ ; here are a bride and groom. These young sculptors, it seems, are very skillful. 524 532 857

Sometimes they hang a swing, "taoulioula", ||:||:+ , on a tree. 524 857

291 411 526

Armed Conflict between Aziouel and Tacha°
(Ta'ltoq Tuareg) (First Stage)

4: Benhazera--17a G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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(Second Stage)

(Third Stage)

4: Benhazera--17b G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

(Fourth Stage)

4: Benhazera--18 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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(Fifth Stage)

As to the men, they practice throwing the spear as far as possible toward a certain object. They have mock battles with the "takouba" (saber) and shield, "ar'er"; or /22/ they roll up rags and try to cut them with a single stroke of their great "takouba."

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4: Benhazera--19 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter XI

## Death. Burial. Graves

If death ("tamettant" ⵜⵎⵜⵜ ) takes place near an 764
"ar'erem" (village), burial is carried out at the cemetery. Otherwise, the deceased is buried where he died.

The corpse is washed with warm water, according to Moslem custom, and dressed in his shroud "tifit" ⵜⵉⵜ . Tolbas come to say the prayers of the dead. The grave "az'-ekka" ⵄⵣⵇⵇⴰ , plural "iz'ekouan" ⵉⵄⵣⵇⵇⴰⵏ , is dug. The pit /23/ is one span and four fingers wide for, as among all Moslems, the corpse is laid on the right side, the face turned toward "kiblah" (the direction of Mecca). The depth is only 60 to 70 centimeters. It is covered with flat stones cemented with wet clay. They place markers ("chouahed" in Arabic, "ihalissen" ⵉⵀⴰⵍⵉⵙⵙⴻⵏ in Tamashek), that is, stones set on end: one at the head, one at the feet if it is a man; one at the head, two at the feet if it is a woman, parallel or perpendicular to the direction of the grave according to whether it is a man or a woman.

Then a circle of stones is made around the grave, with an opening for entry and exit, and to the east, opposite the door, is the place of prayer, according to the following plan. a

The expression of condolence used is the following: "iha ner' irah yalla ierhak, " which corresponds to the Arabic وجايك [576]
الله يخلف علينا and which means, "May God repay the loss which you and we have suffered. "

The visitor goes around the grave saying, "kel irkhem [788]
yalla (May God grant you mercy!), " says his prayer and leaves.

A funeral feast is given for the tolbas and the poor. /24/

a [see p 20 --- ANALYST]

4: Benhazera--20 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter XII

## Mourning

Mourning, "oudhouf" ⵓⴷⵀⵓⴼ , does not have 765
any very outstanding features for a man.

In general a man must stay shut in his tent for three days.

The widow goes into mourning and remains in mourning for four months and ten days. She must hide her hair [303]
with a black veil and not comb it for the duration of her mourning; enclose her feet in high footgear instead of the usual sandals; withdraw her hands from view or show only their tips. In short, as in "Miss Helyett":

Plan

[764]

Dautheville
Tuareg Grave in the
Teddeqqirt Wadi (Immidir)

To show none of those charms
Which would give arms
To the wicked liar.

At the end of mourning, the women of the camp lead the 765
widow out to see the sunrise; the Koran is held open before
her and she is made to look at salt. Upon her return, she may
dress as before and make herself pretty. A collection is taken [768]
up for her. /25/

## Chapter XIII

### Inheritance. Succession

Inheritance, "takasit" +⊡∴+ , (from the verb 428
"ekkous," to inherit) is of two kinds: political inheritance,
if I may so express it, and private inheritance.

The first is the right to command and to the collection of
the "tiousse," or tribute from the "imr'ad." This is handed
down according to the laws of inheritance of which we will
speak later.

As to private inheritance, it is collected by the natural
heirs according to Moslem laws of rights, which means that the
son has a right to an amount double that of the daughter. The
animals left as inheritance are assessed and are divided ac-
cording to this assessment. These shares are then chosen by
lot.

## Chapter XIV

### The Home. The Tent

All the tents of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar confederation 281
are made of the hides, "ilmaouen" ⁝:⊐|| , of goats or sheep, 342

tanned and sewed together. The assemblage of these hides [281]
constitutes the cover, the essential part of the tent, and is 342
called "ehakit" .

The tent is supported by a central master beam called
"tamankaït" .

A pole, "idjem" , is placed at the entrance
of the tent and is flanked right and left by poles called
"madar'en" . /26/

Other poles are used to hold up the edges: these are the
"tissedass" . The little pegs that hold the tent
to the ground are called "tisselitaï" . Some-
times bows are also used, called "adjedjou" ,
plural "idjedjan" .

The tent is surrounded by mats of "afezzou" [285
(Panicum turgidum, Graminaceae), called "asabar" 824]
plural "isebran" , which are pulled back in the
day and drawn close at night, to close the tent.

In the tent one finds first that which concerns water, that 352
is, waterskins, "abeïor'" , plural "ibiyar'" - 415
, hung on forked sticks, "tidjettaouin" .
They are filled by means of a funnel, "asegueffi" ,
plural "isegueffa", . To water the camels, the 231
Tuareg use troughs of hide supported by hoops at the top and
called "tafaraout" , plural "tiferouin" .
They also use these troughs for the harvest of "toulloult" grain 243
(Arthraterum pungens, Graminaceae) or of "afezzou" (Panicum
turgidum, Graminaceae).

For milk and butter, they have a waterskin for milk, 415
"tanouart" , plural "tinouarin" , and
a kind of porous water jug made of a hollowed gourd and called
"az'enou" . To ladle the milk, serve it or pour it,
they use a wooden vessel with one handle called "asoukal"
. To store and transport melted butter, "oudi," they
have waterskins of various shapes, the most common being the
one called "tahattint" , but they also sometimes [281]
use the tanned hide of a camel's thigh. /27/

4: Benhazera--23 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

To feed young camels and lambs, they use a kind of 231
nursing bottle of wood shaped like a cup equipped with a tube. 415
This utensil is called "ar'alala" .

For dishes, one finds in the tent wooden bowls of all sizes, 415
called "akous" , plural "ikassen" ,
large wooden dishes, "tar'elalt" , and smaller dishes
used as plates and called "tar'ehout" , plural
"tireha" . To ladle milk or gruel, the Tuareg use
a large ladle, "temoulat" , plural "timoulatin"

[361]

Dautheville

Tuareg Camp at Tazerouk

, and for eating they have ordinary wooden spoons
called "tesoukalt" , plural "tsoukaline" .

To separate the grains of "toulloult" and "afezzou" from 252
their hulls, they use small trays of afezzou called "tissiit" 415
, plural "tissiin" .

They also use a great deal the wooden mortar, "akabar" 415
, with its pestle, "ihar'en" .

Finally, they have hide sacks to hold dates or grains, which 281
they call "adjera" , plural "idjerouen" 415

All the above utensils are made of the wood of the 415
"teborak" (Balanites aegyptiaca, Simaroubaceae) and of the 824
abser', or "tamat," (Acacia arabica).

The donkey carries the waterskins from the well to the [312]
tent, and on its back is placed a packsaddle made of curved 492
pieces of wood bound together, which is called "eroukou."

Let us not forget the Tuareg's saddle, "terik," and if the master of the tent is well-to-do, his wife's saddle, "tekhaouit." /28/

The tent is divided in two: one side for the man and 342
the other for the woman. On the man's side are his saddle, 592
his arms, and the things used for eating. On the woman's side are her saddle, her "amz'ad," and the cooking utensils.

Custom decrees that the man choose the east part for his side, and the woman the west part.

A group of tents is called "amezar" [192]
a single tent "ehan" , plural "ehanan" .

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Dautheville

Tent of a Tedjehe-Mellet
at Amra (Black Tifedest)

## Chapter XV

## Food

The main meal takes place at noon and is called 264
"tarout" . In the evening the Tuareg is

usually satisfied with milk, "akh, " fresh ("akh oua kefaïen" 264
[illegible] ) or sour ("akh iezza", [illegible] ), at
the hour when the camels, sheep, or goats come in from
pasture.

The basic food of the Ahaggar Tuareg consists of bechna, 262
"inelli" (white-grain sorghum, Graminaceae), dates, "teïni, "
and milk, "akh. " [illegible]

But their country provides them with many resources 22
which they are careful not to neglect, especially the poor, 556
the "tileqqiouin" [illegible] , who constitute the majority.

All the "imr'ad" go to harvest the grains of "toulloult" 243
and "afezzou. " Women, children, youths, negroes and 221
negresses go into the wadis
to gather the harvest, which
takes place from May to June
for "toulloult" and from July
to the end of September for
"afezzou. " /29/

[000]

Dautheville

Ideles (Koudia)

Usually, before the
harvest several wadis are for-
bidden territory, and camels
are not led there until the
harvest is finished.

The produce is gathered
and put into hide sacks. After the grains have dried, they 252
need only to be put onto small trays of "afezzou, " called
"tissiin, " which are shaken, and the hulls fall off and remain
on top. The grains are ground to powder, and a kind of gruel
is made with water or butter.

The Tuareg are also very fond of "tikamarin" [illegible] 234 252 262
, cheeses as hard as wood which they get from Aïr. They 438
grind them in mortars and mix them in their food.

They very seldom eat meat, except that of game which 262
they can kill in a hunt: gazelles, mountain sheep, and 224
antelopes. But often they prefer to smoke this game in order 251
to go and sell it in the Tidikelt. 438

262
The nobles eat better, at least those who are well-to-do. 243
In the Ahaggar especially they own cultivated land in the 556
"ar'erems" (villages), where they grow wheat, "ired," barley, 565 423
"timzin," and bechna, "inelli"; but usually they sell their 438

[137]

Dautheville

Trees Called "Ahatés" (Acacia Albida) at the Tillemas of the Tessht Wadi (Koudia).

wheat and barley to the natives of the Tidikelt and are content with bechna, of which they are very fond. They claim that [824] bechna is less heating to the stomach than wheat or barley.

The rich allow themselves the luxury of drinking tea, but 272
tea and sugar are very expensive, and they do not misuse them. 556
On the other hand, they do not hesitate to beg for them shame- 263
lessly.

When the year is bad anything seems good to the poor to 222
assure their subsistence. In such years one sees them eating 262
/30/ "berdi," or "taheli," (Typha angustifolia, Typhaceae); 735
ground carob seeds of "talhas," or gum trees, which they call 252
"tahaha" • ⁝⁝ + ; "tanékfaït (Diplotaxis duveyrierana, Cruciferae); fruit of the "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica), which they steep to take out the bitterness; and even leaves of the "aremmas" (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae), which they boil.

In short, nature keeps food resources for them which prevents even the poorest from dying of hunger.

The laws of hospitality, "amedjarou," are observed as 574
among all Moslems. The guest, "amadjar," is always well
received.

## Chapter XVI

## Hygiene. Diseases

133
516

Dautheville
Dr. Dautheville in the Abezzou
Wadi (White Tifedest)

We know that the Tuareg have a horror of water. They do 515
not wash themselves on the pretext that this would make them
sick, but it is essentially because they are very sensitive to [151]
cold. To say their prayers, they do not indulge in the pre- [782
scribed ablutions, even when they are at home and have water 788]
at their disposal. They are content with "taïmoum" (an
imitation of washing with sand), which they call "ettamine."
The amenokal Moussa ag /31/ Amastane is the only Tuareg
whom I have seen making his ablutions with water.

This is also doubtless due to the fact that the Tuareg like 291
to keep the tint of indigo, "sedjeni" ⵙⵉⵏⵉ , on their 302
skins, the result of wearing "chegga," or blue cotton, which 386
runs a great deal and of which they make their clothes. They 515

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga." 291 302 386 515

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵓⵙⴼⴰⵔ 177 plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⵔⴰⵏ , and believe in their efficacy. 278 This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, [432 556] for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very [648 willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly 757] be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" 164 ...ⵅⵜ , gonorrhea, "talaoalt;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ⵉⵎⵎⴷⵀⵉ ; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴽⵎⵓ-ⵏ-ⵉⵔⴼ

## Chapter XVII

## Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro 563 567 and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the [721] Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which [439] brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave 118 them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the 567 progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

4: Benhazera--29 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The negroes and negresses are well treated by the Tuareg, 563
who do not impose hard labor upon them. The negroes are pri- 567
marily busy with the flocks, which they drive to pasture and water. [233]
The negresses are concerned with the kitchen; they go after [357]
water and take care of the children.

[231
291
312]

Tuareg Watering their Sheep at the Tin Zaouaten Well

Negroes and negresses also gather the harvest of "toulloult" and "afezzou" grains, but this is more fun than work, for everyone takes part in it with them, in gay groups.

Many negroes eventually become the trusted men of their masters, who put them in charge of caravans or even of responsible missions. Thus, the amenokal Moussa had a trusted negro, Chernach, whom he regarded highly, for, he said, "I know that this man would have himself killed for me." Moreover, he gave him a gun, a spear, and a saber. /33/ These negroes are very happy and can consider themselves as freed.

Besides, there are few negroes who are not armed by their 411
masters with a "tar'da" (spear with a wooden shaft) and with a 563 567
"takouba" (saber), of which they are very proud. The best are 726
sent on raids, and it seems that they acquit themselves very well in combat.

As to the negresses, there are some who confine themselves 563
to attending to the care of the household and the tent, but there 567
are quite a few others who are raised to the dignity of con- 595
cubines. A noble Tuareg prefers to share his bed with a negress rather than to marry a "tamr'idt" (serf). He marries late, and when he decides to, he looks especially for a woman who, by her /34/ birth, will give his children future rights to command. The negress profits from this.

The negroes and negresses are not, as a rule, mistreated 563
by the Tuareg. Besides, if the case should arise, they know 567
how to use the following curious custom in use among the 685
Tuareg.

When a slave, negro or negress, becomes too unhappy with his master and wishes to become the slave of another master, he splits the ear of a child or a horse or hamstrings a mehari; in short, damages anything valuable that belongs to the master he wishes to have; then he stays beside his deed. Naturally, in reparation for the harm done, the negro is given in full possession to the injured master. There may be protest, if there was connivance between the slave and the master he wishes to have, and, in this case, the oath is deferred and the case [692]
brought before a marabout or a cadi.

Thus the negress Tenoufek, who belonged to Semana, sister of Bika ag Moumou of the Kel Ahnet, slit the ear of a mare belonging to Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet. In reparation the negress was given to Sidi, with whom she still remains.

Another example: the negro of El Biodh ould Settafi of the Settaf, hamstrung two camels belonging to Ibedi ag Bassi of the Ir'echoumen. In reparation El Biodh had to give Ibedi the negro and a camel besides. /35/

## Chapter XVIII

## Clothing. The Veil

The Tuareg are very clothes conscious. They love 291
beautiful clothes and do not fail to put the best they have in their wardrobes on their backs every time the occasion arises.

The more garments they can put on, one over the other, the better it is. Even in midsummer if a Tuareg has a wool burnoose, he does not hesitate to put it over his shoulders if he is to attend a palaver or present himself to a chief, though he suffer from it.

Their clothes are almost all made of dark-blue cotton, "tchoqqit" (a word which seems to be a [192]
variation of the word "chegga" used by the Arabs).

White cotton is not fashionable and is not worn except by [556]
those who do not have the means to buy dark-blue cotton, which looks black and, from a distance when they are in a group, gives them a slight resemblance to crows.

Their costume consists of:

The "takarbast" , a sleeveless gandurah slit at the sides and sewed only at the bottom, so that when they raise onto their shoulders the panels that fall to their wrists, the entire bare chest is seen through the opening.

The "karteba" , trousers à la hussarde, or full like the Arab "seroual," tight at the ankle.

The "takammist" , a gandurah with large wide sleeves and a large pocket on the left side of the chest, "el hib" . The "takammist," which is usually made of cotton with small blue /36/ and white squares or with dark-blue and mauve stripes, is decorated on the shoulders with white embroidery. This garment is expensive and is only worn [556]
by well-to-do Tuareg.

An "abrour" , a haïk of wool bought in the Tidikelt or the Touat, and worn only in winter.

4: Benhazera--32 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The "tidjelmoust" ⊕⊐ǁ'|'+ , or veil. The veil 291
is made of a single strip of dark-blue or black cotton. To put it on, the end is placed on top of the head, then it is first wrapped around at the bottom to hide the lower part of the face. Then it is brought back up to hide the upper part of the face, and the head is wound with the rest of the strip to hold it in place.

The upper part of the veil is called "amaoual-oua-n-afella," the lower part "amaoual-oua-n-aris." The top of the [302]
head remains uncovered to leave free the hair, which is braided in small strands or cut in the shape of a cock's comb, or just cut short. The part of the veil which covers the nape of the neck is called "adjedellehouf."

When the veil is on the forehead is bound with white or colored material, "asaded" ΛΛ⊡ , and to be pleasing a bright-colored ribbon or cloth, "itelli" ⊂ ǁ+ , can be added.

The young people some time ago imported a fashion which 177
they borrowed from the Kel Fedé of the Aïr and which consists 291
of a kind of diadem of this shape:

It is placed on the forehead and is covered and hidden by the veil, which holds it in place.

This diadem, which is called "tadebanat" +|⊠V+ , [84]
is not liked by the "old Tuareg" party, who have not adopted it. Sidi ag /37/ Keradji told me that he preferred the old fashion which consisted of slipping under the "assaded" amulets enclosed in silver plaques, called "tira-n-azerouf." But the "young Tuareg" party is not of this opinion and considers the new fashion not lacking in elegance.

Sometimes they cross a white sash on the chest, 291
"tirezzemine" |⊐# O+ .

Finally, they wear around their necks thick cords of red 291
or green silk or braided wool, which they call "el mejdoud" 789
and which are used to suspend a Koran, a book dealing with
cabalistic matter, or amulets.

Amulets (everyone has some) are worn on the back or on 789
the chest. They are enclosed in a leather or metal sheath.
I saw one Tuareg who had some twenty that he wore, all
gathered together, on his chest.

Finally, they are shod with large flat sandals from the Aïr, 291
"ir'atimen" ⵉⵔⵄⵜⵉⵎⵏ , or with leather sandals made on [439]
the spot and called "imerkaden" ⵉⵎⵔⴽⴰⴷⵏ .

Let us not forget the arm bracelet "ahbedj" ⴰⵀⴱⴷⵊ , 301
plural "ihebdjan" ⵉⵀⴱⴷⵊⴰⵏ , like a snake, which, they 789
say, gives strength to the biceps when one strikes a blow.

At rather important meetings and palavers, the richest 292
come dressed in burnooses bought at Ghat and decorated on [556]
the shoulders with attractive silver embroidery. Sometimes it
also happens that if the burnoose has no embroidery, the owner
prefers to wear it inside out, so as to display the yellow and
green silk lining which decorates the edge and lower corner of
the burnoose. Where will vanity stop?

The burnoose is not put on, but just put over the shoulders.

Some poor Tuareg are dressed in clothes of tanned leather. 291
/38/ 556

The woman's dress consists chiefly of:

A sort of skirt, called "asedjebes"
A shirt with sleeves, "takammist"
A woolen haïk, "abrou'"
A veil placed on her head, "ikerhi"

According to her means, she wears the following jewelry: 301
556

Silver bracelets, "ihebdjan-oui-n-azerouf"
Glass bracelets, "tahouka," plural "tahoukaouin"
Glass-bead bracelets, "denguela," plural "denguelaten"
Blacelets of the horns of goats or gazelles, made
in two halves which are encased one in the other
with copper and which are called "iouakane"

Earrings in the shape of large rings, "tizabbatine" 301 [55-6]
Rings, "tisseq, " plural "tisser'ine"

Also, like the men, she wears amulets, "tira." [789]

Finally, in summer she wears a large parasol hat ("medols" 291 in Arabic), which she sometimes decorates with red wool and which is called "tili" (shade).

Concerning the veil: whence comes this use of the veil among the Tuareg? Even those involved do not know.

Sidi ag Keradji, however, gave me an explanation which 173 is quite without validity but shows the craze which the Tuareg 291 have to attribute an Arab origin to themselves. This is his story:

"At the caputre of Mecca, the Prophet Mohammed was mounted on a 'cidah' (female mehari). He had wrapped his head with his 'ihram' (a garment peculiar to the pilgrim who enters the sacred territory of Mecca). It is since this time that the Tuareg have worn the veil."

What is certain is that this is a very old custom, since Arabian writers have for several centuries called /39/ the Tuareg by the name of "Ahl-el-Litham," or "people of the veil."

Did they adopt this custom for utilitarian reasons, to pro- 173 tect their sight from the brilliance of the sun's rays and to 183 insure their eyes against the dust which rises from the sand? 291 To this question they reply in the negative. It is primarily, they say, a question of modesty and dignity. A Tuareg must never show his mouth, the door through which he introduces food into his body. That is shameful. Even at night he does not take off his veil. When he enters a camp foreign to his 183 tribe, he must lower his veil completely over his eyes so as 291 not to be suspected of having come to seduce. In meetings 76 he also veils himself completely, perhaps in order better to hide his feelings.

It is probably because of this custom that the Tuareg 182 shaves his mustache and he finds it strange that we wear them. 291 302 On the other hand, he wears a full beard.

## Chapter XIX

## The Woman's Saddle

I think it well to give below the following description of 492 the very unusual mehari saddle of Tuareg women.

I had the opportunity to see one, of which I was able to get a sketch (see the accompanying illustration). /40/

It seems that many other saddles are handsomer, with painted wood, and they say that the beautiful Dassine suffered considerable distress when she learned that a beautiful saddle belonging to her had been plundered by one of the insurrectionists at the beginning of our establishment in the /Saharah? Oases.

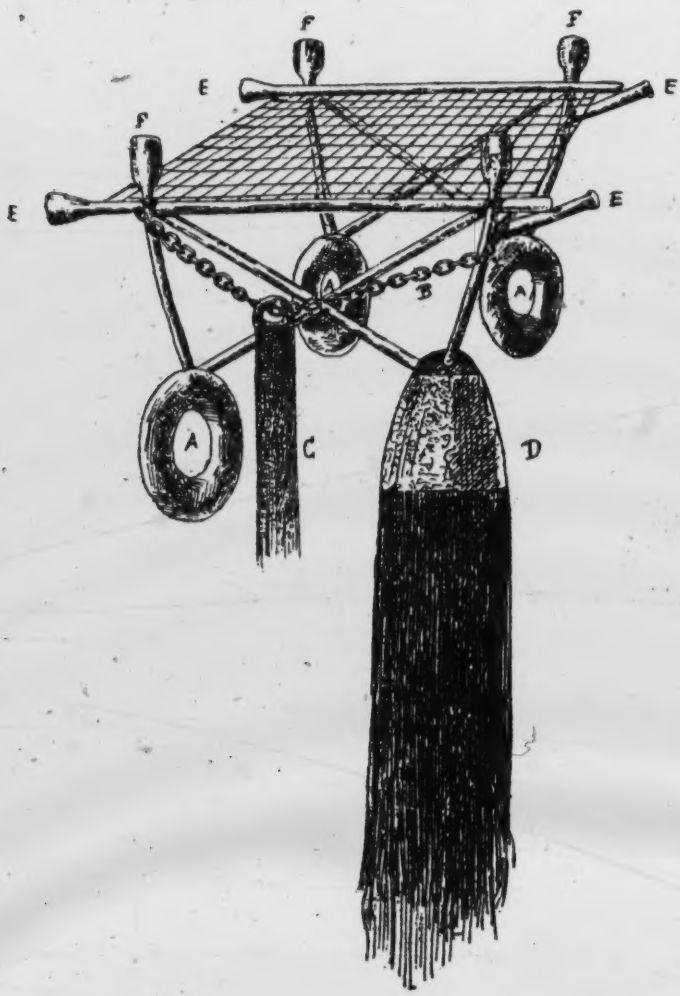
The woman's saddle, which somewhat resembles a sedan chair, is placed over the hump of the mehari without touching it. It consists of the following essential parts: a rectangular seat of netted strands, supported by four uprights to which are fastened four cushions with holes in the center which rest, two on each side, on the flanks of the mehari. These cushions A are called "afelledoud" ⵎⵎ ⵍⵍ ⵊⵅ , plural "ifelledad" ⵎⵎ ⵍⵍ ⵊⵅ .

The uprights are fastened to each other by two transverse bars on each side.

A chain of iron links B called "imetredj" ⵉⵎⵜⵔⵉⵊ goes around the saddle and passes through the ring of the girth C, which is called "ahif"

Onto the upright with the rear cushion, which is hidden in the picture, is attached an embroidered ornament which has hanging from it strands of wool or colored leather. This ornament D is called "tegarsim"

4: Benhazera--35a G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar




Tuareg Woman's Saddle (Drawn by Corporal Malroux) [41]

Extending the seat there are four small bars, E, one at each corner. Finally, there are four other small perpendicular bars F on the seat. 492

In order to mount, with the camel kneeling, the woman takes the bridle in her hands and sits on the bare withers of the camel (in the place where the man's saddle rests) and, in this position, her legs on the neck of the mehari, she makes it get up. When the animal is standing, the woman places both hands on the two small front bars, E, of the saddle, and, with a slight adjustment, she sits in the saddle, her legs hanging on the withers of the camel.

The top of the saddle is generally covered with a /42/ haïk which is fastened to the four perpendicular bars F, so that the woman is sitting in a sort of hammock.

This saddle is called "tekhaouit" ⵜⴽⵀⴰⵡⵉⵜ . The de luxe saddle, more decorated, is called "araguen" ⵉⵔⴰⴳⵏ .

## Chapter XX

## Education

One cannot say that the knowledge of reading and writing 212 "tifinagh," or symbols for the Tamashek language, is a proof of education, for this knowledge does not have any practical use.

The Tuareg very seldom use the symbols for their language, and use them largely for little inscriptions of no great significance (of a kind which we will see later) on boulders or on the inside of arm bracelets.

When there are letters to be written, they have them written in Arabic, for they fear, with reason, being misunderstood if they should write them in "tifinagh." In fact,

because of the lack of vowels, the "tifinagh" are guessed rather 212
than read, and this system of writing has remained quite primitive.

However, among the Ahaggar Tuareg some know how to [177
read and write Arabic, especially the Issoqqamaren, almost all 191]

[291
643]

The Amenokal Sidi ag Keradji Reading the
Address of a Letter Sent to Him.

of whom understand Arabic because of their frequent relations with the Tidikelt, where they must have lived for a long time (1). It is the same for the Ta'ttoq and the Kel Ahnet, many

1. See section on history /not translated/.

of whom speak Arabic. /43/

Knowledge of the "tifinagh" is rather a diversion for the Tuareg than a useful study. They like to try to decipher inscriptions or to show you, on the sand, the exact orthography of a word.

They have no numbers, and they do not use the Arabic 802
numbers. They prefer to make holes in the sand, and by this rather long process succeed in figuring just the same. A Tuareg, moreover, cannot talk for five minutes without emphasizing his recitation with dots or lines on the sand. If he is asked, "How many days' march are there between this point and that one," he cannot answer any number without marking on the ground as many dots as there are days in his answer.

A Tuareg who has been made to sit on the ground on a [516
blanket, before he begins to talk raises the edges of the 521]
blanket /44/ so as to indulge in his favorite occupation. Certainly if he were transported to France, into a well-waxed apartment, he would be very unhappy and would quickly ask for sand or earth so as to be able to draw his dots and lines.

But this custom has its use when one wishes to have an 487
idea of the road one must travel. The Tuareg who, like all 823
nomads, has a very accurate sense of direction, will draw an over-all map of the route to be followed, with the wadis and landmarks which would be met.

The Tuareg do not have words in their language to denote 177
the days of the week. Those that they use have been borrowed 192
from the Arabic and changed. 805

On the other hand, for their months they have kept some truly Tamashek names, while others are definitely taken from the Arabic. Thus:

1. "Tamessedek," corresponding to Muharram and which seems to be derived from the Arabic "sedeq" صدق "to give alms." It is said that this name means "zekkat" زكاة, or "legal alms."

2. "Talilt tassettafet" (corresponding to Safar). This 773
means "the black month." Here is why this month is so 776
called: "Sidna Slimane (Solomon) was in command of the 805
genii and demons. One day when he was standing leaning on his cane, the "djinns" (genii) told a termite to eat out the bottom of the cane. The termite did the job so well that the

cane broke at the bottom, and poor Solomon fell over, all 773
fours in the air, and was killed in his fall. His death was the 776
signal of liberty for the genii and demons, who spread through- 805
out the world, precisely in that month which was later called the "black month."

3. "Talilt tarer'ert," that is, the "yellow month," 177
(corresponding to Rabia I, or Mouloud, the month of the 805
Prophet's birth), so called, it is said, because it is lighted,
منوّر by the birth of the Prophet. /45/

4. "Aouhim oua izzaren," that is, "the first Aouhim," 825
(corresponding to Rabia II). Aouhim means "fawn of a gazelle." [821]
This is also the name of a star.

5. "Aouhim oua ilkamen," that is, "the next Aouhim," (corresponding to Jumada I).

6. "Sarat" (corresponding to Jumada II). The Tuareg have been unable to give me any explanation of this name.

7. "Tin tineslimine," that is, "the month of the marabouts," (corresponding to Rajab). In the time of the Kharijite doctrine, the Ramadan was put back to the month Rajab, and it is known that the Tuareg espoused this doctrine (1).

1. See Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme /Essay on the History of Islamism/ by Dozy.

8. "Amezzehel," that is "he who runs," (from the root "zehel," to run), thus named because it has only 29 days and it precedes the arrival of Ramadan. It corresponds to Shaban.

9. "Azzoum," that is, "the fast" (corresponding to the [177
month of Ramadan), a name taken from the Arabic word 192]
الصوم "essoum," the fast.

10. "Tessessi," that is, "act of drinking" or "libations," because one may drink after the fast. It corresponds to Shawwal, the month in which the feast called "A'id Ser'ir" takes place.

11. "Djer mouhaden," that is, "between prayers," because it comes between the feasts. It corresponds to Zu'lkadah. 805

12. "Tafaski," that is, "the sacrifice." It corresponds to Zu'lhijjah, in which the feast called "Aïd el Kebir," also called by the Arabs "Aïd el Adha" عيد الأضحى, or "feast of sacrifices," takes place. [177]

There is no book in Tamashek, at least that is what was told me. However, the secretary of the amenokal Moussa /46/ ag Amastane informed me that there was, at the Ahaggar, a book written in the Tamashek language, but with Arabic characters, which was the translation of a work on law of which Ibn Achir was the author (1). 177 213

1. This book is at present in the possession of someone called Salakh ag Meguemmed of the Isoqqamaren. /47/

## Part Two

## The Tuareg in their Public Life

### Chapter I

### Nobles and Imr'ad

Duveyrier has described so well the characteristics which distinguish a noble from an amr'id (1) that I think it 114 565

1. Les Touareg du Nord /The Northern Tuareg/, pages 331 to 335.

unnecessary to review this matter after him. I want to limit [114]
myself simply to noting some observations which I was able 565
to make in the course of my stay among the Tuareg of the Ahaggar confederation.

First of all, the striking thing is that at the end of a short period of contact, one can easily guess if one is in the presence of a noble or of an amr'id. His look, his walk, his carriage, his features (if the veil is lifted to the forehead), an indefinable something, all lead correctly to the conclusion that the Tuareg before you is really a noble. However, in the course of palavers im'rad, many of whom are rich, often come as well dressed as the nobles. But their features are less fine, their bearing less easy, their look less assured, and one thinks, "This is an amr'id."

Furthermore, the Tuareg will tell you, "An amr'id may /48/ act well, dress in fine clothes, and bear fine arms, but he is still 'iamir'ed, '" that is to say, "he lacks something," [196]
and it is from this verb that they have derived the name amr'id, plural imr'ad.

Should it be thought that the imr'ad are a less pure race 173
than the nobles because of long-ago crossings with the Negro 174
race? The sheik Ben Djellas states that the mother of the 565
Issoqqamaren (an imr'ad tribe of the Ahaggar) was bought by the first inhabitants of Es-Souk. On the other hand, we will see how the Adjouh-n-Taheli and the Tedjehé-n-Efis came from Aïr to place themselves under the protection of the noble Kel R'ela and Taïtoq.

Should the admitted differences be attributed to the state of subjection and dependence in which the imr'ad have been for a long time in relation to the nobles? I would be tempted to accept this second hypothesis as more in line with the facts of history.

And from what I have seen and ascertained, I cannot 565
bring myself to translate the word "amr'id" as "serf," a word 631

which brings to our minds the idea of the serf attached to the 565
glebe and sold with the domain which he cultivated, but rather 631
as "client, bondsman, tributary."

In fact, if the amr'id pays the "tioussé," or tribute, to the noble, if he "lets him taste a little of what he has," according to his expression, if he is dependent on the noble, he nevertheless enjoys a freedom of action which the serf of the Middle Ages did not know. He has a right to the noble's protection if he is attacked, but he marches and fights with him [701]
armed with the same arms. In a raid he also shares with him [727]
and receives his portion of the loot, a portion which varies according to the tribe and which seems to have been fixed according to an ancient contract, in exchange for the protection granted.

And we will find the most convincing proof in the appoint- 565
ment of the amenokal. The imr'ad take part in this: it is 631
they who speak first and state whether they accept the new 643
amenokal, whether they have confidence in him, whether they promise /49/ faithfully to pay him the "tioussé." And he, on his part, promises to give them help and protection against all.

The noble makes it a point of honor to keep this promise. 558
It would be a shame, "el r'ar," according to his expression 565
(from the Arab word "el aâr" , not to avenge an insult 577
or an injury rendered to one who pays him the "tioussé." 631

## Chapter II

## The Tobol. Inheritance

Concerning the tobol. The "tobol" originally was a drum 202
made of a large gourd and covered with stretched hide, which 534
the chief of the tribe sounded to gather his clients /dependents/ 643
to tell them that pastures must be changed, etc. It was the 565
insignia of command.

Duveyrier has told us that the Imanan (Cheurfa) sultans 534
entrusted their tobols to a marabout tribe, the Ifor'as-oui-n- 565
Tobol. This practice is maintained: noble chiefs pretend to keep the tobols with them, but they do not use them any more.

It is said that the nobles have access to the tobols because 534
some day, according to the law of inheritance practiced among 565
the Tuareg, they or their descendants may have the hope of 643
obtaining the tobol, that is, the right to rule.

On the other hand, it is said that a noble has lost his rights [558]
to the tobol if, through a misalliance, his children are no longer of a pure noble line /race/. For example, the Kembiben, the Oulad El Goute, and the Oulad Ibra (among the Kel R'ela of the Ahaggar) can no longer hope to have the right to rule, to the tobol. Similarly, the son of a noble and a "tamr'idt" (feminine /50/ of "amr'id") is an amr'id and loses all right to the tobol which his father had.

From this first meaning, the word "tobol" ended by mean- 534
ing the group of nobles and imr'ad tribes who answered the call 565
of the tobol, and one might, for example, say, "The tobol 631
of the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe) includes such-and-such imr'ad tribes, " or again, "A certain proportion of imr'ad makes up the tobol of the noble Kel R'ela. "

The word "tobol" is certainly not of Tamashek origin, but [192]
definitely Arabic. In fact, "tobol" طبل in literary Arabic means: 1) drum, 2) kettledrum, 3) tribute, tax; and in order to say "I do not know who that man is, " the early Arabs said, ما ادري اي الطبل هو I do not know of what tobol he is" (1).

1. Arab-French dictionary by
A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski.

Thus I believe that this usage was introduced by the early [174
Arabs who, in the first century after the hegira, pushed their 797]
conquest through the country inhabited by the Tuareg in order to convert them to Islamism.

Concerning inheritance. We have seen that private in- [428]
heritance is passed on to the natural heirs, according to the 611
rules of Mohammedan law. As for political inheritance, that 631
is to say, the right to the title of chief of a tobol and to the collection of the "tioussé," or tribute from the imr'ad, this is handed down according to special rules.

Duveyrier has told us that these rights are handed down [114]
"to the oldest son of the oldest sister." I would never have dared to go on record as disagreeing with a statement from such an authority if I did not have complete assurance that the order of inheritance is not exactly that which Duveyrier indicated, and I will furnish proofs of this assurance in the chapter entitled "Genealogy" in the second book of this study /not translated/.

I would therefore say that with the Tuareg when a tobol chief dies there are to succeed him: /51/

1. His brother (the oldest of those living, if there are several)
2. The oldest son of his maternal aunt
3. The oldest son of his oldest sister

This last one is only the third in line.

It is the ancestress, it is her daughters who hand down to their children the right to the "tobol." At present the Kel [173]
R'ela trace back their laws of inheritance and of access to the tobol to Kella, their ancestress, and the Taïtoq to Sakina, a contemporary of Kella and a collateral relative.

The son follows the tobol of his mother. Thus, if the father belongs to the tobol of the Kel R'ela, for example, and the mother to the tobol of the Taïtoq, the son would belong to the tobol of his mother. This is what happened to Sidi ag Keradji, the present amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet, whose father was of the tobol of the Kel R'ela and whose mother was of the tobol of the Taïtoq. The same applies to Attici ag Amellal and his brother Anaba, whose father belonged to the tobol of the Tedjehé Mellet, and who /themselves/ at present belong to the tobol of the Kel R'ela.

## Chapter III

### The Amenokal. The Amr'ar

The northern Tuareg, after the downfall of the Imanan 173
sultan, who held absolute rule over them, regained their inde- 631
pendence. Then two confederations were formed: that of the Azdjer and that of the Ahaggar, each including several noble tribes. /52/

We will see later ("Origin of the Tuareg" /not translated/) 631
that among the Berbers several tribes often formed a confed- 643
eration under the supreme rule of a single chief and that the right to rule belonged specifically to certain tribes who held a kind of supremacy over the others. And this is what we will find again. Among the Azdjer the tribe that held this kind of supremacy was that of the Orar'en; among the Ahaggar, it was that of the Kel R'ela. The amenokal of the Ahaggar was always chosen from the tobol of the Kel R'ela.

The title of amenokal, although subject primarily to the 643
laws of heredity which we have mentioned, had to be ratified by the delegates of the nobles of all the tribes and by those of the imr'ad of all fractions of the confederation. The inheritance must be confirmed by election, and this agrees well with the democratic spirit of all the Berbers and with all that is known of their history and of the theories introduced to them by Kharijism, of which they were adherents.

As we have said, the imr'ad had to speak first, to say if [565]
they would accept the amenokal designated by heredity, and agree to pay him the "tioussé." The nobles spoke later. The discussion was open and an agreement was reached. Sometimes it was not reached. We saw an example of this at the death of the amenokal of the Ahaggar, Aïtar'el ag Biska, in 1900. The law of heredity called Mokhammed ag Ourzig as amenokal, but the latter, opposed by the imr'ad and the majority of the nobles, was not elected and saw his rival, Attici ag Amellal, preferred.

The amenokal, who at first had supreme command, later 643
had to yield some power to the benefit of some chiefs and to 642
give them special "tobols" with some amr'id tribes, which
did not pay the tioussé to him but paid it to the chiefs of the
new "tobols." This was a source of continual arguments and [668]
wars (see the historical section, Book Two /not translated/),
and one thinks in spite of oneself of, "Who made you a count?"
and the answer, "Who made you king?" /53/

Before the French occupation of the Saharan Oases, each tobol had its own independant life, and the amenokal, or supreme chief, did not interfere in any way in the internal government of the "tobols." He only intervened, with the agreement of the djemaâ, to straighten out disagreements which might arise between tribes or to call to arms all tribes of the confederation against a common enemy, as during the war between Azdjer and Ahaggar.

The chief of each "tobol," of each noble tribe, or of 631
each imr'ad fraction, all indiscriminately bore the title of 643
"amr'ar" , which means primarily "old man,"
like the Arab word "cheikh," all the meanings of which it carries. Thus, the chief of the tobol of the Ta'ltoq bore the title of amr'ar. For reasons of a political nature, the title of amenokal was conferred on him, which brings to two the number of amenokal of the Ahaggar confederation.

Thus the amenokal was the supreme chief of the confederation, and at the same time chief of his "tobol," while the amr'ar was the chief of a less important "tobol" of an imr'ad tribe.

## Chapter IV

## The Tiousse

We know that the "tiousse" is the tribute that the imr'ad 651
must pay to the nobles in exchange for the protection which they receive.

This "tiousse" is of two kinds: the first is that which is paid to the chief of the tobol, who may at the same time be the amenokal. This "tiousse" is fairly well fixed, but it varies /54/ nevertheless according to whether the year is good or bad. It is usually paid in autumn, after the date harvest in the oases of the Touat or of the Tidikelt. It may consist of a certain amount of dates or bechna, camel calves, sheep, melted butter, etc., a share of what is brought back by the imr'ad who go in caravans, or finally a share of the loot taken by the imr'ad on raids.

In some fractions, a few groups do not pay the "tiousse" to the chief of the tobol, but to a noble of some ancient tribe, extinct today, which had formerly acquired a small fief, for example, the fraction of the Aït-Loaïn (of the tobol of the Kel R'ela).

There is, as a result, an amazing complexity in which, nevertheless, the Tuareg find their way.

The other kind of "tiousse" is that to which the imr'ad are daily subjected. Each of them and each family among them knows that the maintenance of such-or-such a noble devolves upon them, and he continually comes to beg something. Sometimes the amr'd gives; at other times he gives less. When the noble knows that an amr'id has returned from a caravan and has brought good things, dates for example, he comes and demands his share.

I saw a camp of Iouarouaren (an imr'ad fraction of the Ta'ltoq tobol), established near the tents of Ta'ltoq nobles, move in order to settle farther away. They had come from the Tidikelt with dates and other produce, and the noble women were continually coming to beg something at the imr'ad camp. So their chief In Chikadh gave the signal to leave and said that this was in order to put an end to the importunities of the nobles. /55/ 166 651

## Chapter V

### The Raid. The Loot. Its Restitution

The raid is the life of the Tuareg. He needs it. Here it is that he, the noble especially, seeks part of his means of subsistence. The favorite raids used to be those made against the Sudan, the A'ir, and the Niger, because of the negros and negresses who were captured. But the Tuareg is well aware now that French authority surrounds him on all sides, to the north and to the south, and that that system has ended. This is one of the reasons that make him regret his surrender. 648 721

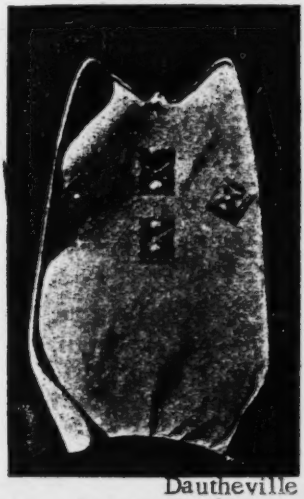
The Chaânba were as predatory and as independent as the Tuareg. They also raided continually. Since their surrender, it is known what a considerable change has taken place, and we have every reason to believe that this will happen among the Tuareg under our influence.

Usually when a tribe has been raided, unless a state of war has been declared, it sends a deputation, a "miâad," to demand from the djemâa of the raiding tribe the loot which was taken from them. The envoys must make their mounts kneel before the tents of the notables of the djemâa and beg for restitution. 728

As a rule, an amicable solution is finally reached, but the 728
part of the loot which is returned to the deputation is always
far less than that which was taken. The Tuareg say, "Alal
ouala," that is, "the restitution is never complete."

It may also happen that the raiders refuse to return anything. 721
The raided tribe, if it [701]
considers itself too weak, 728
solicits the support of
another tribe with which
it has good relations, and
then there is fighting. /56/

[411]



Dautheville
Tuareg Shield

When caravans of 484
traders have been raided, 486
since these caravans have 721
usually placed themselves
under the protection of
noble tribes to which they
pay dues, the controversy
is settled between the pro-
tecting tribe and the
raiders' tribe.

In the Ahaggar it seems that the old amenokal, Altar'el, 728
established the restitution of loot taken from caravans protected
by the Azdjer in the following manner:

1. Complete restitution of the pack camels taken from the caravans

2. For each load of merchandise taken, one "amadjour" camel for each man who took part in the raid and rode a mehari of his own

3. One "aleggues" (a young camel of three years) or a half-grown camel for each man who borrowed or hired the mehari which he rode in the raid.

The arms of a Tuareg and the harness for his mount have 114
been described in detail by Duveyrier, and there is no need to
review them here. /57/

## Chapter Vi

## War

This is a big word to use for a series of fights, raids, and 721
battles without great losses, but I still cannot find another to describe, for example, the struggle which engaged the two confederations of the Azdjer and of the Ahaggar and which lasted almost three years, with long intermissions.

No description could give a more accurate idea of it than the detailed account of this struggle which was told to me and which may be read later in the chapter dealing with the history of the Ahaggar /not translated/.

## Chapter VII

## Religion. Marabouts. The Fast. Religious Orders

The Tuareg, taken as a whole, are not at all religious. 779
This is due first to the fact that almost none know Arabic and 77
consequently the Koran, which may not be translated. Be- 795
sides, it is known that the Tuareg, like all Berbers, espoused the doctrines of Kharijism in the eighth and ninth centuries of our era, and that it has taken a long time to guide them back to orthodoxy.

During this period, Salih, son of Tarif, put out a Koran in 795
the Berber language, which was destroyed at the time of the 797
repression, and we will see that the Tuareg have kept among their superstitions "survivals" of the teachings of this Salih.

An example will illustrate well the present state of mind of the Tuareg from the religious point of view: /58/

I was told in the Ahaggar that youths may not say their 561
prayers in the presence of women for, in the course of genu- 562
flections and prostrations, they have to show their posteriors, 782
which is very "shocking"! On the other hand, old men can 834
pray before women without being indecent.

Many, besides, in order to say their prayers place them- 782
selves behind the imam (either an Arabian taleb or a Tuareg 788
who knows a little Arabic), and they make their genuflections, 793
saying, "Allahou akber" (God is the greatest) every time they
hear it said by the imam. That is all of their prayer.

There were many who told me that they did not observe 785
the fast of Ramadan, among others Badjloud, the amr'ar of 771
the Kel Ahnet. On the other hand, the Issoqqamaren
(fractions who have long been in contact with the Arabs and
still are) are more religious, and they all observe the fast.

Among the Ahaggar Tuareg there are, nevertheless, some 792
truly religious men, but they are known and pointed out and
pass for marabouts, for example, Moussa ag Amastane, Beketa
ag Ibrahim, and the Oulad El Mir'da and Oulad Mokhammed ag
Sadik.

Although the Tuareg is not religious, he nevertheless
has great respect for the marabouts whom he naively admires,
always on condition that these marabouts do not interfere with
him. Thus the marabout Beketa ag Ibrahim stated that the
dates coming from the Tidikelt, recently occupied by the
French, were forbidden by the religion. He changed his mind
later. But now, every time that he goes to ask an amr'id for
dates, the latter comments that they came from the Tidikelt
and are therefore forbidden by the religion, and Beketa answers,
"No. All that is over now," and accepts the dates.

Religious orders are quite widespread, especially among
the Issoqqamaren. Going by caravan to the Tidikelt or the
Touat, the Ahaggar have joined the order of the Tijaniyyah,
which numbers most of its adherents among them, and that
of the Qādiriyyah. Others (usually they all are those who have

made the pilgrimage /59/ to Mecca), have joined the order 792
of the Senusi /Sanusiyyah. Ed./ on their way to Djer'boub.

But I doubt whether this affiliation is really sincere. All the members do not want to wear their beads around their necks, but keep them in their pockets or in their luggage while they are traveling. They say that if they wear them openly they would be accused of wanting to seduce women! Finally, they are not allowed to wear them any time that they do a reprehensible deed, that they have relations, even with their lawful wives, etc.

On the other hand, having remained naive and super- 789
stitious, they all believe in the efficacy of amulets, "tira," with which they are covered. There are even some who hang them on the necks of their meharis.

At each new moon the Tuareg says his prayer. His hands 782
open like a book, he looks at the evening star and expresses 788
the wish that he may be alive at the next moon.

At the feast of Mouloud (birth of the Prophet), they hold out their hands, saying, "Asarouf" (pardon), in order to have their sins forgiven. But if there is no taleb in the tribe to remind them of the exact date, they forget and do not think of it.

## Chapter VIII

### Superstitions. Beliefs

The Tuareg are very superstitious. Everywhere they see 771
genii and demons, in the mountains, in the trees, in water- 776
skins, etc.

Thus, in camp they do not want to go to bed beside water-skins or ashes, because of the genii, "alhinen" /ⵍⵃⵉⵏⵏ, /60/
or ghosts, "kel esouf" ⵇⵍ ⵙⵓⴼ (people of the void), who live there.

When they want to stretch out at the foot of the tree called "el yatil" in Arabic and "tadjart" ⊕ⵜⵜ in Tamashek (a kind of acacia), which is inhabited by jinn, they must first wound it with a stone, and stones are always to be found at the foot of these trees. One can also see the wounds made in the bark. 776 824 789

The "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica) is also a haunted tree. If one wants to rest under its shade, it is first necessary to break seven of the tree's thorns.

There are also "kel esouf" in the place where an animal has had its throat cut. 776

Mount Oudane is haunted, as are many others. [823]

These superstitions are probably survivals of their old religion, before their conversion to Islamism. Like them, "The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period worshipped jinn, or genii. The deserts and mountains where one sometimes gets lost for entire weeks are full of beings of this kind.... They can do much harm and much good.... They live in rocks, trees, or statues. Each tribe, or sometimes a group of tribes, had its special jinni; its rock, its tree, its own image, before which an appointed family carried out priestly duties" (1). 174 771 776

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 5 and 6.

The Tuareg have many other superstitions. Thus nobles would never kill a "uran" (varanus), which in Tamashek is called "ar'ata" •+⁝ , and a fortiori would not eat it. Sidi ag Keradji and Aziouel ag Ser'ada told me that the uran is the maternal uncle of the Tuareg, and Sidi told me the following legend: "Seven nobles had killed a camel belonging to Sidna Nouh (Hoah). Among them there was a noble Tuareg. To punish them God changed them, one into an uran, another into a jackal, a third into a chameleon, etc. /61/ The uran was the noble Tuareg. The camel that was killed is now in the sky: it is the Great Bear. The Polar Star, 'Bel Hadi', is its head." 565 825 773 784 [821]

Should one see here some agreement with what we have 114
read in Dozy, or might the uran have been a "totem" among 825
the Tuareg, as among the Redskins of America?

Nobles do not eat the "dobb" (star lizard) either, which 262
is called "aguezzeram" in Tamashek. As a reason for this 565
abstinence, they quoted me these two lines of nine syllables: 825

Our ekcher' aguezzeram idit [539]
Iladhou ichchaden ilir'it.

This means:

"I do not eat the aguezzeram because it smells bad and has a rough skin" (1).

1. Iladhou is put instead of "ili adhou." Similarly, ilir'it is put for "ili ir'it." Ir'it, plural ir'ten, means hide (of beef, camel, etc.).

Finally, they firmly refuse to eat chickens and eggs, and chickens are found nowhere among the Tuareg, except among [231] some "harratine" /Haratin/ Arabs of the Ahaggar villages. They claim that this abstinence dates back for a long time. Azioueel ag Ser'ada when pressed ended by telling me that it was because chickens seek their food in manure. In the Niger, according to a study by officer-interpreter Merle, the French are called egg eaters. But I believe that the following is the 262
real reason for this abstention: The Tuareg, like all the 565
Berbers, had embraced Kharijism. Among the chiefs who took 825
part in the insurrection of the Kharwarij /plural of Kharijite. 773
Ed./ was Tarif, who made the first invasion into Spain (the city of Tarifa still bears his name). His son Salih, or Salah, claimed to be a prophet and composed a new Koran. Elijah, or Elias, son of /62/ the latter, openly remained Moslem, and it was only Salih's grandson, Jonah, or Younes, (end of the eighth century), who spread the new doctrine, which was a much modified Islamism. According to one of the precepts of

this doctrine, the scholar Dozy tells us: "There was no muezzin, 262
or crier, to call to prayer; people were governed by the crow 565
of the rooster; so no one, except in case of dire necessity, 825
might kill roosters or hens or eat eggs" (1). 773

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme,
by R. Dozy, pages 348 and 349.
Neither mosques nor muezzins are [171]
found in Tuareg country. See also
l'Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale
/History of North Africa/, by E.
Mercier, pages 228 and 255. Volume 1.

Legends and stories are also known on the subject of 773
Ahmamellen and his nephew Elias. Hanoteau told them to us. 823
At Tamanrasset (Ahaggar) the Tuareg showed us a curious
breech in a large "gara" that bounds the horizon to the east.
They call it "Tiouit-n-Elias" (Elias' cut), and they say that
Elias made this breech with one stroke of the "takouba." The
piece removed, an enormous rock, lodged in a wadi three kilo-
meters from there, and we were shown it in passing. The
breech has also been named "Elias' Breech."

Elias is the Arabic translation of Elijah, and Younes that of [551]
Jonah. These two proper names are still used among the Tuareg. [174]
Might there not be a relationship between this Elias and Elijah,
son of Salih?

The Tuareg say that Ahmamellen was a man of extraordinary 174
size and strength, and that he was the equal of an army. Might 773
it have been Salih himself who claimed to be a prophet, then
disappeared in the east after having told his followers that he
was the Mahdi and that he would come back to fill the world
with justice when the seventh king should be mounted on the
throne?

There are also lucky or unlucky days. The lucky days, 777
those which are recommended for starting on a journey, are [484]
Friday after prayer, Saturday morning, and Monday. /63/
For the lucky day of the month one first counts 2 from the
index finger and, coming back to the index finger, 7, 12,
17, 22, 27.

The unlucky days are Sunday and Wednesday.

The Tuareg also believe in the evil eye, "tahott." 754

An eclipse is the sun's raid on the moon, and vice versa. 821

Finally, there is a very curious custom of which Duveyrier 769
has spoken, which is that of consulting old graves. Usually 787
it is the women who go to consult them. They dress well
and must avoid having on themselves anything of iron or steel,
even a needle. They lie down near the grave, and the
"zabbar" (ogre) inhabiting the grave appears to them in the
form of a giant with eyes as large as a camel's, and gives
them the answers they want. They are consulted especially
in order to get news of absent ones, people gone on a raid
or in a caravan, from whom there has been no news.

## Chapter IX

### Stock Raising. Flocks

Camels, sheep, and goats constitute the chief resource 233
of the Tuareg, as of all nomads. Camels especially are the
object of all their care, since these give them the greatest
service. They rely greatly on camels, ewes, and goats be- [234]
cause of the milk, of which they drink a great deal, and melted
butter, ʔoudi," which they make.

They use all the hides: those of camels for sandals, 237
containers for butter, watering troughs, etc.; those of sheep 281
or goats for waterskins and the manufacture of tents, leather
clothes, etc. /64/

4: Benhazera--56a G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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Aïn Redjem in the Botha Wadi
(Immidir)

233
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Tuareg Watering Their Sheep at the Tin-Zaouaten Well

They use camel hair to make rope. They are fond of 237 283
camel meat, and it is they who supply the markets of the 262
Tidikelt with it. 439

There are very few cattle in the Ahaggar, barely thirty, 233
and almost all these belong to Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane, 492
of Tazerouk. They are used to draw water from the wells [312]
into the ar'erems. The pasture is scanty, and besides the
cattle easily wear out their hooves on the rocks and stones.

In the Koudia, because of the cold which prevails there 233
and the high altitude, there are many small turrets of dry 343
stones, /65/ empty inside, in which the Tuareg confine lambs
and kids at night to shelter them from the cold.

The Ahaggar do not have a large number of meharis, and 233
they do not like to sell them, especially the good ones. Among [435]
themselves, to set the value of a mehari, they say, "Such a
mehari is worth two, three, or four camels." All their meharis
are trained to start at a gallop. The Tuareg has great patience
with the training of his mehari and never mistreats it. He
confines himself to persuading it by voice and foot, and it is
perhaps for this reason that the Tuareg mehari is much more
silent than the Arab mehari.

The foundation of the pastures of the Ahaggar is aremmas 137
(Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae). This plant is quite laxative. 233
So when the year is bad and drought prevails, the Ahaggar are
found emigrating toward the Adhar'. There are fine pastures
of "had" (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolaceae) in the south of
Tin R'arhou, but there is no water. Moussa ag Amastane /66/ [312
intends to have wells dug there and has requested our help and 648]
advice for this purpose.

As a rule the Tuareg let their camels out to pasture with- 233
out herders, and they find them again at the well or by track-
ing, unless they entrust the herding to children or negroes.

/67/ A young camel is called "abal" without designating 192
its age. A camel in general is called "amadjour," plural 233
"imoudjar," or else "amiss," plural "imnass." A female is

4: Benhazera--57a G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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In-Tekoufi Wadi (Tifedest)

4: Benhazera--57b G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

233
312

Tuareg Watering Their Sheep at the Tin-Zaouten Well

[192]

| Names of Camels in Tamashek ((according to their age). | Names of Camels in Arabic (in the Tidikelt) |
|---|---|
| 1st year: *Aouara.* | 1 to 6 months: *H'ouar.* |
| | 6 mos. to 1 year: *Mekhloul.* |
| 2nd year: *Aledjoudh.* | 2 yrs.: *Ould Ikvoun.* |
| 3rd year: *Aleggues.* | 3 yrs.: *H'eugg.* |
| 4th year: *Aqnefoud.* | 4 yrs.: *Djedaâ.* |
| 5th year: *H'air.* | 5 yrs.: *Teni* |
| 6th year: *Eg essine.* | 6 yrs.: *Rebaâ.* |
| 7th year: *Eg okkoz.* | 7 yrs.: *Sedass.* |
| 8th year: *Amessedis.* | 8 yrs.: *Bou fettra.* |
| 9th year: *Tahellat.* | 9 yrs.: *Bou fettertine.* |

called "talemt, " plural "tillemine"; one that has calved within [192] 233
in a year is "t-n-aouara"; one that is heavy with calf is "timettirout." A stud camel is called "amali, " plural "imoulaï."

The wool-bearing sheep does not exist in the Ahaggar. There is only the hairy sheep which the Tuareg call "ekrer, " plural "ikraren." This sheep is covered with a pelt of long, rough hair, and its legs are longer than those of wool-bearing sheep. This is why it got the name ovis longipes, or sheep with long legs. The meat of this sheep is good and does not have the smell characteristic of the wool-bearing sheep of Algeria.

On the oases of the Tidikelt and Touat, only this kind of sheep is found.

As to the goats, they are of two kinds: those with long hair and those with short hair. They have no characteristics which distinguish them noticeably from the goats of Algeria.

## Chapter X

### Trade. Caravans. Market Prices

The Ahaggar Tuareg have trade relations with: 1. the 439
Saharan Oases (Tidikelt and Touat) for dates, "chegga" (blue cotton), "malti" and "mahmoudi" (white cotton), "chach" (white muslin), haïks, smoking tobacco, "taba, " and snuff, "chemma, " tea, and sugar. /68/

They bring in male and female camels, hairy sheep, goats, donkeys, melted butter, and sometimes products that they have brought back from the Aïr.

2. Aïr and Damergou. Having no industry, they buy all manufactured goods from the Aïr. Thus, by means of barter (aside from bechna) they acquire arms: spears, daggers, sabers,

and shields; mehari saddles, saddlebags in all shapes of carved 439
and colored leather, little leather boxes, glossy blue cloth, "ilechchane," gandurahs with sleeves, black cloth ("kehal") for veils, and finally "tikamarine," or dry cheeses. In the Aïr saddles for horses are made, shaped like Mexican saddles and having round stirrups of heavy copper covered with leopard-skin (the Amenokal Moussa ag Amastane has one).

To the Aïr, and sometimes to the Damergou, they bring salt taken from the sebka of Amadr'or, "chegga bought in the Tidikelt, camels, donkeys, dates bought in the Tidikelt, "teheredjlé" (Hartemisia herbalba, Composeae), etc.

[133]

Crater of the
Ouksem Volcano

3. Adhar and Niger, from which they get bechna, rice, sheep, and camels. They bring in salt, "chegga," and dates.

4. Ghat and Ghadames, but seldom. There they buy extra fine burnooses, sabers, sugar, tea, and "chegga." They bring in camels, waterskins, camel-hair ropes, and sheep. /69/

In addition, the people of the Tidikelt, especially the Ahl-Azzi, come to buy wheat and barley on the spot, which they gather into their "ar'erems."

The Tuareg of the Ahaggar would like very much to have, 439
like the Azdjer, the protection of the big caravans which go 484
from Tripoli to Ghat, to the Aïr, and to the Sudan. Thus they 427
would hire out their camels to traders, and this would be an important source of revenue for them (the Aï-Loa'in already hire out their camels toGhat traders). They would very much like to see this current turned toward the Ahaggar, and we have the greatest interest in urging them on this course.

All the transactions that they make take place by means 437
of barter. The most important profits that they realize result 439
from barter carried on in the Aïr and the Niger with the salt, "chegga," and dates that they take there.

## Market Prices in the Ahaggar

There are no set prices for meharis, or male or female 435
camels. However, the prices for young camels are fixed and known. Thus:

A four-year-old camel, "aqnefoud," is worth 100 francs
" three-year-old " , "aleggues," " " 75 "
" two-year-old " , "aledjoudh," " " 50 "

For sheep and goats, the price basis is the goat, which is worth 3 mitqals, or 7.50 francs. A ewe is worth a goat and a half, or 11.25 francs, and a ram, two goats, or 15 francs.

A load of dates sells in the Ahaggar for 75 francs.

Barley sells for 1 franc per "guessaâ" or 60 francs for a load of 60 "guessaâs." Wheat is 1.25 francs per "guessaâ," or 75 francs per load.

"Chegga" sells for 1.25 per meter. /70/

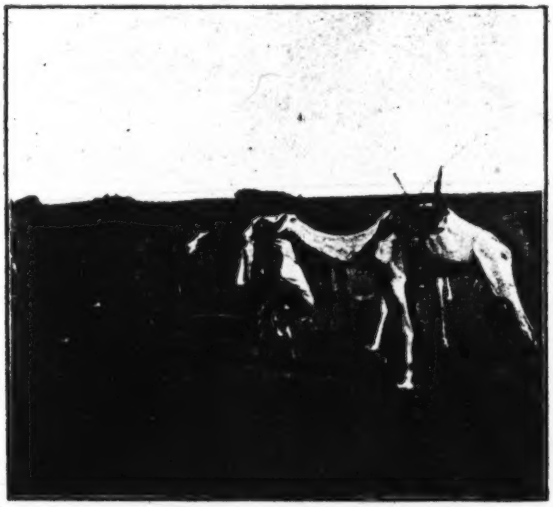
Melted butter is sold at 7 "mouddas" (a small wooden measure) for a goat, or 7.50 francs.

## Market Prices in the Ahnet

One female camel, 50 to 60 mitqals (125 to 150 francs)
One load of dates, 30 mitqals (75 francs)
One sheep, 7.50 francs
One goat, 10 francs
Melted butter, 7 "mouddas" for 7.50 francs
One donkey, 25 francs

4: Benhazera--61G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

It is to be noted that the Tuareg fasten their camels 233
one behind the other, Indian file, when they go on cara- 484
vans. Thus they are more orderly than /71/ Arab caravans.
In particular, fewer shouts, oaths, etc., are heard. The
Tuareg caravan passes almost silently, without disorder,
and this is all to the good.



Tuareg Caravan

## Chapter XI

### Industry. Blacksmiths

There is no industry in the Ahaggar. They do not exist. 433
One cannot describe as an industry the minor arms repair that 326
a few blacksmiths make, nor the little wooden implements that the Tuareg make for their personal use.

We have seen above that the Ahaggar Tuareg buy all 326
their arms in the Aïr. They are not made at home. [439]

In the Ahnet I watched a blacksmith, Eg Ahnet, work. He was mending spears, sabers, and daggers, and he told me that he also made some jewelry when they were ordered from him. He asked for preserve cans to make his settings. His tools were quite primitive. He had:

A bellows, "tissedhi" , made of two iron tubes set into a hollowed piece of wood onto which were fitted two waterskins open at the ends. These openings were held by rings and furnished with handles. The iron tubes blew the air into a clay furnace, "anefif" , set before the fire. /72/

An anvil, "tahount"
Files, "azezoua"
Pliers, "ir'emdane"
A large hammer, "afadhis"
A small hammer, "tafadhist"
Tin-snips, "timouda"
A small hatchet, "tetaout" , which he had made from a bent branch.

Finally, a rake, "asekredh" , which he hafted with two wooden handles each time he wished to use it.

He also made locks and keys of copper. He complained [414]
of hard times and how the craft no longer prospered. Where [178]
was the age of the great raids, the expeditions from which arms were brought back to him to repair and sharpen! Where are we going? Times have really changed!

Many legends circulate about blacksmiths. They say that 326
because they work with iron and fire, they will go into the fire 565
of hell. They are scorned, first because they devote themselves
to a manual craft, a disgrace in the eyes of a Tuareg, and
secondly because it is said that they are of Negro origin. It is
also claimed that they were pagans and that their conversion
to Islamism is not sincere. They are also taken for sorcerers. [754]
The sheik Ben Djellas (see the Appendix /not translated/) says
of them: "Blacksmiths hate God and his Prophet, and they
betray God and his Prophet." Their ancestor was called
Tamamenet.

The blacksmith does not belong to any tribe. He goes
where he pleases, wherever he finds work. Sometimes he goes
to war, and he is said to fight well, but a noble Tuareg will not
cross swords with him.

In the Ahaggar a blacksmith is called "mr'allem," variation 326
of the Arab "maâlem." However, there is a word in Tamashek [192]
for him, "inedh," plural "inedhane," but it is not used. /73/

At Tamanrasset I was shown many ancient graves (of the [764]
"chouchat" shape) which, it seems, were the burial places of
a tribe of blacksmiths said to have been massacred and died of
starvation a very long time ago.

The gardens of the Ahaggar "ar'erems" are worked by the 241
Harratine of the Touat and the Tidilkelt, who bring their tools 312
with them. It is they also who dig the "foggaras," or covered 565
wells, and all the tools that they use come from the Saharan Oases.

## Chapter XII

## Agriculture. Ar'erems

While in all of the Ahnet no trace of agriculture is to be 241
found, however small, because of the scarcity of wells, whose 361
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361

output is only enough to water the flocks, in the Ahaggar, on the contrary, a mountainous country where there is some water everywhere, a number of small villages called "ar'erem" ⵄⵔⵔⵉⵎ, plural "ir'ermane" ⵉⵄⵔⵔⵉⵎⵏ, have been built.

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Since the Tuareg, nobles or imr'ad, dislike all manual work, these villages could not have been built without the indispensible help of the Harratine of the Touat and the Tidikelt, whom the Tuareg call "Izeggar'en" ⵉⵣⵖⵄⵔⵏ, meaning "mulattoes." Everything was made by the latter: the wells, /74/ "tounine," which are used for irrigation, as at Tazerouk; the "foggaras," or covered wells, "ifelane," and their irrigation canals as at Abalessa, Tit, and Tamanrasset; the fitting up of springs, as at Tadjemout. The Harratine made the gardens and became khammes of the Tuareg, landowners. They settled in these villages and there built huts of "diss" (Imperata cylindrica) or of "berdi" (Typha angustifolia) and little houses of baked earth.

[342
824]

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The Harratine grow wheat, barley, and bechna in these gardens. These are the three essential crops, to which they add some vegetables: onions, kabouyas, or gourds, watermelons, and "guerroum" (a kind of long melon which is eaten green, like a cucumber, before it is ripe). Finally, at Tit they /75/ have planted some fine fig trees and a vine which yields a grape that seems delicious at this latitude. Similarly, at Abalessa, there are some vine slips and a fine palm.

Ideles (Koudia)

The gardens, or rather the fields, are enclosed by a hedge to prevent the depredations of the camels that graze free at night. But there are some that do not have this protective barrier, and the Harratine are forced to stand guard at night, turn, and turn about, lighting fires to drive the camels away from the crops.

4: Benhazera--64a G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

137
291

A Fig Tree at Abalessa

241 Usually, there are six khammès per field, and each of
312 them has a right to water for one night and one day. The water, brought from the foggara, spreads into the "madjens," or reservoirs, as on the oases, there to be divided among the gardens by means of saguias, or irrigation canals.

[764]

Herhafok Region

In the Left Foreground an Ancient
Grave in the Chouchat Form
(Koudia)

241 The khammès receives as his pay:

1. A fifth of the crop
2. The barley which he sowed in the irrigation canals
3. A load of wheat in winter and a half load in summer, for his personal consumption.

245 In the Ahaggar there are also small oases of palms which were planted by no one knows whom, for example, at Tibedjehine and at Silet (Ahaggar), at Djor'raf, Tafarakrak,
[423] and Teguift (Immidir). The Tuareg who own them leave them untended and are satisfied to go and gather the dates when they choose. These palms, which get no care, also have a great mass of dry djerids hanging to the ground, which makes it very difficult to climb them. Perhaps this is to prevent theft of the dates? /76/

From the fact that these palms, even though not cared for, produce dates which, if not of good quality, are still quite

edible, and considering also that there is a very fine palm at 245
Abalessa (which could become a splendid oasis since there is
no lack of water), one may ask if the creation of an oasis of
palms in the Ahaggar might not be tried with success. But the [438]
Ahl Azzi and all the inhabitants of the Tidikelt, who live
entirely on the sale of their dates to the Tuareg, have persuaded

[361]

Haratine Gourbi at Ideles
(Koudia)

the latter to the contrary, that the climate of their country is
not suited to growing palms. Besides, the Ahaggar do not in [185]
the least wish to undertake plantations from which one could
expect no profit for several years, and they prefer to stay with
growing wheat, barley, and bechna, which pay at once.

The Amenokal Moussa ag Amastane, realizing that the era 643
of raids will soon be ended forever, sees that it will be necessary 185
to demand from the soil the means of subsistence which raids 176
formerly procured. So he has announced his intention of having
a foggara dug at "Endid" and of having gardens made there,
and his example will very probably be followed. This is an
undertaking which will certainly be encouraged and supported,
and which shows the slow evolution which is beginning to take
place among the Tuareg, in the best interests of peace and
civilization.

## Chapter XIII

### Ancient Graves. Upright Stones

Ancient graves. Almost everywhere, in the Ahnet, Adhar', 172
Ahaggar, Immidir, and even on the banks of the wadis that 764
cross Tanezrouft, are found many ancient graves shaped either like a truncated cone, or "chouchat," or like a little turret, or "bazina," like those found everywhere in North Africa.

I saw one, however, at Tamanrasset (right next to the grave of the Tamenokalt Taber'ourt oult Akhalakham of the Imanan) which had a special shape. It was a pile of stones in the shape of a rectangular parallelepiped, four meters long by one meter wide, and one meter high.

172
173
764
[192]

The Tuareg say that these graves, which they call "adebni," plural "idebnane" (a word which seems to be derived from the Arab word "beni," building), are those of the "Izabbaren" ⵉⵣⴱⴰⵔⵏ . Then, too, this word in Tamashek means "ogres" and in the singular is "zabbar" ⵣⴱⴰⵔ , "ogre." The Ahaggar and the Ta'toq refuse to admit that these were perhaps their ancestors at the time of paganism who had graves of this kind. "The Izabbaren," they say, "have nothing in common with us. They are not our ancestors." It was for this reason that Professor Gautier could explore some of these graves without opposition on their part.

Meanwhile, there is also another kind of grave which still 172
has a circular shape but with the "chouahed," or markers, custom- 764
ary with all Moslems, while the "chouchat," or "bazina," graves are without them. This kind of grave is more unusual. It seems to be a form intermediary between the "Izabbaren" graves and the present graves.

On the other hand, the Tuareg will show you the grave of 172
Tin /78/ Hinane, the ancestress from whom they claim to be 173
descended, which is located at the junction of the Tefirt wadi 764

and the Abalessa wadi. Now, this grave has the shape of an 172
enormous circular wall and is surrounded by other graves of the 173
"chouchat" shape which are those of Tin Hinane's servants. 764
Beside her grave is that of Takamat, the woman whom the Kel Ahnet claim as their ancestress. All these graves resemble those of the "izabbaren" so closely as to be confusing. Why do the Tuareg disclaim these while they acknowledge those of Tin Hinane, Takamat, and their servants?

We saw in the chapter "Superstitions, Beliefs" that the 769
Tuareg go to consult the Izzabaren graves to obtain news of 787
those absent.

In the Tafidjiq wadi (about four hours' walk from Ideles) there is a grave which is the object of great veneration on the

[342]

Harratine Huts at Ideles
(Koudia)

part of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is that of Adjadj Alemine [797
(probably the missionary who converted them to Islamism; see 174]
the chapter on the origin of the Tuareg /not translated/). The Ahaggar say that this Adjadj Alemine was a marabout, a saint, and they call on him in their prayers when they are in trouble or grief, as the Arabs, under the same circumstances, call on Sidi Abdelkader el Djillali. I have not seen his grave, but I was told that it has "chouahed" like all Moslem graves.

Upright stones. Following the directions of the guide 172
Deguemma ag Chikat of the Adjouh-n-Taheli, I found, in the Koudia of the Ahaggar, a place where there was a collection of some ten upright stones of which only one remained /79/

standing. The others had fallen, and one could definitely see 172
the marks of the holes into which they had been set, as well as
of the stones placed at the base to hold them erect.

The stone that remains erect is covered on one side with [532]
symbols cut deeply into the stone, next to others which are al-
most effaced. It is about 2.60 meters high and about 25 cm.
wide on each of its four sides, which are smoothed and polished.

The other stones that are fallen to the ground have about the
same dimensions, and one of them also has engraved inscriptions.

I took rubbings of the inscriptions cut into the stone still
standing.

Near by in the rocks of the footpath by which it is reached,
I also saw some engraved drawings of which I also took rubbings.

The location of these stones is right next to the trail from
Tiltekine, not far from the spring of the In Dalladj wadi, about
1,700 meters in altitude (in the Koudia of the Ahaggar), on
the road which leads from Tamanrasset to the sebkha of
Amadr'or, by way of Ideles.

I questioned the guide and the Tuareg who know these
stones, and of course they could give me no explanation for
them. "We call them the standing stones, 'ebdaden' ⵍⵎⵎ
ⵜⵜ . Those of old made them," they told me. "It is very
old. That is all we know."

4: Benhazera MS25 Tuareg

# SIX MOIS

CHEZ LES

# TOUAREG DU AHAGGAR

PAR

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ILLUSTRATIONS PHOTOGRAPHIQUES

D'APRÈS LES CLICHÉS DE

*MM. le Lieutenant-Colonel* LAPERRINE,
*les Lieutenants* VOINOT *et* CANNAC
ET LE
*Médecin aide-major de 1re cl.* DAUTREVILLE

« *La main que tu ne peux couper*
» *baise-la.* »
(Proverbe Targui).

« *A celui qui se met une corde au cou*
» *Dieu donne quelqu'un pour la tirer.* »
(Proverbe Targui).

ALGER
TYPOGRAPHIE ADOLPHE JOURDAN
IMPRIMEUR-LIBRAIRE-ÉDITEUR
2, PLACE DE LA RÉGENCE, 2

1908

[p. I]

# SIX MOIS

CHEZ LES

# TOUAREG

DU

# AHAGGAR

SE'IR AG BEDDA

Amr'ar des Tedjebé-Mellet

[p. II]

4: Benhazera MS25 Tuareg

# SIX MOIS

CHEZ LES

# TOUAREG DU AHAGGAR

PAR

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ILLUSTRATIONS PHOTOGRAPHIQUES

*D'après les clichés de MM. le Lieutenant-Colonel* LAPERRINE,
*les Lieutenants* VOINOT *et* CANNAC
*et le Médecin aide-major de 1re classe* DAUTHEVILLE

« *La main que tu ne peux couper,*
» *baise-la.* »
(Proverbe Targui).

« *A celui qui se met une corde au cou*
» *Dieu donne quelqu'un pour la tirer.* »
(Proverbe Targui).

ALGER
TYPOGRAPHIE ADOLPHE JOURDAN
IMPRIMEUR-LIBRAIRE-ÉDITEUR
2, PLACE DE LA RÉGENCE, 2

1908

[中,四]

*Cette étude est dédiée à*

M. LE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL LAPERRINE

COMMANDANT MILITAIRE DU TERRITOIRE
DES OASIS SAHARIENNES

*et à*

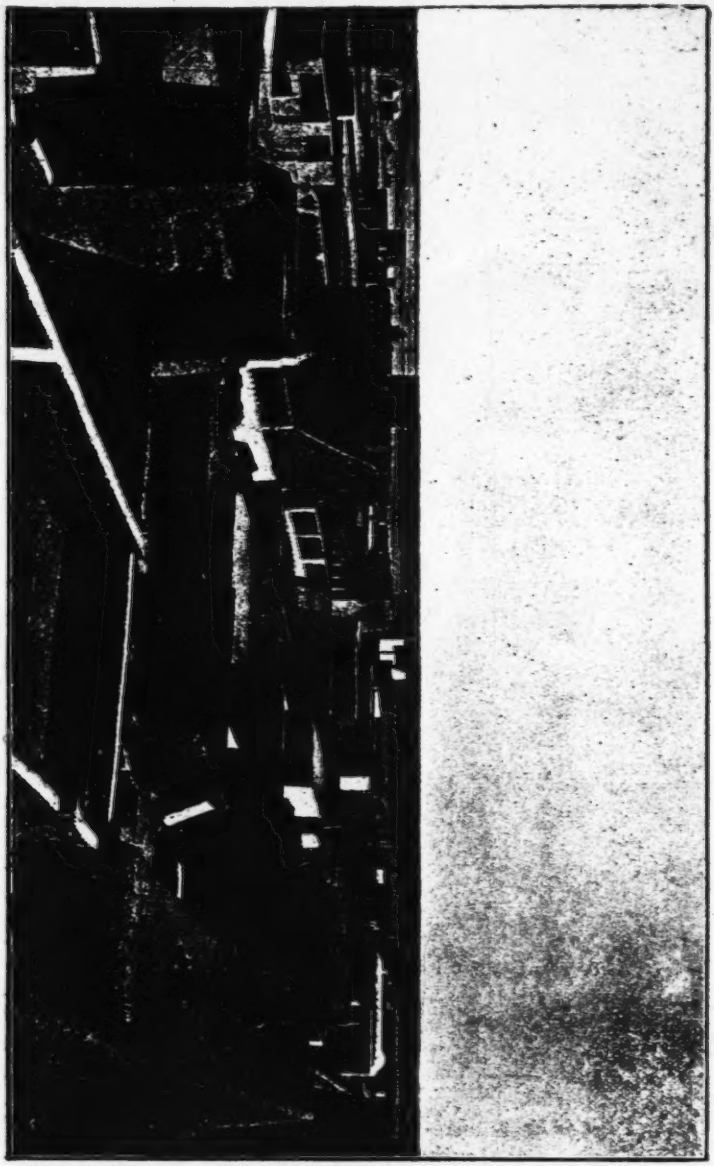
M. LE CAPITAINE DINAUX

COMMANDANT LA COMPAGNIE SAHARIENNE DU TIDIKELT
CHEF DE L'ANNEXE D'IN-SALAH

*comme un faible gage de ma reconnaissance et de ma gratitude.*

M. B.

[p. IV]



SIÈGE DU COMMANDEMENT DU TERRITOIRE DES OASIS SAHARIENNES

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PANORAMA DE LA KASBA ET DU VILLAGE D'ADRAR, SIÈGE DU COMMANDEMENT D

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# PRÉFACE

Cet ouvrage est le premier qui, depuis celui d'Henri DUVEYRIER, ait été écrit par un Européen ayant vécu au milieu des Touareg.

Pendant six mois, du 3 mai au 29 octobre 1905, M. BENHAZERA a vécu pour ainsi dire constamment au milieu des campements des Touareg, Ahaggar et Taïtoq ; pendant les déplacements indispensables pour passer d'un groupe de campements à un autre, il a voyagé entouré de Touareg appartenant aux fractions visitées et n'a pas perdu le contact ; enfin, pendant un mois et demi, du 1er septembre au 16 octobre, il a eu la chance de pouvoir stationner au milieu des campements des Dag-R'ali et s'est trouvé dans d'excellentes conditions pour gagner la confiance de ces nomades et pénétrer leur vie intime.

De ce fait seul, le travail de M. BENHAZERA présente un intérêt tout particulier et vient prendre place à côté de celui de DUVEYRIER.

Il est forcément très supérieur à ceux de ses autres devanciers. Ces derniers peuvent se ranger en deux catégories : les uns ont été obligés de se fier à quelques informants arabes ou touareg et ont exécuté leur travail dans leur bureau, en dehors du milieu. Ce travail a beau avoir été consciencieux et intelligemment conduit, il porte une double tache originelle : nombre forcément limité des informants, difficulté de se faire une idée exacte d'un milieu que l'on n'a jamais vu.

Les autres, officiers en tournée de police, ont bien pris contact avec le milieu, mais ont manqué de temps pour l'étudier en détail. Absorbés par les soucis du commandement, par la

direction politique et militaire de leur mission, par leurs travaux topographiques, géologiques, etc., ils n'ont pu s'occuper des mœurs et de l'histoire des tribus touareg que tout à fait accidentellement.

M. Benhazera, au contraire, faisait partie d'une mission organisée, dont le chef, M. le capitaine Dinaux, l'avait spécialement chargé de l'étude des populations. Dégagé de tout souci étranger à cette étude, il a pu s'y consacrer entièrement.

De plus, cet officier-interprète était préparé d'une façon parfaite à la tâche qui lui était confiée. Non seulement il connaissait à fond la langue arabe et l'histoire de l'Afrique du Nord, mais ses études antérieures de kabyle et de berbère lui permirent d'acquérir rapidement d'excellentes notions de tamaheq lui permettant de causer sans intermédiaire avec les Touareg qui ne comprenaient pas l'arabe. Il a su tirer de ces connaissances inappréciables tout le parti possible en adoptant une excellente méthode de travail : au lieu de faire table rase des ouvrages déjà publiés, sur les Touareg en particulier et les Musulmans en général, il les a pris pour base même de son étude.

Au lieu de s'astreindre à nous dépeindre dans tous leurs détails les mœurs et les institutions des Touareg, il s'est attaché à ne décrire que les points par lesquels ces mœurs et ces institutions diffèrent de celles des autres musulmans déjà étudiées et connues. Bien souvent même, quand il a reconnu la scrupuleuse exactitude d'un chapitre de Duveyrier il y renvoie simplement ; en revanche, il insiste d'une façon toute particulière sur les détails non donnés par cet explorateur ou non conformes à ses descriptions.

Ainsi compris, le travail de M. Benhazera, débarrassé de tout ce qui n'est pas inédit, gagne énormément en clarté et en intérêt.

La connaissance de ce travail devient indispensable à tous ceux qui, par devoir et par goût, s'occupent des Touareg.

On ne peut le considérer comme une œuvre définitive :

4: Benhazera MS25 Tuareg



beaucoup de points d'histoire ou de mœurs ont dû échapper à M. Benhazera ; mais il constitue, avec celui de Duveyrier, une base précieuse pour ceux qui continueront ces études spéciales, non seulement sur les Ahaggar et les Taïtoq, mais sur l'une quelconque des tribus touareg.

Rien ne facilite ce genre de travail comme de posséder une base de comparaison que l'on n'a plus qu'à compléter ou à modifier ; c'est en cherchant à savoir si certains détails des mœurs des Azdjer, décrits par Duveyrier, étaient communs à cette confédération et aux Ahaggar que M. Benhazera s'est trouvé amené à découvrir et à décrire certains usages particuliers à ces derniers. Son ouvrage peut et doit rendre un service analogue à ceux qui étudieront les mœurs des Aoulimmiden ou des Tademekket.

Adrar, le 31 janvier 1907.

Lieutenant-Colonel H. LAPERRINE,

*Commandant militaire du territoire des Oasis Sahariennes.*

# INTRODUCTION

Duveyrier, dont la belle exploration de 1861 a fait connaître les Touareg de la confédération des Azdjer, nous a donné sur eux, dans son ouvrage *Les Touareg du Nord*, des renseignements qui, jusqu'à ce jour, étaient restés les seuls documents sérieux que nous possédions sur cet énigmatique peuple au visage voilé. Ce grand explorateur, qui a passé près de deux ans chez les Azdjer, nous a initiés à la vie targuie et nous a donné le désir de la connaître davantage et de la pénétrer plus intimement.

Mais Duveyrier n'avait pu, pour des raisons de sécurité, étudier également chez eux les Touareg de la confédération du Ahaggar et il avait dû se borner à recueillir sur eux des renseignements qui, pour être exacts dans leur ensemble, étaient bien incomplets et n'avaient pas la valeur de documents étudiés sur place et de visu.

Il nous représente les Ahaggar comme braves, mais farouches et cruels et possédant dans les montagnes du cœur de leur pays un refuge inaccessible.

Cette réputation de cruauté fut confirmée par l'horrible drame de Bir-el-Gherama, perpétré par eux (1881). Le malheureux Flatters et tous les membres de sa mission, massacrés par les Tedjehé-Mellet, sous la conduite du féroce Ettici, ne furent pas vengés immédiatement. Notre base d'opérations était trop éloignée. En outre, le pays et ses habitants nous étaient trop peu connus pour risquer une poursuite qui, cependant, eût

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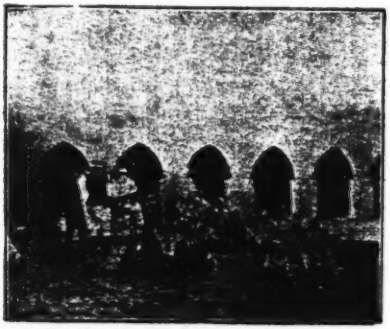
probablement réussi, si on avait laissé marcher le goum d'Ouargla, comme l'avait proposé alors le Khalifa de l'agha d'Ouargla, Mohammed ben Belkassem.

Depuis, la question targuie, demeurée presque stationnaire, malgré de nombreuses tentatives de rapprochement pacifique, s'est trouvée nettement posée par la conquête des Oasis Sahariennes provoquée par l'attaque de la mission Flamand-Pein (1900).

Cette conquête, qui nous rendait maîtres des marchés fréquentés par les Ahaggar, nous mettait en mesure de dominer ces derniers, de les amener à composition et finalement de les soumettre.

Cliché du Dr Villa.



LES OFFICIERS D'IN-SALAH INITIENT
UN GROUPE DE TOUAREG AUX BEAUTÉS DU GRAMOPHONE

Pendant deux ans, on les observa et on chercha à les attirer à nous. Le vigoureux contre-rezzou du lieutenant Cottenest qui se termina par le combat de Tit (avril 1902), où plus de 100 Touareg trouvèrent la mort, produisit sur les Ahaggar un effet considérable et eut pour résultat de faire tomber la légende qui représentait les Touareg comme imprenables dans leur pays désertique.

De nouvelles reconnaissances effectuées par les admirables compagnies sahariennes du Tidikelt et du Touat, sous l'énergi-

que impulsion de M. le lieutenant-colonel Laperrine, nous firent connaître plus complètement le pays des Ahaggar et ses habitants et démontrèrent également à ces derniers qu'ils n'avaient plus qu'à déposer les armes et à faire leur soumission.

Le parti de la paix, à la tête duquel se trouvait Moussa ag Amastane, gagnait chaque jour du terrain. Son chef, habilement amené à In-Salah par le caïd Billou, des Ahl-Azzi (In-Salah), mit son influence à notre service. Enfin, en avril 1905, l'ancien chef des Taïtoq, Sidi ag Keradji, vint à In-Salah faire sa soumission officielle et recevoir l'investiture.

On put songer dès lors à étudier plus à fond les Ahaggar, ce que les premières reconnaissances rapides n'avaient pas permis de faire. On pouvait même envisager la possibilité de les obliger au paiement d'un impôt de principe qui rendrait leur soumission plus effective et plus complète.

Tel est le rôle qui fut dévolu à M. le capitaine Dinaux, chef de l'annexe d'In-Salah et commandant la compagnie saharienne du Tidikelt.

Le 3 mai 1905 il quittait In-Salah à la tête du peloton mobile de la compagnie du Tidikelt. M. le lieutenant Clor lui était adjoint, pour la partie topographique et photographique, ainsi que pour le commandement du peloton.

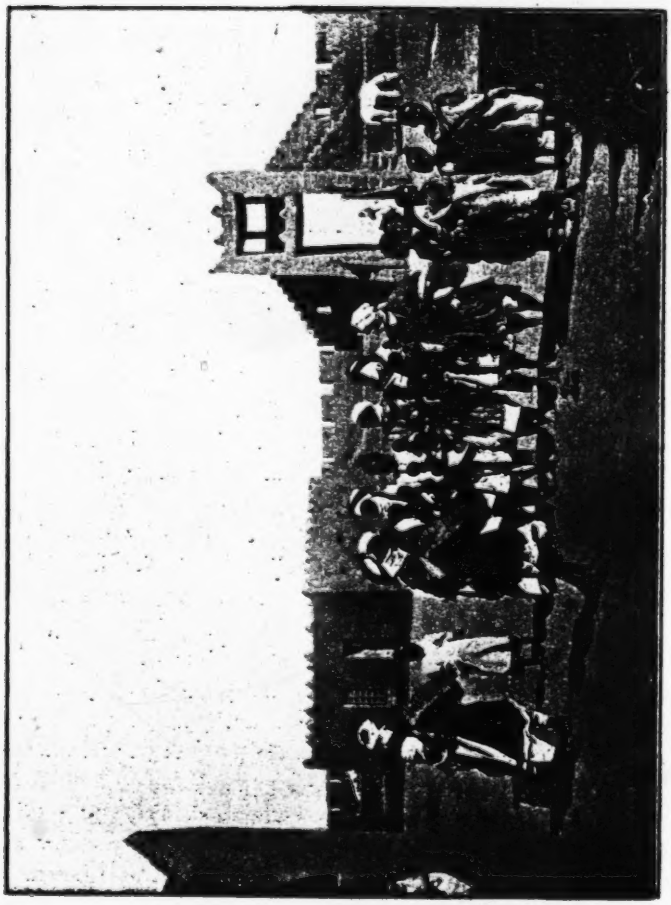
Je fus appelé à faire partie de la reconnaissance en qualité d'interprète, et M. le Lieutenant-colonel Laperrine commandant militaire du territoire des Oasis Sahariennes, voulut bien me charger de recueillir tous les renseignements possibles sur les Touareg de la confédération du Ahaggar.

Au cours de cette reconnaissance qui dura six mois (du 3 mai au 29 octobre 1905), j'eus la bonne fortune de conserver presque constamment le contact avec les Taïtoq et les Ahaggar et surtout de pouvoir stationner, durant plus d'un mois, au milieu des campements des Dag-R'ali, des Adjouh-n-Taheli et des Tedjehé-n-Efis, installés dans les environs de Taman-r'asset. Cela me fournit l'occasion de pousser plus à fond

4: Benhazera MS25 Tuareg



l'étude de la langue tamaheq, dont la connaissance m'était de



DANSES DES HARRATINES DU TIDIKELT DANS LA KASBA DE LA Cie SAHARIENNE A IN-SALAH

première nécessité pour l'exactitude et la sûreté des renseignements que je désirais recueillir.

L'étude que je présente aujourd'hui est le résultat de mes recherches et de mes investigations. Elle est certes loin d'être complète et ne peut être considérée que comme la base de nouvelles recherches plus complètes et plus parfaites. On voudra bien m'excuser en pensant combien il est malaisé d'obtenir tous les renseignements qu'on désire de peuplades primitives et encore animées à notre égard d'une méfiance instinctive. J'ajouterai que cette méfiance se justifiait par la certitude de la fixation d'un impôt qu'elles allaient être tenues de verser pour confirmer leur soumission à la France. Je me suis surtout efforcé de ne fournir que des documents inédits et de rectifier ou de compléter ceux déjà acquis.

Tel qu'il est, cet essai, avec ses imperfections et ses lacunes remplira, je le souhaite, le but utile que je me suis proposé. C'est mon seul désir.

Qu'il me soit permis en terminant d'exprimer ici mes sentiments de profonde reconnaissance et de gratitude envers M. le lieutenant-colonel Laperrine et M. le capitaine Dinaux, dont la bienveillance et les conseils éclairés m'ont facilité si grandement l'accomplissement de ma tâche.

Je n'aurais garde d'oublier de remercier vivement mes informateurs les plus précieux : Moussa ag Amastane, Amenokal du Ahaggar ; Sidi ag Keradji, Amenokal des Taïtoq et Kel-Ahnet ; Ba-Hammou El Ansari, khodja de l'Amenokal du Ahaggar ; Mohammed ben Messis, mehariste de la compagnie du Tidikelt, d'origine targuie par sa mère ; Azioual ag Ser'ada et son frère Tacha, des Taïtoq ; Aïtar'el ag Ablinkiouodh, des Taïtoq ; Azengui, des Tedjehé-n-Efis ; Deguemma ag Chikat, des Adjouh-n-Taheli ; Doua ag Iklane, Amr'ar des Dag-R'ali..... et tant d'autres, pour ne citer que les principaux, qui ont bien voulu, avec une patience et une bonne volonté que je ne saurais trop louer se prêter aux nombreuses interwiews que je leur ai demandées.

Enfin, je ne saurais trop reconnaître l'extrême obligeance de MM. le lieutenant-colonel Laperrine, le lieutenant Cannac, le

4: Benhazera MS25 Tuareg



médecin aide-major de 1re classe Dautheville et le lieutenant Voinot qui ont bien voulu, par l'aimable entremise du R. P. de Foucauld, m'autoriser à me servir de leurs clichés photographiques et collaborer ainsi à mon étude en lui donnant, par l'image, la vie qui lui manquait.

# ALPHABET TAMAHEQ

**Mode de Transcription adopté**

| FORMES DES LETTRES | NOMS | VALEUR | LETTRES CORRESPONDANTES en arabe | OBSERVATIONS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| • | t'arerit | A, I OU | ا و ي | |
| ⊖ ⊟ | ieb | B | ب | |
| + | iet | T | ت | |
| ⌶ | iej | J | ج | Chez les Kel R'ela. |
| : : | iekh | KH | خ | C'est la jota des espagnols. |
| V ∧ ⊓ ⊔ | ied | D | د | |
| ⋇ | iez | Z (doux) | entre le ذ et le ز | |
| □ ○ | ier | R | ر | |
| ⊡ ⊙ | ies | S | س | |
| ⊐ | iech | CH | ش | |
| ∃ | iedh | DH | ض | |
| +∃ | iedht (iett) | TT | ط | |
| # | iezz | Z' ou ZZ | entre le ز et le ظ | |
| ⁝ | ier' | R' | غ | (1) |

(1) La transcription par R' est préférable à celle par GH généralement employée. En effet, il vaut mieux écrire R'adamès, R'ardaïa et prononcer

| FORMES DES LETTRES | NOMS | VALEUR | LETTRES CORRESPONDANTES en arabe | OBSERVATIONS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ⵉⴼ ⵉⵅ ⵉⵀ |ief | F | ف | |
| ⵉⵇ | ieq | Q | ق | |
| ⵉⴽ | iek | K | ك | |
| ⵍ | iel | L | ل | |
| ⵎ | iemm | M | م | |
| ⵏ | ienn | N | ن | |
| ⵀ | ieh | H (aspiré) | ه | |
| ⵓ | ieou | OU | و | |
| ⵢ ⵉⵢ ⵉⵢ | iey | Y | ي | |
| ⵊ | iej | j | ج | Chez les Taïtoq |
| ⵖ | iegue | Gu (devant e, i); G (devant a, o, u) | ڭ | |
| ⵊⵊ | iedj | Dj | entre le ج et le ڭ | Prononciation spéciale. |

Radamès et Rardaïa, plutôt qu'écrire Ghadamès et Ghardaïa et prononcer Gadamès et Gardaïa. La première transcription se rapproche davantage de la véritable prononciation.

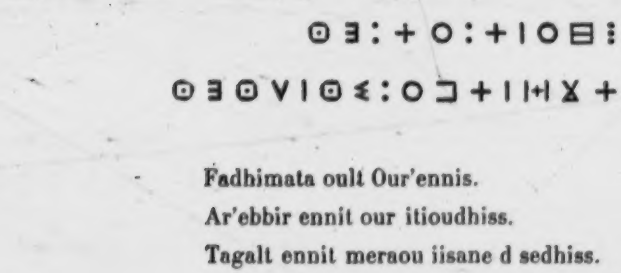
Nota. — Le ح (H') arabe n'a pas d'équivalent en tamaheq. Les Touareg le prononcent toujours KH (خ). Ainsi, ils disent Mokhammed pour Mohammed ; El Khadj pour El Hadj.

Le ع (âa) arabe n'a pas non plus d'équivalent en tamaheq. Les Touareg le prononcent toujours R' (غ). Ainsi, ils disent R'ali pour Ali ; br'ir pour bâïr.

# LETTRES COMPOSÉES

| FORMES | NOMS | VALEUR | LETTRES CORRESPONDANTES en arabe |
|---|---|---|---|
| | iebt | bt | بت |
| | iejt | jt | جت |
| | iert | rt | رت |
| | ieft | ft | فت |
| | iemt | mt | مت |
| | iecht | cht | شت |
| | iennt | nt | نت |
| | ielt | lt | لت |
| | iest | st | ست |
| | iezzt | zt | زت |
| | iennb | nb | نب |
| | iennd | nd | ند |
| | ienngue | ng | نڭ |
| | ienn | nn | نن |
| | iennk | nk | نك |

Les Touareg disent qu'on ne sait bien lire en tamaheq que lorsqu'on parvient à déchiffrer sans faute les vers suivants :



Fadhimata oult Our'ennis.
Ar'ebbir ennit our itioudhiss.
Tagalt ennit meraou iisane d sedhiss.

Ce qui signifie :

« On ne peut palper les hanches de Fadhimata oult Our'eniss qu'en lui donnant en dot seize chevaux ».

4: Benhazera MS25 Tuareg

# TECHNOLOGIE ARABE OU TAMAHEQ

## DONT IL EST FAIT USAGE DANS CETTE ÉTUDE

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*Abetor'* ..... Outre.
*Abser'* ..... Acacia arabica.
*Afezzou* ..... Panicum turgidum. Graminées.
*Aguezzeram*.. Lézard stellion.
*Ahal* ..... Réunion musicale.
*Akh.* ..... Lait.
*Alhinen* ..... Génies.
*Amenokal* ... Chef d'une confédération de tribus touareg.
*Amezar'* ..... Groupe de plusieurs tentes, douar.
*Amr'ar* ..... Chef d'une tribu noble ou d'une fraction d'*imr'ad*.
*Amr'id* ..... Tributaire, homme-lige, client. Soumis au noble à qui il paie un tribut. Au pluriel : *imr'ad*.
*Amz'ad* ..... Sorte de violon à une seule corde.
*Anou* ..... Puits.
*Ar'ata* ..... Varanus, gros lézard. Synonyme : *ourane*.
*Aremmas* .... Atriplex halimus. Salsolacées.
*Ar'er* ..... Bouclier.
*Az'ekka* ..... Tombe.
*Bazina* ..... Tombeau ancien, en forme de petite tour.
*Bechna* ..... Sorgho à graines blanches. Graminées.
*Berdi* ..... Typha angustifolia. Typhacées.
*Bir* ..... Puits.
*Botta* ..... Boîte en peau fabriquée à l'Aïr. Se fait en toutes dimensions.

*Chegga*..... Cotonnade bleue, teinte à l'indigo et déteignant beaucoup.
*Chemma*..... Tabac à priser.
*Chih*..... Artemisia Herba-Alba. Composées.
*Chouchat*.... Tombeau ancien, de forme tronconique.
*Diss*..... Imperata cylindrica. Graminées.
*Djinns*..... Génies.
*Djohala*..... Païens.
*Dobb*..... Lézard-Stellion.
*Drinn*..... Arthraterum pungens. Graminées.
*Ethel*..... Tamarix articulata. Tamariscinées.
*El yatil*..... Sorte d'acacia.
*Guetof*..... Atriplex halimus. Salsolacées.
*Guerba*..... Outre.
*Had*..... Cornulaca monacantha. Salsolacées.
*Haïk*..... Vêtement. Pièce de laine longue et étroite.
*Haouli*..... Synonyme de haïk.
*Harratine*... Hommes de couleur, mulâtres. Au singulier : *hartani*.
*Hegueb*..... Corde en poil de chameau qui sert à maintenir la selle du mehari.
*Ibiiar'*..... Outres.
*Ihaggaren*... Nobles.
*Ihallen*..... Réunions musicales. Pluriel de *ahal*.
*Ikerhi*..... Voile de la femme targuie.
*Imr'ad*..... Clients, tributaires, qui paient un tribut aux nobles. Au singulier : *amr'id*.
*Imz'aden*.... Pluriel d'*amz'ad*, sorte de violon à une seule corde.
*Inelli*..... Sorgho à graines blanches. Graminées.
*Ir'atimen*.... Sandales fabriquées dans l'Aïr. Chaussure habituelle des Touareg.
*Izabbaren*... Ogres. Pluriel de *zabbar*.
*Iz'ekouane*... Tombes. Pluriel de *az'ekka*.
*Kehal*..... Etoffe noire qui sert pour les voiles du visage.
*Ket Esouf*.... Gens du vide ou revenants.

*Kessa* ..... Synonyme de haïk.
*Mahmoudi*... Toile de coton blanche.
*Malti*..... Calicot écru.
*Merokba*..... Panicum turgidum. Graminées.
*Mezoued*..... Sac en cuir en forme d'outre pour renfermer les provisions de bouche.
*Mitqal*..... Pièce de monnaie. Valeur 2 fr. 50.
*Oudi*..... Beurre.
*Ourane*..... Varanus, gros lézard.
*R'ouaouet*... Païens.
*Sebkha*..... Lac salé, saline.
*Taba*..... Tabac à fumer.
*Tadjart*..... Sorte d'acacia.
*Tadjethé*..... Archet du violon «*amz'ad*».
*Tagalt*..... Dot.
*Taheli*..... Typha angustifolia. Typhacées.
*Takouba*.... Large sabre targui, à deux tranchants.
*Tamaheq*.... Nom de la langue parlée par les Touareg du Nord.
*Tamat*..... Sorte d'acacia.
*Tanekfaït*.... Diplotaxis Duveyrierana. Crucifères.
*Tchoqqit*..... Nom de la chegga, en tamaheq.
*Teborak*..... Bâlanites ægyptiaca. Simaroubacées.
*Teheredjelé*... Artemisia-Herba-Alba. Composées.
*Terik*..... Selle du mehari.
*Tidjelmoust*.. Voile du visage.
*Tifinar's*..... Nom des caractères de la langue tamaheq.
*Tikamarine*.. Fromages secs de l'Aïr.
*Tioussé*..... Tribut payé par les imr'ad aux nobles.
*Tobol*..... Groupe de tribus soumises à l'autorité d'un même chef. Droit au commandement des imr'ad et à la perception de la tioussé.
*Toulloult*.... Arthraterum pungens. Graminées.
*Tounine*..... Puits.
*Zabbar*..... Ogre.

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# LIVRE PREMIER

## LES TOUAREG DANS LEUR VIE INTÉRIEURE ET EXTÉRIEURE

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# PREMIÈRE PARTIE

## LES TOUAREG DANS LEUR VIE INTERIEURE

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## CHAPITRE Ier

### Naissance. — L'Enfance

En tamaheq, la naissance s'appelle « tiouit » + : +. Rien de bien particulier à signaler au sujet de la naissance d'un enfant chez les Touareg. La joie est cependant plus grande lorsque c'est un garçon. On vient féliciter les parents et, sept jours après, ceux-ci offrent un repas plus ou moins plantureux, suivant leur fortune, repas précédé de la récitation de la « fatiha » (1re sourate du Coran). Ceux des assistants qui ne savent pas l'arabe, se bornent pendant cette récitation, à tenir accolées leurs mains ouvertes comme un livre. C'est ce jour là que le nom est donné donné à l'enfant.

A ce propos, je crois devoir faire remarquer que, chez les Kel R'ela surtout (tribu noble du Ahaggar), beaucoup d'enfants ont reçu des noms d'animaux sauvages ou de bêtes.

*Exemples de noms d'hommes :*

***Amellal***, antilope addax, meha.
***Abeggui***, chacal.
***Amayas***, guépard.
***Akhou***, bête sauvage.
***Anr'eroubou***, lion.
***Ahar***, lion.
***Eknissi***, bérisson.

*Akouli*, rat.
*Amadjour*, chameau.
*Amder'*, girafe, etc.

*Exemples de noms de femmes :*

*Tamerouelt*, lièvre.
*Tahenkatt*, gazelle.
*Tinirt*, antilope-mohor.
*Tamer'ouant*, coquillage-cauri.
*Tadar'ine*, grains (de blé, d'orge, etc.).

On trouvera, au cours de cette étude, quantité de noms propres d'hommes et de femmes qui pourront donner lieu à des comparaisons intéressantes avec les noms en usage chez les autres tribus berbères de l'Afrique du Nord.

L'enfant targui est élevé à la diable, avec les enfants des négresses. C'est surtout la négresse qui en a soin. Il vit au grand air, souvent tout nu ou à peine vêtu, et de bonne heure son corps s'endurcit. Pendant la période de l'allaitement, la négresse fabrique une sorte de hamac, fait avec un vieux haïk, dont les deux bouts sont attachés à des branches d'arbres ou à des piquets de la tente, et cette sorte de berceau s'appelle « taoulioula » . ⵍ : ⵍ : + (du verbe « eouilaouel » ⵍ : ⵍ :, se balancer).

Tout jeune encore, à peine âgé de sept ans, on emploie l'enfant comme berger et il s'acquitte fort bien de sa tâche.

Puis, aussitôt que possible, on le juche sur un mehari (chameau coureur), car il lui faudra connaître à fond sa monture habituelle. Le jeune Harendou, orphelin des Aoulimmiden, recueilli par Moussa ag Amastane, l'amenokal du Ahaggar, âgé d'une dizaine d'années, était déjà un excellent mehariste. Il portait au côté une « takouba » . ⵓ • : + (sabre) plus grande que lui, dont il était très fier.

# CHAPITRE II

## Circoncision

En tamaheq, « azemhoud-n-baradhen », (circoncision des enfants) ⵍⵎⴰⵣⵎⵀⵓⴷ ⵏ ⴱⴰⵔⴰⴷⵀⴻⵏ, du verbe « ezmahad » ⴰⵣⵎⴰⵀⴰⴷ, circoncire.

Il n'y a pas d'âge bien fixé pour la circoncision ; généralement, elle est pratiquée à partir de 5 ans.

L'opérateur est appelé à l'amezar' (douar) et toutes les personnes présentes assistent à l'opération pratiquée ainsi :

L'opérateur attache le prépuce avec un peu de « saâf » (feuille de djerid ou palme) et le coupe avec un couteau bien affilé. Pour cicatriser la plaie on saupoudre, avec des feuilles d'ethel (tamarix articulata) et des écorces de grenades sèches réduites en poudre. Puis, on lave avec de l'urine de chameau, et à l'aide d'attelles, retenues par des fils attachés derrière le dos, on évite tout contact douloureux.

On donne ensuite un repas : un mouton est égorgé et mangé par les invités.

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# CHAPITRE III

## Puberté

En tamaheq, « tamendjott » ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵏⵊⵓⵜ. Dès qu'il est en âge de jeûner, c'est-à-dire dès qu'il est pubère, le garçon commence à porter le voile « tidjelmoust » ⵜⵉⵊⵍⵎⵓⵙⵜ qu'il ne quittera plus.

Pour la fille, on donne une fête lorsqu'elle atteint l'âge de puberté, c'est-à-dire à l'apparition des menstrues, en tamaheq

« ba-n-amoud » ⋀ ⊐ ǀ ◫ (mot à mot : « coupure de la prière », car la femme, pendant son indisposition, est en état d'impureté et ne peut prier). On revêt la jeune fille de ses plus beaux atours et on lui place sur la tête un voile noir, « ikerhi », ⋖ ⁞ O ·:· qui retombe des deux côtés du visage, sans le cacher. Elle aussi ne le quittera plus.

Si ses parents sont à l'aise, elle apprendra à jouer de l'amz'ad, V # ⊐, instrument qui occupe une place importante dans la vie targuie. C'est une sorte de violon à une seule corde dont la boîte est formée d'une grande « kabouia » ou calebasse séchée et creusée, recouverte d'une peau tendue et percée de deux trous, et qui est munie d'un manche. La corde est faite avec des crins de cheval, « az'iou » : ⋖ #, ainsi que les cordes de l'archet, « tadjeïhé », . ⁞ ⋖ T +, fait avec un bâton recourbé en arc.

C'est surtout un instrument d'accompagnement du chant. La femme glisse les doigts sans appuyer sur la corde, en faisant courir l'archet ; elle prolonge les périodes finales qui sont traînantes.

Si la jeune fille sait jouer, elle pourra briller aux réunions musicales, où on ira la courtiser.

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## CHAPITRE IV

### Réunions musicales

Le jeune homme et la jeune fille vont se fréquenter souvent et cette fréquentation se produit surtout dans ces réunions que, pour être correct, nous appellerons, si vous le voulez bien, « Réunions musicales » et que les Touareg appellent « Ahal », ll ⁞, pluriel « ihallen », / ll ⁞.

L'ahal a lieu très souvent. Il suffit pour cela, qu'un groupe d'hommes et de femmes se trouve réuni dans un campement. Souvent, l'homme vient d'assez loin pour courtiser l'élue de son choix. Quand l'année est bonne, c'est-à-dire quand les pluies ont vivifié les pâturages et que les chamelles donnent beaucoup de lait, plusieurs campements s'installent à proximité les uns des autres et l'ahal commence aussitôt après le coucher du soleil.

Les hommes des campements et ceux venus exprès, si quelque femme les y attire, se réunissent. Les femmes apportent leurs violons « imz'aden ». A l'ahal, assistent tous ceux qui ne craignent pas de se trouver en présence d'un de leurs parents à qui ils doivent le respect, comme le père, l'oncle, le frère aîné, etc. Jeunes filles, femmes mariées, divorcées ou veuves, toutes assistent à l'ahal.

Cliché DAUTHEVILLE

GROUPE TARGUI A AMR'A (TIFEDEST NOIRE)

La galanterie, « asri », ⵔⵙⵔⵉ, est de rigueur et la jalousie sévèrement proscrite. Du reste, ce dernier sentiment est inconnu chez les Touareg, et si l'un d'eux s'avisait d'en faire montre, il serait conspué et tout le monde se moquerait de lui.

Quand un Targui arrive à l'ahal, auprès d'une femme qu'il désire courtiser, il s'approche d'elle, le voile soigneusement baissé et il ne la salue pas de l'habituel « essalamou r'laïkoum » (Que le salut soit sur vous !). Silencieusement, il tend la main à la femme, à la mode targuie (c'est-à-dire en offrant la main

ouverte à plat et en la faisant glisser sur la main ouverte de la femme), et il s'asseoit en disant : « iselane » (Quelles nouvelles?). Si la femme répond : « elouane » (elles abondent), il commence à faire sa cour. Les Touareg sont peu religieux et il arrive quelquefois que la femme pose des questions dans le genre de celle-ci : « Qui aimes-tu mieux? Dieu ou moi ? »

Les chants commencent, les imz'aden accompagnent. Les hommes chantent, en petites pièces de vers qu'ils ont composées, les mérites de leurs dulcinées, les exploits qu'ils ont accomplis, les razzias auxquelles ils ont pris part, ou bien ce sont des satires contre leurs ennemis. Les femmes vantent le courage. En général, la femme noble ne chante pas : elle joue de l'amz'ad seulement.

Il y a trois rythmes musicaux :

Le rythme « seyenine » ⵊ ⵍ ⵣ ⵙ, vif et assez rapide, employé chez les Kel R'ela et les Taïtoq.

Le rythme « ahinena » . ⵊ ⵍ ⵣ ⵎ, lent et traînant comme une mélopée, en usage surtout chez les Kel R'ela.

Le rythme « asaher' » ⵎ ⵎ ⵙ, en usage chez les Touareg de la Confédération des Azdjer.

Puis ce sont les jeux innocents. Les femmes élisent une « soltana », reine ; les hommes un « soltan », roi, qui infligera les punitions encourues et fixera les gages à donner. C'est un assaut d'esprit. Il faut que l'homme sache répondre aux questions posées. Si, par exemple, à la question suivante : « Qui aimes-tu mieux, une telle ou bien une telle ? », il répondait : « Je préfère une telle », il serait conspué, encourrait une punition ou paierait un gage et la femme, objet de cette préférence, serait ridiculisée par ses compagnes, car on ne doit pas manifester ouvertement de préférence et répondre : « Je les aime toutes deux ».

Autre genre de question : « Que ferais-tu si tu te trouvais dans » la situation suivante :

» *Tamott tekness* ⊡ ⁞ ·: + ⊕ ⊐ +

» *Eheré iouof* ⌶ : ⋖ . ○ ⁞

» *Taïhett ter'tess* ⊡ + ⁞ + ⊕ ⁞ ⋖ +

» *Tir'irt touoss* » ⊙ : + ⊕ ⁞ +

ce qui signifie :

La femme qui dispute.
Les troupeaux qui se dispersent.
L'ânesse qui coupe son entrave.
La marmite qui se renverse.

En manière de plaisanterie, pour faire l'esprit fort, l'homme pourra répondre : « Si je me trouvais dans cette situation, je rassemblerais d'abord les troupeaux, je rattacherais l'ânesse, je remettrais la marmite sur le feu et alors seulement je m'occuperais de la femme », et ce sera un concert de protestations indignées.

La femme met son point d'honneur à avoir le plus d'adorateurs possible. C'est une preuve qu'elle est jolie et elle ne sera pas embarrassée pour se marier.

L'ahal, commencé après le coucher du soleil, se prolonge assez tard dans la nuit et la pâle clarté qui tombe des étoiles permet à l'impudeur de se donner libre cours. Si les femmes mariées plaisantent et prennent part aux jeux, elles se tiennent relativement assez bien. Mais les autres peuvent s'asseoir sur les genoux de leurs adorateurs. On s'embrasse, mais d'une façon particulière. Comme l'homme ne doit jamais découvrir sa bouche, il abaisse son voile sous son nez et il sent religieusement le nez ! de sa préférée qui, elle, peut l'embrasser. Les attouchements même intimes (proh pudor !) sont permis, ce qui ne se voit jamais chez les Arabes.

Pendant ces réunions, quand l'amz'ad joue, on l'écoute avec beaucoup de plaisir. Cet instrument a l'heur d'enthousiasmer

les Touareg qui poussent des ouh ! ouh ! en signe de joie. Ils en ont même fait un verbe : *isouhouh*.

Mais voici l'heure où les chamelles arrivent du pâturage. Il faut les traire : c'est *l'az'ouz'edj* ⊤ # # (de *ez'edj* ⊤ #, traire). Les femmes se lèvent et on donne à boire du lait aux assistants. Il va falloir se séparer.

Les hommes s'en vont, les femmes rentrent dans les tentes, mais les heureux, ceux qui ont réussi par une cour assidue à toucher le cœur de leur belle, reviendront bientôt en cachette ou se rendront à l'endroit qui leur a été fixé. Jetons un voile !.....

On se demandera ce que peut devenir la vertu des jeunes filles avec des mœurs pareilles Presque toujours elle s'est envolée par dessus les moulins. Mais le targui ne se préoccupera pas de ce détail quand il s'agira de se marier. Il sait à quoi s'en tenir : il en a profité souvent. Cela lui est égal.

L'ahal est une des causes des mariages tardifs chez les Touareg. Le mariage impose des dépenses auxquelles on ne se résoud que lorsqu'on a pu acquérir un peu d'aisance et c'est pour cela que chez les Touareg, il n'est pas rare de voir les hommes se marier à 40 ans. Tant qu'il trouve à se distraire, le Targui n'éprouve pas le besoin de se marier. Cela ne veut pas dire que beaucoup ne convolent pas vers 25 ans, mais en général, l'homme se marie assez tard.

On verra plus loin, dans le petit recueil de chansons, les qualités que doit avoir l'homme pour réussir à l'ahal, ainsi que le genre de chansons qu'on y chante.

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# CHAPITRE V

## Rôle de la femme dans la Société Targuie

On retrouve à chaque pas l'influence de la femme dans la Société Targuie. Dans l'histoire, dans l'hérédité, dans la vie, dans la pensée, dans la conduite des Touareg, partout son influence se fait sentir.

Dans l'histoire : c'est d'elle dont le targui dira descendre. Ainsi les nobles du Ahaggar nous diront qu'ils sont les descendants d'une femme du nom de Tin Hinane. Dans la guerre qui a mis aux prises Azdjer et Ahaggar, les pleurs des femmes des Imanan ont été la cause déterminante de la prise d'armes des Ahaggar.

Dans l'hérédité : on sait que c'est par la femme qu'elle se transmet. C'est de sa mère que le fils tient le droit au commandement et à la perception de la « tioussé » ou tribut des « imr'ad » ou serfs. Non seulement, le fils est noble ou serf, suivant que sa mère est noble ou serve, sans tenir compte de la qualité du père, car « c'est le ventre qui teint l'enfant », mais encore il change de tribu et fait partie de la tribu de sa mère, si celle-ci n'appartient pas à la même tribu que son mari.

Dans la vie : la femme jouit d'une liberté d'allures qu'on n'est pas accoutumé à constater en pays musulman.

Elle ne se voile pas la figure, comme les musulmanes, excepté en signe de respect : elle ramène alors son voile, « ikerhi », sur la figure.

Elle va librement rendre des visites à ses parents, oncles, tantes, etc., et comme elle les voit rarement, à cause de l'éloignement des campements, la coutume veut que le parent qui reçoit sa visite lui fasse un cadeau.

Elle a réussi à maintenir la monogamie, qui est de règle chez les Touareg, bien qu'ils soient musulmans.

Elle peut avoir, bien que mariée, un ami, « amidi » - ⵎⵉⴷⵉ, qui chantera sa louange, fera des vers pour elle, tandis qu'elle lui donnera un objet à son usage personnel. C'est en quelque sorte son chevalier. Ainsi, Dassine, quoique mariée, a brodé pour son cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, l'amenokal du Ahaggar, la bride et le poitrail de son cheval, tandis que Moussa, sans se faire prier, récitera, devant tous, les vers qu'il a faits à sa louange et recevra souvent sa visite.

Elle peut recevoir chez elle, en l'absence de son mari, un homme qui viendra causer avec elle, lui rendra visite, sans que le mari, à son retour, songe à s'en froisser. Seul, le flagrant délit d'adultère peut autoriser la colère du mari.

Mariée, elle a ses biens indépendants de ceux de son mari. Ses chameaux portent sa marque particulière, différente de celle de son mari. Elle ne participe aux charges du ménage que si elle veut bien y consentir.

Elle a obtenu de ne pas suivre son mari, aussitôt après son mariage, mais de camper près de la tente de ses parents pendant un an après son union, pour pouvoir s'habituer lentement à l'idée de la séparation.

Pour divorcer, il lui suffit de se refuser à son mari et de se réfugier chez ses parents.

Presque toutes, sauf les pauvres, ont pour monture un mehari et une selle spéciale.

A l'ahal, nous l'avons vu, elle règne en maîtresse.

Noble ou serve, elle a une ou plusieurs négresses chargées des gros travaux du ménage et de la préparation des aliments.

C'est elle qui est la plus instruite, car elle sait, mieux que l'homme, écrire et lire les « tifinar's » (noms des caractères de l'écriture de la langue tamaheq) et c'est elle qui apprend à lire à ses enfants.

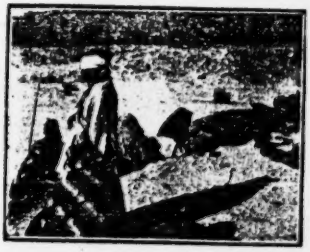
Elle joue de l'amz'ad, instrument pour lequel les Touareg ont une si vive prédilection. « Quand deux partis en sont venus » aux mains, et que l'un d'eux est battu, les vainqueurs crient » aux vaincus, de ce cri sauvage particulier aux Touareg :

» Hia ! hia ! hia ! hia !

» Il n'y aura donc pas d'amz'ad !

» A la menace du silence des « imz'aden », les vaincus » reviennent à la charge, tant est grande la crainte du juge- » ment défavorable des femmes ». (Duveyrier).

Rien ne fait tant plaisir aux Touareg que de s'intéresser aux faits et gestes des femmes de leur tribu. Ainsi, on n'a qu'à parler de Dassine ou de Mellouka, femmes qui jouissent au Ahaggar d'une grande réputation de beauté et d'intelligence, pour voir l'attitude compassée faire place à la bonne humeur et à la gaîté, à la condition toutefois que la conversation n'ait pas lieu en présence de parents auxquels le Targui, à qui l'on s'adresse, doive le respect.



Cliché Dautheville

GROUPE TARGUI DANS L'OUED TI-N-AMADAL SETTAFEN (TIFEDEST)

La femme targuie intervient efficacement dans les brouilles entre hommes de sa famille et, pour lui être agréable, la réconciliation a lieu. Ainsi, c'est grâce à Rakhma, la sœur de Moussa ag Amastane, que celui-ci s'est réconcilié avec son beau-frère, Anaba ag Amellal.

Bref, on peut dire que rien ne se fait, rien ne se dit chez les Touareg qu'on n'y trouve l'influence de la femme, toujours et partout, et on s'en apercevra en poursuivant la lecture de cette étude.

# CHAPITRE VI

## Demande en Mariage

La demande en mariage, « ibadrahen » ⵉⴱⴷⵔⴰⵀⴻⵏ est soumise à un certain protocole.

Le candidat à la main d'une femme envoie aux parents de celle-ci des marabouts, s'il y en a, des tolbas ou à défaut des gens influents qui présentent sa requête.

La demande doit être connue de tous les parents de la femme sans exception ; tous doivent être prévenus et sollicités, même ceux qui sont loin. Ce serait très mal de marier une jeune fille à l'insu de l'un des membres de sa famille.

Comme la fille se marie en général de 20 à 25 ans, elle est consultée. Ordinairement, même lorsqu'elle est vierge et, comme telle, soumise à l'autorité paternelle, d'après la loi musulmane, on ne l'oblige pas à se marier contre son gré. Si le cas se produit, elle n'a qu'à se refuser à son mari et celui-ci n'insiste pas et la renvoie à ses parents.

Ainsi que chez les Arabes, la femme qui a déjà été mariée doit donner son consentement.

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# CHAPITRE VII

## Mariage

Le mariage « adouben » ⵉⴷⵓⴱⴻⵏ ou « tedïout » ⵜⴰⵜⵓⵜ présente des particularités assez curieuses.

La demande en mariage a été agréée. Le jour de la noce a été fixé. Si c'est un noble assez influent qui se marie, la noce

aura de nombreux invités. Si c'est un « amr'id » (serf), la fête sera beaucoup plus simple, plus intime, mais les cérémonies et les chants seront les mêmes.

Les invités hommes, montés sur leurs meilleurs mehara, revêtus de leurs plus beaux vêtements et de leurs plus belles armes, arrivent au campement de la mariée où doit avoir lieu la noce. Les femmes se rendent chez la mariée avec leurs « imz'aden » (violons) et leurs « tobol » (tambours).

Si elles sont pauvres, elles y vont à âne ; si elles sont riches, elles arrivent à mehari, dans leur selle qui a la forme d'une chaise à porteurs, et dont nous verrons la description plus loin.

La fête commence vers une heure de l'après-midi. Les hommes sellent leurs mehara et la fantasia à mehari « iloudjan foull imnas » ⊙ ⵍ ⵓ ⵍⵍ ⵊⵔ ⵍ ⵜ ⵗ ⵍⵍ va commencer. Les femmes se groupent, frappent leurs tobols, chantent et jouent de l'amz'ad pour exciter les cavaliers. Ceux-ci, par groupes de deux ou plusieurs, se livrent à une course effrénée sur leurs mehara qu'ils font galoper.

Pendant ce temps, la mariée, cachée chez sa tante maternelle ou chez un parent de la ligne maternelle, doit se voiler les yeux et ne pas regarder la fantasia. Si, par malheur, elle regardait un des cavaliers, celui-ci tomberait et un accident se produirait.

Quant au mari, il ne prend pas part à la fantasia. Monté sur un mehari blanc « ebidedj » ⵉⵃⵉⴷⵉⵊ, il y assiste aux côtés d'un de ses amis, mais il doit rester impassible, le visage soigneusement voilé.

La fantasia dure *jusqu'au coucher du soleil.*

A ce moment, deux « tolbas » et deux amis du marié vont trouver le père, si la fiancée est encore vierge, ou la femme elle-même, si elle a déjà été mariée, pour lui demander de désigner son mandataire. On demande aussi au fiancé de désigner son représentant.

Ces deux mandataires se réunissent avec les tolbas et les amis et le mariage est contracté. C'est à ce moment que la dot,

« tagalt » ⵜⴳⵍⵜ, est fixée. Pour les nobles, elle est, en principe, de 7 chamelles ; pour les imr'ad, elle peut consister, suivant leur fortune, en une chamelle ou plusieurs moutons ou chèvres. Le marié remet une partie de la dot : une ou deux chamelles, s'il est noble ; 3 ou 4 moutons, s'il est amr'id et s'il n'est pas riche ; le reste est dû par lui. On égorge les animaux qui ont été donnés et qui serviront au repas de noce. Puis on lit la « Fatiha » (1re sourate du Coran) pour appeler la bénédiction divine sur les nouveaux époux.

Après le contrat, les femmes se réunissent, on joue de l'amz'ad un moment, mais il va falloir préparer la couche des nouveaux conjoints. Les femmes se lèvent et fabriquent une sorte de matelas en sable ou en terre, qui s'appelle « adebel » ⵍⵍⵉⵎⵍ, et qu'on recouvre d'un haïk. Au-dessus, on va édifier la tente en peaux, sur deux arcs en bois, « idjedjan » ⵉⵜⵜ, et les piquets habituels.

Mais, à ce moment, les hommes interviennent ; ils se saisissent du velum de la tente. Deux d'un côté, deux de l'autre, ils se lancent la tente et se la relancent trois fois en criant : « *Saoula iaoulit* » (lancez et renvoyez). Cela porte bonheur.

Puis la tente est montée définitivement. Les hommes amènent le marié à la tente. On lui en fait faire le tour trois fois ; il y pénètre ensuite en ayant soin de poser le pied droit le premier, toujours parce que cela porte bonheur.

Le marié est dans la tente avec ses amis. Les femmes accompagnent alors la mariée en chantant :

« *Bismillaten ar essa* . ⵓⵔⵏⵉⵙⵙⵉ
» *Se iz'ar isem n yalla* . ⵙⵉⵣⵔⵏⵉⵙⵉⵎⵏⵉⵍⵍⵉ
» *Foull ilik ner' as tedoua* . ⴼⵓⵍⵍⵉⵍⵉⴽⵏⵔⵙⵜⵉⴷⵓⵉ

c'est-à-dire :

« Au nom de Dieu sur eux jusqu'à sept fois,
» Précédant le nom de Dieu,
» Sur notre fille qui est partie le soir (chez son mari) ».

A quelques mètres de la tente, le fils de la tante maternelle de la mariée s'avance et veut retenir la mariée, en lui disant : « Je ne te laisserai pas partir avant d'avoir reçu mon cadeau, mes sandales », « *Aouid ir'atimen* » (donne-moi mes sandales). Le marié ou ses amis lui font alors passer une paire de sandales mises de côté à son intention ou, à défaut, un autre cadeau.

Alors, les femmes, en chœur, vont poser des questions auxquelles, en chœur, les hommes vont répondre :

Chœur des femmes :

*Nellouz* Nous avons faim.

Chœur des hommes :

*Atekchimet* Vous mangerez.

Chœur des femmes :

*Ner'loul* Nous sommes nues.

Chœur des hommes :

*Atelsimet* Vous serez habillées.

Chœur des femmes :

*Nerdjih* Nous sommes à pied.

Chœur des hommes :

*Atar'ermet* Vous serez montées.

Puis la mariée et les femmes, s'adressant au mari, chantent ces deux vers :

*Outterir' inelli n isakan*
*Essoufeq inelli n foudan*

« Je ne veux pas du bechna (porté par) des jeunes chameaux »
« Je préfère du bechna (porté par) de forts et solides chameaux », voulant faire entendre par là qu'elle attend de son mari des actes d'un homme fort et brave et non une conduite d'enfant.

La mariée pénètre alors dans la tente et les invités se retirent et vont festoyer.

Pendant sept jours, la nourriture du mari est assurée par les parents de la mariée. Pendant ce temps, les nouveaux époux ne quittent pas leur tente : on vient les y distraire et leur rendre visite.

La coutume veut que les nouveaux mariés habitent à côté des parents de la femme pendant un an pour donner à celle-ci le temps de s'habituer à leur séparation, qu'ils appellent « *az'alaī* » ⵣ ⵍ ⵉ (du verbe « *ez'li* » ⵣ ⵍ ⵉ, séparer).

La monogamie est la règle absolue.

Nous avons dit que l'ahal était une des causes des mariages tardifs. Une autre cause réside dans ce fait que beaucoup de Touareg se contentent de négresses concubines.

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## CHAPITRE VIII

### Divorce

Le divorce, en tamaheq « tellef » ⵜⵍⵍ ⵓ ou « oulouf » ⵜⵍⵍ (du verbe « ellef » ⵜⵍⵍ, divorcer), se produit assez souvent, mais le plus fréquemment du fait de la femme, car le mari prononçant la répudiation est tenu de lui payer le restant exigible de sa dot ; tandis que si c'est la femme qui a provoqué la rupture, en se refusant à lui et en se réfugiant chez ses parents, le mari ne lui doit rien.

Sidi ag Keradji, l'amenokal des Taïtoq et Kel Ahnet, n'a jamais pu garder une femme chez lui. Il a divorcé très souvent. Et chaque fois il revient à ses négresses, auxquelles il tient beaucoup. Il cherche cependant à se remarier (il a de 70 à 75 ans), mais il semble qu'il éprouve certaines difficultés, étant donné ses antécédents conjugaux.

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## CHAPITRE IX

### Adultère

L'adultère, en tamaheq « tikra » . O ·: + (du verbe « ouker » O ·: voler), est certainement fréquent.

Les Touareg disent bien qu'en cas d'adultère ils n'hésitent pas et tuent la femme ; mais je leur ai demandé de me citer un cas semblable s'étant produit depuis plusieurs années et ils ont avoué n'en pouvoir citer aucun, ajoutant que cela tenait simplement à ce que le flagrant délit n'avait pas été constaté. D'autres m'ont dit que beaucoup se contentaient de divorcer et que même quelques-uns passaient l'éponge.

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## CHAPITRE X

### Jeux

Les enfants s'amusent au jeu de la boule, « tekerikera » . O ·: O ·: +, qu'ils frappent avec des bâtons recourbés

ASSAUT D'ARMES ENTRE AZOUEL ET TAGHA (TOUAREG TAÏTOQ)
(1re Phase)

(« iggaten tekerikera », ils frappent la boule). Deux camps sont

(2e Phase)

formés et il faut s'efforcer de faire rentrer la boule dans le camp opposé.

(3e Phase)

Mais leur plus grande distraction est de fabriquer avec de l'argile, des petits bâtons et des pierres, toutes sortes d'animaux et de bonshommes qu'ils appellent des « isounar » O | ⊙. Ils fabriquent ainsi un mehari avec sa selle, une chamelle avec ses chamelons, un cheval, etc., ou bien ils font un mehari avec

(4e Phase)

un homme dessus, « aknar » O | •:, ou une femme dans son bassour, « taknart » ⊕ | •: +; c'est le marié et la mariée, et ces jeunes modeleurs sont, paraît-il, très adroits.

Quelquefois, ils accrochent une balançoire, « taoulioula » . ‖ : ‖ : +, à un arbre.

Quant aux hommes, ils s'exercent à lancer la lance le plus loin possible contre un objet déterminé. Ils font des combats simulés à la « takouba » (sabre) et au bouclier, « ar'er »; ou

(5e Phase)

bien, ils roulent des chiffons et ils s'appliquent à les couper d'un seul coup de leur large « takouba ».

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## CHAPITRE XI

### Mort, — Enterrement, — Tombeaux

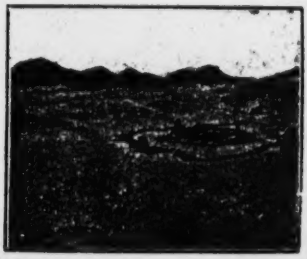
Si la mort (« tamettant » ⵜⵎⵓⵜⵜⴰⵏⵜ) a lieu près d'un « ar'erem » (village), la mise en terre est faite au cimetière. Sinon, le défunt est enterré là où il est mort.

Le mort est lavé à l'eau chaude, suivant la coutume musulmane, et revêtu de son linceul « tifit » ⵜⵉⴼⵉⵜ. Des tolbas viennent dire les prières des morts. La tombe, « az'ekka » ⴰⵣⵇⵇⴰ, pluriel « iz'ekouan » ⵉⵣⵇⵇⴰⵏ, est creusée. La fosse

a comme largeur un empan et quatre doigts, car, comme chez tous les musulmans, le mort est couché sur le côté droit, le visage tourné vers la « Quibla » (direction de La Mecque). Comme profondeur, 60 à 70 centimètres seulement. On recouvre à l'aide de pierres plates, cimentées avec de l'argile mouillée. On place les témoins (« chouahed » en arabe, « ihalissen » ⵍ ⵓ ⵍⵍ ⵉ en tamaheq), c'est-à-dire des pierres debout : une à la tête, une aux pieds, si c'est un homme ; une à la tête, deux aux pieds, si c'est une femme, parallèlement ou perpendiculairement au sens de la tombe, suivant que c'est un homme ou une femme.

Autour de la tombe, on fait ensuite un entourage en pierres, avec une ouverture pour l'entrée et la sortie, et vers l'Est, à l'opposé de la porte, l'emplacement pour la prière, suivant le le schéma suivant :

SCHÉMA



Cliché DAUTREVILLE

TOMBE TARGUIE DANS L'OUED TEDEQQIRT (IMMIDIR)

La formule de condoléances employée est la suivante : « iha ner' irah yalla ierhak », qui correspond à l'arabe الله يخلف علينا وعليك et qui signifie : « *Que Dieu compense la perte que vous et nous avons éprouvée* ».

Le visiteur fait le tour de la tombe, en disant « keï irkhem yalla ». *Que Dieu te fasse miséricorde !* fait sa prière et s'en va.

Un repas de funérailles est donné pour les tolbas et les pauvres.

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# CHAPITRE XII

## Deuil

Le deuil, « oudhouf » ⵄⵓⴹⵀⵓⴼ, ne présente pas, pour l'homme, de particularité bien saillante.

En principe, l'homme doit rester enfermé dans sa tente pendant trois jours.

La veuve prend le deuil et le porte pendant quatre mois et dix jours. Elle doit se cacher les cheveux avec un voile noir et ne pas les peigner pendant la durée de son deuil ; enfermer ses pieds dans des chaussures montantes, au lieu des sandales habituelles ; soustraire ses mains aux regards ou n'en montrer que l'extrémité, bref, comme dans « Miss Helyett » :

Rien montrer de ces charmes
Qui font prendre les armes
Au perfide malin.

A la fin du deuil, les femmes du campement emmènent la veuve *voir le lever du soleil* ; on tient le Coran ouvert devant elle et *on lui fait voir du sel*. Au retour, elle peut s'habiller, comme par le passé, se faire belle. Une collecte est faite à son profit.

## CHAPITRE XIII

### Héritage, — Succession

L'héritage « takasit » ⵜⴽⵙⵉⵜ, (du verbe « ekkous », hériter) est de deux sortes : l'héritage politique, si je puis m'exprimer ainsi, et l'héritage privé.

Le premier est le droit au commandement et à la perception de la « tioussé » ou tribut des « imr'ad ». Il se transmet suivant les lois d'hérédité dont nous parlerons plus loin

Quant à l'héritage privé, il est recueilli par les héritiers naturels, suivant les lois du droit musulman, c'est-à-dire que le fils a droit à une part double de celle de la fille. On estime les animaux laissés en succession et on en fait des parts, suivant cette estimation. Ces parts sont ensuite tirées au sort.

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## CHAPITRE XIV

### L'Habitat, — La Tente

Toutes les tentes des Touareg de la confédération du Ahaggar sont faites en peaux, « ilmaouen » ⵍⵎⴰⵡⵏ, de chèvres ou de moutons, tannées et cousues ensemble. L'assemblage de ces peaux forme le velum, la partie essentielle de la tente, et s'appelle « ehakit » ⵜⵅⴰⴽⵉⵜ.

La tente est supportée par une poutre centrale et maîtresse appelée « tamankaït » ⵜⵎⴰⵏⴽⴰⵢⵜ.

Une perche, « idjem » ⵉⵊⵎ, est placée à l'entrée de la tente et flanquée à droite et à gauche des perches dites « madar'en » ⵎⴰⴷⴰⵔⵖⵏ.

D'autres perches servent à soulever les bords : ce sont les « tissedass » ⊡ V ⊙ +. Les petits piquets qui fixent la tente au sol s'appellent les « tissetitaï » ⵉ + + ⊙ +. Quelquefois, on se sert aussi d'arcs appelés « adjedjou » ⵏ ⵜ ⵜ, pluriel « idjedjan » ⵍ ⵜ ⵜ.

La tente est entourée par des nattes en « afezzou » ⵏ # ⵅ (Panicum turgidum. Graminées), appelées « asabar » ⵓ ⵎ ⊙, pluriel « isebran » ⵍ ⵓ ⵎ ⊙, qu'on recule le jour et qu'on rapproche la nuit, pour fermer la tente.

Cliché Dautreville
CAMPEMENT TARGUI A TAZEROUK

On trouve dans la tente : d'abord tout ce qui a trait à l'eau, c'est-à-dire des outres, « abeïor' » ⵉ ⵉ ⵎ, pluriel « ibiyar' » ⵉ ⵉ ⵎ, suspendues à des piquets fourchus, « tidjettaouin » ⵍ ⵏ + ⵓ ⵜ +. On les remplit à l'aide d'un entonnoir, « aseguefli » ⵉ ⵅ ⵅ ⊙, pluriel « iseguefla » . ⵅ ⵅ ⊙. Pour abreuver les chameaux, les Touareg se servent d'auges en peau, maintenues dans leur partie supérieure par un cerceau, et qu'ils appellent « tafaraout » + ⵏ ⵓ ⵅ +, pluriel « tiferouin » ⵍ ⵏ ⵓ ⵅ +. Ces auges leur servent aussi pour la cueillette des graines du « toulloult » (Arthraterum pungens, Graminées) ou de « l'afezzou » (Panicum turgidum, Graminées).

Pour le lait et le beurre, ils ont : l'outre à lait, « tanouart » ⊕ ⵏ ⵍ +, pluriel « tinouarin » ⵍ ⵓ ⵏ ⵍ + ; une sorte de gargoulette, faite avec une courge évidée et appelée « az'enou » ⵏ ⵍ #. Pour puiser le lait, le partager ou le verser, ils se servent d'un vase en bois à une anse appelé « asoukal » ‖ ⵏ ⊙, Pour conserver et transporter le beurre fondu, « oudi », ils ont des outres de plusieurs formes : la plus commune est celle appelée « tahattint » ⵜ + ⵉ +, mais ils emploient aussi quelquefois la peau d'une cuisse de chameau tannée.

Pour faire têter les jeunes chamelons, les agneaux, ils utilisent une sorte de biberon en bois, affectant la forme d'un quart muni d'une canule. Cet ustensile s'appelle « ar'alala » ⵔ ⵍⵍ ⵍⵍ ⵏ.

Comme vaisselle, on trouve dans la tente des bols en bois de toutes dimensions appelés « akous » ⵇ ⵓ ⵙ, pluriel « ikassen » ⵉ ⵇ ⵙ; — de grands plats en bois, « tar'elalt » ⵜⵜ ⵍⵍ ⵏ +; — des plats plus petits servant d'assiettes appelés « tar'ehout » + ⵏ ⵏ +, pluriel « tireha » . ⵏ ⵏ +. Pour puiser le lait, la bouillie, les Touareg se servent d'une grande cuiller à pot, « temoulat » + ⵍⵍ ⵓ +, pluriel « timoulatin » ⵉ + ⵍⵍ ⵓ +, et pour manger, ils ont des cuillers en bois ordinaires appelées « tesoukalt » ⵜⵜ ⵙ ⵇ +, pluriel « tsoukaline » / ⵍⵍ ⵙ ⵇ +.

Pour séparer les graines du « toulloult » et de « l'afezzou », de leur enveloppe ils se servent de petits plateaux, en afezzou, appelés « tissiit » + ⵣ ⵇ +, pluriel « tissiin » ⵉ ⵣ ⵇ +.

Ils emploient aussi beaucoup le mortier en bois, « akabar » ⵇ ⵓ ⵙ, avec son pilon, « ihar'en » ⵉ ⵏ ⵏ.

Enfin, ils ont des sacs en peau pour serrer les dattes ou les grains et qu'ils appellent « adjera » . ⵇ ⵜ, pluriel « idjerouen » ⵉ ⵓ ⵇ ⵜ.

Cliché Dautheville

TENTE D'UN TEDJEHE-MELLET A AM'RA (TIFEDEST NOIRE)

Tous les ustensiles qui précèdent sont fabriqués avec du bois de « teborak » (Balanites aegyptiaca. Simaroubacées) et d'abser' ou « tamat » (Acacia arabica).

C'est l'âne qui transporte les outres du puits à la tente et on lui met sur le dos un bât, fabriqué avec des bois recourbés et liés ensemble, appelé « eroukou ».

N'oublions pas la selle du Targui, « terik », et si le maître de la tente est à son aise, la selle de la femme, « tekhaouit ».

La tente est partagée en deux : un côté pour l'homme et l'autre, pour la femme. Du côté de l'homme, se trouvent sa selle, ses armes et les objets qui servent à la nourriture. Du côté de la femme se trouvent sa selle, son « amz'ad » et les ustensiles de cuisine.

La coutume veut que l'homme choisisse pour son côté *la partie Est* de la tente et la femme, *la partie Ouest*.

Un groupe de tentes s'appelle « amezar' » ⵉ ⵣ ⵔ ; — Une seule tente, « ehan » ⵍ ⵉ, pluriel « ehanan » ⵎⵍ ⵉ.

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## CHAPITRE XV

### Nourriture

Le repas principal a lieu à midi et s'appelle « tarout » ⵜ ⵓ ⵔ ⵜ. Le soir, le Targui se contente généralement de lait, « akh », frais (akh oua kefaïen ⵍ ⵅ ⵇ ⵓ ⵓ ⵓ) ou aigre (« akh iezza » ⵅ ⵉ ⵓ ), à l'heure où les chamelles, les brebis ou les chèvres rentrent du pâturage.

Le fond de la nourriture des Touareg du Ahaggar est constitué par le bechna, « inelli » (sorgho à graines blanches, Graminées), les dattes, « teïni », et le lait, « akh ».

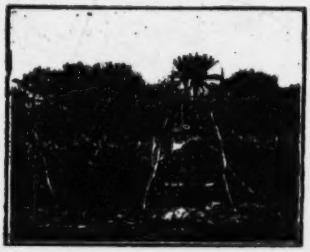
Mais leur pays leur fournit de nombreuses ressources qu'ils n'ont garde de négliger, surtout les pauvres, les « tileqqiouin » ⵍ ⵓ ⵏ ⵍⵍ ⵜ, qui forment la majorité.

Tous les « imr'ad » s'en vont faire la cueillette des graines du « toulloult » et de l'afezzou ». Femmes, enfants, jeunes gens, nègres et négresses s'en vont dans les oueds faire la récolte, qui a lieu, pour le « toulloult », de mai à juin, et pour « l'afezzou », de juillet à fin septembre.

Généralement, avant la récolte, plusieurs oueds sont mis en interdit et les chameaux n'y sont pas conduits jusqu'à ce que la récolte soit terminée.

Les provisions sont faites et enfermées dans des sacs en peau. Les graines ayant séché, il suffit de les mettre dans des petits plateaux en « afezzou », dits « tissiin » qu'on secoue et l'enveloppe se détache et reste au-dessus. Les graines sont réduites en poudre et on en fait une sorte de bouillie avec de l'eau ou du beurre.

Les Touareg aiment beaucoup aussi les « tikamarin » ⵜⵉⴽⴰⵎⴰⵔⵉⵏ, fromages durs comme du bois qu'ils rapportent de l'Aïr. Ils les pilent dans le mortier et ils les mélangent à leur nourriture.



Cliché Dautreville

IDELÈS (KOUDIA)

Ils mangent très rarement de la viande, excepté celle du gibier qu'ils peuvent tuer à la chasse : gazelles, mouflons, antilopes. Mais souvent, ils préfèrent faire boucaner ce gibier pour aller le vendre au Tidikelt.

Les nobles se nourrissent mieux, du moins ceux qui sont aisés. Au Ahaggar, notamment, ils possèdent des terrains de culture dans les « ar'erems » (villages), où ils font cultiver du blé, « ired », de l'orge, « timzin », et du bechna, « inelli » ; mais ordinairement, ils vendent leur blé et leur orge aux indigènes du Tidikelt et ils se contentent du bechna qu'ils aiment beaucoup. Ils prétendent que le bechna est moins échauffant pour l'estomac que le blé ou l'orge.

Les riches se paient le luxe de boire du thé ; mais le thé et le sucre sont très chers et ils n'en abusent pas. Par contre, ils n'hésitent pas à en mendier sans vergogne.

Quand l'année est mauvaise, tout est bon aux pauvres pour assurer leur subsistance. On les voit ces années-là manger du

« berdi » ou « taheli », (Typha angustifolia. Typhacées) ; les graines pilées des caroubes de « talhas » ou gommiers, qu'ils appellent « tahaha » • ⁝ ⁝ + ; du « tanékfaît » (Diplotaxis Duveyrierana. Crucifères) ; les fruits du « teborak » (Balanites Ægyptiaca) qu'ils font macérer pour en enlever l'amertume, et même les feuilles de l'« aremmas » (Atriplex Halimus. Salsolacées) qu'ils font bouillir.

Cliché Dautreville

ARBRES DITS « AHATÉS » (ACACIA ALBIDA) AUX TILLEMAS DE L'OUED TESSIT (KOUDIA)

Bref, la nature leur réserve des ressources alimentaires qui permettent, même aux plus pauvres, de ne pas mourir de faim.

Les lois de l'hospitalité, « amedjarou », sont observées, comme chez tous les musulmans. L'hôte, « amadjar », est toujours bien accueilli.

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## CHAPITRE XVI

### Hygiène. — Maladies

On sait que les Touareg ont horreur de l'eau. Ils ne se lavent pas, sous prétexte que cela les rendrait malades, mais c'est surtout parce qu'ils sont très frileux. Pour faire leurs prières, ils ne se livrent pas aux ablutions prescrites, même quand ils sont chez eux et quand ils ont de l'eau à leur disposition. Ils se contentent du « taïmoum » (simulacre de l'ablution avec du sable) qu'ils prononcent « ettamine ». L'amenokal Moussa ag

Amastane est le seul Targui que j'ai vu faisant ses ablutions avec de l'eau.

Cela tient sans doute aussi à ce que les Touareg aiment à conserver sur la peau la teinte de l'indigo « sedjeni » ⵙⵉⵜⵓ, résultat du port de la « chegga » ou cotonnade bleue qui déteint beaucoup et dont sont faits leurs vêtements. Ils prétendent que cette teinture bleue est excellente pour la santé. Comme au Tidikelt, un effet blanc n'est beau à porter que lorsqu'il a été suffisamment teint en bleu par le contact avec la « chegga ».

Les Touareg recherchent nos médicaments, « asafar » ⵓⵙⵓ, pluriel « isefran », ⵉⵓⵙⵓ, et ils croient en leur efficacité. Cela tient aussi à ce qu'ils leur sont délivrés gratuitement, car le Targui, en toutes choses, n'aime pas délier les cordons de sa bourse et il ne cesse de mendier tout ce qu'il voit et qu'il espère avoir pour rien.

Cliché Dautheville
LE DOCTEUR DAUTHEVILLE DANS L'OUED ABEZZOU (TIFEDEST BLANCHE)

Quoiqu'il en soit, il est bon de constater qu'il vient très volontiers se faire soigner par nous. Un médecin français serait certainement très bien accueilli par les Touareg.

Les maladies les plus fréquentes chez eux sont : la fièvre, « tazzaq ... ⵜⵣⵣⴰⵇ ; la blennhoragie, « talaoaït » ; les rhumatismes, « tessemdhi » ⵜⵙⵎⴷⵀⵉ et les maux de tête, « tekmoun-ir'ef » ⵜⴽⵎⵓⵏ ⵉⵔⵖⴼ.

# CHAPITRE XVII

## Les nègres et les négresses

Il n'y a pas de tente de targui qui n'ait au moins son nègre et sa négresse. Les razzias fréquentes que les Ahaggar ont faites au Niger et au Soudan leur ont procuré tous les esclaves qu'ils ont.

Ils se livraient beaucoup à la traite des nègres, qui leur rapportait de beaux bénéfices, puisqu'ils n'avaient eu qu'à enlever les nègres, sans bourse délier.

La conquête du Soudan et des Oasis sahariennes leur a porté un coup terrible à ce point de vue. En outre, avec la pacification progressive de leur territoire et de celui des tribus voisines qui ont fait leur soumission, ils devront renoncer bientôt à tout espoir de razzias nouvelles et l'on peut dire que la traite des nègres sera, sinon totalement enrayée, du moins considérablement diminuée.

Les nègres et négresses sont bien traités par les Touareg qui ne leur imposent pas de travaux fatigants. Les nègres s'occupent surtout des troupeaux qu'ils mènent au pâturage et à l'abreuvoir. Les nègresses s'occupent de la cuisine ; elles vont à l'eau et soignent les enfants.

Nègres et négresses font aussi la récolte des graines du « toulloult » et de l' « afezzou », mais c'est plutôt une distraction qu'un travail, car tout le monde y participe avec eux, par bandes joyeuses.

Beaucoup de nègres finissent par devenir les hommes de confiance de leurs maîtres qui les chargent de conduire des caravanes ou même de missions de confiance. Ainsi, l'amenokal Moussa a un nègre de confiance, Chernach, qu'il estime beaucoup, car, dit-il, « je sais que cet homme se ferait tuer pour moi ». Aussi, lui a-t-il donné un fusil, une lance et un sabre.

Ces nègres-là sont très heureux et ils peuvent se considérer comme affranchis.

Du reste, rares sont les nègres qui ne sont pas armés par leurs maîtres de la « tar'da » (lance avec manche en bois) et de

TOUAREG ABREUVANT LEURS MOUTONS AU PUITS DE TIN ZAOUATEN

la « takouba » (sabre), dont ils sont très fiers. Les meilleurs sont emmenés en rezzou, et il paraît qu'ils se conduisent très bien au combat.

Quant aux négresses, s'il y en a qui se bornent à vaquer aux soins du ménage et de la tente, il y en a d'autres, en assez grand nombre, qui sont élevées à la dignité de concubines. Le Targui noble préfère partager sa couche avec une négresse que de se marier avec une « tamr'idt » (serve). Il se marie tard, et lorsqu'il s'y décide, il recherche surtout une femme qui, par sa

naissance, donnera à ses enfants des droits futurs au commandement. La négresse en profite.

Les nègres et négresses ne sont, en général, pas maltraités par les Touareg, et, du reste, lorsque le cas se produit, ils savent se servir de la curieuse coutume suivante, en usage chez les Touareg :

Lorsqu'un esclave, nègre ou négresse, se trouve trop malheureux chez son maître et désire devenir l'esclave d'un autre maître, il va fendre l'oreille d'un enfant, d'un cheval, ou couper le jarret d'un mehari, bref, abîmer toute autre chose précieuse appartenant au maître qu'il désire avoir ; puis, il reste là auprès de son ouvrage. Naturellement, en dédommagement du préjudice causé, le nègre est donné en toute propriété au maître lésé. Il peut y avoir contestation, s'il y a eu connivence entre l'esclave et le maître qu'il désire avoir et, dans ce cas, le serment est déféré et la cause portée devant un marabout ou un cadhi.

Ainsi, la négresse Tenoufek, appartenant à Semana, sœur de Bika ag Moumou, des Kel Ahnet, avait été fendre l'oreille d'une jument appartenant à Sidi ag Keradji, l'amenokal des Taïtoq et Kel Ahnet. En dédommagement, la négresse fut donnée à Sidi, chez qui elle est encore.

Autre exemple : Le nègre d'El Biodh ould Settafi, des Settaf, avait coupé le jarret à deux chameaux appartenant à Ibedi ag Bassi, des Ir'echoumen. En dédommagement, El Biodh dut donner à Ibedi le nègre, plus un chameau.

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# CHAPITRE XVIII

## Habillement, — Le voile

Les Touareg sont d'une coquetterie extrême. Ils adorent les beaux vêtements et ne manquent pas de se mettre sur le dos ce qu'ils ont de mieux dans leur garde-robe, chaque fois que l'occasion s'en présente.

Plus ils peuvent mettre de vêtements les uns sur les autres, mieux cela vaudra ; et même en plein été, si le Targui a un burnous en drap, il n'hésitera pas à le mettre sur ses épaules, s'il doit assister à un palabre ou se présenter à un chef, dût-il en souffrir.

Leurs vêtements sont presque tous faits avec de la cotonnade bleu foncé, « tchoqqit » +...⊐+ (mot qui paraît être une altération du mot « chegga », employé par les Arabes).

La cotonnade blanche est peu en faveur et n'est portée que par ceux qui n'ont pas les moyens de se payer de la cotonnade bleu foncé, qui paraît noire et leur donne, de loin, quand ils sont en groupe, une vague ressemblance avec des corbeaux.

Leur costume se compose :

De la « takarbast » ⊕ ▣ O ·: +, gandoura sans manches, fendue sur les côtés et cousue seulement dans le bas, de sorte que lorsqu'ils relèvent sur l'épaule les pans qui retombent jusqu'aux poignets, on leur voit à nu toute la poitrine, par l'ouverture ;

Du « karteba » . ▥ + O ·:, pantalon à la hussarde, ou bouffant comme le « seroual » arabe, étroit à la cheville ;

De la « takammist » + ⊙ ⊐ ·: +, gandoura à grandes manches pagode avec, sur le côté gauche de la poitrine, une grande poche, « el hib » ▣ ⁞ ‖ . La « takammist » qui se fait le plus souvent avec une cotonnade à petits carreaux bleus

et blancs ou à raies bleu foncé et mauve, est ornementée sur les épaules de broderies blanches. Ce vêtement coûte cher et n'est porté que par les Touareg à l'aise ;

D'un « abrour' » ⁝ O ⊡, haïk en laine acheté au Tidikelt ou au Touat et porté l'hiver seulement ;

Du « tidjelmoust » ⊕ ⊐ ‖ ⊤ +, ou voile. Le voile est formé d'une seule bande de cotonnade bleu foncé ou noire. Pour le mettre, on place l'extrémité sur le sommet de la tête, puis on le fait tourner d'abord en bas, pour cacher la partie inférieure du visage. On le ramène ensuite vers le haut, pour cacher la partie supérieure de la figure et l'on entoure la tête avec le restant de la bande pour la fixer.

La partie supérieure du voile s'appelle « amaoual-oua-n-afella » ; la partie inférieure, « amaoual-oua-n-aris ». Le sommet de la tête reste découvert, pour laisser sortir les cheveux qui sont nattés en petites tresses ou coupés en forme de crêtes de coq ou tout simplement coupés ras. La partie du voile qui recouvre la nuque s'appelle « adjedellehouf ».

Le voile mis, on serre le front avec une étoffe blanche ou de couleur, « asaded » ∧ ∧ ⊡, et pour être coquet, on peut y ajouter un ruban ou une étoffe de couleur vive, « itelli » ⊂ ‖ +.

Les jeunes gens ont importé depuis quelque temps une mode qu'ils ont empruntée aux Kel Fedé de l'Aïr, et qui consiste en une sorte de diadème, ayant la forme suivante :

Il se pose sur le front et il est recouvert et caché par le voile, qui le retient.

Ce diadème, qui s'appelle « tadebanat » + ⊥ ⊡ V +, ne plaît pas au parti « vieux targui » qui ne l'a pas adopté. Sidi ag

Keradji me disait qu'il préférait l'ancienne mode qui consistait à glisser sous « l'assaded » des amulettes enfermées dans des plaques d'argent, appelées « tira-n-azerouf ». Mais le parti « jeune targui » n'est pas de cet avis et trouve que la nouvelle mode ne manque pas d'élégance.

Quelquefois, ils entrecroisent une ceinture blanche sur la poitrine, « tirezzemine » ⵍ ⵊ # ⵓ +.

Enfin, ils portent en sautoir de grosses cordes en soie ou en laine tressée, rouges ou vertes, qu'ils appellent « el mejdoud » et qui servent à suspendre, soit un Coran, soit un livre où il est question de pratiques cabalistiques, soit des amulettes.

Les amulettes (tous en ont) se portent dans le dos ou sur la poitrine. Elles sont enfermées dans une gaîne en cuir ou en métal. J'ai vu un Targui qui en avait une vingtaine qu'il portait, réunies ensemble, sur la poitrine.

Enfin, ils sont chaussés des larges sandales plates de l'Aïr « ir'atimen » ⵍ ⵊ + ⵗ, ou de sandales en peau, fabriquées sur place et appelées « imerkeden » ⵍ ⵎ ·: ⵓ ⵊ .

N'oublions pas le bracelet de bras « ahbedj » ⵄ ⵓ ⵗ pluriel « ihebdjan » ⵍ ⵜ ⵓ ⵗ, en serpentine, qui, disent-ils, donne plus de force au biceps, quand on assène un coup.

Dans les réunions un peu importantes, dans les palabres, les plus riches arrivent revêtus de burnous achetés à R'at et ornementés sur les épaules de broderies en argent d'un joli effet. Quelquefois aussi, il arrive que, si le burnous n'a pas de broderies, le propriétaire préfère le porter à l'envers ! pour laisser voir les doublures en soie jaune et verte qui ornent le bord et le coin inférieur du burnous. Où la coquetterie va-t-elle se nicher ?

Le burnous n'est pas endossé, mais simplement posé sur les épaules.

Quelques Touareg pauvres sont habillés avec des vêtements en peau tannée.

Le costume de la femme se compose principalement :

D'une sorte de jupe, dite « asedjebes » ;
D'une chemise à manches « takammist » ;
D'un haïk en laine « abrour' » ;
Et du voile placé sur la tête « ikerhi ».
Suivant leur fortune, elles portent les bijoux suivants :
Des bracelets en argent, « ihebdjan-oui-n-azerouf » ;
— en verre, « tahouka », pluriel « tahoukaouin » ;
— en verroterie « denguela », plur. « denguelaten » ;
— en cornes de chèvres ou de gazelles, faits de deux moitiés qu'on emboîte l'une dans l'autre avec du cuivre et qui s'appellent « iouakane » ;
Des boucles d'oreilles, en forme de grands anneaux « tizabbatine » ;
Des bagues « tisseq », pluriel « tisser'ine ».
Elles portent aussi, comme les hommes, des amulettes « tira ».
Enfin, l'été, elles se coiffent toutes de grands chapeaux-parasols (medols, en arabe) qu'elles ornent quelquefois de laine rouge et qui s'appellent « tili » (ombre).

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*Du voile.* — D'où vient cet usage du voile chez les Touareg ? Les intéressés eux-mêmes l'ignorent.

Sidi ag Keradji m'en a fourni, cependant, une explication qui n'a aucune valeur, mais qui démontre la manie qu'ont les Touareg de vouloir se donner une origine arabe. Voici son histoire :

« Le Prophète Mohammed, à la prise de la Mecque, était » monté sur une « cidah » (femelle du mehari). Il s'était enve- » loppé la tête avec son « ihram » (vêtement particulier du » pélerin qui entre sur le territoire sacré de la Mecque). C'est » depuis ce temps que les Touareg portent le voile ».

Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que cet usage est très ancien, puisque les auteurs arabes ont désigné depuis plusieurs siècles

les Touareg sous le nom d' « Ahl-el-Litham » ou « Gens au voile ».

Ont-ils adopté cette coutume par raison d'utilité, pour protéger leur vue de l'éclat des rayons solaires et pour garantir leurs yeux de la poussière qui s'élève des sables ? A cette question, ils répondent négativement. C'est surtout, disent-ils, une question de pudeur, de dignité. Un Targui ne doit jamais montrer sa bouche, la porte par laquelle on introduit la nourriture dans le corps. C'est honteux. Même la nuit, il ne se débarrasse pas de son voile. Quand il se présente dans un campement étranger à sa tribu, il doit abaisser complétement son voile sur les yeux pour ne pas être soupçonné de venir chercher à séduire. Dans les assemblées, il se voile aussi complétement, peut-être pour mieux dissimuler ses impressions.

C'est probablement à cause de cet usage que le Targui se rase les moustaches et il trouve bizarre que nous les portions. Par contre, il porte la barbe entière.

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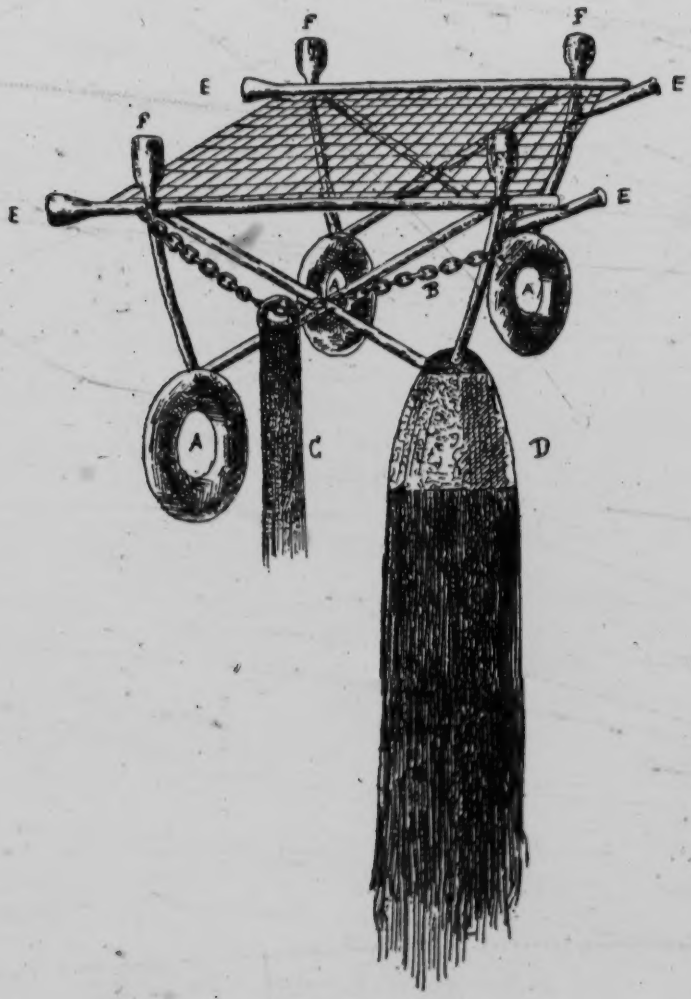
## CHAPITRE XIX

### La Selle de Femme

Je crois bon de donner ci-dessous la description de la selle de mehari, si originale, de la femme Targuie.

J'ai eu l'occasion d'en voir une dont j'ai pu prendre un croquis.

*(Voir la planche ci-contre)*




SELLE DE FEMME TARGUIE
(Dessiné par le Caporal Malroux)

Il paraît que beaucoup d'autres selles sont plus jolies, avec des bois coloriés, et la belle Dassine éprouva, dit-on, un chagrin sensible lorsqu'elle apprit qu'une belle selle lui appartenant avait été razziée par un des contre-rezzous du début de notre installation aux Oasis.

La selle de femme, qui ressemble un peu à une chaise à porteurs, se place au-dessus de la bosse du mehari, sans la toucher. Elle comprend comme parties essentielles : un siège rectangulaire, à mailles entrecroisées, porté par quatre montants auxquels sont fixés quatre coussins, vides au milieu, qui reposent, deux de chaque côté, sur les flancs du mehari. Ces coussins *A* s'appellent « afelledoud » ⵎⵎⵍⵍⵓⴷ, pluriel « ifelledad » ⵎⵎⵍⵍⴰⴷ.

Les montants sont fixés entre eux par deux barres transversales, de chaque côté.

Une chaîne à anneaux en fer *B* appelée « imetredj » ⵉⵎⵜⵔⵉⵊ, fait le tour de la selle et vient passer dans l'anneau de la sangle *C* qui s'appelle « ahif » ⴰⵃⵉⴼ.

Au montant du coussinet arrière, qui est caché dans le dessin, est accroché un ornement brodé, laissant pendre des lanières en cuir colorié ou en laine. Cet ornement *D* s'appelle « tegarsim » ⵜⵗⴰⵔⵙⵉⵎ.

Prolongeant le siège, 4 petits montants *E*, un à chaque coin. Enfin, 4 autres petits montants *F* perpendiculaires au siège.

Pour monter, le chameau étant agenouillé, la femme, prenant en main la bride, s'asseoit sur le garrot nu et libre de l'animal (à l'emplacement où porte la selle d'homme) et, dans cette position, les jambes sur le cou du mehari, elle le fait lever. La bête étant debout, la femme met les deux mains sur les 2 petits montants *E* du devant de la selle et, par un petit rétablissement, elle s'asseoit en selle, les jambes pendantes sur le garrot de l'animal.

On recouvre généralement le dessus de la selle avec un

haïk qui est attaché aux 4 montants perpendiculaires *F*, de sorte que la femme se trouve assise dans une espèce de hamac.

Cette selle s'appelle « tekhaouit » ⵜⵅⴰⵡⵉⵜ. La selle de de luxe, plus ornementée, s'appelle « araguen » ⵏ ⵅ ⵓ.

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## CHAPITRE XX

### Instruction

On ne peut pas dire que la connaissance de la lecture et de l'écriture des « tifinar's » ou caractères de la langue « tamaheq » soit une preuve d'instruction, car cette connaissance n'a pas une utilité bien pratique.

Les Touareg se servent très peu des caractères de leur langue et ils les emploient surtout pour de petites inscriptions sans grande valeur (du genre de celle que nous verrons plus loin), sur les rochers ou à l'intérieur des bracelets de bras.

Quand ils ont des lettres à écrire, ils les font écrire en arabe, car ils craindraient trop, avec raison, d'être mal compris, s'ils les écrivaient en « tifinar's ». En effet, par suite du manque de voyelles, on devine les « tifinar's », plutôt qu'on ne les lit, et ce système d'écriture est resté bien primitif.

Cependant, parmi les Touareg du Ahaggar, quelques-uns savent lire et écrire l'arabe, surtout les Issoqqamaren qui presque tous comprennent l'arabe, à cause de leurs relations fréquentes avec le Tidikelt, où ils ont dû habiter longtemps (1). Il en est de même pour les Taïtoq et les Kel Ahnet dont beaucoup parlent l'arabe.

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(1) Voir l'Historique.

La connaissance des « tifinar's » est plutôt une distraction pour les Touareg qu'une étude utile. Ils aiment bien essayer de déchiffrer des inscriptions ou vous indiquer, sur le sable, l'orthographe exacte d'un mot.

L'AMENOKAL SIDI AG KERADJI
LISANT LA SUSCRIPTION D'UNE LETTRE A LUI ADRESSÉE

Ils n'ont pas de chiffres et ils ne se servent pas des chiffres arabes. Ils préfèrent faire des trous dans le sable et ils arrivent, par ce procédé un peu long à compter tout de même. Du reste, le Targui ne peut parler cinq minutes sans accentuer son discours de points ou de traits sur le sable. Si on lui demande : « Combien de jours de marche y a-t-il entre tel point et tel autre ? » il ne pourra pas répondre un chiffre quelconque sans marquer sur le sol autant de points qu'il y a de jours dans sa réponse.

Un Targui qu'on fait asseoir à terre sur une couverture soulève, dès qu'il commence à causer, les bords de la couver-

ture pour se livrer à son occupation favorite. Certainement, s'il était transporté en France, dans un appartement bien ciré, il serait très malheureux et il demanderait vite du sable ou de la terre pour pouvoir y tracer ses points et ses traits.

Mais cette habitude a son utilité quand on désire avoir une idée du chemin que l'on va avoir à parcourir. Le Targui, qui possède, comme tous les nomades, un sentiment très juste de l'orientation, vous dessinera sur le sable un plan sommaire de la route à suivre, avec les oueds et les accidents de terrain qu'on rencontrera.

Les Touareg n'ont pas de mots dans leur langue pour désigner les jours de la semaine. Ceux qu'ils emploient ont été empruntés à l'arabe et altérés.

Par contre, ils ont conservé, pour leurs mois, certains noms bien « tamaheq », tandis que d'autres sont certainement tirés de l'arabe. Ainsi :

1° « Tamessedek « correspondant à Moharrem et qui paraît tiré de l'arabe « sedeq » صدق « faire l'aumône ». Ils disent que ce nom signifie « zekkat » زكاة ou « aumône légale » ;

2° « Talilt tassettafet » (correspondant à Safar). C'est « le mois noir ». Voici pourquoi ce mois aurait été appelé ainsi : « Sidna Slimane (Salomon) commandait aux génies et aux » démons. Un jour qu'il était debout, appuyé sur un bâton, » les « djinns » (génies) dirent au termite d'aller ronger le bas » du bâton. Le termite s'acquitta si bien de sa tâche que le bâton » se cassa par la base et que le pauvre Salomon s'écroula, les » quatre fers en l'air et se tua dans sa chute. Sa mort fut le » signal de la liberté pour les génies et les démons qui se » répandirent dans le monde, précisément dans ce mois-là qui » fut depuis appelé « le mois noir » ;

3° « Talilt tarer'ert », c'est-à-dire « le mois jaune » (correspondant à Rebiâ el Ouel ou Mouloud, mois de la naissance du Prophète), ainsi nommé parce que, disent-ils, il est illuminé, منوّر, par la naissance du Prophète.

4° « Aouhim oua izzaren », c'est-à-dire « le premier Aouhim », (correspondant à Rebiâ tsani). Aouhim signifie « faon de gazelle ». C'est aussi le nom d'une étoile.

5° « Aouhim oua ilkamen », c'est-à-dire l' « aouhim suivant », (correspondant à Djoumada el Oula).

6° « Sarat » (correspondant à Djoumada tsania). Les Touareg n'ont pu me donner aucune explication au sujet de ce nom.

7° « Tin tineslimine », c'est-à-dire « le mois des marabouts », (correspondant à Redjeb). Du temps de la doctrine kharedjite, le Ramadhan avait été reporté au mois de Redjeb, et l'on sait que les Touareg avaient épousé cette doctrine (1).

8° « Amezzehel », c'est-à-dire « celui qui court », (de la racine « zehel », courir), ainsi nommé parce qu'il n'a que 29 jours et qu'il prévient de l'arrivée du Ramadhan. Il correspond à Chaâbane.

9° « Azzoum », c'est-à-dire « le jeûne » (correspondant au mois de Ramadhan), nom tiré du mot arabe الصوم « essoum », le jeûne.

10° « Tessessi », c'est-à-dire « action de boire » ou « libations », parce qu'on peut boire après le jeûne. Il correspond à Choual, mois pendant lequel a lieu la fête dite « Aïd Ser'ir ».

11° « Djer mouhaden », c'est-à-dire « entre les prières », parce qu'il arrive entre les fêtes. Il correspond à Dou-el-Qaâda.

12° « Tafaski », c'est-à-dire « le sacrifice ». Il correspond à Dou-el-Hidja, dans lequel a lieu la fête dite « Aïd el Kebir », appelée encore par les Arabes « Aïd el Adha » عيد الاضحى ou « fête des sacrifices ».

Il n'existe pas de livre en tamabeq, du moins c'est ce qui m'a été répondu. Cependant, le secrétaire de l'amenokal Moussa

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(1) Voir *Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme*, par Dozy.

ag Amastane m'a appris qu'il existe, au Ahaggar, un livre écrit en langue tamaheq, mais avec des caractères arabes, et qui serait la traduction d'un ouvrage de droit dont l'auteur serait Ibn Achir (1).

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(1) Ce livre est actuellement en la possession du nommé Salakh ag Meguemmed, des Issoqqamaren.

[p. 47]

# DEUXIÈME PARTIE

## LES TOUAREG DANS LEUR VIE EXTÉRIEURE

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## CHAPITRE Ier

### Nobles et Imr'ad

Duveyrier a si excellemment décrit les caractéristiques qui différencient le noble de l'amr'id (1) que j'estime inutile de revenir après lui sur cette question. Je veux me borner simplement à noter les quelques remarques que j'ai pu faire au cours de mon séjour au milieu des Touareg de la confédération du Ahaggar.

Tout d'abord, ce qui frappe, c'est qu'au bout de peu de temps de contact, on arrive à deviner très facilement si l'on se trouve en présence d'un noble ou d'un amr'id. L'allure, la marche, le port, les traits (lorsque le voile est remonté sur le front), un je ne sais quoi qu'on ne peut exprimer, tout fait supposer, avec raison, que le Targui qui se présente à vous est bien un noble. Et cependant au cours des palabres, les im'rad, dont beaucoup sont riches, arrivent souvent aussi bien habillés que les nobles. Mais leurs traits sont moins fins, leur démarche moins dégagée, leur regard moins assuré, et l'on se dit : c'est un amr'id.

Les Touareg vous diront du reste : « Un amr'id aura beau

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(1) Les Touareg du Nord, pages 331 à 335.

» faire ; il pourra se revêtir de beaux effets, porter de belles » armes, toujours « iamir'ed », c'est-à-dire « il lui manque quel- » que chose », et c'est de ce verbe qu'ils font dériver ce nom d'amr'id, au pluriel imr'ad.

Faut-il penser que les imr'ad sont d'une race moins pure que les nobles, par suite de croisements lointains avec la race nègre ? Le cheikh Ben Djellas déclare que la mère des Issoqqamaren (tribu d'imr'ad du Ahaggar) a été *achetée* par les premiers habitants d'Es-Souk. D'autre part, nous verrons comment les Adjouh-n-Taheli et les Tedjehé-n-Efis sont venus de l'Aïr se placer sous la protection des nobles Kel R'ela et Taïtoq.

Faut-il attribuer simplement les différences constatées à l'état de sujétion, de dépendance dans lequel se trouvent depuis longtemps les imr'ad vis-à-vis des nobles ? Je serais tenté d'admettre cette deuxième hypothèse plus conforme aux données de l'histoire.

Et de ce que j'ai vu et constaté, je ne peux me résoudre à traduire le mot « amr'id » par « serf », mot qui rappelle à notre esprit l'idée du serf attaché à la glèbe et vendu avec le domaine qu'il cultivait ; mais plutôt par « client, homme-lige, tributaire ».

En effet, si l'amr'id paie la « tioussé » ou tribut, au noble ; s'il « lui fait goûter un peu de ce qu'il a », suivant son expression ; s'il est sous la dépendance du noble, il jouit cependant d'une liberté d'allures que ne connaissait pas le serf au moyen âge. Il a droit à la protection du noble, s'il est attaqué, mais il marche et combat avec lui, armé des mêmes armes. En rezzou, il part aussi avec lui et il reçoit sa part de butin, variable suivant les tribus, part qui paraît avoir été fixée, suivant un contrat ancien, en échange de la protection accordée.

Et la preuve la plus convaincante, nous la trouverons dans la nomination de l'amenokal. Les imr'ad y prennent part : ce sont eux qui parlent les premiers, qui déclarent s'ils acceptent le nouvel amenokal, s'ils ont confiance en lui, s'ils s'engagent

à lui payer fidèlement la « tioussé » et celui-ci, de son côté, s'engage à leur donner aide et protection envers et contre tous.

Le noble met son point d'honneur à tenir cette promesse. Ce serait une honte « el r'ar », suivant son expression (d'après le mot arabe « el aâr » العار), que de ne pas venger une insulte faite ou un dommage causé à celui qui lui paie la « tioussé ».

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## CHAPITRE II

### Le Tobol. — L'Hérédité

*Du Tobol.* — Le « Tobol », à l'origine, était un tambour formé d'une grande calebasse, recouverte d'une peau tendue, que le chef de la tribu faisait résonner pour rassembler ses clients, les prévenir qu'on devait changer de pâturages, etc. C'était l'insigne du commandement.

Duveyrier nous a dit que les sultans Imanan (Cheurfa) avaient confié leurs tobols à une tribu maraboutique, les Ifor'as-oui-n-Tobol. Cet usage s'est maintenu : les chefs nobles se flattent de conserver chez eux des tobols, mais ils ne s'en servent plus.

On dit que les nobles ont accès au tobol, parce qu'un jour ou l'autre, suivant la loi d'hérédité en usage chez les Touareg, eux ou leurs descendants peuvent avoir l'espoir d'obtenir le tobol, c'est-à-dire le droit au commandement.

Au contraire, on dit qu'un noble a perdu ses droits au tobol quand, par une mésalliance, ses enfants ne seront plus de race noble pure, exemple : les Kembiben, les Oulad El Goute, les Oulad Ibra (chez les Kel R'ela du Ahaggar), et ceux-là ne peuvent plus espérer avoir droit au commandement, au tobol. De même, le fils d'un noble et d'une « tamr'idt » (féminin

d'amr'id) est amr'id et perd tous les droits au tobol que son père avait.

De cette première acception, le mot « tobol » a fini par désigner l'ensemble des nobles et des tribus imr'ad répondant à l'appel du tobol et l'on dira, par exemple : « le tobol des Kel R'ela (tribu noble) comprend telles et telles tribus imr'ad » ou bien « telle fraction d'imr'ad fait partie du tobol des Kel R'ela nobles ».

Ce mot « tobol » n'est certainement pas d'origine tamaheq, mais bien arabe. En effet, « Tobol » طبل, en arabe littéraire, signifie : « 1° Tambour ; 2° Timbale ; 3° Tribut, contribution », et pour dire : « Je ne sais quel homme c'est », les premiers Arabes disaient : ما ادري اي الطبل هو « Je ne sais de quel tobol il est » (1).

Je crois donc que cette coutume a été introduite par les premiers Arabes qui, dès le premier siècle de l'hégire, se sont avancés en conquérants dans le pays parcouru par les Touareg, pour les convertir à l'islamisme.

*De l'hérédité.* — Nous avons vu que l'héritage privé se transmet aux héritiers naturels, d'après les règles du droit musulman. Quant à l'héritage politique, c'est-à-dire le droit au titre de chef de tobol et à la perception de la « tioussé » ou tribut des imr'ad, il se transmet d'après des règles particulières.

Duveyrier nous a appris que ces droits se transmettaient « au fils aîné de la sœur aînée ». Je n'aurais jamais osé m'inscrire en faux contre une affirmation émanant d'une pareille autorité si je n'avais pas acquis la certitude absolue que l'ordre d'hérédité n'est pas précisément celui qu'a indiqué Duveyrier, et cette certitude, j'en apporte les preuves, dans le chapitre intitulé « Généalogie », du 2e livre de cette étude.

Je dirai donc, avec les Touareg : Quand un chef de tobol meurt, c'est :

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(1) Dictionnaire arabe-français de A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski

1° Son frère qui est appelé à lui succéder (l'aîné de ceux qui restent, s'il en a plusieurs).

2° A défaut, le fils aîné de sa tante maternelle.

3° A défaut, le fils aîné de sa sœur aînée.

Ce dernier ne vient donc qu'en troisième ligne.

C'est l'aïeule, ce sont ses filles qui transmettent à leurs enfants le droit au « tobol ». Actuellement, les Kel R'ela font remonter leurs droits d'hérédité et d'accès au tobol à Kella, leur aïeule, et les Taïtoq à Sakina, contemporaine de Kella et sa parente collatérale.

Le fils suit le tobol de sa mère. Ainsi, si le père appartient au tobol des Kel R'ela, par exemple, et la mère au tobol des Taïtoq, le fils fera partie du tobol de sa mère. C'est ce qui est arrivé pour Sidi ag Keradji, l'amenokal actuel des Taïtoq et Kel Ahnet, dont le père était du tobol des Kel R'ela et la mère du tobol des Taïtoq. Même remarque pour Attici ag Amellal et son frère Anaba, dont le père appartenait au tobol des Tedjehé Mellet, et qui font partie actuellement du tobol des Kel R'ela.

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## CHAPITRE III

### L'Amenokal. — L'Amr'ar

Les Touareg du Nord, après la déchéance des sultans Imanan, qui exerçaient sur eux le commandement suprême, reconquérirent leur indépendance. Puis on vit se former deux confédérations : celle des Azdjer et celle des Ahaggar, comprenant chacune plusieurs tribus nobles.

Nous verrons plus loin (Origine des Touareg), que chez les Berbères, plusieurs tribus formaient souvent une confédération soumise au commandement suprême d'un même chef et que le droit au commandement appartenait spécialement à certaines tribus qui exerçaient une sorte de suprématie sur les autres. Et c'est ce que nous allons retrouver. Chez les Azdjer, la tribu qui exerçait cette sorte de suprématie était celle des Orar'en ; chez les Ahaggar, c'était celle des Kel R'ela. L'amenokal du Ahaggar a toujours été choisi dans le tobol des Kel R'ela.

La désignation de l'amenokal, bien que soumise d'abord aux lois d'hérédité que nous avons indiquées, devait être ratifiée par les représentants des nobles de toutes les tribus et ceux des imr'ad de toutes les fractions de la Confédération. L'hérédité devait être confirmée par l'élection et cela répond bien à l'esprit démocratique de tous les Berbères et à tout ce que l'on sait de leur histoire et des théories introduites chez eux par le kharedjisme dont ils ont été les adeptes.

Ainsi que nous l'avons dit, les imr'ad devaient parler les premiers, dire s'ils acceptaient l'amenokal désigné par l'hérédité et s'engager à lui payer la « tioussé ». Les nobles parlaient ensuite. La discussion était ouverte et l'accord se faisait. Quelquefois il ne se faisait pas. Nous en avons pu voir un exemple à la mort de l'amenokal du Ahaggar, Aïtar'el ag Biska, décédé en 1900. La loi de l'hérédité appelait à l'amenokalat Mokhammed ag Ourzig, mais celui-ci, combattu par les imr'ad et par la majorité des nobles, ne fut pas élu, et il se vit préférer son concurrent, Attici ag Amellal.

L'amenokal qui, au début, exerçait le commandement suprême, fut obligé par la suite de se dépouiller au profit de certains chefs et de leur donner des « tobols » particuliers avec des tribus imr'ad qui ne lui payaient pas la tioussé, mais qui la payaient aux chefs des nouveaux « tobols ». Ce fut une source de discussions et de guerres continuelles (voir l'Historique, 2e livre) et l'on se prend à penser, malgré soi, au « Qui t'a fait comte ? » et à la réponse « Qui t'a fait roi ? ».

Avant l'occupation française des Oasis sahariennes, chaque tobol avait sa vie propre et indépendante et l'amenokal, ou chef suprême, ne s'immisçait en rien dans l'administration intérieure des « tobols ». Il n'intervenait que pour régler, avec le concours de la djemaâ, les différends qui pouvaient survenir entre tribus ou pour appeler sous les armes toutes les tribus de la Confédération contre l'ennemi commun, comme pendant la guerre entre Azdjer et Ahaggar.

Le chef de chaque « tobol », le chef de chaque tribu noble ou celui de chaque fraction d'imr'ad, tous portaient indifféremment le titre d'« amr'ar », ⵄⵎⵔⵄⵔ, qui signifie surtout « vieillard », comme le mot arabe « cheikh », dont il a toutes les significations. Ainsi, le chef du tobol des Taïtoq portait le titre d'amr'ar. Pour des raisons d'ordre politique, le titre d'amenokal lui a été conféré, ce qui porte à deux le nombre des amenokals de la Confédération du Ahaggar.

L'amenokal était donc le chef suprême de la Confédération, en même temps que le chef de son « tobol », tandis que l'amr'ar était le chef d'un « tobol » moins important ou d'une tribu d'imr'ad.

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## CHAPITRE IV

### La Tioussé

Nous savons que la « tioussé » est le tribut que les imr'ad doivent payer aux nobles en échange de la protection qu'ils en reçoivent.

Cette « tioussé » est de deux sortes : la première est celle qui est payée au chef du tobol, qui peut être en même temps l'amenokal. Cette « tioussé » est à peu près fixe, mais elle varie

cependant suivant que l'année est bonne ou mauvaise. Elle se paie généralement à l'automne, après la récolte des dattes dans les oasis du Touat ou du Tidikelt. Elle peut consister en une certaine quantité de dattes ou de bechna, de chamelons, de moutons, de beurre fondu, etc.; en une part prélevée sur ce que rapportent les imr'ad qui sont allés en caravanes ; ou enfin, en une part sur le butin fait par les imr'ad dans les razzias.

Dans certaines fractions, quelque groupes ne paient pas la « tioussé » au chef du tobol, mais à un noble d'une certaine tribu ancienne, disparue aujourd'hui, et qui avait obtenu anciennement un petit fief, ex. : la fraction des Aït-Loaïn (du tobol des Kel-R'ela).

Il en résulte une complication extrordinaire dans laquelle cependant les Touareg se reconnaissent.

L'autre sorte de « tioussé » est celle à laquelle sont soumis journellement les imr'ad. Chacun d'eux ou chaque famille d'entre eux sait que l'entretien de tel ou tel noble lui incombe et celui-ci vient constamment mendier quelque chose. Quelquefois, l'amr'id donne ; d'autres fois il donne moins. Lorsque le noble sait que l'amr'id rentre de caravane et qu'il a rapporté de bonnes choses : des dattes, par exemple, on le voit arriver et demander sa part.

J'ai vu un campement d'Iouarouaren (fraction d'imr'ad du tobol des Taïtoq), installé à proximité des tentes de nobles Taïtoq, décamper pour aller s'installer plus loin. Ils venaient d'arriver du Tidikelt avec des dattes et d'autres produits et les femmes nobles venaient constamment mendier quelque chose au campement des imr'ad. Aussi leur chef In Chikadh donna le signal du départ et il disait que c'était pour mettre un terme à l'importunité des nobles.

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# CHAPITRE V

## La Razzia. — Le Butin. — Sa restitution

La razzia, c'est la vie du Targui. Il en a besoin. C'est là qu'il cherche, surtout le noble, une partie de ses moyens d'existence. Les razzias préférées étaient celles qui étaient faites vers le Soudan, l'Aïr et le Niger, à cause des nègres et négresses qu'on enlevait. Mais le Targui se rend bien compte maintenant que l'autorité française l'enserre de tous côtés, par le Sud et par le Nord, et que c'en est fini de ce régime. Et c'est une des causes qui lui font regretter sa soumission.

Les Chaânba étaient aussi pillards et aussi indépendants que les Touareg. Eux aussi razziaient constamment. Depuis leur soumission, on sait quel changement considérable s'est produit et ce changement nous avons tout lieu de croire qu'il se produira chez les Touareg, sous notre influence.

En général, quand une tribu a été razziée, à moins que l'état de guerre soit déclaré, elle envoie une députation, un « miaâd », réclamer à la djemaâ de la tribu des razzieurs le butin qui lui a été enlevé. Les envoyés doivent venir faire agenouiller leurs montures devant les tentes des notables de la djemaâ et solliciter la restitution.

Généralement, une solution amiable finit par intervenir, mais la partie du butin razzié qui est rendue à la députation est toujours bien inférieure à ce qui a été pris. Les Touareg disent : « Alaï ouala », c'est-à-dire « la restitution n'est jamais complète ».

Il arrive aussi que les razzieurs refusent de rien rendre. La tribu razziée, si elle se sent trop faible, sollicite l'appui d'une autre tribu avec qui elle a de bonnes relations et alors les hostilités se produisent.

Quand ce sont des caravanes de commerçants qui sont razziées, comme, le plus souvent, ces caravanes se sont placées sous la protection de tribus nobles, à qui elles paient une redevance, le différend se règle entre la tribu protectrice et la tribu des razzieurs.

Cliché du Dr Dautheville.

BOUCLIER TARGUI

Au Ahaggar, l'ancien amenokal, Aïtar'el, avait, paraît-il, fixé de la façon suivante la restitution du butin pris aux caravanes protégées par les Azdjer :

1° Restitution complète des chameaux porteurs pris à la caravane ;

2° Pour chaque charge de marchandises prises, un chameau « amadjour » par homme ayant fait partie du rezzou, montant un mehari lui appartenant en propre ;

3° Un « aleggues » (jeune chameau de 3 ans) ou un demi-chameau par homme ayant emprunté ou loué le mehari qu'il montait pendant la razzia.

L'armement du Targui et le harnachement de sa monture ont été décrits en détail par Duveyrier et il est inutile d'y revenir ici.

# CHAPITRE VI

## La Guerre

C'est un bien grand mot pour désigner une série d'hostilités, de razzias, de combats sans grandes pertes ; mais cependant, je n'en trouve pas d'autre pour qualifier, par exemple, la lutte qui mit aux prises les deux confédérations des Azdjer et du Ahaggar et qui dura près de trois ans, avec de longs intervalles.

Nulle description n'en donnerait une idée plus exacte que le récit détaillé de cette lutte qui m'a été raconté et que l'on pourra lire plus loin au chapitre traitant de l'Historique du Ahaggar.

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# CHAPITRE VII

## La Religion. — Les Marabouts. — Le Jeûne. — Les Ordres Religieux

Les Touareg, pris dans leur ensemble, sont très peu religieux. Cela tient d'abord à ce que presque tous ne connaissent pas l'arabe, et, par suite, le Coran qui ne doit pas être traduit. Ensuite, l'on sait que les Touareg, comme tous les Berbères, ont épousé les doctrines du Kharedjisme aux VIIIe et IXe siècles de notre ère et qu'il a fallu longtemps avant de les ramener à l'orthodoxie.

A cette époque, Salih, fils de Tarif, rédigea un Coran en langue berbère qui fut détruit au moment de la répression, et nous verrons que les Touareg ont conservé, dans leurs superstitions, des « survivances » de la doctrine de ce Salih.

Un exemple donnera bien l'état d'esprit actuel des Touareg au point de vue religieux :

On m'a dit au Ahaggar que les jeunes gens ne doivent pas faire leur prière en présence des femmes, car, au cours des génuflexions et prosternations, ils sont obligés de montrer.... leur postérieur, ce qui est très « shocking » ! ! Au contraire, les vieillards peuvent sans inconvénient prier devant les femmes.

Beaucoup du reste, pour faire leur prière, se mettent derrière l'imam (soit un taleb arabe, soit un Targui connaissant un peu l'arabe), et ils font des génuflexions en disant : « Allahou akber » (Dieu est le plus grand !) chaque fois qu'ils l'entendent dire par l'imam. C'est là toute leur prière.

Nombreux sont ceux qui m'ont dit ne pas observer le jeûne du Ramadhan, entr'autres Badjloud, l'amr'ar des Kel Ahnet. Par contre, les Issoqqamaren (fractions qui ont été longtemps en contact avec les Arabes et qui le sont encore) sont plus religieux et ils observent tous le jeûne.

Parmi les Touareg du Ahaggar, on trouve cependant des hommes vraiment religieux, mais on les connaît et on les cite et ils passent pour marabouts, exemples : Moussa ag Amastane, Beketa ag Ibrahim, les Oulad El Mir'da, Mokhammed ag Sadik.

Si le Targui n'est pas religieux, il a néanmoins beaucoup de respect pour les marabouts qu'il admire naïvement, à la condition toutefois que ces marabouts ne le gênent pas. Ainsi, le marabout Beketa ag Ibrahim avait déclaré que les dattes provenant du Tidikelt, récemment occupé par les Français, étaient défendues par la religion. Il a changé d'avis depuis. Mais maintenant, chaque fois qu'il va demander des dattes à un amr'id, celui-ci lui fait remarquer qu'elles viennent du Tidikelt et sont, par suite, défendues par la religion, et Beketa répond : « Non. Tout cela, c'est fini maintenant »... et il accepte les dattes !

Les ordres religieux sont assez répandus, surtout chez les Issoqqamaren. En allant en caravane au Tidikelt ou au Touat, les Ahaggar se sont fait affilier à l'ordre des Tidjania, qui compte le plus d'adhérents parmi eux, et à celui des Kadrya. D'autres (en général, ce sont tous ceux qui ont fait le péleri-

4: Benhazera MS25 Tuareg



nage de La Mecque), se sont fait affilier à l'ordre des Senoussia, à leur passage à Djer'boub.

Mais je doute que cette affiliation soit bien sincère. Tous les affiliés ne veulent pas porter au cou leur chapelet qu'ils gardent dans la poche ou dans leurs bagages quand ils sont en route. Ils disent que s'ils le portaient ostensiblement, ils seraient accusés de vouloir séduire les femmes! Enfin, ils ne doivent pas le porter sur eux chaque fois qu'ils commettent une action répréhensible, qu'ils ont des relations, même avec leurs femmes légitimes, etc.

Par contre, restés naïfs et superstitieux, ils croient tous à l'efficacité des amulettes, « tira », dont ils sont couverts. On en voit même qui en suspendent au cou de leurs mehara.

A chaque nouvelle lune, le targui fait sa prière. Les mains ouvertes, comme un livre, il regarde l'astre de la nuit et formule le vœu d'être en vie à la prochaine lune.

A la fête du Mouloud (naissance du Prophète), ils se tendent la main, en se disant : « asarouf », pardon, pour se faire pardonner leurs fautes, mais s'il n'y a pas de taleb dans la tribu pour leur rappeler la date exacte, ils l'oublient et n'y pensent pas.

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## CHAPITRE VIII

### Superstitions. — Croyances

Les Touareg sont très superstitieux. Ils voient partout des génies, des démons : dans les montagnes, dans les arbres, dans les outres, etc.

Ainsi, ils ne veulent pas coucher au campement à côté des outres ou des cendres, à cause des génies « alhinen »

ou des revenants « kel esouf » ⵍⵅ ⵙⵓⴼ ⵏ ·: (gens du vide), qui y habitent.

Quand ils veulent s'étendre au pied de l'arbre appelé en arabe « el yatil » et en tamaheq « tadjart » ⵜⴰⵊⵔⵜ (sorte d'acacia), qui est habité par les djinns, ils doivent d'abord le blesser avec une pierre et l'on trouve toujours des pierres au pied de ces arbres. On voit aussi les blessures faites à l'écorce.

Le « teborak » (Balanites Ægyptiaca) est aussi un arbre hanté. Quand on désire se reposer sous son ombre, il faut d'abord casser sept épines de l'arbre.

Il y a aussi des « kel esouf » à l'endroit où l'on a égorgé une bête.

Le mont Oudane est hanté, ainsi que beaucoup d'autres.

Ces superstitions sont probablement des *survivances* de leur ancien culte, avant leur conversion à l'islamisme. Comme eux, « les Arabes de la période ante-islamique honoraient les Djinns » ou génies. Les déserts et *les montagnes* où l'on erre parfois » des semaines entières sont remplis d'êtres de ce genre..... » Ils peuvent faire beaucoup de mal et beaucoup de bien..... » Ils habitent des pierres, des *arbres* ou des statues. Chaque » tribu, ou parfois un ensemble de tribus, avait son Djinn » particulier, sa pierre, *son arbre, son image propre*, auprès » desquels une famille déterminée remplissait les fonctions » sacerdotales » (1).

Les Touareg ont bien d'autres superstitions. Ainsi, les nobles ne tueront jamais un « ourane » (varanus) qui s'appelle en tamaheq « ar'ata » . + ⁝, et à fortiori ils n'en mangeront pas. Sidi ag Keradji et Azioual ag Ser'ada me disaient que l'ourane est *l'oncle maternel* des Touareg et Sidi me raconta la légende suivante : « Sept hommes nobles avaient tué une chamelle appartenant à Sidna Nouh (Noé). Parmi eux était un noble targui. Pour les punir, Dieu les métamorphosa, l'un en ourane, l'autre en chacal, le troisième en caméléon, etc.

(1) *Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme*, par R. Dozy, pages 5 et 6.

L'ourane était le noble targui. La chamelle tuée est au ciel maintenant : c'est la Grande Ourse. L'étoile polaire « Bel Hadi », est sa tête ».

Faut-il voir là quelque rapport avec ce que nous venons de lire dans Dozy ou bien l'ourane aurait-il été, chez les Touareg, un « totem », comme chez les Peaux-Rouges de l'Amérique ?

Les nobles ne mangent pas non plus le « dobb » (lézard stellion) qui s'appelle en tamaheq « aguezzeram ». Comme motifs de cette abstention, ils m'ont cité ces deux vers de 9 pieds :

Our ekcher' aguezzeram idit
Iladhou ichchaden ilir'it.

c'est-à-dire :

« Je ne mange pas l'aguezzeram parce qu'il sent mauvais et qu'il a la peau rugueuse » (1).

Enfin, ils refusent énergiquement de manger des poules et des œufs et l'on ne trouve nulle part de poules chez les Touareg, excepté chez quelques « harratine » arabes des villages du Ahaggar. Ils prétendent que cette abstention remonte à bien longtemps. Azioual ag Ser'ada, poussé dans ses retranchements, finit par me dire que c'était parce que les poules cherchaient leur nourriture dans le fumier. Au Niger, d'après une étude de M. l'officier-interprète Merle, les Français sont appelés *les mangeurs d'œufs*. Mais je crois que la vraie raison de cette abstention est la suivante : Les Touareg, comme tous les Berbères, avaient embrassé le Kharedjisme. Parmi les chefs qui prirent part au soulèvement des Kharedjites se trouvait Tarif, qui fit la première invasion en Espagne (la ville de Tarifa porte encore son nom). Son fils Salih ou Salah se donna pour prophète et composa un nouveau Coran. Elie ou Elias, fils de

(1) Iladhou est mis pour « ili adhou ». De même ilir'it est mis pour « ili ir'it ». Ir'it, pl. ir'iten signifie peau (de bœuf, de chameau, etc.).

ce dernier resta musulman en apparence et ce n'est que le petit-fils de Salih, Jonas ou Younes (fin du 8e siècle) qui répandit la nouvelle doctrine, laquelle était un islamisme fortement modifié. Suivant un des préceptes de cette doctrine, nous dit le savant Dozy : « il n'y avait pas de muezzin ou crieur pour appeler à la prière ; on se réglait *d'après le chant du coq ;* aussi ne pouvait-on, sauf le cas d'extrême nécessité, *tuer des coqs ou des poules, ni manger des œufs* (1). »

On connaît aussi les légendes et les histoires au sujet d'Ahmamellen et de son neveu Élias. Hanoteau nous les a racontées. A Tamanr'asset (Ahaggar), les Touareg nous ont montré une brèche curieuse dans une grande « gara » qui borne l'horizon à l'Est. Ils l'appellent « Tiouit-n-Élias » (le coup d'Élias) et ils disent que c'est Élias qui d'un coup de « takouba » a fait cette brèche. Le morceau enlevé, un énorme rocher, est allé se ficher dans un oued, à 3 kilomètres de là et on nous l'a montré en passant. La brèche a été aussitôt baptisée « Brèche d'Élias ».

Élias est la traduction en arabe de Élie et Younes, celle de Jonas. Ces deux noms propres sont encore employés chez les Touareg. N'y aurait-il pas un rapport entre cet Elias et Elie, fils de Salih ?

Les Touareg disent qu'Ahmamellen était un homme d'une taille et d'une force extraordinaire et qu'à lui seul, il valait une armée. Serait-ce Salih lui-même qui se donna pour prophète, puis disparut en Orient après avoir dit à ses fidèles qu'il était le mahdi et qu'il reviendrait pour remplir le monde de justice quand le septième roi serait monté sur le trône ?

Il y a aussi des jours heureux ou néfastes. Les jours heureux, ceux qui sont recommandés pour se mettre en voyage, sont le vendredi, après la prière, le samedi matin et le lundi.

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(1) *Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme*, de R. Dozy, pages 348 et 349. On ne trouve, en pays targui, ni mosquées ni muezzins. Voir aussi l'*Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, de E. Mercier, pages 228 et 255. Tome Ier.

Pour les quantièmes heureux, on compte à partir de l'index, d'abord le 2 et en revenant à l'index 7, 12, 17, 22, 27.

Les jours néfastes sont le dimanche et le mercredi.

Les Touareg croient aussi au mauvais œil « tahott ».

Une éclipse, c'est la razzia du soleil sur la lune et réciproquement.

Enfin, il existe une coutume fort curieuse, dont a parlé Duveyrier, et qui est celle de la consultation des anciens tombeaux. Généralement, ce sont les femmes qui vont les consulter. Elles s'habillent bien et elles doivent éviter de porter sur elles quoique ce soit en fer ou en acier, pas même une aiguille. Elles se couchent près du tombeau et le « zabbar » (ogre), habitant du tombeau, leur apparaît sous la forme d'un géant, avec des yeux grands comme ceux d'un chameau, et il leur donne la réponse qu'elles désirent. On va les consulter surtout pour avoir des nouvelles des absents, des gens partis en rezzou ou en caravane et dont on n'a pas de nouvelles.

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## CHAPITRE IX

### L'Élevage — Les Troupeaux

Les chameaux, moutons et chèvres constituent la principale ressource des Touareg, comme de tous les nomades. Les chameaux principalement sont l'objet de tous leurs soins, car ils leur rendent les plus grands services. Ils tiennent beaucoup aux chamelles, brebis et chèvres à cause du lait, dont ils font une grande consommation, et du beurre fondu « oudi » qu'ils fabriquent.

Ils utilisent toutes les peaux : celles des chameaux, pour des sandales, des récipients pour le beurre, des auges pour l'abreuvoir, etc. ; celles des moutons ou chèvres, pour les outres, la confection des tentes et des vêtements en peau, etc.

Ils se servent du poil des chameaux pour fabriquer des cordes. Ils apprécient la viande de chameau et ce sont eux qui en approvisionnent les marchés du Tidikelt.

AÏN REDJEM DANS OUED BOTHA (IMMIDIR)

Il y a très peu de bœufs au Ahaggar : une trentaine à peine et encore presque tous appartiennent à Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane, de Tazerouk. Ils sont employés à tirer l'eau des puits dans les ar'erems. Les pâturages sont insuffisants et en outre, les bœufs s'usent facilement la corne dans les rochers et les cailloux.

Dans la Koudia, en raison du froid qui y règne, à cause de l'altitude élevée, on trouve quantité de petites tours en pierres

TOUAREGS ABREUVANT LEURS MOUTONS AU PUITS DE TIN-ZAOUATEN

sèches, vides à l'intérieur, où les Touareg enferment la nuit les agneaux et les chevreaux pour les mettre à l'abri du froid.

Les Ahaggar n'ont pas énormément de mehara et ils ne tiennent pas à les vendre, surtout les bons. Entre eux, pour se fixer sur la valeur d'un mehari, ils disent : « Tel mehari vaut 2, 3 ou 4 chameaux ». Tous leurs mehara sont dressés aux départs au galop. Le Targui a beaucoup de patience pour le

OUED IN-TEKOUFI (TIFEDEST)

dressage de son mehari : il ne le rudoie jamais ; il se borne à l'exciter de la voix et du pied et c'est peut-être pour cette raison que le mehari targui est beaucoup plus silencieux que le mehari arabe.

La base des pâturages du Ahaggar est l'aremmas (Atriplex halimus. Salsolacées). Cette plante est assez laxative. Aussi, quand l'année est mauvaise et que la sécheresse règne, voit-on les Ahaggar émigrer vers l'Adhar'. Il existe de beaux pâturages de « had » (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolacées) au sud de Tin R'arhou, mais il n'y a pas d'eau. Moussa ag Amastane a

l'intention d'y faire creuser des puits et il a sollicité pour cela notre aide et nos conseils.

D'habitude, les Touareg laissent leurs chameaux au pâturage sans gardiens et ils les retrouvent au puits ou à la trace. Sinon, ils en confient la garde à des enfants ou à des nègres.

TOUAREGS ABREUVANT LEURS MOUTONS AU PUITS DE TIN-ZAOUATEN

| NOMS DES CHAMEAUX EN TAMAHEQ (suivant leur âge) | NOMS DES CHAMEAUX EN ARABE (AU TIDIKELT) |
|---|---|
| 1re année : *Aouara.* | de 1 à 6 mois : *H'ouar.* |
| 2e année : *Aledjoudh.* | de 6 mois à 1 an : *Mekkloul.* |
| 3e année : *Aleggues.* | 2 ans : *Ould lebboun.* |
| 4e année : *Aqnefoud.* | 3 ans : *H'eugg.* |
| 5e année : *R'aïr.* | 4 ans : *Djedaâ.* |
| 6e année : *Eg essine.* | 5 ans : *Teni* |
| 7e année : *Eg okkoz.* | 6 ans : *Rebaâ.* |
| 8e année : *Amessedis.* | 7 ans : *Sedass.* |
| 9e année : *Tahellat.* | 8 ans : *Bou fettra.* |
| | 9 ans : *Bou fettertine.* |

Un jeune chameau, sans fixer l'âge, s'appelle « abal ». Un chameau, en général, s'appelle « amadjour », pluriel « imoudjar » ou bien « amiss », pluriel « imnass ». Une chamelle se dit « talemt », pluriel « tillemine », Celle qui a mis bas depuis un an « ti-n-aouara ». Une chamelle pleine « timettirout ». Un chameau-étalon s'appelle « amali » pluriel « imoulaï ».

Le mouton à laine n'existe pas au Ahaggar. On ne trouve que le mouton à poil que les Touareg appellent « ekrer », pluriel « ikraren ». Ce mouton est couvert d'une toison à poil long et rude et ses membres sont plus hauts que ceux des moutons à laine. C'est pourquoi il a reçu le nom d'*ovis longipes* ou mouton à longues jambes. La viande de cet ovin est bonne et n'a pas l'odeur caractérisque de celle du mouton à laine d'Algérie.

On ne trouve dans les oasis du Tidikelt et du Touat que cette espèce de mouton.

Quant aux chèvres, elles sont de deux espèces : celle à poils ras et celle à longs poils. Elles n'ont pas de caractéristiques qui les différencient notablement des chèvres d'Algérie.

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## CHAPITRE X

### Le Commerce. — Les Caravanes. — Mercuriales

Les Touareg du Ahaggar sont en relations commerciales : 1° Avec les Oasis Sahariennes (Tidikelt et Touat) pour les dattes, la « chegga » (cotonnade bleue), le « malti » et le « mahmoudi » (cotonnade blanche), le « chach » (mousseline blanche), les haïks, le tabac à fumer « taba » et à priser « chemma », le thé, le sucre.

Ils y importent des chameaux ou chamelles, des moutons à poils, des chèvres, des ânes, du beurre fondu et quelquefois des produits qu'ils ont rapportés de l'Aïr.

2° Avec l'Aïr et le Damergou.

N'ayant pas d'industrie, ils achètent tous les produits de l'industrie de l'Aïr. Ils acquièrent ainsi, par voie d'échanges, (indépendamment du bechna) des armes : lances, poignards, sabres, boucliers ; des selles de mehara, des sacoches de toutes formes en cuir découpé et colorié, des petites boîtes en peau, des étoffes bleues lustrées, « ilechchane », des gandouras à manches, de l'étoffe noire « kehal » pour les voiles et aussi des « tikamarine » ou fromages secs. On fabrique dans l'Aïr des selles pour chevaux, ayant la forme des selles mexicaines, avec étriers ronds en cuivre massif, et recouvertes en peau de guépard. (L'Amenokal Moussa ag Amastane en a une).

CRATÈRE DU VOLCAN OUKSEM

Ils importent à l'Aïr et quelquefois au Damergou du sel, tiré de la sebkha d'Amadr'or, de la « chegga » achetée au Tidikelt, des chameaux, des ânes, des dattes achetées au Tidikelt, du « teheredjlé » (Hartemisia Herba-alba. Composées), etc.

3° Avec l'Adhar' et le Niger. d'où ils tirent du bechna, du riz, des moutons et des chameaux.

Ils y importent du sel, de la « chegga », des dattes.

4° Avec R'at et R'adamès, mais peu fréquemment.

Ils y achètent des burnous de luxe, des sabres, du sucre, du thé et de la « chegga ».

Ils y importent des chameaux, des outres, des cordes en poil de chameau, des moutons.

En outre, les gens du Tidikelt, et en particulier les Ahl-Azzi, viennent leur acheter sur place le blé et l'orge qu'ils récoltent dans leurs « ar'erems ».

Les Touareg du Ahaggar désireraient vivement avoir, comme les Azdjer, la protection des grandes caravanes qui vont de Tripoli à R'at, à l'Aïr et au Soudan. Ils loueraient ainsi leurs chameaux aux commerçants et ce serait pour eux une source de revenus importants (Déjà les Aït-Loaïn vont louer leurs chameaux aux commerçants de R'at). Ils voudraient bien voir détourner ce courant vers le Ahaggar et nous avons le plus grand intérêt à les pousser dans cette voie.

Toutes les opérations qu'ils font ont lieu par voie d'échanges. Les bénéfices les plus importants qu'ils réalisent résultent des échanges qu'ils font à l'Aïr et au Niger avec le sel, la « chegga » et les dattes qu'ils y importent.

*Mercuriale du Ahaggar*

Il n'y a pas de prix fixes pour les mehara, chameaux ou chamelles. Toutefois, pour les jeunes chameaux, les prix sont fixes et connus. Ainsi :

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Un chameau de | 4 ans, « aqnefoud », | vaut | 100 | francs. |
| — | 3 ans, « aleggues », | » | 75 | » |
| — | 2 ans, « aledjoudh », | » | 50 | » |

Pour les moutons et chèvres, la base du prix est la chèvre qui vaut 3 mitqals ou 7 fr. 50. Une brebis vaut une chèvre et demie, soit 11 fr. 25 et un bélier, deux chèvres, soit 15 francs.

Une charge de dattes se vend au Ahaggar 75 francs.

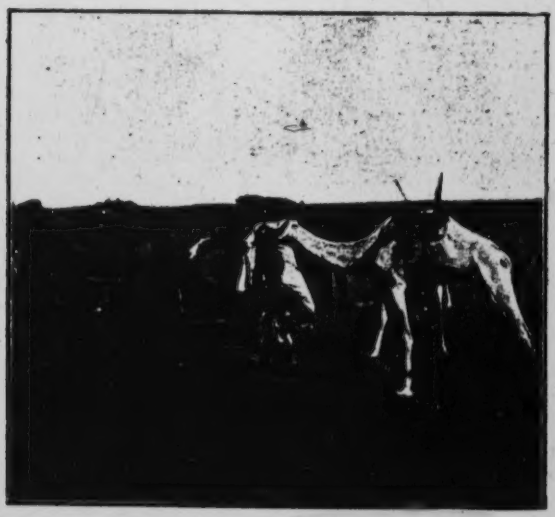
L'orge se vend 1 franc la « guessaâ » ou 60 francs la charge de 60 « guessaâs ». Le blé, 1 fr. 25 la « guessaâ », soit 75 francs la charge.

La « chegga » s'y vend 1 fr. 25 le mètre.

Le beurre fondu est vendu sept « mouddas » (petite mesure en bois) pour une chèvre, soit 7 fr. 50.

*Mercuriale de l'Ahnet*

Une chamelle, 50 à 60 mitqals (125 à 150 francs).
Une charge de dattes, 30 mitqals (75 francs).
Un mouton, 7 fr. 50.
Une chèvre, 10 francs.
Le beurre fondu, sept « mouddas » pour 7 fr. 50.
Un âne, 25 francs.



CARAVANE TARGUIE

A noter la façon dont les Touareg attachent leurs chameaux les uns derrière les autres, en file indienne, quand ils vont en caravanes. Aussi celles-ci sont-elles mieux ordonnées que les

caravanes arabes. On y entend surtout moins de cris, de jurons, etc. La caravane targuie passe presque silencieusement, sans désordre, et cela n'en vaut que mieux.

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## CHAPITRE XI

### Industrie. — Les Forgerons

L'industrie est nulle au Ahaggar. Elle n'existe pas. On ne peut qualifier d'industrie les petites réparations aux armes que font quelques forgerons peu nombreux, ou les petits ustensiles en bois que les Touareg fabriquent pour leur usage personnel.

Nous l'avons vu plus haut : les Touareg des Ahaggar vont acheter toutes leurs armes à l'Aïr. On n'en fabrique pas chez eux.

J'ai vu travailler, dans l'Ahnet, un forgeron, le nommé Eg Ahnet. Il réparait des lances, sabres ou poignards et il me disait qu'il fabriquait aussi quelques bijoux quand on lui en commandait. Il sollicitait des boîtes de conserves pour faire ses soudures. Ses outils étaient assez primitifs.

Il avait :

Un soufflet « tissedhi » . ⵉ ⵙ ⵜ, composé de deux tubes en fer encastrés dans un morceau de bois creusé auquel étaient adaptées deux outres ouvertes aux extrémités. Ces ouvertures étaient maintenues par des baguettes et munies d'anses pour les mains. Les tubes en fer envoyaient l'air dans un fourneau en argile « aneffi » ⵍ ⵉ ⵍ ⵏ placé devant le feu.

Une enclume « *tahount* » + ⁞ : ⁞ +
Des limes « *azezoua* » . : X X
Des pinces « *ir'emdane* » ⁞ V ⊐ ⁞
Un gros marteau « *afadhis* » ⊙ ∃ I
Un petit marteau « *tafadhist* » ⊕ ∃ I +
Des cisailles « *timouda* » . V ⊐ +

Une hachette « *tetaout* » + : + + qu'il avait fabriquée avec une branche d'arbre coudée.

Enfin, une racloire « *asekredh* » ∃ O ·: ⊙ qu'il emmanchait dans deux poignées en bois, chaque fois qu'il voulait s'en servir.

Il fabriquait aussi des cadenas et des clefs en cuivre. Il se plaignait de la dureté des temps : le métier n'allait plus. Où était l'époque des grands rezzous, des expéditions, où on lui apportait quantité d'armes à réparer, à aiguiser ! Où allons-nous ? Les temps sont bien changés !

Il court sur les forgerons quantité de légendes. On dit que, parce qu'ils travaillent avec le fer et le feu, ils iront dans le feu de l'enfer. On les méprise, d'abord parce qu'ils se livrent à un métier manuel, déchéance aux yeux d'un Targui ; ensuite parce qu'on dit qu'ils sont d'origine nègre. On prétend aussi qu'ils étaient païens et que leur conversion à l'islamisme n'est pas sincère. Ils passaient aussi pour sorciers. Le cheikh Ben Djellas (voir l'Appendice) dit d'eux : « Les forgerons haïssent Dieu et son Prophète et ils trahissent Dieu et son Prophète ». Leur aïeule s'appelait Tamamenet.

Le forgeron ne compte dans aucune tribu. Il va où bon lui semble, là où il trouve de l'ouvrage. Il va quelquefois au combat et l'on dit qu'il se bat bien ; mais un Targui noble ne croisera pas le fer avec lui.

Au Ahaggar, le forgeron s'appelle « mr'allem », altération du mot arabe « maâlem ». Il existe pourtant un mot en tamaheq pour les désigner : « inedh », pl. « inedhane », mais il n'est pas employé.

On m'a montré à Tamanr'asset de nombreux tombeaux anciens (de forme « chouchat ») qui, paraît-il, seraient les sépultures d'une tribu de forgerons qui aurait été massacrée et serait morte de faim, il y a très longtemps.

Les jardins des « ar'erems » du Ahaggar sont cultivés par les Harratine du Touat et du Tidikelt qui apportent avec eux leurs outils. Ce sont eux aussi qui creusent les « foggaras » ou puits à galerie et tous les outils dont ils se servent viennent des Oasis Sahariennes.

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## CHAPITRE XII

### Agriculture. — Ar'erems

Tandis que dans tout l'Ahnet on ne trouve aucune trace d'agriculture, si petite soit-elle, à cause de la rareté des puits dont le débit suffit seulement à l'abreuvage des troupeaux, au Ahaggar au contraire, pays montagneux, où l'eau se trouve un peu partout, il s'est créé un certain nombre de petits villages, appelés « ar'erem » ⵔⵗⵔⵉⵎ, pl. « ir'ermane » ⵉⵔⵗⵔⵎⵏ.

IDELÈS (KOUDIA)

Les Touareg, nobles ou imr'ad, répugnant à tout travail manuel, ces villages n'auraient pu être créés sans le concours indispensable des Harratine du Touat et du Tidikelt que les Touareg appellent les « Izeggar'en » ⵉⵣⵗⵔⵏ c'est-à-dire les « mulâtres ». Tout a été fait par ces derniers : les puits

« tounine » qui servent à l'irrigation, comme à Tazerouk ; les « foggaras » ou puits à galerie, « ifélane », et leurs canaux d'irrigation, comme à Abalessa, Tit, Tamanr'asset; l'aménagement des sources, comme à Tadjemout. Les Harratine créèrent les jardins et devinrent khammès des Touareg, propriétaires du sol. Ils se fixèrent dans ces villages et y élevèrent des huttes en

FIGUIER À ABALESSA

« diss » (Imperata cylindrica) ou en « berdi » (Typha angustifolia) et des maisonnettes en terre battue.

Les Harratine font pousser dans ces jardins du blé, de l'orge et du bechna. Ce sont les trois cultures essentielles, auxquelles ils adjoignent celle de quelques légumes : oignons, kabouyas ou citrouilles, pastèques et « guerroum » (sorte de melons longs qui, verts et n'ayant pas atteint encore leur développement normal, se mangent comme des concombres). Enfin, à Tit, ils

ont planté quelques beaux figuiers et de la vigne qui produit un raisin qu'on trouve délicieux à cette latitude. A Abalessa également, il y a quelques plants de vigne et un beau palmier.

Les jardins, ou plutôt les champs, sont enclos d'une haie pour éviter les déprédations des chameaux qui pâturent en liberté la nuit. Mais il y en a qui n'ont pas cette barrière protectrice et les Harratine sont obligés de monter la garde la nuit, à tour de rôle, en allumant des feux, pour éloigner les chameaux des récoltes.

RÉGION DE L'HERHAPOK
AU 1er PLAN A GAUCHE UNE TOMBE ANCIENNE
DE FORME CHOUCHAT
(KOUDIA)

En général, il y a six khammès par champ et chacun d'eux a droit à l'eau pendant une nuit et un jour. L'eau amenée de la foggara se déverse dans des « madjens » ou bassins-réservoirs, comme dans les oasis, pour de là être répartie entre les jardins à l'aide de saguias ou canaux d'irrigation.

Le khammès reçoit pour son salaire :

1° Le cinquième de la récolte ;

2° L'orge qu'il a semée dans les saguias d'irrigation ;

3° Une charge de blé, en hiver, et une demi-charge en été, pour sa consommation personnelle.

Il existe aussi, au Ahaggar, de petites oasis de palmiers qui ont été plantées on ne sait par qui, par exemple à Tibedjehine et à Silet (Ahaggar), à Djor'raf, Tafarakrak et Teguift (Immidir). Les Touareg, qui en sont propriétaires, les laissent à l'abandon et se contentent d'y venir récolter les dattes au moment voulu. Aussi ces palmiers, qui ne reçoivent aucuns soins, laissent-ils retomber jusqu'au sol une abondante chevelure de djerids secs qui en rend l'ascension très difficile. Peut-être est-ce pour éviter les vols de dattes ?

Du fait que ces palmiers, bien que non entretenus, produisent des dattes qui, si elles ne sont pas de bonne qualité, sont cependant très comestibles ; considérant aussi qu'un très beau palmier existe à Abalessa (qui pourrait devenir une superbe oasis, car l'eau n'y manque pas), on peut se demander si la création d'oasis de palmiers au Ahaggar ne pourrait pas être tentée avec succès. Mais les Ahl Azzi et tous les habitants du Tidikelt qui ne vivent que de la vente de leurs dattes aux Touareg ont, au contraire, persuadé à ces derniers que le climat de leur pays ne convenait pas à la culture du palmier. Les Ahaggar, du reste, ne tenaient pas du tout à se lancer dans des plantations dont on ne pouvait espérer tirer profit qu'après plusieurs années et ils préférèrent s'en tenir aux cultures de blé, d'orge et de bechna qui rapportent immédiatement.

GOURBI DE HARATINE A IDELÈS (KOUDIA)

L'Amenokal Moussa ag Amastane, se rendant bien compte que l'ère des rezzous sera bientôt close pour toujours, s'aperçoit qu'il faudra demander à la terre les moyens de subsistance que les courses procuraient anciennement. Aussi a-t-il annoncé son intention de faire creuser une foggara à « Endid » et d'y créer des jardins et son exemple sera très probablement suivi. Il y a là une tentative qui sera certainement encouragée et appuyée et qui démontre l'évolution lente qui commence à se produire chez les Touareg, pour le plus grand bien de la paix et de la civilisation.

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# CHAPITRE XIII

## Les Tombeaux anciens, — Les Pierres dressées

*Tombeaux anciens.* — On trouve un peu partout, dans l'Ahnet, dans l'Adhar', au Ahaggar, dans l'Immidir, et même aux bords des oueds qui traversent le Tanezrouft, des quantités d'anciens tombeaux affectant, soit la forme tronconique ou « chouchat », soit la forme d'une petite tour ou « bazina », semblables à ceux qu'on trouve dans toute l'Afrique du Nord.

J'en ai vu cependant un, à Tamanr'asset (tout près de la tombe de la tamenokalt Taber'ourt oult Akhlakham, des Imanan), qui avait une forme spéciale. C'était un amas de pierres en forme de parallélipipède rectangle de 4 mètres de long sur 1 mètre de large et 1 mètre de haut.

Les Touareg disent que ces tombeaux, qu'ils appellent « adebni », pluriel « idebnane » (mot qui paraît dériver du mot arabe « beni », construction), sont ceux des « Izabbaren » ⵉⵣⴱⴱⴰⵔⵏ. Or, ce mot signifie, en tamaheq, « ogres » et il fait au singulier « zabbar » ⵣⴱⴱⴰⵔ, « ogre ». Les Ahaggar et Taïtoq refusent d'admettre que ce sont peut-être leurs ancêtres, à l'époque du paganisme, qui avaient des tombeaux de cette forme. « Les Izabbaren, disent-ils, n'ont rien de commun avec nous. Ce ne sont pas nos ancêtres ». C'est pour cette raison que M. le professeur Gautier a pu fouiller quelques-uns de ces tombeaux, sans opposition de leur part.

Cependant, on trouve également une autre sorte de tombeaux, ayant encore la forme circulaire, mais avec les « chouahed » ou témoins en usage chez tous les musulmans, tandis que les tombeaux « chouchat » ou « bazina » en sont dépourvus. Cette sorte de tombeaux est plus rare. Elle paraît être une forme intermédiaire entre les tombes des « izabbaren » et les tombes actuelles.

D'autre part, les Touareg vous montrent le tombeau de Tin

Hinane, l'aïeule dont ils prétendent descendre et qui est situé au confluent de l'oued Tefirt et de l'oued Abalessa. Or, ce tombeau affecte la forme d'un immense mur circulaire et il est entouré d'autres tombeaux de forme « chouchat » qui sont ceux des serviteurs de Tin Hinane. A côté du tombeau de cette dernière se trouve celui de Takamat, cette femme que les Kel Ahnet revendiquent pour leur aïeule. Tous ces tombeaux ressemblent à s'y méprendre à ceux des « izabbaren ». Pourquoi les Touareg renient-ils ceux-ci tandis qu'ils reconnaissent ceux de Tin Hinane, de Takamat et de leurs serviteurs ?

Nous avons vu au chapitre « Superstitions, Croyances » que les Touareg vont consulter les tombeaux des izzabaren pour avoir des nouvelles des absents.

Dans l'oued Tafidjiq (à 4 heures de marche d'Idelès) se trouve un tombeau, objet d'une grande vénération de la part des Touareg du Ahaggar. C'est celui d'Adjadj Alemine (probablement le missionnaire qui les a convertis à l'islamisme. Voir chapitre de l'origine des Touareg). Les Ahaggar disent que cet Adjadj Alemine était un marabout, un saint, et ils l'invoquent dans leurs prières quand ils se trouvent dans l'embarras ou dans la peine, comme les arabes invoquent, dans les mêmes circonstances, Sidi Abdelkader el Djillali. Je n'ai pas vu son tombeau, mais on m'a affirmé qu'il a les « chouahed », comme toutes les tombes des musulmans.

HUTTES DE HARRATINE A IDELÈS (KOUDIA)

*Pierres dressées.* — J'ai trouvé dans la Koudia du Ahaggar, d'après les indications du guide Deguemma ag Chikat, des Adjouh-n-Taheli, un point où se trouvaient rassemblées une dizaine de pierres dressées dont une seulement restait encore

debout. Les autres étaient tombées et on voyait encore, pour certaines, la trace du trou dans lequel elles étaient fichées, ainsi que les pierres placées à la base pour les maintenir debout.

La pierre qui reste debout est couverte, sur une de ses faces, de caractères rupestres profondément gravés, à côté d'autres presque effacés. Elle a une hauteur de 2 m. 60 et une largeur de 25 cent. environ sur chacune de ses quatre faces unies et lisses.

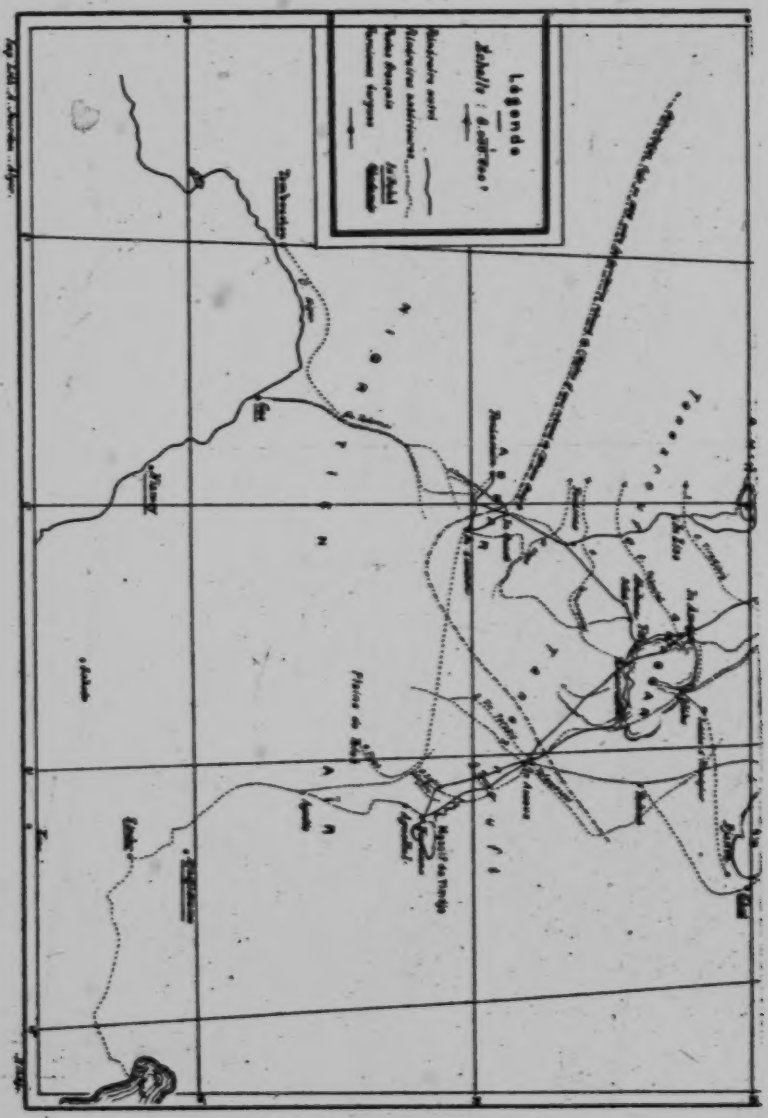
Les autres pierres, tombées sur le sol, ont à peu près les mêmes dimensions et l'une d'elles a aussi des inscriptions rupestres.

J'ai pris des estampages des inscriptions gravées dans la pierre restée encore debout.

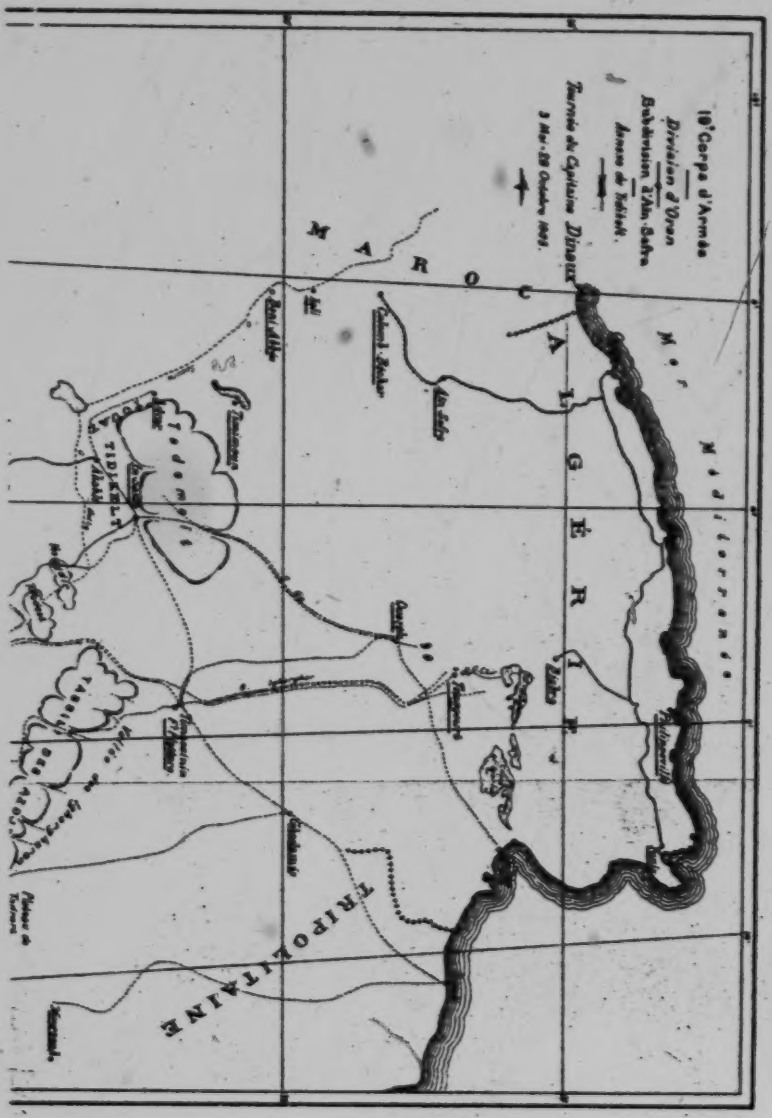
Tout près, dans les rochers de la gara au pied de laquelle elle se trouve, j'ai vu aussi un certain nombre de dessins rupestres dont j'ai pris également des estampages.

L'emplacement de ces pierres se trouve exactement près de la gara de Tiltekine, non loin de la source de l'oued In Dalladj, à 1700 mètres d'altitude environ (dans la Koudia du Ahaggar), sur le chemin qui conduit de Tamanr'asset à la sebkha d'Amadr'or, par Idelès.

J'ai interrogé le guide et les Touareg qui connaissent ces pierres et, naturellement, ils n'ont pu me fournir à leur sujet aucune explication. « Nous les appelons *les pierres debout*, « ebdaden » » ⵍ ⴰ ⴰ ⵎ. Ce sont les anciens qui ont fait cela, m'ont-ils » dit. C'est très vieux. C'est tout ce que nous en savons ».




[END MAP (A)]


10e Corps d'Armée
Division d'Oran
Bataillon d'Alg. Sahra
Annexe de Biskrah.
Tournée du Capitaine Dinaux
3 Mai - 28 Octobre 1881.
MAROC
ALGÉRIE
TRIPOLITAINE
Mer Méditerranée
Alger
Biskra
Laghouat
Ghadamès
Tadmait
Tidikelt
Tamanrasset
Tabelbala
Bou Alem
Colomb-Béchar
Aïn Sefra
Tombouctou
Mer de Sahara
Oasis
Oued Saoura
Oued Guir
Oued Ghir
Oued Ziz
Oued Rhir
Oued Mya
Oued Igharghar
Oued Mekrou
Oued Tilemsi
Oued Niger
Oued Tafassasset
Oued Tamanrasset
Oued Tamesna
Oued Tamesnaï
Oued Tamesnaï
Oued Tamesnaï

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[TITLE PAGE]

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# *Political Systems Of Pastoral Tuareg In Air And Ahaggar.*

By Johannes Nicolaisen

The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive area of the Western Sahara and adjacent regions of the Sudan. The territory dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° North Latitude and between 5° West Longitude and 10° East Longitude. They fall into seven main groups or major political units (fig. 1) comprising 240,000–300,000 individuals, their negro slaves excluded. The two northernmost groups (the Kel Ahaggar and the Kel Ajjer) live in the true desert country and number less than 10,000 or about 3% of all Tuareg. In Ahaggar the number according to statistics of 1950 is 4,611. The Air Tuareg further south are more numerous and seem to comprise more than 20.000 individuals (cf. Lhote 1947, p. 15f. & 1955, p. 157).

This study of Tuareg political systems has as its foundation a part of my own field material collected in 1951 (in Ahaggar), 1952 (in Tassili-n-Ajjer), 1953 (in Ahaggar), and 1954–55 (in Ahaggar including Ahnet, and in Air). I have spent about two years in these Tuareg countries living most of the time in Ahaggar and adjacent regions, while my stay further south in Air was limited to six months.

It is my intention here to describe the political systems of Air and Ahaggar, but as my final task is concerned with their origin I find it necessary to take up also more general aspects of Tuareg culture and the distribution of certain cultural traits. I shall make use also of Tuareg oral traditions and of the very comprehensive material on Tuareg history gathered by Arab historians and geographers of the Middle Ages. Thus I do not follow the ordinary lines of any particular anthropological school.

I am much indebted to Dr. Birket-Smith (University of Copenhagen) from whom I acquired my general anthropological knowledge together with a keen interest in historical problems, and to Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry of the London University where I have learnt what I know about social anthropology. Dr. Phyllis Kaberry has taken a profound interest in my studies, and I feel grateful for her kind help and assistance in all matters concerning Tuareg political systems and Tuareg social structure in general.

My journeys among the Tuareg were carried out by means of grants from various Danish foundations, notably Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond, Carlsberg Fondet, Knud Rasmussen Fondet, and Jens Lohmand Rasmussens Rejselegat. During my last journey The University College London assigned me a grant without which I should not have been able to gather the material here presented

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on the Air Tuareg. I wish to express my sincere thanks to the above mentioned foundations and their directors. 122

For the transcription of Tuareg letters I have on the whole adopted Foucauld's system (cf. Foucauld 1920 & 1951–52):– 104 212

| Tuareg Letters (*Tifinar*) | Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters | | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| ⵓ | b | ب | |
| ⵛ | ch | ش | |
| ⵔ | d | د | |
| ⵟ | ḍ | ض | Emphatic |
| ⵎ | f | ف | |
| ⵖ | g | | Hard |
| ⵊ | ǧ | | A peculiar soft pronunciation something between g, d, j, and l |
| ⵀ | h | هـ | Aspirated |
| ⵉ | i | ي | Used both as consonant and vowel at the end of a word. At the beginning and in the middle of a word only as consonant. |
| ⵅ | j | | |
| ⵇ | k | ك | |
| ⵍ | l | ل | |
| ⵃ | ḥ | ح | Foucauld 1951–52 has the transcription ḫ [114] |
| ⵍⵍ | l | ل | |
| ⵎ | m | م | |
| ⵏ | n | ن | |
| ⵄ | ʕ | | Foucauld 1920 does not mention this letter [114] |
| ⵓ | ou | و | Consonant or vowel as for i mentioned above |
| ⵔ | r | ر | |

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104 212

| Tuareg Letters (*Tifinagh*) | Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters | | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| ⋮ | r | غ | Prononcunced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in literature. |
| ⊙ | s | س | |
| + | t | ت | |
| ⋿ | ṭ | ط | Emphatic |
| ⋇ | z | ز | |
| # | ẓ | | Emphatic |

128 For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that of the maps edited by Institut Géographique National. The pronunciation of vowels is not indicated. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels [212] with a dot, which may stand for any vowel.

*Pastoral Ecology in Ahaggar and Air.*

[361] The Tuareg of the true desert country have their camps in or close to mountain [131] massifs of which the more important are Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. Geographically these two regions have many traits in common. In Ahaggar, which rises to 132 3000 metres above sea level, the annual precipitation according to official statistics is between 20 mm and 40 mm. These figures are extremely low, but more characteristic of the desert country is the irregularity of the rainfalls. In some years there may fall no rain at all, while in others precipitation is much bigger than appears from the figures above. Several dry years may follow each other alternating with periods of abundant rainfall. According to investigations by Dubiéf four years out of ten are so dry that rainfall is of no importance for the regeneration of pastures (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23). Owing to the scarcity and the fluctuations of precipitation 137 in Ahaggar a persistent vegetation cannot generally exist outside river valleys and depressions which are flooded during heavy rain. In the valleys perennial plants comprise not only grasses and herbs but also tall trees among which tamarisk and acacia are prominent. In dry years the perennial plants have little value as fodder 233 for the domestic animals of the Tuareg. A great many goats may then die from 221 hunger, and to avoid such a disaster some Tuareg take their flocks to the plains of Tamesna or to the Adrar-n-Iforas Mountains where rain is normally more plentiful and grazing better than in Ahaggar. However, even in dry years the majority of Ahaggar Tuareg will remain in their native country with their goat-flocks. For although they run the risk of losing a great many goats during a drought in Ahaggar

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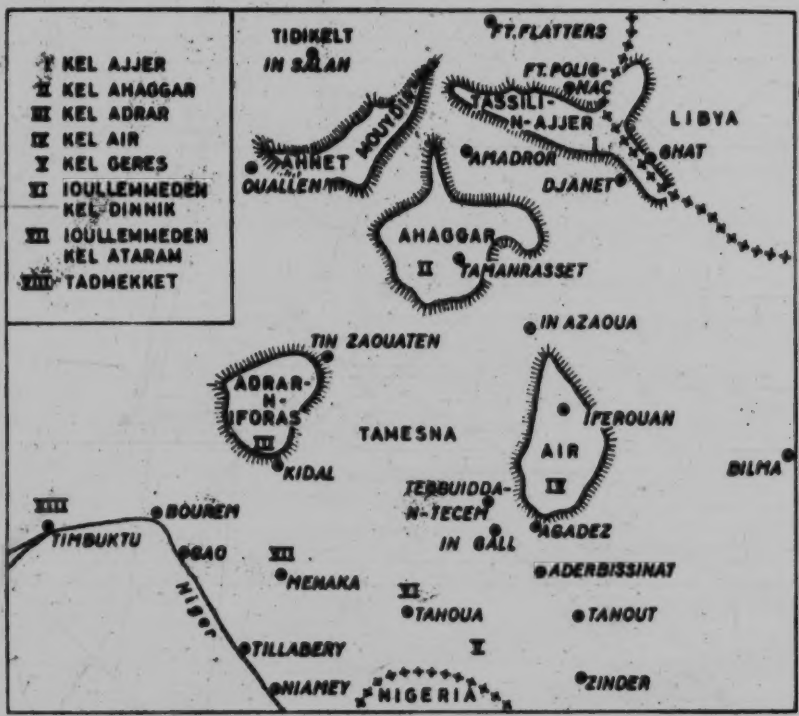


Fig. 1.–Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg, who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups as mentioned in the text are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. – The Tadmekket Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Ioullemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 160 kilometres.

those surviving, although emaciated, will quickly recover as soon as the rainfall starts again. In addition it is often very difficult to take goats through the barren desert country south of Ahaggar without severe loss. With camels, which are also very important domestic animals, things are different. Camels make a great demand on fodder, they are very valuable, can be sold for rather high prices in the oases, and they have a very slow increment compared with goats. For these reasons it is necessary or desirable to keep herds of camels in the south when pastures are dry in Ahaggar, and camels can be taken through the barren desert country without much difficulty. In dry years many Ahaggar Tuareg have their camel-herds in Tamesna, about 500 kilometres from the camps in Ahaggar, and there are even nomads who keep their she-camels constantly in these regions, where the animals are guarded by herdsmen whomen frequently slaves.

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Ahaggar
Air



During drought periods the uttermost powerty is the lot of the Ahaggar Tuareg, who must then rely almost exclusively on agricultural products for their nourishment. But in years of abundant rainfall they have much milk during the winter, and they make butter and cheese to be used during the hot season when milk even in good years is scarce. They then also have meat for their sustenance but this is less important than milk-food.

In good years the perennial plants do not form the most important fodder of the domestic animals. For heavy rainfall will as if by magic change the barren country outside the valleys. An extremely rich vegetation of annual grasses and herbs springs up, and these tender plants constitute the very best fodder. But as, owing to the irregularity of the rainfall, annual pastures will not appear every year, it is difficult to breed other animals than goats and camels to which can be added donkeys used exclusively as beasts of burden and for riding. It is true that most Ahaggar Tuareg have a few sheep but none of them have cows (zebus). Cow-breeding and also effective sheep-breeding cannot be practised in a country like Ahaggar where for a period of years there may be no pastures of annual plants. In dry years the thorny acacias form the most important fodder of camels and goats, but the leaves of these trees cannot be eaten by cows and only with great difficulty by sheep.

In Ahaggar rain may fall at most seasons as the country is situated on the frontier of two different rainfall belts, namely that of the Mediterranean where rain occurs mainly in winter, and that of the Sudan where rain will fall late in summer. For a long period of years rain has fallen most abundantly late in summer, but according to Dubiéf this has not always been so. Not many years ago rainfall was almost equally common at all seasons ((Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23), and Ahaggar still has the characteristics of two distinct climatic zones, likewise as botanically it belongs both to the Mediterranean and to the Sudan.

On my camel journey from Ahaggar to Air via the wells of In Ebeggi and In Azaoua in April 1955 I experienced a rapid change of climatical and botanical conditions. At the outskirts of the southern slopes of the Ahaggar Mountains a persistent vegetation is very scarce in the valleys, and between the two above-mentioned wells there are practically no permanent plants. Broadly speaking the desert region between Ahaggar and Air is nothing but plains of gravel and stone interspersed with rocks and hills. But a little scattered rain will occur even in these regions and gives rise to annual pastures which are utilized by passing caravans. Otherwise the country is uninhabitable.

In the northernmost part of the Air massif acacias and tufts of perennial grasses grow in most valleys as in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Mountains. But compared with Ahaggar permanent vegetation is very rich and in places forms almost impenetrable jungles of trees and brushwood. Further south in Air perenniel plants including trees are very common also outside the valleys, and the country south of the massif very rapidly changes into a kind of steppe or open savannah. The com-

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Ahaggar
Air



paratively rich vegetation of Air contains species found also in Ahaggar, but 137
Ahaggar has Mediterranean plants including several saline species which do not thrive in Air, where there are tropical or Sudanese species unknown to Ahaggar.

Botanically Air is very closely connected with the Sudan, and the mountain 132
massif is within the Sudanese zone of summer rain. It is true that rain at the 137
northern outskirts of Air occasionally falls in winter and may then give rise to scattered pasture of annual plants, but these rains are of no real importance. The important rainfalls of Air occur in the period June–September, and particularly in July and August. As may be gathered from the description of botanical conditions, Air has a much bigger annual precipitation than has Ahaggar. Thus the village of Iferouan in Northern Air has 74 mm, while Agadez at the southern slopes of the massif has 179 mm. Precipitation will of course vary from one year to the other, but rain will always fall sufficiently for the spring of annual plants. This is the reason for a type of stock-breeding different from that of Ahaggar. In Air the [233]
Tuareg are richer in camels, they do not possess so many goats but are very rich in sheep, and most of them have zebus.

The climatic and botanical differences of Air and Ahaggar can be seen more 132
directly from the division of the year into seasons (fig. 2). Air has a summer and a 805
winter season between which there are two seasons termed *akasa* and *ṛarat*. These two words as seasonal terms express the fact that rain and annual pastures in Air are recurrent events, as the word *akasa* literally means "green annual plants", and the word *ṛarat* refers to "dry annual plants". Both words are known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg but are by them not applied as seasonal terms, for in their country rain will not occur every year and may fall at most seasons.

Conditions for stock-breeding are very much better in Air than in Ahaggar, 233
but the latter country has a few superior qualities:– 1) Part of the year Ahaggar [122]
has a comparatively cool climate which is said to have a positive influence on the lactation of domestic animals. 2) In Ahaggar all over the country there are saline [135]
pastures which play an important part in stock-breeding – not because these plants [137]
are very nourishing but the animals do not thrive without salt. In Air saline plants are very rare and found mainly to the south and south-west of the massif where water and soil also contain salt. Many pastoralists will migrate to these regions [221]
shortly after the rains, while people who do not undertake such migrations feed their domestic animals with salt. Camels and cows have a particular need for fodder with a salt content. 3) Ahaggar has richer wells and a greater number of 312
permanent ponds than Air. This may seem rather peculiar as precipitation is much bigger in the south than in the north. In Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer some ponds may contain fish apparently unknown in Air. In the latter country there are a [136]
great many ponds or even small lakes during the rains but they dry out very quickly when rainfall ceases. Water in Air most of the year is drawn from wells many of which go dry during the hot season; this will frequently lead to quarrels [578]
between nomads.

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Ahaggar
Aïr



262 Even when grazing is good stock-breeding products are less important for food
In Ahaggar than in Air as is illustrated in fig. 3 depicting the relative importance
[222] of milk food and vegetable food. A small part of the vegetable food is provided by collecting seeds of grasses and herbs, while roots, stems, and berries of wild plants are less significant. The bulk of Tuareg plant food consists of millet, barley, wheat,
[241] and dates. In Ahaggar many Tuareg have gardens with wheat and barley cultivated
[563] for them by black-skinned agriculturists generally known by the Arab word *Haratin* (*Izzegaren* to the Tuareg). But most Ahaggar Tuareg acquire the bulk of
438 their plant food from caravan trading with the oases of Tidikelt (dates) and with
262 Sudanese villages as far south as Zinder (millet). Even in years of drought they can obtain millet from the Sudan in exchange for rock-salt broken at Amadror north-east of Ahaggar. In Air caravan trading with salt seems less necessary to Tuareg subsistence, although there are also in this country Tuareg who trade with salt from Amadror or Bilma. Most pastoral households however have a fairly regular
[234] surplus of livestock, butter, and cheese which can provide for the necessary amount
[563] of millet bought in Agadez or south of the massif in Damergou. There are also
241 in Air a great many negroid agriculturists from whom pastoral Tuareg can buy
262 vegetable products. But millet, which forms the prominent part of Tuareg plant
[438] food, is grown to a very slight extent by the agriculturists of Air. Dates are important in particular to the Ahaggar Tuareg who acquire large quantities from the oases of Tidikelt. There are also a few Ahaggar clans the members of which own half-wild palms with dates of an inferior quality, as there are Tuareg who have a few palms growing in their garden plots. In Air dates are not so important for food but even there pastoral Tuareg may have some palms. Among the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer it is very common for pastoralists to sow wheat and barley in the river valleys when these have been heavily flooded (Nicolaisen 1954, p. 83, 88), and this primitive agricultural method was apparently known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg in the past (Duveyrier 1864, p. 372). More recently many pastoral Tuareg
[312] of Ahaggar and Air have taken up agriculture by means of irrigation. There seems
[221] to be a tendency towards semi-nomadism among the Tuareg who are very dependent on vegetable food derived from agriculture.

### *The Negroes Of The Sahara.*

136 In the above section on Tuareg ecology it is stated that Air climatically and botanically is closely linked with the Sudan. This is true also zoologically as the Air fauna contains a great many species of birds and mammals characteristic of tropical Africa. The bird life of Air seems very akin to that of the Sudanese savannah, and, for instance, guinea fowls are extremely common even in valleys of the northernmost parts of the massif. As examples of tropical mammal life in Air we may here mention that the wart-hog lives in Central Air, and that oryx antelopes

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 76]

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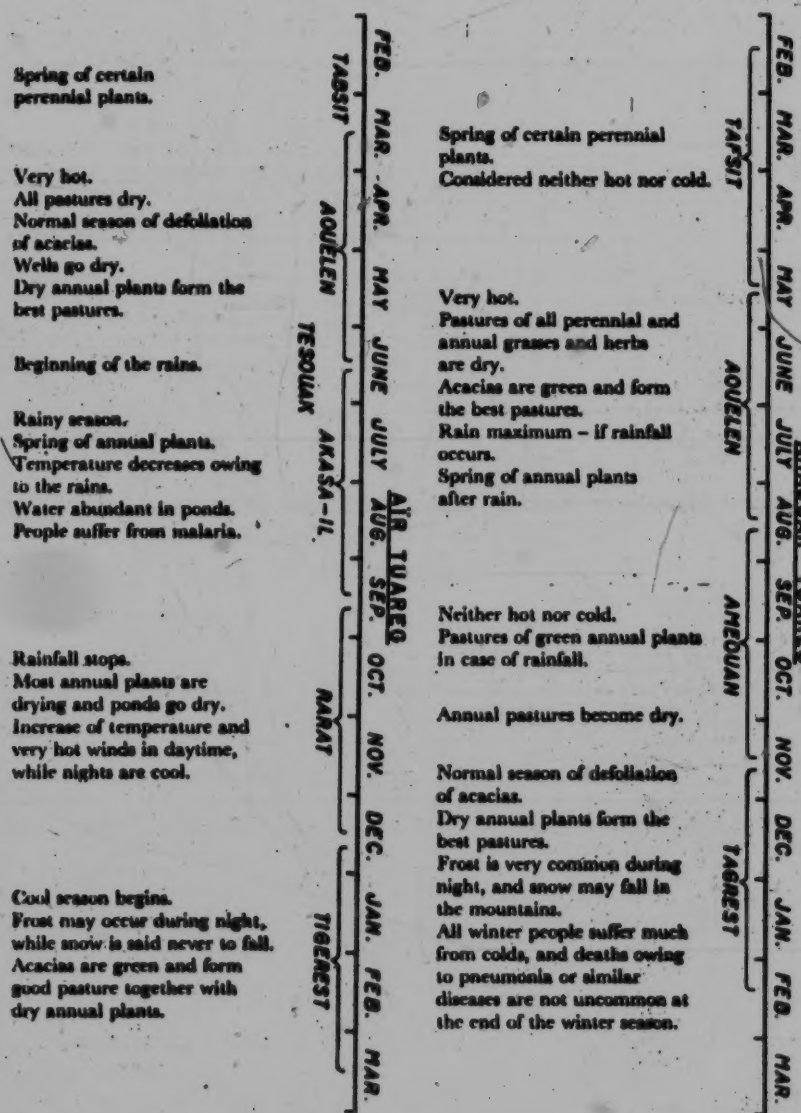
Ahaggar
Air



132
137
812
805




[164]
[164]

Fig. 2.–Division of the year into seasons among the Tuareg of Air and Ahaggar. Climatic and botanical characteristics are indicated. (The proper spelling of *tagerest* (tigerest) is *tagerest*, (tigerest) while *rarat* should be written *yarat*).

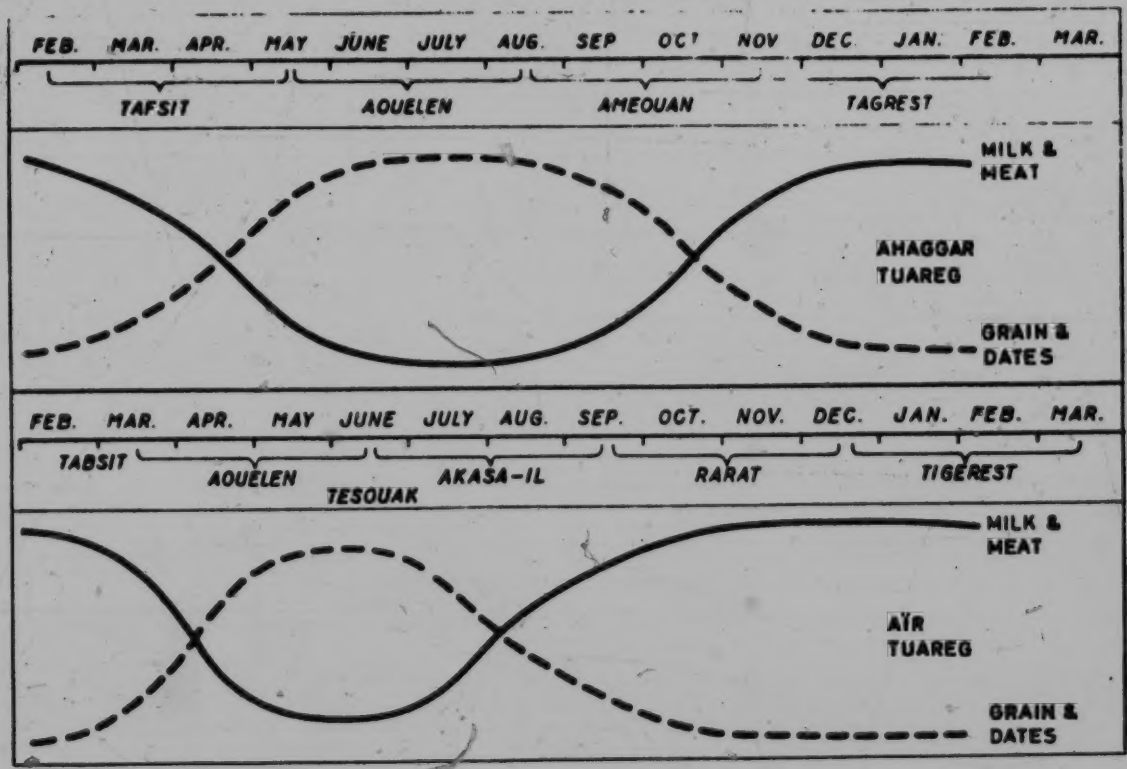



Fig. 3.-The relative importance throughout the year of food derived from stock-herding and vegetable food mainly comprising agricultural products. The curves describe conditions in good years.

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Ahaggar
Air



and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *eseli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tarahant)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of wells *(tawout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters.

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while

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Ahaggar
Air



563 601 akin to the system in use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (fig. 8 9).

563 342 The material culture of the Air negroes is marked by both northern and southern traits. The most common type of dwelling is a beehive hut *(tatrami)*, which I have also seen south of Air in the savannah, while similar huts are unknown to the north in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. The huts are often placed within round enclosures which are possibly of Sudanese origin (cf. fig. 15). There are however other types of dwellings in the Air villages. Very common is a square straw hut *(tchira)* with a slightly elevated saddle-roof. It is built by the men while the beehive hut is made by women, and both types are frequently used by one and the same household. This square hut differs constructionally from the straw huts used among settled agriculturists in the north. Also rather common is a barrel-vaulted hut *(chen)* covered with mats (fig. 14). It has the same name and is of much the same construction as the movable huts or tents used by most pastoral Air Tuareg (fig. 5 & 13). It is built by women and seems to have been introduced by pastoral [462] women married to settled agriculturists. Finally there is in some villages a rectangular house *(tarachami)* with a flat roof. It has very solid walls generally built from stones inserted in and covered with mud. It has various sub-types more elaborately described by Rodd, who considers these houses to be of northern origin (Rodd 1926a, p. 240ff.). They have most probably been introduced from Tassili-n-Ajjer 177 312 or the Fezzan from which regions came also the irrigation system now forming the basis of agriculture all over Air, namely the drawing of water from shallow wells *(anou)* by means of zebus. This system is extremely common in the Fezzan and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where, as mentioned, it was introduced also to Ahaggar. It is not known when it came to Air, but in many villages it has been adopted only very recently. Not so many years ago water for irrigation in most villages was apparently raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight *(aroudit)* (cf. Capot-Rey 1933, p. 322), but this method has now disappeared. It can be considered the oldest irrigation machine and it is no doubt [174] of very great age in Northern Africa including the Sudan. The method however 241 involves much strenuous work and in view of this it may seem quite natural that agriculture in Air was in the past also practised as shifting cultivation without any irrigation. Rodd states that in certain areas of Air rain-grown crops could be raised most years and that in the past a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way (Rodd 1926a, p. 139). I think this is correct. Certain crops as for instance millet has a very short period of growth; in Ahaggar (Abelessa) millet is sown in June-July and harvested in September, and it is said that it is not watered very much and never to the same extent as wheat grown in winter. It would no doubt be possible to grow millet in many parts of Air without artificial irrigation during the rains, and in fact millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation. But nowadays agri-

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Ahaggar
Air



241 culture is never practised without irrigation. Rodd thinks that the Air agriculturists
[114] gave up shifting cultivation because they are too poor to-day to risk losing their
[174] seed in the event of inadequate or irregular rainfall (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I rather think the reasons are that the agriculturists of the massif nowadays grow very little millet and have a better irrigation system than in the past. In summer maize forms by far the most important crop, and it needs irrigation which is comparatively easy when using zebus for drawing water. However this may be we can assume that a type of agriculture related to Sudanese shifting cultivation was formerly important to the Air agriculturists, and although irrigation is nowadays used everywhere agriculture in certain places of Air is still a kind of shifting cultivation. Many agriculturists do not resort to manuring nor do they carry fresh soil to the gardens as in Ahaggar. With crop rotation they utilize one and the same plot for a few years but then have to cut trees and brush-wood somewhere else to make a new
[312] garden. A new well must then also be dug, but as irrigation wells are rather shallow this work is comparatively easy.

171 There are in Air certain agricultural implements related to those of Sudanese
412 farming cultures. We must mention in particular a small hoe hafted by means of a thong *(tagoumit)*. It is unknown both in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer as well as further north in the desert while extremely common among Sudanese shifting cultivators. Feilberg has classed it with the so-called Old Sudanese Culture es-
[114] tablished by Baumann (Feilberg 1934, p. 260ff. – Baumann 1940, p. 50ff.; 1944, p. 213ff.). Baumann claims that this culture did not know the sickle, considered by him an implement of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 56ff.; 1944, p. 283ff.). The sickle (Air: *ělegesouar*, Ahaggar: *amreh*) is in fact unknown in many Air villages, and is according to my investigations not generally used for the harvesting of crops but for cutting annual grasses to be stored for
241 fodder. In Air the harvesting methods are as follows:– millet is cut with a knife,
171 maize is cut at the root by means of the above-mentioned hoe, while wheat and barley are pulled up with the hands. Similar harvesting methods seem to be known in the Sudan (Baumann 1944, p. 295ff.). As a Sudanese trait we can
[415] perhaps also recognize the large clay amphoræ used for the storage of cereals (Rodd 1926, p. 317. – Nicolas 1950a, p. 146).

174 We can conclude this section as follows:– While the negroes of Ahaggar ap-
144 parently have arrived in that country later than the fair-skinned Berbers the oldest
563 known population in Air were Hausa-speaking negroes subsisting predominantly as agriculturists. Their original culture apparently was closely related to that of Sudanese shifting cultivators. Contacts with the north and in particular invasions of fair-skinned Tuareg have changed their cultural position. Mixing with the Tuareg they have also changed their physical type, but they are still predominantly negroid. They have adopted a Tuareg dialect but have retained part of their old vocabulary.

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Air



*Tuareg Invasions into Air.*

174 The connection between the Mediterranean and the Sudan by means of caravans through the Sahara is of very great but unknown age. Caravans have crossed the Sahara as far back as historical knowledge reaches (cf. Bates 1914, p. 101 ff. – Gsell 1920–28, I–VIII – Bovill 1958, p. 24). At the beginning donkeys and oxen were probably used as beasts of burden and the latter animals were employed also as draught animals for carriages as were horses at a later date (cf. Lhote 1953, p. 1138–1228). With the introduction of the camel, caravan trading through the desert was no doubt highly intensified. For although donkeys and also oxen can cross the Sahara in winter without much difficulty camels are better suited to desert journeys.

The first Tuareg who came to Air may have been caravan traders attracted by the excellent grazing grounds of this country. When they arrived we do not know but it seems possible to follow in broad outline the history of the Air Tuareg a thousand years back in time and to distinguish between several invasions. It must be admitted that these cannot be precisely dated and that our historical knowledge is on the whole very fragmentary. It is derived partly from oral traditions, partly [127] from written historical sources among which the so-called Agadez Chronicle is of particular value. It consists of various Arabic manuscripts in the care of the Sultan [114] of Agadez. They have been published in translation and abstracts (Palmer 1910; 1928; 1936. – Urvoy 1934). Several authors have made valuable contributions to the history of the Air Tuareg (Barth 1857, I. – Rodd 1926a, 1926b, 1938. – Palmer 1936. – Urvoy 1936. – Nicolas 1950a; 1950b), but to my mind the best general account is given by Urvoy whom I follow in outline.

As early as the 7th century A.D. extensive migrations of pastoral Berbers including the two important tribal groups of Lemta and Zaraoua passed through the desert. The Lemta settled around the Niger and gave rise to the Sonrai Empire, while the Zaraoua reached the Lake Tchad country where the state of Kanem-Bornou was created. At this time pastoral Berbers also arrived in Air where new states were created. The name of one of them is known, namely the Hausa state of Gober or Gobir which existed in Air up to the 12th century A.D.

New invasions took place in the following centuries. The ancestors of the clans of Igdalen (now in Tegama and Damergou south of the massif) and Iberkhoreen (now in Azaoua north of Tahoua) have probably immigrated before the year 1000 A.D. as may also be the case of the Kel Tamgak clan in Northern Air.

As mentioned the excellent grazing grounds of Air were probably the reason for the first Tuareg invasions. From the 11th century A.D. another factor seems to have been responsible, namely the arrival in North Africa of the Arab bedouins of Beni Hilal and Beni Soleim. Nomads of the latter group invaded the Tuareg countries of Tripolitania and Fezzan (Ibn Khaldoun, I, p. 134 ff.) with the result [614] that Tuareg clans migrated southwards to Air. Among them was a group of seven clans (Itesen, Ijadaranein, Ifadalen, Tamakou'at, Tamaga'azellet, Iza'aran, and

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ibrazouen) descending from daughters of one and the same mother. The Itesen clan had as its particular ancestress the oldest daughter. The clans were united into a federation also named the Itesen, as its supreme chief known as the *Aremboloui* was elected from this clan. The Itesen group settled in Central Air, where for a long time it held an extremely powerful position. At a certain date a group named Immikitan was separated from the Itesen federation to form an independent or semi-independent political unit with its own chief by the title of *Emekki*. Tuareg of the Itesen-stock including the Immikitan are nowadays very few in number and mainly live in the savannah south of the massif where most of them took refuge owing to wars with later immigrants. Two of the oldest clans mentioned still exist, namely the Ifadalen in Damergou, and the Iza'aran partly in Damergou, partly in Air.

According to tradition the Itesen Tuareg came from the oasis of Aouidjila (Aujila) in Libya, and we may assume that they have immigrated from Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan or adjacent parts of the northern desert. The group of Tuareg known as the Kel Geres is said to have come also from Aouidjila. They invaded Air at a time between the 12th and the 14th century.

At the end of the 14th century both the Kel Geres and the Itesen came under the pressure of Tuareg invaders known as the Kel Ooui who are said to have had Aouidjila as their original homeland like the Itesen and the Kel Geres. They fought these two groups and in particular the Kel Geres who left Air finally in the 18th century to take up grazing grounds in the region of Madoua of the Nigerian borderlands. There were originally seven clans of Kel Ooui Tuareg, and five of them still exist. Like the Itesen and other Tuareg they claim descent from a common ancestress. The Kel Ooui pastoralists have largely mixed with the negroid village population also now known as Kel Ooui. Barth mentions that the true Kel Ooui clans are related to the very powerful clan of Oraren of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 372).

At the same time as the Kel Ooui, or somewhat later, a clan or a group of clans known as the Kel Ferouan came to Air from the north. Their name is derived from the village of Iferouan (Kel Ferouan = "the people of Iferouan") but they were nevertheless true nomads roaming the northern parts of Air until the 17th century when they moved southwards to live around the city of Agadez. There are different traditions about their origin. One mentioned by Urvoy claims Egypt as their home-land; this probably implies immigration from or via Tripolitania (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). Barth says they are related to the Oraren clan (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). According to my own investigations they claim to have lived originally in Ahaggar as close kinsmen to the dominating Kel Rela clan of that region. Some Kel Ferouan Tuareg will even go so far as to hold that even after their arrival in Air they continued to intermarry with the Kel Rela of Ahaggar. According to Nicolas their ancestress in named Tadaouelt (Tadawelt) (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474), while I have been told her name was Sabenas.

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Later than the Kel Ferouan other clans or groups arrived in Air from the north. 114 Prominent were the Kel Fadei who are said to be related to the Taitoḳ clan of 174 Ahaggar (Duveyrier 1864, p. 322. – Urvoy 1936, p. 150. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Barth however is of the opinion that they came from different regions but in particular from Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 384). The Kel Fadei Tuareg first lived in Northern Air and their name is derived from the mountains of Fadei in these regions. At the end of the 18th century they migrated towards the south-west to the region of In Gall where they still have grazing grounds.

Still later immigrants are the Kel Tamat who came possibly three or four centuries ago. Urvoy mentions Ahaggar as their homeland (Urvoy 1936, p. 150), while Nicolas says they are related to the Oraren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471). Even later came the Ikaskazan Tuareg who in Air attached themselves to the Kel Tamat. According to Urvoy they came from Ahaggar (Urvoy 1936, p. 151), according to Nicolas they descend partly from the Taitoḳ of Ahaggar, partly from the Imenrasaten and the Oraren of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Tuareg of the Ikaskazan told me that they are related to the Oraren.

It is well known that all over Northern Africa numerous Arabs and Berbers 173 claim relationship with the Prophet and his family. Most of these traditions seem to be mere fake. We may, to mention an extreme example, take the negroid blacksmiths of Ahaggar who firmly hold that their ancestor lived in Mekka as the blacksmith of the Prophet. All traditions relating clans to Islam have been omitted in [128] this brief account of Tuareg history in Air. This does not mean, of course, that we can rely on the above traditions which are very often contradictory. An obvious case is that of the Kel Ferouan. In literature there are traditions of Tripolitania or Tassili-n-Ajjer as their homeland, while I have been constantly told that they came from Ahaggar as close kinsmen of the Kel Ṛela. I think this latter tradition gathered by myself does not contain much historical truth but perhaps reflects political relations of the past. The Kel Ferouan apparently were on quite good terms with 174 the Kel Ṛela of Ahaggar whom they admired because of their power. The Kel Ṛela had many quarrels with the Taitoḳ and also with the Kel Fadei, and the latter Tuareg again were enemies of the Kel Ferouan. As the Kel Fadei claimed themselves related to the Taitoḳ it may have been quite natural for the Kel Ferouan (the most important clan in Air) to claim relationship to the Kel Ṛela (the most important clan of Ahaggar).

We can never rely on oral traditions of origin, but they may contain some historical truth. All traditions mentioned point to a northern origin of the Air Tuareg and in particular to Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and adjacent regions. In support of these traditions we can refer to the fact that the most important northern trade road from Air leads to the oasis of Ghat, Tripolitania, and the Fezzan.

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*The Sultanry of Air.*

The Agadez Chronicle referred to above gives an interesting description of the establishment of the Air Sultanry in 1405 A.D. Before that time, it is said, a growing anarchy reigned all over the country, and the Arombolou, supreme chief of the Itesen, therefore took the initiative to elect a Sultan to act as an arbitrator among the various groups of Tuareg. 175

According to tradition representatives of the Itesen clans were sent to the Sultan of Constantinople to persuade one of his sons to become the first Sultan of Air. After eight years' absence the deputation returned with a slave who became the ruler over the Air people. This peculiar story as stated by Urvoy is not mentioned in the Agadez Chronicle nor in any other written account (Urvoy 1936, p. 162), and I shall add to this that although even nowadays it is told all over Air, there are many Tuareg who consider it spurious. Actually we do not know from which country the Sultan came nor can we know if he was in fact a slave. But according to the Tuareg all known Sultans have been black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office. 173 643

Although the Sultanry was created by the initiative of the Itesen, the Sultan was also recognized by the Kel Geres who then lived in Air, by the Kel Ooui, and later by other Tuareg groups. At first he had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chamane from where he moved to Agadez which was founded at the middle of the 15th century A.D. as a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Air (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 102, 364f., 409. – Urvoy 1936, p. 164). To the Tuareg the Sultan is known by the title *Amenokal* – a word used for supreme chiefs by most Tuareg. The meaning of this word is not exactly clear. Foucauld does not discuss its origin but only identifies its meaning as "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1213f.). According to Duveyrier *Amenokal* means literally "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this meaning is also ascribed to the word by Lhote (Lhote 1955, p. 189) and Blanguernon (Blanguernon 1955, p. 47). It is my own view that although there can be no doubt that *Amenokal* is connected with *akal* meaning "land", it may perhaps be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". 643 114

In practise the Sultan had little power. The Agadez Chronicle refers to Sultans who acted as war leaders of all Air Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Air it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, 175 643

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175 p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have had only
643 very short periods of reign.

Although the Sultan had but little real power he had a high prestige and was very rich. He had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, as men-
[651] tioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, p. 828f.), and he was also entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade. But the Sultan had under his direct command only the negroid populations of Agadez and the villages of In Gall and Teguidda-n-Tecem. The people of Agadez, said to be members of the religious *Ineslemen* class, have never paid any tribute to the Sultan, whereas he received annual payments from the two villages mentioned. All other people of Air apparently had no fixed economic obligations to the Sultan.

The Sultan had the direct jurisdiction over the negroes under his command. He was the arbitrator and supreme judge in disagreements between the different Tuareg groups to be mentioned below. But he could not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels.

As we have seen the dominant Tuareg group at the establishment of the Sultanry was the Itesen most of whom left the massif long before the arrival of the French. We have also seen that the Kel Geres owing to wars with the Kel Ooui in the 18th century went southwards to the Nigerian borderlands where they became politically independent. In the 19th century the important political groups of the Air Sultanry were the following:–

The Kel Ooui occupying the eastern and most mountaineous parts of the
162 massif. According to figures given by Nicolas for clans and villages of the Kel Ooui
175 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 465ff.) their total number seems now to be about 8000.

The Kel Tamat including the Ikaskazan. The group judged by the figures for
631 some of the clans (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471f.) has about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the Kel Ooui. Contrary to the two following groups they were placed under the authority of the supreme Kel Ooui chief, the *Anastafidet*.

The Kel Fadei in the region of In Gall. Their total number according to Nicolas is 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The Kel Ferouan comprising clans in the western parts of the massif including the region of Agadez, and also south of the massif towards Damergou. They number about 5000.

The Kel Ooui group was for periods of the past very important politically. But
175 its political system apparently differed from that of other Tuareg groups which
184 may be explained by the fact that a large number of them were settled agri-
565 culturists. The other Tuareg groups mentioned, on the contrary, were made up exclusively of pastoralists who roamed in the lower parts of the massif and the adjacent plains. In these groups there were two important classes which seem to have been of little importance among the Kel Ooui. The two classes in literature
175 are known as "noble Tuareg" *(Imacheren* sing. *Amacher)* and "vassal Tuareg"
565 *(Imrad,* sing. *Amrid)*. The vassal class in all groups was more numerous than that
631

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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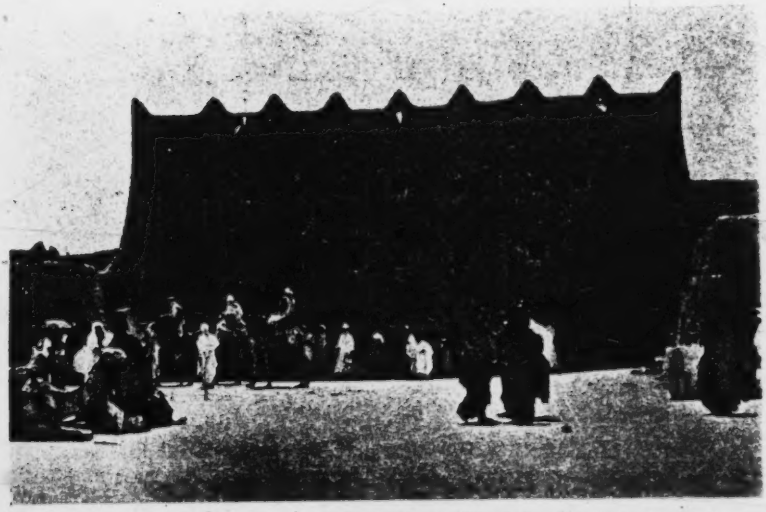

[533] Fig. 4.–The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. – The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing [534] various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

175 of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief
565 had as his sole insignia a drum named *ettebel*, or *arazou*. The name of the drum
631 *ettebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is adressed by this very word, and *ettebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command. I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat, the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs. There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikhen of Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

175 The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but
643 they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:– From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission was given by the Kel Ooui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461f.). Jean who gives a more [114] detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of election (Jean 1909, p. 159ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Fig. 5.–Mat-covered tent typical of the pastoral Air Tuareg. The tent in this photograph is inhabited by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the Kel Ferouan drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of the rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered trees and bushes of thorny acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats. [643] [137]

Kel Ooui formed the important political units of Air. The Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan at the establishment of the Sultanry had not yet arrived or lived at the northern outskirts of the massif. 175 643

In the 19th century the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan paid very little respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation the Kel Fadei even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of In Gall (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was afraid that the Kel Fadei would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the Ioullemmeden (Barth 1857, I, p. 478). As for the Kel Ferouan their chief was the most prominent leader of all Air. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103f.) and it is told over and over again by all Air Tuareg to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, and he thinks that the Kel Ferouan originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or Amenokal was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This agrees with informations I have gathered among the noble Kel Ferouan, who will also claim that their clan came to Air before all other Tuareg. The truth however seems to be that they had originally nothing to do with the Sultanry. They took up grazing 175 642 643 [114]

[text continues on p. 87]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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*Clans of the Kel Ferouan Drum-Group*

(Clans which are not separated by horizontal lines are said to be related to each other. – The two former clans of the list are the only true noble clans of the group).

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631

| Clans | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kel Ferouan (Iraouattan) | 350 | 58 | There are to-day very few Tuareg of these two noble clans, and it is said that even in the past they were very few. | Teloua (western part) |
| Kel Azel | 180 | 47 | | Aniegen |
| Ijakarkaren | 203 | 41 | Attached to the Kel Azel. Close to the camp of the the drum-chief as soldiers permanently under his command. | Tafadek |
| Igendianen | 247 | 55 | | Borhal |
| Ikhabban? | | | | |
| Iberdianen (2 clans) | 621 | 97 | Living close to the noble Kel Ferouan as servants. | Goufat Teouendegit Eknaouen |
| Irobouren | | | Living close to the noble Kel Ferouan as servants. | |
| Imezzouren | 162 | 31 | Attached to the Kel Azel. | Tirreeren |
| Ikaoukan | 150 | | Attached to the Kel Azel. | |
| Iforas (2 clans) | 396 | 95 | Attached to the Kel Azel. | Tedein |
| Ikochechiten | | | A section of the Immrezilalen. Attached to the Kel Azel. | Afarak |
| Imezzoureg | 106 | 20 | | Terazet |
| Idaleyen | 218 | 67 | | Telhechame |
| Ait Oren | 160 | | | Maramaro |
| Immrzilalen | | 27 | | Teloua (eastern part) Asza |
| Kel Tezemt | 237 | | | Teloua (eastern part) Asza |
| Ifokkar | 42 | 12 | | |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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162
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631

| Clans | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ifadeyen (2 clans) | | | Kouroubobo<br>Imechanelouan<br>Torouf<br>Beinabo<br>Ti-n-Daouine<br>Anialen<br>Abdemma<br>Ekaouel |
| Igetofen | | | |
| Iraouelen | | | Tombalaga<br>Akadanei<br>Meigaouei |
| Elbaraten | | | Onouachor |
| Itagan | | | Eleleg |
| Isakaranen | 653 107 | | Ti-n-Tebezgin |
| Kel Tedale (3 clans) | 1300 | They may be noble by origin. | Talak<br>Ourarene<br>Zourika |
| Kel Akarra | 164 39 | Said to be of noble origin and to have had the Ibararochiten clan as their particular vassals. | Ti-n-Teburak |
| Ibararochchiten | | Said to have been the particular vassals of the Kel Akarra clan. | Emdegra |

175 grounds round Agadez in the 17th century, and were probably called to this
642 region by a Sultan who needed them to keep order in the country. The actual
643 power then passed into the hands of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief.

### *The Kel Ferouan Tuareg.*

114 Lists of clans which belong to the Kel Ferouan drum-group have already been
614 published. Jean has fourteen clans in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427f. – Abadie 1927, p. 391f.), while Nicolas refers twenty-two clans to the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f., 480). My own list comes
614 close to that of Nicolas but contains a few additional names which however may
127 refer to sections of the other clans. In my list I have indicated the relationship
162 between the clans and their traditional grazing grounds. I have not been able to
[631] get precise particulars about the size of clans, and I therefore quote the figures

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air



given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 250. 614 [127] [162]

A clan is generally termed *tassit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan-membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg. [196] [611]

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 13). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g., 621 596 [342]

1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season *(akasa)* and in the beginning of the following dry season *(ranat)* several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups. 221 361 621 [173]

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occured also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin – ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:– 582 614 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 13 |
| No blood-relationship between husband and wife | 8 |
| Marriages total | 38 |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air



Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there
582 have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also
[773] legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it
[581] results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally
[605] cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with
605 joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance be-
606 tween children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these
221 two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown, the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two outwardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in
[184] the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8)[1]
601 which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and for certain matrilineal relatives. As clans, according to traditional rules, are groups
614 of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims the line of succession to be as follows:– 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Geres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims
614 that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that
643 this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

[1] [p. 102, categor 116.—Analyst]

5: Nicolaison E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air
Ahaggar



sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullemmeden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, p. 213; 1950c, p. 492f. – Richer 1924, p. 3, 52) an interesting matrilineal custom has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhazera (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Dubiéf has further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubiéf 1956, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes. In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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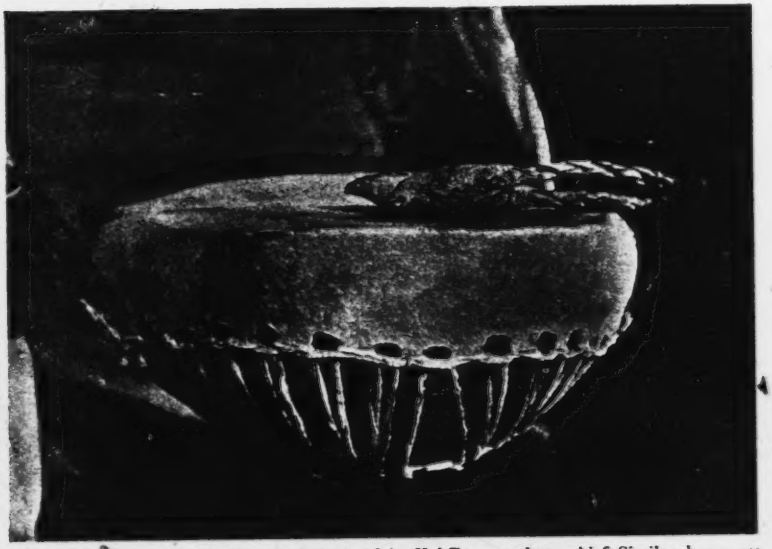

Fig. 6.–The drum which is the only insignia of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. Similar drums are found in all Tuareg groups.

614 past, as nowadays, the proper successor to chieftainship was the deceased chief's son. This rule of succession is no doubt due to Islamic influence which, as mentioned, [174] has introduced patrilineal succession among the Ioullemmeden Tuareg and also in various clans of the religious class of *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). I think there can be no doubt that succession among the Air Tuareg was originally matrilineal and that most possibly a sister's son was considered the proper successor to chieftainship.

### *The Political System of the Kel Ferouan.*

634 The important noble clans of the Kel Ferouan drum-group, namely the true Kel [614] Ferouan (or Iraouatten) and the Kel Azel, are said to be matrilineally related, as [173] the ancestress of the Kel Azel was a woman of the Kel Ferouan clan. She married, tradition says, an Arab who was killed at her own request.

The chief of the noble Kel Ferouan clan had the only drum of the whole group [202] of which he was the supreme chief. The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal clans but also by the noble Kel Azel. 778 The drum, which may still be seen in the camp of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, is 534 made of wood and covered with skin (fig. 6). It is believed that it has a mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced the man charged with this task would do it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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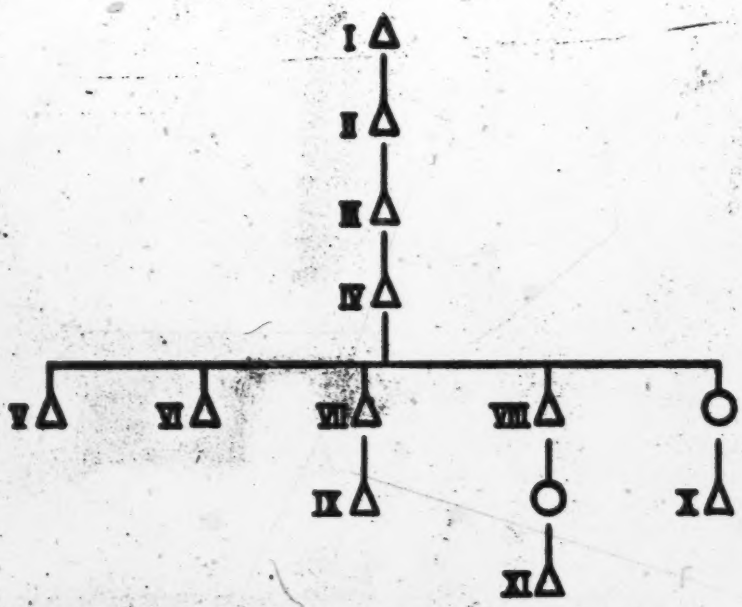


Fig. 7.–Succession of drum-chiefs in the small drum-group of Echchikhen living in Damergou south of the Air Massif.

blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, 778 534 and that it must never be touched by women.

Matrilineally related to the Kel Ferouan are also the Echchikhen clan of Damergou, as its ancestress was a noble woman from the Kel Ferouan. But patrilineally 634 [614] the Echchikhen seem to be related to Iforas Tuareg of religious status. The chief of the Echchikhen has a drum of his own as he has the right over a few vassal clans of Damergou, namely the Imasoren, Khamedan, Ekanaouen, and Iraouelen – clans said to be poor and in part subsisting as hunters. Among the Echchikhen I was able to collect a list of drumchiefs who have been chosen mainly according to the patrilineal principle (fig. 7). A new chief of the drum-group had just been elected, and he had no ties of kinship with the Echchikhen. He belonged to the Kel Geres group, and the prominent noble Echchikhen Tuareg were very sorry and infuriated about his election, as they wanted a man from their own clan to take over the leadership of the whole drum-group. But they could do nothing about it as the chief can be elected only by his vassals.

This same principle is and was valid for the election of drum-chiefs in the Kel Ferouan group – they have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, who [177] after the French occupation have also elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble Kel Ferouan clan. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, 173 but the noble Kel Ferouan unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their 634

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



173 drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group
634 until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The present drum-chief and his brother know the names of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent chiefs are not known further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:–

*Sabenas,* the ancestress of the noble clan and the first ruler of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

*Amenokal,* the elder son of Sabenas.

*Mohammed Aman,* the younger brother of Amenokal.

*Elkarebi,* the brother of Mohammed Aman.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:–

*Boboker,* who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan and was of pure noble origin.

*Rali,* who was the younger brother of Boboker. He was drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years and to have died about 30 years ago. He was considered a very skillful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the Kel Ferouan drum-group with profound respect. Rali's tomb is
769 south of the massif somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. On Rali's death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in which I had the opportunity to partic-
[782] ipate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief and eaten close to the tomb. Later there was a prayer led by the chief, who thereupon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the
[177] deceased chief. – Ancestral worship of this type is most probably no traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. Tuareg are generally afraid of deceased persons and will avoid their tombs.

*Mohammed,* who belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan through his mother, while
175 his father came from the Iforas. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals.
634 Apparently he was no close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief, Rali.

*Ouanarli,* who had no bonds of kinship with the Kel Ferouan clan. His father belonged to the religious and in Tuareg opinion very holy clan of Kel Es Souk. He was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

*Afanou,* who belonged to the Echchikhen. He died after one year's reign.

*Koutia,* who was of noble Kel Ferouan stock being the son of Rali's younger brother.

*Agg Elkher,* of pure noble origin being the son of Rali's daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected. He is the present drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan group.

*Azerhar,* who was the son of Rali.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*Agg Elkher*, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [175] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals. [643]

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. 614 634 [431] [178]

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 651 [583]

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:- 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Teouit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



634 particular case is related of a group of Ioullemmeden Tuareg attacking a camp of
727 Kel Ferouan vassals who made a counterattack and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, then they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

[565] 3) *Ekachchadi*, that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without
[721] the permission of their drum-chief. In this case the drum-chief would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals who were not allowed to engage in warfare on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

The drum-chief had other income from his subjects who paid him an annual
634 fee termed *sadaḳa*. This fee, it is said, was paid not only by vassals but also by noble
651 households of the Kel Azel clan. The sadaḳa fees were collected on behalf of the
565 drum-chief by people of the Echchikhen and by negroid blacksmiths, who form a particular and rather numerous caste. There were definite rules for the payment of sadaḳa. It was computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example can here be mentioned the payments for camel herds:–

| *Size of Herd.* | *Sada a.* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels | 2 goats |
| 15 camels | 3 goats |
| 25 camels | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels | 2 full-grown camels. |

The Echchikhen and the blacksmiths took the sadaḳa animals to the drum-chief. He gave some of them to the collectors who were themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of
[735] the proceeds given to poor people by the drum-chief, who would keep a small part for himself.

The drum-chief had the supreme jurisdiction over his group. In all internal
634 matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge. In difficult
692 cases he would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez or the Echchikhen. All members of the Kel Ferouan group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities *(edeiet)* were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen
682 had the right of blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection.
[696] But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man whose
184 kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Apparently there has never been any
682 fixed size of blood-wealth among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg in contrast to the two

Groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab Tribes of The Sahara

5; Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft 000
are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put 685
into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, [697]
while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:– pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment [177]
and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were [681]
in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel [643]
Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe 634
with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his [692]
power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with 565
the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relation- 571
ship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum- [634]
chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place 582
in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that 607
one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and [565]
their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory 607
in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law *(alegges*, pl. *ilousan)*,
[601] or sisters-in-law *(taleggest*, pl. *tilousin)*, while the spouses of descendants of all
brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law *(aḍeggal*, pl. *iḍoulan)*, or
[606] daughters-in-law *(taḍeggalt*, pl. *teḍoulin)*. These terms are always used reciprocally, and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized
634 his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the
614 members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble
565 origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is
[687] said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the
634 Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the
614 Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other
565 drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel
114 Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427) The Kel Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related to the Ihaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from
634 the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power
614 over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the
565 Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibararochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by
[558] vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief
[669] had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air



It is said that in the 19th century all Tuareg groups of Air and adjacent regions paid an annual tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as follows:– 634 651

| | |
|---|---|
| Kel Ooui | 50 Tuareg veils |
| Kel Fadei | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| Echchikhen | two groups each giving 3 oryx hides |
| Kel Geres | 1 horse with a saddle |
| Ioullemmeden | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| Kel Allekot | 150 kg of millet |
| Damergou<br>Katsena | An amount of millet |

The Tuareg name for these payments is *toouse* meaning "annual tribute". The present drum-chief says that this tribute was given by the groups because all land belonged to the Kel Ferouan group. I think that the correctness of this is perhaps to be doubted, and that there may be other possible explanations:– 1) The payments may at some remote date have been made to the Sultan (Amenokal), but later collected by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became more important or, more possibly 2) they may have been given to the drum-chief for protection. Thus annual duties, termed *tiouse* by the Northern Tuareg, were formerly given by foreign Tuareg groups to mighty chiefs of Ahaggar to avoid raids (cf. p. 113). [423] [174]

The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim that in the remote past the whole drum-group of Kel Fadei including its noble clan paid bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as his vassals. This vassalship of the Kel Fadei is said to have ceased in the following way:– The Kel Ferouan drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a Kel Fadei camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the Kel Fadei camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the Kel Fadei. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the Kel Fadei so that after a time he could return safely to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the Kel Fadei Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan. 173

The political system of the Kel Ferouan group may be characterised as simple, all political rights resting in the hands of the drum-chief. He had no particular ministers or deputies, but he would discuss important matters with noble Tuareg of his camp and with the chiefs of vassal clans. 634

It has been mentioned above that the Kel Akarra clan in the past had one 634 614

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



634 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the
565 noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzouren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had con-
[463] stantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly
[701] by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers and protectors.

Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals *(Imghad)*
114 as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:—"One of the functions
565 of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for
614 long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the
[422] camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible
[672] for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen
[567] both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much about this.

Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin:
174 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air
565 from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of
614 noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a, p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg have emigrated.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



*The Federation of Ahaggar Tuareg*

(Size of clans according to Lhote 1955, p. 225ff. from statistics of 1949)

| | Noble Clans | Vassal Clans | Iseḳḳemaren Clans |
|---|---|---|---|
| *The Kel Ṛela Drum-Group* | *Kel Ṛela* 275<br>To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble clans, with the Ifoṛas group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal clans. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The Kel Ṛela women, like noble women of the Oraṛen (Tassili-n-Ajjer) and Kel Ferouan (Air), do not associate freely with people of other classes. | *Dag Ṛali* 386<br>*Ait Loaien* 400<br>*Agouh-en-Tehele* 585<br>*Ṛelaiddin* 40<br>*Iklan-en-Taousit* 500<br><br>*Ibettenaten* 129<br>*Ireḡenaten* 435<br><br>These two clans are not true vassals by origin. The Ibettenaten is said formerly to have had noble status and the Ireḡenaten descend matrilineally from the Ibettenaten, patrilineally from Arabs. | *Ihsiaouen Hada* 253<br>*Kel Inṛer* 176<br>*Kel Tafedest* 61<br>*Kel Immidir* 179<br>*Kel Tazoulet* 158<br><br>The Iseḳḳemaren clans descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble Kel Ehan Mellen clan. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the Ouled Ba Hamou, claims that they were originally their vassals. |
| *The Taitoḳ Drum-Group* | *Taitoḳ* 33<br>There are hardly any Tuareg of pure Taitoḳ stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief Mohamed ag Mohamed who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the Taitoḳ drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The Taitoḳ and their vassals will frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past. | *Kel Ahnet* 127<br>*Iouarouaren* 47<br>*Teḡehe-n-Efis* 127<br>*Ikoutisen* 84<br>*Ikechchemaden*<br>(now mixed with the Dag Ṛali clan of the Kel Ṛela drum-group).<br><br>*Ifechchoumen* – a clan patrilineally related to the noble Taitoḳ, matrilineally to the vassal clan of Kel Ahnet. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals. | *Kel I-n-Tounin*<br>(about 20 tents in 1938). |

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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
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| | Noble Clans | | Vassal Clans | Isekkemaren Clans | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The Tegehe-Mellet Drum-Group* | *Tegehe Mellet* | 33 | *Kel Tarka* (part of the Ait Loalem clan of the Kel Rela drum-group). | *Kel Tawarit*<br>*Kel Ouhet* | 60<br>70 |
| *Noble Clans Without Vassals* | *Kel Ehan Mellen* | | The Isekkemaren clans are said formerly to have been vassals of this clan. | | |
| | *Ikadeim* | | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | | |

### *The Kel Rela Drum-Group in Ahaggar.*

[161] The Ahaggar Tuareg according to statistics from 1950 number 4,611 individuals
565 (Lhote 1955, p. 157) and comprise 26 clans. In addition to the noble class termed
614 *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), and the vassal class termed *Imrad*, (sing. *Amrid*) or *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), there is also a class termed *Isekkemaren* (sing. *Asekkemar*), who can be considered vassals of a somewhat different status. The religious class *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*) is in Ahaggar represented by a few families without clan organization.

614 There are five noble clans but only three of them have vassals. There are in
565 other words three drum-groups *(ettebel*, pl. *ettebelen)*, namely those of Kel Rela,
634 Taitok, and Tegehe Mellet. The Kel Rela group is by far the most important, and its chief with the title of Amenokal is the supreme head of all three groups which
643 constitute a sort of federation named *tegehe*. In rare cases when the Tuareg of Ahaggar joined forces against foreign Tuareg groups, e.g. the Tuareg of Tassili-n-
[701] Ajjer, the Amenokal was the war-leader of all three drum-groups. But in the past he had often little authority over the two other drum-groups For long periods of the 19th century he had severe troubles with the Taitok, who had acquired a practically independent position, and it seems as if he had no rights over the land inhabited by the Taitok drum-group. The Amenokal as well as the two other drum-chiefs *(Amrar*, pl. *Imrarren)* were elected by the vassals of their respective
[565] drum-groups. It is true that the members of the noble clan had a certain influence,
[614] but – contrary to former opinions on the matter – they did not have any direct voice in elections. The Amenokal was and is ceremoniously installed by a Tuareg of the Isekkemaren class who provides him with a new veil or turban. The two other
634 drum-chiefs should be installed in this way by the Amenokal, who also undertook the installation of all vassal chiefs within his own drum-group. The installment of vassal chiefs within the two other drum-groups were undertaken by their respective drum-chiefs. In the present chapter I shall describe the drum-group of the Kel Rela in some detail.

[Text continues on p. 104]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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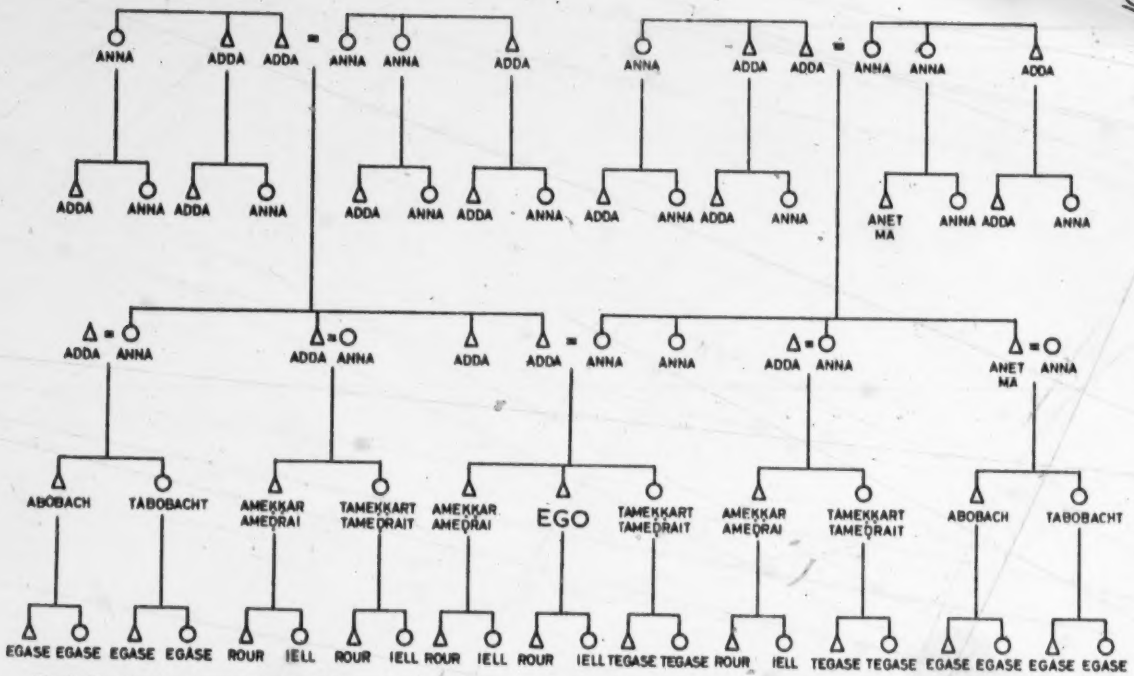


Fig. 8.–The kinship system of the Air Tuareg of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. Some of the kinship terms cannot be used without affixes of possessive pronouns. The meaning of the terms is as follows:– ADDA = father; ANNA = mother; ANET MA (correctly AÑET MA) = mother's brother; AMEKKAR (TAMEKKART) = elder brother (sister); AMEDRAI (TAMEDRAIT) = younger brother (sister); ABOBACH (TABOBACHT) = cross-cousin; ROUR = son; IELL = daughter; TEGASE = sister's child; EGASE = child of cross-cousin. Children of all persons termed ROUR, IELL, TEGASE, and EGASE are known as AJAOU = child's child. For EGO female TEGASE and EGASE are substituted with the terms for children (ROUR, IELL). Classificatory terms are not generally used for address, but children will address many kinsmen of ascending generations as "father" and "mother". Further information on Tuareg kinship is given fig. 9.

[p.102]

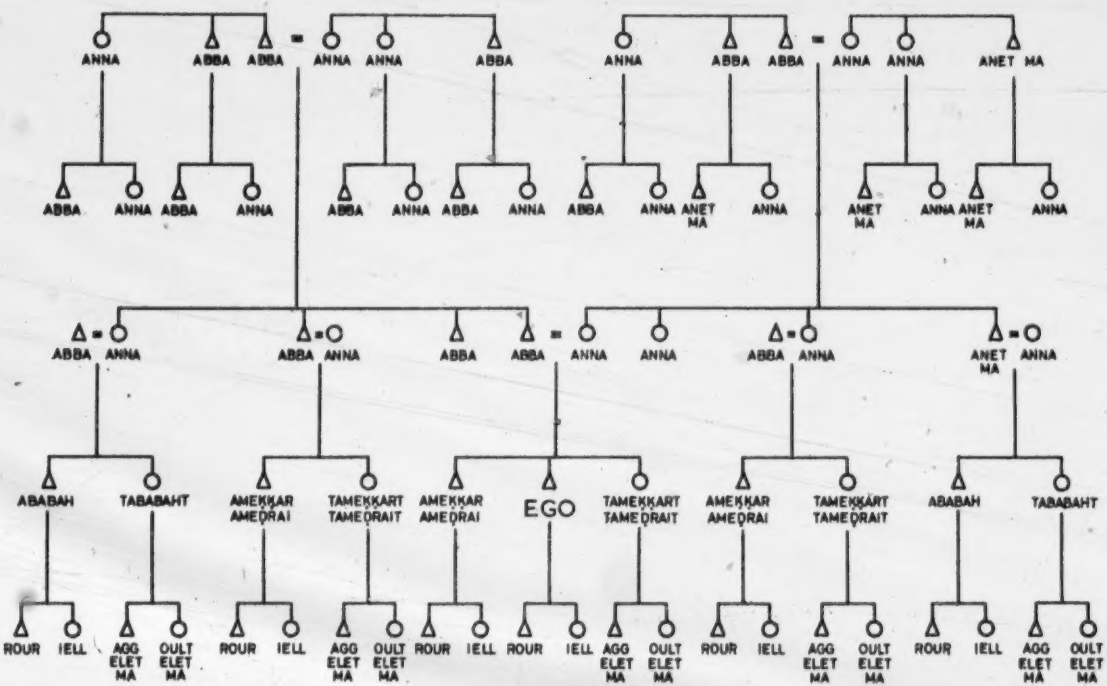


Fig. 9.–The kinship system of the Ahaggar Tuareg. ABBA = father; ANNA = mother; ANET MA (correctly AÑET MA) = mother's brother; AMEḲKAR (TAMEḲKART) = elder brother (sister); AMEḌRAI (TAMEḌRAIT) = younger brother (sister). ABABAH (TABABAHT) = cross-cousin; ROUR = son; IELL = daughter; AGG ELET MA (OULT ELET MA) = sister's son (daughter). Children of mother's male cousins and father's female cousins are classificatory cross-cousins to EGO, while children of mother's female cousins and father's male cousins are classificatory brothers and sisters. Descendants of persons termed ROUR and IELL are known as ROUR and IELL, descendants of AGG ELET MA (OULT ELET MA) as AG ELET MA (OULT ELET MA). For EGO female the terms AGG ELET MA (OULT ELET MA) are substituted with terms for children (ROUR, IELL).

[p.103]

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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *tawsit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan. 614 [162] [565] 613 614

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult. 114 611 [177]

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. 611 [591] [428] [631]

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage. 428 [422] [174]

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10. 614 591 768

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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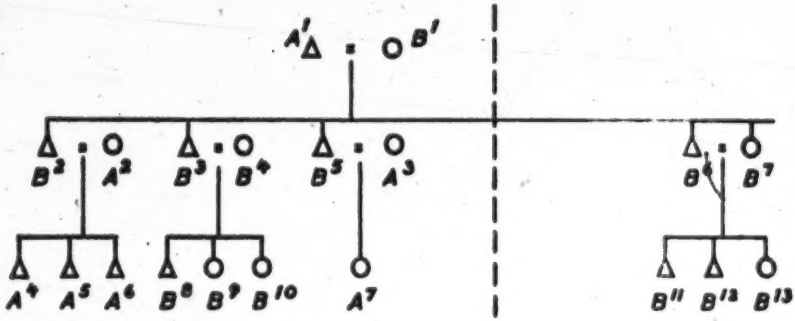


Fig. 10.–Illustration of the rule of residence for persons descending from a man of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan ($A^1$) and a woman of the Dag Rali clan ($B^1$).

People living with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan to which all A-persons belong.

At the death of $A^1$ of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan all persons will settle in the territory of the Dag Rali clan with maternal kinsmen of $B^1$, and they will remain there also after the death of $B^1$.

At the death of $B^2$ his wife $A^2$ and her children $A^4$ $A^5$ will go to her father or maternal kinsmen of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan as will be the case with $A^3$ and her child $A^7$ at the death of $B^5$. At the death of $B^6$ his wife $B^6$ and children $B^8$–$B^{10}$ will remain with the Dag Rali.

People living with the Dag Rali clan to which all B-persons belong.

If $B^2$ dies while $A^1$ is still alive, $B^2$ and her children $B^{11}$ $B^{12}$ will go back to the camp of $A^1$ in the Agouh-en-Tehele territory. After the death of $A^1$ they will return to the Dag Rali territory to join the camp of $B^2$, $B^3$, and $B^4$.

[614] [682] If for instance $B^2$ kills a man of a third clan (e.g. the Ait Loaien) the Agouh-en-Tehele and the Dag Rali clans are both responsible for the payment of blood-wealth as long as $A^1$ is alive and $B^2$ lives with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan. If $A^1$ has died and $B^2$ consequently lives with the Dag Rali, this latter clan alone will be responsible for the payment of blood-wealth.

? 582 The matrilineal and patrilineal rules applied among the Ahaggar Tuareg bring us to a consideration of marriage. In Ahaggar as in Air the traditional type of preferential mating no doubt is that with a cross-cousin, and cross-cousin marriage is symmetrical although a mother's brother's daughter is said to be the ideal spouse. This is not only stated by Tuareg particularly versed in their native customs. It is also proved by certain usages connected with marriage, and there are in fact many marriages of this type. But cross-cousin marriage although traditionally the preferential type of mating is apparently not the most common type of marriage. For many Tuareg claim that the very best is to marry a mother's sister's daughter (that is a classificatory sister), or a mother's sister's daughter's daughter (that is a classificatory sister's daughter). My statistical material, which is not very comprehensive, seems

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:– 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 3 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan 614
and eight in the three sub-clans of the Agouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the [361]
sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up in 621
minor camps of 2–7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family 476
which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals [596]
are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big [422]
camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never [613]
correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or 622
section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative [614]
of the section in relation to the clan chief *(Amgar)*. These khalifas are not necessarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilineal as it is for clan chiefs.

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8–9), but the [184]
rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between [601]
cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in 602
Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most clans.

[Text continues on p. 108]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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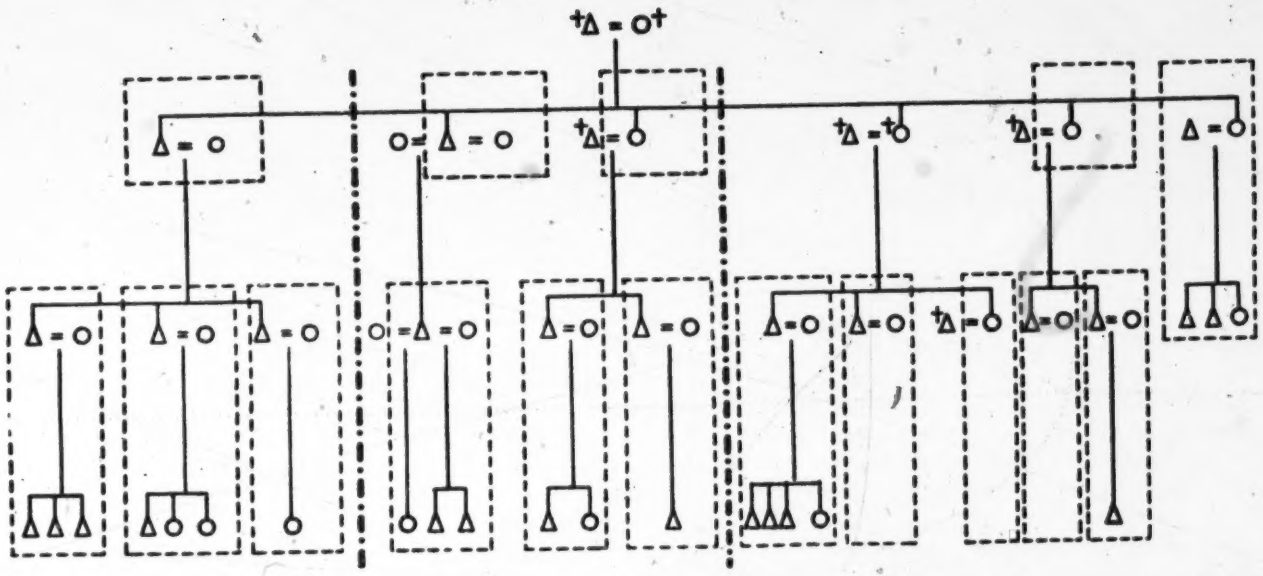

Fig. 11.–The section camp of the Kel Azernan (the Isandan sub-clan of the Agouh-en-Tebele clan). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. – The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated fig. 10. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Air whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) ~~1959~~
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*Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Aǵouh-en-Tehele Clan.*

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafia).

| Tenants | Value of Sub-Area | Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Aǵouh-en-Tehele, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tôles. | Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Daledge. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication. | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, Khalifa of the Ikenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds. | 3 goats |
| ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader. | Cultivation grounds at Inagriouel and In Deledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 2 donkeys |
| DEINI, Chief of the Kel Rafia sub-clan. | No particular value. | No land-rent. |
| AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section. | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Azernian section of the Isandan sub-clan. | Cultivation grounds at Tamanrasset. In the past wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaiddin now attached to the Aǵouh-en-Tehele clan. | Khoseni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaiddin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal. | |

621 427 614 233 651 224 423.

clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Ḃali and the Ait Loaien, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Aǵouh-en-Tehele have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Isekkemaren class. Between the Aǵouh-en-Tehele and the Isekkemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Aǵouh-en-Tehele people come to the Isekkemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Isekkemaren visiting the Aǵouh-en-Tehele. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

000 565 614 [431] [602]

[Text continues on p. 110]

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*Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Dag Rali Clan.*

(The clan is divided into two matrilineages: 1) the Dag Rali proper comprising most members of the Kel Tamanrasset and the Kel Terhananet sections, 2) the Imesiliten comprising most members of the Kel Hirhafok and the Kel Tiñhart sections.

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| Tenants | Name and Value of Sub-Area | Land-Rent to the Amenokal |
|---|---|---|
| DANGOCHI, Clan chief belonging to the Kel Tamanrasset section. Rights to this subarea is not necessarily vested in the chief. | ISEKRAM<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. – (For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant). | 2 goats |
| JERKIE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section. | TADJEMART<br>No particular value. | 2 water bags.<br>1 rope of goat's hair. |
| AMMA, of the Kel Terhananet section | ARECHCHOUM<br>No particular value. | 2 water bags.<br>1 rope of goat's hair. |
| KHABTE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section.<br>ARKASSEN, of the Kel Terhananet section. | IN DALADJ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep.<br>Wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| AFARAK, of the Kel Hirhafok section. | AKALARAREN<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. | Unknown. |
| BOUSKEAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the Kel Tiñhart section. | TAHAT<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months. Domestic animals never graze in this area. | Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown). |
| DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet. | ABELESSA<br>A very extended area comprising the village of Abelessa and many other agricultural settlements. | No land-rent as the Amenokal receives dues from crops of every garden in this area. |
| DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet. Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections. | TAESSA<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep. – Domestic animals are never allowed to graze in this subarea, and barbary sheep are protected for three months every year. | 1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep) (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) is also given to Dangochi as clan chief). |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1955, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Ɣali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent *(ehare-n-amerdal)* paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:-

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. – Foley 1930, p. 43f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Ɣali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatos.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.

5: Nicolaisen E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1959
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[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
692 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer.
643 The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
178 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
643 to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Ṛela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
Scale raiding.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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scale raiding. He would discuss all important matters with vassal chiefs and with his noble deputies known as *Khalifas*. At present the Amenokal has three Khalifas two of whom live in his own camp, while the third is his representative in Tamesna, where many Tuareg of his drum-group live. 643 [645]

The Amenokal never had the right to part of the bride-wealth from marriages among his vassals, nor did he receive a camel at the death of a vassal as was customary for the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan in Air. The Amenokal still has the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief within his drum-group, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal clan, the Dag Ṛali, has the right to one of the Amenokal's riding camels on the latter's death. [583] [651] [428]

As the representative of the Kel Ṛela drum-group the Amenokal is in certain cases entitled to property owned individually by his subjects. When a person dies without children or paternal kinsmen, his fortune is divided into six parts one part of which goes to his mother (or his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts are given to the Amenokal. In case the deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, the whole fortune of livestock is taken over by the Amenokal. He, however, will not himself make any use of the animals, but will leave them in the clan to which the deceased person belonged. They will there be under the supervision of the clan chief, who also has usufructs of them. Animals taken over by the Amenokal in this way are known as *ehere oua n ettebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group"), or *ehere oua n boutelma* ("the fortune of the public"). 428 643 [614] [422]

The vassal clans of the Kel Ṛela drum-group pay an annual tribute known as *tiouse* to the Amenokal. The size of this payment varies from one clan to another. It is normally collected by the clan chiefs who send it to the Amenokal, but the three subclans of the Agouh-en-Tehele pay their tiouse separately as follows:– 1) The Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan: 600 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kg of butter. The man who brings this payment to the Amenokal is rewarded with a gift of 15 metres of cotton. 2) The Isandan sub-clan: 300 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kg of butter. The man who brings this receives a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. 3) The Kel Rafia sub-clan: Like the payments from the Isandan. 643 614 651

The whole Dag Ṛali clan pays its tiouse as follows:– 12 bags of millet corresponding to 6 camel-loads are given to the clan chief, who will send 10 bags to the Amenokal, and keep two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole clan gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the Amenokal.

One vassal clan, the Ait Loaien, does not make its tiouse payment to the Amenokal but to a Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Emori section of the Kel Ṛela. According to Lhote a certain family among the Dag Ṛali makes an annual payment to a noble Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Tahat section (Lhote 1955, p. 224). It is in fact possible that the Amenokal nowadays receives tiouse payments which ought to be made to other noble Tuareg. This I imply from the information from a man who told me that the Isandan sub-clan according to traditional rules should pay tiouse to a 565 614 643 651

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565 Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Rela clan, but as he now lives outside of
614 Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

643 In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to
651 noble Kel Rela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Rela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Isekkemaren class, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Rela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139ff.).

643 Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known
651 as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the
579 Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *ennehet*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347f.).

The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was
565 also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg.
614 But the relation (*temaẓlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals
651 and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

233 In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another.
511 The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little
[234] when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food,
[262] but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar
[574] Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together,
[281] as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft,
[237] as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food. 233 511 [492] [439]

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like. [234] [262] [281] [291] [283]

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–1[illegible] years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Rela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temaźlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. [422] [565] [114] 565 651 [421] [431]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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565 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance,
651 to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The
[178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are
[789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals, but these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility
[721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also
[422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these animals.

The master of a temażlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids, but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the
[643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellaɣ* or half of the booty taken by all vassals
[727] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for
[426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also known as *abellaɣ*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been given to the Amenokal. The temażlait-masters were apparently without any judicial
[692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller units within the drum-group – the temażlait-relations – were predominantly economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit, the drum-group.

## *The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.*

565 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately
192 open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheyen* (sing. *Amacheɣ*), but correctly this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohaɣ* (sing. *Amohaɣ*). It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb *aheɣ* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that this latter word is identical with *Hoouara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Aggar



173 is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to
565 be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

[114] I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and
184 vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's
565 milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much import-
492 ance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble
[234] Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

184 Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects,
565 and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:– 1) In noble
[583] clans bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal clans one to three camels which may be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas
[422] true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Rali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble
[342] Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post – that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-
[614] breeding clan Iregenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed
[173] marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. – Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Iregenaten Tuareg met in Air.

342 Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently
184 referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. – Lhote

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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1947, p. 38f., phot. 15, p. 33, p. 117. – Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247ff. – Moberg 1927, photographs p. 229 & 257). Among the Southern Tuareg T-shaped posts are used in Air, where, according to my inquiries, they are found notably among the Kel Tedale, the Ikaskazan, and the Kel Fadei – Tuareg who have immigrated fairly recently from the North and are noble or predominantly noble by origin. Air tents with T-shaped posts are published by Lhote and Chudeau (Lhote 1947, fig. 4 p. 39, photo 50 p. 81. – Chudeau 1909, pl. VIII p. 62). T-shaped posts are also said to occur among the Kel Geres, and they are common in skin tents of the Kel Dinnik (Eastern Ioullemmeden) from where detailed descriptions are given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1938, p. 54ff.; 1950a, p. 153ff., p. VIII.). For other Southern Tuareg there seem to be no reliable information on the use of T-shaped posts in skin tents. 342 184

The central T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin tents may probably be considered as related to similar posts in certain black tents (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143). This is interesting particularly when viewed in connection with Feilberg's theory that there may perhaps be a certain connection between the black tent and the one-humped camel or dromedary because of approximately similar distributions, and because camels and black tents seem to have arrived in North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Feilberg 1944, p. 117, 225ff.) – a view which has also been accepted by Hatt (Hatt 1944–45, p. 260). Obviously a theory connecting camels and black tents in Northern Africa fits very well with our assumption that the camel was introduced to Ahaggar by noble Tuareg among whom we also find the use of central T-shaped posts characteristic of certain black tents. Accordingly we have to test two theories:– 1) The theory that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin-tents are in fact derived from similar constructions of black tents, and 2) the theory that camels and black tents are historically connected in Northern Africa. 171 342 233 174

I think it can be proved that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are derived from similar elements in black tents, and my arguments are the following:– 171 342

1) The Tuareg live in contact with Arab pastoralists who have black tents. It is stated in literature that black tents are common among the Northern Tuareg (Zeltner 1914, p. 364. – Campbell 1928, p. 247), but this is not correct. It is true, however, as already mentioned by Duveyrier, that black tents are used by some Northern Tuareg (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403f.). But as far as my knowledge goes they occur only among the northernmost Kel Ajjer, the Iforas clans, who belong to the religious Ineslemen class and by some Tuareg are claimed to be noble. Black tents seem to be used occasionally in the south by Tuareg who live in close contact with Arabs. But these Tuareg apparently use black tents only when travelling, and not in ordinary camps (Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). Black tents are thus adopted by a few Tuareg, and many Tuareg of the north and the south-west have contact with Arab and Moorish black tent dwellers. [648] [114]

2) The Iforas Tuareg just mentioned use T-shaped posts both in black tents

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar
Air



dominating an extensive area of North Africa and particularly in Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and adjacent regions before the Arab invasion of the 11th century A.D. This theory was set forth already by Ibn Khaldoun, who says that *Hoouara* has changed into *Heggar* (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory has no other foundation but mere speculation (Nicolas 1953, p. 14). This, however, is not correct as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *ou* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *ou* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533). 565 192 [114] [194]

The term used in Air for vassal Tuareg is *Imrad* (sing. *Amrid*), a word which seems to be known to all Tuareg. Foucauld gives no particular explanation of its meaning (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1233f.). Nicolas claims the word related to *ayrid*, literally meaning "a kid" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189). If this explanation given by Nicolas is correct, *Imrad* refers to goat-breeding. So does another term for vassals used more frequently among the Northern Tuareg and the Ioullemmeden, namely *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), which means literally "the goat people". In Air this word is never used as a term for the vassal class, but only as a proper name for one particular vassal clan attached to the Ikaskazan.

One of the terms for vassals and maybe both terms are thus connected with goat-breeding, while one of the terms for noble Tuareg seems to refer to raiding, which among the Tuareg was intimately connected with camel-breeding. Camels were not only the means by which raiding was carried out, but they were also the main object of raiding expeditions as they could be abducted very quickly from foreign camps. So we may perhaps see from some of the terms used for vassal and noble Tuareg that the two classes originated from the meeting of two distinct cultures, a goat-breeding and a camel-breeding culture. And we have already seen that in the past the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar were in particular camel-breeders, the vassals breeders of goats and donkeys. [233] [721] [174] [233]

The Ahaggar Tuareg – in contrast to the Tuareg of Air – have traditions about the origin of the class system. References to these traditions are common in literature (Benhazera 1908, p. 89ff. – Reygasse 1950, p. 88. – Foucauld 1951 – 52, II, p. 533ff. – Lhote 1955, p. 213ff. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 99f.). There are in fact two conflicting traditions, but some Tuareg will nevertheless acknowledge both. It seems, however, as if one tradition had its origin among the nobility, the other among vassals. The tradition which originated in the noble class says that the dominant noble clans of Ahaggar had a woman named Ti-n-Hinan as their ancestress. She immigrated to Ahaggar from Tafilelt in Morocco together with her servant girl named Takama, who became the ancestress of the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The two women were both Islamic and belonged to the Beraber tribes. They found the country uninhabited except for the higher parts of the massif, where a pagan people named the Isebeten lived. This tradition 173 565

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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171 and in skin tents, and according to my investigations this is, or was, also the case of
342 the Arab pastoral tribe Ouled Ba Hamou in Tidikelt.

3) In Northern Africa T-shaped posts are frequently found in permanent dwellings, but they are then solidly embedded in the ground, whereas in Tuareg skin tents and also in black tents they stand on the surface.

4) The use of skin for tents or other movable dwellings is no doubt of very great age (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144), while the T-shaped posts can be considered as belonging to a highly developed tent construction. To my mind there is a certain contrast in this, the more so as the posts or poles of other Tuareg skin tents are fixed in the ground.

5) Arab pastoralists now living in Tuareg countries frequently use Tuareg mat-covered huts and skin tents. Of particular interest is the type of skin tent used by the Deremchaka Arabs living among the Eastern Ioullemmeden (the Kel Dinnik). To support the sheet of skin sewn together these Arabs use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two oblique poles (Nicolas 1950a, p. 154). A similar or related construction is found in black tents of the Brakna Arabs (Caillié 1830, I, p. 190), and is common in black tents of Algeria including the northern parts of Algerian Sahara (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff.). And according to tradition the Deremchaka Arabs immigrated from these regions (Nicolas 1950a, p. 67ff.). There seems to be little doubt that the Deremchaka Arabs have adopted a mode of construction typical of certain black tents to the Tuareg skin tent, and there may perhaps be another example of this among the Southern Tuareg:– The Tuareg known as Kel Antassar in the region of Timbuktu frequently use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two central oblique posts to support their skin tents (Lhote 1947, p. 39, 101, 117). The Kel Antassar Tuareg are of religious status;
[174] their presumed Arab origin (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 195. – Mohammed Said 1903, p. 210ff. – Richer 1924, p. 14) gives rise to the supposition that they formerly had black tents.

I think these five arguments support the theory that T-shaped posts are foreign to Tuareg skin tents while customary for black tents in use among certain Arabs of Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and Eastern Libya (cf. Laoust 1930, p. 209ff. – Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff., 146).

I shall now turn to the other theory to be tested, namely that there is a certain
171 relation between the camel and the black tent. This theory is not easy to prove.
233 The statement that camels and black tents have approximately the same distri-
342 butions is far from convincing even if we keep to their westernmost areas. In Northern Africa camel-breeders over large areas use other types of dwelling, and black tents are very common among settled and semi-nomadic people of the Atlas, where there are no camels. The distribution of the black tent in Africa (cf. Feilberg
171 1944, map. II) comes indeed very close to the distribution of Arabic-speaking
342 people, with the main exception that black tents in the Atlas and elsewhere in the
192 north are also used by Berbers. Laoust has proved that some of these northern

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



Berbers and particularly those of Central Morocco use for their black tents and for important parts of their tents terms derived from Arabic (Laoust 1930, p. 168f., 227f.). [171] 342 [192]

We cannot disregard the possibility that black tents were known in Northern Africa before the first Arab invasion. But there can be little doubt that outside of the Atlas black tents are characteristic of Arabic-speaking people, and we seem to be on safe ground if we state that the Arabs are responsible for the present fairly large distribution of black tents in the desert regions between the Red Sea and the Atlantic. And the black tent may have been unknown to the Berbers before the Arab invasion. In connection with this I wish to quote the very eminent scholar Stéphane Gsell who states his opinion on the age of the black tent in Northern Africa as follows:– "Cependant elle s'est répandue tardivement chez les Berbères. Ce fut surtout après la conquête musulmane qu'ils l'adoptèrent, à l'exemple de leurs noveaux maîtres: au VIII° siècle, un grand nombre d'entre eux avaient des tentes, semblables à celles des Arabes" (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 216. – cf. El Bekri p. 139). [174]

In discussing the theory of a connection between camels and black tents, our next task is concerned with the history of the camel. For although camels and black tents have different distributions they may nevertheless be historically connected and introduced together. 171 233 342

Much has already been written on the history of the camel. René Basset's theory that the camel was introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1905) is contrary to all historical information. For we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived, though it does not seem to be of very great age, contrary to Cauvet's statement (Cauvet 1925–26). Already Barth suggested that the camel came to North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3ff.), and this theory seems to be valid (cf. Gautier 1942, p. 190ff. – Walz 1951). 114 174 233

Gautier claims that there is a certain connection between the introduction of the camel and the immigration to North-Western Africa of Berber tribes known as the Zenata, who lived in the northern steppes and desert regions from Tripolitania to Western Algeria. According to Ibn Khaldoun quoted by Gautier the Zenata had many traits in common with the Arabs: they lived in tents, they were camel-breeders, and they rode on horseback (Gautier 1942, p. 217 ff., 227. – cf. Ibn Khaldoun III, p. 179). The theory that the camel was introduced by the Zenata is accepted by Feilberg, who thinks that these people may have introduced the black tent together with the camel (Feilberg 1944, p. 119f., 226).

A connection between the Zenata and the camel is extremely difficult to prove. Gautier's theories on North African history are frequently very hazardous and very contradictory. Thus in his book *Le Passé de l'Afrique du Nord* we find the following statements about the introduction of the camel:– 1) "A tant de bienfaits Rome en a ajouté un dernier: elle a introduit le chameau, permettant ainsi la mise en

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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114 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc
174 légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale
233 qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau apparaissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe, il semble qu'au VII° siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227).

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chameliers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui foit leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the
175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the
101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions:
233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 168ff.).

It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature
175 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding
233 (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. – Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. – Leo Africanus p. 940f.). To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly
171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is
233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds apparently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415f. – Murray 1935, p. 92ff. – Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the
[177] true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black
[342] tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. – Herskovits 1926. – Kroll 1928). The common
[462] traits seem to be the following:– 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is
[825] done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both
[538] camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently characterized by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925-30, I-II).

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Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925–30, I–II). 3) As mentioned (p. 119) camel's milk is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly also among the Kel Ajjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors (Monteil 1952, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. 4) All Tuareg and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf to deceive the mother animal during milking – for camels like cows will not generally yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or butter as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. – Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of riding camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg, and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East Africa have the same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection with camel-breeding (Monteil 1952, p. 103).

171 234 [302] [262] 171 237 825 [261] 171 233 [825] 171 233 422

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts like those of Air are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullemmeden, and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country – in particular those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. – Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156f. – Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f., 597f., V, p. 201. – Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. –

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Fig. 12.–Tuareg skin tent in a river valley of the Ahaggar Mountains. The sheet of skin sewn together is placed over three parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a horizontal crossbar. The middle pair is higher than the outer pairs. It may be substituted with two equally high pairs of posts with crossbars, or with two arches. Tuareg skin tents have mats to be drawn round the tent under the sheet of skin, and in winter the Ahaggar Tuareg frequently erect stone walls for protection against cold winds, as shown on this photograph.

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Hourst 1898, p.105ff., 133. – Gabus 1945, p. 361. – Chudeau 1909, pl. XXXII–XXXIII p. 218. – Le Coeur 1937, p. 42f. – Urvoy 1942, p. 33f., pl. I).

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Mat-covered arched huts or tents are found only among the Southern Tuareg, and as such dwellings are found among many of their Sudanese neighbours it might seem natural to consider them foreign to traditional Tuareg culture. However, the arched mat-covered tent of the Tuareg seems to be constructionally distinct from other barrel-vaulted dwellings. It consists of one to three wooden arches placed parallel to and between a pair of two or three short sticks supporting a horizontal crossbar. A number of very slender curved sticks cover the upper part of this construction. They are fastened to the arches and to the horizontal crossbars (cf. fig. 13). An arched hut of the same type, although more elaborate and solid, is found in certain Kel Owi villages (fig. 13) as already mentioned p. 77, while the use of crossbars is apparently unknown to other peoples who have barrel-vaulted huts (*The Songai:* – Barth 1857–58, V, p. 160, 163, 165f. – Dubois 1897, p. 232f.; 1911, p. 33. – Gabus 1948, p. 10. – Olufsen 1928, p. 137. – Prost 1954, p. 184ff. – Urvoy 1942, pl. II, 3. – Aymard 1911, p. 144 pl. 25; 1908, p. 183. – *The Fulani and*

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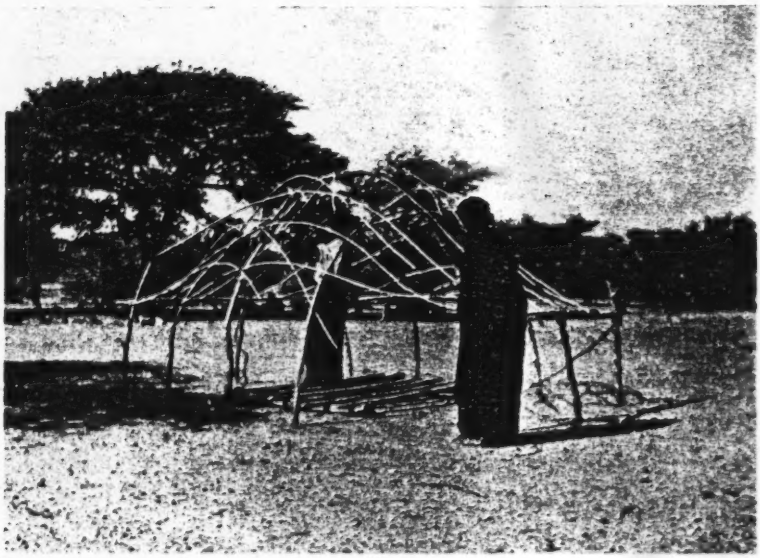

Fig. 13.–Tuareg women of Air erecting the skeleton of a mat-covered arched tent. It consists of three wooden arches placed parallel to and between a pair of three short sticks supporting a horizontal crossbar. Curved sticks cover the upper part of this construction. They are fastened to the arches and at their ends to the horizontal crossbars. Tuareg skin tents with the exception of those provided with T-shaped posts have possibly developed from similar constructions. – The erection of tents among the Tuareg is done by women.

171 *the Toucouleurs:* Urvoy 1952, pl. II, 4. – Desplagnes 1907, pl. CVI p. 396. – *The*
342 *Teda or Tebu:*– Le Coeur 1937, p. 39; 1950, p. 192, pl. XXVI; 99. – Despois 1946, pl. XXII. – Kronenberg 1959, pl. III).

Tuareg arched tents may also be covered with skin as they are among the
342 Tengueregui f Tuareg around Timbuktu. These Tuareg have a very peculiar arch construction which also contains crossbars resting on sticks (Lhote 1947, p. 100, photographs 85–93). In Ahaggar arched tents were formerly extremely common, and may occasionally be seen even nowadays. Their construction consists of two arches which may be placed between and parallel to a pair of crossbars each resting on the tops of two sticks (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247. – Benhazera 1908, p. 26. – Lhote 1947, p. 42f.; 1955, p. 256. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 89, 103f.). In Ahaggar I
[565] have been told that arched skin tents were formerly used by all vassals, who did not have T-shaped posts to support their tents. But arched tents were also used by some noble Tuareg. The mat-covered arched tents among certain Ioullemmeden Tuareg are apparently used particularly by vassals (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f. – Gabus 1948, p. 361), but they are also in frequent use among noble Tuareg. In Air the most common type of dwelling to all Tuareg whatever their social class is the

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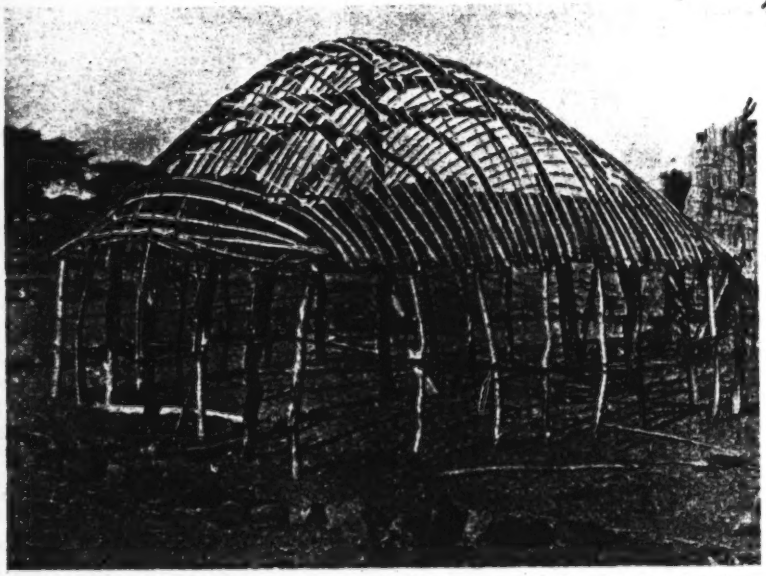

Fig. 14.–The skeleton of an arched mat-covered hut constructionally related to that shown fig. 13 but more elaborately and solidly built. The arches are made from lashed bundles of very slender sticks fastened to short poles embedded in the ground as is the heavy central post supporting the whole construction. – This type of hut is used among settled agriculturists of the Air villages, and is due to influence from pastoral Tuareg.

arched mat-covered tent, and the noble Kel Ferouan claim that they have never used any other type. The Western Ioullemmeden (Kel Ataram) use a skin tent consisting of three or four parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a horizontal crossbar (Lhote 1947, p. 85f., photographs 59–64). Gabus claims this dwelling as typical of the noble Tuareg (Gabus 1945, p. 15). I think that most probably it developed from a dwelling constructionally related to the arched mat-covered tent like that of Air. The common type of skin tent nowadays used in Ahaggar and Adrar-n-Iforas is of a somewhat related type (Lhote 1947, p. 42f., photographs 7–8, 11–13, 20–21.; 1955, p. 254ff. – Foley 1930, p. 12f., pl. IV, 6–7. – Briggs 1958, p. 92, fig. 36. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 103). It is apparently not possible to refer Tuareg arched tents exclusively to vassals, and it should be noted that in Tassili-n-Ajjer the dwelling typical of the vassal class is a straw hut constructionally related to a round house with conical roof (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 89, 104).

184 342 [565]

Finally I shall now return to our main problem, namely the history of Tuareg political systems. We have explained their origin from the meeting of two distinct cultures, and we have seen that in the past the noble class was connected with

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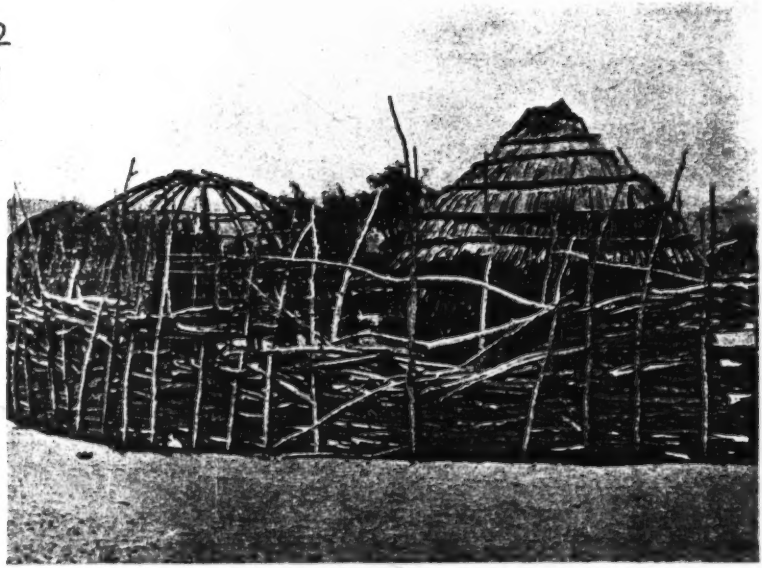

Fig. 15.–Beehive huts within a round enclosure at the village of Iferouan in Northern Air. The construction seen on this photograph consists of arches made from lashed bundles of slender sticks fastened to poles embedded in the ground. Horizontal sticks are fastened to the arches which are supported by a central forked post with a short crossbar placed on its top. For a detailed description of this construction see Foureau 1905, III, p. 885 f. Beehive huts in Air are also made from boughs embedded in the ground and tied together at the top without a central post.

174 233 camel-breeding. The camel is known to have been very common in Tripolitania in the 4th century A.D. It was introduced to this region a few centuries before that time, and it was known in Egypt about the year 500 B.C. It is therefore probable that the camel was introduced into the Central Sahara even prior to the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. Camel-breeding seems to have certain traits in common with pastoral cow-breeding, and the oldest camel-breeders of Northern Africa may have lived in tents or huts of arch construction – most possibly in so-called barrel-vaulted dwellings, which appear to have been extremely common in Northern Africa throughout Antiquity (cf. Le Coeur 1937. – Feilberg 1944, p. 202 f.).

174 The T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are apparently historically related to similar posts of Arab black tents in Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and [342] Eastern Libya. Considering the fact that T-shaped posts among the Northern [565] Tuareg are claimed to be characteristic of the noble class, there may be a certain connection between noble Tuareg of the North and Arabs. I have mentioned above [184] that in the North the term for noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, sing. *Ahaggar*) is different [792] from the term used in other Tuareg groups (*Imacheren*, sing. *Amacher*). I have also

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174 mentioned that the word *Ihaggaren (Ahaggar)* is perhaps derived from *Hoouara*,
[192] which was a common term for certain Berber tribes particularly living in Tripoli-
tania in the Middle Ages. According to Edrisi the Hoouara Berbers were originally
Arabs who adopted Berber language (Edrisi p. 66ff.). This is not proved by Ibn
[114] Khaldoun's important work on the history of the Berbers. But Ibn Khaldoun
states that the Hoouara came under Arab influence at a very early date, and some
of the pastoral Hoouara people apparently migrated southwards to the desert at a
later date than the Lemta (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275ff.).

I think that the ancestors of the noble Tuareg introduced the camel into the Sahara. I think too that this may have happened before the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. But some of the dominating noble Tuareg have emigrated from Tripolitania after the Arabs have arrived. And it is probable that the political systems of the Tuareg already very early were influenced by the Arabs among whom a class system is found even nowadays as described from Cyrenaica by
171 Evans-Pritchard. In that region there are client tribes known as *Marabtin alsaqan*
565 because they pay *sadaka*, a fee, to a free tribe for protection and for the privilege of using the earth and water. Some fragments of client tribes even to-day have a very inferior social position and are forced to make payments to, and to perform services for, the free tribes among whom they live (Evans-Pritchard 1949, p. 53).

The word *sadaqa*, a fee, is known to the Tuareg, and there are other Arabic
171 words connected with their political systems. Here I shall content myself with
192 reference to the word *khalifa* used among the Northern Tuareg for the deputies of a chief, and the very important word *effebel* meaning "drum", "drum-group", and in Air also "drum-chief". Ultimately the history of Tuareg political systems should
174 probably be viewed in connection with those of Arabs.
10)

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JOHANNES NICOLAISEN,
University of Copenhagen,
May, 1959

6:Blanguernon i Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

# The Hoggar
/Le Hoggar/

By Claude Blanguernon

B. Arthaud: 1955
France

Translated from the French by Thomas Turner

Human Relations Area Files
1960

/Title Page/

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[Frontispiece]

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Hoggar

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/9/ Foreword

121 This work was begun four years ago with modest personal observations and was designed to remain at the Tamanrasset school as a record for the information of my successors.

Little by little I realized that Tamanrasset was not the Ahaggar and that many people upon arrival there had preconceived ideas about the country and its inhabitants. These ideas were often inexact and always incomplete. They were defended with the conviction of ignorance and with an often convincing energy; they spread all the more easily when cloaked in mystery and marvels -- and the country, being little known, lends itself to the marvelous. Attention must be called to an entire florid literature which paints the Ahaggar and the Tuareg with a profusion of epithets but which gives no exact information. It has had the merit, however, of getting many Frenchmen interested in this country, so attractive in so many ways.

For the past three years caravans of tourists have come regularly to visit the Ahaggar. Naturally enough the tourists ask numerous questions that the French of Tamanrasset know well and are tired of answering. I believed this work could enlighten the visitors and relieve the residents, who are weary of repeating the same answers.

This work is, of course, incomplete and certainly contains errors, but it has been prepared with all the objectivity I could muster.

/10/ I owe the geological data to M. Lelubre, and the notes on the climate to the Institut de physique du globe /Institute of Global Physics/. The different annual reports of the heads of the Ahaggar annex have furnished me with valuable information. Finally, many Tuareg friends have initiated me into their way of life.

Specialists in all the scientific disciplines come to study the Ahaggar. Their research often remains unknown to the public. I ask their indulgence for this work, which I have intended for travelers and tourists.

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## The Ahaggar

131 The Ahaggar annex, whose administrative seat is Tamanrasset, covers an area of about 375, 000 square kilometers. It is bounded approximately by 1° and 8° east longitude and 19° and 27° north latitude. The exact boundaries are shown on the 1/1, 000, 000-scale map of the Sahara.

The Tropic of Cancer cuts the territory of the annex into two almost equal parts.

A glance at the quadrilateral in the 1/1, 000, 000-scale map shows an immense system of mountains, bounded on the north by the absolutely sterile plain, the Tidikelt, and on the southeast and west by the strictly desert plateaus of the Ténéré and the Tanezrouft.

It seems that the Ahaggar, isolated by its girdle of deserts, became a natural reserve, a world apart from the Sahara, aging alone and preserving some of its original character.

Its location relates the Ahaggar to the Sudan; the vegetation proves it and the population bears traces of it.

After having been a break between Algeria and Black Africa before the French occupation, the Ahaggar is now becoming a link between them.

175 648 Less than 70 years ago the Ahaggar was completely unknown. The existence of the /12/ Tuareg was merely suspected from tales told by the Arabs, tales full of error and lacking objectivity.

The advance into Tuareg country was provoked by repeated acts of pillage and destruction by the "blue" men, fierce, independent, and warlike.

The few dates to be found in the appendix show that the French advance into the country was slow and always marked by that humanity which, despite several attacks launched by the Tuareg, never ceased to be the constant concern of all the leaders.

133 /12 cont./ Beyond any doubt the country was destined to fire the imagination. This mass of mountains, rising below the northern Sahara, appears closed and hostile.

The deep gorges which traverse the tassilis /mountains/ are the doors to a region that seems to isolate itself from the world.

Leaving these somber gorges, one enters a domain of stone. Rocks are encountered in the strangest forms imaginable; there are immense domes of granite surging from a sand plain, or monoliths standing like a forest of dolmens; there are curious fissile schist formations, which seem like the leaves of some monstrous book. This landscape continues over hundreds of kilometers, unveiling a desert nature which adorns itself with the most extraordinary rock forms.

But the strangest is yet to be seen, the heart of the country: each valley there is an enigma; the volcanic crags which border the ravines seem to menace the intruder who dares to violate this domain.

The soil shows hues going from a delicate yellow to black, streaked with violet, green, blue, or pink veins. Jagged and smooth boulders pile up in indescribable chaos, and immense stretches of black and swollen stones seem to come from some devil's caldron.

114 The inhabitants once seemed to be as mysterious as the country which sheltered them. Their tall stature, their proud and disdainful bearing, and their faces veiled by the blue taguelmoust /veil/ were so many factors to stimulate the imagination. Stories circulated throughout the Sahara vaunting the warrior virtues of the Tuareg, their courage, their cruelty joined to a /13/ chivalrous sense of honor. They were, for some, the last of the Atlantes, for others, ancient Francs, whose sword in the form of a cross symbolized the lost faith.

However, little by little, explorers, administrative officers, scholars were to bring things into focus and to show the Ahaggar as it really is.

114 /13 cont./ The first clarification in the general knowledge of the region came from the reports of Barth and Duveyrier. Then followed the scientific works of Flamand, Maire, Reygasse, Kilian, Monod, Lelubre, Bordet, Follot, Dubief -- who laid the solid foundations for as exact a knowledge as possible of the country and its people.

The linguistic work of Father Foucauld portrayed in remarkable fashion the Tuareg and their language at the time he knew them.

Many explorers, notably M. Lhote, have left precise observations joined to personal impressions of the country.

Finally, the novel has spotlighted the Ahaggar, and for many of the French, L'Atlantide, that delightful fabrication by Pierre Benoît, furnishes the picture they have of the country. The last books of Frison-Roche also deserve a great deal of credit for the tourist movement which has begun to the Ahaggar.

## Morphology and Relief

133 The mountain system which constitutes the Ahaggar seems, at first view, to lack coherence as an entity; its form is better seen upon closer examination. In order to have a schematic idea of the system, one can divide it into three large concentric zones: a central core, a peripheral trench, and the outside belt of tassilis.

In the center of the Ahaggar is an almost circular massif, a sort of plateau with an average altitude of 2, 000 meters, spiked with peaks reaching nearly 3, 000 meters: this is known to the Tuareg as the Atakor (skullcap). A rocky spur projects toward the north: this is the Tefedest, which reaches /15/ 2, 327 meters with the Garet el Djenoun at its northern extremity.

Around the central core, a sort of circular depression, varying in altitude from 500 to 800 meters, forms an almost perfect crown in which rise, here and there, granite crags of volcanic remains.

133 /14/

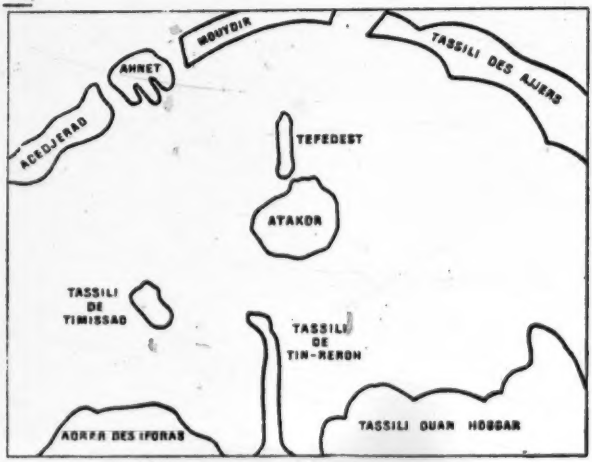
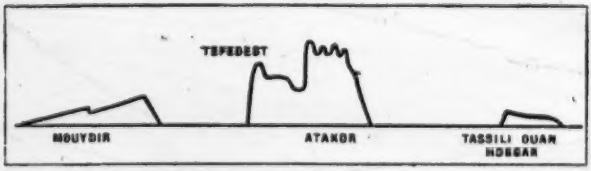



Diagram showing the concentric morphology of the Ahaggar.




North-south diagram of the Tuareg mountain system.

133 /15 cont./ Then around the central crystalline massif at an average distance of 200 kilometers is found a nearly continuous ring of plateaus, which form the outer belt of the Ahaggar. To the north is the Mouydir, then, going clockwise, comes the Tassili des Adjjer /Tassili des Ajjers/ to the east, the Tassili n'Ahaggar /Tassili du Hoggar/ to the southeast, the Tassili de Tin-Reroh to the south, the Tassili de Timissao to the southwest, and, to the northwest, the Acedjerad and the Ahnet, the latter of which borders the Mouydir.

The beds of just a few large quaternary wadis breach this ring of tassilis; they drain nearly all the waters of the Ahaggar. The Tamanrasset wadi disappears in a vast drainage basin north of the Adrar des Iforas; formerly, it must have joined the Niger at the Taoudeni basin. The Tafassasset wadi, which drains the eastern flank of the Ahaggar, now loses itself in the Ténéré; it must have been at one time a tributary of Lake Chad and not, as long believed, of the Niger. The Igharghar leaves the Ahaggar between the Mouydir and the Tassili des Adjjer; its course has been traced as far as the foot of the Aurès.

The Tin-Tarabin wadi drains the waters of the eastern slope of the Atakor.

The Ahaggar as a whole may be compared to an immense system of fortifications. The central massif would be the inner fort bristling with towers and falling off steeply to the surrounding moat. The tassilis, also with a sheer face toward the moat but sloping gently toward the exterior, would be the peripheral glacis. A north-south cross section brings out this defensive aspect of the Ahaggar.

The central core that the Tuareg call the Atakor (some translate this term by "middle of the mountains," others by "knot" where all the wadis originate) presents a /16/ gripping appearance of wild grandeur. It is a landscape bristling with vertical peaks about 3,000 meters in altitude, of which the Ilamane (2,823 meters) is typical. These are ancient volcanoes. They are thought to have thrown up a very viscous lava, which

133 /16 cont./ solidified almost immediately, a little like toothpaste leaving the tube when it is slightly squeezed. The usual volcanic cone is very restricted; the attention is drawn only by the vertical or spiral columns constituting the peaks.

Sometimes immense tabular mountains, such as the Adrar In Taraf'n or the Adriane, bear witness to the volume of the volcanic flows, and their different planes seem to indicate the contour lines.

One also sees, towering over the immense plateaus covered with lava, veritable fortresses of stone that give the most curious effect in twilight; the Aounahampt, the Akarakar, and the Takouft are the most characteristic of this type. This is the domain of wild sheep.

The Tuareg were impressed by this strange relief. The Ilamane, so pure andmajestic, rising in state, facing south in the middle of an amphitheater of splendidly hued mountains, might have been, in their legends, a god whose praises were sung by the granite organs all around it. But this warrior people, little concerned with religious subjects, imagined a love story which caused a quarrel.

Several kilometers west of the Ilamane are two mountains; 133 the northernmost one, massive in form, is named Amdjer -- 773 which, the legend says, was a man; the other, with a pointed summit, is named Tararat -- and Tararat was a woman.

Amdjer and Tararat loved each other. It came about that Ilamane also fell in love with Tararat. This passion was not, of course, well received by Amdjer, who reproached Ilamane. The latter, very violent by nature, struck Amdjer with his spear. Amdjer defended himself vigorously, fetching his attacker two mighty saber blows which completely convinced Ilamane that he shouldn't dispute Tararat with such a rival.... Since that time Amdjer and Tararat have been /17/ united by a chain, and the spear thrust which wounded the mountain is still visible; a spring flows from it as evidence that the wound has not yet healed. Ilamane, on each side of his summit, proudly bears the

133 /17 cont./ two gashes from the saber blows, a souvenir from
773 his youth of a duel of giants.

Some time after that incident, the peace of the Ahaggar was again disturbed. Ilamane fell in love with Tahat, who was a woman, but there was another suitor named Ti Hiyène. Fearing this rival and wiser by experience, Ilamane left the place where he had always been and settled down very close to Tahat, where he has remained ever since. Vexed at feeling himself scorned by Tahat, Ti Hiyène resolved to flee from the Ahaggar and go seek his fortune toward the Adrar des Iforas. He then left, going by way of the Amded wadi. Now, in the Amded wadi there was a mountain named Eheri. Eheri was brave, though peaceable. He respected the customs, and it did not seem proper to him that a mountain of the Ahaggar should thus leave his country for what was, all in all, a rather trifling reason. He left his place and planted himself squarely in the path of the runaway in order to bar the way. Ti Hiyène, informed of Eheri's gesture, doubtless learned his lesson, for he settled upstream, near the well of Tin-Dahar.

Since that time one may admire the Ilamane, fortunate conqueror, rising in state before the Tahat, and one may see his first site in the form of an immense circular crater which forms a depression to the west of the Ilamane wadi. Near the Amded wadi, a similar crater marks the former residence of Eheri. These circular depressions have long been enigmas to geologists.

"And the location of Ti Hiyène?" I asked Marly ag Amayas, who related this legend to me in detail. "Nobody knows it," he answered, "and this is understandable: when a man decides to leave after thinking it over, he moves quietly, thinking of his plans, and leaves no trace, while he who acts from sudden passion goes abruptly and leaves a deep mark on the ground."

133 A network of wadis separates these different summits, forming /18/ drops of from 800 to 1,000 meters. The upper valleys of these wadis are young and have a V form, true canyons out through the lava fields (Tarhoumout wadi). None of these wadis

133 /18 cont. / has finished cutting its bed; they have rapids and sometimes waterfalls where they cut a passage between two Adrars. At these spots, the water stands in permanent pools called gueltas. Certain of these gueltas (Issakarassène, Afilal) contain fish and are surrounded by luxuriant vegetation that contrasts sharply with the aridity of the country.

This region of the Atakor strongly impresses the traveler with the unbelievable hues taken on by the mountains during the course of the day. The wild majesty of the mountains calls up an anxiety hard to dismiss when one is traveling along acacia-lined wadis, guided by a veiled Targui, silent and supple, mounted on a camel whose padded tread blends with the uneasy silence. The zone of the peripheral trench, in which the relief is not very marked, has large regions which are nearly flat and which are often covered with a thin layer of sand. Sometimes small massifs cut the horizon, or, to the side exposed to the prevailing winds, a dune looms up: the Adrar Bourzekal is an example of this. Sometimes granite hills in the form of perfect domes, polished, shining, and mellowed, seem to surge from the horizontal sweep (Tesnou, Iniker, Ahélêheg), or there may be a colossal accumulation of glittering blocks and of nearly geometric forms, which give an appearance of ruins to these garas /flat-topped buttes left through erosion/ 60 to 100 meters high, as at Iŋ-Tédéini, or near Ideles, or in the region of the Debna.

In this zone the wadis coming from the Atakor spread out to such an extent that one can no longer distinguish any definite valley: it is more accurate to speak of distribution basins in which the water brought down by rather powerful floods meanders along in no fixed pattern. The passage of the water is sometimes marked by dry grasses and some rare
[137] tahlas /Acacia tortilis/. One again finds a valley where the wadi breaches a rocky barrier by cutting a straight groove through it, and beyond there is another basin. The basins become larger and larger as the distance from the Atakor

133 /18 cont./ increases, for /19/ the tributary basins converge and form an immense flat plain called aciaf by the Tuareg.

Seen from afar the tassilis appear to be impassable barriers whose tops, eaten by water erosion and battered by wind, give the illusion of a fortified city. Eroding wadis have cut through these sandstone plateaus, and their deep valleys with vertical sides constitute savage gorges at the bottom of which a relatively dense vegetation contrasts with the aridity of the plateau, which is wholly bare and raked by the winds. Numerous gueltas, often fringed with tahlis (a kind of reed), are found in these tassilis.

[103] Note. -- A few altitudes:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tahat | 3, 003 meters | In the Atakor |
| Ilaman | 2, 823 " | " " " |
| In-Taraïn | 2, 762 " | " " " |
| Asekrem | 2, 804 " | " " " |
| Tozat | 2, 400 " | " " " |
| Akarakar | 2, 216 " | " " " |
| In-Afilal | 2, 157 " | " " " |
| Garet el Djenoun | 2, 327 " | In the Tefedest |
| Ifetessen | 1, 680 " | In the Mouydir |

## The Climate

132 Meteorological observations are regularly made only at Tamanrasset and only since 1929. There is a lack, therefore, of exact data for the whole territory. If it is known from Tuareg reports that it has rained in a certain place, the intensity of the precipitation is not known. The information concerning the winds and temperatures is still more vague. However, by taking into account the observations made at Tamanrasset and by examining the vegetation at different places in the Ahaggar annex, as well as the distribution of the fauna, one can distinguish three climatic zones, which correspond almost exactly

132 /19 cont. / to the zones of the relief. Let us note, however, that /20/ the tassilis of the south are subject to conditions of wind and rain different from those of the tassilis of the north. Before studying the climatic zones, it is well to sketch in the general characteristics common to all the zones.

The climate is generally of the continental desert type, due to the location of the country.

The Tropic of Cancer divides the territory of the Ahaggar in two; the sun mounts to its zenith, giving the country a Sudanese influence in the form of summer clouds which sometimes condense into stormy rains: "tornado tails." This Sudanese monsoon rarely manifests itself north of the Tropic.

In winter a fairly regular predominance of northwest winds makes possible the transport of Atlantic or Mediterranean rains, which rarely affect the south.

If we turn to consider the different climatic zones, we see that the Atakor is, because of its high peaks, the center of distribution for the waters which condense in the mountains when, by chance, the clouds are low enough. Cloud systems are relatively frequent and often large, but they seem to climb when they reach the mountainous region. The altitude moderates the summer heat, and winter brings light snowfalls on the summits nearly every year. One sees only in the Atakor an [137] outlying sample of Mediterranean flora, a wild olive tree: Olea laperrini. In descending toward the peripheral trench, one encounters the kranka (Callotropis proscera), an essentially tropical shrub. Then, at the border of the central mountains, one finds the fruit-bearing palm at Silet, Abalessa, In-Amguel.

Observations of the meteorological station at Tamanrasset have been used to make rain and temperature graphs, which may be found in the appendix. Information is lacking for the war period. The climate is characterized by the regularity of the temperature and the extreme irregularity of the rains. The heavy rains, however, nearly always fall in summer or winter; when there are rains in both of these seasons, there is a rainy

132 /20 cont./ year as in /21/ 1943: 108.5 millimeters of rainfall; when, on the contrary, atmospheric conditions prevent the Sudanese tornadoes and the Atlantic winds from approaching the Ahaggar, there is a dry year as in 1945: 28 millimeters of rainfall, or as in 1949: 9 millimeters.

In view of the insufficient number of meteorological stations and of the enormous distances which separate them, it is impossible to follow the evolution of the cloud systems or to predict periodic rains.

At Tamanrasset the winds are fairly regular; in the morning the prevailing winds range from east to northeast, and in the evening from west-southwest to west-northwest.

In winter the prevailing winds bringing rain are mostly from the northwest, coming from Moroccan depressions.

In summer the rains come with southwest winds, probably originating in Sudanese cyclones.

Sandstorms are not seen, but there are rare dust storms, particularly in March.

In calm weather, or even during violent winds, whirlwinds
132 occur. There have been different theories advanced to account
821 for them, but for the time being the question is still open. The Tuareg have their opinion as to the cause of the whirlwinds; they are manifestations of genii, the Tuareg say. Here, moreover, is a story proving them right:

One sunny afternoon a Tuareg woman (others have told me that it was a Negress) was gathering wood in the ravine of Itharentidjarnin when a violent whirlwind materialized about 100 meters away. The dust began to revolve, describing an almost perfect circle, then mounted vertically, turning faster and faster. When the dust column had reached a great height, the whirlwind began to move. It started slowly, hesitating about which direction to take. Finally, it moved southward, spinning, rolling from side to side, and whistling cheerfully. The woman, entranced by this spectacle, showed her delight by loudly crying, "You-you." The whirlwind approached her, tossed her some gold, and thanked her for being merry, for, the whirlwind said, "One of us is being married."

132 /22/ The elders of the camp, to whom the woman related
821 this adventure, said it was really the first time that the Kel es Souf had ever been agreeable.

Some time later the same woman, at the same place, saw a similar whirlwind. Hoping to be rewarded again by the genii, she saluted the whirlwind with gay "you-you" cries as it passed. She had cause to rue this; she was seized, swept from the ground, whirled to an unbelievable height, then abruptly let go to crash on the ground. As she fell, the Kel es Souf told her: "We are in the funeral procession of one of our kind; this is your punishment for mocking us." The woman was found with all her limbs broken. She told her story and died.

132 The climate of Tamanrasset, which at first seems agreeable because of the mild temperature, is enervating in the long run; this is agreed to by everyone who has lived there a certain length of time. Intellectual work is very tiring. Father de Foucauld tried to settle down at the top of the Asekrem, but found he couldn't work there as hard as he could elsewhere. The extreme nervousness that seizes men, and particularly women, after a long stay is also noticeable. What causes these troubles? Doubtless they are due to the combined effects of the altitude and the extreme dryness of the air. Some ascribe them
132 to magnetic effects, and others blame radiations. (1) In point
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1. I once made a curious observation: two years ago I was collecting different rocks, which I tested with a Geiger counter. I marked on each rock the number of "clicks" per minute. One morning I wanted to test my samples. All my rocks were more radioactive by 25 "clicks." By chance, I was

132 /22 cont./ 133

able to report this anomaly to Father Bordet, a geologist come to study volcanism in the Ahaggar. He suggested cosmic radiations, but, not being a specialist in this field, he affirmed nothing, merely noting the information in order to pass it on to a qualified person.

132 of fact, no satisfactory answer has been found.

A second climatic zone is found in the peripheral trench. This region, situated at a lower altitude, has higher temperatures and much less rain. Vegetation is nearly nonexistent there; even in the wadis, the tahlas /see Appendix, Flora/ are not numerous and the morakba /Panicum turgidum/ is /23/ nearly always dry. The kranka no longer is found, nor is the éthel, /see appendix/, and the true Saharan climate reasserts itself, leading to the complete desert of the Tanezrouft and the Ténéré. The gazelles avoid the center of this region; they approach the more humid mountainous country according to the frequency of the rains which nourish acheb (pasturage).

Lastly, in the tassilis a distinction must be made between those in the north and those in the south.

The tassilis of the north receive winter rains nearly every year, and, more rarely, get precipitation coming from the Sudanese monsoon. Information on these regions is not plentiful and is inexact, except concerning the Mouydir, which is crossed by the route from In-Salah and flown over by airplanes from Algiers. It appears from reports of the Tuareg that the Mouydir receives more rain than the Ahnet and the Acedjerad, which seems reasonable because of its greater altitude, and perhaps also because of a system of atmospheric depressions which are suspected but which have not yet been studied.

132 /23 cont./ The kranka reappears, a sign of less aridity; the tahlas are fairly dense in the wadis; the gueltas /pools/ rarely dry up and are bordered with berdis /Formium tenax/. The wild sheep is a permanent resident of the summits.

There is still less information about the tassilis of the south. Facts are almost nonexistent for the Tassili n'Ahaggar. There is information given by the Tuareg about the Tassili de Tin-Reroh and the Tassili de Timissao, which are situated on caravan routes coming from the Adrar des Iforas toward the Tidikelt or the Ahaggar. They chiefly report summer rains, and rains abundant enough to engender acheb /pasturage/.

These tassilis receive little water from the "tornado tails" because of their medium altitude. However, it rains in the summer nearly every year. The wells of Tin-Reroh and Timissao are never dry. The Tin-Reroh guelts /pool/ sometimes is.

Although not a tassili, the northern border of the Adrar des Iforas has the same sort of climate. This section is of vital importance to the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, who /24/ graze their she-camels there. Summer rains occur regularly; the Sudanese monsoon causes periodic floods. The gueltas in the wadis fill up in the summer and may still have water when the next floods come. Gergir provides abundant pasturage; it lasts nearly all year. Ethel and tamarisk are dense in the wadis, and tahlas begin to grow on the hillsides. The flora of the wadis is more varied. Gazelles are plentiful; one sees Robert's does, oryx and addax antelopes. This is certainly the most favored region in the territory of the Ahaggar annex, but geographically it is already the Sudan.

## Water in the Ahaggar

133 As in every desert region, the question of water is of pri-
312 mary importance. The Ahaggar is relatively favored by rains.
[132] Water points are numerous in the mountainous regions of the

133 /24 cont. / central core and of the tassilis. From this point of
312 view, then, it is easy enough to travel through those regions. But it is an entirely different story for the zone between the Atakor and the tassilis.

Wherever there is water, the landscape in the Ahaggar is transformed; an intense animal life develops; around the water points grows vegetation that seems luxuriant in contrast with the rest of the country. This thin trace of life has something touching about it, something timid and intimate in comparison with the grandiose face of the desert.

As a result of the crystalline nature of the soil, there is no artesian water table. The only hope of finding water is in the wadi beds, under the alluvial deposits, at depths varying from 20 to 15 meters. Occasionally, when the water table under the wadi is abundant, it flows out freely at a rocky shelf which forms an underground dam; such an outflow is called tiggert in Tamashek. When after a tiggert water accumulates in rock basins and the "potholes" of the rapids, there are gueltas (aguelmam in Tamashek) in which live fish and an entire aquatic fauna. As far as I know, there are only rare /25/ springs in the Ahaggar: we may cite the Chapuis spring near Tamanrasset, which flows from the granites of the Adrar Haggarène. Limestone deposits in certain wadis of the Tahalra permit the supposition that thermal springs may have existed formerly.

Nearly all the wadis originate in the central Ahaggar, the zone where the water is distributed. Two very large quaternary wadis, the Igharghar wadi and the Tamanrasset wadi, drain the waters of the west and north. The Tin-Tarabin wadi and the Tin-Amzi and Zazir wadis take the waters from the south and southeast slopes toward the Tamesnar, in the Azaouak wadi, a tributary of the Niger.

The Ahaggar wadis appear as a succession of basins descending from the summits like a giant staircase whose upper steps receive the water which sustains the only permanent vegetation of the country and which permits man to exercise his ingenuity

133 /25 cont. / in creating gardens. The lower steps, which spread out enormously, are dead to all sedentary life.

312 The Tamanrasset wadi affords a typical example of the Ahaggar wadi. Its source -- or more exactly, its head -- is at the Asekrem, nearly 2, 765 meters high; its mouth, that is to say, the last drainage basin, spreads out and loses itself in the Tanezrouft, at an altitude of 400 meters. Its present length is approximately 750 kilometers; if, in the quaternary period, the Tamanrasset wadi emptied into the Taoudéni depression, it must have measured more than 1, 400 kilometers. The descent in the upper part of its course is very steep, for at Amsel, 160 kilometers from its origin, the altitude has already dropped to 900 meters.

From its source down to Amselka, or about 200 kilometers, one may say that the Tamanrasset wadi is living: it has a distinct valley, the passage of the water is clearly marked; one sees terraces with clear-cut borders, and the valley is often cut in V shape. However, certain basins, such as the one at Tamanrasset (the village) give a preview of the large drainage zones downstream, evidence of a former, more humid epoch.

/26/ The description of this part of the wadi is merely an enumeration of the transversal valleys it cuts across; each of these has a corresponding rock shelf which is at the end of each basin.

In following the descent south of the Asekrem, one goes along a drainage trough which, after a kilometer, has already cut a ravine with sharply vertical sides from four to five meters high. The course then spreads out very wide, then comes a 20-meter fall into a basalt corrie with vertical columns reposing on the alluvial deposits; the valley continues, forming a canyon 60 meters wide and 30 meters deep. At this point the wadi takes the name "Tarhoumout"; it crosses a transversal valley after Mount Oul, the rocky shelf crops out, and abankor /water holes; are dug here.

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/26 cont. / The wadi runs toward the south, then turns eastward: there is then a series of rapids in a gorge where the permanent gueltas of Lundien are found. Then there is a new bend to the south, the valley runs along the Akarakar, narrows, and there is a new rock shelf and the guelta of Ifelouen.

The wadi leaves the Atakor in cutting a passage between the Isekram and the Ahounahampt. It empties into the site of Tamanrasset, where it widens, takes its final name, and receives its first important tributary, the Irharhar Tekecherouet, in which are found the "grand gueltas."

By the Iharen peak the rock is grooved in a corridor 15 meters deep and one or two meters wide for about 200 meters distance. Afterward the wadi is 400 meters wide. Foggaras /subterranean channels dug to tap underground water/ are dug in its bed; they irrigate the gardens of Hadriane and Tamanrasset, and of Tihegouine, a small agricultural center a kilometer downstream from Tamanrasset.

The valley soon widens but remains hemmed in, then narrows again at Tagrambalt, where a garden nourished by a foggara is found a little before an outcropping of rock. The valley then widens once more and reaches 600 meters across.

From this point on the wadi is always very wide, but it is dead. It runs toward the south, then, at the slight narrowing at Timguiaouine, it turns sharply toward the northwest. This may be a case of a former capture.

/27/ The valley becomes immense, the rock shelves are no longer perceptible; former water reaches are suspected where the wadi passes between two hills, but the course has the appearance of an absolutely flat and sterile reg, except toward the middle, where the presence of a few tufts of dried afazzou /Panicum turgidum/ shows that a modest trickle of water sometimes reaches this zone. Near a gara /butte/ encircled by pre-Islamic tombs, the Adjelman wadi meets the Tamanrasset wadi, but its waters cannot pass through because a barrier of dunes blocks its mouth. The Adjelman, which is four kilometers wide

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/27 cont./ at this place, will have a closed basin from now on. One cannot imagine a flood powerful enough to sweep away the sand-dune system which plugs the confluent.

Up to the Tassili de Timissao, the wadi appears to stretch out as far as eye can reach; it may be from 20 to 30 kilometers wide. It is a magnificent reg over which vehicles drive as if on a highway.

A few tahlas dot the course toward the center of the valley; dry stalks of gergir bear witness to a more humid time of long ago.

The confluent wadi Amded is obstructed by a large dune system; here again is a case of a large tributary having an independent basin, and its waters can no longer pass the sandy barrier which blocks their access to the Tamanrasset wadi. However, the Amded has vegetation up to its mouth during a wet year, such as 1950; at the very end of its course I have seen tufts of "had" and a few green tufts of morakba.

I have not personally followed the Tamanrasset wadi beyond Timissao; I have only the information supplied by the Tuareg, chiefly by the Kel-Ahnet.

The Ilafer wadi empties into the Tamanrasset wadi. Their junction forms an outsized flat, an immense sebkha, the final outlet for waters from such a flood as would be inconceivable in the Ahaggar at this time. Up until this point the course of the Tamanrasset wadi has been unobstructed, but, a little east of one degree longitude, it comes up against the Egtelis Erg. This is the present end of the wadi.

I have not been able to obtain any information about the extreme downstream course; it would require painstaking surveys to mark /28/ the ancient quaternary course, which is thought to have gone toward Taoudéni.

The flow of the wadi depends on the rains in the central Ahaggar, which is to say that it is extremely irregular. When, by chance, its upper tributaries -- including the Ajemet wadi -- are flowing, the water may reach to the low flats as far as

133 /28 cont. / Timissao, or so the Tuareg tell me, although I have
312 never been able to determine when such a phenomenon last occurred. In 1948, I witnessed a flood; ten millimeters of rain fell in twelve minutes at Tamanrasset, but it was impossible to tell how hard and how long it rained in the mountains; four hours after the rain, the waters arrived like a rising tide, pushing the light detritus and, in effect, cleaning the wadi. At the end of a quarter of an hour, the water in the wadi measured 200 meters across; one could still cross the current with the water halfway up the thighs, leaning sharply to counteract the force of it, and a number of little pebbles could be felt pelting the legs. The flood lasted five hours. It reached only to Amsel, and only the tributaries above Tagramba'it were flowing. This flood, which, seen from Tamanrasset, appeared so considerable, resulted in only a slight infiltration of water, for the underground water level had only an insignificant rise.

Other than in the system of living and dead wadis, of which the Tamanrasset is only one example, water is found fairly deep under ground in the tassilis and close to them, due, no doubt, to the permeability of the sandstone.

312 Men may, then, obtain water for their use in several ways. The Tuareg know how to find, near the rock shelves and upstream of them, the place to dig down from 20 to 50 centimeters with a menassa /copper basin/ until the water seeps out: this type of water point is called an "abankor." The true well, the large one found along the caravan trails, is called "anou" (plural: "ounan").

The presence of these large wells is signaled from very far away by large redjems on the hills. Many paths seem to converge on a mysterious point; the nearer one approaches, the denser becomes the network of paths; then appears /29/ a vast trampled circle, strewn with camel droppings, and in the middle of this circle is the well.

The Tuareg have another name for the well used to irrigate the gardens: this is the "tanout" (plural: "tounin"). These

312 /29 cont./ shallow wells are found in agricultural centers; generally, they are upstream from the rock shelves. The water is drawn by men or, most often, by an ox, in which case a rudimentary scaffolding supports a pulley by which a goatskin full of water may be drawn up and dumped into a basin by an ingenious system.

The last method used to tap underground water is the foggara, called by the natives the "efeli" (plural: "ifelan"). The foggara is used only to irrigate gardens; we shall see how it works when we study agriculture.

## Flora and Fauna

137 [114] The flora of the Ahaggar is more varied than that of the northern Sahara. The work of M. Maire constitutes the basic study one should refer to for information on the spontaneous vegetation. The list of plants given in the appendix was established by questioning the Tuareg in order to learn the varieties most often encountered. Very incomplete as far as herbaceous vegetation is concerned, this enumeration includes the vast majority of trees growing naturally.

There is no forest in the Ahaggar. However, information from the Kel Immidir Tuareg makes it possible to suppose the existence of a wooded stretch in the Ifetessen massif, a region still not thoroughly explored in its entirety. Perhaps it may merely be a case of wadis covered with a particularly luxuriant vegetation. In the Ahaggar almost all the flora grows in wadis. A few plants also grow on the most watered high summits, and, at the time of particularly propitious rains, the regs are covered with patches of acheb /pasturage/, which resemble a thick, sprouting beard.

The distribution of the spontaneous flora in the Ahaggar obviously /30/ is related to the climatic zones we have already discussed. There are some plants which are peculiar to a specific zone, while there is an interpenetration of most of the other vegetation.

137 /30 cont./ In the central Ahaggar, the Atakor, and the Tefedest, a zone of high elevation, one sees plants of Mediterranean origin, such as the wild olive (Olea laperrini) and the oleander. Artemisia and the "takamezout" of the Tuareg are also characteristic of this region.

At a lower level, in the zone which surrounds the central massif, the Sudanese influence is manifested in trees and shrubs such as the thora, the tebourak, and various kinds of acacias, the tabrakat and the morakba. One also sees there Saharan plants: the palm, the fersig, the drinn. And there are some traces of the Mediterranean influence: artemisia, oleander, and reeds. In brief, it is a zone of transition.

The vegetation of the peripheral trench is purely Saharan: a little acheb grows on the regs when it rains; the drinn, the had, and the guetaf invade the wadi beds. One also finds, here and there, morakba and a few tahlas.

The tassilis of the north, with their humid and well-boxed-in wadis, have a flora with Sudanese affinities along with Mediterranean and Saharan plants, while in the southern tassilis and the Adrar des Iforas the influence is very clearly Sudanese. In these latter two regions, the tahlas, still scattered, grow on the slopes outside of the wadis. In the wadi beds, one sees numerous tebourak, some thoras, tabrakat, and various acacias. The morakba grows abundantly in the small ravines as well as in the large wadis. Lastly, a luxuriant growth of gergir, reminiscent of the prairie, covers the wadis after it rains.

In the region of high altitudes, one sees mosses and lichens, as well as mushrooms. After rain, terfes (Saharan truffles) develop.

Near running water, one notes the presence of a special flora: mosses and lichens, false mint, reeds, rushes and tahlis, and couch grass grow profusely. The water itself contains algae and various aquatic plants.

136 /31/ The diversity of the flora would lead one to expect a great variety of fauna. Saharan animals do, in fact, live

136 /31 cont./ next to those habitually found in Mediterranean zones or on the Sudanese steppes. Some are frequently found in the Ahaggar or are often spoken of by the natives.

The gazelle (alenkad), a small, elegant, delicate animal, is found almost everywhere, from the first spurs of the Mouydir up to the frontier of the Niger. It likes pastures of alommoz, a small grass that quivers in the slightest breeze; this is why gazelles are particularly numerous in the Tin-Zaouaten region and in the wadis bordering the Tanezrouft. At certain times of the year, it is not unusual to see herds of 50 head.

[224] The gazelle is protected by hunting laws, but it protects itself even better by avoiding the regions inhabited by man. Because of this, the number of these animals seems to be almost constant.

Nearly all the mountains of the Ahaggar harbor wild sheep (oudad). This splendid animal, characteristic of the country, haunts all the peaks, even those seemingly inaccessible.

136 224 The Tuareg formerly hunted wild sheep with spears; they now use rifles. A small tribe, the Ibardjien, were specialists in this sport; with their dogs trained for this work, the men tracked the game and dispatched it with spears. This tribe is dying out, and this type of hunting will disappear with it. The Adjouh n'Téhélé and the Dag Rali kill a few animals during the year, either with rifles or by trapping them with a noose tied to a log.

136 It is difficult to determine with any degree of accuracy whether the number of wild sheep is increasing or decreasing.

There are practically no antelopes still living in the Ahaggar; only a few rare individuals ascend the valleys of the Adrar des Iforas and are seen at the edge of the southern tassilis.

The most widespread of the carnivores is the jackal. One sees it everywhere, on the lookout for wounded gazelles, following the tracks of small animals, avidly eyeing the herds /32/ of goats. The presence of this animal is a veritable nightmare for the young mountain shepherds.

136 /32 cont./ A cruel fox, smaller than the jackal, is sometimes found in the sandy regions of the great regs or at the approaches of the tassilis. This is the fenec.

No doubt the most curious animal of this region is the cheetah, or amayas. One rarely sees more than its tracks, and it is very hard to encounter. The cheetah is a true nomad, which hunts over enormous distances.

The Tuareg highly prize its skin, with which they ornament their saddles.

The striped hyena is rather rarely seen in the Ahaggar. It is more numerous in the tassilis and in the Adrar des Iforas.

In the mountains and, above all, close to agricultural areas, wild cats abound. These are handsome animals, the size of a very large domestic cat. Voracious and cruel, they play havoc with the poultry of the harratin /the Negro group which does the gardening/.

The Tuareg often speak of a wolf that was seen in times past in the Ahaggar. The folklore also speaks of a ferocious animal, the cynhyena, which lived in packs. (Colonel Augières reports that bones of the cynhyena have been found in the Timissao region).

Small rodents are found in great numbers in the pastures. Hares and rabbits feed on aromatic herbs which give their flesh a peculiar flavor.

Rats of all sizes and countless mice are found near the tents, and they often damage the leather sacks in which the grain is kept. The tilout, a rat with no ears and with very long, pointed claws hides among the rocks of the Atakor. Another curious animal, the daman, lives in packs among the great granitic rubble. According to scientists, this animal may be related to the rhinoceros, for the female has a linear placenta. It is about as big as a large rabbit and is exceedingly timid.

All the pasturelands of the Ahaggar teem with birds which eat the grain, above all the gergir. Thousands of them may be seen taking off when one crosses a prairie.

136 /33/ Near the water points, numerous insect-eating birds seek nourishment. Let us mention in particular a gray swallow which lives the year round in the Ahaggar, and a charming black and white bird, the moula-moula, which is considered [825] a messenger by the Tuareg and which accompanies travelers, rapidly becoming very tame.

At Tamanrasset, Bengalis (mange-mil /literally: "eat-millet"/), imported from Agadez, breed rapidly and populate the gardens, which they ornament with their red plumage.

Crows are seen almost everywhere. Vultures soar very high, so high, say the Tuareg, that the sun burns their head feathers, and when an animal dies in the desert, the rapacious birds arrive mysteriously from "nowhere."

Falcons and buzzards circle over the pasturelands in search of food.

Reptiles abound in the Ahaggar. Snakes and vipers live in and around the wadis, burrowing among the clumps of thorny vegetation and tree roots. The Tuareg fear everything that crawls. Several types of vipers (tachilt) live in the Ahaggar; some are gray, others tawny (horned) or spotted. One may encounter, but rather rarely, a sort of cobra called hench-lefel. Some snakes grow to be more than a meter long.

Lizards of all sizes live in the most desolate places. One kind, small, sand-colored, flees terrified at the approach of man in the wadis and on the regs.

The dob prefers rocky places. With its large, spiked tail, this animal has an antediluvian aspect. It plays a very important part in Tuareg stories. Children play with it as with [262] a toy. Its flesh, considered edible, is far from tasty.

The uran, a large gray lizard, possesses a redoubtable weapon in its long, flexible tail. The Tuareg call it their [825] maternal uncle and ascribe to it dauntless courage. It is said that the uran attacks nobles but /34/ refuses to fight Negroes; [262] the latter eat the flesh of the uran, having no kinship tie with it.

136 /34 cont. / A green lizard with a red head is often glimpsed on the rocks: this is the materter. It seems to be saying a continual prayer, nodding its head up and down. The Tuareg [825] claim that its bite is fatal but are contradicted by zoologists on this point.

Large numbers of toads live in the irrigation ditches; tadpoles are found in nearly all water points.

The large gueltas /pools/ such as Issakarassène, Afilal, Amguid, Arak, etc., contain fish: barbus sahari. These barbels run the risk of disappearing during violent floods.

Some water points, at Tamanrasset in particular, are stocked with gambusia, useful for eating mosquito larvae. Some say that the In-Outer guelta, situated upstream in the Tit wadi, once was inhabited by a crocodile. This claim is not to be rejected a priori if one considers the discoveries made in the Ajjers /Adjjer/ of "residual" animals.

Insects are clearly the most important of the Ahaggar's fauna. They are found everywhere, even in places which seem totally devoid of life.

Beetles are the region's largest insects; they leave orderly little dotted tracks on the sand. A green beetle, the zembabar, looks truly ornamental.

The ankokar, a large poisonous wasp which frequents the vicinity of water points, inflicts dangerous stings; the Tuareg fear it and say that several stings may cause death.

Ordinary flies are the best adapted animals in the Ahaggar, as in all the Sahara. They swarm at agricultural centers, where they are carriers of eye diseases. When one halts on a barren reg, it is a surprise to find oneself surrounded by a cloud of flies, come from heaven known where.

Butterflies fly around the gardens and pastures; moths describe thousands of ellipses around the lamps.

/35/ Ants of all sizes, ticks, mantes, dragon flies, mosquitoes, termites, and many other small insects fly and

136 /35 cont./ circle everywhere, among the plants of the wadis, around the rocks in the mountains, on the trees, and in the guemouns /cultivated squares/ of the gardens, as well as near the water points.

The gueltas harbor an entire, very varied, aquatic fauna; the moist soil shelters a quantity of insects, larvae, and worms.

Lastly, scorpions are encountered almost everywhere, yellow or black, small or large. The Tuareg fear them. It appears, however, that the sting of the Ahaggar scorpion is not fatal; it causes a high fever, varying according to the individual victim, the time of the year, and the amount of venom injected.

To my knowledge there is no any complete scientific study of the Ahaggar's fauna.

/37/

## II
## The People of the Ahaggar

172 One can say nothing very exact about the origin of the present populations of the Ahaggar, and less still on that of the populations of past centuries. However, we may be permitted to sketch a picture, a rather hypothetical one, of what the Ahaggar could have been in the remote past, although it is not possible to assign any certain chronology to the different periods.

The only positive knowledge we have of the prehistory is furnished by collections of tools, by the study of rock figurations, by results of excavations of pre-Islamic tombs, and by geological and paleoclimatological contributions. The oral traditions handed down by the Tuareg are not of much use, for they are rare and deal largely in myths.

172 /37 cont. / Many chipped stones have been found in the Ahaggar, indicating an early occupation of the region, but nearly all of the objects have been found on the surface, preventing the establishment of a chronology. However, Acheulian axes have been discovered by M. Arambourg in a basin of the Tihodaine erg beneath undisturbed sediments, with fossilized elephant bones. The In-Guezzam basin has also furnished paleolithic tools in association with fossilized bones. Objects of neolithic make are, in general, scattered on the ground.

/38/ Arrowheads are very rare. The most numerous tools are polished, two-edged axes; they are found in all sizes; some very small ones are made of very soft stone, and perhaps were used for money. Magnificent polished pestles, varying in length from 15 to 70 centimeters, are still sometimes used by the Negroes. Also to be found are polishing tools, fixed grindstones, scrapers, and the debris of pottery with linear decorations.

Some interesting information is furnished by the rock engravings. One may say that the Ahaggar is covered with them. At the present time, nearly 120 sites are known, and there are certainly others to be discovered; on the other hand, rock paintings are infrequent.

An examination of the engravings shows a succession of periods. The oldest are characterized by the presence of fauna found in humid steppe regions: elephants, lions, ostriches, giraffes, antelopes, bovids, horses. The most recent are identified by the presence of camels, asses, and crude line drawings of men.

[532 212] Contemporary engravings, accompanied by inscriptions in tifinagh, are easily recognizable, for the legends may be translated.

The rarity of paintings in the Ahaggar is explained by the almost total absence of caves permitting their preservation. Those that have been discovered were found in sheltered places

172 /38 cont./ in granitic regions. The tassilis, which have genuine caves, have not yet furnished us with any paintings. The most famous paintings are those in the Tefedest: at the Coche and Cousin-Lelubre sites. Another site, discovered in April, 1951, by M. Bobo in a valley of the Adrar Haggarène, adds a new element for the Ahaggar in that its figurations are different from those of the Tefedest.

The oldest engravings, which are termed "pre-cameline" for want of more precise references, have a considerable patina; the patina of some seems identical to that of the rock. We find perfectly drawn animals, /39/ sometimes in a dynamic posture; the line is precise, often deep in spite of the hardness of the base rocks (microgranites, basalts, etc.); sometimes the drawing is filled in in spots. Bovids and horses, although certainly ancient, have a less heavy patina than do the elephants, giraffes, and lions. Certain horses seem to be drawn less surely; it seems that one sees a decadence of the rock art which announces the following period. In addition to animals, there are enigmatic drawings, tracks, human figures; some animals are striped with parallel lines.

Next comes the "cameline" period. In addition to camels, there are also frequent asses and horses, as well as stylized men drawn with a maximum of three strokes. All of the drawings are summarily done and are without artistic interest; the line is often imprecise and there is almost no patina. There are also some scarcely comprehensible figures, some outlines of nails /sandals/, and a few ostrich silhouettes. The Tuareg are unable to translate the inscriptions in tifinagh characters.

[532] Contemporary engravings are rather rare. They portray asses, camels, and are of no interest whatsoever, except to illustrate the fact that men have been attracted to the same places, as these engravings and inscriptions overlap older ones.

Tombs of different forms are scattered throughout the Ahaggar. They are found practically everywhere, and no

172 /39 cont./ conclusions may be drawn from the presence of pre-Islamic tombs near sites of rock drawings. The Tuareg call the pre-Islamic tombs "debni" -- "idebnan" in the plural. The most frequent type is a tumulus with a diameter of about four or five meters, but much bigger ones exist, and some even have diameters of 20 or 25 meters. Sometimes the tumulus is isolated, but most often there are three or four idebnan together, and it is not unusual to find veritable necropolises. If a great many sepulchers are found near the most watered wadis of the Ahaggar, there are also /40/ many at more remote points: in the Tanezrouft and the Ténéré, where there is absolute desert at the present time.

Chouchets are less numerous than the tumuli, although very numerous. Quite well constructed, perfectly round, this type of debni required considerable work; some are as big as 20 meters in diameter.

Other types of monuments, less numerous than the preceding, are nevertheless rather widespread. They consist of perfectly regular concentric circles, marked out with stones dug into the ground; the largest have diameters of about 25 meters.

Rectangles enclosed by standing slabs and filled with average-sized pebbles also exist. These rectangles may be from 40 to 60 centimeters high. To the east, about two meters away, is constructed a U, with the ends pointing to the debni.

One also finds circles entirely paved with slabs, ordinary tumuli surrounded by oval flagging, and tumuli enclosed by little concentric walls crossed by a paved path. Lastly, idebnan in the form of crescents, with the central part filled with pebbles, are often associated with tumuli. The filling of the crescent diminishes toward the points to end in a line of stones. Some of these crescents have an enormous spread, with the distance between the points reaching as much as 400 meters; they are nearly always situated on an elongated and

172 /40 cont. / isolated gara /butte/, or on the slopes of a larger hill. One hardly ever sees them in the Ahaggar; the area in which these crescents are found extends toward the south of the central massif, beyond the large regs; a great many are found in the Adrar des Iforas and in the southern tassilis. It may be that they are manifestations of a civilization different from that of the central Ahaggar.

Oral Traditions

172 The Tuareg know that before their arrival a people called
173 the Issabaten existed in the Ahaggar. These people had a social system /41/ of castes and were ignorant of the camel. The Issabaten were unintelligent, and their stupidity is still proverbial today. The Tuareg say that they never had any conflict with these gentle and calm beings. Some of the Issabaten, no doubt of a higher caste, must have been cleverer, for tradition still conserves the name of Amamellen and of his nephew Elias, who reputedly were the founders of rock art. These people had no religion -- this must be understood to mean that they were not Moslems.

No one has yet been able to translate the ancient inscriptions in tifinagh characters that are found rather frequently. The Tuareg maintain that the inscriptions are in a language different from their own, although written with the same characters; some Tuareg believe that the inscriptions are in code, with the letters transposed within the words, and that whoever is able to decipher them will learn where treasures are hidden.

It is certain that a civilization with paleolithic techniques
172 existed in the Ahaggar during a humid period, probably at
174 the edge of lakes or around the drainage basins into which the large wadis (Tanezrouft: Amded, Tamanrasset; Igharghar, Tin-Tarabin, In-Guezzam, Amadror, Thihodaïne, Tafassasset) emptied. There is every reason to believe that

172 174 /41 cont./ the beings who peopled the Ahaggar at that epoch must have been of a Negroid race, similar in general characteristics to the people of Asselar. They were probably fishermen and hunters. Vegetation was abundant at the edges of the present-day wadis. A fauna composed of elephants, felines, giraffes, etc., reigned in the plains. The Atakor no doubt enjoyed a Mediterranean climate, but must not have been inhabited. It does not appear to be possible at this time to determine the duration of this period or to place it in time; it must have had some connection with the glacial periods in Europe.

During an interglacial period, the change to a dry climate gave the Ahaggar a desertlike character. The Negroid population, seeing its way of life upset, must have fled the Ahaggar to go south until it found conditions of existence suitable to it.

For a long while the Ahaggar remained uninhabited. /42/ The dryness continued, and the Sahara was a more terrible desert for man than it is today. Then came a period of great humidity, brought on by more regular Sudanese monsoons. The wadis flowed again, although not as heavily or as regularly as in the paleolithic epoch. One must imagine the Ahaggar with a climate scarcely different from that of today, but with regular annual rains which allowed a fauna of the savannah to move from pasture to pasture, from the northern to the southern tassilis. The Atakor retained something of its Mediterranean character, evolving toward the residual type one sees at the present time.

With conditions suitable for human life again realized in the Ahaggar, man returned to populate these regions. The new inhabitant of the Ahaggar possessed a civilization that he brought with him, no doubt from Upper Egypt. He was a cattle raiser, Negroid in type, clever at working and polishing stone; he knew how to cultivate cereals, and how to grind and cook them. The women, fat and often steatopygic,

172 /42 cont./ made pots decorated with line drawings. These
174 peoples, with a neolithic culture, could have come to the Ahaggar from the south and the east, but some groups could have come by way of the Igharghar Valley, driving their cattle before them. The tribal chiefs were aged men, masters of magic rites; they knew how to cast spells and used esoteric signs. Some were veritable artists in engraving and sculpture.

Later, there is reason to believe, white populations from Libya settled in the Ahaggar, bringing with them heliolithic customs from the Mediterranean shores, such as megalithic monuments, the sun and serpent cults, cranial deformation, the caste system. The paintings in the Tefedest clearly represent Negro shepherds, but the new paintings of the Takecherouelt wadi show people of a white race, tall and thin.

Should we consider these whites to be the ancestors of the /43/ present-day Tuareg? It would be premature to think this, but they may have been the first wave of Berbers to come to the Ahaggar. Their exodus may have been remembered by the nomadic Berber tribes who, later, camel owners, fled for various reasons before Roman and Arab promiscuity, and rediscovered the route of the neolithic whites to the Ahaggar.

The chronology of the protohistory is difficult to establish. However, a certain number of documents on this period exist. In the first place, we have the results of archaeological research, from the excavation of pre-Islamic monuments, particularly that of Tin-Hinan (cf. the book by M. Reygasse on the pre-Islamic funerary monuments).

The Tuareg have a certain number of oral traditions
173 concerning this period. On the other hand, the inscriptions from the "cameline" age give us only very sketchy information: the oldest are untranslatable, and the most recent offer very little of interest; they are limited to the expression of the admiration of a man for a woman, or to arranging rendezvous.

173 /43 cont./ The Latin, Greek, and Arab texts that have come down to us give rise to very diverse interpretations and are, in any case, extremely fragmentary.

It seems acceptable to put the beginning of this period, as far as the Ahaggar is concerned, at about the time of the Punic Wars, and to end it on February 16, 1881, date of the massacre of the Flatters mission. From that date on, the Ahaggar enters into history properly speaking.

The protohistory of the Ahaggar poses the question of the origin of the Tuareg, a question which has not yet been satisfactorily resolved. They are probably Berbers coming from different tribes, who could have crossed with a white population already settled in the Ahaggar. What characterizes the Tuareg, aside from certain somatic traits such as tall stature, an arm span /envergure/ often greater than their height, smooth or wavy black hair, the rarity of hairiness, is the unity of the language, the use of tifinagh characters, and a way of life with particular customs which has succeeded in assimilating tribes of Arab origin, such as the Issakamaren.

/44/ The Tuareg pass on orally the legendary story of Tin Hinan, said to be the "mother," ancestress of the Kel Rela nobles, who know no masculine ancestor, although some say he was French (an affirmation to be regarded with suspicion and certainly of recent origin).

Tin Hinan supposedly came from Tafilalet, but no one knows why she came to the Ahaggar, accompanied by her servant woman Takamat, ancestress of the Dag Rali.

The story, which neglects the male ancestor, must be
[565] regarded as the expression of the Tuareg tradition which calls for the transmission of the rights of nobility through the women.

The /early/ Tuareg must have possessed camels, for Tin Hinan rode a white female camel. Did they join, either as guides or protectors, caravans going to the north? We may think this, for the excavations of Tin Hinan's tomb by M. Reygasse uncovered funerary furniture which included objects of Roman origin.

174 /44 cont./ But the life of the Ahaggar soon was oriented toward the Sudan, from whence came the current of Islamization originating in Morocco. It is the Arab chroniclers, above all Ibn Khaldoun, who give us a view of the centuries troubled by incessant conflicts between the Negro kingdoms and the Tuareg, between the Tuareg and the Arabs, and between the different Tuareg tribes. Thanks to the genealogy of the noble families, recorded in oral traditions, a tentative chronology is possible.

The first Moslems probably came to preach in the Ahaggar toward the seventh or eighth century; they came from south Morocco and represented themselves to be Chorfa.

Continual wars raged between the Moslem Berbers and the Sonraï /Songhai/ of Gao, who controlled the Sudanese Sahel. After a series of successes and reverses, the Tuareg permanently installed themselves in the Ahaggar, the Adrar des Iforas, the Aïr, and the Tassili des Adjjer, mountainous, semi-desert regions where life is possible for nomads, where places of retreat are easy to defend, which make excellent bases for raids, and which constitute a zone of wells indispensable to caravans.

/45/ Beginning in the sixteenth century, the history of the Ahaggar is that of the struggle between rival tribes: a long enumeration of successful or unsuccessful raids, of assassinations of chiefs, of abductions.

The tribe which ruled the whole of the Tuareg from the beginning of the conversion to Islam was that of the Iménanes, of whom there are only a few descendants today. The Iménanes were Moroccan Chorfa. Toward the seventeenth century, the Iménanes were obliged to divide their lands and authority among the different, altogether too bellicose, Tuareg tribes. From this time dates the partition into the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, the Aïr, the Ajjers, and the Iforas.

The Kel Ahaggar emerged as a tribal confederation, ruled over by noble tribes, each of which had vassal tribes. Four

174 /45 cont./ more or less related noble tribes divided the lands of the Ahaggar. The Kel Rela claim to be descended from a Moroccan sherif; the Taïtoks are related to the Iménanes, therefore are Chorfa, but they are said to have crossed with the Negroes; those two tribes are the most important. The Ikadéiens were supposedly Berbers crossed with the Arabs of the Tidikelt; this tribe has hardly any descendants left today. The Tédjéhé Mellet have Chorfa blood; they were never very numerous and at present are represented by a small group of tents living in the Tefedest.

Constant anarchy reigned in this confederation. Assassinations led to a rapid turnover in leadership, and command was a dangerous game. The noble tribes divided the lands of the Ahaggar. The Kel Rela had the Atakor, the Tédjéhé Mellet had the Tefedest and the northern tassilis, the Taïtoks had the Ahnet and the southwest of the Ahaggar.

Since this partition, the genealogy of the Kel Rela is fairly accurately known. Kella, a noble Tuareg woman, transmitted the tobol (1) from mother to daughters. The two most

1. A sort of drum, symbol of command; by extension: the right to command.

important noble tribes, the Kel Rela and the Taïtoks, quarreled incessantly over rights of succession to the tobol, after marriages concluded in periods of friendship. Battles and alliances followed each other /46/ in confused fashion. When they were united, the Kel Ahaggar fought the Arabs of the Touat or the Negroes of the Sudan; when they fell out, they resumed their internal fights or attacked the Ajjers /Azjer/.

Pillaging or protecting the caravans, the Tuareg controlled the central and southern Sahara at the time the French sought to secure a liaison between Black Africa and Algeria. Even this common enemy scarcely succeeded in uniting the Tuareg.

/46 cont./ Man

571 In order to understand Tuareg country well, it is necessary to examine the people from the ethnic point of view, in so far as this is possible, and also from the social and economic point of view.

A concise table will show the different ethnic groups, the social classes, and the economic specializations; it will facilitate a better understanding of the human relations.

A. Ethnic /groups/

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 571 563 1. | Whites : | Berbers | : Tuareg | Nobles Imrads, except for the Issakamaren |
| | | Arabs | : Mozabites | |
| | | | : Chorfa | |
| | | | : Chaamba | |
| 2. | Blacks : | Iklan | : Sudanese | |
| | | Harratin | : Sudanese, Saharans | |
| 3. | Mixed : | Maalmines | : | |
| | | Issakamaren | : Arab - Tuareg | |
| | | Mixed Tuareg - Negro | | |

/47/

B. Social Organization

571 564

| 1. Tuareg | 2. Arabs | 3. Mozabites |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Nobles (Ihaggarènes) | Chorfa (holy men) | |
| 2. Vassals (Imrads) | Zaoui " " | |
| 3. Artisans (Inaden) | Chaamba | |
| 4. Gardeners (Harratin) | Miscellaneous | |
| 5. Domestics (Iklan) | Mixed | |

/47 cont./

571 463 C. Economic Organization

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tuareg | : | Nomadic herdsmen |
| Arabs | : | Nomadic herdsmen and traders |
| Inaden | : | Artisans |
| Harratin | : | Cultivators, craftsmen, manual laborers |
| Iklan | : | Domestics of the Tuareg |
| Mozabites | : | Sedentary traders |
| Chorfa | : | Receive alms in exchange for their presence |
| Zaoui | : | id. |

571 619 643 At the beginning of the French occupation, the Tuareg people were in a stage of social evolution similar in many ways to our Middle Ages. The same system is still in force today, although cracks in it may be seen, caused by the French and Moslem presence. To speak only of the Kel Ahaggar, who are the only ones who concern us in this study, we see a confederation of tribes commanded by the "amenokal," who is elected for life. His title confers on him the ownership of the soil, amenokal meaning "owner of the land." He disposes of the territories of nomadization /terres de parcours/ and of the arable land as he wishes. In practice, this power is exercised according to custom and in a paternalistic fashion.

571 564 Among the tribes, a very rigid caste system exists. First, there are the noble tribes which formerly supplied the warriors; they undertook the protection of the confederation. They were rich with loot taken from /48/ neighboring confederations and from outside caravans, and from protection money paid by caravaneers who passed through Kel Ahaggar territory. Then, there are the imrad tribes -- we may call them vassals. More numerous and made up of camel herders and caravan guides, they could be called on to furnish reinforcements when an expedition ran into trouble or was larger than usual.

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571 /48 cont./ Each tribe possessed slaves (iklan), bought or
564 captured in the Sudan. They lived with Tuareg families, carry-
[567] ing out domestic chores, tending goats, extracting salt, digging wells. These slave families were an integral part of the tribe and followed it in its moves.

The harratin were free or freed men, generally Negroes, often natives of the Touat, come to cultivate the arable lands of the Ahaggar. They worked under two contract systems, which are still in force and which we shall study further on.

## The Tribes

631 In the preceding chapter we saw that each noble tribe possessed imrads, or vassals. Each of these imrad tribes has a chief called "amrar," who rules the tribe according to custom. A tribe can be divided and subdivided. The tribe possesses a pasture region of its own, in which no other tribe may sojourn without a previous agreement with the amenokal, and that only in exceptional circumstances. The nobles may sojourn as they like on the lands of the vassals. The imrad tribes pay a due to the amenokal as a sign of their vassalage. This tax is called "tioussé." The payments are always in kind and in general are scrupulously discharged. This revenue enables the amenokal to uphold his rank suitably during the almost daily receptions, but it is not enough to cover the expenses of his command completely.

## /49/ The Nobles

565 The Kel Rela at present constitute the most important noble tribe of the Ahaggar. These nobles, called in Tamashek "ihaggarènes," are split into three subgroups: the iboglanes, the inembas, and the ikérémoïens. These subgroups are related and increasingly practice endogamy.

The Kel Rela are without doubt the handsomest specimens of the Tuareg type. Does this derive from the fact that they have

565/49 cont. / been the ruling caste for a long time? One is obliged to remark their true nobility, their refined politeness, and their never failing courtesy. They are more open than the imrads, often more intelligent, and some of them even possess a sense of humor. Beyh ag Akhamouk, the present amenokal, is a very representative personage and has fine qualities as a chief. The young Kel Rela turn more and more to the French, associate with them, become their friends. This attraction will become generalized little by little, that is, the esteem that these young people have for particular individuals will be extended to include France, which is only an abstraction for them.

[162] [563] The Kel Rela number slightly over 300 and possess about 350 black servants. Their tents are scattered over the whole of Ahaggar territory. The camp of the amenokal is never very far from Tamanrasset.

Another noble tribe, the Tédjéhé Mellet, is not large; [162] reduced to 32 individuals, it ordinarily sojourns in the Tefedest near the imrad tribes it possesses: the Kel Ohet and Kel Terrourrit. These nobles play practically no role in the Tuareg organization of the Ahaggar. The tribe's amrar is Khourou ag Salah.

Since our arrival in the Ahaggar, the Taïtok tribe has been exiled to the Sudan and has been dispossessed of its lands. [162] There still remain, however, about 30 nomadic Taïtoks in the vicinity of Tamanrasset. Illou ag Amri is the amrar.

[162] Nearly 70 nobles from the Sudanese tribe of Iforas sojourn in Ahaggar territory. They are often allied with the Kel /50/ Rela. Among these Iforas are a few who belong to the marabout Iforas of Temassinine.

## The Imrads

According to legend, the Dag Rali are the descendants of Takamat, Tin Hinan's servant woman. The mountains of the

565 /50 cont./ Atakor and the Arechchoum are their pasture regions. It is a tribe of rich camel and goat raisers.

[162 563] It is the most important imrad tribe under the Kel Rela; there are about 390, served by nearly 400 Negroes. The Dag Rali are stubborn mountaineers, a little narrow minded. They [147] are remarkably resistant to fatigue when they walk in their rough country. Let us also note their adaptation to the cold of December, January, and February; the camps are generally situated at an average altitude of 2,000 meters. The Tuareg [291 132] are clothed in two cotton gandurahs and are quite often wrapped in a "dokali"; they bear cold which drops as low as -12° in the tent toward five in the morning.

The tribe's amrar is Akroud ag Ama (1). The handsomest

1. Died in 1952.

tents belong to the Dag Rali, and the men are renowned as hunters of wild sheep.

[651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is about 12 mezoued /leather grain sacks/ of dates, eight bottas /bottles/ of butter, the loan of 12 ewes for milk, and ten goats for slaughtering.

Several subgroups may be seen within the Dag Rali, named mainly according to the regions they inhabit: Kel Arechchoumi, /sic/ and the Ikhechemaden, who formerly were imrads of the Ta'ltoks.

[162 563] The most numerous imrad tribe is the Adjouh n'Téhélé. It includes approximately 590 individuals and more than 750 Negro domestics. Although imrads, the Adjouh n'Téhélé are regarded as different by the nobles. Toward the eighteenth century, this tribe, which was living in the Aïr at the time, came of its own accord to incorporate itself into the Kel Ahaggar. This was done to escape the exactions /51/ of the sultan of Agadez, who each year demanded a virgin as a sign of vassalage. This tribe's territory of nomadization extends to the east and south of those of the Dag Rali.

565 621 /51 cont./ The most important agricultural centers belonging to the Adjouh n'Téhélé are Tarhaouaout, In Dalag, and Tahifet. There are several subgroups: the Isanden in the Isernan region; the Kel Rafsa, Tahifet region; the Relaïdine, Tin-Tarabin region; and the Kel Hagalella to the south of Tamanrasset. The tribe's amrar is Samaalatokh ag Mansouri. [651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is approximately the same as that paid by the Dag Rali.

565 [157] The Adjouh n'Téhélé have an open character; they are gay and like to joke, but they have the reputation of being quick tempered and irascible.

The Aït Loen tribe is, like the preceding ones, an imrad tribe of the Kel Rela. It is descended from Takamat. These Tuareg are nomads in the eastern Atakor and sometimes penetrate into Ajjers territory. Their most important center is Tin-[491] Tarabin. There are no roads going into the territory of this tribe, so their tents are rarely visited.

[162 563] There are about 500 Aït Loen; they possess 620 black servants. The Kel Torha, Kel Anahef, and Kel Telerteba are the three subgroups of the tribe, whose chief is El Ralen ag [651] Nissoran. Their tioussé is about four mezoued of dates to the Kel Rela and one mezoued of dates paid by the Kel Torha to the Tédjéhé Mellet.

The Aït Loen are experienced guides for going to the Ajjers and Ténéré regions.

[162 563] The Iklan Taoussit number about 600, served by 650 Negroes. They are nomads in the Tahelra, the Silet region, the Amded and Tekouiat wadis, and in the northern part of the Adrar des Iforas. They formerly belonged to the Imenanes, which accounts for their name, which means "servant of the tribe." [651] Their tioussé is on the order of four mezoued of millet, two bottas of butter, and six milch goats. Dali ag Akoumaris is the tribe's amrar. The subgroup of the tribe which sojourns almost continually in the Tin-Zaouaten region has Khadida for chief.

565 /51 cont. / The Iklan Taoussit are /52/ the Tuareg who consume the most afazzou seeds ( Panicum turgidum).

There are very few Tédjéhé n'Néfis: 98 Tuareg and 120 [162 563] Negroes. This tribe, like the preceding one, is imrad of the Kel Rela but formerly belonged to the Taïtoks. The Tédjéhé n'Néfis are related to the Adjouh n'Téhélé and like them were originally from the Aïr. Their camps are generally in the Tamanrasset wadi, downstream from the village, mostly near the gardens of Tidjenouine. The chief of the tribe is Ad Noumen ag Khadida.

The Ibotenaten tribe, comprising 128 individuals served by [162 563] 153 Blacks, is enfeoffed to the Kel Rela without being truly imrad. It is said that an Ibotenaten once killed a noble Ahaggar. The tribe was beaten by the Kel Rela and condemned to pay a tribute.

The Ibotenaten are rich camel raisers. They live permanently in the Tamesna, benefitting from the annual rains which make this region fertile. Ould Brika is the tribe's amrar.

The Irreguenaten number 434 and have 600 Negroes. [162 563] Normally they reside in the Tamesna, but they nomadize toward the Iforas and even the Timétrine region. Their name means "mixture of Arabs and Tuareg." They are allies of the Ibotenaten. Rich camel raisers, the members of this tribe are essentially nomads; they possess no agricultural center. They are the best guides to the Tassili n'Ahaggar.

The name Issakamaren designates a group of tribes of Arabic origin which were raided in the Touat and the Tidikelt about the eighteenth century by the Kel Ahaggar. The Issakamaren speak Arabic and Tamashek, but their customs have [631] become those of the Tuareg. They are incorporated in the Tuareg confederation and are treated as imrads, although with a slight nuance of inferiority in the caste system. Their pasture regions are situated on the periphery of the central massif.

The Kel in Khar tribe includes 176 individuals and 50 [162 563] Negroes. /53/ They are nomads in the eastern part of the Tefedest and trade in the Tin-Żaouaten region.

565 /53 cont./ The Mertoutek center belongs to them, and they possess gardens at Dehine and Abezzou.

The tioussé is set at one young camel and a mezoued of [651] dates. The chief of the tribe is Ikharis ag Akcham. They are rich camel raisers and are excellent guides to the Tefedest and the Amadror.

[162 563] The Kel Amguid number about 88 and possess 9 Blacks. They are related to other subgroups of the Issakamaren. They range over the region of Amguid, the Igharghar, and the Tefedest. The Kel Amguid have gardens at Adenek, Mertoutek, and [651] Ideles. They pay a tioussé of four mezoued of dates, an assaber /mat for the tents/, and a young camel. Kelli ag Khabouba is the chief of the tribe.

[162 563] Imrads of the Kel Rela, the Kel Tazolé number 60 Tuareg and 60 Negroes. They possess an important camel herd and nomadize in the region of Tazerouk, chiefly to the east of that center.

The chief of the tribe is El Mamoun ag el Hadj Baba. Tazerouk is their center, and the small neighboring centers belong to them. Their tioussé is three mezoued of dates, [651] three lambs, and a four-year-old camel.

The Kel Tazolé conduct caravans in the directions of Ghat and the Tidikelt. They exchange millet in Aïr.

[162 563] The Eouen n'Hada number 241 individuals and 90 Negroes. They are nomads in the Tefedest, the Ifetessen, and sometimes in the Selbourak wadi. Tadjemout is their agricultural [651] center. They pay the amenokal a tioussé of three mezoued of grain, a young camel, and a rug.

The Eouen n'Hada, whose amrar is Nassamou ag Elias, are guides for the Immidir.

[162 563] The Kel Immidir are around 170 individuals; they have 45 black servants. This tribe nomadizes particularly in the tassili region of Arak, the Ifetessen, and the Rharis.

[651] They own the palms at Tadjemout and the Djoraf. This tioussé amounts to six mezoued of dates and a rug. The amrar

565 /54/ is Sidi Rali ag el Hadj Mohamed. The Kel Immidir are caravaneers going toward Ghat and the Tidikelt.

The Kel Tefedest tribe is poor: for 61 Tuareg, it has only [162] 11 Negroes. Allied to the Kel Tazolé and the Kel Immidir, it 563 nomadizes in the Tefedest and the Immidir. The Kel Tefedest formerly possessed gardens in an abandoned center near In-[651] Amguel (Adjelil). Their tioussé is four mezoued of dates and a young camel. The amrar of the tribe is Ikkan ag Magamed.

The Ikoutessen are very poor and few in number: 85 indi-[162] viduals and 20 Negroes. Lamari ag Moudi is the tribe's amrar. 563 They were paying a tioussé of two mezoued of dates, a guerba [651] /waterskin/, and an empty mezoued. The Ikoutessen ordinarily sojourn in the Amguid region; they travel to the Sudan and the Tidikelt.

Formerly belonging to the Taïtoks, the Kel In Tounine now are under the Kel Rela: They are not numerous and live in the Igharghar region. The Kel In Tounine possess gardens in the Ajjers. They paid the Taïtoks, very irregularly, a [651] tioussé of six mezoued of dates and two sheep. They are guides for going in the direction of the Ajjers.

The Kel Ahnet, former imrads of the Taïtoks, at present [162 belong to the Kel Rela. This is a poor tribe of 125 Tuareg 563] and 10 Negroes. They are nomads in the Ahnet, the Acedjerad, and the Adrar des Iforas. They are excellent guides for the Tanezrouft. They possess gardens at Abalessa, Tahart, Tit, and Tibeghim, and palm trees in the Ahnet.

The amrar is Daniel ag Chikkat. The Kel Ahnet trade between the Tidikelt and the Iforas.

[162] The Iouarouaren tribe is composed of only 47 individuals and have no Negroes. It nomadizes in the Acedjerad but resides mainly in the Tin-Zaouaten region. Its chief is Bahman ag Beuh. The Iouarouaren possess palm trees at Tibeghim; they have the reputation of being excellent hunters of addax antelopes. They formerly paid the Taïtoks a tioussé of a [651] mezoued of bechena /millet/ and two bottas of butter. They are guides for the Tanezrouft.

565 /55/ An imrad tribe of the Tédjéhé Mellet, the Kel Ohet
[162 includes 80 Tuareg and 20 Negroes. It is allied to the Kel
563] In Tounine and has many dealings with the Ajjers. The tribe's
amrar is Habib ag Ouhaggarène. Its members nomadize in the
eastern Tefedest and own gardens at Ohet and Dehine. The
[65] tioussé formerly was four mezoued of dates, rope, and guerbas.

The Kel Terrourrirt are imrads of the Tédjéhé Mellet.
[162 Their tribe is not numerous: 62 Tuareg and six Negroes. They
563] are very poor. They camp in the Amguid region and in the
Tassili des Adjjer and possess several gardens at In-Amguel.
[65] The amrar is Hadj Mohamed ag Salah. They were paying
four mezoued of dates, four sheep, rope, and guerbas. They
trade with the Tidikelt.

The Ibardjien are not Issakamaren. They are imrads of the
[162] Kel Rela. It is a tribe destined to die out; there are only 24
left. They reside in the Tazrouk and Ideles region. They
were remarkable hunters of wild sheep and had dogs trained for
this practice.

The presence in the Ahaggar of former soldiers, most of
them Chaamba, must be noted. They marry Tuareg women,
found families, and raise their children in the Tuareg customs.
They are fairly numerous in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

## The Maalmines. Inaden

565 Within Tuareg society are found artisans called
463 "maalmines" in Arabic, but whose Tamashek name is "inaden."
The masculine singular is "inade;" plural, "inaden." The
feminine singular is "tinat;" plural, "tinadin."

The maalmines make up a tribe whose members almost
always marry among themselves. They are related to the
maalmines of the Iforas and of the Aïr. Although very black
skinned, they do not have negroid characteristics. The origin
[174] of the maalmines is as obscure as that of the Tuareg tribes;
some think /56/ they are Jews who were captured by the Tuareg

565 /56 cont./ and who over a period of time have adopted
463 Tuareg ways (their specialization and their character lend
174 credence to this theory). Some maalmines say that they came to the Ahaggar in the time of the sultan Goma, having been separated from the Idenan tribe of which they were members. Others claim to have always belonged to the Tuareg confederation.

565 In the Ahaggar the maalmines include 17 men, about 20
463 women, and about 40 children. They have ten iklan.

[162] The men are many-sided craftsmen, often clever and fairly artistic; in view of the material they have to work with and the tools at their disposal, one may say that they are remarkable. The women work leather with skill and art. The maalmines are not grouped in tribes but form small families scattered in every corner of the Ahaggar. When a tribe, noble or imrad, needs some work done, it sends for a craftsman and provides him with animals for transporting himself and his equipment. He lives with the tribe during the time necessary for his task and is provided for by the tribe. When the work is done he is paid, according to how satisfactory it is considered, in goats, millet, milk, butter, even camels, but there is no fixed rate paid to the maalmines by the Tuareg. There is a different arrangement when they work for the harratin, who, not being so noble as the Tuareg, would not know how to reward good work with the proper generosity. They are therefore charged the following rate: for one new
[435] hoe (made from an old oil drum): five guessa /dishes/ of wheat or millet; for four rivets put in an old hoe, one guessa of grain; for a new axe the price used to be a goat or five guessa, but since the advent of the black market there is no accurate quotation.

435 For making jewelry, there is a special price fixed by
565 custom, even for the Tuareg; thus for bracelets and earrings
463 the Targui furnishes, for example, ten pieces of silver necessary for making two bracelets; the maalem keeps five

435 /56 cont./ for himself, or else the Targui pays him in actual
463 money the value of the five pieces.
565 /57/ The same price applies for rings and pendants. The inaden have an ill-defined position in Tuareg society; some
463 consider them inferior to the imrads, others place them be-
565 tween the nobles and the imrads. It is certain that the maalmines are proud and are far from suffering from an inferiority complex. They are very well acquainted with Tuareg customs, the country, and the people, and are, in brief, the custodians of certain traditions of art, or, it could be said, of culture.

The tinadin, women of the maalmines, work leather as do all Tuareg women, but with them it takes on the character of a profession. They are very skillful and artistic, and their specialty is making cases for the iremdan /a tool/, sheaths for knives, and saber scabbards called "tittar n'takouba."

## The Harratin

565 The harratin of the Ahaggar represent, as they do elsewhere in the Sahara, the sedentary element, chiefly agricultural.

The term designates, in the thought of the region, a caste in Tuareg society. When one questions a Kel Ahaggar about the ranking of the different castes, he places the nobles, ihaggarènes, first; then the vassals, imrads, making a distinction among them of the issakamaren, who are the lowest in the caste; then come the iklan (slaves, let us say, domestic ones) -- these iklan are Blacks, and their difference from the Tuareg is evident from their ethnic type.(1).

1. A parallel Moslem religious and maraboutic hierarchy exists: (Chorfa -- Zaoui -- Arabs -- Mozabites).

565 /57 cont. / The harratin, who are also Negroes, are ranked
[563] as low as the iklan by the Tuareg, who have a high degree of racial prejudice.

However, there is a nuance: the "akli" (plural: "iklan") belongs to his master, the Targui; he cannot leave him, and, if he is no longer bought and sold because of the presence of the French, he considers himself the property of his master. The /58/ hartani is a free man; he may live where he wants to, do what work he will where he will; he makes contracts with the Tuareg and is dependent on them only in so far as his work is. Moreover, as a resident of the Ahaggar, he must observe the customs of the country.

[622] He is under the authority of the village chief, who is also
[631] a hartani, responsible to the amenokal (1).

1. This ranking and this information concern the observance of custom and have nothing to do with French law, which is administered by the head of the annex and by the judicial authorities at Batna.

The harratin of the Ahaggar apparently have two possible origins. Some come from the oases of the Touat and the Tidikelt. This population movement has, it appears, always
[166] existed. The number of these harratin varies; there is, in fact, a continual coming and going between the Ahaggar and the oases of the north, according with the dry and wet years.

The other harratin are iklan who have been freed by the Tuareg. The chief cause of this emancipation is the growing
[567] poverty of the nobles and vassals, who no longer have sufficient resources to feed and clothe their domestics.

565 /58 cont./ These freed men are no happier for their rise in the caste system, for this liberty is often synonymous with complete destitution.

The economic difficulties resulting from the prohibition of raiding have done more to suppress slavery than law and reason.

174 565 What is to be said on the historic origins of the harratin as an ethnic type? We have already seen that there are two types of harratin.

The former Tuareg slaves are probably originally from the Sudan and the Niger, where they were bought or captured in raids.

The harratin from the Touat and the Tidikelt may have the same origin as the others, but one cannot dismiss the theory that they are descendants, more or less pure, /59/ of an ancient negroid people of the Sahara (1).

1. In this connection, it is useful to read the articles published in the Bulletins de liaison saharienne at Algiers. These were prepared by professors of the University of Algiers and by all the important persons who, in different capacities, have worked in the Sahara. (Editor: Commander Ferry. Administration of the Territories of the South: Government General of Algeria).

565 241 The harratin constitute a most interesting social element in the Ahaggar, because it is they who cultivate the rare productive plots and who furnish the workmen: masons, carpenters, and manual laborers. If they appear at first sight

565 /59 cont./ to possess few intellectual or moral qualities, they
241 are perhaps nonetheless readily adaptable.

## The Language

197 The Tuareg speak a Berber language. This language is certainly the strongest link which unites the scattered populations from the regs of the Tidikelt to the banks of the Niger; it is, more than the ethnic type, the element characteristic of these peoples. It is through the language that is maintained what may still be called "Tuareg culture," which survives in the traditions, mores, and superstitions.

This language, which is called "Tamahaq" in the Ahaggar and "Tamacheq" in the Sudan, has several dialects: that spoken by the Kel Ahaggar is called "Tahaggart," thus designated by the Kel Ajjers and the Taïtoks; in the Aïr it is called "Taïrt"; in the Adrar des Iforas, "Tadrak," and the dialect of the Aoullimiden is called "Taoullemmet."

These dialects are very similar to each other; a few local differences in pronunciation distinguish them, as well as certain idioms.

Tahaggart, the language of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, has been studied the most, chiefly in the noble tribes because, Father de Foucauld said, "the language is pure only as spoken by the nobles."

114 It is a complex language, rich and full of nuances, with a precise and difficult syntax. General Hanoteau succeeded, with the help of Tuareg captured during a battle, in writing a /60/ Tuareg grammar; this was the first formal study of Tamashek.

Dictionaries were compiled by Cid Kaoui and M. Masqueray, but the most remarkable work, which constitutes a summary, is the dictionary of Father de Foucauld. Father de Foucauld's grammar and the texts he has collected afford the best material for studying Tamashek.

114 /60 cont./ It would be impossible to praise too highly the work of the "hermit of the Ahaggar," for it has in a sense illuminated a civilization for history.

212 194 /61/ The peculiarity of Tamashek as a Berber language is that it can be written with its own characters, which are called "tifinagh."

There are 25 tifinagh characters, to which must be added compound letters formed by the combination of two simple elements.

| | |
|---|---|
| B | Q |
| CH | KH |
| D | L |
| D (strong) ض (ar) | M |
| F | N |
| G | OU consonant |
| DJ | R rolled |
| H | R |
| I | S |
| J | T |
| K ك (arak) | T (strong) ط |
| = Z (soft) [As in rase] | = Z (strong) [As in zero] |
| • = vowels : A, E, e | ou i |

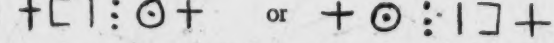
Table of tifinagh letters.

212
194

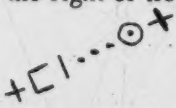
/61 cont./ Each letter represents a consonant of the language; a single sign at the end of a word indicates the vowel element. To write a word, all that need be done is to write its consonants one after the other, without attaching them to each other, in any direction one pleases, from left to right or from right to left, from top to bottom or else from bottom to top, according to the fancy of the writer. Some letters, such as the M, the G, or the strong D, indicate the direction of the writing.

All written letters are pronounced, with very rare exceptions.

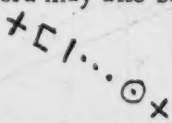
Here is "Tamanrasset" written in tifinagh characters:



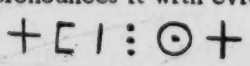
The way the prongs of the M point indicate whether to read from the right or from the left. The word may also be written:



or yet again



One may easily imagine that this writing without vowels is rather hard to read; it is necessary, in fact, to insert the vowels in their proper places as one reads. It is always an amusing sight to see a Targui deciphering tifinagh script; he mumbles to himself as he spells out each letter of a word until, /62/ saying it aloud, he identifies the word, realizes its meaning, and finally pronounces it with evident satisfaction.



Iété.. é. é, émmé. éé., énné.. é., IèR... éssé.. é. é. éTT.
This permits him to decipher: Tamanrasset.

This system of spelling makes reading a text a long and complicated process, for one must remember the words that have been deciphered in order to reconstruct the sentence, otherwise one must begin all over again. A thorough knowledge of the language is indispensable for being able to place the vowels correctly and for avoiding misreadings.

191 /62 cont./ In spite of this difficulty in transcription, the Tuareg amuse themselves by transposing the letters in a word, making it utterly incomprehensible for the uninitiated.

[177] At the present time Tamashek is borrowing many words from Arabic and French. Father de Foucauld had already noticed during his time this invasion of Arabic and the way the Tuareg adapted numerous words to their own speech habits.

[212] In the noble tribes, each individual knows how to read and write, but that is not the case with the imrads, for many of the vassals barely know how to write their names.

The richness of the spoken language is greatly declining due to bilingualism and doubtless also because poetry, formerly inspired by the exploits of the warriors, tends to disappear. One may thus realize the importance of Father de Foucauld's work, which permanently recorded a language of oral tradition.

There will certainly come a day when the Tuareg will have to use French to perfect themselves in their own language.

NOTE: Some compound characters.:

[212] = bt = cht = rt = st

/63/

## II
## Economy

### Generalizations on the Economy of the Ahaggar

241 A country such as the one we have seen in the study of the physical characteristics of the Ahaggar, possessing very limited resources because of the scarcity of water and the poverty of the soil, can only have an agriculture of small and uncertain productivity.

439 /63 cont./ Tuareg society, nomadic through geographical necessity and warlike by need, in order to feed the soldier nobles, the herdsmen imrads, and the domestic slaves, had to find a way to balance the risks attendant to the cultivation of the valleys of the Ahaggar by the harratin. The method found is, on the one hand, to exchange salt extracted from the Amadror for millet from the Sudan, and, on the other hand, to exchange wheat harvested in the Ahaggar for dates from the Tidikelt. This double movement constitutes the essence of the Tuareg economy; it brings to light:

1) Barter, still used as system of exchange.

2) The curious fact that the Targui feeds himself with foods which are not produced in the Ahaggar, dates and millet.

3) The fact that if the Targui needs Negro domestics and harratin cultivators, he is equally necessary to them in order for them to live. It is estimated that millet makes up two-thirds of /64/ the food of the population of the Ahaggar, the other third consisting of dates.

4) The existence, as a result of this organization, of a large camel herd to maintain the caravans.

## Barter

This country, disinherited by nature, nevertheless gives
317 its inhabitants one rich resource: salt. This salt, which is
439 lacking in the Sudan, lies in great quantities on the Amadror plain, an interior basin situated to the northeast of the Ahaggar, bounded to the north by the Tassili des Adjjer, to the west by the Edjéré, and to the east by the hills which separate it from the basin of the Taffassasset.

The Amadror region, an old dried-up sebkha, is particularly desertlike. The salt is at the surface, so it is mined in the open air, in blocks weighing 50 or 60 kilograms; the small pieces cut from the blocks are put in sacks and carried off. It is evident that such a barren, desolate, frightful,

317 /64 cont. / waterless country would inspire legends; stories
439 are told of genii which haunt the salt mines all night long, and this invisible and baneful world may be heard thumping the ground and ceaselessly breaking the salt blocks with diabolical energy. When day returns, the work site seems to be in the same state as on the evening before, and nothing seems to have happened during the night, ...and yet, "They were there." Some Tuareg claim to have seen horse tracks stamped in the ground and to have ascertained the existence of equipment for extracting salt predating those now in use -- which would tend to prove the antiquity of this mining work.

The desert contains other saltworks which supply the Sudan; to the west, Idjil and above all Taoudéni are the best known; to the east are the mines of Bilma and the Acedjerad, but among the latter the Amadror salt is the most esteemed at the markets of the savanna.

Toward the month of April or May, the Tuareg send their /65/ Negro domestics to extract the salt. Caravans of about a hundred camels advance by small stages toward the salt mines, following well-beaten tracks which lead by the wells of Dehine and In-Tarass (the latter is 40 kilometers from the salt).

The work is done as rapidly as possible, for the sojourn in those parts has nothing pleasant about it because of the heat, the lack of water and wood, and the nocturnal presence of the Kel es Souf (genii). The method of extraction is clearly disorderly, but what does it matter, there is so much salt!
[492] The blocks are hewn with a kind of ax; two blocks, after having been tied with a chebka (coarse net), make a load for a camel. The small pieces are put in sacks (made from palm fibers) in 50-kilogram loads. In ten days, two men can load 50 camels, or about three metric tons of salt.

Then comes the return to the camps in the Ahaggar. Until time to be sent to the Sudan, the salt is stored near the tents or the villages. The custom is for the Negro returning

317 /65 cont./ from the Amadror to offer bits of salt to the camps
439 he encounters on his way; in exchange he is given lodging and entertained.

439 When the moment comes to leave for the Sudan, at the end of June, a Targui takes command of the caravan, in which every fifth camel carries salt. Toward the end of July the caravan arrives in the Tamesna, the region of In-Abangarit, where the Ahaggar camels live permanently. This is still almost home, it is good to rest here, and the camels, which have just covered about 1,000 kilometers, take advantage of the abundant pastures of the Sahel region. Toward the month of September or the beginning of October, the caravan gets under way again with the camels rested or exchanged for fresh ones. The Damergou region, whose largest center is Tahoua, is reached toward the end of October. This region is well known to the Kel Ahaggar. Their customers are there. Then the bartering begins; it is a long operation involving protracted discussions and laborious bargaining, during which /66/ the Tuareg exchange the salt for millet at a rate varying from year to year (the rate depends on the size of the millet harvest and how much salt is brought from elsewhere than the Ahaggar). Consignments of marine salt arriving by river routes threaten to upset the balance of the Ahaggar economy and to starve the Tuareg.

Times are cited during which a load of salt was exchanged for 15 loads of millet; on the average, the barter is carried out on the basis of five to eight loads of millet for one load of salt. The quantities exchanged are very small; they vary from a handful to two kilograms. Sometimes, but rather rarely, salt is sold to traders. With the money thus obtained, the Targui buys cloth, leather, a saddle, and several objects of domestic use, then starts back for the Ahaggar. It is now January; it will take three months before seeing the koudia again, for the caravan is laden and always stops at Tamesna, where there are celebrations, tendi, ilougan, and welcoming

439 /66 cont./ girls. The return of the millet caravans is the major event of the year. It is estimated that the millet imported from the Sudan constitutes two-thirds of the Tuareg's food. Once in the Ahaggar, the millet is stored in silos made of clay bricks, based on rock slabs so as to be protected from termites. These constructions, neither cylindrical nor conical, are a curious sight standing near the camps or the villages. The owners are sometimes absent, but no one tries to steal what could easily be taken.

## Agriculture

423 The chief characteristic of the land system in the Ahaggar
[643] is that the amenokal is, by virtue of his office, the sole owner of the land.

Whoever wants to drill a foggara must first ask permission
[651] of the amenokal and must pay him a tax of ten kilograms of wheat per garden.

The garden is the unit of cultivation. One foggara irrigates from /67/ six to ten gardens. Any other surface unit would have no meaning since the size of the cultivated plot depends on the flow of the foggara, which varies according to the year and to the different agricultural centers. At Tamanrasset a foggara waters 3.80 hectares; at Tit, 3.30 hectares; at Ideles, 4.0 hectares. A garden's area, then, varies from 40 to 60 ares. The wheat harvest may amount to 400 kilograms per hectare; the tax in that case is about one-
[651] fortieth of the harvest. Whether the owner of the garden is a Targui or a hartani, the tax (mek) is paid to the amenokal.

Trees planted in the gardens remain the property of the amenokal, for they are attached to the ground.

This inalienable possession of the land by the amenokal has enabled the Tuareg to conserve the rare cultivable lands in the Ahaggar. The force of their tribal custom saves them from their individual lack of foresight. Unfortunately, this right of the amenokal retards agricultural evolution and the maximum productive use of the lands of the Ahaggar, because the cultivator can never own the land he works. He has no

423 /67 cont./ interest in planting trees that he cannot keep. A constant effort at arboriculture cannot be hoped for since the gardener may change frequently, and the successor of a tree planter may be ignorant or unscrupulous and is free to let the planting fail.

Besides the cultivated land, the land through which routes
423 pass has great importance in the Ahaggar. The whole of the
631 territory of the Kel Ahaggar has always been divided among
486 the different Tuareg tribes. Strictly applied oral regulations define the rights and servitudes of a tribe concerning its land.

1) Passage through and watering on the lands of a tribe is the right of other Tuareg.

2) No one may sojourn on the lands of a tribe without the consent of that tribe's chief.

3) Whoever follows travelers' routes through land belonging to a tribe is responsible for any damage caused by him or his animals to the trees, wells, foggaras, gardens, and game. Here are several penalties: one goat for a broken tree branch;
[685] one sheep for damage caused /68/ by a poorly watched herd; a camel for damage caused by camels; part or all of any game killed. When a camel runs away, the owner is not responsible; he must even be told and helped. It is forbidden to put animals in a pasture where plants have not attained maximum growth.

4) The amenokal may sometimes authorize tribes to sojourn on the lands of a certain tribe, in case there is an abundance of pasturage on these lands.

The servitudes of the tribes are the normal consequence of their nomadic life, but the rights concerning the land passed through bring to light a characteristic of the Tuareg: their love of the land. These nomads, who should seek the most abundant pastures, whose every interest calls them toward the Sudan, remain attached to their soil. They observe regulations suitable for sedentary peoples.

648 Let us note that there is no agricultural exploitation directed by Europeans in the Ahaggar. The principal reason for this abstention is the meager yield to be expected; the reduction

648 /68 cont./ of the underground water level, which often results in the abandonment of a site, does not permit a costly installation. About ten years ago, a former sergeant-major of the Sahara corps settled at Tiguenouine, a small center 70 kilometers south of Tamanrasset; he quickly gave up his idea of farming and became a nomad. Another Frenchman, a retired soldier, nomadizes in the Tin-Zaouaten region; he leads a life like the Tuareg, and his herds prosper.

Officials reside at Tamanrasset, lodged in administration quarters which sometimes have a small garden for family use. The community maintains a large garden where experiments in farming and arboriculture are carried out.

The Tuareg, as we said, are the only landowners; let us
241 now see how they utilize their lands. As in all countries under Moslem influence, the method of agriculture is the "khamassa," with certain local variations. The khammès usually is a hartani,/69/ a Negro originally from the Tidikelt or a freed slave.

The agricultural system in the Ahaggar is supported by the foggara, which should water six to eight gardens. The proprietor of the foggara, generally a Targui, engages one khammes per garden. He will look among the harratin of the village for gardeners who will come to terms with him. An
241 oral contract is made between the proprietor and the khammès,
675 before witnesses. This contract may be summarized thus:

The proprietor agrees, first of all, to provide the land, which he has rented from the amenokal. He must also provide his gardener with water from the foggara he has had dug, with a "mesaha" (hoe), and with the necessary seed. In addition, the proprietor must clear the land at his own expense and must see to the improvement of the soil. He must advance the hartani food in the amount of 60 guessa of millet per year.

In exchange, the khammès undertakes the work in the fields, the threshing, and the upkeep of the foggara.

As "salary" he collects a fifth of the harvest. He also receives the fallen and gleaned ears, the harvest from ten

241 /69 cont./ "guemouns" /plots/ situated near the majen (clay
675 basins), and the wheat and barley sown in the séguias /irrigation ditches/ which belong to him.

In addition, the wheat found mixed with the dust of the threshing ground belongs to him by right, as well as the staw and several vegetables that are grown. Lastly, if the flow of the foggara slackens and new wells must be dug upstream, the khammès is paid three guessa of wheat per well dug.

In case of disputes between the proprietors and the khammès,
[692] the palavers are held in the presence of the chief of the tribe (on the Tuareg side) and the chief of the village (on the harratin side). The amenokal intervenes upon appeal, but rarely, for these contracts fixed by custom are, in general, scrupulously observed.

The Targui has limited confidence in the honesty of his khammès, an opinion often justified, for the hartani deliberately pushes over ears of grain so he may have them by his gleaning rights. The proprietor does not have the magnanimity of Boaz. Therefore, when harvest time comes, he installs himself /70/ and all his family near his garden in order to make sure that the operations are properly carried out. The khammès must furnish food for the Targui, a heavy burden for the former. That is the custom, which also holds that in case the Targui is prevented from coming, the hartani pays a due of 25 kilograms of wheat to guarantee this right of sojourn.

Another type of contract exists called "aril" in Tamashek and "nous" (half) in Arabic. The net harvest is divided into two equal parts, taking into account the following provisions:

The proprietor Targui must furnish the land rented from the amenokal, a foggara, and a hoe. He provides half of the seed and advances 25 kilograms of wheat, which will be paid back at harvest time; he pays for enriching the land (tiksal= virgin land). The gardener hartani, for his part, agrees to furnish half of the seed and one year of work.

241 675 /70 cont./ This /second/ contract system would appeal very much to the Tuareg, carefree by nature, improvident, and rarely possessing the necessary grain for the loans to the khammès. However, it is very little favored by the harratin, who prefer to have the advance of millet furnished by the proprietor under the first contract system, the right to the personal guemouns and to the gleanings, not counting the little daily thefts.

It is quite evident that these are Draconian contracts for the cultivators, who merely exist and are at the mercy of a bad harvest. The Targui may, thanks to his herds and to barter, survive several lean years, but the hartani cannot. It it not unusual to see the latter get through the period between the depletion of the winter reserves and the new wheat harvest by eating crushed date pits, young shoots of tahli, and sometimes even barley and wheat in the blade.

241 311 Land is seeded according to the amount of water available. When the output of the foggara is low, the cultivated area is restricted. It even happens, after several dry years, that the water table in the wadi shrinks to the point of disappearing. The gardens are then abandoned, the agricultural center deserted. The /71/ cultivators withdraw to a more favored village. When the rains bring up the water levels again, the dead centers may be worked once more.

241 The land is almost never manured in the Ahaggar. A system of preparing the land called "tiksal" in Tamashek is preferred. Each year the hartani gathers a clayey soil from a slope near the gardens. He carries this back, basket by basket, and spreads a thin layer on each guemoun. This virgin soil reinvigorates the cultivated land, which is quickly exhausted because of the irrigation; it contains almost no humus or limestone.

Sometimes, when the distance is not too great, the gardener brings the soil from an old root system of a dead fersig /tamarisk/ or tahla, the only humus to be found.

312 /71 cont./ Irrigation is the main problem here. It is solved by a foggara called "efeli" in Tamashek (plural: "ifelan"), which doesn't at all resemble the foggaguir of the Tidikelt and the Touat, which are permanent and require a great deal of work. In the Ahaggar the foggara is, in effect, nothing more than an underground séguia (irrigation canal) designed to tap the water of a wadi water table upstream from a cultivable plot; the water is channeled downhill following the most gradual incline to the gardens, which are irrigated by gravity.

The digging of a foggara involves several operations. First, a hole is bored upstream to reach the water and show its depth; then five or six wells are dug and are connected by an underground canal. This makes it possible to judge how large a flow may be expected. Three men work together: one digs, the other two stay at the surface, one on each side of the well, and lower a basket tied with two ropes on each handle. They throw the excavated soil to the right and left of the well.

Starting at the garden to be irrigated, a séguia is set up going in the direction of the wells upstream; this involves making embankments at first, and then further along digging into the ground as long as the alluvial soil will hold up without caving in.

/72/ Between the séguia downstream and the wells upstream other wells are then dug at intervals of five meters, connected by a tunnel. The work is done going in the upstream direction. A specialist arranges for the optimum grade following the usual practice; which calls for an ankle-depth difference between wells, or about two centimeters per meter.

When all these intermediate wells and tunnels are ready, the last tunnel (A), which connects the downstream system to the initial upstream wells, is opened. The foggara is then finished, and the water goes to feed the "majen," that is, the holding basin from which the irrigation séguias start.

312 /72 cont. / It takes one or two months to establish a foggara. Some of them (Abalessa) are six kilometers long, and the upsteam wells are ten to 12 meters deep.

When the flow diminishes, other wells are sunk upstream, but in certain agricultural centers, such as Ideles and Tahart, the bottom of the sand layer is reached, and the workers find themselves confronted with large rocks; the work then stops, as it is difficult to cope with rocks with a hoe and basket. There is nothing left to do but pray for rain to replenish the water table, or to emigrate to a more favored center.

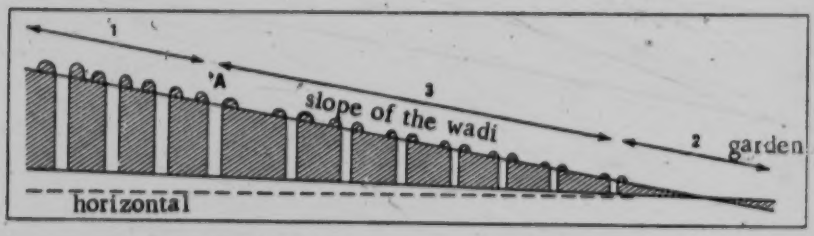



Diagram showing how a foggara is dug.

The work is dangerous in these foggaras sunk in the loose alluvial soil, and accidents often happen. The foggara requires continual maintenance work; blown sand dries up and clogs the wells, warping of land occurs which obstruct the flow, and cave-ins are frequent. In /73/ the event of a cave-in, a work party of volunteers pitches in to repair the damage rapidly in order to protect the crop.

The beneficial flood which makes the level of the water table rise also destroys the work of the harratin, by choking up a large number of wells; the foggara must then be reconstructed. At Tamanrasset recently was tried the construction of an underground drain made with small stones spread over larger ones and then covered with clay and sand, in order to permit the flood to pass without damage to the foggara. But the Negroes are not able to undertake this kind of work.

3|2 /73 cont./ The water flowing constantly from the foggara is accumulated in a basin 8 meters by 4 meters by .40 meters large; these dimensions give the approximate size. From this basin, walled in by earth levees and made watertight by clay, the gardener runs the water into the séguias, which channel it to the guemouns under cultivation, which are inundated.

This irrigation system rapidly exhausts the soil.

The crops are watered every six or eight days, with each of the six or eight gardens dependent on the foggara having its regular turn at the water.

When the irrigation is made from a well (tanout) instead of from a foggara, the water is drawn from the well manually or with the help of a zebu. When the majen is full, the gardener proceeds with the inundation of the guemouns.

2|4 The cultivable land, which is quickly impoverished, needs rest. The harratin let land lie fallow, but involuntarily, for fairly large areas remain uncultivated because of the lack of water or of seed. It even happens that, the land being exhausted, a center is abandoned for a certain time.

The plants cultivated in the Ahaggar are few: wheat and barley in the winter, millet and tomatoes in the summer in fact constitute most of the production and cover nearly all of the cultivated land. Kitchen gardening is negligible, and in many centers nonexistent.

In the Ahaggar there are five varieties of soft wheat, probably imported from the Touat.

The wheat is sown in October and harvested at the beginning of May. /74/ It is grown on small guemouna about 1.50 meters by 3.0 meters large. It is irrigated every six or eight days. Along the séguias, two parallel lines of wheat are planted. The yield varies from ten to 15 for one. It is about 300 to 400 kilograms per hectare. The total production of the Ahaggar is about 200 metric tons of wheat per year.

Barley is cultivated in the same way as wheat, but only 50 metric tons a year are produced.

241 /74 cont./ Millet is sown after the wheat harvest is finished. Two species are found, one called Ahaggar millet and the other Sudanese.

The yield varies from eight to ten for one. The annual production is about 60 metric tons. The ears are rather thick but are looted by birds, above all the Bengalis, called "mange-mil," which originate in the Sudan.

The tomato is the chief vegetable of the region. Several varieties are sown; there may be a native one, but the harratin have long used the seeds given by the commune. They harvest the seeds themselves indiscriminately; there may be some degenerate ones among them. There is usually a surplus production of tomatoes. They are sliced in two, then dried in the sun in order to preserve them for sale and for sending to the Ajjers, the Tidikelt, El-Golea and, above all, to Ghardaïa. The method of cultivating them is most simple: The young plants are thinned out, haphazardly, at distances varying from 30 to 60 centimeters, depending on where the hoe happens to fall. When the tomato plants are grown, the guemoun is an indescribable tangle. It is a very rare gardener who puts up props for the plants.

Nearly all the native gardens have several pumpkins. There are two types, one called the Ahaggar pumpkin, which grows to an enormous size, is yellow, not very sweet, and is less esteemed than the variety called the Métlili pumpkin, which is smaller, greenish, and very wrinkled, and whose meat is much sweeter. The pumpkin constitutes the essential [262] food during the month of October and even during November.

Beans grow marvelously well, but only a few gardeners plant several guemouns of them.

/75/ Agricultural Centers

The Ahaggar has numerous agricultural centers, veritable oases, of unequal importance. The location of these gardens

241 /75 cont./ is always the same: in a living wadi, between two rock shelves. They are to be found, then, within a radius of about 100 kilometers from the upper summits of the Atakor.

The gardens string out along the wadi, using to the best advantage the cultivable and irrigable land. An impressive checkerboard of guemouns served by lines of foggaras and séguias testifies to the industry of the harratin. The green patches of early wheat among the grayish natural vegetation make a curious sight; this verdure seems unreal. The agricultural centers are always found in picturesque surroundings. The villages have rare houses of toubs or of dried bricks, [342] but more common are tahli zéribas /reed shelters/. Misery there is endemic, and the word "destitution" takes on its [511] most absolute sense here.

I have personally known families, one of them with [262 nine children, who knew upon getting up in the morning, 511] at certain times of the year, that they had nothing to eat during the coming day and that it would be the same the next day and the days after that. Only the charity of one of their fellows, scarcely any better off, would save them from starvation.

It is true that lack of foresight is a determining factor in bringing about this destitution, but it is not the only factor; one must also cite the low fertility of the soil, the frequent lack of sufficient water, above all after a long dry period, the conditions of the agricultural contract which in effect prevent the hartani from developing a passionate interest in his land, and, lastly, the limited views and complete lack of initiative that characterize the harratin. It must be noted that the Tuareg are hostile to the development of agriculture; this hostility is scarcely a reasoned one; it is a matter of a kind of nomadic atavism, augmented by a desire to keep the traditional practices intact, and also by a fear of seeing the Ahaggar penetrated by foreigners who, undoubtedly, could make the land produce and, in particular, develop the /76/ palm groves, but who would not be hereditarily subordinate to their authority.

241 /76 cont./ In connection with the conditions of life in the agricultural centers, I shall reproduce here an extract from notes taken in 1949 during a tour I made in the company of the doctor at Tamanrasset. This year of 1949 was particularly dry and came on the heels of four long dry years.

"After having walked five hours since leaving the Tilokatine wadi, where we spent the night, we came in view of a charming little oasis situated in the Outoul wadi, which
241 has cut a bed through basalt rocks, columns of which are
621 seen along the banks. This was the agricultural center of Tahart.

[162 "There are 63 inhabitants, of whom 17 are children --
164] suffering from trachoma and conjunctivitis. Two foggaras serve to irrigate the gardens, as well as two wells with water drawn by oxen. The output of the foggaras is diminishing; the harratin have tried digging other wells at the head of the foggara, but they found large blocks of stone at a depth of three meters which prevented them from reaching the water table. A long and wearying work, with primitive means.

"There are about 100 palm trees, which give small, meager dates. Nearly all of the trees are encumbered with djebars; these harratin have no idea whatsoever of how to cultivate palm trees. Those trees that now produce grew from pits haphazardly cast in a garden.

"The only winter crops are wheat and barley; no turnips, no carrots, no beans, no other vegetables that could tide them over in the period between the millet and the wheat crops and that would permit them to let the cereal ripen.

"At this time nearly all the harratin are eating green barley and young tahli shoots.

"A brief calculation will show how insufficiently these cultivators are fed, although they do very hard work in a hard climate:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Year 1948. | Yield of wheat for Tahart | 1, 500 kilograms |
| | Yield of millet for Tahart | 300 kilograms |
| | | 1, 800 kilograms |

24( /77/ or 1, 800 kilograms of grain to divide 63 times during
621 365 days, giving scarcely 100 grams a day per person, to which we may add three or four meals of meat per year.

"This year a green louse menaces the grain harvest; in summer a sort of 'mosquito' attacks the millet."

To complete these observations, one must add to the food listed for the harratin the very sweet tea they drink whenever they can, and it must be noted that this year 1949 was particularly bad.

If the wheat, set amid the arid mountains, gives an air of opulence to the village, the cultivator well knows that the production will be insufficient and that the fifth part of it coming to him is already pledged to Mozabite merchants to pay for the different purchases of the year. What to do? Go on farming, for such is life. This stubborn work to coax a little wheat from a hostile soil is most touching and merits a better success; but it would be necessary to educate these Negroes, and that is another story.

[361] Certain of these centers are temporary; the harratin abandon them when the soil is exhausted or when the water is no longer sufficient for irrigation; others are always occupied and under cultivation. The harratin merely cultivate smaller areas during dry years. In the permanent centers, the gardens have fruit trees.

In the appendix is the list of the principal agricultural centers of the Ahaggar.

## Animal Raising

233 A land of nomads, the Ahaggar is a region of extensive animal raising. The pastures grow according to the chance of rainfall, and the Tuareg use them with due regard to the growth of the grass. The irregularity of the annual rains obliges the Kel Ahaggar to drive the majority of their camel herd to Sudanese territory, so that about 7, 500 camels graze

233 /77 cont./ in the Tamesna, while 4, 500 stay in the Ahaggar. /78/ The goats and sheep stay near the tents and find their sustenance more or less easily. The donkeys that live in freedom are perhaps the best adapted animals. Several zebus used for drawing water in the agricultural centers are poorly fed.

It does not appear that animal raising is destined to increase much, as the climatic conditions do not permit much enlargement of the herds.

The camel is indispensable to the Tuareg; without it they could not live in the Ahaggar. The Targui-camel partnership is seen throughout the region; it is necessary; it is part of the scenery. One sees the double silhouette outlined on the crests of the central plateaus, or tracing a network of paths on the black lava regs, or printing the sand with the parallel tracks of the Targui and the camel. This strange beast seems a holdover from another age; despite its antediluvian appearance and its stiff limbs -- only its neck is supple -- it manages to climb up slopes for grazing where man sometimes has trouble following.

As far as the camel is concerned, the term animal raising seems inappropriate. For the Targui the camel is his life; thanks to it, he is able to travel at will in the desert, make his commercial exchanges, and stay for months in a region without wells if the pasturage is good. The camel is his joy; it enables him to demonstrate his masculinity; it is also the object of his fears when it is sick or when it has disappeared after breaking its fetters, making it necessary for the Targui to follow its tracks for days in order to recapture it.

The camel also is wealth, the scale of values, the gift for a birth or a marriage; it is the noble animal.

There are about 12, 000 camels in the Ahaggar. It would be tedious to enumerate the wealth of each tribe, but let us note that the Dag Rali alone possess a fifth of the herd.

The Tuareg distinguish three races of camels: a race of the Ahaggar, one of the Sudan, and a race of the north called

233/78 cont. / "maroki." The Sudan camel is the largest, generally has /79/ a light coat, is strong and fast; when it is very fat, its hump becomes high; it must have plenty of nourishment and fares badly on poor pasturage. When it is in good shape, it can carry 200 kilograms of merchandise.

The Ahaggar camel is smaller but always has a nice bearing; its coat may be light, but many of these camels are dark. When it is fat, its hump does not rise much but overflows on the sides; a more frugal eater than the Sudan camel, it can get along on meager pastures. If it runs more slowly, it climbs better; its feet become overheated on the sand but will hold up on jagged pebbles. It cannot carry more than about 150 kilograms.

There are not many maroki in the Ahaggar. It is smaller than the others but much stronger; in comparason with them it seems awkward. It requires abundant food, but in exchange can carry up to 300 kilograms. Generally dark colored, the maroki has a thick coat.

233 192 The Tuareg vocabulary to designate the camel is rich, a proof of the interest in the animal. The generic term is "amis," "imenas" in the plural. "Amadjor" is also generic but is used in the sense of: "camel seen in the distance but not identified." The plural is "imoudjar." The female camel is called "talemt" (plural: "tillemin"); "timetirout" (plural: "timetterouin") means "pregnant camel." The newborn camel is called "aoura"; at one year it is called "ag aouatey"; at two years, "allogues"; three years, "akanafoud"; four years (the teeth begin to grow but do not emerge), "aralèr"; five years (two teeth), "ag essin"; six years (four teeth), "ag okkoz"; seven years (six teeth), "Ammessedis"; eight years (two canines), "aoutahallat"; adult and old camels intermingle so that a Targui is incapable of saying how old camels live to be; some die young, some old, but the Targui never gives an [777] opinion as to age, for that could be bad luck.

233 /79 cont./ When the young camel is weaned it is called
192 "assaka"; when it is trained, one says "abal" or "amougui." The stud camel is called "amali."

Generous with the names bestowed on the camel, the Tuareg are even more wordy when it comes to describing the camel's color. /80/ While green or bright red spread on a paper is poorly appraised, the imperceptible nuances of a camel's coat are distinguished in precise fashion; this is because the colors that we mentioned are abstractions, while the difference between two grays is concrete, being the difference between two observed, known, and perhaps loved camels.

The correspondence between the colors expressed by the Tamashek words and the French shades is arbitrary; another investigator could quite well give another scale just as valid.

White: beïdedj; dark gray: iendjelan; fawn: iebramine; light fawn: atlar; fawn brown: ibazaouane; black: ikaoualane; black and white: azelraf; dirty white: idegnassen; gazelle: ierrane; light gray: ibahouane; green tones: israfane; reddish white: ilemlarane; reddish brown: ihaggarène; between red and yellow: ietlarine; the one with the blue eyes: iouinaran; the one with the white mouth: imoulssan.

According to what an animal is used for or according to his merits, there are about 20 other names, a few examples of which follow:

Saddle camel: "amis ouan tarik"; pack camel: "amis ouan edjidji"; saddle camel for a woman: "amis ouan takhaouit." Tired camel: "yaddah"; wounded camel: "yakoder"; well-trained camel: "iounane"; a hard camel to mount: "irraguel."

233 There is no need to repeat here the characteristics of the camel, its sobriety, its endurance, its fragility, too; let us remember, though, /81/ that when it "drinks its fill," it downs up to 120 liters of water.

In a moist pasture, whose grass is green, of course, the camel stays practically without drinking; when it is mounted or packed, having to undertake a journey across a strictly

233 /81 cont. / desert region or one lacking verdure, it can go for four or five days in summer and about eight days in winter without eating or drinking.

If the Tuareg have the reputation of being good camel trainers, it is because they begin training the camel when it is about two years old. The young camel is seized, and a "tiriouit" is passed over its mouth. The tiriouit is an arrangement of ropes which encloses the head something like a muzzle. A long rope serves as a rein; the trainer mounts bareback behind the nump, and does this for three or four days. The young camel begins to know the man, and then an "akala" is put on him; this is simply a rope securely tied to the lower jaw. A saddle is put on the camel for the first time, preferably the "tahlast" type, which is sturdier. For three months, the young camel is taught how to walk straight and to let itself be led wherever desired. The training is finished only after a year, at which time the "tiguemt" is inserted. This is the ring in the nose through which passes the "tarant" which finally classifies the animal as "assaka" or "amougui."

The training for pack camels is much simpler. The animal is fettered by the two front feet, a tiriouit is passed over its head, and it is attached to a tree by a very short rope. It is kept there for two days without eating, then is untied but not unfettered, so that it may find food by jumping in a ridiculous fashion from tuft to tuft. From that time, the animal is ready to be an "amis ouan edjidji." The female camels may also be trained at about the age of two years, either for the saddle or for the pack. The Tuareg only use them when their milk is dried up.

The camels do not breed at will, for the Tuareg select the males.

A half-bred Sudan-Ahaggar camel is preferred as sire.

/82/ The future sire must have certain well-determined physical characteristics; most particularly examined are the form of the legs, the length of the tail, and the size of the

233/82 cont. / testicle sac; a large head is a favorable sign, as is a white coat.

The Tuareg keep one male for 30 or 40 females; all the [232] other males are castrated: "ennedi." The castration is done rather late in order not to interfere with the development of the animal, which will always be used as a mount or as a pack animal.

The sires having been chosen, the breeding takes place without control by man. The male pursues the female and obliges her to squat down, either by putting his neck on hers or by biting her foot. Females in heat sometimes solicit the male. The covering is made after the female has been brought to squat with the male behind her; his hind legs are completely folded, his pectoral callus rests on the female's back, and his front legs are placed along her breast to keep her prisoner. The covering lasts, it seems, half an hour; after two hours, the male can begin another covering. When all the females of the herd are impregnated, the sire grazes and rests for nearly three months.

The female camel carries her young for 12 months, sometimes 11; she bears one young camel (the Tuareg questioned have never seen twin camels born). A good milk camel gives six liters at each milking, but she is only half milked, the rest being saved for the baby camel, which begins to eat only at the age of about three months.

When the female camel goes to graze during the day, followed by her colt, she wears an "abedjo" over the udder so the young camel cannot suck. The abedjo is a sort of coarse net attached to the loins and exactly covering the udder (it is made with cord from fibers of tahla branches: "ikakaben," extremely strong and rough, which repulses the young camel).

Goats constitute a veritable fortune for the /83/ Tuareg. They are content with the meager pastures of the dry years; they graze near the tents, to which they return each night to sleep. They are seen everywhere in the Ahaggar, even in the places that at first sight seem the most bleak.

233 /83 cont./ The Ahaggar goat (a goat: "tirsi"; plural: "oulli") is small, lively, a good walker. It has long black hair, but crossing it with Sudanese goats gives offspring with black and white coats. Milk production is very variable according to the seasons and the abundance and quality of the pastures. A very good milch goat may produce nearly two liters of milk per day, a month after having given birth. The average production is about one liter a day for the two milkings. Goat's milk furnishes butter, "oudi amellen," which is cooked to preserve it: "oudi"; it also is made into the different cheeses (let us recall that camel's milk is used only for drinking).

It is estimated that there are about 20,000 goats in the Ahaggar, although there may be more. The Tuareg keep one male for about 50 females. The Ahaggar goat bears one [262] kid, sometime two, but very rarely. The male kids are always eaten young; they constitute the bulk of meat consumption by the Tuareg.

[283] Goat hair is used to make ropes of all sorts, and we shall see how the hide is used in making all of the Tuareg furniture.

Sheep raising is very limited; the number of head would hardly come to a tenth of the caprine livestock, and most of the sheep are found in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

The sheep raised in the Ahaggar is a native of the Sudan; long legged, it has no wool but long stiff hairs, generally fawn colored. Its meat is excellent. It is a robust animal, a good walker, but according to the Tuareg does not bear up well during the dry years in the Ahaggar, the pastures not being sufficiently nourishing. This sheep /84/ accomplishes considerable feats; the Tuareg drive flocks from the Adrar des Iforas to the markets of the Tidikelt and the A'ir in the Ahaggar. These migrations are carried out, of course, in the winter, but the regs crossed are truly poor in water points, and the pastures are sufficiently rare to make these journeys a remarkable exploit.

233 /84 cont. /Ewe's milk is mixed with goat's milk; the hides
[262] are also used in all sorts of leatherwork. Mutton is considered choice meat and is the preference for serving to an important guest.

The ox is imported from the Sudan; it is a zebu with the characteristic hump. It is used for drawing water in the agricultural centers. However, it can live in freedom in the wadis of the Ahaggar. The amenokal owns a herd which has gone wild: when he wants a beast, he must have it shot. The oxen eat the tahlis which grow abundantly on the rocky shelves of the wadis; they drink from the numerous gueltas. This ox is a sturdy animal capable of going from the Tamesna region to the Ahaggar across desolate regs.

Milk production is practically negligible, since there are at most 300 bovids /sic/ in the Ahaggar.

The hide is used to make the large dellous /skin sacks/ for drawing water and the bottas for keeping butter in.

The bull is called: "essou" (plural: "issouan"); the cow: "tessout" (plural: "tissita").

The donkey ("eled"; plural: "ieldan") is, perhaps, the animal best adapted to the Ahaggar. The Tuareg say: "It eats everything, green or dry." It is of average size, with a rather light coat and a large darker cross on the back. The donkey
[492] is used for camp chores; it goes to fetch water and wood. It carries nearly the whole load when moving; it is the mount of the women, children, and Negroes. Some travelers claim to have seen onagers in the Ahaggar; these were actually donkeys reverted to the wild state: the Tuareg, not being able to keep them near their camps because of the paucity of pastures, /85/ let them run free. Thus it is that herds of donkeys are seen in silhouette on the mountains or fleeing in the wadis as men approach. The donkeys drink at the permanent water points, and their habitual approaches to them are marked by narrow, well-trodden paths.

233 /85 cont. / When the Tuareg want to recapture some of these animals, they organize veritable battues and must use a great deal of cleverness and energy to succeed. It is necessary to break these donkeys in order to fit them for domestic use, for many of them are born wild.

It is estimated that there are 5, 000 donkeys in the Ahaggar, but this figure is certainly too conservative.

[262] The flesh of the donkey is not eaten, nor is the milk of the female drunk.

A few horses, most of them originating in the Sudan, are to be found in certain agricultural centers. A "luxury" animal, the horse (aïs) cannot live off the Ahaggar pastures. When well nourished with barley, it bears the climate perfectly well and can be used as a mount in the mountains of the Ahaggar where water points are numerous.

Lastly, chickens are raised by the harratin in all the
231 agricultural centers; they are lean fowl which find practically all of their own food. The harratin chiefly eat the eggs,
[439] rather rarely the meat, which is sold to the Europeans.

/87/

## IV
## Material Life

### Dwelling

342 The Tuareg, as true nomads, use the tent for habitation,
281 and sometimes, in exceptional circumstances, the zériba.

The Tuareg tent is made of skins sown together and specially prepared. Its red tint, which harmonizes with the dominant tones of the Ahaggar landscape, is agreeable to the eye. For making the tent (éhakit), goat, sheep, wild sheep, and, very rarely, cattle skins are used; the skins of wild sheep are considered the best. After being stripped of its hair, the

/87 cont. / skin is lightly tanned with tamat or adjar leaves,
342 then smeared with butter to make it supple. After these
281 operations, the red tint is added in the following way:
"tamadjouhit, " a sort of red clay, is mashed up with camel dung; with the powder thus obtained, the still greasy skin is rubbed until the desired color is obtained. The skin is then soaked in water for two days so that it may be stretched, smoothed out, flattened, cut, and sewed. The women of the camp undertake this last task; they all pitch in to work, joking, talking, and the work gets done at a good rate. One tent may have from 30 to 120, or even 150, skins. Strands of fine leather thongs, artistically cut, called "balenkassen, " hang from the top, giving the inside /88/ of the tent a novel
342 effect. The tent is supported by six vertical wooden stakes, 1.50 meters high, sticking about 20 centimeters into the ground. These vertical stakes are joined in pairs by three horizontal bars; the stakes are attached to each other with cords made from plaited goat hair. The tent rests on these stakes and is anchored at the edges by smaller stakes or large stones. The front of the tent, facing south, is generally open, and the sides are attached to tall, vertical stakes, the tops of which are often carved. On the inside the tent wall is lined with an "asaber, " a kind of long mat made with stalks of "afazzou" (a grass). Making an asaber is a job requiring a great deal of patience; first the afazzou must be gathered with care taken to choose the longest stalks; then the stalks are assembled in pairs, being tied with previously prepared narrow leather thongs, with one thong around the top and another around the bottom of the stalks. The asaber is about 80 centimeters wide, with thongs wrapped around the stalks every three or four centimeters. The length varies from seven to eight meters, or exactly four times the height of a man with
[531] his arms upraised. The top border of the asaber is decorated with a band of leather interwoven with geometric designs. Two women take about a year to do this work.

342 /88 cont./ It takes three or four asabers to furnish a tent, two on the inside filter the wind, two others encircle the space in front of the tent, forming a small court, assuring privacy and a space sheltered from the wind, where someone is always to be found.

When one enters a tent, one sees that the right side is always the man's domain and the left side the woman's; each arranges his personal effects in an orderly fashion that is always surprising to the European.

342 About 50 meters away or more, but always within hailing
361 distance, live the Negroes in an enclosure of dry branches called "afarra"; another enclosure next to it constitutes the kitchen.

A camp is made up of a number of tents of this type, /89/ with some distance between tents to preserve privacy.

During the dry season, when the search for pastures becomes compelling, the Tuareg are obliged to stop at a place near water, where the goats may find some meager pasturage. The black domestics then construct zéribas. They make a framework of forked branches, from two to 2.50 meters high, circular or almost so, with a diameter varying from three to five meters. Around and on this frame are attached tahlis (tiphas); the zériba then has an elegant appearance. If there are not enough tahlis, one gets along with other dry grasses, morakba, guettaf, etc.; the zériba then has a shabby appearance, but its merits as a dwelling are not lessened. In summer the zériba is much to be preferred to a tent, for it is much cooler.

The ground under the tent or zériba is always covered with
342 coarse sand from the wadi, which is frequently changed. A
356 hearth, consisting of four stones arranged in a square and imbedded in the ground, is used either to heat tea or to provide a little heat during winter evenings. Near the tents stakes
344 support the guerbas /waterskins/; one may also see the wood-
356 pile kept up by the Negroes and the big wooden mortar which
342

356
342 /89 cont. / awaits its ration of millet, but one never sees any
[354] disorder or rubbish. A camp may have been at a site for a few hours or for several months, but on the day of its departure there is never the least broken object left at the place; the Tuareg leave behind them neither domestic refuse nor any other mark of their presence.

342 The tent is occupied by the family in the most limited sense of the term. When a man marries he takes a tent and
[592] lives in it with his wife; children up to nine years of age stay with their parents, but after that they have their own tent.

In the agricultural centers the harratin lodge either in a zériba of tahli, made like that of the Tuareg, or in a house constructed with toubs or with stones held together with tin (clay). The house is covered with a coat of tin spread on a foundation of tahli supported by a framework of fersig or /90/ éthel branches; the roof is flat. The door generally opens toward the west, and there is a small opening to the east; this system protects the houses from the heat of the midday sun. Such a structure would be unhealthy in other climates; here it doesn't matter, the family lives outdoors. In winter everyone huddles together at night around a fire in the single room in order to keep as warm as possible, but all leave the house at sunrise. The floor of these houses is covered with fine gravel from the wadi, and this is changed fairly often. The vicinity of the hartani dwelling is much less clean than that of the Tuareg tent; ashes are scattered about and refuse dries in the sun.

000 Only Tamanrasset has houses used by Europeans. Toubs are always used to construct them, although recently atone plastered with tin has been tried for certain administration buildings. Up to now the lack of lime has hindered "hard" construction; attempts have been made to make lime from cipolin, but the cost per kilogram is nearly as high as for lime imported from Algiers.

/90 cont./ The thickness of the walls varies from one to three toubs, or from 30 to 90 centimeters. The grave problem is that of the roof, which is made in the local style with a coat of tin over a bed of tahlis or reeds; the framework is made from fersig and éthel branches, with an average length of from two to 2.50 meters. In order to obtain a big enough room, the ends of these branches must be rested on a large log or on a semicircular arch made with toub. It is not possible, therefore, to make rooms more than four meters wide because of the length limitations of the logs or of the vault's span; the room may be made as long as desired by stringing together the units from two to 2.50 meters wide.

Some administration houses have iron beams, which permits the construction of wider rooms and avoids a grave annoyance, that of finding that a beam has been attacked by termites. In order to discourage termites, the frame is covered with drainage oil.

/91/ The inside plastering consists of black tin covered with a layer of white tin or, preferably, with lime, which sticks better. The outside plaster is red tin smoothed with the trowel or grooved vertically by the mason's fingers, which gives a pleasing effect. This red color gives Tamanrasset its particular look. Very often a small flowering garden brightens a house. The houses of Europeans have several rooms, a kitchen, a court, and often a small vegetable garden; they are in general smartly kept up.

## Migrations

361 166 The Tuareg only change their camps to find other pastures for the herds; when food for the animals becomes scarce within a radius of two to three hours' from camp, the head of the tent or subgroup, in agreement with the other members of the family, chooses a new site with good pasturage and, if possible, relatively near a water point. The imrad tribes make these

361 /91 cont./ changes only within the bounds of their territory.
166 In order to use pastures on the lands of a neighboring tribe, permission must be obtained from that tribe's amrar, and in addition a fee must be paid, which may be as much as two or three goats. Only the nobles move at will in the whole country.

We have already seen that the female camels are sent to Tamesna in a dry year, and that they stay there until a rainy year gives the Ahaggar desirable pastures. There then remain in the Ahaggar only a few male camels and all the goats, which accentuates the region's desert character. In these dry years the men go back and forth between the Ahaggar and the camel herds, sometimes taking Negroes with them, sometimes young adolescents. The women stay in the camps. A change of tent site is carefully planned, because of the scarcity of water points. /92/ It is not unusual to see a camp remain nearly a year at a site which is not too unfavorable.

During wet years, there are abundant pastures practically everywhere in the Ahaggar, water flows in the wadis, the female camels produce a lot of milk; one would think that the Tuareg then would sojourn long in the same place -- but no, quite the contrary, the camps are constantly moving.

Tuareg custom holds that when the pastures are just beginning to grow, the camp must not remain too long in the same place; this is a wise measure which permits plants to flower and bear seed, but putting that reason aside, there is no rational explanation of that continual shifting of tents in a country covered with the best pastures. Is there here a manifestation of the nomadic spirit? A careful psychological study would have to be made in order to understand the reasons behind these moves, which have no apparent practical purpose and which the Tuareg themselves are unable to justify.

Yet moving a camp is no joke. Dismantling the tents is easily and rapidly enough done by the women, but looking for the donkeys, the loading, the packing of the objects constitutes a job which to a European seems enough to drive one crazy; thought must also be given to milking the animals,

361 /92 cont./ to the departure of the herds, to the means of
166 moving the old people and babies. The camp is hardly ready to move before nine in the morning, although the work has been in progress since sunrise. About three in the afternoon the caravan halts for the night; the animals must then be unloaded, the asabers must be put up, the meals prepared, the animals milked; and the next day everything begins over again.

There is one regular annual migration; when the wheat
166 and barley ripen in the gardens, it is April, and all the caravans
221 returned from the Sudan have stored their millet in silos --
361 then nearly all camps head for the agricultural centers. The goats are left in the desert in the care of the Negroes. Each little agricultural center /93/ then sees a gathering of the Tuareg, who come to supervise the harvest and live at the expense of the khammès, according to the provisions of the agricultural contract. This is a joyous period, and tendi and ilougan are held every day.

In connection with these migrations, it must be noted that the Tuareg do not act exactly according to the necessities of the climate: a dry period should logically lead to an exodus by the tribes toward Sudanese territory, where the herds would be better fed in virtually permanent pastures, and yet the tents and goats stay in the Ahaggar. Political reasons do not suffice to explain this contradiction between custom and the obligations of the climate. Perhaps this custom may be seen as the effect of long habit reinforced by sentimental factors. It is certain that away from the Ahaggar and their own territories of nomadization, the Tuareg are ill at ease; they show their delight on returning to their mountains. There is a saying that the Tuareg are great travelers but not great nomads; the essential reason for this remark is certainly the profound attachment they manifest for their soil, which seems incompatible with the nomad mentality.

361 /93 cont./ To sum up the migrations of the Kel Ahaggar,
166 let us say that they extend in a radius of about 100 kilometers,
221 within the tribal lands, but that the men may lead the herds, according to the times, toward pastures 1, 000 kilometers from the family camp, and that an annual series of caravans sees them cover 15° of latitude.

The harratin cultivators are only sedentary on occasion; each year there is a large human movement from one agricultural center to another. There are three reasons for this: the Tuareg, owners of the soil, are no longer able to furnish the hartani with enough seed or to fulfill the agricultural contract; water bwgins to be lacking in a center, or digging foggaras becomes impossible; lastly, the exhausted land needs rest. It is thus that, from one year to the next, an important, well-cultivated center may become /94/ insignificant and even deserted. It appears to be impossible to establish a cycle for these agricultural migrations.

## Tuareg Furnishings

352 Lightness and flexibility are the two essential qualities of
492 Tuareg furnishings. All of these objects must be transported on the backs of animals; weight, therefore, is the principal enemy; moreover, it is easier for the animals to carry loads capable of molding themselves against the animals' bodies.
415 Thus we find a whole assortment of sacks, chiefly leather ones, in the Tuareg equipment.

These sacks are tanned in such a way as to keep the leather very flexible; but the process employed is suitable only for extremely dry climates: transported to France, the Tuareg leathers seem to come alive again, they swell with humidity, then give off a disagreeable odor, and finally become unusable.

415 All of these sacks are decorated. Some are colored and
531 bear designs put on with dye or are decorated with tinted

415 /94 cont. / leather, and sometimes they are even embellished
531 with motifs on cloth, accentuated with needlework in silk; others are made of natural leather, adorned with frayed leather thongs, for the main principle of decoration for everything carried on a camel's back seems to be to lengthen the lines in order to make them harmonize with the silhouette of this amazing animal. The decorative motifs are many but always linear; the circle, as well as the arc, is used, but the straight line dominates; there are no arabesques, no complicated curves; triangles, squares, rectangles, even trapeziums and diamond shapes are used. Red is the chief color for leather, but a wide range of other colors, artistically used, makes possible some pleasing effects; delicate greens characterize the work coming from the Sudan, pure whites are set in blacks, dark greens, and browns, different tones of yellow cover large surfaces. Then, slight grooves in the dyed leather produce interesting effects.

[492] /95/ The sacks are secured on the animals by numerous cords. These are plaited with goat's hair. Making all these fittings takes unimaginable time and patience. Such a task cannot be thought of except in relation to a nomadic tribe.

An interesting study could be made on Tuareg decoration, comparing it to that of certain Indian tribes of America; one thinks in this connection of the hypotheses advanced by Commandant Cauvet in Les Berbères en Amérique /Berbers In America/.

352 Here is a list of the various objects to be found in a Tuareg tent, undoubtedly an incomplete list, for the most familiar objects are the easiest to forget.

The woman, mistress of the hearth, owns her personal effects. The wardrobe bag, a large rectangle 80 by 60 centimeters at the top of which is an opening 30 centimeters high by 50 centimeters wide, is called "agherredj"; clothes are kept in it. Some of these agherredj are magnificent works of art.

352 /95 cont./ The other sacks belonging to the women all have the same shape. The "guerfa" is smaller than the agherredj; the "tarerrat" plaited in goat's hair is not seen as often.

The "adhaboun" consist of a whole series of small sacks of the most varied forms with a solid frame of plaited palm or sometimes of wood; small objects are put away in them: jewels, perfumes, remedies, etc. All of these sacks are generally closed with the famous Tuareg padlock, only a token lock, but always respected.

422 414

492 Rich women possess a special saddle called "akhaoui" or "takhaouit" according to its size, kept in a corner of the tent. It is an extremely curious assemblage of three types of wood (tehounek, rose laurel, tabrakat), each piece of which is chosen according to its use, shaped, cut, and decorated. The different pieces of the takhaouit are bound together with leather; it takes years to bring together branches that can be used, this work being almost always done by the women. The "haïf" is a strap /96/ that secures the saddle to the back of the camel; plaited in goat's hair, it measures five centimeters wide and three meters long; one end is adorned with an enormous pompon 50 centimeters wide and sometimes weighing more than three kilograms; embroidery in red and green wool gives a sumptuous air to the pendant, which reaches nearly to the ground when the haïf secures the saddle.

A richly decorated takhaouit has other pompons symmetrical to the haïf; these are the "tidarsiouin."

352 The feminine rug par excellence, which covers the tarraouit during a trip, comes from Timmimoun and is called "tagamdafest"; it has large black, red, and green bands, and, in the middle of it, tufts of yellow, black, and green wool.

Let us add to the objects belonging to the woman the "sendouq," a kind of small box in which sugar and tea are kept; the name, of Arabic origin, seems to indicate that it is of relatively recent importation. The "tesenit" is a palm-fiber basket in which kitchen utensils are kept.

415

492 /96 cont./ The man, when he is elegantly turned out -- and all the Tuareg want to be elegant when on camel back -- has a "djebira" (a large sack made in the Sudan) with splendid decorations in leather, dominated by whites and delicate greens. To save wear and tear on the decorations, the djebira is always carried inside out, but is turned right again upon approaching a camp.

The linen is put in a large dyed-leather bag decorated with lines: the "echchekoua," which is padlocked. The "tchekouat" ("dabia" in Arabic) is smaller, the "tesoufra" holds milk and is not decorated, for the dyes are not fast to moisture. Tea and sugar are kept in small sacks called "etfadoul."

The "tarik" ("rahla" in Arabic) adorns the corner of the tent reserved for the man. The camel saddle is well known; there are several types: the "tamzak," made in the Sudan and the most prized by the Tuareg, is ornamented with designs in green leather and has a characteristic cantle, the back of which is fixed with a whole system of metalwork. The "akoka" is also a good tarik, respectable enough to ride on; its black /97/ and red colors make it more subdued; it is also supposed to be sturdier. The "ta'last" has no cross in front; it is made of decorated wood and is very solid; it is suitable for training the animals, but an elegant man does not use it for traveling. In order to protect the camel, the tarik is placed on two or three small square rugs, the "sadfar," measuring about 50 centimeters; they have bands of blue and white cloth forming geometric motifs; they are lightly padded with old cloth.

To adorn the camel, the Tuareg place a rug called "taouart" on the seat of the saddle; the rug comes from either Fezzan or Ghardaïa. The saddle girth (ha'if) is as heavy as possible. The "rezama" (Arabic) ("tarant" in Tamashek), which is used to guide the animal, is made of plaited leather [825] ornamented with colored thongs; it is said that a tarant made from hyena hide makes the animal go faster.

492 /97 cont. / For he who wants a particularly well-equipped animal, there is the "cascabou," a sort of copper fitting with pendants and little bells which is fixed on the camel's nose, giving the beast a proud appearance and classifying the owner.

The things owned in common consist of, first, the "abator" used as water containers; these guerbas are made of goatskin or sheepskin. The "tamhit" ("mezoued" in Arabic) are used to carry grain. Butter is made in the "edjiouer."

415 We already know the use of the tendi /mortar/ and the pestle (iharen). Fixed or turning millstones called "tahount" are used near the agricultural centers.

The "terahout" is the hemispheric dish; there are several sizes. The "tesoukalin" are the small spoons; the large ones, often pyrograved, are called "temoulalt." The metal or baked-earth pot is called the "terrirt." Everything used for making tea has an Arabic name: the kettle (ralleye), the teapot (bered), the glasses (el kissan), and the tray (el tabla). The trivet is called "isseguida."

/98/ Clothing

291 The grand bearing of the Tuareg, which so impresses the visitor arriving in the Ahaggar for the first time, is largely due to the clothes he wears. The silhouette of the "men of the veil" becomes familiar. The fullness of the clothes and the lightness of the cloth, which favors harmonious drapings, seem to exaggerate the size of both the men and the women. European traders who give free rein to their imaginations are numerous; they speak of blue phantoms and indulge in comparisons as unreal as they are evocative. Here we must strip the Tuareg of this poetic aureole. Let us begin by the trousers, called "iqarbi" ("sarroil" in Arabic). Very full and not creased, the iqarbi has a hem at the waist which permits use of a plaited leather belt called "tamenalt"; there is no pocket. To make it, cloth 1.50 meters long by 1.40 meters wide is used. It is often made of black sateen or chegga.

291 /98 cont. / The fullness of the sarroil is indispensable for camel mounting, sitting on the ground, or sleeping.

The "éressoui" is an immense gandurah of tari (a blue cloth impregnated with indigo, which rubs off to give the Tuareg his characteristic skin tint) or of mahmoudi (white cotton fabric). The width of the gandurah must be more than the reach of the arms, or generally three lengths of cloth, about 2.40 meters. The éressoui is slit almost all the way down the sides and has an immense pocket fixed on the left-hand side of the chest. It contains eight meters of cloth 80 centimeters wide. Ordinarily, the Tuareg wear a blue eressoui over a white one; they gather on the shoulders the excess of cloth that would normally hang on the arms, giving a blue-white contrast of very striking effect. The arm is uncovered to reveal the bracelet of carved stone (serpentine) called "habidj," which is used as a defensive weapon in a fight.

A gandurah identical to the éressoui but made of cloth from the Sudan is called "takamist n'kora." /99/ This cloth is made of small bands one centimeters wide sewed together. The blue dye of the takamist is particularly prone to adhere to the skin. The Tuareg wear this article only on festive occasions, for it is very expensive.

The "tameskinout" is also a gandurah made from cloth made in the Sudan, but with bands from four to five centimeters wide. This very expensive garment is found much more rarely.

Another gandurah called "rati," which is worn only on grand occasions, has stripes of violine and beige tints; it is adorned with embroidery, forming circles on the back. The large chest pocket is also embroidered. "Taguelmoust" is the name of the brillant blue veil with carefully studied folds which hides the faces of the Tuareg and which novelists have named "litham," a word unknown in the Ahaggar. The size of the taguelmoust is generally 3.50 meters by 0.25 meters. The weaving of the Sudanese type resembles that of the

291 /99 cont. / takamist with one-centimeter bands. Judging a taguelmoust is difficult for a European; factors are the number of bands and the quality of the blue dye, which, when the cloth is new, is so brilliant that it looks like carbon paper. The taguelmoust is washed only after long wear, and can then no longer be used during a ceremony. The way he arranges his taguelmoust classifies a man, permitting initiates to distinguish between the tribes. The chèche /long scarf/, white or black, worn more and more, is an Arab importation; it has the advantage of lasting longer and costing a lot less; 4.0 or 4.50 meters are needed to obtain the desired effect. Some Tuareg get very nice effects arranging the chèche and the taguelmoust. Without going into the hypotheses which have been advanced to explain why the men started wearing the veil, let us say that it is the custom with the Tuareg and note that it is indispensable to wear a veil when traveling in the desert; every Frenchman who travels by camel or on foot quickly realizes that he must follow this custom or see his face take on the appearance of a lizard's skin. The taguelmoust /100/ has the advantage over the cheche of depositing a layer of greasy dye on the skin, which prevents chapping due to the dryness of the air.

The Targui's footgear is the nall called "ighatimen." Its rounded form is well known. A leather thong passes inside the big toe, two leather bands cover the foot and are sewn nearly as high as the heel. The sole consists of three thicknesses sewn together by one or several lines of stitches. Designs of pleasing colors decorate the different nal'ls and make it possible to tell where they come from. The ighatimen are made in the Sudan; the best known come from Zinder or Tahoua.

The mountain tribes -- Dag Rali and Adjouh n'Téhélé above all -- make nalls of a special type called "imarkaden." The tip is straight, slightly wider than the foot, and the heel is also straight, while the sides curve in toward the arch.

291 /100 cont./ The layers of leather may be a centimeter thick; the sewing of the leather with large stitches permits decoration. A long thong connects the leather buckles sewn on the sole and is tied over the instep. The elegant footwear is the "ighatimen."

293 A description of the Targui's apparel must include all of the objects he wears including weapons.

The "taralabt" is a leather wallet hung from the neck. An ingenious system of grooved closings keeps it from opening; it is always black and artistically decorated with yellow, green, or red stitching. Numerous inside pockets serve to hold the mirror, the "tazolt" (eye blacking, sometimes kept in a special case), the "chemma" (chewing tobacco), the "kelbou" (natron used to make tobacco milder), personal papers, and sometimes money.

Amulets called "tera" hang from the neck by a leather string; these are small leather rectangles containing either papers written by a taleb /public scribe/ or magic products protecting against sickness, the Kel es Souf /genii/, and misfortune in general. Each Targui is abundantly provided with tera, which make his life bearable.

293 /101/ The "iremdan" ("menguech" in Arabic) is an in-
752 dispensable instrument; it consists of a cutting blade, an awl,
296 and small pincers (something like eyebrow tweezers) These blades pivot around an axis; a ring makes it possible for the iremdan to be hung, but it is often carried in a special case. This tool is in turn a surgeon's kit for pulling tahla thorns from the soles of the feet and a cobbler's tool for repairing nalls /sandals/. A Targui never undertakes a trip without his iremdan.

301 We have already mentioned the "abidj," or polished stone bracelet. The "tissak" is a small silver ring without artistic value. The key to the Tuareg padlock, which is often suspended on the chest, is a much prized ornament.

411 No Targui undertakes an important trip without his "takouba," the sword worn at the side which gives that

411 /101 cont./ medieval look to the Tuareg, making them look as if they have emerged from a picture book. There are takouba and takouba; some are worth two young camels and are recognized by the grooves on the blade and the mark made by the maalem /craftsman/. The first-rate takouba is called "tazra'lt"; it has five grooves on the blade and a disk whose vertical diameter is topped by a cross; a tazra'lt should sever a camel hobble buried in the sand so that only five centimeters are showing. The "arlal" type has no groove but bears the same mark as the tazra'lt and is an excellent takouba, just as highly regarded as the latter. The "talit," worth substantially the same, does not have a groove but has the same mark as the tazra'lt, supplemented by a stylized lion. An "inaseri" costs half as much; it has three grooves and bears a crescent-shaped design with three points directed toward the center. The "tabloq" has a long central groove and is decorated with the silhouette of a lion; it costs the same as an inaseri. The "adadiglen" has never been carried by a coward; it is worth the same as a tabloq, has a long central groove flanked by two small ones; on each side of the large groove are two K's back to back. The "elghenihe" is a much rarer sword, although worth only half as much as an adadiglen; /102/ it has a single cutting edge, three large grooves, and a crescent with a point directed toward the center. The "tama," much more common, is worth scarcely half as much as the elghenihé; it can be recognized by its central groove, two small parallel grooves, and two crescents with only one point directed toward the center. There are other types of takouba of recent make; they are sometimes copies of the old blades but are easily recognized. Some old takouba do not bear distinctive marks, and one must be a true connoisseur in order to appreciate them.

One still sees Tuareg who carry the iron spear, the "allar," which was a throwing weapon for short distances. It is about 1.90 meters long. The spear is carried less and less. For hunting the wild sheep, a sort of javelin is used, the point and heel of which have the same shape as those of the spear; this weapon is called "tarrada."

411 /102 cont./ Let us mention for the record some weapons that are no longer carried: the "tilok," a magnificently decorated daggar held on the forearm by a leather bracelet; the "arrar," a shield of antelope skin, white, decorated in the middle with designs and metal trimmings; this large rectangle with rounded points gave the warriors a most impressive appearance. These shields are no longer to be found.

291 To finish with men's dress, let us note the "tabroq," a blanket coming from Timimoun called "dokali," worn on very cold days, which makes the Tuareg resemble certain American Indians.

The Tuareg women ("tamat" -- "tidedin" in the plural) wear clothes which in many ways resemble those of the men. They are not veiled, but when a stranger is presented to them, they hide their faces out of sheer modesty.

Like the men, they wear a long gandurah of tari called "erressoui," but the opening on the side is no longer than 30 centimeters under the arms. There is a white erressoui worn under the blue one. The woman also has a "takamist n'kora" that she puts on during a visit or for a fistive occasion.

/103/ She wraps herself in a large rectangle of tari, three meters by two, called "afar." The padlock key is tied to a corner of the material, and serves as a counterweight when the afar is thrown over the shoulder.

The "ikaral" is the shawl for the head; when it is made of taguelmoust cloth, it is called "alechou"; it measures about 1.50 by 0.50 meters. During an ilougan, which is a kind of tournament on camel back, a rider snatches the alechou from a woman and flees, chased by the other Tuareg, who attempt to recapture the veil. The victor is highly regarded.

The "tabarikant" is a very large veil, three by two meters, whose very clear rose color gives a most happy effect; imported from Tripolitania, it is of very finely woven wool. The tabarikant is becoming more and more rare; it is handed down from mother to daughter and is worn only for festive

291 /103 cont./ occasions. The "ra'ki" is another veil, as large as the tabarikant and made of wool, but white; it is also very rare.

The Tuareg woman does not wear a sarroil but a kind of knee-length skirt, a simple piece of cloth tied around the waist, called "assedjebès." Young girls begin wearing assedjebès when they are nubile.

The woman wear ighatimen for footgear, carry tera, and all have a taralabt slightly different from that of the men. The iremdan is often carried without a case. In winter the tabrok (dokkali) is also a feminine garment.

[854] All of the young children are naked; later they put on the blue gandurah; the boys have a sarroil toward the age of eight or nine. At about fifteen, they begin to wear the veil.

## Food

262 The Tuareg are particularly frugal eaters, and their condition of life does not predispose them to a finely prepared cuisine. Tuareg food has nothing about it to flatter the tastes of a gourmet. The few /104/ dishes palatable for a French-
[177] man have been borrowed from the Arabs and will not be mentioned here.

The basic elements of the Tuareg diet are: millet, milk, and dates. Millet (enelé) comes from the Sudan or is harvested in the Ahaggar as a summer crop; the latter, whose grain is smaller, is better liked but is insufficient in quantity.

252 Millet (the "bechena" of the Arabs) is crushed with a pestle and winnowed to keep only the white flour. This flour is sometimes eaten just as it is after crushing: this is the "tibik" used on the trail by the hurrying cameleer, and it is sometimes used even in camp.

Also called tibik is a more complicated preparation: millet is crushed, winnowed, then washed and put in a tarahout. Heated pebbles are buried in the grain until it become slightly cooked or rather roasted. The progress of the

252/104 cont. / cooking is determined by the pleasing odor that comes from the dish. This grain is next ground together with dried dates. The powder thus obtained is eaten without further preparation.

The "arahara" has a more complicated recipe: crush the millet so that a very fine flour is obtained, crush some dates, and add a little water to form a paste, crush some "tikamarin" /cheese/; mix flour, date paste, and cheese powder together; add a lot of water until you have a liquid resembling milk. Drink cool in summer.

"Asink" is the Tuareg national dish: crush millet so that you have half of it in fine flour and the other half in coarse grains; separate the grains from the flour and pour the former in a pot of boiling water; cook for two hours until the bloated grains form a rather liquid gruel; pour the flour into the gruel, stirring the mixture with the "esseroui" (a wooden paddle used especially for the asink) with the pot still on the fire; obtain a rather thick consistency, dish into the tarahout, add milk if possible, and serve hot. When there is no milk, butter may be added, or the asink may be eaten as is.

[272] /105/ Milk, another basic food, is drunk whole as soon as it is drawn, or is mixed with sour milk, or blended with whey. To make butter, milk is poured into an "adjiouer" (the "chekoua" of the Arabs) and sits for a day, preferably in the sun, causing it to sour rapidly. The sour milk is then poured into another chekoua, which is stirred until a ball of butter is obtained. The sour whey left in the chekoua is drunk during the day.

[262] Fresh butter ("zebda" in Arabic) is called "white butter" (in Tamashek: "oudi oua amellen"); it is soon eaten, but only a small amount. Most of the product is transformed into "dahan" (Arabic -- in Tamashek: "oudi"), which can be kept a long time. White butter, with a small quantity of dates added, together with a few grains of wheat or millet and

252 /105 cont./ several stalks of a plant called "alnessis," is cooked for a very long time. When it is ready, it is poured into the "tahatiat" or the "arralan" for keeping. The tahatiat is a kind of guerba /waterskin/ made with skin from a camel's neck and still has the original curved shape. The arralan is [415] shaped like a demijohn; it consists of a piece of camelskin molded in a hole dug in the ground, filled with camel dung and gravel, tied securely at the mouth by a cord, and thus dried and hardened.

"Tikamarin" is a cheese made from whole milk in the following way: a young goat is killed and its stomach, still full of milk, is carefully kept; the milk is allowed to harden in the stomach pouch, then is carefully preserved. A piece of this "seed" cheese, about the size of a gaming die, is plunged into a tarahout containing five to eight liters of milk. After a day the milk has completely curdled. A lump of this cheese, still damp, is crushed in the hands, previously washed, and made into slabs about 15 by 5 centimeters. These slabs are arranged for drying on a bed of afazzou stalks. Tikamarin is eaten dry; it is kept over a year, and it is said to be still edible after four years.

/106/ "Ioulsan" ("qlila" in Arabic) is a cheese made from the sour milk left over from kaing butter. This sour milk is poured into a pot and is heated for a long time. The contents of the pot are then poured in a special filter, a kind of afazzou basket; the water drains off and the remaining cheese is then fashioned into small circular cakes, six centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick. Ioulsan is quickly eaten, but it can be kept dry and is used, above all, in making the argira which is eaten in the summer.

262 The Tuareg like meat very much, but they eat it relatively infrequently; yet some Tuareg say that one should not let ten days go by without eating meat.

The most used meat is goat; mutton is eaten less often, and camel in exceptional circumstances. The meat of

262 /106 cont./gazelles and wild sheep is much esteemed, particularly since it costs nothing, but having it depends on chance. The hare is eaten only by children or Negroes. Birds, wild or domesticated, are not much liked.

252 Meat is eaten boiled or grilled, always well done. The Tuareg mechoui /roasted sheep/ is called "abatoul" (hole). A hole is dug in rather coarse-grained sand, and a large fire is built in it. The embers are then removed from the hole, and the dismembered animal, well cut open, is placed in it, without butter or spices. The meat is then covered with sand, and a fire is maintained over it for two or three hours. The meat is then pulled out, is strongly hit with a stick to knock off the grains of sand, and is ready for sampling.

[262] Practically speaking, the Tuareg never eat green vegetables; they keep dried onions (tarafaret), which give [251] some taste to their dishes; dried tomatoes, abundantly produced in the Ahaggar, are also used.

Wheat, rather seldom used, makes it possible to make couscous and flat cakes called "taguella." The Tuareg also make taguella with millet flour, but these are truly awful.

262 /107/ It is well to note the scruples of the Tuareg so far as Islamic food taboos are concerned.

They continue, in fact, to eat their traditional food, and it happens that their custom fits in with Moslem regulations.

To amuse themselves, children eat "tilout" and those large lizards called "dobs," which they grill on glowing embers. They open the stomach and eat little pinches of the flesh cooked in the skin, somewhat as one would eat a soft-boiled egg.

Chicken eggs are not much liked; children accept them, but they prefer dob eggs.

The daman, called akaokao, a wild little rodent of the granite hills, is eaten only by the Negroes.

European food has not penetrated the tent, so to speak; only pates are liked, but the Tuareg do not yet go so far as to

262 /107 cont./ buy them. Rice is considered to be a remedy. In the way of preserved foods, one may see the Tuareg eat sardines in oil and jam and use canned milk. All of these foods are not accepted with enthusiasm; they are too expensive, [181] and the Tuareg seem to be truly conservative in food matters, as well as in the whole of their customs.

They drink water, milk, and tea, the latter being of 272 relatively recent importation but in the way of becoming a necessity. There is no need to mention again the ritual that surrounds the making and drinking of tea.

Coffee is scarcely drunk except with the French; when it [273] is taken in the tent, it is as a remedy. Need I say that the Tuareg drink no alcohol and that at the present time there is no exception ot this rule?

## Public Health

It appears to be practically impossible to construct a 161 demographic table for the Ahaggar: figures for the years /108/ before 1947 are rare and suspect; they give an acceptable approximation but do not give an exact picture of population movements.

In this field one must then use figures from recent censuses and observations of the tribes that may be easily visited in trying prudently to project these observations to the whole of the population.

In 1948 the count was:

| | |
|---|---|
| | 6, 048 nomads |
| | 4, 240 harratin |
| | 10, 288 |

| | |
|---|---|
| 1949 | 6, 013 nomads |
| | 4, 285 harratin |
| | 10, 298 |

The population figure for the Ahaggar seems to be fairly stationary (even if one does not rely exclusively on the figures

161 /108 cont./ cited above). The birth rate is not very high, but it is greater than the low death rate. Infant mortality is practically impossible to verify.

In 1948 there were 1, 028 men counted for 1, 202 women,
162 which would seem tosupport the widespread opinion that relative to other peoples there are more men than women among the Tuareg. One must be careful, however, not to make this type of affirmation without having previously examined all the causes that may produce such a state of affairs. It is al-
162 most certain that the Tuareg control their birth rate. The
847 chief of the tribe may forbid births or may recommend them according to the number of members of the tribe. This measure seems wise in a country which can scarcely support the existing population. The situation is such as it would be if the Tuareg had found, empirically, the ideal number of individuals able to be supported by their soil and were wise enough to try to maintain this number.

The men interrogated on this subject avoided the question, saying that this concerns their women and that they do not know the methods employed. The women are equally reticent, not to say mute.

/109/ Some of them claim to abort by drinking decoctions of plants. The French doctors know the qualities of these plants and think that this medication would be insufficient to produce the desired effect. By being patient, I was able to learn a method which, although dangerous, should be effective; I got this information from only one woman and have never been able to confirm it, as it is difficult to touch on these subjects directly. The women supposedly use a probe that they make from a "stone" called "azarif" ("cheb" in Arabic), which is of alum; they make this the size of a slate pencil.
162 This probe dissolves after having produced a mechanical effect.
165 It is likely that many women fall victim to these maneuvers,
847 for in questioning the Tuareg one discovers a rather high female mortality rate at a relatively young age. Perhaps we may see

162 /109 cont./ here the cause of the greater proportion of men
165 to women.
847 The most widespread disease in the Ahaggar is undoubtedly malaria, most often contracted in Sudanese territory and
164 spread in the Ahaggar, where anopheles are numerous in the agricultural centers and at all the permanent or temporary water points. Professor Rémy of the faculty at Nancy has found them in the Tarahouaout tiggert /outflow of water/, at the In-Ezzebib guelta /pool/; the doctor, Captain Galan, has collected them in the Afilal guelta at an altitude of nearly 2, 000 meters.

Pneumonia and its pulmonary complications wreak the most havoc among the Tuareg; this is due to the winter cold, which is ill borne in too thin clothes.

[131] In 1949 an epidemic of measles took on the aspect of a catastrophe through its pulmonary consequences.

Venereal diseases are very common among the harratin, rarer among the Tuareg.

A distressing disease of the agricultural centers is trachoma, aggravated by every type of conjunctivitis transmitted by the flies that swarm and cluster around the /110/ eyes of children. The Tuareg seem immune to diseases of the eyes; they rarely have trachoma.

Smallpox, once so common and so feared, has practically disappeared, thanks to systematic vaccination. It was an unusual event to see two Tuareg return from the Sudan in April, 1951 covered with smallpox eruptions.

Tuberculosis does not seem to have appeared; skin tests made at the Tamanrasset school are negative for children born in the Ahaggar. There seems to be no manifestation of cancer.

Although the Tuareg are abundantly provided with lice, above all in the winter, as are the harratin, a case of typhus has never been known. Typhoid is unknown, as are diphtheria, tetanus, and poliomyelitis.

164 /110 cont. / The country then is sufficiently free of serious
114 diseases; one scourge, however, must be noted: malnutrition, described and well studied by the doctor, Captain Galan, in a publication of the Pasteur Institute of Algeria: Contribution à l'étude du problème alimentaire au Hoggar /Contribution to the Study of the Nutrition Problem in the Ahaggar/.

757 The Tuareg and the Negroes are beginning to like
278 European medication and are coming more frequently to the infirmary; they value above all aspirin, quinine (which is becoming a generic term for all pills), and penicillin. They remain faithful to their pharmacopoeia, chiefly based on plants, of which here are several examples:

Pulmonary diseases: strong pimento and rellachem /see Appendix, Flora/ are specifics; for pleurisy, one must melt camel fat with the ta'noust (fruit of the acacia), eat it as hot as possible, and constrict one's chest with a rope.

For the stomach, butter mixed with tahist.

In cases of diarrhea, takamezout is the sovereign remedy, taken in tea or eaten in leaf form. This takamezout has a great reputation among the Tuareg: it comprises, they say, 40 remedies, but will not heal broken legs.

Constipation is vanquished by adjardjar and taharadjelle. Headaches have no remedy, yet tea is /111/ to be taken in preference to anything else. The liver is treated with ihemhad taken in milk. The victim of ganglions at the groin or under the armpit may easily make them disappear by rubbing them lightly with saliva very early in the morning; another method, more efficient, consists of heating goat dung and placing it on the nails of the affected member.

[752] For an open wound, make a plaster with milk and powdered tassa.

Rheumatism is easily treated; a sort of well is dug, one meter in diameter and 1.50 meters deep, the patient gets in it, a cover is put on the well, and the patient is given an infusion of otaq to make him sleep. A spring called In-Ahadja exists which is supposed to be equally as good in treating rheumatism.

757 /111 cont./ Jackal meat, eaten with decoctions of
278 rellachem for three days, is the best remedy for gonorrhea; cloves will aid in the healing.

Jackal meat is also used to cure syphilis, but in addition in the morning one must drink milk in which colocynth has been soaked; while this milk is being drunk, skewers of fat to be eaten afterward are cooked; clear soup is drunk during the entire day. After three days small, white granulations are seen in the stools, indicating the success of the treatment.

Smallpox formerly was treated in a sufficiently efficacious manner by digging a hole in the sand and heating it as if to make méchoui /roasted sheep/, although not so hot; the patient then lay in the hole and was covered with sand. After that there was nothing to do but wait.

The treatment for measles requires the patient to be kept warm, while eating hare, gazelle, or wild sheep meat.

Toothaches cannot last when treated as follows: fill the mouth with onion seeds, ouzouaz, wheat, and salt; keep these medicaments in the closed mouth for half an hour. When adolescents break out in pimples, which disfigure them, it is essential that /112/ onion seeds be burned and the smoke inhaled, which, it is said, makes all the worms leave immediately. Around a boil, apply a paste made of milk and powdered tanzet (a kind of Sudanese bean).

## Magic Rites

789 This is a very difficult subject to treat, for the secrets
754 are jealously guarded by those who possess them and want to profit from them, or are carefully hidden by those who know them in a disinterested fashion but who lack confidence in their questioner or fear reprisals.

The Ahaggar, situated at the frontiers of Islam and the black world, is without doubt impregnated with magic customs; the superficial Islamism of the population, which retains an

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754 /112 cont. / underlying belief in genii, often not avowed but present, lends itself admirably to secret magic rites.

754 However, it seems that the Tuareg, although very superstitious, do not use maleficent spells, a specialty of the women of the Tidikelt, the Ajjers, and the Sudan. The most famous of the evil spells is the "borbor," chiefly the work of the Negresses.

The borbor acts in two ways: either it tends to poison an individual that one wants out of the way, or it serves simply to diminish the forces of someone one wants revenge against or that one wants to attract (in the last case, it acts something like a love potion). In any case the borbor produces its effects only over a long period of time; it is personal and is prepared for a specific purpose; to be effective, it must be administered cunningly.

It appears to be impossible to obtain an exact recipe for borbor. Here are the chief ingredients that enter into its composition; the proportioning is determined by a specialist.

The basic ingredient seems to be the brain of someone recently dead; it must be sought at night in a cemetery. The story is told of a woman who, having wanted to steal the brain of a recently deceased marabout, was found dead, struck down /113/ by the power of the defunct, and clutching in her clenched hand scraps of her theft.

Once obtained, the excipient is kept in a vase so that the elements effective for a given individual may be added. The list of these is long; let us mention all the external secretions of the intended victim: sweat, preferably from under the armpit; tears; earwax; urine; blood (preferably menstrual); semen. Also collected are hair, nail clippings, dirt from the arms and nails, soil walked on with the bare feet. All or part of these ingredients are added to the excipient, mixed, then cooked. This diabolic cooking is done at night by two initiated women, entirely nude. After a certain time, the pot rises in the air and revolves in the closed room; the

754 /113 cont./ women chase it, beating the air with scarves and reciting secret words. They act as if they were madwomen.

The borbor is incorporated into couscous, which, it is said, may be turned with a hand taken from a dead person, but I have had few confirmations of that practice. The borbor is administered by throwing it in the path the victim should take, if it is impossible to make him eat it.

Whether intended as philter or poison, borbor differs very little in its composition; only the quantities must differ.

When a woman wishes the death of a rival, she has another process at her disposition. Having managed to obtain some menstrual blood of the enemy, she goes to a taleb /public scribe/ who specializes in magic; the latter wraps the blood in a paper or rag on which he writes sacred words; he then throws the package into a permanent séguia /irrigation canal/. As long as the seguia flows, the blood of the rival will flow, and she will die of this hemorrhage.

There is an antidote for borbor called "bottal," a blackish substance that one throws on embers and whose emanations counteract the effects of borbor.

824 754 Two plants must be mentioned here which, without being fatal, cause momentary insanity, according to the Tuareg: first, "afeleleh" ("bettina" in Arabic), black henbane, (the antidote consists of gulping down camel meat or, better, /114/ camel fat); second, "bourzig," taken by women who want to gain weight, but which taken in strong doses induces temporary madness during which the victim spouts out an endless succession of words which she does not remember later.

754 Magic operations are most varied, and everyone can expect each day to be the victim of them. The Negroes are haunted by this fear; the Tuareg do not seem to be worried [751] by these magic maneuvers. However, everyone wears "tera," protective charms issued by the taleb; thus the Moslem religion, more or less deformed, fights against magic or, sometimes, collaborates with it.

754 /114 cont./ Belief in the evil eye is shared by the Negroes and the Tuareg: certain persons may by their words cause the worst calamities, induce illness, provoke accidents, make animals die. Happily, there are other persons who have the opposite power and who, by approaching a sleeper and placing a hand near his face, give him strength and luck for the day.

[777 831] In general women are carriers of bad luck in the morning; however, if an intimate lets her sex be glimpsed before a morning departure, luck will smile on the hunter.

Of one who has the evil eye, it is said in Tamashek; "illé tahot."

[777] 776 Who gives that good or bad luck carried by an individual and which may sometimes emanate from him? The reply to this question is: God, for, after all, these people are Moslems; but each one is persuaded that the genii, the Kel es Souf, as the Tuareg say, are agents of this suprahuman life. The Kel es Souf constitute a people of spirits invisible during the day, but who may appear to humans at night in the most varied forms. At nightfall comes the most favorable moment for the exploits of the Kel es Souf. All manifestations of natural forces are attributed to these genii: whirlwinds, echoes, floods of the wadi, cave-ins, a spontaneous fire in the dry grass. On the contrary, the mirage ("eillel") is not the work of the Kel es Souf.

/115/ He who hears or sees one of these genii is always troubled; he may become ill and even insane, for, if there are indifferent Kel es Souf (very few, however), there are no good ones. It is because of this that one must know how to protect oneself against them; this is ordinarily done by invoking God, by carrying talismans, and by always having an iron object with oneself.

The Kel es Souf like certain places and reside there in preference to others: deep ravines, in which they shower atones on the unfortunate humans who venture there, and caves, in

776 /115 cont./ the depths of which are seen their strange lights. The In-Tafeute guelta is peopled with genii; the Amadror saltworks abound with Kel es Souf, who make an infernal racket at night, breaking the salt, hewing blocks, robbing all sleep from the people who have come to work and who the next morning see no sign of this nocturnal activity. Certain high places, of which the most famous is Garet el Djenoun, are also favorite haunts of all this invisible world.

It is said that in former times some particularly powerful men were on friendly terms with the Kel es Souf, who had a language of their own. Two ways used by the genii to count up to ten are still told:

| First way: | Second way: |
|---|---|
| 1 -- Djoukhien | Dienana |
| 2 -- Djouressin | Dessinena |
| 3 -- Djettar | Makarkada |
| 4 -- Djettouri | Matezoua |
| 5 -- Alendiez | Souraten |
| 6 -- Indiez | Souratalni |
| 7 -- Hamalou | Tiguemelguemal |
| 8 -- Fellali | Teguedtassa |
| 9 -- Terra | Nougomelli |
| 10 -- Feck | Nourobelli |

The misadventures of humans with the Kel es Souf are extremely numerous. Any Targui who has a little confidence in you /116/ will tell you of his and, excited by the subject, will relate those of others. There are classic tales, such as that of Titi.

773 Titi was a shrewd Targui who one night arrived at a wadi wooded with tabrakat. Dismounting from his camel at the place he intended to pass the night, he saw a woman. He greeted her and began to unsaddle his mount. As he unloaded a sack, the woman took it from him and placed it on the ground. He went to look for wood, and she went with him to help; he lighted his fire, she stirred the coals, this solicitude

773/116 cont./ and this imitation of his gestures disturbed Titi, who guessed that this woman with the abundant hair was a Kel es Souf. He prepared his millet flat cake, and the woman repeated each of his movements. At that point Titi, seizing a firebrand, quickly ran the nonburning end through his hair; the woman imitated him but used the wrong end; her hair caught fire, she fled screaming, rolled on the ground, and rubbed against the trees, which caught fire. And ever since this adventure of long ago, one can see the remains of the tabrakat burned by the Kel es Souf in the Ouriren wadi.

Another Targui, when night was falling, spied the fire of a camp in a ravine toward which he directed himself. Hardly had he descended from his camel, when he was invited to eat. As he was very hungry, he shortened the customary salutations. Having sat down on a magnificent rug, he observed that the people were dressed as Tuareg, to be sure, but he could not determine their caste nor find any resemblance to anyone he knew. All of this seemed strange to him, but the strangest was to see the asink served in a golden terahout. He understood at once that this was a camp of the Kel es Souf. He seized the dish, bounded to his camel, which fortunately had not been unsaddled, and fled into the night. When he felt he had gone far enough, he wanted to look at the fabulous dish. Alas! It had disappeared, which proved to him that he had been the victim of the Kel es Souf.

787 Instances of clairvoyance are common with the Tuareg; this is chiefly the province of the women. It is related that during the raids of yesteryear certain Tuareg women knew /117/ the outcome of a combat which took place more than 400 kilometers away; a wife would see her husband wounded, a sister learned of the death of her brother, and the news would be verified upon the return of the warriors. This distant clairvoyance is still practiced today. Here are the two ways of going about it. At nightfall the woman endowed with this power washes herself meticulously and puts on her finest clothes.

787 /117 cont./ She goes to a "debni," a pre-Islamic tomb, lies down on the stones, and says the following words: "Imeguedda enkerguedda," the meaning of which is not known. Putting her ear to the stones, she may hear the news, certainly transmitted by the Kel es Souf. The debni speaks briefly, three times only, and it is not permitted to ask it questions.

The other process requires the sacrifice of a goat. The grass in its stomach is taken out and is made into one or several balls. When night falls the woman goes to a flat place away from all human presence; she throws the balls as far as possible, then lies on the ground and puts her ear against it. If the Kel es Souf are favorably disposed, the news arrives as briefly, but as precisely, as in the preceding method. This process is called "tizomitin." Methods exist to question Fate. They are called "idjehan" and consist of making dots on the sand whose exact number one does not know. The technique differs according to the manner of making the dots. It is something like the card game of patience, for the responses are either "yes" or "no." Some Tuareg know another method to obtain more varied answers, but the apprenticeship for this is long.

There are other superstitions, such as that which calls for
241 putting old cooking pots, or else the jaw of an ass, on view in a wheat field in order to have a good harvest. Let us also
[262] mention the Negresses' custom of eating cat's thighs in the month of March in order to gain weight.

All of these beliefs should be collected, but that would require long, patient work, which could not be carried out except in a climate of confidence.

/118/ One may say that the Ahaggar still lives in a world
771 of magic despite the presence of Islam. This fear of spirits, which seems childish to an Occidental, is very real. "Imagination," Fraser says, "knows how to act on man with as much effect as does gravity, and may kill him with the same certitude as would a dose of prussic acid." The

771 /118 cont./ inexplicable repugnance shown by the Tuareg for certain foods or for certain behavior is nothing other than a manifestation of taboos designed to protect them against the spiritual forces loosed by the persons or things in their surroundings.

Perhaps it would be fruitful to study the customs of the Tuareg world in the light of the philosophy of the forces whose principles are set forth by the Reverend Father Tempels in his Philosophie bantoue /Bantu Philosophy/.

/119/ V

## Life of the Individual

128 In closing this survey of the Ahaggar it is well to look briefly at the activities engaged in by the Targui from the day of his birth to that of his death. In following the natural course of a life, we may understand better than from more detailed studies of a particular phase the essence of the life of an individual within a tribe, insofar as it is possible to separate what is individual from what is tribal.

844 The young Targui makes his entry into the world in the tent, upon a rug of clean sand from the nearest wadi, sand which is, as we know, practically sterile, the heat destroying all microbes. Before giving birth, the young mother has followed the advice of her aunt or mother; she has walked up and down small hills ever since the first pains in order to "allow the infant to get well placed." As the pains increase, the young woman, now back in the tent, kneels on the sand, buttocks resting on the heels, and knees spread very wide apart; with raised arms she grasps two ropes which hang from the tent stakes. Two women hold her by the waist, encourage her,

844 /119 cont./ advise her. The waters are rapidly absorbed by the sand, which is replaced; then, naturally, without any help from the matrons, the infant emerges to lie on a bed of clean sand, his first cradle. During the delivery, it is good form for the woman to hide her suffering.

[184] /120/ In the noble tribes, with the Kel Rela in particular, the woman who begins to feel birth pains leaves the camp and goes into a sufficiently sheltered ravine, where the sand is very clean. She makes the delivery alone, taking the position noted above, then returns to the camp, holding her baby in her arms. She does not show the least trace of joy at the compliments of the other women. I spoke of this custom of the nobles to a vassal woman, who said to me: "It is true that the nobles do this, but it just swagger." The word she used might better be translated "affectation."

The baby, after being washed, is wrapped in a cotton cloth, preferably an old chèche /a long scarf/, and then laid on a rug near its mother.

846 853 For three days the baby will be given goat's milk with a small spoon, and only at the end of this time will the young mother nurse it. If the mother does not have enough milk, the infant is brought up on goat's milk, unless a woman of the camp can nurse the baby.

846 The new mother rests for seven days and receives no man, except for her near relatives, but nearly all the women get up from bed from the second day on. In the noble tribes most under the influence of Islam, the women observe a retreat of 40 days.

846 751 The newly delivered woman affords a particularly defenseless prey for the Kel es Souf. In order to protect herself and her infant against the attempts of the genii, she burns taharadjellé in the tent and goes outside the asaber /that is, outside the mats which line the tent and encircle the space before the tent/ only when armed with a knife, which, it seems, is very effective against evis spells. On the subject of superstition, it

846 /120 cont. / is said that a woman will never again bear children
751 if, during a delivery, she turns the foetal pouch inside out. Another cause of sterility is being hit by the tail of a uran.

845 Deliveries generally take place very well, but there are accidents, the percentage of which is not known; either the infant dies or puerperal fever is contracted. The Tuareg are completely powerless against such accidents resulting from childbirth.

852 /121/ On the seventh day of his life, the infant receives
553 his name, the occasion for a celebration to which all the close relatives are invited. A great meal is served, followed by tendi and ilougan. It is an honor to be the godfather and to give the infant its name; this honor is paid for in gifts (alouf). When several persons are candidates for the position of being the godfather, the winner is chosen by drawing straws.

854 As do all the mothers of the world, the Tuareg woman coddles her baby, covers it with caresses, is touched to hear it cry, and sings it to sleep: "O hare, bring slumber, my baby won't sleep." As soon as he can walk, the infant gets to know the camp; he wanders around the tents, plays with the black servants near the fire, learns to talk, and remains very attached to his mother, who, day after day, teaches him the customs. The daily observation of the customs makes the child very obedient and very respectful.

857 At about the age of five, the young imrad Targui beings
868 to follow his brothers or sisters as they tend the goats. The young nobles follow their Negro shepherd. The child thus learns to know his country, the paths, the plants, the animals, and their habits. An old servant will point to a track on the sand and say: "Here's your father's camel, and this track is that of the female camel that just gave birth."

During his comings and goings across the pastures, the desert life engraves itself on his memory. He notes the track of the gazelle on the sand and that of the cheetah in pursuit. "Look," says the old slave, "in spite of the slyness of the

857 868 /121 cont./ cheetah, which was working forward at a crawl, the gazelle sensed its presence and leaped away. Here is where the cheetah pounced, see how deep the prints are; he leaped five times but could not catch the gazelle, which was a large male." The young Targui raises his head and shows his joy in learning that the gazelle was saved, for after his lightninglike leaps the cheetah could not outrun the gazelle. "But you," says the slave, "when you have a rifle, you will approach the gazelle as the cheetah did, against the wind, and you will not miss him.

"These pretty patterns on the dune are the work of the khanfous. /122/ This morning he went back in his hole under that rock. Be careful in lifting the stone, for the khanfous often is the slave of the scorpion; it is even said that he is the scorpion's father. Be careful when you see that track there, it was made by the viper; let's follow it.... Here's where it ends in that cluster of chabrok. Get a rock," the old servant says, "I'm going to set the brush on fire." The chabrok crackles as it blazes, and soon the hiss of the reptile is heard as it leaves its hole, numbed. The child strikes; this is his first hunt.

In this way the desert reveals its secrets each day. That green line ending in a red point there on the rock is "matarter," the poisonous lizard. He nods his head up and down, as if he were saying a prayer to the sun. He must not be touched, for his bite is like lightning. The large dob, covered with scales, whose enormous tail is armed with spikes, will be a toy for the child who catches it, provided he is not bitten, for the dob never lets go, and the finger would have to be amputated. If by luck the young Targui has captured a female, he can eat her eggs, a treat for the children. "The stomach of the dob was full of water," he remarks to his slave. "That [825] is because it's Friday, and the dob only drinks on Friday," says the latter. "Even if there is no water about, even if it doesn't rain, each Friday God sends the dob his ration. When

857 /122 cont. / you want to keep a dob to play with the next day,
868 tie him with a cord, but never put him in a sack that has held dates or sugar, for he would die."

857 Living in constant contact with nature, the young Targui
868 comes to know its secrets; each of his observations teaches
825 him; he is curious about everything that lives and moves about him. His slave, who follows him, protects him, and loves him as a father, explains everything he sees with the words and images of a simple soul, embellishing the old themes of the country. "The black and white bird following us, flying from rock to bush, is 'moula-moula.' You must not kill him, because he brings good luck to those he escorts; besides, he is a messenger -- each time he comes close to you and cheeps, he wants /123/ to tell you a friend is coming, or warn you about losing something, or alert you against a viper crawling toward you. 'Moula-moula' knows all, and he tells it to men, but you must understand his language; there are many in the Ahaggar who understand his messages. You must learn to speak 'moula-moula.'

"The other day you were afraid when you heard the huff of that big lizard you wanted to catch to play with as with a dob; it was a uran. It has a thin tail, but it is more dangerous than the big tail of the dob. When a uran lashes a man, the mark stays in his flesh forever, and it is not good for a Targui to capture a uran, for it is said that a uran was the uncle of the first mother of the Tuareg. That is why it gets mad when one of its own people makes fun of it. On the other hand, it is afraid of the Negroes and runs from us, because it knows that we eat it. Don't try to catch a uran; I once knew a Targui who wanted to go against the custom. It was a summer day in the middle of the Tanezrouft; he caught a uran, put a cord around its neck, and tied it to his camel. He got down and let go the bridle of his mount -- for what reason, I do not know -- and at that moment the uran lashed the camel with its tail, making it trot off at great speed. Still whipping, the

857 /123 cont. / uran made the camel run until it fell completely
868 exhausted and refused to budge. The man almost died of
825 thirst while following the tracks of his animal. When he found it the first thing he did, even before drinking, was to let the uran go."

855 Upon re-entering the tent at night, tired from running about during the day, his imagination full of his discoveries, the child settles down in front of the fire, whose flames execute a marvelous dance for him. His eyes close as Venus, "she who sold her father to have beauty," sinks on the horizon.
[264] This does not please the mother; the child must eat, and one eats late in the tent, for the slaves must milk the camels and goats before making supper. She awakens her son, draws him to her, covering him with a dokkali to protect him from the cool of the night, and then begins to tell tales of the past.

/124/ These stories, which make up Tuareg folklore,
539 tend to disappear. Many young people do not know them; one must ask the old Tuareg men, those who miss the days of the raids, or, preferably, the women, who in all ages have been the keepers of tradition.

Some of these stories are fables peopled by the animals of the Ahaggar or the Sudan; sometimes they express a moral, but that is rare. Others are amazing tales in which monsters and genii harass men; often a hero succeeds in vanquishing them. These stories are very long; they contain instruction in the customs, and I think they bear a message from distant ancestors. This message, sometimes stylized, truncated, or embellished by the oral transmission, deserves to be studied; in order to do this, as many as possible of these tales should be collected before they are forgotten.

Here is the story of the jackal and the dob, as it was told to me by one of my pupils, a Targui of noble stock.

539 /124 cont./ The jackal and the dob were hunting together when chance led them to fall upon a goat, who soon departed this life. The dob made the fire while the jackal carved up the animal. The liver and the heart, grilling on the goals, gave off an enticing odor, which made the jackal regret his promise to the dob to share the hunt. Being shrewd and crafty, he sought a way to do his companion out of his share of the spoils. "Would you," he said to the dob, "take this liver and heart to my old mother, who lives in the next ravine? The poor thing can't hunt any more. While you are gone, I'll be dividing the meat." So the dob went off, trotting across the sand and rocks, carrying as best he could the gifts of the attentive son.

As soon as his partner was out of sight, the jackal jumped over the ravine, scaled the hill, and waited for the dob at the appointed place. Pretending to be feeble, he received with many thanks the gifts brought by the lizard. The latter took the path back with his rocking gait. Upon arriving back at the site of /125/ the kill, he saw the jackal stretched out near a clump of afazzou, full and sleepy, but there was no sign of the meat he expected to see.

"Where is my share?" he asked.

The jackal hardly bothered to look at him; a harsh laugh made the poor dob understand that he had been tricked.

Angry at having been so rudely cheated and vexed by the manner of the jackal, the lizard tied the bones of the goat to the tail of the sleeper. When he had finished his work, he said:

"Wake up! a man is coming toward us."

"No matter," answered the jackal without even opening his eyes.

"Careful, my friend, two dogs are with him."

Without asking any further questions, the jackal jumped up and ran off as fast as he could go. At each bound the bones hit the ground, making him believe the dogs were about to grab him. He ran and ran and ran, and, during his frantic

539 /125 cont. / flight, the bones dropped off one by one. Only one was left when, exhausted, he turned around to face his enemy. He understood then how the dob had taken his revenge. Furious, he retraced his steps, determined to make the dob pay for his impudence.

But the dob had forseen the anger of the jackal and had hidden in a hole in a boulder, barely showing the end of his nose.

"How in the world did you make that hole to hide in? I would like to have such a safe place myself, " said the jackal sweetly.

"Very easy, " the dob assured him. "Go get plenty of dry wood, stack it against the boulder, and make a great fire. When the flames are high, butt your head very hard against the rock, and it will open up. We dobs always do it that way."

Driven by his anger, the jackal carefully followed the instructions of the dob. Knocked out by the butt he gave, he fell in the fire and was roasted.

Stories of this sort are numerous, always amusing and full of lessons, as much by the observation /126/ of the animals' characters as by the morals to be drawn.

Here is a story in which the jackal is tricked by the hedgehog. The latter enjoys a most flattering reputation for cleverness.

A hedgehog and a jackal one day found themselves before a dead camel, which offered an excellent feast for the pair. "Go look for some fire, " the jackal said to the hedgehog, hoping to play one of his tricks on him while he was gone. The hedgehog, rightly suspicious, replied: "Your legs are longer than mine, and you have an established reputation as a runner; you can find fire a lot faster than I can; you go, and I'll stay and guard our prize. "

539 /126 cont./ The jackal left at his little trot, which enables him to cover the longest distances without tiring. The hedgehog, having watched the departure of his partner, went back to the camel and cut it into small pieces, which he buried near a tahla /tree/. When he had hidden all of the animal, covered the holes with sand, and rubbed out the traces of his comings and goings, he stuck the camel's tail in a hole, leaving only a few tufts of hair visible. At that point he saw the jackal returning with a firebrand; he then seized the end of the tail and pretended to be trying to pull it from the ground.

"What are you doing in that ridiculous position?" the jackal asked. "Tell me what has happened to the camel, which I don't see any more."

All out of breath, the hedgehog replied: "The animal wasn't dead; it heard that we wanted to cook it, and scarcely had you gone when it dug a hole in the ground to hide itself. I'm not strong, and I couldn't keep it from digging in and burying itself, but I've got it by the tail and it can't get very far."

"Let me take your place; I won't have any trouble in pulling it out."

"Don't get excited," said the hedgehog. "We've got plenty of time."

Alas! The jackal did not listen to this counsel of moderation; /127/ he pulled violently and fell over backward, the camel's tail hanging sadly from his muzzle.

"Your haste has ruined us," the hedgehog said. "The camel has disappeared underground. At least we still have the tail, which we'll have to content ourselves with."

"You'll get nothing, stupid hedgehog," barked the jackal angrily.

He grabbed the tail and ran off with it to appease his hunger.

Let us now listen to a story, "einoukhast," as the Tuareg say, which is very well known and is often told:

/127 cont./

539 The Lion, the Hyena, and the Jackal

Game being rare, the lion invited the hyena and the jackal to hunt with him on a certain summer day.

The association proved to be fruitful; in a short while the ground was strewn with antelopes and gazelles. A lavish meal awaited the hunters. The lion, fair by nature, asked the hyena to divide the shares. The latter, with his powerful jaws, soon cut up the game into pieces, and made three obviously equal piles. "Very good," said the lion when the work was finished, "but what is the meaning of these piles?"

"This one," said the hyena, "is for you, that one for me, and the other one for the jackal."

Two powerful blows with his paws, knocking over the hyena, constituted the first reaction of the lion, who then explained: "That is no way to divide the shares; people are right to say that you are dense."

The lion calmed himself and said to the jackal: "See if you can settle this question."

The jackal restored the piles of meat, which had been scattered by the lion, and said: "This first pile is for you, the second pile is for your meal tonight, and the third pile is for your lunch tomorrow."

The lion was extremely pleased. "Who taught you to divide shares like that?"

"It was the cuff you gave to the hyena," said the jackal.

/128/ The oral tradition often passes on lifelike stories, stripped of all marvels but which are profitable lessons, such as the two anecdotes which follow:

539 /128 cont./

The Negress and the Three "Tahenchit" (1)

1. The Tuareg tahenchit designates the cynhyena -- Tycaon pictus. This is a ferocious animal which hunts in packs and will attack men and sometimes lions.

One day a Negress left her village to gather wood. She had finished gathering her fagots when she saw three ferocious and hungry tahenchit running in her direction. Dropping her wood and calling on God, the Negress scrambled up the nearest tree. Scratched by the thorns of this saving tamat, she regarded the three wild beasts which, with foaming muzzles, besieged the tree. The day passed, and night fell. The beasts seemed to be asleep, and the Negress was very sleepy herself, but each time she dozed off she nearly fell. What had to happen, happened; she went to sleep, then fell. In falling, she screamed, and then screamed louder still upon landing on the ground in the middle of the tahenchit.

"Take your shares," she cried, hiding her head in her arms.

But the tahenchit, frightened by her cries and the noise of the fall, fled toward the desert. The Negress did the same toward the village.

825 The tahenchit is feared by the Tuareg who go to the Sudan; the animal does not inhabit the Ahaggar at present. The Augières-Draper mission of 1927-1928 found one on the border of the Tanezrouft near Timissao. The ferocity of these animals is hard to believe. The Tuareg tell of one of

825 /128 cont./ their men who was surprised by a pack of cynhyenas and who took refuge in a tree, where he feared a long siege. Knowing the voracity of the tahenchit, he cut his finger and let the blood fall on one of the beasts. In a very short time, the pack fell on the one /129/ that received the drops of blood and tried to tear him to pieces. The attacked beast fled, pursued by all the pack. The Targui got out of this difficult situation thanks to his knowledge of the habits of the desert beasts.

539 Here is another story, which proves that it is well to be armed in all circumstances.

## The Two Brothers and the Lion

It is said that there were once two brothers, still living in their parents' tent, who were united by a rare affection for each other. Nearly old enough to marry, they often went to pay court to the girls of neighboring camps. They showed themselves to be true Tuareg from the tendi to the ahal /gatherings where young people of both sexes meet/.

One evening one of them went out alone, dressed in his best finery and armed with his spear. As the camp he was to visit was quite nearby, he left on foot.

After having walked for a good hour, he realized that the camp he was looking for had moved. At the camp site, a lion wandered about in search of food.

Upon seeing the man, the beast became frightened, then roared and leaped. The Targui, quick on the defense, hurled his spear and pierced the lion's front and back left paws. Despite being hobbled by the spear, the lion struck the man with his good paw, killed him, and tore him to shreds.

The next morning the other Targui began to worry when he saw that his brother had not returned. He carefully armed himself, taking his spear, his shield, and his takouba /sword/, and set out to follow the tracks.

539 /129 cont./ Upon arriving at the scene of the drama, he soon was able to reconstruct the event and to see its fatal outcome. As he was a brave man, he could not return to camp without avenging his brother.

He tested his takouba to make sure it left the scabbard easily, held his shield close to him, and steadied his spear. When he was ready, he cried "Arr arr rrinek" several times with all his might. (This cry, it seems, has the power to render the lion particularly furious.)

The lion soon appeared, his mane bristling, his eyes /130/ terrible. The man gave his cry again. The furious beast charged. At the first bound, the spear which still hobbled him broke. The Targui threw his spear but missed the bounding animal. Parrying the animal's terrible cuff with his shield, the Targui drew his sword and with one blow cut off the lion's head.

He returned to the tent with his trophy and with his brother's broken spear.

Even for going to the ahal, one must, in the desert, be very well armed!

In the vicinity of nearly all water points in the Ahaggar, [171] one may see engravings on the rocks. The Tuareg are very familiar with these reminders of another age; by tradition they attribute these works to two mythical characters whose names we cited in a previous chapter: Amamellen and Elias. Here is a legend concerning these two heros.

Long, long ago, long before the Tuareg came to the Ahaggar, other peoples lived on these lands. No one now is able to say who these people were. All that is known is that some among them were rich, for the land was fertile and the rains abundant. The chiefs were honored, as their tombs

539 /130 cont./ attest, and their power over the spirits was great, for they knew the language of the Kel es Souf. But all that is past, and it is not well to bring to light forgotten secrets.

At that time there lived a man called Amamellen, a noble in estate; he was rich, and he had numerous slaves to care for his flocks scattered throughout the Ahaggar. It is not known how he acquired his art, but he was extremely skilled in tracing on boulders the silhouettes of all the animals he saw around him in the desert. He also knew how to draw men. Most of the time he engraved on beautiful smooth stones, and sometimes he colored his drawings in various ways.

Amamellen had a nephew, the son of his sister, an intelligent boy, /131/ clever and courageous, who often accompanied him on his travels. By being with his uncle, Elias very soon learned to engrave and to paint.

Amamellen was satisfied and happy with the progress of his nephew.

As he grew up, Elias perfected his gifts and became even more skilled than his uncle. All the people spoke of him and praised his savoir-faire and his mastery in painting and engraving. It was also said that Elias possessed extraordinary strength. The following story was told of him. While he was practicing engraving on the rocks of the djebel /mountain/ Teferkit near the Tefedest, he saw that the kids left to wander by the slaves came to suckle their mother. Having called in vain for the goatherds to separate the animals, he became angry. With a blow of his saber he cut off the summit of the djebel Teferkit and put it down in the middle of the Adenak wadi. Having separated the goats from the kids, putting the former on one side of the summit, the latter on the other, he was able to continue his work undisturbed.

To this superhuman force, he joined such qualities of mind and heart as are seldom seen even in our time.

To hear his nephew constantly praised everywhere he went made Amamellen jealous, and this jealousy was multiplied each time he saw Elias' works.

539 /131 cont./ In those days people did not know how to control their feelings, and the time came when Amamellen wished for the death of Elias, being moved by envy and, doubtlessly, also by evil genii.

He could not openly kill his nephew, even by surprise, without being hated throughout the country, so he found a way to get rid of Elias without being suspected of the deed. Amamellen picked a slave, a strong but not very intelligent boy, who obeyed his master without trying to understand the reason for his orders. "You will go," he was told, "and lead my camel herd into that wadi we passed by some time ago, near that black mountain where I killed the antelope whose horns you saved."

/132/ "But that wadi is very far to the south, outside of the usual trails of our tribes."

"I know, but those are my orders. I also know that the wide plains are covered with excellent pastures."

"Very well, master, it shall be as you wish."

"You will not go alone; Elias will accompany you."

Lowering his voice, Amamellen told the Negro the rest of his project. He finished his instructions in a whisper, while the slave, astonished, his eyes wide, remained fixed to the spot. A rough blow brought him back to reality.

"Go," said his master, "and get everything ready by sunrise. I shall tell Elias."

The next morning a hundred camels left for the south. Elias and the slave rode in front, armed with takouba and spear. Two guerbas /waterskins/ hung from the flanks of their mounts.

When the caravan had left the last mountains of the Ahaggar and the habitual trails, the question of water began to be important. The Negro, well instructed by Amamellen, was confident of finding the well or the abankor /water hole/ before the guerbas were empty.

539 /132 cont./ Elias regretfully saw the mountains recede; he trusted the slave, who knew the way, and on his mehari he seemed to doze, as if crushed by the tedium of those immense, horizonless wastes.

One evening an isolated mountain in the reg appeared in the distance. "There is where we are going," said the slave. The next day toward noon Elias could see an immense pasture, such as his uncle had described. In the wadi's bed, immeasurably wide, a veritable sea of green stretched as far as the eye could see toward the south. Thousands of birds flew over as the camels passed.

"Let us stop here," said the Negro. "Here is where your uncle wants his animals to graze."

They established their camp at the foot of the mountain with the black rocks, which dominated the desert horizon and of which Amamellen had spoken.

/133/ It was still very early, and yet the heat became unbearable, like nothing known in the Ahaggar. Elias was thirsty, and he said to the slave: "Go look for water, for the guerbas are empty."

"Alas," said the Negro, "there is no water in this accursed country; we left the last well behind us seven days ago."

"Why didn't you fill all of the guerbas we have in reserve during our last stop at the well?"

"I didn't think of it, and you didn't tell me to."

"Go back, then, to that well and bring back water."

"How can I?" whimpered the slave. "Our animals are tired, and I could not get to the well, much less return. The beasts must eat for several days before being able to undertake this trip."

Elias realized that what the slave said was true, but he began to think that he was the victim of a trick. Instead of getting angry, he reflected and watched.

Two days passed from the time they had arrived at the pasture, two long days during which the sun of the great regs

539 /133 cont./ seemed to them to make the sand and the stones boil. The animals constantly grazed on the wet leaves which nourished them and at the same time made it possible for them to go several months without drinking. Elias was suffering from thirst, and he was astonished to see the slave carry on as usual, going from the camp to the pasture, returning under the torrid sun, in short, accomplishing all of his daily work, while he himself felt incapable of taking a few steps without falling.

Night fell; the Negro slept. Elias, who had stayed awake, took the slave's nalls /sandals/ and spread a thin layer of butter on the soles. Having returned the nalls to their place, he stretched out and pretended to sleep while continuing to watch the slave.

Well before daybreak the Negro put on his sandals, examined the sleeper a moment, then, reassured, left the camp silently. Then, jumping from rock to rock, he climbed the mountain and disappeared.

/134/ At the appearance of the first rays of the sun, Elias in his turn left for the mountain, following the prints left on the rocks by the greased nalls. There was no trace whatever of footprints on the sand, which is why Elias had not been able to follow the trail of the Negro during the first two days. This time it was different; the slave had stepped only on stones, so the trail was long and winding. Elias rested often, for he was weak with thirst, but he started off again as soon as he could, fearing to lose the small tracks which shone in the sun. After an hour of hard walking, he arrived at a hole between two boulders at the bottom of which glistened a mirror of water.

After slaking his thirst, Elias felt his strength returning rapidly and returned to the camp by the same path. He said nothing of his discovery to the Negro. Days passed. The slave was not even surprised that Elias could live without drinking. He followed his master's orders without trying to understand; he was sure he had not been followed in going to drink, and that was enough for him.

539 /134 cont. / Back in the Ahaggar, Amamellen was becoming impatient; a month had already gone by, and his slave had not yet returned. Perhaps his project had succeeded better than he had hoped; perhaps Elias was dead, and with him the compromising witness. That was what Amamellen thought, but he had to be sure. He outfitted himself and started off.

His surprise and anger were great when, upon arriving at the pasture, he saw Elias stretched out on his rug while waiting for the Negro to return from counting the herd. However, despite his disappointment, he contained himself.

"How did you find something to drink?" he asked his nephew.

"I haven't had anything to drink, " replied Elias. "The Negro can swear to it. "

The Negro, taken aside, did in fact confirm Elias' words.

"No matter, " resumed Amamellen, "the main thing is that the herd is in good shape, and I congratulate you on that. For the time being, I intend to stay here awhile with the slave. You, Elias, will take your camel and leave for the well that is seven days from here going toward the Ahaggar. At this well, I left 100 female camels, 100 horses, and 100 asses; you will see that they drink, and you will /135/ fill the 100 guerbas that I hid near the well, after having repaired them, for many of them are ripped. Then you will return to the Ahaggar where I will rejoin you. "

Elias took leave of his uncle, then left during the night. He preferred this nocturnal departure, as it allowed him to fill his guerba at the aguelman /same as guelta/ without being seen. He did not know his uncle's schemes, and he was happy to leave this place where he had almost died of thirst.

Remaining behind with his slave, Amamellen gloated over Elias' departure, for this time his nephew was sure to die despite all his cleverness. In point of fact, bandits were heading for the well in order to steal the herds, and these

539 /135 cont./ cruel raiders never left anyone alive to tell the tale of their dark deeds. Elias, who had to stay in the vicinity a long time to carry out the chores given him by his uncle, unquestionably would fall under the blows of the bandits and would perish as surely as if Amamellen himself had plunged a knife into his heart.

Elias urged his camel on, for the previous night he had seen a number of fires to the east. He knew he was not safe in these regions so far from the mountains of the Ahaggar. Such a large number of fires was suspicious. There was little doubt that it was a raiding party on the way to the Ahaggar, and it must inevitably pass near the well he was making for.

He took only three days to reach the well, having trotted every night. Without wasting any time, he assembled Amamellen's herd, drew water night and day to water them, repaired the torn guerbas, and then filled them all.

As he was getting ready to leave, an armed and menacing troop appeared and began to surround the herd with the evident intention of stealing it. Elias jumped from his camel and leaped astride the most spirited stud camel of the herd. Armed with his saber and protected by his shield, he flew at the biggest group. Striking to left and right as would some demon, he spread such terror among his assailants that they fled, swearing that they had run up against a Kel es Souf.

/136/ Without waiting any longer, Elias drove the herd before him and set out in the direction of the Ahaggar, whose steel-blue summits he perceived on the horizon.

Three days passed after he left the well, the country became wilder, the dull waste of the regs gave way to the first foothills of the Ahaggar, and the wadis wound through deep gorges. This sight overjoyed Elias, for it announced his homeland. He was attacked at a turn in a wadi by a large group of bandits. He drove his herd, the horses in the lead, into the boxed-in wadi. Shouting and bellowing, he stampeded his beasts, prodding the laggards with his spear.

539 /136 cont./ The animals galloped ahead in a compact mass, giving the impression of a torrential flood surging down a narrow gorge. Elias, still mounted on his horse, had no trouble in routing the assailants, who were trapped against the sheer walls of the gorge by the wave of frightened animals.

However, the bandits did not want to let such a good prize get away: so many animals, and guarded by a single man, be he a devil, had to be raided, and this devil had to be punished for his boldness. They had to act before Elias could reach the high mountains of the Ahaggar, until then an inviolate lair. They waited until the herd had entered the vast Tamanrasset basin. There the wadi spreads out, goes along the Adrar Haggarène with its vertiginous peaks, and runs against the Adriane, whose vertical walls prevent all passage.

Asses, horses, camels, all advanced in close ranks in the bed of the wadi, which was bordered by verdure, when Elias saw that the raiders had formed a large arc designed to drive him against the cliffs of the Adriane. Contrary to their usual practice, the bandits advanced in silence, closing their ranks little by little. The silence was nerve wracking, and Elias felt himself lost despite his courage and his cleverness. He was going to fall before the enemy numbers, so near his native mountains, whose peaks he named to himself without thinking. There was no question of repeating his exploit at the well; the raiders would not let themselves be impressed a second time.

Elias had an inspiration. He vaulted to the slope of fallen rock at /137/ the foot of the mountain and climbed to the top of it to the beginning of the sheer wall of the cliff. He watched the movement of the bandits an instant, then unsheathed his saber and struck the cliff such a powerful blow that the mountain was nicked. The immense block thus cut away fell into a neighboring wadi. Climbing down the rocks in all haste, Elias forced his herd to climb the slope and pass through the passage he had carved out. All of the animals disappeared

539 /137 cont./ under the eyes of the bandits, who regarded with stupefaction the man who, having hewn a piece out of the mountain, defied them from the vantage point of the breach.

Thus ends this story of Elias. Others concerning this hero must exist, but they are buried in men's memories.

One may still admire Elias' exploit: the breach in the [823] Adriane is a landmark of Tamanrasset, and the boulder that was hewn from the mountain rests eight kilometers from there in the In-Zaouen wadi, where it has remained planted, a reminder of the hero's valor.

852 Thus, observing nature, listening to the old stories, the 304 young Targui grows up and forms his opinion. At the age of six or seven years, he undergoes circumcision: "agadam." The relatives gather for a big meal on this occasion.

857 From the women, the young boy learns to sew cloth and 868 leather. He makes toys from old rags; these are usually camels in stylized forms, sometimes having real artistic value. Toy in hand, he races with his comrades to see whose camel is the swiftest. Girls and boys alike make dolls dressed in the Tuareg style; they play camp, paying visits, drinking tea, and striking camp. The young boys carve greatly stylized camels on flat stones or on goat jawbones cut in two.

A favorite amusement consists in mounting an ass and making it gallop, which is not accomplished without numerous falls in the beginning. However, it is the camel which haunts the child; his father has /138/ already let him ride for a circle around the camp, but the little boy wants to be master of his own mount, to guide it across the fallen rocks of the nearby mountain, then to break into a fast trot on the plateau bordering the wadi but not beyond, for he would be seen from the camp and would risk a severe scolding for having taken a camel to amuse himself. Nevertheless, his parents know how it is, for they did the same thing themselves when they were young, but the "canoun" must be applied.

857 /138 cont./ When, by chance, the camp is near a guelta, the child may frolic in the water, the favorite summer sport.

If two large camps are near each other, joint games very
857 soon are organized. Sometimes a kind of hockey is played
526 with a leather ball stuffed with goat's hair. The ball is hit with a cudgel taken from a tahla; sometimes, to the delight of the spectators, hand-to-hand fights break out, with the first of the two antagonists to fall to the ground being declared the loser. As the children get excited, veritable battles take place between the two camps; it is war. Sticks and stones enter the game; trickery and force are used. The battle stops at night or when the first child is hurt, but custom requires that nothing be said to the parents, above all nothing of the origin of an injury; the child who did that would lose his honor, and parents are so slow to understand!

857 The little girl prepares for her task as mistress of the house at the side of her mother. She sews in collaboration with the
868 women, who never work individually. She is taught how to cut fine leather thongs and how to plait them; while she works she is taught the traditions of which she must be the fierce guardian later on, as she often will have to recall them to the men, who, always on the move, have a tendency, through lack of use, to forget the true Tuareg "canouns."

During their play, the children learn tifinagh writing
868 from the older ones; they trace words in the sand, then phrases. But it is in the evening before bed that their mother will give more precise lessons in spelling the words they have acquired. Thus, gradually, /139/ the child learns to read and write his language; he will never have great facility in it, but that is due to the difficulty of the method of writing.

Every Targui knows the mnemonic aid for remembering
868 the letters of the tifinagh alphabet; it is the following phrase:
211 "Fatimata oult Oghanis, tagueltenit mraou issen edssedis; tedjehenet ouart thouadis," which may be translated: "Fatimata, daughter of Oghanis, whose bride price (to be paid) is 16

868 /139 cont./ horses; no one may touch her ribs." As a matter
[211] of fact, many of the letters are not found in this phrase, but it is a good enough reminder.

Among the imrads the young boy, from the age of ten, accompanies his father to the Sudan or to the Amadror saltworks. In this way, little by little, he acquires knowledge of the trail. The noble remains at camp longer; by listening to the discussions of his elders he becomes acquainted with the art of command.

884 Gradually, the young Targui begins to wear the veil, at first using an old chèche /scarf/, which he tries to arrange in the proper fashion. At the age of fifteen he will put on the taguelmoust /blue veil/ for good during a celebration; he
[431] will take part in an ilougan /tournament/ mounted on his own camel, the gift of his godfather, or on a borrowed animal.

On this occasion he receives gifts, a takouba /sword/, a taguelmoust, or a takamist /a kind of gandurah worn on festive occasions/. He is now a young man. The girl officially takes
[881] her alechou /shawl/ at the time of puberty; she also receives gifts: the alechou, clothes. She is made much of. Now she is considered to be a woman. Until now she did not speak before the men, maintaining a shy attitude; now there is an end to that, everyone obliges her to talk and to conduct herself as a lady of the house.

Boys and girls who have assumed the taguelmoust and the alechou may thenceforth attend meetings of the adults, but they do not speak except when asked a question.

The occupations of the young people are practically the same as those of the adults. The girls help with cleaning the tent, mend clothes, and make leather bags; among the imrads, they milk the cows.

/140/ The young man begins to travel alone and tends the camels. If he still amuses himself by fighting with his friends, he no longer fences with the takouba, a practice in former times.

861 /140 cont./ The child has never been able to have his way in his parents' camp; he has always had to bow to the canouns; if, by chance, he was disobedient, his parents did not hesitate to use corporal punishment -- a few slaps, nothing more; for a more serious fault or for the repetition of an offense, he would find himself tied up like a young goat and condemned to stay in the tent. However, punishments are the exception; a word, a look, suffices. It is not at all good, the Tuareg say, to beat children too much. This training gives the young Targui a proud character, an acute sense of
181 his dignity, and a sometimes disquieting reserve. Absolute obedience to custom makes it necessary to lead a moral life which is perhaps more rigid than a religion could make it. To know a Targui and to predict his behavior is very difficult for a Frenchman, who must sort out what is individual from what comes from the constraint exercised by Tuareg society and then must take into account the coloring that Islam gives to the whole.

836 Soon the time comes when the young Targui may go to the tendi and ahals. It is necessary to say here a few words on sexual problems.

Certain stories have greatly exaggerated the freedom of morals among the Tuareg. The training of the boys, which keeps them very often out of the company of adults, and that of the girls, which ties them to their mother and obliges them to be modest, does not predispose to license.

836 There is no sexual education properly speaking; for a very long time the young girl is ignorant of everything con-
864 cerning conception. Casually, thanks to an older girl companion, she learns the essentials of intimate relations between men and women. The young man is initiated much sooner, for he may easily leave the camp; enlightened by his comrades, he wastes no time in starting an affair with a Negress of the neighborhood. The sexual customs are transmitted in conversations /141/ among the young Tuareg and are observed

83 /141 cont./ as are the other customs; there is one very
864 interesting one, the respect for the Tuareg girl. Contrary to a commonly held opinion, the young girl about to be married is always a virgin (physically) among the nobles and nearly always one among the imrads.

839 In their first youth, the Tuareg behave as do all the children of the world; they practice solitary masturbation, girls and boys using procedures characteristic of the country.
786 The first amorous relations between Tuareg girls and boys take place after celebrations. It is well to describe these celebrations, for accounts of the famous "courts of love" have been much exaggerated.

We have seen that the Tuareg organize a tendi on the
[534] occasion of a family ceremony. The tendi takes its name from the instrument used, the large wooden mortar over which is stretched a skin which has been dampened previously. The women gather around the tendi, and one or two beat out traditional rhythms on the skin, which resonates dully. One of the women chants an endless series of couplets while her companions mark the measure by clapping hands and take up the refrain in chorus. The songs evoke past combats as well as recent events; they vaunt the merits of a camel or those of a person; some are improvised. Widows, divorced women, and young girls take part in the tendi, but married women, with the permission of their husbands, also go. A woman leaves the tendi if one of her parents approaches it.

The songs continue, accompanied by the tom-tom; the men then come to sit behind the singers, listen, and also sing. Each hugs his female companion next to him, but hardly passes the limits of a public flirtation. The tendi continues late into the night while the old people sleep in the tents.

In the daytime the tendi is the indispensable accompani-
526 ment of the ilougan, which may be defined as "a tournament on camel back."

526 /141 cont./ The young Tuareg dress very carefully, /142/ each showing great fastidiousness. The camel is decked out as richly as possible. Half of the riders line up about 50 meters from the tendi, and the other half at an equal distance on the other side of the tendi. The Tuareg ride from one line to the other in pairs; each Targui watches his bearing, holding himself straight but supple, makes his mount hold its head as high as possible and keeps it abreast of its neighbor, making it trot with the gait called senat-senat or kibarat.

Quitting this back-and-forth movement, a group of riders circles the tendi as close as possible to the women; one of the Tuareg seizes one of the singers' alechou and rides off furiously, whipping his mount. His friends chase him, trying to take the veil from him. The one who succeeds in recapturing it takes it back, as victor, to its owner. He is saluted with tarallélit (the you-you of the Moors). The ilougan lasts until nightfall.

[177] It must be noted that the tendi did not originate in the Ahaggar; it was imported from the Adrar des Iforas and from Tamesna.

584 A gathering native to the Ahaggar is the assihar. A great number of men and women gather around a famous woman imzad player. They listen to the violin, which begins the first measures of a familiar song, then a man or a woman begins to sing. Between songs conversations are held, and flirtations begin in the darkness, but within the strictest bounds of propriety.

When the assihar ends late at night, young men and women go off in small groups; this is the ahal. A woman escorted by two or three young men goes to sit by a bend in a wadi. Her companions speak to her aloud when the conversation is for all ears or very softly in the ear when there are confidences to make. One of them takes the young woman's hand and holds it in his; an old Targui said: "I once held the hand of the woman I desired for three straight nights, and for three days I did not eat."

584 /143/ There is a language of the hands which supplements the conversation of the ahal; here are several examples. Having taken the woman's hand with fingers interlocked, to place one's thumb against the end of her thumb means: "I desire you very much." To trace a circle in the palm of the hand, pressing the index finger in the center of the circle, is to ask for an intimate union. The woman thus solicited takes the hand of her suitor and traces a line with the back of her index finger going from the wrist toward the fingers, which means: "I refuse." But if having done this, she traces another one in the other direction, it means: "Leave with your friends and come back alone."

584 833 Once alone with his girl friend, the young Targui will continue to pay his court, sometimes platonic, often less so. Putting their faces together, nostril against nostril, they breathe together. This type of kiss is known for the mouth too but is little practiced. Manual caresses follow the kisses. The men often stop at this stage with virgins, for they know how to "recognize a virgin by her walk, her bearing, the firmness of her breasts, and the reflex of her Achilles tendon!" The Tuareg know other caresses which satisfy the senses but respect physical virginity.

838 It must be noted that homosexuality, male or female, is unknown among the Tuareg.

839 It is said that bestiality, although very rare, does exist; but supposedly it is practiced as a remedy for venereal diseases.

These sexual customs make it possible to understand the stability of the Tuareg, who, although Moslems, do not suffer from suppressed desires. Rape does not exist, and when a woman refuses a man, he never insists, nor will he show himself jealous of a more successful comrade. Let us add that they are absolutely discreet about their relations with women. It is in these manifestations of the intimate life that one sees the prestige enjoyed by the Tuareg woman.

584 /143 cont./ The day comes, rather late, toward the age of 25 generally, when the Targui thinks of getting married. He gets a member of his family to make the proposal. The messenger says to the /144/ father of the girl: "I would like a tent and an asaber." The father understands that his daughter is being asked in marriage by means of this metaphor. "Tidjera-ouet," he replies, to give his consent. Then begins the discussion of the bride price the suitor must give to the fiancée and of the amount of the gifts to the family. There is a scale of bride prices to be paid to the women, which vary according to the tribes they belong to.

To take a Kel Rela girl, seven female camels must be given to the young bride; a Dag Rali must receive three female camels; the other imrad get only one. The husband must furnish the tent. On the day of the marriage, a taleb /scribe/ or, in the absence of a taleb, the chief of the tribe records the husband's gifts, which are not necessarily made but which he recognizes as being owed.

585 Everything being in order, the marriage and the date of the ceremony are announced. An enormous meal, for which a camel and numerous goats have been slaughtered, is served to the guests. Tendi and ilougan continue without interruption.

At the spot where the young couple's tent will be put up, a large pile of sand is prepared. A woman of the bride's family sits on it, holding a club in her hands, then, lowering her head, rests her forehead on her joined hands. Two men take the half-rolled tent and throw it over the seated woman three times.

During the whole day, the bride-to-be stays in her parents' tent; the bridegroom talks to the old men of the camp and does not participate in the public merrymaking.

The tent of the future couple having been erected, the young man will spend a night in it alone, seated on the pile of sand, without sleeping; this tradition is particularly respected among the Kel Rela. The second night the girl will become

585 /144 cont./ his wife. Formerly there was a custom now lost: the pile of sand was kept in the tent for three nights, and the two spouses slept separated by the pile, custom saying: "The first night, this woman is your sister; the second, she is your mother; the third, she is your mother-in-law; the fourth, she becomes your wife." And the pile of sand was removed.

/145/ Before entering the nuptial tent, the husband must walk around it three times, and the young woman must do the same. She is led to her husband's tent by a group of women from her family. Along the path leading to the tent, the Tuareg women sing traditional refrains:

"Thanks to God, my daughter leaves me this night."
The mother-in-law greets her son-in-law, saying to him: "Offer beautiful things to my daughter so that the shadow that will protect her will be cast by silk. Of the ten camels of her bride price, one has a white head; have her mount the gentlest one, and all her family will gaze on her."

Upon approaching the young couple's tent, the train of women comes to the gathering of men who are talking to the husband. The women then sing: "Thanks to God, and thanks to him before he was even named." The girl's mother greets her son-in-law. "Men, let us pass, stand aside, or else we shall push you and you will fall down, for we possess the greatest force that can be imagined."

The men having withdrawn a little, the young woman gets ready to pass over the threshold of her tent; one of her relatives appears suddenly, takouba /sword/ in hand, and announces: "You will not go in that tent." The young woman must then give her nalls /sandals/ to the interrupter in order to finally acquire the right to be a wife.

Up until about midnight numerous friends stay to talk to the young married couple.

[591] The new husband must remain in his wife's camp a rather long time before he is able to move his tent at will or to take his wife to his parents' camp.

585 /145 cont./ Some tribes, in particular the Issakamaren, having adopted many Arab customs, observe the following custom on the day after the marriage: the husband who has not found his wife to be a virgin during the meal breaks the bone of a leg of meat, eats the marrow, blows through the inside, then sticks the two broken pieces in the couscous. In this way everyone knows the affront he has suffered. Later in life, when his wife becomes disagreeable, he will put his fist before his mouth and blow between the fingers, imitating his gesture of the first day. The woman, ashamed, will stop her recriminations. Following another custom less and less /146/ in use, the woman who has found her husband lacking in virility during the wedding night will crown him with her alechou /shawl/, thus showing to the world the impotence of her husband by considering him to be like a woman.

593 562 The woman holds a privileged position in Tuareg society. It is customary to say that the reason for this must lie in the matriarchal organization of the tribes.

Among the Tuareg today matriarchy survives only in a very attenuated form due to the presence of Islam. It must be noted that the woman is absolute mistress in the tent; she gives the orders to the children and the Negroes, and she organizes the daily life; but outside the tent the man commands; he decides on the camp moves, the departures of the caravans, the commercial transactions. The woman's opinion is always taken into consideration; she is guardian of the traditions, [611] and, if she does not possess what we may call civil rights, it is she who transmits them: a Targui will be a noble if his mother is a noble. The right of eligibility to the amenokalat /chiefship of the confederation of tribes/ is given by the women who are directly descended in the maternal line from the ancestor Kella. This transmission of rights by the women constitutes the originality of Tuareg society.

837 Powerful in her home, lived by her husband, respected, the young wife has every chance to be happy. It is rare that

837 /146 cont./ the husband deceives his wife, and if this happens it is far from her when, departed for the Sudan, he remains absent a long time. The Tuareg woman is faithful; those who take a lover are rare. If a husband knew his wife to be unfaithful, simply by hearsay, he could repudiate her, but in the case of flagrante delicto he could kill the guilty pair, or he [684] could bring the case to the attention of the amenokal, who would impose a fine. The deceived wife may leave her husband; in this case she returns to her family, taking her [586] belongings with her. Divorces are rather rare and very ill thought of.

761 Death is not regarded with terror, a whole framework of beliefs strongly colored with Islamism promise the Targui 775 future recompense in the other world. It /147/ seems that charity will be particularly rewarded and selfishness severely punished; the punishments described would be similar to the offense. Extensive investigations would be necessary to sift out all the beliefs concerning death; to distinguish between what is Moslem and what is properly Tuareg would prove to be very difficult.

764 When a death occurs in the tent, each member of the family maintains an attitude of what appears to be very great dignity to our Western eyes. Certainly, it happens that some people cry over the deceased, which is human, but custom would have the tears held back; a man, particularly, would know how to control himself sufficiently not to show his grief.

The body does not remain in the tent long; the women wash it if it is that of a woman; the men wash it in the other case. It is perfumed; its members are laid out in an attitude of rest; then it is wrapped in a shroud (tifit), which is sewed up. During these operations, the tomb has been dug following the Moslem custom. Only men escort the corpse to the grave. After having buried it in the tomb and covered it with earth, they put up stones to mark the place, and each man returns to his tent. There is neither song nor prayer.

764 /147 cont./ A meal is served to those present at the expense of the deceased according to the instructions he has given before his death. If his wishes were not carried out, the livestock earmarked for the occasion would perish.

763 It is said that he who dies in a position of rest, his arms relaxed, his face serene, was a good man and has every chance of being rewarded. On the other hand, he who expires all curled up and with his fists clenched against his face was a bad man; even if he hid his faults during his lifetime, he is doomed to future woes.

428 The rules of inheritance are poorly known by the Tuareg; only the old know the customs, for to a greater and greater degree the tolbas introduce Moslem law.

When a man dies, one eighth of his property goes to his wife, the rest to his children. If there are no children, a /148/ third is for his wife, with the rest going to his family, part to his parents, part to his brothers and sisters. When the wife dies first, all of her property goes to her children if she has any; if she has none, half goes to her family and the other half to her husband. The property of a deceased person without heirs, a rare condition, are administered by the tribe's amrar for the benefit of the collectivity.

By an oral will made before two witnesses, a man may leave no more than a third of his fortune to an heir not designated by custom.

000 This description of a Targui's life from infancy to death provides merely a glimpse of the customs of a part of the population of the Ahaggar, the part that commands, the part that seems most attractive to the traveler, to the tourist; but one must think of the humble ones, of the harratin cultivators of the agricultural centers, of the Tuareg's black servants, their former slaves. The collecting of their traditions, which are grafted on the framework of Tuareg customs, should be a work apart, for a serious study of the Blacks cannot be

000 /148 cont./ carried out in connection with one on the Tuareg. The atavistic fear of the Negroes before the imouhar renders them mute, and gaining their confidence is a long-range undertaking; to learn of their intimate life, their joys and sorrows, would require great patience.

Still, the original character of the Ahaggar lies in just this intimate fusion of two dissimilar ways of life: one will never really know this country without understanding both the Tuareg and the Negroes and realizing what the true feelings they have about each other are, beyond what we observe superficially each day.

NOTE. Forms of religions, according to Huxley, follow a psychological determinism according to which the superior monotheistic religions are supposedly discovered by "men of thought" and polytheistic religions by "men of action." It is reasonable to ask whether the Tuareg, who formerly were, above all, "men of action," did not, for that reason, conserve survivals from neolithic religious beliefs, /149/ and whether the French peace, suppressing their essential activity, did not give rise in them to a psychological current leading to meditation and favoring Islamization. For the presence of Arab marabout, chorfa, and tolba, however active they may be, is not sufficient to explain that religious current which tends to make Tuareg customs disappear.

Note on Tuareg Matriarchy

593
562 The Ahaggar, which constitutes a sort of ethnic preserve where a system that is still feudal reigns, presents a sociological curiosity: a survival of the matriarchal family. This matriarchy, undermined by the growing influence of Islam, is tending to disappear. It is well to deny certain false ideas which circulate about the Tuareg family: "The woman

593 /149 cont./ commands." "Tuareg hospitality is characterized
562 by promiscuity, a sort of traditional prostitution." The truth is entirely different. The origin of Tuareg matriarchy is certainly lost in neolithic customs; ignorance of the process of conception may have been the cause. This familial organization led to exogamy, which tends to disappear; incest is
[835] a crime more terrible than murder. Matriarchy is the guardian of the caste system: the duty of mutual assistance bestows on the warriors (nobles) part of the fruits of others' labor and
[548] gives them ownership of the land. Prostitution does not exist; monogamy is the rule; the woman is respected. "Maternal rights," as L.-G. Richard says, "consist rather of mutual obligations than of prerogatives or advantages." There is no female liberty, for the woman owes herself to her family; in fact, she exercises no rights whatsoever; she transmits them. A custom still practiced, characteristic of matriarchy, is the requirement for the young husband to live a certain time in his wife's camp.

177 Let us repeat that Islam little by little is destroying the
593 matriarchal customs, particularly insofar as succession is con-
622 cerned, for they are increasingly regulated by Moslem practices. Today, the chiefs even desire to leave their power to their sons.

/151/ VI

## Conclusion

000 The Ahaggar is, I believe, the most engaging part of the Sahara -- and I have conveyed neither the picturesqueness of the scenery, the attraction it has for travelers, nor the anguish it sometimes instills in certain souls, when from October to

000 /151 cont./ February an extraordinary luminosity seems to merge the mountains, which are bathed in the most astonishing colors at sunset.

I purposely have not raised the economic problems which are posed; they are outside the scope of this work. Still, it is permissible to ask what the future may hold for these Tuareg, people from another age strayed into the twentieth century. The young Tuareg are certainly happy, their elders regret nostalgically the good old days of the raids; but the French peace, if it has changed their ancestral mode of life, has brought them a security that they appreciate.

The needs of the nomads are modest and are adapted to the region, but contact with us will create new needs; the populations of the north and the south, more evolved, will not fail, in the long run, to disturb this enviable serenity. Should they be kept in their present state and be considered an ethnic preserve, or should we hasten their evolution toward a more modern state of civilization? It will be regrettable, certainly, to see those tall, blue silhouettes, bearing medieval takouba at their sides, disappear; but a time will come when, on pain of extinction, the Tuareg /152/ will have to adapt themselves to the western world. This day is still far ahead -- let us hope so -- but our role is to prepare the natives of the Ahaggar for it gradually by bringing to them the elements of a choice that will perhaps permit them to make an original culture for themselves. What direction will that transformation take? It is still too early to say. This evolution may be hastened by the influence of outside contributions; the discovery of mining beds, for example, would upset the equilibrium which exists between the sedentary and the nomadic populations.

The Ahaggar should still be studied from many points of view; research is increasingly the prerogative of specialists, and it has even become urgent in the human domain, for the people who know the old customs, the marvelous legends, and the traditional songs accompanied by the imzad soon will disappear.

177 /152 cont./ Large-scale tourism has adopted the Ahaggar; mountain climbers count the virgin peaks still to be scaled and are guided by young Tuareg who begin to speak French. We cannot do otherwise than congratulate ourselves on the material results obtained, but how many Saharans miss, in the bottom of their hearts, the days of the monthly mail, evoking a fairly recent period but one which already seems long past? It was the period that drew them to the Ahaggar, which now is being led, little by little, to the light of this century.

/153/ Appendices

I

Historical Account of the French Occupation

175

February 16, 1881. The Flatters mission is massacred by the Kel Rela and Tédjéhé Mellet Tuareg, aided by a few imrad.

1887. A Taïtok raiding party is taken by surprise at Hassi Hinifel. Thirty Tuareg are taken to Algiers as prisoners for four years. It is with the aid of these Tuareg that Hanoteau will work out the first Tamashek grammar. One of these prisoners becomes the friend of the explorer Crampel, who later was to be killed by his so-called friend.

1898. The Kel Rela and the Taïtok are at war. The latter, defeated by Moussa ag Amastane, flee to the region of the Oulimiden.

1899. Commandant Pein, accompanied by Flamand, carries out a mission to occupy the Tidikelt, thus cutting the Tuareg off from their trading markets of Aoulef and In-Salah.

175 /153 cont./ The Foureau-Lamy mission crosses the Ahaggar without being troubled at any time.

1900. The amenokal Attarel dies. The situation is confused. Two amenokal are named, Mohamed ad Ourzig and Attici. This double command brings on a state of anarchy which causes the Tuareg to turn to Moussa ag Amastane, a courageous, /154/ brillant man who speaks of a possible settlement with the French. The Taïtok, however, are the first to submit, chiefly because of their desire to act before Moussa, their personal enemy since the combats of 1898.

1902. After the pillage of a caravan by the Kel Ahaggar, Lieutenant Cottenest is sent to the Ahaggar to make an example of them. The account of this expedition, La Randonnée du lieutenant Cottenest /The Long March of Lieutenant Cottenest/, written by Commandant Cauvet, is required reading for an appreciation of the man to whom we owe the Ahaggar. After a circuit of Tuareg territory that attested to the qualities of the leader of the expedition, Cottenest gives battle at Tit, at the Tin-Essa gara. About 100 Tuareg are killed in making an assault with spears and sabers. The Dag Rali and the Adjouh n'Téhélé were the tribes that suffered most in this battle.

1903. Commandant Laperrine and his lieutenants make a peaceful tour of the Ahaggar.

1904. Moussa ag Amastane submits at In-Salah.

Commandant Laperrine, accompanied by Father de Foucauld, Gautier, and Chudeau, skirts the Ahaggar to the west and effects a liaison with the colonial troops at Timiaouine.

1905. Father de Foucauld settles permanently at Tamanrasset.

Lieutenant Roussel is the first commander of the Tamanrasset post.

175/154 cont./

1908. Incidents between the Kel Rela and the Taïtok; the latter are driven back to the Sudan.

1909. Incidents between the Kel Rela and the Tuareg tribes of the Ajjers.

1910. Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal, goes to France to travel with Father de Foucauld.

1914. The territory of the Ajjers is occupied.

1916. New incidents between the Kel Rela and the Taïtok.

/155/ On December 2, 1916, Father de Foucauld is murdered at Tamanrasset by Senussites accompanied by Aït Loen, who carry off 20 rifles and 3,000 cartridges.

1917. Revolt by several imrad groups with the object of stealing camels from the French of the Sahara.

Captain Masson gives battle to a group of Tuareg in the Ilaman wadi on April 5, 1917. (Thirteen killed, two of them French soldiers).

On June 1, near Iniker, the detachment under Pietri is attacked. (Five killed, two wounded, two missing).

On July 26 Second Lieutenant Lehuraux has to battle a party of 300 Tuareg.

1918. Peace is re-established in the Ahaggar. The Taïtok are permanently ousted from their lands and are driven back to the Sudan.

1920. General Laperrine dies at Anesbaraka from injuries sustained in an airplane accident.

1921. Death of Moussa ag Amastane. He is succeeded by Akhamouk ag Yemma.

1925. The Taïtok lay claim to their lands confiscated by the Kel Rela, but the status quo is maintained.

1927. Death of Akhamouk. Meslar ag Amayas is elected amenokal.

1950. Death of Meslar. The caliph, Bey ag Akhamouk, is elected in 1951.

6:Blanguernon--146 Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

/157/ II

## Geology

133 Thanks to the work of C. Kilian, Th. Monod, J. Bourcart, and particularly to that of M. Lelubre, partially published, it is possible to give a general idea of the geological structure of the Ahaggar and to sketch in its history.

General view

A. The center of the massif is essentially crystalline, formed of very old rocks from the pre-Cambrian age, already partially leveled at the time of the transgression of the tassili. During the tertiary period there was a rejuvenation of the relief after a powerful volcanism. This mass with the crystalline base has an altitude of 2, 600 meters at the center of the massif; it slopes off at the periphery to form the trench separating the Atakor from the tassili.

B. The tassili are plateaus of nonmetamorphic sandstone. This sandstone surrounds the crystalline mass nearly uninterruptedly. Resting on the crystalline foundation are, first, conglomerates which constitute the lower sandstone of the inner tassili, then, sandstone in small columns, topped by graptolite-bearing schist (intra-tassili depression) and overlooked by the upper sandstone of the outer tassili.

The regions leading to the tassili show Devonian and Carboniferous formations with fossils.

M. Lelubre, going beyond the simple description of the rocks, has been able to determine the genesis and the geological history /158/ of the Ahaggar thanks to data from stratigraphy, lithology, and tectonics.

1. Stratigraphy. -- The schist which bears Gothlandian graptolites rests on nonmetamorphozed Ordovician, or perhaps Cambrian, sandstone, itself resting on a thick base of

133 /158 cont./ conglomerates which are unconforming on folded, granitized, and leveled crystalline schists; this permits the deduction that the lower crystallophyllian parts are pre-Cambrian. Furthermore, M. Lelubre has discovered in the pre-Cambrian crystalline region a Suggaro-Pharusian unconformity, thus showing the existence of an ancient Pharusian basin stretching like an immense north-south trench between two Suggarian massifs. The two lines of unconformity followed by M. Lelubre are marked by rhyolite massifs which emerge from the present-day reg, marking a former volcanism at the edge of these submeridian fractures similar to the recent breaks in eastern Africa. The eastern line of unconformity follows the 5° east longitude from the Adrar In-Hédrane to the north up to the eastern edge of the Tassili de Tin-Reroh; the western line goes from the In-Zize massif up the Adrar des Iforas (40 kilometers west of Tin-Elhaoua); it goes along the western border of the Tassili de Timissao. These two orogenic cycles, Suggarian and Pharusian, have their own special metamorphism, granitization, and foldings.

2. Lithology.--The main rocks surveyed by M. Lelubre are the crystalline schists, the granites, and the vein-bearing rocks /filons/.

The crystalline schists (mica schist, gneiss, etc.) form large mountains; Egéré, Arefsa, Tourha; they dominate in the Suggarian and Pharusian series.

There are granites from different ages. Those of the Pharusian type seem to be "punched out," having produced metamorphic aureoles by contact, such as the Serkout, In-Tounin, Tesselit. Other, older granites appear in "large elongated north-south ellipses"; the Tefedest massif is one of these types.

The main vein-bearing rocks are the microgranites: Tarahouaout and Sersouf regions. Pegmatites are /159/ abundant in the granites and the gneisses; veins of quartz seem to fill vast cracks and form long mountains: border of

133 /159 cont./ the Igharghar wadi. The rhyolites form enormous massifs west of the Ahaggar, aligned in two long belts. Nice series of cipolins and marbles, only calcareous rocks of the Ahaggar, are found in the Egéré, the Tourha, and at Azrou. Finally, volcanic rocks cover immense areas, particularly in the center of the Ahaggar.

3. Tectonics. -- Due to the resistance to erosion of the cipolins, M. Lelubre has been able to inspect a very old flexible dislocation upon which a faulted dislocation is superposed: a phenomenon perhaps resulting from Pharusian orgénèse. /Note: the latter word doubtlessly is a misprint for orogénèse, "mountain building." -- Tr./ Then, Hercynian tectonics are marked in the tassili by very large fold-faults. Finally, there are fractures, resulting from the under folds of the Alpine system, which doubtlessly are linked with recent volcanism.

## Geologic History of the Ahaggar

### 1. Pre-Cambrian

a) Suggarian cycle. Nearly all the crystalline schists of the Ahaggar are from this age. It is almost impossible to set up time divisions during this period which witnessed intense sedimentation followed by folding of the Appalachian type. This cycle ended by the emersion of the Suggarian chains.

b) Pharusian cycle. A long period of erosion followed, filling in the inter-Suggarian furrow. These series underwent a less intense metamorphism than in the preceding cycle. Heavy folding occurred and "punched out" granites later appeared. Rhyolite emissions may be placed in the lower Pharusian.

133 /159 cont./

2. Tassili Transgression. Hercynian Cycle.

The conclusion of the Pharusian cycle marks the end of the depth history of the Ahaggar, which from then on consists of a solid system /160/ reinforced by granitic intrusions. An erosion of long duration affected this old massif. It cannot be said whether or not the transgression which followed reached the whole Ahaggar, but its extent shows that it was on a continental scale.

Certain schists contain the first dated fossils: graptolites from the lower Gothlandian. In an upper series, Conrad Kilian has been able to show periods of lagoons, which represent light Caledonian movements. Conglomerates separate the post-tassili series which is ascribed to the middle Devonian or the Carboniferous. This uncovered series is affected by deep Hercynian folds, with the most striking example being the great fault of Tadjemout. It is not known to what extent this folding has affected the crystalline substratum.

3. Cenomanian Transgression

The great marine invasion which covered the Sahara in the middle Cretaceous and cut Africa in two spared the Ahaggar. C. Kilian has found merely a little Cretaceous material in the Amguid region. This doubtlessly was the last incursion of the sea, and it seems really to be a question of no more than a gulf.

4. Alpine Cycle

It was not until the Alpine folding that one sees an orogenic manifestation in Tuareg country. We may admit as true that the reaction to this folding caused volcanism in the Tertiary and the Quaternary, the lava of which covers a large part of

133 /160 cont. / the Ahaggar and which must have lifted the central core. A thorough study of this volcanism has not yet been made by specialized geologists (1). Perhaps it will be

1. Since 1950, P. Bordet has been studying volcanism in the Ahaggar. M. Lelubre's thesis on the pre-Cambrian in the Ahaggar was published during the Geological Congress of Algiers in October, 1952. On this occasion several regional monographs concerning the Ahaggar were published: L'antécambrien de l'Ahaggar /The Pre-Cambrian in the Ahaggar/ by M. Lelubre; Les appareils volcaniques de l'Ahaggar /Volcanic Mechanisms of the Ahaggar/ by Bordet; Ahnet et Mouydir /Ahnet and Mouydir/ by J. Follot.

possible to /161/ separate the essential phases of this eruptive whole.

Study of the Quaternary has not been undertaken. Such a study would perhaps enable us to establish some points very interesting for archeology, notably the advances and retreats of the desert climate.

/163/ III

## Meteorology

132 Following are some figures concerning meteorology, furnished by the Tamanrasset observatory and the O. N. M. station.

6:Blanguernon--151 Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

132 /163 cont./

For a period covering 1925 to 1939:

1. Temperature

| | |
|---|---|
| Average of the maxima | 28.6° |
| Average of the minima | 13.6° |
| M + m/2 | 21.1° |
| Amplitude M - m | 15° |
| Extreme maximum | 39° |
| Extreme minimum | -6.6° |

2. Relative humidity

| | |
|---|---|
| Annual average | 33% at 7 a.m. |
| | 21% at 1 p.m. |
| | 23% at 6 p.m. |

3. Cloudiness

| | |
|---|---|
| Annual average | 2% at 7 a.m. |
| | 2.8% at 1 p.m. |
| | 3.3% at 6 p.m. |

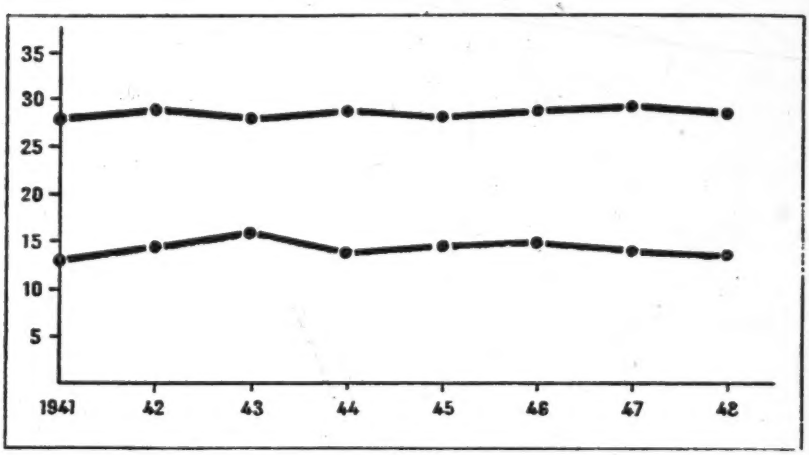
4. Rain

| | |
|---|---|
| Annual average | 43.8 millimeters |

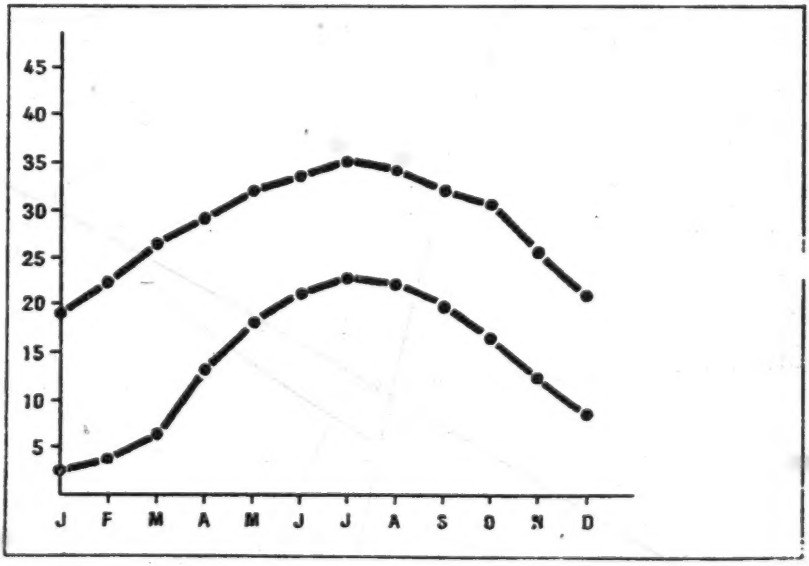
6:Bianguernon--152 Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

/164/

132




Curve showing the average of maxima and minima from 1941 to 1948



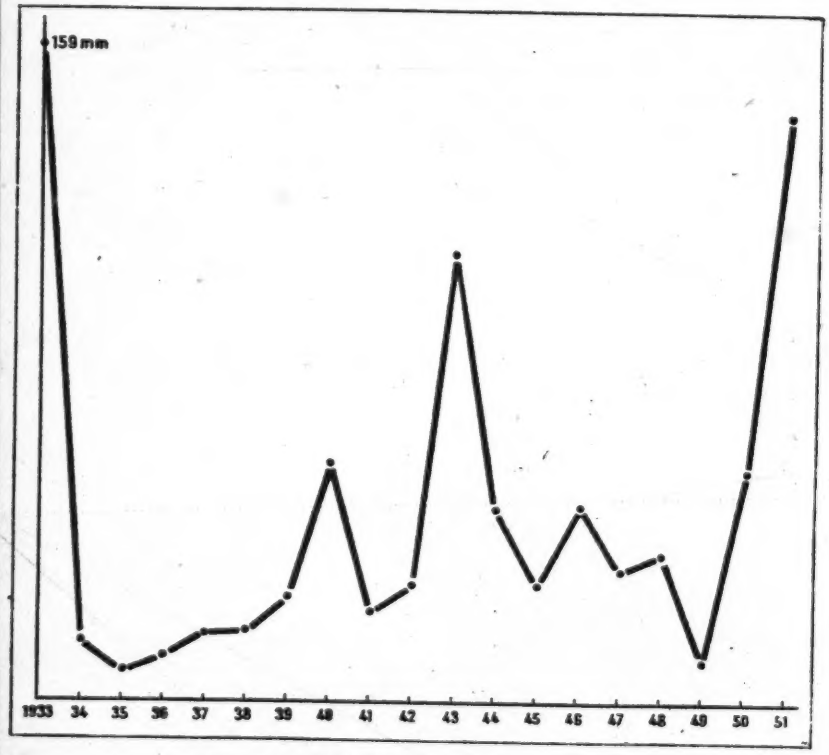

Curve indicating the monthly average of maxima and minima for 1943

6:Blanguernon--153 Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

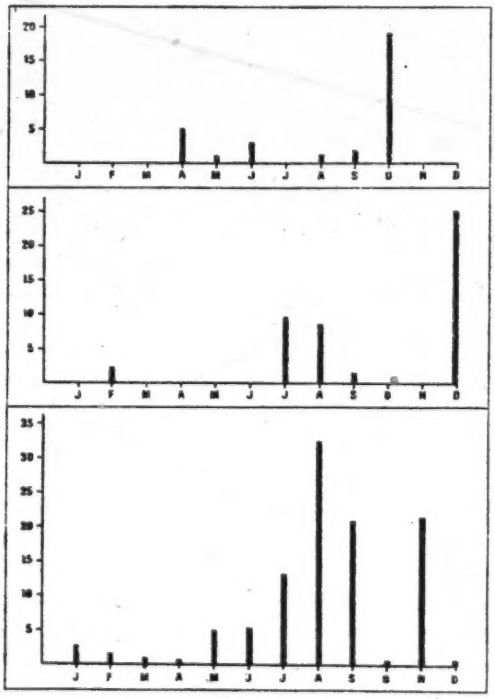
/165/

5. Annual precipitation from 1933 to 1951 (in millimeters) 132

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1933 : | 159 | 1943 : | 108.5 |
| 1934 : | 14.1 | 1944 : | 45.9 |
| 1935 : | 6.4 | 1945 : | 28 |
| 1936 : | 10.3 | 1946 : | 47.5 |
| 1937 : | 15.9 | 1947 : | 31.3 |
| 1938 : | 16.6 | 1948 : | 35.5 |
| 1939 : | 26 | 1949 : | 9.4 |
| 1940 : | 58 | 1950 : | 56.2 |
| 1941 : | 22 | 1951 : | 141.4 |
| 1942 : | 28.8 | | |




Annual Rainfall from 1933 to 1951




1945: Year of light rainfall.

1944: Year of average rainfall.

1943: Year of heavy rainfall.

Distribution of rain during the course of the year.

6. Monthly precipitation during a rainy year

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1951: | January | 0.8 | July | 1.4 |
| | February | 1.6 | August | 18.8 |
| | March | 0 | September | 96.4 |
| | April | 0 | October | 0 |
| | May | 0 | November | 0.2 |
| | June | 14.9 | December | 0 |

7. Monthly precipitation during a dry year

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1949: | March | 5.3 | July | 1.2 |
| | April | 2.1 | August | 0.8 |
| | The other months | 0 | | |

/167/ Remarks on the Rainfall

132 M. Dubief of the Algiers Institut de physique du globe has made a very interesting study of the rainfall in the Ahaggar territory, using information furnished by the Tuareg and covering 80 years for the central Ahaggar and 60 years for the Ahnet and the Mouydir.

This research shows that the system of rains in the central Ahaggar is unrelated to that of the northern Sahara.

Moreover, the distribution of the rains in the central Ahaggar has some relation to the distribution in the Tefedest, little to that of the Mouydir, and none to that of the Ahnet; it is completely independent of the Tamesna.

Finally, the dry periods do not seem to exceed seven years (the term "dry" is not used here in its meteorological sense, but relatively speaking, indicating for the nomads a lack of pastures).

Some Tuareg claim to have observed a cycle of seven years in the duration of the ground-water level.

The observations made at Tamanrasset record as years of heavy precipitation: 1924, 1933, 1943, and 1951, which would give a cycle of about nine years.

/169/ IV

Wells or Water Points on the Caravan Trails

From Tamanrasset to Tin-Zaouaten

103 Amsel: Tiggert /natural outflow of water/ and tanout
312 /well for irrigating gardens/. Permanent agricultural center.

Tin-Tounatine: Tigget /sic/ and abankor /water hole/ in the Tamanrasset wadi.

103
312

/169 cont./ Amselka: Permanent well in the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tinef: Permanent, plentifully filled well, 1.20 meters deep, in the Tamanrasset wadi.

In-Abalesse: Permanent abankor, 0.50 meters deep, in the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tidjenaouine: Agricultural center in the Tamanrasset wadi.

In-Amelloutine: Plentifully filled abankor, 0.60 meters deep, in the Tamanrasset wadi.

Timdjaouine: Ten kilometers south of the Tamanrasset wadi, Mount Debla, fairly plentiful water, ten meters deep.

Abankor ouan Mellouline: In the Immazarène Tin-Reroh wadi, east of the tassili. Not very plentiful.

Tin-Reroh: In the tassili, plentiful, permanent, 40 kilometers from the automobile road.

In el Tobol: In the Adrar In el Tobol, not very plentiful, 15 kilometers from the automobile road.

In-Tedeini: Six kilometers north of Tin-Zaouaten, permanent, ten meters deep, shored up with gasoline drums, three kilometers from the automobile road.

/170/ Tin-Elhaoua: In the Tin-Elhaoua wadi, ten kilometers north of Tin-Zaouaten. Lined shaft, with stone drain, never dry.

Tin-Zaouaten: Three wells, a temporary guelta /natural pool/.

## From Tamanrasset in the direction of Tessalit (Sudan)

Up to Silet, various agricultural centers.

Timissao: Well in the wadi, north of the tassili, shored up with stones. Very plentiful water, nevery dar. Depth: six meters.

Tamada: Temporary guelta, rarely dry, east of the tassili, surface about five meters square; very deep.

103 /170 cont./ In-Azaoua: Southwest edge of the tassili.
312 Well, 1.50 meters, never dry.

Tiggueurt: Copious spring, in a tassili valley, three hours' march southeast of In-Azaoua, two hours to the west of Tamada. Site unusual because of verdure.

Aguelman de l'oued En-Nefis: Temporary guelta two hours' march from In-Azaoua.

Ameg: Permanent guelta in an outlier of the tassili, south of Tirek, at the head of the In-Allarène wadi.

Tirek: Permanent guelta, plentiful water, in the northern part of the Tirek ta Settefet tassili.

In-Ouzzal: In the In-Ouzzal wadi, near the confluence of the Ighelian wadi. Plentiful. Depth: eight meters.

In-Djezzal: Plentifully filled well, never dry, 23 meters deep.

Timiaouine: Permanent lined well, never dry, eight meters deep.

## From the Adrar des Iforas (Timiaouine) toward the Tidikelt

The wells of Ilafok and Guernen are filled in; in winter the caravans go straight to In-Ziza, in summer they pass by Timissao.

In-Ziza: Very large guelta, about 20 meters square, varying from five to ten meters in depth, never dry. There are 17 others.

/171/ Aït el Kra: Very copious tiggert in the tassili sandstone near Foum-Ezgag.

Tin-Senasset: Fairly copious spring.

Tin-Eddi: Poorly filled well, sometimes dry.

Tin-Akhenfous: Permanent well.

Tikebetatine: Four or five springs, fairly copious flow.

In-Rhellal: Poorly filled well, 150 kilometers from the first wells of the Tidikelt.

/171 cont./ From Tamanrasset toward In-Salah

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312

By the automobile road:
Outoul: Agricultural center.
Tit: Agricultural center.
Tilok: Well.
In-Amguel: Agricultural center.
Iniker: Plentifully filled well.
Tesnou: Plentifully filled well.
Amsir: Well.
Meniet: Well.
Arak: Tiggert and guelta.
Tadjmout: Agricultural center, spring.
In-Takoula: Well.
Tiguelguemine: Guelta.
Djoraf: Hot spring.
Hassi el Khenig: Brackish water.

By the camel trail, west of the automobile road.
From Tamanrasset to Abalessa: Various agricultural centers.
Tin-Felki: Large well, never dry, in the Tekouiat wadi.
Tinn-Maroka: Very plentifully filled well in the Afesfes wadi.
Amsir or Arak.
Hassi Takoumbaret: Permanent.
Hassi Belrem: Plentiful, last well before the Tidikelt.

/172/ List of Selected Wadis

Atakor region:
Northern slope, whose waters are collected by the In-Amguel wadi, which flows toward the Tekouiat and which loses itself in the Tanezrouft to the south of In-Zize.

/172 cont./

103
312

| | |
|---|---|
| Issakarassène wadi<br>Hirafok wadi<br>Ifrak wadi<br>Tidjilgaouine wadi<br>Abdassène wadi<br>Zerzoua wadi<br>In-Tehoulli wadi | toward the In-Amguel wadi |

Southern slope, whose waters are drained by the great Zazir and Tin-Amzi wadis, which flow toward the valley of the Azaouak.

| | |
|---|---|
| Tefougigine wadi<br>Ihérane wadi<br>Izerzi wadi<br>Ihoular wadi<br>Taguiemoute wadi<br>In-Tarkit wadi | toward the Tin-Amzi wadi |
| Teredjine wadi<br>Effeg wadi<br>Anfeg wadi<br>Tihararte wadi<br>Ahahabarougue wadi<br>Téguerine wadi | toward the Zazir wadi |
| In-Dalag wadi<br>Tahifet wadi<br>Tarahouaout wadi<br>Foutès wadi | toward Irharraar (southern) |

Eastern slope, whose waters flow toward the Tin-Tarabin /173/ wadi, which itself joins the valley of the Azaouak.

| | |
|---|---|
| Itakaline wadi<br>Azrou wadi<br>Tiféréfine wadi<br>Tilékine wadi<br>Sersouf wadi (of Altoklane) | toward Tin-Tarabin |

/173 cont./

103
312

| | |
|---|---|
| Afrahounine wadi<br>Tibelarhlarhène wadi<br>Tigoulgouline wadi | toward Tin-Tarabin |
| Telhouat wadi | toward Igharghar (northern) |

Western slope, all the waters of which join the Tamanrasset wadi, either directly or by its large affluent, the Amded wadi.

| | |
|---|---|
| Tilok wadi<br>Ilaman wadi<br>Terhenanet wadi<br>Outoul wadi<br>Tit wadi<br>Selbourak wadi<br>Tiffert wadi<br>Abalessa wadi | toward the Amded wadi |
| Tisatine ouan Tiratine wadi<br>Tinef wadi (which drains the waters of the Tahelra)<br>Imezzarene ouan Tin-Reroh wadi<br>Silet wadi<br>Aguelman wadi | toward the Tamanrasset wadi |

Region north of the Adrar des Iforas and of the southern tassili

Slope of the Tamanrasset wadi:

Inouzzal wadi
Ilafer wadi
/174/ Ilafok wadi
In-Kadiouène wadi
Temesguidda wadi
Tirek wadi
Iller wadi

Slope of the Azaouak:

Tin-Zaouaten wadi
In-Atankarer wadi

/174 cont./

103 Anesbaraka wadi
312 Slope of the Timersoï wadi:
Izedelazen wadi

Region of the Tefedest:

Western slope of the Tefedest: the waters flow toward the Tekouiat wadi.

Ohet wadi
In-Takoufi wadi
Idjioualène wadi
Sersouf wadi
Mertoutek wadi
Abezzou wadi
Adenek wadi
In-Ebeggi wadi

Eastern slope of the Tefedest: all of the waters empty into the great Igharghar.

Taharakit wadi
Idelès wadi
Dehine wadi
Aguelmam wadi
Ousselatine wadi
In-Berhadjane wadi
Tin-Kerkoz wadi
Amrha wadi
Ahatès wadi
} toward Igharghar

/175/ Southern slope of the Tefedest:

Takormiasse wadi
Aethès wadi
Tin-Eleft wadi
} toward the In-Amguel wadi

Region of the Immidir and the Ahnet:

The waters flow chiefly toward the north, losing themselves in the sebkha of the Tidikelt; they are mainly drained by the Botha and Djaret wadis.

/175 cont./

103 Arak wadi
312 Gourdane wadi
Tadjmout wadi
Tiratimine wadi
Tibratine wadi
Takoula wadi
Takoumbaret wadi
Asabal wadi
Amguid region, slope of the Igharghar:
et Tarara wadi
Hesses wadi
Rharis wadi
El Mahek wadi
Teghert wadi
Hamsa wadi
In-Herreki wadi

Region east of the Serkout massif:

This part of the Ahaggar is very little known; the wadis are tributaries of the Tafassasset wadi.

/177/

V

Flora

| 137 Tamahaq 824 Name | Arabic Name | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|
| Âhtès | | Acacia albida. Rare. |
| Aliou | | Olea laperrini. In the high mountains. |
| Adjiar | El Iatim | Argan tree (?). Hardwood, pasturage for camels, edible berries. |

/177 cont./

| 137 824 Tamahaq Name | Arabic Name | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|
| Azaoua | Fersig | Tamarix gallica. Good pasturage. Khecba for roofing, zéribas. |
| Taberkat | Ethel | Softwood, used for bowls and spoons, salty pasturage; the fruit colors leather red. |
| Tamat | Tahala | Acacia seyal. Good pasturage, hardwood. |
| Absaq | Tahla | Acacia tortilis. Good pasturage, hardwood. |
| Teborak | Techat | Banalites aegypticae. Used for common objects; edible fruit, cough remedy. |
| Tihok | Irak | Shrub, softwood, used for cleaning teeth. |
| Telothat | | Firewood. |
| Tedjert | Tedjert | Acacia eburnea. Seeds used in tanning; thorns; nails for rahla /camel's saddle/. |
| Tezzeit | Nakhla | Palm. |
| Thora | Kranka | Callotropis proscera. Wood for rahla; the sap causes ophthalmia. |
| Tehounek | Jeddari | Found in the Atakor. Firewood; used for tanning guerba /waterskins/. |
| Assellouf | Elhelhab | |
| Tarkat | | Fruit which tastes like grapes, size of a jujube. |
| Edjaq | | Hardwood, used to make rosary beads. |

6:Blanguernon--164 Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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824

Spontaneous Flora -- Herbaceous Vegetation -- Pasturage

| Tamashek Name | Arabic Name | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Tiberimt | Lemmet | Pasturage for asses, to a small extent for goats, tastes like celery (umbelliferous). |
| 2. Ennedam | | Acheb /pasturage/ plant. |
| 3. Tamadi | | Acheb plant. |
| 4. Tamedout | | Acheb plant. |
| 5. Azrem | Merkad | Acheb plant. |
| 6. Ourroug | Errega | Acheb plant. |
| 7. Tahaout | Rguig | Acheb plant. |
| 8. Tahnetnet | Tafsa | Perennial plant. |
| 9. Afessour | Cherełk | Acheb plant. |
| 10. Tanesmimet | Hamoued | Acheb plant; acid. |
| 11. Afazzou | Morakba | Panicum turgidum. Seeds eaten by the Tuareg; used, with straw, for making wind-breaking mats (asaber). |
| 12. Akałouad | Jonc | Typha augustifolia. For goats. |
| 13. Akecheker | | Thorny plant. Permanent pasturage. |
| 14. Adrilal | | Astralague prolixus. A sort of wild pea, very good pasturage. |
| 15. Alemmoz | Nçi | Aristida ascencionnis. Very good pasturage, in the zone of the peripheral trench after the rains. |
| 16. Telemmoust | Sfar | Very good pasturage. Zone: same as above. |
| 17. Aslak | Habalia | Acheb plant. Héliotropium ondulatum. |

/178 cont./

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824

| Tamashek Name | Arabic Name | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|
| 18. Imatelli | | Acheb plant. |
| 19. Askaf | Damrane | Traganum midatum. Very scarce in the Ahaggar, region of Tiffert. |
| 20. Tadjemaît | Njem | Couch grass, near water points, mediocre pasturage. |
| 21. Affelleleh | Bettina | Henbane. C uses madness for two or three days; its smoke is somniferous. |
| 22. Aressou | Arta | Good pasturage. |
| 23. Amateltel | | Climbing plant, particularly on acacias, the size of a vine. Good pasturage. |
| 24. Atarzim | Ghardek | Lotus of the Lotophagi (?) according to Duveyrier. |
| 25. Alaouat | Gergir | Very good pasturage. In the large wadis after floods. Peripheral trench and Iforas. |
| 26. Aremmas | Guettaf | Atriplex alimus. Laxative, very salty, mediocre pasturage. |
| 27. Tabakat | Sedra | Jujube tree, Zizyphus lotus. Average pasturage, except for asses. /179/ |
| 28. Ajmès | Guesba | Reed. |
| 29. | Defla | Oleander (poison, except for goats and gazelles). |
| 30. Tedjellit | Coloquinte | Colocynth. Gazelles, goats, asses. |
| 31. Alagoz | Hadjia | Sweet colocynth, edible. |
| 32. Aftezza | Chebrok | Zilla macroptera. Very good pasturage. |

/179 cont./

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824

| Tamashek Name | Arabic Name | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|
| 33. Issin | Djell | Fairly good pasturage. |
| 34. Rellachem | | Grows in the mountains, scarce, remedy for gonorrhea and cough. |
| 35. Tahara | Hâdd | Cornulaca monacantha. Very good winter pasturage, poor in the summer. |
| 36. Ana | Merkh | Ginista saharae, broom. Very good pasturage. |
| 37. Tadjerdjert | | Purgative. Fairly good pasturage. |
| 38. Tahiart | Tinhart | In the seguias /irrigation canals/ of the agricultural centers, used to perfume tea. |
| 39. Tahli | Berdi | Formium tenax. Type of large reed which grows near the tiggerts /natural outflows of water/; pasturage for goats. In times of scarcity, the heart is eaten. |
| 40. Taïberou | Bouzaka | Poison, rare (Atakor). No antidote. |
| 41. Tassa | Elbaguel | Mediocre pasturage. |
| 42. Tanatfert | Ghatassa | Makes milk bitter. |
| 43. Toulloult | Drinn | Aristida pugens. Very good pasturage, seed edible in same way as that of afazzou (three parts to one of wheat). |
| 44. Teferiest | Tesskra | Thistle, scarce, good pasturage. |
| 45. Takamezout | Chedengoura | Only in the Atakor. Sure cure for dysentery; yields 14 remedies. |

/179 cont./

| 137 824 Tamashek Name | Arabic Name | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|
| 46. Zezeri | Zahta | Atakor. Is put in tea. |
| 47. Tihéréguéli | Chih' | Perfumes tea, remedy for colic. |
| 48. Amiou | N'gouth | Good pasturage. |
| 49. Tamadjéhi | Kroumt | Very good pasturage. |
| 50. Tatalt | Elgouzah | Good pasturage. |
| 51. Otaq | Mrenza | Mixed with crushed dates, fattens women. Bad odor. |
| 52. Tedjourt | Hallala | Remedy for gastric troubles. |
| 53. Terfes | Terfes | A sort of truffle. |
| 54. Aliouen | Denoun | A sort of large asparagus. |

/181/ VI

## Tools

412 Here is a list of tools used by the maalmine; many of them are made by the users:

Tisadh: double-pocketed bellows.

Abaracha: piece of wood 50 x 20 x 6 centimeters, serving as support for an iron mass used as an anvil.

Tehount: iron mass 6 x 6 x 15 centimeters used as an anvil.

Afadis: hammer.

Tafadist: small hammer.

Irendan: tongs.

Takadimt: adz.
Tataout: chisel for wood. } Neolithic-type hafting.
Tadouft: ax.

412

/181 cont./ Azazaoua: file.
Tazazaouat: small file.
Tasarest: burin.
Asfed: punch.
Timouda: shears.
Azazaoua ouan aserer: file for wood.
Anefif: ferrule for bellows.
Tibin: crucible.

Following is a list of objects made by the maalmines for the Tuareg; this list is certainly not complete.

/182/ Tanast: special Tuareg padlock, well known to tourists; the keys are artistically cut out and are not one of the least of the women's ornaments. Iron, brass, and copper combine to give a pleasing effect. There are padlocks with one, two, and three keys, work complicated for its own sake, as these tanast lock leather sacks which can be opened with a slit of the knife or by loosening a seam!

Tadeft: small ax.
Moussi: knife with sheath, worn at the waist.
Indel: punch for leather work.
Iremdan (menguech in Arabic): an accessory consisting of a cutting blade, an awl, and small pincers.
Tazozlet: a kind of paper knife with a triangular blade of artistically worked brass. In Tuareg society it is not used as a paper knife but as a hair-dressing tool used to separate strands of hair before braiding.
Tistent: awl.
Tesougla: large sewing needle.
Allar: the Tuareg spear.
Takouba: the saber.
Tarada: the javelin.
Tilok: arm dagger.
Tamenast (menassa in Arabic): brass basin, indispensable accessory for every meharist, used for drinking, washing, making bread, digging abankor /water hole/.

412 /182 cont./ For the harratin, the maalmines make the hoe called aguelhim and the gheniet, which is a trap for wild sheep.

412 415 The Tuareg use wooden objects made by the maalmines; these are mainly cooking utensils.

Akous: bowl for drinking milk. It often has small ears for easier gripping.

Azzka: is a very large akous capable of holding nearly six liters.

Tarahout: large, almost hemispherical dish, carved out in one piece. The wood is three centimeters thick. It is used for family meals.

/183/ Tarelalt: large dish with a fairly flat bottom; may be as large as one meter in diameter (rare).

Tendi: the wooden mortar.

Iharen: the wooden pestle.

Akabar: small mortar, sometimes pyrographed.

Tesoukalt: pyrographed wooden spoon.

Temoulalt: large pyrographed spoon (ladle).

Asseguefi: small wooden funnel.

Redjeredjaten: stakes for holding up the tent.

Tidjetouin: stakes with ornamented heads for holding the tent open.

492 Tarik (rahla in Arabic): the camel saddle. The maalmines of the Ahaggar repair them but do not make them; the most handsome ones come from the Aïr; these are the ones called tamazak and the akoka. However, the maalmines of the Ahaggar make a wholly wooden saddle called taïst, sturdy and used mainly for training the animals.

301 The principal jewelry worked in the Ahaggar is the following:

Tisak: the ring, of silver. Certain models have the lower part made of iron. The height of the rings is impressive: four to five centimeters; they entirely cover the lower part of the women's fingers, setting off the length and delicacy of their hands.

301 /183 cont./ Tisabatin: The tisabatin are ear pendants, simple rings of silver whose diameter is about ten centimeters; two tisabatin weigh 120 grams.

Teraout: large silver triangle worn on the chest; the hidden side is made of iron.

Ahbedj (plural: ihebdjen): The women always wear two. They are bracelets, the most popular type of which has the form of a simple ring with an opening. The two ends are polyhedral and are decorated with geometrical designs.

Tissegouar: silver pendants for the temples.

The Tuareg do not use gold; silver alone is used to make jewelry and the amulet cases called teraout.

The men wear smaller rings than the women.

/185/ VII

## List of Agricultural Centers

103 Abalessa (altitude: 850 meters).

361 This was the largest agricultural center before our arrival
621 in the Ahaggar; since then, Tamanrasset has surpassed Abalessa.

Abalessa is located 100 kilometers west of Tamanrasset in the Ibarras wadi at the confluence of the Abalessa wadi, which receives the waters of the Tit, Outoul, Tiffert, and Iglène wadis.

The population consists of more than a thousand harratin.

The cultivable surface is 150 hectares during favorable years; generally, the crops cover 80 hectares.

The owners of the gardens are some Kel Rela, Ta'ltok, Dag Rali, and Iklan Taoussit.

There are 11 foggara, the longest and deepest in the Ahaggar; some reach six kilometers in length, and the head wells are eight to ten meters deep.

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/185 cont./ Approximately 300 palms grow freely or nearly so; almost all have grown from nuts, and half are dokkar (males)

Abalessa has a bordj /a small fort or solidly constructed house/ and an infirmary.

The tumulus of Tin-Hinan is located two kilometers from the bordj in the Tiffert wadi.

Centers of the Tiffert wadi.

Tounin Akourin.

A small center seven kilometers upstream from Abalessa. Two foggara and a tanout.

/186/ The amenokal has his permanent camp near gardens that he owns.

Tiffert Foulani.

Five kilometers upstream from Abalessa. Three foggara. There are about 30 palms. An active center, it is owned by the local harratin. Here is the residence of Si Ahmed Foulani, a well-known taleb /scribe/, who plays the role of cadi for the Tuareg.

Tiffert Tahtani.

Three kilometers upstream from Abalessa. Three foggara. Active and permanent center. Small village constructed of toub, overlooking some 40 palms.

Tin-Tazarouk.

One kilometer from Abalessa on the trail to Silet. One foggara. Zériba. Large quantity of diss (a large grass).

Centers of the Outoul wadi.

Outoul.

A long-abandoned center which is being revived; located between the old and new trails to In-Salah, 20 kilometers from Tamanrasset. Five foggara, two of them upstream. Several fruit trees.

Tahart.

Eighteen kilometers downstream from Outoul. Three foggara and one tanout. Owners: Ta'ltok and Tédjéhé n'Néfi.

103 /186 cont. / About 100 palms, numerous fig trees and
361 vines. A tiggert with abundant tahli. Very picturesque site.
621 Assileskine (altitude: 960 meters).

Center located six kilometers downstream from Tahart. Often abandoned. Owners: Taïtok. Three foggara, about 30 residents. Vines and several young palms. Rock drawings near the zéribas.

Ennedid (altitude: 914 meters).

Four kilometers downstream from Assileskine in a gorge at the confluence of the Outoul wadi. About 60 residents, nearly 100 palsm. Owners: Kel Rela, Dag Rali, and Iklan Taoussit. Very pretty site.

/187/ Centers of the Tit wadi.

Tit (altitude: 1, 127 meters).

Located in the Tit wadi, 50 kilometers from Tamanrasset. Fairly important center, more than 100 residents, houses of toub and zeribas. About 30 palms, numerous fig trees, and enormous vines. At this time, four foggara. Very important site for rock drawings.

Tin-Emensar.

Ten kilometers downstream from Tit. Abandoned center.

Dar Mouli.

Three kilometers downstream from Tin-Emensar, a small garden is cultivated. Site of an annual celebration where the Tuareg gather for the ziara of Moulay Abderrahmane.

Centers of the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tamanrasset (altitude: 1, 470 meters).

Fort Laperrine, administrative headquarters of the Ahaggar.

The military bordj was constructed in 1919 and used in 1920 after the abandoning of Tarahouaout.

In 1920, Tamanrasset had 40 residents. It was a small, unimportant center with three foggara; a few rare éthel and fersig lined the wadi.

103 /187 cont. / The French occupation created out of nothing
361 the built-up area which became a road center after the
621 creation of automobile roads from Tamanrasset toward In-Salah and Algiers;

from Tamanrasset toward Agadès and Fort Lamy;

from Tamanrasset toward Tin-Zaouaten and Gao.

Secondary roads of local or tourist interest were later opened:

from Tamanrasset to Djanet by way of Idelès and Serouanout;

from Tamanrasset to Idelès by way of Tarahouaout, Tahifet;

from Tamanrasset to In-Azaoua (not completed);

from Tamanrasset to the Asekrem massif by way of the Illamane peak (tourist);

from Tamanrasset to the Asekrem massif by way of the
[491] Imalaoulaouen guelta and the Akarakar. This road, finished in 1952, makes it possible to circle around the high peaks of the Atakor; it /188/ completes the one mentioned just before. Its route, laid out by the head of the Tamanrasset annex, provides maximum protection against the rains; it discloses a succession of splendid panoramas and ends at the foot of the Asekrem plateau after having crossed the strangest assortment of peaks imaginable. This road is prolonged in the direction of the Issakarassen guelta, then will continue toward the Hirafok agricultural center to end in the Tefedest.

[439] Arab and Mozabite merchants very quickly installed themselves at Tamanrasset, offering merchandise coming from Tell and buying wheat, millet, and butter from the Tuareg, making usurious loans, in a word, draining away the Tuareg's small supply of cash to direct it toward the Mzab.

The houses are built for the most part on the right bank of the wadi in the nonirrigable areas. Tamanrasset has no local color whatsoever, but the red tint of the exterior plastering, the cleanliness and charm of the streets shaded by éthel and adorned by geraniums, produce a pleasing over-all

103 /188 cont./ effect. An admirable and almost unique thing
361 in the Ahaggar is the circle of mountains which surrounds the
621 village; from the south bank of the wadi the view at sunrise or sunset is sensational.

At the present time Tamanrasset has some 20 foggara and a dozen tanout. The owners of the foggara are: the commune, some Adjouh n'Téhélé, some Tédjéhé n'Néfis, some harratin, and some merchants. The foggara are from four to five kilometers long. The gardens extend nearly six kilometers from the ksar /former fortified village/ of the Adriane to the ksar of Teggert. The cultivated area is about 70 hectares, counting the gardens of the small center of Tihegouine three kilometers downstream, watered by a foggara.

The commune owns a magnificent garden where all sorts of fruit trees are tried; it sets an example for the local gardeners. Many European houses have a small garden irrigated by foggara or by well.

The present population is about 2,000 residents. This enormous growth in population presents a terrible /189/ water problem. It appears that an agricultural center in the Ahaggar cannot grow indefinitely without considering hydraulic works.

103 Tamanrasset, although favored from the point of view of
361 water resources, is a proof of what could be attempted in the
621 other agricultural centers if the French could advise the
648 harratin and furnish them examples.

The French population is divided in the following way:

A captain, annex head, administrator of the commune.

Two or three officer assistants.

Secretaries.

A school. Seven teachers, three of them nomads.

An observatory of global physics. Three physicists.

A telecommunications service. Four radio operators, two weather men.

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/189 cont. / A branch of the Company of Tropical Transportation.

An auxiliary postal receipts office.

A hotel.

A few retired persons at Tamanrasset without occupation.

From the military point of view, Tamanrasset is generally the base for a company of the camel corps. Units of the Saharan Engineer corps maintain the road from In-Salah to Tamanrasset and Agadez.

The French population totals about 120 persons; this number is subject to frequent fluctuations.

The number of Mozabite and Arab merchants, including their families, comes to about 100 individuals.

There are about 1, 900 harratin, an approximate figure, for many gardeners come and go from one agricultural center to another.

It is impossible to speak of Tamanrasset without thinking of General Laperrine and Father de Foucauld. The body of the general rests at Tamanrasset near the tomb where the priest was buried after his tragic death. The bordj where Father de Foucauld lived during the last years of his life is a tourist attraction; it is also possible to visit the hermitage built by the Father on the wadi's left bank.

/190/ Near the village of Adriane are found the tombs of Moussa ag Amastane, the Laperrine's amenokal friend, and of Dassine, the famous poetess.

In the house which was Moussa ag Amastane's, the maalmines, artisans of the Tuareg tribes, work.

Tamanrasset, administrative center, a necessary stop on the road from French West Africa and from French East Africa, is also an airplane stop destined to become more and more important.

Tourism tends to conquer the Ahaggar; the Touring Club of France has organized excursion caravans for several years. Scientists from all fields, enlightened travelers,

163 /190 cont. / mountain climbers in quest of virgin peaks, are
361 attracted to the still little-known country. For all of them
62 Tamanrasset is a departure base but not a place to linger.
[648]

Tissenaouine

In the Tissenaouine wadi at its confluence with the Tamanrasset wadi. One foggara belonging to a hartani. Very well-cultivated garden.

Tagrambalt

In the Tamanrasset wadi, 15 kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Three foggara, well-cultivated gardens. Little possibility for growth.

Amsel (altitude: 1, 180 meters)

Located in the Amsel wadi a little before its confluence with the Tamanrasset wadi, about 30 kilometers south of Tamanrasset.

The owners of the gardens are the Adjouh n'Téhélé and the Tédjéhé n'Néfis. The gardens are located upstream and downstream from the tiggert, a veritable stream of running water where abundant tahli grow. Six foggara and three tanout. There are about 60 residents. The cultivable surface totals 30 hectares; there would be possibilities for extending the center downstream. Several fruit trees.

Intnérin

In the Tamanrasset wadi seven kilometers south of Amsel. Tiggert and numerous tahli. Two foggara. Unimportant /191/ center, with no possibility for growth. Boxed-in, very hot valley.

Idikel

In the Tamanrasset wadi 15 kilometers south of Amsel. Difficult to reach by auto. Three foggara and two tanout. Large amount of cultivable land but endangered by the big floods of the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tiguenouine

In the Tamanrasset wadi seven kilometers south of Tamanrasset. A large amount of tahli at the Amelalouline tiggert. Three foggara, abundant water.

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/191 cont. / Centers located on the In-Azaoua road

Izerzi

Fifteen kilometers south of Tamanrasset in the Izerzi wadi. A long-abandoned center revived in 1952.

Talan Téhédit

A long-abandoned center 20 kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Cultivated since 1951. Abundant water. Tiggert, tahli. Garden owners: Adjouh n'Téhéle and Tédjéhé n'Néfis. Three foggara and two tanout. Possibility for growth.

Ifok

Thirty kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Running water, tiggert, tahli. The gardens are upstream and downstream from the tiggert. Two foggara and three tanout. A frequently abandoned center.

Region of the Atakor

Ilaman (altitude: 2, 000 meters).

Highest center in the Ahaggar. Abandoned for a long time, traces of nine former foggara.

At the present time the village of Ilaman has a dozen residents. One foggara and two tanout are in operation. The Dag Rali own the gardens; their millet silos give the village a curious appearance.

Terhénanet (altitude: 1, 950 meters)

Located in the Terhénanet wadi on the edge of the Taessa massif. /192/ Like the village of Ilaman the village of Terhenanet is at the side of the road leading to the Asekrem. A small guelta is found downstream from the gardens. An unimportant center: about ten residents, two living foggara, four dead ones.

Centers of the southeastern Atakor

Tarahouaout (altitude: 1, 317 meters) -- (Fort Motylinski)

Located in the Tarahouaout wadi 80 kilometers from Tamanrasset by the automobile road. It was the administrative

103 /192 cont. / capital of the Ahaggar from 1908 to 1921. One
361 may see the old bordj overlooking the wadi, as well as old
621 houses at the foot of the cliff.

An important center, it is the fief of the Adjouh n'Téhélé tribe. Fifty-two hectares are cultivable, irrigated by ten foggara. There are numerous tanout. Fruit trees are in decline but there are still fig trees, apricot trees, and vines.

[172] Numerous pre-Islamic tombs are evidence of a very ancient occupation of this water point. Three rock-drawing sites exist on ridges downstream from the bordj.

Six kilometers downstream from the gardens, an enormous stand of tahli announces the entrance to very narrow gorges, in which one may follow over a distance of ten kilometers a veritable stream connecting a string of guelta. This is perhaps the most important permanent flow of water in the Ahaggar.

In-Dalag (altitude: 1,450 meters)

Located in the In-Dalag wadi, this very important center extends over a length of 15 kilometers. The water table is fed by waters running from the southeast of the Atakor and from the Ahéléheg djebel. The Adjouh n'Téhélé own the gardens. In dry periods this center is partly abandoned, as well as the small villages downstream: Tehi n'Oudi, Tin-Tsoumar, Tabarakaten, In-Tinsi, In-Tolouline.

There are five foggara at In-Dalag. Downstream from the cultivated centers gorges are found where great numbers of tahli grow.

/193/ Tahifet

An important center located in the wadi of the same name 50 kilometers north of Tarhaouaout. The Adjouh n'Téhélé are owners of the gardens. The cultivable surface comes to 22 hectares; there are eight foggara. Six kilometers downstream from the gardens is a tiggert surrounded by a large amount of spontaneous vegetation. The site is very picturesque.

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/193 cont. / Centers of the northern Atakor

Ideles

Very important center in the Tarouda wadi, overlooked by the Adrar Tadéraz. The village is located on the automobile road from Tamanrasset to Djanet 265 kilometers from Tamanrasset. The village consists of a bordj and an infirmary, as well as numerous stone houses. The residents, who number about 300, were originally from the Tidikelt. The ruins of an old ksar may be seen.

The gardens belong to the Kel Rela, the Dag Rali, the Kel Tazolé, and the Kel Amguid. The cultivable area amounts to about 40 hectares, irrigated by eight foggara and about ten tanout. About 300 palm trees are fairly well cared for; there are also numerous fig trees and vines.

Amenselane

Very small center six kilometers from Ideles. One foggara. Numerous tahli near the tiggert.

Tazerouk

A center which used to be very important but whose cultivable land is often carried off in pieces during big floods. Located 188 kilometers from Tamanrasset by the Ideles automobile road. The population is made up of freed Negroes who own the gardens but whose laziness has jeopardized this favored oasis. The altitude is 1, 896 meters; two wheat harvests per year are possible. The cultivable area amounts to 45 hectares, with hardly half of it sown. Enormous, untended fig trees grow, /194/ as well as very many peach trees and apricot trees. The summer climate at Tazerouk is the most pleasant in the Ahaggar.

In the wadis which end at Tazerouk, agricultural centers are established during the rainy years; these are: Sellemal, Ihebert, Teberbert, Taouakim, Tin-Ezzar.

Tizzeit

Unimportant center, long abandoned, now cultivated, located on the camel trail from Ideles to Tazerouk. Land

103 /194 cont./ belongs to the Ibardjien, an ancient tribe on the
361 way to extinction, redoubtable mountaineers and clever hunters
621 of wild sheep. Alkaline spring, tanout. Vines, fig trees, and numerous palms.

Tin-Founès

Abandoned center located on the Amadror road; numerous untended palms.

Hirafok (altitude: 1, 510 meters)

Located in the Hirafok wadi, on the automobile road from Tamanrasset to Ideles. The gardens run lengthwise and are well tended. Twenty-four hectares of cultivable land irrigated by five foggara and five tanout. A few fig trees. A bordj is constructed by the side of the road. The wadi valley is fairly well wooded; there is a tiggert downstream.

Im-Amguel (altitude: 1, 037 meters)

Large agricultural center located in the In-Amguel wadi on the road from Tamanrasset to In-Salah, 144 kilometers from Tamanrasset. A bordj and an infirmary. Four hundred residents. Ten foggara water well-tended gardens. There are some 100 palm trees, half of which are dokkar. Vines, fig trees, apricot trees, peach trees. Poultry.

Ifrok

Upstream from In-Amguel on the automobile road from Ideles. A center long abandoned, now cultivated. One foggara. The wadi is very well wooded.

Tasakimt

An abandoned center located between Idelès and Tazerouk. One tiggert upstream from which existed a foggara and four /195/ tanout. Abundant vegetation consisting of fersig and oleander.

Centers of the Tefedest

Mertoutek

A center in decline. There now exist two living foggara compared to ten before. Altitude: 1, 450 meters. Located in

103 /195 cont. / the Mertoutek wadi, to the east of the Tefedest,
361 260 kilometers from Tamanrasset. A few fruit trees. Im-
621 portant rock-drawing sites (Coche-Chasseloup-Laubat, Lelubre and M. Cousin sites).

In-Amertek

Abandoned center downstream from Mertoutek.

Ohet

Abandoned center to the northwest of the Tefedest. Two dead foggara. Land belonging to the Tédjéhé Mellet.

Adenek

Abandoned center in the Adenek wadi at the confluence of the Dehine wadi. Land belonging to the Kel Tefedest. There still remain a few fig trees and vines.

Abezzou

Abandoned center, land belonging to the Kel In-Rhar and Eouen n'Hada. Only a few zéribas and traces of guemoun are evidence of former cultivation.

Dehine

Center located six kilometers north of Mertoutek. Abandoned. There remain a few palms and fig trees as reminders of a former prosperity.

Other agricultural centers

Silet (altitude: 775 meters)

Located 151 kilometers from Tamanrasset on the road to Tin-Zaouaten. The Silet wadi forms a large basin which receives the waters of the Tahelra. There is a very shallow water table, which makes it possible for palms to grow without irrigation. There are about 6, 000 palms which receive practically /196/ no care. Artificial fecundation is rarely practiced. This palm grove was created about 200 years ago by Arabs from the Tidikelt. The owners of the palms are some Kel Rela, Iklan Taoussit, and Dag Rali. An attempt to establish a palm grove has been made by the Annex with djebars of Téguezza.

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/196 cont./ Some ten residents live at Silet and cultivate small gardens irrigated by three foggara. A bordj. Ruins of an old Arab fort. Numerous pre-Islamic tombs.

Tibeghim

Five kilometers from Silet. Small palm grove in a semi-wild state, which gives it a very picturesque appearance. The palms belong to the Kel Rela and the Iklan Taoussit.

Aïtoklane

Center located in the Sersouf wadi 40 kilometers south of Tazerouk. Long abandoned, now cultivated. Far from the automobile roads, this center is rarely visited. The cultivable area is great.

Tin-Tarabin

In the Tin-Tarabin wadi, away from the automobile roads, this center is rarely visited. Abandoned, then revived a short time ago. This center could prosper, for the cultivable area is large.

Tadjmout

Located on the road from Tamanrasset to In-Salah in the intra-tassili depression of the Mouydir tassili. A few gardens belonging to the Kel Immidir. Palm trees (about 100 grow freely in the gorge one kilometer from the road).

Izghan -- Izeghaf -- Djoraf

Abaondoned centers in the interior of the tassili massif. Numerous palms belonging to the Kel Immidir and the Kel Ahnet. These sites are never visited and remain unknown to all.

Tin-Teredjine

Upstream in the Teredjine wadi (In-Guezzam road). Tiggert, abundant water, abandoned garden. Tomatoes /197/ grow without being cared for. An Adjouh n'Téhélé family gathers them from time to time.

Inroudiden

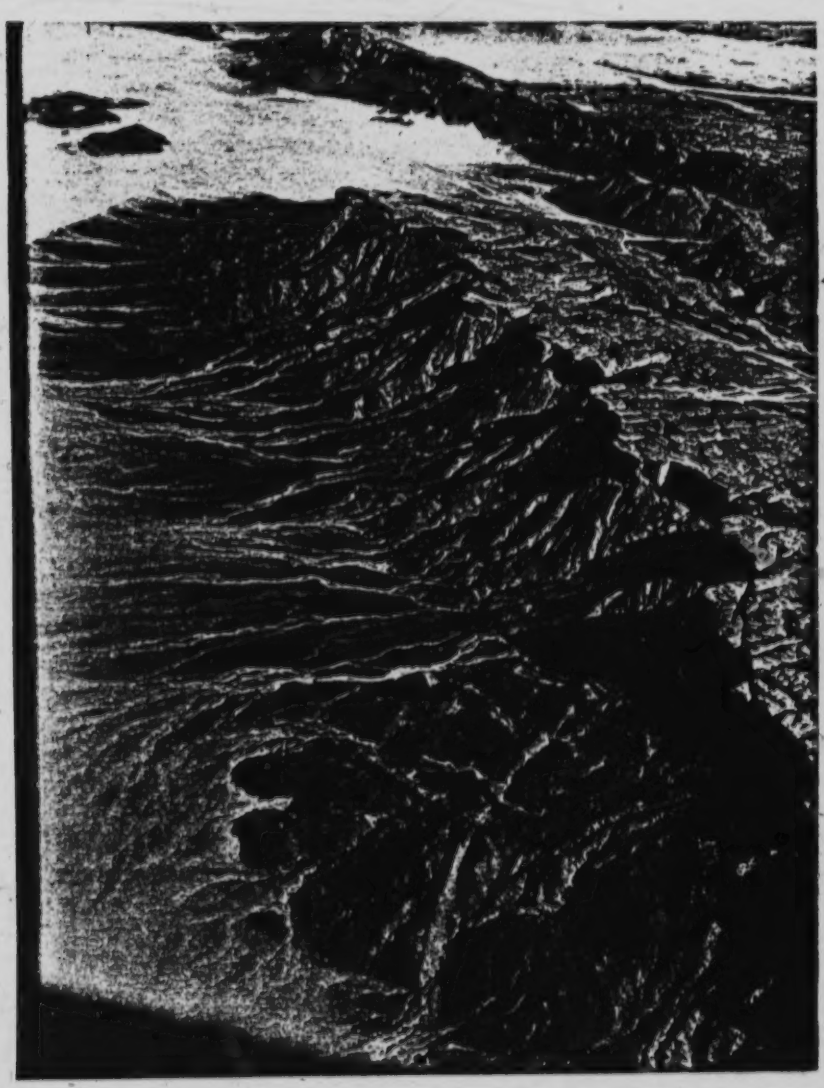
In the Tahelra massif (south of Tiffert), in the Inozzorou wadi, a tributary of the Tinef. Owners: Iklan Taoussit. Unimportant.

Isernan and Sédéouen

During rainy years, gardens are established upstream from the tiggert in these two wadis, tributaries of the In-Dalag wadi.

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuâreg MS25
Hoggar

133

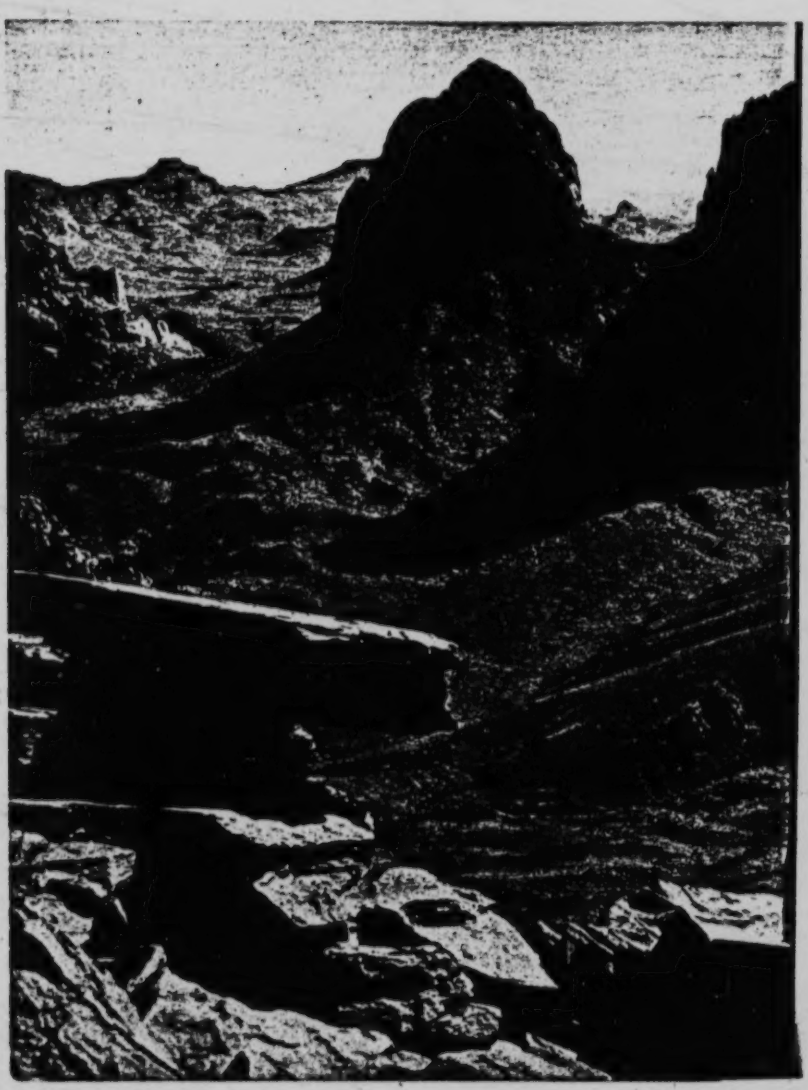


1. Aerial view of the Adriane massif.

[p. 183]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

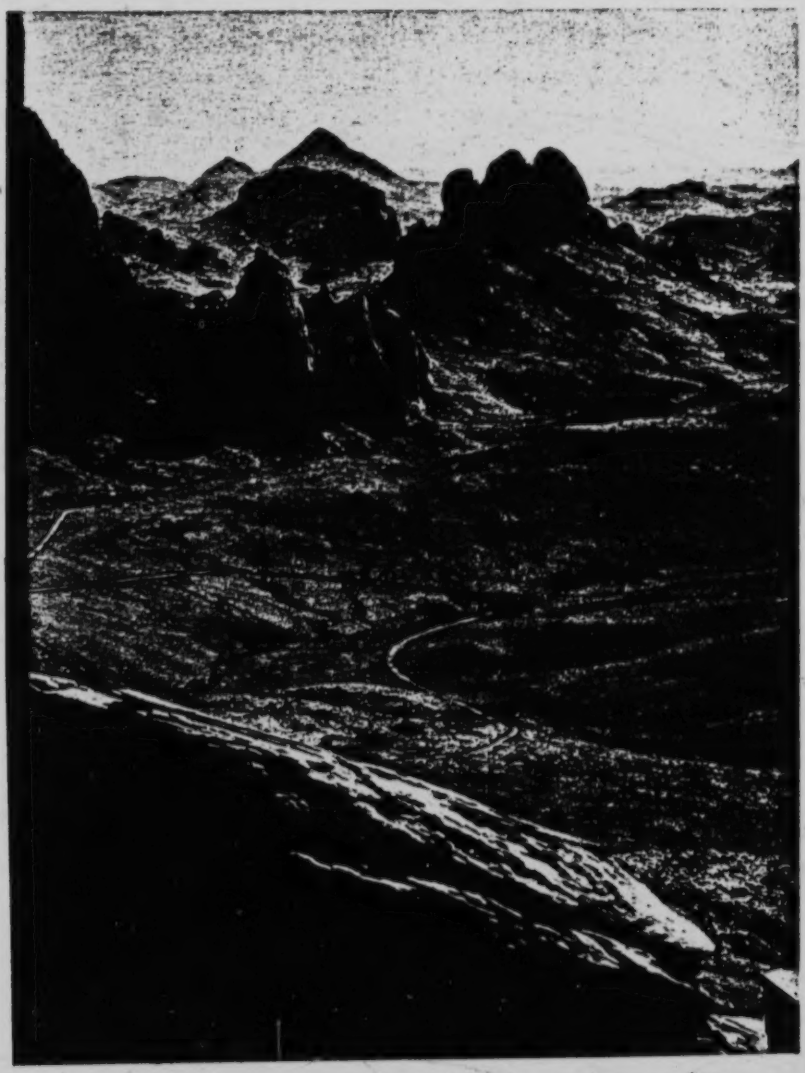




2a. In the Atakor, heart of the Ahaggar, the Fidjemayène massif seen from the Séouénane summit.

[p. 184] [left] [see p. 185]

133



2b.

[p.185] [Right - see p.184]

492

3a. Position of the Tuareg meharist.

[p. 186] [left - see p.187]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

492

3b.

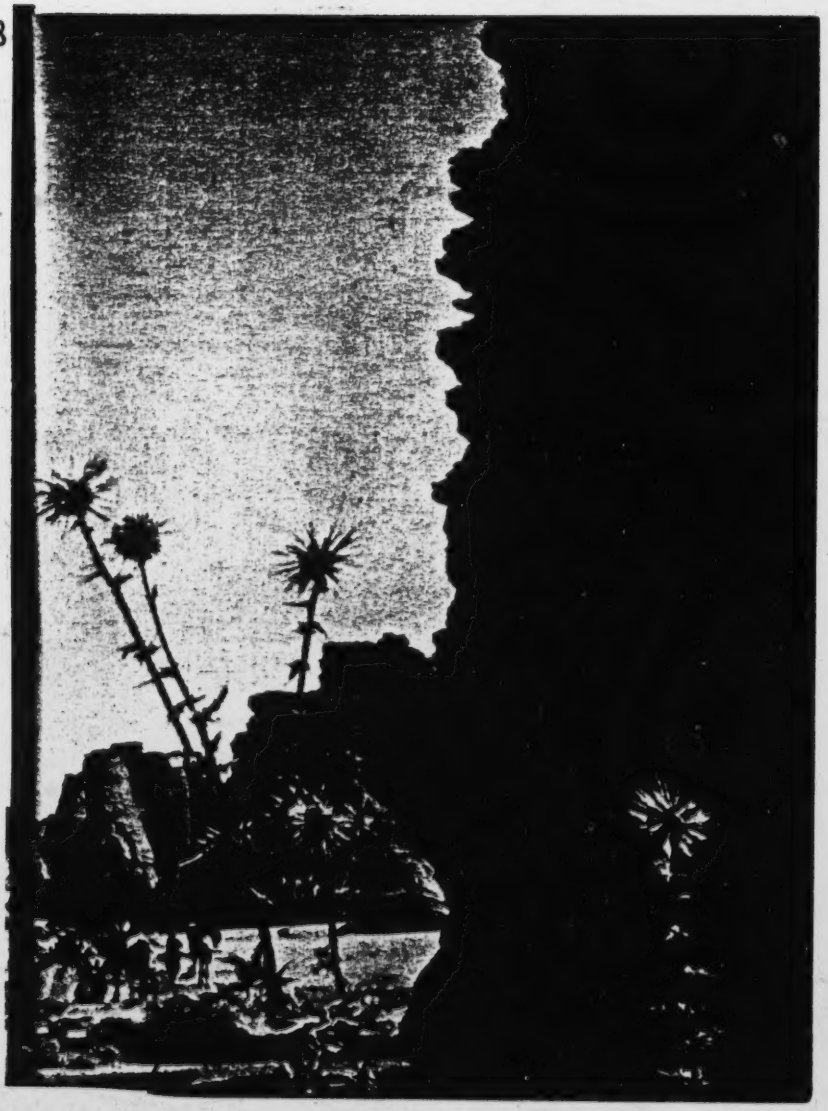
[p. 187] [Right-see p. 186]

133

4a. Tassili landscape.

[p. 188] [left - see p. 189]

133



4b. [p. 189] [Right- see p. 188]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

5. Phenomenon of granitic erosion (in the Mertoutek wadi).

[p. 190]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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6. In a wadi of the Atakor during a dry period.

[p. 191]

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7. Oleanders bordering the Issakarassène guelta.

[p. 192]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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8. An abankor.

[p. 193]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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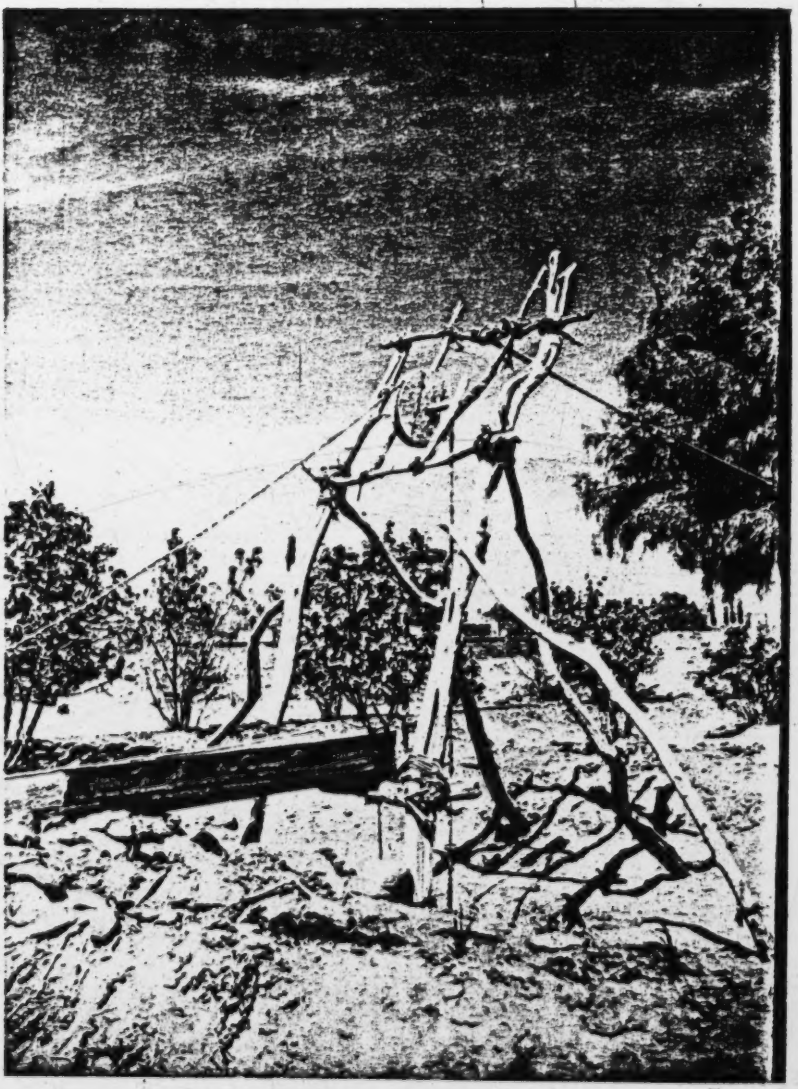
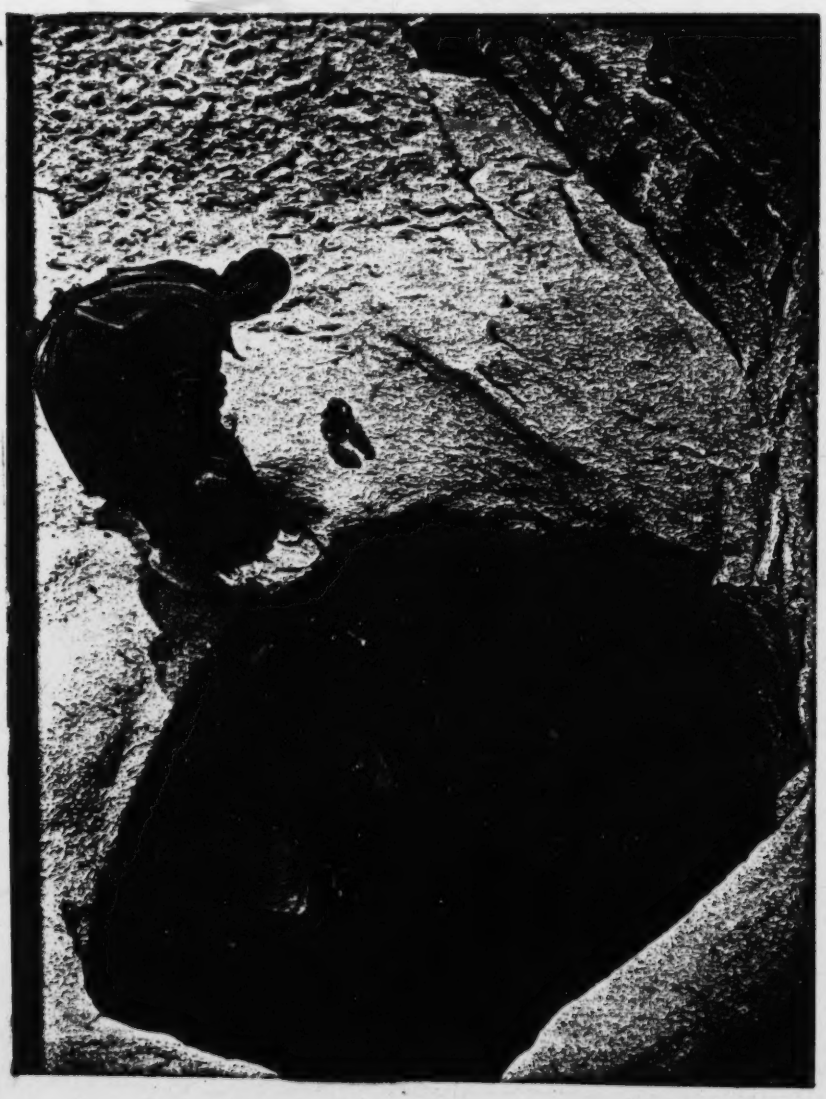


9. A tanout.

[p. 194]

312



10. Pothole.

[p.195]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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11. A tesendgelt (Eragrostis bipinnata).

[P.196]

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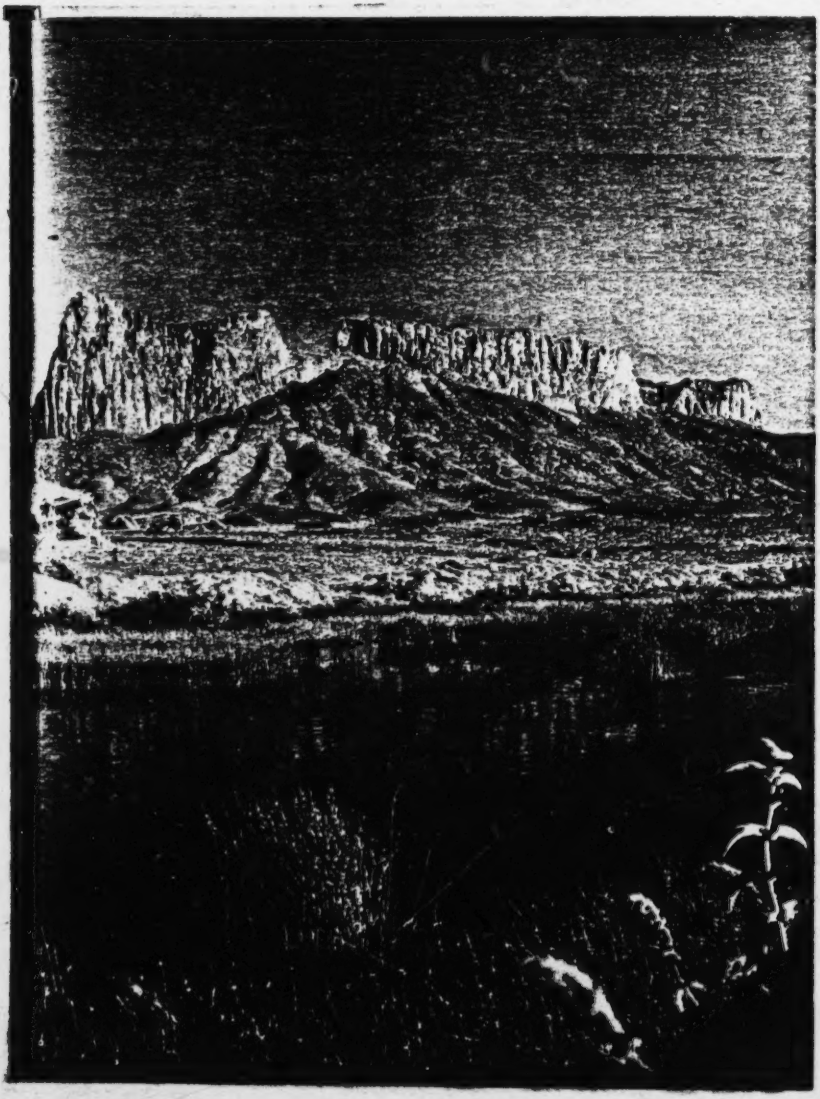

12. Tamanrasset. The Adriane agricultural center.

[p. 197]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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13. A thora (Callotropis proscera) in the Tamanrasset wadi.

[p. 198]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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14. Dead tabrakat in the Amded wadi.

[p.199]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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15. A uran.

[p. 200]

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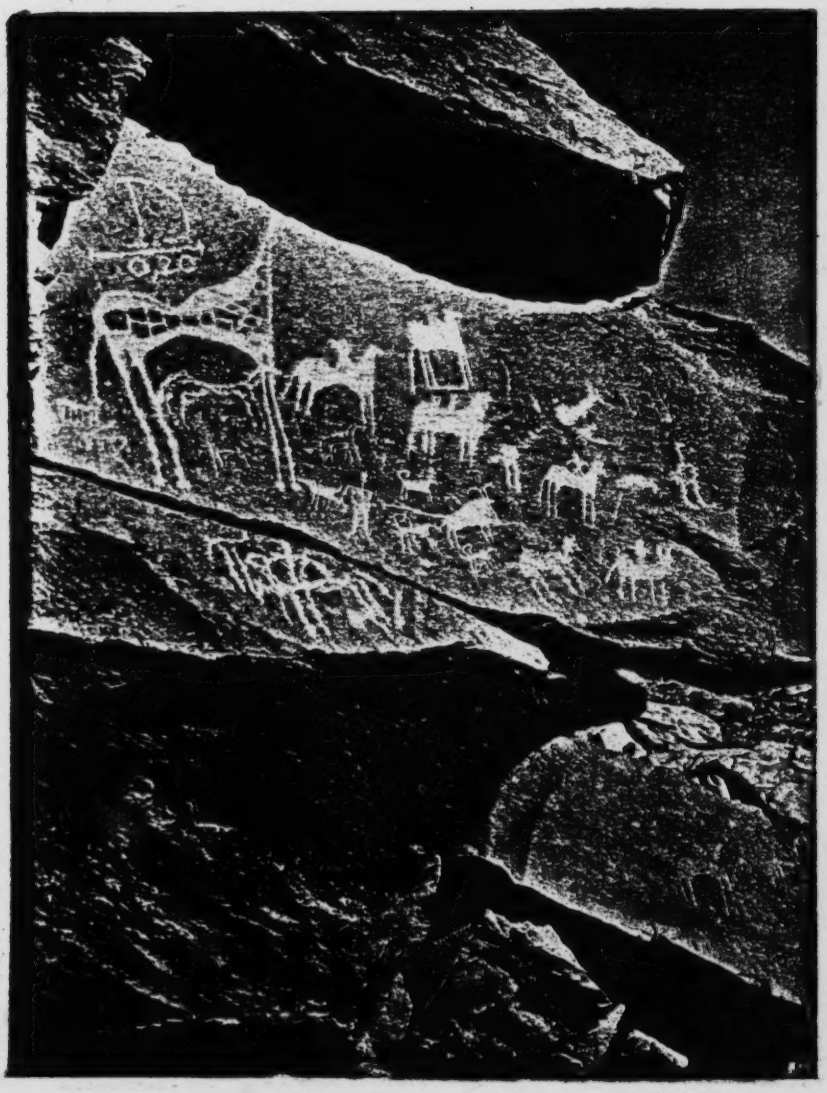

16. Rock painting near the Hirafok oasis.

[p.20]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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17. Beyh ag Sidi Moussa, nephew of the present amenokal.

[p. 202]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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18. Rhama, woman of the Iklan Taoussit tribe.

[p. 203]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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19a. Tuareg of the Taïtok tribe talking things over in their favorite position.

[p. 204] [left - see p. 205]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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516

19b.

[p. 205] [eight - see p. 204]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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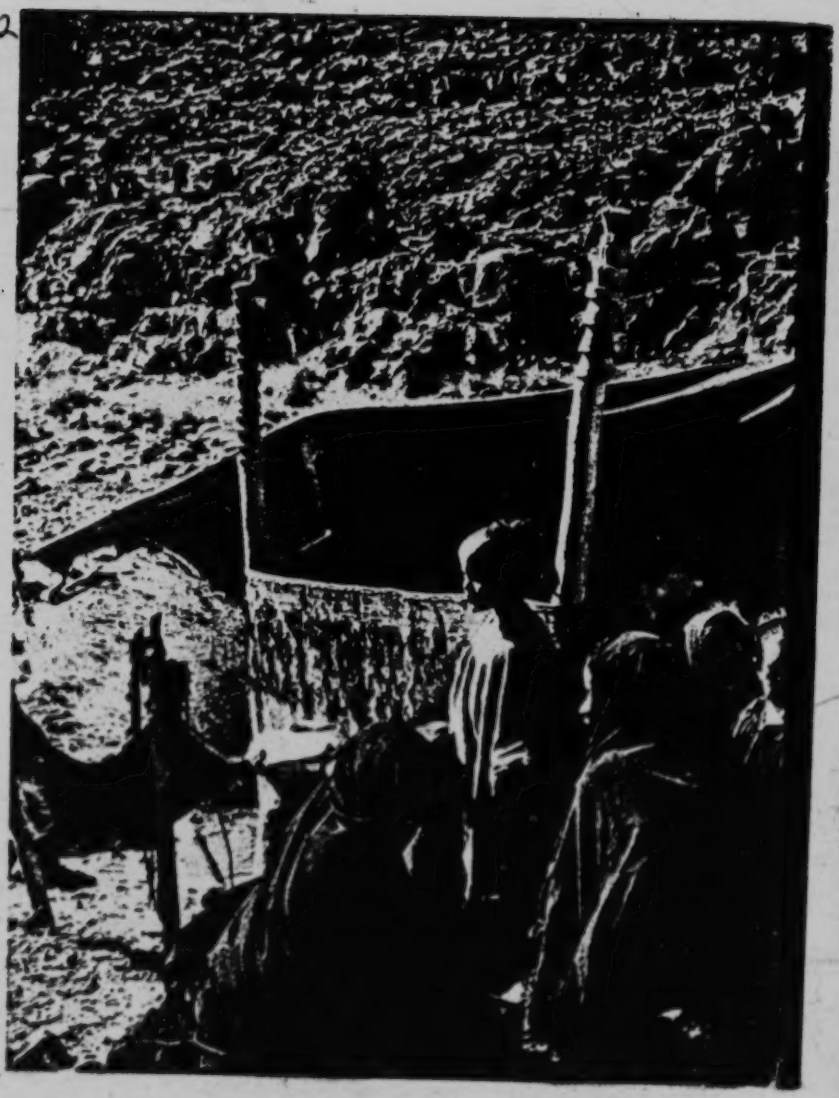

20a. Tuareg camp. [left - see p. 207]

[p. 206]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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20b.

[p. 207] [Right - see p.206]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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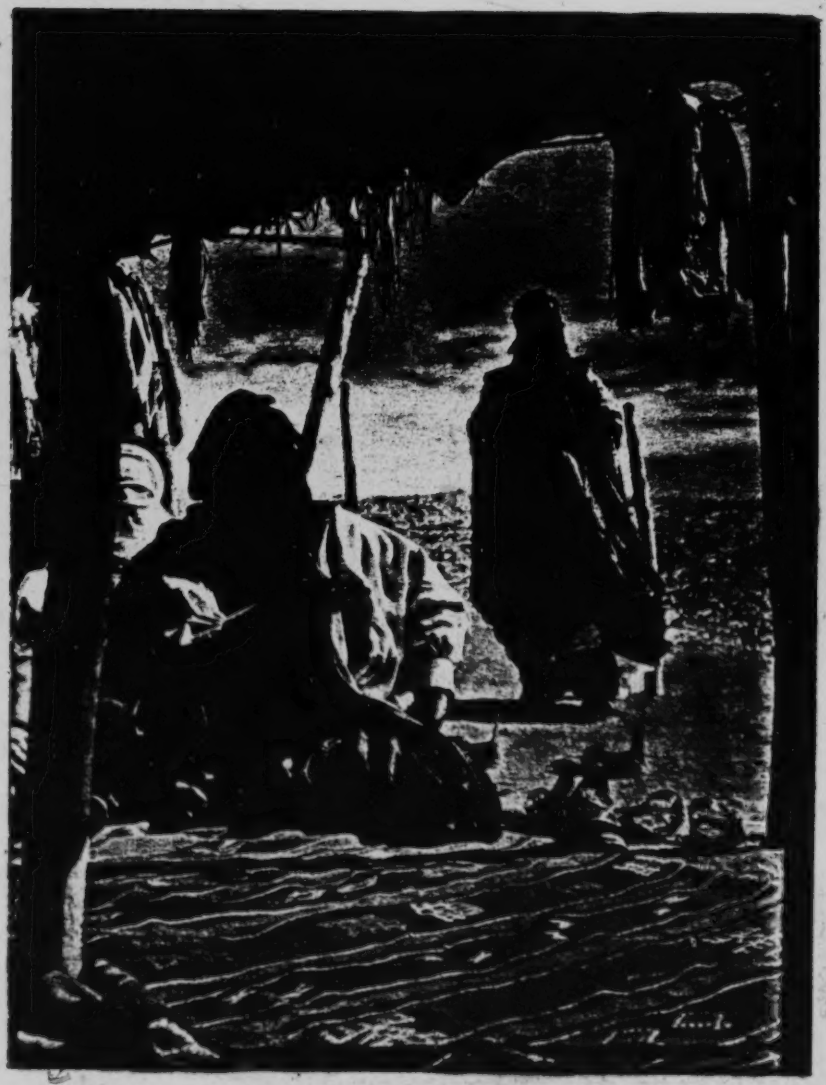

21. Tent of the amenokal.

[p. 208]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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22. Young harratin of Ideles.

[p. 209]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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23. A hartani type.

[p. 210]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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24. Apricot trees and poplars at Tamanrasset.

[p. 211]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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25. Fig trees and tamarisk.

[p. 212]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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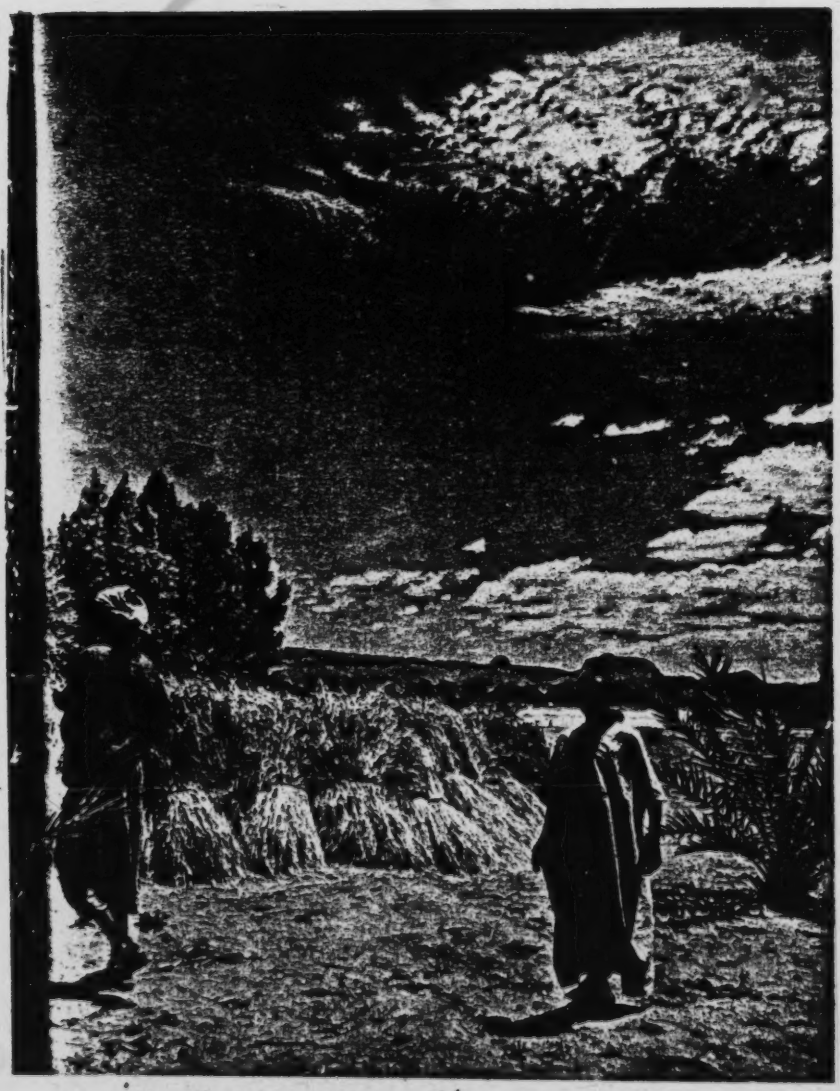

26. The wheat harvest at Tamanrasset.

[p. 213]

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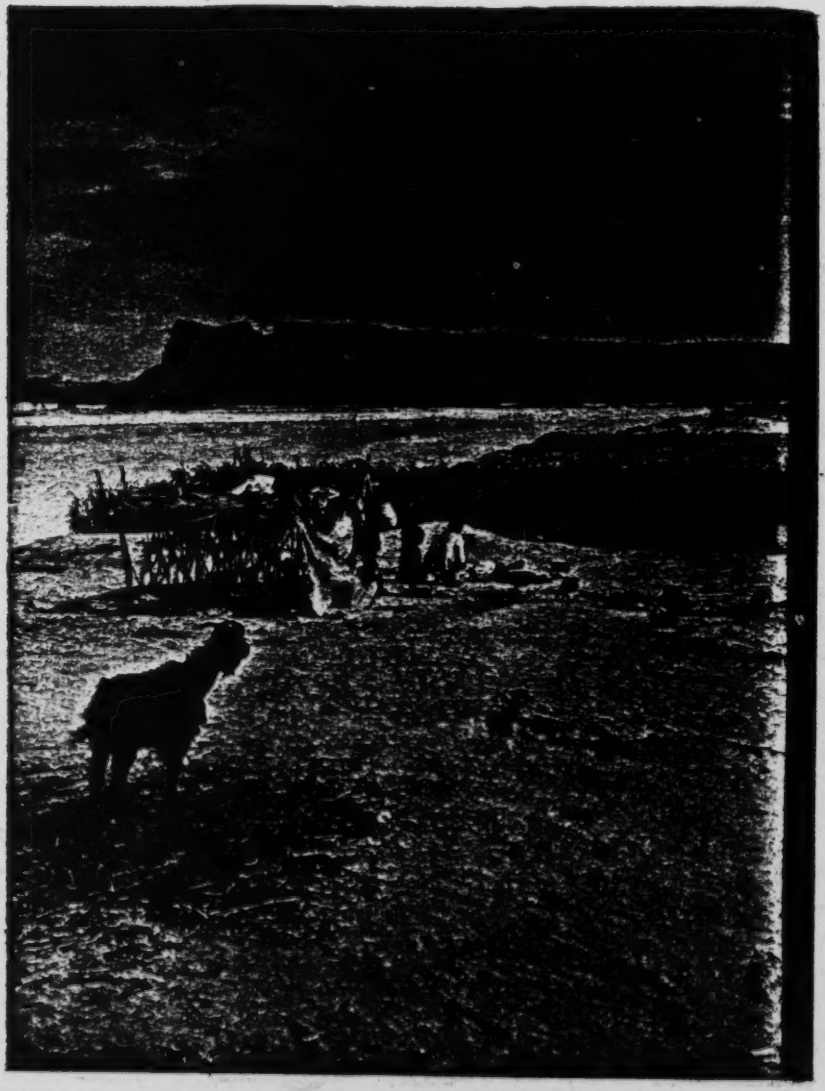

27. A jeriba near a wheat field.

[p. 214]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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28. In the pastureland rounding up the animals.

[p. 215]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937,-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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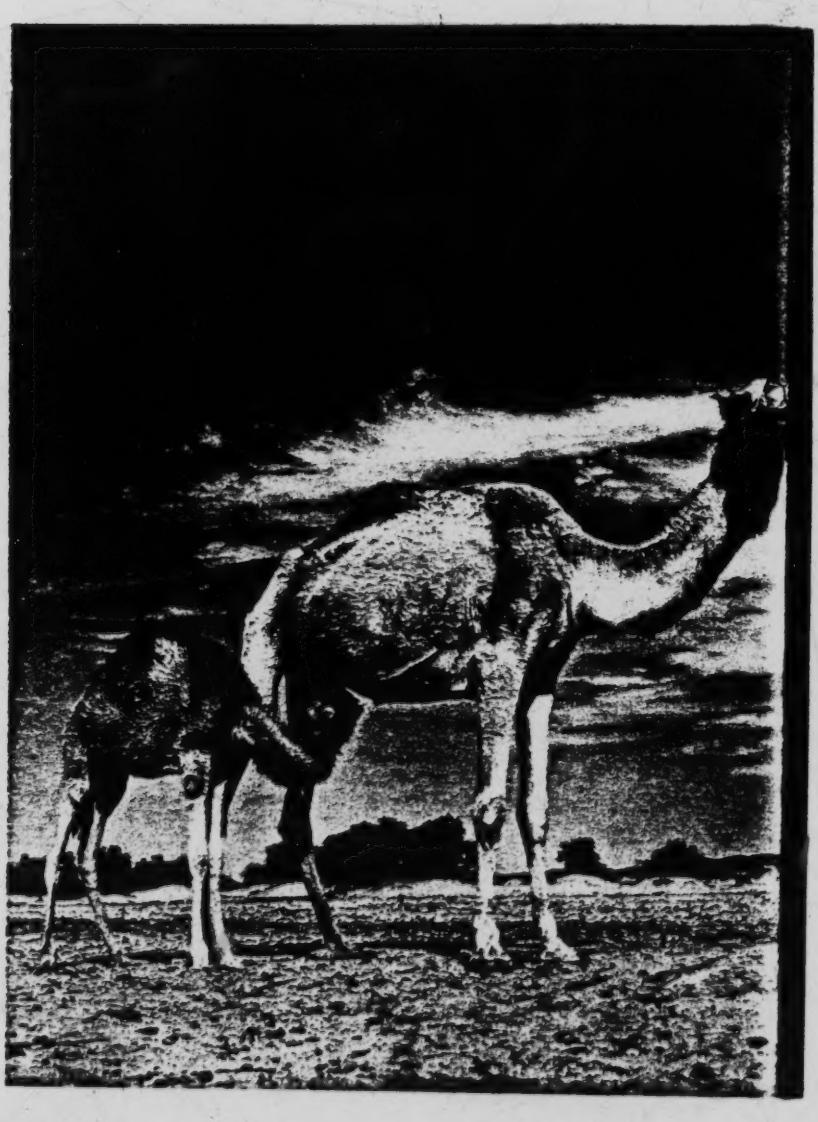

29. In the pastureland in the Amded wadi.

[p. 216]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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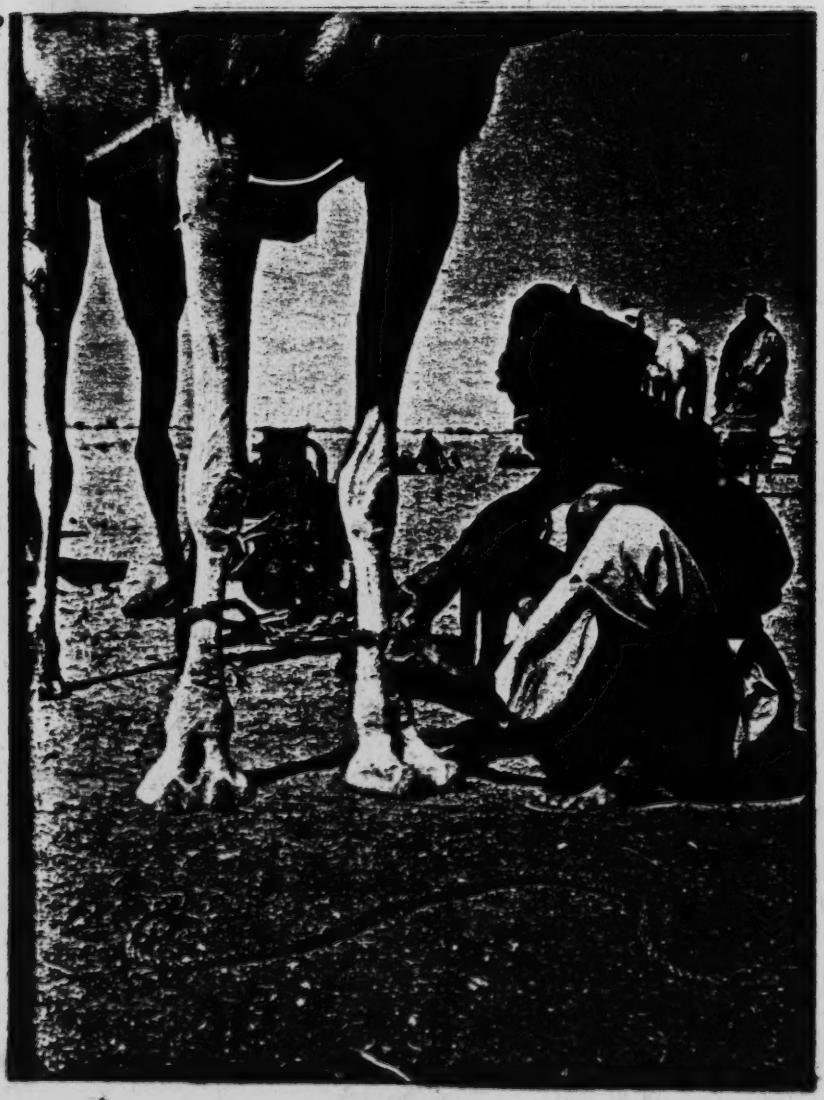

30. On a stopover the animals are hobbled for the night.

[p. 217]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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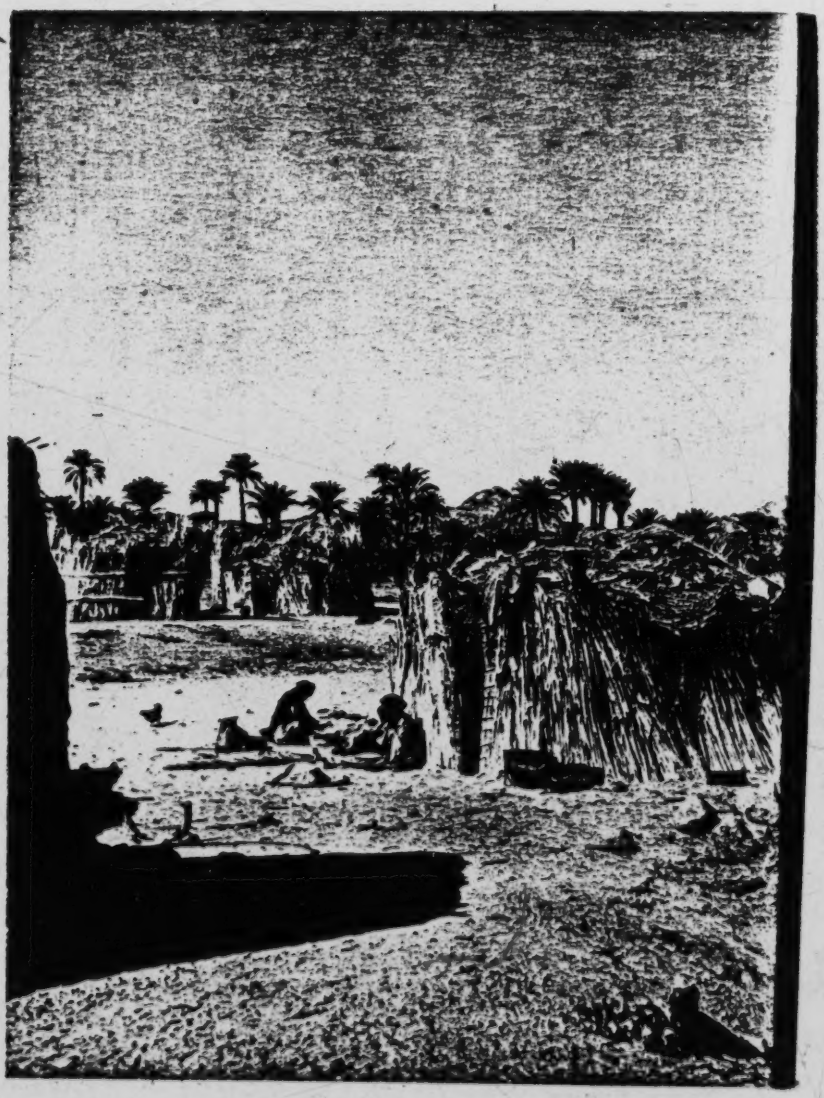

31. Zériba in the Ideles oasis.

[p. 218]

6: Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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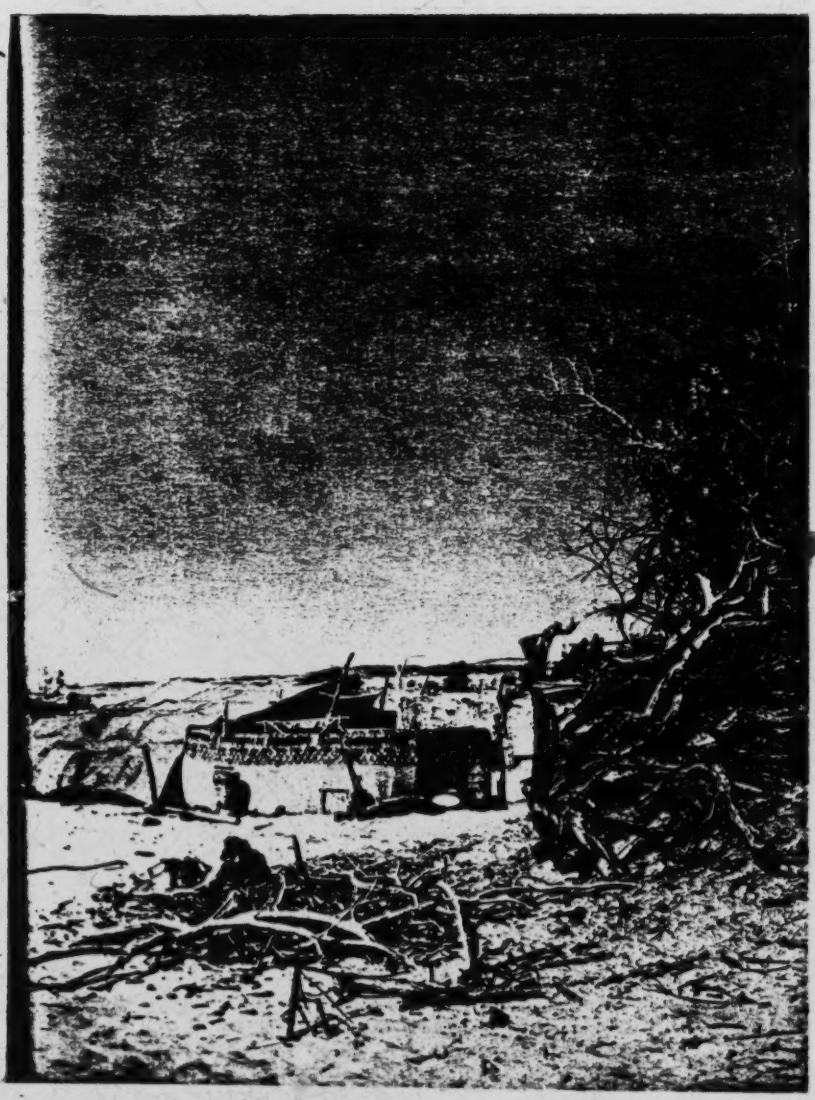

32. Tuareg tent.

[p. 219]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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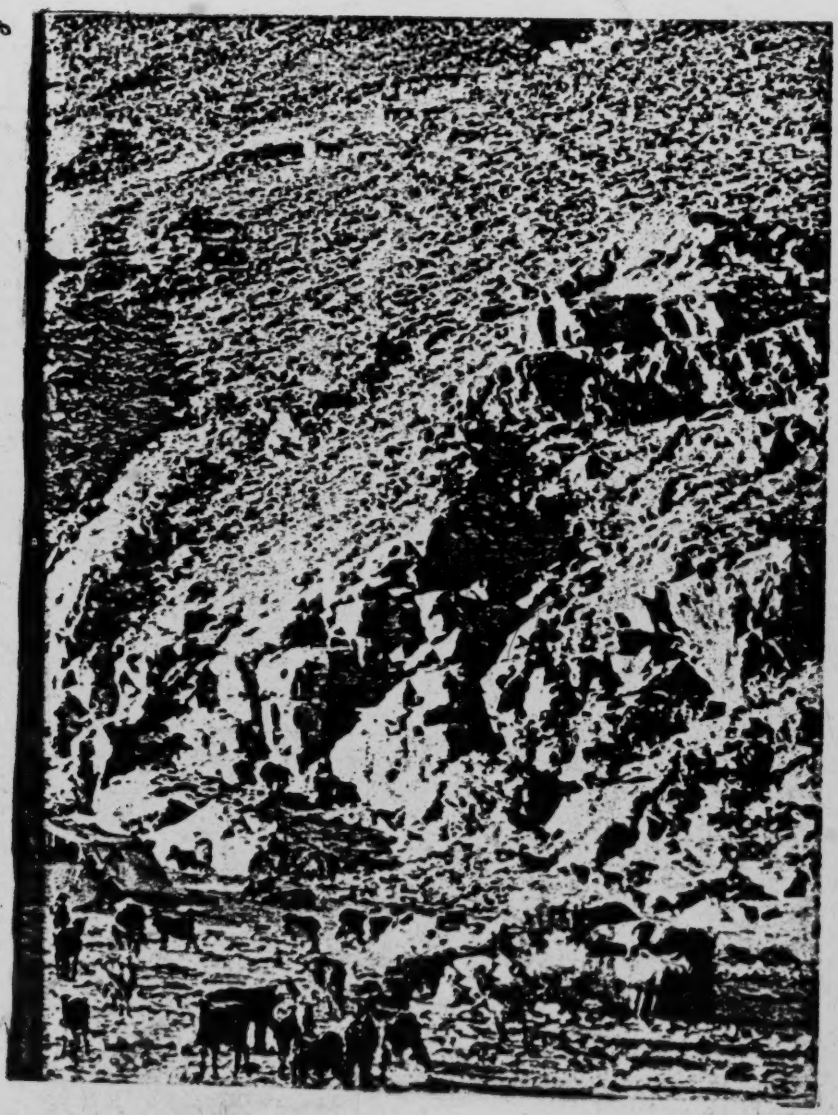
33a. Tuareg camp at Tessiben.

[p. 220]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



33b.

[p.221]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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34. Type of saddle (taiast) with its girth (aʔf).

[p. 222]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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516
991

35. During a stop a Targui grinds his millet in a sheep's skin.

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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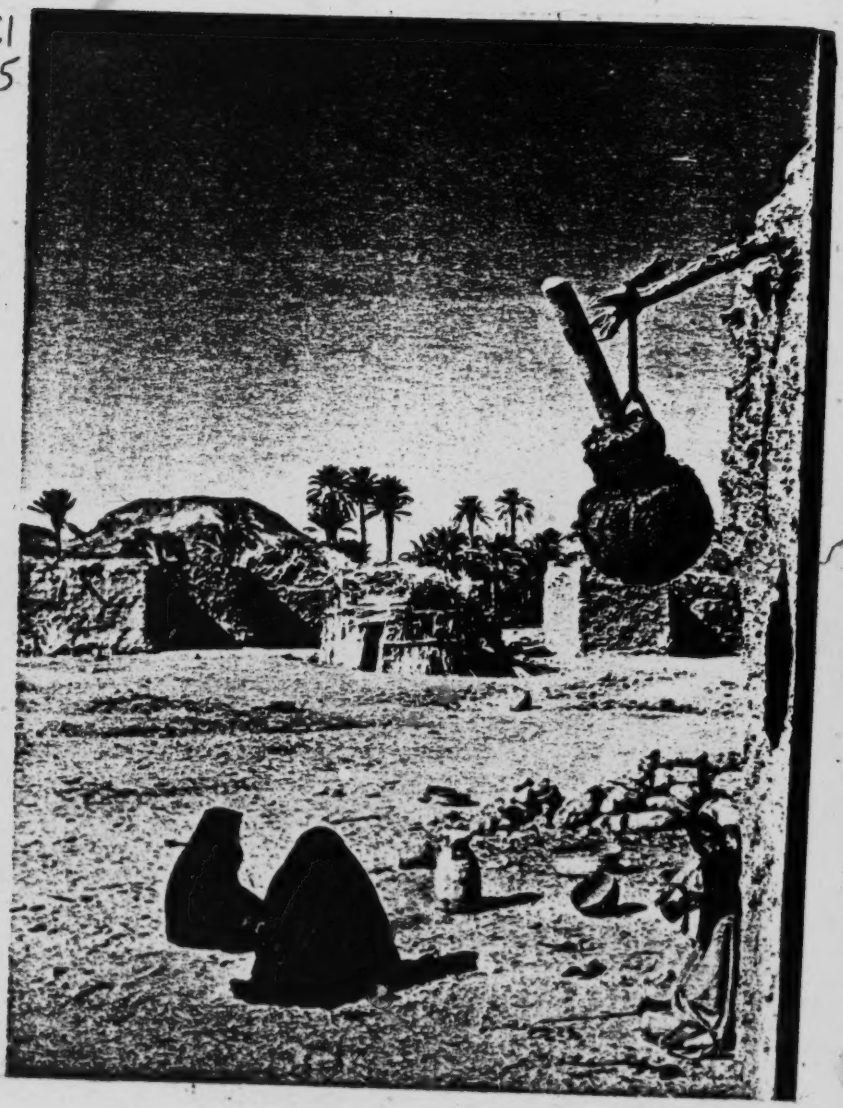
415



36. At the Ideles oasis. At right a butter container (tahtint).

[p. 224]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

.415

37. Delou used to keep water fresh.

[p. 225]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MA25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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38. Young Targui and his black servant at Ideles.

[p. 226]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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39. Filling a guerba using a wooden funnel.

[p. 227]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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516
415

40. Harratin family at Tahaggart.

[p. 228]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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41. Gathering wood at Tizzolaïne.

[p. 229]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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42. Camel trail. Boubaker gives the Issalen (the news).

[p. 230]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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43. A stop.

[p. 231]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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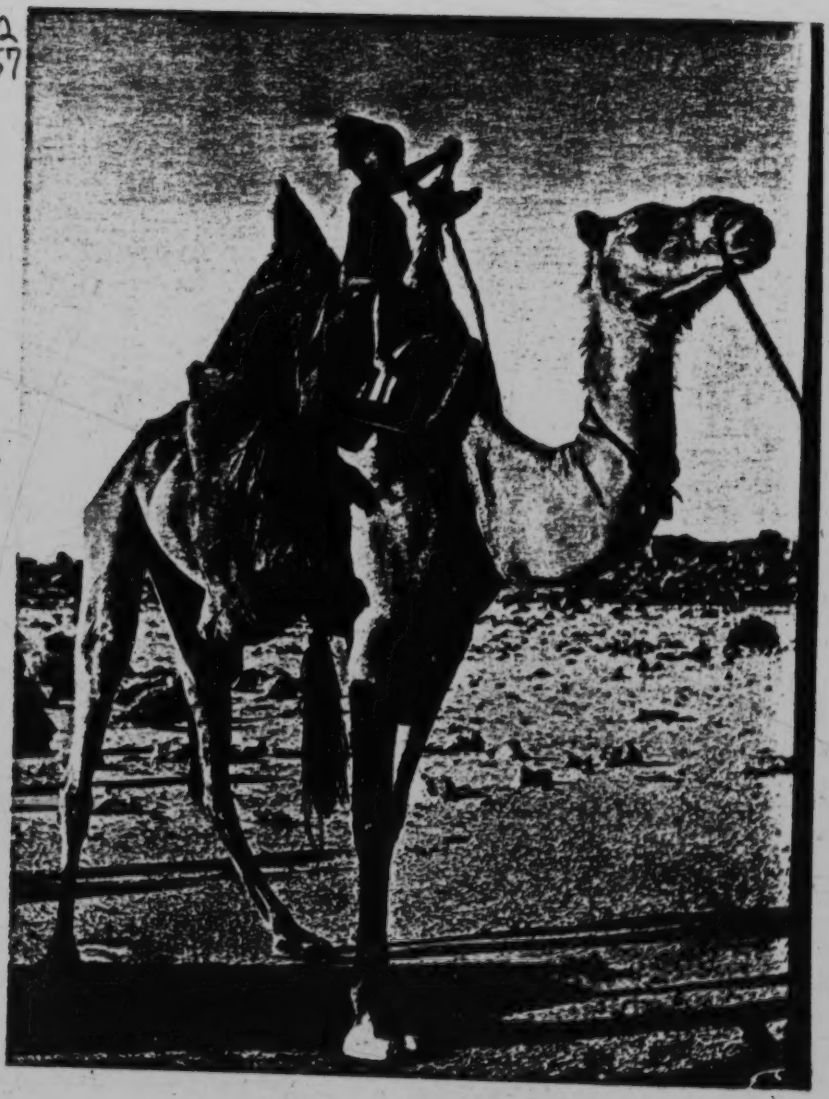

44. An infant Targui plays among the Dag Rali.

[p. 232]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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45. The public scribe.

[p. 233]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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534

46. The imzad.

[p. 234]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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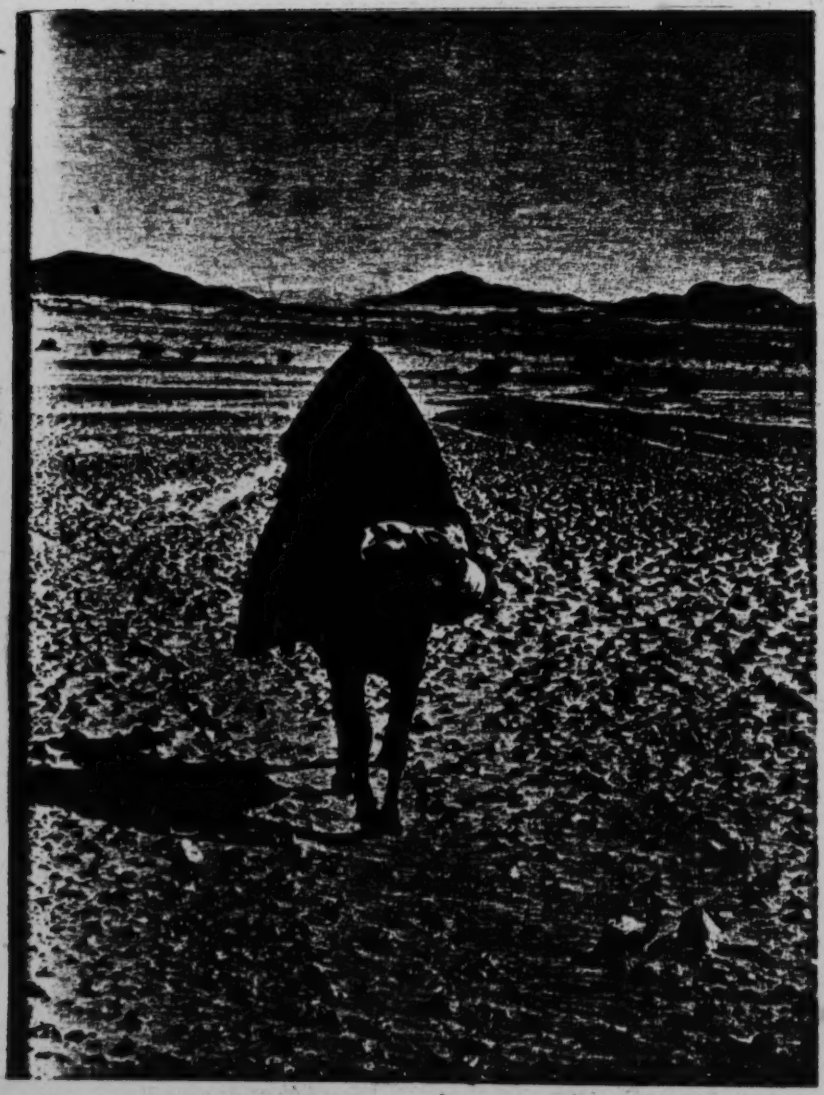
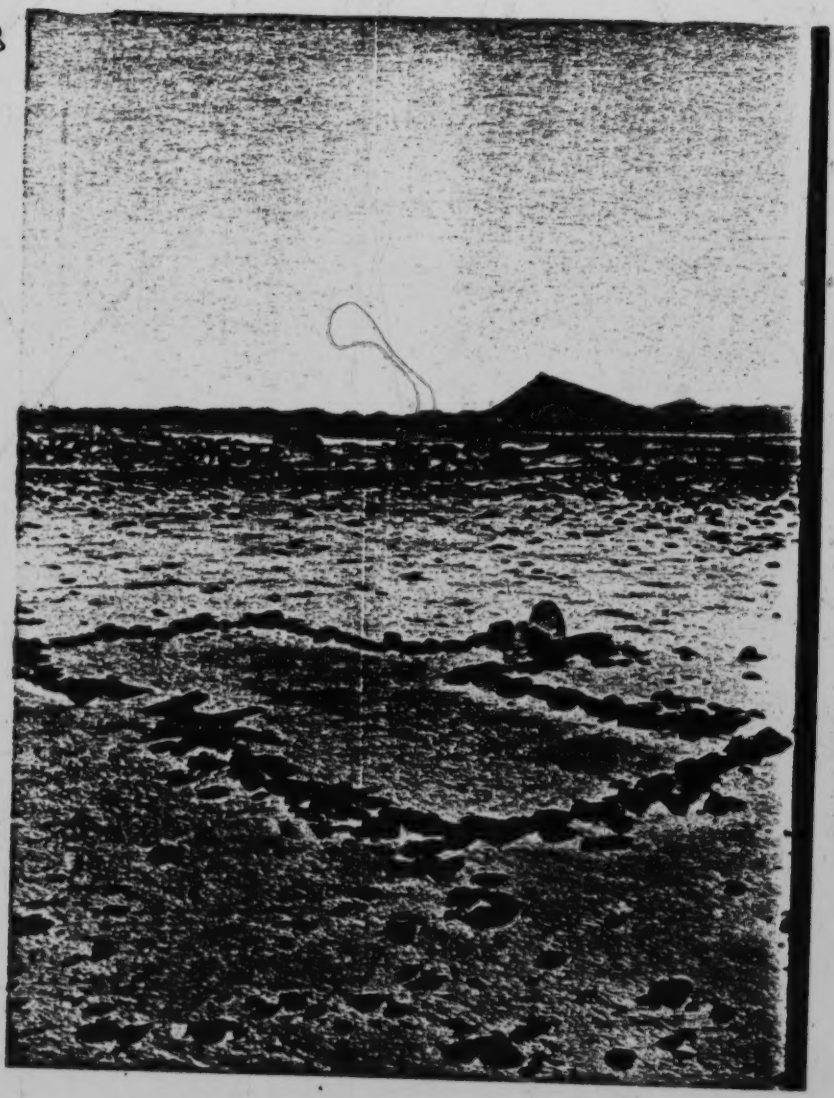


47. Woman leaving for a visit.

[p. 235]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

778



48. A Tuareg mosque.

[p. 236]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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49. Waiting at a rendezvous.

[p. 237]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

50. Negro dance at Tamanrasset.

[p.238]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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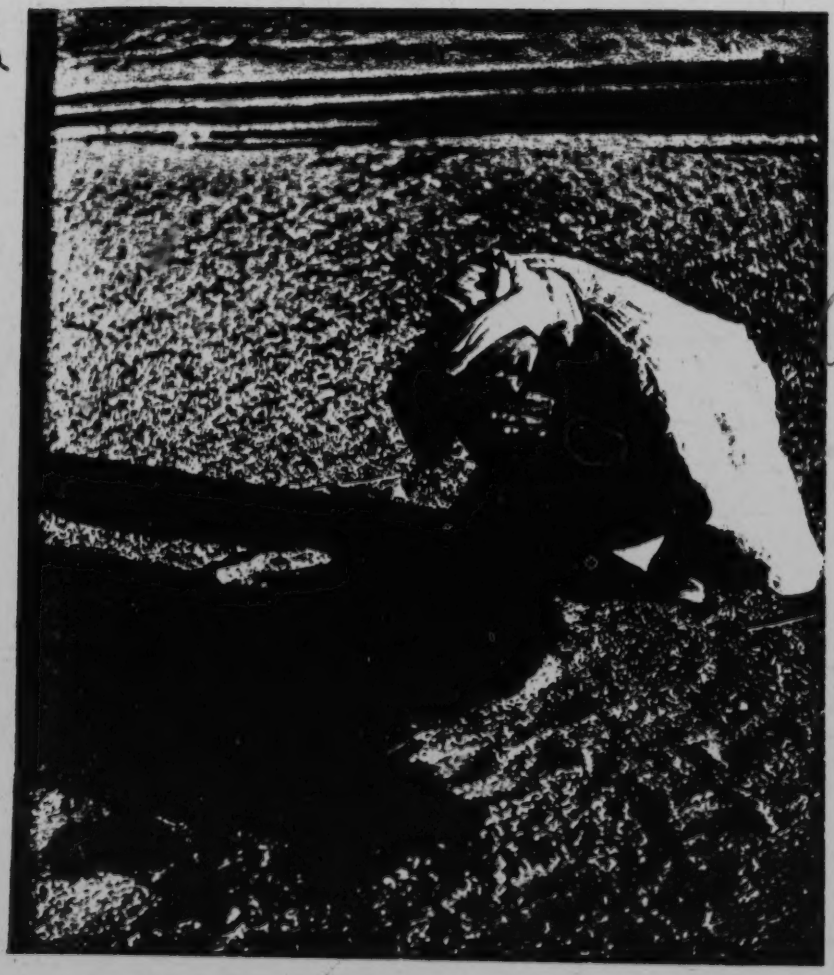

51. After killing a goat, one blows in the skin to loosen it.

[p.239]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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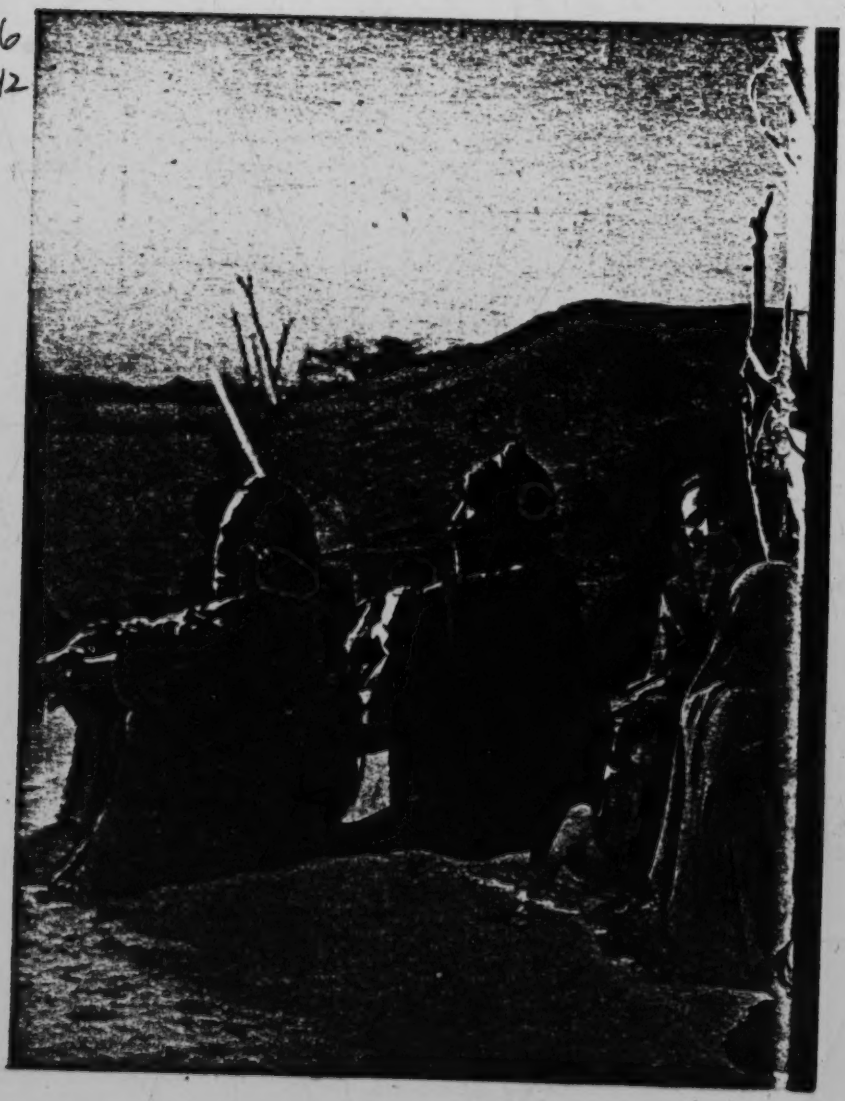

52a. Camp in the morning.

[p. 240] [left -see p. 241]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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[415]

52b.

[p. 241] [right - see p. 240]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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53. An Ag Ádar basket maker.

[p.242]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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54. Door of Moussa ag Amastane's house (present abode of the Inaden).

[p. 243]

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2.12

55a. Nomadic school in the camp of the amenokal.

[p. 244] [left - see p. 245]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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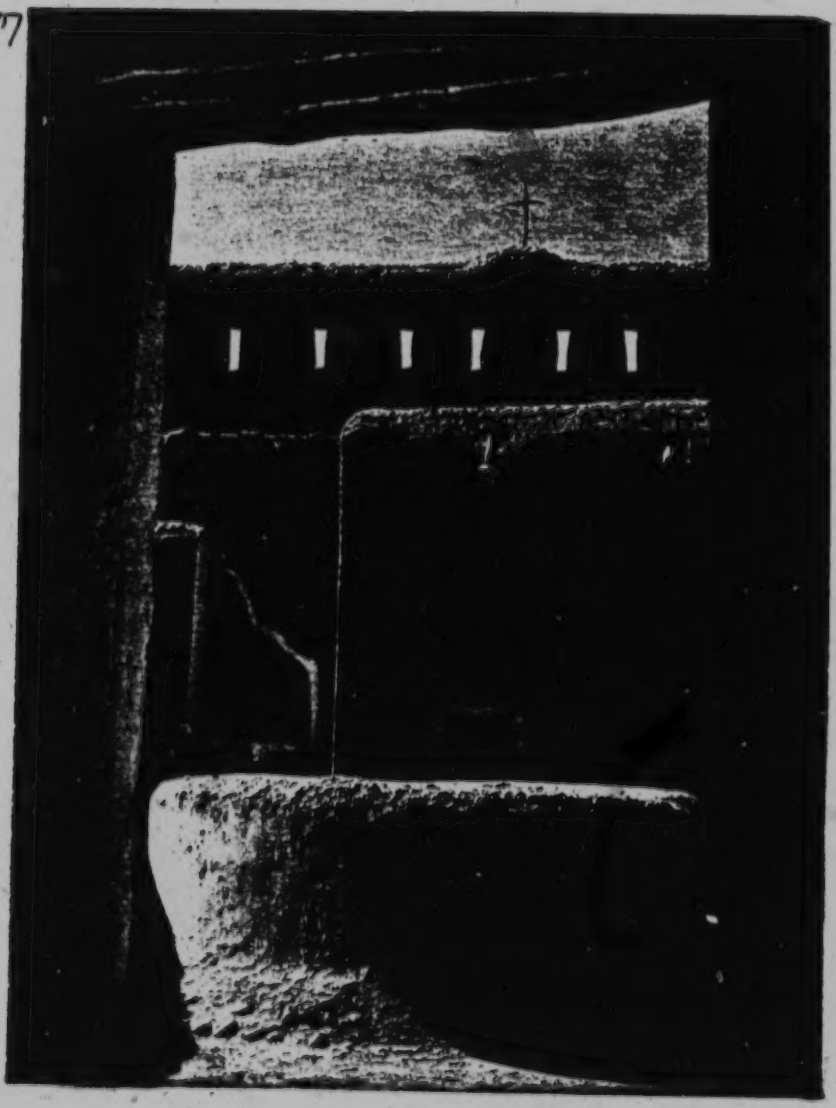
55b. [p. 245] [Right - see p. 244]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

797



56. Father de Foucauld's bordj.

[p. 246]

# LE HOGGAR

p. 1
[p. 2 is blank]

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg

# LE HOGGAR

PAR CLAUDE BLANGUERNON

OUVRAGE ILLUSTRÉ DE 56 HÉLIOGRAVURES

[p.3]

ARTHAUD

Bk14Y
Ah12
955B

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[p. 4]

*Lorsque tu aides un vieux à monter sur un chameau, ne lui dis pas : « Tiens-toi bien », il le sait.*

*Si tu montes la montagne, monte-la doucement.*

(Proverbes touareg.)

[p, 5]

# LE HOGGAR

Nul n'était mieux placé que Claude Blanguernon pour parler du Hoggar et des Touareg. Fixé depuis 1937 dans le Sud Algérien, c'est lui qui ouvrit il y a huit ans l'école de Tamanrasset, lui aussi qui créa la première école nomade. Au cours de ses tournées dans les campements touareg, il se lie d'amitié avec les chefs, dont il parle la langue, apprend à connaître leurs familles et à les aimer.

Esprit curieux et ouvert, Blanguernon emploie tous ses instants de loisir à parcourir le Hoggar, à noter les divers aspects de la géographie du pays et les traces de civilisation ancienne que l'on y trouve. Il reçoit et interroge tous les hommes de science éminents qui viennent étudier sur place les richesses et les particularités de cette région curieure et encore mal connue. Il se documente sur la flore et la faune, l'hydrographie et le climat comme sur les mœurs et coutumes des divers peuples du désert. Blanguernon apprend et transcrit dans un style simple et imagé les légendes que se transmettent les Touareg et que peu d'Européens ont la chance de connaître.

Grâce à l'érudition de Claude Blanguernon, à son amour pour le pays où il s'est établi, à ses dons d'écrivain, *le Hoggar* est plus qu'un guide, plus qu'un document, la somme de nos connaissances sur une partie de l'Afrique attirante entre toutes.

[p. 6] [pp. 7-8 are blank]

## AVANT-PROPOS

Ce travail commencé voici quatre ans, par timides observations personnelles, était destiné à demeurer à l'école de Tamanrasset, comme archives, afin d'éclairer mes successeurs.

Je me suis, peu à peu, rendu compte que Tamanrasset n'était pas le Hoggar, et que nombre de personnes, y arrivant, possédaient des idées toutes faites sur le pays et ses habitants. Idées souvent inexactes, toujours incomplètes, défendues avec la foi de l'ignorance et une énergie souvent convaincante, elles se répandent d'autant plus aisément qu'on les pare de merveilleux et de mystère : le pays étant mal connu s'y prête à merveille. Il faut signaler toute une littérature fleurie qui dépeint le Hoggar et les Touareg avec un luxe d'épithètes qui n'apporte aucune précision, mais a eu le mérite d'intéresser beaucoup de Français à ce pays fort attirant à divers titres.

Depuis trois ans, des caravanes de touristes viennent régulièrement visiter le Hoggar; ceux-ci posent tout naturellement de multiples questions que les Français de Tamanrasset connaissent bien, et auxquelles ils sont fatigués de répondre. J'ai pensé que cet ouvrage pourrait éclairer les visiteurs et soulager ceux qui sont las de répéter les mêmes réponses.

Ce travail est bien sûr incomplet, et certainement entaché d'erreurs, mais il a été fait avec toute l'objectivité dont j'étais capable.

[p. 9]

Je dois à M. Lelubre les données géologiques, à l'Institut de physique du globe les notes sur la climatologie. Les différents rapports annuels des chefs d'annexe du Hoggar m'ont fourni de précieux renseignements. Enfin, quantité d'amis touareg m'ont initié à leur vie.

Des spécialistes de toutes les disciplines scientifiques viennent étudier le Hoggar. Leurs recherches échappent souvent au public. Je demande leur indulgence pour ce travail, destiné à mon sens aux voyageurs et aux touristes.

# I

## LE HOGGAR

L'annexe du Hoggar, dont le chef-lieu administratif est Tamanrasset, couvre une superficie de 375 000 kilomètres carrés environ. Elle est, en gros, limitée par le 1° et le 8° de longitude est, et par les 19° et 27° de latitude nord. Les limites exactes figurent sur la carte du 1/1 000 000 du Sahara.

Le tropique du Cancer partage presque également en deux le territoire de l'annexe.

Un regard jeté sur la carte au 1/1 000 000 permet de distinguer dans ce quadrilatère un immense système montagneux bordé, au nord, par la plaine absolument stérile du Tidikelt; au sud-est et à l'ouest, par les plateaux strictement désertiques du Ténéré et du Tanezrouft.

Il semble que le Hoggar, isolé par sa ceinture de déserts, soit devenu une réserve naturelle, un monde à part du Sahara qui aurait vieilli seul, gardant une originalité de caractère résiduel.

Sa situation donne au Hoggar des affinités soudanaises, la végétation le prouve et la population en porte les traces.

Après avoir été, avant l'occupation française, un hiatus entre l'Algérie et l'Afrique noire, le Hoggar devient à présent un trait d'union.

Le Hoggar était, il y a moins de soixante-dix ans, parfaitement inconnu; on soupçonnait seulement l'existence des

Touareg grâce à des récits d'Arabes, récits entachés d'erreurs et de subjectivité.

On fut amené à progresser vers le pays touareg à la suite des actes de pillage et de destruction renouvelés des hommes « bleus », farouches, indépendants et guerriers.

Les quelques dates que l'on trouvera en appendice montreront que l'avance française dans le pays fut lente et toujours empreinte de cette humanité qui, malgré quelques combats engagés par les Touareg, ne cessa d'être le souci constant de tous les chefs.

Incontestablement le pays était destiné à frapper l'imagination. Cet ensemble montagneux, qui fait suite au Sahara septentrional, paraît clos et hostile.

Les gorges profondes qui traversent les tassilis sont les portes d'une région qui semble s'isoler du monde.

Au sortir de ces gorges sombres, on entre dans le domaine de la pierre. On la rencontre sous les formes les plus étranges; ce sont d'immenses dômes de granit qui surgissent d'une plaine de sable, ou des monolithes dressés comme une forêt de dolmens, de curieuses phyllades de schistes, semblant les feuillets d'un livre monstrueux. Ce paysage se déroule sur des centaines de kilomètres, dévoilant une nature désertique qui se pare des formes rocheuses les plus extraordinaires.

Mais le plus étrange reste à voir, le cœur du pays : chaque vallée y est une énigme, les pitons volcaniques qui bordent les ravins paraissent menacer l'intrus qui ose violer ce domaine.

Le sol présente des teintes allant du jaune tendre au noir, coupé de veines violettes, vertes, bleues ou roses. Les roches déchiquetées ou polies s'accumulent en chaos indescriptible, et d'immenses étendues de pierres noires et boursouflées semblent sortir d'une chaudière diabolique.

Les habitants paraissaient aussi mystérieux que le pays qui les abrite. Leur haute stature, leur allure fière et dédaigneuse, leur visage voilé du taguelmoust bleu étaient autant d'éléments qui donnaient libre cours à l'imagination. Des histoires circulaient par tout le Sahara, elles vantaient les vertus guerrières des Touareg, leur courage, leur cruauté alliée à un

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



sens chevaleresque de l'honneur. Ils étaient, pour certains, les derniers Atlantes, pour d'autres, d'anciens Francs, dont l'épée en forme de croix symbolisait la foi perdue.

Cependant, peu à peu, des explorateurs, des officiers administrateurs, des savants, devaient mettre les choses au point et montrer le Hoggar tel qu'il est.

Les récits de Barth et de Duveyrier ont opéré un premier déblaiement dans la connaissance générale de la région. Puis vinrent les travaux scientifiques de Flamand, Maire, Reygasse, Kilian; MM. Monod, Lelubre, Bordet, Follot, Dubief, qui ont donné les bases sûres permettant une connaissance aussi exacte que possible du pays et des hommes.

L'œuvre linguistique du père de Foucauld a fixé d'une façon remarquablement précise les Touareg et leur langue, à l'époque où il les connut.

De nombreux explorateurs, M. Lhote en particulier, ont laissé des observations précises alliées à des vues personnelles sur le pays.

Enfin, le roman a mis le Hoggar en lumière, et pour beaucoup de Français, *L'Atlantide*, cette délicieuse fiction de Pierre Benoît, est l'image qu'ils se font du pays. Les derniers livres de Frison-Roche sont également pour beaucoup dans le mouvement touristique qui s'ébauche vers le Hoggar.

## Morphologie et Relief

L'ensemble du système montagneux qui constitue le Hoggar apparaît incohérent au premier abord; il prend sens quand on l'examine en détail. Afin d'avoir une idée schématique, on peut distinguer trois grandes zones concentriques : un noyau central, un fossé périphérique, et la ceinture extérieure des tassilis.

Au centre du Hoggar s'élève un massif à peu près circulaire, sorte de plateau d'une altitude moyenne de 2 000 mètres, hérissé de pitons atteignant presque 3 000 mètres : c'est l'Atakor des Touareg (calotte cranienne). Un éperon rocheux s'avance vers le nord, c'est la Tefedest qui culmine à

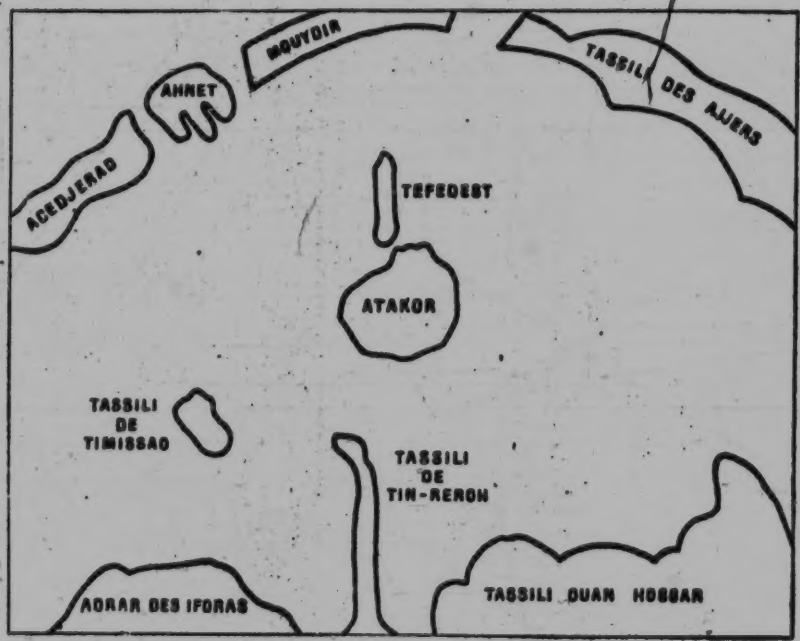
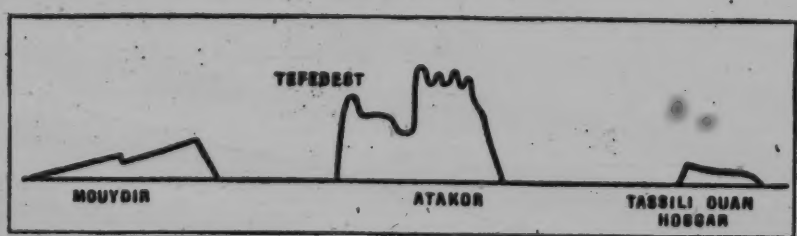



Schéma montrant la morphologie concentrique du Hoggar.




Carte du système montagneux touareg, nord-sud.

2 327 mètres avec la Garet el Djenoun en son extrémité septentrionale.

Autour du noyau central, une sorte de dépression circulaire d'une altitude variant de 500 à 800 mètres forme une couronne presque parfaite dans laquelle surgissent, çà et là, des pitons granitiques ou des témoins volcaniques.

Puis on trouve à une distance de 200 kilomètres en moyenne, autour du massif cristallin central, une suite presque continue de plateaux qui constituent l'enceinte extérieure du Hoggar : au nord, le Mouydir, puis, en tournant vers l'est : le tassili des Ajjers, au sud et sud-est, le tassili du Hoggar, le tassili de Tin-Reroh; au sud-ouest, le tassili de Timissao; au nord-ouest, l'Acedjerad et l'Ahnet qui vient jouxter le Mouydir.

Seuls quelques grands oueds quaternaires ont un lit qui franchit cette enceinte tassilienne, ils drainent presque toutes les eaux du Hoggar. L'oued Tamanrasset va se perdre en un vaste bassin d'épandage au nord de l'Adrar des Iforas; il devait rejoindre autrefois le Niger dans la cuvette de Taoudéni. L'oued Tafassasset, qui draine le flanc est du Hoggar, se perd actuellement dans le Ténéré; il devait anciennement être un affluent du Tchad et non du Niger comme on l'a longtemps cru. L'Igharghar s'échappe du Hoggar entre le Mouydir et le tassili des Ajjers, son cours a pu être suivi jusqu'au pied de l'Aurès.

L'oued Tin-Tarabin rassemble les eaux du versant est de l'Atakor.

On peut comparer l'ensemble du Hoggar à un immense système fortifié, dont le massif central serait le château fort hérissé de tourelles tombant à pic sur le fossé d'enceinte; sur l'autre bord, les tassilis, également à pic sur le fossé, mais en pente douce vers l'extérieur, constitueraient les glacis périphériques. Une coupe nord-sud met en évidence cet aspect défensif du Hoggar.

Le noyau central que les Touareg nomment Atakor (certains traduisent ce terme par « milieu des montagnes », d'autres par « nœud » d'où partent tous les oueds) offre un

aspect saisissant de grandeur sauvage. C'est un hérissement de pitons verticaux d'une altitude voisine de 3 000 mètres, dont le type est l'Ilamane (2 823 m.). Ce sont d'anciens volcans. Ils auraient projeté hors du sol des laves d'une grande viscosité qui se seraient solidifiées presque immédiatement, un peu à la façon de la pâte dentifrice sortant du tube quand on le presse légèrement. Le cône volcanique habituel est très restreint, seules attirent l'attention les colonnes verticales ou spirales qui constituent le piton.

Parfois d'immenses montagnes tabulaires, tels l'Adrar In Taraïn ou l'Adriane, témoignent de l'ampleur des coulées volcaniques, leurs différents plans semblent indiquer les courbes de niveau.

On rencontre aussi, dominant d'immenses plateaux couverts de lave, de véritables forteresses du plus curieux effet dans la pénombre crépusculaire, c'est le domaine des mouflons. L'Aounahampt, l'Akarakar et le Takouft sont les plus caractéristiques de ce type.

Les Touareg ont été impressionnés par cet étrange relief. L'Ilamane, si pur et si majestueux, trônant face au midi, au milieu d'un cirque de montagnes somptueusement colorées, eût pu, dans leurs légendes, être un dieu dont les orgues de granit voisines auraient chanté les louanges. Mais ce peuple de guerriers, peu préoccupé de sujets religieux, imagina une histoire d'amour qui tourna en querelle.

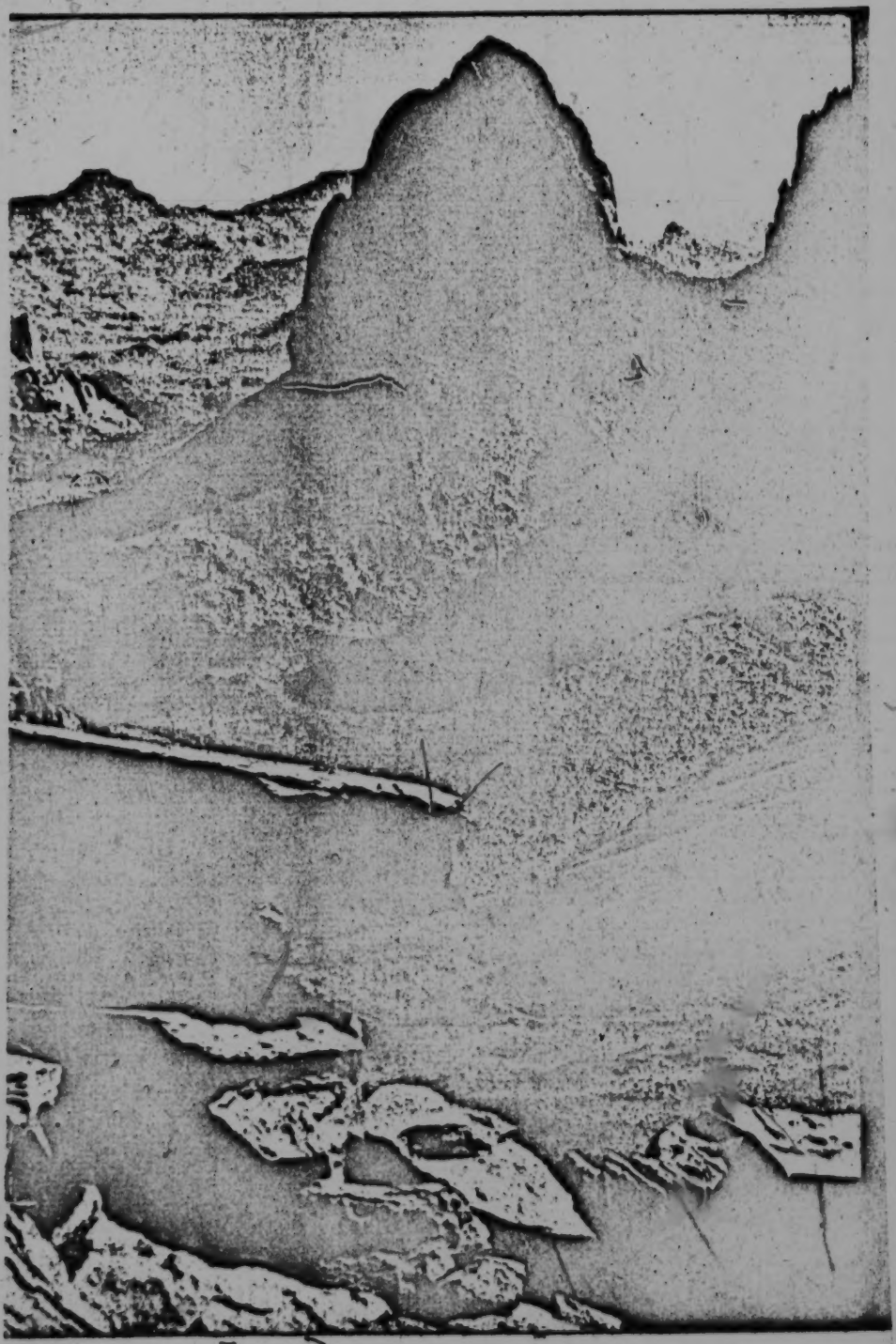
A quelques kilomètres à l'ouest de l'Ilamane se trouvent deux montagnes, dont l'une, la plus au nord, de forme massive, se nomme Amdjer — la légende affirme que c'était un homme —; et l'autre, au sommet pointu, a pour nom Tararat — et Tararat était femme.

Amdjer et Tararat s'aimaient. Il advint qu'Ilamane s'éprit aussi de Tararat. Cette passion ne fut point sans doute du goût d'Amdjer, qui lui fit des remontrances. Ilamane, très violent de nature, frappa Amdjer de sa lance. Ce dernier se défendit âprement, portant à son agresseur deux violents coups de sabre, ce qui ôta à Ilamane toute envie de disputer Tararat à un tel adversaire... Depuis ce temps Amdjer et Tararat sont

1. Le massif de l'Adriane vu d'avion.
2. Dans l'Atakor, cœur du Hoggar, le massif du Fidjemayène vu du sommet de la Séouénane.
3. Position du méharistе touareg.

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg

[P. 16A]



[p.168]

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg

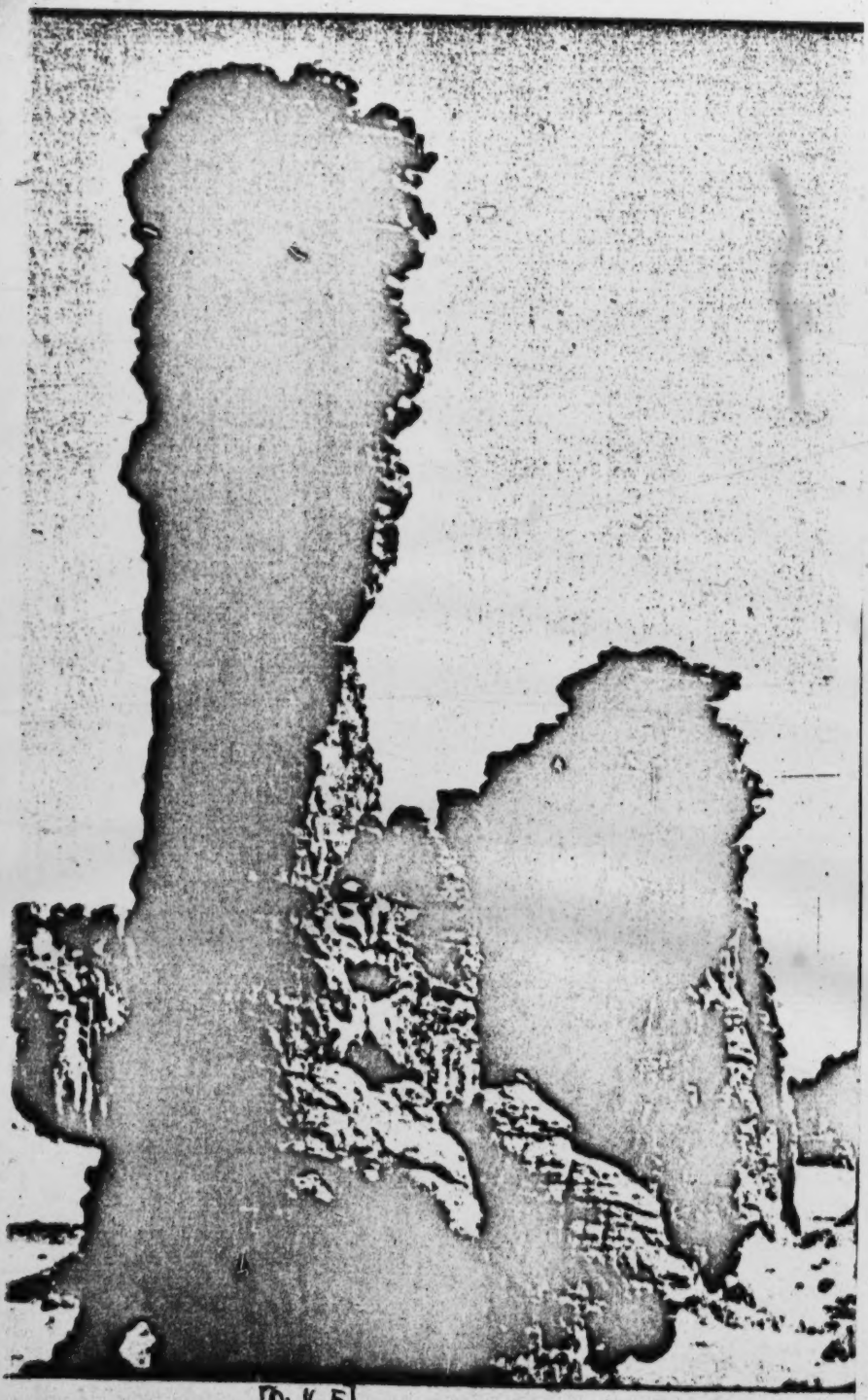
[p.16c]

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg

[p. 16E]

[p. 16D]

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



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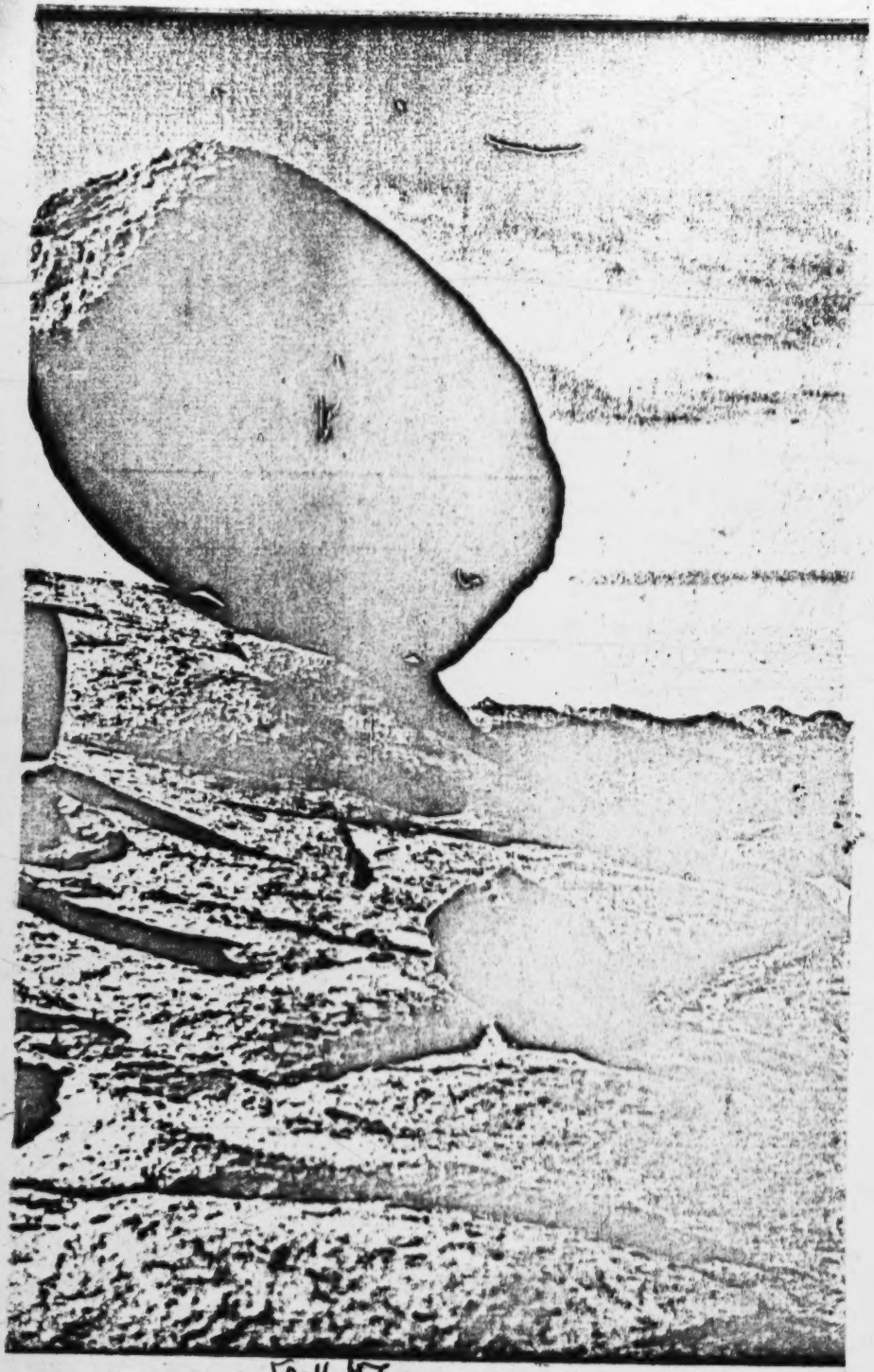
[p. 166]

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



[p.16 H]

unis par une chaîne, et le coup de lance qui blessa la montagne est encore visible; une source en sort, témoignant que la plaie n'est pas encore cicatrisée. De chaque côté de son sommet, Ilamane porte fièrement les deux entailles des coups de sabre, souvenir de jeunesse d'un duel de géants.

A quelque temps de là, le Hoggar devait encore être troublé. Ilamane devint amoureux du Tahat qui était une femme, mais il y avait un autre prétendant nommé Ti Hiyène. Craignant ce rival, et instruit par l'expérience, Ilamane quitta la place où il se trouvait depuis toujours et vint se planter tout près du Tahat, où il est demeuré depuis lors. Vexé de se sentir dédaigné du Tahat, Ti Hiyène résolut de fuir le Hoggar et d'aller chercher fortune vers l'Adrar des Iforas. Il partit donc, en empruntant la voie de l'oued Amded. Or, dans l'oued Amded était une montagne appelée Eheri. Eheri était un homme courageux, quoique pacifique; il était respectueux des usages, et il ne lui semblait pas bon qu'une montagne du Hoggar quittât ainsi son pays pour une raison somme toute futile. Il abandonna son emplacement et vint se planter sur le chemin du fuyard, afin de lui barrer la route. Ti Hiyène, instruit du geste d'Eheri, comprit sans doute la leçon, car il se fixa en amont, près du puits de Tin-Dahar.

Depuis cette époque, on peut admirer l'Ilamane, heureux vainqueur, trônant devant le Tahat, et voir son premier emplacement qui est un immense cratère circulaire, formant une dépression à l'ouest de l'oued Ilamane. Vers l'oued Amded, un cratère semblable témoigne de l'ancienne résidence d'Eheri. Ces dépressions circulaires ont longtemps été des énigmes pour les géologues.

« Et l'emplacement de Ti Hiyène ? » demandai-je à Marly ag Amayas qui me contait par le détail cette légende. « Nul ne le connaît, dit-il, et c'est normal : lorsqu'un homme décide de partir après avoir réfléchi, il se lève doucement, en songeant à ses projets, et ne laisse aucune trace, tandis que celui qui agit sous l'emprise de la passion part brusquement et laisse une profonde empreinte dans le sol. »

Un lacis d'oueds sépare ces différents sommets, formant

4. Paysage du Tassili.
5. Phénomène d'érosion granitique (dans l'oued Mertoutek).

des dénivellations de 800 à 1 000 mètres. Les hautes vallées de ces oueds sont jeunes, en forme de V; de véritables cañons entaillent des champs de laves (oued Tarhoumout). Aucun de ces oueds n'a atteint son profil d'équilibre, ils présentent des rapides, parfois des cascades lorsqu'ils se fraient un passage entre deux Adrars. A ces endroits l'eau séjourne en des mares pérennes appelées gueltas. Certaines de ces gueltas (Issakarassène, Afilal) sont peuplées de poissons et sont entourées d'une végétation luxuriante qui contraste avec l'aridité du pays.

Cette région de l'Atakor impressionne fortement le voyageur par les teintes incroyables dont se parent les montagnes au cours de la journée. La sauvage grandeur des monts fait peser une angoisse que l'on chasse difficilement quand on chemine dans les oueds bordés d'acacias, guidé par un Targui voilé, silencieux et souple, monté sur un méhari dont le pas feutré s'accorde avec l'inquiétant silence. La zone du fossé périphérique dans laquelle on observe un relief peu accentué possède de grandes régions presque plates, recouvertes souvent d'une légère couche de sable. Parfois de petits massifs coupent l'horizon, ou, sur le côté exposé au vent dominant, une dune monte à l'assaut : l'Adrar Bourzekal en est un exemple. Parfois des collines de granit en forme de dôme parfait, poli, luisant et patiné, semblent surgir de l'étendue horizontale (Tesnou, Iniker, Ahélèheg), ou bien c'est un amoncellement colossal de blocs brillants et de formes presque géométriques, donnant à ces garas de soixante à cent mètres de haut un aspect ruiniforme, comme à In-Tédéini, ou près d'Idelès, ou dans la région du Debna.

Dans cette zone, les oueds descendus de l'Atakor s'élargissent à un tel point que l'on ne distingue plus de vallée nette, il faut plutôt parler de bassins d'épandage dans lesquels sinue, suivant un tracé incertain, l'eau qu'une crue assez puissante amène jusque-là. Ce passage des eaux est parfois jalonné d'herbes sèches et de rares tahlas. On retrouve une vallée lorsque l'oued franchit une ligne rocheuse qu'il coupe en formant une brèche à bords raides, puis c'est un nouveau bassin d'autant plus vaste que l'on s'éloigne de l'Atakor, car

les bassins affluents s'ajoutent en formant une immense étendue plate que les Touareg nomment « aciaf ».

Vus de loin, les tassilis offrent l'aspect d'une barrière infranchissable dont la frange supérieure entaillée par le ruissellement et usée par les vents donne l'illusion d'une cité fortifiée. Des oueds travailleurs ont découpé ces plateaux gréseux, leurs vallées profondes aux bords verticaux constituent des gorges sauvages au fond desquelles une végétation relativement dense jure avec l'aridité du plateau strictement nu et balayé par les vents. On rencontre dans ces tassilis de nombreuses gueltas souvent bordées de « tahlis » (sorte de roseau).

NOTE. — *Quelques altitudes* :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tahat | 3 003 | mètres | Dans l'Atakor. |
| Ilaman | 2 823 | » | » |
| In-Taraïn | 2 762 | » | » |
| Asekrem | 2 804 | » | » |
| Tozat | 2 400 | » | » |
| Akarakar | 2 216 | » | » |
| In-Afilal | 2 157 | » | » |
| Garet el Djenoun | 2 327 | » | Dans la Tefedest. |
| Ifetessen | 1 680 | » | Dans le Mouydir. |

## LE CLIMAT

Les observations météorologiques ne sont faites régulièrement qu'à Tamanrasset et seulement depuis 1929. On manque donc de données précises pour l'ensemble du territoire. Si l'on sait par les Touareg qu'il a plu en quelque endroit, on ignore l'intensité des précipitations. En ce qui concerne les vents et les températures, les renseignements sont encore plus vagues. Cependant, en tenant compte des observations faites à Tamanrasset, et en examinant la végétation des différents points de l'annexe du Hoggar, ainsi que la répartition de la faune, on peut déterminer trois zones climatiques qui épousent presque exactement les zones de relief. Notons toutefois que

les tassilis du sud sont soumis à un régime de vents et de pluies différent de celui des tassilis du nord. Avant d'étudier les zones de climat, il est bon de donner un aperçu des caractères généraux communs à ces zones.

Le climat a une allure continentale désertique due à la situation du pays.

Le tropique du Cancer partageant en deux parties le territoire du Hoggar, il se produit un passage du soleil au zénith qui donne au pays une influence soudanaise sous forme de nuées d'été qui se condensent parfois en pluies orageuses : « queues de tornades ». Cette mousson soudanaise ne se manifeste que très rarement au nord du tropique.

Enfin, en hiver, une prédominance assez régulière de vents nord-ouest est capable d'apporter des pluies atlantiques ou méditerranéennes qui affectent rarement le sud.

Si l'on en vient à considérer les différentes zones de climat, on voit que l'Atakor est, grâce à ses sommets élevés, le centre de répartition des eaux que condensent les montagnes lorsque, par chance, les nuages sont assez bas; les systèmes nuageux sont relativement fréquents et souvent importants, mais ils semblent s'élever quand ils abordent la région montagneuse. L'altitude tempère la chaleur de l'été, et l'hiver amène presque tous les ans de légères chutes de neige sur les cimes. On observe, dans l'Atakor seulement, un témoin résiduel de flore méditerranéenne, un olivier sauvage : *Olea Laperrini*. En descendant vers le fossé périphérique apparaît le « kranka », *(callotropis proscera)*, arbuste dont l'aire d'expansion est essentiellement tropicale; puis, à la limite des montagnes centrales, le palmier fructifie, à Silet, Abalessa, In-Amguel.

D'après les observations du poste météorologique de Tamanrasset, on a pu établir quelques graphiques de pluies et de températures que l'on trouvera en appendice. Des renseignements manquent durant la période de guerre. Le climat est caractérisé par la régularité des températures et l'extrême irrégularité des pluies. Les grosses pluies surviennent cependant presque toujours en été et en hiver; quand les deux chances se conjuguent, il y a une année pluvieuse comme en

1943 : 108,5 mm.; quand, au contraire, les conditions atmosphériques interdisent aux tornades soudanaises et aux vents atlantiques l'approche du Hoggar, nous constatons une année sèche comme en 1945 : 28 mm., ou en 1949 : 9 mm.

Vu l'insuffisance des postes météorologiques, et les distances énormes qui les séparent, il est impossible de suivre l'évolution des systèmes nuageux, ou de prévoir un phénomène de périodicité des pluies.

A Tamanrasset les vents sont assez réguliers; le matin, le vent dominant est de composante est-nord-est; le soir, la composante serait : ouest-sud-ouest à ouest-nord-ouest.

L'hiver, les vents dominants apportant la pluie sont surtout nord-ouest, venant des dépressions marocaines.

En été, la pluie vient avec des vents sud-ouest, remontée vraisemblable des cyclones soudanais.

On n'observe pas de vents de sable, mais de rares tempêtes de poussière, surtout au mois de mars.

Par temps calme, ou même par vent violent, il se produit des tourbillons; on a émis à ce sujet différentes hypothèses, mais pour l'instant on n'a pas résolu cette question. Les Touareg ont leur opinion sur la cause des tourbillons; c'est, disent-ils, manifestations de génies. Voici d'ailleurs une histoire qui prouve combien ils ont raison.

« Par un après-midi ensoleillé, une femme touarègue — certains m'ont dit une Négresse — ramassait du bois dans le ravin d'Itharentidjarnin, lorsqu'un violent tourbillon prit naissance à une centaine de mètres. La poussière commença à tourner, décrivant un cercle presque parfait, puis elle s'éleva verticalement, toujours tournant et de plus en plus vite. Lorsque la colonne de poussière eut atteint une grande hauteur, le tourbillon se mit en marche. Il partit doucement, hésitant sur la direction à prendre, enfin il se dirigea vers le midi, tournoyant, se dandinant et sifflant allégrement. La femme, charmée par ce spectacle, manifesta sa joie par des « you-you » à pleine gorge. Le tourbillon s'approcha d'elle, lui jeta de l'or et la remercia d'être joyeuse, car, dit-il, « nous marions l'un des nôtres ».

« C'est bien la première fois, dirent les anciens du campement, à qui la femme racontait cette aventure, que les Kel es Souf se montrent agréables. »

« A quelque temps de là, la même femme, au même endroit, vit un semblable tourbillon. Espérant être de nouveau gâtée par les génies, elle salua de gais « you-you » le passage du tourbillon. Mal lui en prit, elle fut saisie, enlevée de terre, tournoya à une hauteur incroyable, puis fut brusquement lâchée et vint s'écraser sur le sol. Tandis qu'elle tombait, les Kel es Souf lui dirent : « Nous escortons le convoi funèbre d'un des nôtres, te voici châtiée de t'être moquée de nous. » On trouva la femme les membres brisés. Elle conta son histoire et mourut. »

Le climat de Tamanrasset, qui semble séduisant au premier abord par sa douceur de température, est épuisant à la longue; c'est une constatation faite par tous ceux qui y ont séjourné un certain temps. Le travail intellectuel y est très pénible. Le père de Foucauld a essayé de s'installer au sommet de l'Asekrem, mais n'a pu y trouver la puissance de travail qu'il possédait ailleurs. On a également constaté l'état de nervosité extrême qui saisit les hommes, et surtout les femmes, après un long séjour. Quelles sont les causes de ces troubles? Sans doute sont-ils dus aux effets conjugués de l'altitude et de l'extrême siccité de l'air. Certains veulent y voir des effets magnétiques, d'autres mettraient en cause des radiations (1). En fait, aucune solution satisfaisante n'a été trouvée.

On trouve une deuxième zone de climat dans le fossé périphérique. Cette région, située à plus basse altitude, possède des températures plus élevées, et les pluies y sont beaucoup plus rares. La végétation y est presque inexistante; même dans les oueds les tahlas sont très peu nombreux et le morakba est

(1) Il m'a été donné de faire une observation curieuse : il y a deux ans, je ramassais différentes roches que je passais au compteur de Geiger. J'avais noté sur chaque roche le nombre de « top » minute. Un certain matin, je voulus vérifier mes échantillons. Toutes mes roches étaient plus radio-actives de 25 « top ». Par chance je pus faire constater cette anomalie à P. Bordet, géologue venu étudier le volcanisme au Hoggar. Il pensa à des radiations cosmiques, mais n'étant pas spécialiste de cette question, n'affirma rien, se bornant à constater, afin d'aviser un professeur qualifié.

presque toujours sec. Le kranka n'existe plus, l'éthel pas davantage, et le climat saharien intégral reprend ses droits pour aboutir à la perfection désertique du Tanezrouft et du Ténéré. Les gazelles fuient le centre de cette région, elles se rapprochent des pays montagneux plus humides suivant la fréquence des pluies génératrices d' « acheb » (pâturage).

Enfin, dans les tassilis, il faut distinguer entre ceux du nord et ceux du sud.

Les premiers reçoivent des pluies d'hiver presque tous les ans, et plus rarement les précipitations provenant de la mousson soudanaise. Les renseignements sur ces régions sont imprécis et peu nombreux, sauf en ce qui concerne le Mouydir qui est traversé par la piste d'In-Salah et survolé par les avions de la ligne d'Alger. Il semble, d'après les dires des Touareg, que le Mouydir soit plus arrosé que l'Ahnet et l'Acedjerad, ce qui paraît normal du fait de sa plus grande altitude et peut-être aussi à cause d'un système de dépressions atmosphériques que l'on soupçonne, mais qui n'a pas encore été étudié.

Le kranka réapparaît, signe de moins grande aridité, les tahlas sont assez denses dans les oueds, les gueltas s'assèchent rarement, elles sont bordées de « berdis ». Le mouflon réside en permanence sur les sommets.

On est encore moins bien informé au sujet des tasailis du sud. Les renseignements sont presque inexistants pour le tassili ouan Hoggar; en ce qui concerne les tassilis de Tin-Reroh, et de Timissao, qui sont situés sur les pistes caravanières venant de l'Adrar des Iforas vers le Tidikelt ou le Hoggar, il y a les renseignements donnés par les Touareg. Ces derniers signalent surtout les pluies d'été, et les plus abondantes, celles capables de faire naître l'acheb.

Ces tassilis reçoivent peu d'eau des queues de tornades en raison de leur médiocre altitude; cependant il pleut en été presque chaque année. Les puits de Tin-Reroh et de Timissao ne sont jamais à sec. La guelta de Tin-Reroh l'est parfois.

Bien que n'étant pas un tassili, la bordure nord de l'Adrar des Iforas est soumise au même régime climatique; elle est d'importance vitale pour les Touareg du Hoggar qui y font

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



pâturer leurs chamelles. Le régime des pluies d'été est régulier, la mousson soudanaise provoque des crues régulières, les oueds possèdent des gueltas qui se remplissent l'été et peuvent conserver l'eau jusqu'aux crues suivantes. Le pâturage de gergir est abondant, il dure presque toute l'année. Ethels, tamaris, sont denses dans les oueds, et les tahlas commencent à pousser sur les pentes des collines. La flore des oueds est plus variée. Les gazelles abondent, on rencontre des biches Robert, des antilopes oryx et addax. C'est certainement la région la plus favorisée du territoire de l'annexe du Hoggar, mais géographiquement, c'est déjà le Soudan.

## L'Eau au Hoggar

Ainsi que dans toute région désertique, la question de l'eau est primordiale. Le Hoggar est relativement favorisé par les pluies. Les points d'eau sont nombreux dans les régions montagneuses du noyau central et des tassilis; à ce point de vue, il est donc assez aisé de les parcourir. Mais il en va tout autrement de la zone comprise entre l'Atakor et les tassilis.

Dès que l'eau apparaît, spontanément au Hoggar le paysage se transforme, une vie animale intense se développe, une végétation qui paraît luxuriante par opposition au reste du pays croît autour des points d'eau. Cette mince trace de vie a quelque chose d'attendrissant, de timide, d'intime par comparaison avec l'aspect grandiose du désert.

La conséquence de la nature cristalline du sol est l'absence de nappe artésienne. On ne peut espérer trouver de l'eau que dans les lits d'oued, sous les alluvions, à une profondeur qui peut varier de 0,20 m. à 15 mètres. Parfois, lorsque la nappe de l'oued est abondante, l'eau s'écoule librement au seuil rocheux qui forme barrage souterrain; un tel écoulement se nomme « tiggert » en tamahaq. Lorsque après un tiggert l'eau s'accumule dans les cuvettes rocheuses et les « marmites » des rapides, on se trouve en présence de gueltas (« aguelmam » en tamahaq), dans lesquelles vivent des poissons et toute une faune aquatique. A ma connaissance, il n'existe que de rares

6. Un oued dans l'Atakor en période sèche.

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg

[FACING P. 24].

[FACING p.25]

sources au Hoggar : citons la source Chapuis qui, près de Tamanrasset, sort des granits de l'Adrar Haggarène. Des concrétions calcaires dans certains oueds du Tahalra permettent de supposer que des sources thermales ont pu exister autrefois.

Les oueds prennent presque tous naissance dans le Hoggar central qui est la zone de répartition des eaux. Deux très grands oueds quaternaires, l'oued Igharghar et l'oued Tamanrasset, drainent les eaux de l'ouest et du nord. L'oued Tin-Tarabin et les oueds Tin-Amzi et Zazir entraînent les eaux des versants sud et sud-est vers le Tamesnar, dans l'oued Azaouak, affluent du Niger.

Les oueds du Hoggar apparaissent comme une succession de bassins descendant des sommets en un gigantesque escalier, dont les degrés supérieurs recèlent l'eau qui engendre la seule végétation permanente du pays et permettent à l'ingéniosité de l'homme de créer des jardins, et dont les marches inférieures, démesurément élargies, sont mortes à toute vie sédentaire.

L'oued Tamanrasset offre un exemple typique de l'oued du Hoggar. Sa source — ou plus exactement sa tête — est à l'Asekrem, à près de 2 765 mètres d'altitude; son embouchure, c'est-à-dire le dernier bassin d'épandage, s'élargit et se perd dans le Tanezrouft, à une altitude de 400 mètres. Sa longueur actuelle est de 750 kilomètres environ; si, au quaternaire, l'oued Tamanrasset se jetait dans la dépression de Taoudéni, il devait mesurer plus de 1 400 kilomètres. La pente dans la partie supérieure de son cours est très violente puisque, à Amsel, à 160 kilomètres de sa source, l'altitude n'est plus que de 900 mètres.

Depuis sa source jusqu'à Amselka, soit environ 200 kilomètres, on peut dire que l'oued Tamanrasset est vivant : sa vallée est nette, le passage des eaux fortement marqué; on remarque des terrasses coupées à bord franc, la coupe de la vallée est souvent en forme de V. Cependant, certains bassins comme celui de Tamanrasset (village) laissent prévoir les grandes zones d'épandage d'aval, témoins d'une époque antérieure plus humide.

7. Lauriers-roses autour de la gueïta d'Issakarassène.

La description de cette partie de l'oued n'est que l'énumération des cluses qu'il traverse; à chacune de celles-ci correspond un seuil rocheux qui termine chaque bassin.

En descendant la pente sud de l'Asekrem, on suit une rigole d'écoulement, qui, au bout d'un kilomètre, creuse déjà un ravin aux bords à pic de 4 à 5 mètres de haut. Le cours s'étale largement, puis c'est une chute de 20 mètres dans un cirque de basaltes aux colonnes verticales reposant sur des alluvions; la vallée continue, formant cañon, large de 60 mètres, profonde de 30. Dès lors l'oued prend un nom : Tarhoumout; il franchit une cluse après le mont Oul, le seuil rocheux affleure, on y creuse des « abankor ».

L'oued coule vers le sud, puis tourne vers l'est; c'est alors une série de rapides dans un défilé où se trouvent les gueltas permanentes de Lundien. Puis il fait un nouveau crochet vers le sud, la vallée longe l'Akarakar, se resserre; nouveau seuil rocheux et guelta d'Ifelouen.

L'oued va quitter l'Atakor, en se creusant un passage entre l'Isekram et l'Ahounahampt. Il débouche dans le site de Tamanrasset, où il s'élargit, prend son nom définitif et reçoit son premier affluent important, l'Irharhar Tekecherouet, dans lequel se trouvent les « grandes gueltas »,

A la hauteur du pic Iharen, la roche est entaillée en un couloir d'une profondeur de 15 mètres, large de un à deux mètres pendant plus de 200 mètres. Ensuite l'oued a 400 mètres de large. Des foggaras sont creusées dans son lit; elles irriguent les jardins de l'Hadriane et de Tamanrasset, et de Tihegouine, petit centre de cultures à un kilomètre en aval de Tamanrasset.

La vallée s'élargit bientôt, mais reste encaissée, puis se rétrécit à Tagrambaït, où peu avant l'affleurement des roches se trouve un jardin que vivifie une foggara. Elle s'élargira encore et atteindra six cents mètres.

Désormais l'oued sera toujours très large, mais c'est un oued mort. Il coule vers le sud, puis au léger rétrécissement de Timguisouine, il tourne brusquement vers le nord-ouest. On peut se demander s'il n'y a pas là un ancien phénomène de capture.

La vallée devient immense, les seuils rocheux ne sont plus sensibles, on soupçonne d'anciens biefs, lorsque l'oued passe entre deux collines, mais le cours présente l'aspect d'un reg absolument plat et stérile, sauf vers le milieu, où la présence de quelques touffes d'afazzou desséchées montre que, parfois, un timide ruissellement atteint cette zone. Près d'une gara ceinte de tombes préislamiques, l'oued Adjelman entre dans l'oued Tamanrasset, mais ses eaux n'y peuvent plus pénétrer, car un bouchon de dunes obstrue l'embouchure. L'Adjelman, qui mesure quatre kilomètres de large à cet endroit, a désormais un bassin clos. On n'imagine pas quelle crue suffisamment puissante pourrait balayer le système sableux qui bouche le confluent.

Jusqu'à la hauteur du tassili de Timissao l'oued paraît s'étendre à perte de vue, il peut avoir de vingt à trente kilomètres de large. C'est un magnifique reg où les voitures roulent comme sur une autoroute. Quelques tahlas ponctuent le cours vers le centre de la vallée, des tiges sèches de gergir témoignent d'une lointaine époque plus humide.

Le confluent de l'oued Amded est obstrué par un important système de dunes; là encore, ce gros affluent possède un bassin indépendant, ses crues ne peuvent plus percer le bouchon de sable qui leur donnerait accès à l'oued Tamanrasset. Pourtant l'Amded a de la végétation jusqu'à son embouchure lors d'une année humide comme 1950; au plus bas de son cours j'ai noté des touffes de « had » et quelques touffes vertes de morakba.

Je n'ai pas personnellement suivi l'oued Tamanrasset au-delà de Timissao, je n'ai que des renseignements fournis par des Touareg, surtout des Kel-Ahnet.

L'oued Ilafer se jette dans l'oued Tamanrasset. Leur jonction forme un bief démesuré, une immense sebkha, déversoir final des eaux d'une crue inconcevable au Hoggar à présent. Jusqu'alors le cours de l'oued Tamanrasset était ouvert, mais, un peu à l'est du premier degré de longitude, il se heurte à l'erg Egtelis, et c'est la fin actuelle de l'oued.

Je n'ai pu obtenir de renseignements sur l'extrême cours aval, il faudrait de minutieuses reconnaissances pour jalonner

l'ancien tracé quaternaire sur la route supposée vers Taoudéni.

Le régime de l'oued suit le régime des pluies du Hoggar central, c'est dire qu'il est d'une extrême irrégularité. Quand, par chance, ses affluents supérieurs coulent — y compris l'oued Ajemet —, la crue peut atteindre les biefs inférieurs, jusqu'à Timissao, m'ont dit des Touareg, mais je n'ai pu savoir à quelle date un tel phénomène s'est produit pour la dernière fois. En 1948, j'ai été témoin d'une crue; il était tombé à Tamanrasset dix millimètres d'eau en douze minutes, mais il est impossible de connaître la durée et l'intensité de la précipitation sur les montagnes; quatre heures après la pluie, la crue arriva comme une marée montante, poussant les détritus légers, faisant en somme la toilette de l'oued. Au bout d'un quart d'heure, l'oued coulait sur deux cents mètres de large; on pouvait encore traverser le courant ayant l'eau à mi-cuisse, et, en s'inclinant très fortement pour en vaincre la force, on recevait sur les jambes les chocs d'une quantité de petits galets. La crue dura cinq heures. Elle atteignit seulement Amsel, seuls coulèrent les affluents supérieurs à Tagrambaît. Cette crue, qui, vue de Tamanrasset, paraissait assez importante, ne provoqua qu'une légère infiltration, car le niveau de la nappe phréatique n'augmenta que d'une façon insignifiante.

En dehors du système d'oueds vivants et morts dont le Tamanrasset n'est qu'un exemple, on trouve dans les tassilis, et dans leur voisinage, de l'eau assez en profondeur, grâce, sans doute, à la perméabilité des grès.

L'homme peut donc utiliser l'eau en la captant de plusieurs façons. Les Touareg savent repérer, près des seuils rocheux et en amont, l'endroit où en creusant de vingt à cinquante centimètres, avec une menassa, l'eau suinte : ce point d'eau se nomme « abankor ». « Anou » (pluriel : « ounan ») c'est le puits définitif, le grand puits qui jalonne les pistes caravanières.

La présence de ces grands puits est signalée de très loin par des redjems importants sur les collines. De multiples sentiers semblent converger vers un point mystérieux; plus on approche, plus dense est le lacis des pistes, puis apparaît

un vaste cercle piétiné, jonché de crottes de chameau; au centre de ce cercle est le puits.

Les Touareg utilisent un autre nom pour désigner le puits qui sert à l'irrigation des jardins : c'est le « tanout » (au pluriel : « tounin »). On trouve ces puits peu profonds dans les centres de culture; ils sont en général en amont des seuils rocheux. L'eau est tirée à bras d'homme ou le plus souvent par un bœuf; alors un échafaudage rudimentaire porte une poulie qui permet l'élévation d'une peau de chèvre pleine d'eau qu'un système ingénieux fait déverser dans un bassin.

Enfin le dernier moyen utilisé pour capter l'eau du sous-sol, c'est la foggara, appelée « efeli » (« ifelan », au pluriel). La foggara n'est utilisée que pour l'irrigation des jardins; nous verrons, en étudiant l'agriculture, les modalités de son établissement.

## La Flore et la Faune

La flore du Hoggar est plus variée que celle du Sahara septentrional. Les travaux de M. Maire constituent l'ouvrage de base auquel on doit se référer si l'on veut étudier la végétation spontanée. La liste des plantes donnée en appendice a été établie en interrogeant des Touareg afin de connaître les variétés le plus souvent rencontrées. Très incomplète en ce qui concerne la végétation herbacée, cette énumération comprend la grande majorité des arbres poussant spontanément.

Il n'y a pas de forêt au Hoggar. Cependant des renseignements émanant de Touareg Kel Immidir permettraient de croire à l'existence d'une étendue boisée dans le massif de l'Ifetessen, région encore mal explorée en son entier. Peut-être ne s'agit-il que d'oueds couverts d'une végétation particulièrement luxuriante. Au Hoggar, les oueds recèlent la presque totalité de la flore. Quelques plantes poussent aussi sur les hauts sommets les plus arrosés, et lors des pluies particulièrement propices, les regs se couvrent de plaques d'acheb qui ont l'allure d'une barbe drue et naissante.

La répartition de la flore spontanée au Hoggar est évidem-

ment en rapport avec les zones de climat dont nous avons déjà parlé. On trouve des plantes spécifiques de ces zones et une interpénétration de la plupart des autres végétaux.

Au Hoggar central, dans l'Atakor et la Tefedest, zone où l'altitude est très élevée, on rencontre des plantes d'origine méditerranéenne, telles que l'olivier sauvage *(Olea Laperrini)* et le laurier-rose. L'armoise et le « takamezout » des Touareg sont également caractéristiques de cette région.

A un niveau plus bas, dans la zone qui entoure le massif central, l'influence soudanaise se manifeste par des arbres et des arbustes tels que le thora, le tebourak et diverses sortes d'acacias, le tabrakat et le morakba. On y voit aussi des plantes sahariennes : le palmier, le fersig, le drinn; et quelques traces d'influence méditerranéenne : armoise, laurier-rose et roseau. C'est en somme une zone de transition.

La végétation du fossé périphérique est de pur type saharien : quelques acheb poussent sur les regs lors des pluies; le drinn, l'had et le guetaf envahissent le lit des oueds. On trouve aussi, çà et là, du morakba et quelques tahlas.

Les tassilis du nord, avec leurs oueds humides et très encaissés, offrent une flore ayant des affinités soudanaises, en même temps que des plantes méditerranéennes et sahariennes, tandis que dans les tassilis du sud et l'Adrar des Iforas l'influence est très nettement soudanaise. Dans ces deux dernières régions les tahlas, encore éparpillés, poussent sur les pentes, hors des oueds. Dans les lits des oueds, on voit de nombreux tebourak, des thoras, des tabrakat et divers acacias. Dans les petits ravins comme dans les grands oueds, le morakba croît en abondance. Enfin une végétation luxuriante de gergir, rappelant la prairie, couvre les oueds après les pluies.

Dans la région des hautes altitudes on rencontre des mousses et des lichens, ainsi que des champignons. Après la pluie, les terfes (truffes sahariennes) se développent.

Près des eaux courantes, on note la présence d'une flore particulière : mousses et lichens, fausse menthe, roseaux, joncs et tahlis, chiendent, se rencontrent en abondance. Enfin les eaux elles-mêmes recèlent des algues et diverses plantes aquatiques.

La diversité de la flore laisse prévoir une grande variété dans la faune. En effet, des animaux sahariens voisinent avec les habitués des zones méditerranéennes ou des steppes soudanaises. Certains se trouvent de façon fréquente au Hoggar ou font souvent l'objet de conversations entre les indigènes.

La gazelle (alenkad), petite bête élégante et fine, se rencontre un peu partout, des premiers contreforts du Mouydir jusqu'à la frontière du Niger. Elle affectionne les pâturages d'alommoz, petite graminée qui frissonne au moindre vent; c'est pourquoi les gazelles sont particulièrement nombreuses dans la région de Tin-Zaouaten et dans les oueds qui bordent le Tanezrouft. A certaines époques de l'année, il n'est pas rare de rencontrer des troupeaux de cinquante têtes.

La gazelle est protégée par la réglementation de la chasse, mais elle se protège mieux encore elle-même en fuyant les régions habitées par l'homme. Grâce à cela, le nombre de ces animaux paraît être à peu près stationnaire.

Presque toutes les montagnes du Hoggar abritent des mouflons (oudad). Cette bête splendide, caractéristique du pays, hante tous les sommets, même ceux qui paraissent inaccessibles.

Les Touareg chassaient autrefois le mouflon à la lance, ils emploient à présent le fusil. Une petite tribu, celle des Ibardjien, était spécialisée dans ce sport; avec leurs chiens, dressés à cet effet, les hommes traquaient le gibier qui était achevé à la lance. Cette tribu s'éteint, et ce genre de chasse disparaîtra avec elle. Les Adjouh n'Téhélé et les Dag Rali tuent quelques bêtes dans l'année : soit au fusil, soit en les piégeant à l'aide d'un nœud coulant fixé à une grosse bûche.

Il est difficile de savoir de façon certaine si le nombre des mouflons croît ou décroît.

Les antilopes ne vivent pratiquement plus au Hoggar, seuls quelques rares individus remontent les vallées de l'Adrar des Iforas et se rencontrent en bordure des tassilis du sud.

Parmi les carnassiers, le plus répandu est le chacal. On le voit partout, guettant les gazelles blessées, suivant les traces des petits animaux, surveillant d'un œil avide les troupeaux

de chèvres. La présence de cet animal est une véritable hantise pour les jeunes bergers des montagnes.

Un renard cruel, d'une taille inférieure à celle du chacal, se trouve parfois dans les formations sableuses des grands regs ou aux abords des tassilis. C'est le fenec.

Le plus curieux des animaux de cette région est sans doute le guépard ou amayas. On ne voit guère que ses traces et il est fort difficile de le rencontrer. Le guépard est un véritable nomade qui parcourt d'énormes distances pour chasser.

Les Touareg apprécient énormément sa peau, dont ils ornent leurs selles.

L'hyène rayée se rencontre assez rarement au Hoggar. Elle est plus fréquente dans les tassilis et dans l'Adrar des Iforas.

Dans la montagne et surtout aux abords des centres de culture, les chats sauvages abondent. Ce sont de beaux animaux, de la taille d'un très gros chat. Voraces et cruels, ils font des dégâts importants parmi les volailles des harratin.

Les Touareg parlent souvent d'un loup que l'on rencontrait dans le temps au Hoggar. Le folklore fait également état d'un animal féroce, le cynhyène, qui vivait en bandes. (Le colonel Augières signale que des ossements de cynhyène ont été trouvés dans la région de Timissao).

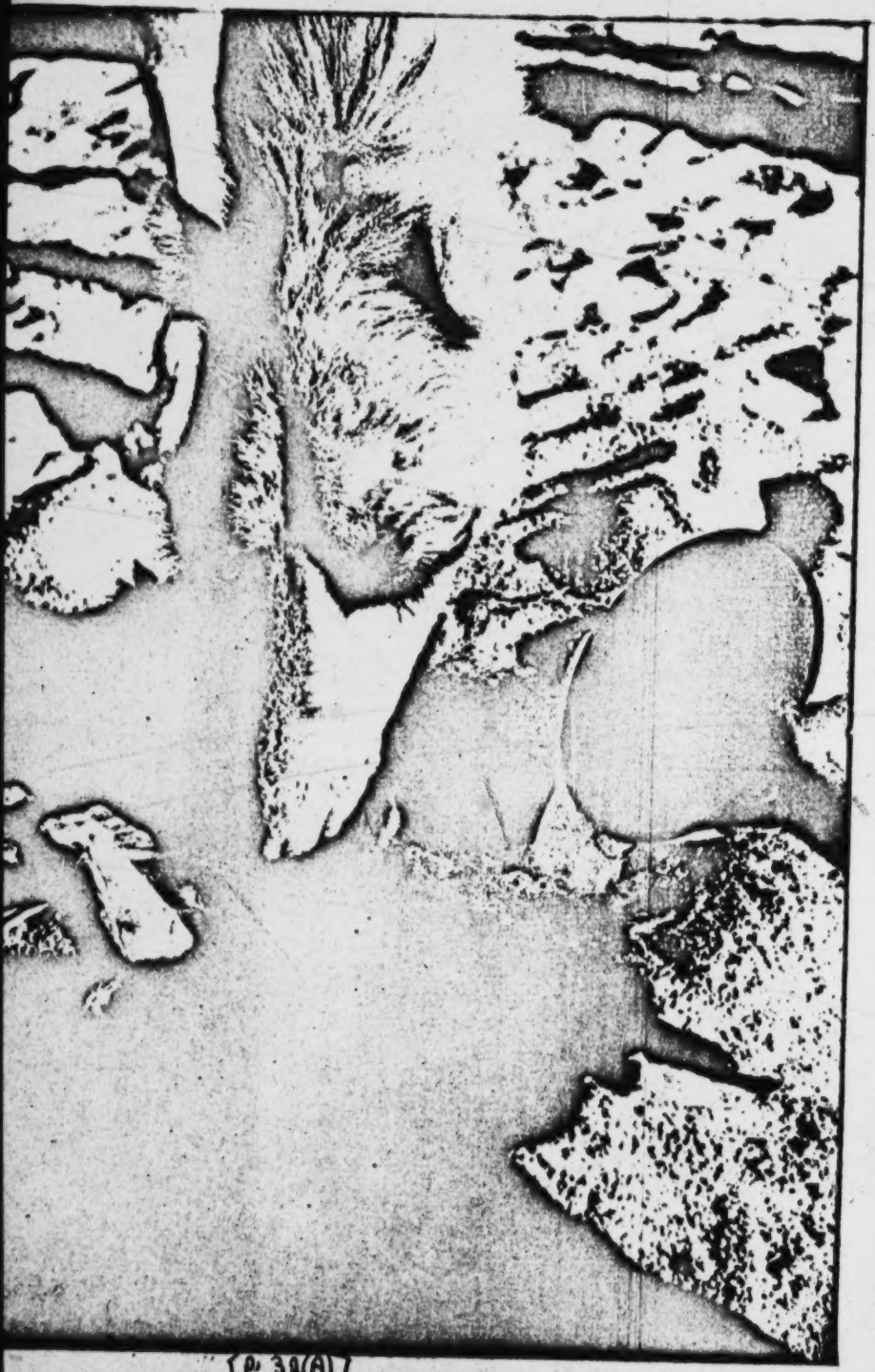
Dans les pâturages on trouve en abondance de petits rongeurs. Les lièvres et les lapins se nourrissent d'herbes aromatiques qui donnent à leur chair un parfum particulier.

Des rats de toutes tailles et d'innombrables souris rôdent autour des tentes et endommagent souvent les sacs de cuir dans lesquels sont emmagasinés les grains. Dans les roches de l'Atakor se cache un rat sans oreilles, aux ongles très longs et acérés, c'est le tilout. Un autre animal curieux, le daman, vit en bandes dans les grands amas granitiques. D'après les savants, il serait apparenté au rhinocéros, car sa femelle possède un placenta linéaire. Cet animal, de la taille d'un gros lapin, est excessivement farouche.

Tous les pâturages du Hoggar regorgent d'oiseaux qui mangent les graines, surtout du gergir. Par milliers on les voit s'envoler quand on traverse une prairie.

8. Un abankor.
9. Un tanout.

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



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[p. 32(B)]

[p. 3a(c)]

[p. 39(D)]

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Près des points d'eau, quantité d'oiseaux insectivores cherchent leur nourriture. Citons en particulier une hirondelle grise qui demeure en permanence au Hoggar, et un charmant oiseau noir et blanc : moula-moula; considéré par les Touareg comme un messager, il accompagne les voyageurs et devient rapidement très familier.

A Tamanrasset, des bengalis (mange-mil), importés d'Agadès, se reproduisent rapidement et peuplent les jardins qu'ils parent de leur plumage rouge.

Les corbeaux se rencontrent un peu partout. Des vautours planent très haut, si haut que, disent les Touareg, le soleil brûle les plumes de leur crâne, et que lorsque meurt un animal dans le désert, les rapaces arrivent mystérieusement de « nulle part ».

Faucons et buses volent autour des pâturages pour chercher leur nourriture.

Les reptiles abondent au Hoggar. Les couleuvres et les vipères séjournent dans les oueds et aux abords, elles se terrent dans les touffes d'épineux et dans les racines des arbres. Les Touareg redoutent tout ce qui rampe. Plusieurs espèces de vipères vivent au Hoggar (tachilt), certaines sont grises, d'autres fauves (à cornes), ou tachetées. On peut rencontrer, mais assez rarement, une sorte de cobra appelé hench-lefeï. Certaines couleuvres atteignent plus d'un mètre.

Des lézards de toutes tailles demeurent dans les endroits les plus désolés. Certains, petits, couleur de sable, filent, apeurés, devant les pas de l'homme, dans les oueds et sur les regs.

Le dob préfère les lieux rocheux. Avec sa grosse queue épineuse, cet animal a une allure antédiluvienne. Il joue un rôle très important dans les histoires touarègues. Les enfants s'en amusent comme d'un jouet. Sa chair, considérée comme comestible, est loin d'être un délice.

L'ourane, grand lézard gris, possède une longue queue flexible qui est une arme redoutable. Les Touareg disent de lui qu'il est leur oncle maternel, lui accordent un courage indomptable. L'ourane attaque paraît-il les nobles, alors qu'il

10. Marmite des Géants.
11. Un tesendgelt (*Eragrostis bipinnata*).

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



refuse de combattre les Nègres; ces derniers mangent la chair de l'ourane, car ils n'ont aucun lien de parenté avec lui.

On aperçoit souvent, sur les rochers, un lézard vert, à tête rouge : c'est « materter »; il semble dire une prière continuelle en hochant la tête de haut en bas. Les Touareg prétendent que sa morsure est mortelle, mais sont sur ce point en contradiction avec les zoologistes.

Dans les séguias vivent des crapauds en grand nombre, les têtards se trouvent dans presque tous les points d'eau.

Les grandes gueltas comme Issakarassène, Afilal, Amguid, Arak, etc., abritent des poissons : *barbus sahari*. Ces barbeaux risquent de disparaître lors de crues violentes.

Quelques points d'eau, à Tamanrasset en particulier, sont ensemencés de gambouses, utilisées pour dévorer les larves de moustiques. On prétend que la guelta d'In-Outer, située en amont de l'oued Tit, était habitée par un crocodile. Cette affirmation n'est pas à rejeter *a priori*, si l'on songe aux découvertes de ces animaux résiduels faites aux Ajjers.

Les insectes sont évidemment l'élément le plus important de la faune du Hoggar. On en rencontre partout, même en des lieux qui paraissent totalement privés de vie.

Les scarabées sont les plus gros insectes du pays, leurs traces dessinent d'harmonieux pointillés sur le sable. Un scarabée vert, le zembabar, est une véritable parure.

Ankokar, la grosse guêpe venimeuse qui rôde aux abords des points d'eau, inflige des piqûres dangereuses; les Touareg la redoutent et disent que plusieurs piqûres peuvent occasionner la mort.

Les mouches ordinaires sont au Hoggar, comme dans tout le Sahara, les animaux les mieux adaptés. Elles pullulent dans les centres de culture, où elles sont les agents de transmission des maladies d'yeux. On est surpris lorsqu'on fait halte sur un reg dénudé de se voir entouré d'un nuage de mouches venues d'on ne sait où.

Les papillons de jour volent dans les jardins et les pâturages, ceux de nuit décrivent des milliers d'ellipses autour des lampes.

Fourmis de toutes tailles, tiques, mantes, libellules, moustiques, termites, et tant d'autres petits insectes, volent et circulent partout entre les plantes des oueds, autour des pierres des montagnes, sur les arbres et dans les guemouns des jardins, comme aux abords des points d'eau.

Les gueltas possèdent toute une faune aquatique très variée, les sols humides abritent quantité d'insectes, de larves et de vers.

Enfin les scorpions se rencontrent un peu partout, jaunes ou noirs, petits ou gros. Ils sont redoutés des Touareg. Il ne semble pourtant pas que la piqûre des scorpions du Hoggar soit mortelle; elle produit une forte fièvre, variable suivant l'individu touché, l'époque de l'année et la quantité de venin injecté.

Il n'existe pas, à ma connaissance, d'étude scientifique complète sur la faune du Hoggar.

[p. 36 is blank]

# II

# L'HOMME

## Peuplement du Hoggar

On ne peut rien dire de bien précis sur l'origine des populations actuelles du Hoggar, et moins encore sur celle des peuplades des siècles passés. Toutefois il est permis d'esquisser un tableau, assez hypothétique, de ce que pouvait être le Hoggar à une époque reculée, sans cependant être à même de dater avec certitude les différentes époques qui se succédèrent.

Les seules données positives que nous ayons sur la préhistoire sont fournies par les récoltes d'outillage, l'étude des figurations rupestres, le résultat des fouilles de tombeaux préislamiques, les connaissances géologiques et celles de la paléoclimatologie. Les traditions orales transmises par les Touareg sont négligeables parce que rares et volontiers mythiques.

On a trouvé au Hoggar des quantités de pierres taillées, témoignant d'un ancien peuplement, mais presque tous les objets récoltés le furent en surface, ce qui empêche l'établissement d'une chronologie. Cependant des haches de type acheuléen ont été découvertes par M. Arambourg dans une cuvette de l'erg Tihodaine, sous des sédiments en place, avec des ossements d'éléphant fossile. La cuvette d'In-Guezzam a fourni également un outillage paléolithique en présence d'ossements fossiles. Les objets de facture néolithique sont en général éparpillés sur le sol.

[p 37]

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



Les pointes de flèches sont très rares. Les outils les plus nombreux sont des haches à taille bifaciale, polies; il y en a de toutes grandeurs, certaines très petites sont en pierre très tendre, elles servaient peut-être de monnaie. De magnifiques pilons polis, variant de 15 centimètres de longueur à 70 centimètres, sont encore parfois utilisés par les Nègres. On trouve également des polissoirs, des meules dormantes, des grattoirs et des débris de poteries présentant des décorations linéaires.

Des indications intéressantes sont fournies par les gravures rupestres. On peut dire que le Hoggar en est couvert. On connaît à l'heure actuelle près de cent vingt stations, et il y en a certainement d'autres à découvrir; en revanche, les peintures rupestres sont peu fréquentes.

L'examen des gravures met en évidence une succession d'époques. Les plus anciennes sont caractérisées par la présence d'une faune de région de steppe humide : éléphants, lions, autruches, girafes, antilopes, bovidés, chevaux. Les plus récentes sont identifiées par la présence de chameaux, d'ânes et de bonshommes linéaires.

Les gravures contemporaines, accompagnées d'inscriptions en tifinar, sont facilement reconnaissables, car les légendes sont traduisibles.

La rareté des peintures au Hoggar s'explique par l'absence presque totale de grottes permettant leur conservation. Celles qui ont été découvertes se trouvaient dans des abris, en région granitique. Les tassilis, qui possèdent des grottes véritables, n'ont pas encore fourni de peintures. Les plus célèbres sont celles de la Tefedest : sites Coche et sites Cousin-Lelubre. Une autre station découverte en avril 1951 par M. Bobo, dans une vallée de l'Adrar Haggarène, apporte un élément nouveau pour le Hoggar par ses figurations différentes de celles de la Tefedest.

Les gravures les plus anciennes, que l'on qualifie de précamelines faute de références plus précises, sont fortement patinées; certaines ont une patine qui semble identique à celle de la roche. Nous trouvons des animaux parfaitement dessinés,

quelquefois dans une position dynamique; le trait est précis, souvent profond malgré la dureté des roches de support (microgranites, basaltes, etc.), quelquefois un remplissage du dessin est fait en piquetage. Bovidés et chevaux, bien que certainement anciens, ont une patine moins accentuée que les éléphants, girafes et lions. Certains de ces chevaux paraissent d'une facture moins sûre, il semble que l'on assiste à une décadence de l'art rupestre, qui annonce la période suivante. En plus des animaux, on relève des dessins énigmatiques, des traces de pas, des figurations humaines; certains animaux sont striés de traits parallèles.

Vient ensuite la période cameline. En dehors des chameaux, les ânes et les chevaux sont alors assez fréquents, ainsi que des bonshommes stylisés au maximum en trois traits. Tous les dessins offrent une facture sommaire et sans intérêt artistique; le trait est souvent imprécis et la patine n'existe presque pas. Notons également des figures peu compréhensibles, des contours de naïls et quelques silhouettes d'autruches. Des inscriptions en caractères tifinar sont intraduisibles pour les Touareg.

Les gravures contemporaines sont assez rares. Elles représentent des ânes, des chameaux, et n'offrent aucun intérêt, sinon celui de mettre en évidence le fait que les mêmes lieux ont attiré les hommes, car ces gravures et inscriptions chevauchent des gravures plus anciennes.

Le Hoggar est semé de tombeaux de formes différentes. Il y en a pratiquement partout, et l'on ne peut tirer aucune conclusion de la présence de tombeaux préislamiques près des stations rupestres. Les Touareg les nomment : « debni » et « idebnan » au pluriel. Le type le plus fréquent est un tumulus dont la taille est d'environ 4 à 5 mètres de diamètre, mais on en rencontre de beaucoup plus importants et certains atteignent même 20 et 25 mètres de diamètre. Le tumulus est parfois isolé, mais le plus souvent trois ou quatre idebnan sont voisins et il n'est pas rare de trouver de véritables nécropoles. Si l'on rencontre une grande quantité de sépultures près des oueds les plus arrosés du Hoggar, on en trouve également

beaucoup en des points périphériques : Tanezrouft, Ténéré, où le désert est actuellement absolu.

Les chouchets sont moins nombreux que les tumulus, bien que très fréquents. Fort bien construit, parfaitement circulaire, ce genre de debni représente un gros travail; certains peuvent atteindre 20 mètres de diamètre.

D'autres types de monuments, en moins grand nombre que les précédents, sont cependant assez répandus. Ils consistent en cercles concentriques, parfaitement réguliers, tracés avec des pierres enfoncées dans le sol; les plus grands ont environ 25 mètres de diamètre.

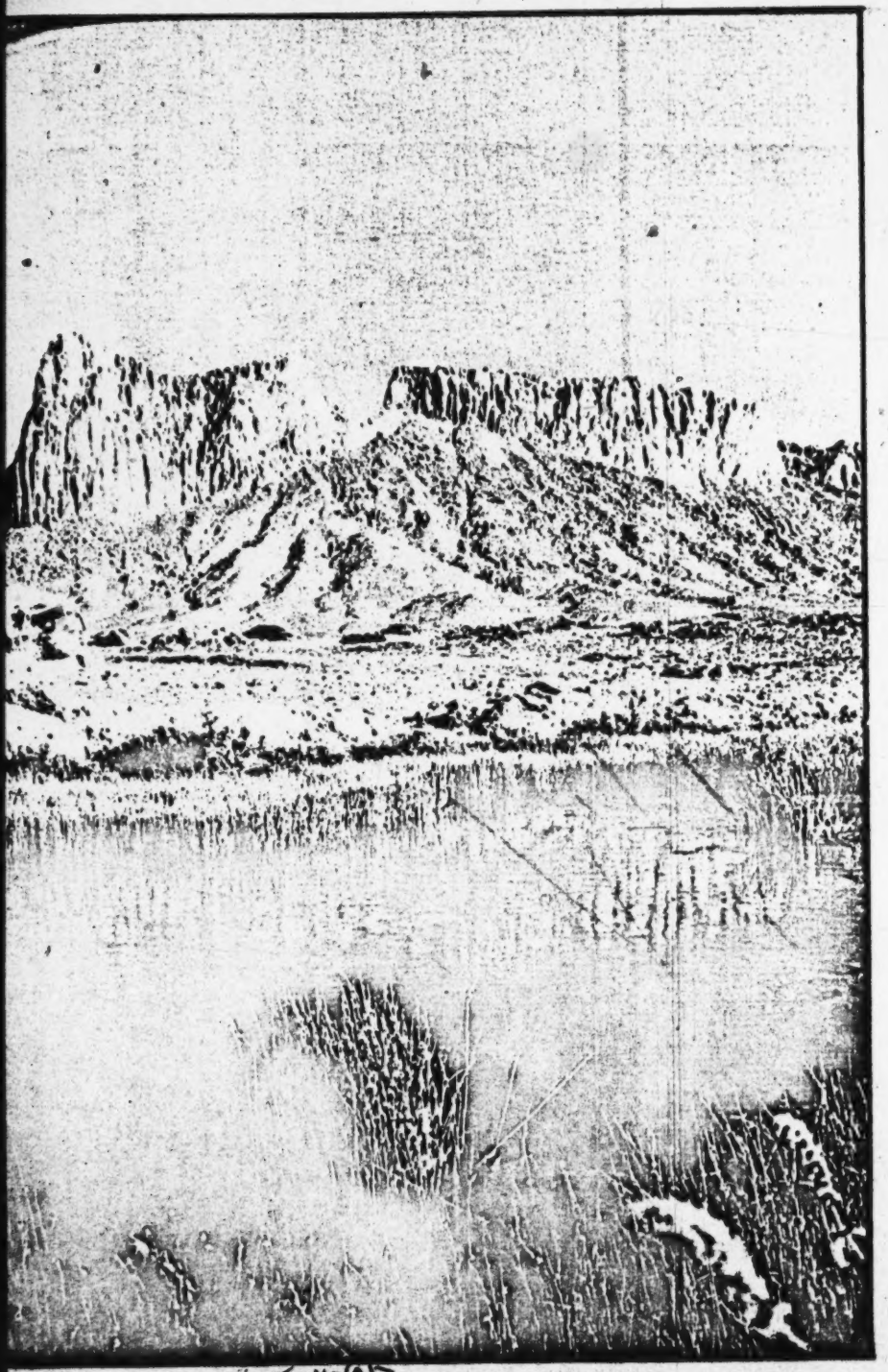
Il existe aussi des rectangles entourés de dalles dressées et remplis de cailloux de taille moyenne. La hauteur de ces rectangles peut avoir de 40 à 60 centimètres. En direction de l'est, un U, dont les pointes regardent le debni, est construit à une distance de 2 mètres environ.

On trouve aussi des cercles entièrement dallés, des tumulus ordinaires ceints d'un dallage ovale, et des tumulus entourés de murettes concentriques traversées par un chemin pavé. Enfin des idebnan en forme de croissant, dont la partie centrale est remplie de cailloux, sont souvent accompagnés de tumulus. Le remplissage central du croissant va en s'amenuisant vers les pointes, pour finir par une ligne de pierres. Certains de ces croissants ont une énorme envergure, la distance entre les pointes peut atteindre 400 mètres; ils sont presque toujours situés sur une gara allongée et isolée, ou sur les flancs d'une colline plus importante. On n'en rencontre presque jamais au Hoggar; l'aire de répartition de ces croissants s'étend vers le sud du massif central, après les grands regs; l'Adrar des Iforas et les tassilis du sud en possèdent de grandes quantités. Peut-être s'agit-il là de manifestations d'une civilisation différente de celle du Hoggar central.

*Traditions orales.*

Les Touareg savent qu'il existait au Hoggar, avant leur arrivée, une population appelée Issabaten ayant un système

12. Tamanrasset. Le centre de culture de l'Adriane.
13. Un thora (callotropis proscera) dans l'oued Tamanrasset.



[p. 40(A)]

[PHOTO]

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg

[p. 40(c)]

[p.40(1)]

social de castes, ignorant le chameau. Ces Issabaten étaient inintelligents, et leur bêtise est encore aujourd'hui proverbiale. Les Touareg disent ne jamais avoir eu de conflit avec ces êtres doux et calmes. Certains de ces Issabaten, sans doute d'une caste plus élevée, devaient être plus habiles, car la tradition conserve le nom de Amamellen et de son neveu Elias qui seraient les fondateurs de l'art rupestre. Ces gens n'avaient pas de religion, il faut entendre par là qu'ils n'étaient pas musulmans.

Personne n'a jusqu'à présent pu traduire les inscriptions anciennes en caractères tifinar que l'on trouve de façon assez fréquente. Les Touareg prétendent qu'il s'agit d'une langue différente de la leur, mais écrite avec les mêmes caractères; certains d'entre eux croient que ces inscriptions sont en code, les lettres ayant été interverties dans les mots; et que celui qui pourrait en trouver le sens connaîtrait l'emplacement de trésors.

Il est certain qu'une civilisation à technique paléolithique a existé au Hoggar lors d'une période humide, vraisemblablement au bord des lacs ou des bassins d'épandage des grands oueds (Tanezrouft : Amded, Tamanrasset; Igharghar, Tin-Tarabin, In-Guezzam, Amadror, Thihodaïne, Tafassasset). On a tout lieu de croire que les êtres qui, à cette époque, peuplaient le Hoggar, devaient être de race négroïde, apparentée quant aux caractères généraux à l'homme d'Asselar. Sans doute étaient-ils pêcheurs et chasseurs. La végétation était abondante aux bords des oueds actuels. Une faune composée d'éléphants, de félins, de girafes, etc., régnait dans les plaines. L'Atakor jouissait sans doute d'un climat méditerranéen, mais ne devait pas être peuplé. Il ne paraît pas possible actuellement de fixer la durée de cette période, ni de la situer dans le temps, elle doit être en relation avec les périodes glaciaires de l'Europe.

Lors d'une période interglaciaire, une pulsation sèche du climat donne au Hoggar un caractère désertique. La population négroïde, voyant son mode de vie bouleversé, doit fuir le Hoggar et partir vers le sud où elle retrouvera les conditions d'existence qui lui sont propres.

Pendant un temps très long le Hoggar reste dépeuplé.

14. Tabrakat mort dans l'oued Amded.
15. Un ourane.

La sécheresse se poursuivant, le Sahara fut pour l'homme un désert plus terrible qu'il ne l'est aujourd'hui. Vint alors une période de plus grande humidité, occasionnée par une plus grande régularité des moussons soudanaises. Les oueds coulèrent de nouveau, sans toutefois posséder un débit aussi fort et une régularité aussi grande qu'à l'époque paléolithique. Il faut imaginer le Hoggar avec un climat à peine différent de celui qu'il possède actuellement; seule la régularité des pluies annuelles permettra à une faune de savane de se déplacer de pâturages en pâturages, des tassilis du nord à ceux du sud. L'Atakor conserve son caractère méditerranéen, qui ira en évoluant vers le type résiduel que l'on observe à présent.

Les conditions propres à la vie humaine se trouvant réalisées au Hoggar, l'homme vint de nouveau peupler ces régions. Le nouvel habitant du Hoggar possède une civilisation qu'il apporte avec lui, sans doute de Haute Egypte. C'est un éleveur de bœufs, il est de type négroïde, habile à tailler la pierre et à la polir; il sait cultiver des graines, les broyer, les cuire. Les femmes, grasses et souvent stéatopyges, confectionnent des poteries ornées de dessins linéaires. Ces peuples, de culture néolithique, ont pu arriver au Hoggar par le sud et l'est, mais certaines vagues purent emprunter la vallée de l'Igharghar, en poussant leurs bœufs devant eux. Les chefs de tribus sont des personnages âgés, maîtres des rites magiques; ils savent pratiquer l'envoûtement et utilisent des signes ésotériques. Certains d'entre eux furent de véritables artistes tant en gravure qu'en sculpture.

Il est permis de penser que, plus tardivement, des populations blanches, d'origine libyenne, vinrent aussi se fixer au Hoggar, apportant avec elles des coutumes héliolithiques des rivages méditerranéens, tels que les monuments mégalithiques, le culte solaire et celui du serpent, les déformations craniennes, les systèmes de castes. Les peintures de la Tefedest représentent manifestement des Nègres pasteurs, mais les nouvelles peintures de l'oued Takecherouelt figurent des personnages de race blanche, minces et de grande taille.

Faut-il voir dans ces individus blancs les ancêtres des

Touareg actuels ? Il serait prématuré de le penser, mais ils ont pu être la première poussée des Berbères vers le Hoggar. Leur exode a pu laisser un souvenir au sein des tribus berbères nomades, qui plus tard, possesseurs de chameaux, fuiront pour de multiples raisons la promiscuité romaine ou arabe et retrouveront la route des néolithiques blancs vers le Hoggar.

La chronologie de la protohistoire est difficile à établir. Toutefois on possède sur cette période un certain nombre de documents. Tout d'abord on connaît les résultats des recherches archéologiques, fouille des monuments préislamiques, en particulier celui de Tin-Hinan (cf. le livre de M. Reygasse sur les monuments funéraires préislamiques).

Les Touareg ont un certain nombre de traditions orales concernant cette période. En revanche, les inscriptions d'âge camelin ne nous apportent que des renseignements sommaires : les plus anciennes sont intraduisibles, les plus récentes offrent peu d'intérêt, elles se contentent d'exprimer l'admiration d'un homme pour une femme ou de fixer des rendez-vous. Les textes latins, grecs ou arabes qui nous sont parvenus donnent lieu à des interprétations très diverses et sont, de toute façon, extrêmement fragmentaires.

Il paraît acceptable de faire débuter cette période, en ce qui concerne le Hoggar, vers les guerres puniques et de la terminer le 16 février 1881, date du massacre de la mission Flatters. A partir de cette date, le Hoggar entre dans l'histoire proprement dite.

La protohistoire du Hoggar pose la question de l'origine des Touareg, question qui n'est pas encore résolue d'une façon satisfaisante. Ce sont vraisemblablement des Berbères provenant de différentes tribus, qui ont pu se croiser avec une population blanche vivant antérieurement au Hoggar. Ce qui caractérise les Touareg, plus que certains traits somatiques tels qu'une haute stature, une envergure souvent supérieure à la taille, des cheveux noirs lisses ou ondés, une pilosité rare, c'est l'unité de la langue, l'utilisation des caractères tifinar, et un mode de vie aux coutumes particulières, qui a réussi à assimiler des tribus d'origine arabe, comme les Issakamaren.

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



Les Touareg se transmettent oralement l'histoire légendaire de Tin Hinan qui serait « la mère », ancêtre des nobles Kel Rela, mais ces derniers ne connaissent pas l'ancêtre masculin, qui, selon certains, serait Français (affirmation sujette à caution, et certainement récente).

Tin Hinan serait originaire du Tafilalet, mais nul ne sait la raison qui la poussa à venir au Hoggar accompagnée de sa servante Takamat, ancêtre des Dag Rali.

Il faut voir dans ce conte, qui ignore l'ancêtre mâle, l'expression de la tradition touarègue qui assure la transmission des droits de noblesse par les femmes.

Les Touareg devaient posséder des chameaux, puisque Tin Hinan montait une chamelle blanche; participèrent-ils à un courant caravanier vers le nord, soit comme guides, soit comme protecteurs ? On peut le penser, car les fouilles du tombeau de Tin Hinan permirent à M. Reygasse de mettre au jour un mobilier funéraire comportant des objets de provenance romaine.

Mais la vie du Hoggar se tourne bientôt vers le Soudan, d'où viendra le courant d'islamisation originaire du Maroc. Ce sont les chroniqueurs arabes, et surtout Ibn Khaldoun, qui permettent d'avoir des vues sur des siècles troublés par des luttes incessantes entre les royaumes nègres et les Touareg, entre Touareg et Arabes, et entre les différentes tribus touarègues. Grâce à la généalogie des familles nobles, de tradition orale, une timide chronologie est possible.

Les premiers musulmans vinrent sans doute prêcher au Hoggar vers le VII^e ou le VIII^e siècle; ils étaient originaires du Sud marocain et se prétendaient chorfa.

Des guerres continuelles sévissaient entre les Berbères musulmans et les Sonraï de Gao qui contrôlaient le Sahel soudanais. Après des suites de succès et de revers, les Touareg s'installèrent définitivement dans le Hoggar, l'Adrar des Iforas, l'Aïr et le tassili des Ajjers, régions montagneuses, semi-désertiques, où la vie est possible pour des nomades, repaires faciles à défendre, excellentes bases de départ pour des pillages et zone de puits indispensables aux caravanes.

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



A partir du XVIe siècle, l'histoire du Hoggar est celle de la lutte entre tribus rivales : longue énumération de renvois heureux ou malheureux, d'assassinats de chefs, de rapts.

La tribu qui commanda l'ensemble des Touareg dès le début de l'islamisation est celle des Iménanes, dont il ne reste à présent que de rares descendants; les Iménanes étaient des chorfa marocains. Vers le XVIIe siècle, les Iménanes se virent dans l'obligation de partager leurs terres et leur commandement entre les différentes tribus touarègues par trop belliqueuses. De cette époque date la séparation entre les Touareg du Hoggar, de l'Aïr, des Ajjers et des Iforas.

Les Kel Ahaggar se présentent sous l'aspect d'une confédération de tribus, que commandent des tribus nobles, possédant chacune des tribus vassales. Quatre tribus nobles plus ou moins apparentées se partageaient les terres du Hoggar. Les Kel Rela prétendent descendre d'un chérif marocain; les Taïtoks sont apparentés aux Imenanes, donc chorfa, mais ils se seraient croisés, dit-on, avec des Nègres; ces deux tribus sont les plus importantes. Les Ikadéiens seraient des Berbères croisés avec des Arabes du Tidikelt; cette tribu n'a plus guère de descendants actuels. Les Tédjéhé Mellet possèdent du sang chorfa; ils ne furent jamais très nombreux, actuellement ils constituent un petit groupement de tentes qui séjourne dans la Tefedest.

Une constante anarchie régnait dans cette confédération. Les assassinats permettaient des successions rapides, et le commandement était un enjeu dangereux. Les tribus nobles se partagèrent les terres du Hoggar. Les Kel Rela eurent l'Atakor, les Tédjéhé Mellet la Tefedest et les tassilis du nord, les Taïtoks l'Ahnet et le sud-ouest du Hoggar.

Depuis ce partage, la généalogie des Kel Rela est à peu près certaine. Kella, Targuia noble, transmit le tobol (1) de mère à filles. Les deux tribus nobles les plus importantes : Kel Rela et Taïtoks, ne cesseront pas d'être en chicane au sujet des droits de succession au tobol, à la suite des mariages conclus en période d'amitié. Batailles, alliances, se succéderont

(1) Sorte de tambour, insigne du commandement; par extension : le droit au commandement.

d'une façon confuse. Lorsqu'ils sont unis les Kel Ahaggar se battent contre les Arabes du Touat, ou les Nègres du Soudan; sont-ils en désaccord, ils reprennent les luttes intestines, ou s'attaquent aux Ajjers.

Pillant ou protégeant les caravanes, les Touareg possédaient le contrôle du Sahara central et méridional au moment où les Français cherchaient à s'assurer une liaison entre l'Afrique noire et l'Algérie. C'est à peine si cet ennemi commun réussit à unir les Touareg.

## L'Homme

Pour bien comprendre le pays touareg, il est nécessaire de préciser ce qu'est l'homme, du point de vue ethnique, autant qu'il est possible de le faire, ce qu'il est aussi du point de vue social et économique.

Un tableau succinct mettra en évidence les différents groupes ethniques, les classes sociales et les spécialisations économiques; il permettra de mieux saisir les relations humaines.

*A. Ethnique.*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Nobles. |
| 1. BLANCS : | Berbères | : | Touareg | : Imrads moins les Issakamaren. |
| | | : | Mozabites | |
| | Arabes | : | Chorfa | |
| | | | Chaamba | |
| 2. NOIRS : | Iklan | : | Soudanais | |
| | Harratin | : | Soudanais, Sahariens | |
| 3. MÉTIS : | Maalmines | : | | |
| | Issakamaren | : | Arabes - Touareg | |
| | Métis touareg | - | Nègres | |

*B. Organisation sociale.*

| 1. TOUAREG | 2. ARABES | 3. MOZABITES |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Nobles (Ihaggarènes) | Chorfa (religieux) | |
| 2. Vassaux (Imrads) | Zaoui » | |
| 3. Artisans (Inaden) | Chaamba | |
| 4. Jardiniers (Harratin) | Divers | |
| 5. Domestiques (Iklan) | Métis | |

*C. Organisation économique.*

Touareg : Pasteurs nomades
Arabes : Pasteurs et commerçants nomades
Inaden : Artisans
Harratin : Cultivateurs, ouvriers, manœuvres
Iklan : Domestiques des Touareg
Mozabites : Commerçants sédentaires
Chorfa : Reçoivent des aumônes en échange de leur présence
Zaoui : id.

Au début de l'occupation française, le peuple touareg se trouvait à un stade d'évolution sociale semblable sur bien des points à notre Moyen Age. Aujourd'hui encore le même système reste en vigueur, cependant on peut discerner des fissures dues à la présence française et musulmane. Pour ne parler que des Kel Ahaggar, qui seuls nous intéressent dans cette étude, nous distinguons une confédération de tribus commandées par l' « amenokal » qui est élu à vie. Son titre lui confère la propriété du sol, amenokal voulant dire propriétaire de la terre. Il dispose à son gré des terres de parcours et des terres cultivables. En fait, ce pouvoir est exercé suivant la coutume et d'une façon paternelle.

Au sein des tribus existe un système de castes très étanches. Tout d'abord les tribus nobles qui autrefois fournissaient les guerriers; elles assuraient la protection de la confédération. Elles étaient riches des pillages exécutés aux dépens des

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg

[Facing p. 48]

confédérations voisines, des caravanes étrangères et des droits de protection payés par les caravaniers qui empruntaient les terres de parcours des Kel Ahaggar. Ensuite les tribus imrads — nous pouvons dire vassales —; plus nombreuses, composées de pasteurs gardant les chameaux et conduisant les caravanes, elles pouvaient être appelées à fournir des renforts lorsqu'une expédition tournait mal ou prenait une ampleur anormale.

Chaque tribu possédait des esclaves (iklan) achetés ou razziés au Soudan. Ils vivaient au sein des familles touarègues, s'occupant des travaux domestiques, du gardiennage des chèvres, de l'extraction du sel, du creusement des puits. Ces familles d'esclaves faisaient partie intégrante de la tribu et la suivaient dans ses déplacements.

Les harratin étaient des hommes libres ou libérés, des Nègres en général, souvent originaires du Touat, venus pour cultiver les terres arables du Hoggar. Ils travaillaient suivant deux systèmes de contrats qui sont encore en vigueur et que nous étudierons plus tard.

## Les Tribus

Dans le précédent chapitre nous avons vu que chaque tribu noble possédait des imrads ou vassaux; ces tribus imrads ont chacune un chef appelé « amrar », qui commande la tribu en se conformant aux usages. Une tribu peut se diviser en fractions et sous-fractions. La tribu possède une zone de pâturage qui lui est propre, dans laquelle aucune autre tribu ne peut séjourner sans un accord préalable de l'amenokal et cela seulement dans des circonstances exceptionnelles. Les nobles peuvent séjourner comme bon leur semble sur les terres des vassaux. Les tribus imrads versent en signe de vassalité une redevance à l'amenokal, cet impôt est appelé « tioussé », il est toujours en nature et généralement scrupuleusement acquitté. Ce revenu permet à l'amenokal de tenir son rang lors des réceptions qui sont presque quotidiennes, mais il ne couvre qu'imparfaitement les frais que lui vaut son commandement.

16. Peinture rupestre aux environs de l'oasis d'Hirafok.

6: Blanguernon · MS25 Tuareg

[Facing p. 49]

## Les Nobles

Les Kel Rela constituent actuellement la tribu noble la plus importante du Hoggar; ces nobles, appelés en tamahaq ihaggarènes, comprennent trois fractions : les iboglanes, les inembas et les ikérémoïens; ces fractions sont apparentées et pratiquent de plus en plus l'endogamie.

Les Kel Rela sont sans doute les plus beaux échantillons du type touareg. Cela tient-il à ce qu'ils forment depuis longtemps la caste dirigeante ? On est obligé de constater leur véritable noblesse, une politesse raffinée et une courtoisie jamais en défaut; ils sont plus ouverts que les imrads, souvent plus intelligents, certains d'entre eux possèdent même le sens de l'humour. Beyh ag Akhamouk, l'amenokal actuel, est un personnage des plus représentatifs, possédant de grandes qualités de chef. Les jeunes Kel Rela se tournent de plus en plus vers les Français, les fréquentent, deviennent leurs amis; cette attraction se généralisera petit à petit : l'estime que manifestent ces jeunes gens pour des individus précis s'étendra à l'abstraction qu'est pour eux la France. Les Kel Rela sont un peu plus de 300 individus possédant environ 350 serviteurs noirs. Leurs tentes sont dispersées sur tout le territoire du Hoggar. Le campement de l'amenokal n'est jamais très éloigné de Tamanrasset.

Une autre tribu noble, celle des Tédjéhé Mellet, est peu importante : réduite à 32 individus, elle séjourne ordinairement dans la Tefedest près des tribus imrads qu'elle possède : Kel Ohet et Kel Terrourrirt. Ces nobles n'ont pratiquement aucun rôle dans l'organisation touarègue du Hoggar. L'amrar de la tribu est Khourou ag Salah.

La tribu des Taïtoks a dû s'exiler au Soudan, depuis notre arrivée au Hoggar, et a été dépossédée de ses terres. Il reste cependant une trentaine de Taïtoks qui nomadisent aux environs de Tamanrasset. L'amrar est Illou ag Amri.

Près de 70 nobles de la tribu soudanaise des Iforas séjournent en terre Ahaggar. Ils sont souvent alliés aux Kel

17. Beyh ag Sidi Mansa, neveu de l'amenokal actuel.

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



Rela. Parmi ces Iforas quelques-uns appartiennent à la tribu maraboutique Iforas de Temassinine.

## Les Imrads

Suivant la légende, les Dag Rali seraient les descendants de Takamat, la suivante de Tin Hinan. Les montagnes de l'Atakor et de l'Arechchoum constituent leurs zones de pâturages. C'est une tribu de riches éleveurs de chameaux et de chèvres.

C'est la plus importante tribu imrad des Kel Rela; on compte environ 390 individus servis par près de 400 Nègres. Les Dag Rali sont des montagnards têtus, un peu bornés. Ils ont une résistance remarquable à la fatigue lorsqu'ils marchent dans leur pays accidenté. Notons également l'adaptation aux froids des mois de décembre, de janvier et de février; les campements sont en général situés à une altitude moyenne de 2 000 mètres. Les Touareg sont vêtus de deux gandouras de coton et enveloppés assez souvent d'un « dokali », et supportent des froids allant jusqu'à — 12°, sous la tente, vers cinq heures du matin.

L'amrar de la tribu est Akroud ag Ama (1). Ce sont les Dag Rali qui possèdent les tentes les plus belles, les hommes sont renommés comme chasseurs de mouflons.

La tioussé payée à l'amenokal est environ de douze mezoued de dattes, huit bottas de beurre, douze brebis prêtées pour le lait et dix chèvres à abattre.

On distingue chez les Dag Rali plusieurs sous-fractions, désignées surtout en fonction des régions qu'elles habitent : Kel Arechchoumi, et les Ikhechemaden qui étaient imrads des Taïtoks autrefois.

La tribu la plus nombreuse des imrads est celle des Adjouh n'Téhélé. Elle comprend 590 individus environ et plus de 750 Nègres domestiques. Bien qu'imrads, les Adjouh n'Téhélé sont considérés différemment par les nobles. Vers le XVIIIe siècle, cette tribu qui résidait dans l'Aïr est venue d'elle-même s'incorporer aux Kel Ahaggar, afin de fuir les exigences

(1) Mort en 1952.

du sultan d'Agadès qui réclamait chaque année une vierge en signe de vassalité. Les terres de parcours de cette tribu s'étendent à l'est et au sud de celles des Dag Rali.

Les centres de culture les plus importants appartenant aux Adjouh n'Téhélé sont Tarhaouaout, In Dalag et Tahifet. On compte plusieurs fractions : les Isanden dans la région d'Isernan, les Kel Rafsa, région de Tahifet, les Relaïdine, région de Tin-Tarabin, et les Kel Hagalella, sud de Tamanrasset. L'amrar de la tribu est Samaalatokh ag Mansouri. La tioussé versée à l'amenokal est sensiblement la même que celle des Dag Rali.

Les Adjouh n'Téhélé ont le caractère ouvert, ils sont gais et plaisantent volontiers, mais ils ont la réputation d'être vifs et coléreux.

La tribu des Aït Loen est, comme les précédentes, imrad des Kel Rela, elle descend de Takamat. Ces Touareg nomadisent dans l'est de l'Atakor et pénètrent parfois en territoire Ajjers; leur centre le plus important est Tin-Tarabin. Les communications routières vers les territoires de cette tribu sont inexistantes, aussi leurs tentes sont-elles très rarement visitées.

Les Aït Loen sont environ 500, ils possèdent 620 serviteurs noirs. Les Kel Torha, Kel Anahef et Kel Telerteba sont les trois fractions de la tribu, dont le chef est El Ralen ag Nissoran. La tioussé est d'environ quatre mezoued de dattes aux Kel Rela, et un mezoued de dattes versé par les Kel Torha aux Tédjéhé Mellet.

Les Aït Loen sont des guides éprouvés vers les Ajjers et vers le Ténéré.

Les Iklan Taoussit sont environ 600, servis par 650 Nègres; ils nomadisent dans le Tahelra, la région de Silet, les oueds Amded et Tekouiat, et dans le nord de l'Adrar des Iforas. Ils appartenaient autrefois aux Imenanes, d'où leur nom qui signifie « serviteur de la tribu ». La tioussé est de l'ordre de quatre mezoued de mil, deux bottas de beurre et six chèvres laitières. L'amrar de la tribu est Dali ag Akoumaris; la fraction de la tribu qui séjourne presque continuellement dans la région de Tin-Zaouaten a pour chef Khadida. Les Iklan Taoussit sont,

parmi les Touareg, ceux qui font la plus grosse consommation de graines d'afazzou *(Panicum Turgidum)*.

Les Tédjéhé n'Néfis sont peu nombreux : 98 Touareg et 120 Nègres; cette tribu est, comme la précédente, imrad des Kel Rela, mais autrefois elle appartenait aux Taïtoks. Les Tédjéhé n'Néfis sont apparentés aux Adjouh n'Téhélé, comme eux ils seraient originaires de l'Aïr. Leurs campements sont généralement dans l'oued Tamanrasset, en aval du village, surtout vers les jardins de Tidjenouine. Le chef de la tribu est Ad Noumen ag Khadida.

La tribu des Ibotenaten, comprenant 128 individus et servie par 153 Noirs, est inféodée aux Kel Rela sans être vraiment imrad. On dit qu'autrefois un Ibotenaten tua un noble Ahaggar. La tribu fut combattue par les Kel Rela et condamnée à payer un tribut.

Les Ibotenaten sont de riches éleveurs de chameaux, ils résident en permanence au Tamesna, bénéficiant des pluies annuelles qui fécondent cette région. L'amrar de la tribu est Ould Brika.

Les Irreguenaten sont au nombre de 434 et possèdent 600 Nègres; ils résident normalement au Tamesna, mais nomadisent vers les Iforas et même le Timétrine. Leur nom signifie : métis d'Arabes et de Touareg; ils sont alliés aux Ibotenaten. Riches éleveurs de chameaux, les membres de cette tribu sont essentiellement nomades, ils ne possèdent aucun centre de cultures. Ce sont les meilleurs guides du Tassili n'Ahaggar.

On désigne sous le nom d'Issakamaren un ensemble de tribus d'origine arabe qui furent razziées au Touat et au Tidikelt vers le XVIII^e siècle par les Kel Ahaggar. Les Issakamaren parlent l'arabe et le tamahaq, mais leurs coutumes sont devenues celles des Touareg; ils sont incorporés à la confédération touarègue et traités comme des imrads, avec cependant une légère nuance d'infériorité dans le système des castes. Leurs zones de pâturages sont situées sur la périphérie du massif central.

La tribu de Kel in Khar compte 176 individus et 50 Nègres.

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



Elle nomadise dans l'est de la Tefedest et commerce avec la région de Tin-Zaouaten.

Le centre de Mertoutek est leur propriété, mais ils possèdent des jardins à Dehine et à Abezzou.

La tioussé est évaluée à un chamelon et un mezoued de dattes. Le chef de la tribu est Ikharis ag Akcham. Ce sont de riches éleveurs de chameaux et d'excellents guides de la Tefedest et de l'Amadror.

Les Kel Amguid sont environ 88 et possèdent 9 Noirs; ils sont apparentés à d'autres fractions Issakamaren. Leur zone de déplacement est la région d'Amguid, l'Igharghar et la Tefedest. Les Kel Amguid possèdent des jardins à Adenek, à Mertoutek et à Idelès, ils paient une tioussé s'élevant à quatre mezoued de dattes, un assaber et un chamelon. Le chef de la tribu est Kelli ag Khabouba.

Imrads des Kel Rela, les Kel Tazolé comptent 60 Touareg et 60 Nègres. Ils possèdent un important troupeau camelin et nomadisent dans la région de Tazerouk, à l'est de ce centre surtout.

Le chef de la tribu est El Mamoun ag el Hadj Baba. Tazerouk est leur centre, et les petits centres voisins leur appartiennent. La tioussé est de trois mezoued de dattes, trois agneaux et un chameau de quatre ans.

Les Kel Tazolé conduisent des caravanes en direction de Rhat et du Tidikelt. Ils échangent du mil en Aïr.

Les Eouen n'Hada comptent 241 individus et 90 Nègres. Ils nomadisent dans la Tefedest, l'Ifetessen et parfois dans l'oued Selbourak. Tadjemout est leur centre de culture. Ils versent à l'amenokal une tioussé de trois mezoued de grain, un chamelon et un tapis.

Les Eouen n'Hada, dont l'amrar est Nassamou ag Elias, sont des guides de l'Immidir.

Les Kel Immidir sont environ 170 individus, ils ont 45 serviteurs noirs. Cette tribu nomadise surtout dans le tassili, région d'Arak, l'Ifetessen et le Rharis.

Ils possèdent les palmiers de Tadjemout et de Djoraf. La tioussé s'élève à six mezoued de dattes et un tapis. L'amrar

est Sidi Rali ag el Hadj Mohamed. Les Kel Immidir sont des caravaniers vers Rhat et le Tidikelt.

La tribu des Kel Tefedest est pauvre : pour 61 Touareg elle ne possède que 11 Nègres. Alliée aux Kel Tazolé et Kel Immidir, elle nomadise dans la Tefedest et l'Immidir. Les Kel Tefedest possédaient autrefois des jardins dans un centre abandonné près d'In-Amguel (Adjelil). La tioussé est de quatre mezoued de dattes et un chamelon. L'amrar de la tribu est Ikkan ag Magamed.

Les Ikoutessen sont très pauvres et peu nombreux : 85 individus et 20 Nègres. L'amrar de la tribu est Lamari ag Moudi. Ils payaient une tioussé de deux mezoued de dattes, une guerba et un mezoued vide. Les Ikoutessen séjournent ordinairement dans la région d'Amguid, ils vont au Soudan et au Tidikelt.

Appartenant autrefois aux Taïtoks, les Kel In Tounine dépendent actuellement des Kel Rela. Ils sont peu nombreux, leur région est l'Igharghar. Les Kel In Tounine possèdent des jardins aux Ajjers, ils payaient très irrégulièrement aux Taïtoks une tioussé de six mezoued de dattes et de deux moutons. Ce sont des guides vers les Ajjers.

Les Kel Ahnet, anciens imrads des Taïtoks, appartiennent à présent aux Kel Rela. Tribu pauvre de 125 Touareg et 10 Nègres. Ils nomadisent dans l'Ahnet, l'Acedjerad et l'Adrar des Iforas. Ce sont d'excellents guides du Tanezrouft. Ils possèdent des jardins à Abalessa, Tahart, Tit et Tibeghim et des palmiers dans l'Ahnet.

L'amrar est Daniel ag Chikkat. Les Kel Ahnet commercent entre le Tidikelt et les Iforas.

La tribu des Iouarouaren ne se compose que de 47 individus et ne possède pas de Nègres. Elle nomadise dans l'Acedjerad, mais réside surtout dans la région de Tin-Zaouaten. Son chef est Bahman ag Beuh. Les Iouarouaren possèdent des palmiers à Tibeghim, ils ont la réputation d'être d'excellents chasseurs d'antilopes addax. Autrefois ils payaient la tioussé aux Taïtoks, soit un mezoued de bechena et deux bottas de beurre. Ce sont des guides du Tanezrouft.

Une tribu imrad des Tédjéhé Mellet, celle des Kel Ohet, comprend 80 Touareg et 20 Nègres; elle est alliée aux Kel In Tounine et a beaucoup de relations avec les Ajjers. L'amrar de la tribu est Habib ag Ouhaggarène. Ses membres nomadisent dans l'est de la Tefedest, possèdent des jardins à Ohet et à Dehine. La tioussé était autrefois de quatre mezoued de dattes, des cordes et des guerbas.

Les Kel Terrourrirt sont des imrads des Tédjéhé Mellet. Leur tribu est peu nombreuse : 62 Touareg et 6 Nègres, et très pauvre. Ils campent dans la région d'Amguid et dans le tassili des Ajjers et possèdent quelques jardins à In-Amguel. L'amrar est Hadj Mohamed ag Salah. Ils payaient quatre mezoued de dattes, quatre moutons, des cordes et des guerbas. Ils commercent avec le Tidikelt.

Les Ibardjien ne sont pas des Issakamaren. Ils sont imrads des Kel Rela. C'est une tribu appelée à s'éteindre, on n'y compte que 24 hommes. Ils résident dans la région de Tazrouk et d'Idelès. Ils étaient de remarquables chasseurs de mouflons, possédant des chiens dressés à cet usage.

Il faut noter la fixation au Hoggar d'anciens militaires, chaamba pour la plupart, qui épousent des femmes touarègues, font souche, et dont les enfants sont élevés dans les coutumes touarègues. Ils sont assez nombreux dans la région de Tin-Zaouaten.

## Les Maalmines. Inaden

A l'intérieur de la société touarègue on trouve des artisans appelés « maalmines » (arabe), mais dont le nom tamahaq est « inaden ». On dit un « inade », des « inaden », une « tinat », des « tinadin ».

Les maalmines constituent une tribu dont les membres ne se marient guère qu'entre eux; ils sont apparentés aux maalmines des Iforas et de l'Aïr. Bien que très noirs de peau, ils n'ont pas les traits négroïdes. L'origine des maalmines est aussi obscure que celle des tribus touarègues; on a voulu voir

en eux des Juifs razziés par les Touareg et qui à la longue se seraient targuisés (leur spécialisation et leur caractère pourraient le faire croire). Certains maalmines disent être venus au Hoggar au temps du sultan Goma, ayant été séparés de la tribu des Idenan dont ils faisaient partie. D'autres prétendent avoir toujours appartenu à la confédération touarègue.

On compte au Hoggar, chez les maalmines, dix-sept hommes, une vingtaine de femmes et une quarantaine d'enfants; ils possèdent une dizaine d'iklan.

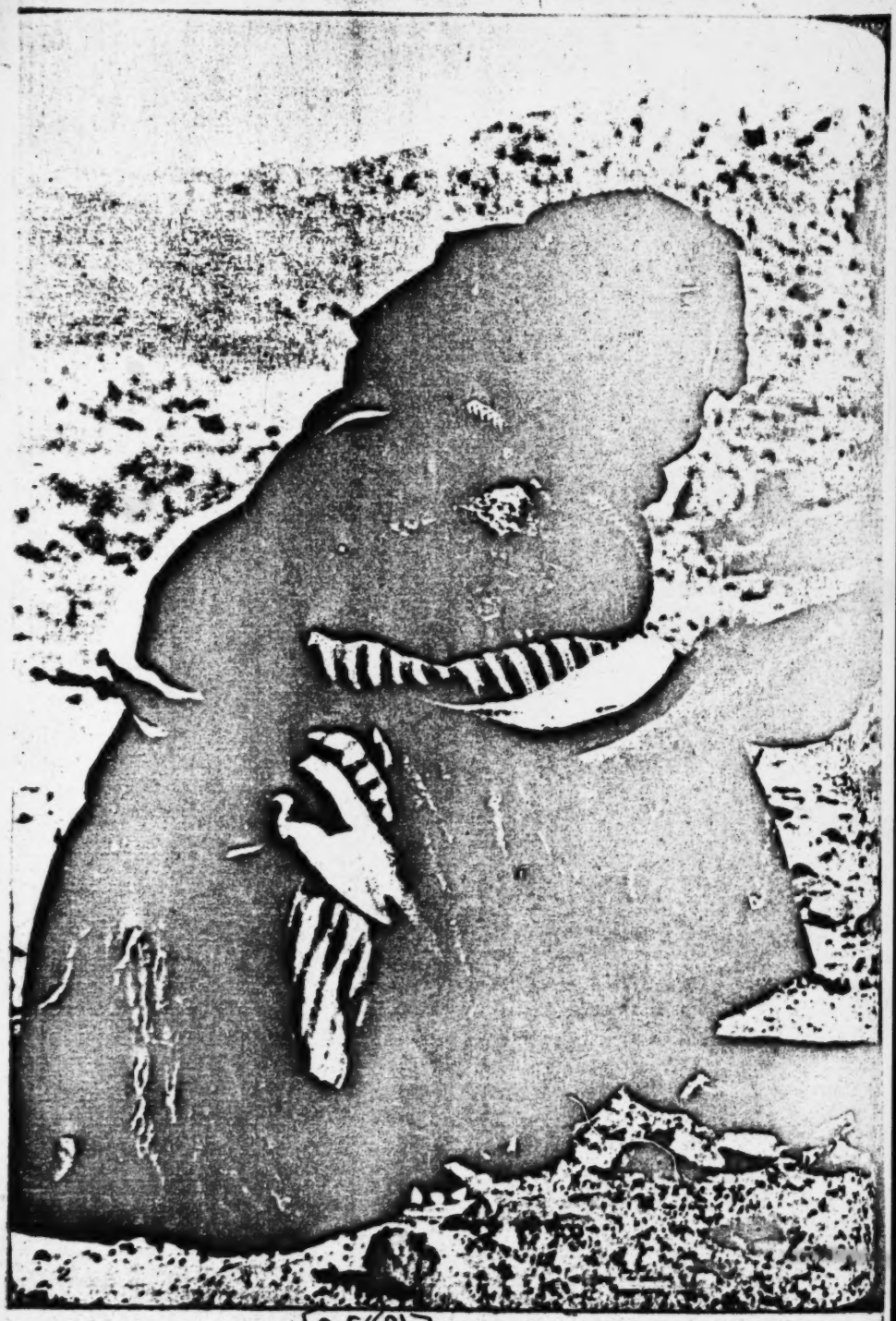
Les hommes sont des ouvriers polyvalents, souvent adroits et assez artistes; en fonction de la matière première qu'ils ont et des outils qu'ils possèdent, on peut affirmer qu'ils sont remarquables. Les femmes travaillent le cuir avec adresse et art. Les maalmines ne sont pas groupés en tribus, mais forment des familles restreintes, dispersées dans tous les coins du Hoggar. Lorsqu'une tribu, noble ou imrad, a besoin de faire exécuter des travaux, elle mande un ouvrier et lui envoie des animaux pour qu'il puisse se déplacer avec son outillage. Il réside avec la tribu pendant le temps nécessaire à l'accomplissement de sa tâche, il est nourri par la tribu qui le commande. Lorsque le travail prend fin on le paie, suivant la satisfaction éprouvée, en chèvres, mil, lait, beurre, voire chameau, mais il n'y a rien de prévu comme tarif entre maalmines et Touareg. Il en est autrement avec les harratin qui, n'étant pas aussi nobles que les Touareg, ne sauraient pas apprécier avec la générosité voulue la valeur des travaux. Il y a donc le tarif suivant : Une houe neuve (taillée dans un vieux fût d'essence), cinq guessa de blé ou de mil; quatre rivets posés sur une vieille houe, une guessa de grain; une hache neuve coûtait autrefois une chèvre ou cinq guessa, mais depuis le marché noir, il n'y a plus de cours valable !

La fabrication des bijoux, même pour les Touareg, est passible d'un cours spécial fixé par l'usage ; ainsi, pour les bracelets et les pendants d'oreilles, le Targui fournit par exemple dix pièces d'argent nécessaires à la fabrication de deux bracelets; le maalem en conserve cinq pour lui, ou bien le Targui lui verse en monnaie actuelle la valeur des cinq pièces.

18. Rhama, femme de la tribu des Iklan Taoussit.
19. Touareg de la tribu Taitok discutant dans leur position favorite.
20. Campement touareg.

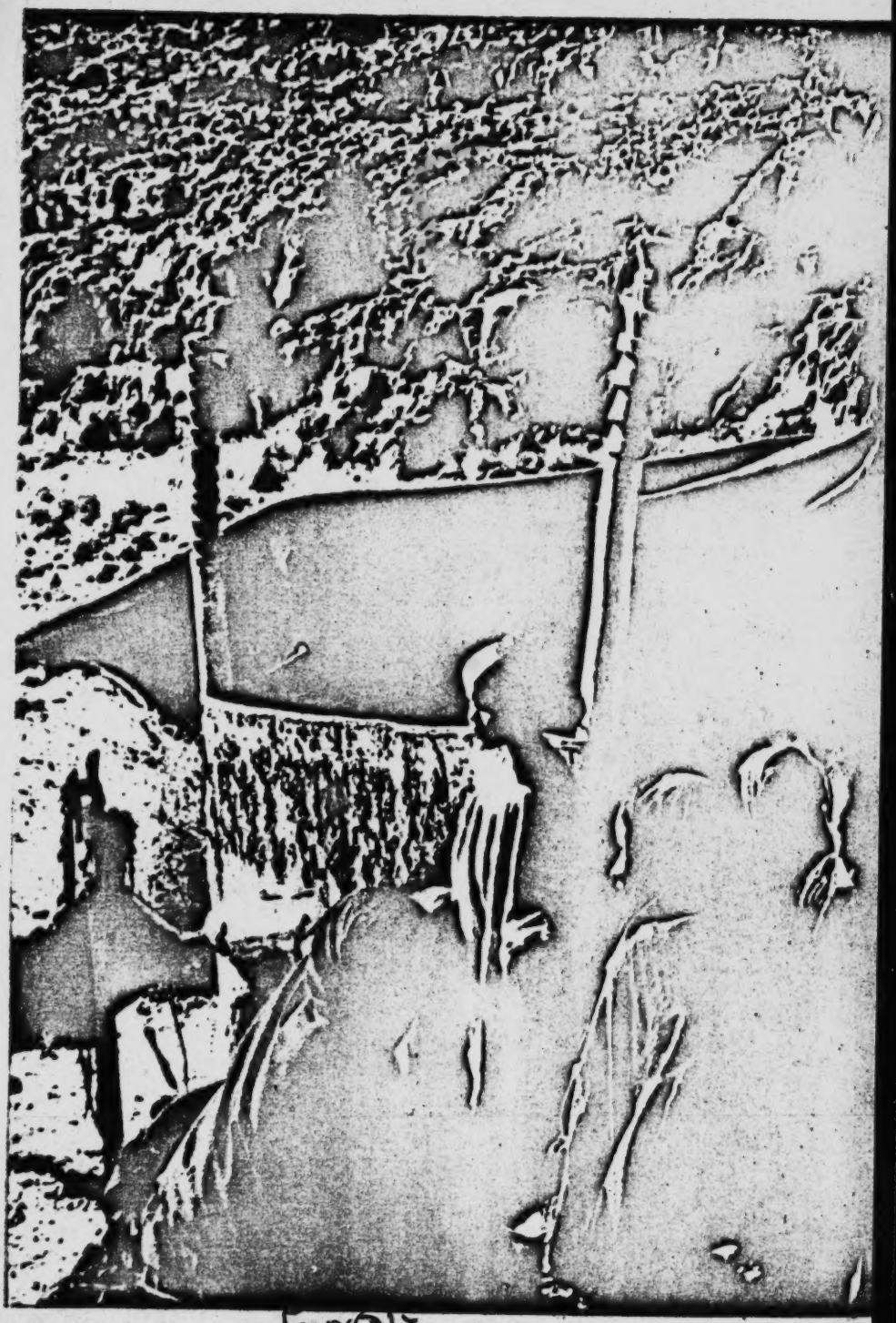
6: Blanguernon. MS25 Tuareg

[P.56(A)]



[p.56(B)]

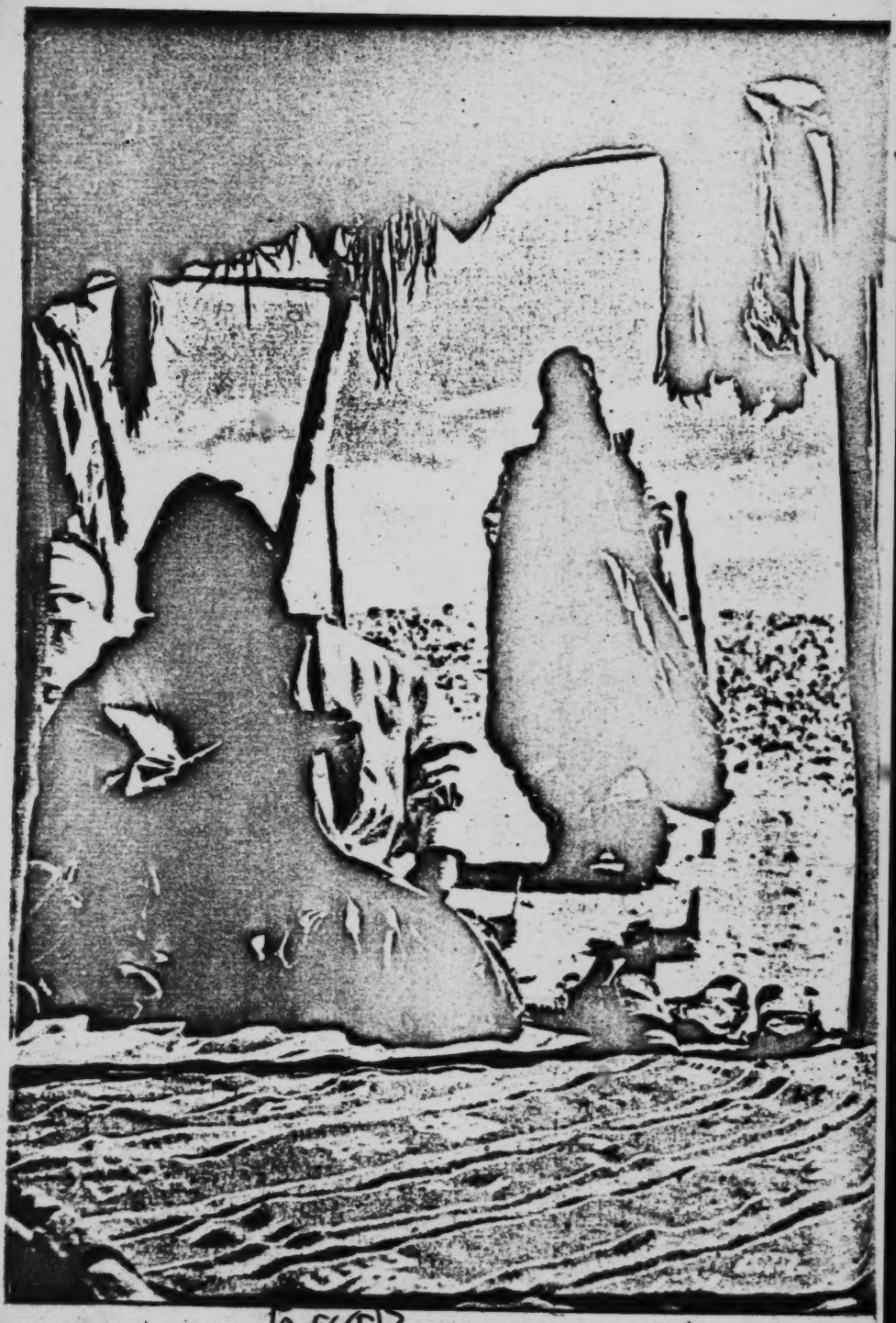
[P.56(C)]



[p.54(D)]

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg

[p. 56(E)]

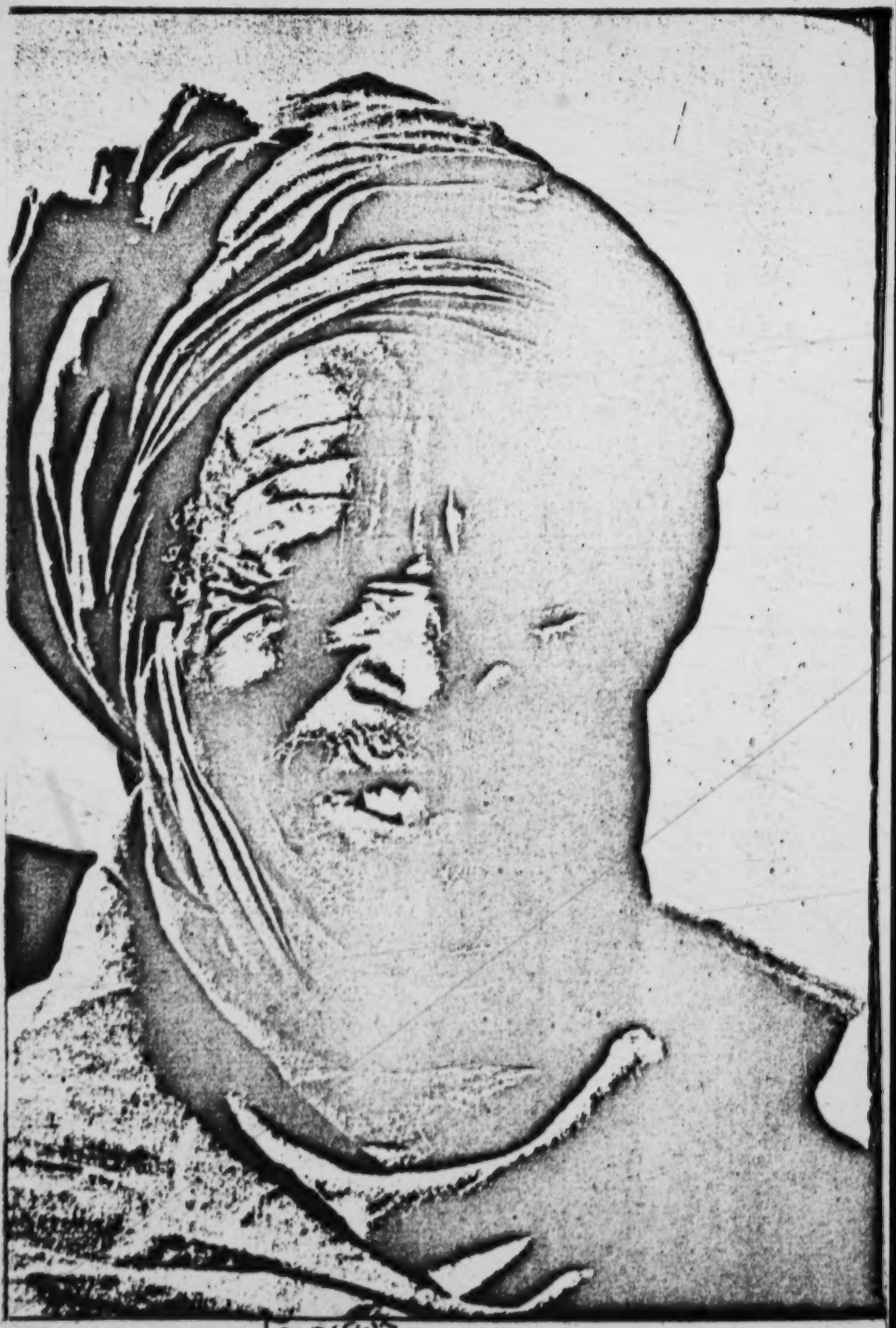


[p. 56(F)]

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg

[p.56(G)]

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



[p.56(H)]

Le même tarif est valable pour les bagues et les pendentifs. Les inaden ont une position mal définie dans la société touarègue, certains les considèrent comme inférieurs aux imrads, d'autres les placent entre les nobles et les imrads. Il est certain que les maalmines sont orgueilleux et loin de souffrir de complexe d'infériorité. Ils connaissent fort bien les usages touareg, le pays, les gens et sont en somme gardiens de certaines traditions d'art, on pourrait dire de culture.

Les tinadin, femmes des maalmines, travaillent le cuir ainsi que le font toutes les femmes touarègues, mais chez elles cela prend la tournure d'une profession. Elles sont très habiles et artistes, et leur spécialité est la fabrication des étuis pour les iremdan, les gaines pour les couteaux et les fourreaux des sabre appelés « tittar n'takouba ».

## Les Harratin

Les harratin du Hoggar représentent, comme partout ailleurs au Sahara, l'élément sédentaire, surtout cultivateur.

C'est, dans l'esprit du pays, un vocable qui désigne une caste dans la société touarègue. Lorsqu'on interroge un Kel Ahaggar sur la hiérarchie des différentes castes, il place d'abord les nobles : ihaggarènes; les vassaux : imrads, en distinguant chez ces derniers les issakamaren, qui sont au plus bas de la caste; puis les iklan (esclaves, disons domestiques); ces iklan sont des Noirs et la distinction d'avec les Touareg est évidente du fait de leur type ethnique (1).

Les harratin, qui sont aussi des Noirs, sont mis par les Touareg, qui possèdent à un degré élevé le préjugé racial, sur un plan aussi bas que les iklan.

Cependant il y a une nuance : l' « akli » (pluriel : « iklan ») appartient à son maître, le Targui; il ne peut pas le quitter, et, si à présent il n'est plus vendu, du fait de la présence française, il se considère lui-même comme la chose de son maître. Le

(1) Parallèlement existe une hiérarchisation religieuse musulmane et maraboutique (Chorfa — Zaoui — Arabes — Mozabites).

21. La tente de l'amenokal.
22. Jeunes harratin d'Ideles.
23. Type de hartani.

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



hartani est un homme libre, il peut à son gré vivre où il lui plaît, travailler comme il veut, où il veut, il passe des contrats avec les Touareg et ne dépend d'eux qu'en fonction de son travail. De plus, habitant le Hoggar, il doit observer les coutumes du pays.

Il est soumis à l'autorité du chef du village, ce dernier également hartani étant justiciable de l'amenokal (1).

Les harratin du Hoggar ont vraisemblablement deux origines possibles. Certains viennent des oasis du Touat et du Tidikelt. Ce mouvement de population a, paraît-il, toujours existé. Ces harratin constituent un élément variable quant à l'importance numérique; il y a en effet un va-et-vient continuel entre le Hoggar et les oasis du nord, suivant les années sèches ou pluvieuses.

Les autres harratin sont des iklan libérés par les Touareg. Cet affranchissement a pour principale cause la pauvreté croissante des nobles et des vassaux qui ne possèdent plus de ressources suffisantes pour nourrir et habiller leurs domestiques.

Ces hommes libérés, s'ils s'élèvent dans le système de castes, ne sont pas plus heureux, car cette liberté est souvent synonyme de dénuement absolu.

Les difficultés économiques résultant de l'interdiction des rezzous ont fait plus pour supprimer l'esclavage que la loi et la raison.

Que dire de l'origine historique des harratin en tant que type ethnique ? Nous avons déjà vu que l'on peut distinguer deux types de harratin.

Les anciens esclaves touareg sont vraisemblablement originaires du Soudan et du Niger, où ils furent achetés ou razziés.

Les harratin du Touat et du Tidikelt peuvent avoir également la même origine, mais on ne peut exclure l'hypothèse selon laquelle ils seraient descendants plus ou

(1) Cette hiérarchisation et ces rapports concernent l'observance des usages et n'a rien à voir avec la justice française qui est dans les mains du chef d'annexe et des autorités judiciaires de Batna.

moins purs d'un ancien peuplement négroïde du Sahara (1).

Les harratin constituent au Hoggar un élément social des plus intéressants, car ce sont eux qui cultivent les rares terres productives, qui fournissent les ouvriers : maçons, menuisiers, et les manœuvres. S'ils paraissent présenter au premier abord peu de qualités intellectuelles et morales, ils n'en sont peut-être pas moins facilement adaptables.

## La Langue

Les Touareg parlent une langue berbère. Cette langue est certainement le lien le plus étroit qui unit des populations éparpillées des regs du Tidikelt aux rives du Niger; elle est, plus que le type ethnique, l'élément caractéristique de ces peuplades. C'est grâce à elle que se maintient ce que l'on peut encore appeler la « culture touarègue » qui subsiste dans les traditions, les mœurs et les superstitions.

Cette langue qui se nomme le tamahaq au Hoggar, ou tamacheq au Soudan, comporte plusieurs dialectes : celui qui est parlé par les Kel Ahaggar se nomme le « tahaggart », il est ainsi appelé par les Kel Ajjers et les Taïtoks; dans l'Aïr, il se dit « taïrt »; dans l'Adrar des Iforas, « tadrak », et celui des Aoullimiden s'appelle « taoullemmet ».

Ces dialectes sont proches les uns des autres; quelques déformations de prononciations locales les distinguent, ainsi que certains idiotismes.

Le tahaggart, langage des Touareg du Hoggar, a été le mieux étudié, surtout dans les tribus nobles, car, disait le père de Foucauld : « la langue n'est pure que chez les nobles ».

C'est une langue complexe, riche, nuancée, dont la syntaxe est précise et difficile. Le général Hanoteau réussit, avec l'aide de Touareg capturés lors d'un combat, à rédiger une

(1) A ce propos il est utile de lire les articles publiés dans les *Bulletins de liaison saharienne* à Alger auxquels collaborent les professeurs de l'université d'Alger et toutes les personnalités qui, à divers titres, ont travaillé au Sahara. (Gérant : commandant Ferry. Direction des Territoires du Sud : Gouvernement général de l'Algérie).

grammaire touarègue; ce fut la première étude précise de tamahaq.

Des dictionnaires furent établis par Cid Kaoui, M. Masqueray, mais le plus remarquable travail, qui constitue une somme, est le dictionnaire du père de Foucauld. La grammaire du père de Foucauld et les textes qu'il rassembla constituent les bases les plus sûres pour l'étude du tamahaq.

On ne saurait trop dire combien l'œuvre de l'« ermite du Hoggar » est splendide, en ce sens qu'elle a mis en lumière une civilisation dans l'histoire.

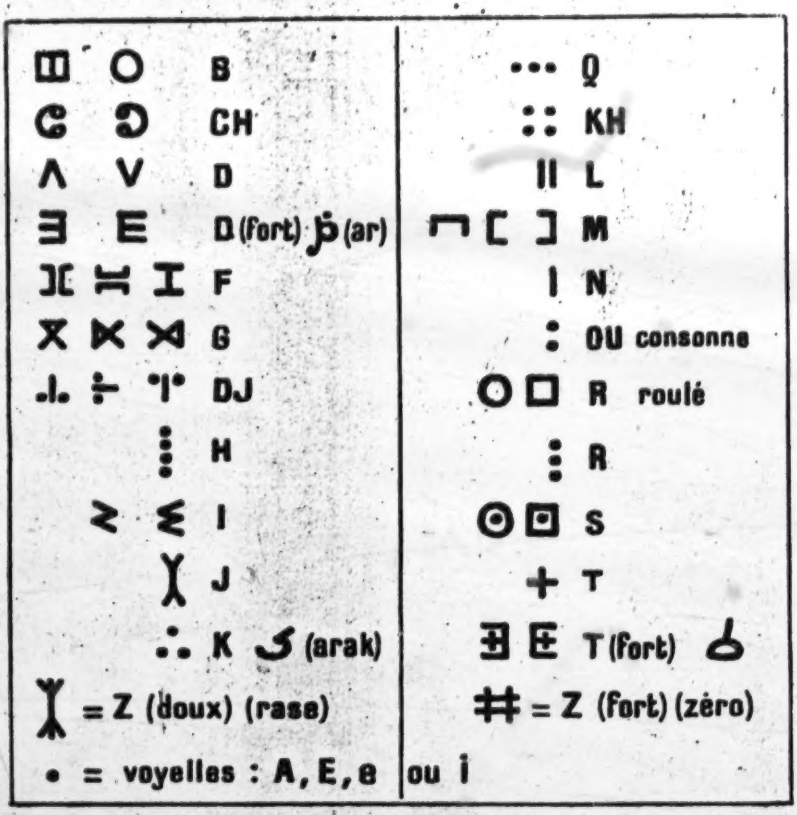



Tableau des lettres tifinar

L'originalité du tamahaq en tant que langue berbère, c'est qu'il peut s'écrire avec ses caractères propres, que l'on nomme des tifinar.

Les caractères tifinar sont au nombre de vingt-cinq, auxquels il faut ajouter des lettres composées provenant de la combinaison de deux éléments simples.

Chaque lettre représente une consonne de la langue, un seul signe indique la voyellation à la fin d'un mot. Pour écrire un mot il suffit d'aligner les consonnes de ce mot les unes après les autres, sans les attacher, dans le sens que l'on veut, de gauche à droite ou de droite à gauche, comme de haut en bas ou bien de bas en haut, suivant le goût du scripteur. Certaines lettres, comme le M, le G ou le D (fort), fournissent l'indication du sens de l'écriture.

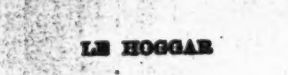
Toutes les lettres écrites se prononcent, à de très rares exceptions près.

Soit à écrire : Tamanrasset, à l'aide de tifinar :

la position des jambages du M indique le sens de gauche à droite. On peut également écrire : ou encore :

On conçoit aisément que cette écriture sans voyelles est assez pénible à lire; il faut en effet, au cours de la lecture, placer convenablement les voyelles. C'est toujours un spectacle amusant que de voir un Targui déchiffrer du tifinar; il chantonne en épelant chaque lettre des mots, jusqu'à ce que,

d'une façon que l'on peut qualifier d'audible, il identifie le mot, retrouve son sens, et le prononce enfin avec une évidente satisfaction.



Iété..é. é,émmé.éé.,enné.. é .,IèR... éssé..é.é. éTT.

ce qui permet de trouver : Tamanrasset.

La lecture d'un texte, avec ce système d'épellation, est longue et compliquée, car il faut se souvenir des mots retrouvés pour reconstituer la phrase, sinon tout est à recommencer. Une connaissance étendue de la langue est indispensable pour pouvoir placer correctement les voyelles et éviter ainsi les contresens.

Malgré cette difficulté de transcription, les Touareg s'amusent à mélanger les lettres à l'intérieur d'un mot, ce qui pour un non-initié est proprement incompréhensible.

Le tamahaq emprunte actuellement beaucoup de mots à l'arabe et au français, déjà le père de Foucauld avait noté cette invasion de l'arabe, et la targuisation de nombreux mots.

Dans les tribus nobles chaque individu sait lire et écrire, mais il en va autrement chez les imrads; nombreux sont les vassaux qui savent tout juste écrire leur nom.

La richesse de la langue parlée diminue beaucoup du fait du bilinguisme, et sans doute aussi parce que la poésie, alimentée autrefois par les exploits guerriers, tend à disparaître. On se rend compte ainsi de l'importance de l'œuvre du père de Foucauld qui a fixé pour toujours une langue de tradition orale.

Il arrivera certainement un temps où les Touareg devront utiliser le français pour se perfectionner dans leur langue.

Note. Quelques signes composés :

= bt = rt

= cht = st

# II

# ÉCONOMIE

## Généralités sur l'économie du Hoggar

Un pays, tel que nous le connaissons après l'étude du milieu physique, possédant des ressources très restreintes du fait de la rareté de l'eau et de la pauvreté du sol, ne pourra avoir qu'une activité agricole réduite aux productions incertaines.

La société touarègue, nomade par nécessité géographique, et guerrière par besoin, devait, pour nourrir les nobles-soldats, les imrads-pasteurs et les esclaves-domestiques, trouver un moyen de compenser les aléas de la culture faite par les harratin dans les vallées du Hoggar. Ce moyen, c'est d'une part l'échange du sel extrait de l'Amadror contre le mil cultivé au Soudan; et, d'autre part, l'échange du blé récolté au Hoggar contre les dattes du Tidikelt. Ce double mouvement constitue l'originalité de l'économie touarègue, il met en évidence :

1° Le troc, encore employé comme système d'échange;

2° La constatation curieuse que le Targui se nourrit de denrées qui ne sont pas produites au Hoggar : les dattes et le mil;

3° Le fait que le Targui, s'il a besoin du Nègre domestique et du hartani cultivateur, est nécessaire à ceux-ci pour qu'ils vivent. On estime que le mil constitue les deux tiers de

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



la nourriture de la population du Hoggar, le dernier tiers étant fourni par les dattes;

4° Comme conséquence de cette organisation, l'existence d'un grand troupeau camelin pour assurer les courants caravaniers.

## Le Troc

Ce pays déshérité par la nature donne cependant à ses habitants une richesse gratuite : le sel. Ce sel, qui fait défaut au Soudan, gît en grande quantité dans la plaine de l'Amadror, bassin intérieur situé au nord-est du Hoggar, encadré au nord par le tassili des Ajjers, à l'ouest par l'Edjéré et à l'est par des collines qui le séparent du bassin du Taffassasset.

Cette région de l'Amadror, ancienne sebkha desséchée, est particulièrement désertique. Le sel s'est déposé en surface, l'exploitation se fait donc à ciel ouvert, par blocs de 50 ou de 60 kilos; les menus morceaux provenant de la taille des blocs sont mis en sacs et emportés. Il est évident qu'un pays aussi nu, désolé, affreux, privé d'eau, a inspiré des légendes; on raconte des histoires de génies qui hantent les salines au long des nuits; c'est ainsi que l'on entend ce monde invisible et néfaste frapper le sol, casser des blocs de sel sans répit, avec une énergie diabolique. Lorsque paraît le jour il semble que le chantier soit resté dans le même état que la veille, que rien ne se soit passé durant la nuit, ...et pourtant, « ils étaient là ». Certains Touareg prétendent avoir vu, imprimées dans la terre, les traces du passage de chevaux et avoir constaté l'existence de matériel d'extraction antérieur à l'outillage actuel — ce qui tendrait à prouver l'ancienneté de cette exploitation minière.

Le désert recèle d'autres salines qui approvisionnent le Soudan; vers l'ouest, Idjil et surtout Taoudéni sont les plus célèbres, vers l'est Bilma, et l'Acedjerad, mais parmi ces dernières, le sel de l'Amadror est le plus coté sur les marchés de la savane.

Vers le mois d'avril ou de mai, les Touareg envoient leurs

domestiques noirs faire l'extraction du sel. Par petites étapes, des caravanes d'une centaine de chameaux avancent en direction des salines, suivant des pistes bien tracées que jalonnent les puits de Dehine et In-Tarass (ce dernier est à quarante kilomètres du sel).

Le travail se fait le plus vite possible, car le séjour en ces lieux n'a rien de réjouissant en raison de la chaleur, du manque d'eau et de bois, et de la présence nocturne des Kel es Souf (génies). L'extraction est évidemment anarchique, mais qu'importe, il y a tellement de sel ! Les blocs sont découpés avec une sorte de hache, deux blocs, préalablement entourés d'une chebka (filet grossier), constituant une charge de chameau. Les petits morceaux sont mis dans des sacs (de fibres de palmier) par charge de 50 kilos. En dix jours deux hommes peuvent charger cinquante chameaux, soit environ 3 tonnes de sel.

C'est alors le retour vers les campements du Hoggar. En attendant le temps du départ vers le Soudan, le sel est stocké au voisinage des tentes ou des villages. La coutume veut que le Nègre revenant de l'Amadror offre des morceaux de sel aux campements qu'il rencontre sur son chemin; en échange il est hébergé et fêté.

Quand le moment est venu de partir pour le Soudan, à la fin du mois de juin, un Targui prend le commandement de la caravane, dans laquelle un chameau sur cinq porte du sel. Vers la fin juillet la caravane arrive au Tamesna, région de In-Abangarit, où séjournent en permanence les chamelles du Hoggar. On est encore un peu chez soi, il est bon de s'y reposer, et les chameaux qui viennent de parcourir mille kilomètres environ profitent des pâturages abondants de la région sahélienne. Vers le mois de septembre ou le début d'octobre, la caravane démarre de nouveau avec des chameaux reposés ou ayant échangé des bêtes fatiguées. Le Damergou, dont le plus gros centre est Tahoua, est atteint vers la fin octobre. Cette région est bien connue des Kel Ahaggar. Ils y ont leurs clients. Alors commence le troc; opération de longue haleine, longues discussions, tractations laborieuses, durant lesquelles

les Touareg échangent le sel contre le mil suivant un taux variable d'une année à l'autre (ce taux est fonction de l'importance de la récolte de mil et des apports de sel étrangers au Hoggar). Des arrivages de sel marin par voie fluviale risquent de compromettre l'équilibre de l'économie du Hoggar et d'affamer les Touareg.

On cite des époques durant lesquelles une charge de sel s'échangeait contre quinze de mil; en moyenne, le troc se fait sur la base de cinq à huit charges de mil contre une de sel. Les quantités échangées sont minimes, elles varient d'une poignée à deux kilos. Parfois, mais assez rarement, du sel est vendu à des commerçants. Avec l'argent ainsi gagné le Targui achète des tissus, des cuirs, une selle et quelques objets d'usage domestique, puis se met en route vers le Hoggar. Nous sommes au mois de janvier, il faudra trois mois pour revoir la koudia, car la caravane est lourde et marque toujours un temps d'arrêt au Tamesna où il y a des fêtes, des tendi, des ilougan, et des filles accueillantes. Le retour des caravanes de mil est l'événement marquant de l'année. On estime que le mil importé du Soudan constitue les deux tiers de la nourriture des Touareg. Arrivé au Hoggar, le mil est stocké dans des silos de pierres maçonnées à l'argile, reposant sur des dalles rocheuses afin d'être à l'abri des termites. Il est curieux de voir ces constructions ni cylindriques ni coniques s'élever près des campements ou des villages. Parfois les propriétaires sont partis, mais personne n'essaie de dérober ce qui est à la portée de la main.

## L'Agriculture

Le trait caractéristique du régime de la terre au Hoggar réside dans le fait que l'amenokal se trouve être, de par son titre, le seul propriétaire de la terre.

Quiconque veut forer une foggara doit tout d'abord en demander l'autorisation à l'amenokal, et devra lui payer un impôt de dix kilos de blé par jardin.

Le jardin est l'unité de culture. Une foggara irrigue de

six à dix jardins. Toute autre unité de surface n'aurait aucun sens puisque l'étendue cultivée est fonction du débit de la foggara, qui est variable suivant les années et les différents centres de culture. A Tamanrasset une foggara arrose 3 ha 80; à Tit, 3 ha 30; à Idelès, 4 hectares. La surface d'un jardin varie donc de 40 à 60 ares. La récolte en blé peut atteindre 400 kilos à l'hectare; l'impôt est donc à peu près un quarantième de la récolte. Que le possesseur du jardin soit un Targui ou un hartani, l'impôt (mek) est payé à l'amenokal.

Les arbres plantés dans les jardins restent propriété de l'amenokal, parce que attachés à la terre.

Cette possession inaliénable du terrain par l'amenokal a permis aux Touareg de conserver les rares terres cultivables du Hoggar. La force de leur coutume tribale les préserve de leur imprévoyance individuelle. Malheureusement ce droit de l'amenokal empêche l'évolution agricole et la mise en valeur maximum des terres du Hoggar, car le cultivateur ne peut jamais devenir propriétaire du terrain qu'il travaille. Il n'a aucun intérêt à planter des arbres qu'il ne pourra pas conserver. On ne peut pas espérer un effort constant vers l'arboriculture puisque le jardinier peut changer fréquemment et que son successeur ignorant ou sans scrupules est libre de laisser péricliter la plantation.

En dehors des terres cultivées, les terrains de passage ont au Hoggar une grande importance. L'ensemble du territoire des Kel Ahaggar est partagé depuis toujours entre les différentes tribus touarègues. Des règles orales strictement appliquées précisent les droits et les servitudes de la tribu sur ses terres.

1° Le passage et l'abreuvage sur les terres d'une tribu est un droit pour n'importe lequel des autres Touareg;

2° Nul ne peut séjourner sur les terres d'une tribu sans le consentement du chef de cette tribu;

3° Quiconque emprunte le terrain de parcours d'une tribu est responsable des dégradations occasionnées aux arbres, aux puits, aux foggaras, aux jardins, au gibier, par lui ou ses animaux. Voici quelques sanctions : une chèvre, pour une branche cassée; un mouton, pour des destructions opérées

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par un troupeau mal gardé; un chameau, pour des dégâts causés par des chameaux; une partie ou le tout du gibier abattu. Lorsqu'un chameau s'est enfui, le propriétaire n'est pas responsable, on doit même le prévenir et l'aider. Il est interdit de faire stationner des bêtes dans un pâturage dont les plantes ne sont pas parvenues au maximum de développement;

4° L'amenokal peut parfois autoriser des tribus à séjourner sur les terres d'une tribu déterminée, en cas d'abondance de pâturage sur ces terrains.

Les servitudes des tribus sont les conséquences normales de la vie nomade, mais les droits concernant les terrains de parcours mettent en évidence un trait de caractère des Touareg : leur amour de la terre. Ces nomades qui devraient suivre les pâturages les plus abondants, que tous leurs intérêts entraînent vers le Soudan, restent attachés à leur sol; ils observent des règles valables pour des sédentaires.

Notons qu'il n'existe pas au Hoggar d'exploitation agricole dirigée par des Européens. La raison principale de cette abstention est le maigre résultat que l'on peut espérer; la baisse des nappes d'eau souterraines qui entraîne souvent l'abandon d'un terrain ne peut permettre une installation coûteuse. Il y a environ dix ans, un ancien adjudant des compagnies sahariennes s'était installé à Tiguenouine, petit centre à soixante-dix kilomètres au sud de Tamanrasset : il abandonna rapidement son idée de culture et devint nomade. Un autre Français, militaire en retraite, nomadise dans la région de Tin-Zaouaten; son mode de vie est touareg, ses troupeaux prospèrent.

A Tamanrasset résident des fonctionnaires, logés dans des locaux administratifs qui possèdent parfois un petit jardin à usage familial. La commune fait cultiver un grand jardin où sont tentés des essais de culture et d'arboriculture.

Les Touareg étant donc les seuls propriétaires fonciers, voyons maintenant comment ils mettent leurs terres en valeur. Comme dans tous les pays d'influence musulmane le mode d'exploitation agricole est le « khamassa », avec certaines variantes locales. Le khammès est le plus souvent un hartani,

Nègre venu autrefois du Tidikelt, ou un ancien esclave affranchi.

Le système agricole du Hoggar a pour support la foggara, qui doit arroser six à huit jardins. Le propriétaire de la foggara, généralement un Targui, prend un khammès par jardin. Il recherchera parmi les harratin du village les jardiniers capables de s'entendre avec lui. Un contrat oral est passé entre le propriétaire et les khammès, devant témoins; il peut se résumer ainsi :

Le propriétaire s'engage tout d'abord à fournir la terre qu'il a louée à l'amenokal. Il doit aussi procurer à son jardinier l'eau provenant de la foggara qu'il a fait creuser, une « mesaha » (houe) et les semences nécessaires. De plus, le propriétaire est tenu de faire défricher le terrain à ses frais, et à faire procéder à l'amendement. Il doit au hartani une avance de nourriture de soixante guessa de mil par an.

En contrepartie, le khammès assure les travaux des champs, le battage, l'entretien de la foggara.

Comme « salaire » il perçoit un cinquième de la récolte nette, les épis tombés et glanés. La récolte d'une dizaine de « guemouns », ceux situés près du majen (bassins d'argile). Le blé et l'orge semés dans les séguias qui lui appartiennent.

En outre le blé qui se trouve mélangé à la poussière sur l'aire de battage lui revient de droit ainsi que la paille et les quelques légumes cultivés. Enfin, si le débit de la foggara diminue et que l'on soit obligé de creuser de nouveaux puits en amont, le khammès touche trois guessa de blé par puits creusé.

En cas de conflit entre les propriétaires et les khammès, les palabres sont faites en présence du chef de la tribu (côté touareg) et du chef de village (côté harratin). L'amenokal intervient en appel, mais rarement, car ces contrats fixés par l'usage sont en général scrupuleusement observés.

Le Targui n'a qu'une médiocre confiance dans l'honnêteté de son khammès, opinion souvent justifiée, car le hartani fait exprès tomber des épis qui lui reviennent par droit de glanage. Le propriétaire n'a pas la magnanimité de Booz. Aussi, lorsque le temps de la moisson est venu, le voit-on s'installer

près de son jardin avec toute sa famille pour s'assurer de la régularité des opérations. Le khammès doit fournir la nourriture du Targui, ce qui constitue une lourde charge pour lui. Ainsi le veut la coutume, qui ajoute : En cas d'empêchement du Targui, le hartani verse une redevance de 25 kilos de blé pour assurer ce droit de séjour.

Il existe une autre forme de contrat qui est appelé « aril » en tamahaq, et « nous » (moitié) en arabe. La récolte nette est partagée en deux parties égales, compte tenu des conventions suivantes :

Le Targui propriétaire doit fournir la terre louée à l'amenokal, une foggara et une houe. Donner la moitié de la semence, faire un prêt de 25 kilos de blé qui sera remboursé lors de la récolte et assurer les frais de fumure (tiksal = terre vierge). Le hartani jardinier s'engage de son côté à fournir la moitié de la semence et le travail d'un an.

Ce système de contrat qui plairait beaucoup aux Touareg insouciants par nature, imprévoyants, ayant rarement le grain nécessaire pour assurer les prêts aux khammès, est peu en honneur auprès des harratin qui préfèrent avoir l'avance de mil fournie par le propriétaire dans le premier système de contrat, le droit aux guemouns personnels et aux glanages, sans compter les petits vols quotidiens.

Il est bien évident que ces contrats sont draconiens pour les cultivateurs, qui végètent et sont à la merci d'une mauvaise récolte. Le Targui peut, grâce à ses troupeaux et au troc, résister à plusieurs années de disette, mais le hartani ne le peut pas. Il n'est pas rare de les voir faire la soudure entre les réserves d'hiver et la nouvelle récolte de blé en mangeant des noyaux de dattes pilés, des jeunes pousses de tahli, et parfois même de l'orge ou du blé en herbe.

La terre est ensemencée en fonction de la quantité d'eau disponible. Lorsque le débit des foggaras est en baisse, la surface cultivée se restreint. Il arrive même que, à la suite de plusieurs années de sécheresse, l'eau diminue tellement dans la nappe de l'oued qu'elle en vient à disparaître. Alors les jardins sont abandonnés, le centre de culture déserté. Les

cultivateurs se replient vers un village plus favorisé. Lorsque les pluies auront de nouveau rempli les nappes, les centres morts pourront être de nouveau cultivés.

La fumure ne se pratique presque pas au Hoggar. On lui préfère un système d'amendement appelé « tiksal » en tamahaq. Chaque année, le hartani va chercher, sur une pente voisine des jardins, une terre argileuse qu'il transporte couffin par couffin et dont il répand une mince couche par guemoun. Cette terre vierge vivifie la terre cultivée qui s'épuise très vite du fait de l'irrigation, elle ne contient presque pas d'humus, ni de calcaire.

Parfois, lorsqu'il n'y a pas une trop grande distance à parcourir, le jardinier apporte la terre de l'ancien système radiculaire d'un fersig mort ou d'un tahla, seul humus que l'on puisse trouver.

L'irrigation est ici le problème capital. On le résout à l'aide de la foggara appelée « efeli » en tamahaq (au pluriel : « ifelan »), laquelle ne ressemble en rien aux foggaguir du Tidikelt et du Touat, qui sont définitives et ont nécessité un travail considérable. Au Hoggar, la foggara n'est en fait qu'une séguia souterraine (canal d'irrigation) destinée à capter l'eau de la nappe d'un oued, en amont d'un terrain cultivable, et de l'amener suivant la ligne de moins grande pente vers les jardins qui seront irrigués par gravitation.

Le creusement de la foggara comporte plusieurs opérations. On fait d'abord, en amont, un forage qui permet de déceler l'eau et de juger sa profondeur, puis on creuse cinq ou six puits reliés entre eux par un canal souterrain, ce travail permet de juger de l'importance du débit. Trois hommes travaillent en collaboration : l'un creuse, les deux autres restés en surface, de chaque côté du puits, descendent un couffin à l'aide de deux cordes attachées à chaque anse et rejettent les déblais à droite et à gauche du puits.

Partant du jardin à irriguer, une séguia est établie en direction des puits d'amont, travail en remblai d'abord, puis en déblai aussi longtemps que le permet la résistance des alluvions à l'éboulement.

Entre la séguia d'aval et les puits d'amont sont ensuite creusés des puits espacés de 5 mètres, réunis entre eux par un tunnel. Le travail se fait en direction de l'amont. Un spécialiste aménage la pente optimum suivant l'usage qui est de la hauteur d'une cheville par puits, soit environ 2 centimètres par mètre.

Lorsque tous ces puits et tunnels intermédiaires sont prêts, on ouvre le dernier tunnel (A) qui raccorde l'aval aux premiers puits d'amont. La foggara est alors terminée et l'eau va alimenter le « majen » : réservoir régulateur d'où partent les séguias d'irrigation.

Schéma montrant le creusement de la foggara.

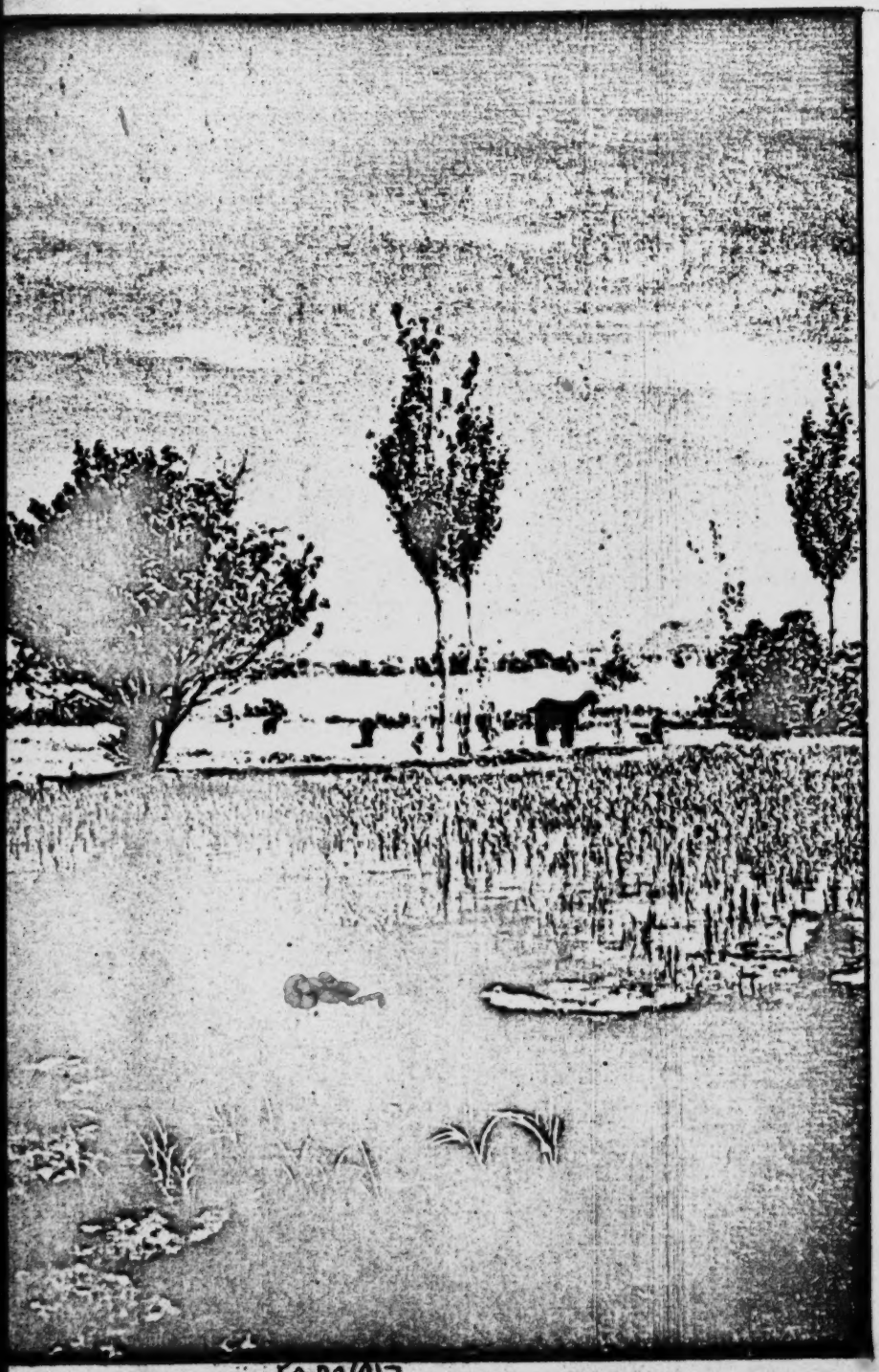
Il faut un ou deux mois pour établir une foggara. Certaines d'entre elles (Abalessa) ont 6 kilomètres de longueur, et les puits d'amont atteignent 10 à 12 mètres.

Lorsque le débit diminue, d'autres puits sont creusés vers l'amont, mais dans certains centres de culture comme Idélès et Tahart on arrive à dépasser l'épaisseur de la couche de sable; les ouvriers se trouvent alors en présence de grosses roches et le travail s'arrête, car avec une houe et un couffin il est difficile de s'attaquer au rocher. Il ne reste plus qu'à prier Dieu pour que les pluies alimentent la nappe d'eau, ou à émigrer vers un centre plus favorisé.

Le travail est dangereux, dans ces foggaras creusées à même les alluvions meubles, et des accidents se produisent souvent. La foggara nécessite un entretien continuel; les vents de sable assèchent et obstruent les puits, il se produit un colmatage qui nuit à l'arrivée de l'eau, les éboulements sont fréquents. Dans

24. Abricotiers et peupliers à Tamanrasset.
25. Figuiers et tamaris.
26. La récolte de blé à Tamanrasset.

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg

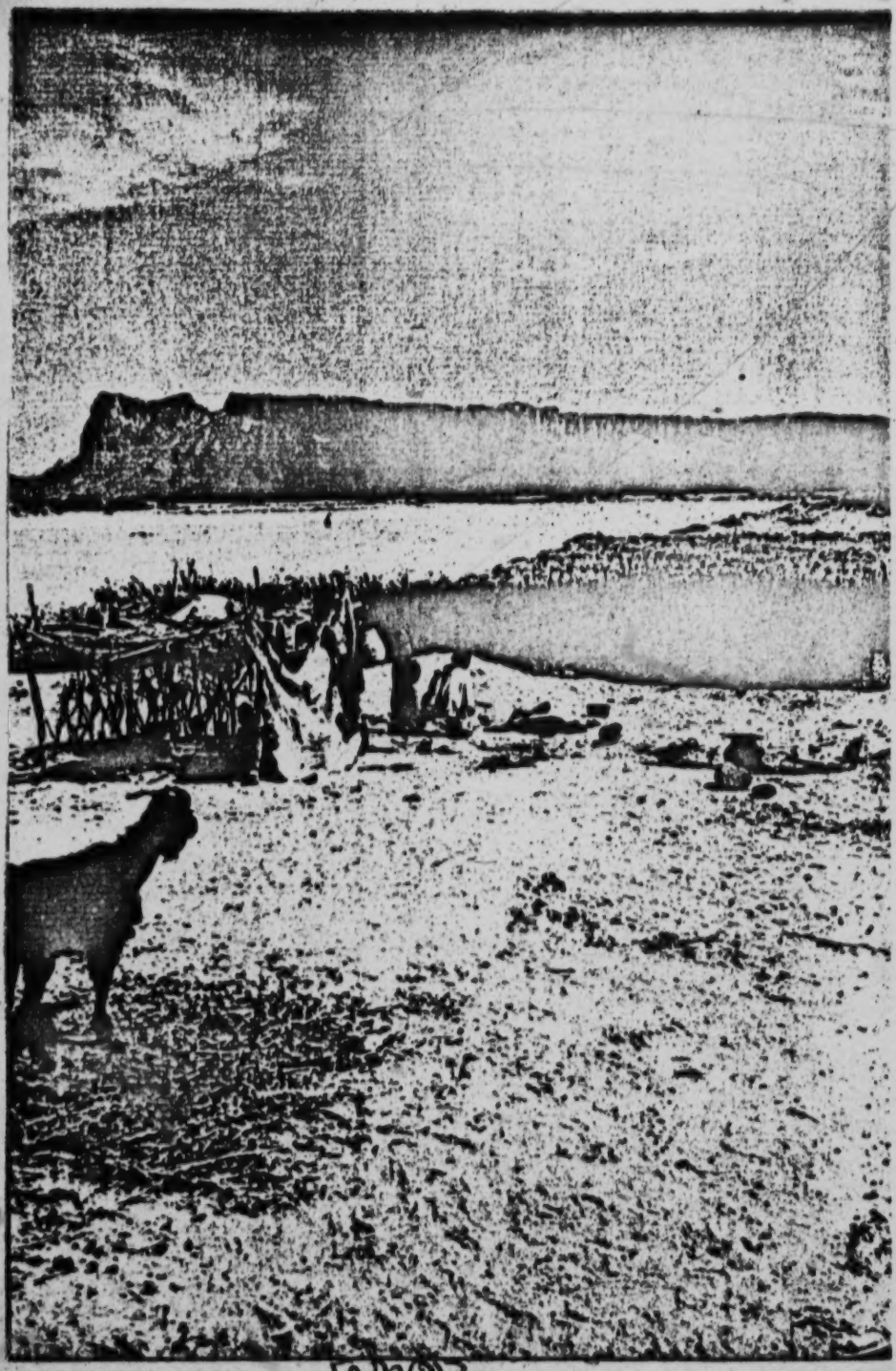


[Plate 6(A)]

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg

[p.72(B)]

[ﺍﻟﺮﺍﻑ(C)]



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ce dernier cas, une corvée de volontaires vient aider à la remise en état rapide pour protéger la récolte.

La crue bienfaitrice qui fera monter le niveau de la nappe détruira en revanche le travail des harratin, en comblant un grand nombre de puits; il faudra alors recommencer la foggara. On a récemment essayé, à Tamanrasset, la construction d'un drain souterrain en grosses pierres surmontées de plus petites, puis recouvertes d'argile et de sable, pour permettre à la crue de passer sans dommage pour la foggara. Mais les Nègres ne sont pas en mesure de se livrer à ce genre de travail.

L'eau qui coule constamment de la foggara est accumulée dans un bassin de 8 m. × 4 m. × 0,40 m.; ces dimensions donnent un ordre de grandeur. De ce bassin, en terre levée, étanchéifié à l'argile, le jardinier fait couler l'eau dans les séguias qui la conduisent dans les guemouns cultivés qui se trouvent inondés.

Ce système d'irrigation épuise rapidement le sol.

Les cultures sont arrosées tous les six ou huit jours, chacun des six ou huit jardins dépendant de la foggara ayant son tour d'eau régulièrement.

Lorsque l'irrigation est faite à partir d'un puits (tanout) et non d'une foggara, l'eau est tirée du puits à bras d'homme ou avec l'aide d'un zébu. Quand le majen est plein, le jardinier procède à l'inondation des guemouns.

La terre cultivable qui s'appauvrit très vite a besoin de repos. Les harratin pratiquent la jachère, mais involontairement, car faute d'eau, ou faute de semences, d'assez grandes étendues restent incultes. Il arrive même que, la terre étant épuisée, un centre soit complètement abandonné pour un certain temps.

Les plantes cultivées au Hoggar sont peu nombreuses : le blé et l'orge en hiver, le mil et la tomate en été constituent en fait l'essentiel de la production et couvrent la presque totalité des terres cultivées. Les cultures potagères sont négligeables, et dans beaucoup de centres elles sont inexistantes.

On compte au Hoggar cinq variétés de blé tendre vraisemblablement importées du Touat.

Le blé est semé en octobre et récolté au début de mai.

27. Une jariba près d'un champ de blé.

La culture se fait par petits guemouns de 1,50 m. sur 3 mètres environ. L'irrigation a lieu tous les six ou huit jours. Le long des séguias, deux lignes parallèles de blé sont semées. La production varie de 10 à 15 pour un. Elle est d'environ de 300 à 400 kilos à l'hectare. La production totale du Hoggar est d'environ 200 tonnes de blé par an.

L'orge est cultivée de la même façon que le blé, mais ne donne que 50 tonnes par an.

Le mil est semé dès que la récolte de blé est terminée. Il en existe deux espèces, l'une dite du Hoggar, l'autre du Soudan.

Le rendement varie de 8 à 10 pour un. La production annuelle est d'environ 60 tonnes. Les épis sont assez fournis, mais sont pillés par les oiseaux, surtout les bengalis, appelés « mange-mil », originaires du Soudan.

La tomate est le principal légume de la région. Plusieurs variétés sont semées, peut-être en existe-t-il une autochtone, mais les harratin ont utilisé depuis longtemps les graines données par la commune. Ils récoltent eux-mêmes leur semence sans sélection, il se peut qu'il y ait dégénérescence. La production des tomates est excédentaire en général. Les fruits sont coupés en deux, puis séchés au soleil afin d'être conservés pour la vente et l'expédition vers les Ajjers, le Tidikelt, El-Goléa et surtout Ghardaïa. Le mode de culture est des plus simples : les jeunes plants sont repiqués, sans ordre, à des distances variant de 30 à 60 centimètres, au hasard du coup de houe. Lorsque les pieds de tomate sont adultes, le guemoun offre l'aspect d'un fouillis indescriptible. Très rares sont les jardiniers qui posent des tuteurs.

Presque tous les jardins indigènes possèdent quelques pieds de citrouille. Il en existe deux espèces, l'une dite du Hoggar qui devient énorme, jaune, peu sucrée, moins appréciée que la variété dite de Métlili, moins grosse, verdâtre et très rugueuse, dont la chair est bien plus sucrée. La citrouille constitue l'essentiel de la nourriture au mois d'octobre et même de novembre.

Les fèves réussissent à merveille, mais seuls quelques jardiniers en cultivent plusieurs guemouns.

## Les Centres de culture

Le Hoggar possède de nombreux centres de culture, véritables oasis, d'inégale importance. La situation de ces jardins est toujours la même : dans un oued vivant, entre deux seuils rocheux. On les trouvera donc dans un rayon d'une centaine de kilomètres autour des hauts sommets de l'Atakor.

Les jardins s'étirent le long de l'oued, utilisant au mieux la terre cultivable et irrigable. Un impressionnant damier de guemouns desservi par les lignes de foggaras et de séguias témoigne de l'effort des harratin. C'est un spectacle curieux que l'opposition des taches vertes du blé naissant avec la grisaille de la végétation spontanée; cette verdure semble irréelle. Le cadre dans lequel est situé le centre de culture est toujours pittoresque. Les villages ont de rares maisons de toubs ou de pierres sèches, plus souvent des zéribas de tahlis. La misère y est endémique, et le mot dénuement prend ici son sens absolu.

J'ai personnellement connu des familles, dont l'une de neuf enfants, qui, à certains moments de l'année, savaient en se réveillant le matin qu'elles n'avaient rien à manger pour la journée et qu'il en serait de même le lendemain et les jours suivants. La charité d'un des leurs, à peine moins pauvre, pouvait seule les sauver de la famine.

Il est certain que l'imprévoyance est un facteur déterminant de ce dénuement, mais il n'est pas le seul, il faut y ajouter le peu de fertilité du sol, l'eau souvent insuffisante, surtout après une période de longue sécheresse, les conditions du contrat agricole qui interdisent en fait au hartani de s'intéresser passionnément à sa terre et enfin l'esprit borné et privé de toute espèce d'initiative dont font preuve les harratin. Il faut noter que les Touareg se montrent hostiles au développement de l'agriculture; cette hostilité est à peine raisonnée; il s'agit d'une sorte d'atavisme nomade, augmenté du désir de maintenir intacts les usages traditionnels, et aussi de la crainte de voir pénétrer au Hoggar des étrangers qui pourraient sans doute faire fructifier le sol, étendre les

palmeraies en particulier, mais qui ne seraient pas héréditairement soumis à leur autorité.

A propos des conditions de vie dans les centres de culture, je reproduis ici un extrait de notes prises en 1949 lors d'une tournée que je fis, en compagnie du médecin de Tamanrasset. Cette année 1949 était particulièrement sèche, elle faisait suite à quatre longues années de sécheresse.

« Après avoir marché cinq heures depuis l'oued Tilokatine où nous avions passé la nuit, nous arrivons en vue d'une charmante petite oasis située dans l'oued Outoul qui s'est frayé un chemin à travers des basaltes dont nous apercevons les colonnes le long des rives. C'est le centre de culture de Tahart.

« Il y a soixante-trois habitants dont dix-sept enfants — trachomes et conjonctivites. Deux foggaras servent à l'irrigation des jardins, ainsi que deux puits à tirage par bœufs. Le débit des foggaras diminue, les harratin ont essayé de creuser d'autres puits en tête de la foggara, mais ils trouvent à trois mètres de profondeur des gros blocs de pierres qui les empêchent d'atteindre la nappe. Travail long et pénible, avec des moyens primitifs.

« Il y a environ une centaine de palmiers, qui donnent des petites dattes maigres. Presque tous les arbres sont encombrés de djebars, ces harratin n'ont aucune notion de la culture du palmier. Les sujets actuellement productifs ont poussé au hasard d'un noyau jeté dans un jardin.

« Les seules cultures d'hiver sont celles du blé et de l'orge; pas de navets, ni de carottes, ni de fèves, ni aucun de ces légumes qui pourraient permettre d'attendre la maturité des céréales pour faire la soudure entre le mil et le blé.

« En ce moment presque tous les harratin mangent de l'orge verte et des jeunes pousses de tahli.

« Un calcul sommaire permet de constater l'insuffisance de l'alimentation de ces cultivateurs qui, cependant, fournissent un gros effort musculaire sous un climat excessif :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Année 1948. | Rapport en blé pour Tahart | 1 500 kg. |
| | » en mil » » | 300 kg. |
| | | 1 800 kg. |

soit 1 800 kilos de grain à diviser par 63 fois 365 jours, ce qui donne à peine 100 grammes par jour et par personne, auxquels nous pouvons ajouter trois ou quatre repas de viande par an.

« Cette année, un pou vert menace la récolte de céréales; en été, une sorte de « moustique » s'attaque au mil. »

Pour compléter ces observations, il faut ajouter à la nourriture des harratin le thé très sucré qu'ils boivent chaque fois qu'ils le peuvent, et noter que cette année 1949 fut particulièrement mauvaise.

Si le blé, enchâssé dans le cadre des montagnes arides, donne un air d'opulence au village, le cultivateur sait bien que la production sera insuffisante, et que le cinquième auquel il a droit est déjà engagé près des commerçants mozabites, comme acompte sur les différents achats de l'année. Que faire ? Continuer à cultiver, car telle est la vie. Ce travail têtu pour arracher un peu de blé à une terre hostile est attendrissant au possible et mériterait un meilleur sort; mais il faudrait cultiver l'esprit des Nègres, et ceci est une autre histoire.

Certains de ces centres sont temporaires; les harratin les abandonnent lorsque la terre est épuisée ou lorsque l'eau n'est plus en quantité suffisante pour l'irrigation; d'autres ont toujours été habités et cultivés. Les harratin se bornent à réduire les surfaces de culture pendant les années de sécheresse. Dans les centres permanents, les jardins possèdent des arbres fruitiers.

On trouvera en appendice la liste des principaux centres de culture du Hoggar.

## L'Elevage

Pays de nomades, le Hoggar est un pays d'élevage extensif. Au hasard des chutes d'eau naissent des pâturages qui sont utilisés par les Touareg, en respectant toutefois la fructification des herbes. L'irrégularité des pluies annuelles oblige les Kel Ahaggar à emmener la majorité de leur troupeau camelin en territoire soudanais, ainsi environ 7 500 camelins pâturent au Tamesna, tandis que 4 500 demeurent au Hoggar.

L'ensemble des chèvres et des moutons reste près des tentes et trouve plus ou moins aisément sa subsistance. Les ânes qui vivent en liberté sont peut-être les animaux les mieux adaptés. Quelques zébus servant au tirage de l'eau dans les centres de culture sont chichement nourris.

Il ne semble pas que l'élevage soit appelé à une grande extension, les conditions climatiques n'autorisant pas un accroissement excessif des troupeaux.

Le chameau est indispensable aux Touareg, sans lui ils ne pourraient pas vivre au Hoggar. L'association Targui-chameau couvre le pays, elle est nécessaire, elle fait partie du paysage. On voit la double silhouette se découper sur les crêtes des plateaux centraux, tracer un lacis de sentiers sur les regs de lave noire, ou imprimer dans le sable les traces parallèles des pieds du Targui et de ceux du chameau. Cette bête étrange semble sortir d'un autre âge; malgré son allure antédiluvienne et ses membres raides — elle n'a de souplesse que dans le cou —, elle parvient à escalader, pour pâturer, des pentes où l'homme a parfois peine à accéder.

En ce qui concerne le chameau, le terme d'élevage semble impropre. Pour le Targui, le chameau est sa vie; grâce à lui, il peut se déplacer à son gré dans le désert, faire ses échanges commerciaux, demeurer des mois dans une région sans puits si le pâturage est bon. Le chameau est sa joie, il lui permet de prouver ses qualités d'homme; il est aussi l'objet de ses craintes lorsqu'il est malade, ou qu'il a disparu, après avoir brisé son entrave et qu'il faut le suivre à la trace durant des jours pour le rattraper.

Le chameau est également la richesse, l'échelle des valeurs, le cadeau de naissance et de mariage; c'est l'animal noble.

Le Hoggar compte environ 12 000 camelins. Il serait fastidieux d'énumérer la richesse de chaque tribu, disons cependant que les Dag Rali possèdent à eux seuls un cinquième du troupeau.

Les Touareg distinguent trois races de chameaux : une race du Hoggar, une du Soudan et une race du nord appelée maroki. Le chameau du Soudan est le plus grand, en général

de pelage clair, fort et rapide; lorsqu'il est très gras sa bosse devient haute, il lui faut une nourriture abondante, il vit mal dans les pâturages maigres. En bonne forme, on peut le charger de 200 kilos de marchandise.

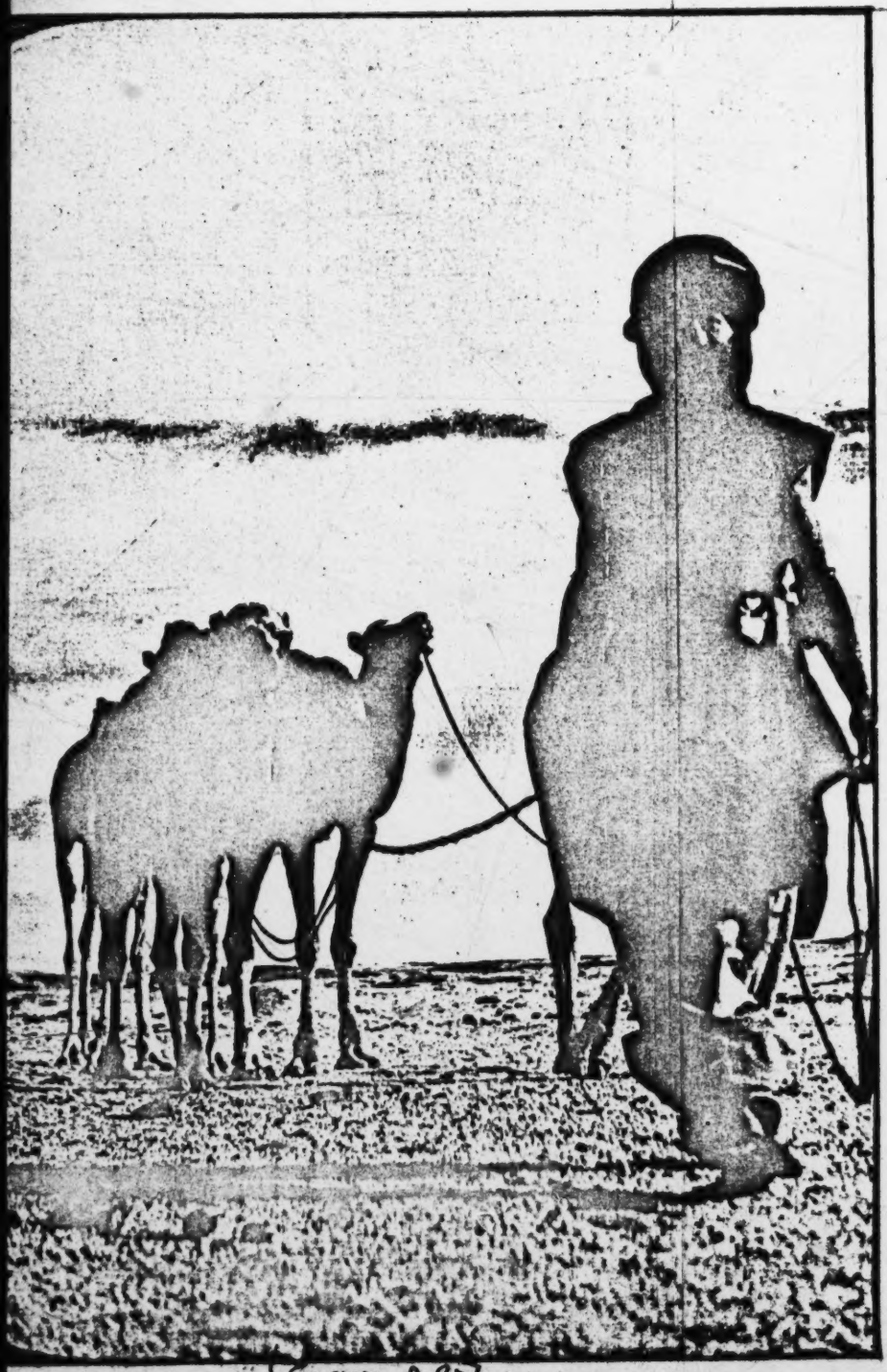
Le chameau du Hoggar est moins grand, mais toujours très fin d'allure; son pelage peut être clair, mais beaucoup sont foncés. Lorsqu'il est gras sa bosse ne s'élève pas beaucoup, mais déborde sur les flancs; plus sobre que les soudanais, il supporte les maigres pâturages. S'il court moins vite, il grimpe mieux; ses pieds s'échauffent sur le sable, mais résistent sur les cailloux déchiquetés. On ne peut guère le charger à plus de 150 kilos.

Il y a assez peu de maroki au Hoggar. Sa taille est plus petite, mais il est beaucoup plus fort; à côté des autres races, il paraît lourdaud. Il exige une nourriture abondante, en retour il porte jusqu'à 300 kilos. De teinte foncée, en général, le maroki possède une laine abondante.

Le vocabulaire touareg pour désigner le chameau est riche, ce qui est une preuve de l'intérêt porté à l'animal. Le terme générique est « amis », « imenas » au pluriel. « Amadjor » est également générique, mais s'emploie dans le sens : chameau aperçu de loin et non identifié (« imoudjar », au pluriel). La chamelle se dit « talemt » (pluriel : « tillemin »); « timetirout » (pluriel : « timetterouin ») veut dire la chamelle pleine. Le chamelon qui vient de naître se nomme « aoura »; lorsqu'il a un an, on dit « ag aouatey »; deux ans : « alloguès »; trois ans : « akanafoud »; quatre ans (les dents pointent mais ne sortent pas) : « araïer »; cinq ans (deux dents) : « ag essin »; six ans (quatre dents) : « ag okkoz »; sept ans (six dents) : « Ammessedis »; huit ans (deux canines) : « aoutahallat »; adulte et vieux se confondent, d'autant qu'un Targui est incapable de dire la longévité d'un chameau : certains meurent jeunes, d'autres vieux, mais il n'énonce pas d'âge, car cela pourrait être néfaste.

Le chamelon sevré porte un nom : « assaka »; lorsqu'il est dressé, on dit « abal » ou « amougui ». L'étalon se dit « amali ».

Prolixes pour les noms décernés au chameau, les Touareg le sont davantage encore lorsqu'il s'agit de définir sa couleur.



[facing p. 80]

Alors que le vert, ou le rouge cru étalé sur un papier est mal apprécié, les nuances imperceptibles d'une robe cameline sont classées de façon précise; c'est que les couleurs que nous proposons sont des abstractions, tandis que la différence entre deux gris est concrète comme étant celle entre deux chameaux vus, connus et peut-être aimés.

La correspondance des teintes exprimée par les mots tamahaq avec des nuances françaises est arbitraire, un autre enquêteur pourrait à bon droit donner une autre échelle aussi valable.

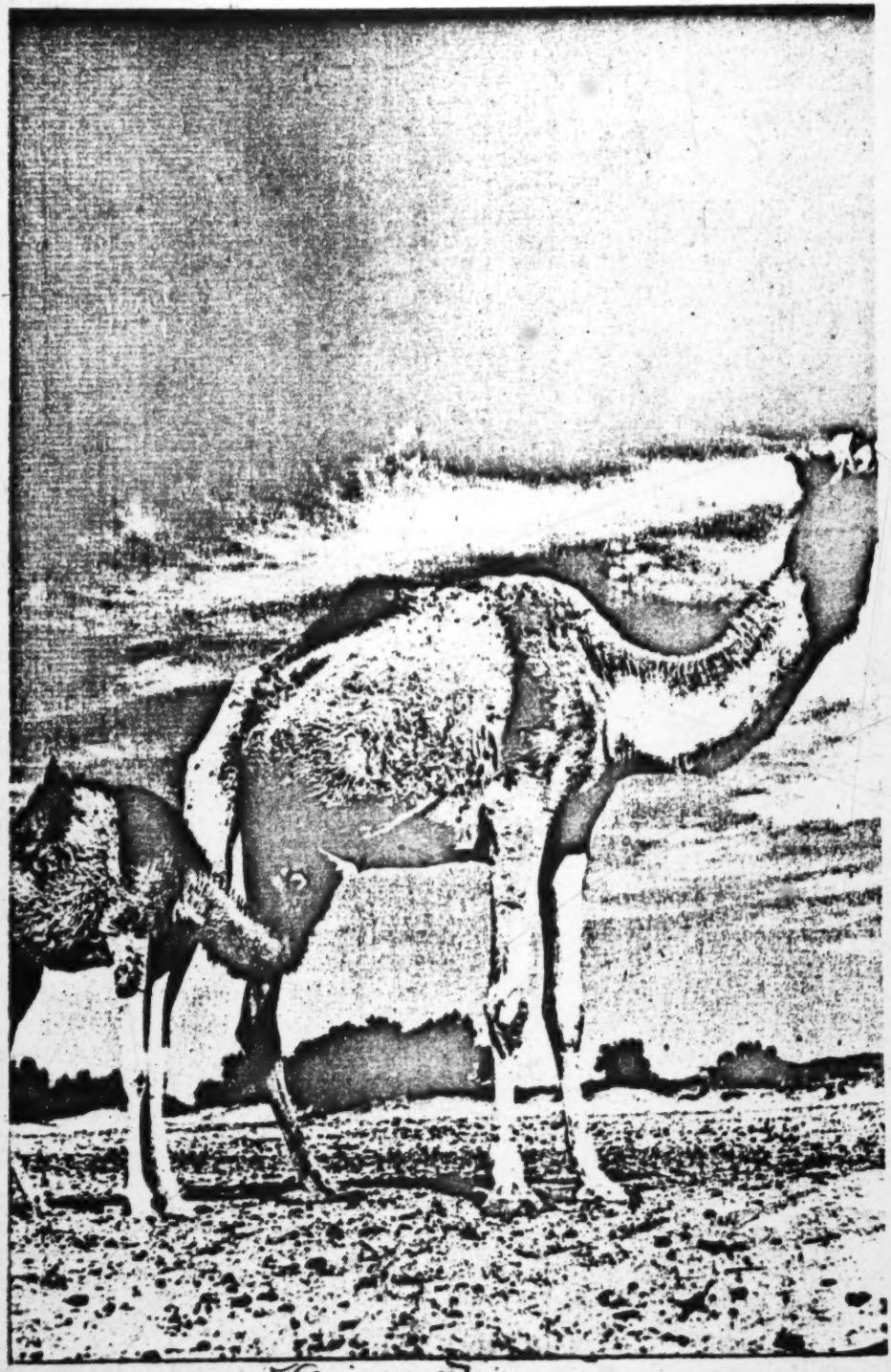
| | |
|---|---|
| Blanc | Beïdedj |
| Gris foncé | Iendjelan |
| Fauve | Iebramine |
| Fauve clair | Atlar |
| Brun fauve | Ibazaouane |
| Noir | Ikaoualane |
| Blanc et noir | Azelraf |
| Blanc sale | Idegnassen |
| Gazelle | Ierrane |
| Gris clair | Ibahouane |
| Tons verts | Israfane |
| Blanc roux | Ilemlarane |
| Brun rouge | Ihaggarène |
| Ni rouge ni jaune | Ietlarine |
| Celui qui a les yeux bleus | Iouinaran |
| Celui qui a la bouche blanche | Imoulssan |

Suivant l'usage auquel la bête est destinée, ou suivant ses qualités, il existe une vingtaine d'autres noms dont voici quelques exemples :

Chameau de selle : « amis ouan tarik »; de bât : « amis ouan edjidji »; de selle pour femme : « amis ouan takhaouit ». Chameau fatigué : « yaddah »; blessé : « yakoder »; bien dressé : « iounane »; difficile à monter : « irraguel ».

Il est inutile de rappeler les caractéristiques du chameau, sa sobriété, son endurance, sa fragilité aussi; rappelons toutefois

28. Au pâturage, rassemblement des bêtes.



[facing p. 81].

que lorsqu'il « fait le plein », il absorbe jusqu'à cent vingt litres d'eau.

Dans un pâturage humide, dont l'herbe est verte, s'entend, le chameau reste pratiquement sans boire; lorsqu'il est monté ou bâté, devant faire un voyage à travers un pays strictement désertique ou dépourvu de verdure, il peut passer quatre ou cinq jours en été et environ huit jours en hiver sans boire ni manger.

Si les Touareg sont réputés comme de bons dresseurs de chameaux, c'est qu'ils commencent le dressage vers deux ans. Le chamelon est saisi et se voit passer une « tiriouit » sur la gueule. La tiriouit est un agencement de cordes enserrant la tête un peu comme une muselière. Une longue corde sert de guide, le dresseur monte à cru derrière la bosse, et ceci pendant trois ou quatre jours. Le chamelon commence à connaître l'homme, on lui passe alors une « akala », simple corde fortement attachée à la mâchoire inférieure, une selle est posée pour la première fois; on utilise de préférence la « tahïast » qui est la plus solide. Durant trois mois on apprend au jeune chameau à marcher droit et à se laisser conduire où l'on veut. C'est seulement au bout d'un an que le dressage est achevé et que l'on pose le « tiguemt », l'anneau de nez dans lequel passe la « tarant » qui classe définitivement l'animal : « assaka » ou « amougui ».

Le dressage pour le bât est beaucoup plus simple. L'animal est entravé aux deux pattes avant, on lui passe une tiriouit sur la tête et on l'attache de très court à un arbre. Il restera ainsi sans manger durant deux jours, puis il est lâché toujours entravé afin qu'il cherche sa nourriture, sautant ridiculement de touffe en touffe. L'animal est désormais apte à faire un « amis ouan edjidji ». Les chamelles peuvent également être dressées vers deux ans, soit pour la selle, soit pour le bât. Les Touareg ne les utilisent que lorsque leur lait est tari.

La reproduction des chameaux ne se fait pas au hasard, car les Touareg sélectionnent leurs mâles.

On conserve de préférence comme reproducteur un demi-sang soudanais et Hoggar.

29. Au pâturage dans l'ouet Amded.

Le futur reproducteur doit présenter des caractères physiques bien déterminés, on examine plus particulièrement la structure des membres, la longueur de la queue et l'importance de la poche sexuelle; une grosse tête est un indice favorable, ainsi qu'un pelage blanc.

Les Touareg conservent un mâle pour trente ou quarante chamelles, tous les autres sont castrés : « ennedi ». La castration s'opère assez tard pour ne pas contrarier le développement de l'animal, qui sera toujours employé comme monture ou comme bête de bât.

Les reproducteurs ayant été sélectionnés, la reproduction se fait sans contrôle de l'homme. Le mâle poursuit la chamelle, l'oblige à « baraquer », soit en posant son cou sur le sien, soit en lui mordant la patte. Il arrive que les femelles en rut viennent solliciter le mâle. La saillie se fait, la chamelle étant baraquée, le mâle se trouvant derrière elle, les membres postérieurs complètement pliés, appuyant sa callosité pectorale sur le dos de la femelle, les antérieurs allongés le long du poitrail pour la maintenir prisonnière. La saillie dure, paraît-il, une demi-heure; au bout de deux heures, le mâle peut recommencer une autre saillie. Lorsque toutes les chamelles du troupeau sont fécondées, le reproducteur pâture et se repose près de trois mois.

La chamelle porte douze mois, parfois onze, elle donne un chamelon (les Touareg interrogés n'ont jamais vu deux produits). Une bonne laitière donne six litres de lait à chaque traite, mais on n'en trait que la moitié, le reste étant réservé au chamelon — ce dernier commence à manger seul vers trois mois.

Lorsque, dans la journée, la chamelle va au pâturage, suivie de son petit, elle porte un « abedjo » sur la mamelle afin que le chamelon ne puisse pas téter. L'abedjo est une sorte de filet grossier attaché sur les reins, recouvrant exactement la mamelle; (il est fait de corde fabriquée avec des fibres de branches de tahla : « ikakaben », extrêmement solide et rugueux, ce qui rebute le jeune chamelon).

Les chèvres constituent une véritable fortune pour les

Touareg. Elles se contentent des maigres pâturages des années sèches; elles paissent au voisinage des tentes, où elles reviennent chaque soir pour dormir. On les rencontre partout au Hoggar, même dans les endroits qui au premier abord paraissent les plus déshérités.

La chèvre du Hoggar (une chèvre : « tirsi »; pluriel : « oulli ») est petite, vive, bonne marcheuse. Elle possède de longs poils noirs, mais des croisements avec des chèvres soudanaises donnent des produits au pelage noir et blanc. La production laitière est très variable suivant les saisons, l'abondance et la valeur des pâturages. Une très bonne laitière peut produire près de deux litres de lait par jour, un mois après avoir mis bas. La production moyenne se situe aux abords d'un litre par jour pour les deux traites. Le lait de chèvre fournit le beurre : « oudi amellen », que l'on cuit pour le conserver : « oudi »; il donne aussi les différents fromages (rappelons que le lait de chamelle n'est utilisé que comme boisson).

On pense que le Hoggar compte près de 20 000 chèvres, mais il se pourrait qu'il y en eût davantage. Les Touareg conservent un mâle pour environ cinquante chèvres. La chèvre du Hoggar produit un chevreau à chaque portée, parfois deux mais très rarement. Les chevreaux mâles sont toujours mangés jeunes, ils constituent l'essentiel de la consommation en viande des Touareg.

Le poil des chèvres sert à la fabrication des cordes de toutes espèces, et nous verrons comment la peau est utilisée pour la confection de tous les objets du mobilier touareg.

L'élevage du mouton est très restreint, c'est à peine si le nombre de têtes atteint le dixième du cheptel caprin, et la majeure partie des moutons se trouve dans la région de Tin-Zaouaten.

Le mouton élevé au Hoggar est originaire du Soudan; haut sur pattes, il n'a pas de laine, mais de longs poils raides, en général de couleur fauve. La viande en est excellente. C'est un animal robuste, bon marcheur, mais qui aux dires des Touareg supporte mal les années sèches du Hoggar, les pâturages étant insuffisamment nourrissants. Ce mouton

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



accomplit de sérieuses performances; les Touareg conduisent des troupeaux depuis l'Adrar des Iforas jusqu'aux marchés du Tidikelt et de l'Aïr, au Hoggar. Ces migrations se font bien entendu en hiver, mais les regs traversés sont vraiment pauvres en points d'eau, et les pâturages suffisamment rares pour que ces déplacements constituent un exploit remarquable.

Le lait des brebis est mélangé à celui des chèvres, les peaux sont également employées dans tous les travaux de cuir. Le mouton est considéré comme une viande de choix et servie de préférence à un invité de marque.

Le bœuf est importé du Soudan, c'est un zébu à la bosse caractéristique. Il sert au tirage de l'eau dans les centres de culture. Cependant il peut vivre seul en pleine liberté dans les oueds du Hoggar. L'amenokal possède un troupeau qui s'est ensauvagé : lorsqu'il désire une bête, il doit la faire abattre à coups de fusil. Les bœufs se nourrissent des tahlis qui abondent aux seuils rocheux des oueds, ils s'abreuvent aux gueltas qui sont nombreuses. Ce bœuf est un animal résistant capable d'aller du Tamesna au Hoggar, à travers des regs désolés.

La production laitière est pratiquement négligeable, puisque le Hoggar compte un maximum de 300 bovidés.

La peau est utilisée pour fabriquer des grands dellous pour le tirage de l'eau et des bottas destinées à contenir le beurre.

Le taureau se dit : « essou » (pluriel : « issouan »); la vache : « tessout » (pluriel : « tissita »).

L'âne (« eïed »; pluriel : « ieïdan ») est, peut-être, l'animal le mieux adapté au Hoggar. Les Touareg disent : « Il mange tout, ce qui est vert et ce qui est sec. » Il est de taille moyenne, d'un pelage assez clair, portant sur le dos une grande croix plus foncée. C'est lui qui assure toutes les corvées du campement, il va chercher l'eau, le bois. Il supporte presque toute la charge des déménagements, c'est la monture des femmes, des jeunes enfants et des Nègres. Certains voyageurs ont voulu voir au Hoggar des onagres; en fait ce sont des ânes retournés à l'état sauvage : les Touareg ne pouvant pas les garder près de leurs campements, à cause de l'insuffisance des pâturages,

les laissent en liberté. Aussi voit-on un peu partout des troupeaux d'ânes se découper en silhouette sur les montagnes, ou fuir à l'approche de l'homme dans un oued. Les ânes vont boire aux points d'eau permanents aux abords desquels on remarque d'étroits sentiers profondément marqués, qui sont leurs itinéraires habituels.

Lorsque les Touareg veulent récupérer quelques-uns de ces animaux, ils organisent de véritables battues et doivent déployer beaucoup de ruse et d'énergie pour y parvenir. Un véritable dressage est nécessaire pour adapter ces ânes à la vie domestique, car beaucoup sont nés en pleine liberté.

On estime à 5 000 le nombre des ânes du Hoggar, mais ce nombre est certainement inférieur à la réalité.

La viande d'âne n'est pas consommée, le lait d'ânesse non plus.

On trouve quelques rares chevaux, pour la plupart originaires du Soudan, dans certains centres de culture. Animal de luxe, le cheval (aïs) ne peut pas vivre avec les ressources en pâturages du Hoggar. Bien nourri avec de l'orge, il supporte parfaitement le climat et pourrait être utilisé comme monture dans les montagnes du Hoggar où les points d'eau sont nombreux.

Enfin, les harratin élèvent des poules dans tous les centres de culture; ce sont de maigres volatiles qui pratiquement se nourrissent seules. Les harratin mangent surtout les œufs, assez rarement la viande, qui est vendue aux Européens.

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# IV

# LA VIE MATÉRIELLE

## L'Habitat

Les Touareg, en véritables nomades, utilisent la tente comme mode d'habitation, et parfois, en des circonstances exceptionnelles, la zériba.

La tente touarègue est faite de peaux cousues entre elles et préparées spécialement. Sa teinte rouge qui s'harmonise avec les tons dominants des paysages du Hoggar est agréable à regarder. On utilise pour la confection de la tente (éhakit) les peaux de chèvre, de mouton, de mouflon, très rarement de bœuf; celles de mouflon sont les plus appréciées. Préalablement débarrassée de son poil, la peau est tannée légèrement avec des feuilles de tamat ou d'adjar, puis enduite de beurre afin d'être assouplie. A la suite de ces opérations, on donne la teinte rouge de la façon suivante : le « tamadjouhit », sorte d'argile rouge, est écrasé avec des crottes de chameau; à l'aide de la poudre ainsi obtenue on frotte la peau encore grasse, jusqu'à ce que l'on obtienne la couleur désirée. La peau est ensuite trempée dans l'eau deux jours durant pour qu'elle puisse être étirée, lissée, aplanie, coupée et cousue. Ce sont les femmes du campement qui se chargent de ce dernier travail, toutes se mettent à l'œuvre, plaisantent, conversent, et l'ouvrage va bon train. Une tente peut avoir de 30 à 120 et même 150 peaux. Des touffes de fines lanières de cuir artistement découpées, appelées « balenkassen », pendent du faîte, donnant à l'intérieur un

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6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg

[Facing p. 68]

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



effet original. La tente est soutenue par six piquets de bois verticaux d'une hauteur de 1,50 m. environ enfoncés de 20 centimètres dans le sol. Ces piquets verticaux sont reliés deux par deux par trois rondins horizontaux, les piquets sont attachés entre eux à l'aide de cordes en poil de chèvre tressé. La tente repose sur ces piquets, elle est fixée à la périphérie à des piquets plus petits ou à de gros cailloux; la face, regardant le sud, est en général ouverte, les bords sont attachés à de grands piquets verticaux, dont la tête est souvent sculptée. A l'intérieur, la tente est entourée d'un « asaber », sorte de longue natte faite de tiges d' « afazzou » (graminée). La confection de l'asaber est un véritable travail de patience; il faut d'abord ramasser l'afazzou, en ayant soin de choisir les tiges les plus longues; de fines lanières de cuir ont, au préalable, été préparées, elles serviront à assembler les brins d'afazzou deux par deux, une lanière par-dessus et une par-dessous. Tous les trois ou quatre centimètres, s'alignent les lanières, et ceci sur la largeur de l'asaber, environ 80 centimètres. La longueur varie de 7 à 8 mètres, soit exactement quatre hauteurs d'homme debout les bras dressés. La bordure supérieure de l'asaber s'orne d'une frise de cuir entrelacé aux dessins géométriques. Ce travail exécuté par deux femmes dure environ un an.

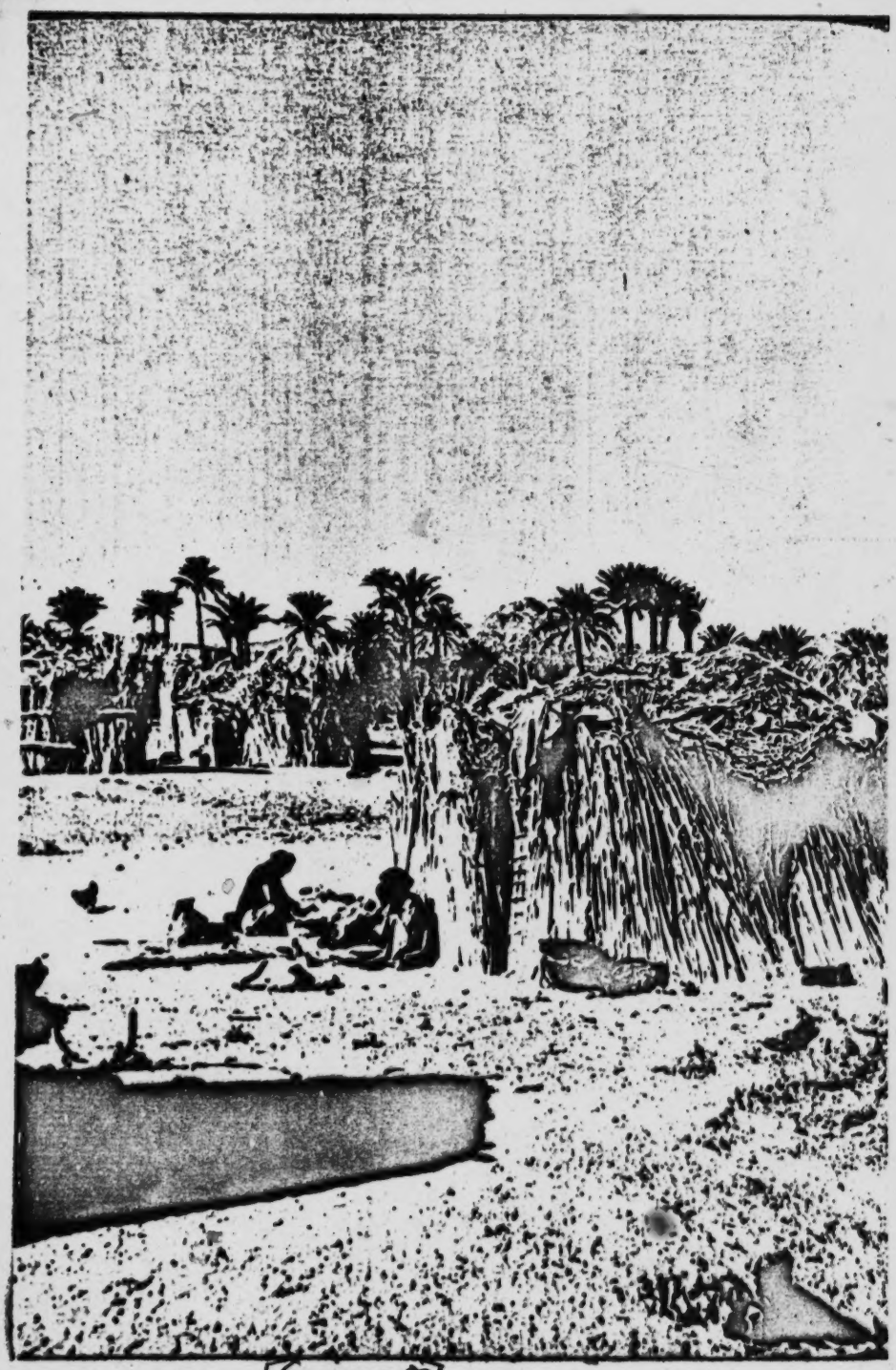
Il faut trois ou quatre asabers pour garnir une tente, deux à l'intérieur tamisent le vent, deux autres s'arrondissent devant la tente, formant une petite cour, assurant l'intimité et ménageant un espace, abrité du vent, où l'on séjourne en permanence.

Lorsqu'on pénètre sous une tente, le côté droit est toujours le domaine de l'homme, le côté gauche celui de la femme; chacun y range ses objets personnels dans un état d'ordre qui surprend toujours l'Européen.

A une cinquantaine de mètres, ou plus, mais toujours à portée de voix, habitent les Nègres, dans un enclos de branchages secs, appelé « afarra »; un autre enclos, contigu, constitue la cuisine.

Un campement est un ensemble de tentes de ce genre,

30. A l'étape on entrave les bêtes pour la nuit.



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6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



elles sont toujours assez éloignées les unes des autres, afin de préserver l'intimité.

Lorsque, en saison sèche, la recherche des pâturages devient un leurre, les Touareg sont obligés de demeurer à un endroit proche de l'eau, où les chèvres peuvent trouver un maigre pâturage. Les domestiques noirs construisent alors des zéribas. Ils établissent une charpente de branches fourchues, d'environ 2 mètres à 2,50 m. de hauteur, circulaire ou presque, dont le diamètre varie de 3 à 5 mètres. Autour et sur cette charpente sont attachés des tahlis (tiphas), la zériba possède alors une allure élégante. Si les tahlis font défaut, on s'arrange avec d'autres herbes sèches, morakba, guettaf, etc.; la zériba est alors de pauvre allure, mais possède les mêmes qualités d'habitabilité. En été la zériba est bien préférable à la tente, parce que beaucoup plus fraîche.

Le sol de la tente ou de la zériba est toujours recouvert de sable grossier provenant de l'oued, il est fréquemment changé. Un foyer, constitué par quatre pierres disposées en carré et enfoncées dans le sol, permet soit de chauffer le thé, soit d'apporter un peu de chaleur lors des veillées d'hiver. Près des tentes, des piquets supportent les guerbas; on peut voir aussi le tas de bois entretenu par les Nègres, et le grand mortier de bois qui attend sa ration de mil, mais jamais de désordre, ni d'immondices. Un campement peut avoir passé quelques heures ou plusieurs mois sur un emplacement, le jour de son départ on ne trouvera pas le moindre objet cassé et laissé à l'abandon; les Touareg ne laissent derrière eux ni reliefs domestiques ni aucune autre marque de leur passage.

La tente est habitée par la famille au sens le plus restreint du terme. Lorsque l'homme se marie, il prend une tente et y demeure avec sa femme; les enfants jusqu'à neuf ans restent avec leurs parents, mais après cet âge, ils ont une tente pour eux.

Dans les centres de culture les harratin logent soit dans une zériba de tahli, faite comme celle des Touareg, soit dans une maison construite en toubs ou en pierres liées au tin (argile). La maison est couverte d'un enduit de tin étalé sur lit de tahli que supporte une charpente de branches de fersig ou

31. Zéribas dans l'oasis d'Idelès.

6: Blanguernon M525 Tuareg



d'éthel; la toiture forme terrasse. La porte en général s'ouvre vers l'ouest, tandis qu'une meurtrière est ménagée vers l'est; ce système protège les maisons des ardeurs du soleil de midi. Une telle construction serait insalubre sous d'autres climats; ici peu importe, la famille vit dehors. En hiver tout le monde s'entasse le soir dans l'unique pièce autour d'un feu afin d'accumuler la chaleur au maximum, mais dès le lever du soleil tout le monde sort. Le sol de ces maisons est recouvert du fin gravier de l'oued, renouvelé assez souvent. Les abords de la maison du hartani sont beaucoup moins propres que ceux d'une tente touarègue, les cendres sont éparses, et les immondices sèchent au soleil.

Seul Tamanrasset possède des maisons utilisées par des Européens. Les toubs sont toujours employées dans la construction, cependant depuis peu de temps on essaie, pour certains bâtiments administratifs, la pierre liée au tin. Jusqu'à présent le manque de chaux avait empêché la construction en « dur »; des essais de fabrication de chaux à partir de cipolins ont été tentés, mais le prix de revient au kilo est presque aussi élevé que celui de la chaux arrivant d'Alger.

L'épaisseur des murs varie d'une à trois toubs, soit de 30 à 90 centimètres. Le grave problème est celui de la toiture qui est faite, dans le style local, d'un lit de tin reposant sur des tahlis ou des roseaux; la charpente utilise des branches de fersig et d'éthel, d'une longueur moyenne de 2 mètres à 2,50 m. Il faut, pour obtenir une pièce assez vaste, faire reposer l'extrémité de ces branches sur un gros tronc, ou sur un arc en plein cintre fait en toub. On ne peut donc réaliser que des pièces de 4 mètres de large, à cause de la longueur des troncs ou de la portée maximum de la voûte; quant à la longueur de la pièce, on peut obtenir ce que l'on veut, en ajoutant des éléments de 2 mètres à 2,50 m.

Quelques maisons administratives possèdent des poutres de fer, ce qui permet l'édification de pièces plus larges et évite un grave ennui, celui de constater qu'une poutre est la proie des termites. Afin d'éloigner les termites, on recouvre la charpente d'huile de vidange.

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



L'enduit intérieur est fait au tin noir, recouvert d'une couche de tin blanc, ou de préférence de chaux qui adhère mieux. L'enduit extérieur est de tin rouge, lissé à la truelle ou strié par les doigts du maçon dans le sens vertical, ce qui est d'un effet agréable. Cette couleur rouge donne à Tamanrasset son allure particulière. Très souvent un petit jardin fleuri égaie la façade. Les maisons européennes possèdent plusieurs pièces, une cuisine, une cour et très souvent un petit jardin potager; elles sont en général coquettement aménagées.

## Les Migrations

Les Touareg ne déplacent leurs campements que pour changer le lieu de pâturage des troupeaux; en effet, lorsque la nourriture des animaux devient rare dans un rayon de deux à trois heures de marche autour du campement, le chef de tente ou de fraction, en accord avec les autres membres de la famille, choisit un nouvel emplacement bien pourvu en pâturages et, si possible, relativement près d'un point d'eau. Les tribus imrads n'opèrent ces déplacements qu'à l'intérieur de leurs terres de parcours. Pour pâturer sur les terres d'une tribu voisine, il faut obtenir l'accord de l'amrar de cette tribu, et de plus acquitter une redevance pouvant s'élever à deux ou trois chèvres. Seuls les nobles se déplacent à leur guise dans tout le pays.

Nous avons vu précédemment qu'en année sèche les chamelles étaient envoyées au Tamesna, et qu'elles y demeuraient pratiquement jusqu'à ce qu'une année favorisée par les pluies donne au Hoggar les pâturages souhaitables. Il ne reste donc au Hoggar que quelques chameaux et toutes les chèvres, qui en accentuent encore le caractère désertique. En ces années de sécheresse, les hommes font la navette du Hoggar aux troupeaux de chamelles, emmenant avec eux tantôt des Nègres, tantôt de jeunes adolescents. Les femmes demeurent dans les campements. Les déplacements des tentes sont soigneusement calculés, à cause de la rareté des points d'eau.

Il n'est pas rare de voir séjourner un campement presque un an dans un lieu pas trop défavorisé.

Lors des années humides, les pâturages abondent pratiquement partout au Hoggar, l'eau afflue dans les oueds, les chamelles produisent du lait en abondance; l'on pourrait penser que les Touareg font alors de longs séjours au même endroit : il n'en est rien, tout au contraire, les campements ne cessent de se déplacer.

Au début de la poussée des pâturages, les campements ne doivent pas séjourner trop longtemps au même point, dit la coutume touarègue; sage mesure qui permet aux plantes de fleurir et de porter des graines, mais cette raison mise à part, rien de rationnel ne permet d'expliquer cette giration continuelle des tentes dans un pays couvert du meilleur pâturage. Peut-être est-ce là une manifestation de l'esprit nomade ? Il y aurait une curieuse étude psychologique à faire, afin de comprendre les raisons qui commandent ces déplacements sans valeur pratique apparente, que les Touareg eux-mêmes ne parviennent pas à justifier.

Pourtant le déménagement d'un camp n'est pas une partie de plaisir. Le démontage des tentes est assez aisé et rapidement exécuté par les femmes, mais la recherche des ânes, le chargement, l'arrimage des objets, constituent un travail qui pour un Européen est affolant; il faut aussi songer à la traite des animaux, au départ des troupeaux, aux moyens de déplacement des vieillards et des bébés. Le camp n'est guère en mesure de partir avant neuf heures du matin, et cependant on travaille depuis le lever du jour. Vers quinze heures la caravane s'arrête afin de passer la nuit; il faut alors décharger les bêtes, dresser les asabers, préparer les repas, traire les animaux; et recommencer le lendemain matin.

Il est une migration régulière qui se produit chaque année; lorsque le blé et l'orge mûrissent dans les jardins, on est alors en avril, toutes les caravanes revenues du Soudan ont stocké leur mil dans les silos, presque tous les campements se dirigent vers les centres de culture. Les chèvres restent au désert sous la garde des Nègres. Chaque petit centre de culture

voit alors un rassemblement de Touareg qui viennent contrôler la récolte, et vivre à la charge des khammès, suivant les clauses du contrat agricole. C'est une période joyeuse, les tendi et les ilougan se succèdent tous les jours.

A propos de ces migrations, il faut noter que les Touareg ne suivent pas exactement les nécessités du climat : une période sèche devrait obligatoirement entraîner un exode des tribus vers les terres soudanaises où les troupeaux seraient au mieux dans des pâturages presque permanents, et cependant les tentes et les chèvres restent au Hoggar. Les raisons politiques ne suffisent pas à expliquer cette contradiction des coutumes avec les obligations du climat. Peut-être faut-il voir dans cette coutume l'effet d'une longue habitude renforcée par des facteurs sentimentaux. Il est certain que hors du Hoggar et de leurs terres de parcours, les Touareg se sentent mal à l'aise, ils manifestent leur joie d'être de retour dans leurs montagnes. On a l'habitude de dire que les Touareg sont de grands voyageurs, mais non de grands nomades; la raison essentielle est certainement l'attachement profond qu'ils manifestent pour leur sol, ce qui paraît incompatible avec la mentalité nomade.

Pour résumer les migrations des Kel Ahaggar, disons qu'elles s'étendent dans un rayon d'une centaine de kilomètres, au sein de leurs terres tribales, mais que les hommes peuvent conduire les troupeaux, suivant les époques, vers des pâturages éloignés de mille kilomètres du campement familial, et qu'un courant caravanier annuel les voit se déplacer de 15° de latitude.

Les harratin cultivateurs ne sont que des sédentaires occasionnels, chaque année on constate un gros mouvement humain d'un centre de culture à un autre. A cela trois raisons : les Touareg, possesseurs du sol, ne sont plus en mesure de fournir au hartani la semence suffisante et de maintenir le contrat agricole; l'eau vient à manquer dans un centre, ou le creusement des foggaras devient impossible; enfin la terre appauvrie a besoin de repos. C'est ainsi que, d'une année à l'autre, un centre important et bien cultivé peut devenir

insignifiant, et même désert. Il paraît impossible de prévoir un cycle pour ces migrations agricoles.

## Le Mobilier touareg

La légèreté et la souplesse sont les deux qualités essentielles du mobilier touareg. Tous ces objets doivent être transportés à dos d'animaux, le poids est par conséquent l'ennemi principal; d'autre part, les animaux portent plus aisément des fardeaux capables de se mouler contre leur corps. Aussi trouvons-nous tout un assortiment de sacs, surtout en cuir, dans l'équipement touareg.

Le tannage de ces sacs est fait de façon à maintenir le cuir très souple; mais le procédé employé ne convient que sous des climats d'une extrême sécheresse : transportés en France, les cuirs touareg semblent reprendre vie, ils se gonflent d'humidité, puis dégagent une odeur désagréable et finalement deviennent inutilisables.

Tous ces sacs sont décorés. Certains sont teints et portent des dessins exécutés avec de la teinture, ou brodés avec des cuirs de couleur, parfois même agrémentés de motifs en tissu, rehaussés de coutures de soie; d'autres sont en cuir naturel, ornés de lanières de cuir effilochées, car le grand principe de décoration pour tout ce qui se transporte à dos de chameau semble être d'allonger les lignes, afin de créer une harmonie avec la silhouette de cet ahurissant animal. Les motifs décoratifs sont nombreux, mais toujours linéaires; le cercle est utilisé ainsi que l'arc de cercle, mais la ligne droite domine, point d'arabesques ni de courbes compliquées, on dessine des triangles, des carrés, des rectangles, voire des trapèzes et des losanges. Le rouge domine dans les cuirs, mais une gamme abondante de couleurs artistement utilisées permet des effets agréables à l'œil; des verts tendres caractérisent le travail en provenance du Soudan, des blancs purs sertissent des noirs, des verts foncés et des bruns, le jaune en différents tons couvre de grandes surfaces. Enfin de légères entailles dans le cuir teint donne des effets originaux.

Les sacs sont arrimés sur les bêtes par de nombreuses cordes. Celles-ci sont tressées avec des poils de chèvre. La fabrication de tout ce mobilier exige une patience et un temps que l'on a peine à imaginer. Un tel travail ne peut se concevoir que dans le cadre de la tribu nomade.

On pourrait entreprendre une étude intéressante sur la décoration touarègue, en la comparant à celle de certaines tribus indiennes d'Amérique; on songe alors aux hypothèses émises par le commandant Cauvet, dans *Les Berbères en Amérique*.

Voici une liste des divers objets que l'on rencontre sous une tente touarègue, liste sans doute incomplète, car les objets les plus familiers sont les plus facilement oubliés.

La femme, maîtresse du foyer, possède ses affaires personnelles. Le sac-armoire, grand rectangle de 80 centimètres sur 60 centimètres, surmonté d'une ouverture de 30 centimètres de haut sur 50 centimètres de large, se nomme « agherredj »; on y range les vêtements. Certains de ces agherredj sont de magnifiques œuvres d'art.

Les autres sacs appartenant aux femmes ont tous la même forme. Le « guerfa » est plus petit que l'agherredj, le « tarerrat » tressé en poil de chèvre se rencontre plus rarement.

Les « adhaboun » constituent toute une collection de petits sacs aux formes les plus variées, possédant une armature solide faite de palmier tressé, parfois de bois; on y serre les menus objets : bijoux, parfums, remèdes, etc. Tous ces sacs sont en général fermés par le fameux cadenas touareg, fermeture morale, mais toujours respectée.

Les femmes riches possèdent, rangée dans un coin de la tente, une selle spéciale appelée « akhaoui » ou « takhaouit » suivant sa grandeur. C'est un assemblage extrêmement curieux de trois espèces de bois (tehounek, laurier-rose, tabrakat), dont chaque morceau est choisi en fonction de son usage, moulé, taillé et décoré. Les différentes pièces de la takhaouit sont assemblées par des liens de cuir; il faut des années pour réunir les branches capables d'être utilisées, ce travail est presque toujours l'œuvre des femmes. L' « haïf » est une sangle

qui fixe la selle sur le dos du chameau; tressée en poil de chèvre, elle mesure 5 centimètres de large et 3 mètres de long; une des extrémités s'orne d'un énorme pompon de 50 centimètres de large, pesant parfois plus de 3 kilos, des broderies de laine rouge et verte donnent une allure somptueuse au pendentif qui tombe presque jusqu'à terre lorsque l'haïf fixe la selle.

Une takhaouit richement décorée possède d'autres pompons symétriques à l'haïf, ce sont les « tidarsiouin ».

Le tapis féminin par excellence, posé sur la tarraouit lors d'un voyage, vient de Timmimoun, on le nomme « tagamdafest »; il a de larges bandes noires, rouges et vertes et, en son milieu, des touffes de laine jaunes, noires et vertes.

Ajoutons aux objets appartenant à la femme le « sendouq », sorte de caissette dans laquelle on enferme le sucre et le thé; le nom, d'origine arabe, semble indiquer une importation relativement récente. Le « tesenit » est un couffin en fibre de palmier où l'on range les ustensiles de cuisine.

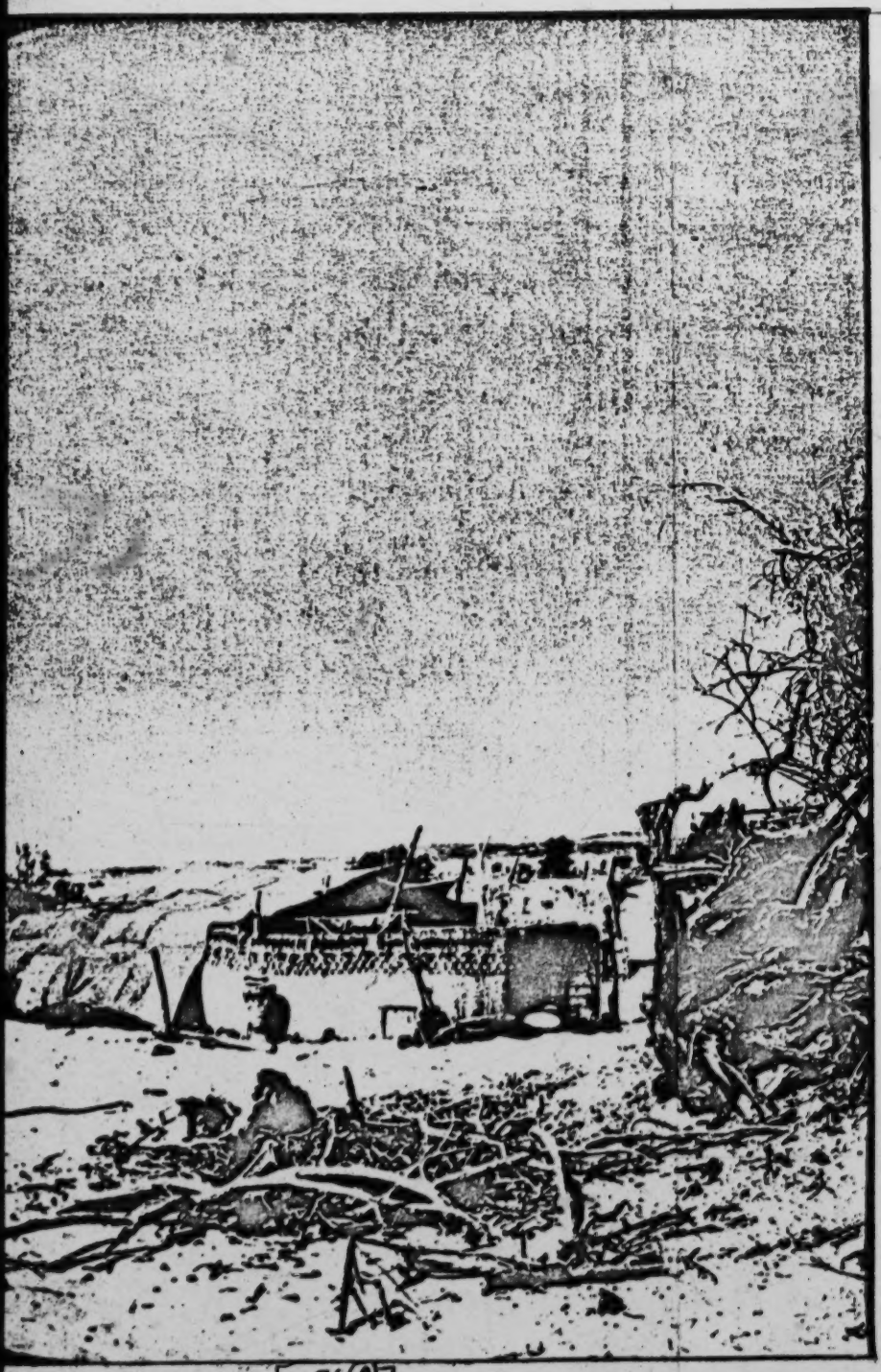
L'homme, lorsqu'il est élégant — et les Touareg veulent tous l'être lorsqu'ils sont à chameau —, possède une « djebira » (grand sac fabriqué au Soudan) aux splendides décorations de cuir dans lesquelles dominent les blancs et les verts tendres. Pour ne pas abîmer les broderies la djebira est toujours portée à l'envers, et retournée en approchant d'un campement.

On tasse le linge dans un grand sac de cuir teint et décoré au trait : « echchekoua », que l'on ferme au cadenas. La « tchékouat » (« dabia », en arabe) est de taille plus petite, la « tesoufra » contient le lait, elle est vierge de décoration, car les teintures ne résistent pas à l'humidité. Des petits sacs appelés « etfadoul » renferment le thé et le sucre.

La « tarik » (« rahla », en arabe) orne le coin de la tente réservé à l'homme. La selle de chameau est bien connue, il en existe plusieurs types : la « tamzak » fabriquée au Soudan est la plus prisée des Touareg, son dossier a une forme caractéristique, et elle s'orne de dessins en cuir vert, toute une quincaillerie est fixée derrière le dossier. L' « akoka » est encore une bonne tarik, assez honorable à monter, ses couleurs noires

32. Tente touarègue.
33. Campement touareg à Tessilben

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



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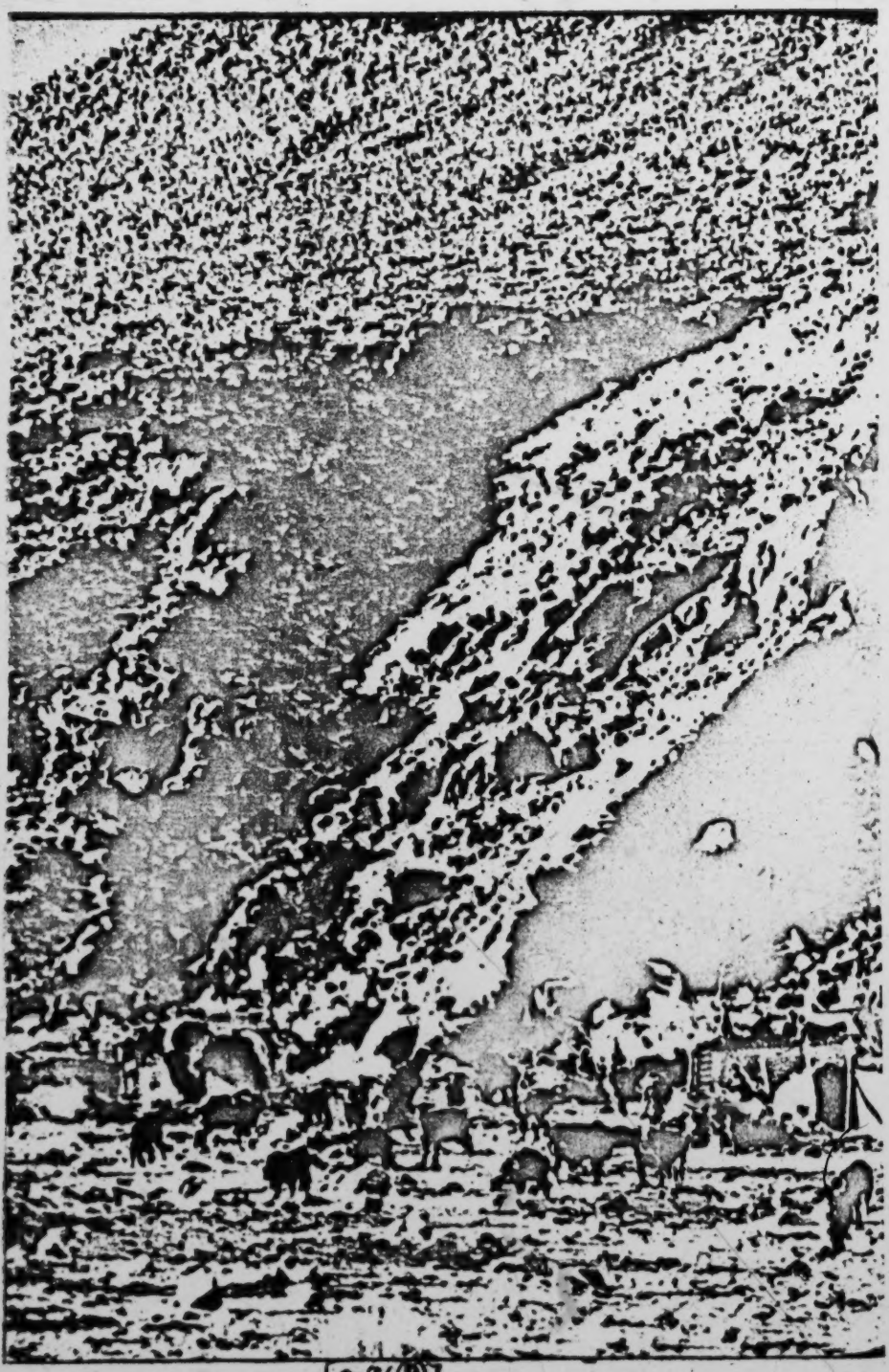

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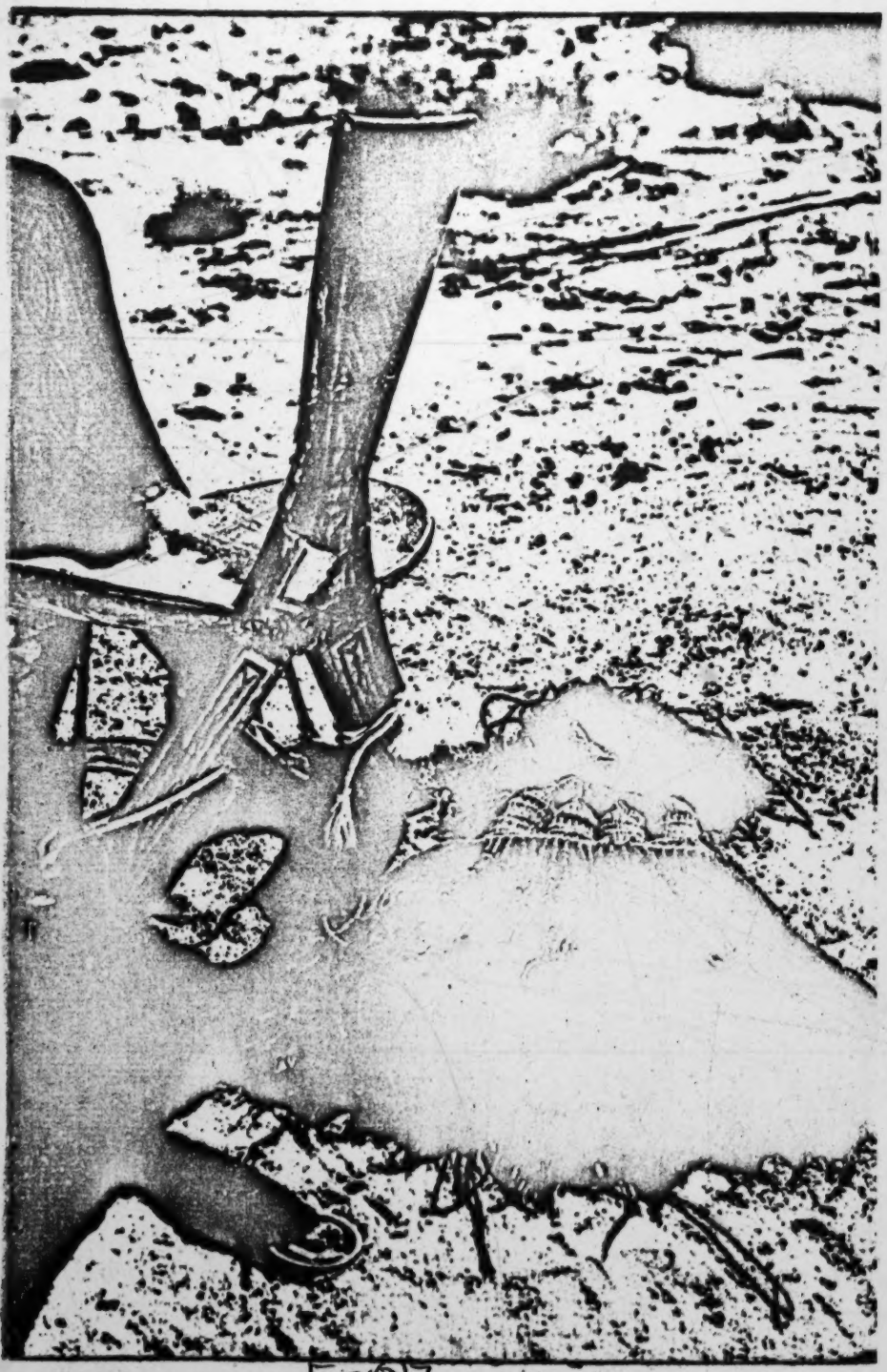


[p. 96(D)]

et rouges la rendent plus discrète; elle est aussi, dit-on, plus solide. La « talast » ne possède pas de croix en avant, elle est en bois décoré, très solide; elle convient au dressage, un homme élégant ne s'en sert pas en voyage. Afin de ne pas blesser le chameau, on pose la tarik sur deux ou trois petits tapis carrés, les « sadfar », mesurant environ 50 centimètres, qui présentent des bandes de tissu bleu et blanc formant des motifs géométriques; ils sont légèrement rembourrés avec de vieux tissus.

Pour parer le chameau, les Touareg posent sur le siège de la selle un tapis, soit du Fezzan, soit de Ghardaïa, appelé « taouart ». La sangle (haïf) est la plus lourde possible. La « rezama » (arabe, « tarant », en tamahaq), qui sert à guider l'animal, est en cuir tressé et orné de lanières de couleur; on prétend qu'une tarant en cuir de hyène rend l'animal plus rapide.

Enfin pour celui qui désire une bête particulièrement bien équipée, on fixe sur le nez du chameau un « cascabou », sorte de monture en cuivre avec pendeloque et sonnettes, ce qui confère à l'animal une fière allure et classe son propriétaire.

Le matériel collectif comprend d'abord les « abaïor » destinées à contenir l'eau; ces guerbas sont fabriquées avec des peaux de chèvre ou de mouton. Les « tamhit » (« mezoued » en arabe) servent à transporter les grains. On fabrique le beurre dans l' « edjiouer ».

Nous connaissons déjà l'usage du tendi et du pilon (iharen). Les meules dormantes ou tournantes appelées « tahount » sont utilisées près des centres de culture.

Le « terahout » est le plat hémisphérique, il existe en différentes tailles. Les « tesoukalin » sont les petites cuillers; la grande, souvent pyrogravée, se nomme « temoulalt ». La marmite de métal ou de terre cuite s'appelle « terrirt ». Tout ce qui est utilisé pour la confection du thé porte des noms arabes : la bouilloire (ralleye), la théière (béred), les verres (el kissan) et le plateau (el tabla). Le trépied se nomme « iseguida ».

34. Type de selle (talast) avec sa sangle (aïf).

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



## L'Habillement

La grande allure des Touareg, qui impressionne tant celui qui pour la première fois arrive au Hoggar, est due, pour beaucoup, aux vêtements qu'ils portent. La silhouette des « hommes voilés » est désormais familière. L'amplitude des vêtements, et la légèreté du tissu qui favorise les drapés harmonieux semblent exagérer la taille des hommes comme celle des femmes. Nombreux sont les voyageurs européens qui laissent errer leur imagination, parlant de fantômes bleus, se livrant à des comparaisons aussi irréelles qu'évocatrices. Il faut, ici, dépouiller, au sens propre, les Touareg de cette auréole poétique. Commençons par le pantalon appelé « iqarbi » (c'est le « sarroil », en arabe). Très large et non plissé, une coulisse à la taille permet de serrer l'iqarbi à l'aide d'une ceinture de cuir tressé appelée « tamenalt »; il n'y a pas de poche. On compte 1,50 m. de tissu en 140 de large pour sa fabrication. Il est souvent en satinette noire ou en chegga. L'amplitude du sarroil est indispensable pour monter à chameau, s'asseoir par terre et dormir avec.

L' « éressoui » est une immense gandoura de tari (tissu bleu imprégné d'indigo qui déteint et donne aux Touareg cette teinte de peau caractéristique) ou de mahmoudi (cotonnade blanche). La largeur de la gandoura doit être supérieure à l'envergure des bras, soit en général trois largeurs de tissu, 2,40 m. environ. L'éressoui est fendu presque entièrement sur les côtés et possède une immense poche plaquée à gauche sur la poitrine. On compte 8 mètres de tissu en 80 centimètres. D'ordinaire les Touareg portent un éressoui bleu par-dessus un éressoui blanc, ils relèvent sur chaque épaule l'excédent de tissu qui normalement devrait pendre sur les bras, provoquant ainsi une opposition du bleu et du blanc du plus heureux effet. Le bras se trouve découvert et laisse apparaître le bracelet de pierre taillée (serpentine) appelé « habidj », qui est une arme de défense dans la lutte.

On appelle « takamist n'kora » une gandoura de forme identique à l'éressoui, mais faite de tissu fabriqué au Soudan,

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



composé de petites bandes de un centimètre cousues les unes aux autres. La teinture bleue du takamist adhère particulièrement à la peau. Les Touareg ne portent ce vêtement que les jours de fête, car il coûte très cher.

Le « tameskinout » est également une gandoura faite dans un tissu fabriqué au Soudan, mais dont les bandes ont une largeur de 4 à 5 centimètres. Ce vêtement fort onéreux, lui aussi, se rencontre beaucoup plus rarement.

Une autre gandoura appelée « rati », qui ne se porte que dans les grandes occasions, possède des rayures de teintes violine et beige; elle s'orne de broderies, formant des cercles dans le dos. La grande poche de poitrine est également brodée. On appelle « taguelmoust » le voile bleu brillant aux drapés soigneusement étudiés qui cache le visage des Touareg, que les romanciers ont nommé « litham », mot inconnu au Hoggar. La grandeur du taguelmoust est en général de 3,50 m. sur 0,25 m. Le tissage de type soudanais ressemble à celui du takamist dont les bandes ont un centimètre. Le choix d'un taguelmoust est malaisé pour un Européen, il est fonction du nombre de bandes, de la qualité de la teinture bleue qui, lorsque le tissu est neuf, ressemble au papier carbone tant elle est brillante. Le taguelmoust ne se lave qu'après un long usage, il ne peut plus alors servir lors d'une cérémonie. La façon d'arranger son taguelmoust classe un homme, il permet aux initiés de distinguer les tribus. Le chèche, blanc ou noir, que l'on porte de plus en plus, est d'importation arabe, il offre l'avantage de durer plus longtemps et de coûter beaucoup moins cher; 4 mètres ou 4,50 m. sont nécessaires pour obtenir l'allure voulue. Certains Touareg font des arrangements de chèche et de taguelmoust du plus heureux effet. Sans entrer dans les hypothèses qui ont été émises sur l'origine du port du voile chez les hommes, bornons-nous à dire, comme les Touareg, que c'est la coutume, et notons qu'il est indispensable de se voiler lorsque l'on circule au désert; tout Français qui voyage à chameau ou à pied se rend compte rapidement qu'il lui faut suivre cette coutume sous peine de voir son visage prendre l'allure d'une peau de lézard. Le taguelmoust

a l'avantage sur le chèche de déposer sur la peau une couche de teinture grasse qui évite les crevasses dues à la sécheresse de l'air.

La chaussure du Targui est la naïl appelée « ighatimen ». Sa forme arrondie est bien connue. Une lanière de cuir passe entre le pouce et l'index, deux bandes de cuir recouvrent le pied et sont cousues presque à la hauteur du talon. La semelle comprend trois épaisseurs cousues entre elles par une ou plusieurs lignes de points. Des dessins aux couleurs agréables ornent les différentes naïls et permettent d'en distinguer l'origine. Les ighatimen sont fabriquées au Soudan, les plus célèbres viennent de Zinder ou de Tahoua.

Les tribus montagnardes — Dag Rali et Adjouh n'Téhélé surtout — confectionnent des naïls d'un type particulier, appelées « imarkaden ». Le bout est droit, légèrement plus large que le pied, le talon est également droit, les côtés dessinent une courbe formant un resserrement vers la voûte plantaire. L'épaisseur des couches de cuir peut atteindre un centimètre, les coutures de cuir à gros points permettent la décoration. Une longue lanière rejoint des boucles de cuir cousues sur la semelle, et se noue sur le cou-de-pied. La chaussure élégante est l' « ighatimen ».

Il faut ajouter à l'habillement d'un Targui tous les objets qu'il porte, y compris ses armes.

Le « taralabt » est un portefeuille de cuir pendu au cou. Un ingénieux système de fermeture à glissière l'empêche de s'ouvrir, il est toujours noir et décoré artistement de coutures jaunes, vertes ou rouges. De nombreuses poches intérieures permettent de serrer : la glace, le « tazolt » (noir à yeux, qui est parfois contenu dans un étui spécial), le « chemma » (tabac à chiquer), le « kelbou » (natron destiné à adoucir le tabac), les papiers personnels et parfois de l'argent.

Du cou pendent, suspendues par un fil de cuir, les amulettes appelées « tera »; ce sont de petits rectangles de cuir, contenant soit des papiers écrits par un taleb, soit des produits magiques préservant des maladies, des Kél es Souf et du malheur en général. Chaque Targui est abondamment pourvu de tera qui lui rendent la vie supportable.

L' « iremdan » (« menguech », en arabe) est un instrument indispensable; il comporte une lame coupante, un poinçon et une petite pince (du genre pince à épiler). Ces lames pivotent autour d'un axe; un anneau permet de suspendre l'iremdan, mais ce dernier est souvent porté dans un étui spécial. Cet outil est tour à tour trousse de chirurgien, pour extraire les épines de tahla de la plante des pieds, et nécessaire de cordonnier pour réparer les naïls. Sans son iremdan, un Targui ne peut se permettre de voyager.

Nous avons déjà parlé de l' « abidj » ou bracelet de pierre polie. Le « tissak » est une petite bague d'argent, sans valeur artistique. La clef du cadenas touareg, qui pend souvent sur la poitrine, est un ornement très prisé.

Aucun Targui n'entreprend un déplacement important sans être muni de sa « takouba », l'épée portée au côté qui donne cette allure moyenâgeuse aux Touareg, semblant les faire sortir d'un livre d'images. Il y a takouba et takouba, certaines valent deux jeunes chameaux, elles se distinguent grâce aux rayures de la lame et à l'estampille marquée par le maalem. La première qualité de takouba se nomme « tazraït », elle a cinq rainures sur la lame, et un rond dont le diamètre vertical est surmonté d'une croix; une tazraït doit couper une entrave de chameau enfoncée dans du sable dont seulement cinq centimètres dépassent. Le type « arlal » n'a pas de rayure, mais porte la même marque que la tazraït, c'est une excellente takouba aussi estimée que la précédente. La « talit », de valeur sensiblement équivalente, n'a pas de rayure, possède la même marque que la tazraït, doublée d'un lion stylisé. Une « inaseri » coûte moitié moins cher, elle a trois rayures et porte un dessin en forme de croissant avec trois pointes dirigées vers le centre. La « tabloq » possède une longue rainure médiane et s'orne d'une silhouette de lion; elle coûte aussi cher qu'une inaseri. L' « adadiglen » n'a jamais été portée par un lâche, elle vaut une tabloq, une longue rainure médiane est flanquée de deux petites rainures; de chaque côté de la grande rainure deux K se tournent le dos. L' « elghenihé » est une épée beaucoup plus rare, bien qu'elle ne vaille que la moitié d'une adadiglen;

elle n'a qu'un seul tranchant, trois grandes rainures, et un croissant avec une pointe dirigée vers le centre. La « tama », beaucoup plus commune, vaut à peine la moitié de l'elghenihé; on la reconnaît à sa rainure médiane, à deux petites rainures parallèles, et à deux croissants dont une seule pointe se dirige vers le centre. Il existe d'autres takouba, de fabrication récente; elles sont parfois des copies des vieilles lames, mais on les reconnaît aisément. Certaines vieilles takouba ne portent pas de marques distinctives, il faut pour les apprécier être un véritable connaisseur.

On rencontre encore des Touareg portant la lance de fer : l' « allar », qui était une arme de jet à petite distance. Elle mesure environ 1,90 m. Le port de la lance se perd de plus en plus. Pour chasser le mouflon on utilise une sorte de javelot dont la pointe et le talon ont la forme de ceux de la lance; cette arme se nomme « tarrada ».

Notons pour mémoire des armes qui ne se portent plus : le « tilok », poignard de bras magnifiquement décoré, maintenu à l'avant-bras par un bracelet de cuir; l' « arrar », bouclier en peau d'antilope, blanc, orné en son milieu de dessins et d'appliques de métal; ce grand rectangle aux sommets arrondis donnait aux guerriers une allure des plus impressionnantes. Les boucliers sont actuellement introuvables.

Pour en finir avec l'habillement de l'homme, citons le « tabroq », couverture venant de Timimoun appelée « dokali », porté les jours de grand froid et qui donne aux Touareg une ressemblance avec certains Indiens d'Amérique.

Les femmes touarègues (« tamat », « tidedin » au pluriel) portent des vêtements qui par bien des points ressemblent à ceux des hommes. Elles ne sont pas voilées, mais quand un étranger leur est présenté, elles dissimulent leur visage par simple pudeur.

Comme les hommes, elles portent une longue gandoura de tari appelée « erressoui », mais l'ouverture du côté n'a guère que 30 centimètres sous les bras. Il existe une erressoui blanche portée sous la bleue. La femme a également une « takamist n'kora » qu'elle revêt lors d'une visite ou d'une fête.

Elle s'enveloppe dans un grand rectangle de tari de 3 mètres sur 2, appelé « afar ». La clef du cadenas est attachée à un coin du voile; elle fait contrepoids lorsque l'afar est rejeté par-dessus l'épaule.

L' « ikaraï » est le châle de tête, on l'appelle plus particulièrement « alechou », lorsqu'il est fait avec du tissu de taguelmoust; il mesure environ 1,50 m. sur 0,50 m. Lors de l'ilougan, qui est une sorte de quadrille à chameau, un méhariste enlève l'alechou à une femme et s'enfuit, poursuivi par les autres Touareg qui cherchent à reprendre le voile. Le vainqueur est fort considéré !

Le « tabarikant » est un très grand voile de 3 mètres sur 2, dont la teinte d'un rose très soutenu est du plus heureux effet; il était importé de Tripolitaine, c'est un tissage de laine très fin. Le tabarikant est de plus en plus rare, il se transmet de mère à fille et ne se porte que les jours de fête. Le « raïki » est un autre voile, aussi grand que le tabarikant en tissu de laine, mais blanc; il est aussi très rare.

La Targuia ne porte pas de sarroil, mais une sorte de jupon arrivant au genou, simple pièce de tissu nouée à la taille. appelé « assedjebès ». Les fillettes prennent l'assedjebès lorsqu'elles sont nubiles.

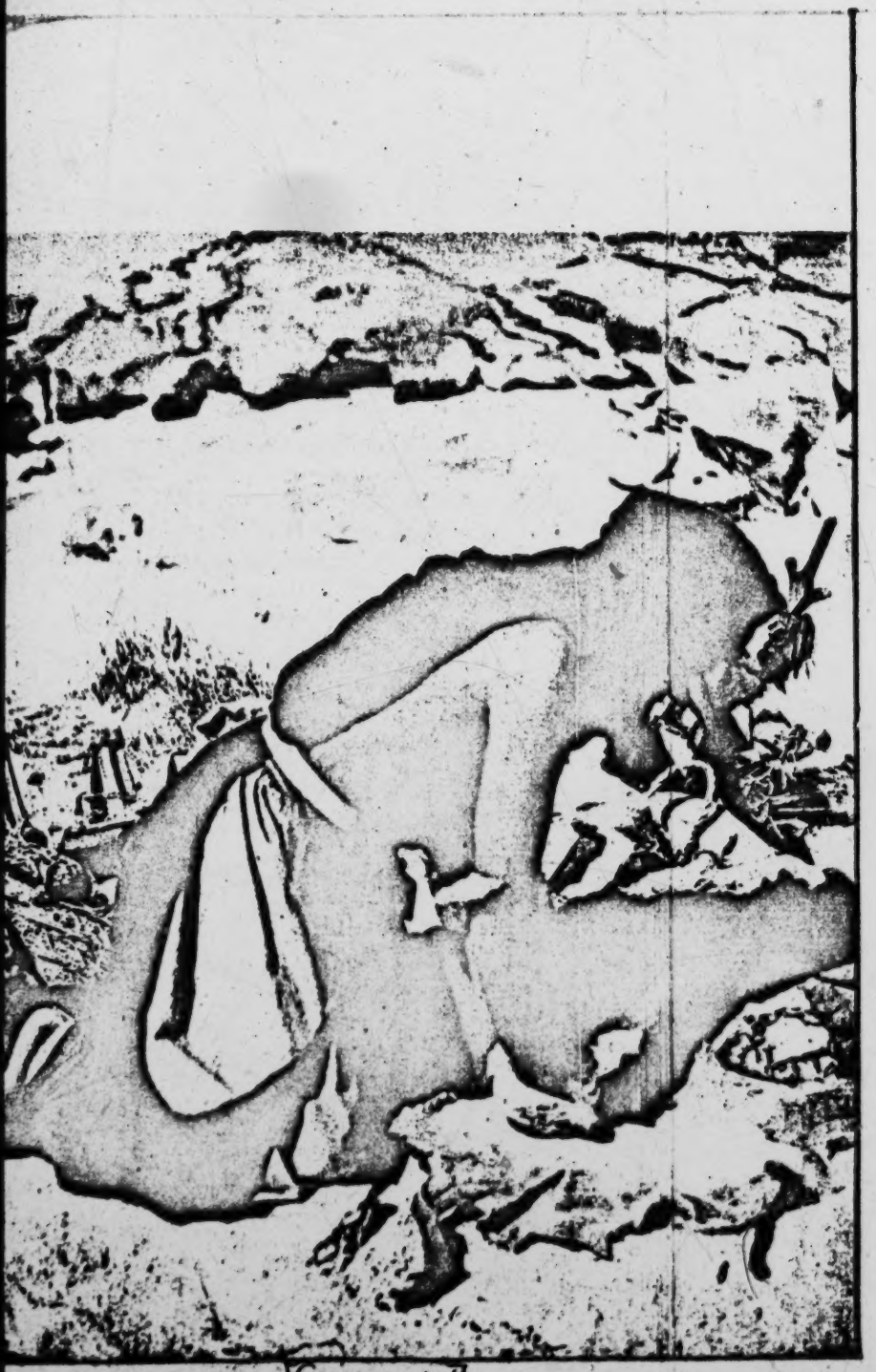
Les femmes chaussent les « ighatimen », portent des « tera » et possèdent toutes un « taralabt » d'une forme un peu différente de celui des hommes. L' « iremdan » est souvent porté sans étui. En hiver, le « tabrok » (dokkali) est aussi un vêtement féminin.

Les tout jeunes enfants sont nus, plus tard ils prennent la gandoura bleue; les garçons ont un sarroil vers huit ou neuf ans. Vers quinze ans, ils commencent à se voiler.

## La Nourriture

Les Touareg sont particulièrement sobres, et leurs conditions d'existence ne les prédisposent pas à la confection d'une cuisine finement préparée. La nourriture touarègue n'a rien qui puisse flatter les goûts d'un gourmet. Les quelques

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



[facing p. 104]

plats agréables à manger pour un Français ont été empruntés aux Arabes et ne seront pas mentionnés ici.

Les éléments de base de l'alimentation touarègue sont : le mil, le lait et les dattes. Le mil (enelé) vient du Soudan, ou est récolté au Hoggar en culture d'été; ce dernier, dont le grain est plus petit, est apprécié davantage, mais insuffisant en quantité.

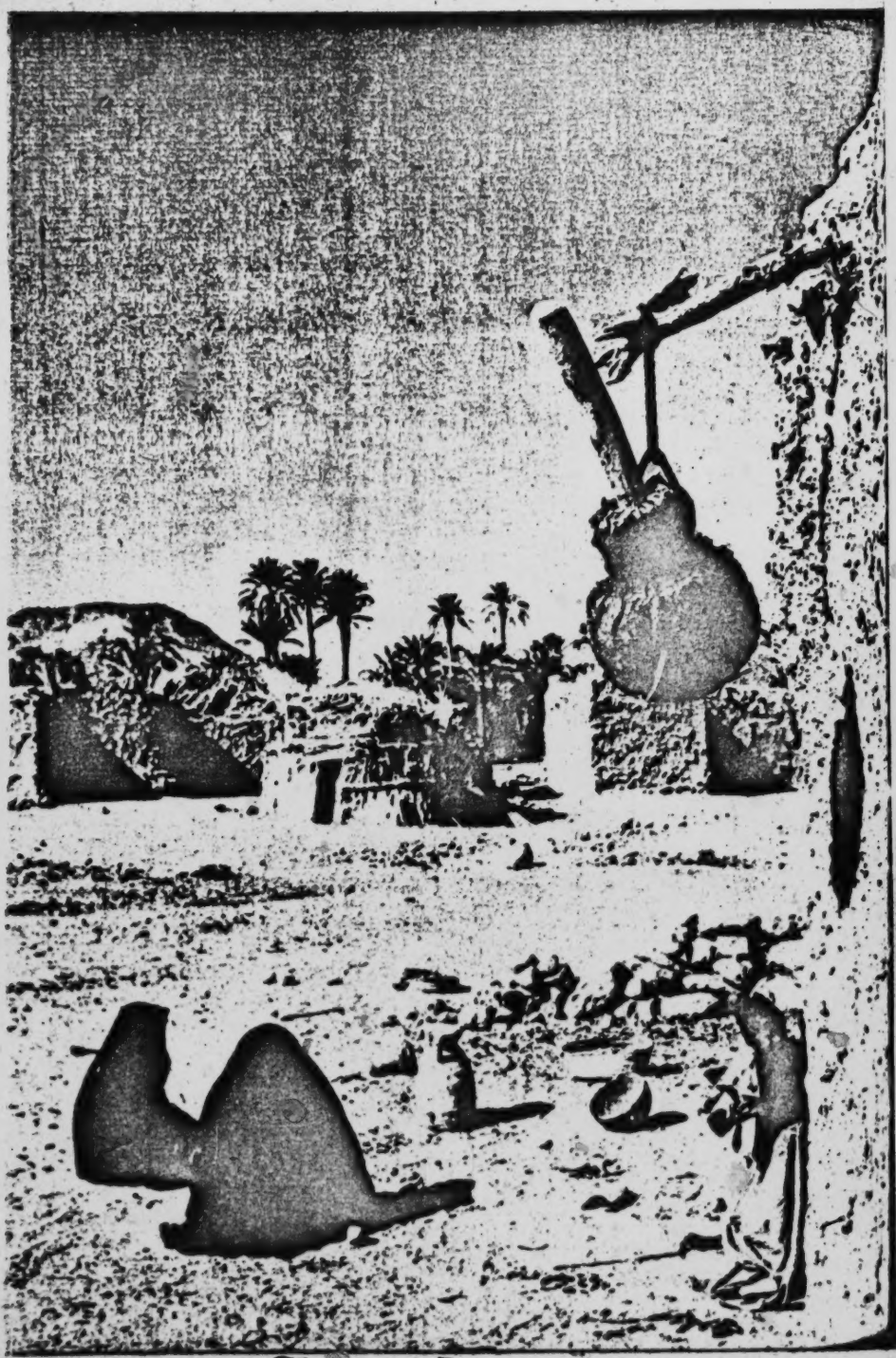
Le mil (« bechena » des Arabes) est écrasé au pilon et vanné, afin de ne conserver que la farine blanche. Cette farine est parfois consommée telle qu'elle vient d'être écrasée, c'est le « tibik » utilisé sur la piste par le méhariste pressé et parfois même au campement.

On appelle également « tibik » une préparation plus savante : le mil, écrasé, vanné, puis lavé, est mis dans une tarahout. Des galets chauffés sont enfouis dans les grains, jusqu'au moment où ces derniers deviennent légèrement cuits, plutôt torréfiés. On vérifie le degré de cuisson à l'odeur agréable qui se dégage du plat. Ce grain est ensuite concassé avec des dattes sèches. La poudre ainsi obtenue est consommée sans autre cuisson.

L' « arahara » est une recette plus compliquée : écraser du mil, de façon à obtenir une farine bien fine; concasser des dattes, y ajouter un peu d'eau afin de former une pâte; écraser du « tikamarin »; mélanger farine, pâte de dattes et poudre de fromage; verser beaucoup d'eau jusqu'à obtention d'un liquide ayant l'apparence du lait. Consommer frais en été.

L' « asink » constitue le plat national des Touareg : écraser du mil de façon à obtenir une moitié de fine farine et l'autre de grains grossiers. Séparer grains et farine, et verser les grains dans une marmite d'eau bouillante; faire cuire deux heures jusqu'à ce que les grains gorgés d'eau fassent une bouillie, assez liquide. Verser la farine dans cette bouillie en tournant le mélange avec l' « esseroui » (une palette de bois utilisée spécialement pour l'asink), la marmite restant sur le feu. Obtenir une consistance assez ferme, servir dans le tarahout, ajouter du lait si possible et consommer chaud. Lorsque le lait fait défaut, on peut verser du beurre ou consommer l'asink au naturel.

35. A l'étape un Targui écrase son mil dans une peau de mouton.



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6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



Le lait, autre aliment de base, est bu pur dès qu'il est trait, ou mélangé à du lait aigre, ou bien encore coupé de petit-lait. Pour fabriquer le beurre, le lait, versé dans une «adjiouer» (« chekoua » des Arabes), reste une journée, de préférence au soleil, ce qui le fait aigrir rapidement. Le lait aigre est ensuite versé dans une autre chekoua, que l'on remue jusqu'à ce que l'on obtienne une boule de beurre. Le petit-lait aigre demeuré dans la chekoua est bu dans la journée.

Le beurre frais (« zebda » en arabe) est appelé beurre blanc (en tamahaq : « oudi oua amellen »); il est consommé rapidement mais en petite quantité. La grosse production est transformée en « dahan » (arabe, « oudi », en tamahaq) qui se conserve longtemps. Le beurre blanc, additionné de dattes, en petite quantité, de quelques grains de blé ou de mil et de plusieurs tiges d'une plante appelée « aïnessis », cuit pendant très longtemps. Lorsqu'il est à point, on le verse dans le « tahatiat » ou le « arraïan » afin d'être conservé. Le tahatiat est une sorte de guerba fabriquée avec la peau du cou du chameau; elle conserve la forme arquée primitive. L'arraïan a la forme d'une bonbonne, c'est un morceau de peau de chameau moulé dans un trou de sable, rempli de crottes de chameau et de gravier, l'embouchure fortement serrée par une corde, que l'on fait ainsi sécher et durcir.

Le « tikamarin » est un fromage à base de lait entier fabriqué de la façon suivante : on tue un jeune chevreau, dont on garde précieusement l'estomac encore plein de lait, on laisse durcir ce lait dans la poche stomacale, puis on le conserve soigneusement. Dans un tarahout de cinq à huit litres plein de lait, on plonge un morceau de la semence ci-dessus décrite, environ de la grosseur d'un dé. Au bout d'une journée, le lait se caille entièrement. On prend une poignée de ce fromage encore frais, on l'écrase entre ses mains, préalablement lavées, puis on en fait des plaques de 15 centimètres sur 5 centimètres environ. Ces plaques sont déposées afin d'être séchées sur un lit de tiges d'afazzou. Le tikamarin se mange sec; on le conserve plus d'une année, on dit qu'il est encore consommable au bout de quatre ans.

38. Dans l'oasis d'Idelès. A droite, un récipient à beurre (tahtiat).

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



L' « ioulsan » (« qlila » en arabe) est un fromage fabriqué à partir du lait aigre restant de la fabrication du beurre. Ce lait aigre que l'on verse dans une marmite est chauffé longtemps. Le contenu de la marmite est versé dans un filtre spécial, sorte de couffin d'afarsou; l'eau s'écoule, le fromage qui reste est ensuite façonné en petits pains circulaires de 6 centimètres de diamètre sur 2 centimètres d'épaisseur. L'ioulsan se consomme rapidement, mais on le conserve sec et il entre surtout dans la composition de l'argira que l'on mange en été.

Les Touareg aiment beaucoup la viande, mais ils en mangent relativement peu souvent, cependant certains Touareg disent qu'il ne faut pas passer dix jours sans en manger.

La chèvre est la viande la plus courante, le mouton est mangé moins souvent et le chameau dans des circonstances exceptionnelles. La viande de gazelle et de mouflon est très appréciée, surtout parce qu'elle est gratuite; sa consommation reste soumise à un facteur de chance. Le lièvre n'est mangé que par les enfants ou les Nègres. Les oiseaux sont peu appréciés, qu'ils soient sauvages ou domestiques.

Les viandes sont mangées bouillies ou grillées, toujours bien cuites. Le mechoui touareg se nomme « abatoul » (trou). On creuse un trou dans un sable à grains assez gros, on y fait un grand feu. Les braises sont ensuite dégagées du trou et la bête, dépecée, largement ouverte, y est déposée, sans beurre ni épices. On recouvre de sable sur lequel on maintient un feu durant deux ou trois heures. La bête est retirée, fortement frappée à coups de bâton pour chasser les grains de sable et livrée à la dégustation.

Les Touareg ne mangent pour ainsi dire jamais de légumes verts; ils conservent des oignons séchés (tarafaret) qui servent à donner quelque goût aux plats; les tomates séchées produites en abondance au Hoggar sont aussi utilisées.

Le blé, assez peu employé, permet la fabrication de couscous et de galettes appelées « taguella ». Les Touareg font des taguella avec la farine de mil, mais elles sont franchement détestables.

Il faut noter le scrupule des Touareg en ce qui concerne les interdits islamiques en matière de nourriture.

En fait ils continuent à manger ce qui a été leur nourriture traditionnelle, et il se trouve que la coutume cadre avec les règles musulmanes.

Les enfants mangent, pour s'amuser, des « tilout », ainsi que des « dobs », ces gros lézards, qu'ils font griller sur des braises. Ils leur ouvrent le ventre, puis dégustent par pincées la chair cuite dans la peau, un peu comme on mangerait un œuf à la coque.

Les œufs de poule sont assez peu appréciés, les enfants en acceptent, mais préfèrent les œufs de dob.

Le daman, appelé akaokao, farouche petit rongeur des collines granitiques, fournit une nourriture réservée aux Nègres.

La nourriture européenne n'a pour ainsi dire pas pénétré sous la tente, seules les pâtes ont de l'attrait, mais les Touareg ne vont pas encore jusqu'à en acheter. Le riz est considéré comme un remède. Comme conserves on peut voir des Touareg manger des sardines à l'huile, des confitures et utiliser du lait en boîte. Tous ces aliments ne sont pas acceptés avec enthousiasme, ils sont trop chers; et les Touareg paraissent être vraiment conservateurs en ce qui concerne la nourriture, comme pour l'ensemble de leurs coutumes.

Ils boivent de l'eau, du lait et du thé d'importation relativement récente, qui devient une nécessité. Il n'est pas besoin de rappeler le rituel dont s'entourent la confection et la dégustation du thé.

Le café n'est guère bu qu'avec des Français, ou s'il est pris sous la tente c'est à titre de remède. Est-il besoin de dire que les Touareg ne boivent pas d'alcool, et qu'actuellement il n'y a aucune exception à cette règle ?

## La Santé publique

Il paraît pratiquement impossible de dresser pour le Hoggar un tableau démographique : les chiffres pour les années

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



antérieures à 1947 sont rares et sujets à caution; ils donnent un ordre de grandeur acceptable, mais ne permettent pas d'établir avec exactitude les mouvements de population.

On doit donc tenir compte, dans ce domaine, des chiffres des derniers recensements et des observations faites sur des tribus que l'on peut aisément visiter, en essayant d'étendre prudemment ces observations à l'ensemble de la population.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| En 1948 on comptait | 6 048 nomades | |
| | 4 240 harratin | |
| | | soit 10 288 âmes |
| 1949 | 6 013 nomades | |
| | 4 285 harratin | |
| | | soit 10 298 âmes |

Le chiffre de la population du Hoggar semble sensiblement stationnaire (même si l'on ne se base pas uniquement sur les chiffres ci-dessus). La natalité n'est pas très grande, mais supérieure à la mortalité qui est faible. La mortalité infantile est pratiquement incontrôlable.

En 1948, on comptait 1 028 hommes pour 1 202 femmes, ce qui permettrait d'admettre l'opinion courante qu'il y a, relativement aux autres peuples, plus d'hommes que de femmes chez les Touareg. Il faut cependant se garder des affirmations de ce genre sans avoir au préalable examiné toutes les causes qui peuvent provoquer un tel état de fait. Il est à peu près certain que les Touareg contrôlent leur natalité. Le chef de tribu peut interdire des naissances ou les recommander suivant le nombre des membres de la tribu. Cette mesure paraît sage dans un pays qui a peine à nourrir la population existante. Tout se passe comme si, empiriquement, les Touareg avaient trouvé le nombre idéal d'individus que puisse nourrir leur sol, et qu'ils fussent assez sages pour essayer de le maintenir.

Les hommes interrogés à ce sujet éludent la question, disant que cela regarde leurs compagnes, et qu'ils ignorent les moyens employés. Les femmes sont également très réticentes, pour ne pas dire muettes.

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



Certaines d'entre elles prétendent avorter en absorbant des plantes prises en décoction. Les médecins français connaissent les propriétés de ces plantes, ils estiment que cette médicamentation doit être insuffisante pour produire l'effet recherché. A force de patience, j'ai pu arriver à connaître un moyen qui, pour dangereux qu'il soit, doit être efficace; je n'ai eu ce renseignement que par une seule femme, et n'ai jamais pu en avoir confirmation, car il est difficile d'aborder ces sujets de but en blanc. Les femmes utiliseraient une sonde qu'elles fabriquent avec une « pierre » appelée « azarif » (« cheb » en arabe) qui est de l'alun; elles lui donnent la taille d'un crayon à ardoise. Cette sonde ayant produit un effet mécanique se dissout par la suite. Il est vraisemblable que beaucoup de femmes sont victimes de ces manœuvres, car en interrogeant les Touareg on constate une assez forte mortalité féminine à un âge relativement jeune. C'est peut-être là qu'il faut rechercher la cause de cette plus grande proportion d'hommes par rapport aux femmes.

La maladie la plus répandue au Hoggar est sans doute le paludisme, contracté le plus souvent en terre soudanaise et répandu au Hoggar, où les anophèles sont fréquents dans les centres de culture et dans tous les points d'eau permanents ou temporaires. Le professeur Rémy, de la faculté de Nancy, en a trouvé dans le tiggert de Tarahouaout, à la guelta d'In-Ezzebib; le médecin capitaine Galan en a récolté dans la guelta d'Afilal à près de 2 000 mètres d'altitude.

Ce qui fait le plus de ravage chez les Touareg, ce sont les pneumonies et leurs complications pulmonaires; elles sont favorisées par les froids de l'hiver très mal supportés dans des vêtements trop légers.

En 1949, une épidémie de rougeole a, par ses suites pulmonaires, pris l'allure d'une catastrophe.

Les maladies vénériennes sont très fréquentes chez les harratin, plus rares chez les Touareg.

Une calamité des centres de culture est le trachome, rehaussé de toutes les conjonctivites que transmettent les mouches qui pullulent et séjournent en grappes autour des

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



yeux des enfants. Les Touareg semblent préservés des maux d'yeux, ils ont très rarement le trachome.

La variole, autrefois si commune et si redoutée, a pratiquement disparu, grâce aux vaccinations systématiques. Ce fut une curiosité, en avril 1951, de voir rentrer du Soudan deux Touareg couverts de boutons de variole.

La tuberculose ne semble pas avoir fait son apparition, les cuti-réactions pratiquées à l'école de Tamanrasset sont négatives chez les enfants nés au Hoggar. Le cancer paraît ne pas se manifester.

Si les Touareg sont abondamment pourvus de poux, surtout en hiver, de même que les harratin, on n'a jamais constaté un cas de typhus. La typhoïde est inconnue, de même que la diphtérie, le tétanos et la poliomyélite.

Le pays est donc suffisamment préservé de graves maladies; mais il faut noter un fléau : la sous-alimentation, décrit et bien étudié par le médecin capitaine Galan dans une publication de l'institut Pasteur d'Algérie : *Contribution à l'étude du problème alimentaire au Hoggar.*

Touareg et Nègres commencent à aimer la médicamentation européenne et fréquentent davantage l'infirmerie; ils apprécient surtout l'aspirine, la quinine (qui devient un terme générique pour tous les comprimés) et la pénicilline. Ils restent fidèles à leur pharmacopée surtout à base de plantes, dont voici quelques exemples.

Maladies pulmonaires : le piment fort et le rellachem sont des spécifiques; pour la pleurésie, il faut faire fondre de la graisse de chameau en présence du taïnoust qui est le fruit d'un acacia, manger le plus chaud possible et serrer sa poitrine avec une corde.

Pour l'estomac, du beurre mélangé avec du tahist.

En cas de diarrhée, le takamezout est souverain, pris dans du thé, ou absorbé en feuilles. Ce takamezout jouit d'un grand renom auprès des Touareg : il contient disent-ils, quarante remèdes, mais ne guérit pas les jambes cassées.

La constipation est vaincue par l'adjardjar et la taharadjellé. Le mal de tête est sans remède, le thé est encore ce qui est

préférable. Le foie se traite avec de l'ihemhad pris dans du lait. Celui qui a des ganglions à l'aine ou sous l'aisselle peut les faire disparaître aisément en les frottant légèrement avec de la salive, le matin de très bonne heure; mais il est un autre moyen plus efficace qui consiste à chauffer des crottes de chèvre et à les poser sur les ongles du membre malade.

Pour une plaie ouverte, faire un emplâtre avec du lait et du tassa en poudre.

Les rhumatismes se soignent aisément, on creuse une sorte de puits de 1 mètre de diamètre sur 1,50 m. de profondeur, le rhumatisant s'y installe, on recouvre le puits d'une couverture, et l'on donne au malade une infusion d'oïaq afin qu'il dorme. Il existe une source appelée In-Ahadja qui serait également excellente pour traiter les rhumatismes.

La viande de chacal, mangée conjointement avec des décoctions de rellachem durant trois jours, est le meilleur remède contre la blennorragie; le clou de girofle ne peut qu'aider la guérison.

On emploie encore la viande du chacal pour guérir la syphilis, mais il faut en outre boire le matin du lait dans lequel a macéré de la coloquinte; pendant que l'on boit ce lait, on fait cuire des brochettes de graisse que l'on mange ensuite; durant toute la journée, boire du bouillon gras. Au bout de trois jours on constate dans les selles des petites granulations blanches qui indiquent la réussite du traitement.

On soignait autrefois la variole d'une façon suffisamment efficace en faisant un trou dans le sable et en chauffant ce trou comme si l'on devait faire un méchoui, moins fortement cependant; on couchait le varioleux dans le trou, puis on le recouvrait de sable, et il ne restait plus qu'à attendre.

La rougeole demande à être soignée au chaud, en mangeant de la viande de lièvre, de gazelle ou de mouflon.

Les maux de dents ne résistent pas au traitement suivant : après avoir réuni de la graine d'oignon, de l'ouzouaz, du blé, du sel, s'en remplir la bouche, et conserver ces médicaments une demi-heure la bouche close. Lorsque les adolescents bourgeonnent, ce qui les défigure, il est indispensable de faire

brûler de la graine d'oignon et d'en respirer la fumée, on dit que tous les vers sortent immédiatement. Autour d'un furoncle, appliquer une pâte composée de lait et de tanzet (sorte de haricot du Soudan) réduit en poudre.

## Rites magiques

Voilà un sujet qu'il est très difficile de traiter, car les secrets sont jalousement gardés par ceux qui les possèdent et veulent en tirer profit, ou soigneusement dissimulés par ceux qui les connaissent d'une façon désintéressée, mais manquent de confiance dans l'interrogateur, ou redoutent les représailles.

Le Hoggar, situé aux frontières de l'Islam et du monde noir, est à coup sûr imprégné de coutumes magiques; l'islamisation superficielle de la population qui a conservé un fond de croyance aux génies, souvent inavoué, mais présent, se prête admirablement aux rites secrets de la magie.

Cependant il semble que les Touareg, bien qu'ils soient très superstitieux, soient étrangers aux sortilèges maléfiques, spécialité des femmes du Tidikelt, des Ajjers et du Soudan. Le plus célèbre des maléfices est le « borbor », c'est avant tout l'œuvre des Négresses.

Le borbor agit de deux façons : ou bien il tend à empoisonner un individu dont on veut se débarrasser, ou bien il sert simplement à diminuer les forces d'un être dont on souhaite se venger ou que l'on désire s'attacher (dans ces derniers cas, il agit un peu à la façon d'un philtre d'amour). De toute façon, le borbor ne produit ses effets qu'à longue échéance, il est individuel et préparé dans un but précis; il doit, pour être efficace, être administré sournoisement.

Obtenir une recette précise de borbor paraît impossible. Voici les principaux ingrédients qui entrent dans sa composition, le dosage est affaire de spécialiste.

L'élément de base semble être la cervelle d'un individu mort depuis peu; on doit aller la quérir la nuit dans un cimetière. On raconte qu'une femme ayant voulu dérober le cerveau d'un marabout récemment décédé fut trouvée morte, foudroyée

par la puissance du défunt, serrant dans sa main crispée des débris de son larcin.

L'excipient, une fois récolté, est conservé dans un vase afin de lui incorporer les éléments actifs pour un individu donné. La liste en est longue; notons toutes les sécrétions externes de la personne visée : sueur, prise sous l'aisselle de préférence, larmes, cérumen, urine, sang (menstruel de préférence), sperme. On ramasse aussi les cheveux, les rognures d'ongles, la crasse des bras, celle des ongles, et la terre foulée par le pied nu. Tout ou partie de ces ingrédients est incorporé à l'excipient, mélangé, puis cuit. Cette cuisine diabolique est faite la nuit par deux femmes initiées, entièrement nues. La marmite, au bout d'un certain temps, s'élève dans les airs et gravite dans la pièce close, les femmes la poursuivent en fouettant l'air avec un foulard et en récitant des paroles secrètes. Elles deviennent comme folles.

Le borbor est incorporé à du couscous, qui, dit-on, peut être roulé avec une main prélevée sur un mort, mais j'ai eu peu de confirmations de cette pratique. On administre le borbor en le jetant sur le chemin que doit parcourir la victime, s'il est impossible de le lui faire manger.

Philtre ou poison, le borbor diffère assez peu dans sa composition, seules les quantités doivent varier.

Lorsqu'une femme désire la mort de sa rivale, elle dispose d'un autre procédé. Ayant pu se procurer du sang menstruel de l'ennemie, elle va trouver un taleb spécialisé dans la magie; ce dernier enveloppe le sang dans un papier ou un chiffon sur lequel il écrit des paroles consacrées, puis il jette le tout dans une séguia permanente. Tant que coulera la séguia, le sang de la rivale s'écoulera et elle mourra de cette hémorragie.

Il est un contrepoison du borbor, appelé « bottal », substance noirâtre que l'on jette sur des braises et dont les émanations rendent vaines les attaques du borbor.

Il faut citer ici deux plantes qui, sans donner la mort, aux dires des Touareg, rendent fous momentanément : c'est d'abord l' « afeleleh » (« bettina » en arabe), la jusquiame noire (le contrepoison consiste à faire ingurgiter de la viande ou mieux

de la graisse de chameau), ensuite le « bourzig » absorbé par les femmes qui veulent grossir, mais qui à forte dose provoque une folie passagère durant laquelle la victime débite des paroles sans suite dont elle ne se souvient pas.

Les opérations magiques sont des plus variées, et tout le monde peut s'attendre chaque jour à en être victime. Les Nègres sont hantés par cette crainte, les Touareg semblent n'être pas tracassés par ces manœuvres magiques. Cependant tous portent des « tera », amulettes protectrices délivrées par les taleb; ainsi la religion musulmane, plus ou moins déformée, lutte contre la magie, ou parfois y collabore.

La croyance au mauvais œil est commune aux Nègres et aux Touareg : certaines personnes peuvent par leurs paroles attirer les pires calamités, rendre malade, provoquer des accidents, faire crever des animaux. Il est heureusement d'autres personnes qui ont le pouvoir contraire, et qui, en s'approchant d'un dormeur et en plaçant leur main près de sa figure, donnent à ce dernier force et chance pour la journée.

En général, les femmes portent malheur le matin; cependant si une intime faisait entrevoir son sexe avant un départ matinal, la chance sourirait au chasseur.

De celui qui possède le mauvais œil, on dit en tamahaq : « illé tahot ».

Qui peut donner cette chance ou cette malchance que porte en lui l'individu et qui peut parfois rayonner hors de lui ? A cette question, on répond : Dieu, car, en somme, on est musulman; mais chacun est persuadé que ce sont les génies, les Kel es Souf comme disent les Touareg, qui sont les agents de cette vie supra-humaine. Les Kel es Souf constituent un peuple d'esprits invisibles le jour, mais qui la nuit peuvent apparaître aux humains sous les formes les plus variées. La tombée de la nuit est le moment le plus propice aux exploits des Kel es Souf. Toutes les manifestations des forces naturelles sont attribuées à ces génies : les tourbillons, l'écho, les crues d'oued, les éboulements, un feu spontané dans des herbes sèches. En revanche, le mirage (« eillel ») n'est pas l'œuvre des Kel es Souf.

Celui qui entend ou voit un de ces génies est toujours troublé, il peut tomber malade et même devenir fou, car s'il existe des Kel es Souf indifférents, en très petit nombre d'ailleurs, il n'en est aucun de bon. C'est pourquoi il faut savoir s'en protéger; on le fait d'ordinaire en invoquant Dieu, en portant des talismans et en ayant toujours avec soi un objet en fer.

Les Kel es Souf affectionnent certains endroits et y résident volontiers, entre autres : les ravins profonds, d'où ils font pleuvoir des pierres sur les malheureux humains qui s'y aventurent, les grottes au fond desquelles apparaissent d'étranges lueurs. La guelta d'In-Tafeute est peuplée de génies, les salines de l'Amadror regorgent de Kel es Souf qui la nuit mènent un tapage infernal, cassant du sel, taillant des blocs, enlevant tout sommeil à ceux qui viennent travailler et qui, au petit matin, ne voient aucune trace de cette activité nocturne. Certains hauts lieux, dont le plus célèbre est Garet el Djenoun, sont aussi des lieux d'élection de tout ce monde invisible.

On dit qu'autrefois des hommes particulièrement puissants entretenaient un commerce d'amitié avec les Kel es Souf, qui avaient un langage propre à leur monde. On se transmet encore deux façons de compter jusqu'à dix utilisées par les génies :

| *Première manière :* | *Deuxième manière :* |
|---|---|
| 1 — Djoukhien | Dienana |
| 2 — Djouressin | Dessinena |
| 3 — Djettar | Makarkada |
| 4 — Djettouri | Matezoua |
| 5 — Alendiez | Souraten |
| 6 — Indiez | Souratainì |
| 7 — Hamalou | Tiguemelguemal |
| 8 — Fellali | Teguedtassa |
| 9 — Terra | Nougomelli |
| 10 — Feck | Nourobelli |

Les mésaventures des humains avec les Kel es Souf sont des plus nombreuses. Tout Targui un peu en confiance

racontera les siennes, et, excité par le sujet, celles des autres. Il est des récits classiques, tel celui de Titi.

Titi était un Targui astucieux qui, un certain soir, arriva dans un oued boisé de tabrakat. En descendant de chameau à l'endroit où il comptait passer la nuit, il aperçut une femme. Il la salua et commença à desseller sa monture. Lorsqu'il enlevait un sac, la femme le lui prenait et le posait à terre. Il alla chercher du bois, elle vint l'aider; il alluma son feu, elle tisonna les braises; cette sollicitude et cette imitation de ses gestes inquiétèrent Titi, qui devina en cette femme à l'opulente chevelure un Kel es Souf. Il prépara sa galette de mil, la femme répétait chacun de ses mouvements. Alors Titi, saisissant un brandon, l'introduisit rapidement dans ses cheveux par le bout non enflammé, la femme l'imita, mais se trompa de côté, sa chevelure prit feu, elle s'enfuit en hurlant, se roula à terre, se frotta aux arbres qui se mirent à flamber. Et depuis cette aventure fort ancienne on voit dans l'oued Ouriren les restes des tabrakat incendiés par le Kel es Souf.

Tel autre Targui, alors que tombait la nuit, aperçut dans un ravin les feux d'un campement, vers lesquels il se dirigea. A peine fut-il descendu de chameau qu'on l'invita à manger. Comme il avait grand-faim, il écourta les salutations d'usage. S'étant assis sur un magnifique tapis il observa les gens habillés comme des Touareg, certes, mais dont il ne pouvait déterminer la caste, ni trouver de ressemblance avec quiconque de ses connaissances. Tout lui sembla étrange, mais le comble fut de se voir servir l'asink dans un terahout en or. Il comprit en un instant que ce campement était celui des Kel es Souf. Il s'empara du plat, bondit vers son chameau qui par bonheur n'était pas dessellé et s'enfuit dans la nuit. Quand il fut suffisamment loin, il voulut regarder le fameux plat. Hélas ! il avait disparu, et ce fait lui confirma qu'il avait été la victime des Kel es Souf.

Les phénomènes de voyance à distance sont courants en milieu touareg, ils sont surtout l'apanage des femmes. On raconte que lors des rezzous d'antan, certaines Targuias savaient

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



le résultat d'un combat qui se déroulait à plus de quatre cents kilomètres, telle épouse voyait son mari blessé, telle sœur apprenait la mort de son frère, et ces nouvelles se vérifiaient au retour des guerriers. Actuellement encore on pratique cette voyance à distance. Voici les deux façons d'opérer. A la tombée de la nuit, la femme douée de ce pouvoir se lave méticuleusement et revêt ses vêtements les plus beaux. Elle se dirige vers un « debni », qui est un tombeau préislamique, puis se couche sur les pierres et prononce les paroles suivantes : « Imeguedda enkerguedda », dont on ne connaît pas la signification. Appliquant son oreille contre les pierres, elle peut entendre des nouvelles transmises certainement par les Kel es Souf. Le debni parle brièvement, trois fois seulement, et il n'est pas permis de l'interroger.

L'autre procédé exige le sacrifice d'une chèvre. On enlève l'herbe contenue dans son estomac, et on en fait une ou plusieurs boules. La nuit étant tombée, la femme se dirige vers un endroit plat hors de toute présence humaine, elle jette le plus loin possible les boules, puis se couche sur le sol en y appliquant son oreille. Si les Kel es Souf sont favorables, les nouvelles arrivent aussi succinctes mais aussi précises qu'avec le moyen précédent. Ce procédé se nomme « tizomitin ». Il existe des moyens d'interroger le destin, appelés « idjehan », en traçant sur le sable des points dont on ignore le compte exact. La technique opératoire diffère suivant la manière de tracer les points. Ce sont des sortes de réussites, car les réponses sont oui ou non. Quelques Touareg connaissent un autre moyen d'obtenir des réponses plus variées, mais l'apprentissage en est long.

Il est d'autres superstitions comme celle qui exige de mettre de vieilles marmites en évidence dans un champ de blé, pour avoir une bonne récolte, ou bien une mâchoire d'âne; citons aussi la coutume propre aux Négresses de manger des cuisses de chat au mois de mars afin de grossir.

Toutes ces croyances devraient être rassemblées, mais cela exigerait un long travail de patience, qui ne pourrait se faire que dans un climat de confiance.

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



On peut dire que le Hoggar vit encore dans un monde magique malgré la présence de l'Islam. Cette crainte des esprits qui paraît puérile à un Occidental est très réelle. « L'imagination, dit Fraser, sait agir sur l'homme avec autant d'efficacité que la gravitation, et peut le tuer avec la même certitude que le ferait une dose d'acide prussique. » La répugnance inexpliquée que montrent les Touareg envers certains aliments ou certains comportements n'est autre qu'une manifestation de tabous destinés à les préserver des forces spirituelles dégagées par les personnes ou les choses de leur entourage.

Il serait peut-être fructueux d'étudier les coutumes du monde touareg à la lumière de la philosophie des forces dont le R. P. Tempels expose les principes dans sa *Philosophie bantoue*.

# V

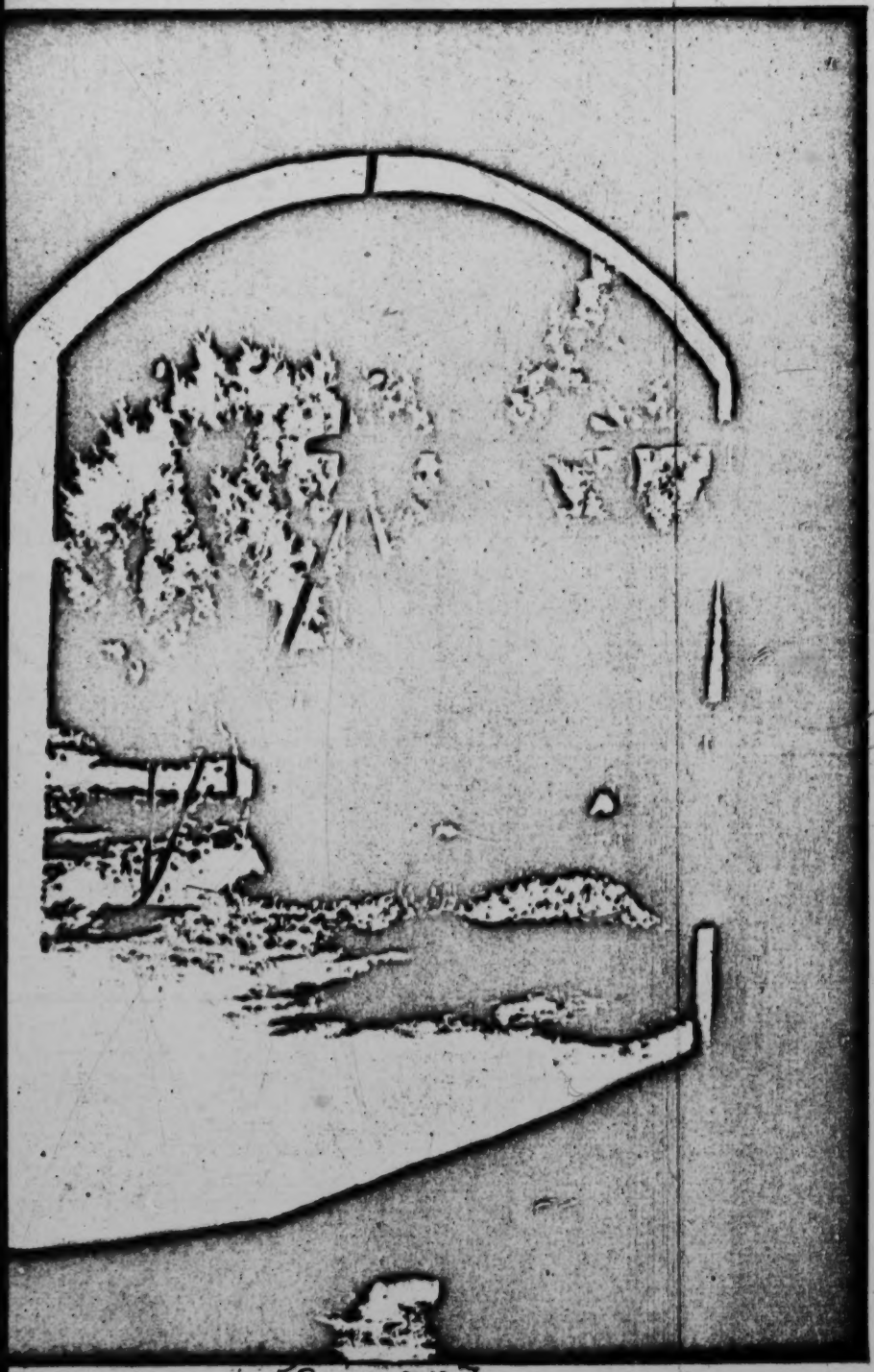
## LA VIE INDIVIDUELLE

Il est bon pour terminer cet aperçu sur le Hoggar de jeter un coup d'œil sur la suite des activités du Targui depuis le jour de sa naissance jusqu'à celui de sa mort. Cette trame toute naturelle permet de saisir, beaucoup mieux que par des études fragmentaires, peut-être plus approfondies, l'ensemble de la vie d'un individu au sein de la tribu, pour autant que l'on puisse dissocier ce qui est individuel de ce qui est tribal.

Le jeune Targui fait son entrée dans le monde sous la tente, sur un tapis de sable propre, du sable de l'oued le plus proche, qui comme on sait est pratiquement stérile, tant l'insolation détruit tous les germes microbiens. Avant d'accoucher la jeune maman a suivi les conseils de sa tante ou de sa mère, elle a gravi et descendu de petites collines dès les premières douleurs, afin de « permettre à l'enfant de bien se placer ». Les douleurs s'accélérant, la jeune femme, rentrée sous la tente, s'agenouille sur le sable, les fesses reposant sur les talons et les genoux très écartés; elle s'accroche, les bras levés, à deux cordes qui pendent des piquets de la tente. Près d'elle, deux femmes la tiennent par la taille, l'encouragent, la conseillent. Les eaux sont rapidement absorbées par le sable qui est renouvelé, puis naturellement, sans aucune aide des matrones, l'enfant vient s'allonger sur un lit de sable propre, son premier berceau. Durant l'accouchement il est de bon ton de dissimuler sa souffrance.

[p. 119]

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



[facing p. 120]

Dans les tribus nobles, chez les Kel Rela en particulier, la femme qui commence à ressentir les douleurs de l'enfantement s'éloigne du camp, va dans un ravin suffisamment abrité, où le sable est bien propre; elle accouche seule, se tenant dans la position indiquée ci-dessus, puis revient au campement, tenant son bébé dans les bras. Elle ne manifeste pas la moindre joie devant les compliments des autres femmes. Parlant de cette coutume des nobles à une femme vassale, cette dernière me dit : « En effet les nobles agissent ainsi, mais c'est par crânerie. » Le mot qu'elle employa se traduirait plutôt par « chiqué ».

Le bébé, lavé, est enveloppé dans un tissu de coton, de préférence un vieux chèche, puis couché sur un tapis près de sa mère.

Pendant trois jours on lui donne du lait de chèvre à l'aide d'une petite cuiller, et seulement au bout de ce délai la jeune maman l'allaitera. Si la mère n'a pas suffisamment de lait, l'enfant est élevé au lait de chèvre, à moins qu'une femme du campement puisse nourrir le bébé.

Durant sept jours l'accouchée se repose et ne reçoit aucun homme, à part ses proches, mais presque toutes les femmes se lèvent dès le deuxième jour. Dans les tribus nobles, les plus islamisées, les femmes observent une retraite de quarante jours.

La femme nouvellement accouchée offre une proie particulièrement désarmée aux Kel es Souf. Afin de protéger son enfant et elle-même des entreprises des génies, elle fait brûler du taharadjellé sous la tente et ne sort de l'asaber que munie d'un couteau, ce qui, paraît-il, est souverain contre les maléfices. A propos de superstition, on dit qu'une femme n'aura jamais plus d'enfant si, lors de sa délivrance, elle retourne à l'envers la poche fœtale. Il est une autre cause de stérilité, c'est d'être frappée par la queue d'un ourane.

Les accouchements se passent en général fort bien, mais il y a un pourcentage d'accidents que l'on ne connaît pas, soit comme mortalité infantile, soit comme fièvres puerpérales. Contre ces accidents consécutifs aux couches, les Touareg sont complètement impuissants.

37. Les deleus utilisés pour maintenir l'eau fraîche.

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg

[Facing p. 121]

Au septième jour de sa vie l'enfant reçoit son nom, c'est l'occasion d'une fête à laquelle sont conviés tous les proches. Un grand repas est servi, suivi de tendi et d'ilougan. Il est honorable d'être parrain, et de donner son nom à l'enfant, cet honneur se paie en cadeaux (aïouf). Lorsque plusieurs personnes sont candidates au parrainage, on tire l'élu à la courte paille.

Comme toutes les mamans du monde, la Targuia dorlote son bébé, lui prodigue des caresses, s'émeut de l'entendre crier et chante pour l'endormir : « O lièvre apporte le sommeil, mon enfant ne veut pas dormir. » Dès qu'il sait marcher l'enfant fait connaissance avec le campement, il rôde aux abords des tentes, s'amuse avec les domestiques noirs près du feu, apprend à parler, reste très attaché à sa mère qui, jour après jour, lui apprend les usages. L'observation journalière des coutumes rend l'enfant très obéissant et très respectueux.

Vers cinq ans, le jeune Targui commence à suivre ses frères ou ses sœurs qui vont garder les chèvres, seulement chez les imrads. Les jeunes nobles suivent leur berger nègre. L'enfant apprend ainsi à connaître son pays, les sentiers, les herbes, les animaux et leurs mœurs. C'est un vieux domestique qui fera remarquer une trace sur le sable, en disant : « Voici le chameau de ton père, cette empreinte est celle de la chamelle qui vient d'avoir un petit. »

Au cours de ses allées et venues à travers les pâturages, la vie du désert s'inscrit dans sa mémoire. Il note la trace de la gazelle sur le sable et celle du guépard qui la poursuit. « Regarde, dit le vieil esclave, malgré la ruse du guépard qui s'approchait en rampant, la gazelle a deviné sa présence, car elle a bondi. Voici le saut du guépard, vois comme les traces sont profondes, il a bondi cinq fois, mais n'a pu saisir la gazelle qui était un grand mâle. » Le jeune Targui relève la tête et manifeste sa joie de savoir la gazelle sauvée, car après ses bonds fulgurants le guépard ne peut vaincre la gazelle à la course. « Mais toi, dit l'esclave, lorsque tu auras un fusil, tu t'approcheras de la gazelle comme le fait le guépard, contre le vent, et tu ne la manqueras pas.

« Ces jolis dessins sur la dune sont l'œuvre du khanfous.

38. Jeune Targui et son serviteur noir à Ideles.

Il est rentré ce matin dans son trou, sous cette pierre. Prends garde en la soulevant, car le khanfous est souvent l'esclave du scorpion, on dit même que le khanfous est son père. Méfie-toi de cette trace, elle fut faite par la vipère, suivons-la... C'est ici qu'elle se termine, dans cette touffe de chabrok. Prends une pierre, dit le vieux domestique, moi je vais mettre le feu au buisson. » Le chabrok s'enflamme en crépitant et bientôt on entend le sifflement du reptile qui sort de son trou, engourdi; l'enfant frappe, c'est sa première chasse.

Ainsi, chaque jour le désert révèle ses secrets. Ce trait vert que termine un point rouge, là-bas sur le rocher, c'est « matarter », le lézard venimeux. Il remue la tête de bas en haut, comme s'il faisait une prière au soleil. Il ne faut pas y toucher, car sa morsure est foudroyante. Le gros dob, recouvert d'écailles, dont la queue énorme est armée de piquants, sera un jouet pour l'enfant qui s'en empare, à condition de ne pas se faire mordre, car le dob ne lâche pas prise et il faudrait amputer le doigt. Si par chance le jeune Targui a capturé une femelle, il pourra manger les œufs qui sont un délice pour les enfants. « L'estomac du dob était plein d'eau, fait-il remarquer à son esclave. — C'est, dit ce dernier, que nous sommes vendredi, et le dob ne boit que ce jour. Même s'il n'y a pas d'eau aux environs, même s'il ne pleut pas, Dieu envoie chaque vendredi la ration du dob. Lorsque tu veux conserver un dob pour t'en amuser le lendemain, attache-le avec une corde, mais ne le tiens jamais prisonnier dans un sac qui a contenu des dattes ou du sucre, car il mourrait. »

Vivant en perpétuel contact avec la nature, le jeune Targui arrive à en connaître les secrets, chacune de ses observations l'instruit, il est curieux de tout ce qui vit et qui bouge autour de lui. Son esclave, qui le suit, le protège et l'aime comme un père, explique chacune des observations avec les mots et les images d'une âme simple, brodant sur de vieux thèmes du pays. « L'oiseau noir et blanc qui nous accompagne, volant de rocher en buisson, c'est « moula-moula ». Il ne faut pas le tuer, car il porte bonheur à ceux qu'il escorte; de plus c'est un messager, chaque fois qu'il vient près de toi et qu'il pépie, il veut

t'annoncer l'arrivée d'un ami, ou te prévenir de la perte d'un objet, ou encore te mettre en garde contre une vipère qui rampe vers toi. « Moula-moula » sait tout, et il le dit aux hommes, mais il faut comprendre son langage, nombreux sont au Hoggar ceux qui entendent ses messages. Il te faudra apprendre le parler de « moula-moula ».

« L'autre jour, tu as eu peur en entendant souffler ce gros lézard que tu voulais prendre pour t'amuser comme avec un dob, c'était un ourane. Sa queue est fine, mais plus dangereuse que la grosse queue du dob. Lorsque l'ourane fouette un homme, la trace reste à jamais gravée dans sa chair, et il n'est point bon pour un Targui de capturer un ourane, car il fut, dit-on, l'oncle de la première mère des Touareg. C'est pour cela qu'il se fâche quand l'un des tiens veut le ridiculiser. En revanche, il craint les Nègres et fuit devant nous, car il sait que nous le mangeons. Ne cherche pas à capturer l'ourane; un Targui que je connais voulut, une fois, transgresser l'usage. C'était un jour d'été en plein Tanezrouft, il attrapa un ourane, lui mit une corde au cou et l'attacha sur son chameau. Pour quelle raison l'homme mit-il pied à terre et lâcha-t-il la bride de sa monture, je l'ignore, mais l'ourane à ce moment fouetta le chameau qui partit au grand trot. Toujours fouettant, l'ourane fit courir sa monture jusqu'à ce que, épuisée, elle tombât, refusant tout effort. L'homme faillit mourir de soif en suivant les traces de sa bête. Lorsqu'il la rejoignit, il libéra l'ourane avant même de boire. »

Le soir, en rentrant sous la tente, fatigué de sa journée de course, l'esprit plein de ses découvertes, l'enfant s'installe près du feu dont les flammes exécutent pour lui une danse merveilleuse. Ses yeux se ferment, tandis que Vénus, « celle qui vendit son père pour avoir la beauté », se cache à l'horizon. Cela n'est point du goût de la mère, l'enfant doit manger, et l'on mange tard sous la tente, car les esclaves doivent traire les chamelles et les chèvres avant de préparer le souper. Elle réveille son fils, l'attire contre elle, le couvrant d'un dokkali pour le préserver de la fraîcheur du soir, puis commence à conter des histoires du passé.

Ces récits, qui constituent le folklore touareg, tendent à disparaître. Beaucoup de jeunes gens les ignorent, il faut s'adresser aux vieux Touareg, à ceux qui regrettent le temps des rezzous, ou de préférence aux femmes, qui de tout temps ont été les gardiennes des traditions.

Certaines de ces histoires sont des fables qui mettent en présence les animaux du Hoggar ou ceux du Soudan, elles ont quelquefois une moralité exprimée, mais cela est rare; d'autres sont des contes merveilleux dans lesquels monstres et génies inquiètent les hommes, souvent un héros réussit à les vaincre. Ces contes sont très longs, ils contiennent un enseignement des usages, et je pense qu'ils apportent un message de lointains ancêtres. Ce message, parfois stylisé, tronqué, ou embelli par la transmission orale, mérite d'être étudié, il faudrait pour cela rassembler le maximum de contes, avant qu'ils tombent dans l'oubli.

Voici l'histoire du chacal et du dob, telle que me l'a contée un de mes élèves, Targui de noble race.

Le chacal et le dob chassaient de concert, lorsque le hasard les fit tomber sur une chèvre qui passa bientôt de vie à trépas. Le dob préparait le feu tandis que le chacal dépeçait l'animal. Déjà le foie et le cœur grillaient sur les charbons, dégageant une odeur alléchante qui inspira au chacal des regrets sur la promesse qu'il avait faite au dob de partager la chasse. Astucieux et retors, il chercha le moyen de frustrer son compagnon de sa part de butin. « Veux-tu, dit-il au dob, aller porter ce foie et ce cœur à ma vieille mère qui habite dans le ravin voisin ? La pauvre ne peut plus chasser. Pendant ce temps je partagerai la viande. » Voici donc le dob parti en trottinant à travers sable et rochers en tenant de son mieux les cadeaux du fils attentionné.

Dès le départ de son compère, le chacal bondit à travers le ravin, escalade la colline et va attendre le dob au rendez-vous fixé ; contrefaisant l'impotent, il reçoit en remerciant les présents que lui remet le lézard. Ce dernier prend le chemin du retour de son allure cahotante. En arrivant sur les lieux de

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



la chasse, il voit le chacal allongé près d'une touffe d'afazzou, repu et somnolent, mais point de viande comme il l'espérait.

« Où est donc ma part ? » questionna-t-il.

C'est à peine si le chacal daigna le regarder; un rire strident fit comprendre à l'infortuné dob qu'il avait été victime d'une ruse.

Mécontent d'avoir été aussi grossièrement berné, et vexé par les façons du chacal, le lézard attacha les os de la chèvre à la queue du dormeur. Quand il eut fini son travail, il dit :

« Réveille-toi, voici un homme qui vient vers nous.

— Peu importe, répond le chacal sans même ouvrir les yeux.

— Attention, ami, deux chiens l'accompagnent. »

Sans demander d'explications, le chacal s'élance et court à perdre haleine. A chacun de ses bonds, les os frappent le sol, lui faisant croire que les chiens sont près de le saisir. Il court, et court encore, et dans sa course éperdue les os tombent un par un. Il n'en reste plus qu'un, quand, épuisé, il se retourne pour faire face à son ennemi. Il comprend alors comment le dob s'est vengé. Furieux il revient sur ses pas, bien décidé à punir le lézard de son audace.

Mais le dob avait prévu la colère du chacal, il s'était caché dans le trou d'un rocher et montrait à peine le bout de son nez.

« Comment donc as-tu pu faire ce trou pour t'y cacher ? J'aimerais avoir pour moi une demeure aussi sûre, dit doucement le chacal.

— C'est très facile, assure le dob, va chercher du bois sec en abondance, tu le disposeras contre le rocher et tu feras un grand feu. Lorsque les flammes seront hautes, tu donneras un grand coup de tête dans la roche et celle-ci s'ouvrira. Nous autres dobs, nous faisons toujours ainsi. »

Poussé par sa colère, le chacal suivit exactement les conseils du dob. Assommé par le coup qu'il donna, il tomba dans le feu où il fut rôti.

Les histoires de ce genre sont nombreuses, toujours amusantes et pleines d'enseignements, tant par l'observation

du caractère des bêtes que par les leçons qui en découlent.

Voici une histoire dans laquelle le chacal est dupé par le hérisson. Ce dernier jouit de la réputation la plus flatteuse sous le rapport de l'astuce.

Un hérisson et un chacal se trouvèrent un jour devant une chamelle morte, qui offrait aux deux compères un excellent festin. « Va chercher du feu », dit le chacal au hérisson, espérant lui jouer un tour de sa façon durant son absence. Le hérisson, méfiant à juste titre, répondit : « Toi, qui as des jambes plus longues que les miennes, et dont la réputation de coureur n'est plus à faire, tu auras bien plus vite fait d'aller quérir le feu; va, je t'attends en gardant notre bien. »

Le chacal part de son petit trot qui lui permet de couvrir les plus longues distances sans fatigue. Le hérisson, ayant surveillé le départ de son compère, revient vers la chamelle, la découpe en menus morceaux qu'il va enfouir près d'un tahla. Lorsqu'il eut dissimulé toute la bête, recouvert les trous de sable et effacé les traces de ses multiples voyages, il enfonça la queue de la chamelle dans un trou, ne laissant sortir de terre que quelques touffes de poils. Apercevant alors le chacal qui ramenait un tison, il saisit le bout de la queue de la chamelle et fit mine de s'arc-bouter comme pour la sortir de terre.

« Que fais-tu dans cette posture ridicule ? dit le chacal. Donne-moi plutôt des nouvelles de la chamelle que je ne vois plus ici. »

Essoufflé, le hérisson répond : « La bête n'était pas morte, elle a entendu que nous voulions la faire cuire, à peine étais-tu parti qu'elle a fait un trou dans le sol pour s'y cacher. Moi qui ne suis pas fort, je n'ai pas pu l'empêcher de creuser ni de s'enterrer; mais je la tiens par la queue, elle ne pourra pas aller bien loin.

— Donne-moi ta place, je n'aurai pas de peine à la faire sortir.

— Ne t'énerve pas, dit le hérisson, nous avons tout notre temps. »

Hélas ! le chacal n'écouta pas ces conseils de modération,

il tira violemment, s'écroula en arrière, la queue de la chamelle pendant lamentablement de sa gueule.

« Ta précipitation nous a été fatale, dit le hérisson, la chamelle est disparue sous terre, du moins nous reste-t-il la queue dont nous nous contenterons.

— Tu n'auras rien, sot hérisson », glapit le chacal en colère.

Il se saisit de la queue et s'enfuit pour apaiser sa faim.

Ecoutons à présent une histoire, « einoukhast », comme disent les Touareg, qui est très connue et souvent contée :

### Le Lion, la Hyène et le Chacal.

Le gibier se faisant rare, le lion convia, un certain jour d'été, la hyène et le chacal à chasser avec lui.

L'association se révéla fructueuse; au bout de peu de temps antilopes et gazelles jonchaient le sol. Un plantureux repas s'offrait aux chasseurs. Le lion, équitable par nature, demanda à la hyène de faire les parts de chacun. De sa puissante mâchoire cette dernière eut tôt fait de tailler le gibier en pièces, qu'elle disposa en trois tas sensiblement égaux. « Fort bien, dit le lion, quand elle eut terminé son ouvrage, mais que signifient ces tas ?

« Celui-ci, dit la hyène, est pour toi, cet autre pour moi, et le dernier pour le chacal. »

Deux puissants coups de pattes qui renversèrent la hyène furent la première réaction du lion, qui expliqua ensuite : « Ce n'est pas une façon de partager, les gens ont bien raison de dire que ton esprit est obtus. »

Le lion reprit son calme et dit en s'adressant au chacal : « Essaie à ton tour de régler cette question. »

Le chacal rétablit les tas de viande éparpillés par le lion et dit : « Ce premier tas est pour toi, ce deuxième pour ton repas du soir, et ce troisième tas pour ton déjeuner de demain. »

Le lion s'extasia. « Qui t'a appris à partager ainsi ?

— C'est, dit le chacal, la gifle que tu donnas à la hyène. »

Souvent la tradition orale transmet des histoires vécues, dépouillées de tout merveilleux, mais qui sont des leçons profitables, telles les deux anecdotes suivantes.

### La Négresse et les trois « Tahenchit » (1).

Un certain jour, dans un village, une Négresse sortit pour ramasser du bois. Elle avait fini de rassembler son fagot, lorsqu'elle aperçut, courant dans sa direction, trois tahenchit féroces et affamées. Lâchant son bois, invoquant Dieu, la Négresse grimpa dans l'arbre le plus proche. Egratignée par les épines du tamat sauveur, elle regarda les trois fauves qui, gueule écumante, faisaient le siège de l'arbre. La journée passa, vint la nuit. Les fauves semblaient dormir, la Négresse en avait bien envie aussi, mais chaque fois qu'elle s'assoupissait, elle frôlait de peu la chute. Ce qui devait arriver, arriva; elle ferma les yeux, puis tomba. En s'effondrant, elle poussa un hurlement, puis un autre plus strident encore en touchant le sol au milieu des tahenchit.

« Prenez chacun votre morceau », cria-t-elle, en cachant sa tête dans ses bras.

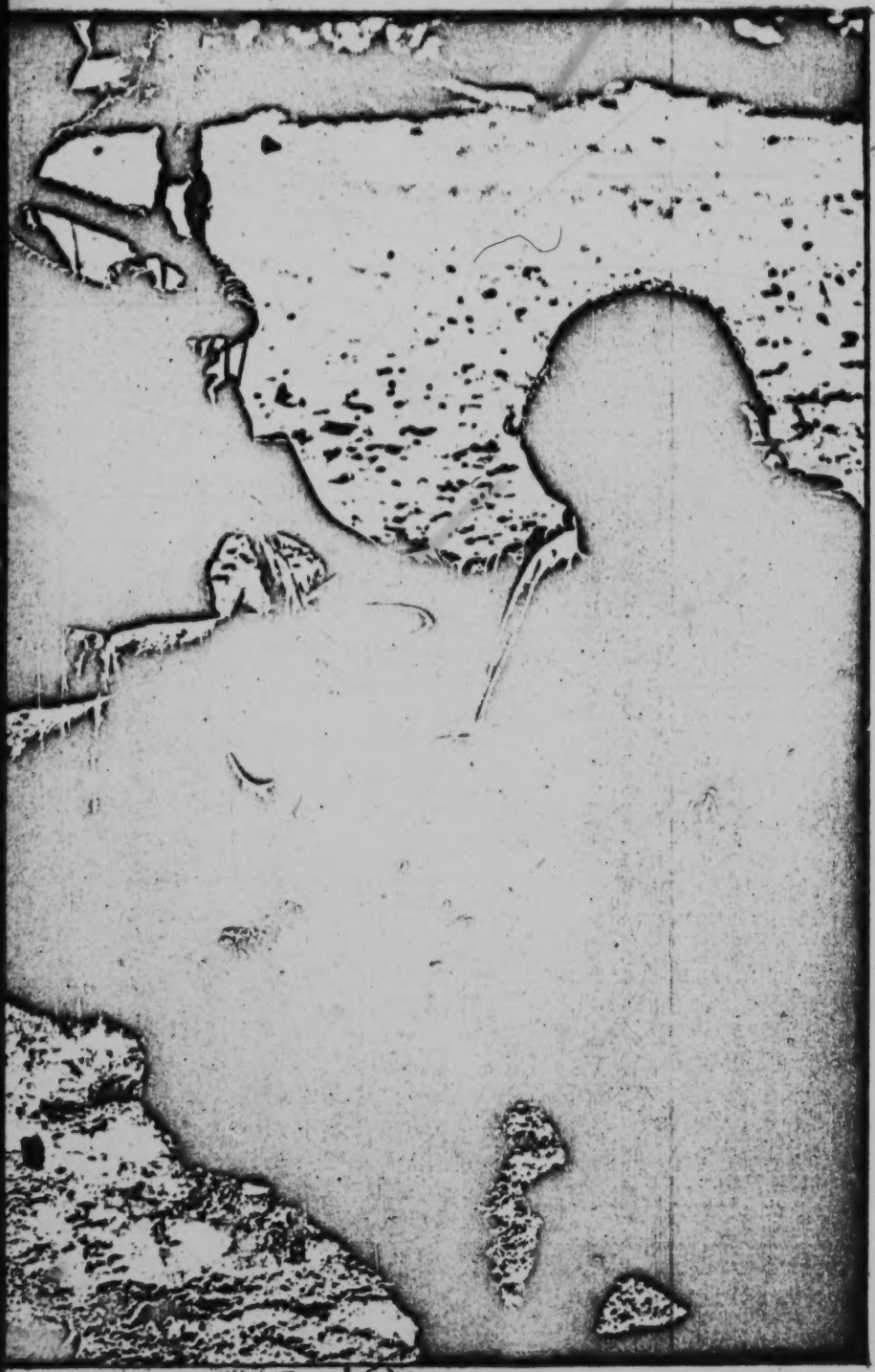
Mais les tahenchit, effrayées par les cris et les bruits de chute, s'étaient enfuies vers le désert. La Négresse en fit autant vers le village.

La tahenchit est redoutée des Touareg qui vont au Soudan, ce fauve ne vit pas au Hoggar actuellement; la mission Augières-Draper en 1927-1928 en a trouvé un en bordure du Tanezrouft, près de Timissao. La férocité de ces animaux est peu croyable. Les Touareg disent que l'un d'eux, surpris par une meute de cynhyènes, s'était réfugié sur un arbre; il craignait d'être assiégé longtemps. Connaissant la voracité des tahenchit, il se fit une entaille au doigt et laissa tomber du sang sur l'un des fauves. Au bout de peu de temps la meute se jeta sur celui

(1) Les Touareg appellent tahenchit le cynhyène — *tycaon pictus*. C'est un animal féroce; chassant en bandes, il s'attaque à l'homme et parfois au lion.

39. Remplissage d'une guerba avec un entonnoir de bois.

40. Famille harratin à Tahaggart.



[p. 128(A)]

[p. 128(B)]

[p. 128(c)]

[p. 126(1)]

qui recevait les gouttes de sang, essayant de le mettre en pièces. La bête attaquée s'enfuit, poursuivie par toute la meute. Le Targui se tira de ce mauvais pas grâce à sa connaissance des mœurs des bêtes du désert.

Cette autre histoire prouve qu'en toute circonstance il est bon d'être armé.

### Les deux Frères et le Lion.

On dit que deux frères, vivant encore sous la tente de leurs parents, étaient unis d'une rare affection. Presque en âge de se marier, ils allaient souvent courtiser les jeunes filles des campements voisins. De tendis en ahals, ils se montraient de vrais Touareg.

Un soir l'un d'eux s'en alla seul, vêtu de ses plus beaux atours et armé de sa lance. Comme le campement où il se rendait était assez proche, il partit à pied.

Ayant marché une bonne heure, il s'aperçut que le campement qu'il cherchait avait déménagé. Sur l'emplacement du camp rôdait un lion qui essayait de trouver pâture.

Apercevant l'homme, la bête prit peur, rugit et bondit. Le Targui, prompt à la défense, jeta sa lance qui transperça les pattes avant et arrière gauches. Malgré l'entrave que constituait l'arme, le lion frappa l'homme de sa patte valide, le tua et le déchiqueta.

Au matin, ne voyant pas revenir son frère, l'autre Targui s'inquiéta. Il s'arma soigneusement, prenant sa lance, son bouclier et sa takouba, et partit en suivant les traces.

Arrivé sur les lieux du drame, il eut vite fait d'en reconstituer les péripéties et d'en constater l'issue fatale. Comme c'était un homme de cœur, il ne pouvait revenir au campement sans avoir vengé son frère.

Il vérifia si sa takouba sortait aisément de sa gaine, serra son bouclier et affermit sa lance. Une fois prêt, il cria : « Arr arr rrrinek » à plusieurs reprises et de toutes ses forces. (Ce cri a, paraît-il, le pouvoir de rendre le lion particulièrement furieux.)

Le lion apparut bientôt, la crinière hérissée, l'œil

41. Corvée de bois à Tizzolaïne.
42. Piste chamelière. Boubaker donne les Issalen (les nouvelles).

terrible. L'homme poussa de nouveau son cri. La bête furieuse s'élança. Au premier bond, la lance, qui entravait encore ses pattes, se rompit. Le Targui jeta son trait, mais l'animal bondissant ne fut pas atteint. Esquivant le terrible coup de patte du fauve avec son bouclier, le Targui dégaina, et d'un coup de sabre trancha la tête du lion.

Il revint à sa tente avec son trophée, la lance brisée de son frère.

Même pour aller à l'ahal, il faut, au désert, être très bien armé !

Aux environs de presque tous les points d'eau du Hoggar, on peut observer sur les roches des gravures rupestres. Les Touareg connaissent bien ces témoignages d'un autre âge, par tradition ils attribuent ces œuvres à deux personnages mythiques dont nous avons cité les noms dans un précédent chapitre : Amamellen et Elias. Voici une légende se rapportant à ces deux héros.

Il y a longtemps, fort longtemps, bien avant que les Touareg vinssent au Hoggar, des peuples vivaient sur ces terres. Dire quels étaient ces peuples, nul à présent ne le pourrait. Tout ce que l'on sait, c'est que certains d'entre eux étaient riches, car la terre était féconde et les pluies abondantes. Les chefs étaient vénérés ainsi qu'en témoignent leurs tombeaux, leur pouvoir sur les esprits était grand, car ils connaissaient le langage des Kel es Souf. Mais tout ceci est mort, et il n'est point bon de percer à jour des secrets oubliés.

En ce temps donc vivait un homme appelé Amamellen, noble de son état; il était riche, ses esclaves étaient nombreux pour garder ses troupeaux disséminés par tout le Hoggar. On ignore comment il apprit son art, mais il était d'une rare habileté à tracer sur les rochers les silhouettes de tous les animaux qu'il voyait autour de lui dans le désert. Il savait aussi reproduire les hommes. Il gravait le plus souvent sur de belles pierres lisses, et parfois il colorait diversement ses dessins.

Amamellen avait un neveu, le fils de sa sœur, garçon

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intelligent, adroit et courageux, qui l'accompagnait souvent dans ses déplacements. Au contact de son oncle, Elias apprit très vite à graver et à peindre.

Amamellen se montrait satisfait et heureux des progrès de son neveu.

En grandissant, ce dernier affirmait ses dons, il devint même plus habile que son oncle. Tous les gens parlaient de lui, vantaient son savoir-faire, son adresse en peinture et en gravure. On disait également qu'Elias possédait une force peu commune. On citait de lui le trait suivant. Alors qu'il s'entraînait à graver sur les roches du djebel Teferkit, près de la Tefedest, il s'aperçut que les chevreaux laissés à l'abandon par les esclaves venaient téter leur mère. Ayant appelé en vain les bergers pour séparer les animaux, il se mit en colère. D'un coup de sabre il trancha le sommet du djebel Teferkit et le planta au milieu de l'oued Adenak. Ayant séparé les chèvres de leurs petits, les unes en amont, les autres en aval, il put à son aise continuer son ouvrage.

A cette force surhumaine, il joignait des qualités d'esprit et de cœur comme il est très rare d'en rencontrer même à notre époque.

Entendre constamment louer son neveu partout où il allait rendit Amamellen jaloux, et cette jalousie s'amplifiait chaque fois qu'il voyait les travaux d'Elias.

En ce temps-là, les gens ne savaient pas contrôler leurs sentiments, et il vint un moment où Amamellen désira la mort d'Elias, poussé par l'envie et sans doute aussi par de mauvais génies.

Il ne pouvait ouvertement tuer son neveu, même par surprise, sans s'attirer la haine du pays, aussi il trouva un moyen qui devait le débarrasser d'Elias sans que l'on puisse le soupçonner. Amamellen choisit donc un esclave, garçon solide mais peu intelligent qui obéissait sans chercher à comprendre le sens des actes de son maître. « Tu iras, lui dit-il, conduire mon troupeau de chameaux dans l'oued où nous sommes passés, il y a déjà bien longtemps, près de cette montagne noire où j'ai tué une antilope dont tu as conservé les cornes.

— Mais cet oued est très loin vers le sud, hors des passages habituels de nos tribus.

— Je sais, mais telle est ma volonté. Je sais aussi que les grandes étendues sont couvertes d'excellent pâturage.

— Bien, maître, il sera fait comme tu veux.

— Tu n'iras pas seul, Elias t'accompagnera. »

Baissant le ton, Amamellen dit au Nègre la suite de son projet. Dans un murmure il termina ses explications, tandis que l'esclave, étonné, les yeux fixes, demeurait inerte. Une bourrade le ramena à la réalité.

« Va, dit le maître, et que tout soit prêt pour le lever du soleil; je préviendrai Elias. »

Le lendemain matin, une centaine de chameaux partaient vers le sud. Elias et l'esclave marchaient en tête, armés de la takouba et de la lance. Aux flancs de leurs montures pendaient deux guerbas.

Lorsque la caravane eut quitté les dernières montagnes du Hoggar et les pistes habituelles, la question de l'eau commença à se poser. Le Nègre, bien renseigné par Amamellen, avait la certitude de trouver le puits ou l'abankor avant que les guerbas fussent vides.

Elias allait, regrettant ses montagnes; il se fiait à l'esclave qui connaissait la piste, et sur son méhari, il semblait assoupi, comme écrasé par l'ennui que distillent ces immenses espaces sans horizon.

Un soir, apparut au loin une montagne isolée sur le reg. « C'est là que nous allons », dit l'esclave. Le lendemain, vers midi, Elias put voir un immense pâturage, tel que son oncle l'avait décrit. Dans le lit de l'oued, d'une largeur démesurée, s'étendait à perte de vue, vers le sud, une véritable mer de verdure. Des milliers d'oiseaux s'envolaient sur le passage des chameaux.

« Arrêtons-nous ici, dit le Nègre, c'est là que ton oncle veut que ses bêtes pâturent. »

Ils avaient établi leur camp au pied de cette montagne aux roches noires qui dominait l'étendue horizontale du désert, dont avait parlé Amamellen.

Il était encore très tôt, et cependant la chaleur devenait intenable, rien de comparable avec celle du Hoggar. Elias eut soif, il dit à l'esclave : « Va chercher de l'eau, car les guerbas sont vides.

— Hélas ! dit le Nègre, il n'y a pas d'eau dans ce pays maudit, nous avons laissé le dernier puits à sept jours derrière nous.

— Pourquoi n'as-tu pas rempli toutes les guerbas que nous avons en réserve, lors de notre dernière halte au puits ?

— Je n'y ai pas pensé, et tu ne m'en as pas donné l'ordre.

— Retourne donc à ce puits et rapporte de l'eau.

— Comment le pourrai-je, pleurnicha l'esclave, nos bêtes sont lasses, je ne peux pas atteindre le puits ni à plus forte raison en revenir. Les bêtes doivent manger pendant plusieurs jours avant de pouvoir entreprendre ce voyage. »

Elias reconnut, en lui-même, que l'esclave disait vrai; mais il se prit à songer qu'il pouvait être victime d'une machination. Au lieu de s'indigner, il réfléchit et observa.

Il y avait deux jours déjà qu'ils étaient arrivés au pâturage, deux longues journées pendant lesquelles le soleil des grands regs leur sembla faire bouillir le sable et les pierres. Les animaux broutaient sans arrêt les feuilles humides qui, tout en les nourrissant, leur permettent de rester plusieurs mois sans boire. Elias souffrait de la soif, il s'étonnait de voir l'esclave dans son état normal, allant du campement au pâturage, revenant sous le soleil torride, accomplissant en somme son travail quotidien, alors que lui-même se sentait incapable de faire quelques pas sans défaillir.

La nuit vint; le Nègre s'endormit. Elias, qui veillait, s'empara des naïls de l'esclave et déposa sur les semelles une mince couche de beurre. Ayant remis les naïls à leur place, il s'allongea et simula le sommeil sans cesser d'observer l'esclave.

Bien avant le jour, le Nègre se chaussa, examina le dormeur un moment, puis, rassuré, sortit en silence du campement. Alors, bondissant de roche en roche, il grimpa sur la montagne et disparut.

Dès les premiers rayons du soleil, Elias partit à son tour vers la montagne en suivant les empreintes laissées sur les roches par les nails graissées. Aucune trace de pas sur le sable, c'est pourquoi durant les deux premiers jours Elias n'avait pu trouver le chemin suivi par le Nègre. Cette fois il en était autrement, l'esclave ne posait le pied que sur des cailloux, aussi la piste était-elle longue et sinueuse. Elias se reposait souvent, car il était abattu par la soif, mais il repartait le plus vite possible, craignant de perdre les petites traces qui brillaient au soleil. Après une heure d'une marche pénible, il arriva devant un trou, entre deux rochers, au fond duquel luisait un miroir d'eau.

S'étant rassasié, Elias sentit ses forces revenir rapidement, il retourna au campement par le même chemin. Il ne dit rien de sa découverte au Nègre. Les jours passèrent. L'esclave ne s'étonnait même pas qu'Elias pût vivre sans boire. Il suivait les ordres de son maître sans chercher à comprendre, il était sûr de ne pas avoir été suivi en allant boire, et cela lui suffisait.

Au Hoggar, Amamellen s'impatientait; un mois déjà s'était écoulé et son esclave n'était point de retour. Son projet avait peut-être réussi au-delà de toute espérance, Elias était mort, et mort avec lui le témoin gênant. Ainsi pensait Amamellen, mais il fallait en être sûr. Il s'équipa et partit.

Quelles ne furent pas sa surprise et sa colère quand, arrivé au pâturage, il aperçut Elias allongé sur son tapis tandis que le Nègre revenait de compter les bêtes. Cependant, malgré sa déception, il se contint.

« Comment as-tu bu ? demanda-t-il à son neveu.

— Je n'ai pas bu, répondit Elias, le Nègre pourrait en jurer. »

De fait le Nègre, pris à part, confirma les paroles d'Elias.

« Peu importe, reprit Amamellen, l'essentiel est que le troupeau soit en bon état et je vous félicite. Pour l'instant, je compte rester quelque temps ici avec l'esclave. Toi, Elias, tu prendras ton chameau et tu partiras au puits qui est à sept jours d'ici en marchant vers le Hoggar. A ce puits j'ai laissé cent chamelles, cent chevaux et cent ânes, tu les feras boire, et tu

rempliras les cent guerbas que j'ai cachées près du puits, après les avoir réparées, car beaucoup sont déchirées. Ensuite tu rentreras au Hoggar où je te rejoindrai. »

Elias prit congé de son oncle, puis partit dans la nuit. Il préférait ce départ nocturne qui lui permettait de remplir sa guerba à l'aguelman sans être vu. Il ne connaissait pas les desseins de son oncle et partait, joyeux de quitter ces lieux où il avait failli mourir de soif.

Resté avec son esclave, Amamellen se réjouit du départ d'Elias, car cette fois la mort de son neveu était certaine malgré toute son ingéniosité. En effet des pillards se dirigeaient vers le puits afin de voler des troupeaux, et ces cruels razzieurs ne laissaient jamais personne vivant pour conter leurs tristes exploits. Elias, devant rester longtemps aux alentours du point d'eau pour accomplir le travail imposé par son oncle, tomberait immanquablement sous les coups des pillards et périrait aussi sûrement que si Amamellen lui avait plongé sa lame dans le cœur.

Elias pressait l'allure de son chameau, car la veille au soir il avait aperçu vers le levant de nombreux feux. Il savait qu'en ces régions éloignées des montagnes du Hoggar il n'était pas en sécurité. Une aussi grande réunion de feux était suspecte. Il s'agissait sans doute d'un rezzou se dirigeant vers le Hoggar qui devait fatalement passer près du puits où il se rendait.

Il mit seulement trois jours pour atteindre le puits, ayant trotté toutes les nuits. Sans délai il rassembla les troupeaux d'Amamellen, tira de l'eau nuit et jour pour les abreuver, répara les guerbas déchirées, puis les remplit toutes.

Alors qu'il allait se mettre en route, apparut une troupe armée et menaçante qui commença à entourer les troupeaux avec le désir évident de les voler. Elias sauta de son chameau et enfourcha le plus fougueux étalon du troupeau. Armé de son sabre et protégé par son bouclier, il vola vers le groupe le plus nombreux. Tel un démon frappant à droite, frappant à gauche, il répandit la terreur chez les assaillants qui s'enfuirent, effrayés par l'exploit d'Elias, jurant avoir affaire à un Kel es Souf.

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Sans plus attendre, Elias, poussant les troupeaux devant lui, prit la direction du Hoggar dont il apercevait à l'horizon les sommets bleutés.

Trois jours s'étaient écoulés depuis le départ du puits, le pays devenait plus sauvage, la morne étendue des regs faisait place aux premiers contreforts du Hoggar, les oueds se glissaient en de profonds défilés. Ce spectacle ravissait Elias, car il lui annonçait son pays. Il fut attaqué au détour d'un oued par un important groupe de pillards. Il lança ses troupeaux, chevaux en tête, dans l'oued encaissé. Criant, hurlant, il affolait ses bêtes, aiguillonnant les traînardes avec sa lance.

Les animaux galopaient en masse compacte, donnant l'impression d'un torrent en crue dévalant une gorge étroite. Elias, toujours monté sur son cheval, n'eut pas de peine à mettre en fuite les assaillants coincés contre les bords à pic de la falaise par le flot des bêtes affolées.

Cependant les pillards ne voulaient pas lâcher une proie aussi belle : tant de bêtes, et gardées par un seul homme, fût-il un diable, devaient être razziées, et ce diable puni de son audace. Il leur fallait agir avant qu'Elias pénétrât dans les hautes montagnes du Hoggar, repaire jusqu'alors inviolé. Ils attendirent que les troupeaux se fussent engagés dans le vaste cirque de Tamanrasset. Là l'oued s'étale, longe l'Adrar Haggarène, aux pics vertigineux, bute sur l'Adriane dont les parois verticales interdisent tout passage.

Anes, chevaux, chameaux, allaient en rangs serrés dans le lit de l'oued bordé de verdure, lorsque Elias s'aperçut que les razzieurs dessinaient un vaste arc de cercle de façon à l'acculer contre les falaises de l'Adriane. Contrairement à leur habitude, les pillards avançaient en silence, resserrant peu à peu leurs rangs. Le silence était angoissant, et malgré son courage et sa ruse Elias se sentit perdu. Il allait succomber sous le nombre, tout près de ses montagnes natales dont il énumérait les sommets machinalement. Il n'était plus question de rééditer l'exploit du puits, les razzieurs ne se laisseraient pas impressionner une seconde fois.

Elias eut une inspiration. Il s'élança sur la pente d'éboulis

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qui borde la montagne, il la gravit jusqu'en haut, au pied du vertigineux à pic de la falaise. Il regarda un instant le mouvement des pillards, puis dégainant son sabre il frappa la falaise d'un coup si puissant qu'il entailla la montagne. L'immense bloc ainsi arraché alla tomber dans un oued voisin. Dévalant à toute vitesse l'éboulis, il força les troupeaux à grimper la pente et à franchir ce col qu'il venait d'entailler. Toutes les bêtes disparurent sous les yeux des pillards qui regardaient, médusés, celui qui, ayant tranché la montagne, les défiait du haut de la brèche.

Ainsi finit cette histoire d'Elias. Il doit en exister d'autres concernant ce héros, mais elles sont enfouies au fond des mémoires.

On peut encore actuellement admirer l'exploit d'Elias : la brèche de l'Adriane caractérise Tamanrasset, et le rocher qui fut arraché à la montagne gît à huit kilomètres de là dans l'oued In-Zaouen où il est demeuré planté, témoignant de la valeur du héros.

Ainsi, observant la nature, écoutant les récits des anciens, le jeune Targui grandit et forme son jugement. Vers six ou sept ans, il subit la circoncision : « agadam »; un repas important réunit les proches à cette occasion.

Près des femmes, le jeune garçon apprend à coudre le tissu et le cuir. Il confectionne des jouets avec de vieux chiffons, ce sont en général des chameaux aux formes stylisées, ayant parfois une réelle valeur artistique. Son jouet à la main, il fait des courses avec ses camarades, afin de savoir quel est le chameau le plus rapide. Fillettes et garçons fabriquent également des poupées habillées à la mode touarègue, ils jouent au campement, rendent des visites, boivent le thé et déménagent. Le jeune garçon taille dans des galets plats des chameaux stylisés au maximum, ou bien utilise des mâchoires de chèvre coupées en deux.

Un amusement de choix consiste à monter un âne et à le faire galoper, ce qui ne va pas sans de nombreuses chutes au début. Cependant le chameau hante l'enfant; son père l'a

44. Jeu d'enfant targui chez les Dag Rali.

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déjà fait monter pour une promenade autour du camp, mais ce que désire le petit garçon, c'est être maître de sa monture, la guider à travers les éboulis de la montagne toute proche, puis la lancer au grand trot sur le plateau qui borde l'oued, pas plus loin, car on l'apercevrait du campement, il risquerait de sérieuses remontrances pour avoir pris un chameau afin de s'amuser. Pourtant ses parents savent qu'il en est ainsi, puisque eux-mêmes en firent autant autrefois, mais le « canoun » doit être appliqué.

Lorsque, par chance, le campement est voisin d'une gueïta, l'enfant peut s'ébattre dans l'eau, c'est le jeu favori de l'été.

Deux campements importants sont-ils voisins qu'aussitôt s'organisent des jeux collectifs. Tantôt on joue une sorte de hockey avec une balle de cuir rembourrée de poil de chèvre, que l'on frappe d'un gourdin prélevé sur un tabla; tantôt de véritables séances de lutte à main plate se déroulent à la grande joie des spectateurs, qui déclarent perdant celui des deux jouteurs qui le premier tombe à terre. L'excitation gagnant les enfants, on en arrive à de véritables combats entre les deux campements, et c'est la guerre. Bâtons et cailloux entrent en jeu, ruses et force se déploient. On s'arrête à la nuit, on a un premier blessé, mais la coutume veut que l'on ne dise rien aux parents, surtout pas l'origine de la blessure; l'enfant qui le ferait serait perdu d'honneur, et les parents sont si peu compréhensifs !

La fillette se prépare près de sa mère à sa tâche de maîtresse de maison. Elle coud, en collaboration avec les femmes qui ne font jamais un ouvrage individuel. On lui apprend à découper les fines lanières de cuir, et à les tresser; pendant qu'elle travaille on lui enseigne les traditions dont elle sera plus tard la gardienne farouche, ayant souvent à rappeler aux hommes, qui, toujours en voyage, ont tendance à oublier de menus usages, les véritables « canouns » touareg.

Au cours de leurs jeux, les enfants apprennent de leurs aînés l'écriture tifinar, ils tracent dans le sable des mots, puis des phrases. Mais c'est le soir, à la veillée, que la mère leur précisera l'orthographe des mots acquis. Ainsi, insensiblement,

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l'enfant sait lire et écrire sa langue; il n'aura jamais une grande aisance, mais cela est dû à la difficulté du mode d'écriture.

Chaque Targui connaît le moyen mnémotechnique de se rappeler les lettres de l'alphabet tifinar, c'est la phrase suivante : « Fatimata oult Oghanis, tagueltenit mraou issen edssedis; tedjehenet ouart thouadis », que l'on peut traduire ainsi : « Fatimata fille d'Oghanis dont la dot (à verser) est de seize chevaux; nul ne peut toucher ses côtes. » En fait beaucoup de lettres manquent dans cette phrase, mais c'est un acquis suffisant.

Chez les imrads le jeune garçon, à partir de dix ans, accompagne son père soit au Soudan, soit aux salines de l'Amadror. De cette façon, peu à peu, il acquiert le sens de la piste. Le noble reste plus longtemps au campement; en écoutant les discussions de ses aînés, il s'initie au commandement.

Insensiblement le jeune Targui commence à se voiler, d'abord avec un vieux chèche, qu'il essaie d'arranger suivant l'usage. C'est vers quinze ans qu'il prendra définitivement le taguelmoust, lors d'une fête; il participera à un ilougan, monté sur son chameau, don de son parrain, ou sur une bête d'emprunt.

A cette occasion il reçoit des cadeaux, une takouba, un taguelmoust, ou une takamist. C'est un jeune homme. La fille prend officiellement son alechou au moment de la puberté; elle aussi reçoit des cadeaux : l'alechou, des vêtements. Elle est très entourée. On la considère comme une femme. Jusqu'ici elle restait muette devant les hommes, conservant un maintien timide; c'en est fini de cette attitude, chacun l'oblige à parler, à se comporter en maîtresse de maison.

Garçons et filles qui ont pris le taguelmoust et l'alechou peuvent désormais assister aux réunions de grandes personnes, mais ils ne prennent la parole que s'ils sont interrogés.

Les occupations des jeunes gens sont sensiblement les mêmes que celles des adultes. Les filles participent à l'entretien de la tente, cousent des vêtements, fabriquent les sacs de cuir; chez les imrads, elles vont traire les vaches.

Le jeune homme commence à voyager seul, s'occupe des chameaux. S'il s'amuse encore à lutter avec ses amis, il ne connaît plus à présent l'escrime à la takouba qui se pratiquait autrefois.

Jamais l'enfant n'a pu manifester sa volonté dans le campement de ses parents, il a dû toujours se plier aux canouns; quand par hasard il faisait preuve de désobéissance, ses parents n'hésitaient pas à recourir aux châtiments corporels, quelques gifles sans plus; lors d'une faute plus grave ou d'une récidive, il se voyait attaché, tel un chevreau, et condamné à demeurer sous la tente. Cependant les punitions sont l'exception, une parole, un regard suffisent. Il n'est point bon, disent les Touareg, de trop frapper les enfants. Cette éducation donne au jeune Targui un caractère fier, un sens aigu de sa dignité et une réserve qui paraît parfois inquiétante. L'obéissance absolue aux usages oblige à mener une vie morale peut-être plus rigide que ne saurait le faire une religion. Connaître un Targui et prévoir son comportement est très difficile pour un Français qui doit faire le tri entre ce qui est individuel et ce qui vient de la contrainte exercée par la société touarègue, et songer également à la teinture islamique qui recouvre l'ensemble.

Bientôt arrive le temps où le jeune Targui va pouvoir assister aux tendi et aux ahals. Il est nécessaire de dire ici quelques mots des problèmes sexuels.

On a beaucoup exagéré dans certains récits la liberté de mœurs des Touareg. L'éducation des garçons qui maintient l'enfant très souvent éloigné des adultes, celle des filles qui les tient attachées, à leur mère et les oblige à une attitude pudique, ne prédisposent pas à la licence.

Il n'y a pas à proprement parler d'éducation sexuelle, la jeune fille est ignorante pendant très longtemps de tout ce qui a trait à la conception. Incidemment, grâce à une compagne plus âgée, elle apprend l'essentiel des relations intimes entre les hommes et les femmes. Le jeune homme est initié beaucoup plus tôt, car il sort aisément du campement; renseigné par des camarades, il ne tarde pas à nouer une intrigue avec une Négresse des environs. Dans les conversations entre jeunes

Touareg se transmettent les usages sexuels, qui sont observés comme les autres coutumes; il en est un fort intéressant, c'est le respect envers la jeune fille touarègue. Contrairement à une opinion communément admise, la jeune fille qui va se marier est toujours vierge (physiquement) chez les nobles, et presque toujours chez les imrads.

Dans leur prime jeunesse, les Touareg se conduisent comme tous les enfants du monde, ils pratiquent la masturbation solitaire, filles et garçons utilisent les procédés particuliers au pays. Les premières relations amoureuses entre jeunes filles et garçons touareg ont lieu à la suite de fêtes. Il est bon de définir ces fêtes, car on a beaucoup brodé sur les fameuses « cours d'amour ».

Nous avons vu que pour marquer une cérémonie familiale les Touareg organisent un tendi. Le tendi tire son nom de l'instrument utilisé, c'est le grand mortier de bois sur lequel a été tendue une peau, préalablement mouillée. Les femmes s'assemblent autour du tendi, une ou deux frappent, suivant des rythmes traditionnels, la peau qui résonne sourdement. L'une d'entre elles chante d'interminables couplets, tandis que ses compagnes scandent la mesure en frappant la paume de leurs mains, et reprennent en chœur le refrain. Les chants évoquent des combats passés, des faits récents aussi, ils vantent les mérites d'un chameau, ou ceux d'un personnage, certains sont improvisés. Participent aux tendi les femmes veuves, divorcées, et les jeunes filles, mais les femmes mariées y vont également avec la permission du mari. Toute femme s'éloignera du tendi si l'un de ses parents s'en approche.

Les chants vont leur train, accompagnés du tam-tam; les hommes alors viennent s'asseoir derrière les chanteuses, écoutent, chantent aussi. Chacun serre sa compagne de près, mais ne sort guère des limites d'un flirt public. Le tendi se poursuit tard dans la nuit, alors que les personnes âgées dorment sous les tentes.

De jour, le tendi est l'accompagnement indispensable de l'ilougan, que l'on pourrait définir : un quadrille à chameau.

Les jeunes Touareg font une toilette très soignée, où

chacun fait preuve d'une coquetterie raffinée. Le chameau est harnaché le plus luxueusement possible. La moitié des méharistes se place sur une ligne à une cinquantaine de mètres du tendi, l'autre moitié se tient à une distance égale de l'autre côté du tendi. Par groupes de deux, les Touareg vont d'une ligne à l'autre, chaque Targui surveille son attitude, se tient droit, mais souple, relève au maximum la tête de sa monture, maintient celle-ci à la hauteur de son voisin et la fait trotter à l'allure dite « senat-senat » ou « kibarat ».

Délaissant ce va-et-vient, un groupe de méharistes fait le tour du tendi le plus près possible des femmes, l'un des Touareg s'empare de l'alechou d'une chanteuse et s'enfuit au grand galop, cravachant sa monture. Ses amis le poursuivent, essayant de lui reprendre le voile. Celui qui réussit rapporte en vainqueur le voile à sa propriétaire. Il est salué de « tarallélit » (you-you des Mauresques). L'ilougan dure jusqu'à la tombée du jour.

Il faut noter que le tendi n'est pas originaire du Hoggar, il a été importé de l'Adrar des Iforas et du Tamesna.

Une réunion propre au Hoggar est l' « assihar ». Autour d'une joueuse d'imzad renommée se rassemblent un grand nombre de femmes et d'hommes. On écoute le violon, qui entonne les premières mesures d'un chant connu, puis un homme ou une femme se met à chanter. Entre les chants les conversations vont leur train, et à la faveur de l'obscurité des flirts s'ébauchent, mais dans le domaine de la correction la plus stricte.

Lorsque se termine, tard dans la nuit, l'assihar, jeunes gens et jeunes filles s'éloignent par petits groupes, c'est l'ahal. Une femme escortée par deux ou trois jeunes gens va s'asseoir au détour d'un oued. Ses compagnons lui parlent, à haute voix lorsque chacun peut entendre la conversation, ou très bas à l'oreille quand ce sont des confidences. L'un d'eux prend la main de la jeune femme et la serre dans la sienne; un vieux Targui disait : « Autrefois je suis resté trois nuits durant à serrer la main de la femme que je désirais, et durant trois jours je n'ai pas mangé. »

Il est un langage des mains étranger à la conversation de l'ahal, en voici plusieurs exemples. Ayant joint sa main à celle de la femme, les doigts entrecroisés, opposer son pouce à l'extrémité de l'autre pouce veut dire : Je te désire beaucoup; tracer un cercle sur la paume de la main, en appuyant l'index au centre du cercle, c'est demander une union intime; la femme sollicitée prend la main de son soupirant et du revers de son index trace une ligne partant du poignet et allant vers les doigts, ce qui veut dire : Je refuse; mais lorsque ayant tracé, cette ligne, elle en trace une autre en sens inverse, il faut comprendre : Pars avec tes amis et reviens seul.

Une fois seul avec son amie, le jeune Targui continuera sa cour, parfois platonique, souvent moins. Joignant leurs visages, narine contre narine, ils se respirent mutuellement. Ce baiser sur la bouche est connu mais peu pratiqué. Des caresses manuelles succèdent aux baisers. Les hommes en restent souvent à ce stade avec les vierges, car ils savent « reconnaître une vierge à sa démarche, à son maintien, à la dureté des seins et au réflexe du tendon d'Achille » ! Les Touareg connaissent d'autres caresses, qui tout en satisfaisant les sens respectent la virginité physique.

Il faut noter que l'homosexualité, tant masculine que féminine, est inconnue en milieu touareg.

On dit que la bestialité, quoique très rare, existe cependant, mais elle serait pratiquée comme remède contre les maladies vénériennes.

Ces coutumes sexuelles permettent de comprendre l'équilibre des Touareg, qui bien que musulmans ne souffrent pas de refoulements. Le viol n'existe pas, et lorsqu'une femme se refuse jamais l'homme ne lui en tiendra rigueur, ni ne manifestera de jalousie envers un camarade plus heureux. Ajoutons qu'ils sont d'une discrétion absolue dans leurs relations féminines. C'est à ces manifestations de la vie intime que l'on voit le prestige dont jouit la femme touarègue.

Arrive le moment où le Targui songe à se marier, assez tardivement, vers vingt-cinq ans en général. Il charge un membre de sa famille de faire la demande. Le messager dit au

[FACING p. 144]

père de la jeune fille : « Je voudrais une tente et un asaber. » Le père comprend que l'on demande sa fille en mariage à l'aide de cette métaphore. « Tidjera-ouet », répond-il pour donner son accord. Alors commence la discussion sur la dot que le prétendant doit donner à la fiancée, et sur l'importance des cadeaux à la famille. Il existe un barème des dots à verser aux femmes, qui varie suivant la tribu à laquelle elles appartiennent.

Pour prendre une fille Kel Rela, il faut donner à la jeune épousée sept chamelles; une Dag Rali doit recevoir trois chamelles; les autres imrads une seule. Le mari doit fournir la tente. Le jour du mariage, un taleb ou, à défaut, le chef de la tribu enregistre les dons du mari qui ne sont pas forcément versés, mais qu'il reconnaît devoir.

Tout étant en règle, on annonce le mariage et la date de la cérémonie. Un énorme repas pour lequel on a abattu un chameau et de nombreuses chèvres est servi aux invités. Tendi et ilougan se succèdent sans interruption.

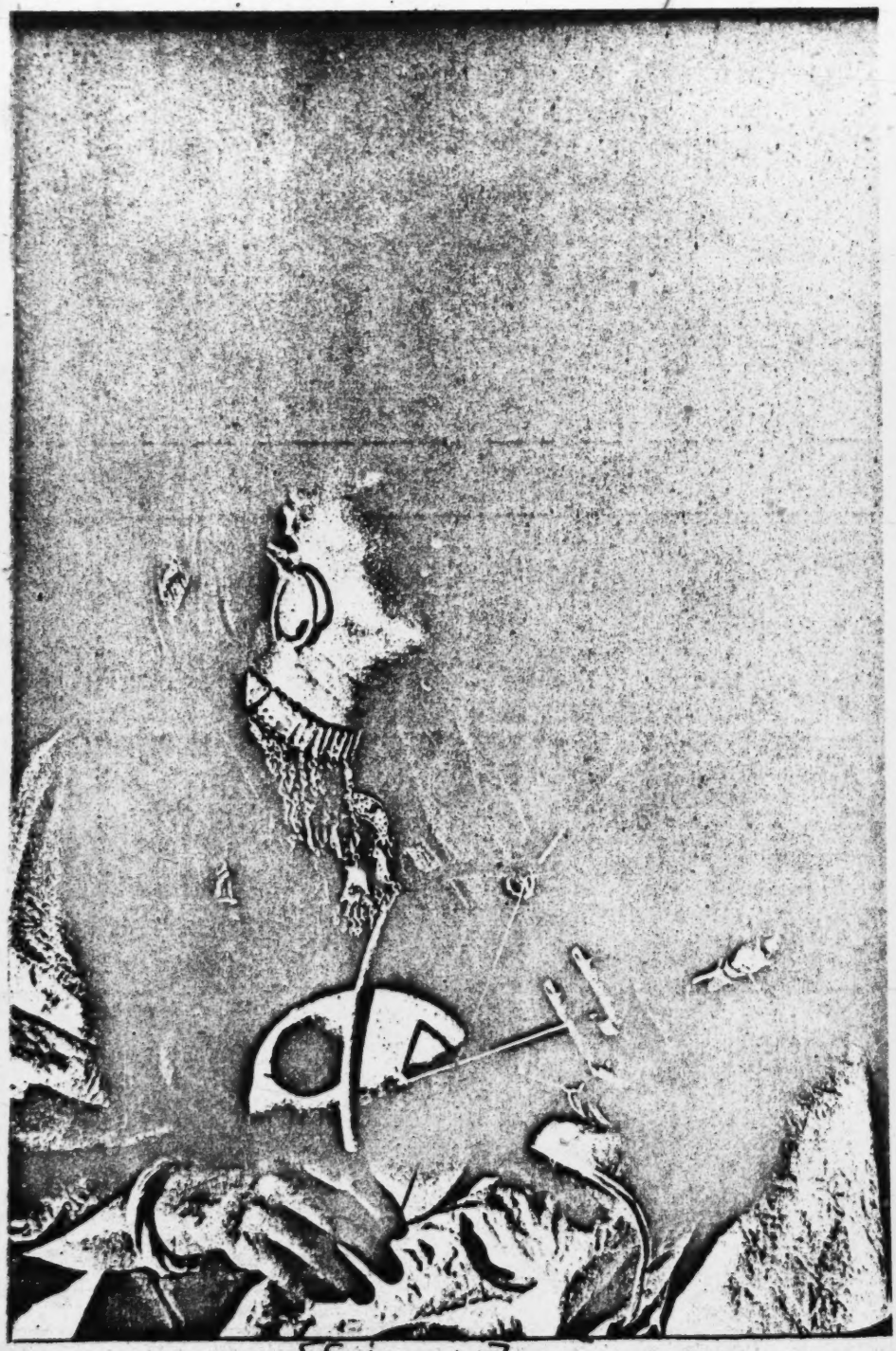
A l'endroit où sera montée la tente des jeunes époux, un gros tas de sable est préparé. Une femme de la famille de la jeune fille s'y assoit, tenant un gourdin entre ses mains, puis baissant la tête, repose son front sur ses mains jointes. Deux hommes saisissent la tente à demi roulée, et par trois fois la lancent par-dessus la femme ainsi assise.

Durant toute la journée la fiancée demeure sous la tente de ses parents, le fiancé parle avec les vieux du campement et ne participe pas aux réjouissances publiques.

La tente des futurs époux montée, le prétendant y passera une nuit seul, assis sur le tas de sable, sans dormir; cette tradition est surtout respectée chez les Kel Rela. La seconde nuit la fiancée deviendra sa femme. Autrefois existait une coutume qui s'est perdue : durant trois nuits le tas de sable était conservé dans la tente, les deux époux dormaient séparés par le tas, et la coutume disait : « La première nuit, cette femme est ta sœur; la deuxième, elle est ta mère; la troisième, elle est ta belle-mère; la quatrième, elle devient ton épouse. » Et l'on ôtait le tas de sable.

45. L'écrivain public.

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



[facing p.145]

Avant d'entrer dans la tente nuptiale le mari doit en faire trois fois le tour, la jeune femme devra en faire autant. Elle est conduite vers la tente de son mari par un groupe de femmes de sa famille. Le long du chemin qui mène à la tente, les Targuias chantent des refrains traditionnels :

« Grâce à Dieu, ma fille me quitte cette nuit. » La belle-mère salue son gendre, elle lui dit : « Offre de jolies choses à ma fille, que l'ombre qui la protégera soit due à la soie. Des dix chameaux de sa dot, l'un a la tête blanche, fais-la monter sur le plus docile, et toute sa famille la regardera. »

En approchant de la tente des jeunes époux, le cortège des femmes se heurte à l'assemblée des hommes qui conversent avec le mari. Elles chantent alors : « Grâce à Dieu, et grâce à lui avant même qu'il fût nommé. » La belle-mère salue son gendre. « Hommes, laissez-nous passer, écartez-vous ou bien nous vous pousserons et vous tomberez à la renverse, car nous possédons la plus grande force qui puisse se concevoir. »

Les hommes s'étant légèrement effacés, la jeune femme s'apprête à franchir le seuil de sa tente, quand surgit un de ses proches, la takouba au poing, qui annonce : « Tu n'entreras pas dans cette tente. » La jeune femme doit alors donner ses naïls à l'interrupteur pour enfin acquérir le droit d'être l'épouse.

Jusque vers minuit de nombreux amis restent à parler avec les jeunes mariés.

Le nouveau marié devra rester un temps assez long dans le campement de sa femme, avant de pouvoir déplacer sa tente à sa guise, ou amener sa femme dans le campement de ses parents.

Certaines tribus, imprégnées de coutumes arabes, en particulier les Issakamaren, observent l'usage suivant au lendemain du mariage : le mari qui n'a pas trouvé sa femme vierge casse, au moment du repas, l'os du gigot, absorbe la moelle, souffle à l'intérieur, puis plante les deux morceaux brisés dans le couscous. Ainsi chacun connaît l'affront qu'il a subi. Plus tard dans la vie, lorsque sa femme sera désagréable, il mettra son poing devant sa bouche et soufflera entre ses doigts, simulant son geste du premier jour. La femme, honteuse, cessera ses récriminations. Suivant une autre coutume de moins en moins

pratiquée, la femme qui, durant la nuit de noce, n'aurait pas éprouvé la virilité de son mari, coiffe ce dernier avec l'alechou, montrant ainsi au monde l'impuissance de son époux, en le considérant comme une femme.

La situation de la femme est privilégiée au sein de la société touarègue. On a coutume de dire qu'il faut en voir la raison dans l'organisation matriarcale des tribus.

Le matriarcat n'est actuellement chez les Touareg qu'une survivance très atténuée du fait de la présence de l'Islam. Il faut noter que, sous la tente, la femme est maîtresse absolue : c'est elle qui donne les ordres aux enfants et aux Nègres, et qui organise la vie quotidienne; mais hors de la tente c'est l'homme qui commande; il décide le déplacement du campement, le départ des caravanes, les transactions commerciales. L'opinion de la femme est toujours prise en considération, elle est la gardienne des traditions, et, si elle ne possède pas ce que nous pouvons appeler les droits civiques, c'est elle qui les transmet : un Targui sera noble lorsque sa mère est noble. Le droit d'éligibilité à l'amenokalat est donné par les femmes qui, par une ascendance maternelle directe, remontent jusqu'à l'ancêtre Kella. Cette transmission des droits par les femmes constitue l'originalité de la société touarègue.

Puissante dans son foyer, aimée de son mari, respectée, la jeune épouse a toutes les chances d'être heureuse. Il est rare que le mari trompe sa femme, et si cela lui arrive, c'est loin d'elle, lorsque, parti au Soudan, il reste longtemps absent. La femme touarègue est fidèle, rares sont celles qui prennent un amant. Si un mari connaissait l'infidélité de sa femme, simplement par ouï-dire, il pourrait la répudier, mais en cas de flagrant délit il pourrait tuer les coupables, ou porter le fait à la connaissance de l'amenokal qui fixerait une amende. L'épouse trompée peut quitter son mari; dans ce cas elle retourne dans sa famille en emportant ses biens. Les divorces sont assez rares et très mal jugés.

La mort n'est pas envisagée avec terreur, tout un ensemble de croyances fortement teintées d'islamisme promettent au Targui des récompenses futures dans l'autre monde. Il

semble que la charité serait particulièrement récompensée et l'égoïsme sévèrement puni, les châtiments décrits seraient des peines du talion. De longues enquêtes seraient indispensables pour démêler toutes les croyances relatives à la mort; faire la part de ce qui est musulman et de ce qui est proprement touareg se révélerait très difficile.

Quand un décès se produit sous la tente, chacun des membres de la famille conserve une attitude empreinte de la plus grande dignité à notre sens occidental. Certes il arrive que des personnes pleurent le défunt, ce qui est humain, mais l'usage veut que l'on évite les larmes; un homme, surtout, saura suffisamment se contrôler pour ne pas montrer son chagrin.

Le mort ne reste pas longtemps sous la tente, il est lavé par les femmes si c'est une femme ou par les hommes dans l'autre cas. On le parfume, on allonge ses membres dans une attitude de repos, puis on l'enveloppe d'un linceul (« tifit ») qui est cousu. Durant ces opérations, la tombe a été creusée suivant l'usage musulman. Seuls les hommes conduisent le défunt en terre. Après l'avoir déposé dans la tombe et recouvert de terre, on pose les pierres témoin, puis chacun regagne sa tente. Il n'y a ni chant ni prière.

Un repas est servi aux personnes présentes, aux frais du défunt selon les instructions qu'il a données avant de mourir. Si l'on n'exécutait pas ses volontés, le bétail désigné pour le festin périrait.

On dit que celui qui est mort dans une position de repos, les bras allongés, le visage serein, était bon et qu'il a toutes les chances d'être récompensé. En revanche, celui qui expire les jambes repliées en chien de fusil et les poings serrés contre sa figure était un méchant homme; même si durant sa vie il a dissimulé ses défauts, il est voué aux tracas futurs.

Les règles de l'héritage sont mal connues des Touareg, seuls les vieux savent les usages, car de plus en plus les tolbas introduisent la loi musulmane.

Lorsqu'un homme meurt, un huitième de son bien revient à sa femme, le reste à ses enfants. S'il n'y a pas d'enfant, un

tiers est pour sa femme, le reste revient à la famille du défunt, partie aux parents, partie aux frères et sœurs. Quand la femme meurt la première, si elle a des enfants la totalité de ses biens leur est attribuée; si elle n'a pas d'enfant, la moitié revient à sa famille, l'autre moitié à son époux. Les biens d'un défunt n'ayant pas d'héritiers, ce qui est très rare, sont administrés par l'amrar de la tribu pour la collectivité.

Par testament oral fait devant deux témoins, un homme ne peut disposer que du tiers de sa fortune en faveur d'un héritier non prévu par l'usage.

Cette description de la vie du Targui depuis l'enfance jusqu'à la mort ne fait entrevoir les coutumes que d'une partie de la population du Hoggar, celle qui commande, celle qui paraît la plus attirante au voyageur, au touriste; mais il faut songer aux humbles, aux harratin cultivateurs des centres de culture, aux domestiques noirs des Touareg, leurs anciens esclaves. Rassembler leurs traditions qui viennent se greffer sur un ensemble de coutumes touarègues doit être un travail à part, car une enquête sérieuse sur les Noirs ne peut se mener de front avec celle menée sur les Touareg. La crainte atavique des Nègres en face de l'imouhar les rend muets, gagner leur confiance est une œuvre de longue haleine, connaître leur vie intime, leurs joies et leurs peines demandera une grande patience.

Pourtant, ce qui constitue l'originalité du Hoggar, c'est cette intime fusion de deux modes de vie dissemblables : on ne connaîtra réellement ce pays qu'après avoir compris Touareg et Nègres, et réalisé les véritables sentiments qu'ils nourrissent les uns pour les autres, en dehors de ce que nous observons superficiellement chaque jour.

NOTA. Les formes religieuses, d'après Huxley, suivent un déterminisme psychologique selon lequel les religions monothéistes supérieures auraient été découvertes par les « hommes de pensée » et les religions polythéistes par les « hommes d'action ». Il est permis de se demander si les Touareg, qui étaient autrefois avant tout « hommes d'action » n'auraient pas, pour cette raison, conservé les survivances religieuses néoli-

thiques; et si la paix française, supprimant leur activité essentielle, n'a pas suscité chez eux un courant psychologique les portant à la contemplation et favorisant l'islamisation. Car la présence des marabouts, des chorfa, et des tolba arabes, si actifs soient-ils, ne suffit pas à expliquer ce courant religieux qui tend à faire disparaître les coutumes touarègues.

## Note sur le Matriarcat touareg

Le Hoggar, qui constitue une sorte de réserve ethnique, où règne un système encore féodal, offre une curiosité sociologique : c'est un reliquat de famille matriarcale. Ce matriarcat, sapé par l'influence grandissante de l'Islam, a tendance à disparaître. Il est bon de détruire certaines idées fausses qui ont cours en ce qui concerne la famille touarègue : « La femme commande », « L'hospitalité touarègue est caractérisée par une promiscuité, sorte de prostitution traditionnelle ». La vérité est tout autre. L'origine du matriarcat touareg se perd certainement dans les coutumes néolithiques, l'ignorance du processus de la conception a pu en être la cause. La conséquence de cette organisation familiale était l'exogamie, qui tend à disparaître; l'inceste est un crime plus terrible que le meurtre. C'est le matriarcat qui est gardien du système des castes : le devoir de s'assister mutuellement confère aux guerriers (nobles) une part du fruit du travail des autres et leur donne la propriété du sol. La prostitution n'existe pas, la monogamie est la règle, la femme est respectée. « Le droit maternel, comme dit L.-G. Richard, consiste plutôt en obligations mutuelles qu'en prérogatives ou avantages. » Il n'existe pas une liberté féminine, car la femme se doit à la famille; en fait elle n'exerce aucun droit, elle le transmet. Une coutume encore pratiquée, caractéristique du matriarcat, est l'obligation pour le jeune mari d'habiter un certain temps dans le campement de sa femme.

Répétons que l'Islam détruit peu à peu les coutumes matriarcales, surtout dans les successions qui sont de plus en plus régies par les usages musulmans. Les chefs désirent même aujourd'hui léguer leur pouvoir à leur fils.

[p. 150 is blank]

## VI

## CONCLUSION

Le Hoggar, dont je n'ai fait sentir ni le pittoresque des sites, ni l'attrait qu'il exerce sur les voyageurs, ni l'angoisse qu'il fait parfois peser sur certaines âmes, lorsque d'octobre à février la luminosité extraordinaire semble rapprocher les montagnes qui se parent au couchant des plus étonnantes couleurs, est, je crois, la portion du Sahara la plus attachante.

C'est à dessein que je n'ai pas soulevé les problèmes économiques qui se posent, ceux-ci dépassant le cadre de ce travail. Il est cependant permis de se demander ce que l'avenir réserve à ces Touareg, gens d'un autre âge, égarés dans le XX^e siècle. Les jeunes Touareg sont certainement heureux, leurs aînés regrettent nostalgiquement le beau temps des razzous; mais la paix française, si elle a changé leur mode de vie ancestral, leur a apporté une sécurité qu'ils apprécient.

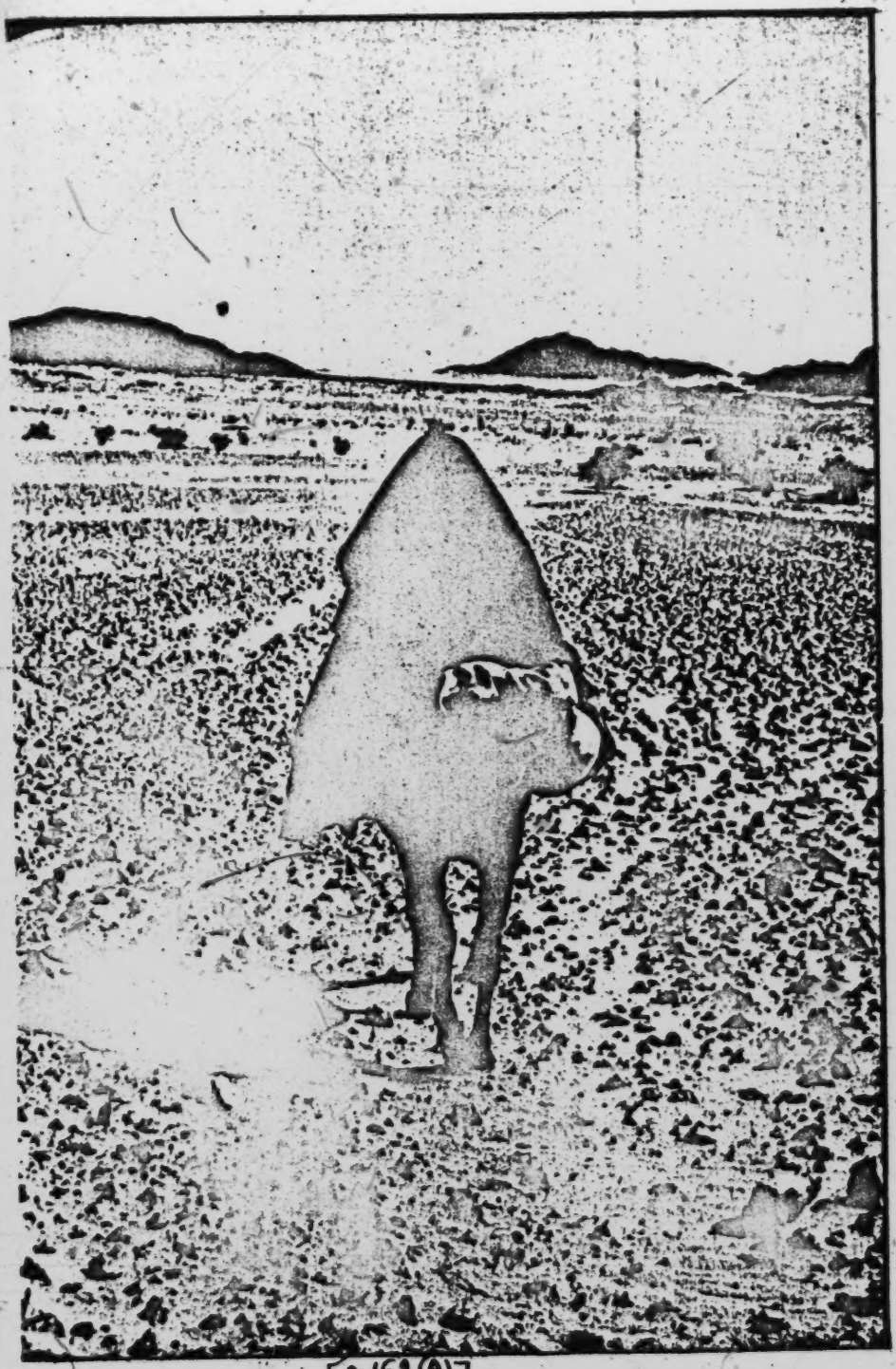
Les besoins des nomades sont modestes et adaptés au pays, mais à notre contact de nouveaux besoins naîtront; les populations du nord et du sud, plus évoluées, ne vont pas manquer à la longue de troubler cette sérénité enviable. Doit-on les préserver et les considérer comme une réserve ethnique, ou hâter leur évolution vers un stade de civilisation plus moderne ? Il sera, certes, regrettable de voir disparaître ces grandes silhouettes bleues, flanquées de takoubas médiévales; mais un temps viendra où, sous peine de disparaître, les Touareg

devront s'adapter au monde occidental. Ce jour est encore lointain — souhaitons-le —, mais notre rôle est d'y préparer insensiblement les indigènes du Hoggar, en leur apportant les éléments d'un choix qui leur permettra peut-être de se constituer une culture originale. Quel sera le sens de cette transformation ? Il est encore trop tôt pour le dire. Cette évolution peut se précipiter sous l'influence d'apports extérieurs, la découverte de gisements miniers, par exemple, bouleverserait l'équilibre qui existe entre sédentaires et nomades.

A de nombreux points de vue le Hoggar doit encore être étudié, les recherches sont de plus en plus l'apanage des spécialistes, elles sont même urgentes dans le domaine humain, car bientôt disparaîtront ceux qui connaissent les vieilles coutumes, les légendes merveilleuses et les chants traditionnels accompagnés à l'imzad.

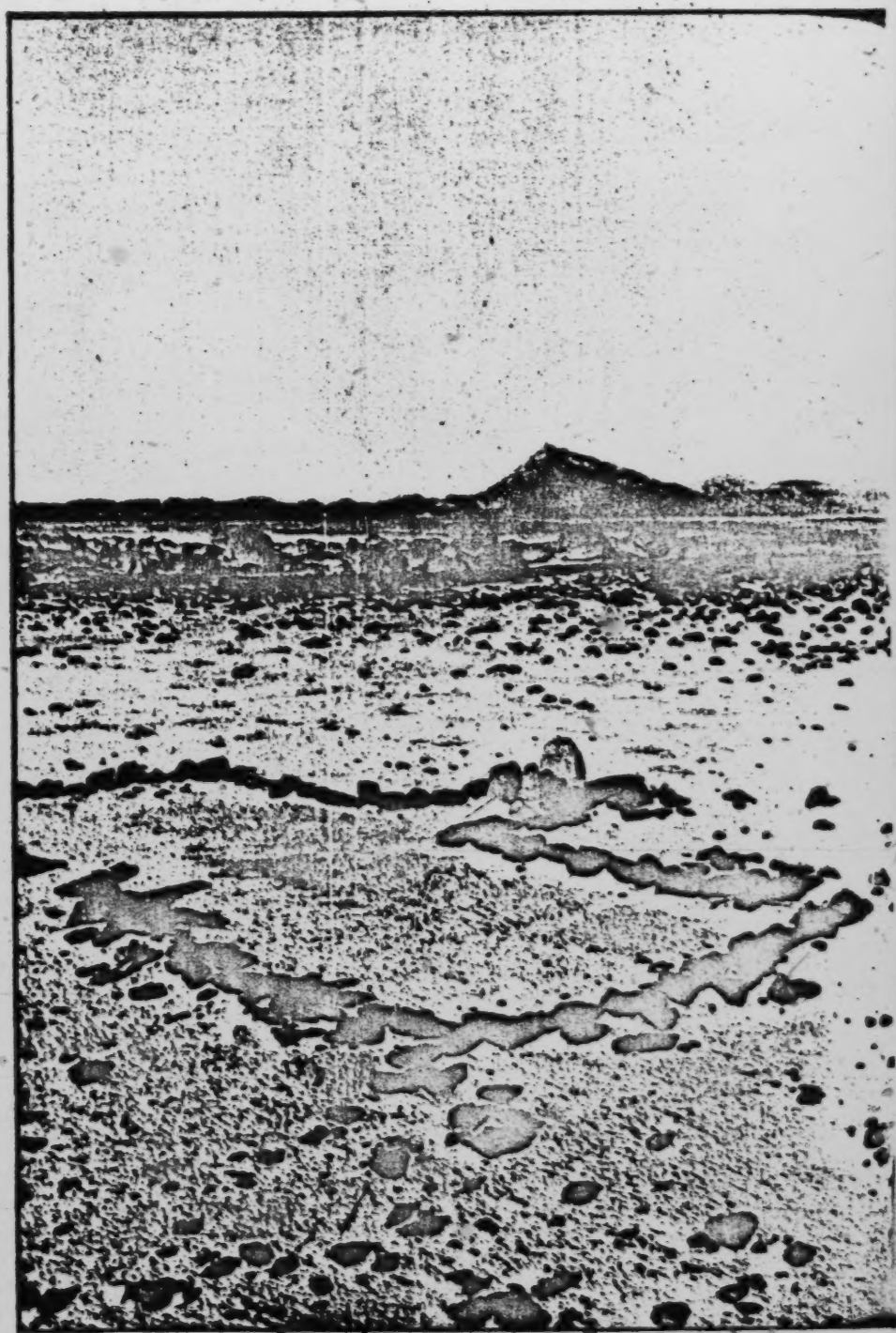
Le grand tourisme a adopté le Hoggar, les alpinistes comptent les pics vierges qui restent à ascensionner, ils sont guidés par de jeunes Touareg qui commencent à parler français. Nous ne pouvons que nous féliciter des résultats matériels obtenus, mais combien de sahariens regrettent au fond d'eux-mêmes le temps du courrier mensuel évoquant une époque peu éloignée, mais qui déjà semble lointaine : celle qui les attira vers ce Hoggar que l'on amène peu à peu à la lumière du siècle.

47. Femme partant en visite.
48. Une mosquée touarègue

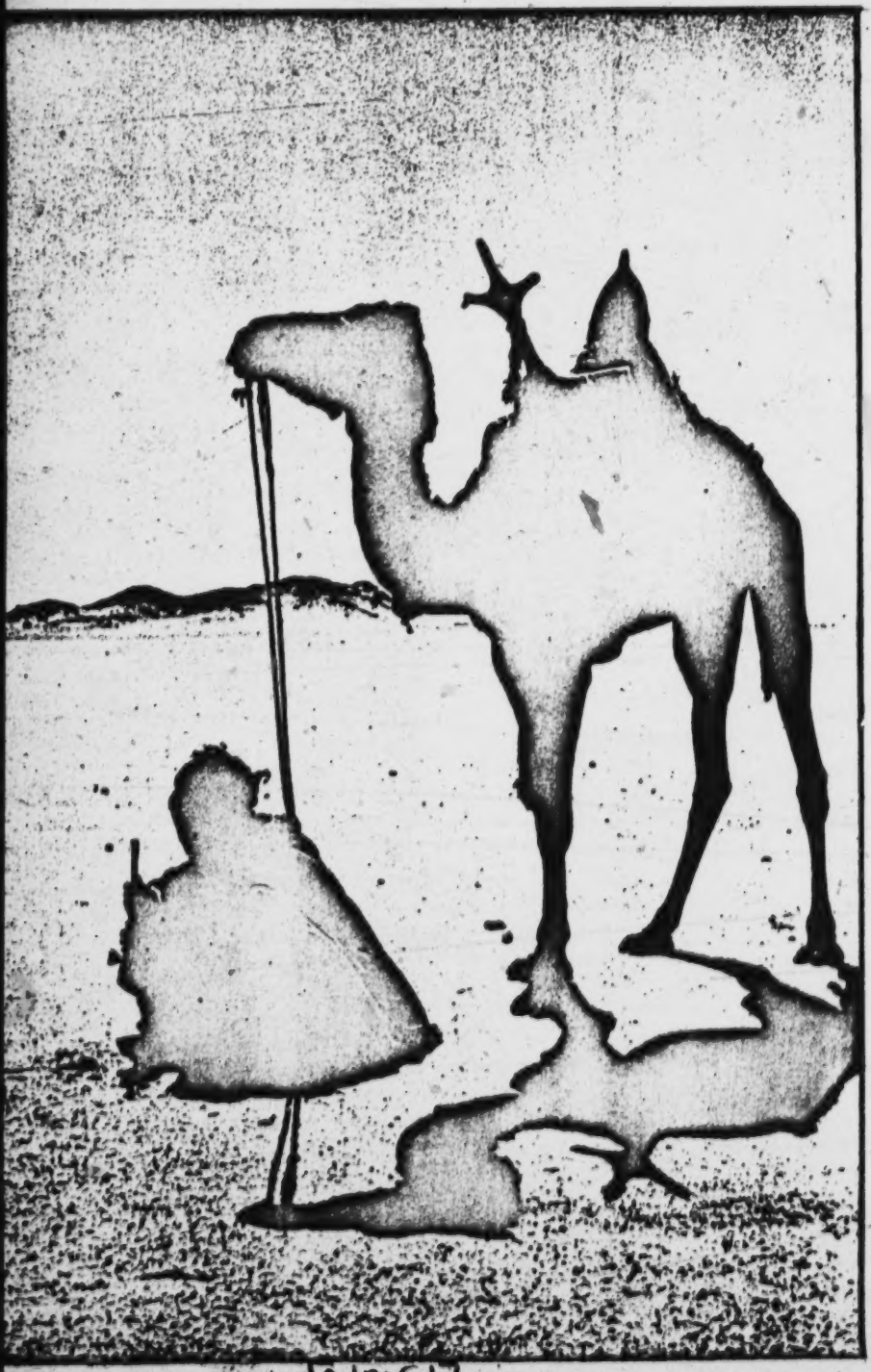


[p. 152(A)]

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



[p.158(B)]



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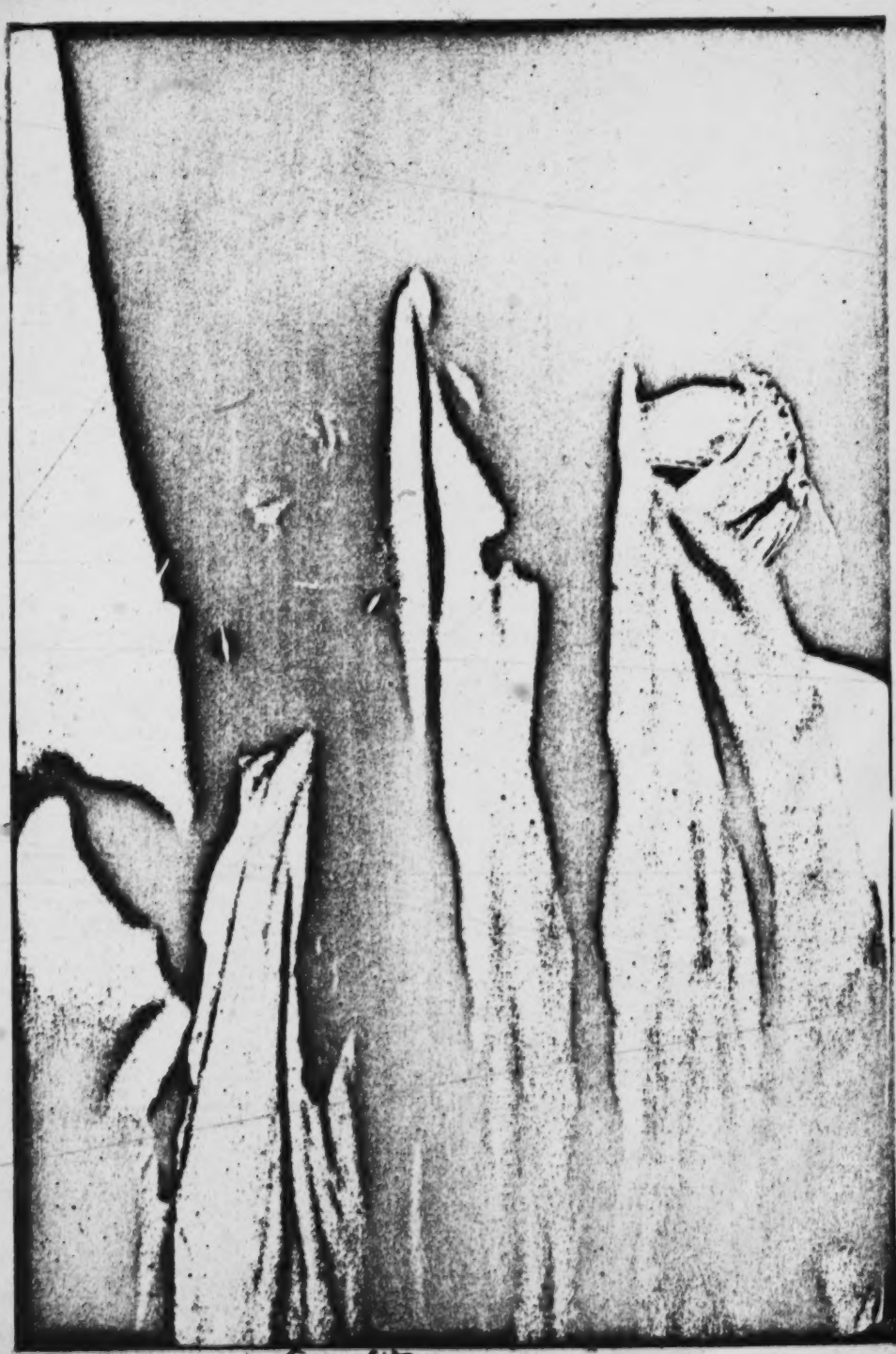
6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



[p.152(D)]

## *APPENDICES*

### *I*

### HISTORIQUE DE L'OCCUPATION FRANÇAISE

— Le 16 février 1881, la mission Flatters est massacrée par des Touareg Kel Rela et Tédjéhé Mellet, aidés de quelques imrads.

— 1887. Un rezzou de Taïtoks se fait surprendre à Hassi Hinifel. Trente Touareg sont emmenés à Alger comme prisonniers durant quatre ans. C'est avec l'aide de ces Touareg que Hanoteau établira la première grammaire tamahaq. L'un de ces prisonniers devint l'ami de l'explorateur Crampel; celui-ci devait plus tard être assassiné par son soi-disant ami.

— 1898. Kel Rela et Taïtoks sont aux prises. Ces derniers, battus par Moussa ag Amastane, s'enfuient chez les Oulimiden.

— 1899. Le commandant Pein, accompagné de Flamand, en mission, occupe le Tidikelt, coupant ainsi aux Touareg leurs marchés d'échange d'Aoulef et d'In-Salah.

La mission Foureau-Lamy traverse le Hoggar sans être inquiétée à aucun moment.

— 1900. L'amenokal Aïtarel meurt. La situation est confuse. Deux amenokals sont nommés, ce sont Mohamed ad Ourzig et Attici. Ce double commandement engendre une anarchie qui amène les Touareg à se tourner vers Moussa ag Amastane, courageux,

49. Attente d'un rendez-vous.
50. Danse nègre à Tamanrasset.

[p. 153]

d'esprit brillant, qui parle d'un accord possible avec les Français. Ce furent cependant les Taïtoks qui firent les premiers leur soumission, surtout par désir de devancer Moussa qui était leur ennemi personnel depuis les combats de 1898.

— 1902. A la suite du pillage d'une caravane par les Kel Ahaggar, le lieutenant Cottenest est envoyé au Hoggar pour y faire un exemple. Il faut lire le récit de cette expédition : *La Randonnée du lieutenant Cottenest*, écrit par le commandant Cauvet, pour apprécier l'homme à qui nous devons le Hoggar. Après un périple en territoire touareg qui dénote les qualités du chef de l'expédition, Cottenest livre combat à Tit, à la gara Tin-Essa. Une centaine de Touareg furent tués en faisant un assaut à la lance et au sabre. Les Dag Rali et Adjouh n'Téhélé furent les tribus les plus éprouvées par cette lutte.

— 1903. Le commandant Laperrine et ses lieutenants font une tournée pacifique au Hoggar.

— 1904. Moussa ag Amastane fait acte de soumission à In-Salah.

Le commandant Laperrine, accompagné du père de Foucauld, de MM. Gautier et Chudeau, contourne le Hoggar par l'ouest et effectue une liaison avec les troupes coloniales à Timiaouine.

— 1905. Le père de Foucauld s'installe à Tamanrasset d'une façon définitive.

Le lieutenant Roussel est le premier chef de poste de Tamanrasset.

— 1908. Incidents entre Kel Rela et Taïtoks; ces derniers sont refoulés au Soudan.

— 1909. Incidents entre les Kel Rela et les tribus touarègues des Ajjers.

— 1910. Moussa ag Amastane, l'amenokal, va en France faire un voyage avec le père de Foucauld.

— 1914. Le territoire des Ajjers est occupé.

— 1916. Nouveaux incidents entre Kel Rela et Taïtoks.

Le 2 décembre 1916, le père de Foucauld est assassiné à Tamanrasset par des Senoussistes accompagnés d'Aït Loen qui emportent vingt fusils et trois mille cartouches.

— 1917. Révolte de quelques partis imrads ayant pour objectif le vol des chameaux des sahariens français.

Le capitaine Masson livre combat à un groupement de Touareg dans l'oued Ilaman, le 5 avril 1917 (treize tués, dont deux militaires français).

Le 1er juin, près d'Iniker, le détachement Pietri est attaqué (cinq tués, deux blessés, deux disparus).

Le 26 juillet, le sous-lieutenant Lehuraux doit combattre un parti de trois cents Touareg.

— 1918. Rétablissement de la paix au Hoggar. Les Taïtoks sont définitivement évincés de leurs terres et refoulés au Soudan.

— 1920. Le général Laperrine meurt des suites d'un accident d'avion, à Anesbaraka.

— 1921. Décès de Moussa ag Amastane. Akhamouk ag Yemma lui succède.

— 1925. Les Taïtoks réclament leurs terres confisquées au profit des Kel Rela, mais le *statu quo* est maintenu.

— 1927. Mort d'Akhamouk. Meslar ag Amayas est élu amenokal.

— 1950. Décès de Meslar. Le khalifat, Bey ag Akhamouk, est élu en 1951.

[p. 156 is blank]

## II

## GÉOLOGIE

Grâce aux travaux de C. Kilian, Th. Monod, J. Bourcart, et surtout à ceux de M. Lelubre partiellement publiés, on peut donner un aperçu sur la structure géologique du Hoggar et ébaucher son histoire.

*Vue générale.*

A. Le centre du massif est essentiellement cristallin, formé de roches très anciennes, d'âge antécambrien, déjà en partie arasé lors de la transgression tassilienne. Au tertiaire s'opère un rajeunissement du relief par suite d'un volcanisme puissant. Cet ensemble cristallin de base est à une altitude de 2 600 mètres au centre du massif, il s'abaisse à la périphérie pour former le fossé séparant l'Atakor des tassilis.

B. Les tassilis sont des plateaux de grès non métamorphiques. Ces grès entourent le cristallin d'une façon presque continue. Sur le socle cristallin reposent d'abord : des conglomérats qui forment les grès inférieurs des tassilis internes, ensuite des grès à colonnettes, surmontés de schistes à graptolithes (dépression intra-tassilienne) et dominés par les grès supérieurs des tassilis externes.

Les pays prétassiliens montrent du dévonien et du carbonifère avec fossiles.

Allant au-delà de la simple description des roches, M. Lelubre a pu déterminer la genèse et l'histoire géologique

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du Hoggar grâce à des données de stratigraphie, de lithologie et de tectonique.

1° *Stratigraphie.* — Les schistes à graptolithes gothlandiens reposent sur des grès non métamorphisés ordoviciens ou peut-être cambriens, eux-mêmes assis sur d'épais conglomérats de base qui sont discordants sur des schistes cristallins plissés, granitisés et arasés; ce qui permet de déduire que les ensembles cristallophylliens inférieurs sont antécambriens. D'autre part, M. Lelubre a découvert dans le pays cristallin antécambrien une discordance suggaro-pharusienne, montrant ainsi l'existence d'un ancien bassin pharusien s'allongeant tel un immense fossé nord-sud entre deux massifs suggariens. Les deux lignes de discordance suivies par M. Lelubre sont jalonnées par des massifs de rhyolites, qui sortent du reg actuel, marquant un volcanisme ancien au bord de ces fractures subméridiennes semblables aux cassures récentes de l'Afrique orientale. La ligne de discordance orientale longe le 5° de longitude est depuis l'Adrar In-Hédrane au nord jusqu'à la bordure est du tassili de Tin-Reroh; la ligne occidentale se suit depuis le massif d'In-Zize jusqu'à l'Adrar des Iforas (40 km. ouest de Tin-Elhaoua), elle longe la bordure ouest du tassili de Timissao. Ces deux cycles orogéniques, suggarien et pharusien, ont chacun leur métamorphisme, leurs granitisations et leurs plissements particuliers.

2° *Lithologie.* — Les principales roches relevées par M. Lelubre sont les schistes cristallins, les granites et les filons.

Les schistes cristallins (micaschistes, gneiss, etc.) forment de grandes montagnes : Egéré, Arefsa, Tourha; ils dominent dans les séries suggariennes et pharusiennes.

Il y a des granites de différents âges. Ceux du type pharusien semblent être à « l'emporte-pièce », ayant déterminé des auréoles métamorphiques de contact, tels le Serkout, In-Tounin, Tesselit. D'autres granites plus anciens se présentent en « grandes ellipses allongées nord-sud », le massif de la Tefedest en est le type.

Les principales roches filoniennes sont les micro-granites : région de Tarahouaout et du Sersouf; les pegmatites sont

abondantes dans les granites et les gneiss; des filons de quartz semblent remplir de vastes cassures et forment de longues montagnes : bordure de l'oued Igharghar; les rhyolites forment d'énormes massifs à l'ouest du Hoggar, alignés en deux longues traînées. On trouve de belles séries de cipolins et de marbres, seuls calcaires du Hoggar, dans l'Egéré, le Tourha, et à Azrou. Enfin des roches volcaniques recouvrent d'immenses étendues, surtout au centre du Hoggar.

3° *Tectonique.* — Grâce à la résistance à l'érosion des cipolins, M. Lelubre a pu observer une très ancienne tectonique souple à laquelle une tectonique cassante se superpose : phénomène peut-être consécutif à l'orgénèse pharusienne. D'autre part la tectonique hercynienne s'est marquée dans les tassilis par de très grands plis-failles. Enfin des cassures, issues des plis de fond du système alpin, seraient sans doute liées au volcanisme récent.

## HISTOIRE GÉOLOGIQUE DU HOGGAR

### 1° *Antécambrien.*

*a) Cycle suggarien.* Presque tous les schistes cristallins du Hoggar sont de cet âge. Il est presque impossible d'établir des divisions de temps durant cette période qui vit une intense sédimentation suivie de plissements du type appalachien. Ce cycle s'est terminé par l'émersion des chaînes suggariennes.

*b) Cycle pharusien.* Une longue période d'érosion succéda, comblant le sillon inter-suggarien. Ces séries subirent un métamorphisme moins intense que lors du cycle précédent. De puissants plissements se produisirent, et, postérieurement, apparaissent les granites à « l'emporte-pièce ». Les émissions de rhyolites se placeraient à la base du pharusien.

### 2° *Transgression tassilienne. Cycle hercynien.*

L'issue du cycle pharusien marque la fin de l'histoire profonde du Hoggar, qui dès lors forme un système solide

armé par les intrusions granitiques. Une érosion de longue durée affecta ce vieux massif. On ne peut dire si la transgression qui suivit toucha tout le Hoggar, son ampleur montre qu'elle était d'ordre continental.

Certains schistes contiennent les premiers fossiles datés : graptolithes du gothlandien inférieur. Dans une série supérieure, Conrad Kilian a pu déceler des périodes lagunaires, qui traduisent de légers mouvements calédoniens. Des conglomérats séparent la série post-tassilienne qui serait du dévonien moyen ou du carbonifère. Cette série extérieure de couverture est affectée par de profonds plis hercyniens, dont la grande faille de Tadjemout est l'exemple le plus net. On ne sait pas dans quelle mesure ce plissement a affecté le substratum cristallin.

### 3° *Transgression cénomanienne.*

La grande invasion marine qui a recouvert le Sahara au crétacé moyen et coupé en deux l'Afrique a respecté le Hoggar. Seul un peu de crétacé a été trouvé par C. Kilian dans la région d'Amguid. C'est là sans doute la dernière incursion de la mer, encore ne s'agit-il vraisemblablement que d'un golfe.

### 4° *Cycle alpin.*

Il faut attendre le plissement alpin pour voir une manifestation orogénique au pays touareg. On peut admettre que les contrecoups de ce plissement aient déterminé un volcanisme tertiaire-quaternaire, dont les laves recouvrent une grande partie du Hoggar et qui dut exhausser le noyau central. Une étude profonde de ce volcanisme n'a pas encore été faite par des géologues spécialisés (1). Peut-être sera-t-il possible de

(1) P. Bordet étudie, depuis 1950, le volcanisme du Hoggar. La thèse de M. Lelubre sur l'antécambrien au Hoggar a été publiée lors du Congrès géologique d'Alger en octobre 1952. A l'occasion de ce congrès, des monographies régionales concernant le Hoggar ont été publiées : *L'antécambrien de l'Ahaggar*, par M. Lelubre; *Les appareils volcaniques de l'Ahaggar*, par Bordet; *Ahnet et Mouydir*, par J. Follot.

discerner des phases essentielles dans cet ensemble éruptif.

L'étude du quaternaire n'a pas été entreprise. Elle permettrait peut-être de situer des points très intéressants pour l'archéologie, notamment les avances et les reculs du climat désertique.

[p. 162 is blank]

*III*

## MÉTÉOROLOGIE

Quelques chiffres relatifs à la météorologie, fournis par l'observatoire de Tamanrasset et la station O. N. M.

Pour une période allant de 1925 à 1939 :

1° Température.

| | |
|---|---|
| Moyenne des maxima | : 28°,6 |
| Moyenne des minima | : 13°,6 |
| M + m/2 | : 21°,1 |
| Amplitude M - m | : 15° |
| Extrêmes maxima | : 39° |
| Extrêmes minima | : -6°,6 |

2° Humidité relative : %

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Moyenne annuelle % | 33 | à 7 heures |
| | 21 | à 13 heures |
| | 23 | à 18 heures |

3° Nébulosité.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Moyenne annuelle % | 2 | à 7 heures |
| | 2,8 | à 13 heures |
| | 3,3 | à 18 heures |

4° Pluie.

Moyenne annuelle en mm. : 43,8

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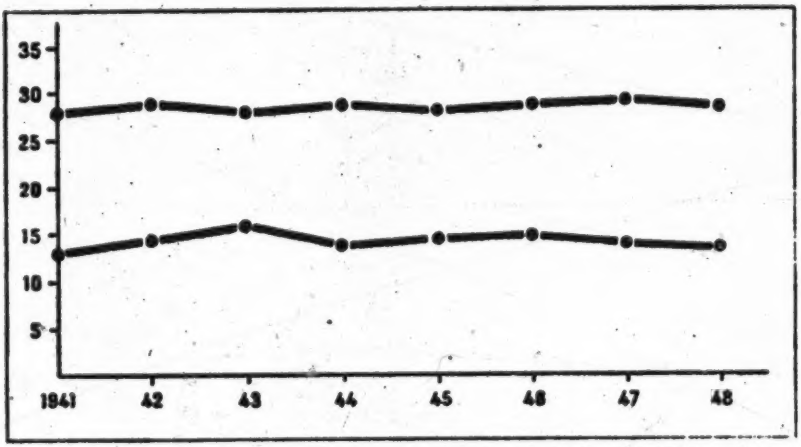
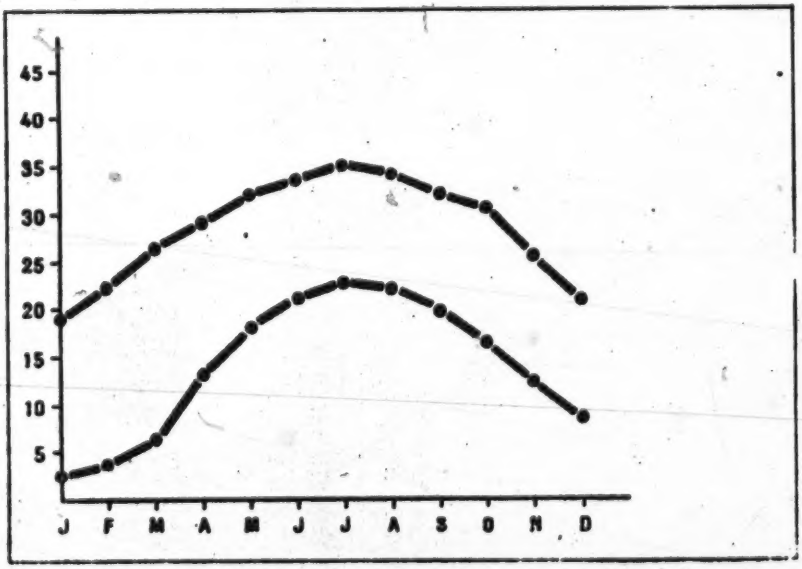


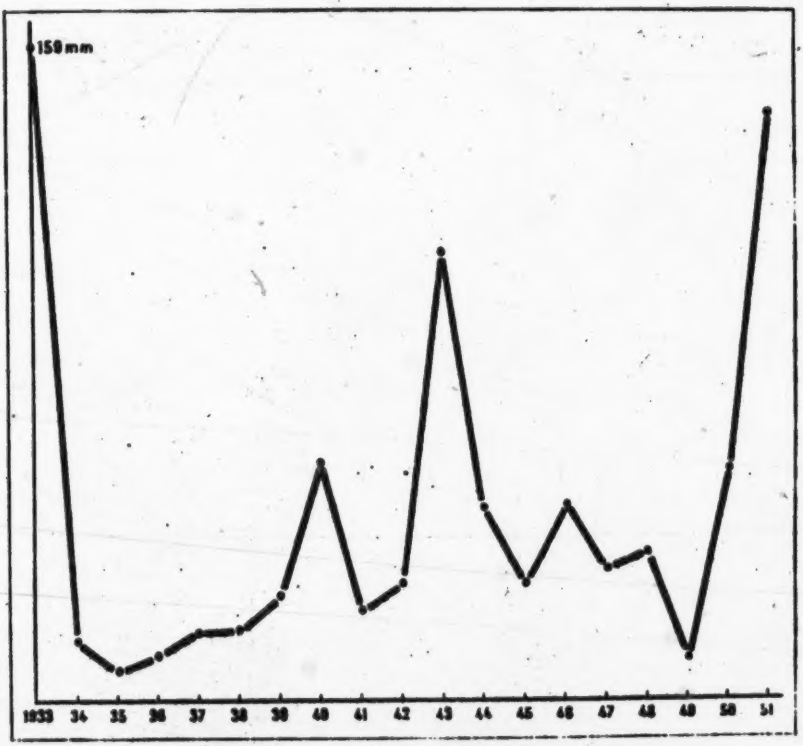

Courbe montrant la moyenne des maxima et des minima de 1941 à 1948.



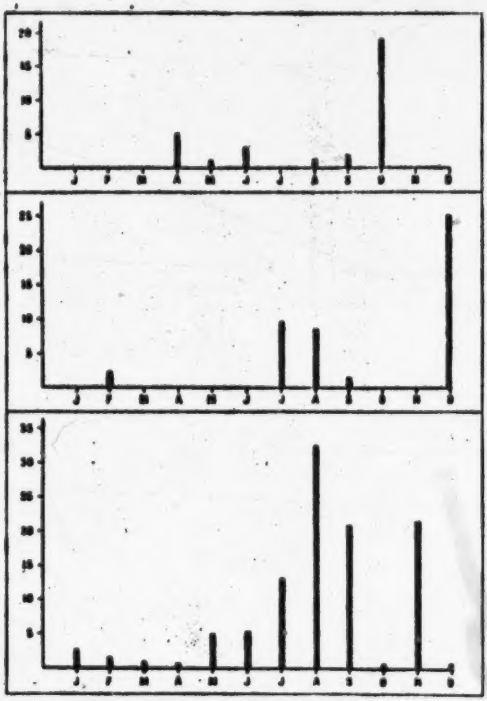

Courbe indiquant pour l'année 1943 la moyenne mensuelle des maxima et des minima.

5° Précipitations annuelles de 1933 à 1951 (en mm.).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1933 : | 159 | 1943 : | 108,5 |
| 1934 : | 14,1 | 1944 : | 45,9 |
| 1935 : | 6,4 | 1945 : | 28 |
| 1936 : | 10,3 | 1946 : | 47,5 |
| 1937 : | 15,9 | 1947 : | 31,3 |
| 1938 : | 16,6 | 1948 : | 35,5 |
| 1939 : | 26 | 1949 : | 9,4 |
| 1940 : | 58 | 1950 : | 56,2 |
| 1941 : | 22 | 1951 : | 141,4 |
| 1942 : | 28,8 | | |




Pluies annuelles de 1933 à 1951.



1945 : Année de faible pluviosité.

1944 : Année de pluviosité moyenne.

1943 : Année de grande pluviosité.

Répartition des pluies au cours de l'année.

6° Précipitations mensuelles lors d'une année pluvieuse.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1951 : | Janvier | : 0,8 | Juillet | : 1,4 |
| | Février | : 1,6 | Août | : 18,8 |
| | Mars | : 0 | Septembre | : 96,4 |
| | Avril | : 0 | Octobre | : 0 |
| | Mai | : 0 | Novembre | : 0,2 |
| | Juin | : 14,9 | Décembre | : 0 |

7° Précipitations mensuelles lors d'une année sèche.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1949 : | Mars | : 5,3 | Avril | : 2,1 |
| | Juillet | : 1,2 | Août | : 0,8 |
| Les autres mois | | : 0 | | |

## REMARQUES SUR LA PLUVIOSITÉ

M. Dubief, de l'Institut de physique du globe d'Alger, a fait une enquête fort intéressante sur les pluies en territoire Hoggar, d'après les renseignements fournis par les Touareg, portant sur quatre-vingts années pour le Hoggar central et sur soixante années pour l'Ahnet et le Mouydir.

Il résulte de ces recherches que le régime des pluies dans le Hoggar central n'a aucune relation avec celui du Sahara septentrional.

D'autre part, la distribution des pluies du Hoggar central a quelques relations avec celle de la Tefedest, peu avec le Mouydir et aucune avec l'Ahnet; elle est complètement indépendante du Tamesna.

Enfin les périodes de sécheresse ne semblent pas excéder sept ans (le terme de sécheresse n'étant pas pris dans le sens météorologique, mais d'une façon relative, indiquant, pour les nomades, le défaut de pâturages).

Certains Touareg prétendent avoir observé un cycle de sept ans dans la durée de la nappe phréatique.

Les observations faites à Tamanrasset notent comme années de grosses précipitations : 1924, 1933, 1943 et 1951, ce qui donnerait un cycle de neuf ans environ.

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51. Après avoir tué une chèvre, il tombe dans la peau pour la dépouiller.
52. Campement au matin.

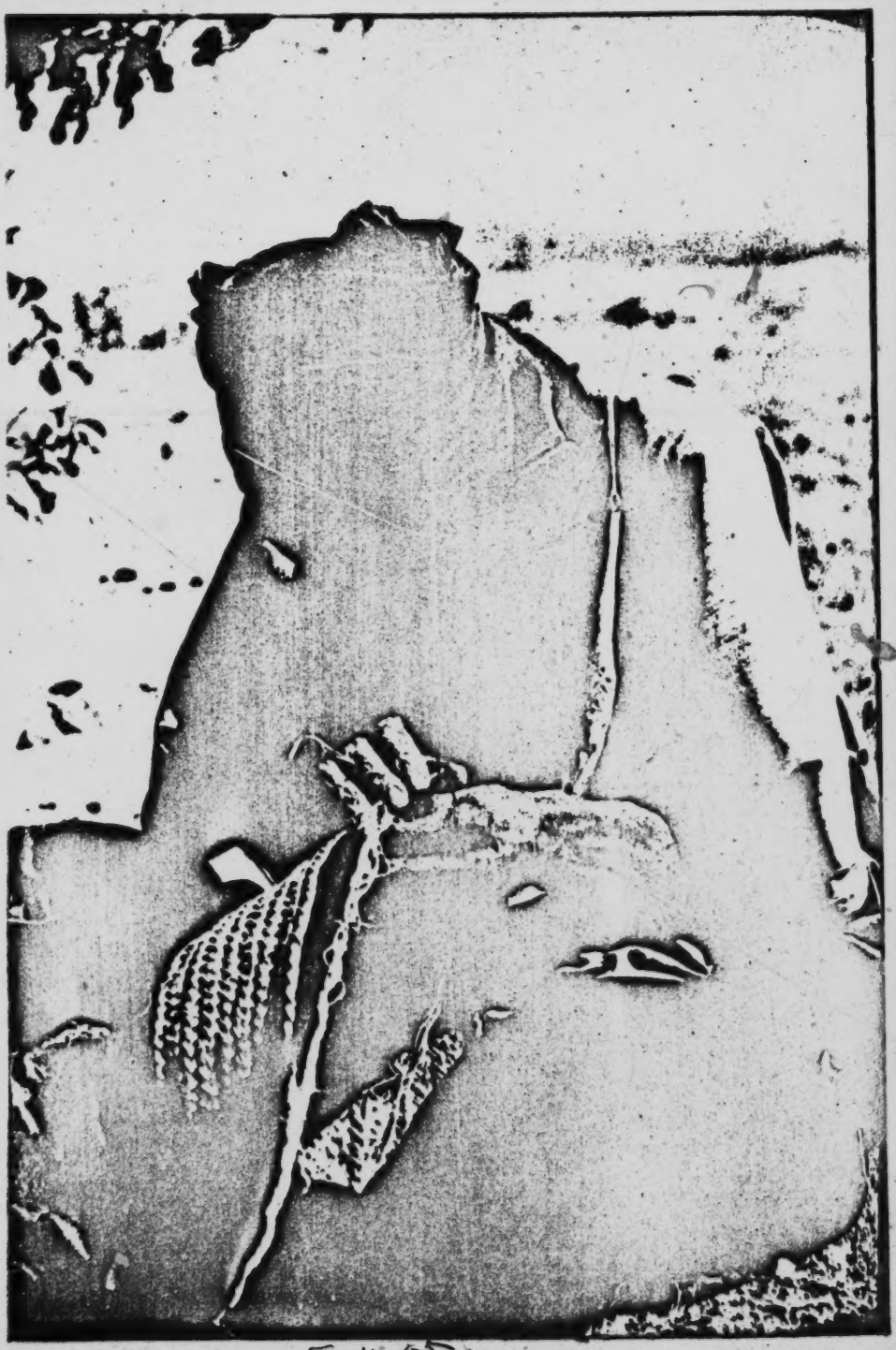
[p. 168 (A)]

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg

[p. 168(B)]

[p.168(c)]

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



[p. 168(D)]

## IV

## PUITS OU POINTS D'EAU SUR LES PISTES CARAVANIÈRES

### *De Tamanrasset à Tin-Zaouaten.*

*Amsel :* Tiggert et Tanout. Centre de culture permanent.

*Tin-Tounatine :* Tigget et Abankor dans l'oued Tamanrasset.

*Amselka :* Puits permanent dans l'oued Tamanrasset.

*Tinef :* Puits permanent, abondant, 1,20 m. de profondeur, dans l'oued Tamanrasset.

*In-Abalesse :* Abankor permanent, 0,50 m. de profondeur, dans l'oued Tamanrasset.

*Tidjenaouine :* Centre de culture dans l'oued Tamanrasset.

*In-Amelloutine :* Abankor abondant, profondeur 0,60 m., dans l'oued Tamanrasset.

*Timdjaouine :* 10 kilomètres sud oued Tamanrasset, mont Debla, assez abondant, 10 mètres de profondeur.

*Abankor ouan Mellouline :* Dans l'oued Immazarène Tin-Reroh, est du tassili. Peu abondant.

*Tin-Reroh :* Dans le tassili, abondant, permanent, à 40 kilomètres de la piste auto.

*In el Tobol :* Dans l'Adrar In el Tobol, peu abondant, à 15 kilomètres de la piste auto.

*In-Tédéini :* 6 kilomètres nord de Tin-Zaouaten, permanent, 10 mètres de profondeur, étayé avec des fûts d'essence, à 3 kilomètres de la piste auto.

53. Un vannier Ag Adar.

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6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



*Tin-Elhaoua :* Dans l'oued Tin-Elhaoua, 10 kilomètres nord de Tin-Zaouaten. Coffré, pierré, jamais à sec.

*Tin-Zaouaten :* Trois puits, une guelta temporaire.

### *De Tamanrasset vers Tessalit (Soudan).*

Jusqu'à Silet, différents centres de culture.

*Timissao :* Puits dans l'oued, nord du tassili, étayé en pierres. Très abondant, jamais à sec. Profondeur : 6 mètres.

*Tamada :* Guelta temporaire, rarement à sec, est du tassili, surface 5 m. × 5 m. environ; très profonde.

*In-Azaoua :* Bordure sud-ouest du tassili. Puits, 1,50 m., jamais à sec.

*Tiggueurt :* Source abondante, dans une vallée tassilienne, à trois heures de marche au sud-est d'In-Azaoua, à deux heures à l'ouest de Tamada. Site curieux à cause de la verdure.

*Aguelman de l'oued En-Nefis :* Guelta temporaire à deux heures de marche d'In-Azaoua.

*Ameg :* Guelta permanente dans lambeau de tassili, au sud de Tirek, à la tête de l'oued In-Allarène.

*Tirek :* Guelta permanente, eau abondante, dans le nord du tassili de Tirek ta Settefet.

*In-Ouzzal :* Dans l'oued In-Ouzzal, près du confluent de l'oued Ighelian. Abondant. Profondeur : 8 mètres.

*In-Djezzal :* Puits abondant, jamais à sec, 23 mètres de profondeur.

*Timiaouine :* Puits permanent, coffré, jamais à sec. 8 mètres de profondeur.

### *De l'Adrar des Iforas (Timiaouine) vers le Tidikelt.*

Les puits d'Ilafok et de Guernen sont comblés, en hiver les caravanes vont d'une traite à In-Ziza, en été elles passent par Timissao.

*In-Ziza :* Très grande guelta, environ 20 m. × 20 m., variant de 5 à 10 mètres de profondeur, jamais à sec. On en compte dix-sept autres.

*Alt el Kra :* Tiggert très abondant, dans les grès tassiliens, à proximité de Foum-Ezgag.

*Tin-Senasset :* Source assez abondante.

*Tin-Eddi :* Puits peu abondant, parfois à sec.

*Tin-Akhenfous :* Puits permanent.

*Tikebetatine :* Quatre ou cinq sources, débit assez abondant.

*In-Rhellal :* Puits peu abondant, à 150 kilomètres des premiers puits du Tidikelt.

*De Tamanrasset vers In-Salah.*

Par la piste automobile :

*Outoul :* Centre de culture.
*Tit :* Centre de culture.
*Tilok :* Puits.
*In-Amguel :* Centre de culture.
*Iniker :* Puits abondant.
*Tesnou :* Puits abondant.
*Amsir :* Puits.
*Meniet :* Puits.
*Arak :* Tiggert et guelta.
*Tadjmout :* Centre de culture, source.
*In-Takoula :* Puits.
*Tiguelguemine :* Guelta.
*Djoraf :* Source chaude.
*Hassi el Khenig :* Eau saumâtre.

Par la piste chamelière, à l'ouest de la piste auto.

*De Tamanrasset à Abalessa :* différents centres de culture.

*Tin-Felki :* Grand puits, jamais à sec, dans l'oued Tekouiat.

*Tinn-Maroka :* Puits très abondant, dans l'oued Afesfes.

*Amsir* ou *Arak.*

*Hassi Takoumbaret :* Permanent.

*Hassi Belrem :* Abondant, dernier puits avant le Tidikelt.

LISTE DE QUELQUES OUEDS

*Région de l'Atakor :*

*Versant nord*, dont les eaux sont collectées par l'oued In-Amguel qui coule vers le Tekouiat, lequel va se perdre dans le Tanezrouft, au sud d'In-Zize.

| | |
|---|---|
| Oued Issakarassène<br>Oued Hirafok<br>Oued Ifrak<br>Oued Tidjilgaouine<br>Oued Abdassène<br>Oued Zerzoua<br>Oued In-Tehoulli | Vers l'oued In-Amguel. |

*Versant sud*, dont les eaux sont drainées par les grands oueds Zazir et Tin-Amzi qui coulent vers la vallée de l'Azaouak.

| | |
|---|---|
| Oued Tefougigine<br>Oued Ihérane<br>Oued Izerzi<br>Oued Ihoular<br>Oued Taguiemoute<br>Oued In-Tarkit | Vers l'oued Tin-Amzi. |
| Oued Teredjine<br>Oued Effeg<br>Oued Anfeg<br>Oued Tihararte<br>Oued Ahahabarougue<br>Oued Téguerine | Vers l'oued Zazir. |
| Oued In-Dalag<br>Oued Tahifet<br>Oued Tarahousout<br>Oued Foutès | Vers Irharraar (du sud). |

*Versant est*, dont les eaux coulent vers l'oued Tin-

Tarabin qui lui-même va rejoindre la vallée de l'Azaouak.

| | |
|---|---|
| Oued Itakaline<br>Oued Azrou<br>Oued Tiféréfine<br>Oued Tilékine<br>Oued Sersouf (d'Aïtoklane)<br>Oued Afrahounine<br>Oued Tibelarhlarhène<br>Oued Tigoulgouline | Vers Tin-Tarabin. |
| Oued Telhoust | Vers Igharghar (du nord). |

*Versant ouest*, dont toutes les eaux vont rejoindre l'oued Tamanrasset, soit directement, soit par son grand affluent l'oued Amded.

| | |
|---|---|
| Oued Tilok<br>Oued Ilaman<br>Oued Terhenanet<br>Oued Outoul<br>Oued Tit<br>Oued Selbourak<br>Oued Tiffert<br>Oued Abaleasa | Vers l'oued Amded. |
| Oued Tisatine ouan Tiratine<br>Oued Tinef (qui draine les eaux du Tahelra)<br>Oued Imezzarène ouan Tin-Reroh<br>Oued Silet<br>Oued Aguelman | Vers l'oued Tamanrasset. |

*Région nord de l'Adrar des Iforas et des tassilis du sud.*

Versant de l'oued Tamanrasset :

Oued Inouzzal
Oued Ilafer

Oued Ilafok
Oued In-Kadiouène
Oued Temesguidda
Oued Tirek
Oued Iller

Versant de l'Azaouak :

Oued Tin-Zaouaten
Oued In-Atankarer
Oued Anesbaraka

Versant de l'oued Timersoï :

Oued Izedelazen

*Région de la Tefedest :*

*Versant ouest* de la Tefedest : les eaux se dirigent vers l'oued Tekouiat.

Oued Ohet
Oued In-Takoufi
Oued Idjioualène
Oued Sersouf
Oued Mertoutek
Oued Abezzou
Oued Adenek
Oued In-Ebeggi

*Versant est* de la Tefedest : toutes les eaux se déversent dans le grand Igharghar.

Oued Taharakit
Oued Idelès
Oued Dehine
Oued Aguelmam
Oued Ousselatine
Oued In-Berhadjane
Oued Tin-Kerkoz
Oued Amrha
Oued Ahatès
} Vers Igharghar.

*Versant sud* de la Tefedest :

Oued Takormiasse
Oued Aethès
Oued Tin-Eleft
} Vers l'oued In-Amguel.

*Région de l'Immidir et de l'Ahnet.*

Les eaux s'écoulent surtout vers le nord pour se perdre dans les sebkha du Tidikelt; elles sont surtout drainées par les oueds Botha et Djaret.

Oued Arak
Oued Gourdane
Oued Tadjmout
Oued Tiratimine
Oued Tibratine
Oued Takoula
Oued Takoumbaret
Oued Asabaï

*Région d'Amguid*, versant de l'Igharghar :

Oued et Tarara
Oued Hesses
Oued Rharis
Oued El Mahek
Oued Teghert
Oued Hamsa
Oued In-Herreki

*Région est du massif du Serkout :*

Cette partie du Hoggar est très mal connue, les oueds sont tributaires de l'oued Tafassasset.

[p. 176 is blank]

## V

## LA FLORE

| NOM TAMAHAQ | NOM ARABE | OBSERVATIONS DIVERSES |
|---|---|---|
| Ahtès | | *Acacia albida.* Rare. |
| Alioù | | *Olea Laperrini.* Haute montagne. |
| Adjiar | El latim | Arganier (?). Bois dur, pâturage pour chameau, baies comestibles. |
| Azaoua | Fersig | *Tamarix gallica.* Bon pâturage. Khecba pour toitures, zéribas. |
| Taberkat | Ethel | Bois tendre, fabrication d'écuelles et cuillers, pâturage salé; le fruit colore le cuir en rouge. |
| Tamat | Tahala | *Acacia seyal.* Bon pâturage, bois dur. |
| Absaq | Tahla | *Acacia tortilis.* Bon pâturage, bois dur. |
| Teborak | Techat | *Banalites aegypticae.* Objets usuels; fruit comestible, remède contre la toux. |
| Tihok | Irak | Arbuste, bois tendre, utilisé pour le nettoyage des dents. |
| Telothat | | Chauffage. |
| Tedjert | Tedjert | *Acacia eburnea.* Graines servant au tannage ; épines : clous pour rahla. |
| Tezzeit | Nakhla | Palmier. |
| Thora | Kranka | *Callotropis proscera.* Bois pour rahla ; la sève provoque des ophtalmies. |
| Tehounek | Jeddari | Atakor. Bois de chauffage, tannage des guerbas. |
| Assellouf | Elhelhab | |
| Tarkat | | Fruit au goût de raisin, grosseur d'une jujube. |
| Edjaq | | Bois dur, sert à fabriquer des grains de chapelet. |

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## FLORE SPONTANÉE — VÉGÉTATION HERBACÉE — PATURAGES

| | NOM TAMAHAQ | NOM ARABE | OBSERVATIONS DIVERSES |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Tiberimt | Lemmet | Pâturage pour les ânes, un peu pour chèvres, goût de céleri (ombellifère). |
| 2 | Ennedam | | Plante d'acheb. |
| 3 | Tamadi | | Plante d'acheb. |
| 4 | Tamedout | | Plante d'acheb. |
| 5 | Azrem | Merkad | Plante d'acheb. |
| 6 | Ourroug | Errega | Plante d'acheb. |
| 7 | Tahaout | Rguig | Plante d'acheb. |
| 8 | Tahnetnet | Tafsa | Plante vivace. |
| 9 | Afessour | Cherefk | Plante d'acheb. |
| 10 | Tanesmimet | Hamoued | Plante d'acheb; acide. |
| 11 | Afazzou | Morakba | *Panicum turgidum*. Graines consommées par les Touareg; avec la paille, confection des nattes brise-vent (asaber). |
| 12 | Akaïouad | Jonc | *Typha augustifolia*. Chèvres. |
| 13 | Akecheker | | Plante épineuse. Pâturage permanent. |
| 14 | Adrilal | | *Astralague prolixus*. Sorte de pois sauvage, très bon pâturage. |
| 15 | Alemmoz | Nçi | *Aristida ascencionnis*. Très bon pâturage, dans la zone du fossé périphérique après les pluies. |
| 16 | Telemmoust | Sfar | Très bon pâturage. Zone : id. ci-dessus. |
| 17 | Aslak | Habalia | Plante d'acheb. *Héliotropium ondulatum*. |
| 18 | Imatelli | | Plante d'acheb. |
| 19 | Askaf | Damrane | *Traganum midatum*. Très peu au Hoggar, région de Tiffert. |
| 20 | Tadjemaït | Njem | Chiendent, près des points d'eau, pâturage médiocre. |
| 21 | Afelleleh | Bettina | Jusquiame. Rend fou deux ou trois jours; la fumée est somnifère. |
| 22 | Aressou | Arta | Bon pâturage. |
| 23 | Amateltel | | Plante grimpante, sur les acacias surtout, de la taille de la vigne. Bon pâturage. |
| 24 | Atarzim | Ghardek | Lotus des Lotophages (?) d'après Duveyrier. |
| 25 | Alaouat | Gergir | Très bon pâturage. Dans les grands oueds après les crues. Fossé périphérique et Iforas. |
| 26 | Aremmas | Guettaf | *Atriplex alimus*. Laxatif, très salé, pâturage médiocre. |
| 27 | Tabakat | Sedra | Jujubier, Ziziphus lotus. Pâturage moyen, sauf pour les ânes. |

| | NOM TAMAHAQ | NOM ARABE | OBSERVATIONS DIVERSES |
|---|---|---|---|
| 28 | Almès | Guesba | Roseau. |
| 29 | | Defla | Laurier-rose (poison, sauf pour les chèvres et gazelles). |
| 30 | Tedjellit | Coloquinte | Coloquinte. Gazelles, chèvres, ânes. |
| 31 | Alagoz | Hadjia | Coloquinte douce, comestible. |
| 32 | Aftezza | Chebrok | *Zilla macroptéra*. Très bon pâturage. |
| 33 | Issin | Djell | Assez bon pâturage. |
| 34 | Rellachem | | Pousse dans la montagne, peu abondant, remède contre la blennorragie et contre la toux. |
| 35 | Tahara | Hâdd | *Cornulaca monacantha*. Très bon pâturage d'hiver, mauvais en été. |
| 36 | Ana | Merkh | *Ginista saharae*, genêt. Très bon pâturage. |
| 37 | Tadjerdjert | | Purgatif. Assez bon pâturage. |
| 38 | Tahiart | Tinhart | Dans les séguias des centres de culture, sert à parfumer le thé. |
| 39 | Tahli | Berdi | *Formium tenax*. Sorte de grand roseau qui pousse près des tiggerts; pâturage à chèvres. En période de disette, on consomme le cœur. |
| 40 | Taïberou | Bouzaka | Poison, rare (Atakor). Pas de contrepoison. |
| 41 | Tassa | Elbaguel | Pâturage médiocre. |
| 42 | Tanatfert | Ghatassa | Rend le lait amer. |
| 43 | Toulloult | Drinn | *Aristida pugens*. Très bon pâturage, graine comestible comme celle de l'afazzou (trois mesures contre une de blé). |
| 44 | Teferiest | Tessakra | Chardon, peu abondant, bon pâturage. |
| 45 | Takamezout | Chedengoura | Atakor seulement. Anti-dysentérique certain, donne quatorze remèdes. |
| 46 | Zezeri | Zahta | Atakor. Se met dans le thé. |
| 47 | Tihérguéli | Chih' | Parfume le thé, remède contre les coliques. |
| 48 | Amiou | N'gouth | Bon pâturage. |
| 49 | Tamadjéhi | Kroumt | Très bon pâturage. |
| 50 | Tataït | Elgouzah | Bon pâturage. |
| 51 | Oïaq | Mrenza | Mélangé à des dattes pilées, fait grossir les femmes. Mauvaise odeur. |
| 52 | Tedjourt | Hallala | Remède contre les embarras gastriques. |
| 53 | Terfes | Terfes | Sorte de truffe. |
| 54 | Aliouen | Denoun | Sorte de grosse asperge. |

[p. 180 is blank]

## VI

## OUTILLAGE

Voici une liste des outils utilisés par les maalmines; nombre d'entre eux sont de leur fabrication :

Tisadh : Soufflet à double poche.

Abaracha : Pièce de bois de 50 × 20 × 6 cm. servant de support à une masse de fer servant d'enclume.

Tehount : Masse de fer de 6 × 6 × 15 cm. utilisée comme enclume.

Afadis : Marteau.
Tafadist : Petit marteau.
Irendan : Pinces.
Takadimt : Hache herminette } Emmanchement de
Tatsout : Gouge à bois } type néolithique.
Tadouft : Hache }
Azazaoua : Lime.
Tazazaouat : Petite lime.
Tasarest : Burin.
Asfed : Poinçon.
Timouda : Cisailles.
Azazaoua ouan aserer : Lime à bois.
Anefif : Embout de soufflet.
Tibin : Creuset.

Voici une liste des objets fabriqués par les maalmines pour le compte des Touareg; cette liste n'est certainement pas complète.

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Tanast : Cadenas spécial aux Touareg, bien connu des touristes; les clefs sont artistement découpées et ne sont pas un des moindres ornements des femmes. Fer, laiton, cuivre concourent à donner un effet agréable. Il existe des cadenas à une, à deux et à trois clefs, travail compliqué à plaisir, si l'on songe que ces tanast ferment des sacs de cuir que l'on peut ouvrir d'un coup de couteau, ou en relâchant une couture !

Tadeft : Petite hache.

Moussi : Couteau avec gaine, porté à la ceinture.

Indel : Poinçon destiné au travail du cuir.

Iremdan (menguech, en arabe) : Accessoire comprenant une lame coupante, un poinçon et une petite pince.

Tazozlet : Sorte de coupe-papier à lame triangulaire en laiton artistement travaillé. Dans la société touarègue il n'est pas utilisé comme coupe-papier, mais, instrument de coiffure, il sert à partager les mèches de cheveux avant le tressage.

Tistent : Alène.

Tesougla : Grosse aiguille à coudre.

Allar : La lance des Touareg.

Takouba : Le sabre.

Tarada : Le javelot.

Tilok : Le poignard de bras.

Tamenast (menassa, en arabe) : Cuvette en laiton, accessoire indispensable à tout méhariste, servant à boire, à se laver, à faire le pain, à creuser l'abankor.

Pour les harratin, les maalmines confectionnent la houe appelée aguelhim, et le gheniet, qui est un piège à mouflons.

Les Touareg utilisent des objets de bois fabriqués par les maalmines, ce sont surtout des ustensiles de cuisine.

Akous : Bol destiné à boire le lait. Il est souvent muni de petites oreilles afin de le rendre plus aisément préhensible.

Azzka : Est un très grand akous qui peut contenir près de six litres.

Tarahout : Grand plat presque hémisphérique, taillé dans la masse, l'épaisseur du bois est de 3 centimètres; il est destiné aux repas familiaux.

Tarelalt : Grand plat à fond assez plat, pouvant atteindre parfois 1 mètre de diamètre (rare).

Tendi : Le mortier de bois.

Iharen : Le pilon de bois.

Akabar : Petit mortier, parfois pyrogravé.

Tesoukalt : Cuiller de bois pyrogravée.

Temoulalt : Grande cuiller (louche) pyrogravée.

Asseguefi : Petit entonnoir de bois.

Redjeredjaten : Piquets servant à supporter la tente.

Tidjetouin : Piquets à tête ornée tenant la tente ouverte.

Tarik (rahla, en arabe) : La selle de chameau. Les maalmines du Hoggar les réparent, mais ne les fabriquent pas; les plus belles viennent de l'Aïr, ce sont celles appelées tamazak, et les akoka. Cependant les maalmines confectionnent au Hoggar une selle seulement en bois appelée taïst, solide et servant surtout au dressage.

Les principaux bijoux travaillés au Hoggar sont les suivants :

Tisak : La bague, en argent. Certains modèles ont la face inférieure en fer. La hauteur des bagues est impressionnante : 4 à 5 centimètres; elles couvrent entièrement la base des doigts des femmes, faisant ressortir la longueur et la finesse des mains.

Tisabatin : Les tisabatin sont des pendants d'oreilles, simple jonc circulaire en argent dont le diamètre est d'environ 10 centimètres; deux tisabatin pèsent 120 grammes.

Teraout : Grand triangle porté sur la poitrine, en argent, dont la face cachée est en fer.

Ahbedj (au pluriel, ihebdjen) : Les femmes en portent toujours deux. Ce sont des bracelets, dont le modèle le plus recherché a la forme d'un simple jonc, ouvert, dont les deux têtes sont polyédriques et décorées de dessins géométriques.

Tissegouar : Pendentifs temporaux, en argent.

Les Touareg n'utilisent pas l'or, seul l'argent sert à confectionner les bijoux et les porte-amulettes appelés teraout.

Les hommes portent des bagues aux dimensions plus restreintes que celles des femmes.

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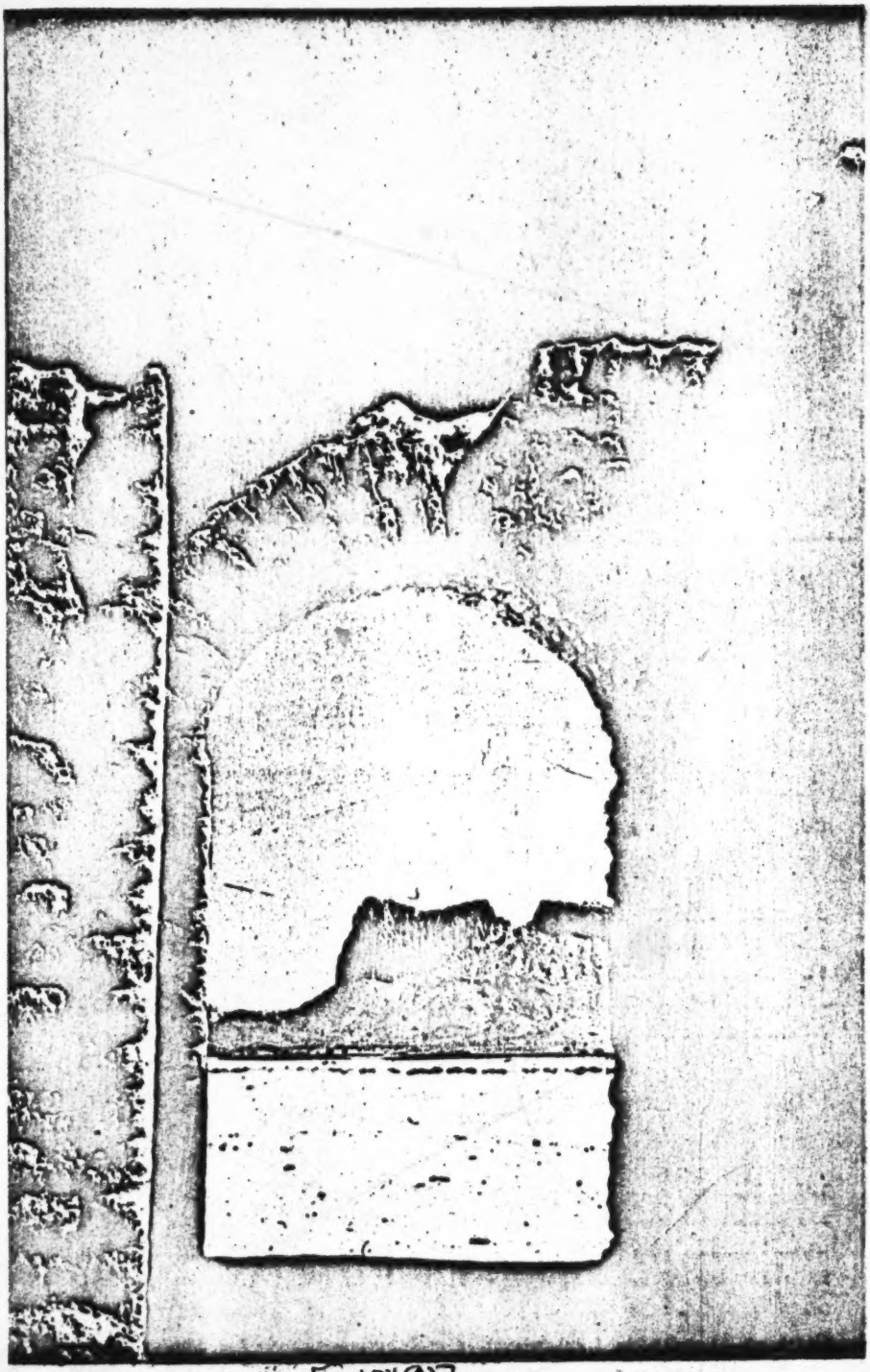
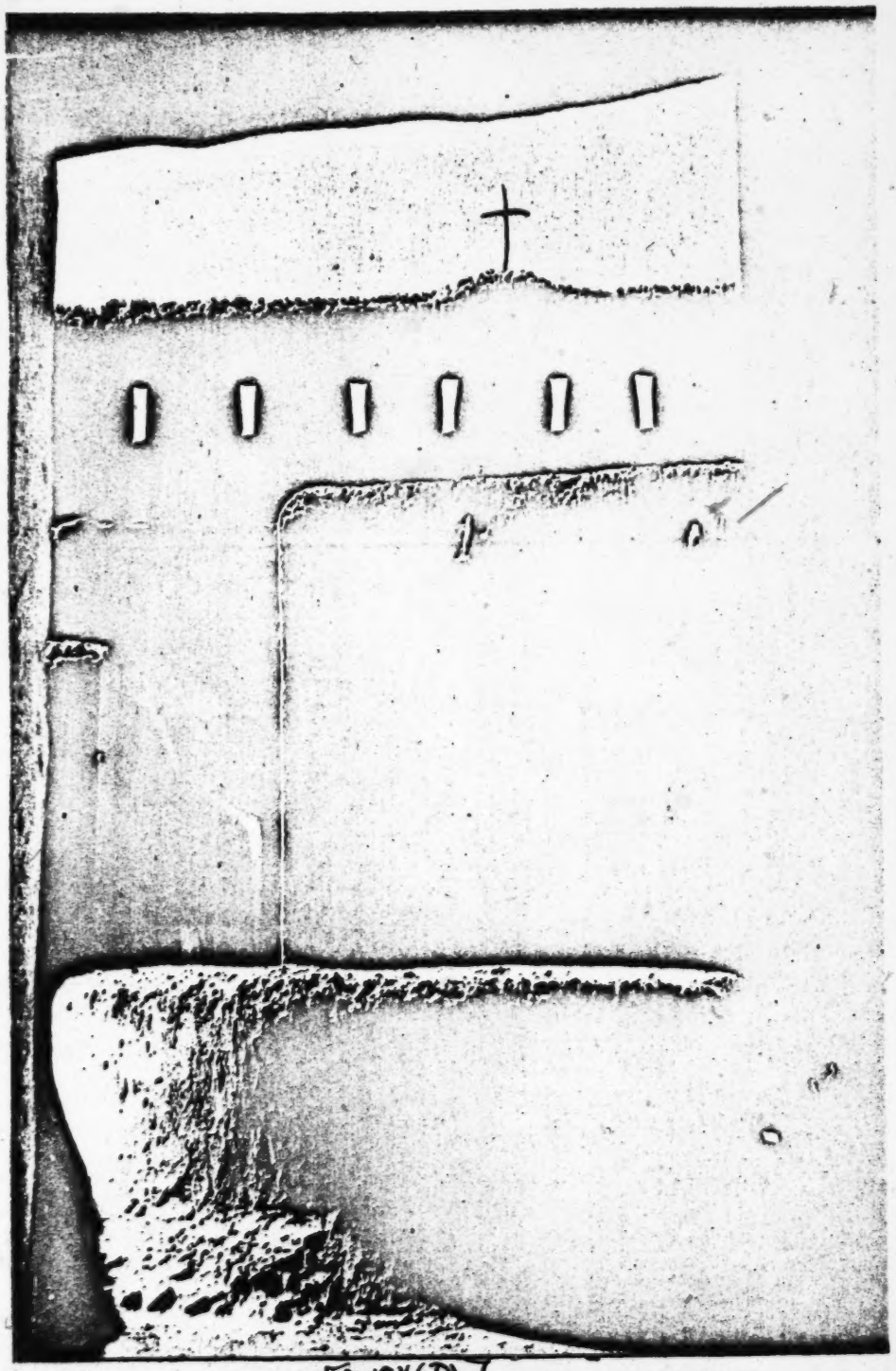
54. Porte de la maison de Mossa ag Amastane (demeure actuelle des Inadan).
55. L'école nomade au campement de l'amenokal.



[p. 184(A)]

[p. 184 (R)]

[p. 184 (C)]



[p. 184 (D)]

## VII

## LISTE DES CENTRES DE CULTURE

*Abalessa* (altitude : 850 mètres).

C'était le plus grand centre de culture avant notre arrivée au Hoggar; depuis, Tamanrasset a surpassé Abalessa.

Abalessa est situé à 100 kilomètres à l'ouest de Tamanrasset, dans l'oued Ibarras, au confluent de l'oued Abalessa qui reçoit les eaux des oueds Tit, Outoul, Tiffert et Iglène.

La population est de plus d'un millier de harratin.

La surface cultivable est de 150 hectares lors des années favorables; en général, les cultures couvrent 80 hectares.

Les propriétaires de jardins sont des Kel Rela, des Taïtoks, des Dag Rali et des Iklan Taoussit.

On compte onze foggaras, ce sont les plus longues et les plus profondes du Hoggar; certaines atteignent 6 kilomètres de long, et les puits de tête ont une profondeur de 8 à 10 mètres.

Environ trois cents palmiers poussent à peu près librement, presque tous sont issus de noyaux, et la moitié sont des dokkars (mâles).

Abalessa possède un bordj et une infirmerie.

Le tumulus de Tin-Hinan est situé à 2 kilomètres du bordj, dans l'oued Tiffert.

*Centres de l'oued Tiffert.*

*Tounin Akourin.*

Petit centre à 7 kilomètres en amont d'Abalessa. Deux foggaras et un tanout.

56. Bordj du Père de Foucauld.

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L'amenokal a son campement permanent près des jardins dont il est le propriétaire.

*Tiffert Foulani.*

A 5 kilomètres en amont d'Abalessa. Trois foggaras. On compte une trentaine de palmiers. Centre actif, il est la propriété des harratin de l'endroit. C'est là que réside Si Ahmed Foulani, taleb réputé, qui joue le rôle de cadi auprès des Touareg.

*Tiffert Tahtani.*

A 3 kilomètres en amont d'Abalessa. Trois foggaras. Centre actif et permanent. Petit village construit en toubs, dominant une quarantaine de palmiers.

*Tin-Tazarouk.*

A 1 kilomètre d'Abalessa, sur la piste de Silet. Une foggara. Zéribas. Grande quantité de diss (grande graminée).

*Centres de l'oued Outoul.*

*Outoul.*

Centre longtemps abandonné qui reprend vie; situé entre l'ancienne et la nouvelle piste d'In-Salah, à 20 kilomètres de Tamanrasset. Cinq foggaras, dont deux en amont. Quelques arbres fruitiers.

*Tahart.*

A 18 kilomètres en aval d'Outoul. Trois foggaras et un tanout. Propriétaires : Taïtoks et Tédjéhé n'Néfis.

Une centaine de palmiers, nombreux figuiers et vignes. Un tiggert avec d'abondants tahlis. Site très pittoresque.

*Assileskine* (altitude : 960 mètres).

Centre situé à 6 kilomètres en aval de Tahart. Souvent abandonné. Propriétaires : Taïtoks. Trois foggaras, une trentaine d'habitants. Vigne et quelques jeunes palmiers. Gravures rupestres près des zéribas.

*Ennedid* (altitude : 914 mètres).

A 4 kilomètres en aval d'Assileskine, dans une gorge, au confluent de l'oued Outoul. Une soixantaine d'habitants, près de cent palmiers. Propriétaires : Kel Rela, Dag Rali et Iklan Taoussit. Très joli site.

*Centres de l'oued Tit.*

*Tit* (altitude : 1 127 mètres).

Situé dans l'oued Tit, à 50 kilomètres de Tamanrasset. Centre assez important, plus de cent habitants, maisons de toubs et zéribas. Une trentaine de palmiers, de nombreux figuiers et des vignes énormes. Actuellement, quatre foggaras. Station rupestre très importante.

*Tin-Emensar.*

A 10 kilomètres en aval de Tit. Centre abandonné.

*Dar Mouli.*

A 3 kilomètres en aval de Tin-Emensar, un petit jardin est cultivé. Lieu d'une fête annuelle où se réunissent les Touareg pour la ziara de Moulay Abderrahmane.

*Centres de l'oued Tamanrasset.*

*Tamanrasset* (altitude : 1 470 mètres).

*Fort Laperrine*, chef-lieu administratif du Hoggar.

Le bordj militaire fut construit en 1919 et utilisé en 1920 après l'abandon de Tarahouaout.

En 1920, Tamanrasset avait quarante habitants. C'était un petit centre sans importance, ayant trois foggaras; quelques rares éthels et fersig bordaient l'oued.

L'occupation française créa de toutes pièces l'agglomération qui devint un nœud routier après la création des pistes automobiles de Tamanrasset vers In-Salah et Alger;

de Tamanrasset vers Agadès et Fort Lamy;

de Tamanrasset vers Tin-Zaouaten et Gao.

Des pistes secondaires d'intérêt local ou touristique furent ouvertes par la suite :

de Tamanrasset à Djanet par Idelès et Serouanout;

de Tamanrasset à Idelès par Tarahouaout, Tahifet;

de Tamanrasset à In-Azaoua (inachevée);

de Tamanrasset au massif de l'Asekrem par le pic de l'Ilamane (touristique);

de Tamanrasset au massif de l'Asekrem, par les gueltas d'Imalaoulaouen et l'Akarakar. Cette piste, terminée en 1952, permet de faire le circuit des hauts sommets de l'Atakor; elle

complète la précédente. Son tracé, étudié par le chef d'annexe de Tamanrasset, assure le maximum de protection contre les pluies; il fait découvrir une succession de splendides panoramas et se termine au pied du plateau de l'Asekrem après avoir traversé le plus étrange jaillissement de pitons que l'on puisse imaginer. Cette piste se prolonge vers les gueltas d'Issakarassen, puis ira vers le centre de culture d'Hirafok, pour se terminer dans la Tefedest.

Des commerçants arabes et mozabites s'installèrent très vite à Tamanrasset, offrant des marchandises venues du Tell et achetant du blé, du mil, du beurre aux Touareg, faisant des prêts usuraires, en un mot drainant le peu d'argent liquide des Touareg pour le diriger vers le Mzab.

Les maisons se sont construites surtout sur la rive droite de l'oued dans les parties non irrigables. Tamanrasset ne possède aucune couleur locale, mais la teinte rouge des enduits extérieurs, la propreté et la coquetterie des rues ombragées d'éthels et fleuries de géraniums forment un ensemble agréable. Ce qui est admirable et presque unique au Hoggar, c'est le cirque de montagnes qui entoure le village; de la rive sud de l'oued, le spectacle au lever et au coucher du soleil est sensationnel.

Actuellement Tamanrasset possède une vingtaine de foggaras et une dizaine de tanouts. Les propriétaires des foggaras sont : la commune, des Adjouh n'Téhélé, des Tédjéhé n'Néfis, des harratin et des commerçants. Les foggaras ont une longueur de 4 à 5 kilomètres. Les jardins s'étendent sur près de 6 kilomètres du ksar de l'Adriane au ksar de Teggert. La surface cultivée est d'environ 70 hectares, en comptant les jardins du petit centre de Tihegouine, à 3 kilomètres en aval, arrosés par une foggara.

La commune possède un jardin magnifique, où sont essayés toutes sortes d'arbres fruitiers; il sert d'exemple aux jardiniers locaux. Beaucoup de maisons européennes ont un petit jardin irrigué par foggara ou par puits.

La population actuelle est de 2 000 habitants environ. Cet énorme accroissement de population pose un angoissant

problème de l'eau. Il semble qu'un centre de culture au Hoggar ne puisse pas s'accroître indéfiniment sans envisager des travaux hydrauliques.

Tamanrasset, bien que favorisé du point de vue des ressources en eau, est une preuve de ce que l'on pourrait tenter dans les autres centres de culture si des Français pouvaient conseiller les harratin et payer d'exemple.

La population française se répartit de la façon suivante :

Un capitaine chef d'annexe, administrateur de la commune.

Deux ou trois officiers adjoints.

Des secrétaires.

Une école. Sept instituteurs, dont trois nomades.

Un observatoire de physique du globe. Trois physiciens.

Un service des télécommunications. Quatre radio, deux météo.

Une base de la société des Transports tropicaux.

Une recette postale auxiliaire.

Un hôtel.

Quelques personnes retirées à Tamanrasset, sans fonction.

Du point de vue militaire, Tamanrasset est généralement la base d'une compagnie méhariste. Des éléments du génie saharien assurent l'entretien de la piste d'In-Salah à Tamanrasset et Agadès.

La population française est d'environ 120 personnes; ce nombre est sujet à de fréquentes fluctuations.

Le nombre des commerçants mozabites et arabes, y compris leurs familles, s'élève à une centaine d'individus.

Les harratin sont au nombre d'environ 1 900, chiffre approximatif, car beaucoup de jardiniers vont et viennent d'un centre de culture à l'autre.

On ne peut parler de Tamanrasset sans songer au général Laperrine et au père de Foucauld. Le corps du général repose à Tamanrasset près de la tombe où fut enterré le père après sa mort tragique. Le bordj où vécut le père de Foucauld durant les dernières années de sa vie est un lieu de visite pour les touristes; on peut également visiter l'ermitage construit par le père sur la rive gauche de l'oued.

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



Près du village de l'Adriane, se trouvent les tombes de Moussa ag Amastane, l'amenokal ami de Laperrine, et de Dassine, la célèbre poétesse.

Dans la maison qui fut celle de Moussa ag Amastane travaillent les maalmines, les artisans des tribus touarègues.

Tamanrasset, centre administratif, étape obligatoire sur la piste d'A. O. F. et d'A. E. F., est aussi une escale d'aviation appelée à devenir de plus en plus importante.

Le grand tourisme tend à conquérir le Hoggar, le Touring Club de France organise depuis quelques années des caravanes d'excursionnistes. Savants appartenant à toutes les disciplines, voyageurs éclairés, alpinistes en quête de pics vierges, sont attirés par le pays encore mal connu. Pour tous, Tamanrasset est une base de départ, mais non pas un lieu de séjour.

*Tissenaouine.*

Dans l'oued Tissenaouine, à son confluent avec l'oued Tamanrasset. Une foggara appartenant à un hartani. Jardin très bien cultivé.

*Tagrambaït.*

Dans l'oued Tamanrasset, à 15 kilomètres au sud de Tamanrasset. Trois foggaras, jardins bien cultivés. Peu de possibilités d'extension.

*Amsel* (altitude : 1 180 mètres).

Situé dans l'oued Amsel, peu avant son confluent avec l'oued Tamanrasset, environ à 30 kilomètres au sud de Tamanrasset.

Les propriétaires de jardins sont les Adjouh n'Téhélé et les Tédjéhé n'Néfis. Les jardins sont situés en amont et en aval du tiggert, véritable ruisseau d'eau courante où poussent d'abondants tahlis. Six foggaras et trois tanouts. On compte une soixantaine d'habitants. La surface cultivable est de 30 hectares; il y aurait des possibilités d'extension vers l'aval. Quelques arbres fruitiers.

*Intnérin.*

Dans l'oued Tamanrasset, à 7 kilomètres au sud d'Amsel. Tiggert et de nombreux tahlis. Deux foggaras. Centre peu

important, sans possibilité d'extension. Vallée encaissée et très chaude.

*Idikel.*

Dans l'oued Tamanrasset, à 15 kilomètres au sud d'Amsel. Accès difficile en auto. Trois foggaras et deux tanouts. Terre cultivable en grande quantité, mais menacée par les grosses crues de l'oued Tamanrasset.

*Tiguenouine.*

Dans l'oued Tamanrasset, à 7 kilomètres au sud de Tamanrasset. Au tiggert d'Amelalouline grande quantité de tahlis. Trois foggaras, eau abondante.

*Centres situés sur la piste d'In-Azaoua.*

*Izerzi.*

A 15 kilomètres au sud de Tamanrasset, dans l'oued Izerzi. Centre longtemps abandonné, revivifié en 1952.

*Talan Téhédit.*

Centre longtemps abandonné, à 20 kilomètres au sud de Tamanrasset. Cultivé depuis 1951. Eau abondante. Tiggert, tahlis. Propriétaires des jardins : Adjouh n'Téhélé et Tédjéhé n'Néfis. Trois foggaras et deux tanouts. Possibilité d'extension.

*Ifok.*

A 30 kilomètres au sud de Tamanrasset. Eau courante, tiggert, tahlis. Les jardins sont en amont et en aval du tiggert. Deux foggaras et trois tanouts. Centre souvent abandonné.

*Région de l'Atakor.*

*Ilaman* (altitude : 2 000 mètres).

Centre le plus élevé du Hoggar. Abandonné pendant longtemps, traces de neuf foggaras anciennes.

Actuellement le village d'Ilaman compte une douzaine d'habitants. Une foggara fonctionne ainsi que deux tanouts. Les Dag Rali sont propriétaires des jardins, leurs silos à mil donnent une allure curieuse au village.

*Terhénanet* (altitude : 1 950 mètres).

Situé dans l'oued Terhénanet, en bordure du massif du

Taessa. Comme le village d'Ilaman, celui de Terhénanet est au bord de la piste qui mène à l'Asekrem. En aval des jardins se trouve une petite guelta. Centre peu important : une dizaine d'habitants, deux foggaras vivantes, quatre mortes.

*Centres du sud-est Atakor.*

*Tarahouaout* (altitude : 1 317 mètres). (Fort Motylinski).

Situé dans l'oued Tarahouaout, à 80 kilomètres de Tamanrasset par la piste automobile. C'est l'ancienne capitale administrative du Hoggar, de 1908 à 1921. On peut voir, dominant l'oued, le vieux bordj, ainsi que d'anciennes maisons au pied de la falaise.

Centre important, c'est le fief de la tribu des Adjouh n'Téhélé. 52 hectares sont cultivables, irrigués par dix foggaras. On compte de nombreux tanouts. Les arbres fruitiers sont en régression, mais il y a encore des figuiers, des abricotiers et des vignes.

De nombreux tombeaux antéislamiques témoignent d'une très ancienne occupation de ce point d'eau. Trois stations de gravures rupestres existent sur des crêtes en aval du bordj.

A 6 kilomètres en aval des jardins une énorme végétation de tahlis annonce l'entrée de gorges très étroites, dans lesquelles durant dix kilomètres on peut suivre un véritable ruisseau reliant un chapelet de gueltas. C'est peut-être l'écoulement permanent le plus important du Hoggar.

*In-Dalag* (altitude : 1 450 mètres).

Situé dans l'oued In-Dalag, ce centre très important s'étend sur une longueur de 15 kilomètres. La nappe est alimentée par les eaux de ruissellement du sud-est de l'Atakor et du djebel Ahélébeg. Les Adjouh n'Téhélé sont les propriétaires des jardins. En période de sécheresse ce centre est en partie abandonné, ainsi que les petits villages qui se trouvent en aval : Tehi n'Oudi, Tin-Tsoumar, Tabarakaten, In-Tinsi, In-Tolouline.

On compte cinq foggaras à In-Dalag. En aval des centres cultivés se trouvent des gorges où poussent des tahlis en grande quantité.

*Tahifet.*

Centre important situé dans l'oued du même nom, à 50 kilomètres au nord de Tarhaousout. Les Adjouh n'Téhélé sont les propriétaires des jardins. La surface cultivable est de 22 hectares, il existe huit foggaras. A 6 kilomètres en aval des jardins est un tiggert entouré d'une grosse végétation spontanée. Le site est très pittoresque.

*Centres du nord de l'Atakor.*

*Idelès.*

Centre très important dans l'oued Tarouda, dominé par l'Adrar Tadéraz. Le village est situé sur la piste automobile de Tamanrasset à Djanet, à 265 kilomètres de Tamanrasset. Un bordj et une infirmerie ainsi que de nombreuses maisons de pierres constituent le village. Les habitants, au nombre de 300 environ, sont originaires du Tidikelt. On peut y voir les ruines d'un vieux ksar.

Les jardins appartiennent aux Kel Rela, aux Dag Rali, aux Kel Tazolé et aux Kel Amguid. La surface cultivable est d'environ 40 hectares, irrigués par huit foggaras et par une dizaine de tanouts. Environ trois cents palmiers sont assez bien entretenus; il existe aussi de nombreux figuiers et des vignes.

*Amenselane.*

Très petit centre à 6 kilomètres d'Idelès. Une foggara. Nombreux tahlis près du tiggert.

*Tazerouk.*

Centre qui fut autrefois très important, mais dont la terre cultivable est souvent emportée par lambeaux lors des grosses crues. Situé à 188 kilomètres de Tamanrasset par la piste automobile d'Idelès. La population est constituée par des Nègres affranchis qui sont propriétaires des jardins, mais dont la fainéantise a fait péricliter cette oasis privilégiée. L'altitude est de 1 896 mètres, deux récoltes de blé sont possibles dans l'année. La surface cultivable est de 45 hectares, la moitié à peine est ensemencée. Il pousse d'énormes figuiers non

soignés, de très nombreux pêchers et abricotiers. Le climat d'été est, à Tazerouk, le plus agréable du Hoggar.

Dans les oueds qui aboutissent à Tazerouk, des centres de culture sont établis lors des années pluvieuses, ce sont : Sellemaï, Ihebert, Teberbert, Taouakim, Tin-Ezzar.

*Tizzeit.*

Centre peu important, longtemps abandonné, actuellement cultivé, situé sur la piste chamelière de Idelès à Tazerouk. Terre appartenant aux Ibardjien, ancienne tribu en voie d'extinction, redoutables montagnards et habiles chasseurs de mouflons. Source alcaline, tanout. Vignes, figuiers et de nombreux palmiers.

*Tin-Founès.*

Centre abandonné, situé sur la piste de l'Amadror; nombreux palmiers non soignés.

*Hirafok* (altitude : 1 510 mètres).

Situé dans l'oued Hirafok, sur la piste automobile de Tamanrasset à Idelès. Les jardins s'étalent en longueur et sont bien cultivés. 24 hectares de terre cultivable, irrigués par cinq foggaras et cinq tanouts. Quelques figuiers. Un bordj est construit en bordure de la piste. La vallée de l'oued est assez boisée, il existe un tiggert en aval.

*Im-Amguel* (altitude : 1 037 mètres).

Gros centre de culture, situé dans l'oued In-Amguel, sur la piste de Tamanrasset à In-Salah, à 144 kilomètres de Tamanrasset. Un bordj et une infirmerie. 400 habitants. Dix foggaras arrosent des jardins bien entretenus. On compte une centaine de palmiers dont la moitié est constituée de dokkars. Vignes, figuiers, abricotiers, pêchers. Volailles.

*Ifrok.*

En amont d'In-Amguel, sur la piste automobile d'Idelès. Centre longtemps abandonné, actuellement cultivé. Une foggara. L'oued est très boisé.

*Tasahimt.*

Centre abandonné, situé entre Idelès et Tazerouk. Un tiggert, en amont duquel existaient une foggara et quatre

tanouts. Abondante végétation de fersig et de laurier-rose.

*Centres de la Tefedest.*

*Mertoutek.*

Centre en déclin. Il existe actuellement deux foggaras vivantes contre dix autrefois. 1 450 mètres d'altitude. Situé dans l'oued Mertoutek, à l'est de la Tefedest, à 260 kilomètres de Tamanrasset. Quelques arbres fruitiers. Stations rupestres importantes (sites Coche-Chasseloup-Laubat, Lelubre et M. Cousin).

*In-Amertek.*

Centre abandonné en aval de Mertoutek.

*Ohet.*

Centre abandonné, au nord-ouest de la Tefedest. Deux foggaras mortes. Terre des Tédjéhé Mellet.

*Adenek.*

Centre abandonné, dans l'oued Adenek, au confluent de l'oued Dehine. Terre des Kel Tefedest. Il reste quelques figuiers et vignes.

*Abenzou.*

Centre abandonné, terre des Kel In-Rhar et Eouen n'Hada. Seules des zéribas et des traces de guemouns témoignent d'anciennes cultures.

*Dehine.*

Centre situé à 6 kilomètres au nord de Mertoutek. Abandonné. Il reste quelques palmiers et figuiers témoins d'une ancienne prospérité.

*Autres centres de culture.*

*Silet* (altitude : 775 mètres).

Situé à 151 kilomètres de Tamanrasset, sur la piste de Tin-Zaouaten. L'oued Silet forme une grande cuvette où arrivent les eaux du Tahelra. Il existe une nappe d'eau très peu profonde qui permet aux palmiers de pousser sans irrigation. Il y a environ six mille palmiers qui ne reçoivent pratiquement

6: Blanguernon MS25 Tuareg



aucun soin. La fécondation artificielle n'est presque pas utilisée. Cette palmeraie fut créée il y a environ deux cents ans par des Arabes du Tidikelt. Les propriétaires des palmiers sont des Kel Rela, des Iklan Taoussit et des Dag Rali. Un essai de palmeraie a été tenté par l'annexe avec des djebars de Téguezza.

Une dizaine d'habitants séjournent à Silet et cultivent de petits jardins irrigués par trois foggaras. Un bordj. Ruine d'un vieux fort arabe. Nombreux tombeaux préislamiques.

*Tibeghim.*

A 5 kilomètres de Silet. Petite palmeraie à l'état quasi sauvage, ce qui lui confère un aspect très pittoresque. Les palmiers appartiennent aux Kel Rela et aux Iklan Taoussit.

*Aïtoklane.*

Centre situé dans l'oued Sersouf, à 40 kilomètres au sud de Tazerouk. Longtemps abandonné, actuellement cultivé. Loin des pistes automobiles, ce centre est rarement visité. Les terres cultivables ont une grande superficie.

*Tin-Tarabin.*

Dans l'oued Tin-Tarabin, hors des pistes automobiles, ce centre est rarement visité. Abandonné, puis revivifié depuis peu. Ce centre pourrait prendre de l'essor, car les terres cultivables ont une grande surface.

*Tadjmout.*

Situé sur la piste de Tamanrasset à In-Salah, dans la dépression intratassilienne du Mouydir. Quelques jardins appartenant aux Kel Immidir. Palmiers (environ une centaine poussent librement dans la gorge à 1 kilomètre de la piste).

*Izghan. Izeghaf. Djoraf.*

Centres abandonnés à l'intérieur du massif tassilien. Nombreux palmiers appartenant aux Kel Immidir et aux Kel Ahnet. Ces sites ne sont jamais visités et restent ignorés de tous.

*Tin-Teredjine.*

En amont de l'oued Teredjine (piste d'In-Guezzam). Tiggert, eau abondante, jardin à l'abandon. Des tomates y

poussent sans culture. Une famille Adjouh n'Téhélé fait la récolte de temps en temps.

*Inroudiden.*

Dans le massif du Tahèlra (sud de Tiffert), dans l'oued Inozzorou, tributaire du Tinef. Propriétaires : Iklan Taoussit. Peu important.

*Isernan* et *Sédéouen.*

Lors des années pluvieuses, des jardins sont établis en amont des tiggerts dans ces deux oueds tributaires de l'oued In-Dalag.

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ACHEVÉ D'IMPRIMER
LE 30 JUILLET 1955
L'IMPRIMERIE SADAG A
BELLEGARDE.

HORS-TEXTE EN HÉLIOGRAVURE
SUR VELIN DES PAPETERIES
JOHANNOT D'ANNONAY.

TEXTE SUR PAPIER OFFSET NIVOLLET
DES PAPETERIES DE SAVOIE.

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WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE
TUAREG OF AHAGGAR AND AYR

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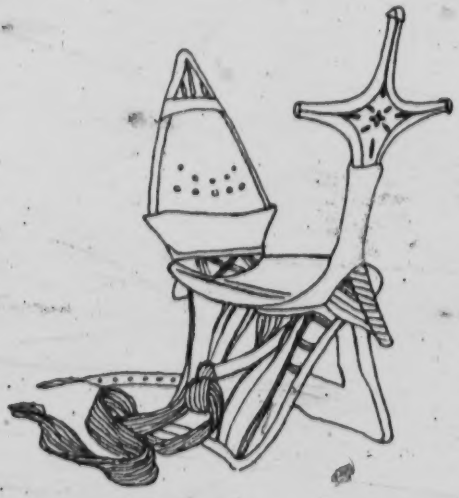
*Etnografisk Række, IX*

# Ecology and Culture of the Pastoral Tuareg

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE TUAREG OF AHAGGAR AND AYR

*by*

JOHANNES NICOLAISEN



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1963

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Denne afhandling er af det matematisk-naturvidenskabelige fakultet ved Københavns Universitet antaget til offentlig at forsvares for den filosofiske doktorgrad.

*København, den 14. september 1962.*

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d. t. dec.

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To the memory of my father,
*Hans Marius Nicolaisen*
and to my mother,
*Anne Katrine Nicolaisen*

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# Preface

In this book I aim at the combination of historical and functional methods of anthropology to analyse the development of Tuareg culture with particular reference to food-producing activities. I do not, therefore, present all my Tuareg material. 121

My general anthropological outlook is doubtless largely due to my training under influential scholars of historical and functional methods. I was introduced to historical methods at the University of Copenhagen by Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith, who taught with that caution and sense which must be the foundation of all anthropological science. His strict demand that anthropology must proceed on the basis of knowledge forms the most valuable part of my whole anthropological training, and for this I express to him my sincere gratitude. 114

I freely admit that I am much attached to the traditional methods of Danish anthropology. Among its scholars I am greatly indebted also to Professor C. G. Feilberg with whom I have a large field of interests in common. From the very day I began my studies in Copenhagen he offered me all possible help in discussing with me the major problems of cultural history in the Near and Middle East, and in Africa, and using much of his spare time to teach me Arabic. His detailed study on the black tent and its history forms an important cornerstone for my chapter on Tuareg tent development.

When I began my studies in Copenhagen Professor Feilberg acted as curator in the Danish National Museum where, like other students of these days, I was generously helped by the curator, Jens Yde – my closest friend. Though his main field of interest is the Indians of the Americas, he has also a surprisingly comprehensive knowledge of African cultures. I hold in very high esteem Mr. Jens Yde's scholarly realistic outlook which has been extremely stimulating to my own work. I express my gratitude also to Dr. Helge Larsen, leader of The Ethnographical Collection of The Danish National Museum, and to the curator Mr. Werner Jacobsen.

My interest in functional anthropology dates right back to my University years in Copenhagen. For though Danish anthropology is in the main historical, it was Dr. Birket-Smith's demand that students should read the important works of such functional or social anthropologists as Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, Firth, Evans-Pritchard, and others. But most knowledge I have of functional anthropology came to me under a two years' study, granted me by The British Council, at The University College London with Professor C. Daryll Forde as my principal teacher. I wish to acknowledge my sincere gratitude for his unusual kindness and valuable help during my stay in London, and for his readiness to consider any problem in the light of his very deep and versatile knowledge. In this book I acknowledge his clear view of the problems connected with the development of food-producing activities advanced in 1934 when many scholars were shooting in the dark.

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114 My gratitude to Dr. Phyllis Kaberry, who acted as my supervisor during my London studies, is not easily expressed in words. Nobody has taken so profound an interest in my studies as Dr. Kaberry, and if my descriptions of economics and political systems contain views of any value this is due largely to her extreme interest in my Tuareg material. Much of my later field-work among the Tuareg has also been carried out along lines suggested by Dr. Kaberry.

My stay in London was indeed a fruitful one as I was also able to attend lectures and seminars by Professor Raymond Firth and Professor I. Schapera, and to benefit from the rich knowledge of East African cultures possessed by Mr. G. W. B. Huntingford of The School of Oriental and African Studies.

121 I try to reconstruct history within the limited area of Northern Africa occupied by the Tuareg. In [127] doing so I use methodologies of different anthropological schools, and also include material available from written sources, from Tuareg traditions, and from archaeology. I feel confident that my procedure is justified, but present it to the reader's judgement with a quotation from the great anthropologist E. E. Evans-Pritchard, who speaks about the rejection of the reconstruction of history by functional anthropologists as follows: "A case can be made out for this rejection, though not in my opinion so strong a case as is usually supposed, for all history is of necessity a reconstruction, the degree of probability attending a particular reconstruction depending on the evidence available" (Evans-Pritchard 1962, p. 21).

114 The real foundation of my book is the field-material I have been able to gather during eight journeys 122 to Northern Africa. I made the first two short trips on my own account, while later journeys were paid by Danish foundations, notably by *Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond, Carlsbergfondet, Rask-Ørsted Fondet, Knud Rasmussen Fondet*, and by grants from the University of Copenhagen. I have also been supported economically by The Danish National Museum and by The Museum of Prehistory in Aarhus, which museums now contain my collections of ethnographical sepcimens. My first Tuareg journey carried out in 1951 owes its beginning to economic and moral support from the former leader of the Aarhus Museum, Professor P. V. Glob, now Director-General of the Central Office and of the Museum of National Antiquities in Denmark. My journey to the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr 1954-55 was partly paid by The University College London on the very kind initiative of Professor Daryll Forde.

122 I express my sincere thanks to the above-mentioned institutions and their directors.

The results achieved on my journeys are due largely to friendly help rendered me by the Algerian administration and the administration of the Niger Republic in Niamey and at Agadez. In Algeria I met at an early date Mr. Pierre Bataillon and Mr. Josef Kniebihly of the Civil Administration at Djelfa. They willingly offered me their friendship and did everything to help me during the three weeks of 1947 when I suffered very greatly from malaria. On my journeys to the Ayr Tuareg I have been very kindly assisted by all governmental offices, and I thank heartily Mr. G. Feral, formerly civil governor of the Cercle d'Agadez, Mr. J. Demonceau, Mr. Claude Gardin, and Mr. and Mrs. Bernus of the IFAN at Niamey.

My two Danish friends, Niels Wismer, Norwegian Vice-Consul in Algeria, and Clas Wismer have been of outstanding importance for all my journeys among North African pastoralists. They supported me morally and practically every time I came to Algiers, and they gave me their friendship which I treasure most highly.

I also acknowledge with grateful thanks the valuable help of the Danish Consulate of Algeria under the leadership of the Vice-Consul, Mr. E. Hartvig. 122

The valuable North African collections preserved in the Musée de l'homme, Paris, Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistoire du Bardo, Algiers, and in the Musée de la ville de Neuchâtel have been of extreme importance to my studies, and I wish to thank sincerely the directors of these museums for their kindness in allowing me free admission to all interesting objects. I thank the Musée de l'homme for its courtesy in permitting me to reproduce the illustrations Figs. 62, 75 & 88. For the photograph Fig. 254 I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Erik Smidt, Copenhagen. 127

Anthropology necessitates co-operation with many other sciences, and this I have often experienced when working on my book. I wish to thank sincerly my friend Mr. K.-G. Prasse for his readiness to let me benefit from his profound knowledge of all structural problems connected with Tuareg language and other Berber dialects. He has kindly undertaken the work of checking the spelling of Tuareg words used in this book, and I owe him much for discussions about the meanings of such Tuareg words that may be important from a culture-historical viewpoint. I also thank my friend Dr. Hans Helback of The Danish National Museum for his assistance on problems connected with cultivated plants, and the veterinary surgeon Mr. Niels Grunnet for his comments on Tuareg stock-diseases. 114

I wrote this book in English which was kindly corrected by Major C. L. Bayliss of The British Embassy in Denmark. As to the drawing of diagrams, maps, etc., they are made by Mr. Arne Morell Nielsen whose readiness to help a friend is unrivalled.

The book was written mainly during eight months of 1961 and nobody has rendered me so much real help as my wife Ida.

I cannot in this way convey my heart-felt thanks to Tuareg friends, but my thoughts are among them with my brothers of the Aguh-en-tehlé and the Imezzureg tribes.

*Copenhagen, June 1963*

JOHANNES NICOLAISEN

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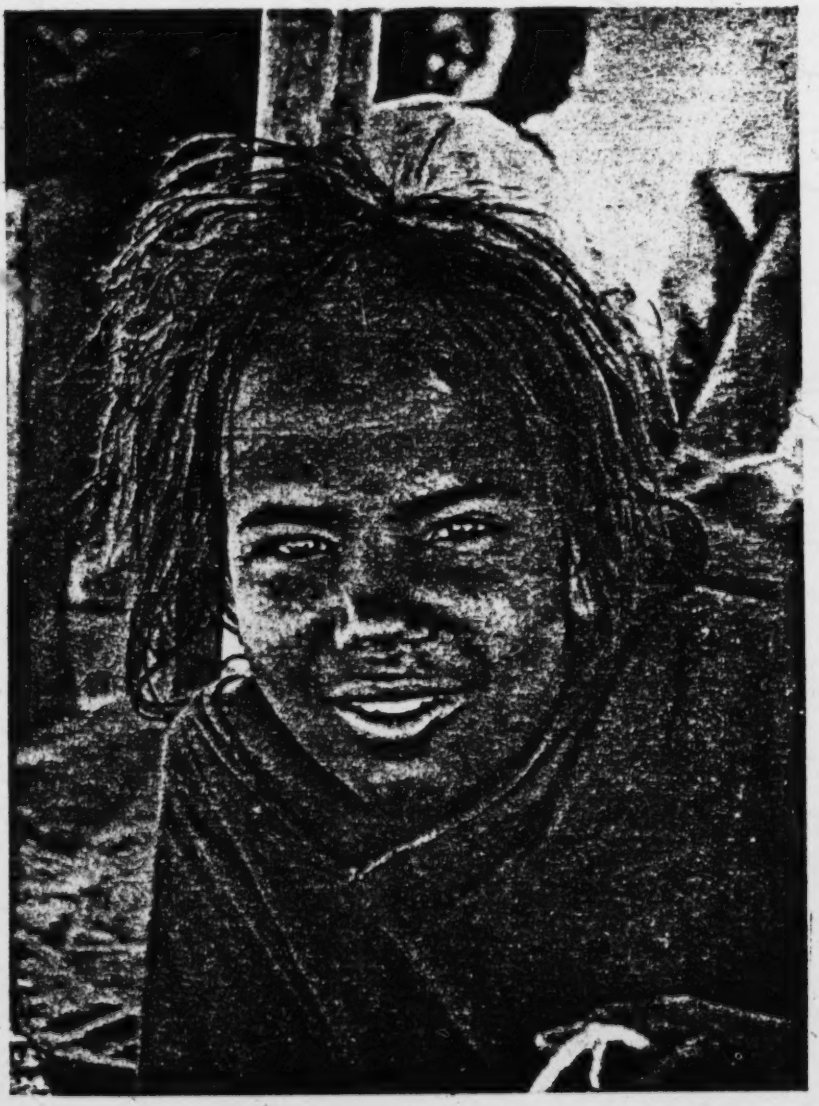

Boy of the noble class, *Kel Tahabanat* on the Niger.

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# Introduction

This book is the result of several years' study of North African pastoralism. My interest in this subject began under climatic conditions rather different from those of North Africa. In the winter 1945–46 I journied on skis through Northern Sweden, Finland, and the Norwegian Finmark. For about three months I lived among the Lapps, and, watching the techniques of reindeer-breeding, I became very interested in the problems connected with the history and evolution of stock-breeding. Shortly after my return from this trip I began to study anthropology in the University of Copenhagen under Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith, and as the main subject of the degree of M.Sc. acquired in summer 1950, I chose pastoral cultures of the Near and Middle East. I had already then made two short journeys to North Africa. 114 121

(1) In summer 1947 I spent about three months in Central Algeria to investigate Arab nomads in the steppes of the High Plateau and the adjacent parts of the Sahara. I travelled around the towns of Djelfa, Zenina, Aflu, Laghwat, and Ghardaya. I had little money at my disposal and could never afford to engage native assistants or to have a horse or a mule for riding and transportation. I walked through the barren steppes and deserts carrying as my main luggage several bottles filled with water. This journey was certainly not easy, and at its end I suffered very badly from malaria. Nevertheless, I managed to get into contact with camps of nomadic tribes such as the *Ulad Nail*, the *Larba*, and the *Sait Otba*, and for shorter periods I followed them during their migrations towards the south. I also contacted certain semi-nomadic tribes living around Aflu in Djebel Amour of the Sahara Atlas. I did not, however, understand Arabic, and the nomads, who were rather shy and suspicious of Europeans, generally had no knowledge of French. It is evidently most difficult to collect ethnographical material under such circumstances. And if I had not received the very kind assistance of French administrators and officers, of native Arab caids, and of Arabs who had formerly served in the French Army, I should indeed have acquired nothing. The year 1947 followed upon a long period of drought which had caused severe losses to all nomads. Many of them had lost all their livestock, and famine occurred all over pastoral Algeria. The consequences of the drought when at its worst can be illustrated by the following example:— Arriving at Aflu in the Djebel Amour, I discovered a small camp the tents of which apparently belonged to a type constructionally different from those used among Central Algerian nomads. I went to the camp where I was told that it belonged to semi-nomads of the *Adjaletes* and *Ulad Sidi Brahim* tribes. They all suffered extremely from famine, and entering the first tent I found three dying children under filthy rugs. I now concentrated upon the problems connected with this dreadful disaster which seemed to prove the insufficiency of pure pastoralism in the barren countries of North Africa. 114 122 731 [121]



[p. 1]

114 (2) In winter 1950 I visited several *Kabyle* villages in the Djurdjura Mountains, and stayed for some
121 time in the regions which I had already visited in summer 1947. I wanted to gather supplementary material on the consequences of the drought period, and also to acquire some personal knowledge of winter life among nomads. – Part of the material collected 1947 and 1950 has been published (Nicolaisen 1950).

101 On later journeys to Northern Africa I have studied culture and society of pastoral Tuareg:—

114 (3) In summer 1951 I spent about five months (May September) in Ahaggar. I arrived at Algiers
122 from where I travelled southwards by car to make short stops at Djelfu, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El Golea, and In Salah. Reaching Tamanraset in Ahaggar in the month of May, I hired an interpreter
[124] to visit many Tuareg camps of the important vassal tribes *Aguh-en-tehlé* and *Dag Rali* on journeys accomplished by means of camels and donkeys. Part of the time I also lived at Tamanraset where I was visited daily by Tuareg informants. Apart from Tamanraset I visited the following centres of
[12] cultivation:— Tit, Utul, Terhenanet, and I-n-dalag. My investigations concentrated upon economics
[126] and material culture in relation to environment, and about 300 ethnographic specimens were collected. I left Tamanraset for Algiers by plane via Ganet (Djanet), Rat (Ghat), Ft. Flatters, and Wargla.

(4) I returned to North Africa in summer 1952. The length of this visit was about three months and a half. From Algiers I went by train and trucks to Arris in the Aurès Mountains where I stayed for about five weeks among the semi-nomadic Berber-speaking *Chawiya*. I rode through the valleys of this montain massif on a mule, and the journey terminated with my arrival at the oasis of Biskra. From Biskra I went by train to Tuggurt from where I continued by truck to Wargla. I left this oasis by a French military plane for Ganet in Tasilé-n-Ajjer via El Golea, In Salah, and Tamanraset. At Ganet I hired camels and a native guide and went westwards via Ft. Ghardel to Afara, where I had the opportunity to meet the supreme chief of the *Kel Ajjer* living in French territory. From Afara I went up the valley named Aharhar and across the Tasilé Mountains to Éléżi (Ft. Polignac). After a short rest with the French garrison I went northwards to the region of Hassi Issendjel, where I visited various Tuareg camps, notably of the tribes *Kel Terurit* and *Urarren*. I stayed in Tasilé-n-Ajjer for six weeks, and returned by plane to Algiers via Ft. Flatters and Wargla. From Algiers I made a very
[126] short trip to the *Kabyle* of the Djurdjura Mountains. From the Kabyle, the Chawiya, and the Ajjer Tuareg an ethnographical collection of about 70 specimens was made.

(5) From autumn 1952 until summer 1954 I studied social anthropology in University College London under Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry. My studies in London were interrupted in summer 1953 when I went to North Africa to stay for three months among the Ahaggar Tuareg. I lived most of the time in camps of the vassal tribes *Dag Rali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*, but I also visited the *Iklan-en-tawsit* and camps of certain *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes, notably the *Iheyawen-Hada*. I also paid a visit to camps of the *Kel Rezzi* Tuareg (*Ahl Azzi*) who descend patrilineally from Arabs, and I spent several days in the camp of the *Amenukal*, that is the supreme chief elected from the dominant noble tribe of *Kel Rela*. Among agricultural settlements visited the most important were Abalessa and Silet –
[121] apart from Tamanraset. My studies concentrated upon social and political organization, but I made
[126] an ethnographical collection of more than a hundred specimens. The journey from Algiers to Tamanraset and return was made by plane via El Golea and In Salah.

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(6) My sixth journey to North Africa was undertaken 1954–55 and comprised about 14 months' field-work among Northern and Southern Tuareg. I left Algiers by car via Djelfa, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El Golea to In Salah at the beginning of the autumn 1954. At In Salah I bought four camels and hired an Arab guide of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe. After a short visit to his camp we went southwards to the region of the Ahnet Massif where I visited camps of *Kel-ahem-mellen* (a small noble tribe), *Kel-Immidir* (*Isekkemaren*), *Ayt Lowayen* of the *Kel Turha* section, *Kel Rezzi*, and notably the *Kel Ahnet*. Two small camps visited claimed to belong to the noble *Taytok* tribe, but they had no matrilineal relationship to that tribe which is now found in the Tamesna plains west of Ayr. I left Ahnet for Tamanrasset about the middle of December, and in the following months I travelled alone with my camels in Ahaggar as I now knew Tuareg language sufficiently to dispense with an interpreter. Until the beginning of April 1955 I lived in camps of the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes, and passed some days in the *Amenukal*'s camp. I also had a house at Tamanrasset where I could work more peacefully with problems connected with kinship, land tenure, and political organization. In this work I was mainly assisted by two older Tuareg of the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes. Apart from Tamanrasset I visited the following cultivation centres:— Utul, Tahart, Ti-n-amenser, Ennedid, Iglen, Abalessa, Amsel, and Tarhawhawt. – On the 3rd of April, 1955, I left Ahaggar for Ayr together with two Ayr Tuareg who were returning to their camps at Northern Ayr after a caravan journey to Tamanrasset. We travelled south-eastwards via the small cultivation centre Tagnut and thence into the very barren country separating Ahaggar from Ayr. We refilled our six skin-bags with water at the wells of I-n-abeggi and I-n-azawa, and had no water again until we arrived at a fairly large and permanent waterhole (*agelmam*) known as Tamengoyt, situated on the northern outskirts of the Ayr Massif. Close to this place we met the first Tuareg camps of the *Kel Tédalé* who dominate the northern parts of Ayr. The following days we saw several camps of these Tuareg. At last we arrived at the camp of one of my companions who belonged to the *Ikkoberen* tribe though his family was very mixed with *Kel Tédalé*. This camp was situated in the Azel valley, where we stayed for about ten days to regain full strength. Thereupon we continued to *Iferwan* which constitutes the northernmost village of the Ayr Massif. I lived in this village for about three weeks and then I continued towards Agadez together with a Tuareg of the *Kel Akerra* tribe. We visited camps of various tribes on our journey southwards (*Kel Rarus*, *Iforas*). The journey was a difficult one as two of my camels were worn out. We left them in a camp of *Ikojjejiten* Tuareg. This was situated at the Afarak valley from where we continued to Agadez via the small agricultural settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses. From Agadez I went by truck down to Zinder, but returned quickly to make a more complete investigation of the Ayr Tuareg. The situation was now very difficult as my two camels left at Afarak died and I was too short of money to buy a new animal. My financial problems were rather acute and were solved only by the very kind and resolute help rendered me by Professor Daryll Forde of University College London. I was thus able to continue my studies for another six months. I hired a house in Agadez where I could work peacefully, and bought a fine riding camel in order to be able to visit Tuareg camps in the vicinity. The most extensive journey made went to the village of Awderas, north-east of Agadez and close to the Begzen Mountains. On this journey I revisited the small settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses, and visited pastoral camps of the *Iforas*, the *Ikojjejiten*, the *Kel Tamat*, the *Igen-*

101 114 122 *déynen*, and the *Imezzureg*. If not staying in Agadez I lived mainly in camps of the latter tribe, and spent a considerable time in one particular camp. My studies were concluded with a visit to the camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief north of Aderbissinat. I remained in his camp for about a fortnight and also visited camps of the *Echchikhen* Tuareg and the Fulani who are numerous in this area. I left Agadez by air via Tawa, Niamey, Bamako to Dakar whence I returned to Denmark by ship, and a [126] few days later returned to London to resume my studies at University College. On this comparatively long journey among the Tuareg I did not make any large ethnographical collection, as I could not afford to buy much, but brought back with me about fifty different specimens plus a few archaeological objects.

(7) In 1956 I returned to Copenhagen from London. I was then planning a new journey to North Africa, but for many reasons this had to be postponed until the autumn 1959. The journey was a very short one of only two months. I left Copenhagen by air on the second of August and arrived at Niamey the next day. After a week's stay at Niamey I continued by plane via Maradi and Zinder to Agadez. The day after my arrival at this ancient capital of the Ayr people I was able to join a car expedition organized by Mr. J. Demonceau, who was studying locust migrations, and by Mr. Claude Gardin of the "Peloton Nomade", who was looking for Tuareg camel thieves. We went first to Ingal and from there continued northwards to the village and salt pits of *Tegidda-n-tésemt*. We went further north but stopped at the well of I-n-abanţerit, then going eastwards across the Talak Plains to the western edge of the Ayr Massif. Our journey back to Agadez followed the road through the mountains. Though this journey did not take much more than a week it was of great importance to my studies, as I had for the first time an occasion to see the extensive plains west of Ayr – a region of great economic value to many tribes not only of Ayr Tuareg but also to certain tribes of Ahaggar. On the journey I visited camps of *Idaléyen*, *Kel Tédalé* and *Iforas* (Ayr Tuareg), of [121] *Iregenaten* (Ahaggar Tuareg), and of *Tégehé-n-Efis* (originally Ahaggar Tuareg). In all these camps I collected much valuable material concerning tent structures and economics. – Shortly after my [123] return to Agadez from this brief journey I met a Tuareg of the *Imezzureg* tribe. I knew him well from my visit to Ayr in 1955, and he was in fact my classificatory elder brother. I went immediately to his camp situated not very far from Agadez, and I lived with him and his kinsmen for the rest of the time left at my disposal. During this period the camp was frequently broken and taken to the best possible pastures of annual plants. I left the camp only once for a week when my brother and I made a camel journey westwards to Tegidda-n-tagayt and Tegidda-n-edrar. In these regions we visited several Ayr tribes which I had never been among previously (e.g. *Imezzuren*, *Ijakarkaren*), and we were lucky enough to meet during this journey the supreme chief of the noble *Kel Azel* tribe. We also visited the camp of the drum-chief of the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, who move northwards to Ayr at the end of the rains. I finished my field-work about the sixth of October and was back in Copenhagen by plane via Zinder, Maradi, and Niamey on the tenth. I made a very small ethnographical collection [126] comprising about twenty specimens. My investigations were not concentrated on any particular [121] subject. I acquired valuable supplementary material on such different matters as traditional political systems, kinship, ecology, and technology.

(8) Participating in The First International Congress of Africanists at Accra I had the opportunity

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to visit Niamey for one week at the beginning of December 1962. Here I studied the very valuable 101
ethnographical collections of The IFAN Museum, and I spent two days in camps of *Bélla* and Tuareg 114
of the *Western Iwllemmeden* east and north-east of Ayoru on the Niger. Of particular value was my 122
visit to a camp of the dominant noble tribe, *Kel Tahabanat*. Its supreme chief *Amuley* and his family [127]
gave me important information on Tuareg culture in this little known area. My visit to Tuareg and [115]
*Bélla* near Ayoru was made possible by the very kind assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Bernus of the IFAN. They put a truck with its driver at my free disposition.

Altogether I have spent almost three years among North African pastoralists – mainly among the 114
Tuareg. This length of time is not so impressive as it may seem, for my investigations have been carried out over an extensive territory ranching from the Mediterranean to the outskirts of the Sudanese savannah. A detailed study of Tuareg ecology and culture necessitates a detailed knowledge of change [121]
and variation in environment within and without the country in which the Tuareg live.

The literature which deals with the Tuareg is very comprehensive as can be seen from the bibliography at the end of this book, but most publications are of very little value and many of them are almost inaccessible.

The Tuareg are first mentioned in literature by Arab authors of the Middle Ages, but most of these historians and geographers did not know the Tuareg country and even the few of them who travelled in the Sahara tell us very little about the Tuareg in early Arabic texts generally called *Muletthemin*, that is "the veiled ones". The most important Arab authors who mention the Tuareg are Ibn Hawkal (10th century), El-Bekri (11th century), Edrisi (12th century), Ibn Batutah (14th century), and Ibn Khaldun (14th century). Ibn Khaldun gives the most intimate description of the Tuareg though apparently he never met them. But they played a very important part in his attempt to recount the ancient history of the North African Berbers. After Ibn Khaldun came Leo Africanus (16th century) who published information gathered by himself on journeys in the Sahara. His book was first published in Italian. There are certain later Arab authors who have contributed to our knowledge of North African cultures and the Tuareg, e.g., Es-Sadi who lived in the 17th century. We must also mention in this connection that there are other valuable Arabic manuscripts, notably those generally referred to as the Agadez Chronicle, which contain much historical material on the Ayr Tuareg (cf. Palmer 1910; 1928; 1936; Urvoy 1934).

The first modern description of the Tuareg was given by Hornemann who travelled from Cairo to Murzuk in 1798. Throughout the 19th century many European travellers contributed to our knowledge of the Tuareg, and it is very important now to have their accounts which derive from a time when traditional political systems were unaffected by European colonization. Among these travellers we should mention such outstanding names as Lyon, Caillié, Denham & Clapperton & Oudney, Richardson, Barth, Duveyrier, Rohlfs, Hourst, Foureau, and von Bary. Lyon gives a very valuable description of the Tuareg who live around Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but by far the most important among these authorities are Barth, who wrote about the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Ayr*, and the *Iwllemmeden*, and Duveyrier, who published an excellent monograph on the Northern Tuareg with particular reference to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. At the beginning of the present century military posts were established in the Sahara, and literature about the Tuareg became more abundant. Thus Benhazera wrote a good book on

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114 the Tuareg of Ahaggar who were also visited by other scientists and explorers. The most important work on these Tuareg is the great dictionary edited by Foucauld, who lived several years in Ahaggar until his death in 1916. Later works are those of Lhote and Blanguernon. From the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer literature is scarce, but recently good studies on them have been published by Dubief, who has also contributed to our knowledge of the Ahaggar Tuareg. From Ayr we have one early book by Jean, who is often unreliable, while the later book by Rodd contains much valuable material. More recently our knowledge of the Ayr Tuareg has also been extended by the studies of Lhote and Nicolas. The latter author has published a good survey of the tribes and groups inhabiting Ayr and adjacent regions, but Nicolas' most important studies deal with the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* around Tawa. Our knowledge of the south-western Tuareg along the Niger and around Timbuktu (the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* and the *Kel Tademaket*) is unfortunately very sparse. There are only two books to be mentioned, namely those of Aymard and Richer. As to the Tuareg north of the Niger in the mountains of Adrar-n-Foras, they have been described by Cortier, and there is no other important work about them.

Very recently our knowledge of the Tuareg has also been increased by important works dealing more generally with the Tuareg or with particular aspects of their culture, e.g., the works of Lhote, Gabus, and Briggs. But none of these authors has tried to describe in detail Tuareg social organization. Nobody but Miner, who writes mainly on culture and social life of Timbuktu, has published a Tuareg kinship system. This system, which is taken down among the *Bélla* who are the former slaves of the Niger Tuareg, does not seem to be entirely correct in the sense that it does not indicate the true classificatory terms. I may add that I have myself published one Tuareg kinship system incorrectly, namely that of the Ayr Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1959, p. 102). This will be correctly re-published in this book.

Tuareg literature is largely superficial, but there are a few good studies. In some of them you will find information also given in this study. When I mention observations which have also been made by earlier authorities, I do not refer to them in case they may be said to be generally known and made by several authors. Many of the works which I mention in my bibliography are of extremely little value. However, I wish to describe cultural features in detail, and a few interesting notes may be found even in more popular travelling books which are also sometimes furnished with good photographs.

[126] Almost all photographs published in this book are of my own taking or represent objects collected by myself among the Tuareg. Where other pictures are used reference to authorities is given.

# The Tuareg

The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive area of Western Sahara and the northern parts of the Western Sudan. The territory dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° Northern Latitude and between 5° Western Longitude and 10° Eastern Longitude. 101 131

The Tuareg fall into several main groups which correspond largely to political units. These groups are the following:—

I. *Kel Ajjer*, in the mountains named Tasilé-n-Ajjer in the eastern part of the Algerian Sahara and in adjacent parts of Libya. Northwards they reach Tripolitania and the great sandy desert Erg Oriental around Radames.

II. *Kel Ahaggar*, in the Ahaggar Mountains, in the mountains of Ahnet, Immidir, and Téfedest – and in adjacent parts of the lowland. Certain tribes of the Ahaggar group live in the southern plains of Tamesna between the mountain massifs of Adraɣ-n-Foras and Ayr, particularly around I-n-abanɣerit and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

III. *Kel Adrar*, in the mountains of Adraɣ-n-Foras south-west of Ahaggar.

IV. *Kel Ayr*, in the mountain massif of Ayr and in the plains to the west and south. The Tuareg of Ayr form several semi-independent units of which the more important are the *Kel Ewey*, the *Kel Tamat*, the *Kel Faday*, and the *Kel Ferwan*.

V. *Kel Geres*, south of the Kel Ayr in the plains around Tessawa. Late in summer at the end of the rains they move up to Southern Ayr around the watering places of Tegidda-n-edrar, Tegidda-n-tagayt, and Tafadek.

VI. *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*, that is the eastern *Iwllemmeden*, in the plains around Tawa. At the end of the rains they move northwards to the region of Ingal which is within the country of the Ayr Tuareg.

VII. *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*, that is the western *Iwllemmeden*, in the plains around Meneka and along the Niger.

VIII. *Kel Tademaket* comprising several tribes and groups of tribes around Timbuktu and Lac Faguibine. Important among these Tuareg are the *Tengerregif* and the *Kel Inteser*. The *Tademaket* Tuareg from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*.

The two former groups, the *Kel Ajjer* and the *Kel Ahaggar*, are frequently referred to by the generic term of *Northern Tuareg*, while the six latter groups living on the outskirts of the true desert and in the Sudanese savannah are known as *Southern Tuareg*. In addition to these groups there are certain small Tuareg groups which in recent times have left their original homeland. After the French penetra- 101 167

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167 tion into Ayr many Tuareg of that region emigrated, and some of them settled as far away as Darfur
[649] where they and their descendants still live near El Fasher. Another emigration took place after the
[162] Tuareg revolt against the French in 1917. Many Tuareg of the *Kel Ayr* and the *Iwllemmeden* fled to Northern Nigeria to settle in villages and towns around Kano and Katsena. According to Rodd about 30.000 Ayr Tuareg fled to Nigéria after the revolt (Rodd 1926a, p. 361).

161 According to statistics for the period 1933–38 the total number of Tuareg living in the Algerian Sahara and to the south in the republics of Niger and Soudan is estimated by Lhote to be about 240.000.

162 They were divided among the main groups as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Kel Ahaggar* | 4.254 |
| *Kel Ajjer* | 1.508 |
| *Kel Adrar* | 4.223 |
| *Kel Ayr & Kel Geres* | 27.765 |
| *Iwllemmeden* | 161.160 |
| *Tengerregif* | 40.000 |

162 These figures need certain corrections. Thus the *Kel Ajjer* are more numerous than indicated by the
161 above figure, which does not include Tuareg of that group living in Libya. On the other hand the
[567] figure for *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg is much too high; it includes about 94.000 negroid slaves which should be deducted, as slaves are not included in the other figures. Nevertheless, Lhote believes that the actual number of free Tuareg is about 300.000 as the birth rate is on the increase. Thus statistics for 1950 indicate that there are 4.611 fairskinned Tuareg in Ahaggar (Lhote 1955a, p. 157). Nicolas assumes that there are about 500.000 Sudanese Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. Avertissement). This figure is, no doubt, too high. If we assume that there are in all 300.000 Tuareg, we find that the two northern groups *Kel Ajjer & Kel Ahaggar* living in the true desert country constitute about three per cent of the total Tuareg population.*

197 The Tuareg language is known as *tamahak* in the two northern groups, *tamachek* in the south. It has four main branches or dialects, namely 1) *tahaggart* spoken by the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*; 2) *tadrak* spoken by the Tuareg of *Adrar-n-Foras*; 3) *tayri* spoken by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*; 4) *tawllemmet* spoken by the *Iwllemmeden* and other Sudanese Tuareg. Grammatically these four dialects are closely related, but there are important distinctions in pronunciation and vocabulary. The dialects are on the whole mutually intelligible.

212 The alphabet known as *tifinar* is known in all Tuareg groups. It is related to the ancient Libyan script. Several authors have stated that *tifinar* is not so widely known among the modern Tuareg as it was in the past. It is true that certain Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arabic alphabet, but it is very difficult even nowadays to find adult Tuareg who do not know their proper script which is also widely used for letters. This, anyway, is true of the Tuareg groups I have visited, and it must be added that I have never found any proof of the statement so frequently seen in literature that the alphabet is

* Considering the statistics for 1933–38 (240.000 ÷ 94.000) the total number of true Tuareg in 1950 would appear to be lower than 300.000.

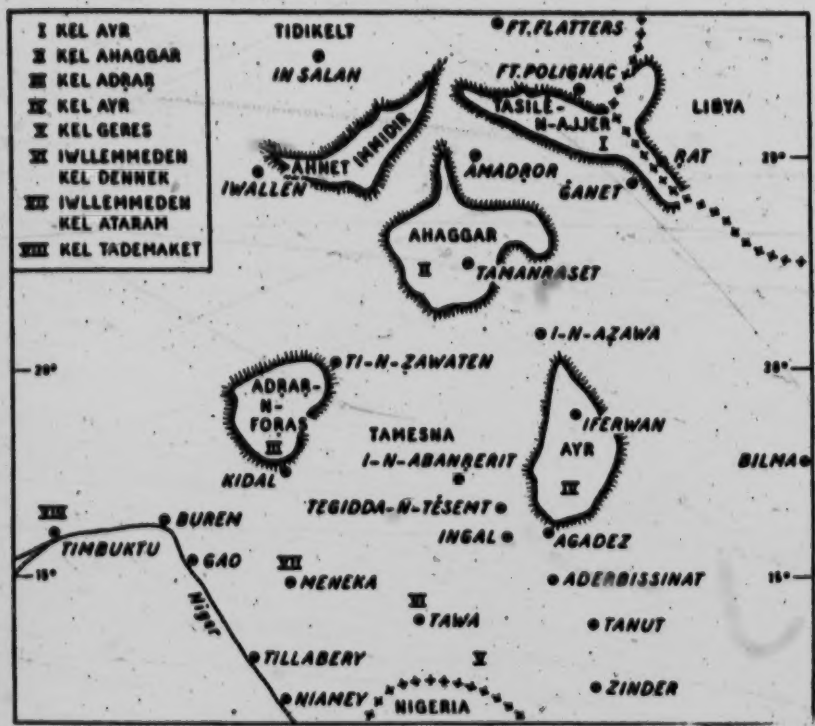


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Fig. 1. Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese [illegible] inhabited by the Tuareg who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups, as mentioned in the text, are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. The *Kel Tademaket* Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 125 kilometres.

known and used particularly by women. There are slight distinctions in the characters of the alphabet 212
used by various Tuareg groups. I here reproduce the characters generally used in Ahaggar (Tasilé-n-
Ajjer) and in Ayr. In transcribing *tifinar* into the Roman alphabet I have on the whole adopted the [104]
system used by Foucauld who has made the most profound studies of the northern dialect (Foucauld
1918-20, 1920, 1925-30, 1940, 1951-52), but certain alterations have been made in agreement with
the proposal of K.-G. Prasse. The Ayr dialect is very badly known. Its grammar and its peculiar [114]
vocabulary has never been studied.

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565 The true Tuareg in most groups fall into several classes as follows:—

619 *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), or *Imajeren* (sing. *Amajer*). These two words designate the supreme Tuareg class which is generally referred to in literature as "nobility". The term *Ihaggaren* is used only among the Northern Tuareg, while *Imajeren* is employed in Ayr and also among Sudanese Tuareg. The two terms are synonymous, and so-called noble Tuareg are found in most Tuareg groups. However, the *Kel Geres* employ the term *Imajeren* for all true Tuareg. Among the *Kel Adrar* certain tribes claim to be noble, but though these tribes have very much the same position as noble tribes in Ahaggar and in Ayr, they are not recognized as true noble Tuareg by people of other groups.

*Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). This class is that of *Mrabetin* or marabuts, the religious class established after the introduction of Islam. In most Tuareg groups there are whole tribes of *Ineslemen* under the leadership of their own chiefs, but in Ahaggar there are only a few scattered families. The political position of the *Ineslemen* varies greatly from one group to another. Certain tribes in Ayr which are *Ineslemen* by origin have the same status as the true vassals to be mentioned below, while other *Ineslemen* tribes like the *Iforas* of the *Kel Ajjer* have much the same status as noble Tuareg with the exception that they have no vassals. The *Ineslemen* perform religious duties connected with certain rites of passage. Any Tuareg can acquire the position of *Aneslem* after training in reading the Koran and education in the divine laws under the tutorship of another *Aneslem* or marabut.

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*Echchikhen* (sing. *Echchikh*). This word also refers to people of religious status, and is used almost synonymously with *Ineslemen*. Certain tribes of Ayr (Damergu) have a kind of noble status and possess vassals. The word does not have the meaning of *Echcherifen* (sing. *Echcherif*), which refers to descendants of the Prophet. Individual Tuareg families – particularly in noble tribes – often claim relationship with the Prophet.

*Isekkemaren* (sing. *Asekkemar*). A class which is found only in the two northern groups – particularly among the *Kel Ahaggar*. The *Isekkemaren* Tuareg descend from Arabs, or from unions between Arab men and Tuareg women. They are vassals who have a somewhat different status from that of true vassals, who are mentioned below.

*Iregenaten* (sing. *Aregenat*). This name is not always applied to people of a particular class. It is used as a proper name for one Ahaggar tribe which has its origin from mixed marriages between (noble) Tuareg women and Arabs. In most groups the term *Iregenaten* (*Iregenaten*) is applied to Tuareg descending from unions between noble Tuareg men and vassal women.

212 Fig. 2. The Tuareg alphabet (*tifinar*). The distinctions between Tuareg alphabets of Ahaggar and Ayr are less essential
104 than appears from this list, for some differences are due to the fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg for certain letters prefer
184 an edged form, the Ayr Tuareg a curved one. But both forms are known to all Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg normally write from the right to the left like the Arabs, while the Ayr Tuareg consider it correct to write the letters in vertical rows from bottom to top. It can be seen from the list that the Ahaggar Tuareg have an alphabet of 25 consonants while the Ayr Tuareg have only 21. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels with a dot, which may stand for any vowel. This simple vowel letter is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tagerit*, to the Ayr Tuareg as *tetemokit*. The dialect of the Ayr Tuareg is very little known and most Ayr words mentioned in this study have never been published previously. Even my collection of Ahaggar words seems to contain terms lacking in Foucauld's dictionaries. For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that generally used for geographical maps.

[text continues on p. 12]

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| Ahaggar | Ayr | Transcription and value in Arabic letters | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| yeb | eb | b ب | |
| yech | ech | ch ش | |
| yed | ed | d د | |
| yeḍ | | ḍ ض | Emphatic |
| yef | ef | f ف | |
| yeg | eg | g | Hard |
| yeġ | | ġ | A peculiar soft pronunciation something between g, d, j, and i |
| yeh | eh | h ه | Aspirated |
| yey | ey | y (i) ى | Used both as consonant and vowel at the end of a word. At the beginning and in the middle of a word only as consonant |
| yej | ej | j | |
| yek | ek | k ك | |
| yeḳ | eḳ | ḳ ق | |
| yekh | ekh | kh خ | Foucauld 1951-52 has the transcription ḫ |
| yel | el | l ل | |
| yem | em | m م | |
| yen | en | n ن | |
| yeñ | | ñ | |
| yew | ew | w (u) و | Consonant or vowel as for i mentioned above |
| yer | er | r ر | |
| yeṛ | eṛ | ṛ غ | Pronounced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in litterature |
| yes | es | s س | |
| yet | et | t ت | |
| yeṭ | | ṭ ط | Emphatic |
| | et' | t' | Palatized t |
| yez | ez | z ز | |
| yeẓ | | ẓ | Emphatic |

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565 619 *Imrad* (sing. *Amerid*). People of this class are sometimes called "serfs" in literature, but the word "vassals" is also used. I prefer to use the latter term, but add that the word *Imrad* is most difficult to translate into an European language. The vassal class is represented in all groups with the exception of the *Kel Geres*. Among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden* the word *Kel Ulli* (sing. *Agg Ulli*) is used synonymously with *Imrad*. Among south-western Tuareg around Timbuktu the word *Dagu* or *Dagu* is also used to designate vassals. The *Imrad* class is by far the most numerous in most groups. The relationship between these vassals (*Imrad*) and the noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, *Imajeren*) forms the basis of most political systems which are described later (p. 393 ff.).

101 565 Members of the above-mentioned classes are true Tuareg, though the word *Ineslemen* is also used for marabuts of other peoples and for marabuts of various black-skinned castes found among the Tuareg. Among the Northern Tuareg all people of the above-mentioned classes with the exception of certain *Ineslemen* or marabuts are called *Imuhar* (sing. *Amahar*). The Ayr Tuareg have no such common term to designate the people known to us as *Tuareg*, but occasionally they use generically the word *Imajeren* though strictly speaking this term should be reserved for Tuareg of the supreme noble class.

101 The word *Tuareg* (sing. *Targi*) is never used by the Tuareg themselves, but by Arabs. Duveyrier claims it to be derived from an Arabic word of the root *terek* meaning "to abandon". The meaning of the word accordingly should be "those abandoned (by God)", and should refer to the fact that many Tuareg do not follow Islamic rules very strictly (Duveyrier 1864, p. 317 f.). The same explanation has also been given to me by an Arab of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe of Tidikelt. However, the origin of the word "*Tuareg*" is perhaps a different one: – It may be related to the word *Targu* (Ayr) or *Turga* (Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer), which name is used by the Tuareg to designate the part of the Sahara generally known to us by the Arabic word *Fezzan*. This is very likely, as we know from Arab authors of the Middle Ages that the word *Targu* or *Turga* was then used as a name for a very important Tuareg group living in that area and adjacent regions (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 83 f.; Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 534; Rodd 1926a, p. 273 f.).

142 144 The Tuareg are fair-skinned people who in certain regions and particularly in the south have mixed with Negroes. The Northern Tuareg are predominantly fair-skinned, and many of them are as "white" as Europeans though perhaps a little yellowish or brownish. It is difficult to determine their exact skin colour because they are burned and tanned by the sun and the hot wind characteristic of desert [291] climate. In addition, the Tuareg wear clothes dyed with indigo which comes off on the body, and they [518] rarely wash. When I lived among them my own skin-colour and that of the Tuareg were practically identical. Among the Ayr Tuareg there are also many fair-skinned people, but the Ayr Tuareg are more mixed with Negroes than the Northern Tuareg, and most *Kel Ewey* are predominantly negroid. Very mixed also are the *Kel Geres* and the same seems to hold for other Tuareg groups of the south. A few blond individuals have been recorded from the *Kel Aijer* living around the oases of Rat and Radames, and they may be the offspring of unions between Tuareg women and caravan traders of the north (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 162 f.). The blond individuals met in Southern Ayr are the offspring [648] of the fairly numerous marriages between Frenchmen and Tuareg women, but it is claimed that a few years ago a very blond girl was born to parents of families which had never contracted marriages

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Fig. 3. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Iklan-en-tawsit* tribe.

Fig. 4. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

142 with the French. I have myself never seen a genuine blond Tuareg, but I have met a few albinos though
144 albinism seems to be rare. These observations agree with those of Lhote (1955a, p. 163). All the Tuareg
[143] I have seen had curly or straight black hair, and dark brown or almost black eyes. Many individuals had fairly broad faces with protuding cheeks which gave them superficially a mongoloid appearance,
142 while others had features more like Mediterranean Europeans. In literature the Tuareg are generally described as very tall people. I did not myself carry out anthropological measurements, but will not hesitate to state that in my opinion a great many Tuareg are far from big. Very many adult men in the groups I have visited were considerably shorter than myself (1.73 m). Tuareg men are generally dry
[147] and meagre, bearing the stamp of their roaming life in the desert. Their most outstanding quality is
[157] that of endurance and contempt of hunger and hardship. The appearance of Tuareg women is often quite different – they tend to grow fat. This is probably to some extent due to the fact that married
826 women spend most of their life in the tents and get little physical exercise. But fatness is also a sign
832 of feminine beauty, and some women make a great effort to grow fat by drinking milk or eating
[261] certain fattening plants (cf. p. 177, 178). According to some Tuareg fat women symbolize wealth – large flocks and herds, and much milk – but many Tuareg also say that they prefer fat women because they

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826 get more sexual satisfaction from intercourse with them. "A fat woman is like a woman who has never
832 known a man", they say. Some women are steatopygous though never to the same extent as women
142 among the Bushmen and the Hottentot. Very comprehensive studies of Tuareg physical anthropology
114 are lacking. Readers are referred to the chapter written by Lhote who has also published a brief bibliography of studies on this subject (Lhote 1955a, p. 158–170, 433), and to the recent and valuable publication by Briggs (Briggs 1958, p. 163 ff., 183 ff.).

291 The custom of Tuareg face veiling has attracted the curiosity of many scholars and travellers. Much has been written about the fact that Tuareg men wear a veil (*tagulmust* in Ahaggar, *tagulmust* in Ayr) while their women are unveiled in contrast to Arab custom. There have been given various explanations of the origin of the custom of Tuareg face veiling. Most authors refer it to hygienic conditions: the veil protects the face from sand and dust, and it prevents mouth, nose, and throat from drying up in hot weather. The fact is that the veil has the latter function, and Arab bedouins of the Sahara will also frequently veil their faces during journeys in the hot season. But the hygienic explanation is definitely not the reason why the Tuareg also veil themselves in many situations where face veiling is unpractical and unpleasant. Another explanation of the custom of face veiling is that the veil may perhaps have certain religious or magic functions. This explanation is apparently also insufficient. A
[254] few Tuareg have claimed that the veil may yield protection from persons having an "evil eye" or an
291 "evil mouth" - beliefs known in Ahaggar as *tehof*, in Ayr as *tagarchet*. But as I have stated elsewhere
576 (Nicolaisen 1957a, p. 112; 1961, p. 114) the proper function of face veiling seems to be a social one.
[609] Many Tuareg will leave their face uncovered in family camps or on journeys, but they will always
[604] cover mouth, nose, and brow in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) and in the presence of their parents-in-law (particularly their mothers-in-law). Towards such persons it is also considered very indecent to show one's legs. It has been overlooked by most authors that Tuareg women wear a head-cloth (*ekerhey* in Ahaggar, *adalil* in Ayr), which is similar to the veil worn by men in form and shape. The headcloth and the veil are properly made from Sudanese indigo cotton, and both the veil and the headcloth are therefore also known as *alechehu*. It is true that Tuareg women
[609] do not veil their face by means of this headcloth in the same way as do the men. But in the presence
[604] of foreigners (particularly foreign men) and towards fathers-in-law the women will draw their headcloth over their mouth (cf. Fig. 297*a*). The man's veil and the woman's headcloth have identical social functions which is also proved by the fact that young men and women adopt veil or headcloth at initiation (Ahaggar), or at marriage (Ayr). Both the veil and the headcloth are worn by people of various black-skinned castes of Tuareg country but the custom of face veiling seems to be more strictly observed among the true Tuareg.

181 The custom of face veiling is one characteristic of all Tuareg. Another quality peculiar to all Tuareg, and particularly to those of the noble class, is their "snobbishness" as it is frequently called by many Frenchmen living at Tamanrasset and Agadez. There are a great many things a Tuareg cannot do, and there are many situations in which he will have to act in a very special way if he is to be regarded as a man worthy of respect and prestige. Tuareg attitudes to etiquette are not easily described in words. Gait, gestures, and postures are all intended to express qualities of elegance, arrogance, refinement, and strength. Vanity with regard to dress and ornaments is another characteristic of all true Tuareg.

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Fig. 5. Veiled vassal Tuareg. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

Fig. 6. Irrigation farmer of the *Ibureliten*, that is descendants of mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and Negroes. The man is patrilineally related to the noble *Tayiok* tribe, matrilineally to slaves. Ahaggar, Amsel.

181 and there are indeed many Tuareg both in Ahaggar and in Ayr who wear Islamic amulets which are believed to make the wearers look "great and important". "Prestige" is constantly in the mind of all Tuareg who are much more sophisticated than other people living within their country.

181 Most true Tuareg are nomadic stock-breeders who will not engage in the strenuous work of irriga-
433 tion agriculture. The Tuareg will readily engage in any strenuous work connected with stock-breeding,
461 caravan trading, and in the past also in raiding expeditions, which were organized by people of the nobility, but agricultural work is generally much despised. However, there are in all groups certain families or tribes the members of which subsist predominantly by agriculture, and are nevertheless considered true Tuareg by pastoralists. These agricultural Tuareg will be mentioned in a later chapter,
564 and we shall now pass on to a brief description of various negroid castes and of other non-Tuareg
567 people living within the boundaries of Tuareg territory:—

*Iklan* (sing. *Akli*). These are the proper slaves who are very negroid. Nicolas believes that the word *Akli* (pl. *Iklan*) is in fact derived from a k-l root meaning "to be black" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189), but

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Fig. 7. Tuareg boy of the vassal tribe *Imezzureg* in Ayr.

564 567 Foucauld states that it does not refer to black skin-colour but only to membership of a particular caste (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 787). However, Tuareg slaves are Negroes taken during raids and warfare in the Sudan or bought from slave markets in Sudanese towns and cities. The Sudanese origin of slaves is also indicated by the Ahaggar word *Ibenheren* (sing. *Ébenher*), which term refers to a slave who speaks only a Sudanese language. It is frequently used by Northern Tuareg as an abuse of their [648] slaves, particularly of slave children. Among the Northern Tuareg slavery is still practised with the tacit consent of the French military administration. Most Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have slaves to take care of flocks and herds and to perform various domestic tasks. These slaves live in pastoral camps of the Tuareg, and in Ahaggar they have frequently told me that they felt superior to the black-skinned agriculturists though the latter largely descend from freed slaves. In the Southern [649] Tuareg groups slavery is officially abolished, perhaps because the Southern Tuareg are governed by civil administrators. But it seems as if the official abolition of slavery in the south was also a result of the Tuareg revolt against the French 1916–1917, and very few Ayr Tuareg have slaves nowadays. However, the manumission of slaves is not just a recent phenomenon due to European influence. Slaves have been freed long before the advent of French colonization at the beginning of our century. There are in the south whole groups of slaves who have been manumitted at an unknown date in the past, and these people are known among the Ayr Tuareg by the term *Irawélen* most of whom are nomadic stock-breeders culturally akin to true pastoral Tuareg. They are also known by the Hausa term *Buzu*, which term again corresponds to the Sonray word *Bélla*. This latter word, however, may sometimes refer also to people who are considered a kind of slaves by the Tuareg. Nicolas divides the freed slaves among the *Iwllemmeden* into three groups, viz. *Ikian-n-Egef*, *Irawelan*, and *Iderfan*. The two first groups comprise pastoralists also known as *Buzu*, or *Bélla*, while most members of the last

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group are sedentary agriculturists (Nicolas 1950a, p. 190). In Ahaggar most freed slaves have become incorporated in the negroid caste now to be mentioned. 564 567

*Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*). This term designates the caste of agricultural Negroes known to the Arabs as *Ḥarratin* (sing. *Ḥartani*). In Ahaggar this caste has a rather mixed origin. It did not exist in this 564

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Fig. 8. Vassal woman with amulet cases and snail-shells hanging around her neck. Ahaggar, the *Ajuh-en-ishil* tribe.

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564 region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed*
[463] (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Ahaggar to cultivate
[567] gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaren*, or *Ḥarratin*, like the
[191] immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual, speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahaq*). The *Izeggaren* (*Ḥarratin*) are generally less
[144] negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features.
[142] Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*) refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaren* does not seem to exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Ṛat oasis known as *Ikewweren* apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

[561] *Kel Ĝanet* (sing. *W' Ĝanet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ĝanet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-
[144] n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned
[565] europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ĝanet* have much the same position as Tuareg vassals (Imṛad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ĝanet* immigrants, their status is rather
[567] like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ĝanet* may possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

564 *Ineden* (*Ineden* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Ened*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg
326 groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one. People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only
[162] a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the
564 blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna*
173 *Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963). A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Tementit in Tawat. At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.). 2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and
564 Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of
144 them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

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[184] Fig. 9. Vassal woman with her child straddling over the right hip. The Tuareg generally carry their children in this way though certain Ayr Tuareg have adopted the Sudanese fashion of carrying children on the back. Ahaggar, the *Aḫsh-en-tehli* tribe.

544 144 have expressed as their opinion that the blacksmiths originally constituted a fair-skinned Tuareg population who mixed with black-skinned Sudanese people like so many true Tuareg. It is interesting 564 198 that Tuareg blacksmiths have a peculiar language of their own known as *ténet*. This language has unfortunately never been studied. It is used by the blacksmiths mainly as a secret language spoken when they do not want other people to understand them, whereas blacksmiths use Tuareg (*tamaḫeḳ*) as their family language. The Ayr Tuareg consider the *ténet*-language an invention of the blacksmiths.

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Fig. 10. Young man of the sedentary *Kel Ganet* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. He is yet too young to wear the veil which is used also by these Tuareg-speaking people of Ganet.

Fig. 11. Unveiled blacksmith. His racial features are predominantly negroid though his skin colour is yellow-brown rather than black. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

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From Ayr Tuareg who had much contact with blacksmiths I collected the following words of *ténet* language:—

| *ténet* | *tamachek* | *English* |
|---|---|---|
| *wochimbagen* | *ineden* | blacksmiths |
| *wosilkum* | *echink* | porridge |
| *tikulkumin* (pl.) | *tikammarin* | cheese |
| *ohundegan* | *aman* | water |
| *ogera* | *éṛef* | head |
| *tokonderey* | *timezzugin* | ears |
| *tedroragen* | *titawin* | eyes |

Prasse is of the opinion that the secret language of the blacksmiths is a kind of slang consisting of circumlocutions of everyday words, but derived from nothing but the local dialect itself. He suggests the following tentative interpretations of some of the words I have noted:— *wa chenbeyen* = "the blackheaded one"; *wa s ilkem* = "the one it follows" or: "sticks to"; *agera* = "leather bag".

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The Ayr Tuareg say that the blacksmiths do not have *iénet* words for everything, but always use 564
Tuareg words for certain objects and animals. It is in fact possible that the *iénet* language has been 198
created by the blacksmiths to be used as a secret language. This explanation agrees excellently with
the social position of blacksmiths. They make weapons, ornaments, household implements, and the 564
like for the Tuareg. The Tuareg therefore consider them indispensable, and admire them for their
skill. But this is only one aspect of the Tuareg attitude towards blacksmiths who are also looked down [578]
upon because of their obscure origin and their predominantly negroid appearance. Furthermore,
blacksmiths are frequently wearisome to the Tuareg. They claim gifts from the Tuareg on every [431]
possible occasion, and if they are given nothing when they ask it is believed that they can do severe
harm to the persons from whom a gift is claimed. For the blacksmiths possess a mystic power known 564
to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama* or *tezma*. This mystic power has nothing to do with black magic. It comes 754
into action automatically without any physical performance by the blacksmith if his demand is ignored.
The *ettama* power is dangerous to children and to animals but not so much to adults. Children
frequently fall ill with a swollen belly, while the effect on domestic animals is more severe and often
causes their death. Though blacksmiths do not perform any physical act to put their mystic power
into operation, they are nevertheless held responsible for damage ascribed to it by the Tuareg. This
can be illustrated by the following example from Southern Ayr:— An Ayr Tuareg was on his way
from Damergu to Ayr with a caravan of camels loaded with millet. One evening at dusk, when he was
just about to lead his camels out for grazing at night, a blacksmith came to him to ask for a gift of
millet. The Tuareg said that the blacksmith had better wait until next morning as it was already
getting dark. The blacksmith went away, and shortly after his departure one of the Tuareg's camels
fell ill and died. The Tuareg was convinced that the death of his camel was due to the blacksmith's
*ettama* power, and therefore wanted revenge. He mounted a camel, pursued the blacksmith and killed
him with an axe. This event happened only a few years ago. It illustrates how firmly many Tuareg
believe in the evil *ettama* power of blacksmiths. In fact many Tuareg openly declare that they dislike 564
and fear all blacksmiths. They do not like to associate with them except on festive occasions when [578]
blacksmiths frequently act as singers and musicians. The Tuareg never intermarry with people of the
blacksmith caste, and even people of other negroid castes are reluctant to intermarry with blacksmiths.
In Ahaggar a marriage may be contracted between blacksmiths and *Ḥarratin*, and in Ayr there are
said to be a few marriages between blacksmiths and people of other negroid classes or castes. But on
the whole the caste of blacksmiths (*Ineden*) can be characterized as endogamous. This is quite natural [754]
in view of the fact that blacksmiths possess the evil mystic power (*ettama*, or *tezma*), which I have
described in more detail elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1961, pp. 134 f., 146).

Between fair-skinned, true Tuareg and other black-skinned castes but that of the blacksmiths, 563
marriages are contracted now and then, and it seems as if mixed marriages of this type are becoming 582
more and more numerous. In Ahaggar there are some marriages between Tuareg and women belonging
to the castes of slaves (*Iklah*) or sedentary agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) and there are even
marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg women and negroid men though such marriages are less
frequent. Mixed marriages are even more frequent in Ayr. The offspring of such unions are known in 563
Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer as *Iburelliten* (*Aburelli*). This word is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but

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Fig. 12. Blacksmith woman. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

563 they more frequently refer to mulattoes as *Ichardanen* (sing. *Acharda*). Such mulattoes do not form any particular class or caste.

It is stated in almost all writings on the Tuareg that the offspring of mixed marriages will acquire the social status of their mothers, but though this may be theoretically true in some Tuareg groups actual conditions are more complicated. Among *Ineslemen* Tuareg and generally in southern Tuareg [564] groups there is a strong tendency to acknowledge patrilineal affiliation. In Ahaggar classes and castes [565] should ideally be matrilineal organizations. However, this is not always so. A man who descends from a vassal mother and a noble father will not become a true vassal. He will not have to perform any of the obligations characteristic of the vassal class, and to-day he is normally considered noble 563 though he cannot succed to chieftainship in his father's tribe. If a pastoral Tuareg marries a woman 591 of one of the black-skinned castes the children who grow up in the father's camp will frequently remain there as pastoralists and members of their father's tribe. Conversely children descending from a black-skinned father of an agricultural settlement and a fair-skinned pastoral woman will often remain in the settlement to practise agriculture even after their father's death. As to offspring of marriages between Tuareg men and slave women, they will continue to live in the father's tribe as pastoralists, and will frequently acquire the social position of the father as mentioned later in the description of Tuareg slavery. Mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and people of black-skinned castes constitute a minority. But it seems as if such marriages are on the increase.

101 All the above mentioned peolpe are Tuareg-speaking though part of the sedentary agriculturists of 563 Ahaggar (*Harratin*, or *Izeggaren*) have Arabic as their mother tongue. In Ahaggar there are also many [197] true Arabs – particularly at the administration centre of Tamanrasset. There are also Arabs at certain other villages in Ahaggar, and there are Arab pastoralists. They have largely mixed with the Tuareg, and certain Arab pastoralists such as the *Ahl Azzi* (*Kel Rezzi*) should be classed rather with Tuareg than with Arabs. There are also some Arabs in Ayr. There are Arab traders at Agadez, Iferwan, and Ingal, and there are a few Arab pastoralists who have mixed with pastoral Tuareg of Northern Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



But pastoralists of Arab descent are limited to a few scattered individuals or families in the Ayr area in contrast to the extended Sudanese country around the Niger, where whole pastoral tribes claim patrilineal descent from Arabs, while matrilineally most of them are Tuareg. 101 563

There are many other people within the extended country inhabited by the Tuareg. Very important in the south is a numerous population of Hausa-speaking Negroes. The so-called *Imeggedezen* (sing. *Ameggedez*) of Agadez speak Hausa which language is spoken by various other sedentary people of that region and further south. There are also a few Sonray-speaking people at Agadez, and Ingal further west is predominantly inhabited by Sonray-speakers known to the Ayr Tuareg as *Isaweren*. The Sonray, as is well known, are now found almost exclusively along the Niger, but Ayr was once conquered by the Sonray, and Barth describes Agadez as a Sonray-speaking city. [197]

In the south the pastoral Fulani are now invading the grazing grounds formerly reserved to and owned by the Tuareg. Camps of pastoral Fulani are frequently seen nowadays even as far north as the southern outskirts of the Ayr Massif around Agadez and Ingal. When grazing is good the Fulani may even move further north into the Talak plains with their herds of long-horned cattle. Many other people are frequently met in Tuareg country, e.g. the Tebu, and the Kanuri, who frequently come to Agadez. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are even a few individuals who descend from Tebu women.

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Fig. 13. Mother and son. Slaves of the Tuareg in Ayr.

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177 The Tuareg have contact with a great many people speaking other tongues, and most Tuareg men
[191] know one or two languages in addition to their mother tongue. A great many Northern Tuareg speak
Arabic, and some of them even Hausa, as these two languages are important to them during caravan
[192] trading. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer the Tuareg language has adopted many Arabic words. This
is not the case to the same extent in Ayr, where most loan-words are taken over from Hausa which
language is spoken by most Tuareg men. Even the *Kel Ewey* dialect is extremely mixed with
177 Hausa. It should be mentioned that Tuareg women have very little knowledge of foreign languages.
189 They generally speak neither Arabic nor Hausa.

The women have played a great part in the preservation of the Tuareg language and culture. But the latter has nevertheless been much influenced by contact with culturally different peoples. Foreign influences are responsible for certain distinctions in the Tuareg cultures of the north and the south.

# Environment

Tuareg country ranges from comparatively fertile savannah in the south to barren desert in the north, where the nomads live in or near mountainous regions. Four Tuareg groups are named after the dominant mountains of the Western Sahara, namely those of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, Adɾaɾ-n-Foɾas, and Ayr. 133 [101]

The mountains of Ahaggar are by far the highest. They consist predominantly of archaic and proterozoic rocks, and of basalt and tufa from a relatively recent period. They are generally of a very dark colour and characterized by formations of rugged ranges, craters and isolated peaks which also bear evidence to former volcanic activity. But the rugged contours of the Ahaggar Mountains are also created by a complicated network of river valleys eroded mainly during the pluvial periods contemporary with the European Ice Age.

The Ahaggar Mountains fall into three main massifs of which that named Atakor is the most important and the highest, with peaks up to 3000 metres above sea level (Ilaman, Tahat). To the north is the massif of Téfedest with peaks which surpass an altitude of 2000 metres, and to the east the lower massif named Anahef. In geological structure these three mountain massifs of Ahaggar differ from the mountains of Ahnet, Immidir (Mouydir), and Tasilé-n-Ajjer which surround Ahaggar in the north. These latter massifs consist predominantly of paleozoic sandstone. They are not so high above sea level and form comparatively flat plateaux. The maximum altitude of Ahnet is 1300 metres while the peaks of Immidir rise to 1680 metres. The extensive plateau of Tasilé-n-Ajjer is on average 1200 metres above sea level, but a few peaks in the south exceed 2000 metres. Parts of the Tasilé-n-Ajjer mountains are covered with basalt rocks, and the river valleys of the comparatively level plateau often form true canyons which make traffic much more difficult than in the higher and more rugged mountains of Ahaggar. Between and around the northern mountain massifs the country consists mainly of flat plains covered with gravel and stone. Extensive areas of sandy desert are rare except in parts of the *Kel Ajjer* territory. [137]

Far to the south of Ahaggar are the low mountains of Tasilé-ta-n-Ahaggar, which are structurally related to the *tasilé* mountains in the north. This area is of little importance to the Tuareg and, in contrast to the higher and more extensive massifs of Adɾaɾ-n-Foɾas and Ayr, is not regularly inhabited. [131] While the mountains of Adɾaɾ-n-Foɾas are everywhere below 1000 metres, the peaks of Ayr rise to almost 2000 metres above sea level in the east and the north where the country is covered with basalt rocks. Idukalen in the Begzen Mountains is 1900 metres above sea level, while the Tamgak Mountains in the north have a maximum altitude of about 1800 metres. In its most mountainous parts the Ayr

[p. 25]

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133 Massif resembles Ahaggar, but it is on the whole much more level with broader valleys and in between the lower mountains there are clayey plains. Immediately east of the Massif is the very extended sandy [131] desert which is uninhabited. Further south than Adrar-n-Foras and Ayr there are no considerable mountains. Between the two massifs are the plains of Tamesna and Talak which continue into the plains of the Sudanese savannah.

Tuareg country consists predominantly of rocky mountains and flat, extensive plains of gravel and stone. This configuration is basic to our understanding of Tuareg economy as will become clear when we have outlined the characteristic features of climate.

132 Tuareg country is very hot in summer – so hot that even the nomads born and bred in the country suffer much from the heat at that season. The hottest months are May, June (farthest south) and July (farthest north). During these months temperature may exceed 50° centigrade, and is on average 30°–35°, or higher. In the uppermost mountain zone of Ahaggar nights are comparatively cool even in summer, while in the lower country there is often little difference between day and night temperatures. This is true in particular when, as often happens in summer, the sky is overcast during the night and consequently there is little radiation of the heat absorbed by rocks and sand in daytime. The day temperature in summer is normally higher than the temperature of the human body, and the [484] temperature of sand and rocks will rise to 60°–70°. Travelling is extremely hard under such conditions, [271] and most people spend the day in the shade of rocks and trees, sleeping and drinking water of which an adult person consumes 8-10 litres a day. Violent winds are common in the Sahara most of the year and in particular in the daytime; in summer these winds are usually very hot and add considerably to the discomfort of the climate, as do the numerous flies.

The country of the Northern Tuareg has a rather continental climate characterized by great fluctuations of temperature during the year. Although Tuareg suffer from heat in summer, they do not generally complain much about it, and they consider the comparatively cold winter much worse than the hot summer. In winter, temperature in the country of the Northern Tuareg averages about 10°. The absolute minimum temperature however is very much below this. Thus in Ahaggar the village of Tamanrasset (1400 m) has in January an average temperature of 11,7 , but an absolute minimum of -6,6°. Frost is very common during winter nights, and even snow may fall in the higher parts of Ahaggar at that time of the year. In the country of the Southern Tuareg frost may also occur, but in Southern Ayr around Agadez frost is said to be very rare and snow is unknown; the winter period [511] in the south is on the whole milder than in the north, where the changes between relatively cold and [164] very hot temperatures, allied with inadequate dwellings and clothes, are responsible for pneumonia and similar diseases, which give rise to frequent deaths – especially among children.

The most important climatic distinction between the countries of Northern and Southern Tuareg is due to differences in the annual precipitation as will be seen from the following figures (in m/m) for the annual rainfall 1931–1945 in the territories of seven Tuareg groups:—

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| *Kel Ahaggar* | | *Kel Aijer* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Iwallen | 18.6 | Bat | 11.4 |
| Édeles | 18.9 | Ft. Flatters | 13.7 |
| Tamanraset | 40.7 | Ft. Polignac | 17.6 |
| | | Ganet | 17.8 |
| | | Radames | 37.8 |
| *Kel Adrar* | | *Kel Ayr* | |
| Agelhok | 75.0 | Iferwan | 74.1 |
| Kidal | 123.2 | Agadez | 179.3 |
| *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* | | *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* | |
| Burem | 172.0 | Tawa | 351.4 |
| Meneka | 221.5 | | |
| Gao (Gewgo) | 233.9 | *Kel Geres* | |
| | | Tessawa | 525.0 |

Thus the annual precipitation in Tuareg country ranges from 11.4 mm in the north to more than 500 mm in the extreme south. In the territories of the Southern Tuareg there is a fixed rainy season in summer, and although the annual precipitation may vary from one year to another there will always be enough rain for the regeneration of perennial plants and the sprouting of annual herbs and grasses. The territories of *Iwllemmeden* and *Kel Geres* largely consist of savannahs where trees and grasses grow over extensive plains. Compared with this we have entirely different conditions in the north, where the territories of the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Aijer* are situated on the extreme frontiers of two different rainfall belts, namely that of the Sudan where rain falls in summer, and that of the Mediterranean with a wet season in winter. Therefore there is no special wet season for the whole country of the Northern Tuareg, the most northern parts of which have maximum rain late in autumn or in early spring, while the southernmost regions have summer rain like the Sudan. Rain from the north may however occasionally penetrate as far into the Sahara as the northern outskirts of Ayr, where during my journey from Ahaggar to Ayr in April 1955, I found pastures of annual plants due to winter rain. As far as Ahaggar is concerned rain has, over an extensive period of years, fallen most abundantly late in summer. But what is characteristic of this region as well as of the territory of the *Kel Aijer* is the fact that rain does not fall every year. In Ahaggar, including the northern massifs of Immidir (Mouydir) and Ahnet, four years out of ten are almost completely dry (Dubief 1947, p. 7–23), and in the flat plains outside the mountains many years may pass between two rainfalls on one and the same spot. These plains have little or no vegetation of perennial plants and are known to the Tuareg as *ténéré* or *tanezruft*. In or round the mountain massifs there is always a better possibility of rain, and when rain falls in Ahaggar late in summer it is normally accompanied by violent thunder-storms and is very heavy. This in conjunction with the morphology of the mountains makes a perennial vegetation possible.

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132 When rain is falling in Ahaggar water immediately flows down the rocky mountain slopes into the sandy river valleys, which may become flooded shortly after rain has started. Indeed, the flood will often rise so suddenly and violently that camels and other animals grazing in the valleys are caught by the strong foaming stream of water. Even humans have been killed by the sudden rise of a flood, but most people will not camp in the river bed itself late in summer when heavy rainfalls are expected to occur. A river valley will generally not be flooded for more than one or two days, but it may, after extremely heavy rain, contain water for a week or even longer. This was the case in the summer of 1953 when the valley of Abalessa in Ahaggar turned into an immense river more than a hundred metres
137 wide. Owing to such heavy rainfalls it is possible for perennial plants with a well developed root-system to survive near the river valleys even in dry years. Outside the river valleys there is very little vegetation of perennial plants in Ahaggar. The bulk of the country has no permanent vegetation, and permanent plants are always more abundant along the broad river valleys of the lower country than along the narrow valleys higher up in the mountains.

Pastures of annual plants may spring up almost anywhere in the desert – even in the otherwise barren countries of *ténéré* and *tanezruft*, where they then constitute valuable fodder for the camels of passing caravans. Rainfall in Ahaggar is most common in the highest parts of the country, where, on the other hand, little perennial vegetation is found. In periods of drought this region is so to speak nothing but rocks and boulders, while after rain in summer it becomes covered with a green curtain of annual plants. South of Ahaggar important perennial vegetation is not found until we arrive at the outskirts of the Adrar and Ayr Mountains, where it is extremely rich compared with Ahaggar. Indeed in Southern Ayr trees and bushes may form dense forests in the valleys outside of which there is also some perennial vegetation. The Ayr Mountains belong to a special zone of vegetation termed *sahel* by French geographers (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 26 ff.). From an economic point of view the main [132] characteristic of this zone, which includes Ayr and Adrar, is that it has a fixed wet season and consequently pastures of annual plants spring up every year over large areas. South of Ayr and Adrar the zone of *sahel* gradually changes into the Sudanese savannah.

137 Tuareg country thus falls into three distinct zones of vegetation with rather different conditions
311 for stock-breeding:—
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1) *True Desert* comprising the territories of *Kel Ahaggar* and *Kel Ajjer*. Rainfall is irregular, and pastures of annual plants do not spring up every year. The main livestock are goats, while sheep are bred only to a very limited extent, and the nomads have no cattle.

2) *Sahel* comprising Adrar and Ayr and part of the plains situated between these two mountain massifs. This zone has some of the characteristics of the true desert, but it has a fixed wet season in summer and consequently pastures of annual plants develop every year. Goats are very important and so are sheep; most nomads keep a few cows (zebus).

3) *Savannah* covering mainly the territories of *Kel Geres*, *Iwllemmeden*, and *Kel Tademaket*. Perennial plants grow over extensive plains, and there is a regular spring of annual vegetation. The main kinds of livestock are cows and sheep. In the savannah Tuareg nomads frequently have horses as riding animals, whereas in the two former zones horses are normally bred only by sedentary people. – Camels and donkeys are bred by all Tuareg.

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The climatic and botanical differences between Ayr and Ahaggar can be seen directly from Tuareg division of the year into four seasons each having a duration of about three months. Ayr has a summer season and a winter season between which there are two seasons termed *akasa* (sometimes also called *él*, or *érafit*) and *ṛarat*. These two words as seasonal terms indicate that rain and annual vegetation in Ayr are recurrent events. For the word *akasa* literally means "green annual plants" while the word *ṛarat* refers to "dry annual plants". The season *ṛarat*, most of which is extremely dry, is followed by the winter season *tiǵrest* where rain does not fall, though the northern outskirts of Ayr sometimes have a little rain at this season. The transitional period between winter and summer known as *tabsit* is not considered a main season, but it is frequently mentioned by the Tuareg because certain perennial plants germinate at that time of the year. The summer season *éwilen* is extremely hot and rainless. It is the season of defoliation for acacias and various other perennial plants which change their leaves – generally in the way that they do not loose all leaves at one and the same time. Therefore, even in summer most acacias have some green leaves, though in certain places where rain has not fallen abundantly acacias may loose all their leaves in summer. In certain unfavourable regions outside of the Ayr Massif, acacias may even be without green leaves for a few years, but such trees become verdant again with heavy rainfalls. Scattered barren acacias are found mainly to the north of the Massif. The Tuareg say that acacias can survive an extremely long period of drought during which they are entirely dry. But they normally become green again when rainfalls start. The beginning of the rains is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *t'ézewek*.

In Ahaggar the Tuareg reckon with a summer season named *éwilen* and a winter season called *tǵrest*. These two seasons are separated by the autumn known as *amewan* and the spring termed *tafsit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg know the words *akasa* and *ṛarat*, but do not employ them for seasonal terms because rain and annual pasture do not recur annually in their country. The summer season *éwilen* is extremely hot, but it is not the proper season of defoliation for acacias, which under favourable conditions are green in summer and defoliate in winter. The autumn *amewan* which follows upon the summer is characterized by less hot temperatures and gradually changes into *tǵrest* (winter) when frost is extremely common during night, and snow falls in the mountains. This cold winter season is followed by the spring *tafsit* when many perennial plants germinate.

As will be seen from this description of the year in Ayr and Ahaggar these two countries differ much in regard to climate and plant development. Within each of the two areas there are climatical and botanical zones which are very different.

The Ahaggar Mountains, according to Maire, fall into three distinct zones of vegetation:— 1) *A Tropical Zone* up to 1700–1800 metres above sea level. 2) *A Lower Mediterranean Zone* between 1800 and 2300–2400 metres above sea level. 3) An *Upper Mediterranean Zone* from about 2400 metres up to 2918 metres which is the extreme altitude of Ahaggar (cf. Maire 1933 & 1940; Lhoté 1955, p. 41 f.). This division of the Ahaggar Mountains into zones of vegetation by a learned botanist seems to correspond largely with the division of the mountains into three distinct zones by the Tuareg. These three Tuareg zones and their characteristic perennial plants are the following:—

1) *Abada*, the lower parts of Ahaggar where perennial plants are abundant along the broad river valleys. Trees are very important the main species being various acacias (*abser*, *Acacia Raddiana* &

[text continues on p. 31]

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**AHAGGAR TUAREG**

| | |
|---|---|
| FEB. MAR. APR. | TAFSIT |
| MAY JUNE JULY | EWILEN |
| AUG. SEP. OCT. | AMEWAN |
| NOV. DEC. JAN. | TAGREST |
| FEB. MAR. | |

Spring of certain perennial plants.
Considered neither hot nor cold.

Very hot.
Pastures of all perennial and annual grasses and herbs are dry.
Acacias are green and form the best pastures.

Rain maximum – if rainfall occurs.

Spring of annual plants after rain.

Neither hot nor cold.
Pastures of green annual plants in case of rainfall.

Most annual pastures become dry.

Normal season of defoliation of acacias.
Dry annual plants form the best pastures.
Frost is very common during night, and snow may fall in the mountains.
All winter people suffer much from colds, and deaths owing to pneumonia or similar diseases are not uncommon at the end of the winter season.

**AYR TUAREG**

| | |
|---|---|
| FEB. MAR. | TABSIT |
| APR. MAY | EWILEN |
| JUNE JULY | TÉZEWEK |
| AUG. SEP. | AKASA |
| OCT. NOV. | RAKAT |
| DEC. JAN. | TIGREST |
| FEB. MAR. | |

Spring of certain perennial plants.
The fruit-pods of *tamat* (*Acacia flava*) and *agar* (*Maerua crassifolia*) fall to the ground.

Very hot. Most pastures dry.
Normal season of defoliation of acacias. Wells go dry. Dry annual plants form the best pastures.

Beginning of the rains.
*Afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) and *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) begin to germinate.

Proper rainy season.
Spring of annual plants.
Temperature decreases owing to the rains.
Water abundant in ponds.
Dew (*raba*) is heavy.
People suffer from malaria.

Rainfall decreases.
Most annual plants are drying and ponds go dry.
Increase of temperature and very hot winds (*agzir*) in daytime, while nights are cool.
The fruit-pods of *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) fall to the ground.

Cool season begins.
Frost may occur during night while snow is said never to fall.
Acacias are green and form good pasture together with dry annual plants. A few annual species – notably *alwar* (*Schoenia purpurea ssp. Schimperi*) remain green throughout winter.

Fig. 14. Division of the year into seasons among the Tuareg of Ayr and Ahaggar. Climatic and botanical characteristics are indicated. The *alwar* season is also known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ifi* and *ifeghi*.

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*tamat*, *Acacia seyal*) and tamarisks (*tabarekkat*, *Tamarix apkylla* & *azawa*, *Tamarix gallica* and related species). Other important perennial species are the grasses *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tullult* (*Aristida pungens*) the latter grass being found especially around the northern massifs of Anhet and Téfedest, and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. 137

2) *Tarayin*, the middle mountain zone which has the following characteristics:— Acacias are lacking or are very rare and badly developed. The big tamarisk (*tabarekkat*) is lacking while the smaller species (*azawa*, *T. gallica*) is common in certain valleys. Two trees are found which do not grow in the lower zone, namely *tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) and *alew* (*Olea Lapperrini*). The *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is missing and the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) is scarce.

3) *Atakor*, the highest part of Ahaggar with the following characteristics:— There are no trees with the exception of *alew* (*Olea Lapperrini*), and there are on the whole very few perennial species while annual species are abundant in case of rainfall.

It should be noted that only the important characteristics of the three Tuareg zones are here mentioned, and I add that a few perennial plants are found within all three zones. Thus the perennial species *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*) occurs along the valleys in all three zones, but it is of very low stature high up in the mountains, while it forms very high and bush-like tufts in the lower parts of the country.

In Ayr there is also a change of vegetation according to altitude but a general description of this is rather complicated. The lower parts of the Ayr Massif as well as the southern plains are dominated by acacias (*afagag*, *Acacia Raddiana* & *tamat*, *A. flava*) like the lower parts of Ahaggar, and the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) is very common almost everywhere throughout the country, while the *tullult* grass is found only in sandy regions at the eastern slopes of the Massif. Species of tamarisks are extremely rare, and this is true of certain other species which are common in Ahaggar. The trees *tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) and *alew* (*Olea Lapperrini*) grow only in isolated mountainous parts of Ayr. The extensive plains west of the Ayr Massif around Ingal are dominated by acacias and the *afezu* grass, but these perennial plants become less and less common towards the north, so that the regions around I-n-abanrerit have very little persistent vegetation but a rich vegetation of annual plants. For further information on the botany of Ayr I refer to the study of Miré & Gillet who describe all known species and indicate their division into particular vegetational zones (Miré & Gillet 1956). I conclude this outline of Tuareg botany with the statement that Ahaggar and Ayr have many important species in common. But there are northern species which do not thrive in Ayr while some southern species are unknown in Ahaggar, e.g., the dum palm *tagayt* (*Hyphaena thebaica*) which plays a great role with the Ayr Tuareg. [114]

Climatically as well as botanically the Ahaggar Mountains are situated on the frontier of two distinct zones, namely the Mediterranean and the Tropical zones, while Ayr is predominantly tropical. This seems true also zoologically, as the Ayr fauna contains a great many species of birds and mammals characteristic of tropical Africa. The bird life of Ayr seems very akin to that of the Sudanese savannah, and, for instance, guinea fowl is extremely common even in valleys of the northern-most parts of the Massif. As example of tropical mammal life in Ayr we may here mention that the wart-hog lives in Central Ayr, and that oryx antelope and giraffe are found in the plains immediately south and west of the Massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Ayr and Ahaggar, but [132] 136 13

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13 would emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically a certain dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

144 174 At present both fair-skinned europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most Negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern Negroes in the Fezzan constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the ancestors of the present Negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all Negroes of Ahaggar were apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid *Ḫarratin* then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. Another immigration of predominantly black-skinned and negroid agriculturists came from Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Ġanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the *Ḫarratin*. – Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Ayr by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Ayr originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese in regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Ayr were Negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that, before the Tuareg, Ayr was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45; Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Ayr* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the Massif, to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations seem to confirm these statements. All Tuareg [173] [192] questioned about the history of Ayr have admitted that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and in the Berber dialect spoken by these people there are a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of the *Kel Ewey* [60] [164] group is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg and related to the system is use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (Figs. 293–294).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

# Stock-Breeding

The aim of this chapter is to describe the general techniques of stock-breeding, and to define the economic role of the various types of domestic animals bred by the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr*. 233*

## GOATS

Goats constitute one of the most important kind of livestock to the Tuareg. Two main breeds can be distinguished. In the south the animals are of relatively high stature and have very short hair in contrast to the northern breed which is relatively small and long-haired. A few animals of the southern breed have been introduced among the Northern Tuareg by caravans from Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas and Ayr, though this particular breed is not held in very high esteem by the *Kel Ahaggar* who claim their own animals to be superior in all respects. I add that even in Ayr there are Tuareg who claim that the northern animals are better than their own short-haired breed.

According to Lhote the northern breed is found in all the mountain massifs of the Sahara including Ayr, Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas, and Tibesti (Lhote 1955a, pl. XIII p. 368). However, I have myself never seen such small and long-haired goats in the Ayr Massif where certain animals have a coat of long hair on the hind part of the body, while I have seen animals of the northern breed among Ahaggar Tuareg living in the plains of Tamesna to the west of the Massif. In Ayr the common breed is the short-haired, southern one which is also said to be dominant in the mountains of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas. This latter breed has on the whole a very wide distribution south of the true desert country and is found everywhere in the zone of *sahel* and in the savannahs (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 202 ff.). Short-haired goats are also described from the Tebu by Nachtigal (Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 214), but judging by the description given by Le Coeur, the goat-breed of Tibesti seems to be akin to the long-haired northern breed as claimed by Lhote (Le Coeur 1950, p. 152). A comparatively small and long-haired breed among the Berber-speaking Chawiya of Aurès is perhaps racially related to the breed of the Northern Tuareg. The goats bred among Arab pastoralists of the High Plateau and on the outskirts of the Northern Sahara (e.g., the *Ulad Nail*) are very different, of high stature and very heavily built in comparison.

Zoologically the most important characteristic of goats is the form of their horns (Antonius 1922, p. 126 ff.). The hairy breed found among the Northern Tuareg generally have horns formed like scimitars though often curved somewhat more backward. Occasionally horns show a tendency towards a screw-form. The short-haired southern breed most frequently has straight, oblique horns the extreme

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*233 [137]

Fig. 15. Goats of the long-haired northern breed. The animals are emaciated and feed on acacias which are almost leafless owing to severe drought. Ahaggar 1955, the *Tayaḥ* tribe.

points of which turn slightly inward and forward. He-goats of both breeds generally have strong oblique horns of screw-form. Both in Ahaggar, Tassilé-n-Ajjer, and in Ayr there are in most flocks one or two goats which are born hornless.

*233 436 Although goats are bred intensively by the Tuareg they take little interest in these animals. Before the arrival of the French, goats formed the most important currency and, though money has now come into general use, they are still used in payment as for example, to the blacksmiths for the making of bracelets, weapons, and various implements. In Ahaggar goats are also used for certain payments to the *Amenukal* from his vassals, such payments being known as *ábéré*. This word, which is also common in Ayr, means literally "a big flock of goats" (or sheep), but it may equally well be translated as "fortune" or "money".

*233 192 Owing to the practical importance of goat-breeding there are a great many terms to designate the animals according to sex, age, and various characteristics. In Ahaggar there are the following age-terms:—

| *Age* | *Female* | *Male* |
|---|---|---|
| New-born kid . . . . . | *amaywa* | |
| Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . . | *téreydet* | *éreyd* |
| Weaned kid with horns, and of bigger growth than above | *tuxrift* | *uxrif* |
| Weaned kid . . . . . | *tabunkelut* | *abunkelu* |
| Animal not yet fully grown . . . . . | *tabulek* | *abulej* |
| Animal not yet fully grown . . . . . | *tadawalt* | *adawal* |
| Fully grown animal . . . . . | *tiyse* (pl. *ulit*) | *akaḥay* |
| Fully grown animal . . . . . | *tayat* | |
| (The common term for a fully grown goat in Ayr; it is used occasionally also in Ahaggar). | | |

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



These terms are used frequently in discussions of prices. Thus a blacksmith will claim that the price of an axe is *abuleǵ* (*adawal*) while for the manufacture of smaller objects or for certain repairs he will only claim *sazif* or *dreyd*. 233* 192 [436]

By the combination of age and colour terms, if necessary with the addition of a covering to certain other characteristics, the Tuareg are able to describe the exact appearance of any animal. Goat-terms have a practical value in enabling the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. A few of the terms indicating colour and other characteristics in Ahaggar are mentioned below:—

| *Characteristics* | *Female* | *Male* |
|---|---|---|
| Black animal | *tasettefut* | *asettefu* |
| Red animal | *tézeggek* | *ézegger* |
| Black animal with a red belly | *takahamit* | *akahami* |
| Animal white on the hind part, and black on the fore-part of the body | *téǵehé* | (No term for males which never have this combination of colours) |
| Black animal with white colour on the lower part of the legs | *tazeburt* | *azbur* |
| Black animal with a white blaze (Foucauld, 1951–52, III p. 1194 f., states that this term is used for horses, donkeys, camels, and oxen, but he does not mention goats and sheep) | *tamulast* | *amulas* |
| Black animal with white colour on the ears | *tahreyt* | *ahrey* |
| Animal of any colour having very small ears | *tadermak* | *adermag* |
| Animal of any colour having no horns | *tabiyawit* | *abiyawi* |

342 492

Fig. 16. A flock of southern, short-haired goats during migration. The woman seen in the middle of the picture rides an ox loaded with arches of a barrel-vaulted mat tent. From Demergu south of Ayr.

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*233 192 The actual number of such terms is not known to me, and the Tuareg say they are almost innumerable. A colour term connected with an age term will, as mentioned above, generally be sufficient to describe the appearance of any animal, but colour terms have practical value also in another sense. They are, as the Tuareg put it, like names of men and dogs, and are used by the women to call individual animals to be milked. The names are then followed by a special sound (cf. p. 39, 135).

It is remarkable how intimately goats are attached to their masters. If the flock, as often happens, is grazing alone at some distance from the camp in the evening after darkness, it will immediately gather round the tents, when a special cry is uttered, or if the dogs bark. On the utterance of another cry by the goatherd the whole flock of goats will follow her quickly. On the whole goat herding is easy, and even very big flocks can be guarded by a single boy, or a girl. Kids still too young to follow the flock during grazing normally browse around the camp all day. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer these kids will not, as a rule, be let out of the sight of the camp, but this is not so in Ayr where vegetation is very dense in the river valleys. Kids in the latter area easily get lost and eaten by the numerous jackals. In order to know where the kids are a woman, while occupied with her domestic task in the tent, utters at short intervals a sharp, shrill cry to which the kids respond by bleating loudly.

*233 [234] Goats are chiefly useful for the milk they provide. In general, goat-breeding is organized in such a way that the maximum possible milk is obtained by the nomads, and kids are allowed to suck freely only for a short period after birth. At this period a kid is known as *asarwas*, which term is used for all sucklings without restriction. The duration of the entire period of suckling is dependent on the pasture. If grazing is good, the kids will suck for two to four weeks, while under severe conditions the period of suckling may be up to two months.

To prevent kids from drinking more than their proper share of milk the Tuareg use various devices. *233 4/7 In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer small kids are frequently placed in stone enclosures (*agror*). Such enclosures are also used to prevent kids from following the mother animals when the flock leaves the camp for grazing in the morning, and they serve as a protection against beasts of prey during the night. They are about one metre high, and have a diametre of about one metre (cf. Fig. 17). Similar stone enclosures are said to exist among the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg but not elsewhere in Ayr, where the Tuareg generally make larger round enclosures from boughs of thorny acacias, so that one enclosure is big enough for all kids of a household. These enclosures are often known as *zeriba* (Ar.), but the proper Tuareg name is *afarag* (in the north *afarag*). They are said to be used also by certain Northern *233 Tuareg who camp in the lowland where acacias are common. To prevent small kids from running away, get lost or eaten by jackals, the Tuareg may attach them to a tree or to one of the tent-posts by one of their hind legs, which attachment is known as *témdit* among the Ayr Tuareg. Kids are also sometimes tied with a cord around their necks to prevent suckling when the mother animals are resting in the camp. If there are very few kids they are frequently attached to individual cords (sing. *témetrek*), but several kids are also frequently tied to one and the same cord, which is then known as *ẓseddi* or *asëddi*. Such a cord has several loops into which the heads of the kids are put, while the other end [17] of the cord or rope is fastened to pegs or trees. These methods are not only practised by the Tuareg. I have frequently seen them in use also among pastoral Arabs of the Sahara and of the Algerian High Plateau.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Weaning takes place gradually. Long before the end of the suckling period the kids eat green annual plants around the camp or, if such plants are not available, fresh shoots of acacias and tender herbs brought to the camp by Tuareg women. At the end of the suckling period kids, if very abundant, will sometimes be taken to grazing grounds away from the camp, and the flock of kids will then be forced to live exclusively on plant food. But there are also certain devices to wean kids which graze together with the mother animals. Such devices are normally applied to kids when they are about two months old – at which age the Ahaggar Tuareg claim that kids should also be marked and castrated. These devices to wean kids will now be briefly mentioned. 233*

In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer kids are generally weaned by means of a small stick placed in the mouth. This stick can be fixed in two ways. It is frequently placed transversally in the kid's mouth and attached at both ends with a thin piece of cord or leather fastened behind the animal's horns (Figs. 18–19). But it may also be placed in the mouth of the kid in a very simple and apparently rather crude way, namely by piercing right through the cheek of the animal (cf. Fig. 20). Both methods are known to the Northern Tuareg as *asedres*, or *akara*, and the latter method of piercing the stick right through the cheek is claimed to be the better, as in this case the stick does not easily fall out. Both devices are practised by other North African stock-breeders.

According to Foucauld the term *akara* is used among the Ayr Tuareg to denote these practises (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 848), which allow the kids to graze without any difficulty but effectively prevent them from suckling. But according to my investigations among the *Kel Ferwan* of Southern Ayr, the methods are unknown in their above mentioned forms. Devices to wean kids among these Tuareg are known as *asedres*, or *ameru*, and the most common one consists of a piece of dum palm leaf rolled together and drawn through two holes pierced in the upper lip of the kid, a knot being tied at each end of the piece of palm leaf. Another device consists of a cord of dum palm leaf placed in the kid's mouth and fastened behind its horns, but this method is used mainly temporarily (e.g., during movements of the camp to a new place) when small kids mix with the milk-yielding goats. It is possible that devices as those just described from the Northern Tuareg are also found among certain Ayr Tuareg, for many now living in and around Ayr have immigrated fairly recently from the north. A peculiar method should finally be mentioned. It is described from Ahaggar by Lhote, who states that the Tuareg of that region attach the spiky skin of a hedgehog to the head of kids so that they prick the udder of the mother animals when sucking with the result that the mother animals kick them away (Lhote 1951a, p. 136). The use of spiked devices to wean kids and lambs is certainly not a common method among the Tuareg or among other stock-breeders, though spiked devices are commonly applied to the young of certain other domestic animals (cf. p. 52, 62 f.). [166]

Effective goat-breeding is more than anything else a question of an appropriate birth control of the goats. Although goats, if not mated again soon, may yield milk up to two years after the birth of kids, they give much more milk when they have kids. The period of gestation is about five months, and the same goat may be capable of bringing forth kids twice a year.

There are some Tuareg who always let their goats mate freely, but this is not common practice. With free mating the flock will increase enormously, as most goats bring forth two kids, and the same goat may thus have four kids in a year. But there will then be little milk for the nomads, as milk-

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 17. A slave-boy takes kids out of the stone-enclosure (*agrow*) to let them suck. Ahaggar, the *Aɣnb-en-ishli* tribe.

*233 yielding decreases after mating. It is said that some goats yield milk in the whole period of gestation, while others have no milk whatever during most of that period.

The advantage of free mating is further reduced because goats, if mated too often, become emaciated, and for the northern breed their coat of long hair, so important to craft (cf. p. 263 ff.), will not develop fully. Added to this, kids born in the hot summer season will often be of inferior quality, as they suffer from heat and the lack of fresh annual plants during their period of growth. Again, the mother animals may yield so little milk in summer that it is not even sufficient for the nourishment of their kids.

The free mating of goats is not generally desirable, and therefore most Tuareg practise a system of regulation which varies with the qualities of pastures. If reproduction of the flock is badly needed it may happen that all goats are mated twice a year, but it is considered an ideal in good years to divide the animals into two parts which bring forth kids and yield milk at different seasons.

*233 In Ayr when the flock is divided into two parts to bring forth kids and yield milk at different seasons,
132 one part brings forth kids during the season of *akasa* when the pastures of annual plants are very
[137] rich, the other at the end of the winter season during the period known as *tabsit* at which time certain other plants germinate, and fruit-pods of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*), which are extremely good for fodder, fall to the ground. If kids are wanted for a flock during the season of *akasa*, which is the best season for the birth of kids, the goats are mated in winter. When all the she-goats have been covered, the penis of the he-goat is bound around the foreskin by means of a cord – a method which is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ekkan*, to the Northern Tuareg as *ɣrun* (cf. Fig. 25). If kids are wanted for a flock in spring at the season of *tabsit*, mating stops with the binding of he-goats at the

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end of the *akasu* season. In other words:— When the inhabitants of a camp have their collectively guarded goats divided into two parts, one of these brings forth kids at the time when the other is mated. 233* 132

This method of mating-regulation is that ideally used by prosperous goat-breeders both in Ayr and among the Northern Tuareg. If in the north a flock is divided into two parts the kids are born in autumn (*amewan*), and in spring (*tafsit*) the former season being the better. Kids brought forth between these two seasons are known as *amesahar*. But as climatic conditions and consequently also the quality of pastures change from one year to another in the true desert country, the mating-system of division into halves cannot always be practised in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. In severe periods of drought goats may be too meagre for mating for a whole year or even longer, during which time the he-goats will have their penis bound. Thus during the dry year 1954/55 no goats were mated in Ahaggar. – It should be noted that the best season for the birth of kids is the late summer or the autumn (*akasu*, *amewan*) when the tender annual plants spring up. Kids borne at this season will be fully grown for mating after one year so that they bring forth kids at the season of spring (*tafsit*, or *tabsit*), while kids born in spring will be mated after a year to bring forth kids late in summer or in autumn (*akasu*, or *amewan*).

Milking takes place twice daily – early in the morning before the flock leaves for grazing, and late in the evening one or two hours after the return of the animals to the camp. Milking is done by women, or occasionally by male slaves. The individual animals to be milked are frequently called by their names and a special sucking sound is made to calm the animals, which are milked differently in Ayr and Ahaggar. In Ahaggar the milk-maid holds the wooden milk-bowl (*akus*; Fig. 21 b) in her left hand, presses the left hind leg of the goat firmly under the upper part of her right arm, while she milks with her right hand (Fig. 23–24). In Ayr milking of goats is frequently performed in a standing position the milk-maid then holding the milk-bowl (*takabart*; Fig. 37) in her left hand, keeping the left hind leg of the animal firmly between her knees, and milking with her right hand. If the milk-maid milks 234 462 192 184 415

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Fig. 18. The little stick (*akaru*, *assafrs*) used by the Northern Tuareg to prevent half-grown kids from sucking. Ahaggar, the *Ajjeh-en-tahli* tribe. Dimension: the stick 0.056 m; the cords 0.330–0.380 m. (N.M. G. 5825).

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Fig. 19. Photograph illustrating how the stick (*akara, asedres*) is attached to the head of a kid. This photograph shows the semi-nomadic Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

234 squatting, she puts the left hind leg of the goat between her right thigh and calf. Goat-milk is drunk,
[262] added to food, or made into butter and cheese as described in detail p. 221 ff. Both in Ayr and in Ahaggar it is claimed that goats under favourable conditions yield about two litres of milk a day. But this is to be considered the maximum yield obtained only from goats with young kids when fresh-green annual pasture is available.

*233 Meat is not a staple food among the Tuareg. Most of them are reluctant to kill their animals except
[263] at certain feasts. But most meat eaten by the Tuareg is goat's meat. In Ayr I was told that some pastoralists keep their goats as well as other domestic animals as long as possible, that is until the animals die a natural death. However, the Tuareg are generally not so irrational. They say that goats may live for about twenty years, and that they are capable of bringing forth kids and yield milk until 15 years old. When goats have reached that age they are sold or killed, but many Tuareg prefer for obvious reasons to keep their milk-goats only to an age of eight or ten years. There is a limit to the number of goats that can be bred by the members of a small camp, because it is not possible to have more than a certain number of goats in one and the same flock, and there will not always be sufficient labour to tend several flocks. Therefore it is evidently preferable to substitute old milk-goats with

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younger animals which yield more milk. Again, the meat of very old goats is of inferior quality. Much goat-meat derives from he-goats of which a very limited number is needed for mating. Some Tuareg claim that one he-goat is able to cover about a hundred goats, but as a rule I doubt whether it would be called upon to do so. In any event, too many he-goats are brought forth, and even very young male kids are frequently killed and eaten as there will be more milk for the nomads when such animals do not have to be suckled. It is considered ideal that male kids which are not needed for reproduction, and which are not killed at very early age, should be castrated at the time when weaning takes place, but even old he-goats may be castrated to make them fat for slaughtering.

Though meat is not a stable dish of the Tuareg they have to kill a certain number of goats every year to obtain skin for the manufacture of various domestic utensils. The roaming life in the desert necessitates a great many containers for water, butter, milk, grain, dates, and the like, and bags made from goat-skin are appropriate for this purpose. Indeed, goat-skin is so important to Tuareg craft that in speaking of the manufacture of most domestic articles one can hardly avoid mentioning the word "goat". Thus, my fairly large collection of ethnographic specimens from the Ahaggar Tuareg contains about fifty different objects made entirely or mainly of goat-skin, which is also used for the manufacture of tents among the Northern Tuareg. Even nowadays, a few articles of dress are made from goat-skin, and goat-skin was in general use for this purpose in the past (cf. p. 287 ff.).

Goat-hair is extremely useful to the Northern Tuareg. The hair is cut once a year in the hot season when the animals do not suffer from cold (cf. Fig. 98). It is spun into strong cords used for tethering animals, for tying up caravan loads, for reins, and the like. In certain tribes of Ahaggar it is also used for a very primitive kind of weaving (cf. p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

To understand the economic role of goat-breeding one must briefly touch on the question of size of flocks. Statistics concerning the ownership of livestock must always be regarded with much suspicion, as it is extremely difficult to obtain data. It is not only most impolite to ask Tuareg about the size of

Fig. 20. A kid with the stick (*akara, azaghrez*) pierced through the mouth as described in the text. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terwit* tribe.

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*233 their flocks, but it is, on the whole, inproper to show any interest in their animals. Some nomads will
128 even claim that although they know all their goats by sight, they do not know, or never mention, the
[172] total number of their animals, as this is believed to bring bad luck. This belief is probably explained by the idea of the evil eye. To this may be added that it is difficult to judge the ownership of goats by merely watching the flock of a household which may also have animals grazing on other pastures.

*233 According to official statistics for 1948, the average number of goats per household among the *Kel Ahaggar* is fifteen (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). This figure is probably derived from the tax lists, and it seems to be much too low – even when households of slaves and sedentary agriculturists are included. Lhote has stated that the number of goats per person, under ideal conditions, is 35–40. If they increase above this, the surplus is slaughtered or sold to the sedentary peoples of the oases (Lhote 1951a, p. 9). This latter figure for ownership of goats under ideal conditions is probably true for the
*233 more wealthy Tuareg of Ahaggar. Thus among the vassal Tuareg of the *Dag Rali* tribe many house-
565 hold are said to possess 100–200 goats, but this tribe is considered extremely rich in goats, and households of other tribes will not generally own so many animals. From rough calculations made in a great many camps of vassal Tuareg, and Tuareg of the *Isekkemaren* class, I estimate that households on an average possess 60–70 goats when pastures are not too badly developed, for it must be emphasized that the size of flocks changes with climatic conditions. For the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar I estimate, on the basis of calculations made at Amsel, Abalessa, and Taṛhawhawt, that a household possesses on average 15–20 goats.

234 In good years the amount of milk products supplied by a flock of 60 goats is rather considerable. This is clear when we consider the fact that a goat, during the period of three to four months in autumn and early winter when pasture of annual plants is green, will yield up to two litres of milk every day. When annual pasture gets dry the milk yield decreases but milk is still comparatively plentiful
[272] and important for food all the winter. In summer, however, there is little milk for reasons already
*233 referred to, and in dry years goats, even in the cold season, yield little or no milk. The flocks decrease during such periods of drought and some nomads may even lose most of their animals. During my stay among the Tuareg of Ahnet and Ahaggar from November 1954 to April 1955, goats suffered much from lack of fodder. In many camps one or two goats died of hunger every day.

*233 The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot subsist entirely on goat-breeding because severe droughts occur
73 frequently in their country. During drought-periods the goats are so to speak valueless as subsistence for the nomads. But it is remarkable that goats emaciated in consequence of severe drought quickly grow fat and start to yield milk once rain has fallen abundantly enough for the regeneration of pastures. In connection with this we shall point to another characteristic of goat-breeding: The animals have a very short gestation period, and the kids are fully grown for mating in one year. And as one goat may have four kids annually with free mating, a household, which has lost most animals during a drought, will be able very quickly to re-establish a flock large enough for its needs.

*233 Goats are also highly important for the subsistence of the pastoral Tuareg of Ayr. I do not know of any statistic material about the size of flocks in this area, but for Tuareg of Kidal (Adṛar-n-Foṛas) flocks are officially estimated at 74 goats and sheep per household (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 269), and this region is environmentally related to Southern Ayr. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that a household

[Text continues on p. 45]

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Fig. 21 a–b. Milk-bowls (*akuz*, pl. *ikassen*) which are used for milking and for milk drinking.

[184] a. A bowl made of burned clay like an ordinary earthen pot. These bowls are never used by pastoral Tuareg but by a few sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar who also manufacture them. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.120 m high with an upper diameter of 0.187 m. (N.M. G. 5821).

[824] [463] [704] b. A bowl cut of the wood of the *taharokkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*). It is made by a blacksmith, but certain Tuareg women cut similar bowls which are common in all camps of pastoral Northern Tuareg. Such milk-bowls are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension: 0.102 m high with an upper diameter of 0.199 m. (N.M. G. 5199).

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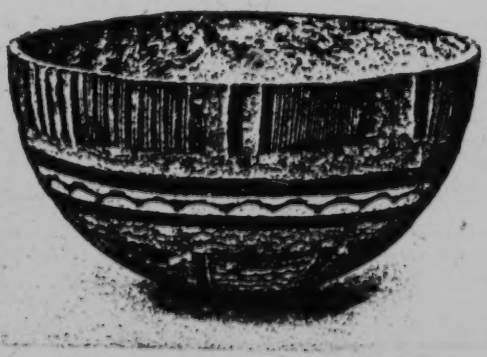

Fig. 22. Calabash of a type which is used occasionally for milking in Ahaggar. It is called *ateklas* (*we n akh*) or *ateklas* (*we n tayek*), that is "calabash for milk, or "calabash for milking". Introduced to Ahaggar from the south and bought at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.110 m high with an upper diameter of 0.195–0.203 m. (N.M. G. 5823).

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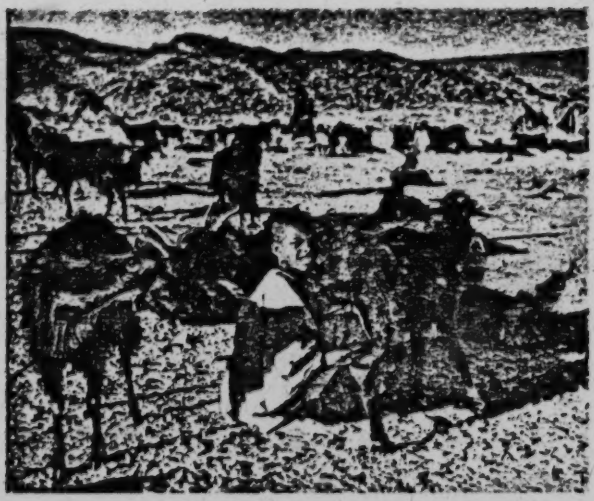

Fig. 23. Slave boy milking goats – a task which is normally performed by women. The milk-bowl is held in the left hand, and the milking is done with the right hand, while the goat's left hind leg is held fast beneath the right upper arm. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe.

GOAT MILKING

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Fig. 24. Tuareg milkmaid milking a goat as described Fig. 23. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



to be considered rich in goats (and sheep) should own about 300 animals. They also say that in the past the Tuareg of their group owned more goats (and sheep) than nowadays. A household at that time might even possess up to a thousand animals, but it would not have many camels and very few zebus, or none. In Southern Ayr, according to the Tuareg, there has been no severe period of drought within the memory of man, and goat-breeding is consequently a much more stable industry than in the desert proper. 233* [132]

## SHEEP

Sheep are very important domestic animals to most North African pastoralists. In the Atlas and on the outskirts of the Northern Sahara sheep belong to various woolly breeds. Woolly sheep are also known in isolated parts of the Western Sudan around Macina south-west of Timbuktu (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 191 ff.). I have myself seen many woolly sheep along the Niger between Niamey and Ayoru – among the Zerma-Sonray and other semi-sedentary peoples – but I have not seen them in the camps of pastoral Tuareg and *Bella*. These sheep belong to the so-called "Goundoum" breed (Zerma) and according to Doutressoulle they constitute a degenerate type of the Macina breed (cf. Doutressoulle 1947, p. 195). It is recorded by Aymard that there are some woolly sheep among the south-western Tuareg (Aymard 1911, p. 118). However, Tuareg sheep in all other groups belong exclusively to the hairy breed which is known as *Ovis longipes*. [171]

It is admitted by zoologists that *Ovis longipes* characterized by a short cover of hair, high stature, and a long thin tail, is the oldest known type of domesticated sheep (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 59 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 213 ff.; Hilzheimer 1936, p. 199; Doutressoulle 1947, p. 196). In North-western Africa this hairy sheep falls into two types:— (1) The rams have large circular or snailshell-formed horns. This is the breed known to all Northern Tuareg, the Ayr Tuareg, and the *Kel Geres*, and apparently also to other Southern Tuareg. (2) The rams have very long horns of corkscrew form which protrude horizontally. This type is found among some Southern Tuareg, and it is occasionally seen in Tuareg camps immediately south of the Ayr Massif. The Ayr Tuareg say that this breed is typical of the Fulani, and this is in agreement with Doutressoulle's statement (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 200). This latter type of *Ovis longipes* sheep is also known among Nilotic peoples of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and it seems to have been known in Ancient Egypt. It is perhaps the oldest type of *Ovis longipes* sheep (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 59 ff.).

In Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer sheep are of relatively little importance to pastoral Tuareg. I believe that very few Tuareg of these regions have more than one sheep to ten goats. The reason for this lies in climatic conditions, for effective sheep-breeding is not possible where pastures do not regenerate regularly, as sheep cannot feed properly on the thorny acacias as can goats. Conditions of sheep-breeding are much more favourable in Ayr than in the north, and certain pastoral Tuareg of Southern Ayr have more sheep than goats, though sheep in Ayr suffer from lack of fodder in the dry hot season when they are extremely thin and meagre. With good grazing sheep yield more milk than goats, but otherwise goats are better milch animals. The meat of sheep is considered superior to goat meat, and [262]

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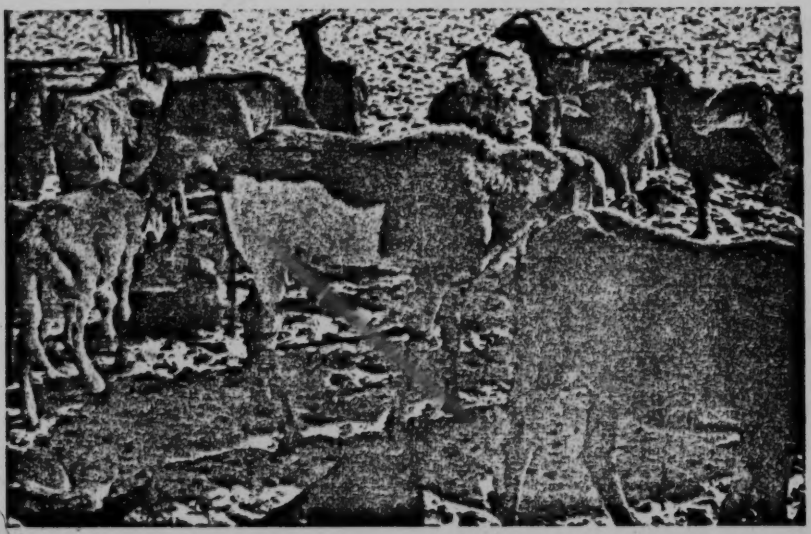

Fig. 25. Ram prevented from mating by means of a cord (*ufun*) tied around the foreskin of the penis and also around the scrotum. A longitudinal hobble-rope (*amahus*) also serves to prevent copulation.
Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terwit* tribe.

435 the price of sheep for slaughtering is very high compared with the price of goats. Sheep are also con-
742 sidered the proper animals for Islamic sacrifices, and it should be added that sheepskin is considered
237 very suitable for the manufacture of certain articles (cf. p. 288 & p. 298; Figs. 232, 240).

825 The Tuareg say that sheep are more "stupid" or less "intelligent" than goats. Sheep do not respond to their names, they get more easily lost during grazing, and they do not return to the camp by themselves. It is difficult to herd sheep if there are no goats in the flock. Among the Tuareg, as elsewhere in North Africa, sheep and goats are normally mixed in one flock. The goats then always march at the head of the flock, obeying the orders of the herdsman, while the sheep follow behind. It may happen, however, that goats and sheep become divided during grazing, as goats march too quickly for sheep to follow them, while on long journeys sheep show more endurance than goats.

The techniques of sheep-breeding are largely identical with those of goat-breeding mentioned above.
234 It should be observed, however, that goats can be milked without any difficulty whether they have kids or not, while this is not always so with sheep. It is said that they are more easily milked when they have lambs. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr I have noted more than once that a good milch-sheep which had lost its lamb was given another lamb belonging to a sheep yielding less milk.

*233 Sheep can lamb until an age of seven or eight years, but it is considered appropriate to kill them for

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



food or to sell them when they are five years old. Many rams are killed or sold at a younger age, and male lambs are frequently killed when half-grown, but the Tuareg do not kill very young lambs. 233*

It is well known from literature that pastoralists of Tibet use sheep as beasts of burden (several authorities; cf. Bell 1928, p. 116; Hermanns 1949, p. 84). Among the Tuareg sheep are not used for this purpose, but I have seen herdsmen attach their empty water bags to the belly of rams, which are very tall, strong animals. [492]

## CATTLE

The oldest African cattle is believed to have been a type of the *Bos primigenius* breed characterized by comparatively long horns. This breed was known in Ancient Egypt, and also in Prehistoric Sahara, where its former existence is documented by numerous rock engravings (cf. Monod 1932; Gautier 1908; Lhote 1955a, 1958; Erman 1922; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 142 f.). It seems as if cattle of this particular type was found in parts of North Africa even in antiquity (Bates 1914, p. 95 f.), and we can adequately quote Faulkner & Epstein on the former distribution of humpless longhorn cattle in the north: "All along the shores of the Mediterranean, from Palestine through Egypt to North West Africa, and from Asia Minor through the Balkans to the Appenine and Iberian peninsulas, an ancient stratum of longhorn cattle can be traced, extending to the north and south as far as Mediterranean man or his culture spread" (Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 143). *Bos primigenius* cattle are still found in certain parts of Africa. It is known in isolated regions of the Western Sudan – notably in Guinea and Liberia (cf. Doutressoulle 1947, p. 79 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 87 ff.; Johsi, McLaughlin & Phillips 1957, p. 118 ff.). It is perhaps this breed to which Maqrizi refers in his description of the Beja (Maqrizi, p. 561). The very special thick-horned Lake Tchad breed is probably to be considered a *Bos primigenius* type (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 88 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, 233* 174 233* 171

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Fig. 26. Young ram of the hairy *Ovis longipes* breed. Ahaggar.

[text continues on p. 49]

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Fig. 27. Zebu ox of the long-horned Fulani breed. Ayr, Agadez.

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Fig. 28. *Hartani* boy riding a young ox. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



p. 93 ff.), and this seems to be true partly also of the so-called Watusi-cattle and related breeds, which have been mixed with zebu-cattle and therefore frequently have well developed humps (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 10 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 148 ff.; Johst, McLaughlin & Phillips 1957, p. 146, 178, 259). 233* 171

Adametz believes that zebus were introduced into Africa from Northern India about 2000 B.C. (Adametz 1920, p. 10 ff.). Nowadays Zebus no doubt form the most important types of cattle in Africa, and Tuareg cattle are of the zebu type. The West African zebus fall into a number of sub-breeds described in detail by Doutressoulle. The zebu type found in Ayr and adjacent regions and also introduced into Northern Tuareg country is known as the *Azawar* breed (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 102 ff.). In Southern Ayr, which nowadays has a fairly large population of pastoral Fulani, a particular type of zebu is also very common. This zebu is characterized by very high stature and extremely long horns often resembling the form of a lyre (Fig. 27). This breed is named Borodji, Bororo, or M'Bororo. The Fulani zebu is esteemed by certain Ayr Tuareg because of its fatter milk, but it is claimed that its meat is not so delicious as that of their own cattle. 233* [174] [262]

Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer do not breed cattle (zebus), which do not thrive in their barren countries where pastures of annual plants do not regenerate annually. An attempt to breed zebus among the pastoral Ahaggar Tuareg some years ago failed, and zebus are nowadays found only among settled agriculturists who use these animals as draught-animals at irrigation wells (p. 189; Fig. 132 a–b). A few agriculturists also have cows to raise calves, and to utilize their milk. It is comparatively easy for settled agriculturists of Ahaggar to keep cattle. In dry years, and when pasture is scarce and dry in the hot season, cattle can be fed on vegetables and the straw of certain plants grown in the garden. It can also be mentioned that many agriculturists live in the very broad river valleys of lower Ahaggar where water is not very deep under the sand, and at some agricultural settlements there are even permanent springs. In such places (e.g., the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel) there are even in dry years fresh grazing of a few permanent plants suited to cattle, notably the four following species: – *tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*), *tésengelt* (*Saccharum Ravennae*), *ilegga* (sing. *aleggi*) (*Scirpus Holoschoenus*), and *taysest* (*Eragrostis bipinnata*). The regeneration of these plants is not dependent upon annual rainfall, for the soil is always sufficiently humid for their annual regeneration. Therefore it is very common in Ahaggar (e.g., at Abalessa and at Amsel) to burn down the old dry plants late in winter so that new fresh plants can germinate in spring. This method of renewing pasture by the burning down of old dry plants is not generally possible in desert countries. In Ahaggar it is practised only for the four above mentioned species within very limited humid areas, and the method is said to be entirely unknown in Ayr. [361] [137] [324]

The Ahaggar agriculturists who possess oxen very frequently use these animals for riding, sitting on the hind part of the animals which are kept under control by means of a rein (*tazerkit*) placed through their nostrils, or by means of a halter. No saddle is used apart from a casual piece of cotton, or a blanket (Fig. 28). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer, it is said, the settled farmers have no cows but only bulls and oxen to be used at irrigation wells, and these animals are not used for riding as in Ahaggar. [492]

The zebus found in the settlements of northern agriculturists are all introduced from the south where conditions for ox-breeding are much more favourable. Many, and perhaps most, northern zebus have come from Ayr from which region they are still introduced to Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 29. Milking a cow. The calf is attached to a tree by means of a cord (*témetrek*) around its neck, the mother cow being attached to the same tree with a cord (*ayan*) around its horns.
Ayr, Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group.

233 Zebus are able to cross the barren desert country of the Sahara in winter, and even with so hot a temperature, as that prevailing at the end of April, I have met Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* tribe leading zebus from Northern Ayr to Tamanraset in Ahaggar.

The Ayr Tuareg seem to admit that they have always had zebus, but they say that in the past they had very few cattle. Nowadays there are zebus in so to speak all camps and villages of the Massif and in the plains to the west of it. At the village of Iferwan sedentary farmers possess three to four animals per household, and figures are much bigger for households of true pastoralists. It is quite normal for a nomadic household to possess a dozen zebus, and this is true even of pastoral Tuareg roaming in the northern outskirts of Ayr where precipitation is lower than in the south.

In fact zebu-breeding is a very profitable industry to the nomads, the more so as very little work is connected with it. The animals leave the camp early in the morning to return again entirely by themselves in the evening before darkness. They are never accompanied by herdsmen as there are no beasts of prey strong enough to attack them nowadays. I have met Tuareg who were evidently very fond of [171] their zebus, but they never showed the same interest towards their cattle as do the Fulani, who always accompany their herds. During grazing Tuareg zebus normally roam freely, but certain animals which are difficult to get hold of are provided with a cord (*ayan*) around their horns to which cord is attached [364] a long piece of wood trailing on the ground. When oxen are driven to the market place (at Agadez or Ingal for selling)

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



or Iagal) for selling, they are also frequently provided with a wooden prong (*aburi*) loosely attached around one foreleg to prevent them running away. I have never seen this practised among the Fulani who have much more control over their cattle than have the Ayr Tuareg. 233* [171]

Cows continue to bring forth calves and yield milk until they are about 15 years old, and the duration of their life is estimated at about 20 years. But it is considered appropriate to keep milch-cows until they are ten or twelve years old when they should be sold or killed. The period of gestation for cows is about ten months, and there is no regulation of mating. The Tuareg say that cows will be on heat and mate again shortly after the birth of a calf, and that milk-yielding does not stop until five months after mating. Free mating of the cows agrees well with Tuareg interests as prices of calves are high. [435]

Milking of cows takes place twice daily and is generally done by women – in rare cases by men. 234 Milking is performed as follows:— Just before the herd returns from grazing in the evening every [462] calf is firmly attached to a tree by means of a cord (*témetrek*) around its neck so that it cannot reach the udder of the mother cow. When milking is to take place the mother cow is attached to the same tree by means of a cord (*aran*) around its horns. The calf's rope is now loosened and it will immediately start to suck while the milk-maid fastenes another rope or cord (*akarah*) around the hind legs of the cow. When this is done the calf is attached to its tree again, and milking begins. The milk-maid squats at one side of the cow (generally at the right side) holding the large milking bowl (*akabar*) (Fig. 37) between her legs and knees, and milks with both hands (Fig. 29). When the milk-maid has taken the milk she wants she releases the calf to let it drink what is left in the udder, but the calf is thereupon attached to its tree again in order that it may not suck during the night. Before the cows leave the camp in the morning milking is performed again as just described, but it may happen that the cows leave for grazing already during the night, and they are then not milked again until next evening. Tuareg who possess a great many calves may guard them within a so-called *zeriba* (*afarag*) made of [417] thorny acacia boughs.

Most cows will not yield milk unless they have their calves close to them. If a cow loses its calf it may be replaced with the calf of another cow so that milking can be done, but it is also common to [237] use the so-called dummy-calf (*azeyuz*) made from the dead calf's skin stuffed with hay. This puppet is then set close to the cow which is deceived by it. It feels that its calf is standing by, it licks the skin, and milking can then be done without much difficulty.

The dummy-calf is not used by the zebu-owning agriculturists of Ahaggar, though I have met one of these *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*) who had once made a calfskin-puppet after he had seen the method practised among *Iforas* Tuareg at Kidal. The method of blowing into the cow's vulva is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *askuf*; it is used particularly for cows which are difficult to milk shortly after the birth of a calf. During migrations, when young calves march together with the mother cows, suckling is prevented by means of a piece of dum palm leaf attached around the calves' mouths. Such an attachment known to the Ayr Tuareg as *adabar* may be used also for other domestic animals.

Weaning of calves takes place according to one of the following methods:— (1) *ikembar*, that is 233* cuttings made with a knife in two or three places on the bridge of the calf's nose. The wounds of these cuts hurt the calf when it tries to suck, but the method is effective only for a very short period until the wounds have healed. On adult animals the scars of these wounds appear as small bumps (Fig. 30).

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Fig. 30. Young zebu ox with *ikembar*, that is cuts made with a knife on the bridge of the animal's nose, and with a cord (*asebar*) placed through the nostrils. Ayr, sedentary *Kel Ewey* Tuareg near Agadez.

(2) *tabellut*, that is a small pronged stick about 40 centimetres long placed through the nostrils of the calf which is thus prevented from reaching its mother's udder (Fig. 31). (3) *ikemban*, that is two small pointed sticks crossing each other and attached over the calf's nosebridge. When the calf tries to suck it hurts the udder of the mother cow which will kick the calf away. I have only seen this device once in Southern Ayr, and I am not quite sure that the term mentioned is correctly spelled, as I did not take it down in *tifinar*. (4) *akimbab*, that is a muzzle. It is not in general use among the Ayr Tuareg
[W4] though they know of it. It is in current use among the Tuareg of the plains west of the Massif (Tamesna)
[L3] where I have seen it among the *Ireqenaten* Tuareg, who politically belong to the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group of Ahaggar (Fig. 32). I have seen the same device also known as *akimbab* among the *Kel Tahabonat* of the *Western Iwllemmeden*. Similar muzzles are used among the *Iwllemmeden* around Tahoua (Musée de l'homme, nos. 36.44.50 & 41.19. 1111–1114) and also among the Tuareg of Adṛaṛ-n-Foras (Musée de Neuchâtel, no. 49.2.39). – These are the weaning devices used in Ayr, the method most commonly applied being that known as *tabellut*, the small pronged stick passed through the calf's nostrils.

234 Cow's milk is drunk fresh, added to food, or made into butter and cheese according to methods
[262] described in a later chapter. The Tuareg say that an extremely good milch-cow yields up to seven litres of milk a day. This agrees with Doutressoulle's statement that cows of the *Azawaṛ* breed yield six to eight litres daily at the beginning of their lactation period, while at the end of this period the daily

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



yield decreases to about two litres (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 104). It should be added that, as for other domestic animals, the daily yield of milk depends very much on the conditions of pastures, and cows always yield little milk when pastures are dry – even at the beginning of their lactation period. 234

Bulls are frequently castrated two or three years old to be used for riding and transportation. Oxen are used for this purpose particularly among the Tuareg of the plains towards the south and west, while most pastoralists of the Massif almost exclusively use donkeys and camels. Oxen are ridden without a saddle. The rider sits on the back of the animal which is covered with a blanket or a piece of cotton as in Ahaggar. The animals have a cord (*asabar*) placed through their nostrils, but plaited halters (*ameror*) are also used for riding oxen. 492 [232] [184]

The Tuareg have terms to cover the age and sex of their cattle, and they also have a certain number of colour terms; but they say that there are very few colour terms for cattle (about ten terms according to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group). They explain this lack of colour terms by the fact that cattle did not play any important rôle to their subsistence in the past. Cattle do not respond to their names, but some of them will come to the camp on the utterance of a certain cry (cf. p. 135). 233* 192 [433] [178]

233* [283] →

Fig. 31. Zebu calf with a pronged stick (*tabellat*) put through its nostrils to prevent sucking. Ayr, the *Isakaramen* tribe.
Fig. 32. Muzzle (*akimbab*) to wean zebu calves. The muzzle is made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*) which form a frame covered with cords of *tamat* bast and with cotton strips. It is fastened to the head of a calf with a piece of cord plaited of goat's hair, and the attachment is done in such a way that the calf can graze without difficulty though it cannot suck. Tamessa, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Iregenaten* tribe. Dimension: 0.17–0.19 m high. (N. M. G. 6661). [824]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



## CAMELS

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Camels are very important domestic animals in all Tuareg groups, and they also play a great part in the subsistence of most Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. The common Arab camel breed, which is known to the Tuareg as *marroki*, is also found in Northern Tuareg country – particularly among the *Kel Aijer*. It is heavily built and is extremely well fitted for transportation. It is a very strong breed in spite of its relatively low stature, and it has large feet which is considered an eminent quality for pack camels. This *marroki* camel has a thick cover of wool on the hump and on the fore-part of the body, while Tuareg camels, which are of higher stature and more elegantly built, in general have little or no wool, but only a short coat of hair much like that of cows and horses. Tuareg camels may have long hairs around the hump but true Tuareg camels have no proper coat of wool. Though the *marroki* breed is excellent for transportation and is considered a better milch-animal than the southern Tuareg breed, the Tuareg generally prefer their own elegantly built camels, and they look down upon the heavily built camels of the north. However, as mentioned, there are some *marroki*

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Fig. 33. Tuareg with riding camels. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe.

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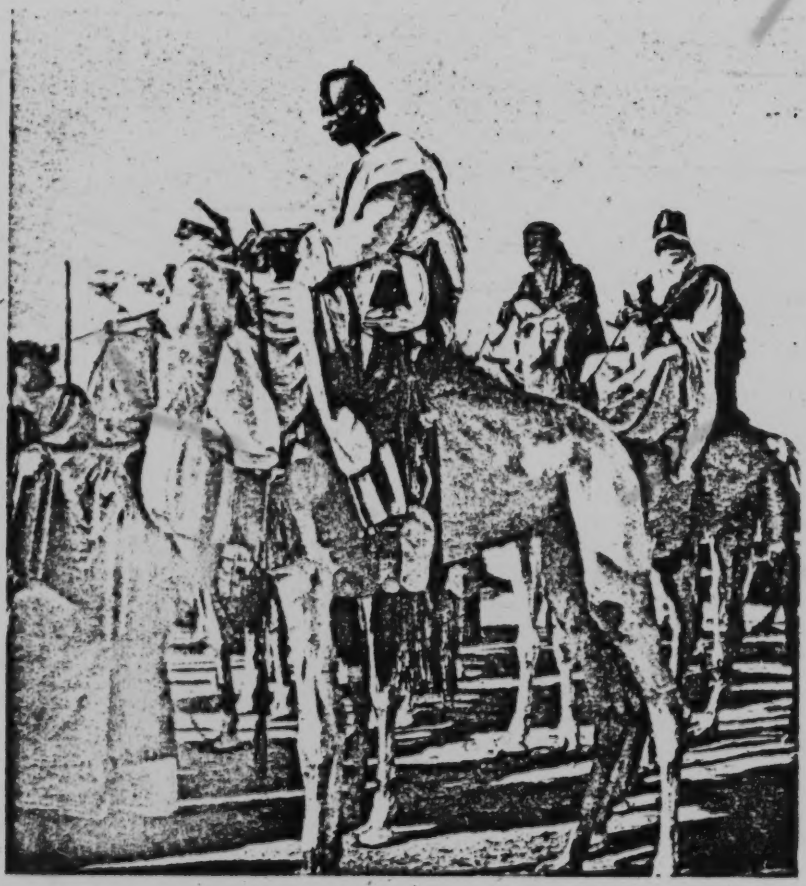

Fig. 34. Tuareg camel riders. The young man seen in the front has not yet adopted the veil. Ayr, Agadez.

camels among the Northern Tuareg, as there are cross-breeds between camels of this type and Tuareg 233*
camels. There are also to-day some Tuareg camels among Arab pastoralists of the Sahara, but I was [17]
told among *Ulad Ba Hammu* Arabs that originally all their camels were of the *marroki* type, while
camels of the southern Tuareg breed were introduced among them more recently. I have not been [14]
able to prove or to refute Cauvet's theory that northern and southern camel-breeds differ in dentition

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Fig. 35. A young camel (about 14 months old) sucks its mother before milking. The Tuareg boy bends up the right foreleg of the she-camel and ties it in this bent position to the left foreleg – a method known as *ésemmetil*; it is applied to she-camels that are restless during milking. The she-camel has the colour name *téserift*, its big calf that of *aslay*. Ayr, the *I.sezzweg* tribe.

*233 (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, 1, p. 15, 76 ff.). I have inquired about this, and the Tuareg seem to hold that
[114] all camels have an identical number of teeth.

She-camels should ideally be reserved for breeding which is a very slow process. A severe loss of goats during a drought can be restored quickly once rainfalls start again, but this is not so with a loss of camels. She-camels are not generally mated until they are about three years old, and their gestation period is about one year. In addition, she-camels get only one calf which has a long period of sucking so that a she-camel is frequently not mated until one year after the birth of a calf. In other words:—
[435] One she-camel has only one calf every two years. For this reason, and because a grown camel has about the same value as 25–30 goats, the Tuareg pay much more attention to camel-breeding than to the breeding of goats and sheep.

Most she-camels are mated during the cold season in Ahaggar, while the proper season of mating in Ayr is *akasa* with the beginning of *ṛarat*, though some she-camels are also mated in the spring period known as *tabsit*. As the gestation period is about one year most camel calves are born during the cold season in the north, in the rainy season when annual plants are well developed in the south. The rutting male camels roam freely in search of she-camels on heat, and a Tuareg may own several she-camels and not even possess a bull-camel for breeding. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr there are Tuareg who try to keep their very excellent bull-camels away from herds other than their own, but this is considered very bad conduct. In fact, there are Tuareg who do not know with which bull-camels their she-camels mate though the act of mating is normally seen and heard by somebody. Mating is also very frequently arranged by the Tuareg who then assist the bull-camel in introducing its penis into the she-camel's vagina. The act of mating may be connected with some difficulty for the bull-camel because the she-camel has to lie down on the ground during copulation.

A she-camel is well looked after during the period it is expected to have a calf. She stands upright while bearing the calf, and the umbilical cord breaks when the calf falls to the ground. The birth of a calf is not always seen by the owners but they will generally be present at least a few hours after birth.

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Fig. 36. Two Ayr Tuareg milking a she-camel with the colour name *tawimk*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

They draw out the placenta (in Ayr known as *t'imidin*) by the attachment of a heavy stone to the membrane (*abayor*). It is also common a few hours after birth to draw a little milk from the mother camel and pour this milk into the calf's mouth in order that the new-born animal may be able to stand upright and suck its mother quickly. When this has been done it is normal to bleed the mother-camel. Some milk drawn on the day a she-camel has borne a calf is frequently consumed by the Tuareg (cf. *éderes*, p. 221), but with this exception the new-born calf is allowed to drink all its mother's milk for the first days after birth. The period during which the calf sucks freely varies. It depends on the yield of the mother-camel and is also determined by the amount of milk available to the owners from other animals. Milking may exceptionally start already four or five days after birth, but this is not normal. The calf is frequently allowed all milk for a fortnight, or even for a whole month. In Ahaggar when pastures are very dry it is quite normal not to milk a mother-camel at all for a still longer period. 233* [272] [234]

The entire suckling period, that is the period in which the calf is allowed to drink part of its mother's milk, including the short period when it sucks freely, also varies. But here there is one main rule: a calf is allowed to suck as long as its mother-camel is milked, for she-camels, like cows, do not generally yield milk unless they have their calves close to them. It is normal to mate a she-camel about one year after the birth of a calf. She will then yield milk for about six months after mating, so that the total suckling period is about 18 months, at the end of which period the calf will be allowed very little milk. If a she-camel is not mated so soon it may yield milk for a longer period, and the suckling period may even be up to about two years when the calf is a grown animal almost as big as its mother. 233* 234

There are various methods to secure milking in case a camel has lost its calf. The dead calf may be substituted by another calf, but the dummy-calf is also used with she-camels. This device is known as *ahayoy* (Ahaggar), or *azeyuz* (Ayr). Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr it is claimed that some she-camels can be milked without their calves if their udder is patted in a particular way with the hands – which treatment is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the name *ewlewl*. The method of blowing into the vagina described above for cows (p. 51) is never employed with she-camels. But there is another method for 234

[text continues on p. 59]

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Fig. 37. Wooden milk-bowl (*akabar*) of the type used in Ayr not only for she-camels but also for cows, sheep, and goats. It is carved out of wood of the *turza* tree (*turha* in Ahaggar) (*Calotropis procera*) by a blacksmith. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.285 m high. (N.M. G. 6662).

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Fig. 38. Wooden milk-bowl (*akabar*) of the type used for she-camels in Ahaggar. It was introduced to Ahaggar from the south where it was made by an Ayr blacksmith from wood of the *turha* tree (*Calotropis procera*). The cracked brim is mended with a piece of raw camel hide. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.240 m high. (N.M. G. 5822).

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Fig. 39. A very young camel calf tethered in the camp by means of the *témdit* rope depicted below (Fig. 40). Tamesna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Ireguaten* tribe.

she-camels which are difficult to milk because they will not allow the calf to suck. The method has been described to me by Tuareg of Ayr. It is named *arazak* and is as follows:— Fresh camel-dung is put into the nostrils of the mother-camel, and its nose is thereupon pierced at three places with an awl a hole being made in each nostril and one hole between them. A cord of dum palm leaf is thereupon drawn through these three holes so that the nostrils are firmly closed, and the animal can consequently breathe only through the mouth. It is said that a she-camel which has carried this bandage for one day will be fond of its calf and will allow it to suck so that milking can be done. 234 [412]

Milking of she-camels is usually done twice a day, early in the morning and very late in the evening. In Ayr certain Tuareg milk their she-camels several times during the day, as the animals generally graze close to the camp and frequently come to the tents to see their calves. Milking between the two proper milking times may also be done with other domestic animals in Ayr if milk is needed for some purpose or other during the day, but it is practised particularly with she-camels, as milk gathers in the udder of these animals very quickly after milking.

Milking of she-camels is done by two men standing at the sides of the she-camel and leaning their heads against the animal (Fig. 36). One of the men holds the large wooden milk-bowl *akabar* (Figs. 37-38) [462] [415]

[Text continues on p. 61]

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Fig. 40. The *témdit* rope for tethering small camel calves. The rope is plaited from leaves of the dum palm *tagayt* (*Hyphaene thebaica*) and falls into two parts: The short rope to be nooked around the calf's one foreleg and known as *tesserrefut* is fastened to the long rope (*témdit*) which has a loop for the tethering peg. The whole system is known as *témdit*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: ca. 109 m long. (N. M. G. 6660).

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37–38) and milks only with one hand, but the milk-bowl may also be held by a woman or a boy so that both milkers have two hands free. If men are absent from the camp, milking may be done by women though properly this is the task of grown men. Certain she-camels are very difficult to milk so that milking should be done as quickly as possible. If a she-camel is very restless and therefore difficult to milk it is customary to bend up its right foreleg and attach it in this bent position to its left foreleg before milking is done. This method is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the term *ésemmetil* (cf. Fig. 35). 234 [462]

The Tuareg have various devices to prevent camel calves from drinking more than their proper share of milk. In Ayr and also among the Ahaggar Tuareg of the Tamesna region it is common to keep the young calves tethered by means of a particular cord (*témdit*) fastened to the calf's forelegs (Fig. 39–40). The calf is not allowed to follow its mother during grazing, and in the night when all she-camels rest in the camp they are kept lying on the ground so that the calves cannot suck them. When young calves are tethered in the camp they are fed on fresh annual plants collected for them by the Tuareg. When calves grow older and plant food constitutes their most important nourishment, 233* [P24]

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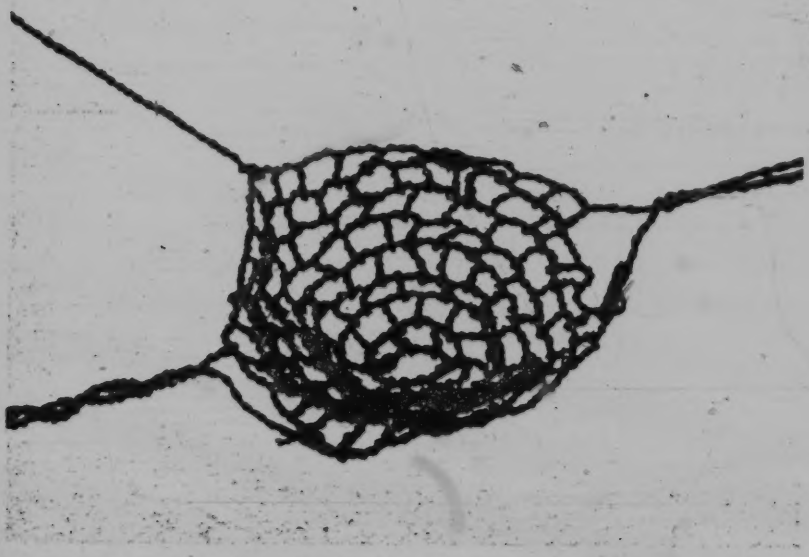

Fig. 41. Plaited pouch (*abejw*) to prevent the sucking of camel calves. It is made of goat's hair, and it has three cords for attachment to the hind part of the she-camel so that the pouch covers the udder. Ahaggar, the *Ajuk-en-tehld* tribe. Dimension of the three cords: 1.19, 1.05, and 0.97 m. (N.M. G. 5198).

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Fig. 42. She-camel provided with the plaited pouch (*abeǧu*) which covers its udder. The pouch is attached as follows:— A cord is tied around the body in front of the animal's hump while another cord runs along the back at both sides of the hump to pass under the tail. The three cords which form part of the pouch are tied to the tail cord in front of the hind thighs and at the tail. To milk a she-camel carrying a pouch around its udder the hind pouch-cord fastened at the animal's tail is untied. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

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*233 they are hobbled by means of a cord (*iéffart*) attached around their forelegs (p. 72, Fig. 45b–e) and
[284] are kept away from the mother animals during grazing in day-time. In Ahaggar as well as elsewhere in Northern Tuareg country suckling of calves are normally regulated by another method, namely a plaited pouch (*abeǧu*) which covers the udder of the mother camel, and the calf can thus be allowed to graze freely together with its mother (Fig. 41–42). This device is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr as *ébeyembey*, but though they know it by name they do not use it. They say, however, that it is in use among the *Kel Ewey* of the Ayr Massif.

The plaited pouch just described also serves as a means of weaning half-grown calves, but there are other weaning methods, namely the following:— (1) *ikembar*, that is cuttings on the bridge of the nose as described above for cow calves (p. 51). In addition to these cuttings, the scars of which form small bumps, it is common to cut the calf also under the chin, the visible result of such a cut being a hanging patch of skin. This method is known both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, and it is, I believe, nowadays carried out mainly for aesthetic reasons as the bumps and the hanging patch of skin adds, in Tuareg opinion, to the beauty of riding camels (Fig. 43). In fact, the cut made under the chin does not seem to hurt a sucking calf, and this cut is not made on cow calves (cf. Fig. 30). (2) A method
[114] which is described by Cauvet from the oasis of In Salah may perhaps also be known to the Northern Tuareg though I have not recorded it. It consists of a thorn put into a patch of skin cut loose on the

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bridge of the nose of a calf, so that it hurts its mother when it tries to suck (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 359). – 233*
(3) *aktimbab*, that is a plaited muzzle which allows the calf to graze, but prevents it from sucking. I have been told both in Ahaggar and Ayr that such muzzles are used for camel calves, but apparently they do not constitute a normal weaning method. – (4) *asedres* or *ameru* are said to be synonymous terms for the weaning method generally adopted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. The method is as follows:— The upper lip of the calf is pierced on both sides of the harelip so characteristic of all camels. A piece of thin root of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) is drawn through these holes so [824] that the ends of the root protude at both sides, and a knot is made at both ends that the root will not fall out. These knots hurt the udder of a she-camel when the calf starts to suck, but this is not the real idea of the device. For the root-piece keeps the pierced holes open and the calf is therefore unable to suck at all.

A she-camel may yield about ten litres of milk at the beginning of its lactation period, but at the 234 end of this period it does not yield more than two or three litres even with good grazing. The yield is always dependent on grazing conditions. Thus during my stay in Ahnet and Ahaggar 1954–55, a Tuareg who owned about twenty she-camels acquired only two litres of milk a day in all from these animals. But conditions of camel-breeding are much better in Ayr and in the southern plains where [433] she-camels are tolerably good milk-yielders most of the year, and camel's milk is therefore very important to some pastoralists of these regions. Camel's milk is drunk and not generally used for food [272] in other ways. It is much esteemed by all Tuareg, who claim that it possesses a particular power and gives strength. It is never stored in the shape of butter or cheese. The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr [262] never eat camel's butter which they consider possesses a poor taste, and, besides, it is very difficult to churn. They make butter of camel's milk only when butter of milk from other domestic animals is [302] lacking for the greasing of the hair. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr butter is then churned by the men in a rather peculiar way:— A skin bag containing an amount of camel's milk is attached to the riding [415] saddle of a camel which is then ridden at very fast speed for some time. But even with this method, it is said, camel's milk gives very little butter, and it is also definitely stated that the milk cannot be used for cheese-making. These Tuareg statements seem to be confirmed by analyses of veterinaries, [114] who claim camel's milk to contain very little casein, and it has been proved difficult to separate butter from camel's milk (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 707 ff.).

She-camels can mate and yield milk until an age of about 25, and their average length of life is 233* estimated by the Tuareg at about 30 years. But pastoral Tuareg do not generally keep their camels until they die a natural death. In Ayr I was told that she-camels more than twenty years old should be sold or killed. Most Tuareg sell their old camels in the oases of the Central or Northern Sahara [432] where a large population of sedentary farmers is constantly yearning for meat. Very few camels are [366] killed by the butchers of Agadez, where meat from oxen, sheep, and goats is always available and [262] fairly cheap, but a great many old camels are slaughtered at the market places of the oases further north.

Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr very rarely kill their own camels to eat them. They will slaughter a camel 262 which suffers from some severe disease as all animals dying by accident or from disease are unlawful to eat. However, there are also some Ayr Tuareg who will never eat camel's meat. They say that they [261] would feel very sick at heart were they to do so, and some Tuareg even say that they would vomit

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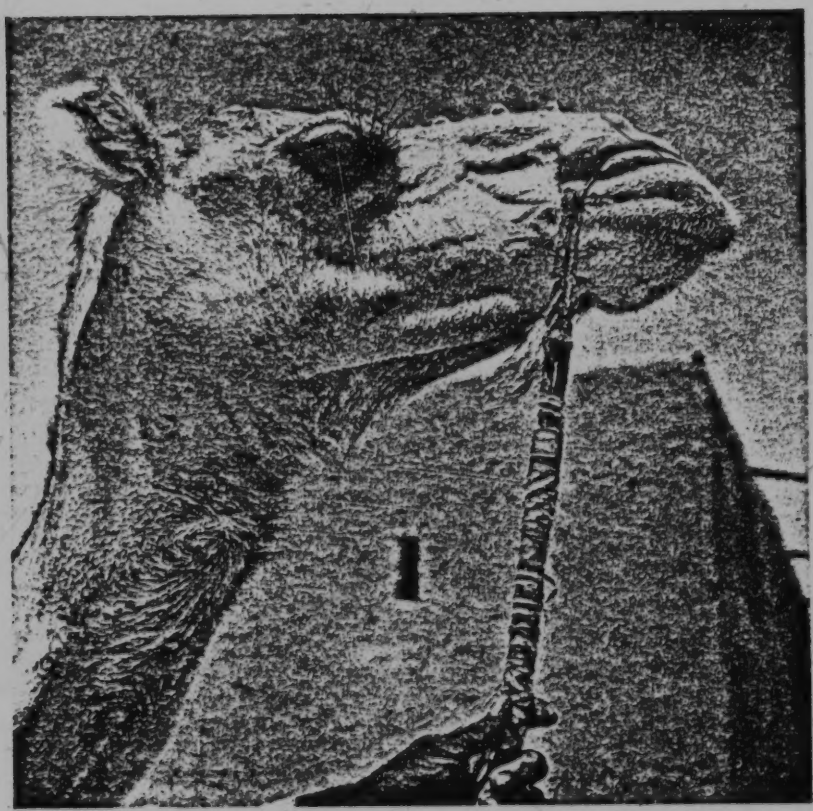

Fig. 43. Riding camel with *ikembar*, that is scars from cuts on the bridge of the nose and a hanging patch of skin under the chin. An ornamented leather fein (*tarant*, or *trézem*) is fastened to the copper ring (*rigemt*, or *rigemt*) of the right nostril. The camel's colour name is *aberog*. It was my own riding camel – a precious gift from Professor Daryll Forde of the University College London. – Ayr.

262 if they had to eat the meat of camels. I have also been told that all members of certain tribes (e.g.,
261 the *Ikezkezen*) will refuse to eat any food served in a receptacle which has once contained camel's meat.
262 I have never heard about Tuareg in the two northern groups who would not eat camel's meat, though most Tuareg in the north consider meat of sheep and goats superior to camel's meat. People of all tribes in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer will eat it, and there seems to be a certain prestige attached

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to the killing of a camel for wedding guests. Otherwise the Northern Tuareg like those of Ayr only 262
kill sick animals for food.

There are certain practical reasons why camels should not normally be killed for food among the Tuareg. Even very old camels fetch high prices at markets of the northern oases (Tamanraset, Tidikelt), [435] and the Tuareg prefer to get the money instead of eating their old camels. This is easily understood [252] when we consider the fact that one camel contains so much meat that it cannot be eaten quickly by the members of a household, and camel's meat is rather tough and must be boiled for several hours to be eatable. Besides, camel's meat is not very well suited to be preserved for eating at a later date [251] on journeys. However, it can be dried and when sick camels are killed part of their meat is often prepared in this way.

A camel is killed in a very particular way quite different from the method of slaughtering other 233*
domestic animals and game. It is killed as follows:— Cords are attached very firmly around the legs of the animal which is kept to the ground by several men who sit on its back and draw its head backwards. The artery is thereupon opened at the lower part of the neck close to the chest, and the knife is thrust into the animal at this place, but not so deeply as to touch the heart or the entrails. This stab is quite sufficient to kill the camel, but some people also cut its throat close to the head in the way other domestic animals are killed. Very peculiar also is the way camels are skinned. While other animals are skinned in such a way that the hide can be removed as entire as possible (cf. Fig. 173), the carcass of a camel is cut up before skinning. The four legs with their thighs are cut loose close to the carcass, which is thereupon cut into several parts by means of a large chopping-knife or an axe (cf. Fig. 44). The hide is thus removed from the carcass after partitioning; but it is difficult to remove the hide as it sticks firmly to the meat, and only part of it is taken off for later use. In Ayr the Tuareg do not 000

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Fig. 44. Skinning and partitioning of a young camel. Ayr, *Irawdiva*.

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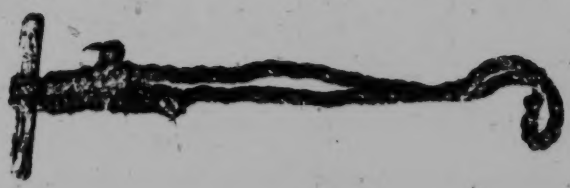

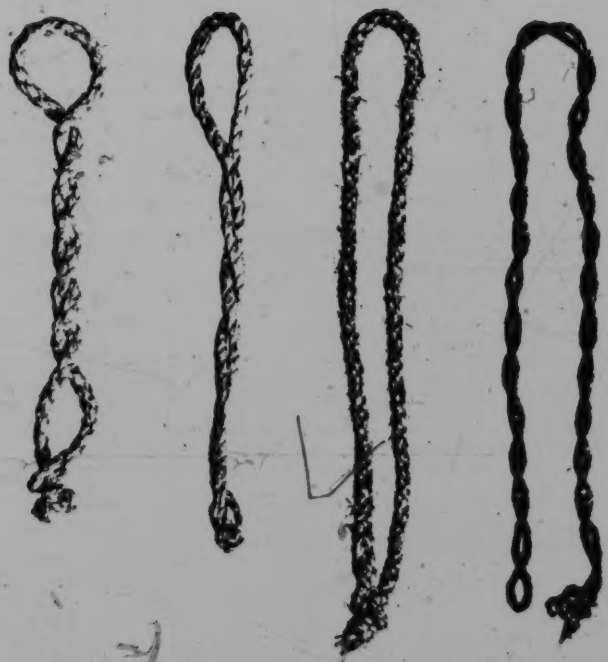

Fig. 45a–e. Hobble-ropes for camels.

a. The *aserwa* rope to be tied around the foreleg of a camel to keep it lying down. This rope is made of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the stick 0.128 m (N.M. G. 5195).

b. Hobble-rope (*téffert*) made of dum palm leaves. Ayr, *KelFerwan* Tuareg. Dimension: 0.43 m. (doubled). (N.M. G. 6609).

c. Hobble-rope (*téffert*) made of raw ox-hide. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 1.03 m. (N.M. G. 5196).

d. Hobble-rope (*téffert*) newly-made of date palm bast. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.60 m. (doubled). (N. M. G. 5197).

e. Hobble-rope (*téffert*) made of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 1.16 m. (N.M. G. 5194).

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Fig. 46. A resting she-camel with the colour name *tawinak*. The colour term of the young she-camel standing in the back-ground is *ténilt*. Ayr, the *Imezzuïeg* tribe.

In Ayr the Tuareg do not 237
use camel's hide in their crafts, but give it to the blacksmiths who use it for lashing, or to people [564]
who manufacture beds from ribs of palm leaves (cf. Fig. 257). The Northern Tuareg use camel-skin [352]
for the manufacture of a few household implements and also use it for lashing (cf. p. 84, 110, 222, [824]
270 f. & Figs. 70, 86, 132a–b, 161a–d, 162, 213). But even in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer the skin of camels is little used compared with the skin of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep.

When employed in craft, camel's hide is normally used raw and unprepared after soaking in water, 281
but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that for certain purposes the hide is treated with salt. In literature there 114
are many statements about the tanning of camel's hide. Thus it is stated by Cauvet that the hide is tanned with plant material in Algeria, and Cauvet also quotes Duveyrier's statement that the Northern Tuareg tan camel's hide to use it for tents and various other implements (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 714 ff.). I very much doubt the correctness of this, as all Tuareg asked about it have stated that the hide of camels is not fitted for proper tanning. Camel's hide is therefore of very limited use to the Tuareg, and the same is the case with camel's hair or wool. Tuareg camels in Ayr have very little wool, and 237
among the Northern Tuareg most animals have less wool than Arab camels of the Northern Sahara. The Northern Tuareg pluck a little wool with the hands or cut it off with a knife. It is spun into cords 283
to be used for certain minor objects, notably for the manufacture of the plaited pouch (*abegu*) to prevent the suckling of calves (p. 62, Fig. 41) and for the particular cord (*anaqus*) tied around the forelegs of camels to keep them in a reclining position (p. 72, Fig. 45a). Mixed with goat's hair the wool is 286
also used for a kind of primitive weaving (p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

Camels are very important to the Tuareg as pack-animals for long caravan expeditions which will 492*
be mentioned in a later chapter when other means of subsistence have been described. 484

In the past camels were also extremely valuable as riding animals on raiding expeditions which 492*
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Fig. 47. The *akalo* rope noosed around the lower jaw of a pack-camel and prevented from loosening by the insertion of a small stick. Ayr, *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg.

*492 played an important part for all Tuareg. Raiding expeditions were carried out to gain all kinds of
721 booty, but camels were the main objective, and it was difficult to carry off other kinds of domestic animals over long distances. Thus camels were the main cause of raiding and also the means by which
721 raiding expeditions were carried out. In Ahaggar large scale raiding stopped long ago with the advent
175 of the French at the beginning of our century, though it recovered again during the revolt of 1916–17. This was also true of Ayr, but it seems as if raiding in and around this Massif continued still later
685 (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 187 ff. & Buchanan 1921, p. 209 ff.). Nowadays raiding has ceased everywhere among the Tuareg, but theft of camels has been on the increase in the south. There are many camel thieves among the Ayr Tuareg, for it is very easy to steal grazing camels during the night and to lead them to some distant market and sell them. The Tuareg claim that in pre-European times there were
[640] hardly any camel thieves in Ayr as such persons were punished very severely. They say that the theft of camels became normal with the French who have great difficulty in proving the guilt of thieves.

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Fig. 48. Young camel with a halter (*amerur*) made from a rope of goat's hair. Tasilit-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terarit* tribe.

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Fig. 49. Riding camels in Ahaggar.

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685 648 One of the principal tasks of the Ayr camel patrol consists in hunting down camel thieves to take them to Agadez and prove their guilt. Most Tuareg sympathize with this judicial work of the French but claim that it is too ineffective.

232 * 492 435 The Tuareg still take a very great interest in the breeding of riding camels, and extremely good riding animals are occasionally sold for a price equal to that paid for five or six normal camels. When a calf is born they at once recognize whether it will be well fitted for riding or not, for there are certain basic characteristics of riding camels. Ideally they should have a relatively short body, be deep-chested, and of high stature with small feet and slender limbs. For pack-camels they prefer heavy and strong animals with very large feet. Both for riding and for transportation they prefer bulls or castrated animals. Geldings are calmer than bull-camels which are often very fierce and dangerous when she-camels are on heat. Rutting bull-camels may even attack people, and they will fight each other – sometimes with the result that one of them is bitten to death. But there is another reason for castration. For bull-camels which have not been allowed to mate freely with she-camels are generally not very difficult to handle. Castration makes bull-camels stronger and more enduring as they more easily grow fat and get larger humps than non-castrated animals. Castration is never carried out until the bull-camel is fully grown, and both in Ahaggar and in Ayr castration is performed comparatively late when the animals are about five or six years old, or later. Many bull-camels are castrated at an age of ten or eleven years.

* 233 * 492 She-camels are not generally used for riding and transportation, but are reserved for breeding. But some Tuareg may use their she-camels even for extensive trading expeditions, and there are Tuareg who prefer to ride she-camels because of their smoother walk. If a Tuareg has a very good she-camel as a riding animal he may even desire to prevent it from mating by the insertion of a very small pebble into the uterus of the she-camel which will then not be able to mate until the pebble is removed. However,

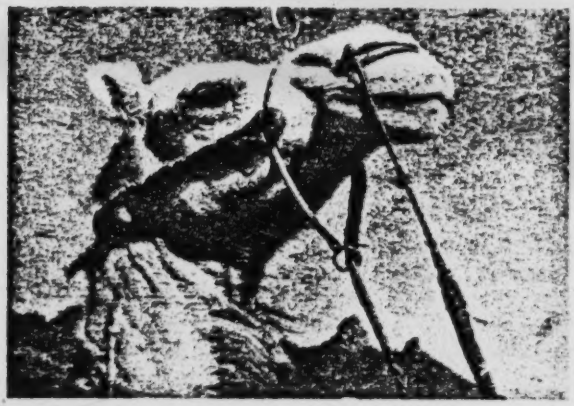

Fig. 50. The headgear known as *akeskabbu*. The upper iron shackle resting upon the bridge of the nose is called *akeskabbu*, the lower shackle to be tightened against the chin is known as *amadel*. The two shackles are connected with a rein of ornamented leather, the other end of which is fastened to the nostril ring *ṣiḥemt*). Ahaggar, the *Ikkin-en-tawsit* tribe.

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Fig. 51. The *akeskabba* shackles connected with a rein plaited of black and white goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. The whole piece is now in the collection of the Århus Museum (F.M. 76). Dimension of the upper shackle: 0.16 m high.

very few Tuareg use this method as they are on the whole most interested in the increase of their camel-herds. According to Duveyrier it was even common practice among the Northern Tuareg, who in the past had comparatively few camels, to destroy the fetus of she-camels which could then be used as riding animals on raids (Duveyrier 1864, p. 354). I have never been told about that among the Tuareg, and I do not believe that this custom is practised among modern Tuareg who have more camels. It

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*233 *492 should be remembered that she-camels possess less endurance than bull-camels and geldings on very long journeys.

*233 She-camels and the few bull-camels which are reserved for breeding graze free and unhobbled; pack and riding animals are hobbled with a short rope between their forelegs during grazing. Both in Ayr and among the Northern Tuareg this hobble-rope is known as *téffart* (Fig. 45b–e). In Ayr it is generally [137] rather short because pasture is rich in the valleys where camels are also difficult to find because of the dense vegetation and because the animals frequently leave no trace. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg, vegetation is on the whole more scattered and camels have to wander more freely to find suitable fodder. The Northern Tuareg therefore in general use a somewhat longer hobble-rope, and they find their animals again without much difficulty because of the open country and because the camels leave foot-prints which differ from one animal to the other. When the camels are out of sight they are easily traced by the Tuareg who know their foot-prints. The Ayr Tuareg make their hobble- [283] ropes from dum palm leaves twisted together, while Northern Tuareg use bast of the date palm trees, which latter material is considered the better for hobble-ropes. If hobbled camels are left to themselves for longer periods the Northern Tuareg also use ropes made of goat's hair or ox hide as such ropes do not so easily break (cf. Fig. 45c, e).

[171] Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara do not always let their camels graze during night but frequently keep them lying in front of the tent after darkness; the animals are then tied around one of their forelegs by means of a short rope provided with a small stick. The same device (*asaṛun*) is also known to the Northern Tuareg (p. 67, Fig. 45a), but it is unknown to the Ayr Tuareg who use for this purpose a short rope (*aṛenfud*) without a stick and made from twisted dum palm leaves. The Tuareg may keep camels in the camp during night and then tie one of their forelegs with the ropes mentioned. This is done with she-camels which rest close to their calves at night time, and in Ayr also with most camels during the short period of the year (*akasa* and the beginning of *ṛarat*) when dew falls heavily upon annual pasture, for camels may contract stomach diseases from eating wet annual plants. In Ahaggar I have noted that camels are attached in the way mentioned and kept in camp during the night in order that they might not eat noxious plants growing close to the tents (cf. p. 124). However, camels normally graze during the night and do not sleep much. On the very long trading expeditions they eat almost exclusively through a few hours of the night. When a camel sleeps it stretches out its long neck in a slightly curved position and its head rests upon the chin (cf. Fig. 46). It sleeps very lightly, and the Ahaggar Tuareg say that a boy who is able to creep under the neck of a sleeping camel and not awake it will never loose his way in the desert.

*492 Pack-camels of a Tuareg caravan walk one behind the other in a long line. Every pack-camel is provided with a rope noosed around its lower jaw, the loop being prevented from loosening by the [283] insertion of a small stick (Fig. 47). This rope is known as *akalu* to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who use ropes made from twisted pieces of date palm bast, while the Ayr Tuareg make similar ropes from dum palm leaves. The loose end of the *akalu* rope is attached to the pack-camel walking in front, fastened either to its luggage or, more frequently, to its neck around which camels of a caravan carry their hobble-ropes.

*233 *492 True halters made from goat's hair or from palm material are used mainly for young untrained

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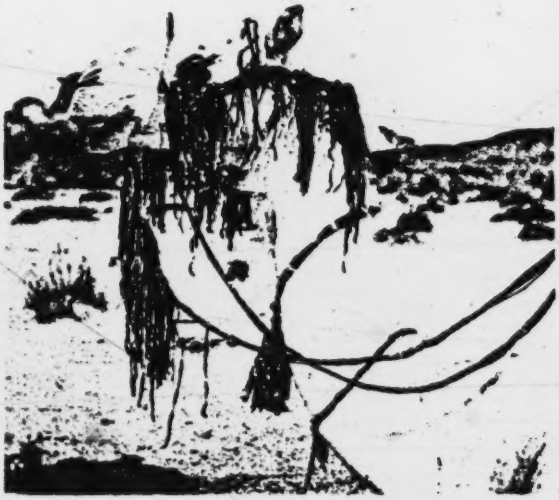

Fig. 52. The *akeskabbu* shakles connected with a leather rein richly decorated with fringes of the same material. This headgear is now in the National Museum (N.M. G. 5192). Hanging around the camel's neck is also a neck collar (*tahawi*) with a brass bell (*anayna*) which is also now in the National Museum (N.M. G. 5191) (cf. Fig. 74b). Below the brass bell is an amulet case fixed to a piece of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

*233 *492 camels and for other animals which are difficult to control (Fig. 48). Such halters are known by the term *amerar* among the Ayr Tuareg. Certain camels which are difficult to catch even when hobbled during grazing constantly wear a halter provided with a short rope hanging down from the head – a device applied to many fierce bull-camels (Fig. 56).

*492 To break-in young riding camels the Tuareg frequently use a double rein one end of which is tied around the animal's head to serve as a halter while the other end is noosed around the lower jaw according to the method generally used for pack-camels and described above. But for trained riding [237] camels the nomads normally content themselves with the use of a single rein (generally known as *tarant* in Ahaggar, in Ayr as *trézem*) plaited of goatskin or goat's hair and attached to a copper ring (*tigemt* in Ahaggar) inserted in the right nostril of the camel (cf. Fig. 43). This is done by the black- [584] smiths who also manufacture a very special headgear (*akeskabbu*, or *taryet* in Ahaggar) for riding camels which are difficult to control. The rider when using such a head-gear has a double rein one end of which is attached to a nostril ring (*tigemt*) while the other end is connected with two iron shackles known as *akeskabbu* (*taryet*) and *amadel*. When the rider pulls the right rein the camel is pulled at the nostril ring, but when he pulls the left rein the two iron shackles are tightened around the bridge of the nose and the lower jaw of the animal. The system is illustrated Figs. 50–52. Black- [826] smiths also make very elaborate halters of this type to be used mainly as an ornament of riding camels [531] on festive occasions. In such cases the halter as well as the rein are richly decorated with coloured

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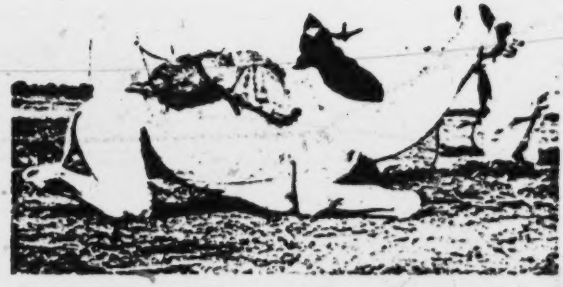

Fig. 53. Pack camel with the saddle consisting of two skin-bags (*imaytalen*) stuffed with hay. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.
Fig. 54. A skin bag (*amaytal*, pl. *imaytalen*) of the type used for pack-saddle. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: ca. 0.80 m. (N.M. G. 6658).

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531 leather fringes (cf. Fig. 52). Some very elaborate halters are found in the Musée de l'homme (Nos. 5.66.5; 30.61.228; 95.46.3; D $\frac{3A}{1}$ 42; D $\frac{3A}{1}$ 25).

*492 Foucauld describes a peculiar method for leading camels, as follows:— A little wooden stick (*agula*) is stuck into the skin between the chin and the lower jaw of the animal, and the lead is attached to this stick. The method is practised with camels which have no nostril ring and cannot be led by means of a rope attached around their lower jaw (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 426). I have seen this peculiar method practised once in Ahaggar.

Pack-camels are rarely used without some type of saddle, but it happens that camels are used for water-transportation from the well to the camp without a saddle. The waterbags are then hung over the animal's back, their cords resting upon a layer of straw or sprays. In Ahaggar, and more so in Ayr, it is also common instead of a proper saddle to use two skin-bags filled with grain, straw, or the like to form cushions. One of these is placed before, the other behind the hump so that the cords of luggage bags can rest upon them (cf. Fig. 53–54). These cushions are known as *imaytalen* (sing. *amaytal*), and they may serve as a pack-saddle even on long journeys, though the Tuareg in general use proper saddles on trading expeditions.

[171] Pack-saddles of the Northern Tuareg correspond to saddles found among the Arabs of the Sahara. The common type is that known to the Arabs as *ḥawiyya* or *ḥiddāge*, and called *élaki* by the Northern
[824] Tuareg. It consists of a wooden frame (*élaki*) generally made from pieces of palm leaf ribs (Fig. 55).
[284] It is made up of two crossbars placed close to each other, each of them being composed of two short and slightly curved pieces of palm leaves' ribs lashed together at the top with raw camel-hide. The

pair of cross-bars is connected with four short sticks of the same material, each being lashed with hide horizontally to the crossbars. This frame is generally manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt, who also make the large cushion (*tihekam*) of date palm bast to which the saddle-frame is attached with cords. On rare occasions the Tuareg also have saddle-frames of wood (*taharekkat*, that is *Tamarix aphylla*) made by the blacksmiths on the same pattern, and they may also use cushions of hay stuffed into a piece of matting. The *élaki*-saddle is used in the following way:— The short, looped cords of the loading bags rest upon the wooden frame in front of the camel's hump and on the rear part of the saddle-cushion. A bunch of grass or date palm bast (*aselki*) is placed under the loading cords that they may not gall the back of the camel. In addition to the proper camel-load divided into two halves (e.g., two large bags) there are frequently many smaller objects to be transported, and these are then attached to the wooden saddle-frame. The *élaki*-saddle normally rests loosely upon the camel's back, but it may be fixed to the animal's back by a girth (*ahayif*). It is also occasionally

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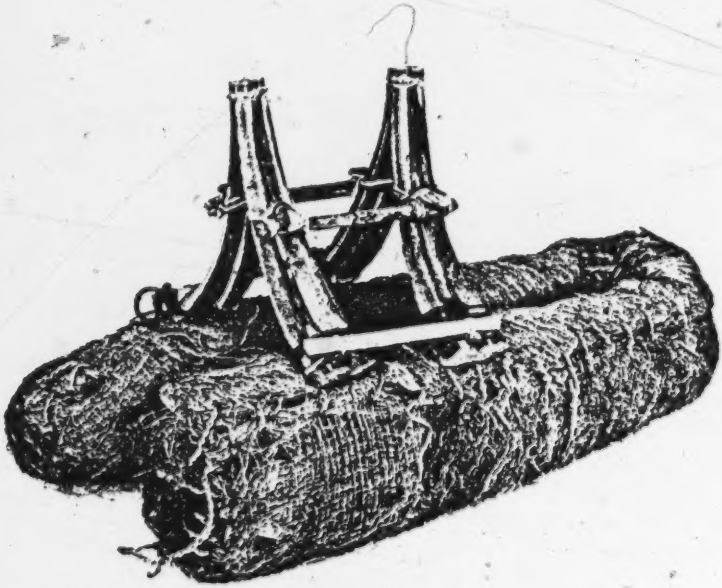

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**Fig. 55. The *élaki* pack saddle consisting of a saddle frame attached to a U-formed cushion made of date palm bast: The saddle frame made of palm fronds lashed with raw hide. It is called *élaki*, or *erras en eloki*. Ahaggar, Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.34 m high. (F.M. 191).**
**The saddle cushion of date palm bast. It is called *tihekam*. Ahaggar, Tamanraset. Dimension: 1.50 m long. (F.M. 192).**

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*492 fixed with a rope running under the tail and/or a rope around the camel's chest. The *elaki*-saddle is [104] unknown to the Ayr Tuareg, but I have seen it in use among Arab traders living at Iferwan of Northern [171] Ayr. It is by far the most common type of pack-saddle in both groups of Northern Tuareg.

Another type of pack-saddle named *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* corresponds to the *herej* saddle of the Arabs. It is used occasionally by the Northern Tuareg, but I have only seen it among the *Kel Aijer*. The saddle-frame is made from date palm ribs and consists of two cross-bars connected with each other by two crossed sticks at both sides. One of the cross-bars rests in front of the animal's hump, the other behind. The frame is lashed together by means of strips of raw camel-hide and is fastened to [283] two pads of palm bast as can be seen from the photograph Fig. 57. As far as I know this saddle-type, [563] like the type above-mentioned, is manufactured by palm-growing agriculturists of the oases. This saddle type seems to be unknown among the Ayr Tuareg.

The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is known to them as *aruki*. It consists of one [28] wooden arch lashed to two flat boards (Fig. 58). These two sideboards are attached to two pads made from hay stuffed into tubular pieces of dum palm matting. The two pads or mat cylinders are fitted on each side of the camel so that the wooden arch rests in front of the hump. But there is also a rear pad consisting of a stuffed skin-bag laid over the camel's back behind the hump and attached to the wooden arch by means of cords. The loading cords bear on this stuffed skin-bag and on the mat-cylinders in front of the wooden arch. The wooden arch is manufactured by blacksmiths, while the [564] side pads and rear pad are made by the Tuareg. The saddle is not generally fixed to the camel by means of girths or cords. The place of origin for this saddle-type seems to be Ayr. It is used also among the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, and it seems as if related saddle-types occur elsewhere in the south (cf. p. 311).

*492 Transportation bags of various types are used for camel loads, but the very large bags woven from 415 a mixture of goat's hair and camel's wool so typical of northern Arab pastoralists are not in current use among the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*, and are entirely unknown to the Tuareg of Ayr. The [563] Northern Tuareg generally use bags made from the skin of barbary sheep, or bags made from date palm bast by the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. Fig. 59). In Ayr the Tuareg normally use transportation bags of plaited dum palm leaves.

The ideal load of a camel consists of two bags forming a total weight of up to 200 kgs for a very strong animal. The two bags, which together form one load, are each provided with two short loading loops. They are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *elferwet* when bags are woven, as *tadekmert* when the bags are of skin. The loading is done as follows:— The two bags are lifted up and supported against the sides of the recumbent pack-camel by two men who put the loops of one bag into those of the other and insert between them two little sticks, known in the north as *tihdad* (sing. *tehedit*). To unload the camel all one has to do is to pull out the two small sticks inserted between the loops, and the two bags fall to the ground. This same system is also used in Ayr, and, I believe, among all [171] camel-breeders of North Africa. - To secure the load in a fixed position it is very common to surround its two halves with a rope (*takhamit* in Ahaggar), which is laid over the saddle-frame before loading and another rope around the luggage and the belly of the pack-camel is also used if considered necessary.

*492 When camels are taken to the camp from pasture, they are sometimes mounted without a saddle

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Fig. 56. The loading of a camel bull carrying the *élaki* saddle. This bull was very fierce. It is provided with an *akala* rope around the lower jaw, and a halter (*amerar*) with a short rope hanging down to facilitate capture. The recumbent position of the bull is secured by a rope passing around the neck and a foreleg. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

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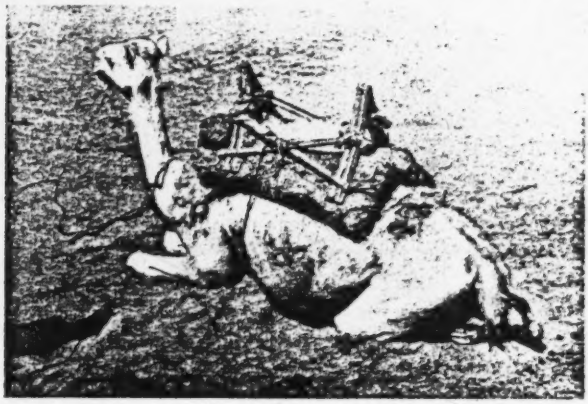

Fig. 57. Camel with a pack-saddle of the *tebeyat* or *tkhawit* type consisting of a frame made of palm fronds attached to two cushions of date palm bast. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, *Kel Ganet*.

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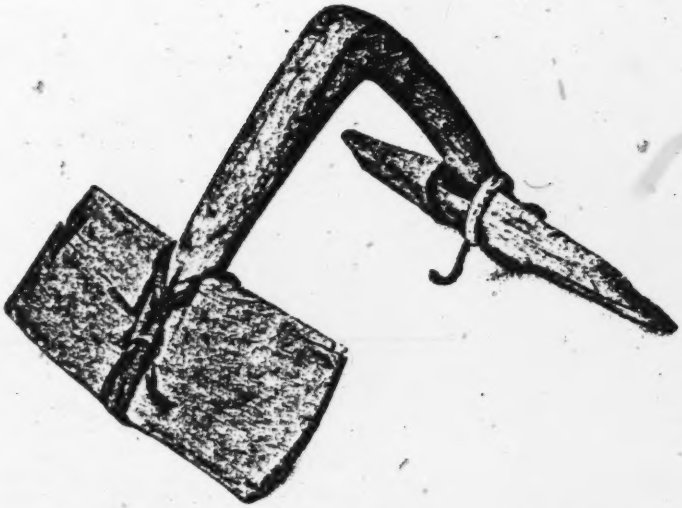

Fig. 58. Wooden saddle frame of the *oruki* type. The curved piece of wood is fastened to two boards with strips of raw hide. The frame is manufactured by an Ayr blacksmith. Bought at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.337 m long, 0.275 m high. (N.M. G. 5247).

*492 [171] by men and boys, who sit sideways in front of the hump resting their feet upon the animal's neck, or, more rarely, behind the hump with their feet hanging down, as is the custom of Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. It should be added that on long trading expeditions the Tuareg frequently content themselves with sitting on the top of their loaded pack-camels. But riding in these ways is not very pleasant, and whenever possible the Tuareg use proper riding saddles placed in front of the camel's hump so that the rider sits cross-legged in the saddle with his feet resting upon the lower part of the animal's neck.

Most Tuareg have saddles of the well-known type with a cruciformed pommel. This saddle is known as *térik* which term is used for three distinct sub-types. One is known as *tekokeyt* (Fig. 60); it differs [531] from the type known as *tamzak* mainly therein that the latter is provided with peculiar ornaments and designs (Fig. 61). These two saddles are those normally used by the Tuareg, while the third sub-type known as *bertekes* is extremely rare; it resembles the *tamzak*-saddle, but is provided with many small bells fastened to be back (Fig. 62). Such saddles are hardly ever manufactured by the black-[564] smiths of Northern Tuareg countries, but are made in Ayr, notably in Agadez, where the Northern [432] Tuareg also buy their riding saddles. Even the Arab pastoralists of the tribes *Chamba* and *Ulad Ba*

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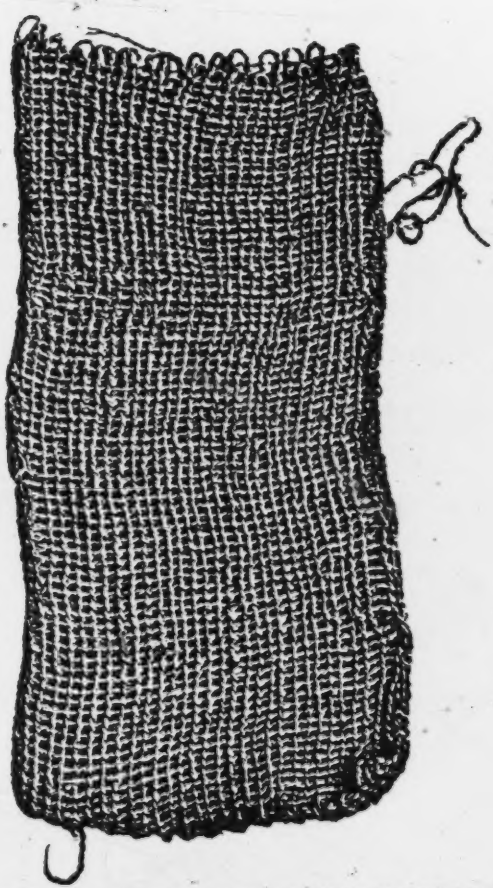

Fig. 59. Transportation bag (*achchebket*) plaited from cords of date palm bast. Made by *Ḫarratin* of Tidikelt, bought at Tamanṛaset. Dimension: 1.18 m long, 0.58 m broad. (N.M. G. 5217).

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Fig. 60. Riding saddle of *tekokeyt* type (*térik*). Bought in Ahaggar by Olufsen, manufactured in Ayr. Dimension: 0.70 m high, 0.50 m long, 0.35 m broad. (N.M. G. 1.126).

[284] *Hammu* obtain their riding saddles from Ayr. All three sub-types of the *térik*-saddle are construc-
[237] tionally identical, being made from pieces of wood lashed together with raw hide and then covered
[113] with coloured leather. The structure of this *térik*-saddle is described and depicted in literature (cf. notably Gabus 1949, pl. XII; 1957, p. 176 & Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 48, p. 179).

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Fig. 61. Riding saddle of *tamzak* type (*térik*). Manufactured in Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: ca. 0.77 m high, 0.31 m broad. (N.M. G. 6655).

A less elegant type of riding saddle known as *takyast* (Ahaggar) or *akyas* (Ayr) is used rather frequently among the Northern Tuareg and occasionally in Ayr. The wooden structure of this saddle (Fig. 63) does not differ much from that of the cruciformed *térik*-type. It is lighter and less solid, and the saddle is not much esteemed among the Tuareg who use it because it is cheaper. It is manufactured 492* [564]

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Fig. 62. Riding saddle of *bersekes* type (*térik*). This saddle was brought to the Musée de l'homme by Duveyrier. From Tasilé-n-Ajjer, probably manufactured in Ayr.

*492 mainly by blacksmiths of Adɣaɣ-n-Foɣas, which region is considered its original homeland, but it is
564 also made at Agadez in Ayr where the wooden skeleton is often covered with hairy ox hide. The wooden
[237] structure of this saddle type is described in literature (Gabus 1949, pl. XII; 1957, p. 176).
[113] In Ayr and further south in Damergu I have often seen a very simple riding saddle which has never been mentioned in literature. It is known as *kantarki* or *delobi* (Figs. 64–65), and it is very interesting

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Fig. 63a. Riding saddle of the *tahyast* type. The saddle is made of wood of the *turha* tree (*Calotropis procera*) which is often used for riding saddles. The wooden frame is lashed with strips of raw hide and covered with depilated ox-hide which is coloured with the dyes known as *herki*, *temesarak*, and *tawakent* (cf. p. 282). Bought in Ahaggar, manufactured in Adrar-n-Foras, or in Ayr. Dimension: 0.55 m high, 0.51 m broad. (N.M. G. 5189).

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*492 that it is manufactured by pastoral Tuareg of these regions and not by blacksmiths, though the latter
[564] may also make such saddles for their own use. The wooden structure is made of two cross-bars, which
[412] are natural prongs fashioned with knife and axe, and these two cross-bars are lashed to each other at their lower ends, or are connected with each other by means of two sticks crossing each other at
[824] the two sides. A wreath of slender roots of *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) covered with a network of dum
[283] palm rope may serve as a saddle seat, which can also be covered with a piece of matting plaited from
[289] the leaves of the dum palm tree. This very simple saddle may perhaps be considered the prototype of the more developed riding saddles of the *térik* and *tahyast* types.

All the above-mentioned types of riding saddles are placed in front of the camel's hump and rest upon two to four saddle cloths, the number depending upon their quality and also upon the nutritional condition of the animal. Two saddle-cloths are considered enough for a fat camel while four should be applied to a very thin one. Saddle cloths are frequently called *ésatfar* (Ayr) or *asetfer* (Ahaggar), but this name is in fact used for everything placed upon the back of an animal to protect it against galling from the luggage and/or the saddle. Saddle cloths for camels are properly termed *éselis* (Ayr)
[286] and *ameslaḳ* (Ahaggar). Both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr saddle cloths are generally made of cotton, but they are also made from dum palm matting and a piece of leather among the Ayr Tuareg (Figs. 66–67). The riding saddles are fixed to the camel by a single girth known as *ahayif*
[237] (Ahaggar) or *azaw* (Ayr). In the north such girths are normally made from goat-hair while the Ayr Tuareg use plaited leather (goat-skin). Girths in both regions are frequently furnished with a very
[541] large tassel hanging down from the right side of the camel (Fig. 69). On rare occasions when the Tuareg
[648] ride their camels with all possible speed, e.g., at the annual camel races organized by the French administration, the riders often secure the position of their saddles by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren* among the Northern Tuareg) tied around the hind part of the camel as shown by the photograph Fig. 68.

The camel rider sits in the saddle cross-leged with his feet resting upon the camel's neck. To accelerate the speed of his riding animal he pushes one of his feet against its neck in step with the rocking gait
*492 peculiar to camels. A whip (*alekkoḍ*) also belongs to the equipment of the rider. Most whips have a
237 single lash made from a twisted strip of hide, but whips provided with two lashes of hide attached to a wooden handle are also found and are common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Figs. 70a–b). The whips used in the north are said to be made from camel's hide soaked in water; the raw hide is twisted and kept in this position until it is dry. The Ayr Tuareg say that camel's hide is not well fitted for whips, which among them are manufactured from the raw hide of a newly-killed ox. A piece of this hide is twisted and left to dry as in the north. The handle of the one-lash whip is made of cotton wrapped around the upper part of the lash and covered with coloured goat-skin.

*492 The Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular implement to hasten the speed of riding camels. It is described in literature notably by Foucauld. It consists of a slender iron rod 0.35–0.50 metres long, fixed into a wooden handle. It has a small crook much like that of a staple and is used for scratching the animal and thus to incite it to greater speed. It is called *aẓallu*, or *asekreḍ* (Foucauld 1951 52. II, p. 856 & IV, p. 1960). I have never seen this peculiar implement among the Tuareg.

*492 A camel rider's equipment comprises various types of skin bags of which the most common is a
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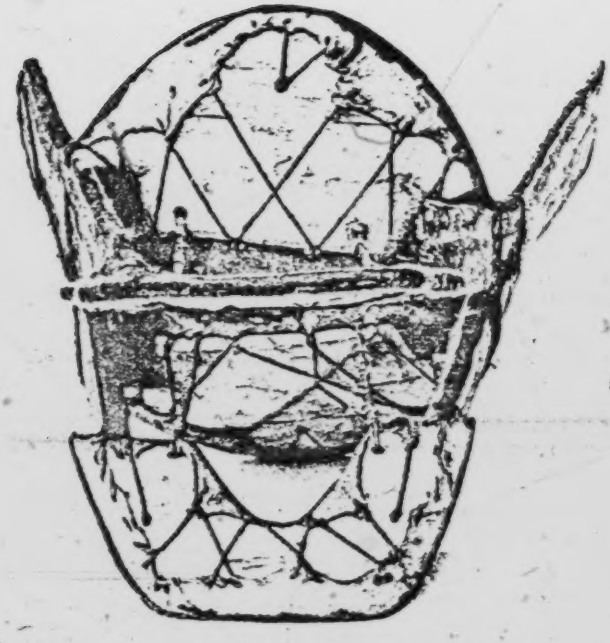

Fig. 63b. cf. Fig. 63a.

*492 415 huge saddle bag known as *ejjebira*, manufactured exclusively by the sedentary people of Agadez, the *Imeggedezen* (Fig. 72a). Other bags are often used by riders and some of them will be mentioned in the description of skin and leather work.

[283] An important part of the rider's equipment is the drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from metal and attached to the saddle pommel with a plaited leather cord (*iémetsek*); it is particularly common *492 among the Northern Tuareg (Fig. 71). The Tuareg also possess a great many objects which serve [531] exclusively as ornaments for riding camels. The Northern Tuareg adorn their animals with a collar (*tahawt*) made from fine cords of goat's hair, while the Ayr Tuareg use another type of collar called

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Fig. 64. Riding saddle of the type known as *kamarki* or *delobi*. It is made of two forked boughs of *sumat* acacia (*Acacia flava*) connected with sticks and the seat. The latter is made of slender roots (sing. *idkéwt*) of the afagag *acacia* (*Acacia Raddiana*). These slender roots are bent into a circle, are covered with cotton or similar material, and a kind of net is made of dum palm rope within the circle. Ayr, *Imrggedezen*. Dimension: 0.49 m high. (N.M. G. 6656).

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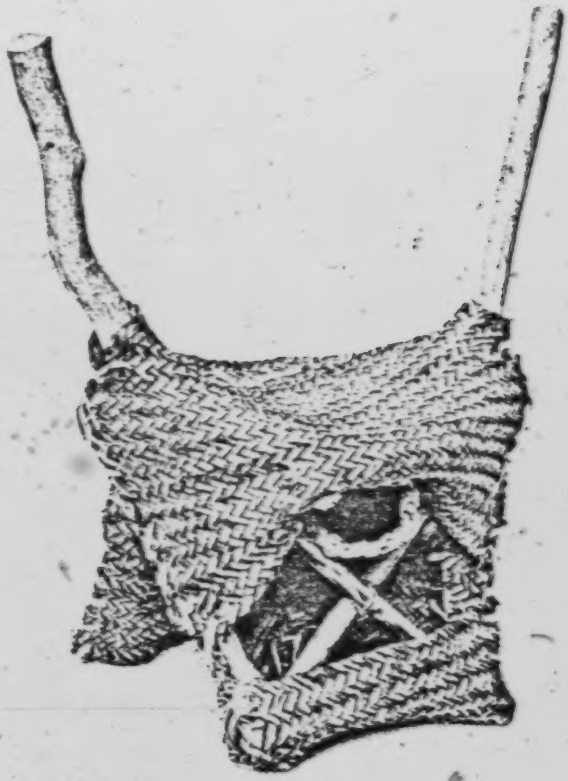

**Fig. 65.** Riding saddle of the type known as *kantarki* or *delobi*. It is structurally related to the saddle depicted Fig. 64, but is covered with matting plaited of dum palm leaves. Ayr, the *Igwadiyawa* tribe. Dimension: 0.53 m high. (N.M. G. 6611).

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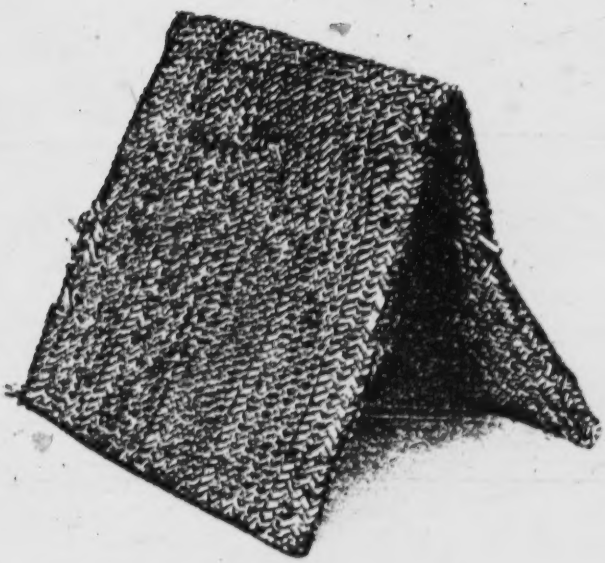

Fig. 66. Saddle cloth (*ésélis*) made of dum palm matting. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m high in bent position (N.M. G. 6657).

*492 *ilgam* (Fig. 73–74) made of leather by the *Imeggedezen*. Camels may also be provided with a bell (*anayna*) attached to a neck-collar (Fig. 74b). The Ayr Tuareg also use bells for roaming bull-camels, as I have myself seen, and for rams and he-goats, but never for oxen.

*492 562 565 The camel is used for riding by Tuareg men, while many women never mount camels. Among the Northern Tuareg most women of the true vassal class (*Imrad*, or *Kel Ulli*) only mount camels very occasionally, when they sit behind the saddle of their husbands or close male relatives. Their proper riding animal is the donkey. Women of the *Isekkemaren* class more frequently mount camels which are the correct riding animals for women of the nobility (*Ihaggaren*). Noble women never ride donkeys.

In Ahaggar proper riding saddles for women are found only in noble tribes, in the *Ireqenaten* tribe, *492 562 and in tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. Such saddles are constructionally related to the transportation

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saddle known as *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* and described above p. 76 (Fig. 57). The Ahaggar Tuareg have four sub-types of women's saddles:— (1) *akhawi*, that is a very large saddle at each side provided with a wooden arch; (2) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tkéwin*), a lighter saddle provided with similar wooden arches; (3) *aragen*, a large and heavy saddle without side-arches; (4) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tehdad*), a light saddle without side-arches. These saddle types, particularly the former type known as *akhawi*, are exhaustively described by Foucauld in his dictionary (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 723), and a very beautiful specimen is here depicted from the collection of the Musée de l'homme (Fig. 75). Very elaborate saddles as that depicted are always made by the blacksmiths, but light saddles of the *tkhawit* types may also be manufactured by Tuareg women. Thus women of the *Iregenaten* tribe south of the Ahaggar Massif make saddles of the lighter type themselves. Women's saddles may sometimes be provided with a roof made from curved and bent boughs covered with cotton or blankets. This peculiar construction is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ahennaka*.

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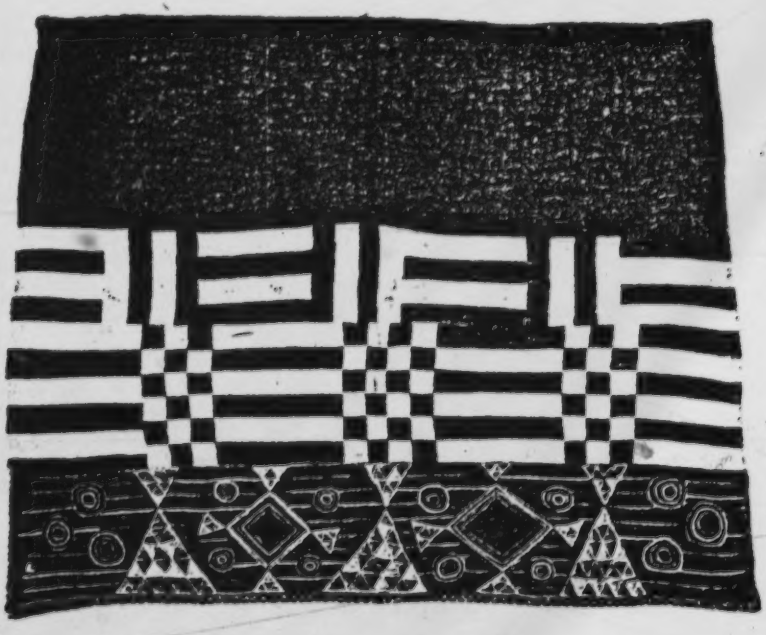

**Fig. 67. Saddle cloth (*amesiad*) of cotton and embroidered with coloured thread. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension: 0.771 × 0.620 m. (N. M. G. 5190).**

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Fig. 68. Tuareg camel riders prepared for a camel-race. The fixed position of the saddles is secured by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren*) tied around the hind part of the camel. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*492 The saddle types just mentioned are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg and apparently also to
[562] other Tuareg of Ayr. Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group refer to these women's saddles as "Arab saddles", and when their women mount camels on festive occasions they do not use proper saddles but a kind of chair built up upon two very large cushions manufactured by the *Imeggedezen*, and stuffed with hay. The arrangement of this saddle-chair is complicated and it takes some hours to finish it. It is built as follows:— The two large cushions (*éstigen*, sing. *ésteg*) are placed on the camel's back in front and behind the hump. They support a superstructure known as *tésogaley* and made from various objects belonging to the tent in the following way:— (1) Two large and oblong skin-bags are stuffed with hay or old cotton pieces and each of them is wrapped with a coloured blanket to form an oblong parcel. (2) To stay these parcels a rolled bed mat (Fig. 212b) is tied horizontally to each of
[205] them, and they are laid parallel with each other on the ground. (3) A very long mat plaited from dum palm leaves is rolled up and wrapped into a coloured blanket or a coloured piece of cotton. It is bent into a U-form and thereupon attached to the two oblong parcels by means of cords. This superstructure is further covered with coloured blankets and pieces of cotton. It is placed upon the two large cushions and tied to them and fastened to the camel by means of cords and girths. When a woman rides in such a saddle-chair she sits behind the animal's hump so that she cannot reach the camel's neck with her feet. The back of the U-formed mat prevents her from falling backwards. The structure
*492 of the saddle-chair may be seen from the photographs (Figs. 76–77). It should be understood that a
562 saddle made in so difficult a manner is not used by the women except on festive occasions, such as
[409] travelling to attend a marriage or an Islamic feast. Apart from the very few noble women belonging
[568] to the two noble tribes within the *Kel Ferwan* group all women of this drum-group normally ride

[Text continues on p.92]

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**Fig. 69. Camel girth (*ahayif*) made of goat's hair and provided with a large tassel of the same material. Ahaggar, *Kel Ferzzi*. Dimension: 3.00 m long. (N.M. G. 5826).**

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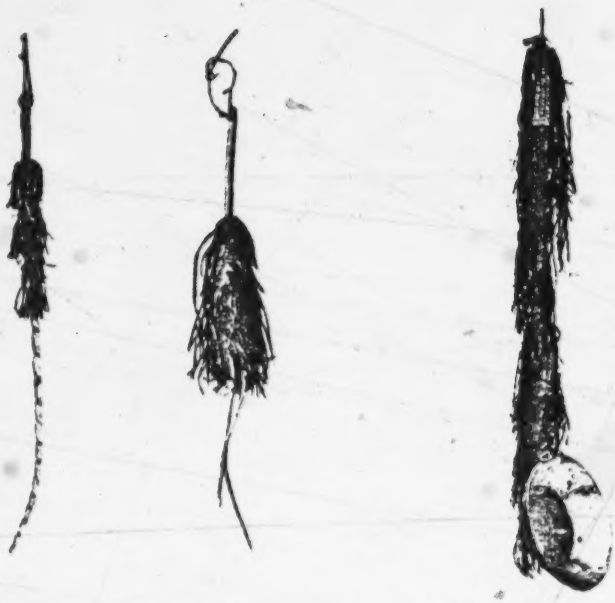

Fig. 70a–b. Tuareg camel whips (*alekkoḍ*, pl. *ilekkoḍ*).

a. Whip with a single lash. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.08 m long. (M.N. G. 1.138).
b. Whip with two lashes. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Urayen* tribe. Dimension: 0.845 m long. (Author's collection).

Fig. 71. The drinking bowl (*tamennust*) made from tinned brass and fixed to its ornamented leather cord (*témetrek*) by means of which it is attached to the saddle pommel (cf. Fig. 49). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the bowl: 0.258 m in diameter (upper part). Dimension of the leather cord: 0.685 m long. (N. M. G. 5287).

*492 562 donkeys, but, as in the North, they sometimes mount the riding camels of men sitting across the animal behind the saddle.

*492 531 The Tuareg take a keen interest in the adornment of all objects used for riding camels. The richly decorated saddles and the ornaments of the riding gear express the particular value attached to the animals used for riding. But Tuareg interest in camels is perhaps more clearly understood, when we 233 consider their rich camel vocabulary.

192 The Tuareg have one word which can be used for any camel regardless of its sex and age, its colour, and all other particular qualities. This word (*amaǧur*, pl. *imuǧar* in the northern dialect) does not seem to have its equivalents in vocabularies of other domestic animals which collectively are referred to by means of a sex term of adult animals (e.g., *ulli* = "goats"). The word *amaǧur* (pl. *imuǧar*) is used in conversation, but it is heard less frequently than camel terms which have a very definite meaning.

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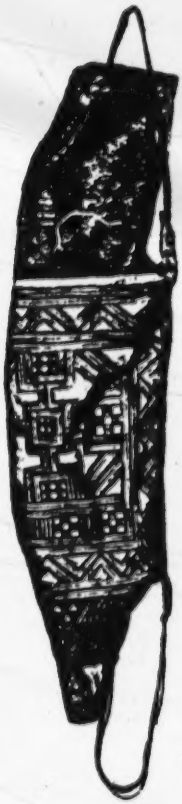

**Fig. 72a–b. Leather bags for camel riders.**

**a. Large saddle bag known as *ejjebiru* (*eljebiru*) and used by all riders. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen, manufactured by the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez (Ayr). Dimension: 0.70 × 0.70 m. (N.M. G. 1.108).**

**b. Large luggage bag (*ebaun*). Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.20 m long. (N.M. G. 1.136).**

In a few words camel vocabulary has the characteristics mentioned under the following items:— 233 (1) Sex terms; (2) Age terms which, like most camel terms, also refer to the sex; (3) Colour terms; 192 (4) Terms for very special qualities; (5) Terms for camels according to their training and use; (6) Terms for camels in very definite situations; (7) Terms for the number of camels in a herd; (8) Many entirely synonymous terms.

The Northern Tuareg use the term *amis* (pl. *imnas*) for all male camels including geldings, and the term *talemt* (pl. *tellemin*) for all she-camels. In Ayr a male camel is known as *alem* (pl. *imnas*) and a

[text continues on p. 95]

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Fig. 73a–b. a. Camel rein (*irdzem*) plaited of leather (goat skin) and ornamented with fringes of the same material. Ayr, the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Dimension: 2.70 m long. (N.M. G. 6653).

b. Neck collar (*ilgem*) which serves as an ornament of riding camels. Made of leather (goat skin). Ayr, the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Dimension: 0.43 m. (N.M. G. 6654).

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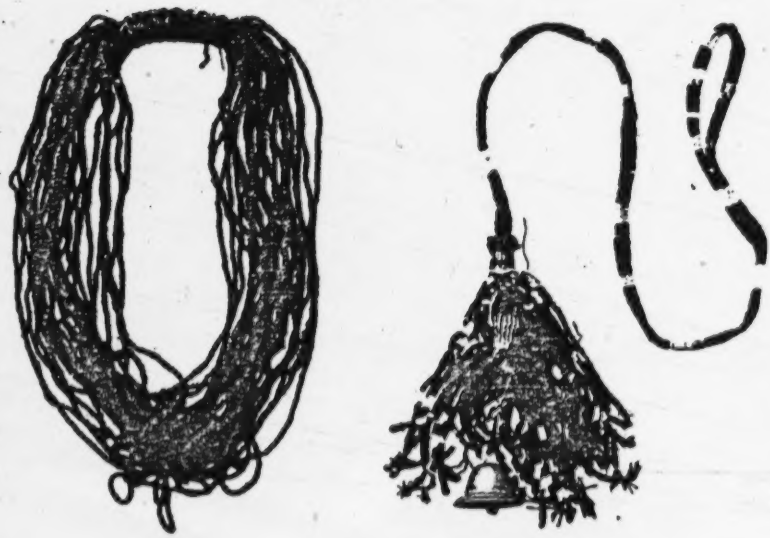

Fig. 74a–b. Neck collars for riding camels.

a. Collar made from fine cords of goat's hair. It is called *tahawt*. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the winding seen at the top: 0.07 m long. (N.M. G. 5193).

b. Neck collar (*tahawt*) plaited from goat's hair, ornamented with coloured thread, and provided with a small brass bell (*anayna*). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.995 m long. (N.M. G. 5191).

the-camel as *talemt* (pl. *tollemin*). In both groups a bull-camel is termed *amali* which word is generally used only for bull-camels reserved for breeding. 233
192

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have definite age terms for camels until they are eight years old. These terms may be seen from the list on p. 102 where they are mentioned in their feminine forms. At the age of eight years the dentition of a camel is fully developed and later it becomes more difficult to state its exact age. Camels older than eight years are therefore generally known by one and the same term as long as they are strong enough to be used for riding and transportation, or for breeding. The age terms used among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr are different from those mentioned from the north. They are used with precision for camels up to eight years old, and if the exact age of a camel is known by the owner he may continue to apply such terms for camels up to fifteen years old. Older camels are just referred to as "camels" or "old camels".

Colour terms of camels are many. I find it appropriate to list colour terms of the Northern Tuareg

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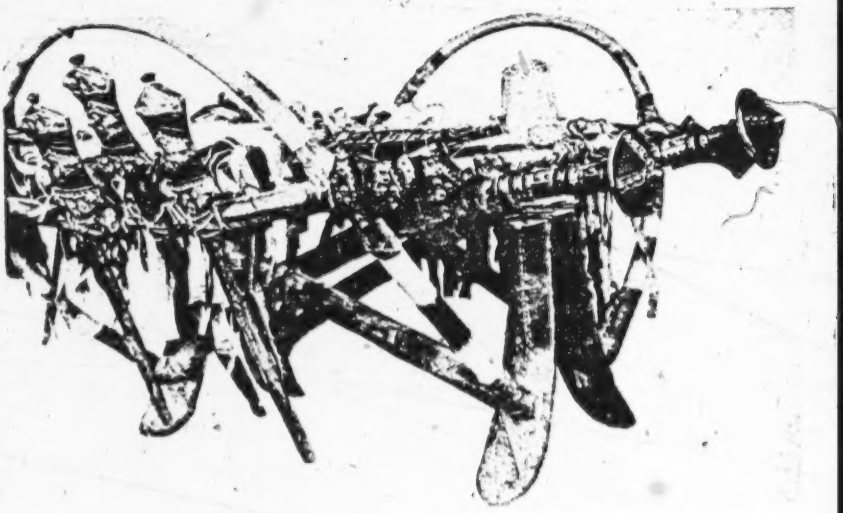

Fig. 75. Women's camel saddle (*akhawi*). Ahaggar, noble tribes. (Musée de l'homme).

233 and the Ayr Tuareg separately, because they frequently use different terms for the same colours and
192 because the Ayr Tuareg have a great many piebald animals which seem to be rare in the north. In the north most animals are of one colour, and the common terms of Ahaggar camels are the following:— *adegnas* (dirty white), *ébeydeg* (white), *éberim* (whitish yellow), *atlaṛ* (mahogany), *abzaw* (whitish), *émengel* (dark grey), *alemlaṛ* (grey), *ézerif* (metallic grey), *ahaggar* or *ézeggeṛ* (red), *abhaw* (reddish-brown), and *ékawél* (black). There are a few other terms. I have noted the following terms of piebald camels in Ahaggar:— *éḍemḍem* (a dark or red camel being white on the nose or around the mouth), *iigen* (a camel with white legs), and *azerṛaf* which term seems to be applied to all camels of two colours, and also to other piebald domestic animals.

I have noted the following terms of camels of one colour among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr:— *adegnas* or *wa mellen* (white), *abzaw* (whitish), *atlaṛ* (mahogany), *égadé* (light brown), *awraṛ* (something between light grey and light brown), *éberhey* (something between whitish and light grey), *aberog* (greyish), *ingal* (dark grey), *ézerif* (metallic grey). Most camels of one colour belong to one of these shades, which are frequently so close to each other that a correct description and translation into European colour words is difficult. Most one-coloured camels I have seen in Ayr were *adegnas*, *abzaw*, *atlaṛ*, and *ézerif*, but piebald camels seem to be more common than the unicoloured animals. I have noted the following terms of piebald animals:— *amulas* (white blaze, white colour around the mouth, the remainder of the animal being dark), *agusrer* (the back and partly also the neck greyish

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Fig. 76. The two large cushions (*ésteg*, pl. *éstigen*) which form the basis of the woman's camel saddle in Ayr. The *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 1.90 m. (N.M. G. 6659a-b).

brown, the remainder of the animal white), *énil* (dark grey with white colours on the belly, the hind thighs, and the four legs), *awinak* (dark grey back but with white on the sides close to the hump, on the hind thighs and legs, on the forelegs, and on the tail), *azurzum* (white on the hind thighs, the remainder plain), *ajmilal* (camel with numerous small circular spots close to each other), *azerraf* (camel of two colours, black and white, or black and red; there is no definite rule for the distribution of these 233 192

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Fig. 77. The woman's riding saddle built upon large cushions (*éstigen*). Ayr, the *Imezureg* tribe.

233 two colours on the animal). There are other terms for piebald camels, but I have only mentioned the
192 colours I have seen myself, as it is extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to note down colour terms without seeing the animals. One characteristic of many piebald Ayr camels has not been mentioned above: They very frequently have red-white eyes, and such animals according to the Tuareg are always deaf. Red-white eyes and deafness seem to go together with certain forms of piebaldness, so that all camels termed *azerraf* and *ajmilal*, and some camels termed *agusrer*, *awinak*, and *azurzum* are deaf.
*[492] This, however, does not prevent the Tuareg from using these animals for riding and transportation, and even deaf bull-camels are frequently used in breeding.

The Northern Tuareg have a great many different terms for particular qualities of their camels which are named after their way of roaring and walking. The following examples come from the Ahaggar Tuareg:— *ahenderremma* or *arenennas* (a camel which has the habit of neighing with joy when it sees something very agreable; e.g., a she-camel seeing its calf when it returns to the camp from grazing), *émerregreg* (camel which roars mournfully when it becomes separated from its master, or from another camel with which it normally grazes; certain camels are particularly attached to each other and never separate during grazing), *arewaha* (a camel which has the habit of uttering the plaintive roaring named *tarewahit* during loading and unloading), *asekkelela* (a rutting camel uttering the sound named *terelelit*). The Ahaggar Tuareg have other terms for camels to denote their behaviour. Thus there is a particular term for a camel which becomes scared when walking in a caravan after sunset so that it throws off its load and gives rise to a lot of panic among the other caravan animals.

As examples of camel terms given according to the animals' way of walking, mention should be made of following examples from Ahaggar:— *ategemtegam* (camel which takes very short steps), *aseffakas* or *alemdeyyas* (camel which takes very long steps). The Tuareg of Ahaggar have many special terms for camel-gaits. To indicate this I quote the detailed description of gaits given by Fou-

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Fig. 78. She-camel with the colour name *tazurzumt*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

cauld:— ***sekkedi*** (to let camels trot very slowly at an artificial gait known as *téṛedeyt*), *setteles*, or ***sellwen*** (to let camels walk at a normal ambling pace), ***eg senat-senat*** (to let camels trot slowly at a gait known as *senat-senat*), ***sekkeber***, ***keburet***, and ***keberkeber*** (a kind of trotting named *akabur* which is somewhat faster than *senat-senat*), ***regiregi*** (to let camels pace or trot at the types of gait known as *tétalist*, *senat-senat*, and *akabur*), ***eg yukey-eḍer-tayit*** (to let camels adopt a fast trot known as *yukey-eḍer-tayit*), ***uylal*** (to let camels adopt a sharp trot), ***enteg*** (to let a camel gallop), ***awdet*** (to let camels trot or gallop; this verb does not refer to any particular type of gait but to several, from the slow trot known as *senat-senat* to the very fast gallop known as *tabedeṛat*). These gait-terms are used only for camels, but the Tuareg also have terms for gaits of other domestic animals – particularly for those of horses (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 553 ff.). The gait known as *téṛedeyt* is considered very elegant by the Tuareg, who train camels to walk in this way already when the animals are very young. This is done by means of a large and wide bobblerope tied around the forelegs above the knees the animals being forced to walk by whipping them lightly on the legs (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1696). As far as my knowledge goes the Ayr Tuareg have terms very similar to those mentioned above, but I have not taken them down in my notes and only remember very few of them, e.g. *tarajawit* (a camel which roars during loading and unloading), ***alem-n-akabur*** (a camel walking with very quick steps), ***alem-n-emehal*** (a camel which takes very long steps). 233 192

Considering the very special camel terms just mentioned, it is only natural that the Tuareg also have many terms to cover the use and training of camels. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg can refer to a normal heavy pack-camel by one of the following terms which are synonymous:— ***abakhul***, ***dekhkhe-dekh***, ***agelgali***, ***akhelkhali***, and ***ḍrikhi***. For riding camels the following terms can be mentioned:— ***aṛlam*** (any riding camel), ***aserensera***, ***tanegmoṭ***, ***taletmot***, ***arretus*** (excellent and very fast running riding animals). There is also a term for a fully-trained riding camel (***amanun***), and another for a camel which is not yet fully-trained (***asanan***). 233 492* 192

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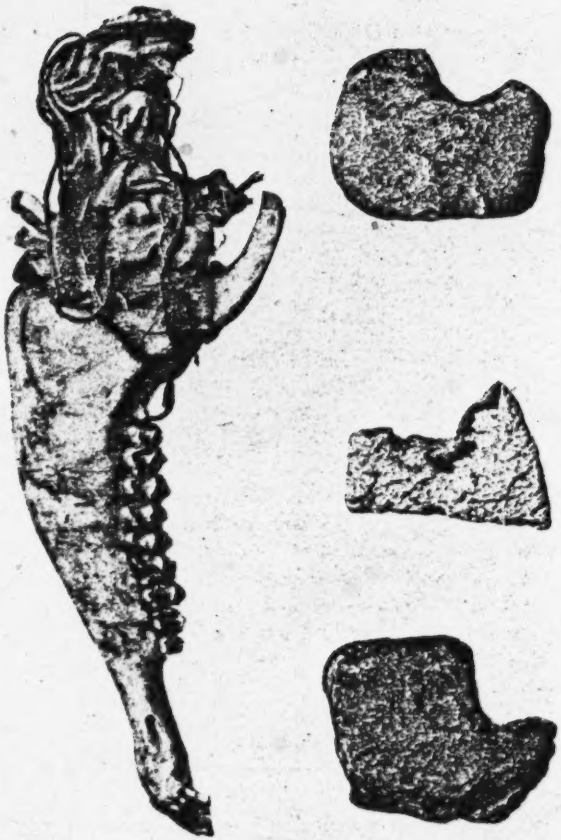

Fig. 79a–d. Children's toy camels. a. Jaw-bone of goat provided with saddle and rider. It is known as *aknar n amis*. Ahaggar, *Ḥarratin* of Abalessa. (N.M. G. 5914).

b–d. Three roughly-cut stones used as toy camels by Tuareg children. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe. Dimensions: 0.067, 0.063, and 0.073 m. (N.M. G. 6604 b, d, a).

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As an illustration of camel terms given to animals in very special situations, I give the two following examples:— (1) A she-camel when driven out for grazing while its calf is tethered in the camp is known as *tamantak* to the Ahaggar Tuareg, as *tenteg* to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr; (2) A pack-camel when walking in a caravan is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *amekkalu*, while the corresponding term in Ayr seems to be *alaway*. 233 192 [492]*

For the size of herds the Ahaggar Tuareg have the following terms:— *tazegga* (a small herd of 20-40 camels and/or she-camels), *ahammal* (from very few animals up to about one hundred, the herd consisting mainly of male camels), *adyaw* (a very large herd comprising about one hundred animals at least, regardless of their sex). As far as my investigations go these terms are not known among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. They refer to a small number of camels as *immas* (10 to 15 animals comprising male and/or female camels), while a bigger herd is known as *tollemin* (comprising male and/or female camels).

All the above-mentioned camel terms are with very few exceptions used exclusively for camels and not for other animals. Extensive vocabularies are found also for other domestic animals and for many aspects of stock-breeding, but the camel vocabulary is extremely large by comparison. This seems understandable as camels have a many-sided use to the Tuareg, and there can be no doubt that camel-terms like goat-terms are primarily a linguistic technique of practical value – a technique which enables the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. But this is evidently not the sole reason why the camel vocabulary is so extensive that a detailed description of all terms would necessitate an independant book on this subject. For the camel vocabulary is extremely large not only because of its practical value, but also because Tuareg interest in camels is not solely confined to their practical uses. This is intimated, I believe, by some of the peculiar terms mentioned and above all by the very many synonyms. [181]

Camels, in contrast to most domestic animals, have social functions among the Tuareg. It is true that bride-wealth in vassal tribes of the Northern Tuareg may be paid in goats (25–30 animals), but this is the case mainly among the *Kel Aijer* while most Ahaggar vassals will claim that bride-wealth should be paid in camels. The true vassals of Ahaggar give one to three camels for a wife, the payment being dependent upon the bride's tribe – in most tribes it is the custom to give only one camel, while two tribes will claim two and three camels respectively for their women. Among the Ayr vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group bride-wealth may be paid in cash, though the bride-wealth in these tribes is generally one camel as among most northern vassals. But the size of bride-wealth among the Ayr Tuareg is frequently discussed by representatives of the families, and it depends much upon the age, quality, and wealth of the bride. For very desired girls the payment may rise to two or three camels while for others the payment is only "two camel feet", that is a "half share in a camel"; it is said that even "one foot" is sometimes accepted as bride-wealth. This system of giving shares in camels may give rise to trouble between the persons who share the same animal. Among noble Tuareg, both in the north and in Ayr, bride-wealth can be paid only in camels. Among noble tribes of the Northern Tuareg the bride-wealth to be paid is fixed at seven camels, while among the few noble Tuareg now left in the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group the price, it is said, varies between ten and twenty camels. Camels given for bride-wealth are generally *ilusan* (sing. *alegges*) (fem. *tilusin*, sing. *taleggest*), 233 583 565 [578] 233 583 601

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233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*.

603 For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

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| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *tilgad*, or *chét awétay* | (one year old) | 10 | *tibeydegin* | (white) |
| 10 | *tihusin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *titlarin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *tekkenifaklen* | (3 years old) | 10 | *tizeggerin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiruyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *tibhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chét essin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *tilemlarin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chét okkoz* | (6 years old) | 10 | *tizerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *timesseḍas* | (7 years old) | 10 | *timengelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chét tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 | *tikewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tirégganin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *tizerrafin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *tiwinarin* | (white cornea) |

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 565 524 232 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[Text continues on p. 104]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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[524]

Fig. 80. Tuareg boy with his toy camels of cut stones. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

Fig. 81. Tuareg boy playing camel-riding on a rock. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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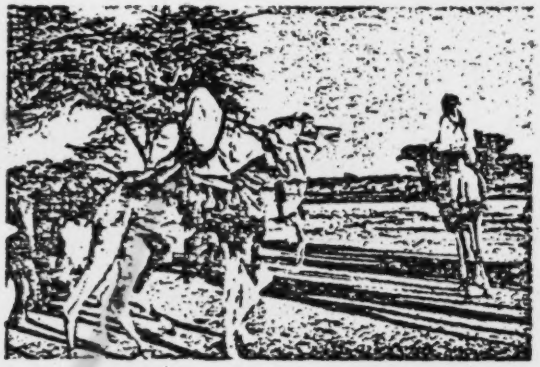

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afagag* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Irwedan*.

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[565]

Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

884
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Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

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In a ceremonial ride termed *ihuton* (*ihugan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 82b. Cf. text Fig. 82a.

qualities as strength and speed, but rather on elegance and sublimity. The riders sit straight in the saddles without watching the crowd of women, and the camels are ridden at a gentle trot (generally that known as *senat-senat*; cf. p. 99) with their heads drawn back. In this way the men may also ride their animals round the women in a circle as I have seen in Ayr (cf. Fig. 82).

Camels have important social functions among the Tuareg who take an interest in these animals far beyond their practical value. It may perhaps be useful to compare Tuareg interest in camels with Nuer interest in cattle so brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard. Nuer caress their animals, and there is a tendency for human beings and cattle to form, so to speak, a single community (Evans-Pritchard 1940, p. 16–50). This is not exactly true of Tuareg and camels. The Tuareg do not pat their camels which will not respond to caressing, and they do not live in very close contact with their animals, most of which frequently graze far away from the camp under the supervision of one or two herdsmen. But the Tuareg nevertheless have much the same feeling towards camels as Nuer have towards their cattle. They are very fond of their animals. They may abstain from camel's flesh because they are fond of camels and would feel very sick at heart when eating them. But though the Tuareg are fond of camels as such, they are delighted particularly at the sight of a very fine camel (*akemhur*; Ahaggar) and may even speak disparagingly of a badly built animal (*amugey*; Ahaggar). Fine camels add to the prestige of a man, while too many animals of poor build may even harm his reputation. When girls and young women praise camel-riders in their songs they praise those mounted on fine and richly-decorated animals. When camels are mentioned in poetry this may also be done as praise to their owners, as in a poem composed in honour of noble Tuareg of the *Uraren* (*Kel Aïjer*) of whom it is said that "their pack-camels have feet as large as a drum, and the loads they carry are like the crests of mountains" (Hanoteau 1896, p. 218). Such reference to pack-camels, however, seems to be rare in Tuareg poetry, while riding camels are frequently mentioned in connection with warfare and love. Riding camels have much the same esteemed position as had horses in Medieval Europe. Tuareg interest in camels is particularly focused on riding camels and there is a tendency towards identification

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



* 492 181 [214] of riders and their camels. This is intimated by the following poem quoted from Foucauld's excellent books on the poetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg:—

[539]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ébeydeǧ, é ti n ami mellen* | My white camel, O woman with white teeth |
| *W-allahi! iḍeǧ ul ifel kem* | I swear by God, it shall not go raiding, shall not leave you |
| *Ula daṛ ikk am akal ien* | It shall not go away from you to another country |
| *U t ḍineṛ ar y arabuh ennem* | I lead it to the pastures only to visit you with love again |
| *Ula taharǧit d asemmeḍren* | Neither in dreams nor in thought |
| *Innin é ham yekk akal ien* | Shall it go away from you to another country |

(cf. Foucauld 1925-30, I, p. 210 f. for a literal translation).

## DONKEYS

231 Donkeys are very important domestic animals in the Tuareg groups I have studied. Most animals [192] are grey or greyish but there are other colours for which the Tuareg have special terms. From Ahaggar the following colour-terms can be mentioned:— *adebara* (greyish), *afawa* (greyish with a white stomach), *ewriṛ* (yellow-brown), *éhenbey*, or *takenbawt* (donkey with a black head), *ékawél* (black). Black donkeys seem to be more common among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara than among the Tuareg.

231 Donkeys vary less in colour than other domestic animals among the Tuareg. It is interesting to note 136 in this connection that there are fairly big herds of wild donkeys, or asses, in the mountainous massifs of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr. These animals are generally greyish like most domestic donkeys.

133 *492 415

Fig. 83. Women carrying cereals in skin bags loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, the *Deg Rali* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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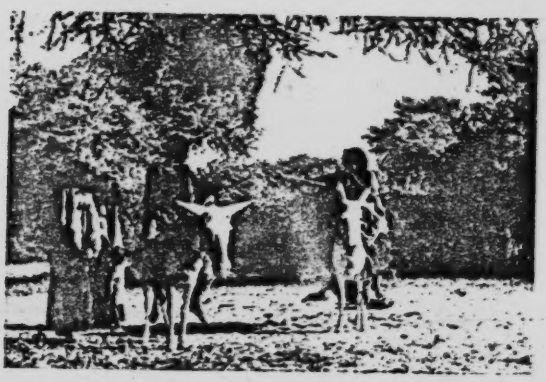

Fig. 84. Boy and woman mounted on donkeys. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

But the wild animals are bigger, which the Tuareg ascribe to the fact that they roam freely in the desert 231
and always can find the very best fodder – an explanation which seems reasonable as the Tuareg 136
camp where fodder is reserved to their milk-yielding animals (cf. p. 491 ff.). It can be added that 231
domestic donkeys are frequently tightly hobbled by means of a narrow rope (*iéffart*) around their forelegs (Fig. 45) and sometimes also with another rope (*amahus* in Ahaggar) running from one foreleg to a hind leg.

If donkeys are not hobbled, there is always a great risk that they will disappear in the mountains and join the herds of wild animals. Unhobbled donkeys are often caught with great difficulty. They are sometimes driven together by the inhabitants of a camp, and when mares have foals it may even become necessary to run down the foals on riding camels in order to get hold of their mothers. In some regions where donkeys depend on water from deep wells it is customary not to give them too much water to drink, in which case unhobbled animals can always be caught at the well, where they will wait for water. But donkeys are very well fitted for desert life. They can do without water for several days even when weather is extremely hot, and where water is very near the surface so that the sandy soil is humid donkeys dig small holes with their hoofs to drink the water which quickly gathers in these depressions. I have myself witnessed this in Ahaggar where the Tuareg say that among domestic animals only donkeys are able to make such water-holes. [312]

The Tuareg distinguish between the domestic donkey (*éyhed* in the north, *éyjed* among the Ayr Tuareg) and the wild donkey or ass (*ahulil* in the north, *émedrer* in Ayr), but they are well aware that there is no important distinction between them for many Tuareg even nowadays obtain domestic donkeys by catching wild animals. Wild donkeys or asses were hunted for domestication still more eagerly in the past, and there may perhaps be some connection between donkey-breeding and true hunting – that is hunting for meat. Nowadays the Tuareg never eat donkey's meat, nor do they utilize 231
the skin of these animals. But it is known that the Ahaggar Tuareg have eaten donkey's meat in periods 262
of hunger even fairly recently, and Duveyrier states that old animals caught in traps are killed for their 237

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*492

Fig. 85. Tuareg breaking in a young newly-caught donkey. The donkey is prevented from escaping by means of hobble-ropes (*téffart* and *amahus*) and is also tethered to an acacia tree. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

231 262 237 [175] skin (Duveyrier 1864, p. 231). It is most possible that the taboo on donkey's meat and skin is due to Islam – meat of donkeys and horses is considered unlawful by the Koran. Leo Africanus states that the nomads of the Sahara eat meat of donkeys which they catch in snares (Leo Africanus II, p. 944).

136 224 The wild donkeys, or asses, of Tuareg countries are very shy, and it is most impressive to watch a herd of some twenty animals galloping over the desert plains. Because of their shyness they are often hunted much in the same way as game animals. Among the Northern Tuareg they are caught in the spiked wheel-trap, are run down by men mounted on camels, or are driven into closed river valleys surrounded by steep rocky walls. In certain parts of Ayr wild donkeys can be caught in the same way – notably in valleys of Mount Tamgak (Northern Ayr) and around Anu Mekkeren (Central Ayr) – while the method of running down wild donkeys with riding camels is said not to be practised. Whether the so-called spiked wheel-trap is used for catching donkeys or not, I do not know, as the Ayr country is very extensive and inhabited by Tuareg of different origins. The Tuareg belonging to the *Kel Ferwan* group claimed that it was not used for donkeys or asses for which they have a kind of snare called *turunt*, which is also the name used among them for the noosed rope connected with the spiked wheel-trap. The snare used for donkeys is said to consist of a rope some twenty or thirty metres long and [283] plaited from dum palm leaves. The rope is noosed at one end to be used as follows:— The loop is laid out where donkeys come to drink, the whole rope being covered with sand. The hunter lies hidden behind some natural object, a rock or tree, and when a donkey puts one of its legs within the loop he pulls the rope. It is said that this method is also sometimes used for other domestic animals [231] which have gone wild, as happens frequently with oxen. But it is never used for hunting proper game 231 224 animals such as gazelle, antelope, and barbary sheep. To catch domestic animals which have gone

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



wild the Ayr Tuareg also know another type of snare, or rather lasso, which is also known as *tuṛami*. 231
It consists of a long rope noosed at one end, but the loop in this case is thrown against the animal 224
by means of a short forked stick. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that this type of lasso is not widely found [171]
among them, and claim it is typical of and traditional for the pastoral Fulani, who use it to catch cows which are difficult to approach.

The wild donkeys caught for domestication are young animals, for very old ones cannot be tamed. 231
When an animal is caught by one of the above mentioned methods it is beaten a heavy blow between the ears so that it falls unconscious to the ground. It is thereupon given a rope around its mouth, for wild donkeys are fierce and have a dangerous bite, and is also tied with ropes around its legs so that it cannot run. When the animal comes to after the blow it is led to the camp where it is tethered. It remains tethered and fitted with hobble-ropes in the camp for one or two months during which period it gets a very brutal treatment. It is trained for riding by the men who mount it daily during [492]* this period of training (cf. Fig. 85) until it can be ridden as freely as domestic donkeys. The Tuareg say that not all donkeys survive the heavy blow on the head but that most of them do.

Donkeys constitute the important riding animal of all vassal women, and there are also some men 492* of the true vassal class who ride donkeys though most of them have riding camels. Donkeys are also [562] extremely important pack-animals. They are used by most Tuareg for the transportation of tents and [565]

[283]

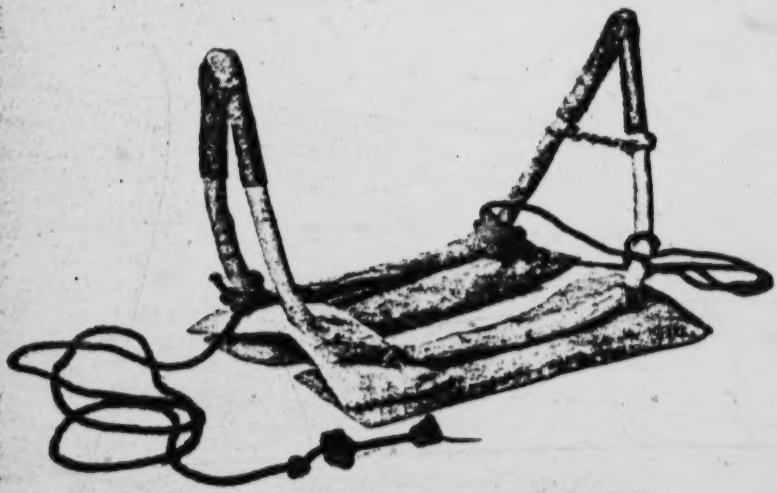

Fig. 86. Donkey saddle (*aruka*) of the type described in detail in the text (cf. p. 110). It is fixed to the animal by two cords of goat's hair: the girth (left), the cord passing under the tail (right). Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.585 m long, 0.360 broad. (N.M. G. 5246).

*492 household goods during nomadic migrations, and are employed daily in all camps to carry water in skin-
[415] bags from wells and waterholes to the tents. They are very strong animals considering their low stature,
[512] and good pack-donkeys can carry up to one hundred kilograms even for very long trips. Donkeys
[262] are occasionally used for long journeys by the Northern Tuareg, and many Ayr Tuareg use them to
[484] fetch provisions of millet around Tanut in Damergu. Caravans of donkeys are frequently observed
in these regions, and one even sees mixed caravans of donkeys and camels. There can be no doubt
[179] that before the introduction of the camel the donkey was still more important for riding and transportation than is the case nowadays. This is clearly demonstrated by historical material from Egypt and adjacent regions (cf. Erman 1922, p. 518 f., 529, 592 f., 636).

23 It has already been mentioned that donkey's meat and skin are not utilized nowadays by the Tuareg.
[262] The same is true of mare's milk which, however, is used as a remedy against a kind of cough known
[257] to the Ayr Tuareg as *khamkham*. There is no regulation of mating for donkeys which in many ways are semi-domesticated animals. In Ayr male donkeys are never castrated, while the Ahaggar Tuareg say they castrate such stallions as constantly run after the mares and in this way cause too much trouble. The Tuareg also have no methods to prevent foals from sucking, while a method of this kind is sometimes applied by sedentary people in and around Agadez. This method known as *éfinjar* consists in the cutting of the nostrils of half-grown foals so that they cannot suck pregnant mares. Both stallions
*492 and mares are used for riding and transportation, but female animals are much preferred for these purposes. Mares are used almost exclusively for the transportation of water-bags hanging under the animals, as the bags might be squirted by stallions' urine.

The Northern Tuareg saddle their donkeys, using the same saddle type for riding and for transport-
[462] ation (Fig. 86). This is known as *aruku* and is manufactured by the women in the following way:—
[824] Two fresh boughs of the *tahunek*-tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) are heated, or slightly burned, over the fire.
[322] The boughs are thereupon barked and bent into the curved form wanted, and are then kept in this position by cords. After drying for a few days the boughs will retain their curved form, and the cords are untied. The boughs are then cut up and their ends are connected by two pieces of camel's hide
[237] soaked in water, and sewn together by means of a large iron needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (cf. Fig. 220b)
[412] and a thread which is also cut from camel's hide. The wooden saddle frame is attached to three cushions. These cushions are generally made of goat-skin or sheep-skin stuffed with hay or with date
[237] palm bast, but may also be plaited from leaves of the date palm tree. Cushions made from goat-skin
[412] are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of the little awl known as *tistent* (cf. Fig. 218a). The two long cushions resting lengthwise upon the animals back are known as *tastek*, and the small cushion resting over the animal's back close to its shoulders is called *tafelledut*. The saddle is fixed to the donkey by two girths consisting of cords made of goat-hair. One of these cords (*tidmechart*) passes under the tail, the other (*ahayif*) is tied around the chest of the animal. This saddle type is well fitted for the transportation of burdens and in particular of water-bags, the cords of which are attached to the pommels. When the saddle is used for riding it is frequently covered with a blanket or a piece of cloth. Saddles of this type are found in all camps of the Northern Tuareg, and Lhote states that they are also found in Adrar-n-Foras and in Ayr (Lhote 1947a, p. 120). This may be so but I have myself never seen them in the latter region where they are unknown to the *Kel Firwan*

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hausa MS12



T *492 Tuareg. Some Ayr Tuareg use a kind of saddle for the transportation of water-bags. It consists of two pieces of wood with grooves to support the cords of the water-bags; it corresponds to the type of saddle described and depicted by Lhote from the *Iullemmeden* (Lhote 1947a, p. 114, 134) which type I have seen also among the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Kel Ataram* group. However, most Ayr Tuareg do not employ this device. They content themselves with a layer of thin green twigs placed on the donkey's back so that the cords of the water-bag, which hangs under the animal's belly, shall not hurt and gall. T [484] This method is also sometimes used by Northern Tuareg. To transport the tent and its belongings during nomadic migrations, the Ayr Tuareg use one or two rolled-up mats of the tent-covering for saddle, while on trading expeditions to Damergu they place their skin-bags filled with millet directly on the donkey's back. Such bags (*alelu*) may also serve as a kind of saddle for luggage. When the Ayr Tuareg ride donkeys they sit on the naked back, on a blanket, or on a piece of matting. The Tuareg T [17] never use bridle, bit, or rein for riding as do some people of the northernmost parts of the desert and the Atlas. They control their donkeys with a short stick and constantly beat them over the neck to keep up their speed. I have never seen them prick the animal's neck with a spiked stick as is frequently done in the Atlas and adjacent regions. Here many donkeys wear iron shoes which are also unknown among the Tuareg.

## HORSES

T 231 Horses play a very small rôle with the Tuareg I have studied. There are very few horses in the Northern [171] Sahara where they are bred mainly by sedentary people who are able to feed their animals on barley, [565] millet, and other garden products. Some years ago there were a few horses in the noble *Kel Rela* tribe of Ahaggar, but nowadays there are no horses among pastoral Tuareg of this region, and in all Ahaggar

H 291 492 531

Fig. 87. Hausa Negroes with their richly ornamented riding horses. Ayr, the *Iseggadezen* of Agadez.

*492

Fig. 88. Riding saddle of the type manufactured at Agadez and used by horse-riding Tuareg and Negroes in Ayr and further south. Note the very narrow stirrups which are often used for the insertion of only one or two toes. (Musée de l'homme, Collection Henri Lhote, 38/617).

231 there are perhaps less than ten horses which are all owned by sedentary people (blacksmiths and
[563] Arabs). Conditions for horse-breeding are better in Ayr, but even there pastoral Tuareg do not generally breed horses which for a large part of the year must be fed on barley, millet, or on milk. In Ayr,
[563] horses are mainly bred by sedentary Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group and by the negroid citizens of Agadez who hold horses in very great esteem. There are perhaps 100–200 horses in and around Agadez, where the animals are kept in or at the houses most of the year to be fed on cereals and on hay of annual grasses cut with a sickle (cf. Fig. 143 f). During the period of *akasa* it is common to let the animals graze on annual pasture, and they are then very tightly hobbled. The Ayr peoples use a bit
*492 (*araba*) (Fig. 89) similar to the type used by Arabs in the North, but their saddles are not of the
[171] general Arab type (cf. Fig. 88). The very broad Arab stirrups also seem to be unknown to the *Kel Ayr* and to the *Kel Geres*, who have many horses. The stirrups used by horse-riding Tuareg are generally very thin and slender, and they are frequently used for the insertion of only one or two toes.
[13] The riding-gear used by the *Kel Ayr* (including the *Imeggedezen*) and the *Kel Geres* is described in detail in literature (cf. Foureau 1905, III, p. 879 ff. & 921 ff.). This is very complete, and was, perhaps,
[175] introduced fairly recently, for we know that the Libyans of Antiquity rode without a saddle and governed their horses mainly by means of a stick (Bates 1941, p. 96 f.), and we are informed by Ibn Batutah that in the Middles Ages the people of Ayr rode without saddles (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 442).
231 The history of the horse in Africa constitutes a very important problem. It is generally admitted
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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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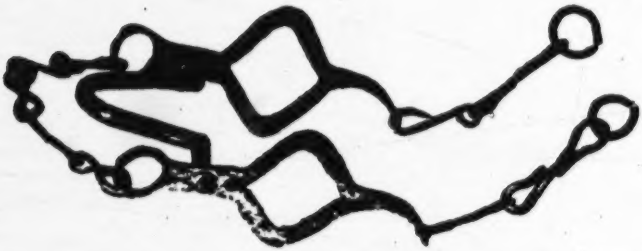

Fig. 89. Horse bit of iron. Made by blacksmith of Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: ca. 0.11 m broad. (N.M. G. 6667).

that the horse was introduced to Egypt with the Hyksos invasion about 1700 B.C. From Egypt it 231
spread to other African peoples, and it was common among the Libyans during the reign of Rameses 174
III (about 1200 B.C.). This first horse-breed introduced among the North African Berbers seems to have been of the pony type (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96 f.; Adametz 1920, p. 46 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 284) which is still represented in Africa. I believe that the so-called Togo-pony which is found in scattered and isolated parts of the Western Sudan belongs to the old pony-breed, though this theory is not accepted by Doutressoulle on the ground that such ponies are not found nowadays in North Africa and Egypt (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238). Doutressoulle has made a detailed study of the horse-breeds 231
of the area formerly known as French West-Africa. Apart from the pony-type just mentioned above, 171
there are three main types:— (1) the *Aryen type* known in Ayr as the Begzen horse. It is an Arab breed [114]
introduced from the North – from Tripolis according to tradition. Horses of this type are found scattered throughout Ayr, Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas, and Hodh. (2) the *Barbe type* found mainly among the Moors west of Timbuktu. (3) *the Dongolawi type* mainly found to the east of the Niger (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 237 ff.).

Horses become valuable riding animals to many Tuareg living in the true savannah country. The 492*
*Kel Geres* Tuareg use horses for short riding trips though they prefer camels for riding on long journeys. They claim horses of the Begzen breed to be the very best riding animal. In the remote past when the 492*
horse was introduced into North Africa and the Sahara, horses may have been important also to 174
Libyans and Tuareg living further north in the desert, where the climate may then have been more favourable to horse-breeding than it is in modern times. Lhote has studied the ancient rock-pictures representing horses, horse-riders, and horse-drawn waggons in the Sahara, and he ascribes to the horse very great importance for the opening up of the desert country and invasions into these regions by fair-skinned Berbers (cf. Lhote 1953a). This theory is perhaps supported by the fact that the Ahaggar [192]
Tuareg though they do not breed horses have a fairly extensive vocabulary connected with horses and horse-breeding. Briggs states as his opinion that horses were probably never common in the Sahara (Briggs 1960, p. 21). This, of course, we cannot know, but it seems safe to say that in the Sahara the horse has never had the same economic value as the camel later has had.

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415
284

Fig. 90. Tuareg dogs of the breed which is common among the Ayr Tuareg. Dogs suffer much from heat in summer when they hide under water-bags. Ayr, the *Imezureg* tribe.

## DOGS

231 The Northern Tuareg distinguish between three types of dogs (sing. *eydi*) as follows:— (1) a long-haired breed (*aberhoh*); (2) a short-haired slender breed (*akhami*); (3) a very slender and elegantly
[173] built greyhound (*oska*) (Fig. 91). The Ahaggar Tuareg speak of a tradition, according to which the greyhound (*oska*) was introduced fairly recently through contacts with the Northern Arabs. The Ayr Tuareg do not make similar distinctions between dog breeds. They have only one breed which is known as *ijji* (Fig. 90). It is short-haired and slenderly built though less so than the true Arab greyhound.

[136] Dogs are kept to guard the camp and in particular to protect the animals from the attack of jackals or hyenas during night. If the Tuareg had no dogs it would be most difficult for them to breed goats and sheep. Dogs may also follow the flocks in daytime to protect the animals against beasts of prey, though this is not generally considered necessary. Dogs are not trained as "sheep-dogs", but it is said that a few "intelligent" dogs will assist the herdsman in keeping the flock together during grazing,
[224] and many dogs will drive away domestic animals which belong to foreign flocks. Some Tuareg use dogs in hunting barbary sheep, gazelle, antelope, and hare (cf. hunting, p. 159, 166).

[17] It is well-known that the Arabs consider the dog an unclean animal. This is also so among Arab nomads of the Sahara, but they do not consider their greyhounds unclean in this sense. Thus pastoralists of the Chamba group told me that among them a fine greyhound is esteemed in much the same way as are noble riding horses and camels. The Tuareg have very few true greyhounds and I do not believe that they have this same feeling of interest in them. But many children and young
[521] people are fond of all types of dogs, and one can hear them discuss the qualities of their animals and
[541] the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp. Colour- 231
terms are also used for dogs, and I have heard one Tuareg boy claim that he preferred dogs that were black and white. Adult people in general treat dogs differently, and they are frequently cruel to them. [177]
which may be due to Islamic influence which is on the increase among the Tuareg. Though the Tuareg may be cruel to their dogs they acknowledge that they are very "wise and intelligent". They say that the dogs are much like humans with the exception that they cannot speak. Therefore they should also be fed like humans, and they are given millet-porridge – with milk if the yield is abundant. The Tuareg kill their old and superfluous dogs by hanging them from a tree in a noosed rope, and they consider this method very effective.

## CATS

The domestic cat is found in many Tuareg camps. It is generally termed *muchch* which is Arabic by origin. I believe that domestic cats have been introduced to Tuareg countries later than the Arab [174]
invasions and that they have been introduced by the Arabs. This is in agreement with Lagercrantz's statement that domestic cats in most parts of North Africa outside of Egypt are post-Arabian (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 65). Cats are allowed to live in tents and huts, and are well treated as among the Arabs. The Tuareg keep cats not only for pets to their children, but they much like to have them in their [136]
camps as cats catch numerous scorpions and also attack snakes.

Among sedentary people of Ahaggar and particularly at Tamanṛaset the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, or *tékenisit*) is sometimes kept in the house or within the courtyard as it hunts beetles and scorpions during the night. This custom of keeping tame hedgehogs is no doubt recently adopted from Europeans [177]
living at Tamanṛaset.

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Fig. 91. A true greyhound (*aska*) patted by a negroid agriculturist of the *Kel Ganet*. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Dreyen* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



## DOMESTIC BIRDS

235 Many sedentary people within Tuareg countries breed fowls of which a few may also be found in pastoral camps of the Ayr Tuareg, though fowls seem to be of very little use to them. For the hens kept by pastoralists do not hatch out their eggs, and these are not always found by the Tuareg. I think that most pastoralists of Ayr keep fowls mainly because they like to have them walking around the camp, and I believe that their owners in general are children. Domestic guinea fowls are bred by some sedentary people of Agadez, and young Tuareg who find a guinea fowl chicken in the bush may even [262] take it to the camp to keep it as a pet. In Ahaggar there are no fowls among pastoralists, many of whom will refuse to eat fowls and their eggs (cf. p. 162).

[174] Domestic pigeons are bred by some sedentary people living within Tuareg countries. I believe that they have been introduced by the Arabs – in accordance with the theory advanced by Stuhlmann and Lagercrantz (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 74).

# Rationality and Beliefs in Stock-Breeding

Literature on so-called primitive pastoralists often states that these peoples are irrational stock-breeders. It is said that they attach an enormous value to big flocks and herds which overgraze and deteriorate pastures, that they take too little interest in selective breeding with the result that they do not castrate their superfluous male animals or perform this operation too late, and that they take an overwhelmingly large interest in the aesthetic qualities of their animals. 121

Tuareg stock-breeding is essentially rational and is well adopted to environment. This viewpoint can be proved by reference to the description of stock-breeding given in the preceding chapter. I have here described in some detail the system used in the mating of sheep and goats, and how mating is regulated in accordance with the development of pastures. From this description of mating regulations it also appears that the Tuareg are not only interested in having large flocks. They also want flocks of healthy and strong animals, and they generally kill or sell domestic animals before they grow barren. It should be added that the Tuareg very well know that there is a limit to the number of animals (goats and sheep), which can be herded in one and the same place. The Tuareg certainly want to be rich and to possess large flocks and herds, but they are also aware that there is a limit to size. Regarding Tuareg interest in the aesthetic qualities of their animals, I have mentioned that it is mainly focused on camels, and I have described in some detail the value attached to colours. It is clear, however, that the Tuareg interest in their animals is not confined to the aesthetic. The true value of any domestic animal is always judged rationally, and takes into consideration such qualities as age, build, stature, and the like. The Tuareg also know that qualities of domestic animals are inherited and are aware that it is necessary to have good breeding animals. Cauvet states that pastoral Tuareg attach very little importance to the quality of she-camels used in breeding, while greatly interested in the build and stature of bull-camels. In this, he says, the Tuareg differ from Arab pastoralists, who think that camel calves inherit their qualities mainly from the mother-camels (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 348). This statement, I believe, is not quite correctly expressed, for the Tuareg I have asked about this have stated that a camel-calf inherits qualities from both parents and they have also stressed the necessity of having good she-camels to produce the best possible calves. But most Tuareg have so few camels that they are forced to mate all their she-camels. They cannot afford to select certain she-camels for breeding, while it is easy for them to select one or two good bull-camels. All Tuareg I have asked admitted the great value of selective breeding, and said that superflous rams and he-goats should be castrated or

233* 232 [356] 232 [171] [114]

232 [114] killed. This does not agree with Nicolas' statement that selective breeding is unknown among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* for all types of domestic animals (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 133).

Superfluous bull-camels are generally castrated very late – rarely before they are six or seven years old, and frequently much later. But this is not to say that all bull-camels are used in breeding, as those used for riding and transportation are generally hobled during grazing and copulation is thus effectively prevented. Bull-camels used in breeding are not always used for riding and pack animals, as they may be very savage and dangerous. In the rutting season they are left unhobled among the she-camels.

The Tuareg consider it best to castrate bull-camels late, and say that bull-camels if castrated at a very early age will not develop fully, or become such good riding and pack animals. Bull-camels which have not been allowed to mate are not so difficult to control during the periods when she-camels are on heat. Nevertheless, when bull-camels are castrated they become more docile. But to the Tuareg it is more important that gelded animals easily grow fat and thus acquire the strengh and endurance to enable them to perform the long and arduous expeditions connected with caravan trading and, in the past, also with raiding. In brief, castration of bull-camels is done as follows:— The legs of the animal to be operated are tied tightly with strong cords, and it is kept firmly to the ground by the weight of people sitting upon it. The operator thereupon cuts two slices in the animals scrotum and pulls out the testicles together with the spermatic cords. This must be done with great care because, it is said, the animal may die if one of the spermatic cords breaks. This method of castration by extraction is the only method used foı camels, and it may also be applied to other domestic animals such as bulls, rams, he-goats, and in Ahaggar also to donkey stallions. In the north this extraction method is known as *aselbi* while the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr use the word *azam*. The latter people claim that castration by means of cutting and extraction should be performed in spring (*tabsit*) or during the early rains (*akasa*), as the wounds will heal properly at these seasons. The other important castration method used among the Tuareg is that of chrushing the spermatic cords, it is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *éddaz*, and is never used for camels but is frequently applied to he-goats, rams, and [4/2] bulls. Chrushing of the spermatic cords is done by means of stones or pieces of wood – frequently by beating with the heavy wooden pestle of the large millet mortar (cf. Fig. 177). I believe that this method is that most commonly applied to he-goats and rams, and Tuareg of Ayr claim that they can use this method all the year round as it leaves no wounds to be healed. Rams and he-goats may be castrated at any age and even very old animals are castrated to make them fat for slaughtering. It is claimed that it is best to castrate superfluous lambs and kids very early, preferably as soon as they are weaned.

I believe that the examples given above confirm my statement that the Tuareg are mainly rationalists in their stock-breeding methods. To elucidate this in more detail I shall now present my material on Tuareg veterinary knowledge. This material is unfortunately not very precise because the Tuareg distinguish between very many stock-diseases, and the treatments applied can be studied scientifically only by a veterinary surgeon. A description of stock-diseases is available for the northern parts of the [113] Sahara ("Notice sur l'Institut Pasteur d'Algérie", I–II, 1934–1949), but there seems to be no particular study of Tuareg stock-diseases, which I know only by their Tuareg names. As I have not studied this [114] rather special subject in great detail, I supplement my own material with informations gathered from literature.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Fulani MS11



The most dangerous African cattle disease is the rinderpest. It is known to have entered Egypt in the year 1884 from the regions around the Black Sea, and about 1890, or somewhat later, it came to Eastern Africa and to the Sudan. Rinderpest is nowadays widely found in Africa but it is rare or unknown in Northern Tuareg countries. Rinderpest is apparently very rare in the Ayr Massif and it occurs mainly south of the Massif in savannah country. The Tuareg have no remedy against this disease. It is stated by St. Croix that the Fulani of Northern Nigeria once deliberately exposed their cattle to mild rinderpest to make them immune from this disease in its more severe and dangerous form. However, this method did not work and the Fulani gave up further experiments of this kind. It is also mentioned by St. Croix that the Fulani practise a kind of vaccination against cattle pleuro-pneumonia and that this is done as follows:— A piece of infected lung is put into milk for two to three days and thereupon placed into a small opening cut under the nose-skin of the animal. The method is claimed to be effective (St. Croix 1944, p. 24 f.). Vaccination methods are also known to some of the Southern Tuareg, e.g. the *Iwllemmeden*. These people vaccinate human beings against small-pox by inserting the pus of this disease into wounds cut with a knife (Aymard 1911, p. 108), and they also vaccinate their cattle against cattle pleuro-pneumonia ("peripneumonie bovine"). They do this in much the same way as described above for the Fulani:— An infected piece of lung is placed in sour milk or in the soil for a few days, and is thereupon inserted under the skin of the forehead. Nicolas describes the method as dangerous because the infection attacks the whole forehead and also the nose-bone (Nicolas 1950a, p. 133), but two veterinary surgeons who practised among the *Iwllemmeden* of Tawa told me that they considered this kind of vaccination effective. The method is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg of the Massif where this contagious lung-disease is unknown or very rare.

I have no great knowledge of the contagious diseases in the Tuareg groups I have studied, but such diseases seem to occur comparatively rarely, and there is no veterinary surgeon attached to the French administration of Northern Tuareg countries. There is one veterinary surgeon in Agadez, but his most important field of work lies outside of the mountain massif to the south.

Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr I have been told about two contagious diseases which, when they occur, may give rise to very heavy losses. One of these diseases is known to the Tuareg as *changa*. It attacks only cows, which die very quickly, but if cattle suffering from the disease are ritually killed their meat is nevertheless considered edible. One Tuareg told me that some years ago about thirty cattle of his camp died in one day from an attack of *changa*.

The other contagious disease I have recorded from Southern Ayr is called *tandert*. It attacks sheep and goats, and I collected the following notes about it:— The blood penetrates the animal's flesh which becomes quite red. If sheep or goats suffer from *tandert* and are ritually killed for eating, very great care must be taken in the preparation of the meat. It must be boiled until it contains no blood, and must not be eaten until it is cold and dry. It is said that if these precautions are not taken the people who eat meat from animals suffering from *tandert* will themselves become attacked by the disease, with the result that blood and pus may penetrate the skin at any part of the body. They say that a man who has eaten unboiled meat of an animal suffering from this disease with consequent infection is treated in the following way:— A species of ant more venomous than the normal small

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



757 ants is collected and put into the millet mortar and pounded. The pounded mass of ants is then placed
164 on the affected individual at the spot where blood and pus have penetrated the skin. The disease is characterized as very dangerous for human beings as blood and pus may emerge at any place of the
232 body, and can, for instance, destroy an eye. The Ayr Tuareg say that they have no remedy against
*233 *tandert* when it affects their sheep and goats. The disease *tandert* can hardly be anything but anthrax. According to information from the veterinary surgeon Niels Grunnet much indicates that the contagious disease *changa* is also anthrax.

*233 Foucauld has recorded a few contagious stock-diseases from Ahaggar:— *tarut*, a lung disease
231 affecting cattle, goats, and camels. The lungs are filled with pus, and the animals die in four to ten days. *tehareṛet*, a disease attacking sheep and goats which will die with yellow entrails. *weñhet*, a contagious disease attacking jackals, dogs and related animals which will die quickly. It is not the true rabies. *talekmet*, apparently a kind of scrofula which affects the udders of female domestic animals. These do not necessarily die from the disease but their udders may wither (Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1558, 1663, III, p. 1509, 1044). Dr. Grunnet has informed me that *tarut* could be the pulmonary form of *pasteurellosis* also called *haemorrhagic septicaemia*, while *weñhet* may very well be distemper. The *talekmet* disease according to Dr. Grunnet is not easy to identify by the present information, but
[232] three conditions are possible:— 1) cow pox, 2) *actinomycosis* of the udder, and 3) *mastitis*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, like the Ayr Tuareg, do not seem to have any remedies against such contagious diseases which incidentally are rare. But there are many other stock-diseases and treatments for them.

*233 The Ayr Tuareg have mentioned to me about thirty different names of camel diseases. The descrip-
232 tion of these diseases was frequently difficult to understand, and I noted only the following names:—

*azni*, that is a disease of congestion due to heat-apoplexy which is cured by bleeding with a knife or with tobacco powder put into the camel's eyes.

*tadanak*, an eye disease cured by cutting around the eyes and by the insertion of salt.

*ichilchal*, a nose disease cured in the following way:— The handle of a wooden spoon is put up through the nostril to pierce the septum, and heated butter is poured into the animal's nose.

*inefdan*, a diseases which gives the camel a swollen and inflamed head. A cure is effected by cutting with a knife and by burning.

*toza*, a kind of chill which causes pregnant she-camels to miscarry. There is no good remedy for it, but it is normal practice to pour water over the affected animal.

*lejwad*, a paralysis of the hind thighs of camels. The affected animals cannot stand up. The only remedy is a very difficult operation:— A vein is opened in the hind thigs to let out a great quantity of blood. Bleeding is stopped again by sewing together the cuts, which are finally treated with fire.

*tibayak*, a disease which prevents the pregnancy of mated she-camels. The remedy for this consists in cutting slices around the vagina and under the tail so that blood flows. After this operation, which I have frequently attended, it is said that she-camels will become pregnant when mated.

*sanes*, a disease which prevents the pregnancy of she-camels. It is treated by putting the hand and the arm deeply into the anus of the camel. I have seen it performed once, and in this particular case the she-camel became pregnant shortly afterwards. According to Dr. Grunnet this disease is very probably *corpus luteum* which is squeezed out of the ovary by the manipulation.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



A chest disease for which the Ayr Tuareg have no particular name. It is cured by cutting two rows of small slices through the animal's skin at both sides of the fore thighs so that blood flows. 233* 232

*awaras*, that is swelling of the foot caused by an acacia-thorn or other pointed object. The remedy is to remove the thorn by means of knife and awl and then burn the upper side of the foot with a red-hot iron.

*tafadé*, that is wounds on the camel's back caused by galling of the saddle and the loads. Very many camels have such wounds which are treated by pressing out the pus, by cutting, and by burning.

*ajawad*, that is scabies (*Sarcoptes scabiei* var. *Cameli*) which is extremely common. The Tuareg living around Agadez treat it in two distinct ways:— (1) an animal bone is crushed in a large mortar and the pounded mass is put into a cooking pot to be heated over the fire. A black liquid with a consistency like that of liquid butter comes out of the bone-substance after heating. It is rubbed into the skin of the infected animal. (2) Fruit of the *aborak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*) are put into a cooking pot to be heated over the fire. A black liquid comes out of the fruits after heating. This is rubbed into the skin. [824]

Camels in Africa are considered to suffer from only three major infectious diseases (*anthrax*, *pasteurellosis*, *trypanosomiasis*), but several types of local infections can be met with. 233*

I believe that camel diseases of Ayr and Ahaggar are not very different, but I have not collected much material on the subject in the north. I give a few additional examples from Ahaggar: *adder*, that is a bunion close to the junction of leg and body of camels. The bunion is produced by rubbing of the fore thigh against the chest during walking, and some camels suffer from such bunions during long journeys. I do not know if there is any treatment for it. *ǵelek*, that is the swelling of camels which have drunk too much water after the consumption of salty plants; this swelling disappears by itself. *iṛelenṛwahen*, a nose disease which attack camels and goats. The nostrils are filled with pus so that the animals have difficulty in breathing. The treatment is burning. *ameṛwas*, swelling of the feet which are washed with hot water. *toẓa*, a chest disease considered contagious. The animals lose their appetite. The remedy is burning. Dr. Grunnet thinks that it could be an oedematous form of *pasteurellosis* (*haemorrhagic septicaemia*). – For scabies the Ahaggar Tuareg seem to know several treatments. They use pounded leaves of *ahoyyaṛ* (*Cleome arabica*) and of *telulut* (*Capparis spinosa*) added to sour milk and rubbed into the camel's skin. According to Maire, who has made use of information from Voinot, there are other treatments for scabies, namely the use of ashes of the *aferegak* plant (*Chrozophora Brocchiana*), tar extracted from the *azawa* tree (*Tamarix gallica* ssp. *nilotica*), charcoal of *turha* (*Calotropis procera*) which is pounded and mixed with butter, seeds of *teǵellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*) which are boiled into a black oil called *akaha* (cf. Maire 1933, p. 145, 156, 172, 200). Congestion due to heat-apoplexy (*ahni*) is cured as mentioned in the case of the Ayr Tuareg. [114] 233* 232 232 824

From the above description of camel diseases and their treatment it will be seen that the Tuareg know several types of veterinary methods. In brief the veterinary techniques can be summarized under the following five items:— 232

(1) Treatment by the hand, e.g., *Corpus luteum* which is squeezed out of the ovary by the manipulation (cf. *sanes*, p. 120), and massage treatments which the Tuareg practise with human beings and with domestic animals. [257]

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Fig. 92. Wooden splints (*iafasast*, pl. *ifesasin*) applied to broken legs of sheep and goats by means of a long thin cord of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimensions of wooden splints: about 0.12 m. (F.M. 282).

232 (2) Operation with a knife. Such operations are often very simple. Thus I have once seen sheep with swollen throats and ears which were scratched with a knife to let out some water-like pus, but I do not know the name of this disease. The knife is used for many different operations some of which have been mentioned above. It is also used for bleeding which plays a great part in Tuareg veterinary [757] practise. Bleeding is applied to humans and to domestic animals as a treatment for various diseases. The Tuareg may bleed individuals and animals bitten by snakes or stung by scorpions, but bleeding [759] is used for many different diseases, as the Tuareg believe that these can be removed away with bad blood which is considered their cause. Bleeding is practised with camels. Thus in summer camels are frequently bled because they get slow and tired owing to *azni* (*ahni*), that is congestion due to heat-apoplexy, and a she-camel will normally be bled two or three hours after it has brought forth a calf. I frequently attended the bleeding of camels among the Ayr Tuareg where the method is as follows:— The camel is forced to stand upright while its head is turned downwards by a man (or a woman) who grasps the head firmly at the upper lip with one hand and pulls at a rope fixed to the animal's lower jaw with the other. A rope is tied around the camel's neck close to its chest so that the neck vein can contain as much blood as possible. The neck vein in this way will swell with blood particularly close to the animal's head at a place known to the Tuareg as *abayor*. A slice about two centimetres long is cut in this place with a small sharp knife, and immediately blood will flow from the neck vein in a thin but powerful squirt. Shortly after bleeding has started the rope tied around the animal's neck is loosened, but blood is allowed to flow for several minutes, and I believe that at least two or three litres of blood is tapped. When the operation is to end the animal's head is raised, the skin around the wound is pressed together with two fingers, and bleeding immediately ceases. Once blood has started to flow from the camel it does not protest at the operation which is illustrated by the photograph Fig. 93. When a camel has been bled it will normally rest for a few hours before it starts eating again. When Tuareg get lost in the desert and lack water, they bleed their camels and

When Tuareg get lost in the desert and lack water, they bleed their camels and drink the blood (cf. p. 235). In situations of great distress they may also kill their camels in order to obtain the water supply conserved in the animal's stomach. 261

(3) Treatment by burning. Wounds are cauterized by means of a redhot iron known as *tamak* (Ayr), or *taterkemt* (Ahaggar). Burning with a redhot iron is also practised for camels with swollen feet as already described (p. 121). It is also common to burn a line around wounds or other sites of disease in order that it shall not spread, and burning is even practised for internal diseases, as is the case with the *toza*-disease of camels (p. 121). Redhot irons are, on the whole, used particularly for camels. Wounds of sheep and goats, e.g., wounds from jackal bites, are cauterized by means of glowing camel dung. Certain stomach diseases, such as types of tympanites, are cured by a bunch of flaming grass swept under the animal's belly. I have seen this practised with donkeys which, like horses, may suffer from a kind of tympanites known in Ahaggar as *tahagd*. 232

(4) Instruments and bandages. Enema should be mentioned under this heading. It is known in Ahaggar as *sebegiwen*, and is applied to humans and to animals by means of a funnel or by a special apparatus made from a piece of hollow cane connected with a skin-bag. I never had the opportunity to see this apparatus, which is depicted by Lhote who also gives some information about the use of enemas with human beings (Lhote 1955a, p. 303, Fig. 36). He mentions that an enema is also given by a mother to her little children by blowing water into the anus with her mouth. I have seen this done to children in Ahaggar, but I do not know whether this method is practised with animals also. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the Tuareg apply wooden splints to their domestic animals with broken legs. I have seen this device only in Ahaggar where wooden splints are known as *tifesasin* (sing. *tafasast*). They are used for sheep and goats (Fig. 92), and, by the sedentary agriculturists, also for cows. The wooden splints applied to goats are sometimes replaced by a leather bandage solidly tied around the broken leg. I mention under this heading that camels bred and born in stony or mountainous countries cannot always stand the long journeys through plain and sandy deserts. Their feet suffer 232 757 [113] 232 [237] 492

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Fig. 93. Tuareg bleeding a camel at the place of the neck vein known as *abayor*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

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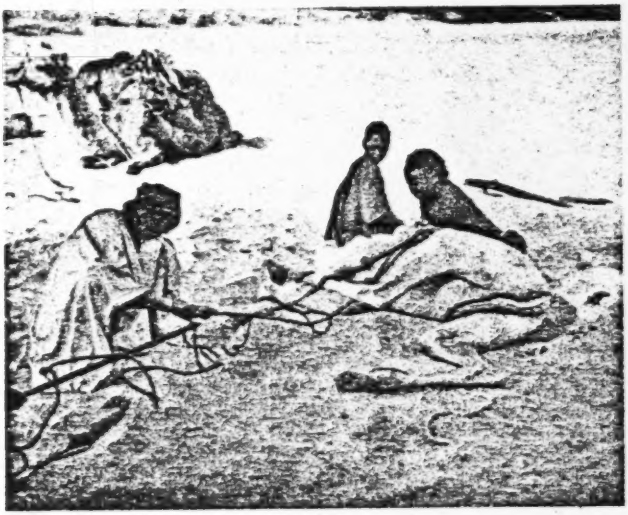

Fig. 94. Tuareg operating a camel's foreleg with a knife. Northern Ayr, the *Kel Tédalé*.

492 from the constant friction against the sand, and it may become necessary to provide the animals with leather shoes, that is pieces of ox-skin sewn around the hoofs. These leather shoes are known to [113] the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tissal* (sing. *tasselt*). Their appearance is excellently depicted by Lhote (Lhote 1951b, photographs p. 224).

232 824 (5) Medical treatment which forms an important part of Tuareg veterinary knowledge. I have mentioned in the description of camel diseases the use of certain plants for the external treatment of scabies. The Tuareg also use various plants for drugs. Seeds of certain annual plants are mixed with milk and given to goats and sheep which suffer from stomach-diseases. Leaves of various plants are also considered laxatives. The Tuareg know many drugs made from wild plants, and they are aware that there are several wild plants that are dangerous to domestic animals. A very dangerous venomous plant is *élel* (*Nerium oleander*) which is extremely common in the higher parts of Ahaggar. It contains a kind of strychnine, and camels which eat *Nerium* leaves will die from this poison. The Tuareg say that camels bred and born in Ahaggar know the plant to be dangerous. These camels do not eat the *Nerium* leaves but others introduced to Ahaggar from the south may do so. To prevent camels from eating *Nerium* leaves the Tuareg put a leaf of the plant into their nostrils, or burn *Nerium* leaves so that the smoke and the scent of the plant enter the animal's nostrils. In this way camels come to loathe it. There are, according to Foucauld, other venomous plants in Ahaggar, e.g. *awrhed* (*Perralderia coronopifolia*), *arenked* (*Leptadenia heterophylla*, and/or *Cocculus pendulus*) which are fatal to goats and sheep (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1524 & IV, p. 1647; Maire 1933, p. 230, 236). The species [682] known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*) is very venomous for human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies. However, this plant does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, p. 192). One plant (*téhereggelé*) (*Artemisia judaica*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten venomous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for domestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe they have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings (Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be understood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil mouth (*tehoł* in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as *eltama* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding camels in Ayr:— Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order that their riding animal may not stumble.

778 Religious beliefs also interfere with Tuareg stock-breeding and create usages of an irrational kind.
[23] Thus the Tuareg, like other North African peoples, firmly believe in the mystic benevolent power,
[171] or benediction, known as *elbaraka*. This is a power that emenates from God. It is given by God to
[784] man and it cannot act unless certain taboos, or rather religious prescriptions, are followed. The bene-
[783] diction *elbaraka* is more than anything else hurt by impurity. Cleanness is an absolute necessity for this good force to be sustained in the same way that a man cannot approach God through prayer if
[841] he be unclean. Women are considered unclean during their periods of menstruation and cannot, there-
[262] fore, then pray to God. They are also forbidden to drink the milk of domestic animals which have very young kids, lambs, or calves, and they must not drink water which has been conserved in newly-made skin-bags. These taboos are maintained in order not to hurt the benediction given the animals
778 by bringing it into contact with impurity. For the same reason milk taken from animals which have
784 recently brought forth young should not be given to strangers – they might be unclean and harm the
234 *elbaraka*. It is also believed that soil is an impurity dangerous to *elbaraka*, and milk must never be spilt on the ground. Even when milk-bowls are cleaned with water, this liquid should be poured out upon plants or stones, and never be spilt on the ground. Should this be done, God will withdraw his *elbaraka* and the result will be severe periods of drought without milk. I have frequently heard Tuareg ascribe the lack of rain and the dry pasture – the lack of *elbaraka* – to the fact that somebody had spilt milk upon the ground. This had caused God to be angry and to withdraw his benediction. Some Tuareg have also said that *elbaraka* is harmed by a person who blows upon milk. When a man drinks milk he must not blow away impurities before drinking but must remove them by means of a piece of straw.
*233 In the two groups of Northern Tuareg and also in Ayr it is considered very disgraceful for a person
577 who watches the animals away from camp to drink milk directly from an animal's udder. Some Tuareg
272 say that a man when staying alone among milk-yielding animals should not utilize their milk even if he performs milking in the usual way. A person who breaks these rules is called *émenkes* or *émehled* among the Ahaggar Tuareg, *émehled* in Ayr. The Tuareg say that there are some people, and in particular many slaves, who do not follow this rule, and that they are despised if known to have broken it. When two or more people are alone with a herd or flock away from the camp they can freely utilize the animals' milk. And it is very normal for camel herdsmen to live with a herd of she-camels in isolated places for long periods. They then live almost exclusively on camel's milk taken from the herd they guard.

272 Certain usages connected with stock-breeding are rationally explained by the Tuareg. Thus when they heat milk by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221) put into the milking bowl, they claim that this is done in order that the milk shall not get dirty as would happen were it heated in an ordinary cooking
272 pot. Another custom which by other stock-breeders has been explained as being based upon magic,
262 namely the usage not to drink milk and eat meat at the same time, is also rationally explained by the Tuareg. They say that there is no taboo on taking these kinds of food together, but it is very unwise to do so because the mixture will act as a laxative and upset the stomach. Therefore, if a Tuareg has drunk much milk he will not eat meat shortly afterwards, and if he has eaten meat he will not take milk for some hours, though he may do so should ample water have been added to the milk. The
*233 Tuareg to my knowledge have no other special customs in connection with stock-breeding and milk
234 than there mentioned

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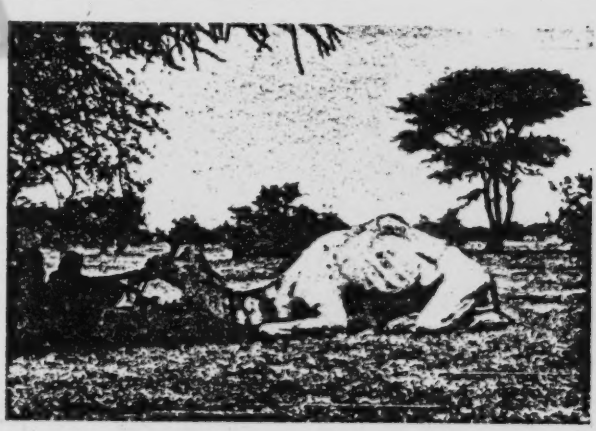

Fig. 95. A Tuareg feeding his riding camel with *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Many Tuareg feed their riding animals with stems of this perennial grass – partly to obtain a docile camel for riding, partly to change its fodder which consists largely of acacias and annual plants. The photograph is taken near Agadez at the *akasa* season. Annual plants grow between trees and bushes (*afagag*, *Acacia Raddiana*; *ébezgin*, *Salvadora persica*; *tadent*, *Boscia senegalensis*). Ayr, the *Isakaranan* tribe.

234 than those mentioned. Thus they can use any kind of receptacle for milk and milking, and they do
416 not clean their milk-bowls with urine as is normal among certain East African stock-breeders, and,
237 perhaps, also among certain of the Fulani living south of Ayr. The taste of urine is detested by the
262 Tuareg, who know this taste all too well as the water drawn from pools and wells is frequently flavoured
237 with urine and the excrement of domestic animals. Nor is camel urine used by Tuareg women for
302 hairdressing as is done among the Arabs, but it is said that it may have a medical value in curing
752 wounds. The custom of drinking blood has been mentioned above (p. 122 f.) and will be described later (p. 235).

*233 The Tuareg apparently have comparatively few superstitious usages in stock-breeding, which is
232 mainly to be considered rational. We have seen that stock-breeding is adapted to environment, and we have also mentioned that there are veterinary methods which doubtless have their origin in considerable knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of domestic animals. This knowledge forms one corner-stone of rational stock-breeding, and another is the very detailed knowledge of botany. In
*233 824 Ahaggar there are more than 600 different plant species for which the Tuareg have particular names, though a few related species are sometimes known by one and the same name. Every Tuareg know about the ecological conditions of these plants, and he knows exactly their fodder value for domestic animals. He knows that certain plants form excellent fodder for all domestic animals, but he is also well aware that the different types of stock have different needs, so that certain plant species are valuable for camels, other species for other domestic animals.

231 The Tuareg are occasionally cruel to donkeys, and to dogs, but they take the greatest care of all other domestic animals to ensure their wellbeing and reproduction. Women bring acacia pods or tender annual plants to kids, lambs, and calves, and to sick animals which remain in the camp. On
484 *233 long trading expeditions, when the camels have little time for grazing, some Tuareg will walk along

484 the caravan and feed the animals with annual grasses, and a camel-rider, when he meets plants con-
*233 sidered excellent for fodder, will stop for a while to let his riding camel eat them.

*233 Saliferous plants are highly important to all types of livestock, and camels and sheep in particular
824 need much salt nourishment. In Ahaggar there are certain plants of this kind almost everywhere, and the following species serve as fodder:— *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*), *issin* (*Salsola foetida*), *tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*), and *azawa* (*Tamarix gallica* and related species). *Aramas* in particular is very important. It is found almost everywhere within the Ahaggar Massif and at all altitudes. Benhazera states that *aramas* forms the most important fodder plant of Ahaggar (Benhazera 1908, p. 65), but this is not quite correct. It is most important because of its salt content as domestic animals do not thrive without salt, but the saliferous plants mentioned are very little nourishing for most domestic animals, and if the animals constantly eat such plants they become very thin. The most nourishing fodder plants of Ahaggar are tender annual species which spring up after abundant rainfalls. These plants are collectively known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *akasa*; they comprise many different species and those considered most excellent for fodder are: *tageruft* (*Tribulus terrester*), *adreylal* (*Astragalus* sp.), *taymast* (*Echium humile*), *azren* (*Monsonia heliotropioides* & *M. nivea*), *tamaghé* (*Moricandia arvensis*), and *tanesmimt* (*Rumex vesicarius* & *R. roseus*). To these annual fodder plants can be added another important annual species, namely *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*) which grows in the lower parts of Northern Tuareg countries. It is apparently not so common and important to the Northern Tuareg who live in and around the mountainous massifs, though it is a common and very valuable fodder for domestic animals of the Ahaggar Tuareg who live towards the south in the plains of Tamesna. It is one of the best fodder plants for camels and is also fairly good for sheep, while less valuable for other types of livestock. Annual plants may germinate over a large part of the
[132] year in Ahaggar, but as rainfall is most common late in summer (June, July, August) the best annual pasture will spring up at this period, and under very favourable conditions the plants may keep fresh and green for up to four months. When annual plants wither they are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ṛarat* (*ṛarat n akasa*). Such dry annual plants have lost much of their fodder value, but they are important for fodder even at this stage. The perennial species which are most important for fodder have their optimal value at particular stages of their development at particular seasons. Important are the perennial grasses known to the Tuareg as *tulluit* (*Aristida pungens*) and *afeçu* (*Panicum turgidum*). The *tulluit* grass is extremely common in the Northern Sahara, and it forms perhaps the basic fodder plant among the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. It is also common in Ahnet and in the other mountain massifs surrounding Ahaggar to the north, but it is not found in the mountain massif proper of Ahaggar where most Tuareg live. The grass grows at Abalessa where cattle, goats, and sheep of the sedentary farmers feed upon it. The *tulluit* grass is valuable when green in winter, and hay of this
[484] grass is used for camel fodder on caravan expeditions to Tidikelt. The Tuareg cut it with a sickle and
[137] take it with them on the journey to the northern oases, because there is normally little vegetation on the road and no pasture around the oases where the Tuareg remain to trade for several days. The *afeçu* grass is extremely common in the lower parts of Ahaggar and is found in practically all river valleys. It is valuable for fodder when green after rain, but it is of little value when withered. There are other perennial herbs and grasses which are eaten by domestic animals, but herbs and grasses are

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not the most important perennial fodder plants for goats and camels as the very best fodder plants of this kind are acacia trees, notably the species of *tamat* (*Acacia seyal*) and *abseṛ* (*Acacia Raddiana*) which are, perhaps, the most common trees in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Massif. In Ahaggar the acacias defoliate in winter, and they are then not very nourishing fodder, though they do not apparently loose all leaves at one and the same time. Very nourishing are the fruits or pods of the two acacia species mentioned. They are eaten by all domestic animals.

The most valuable fodder plants in Ahaggar consist of annual plants and the acacias, with the addition of saliferous plants. The tender annual plants are those considered most nourishing for animals. The annual plants may spring up everywhere at all altitudes, but the three vegetational zones of Ahaggar do not possess exactly the same species, and there are still greater distinctions between the perennial species found within these zones, which as fodder areas have the following main characteristics:—

(1) *Abada*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Annual fodder-plants* | *taġerufi* (*Tribulus terrester*) |
| | *taynast* (*Echium humile*) |
| | *adreylal* (*Astragalus* sp.) |
| *Perennial fodder-plants* | *tulhult* (*Aristidà pungens*) |
| | *afeẓu* (*Panicum turgidum*) |
| | *abseṛ* (*Acacia Raddiana*) |
| | *tamat* (*Acacia seyal*) |
| *Saliferous plants* | *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*) |
| | *issin* (*Salsola foetida*) |
| | *tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*) |
| | *aẓawa* (*Tamarix gallica* and related species) |

(2) *Tarayin*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Annual fodder-plants* | *taġerufi* (*Tribulus terrester*) |
| | *taynast* (*Echium humile*) |
| | *tamaghé* (*Moricandia arvensis*) |
| | *aẓren* (*Monsonia heliotropioides* & *M. nivea*) |
| *Perennial fodder-plants* | *afeẓu* (*Panicum turgidum*) Scarce |
| | *abseṛ* (*Acacia Raddiana*) – |
| | *tamat* (*Acacia seyal*) – |
| *Saliferous plants* | *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*) |
| | *aẓawa* (*Tamarix gallica* and related species) |

(3) *Atakor*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Annual fodder-plants* | *taġerufi* (*Tribulus terrester*) |
| | *tamaghé* (*Moricandia arvensis*) |
| | *tanesmimt* (*Rumex vesicarius* & *R. roseus*) |
| *Perennial fodder-plants* | They are scarce and of little value |
| *Saliferous plants* | *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*) |

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*233 Each of the three vegetational zones of Ahaggar has its advantages and disadvantages. If we consider
824 a good year when rain has fallen abundantly with a resultant regeneration of all fodder plants, the
137 *Atakor* zone has very-excellent pasture. For the plains and the stony mountain slopes are then entirely
132 covered with annual plants which by the Tuareg are considered the very best fodder. The Tuareg also
133 claim that the upper mountain zone is preferable because of its cooler climate, which has a beneficial influence on the lactation of domestic animals. The disadvantage of the *Atakor* zone is the lack of acacias to which can be added the scarcity of fuel. The *Tarayin* zone possess characteristics of the *Atakor* zone and of the *Abada* zone. The *Abada* country is botanically very different from *Atakor*. It has annual pastures of great value when abundant rainfall has been experimented and it also has valuable pastures of perennial plants. With heavy rain the *Abada* country is excellent for stock-breeding, and fuel can be found everywhere. But the Abada country is hotter than are the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

If rain falls abundantly all over Ahaggar there is good pasture in all three zones. But rainfall is more frequent and heavier at high altitudes than in the *Abada* zone, so that *Atakor* normally has by far the best pasture of annual plants which spring up late in summer or in autumn. The *Abada* zone on the other hand has the very best pasture of perennial plants, notably acacias that grow around the lower parts of the valleys which are always flooded when it rains in the high mountains.

221 The fluctuations of plant development determine the nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg.
*233 A few tribes have their normal grazing grounds in *Atakor* (e.g., the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Kel Tazulet*).
824 They camp in this zone at most seasons to let their goats and sheep feed on fresh and dry annual pasture.
[132] In dry years and during the hot summer season they may move to the *Tarayin* zone where there are perennial fodder plants, but they rarely camp in the *Abada* country. Many tribes have their normal grazing grounds in the *Abada* zone (e.g., the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, the *Ayt Lowayen*, the *Iheynwen Hada*,
[342] and the *Kel Ṛela*), but move to the *Atakor* when annual pasture is good in this region. They live in *Atakor* with tents and flocks when annual plants are green, while the rest of the year they camp in the *Abada* country to let their animals feed on acacias and other perennial species. Finally there are two tribes (*Tégehé-n-Efis* and *Iklan-en-tawsit*), the members of which camp in the *Abada* country all the year round even when rich annual pasture is found in *Atakor*. However, members of these tribes may send their camel herds to the *Atakor* zone, accompanied by herdsmen, while tents and flocks remain in the lower country.

221 With the exception of a few noble households which keep up their old tradition to subsist largely
*233 on camel's milk, the Ahaggar Tuareg do not keep their she-camels in Ahaggar unless there are excellent
[565] pastures of annual plants in this area. They take their camels to pastures far away from Ahaggar,
[262] notably to the Tamesna region where they have their animals guarded by herdsmen who are frequently
[567] slaves. In very dry years there are very few camels in Ahaggar – just the animals needed for riding and transportation. It is in fact very easy to take camels to distant pastures, and it is most necessary to give these animals the utmost care as they are most valuable and their breeding is a very slow process
*233 (cf. p. 56). Goats do not need such excellent fodder as do camels. They can eat almost everything, but
731 in dry years goats may also suffer severely from lack of suitable fodder. This was the case in the year
[36] 1954/55 when I stayed in Ahnet and in Ahaggar. In the small camps of three to four tents each it was

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*233 normal every day to loose one or two goats which died of hunger. The goats were too thin to be mated,
731 and even in winter there was no milk, or so little, that it was all consumed by small children. In spite of these very severe conditions most Ahaggar Tuareg stayed in Ahaggar with their flocks which subsisted on dry perennial plants and annual plants that were two years old. Conditions were extremely bad in
221 the region of Ahnet, and about half of the Ahnet Tuareg left their country to go southwards with
*233 their camps and goats, to the regions of Ti-n-ẓawaten. In severe drought periods some Tuareg may
731 move their camps far outside of Ahaggar, but even then most of them will remain in their native country for extensive goat migrations are difficult and cannot be realized without a loss of the meagre animals. Most Tuareg therefore prefer to remain and to avoid the strenuous journey connected with these migrations. They may loose many animals during a drought, but they know that sooner or later rainfall will occur so that pastures will regenerate quickly to let the animals grow fat to yield milk and to be mated. The increment of goats is extremely quick in comparison with that of camels.

*233 Stock-breeding conditions are on the whole not very favourable in Ahaggar, but pastoral Tuareg
731 of this region have developed an economic system which secures their existence even in very bad years of extreme drought.

137 In the introductory description of Tuareg environment it was stated that the Ayr Massif and the
*233 surrounding plains have far better possibilities of stock-breeding than Northern Tuareg countries. The broad river valleys of Ayr are very rich in persistent plants which also grow on slopes and in depressions outside the valleys, and the spring of annual pastures is an annually recurrent event. One
132 informant told me that there had not been any drought in the Agadez region throughout the many
*233 years the French had reigned over Ayr. At an unknown date in the past, it is said, a very severe drought persisted in the country for a period of seven years, and the Tuareg who had many goats and sheep fed these animals on charcoal. Since then rain has fallen every year and though more

*233

Fig. 96. Tuareg feeding his riding camel with boiled tea leaves which are considered excellent fodder for camels. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ralt* tribe.

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*132 233 abundantly in one year than another there has always been rain enough to allow the annual pastures to spring up.

*233 824 In Ayr there are three species of trees or bushes which remain green all the year round, viz. *ébezgin* (*Salvadora persica*), *tadent* (*Boscia senegalensis*), and *turza* (*Calotropis procera*). They are extremely common, and the two first species play a certain role for fodder during the hot and dry summer season (*éwilen*), but dry annual plants then constitute the best fodder for all domestic animals. The annual plants comprise various species; around Agadez they are mainly grasses, but the small thorny seed-plant *ageruf* (*Tribulus terrester*) is also very important. These tender plants spring up shortly after the rains but they wither even before rainfall stops at the beginning of the *ṛarat* season. The perennial fodder plants are of little value in the hot season. The *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*), which is extremely common everywhere, germinates at the beginning of the rains and is dry and contains little nourishment in summer. Acacias form very important fodder plants for camels and goats, but they are also of little value at this season when they defoliate. The two most important acacias are *afagag* (*abser* in Ahaggar) (*Acacia Raddiana*) and *tamat* (*Acacia flava*). The *afagag* acacia germinates shortly after the first rains (*akasa*) and has its highest fodder value in the season of *ṛarat* when the fruit pods fall to the ground providing excellent fodder for all domestic animals. The *tamat*-acacia starts germinating somewhat later and its fruit pods, which are equally important for fodder, do not fall until the beginning of the season known as *tabsit*, at which period the fruit pods of the *agar* tree (*Maerua crassifolia*) also fall. For southern Ayr it can be said that grazing conditions are tolerably good most of the year. They are extremely good when annual plants are green during the period of *akasa*, and they are bad in summer (*éwilen*) when the lactation of domestic animals is low.

Grazing conditions within the Ayr Massif are much more favourable than in Ahaggar, but one thing is lacking:— There are very few saliferous plants. Thus, for instance, there are very few tamarisks (*temeyut* = *Tamarix aphylla*; *azawa* = *Tamarix gallica*), which are found only within limited areas of the Massif; species of *Salsola* are very rare, and the very important saliferous plant, known to the Northern Tuareg as *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*), is not found within the Massif. The Ayr Tuareg there-
*233 317 fore have to feed their animals with salty earth which can be dug in certain parts of Ayr, or with Bilma salt, which plays an enormous part for most stock-breeders of Ayr and adjacent regions. The Ayr Tuareg cannot so easily take their flocks and herds to salt pastures as can the Northern Tuareg. But there is south and southwest of the Ayr Massif a narrow belt of salt-containing soil and water. This region is known to the Tuareg as *Azawar* because of its particular reddish soil. With this particular
(221) 824 type of soil, well water and pools will contain some salt, as do most plants, and many Tuareg of the Ayr Massif migrate to the *Azawar* country at the end of the rains to allow their animals to benefit
221 from the salt-content of the water and plants there. There is another reason why some Ayr Tuareg,
*233 who have their normal grazing areas within the Massif, migrate south and westwards into the plains,
824 namely the appearance in these regions of a small annual plant known as *emchéken* (*Ipomoea verticillata*). The Ayr Tuareg consider it one of the very best fodder plants for camels, goats, and sheep, but claim it to be less valuable for cattle and donkeys. – At the end of the rains the Ayr Tuareg who migrate to the *Azawar* country camp among pastoralists of different and distant regions. At this season most *Kel Geres* Tuareg migrate northwards to camp around Tegidda-n-edrar and Tegidda-n-

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221 *233 824 tagayt, while the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* at this period will camp around Ingal. Many Southern Tuareg leave the savannah country to avoid its heavy rainfalls and stock-diseases to let their animals benefit from the salty water and plants in the *Azawaq* country.

133 162 137 In the country west of the Ayr Massif, the Tamesna Plains, there is in addition to the Ayr Tuareg a numerous population of Ahaggar Tuareg who live constantly in these regions. These plains are botanically different from the mountains. Perennial vegetation is scarce though there are some *tamat*-acacias (*Acacia flava*), but there is a very rich vegetation of annual plants of great importance to *233 824 domestic animals. Among these plants can be mentioned *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*), which is very valuable for camels and also good for sheep, *adreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tagellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). The two latter plants are valuable as fodder for all domestic animals. It is noteworthy that these three species of annual plants last longer than other annual species. They do not wither at the beginning of the *ṛarat*-season, but remain fresh and green all through the winter until about *tabrit*.

It is evident that Tuareg knowledge of botany is extremely comprehensive, and that they use this knowledge to make stock-breeding as rational as possible. They may perhaps not be so rational in protecting pastures, for they cut acacias' boughs to feed the kids resting in the camps, and it is most possible that they also overgraze certain pastures. However, the grazing grounds are very vast in comparison with the number of pastoralists, and I believe that overgrazing and arboreal devastation take place mainly around villages and towns where the flocks of sedentary people graze continuously in the same area. In Ahaggar the valuable fodder plants and plants which are important for collecting are often protected for two or three months in order that they may become fully developed (cf. p. 150, 179).

*233 The Tuareg take great care that their animals do not lack water. It is true that camels and also donkeys can do without water for many days even in summer, but at this season camels should preferably be watered every two or three days, and goats are always watered every two days when the weather is hot. In winter the animals are not watered so often, and this is true particularly if the animals feed on fresh annual plants. Camels can do without water even for weeks and months under such favourable

415 237 326

Fig. 97. The leather bucket known as *ejw* to the Northern Tuareg. The leather is tied to an iron ring made by blacksmiths. Collected in Ahaggar by Otufsen. Dimension of the iron ring: 0.275 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.51).

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Fig. 98. A slave watering goats by means of the leather bucket called *aga*. Water is drawn from a well and poured out into a hole dug in the clayey ground. The goat standing to the left is sheared – a token of the summer season. Tasilé-n-Aijer.

*233 conditions, and herdsmen, who live with camelherds far away from camps and wells subsisting on
[272] camel's milk, do not consider water necessary. Should domestic animals have eaten salt or salty plants
[271] they are very eager for water even in winter. When I lived in Ahaggar with my camels during the winter 1954/55 they had rightly to be watered every ten days, but in regions where they fed mainly on saliferous plants they had to be watered more frequently. However, domestic animals must not be watered too often as this would make them slow and emaciated, and a camel must not be worked too hard the day after it has been watered.

312 Tuareg camps are always found around wells, pools, or other types of water places for which there
[361] is a large vocabulary. But the Tuareg never camp too close to water places where there is little pasture, many foreigners and consequently little peace. The distance from camp to water place varies, but is
[132] very frequently 1–3 kilometres. During the rainy season (*akasa*) water is very aundant all over Ayr, but outside this period conditions of water supply for human beings and livestock are more favourable
[415] in the north than in Ayr, where water most of the year must be drawn from wells. To raise water the Tuareg use a leather bucket known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aga* (Fig. 97–98). The water drawn for
[237] the animals is poured out into a hole dug in clayey soil, or into a hole covered with a piece of skin or leather known in Ahaggar as *taforawt*. This skin is nowadays frequently substituted by canvas (cf. Fig. 99). Where water is scarce and must be drawn from narrow wells, as in Ayr during the summer
312 567 season, the watering of flocks and herds gives rise to frequent quarrels between pastoralists. For
[423] though the right to the use of wells is free to all there are many disputes and fights frequently

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



start around wells. It may happen, for instance, that two men who draw water from the same well get the ropes of their leather buckets entangled. They will then start to quarrel and the result may be a fight with swords. 312 529 [411]

I conclude this chapter with a brief description of the signals used by the Tuareg for their domestic animals. As these animals do not have the same needs for food and water and are frequently mixed with each other in camps and around wells, it is only natural that the Tuareg have different signals to call, stop, or drive away their various types of domestic animals. I have noted these signals among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr:— 231 233* 192

Signals to call domestic animals:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| goats . . . . . | *ay, ay* | |
| sheep . . . . . | a rolling sound | the three rolling sounds are somewhat different though resembling each other |
| cows . . . . . | a rolling sound | |
| camels . . . . . | a rolling sound | |
| donkeys . . . . . | *ahay, ahay* | |

Signals to stop animals:—

| | |
|---|---|
| goats . . . . . | *aw* |
| sheep, cows, camels . . . | *ôr* |
| donkeys . . . . . | *as* |

Signals to drive away animals:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| goats . . . . . | *ây* | pronounced emphatically |
| sheep, cows, camels . . . | *hey* | |
| donkeys . . . . . | *aheyt* | |

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Fig. 99. Tuareg drawing water for camels which drink from a piece of canvas (*tafarawt*) placed over a hollow in the ground. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*233 192 [492] [171] I have referred to the use of such signals above in connection with goat-breeding, and I have mentioned that goats will respond to signals and also to names more willingly than other domestic animals with the exception of dogs. Some of the signals used in Ayr and Ahaggar differ, and it is interesting that the Tuareg of these regions use different sounds to accelerate the speed of riding camels. The riders in Ahaggar use the same signal as the Arabs – a gutturally pronounced *ha* – while the Ayr Tuareg use a rolling sound *ur*. The signal used by the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Western Iwllemmeden* is *ut*.

# Social Aspects of Stock-Breeding

Pastoral Tuareg have (or had) important matrilineal traits of social organization and also patrilineal traits which have been adopted partly through contact with the Arabs from whom they have taken over the Islamic rules of inheritance. Koranic inheritance rules are followed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, but some social aspects of Tuareg stock-breeding differ in these two areas. 611 428 177

## AHAGGAR

I shall briefly describe the Koranic rules valid for inheritance of all kinds of individually owned property, e.g., livestock, material goods, and money, though most Tuareg do not regard money as something to be conserved. It is a main rule that children inherit their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as large as that allotted to a daughter. Important details of these rules can appropriately be illustrated with a few examples which I took down in Ahaggar:— 428

(1) A married couple having a son and a daughter. When the husband dies all his property is divided into eight parts of equal value. One of these parts is given to the widow, and the remaining seven parts are thereupon re-divided into three parts, two of which are allotted the son while one part is given to the daughter. When the widow dies her property is divided into three parts – two parts for her son, one part for her daughter.

(2) A married couple having a son and a daughter. The wife dies and her property is divided into four parts – one for the widower, another for the daughter, and two parts for the son. When the widower dies his property is divided into three parts – two parts for the son, one part for the daughter.

(3) A married couple having no children. At the death of the husband his property is divided into four parts. Only one of these parts is allotted to the widow, while the remaining three parts are taken over by individuals of the husband's family according to the rules mentioned below for inheritance from an unmarried man.

(4) A married couple having no children. At the wife's death her property is divided into two parts. One part is given to the widower, the other to the deceased wife's family.

(5) At the death of an unmarried man one sixth of his property is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), while the remainder is taken over by his father.

(6) An unmarried man who has lost his father, but has alive his father's father, a brother and a

[p. 137]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



428 sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mothers) while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states [114] that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar (and in Ayr) denied this.

428 Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Rela* drum-group has 643 no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however, [632] will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *éhéré wa n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group)", or *éhéré wa n butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

422 It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually, [850] and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may [553] own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions, e.g., on the naming day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong 422 to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should 592 serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic 422 unit of closely related stock-owners.

*233 All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar [114] Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite [576] to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks [602] so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual 422 ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which *233 time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark 565 their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe (the *Dag Rali*) donkeys are also branded with a redhot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar

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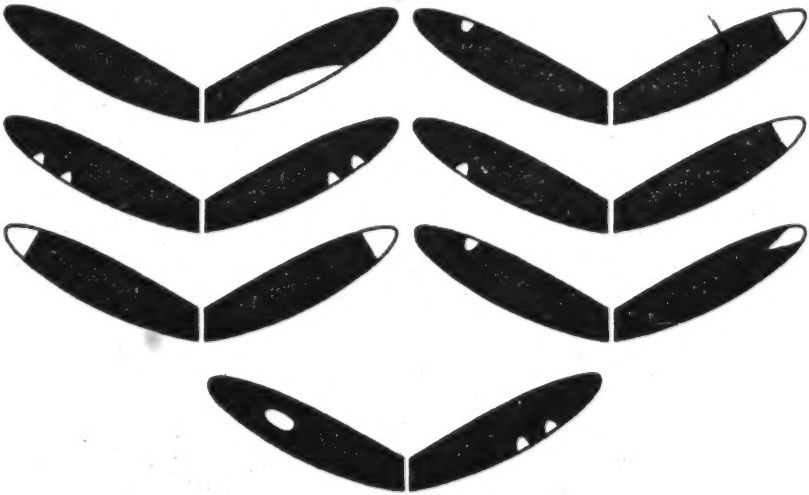

Fig. 100. Earmarks of the types used for goats and sheep among the Northern Tuareg. Ahaggar, the tribes *Dag Ball* and *Aǵuh-en-tehlé*.

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*233 never use earmarks for donkeys which are branded like their camels, and I believe that this rule also
565 holds for the *Isekkemaren* Tuareg, though I do not know this to be true for tribes other than those of
422 *Kel Terurit* and *Kel-I-n-tunin*.
*233 The property brands of the Northern Tuareg are burned into the skin of the camel (donkey) by
[413] means of a redhot iron known as *éndel* (Figs. 102a–b), but if this implement is not available another piece of iron is used, e.g., the iron tripod for suspension of kettles and cooking pots. The brands are known as *ahwalen* (sing. *éhwel*), and there are a great many different ones which have their particular
422 names. These brands are frequently depicted in literature (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 629 f.; Lhote
*233 1955a, p. 235), and spoken of as "tribal brands". However, as property marks are patrilineally
614 inherited while tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, the members of the same
[582] tribe will possess more than one camel-brand. For marriages are contracted between different tribes, though some of these units are predominantly endogamous. Furthermore there are a few Tuareg who
[277] use different camel-brands for camels inherited from the father and the mother, as there are some who have adopted the mother's father's brand because their father's brand was believed to have brought bad luck in camel-breeding. For these reasons there are frequently more than one brand within a
[613] tribe, and individuals or small patrilineages generally add to their main brand (*éhwel*) a supplementary
brand known as azezlu.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



brand known as *aṣeẓlu*. To illustrate all this I reproduce the camel-brands used within three tribes of Ahaggar (Fig. 101a–c).

The term *tawsit*, which is the Tuareg word generally applied to the unit here called a tribe, seems to have the meaning of "a hand-root from which fingers issue". But the word may have other meanings, e.g., "a mat (*téseberi*) plaited from *afeẓu*-grass" (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1533). The latter meaning intimates something kept firmly together, while the word *tawsit* in its first sense seems to indicate a lineage structure. I have sometimes heard Tuareg indicate tribal relationship between two persons saying that they belong to the same hand (*afus*), or that they are of the same root (*éké*, that is the root of a tree). There are other words which are sometimes used for "tribe". One term is *teḳḳebilt*, another is *aṛref*, but the meaning of these words seems to be the more general one of "people" or "race". An interesting word, namely *hama*, which has the definite meaning of "mother's kin", is according to Foucauld also used synonymously with "tribe" (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 603), but according to information I have gathered in Ahaggar these two words are not entirely synonymous.

It is most remarkable that the Ahaggar Tuareg do not follow any particular rule for the naming of tribes. Some tribes are named after an ancestress (e.g., *Kel Ṛela* = *Kel Kella*, that is "people descending from the woman *Kella*"), while other tribes have avuncular names (e.g., *Téṭṭehé-n-Éfis*, that is "the man *Éfis*'s sister's children"). Both these principles intimate that the tribe is a matrilineal unit, but certain tribes have patrilineal names much like those of Arab tribes (e.g., *Dag Ṛali*, that is "sons of the man *Ṛali*"; *Ayt Lowayen*, that is "sons of the man *Lowayen*"). Reference to an ancestor is also made in another way (e.g., *Ikadeyen*, that is "those descending from the man *Kadi*"). In addition we have tribal names which seem to be a kind of nick-names (e.g., *Aḡub-en-tehlé*, that is "the Achilles-tendon of *tehlé*" – the word *tehlé* being the name of a perennial plant (*Typha elephantina*), and we have geographical names (e.g., *Kel Ahnet*, that is "the people of the Ahnet country"; *Kel Taẓulet*, that is "people of the Taẓulet region", etc.).

Previously I have used the term "clan" for the Tuareg term *tawsit* in agreement with the fact that many people claim it to be a matrilineal unit (cf. Nicolaisen 1959). Thus the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe say that they all descend from the woman *Kella*, who lived about seven generations ago and had a maternal female cousin *Sokina* (or *Skina*) who became the ancestress of the other prominent noble tribe in Ahaggar named *Taytoḳ*.

The very numerous vassal tribe the *Aḡub-en-tehlé* is also said by its members to constitute a matrilineal unit. They claim descent from a common ancestress and occasionally use the name *Téṭṭehé-n-Eltmen* for their tribe. Actually the *Aḡub-en-tehlé* tribe falls into three sub-tribes known as *Kel Taṛhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Aṛefsa*. They are said to be matrilineally related, but nobody is able to prove this genealogically, and among the *Isandan* there is a matrilineage of four generations which is matrilineally related to people of the *Ibettenaten* tribe and not to their fellow tribesmen.

Members of the important vassal tribe the *Dag Ṛali* will also frequently claim common matrilineal descent. However, they do not know the name of their proper ancestress. They say that they descend from a woman named *Takama* who was also the ancestress of the vassal tribes known as *Ayt Lowayen* and *Kel Ahnet*. The *Dag Ṛali* tribe was founded by the man *Ṛali* who lived about seven generations ago. It falls into two halves known as the *Dag Ṛali* proper and the *Imezziliten*. Some Tuareg of the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



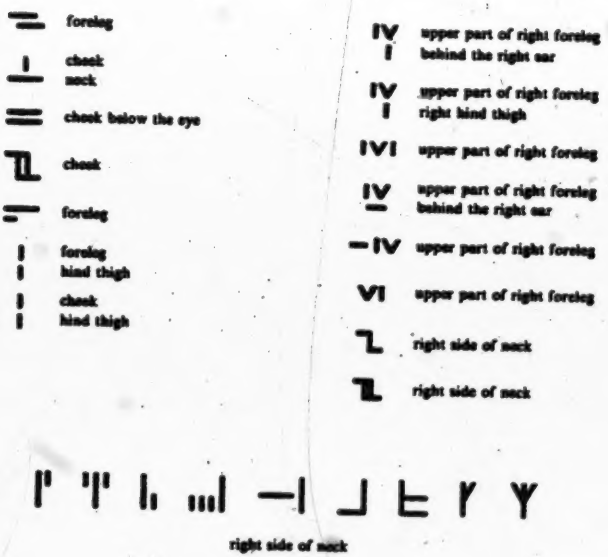


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Fig. 101 a–c. Camel-brands of three Ahaggar tribes.

a. Brands of the *Kel Ḥeis* tribe.

b. Brands of the *Aḫnḫ-en-tahlé* tribe. The main brand of this tribe is V called *tamasori*. The brands ⊤ & ⊤ are due to intermarriage with the *Iklan-en-tawsit* tribe where the principal brand is ⊤ called *amesloḳ*.

c. Brands of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. The main brand characteristic of this tribe is | placed on the right side of the camel's neck. This brand was that used by the founder of the tribe named *Ṛali* and to-day it forms part of most *Dag Ṛali* brands which are always placed on the right side of the camel's neck. The *Dag Ṛali* brands have individual names. [532] The last one is known as *tikkilt n ayaleḳ*, that is "the raven's foot".

*Dag Ṛali* tribe may claim that these two halves are matrilineally related to one another, but also that they do not descend from sisters. It seems in fact as if these two halves stand in a cross-cousin relationship to one another, and it is in agreement with this that the *Dag Ṛali* proper speak of the *Imessiliten* as "children of their mother's brother". The two halves in the past intermarried much though marriages between them are very rare nowadays. Thus in 1951 there were only two marriages between people of the two tribal halves.

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I believe that other tribes of Ahaggar have a structure similar to that of the *Dag Ṛali*, but the structure of Tuareg tribes is extremely difficult to grasp because very few Tuareg know their genealogies more than three or four generations back. [114]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



114 Many Tuareg claim that their tribe is an endogamous unit, but to-day there is no tribe that is exclusively endogamous. All tribes intermarry more or less with people of other tribes. The most endogamous tribe is perhaps the *Dag Ṛali* of which the half known as the *Dag Ṛali* proper has contracted a few marriages with people of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe) while the other tribal half known as the *Imessiliten* has intermarried with the *Ikechchemaden* tribe.

591 The rules of residence are based upon both patrilineal and matrilineal principles as follows:—

(1) When the wedding ceremony is over the newly-married couple will stay one year in the camp of the wife's parents. This one year's stay in the camp of the wife's family has nothing to do with bridal service. Very frequently the husband does not live continuously with his wife throughout this period, but lives in his parents' camp and pays occasional visits to his wife. Some Tuareg say that the main reason for this one year's stay in the camp of the wife's family is due to the fact that about one year is needed to prepare tent, household implements, and the like for the newly-married couple (cf. p. 460 f., 472). The stay in the wife's family camp is not always strictly one year, but may be longer or shorter. But if the wife is pregnant she must leave her parents' camp to bear her child in the camp of the husband's family. [844]

(2) After the one year's stay the couple will settle with the husband's father to remain with him as long as he is alive.

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Fig. 102a–b. Hafted irons (*ánḍel*, pl. *ánḍelen*) to burn property marks into the skin of camels and donkeys.

a. Camel iron. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. Dimension: 0.466 m. (N.M. G. 5251).

b Donkey iron. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. Dimension: 0.202 m. (N.M. G. 5250).

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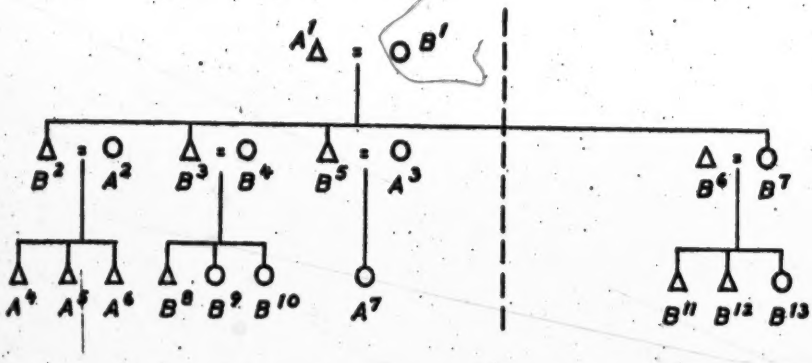


Fig. 103. Illustration of the rule of residence for persons descending from a man of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe ($A^1$) and a woman of the *Dag Rali* tribe ($B^1$). The *A*-people belong matrilineally to the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe, the *B*-people to the *Dag Rali*.

People living with the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

At the death of $A^1$ of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe all persons will settle in the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe with maternal kinsmen of $B^1$, and they will remain there also after the death of $B^1$.

At the death of $B^2$ his wife $A^2$ and her children $A^4$–$A^6$ will go to her father or maternal kinsmen of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe as will be the case with $A^3$ and her child $A^7$ at the death of $B^5$. At the death of $B^3$ his wife $B^4$ and children $B^8$–$B^{10}$ will remain with the *Dag Rali*.

People living with the *Dag Rali* tribe.

If $B^6$ dies while $A^1$ is still alive, $B^7$ and her children $B^{11}$–$B^{13}$ will go back to the camp of $A^1$ in the *Aguh-en-tehlé* territory. After the death of $A^1$ they will return to the *Dag Rali* to join the camp of $B^2$, $B^3$, and $B^5$. [768]

If for instance $B^3$ kills a man of a third tribe (e.g., the *Ayt Lowayen*) the *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Dag Rali* tribes are both responsible for the payment of blood-wealth as long as $A^1$ is alive and $B^3$ lives with the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. If $A^1$ has died and $B^3$ consequently lives with the *Dag Rali*, this latter tribe alone will be responsible for the payment of blood-wealth. [682] [672]

(3) After the death of the husband's father the couple will join the husband's matrilineal kinsmen (his mother's brothers) together with his mother should she still be alive.

(4) At the husband's death his wife and their children will move back to the wife's kinsmen. [768]

As may be seen from this complicated rule of residence, a single death may in fact give rise to a change of territory and camp for a great many people. This is illustrated in Fig. 103 which depicts the rules of residence in the light of actual marriages between the two vassal tribes, *Dag Rali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



614 591 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two [682] [672] tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 611 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is [428] valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in [565] vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed 614 by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one par- 613 ticular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 565 631 423 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aǧuh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have [643] particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). [162] Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory [578] of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 613 621 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names – generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

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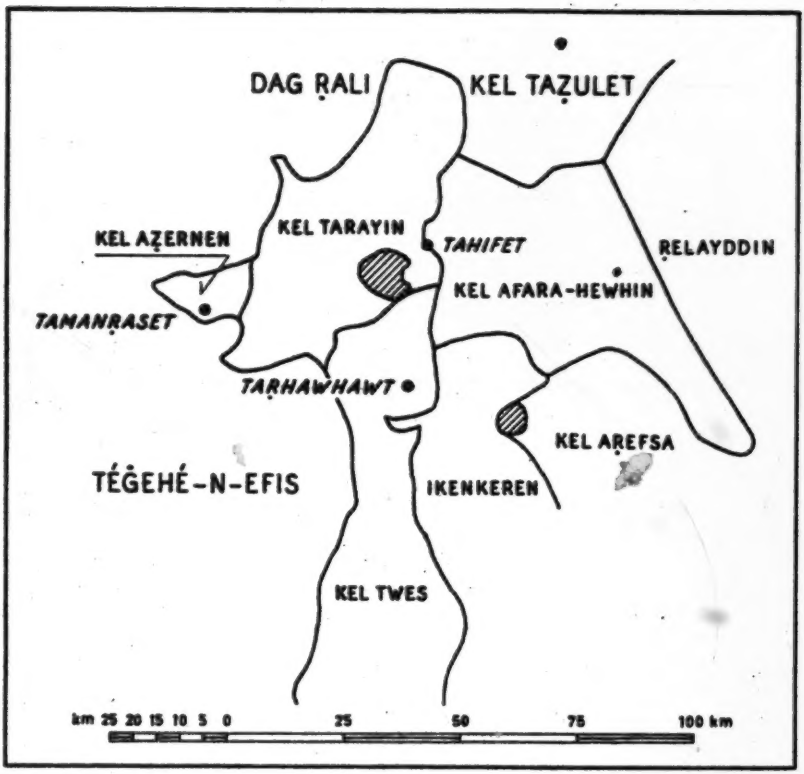


Fig. 104. Map showing the sub-areas of the territory of the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe. The sub-areas have no proper limits towards the south where the country changes into barren and uninhabited desert. The hatched areas are mountainous regions which are not considered parts of sub-areas. West of the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* territory is the territory of the *Téǧehé-n-Efis* tribe where two sections of the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* have their normal grazing grounds. To the north are the territories of the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Kel Taẓulet* tribes. The *Kel Aẓernen* section frequently camps in the *Dag Ṛali* territory and intermarries with the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section of that tribe. To the east is the territory of the *Ṛelayddin* who are now considered part of the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé*. The *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* territory chiefly belongs to the *Abada* zone, but the northern parts of the two northernmost sub-areas are within the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

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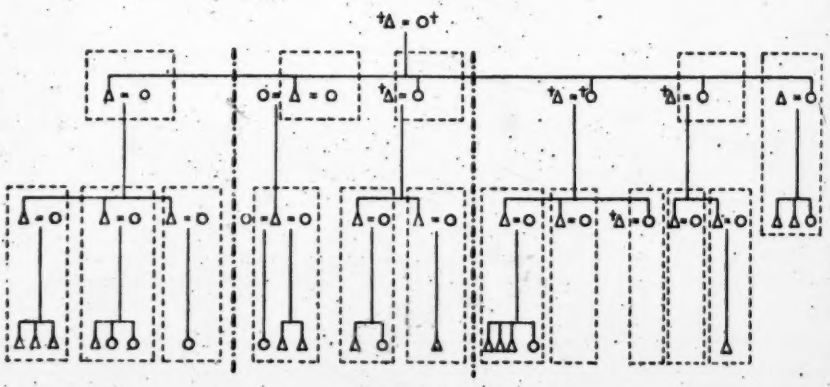

**Fig. 105. The section camp of the *Kel Azerwen* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Agub-en-tehle*). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. - The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated Fig. 103. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Ayr whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.**

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614 also the representative of the section towards the tribal chief, should preferably be elected. The members
613 of one section will frequently intermarry with members of another particular section, but members
621 of a section will generally marry into more than one particular section and sometimes into sections
[582] of foreign tribes.

613 When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are
621 split up into minor camps of 2–7 tents. These minor camps generally consist of an extended family
596 which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually
*233 owned and every tent or household is self-supporting – "it has its own churning bag and its own millet
[592] bag", as the Tuareg put it. The section camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small goat-herding camps which constitute extended families, but the small camps within the section camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres
[476] between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small goat-herding camps of a section
[484] join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because
[161] kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp of a section is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which tasks a goat-herding camp cannot spare the labour. Should the small goat-herding camps of a section be unable to remain together, they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A section camp is illustrated in
361 the diagram below (Fig. 105). The formation of such camps is not generally possible without annual
621 pasture, and section camps are particularly common in the *Dag Rali* tribe resident mainly in the
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Fig. 106. A small goat-herding camp of three related households. The inmates have not erected their skin tents, but have their luggage and their household utensils hanging upon posts (left). In the hot daytime the people live in the shade of the rock (right). Ahaggar (the *Atakor* zone), the *Dag Ṛali* tribe (the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section).

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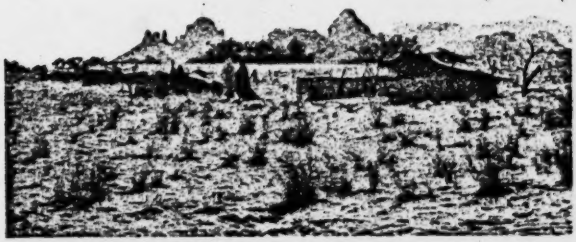

Fig. 107. A camp of four skin tents. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Uraṛen* tribe.

361 *Atakor* zone. In this area kin groups of five or six generations, comprising about twenty tents, may
621 form a section camp for long periods. Thus I was told that all members of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section
*233 camped together in the same place for eight months of the year 1952. Among the Tuareg, who have their grazing grounds mainly in the *Abada* country, section camps are not so easily formed as annual pasture springs up less frequently. People of such tribes as the *Iklan-en-tawsit*, the *Téġehé-n-Efis*, and part of the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe, generally live in goat-camps, which are often smaller than those of the
[824] *Dag Ṛali* tribe of the *Atakor* region. Where goats feed mainly on acacias it is not possible to keep such large flocks together as when grazing consists of fresh or dry annual plants. Acacia leaves are very important for fodder and their fruit-pods are still more valuable, but the trees grow scattered and consequently fodder is not so concentrated. We see again how stock-breeding among the Ahaggar Tuareg is an industry adapted to environment. The size of camps is determined by natural conditions.

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*Sub-areas of the territory of the Dag Ṛali* tribe

(The tribe is divided into two halves:— (1) the *Dag Ṛali* proper comprising the sections named *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*, (2) the *Imessiliten* comprising the two sections named *Kel Hérhafek* and *Kel Teñhart*)

| Tenants | Name and value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe and leader of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section | ISEKRAM<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant | 2 goats |
| YEḲI of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section | TAĠMART<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| AMMA of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | AṚECHCHUM<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| KHABTÉ of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section<br>&<br>AKHASEN of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | I-N-DALAĠ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br><br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| AFAREḲ of the *Kel Hérhafek* section | AKAL-EREṚEN<br>Hunting of barbary sheep | Unknown |
| BUSKEYAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the *Kel Teñhart* section | TAHAT<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown) |
| [361] DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet* | ABALESSA<br>A very extended area comprising the village of Abalessa and other agricultural settlements | No land-rent as the *Amenukal* receives dues for every garden in this area |
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections of *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet* Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections | TEẒẒA<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | 1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep). (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) are also given to Danguchi as tribal chief) |

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*Sub-areas of the territory of the Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe
(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named Kel *Taṛhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Aṛefsa*)

| Tenants | Value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA ALATOKH, chief of the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé*, chief of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*, leader of the section *Kel Twes* | Cultivation grounds at Taṛhawhawt and I-n-dalaǧ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys for domestication | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, *khalifa* (leader) of the *Ikenkeren* section of the sub-tribe Kel *Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Collecting of wild seeds | 3 goats |
| ABERGALI, *khalifa* of the *Kel Tarayin* section of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the *Kel Tarayin* section. No position as leader | Cultivation grounds at I-n-aǧriwal and I-n-dalaǧ. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys | 2 donkeys |
| DEYNI, chief of the *Kel Aṛefsa* sub-tribe forming only one section | No particular value | No land-rent |
| AKAWALI, chief of the *Isandan* sub-tribe and leader of the *Kel Afaro-he hin* section | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| HANU, *khalifa* of the *Kel Azermen* section of the *Isandan* sub-tribe | Cultivation grounds at Tamanṛaset<br>In the past wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, *khalifa* of the *Ṛelayddin* now attached to the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe | *Khoseni* is in command of the *Ṛelayddin* territory to which all members of the *Ṛelayddin* have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the *Amenukal* | |

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzaṛ*, while a small camp is called *éṛéwen* or *tamezzaḳ*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100–200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *heregen* (or *amezzaṛ n heregen*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *aharaǧen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

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many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading. Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*). Some goat-camps may move their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikechchemaden*) will also visit the oases of Silet and Tibeghin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are harvested mainly by black-skinned *Ḥarratin* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar – mainly in Tamesna – and the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds, or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondance between sections and sub-areas in the way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-areas, and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants (cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148–149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Ṛali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the *Amenukal*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group.

For the land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) paid to the *Amenukal* the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

(3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

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Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikebrau*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhet* tribe (*Inekkemaren*).

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224 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 148).

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241 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dag Rali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Rali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

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643 Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the
423 violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant
[422] dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally
[613] the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary
[114] sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

## AYR

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* 233 The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property
[422] marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark. However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *ejwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the
[113] *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

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Fig. 109. A family camp of four mat-covered barrel-vaulted tents. Ayr, the *Igendéyenen* tribe.

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*233 donkeys by certain Ayr Tuareg are most interesting. Though such marks are used by many tribes there does not seem to be a great variety of them, and I have noted only the following marks:—

[565] (1) *tallayt*, that is the tip of right ear cut off while a slit is cut into the left ear. This mark is said to be used by all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the members of the two tribes *Kel Akerra* and *Imezzureg*, who claim to be noble by origin, have an additional brand burned into the left hind thigh close to the animal's anus. This brand is called *ekomed*.

(2) two slits in the animal's left ear. Though different from the mark just mentioned it is said also [565] to be called *tallayt*. It is used by the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg (the *Irawatten*), and also by the negroid *Irawélen* who in the past were once slaves of the nobility.

(3) *tabelechchat*, that is one slit in the left ear. This mark is used by the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

[428] Though all property marks are patrilineally inherited it may happen in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, that a [77] Tuareg use two marks. For certain Tuareg will use the mother's father's mark for animals given them by their mother's family, other Tuareg have been brought up among matrilineal kinsmen whose mark they have adopted, and there are also people who have adopted their mother's family mark because they believed that their father's mark brought them bad luck in camel-breeding.

614 The Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group fall into a number of units which are known by the word *tawchit*. It seems to have much the same meaning as the word *tawsit* of Northern Tuareg dialect, but is also used to designate the so-called spiked wheel-trap. I call these units for tribes as they do not seem to correspond to unilateral descent groups. Many tribes have a tradition of their descent from a common ancestress, but though tribal members may know her name they are never able to connect her with their genealogies which are very badly known. To my knowledge there are no tribes of true Ayr Tuareg that are named after an ancestress or have avuncular names. The Ayr tribes have geographical names or are called after an ancestor to whom they are also unable to connect their [59] genealogies. It is possible that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in the past have followed the rules of residence

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outlined above from Ahaggar, with the exception that the Ayr Tuareg have never practised the one year's stay in the bride's family camp after marriage. To-day the *Kel Ferwan* tribes of Southern Ayr do not follow very strictly any particular rule of residence. There is a strong tendency to patrilocal residence, but a man will usually continue to live with kinsmen of the camp where he was brought up as a child. If a man has grown up with maternal relatives owing to the loss of his father as a boy, or because his mother and father have divorced, he may remain with matrilineal relatives. I believe that all tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group of Southern Ayr are bilateral kin groups. And if in the past these Tuareg practised the rules of residence outlined above from Ahaggar, the tribes have been bilateral units as there have always been many marriages contracted between people of different tribes. Two tribes of Ayr, namely the *Imezzureg* and the *Kel Akerra*, claim that they have intermarried regularly from very ancient times, because the father of the *Kel Akerra* tribe was the brother of the mother of the *Imezzureg* tribe, while the father of the *Imezzureg* was a cross-cousin of *Kel Akerra*'s mother. These two tribes possess their individual chiefs, but have always been very mixed. It seems as if chiefs were elected according to matrilineal rules in the past, but to-day it is claimed that a son of a deceased chief should be the first in line of succession (cf. p. 456 ff.).

In Southern Ayr camps of all possible tribes to-day live among each other. There are no grazing grounds or particular territories nowadays when everybody is free to go where he likes with flocks and herds. No Tuareg have particular rights over land, and ban on grazing within certain areas, as in Ahaggar, is unknown. This is said also to have been the case in the past. But in the times preceding the French occupation of Ayr, all vassal tribes had their particular territories which, according to Capot-Rey, were formerly marked by walls (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). I have not been able to confirm this, but the Tuareg told me that in the past tribal territories had frontiers marked out by river valleys or by natural objects such as large trees. The vassal tribes did not own these territories, which were allotted them by the drum-chief of the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe, the *Irawatten*. The traditional territories or grazing grounds of most *Kel Ferwan* tribes are indicated in the list on p. 423 ff.

At present there seem to be no sectional division of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes corresponding to the division into sections in Ahaggar. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg generally live in small camps comprising a few tents. These camps, which co-operate in stock-herding, do not generally exceed four or five tents inhabited by kinsmen who generally constitute an extended family, e.g., (1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children; (2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children; (3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children; (4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband. These small camps, as may be seen, are not based upon any particular rule of residence in agreement with what has been said of residence rules above. The households of a little camp of this kind will remain constantly together to co-operate not only in goat-herding, but generally in camel-breeding also. The labour for camel-herding and caravan trading is more easily provided for in Ayr than in Ahaggar. For camels are rarely taken to very distant grazing grounds, and caravan trading is often limited to expeditions to Damergu where the Tuareg fetch their millet. The Tuareg tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group living around Agadez have no true co-operative units apart from the small camps of up to four or five tents. Such small camps of extended families may temporarily join each other in a bigger camp during the

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361 *akasa* period when there is green annual pasture, but the large camps have no co-operative functions
621 and no particular leader. The small camps join together to form big camps because their members are linked to each other by bonds of kinship, and consequently like to come together.

361 Most of the year the Ayr Tuareg live in very small camps around wells, and certain camps remain
221 on almost the same spot throughout the year. However, most camps move about in the *akasa* period, and later, at the end of the rains, many camps move southwards and westwards to the salt plains of Azawaŋ.

## DIVISION OF LABOUR IN STOCK-BREEDING

462 Before we consider other activities, we shall briefly describe the division of labour in stock-breeding according to sex.

462 In all Tuareg groups noble women do very little work. They engage in a few very esteemed crafts
565 such as embroidery, neat decoration of leather work, and in the north they cut ornamented milk-
[567] bowls from wood. The true domestic duties of a noble household are performed by slaves. This to some extent is also true of other social classes among the Northern Tuareg, while the Ayr Tuareg vassals have very few slaves nowadays. But even in vassal camps among the Northern Tuareg women have their duties and engage in all kinds of domestic work, also in stock-breeding. In the two groups
462 of Northern Tuareg the division of work in stock-breeding can be seen when one enters a tent of a
*233 vassal camp:—
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One half of the tent (the left part) is occupied by the woman and contains such implements as are connected with tanning, leather-work, cooking, butter- and cheese-making, and generally all implements connected with the breeding of goats, sheep, and donkeys. The other half of the tent (the right part), occupied by the husband, contains saddles and all other objects connected with camels. The tending of goats, sheep, and donkeys is the task of women, while camel-breeding is the business of men.

462 Before initiation Tuareg boys may be occupied with herding goats, sheep, and donkeys, but when
*233 they have adopted the veil they should preferably take care of camels only. There are, however, a
[857] few occasions where men engage in tasks connected with goats and donkeys:—

Goats like any other animal can be killed only by adult men, who also undertake the skinning and partition of the meat.

Castration of he-goats and rams may be done by men, but it is said that it is also performed by women.

When goats suffer from certain diseases they may in a few very special cases be taken care of by men. Thus when a goat has broken a leg and wooden splints are applied to the fracture this is generally performed by the husband of the household to which the animal belongs.

When goats and sheep are lost in the desert they may be searched for by men mounted on camels.

On the whole there are not many situations where the assistance of men is needed in tending goats and sheep, and most men have so little to do with goat-breeding that they do not know the exact meaning of many colour terms for goats.

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462 Among Northern Tuareg vassals donkeys are tended by women, who use them for riding and
231 transportation over short distances. Tuareg men rarely ride donkeys, but the assistance of men is
[492] needed in connection with some of the tasks of donkey-breeding:—

it may become desirable to increase the stock of donkeys by catching wild animals as already described above. This is always done by men who also break-in the captured animals for riding. The assistance of men is also frequently needed for catching half-wild, though domesticated donkeys.

The marking of donkeys, castration, which is rarely performed, and the curing of diseases, which are also rare, are said to be tasks which should properly be carried out by men.

[565] Vassal women only tend camels when all men are absent from their camp.

The above rules of division of labour are in general also valid in Ayr among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. But there are in Ayr vassal Tuareg who have no camels and vassal men in Ayr frequently ride donkeys. The tending of cows in Ayr is mainly the work of women, who are also more familiar with cattle terms than are the men. – Among the *Kel Ewey* the skinning of goats and sheep, as well as the partition of the meat, are done by women.

428 In the Tuareg groups I have studied both men and women inherit camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys according to Islamic rules of inheritance.

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Fig. 110. The skinning of a gazelle placed upon straw of *afrzu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ahaggar, the *Tayiak* tribe.

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Fig. 111. Skin bag of *ackchdkwar* type made from a jackal's skin. The Ahaggar Tuareg believe that people who conserve their money in a skin bag of this kind will have good luck in trading. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.63 m (F.M. 283).

# Hunting

For the pastoral Tuareg hunting is not an important occupation, and nowadays it is practised mainly by those few Tuareg who possess rifles or guns. Traditional hunting methods are thus of far less consequence than in the past, but some of them are very interesting and most significant for a historical analysis of Tuareg culture.

## AHAGGAR

Northern Tuareg areas are not very rich in game. In Ahaggar the main types of game are the gazelle (*ahenkof*, fem. *tahenkof*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) and the barbary sheep (*udad; Ammotragus lervia*). The big gazelle (*énir; Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amelhul; Addax nasomaculatus*) are very rare; they are occasionally seen in the plains outside of the mountains. The ostrich (*anhil*; *Struthio camelus*) was very common in the past, but is now exterminated.

The small gazelle is rare and shy within the Ahaggar Massif, while fairly abundant and comparatively easy to hunt with a rifle in the northernmost massifs and their surrounding plains. Of seven camps visited in Ahnet 1954, gazelle hunting was engaged in by the members of two households, and I estimate that they killed one or two gazelles every week. In most camps of the Northern Tuareg there are no true gazelle hunters, and when a rare gazelle is killed its meat is easily eaten in one day by the members of a single household – in addition to three or four pounds of wheat-bread or millet-porridge. Gazelle skin is of little practical value to Tuareg craft. It is not generally used for the manufacture of important domestic articles such as water bags and containers for milk and butter, but it is suitable and much esteemed for certain types of decorated leather work and for fine leather cords, e.g., necklaces for amulet cases, reins for riding camels.

Barbary sheep are extremely shy, and they live mainly in inaccessible mountains. They are still fairly common in certain isolated parts of the mountains, but they were more numerous in the past when hunting was practised without rifles.

The Tuareg estimate that the amount of meat obtained from two gazelles corresponds to the meat of one grown goat, while a big barbary sheep provides as much meat as that of four goats. Meat of barbary sheep is better suited for drying than meat of other game animals, and the thick hide of these animals is valuable for the manufacture of tents and for large bags used for the conservation on journeys of dates, grain, flour, and the like. The horns of barbary sheep are used as butter containers (Fig. 165), and some Tuareg add the powder of crushed horns to butter before heating it (cf. p. 222). Barbary sheep are of greater economic value to the Ahaggar Tuareg than other types of game, and

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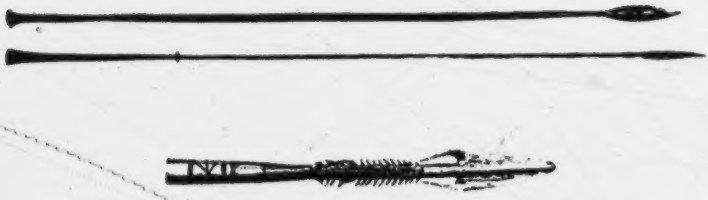

Fig. 112a–c. Tuareg spears.

a. Spear of the *taṛda* type used for hunting. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 1.80 m (N.M. G. 1.156).
b. Iron spear of the *allaṛ* type which is mainly a war weapon. Ahaggar, Collected by Olufsen. Dimension 1.82 m (N.M. G. 1.155).
c. Iron point of the barbed Tebu lance (*taṛda*) occasionally used by the Ayr Tuareg. Dimension: 0.265 m (N.M. G. 6619).

224 they are eagerly pursued by many rifle-owning nomads. Lhote estimates that in the year 1939 the Ahaggar Tuareg killed 300 barbary sheep by means of their traditional hunting methods, while in the winter season 1949–50 more than 200 animals were killed with rifles in the central parts of Ahaggar [432] (Lhote 1955a, p. 284). In 1954 the meat of one barbary sheep was sold for 4000 French francs, the [648] hide for 2000 francs. Though hunting of these animals is officially prohibited by the French, it *is* tacitly permitted and meat is frequently sold at the market place of Tamanṛaset.

The traditional methods used mainly in hunting gazelle and barbary sheep are as follows:—

[411] (1) The spear (*taṛda;* Fig. 112a) is nowadays used mainly by slaves, who never possess rifles. Before [567] rifles became common it was the typical hunting weapon of all vassal Tuareg. Hunting with the spear [565] takes place during the hottest time of the day, when the animals hide under rocks and trees to seek protection from the burning sun and the flies. It is then possible to creep very close to the game, and even the otherwise very shy barbary sheep can be taken in this way. When the hunter is close to the hiding place of a barbary sheep he claps his hand, and the animal rises, bewildered, and is then speared. In the past many barbary sheep were killed in this way, and it is said that a skilled and lucky hunter may even secure four or five animals in one day.

[171] (2) The use of stalking animals. Hunting by this method is used by some African stock-breeders (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 97 ff.). There is a detailed description of the use of camels trained for this purpose among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara (Harding King 1903, p. 171 ff.). As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not train their camels for stalking, but on journeys they frequently hide behind their animals to approach and kill gazelle. In this case the hunting weapon is normally a rifle. But the method is perhaps an ancient one and used also for other hunting weapons in the past, as game animals do not fear domestic animals among which they frequently graze in the desert. In fact, [172] the ancient use of stalking animals in Northern Africa is clearly substantiated by a rock engraving at

Wan Abu (Tasilę-n-Ajjer) from the pre-historic cattle-breeding period ("periode bovine"). The picture 224
shows a hunter armed with a bow and hiding behind an ox (?) which is provided with a lead held in /72
the left hand. The hunter approaches an ostrich and perhaps also giraffes and gazelles which are also depicted. This rock engraving was discovered by Lhote, who believes that the stalking animal depicted is an antelope (cf. Lhote 1958, Fig. 69 p. 147, p. 264).

(3) Hunting in disguise. True hunters do not use their ordinary dress of indigo or white colours 224
during a hunt as it is seen by game animals at a great distance. The hunters use preferably a shirt and [292]
a head-cloth of yellow-brown colours which resemble the colours of sand and dry plants. I do not know whether other types of disguise are known. It is very likely (cf. Ayr Tuareg below p. 166).

(4) Hunting from artificial hiding-places. The use of artificial hiding-places consisting of walls built of stone is mentioned by Foucauld, who does not explain their use. They are known as *timuyal* (sing. *tamayilt*) (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1179).

(5) Hunting with dogs. Greyhounds and greyhound-like dogs are used in hunting barbary sheep. The dogs surround the animal and prevent it to escaping, so that it can be killed by a hunter with a spear. There are very few greyhounds among the Ahaggar Tuareg, but slender greyhound-like dogs [231]
are fairly common (cf. p. 114 f.). The true greyhounds may succeed in running down gazelle, and I was told among the *Kel Ajjer* that greyhound are trained not to kill the game but to bite its legs, and then to return to their master to lead him to the ferociously-bitten animal so that he can kill it ritually. However, most Tuareg dogs are not able to run down adult gazelle. Occasionally they catch young animals of which they are allowed to eat such entrails as are not eaten by the Tuareg. Dogs can more easily catch hares. It is said that some dogs are trained to bring caught hares alive to their masters, but most dogs are not too well fed and therefore eat on the spot the hares they catch.

(6) Riding camels are sometimes used for the running down of game animals. Gazelle can be taken in this way only if they are wounded, and barbary sheep normally graze in mountains inaccessible to camels. But it happens that barbary sheep descend into sandy plains to feed on certain annual plants, and can then easily be taken by camel riders as they get very exhausted when they have to run quickly

[124]

Fig. 113. The spiked wheel-trap (*ifetaw*) connected with a noosed rope (*taqant*) attached to a stick. The wheel is made from straw of the *afeza* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) bent into circular form. Small pointed sticks (*iḡulan*, sing. *aḡala*) are inserted into the straw circle and fixed to it by means of bast of the *absey* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) which is wrapped around the straw-wheel and the pointed sticks. The noosed rope is made from date palm bast, but frequently it is also made from *absey* bast. The small pointed sticks are made from twigs of the *azawa* tamarisk (*Tamarix gallica*). Ahaggar, the *Aḡah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the wheel: about 0.20 m (F.M. 141a–b).

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224 on sandy ground. This same method is also used to catch asses or wild donkeys for domestication (cf. p. 108).

(7) It has been mentioned above (p. 108) that wild donkeys are also caught by driving them into closed valleys from which they cannot escape. As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not hunt proper game animals in this way, but the driving method is used in fishing as described below (cf. p. 164).

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*éfetaw*) (Fig. 113) connected with a noosed rope (*taṛant*) attached to a piece of wood (*aṭula*) is used to catch gazelle, barbary sheep, and donkeys. Such traps are easily and quickly manufactured by the Tuareg, and when they want to trap gazelle in this way they make a great many traps which are placed in the sand around young acacias upon which the animals feed. [43] The arrangement of the spiked wheel-trap is brilliantly illustrated in literature (cf. Lhote 1951a, photos p. 112-113; Brouin 1950, p. 454).

(9) A torsion trap (*tenḍerbat*) provided with a noosed rope is used particularly for barbary sheep. This trap is also depicted in literature (Lhote 1951a, p. 113; Mérite 1942, p. 185). The trap is rare in Ahaggar nowadays. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that the trap was introduced from Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas. It is said to be unknown to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (cf. Fig. 114a).

[564] [177] The Ahaggar Tuareg nowadays engage little in trapping in contrast to the negroid agriculturists (the *Ḥarratin*), most of whom have steel traps (*elkhewiyet*) manufactured in Europe, or made by native blacksmiths on the European pattern. A few agriculturists have large steel traps to be used for gazelle, barbary sheep, and even for the big gazelle and antelope, but the common steel traps are small and are used mainly for hares (*émerwel*, fem. *témerwelt*; *abekni*; *Lepus harterti*), jackals (*ébeggi*, *aggwr*; *Thos aureus* sp.), and fennecs (*akhorhi*, *éṛechter*; *Fennecus zerda*). Still smaller traps are used for minor rodents (*éḍewi*; *Gerbillus gerbillus*?) (*akundar*; *Masoutiera* sp.) and for certain birds such as ravens [223] (*aṛaleṛ*, *taslaft*; *Corvus ruficollis ruficollis*), pigeons (*akekkemaz*; *Columbia livia targia*), turtle-doves (*téḍebirt*; *Streptopelia turtur hoggara*), and sand grouse (*téḳaḍewi*, *téḍebirt*; *Pterocles* sp.).

Steel traps are now widely used, and traditional trapping methods for small animals and birds are therefore rarely resorted to. Among the *Kel Ajjer* small rodents are caught in snares (*asendi*) made of leather. Snares of this kind are known both to pastoral Tuareg and to sedentary agriculturists of Ganet and Ṛat. Among the latter there are also two different trap-systems used for small rodents, which in both systems are killed by a flat, heavy stone falling upon them. One of these traps is named *téselseli*. I do not know whether these traps exist in Ahaggar.

223 564 Small birds, including pigeons and turtle-doves, are caught in torsion traps by sedentary agriculturists of the oases. Traps of this kind, which are normally provided with a net (cf. Fig. 114b), are found in most oases of the Northern and Central Sahara, but I have never seen them in use among pastoral Tuareg. Pigeon, turtle-dove, sand grouse, and also partridge (*Alectoris barbara duprezi*) are caught in snares made of hair. Ten or twenty of these snares (*éṛgefey*) are attached to a string so that several birds can be taken at the same time. Bird-snaring is practised mainly by sedentary agriculturists.

262 565 Sedentary agriculturists, slaves, and some vassal Tuareg are not squeamish. Even meat of beasts and birds of prey is eaten by certain vassals, though such animals are unclean and inedible according to Islamic rules. The meat of fennecs, jackals, and a large eagle-like bird known as *tamkhla* is eaten

[text continues on p. 162]

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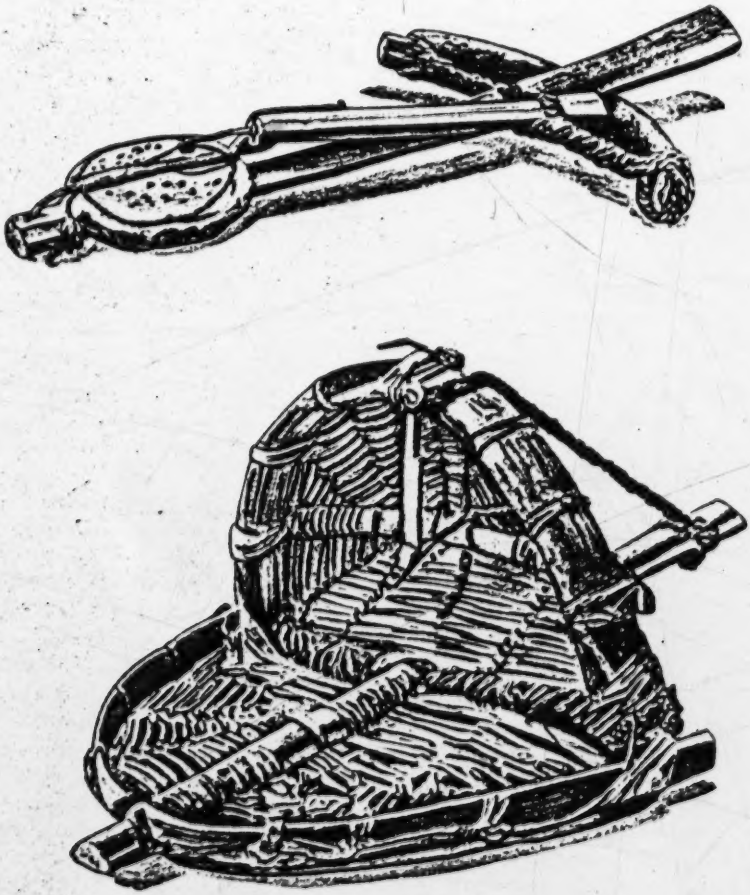

Fig. 114a-b.

a. Torsion trap of the *tenderbat* type used among the Tuareg. From the Sahara (Mérite 1942, Fig. 59).

[564] b. Torsion trap provided with a net. This trap is known to most sedentary agriculturists of the Sahara but it is not used by pastoral Tuareg (Mérite 1942, Fig. 60).

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Fig. 115. Negroid agriculturist (*Ḥartani*) with a hare caught in a steel-trap (*elkhenijet*) of European type. Ahaggar.

262 by many people in vassal tribes, and jackal's meat is popular as it is considered an excellent remedy
565 against fever (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 146). But there are also many Tuareg who refuse all types of game
757 with the exception of such animals as gazelle, barbary sheep, and antelope. Some Tuareg consider hare's meat unlawful, but this, perhaps, is a conception introduced with Islam, for many people of the religious *Ineslemen* class claim that hare should not be eaten because their blood resembles that of menstruating women. The food taboos strictly followed by all noble Tuareg are older than Islam: they never eat birds, eggs, reptiles, and fish.

These rules are not traditional for vassal Tuareg, though some of them have adopted the taboos of the noble Tuareg.

224 In Northern Tuareg areas two big lizzard types are found. One of them is called *aggezzeram* (*dobb*
564 in Arabic; *Uromastix acanthinurus*). This is caught and eaten by slaves, agriculturists, and by many
565 vassals. It is frequently taken by hand, but there is also a special implement (*taskumt*, *takoḍa*) consisting
262 of a stick provided with an iron crook for catching lizzards hiding in holes and under rocks. When
432 vassal Tuareg are able to catch a great many *agezzeram*-lizzards they cut them up and dry them for
464 sale on their regular trading expeditions in autumn to the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. p. 210). The *agezzeram*-lizzard is said to be the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the negroid blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*), because the lizzard's tail resembles a file. I do not know whether the few blacksmiths found in Northern Tuareg country eat this lizzard, but do not think they do. The lizzard is not considered very delicious, and blacksmiths have emigrated from the south where it is not generally eaten.

The other edible lizzard is named *arata* (*Varanus* sp.). It is much bigger than the *agezzeram*-lizzard just mentioned, and its meat is excellent according to the taste of most Europeans. But this big lizzard

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is refused by noble Tuareg and in general also by vassals. One reason for this is that the Tuareg have a myth saying that the *aṛata*-lizzard is the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the noble Tuareg. Some vassals claim that it is the ancestor of all true Tuareg, but this statement does not agree with mythology (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 61). However, this lizzard is eaten mainly by slaves and by certain agriculturists, though its meat is considered a remedy against snake-bite and scorpion stings (cf. Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.). The head of an *aṛata* is considered an excellent amulet against these poisonous animals (Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.), and the skin of this lizzard is not only utilized for the manufacture of amulet cases but also for small bags of various types (Fig. 116a).

224 565 564 262 757 757 237

Small animals are not necessarily killed with any particular hunting implement. The animals may be taken with the hand or killed with sticks and stones, as is the case with the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, *tékenisit*), which is eaten by some people, and with small rodents. Even hares can be taken with the hand when they hide in the grass or under rocks. The hunter may then approach the hare swinging one of his sandals over his head. This, it is said, makes the animals believe that it is hunted by a hawk or an eagle, and it will therefore remain stubbornly in its hiding place. Even gazelle are sometimes taken without any proper hunting weapon. Some Tuareg say that on journeys through the barren desert country in the summer they have met gazelle so exhausted from thirst that they could take these animals with their hands. Although this is rarely possible, I know Tuareg who have crept up to gazelle hiding from the sun in daytime and killed them with a stone. Finally it can be mentioned that the

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Fig. 116a–b. Two small skin bags.

a. Skin bag (*abelbof n aṛata*) made from the skin of the big *aṛata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.). Ahaggar, *Ḫarratin* of Taṛhawhawt. Dimension: 0.325 m long. (N.M. G. 5834).

b. Skin bag (*abelbof n témerwelt*) made from hare-skin. Ahaggar, bought from *Ḫarratin* at Taṛhawhawt, manufactured in the *Aḫah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5833).

224 Tuareg are also aware of the use of poison. I have gathered no information about this myself, but
[824] Lhote states that certain poisonous grain is used for the destruction of jackals and small rodents (Lhote 1951a, p. 43 f. & 132).

226 It is obvious that fishing cannot be an important industry to people of the Sahara, but fishing is practised in certain areas. One species of fish (*Clarias Lazera*) is found in a few permanent pools of Central Ahaggar, but it is particularly common in the numerous permanent ponds of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where there is also another, perch-like species. I have myself caught and eaten both species. Duveyrier states that there are three distinct species in Tasilé-n-Ajjer:—(1) *asoulmeh* (*asulmey*) (*Clarias Lazera*); (2) *isattafen* (*i-setfefen*); (3) *imanan* (pl. *imenan*) (Duveyrier 1864, p. 227, 238). Fishing is described
[262] by Duveyrier as follows: "Les poissons des lacs de Mihero donnent lieu à une pêche qui contribue
[565] à l'alimentation des serfs riverains. A cet effet, ils creusent sur les bords des lacs de petits canaux étroits, aboutissant à des réservoirs dans lesquels les poissons viennent pour y chercher une nourriture qu'ils ne trouvent pas dans les profondeurs des lacs. Quand ils y sont entrés on renferme les conduits et on les prend" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 238 f.). Another fishing method is described by Lhote: "Ils construisent des espèces de fascines avec des tiges de mrokba ou des branches de tamarix, puis, entrant à plusieurs dans l'eau ils forment une espèce de barrage au moyen de ces fascines en les mettant bout à bout et les poussent ensuite doucement devant eux. Ils prennent bien soin de drainer le fond de sorte que le poisson soit systématiquement chassé. Lorsqu'ils arrivent près de la rive opposée à celle d'où ils sont partis, ils poussent rapidement par un dernier effort et éjectent le poison sur le sable ou ils le ramassent. Ils recommencent ce manège plusieurs fois jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient capturé la majorité des poissons" (Lhote 1951a, p. 53). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told about a third fishing method, namely the use of a piece of cotton (e.g., an old cotton shirt) attached to two poles. The cotton piece serves as a net over which the fish are fed. There seem to be no other fishing methods, as both the fish-hook and the harpoon are unknown.

## AYR

136 The Ayr Massif with adjacent plains is very rich in game in comparison with the true desert country inhabited by the Northern Tuareg. Barbary sheep (*éjital*; *Ammotragus lervia Angusi*) are common in the mountains and also south of the Massif around the cliff known as *Falaise de Tigeddi*. Gazelle (*achenkod*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) (*énir*; *Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amellul*; *Addax nasomaculatus*), which are found in Northern Tuareg countries, are more abundant in Ayr where there are also bigger types of game, notably the oryx antelope (*ézem*; *Aegoryx algazel algazel*), and the giraffe (*amder*; *Giraffa camelopardalis*) which is found south and southwest of the Massif (e.g., around Ingal and Aderbissinat). The ostrich (*éuhal*; *Struthio camelus*) is still very common in isolated regions of Ayr including the northern outskirts of the mountains, where I have seen flocks of more than twenty birds. There are in Ayr as mentioned above (p. 31) many bird species which are unknown or rare further north in the desert, e.g., the guinea fowl (*taylalt*; *Numida clappertoni clappertoni*) and a bustard species (*agayis*; *Chorlotis arabs stieberi*). Game birds are extremely abundant in certain parts of Ayr. The birds come in amazing numbers to waterholes and open wells to drink in the evening at

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Fig. 117. Fishing pool (*aɣelmam*) in Tasilé-n-Aljer.

136 sunset. There are wild pigeons by the thousand and innumerable flocks of guinea fowls and partridges (*Alectoris* sp.). Two species of turtle-dove are almost as common in Ayr as is the sparrow in Europe.

224 Possibilities of hunting are much more favourable in Ayr than in Northern Tuareg countries, yet,
[411] nevertheless, the Ayr Tuareg engage even less in hunting than do the Ahaggar Tuareg. One reason for this is perhaps that very few Ayr Tuareg possess guns. It is extremely rare to meet hunters in Ayr.

224 They are found mainly within one tribe, namely that of *Imedderaren* (or *Kel Tamgak*) living in the
433 Tamgak Mountains of Northern Ayr. I have myself never visited camps of these people, but all Tuareg
[114] agree that they live largely as hunters and possess few domestic animals. Unfortunately, these people
[222] have never been studied in detail. Buchanan, who met a hunting band of these Tuareg in 1920, says that they have neither goats nor grain, but live by hunting and the collection of wild edible plants (Buchanan 1921, p. 191), while Campbell, who met them at Iferwan in 1926, describes them as hunters who also breed goats and sheep (Campbell 1928, p. 204 f.). Rodd also states that the *Kel Tamgak* have goats and sheep, but that they do not possess camels (Rodd 1926a, p. 307). This is in agreement with information gathered by myself at Iferwan where I met a few Tuareg of this group. There are

224 no Ayr Tuareg who live exclusively by hunting and collecting. The number of game animals killed

224 annually among the Ayr Tuareg is apparently also a low one. Brouin estimates that about 200 oryx antelopes, 3–10 of the protected giraffes, and 100–1000 gazelles are killed annually by native hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 435).

Traditional hunting methods in Ayr are as follows:—

[411] [177] (1) Hunting by means of the spear (*taṛda*). This weapon is fitted with a wooden shaft like the hunting spear used in Ahaggar, but the slender barbed spear of the Tebu is also used by many Ayr Tuareg.

(2) The use of stalking animals. Cf. the Ahaggar Tuareg above (p. 158 f.).

(3) Hunting in disguise. The Ayr hunters employ a disguise of straw. Bundles of straw are attached to the hunter's body, and the hunter furthermore carries a big straw-bundle in each hand. Walking in a bent position he is able to approach the game (gazelle and antelope) in this way. It is very probable that skin-clothing has also been used as a disguise (cf. Brouin 1950, p. 447 f.).

(4) The running down of game animals by men mounted on camels or horses is a method rarely employed within the Ayr Massif, though practised by certain Tuareg inhabiting the southern plains.

(5) Hunting with dogs. This is practised in the mountains. Barbary sheep are attacked and surrounded by the dogs, and normally killed by means of the spear. – It is said that a hunter having no dogs at his disposal can make a barbary sheep stop if he barks like a dog.

(6) Hunting by driving the animals into closed river valleys. The method is said to be used for

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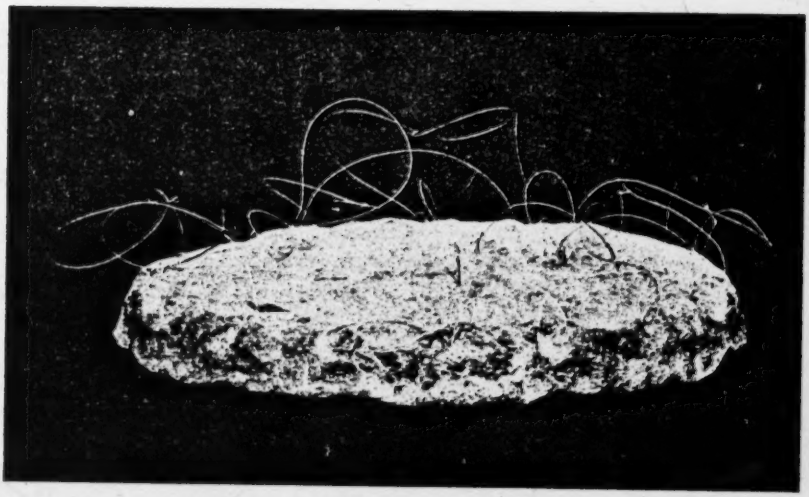

Fig. 118. Snares (*t'izagin*, sing. *tazek*) made from hair and inserted into a piece of sun-dried clay. Used for little birds which are fed with millet placed upon the piece of clay. Ayr, boys of the *Imeggadesen*. Dimension: 0.15 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 6622).

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catching wild donkeys in the mountains around the valley of Anu Mekkeren. The method is not used 224
for proper game animals.

(7) A pulling and a throwing snare are both known as *turunt*. They are said not to be used for hunting, though commonly employed to catch wild donkeys and domestic animals which have gone astray; cf. p. 108 f.

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*tawchit*) provided with a noosed rope (*turunt*) attached to a stick. This is used for gazelle and bigger game animals in isolated places rarely visited by representatives of the administration. According to Buchanan, the spiked wheel-trap is used for ostriches in the plains south of Ayr (Buchanan 1921, p. 117 ff.). Large traps of this type are also used for giraffe by certain hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 453).

(9) The torsion trap (*tenderbat*) akin to that of Ahaggar. It is used for big game animals, notably for barbary sheep.

(10) Snares (*tazek*, pl. *t'izagin*) made from strips of dum palm leaves are used for guinea fowl and [223]
other edible birds. They are generally set near water where birds come to drink. Little boys of the [857]
negroid *Imeggedezen* of Agadez also make snares of hair to catch small birds (Fig. 118).

These are the hunting methods known to the Ayr Tuareg, who do not engage much in hunting with the exception of the *Kel Tamgak* mentioned above. Most Ayr Tuareg refuse the small types of 262
game and beasts of prey, and reject not only the *arata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.), but also the smaller lizzard known in Ahaggar as *aggezzeram*, in Ayr as *emekkechchu* (*Uromastix acanthinurus*), though it is claimed that the latter is eaten among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The two lizzards do not play any part to Tuareg mythology – the *arata* lizzard is greatly detested by the Ayr Tuareg who kill it with stones or sticks, whenever possible. The Ayr Tuareg, including those of noble descent, have no taboos about birds and eggs, and many pastoral Tuareg collect guinea fowl eggs late in summer after the rains. There are a few animals not mentioned above which are considered edible among the Ayr Tuareg, e.g., the tortoise (*afaras*) which is found in the plains south of the Massif. With the exception of the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg the people of Ayr do not collect locusts (*tahwalt* in Ahaggar, *achwal* in Ayr). Locusts are eaten by all people of the two Northern Tuareg groups. The animals are roasted in the ashes or [262]
are boiled in a cooking pot to be pounded in the large mortar together with dried dates. This dish is [832]
very esteemed by the women who say that it is fattening and in this way adds to their beauty.

Certain weapons have not been mentioned above because they either cannot be considered proper 411
hunting weapons, or because it is doubtful whether they exist among the Tuareg or not. [114]

Traditional Tuareg arms comprise an iron lance (*allar*), a sword (*takuba*), and a dagger (*télek*) carried in a sheath fastened to the left arm. The iron lance may serve as a hunting weapon, and this is true also of the sword. Thus the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group said that wild animals were occasionally killed with the sword, and they claimed that two Tuareg of the past had killed lions with this weapon.

The bow (Ahaggar, *tarayyé* or *tagahhé*; Ayr, *taganzé*) and arrows (Ahaggar, *imurren*, sing. *amor*, or *tinassabin*, sing. *tanassabi*; Ayr, *imeran*, sing. *amer*) are not traditional Tuareg weapons. Nowadays [524]
very ineffective bows and arrows are used as toys by little Tuareg boys, but they are never used by

[text continues on p. 169]

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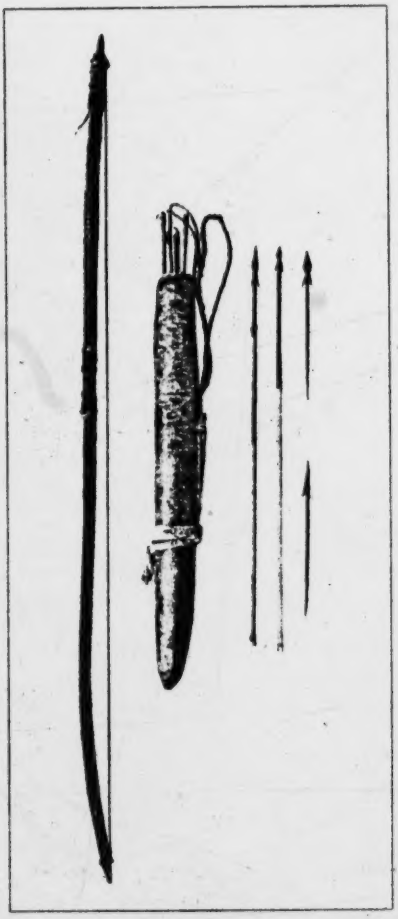

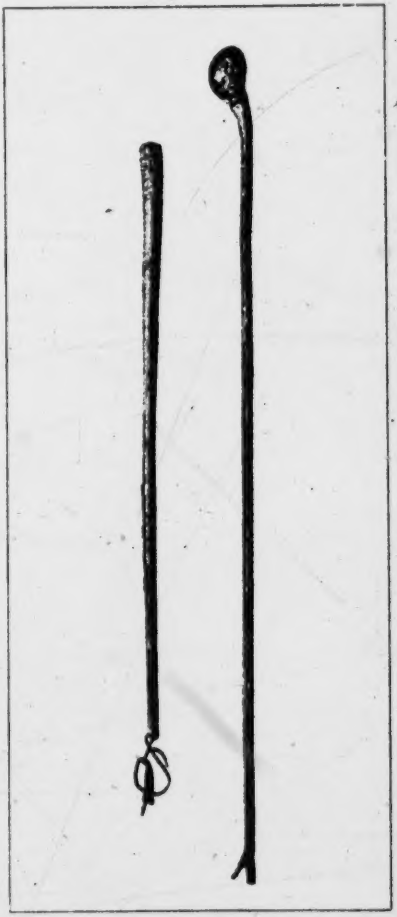

Fig. 119. Bow (*sagonzé*), arrows (*imeron*), and quiver (*ehomaren*) from the Hausa-speaking population living south of Ayr around Aderbissinat. The bow is made from wood of a tree called *dénen* and has a string of ox-hide. The arrows have shafts of wood or reed; their iron points are made by blacksmiths. The quiver is made from ox-hide with a plaster of cow's excreta applied to the inner side. Dimension of the bow: 1.20 m. (N.M. G. 6621).

[567]

Fig. 120. Tuareg clubs.

a. Wooden club (*aburi*). Dimension: 0.995 m long. (N.M. G. 1.159). Ahaggar, Olufsen's Collection.

b. Wooden club. Used for weapon and for cattle-driving by Tuareg around Timbuktu. Made from a bough of *Combretum aculeatum*. Collected by O. Hagerup. Dimension: 1.39 m long. (N.M. G. 3086). All slaves I saw among the *Iwilemmeden* near Ayoru carried this weapon.

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Fig. 121 a–b. Tuareg sword and dagger from Ahaggar.
a. Sword (*takaba*). Dimension: 0.925 m. (N.M. G. 1.141).
b. The so-called arm-dagger (*ilék*). Dimension: 0.475 m. (N.M. G. 1.145).
Olufsen's Collection.

adult people, though bow and arrows like those depicted Fig. 119 are in general use among the Hausa 411
and the Fulani within the territory inhabited by the Ayr Tuareg. It is very possible that bow and arrows
were used as weapons among the Tuareg in the past when fire-arms were uncommon. This is claimed [174]
by certain older authorities, but it seems as if the weapons were manufactured in Damergu south of
Ayr where the bow is traditionally used by negroid peoples (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 445, pl. XXV,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



411 p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *éfezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals – there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as [524] though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Ineslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Koran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely [171] wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing [114] poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120 b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these [177] people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

224 Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. To- [189] day true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Tamgak* or *Imeddeqaren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Rali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting [31] that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals withing two hunting territories where barbary sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting 224 825 that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

| Age | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . . | *awhim* | *tawhimt* |
| Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . . | *ahyar* | *tahyart* |
| Fully grown animal . . . . . | *ahenkoḍ* | *tahenkoṭ* |

224 Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—

754 (1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's 777 nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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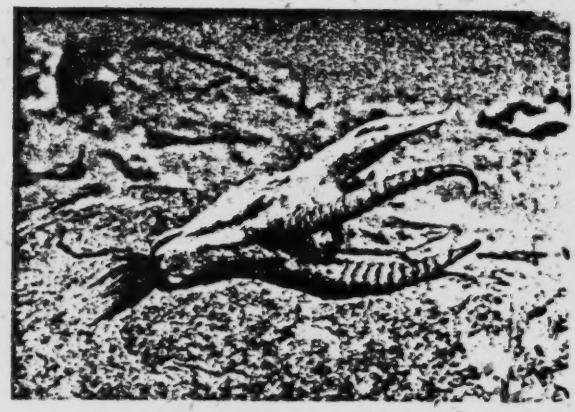

Fig. 122. Gazelle's head with the black tail-tuft inserted into one of the nostrils as a remedy against the mystic evil power called *ettama* (*tezma*). Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

This custom is believed to afford protection against the mystical power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama*, or *tezma* – an evil power possessed by certain Tuareg and by all blacksmiths (cf. p. 21). A person who possesses this evil power may, if he does not receive part of the booty, spoil the hunter's luck when seeing the killed gazelle. The tail-tuft put into the animal's nostril eliminates this risk.

(2) When a hunter returns to his camp with booty he should not show the killed game to other people, and if asked about the results of his hunting trip he should deny that he has had any luck. This custom is also explained as being a protection against the evil power *ettama* (*tezma*) just mentioned.

(3) When a man leaves his camp for a hunting trip he must not talk about it, nor must it be mentioned by other people. This belief has its root in the conception of the "evil mouth" (the "evil eye") known in Ayr as *tugarchet*, in Ahaggar as *tehof*.

(4) If a hunter has given meat from his killed game to another man, the latter should not praise it. This belief is due to the belief in the "evil mouth" – the belief that a man's luck can be spoiled by praise.

224 777 (5) In a *Dag Rali* camp I have noticed that a piece of bone of a barbary sheep was conserved in a skin bag. I was told that this was done in order that the hunter might have good luck in his future hunting of barbary sheep.

[P25] (6) Certain omens bring good luck in hunting as well as in other projects, e.g., to walk between two black ravens (Ayr), or to see two black ravens (Ahaggar); to see a jackal; to see the hawk called *ahullam*; to see three gazelles.

224 787 (7) The Tuareg have various methods of divination some of which are frequently used in connection with hunting. The hunter will frequently inquire into the result of a planned hunting trip by means of a method known in Ahaggar as *igehan*, in Ayr as *igazan*. In brief the method is practised as follows:— The diviner presses his thumb or his forefinger quickly into the sand to make two rows of holes close to each other. He does not know ahead how many holes he has made in the two rows. He counts

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



224 the number of holes in each row and makes a special sign in the sand for even and uneven numbers.
787 There are four possibilities of different signs:— (1) A sign called *tezli* if there is an uneven number of holes in both rows; (2) A sign known as *ehlli* if there is an even number of holes in both rows; (3) A sign, *eggur*, if the number of holes is uneven in the right row, but even in the left row; (4) A sign, *tamazit*, if the number of holes is even in the right row, but uneven in the left. The diviner makes two rows of holes six times successively. Each time he makes one of the mentioned signs according to the distribution of holes, and the result of his divination depends upon the character of the signs and their relative position to each other (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 151 f.). – The Tuareg have other methods of divination which are perhaps also used to predict the result of planned hunting trips. They also know to take omens from the shoulder-blades of wild and domestic animals. When a hunter has killed [262] a gazelle he will often keep the shoulder-blades for himself, and having eaten the meat he will take omens of future happenings from the structure of these bones. Such shoulder-blades will not be thrown to the dogs – they are hidden under rocks and stones (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 150 f.).

224 Some of the above mentioned usages and beliefs have been mentioned also by Lhote (Lhote 1951a, p. 180 f.), who has noted a few other customs connected with hunting:—

[225] (8) If a hunter kills a snake he will get nothing. (A particular snake species known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *emegel* is never killed, as it is considered "sacred" and is referred to as a "marabut").

(9) If two men hunt together, but separate to meet later, the man who comes upon the other must not receive food from him.

(10) Handling the skin of game animals one must not put fingers into a bullet hole. This would cause bad shooting or accidents on future hunting trips, and the rule is observed even with tanned skin.

A few other superstitious usages have been recorded from Ahaggar by Captain Florimond (Rapport Annuel. Ouargla 1940). They are here quoted from Lhote 1951a, p. 181 f.:—

(11) Hunters of the *Dag Rali* take omens from the breaking of sandal straps in the pursuit of barbary sheep. If the straps passing between the toes break the hunter will kill a male, while he will get a female animal if the side-straps break.

[776] (12) When Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* (*Dag Rali*) leave for a hunting trip they put a stone or pebble on their heads and utter an invocation to hunting spirits which is rapidly repeated ten times.

(13) When *Dag Rali* Tuareg set out hunting they take with them a stone from a pre-Islamic tomb. When game is seen they throw this stone far away crying at their dogs: "Go! What you kill shall be *hallal* and lawful!"

[777] (14) When a barbary sheep has been killed by people hunting with dogs, the head of the animal is cut off and thrown on the fire while the following words are uttered:— "The smell from the burned skin of the head of the barbary sheep shall forever flatter the hunter's nostrils so that he may have good luck in future hunting also!" Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* will add:— "I have taken you from the *Kel Asuf* and I have taken only the blessing they have sold you that you may soon be followed by your peer!"

(15) At the partition of killed game the meat must be handled with slow motions. If not, the dogs will lose their fierceness.

(16) It is believed that a hunter should fix a burning piece of wood in the soil by the fire in which

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



his game has been prepared. If this wooden piece is removed by another hunter he will spoil all the hunting luck of the first hunter, who will then have to find the offender and spit three times between his shoulders in order to regain the lost hunting luck. If he does not find the offender he will give all his hunting dogs the following treatment:— Black powder is set on fire, and one ear of every dog is held close to the burning powder so that the dog will cry as loudly as possible. The same treatment is applied to the dogs in case anybody has handled the meat of game with rapid motions. 224 [777]

There can be little doubt that some of these superstitious usages are pre-Islamic, and it seems as though there is a certain connection between hunting rites and the *Kel Asuf* spirits corresponding to the *jinns* of the Arabs. This is also quite natural in view of the fact that these pre-Islamic spirits are believed mainly to inhabit the isolated areas preferred by game animals (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 125 ff.). [776]

Game animals should always be killed ritually by cutting the throat like domestic animals (cf. p. 231). If an animal is killed by a rifle bullet, its throat is cut as quickly as possible, but the Tuareg say that even an animal killed in this way die "slowly" and that its death is not accomplished until the throat is cut. If a knife is lacking the Tuareg sometimes use a stone to beat open the throat of birds such as pigeon and guinea fowl.

[text continues on p. 175]

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Fig. 123. Digging stick (*ilawcf*) which serves to dig up wild edible roots and other purposes. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ball* tribe. Dimension: 0.883 m (total length). (N.M. G. 5252).

Fig. 124. The wild plant *thakelrwen* (sing. *akakel*) (*Cistancke Phelypaea*) which yields edible roots esteemed for food (bread). Tasilt-n-Ajjer.

Fig. 125. Skin bag of the *sickchikwat* type made from the skin of a kid and containing *adamum* berries (*Osyris alba*). The berries are normally eaten fresh, but are also conserved in skin bags to be eaten later after soaking in water. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ball* tribe. Dimension of the skin bag: 0.33 m. (N.M. G. 5244).

# Collecting

In this chapter on collecting such edible plants are mentioned as play a part in Tuareg nourishment. 222
Wild plants are also collected for other purposes. Many species are important to craft or have a medicinal 824
value. Some of these latter species are mentioned elsewhere in this study.

## EDIBLE PLANTS OF THE AHAGGAR AREA

Wild plants which yield edible fruits, seeds, stems, or roots in Ahaggar comprise more than fifty 222
different species. But the importance of collecting should not be judged from this, as all these plants [262]
are never found within the same area, and most are eaten only occasionally as a kind of relish or when
agricultural food (wheat, barley, millet, dates) is lacking. I have supplemented my own list of edible [114]
plants with important information from Maire's study of Ahaggar botany (Maire 1933 & 1940). In
my list the letters Tr., L.M., and U.M. stand for Maire's botanical zones, namely the Tropical Zone, [137]
the Lower Mediterranean Zone, and the Upper Mediterranean Zone. The following edible plants
are collected in Ahaggar and adjacent regions:—

*tirfas* (sing. *tarfest*) (*Terfezia ovalispora*). Tr., L.M. A fungus which, according to Maire, lives on 222
the roots of *Helianthemum Lippii* & *H. ellipticum* known to the Tuareg of Ahaggar as *urrug* (Maire 262
1933, p. 22, 159 et suiv.). This white fungus, which is frequently termed *tirfas n urrug* by the Tuareg, 252
is prepared for eating together with various other dishes. It is frequently added to the so-called kus-kus.

*tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*) Tr. Roots and certain lower parts of the stem are eaten raw or boiled. When vegetable food is scarce they are also pounded or ground into flour.

*akeywod* (*Typha australis*) Tr., L.M. Roots of this plant are ground into flour.

*téseñgeli* (*Saccharum Ravennae*). Tr., L.M. "Cette plante ... laisse très souvent exsuder un liquide sucré qui se concrète en masses plus ou moins cristallisées; les Tuareg utilisent ce sucre" (Maire 1933, p. 54).

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). Tr. A perennial grass extremely common in the lower valleys of Ahaggar. Seeds are collected in receptacles (e.g., *ahaga*, Fig. 213) by beating the ears of the grass with a stick. The seeds are not suitable for bread, but are esteemed for porridge and *tébik*, that is seeds pounded in the mortar and eaten without further preparation. Ashes of this grass contain soda and are often [276] mixed with tobacco for chewing.

[p. 175]

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222 *aremmud* (*Aristida plumosa & A. Adscensionis*). Tr. Seeds are edible.

262 252 *tullult* (*Aristida pungens*). Tr. A perennial grass found in certain parts of Ahaggar and particularly common further north (Ahnet, Immidir) and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Seeds are collected by men and women in the following manner:— The ears are cut with a sickle and placed in a piece of cotton (e.g., a cotton blanket known as *abroŋ*). The ears are left for drying, and threshing is done by beating with a stick. The husks are winnowed as described for wheat and barley (cf. p. 206), and seeds are then stocked in *aĝera* (a skin-bag). According to Foucauld collecting may also be done by digging out the nests of ants as these small insects stock a great many *tullult* seeds (Foucauld 1922, p. 29 f.). – The *tullult* seeds [412] are used for bread and porridge, and are also eaten as *tébik* after pounding in a wooden millet mortar.

*lewliwen* (*Scirpus maritimus*). An annual plant having edible fruit in its roots (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1098).

*taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*). Tr., L.M. Young shoots are edible.

*izéyan* (*Asphodelus tenuifolius*). Tr., L.M. Eaten when vegetable food is scarce.

*telokat* (*Ficus salicifolia*). Tr. "Les fruits murs, de couleur rouge, sont tendres, un peu sucrés et comestibles" (Maire 1933, p. 76).

[574] *adamam* (*Osyris alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Its red fruits or berries are eaten as a relish. A bowl of berries is frequently offered to guests of Tuareg camps.

*tanesmimi* (*Rumex vesicarius & R. roseus*). Tr. Inedible according to Foucauld (Foucauld 1922, p. 85), while Foley states that leaves of this plant are eaten after boiling (Foley 1930, p. 42).

*tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual herb which is particularly common in the mountain of Asekrem. The small black seeds are collected in bowls or similar receptacles by rubbing the plants with the fingers. The seeds are ground into flour, which is very suitable for bread and porridge.

*aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*). Tr., L.M., U.M. Seeds and boiled leaves of this plant are eaten when vegetable food is very scarce.

*ébedébed* (*Boerhavia agglutinans & B. repens*). Tr. An annual plant with edible seeds.

*éhéyefyef* (*Aizoon canariense*). An annual plant resembling the *twuit* plant and particularly common in the upper mountain zone. Seeds are used for bread and *tébik*, but not for porridge.

*aĝar* (*Maerua crassifolia*). Tr., (L.M.). A tree yielding edible fruit.

*tadant* (*Boscia senegalensis*). A tree or bush which is extremely rare in Ahaggar where its edible fruit are consequently consumed very rarely.

*aggasit* (*Farsetia Hamiltonii*). Tr., L.M. A seed-plant.

*aherera* (*Alyssum libycum*). An annual plant which is rare in Ahaggar, while common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Eaten after boiling in water.

*azezzeĝa* (*Diplotaxis acris*). The plant is rare in Ahaggar. Its leaves are boiled and eaten.

*tanekfayt* (*Eruca sativa*). Tr., L.M. Leaves are eaten raw or boiled.

*tamaghd* (*Moricandia arvensis*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual plant – a kind of wild cabbage.

*alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea*). Tr. An annual plant. "Les Touareg mangent la feuille cuite et essorée, sans sel. La plante jeune donne une salade assez analogue à la Roquette, quoique d'un goût moins agréable" (Maire 1933, p. 111).

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*abellengaḍ* (*Reseda villosa*). Tr., L.M., U.M. Seeds of this plant are edible, but of bad taste – 222
according to Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 65. 262

*abseṛ* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Tr., (L.M.). Fruits are collected mainly for goat fodder, but are eaten by 252
human beings when vegetable food is scarce. The fruit is then crushed into flour. The resin of this acacia is also edible.

*tamat* (*Acacia seyal*). Tr. The resin (*taymwst*) is edible. I believe it is used mainly as a remedy against [257]
stomachache. This is perhaps also true of the resin of the *abseṛ*-acacia mentioned above.

*ahtes* (*Acacia albida*). Tr., L.M. "La gousse est même comestible pour l'homme" (Maire 1933, p. 120).

*ténefé* (*Tephrosia leptostachya*). Tr. "Les Touareg mélangent cette plante desséchée au thé vert" [272]
(Maire 1933, p. 125).

*lagul* (*Alhagi maurorum*). Unknown in Ahaggar, but found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. "Les racines tuberisées sont mangées par les indigènes (Killian)" (Maire 1933, p. 131).

*alora* (*Peganum Harmala*). Tr., L.M., U.M. An annual seed-plant. Seeds are used for *tébik*.

*taburaḳ* (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruits which are macerated in water to remove the bitter taste.

*tedjoq* (spelling according to Maire 1933, p. 241) (*Pistacia atlantica*). L.M. Very rare according to Maire (1933, p. 148). According to my own observations the fruit of this tree is eaten by Arab [171]
pastoralists (e.g., *Ulad Nail*) of the so-called *daya* region south of the Sahara Atlas. It is possible that it is also eaten by the Tuareg.

*tahunek* (*Rhux oxyacantha*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruit.

*téhaḳ* (*Salvadora persica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

*tabakat* (*Ziziphus lotus* var. *Saharae*). Tr. The berries are crushed and mixed with millet flour.

*azawa* (*Tamarix gallica*). Tr., L.M. "La manne produits par ces arbres est receuillié par les indigènes qui l'emploient comme matière sucrante. (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 156).

*tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*). Tr. "Les rameaux mannifères sont employés pour sucrer l'eau" (Maire [263]
1933, p. 159).

*tafeliast* (*Myrtus Nivellii*). (Tr.), L.M. "Les rameaux de ce Myrte sont récoltés par les Touareg, [439]
*desséchés et exportés par sac entiers au Soudan et au Mzab, avec l'Artemisia judaica* ssp. *sahariensis*. [752]
Ces deux plantes sont utilisées comme médicaments et comme condiments" (Maire 1933, p. 162). [263]

*awkal* (*Cynomorium coccineum*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots which are dried and ground into flour (cf. Maire 1933, p. 163).

*aséyar* (*Anethum graveolens*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual plant. Its seeds are used as a spice and [272]
for adding to tea.

*takmezzut* (*Teucrium Polium*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant used for adding to tea.

*élel* (*Nerium Oleander*). Tr., L.M. This plant is extremely venomous particularly so for camels, which die from eating its leaves. "La cendre de bois de *Nerium* est employée par les femmes du Tidikelt [261]
pour se faire engraisser. A cet effet elles mélangent un peu de cette cendre avec des dattes pilées et du beurre, puis absorbent ce mélange dans du leben" (Maire 1933, p. 170).

*ayellachchem* (*Solenostemma oleifolium*). Tr. A perennial plant. Its leaves are used as a substitute [272]
for tea.

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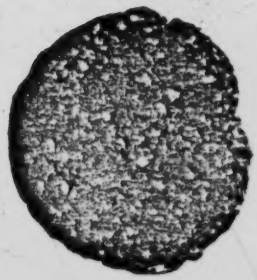

Fig. 126. A cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries (*Osyris alba*). The fresh berries are pounded in the large mortar (*iindé*) or are crushed between two stones to be formed into pieces of cheese form to be dried. This cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries is used by Tuareg women as a kind of face ointment against sun burn, pimples, and the like. They apply this ointment to the face as follows:— A little milk is poured upon a stone, the cheese-like mass of berries is rubbed against it, and the mixture of milk and berries is thereupon rubbed into the skin of the face with the fingers. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.075 m. (N.M. G. 5279a).

222
262 *enag* (*Leptodenia pyrotechnica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

[272] *tañhart* (*Mentha longifolia*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

*awit*, generally known by the collective name *awihat* (*Salvia Chudaei*). Tr., (L.M.). An annual plant used as an aromatic for tea.

[824] [482] *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*). Tr. This plant is extremely venomous for human beings, though not for animals. In the past it was used by the Tuareg as a poison for enemies. Members of La Mission Flatters (1880–81) were poisoned by the Tuareg using poison of this plant inserted into dates presented to the expedition. "La plante, absorbée à petite dose, aurait la propriété de faire engraisser. Les femmes du Tidikelt l'emploient dans ce but, en en faisant cuire une petite quantité dans de l'eau avec de la farine et de la graisse; elles laissent réduire et absorbent la bouillie obtenue, puis se couvrent pour transpirer (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 192). [261]

222 *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots. After drying the roots are
262 pounded in a large millet mortar to be used for bread which is much esteemed by the Tuareg. "Cette
252 plante est recoltée jeune par les indigènes, puis placée dans le sable sous une couche de *drinn* (*Aristida pungens*) jusqu'à noircissement et dessication. Le produit sec est moulu et utilisé dans l'alimentation (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 196).

*éfetekchi* (*Orobanche aegyptiaca* & *O. cernua*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots.

*tamzellit* (*Orobanche sp.*). Tr. Very rare. A plant yielding edible roots.

*tegellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). Tr. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

*alked* (*Cucumis pustulatus*). Tr. Rare. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

[263] *takkilt* (*Cotula cinerea*). Tr. "Les Touareg utilisent cette plante comme condiment, principalement pour la viande qui commence à se gâter" (Maire 1933, p. 209).

[439] *téhereggelé* (*Artemisia judaica* ssp. *sahariensis*). Tr., (L.M.). "Cette plante, comme le *Myrtus Nivellei*, est récoltée en grande quantité, séchée et exportée au Soudan, où elle est employée comme aromate et condiment" (Maire 1933, p. 212).

[272] *zézzeré* (*Artemisia herba alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



***ajako***. According to Foucauld a small annual edible plant growing in the Ahaggar Mountains at an altitude above 2000 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 712). Maire mentions this plant as unindentified (Maire 1933, p. 263).

Collecting is mainly the task of women, but males – particularly uninitiated boys and slaves – also participate. Seed-plants are generally harvested by rubbing the ears of the plants between the fingers, but the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle (*amreh*; Fig. 143 a–b) to be thrashed and winnowed like wheat and barley. Edible roots are frequently collected merely by hand. However, a digging stick (*ilaweg*; Fig. 123) provided with an iron point is also used to dig up certain wild plants such as *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) and similar root plants. This digging stick is characteristic of vassal women who use it for many different purposes, e.g., to make holes for tent poles.

The very best among the above mentioned seed-plants is the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*). Its seeds are collected or harvested by certain Tuareg inhabiting the lower parts of Ahaggar, but are important particularly to the Tuareg living in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Within the Ahaggar Massif the most important seeds are those of *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). The right to collect these seeds is free to everybody, and Tuareg of the *Abada* zone may send their slaves to the *Atakor* zone to collect *tawit*-seeds in the mountain plateau of Asekrem. The species of *afezu* and *tawit* are sometimes protected by an ban on grazing for three and two months respectively in order that their seeds may grow ripe for collecting. The right to put a ban on grazing of the two species belongs to the Tuareg in whom territorial rights of a sub-area are vested (cf. p. 150). It is said that under very favourable conditions a single household may collect some hundred kilos of seeds of the two plants mentioned. This may seem rather impressive, but even in good years when milk is abundant collecting will not provide pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar with sufficient vegetable food, for seeds of wild plants are far less nourishing than are grains of wheat, barley, and millet. The collecting of wild plants important for food is as dependent on climatic conditions as is stock-breeding. In dry years, when domestic animals yield little or no milk at all, there will also be no wild seeds for collecting.

Fig. 127. Very small bag known as *ilem* ("skin") made from a kid's scrotum (*tigassait*). The bag contains a piece of resin of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). This resin is eaten by the Tuareg as a remedy against stomachache. Ahaggar, the *Ajjeh-en-tekki* tribe. Dimension of the piece of resin: 0.07 m long. (F.M. 149a–b).

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222 Even in good years it may happen that edible seed-plants are eaten by locusts before they become
[134] ripe for collecting. Collecting is of secondary importance to the Tuareg of Ahaggar though to most
433 pastoralists it is more important than hunting.

## AYR

134 We have seen that Ayr has better grazing grounds and more game than Ahaggar, and it is only
137 natural that this southern area is also a more favourable one for the collecting of wild plants. Never-
222 theless, it seems as if collecting is not so important to the Ayr Tuareg who have more livestock for
[933] which millet and wheat can be obtained without much difficulty. The number of edible plants utilized in Ayr is probably a very large one. Thus it is said that certain *Kel Ewey* Tuareg collect many different plants, but my inquiries into the methods and the value of collecting were limited to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group of Southern Ayr where the following species are collected for food: –

222 *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Pods of this acacia are dried and, after pounding in a large millet mortar,
262 mixed with milk to be eaten or drunk like the Tuareg dish known as *arejira* (cf. p. 245 f.).

252 *ibezgin* (*Salvadora persica*). Fruit is eaten without any preparation.

*taikut* (*Boscia senegalensis*). Berries are pounded in the millet mortar to obtain the limpid juice which is added to porridge.

[824] *tagayt* (*Hyphaene thebaica*). The dum palm, which is of extreme importance for the handicraft of the Ayr Tuareg, is also valuable as food. The young nuts are opened with a knife and the kernels are eaten. The old nuts have an edible outer coating which is eaten by children and even by adults when they are hungry. These old nuts are also pounded in the millet mortar together with seeds of *ageruf*, cf. below.

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). This perennial grass is very abundant all over Ayr. Collecting of its seeds is done by rubbing the ears of the grass between the hands to allow the seeds to fall into a plaited bowl. Seeds are pounded in a millet mortar to be used for porridge.

*ichiben*, that is seeds of an annual grass – apparently identical with *Panicum longiflorum* and/or *P. spinosa*. The seeds are collected in two different ways: – (1) If the ripe seeds have fallen to the ground they are swept together with a bunch of straw. (2) The ears are cut with a knife to be threshed by pounding in a millet mortar. – The seeds are highly esteemed, being collected to a greater extent than seeds of other wild plants. The seeds are used particularly for porridge, but also for certain other dishes such as *arejira* (cf. p. 245 f.).

*ichit* (*Eragrostis* ssp.). A grass yielding red seeds collected in the following way: – The ears are beaten with the hands so that the seeds fall into a plaited bowl. The seeds are used only for porridge.

*wajieg* (*Cenchrus catharticus* & *C. Priceri*). Annual seed-plants with thorny seeds. The dry plants are beaten with a stick and the fallen seeds are collected in a heap to be threshed with a stick. The seeds are pounded in a millet mortar for porridge.

*ageruf* (*Tribulus terrester*). An annual plant with thorny seeds which are collected as just described for the *wajieg* plants. The seeds are pounded in a millet mortar to be eaten without further preparation

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



a dish known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tédérka*. For this purpose the pounded seeds may also be mixed with pounded dum palm nuts. 222 262

*ucheror* (*Sorghum virgatum*). A tall grass the seeds of which are swept together when fallen to the ground. They are used for porridge. 252

*agazagi*. Edible seeds of a grass. They are swept together when they have fallen to the ground, and are used for porridge.

*agehageln*. Seeds of an annual plant. When they have fallen to the ground they are swept together by means of a straw bundle. They are pounded in a millet mortar to be eaten as *tédérka* without any further preparation.

*malokhiya* (*Corchorus tridens*). A plant growing in the bush though also grown in gardens. The leaves of this plant are dried and thereupon pounded in a millet mortar to be used as an admixture to porridge-sauce.

*abezey* (*Cassia tora*). Leaves of this plant are plucked with the hand, or, if the plant is dry, shaken into a plaited bowl. They are pounded and used as an admixture to porridge-sauce.

*kat'aket'i* (*Cistanche* sp.). It is said to be known as *achelleven* among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The edible roots of this plant are dug out with a stick. They are pounded and boiled for a kind of porridge.

*acheku* (*Glossonema Boveanum*). An annual plant with small lacteal fruit which is eaten as a relish without any preparation.

These are the plant species collected by the *Kel Ferwan* of Southern Ayr. It may happen that some of these plants are destroyed by locusts, but in most years there are excellent possibilities of collecting wild seeds. Most plants are collected late in summer after the rains (at the season of *farat*), or in winter (*tigrest*). It is said that in good years more than a thousand kilos of wild seeds can be collected by the members of a single household, but even this amount of wild seeds does not answer the need for vegetable products. Collecting is of secondary importance to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. Very few of the plant species mentioned are collected if there is abundant millet. The main exceptions are the plants used for sauce-admixture, and the *ichiben* seeds. The latter are collected even by Tuareg who have enough millet, because porridge made from these seeds is considered a very delicious dish. 222 [221] [433]

The two groups of Northern Tuareg and also the Tuareg of Ayr acquire their vegetable food products mainly from agriculture, which occupation will now briefly be described. 433

[text continues on p. 183]

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[133]

Fig. 128. Harvested wheat-plot grown without artificial irrigation along a river valley. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

PRIMITIVE CORN GROWING

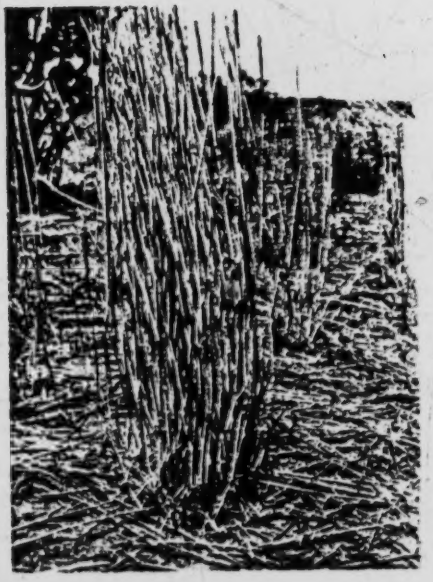

Fig. 129. A close-up of a tuft of harvested wheat from the plot illustrated above (Fig. 128). Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

# Agriculture

In the present chapter are described the agricultural techniques as I know them from Ahaggar (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and from Ayr, and the economic role of agriculture to the subsistence of pastoral Tuareg is discussed. 241

## CULTIVATION WITHOUT ARTIFICIAL IRRIGATION

In the Sahara farming is almost exclusively based on artificial irrigation, and agriculture and stock-breeding are largely separated industries. Large-scale stock-breeding necessitates migrations, while irrigation agriculture must be practised by people who live on the same spot almost continuously. But nomadic stock-breeding and shifting cultivation are occupations which go well together at the borderland of steppe and desert in the north where nomads or semi-nomads sow wheat and barley. Lyon says that the bedouins of Tripolitania use a rude plough but more generally a hoe (Lyon 1821, p. 44). However, plough cultivation seems to predominate among the northern nomads nowadays. Shifting plough cultivation is an important subsidiary occupation for most northern nomads in an almost unbroken area between the Atlantic and the Nile or the Red Sea, but it does not penetrate very far into the true desert country. In Algeria I have not seen shifting cultivation practised further south than the oasis of Ghardaya, where nomads under favourable conditions of rainfall sow wheat and barley by means of a simple plough made of a forked piece of wood (Nicolaisen 1950, Fig. 9, p. 70; Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, pl. II,5 p. 47, Fig. 6 p. 54). West of Ghardaya the plough is known as far south as Tinduf and Beni Abbes, while it is known at Brak of Central Libya towards the east (cf. Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, map p. 40). Feilberg in one of his early works stated that the plough in Northern Africa is particularly attached to shifting cultivation as a sowing implement (Feilberg 1931, p. 199 ff.). This is in agrement with my own investigations in the Northern Sahara, and it is confirmed by the very remarkable study of Capot-Rey & Marçais, who state that the plough is not fitted irrigation agriculture of the Sahara because of the many fruit trees, notably date palm trees, and because of the whole complicated irrigation system (Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, p. 51; Feilberg 1931, p. 199). But there seems also to be another reason why the plough is found only in the Northern Sahara: It is particularly fitted for the sowing of wheat and barley, but less suitable for the sowing of millet and sorghum which are the most important cereals grown in the south (cf. Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, p. 51; Feilberg 1931, p. 201). Barth records that he saw a kind of plough at Auderas in Ayr. It was drawn by three slaves who were driven like oxen by their master (Barth 1857, I, p. 424). 433 241 171 [567]

[p. 183]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 . MS25 Tuareg MS25



241 171 I, p. 424). Rodd thinks the implement seen by Barth was clearly an importation from the north (Rodd 1926a, p. 133), and Feilberg assumes that if the plough was once known in this southern area it might perhaps have disappeared together with shifting cultivation (Feilberg 1931, p. 200). All this may be so, for there has been much contact between Ayr and the regions of Fezzan and Tripolitania in the past. But Barth does not say that he saw a plough but "a kind of plough", which may perhaps point to a type of large hoe drawn by men like that described from Senegambia by Feilberg (cf. Feilberg 1931, p. 169 f.).

243 The plough is unknown in the extensive area inhabited by pastoral Tuareg but this is not so with a kind of shifting cultivation. Pastoral Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer sow wheat and barley along the river valleys when these have been heavily flooded. Sowing is then done in a very simple way:— Holes are dug into the sandy soil, usually merely with the hand, and a few seeds are put into these holes. Wheat and barley thus sown grow in tufts with a space of 0.30 to 0.50 metres between each, and there seem to be about fifty straws in a normal tuft – the largest tuft I have seen contained about 130 straws (cf. Figs. 128–129). The plots cultivated in this way are generally very small, and the scattered wild plants growing in the plot are not always removed before sowing. The corn plots are left completely to themselves until harvesting, which is done with a sickle (Fig. 143). Primitive corn growing of this type cannot be practised continuously from one year to another in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the Tuareg of that region say that a household never grows enough corn in this way to meet its annual needs.

[178] The primitive method of corn growing without artificial irrigation is unknown in Ahaggar nowadays, but it seems as if it was known in the past (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 372), and the Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular term (*tawgest*) for a field cultivated without artificial irrigation (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1466).

Rodd states that rain-grown crops could be raised most years in certain parts of Ayr and that in earlier days a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way in Ayr (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). There is little doubt that this statement is correct, and I think that even in parts of Ahaggar millet could be raised without irrigation in most years, for millet has a very short period of growth.

[22] In Ahaggar (at Abalessa) it is sown in June-July and is harvested in September. Though millet plots are irrigated they are never watered much, and never to the same extent as wheat and barley which are grown in winter. In regard to Ayr, millet in southern villages of the Massif very frequently ripens in two months, and late in summer, at the end of the rains (*akasa*) or in the early dry season (*rarat*).

[262] I have frequently seen well-developed small plots of millet and sorghum around deserted Tuareg camps where a great many seeds are always lost on the ground during the pounding and winnowing of millet for porridge. These self-grown plots, however, are not utilized by the Tuareg as the comparatively

[131] small yield is quickly eaten by the numerous millet-eating birds. Owing to these birds it would be difficult for pastoral Tuareg to grow cereals in flooded valleys like the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and it is partly for this very reason that the sedentary agriculturists of Ayr grow very little millet. Millet could easily be raised without artificial irrigation during the rains, and, in fact, millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation of Ayr.

245 In addition to the species of grain mentioned above there is one very important plant which can be grown without artificial irrigation, namely the date palm. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are river valleys

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Fig. 130. Semi-wild date palms in the canyon-like Aharhar valley of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The palms are owned and harvested by pastoral Tuareg.

245 (Aharhar and Éherir) where "semi-wild" palms are abundant. These palms are owned by pastoral
221 Tuareg of various tribes. Their dates are harvested in the autumn when Tuareg palm owners with
342 their slaves live in straw-huts or huts covered with palm leaves situated among the palm trees.

Similar plantations of palm trees which are left to themselves most of the year are also found in
245 Ahaggar, notably at Silet-Tibeghin. Part of these palms are owned by members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe
423 (the sections of *Kel Tamanrasset* and *Kel Terhenanet*) and by members of the very small tribe, the
651 *Ikechchemaden*. The palm-owners give as an annual payment to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar one bunch
565 of dates from all palms which have more than two bunches. The yield of another part of the palms
651 belongs to the vassal tribe *Iklan-en-tawsit* (the sections *Kel Silet* and *Kel Tahalra*). For usufructs,
245 members of these two sections make a collective annual payments to the *Amenukal* comprising four
221 bags of dates, twenty goats, two ropes of goat's hair, and five water bags. The dates are harvested by
492 Tuareg of the above mentioned tribes in August-September. Harvesting is done with sickles and is
564 finished in three to four weeks when the palm-owners return to their camps with dates packed in bags
465 and loaded on donkeys and camels. In harvesting their dates most Tuareg are assisted by black-
463 skinned agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaṛen*) of Abalessa who are given a certain amount of dates for their work. These agriculturists build the huts in which the palm-owners live during harvest (cf. p. 338 f.).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963* MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 131. A *foggara* canal (*éfeli*) dug into the sandy river bed from where it is led into the gardens of the valley terrace. Southern Ahaggar, *Tafnut*.

245 [423] In Ayr there are also a few pastoral Tuareg who own date palms growing in river valleys, e.g., people of the *Imezzureg* tribe of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These date palms, like those growing half wild in Northern Tuareg countries, yield very small dates of a quality inferior to those grown in the oases under constant supervision by agriculturists. Such dates are used only for local consumption.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AHAGGAR

241 176 Irrigation agriculture has been practised since ancient times within certain territories now inhabited by the Northern Tuareg. As early as in Roman times there is reference to *Radames*, *Rat*, and certain oases of the Fezzan, which were visited by Roman Expeditions (Lhote 1955a, p. 113 f.; Duveyrier 1864, p. 249 ff., 266 ff., 275 ff., 455 ff.). Lhote thinks that the oasis of Abalessa in the lowland west of the Ahaggar Massif was also visited by the Roman general Cornelius Balbus (Lhote 1955a, p. 88 f., 113 f., 286), but this, perhaps, is to be doubted. In the writings of Medieval Arab authors there is apparently no reference to oases within the Ahaggar country, though oases in neighbouring parts of the Sahara are mentioned.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



In literature there seems to be no reliable information about the existence of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar until Duveyrier, who states that agriculture did not obtain a fixed position in the economic life of the Ahaggar Tuareg until the reign of the *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 369). This statement is confirmed by most agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg in Ahaggar, who claim that prior to *Elkhaj Akhmed* irrigation agriculture was not practised in Ahaggar. During the reign of this *Amenukal* irrigation agriculture by means of the subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs as *foggara* (*éfeli*, pl. *ifelan*) was introduced by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs and negroid *Ḫarratin* from the Tidikelt oases. Some people of Ahaggar claim that another irrigation system was introduced about the same time, namely irrigation wells from which water is drawn by oxen and donkeys. This system, known as *tanut*, is said to have been introduced by agriculturists from Ġanet (Djanet) (the *Kel Ġanet*). It should be noted that there are certain traditions which claim irrigation agriculture to be older in Ahaggar. One tradition says that it was practised at Silet-Tibeghin by Arabs who immigrated from Tawat to cultivate by means of the *foggara* system even during the reign of the *Inenan* (Lhote 1955, p. 286 f.). Another tradition, recorded by Foucauld, states that irrigation farming was known at a very remote date by the *Isebeten* – a pagan people said to be the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes of Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535 f.). Traditions of the age of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar are conflicting. If it was practised long before the reign of *Elkhaj Akhmed* by the ancient vassals, I believe that water was raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight. For this system, which is known as *ajudid*, is said to have been very common in the past. It is extremely rare nowadys, and I have only seen it once at Terhenanet. There can be no doubt that this simple irrigation method is a very old one in North Africa, where it is more widely distributed than all other types of irrigation methods (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, map VII p. 320). The very wide distribution of this system elsewhere in the Old World points to its great age, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest true irrigation machine.

A few Tuareg in the northern groups practise irrigation agriculture, which does not seem to be one of their traditional occupations. Tuareg irrigation farmers are found mainly in the Fezzan, but mention should also be made of the people of three noble tribes, namely the *Ilemtéyen* (living at Ṛat), the *Ikadeyen* (at Tit in Ahaggar), and the *Kel-ahem-niellen* (roaming pastoralists north of Ahaggar or settled farmers at the oasis of Inṛer in Tidikelt). These sedentary or semi-sedentary noble Tuareg were originally true pastoralists, though but little is known of the original mode of livelihood of the *Ikadeyen*. A few individuals or families among the Ahaggar vassals have more recently taken up irrigation agriculture in addition to stock-breeding. There seems to be a growing tendency towards semi-nomadism in Ahaggar nowadays. There may be several reasons for this. Thus one can point to the decline of caravan trading and to the fact that pastoral Tuareg cannot so easily get the true agriculturists to cultivate for them. The true agriculturists of Ahaggar comprise the *Ḫarratin* (*Izeggaren*) of Tidikelt, who have mixed with the manumitted slaves now also known as *Ḫarratin* (*Izeggaren*), a few fair-skinned *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, and the *Kel Ġanet* who are predominantly black-skinned. All these agricultural people tend to mix with each other and also with tribes of pastoral Tuareg.

There are at present about 25 agricultural settlements in the river valleys of Ahaggar. Apart from the administration centre of Tamanṛaset (1600) and the oasis of Abalessa (547) these agricultural

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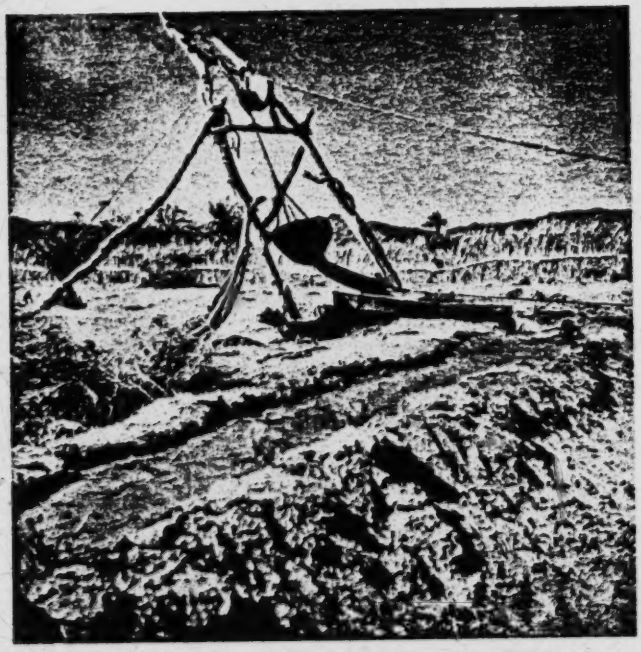

Fig. 132a. The irrigation system known as *sanut*. Ahaggar, Amsel.

361 settlements contain less than 300 individuals, the majority not even a hundred (cf. Lhote 1955a;
[162] p. 292). Most agricultural settlements comprise only a few houses built of stone or mud, or a few
[342] straw-huts (cf. p. 327 ff.). The agriculturists of these small settlements generally keep some goats
[231] and sheep, have donkeys, which are important beasts of burden to all farmers of the Sahara oases,
and in certain families there are one or two zebus to raise water from irrigation wells. A few agri-
433 culturists may be characterized as semi-nomads. This is the case of some inhabitants of Abalessa
who guard their flocks at some distance from the village. Some of these agriculturists, who were
formerly Tuareg slaves, even make skin-tents like pastoral Tuareg.

312 The subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs of the Sahara as *foggara*, to the Tuareg as *ifelan*
241 (sing. *éfeli*), constitute by far the most important irrigation system used in Ahaggar. However, these
*foggara* canals cannot be compared with the large extensive aqueducts of Tidikelt though their intro-
[166] duction to Ahaggar is due to the immigration of agriculturists from that area. The Tidikelt *foggara*
are very large aqueducts which are dug into water-bearing strata which can be situated at a consid-
erable distance from the oasis (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 324 ff., Lô 1953 & 1954; Chaintron 1958).
The Ahaggar foggara are generally very short (about one to two kilometres, or shorter), they are not

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 132b. Cf. text Fig. 132a.

deep, and are dug into the sandy river bed to lead its water to the gardens of the valley terrace. A map of the foggara aqueducts placed in the river valley of Taṛhawhawt is reproduced by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, Fig. 18 p. 328). There are many advantages attached to the use of foggara systems of the Ahaggar type, for once the aqueducts are dug water automatically flows to the garden. But there are also disadvantages. If a foggara valley is heavily flooded after rains and changed into a roaring stream, the aqueducts are destroyed and the crops also. In general it will be necessary to abandon a foggara system after some years, as it must be cleaned at intervals and in time it becomes too dangerous to work in them as subsidences may occur and kill workers. It may also happen that a river valley is not flooded at all for a period of years when it becomes essential to move to another valley, rich in water under the sandy river bed, to make a new foggara there. For all these reasons deserted foggara systems are common in the river valleys of Ahaggar. [114]

The *foggara* system is unknown south of Ahaggar and has on the whole a rather limited distribution in the Sahara. One reason for this is perhaps that the construction and maintenance of the aqueduct imply the agricultural co-operation of several households. This is not the case with the other common system in Ahaggar, the use of wells (*tunin*, sing. *tanut*) from which water is raised by animal traction. The wells are usually shallow and not very difficult to dig out, and the maintenance of the whole system is usually limited to occasional mendings of the zebu's harness and of the large waterbag. While a foggara canal is always used for the irrigation of several gardens (6–12), the wells are used for single gardens. The irrigation wells are dug into the valley terrace so that they are not destroyed by a flood, and in dry years watering from wells is considered the better system. But in the period when crops need much water irrigation by means of wells is hard work for the garden owner who must drive his ox all day long. [184] [476]

Irrespective of the system resorted to irrigation of a garden is done in the same manner. Water from the *foggara* aqueduct or water raised from well flows into a large basin (*tihemt*) through a canal

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Fig. 133. The large water basin (*ilhemi*) from which water is led into the gardens. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

(*teguhamt*, or *tahaft*) from which another canal (*tahaft*, or *teguhamt*) leads water out into the garden, which is always divided into a large number of garden beds (*igemmunen*, sing. *agemmun*) surrounded by low ridges and separated by narrow irrigation canals. The large water basin serves to regulate watering, which outside of the very cold season is done during the night. A flat stone with a hole in its middle and known as *anefif* is placed between the basin and the canal leading water into the garden; water for irrigating the garden flows through this hole when irrigation is needed at night, while the hole is closed by means of a cotton stopper during the day. The basin is thus filled with water during the day and its water runs into the garden at night (cf. Figs. 131–136).

243 [221] The irrigation systems described are most important for the cultivation of the winter crops of wheat and barley. The Tuareg word in Ahaggar for wheat is *éred* which is a collective name for several types of wheat known as *elkhamra*, *elmansuri*, *amekkawi*, *rati*, and *menga*. These special names seem to be derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1058, 1211 & IV, p. 1789; Maire 1933, I, p. 246). According to Maire these types of wheat belong to the species *Triticum aestivum*. I have never myself seen fully-grown wheat in Ahaggar and was thus unable to collect ears for identification by botanists, but seeds brought home from Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have been identified by Dr. Hans Helbaek as belonging to common bread wheat. Barley is known to the Tuareg as *timzin*. Threshed seeds brought home from Ahaggar have been identified by Dr. Helbaek as belonging to the six-rowed type (*Hordeum vulgare*, though some, he thinks are perhaps of the two-rowed type (*H. distichum*). Barley, like wheat, is a winter crop though less common. At Abalessa I was told that two thirds of the seed-crops grown in winter were wheat, while only one third was barley.

[221] Wheat and barley are grown in the same way. Sowing is done in the autumn (*tober*), and the seeds are put into the garden beds with the fingers. Harvesting takes place in the month of April (*ibri*) and is performed with a sickle (Fig. 143). The growing of wheat and barley is a very strenuous task for irrigation agriculturists. Watering is done for the first time immediately after sowing. When I stayed at Abalessa, in the month of January 1955, the tender plants of wheat and barley were watered two days in succession, and the 10–12 gardens belonging to the same *foggara* were irrigated in succession [132] in this way. At that time of the year the plots are not generally watered at night because of the cold temperatures which may be below zero.

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temperatures which may be below zero. At a later date the plants of wheat and barley are watered less frequently, and watering ceases completely some time before harvesting in order that the plant may ripen more easily. 243

The agriculturists of Ahaggar do not manure the garden plots used for wheat and barley. Only a new garden plot never previously cultivated is manured, and when such a garden is made the wild vegetation of grasses, herbs, bushes, and trees is often set on fire. Wheat and barley can be grown in the same garden plot for three or four years in succession, and the soil then needs at least one year's rest. In this way, the same garden plot can be kept under cultivation for many years without manuring: this continuous cultivation on the same spot with a one year's rest for each three or four years cultivation is possible partly because there is a certain crop rotation with other plants grown in summer, but mainly because the agriculturists during the period wheat and barley are grown carry fresh soil to their gardens. This is done not only before sowing but also throughout a long period of the winter when the plants are tepder and green. When I stayed in the settlements of Abaiessa and Amsel in the [101] months of January and February (1955), all agricultural households worked strenuously from morning to night carrying soil to the green garden plots of wheat and barley. The soil was carried in plaited baskets [482] (cf. Fig. 135) on the head, or in bigger baskets carried by donkeys. The soil was left in small heaps [492] (one in every garden bed) to be spread over and between the green plants (cf. Fig. 137). This extremely [461] strenuous work, I was told, would continue until the month of March.

In spite of the fact that cultivation in Ahaggar is done intensively and much work is connected with it, the yield of winter crops is not a very considerable one. In Abalessa it is said that seed-corn of wheat and barley will normally amount to about 50 kgs, and about 500 kgs is to be considered a normal yield, though certain gardens which are extremely well cultivated may yield more and in rare cases up to one thousand kilogrammes. The gardens I saw at Amsel and Taṛhawhawt were smaller than those seen in Abalessa. At Taṛhawhawt the quantity of wheat and barley sown, was said to amount to about 35 kilogrammes.

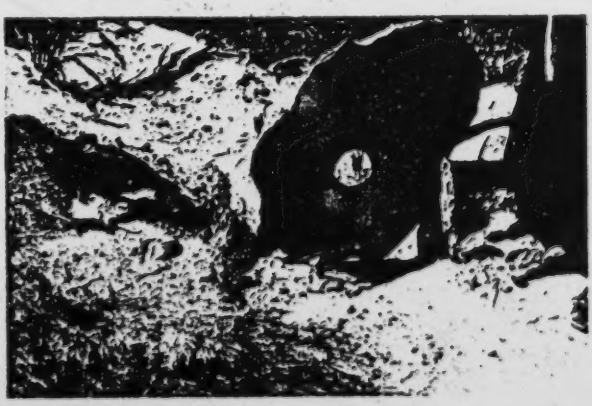

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Fig. 134. The flat stone (*amsfi*) inserted between the water basin (*tihemt*) and the canal (*teṛahamt*) which leads water towards the gardens. Irrigation stops and the basin runs full of water when a cotton stopper is put into the round hole in the middle of the flat stone. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

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243 Wheat and barley grown in winter constitute the most important crops in Ahaggar, but, as mentioned,
[262] the gardens are also cultivated at other seasons, and crops of millet and sorghum taken in summer
are most important substistence for irrigation farmers in Ahaggar. Millet is known to the Tuareg as
[171] *énélé*; it seems to be the same species as that so widely grown by African agriculturists of the savannah
countries (*Pennisetum typhoideum*, or *P. Americanum*). Millet is sown in June-July and harvested in Sep-
[221] tember, or in October. Little work is involved with the cultivation of this plant which is never watered
[461] much (cf. p. 184), and the agriculturists do not carry fresh soil to the millet plots as they do to plots of
wheat and barley. Species of sorghum are less important than millet. The common species is known as
*abora* or *tafsut* (*Andropogon Sorghum*). Another species is known as *tallak*; it has smaller seeds than
[388] the species just mentioned, and is grown mainly because of its stems, which are reduced to powder
to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 282).

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Fig 135. Basket (*ésewit*) of the type used for transportation of fresh soil to old gardén land. It is plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*aḡum*) and has handles of rope made from date palm bast (*azza*). Soil is also carried to gardens in larger baskets (*séyerirt*, pl. *tiyrar*) loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar. Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m high, 0.35 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5285).

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Fig. 136. Irrigation of a young wheat-plot. The canal ridges are opened with a hoe in order to let water penetrate into the garden beds. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 282). Maize (*Zea mays*) is also grown as a summer crop in some of the cultivation centres; it is called *engafulé*, or *engafulé masri* (masri = Egyptian) because it is said to have been introduced from Egypt.

Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum*) are grown mainly in summer and constitute a very important crop. The ripe fruit is sliced and left to dry on a layer of straw in the garden. They are crushed and pounded and are added to various dishes, e.g., the so-called kuskus (*keskesu*, cf. p. 247). Various types of melons and gourds are also grown in summer, e.g., the water melon (*taleǧeṣt*; *Colocynthis Citrullus*), a type of ordinary melon known as *tétakelt* or *tazemut* (*Cucurbita* sp.) which is frequently sliced and dried in the same way as tomatoes, and a kind of large gourd (*kabuya*; *Cucurbita maxima*). Certain other vegetables are grown in most gardens, notably various kinds of onions (*téskert*, *Allium sativum*; *éfeleli*, *Allium cepa*) and a kind of beans known as *tadellak*. A few plants are grown as spices, e.g., saffron (*tanermit*, *Crocus sativus*), red pebber (*chitta*, *Capsicum annum*), or for tea-admixture, e.g., the mint (*émerner*, *Mentha piperita* var.) and a plant known as *lahabok* which is said to have been introduced from the Sudan. Two very poisonous plants are also grown in certain gardens of Ahaggar, namely *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*), which also grows wild in the lower country (cf. p. 178), and *burzig* (*Datura Stramonium*) (cf. Maire 1933, I, p. 191 f.). Foucauld mentions two other plants grown for their medicinal value (*ibedliwen*, *Trigonella foenumgraecum*; *tikamnin*) (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 33 & II, p. 812). A kind of wild salad (*tamaghé*) is also grown in the gardens according to Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1170). Potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum*) are now grown in some of the mountain oases – mainly for selling to Europeans at Tamanrasset. Among other cultivated plants found in the gardens of Ahaggar mention can be made of the following species after Maire:—

241 [252] [263] [829] [439]

*Lepidium sativum*, *Brassica Rapa* & *B. oleracea* (*aharet*), *Linum usitatissimum* (*ilatelé*, or *anarka*), *Medicago sativa*, *Pisum arvense* (*demchi*), *Vicia Faba*, *Lens culinaris* (*elredes*), *Vigna catjang*, *Cori-*

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Fig. 137. The fresh soil carried to old gardens is placed in small heaps to be spread out between the tender plants of wheat and barley. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

241 *andrum sativum*, *Cuminum Cyminum* (*azkar*), *Daucus Carota* (*ezzeruget*), *Cucumis melo*, *Lagenaria vulgaris* (cf. Maire 1933, and particularly Maire 1940, p. 401).

245 [262] In addition to the above-mentioned plants there are various types of fruit trees which do not play any considerable rôle for food. The gardens contain very few date palm trees (*tazzayt*, *Phoenix dactylifera*) and there are no palm trees of any value in the gardens situated in the upper mountain zones where the fig tree (*tahart*, *Ficus carica*) thrives much better than in the lower country; the figs are [251] consumed fresh, or they are put on strings for drying, common practise elsewhere in North Africa. The [388] pomegranate (*terrummant*, *Punica Granatum*) is grown in some gardens; its fruits are eaten, and they are also used for dyeing skins (cf. p. 282). Grapes (*tezzebibt*, *Vitis vinifera*) are also grown in some gardens.

Maire mentions the cultivation of the peach (*Prunus Persica*) and the apricot (*Prunus Armeniaca*) (cf. Maire 1940, p. 401). These fruit trees have undoubtedly been quite recently introduced for Foucauld states that they are not grown in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 79 f.).

243 423 There are nowadays many agriculturists who have their private gardens so that they cultivate their winter crops and their summer crops entirely for their own use. But most agriculturists grow winter crops of wheat and barley on behalf of the Tuareg who are then the true garden owners.

[312] [476] Agriculturists who cultivate their gardens on their own behalf frequently irrigate crops by means of draught animals (zebus) which raise water from wells, but there are also some farmers who cultivate independently without any contract with pastoral Tuareg and nevertheless belong to a *foggara* team.

243 It can be estimated that an independently working agriculturist obtains a total yield of about 700 kilos of wheat and barley grown in winter. Of this yield he gives 10 kilos to the *Amenukal*, or to the

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Of this yield he gives 10 Kilos to the Amenukal, or to the 243
Tuareg who has territorial rights (cf. p. 151), while the yield of one garden bed – that is about other [65] ten kilos – is given to a blacksmith who in return mends hoes and other agricultural implements. The [262] necessary amount of seed-corn, comprising about 50 kilos, should also be withdrawn from the winter crop yield so that his total net profit is about 630 kilos of wheat and barley. To this amount of cereals 241 can be added the yield of summer crops (millet, sorghum, maize, tomatoes, and other vegetables) for

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Fig. 138a–c. Grown cereals from Ahaggar.
a. Millet (*ánfil*) (*Pennisetum typhoideum*). b. Two types of sorghum (*abora*, *tafsut*).
c. Maize (*angafidé*) (*Zea mays*).

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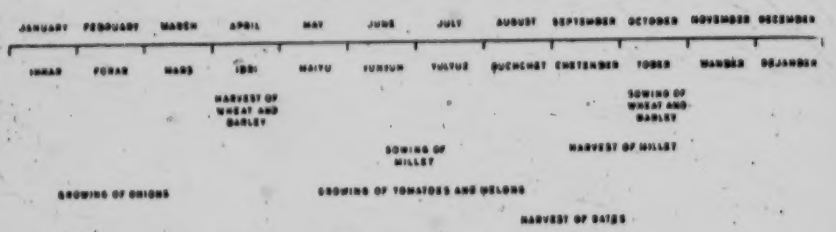


Fig. 139. Horticultural calendar from Ahaggar.

The Tuareg and the negroid agriculturists have a lunar calendar of twelve months corresponding to the Arab calendar, but a lunar calendar has no practical value for the indication of seasonal agricultural activities. The Julian Calendar is known to some people of Ahaggar as well as to other Berbers of the Sahara and the Atlas. Tuareg names of Julian months are given above. Very few people in Ahaggar know the exact beginning and the end of the twelve Julian months, but a few names are used as seasonal terms: *innar* = "midwinter", *mars* = "beginning of spring", *ibri* = "early harvest" (of wheat and barley), *maiyu* = "beginning of summer", *tober* = "late harvest" (millet).

241 which no definite figures can be given, while the yield of fruit trees growing in the garden plot does
[423] not necessarily belong to the agriculturist. These trees frequently belong to pastoral Tuareg.

433 I think it can be estimated that an agricultural household with its own garden produce about a
262 thousand kilos of vegetables food products annually for its private use. We can add that though the members of an agricultural household live mainly on vegetable food products they also acquire a certain amount of food from livestock, which normally comprises a few goats and sheep, and perhaps one or two zebus. Conditions of stock-breeding are not always favourable to people who live continuously on the same spot, but it is advantageous to the agriculturists of Ahaggar, who live close to valleys with some pasture, that they are able to feed their animals on green garden products when pasture is badly developed and thus avoid the disaster of a drought. It is also an advantage to most agriculturists that they do not have to water their animals which can drink freely from the irrigation canals. The agriculturists can kill a few goats or sheep annually; they obtain milk and a little butter
[234] to be used mainly as a sauce for bread and porridge, and they make cheese of the *awles* type (cf. p. 224), but they never make cheese from fresh milk as do many pastoral Tuareg when milk is abundant. The agriculturists also breed fowls and pigeons, and some of them have an important meat supply from hunting with steel-traps (hares, jackals, fennecs, and ravens). Collecting, on the other hand, is of little or no value to irrigation farmers of Ahaggar.

241 The economic position of agriculturists who work without any particular obligations towards
466 pastoral Tuareg is tolerably good. It is less favourable to those who grow winter crops also on behalf
[423] of the Tuareg, as do most cultivators. Some of them irrigate the garden plot with water raised from
[511] wells by oxen which may belong to the cultivator or to the Tuareg. But most agriculturists who work
241 for the pastoral Tuareg irrigate by means of *foggara*. It is very strenuous work to dig a *foggara* canal,
312 and co-operation is needed not only for this but also for the maintenance of the whole irrigation system.
466 The gardens are individually tended by the agriculturists, who co-operate in the *foggara* work under
476 the leadership of a headman known as *amrar n efeli*, that is "chief of the *foggara*". This headman is

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241 appointed by the Tuareg garden owners and is rewarded by a garden of his own for his responsibility
312 in supervising all co-operative work. The unit of agriculturists co-operating at the same *foggara* may
466 or may not correspond to an extended family. The agriculturists co-operating on any large *foggara*
476 irrigating ten or twelve gardens frequently represent two or three distinct families which are not linked to each other by kinship bonds. The cultivators of a *foggara* comprising nine gardens at Taṛhawhawt
[675] belong to three distinct, unrelated families. This is quite natural in view of the fact that contracts between the Tuareg and the cultivators are made individually.

423 There may also be no kinship bonds between the pastoral Tuareg who have gardens at the same foggara, and there are even Tuareg who own two or three gardens situated in widely separated river
[614] valleys of Ahaggar. But Tuareg garden owners of the same foggara frequently belong to the same tribe
[428] or even to the same tribal section. When a garden-owning Tuareg dies, his garden will generally pass to somebody within his family, but there seems to be no fixed rules governing the transference of gardens.

466 The individual contract between a Tuareg garden owner and his cultivator is made for a period of
675 six months – the period of growth for wheat and barley. The agriculturist is responsible for all garden
423 work, and the Tuareg garden owner has the following obligations:—
241 (1) To supply his cultivator with a hoe every year, or every two years in case a very good hoe is given.

(2) To pay for repairs of the *foggara* system, or for the digging of a new *foggara*. This payment is known as *almarsor* and consists of two kilos of cereals or dates every working day until water reaches the garden.

(3) To pay for the making of garden beds. This payment is known as *éhéré n egalab*, and is made only once as long as the garden remains on the same spot. When a garden is moved after a period of three or four years the payment must be made again. It varies with the size of the garden and the quality of its soil; in general it consists of 15–25 kilos of cereals.

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Fig. 140. Millet (*éwéli*) of very high growth. It is said that this particular millet type was introduced to Ahaggar from the south – possibly from Ayr. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

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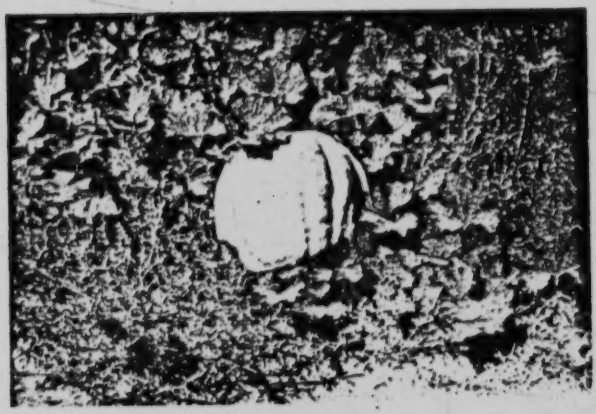

Fig. 141. The large gourd known as *kabaya* (*Cucurbita maxima*) growing close to the thorny fence (*aforaɣ*) which term is also generally used to designate a garden. Ahaggar, *Akl Azzi* Arabs.

466 625 423 241 [17] [578] Tuareg garden owners have other obligations besides those listed under these three items, but these obligations vary with the systems of contract of which there are three. One system is known as *khamast* according to which the agriculturists gets only one fifth of the crops. This system is widely found in North Africa but has disappeared in Ahaggar some years ago. It is said that it was abolished by the *Amenukal* because it very frequently gave rise to disputes between Tuareg garden owners and their cultivators. It is now replaced by two other systems, the *tilt* system allowing one third of the crops to the cultivator, and the *aṛil* system according to which crops are divided equally between the owner and the cultivator. This last system is that almost exclusively used in Ahaggar nowadays.

To revert to Tuareg obligations towards their cultivators, these obligations, in addition to those mentioned above, are as follows:—

(4) To hand over an amount of seed-corn (*téfest*) of wheat and barley according to the size of the garden plot and the system of contract. With a *khamast* agreement the Tuareg garden owner gives all seed-corn. With a *tilt* agreement half of the seed-corn is supplied by the owner, the other half by the cultivator who is then also allowed to cultivate a private garden. With an *aṛil* agreement half of the seed-corn is given by the garden owner, the other half by the cultivator who does not possess a private garden unless he is headman of a *foggara* (p. 196).

(5) To give an amount of food to the agriculturist during the cultivation period of six months. This payment is known as *tenafok*, and is fixed at 75 kilos of millet, barley, or dates when cultivation is done according to the *aṛil* system, while 150 kilos are given for cultivation according to agreements of the two systems *tilt* and *khamast*.

[434] The net profit to an agriculturist who cultivates for a Tuareg garden owner is lower than that gained by an agriculturist cultivating exclusively for his own private use. This will be seen more clearly from the calculations below where a garden with an annual yield of 700 kilos wheat and barley is considered:—

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| | *Cultivator* | | *Tuareg Garden Owner* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Receipts | Expenditure | Receipts | Expenditure |
| ***The khamast system*** | | | | |
| The *khamast* division | 140 kg | | 560 kg | |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg |
| Seed-corn | | | | 50 kg |
| Food given to the cultivator | 150 kg | | | 150 kg |
| | 290 kg | 10 kg | 560 kg | 210 kg |
| Net profit | 280 kg | | 350 kg | |
| ***The tilt system*** | | | | |
| The tilt division | 233 kg | | 466 kg | |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg |
| Seed-corn | | 25 kg | | 25 kg |
| Food given to the cultivator | 150 kg | | | 150 kg |
| | 383 kg | 35 kg | 466 kg | 185 kg |
| Net profit | 348 kg | | 281 kg | |
| ***The aril system*** | | | | |
| The *aril* division | 350 kg | | 350 kg | |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg |
| Seed-corn | | 25 kg | | 25 kg |
| Food given to the cultivator | 75 kg | | | 75 kg |
| | 425 kg | 35 kg | 350 kg | 110 kg |
| Net profit | 390 kg | | 240 kg | |

A few notes should be added to these calculations of receipts and expenditure in the three systems. Thus the profit of the cultivator in all three systems is somewhat bigger than is indicated. The hoe is given by the Tuareg garden owner, who must also make certain payments for irrigation work and for the making of new garden beds as mentioned above. The garden owner's net profit in kilogrammes is consequently somewhat lower than indicated, but it should be mentioned that payments made by a Tuareg garden owner are hardly ever made in wheat and barley, but mainly in millet and dates which are less valuable, particularly so because the pastoral Tuareg acquire millet and dates at very low prices during their caravan expeditions (cf. p. 209 ff.). Therefore, the profit made by a Tuareg garden owner cannot so easily be given in kilogrammes of agricultural food products. It is evident that all three systems are profitable to the Tuareg, and it is clear that an agriculturist who cultivates a garden entirely on his own behalf is better off than an agriculturist who works for the Tuareg. It is also evident that to the agriculturist the *khamast* system is less profitable than the *tilt* system, which again is less profitable than the *aril* system. With the abolishment of the *khamast* system the agriculturists now

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466 obtain a larger amount of vegetable food products and more wheat and barley. The pastoral Tuareg
423 gain less from their gardens than they did when the *khamast* system prevailed, but it is still profitable
241 for them to be garden owners.

The quantity of agricultural products anually consumed per person among the *Kel Ahaggar* is
511 estimated by Lhote at 187 kilos millet, 15 kilos dates, and a small amount of wheat for which no
262 figure is given. For Arabs of the Sahara the quantity of vegetable food is estimated at 180 kilos wheat,
[17] and 75 kilos dates anually per person (Lhote 1955a, p. 263). I add to this that wheat is used for bread to a very large extent by the Ahaggar Tuareg, who also make much use of barley for bread and porridge. According to Malaurie the amount of agricultural food products available per person among the Ahaggar Tuareg is about 400 grammes a day, or 146 kilos anually (Malaurie 1953, p. 342). It should be noted again that the amount of agricultural food products necessary for a Tuareg household varies greatly from one year to the other. In years of drought when agricultural products form so to speak the only source of food for the nomads, they estimate that a household consisting of husband, wife, and one child will consume about two kilos of cereals (dates) every day, or 730 kilos in a year. Consequently the amount of cereals and dates consumed anually per person may in dry years rise to about 245 kilos. This seems to correspond to the amount of food considered necessary for Arabs of
[17] Tidikelt and Tawat, who live almost exclusively on cereals and dates. When employed as labourers by the French Administration these sedentary Arabs are given 16 kilos of wheat and 4 kilos of rice a month, or 240 kilos of agricultural products anually per person (Information obtained from the administration office of In Salah in 1954). The agricultural products obtained by a pastoral household from a single
511 garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less
433 so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example: During the year 1954 55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with an *aril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar
[437] Tuareg depend on caravan trading for their provisions of agricultural food, and trading also helps them to create the capital of millet and dates which is invested in their gardens in Ahaggar grown on their behalf by agriculturists. I believe that most pastoral households of Ahaggar have gardens, but there are Tuareg who have none. This is true, for instance, of most Tuareg living in and around the Ahnet Massif. Tuareg of this region formerly had gardens irrigated by the *foggara* system at Abalessa, but to-day they acquire their vegetable food products mainly by caravan trading.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AYR

563 The largest aggregation of sedentary people in Ayr is found in Agadez (4.737), which is inhabited al-
361 most exclusively by negroid peoples who speak Hausa though most of them also know the Tuareg
162 language (*tamachek*). This large sedentary population mainly lives on trade and on crafts of
197 various kinds. The inhabitants are known to the Tuareg as the *Imeggedezen*. They are said to be related
433 to the Sultan (or the *Amenukal*) of Agadez. There is a tradition which claims that the Sultan came
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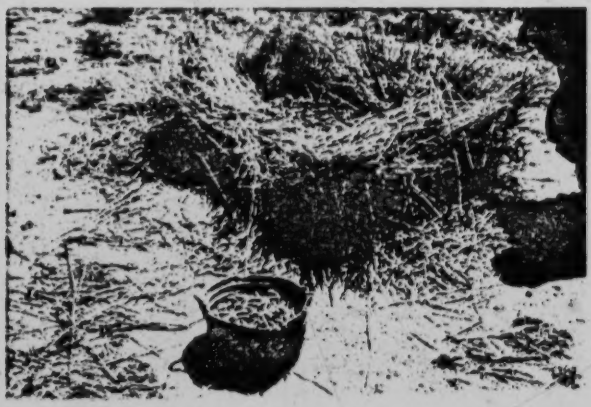

Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*énéle*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
173 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers
[563] though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of
162 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isawaren*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
563 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
433 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
245 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
221
463

Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
162 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula-
144 tion that subsisted on agriculture.
433
[174]

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162 tion that subsisted on agriculture. Most members of the *Kel Ewey* group are fairly negroid in appear-
144 ance, and though some of them lead a nomadic life and subsist mainly on stock-breeding, the bulk of
433 the *Kel Ewey* are sedentary agriculturists who have some livestock comprising goats, sheep, zebus, and sometimes camels also. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group there are very few sedentary agriculturists, though a few vassals have taken up irrigation agriculture in recent times. There are also agriculturists within the negroid group of the *Kel Ferwan* known as *Irawélen*.
[587] Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have gardens cultivated by their slaves, but this is not customary nowadays when slavery is of little importance in Ayr. Contracts between pastoral Tuareg and cultivators
241 are said to have been unknown until recent times when a few pastoralists have made contracts with
466 cultivators. There seem to be no fixed systems regulating such relationships, but it is said to be common for the cultivator and the Tuareg to divide crops equally between them.

241 Though agriculture could be practised in Ayr without artificial irrigation there are no rain-grown
312 crops within the Massif nowadays. The *foggara* system is unknown, and irrigation is done by raising water from shallow wells. The system of a pole and bucket provided with a counterweight known in Ayr as *asefian* has disappeared quite recently. It was used at many agricultural settlements of Ayr until a few years ago, and in parts of the country formed the only type of irrigation system at the time of the French occupation. One informant told me that in his boyhood about 35 years ago no other irrigation method was employed at Alarses, and this is in agreement with literature (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 322). At that time, however, the method of raising water from wells by animal traction (in Ayr *anu*, in Ahaggar *tanut*) was also practised at many settlements. It is unknown when it came to Ayr, but it is said to have been introduced from the north – probably from the regions of Fezzan and Tasilé-n-Ajjer from where the same system came to Ahaggar (cf. p. 187). It is now used at all
[492] settlements as the only type of irrigation system, and zebu-oxen are always used for traction. This was not so in the past when zebus were less common than to-day, and it is said that donkeys were then the common draught-animals. The irrigation of gardens is performed in much the same way as in Ahaggar. The water raised from the shallow well (*anu*) is led through a narrow canal (*arelal*) to a large basin (*tisemt*) from where another canal (*duki*) leads to the garden (*afarag*), which is divided into a number of beds (*éfenral*).

243 Cereals form the most important crops in Ayr. The common winter crop is wheat (*elkama*; *Triticum vulgare*), but also barley (*Hordeum tetrastichum* var. *pallidum*) is very widely grown. One crop of these two cereals is taken every winter, and it is said that the period of growth is about five months; sowing is done in October, harvest in March. Cereals are also important for summer crops. Both millet (*énélé*; *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and sorghum (*abora*; *Sorghum caudatum*) are grown, and millet, as we have seen, has a very short period of growth – only about two months (cf. p. 184). But though millet is
[262] most important as food for agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike, it is not widely grown because it is difficult to protect it from the numerous small birds and because, it is said, millet grown in Ayr
[439] is of a quality inferior to that of the Sudanese type. Most of the millet eaten in Ayr is therefore imported from Damergu by pastoral Tuareg. By far the most important summer crop grown in Ayr is maize (*Zea mays*), which is known to the Tuareg as *abora maser*, that is "Egyptian sorghum" (*abora* =
[288] sorghum; *maser* = Egypt) (the name *maser* is also used to designate the white cotton used for garments

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by many Tuareg, who say that they have not always known this white cotton, though indigo cotton 243
has been introduced from the Sudan since very remote times). Maize has a normal period of growth 286
of about three months, and two – in certain places perhaps even three – yields are taken in the hot seasons.

In addition to the above-mentioned cereals there are various kinds of vegetables grown in the Ayr 241
gardens. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum*) are grown at most seasons with the exception of the dry and very hot summer period (*ówilen*). Also common in the Ayr gardens is the sweet potato (*dankale*; *Ipomoea Batatas*), which is sown at the beginning of the rains and harvested in winter. The true potato (*batata*; *Solanum tuberosum*) has been introduced more recently, and is grown mainly to [439]
be sold to European households in Agadez. It is grown in Eastern Ayr (Tabello). Melons (*Cucumis melo*) and water melons (*Colocynthis citrullus*) are grown all over Ayr and there are different vegetables such as onions (*Allium cepa & A. sativum*), which are harvested at most seasons. Two plants are grown 241
mainly because they are important as admixtures to porridge sauce. One is called *ékabewwa* (*Corchorus* 252
*olitorius*); it has maize-like seeds which are pounded in a mortar for sauce-making. The other plant is known as *malokhiya* (*Corchorus tridens*); its leaves are dried and pounded for sauce (cf. p. 243). The latter plant also grows wild outside the gardens. There are in Ayr also certain spice-plants, e.g., *Capsicum annuum & C. frutescens*. To all these cultivated plants can be added certain fruit trees, such as 245
the date palm (*talesdar*; *Phoenix dactylifera*), the fig tree (*tahart*; *Ficus carica*) grown in the mountains, and the lemon tree (*lemon*; *Citrus aurantifolia*) which is grown in Southern Ayr; it yields very small fruit which remains green even when ripe. It should finally be mentioned that the cotton plant (*ebihga*; 248
*Gossypium hirsutum*) is also grown in some gardens of Southern Ayr. According to Miré and Gillet it was introduced into Ayr by the Hausa, but the plant has also been introduced further north in the Sahara in Tawat (Miré & Gillet 1956, p. 244). As stated by Rodd, the cotton plant is rare in Ayr and has perhaps been recently introduced into this region (Rodd 1926a, p. 132). There are many other 241
cultivated plants in Ayr, but the above mentioned constitute the most important species.

In Ayr, as in the north, irrigated cereals form the basis of agriculture. Irrigation is carried out by means of a system introduced from the north, and the agricultural techniques largely resemble those of that section of the Sahara inhabited by Northern Tuareg, though there are certain differences. A new garden in Ayr is prepared by cutting and burning away the wild vegetation of trees, bushes, herbs, and grasses. By crop rotation (wheat and barley in winter; maize, millet, and sorghum in summer) [242]
it is possible to cultivate the same garden plot for a few years in succession – up to six or seven years, it is said. After this time it becomes necessary to make a new garden, or to manure the old garden plot with camel and cow dung whilst manure (*taki*) from other animals or from human beings is said not to be used, as it would cause the crops to become inedible. A well-manured garden plot can be cultivated continuously for about fifteen years. But fertilizing is not practised by all agriculturists, and to my knowledge they do not carry fresh soil to the garden plots as is the case with the agriculturists of Ahaggar. Agriculture in Ayr therefore frequently resembles shifting cultivation, though plots are [311]
irrigated, and deserted garden land is frequently seen in the valleys where agriculture is practised.

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## AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND THE PRESERVATION OF CROPS

241 412 The hoe forms the basic agricultural implement in Ahaggar and in Ayr. The type of hoe used in Ahaggar is known as *agelhim*, and it is akin to that in general use among irrigation farmers of the northern oases. It has a very large and heavy iron head provided with a ring for the shaft. I believe that this type of hoe is particularly fitted for irrigation work, but it does not seem to be in general use in Ayr. I have seen it at Iferwan in Northern Ayr where agriculturists have much contact with Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but I have not seen it further south in the Massif where it seems to be unknown. The common type of hoe in Ayr is different; it is named *tagumit* and is hafted by means of a tongue (Fig. [171] 143d). The same type of hoe is widely distributed in Africa south of the Sahara, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest type of iron hoe within the continent (cf. Feilberg 1934, p. 228–278).

241 The hoe is used for agricultural work in general, for digging irrigation canals, making garden beds, and for the preparation of the soil. The hoe is not used for sowing cereals. Sowing in Ayr is known as *anabal* and is performed in the following way:— As many seeds as can be kept between the first and second fingers are pressed a little into the soil, and water is led into the garden beds immediately after sowing. I have myself never watched sowing, but I was told in Ayr that it was frequently done by old women. I think that this is probably connected with the belief in the mystic power known as [278] [841] *elbaraka* so characteristic of all North African peoples. For cereals contain this mystic power, which can be spoiled by unclean women. It is considered harmful to the *elbaraka* blessing if cereals are handled by menstruating women (cf. Westermarck 1926, I, p. 230). The hoe is used for weeding, 241 412 but the agriculturists of Ayr also have a special implement for this particular task. This is known as *elgechwad* and consists of a curved semi-circular iron blade hafted to a short wooden handle by means of a tongue (Fig. 143e). The semi-circular blade is sharpened at its outer and convex side which is pushed against the roots of weeds.

243 [412] Various methods are used for the harvesting of crops. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer wheat and barley are always harvested by means of a sickle (*amreh*) (Fig. 143a–b). The sickle in Ayr is known as *elgechwad*, like the weeding implement mentioned above. It is not used for harvesting crops, but for the cutting of annual grasses to be stored for fodder (Fig. 143f). In Ayr both wheat and barley are 245 harvested by drawing the straws from the ground with the hands. In Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer sickles are also used for harvesting dates, while the date-growing agriculturists of Ayr use another method. They do not cut the bunches, but proceed in the following way:— When dates begin to ripen they enclose every bunch in a plaited pouch to protect the fruit from the ravens and other birds. The dates are harvested one by one when they are ripe, while those not yet fully ripe are left to be harvested later. Harvest is done in this manner about once a week until all dates have become ripe. Maize in Ayr 243 is harvested by drawing the plant from the ground with the hand, and this work is normally facilitated by loosening the soil around the roots by means of the hoe. I do not know how maize is harvested in Ahaggar, where this plant is not so widely grown as in Ayr. Everywhere among agricultural people of Ahaggar and Ayr millet and sorghum are cut with a knife (Ahaggar, *ehnusi*; Ayr, *ezegiz*) (Figs. 171–172)

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Fig. 143a–f.
a–b. Sickles of the type used for harvesting wheat and barley in Ahaggar.
They are known as *amrek*, pl. *imrehen*.
a. From Tamanrasset. Total length, 0.271 m. (N.M. G. 5256).
b. From Abalessa. Total length, 0.365 m. (N.M. G. 5828).
c–f. Agricultural implements from Ayr.
c. The short threshing stick (*aburi*). From Iferwan. Dimension: 0.49 m. (N.M. G. 6618).
d. The hoe (*tagumit*) hafted by means of a tongue. From *Kel Ewey* Tuareg near Agadez. Dimension: 0.70 m. (N.M. G. 6615).
e. The semi-circular weeding implement (*elgechwad*). From Iferwan. Dimension: 0.295 m. (N.M. G. 6617).
f. The sickle (*elgechwad*) which is used for cutting annual grasses. From Agadez. Dimension: 0.305 m. (N.M. G. 6613).

241 It seems as if millet and sorghum are always harvested by women, while dates are harvested only by
462 men. Other crops are harvested by persons of both sexes.

243 Threshing methods are the same in Ahaggar and Ayr. Wheat and barley, which are sheaved and dried before threshing, are beaten with a stick (Ahaggar, *aburi*; Ayr, *aburi* or *asedbak*). This threshing stick is an unfashioned bough of trees or date palms, but a short and club-like implement is also frequently used in Ayr (Fig. 143c). Threshing of millet, sorghum, and maize is done by pounding in a

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Fig. 144. *Kel Ewey* woman winnowing grain by shaking it in a plaited bowl. Ayr. Iferwan.

243 large mortar. Winnowing of cereals is performed by shaking the seeds in a plaited bowl or tray to let
[415] husks and other impurities be removed by the wind (Fig. 144).

251 The Northern Tuareg use the following means for storing of crops:— (1) *taddat*, that is a skin bag
343 containing grain, dates, and the like, hidden under stones and rocks in the mountains; (2) *égend*, or *anu*, an underground storeroom lined with mats. It is used for cereals, including wild seeds, and is found both among agriculturists and pastoralists (Fig. 146); (3) *tarassana*, a grain silo built from stones and mud (Fig. 145). Nowadays such storerooms are not only used by agriculturists but also by pastoralists. However, this type of storeroom is said to have been introduced to Ahaggar with the introduction of irrigation agriculture about a hundred years ago, and was originally unknown to pastoral Tuareg.

[136] Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg all storerooms for cereals are known as *tédengewt*. The storing of vegetable food products in skin bags covered with stones or hidden under rocks is apparently unknown – perhaps because of the numerous small rodents and the rich insect life which includes numerous white ants. Underground storerooms like those of Ahaggar are used by agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike. They are frequently excavated so deeply that they can hide a grown man standing in

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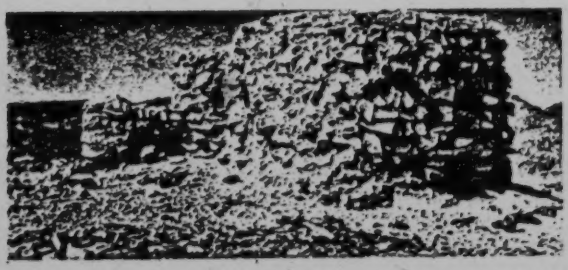
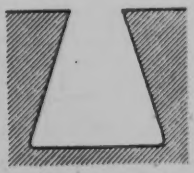
them. They are lined and covered with mats as in Ahaggar, and though they may be used for the 251
storage of wild seeds they are mainly used for grown cereals and are generally found in or close to 343
gardens. Grain silos built of stones and mud – the *tarassana* type of Ahaggar – are said to occur among the *Kel Ewey* but I have never seen such storerooms in their villages, nor have I met the typical African storeroom built of straw and resting upon poles until south of the Massif in Damergu where they are used by shifting cultivators. Large earthenware containers shaped like cooking pots are used [415]
to store vegetable products (cereals) in certain villages, particularly at Ifetwan. Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr have the underground storerooms for the preservation of surplus grain and other vegetable products. Cereals to be consumed in the camps (notably millet) are kept in large skin-bags resting [415]
upon poles that they may not be damaged by white ants. The Ahaggar Tuareg also preserve cereals in their tents in skin-bags.

Irrigation agriculture is a strenuous task, but it is less influenced by climatic conditions than all 241
other occupations practised in the Sahara. The farmers are not exposed to the same disasters of drought [461]
periods as are pastoral Tuareg in the north, though it is said that rain is a direct blessing also to irrigated crops. But cultivated plants are exposed to certain dangers, e.g., locusts, and crops do not always thrive as they should. Bad luck in agricultural activities may in the opinion of the farmers be due to [272]
some mystical power or other. It may arise from incorrect treatment of cereals and dates so that they [278]
lose their *elbaraka*. Menstruating women, as mentioned above, are dangerous to vegetable food, and [841]
this is also true of the fire, for which reason one should never throw date kernels into the flames. The farmers also fear that their crops may suffer damage from the attack of the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and partic- [754]
ularly from the attack of the malignant force attached to the "evil eye" or the "evil mouth". To protect their crops the farmers frequently use amulets such as broken pots and skulls of domestic animals [237]
(notably of donkeys), which are considered an effective means against the "evil eye" and the "evil mouth" (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 133 f., 160).





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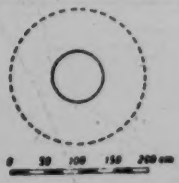


Fig. 145. Grain silos of the *tarassana* type built of stones and mud. Ahaggar, Abalessa.
Fig. 146. Cross section of a subterranean storeroom for cereals, and the like (*ighend*). Dimensions according to Foucauld: 2.00 m–2.50 m deep, 2.00 m in diameter at the bottom, 0.75 m in diameter at the surface (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 459 f.).

[Text continues on p. 209]

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Fig. 147. Tuareg caravan in the barren desert between Ahnet and Ahaggar. The *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

## TUAREG CARAVANS

Fig. 148. Caravan crossing the flooded river bed of Oued Dabaga in Southern Ayr. *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

# Caravan Trading

Caravan trading of the Sahara has suffered severely from the European colonisation of Northern 178
Africa. The establishment of ports and railways in the Sudanese area and the abolition of the slave- 437
trade have brought to an end the large caravans passing through the desert. In recent times another 484
heavy blow has been struck against the caravans, for transportation is more and more taken over
by trucks which can easily pass through the open desert country. Many pastoralists of Northern [433]
Africa suffer from the decline of their trade, which for centuries has been an important stabilizing
factor for their subsistence. The decline of caravan trading is also strongly felt in the oases, which [366]
have played a very important part as trading posts or trading stations. Some of these oases have far [161]
fewer inhabitants nowadays than in the past, and it is most difficult for many sedentary people of the
oases to exist. The decline of the trade has been felt also among the pastoral Tuareg. But caravan
trading is still important to most of them, and many of them could not support life without it. To
understand the important role of caravan trading we have once more to return to the economic values
of subsistence activities.

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AHAGGAR TUAREG

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot live exclusively on stock-breeding products all the year round – not even 433
in good years when annual pasture is well developed in autumn and early winter. Even in a good 262
year the nomads mainly eat vegetable food throughout the hot season, and some bread or porridge
is also consumed during the period of abundant milk yields. It is true that nomads can subsist entirely
on milk for long periods, and that some people do so for weeks or even months. Galan says that
pastoralists of of Ahaggar, when they live entirely on milk, can do with four litres a day per person
(Galan 1951, p. 231). But it is estimated by the Ayr Tuareg that they need about eight or ten litres a
day to live entirely on milk, and they all claim that they get weary from constant milk drinking. They [261]
say that though they do not feel hungry when they live exclusively on milk they experience a peculiar,
unpleasant feeling in the stomach. The relative importance of stock-breeding products (mainly milk)
and vegetable food (mainly wheat, millet, and dates) may be seen from the diagram Fig. 151.[1] In a
good year there is normally some possibility of collecting wild seeds for bread and porridge, but the
Tuareg claim that they cannot easily cover their need of vegetable products even in a year when milk
is abundant. And milk is not always abundant. We can estimate that for two or three good years 433

[p. 209]

[1] [cf. p. 216]

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there will be one entirely dry year throughout, during which stock-breeding products have little or no value as food, and in such years of dry pasture there will also be very few wild plants to collect. Hunting, which plays little part for most Tuareg nowadays, is also of little value in an entirely dry year when many game animals die or migrate to other regions with more favourable pasture. It would seem obvious for pastoral Tuareg to do the same and to take their animals to grazing grounds outside of Ahaggar – particularly to the southern plains where pasture is normally better than in their own country. We have seen that most Ahaggar Tuareg in bad years have their she-camels far from Ahaggar in the Tamesna plains or in the country north of Adrar-n-Foras. We have also mentioned that, under very severe conditions, camps of Ahaggar and Ahnet may move to these southern regions with their flocks, though extensive goat-migrations are not always profitable. But most Tuareg remain in Ahaggar even in very dry years with their camps and flocks. Some of the animals will die, and none of them can be mated so that the flocks may rapidly decrease. During such years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg live so to speak exclusively on agricultural food products of which they get only a part from their gardens grown by sedentary agriculturists (the *Harratin*, or *Izzegaren*). It is mainly through caravan trading that the Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their vegetable food products. Their two important trading expeditions to the Tidikelt oases and to the Sudan are carried out anually for the main purpose of acquiring dates and millet.

Trading with the Tidikelt oases (Awlef and In Salah) is based mainly upon a surplus of goats, camels, butter and cheese, and on dried meat. But many Tuareg who obtain large amounts of millet from the Sudanese trading expedition also sell part of their wheat grown in their own gardens in Ahaggar, and Sudanese articles bought during their south-bound trading expedition. In a dry year some Tuareg may choose not to visit the Tidikelt area as they have too small a surplus for trading. The south-bound caravans, on the other hand, are rarely prevented from going as their main trading object is rock-salt of an excellent quality mined at Amadror north-east of the Ahaggar Massif. Both north-bound and south-bound caravans will set off in autumn when the hottest season has come to an end, that is at the end of September or at the beginning of October.

The caravan route from Tamanraset in Ahaggar to In Salah in Tidikelt is about 750 kilometres, and the route is rather difficult because pasture is normally lacking for three to four days of the journey. Most Tuareg who cross this part of the desert therefore bring with them large supplies of the dried *tullult*-grass (*Aristida pungens*), which also serves as fodder for the pack-camels during the stay in the oases around which there is little pasture. The journey takes about twenty days in each direction, and the north-bound caravans return to Ahaggar again already in December or in January. The traders return with their camels loaded with dates of which a part may be re-sold in Ahaggar (Tamanraset), but they also buy European cotton and other European articles, which are cheaper in the north, and woollen blankets woven by sedentary people of the northern oases.

The south-bound caravans are very extensive. The towns visited in the south are Agadez, Tanut, and Zinder. The distance from Tamanraset to Zinder is, as the crow flies, about 1200 kilometres, while the distance from Tamanraset to Amadror, where salt is mined, is about 300 kilometres. In total the caravan journey from Ahaggar to Zinder and back again for many Tuareg amounts to more than 3000 kilometres. The south-bound caravans are organized as follows:— Slaves take the

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Fig. 149. The market place of Agadez. In the front negroid Hausa men roasting small pieces of meat on a spit; in the background Tuareg camels offered for sale.

484 pack-camels to the salt pit of Amadror to mine salt in the hot season. They load the camels with salt
487 and bring them to the camp where further preparations for the journey are made. When the caravans
[317] have started southwards they stop in the Tamesna plains and rest there for at least one month to allow
the pack-camels to feed on annual pasture, and, if necessary, to exchange the pack-camels with others
[437] kept by the Ahaggar Tuareg in Tamesna. Thereupon the caravan will continue towards the millet-
growing towns and villages of the Sudan to bargain with the Hausa. The caravan returns to Ahaggar
[22] again at the end of March or at the beginning of April, so that the total duration of a south-bound caravan is up to six or seven months.

438 The Sudanese millet trade is of extreme value to the subsistence of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is partic-
439 ularly important to their economy that they obtain millet for non-nomadic products transported by camels, which are mainly bred outside of Ahaggar. The millet trade is consequently not much influenced by Ahaggar's changeable climate. According to official statistics, the Ahaggar caravans in 1946 exported 375 tons salt, and imported 720 tons millet, while the cereals grown in Ahaggar amounted to 197 tons (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). According to Galan vegetable food grown in the gardens of Ahaggar in 1950 (a bad year) amounted to 121 tons wheat, 5 tons millet and barley, and 4 tons of tomatoes – about 10 kg of wheat and 0.5 kg of millet, barley, and tomatoes per person (Galan 1951,
[466] p. 233). We see from this that the amount of cereals acquired in the Sudan far exceeds the amount grown in Ahaggar, and as we have mentioned, the millet trade is also important for the establishment of Tuareg agriculture in their own country where this cereal is used for payments to cultivators. It can also be added that the Sudanese caravan trade is more important to the Tuareg than appears from
[435] the figures above. For salt is much more valuable than millet, and for one load of salt the Tuareg receive from four to fifteen loads of millet – in 1946 the price was fifteen to one (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). It is evident that the Tuareg could not take all this millet back to Ahaggar. Most of it is re-sold

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433 in the Sudan for such articles as camel saddles, sandals, swords, millet mortars, indigo cotton, earthen-
439 ware pots, and the like. The Tuareg may also buy quantities of butter and cheese for sale to the sedentary people of Tidikelt and for their own use in dry years.

The Sudanese trade constitutes the great stabilizing factor in the economy of pastoral Tuareg of
[262] Ahaggar. In return for the valuable rock-salt, pastoral Tuareg obtain the bulk of their agricultural food products (millet), butter and cheese for their own consumption in dry years, many important artefacts and notably their camel saddles and their millet mortars. They also get a surplus of millet and goods for investment in their Ahaggar gardens and for selling to the sedentary people of the Tidikelt oases.

There are certain Tuareg who do not engage in the Sudanese salt trade, notably those living in Ahnet; and these Tuareg nowadays have no irrigated gardens either. They acquire their necessary vegetable food products from Tidikelt (dates) and from Abalessa and Tamanraset (wheat). They buy these vegetable products with their surplus of goats, sheep, camels, butter and cheese, and an occasional
[511] barbary sheep. In a good year they can meet their needs of food in this way, but it is most difficult for them to subsist in dry years; and it may happen that two dry years come in succession. When I
[114] stayed among the Ahnet Tuareg in 1954–55, all camps visited were very short of food, while the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif who engage much in the salt trade (the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé*) possessed what they needed of wheat, barley, dates, and millet.

[366] To-day there is a rather important market at Tamanraset where many Tuareg sell surplus livestock, and where they can also buy cereals and dates. But it is always profitable to sell livestock and meat
[435] in the Tidikelt oases where meat, butter and cheese are very expensive articles. Dates are cheap in these
000 oases, European goods and woven blankets are also cheaper than at Tamanraset. The trading expedi-

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Fig. 150. Wooden measure (*muda*) which contains one kilo of cereals, or the like. The Tuareg have adopted the kilogramme into their own weight system. The proper Tuareg unit is the *taṣiwa* which, according to Foucauld, corresponds to three kilogrammes (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1160), but nowadays the Ahaggar Tuareg count one *taṣiwa* as equal to two kilogrammes and a half. The Tuareg have wooden or metal measures of *taṣiwa* size, and there are also larger measures to be used for grain, dates, and the like. For units smaller than *muda* the Tuareg sometimes use a wooden measure called *tanaḳast* which holds half a kilogramme. Smaller quantities are measured with the hand held half open, and it is recognized in Ahaggar that one *taṣiwa* corresponds to 99 handfuls. In Ayr it is very common to use a little plaited bowl (*iéfakemt*) as the smallest unit of measurement. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.125 m in diameter at the rim. (F.M. 168).

7:Nicolaisen E 5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The trading expedi- 437
tions have remained important to the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it is clear that they would not go on trading 484
were these expeditions not profitable, for trading expeditions are extremely strenuous. Though the 461
expeditions set off when the extreme heat is decreasing, it is still very hot in the extensive barren plains in autumn and in winter during daytime. Water and pasture are often extremely scarce in this deserted country, and the Tuareg frequently have to travel rapidly. For days or weeks they live so to say on their camels, and if camels are not too heavily loaded they may do up to 16 hours a day for several days in succession. Under such journeys the Tuareg eat only once a day. Obviously such trading [262] expeditions are also very hard on the pack-camels, and there is always a risk of loosing a camel during such journeys through barren, desert country.

In this brief outline of caravan trading I have not considered those Ahaggar Tuareg living constantly 433
in the Tamesna plains and adjacent regions. These Tuareg own more livestock than the Tuareg of the 184
Ahaggar Massif, and I do not believe that they engage so much in extensive trading expeditions. [133]
They are comparatively rich in she-camels which are tolerably good milk yielders in these regions [262]
most of the year, and milk is more important as food than it is in Ahaggar. I believe that most Ahaggar [438]
Tuareg of the Tamesna region acquire their necessary vegetable products by selling surplus livestock [261]
butter and cheese at the markets of Ingal and Agadez.

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AYR TUAREG

Among the Ayr Tuareg stock-breeding products are far more important for food than in the north. 433
Grazing conditions are better with annual pasture as a recurrent event, and the Tuareg keep bigger 262
flocks of goats and sheep, larger camel herds, and most have a few zebus which are guarded without much difficulty. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr can live on milk for a large part of the year, though they, like those of Ahaggar, become tired of milk drinking if they get no solid food. There are Tuareg of Southern Ayr who live exclusively on milk for two or three months during the periods of *okasa* and *rarat* and to whom milk is important as food for at least six months. In the extremely hot season of *ewilen* when milk is very scarce most Tuareg eat millet porridge with a little milk or sauce (cf. p. 242 f.), and Tuareg who are not very wealthy eat millet porridge to a great extent all the year round, so that the necessary amount of millet for many camps is about 0.5 kilo a day per person, or about 180 kilos a year. In Ayr there are fairly good possibilities of collecting if there are not too many [222] locusts, but most Tuareg do not collect a great quantity of wild seeds, and claim that they would be very badly off without millet, as seeds of wild plants are not very nourishing in comparison. In one [261] year during the second world war (in 1943) they say that millet was very hard to get; it was then very difficult to subsist and a great many animals had to be killed for food. Millet is almost indispensable to the Tuareg; they also consume other vegetables derived from agriculture, notably wheat, maize, and dates, but millet is the most essential non-nomadic food product. Normally it can be acquired by most Ayr Tuareg without much difficulty.

The people of Ayr obtain their provisions of millet from the Sudanese area of shifting cultivation 439
notably from Damergu (Tanut). Millet can also be bought at Agadez whereto it is brought by Tuareg 437

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439 caravans of the south or by Ayr Tuareg who import more millet than they need for their own use.
437 But millet is cheaper in Damergu than at the Agadez market, and most Tuareg prefer to organize
[435] their own millet caravans with camels and donkeys as pack-animals. In Damergu most Ayr Tuareg
[492] get millet in exchange for livestock or they buy it for money. Their caravans are not always very large,
[476] for the Southern Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not organize their caravans co-operatively
[484] on the basis of kinship. Many individual households fetch their own millet with a few animals, and it
[592] is comparatively easy to do so as the millet growing country of Damergu is not very far away – the distance from Agadez to Tanut is only about 300 kilometres. The Ayr Tuareg do not have to engage in extensive trading expeditions to procure millet, and can buy millet very cheaply. A household, it
437 is said, does not have to sell a great many animals to secure the necessary supply of millet. Three or
439 four camel loads will cover the needs of most households, and this amount of millet can be acquired
435 for comparatively few animals – particularly if the animals vended are sheep, which have become
592 very expensive in recent times owing to the rapid increase of Europeans at Agadez. An extremely good
162 sheep or ram for slaughtering can bring in 2000 to 3000 West African francs, and a Tuareg household which buys millet in Damergu will need less than 10,000 francs to acquire the quantity necessary for a year. Thus the Ayr Tuareg can obtain their millet for a few sheep, and there are very few, if any, who do not posses this surplus, and it should be repeated that the increment of livestock is never stopped by drought periods as in the north. The extremely high price for sheep for butchering is a recent phenomena due to the increase of the French population. Fully-grown sheep or rams are expensive, and this is also the case with fowls, while goats are cheap. I believe we can estimate that a household would have to sell about 15 goats anually to obtain the amount of millet necessary for one year's consumption. However, there is little doubt that it has always been quite easy for the Tuareg of Southern Ayr to obtain the requisite amount of millet in exchange for livestock.

262 Millet and milk constitute the basic nourishment of the Ayr Tuareg, but they are very fond of an
[222] occasional change of food. And I believe that this is one important reason why the Ayr Tuareg, like those of Ahaggar, collect wild seeds even in years when grown cereals are abundant. For a change, the Ayr Tuareg are also extremely fond of dates which are not grown to any great extent in their own country. A few Ayr Tuareg own palms yielding dates of poor quality, and I think that a few house-
[439] holds also obtain some dates from Ingal. However, most dates eaten in Ayr are imported from the oasis of Bilma, situated in the very barren desert country between Ayr and Tibesti, about 700 kilometres north-east of Agadez.

437 The trade with Bilma is apparently an ancient one, and its foundation is salt which is of a very bad
439 quality compared with that mined at Amadror in the north. The rock-salt of Amadror is excellent
[317] for food, and though there is one good quality of Bilma salt that is used for food by the Tuareg of
[263] Ayr, most salt from Bilma contains much soil and other impurities. This impure salt is excellent for
[233] domestic animals which, in Ayr and further south where salt pastures do not exist, need a lot of salt. The Ayr Tuareg, and particularly those who do not visit the country of Azaouar at the end of the rains, need salt not only for their own food but also for their domestic animals. They obtain this from Bilma, which is visited by caravans in autumn or in the early winter. The inhabitants of Bilma, like other oases-dwellers, are in constant need of cereals and meat, and these products are imported

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by the Tuareg of Ayr, the *Kel Geres*, and other Tuareg. The Tuareg obtain salt generally in exchange for millet, but they also bring with them dried meat, and meat from animals newly slaughtered; and although this meat is largely rotten when it arrives at Bilma it is easily sold to the oases dwellers who are yearning for meat. The oases dwellers have little to subsist upon but dates of which they have a surplus. This is purchased by the Tuareg, who get two loads of dates for one load of millet. The Bilma trade is less important nowadays than it was at the beginning of the century. In 1922 the Bilma caravans comprised about 7000 camels (Buchanan 1926, p. 83), while in 1908, when the trade was already decreasing, caravans numbered about 20,000 camels (Abadie 1927, p. 292). Caravans still go to Bilma to fetch salt and dates, but the salt trade is not so profitable to-day when Bilma salt can be bought fairly cheaply at Agadez, as the trucks bringing provisions from Agadez to the French administration and to the merchants of Bilma, take salt back with them when they return. The Ayr Tuareg do not organize their trading expeditions within family groups or sections as in Ahaggar. A Tuareg who does not want himself to go to Bilma may let a kinsman or a friend trade for him with his camels. The payment for this is a large loaf of salt which constitute one sixth or one seventh of a camel load.

The Ayr Tuareg do not generally obtain salt from the pits of Tegidda-n-tésemt though this place is not very far from the Massif to the west. They say that the Tegidda salt is not as good as Bilma's. The salt of Tegidda-n-tésemt is purchased mainly by the *Iwillemmoden Kel Dennek* when visiting the regions around Ingal after the rains. Some of the *Kel Ayr* who live in the extreme north (the *Kel Tédalé*, and others) occasionally go to Amadṛor in the north to fetch salt which is taken down to the Sudanese towns and villages. In years when drought prevails in Ahaggar these Tuareg take their surplus of livestock to the market at Tamanṛaset, for in dry years the provision of meat, butter, and cheese consumed in Ahaggar come mainly from Ayr and adjacent regions. When I stayed in Ahaggar in 1954–55 a great many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* came to Tamanṛaset to sell camels, donkeys, sheep, goats, and zebus, and also brought with them large quantities of cow's butter and cheese. The route followed from Northern Ayr to Ahaggar runs via I-n-aẓawa and I-n-abeggi which are the only wells between the two mountain massifs. Water is very scarce and so is pasture, which is mainly limited to a scattered vegetation of annual plants; over very large areas there is no vegetation at all. It is easy to drive camels and donkeys through these regions, while more difficult for sheep, goats, and cattle. The zebus easily get cut hooves from walking on stony ground, while sheep and goats suffer much from thirst. In spite of this, all kinds of livestock can be driven through the barren desert from Ayr to Ahaggar, even as late as the month of March which is extremely hot in the barren desert country. The Tuareg frequently lose animals which die from thirst and hunger during the journey, but the trade is nevertheless extremely profitable as prices of livestock are high in Ahaggar in dry years, while prices of European goods such as tea, sugar, cotton, metal vessels, and the like are extremely low compared with the prices asked for these goods in Ayr.

The Ayr Tuareg, though owning more livestock than the Tuareg of Ahaggar, have a certain demand of agricultural food products. These products are mainly grown outside of the Massif, for the farmers of Ayr grow little millet, very few dates, and part of the wheat grown in Ayr is exported to the oases of Ganet and Ṛat in the north. Though these vegetable products can be purchased at Agadez, it is profitable to fetch them where they are cheap, namely in the Sudan (millet) and in Bilma (dates). And

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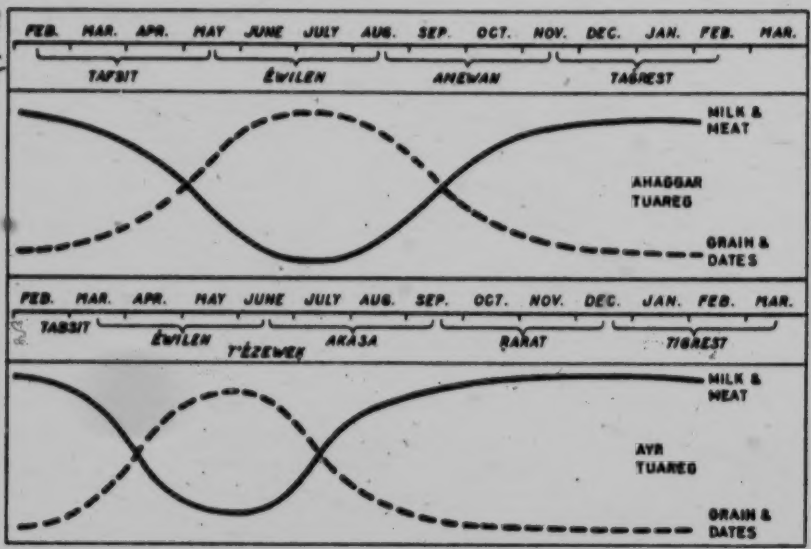


Fig. 151. The relative importance throughout the year of food derived from stock-breeding and vegetable products mainly comprising agricultural products. The curves describe conditions in good years for wealthy families. However, milk (and meat) is less important to most Ayr families than indicated in the diagram which covers a household making use of the particular type of annual pasture which remains green throughout winter, notably *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea ssp. Schimperi*) *adreyial* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tegellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). – This diagram should be compared with Fig. 14 where climatic and botanical changes throughout the year are outlined.

[511]
[824]

433 it is remunerative to buy an extra supply of millet in Damergu and to exchange it for dates and salt
439 at Bilma. Caravan trading is a source of profit to the Ayr Tuareg, but most of them ultimately acquire their agricultural food products in exchange for stock and stock-breeding products. Very few of them mine salt at Amadror, and most of them obtain salt in return for millet bought for domestic animals in Damergu, or for meat of domestic animals butchered in Ayr. The Tuareg cannot easily subsist without agricultural products but they can obtain them in exchange for their livestock.

233 We see again that conditions of stock-breeding are very favourable in Ayr in comparison with those
166 of Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where frequent drought periods make it difficult for the Tuareg to
[184] exist. It is easily understandable that the favourable grazing conditions of Ayr have caused many Tuareg of the north to migrate southwards. These migrations take place even to-day and have gone
433 on for centuries (cf. p. 411 ff.). However, even in Ayr it is most difficult to subsist without cultivated
262 cereals (millet), and we must do away with the myth that pastoralists of North Africa live entirely on milk and meat from their animals – they do not. This is true for all Tuareg I have visited, including

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



those of Tasilé-n-Ajjer and the *Kel Geres*. I have been informed by *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg of the *Kel Dennek* group, whom I met in Ayr, that they live on millet to much the same extent as the Ayr Tuareg, and that some of them have gardens cultivated by negroid agriculturists. For the *Kel Dennek* it is expressively stated by Nicolas that they cannot live on milk, that they kill comparatively few of their animals, and that they largely live on cereals obtained not only by collecting. Some of the Tuareg mentioned by Nicolas are described as semi-nomads (Nicolas 1950a, p. 145 ff.). Among the Southern Tuareg living further west in the Sudanese savannahs (the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*), agricultural products are very important to the pastoralists who may possess gardens along the banks of the Niger, these gardens being cultivated by the *Bélla* (Aymard 1911, p. 117; Miner 1953, p. 60 ff.). 433 262

Nowadays there are no Tuareg who subsist without agricultural products, a few of them (the *Kel Ajjer*) practise a primitive type of agriculture in the river valleys, and within all groups there seem to be Tuareg who have turned to irrigation farming as their most important occupation. In the following section I discuss briefly the subject of Tuareg economy in the past. [178]

## TUAREG ECONOMY IN THE PAST

Tuareg culture was not profoundly altered by the advent of European military administration around the beginning of the present century. Their traditional material culture has persisted largely unchanged up to the present day. The major change has been the abolition of warfare and consequently the breakdown of the traditional political system, but the abolition of warfare also led to important changes in the organization of caravan trading. 178 648

Raiding expeditions were carried out in some Tuareg groups even after the arrival of the Europeans, who established small garrisons in the oases and had camel patrols roaming the country as they have nowadays. Buchanan thus describes a raid carried out by Ahaggar Tuareg against the Ayr village of Timia in the year 1920 (Buchanan 1921, p. 207 ff.), and raids have not been entirely unknown in Ayr even later, though the raiders have then been severely handicapped by the establishment of the French wireless stations which enabled the camel patrols of different areas to communicate with each other (Rodd 1926a, p. 188). Raiding have nowadays stopped, but before the European penetration and conquest it was so to speak an industry to be mentioned with other subsistence activities. 175 721 648

The Ahaggar Tuareg were known as prominent raiders and warriors in the past. The two dominent chiefdoms within the group of Ahaggar Tuareg, the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ*, frequently raided the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg and the Arabs living north of Timbuktu, as these southern pastoralists were very rich in livestock and in slaves. Some of these Tuareg and Arabs even paid fixed dues to chiefs of the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ* in order that they should not be raided by Tuareg of these groups. However, these annual payments did not safeguard against raiding (cf. p. 401 f.). It seems as if the south-bound raiding expeditions were mainly profitable to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who could not so easily be raided in return by the Southern Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg also raided other neighbouring pastoralists such as the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the powerful Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* with whom they had frequent and very serious quarrels; these people raided the Ahaggar Tuareg in return. It can be 175 721

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175 added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was
721 also fighting within these groups at intervals.

[648] The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwillemmeden* and the Arab pastor-
[578] alists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg frequently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

[437] Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite of these latent conditions of hostility.

175 Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the
437 Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays. They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter, cheese, and the like.

175 The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day
437 the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times,
484 but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Hammu* who dominated the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays.
[439] They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also
[438] say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All
[317] this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadror were not utilized in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to
[361] the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then
[162] travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could not defend itself against raiders.

175 It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts
567 of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading
[648] until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in
[171] this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahaet who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

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1888, p. 21 f.). Duveyrier says that among the *Kel Aïjer* all noble Tuareg had slaves, while only some of the vassals were slave owners. He says that slaves were bought and sold in towns (Duveyrier 1864, p. 339). Information about the Tuareg slave trade is given by Richardson, who undertook his journeys mainly to collect material on slavery which is described throughout his journals. According to Richardson's descriptions there can be little doubt that the Tuareg engaged in the slave trade, but I think that perhaps his statements are tinged by his deep antiphathy to slavery (cf. Richardson 1848, I–II & 1853, I–II). It is most possible that the Tuareg slave caravans he mentions were organized by Arab merchants of Ṛat and Ṛadames. The former engagement of pastoral Tuareg in the slave trade has also been mentioned by Lyon (Lyon 1821). 175 567 [114]

As to Tuareg caravan trade throughout the 19th century, we can add that all Tuareg tribes did not trade to the same extent. Within most groups there were certain tribes of particular classes which did not go in so much for warfare and raiding, but were keen traders. This was true of tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class in Ahaggar, and in Ahnet there were two Arab tribes allied with the drum-group of *Taytok*, namely the *Sekakna* and the *Mazil* who were responsible for the very important trade with Timbuktu (Bissuel 1888, p. 24). Among the *Kel Aïjer* the *Iforas* tribes traded on a much larger scale than other tribes (Duveyrier 1864, p. 359 ff.). In Ayr the same was true of certain tribes of the *Kel Ewey* group. 175 437 184

However, throughout the 19th century all Tuareg, with the exception of those of the nobility, engaged in caravan trading which played a great part for the pastoralists, providing them with cereals and dates necessary for their subsistence. Already in this century certain pastoralists had taken up irrigation agriculture, and some of them practised a very primitive type of agriculture, but vegetable products were acquired mainly through caravan trading. 175 437 433

[text continues on p. 221]

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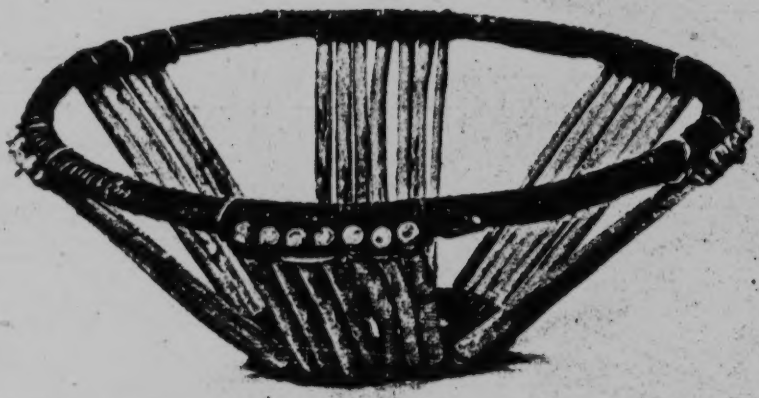

Fig. 152. Circular wooden frame to support milk-bowls and other food-containing vessels. The frame is attached to the roof of the mat tent or rests upon sticks (cf. Fig. 291). This is done in order that food and food-vessels shall not be damaged by the numerous ants. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.44 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 6663).

# Food Preparation

It is natural to open this chapter on food preparation with a description of the use of milk (*akh*) among 234
pastoral Tuareg. The milk which serves as nourishment for the Tuareg derives from goats, sheep, 262
cows, and camels. Milk of all these animals is frequently drunk fresh without any preparation, and this is generally the case with camel's milk, which is not fitted for churning butter or for the manufacture of cheese (cf. p. 63). Milk of goats, sheep, and cows is used for butter and cheese, and is added to various dishes to be described below.

Fresh milk, which is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *akh kefayen*, is sometimes heated by means 252
of hot stones (*iḍayen* in Ahaggar; no particular name in Ayr). The stones heated are then put directly into the wooden milking bowl. The Tuareg practise this method mainly in winter as they do not like to drink cold milk, but milk is heated all the year round in this way with milk of animals which have just brought forth kids, lambs, or calves including camel calves. The milk taken from a mother animal until about twenty four hours after the birth of kids, lambs, or calves is known to the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr as *éderes*. It is very rich and when it is heated by means of hot stones it becomes very thick forming almost a kind of cheese which is highly esteemed by the nomads. The milk of sheep and goats is considered *éderes* for two days after the birth of kids and lambs, though this term should properly be applied only to milk taken the first day after birth. The main reason for using hot stones for milk heating is said to be that milk does not get dirty in this way as it does if heated in earthenware pots over the fire (cf. p. 126).

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Sour milk (*selay* in Ayr) is consumed mainly by the Ayr Tuareg, who conserve it in skin bags and [251]
especially in calabashes, for which reason this sour milk is also known to the Ayr Tuareg as *akh n* [415] *
*ezenu*, that is "calabash milk". The milk is often left about twenty four hours for souring, and it is [252]
then placed in a very cool place in order that it may not turn into junket which is not eaten by the Tuareg.

Both in Ayr and in Ahaggar the Tuareg may add water to fresh milk (cf. p. 126), and the Northern Tuareg also add water to buttermilk (*akh n aǵiwir*). This mixture of water and butter-milk is in high [484]
esteem among the Northern Tuareg, and camel riders frequently carry it with them in a special skin- [415] *
bag, known as *tasufra* (Fig. 155), attached to the riding saddle. Butter-milk cannot be transported in this way if water is not added, for the milk, though already once churned, will become butter during the camel's march. The Ayr Tuareg do not drink butter-milk which is given to domestic animals, but this beverage is so appreciated by the Northern Tuareg that some of them will not drink fresh milk unless butter-milk has been added, a mixture known as *agerengefa*, *akh imsayen*, or *umsey*.

[p. 221]

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[531]

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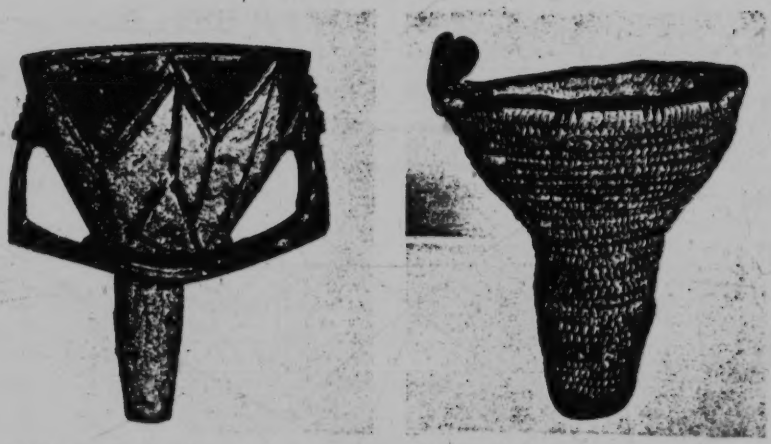

Fig. 153a–b. Tuareg funnels (*éssegefi*, pl. *issegefa*) which are used for milk, butter, and for other liquids.

a. Wooden funnel ornamented by burning. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (F.M. 240).

b. Funnel plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) with the rim reinforced with leather. Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.135 m high. (F.M. 243).

234 *4/5 In Ahaggar the method of churning butter is as follows:— Milk of the morning yield is put into a skin bag (*émesesley*) (Figs. 156–157) to remain in this bag until next morning when churning takes place. During the hot season the *émesesley*, filled with milk, is placed in the shade of the tent in daytime, while in winter it is placed in sunshine, or close to the fire. Some milk of the evening yield is sometimes added to the morning milk in the *émesesley*. Before churning the milk thus soured is poured into the proper churning bag (*aḡiwir*, *tanwart*) which is inflated and shaken. Churning bags may vary in size; when there is little milk to be churned a little bag is used and shaking is done holding it in the hands (Fig. 158). When milk is very plentiful, butter is sometimes churned in larger bags (*anwar*), which at one end is attached to a pole, while shaking is done by pulling the other end of the bag with one or both hands. When the milk is shaken in this way it forms small white balls of butter which are removed from the churning bag with a wooden spoon (Fig. 191) when water has been added. This white butter (*udi wa mellen*, or *tesendut*) is occasionally used for food without further preparation, but this is not normal, for newly-churned butter is generally put into an earthen pot (*téṛirt*, or *ufrun*) (Figs. 186, 187a–b) together with parts of an annual plant known as *aymesnis* (*Chlamydophora pubescens*) (Fig. 160) to be heated over the fire. Some Tuareg also add meal of dried dates, or of horns of barbary sheep. After heating, butter (*udi*) assumes a dark yellow colour. It is stored in containers made of camel's hide (*tahattint*, *asaḡen*, *aṛañha*) (Figs. 161–162), or in Sudanese calabashes (*azenu*) (Figs. 163a–b). A particular metal pail (*éṛir*) (Fig. 164) manufactured by native blacksmiths is also used for

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butter in Ahagg.

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butter in Ahaggar, and butter reserved for greasing the hair is frequently kept in a large horn (*isek*) of barbary sheep (Fig. 165). 251 415* [302]

The Ayr Tuareg make butter (*wiji*) in much the same way as the Northern Tuareg. For churning they use a skin bag (*anwar*), or a calabash (*azenu*), and they say that they prefer skin bags in winter, and calabashes in the hot season. Butter is heated or boiled immediately after churning, but the Ayr Tuareg do not add parts of plants, date flour, or the like. In Ayr butter is not churned as regularly as in the north. It is used mainly for cooking meat of thin animals, for a sauce which may be used for millet porridge instead of milk (cf. p. 243 f.), and for greasing the hair. Among the Northern Tuareg butter is added to many different dishes and particularly to bread, which is eaten almost daily by many people. In years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg get their butter from Ayr (cf. p. 212, 215), and the Ayr Tuareg make much butter for export in such circumstances. They churn most butter from cow's 234 [415]* [252] [302] [262] [438]

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Fig. 154a–c.

a. Wooden funnel. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣall* tribe. Dimension: 0.146 m high. (N.M. G. 5203).
b. Funnel consisting of a piece of calabash which derives from the south. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣall* tribe. Dimension: 0.131 m high. (N.M. G. 5202).
c. Wooden funnel with a strap of cord of goat's hair. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.175 m high. (N.M. G. 1.150).

All wooden funnels are cut from wood of the *tahorekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*). [824]

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Fig. 155. Skin bag (*asufru*) for the conservation of butter-milk on journeys. The bag is made from an entire goat-skin and has a handle of goat-hair cord tied to the skin patches of the hind legs. A leather handle is attached to the lower part of the bag which is ornamented with leather fringes, Ahaggar, the *Afab-en-tahit* tribe. Dimension: 0.77 m long without the fringes. (F.M. 89).

They churn most butter from cows

234 milk, and this butter is not considered as delicious by the Ahaggar Tuareg as their own butter, churned
[262] mainly from goat's milk. – The use of wooden churning sticks by means of which milk is stirred in
234 an open container is unknown in Ahaggar and Ayr, so far as I know. Churning sticks are used in
412 other Tuareg groups. They are common among the Tuareg of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas (Musée d'Ethnogra-
184 phie, Neuchâtel, no. 49.2.44 & Musée de l'homme, Paris, no. 38.16.48) and among the *Iwillemmeden*
171 Tuareg and the Fulani (Musée de l'homme, Paris, nos. 41.19.411 & 41.19.1326).

234 All Northern Tuareg, as well as the Northern Arab pastoralists and semi-nomadic Berbers and
[171] Arabs of the Atlas, make cheese from butter-milk, while this type of cheese is unknown among the
[184] Southern Tuareg and also among the Fulani. In Ahaggar butter-milk cheese (*awlez*) is manufactured
[412] by women in the following manner:— Butter-milk is heated over the fire in an earthen pot (*téyirt*, or *afrun*)
* [415] (Figs. 186, 187a–b) by which process the milk is divided into two parts, namely pure water and a curdled mass of milk (*akru*). This mass of curdled milk is placed in a special basket (*aragus*) (Figs. 167a–b) hanging from a tree or a similar object to sort out the whey. Thus there remains a mass of cheese in the basket, and this mass is formed into small round pieces to be left for drying. Butter-milk cheese is manufactured in this way by all Northern Tuareg who are thus able to obtain butter and cheese from the same milk.

234 Another type of cheese is made from fresh milk and is manufactured not only by the Northern
171 [i.e. the Ayr Tuareg -- Analyst]

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Tuareg but also by the southern groups and by Arab pastoralists of the Sahara; it is also known in 234
the Atlas, and is on the whole widely distributed in Northern Africa. This type of cheese is known to [171]
the Northern Tuareg as *takammart* and it is manufactured as follows:— Fresh milk is heated and [415]*
then poured into a large wooden bowl (e.g., *tarehut*) (Figs. 195a–b). The milk is curdled into a mass
of cheese by means of a rennet (*akammar*) consisting of the abomasum of kids that have never tasted
anything but milk. The curdled mass of cheese is pressed with the hands and with a piece of straw- [285]
mat (*éseber*) in order that the liquids may separate. The mass of cheese is formed into small rectangular
pieces of cheese which are left on the little straw-mat for about one day. They are then removed to [417]
be dried finally on a platform (*tahaga*, *tafalkat*) made of branches.

Cheese made from fresh milk is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tekemmart*; it is manufactured to very
great extent and much in the same fashion as just described from Ahaggar. The abomasum of little [224]
kids or lambs to be used for rennet is named *tedeyant*, and the Ayr Tuareg add parts of an annual
plant known as *ekochmaren* (*Caralluma Mouretii*) in order that the milk may curdle quickly. The [285]
Ayr Tuareg also use little mats plaited from stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) to press and
form the rectangular pieces of cheese; the Ayr Tuareg make mats (*tésebert*) (Fig. 168) particularly
for this purpose, while the Ahaggar Tuareg generally use an old piece of a tent mat (*éseber*). In Ayr
the rectangular pieces of cheese are dried on bunches of hay placed in trees (acacias), or on the top
of the mat-covered tents.

The *takammart* or *tekemmart* type of cheese made from fresh milk is in high esteem as food among 262
all pastoralists of the Sahara. It is generally eaten when newly-made and soft, though it may also be 251
stored. The Ahaggar Tuareg make this type of cheese only when milk is plentiful, while the Ayr Tuareg 234
manufacture it most of the year though the main season of cheese-making is the season of *akasa*. 221

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Fig. 156. Skin bag of the *dawaskiy* type used to sour milk before churning. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tahli* tribe. Dimension: 0.37 m high. (F.M. 170).

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Fig. 157. Skin bag (*imesesley*) for souring milk before churning. Ahaggar, the *Dag Reli* tribe. Dimension: smallest height 0.20 m. (N.M. G. 5207).

234 Milk of goats, sheep, and cows is frequently mixed to make cheese of the *takammart* type, but milk of these domestic animals is also used individually for cheese-making. The very best milk is said to be sheep-milk which gives almost white cheese, while cow's milk yield a more yellow-coloured one. –
128 The use of milk, butter, and cheese in connection with various vegetable dishes will be described later in this chapter, and we shall now briefly outline the use of meat and its preparation.

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Fig. 158. Woman churning butter by shaking the inflated churning-bag (*aḡiwir*) between her hands. Ahaggar, the *Aḡah-en-tehlé* tribe.

Meat (*isan*) is not a staple diet of the Tuareg. The Tuareg of Ayr consume more meat than the 262
Northern Tuareg, but even in the south it is not eaten daily. There are Ayr Tuareg who are reluctant
to kill their animals, and people who have much milk have very little need of meat. Meat is eaten by [674]
all Tuareg on certain festive occasions, whether social or (and) religious, and when camps are visited
by friends, certain relatives, and important guests. He-goats and rams, or barren goats and sheep, [231]
are the animals most commonly killed. The meat of sheep and rams is considered better than goat [232]
meat, and sheep are also highly esteemed for sacrifice. Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food 800



[text continues on p. 231]

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Fig. 159. Calabash (*azeau*) of the type used by Ayr Tuareg for milk and for churning butter. It is provided with a wooden stopper and a handle plaited from goat-skin. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.30 m. (N.M, G. 6664).

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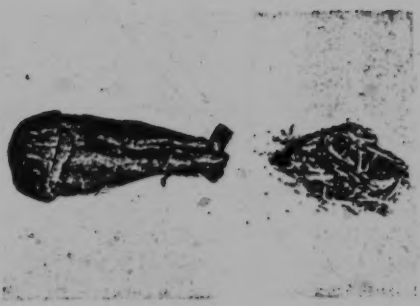

Fig. 160. Skin bag (*abelbof*) containing parts of the annual plant *ayursnis* (*Chlamydophora pubescens*) which are added to butter before heating in an earthen pot. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tohlé* tribe. Dimension: the skin bag is about 0.15 m long. (F.M. 153).

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Fig. 161a–d. Butter containers of the *tahattint* type made from camel's hide.

a. Provided with a leather stopper and a cord of goat's hair. Dimension: about 0.24 m high. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. (F.M. 113).

b. Made from camel's hide covered with goat-skin leather. The leather stopper is seen to the right. The handle consists of cords made from goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: about 0.30 m high. (F.M. 91).

c. Large container with four sticks inserted around the opening and a handle of rope made from goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ball* tribe. Dimension: about 0.36 m high. (F.M. 253).

d. Large container with a wooden stopper. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.60 m high the stopper included. (N.M. G. 1.45).

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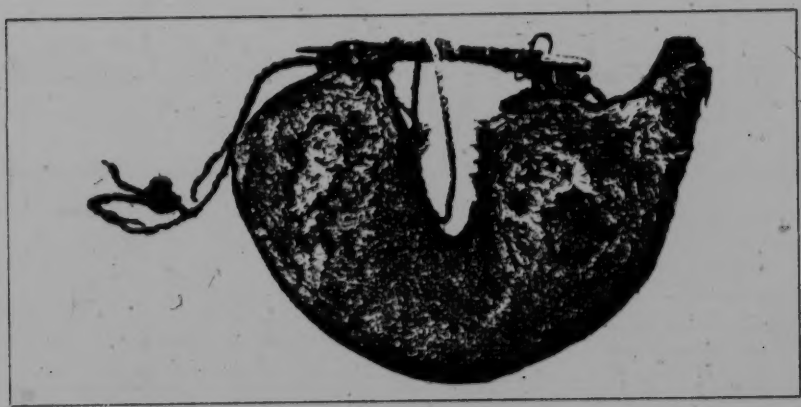

Fig. 162. Very large butter container (*ayakko*) made from the neck-hide of a camel. It is provided with a wooden handle wound with hide and with cords made from goat's hair and bast of *abarr* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Similar containers are also used for the conservation of cereals. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.62 m long. (N.M. G. 5201).

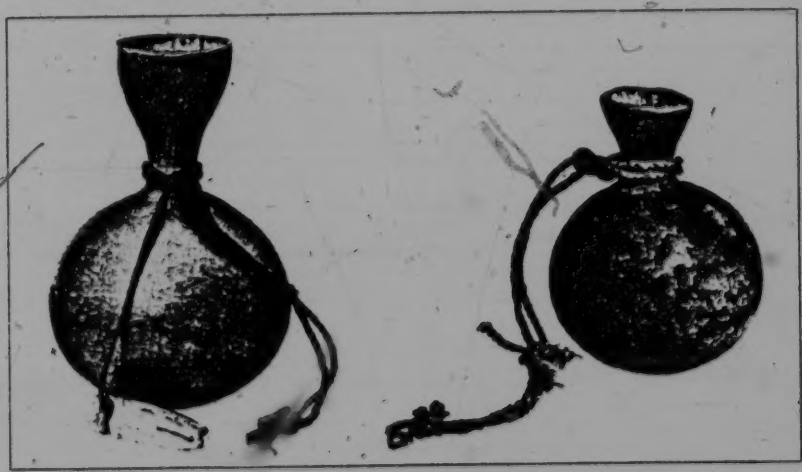

Fig. 163a–b. Calabashes used for storing butter in Ahaggar but introduced from the south (Ayr).

a. Calabash (*azwa*) with a wooden stopper fastened to a leather strap and provided with a handle of cord made of goat's hair. The wooden stopper is called *azkay*. Ahaggar, the *Ajah-ou-rahli* tribe. Dimension: 0.620 m high. (N.M. G. 5206).

[484] b. Calabash (*azawar*) with a handle of white goat's hair. Used for transportation of butter on journeys. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.175 m high. (F.M. 252).

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**Fig. 164. Pail (*éṛir*) made from tinned brass by blacksmiths. It is used for storing butter to be used for food preparation in the tent. Pails of this type form part of the dowry in the *Dag Rali* tribe. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. Dimensions: 0.155 m high, 0.230–0.235 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5820).**

Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food 231
they perform a sacrifice, the idea of which seems to be an identification of the man and the killed animal. 282
This idea appears most clearly at the sacrifice made on the occasion of the name-giving feast seven 525
days after the birth of a child. A marabut, that is a Tuareg of the *Inesleman* class, and the father of 553
the child stand close together with their faces towards Mecca while the animal to be sacrificed is kept 282
to the ground. The marabut cuts the animal's throat and doing so cries out the name to be given to [565]
the child, and this name is thereupon repeated by the child's father. When the killing is performed in [442]
this way the knife (*ekmar* in Ahaggar; *dzegiz* in Ayr) and the cut across the throat are washed with
water before skinning is undertaken. I have dealt with certain ideas of Tuareg sacrifice elsewhere, 114
and have stated that on certain occasions they may sacrifice not to God but to the *Kel Asuf* spirits 282
(Nicolaisen 1961, p. 122 f., 147 f.). But whatever may be the ideas attached to Tuareg sacrifices all 231
animals, with the exception of the camel (cf. above p. 65), are killed by cutting their throat.

The methods of meat preparation are almost identical in Ayr and Ahaggar. The most common 252
method everywhere is cooking in an earthen pot, known in Ahaggar as *ufrun*, *iéṛirt*, *alekkin*, or *talekkint* 415 *
according to its size and form, or in a metal pot (*éṛir*) of European origin. Such European pots are [177]
common everywhere in Tuareg camps, but earthen pots are still used though less durable, for earthen
pots are cheap. Pots made of metal or copper, which are also known as *éṛir*, were also found among

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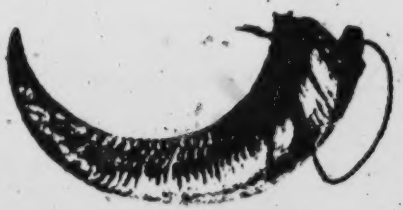

Fig. 165. Horn (*isrk*) of barbary sheep used for storing butter for greasing the hair. The opening is closed with a piece of date palm bast (*asan*), and the edge is pierced with a glowing awl (*ednel*) for the insertion of a cord of goat's hair by means of which the horn is attached to the tent ceiling. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.30 m long. (F.M. 236).

252 the Tuareg in the past. I believe that they were made by blacksmiths or imported from the north.
*415 Pastoral Tuareg do not manufacture earthen pots which are obtained from sedentary people. The
[222] cooking of meat is perhaps not a traditional method of food preparation to the Tuareg, though they seem to have used cooking pots for centuries.

252 A method of meat preparation undoubtedly introduced recently among the Tuareg, is that of spit
177 roasting. Meat roasted in this way is known as *mechwi*, a word of Arab origin, and the Northern Tuareg have taken over the method from the Arabs. The *mechwi* method is also known in Ayr, where it has perhaps been introduced by French administrators who had learned to appreciate meat thus
252 prepared during their visits among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Pieces of sheep and goats and entire animals are prepared in this way (Fig. 174), and the meat should preferably be prepared with butter and red pepper before roasting.

The traditional Tuareg roasting method is to place entire animals (goats, sheep), or parts of them, under the hot ashes of the fire. This method is known to the Northern Tuareg as *abatul*, to the Tuareg of Ayr as *ebewil* (Fig. 175). This method of roasting meat is practised everywhere among the Tuareg, and it is on the whole similar to the method used for bread-baking described below (p. 238 f.).

Meat-roasting in the ashes is no doubt an ancient Tuareg method of food-preparation, and this also holds good for another method described in connection with the preparation of milk, namely food preparation by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221). The Ahaggar Tuareg prepare the stomachs of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep in this way, putting hot stones into the stomachs, while camel stomachs are boiled in a cooking pot and gazelle stomachs roasted in the ashes according to the *abatul* method mentioned above. These rules of food preparation seem also to be practised by the Ayr Tuareg, who put hot stones into stomachs of sheep and goats together with small pieces of meat. A stomach of goats or sheep prepared in this way, however, is given a final treatment in hot sand or in ashes close to the fire. The stomach of sheep or goats cooked [illegible] hot stones is known as *tarafa*, and a related word seems to be known also in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1583).

[262] The Tuareg eat most entrails of their slaughtered animals. Entrails of camels are normally boiled, and kidneys of all animals are prepared in this way. Most entrails of goats and sheep (liver, heart, and lungs) are roasted on the embers or in the ashes, and in Ayr the Tuareg roast fat put into the abomasum (*tederant*). The Northern Tuareg generally prepare liver and fat together in the following manner:— The liver is roasted upon the embers, is thereupon cut into small pieces which are wrapped

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up with small strips of fat. The pieces of liver covered with fat are put on a slender iron or 252
wooden rod to be roasted slightly over the fire. This dish is known to all Tuareg by the Arabic word [177]
*elmefif*. It was introduced among the Northern Tuareg by the Arabs, but is not widely known among the Ayr Tuareg.

This brief description of Tuareg meat preparation can adequately be supplemented by a reference 252
to two peculiar dishes:— (1) A dish known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *talebeggat*. It consists of meat 262
which after boiling or roasting is pounded in a large mortar and frequently served with liquid butter. This dish is also known to the Ayr Tuareg. (2) A dish which is described from Ahaggar by Foucauld 252
under the name *abangor*. It consists of untanned skin which is eaten in case of hunger after the following 261
preparation:— Untanned skin from household implements, shields, and the like is roasted under the ashes, and is thereupon pounded into small pieces. These are eaten without any further preparation, or after boiling. (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 73).

Like other North African peoples the Tuareg dry meat of domestic animals and of game. The people 251
of Ayr know three distinct drying methods, namely (1) *iwesse*, that is meat which is boiled until it is free of blood; it is dried in the shade; (2) *tikelsin*, uncooked meat cut into pieces to be dried on a string in the shade; (3) *kules*, uncooked meat cut into strips which are dried for some time to be treated with salt and various spices. This last method is not practised among the Tuareg of Ayr, but by sedentary people of Agadez and by Negroes further south in Damergu. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally boil or roast the meat before drying; meat roasted in the ashes according to the *abatul* method and thereupon dried is known as *takasa*. I do not know whether the Ahaggar Tuareg also practise the [225]
method of drying raw meat like the Ayr Tuareg, but the dried *agezzerum* lizzards which they take to Tidikelt on trading expeditions, are dried uncooked. Furthermore, the method of drying raw meat [171]
is known elsewhere in the Northern Sahara, and I have myself seen it practised among the Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

I conclude the description of Tuareg meat preparation with a brief note on the use of blood of living 272

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Fig. 166. Wooden double-vessel (*azur*) to contain water and butter for greasing the hair. Similar containers with a third vessel for fine-grained sand are also found among the Tuareg. Made by blacksmith from wood of the *tahawak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Geometrical ornaments are produced by burning with a hot iron. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.241 m long. (N.M. G. 5880).

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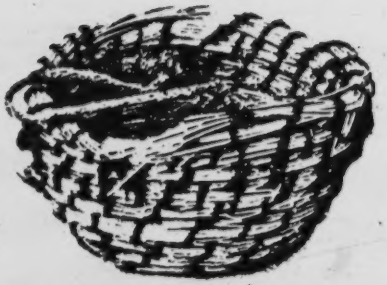

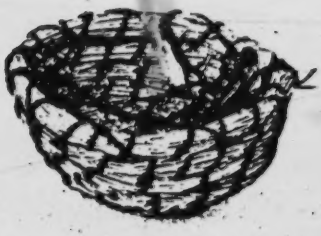

Fig. 167a–b. Baskets of the *aragus* type used for making butter-milk cheese (*awdes*). They are made from straw bent into circular bundles and kept together with thin cords (*ehafdes*) of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tahlé* tribe.

a. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.240 in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5818).

b. Dimension: 0.100–0.105 m high, 0.205–0.215 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5819).

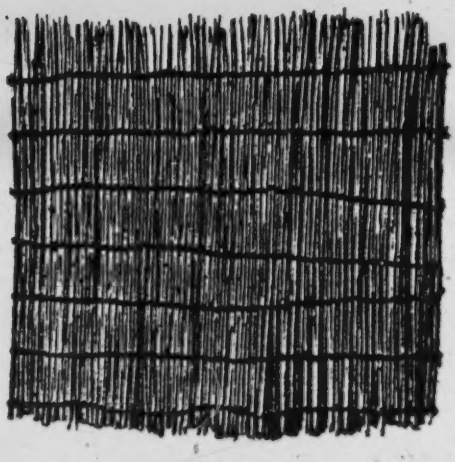

Fig. 168. The straw-mat (*tizebert*) used for the manufacture of *sokommert*-cheese known as *sokommert* in Ayr, that is cheese made from fresh milk. The mat is made of stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) united with narrow leather strips. Ayr, the *Kel Akerra* tribe. Dimension: 0.46 × 0.44 m high. (N.M. G. 6612).

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camels. This blood never constitutes a proper dish to the Tuareg. They bleed camels to drink their blood only when they lack water on journeys in the desert. Bleeding is done according to the method described above, and the blood is collected in a drinking bowl. But the Ayr Tuareg say that they work up the mass of blood with the fingers with the result that the upper part of the amount of blood becomes more liquid, though it is always red in colour.

The Tuareg use the following implements to make cereals or other vegetable products into flour:—

(1) A large wooden mortar (*tindé*) with a heavy pestle (*éheren*) (Fig. 177). It is used in all camps and villages of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr, and is in fact known all over Tuareg country. It is used mainly for pounding millet and sorghum, but it is also employed for pounding other cereals, including certain wild seeds, and for dates, cheese, meat, locusts, and the like. These large wooden mortars are manufactured by the blacksmiths of Southern Tuareg country, including Ayr, where most Northern Tuareg obtain their mortars. Among the Northern Tuareg there are also other mortar types. A small mortar which like the former rests on a foot and is known by the same name (*tindé*) (Fig. 178), is used mainly by sedentary agriculturists for pounding rock-salt, dried tomatoes, tobacco for chewing, and other plants or materials to be used in small quantities. Another type of mortar without a foot and known to the Northern Tuareg as *akabar*, or *takabart*, (Fig. 176) is found mainly among pastoralists who use it on journeys for pounding millet.

(2) A saddle quern (*tehunt*) (Fig. 179), which consists of two natural and in general unfashioned stones, is found in most camps of the Northern Tuareg. This constitutes the only grinding implement for wheat, barley, and certain wild seeds among the *Kel Ajjer*. The stones used for saddle querns are sharpened at intervals with a hard stone or some other hard object (*tasettekut*) in order that they may grind effectively. A simple saddle quern (*asav*) is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but it is less common there than in the north.

(3) The handmill (*tasirt*) (Fig. 181) is not a traditional implement of Tuareg culture. It is widely known all over Northern Africa both by Berbers and Arabs, by sedentary peoples and nomads living in black tents. It has been introduced to Ahaggar mainly by the immigration of the Arabic speaking Harratin (Izeggaren) of Tidikelt,

Fig. 169a–c. Pieces of butter-milk cheese (*awlez*, pl. *iwlezen*).

a. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.066–0.068 m in diameter, 0.022 m thick. (N.M. G. 5816).

b. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehki* tribe. Dimension: 0.062 [illegible] 022 m. (N.M. G. 5817b).

c. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehki* tribe. Dimension: 0.058 × 0.016 m. (N.M. G. 5817c).

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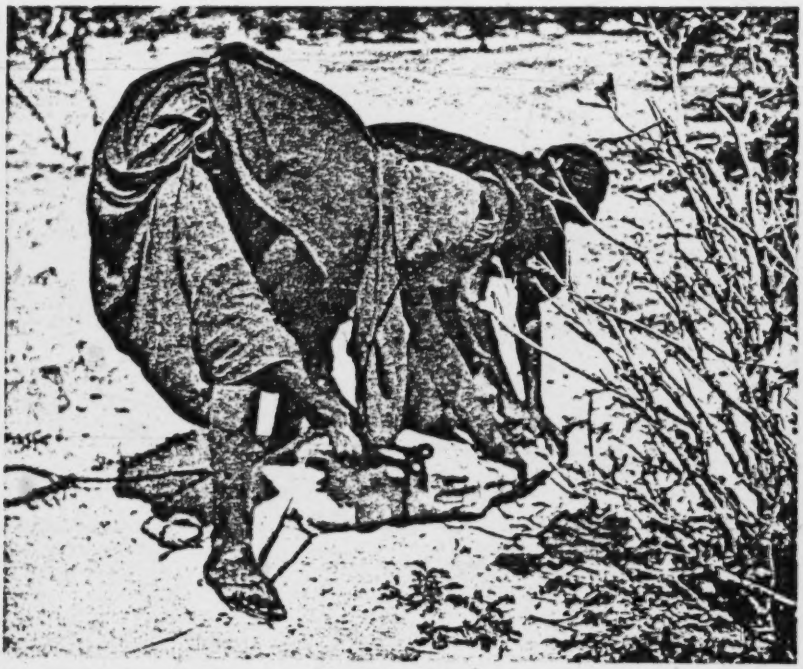

Fig. 170. Sacrificing a goat at the naming ceremony called *isnewen*. A marabut and the child's father keep the animal firmly to the ground. They stand with their faces towards Mekka and the camp of the new-born child. The marabut cuts the animal's throat simultaneously crying out loudly the child's name which is thereupon loudly repeated by the father. Ayr, the *Igendéynen* tribe.

4/2 *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*) of Tidikelt, and it is now also found in Tuareg camps (Fig. 182), where it is
252 less frequent than the above-mentioned saddle quern. The handmill was entirely unknown among the Ajjer Tuareg during my visit to Tasilé-n-Ajjer in 1952. The Tuareg who possess handmills obtain them from the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar (Tamanraset). – When saddle querns or handmills are used, a piece of cotton or skin (*asentel* in Ahaggar) is always placed under the grinding stones to catch the flour (Figs. 180, 182).

262 The Tuareg have many different vegetable dishes. The most important are bread, porridge, gruel, and various mixed beverages.

[262] Bread is a prominent dish for all Northern Tuareg who bake it mainly from wheat flour. Wheat bread has been my ordinary dish among all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Lhote states that

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Fig. 171. Ordinary meat-knife (*elmust*) of the type used among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Its broken handle is mended with hide of barbary sheep sewn with leather thread. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ball* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m (total length). (F.M. 249).
All knives are manufactured by blacksmiths.

wheat bread is eaten particularly during migrations and on trading expeditions, or in periods when 262
butter is rare (Lhote 1955a, p. 262). This statement disagrees with my own experience. Wheat bread [114]
is an ordinary diet of many Northern Tuareg. Bread is also baked from barley and from certain wild [224]
seeds (notably *tawit*, *Chenopodium Vulvaria*; *éhéyefyef*, *Aizoon canariense*; *tullult*, *Aristida pungens*) and wild roots (*akahel*, *Cistanche Phelypaea*), while millet and sorghum are considered less suitable for baking. Seeds are generally prepared for baking by grinding them into flour by saddle querns or 282
handmills. In Northern Tuareg country there are two types of bread which have been introduced as [172]
a result of contact with Arabs or the Arabic-speaking *Harratin*. One type is named *elfetat* and is baked

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Fig. 172a–b. Meat knives.
a. Knife (*dzegiz*) of Tebu type to be carried in its sheath around the upper arm. These knives are sometimes used in Ayr. Agadez. Dimension: 0.370 m. (total length). (N.M. G. 6620a–b).
b. Knife (*dzegiz*) of the double-edged type normally used in Ayr. The *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.377 m (total length). N.M. G. 6665a–b).

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Fig. 173. Tuareg skinning a ram. Ays, the *Igendéynen* tribe.

252 by placing the dough on a baking sheet. The other type of bread is generally known by the Arabic word *khubz*. This is baked from dough placed in the sand close to the fire, where it is covered with hot sand, ashes, and glows. These two types of bread in Ahaggar are baked mainly by sedentary agri-
[189] culturists and by Arab families. The type of bread traditionally baked by the Tuareg differs from Arab bread in that it is not made from proper dough, but from a kind of thin porridge or gruel consisting of flour mixed with water. This Tuareg type of bread is known as *tagella* and is baked as follows:— A heavy fire is lit in a shallow depression (about 25–30 cms in diameter and 8–10 cms deep) made

into fine-grained sand carried from the river bed to the fire place in front of the tent. When this heavy 252
fire has calmed down the embers and most of the ashes are moved from the shallow depression to its fringes by means of a small stick, and the thin porridge or gruel of flour and water to which also a little salt is added is poured out into the depression, a spoon being normally used to remove all the gruel out of the wooden bowl in which it has been stirred. A bunch of dry grasses, herbs, or tender twigs is thereupon fired over the gruel in order that its surface may harden, and it is then covered with hot fine-grained sand, ashes, and embers in the order mentioned. If the embers are considered insufficient for baking, a small fire may be lit on the top of the sand and ashes covering the gruel-bread, which is taken out after about twenty minutes to be turned and baked in the same way on the other side for a few minutes. Baking is then finished, the bread is finally removed to be washed in water (Fig. 183). It is broken into pieces and eaten from a large wooden bowl (Figs. 195a–b) together with 264 415* 412
liquid butter. It is eaten with wooden spoons (Figs. 191).

The type of bread just mentioned is known to people of the *Kel Ferwan* group as *tugella*. It is made 262
by very few Tuareg. Indeed, when I travelled together with Ayr Tuareg I very frequently baked my 252
own bread as I had learned to from the Tuareg of Ahaggar, because very few of the Ayr Tuareg I [122]
met were familiar with bread baking. Bread is not a staple diet of the Ayr Tuareg, and when they want to bake wheat flour they generally do so in the following way:— The flour is mixed with water to a dough which is placed upon the bottom and sides of a metal pot heated over the fire. This type of bread or bread-like dish is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *gurasa*. It can be mentioned that the
*Kel Ferwan* Tuareg also bake a particular type of bread from millet flour mixed with certain other 252
plant materials, but a bread of this kind is not baked for ordinary food, but as a kind of medicine. 261

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Fig. 174. Roasting meat-lumps by the *mechwi* method. Ayr, *Ech-chikhen* Tuareg of Demergu.

[text continues on p. 241]

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Fig. 175. Meat-roasting in the ashes – the method known as *abatul* (Ahaggar) or *ibewil* (Ayr). Ayr, the *Irawatten* tribe.

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Fig. 176. Little mortar of the type known as *akabar*, or *takabert*. This type of mortar is used by pastoral Tuareg on their trading expeditions, and it is provided with a handle (*ayaw*) of cord (goat-hair) for suspension. Ahaggar, manufactured by a blacksmith of Tamanrasset, the *Ajuh-en-tahli* tribe. Dimension: 0.23 m high, 0.16 m in diameter at the rim. (F.M. 111).

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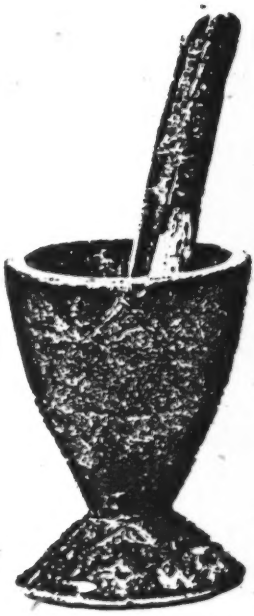

**Fig. 177.** The large millet mortar (*tindé*) with its heavy wooden pestle (*ɛheyen*). It is used almost daily for pounding millet in the camps and it is used also to pound other cereals, dates, and even meat. Mortars of this type are manufactured in Southern Tuareg country by blacksmiths. The specimen depicted is made of wood from a tree growing in the Sudan and known to the Northern Tuareg as *tuyla*. Introduced to Ahaggar from Zinder, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension of the mortar: 0.445 m high, 0.299 m in diameter at the rim. Dimension of the pestle: 1.255 m long. N.M. G. 5224a–b.

**Fig. 178.** Little mortar (*tindé*) with a short wooden pestle (*ɛheyen*). Manufactured from wood of *absey* (*Acacia Raddiana*) by a blacksmith of Tamanrasset. Ahaggar, *Ɣarratin* of Taṛhawhawt. Dimension of the mortar: 0.230–0.235 m high, 0.170–0.180 m in diameter at the rim. Dimension of the pestle: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5838a–b).

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It is called *ɛkanef* and is baked in the following manner:— The millet flour is mixed with juice of *tadent*-berries (i.e., berries of *Boscia senegalensis*) and also with certain medicines unknown to my informants who said they were of Sudanese origin. This mixture is made into a solid dough with a very small content of water, and is baked in the sand where it is covered with hot sand, ashes, and embers in the same way as the bread type known as *tugella* (*taġella* in the north).

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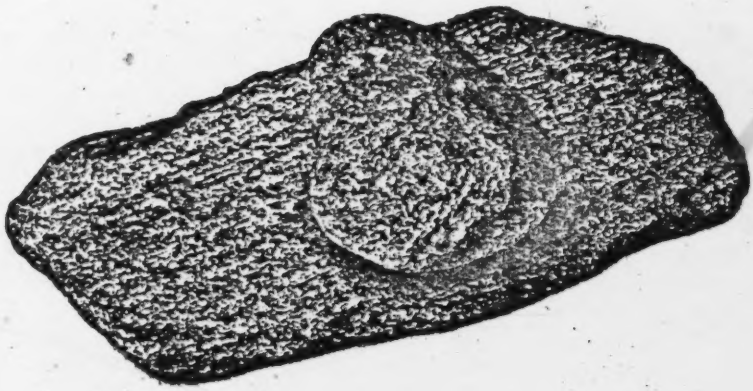

Fig. 179. Simple saddle quern (*tehunt*) of two natural stones: (a) the lower part called *tehunt*, (b) the upper part called *azzed*. It is used for grinding cereals. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the lower stone: 0.360 m long. Dimension of the upper stone: 0.115 m. (N.M. G. 5839a–b).

261 This *ékanef* bread is eaten exclusively by women who claim that it gives them a good appetite and makes them fat.

262 Millet porridge is a common dish among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it constitutes by far the most important vegetable dish to the Ayr Tuareg and the sedentary agriculturists of the south. Millet
252 porridge is known in Ahaggar as *esink*, in Ayr as *echink*. The preparation of millet porridge involves much strenous work as follows:— (1) An amount of millet seeds is poured out into the large wooden mortar (*tindé*, p. 235, fig. 177). A little water is added to the seeds which are then pounded for about
*[413] ten minutes. The seeds thus pounded are then poured out into a plaited bowl (*tabeyka*; Fig. 185) or another receptacle to be winnowed. This process is done by shaking the plaited bowl itself, and by pouring small quantities of the pounded seeds from the bowl into a plaited tray (*téseyt*; Fig. 184) which is better fitted for winnowing by shaking. The husks or pods covering the seeds are thus taken away by the wind. (2) When the pounded seeds have been cleaned or winnowed in this way they are replaced in the wooden mortar, and water is again added. The seeds are now heavily pounded for about half an hour, and most of them are turned into flour after this process, but a small amount of seeds remains unpounded. The mixture of flour and unpounded seeds are poured out into the plaited

bowl and the plaited tray just described, and the flour is shaken into the large wooden bowl (*elkada*; Fig. 195b) while the unpounded seeds remain in the plaited receptacles. (3) The small amount of seeds which have not yet been turned into flour is put back into the mortar, a little water is again added, and pounding is resumed for five to ten minutes. Most seeds are now turned into flour which is placed in the wooden bowl by shaking the plaited receptacles. (4) The seeds which are not yet pounded after this treatment are replaced in the mortar to be pounded for two or three minutes without the addition of water. The flour produced is shaken into the wooden bowl. (5) What remains unpounded is replaced in the mortar to be pounded without water for two or three minutes, and the flour obtained is shaken into the wooden bowl. (6) The flour is put into the large cooking pot (*éṛir*) which has been boiling with water during pounding. (7) An extremely small quantity of flour derived from a final pounding is added to the pot after cooking for about five minutes. (8) During cooking the porridge is stirred with a wooden stick known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aserwi* (Fig. 188).

Millet porridge (*esink*, or *echink*) is of heavy consistency and is normally eaten with milk by means of spoons. But if milk is lacking or is scarce, the Tuareg also add various types of sauces such as the following which is made by many Ayr Tuareg:—Leaves of certain plants (*abezey*, *Cassia tora*; *malokhiya*, *Corchorus tridens*; *kuka*, a large tree growing in the Sudan) or seeds of a plant known as *ékabewa* (*Corchorus olitorius*) are put into a large mortar to be pounded together with onions, dried tomatoes,

Fig. 180. Tuareg woman grinding wheat on the simple saddle quern (*tekast*). The saddle quern is placed upon a piece of skin (leather) called *asentel* which receives the flour. Ahaggar, the *Deg Ball* tribe.

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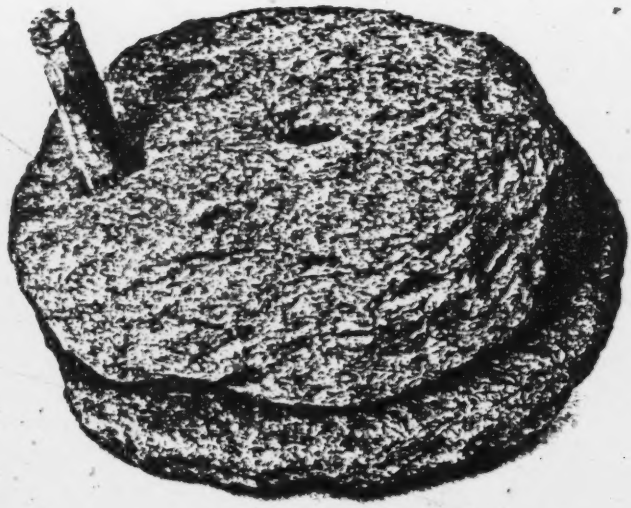

Fig. 181. A hand-mill (*tasirt*) manufactured by blacksmith of Tamanraset and used at that village by *Akl Azzi* Arabs. Dimension: 0.52 m in diameter (upper stone), 0.32 m in diameter (lower stone). (N.M. G. 5840a–b).

262 and red pepper which is much esteemed by the Tuareg, but not always available. The pounded flour
252 of these vegetables is boiled with water and butter and thus turned into a kind of thick sauce which is poured out over the porridge to be eaten.

The porridge type known as *esink* or *echink* can be made from other seeds besides millet. Porridge made from barley, which is then also pounded in the mortar, is highly esteemed by the Tuareg who also use various wild seeds and roots for this dish. Plants utilized for porridge are mentioned above in the description of collecting (p. 175 ff.). Porridge is also made from dried dates pounded in the millet mortar; this dish is common among the Northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg have a particular type of porridge which I have never tasted. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *barela*, and is made from pounded seeds of various cultivated plants (wheat, barley, maize, or millet). The seeds are pounded in the mortar but their husks or pods are not removed by winnowing. Otherwise the preparation of this dish is similar to that of ordinary porridge.

262 The Ahaggar Tuareg distinguish between very thick porridge called *tarawayt* and very thin porridge
846 or thick gruel known as *aliwa*. The latter dish is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the same name, and

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among them it is eaten in particular by women during the first seven days after the birth of a child, 262
that is during the period from birth to the name-giving ceremony known as *isnawen*. It is considered 246
dangerous for a woman to eat too much vegetable food during this period, while meat is believed to
make her recover quickly after birth. The same diet is followed by young boys after their circumcision 262
until their wounds have healed. These dietetic rules no doubt have their root in magical beliefs. 304

All Tuareg esteem liquid or semi-liquid dishes which are consumed mainly during the very hot 262
season. A very common dish of this type is that named *aṛejira* (Ayr) or *aṛehara* (Ahaggar). It is made
from flour of millet, sorghum, dates, and crushed cheese mixed with water, the main substance being
pounded millet. The dish is served in a large wooden bowl or in a calabash, and is eaten and drunk [412]
by means of a large wooden ladle called *tamulat* (Fig. 194a–b). This liquid dish is a substitute for [251]
milk during the hot season when milk is scarce, and it is frequently used for food on journeys, in which
case it is transported in the form of dough-like balls to be dissolved in water just before eating.

The terms *aṛejira* and *aṛehara* are used for various liquid or semi-liquid dishes, or beverages, for
which the Tuareg have particular names according to their composition. Dates are less important
for liquid dishes in Ayr than among the Northern Tuareg to whom dates form an important part of
food. Very important in the north is a dish known as *talekessat*; it is made from dried dates pounded [252]

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Fig. 182. Tuareg women turning a hand-mill (*tasirt*). In the foreground a woman shaking flour into a wooden bowl. Note the ornamented patches of leather hanging down from the tent sheet. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

[Text continues on p. 247]

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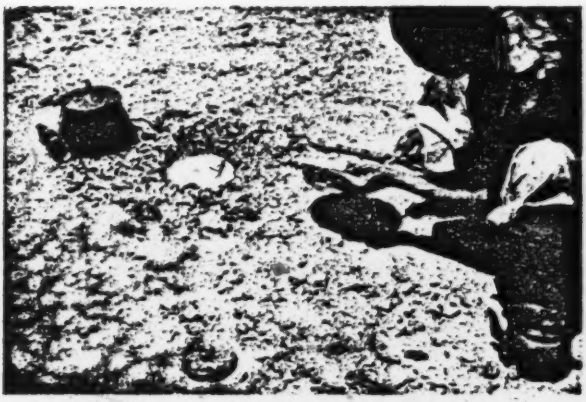

Fig. 183. Baking a *aqyella* bread. The gruel-dough before it is covered with sand, ashes, and embers. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

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Fig. 184. Plaited tray (*téseyt*) which serves to winnow grain and flour but is used also for a cover of milk-bowls and eating bowls. Made according to the technique of coiled-basketry by Tuareg woman. The plaiting material is straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*). Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-trhêl* tribe. Dimension: 0.333–0.343 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5824).

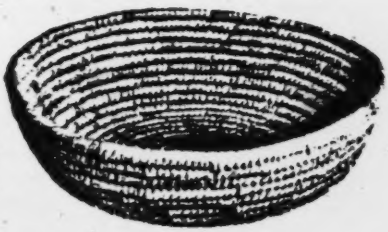

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Fig. 185. Tray or bowl (*tabeyka* – perhaps not correctly spelled). It is used for winnowing, and it serves as an eating bowl and a drinking bowl as this container is watertight. Coiled basketry of date palm leaves (*aghum*). Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.205 m in diameter. (F.M. 263).

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Fig. 186. Pot (*tafekkint*) with a single handle. Manufactured by *Ḥarratin* women in Ahaggar, the *Aghaben-tekki* tribe. Dimension: 0.18 m high. (F.M. 172).

in a mortar with a little water to a soft dough to which a little cheese, butter, or milk is added before 262
eating. If a large quantity of milk is added this dish is known as *tarkit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, as men- 252
tioned (p. 167), also pound dried dates with locusts to make a dish eaten by women who wish to grow fat. [261]

The Arabs and the Arabic-speaking agriculturists of Tidikelt (the *Ḥarratin*) have introduced among 262
the Northern Tuareg the well-known North African dish generally called kuskus. The dish is known [172]
to the Tuareg as *keskesu* which is also Arabic by origin. But this dish is not the staple diet among [171]
the Northern Tuareg that it is among the Arabs and the Berbers of the Atlas. It is eaten mainly on festive occasions, and there are many Tuareg women who even to-day do not know how to prepare it. The *keskesu* dish is preferably made from wheat flour, though barley flour may also be used. The 252
cereals are ground with hand-mills or quern stones (saddle querns), and the flour is rolled into very

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Fig. 187a–b. Earthen cooking pots manufactured by *Ḫarratin* women in Ahaggar.
a. Pot (*téṛiri*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanṛaset. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (N.M. G. 5841).
b. Pot (*alekkin*). Ahaggar, *Ḫarratin* of Taṛhawhawt. Dimension: 0.174 m high. (N.M. G. 5204).

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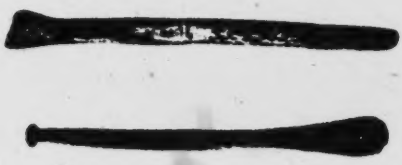

Fig. 188a–b. Simple ladles of the *aserwi* type used for stirring millet porridge. Made by Tuareg women from wood of *abeṛ* (*Acacia Raddiana*).
a. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.382 m long. (N.M. G. 5211).
b. Ahaggar, the *Iheyawen Hada* tribe. Dimension: 0.415 m long. (N.M. G. 5846).

252 *[415] small balls with a diameter of up to five milimetres. The balls are put into a special earthen, wooden, or plaited bowl (*denba*, or *denfu*; Fig. 189) which has a number of small holes in the bottom. This receptacle is placed on the top of a cooking pot containing meat and/or vegetables to be boiled in water for a soup. The small flour balls are thus steamed by the boiling soup in the cooking pot. Like

[Text continues on p. 250]

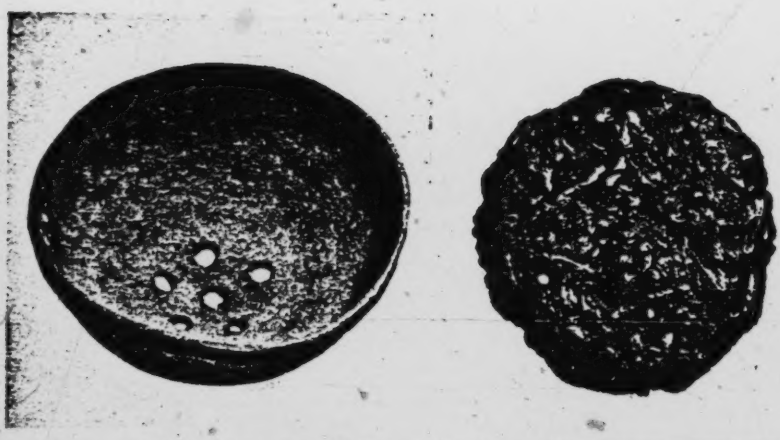

Fig. 189. Earthen jar (*deufu*, or *denbo*) of the particular type used for the preparation of *keskesu*. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.16 m high, 0.30 m in diameter. (F.M. 215).

Fig. 190. A kind of cake (*tarfat*) made of onions and dates which are mixed and pressed. Such cakes are made in Tidikelt but are sold at Tamanraset by Arab merchants. They are pounded in the mortar or are crushed between two stones before cooking. Dimension: 0.10 m. (N.M. G. 5847a).

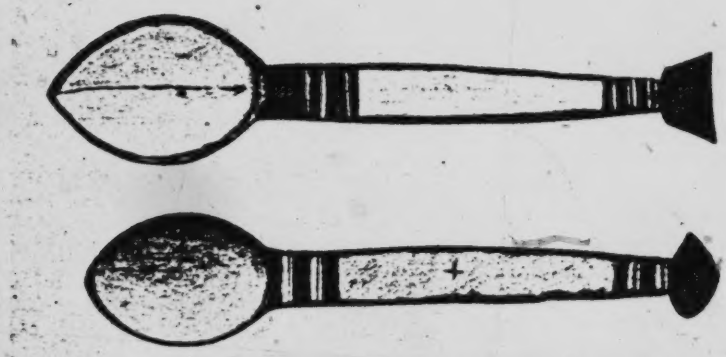

Fig. 191. Wooden spoons (*tesukalt*, pl. *tisukalin*) cut by blacksmiths from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehle* and the *Dag Ball* tribes. Dimension: ca. 0.26–0.28 m. (F.M.).

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Fig. 192. Tuareg woman cooking millet porridge. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehle* tribe. The cooking pots seen on this photograph are bought in the Sudan on trading expeditions. Sudanese pots are superior to those made in Ahaggar.

Like

264 most Tuareg dishes they are eaten from a large wooden bowl. If meat is cooked with the soup it may be broken into small pieces to be eaten with the balls, but part of the meat cooked is always eaten separately. The Tuareg eat *keskesu* with spoons, but if spoons are lacking they also eat it with the
262 hand, as do the Arabs. In addition to *keskesu* with its small balls which resemble grains of rice, the Northern Tuareg have another dish prepared in the same way but with larger balls. It is termed
[189] *tikhemmezin* and is considered inferior to the *keskesu*. – Both these dishes are unknown to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group.

262 Two particular dishes are mentioned from Ahaggar by Foucauld. One of them is called *ibergun*
252 and consists of unripe barley boiled in its own juice without water. The other one is known as *abezbez*
[267] and is made from tender plants of wheat and barley which are dried and pounded or ground into powder, to be eaten, boiled or unboiled, in periods of famine (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 89, 118).

Tuareg vegetable dishes are frequently prepared in a very simple way. Thus there is a dish known as *twes* (Ahaggar) or *tewes* (Ayr) which consists of entire seeds of millet or sorghum boiled in water. It is eaten mainly by children who frequently walk about the camp eating these boiled grains from their hands.

252 It is clear from the description of vegetable dishes that the cooking pot plays an important role for
*415 food preparation, and all dishes prepared in this way, including cooked meat, are known to the Tuareg

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as *téyint* (Ayr) or *talekkint* (Ahaggar). But pastoral Tuareg do not make eartenware pots themselves. They obtain them from sedentary people, and it is possible that vegetable dishes have been prepared with hot stones up to recent times, for Foucauld states that hot stones are occasionally used for various vegetable dishes in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951-52, IV, p. 1583). However, I have not been able to confirm this during my own investigations among the Tuareg. It should be added that certain vegetable dishes are neither boiled nor baked. This is the case with seeds and roots of various wild plants which are ground and pounded into flour to be eaten without further preparation. Such dishes are known to the Tuareg as *tébik* (Ahaggar) or *téderka* (Ayr). Seeds and roots of wild plants utilized in this way have been mentioned in the chapter on collecting p. 175 ff.

The Tuareg have a great many different dishes, but in spite of this variety they do not always change their food from one day to another. They frequently live on the same type of food for extremely long periods. They may live almost exclusively on milk for weeks and even months, and if milk is not available they live so to speak exclusively on vegetable dishes, which may also not be changed for very long periods.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have three meals a day:— (1) *tagimgint* which is a light meal taken in the morning. (2) *amekli* which is a prepared meal (e.g., bread, porridge, or *arehara*) eaten at midday. (3) *amagin* which is the evening meal, also known as *amensi*, or *azuzeg*. It is the most important meal.

Fig. 193. Tuareg woman cooking kuskus (*keskesu*) in an European enamelled pot. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ilali* tribe.

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Fig. 194a–c. Bowl-like ladles from Ahaggar and Ayr. They are used mainly for eating liquid dishes – in particular for the dish known as *arekara* (Ahaggar) or *arejira* (Ayr).

a. Ladle (*tamalat*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.285 m long, 0.110–0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5845).

b. Ladle (*tamalat*). Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.330 m long. (N.M. G. 6631).

c. Ladle-like bowl (*assar*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. This ladle-like bowl was not used for food but for conservation of fine-grained sand used for hair-dressing together with water and butter. Dimension: 0.330 m long, 0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5879).

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264 frequently consisting of bread or porridge eaten rather late at night. The Ayr Tuareg have related terms for their meals:— (1) *tegingimt* which is a prepared meal eaten late in the morning. (2) *tamakkelewt* which is the prepared meal taken at midday. (3) *temegint*, late evening meal which is the main meal in Ayr, as in Ahaggar. In addition to these meals there is a very light meal taken with tea immidiately after rising. It is known as *elfetur*.

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[511] Incidentally there are Tuareg who do not have food enough to eat three times a day.

During times when Tuareg subsist exclusively on milk they have no regular meals. The amount of milk needed to support life is very great, and it is drunk slowly during the day. On extensive journeys when the camels cross the barren deserts, the Tuareg also do not have regular meals as they do in their camps.

[484]

[Text continues on p. 255]

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Fig. 195a. Wooden eating bowl (*tayehar*) made by Ayr blacksmith. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-sahl* tribe. Dimension: 0.095 m high, 0.253 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5212).

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Fig. 195b. Wooden eating bowl (*elkade*) manufactured by blacksmith from wood of the *tayda* tree and provided with an iron handle. Ayr, blacksmiths of Demergu. Dimension: 0.43 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 6632).

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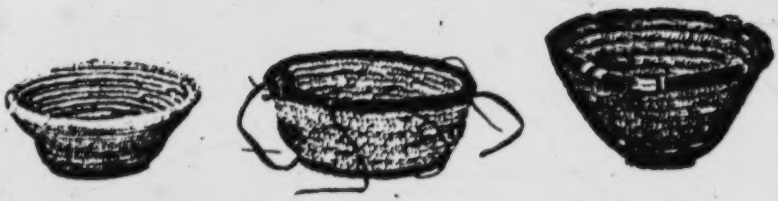

Fig. 196a–c. Plaited bowls in coiled technique. They serve as eating bowls for little children and are known as *tafakemt* (pl. *tifokam*).

a. Plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Agub-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.036 m high, 0.100 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5215).

b. Plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.043 m high, 0.102 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5214).

c. Plaited from straw by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Agub-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.105 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5844).

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Fig. 197. Small calabash (*tafakemt*) which serves as eating bowl for little children. Ahaggar, the *Agub-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.055 m high, 0.095 m in diameter. (F.M. 145).

# Crafts

Tuareg crafts clearly disclose traits belonging to distinct cuhural levels. This may be seen from a brief description of the methods of fire-making. 372 [174]

Matches are in ordinary use nowadays, but they are used economically not only because they cost money but also because many Tuareg live far away from towns or trading posts where matches can be obtained. The embers of a fire smoulder for a very long time, and when the Tuareg want to light a fire they normally find embers under the ashes where their fire has been. Glowing wood is carried from one tent to another on a fragment of calabashes or earthen pots, and some Tuareg even take fire with them in this way during nomadic migrations. If a new fire has to be lit and matches are not available, most Tuareg use the well-known method of fire-making by means of flint and steel. This method is widely resorted to in Northern Africa even to-day, and is practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar as follows:— The curved piece of steel (*énefed*) is placed over the three middle fingers of the right hand. It is struck against a small piece of flint (*iafarast*) held between the first and second fingers of the left hand together with a small piece of lighting material which may be a small piece of cotton cloth. However, the best lighting material (*iaijert*) is a piece of wood of *teferyast* (*Echinops Bovei*), which has been boiled and thereupon beaten into a fibrous mass with a stone. The Tuareg keep this lighting material in a particular leather bag (*iarallabt*) together with the steel and one or two pieces of flint (Fig. 198). Lighting material according to Maire is also made from a plant named *tirahit* (*Tragonum nudatum*) (Maire 1933, p. 82). The spark produced by striking the steel against the flint causes the lighting material to glow, and after blowing on it or swinging it in the air, it is placed under a small bunch of hay which burst into flame after further heavy blowing. The use of flint and steel is not a very difficult method of fire-making, and I have used it myself on journeys when matches had come to an end. [169] [171] [324] [145] [324]

The Tuareg do not generally use more primitive methods of fire-making nowadays. But they know an ancient method of making fire by rubbing a piece of hard wood (*agar* in Ahaggar, *agar* in Ayr; *Maerua crassifolia*) against a piece of soft wood (*turha* in Ahaggar, *turza* in Ayr; *Calotropis procera*). By this process they produce by hand rubbing a glowing dust which is brought into flame by means of lighting material and hay as described above. One of my informants among the Ayr Tuareg had produced fire according to this method. Lhote states that the method is at times used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar, where the hard ribs of date palm leaves are also used for starting a fire by rubbing (Lhote 1955a, p. 258). [324]

Stone materials play a very little part in Tuareg crafts. Natural stones are used occasionally as 412 [324]

[p. 255]

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Fig. 198. Flint (*tafarast*), steel (*ewefad*), and lighting material (*tajjert*). The lighting material, which is conserved in a leather bag (*tayalhabt*), is made from wood of *tafâryast* (*Echinops Bovei*). Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension of the steel 0.065 m long. (F.M. 154a–d).

412 tools, e.g., for hammering tent pegs into the ground, for rope making as described below, for separating the hide from the body when skinning a barbary sheep, and for crushing rock-salt, red pebber, dried tomatoes, tobacco, and the like. We have seen above that the Tuareg saddle querns used for grinding cereals are natural stones of a particular form and size, and that they are used for grinding without any particular fashioning, though sometimes treated with a hard stone or a piece of iron to make the [324] grinding surface more rugged and effective. The handmill is never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg (cf. p. 214 ff., Figs. 179–182).

412 172 Prehistoric quern stones and stone pestles are found in many regions of the Central Sahara and these ancient implements, I was told, are sometimes used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar for grinding and pounding (Fig. 200). The Tuareg also use the numerous neolithic stone axes (Fig. 199) as whetstones for iron knives. These axes are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *taḍefi n eḡenna*, that is "the axe of the rain (or the thunder)", and all Tuareg believe that they have fallen from the sky during heavy storms.

301 Stone material is still used for certain Tuareg ornaments, and notably for the well-known arm-ring (*ahbeḡ* in Ahaggar, *éweki* in Ayr) which is worn by most adult men and also by some boys. These rings are sometimes mentioned in literature as a weapon, but they are not well fitted for this owing [564] to their fragility. Most arm-rings are made from soft stone such as serpentine, and are manufactured by blacksmiths (Ineden).

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by blacksmiths (*Ineden*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*amerwan*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talak*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akralal, abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

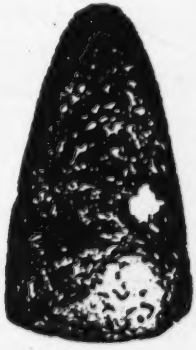

Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *tedeft n ejewan*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Aghab-an-tahli* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

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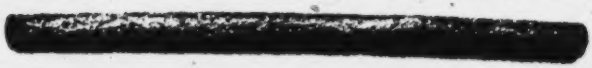

Fig. 200. Neolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isebesen* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045–0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

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Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*amerwan*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-an-tehli* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

The pottery made in

323 Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from
[531] Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have
[114] been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing
[13] of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information
[437] (Lhote 1947b, p. 145–154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

[462] In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 507–512).

[Text continues on p. 260]

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Fig. 202a–b. Two ceramic drums of a type used by sedentary agriculturists in Ahaggar.

a. Large drum (*akrabal*). Made by woman of the *Ifarwatis* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.450 m high, 0.310–0.325 m in diameter at the top. (N.M. G. 5907).

b. Little drum (*abakar*). Made by woman of the *Ifarwatis* at Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.25 m high, 0.25 m in diameter at the top. (F.M. 286).

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Fig. 203. Earthen incense jar (*elbakkhar*). Ahaggar, *Ḫarratin* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.179 m high. (N.M. G. 5889).

323 512). Most pastoral Tuareg of Ayr get their pots from Agadez, but pots are also imported from the
[437] south where they are of superior quality. These pots are said to be manufactured by black-skinned
323 *Igdalen* Tuareg (cf. p. 432) of the southlands, notably by people of the *Ikenawen* class which comprises
563 professional pot-makers. These people are not found among the *Kel Ayr* but are common in camps
[197] of the *Kel Geres* where I have met them. They speak *tamachek* but also have their own language
323 which is said to be related to *Sonray*. The pots made by these southern people are painted and decorated
531 (cf. Fig. 205) in contrast to those of Agadez which are plain and of very simple forms (Figs. 204a–b). So far as I am aware painted and decorated pottery is rarely manufactured in Ayr nowadays. But Rodd states that such pottery in the form of pitchers with a blue design is made near Agadez (Rodd 1926a, p. 160 f., pl. 22 p. 209), and when I investigated ruins of stone houses at Iferwan I found a great many sherds of finely-decorated painted pots which must have been used up to the end of the
[178] great Tuareg revolt in 1917 when these houses were destroyed by the French. Lhote has also mentioned the decline of pottery techniques in Ayr, and he states that, apart from little incense jars, no painted and decorated pots are manufactured at Agadez nowadays (Lhote 1950c, p. 511).

*415 Certain metal receptacles were known to the Tuareg long before the European occupation, notably
[439] a cooking pot (*ériir*) made from copper, and the flat drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned
[326] copper or brass in Tripolitania, or in Tunisia. Metal receptacles are also manufactured by native blacksmiths in Tuareg country, e.g., the pail (*ériir*) to be used for liquid butter (Fig. 164).

322 The blacksmiths are excellent wood-workers and make most wooden domestic utensils used by
[564] pastoral Tuareg (Figs. 21b, 37, 38, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63a–b, 75, 150, 153–154, 166, 176, 177, 178, 191,
[412] 194, 195, 212a, 219a–b, 285). The main implements for wood working are axes and adzes (Figs. 206a–d).

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206a–d). The ordinary axe (*tadeft*) is used by all Tuareg who may also possess small adzes (*tat-tawt*), used mainly by women for the manufacturing of domestic implements such as spoons and milking bowls. These implements manufactured by Tuareg women are generally inferior in quality to those made by the blacksmiths, though certain noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe make wooden milking bowls that are said to be superior to those of the blacksmiths. In Ayr, Tuareg women engage very little in wood-working, and the Ayr Tuareg are on the whole less skilled in crafts than are the Tuareg of Ahaggar.

Pastoral Tuareg are experts in rope making. Ropes made from various materials play an important part for the Tuareg for hobbling domestic animals, for fastening burdens transported on camels, as reins, for the erection of tents, and for a great many other purposes. Incidentally the Tuareg make substitutes for ropes in a very simple way. Thus if a man comes upon a camel which he wishes to take back to camp and has no rope or rein to lead it by he makes a lead from three or four pieces of palm leaf, or the like, attached to each other. It is stated by Maire that the Ahaggar Tuareg make simple

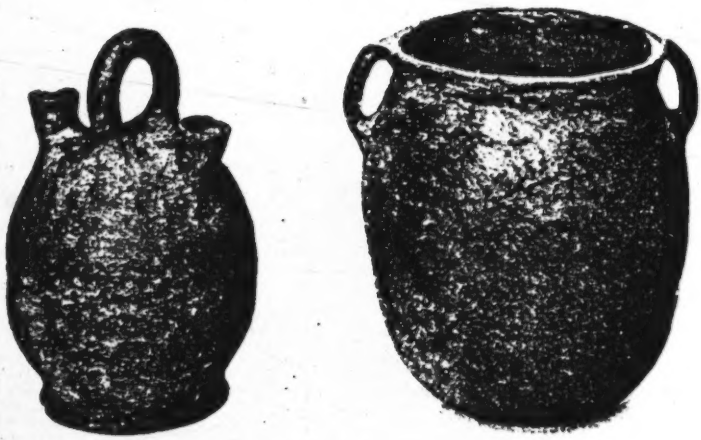

Fig. 204a–b. Earthen pots made by the sedentary *Imeggedezen* of Agadez.

a. A water jar with two spouts. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* as *geigelesi*. It is used by the latter people but never by pastoral Tuareg. Dimension: 0.30 m high. (N.M. G. 6635).

b. Earthen jar used for water and also for cooking. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tlyint* or *tiekin*, to the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* as *tekmiya* or *mke*. Dimension: 0.285 m high. (N.M. G. 6634).

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Fig. 205. Painted earthen pot (*tékanawt*) manufactured by the professional potmakers called *Ikenawen*. Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.32 m high. (N.M. G. 6636).

283 824 hobble ropes from straws of the *tulhult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) (Maire 1933, p. 62). For the manufacture of proper ropes the Tuareg may employ the bark of trees. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr they use the bark of *Acacia Raddiana* (*abser* in Ahaggar, *afagag* in Ayr) for this purpose (Fig. 113). These ropes are made after much the same method as that used for the Ahaggar ropes of date palm bast (*asan*) and those of dum palm leaves made in Ayr. Ropes of this kind are always made by men, who, when 283 462 making ropes from date palm bast, proceed in the following way:— Pieces of bast are soaked in water contained in a receptacle. They are thereupon torn into small strips about 20–30 cms long. These strips are rolled and twisted between the hands, and are kept in this rolled position under the foot until sufficient numbers of strips are available for the rope to be made. The ends of two rolled strips are then placed between the first and the second toes, and the strips are twisted together between the hands. New strips are added and twisted in this fashion until a suitable length of two twisted rows of strips has been made. This length is thereupon stretched over one of the feet, doubled, and twisted between the hands. It is finally hammered with a stone while resting on another stone or upon the bottom of a large mortar which is frequently used for support. The Ahaggar Tuareg make their hobble ropes in this way (Fig. 207), and the Ayr Tuareg apply the same technique to ropes made from strips of dum palm leaves which are also soaked in water before twisting. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr this method may also be used for the manufacture of leather cords (Figs. 43, 73a).

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Fig. 206a–d. Axe and adzes of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

a. The ordinary axe (*taǫefit*) which is found in all Tuareg camps. Ahaggar, the *Aǫuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.572 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.157 m long, 0.053 m broad. (N.M. G. 5233).

b. *tattawt*, a small socket-shafted adze with knee-shaft. Adzes of this type are common in Tuareg camps. They are used mainly by women for wood-carving. Ahaggar, the *Aǫuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.301 m long. (N.M. G. 5232). [322]

c. *tékadimt*, adze shafted by means of a piece of sheet-iron and nails. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.440 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.150 m long, 0.058 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5864).

d. *tékadimt*, slot-shafted adze. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Tamanrasct. Dimension: 0.430 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.222 m long, 0.065 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5865).

The axe and the adzes are all made by blacksmiths. [564]

The very best ropes or cords manufactured by the Ahaggar Tuareg are those made from goat's 283 hair which is sheared with a knife by the women once a year in the hot season. These ropes are known [237] to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ihellumen* (sing. *ahellum*), while the proper term for a rope of goat's hair [233] in Ayr is *azaw*. But the Ayr Tuareg do not make such ropes as they have goats of the short-haired breed (p. 33). They obtain their ropes from the Ahaggar Tuareg. Ropes of goat hair are manufactured [438] by women by the following method:— The mass of hair, known as *éhafilen*, is placed upon a piece [462] of skin and is prevented from blowing away by means of a stone. The hair is then taken out in small quantities with the first and second fingers of the left hand to be spun upon a stick 30–40 cms long.

[text continues on p. 266]

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Fig. 207. Tuareg making a hobble-rope (*iéffart*) of date palm bast (*asun*). Ahaggar, the *Kel Ḥezi*.

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Fig. 208. The manufacture of a cord of goat's hair: (1) the hair (*éhafilen*) is spun around a little stick (*aseggelem*). (2) The spun hair is trebled and twisted into a thread known as *tassarkit*, or *tassagit*, between two sticks (*iseggelam*, sing. *aseggelem*). (3) The finished cord (*ahellum*) which is made by trebling the *tassagit* thread. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the *aseggelem* stick to the left: 0.41 m long. (F.M. 74, 120, 122).

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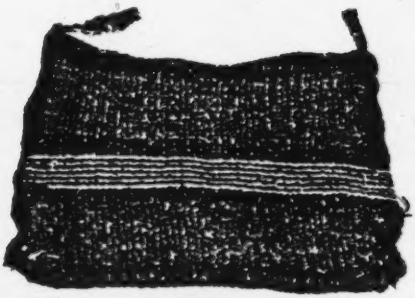
Fig. 209a–b. Two bags (*iḍṛerirt*, pl. *iṭṛrar*) plaited from hair of goat and camel.

a. Bag woven from hair of goat and camel and reinforced with leather around the opening. It is made into two halves which are sewn together. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.405 × 0.480 m. (N.M. G. 5245).



b. Bag woven exclusively of goat-hair. It has two leather straps for suspension. Dimension: 0.34 m long. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. (F.M. 259).

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Fig. 210a–b. Two coiled baskets provided with lids.

[462] a. *taklulit*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*aḍum*) and reinforced with coloured leather (goat-skin). Manufactured by women of the sedentary *Kel Ret* in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, bought from blacksmiths at Tamanrasset in Ahaggar. Dimension: 0.13 m high. (F.M. 227).

b. *adabun*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*aḍum*). It is ornamented with coloured leather thread and with woollen yarn. Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.205 m high. (N.M. G. 5837a–b).

283 This stick, which is held in the right hand, is turned around its own axes while the hair taken out from the mass with the left hand is occasionally moistened with water or with spittle. The stick upon which the hair is spun is known as *aseggelem*. I have noted in Ahaggar that a length of 50–60 metres of spun hair can be made in about twenty minutes. Such a lenght of spun hair is trebled and attached to two sticks also known as *aseggelem* (pl. *iseggelam*). It is twisted together by two women each holding one of the sticks, and may be conserved for some time before it is finally made into a rope by further trebling and twisting (cf. Fig. 208). Certain cords to be used in connection with riding camels (e.g., reins) are not twisted in the above manner, but are plaited (cf. Fig. 51). The spun hair is used for the manufacture of certain objects without twisting (cf. Fig. 167a–b). Lhote states that the hair growing on the knees and neck of barbary sheep is also used for spinning (Lhote 1955a, p. 319).

[237] The Northern Tuareg spin camel's hair or wool (*teḥuft*) which is used for very few purposes (cf.
[286] p. 67). But camel's hair is sometimes mixed with goat's hair to be spun for thread used for a primitive type of weaving; true weaving is an unknown craft among the Tuareg while important to Arab pastor-
286 alists of the Northern Sahara. The Tuareg type of primitive weaving with spun hair is carried out
* [415] with no other implement but the hand; it is used for small transportation bags known as *tiṛrar* (sing.
[114] *téṛerirt*), a word, according to Foucauld, derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776) (cf. Fig. 209a–b). I have myself never had the opportunity to see how weaving of this type is done.

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A photograph illustrating a women making a bag from spun hair is reproduced by Lhote, who states that bags of this nature are rarely manufactured nowadays and are made exclusively by a few noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe (Lhote 1955a, p. 319 f., pl. XV p. 384). This statement does not agree with information gathered by myself in Ahaggar, where I was told that bags were made from spun hair by Tuareg women of other tribes and notably by women of the *Isekkemaren* class.

In Ayr spinning of cotton is performed mainly to obtain sewing thread, which is considered superior to European thread for sewing cotton clothes. To my knowledge most pastoral women do not spin their own cotton thread but buy it at the market of Agadez. However I have noted the existence of simple cotton bows in a *Kel Tédalé* camp in the northern part of the Ayr Massif. The occurrence of the simple cotton bow among the Ayr Tuareg should no doubt be viewed in connection with the use of this implement in the Western Sudan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 260 ff.) from where the cotton plant has also been introduced.

Coiled basket-work plays an important part with the Tuareg, particularly the Northern Tuareg who are experts in this technique which is related to sewing. A very primitive type of coiled basketry

Fig. 211. Basket (*aleguegur*) plaited from date palm leaves (*aghum*). The handle is of date palm bast (*azum*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abelessa. Dimension: 0.38 m high. (N.M. G. 5835).

[text continues on p. 269]

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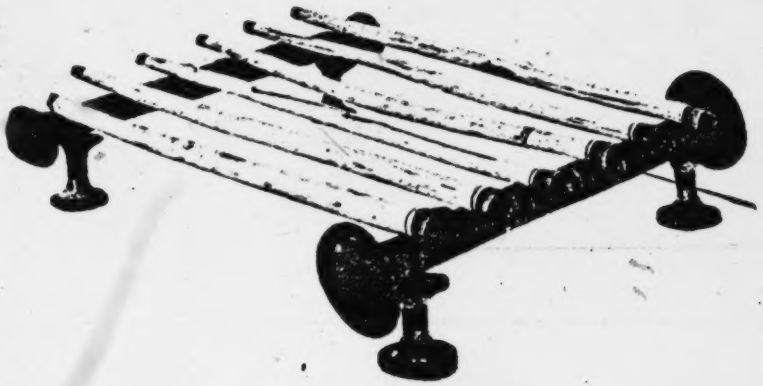

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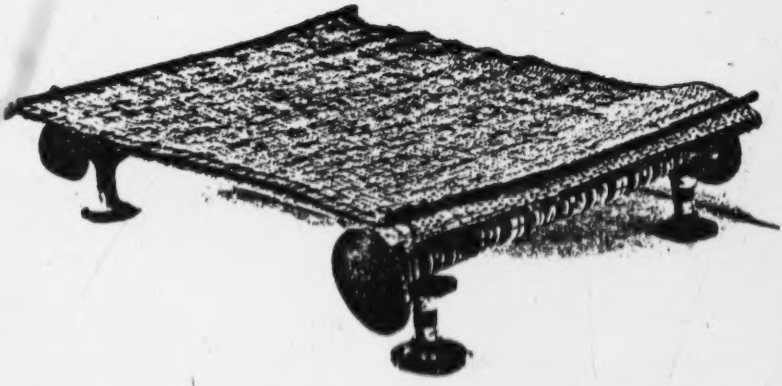

Fig. 212a–b. The large wooden bed (*tédabat*) which is used by all pastoral Ayr Tuareg.

a. The wooden skeleton consisting of the following parts:— (1) Four wooden legs (*tésetkelt*, pl. *tisetkal*). (2) Two horizontal cross-beams (*tabatakat*, pl. *tibatakatin*) carved into the shape of a disc at their ends. (3) Six horizontal poles (*afasas*, pl. *ifesasen*) resting in shallow grooves of the horizontal cross-beams. These poles are made from wood of a tree called *koriyo*; this type of wood is also used for the heavy cross-beam seen in the front, while the hindmost cross-beam is made of wood called *teresa*.

b. The wooden skeleton covered with two mats (*téshert*, pl. *tisebrin*) of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). The stems of this grass are tied together with leather strips. Beds are frequently covered with three mats. Dimension of the bed: ca. 1.70×1.36×0.21 m. (N.M. G. 6640a–o).

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may be seen in Fig. 167a–b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*itstent*) (Fig. 218a). 285 [413]

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a–c, 210a–b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*éstan*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices. [184] [432] [266]

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among the *Kel Ayr*. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*agum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*aleguiguten*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig 220b). This basket type (*iésenit*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals. [824] [413] [171] [415] *

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éseber* or *iéserbert* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents, and they are manufactured by many women among the *Kel Ahaggar* (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers, and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*iédabut*) (Fig. 212a–b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Igdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south. [824] [351] [462] [563] [462] [342] [462]

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitues the most important craft in the 281

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Fig. 213. Tanning receptacle (*ahaǵa*) of camel-hide lashed to a ring consisting of a bough bent into a circular position. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.55 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5229).

281 north where tents and a great many domestic implements and containers are made from skin. Skin
[462] work plays a certain role also for the Ayr Tuareg, but pastoral women in Ayr do not engage in this craft to the same extent as do women among the Ahaggar Tuareg.

281 The Tuareg have several terms for skin and leather. In Ahaggar I have noted the following:—
192 (1) *élem*, the common word for the skin of most animals whether tanned or untanned; (2) *akker*, that is the common word for an untanned hide of all animals with the exception of camels, oxen, giraffe, and certain antelope; (3) *éṛit*, the skin of camels, oxen, giraffe, and certain antelope whether tanned or untanned. The terms noted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr are largely different:— (1) *awreṛeṛ*, an untanned hide; (2) *égachik*, tanned or untanned skin of all animals with the exception of oxen, camels, giraffe, and certain antelope; (3) *éṛit*, tanned or untanned skin of oxen, camels, giraffe, and certain antelope; (4) *esarku*, tanned skin of oxen.

281 I have already mentioned that camels are killed in a peculiar way and partitioned before skinning so that the hide is never removed entire. I have stated in the same connection that pastoral Ayr Tuareg do not use camel's hide in their crafts, and I have mentioned that though camel's hide plays a certain part in Northern Tuareg crafts they never tan it, while they tan skin of all other domestic animals and game animals such as gazelle and barbary sheep. The Northern Tuareg use camel's hide for lashing wood (cf. Fig. 86), and they also employ it for camel whips (cf. p. 84) and for certain other artifacts which are now to be described.

*[415] The Northern Tuareg use camel's hide for the manufacturing of a large tanning receptacle known as ahaǵa (Fig. 213).

as *ahaga* (Fig. 213). Such tanning receptacles are made in the following way among the Ahaggar Tuareg:— A slender bough of the *tahunek* tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) is bent and fixed into a circular form, and a piece of camel's hide soaked in water is attached to this frame. Sand and pebbles are thereupon placed upon the hide within the frame, which is lifted upwards by means of cords fastened to it and to the bough of a tree. This is done to produce the bowl-like form of the receptacle which is left filled with sand and pebbles and attached to the tree for a few days. Thus it is dried by the sun, and thereafter it will become very hard and keep the desired bowl-like form. Certain butter-containers made from raw camel hide are manufactured on the same principle, the entrance to such containers being made by the insertion of a piece of wood around which the upper part of the piece of hide is firmly attached. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar also use camel's hide for the manufacture of a long rope (*akhamil*), which is used for drawing water from wells by means of oxen when the *tanut* system of irrigation (Fig. 132a–b) is employed. A rope of this kind is made from strips of soaked hide twisted together and hammered between stones to be left for drying in the sun. It is also said that camel's hide in the north is used for sandals of a particular type, while the Ayr Tuareg may use raw oxe-hide for sandals (cf. p. 301). The Ayr Tuareg may also employ raw oxe-hide for the manufacture of ropes and cords, and for camel whips. The hides of camels and oxen are known to the Tuareg by the common term *éyit* and they seem to possess certain qualities in common.

281 [824] [46]* [283] [294]

The hide of such animals as goats, sheep, gazelle, barbary sheep is never used untanned among the Tuareg, and they may tan the hide of oxen and various other animals.

The Tuareg use a particular method for tanning goat-skin to be used for water-bags (*abayor*) (Figs. 215–217). I have watched this, particularly in Ahaggar, where a water-bag is prepared in the following way:— The animal is killed in the normal way of cutting its throat, and is then so skinned that the hide comes off almost entire. This is done by making the following openings with the knife: the head is cut off, cuts are made around the lower part of all four feet, and on the inner side of the

[45]* [231]

281 824

Fig. 214. Tannin consisting of bark (*ithar*) of the *tamat acabia* (*Acacia seyal*) which is used for tanning water bags. The bark is left upon a piece of rock for drying. Ahaggar, the *Afuk-en-tehit* tribe.

[Text continues on p. 273]

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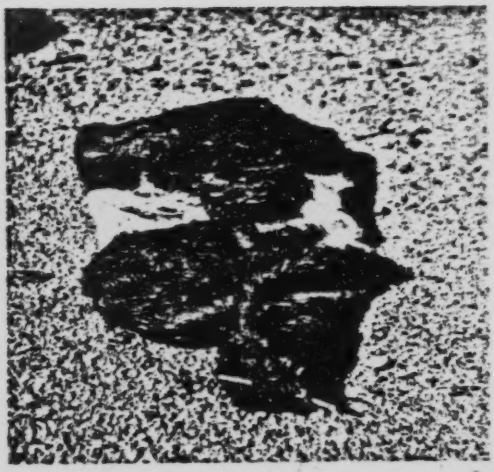

Fig. 215a. The bag to be prepared is filled with a mixture of water and *tiñet* (bark) and is placed in the sun. The openings are provisionally closed by sewing with straw.

Preparation of a water bag (*ebeyor*).

*[133 416 417]

Fig. 215b. The tanned water bag is suspended for drying. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

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Fig. 216. Water bag (*abayor*). Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. (N.M.).

hind thighs over the animal's anus. This latter opening is made big enough for the skin to be drawn 281
off the body forwards over the neck. When the hide is removed and has been cleaned by scraping with a knife, it is ready for tanning, which is done as follows:— The openings made on all four legs are [413]
closed simply by tieing the leg skin into knots, while the opening made on the inner side of the hind thighs is sewn together with straw by means of the awl (*iistent*) (Fig. 218a), the anus opening being closed with a cord tied around it. The hide is now closed except at the neck opening. It is filled with [824]
a mixture of water and bark (*iiñet*) of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*), and the neck-opening is thereupon closed with a cord tied around it. The hide, which now forms a closed bag filled with bark and water, is placed in the shade of the tent for seven to ten days to be turned and shaken every day. The mixture of bark and water is thereupon poured out, the cuts sewn together or tied with knots are reopened, the inner side of the hide is cleaned and treated with butter, and the openings are closed again in a more solid fashion, the large hind opening being closed with strips of cotton placed over the incision and sewn together with leather thread by means of the awl. A water bag prepared in this way will very often contain reddish water, as the *tamat* bark yields a red colour, but nevertheless all Tuareg consider bark of the *tamat* acacia as the very best tannin for water bags. Bark of *abser* [824]
(*afagag* in Ayr) (*Acacia Raddiana*) and also bark of *tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) may be used for tanning water bags. Water bags are, with very rare exceptions, made from hairy skin because they keep the water cool and fresh. The large open irrigation pail (*aga*) is made from skin tanned with bark like [415] *
water bags, but to my knowledge bark tanning among the Tuareg is not employed for other articles.



[text continues on p. 276]

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*281 [415]

Fig. 217. A rolled-up water bag (*ahayor*). When out of use the Tuareg preserve their water bags in this way in order that they shall not crack. The skin of a dry water bag is extremely hard. It is soaked in water for some time before it becomes ready for use.

[413]

Fig. 218a–b. Sewing awls.

a. Awl (*tistent*) of the type used for sewing in Ahaggar. Made by blacksmith at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.115 m long. (F.M. 288).

b. Awl (*ándel*) of the type used for sewing sandals. Ahaggar, the *Aghh-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension: 0.170 m long. (F.M. 99).

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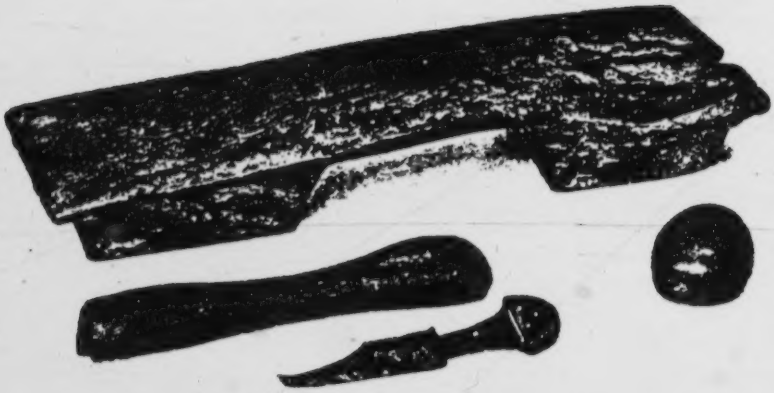

Fig. 219a–d. Implements used for skin and leather work in Ahaggar.

a. Wooden cutting board (*elkeyleb*). It is made from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). 0.480 m long. (N.M. G. 5867). [824]

b. Wooden implement (*asettesu*) for smoothing leather. Wood of the *taburak* tree. Dimension: 0.248 m long. (N.M. G. 5868).

c. Heavy black stone (*tazzei*) with level under side. Used for smoothing leather. Dimension: 0.079 × 0.061 m. (N.M. G. 5873).

d. Knife (*telmasti*). Dimension: 0.163 m long. (N.M. G. 5869).

Manufactured and used by blacksmiths in Ahaggar, Abalessa.

The vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar use hairy skin for the manufacture of certain receptacles other than water bags (cf. Figs. 111, 125). I have never seen hairy skin bags of this type in Ayr, and even in Ahaggar most skin bags are made from depilated skins. In Ahaggar the hair is removed from the hide by means of a plant known as *tachkat* (*Pergularia tomentosa*). A bundle of this plant is dipped into hot water and is rubbed against the inner side of the hide which is spread out over a large stone or a similar object. Even after one day the hair can then be removed by one or two women who pluck it with their fingers. In Ahaggar I have also been told by sedentary agriculturists that the hair can be removed by means of salt. The salt is placed upon the inner side of the hide and this treatment makes it possible to scrape away the hair by means of a knife or a stone. The Ayr Tuareg questioned about their methods of depilation place ashes from the fireplace on the inner side of the hide which after this treatment is covered with moistened sand for one day. After this treatment the hair is removed with a knife or simply with the fingers. 281 [565] [413]* [824]

The tannin generally used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr for articles other than water bags 281 824

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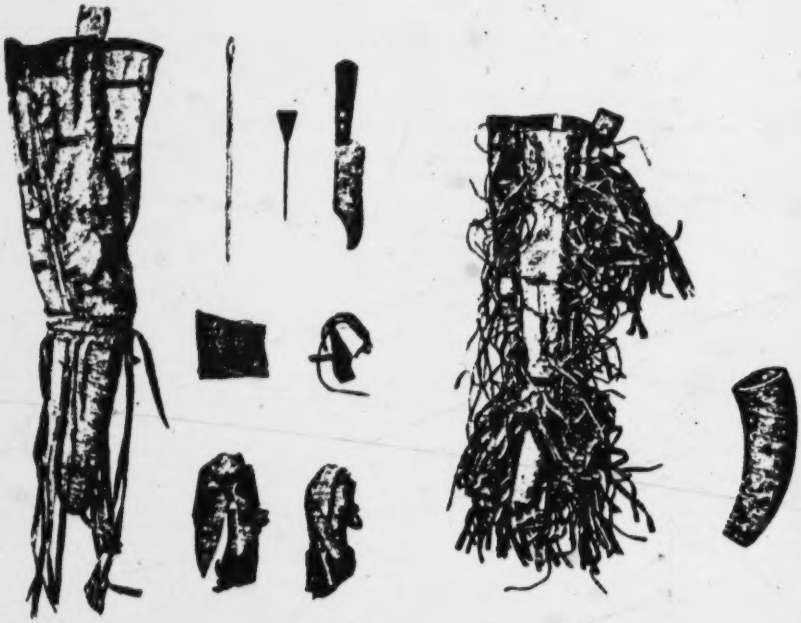

Fig. 220a–g. Sewing bags and their contents.

a. Sewing bag (*askagen*) made of decorated leather sewn to a piece of hollow ox-horn which constitutes the bottom of the bag. Dimension: 0.415 m long. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. – In the bag were the objects b–e.
b. Large sewing needle (*tasugla*, or *tassubla*).
c. Sewing awl (*iistent*).
d. Leather knife (*telmusit*).
e. Four pieces of leather (*izzeman*) for repairs. (N.M. G. 5225a–e).
f. Sewing bag (*askagen*) of the above-mentioned type but richly decorated with leather fringes. Ahaggar, *Ḥarratin* of I-n-dalağ. Dimension: 0.335 m long. (N.M. G. 5241).
g. Ox horn (*isek*) cut for bottom of sewing bag (*askagen*). Ahaggar, *Ḥarratin*. Dimension: 0.136 m long. (N.M. G. 5228).

281 824 is fruit of the *taggart* acacia (*Acacia scorpioides*) which is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tiggart*. The fruit is pounded into a kind of flour or powder which is mixed with water in the large tanning receptacle made from camel hide (Ahaggar) or in a large wooden or enameled receptacle (Ayr). For tannin the Ahaggar Tuareg also use leaves of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). These are collected as follows: a large bough is cut off the acacia, and is left to dry in a clean, sandy place. When the bough and its leaves have been dried by the sun for some time, the bough is beaten with a stick so that the leaves

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fall to the ground where they are collected. They are conserved dry until tanning takes place when they are pounded in the large mortar and mixed with water in the tanning receptacle. The Ahaggar Tuareg may also use galls of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*) (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 885 & Maire 1933, p. 159) and fruit of the *tedjoq* tree (*Pistacia atlantica*) (Maire 1933, p. 149). 281 824

In addition to treatment with these vegetable tannins the skin is also treated with butter or rubbed with fatty substances, such as a piece of the brain of a slaughtered animal. These are the main features of skin tanning which in Ahaggar takes place in the following way:— (1) The hairy or depilated hide is placed in the tannin receptacle which contains one of the above-mentioned vegetable tannins mixed with water. The hide remains in this receptacle for one or two days if fruit of the *taggart* acacia is used, while three or four days will be necessary using *tamat* leaves known as *ala*. The hide in the receptacle is daily rubbed between the hands in order that the tannin may penetrate well into it. (2) When the hide is removed from the receptacle it is washed with cold water and thereupon dried in the shade. 281

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**Fig. 221 a–c. Skin bags.**

a. Bag of *ishchikwat* type. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.45 m long. (N.M. G. 1.134).
b. Bag known as *abelkof*. Ahaggar, the *Ifuh-en-tahli* tribe. Dimension: 0.36 m long. (N.M. G. 5239).
c. Bag of *ishchikwat* type. Ahaggar, probably manufactured by Ahaggar Tuareg af Tamesna. Dimension: 0.30 m long – without fringes. (N.M. G. 5219).

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Fig. 222. Large bag of *téchchélkwat* type. The *téchchélkwat* bags (pl. *téchchélkwatin*) are normally made of entire skins of kids or goats while this large bag is made from several pieces of leather sewn together. Ahaggar, probably manufactured in Ayr. Dimension: 0.92 m long – not counting the leather tassels. (N.M. G. 5216).

281 (3) Butter or fatty substances are rubbed into the inner side of the skin, after which the skin is covered with wet sand for a while. (4) The skin is dried and thereupon softened by rubbing it between the hands – a task sometimes performed by men, though tanning is the task of women.

281 The implements used by the Tuareg for the manufacture of skin articles are few and simple. Sewing
413 of skin is rarely done with a needle, though the large iron neddle known as *tasubla*, and in Ahaggar also as *tasugla* (Fig. 220b), is used for sewing among the Ahaggar Tuareg in the manufacture of donkey saddles (cf. Fig. 86, p. 110). But with such rare exceptions the Tuareg sew their skin articles by means of the little awl known as *tisteni* in Ahaggar (Fig. 218a), as *éstan* in Ayr. With this implement the women pierce holes close to each other and through them draw thin leather thread
[283] (*ezzemi* in Ahaggar). Sinew thread is not in general use among the Tuareg, but I knew a gazelle hunter in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, who took out the sinews of the hind leg of a killed gazelle to use them for mending his leather belt. With this exception I have never seen sinew thread employed for sewing among pastoral Tuareg and my fairly large ethnographical collection containing all types of Tuareg skin and leather articles contains no specimen sewn with sinew thread. For sewing sandals the Ahaggar
413 Tuareg use a large awl which is known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b). This word is also used for iron implements

[text continues on p. 280]

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Fig. 223. Skin bag (*adabas*) for transportation of personal objects on journeys. Dimension: 0.515 × 0.425 m. (N.M. G. 5238). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tahlé* tribe.

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Fig. 224. Decorated skin bag (*abelhoḍ*) for the conservation of tea leaves. Ahaggar, the *Aḍub-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.25 m long. (F.M. 151).

Fig. 225. Skin bag known as *aleguṛguṛ* (pl. *aleguṛguṛen*). The specimen depicted is an old bag which shows that the bottom consists of a bowl plaited in coiled technique and covered with leather. New bags of this type are ornamented with leather fringes. These bags are used for the transportation of tea glasses, sugar, and the like. The correct name of such bags according to some Tuareg is *eggehankoḃ* (pl. *eggehankobben*). Ahaggar, the *Aḍub-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.33 m high. (F.M. 80).

413 used to burn marks of property into camels and donkeys. The large awl may also be employed for
[302] wood and horn work after heating in the fire. Horn or bone material, however, plays a little part to
[757] the Tuareg. A horn implement common to all Tuareg is that depicted Fig. 230; it is used for sucking
out blood of sick persons after bleeding and is widely known in the Sahara. Arm rings (sing. *ḍweki*)
237 made of horn are worn by many adult men among the *Kel Ajjer*, but are rare in Ahaggar. Among the
[301]

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**Fig. 226. Skin bag of the type provided with a plaited bowl for bottom and known as *aleguigur* or *eggebankob*. The specimen is a new one heavily ornamented with leather fringes. Ahaggar, the *Ajjab-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.312 m high – without the fringes. (N.M. G. 5243).**

237 Ayr Tuareg a piece of ram's horn may serve as an amulet case attached around the upper arm. Horns
*[415] of barbary sheep are used for butter containers among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 223; Fig. 165), who sometimes use a piece of pointed gazelle horn for daubing antimony around the eye.

281 The Ahaggar women cut skin and leather with a small knife (*telmusit*), and a piece of wood (*asettemu*)
462 and/or a stone (*taẓẓet*) are used for smoothing the skin which is then placed upon a particular wooden
[413] board (*elkeyleb*) (cf. Figs. 219a–d). The Ayr Tuareg do not make so much refined skin work. Women
*[415] among the Northern Tuareg conserve their implements for skin and leather work in a particular bag (*askagen*) which is made from leather attached to a bottom piece of horn (*isek*) (Figs. 220a–g).

[531] Northern Tuareg women take a great interest in their skin and leather artifacts, which are richly decorated with fringes and hanging tassels, and with geometric designs in different colours. I have
386 noted the following colours among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer:—
822 (1) *baba*, indigo which is introduced from the south in the form of balls.

(2) *tawnkent*, which is also known as *tafidet* and *taneẓẓeft* according to Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1934. It is a yellowish mineral which yields an entirely black colour frequently seen on ornamented skin bags. The mineral according to the Ahaggar Tuareg is introduced from the south, while the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer claim that they obtain their minerals of this type from Serdeles north-east of Ṛat. – A black colour which is also known as *tawnkent* is said to be made by the Tuareg of Ahaggar in the following way:— Pieces of iron are put into water contained in some small receptacle, usually a tea glass. This receptacle containing water and iron pieces is covered with a bowl or a similar object in order that the sun light cannot penetrate. After a few days the water turns into a black colour to be used for skin dyeing.

(3) *semento*, a green colour derived from a mineral or a powder introduced from the south. According to some Tuareg this green colour is also made by means of a vegetable powder introduced from the north, from the region of Mzab.

(4) *khodarbas*, a powder which yields a green colour. It is said to be introduced from the south (from Tawa) and to derive from a tree known as *tafnit*.

[524] (5) *errumman*, the fruit of the pomegranate tree known as *terrummant* (*Punica Granatum*). It is used with a white mineral (alum), known as *aẓref n Tawat*, and introduced from In Salah. Parts of the pomegranate fruit and of this mineral are mixed with water to be used for a yellow or yellow-brown dye which is applied to many decorated skin bags for ground colour.

(6) *temesaruak*, a mineral introduced from the north (Mzab). It produces a yellow colour.

[243] (7) *herki*, a reddish brown colour obtained from a particular type of sorghum known as *tallak* grown in the cultivation centres of Ahaggar.

(8) *téderset*, a white colour obtained by placing the skin for about three days in a container with fresh milk to which a little salt is added. – Among Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told that a white colour is also obtained from a kind of powder introduced from the Sudan.

386 Before use these above mentioned colours or dyeing materials are generally dissolved in water
[53] contained in a tea glass. When they are employed for the very fine geometric designs of leather bags they are daubed with a small knife known as *telmusit* (Fig. 219b).

[439] It is interesting that most dyes used by the Northern Tuareg are introduced from the north or from the south,

[Text continues on p. 284]

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Fig. 227. Ornamented leather bag. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.60 × 0.38 m. (N.M. G. 1.109).

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Fig. 228a–c.

a. A cylindrical hollowed piece of wood covered with leather. It is known as *tafendit* and serves to contain antimony (*tazult*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m long. (N.M. G. 5875).

[824] [276] [462] [565] b. Cylindrical brass tube covered with ornamented leather. It is known as *faralu wa n tuka* and serves for the conservation of *tuka*, that is ashes of burned *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ashes of this grass are used by some Tuareg for chewing tobacco. It is said in Ahaggar that containers of this type are made exclusively by noble women of the *Kel Relo* tribe, and that the containers should be worn only by noble Tuareg and not by vassals. The brass tube is always made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.265 m long (total length). (N.M. G. 5888).

c. A piece of cane covered with coloured leather and fringes of the same material. It is called *tafendit* and serves for the conservation of *tazult* (antimony). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.116 m. (N.M. G. 5267).

386 the south, or are obtained from plants grown by sedentary agriculturists. The technique of skin dyeing [281] as practised by the Tuareg nowadays cannot be considered an ancient one in Tuareg culture. Its [174] origin is probably to be looked for in the more developed civilizations of Northern Africa, and not in a nomadic culture like that of the Tuareg. Other dyeing methods known to the Tuareg may well be very ancient. I believe this to be true of the red ochre known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tameghoyt*,

[text continues on p. 286]

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Fig. 229. Tobacco bag (*abelbaf*) with the bottom made from the scrotum of a goat. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.22 m deep. (F.M. 94).

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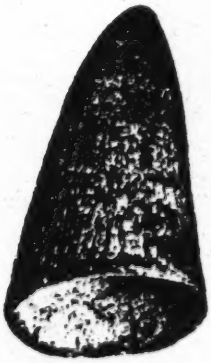

Fig. 230. Piece of ox-horn (*ésafé*) to suck out blood of bled persons. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.09 m. (F.M. 148).

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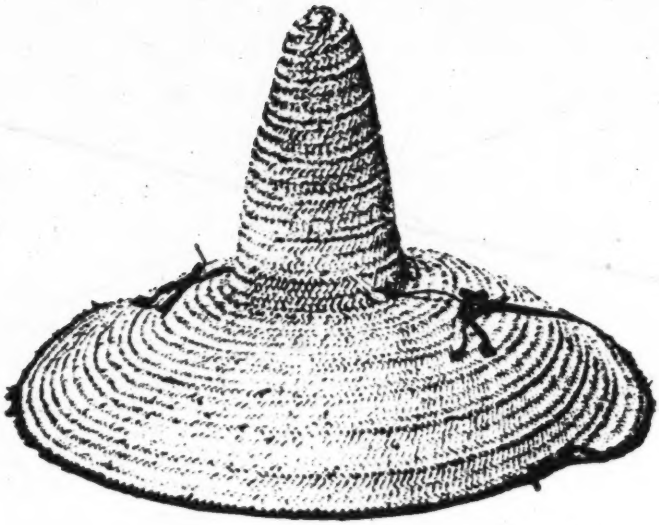

Fig. 231. Woman's straw-hat (*télé*) plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*aḡum*). Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḡali* tribe; manufactured at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.565 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5276).

386 to the Ayr Tuareg as *tamezgoyt*. It is found both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, and is used for dyeing tent-skins (cf. p. 361).

289 A number of the most common skin bags and similar objects of decorated leather work made by
462 Tuareg women in Ahaggar are reproduced in Figs. 220–229.

* [415] Though the pastoral Tuareg women in the north are excellent leather workers they find their superiors
[564] in the blacksmiths women and those of the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Women of these sedentary negroid groups provide pastoral Tuareg with leather objects like sword-sheaths, amulet cases, leather purses, large saddle bags, cushions, and the like (cf. Figs. 72a, 76, 121a–b, 172a–b, 198).

# Dress

In this chapter on Tuareg dress I do neither describe all types of Tuareg garments nor dress ornamentation, but content myself with a brief description of the prominent articles of dress and of certain peculiar garments which are interesting and important for our understanding of the cultural position of the Tuareg. 29 128

In Northern Tuareg country pastoral women sometimes wear a large hat plaited from date palm leaves and known as *tèlé*, which literally means "shade" (cf. Fig. 231). However, hats of this kind are never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg who obtain them from sedentary agriculturists. Hats of the same type are very common further north in Africa where they are worn not only by women but also by men, and I believe that hats of this sort were introduced to the Tuareg by the Arabs and the Arabic speaking *Harratin*, who came to Ahaggar about a hundred years ago. In Ayr I have seen plaited hats worn by one or two black-skinned men of the *Kel Ewey* group. These hats are also used among the Hausa. True pastoral Tuareg like those of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not wear hats. 292 [285] [171] [177] [184]

It seems as if the hat is a foreign element in Tuareg culture, and that as traditional head garments the Tuareg have nothing beyond the veil and the headcloth described in some detail in the general chapter about the Tuareg (cf. p. 14 f.). We have seen that both the veil and the headcloth are sometimes referred to as *alechchu*, "a piece of Sudanese indigo cotton sewn together from narrow strips or bands", for the traditional veil and headcloth are made from this type of cotton which is highly esteemed for many other garments. It seems to be the oldest type of cotton used for dress among the Tuareg, while white cotton of an ordinary type has been introduced more recently among them. The Ayr Tuareg use the word *maser* for white cotton woven in one piece, and they say that this word refers to *Misr* (Egypt) wherefrom cotton of this particular type was first introduced. It came much later than indigo cotton of Sudanese type, which has been known in Ayr from very ancient times. 291 294

Indigo coloured cotton introduced from the Sudan is very expensive and is nowadays used mainly for festive occasions, while daily dress, including the veil, is made of European cotton, which is indigo or white in colour. There can be no doubt that the comparatively cheap European cotton has displaced the use of skin or leather for daily dress. For we know that skin shirts were extremely common in Ahaggar at the beginning of the present century (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 112), and Duveyrier says that "le pardessus en peau" is held in esteem (Duveyrier 1864, p. 406). Before Duveyrier we have Lyon's statement that Tuareg of the Fezzan area use skin (leather) for dress:— "A leather kaftan is also much worn, of their own manufacture, as are leather shirts of the skins of antelopes, very neatly sewed, and well prepared". In addition Lyon depicts a Tuareg wearing a leather shirt with ample sleeves (Lyon 1821, p. 110). 291 [292] [178]

[p. 287]

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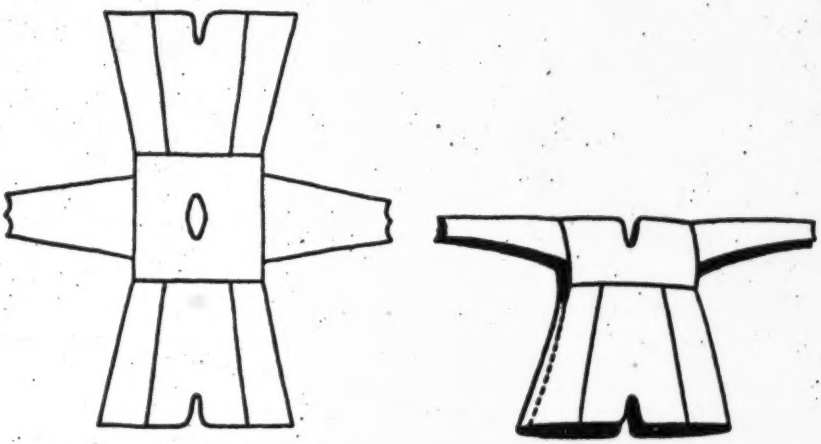

Fig. 232. The cut of a leather shirt (*tébetik*) from Ahaggar. The shirt is ornamented with leather fringes along the seams and at the ends of the open sleeves. The shirt is made from sheepskin dyed with indigo. Ahaggar, the *Kel Inṛer* tribe. Dimension: 1.15 m long, 0.60 m wide at the waist. (Musée de l'homme, No. 41-19-1645).

291 I have never seen a skin shirt among the Tuareg, but it seems as if skin shirts are worn in certain
[237] parts of Ahaggar even at the present time. They are described from the regions north and east of the Kudia, and are made by certain tribes of the *Isekkemaren* who use skins of barbary sheep or goats for the lower part of the shirt, fine goatskin for the upper part covering the shoulders, and gazelle skin or the skin of kids for the sleeves (Mounier 1942, p. 158). A skin shirt is found in the "Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistorie du Bardo" in Algiers. It is called *tébetik*, and is described as follows:—

291 "Le corps de la tunique figurée est fait de trois pièces de cuir: une pour les épaules et la poitrine,
294 avec un trou pour passer la tête, deux autres pour le devant et le dos. Ces deux dernières pièces sont reliées sur le côté par deux bandes de cuir verticales; le tout formant une sorte de robe évasée à la base. Les manches sont ouvertes dans le sens de la longeur, donnont ainsi liberté complète aux bras. De petites franges de cuir très fines décorent l'ensemble à l'emplacement des coutures. – Dimensions: hauteur totale 1.20 m; taille 45 cm; manche 55 cm. Inventaire du Musée: F 9". (Balout 1959, pl. VI).

291 The above-described shirt is clearly of the poncho type, and this is also the case with three leather
[291] shirts preserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. The shirts seem to be identical in cut and size, and are here briefly described by reference to one of them. It is made from tanned and depilated sheep skin, dyed with indigo. Its total length is 1.15 m and width at waist 0.60 m. Its museum number is 41.19.1625 and it is said to have been manufactured by a woman of the *Kel-Inṛer* tribe (*Isekkemaren*).
[294] It is also stated in the museum's card-index that such shirts are worn by poor people in Téfedest and by *Dag Ṛali* slaves.

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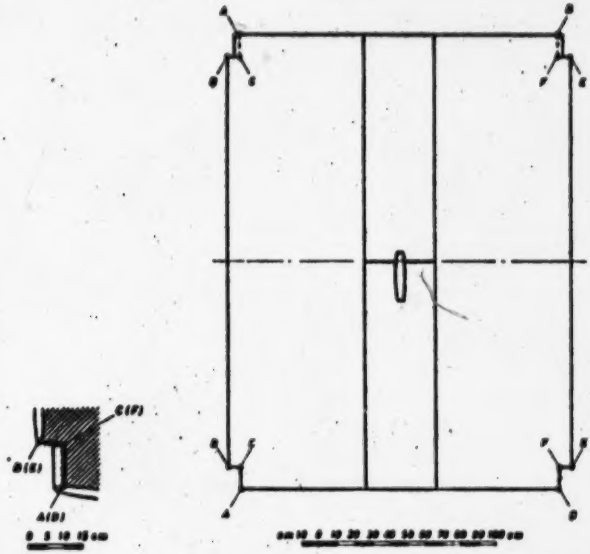


Fig. 233. Cut to illustrate a Tuareg cotton shirt of poncho type. The central part of this shirt is made from two pieces of cotton sewn together at the neck opening; most shirts have a single central cotton piece. The shirt depicted derives from Tasilé-n-Ajjer where a complete woman's dress was bought in 1952. This dress comprises the following pieces which are all made of modern European cotton:—

a. Shirt (*tékamist*) of indigo cotton. Dimension: 1.89 m wide at the top, 1.32 m long. The *Kel Terwit* tribe (cf. illustration).
b. Shirt (*tékamist*) of similar cut but of white cotton. On festive occasions the women frequently wear a white shirt under the indigo-coloured one. Dimension: 1.89 m wide at the top, 1.34 m long. The *Kel Terwit* tribe. [292]
c. Large piece of indigo cotton 192 × 1.15 m which serves as underskirt or petticoat (*asegbes*). Élézi (Ft. Polignac).
d. Large piece of indigo cotton 1.565 × 1.935 m which serves as a kind of shawl covering head, shoulders, and back. It is called *tikest*. Élézi (Ft. Polignac).
e. Headcloth (*ékerkey*) similar to the man's veil (*taǵulmust*). It is made of Sudanese indigo cotton measuring 2.14 × 0.25 m. Élézi (Ft. Polignac). (N.M. G. 5488a–e).

It is more than likely that skin shirts of poncho type have also once been used in Ayr, where the Tuareg say that skin was widely used for dress during the 1917-revolt when cotton was scarce. 291

The cotton shirts worn by adult Tuareg men are of various types and possess individual names. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally wear a sleeve-less shirt called *takerbast*, or a shirt known as *tékamist* which has large sleeves. There are other names for shirts with or without sleeves (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 610 f.), but all shirts are of the same basic cut based on the poncho principle. The poncho cut is very obvious the more so as the shirts are frequently made from one piece of cotton provided 291 294

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Fig. 234. Photograph illustrating the Tuareg cotton shirt open (left) and closed (right). The two Tuareg are playing a sort of draughts called *kerad*. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

291 with an opening for the head, and folded and sewn together at the lower part of the sides. The folded
294 piece of cotton may also be united at its lower parts by the insertion of a trapeze-like piece of cotton known as *tébanik*. The cotton shirt worn by most Tuareg men in Ayr is known as *teketket*, and is of the same poncho cut as the shirts mentioned above from Ahaggar.

All Tuareg men wear large and wide cotton trousers known as *ékerbey*. The cut of these trousers is the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A pair of trousers I wore when among the Ayr Tuareg is 1.10 m wide at the waist where they have a channel for the insertion of a leather cord (*tamennalt*) by means of which the trousers are laced up. The total length of the trouser legs is 1.06 m, so that the width is a little larger than the length. The trousers are sewn from three pieces of cotton. They consist of a front and back piece identically cut and sewn together at the sides; a third piece of cotton is inserted between the legs (Fig. 236).

291 The trousers are extremely large and loose. They are well-suited not only for the hot desert climate but also for camel riding. The Tuareg sometimes pull their trousers up over the knees so that they are entirely bare-legged. They do this, for instance, when they water domestic animals from wells and in various other situations where long trousers are embarassing. But they will never pull up their
[576] trousers in presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) or in the presence of parents-in-law
[606] (particularly mothers-in-law). For it is extremely shameful for a man to show himself bare-legged to persons to whom he must also not show his mouth, and the Tuareg express this fact by saying that "the veil and the trousers are brothers". In general, young boys wear a shirt of poncho type, in addition to which many of them also wear a leather loin-cloth (*arṭoḡ* in Ahaggar) made of goat skin. Such loin-cloths are attached around the waist and drawn between the legs. They are worn by certain vassal boys and by young slaves almost up to the time of initiation and veil adoption, and trousers may be adopted at the same time as the veil. It seems as if the loin-cloth has also once been a traditional garment of grown men, for Rodd states that they sometimes wear a tanned skin around the loins below the trousers – more especially in bush country where burr grass is very prevalent (Rodd 1926a, p. 164).

[text continues on p. 292]

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**Fig. 235. Tuareg cotton shirt (*tikemlat*) of Sudanese indigo cotton. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 1.25 m long, 2.53 m wide. (N.M. G. 1.6).**

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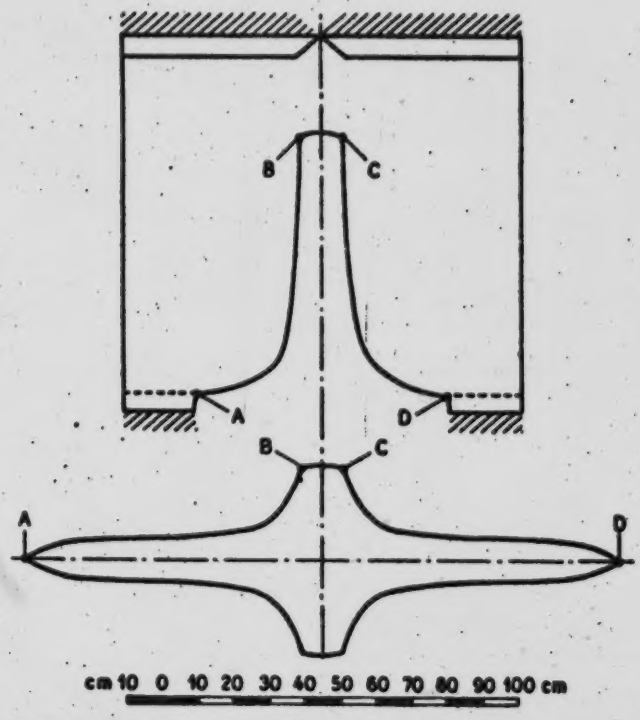


Fig. 236. Cut of Tuareg trousers (*tkerbey*). They are made from two identical pieces of cotton sewn together at the sides and united at the inside with a particular piece of cotton sewn to the legs. The trousers are very wide and are laced around the waist by means of a leather cord called *tamesnakt*. Dimension: 1.06 m total length, 1.10 m wide at the waist. (Author's collection).

291 Veil, shirt, and trousers constitute the main elements of Tuareg dress. On festive occasions many
292 men also wear a particular type of shoulder belt or bandoleer. This consists of a long strip of coloured cotton (frequently red) wrapped several times around the waist and over the shoulders forming a cross over the chest and over the back. This belt or bandoleer is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tirzemin*, or *theyderen*, to the Ayr Tuareg as *técherbit*. Rodd ascribes a practical use to this belt, which, he says, the Tuareg wind tightly around their bodies as support for the abdomen on which the motion of the camel imposes great strain during long marches (Rodd 1926a, p. 194). I have myself never seen Tuareg use such belts on long journeys, and have only seen them in use on festive occasions connected with

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



292 ceremonial ridings as those described on p. 104 f. I have been informed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr that bandoleers were used exclusively for such purposes. Rodd depicts a rock-drawing from Timia in Ayr and believes that it perhaps represents a man wearing a bandoleer (Rood 1926a, p. 194, pl. 40 p. 305). This may be so, but I have been told by Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group that bandoleers were introduced among the Ayr Tuareg by the French when they formed the camel patrol made up of Tuareg from different Ayr tribes. However, my informants also claimed that the use of bandoleers for camel riders was an ancient custom in the north among the Ahaggar Tuareg, from where it was introduced to Ayr by the French. Informants of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer told me that the custom was traditional to noble Tuareg but not to vassals, though Tuareg of the vassal class also wear bandoleers nowadays.

291 Apart from the head-cloth (*ékerhey*) the following garments are typical of Northern Tuareg women:— (1) *tékamist*, that is a large and wide shirt of cotton, in form and cut identical with the man's shirt; (2) *asegbez*, a large piece of cotton used for a skirt or a petticoat; this is fixed tightly around the waist merely by folding it at the upper edge; (3) *tikest*, a large piece of cotton worn as a shawl over the shoulders and head, covering the head-cloth.

In addition to the head-cloth (*adalil*), which they frequently wear rolled up on the top of the head, Tuareg women of the *Kel Ferwan* group wear three main garments:— (1) *aftek*, a very short shirt of poncho cut. It is very akin to the shirt worn by Hausa-speaking women of Agadez, who use the words

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Fig. 237. Slave-boy wearing the loin-cloth depicted above Fig. 238. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe.

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Fig. 238. Loin-cloth consisting of a piece of tanned and depilated goat-skin. It is known as *arfaf* and is worn mainly by boys and young slaves. Dimension: 0.715 × 0.575 m. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehid* tribe. (N.M. G. 5258).

291 *liga* or *tagua* for this garment piece; (2) *téri*, a large piece of cotton worn as a skirt wound around the waist in the same way as in the north; (3) *tesegbes*, a large piece of cotton used as a petticoat.

[114] Lhote has published some very interesting information on the dress of Tuareg women. Thus he mentions that certain women among Sudanese Tuareg wear a kind of shawl over the shoulders instead of a poncho shirt. I have myself seen this garment among pastoral Arabs south of Ayr and close to [567] Aderbissinat, but I have never seen it among the Tuareg. Still more interesting is Lhote's description of a skin skirt worn by slave women among the *Iwillemmeden* (Lhote 1955a, p. 308). This leather skirt, which is laced around the waist by means of a leather cord, is also recorded from the *Bélla* of Timbuktu by Dupuis-Yakouba (cf. Seabrook 1934, p. 251), and some skirts of the same type are conserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. One skirt among those found in the Paris museum (no. 33.78.9) comes from the Sudanese *Bélla*, and was collected in the region of Arawan by the "Expedition du [294] Hall" in 1945. It is made from several pieces of decorated leather sewn together with leather thread; its total length is about 0.70 m. Another skirt of the same type, but without a museum number, is perhaps of the same origin. In addition to these two skirts the Paris museum possesses three other leather skirts of the same type. They were collected by Lhote in 1939 among Tuareg living in the south-west. One of these skirts is from the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (mus. no. 41.19.845) while the two others come from the *Kel Inteser* (mus. no. 41.19.846 & 847). The skirts are known as *elavaite* according [567] [568] to the museum's card-index, where it is stated that they are worn by slave women, and it is added that similar leather skirts were worn by slave women and poor women of the vassal class among the

Ayr Tuareg up to the French [illegible]

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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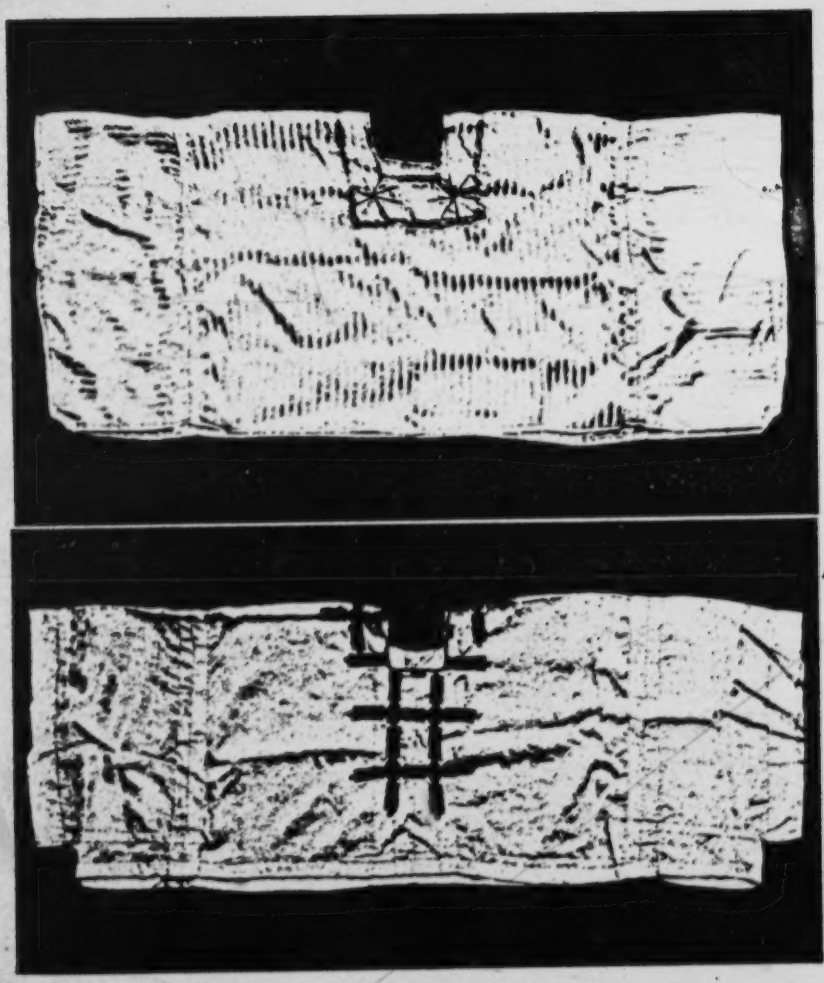

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Fig. 239a–b. Two short woman's shirts from Ayr.
a. The shirt (*afuk*) worn by pastoral women. Dimension: 1.27 m. (N.M. G. 6668).
b. Shirt of similar cut but embroidered with red thread. It is called *ligu* or *ragua* and is worn by the Hausa-speaking women of Agadez. Dimension: 1.38 m. (N.M. G. 6669).

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Fig. 240. Sheep-skin (*aghim*) to be worn over the back with the hairy side turning inward in cold weather. Dimension at the middle: 1.170 m long. Ahaggar, the *Aghir-en-ahkl* tribe

291/ Ayr Tuareg up to the French occupation of Ayr (cf. Musée de l'homme, card-index 41.19.847). The
[237] skirts mentioned are made from goat-skin, and this is also the case with two other skirts found in the collection of the Paris museum. These latter skirts differ from those mentioned above in that they

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Fig. 241. Skin mantle made from several pieces of hairy goat-skin sewn together with leather thread. It is known as *tiglemin* (sing. *tuglimt*). Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.99 m without the fringes. (F. M. 281).

are somewhat longer, and provided with two shoulder-straps. The skirts were collected by Lhote in 291
1939 in the region of Ansongo at the Niger, and derive from the *Kel es Suk* Tuareg. According to the card-index similar skirts are also worn by *Bélla* women of the *Dawssahak* and *Echcherifen* (Musée de

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



291 l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwellemmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

292 In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the
[232] Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen
[177] blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aglim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-
[294] skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl (*istem*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather
[184] cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

178 Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like
291 many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

291 The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *ḫratimen* (sing. *ḫratim*) which
[237] word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south.
[438] The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where the type is also known by the Hausa word *takelmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in
294 detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following
281 way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig.
[114] 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manu-
291 facture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takelmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The
[137] very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal
[285] is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *slisleplatine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

[Text continues on p. 300]

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**Fig. 242 a-b. Tuareg sandals from Ahaggar**

a. Woman's sandals of the *imerkadra* type. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.224–0.227 m long. (N.M. G. 5277a–b).

b. Woman's sandals of the *dratin* (*tokalmi*) type. Ahaggar, manufactured at Agadez. Dimension: 0.279–0.283 long. (N.M. G. 5278a–b).

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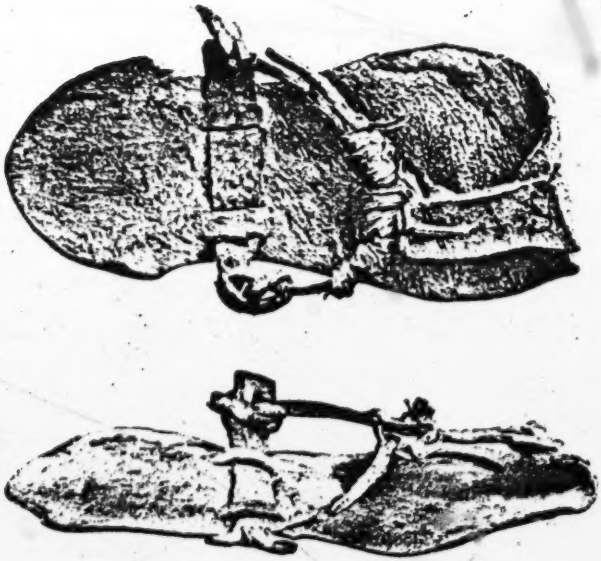


Fig. 243. Sandals resembling the *tagliezez* type but having no heel-straps. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.275–0.285 m long. (N.M. G. 1.8).

have heard being *éṛatim n tagayt*. It is provided with a strap of leaf passing between the first and second toes, and straps of the same material to support the instep. Thus it is kept to the foot in much the same way as the leather *takalmi* sandal, and there is possibly a historical relationship between the two types. Sandals made from plaiting dum palm leaves wear out rapidly but are quickly made. They are worn mainly by children and by very poor people.

[462] An extremely common type of sandal in Ahaggar is that known as *émerked* (pl. *imerkeden*). These are never made by professional craftsmen, but are manufactured in Tuareg camps by vassal women [237] who use the large awl (*éndel*) for sewing sandals. They are made of the tanned skin of sheep and 294 goats, or the skin of oxen if this is available. The sandals, almost rectangular in form, are made from several layers of tanned skin sewn together with leather thread. At the back of each sandal two leather loops are inserted in, and sewn to, the leather layers, while a long leather strap is inserted in and sewn 291 to, the fore part. The sandal is kept firmly to the foot by means of the leather strap which passes between the first and second toes, and through the two leather loops to be fastened over the instep (cf. Fig. 242a). This sandal type is in high esteem for walking in the mountainous parts of the Ahaggar Massif, for it is strong, keeps firmly to the foot, and does not easily slide on the rocky surface. It is

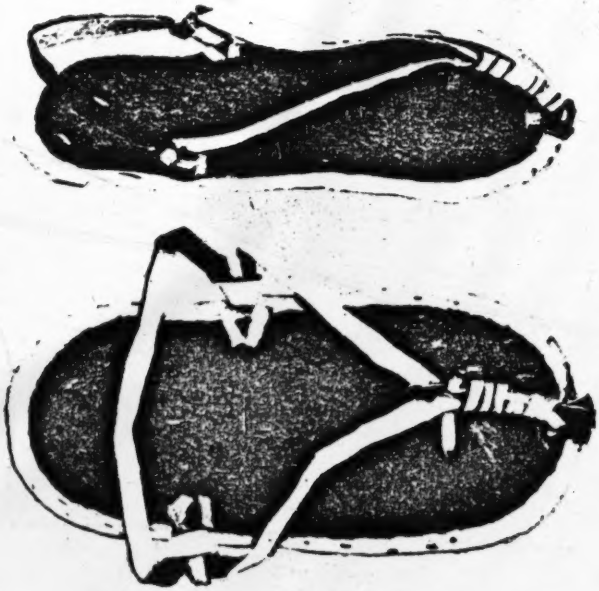
never manufactured by noble women, but noble Tuareg obtain this footwear from vassals, or have It is 291 them made by their slaves. Lhote states that *imerkeden* sandals in the past were more common among [294] the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar (Lhote 1952a, p. 605). *Imerkeden* sandals are very common in Tasilit-n-Ajjer. They are said to be known among the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg under the name *takakat*. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that they have a related type, but this I have never seen. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg almost exclusively wear sandals of *takalmi* type.

A third main type of sandals is that known to most Tuareg as *tagliezez*. Like other sandal types it [114] is described in detail by Lhote in his study on Tuareg sandals (Lhote 1950d, p. 512–533). Sandals [294] of this type are generally made from one piece of hide or leather which is bent up over the toes. The system of attachment consists of a leather strap attached to the bent-up flap of the sole and passing around the heel through two loops at the back of the sandal. These sandals are extremely common all over the steppes and savannahs of the south, and in Ayr they are used among the *Kel Ewey* and other Tuareg who make them from untanned hide of oxen. In Northern Tuareg country this sandal [184] type is rare and generally not used by pastoral Tuareg who do not manufacture them. However, a pair of sandals resembling this type was brought from Ahaggar to the National Museum of Copenhagen by Olufsen (museum number G 1.8) (Fig. 243). Sandals of *tagliezez* type are nowadays used by many sedentary people of Tamanrasset in Ahaggar. They are esteemed by Europeans and by Tuareg and Arabs of the camel corps in Northern Tuareg country. But the sandals worn by the last-mentioned people are manufactured by professional craftsmen. The sandals illustrated Fig. 244 were bought at [439] the market of Agadez, but derive from the south – from Sokoto it is said. I have noted their name as *akeroga*. – The type of sandal here called *tagliezez* is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *téfedilt* (pl. *tifedilin*) (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 304).

A fourth type of sandal is described by Lhote under the name of *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*). It is made of a single piece of untanned hide which is treated as described above for the *takalmi* type, and Lhote thinks that this type of sandal, which is common in the south among poor people, is the most primitive type. Lhote believes that the same type occurs also in Ahaggar because the word *éfekil* is mentioned by Foucauld in his dictionary (Lhote 1950d, p. 525 f., Fig. 18). This does not seem to be correct, for [114] the word *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*), according to Foucauld, is used synonymously with *émerked* (pl. *imerkeden*) (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 313).

Lhote writes that the sandals worn by the Tuareg can be divided into three main types, namely the 291 *ératim*, (or *takalmi*), the *émerked*, and the *éfekil*, and that these three types correspond to different 182 types of environment, namely desert, mountain, and steppe (Lhote 1950d, p. 528 f.). Perhaps one should substitute the word *éfekil* with *tagliezez*. There seems to be a certain correspondance between footwear and environment, but it should be added that the distribution of sandal types cannot be explained solely by reference to natural conditions. The *ératim* (or *takalmi*) type of sandal, for example, is used throughout Tuareg country from the Sudan to the central and northern parts of the Sahara, an extremely large area comprising great environmental differences. Nor are they suited to all types of desert. They quickly wear out when used on stony ground, and it is very tiring to wear them when walking through deep sand as the broad soles do not bear upon the surface. The *émerked* type of sandal is doubtless the best for walking in mountains, for it is fixed firmly to the foot and its sole of

291



[439] Fig. 244. Sandals known to the Ayr Tuareg as *akeroga*. Bought at Agadez, said to be manufactured at Sokoto in Nigeria. Similar sandals were very common among the *Kel Ataram* Tuareg I saw near Ayoru on the Niger. Dimension: ca. 0.29 m. (N.M. G. 6641).

291 tanned skin does not so easily slide upon the rocks. But sandals of this type are used by a great many
182 Tuareg who do not live in proper mountain areas. The distribution of cultural traits can rarely be explained by mere reference to environmental factors.

292 A most interesting type of footwear, known to the Northern Tuareg and to those of Ayr, is a kind of skin-stocking which is worn with sandals in the winter. I have never myself seen it among the Tuareg and though it has been described in literature published prior to my investigations I failed to enquire
[114] about its use and manufacture. The fact that I have not seen Tuareg skin-stockings does not prove that they are rarely used, for while I have stayed among the Tuareg throughout five summer seasons I have only been among them for one winter, when I mainly lived in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Massif. Most Tuareg I met that winter went barefooted or wore sandals, and those who wanted an extra protection against the cold wore various types of European footwear and stockings.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Lhote describes the skin-stockings (*abuheg*) used among the Ahaggar Tuareg as having a very particular cut, so that the first toe is separated from the other toes in order that the stocking may be worn with sandals. The following description of Tuareg skin-stockings is additionally given:— "Cette chaussette monte un peu plus haut que les chaussures européennes à tiges et se lace de même au moyen d'un lacet de peau. Il y a une petite languette et la jonction empeignetige est renforcée par une rondelle de peau fixée par une couture. La semelle est une simple peau de filali qui serait vite usée si l'on marchait directement dessus. *L'aboûheg* est fait en peau de mouton ou en peau de gazelle tannée, et souvent avec des chutes de mauvaise qualité. Les peaux sont ordinairement teintes en noire et la rondelle de renforcement en vert. Mais il y en a aussi qui sont faites en filali rouge de bonne qualité. Le prix de ces dernières est plus élevé et elles sont généralement faites sur commande. On trouve sur le marché d'Agadez, des *iboûhegen* qui sont l'oeuvre des artisans cordonniers de cette ville. Nous n'en avons jamais vu faire chez les Touareg du Nord, qui les font aujourd'hui confectionner par des artisans de Tamanrasset et s'en procurent également à Agadez. De même, nous n'en avons jamais vu porter chez les Ioullimiden de Ménéka ou chez les Tenguéréguifs. Les gens d'In Salah et de Djanet la connaissent ainsi que les Chaamba" (Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). According to Lhote, just quoted, *abouheg* (*abuheg*) is described by Foley not as stockings, but as boots, which form part of the ceremonial equipment of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while Foureau (1894, p. 203) says that wealthy Tuareg among the *Kel Aïr* wear boots made of soft leather and manufactured at Ṛadames, Ṛat, and in Ayr. These boots according to Foureau have a separate space for the first toe in order that they may be worn with sandals, and as claimed by Lhote, they are not true boots, but skin-stockings (cf. Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). Duveyrier also speaks of the use of soft leather boots known as *ibôhaïjen* sometimes worn by chiefs (Duveyrier 1864, p. 407), and in the case of the *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek* Nicolas mentions the use of a type of bóots ("la botte de cavalier") known as *abūzag* (pl. *ibuzágen*) (Ar. *tmāg*) (Nicolas 1950a p. 174).

Foucauld speaks of *abuheg* as a type of soft leather boots, but he mentions that this same word is also used for knitted stocking. Such stocking are also known by the feminine form *tabuhek*, though the proper meaning of this latter word is "slipper". Slippers are worn by a few men and women in winter, and a woman frequently wears them during the period of isolation (4 months and ten days) after her husband's death. According to Foucauld the leather boots (*abuheg*) are never worn by women but only by a very few men (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 36). It is a great pity that the authors who refer to the use of soft leather boots or stockings have reproduced no illustration which clearly indicates their cut. But fortunately there is a pair of leather stockings in the collection of the Ethnographical Museum at Neuchâtel. There can be little doubt that this garment serves as a stocking and not as a boot, for it has a separate space for the first toe which would be meaningless if not worn with sandals. The leather stocking is made from three pieces of leather:— (1) A sole or rather a bottom piece which is bent slightly up over the foot, notably at the heel; (2) A piece of leather covering the instep and sewn to the forepart of the bottom piece; (3) A piece of leather forming the leg and sewn to the instep and bottom pieces. It is interesting that all three pieces are of the same type of leather and that the bottom piece resembles that of moccasins.

The sort of slipper termed *tabuhek* by Foucauld and worn by both sexes, is identical with leather slippers or shoes provided with a distinct sole. These shoes seem to be of Arab origin, and I have

292 seen them worn by a few Tuareg men in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The fact that they are worn by
177 women during their period of isolation after the husband's death, a custom introduced with Islam, also indicates that these boots are connected with Islamic culture and thus with the Arabs.

[129] The Arabs possess a great religious prestige with the Tuareg, and are responsible for the introduction of many articles of dress among them. Some Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arab *gandura* of kaftan cut as a substitute for their traditional poncho shirt, and many Tuareg nowadays wear the Arab type of headcloth instead of the traditional veil. The burnus (*abernuh*) is also worn by some
[171] Northern Tuareg in winter. This garment is widely used by Berbers and Arabs further north in Northern Africa. It is not traditional to the Tuareg who may have adopted it from contact with the Arabs.

# Tuareg Culture, History, and African Culture complexes

In the preceding Chapters I have mentioned most cultural traits connected with Tuareg subsistence activities. In this Chapter I attempt to view some of these traits in the light of history and the historical theories which have found their expression in the establishment of African culture complexes. I wish to emphasize at the very beginning that this investigation must omit some important traits of Tuareg culture as there is no historical information about them and because good descriptions of stock-breeding techniques are lacking in the case of most pastoralists of Africa and Asia. Consequently it is very difficult to compare in great detail Tuareg culture with other pastoral cultures. 121

## TUAREG CULTURE AND HISTORY

True historical sources which elucidate the development of African cultures are very scanty and cover only a very short period. We know that most African cultures in recent times have been much influenced by Europeans and their culture, and that some cultures were changed fundamentally at an earlier period owing to Arab migrations and the introduction of Islam. We know that North Africa during antiquity was strongly influenced by Romans and Greeks, and still earlier by the Phoenicians. We poisess from North Africa a few valuable written records from olden times and from Egypt we have earlier historical documents which help us to understand certain aspects of cultural evolution. 175 177

The occupation of Ahaggar and Ayr by the French has led to a growing cultural influence from Islam and the Arabs. Ahaggar was conquered by Arab soldiers under the command of French officers, and even nowadays a very large number of Arabs serve in the camel patrols of Ahaggar with Tuareg camel riders. Some of these Arab soldiers marry Tuareg women, and many of them settle in Ahaggar when they have retired from military service. Other Arabs and Arabic-speaking *Harratin* of Tidikelt have immigrated after the French occupation of the country. The number of people who speak Arabic as their mother tongue is not doubt increasing, and Arabic is understood and even spoken by many Tuareg men though generally unknown to Tuareg women. Added to this, the Arabs have acquired a high prestige not only on account of Islam but also because Arabic has been adopted as the main language of the administration in Ahaggar. The officers who act as administrators in Ahaggar speak and write Arabic while with rare exceptions they do not know the Tuareg language. For all these reasons certain cultural traits of the Arabs have been introduced into Ahaggar after the French occupation. [648] [167] [197] [191] [829]

[4305]

177 Arab cultural traits have played a less important part in Ayr, where there are very few Arabs apart
[162] from the merchants living at Agadez. The Arabs in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, have a certain religious prestige
[168] but I have also heard Tuareg say that they did not like Arabs much because of their bad manners, and mainly because the Arabs talk too much and lack the peculiar type of quiet reservation characteristic of so many Tuareg. It seems as if the French administrators of Ayr have been responsible for the introduction of certain Arab cultural traits, but they have not made Arabic an official language
[191] of the administration. Apart from the marabuts there are very few Ayr Tuareg who have some
[348] knowledge of Arabic. The French administration of Ayr, belonging to the former territory of French West-Africa, has led to the immigration of many Sudanese people of negroid type. Clerks and lower
[167] officials working in Agadez have mainly come from Dahomey.

175 The Arabs and Islam came to North Africa at a very early date. The first invasion of Arabs took
177 place in the 7th century A.D. and brought Islam and traits of Oriental town-dwelling civilization into a narrow belt of North Africa along the Mediterranean. There is an Arab tradition according
[173] to which the first followers of Mohammed came to Central Sahara and to the Tuareg as early as the 7th century, but there is also a tradition among the Ahaggar Tuareg saying that Islam was introduced among them by a marabut of the Almoravids (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 347 f.). It is very possible that certain Tuareg groups of the extreme north were influenced by Islam and the Arabs after the first invasion, but more important was the second invasion of the 11th century when the Northern Sahara was occupied by Arab bedouins from Egypt and, ultimately, from Arabia. This so-called *Hilalian Invasion* comprised various large tribal groups:— (1) the *Beni Sulaim* (or *B. Soliman*) who settled in Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and in the adjacent parts of Algerian Sahara where some of the present *Chambu* Arabs claim descent from this tribal group; (2) the *Beni Hilal* who settled further west in the Sahara south of Algerian and Moroccan Atlas; the important Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Hammu* of Tidikelt claim descent from this Hilalian group; (3) the smaller tribal group named *Makil*; this followed the *Beni Hilal* but occupied grazing grounds further west in the desert country of Morocco.
175 These tribal groups largely influenced the Tuareg, and there seems to be little doubt that many Tuareg
648 pastoralists were driven southwards owing to the invasion of Arab nomads, who settled in Tripolitania and the Fezzan. But these Arab pastoralists could not everywhere defeat the pastoral Tuareg. In Ibn Khaldun's day the frontier dividing the Arab bedouins from pastoral Tuareg followed mainly the great belt of sand-hills running from east to west in the Northern Sahara. Now and then the Arabs carried out raids against the Tuareg, but Ibn Khaldun says that the Arab raiders were always attacked by the Tuareg and suffered severe losses (Ibn Khaldun I p. 191, II p. 104 f.). The penetration of Arab pastoral groups into the Central Sahara is outlined by Capot-Rey who states (1) that the Berber tribes inhabiting Tripolitania, Tunisia, and adjacent regions were quickly Arabized, (2) that the Western Tuareg of Mauritania were conquered more recently by the *Makil* Arabs, (3) that elsewhere in the Sahara the Tuareg were not only able to defend most of their territory, but also to assimilate certain Arab tribes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 191 f.). This latter statement is correct. Contact between Arabs and Tuareg has also led to the adoption of Tuareg cultural traits by many Arab pastoralists, and even the very powerful Arab tribe, the *Ulad Ba Hammu* of Tidikelt, lived in pre-European times very much like the Tuareg in leather tents and dressed like the Tuareg. Various Arab tribes of the Sudan

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



are also very akin to the Tuareg in culture, but have preserved some Arab traits of material culture and their traditional social organization in addition to their language, though they also know *tamachrek*. We are here concerned only with traits adopted into Tuareg culture from contact with the Arabs.

In the description of Tuareg culture I have already pointed out many cultural traits due to Arab influence. I have mentioned such traits in connection with food-preparation (p. 232, 237 ff, 247 ff) and dress (p. 303 f.). I have also mentioned the introduction of cultivation methods and cultivated plants owing to contact with Arabs and the Arabic-speaking *Harratin* (p. 186 ff.), and I have stated that it seems as if new types or new breeds of domestic animals were introduced to North Africa by the invading Arabs. Cats and domestic pigeons seem to be post-Arabian in the Sahara (p. 115 f.), the true grey-hound came to Tuareg country with the Arabs, who also introduced the particular horse-breed known as the *Aryen* type (p. 113). Doutressoulle relates a native tradition to the effect that this breed came to the Begzen Mountains with Arabs of Tripolitania (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238 f., 242). Horses of this breed are introduced to Ayr from the north even to-day, but as far as I know the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* do not use the Arab type of saddle or the very broad stirrups typical of the northern horse-riding Arabs. They generally use very narrow stirrups for the insertion of one or two toes. These stirrups were possibly introduced to the Western Sudan with the Dongolawi breed. It came from Upper Egypt at the end for the 13th century A.D. when the *Djoheyna* Arabs immigrated (Mauny 1961, p. 283).

I have mentioned above (p. 54 ff.) that there are two main types of camels among the Northern Tuareg:— (1) a northern Arab breed (*marroki*) characterized by heavy stature and a thick covering of wool, and (2) a southern breed more slenderly built and with little or no wool – a breed which is typical to the Tuareg. Medieval Arab authors have stated that the Tuareg possessed camels of a particular breed well fitted for riding (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 70, 105; Edrisi, p. 11, 67 f., 144 f.; Leo Africanus p. 940 f.). The division of camels into two distinct types of the above characteristics can be traced elsewhere in Northern Africa, where the heavy woolly breed is found mainly in the north and particularly among Arabs, while the slender non-woolly breed is common among such pastoralists as the Tuareg, the Moors of Mauretania (who are largely of Tuareg stock and have a great many Berber words in their camel vocabulary, according to Monteil 1952), the Tebu, and the Beja tribes around the Nile (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 79 ff.; Doutressoulle 1947, p. 272 ff.; Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415 f.; Murray 1935, p. 92 ff.). The distinction between the two main types cannot apparently be explained by the different environmental conditions, for they frequently live within the same type of environment, and the northern *marroki* type is found particularly among Arabs, and not only among the Arabs of the northern desert. *Marroki*-like camels seem to exist among such Arab tribes as the *Kunta* and the *Berabich* north of the Niger Bend in the Azawad desert (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 273), among the camel-breeding Arabs of the Lake Tchad region, and among Arab pastoralists of the former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan – particularly among the Kababish (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 80 ff., 83 f.). There seem to be little doubt that the *marroki* camel came to North Africa with the Arabs and it is then natural to investigate whether they also introduced particular cultural traits connected with camel-breeding. It is relatively easy to take up such an investigation with reference to particular saddle types, because they are frequently described and depicted in literature.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



492 [177] The large saddles for women (*akhawi*, *tkhawit*, *arağen*) (p. 88 f.) were most probably introduced by Arab pastoralists. These saddles are not known among all Tuareg. In the Northern Tuareg groups they are used in the noble class (*Ihaggaren*), in the *Isekkemaren* class, which seems to have relationship with Arabs (p. 10, 398 f.), and in the *Ireğenaten* tribe which lives in Tamesna though it belongs to the group of Ahaggar Tuareg. Its members claim to descend patrilineally from Arabs, matrineally from noble Tuareg. Large women's saddles are also found among the Tuareg of Adrar-n-Foras, and there is a saddle of the *akhawi* type from this group in the ethnographical collection of the Neuchâtel Museum (no. 49.2.35). Women's saddles are also common among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*. They are described by Nicolas who mentions two types. One named *tahâwit* is perhaps constructionally different from the saddles of the north, while the other type termed *aruku* is constructionally related to riding saddles in Ahaggar, but is without the large wooden side-arches characteristic of certain northern saddles. However, saddles having arches like this are found among the *Deremchaka* Arabs who live in *Kel Dennek* territory (Nicolas 1950a, p. 178 Fig. 47a & e, pl. X p. 177). Light women's saddles resembling the Ahaggar *tkhawit* saddle without side-arches and known as *akhawi* was seen in the camp of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* Tuareg near Ayoru. Here I was told that the wooden structure is always manufactured by blacksmiths while its cover of ochre-coloured leather is made by Tuareg women who also make the little *afezu* mat placed over the structure and serving for seat. Such saddles [565] are found only in noble tribes of the *Western Iwllemmeden*, never among vassals. Women's saddles are unknown in Ayr where the Tuareg build a riding saddle upon large cushions (cf. p. 90), and they are apparently also unknown among the *Kel Geres*. The Ayr Tuareg speak of riding saddles known as *akhawi* or *tkhawit* as "Arab saddles", and these terms are also derived from Arabic. Lhote states that he has not seen the richly-decorated saddles known as *akhawi* outside of Ahaggar (Lhote 1947a, p. 142). Thus it seems that proper women's saddles have a limited distribution among the Tuareg. They occur mainly in certain classes of the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar*, and the *Iwllemmeden*. 492 171 In these areas they are apparently also used by Arabs. Somewhat related women's saddles are found among the Tebu. These saddles are described by Le Coeur who states that they are normally bought in Kanem (Le Coeur 1950, p. 60, 126). I think that this may perhaps indicate their origin as this region and adjacent parts of the Lake Tchad plains have a population of pastoralists of Arab descent. Various types of women's saddles occur among all Arab pastoralists of North Africa and the Arab peninsula – possibly with the exception of certain bedouin tribes of South-eastern Arabia. I do not know whether these saddles occur among the Beja, the Danakil, and the Somali. They are not mentioned in the literature I have consulted.

492 The pack saddle known as *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* (p. 76, Fig. 57) is not very common among the Northern Tuareg. It is unknown among the *Kel Ayr* and so far as I know also among the *Kel Geres*. It seems to be unknown also among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* where the same structure is used as a women's saddle as mentioned above (Nicolas 1950a, p. 178 Fig. 47e). I do not know if this saddle type occurs 492 171 in other Tuareg groups. It is found in the Lake Tchad region and Chudeau considers it typical of the sahelian zone (Chudeau 1909, p. 206; Capot-Rey 1946, p. 163). It is also mentioned by Nachtigal as the typical type of saddle of the Tebu (Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457), while the Tebu saddle described by Le Coeur and now preserved in the Musée de l'homme (no. 32.50.4) is slightly different from the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Bedouin MJ4



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saddle depicted by Nachtigal the fore and the aft trees being connected by two horizontal or oblique sticks instead of two crossed sticks at each side (Le Coeur 1950, p. 175). This saddle type is also depicted from the Tebu by Moberg and Fuchs (Moberg 1953, p. 192; Fuchs 1961, p. 39), and I have myself seen a saddle like this among camel-owning Fulani at Niamey on the Niger. A related saddle type with fore and aft trees at each side connected with two horizontal sticks, is depicted by Heuglin from North-east Africa (Heuglin 1877, I, p. 26). It is perhaps the common saddle type in and around the Beja country.

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The saddle corresponding to the *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type of the Northern Tuareg is known by the Arabic word *bazur* among the Tebu (Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457), while among the Arabs of North Africa the word *bazur* is generally used for women's saddles of the same fundamental construction. Pack saddles of *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type are known to the Arabs of Algeria as *berej*. However, such saddles do not seem to be common among Arabs of Algeria, where I have never seen them, though they are probably used by Arabs of Upper Egypt and in Sinai (cf. Murray 1935, p. 116).

In Arabia saddles constructionally resembling the *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type are extremely common. They are used as pack-saddles and also for riding. There seem to be three distinct Arabic names for them:— (1) a sadle known as *sdad* (or *shadad*) and characterized by particularly high pommels; it is used mainly as a riding saddle (cf. Boucheman 1934, p. 35 ff., Fig. 9–11; Musil 1928b, p. 350 ff., Figs. 37, 44; Euting 1906, p. 394 ff., ill. p. 393, 397; Dickson 1949, p. 84 ff.) (2) a saddle known as *misame* constructionally of the same type, but having no high pommels; it is very much like the *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type described from the Northern Tuareg (cf. Boucheman 1934, p. 61 f., Fig. 23; Musil 1928b, p. 354, Fig. 41; Dickson 1949, p. 84 ff.) (3) a saddle known as *rabit* of very much the same type as the *misame* saddle but of a somewhat heavier construction (cf. Musil 1928b, p. 354; Euting 1906, p. 398, ill. p. 394). The two last mentioned saddles are mainly pack-saddles but they are also used for riding. The distribution of the saddle types *sdad*, *misame* or *rabit* in Arabia seems to be as follows:—

*The Syrian Desert*; the tribes *Sba'a* and *Rawala* (cf. Boucheman 1934 & Musil 1928b quoted above).
*Hedjaz*; *sdad* (Musil 1926, Figs. 30, 84, 85, etc.).
*Negd*; *sdad* (Musil 1928a, Figs. 8, 22, 28, 62, 63); *misame* or *rabit* (Musil 1928a, Fig. 15).
*Irak*; *sdad* (Musil 1927b, Figs. 1, 19, 33, etc.).
*Kuweit*; *misame* or *rabit* (Raunkiær 1913, Fig. 21; Dickson 1949 quoted above).
*South Arabia*; *sdad*; the tribes of *Murra*, *Sa'ar*, and *Harab*. Riding saddles of the *sdad* type are not found east of Dhufar (Thomas 1932, p. 268).

It would appear that a riding saddle of the *sdad* type is depicted in a 9th century B.C. relief at Tell Halaf (cf. Dostal 1958, p. 2, pl. I Fig. 2).

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The common pack-saddle among the Northern Tuareg is the *ilaki* (cf. p. 74 f., Fig. 55). This saddle type, as mentioned, is not made by the Tuareg themselves, but normally by sedentary *Harratin* of Tidikelt where palm material is abundant, more rarely by blacksmiths who make the construction of wood, and not from the ribs of date palms. The *ilaki* is the common saddle type all

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Bedouin MJ4



B The ɛlaki is the common saddle type all

492 over the northern desert inhabited by Arabs. It is known to Algerian Arabs as *ḥawiyya*, the word
171 also used in Tripolitania where the type is extremely common (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457). Saddles of entirely identical types occur among the Moors of Mauretania (Monteil 1952, p. 92), among Arabs of Upper Egypt (Klunzinger 1878, p. 206, Fig. 11; Murray 1935, p. 116), and in the Egyptian Sudan (Marno 1874, p. 207). Further east it seems to be in use among most, perhaps all, Arabs:— Sinai (Murray 1935, p. 116), Syrian Desert (*Sbe'a* and *Rawala*) (Boucheman 1934; Musil 1928b), Hedjas (Musil 1926, Figs. 9, 15, 30, 59, 84), Negd (Musil 1928a, Fig. 66), Irak (Musil 1927b, Fig. 40). These Arabs generally call the saddle *ḥedâǧe*. It is perhaps common to all Arabs including those of Southern Arabia. However, the *ḥedâǧe* or *ḥawiyya* is not mentioned from Kuweit by Dickson, who describes from this region a peculiar saddle of somewhat related type used mainly for riding and having Oman as its homeland. The saddle is named *al fulani*; it consists of a pair of miniature saddle arches fixed in front of the animal's hump by means of a girth, and a cylindrical straw-stuffed mattress which is placed over the back behind the hump and fastened to the little saddle-frame with cords (Dickson 1949, p. 87). The same type of riding saddle is depicted by Thesiger from Oman and adjacent parts of South Arabia (Thesiger 1959, Fig. 12 p. 33), and Mr. Klaus Ferdinand has informed me that he has seen only this type of riding saddle around Qatar. It would seem natural to derive the *al fulani* riding saddle from a pack saddle of *ḥawiyya* or *ḥedâǧe* type the more so because riding saddles for camels
B and horses seem frequently to have developed from saddles used for transportation. Dostal's theory
[114] that the riding saddle of *al fulani* type is very ancient and constitutes the proto-type of other Arabian saddles is very queer (cf. Dostal 1958, p. 2 ff.). In North-west Africa there is a peculiar type of pack-saddle which resembles the *ḥawiyya* or *ḥedâǧe* saddles. It consists of two curved pieces of wood united by broad side-boards and by two small sticks inserted into holes at the upper part of the curved arches. This saddle-frame is placed before the camel's hump and is fixed to two pieces of plaited mattresses. Saddles of this kind are found in the Musée de l'homme in Paris from the borderland of Algeria and Morocco (no. 38.180.80), from the Regeibat of Northern Mauritania (no. 38.133.6), and from the *Ida w Aich* Moors around Tidjika of Southern Mauretania (no. 38.136.58) (cf. Monteil
T 1952, p. 92).

492 Saddles of the *ḥawiyya* or *ḥedâǧe* type (*ɛlaki* to the Northern Tuareg) seem to be unknown to the Southern Tuareg. The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is that called *aruki*, consisting of one curved piece attached to two flat side-boards by means of which the whole structure is attached to two pads or mat cylinders fitted each side of the camel (cf. p. 76). This very simple wooden structure is found not only in Ayr but also among the *Iwilemmeden Kel Demek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 47 f, p. 178). Nicolas also depicts two other simple wooden structures for pack-saddles. One of them consists of two pieces of wood lashed together at the upper and narrow ends, the broader lower ends being attached to pads or mats; the other one is of similar type but is made from one single piece of wood – probably from a heavy forked stick (Nicolas 1950a, Figs. 47g & h, p. 178). A saddle consisting of an angular piece of wood like that just mentioned, but attached to two flat sideboards, is in the Musée d'Ethnographie of Neuchâtel (no. 48.2.63); it is manufactured in the Sudan within the Tuareg area.

T The *ɛlaki* saddle of the Northern Tuareg is probably an Arab culture trait. It occurs among the
[177]

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Tuareg where influence from Arab material culture is particular strong, and it is structurally identical with the Arab pack-saddle known as *ḥawiyya* or *ḥedâge*. The origin of the pack-saddle called *aruki* among the Southern Tuareg is not easily determined. It may perhaps constitute a late type which developed from a pack-saddle with two curved or angular trees in front of the camel's hump. This may be true of some *aruki*-like saddles. But certain pack-saddles of *aruki* type may perhaps have originated from a kind of split wood similar to that used for camels by the Somali of Tana River (cf. Ahlefeldt 1948, ill. p. 137). 492 [177] [171]

There are other traits of camel breeding that have apparently been introduced among the Tuareg through contact with the Arabs. This may be true of the looped rope (*asaṛun*) connected with a little stick for attachment around the camel's foreleg (p. 72 ff., Fig. 45a). This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg though common among the Northern Tuareg who often make it of camel's wool. It seems to be known among most, perhaps all, Arabs, who manufacture it from the same material. Among the Ababde and the Bisharin it is plaited from dum palm material (cf. Sleesen-Dolk 1957, p. 12, Figs. 28–30). It is most probably an Arab trait which also seems to be Cauvet's opinion (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 554 & pl. LXII, p. 555). 233 177 [171]

We may perhaps also mention the large woven transportation bags which are extremely common among all North African Arab pastoralists, while unknown among the Tuareg. But small plaited or woven bags of goat hair mixed with camel's wool are manufactured in Ahaggar by women of certain tribes (p. 266 f, Fig. 209a–b) .These bags are known as *tiṛrar* (sing. *téṛerirt*) which seems to be derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711). The small loading sticks *tihḍaḍ* (sing. *téhedit*) (p. 76) used to unite the two halves of a camel load are perhaps also Arab in origin for this particular word is apparently also derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 520 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711). 415 177 [462]

The origin of other traits of camel-breeding is not so easy to determine, but it is very possible that the plaited pouch which among the Northern Tuareg constitutes the normal method to prevent camel calves from sucking (p. 62, Figs. 41–42) was also introduced by the Arabs. This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg and apparently also among the *Kel Geres*. It is found among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* (*abegu*) and is recorded in literature from the *Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 141), and from the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 71). It is widely found among all pastoral Arabs of Northern Africa and of the Arabian Peninsula. 233 177 [171]

As to the use of camel brands produced by burning with a redhot iron it seems difficult to judge from distributions the origin of this method. These brands are known among most Tuareg with the exception of the *Kel Ferwan* and other Tuareg of Ayr, who use earmarks cut with a knife. Earmarks seem to be used for camels also among the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 103) and were apparently used in ancient Arabia (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 298). One might perhaps assume that earmarks constitute an older type of proprietry marks, while brands came later. But information about marks and brands is scarce. 233 422 [171]

The origin of many traits of camel-breeding cannot be determined, but it is not be doubted that the Arabs have introduced into North Africa a particular breed of camel together with certain saddles and objects connected with the use of the camel as a pack animal. There is also no doubt that these 233 177

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233 177 traits are found among the Northern Tuareg and partly among the *Iwllemmeden*, while they have not generally been adopted by the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. It is most interesting in this connection that when they wish to speed up their riding camels the Northern Tuareg use a sound identical with that used among the Arabs, while the Tuareg of Ayr use a very different signal (p. 136).

The Arabs only partially influenced Tuareg camel-breeding, for this was well-established in North 233 Africa before the Arab invasions. There is no doubt that certain traits of camel-breeding are known 171 to most pastoralists who breed the one-humped camel. Such traits may well have been introduced to North Africa with the Arabs, but they were most probably also known to North Africa ca[illegible]ers before the Arabs arrived. Among such traits universally known to camel-breeders, t[illegible]g can be mentioned:—

Milking with the dummy-calf. This seems to be practised among all Arab pastoralists of the Peninsula; it is frequently described, in modern literature about this area, and is mentioned as well in ancient Arabic poetry (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 355). The custom is known to Arabs of the Sahara and, according to Monteil, also to the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 72). I have mentioned above that the dummy-calf is used for milking camels among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, and according to Nicolas the custom is also practised among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 140).

Perhaps a milking method universally known is that of patting the udder. I have recorded this method from Ahaggar, from Ayr (p. 57), and from Arab pastoralists of the Sahara (e.g. the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba*). I have not been able to find much information about this method in literature, but it is possibly this to which Thesiger refers in his description of camel milking in Southern Arabia (cf. Thesiger 1959, p. 145).

A method of which there is also very little information is that of weaning calves by cutting them on the bridge of the nose in two or three places. I have noted it from the *Kel Ahaggar*, the *Kel Ajjer*, and the *Kel Ayr* and from pastoralists of Arab tribes such as the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu*, but have not seen it among Arabs in the borderlands of the Atlas and the Sahara. I have also noted the existence of this particular method among the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Western Iwllemmeden*, but it is not mentioned by Nicolas from the *Iwllemmeden Kel Denek*, though he states that it is known among the *Kunta* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 141). In certain parts of North Africa a cut on the bridge of the nose of camel calves is given one or two thorns. These sting the mother camel when the calf tries to suck and the mother camel therefore kicks the calf away. The method is described from In Salah by Cauvet, while Nicolas mentions it from certain Arabs and *Ifoṛas* Tuareg (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 359; Nicolas 1950a, [illegible]). A related method is known to pastoralists of Arabia where a little pointed stick is tied to the head of the calf to prevent it from sucking (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 359).

261 171 A very interesting custom, perhaps also a very ancient one, is that of using the blood of living camels for food. Among the Tuareg, blood of living camels is drunk only when water is lacking during camel expeditions in the desert (cf. p. 235). The bleeding of camels to utilize their blood is also practiced among the Tebu (Huard & Charpin 1960, p. 195), and among the bedouins of Arabia it seems as though camel's blood is consumed regularly for food. Doughty describes how Arab bedouins boil camel's meat in broth and blood, as they are unaware that the Ḳoran forbids the use of blood for food (Doughty ed. 1926, I, p. 561). A good description of the use of blood of living camels as food among

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Arab bedouins is given by Finbert:— "Dans les jours de disette, on pulvérise les ossements de la carcasse, et bien que l'Islam interdise l'usage du sang, on l'y mêle en le recueillant d'une veine que l'on ouvre à un chameau. De ce mélange on fait une pâtée que l'on dévore. En cas de famine prolongée, on mange de la corne moulue avec des trayons macérés dans du sang. Le sang lui-même, toujours pris sur l'animal vivant, est versé dans des boyaux qui sont ensuite grillés comme du boudin" (Finbert 1938, p. 39). It is very possible that the custom of bleeding live animals for food has once been widely known among many people of the area now dominated by Islam; thus Ibn Batutah mentions a Turanian people among whom blood of live horses is used for food (Ibn Batutah III, p. 24). 261 171

Among the Tuareg a certain medical value is attached to camel's urine (p. 127), but they do not wash in it as do many Arab bedouins of the Peninsula. A conception of camel's urine as something clean seems to exist among many camel-breeders, and Thesiger mentions that bedouins of Southern Arabia wash their hands in camel's urine before milking (Thesiger 1959, p. 145). 237 171

It is evident that some traits of camel-breeding resemble customs known also to African cattle-breeders, and it seems as if these customs are widely found among people who breed one-humped camels. – Certain traits of camel-breeding are peculiar to the Tuareg and a few adjacent peoples. 233 171

In contrast to all other camel breeding peoples the Tuareg and some adjacent peoples have riding saddles that they place in front of the camel's hump (p. 78 ff.). The common saddles are those known as *térik*, comprising the two main types named *tamzak* and *tekokeyi*, the most developed riding saddles among the Tuareg. These saddles are also used by some of the Northern Arabs, notably the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba* who import them from Southern Tuareg country – particularly from Agadez where the best saddles are made. The *térik* saddles with a cruciformed pommel are quite peculiar to the Tuareg. 492 171

The Tuareg saddle known as *ahyas* or *tahyast* (Fig. 63) resembles the *térik* type in that it is also placed in front of the camel's hump, so that camels are ridden in exactly the same manner as with *térik*-saddles. The *ahyas* type is not mentioned from the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg. But it is extremely common among the *Western Iwllemmeden* and is said to have originated in Aḍraṛ-n-Foṛas. Further west among the Moors, a riding saddle somewhat resembling the *ahyas* type seems to form the common type. It differs from the *ahyas* mainly in that it has a very low pommel and a very broad and deep seat. Several specimens of this Moorish saddle type are found in the Musée de l'homme in Paris (e.g., nos. D. 33.24.14 & 34.76.15). These Moorish saddles are placed in front of the hump like all Tuareg riding saddles, but I have been told that owing to their peculiar structure the riders cannot generally reach the camel's neck with their feet, so that they ride more bumpily and less steadily than the Tuareg, who secure their position by stemming their naked feet against the camel's neck. This is also seen from photographs of camel riders from Mauretania (cf. Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129).

The *térik* and *ahyas* saddles are always made by blacksmiths, and this is probably also the case with the Moorish riding saddles. But as mentioned above (p. 82 ff.) the Tuareg of Ayr make certain primitive riding saddles themselves, and these, called *kantarki* or *delobi*, are perhaps the prototypes of the more developed saddles made by the blacksmiths. Tuareg riding saddles for camels do not seem to have been introduced to Africa by the Arabs of the Peninsula where such saddles are unknown. The use of a single rein attached to a metal ring fixed in the right nostril of the riding camel is perhaps [564]

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492 171 an ancient North African custom. It is the method generally applied by the Tuareg and those Northern Arabs who use saddles of the *térik* or *tahyast* types; it is also practiced among the Moors of Mauretania (cf. Monteil 1952, Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129), and is known to the Tebu (Cline 1950, p. 34). It would appear that the use of nostril rings for riding camels has much the same distribution in North Africa as have saddles of *térik* or *tahyast* types including the Moorish saddle, which is also placed in front of the animal's hump.

The Tuareg halter made of iron or metal shackles and used in connection with the nostril ring so that the camel is controlled by means of a double rein (*akeskabbu*; cf. p. 73, Fig. 50–52), is perhaps a combination of two originally different systems, for the Tebu use this peculiar halter without any attachment to a nostril ring, the camel being controlled by a single rein combined with the halter (cf. Le Coeur 1950, p. 133, pl. XXIX Figs. 111–112 & Cline 1950, p. 34).

136 174 114 Much has been written on the history of the camel in North Africa, and I do not want to take up this question in great detail as I can add very little to what is already known. René Basset's theory that the camel was first introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1907) is contrary to all historical information, for we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived. Contemporary with Basset it was pointed out by Flammand, that skeletal remains of camels from North Africa proved the exsistence of these animals as early as "les temps quaternaire moyens" (Flammand 1907). But while Flammand states that the camel disappeared with a more humid climate, Cauvet later tried to substantiate the theory that the camel did not disappear, but continued to exist further south in Africa. Thus, he claims, the southern camel-breed descends from the ancient camel found in Africa even during the mio-pliocene of the tertiary period, while the northern breed was introduced by the Arabs (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 15 ff.). I can agree with Cauvet's latter statement regarding a connection between northern camels and the Arabs, but his theory of the existence of the one-humped camel in Africa since tertiary time is most difficult to accept. The camel breed which existed in Africa prior to the Arab invasions was no doubt comparatively recently introduced from Asia. Barth pointed out that the camel came to North-western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3 ff.). This theory has later been supported by many scholars, notably by Gautier (Gautier 1928,, p. 99 f., ed. 1946, p. 129 ff.; 1942, p. 190 ff.). Quite recently the various problems connected with the history of the camel in North Africa have been re-examined by Walz. He largely accepts Barth's theory of its introduction in antiquity, but also points out that the camel, which seems to appear in Egypt about 500 B.C. or somewhat earlier, may have been introduced to southern parts of Africa via the Bab-el-Mandeb Straits at an earlier date (Walz 1951, p. 29–51; 1954, p. 45–87).

Gautier states that the Romans had a certain responsibility for the introduction of the camel into North-Africa, though he also claims that it was introduced by the Berber-speaking *Zenata* tribes 174 177 (Gautier 1942, p. 209 f., 227). It is to be doubted that the Romans introduced the camel into North-Africa, and on the whole it seems as if the Romans have influenced Tuareg culture very slightly. It is difficult to point to any definite traits of material culture taken over from the Romans, though Foucauld states that certain lamps of Roman form are found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1399). A fair number of Latin words can be proved to exist in Tuareg dialects. This fact is

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frequently referred to in books, and some authors have taken certain linguistic Roman traits as a proof that the Tuareg have once been Christians. But as stated by Lhote, the Latin words adopted in the Tuareg language cannot by themselves prove an ancient Tuareg Christianity, though they do indicate that the ancient Tuareg have had direct or indirect contact with Christians (Lhote 1955a, p. 346). We know that Christianity had a fixed position among many Berbers of North-Africa (cf. Ibn Khaldun I, p. 177, 207, 209 & Leo Africanus I, p. 163), and there seem to have lived Christian Berbers more than a hundred years after the introduction of Islam into Morocco, where certain Berbers near Fez still remember Sunday as a day of rest (cf. Westermarck 1926, I, p. 13 f.). As to the Tuareg we do not know whether some of them have been Christians, but Ibn Khaldun states that the great western division of *Sanhaja* Tuareg never adopted Christianity (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 212).

The Phoenicians occupied a limited area of the North African coast where they remained from about 1200 B.C. until the end of the third Punic War in the year 146 B.C. Over this long period they apparently did much to change North African Berber cultures. They introduced the use of iron and bronze, new cultivation methods of wine and olive, and did much to open up North Africa to Mediterranean influences, which also penetrated into the country of the Berber chiefs (cf. Gsell 1920–28, IV, p. 18 ff., 74 ff.; Despois 1949, p. 177 ff.; Mauny 1952, p. 577). However, it does not seem that true Phoenician elements can be proved to exist among the Tuareg. Further back in time true historical knowledge stops, but Aegean influences seem to have been in Tunis before the Phoenicians (Gsell 1920–28, I, p. 347; Despois 1949, p. 117).

## TUAREG CULTURE AND AFRICAN CULTURE COMPLEXES

So-called historical anthropology was from its very beginning closely connected with studies of African cultures. It was inaugurated by Friedrich Ratzel as a reaction against Adolf Bastian's evolutionary theories. Ratzel pointed out that certain weapons were found in identical form in Africa, Asia, and Oceania and he claimed that this could be explained only from the assumption that a historical relationship existed between them. Already in his study of the African bow Ratzel gave as his opinion that "Fast ganz Afrika erscheint uns zuletzt als ein einziges grosses Gebiet mehr oder weniger abgeschwächter asiatischer Anklänge" (Ratzel 1891, p. 333).

Ratzel had many followers who took up distributional studies of cultural traits in Africa and adjacent regions. Important investigations were made by such scholars as Schurtz and Weule, and by Leo Frobenius, who established a particular West African culture complex, which he claimed was historically related to similar compilations of culture traits in Indonesia and Melanesia (Frobenius 1898a). It is remarkable that Frobenius very soon abandoned this method of historical reconstruction though he invented it himself. However, the concept of world-embracing culture complexes disappeared, only to emerge again in a modified form a few years later (1904), when the two German scholars F. Graebner and B. Ankermann compared their studies in Oceania and Africa to establish for these areas culture complexes which they claimed to be historically related (Graebner & Ankermann 1905). The principal supporter of this theory was Graebner, who deepened his methodological

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/2/ viewpoints in a particular book on the subject (Graebner 1911). A later contribution was made by Wilhelm Schmidt who classified all cultures into world-embracing culture complexes based mainly upon social characteristics, therein differing from the culture complexes established by Graebner (cf. Schmidt & Koppers 1924, p. 75 ff.; Schmidt 1937).

The establishment of world wide culture complexes has been of some value for our knowledge of cultural evolution in Africa. But scholars who have adhered to this particular method of historical reconstruction have committed many fallacies, not only because they recognized no other scientific approach but the study of distributions, but also because they were so convinced about a relationship between all cultures that they did not take the trouble to produce evidence of their theories about historical connections.

The methodological approach concerned with the establishment of culture complexes within the African continent was also founded by Leo Frobenius. In 1904, when Graebner and Ankermann established their culture complexes for Oceania and Afrika, Frobenius claimed that he now dissociated himself from this method which he had himself created. From then on he was concerned almost exclusively with the study of African cultures. He firmly believed that most African cultures had been introduced from outside, and he tried to show how these foreign influences had penetrated into the continent. He did this not only by means of distributional studies, but tried to demonstrate how certain trait-distributions should be explained in the light of archaeological finds in African coastal regions. By this method Frobenius established certain culture complexes to which he added two particular cultures which could not be explained in this way. The cultures that could not be explained in the light of archaeological finds he termed "Urkulturen", and he named them the "Ethiopian Culture" and the "Hamitic Culture". Frobenius has written on African cultural developments in numerous books and articles. His method and his culture complexes are best described in "Atlas Africanus" I–VIII, 1920 ff., and in "Kulturgeschichte Afrikas", 1933. His culture complexes are the following:— [/3]

(1) *The Ethiopian Culture.* A primitive culture ("Urkultur") which constitutes the foundation of many cultures of tropical Africa.

(2) *The Hamitic Culture.* A primitive culture ("Urkultur") mainly represented among pastoralists of North and East Africa.

(3) *The Atlantic Culture.* A high culture which came from the Mediterranean, through the Straits of Gibraltar, along the North-west African coast, and settled around the Guinea Coast where there are numerous ruins and archaeological finds.

(4) *The Syrtic Culture.* A high culture which influenced a large part of North-western Africa. It came from the Mediterranean and reached as far south as Senegal – Niger – Tchad – Benue. The Garamantes played an important part in the spreading of this culture.

(5) *The North Erytrean Culture.* A high culture connected with certain North-east African states, notably Axum and the old Kuchitic states in and around Ethiopia. From these regions the culture spread over the Sudan and adjacent regions. But the traits of this culture complex are not limited to any definite period.

(6) *The South Erytrean Culture.* A high culture which like its northern counterpart came from the

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Near East. It was brought across the sea and along the East African coast by a foreign people who /21/ settled in the region between Limpopo and Zambezi. It is connected with ancient ruins, notably with those of Zimbabwe.

There are many extremely weak points in these culture complexes.

The so-called Ethiopian and Hamitic cultures are nothing more than accidental groupings of cultural traits, and the Atlantic culture seems to be a compilation of traits, which did not come to West Africa from the sea in the way Frobenius thought. When all this has been said, it must be admitted that he started a valuable work. For his *Syrtic Culture* and the two *Eryirean Cultures* were founded upon a realistic methodological principle entirely new to African historical anthropology, namely the combination of distributional studies with archaeology.

Frobenius had many followers, who have contributed much to advance his theories (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 7 f.), but since Frobenius no scholar has been of such importance for the establishment of African culture complexes as has Hermann Baumann. He acknowledges the value of some cultures established by Frobenius, and in an early paper he states that the culture complexes of Africa should be elucidated mainly by studies within the continent. Culture complexes should be intra-continental, and not inter-continental (Baumann 1934). As early as 1927 Baumann outlined some of his culture complexes in a study of the Azande and the Mangbetu (Baumann 1927), and the year after he published an important paper on the division of work in African hoe culture, in which paper he stressed the importance of social organization for the establishment of culture complexes (Baumann 1928). Baumann has published other significant papers on various aspects of African cultures, but his main work is "Völkerkunde von Afrika" (1940), in which book he has outlined his view on the historical development of African cultures. They are divided into the following culture complexes:— [113]

(1) *The Pygmy Culture*. This is limited to the parts of Central Africa, where the Pygmies live. The culture is founded upon hunting and collecting and is very poor in material objects.

(2) *The Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture*. A primitive hunting culture which is represented mainly among the Bushmen though it can be traced over a large part of the African continent in the steppe and savannah regions.

The so-called "Mahalbi" Culture established by Frobenius at the outskirts of the Sahara (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 70 ff.) is incorporated in the Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture, which is not limited to any particular ethnic group. It is found among khoisanid and negroid peoples alike, and in part it is represented among ethiopid and even europid tribal groups. However, it is considered likely that this particular culture in its origin was linked with people of the khoisanid race, which seems to have existed over most of the African continent in the remote past. This hunting culture seems to have been of great importance to people of the Sahara which appears from rock engravings representing hunting scenes, and traits of the Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture were found among the Ancient Libyans of Northern Africa. The Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture, and also the khoisanid race, seem to be connected prehistorically with the Wilton- and Smithfield Cultures of South Africa, the Elementeita Culture in Kenya, the Capsian Culture of North Africa, and perhaps also with the well-known rock engravings of Eastern Spain. Characteristic of the Eurafrican hunting culture are particular hunting rites and hunting methods (hunting in disguise by means of animal masks, poi-

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/2/ soning of waterplaces, throwing clubs and throwing sticks, the spiked wheel-trap, poisoned arrows placed in the nests of ostriches, hunting by wounding the Achilles tendon of game animals, the running down of gazelle by hunters). Among the weapons of this culture should also be mentioned the sling, and particular types of bows and arrows. The digging stick provided with a heavy stone is typical of the culture to which collecting is of prominent importance. The penis case has a certain connection with hunting and is also considered part of the Eurafrican culture in which women wear leather skirts and a leather garment over the upper part of the body much like women amog then Eastern Hamites. The typical dwelling is the beehive hut, or a windscreen. Social organization is characterized by the hunting groups within which the individual family has a rather independent position. Religion and spiritual culture comprise the belief in a supreme being, primitive toteism, animatism, and sun worship.

(3) *The East Hamitic Culture*. This pastoral culture is best preserved in the regions of the East African Horn and in South-West Africa. The complex is mainly attached to cattle of the long-horned type. The fat-tailed sheep is also esteemed while the agricultural animals, goats and fowls, are lacking. A particular type of greyhound apparently also belongs to this culture complex, which has many peculiar traits attached to stock-breeding:— Cattle are killed only at feasts and ceremonies, the urine and the excrements of cattle are considered clean, cattle urine employed for cleaning milking bowls and the like, milking bowls are predominantly made of wood while bowls made from clay or metal must not be used, milk and water must not be mixed, women must not engage in the tasks of cattle-breeding, there is a particular connection between chiefs and cattle, there is a myth stating that people and cattle have a common origin, milk should be tasted by somebody before it is drunk by the milker, butter is churned in calabashes or skin-bags to be used exclusively for ointment, the constant fire lit to protect cattle against insects which are considered disease-carrying demons, the scape-goat, a peculiar pastoral type of totemism (cattle totems and split totems), ear-marks, decorations burned into the animals' hide with a red-hot iron, horn deformations, blood-drinking and eating of raw meat, the dummy calf, blowing into the cow's vulva to promote milk yielding, divination by means of entrails, the use of coiled basketry, the use of subterranean storerooms, and the fat woman as an ideal of beauty. The East Hamitic Culture is further characterized by beehive huts covered with boughs, mats, dung, or skin; by the leather mantle which is frequently tied up over one of the shoulders, and the leather loin-cloth worn by men while woman's dress consists of a leather skirt frequently ornamented with beads. The typical weapons are the spear and the shield made of hide. There is a strict war-organization attached to this culture in which metal techniques are traditionally unknown, and blacksmiths are looked down upon and not recognized as forming part of society. The important social characteristic is the inheritance right of eldest son within the patrilineal group. As to religion, the culture complex possess many characteristics of hunting cultures.

(4) *The West African Culture*. This falls into two parts, namely the northern *Rain Forest Culture*, and the southern *Matrilineal Bantu Culture*.

(5) *The Old Sudanese Culture*. A patrilineal farming culture mainly preserved in isolated parts of the Sudan. The men engage in the heavy agricultural work connected with shifting cultivation in the Savannah country. The important agricultural implement is the slot-shafted hoe, that is the hoe hafted

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by means of a tongue inserted in the wooden handle, but the digging stick is also known. The typical /21/ type of dwelling is the cylindrical house with a conical roof.

(6) *The Young Sudanese Culture*. This is largely identical with the *North Erytrean Culture* established by Frobenius. Its main area of distribution lies between the Senegal River and the Red Sea around Ethiopia, and its culture elements derive from Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and above all from India. It is attached to state organization characterized by divine kingship, and many traits of highly-developed techniques in crafts are particularly attached to the royal court. It is a most refined culture in comparison with the above mentioned *Old Sudanese Culture*. Its original foundation was perhaps a developed agricultural technique based on artificial irrigation, manuring, and the terracing of fields. Certain agricultural implements are also characteristic of this culture complex, notably the socket-shafted hoe and other implements hafted in this way, the sickle, particular knives for rice-harvesting, and crescent-shaped spades. Megalithic monuments are perhaps also peculiar to this culture.

(7) *The Rhodesian Culture*. This is largely identical with the *South Erytrean Culture* established by Frobenius, and has many traits in common with the *Young Sudanese Culture*, notably state organizations characterized by divine kingship. Many other cultural traits are common to the two cultures.

(8) *The Old Mediterranean Culture*. This is largely identical with the *Syrtic Culture* established by Frobenius. It is a high culture, which has been introduced from the Mediterranean into a large part of the Western Sudan between the Senegal River and Lake Tchad. It is less prominent in other parts of the Sudan. It is characterized by the mother-right of the Berbers, and this social trait derives from the old Aegean-Iberian culture of the Mediterranean. Mother-right was introduced into the Western Sudan together with the invasion of fair-skinned Berbers whose racial traits can be traced in numerous chief-families of West Sudanese states. The ancient mother-right of the Berbers even reached the Gold and Ivory Coasts. In the north it disappeared in most places, but was conserved among the isolated Tuareg and the Beja. Many developed cultural traits are considered part of the Old Mediterranean Culture, but as this culture in the Sudan has mixed with the Young Sudanese Culture it is often difficult to determine whether cultural elements of the Western Sudan have been introduced from the east or from the north. An important characteristic of the Old Mediterranean culture is clay or mud architecture, including huts and store rooms of cylindrical form with a conical roof, dome-shaped dwellings, drums made from clay, large earthen jars for storing cereals, painted pottery, refined leather work, stone-carving, the manufacture of beads and glass, etc.

Many scholars other than those mentioned have contributed to our understanding of African cultural development, but none has made so systematic a study as has Baumann. More recently, however, a most important work on the distribution of African cultural traits has been published by Sture Lagercrantz. This deepens our knowledge of African cultures by its distribution maps, founded [/13] upon an enormous knowledge of African literature (Lagercrantz 1950). Lagercrantz follows Baumann in the establishment of culture complexes, stating that the results achieved by Baumann are likely on the whole to prove of permanent value (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 8). In what follows I attempt to elucidate certain aspects of Tuareg culture in the light of Baumann's African culture complexes.

There can be no doubt that in the past an *Old Mediterranean Culture*, or a *Syrtic Culture*, has greatly /174 influenced North Africa with related regions. I think that the influence from such a high culture in

174 the regions now inhabited by the Tuareg is very clearly schown by the excellent study made by Lhote on rock engravings and paintings of horse-drawn waggons and carts in the Sahara (Lhote 1953a). For it is demonstrated by Lhote that though these pictures may show a resemblance to Egyptian carts and harnesses they are more particularly related to those of Ancient Greece, which is also intimated by the artistic style and the occurrence of spiral motives. The most excellent representations of horse-drawn carts have been found in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but pictures are also known from the Fezzan around the ancient city of Garama, in Ahaggar, Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas, and in parts of Mauretania. Further east in the Sahara, in Ayr and in Tibesti, no cart pictures have so far been found. Lhote thinks it possible that horse-drawn carts may have been used on a route connecting the ancient city of Garama with the city of Tademaket (Es Suk) in Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas, though he admits that the mere representation of carts in rock pictures does not necessarily prove that they were used in regions where such pictures are found. For rock pictures representing carts may also be found in mountainous regions where cart-driving has no doubt been impossible, though the cart used by the ancient people of the Sahara was probably a light one (Lhote 1953a, p. 1138–1228).

It would be natural to investigate how far this *Old Mediterranean Culture* has influenced Tuareg
[212] culture. We may then perhaps assume that Tuareg alphabet (*tifinaṛ*) is a so-called *Old Mediterranean* element though it has not yet been exactly shown to which other alphabet *tifinaṛ* is most directly related (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 174 ff.). It is more difficult still to prove other cultural traits among modern Tuareg to be Old Mediterranean. One might suppose that a high culture of North Africa with a centre of gravity in the Syrtic region would also have influenced the ancestors of the Tuareg in regard to dress and weapons. It is of some interest to note that the bi-triangular persons depicted in Ancient Crete are also characteristic of the rock-engravings in the Sahara, whether associated with carts or not. Rodd has stated as his opinion that there is a close relationship between these bi-triangular figures in rock engravings and the leather shirt of poncho type still used by isolated tribes among the Ahaggar Tuareg (Rodd 1938, p. 101 ff.). But, as pointed out by Lhote, there is no obvious reason to connect this ancient type of dress with Mediterranean civilizations, and the dress worn by persons depicted during the cart-period does not correspond to any definite type (cf. Lhote 1953a, p. 1148 ff.).

It would not be unnatural to expect that Tuareg culture would have adopted the sword from the Old Mediterranean culture which, we know, was found in North Africa long before the advent of Islam. But while spear warriors mounted on camels and horses are frequently depicted in ancient rock-engravings there seem to be little evidence of the ancient use of the sword (cf. Huard 1960, p. 144). Many theories have been advanced about the origin in Africa of the sword with a cross-like hilt (cf. Ankermann 1905, p. 60; Schilde 1929, p. 172; Murray 1935, p. 101). These authors give various explanations, but they all believe that the sword was introduced comparatively recently. Gsell states that the sword was not common among North African Berbers until the 6th century A.D., and he believes that the particular Tuareg sword with a cross-like hilt was introduced to the Sahara from Spain with the Almoravides during the 11th century A.D. (Gsell 1920–28, VI, p. 44 f.). Baumann asigns the sword to the so-called Young Sudanese Culture, to which complex Tuareg armdaggers are credited by Lagercrantz (cf. Lagercrantz 1938a; 1950; p. 206 ff.). The developed techniques of leatherwork and skin-dyeing are perhaps to be considered Old Mediterranean rather than Young Sudanese?

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The cotton shirt of poncho cut (p. 289 ff.) is common to all Tuareg, and is widely found in North-western Africa among the Moors as well as among the Hausa and other sedentary peoples of the Sudan where I have seen it as far south as Accra and Abidjan. It is unknown to Berber-speaking tribes of the Atlas, though an almost identical type of garment is found among the Berbers of Siwa (Cline 1936, p. 31). Poncho shirts very akin to those used among the Tuareg are also found in the Fezzan, Tibesti, Borku, and Bornu (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 97, 189, 455 f., 646; Cline 1950, p. 40; Le Coeur 1950, p. 126, pl. XXVIII & XXXIV). It is possibly also this shirt to which Lebeuf refers from the Teda-Daza, from Kanem and Ouadai, and from the Arabs of the Lake Tchad region (Lebeuf 1959, p. 24, 44, 87, 97). 174 171

The large poncho-shirts used in North-western Africa were no doubt introduced before Islam, and it is possible that we should class them with the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture* comprising refined cultural traits derived from the Near East including Egypt, and from India, for we note that the same type of garment was used among the Iranians of antiquity (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 279). To the same culture complex should perhaps also be referred Tuareg sandals of the *takalmi* type which are largely used in the Sudan, and were known also in Ancient Egypt (cf. Chasseloup-Laubat 1938, p. 42, pl. XXIXa–c & Lhote 1950d, p. 528 ff.). The same is perhaps also true of sandals plaited of dum palm leaves and structurally related to *takalmi* sandals (cf. Zeltner 1914a, p. 367). 174

If we follow Baumann's definition of the Young Sudanese Culture there are other traits than those alluded to above which should perhaps be classified with this complex. Thus we note in particular socket-shafted implements and weapons, notably spears and adzes, while the normal axe, as well as the hoe among the sedentary *Kel Ayr*, are slot-shafted. The latter principle is considered a part of the so-called *Old Sudanese Culture* characterized by shifting cultivation with little developed agricultural techniques in contrast to the Young Sudanese Culture, which in its origin was perhaps connected with irrigation, terrace-building, and fertilizing. It is probable that we have conserved in Ayr certain traits of an old negroid culture based on shifting cultivation, and in this connection we note that the Ayr farmers do not harvest by means of the sickle, which by Baumann is also considered a Young Sudanese trait.

So far we have dealt with African Culture complexes that apparently have had very little importance for the creation of Tuareg culture as we know it to-day. More important are the last two complexes to be mentioned, namely the East Hamitic Culture and the Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture. The Hamitic Culture established by Frobenius seems to contain traits from both complexes, and it is very possible that Frobenius in working out his Hamitic Culture was much influenced by Seligman's Old Hamitic Culture which has been recognized by many scholars (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 6 f.). 121

Baumann's *East Hamitic Culture* constitutes the most reasonable culture complex among all cultural groupings, for it contains traits which are largely connected with cattle and which seem to have very little meaning without. The East Hamitic Culture in many ways seem to constitute a true unit of traits that have penetrated into Africa with cattle. However, we must emphasize that it is not a functional unit in the sense that all these traits are highly necessary for cattle-breeding, and it is very evident that all traits are not found where the so-called East Hamitic Culture occurs. Baumann finds the East Hamitic Culture particularly well preserved in the Beja group, among the Danakil, 174 171

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171 the Somali, and certain Galla, among the Nilo-Hamites and the Bahima, and in South-western Africa among such tribes as the Hottentots, the Herero, the Ovimbu, and others. The complex is mixed with other cultures among neighbouring Bantu-speaking peoples of southern Africa, and among the Nilotes. He states that the Fulani of the Western Sudan are culturally related to the East Hamites, but their historical origin is rather obscure. He also points out that certain traits of the East Hamitic complex are found among Arabs of the Eastern Sudan as far as Lake Tchad, where non-humped cattle of the *Bos primigenius* type seem to occur. Many authors have dealt with the distribution of the so-called East Hamitic traits, and Lagercrantz has published some very detailed maps of the distribution of certain milking customs of the East Hamitic complex (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 44 ff.). The traits mentioned by Lagercrantz have a larger distribution in Northern Africa than appears from his valuable maps. Thus the distribution of milking by inflating is indicated as practised in parts of South, East, and North-east Africa, and also in the Eastern Sudan, but it is not mentioned from the Sahara or from the Western Sudan. I have noted it among the Ayr Tuareg, and it is probably known elsewhere in the Western Sudan. Milking with the dummy-calf is shown to have a somewhat larger distribution. For North-western Africa it is mentioned among the Fulani of the Western Sudan, and in the Canary Islands. I can add that the method is common among the Ayr Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar* and probably also other groups of Sudanese Tuareg, and I have noted it also in Kabylia, from which region it has been earlier mentioned by Hanoteau and Letourneux in their large monograph on the Kabyle (Hanoteau & Letourneux 1893, I, p. 497). It can be added that it seems as though this custom is known to most camel-breeders of the Sahara and the Sudan. Milking by udder patting is shown by Lagercrantz to exist almost exclusively in South-west Africa, though there is one instance of this method being used among the Nuer. I can add that this method is applied among the Ayr Tuareg, and among the Tuareg of Ayr, Ahaggar, and adjacent Arab tribes it is used also for milking camels. Finally, with regard to blood-letting with spears or knives, Lagercrantz mentions this custom only in the case of certain peoples of the Lower Congo region, a few instances from the Nilotes and East Africa, the Hottentots and the Ayr Tuareg. We can confirm the occurrence among the Ayr Tuareg, and add that blood-letting also occurs among the Tebu, and perhaps among many other pastoral people of the desert. Other so-called East Hamitic traits have not been distributionally studied in great detail, but I believe that there are other resemblances between the so-called East Hamitic Culture and the culture of North-west African pastoralists, including that of the Tuareg, e.g., the custom of not drinking milk alone when the animals graze away from camp, the small knots carved into the bridge of a calf's nose to prevent sucking, a custom used among the Tuareg for both cattle and camels, and which has been mentioned from the Nilo-Hamites by Huntingford (verbal information). In other words we find that the bulk of East Hamitic cattle traits are found also in North-western Africa among the Tuareg, with the main exception that they do not use urine added to milk or for the cleaning of milking bowls. However, this custom is known in the Western Sudan. I have been told that it is done by the Fulani in the region south of Ayr (cf. also Dupire 1962, p. 87).

174 The distinction between pastoral North Hamites and pastoral East Hamites is not so great as is often believed. A great many usages are common to the two branches of pastoral Hamites, and one might ask if the milking customs found among the Tuareg and adjacent pastoralists do not derive

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from an ancient cow-breeding culture. This we know formerly existed in the Sahara where cows are very frequently represented in rock-engravings. There can be little doubt that hump-less long-horned cattle of the *Bos primigenius* type, which are still found in isolated parts of the Western Sudan, once existed in the Sahara, and it is extremely remarkable that Huard has been able to show that horn-deformation like those practised in Ancient Egypt on *Bos primigenius* cattle, and those still practised on oxen among the Nilotes, can be proved to have been in use over most of the Sahara, where such deformation is frequently seen on ancient cattle-pictures. It may be that one or two of his examples are doubtful, but on the whole they seem to be reliably interpreted, and I think with Huard that we should take the rock-engravings of the Sahara as a proof that the so-called East Hamitic Culture was formerly represented all over North-west Africa (cf. Huard 1953, p. 75–106, and notably 1959, p. 109–131). Long-horned cattle seem to have been found among the Ancient Libyans (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96), who according to Baumann also possessed traits in common with the East Hamitic Culture. We do not know when the nomads of the Sahara stopped to breed long-horned and humpless cattle, but the Ayr Tuareg, who are now zebu-breeders, claim that cattle-breeding is not an ancient occupation among them. They seem to hold that cattle were rare in Ayr even as recently as up to the beginning of the French penetration, and they claim that they know less about cattle than about other domestic animals. They also have rather few cattle terms compared with the extensive glossary for other domestic animals. It might be contended that the milking customs of modern Tuareg are derived from an ancient cattle-breeding culture of the Sahara but in general this is not the whole explanation, for it seems as if some of these traits have been introduced or re-introduced into the Sahara with camel-breeding, which originated in the same area from which the East Hamitic Complex must have come to Africa.

Our last problem is to consider Tuareg culture in the light of the so-called *Eurafrican Steppe-Hunting Culture*, which Baumann believes to have existed over most of Africa. He finds remains of this culture among the Ancient Libyans, and he thinks that certain rock-engravings of the Sahara prove that this primitive hunting culture was once widely distributed in the desert, while at present the steppe-hunting culture is mainly preserved on the outskirts of the Sahara. It seems as if the Tuareg have very few elements which can be placed within this culture. They lack the bow and arrow and also the true throwing stick or throwing club, they do not use parts of animals for disguise, and they do not poison water places to kill game, though in pre-European times they killed their enemies in this way. They know the spiked wheel-trap stated by Baumann to be an Eurafrican trait, but I believe with Lindblom and Lagercrantz that this hunting device is not so ancient (Lindblom 1928; Lagercrantz 1950, p. 98), and it can be mentioned in this connection that the torsion traps are also comparatively late arrivals (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 103 ff.; Lips 1927, p. 271). This may be the case also with dog hunting as practised to-day, for greyhound-like dogs are probably not the oldest hunting dog. Hunting barbary sheep with dogs and spears is depicted in a rock-engraving near Ṛat (cf. Frobenius 1933, pl. 28a), but, as generally the case with rock-engravings, it cannot be dated. A type of greyhound was known already in prehistoric Egypt (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 86 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 124 ff.) which may perhaps also be considered the cradle of Tuareg greyhound-like dogs, while the true greyhound, or *sluki*, was introduced to North Africa by the Arabs. The use of stalking animals is most

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174 probably not an old hunting trait. Lagercrantz thinks that it came into Africa with an early Hamitic migration (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 97 f.), and I believe myself that the origin of this usage should be looked for in a culture which already knew stock-breeding. I believe this to be the case also with lassos and throwing snares, though the so-called short throwing snares according to Lagercrantz originated within the so-called Old Sudanese Culture (cf. Lindblom 1939, p. 386–393 & Lagercrantz 1950, p. 173 ff.). It seems to me that we have no evidence for the assumption that lassos and throwing snares are old hunting weapons, for these implements occur mainly among peoples who are also stock-breeders. As to the use of such implements among the Tuareg, we see that the pulling snare and also the throwing snare, used in connection with a short stick, are both employed mainly for catching domestic animals which have run wild. It remains to mention the sling, which is considered by Baumann to be an ancient hunting weapon of the Eurafrican hunting culture. The sling has later been studied in detail by Lagercrantz, who finds it in use over large areas of Africa, but mainly in East Africa, North-east Africa, and in the Western Sudan, though it is also noted in South Africa and in North Africa (Egypt, the Fezzan, the Atlas countries, the Canary Islands). We cannot be sure, according to Lagercrantz, that the sling in Africa everywhere derives from the same source. It was known by Eurafrican Steppe-hunters who made their slings of leather, but it has been re-introduced by various other immigrants such as the Hamites and the Arabs (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.). The antiquity of the sling seems to be proved by its existence in distinct hunting cultures of all continents with exception of Australia (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 206 f.). We see that though the origin of the sling possibly reaches back to very primitive hunting cultures, there is little evidence that among the Tuareg it belongs to such a culture (cf. p. 170).

Finally I mention the Tuareg use of a stick provided with an iron crook for catching lizzards in holes (cf. p. 162). It is interesting to note that the Bushmen catch burrowing animals, such as the spring hare (jerboa) and anteater, in their holes by means of a long stick with a barb or crook. This is stated by Schapera (1930, p. 133) and a crooked implement of this type deriving from the Bushmen is found in the Ethnographical Collection of the Danish National Museum. However, the distribution of this particular hunting implement in Africa seems to be unknown. One cannot, of course, take it as a proof of cultural connections between Tuareg and Bushmen.

Altogether, we have some difficulty in finding the so-called Eurafrican Steppe-Hunting Culture among the Tuareg. But there can be little doubt that traits of some ancient hunting culture are preserved among them; we have evidence of this in certain rituals connected with hunting, and some of the sub-areas of tribal teritories are true hunting territories (cf. p. 148 f.). This points towards hunting as an important means of subsistence to the Tuareg in the past, and there can be little doubt that the same may be said of collecting. For though wild plants play a little part in Tuareg nourishment nowadays, the plants utilized for food belong to many different species, some of which are protected to allow them to grow ripe for collecting, which is generally done by methods unknown among agriculturists with the exception that the *tullult*-grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle. We may perhaps also see a rudiment of ancient collecting in the use of the digging stick by vassal women of Ahaggar. More than anything else I believe that the ancient remains of hunting and collecting are proved by the existence among the Tuareg of very primitive methods of food-preparation. Cooking

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with hot stones, which is still used for certain dishes, constituted in the past a very important method of food preparation being used for milk, meat, and for vegetable dishes alike. Also an ancient implement is perhaps the quern-stone, though it has to be admitted that it occurs throughout the world in many farming cultures. Tuareg dishes known as *tébik* and *téderka* (cf. p. 175 ff., 251) should doubtless be considered very ancient, and this is probably also the case with Tuareg method of bread-baking which is different from the methods used among most North African farmers. Bread is frequently baked from wild seeds, and it is not made from true dough but rather from a kind of gruel to be baked according to the *abatul*-method. 174

The existence among the Tuareg of leather garments of simple poncho type is of particular interest, the more so as such shirts are extremely rare in Africa. In literature they seem to be mentioned only in the case of the Tebu, and there is a well-preserved shirt from this people in the Museé de l'homme (Paris). It is made of the skin of barbary sheep, and is sewn together at both sides, but the upper parts of the sides are left open to form very large and wide arm-holes; patches of leather with ornamented fringes are sewn to the shoulders to form a kind of open sleeves. This skin shirt, which resembles that of the Ahaggar Tuareg, is said to be worn by blacksmiths (Musée de l'homme, no 35.50.107). Le Coeur mentions leather shirts from the Tebu stating that they are but little used nowadays:— "Seuls les hommes de condition servile le portent encore". He provides a photograph showing a Tebu blacksmith in a long skin shirt which has a kind of open sleeves attached to the shoulders (Le Coeur 1950, p. 100, pl. XXXIII Fig. 124). Leather shirts are mentioned from Central Tibesti by Fuchs, who depicts a shirt of this kind which is now in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna (Fuchs 1961, p. 23 f., Fig. 7 p. 24). Lebeuf says that among the Tebu, skin shirts are worn mainly by the Aza who make them from antelope skin, but they are also found among the Danoa of Kanem. These two peoples, the Aza and the Danoa, are related to each other. They never live in villages, but are roaming hunters who use the bow and arrow but mainly hunt by driving animals against cords. The Aza form small sections and are attached to the nomadic Daza as a kind of vassals (cf. Lebeuf 1959, p. 9, 16, 24, 39, 44). The origin of these peoples is uncertain. They seem to constitute remnants of an ancient hunting population. 171

Tuareg garments of leather or skin are in general of simple form and cut, and most probably constitute types of early dress development. This is perhaps also true of sandals of the *imerkeden* type, and perhaps even of skin stockings. If this be so it is very remarkable that we find among the Tuareg a poncho shirt of very primitive cut together with sandals and stockings, for we know from Hatt's brilliant analysis of arctic dress development that the oldest complex of skin garments in Arctic Eurasia and America – the so-called "Sandal System" – consists of (1) Clothing developed from the poncho type; (2) Breeches developed from leggings, in some cases probably from leggings combined with a triangular genital cloth; (3) Boots and shoes developed from stocking and sandals (cf. Hatt 1914, p. 214 ff. 1934, p. 2755 ff.). 174

I think that this brief description of Tuareg culture in the light of African culture complexes can adequately be concluded as follows:— Most of Baumann's cultural groupings have little value for an analysis of the historical development of Tuareg culture. His classifications are often too vaguely defined, and he does not always substantiate his theories by archaeological facts. The so-called Old 121 [114]

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121 Mediterranean and Young Sudanese Cultures seem to be cultural influences from distinct regions throughout extremely long periods.

The study of geographical distributions combined with archaeological investigations constitutes a highly important method for the reconstruction of cultural history. But cultural traits should also be studied structurally in great detail within limited areas, and one should take into account the native traditions concerning origin. I attempt to elucidate this in the following chapters on dwelling types, political systems, and social organization.

# Tuareg Dwelling Types

There are many distinct dwelling types within the extended territory dominated by the Tuareg. The occurrence of all these types within this area definitely cannot be explained by mere reference to anthropo-geographical factors for they rather indicate that cultural influences from the outside have been numerous. 342* [121]

In this description of the dwelling types in the Tuareg country I consider it proper to open with various types of fixed or non-portable dwellings which are used mainly by sedentary people, though sometimes also by pastoralists. In another section of this chapter I describe the true portable dwellings of the pastoral Tuareg.

## A. NON-PORTABLE DWELLINGS

There seem to be nine main types, namely the following:—

A.1. Square or rectangular houses built of mud.
A.2. Square or rectangular houses built of mud and stone.
A.3. Square or rectangular houses built of stone.
A.4. Subterranean or semi-subterranean houses.
A.5. Square or rectangular huts (houses) covered with plant material.
A.6. Round houses with a conical roof.
A.7. Conical huts.
A.8. Beehive huts.
A.9. Barrel-vaulted huts.

Within these main groups there are certain sub-types. The way the non-portable dwellings have been listed does not indicate any evolutionary tie between them for there can be little doubt that most types within Tuareg country have their own history.

### A.1. *Square or rectangular houses built of mud.* 342* 171

Houses of this type have an extremely large distribution in Northern Africa. They are found in most oases of the Sahara, and are common in the large Sudanese towns or cities including Agadez. They are also found north of the true desert country. I have seen them up to the foot of the Tell Atlas around Boghari, where they frequently have saddle roofs which was the case also with certain

[text continues on p.329]

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Fig. 245. Decorated house of Sudanese type at the market place of Agadez.

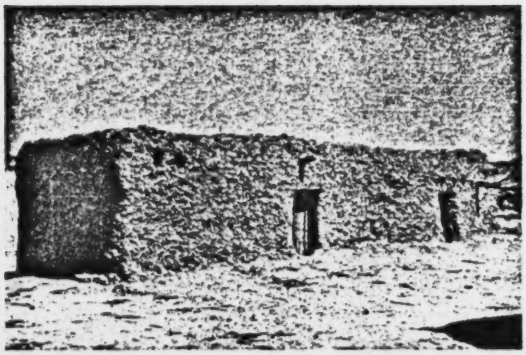

Fig. 246. House (*tayajamt*) built of mud and stones which are covered by a mud plaster. Ayr, Awderas.

[356]

Fig. 247. House (*tayajamt*) of the type depicted Fig. 246. The mud plaster is decaying and the stones are visible. Ayr, Awderas.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



houses I saw at Djelfa in the Sahara Atlas. Further south in the true desert, and also in adjacent parts of the Sudan, mud houses have flat roofs. We see that mud houses are not limited to any particular environmental zone, and as a matter of fact they occur in the Sudanese zone even though they are not particularly well fitted for its climate. This fact has been emphasized by Capot-Rey who believes it an indication that mud houses have been imported from other regions (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 231 f.). 342* 171

There are two distinct types of mud houses in the Sahara. The common type is that built of sun-dried bricks. It is found in many oases and also in Sudanese towns and cities, including Agadez, where some houses are decorated with reliefs or paintings on the facades – a custom which to my knowledge is unknown further north in the desert. The other type of mud house is constructionally rather different from that built of sun-dried bricks. It is built of cones or balls of mud piled upon each other before they are dried in the sun. The distribution of such constructions is unknown. They are mentioned by Nicolas from Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt (Nicolas 1938, p. 67), and I have myself seen houses built in this way at these two towns. In Ayr there are very few mud houses built of sun-dried bricks except in Agadez, Ingal, and Tegidda-n-tésemt. In Ahaggar there are mud houses at Tamanraset and at Abalessa, but these dwellings are not common at other cultivation centres where most people have other dwelling types.

A.2. *Houses built of stones and mud.* 342*

Solid houses of this type occur in certain Ayr villages (e.g., Awderas). In some houses the rather heavy walls are built of mud into which the stones have been inserted, while the walls of other houses appear to be built of stones kept together by a thin layer of mud between them. In this latter case mud balls may substitute for stones, as mentioned by Rodd (Rodd 1926a, p. 238 ff.). The Ayr houses can be rectangular or square. Some houses have two or three rooms (cf. Fig. 246), but very few of the houses seem to be inhabited. The houses always have flat roofs in which wooden drain pipes are inserted. They do not generally have a closed courtyard at the front as have Arab mud houses.

Houses built of stones and mud are also found in certain villages of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer and are inhabited to-day by agriculturists. In Abalessa they are mixed with true mud houses, the settlement being divided into four quarters as follows:— (1) *Arakayna* which is inhabited by black-skinned agriculturists known as *Ikewweren* who are said to have immigrated from Tasilé-n-Ajjer. (2) *Bukhelfa* which is inhabited mainly by agriculturists whose ancestors were Tuareg slaves in Ahaggar. (3) *Éfeli-n-Dag Rali* mainly inhabited by agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*) who have immigrated from Tidikelt. (4) *Tindar* which is inhabited exclusively by agriculturists of Tidikelt. The two first village quarters are situated close to each other and have houses built of stone and mud in contrast to the two last quarters which are inhabited by Arabic-speaking *Ḥarratin* who live in true mud houses of the Arab type. [62] [62]

A.3. *Houses with dry walls.*

In Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in Ayr I have seen a few house ruins with walls of stones, but I was not able to judge whether the stones were originally kept together by thin layers of clay or similar material.

172 The so-called *Tomb of Ti-n-Hinan*, an enormous fort at Abalessa in Ahaggar dating back to the 4th century A.D., has dry walls (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.; Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 95).

*342 Any solid house of the above mentioned types is known to the Tuareg as *taṛahamt* (Ahaggar) or [253] *taṛajamt* (Ayr). Pastoral Tuareg do not like to live in houses, and some of them believe that they may contract an illness if they stay too long in a house (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 221).

*342 174 Capot-Rey thinks that mud houses with terraces were introduced into the Sudan with the Arabs (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 231 f.), while Engeström and Le Moal hold them to be pre-Islamic (Engeström 1959, p.64–69; Le Moal 1960, p. 202). I believe that houses built of sun-dried bricks are post-Islamic in Tuareg countries. This agrees with Nicolas' statement that there are two Hausa words which are generally used for sun-dried bricks, and both words are derived from Arabic (Nicolas 1938, p. 67). Furthermore, houses constructed in this way are not very common in the Southern Sahara except in towns and cities. In Ahaggar there were apparently no houses built of sun-dried bricks until the beginning of the French occupation when the immigration of Tidikelt Arabs increased.

Houses built of balls of mud piled upon each other before sun-drying are no doubt pre-Islamic (cf. Nicolas 1938, p. 67), and we know that this is also true of houses built of stones and mud. They are still widely found in the Sahara and constituted an important dwelling type in ancient towns and cities including Ghana. Capot-Rey thinks that houses built predominantly of stone were introduced to the Sahara and the Sudan by Berber tribes of the north, and that these houses have to some extent displaced the straw-huts of the Negroes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 233). A connection between the stone houses of the Sahara and the immigration of Berbers is also claimed by Rodd, who thinks that the oldest type of solid houses in Ayr (the "A-type" according to Rodd's division) was built of stone and came to Ayr with the *Itésen* Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 244 ff.). I myself was frequently told by Tuareg of Ayr that originally there was a very close association between the *Itésen* Tuareg and stone houses, and various ruins of houses built of stone or predominantly of stone are ascribed to the *Itésen*. Ruins [173] at Tegidda-n-tagayt of small rectangular houses and a ruin at the same place of a large fort or walled enclosure, measuring about 35 × 35 metres, are said by modern Tuareg to derive from the ancient *Itésen* Tuareg who according to native tradition were among the early Tuareg immigrants (cf. p. 412).

*342 172 It seems that houses built predominantly of stone are of very great age in the northern parts of the Sahara, including Tasilé-n-Ajjer. At Êherir, situated in the latter mountain massif, there are house-ruins with walls of stones kept together by a thin layer of clay or similar material. It has been suggested that these constructions may reach back to antiquity and be due to Roman influence (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 87).

*342 172 174 Though solid houses built of stone seem to be very ancient in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, it would seem that all types of solid houses were introduced into Ahaggar in late pre-Islamic times. For the oldest house-ruins of Ahaggar, apart from the *Tomb of Ti-n-Hinan*, show walls of stones united with mud at Silef, and seem to derive from Arab marabuts who lived there during the reign of the *Imenan* (cf. p. 393).

*342 174 There are also house-ruins, probably of the same age, at Tit (Lhote 1955a, p. 87, 286). Apart from these ruins the Tuareg of Ahaggar say there were no solid houses in Ahaggar until about a hundred years

*342 ago when the *Ḥarratin* agriculturists immigrated from Tidikelt. Most people even aver that there
174 were hardly any houses in Ahaggar until the arrival of the French at the beginning of the century. This is confirmed by Foucauld (1951–52, II, p. 609), and Bissuel was told by the Tuareg captives at
361 Algiers that Abalessa had no solid houses but only straw-huts (cf. Bissuel 1888, p. 53). It is true that
125 Hornemann mentions a village comprising 25–30 houses built of stone and situated in the country
*[342] of Hhagarâ (Hornemann 1803, I, p. 154 f.). But Hornemann travelled further east and never visited Ahaggar or Tasilé-n-Ajjer. His information may perhaps refer to a village in the latter region also inhabited by noble *Ihaggaren* Tuareg. Permanent settlements of Ahaggar are apparently never mentioned in the writings of Medieval Arab authors. We know that Ahaggar was visited by Ibn Batutah. He does not mention any settlements in this country, of which and its inhabitants "there is little good to say" (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 446).

*342 A.4. *Subterranean or semi-subterranean dwellings.*

[17] Subterranean or semi-subterranean dwellings seem to be unknown in Ayr and also in the regions inhabited by most other Southern Tuareg though found among sedentary people along the Niger
[563] Bend (cf. Hefel 1946, p. 190 ff.). They are known also in Ahaggar where they are used exclusively by black-skinned agriculturists who claim that this type of dwelling named *eddamus* was introduced into Ahaggar with the *Kel Ĝanet*. This agrees with the fact that these dwellings are particularly common in the region of Taṛhawhawt where many of the *Kel Ĝanet* live. However, subterranean dwellings nowadays are also used by certain other sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The dwellings are not very deep, and frequently they are only semi-subterranean, the upper part then consisting of walls built of rectangular pieces of sundried mud or of stones kept together by mud. The subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling normally has a rectangular site, and is not very spacious. Introduced by the *Kel Ĝanet*, this type of dwelling is comparatively recent in Ahaggar. I have not seen subterranean

Fig. 248. Semi-subterranean house with two rooms (*eddamus*). Ahaggar, I-n-zawan.

*342 houses in Ganet or elsewhere in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but I have been told that they exist in these regions
*342 171 to this day. Various types of subterranean dwellings are recorded as existing further north in the Sahara and in the Atlas. Semi-dugouts roofed with brush are occasionally used among the Chamba (Briggs 1958, p. 120), and it is interesting to note that subterranean dwellings also occur among the semi-nomadic Chawiya of Aurès, who use such dwellings only when they live with their flocks in the desert south of the mountain massif (cf. Rivière 1938). Elsewhere in Northern Africa they seem to be found exclusively among sedentary peoples. The main area of distribution is the Atlas, Tripolitania, the northern parts of the Western Sahara, and the Western Sudan (cf. Hefel 1946 & Le Moal 1960). Frobenius considered the subterranean dwelling a so-called "Hamitic" trait (Frobenius
[174] 1933, p. 214 ff.). Recent investigations seem to indicate that this particular dwelling type was introduced to North Africa by contact with civilizations of the Western Mediterranean in pre-Christian times (cf. Hefel 1946).

*342 A.5. *Square or rectangular huts covered with plant material.*

The dwellings to be described under this item should perhaps be termed houses rather than huts as
[184] they have walls and roof made separately. They fall into two sub-types one of which is characteristic of Ayr, the other of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The two types may be historically related, but this cannot be taken for granted, for constructionally they are somewhat different.

A.5.a. In Ayr the square or rectangular hut is called *téjira*, and is found mainly among sedentary people of the *Kel Ewey* group. It is never used by pastoralists. The structure of this hut can be described in the following way:—

Nine heavy and forked poles are fixed solidly in the ground in three rows parallel to each other. In other words there are three poles in each row. These poles are called *tigettewin* (sing. *tégettewt*), the word generally used for various kinds of prongs and forked sticks or poles.

Fig. 249a. Straw-hut of the *téjira* type. The wooden skeleton of the hut with the roof covered. Ayr, Iferwan.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Each row of forked poles has a lath resting horizontally in the prongs. This lath is called *éseger* (pl. *ísgar*). 342*

Two rows of boughs are fixed to the laths as a base for the roof covering. These boughs are known as *ibezaren* (no sing.). They rest with one end upon the central lath, the other end upon one of the outer laths. As the row of forked poles which carry the central lath is frequently somewhat higher than the two outer rows, the *ibezaren* boughs may be fixed in a somewhat sloping position and thus form a slightly elevated saddle roof which is covered with various kinds of plant material (e.g., palm leaves).

The walls of the hut consist of slender vertical sticks fixed in the ground and surrounded by simple mats (*asenkí*) made from the stems of the *afezu*-grass (*Panicum turgidum*). The huts have only one door-opening which is generally made at one of the narrow ends. [824]

The *téjira* hut is frequently a very spacious one, and in general it is so high that a grown man can easily stand upright in it. The poles used for the hut are rather heavy and the structure is built by the men, while most other dwellings used among the Tuareg are erected by women. [462]

A.5.b. The square or rectangular hut found among sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer is called *ékeber* (pl. *íkebran*). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer similar huts are also used by certain pastoral Tuareg, though their huts generally are round and provided with a conical roof (cf. A.6, p. 335 ff.). In Ahaggar square or rectangular straw-huts are not generally used by pastoralists, though they may be found among certain noble Tuareg when they camp in the lower country where building material is available.

Most huts are almost square and in size up to about 6 × 6 metres so that they are generally somewhat bigger than the *téjira* hut just mentioned. One hut seen in Tasilé-n-Ajjer had a structure very much like that of a *téjira* hut with a slightly elevated saddle-back roof. The *ékeber* hut of Northern Tuareg country usually has 9 forked poles buried solidly in the soil, forming three rows of poles

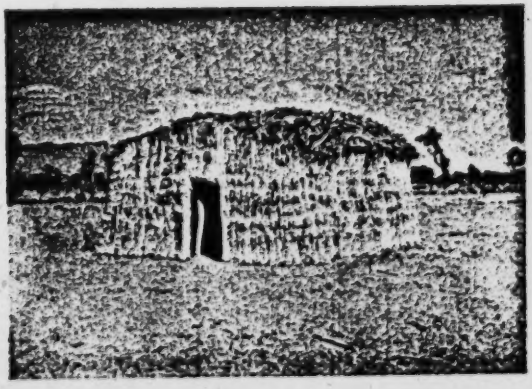

Fig. 249b. The *téjira* hut structure covered with mats a few days later. Ayr, Iferwan.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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[824]

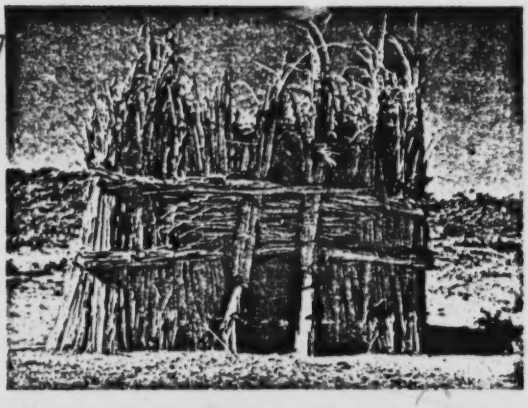

Fig. 250. A square *ékeber* hut covered with bulrush. Ahaggar, Amsel.

parallel to each other. The middle pole of the central row of poles is somewhat higher than all the other poles, connected with each other by means of laths resting in the prongs to form a square frame, which may be supported by one or two subsidiary forked poles if considered necessary. Slender boughs or laths are fastened to the horizontal laths and to the top of the forked central pole, and other slender boughs are placed over them to form the foundation of the roof-covering which consists of plant material. If bulrush is available this material is preferred, but hay of various grasses is also used. The walls of the hut are generally covered with the same material as the roof. If walls are covered with bulrush its very long stems are placed vertically around the hut-frame and attached to it by means of one or two horizontal bands of the same material (cf. Fig. 250). If hay of grasses (e.g., *tulhult*; *Aristida pungens*) is employed for wall covering it is necessary to insert boughs or sticks leaning against the square frame to support the bunches of hay which are kept to the wooden structure by means of cords. I was told by old people of Ahaggar that the square *ékeber* hut was introduced to Ahaggar with the immigration of the *Kel Ĝanet*. This is very likely, for I have seen identical huts at the oasis of Ĝanet and also among some pastoral Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Some huts have only one entrance which is placed at the middle of one of the walls, but huts may also have two openings sited opposite to each other to provide a current of air. The door-openings can be closed by means of a shutter made from bulrush, grass-stems, or palm material. The square *ékeber* hut is generally so high that grown people can stand upright within it.

[824]

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Huts akin to the square *ékeber* hut of Northern Tuareg country seem to have a rather wide distribution in adjacent parts of North Africa. They are used in the Fezzan from where they have been described in some detail by Scarin and Despois (Scarin 1934, I, p. 110 ff. Despois 1946, p. 80 ff., pl. XIX–XXI). It is possible that square huts of the *ékeber* type also occur at El Golea in the north of Algerian Sahara (Collection Photographique du Musée de l'homme, 34.1019.222), at Ksar El Azoudj of Oued Zousfana south of Monts des Ksours of the Sahara Atlas (Collection Photographique du

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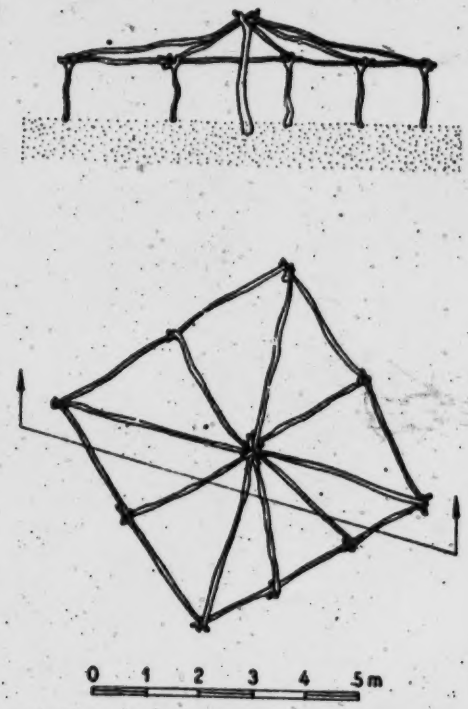


Fig. 251. The structure of a square *ékeber* hut. It was covered with bulrush and belonged to a camp of the *Kel Ḫela* tribe at Ulul in Ahaggar.

Musée de l'homme, E.47.48.526), and perhaps also in Southern Morocco (Puigaudeau 1945, photograph p. 112). It is possible that huts of the square *ékeber* type are far more widely known in the Northern Sahara. Huts (*zeriba*) of palm material among the semi-sedentary *Chamba Berezga* at Metlili (cf. Mercier 1922, p. 144) may perhaps be of the square *ékeber* type – if they do not belong to the cylindrical type mentioned below. Square huts (*zarbia*) seem to occur also among the Fellahin of Egypt (cf. Ayrout 1938, pl. V, p. 64, p. 134; Schildt 1957, ill. p. 112). Rectangular huts measuring 6 by 2 metres are common in the region of Gurara (cf. Bisson, Le Gourara, p. 158). 342* 171

A 6. *Round huts or houses with conical roof.*

Huts of this type, known as *ékeber* (pl. *ikebran*), are very common among the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where the *tabarekkat* tree (*Tamarix aphylla*) and the *tulhult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) are abundant, [137]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 A Tuareg hut of this type from the *Kel Terurit* (*Isekkemaren*) belonged to the chief of that tribe. It lay not far from Ft. Polignac (Élézi) and I lived in it for several days. It was constructed as follows:—

A heavy central forked post with a diameter of about 0.15 m at its thick end was buried solidly in the ground. Nine smaller forked sticks about 1.50 m high and with a diameter of about 0.07–0.08 m were fixed in the ground in a circle around the central post with a distance of 1.50–2.00 m between each. Nine laths with a diameter of about 0.07–0.08 m rested in the prongs of the nine forked sticks and were united in the large prong of the high central post. Sticks of the same diameter were placed horizontally over the prongs of the nine vertical sticks surrounding the central post. The nine laths formed the basis of the conical roof construction, and smaller boughs were laid over them to support the thick layer of *tulluli* grass covering the roof. The wall was also covered with large bunches of *tulluli* grass which were supported by small boughs put in the ground and leaning against the vertical forked sticks and their horizontal laths. This grass or hay covering the wall was kept to the wooden construction by means of a long rope made of goat's hair running round the hut. Cords of the same material and also pieces of bast were used to tie the various elements together. The hut had two entrances about 1.50 m wide and 1.00 m high. These were placed opposite each other (N-S) to permit a current of air to circulate through the hut. Other huts seen among the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer were very similar to that described, but most of them were smaller and had a less elevated central post. Some of the huts did not have an entirely round ground-plan and were not easily distinguishable from the square straw-hut mentioned above. However, there was no doubt that most huts used among the pastoral Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer were round or cylindrical in form and had a conical roof. Most Tuareg of this area live in round strawhuts nowadays, and I saw this type even among true noble *342 Tuareg of the *Urayen* tribe. The huts are used mainly in the hot summer season when pastoralists 361 camp around wells and water-holes, while most people in winter use skin-tents. The huts are built by the women and they are not transported if the camp moves to another place as building material is easily found. Moreover, it seems as if many pastoralists during the hot season always return to the same place at a definite well or waterhole. Duveyrier states that in such fixed camps ("campements

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Fig. 252. A small cylindrical *ekehar* hut covered with *tulluli* grass (*Aristida pungens*). Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

[text continues on p. 338]

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Fig. 253a. A large cylindrical *ikeber* hut. It is covered with a thick layer of *ashak* grass (*Aristida pungens*). The structure of this particular hut is depicted in Fig. 253b below. Tanlit-n-Ajjer. The *Kel Terarit* tribe.

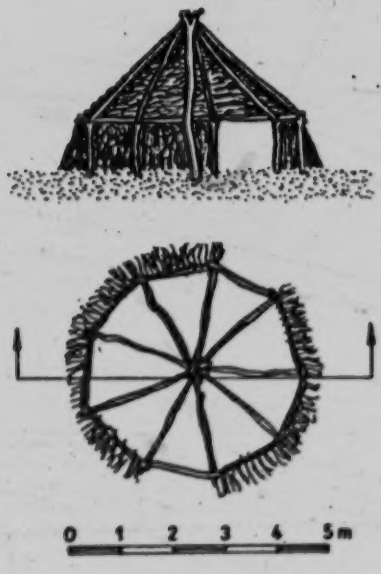


Fig. 253b. The structure of the *ikeber* hut seen on the photograph Fig. 253a. Tanlit-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terarit* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342

Fig. 254. Cylindrical huts with conical roofs. The Fezzan area. Photograph by Dr. Erik Smidt, Copenhagen.

*342 Duveyrier states that in such fixed camps ("campements
564 de station") the noble Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer live in tents, while the vassals use straw-huts (Duveyrier
[361] 1864, p. 403). The Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer agreed that this was so in the past, but nowadays noble Tuareg and vassals alike prefer the straw-hut in summer because the leather tent is extremely hot at that season. Barth also states that many vassal Tuareg of the *Kel Ajjer* do not live in leather tents like the noble Tuareg, but in round, conical huts akin to those of Central Africa, and he says that many Tuareg of the *Ajjer* group have an intermediate position between sedentary and nomadic people (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257). Everything seems to indicate that the straw-huts (*ikebran*) used among the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer form the traditional dwelling of most vassal Tuareg, and it seems as if the round and conical *ékeber* type is of more ancient date with them than the square or rectangular type A.5.b.

*342 Cylindrical huts with a conical roof are used by the Tuareg who live in the Fezzan area, and they are also here somewhat mixed with the square or rectangular straw hut. This is stated by Despois who describes these dwellings in some detail (Despois 1946, p. 83 f.). A round hut with conical roof similar to the hut mentioned above from the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but having 16 forked sticks around the central post instead of 9, is described in detail by Scarin from the Tuareg of the Ṛadames region (Scarin 1934, I, p. 112 f., Fig. 90–94 & phot. 42).

In Ahaggar cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs are less common than in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. I have seen very few of them, and they seem to be of different origins as follows:—

[22] Huts akin to the round *ékeber* type described above from Tasilé-n-Ajjer were seen in the *Amenukal*'s camp close to the village of Abalessa, and the same type occurred at Silet where it was used by Tuareg pastoralists of the tribes *Iklan-en-tawsit*, *Ikechchemaḍen*, and *Dag Ṛali* during their stay at Silet to harvest dates. These latter huts were made from very thick poles of palm trunk and their construction was identical to that described from Tasilé-n-Ajjer above (cf. Fig. 253 a-b). The palm trunk poles were

cleft at their tops to provide a sort of prong to support horizontal laths and roof laths. These dwellings were not built by the Tuareg themselves, but were erected by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa who assisted the Tuareg during harvest. It is most likely that there is a connection between these huts and those used among pastoral Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, for they are built according to the same structural principle. 342*

Three huts constructionally somewhat akin to the round *ékeber* described above from Ahaggar were seen at Abalessa. The huts were inhabited by blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*), who had immigrated from Adraṛ of the Ifoṛas comparatively recently, and they claimed that the huts were built according to a method generally applied in their original homeland. [564]

The photograph Fig. 254 taken by Dr. Erik Smidt, Copenhagen, who has travelled in Tripolitania and in the Fezzan, shows a cylindrical hut with a conical roof of a type found in the latter region. Huts or houses of much the same type are also depicted by Barth from Êderi (cf. Barth 1857–58, I, ill. p. 153). I believe that all these dwellings built of plant material in the regions of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and Tripolitania are related to each other, and they are perhaps also historically related to cylindrical houses with more solid walls built of stone. I have in fact seen one such dwelling in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (in Oued Aharhar close to Afara).

Cylindrical huts and houses are used for summer dwellings by the people of Medenine in Tunisia where these dwellings fall into two groups:— (1) the *kib* which is covered with mats, and (2) the *lahia* which has a wall built of stone (cf. Bernard 1924, p. 19 f.). The cylindrical mat-covered hut, the *kib*, is also described from Tunisia by Despois. It has a central post fixed in the ground and carrying a cross-bar which is further supported by two poles — one at each of the ends of the cross-bar. Certain huts, also known as *kib*, have an oblong form, but most of them are cylindrical. Certain huts are portable, but the majority is a kind of permanent or semi-permanent dwelling for poor people during the summer (cf. Despois 1955, p. 404 f., pl. XVI Fig. 1). 342* 171

Cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs seem to be of very great age in North Africa, having been known to the ancient Eastern Libyans (cf. Bates 1914, p. 169 f.). Great age must no doubt also be attached to cylindrical buildings with conical roofs used as barns among the Kabyle of Djurdjura.

Cylindrical houses or huts with conical roofs also occur within Southern Tuareg country, but they are to my knowledge nowhere built by pastoral Tuareg of this extended region. In Ayr I have noticed that such huts or houses are also extremely rarely used by sedentary agriculturists. I have only seen this dwelling form at Iferwan and at Ingal. 342*

At Iferwan there seemed to be only two cylindrical dwellings which were built within a sort of compound together with a square *téjira* hut and a beehive hut (cf. A.5.a & A.8.). Both buildings were thatched with straw, which at the top was formed into a kind of tuft as is frequently seen with some Sudanese huts. One of them had a cylindrical wall consisting of a piece of matting, while the other had a wall plastered with mud – also very common in Sudanese villages. I believe that the forms of both dwellings were due to Sudanese influence, but I did not investigate their structure. That cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs occur at Iferwan has also been mentioned by Foureau (Foureau 1905, p. 883 ff.). [171]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



34 The hut I saw at Ingal was situated close to the market place, and was apparently not used as an ordinary dwelling. It had a low cylindrical mud wall and a high, conical roof covered with straw.

*342 171 It is curious that cylindrical houses with conical roofs are so extremely rare in Ayr and its adjacent regions, for they have a very wide distribution among sedentary shifting cultivators of Damergu, and I have seen them almost everywhere in the region between Zinder and Dakar. There can thus be little doubt that they play a part for many sedentary agriculturists living in the regions dominated by such Sudanese Tuareg as the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwllemmeden*, and the group of *Kel Tademaket*. Among sedentary farmers of the Ader area in the *Kel Dennek* territory, Nicolas mentions and depicts a typical Sudanese cylindrical house with a conical roof (Nicolas 1938, p. III p. 63 & 1950a, p. 156 f.), but it does not appear that this type of dwelling is used by the Tuareg or by negroid castes of Tuareg society. Nicolas also mentions a straw hut of the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg, but this is so unsatisfactorily described that it is impossible to gain any clear idea of its form and construction – despite illustrations. In an early study this hut (*akaber*) is described as a cylindrical hut with a flat roof (Nicolas 1938, p. 61, pl. I p. 55), while in the later book on the *Kel Dennek* he mentions a hut called *akarben* (*ekarben*) which seems to be of cylindrical form. It has a central post named *tamākait* (*tamankayt*) and, perhaps, a slightly elevated roof (cf. Nicolas 1950a, pl. VIII, p. 155). In both studies Nicolas says that straw-huts of this type are used mainly by slaves or manumitted slaves who are semi-sedentary, but he adds that in the very hot season certain Tuareg make their slaves build for them huts of this kind.

*342 174 It is possible that cylindrical houses, including barns like those used in the Sudan, were introduced to certain oases of Adrar-Timimoun from the south (cf. Stuart 1936, p. 299, ill. p. 256, 294). Sudanese Negroes may in fact have been responsible for the distribution of these dwellings even as far north as Morocco. This is stated by Despois, who is of the opinion that the cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs (called *nwala* while the proper name is *kabbusa*) were introduced with black-skinned troops coming to Morocco from the Niger Bend during the 17th century A.D. The relations between the Sudan and Morocco initiated at the end of the 16th century by Sultan *Ahmed al-Mansur*, gave rise to the immigration of negroid peoples who took dwellings of the *nwala* type with them (Despois 1949, p. 308 f., 529, pl. VI B.).

*342 171 I think we may conclude our analysis of cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs as follows:— (1) It is most probable that they are very ancient and traditional to many vassal tribes of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. To-day they constitute their prominent type of dwelling, which should probably be viewed in connection with the occurrence of related dwelling forms in the Fezzan, and in Tripolitania – the more so as it seems as if many cultural traits and migrations of peoples have followed the route from the Mediterranean via Tripolitania and the Fezzan to Tasilé-n-Ajjer. We know that the type was used among the Eastern Libyans of Antiquity. I believe cylindrical dwellings of Ahaggar like those used among certain Turreg of the *Amenukal*'s camp and those found at Silet, are probably historically related to the cylindrical dwellings of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. (2) It seems as if cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs are rarely used by Sudanese Tuareg, though they are common among sedentary agriculturists within the territory dominated by Southern Tuareg groups. These Sudanese dwellings have spread northwards in the Western Sahara via Tawat to Morocco. – We see that distributional studies of cultural traits are extremely difficult and liable to give very wrong results. It might have been natural

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



to have suggested a direct historical relationship between the cylindrical dwellings of Morocco and those occurring further east in the Atlas. But it seems to be a fact that this dwelling type has been introduced fairly recently into Morocco, while in the Eastern Atlas and adjacent regions it dates very far back in time. Distributional studies of dwelling types should consider their structural features. Identical outer forms showing continuous distribution do not necessarily have the same historical origin. 342* 171

A.7. *Conical huts.*

They are very rare in Tuareg country where I have never seen them. They are mentioned by Nicolas from the *Kel Dennek* among whom they are used by semi-sedentary slaves (Nicolas 1938, p. 62 ff. & 1950a, p. 156 f.). Huts of this type seem to be common further east in the Sudan around Lake Tchad (cf. Foureau 1905, III, p. 963, 984). 342* [171]

A.8. *Beehive huts.*

Conical huts and beehive huts are believed to be among the oldest types of huts known to mankind (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 311 f.). This is a reasonable hypothesis because such dwellings are typical of many primitive peoples with a mixed hunting and collecting economy. It is also evident that these dwelling types are often very plain in their structure. There is a resemblance between beehive huts and so-called barrel-vaulted huts, and many authors have grouped these dwellings together under the designation of "dome-shaped huts". As I attach a great value to a classification of traits based on detailed analysis of structure, I distinguish between beehive huts and barrel-vaulted huts. 342* 121

Though beehive huts are typical of many peoples at a primitive economic stage they are nevertheless extremely common also at more developed cultural levels. I believe that the fact that true beehive huts are widely used among many agriculturists of Northern Africa, while they seem to be less common among pastoralists who tend to use barrel-vaulted huts or other dwelling types has tended to be lost sight of. [171]

I have never seen true beehive huts in Northern Tuareg country, and they are not mentioned in literature from this part of the Sahara. However, in the collection of the Musée de l'homme a photograph (V. 31.1557.99), stated to be taken in an oasis of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, shows a beehive hut, or perhaps a barrel-vaulted hut. 342*

Beehive huts form the most important type of dwelling for the sedentary agriculturists of Ayr, and huts of beehive form are occasionally erected also by pastoralists. I have noted the following types of beehive structures among the *Kel Ayr*:—

A.8.a. A very simple beehive hut known to the Tuareg as *airam*. The structure consists of slender boughs (*imesekten*; no singular form) which are fixed in the ground, bent against each other, and attached each to each at their tops. This simple structure is covered with bunches of straw of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) fastened to the skeleton of bent boughs by means of cords. Such huts are not used in ordinary camps of the pastoral *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who make these simple dwellings for temporary use. Herdsmen, for instance, build them when herding camels or flocks away from the

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Fig. 255. A half-finished beehive hut (*aṭṛam*). Its main structure consists of boughs fixed in the ground and tied to each other at the top. The hut is surrounded by a mat made from *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ayr, Iferwan.

camp for some time. But even in this case it seems as if beehive huts are rare, and I have only seen one deserted hut of this type among pastoralists.

A.8.b. A beehive hut structurally close to the above-mentioned *aṭṛam*, used among pastoralists, is also found among sedentary people of Ayr, particularly among farmers of the *Kel Ewey* group. The structure consists of bent boughs lashed together at their tops, but between these boughs heavier sticks are fixed in the ground and slender rods are horizontally attached to the bent boughs and the sticks to support a simple grass mat drawn around the hut. This may perhaps be seen from the photograph Fig. 255 which shows an almost finished hut of this type. However, the beehive hut used by most Ayr farmers has a more elaborate structure which will now be described.

A.8.c. The beehive hut generally seen in Ayr is called *taṭṛamt*. Its basic elements are four arches, termed *igegan* (sing. *egegu*), made from slender rods lashed together with strips of dum palm leaves. [824] The slender rods may be the midribs of date palm leaves, but rods of *ébezgin* (*Salvadora persica*) are generally preferred for arches. Two arches made in this way are placed parallel to each other and with a very short distance between them. They are not buried in the ground, but are fastened to short heavy poles (*iseḳsan*, sing. *aseḳnu*) fixed solidly in the ground. The two other arches, which are fastened to similar poles and placed parallel to one another, cross the first pair of arches at a right angle.

In addition to these four arches there are four semi-arches, also made from bundles of lashed rods

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



of *ébezgin*. These semi-arches are termed *inemanyen* (sing. *enemanyi*). They are fastened to strong poles (*isekian*, sing. *asekiu*) which are fixed in the ground between the four poles carrying the two pairs of *igegan* arches. The semi-arches may be so high that they almost touch the top of the hut, but they are not lashed together at their upper ends. 342*

A number of somewhat lighter poles named *t'isisra* (sing. *tasasrut*) are set in the ground between the short heavy poles carrying arches and semi-arches. These poles are somewhat more than half the height of the hut.

Slender rods are fastened horizontally around the lower part of the structure, being attached to the arches, the semi-arches, and the vertical poles. These rods are known as *ilegwan* (sing. *élaweg*).

Slender rods are placed horizontally around the upper part of the hut structure, fastened to the upper parts of arches and semi-arches by means of strips of dum palm leaves. These rods are called *t'iredyin* (sing. *téradeyt*).

When all above-mentioned elements have been lashed together, a central post is normally inserted to support the structure, though in small huts this may be dispensed with. The central post has a natural prong at its upper end, and like most forked sticks or forked poles is known as *tégettewt* (pl. *tigettewin*). The central post carries a short piece of wood placed horizontally in its prong to serve as a cross-bar (*ettebel*). The insertion of these elements into the hut structure is done by pressing the central post with its cross-bar firmly against the top of the arches in order to bury the lower end of the post in the ground. The central post with its cross-bar strongly supports the beehive structure, which is made predominantly of lashed bundles of slender and flexible rods.

The lower part of the hut is covered with a simple mat made of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). It is fastened to the horizontal rods and the vertical sticks of the hut structure by means of strips of dum

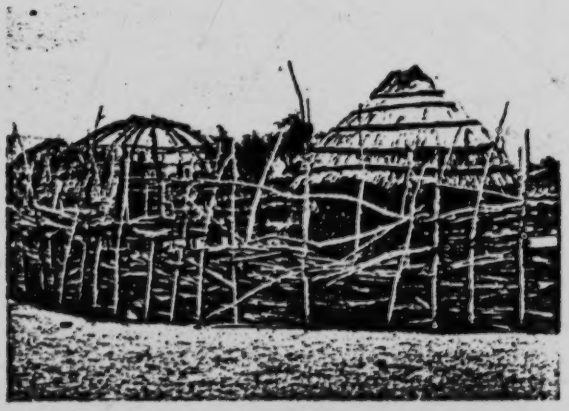

Fig. 256. Beehive huts of the *tatyant* type. The wooden skeleton is seen to the left, the finished hut covered with *afezu* mats and a layer of palm leaves over the dome-shaped top to the right. Ayr, Ifarwan.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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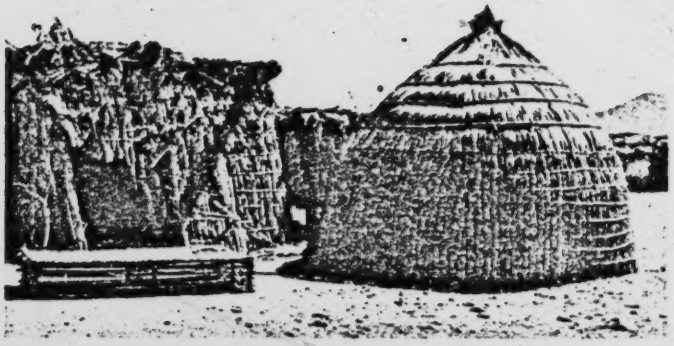

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Fig. 257. A square *téjira* hut (left) and a beehive hut of the *taṭṛamt* type (right). To the left is also seen a bed of palm fronds lashed together with hide. These beds are used by sedentary agriculturists. Ayr, Awderas.

palm leaves. The upper part of the hut is generally covered with palm leaves kept together by means of outer circular rods, but, before the roof is laid on, a small plaited mat attached to a wooden frame and known as *tégelengelt* (pl. *tigelengelin*) is placed over the top of the structure as a protection against rain. Seen from the outside beehive huts of this type bear a resemblance to cylindrical huts with conical roofs. Beehive huts of the structure just described vary much in size. A normal hut is about 1.75–2.00 metres high with a diameter of about 2.50–3.00 metres.

Beehive huts possibly different from those mentioned above are described by Rodd. They are said to have a frame made of palm-frond ribs planted in the ground and tied together at the top, and according to illustrations they are covered exclusively with straw. Rodd's illustrations of beehive huts are taken from the villages of Towar and Timia (Rodd 1926a, p. 184, pl. 20). Huts akin to those mentioned by Rodd have also been depicted by Buchanan (Buchanan 1926, p. 140).

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Beehive huts are extremely common in Southern Tuareg countries and adjacent regions. In Ayr I have seen beehive huts of the *taṭṛamt* type in all villages visited from Iferwan to Agadez, and they also occur in Damergu together with cylindrical huts with conical roofs. I have not seen beehive huts at Zinder, but they are found among the sedentary Hausa of the Birni – N'Koni region – according to the excellent exhibition of the IFAN Museum at Niamey. Hausa beehive huts differ as to construction. Some huts have a cylindrical wall built of mud and supporting the roof, which may also be plastered with mud at the inner side, while other huts have a cylindrical mud wall inside the lower part of the structure and a pronged central post to support the roof. There are also very simple beehive huts which serve for sleeping huts; they are sometimes placed upon high platforms where mosquitoes are less embarrassing. Beehive huts are extremely common along the Niger where I have seen them

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



almost everywhere between Niamey and Ayoru. The Zerma-Sonray and related peoples of this region have huts made of boughs burried in the ground, lashed at their tops, and supported by a pronged central post equally fixed in the ground. Some huts have a cylindrical mud wall inside the structure as among the Hausa. Beehive huts are depicted from Gao by Barth (Barth 1857–58, V, p. 216), from Faraka by Frobenius (Frobenius 1933, p. 233), and from Timbuktu by Caillié (Caillié 1830, Atlas). Around Timbuktu beehive huts are used by *Bella*, and also by Arabs of the Berabich belonging to the Cherif class or to the blacksmith caste. These Timbuktu huts are described in some detail by Dupuis-Yakouba and by Miner (Dupuis-Yakouba 1921, p. 20; Miner 1953, p. 19, 36 f., 40, ill. p. 61). It seems as if beehive huts also occur at Djénné (Dubois 1897, ill. p. 210, 232), and it is stated by Monteil that pastoral Fulani of this region have beehive huts with a central post (Monteil 1932, p. 214). According to the exhibition of the IFAN Museum at Niamey there are also simple beehive huts among the Fulani within the Niger Republique. This was confirmed by informants of Niamy, and my friend Johannes Larsen, civil engineer of Northern Nigeria, has informed me that beehive huts are common among the Fulani of this region. Further east in the Sudan there are beehive huts towards the region of Lake Tchad (cf. Foureau 1905, III, p. 948 f.). 342* 171

Beehive huts play a great part for sedentary peoples of the Sudan, and they are perhaps far more common than generally assumed, as many huts which appear from the outside to be cylindrical huts with conical roofs may structurally be beehive huts. This is obviously the case with a "Kegeldachhütte" described from Faraka by Frobenius (Frobenius 1933, p. 233), and the dwelling described by Fuchs as "das Kegeldachhaus der Tubu" seems to be a beehive hut supplied with a cylindrical stone wall on the inside of the lower part of the structure (cf. Fuchs 1961, p. 15 ff.). Further north than Tibesti, where beehive huts seem to constitute the prominent dwelling type in villages, this type of dome-shaped dwelling seems to be rare. But Briggs states that hemispherical huts are found among

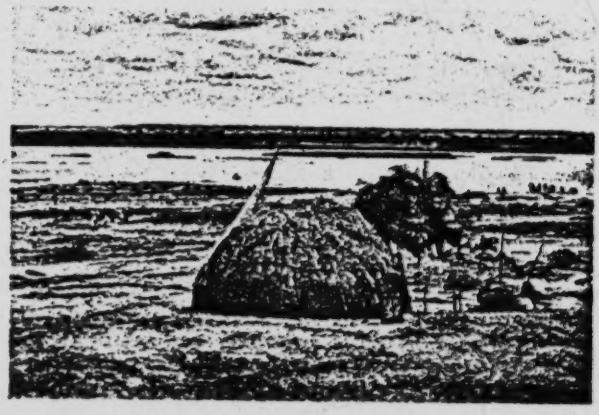

Fig. 258. A beehive hut of Zerma fishermen at Niamey on the Niger.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Songhai MS20



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Fig. 259. Sonray dwelling resembling a cylindrical house with conical roof. Structurally it is a beehive hut consisting of 30 semiarches each made from a bundle of lashed rods and connected at their tops. The structure is supported by a heavy central post (*bongere*) buried in the ground. The upper part of the structure carries the thatched roof while the lower part is uncovered but surrounded by a cylindrical mud wall on the inside. The hut has a diameter of 5–6 metres and a little barrel-vaulted hut (*tongotongo*) covered with mats is erected within it. To the right is a simple sunshade serving as the workshop of three weaving men. The photograph was taken at the IFAN-Museum, Niamey.

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the Chamba (Briggs 1958, p. 120), and beehive huts are also mentioned from Tunesia (Bernard 1924, pl. II) and from Tripolis, where they may have been introduced by Sudanese Negroes (cf. Todd 1912, ill. p. 90, 102). As far as I know beehive huts do not occur in the Algerian Atlas, but I have seen a kind of beehive structure erected in a market place of a Kabyle village. It seems as if beehive huts are found in Morocco (Meakin 1902, p. 48 f.; Coon 1931, pl. 22 p. 72) and they may perhaps be more widely found in the Atlas, as a great variety of huts mentioned in literature on North Africa is known by the term *gurbi*.

Beehive huts of various types exist within very different economic cultures of Northern Africa. Their distribution does not correspond with that of any African cultural complex. There may seem to be some agreement between the distribution of beehive huts and the distribution of certain traits of the Eurafrican Steppe-Hunting Culture. However, these distributions are not identical, and distributions of culture elements should be studied very carefully. Migrations and trading expeditions have greatly influenced the distributions of traits in Northern Africa.

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### A.9. *Barrel-vaulted huts*

A barrel-vaulted dwelling according to my difinition is "a dwelling with a certain number of parallel arches which form the main support for the rest of the structure". Non-portable dwellings of barrel-vaulted structure are far less important in North-west Africa than beehive huts. They seem to be known in the Fezzan area (cf. Scarin 1934, I, phot. 81 p. 169), and they are found along the Niger where they are not always used for dwellings but frequently serve as store-rooms, and the like. 342* 171

There are a few barrel-vaulted huts in most Ayr villages but everywhere they constitute a minority compared with other dwellings. The origin of barrel-vaulted village dwellings is not very difficult to determine. The name of such a hut is *ẓhen*, which is the word also used for the portable barrel-vaulted dwelling of Ayr pastoralists, and there is often very little difference between small barrel-vaulted huts and the portable dwellings of pastoralists. But barrel-vaulted huts of sedentary people have adopted some of the structural elements found in beehive huts. Most barrel-vaulted huts of the Ayr villages can be described as a hybrid type of dwelling, which seems to have been adopted as a result of contact with pastoralists, largely because village farmers have married pastoral women, for barrel-vaulted huts, like beehive huts, are built by women, and portable barrel-vaulted dwellings are also made by women among pastoral Tuareg. 342* [462]

The following is the structure of a normal barrel-vaulted hut of the Ayr villages:

(1) Three arches made of slender rods of *ẓbizgew* (*Salvadora persica*), or from midribs of palm leaves, which are lashed together in a bundle. These arches are similar to those used for beehive huts (cf. A.8.c.) and they are also called *iggewn* (sing. *eggw*).

(2) The three arches are fastened to short heavy poles (*iseḳtan*, sing. *aseḳtu*) buried in the ground on the same system as that used for beehive huts, but the arches are placed parallel to one another, and the middle arch is higher than the two outer arches.

Fig. 260. The wooden skeleton of a large *ẓhen* hut. Ayr, Azzal.

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Fig. 261. The wooden skeleton of a large and very high *éhen* hut. The stone-ring serves to keep pebbles and impurities away from the dwelling. Ayr, Azzal.

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Fig. 262. An *éhen* hut covered with mats like those used for barrel-vaulted dwellings among pastoral Tuareg of Ayr (right). To the left a *séjira* hut. Behind the *éhen* hut a glimpse of a beehive hut (*tanami*). Many dwelling types are often found within a single village in the Sahara. Ayr, Awderas.

(3) To the three arches are now added two crossbars (*isgar*, sing. *éseger*), resting horizontally in slender forked sticks (*isekʿtan*, sing. *asekʿtu*) which are fixed vertically in the ground. The two systems of crossbars are placed parallel to the three arches to constitute the narrow sides of the hut structure. The number of vertical sticks supporting a horizontal cross-bar vary.

(4) A number of slender rods (*ilellewan*, sing. *alellewa*), which, as a rule, are made from midribs of date palm leaves, are fastened to the horizontal crossbars and to the arches which they cross at a right angle. These rods, or semi-arches, are fastened in the same way as described below for barrel-vaulted dwellings of pastoral Tuareg.

The main structure of a not too large barrel-vaulted hut as that just described is very akin to that of the portable barrel-vaulted dwelling of Ayr pastoralists, but very large huts of the Ayr villages

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Songhai MS20



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have a more elaborate structure as will be seen from the illustrations Figs. 260 & 261. A large hut may have even five or seven arches of different height, there may be up to ten sticks to support the rather long horizontal cross-bars, and the slender rods or semi-arches fastened to the cross-bars and to the arches may be as many as about 40, each rod being actually made from two pieces fastened to each other at the middle arch. In such very large huts there will always be a central post (*tégettewt*), which is forked at its upper end to support the middle of the central arch and thus the whole structure. The central post is the last structural element to be inserted. It is pressed against the middle of the central arch and is thereupon buried in the ground.

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Barrel-vaulted huts of the *éhen* type are normally covered with mats plaited from dum palm leaves similar to the mats used for portable dwellings of the same type (cf. Figs. 262). But the lower parts of the hut may be covered with a simple mat plaited of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) identical with the mat which covers the lower part of a beehive hut. To fasten a grass mat of this kind it is necessary to attach a number of horizontal rods (*ilegwan*, sing. *élaweg*) to the vertical sticks supporting the horizontal cross-bars, and to the lower parts of the arches at the two long sides.

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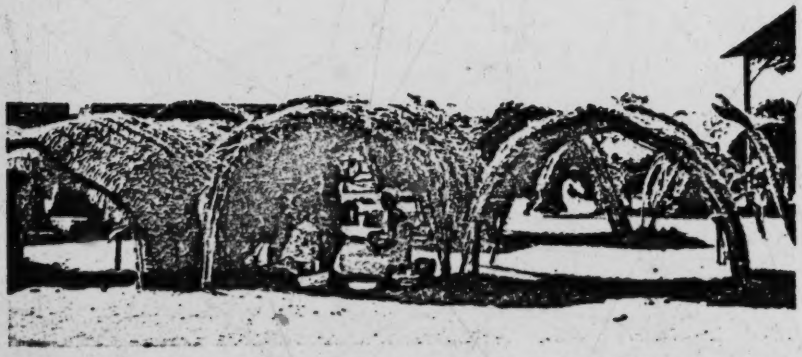

Fig. 263. True barrel-vaulted structures covered with plaited mats and used for market-stalls by the Sonray of Ayoru on the Niger.

## B. PORTABLE DWELLINGS

*342 Portable dwellings represent a great diversity of types among pastoral Tuareg. I speak of all these dwellings as "tents". For practical reasons I distinguish between "mat tents" and "skin tents", and [12] to make it easy to refer to definite types I give them particular numbers. I believe that most portable dwellings of the Tuareg *are* historically related to each other and the problem of historical development is considered later in this chapter.

### B.1. *Mat Tents*

285 Mat coverings are nowadays used only in Southern Tuareg groups, but they were formerly known *342 also to the Northern Tuareg, for Duveyrier states that the Northern Tuareg may use for their tents a covering *éhen* "en tissu de chaume" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403).

Tent mats are of two different types, the more common one being that made from dum palm leaves plaited into long narrow bands which are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of a large needle (cf. Fig. 220b). Mats of this type are collectively known as *asala* (pl. *isalan*). The innermost mats which cover the upper part of the tent among the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*, among whom dum palm mats always form the main covering, are made from pieces of straw or similar material which are not plaited, but are attached horizontally to one another by means of thread in much the same way as the mats described p. 269, that is like mats of the *éseber* type. Where dum palm material is not available the tents may be covered exclusively with mats manufactured in this way, and a tent of this kind may then be referred to as *éwerwer* (pl. *iwerweren*), the word used for tent mats of this type. The *éwerwer* type of mat tents is described from the *Kel Dennek* country (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f., Fig. 31a–d), and it seems as if tents exclusively covered with mats of *éwerwer* type also occur among the *Bélla* along the Niger (cf. Chudeau 1909, pl. XXXII & XXXIII p. 218).

*342 My knowledge of Tuareg mat tents derives from my studies among the Ayr Tuareg, the Ahaggar [14] Tuareg living in or close to the Ayr Massif, and the *Kel Geres*. Mat tents used among these Tuareg are largely identical, and the material I have collected in these Tuareg groups will now be presented:—

B.1.a. This is a mat tent like that generally used among the *Kel Ayr*. It has an elaborate structure:—

(1) Three wooden arches each consisting of two curved pieces of wood, lashed together when the tent is erected. These three arches are placed in the middle of the tent at right angles to its longitudinal direction. The two curved wooden pieces which together constitute an arch are not of equal length. The arch piece which is fixed in the soil at the frontal side is very long, while the other curved piece attached to it and buried in the ground at the back is shorter. The short curved arch-pieces of all three arches are known as *ineggebela* (sing. *aneggebalu*), while the three long wooden arch-pieces to which they are attached have different names. The curved frontal piece of the middle arch, higher than the two outer arches, is called *tekkekkewat* (pl. *tekkekkewatin*). The frontal arch-pieces of the two outer and lower arches are known as *t'ilisawin* (sing. *t'ilisawt*). These latter names are also used to designate the erected arches made from the arched pieces lashed together, so that the central arch is referred to as *tekkekkewat*, while the two lower arches are called *t'ilisawin*. – The curved pieces

– The curved pieces 342*

lashed together to form arches are manufactured by the Ayr women, or are imported from the south [462] by the *Kel Geres* Tuareg when they visit Ayr at the end of the rains. The arches manufactured by the Ayr women are made from the very long horizontal roots (*iékéwt*) of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*). [824] Pieces of root of suitable size are placed over an open fire for a while, and are thereupon bent [335] into the desired curve which is secured by cords. When the root pieces thus treated become dry they will retain their curved form; the cords are then untied and the root pieces fashioned with a knife. However, wooden arches imported by the *Kel Geres* are used by many Ayr Tuareg who claim that these arches are superior to their own. They are said to be manufactured from boughs (or roots?) of a tree known as *tarmumiya*, which does not grow in Ayr but in the *Kel Geres* country.

(2) Parallel to the three arches there are two pairs of cross-bars supported by vertical sticks, a pair being placed at both sides of the arches to form the narrow sides of the dwelling. These cross-bars are termed *isgar* (sing. *éseger*). They are sometimes made by blacksmiths, and are then provided with [531] various ornaments including a little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of the bar. In fairly large tents each cross-bar is supported by four vertical sticks, the two middle ones of which are generally forked, while the two outer sticks are somewhat higher and attached to the cross-bar with cords. All these vertical sticks, including the outer ones which have no prongs, are termed *tigettewin* (sing. *tégettewt*). In smaller tents there are only two or three sticks supporting the cross-bar. The vertical sticks used to support the cross-bars are normally very simple. Sticks of the very light *turza* tree (*Calotropis procera*) are preferred.

(3) Over this skeleton of arches and cross-bars supported by vertical sticks are placed a number of slender curved rods which are termed *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*). These rods are made from acacia roots, as described above, or are rods of the *tarmumiya* tree imported from the south. These rods form semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the tent. Each of these semi-arches consists of two identical rods fastened to the horizontal cross-bars at their thick end, while at their thin ends they are lashed together and fastened to the true arches. There is always a considerable number of these slender semi-arches, normally about ten.

The Ayr Tuareg use the following types of mats to cover the upper part of the dome-shaped 342* structure:— *iwerweren* (sing. *éwerwer*), the mats made from plant stems tied to each other with leather 285 thread (cf. p. 350); *isfal* (sing. *ésefel*), mats of an oval shape plaited from dum palm leaves; *asalemamas*, a long narrow piece of mat made from dum palm leaves. In addition there is the term *éreli* which designates the long narrow mat plaited from dum palm leaves surrounding the lower part of the tent structure. In very hot weather this mat is omitted so that currents of air may pass through the dwelling, while the tent is closed when it is cold, or during storms. A tent as that described has 342* a dome-shaped or barrel-vaulted superstructure, the ground-plan being almost rectangular. A tent of normal size will measure about 3.00 × 4.50 m with a height of 1.80 to 1.90 m.

The mat tent is erected by one or two Tuareg women in the following way:— [462]

(1) The ground is cleared; (2) The large wooden bed (*tédabut*), which is used everywhere in the [352] south, is placed upon the ground to facilitate measuring; (3) Two large pronged posts, which serve [353] to carry woman's riding cushions and various large skin bags, are placed behind the bed and fixed into holes dug by means of some iron implement, e.g., the cooking tripod, the broad end of a lance,

[text continues on p. 353]

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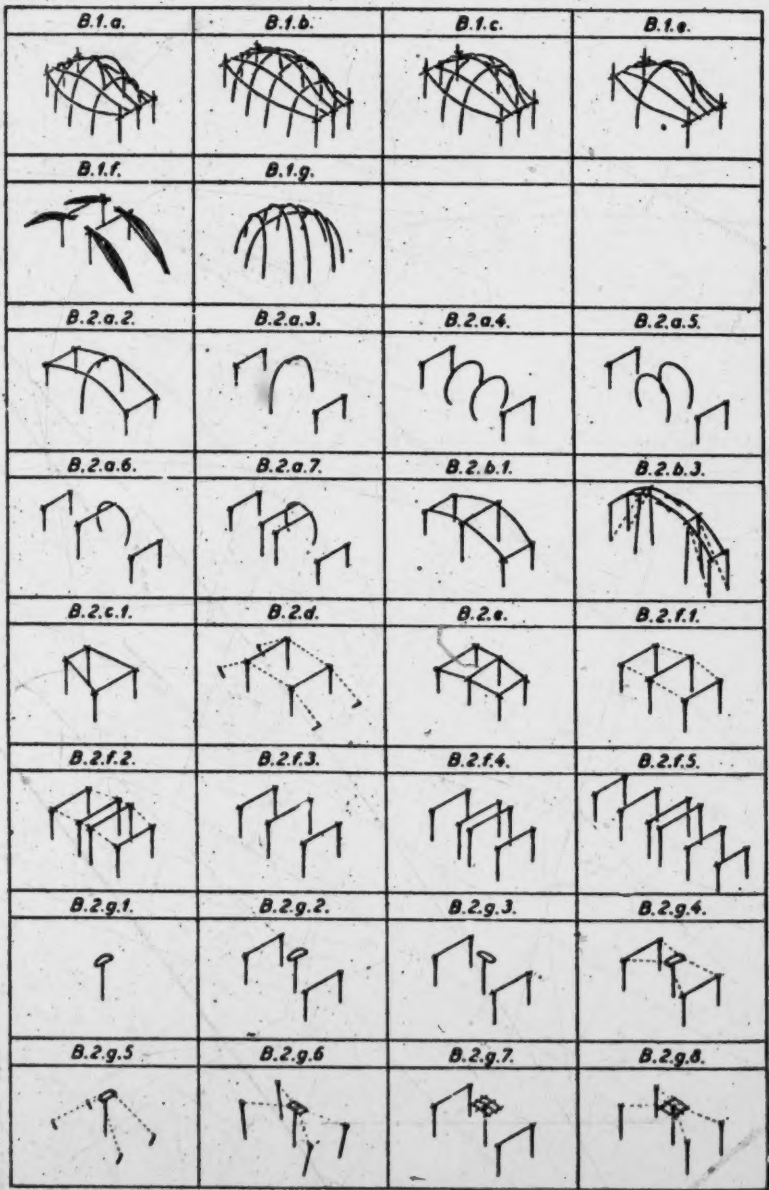


Fig. 264. The main types of Tuareg mat tents (B.1.a–B.1.g) and skin tents (B.2.a.2–B.2.g.8).

p. 352

or a large chopping knife of European origin; (4) Holes are dug with one of the implements mentioned 342*
in front of the bed and behind it, and the curved wooden pieces forming the arches are placed in these holes and are lashed together at their upper ends. These holes are 0.30–0.35 m deep; (5) Holes of the [284]
same depth are dug for the vertical sticks which support the cross-bars at both sides of the arches, the cross-bars being attached to the vertical sticks by means of cords; (6) A long cord is wound around the high middle arch so that the cord forms tight loops along the upper part of the arch; (7) The slender semi-arches, each consisting of two rods, are placed in the loops of the middle arch from both ends; (8) The thick ends of these rods are attached to the cross-bars with cords; (9) The upper ends of these rods are attached to each other to form semi-arches, and the wooden structure is now finished; (10) Two mats of the *ewerwer* type, which form the inner layer of the roof, are laid over the semi-arches; [285]
(11) Dum palm mats of oval shape are placed upon these mats; (12) A long and narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent following its longitudinal direction; (13) The mats are fastened to the wooden structure by means of a cord running over the high central arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction of the dwelling; (14) An oval dum palm mat is placed on each side of the high central arch, and these two mats are fastened to the wooden structure with cords attached to the two lower middle arches; (15) A long narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent along the high middle arch at a right angle to the longitudinal direction; (16) All mats covering the upper structure of the tent are finally fastened by means of a cord system running all over the roof and attached to the horizontal cross-bars and the lower parts of the arches; (17) The long narrow dum palm mat is drawn around the lower part of the tent if considered necessary.

The mat tent is normally erected as here described, but all women do not erect their tents exactly 342*
in the order mentioned. The work seems to be very easy to the women who measure no distances. 461
They seem to carry out their work automatically. I have not been able to control the amount of time needed for one or two women to erect a mat tent of the type mentioned, for the women are frequently interrupted in their work by many other household duties, by their crying babies, or by visitors from other camps, but I believe that one woman can erect this elaborate tent structure in about half an hour.

There are some mat tents which are slightly different in structure from the above-mentioned tent. 342*
These are mentioned below:—

B.1.b. Tents which are larger and have a more elaborate structure. Such tents are rare and are found mainly in the camps of chiefs. They may have four or five arches and a larger number of semi-arches than other tents. I have seen very large tents in the camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and [634]
the largest tent I have seen was that of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief. It contained two large beds and measured about 6.00 × 3.50 m; it was over two metres high at the middle arch.

Mat tents of a less elaborate structure are not so rare. The following types can be mentioned:—

B.1.c. A tent structurally identical with B.1.a with the exception that it has only two arches which are of equal height. These arches are then both known by the term *tekkekkewatin* (sing. *tekkekkewat*). Tents of this type with only two arches seem to be common among the *Ifoyas* tribes of Southern Ayr.

B.1.d. A tent with two slender arches of equal height, secured in an erect position by means of cords from the middle of the arches to the middle of the horizontal cross-bars. This is not a common type, and I have seen only one such dwelling in a vassal camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. [184]

[Text continues on p. 356]

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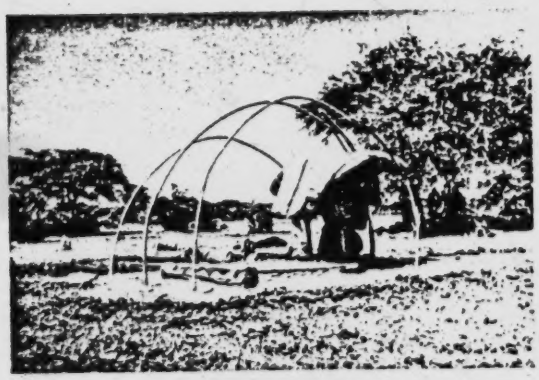

**The Erection of a Mat Tent in Ayr.**

Fig. 265a. The wooden bed (*tédabat*) is placed upon the cleared ground. The pronged posts carrying riding cushions, skin bags, etc., and the curved wooden pieces constituting the three arches known as *tekkekkewat* and *t'ilisawin* are buried in the ground. The cushions and decorated skin bags resting in the heavy wooden prongs are temporarily covered with tent mats that their colours may not be damaged by sunshine.

Fig. 265b. The arch pieces are lashed together and the two horizontal cross-bars (*isgar*) are fixed to vertical sticks (*tigettewin*) buried in the ground at the narrow ends of the tent. A little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of each cross-bar is seen on this photograph.

[284]

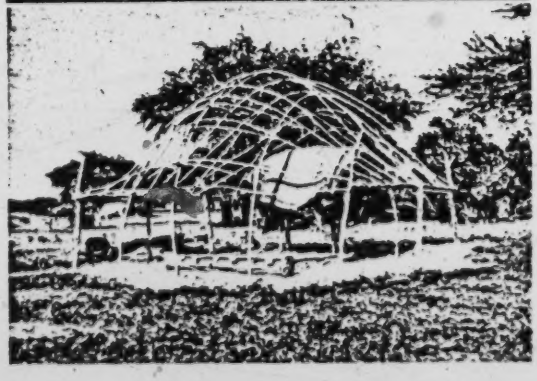

Fig. 265c. A long cord is wound around the high middle arch to form loops for the insertion of the slender rods forming semi-arches in the longitudinal direction. The thick ends of these rods are fastened to the cross-bars but are not yet lashed together at their upper, narrow ends.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



**The Erection of a Mat Tent in Ayr.**

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[352]

Fig. 265d. The narrow ends of the pieces of longitudinal semiarches are lashed together. The tent structure is now finished to be covered with mats. The interior cover consisting of two rectangular mats made from plant stems and known as *Iwerweren* (sing. *Iwerwer*) is seen on this photograph.

[284]

Fig. 265e. The dum palm mats of oval shape (*izfal*) and the long narrow dum palm mats (*azalemamaz*) are placed over the *Iwerweren* mats and are tied to the dome-shaped structure with cords. The narrow dum palm mat (*éyeli*) surrounding the lower part of the tent is fixed to the structure.

[133]

Fig. 265f. The mat tent is taken down for erection in a new place. The woman standing within the structure is loosening the looped cord which keeps the semi-arches to the high middle arch. It is not the same tent as that depicted Fig. 265a–e but the two tents belong to the same camp of the *Imezzureg* tribe near Agadez in Southern Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



*342 [166] [197] B.1.e. A tent which has only one arch. I have once seen a tent like this in a blacksmith's camp close to Agadez, and several in a camp of former Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Tégehé-n-Efis* tribe in Northern Ayr. As this less elaborate structure seems among these Tuareg to constitute a fixed type I shall describe its main elements and the terms used for them which differ slightly from those used in the *Kel Ferwan* group, because the Ahaggar Tuareg living in Ayr even to-day largely speak their old Ahaggar dialect:— (1) A wooden arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction; it is called *agegu* (pl. *igegan*). (2) Two horizontal cross-bars known as *éseger* (sing. *iegar*). (3) Forked sticks called *tigettewin* (sing. *tégettewt*) to support the horizontal cross-bars. There are only two forked sticks for each of the two cross-bars. (4) Slender rods forming semi-arches along the longitudinal direction; these are known as *ilellewatin* (sing. *alellewa*). This very simple structure is covered with mats much like other mat tents, the mats being known collectively as *asala* (pl. *isalan*).

Two very particular types of mat tents differing greatly from the above remain to be mentioned:—

[484] B.1.f. During migrations when the members of a camp remain only one or two days on the same spot, they do not always erect mat tents. But they have to do so throughout the rainy season, when the tents are sometimes erected in a very peculiar way:— The two horizontal cross-bars are placed parallel to one another, each of them resting upon two forked sticks. The distance between the two cross-bars is about one metre, and the height of the two pairs of forked sticks is about 1.50 m. The rest of the elements constituting the normal tent structure, that is the bundles of arches and semi-arches, is not untied. The parcels made up of these elements are leaned against the horizontal cross-bars, and the whole is thereupon covered with mats. The tent erected in this way is a very small one, just big enough for the large wooden bed (*tédabut*). The tent thus erected is known as *tafala*.

B.1.g. The tent to be mentioned is known as *éhen* like the normal barrel-vaulted mat tents, but it is nevertheless of beehive shape. This type of dwelling, however, is not used among the Ayr Tuareg, [184] and I have only seen it once in the camp of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief, where many slaves lived in small mat tents of beehive shape. The structure is made of slender, unfashioned boughs which are fixed in the ground and tied together at their tops. But the arrangement is not a fortuitous one. It would seem that these dwellings have a particular structure: two arches placed parallel to each other and four slender arches passing over the two first arches at a right angle. This structure is covered with mats plaited from dum palm leaves. The tents are very low with a height of about 1.50 m, and their diameter does not exceed 2.00 m. Portable tents of beehive shape are unknown to true pastoral Tuareg.

Mat tents of arch construction are known outside the regions inhabited by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*. They seem to occur throughout Southern Tuareg country, but are less common further west than among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. The great majority of the pastoral Ayr Tuareg live in mat tents, and it is not correct to speak of this type of portable dwelling as typical of the *Kel Ewey* as frequently happens in literature. As to the *Kel Geres* they claim that all pastoralists of their group have mat tents. On the occurrence of mat tents outside the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* I have gathered the following information from literature:—

A mat tent of arch construction is described by Nicolas from the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg around *Tawa*. It is called *awagwag* or *awarwâr* (*éwerwer*) because it is covered with mats of this particular type (cf. p. 350 f.). A tent of this nature is 6–7 metres long and 4–5 metres broad. The tent has four, three,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Songhai MS20



or two arches according to its size. The arches are known as *igagan* (sing. *agēgu*). They consist of several rods lashed together with plant material. According to Nicolas, these tents are used by semi-nomads and also by members of the *Kel Ansar* tribe who live half of the year in the southern agricultural zone where they use mat tents. The rest of the time these Tuareg live in skin tents which form the traditional dwelling of the *Kel Denek* (Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156 f.). T 342*

Many other authors have mentioned the existence of mat tents of arch construction in Southern Tuareg country, but no description of their structure has so far been furnished.

Barth states that Tagāma and many vassals of the *Iwilemmeden* have portable huts covered with mats (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372 f.). He adds that the inhabitants of these dwellings have fairer skins than the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 597 f.). Barth also mentions the occurrence of mat-covered dwellings at an Isaābegen camp on the Niger between Burem and Gao. These dwellings belonged to Arabs of the *Bū 'Ali* tribe, and to Tuareg of the *Kel-e'-Sūk*. The mat-covered huts had two openings turning north and south (Barth 1857–58, V, p. 201). T [142] T [171]

Hourst depicts mat-covered arched dwellings at Rhergo on the Niger. One of his photographs shows a hut which, judging its outer form, is perhaps identical with the mat-covered tent of the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*. The dwellings depicted by Hourst belonged to dark-skinned cherifs of the noble Tuareg tribe called *Igwadaren* (Hourst 1898, p. 105 ff., 133).

Chudeau depicts mat-covered arched dwellings belonging to the *Bélla* of the Niger. These dwellings apparently belong to the *dwerwer* type (cf. p. 350 f.) (Chudeau 1909, p. XXXII–XXXIII p. 218).

Delafosse states that the Tuareg have hemispherical dwellings covered with mats (Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334).

Le Coeur has seen mat-covered arched dwellings at Gao and at Tabankort south-west of Adrar of the Iforas (Le Coeur 1937, p. 42 f.), and a photograph in the collection of Musée de l'homme seems to indicate that such dwellings are found in "Adrar Nigritien" (Collection Photographique du Musée de l'homme, Cl. Niger, 34.1105).

Gabus says that among the Tuareg of the Niger the *Bélla* live in mat-covered tents. The noble Tuareg have skin tents, but they live in mat-covered tents or in straw-huts during the months of April, May, and June (Gabus 1945, p. 361).

We can add that the Sonray, who live within the Southern Tuareg country along the Niger, also largely use mat-covered arched dwellings. This is richly documented in literature:— Barth 1857–58, V, p. 160, 163, 165 f.; Dubois 1897, p. 232 f. & 1911, p. 33; Aymard 1908, p. 183 & 1911, p. 144 pl. 25; Olufsen 1928, p. 137; Urvoy 1942, pl. II, 3; Gabus 1948a, p. 10 & 1948b, p. 15; Prost 1954, p. 184 ff.; Rouch 1954, p. 31 f.). These barrel-vaulted mat-covered dwellings of the Sonray do not seem to be structurally identical with those used among pastoral Tuareg – for they seem to lack the horizontal cross-bars at the narrow sides. The mat-covered huts or tents I saw between Niamey and Ayoru along the Niger were covered with a kind of *dwerwer* mats and almost hemispherical in form – like two mat-covered huts (from the Woggo and the Kurtey) which are now in the IFAN Museum at Niamey. Gabus states as his opinion that the Sonray dwellings are related to Tuareg mat tents by which they have been strongly influenced (Gabus 1948a, p. 10 & 1948b, p. 15). I believe that their origin may perhaps be explained by the fact that the Sonray have been culturally influenced by Tuareg invaders T 342* 171 S 342 [171] [131] [113] S [177]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Songhai MS20



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492

Fig. 266. Three mat tents, three heavy wooden beds, and the household utensils belonging to three households are moved by means of six donkeys. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

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*342
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[462]

from the north from very ancient times (cf. p. 412), and, according to Rouch, we find that mat-covered barrel-vaulted huts do not constitute the traditional type of dwelling of all Sonray, but are found along the Niger between Timbuktu and Asongo, while the Sonray living outside of this area have other dwelling types (cf. Rouch 1954, p. 31). Thus we see that Sonray mat-covered arched dwellings are found precisely within the area which has been most strongly influenced by Tuareg culture, namely the upper part of the Niger Bend. It can be added that such dwellings do not seem to be typical of other African peoples who lead a predominantly sedentary life. Furthermore, Sonray mat-covered barrel-vaulted dwellings are built by the women, who are also the true owners of the huts (cf. Rouch 1954, p. 31). In this we find another parallel to traditional Tuareg custom.

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We see again how wrong it is to speak of the Ayr Tuareg mat tent as a dwelling particular to the *Kel Ewey*, for such mat-covered tents are used by most Ayr Tuareg from the northern outskirts of the Massif to Damergu; it is said to be used exclusively by the *Kel Geres*; it is known among certain *Kel Demnek*, among the *Iwilemmeden Kel Ataram* and their *Bélla*, and apparently even in the southernmost parts of the *Kel Adrar* country. Arched mat tents on the southern outskirts of the very vast area inhabited by Tuareg occur in an almost unbroken line in a huge semicircle running from Northern Ayr to Timbuktu.

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*342
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This distribution may perhaps indicate that the mat tent is of very ancient standing among the Tuareg. We have mentioned above that the mat-covered arched dwellings of the Sonray may have been adopted by these people through contact with the Tuareg, and it does not seem as if the latter adopted their arched mat tents as a result of contact with other Sudanese peoples who use barrel-vaulted dwellings. Barrel-vaulted dwellings are not common in the Western Sudan, but are found among certain pastoralists whose arched huts and tents are structurally very different from the barrel-vaulted Tuareg mat tent. This appears from literature about the *Fulani* and the *Toucouleurs* (cf. Urvoy

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



1952, pl. II, 4; Desplagnes 1907, pl. CVI p. 396). Various pastoralists within the huge area of Tibesti, Borku, and Ennedi also use barrel-vaulted mat-covered tents. These are very different from Tuareg mat tents (cf. Biasuti 1933, Fig. 2, p. 173; Despois 1946, pl. XXII; Le Coeur 1937, p. 39 & 1950, p. 192, pl. XXVI, 99; Schiffers 1957, pl. IV; Kronenberg 1959, pl. III; Fuchs 1961, p. 18 ff., pl. IV). However, a mat tent described in detail by Chapelle has a structure which includes pronged sticks and horizontal bars (Chapelle 1957, p. 227 ff.), and a Tebu tent from Bilma now in the IFAN Museum at Niamey resembles the mat-covered Ayr tent in having two horizontal cross-bars at the narrow sides – each bar resting upon seven vertical pronged sticks. 342* 171

We presume that Tuareg mat tents constitute a very ancient and traditional type of dwelling, which, perhaps, was originally covered with mats of grass-stems (cf. p. 350 f.). We venture to advance this theory, the more so as other types of Tuareg tents less elaborate in their structures show very close affinities with the arched mat tent. Our theory, however, gives rise to one important question:— Is the elaborate structure of Tuareg mat tents well fitted to pastoral life? 342* [174] 182 342*

It is evident that some of the Tuareg, who live in mat tents, and notably the *Bélla*, are semi-nomads, and Capot-Rey says that "– – les populations qui l'ont adoptée ne se deplacent presque plus; – –" (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 222). This is not correct. Mat tents like that described in B.I.a. are used by true nomads, who move much during the rainy season to find the best annual pasture for their domestic animals. At that season many pastoralists move their camps of barrel-vaulted tents about once a week, and though some of them prefer to erect their tents according to the simple *tafala* method (cf. B.I.f., p. 356), most nomads will erect the tent in the ordinary fashion. It may be added that even the *Kel Geres* who come to Southern Ayr at the end of the rains have with them their mat tents which they erect correctly. There are, it is true, many Tuareg possessing mat tents who remain almost on the same spot throughout the year, but this is equally true of many Tuareg with skin tents. The mat tent is a true pastoral dwelling type. It is not very difficult to put up though it takes more time than does the erection of most skin tents. It is also not very difficult to transport the comparatively elaborate structure of normal mat tents. With few exceptions the pastoral *Kel Ayr* who live in and around the Massif use donkeys for tent transportation. The light tent mats are simply used as a kind of pack-saddle, being rolled up and placed over the back and along both sides of the pack-animal. The curved boughs and rods which form arches and semi-arches, and the comparatively few vertical sticks with the two cross-bars are tied up into parcels which are fastened over the mats at the animal's sides. I have frequently seen a tent, together with the very heavy wooden bed (*téddabut*) and various domestic utensils, being transported by two donkeys, and a normal tent can be transported by a single donkey without much difficulty. As a further indication of this I produce a photograph showing the movement of a camp comprising three ordinary tents, three wooden beds, and the necessary household implements and provisions, and it will be seen that all this is transported by six donkeys (cf. Fig. 266). [221] 182 342* 492 [444]

On the whole, an ordinary mat tent is neither very difficult to erect, nor difficult to transport. It is more difficult to erect the mat tent than the skin tent, but skin tents very often constitute a heavier burden. The sheet of skin, or more correctly leather, is heavier than the covering of mats, and though it is true of many skin tents that they have a less elaborate structure than the mat tents, the former need a system of pegs and poles to fasten the sheet, and these have to be transported except where 182 342*

7:Nicolaisen E.5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



182 *342 suitable natural boughs are abundant. There are advantages and disadvantages in mat tents as well as in skin tents. During the very hot season the mat tent is by far the best type of dwelling; it is comparatively high and the mat covering is not heated to any great extent by the sun. During the [132] rainy season the mat tent is less practical than the skin tent. Rain may fall so heavily and abundantly that it penetrates the mat covering, and even if it does not it will be necessary to remove all mats after a heavy shower in order to dry them in the sun. The skin tent is normally erected quicker than the mat tent, it protects efficiently against rain, but is, on the other hand, most unpleasant during the hot season. [124] It does not seem possible to explain the distribution of mat tents and skin tents on purely geographical grounds, but it seems as though the mat tent is used mainly where dum palm leaves for plaiting are available. Where the dum palm disappears, the mat tent tends to disappear also, though mat tents, as we have seen, may be provided with a covering of *dwerwer* type (p. 350 f.). Outside of the dum palm area most Tuareg have skin tents for portable dwellings. Within the dum palm area mat tents and skin tents are mixed in certain regions, and it has been seen that certain Tuareg use mat tents during the very hot season before the rains, but adopt skin tents when the rains start. This seem to [237] indicate clearly the advantage and the disadvantage of the two dwelling types. But the advantages of both dwellings can be obtained in another way, namely by placing a sheet of skin over the top of the mat tent in the rainy season. This is actually done by many Tuareg. I was told that the *Kel Foday* Tuareg around Ingal very frequently cover their mat tents with skin during the rainy season, and remove the skin again when the rains are over. It is perhaps this to which Rodd refers in a brief note on Tuareg tents in Ayr (Rodd 1926a, p. 212), and we may be sure that the usage is a very ancient one in these regions, for it is mentioned already by Ibn Batutah in reference to the *Bardamoh*, who are stated to be nomads that frequently move their camps (cf. Ibn Batutah IV, p. 437). The custom of covering mat tents with a sheet of skin has also been noted in the case of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg by Barth (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 597 f.). It is very possible that it is still more widely known in Southern Tuareg groups, as it allows in an easy way the advantages of both types of dwellings.

B.2. *Skin Tents.*

*342 184 Skin tents are used by Tuareg in all groups, though there is some doubt as to the use of skin tents among the *Kel Geres*. I have myself previously stated that they have skin tents (Nicolaisen 1959, p. 118), this statement being based on information gathered in Ayr 1955. Lhote also mention that some *Kel Geres* use skin tents, while other pastoralists in this group own mat-covered tents (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 79, phot. 51 p. 80–81). But when I visited the camp of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief in 1959 he claimed that the *Kel Geres* always live in mat tents. As to the *Kel Ayr*, skin tents are very rare among them. In all other Tuareg groups skin tents play a very important role. They constitute so to speak the only kind of portable dwellings among the Northern Tuareg and the *Kel Adrar*, and they form the most common type of tent also in the two groups of *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. Zeltner says that the dividing line between skin tents and mat tents in Southern Tuareg country follows the Paris Meridian (Zeltner 1914a, p. 364), but there is in fact no true dividing line between these dwelling types, which are sometimes used by the same people at different seasons, and the two tent types are sometimes combined into one, as mat tents may be covered with skin throughout the rainy season.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Tent skins derive from domestic animals or from game animals. In older literature one can find 342* a reference to Tuareg tents made of a sheet of camel skin (cf. Denham & Clapperton 1826, p. L). 281 However, we have already seen that the Tuareg do not tan camel hides and they are not used for tent sheets. The Northern Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, zebu-calves, barbary sheep, antelope, and gazelle. Goat skin is most commonly used, skin of barbary sheep is considered the very best type of tent skin, while gazelle skin is rarely employed as it is very thin. According to Lhote, the *Kel Adrar* Tuareg generally use the skin of barbary sheep (Lhote 1947a, p. 108). The Ayr Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, and zebus. It is most possible that some Tuareg also use skin of game animals, but [224] most Ayr Tuareg engage very little in hunting, though barbary sheep are very common in certain parts of the Massif. In the southern plains of the *Iwllemmeden* there are no barbary sheep. According to Nicolas, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* use for their tents the skin of sheep, goats, gazelle, and sometimes even the skin of ostriches, but they do not use zebu skin which becomes very hard and shrinks when heavily moistened during the rainy season (Nicolas 1938, p. 54 & 1950a, p. 155). The *Iwllemmeden* and their *Bélla* of the Ayoru region use the skin of goats and sheep for tent-sheets.

Tent skins are prepared in the same way as skins used for transportation bags, dress articles, and the like. They are depilated and tanned according to the methods described on p. 275 ff. After tanning they are treated with butter, and are thereupon soaked to be rubbed and coloured with red ochre, these treatments making the skins impervious to water. A tent sheet is always made of several pieces [283] of skin which are sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl known as *tistent* (Ahaggar), [413] or *éstan* (Ayr). The edges where the skins have to be sewn are made even with a knife, while the outer edges of the sheet are left largely unfashioned so that the circumference of the sheet is of very irregular shape with protruding patches of leg or neck skin. These patches of skin frequently serve for the attachment of the cords by means of which the sheet is suspended. When two pieces of skin are sewn together a narrow leather strip is inserted between their edges before sewing. Loose ends of leather [531] thread hang down from the inner side of the sheet to serve as a kind of decoration, and in Ahaggar the tents are also frequently ornamented with hanging patches of leather with a carved decoration (cf. Fig. 182). On the whole the Tuareg of Ahaggar take a great interest in their tents. They like to 342* have richly-decorated dwellings, and when a tent is made for a newly-married couple, the women 281 do their outmost to make the sheet very beautiful. These aestethic feelings seem to be unknown in 517 regard to other types of dwelling used among the Tuareg, including the mat tent, and I think that they are responsible for some Tuareg using skin tents even when other dwelling types would be more suitable. I believe this to be true, the more so as the skin tent among the Northern Tuareg plays a [585] great part in the wedding ceremony, which is called *ihen*, that is "a tent".

It is evident that the number of skins to be used for a sheet greatly varies; if a sheet is made from 342* goat skins it may be estimated that a tent of normal size in Ahaggar comprises about 35–40 skins, 281 but very large tents with sheets of 60–80 skins are found among rich noble Tuareg and also in the *Dag Rali* tribe. A tent from Ahaggar now in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen has a sheet sewn together from a great many skin patches, and it measures 4.00 × 3.85 metres (N.M., no. G.1; cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 139). This is perhaps to be considered a normal size of skin tents among the Ahaggar Tuareg, though the sheet is generally somewhat more rectangular in

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 281 shape. In Southern Tuareg groups the skin tents also vary much in size, but they tend to be larger. Thus it is stated by Nicolas that skin tents among the *Kel Dennek* measure up to one hundred square metres (Nicolas 1938, p. 54), and Lhote says that 80–150 skins are used for sheets of the very large tents of the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (Lhote 1947a, p. 100).

[804] The Tuareg themselves do not refer to the size of a tent by counting the number of skins, or by measuring. The size of a tent is indicated by reference to the number of skin rows in the longitudinal direction of the sheet, and these rows of skin are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tarda* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). I have myself seen extremely small tents having a sheet of only three *tarda*, but a tent of normal size will generally have four or five such skin rows, and some even have six or seven *tarda*. Among the Northern Tuareg the sheet is manufactured in Tuareg camps by pastoral women and their female slaves. Among the *Kel Dennek*, tent sheets are manufactured by women of the blacksmith caste (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 155). [462] [562] [564]

*342 285 A mat to be drawn around the lower part of the dwelling constitutes a very essential part of Tuareg skin tents. This mat is generally made from the stems of *afezu* (*afezu*) grass (*Panicum turgidum*) tied together with leather strips as already described. A tent mat at times is divided into two halves which are rolled up and placed at each of the narrow ends of the tent during hot weather so that currents of air may pass through. When weather is cold and also when storms are raging, the Tuareg close their tents with these mats, which may also be drawn out to form a kind of low courtyard in front of the tent (cf. Figs. 267–269). The straw mat made from *afezu* stems tied to one another is known as *éseber* (pl. *isebran*) both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, while the name of a tent mat among the *Kel Dennek* is *šitek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154), or *chitek* according to our transcription system. Among the Northern Tuareg, tent mats are generally about one metre high, while varying much as to length. These mats very frequently serve as a kind of wind-screen leaning against poles, [351]

*342 281 133

Fig. 267. Skin tent seen from the back. The shape of the sheet is most irregular. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe.

[text continues on p. 364]

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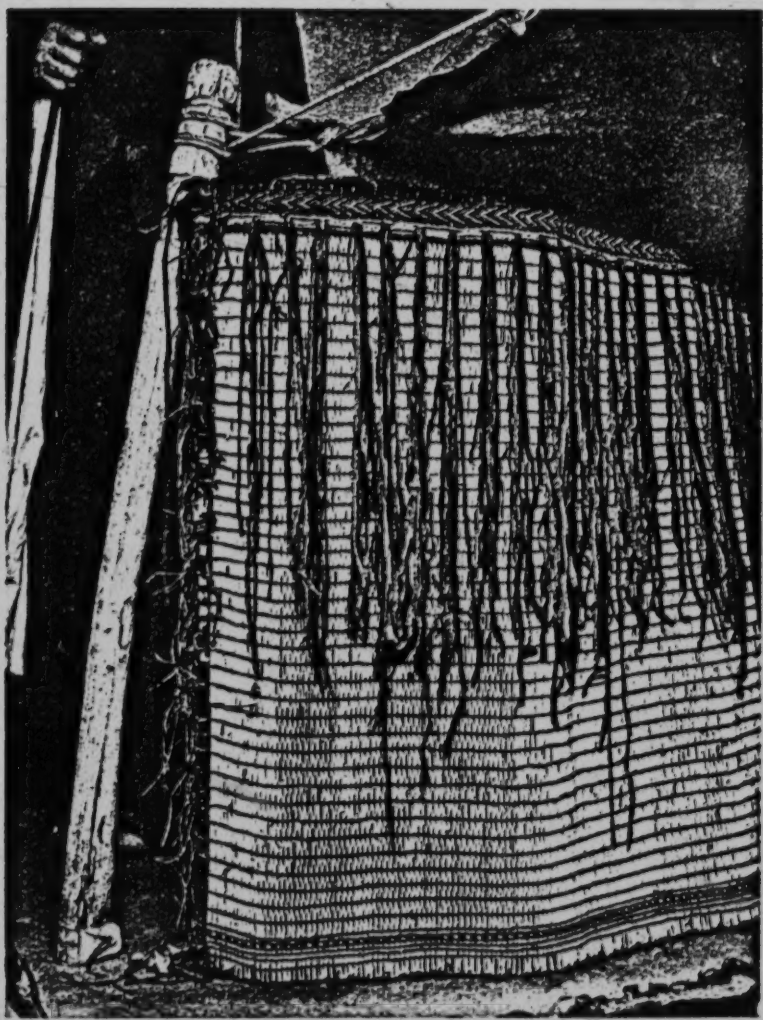

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Fig. 268. Mat of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) ornamented with coloured leather fringes. The mat belongs to Olufsen's collection from Ahaggar, and the photograph was taken in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen. Dimension: 8,87 × 0.85 m. (N.M. G. 1.4).

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*342 285 and a mat-screen of this nature is known as *afnes* (pl. *ifnesen*). It seems as if mats made from *afezu* stems tied to one another with leather thread occur everywhere among the Tuareg who possess skin tents (cf. illustrations of Lhote 1947a). These mats form part of the tent as they constitute its walls. I have only once seen true plaited mats used with a skin tent, and this was not inhabited by ordinary [351] pastoralists, but by blacksmiths (cf. Fig. 272). In addition to tent mats the Ahaggar Tuareg frequently use stone walls (*amutey*, pl. *imuteyen*) in front of their skin tent during the cold winter season (cf. Fig. 269b).

*342 [281] Among all Northern Tuareg a skin tent is known as *éhen*, and the sheet is called *éhakit*. The *Kel Denmek* Tuareg appear to use the same words for a tent and its sheet (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 153) while the Ayr Tuareg reserve the word *éhen* for a mat tent and employ the term *akum* for a skin tent. The Tuareg who use the word *éhen* to designate a skin tent will refer to mat tents as *asala* or *éwerwer* according to the type of mats used for a covering. We see that the word *éhen* is that generally used for a tent among the Tuareg. It is used for skin tents and mat tents alike. The Tuareg who live predominantly or mainly in skin tents use it for these dwellings, while Tuareg who live almost exclusively in mat tents reserve it as a term for their dwelling type.

Mat tents and skin tents may resemble each other in their structures but can also be very different. The mat tent is always an arched tent while this is true only of some skin tents. The main distinction between a mat tent and a true skin tent is that the mat covering is attached to the tent structure, while the sheet of skin is fastened to poles, pegs, stones, or other objects outside the structure supporting the sheet. Among most Tuareg who have skin tents there is a traditional system of poles or pegs for the fastening of the sheet.

In Ahaggar the tent sheet is traditionally fastened to twelve poles which are buried in 0.40–0.50 m deep holes dug by means of the digging stick (*élaweg*; Fig. 123, p. 179), with the broad end of an iron lance, with a wooden stick, and/or the hand. There are three poles in front of the tent, three at the back, and three at each of the narrow ends. These poles have their particular names. The poles placed at the narrow ends are known as *tisdas* (sing. *tasdest*), the poles placed at the back are called *ummusen* (sing. *ummus*), while the three poles placed in front of the tent have different names as follows:— the middle pole, which is higher than the two other poles of this row, is called *iğem*, and the two other poles are known as *madaren* (sing. *madar*). The use of these twelve poles is considered the correct method for tent erection, and they are always used in wedding tents; some Tuareg have poles beautifully carved by the blacksmiths, but for ordinary use the Tuareg do not always attach their skin tent to these twelve poles, but frequently use a few poles and attach the sheet to heavy luggage and the like, and at the back they may even place heavy stones upon the skin sheet. The poles placed at the narrow ends of the tent, known as *tisdas*, are also frequently substituted by small wooden pegs termed *tisettitay* (sing. *tasettiit*), and the sheet is then very close to the ground at the narrow ends. This same system of poles and pegs for fastening the skin sheet outside of the proper structure of the dwelling is also known to the Ahaggar Tuareg who live towards the south in the Tamesna plains, to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and also, I believe, to the *Kel Adrar*. Among the *Kel Denmek* there is a related system apparently comprising a few additional poles. The terms mentioned for these poles by Nicolas differ in his studies from 1938 and 1950. According to his last study the poles placed at the narrow end of the tent are termed *šidel* (or *chidel*), while all poles placed in front and at the back of

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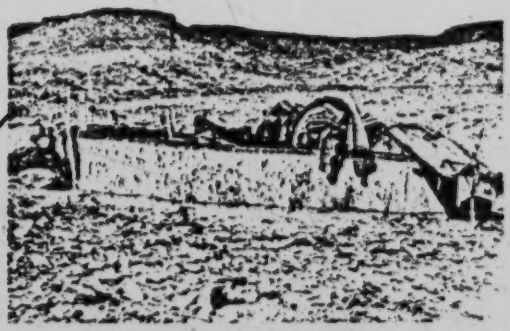

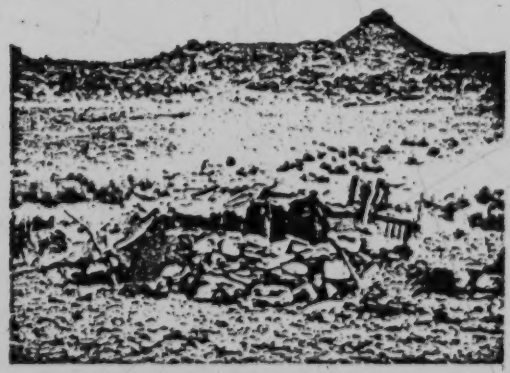

Fig. 269a–b. Skin tent of the B.2.f.3 type. The tent is surrounded by an *afeçu* mat (*iseber*) and a stone wall (*amastey*) to protect the inmates against the cold winter winds. Ahaggar (the *Aiakor*- zone), the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe.

*342 the tent are called *igemawen*; but the frontal poles are also known by more particular names according to their position (*madaç*, *igam*, *aserriri*). The terms mentioned by Nicolas in his 1938-study are largely those used in Ahaggar for similar poles (cf. Nicolas 1938, p. 54 ff. & 1950a, p. 153 ff., pl. VIII). It would appear that a somewhat related pole-system is used for suspension of the skin sheet among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* where very elaborately carved poles are found (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 82 ff.), while among the *Tengerregif* Tuareg further west a large number of high unfashioned boughs or sticks are used to suspend the tent (cf. Lhote 1947, illustrations p. 128 f.). As to the Ayr Tuareg, I have never seen properly suspended skin sheets among them, and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg did not know any names for such pole systems. It would seem as if most Tuareg who live in skin tents use an almost identical system of poles to which they fasten the sheet. The sheet is never fastened to the

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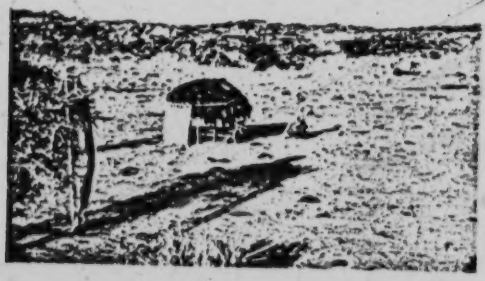

Fig. 270. An arched barrel-vaulted tent covered with a sheet of skin. In the background two arched mat tents. In the foreground to the left two cotton bows. Ayr, the *Kel Tédalé* tribe.

*342 true structure, and structurally there is a great diversity of tent types. It seems as if these tent structures can be divided into a few main groups which I shall describe in detail.

B.2.a. *Skin tents of arch construction.*

Tents which have one or more arches, generally placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction are widely found in Tuareg country. They are in fact more common than appears from the literature which has been so far published on Tuareg culture. The wide distribution of this particular structure in skin tents is interesting, the more so as it is related to the structure of mat tents. There are the following types of arch structures:—

B.2.a.1. This tent was seen in a camp of the *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg of North-western Ayr. It is known that skin tents are found among them (cf. Joubert 1939, p. 252 f.), but they have never been described. The Ayr Tuareg say that in the past many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* lived in skin tents which, however, [117] are less common among them nowadays. This agrees with my own experience. I have visited several *Kel Tédalé* camps, but I have only seen the skin tent here mentioned. This was found in a camp of [361] three tents, the two others being ordinary mat tents. The skin tent I saw in this camp was also of the normal structure used for mat tents in Ayr, though shorter. The lower part was partly covered, not by a mat plaited from dum palm leaves, but by an *afezu* mat.

[221] B.2.a.2. Under this heading I describe two identical tents seen in a camp of *Iregenaten* Tuareg who belong to the Ahaggar federation but have their traditional grazing grounds west of the Ayr [361] Massif in the Tamesna Plains. The camp was actually situated in the region between Tegidda-n-tésemt [137] and I-n-abanrerit, where perennial vegetation is extremely scarce and mainly comprises scattered *tamat* acacias (*Acacia flava*). The camp visited had eight skin tents among which were the two of arch construction as follows:—

[824] Both tents were very small, and their wooden structure was made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*). In the middle of the tent and at right angles to its longitudinal direction there was an

arch about 1.50 m high. It consisted of two boughs fixed in the ground and lashed together at their tops; this was termed *aǵeǵu* (pl. *iǵeǵan*). At both sides of this arch there was a horizontal cross-bar known as *areǵaraǵa* (pl. *ireǵeraǵaten*) which rested upon two forked sticks (*tégettewt*, pl. *tigettewin*). The arch and the two pairs of horizontal cross-bars were parallel to one another, connected by means of two semi-arches termed *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*) each of them made from two slender rods attached to each other over the arch. These semi-arches were fastened to the middle arch and to the outer edges of the two cross-bars by means of cords. Around this structure, which supported the sheet, there was a number of wooden poles or posts some of which were higher than the tent. These poles and posts were used for the attachment of the sheet, which, however, during my visit rested over the structure without any attachment. A narrow mat of the ordinary *afezu*-type belonged to this tent (Fig. 271). 342*

Tents structurally akin to the B.2.a.2. type but without semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the dwelling are found south and north of the Tamesna region:—

B.2.a.3. This tent was seen in a camp inhabited by blacksmiths of the *Kel Dennek* country around Tawa. They had temporarily settled not far from Agadez to work among pastoral *Kel Ayr*. The camp comprised only three tents which were very small – about 4.00 × 2.00 m with a height of about 1.20 m. The tents were structurally identical and had sheets sewn together from many small pieces of skin resting upon the following structure:— A central arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction. It was called *tekkekkewat* (pl. *tekkekkewatin*) like the central arch of the ordinary mat tent among the Ayr Tuareg. At both sides of this arch and parallel to it there was a somewhat lower horizontal cross-bar resting upon two forked sticks (*tigettewin*, sing. *tégettewt*). The sheet rested upon this structure and was fastened to a few upright poles fixed in the ground around it. There were three such sticks at the front and at the back, and one at each of the narrow ends. A mat about one metre high belonged to the tent; this mat was not a normal *afezu* mat, but plaited – apparently of dum palm material (cf. Fig. 272). A wooden bed (*tédabut*) was placed in the middle of the tent, occupying most of its ground area. [361] [162] [352]

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Fig. 271. Skin tent of the B.2.a.2. type. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *ireǵenaten* tribe.

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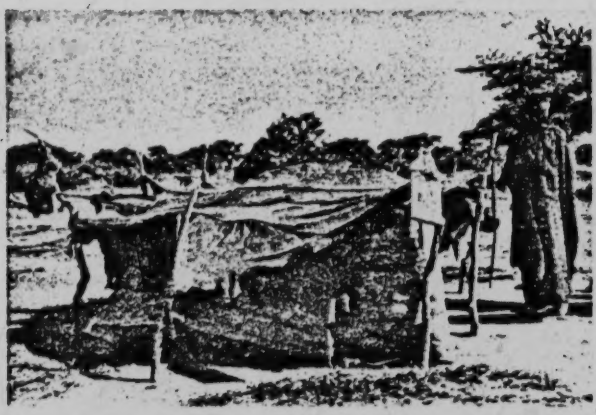

Fig. 272. Skin tent of the B.2.a.3. type belonging to *Kel Dennek* blacksmiths camping in Ayr near Agadez.

*342 of its ground area. The blacksmiths said that in their homeland at Twa only very small tents had central arches, while large tents had central T-shaped posts, but this latter structure could not be used in small tents because of the very large wooden bed. Tents of this type have not been described by Nicolas from the *Kel Dennek*, and various people who know this area have told me that they have never seen there tents of arch construction.

B.2.a.4. The tent type to be described is of arch construction. It was formerly very common in Ahaggar, but is extremely rare nowadays. The sheet of skin rests upon two arches placed parallel to each other at right angles to the longitudinal direction, and upon two horizontal cross-bars each lying on a pair of forked sticks. These wooden elements are normally made of the *tabarekkat* tree (*Tamarix aphylla*), the arches being manufactured from its roots which are heated over the fire and attached with cords in their bent position, as has already been described from the Ayr Tuareg, who make arches of acacia roots for mat tents in this way (cf. p. 351). But the arches used in Ahaggar are made from one piece of root each, and not from two pieces lashed together as in Ayr. The arches thus made are known as *iǧeǧan* (sing. *aǧeǧu*), but the term *tiheknin* (sing. *téhakent*) is generally used by vassals of the tribes *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* and *Dag Ṛali*. Though the arches are made from a single piece of root they may be fairly large, and two arches which are now in the Musée de l'homme in Paris have, according to Lhote, a diameter of 1.70 metres (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 43; Musée de l'homme, Coll. H. Lhote 1941). The cross-bars horizontally placed at both sides of the arches are called *ireǧeraǧaten* (sing. *areǧaraǧa*), and the forked sticks which support them *tiǧeǯewin* (*téǧeǯewi*). Foucauld states that the two horizontal cross-bars resting upon forked poles do not properly belong to the tent structure, so that the sheet is supported only by the two arches which are placed parallel to each other at a distance of about 1.50 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 f.). These two arches are also mentioned by Benhazera without any reference to horizontal cross-bars (Benhazera 1908, p. 26). However, my

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investigations seem to prove that the cross-bars with their upright forked poles form part of the structure, but the sheet may not always be supported by the cross-bars, as the suspension of the sheet in hot weather may be so elevated that the sheet rests only upon the arches which are somewhat higher than the cross-bars. Traditionally, the sheet is attached to the system of twelve poles mentioned above (cf. p. 364). 342*

B.2.a.5. This tent, used in Ahaggar, is made up of the same structural elements as the above mentioned type, but the two arches are placed parallel to the longitudinal direction and at right angles to the two outer cross-bars. The Tuareg claim that this type is not a traditional structure. The arches, they say, should traditionally be placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction and not parallel to it. I have only seen one tent of this type, namely in the *Amenukal's* camp close to Abalessa. The two arches in this case were not made of tamarix roots but of slender palm-fronds lashed together with cords. The arches were about 1.10 m high and 0.90 m in width (cf. Fig. 273).

The following two tents used by the Ahaggar Tuareg are hybrid types which seem to be used mainly in the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe where I have seen a few:

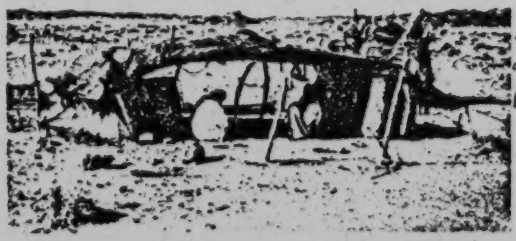

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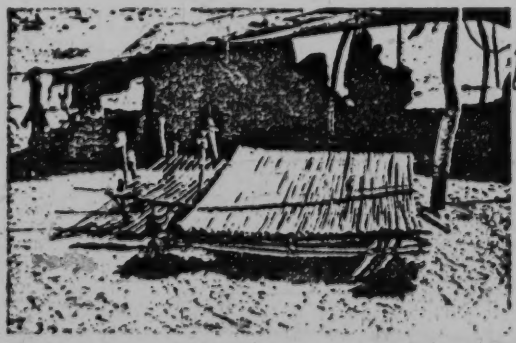
Fig. 273. Skin tent of the B.2.a.5. type. Ahaggar, the *Kel Rela* tribe.



[352] [824]

Fig. 274. A close-up of the above tent (Fig. 273). In the foreground are beds for a married couple and a child. Such beds made of palm leaves' ribs are rare among pastoral Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Kel Rela* tribe.

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*342 B.2.a.6. The tent has one arch made of tamarix root, and this arch is placed parallel to the longitudinal direction at the back of the tent. A horizontal cross-bar (*aregaraga*) rests with one end upon the top of the arch, while its other end is supported by a vertical forked pole at the front of the tent. At both sides of this cross-bar there is a cross-bar (*aregaraga*) resting upon two forked sticks (*iigejtewin*). This type is excellently depicted by Lhote (cf. Lhote 1947a, photos 24–26 p. 49 & 64; 1955, Fig. 23 p. 256).

B.2.a.7. The tent is identical with B.2.a.6 with the exception that there are two central horizontal cross-bars resting upon the top of the hind arch and upon two upright forked poles placed very close to each other in the front.

[381] B.2.a.8. This is a tent described and depicted by Barth from a Tuareg camp south of the Niger between the Hombori Mountains and the city of Bambara:— The sheet is suspended over three pairs of sticks of which the middle pair is much higher than the outer pairs. The middle pair of sticks is not of the same type in all tents, for the two high sticks in some tents are bent against each other and kept together by means of a very short piece of wood ("Querholz"). Judging from Barth's illustration of this tent it would seem as if the two middle sticks, united by a small piece of wood at their bent tops, form a high central arch. The skin tent, which contains two beds made from date palm-fronds, is apparently a very large one. It is provided with a mat of the type generally used for skin tents (Barth 1857–58, IV, p. 345 f.).

We conclude this description of arched skin tents by saying that these dwellings seem to be found within most Tuareg groups. Such tents are not so common nowadays as they were earlier. This is true of Ahaggar, where most Tuareg had arched skin tents until quite recently. Thus several informants about 50 or 60 years old told me that in their childhood most Ahaggar Tuareg lived in skin tents of this type.

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Fig. 275. Skin tent of the B.2.b.1 type. In the foreground a bed (*ádabur*) resting upon four forked sticks, Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Ireǵenatrn* tribe.

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**B.2.b.** ***Skin tents with semi-arches over horizontal cross-bars*** 342*

I have seen such tents among Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, and it is from this area that I describe the following structure:—

B.2.b.1. Three tents of this type were seen in the *Ireǧenaten* camp which comprised eight tents south of *I-n-abanṛerit*. One of the tents was very large with a sheet measuring about 7.00×7.00 m, while the two others were comparatively small. The two small tents had a maximum height of about 1.50 m, while the large tent was about 1.70 m high. Structurally the three tents were identical, as follows:— [361]

Three pairs of forked sticks with horizontal cross-bars were placed parallel to one another at right angles to the longitudinal direction. The middle pair of sticks was a good deal higher than the two outer pairs; the two central poles or sticks were called *iǧetten* (sing. *aǧet*) and the sticks of the two outer pairs *tiǧeṭṭewin* (sing. *téǧeṭṭewt*). The three horizontal cross-bars were all known as *ireǧeraǧaten* (sing. *areǧaraǧa*). The skeleton of these three cross-bars resting upon pairs of sticks had in addition two semi-arches known as *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*). Each of these semi-arches consisted of two slender rods, tied together at their thin ends resting upon the central cross-bars to which they were also fastened with cords, while the thick ends of the semi-arches were tied to the two outer cross-bars close to their edges. This structure, we see, is not very different from the B.2.a.2 type. The sole distinction between these two types is that the latter has a central arch instead of a central cross-bar resting upon upright poles. Actually, the types B.2.b.1 and B.2.a.2 were seen in the same camp and constituted five out of the total eight tents found in it. The wooden structure of the B.2.b.1. tents was also made from boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*). The sheet was attached to a number of poles, both in the front and at the back, while the narrow ends were kept close to the grounds by means of short wooden pegs. The ordinary *afezu* mats belonged to all three tents (Fig. 275).

B.2.b.2. This is a very small tent depicted by Lhote from the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg around Gao. Its structure appears to be related to that just described (cf. Lhote 1947a, photo 79 p. 113). [131]

B.2.b.3. This is a most interesting type of skin tent which is described by Lhote from the south-western Tuareg – the *Tengerregif* and the *Kel Inteser*. The type is illustrated by excellent photographs which clearly indicate the structure, namely:— There are two long semi-arches each of which is made from two curved sticks lashed together. The semi-arches are attached at their thick ends to two horizontal cross-bars, each of which rests upon a pair of forked sticks. The horizontal cross-bars are very short so that the distance between the two parallel semi-arches which follow the longitudinal direction of the structure is also very short. The semi-arches are further supported by two other short cross-bars each resting upon two sticks. These sticks with their cross-bars are not always erected in the same way. In summer, the sticks are upright, while in winter they are placed obliquely towards the inside. All poles and sticks which make up the structure are buried solidly in the ground, and this is also the case with the very large number of poles placed along the sides for fastening the sheet. According to Lhote, some of these poles are termed *igem* and *ounousen* (*unnusen*), which words are also used in Ahaggar for certain poles. Though the structure is a very narrow one, these tents may nevertheless be very large as the sheet is fastened to many poles placed at some distance from the narrow structure (Lhote 1947a, p. 100, 160 f., photographs nos. 85–93 p. 128–129). [101]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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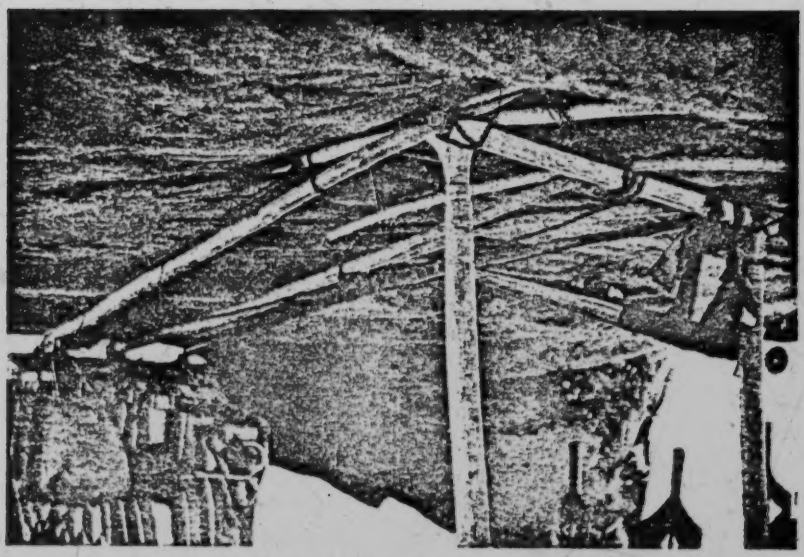

Fig. 276. The B.2.b.4 tent described in the text below. The central pair of vertical forked sticks with their cross-bar is seen to the right. Attached to the central cross-bar is a sword (*takuba*). At the bottom of the photograph to the right the upper parts of three elaborately carved wooden posts (*ihelan*, sing. *éhela*). The tent structure is similar to that depicted Fig. 277. From the *Kel Tahabanat* tribe, *Kel Atarum*, near Ayoru on the Niger.

*342 B.2.b.4. This is a type of tent which I saw among the *Western Iwllemmeden* west of Ayoru on the Niger. I had the opportunity to study its structure in the camp of the noble chief *Amder* of the *Kel Tahabanat* tribe, and I saw similar tents among *Bélla* and slaves of the same region. The tent was said to be in use among all pastoralists including the vassal tribes, and I saw no other type of portable dwellings. The structure of this tent is the following:—

(1) Three pairs of vertical forked sticks (sing. *tagettiwi*) are placed parallel to one another and at right angles to the longitudinal direction. The two outer pairs of sticks are somewhat lower than the middle pair.

(2) Three horizontal cross-bars (sing. *aragaragay*) rest in the prongs of the three pairs of vertical sticks at right angles to the longitudinal direction.

(3) Three semi-arches (sing. *ézeger*), each of them being made of two slender rods, are placed over the horizontal cross-bars at right angles.

(4) A long cord (*tarant*) running along the upper structure fastenes the horizontal cross-bars to the prongs of the vertical sticks and the semi-arches to the cross-bars.

(5) A number of poles placed in the ground outside the structure serve the attachment of the skin sheet, or a sheet of green canvas which is sometimes used as a substitute for skin.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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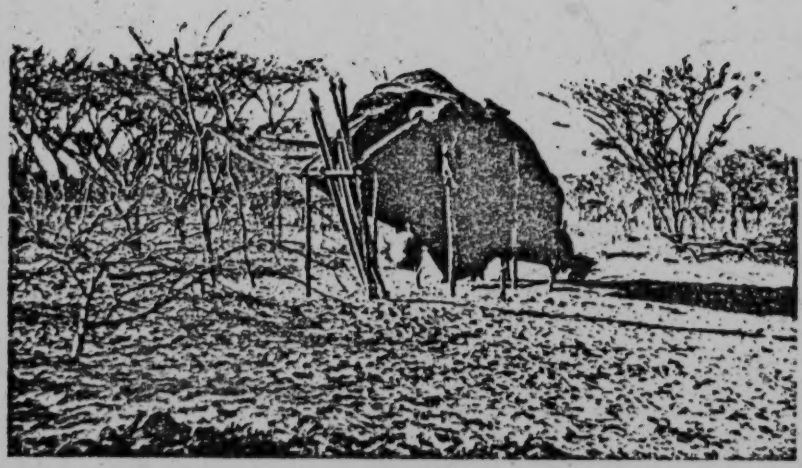

Fig. 277. The B.2.b.4 tent with three pairs of vertical forked sticks carrying three horizontal cross-bars in their prongs. Three semi-arches each of them being made of two slender rods are placed over the cross-bars at right angles. The carved poles leaning against one of the cross-bars constitute the main elements of a narrow wooden bed (*rédabur*). From a *Bélla* camp near Ayoru on the Niger.

I saw a few tents which had two or four longitudinal semi-arches, but three semi-arches were normal. 342*
The structure of the tent inhabited by the chief *Amder* had the following dimensions:—

The central pair of vertical forked sticks with their cross-bar was about 1.30 m high, and the two outer pairs 0.20 m lower. The distance between the two sticks of the central pair was about 1.00 m, between the sticks of the two outer pairs about 0.70 m. The distance from the central pair of sticks to each of the two outer pairs was 1.50 to 2.00 m.

B.2.c. *Skin tents supported by cross-bars connected with horizontal sticks.*

B.2.c.1. It is uncertain whether the structure to be described forms a regular type, as I know it only from a photograph which is in the photographic collection of the Musée de l'homme in Paris (Collection Photographique, 42.811.301). However, this photograph, which is taken north-east of Kidal in Aḍraṛ of the Iforas, has also been reproduced by Gjessing in his work on general ethnography (Gjessing 1953, II, p. 176–177). The photograph shows three Tuareg women erecting a tent structure as follows:— Two comparatively high forked poles carry a relatively short horizontal cross-bar which, judging from the photograph, measures less than a metre. A pair of exactly similar poles with

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 a similar cross-bar is placed at some distance from its first-mentioned counterpart, and these two pairs of poles, with their cross-bars, are connected with one another by means of horizontal sticks or rods lashed to the cross-bars and the vertical poles around their prongs. It is not known whether this system constitutes the whole structure, and it is also unknown whether the long horizontal sticks or rods follow the longitudinal direction or are placed at right angles to it.

B.2.d. *Skin tents supported by two pairs of forked sticks with cross-bars and a system of cords in the longitudinal direction*

This type is described by Urvoy from "French West Africa", and is perhaps common among certain south-western Tuareg though this is not explicitly stated by the author. The structure is claimed to be in ordinary use, and is briefly as follows:— The two pairs of two forked sticks with their cross-bars are placed parallel to each other. Two cords, made from goat's hair or leather, cross this structure [284] in a longitudinal direction running over the forked sticks and the ends of their cross-bars, and are attached to small wooden pegs driven into the ground at the narrow ends. The idea of this cord system is not quite clear. The sheet is attached to poles outside the structure. The cords running over the wooden skeleton may serve as a support for the sheet, but it may also serve to create a more solid position for the wooden structure (cf. Urvoy 1942, p. 33 ff.).

B.2.e. *Skin tents with longitudinal cross-bars connected with horizontal sticks*

A tent apparently of this structure is depicted by Lhote. The whole edifice is not seen on his photograph, but it is suggested that it is as follows:— Two rows of three forked sticks parallel to each other. Each row has a horizontal cross-bar resting in the prongs, and these two parallel cross-bars are connected with each other by means of three or four horizontal sticks at right angles to the longer cross-bars. The photograph of this tent, which seems to be a very small one, is taken among *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg in the region of Gao (cf. Lhote 1947a, photograph No. 80 p. 113).

B.2.f. *Skin tents with pairs of forked poles carrying horizontal cross-bars*

Such tents are widely found in Tuareg country. They are recorded from the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*, the *Iforas* Tuareg of Adrar-n-Foras, and from the Ahaggar Tuareg. The sub-types described below are closely related to each other.

B.2.f.1. This type is described in detail by Lhote from *Iwellemmeden Kel Ataram*. It consists of three pairs of forked poles or sticks which carry horizontal cross-bars at right angles to the longitudinal direction. The forked uprights are known as *tigettewin* (sing. *tagettiwt*), and the cross-bars are called *chiburgin*. The distance between the middle pair and the two outer pairs of uprights with their cross-bars is about 1.50 metres, and the middle pair is generally somewhat higher than the two outer pairs. Nine uprights depicted by Lhote vary in height from 1.20 to 1.44 metres and have a diameter of about 0.03 m. The three pairs of uprights and cross-bars are connected with a leather cord. This ties the cross-bars to their forked uprights and connects the latter poles with each other in the longitudinal direction. The leather cords adds to the solidity and flexibility of the structure. The sheet which rests

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



upon this structure is attached to poles fixed in the ground at the sides (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 84 ff., 123 ff., 154 f., photographs Nos. 59–65, p. 96–97). 342*

B.2.f.2. This type, described from the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* by Lhote, is similar to the above-mentioned type but has four pairs of forked sticks provided with cross-bars. The two middle pairs of uprights are somewhat higher than the two outer pairs. This structure is used for particularly large tents among the Western *Iwllemmeden* (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 85).

Lhote says that the above-mentioned two types of structure are also found among the Kel Adrar (Lhote 1947a, p. 108 f.) and this would also seem quite natural in view of the fact that these Tuareg once formed part of the *Iwllemmeden* group. Cortier says that the *Kel Adrar* have tent structures of uprights with horizontal cross-bars (Cortier 1908, p. 327 f.). I have myself been told by Iforas Tuareg whom I met in Ahaggar that they possess tent structures similar to those commonly used in Ahaggar nowadays, and these Ahaggar tents resemble those described from the *Iwllemmeden* by Lhote. I shall now describe these structural types of Ahaggar.

B.2.f.3. This tent, which has three pairs of uprights carrying horizontal cross-bars, has been frequently described and depicted in literature. A most valuable description, with many photographs showing the wooden structure, has been published by Lhote in his book on Tuareg tents (Lhote 1947a, p. 34 ff., photographs Nos. 1, 5, 7, 8, 13, 20, 27, 36, 37). The structure is also described by the same author in his general work on the Ahaggar Tuareg (Lhote 1955a, Fig. 22 p. 254). I present my own observations from Ahaggar, where I have lived in such tents over extremely long periods. A tent which I measured among the noble *Kel Rela* may be taken as an example of the normal structure of this type. It was made from boughs of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*) which is generally used for wooden tent structures in the north. The boughs had a diameter of about 0.05–0.07 m, the upright poles being somewhat thicker than the horizontal cross-bars. The three pairs of uprights had small prongs to which the cross-bars were firmly attached by cords of goat hair. The cross-bars were slightly curved, as is normal for this structure. All three cross-bars are called *ireğerağaten* (sing. *areğaraja*). The two pairs of outer poles are termed *tiğeffewin* (sing. *tiğeffewt*), while the middle pair of uprights are called *iğetten* (sing. *ağet*). Lhote gives the name *tamankayt* to the middle pair of sticks (cf. Lhote 1955a, Fig. 22 p. 254), but this is not correct as the term *tamankayt* is used properly for a central T-shaped post to be described in the next section. The sheet rests upon the structure of uprights with their cross-bars, and pieces of old cotton are normally wrapped around the place where the cross-bars rest in the prongs in order that the sheet may not be galled by the prongs. It should be noted that the cross-bars are lashed separately to their uprights, and not by longitudinal cords as among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*. A piece of cord is tied around the end of a cross-bar and around one of the prongs of its uprights, and is then drawn along the cross-bar to be tied around its other end resting in the prong. All upright poles are fixed in holes dug 0.30–0.50 m deep in the ground, like the holes for the outer poles to which the sheet is fastened with cords of goat hair. [122] [124] [114]

B.2.f.4. This tent differs from that just described in that it has two equally high pairs of uprights in the middle of the tent. These middle uprights (*iğetten*) are higher than the two pairs of outer uprights (*tiğeffewin*). There are in other words four parallel pairs of uprights carrying cross-bars which are frequently slightly curved as in the above-mentioned structure. This structure, with an additional pair

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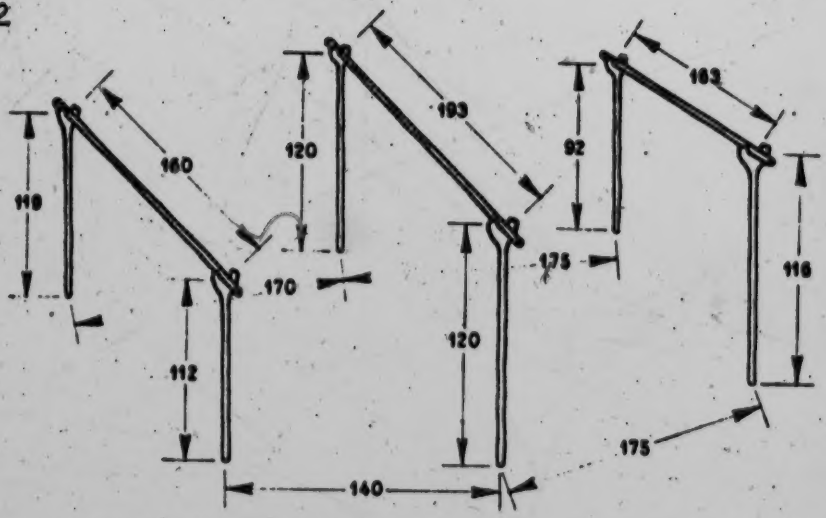


Fig. 278. The wooden structure of a skin tent of B.2.f.3 type. Measurements are in centimetres. Ahaggar, the *Kel Rela* tribe.

of uprights plus a cross-bar, may perhaps be explained as a support of very large tents, but I do not believe that this is the whole explanation, for I have frequently seen a structure having two middle pairs of uprights with cross-bars in very small tents, and it is remarkable that in tents of this type, whether large or small, the two middle pairs of uprights are frequently placed very close to each other.

B.2.f.5. This type occurs in Ahaggar. It is much like the above-mentioned two types, but has six pairs of parallel forked uprights with cross-bars. So many pairs of uprights with cross-bars are found only in large tents, and I have not seen such tents in tribes other than the *Dag Rali*. The two middle pairs of uprights are equally high and higher than the two next pairs which again are higher than the two outer pairs. The *Dag Rali* Tuareg say that tents with them may have yet another pair of uprights in addition to the six pairs, but this I have never seen.

B.2.g. *Skin tents with a central T-shaped post*

Under this heading I mention skin tents with a central post which carries a short horizontal cross-bar causing it to resemble a *T*. It is characteristic of this post that it is never buried in the ground, but rests upon the surface; the post is kept in upright position mainly by the weight of the suspended sheet, though in certain tents the T-shaped post is also supported by cords attached to sticks and to the short cross-bar of the post. Skin tents provided with a central T-shaped post are found in many

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 Tuareg groups, perhaps in all. They occur in the two groups of Northern Tuareg, but are rare in and around the Ahaggar Massif, though apparently more common among the Ahaggar Tuareg who live in Tamesna. They are also known among the *Kel Adrar* (cf. Cortier 1908, p. 327 f.), and they constitute the common tent among the *Kel Denek*. On the other hand these tents seem to be rare in and south of the Ayr Massif, where most people have mat tents, and though certain illustrations in literature seem to point to the existence of central T-shaped posts in the tents of the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* nothing seems to have been written about the existence of T-shaped posts there. However, in the ethnographical museum of Neuchâtel there is a short cross-bar of a T-shaped post brought from Tuareg living at Gao (cf. p. 382), and I was told by the chief *Amaḏy* of the noble *Kel Tahabe* [illegible] be that T-shaped posts once existed among them but were not used nowadays.

It is most likely that all T-shaped structures are historically related, and the question is taken up later in this chapter. The sub-types to be described are the following:—

B.2.g.1. This type has no other elements to support the sheet but the T-shaped post. Such tents have been depicted by Olufsen and Moberg from Ahaggar (Olufsen 1924a, p. 132 f.; Moberg 1927, p. 212, 229, 257) from which region it is also mentioned by Benhazera (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 25) and by Foucauld (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). I have never seen a skin tent thus erected in or around the Ahaggar Massif, and I have only seen a tent of this kind once in a camp of Ahaggar Tuareg close to Ingal in the extreme south. Foucauld mentions this type of tent as a traditional one to the Ahaggar Tuareg, stating that the central post is always very high. It may attain a height of 2.50 metres and it is always possible for adult men to stand upright in the middle of the tent. It is evident that a tent erected in this way must be firmly attached to poles around it, and the twelve poles traditionally belonging to a skin tent in Ahaggar must necessarily be used in tents which are only supported by a T-shaped post under the sheet (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). A tent erected in this way has very much the shape of an umbrella or parasol, and it has the same functions. When it rains the water

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Fig. 279. Skin tent of the B.2.f.3 type. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ball* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



*342 will quickly run down the sheet, and it is preferable in very hot weather not to sit just under the leather sheet which becomes extremely hot. A straw mat of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) belongs traditionally to this type of tent as well as to other tents of T-shaped structure to be mentioned below.

B.2.g.2. This type is the most common one among the Northern Tuareg. It has two pairs of uprights (*tiğeṭṭewin*) with horizontal cross-bars (*iregerağaten*), between which is placed the T-shaped post with its short cross-bar at right angles to the longitudinal direction of the tent. The sheet in this case may be suspended very high up at the surrounding poles, in which case it may be supported solely by the T-shaped post. But the forked poles (*tiğeṭṭewin*) with their cross-bars normally serve as a support for the sheet which may be attached to small wooden pegs at the narrow ends (cf. Figs. 280-281). That the forked poles carrying cross-bars at both sides of the central post belong to the tent structure seems to be indicated by the Tuareg when they speak of *tiğeṭṭewin n ehakit*, that is "the forked poles of the tent sheet".

B.2.g.3. A tent of the B.2.g.2. type with the exception that the short cross-bar of the central post follows the longitudinal direction and consequently is placed at right angles to the two cross-bars resting in forked poles at the narrow ends. I have once seen a tent like this in Ṭasilé-n-Ajjer, but it was made from boughs cut from a tamarisk just before the tent was erected. These boughs were unfashioned, and the tent was on the whole put up in a rather haphazard fashion. The short cross-bar of the central T-shaped pole among the Northern Tuareg is traditionally placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction.

B.2.g.4. This type is a tent with a T-shaped post placed between two pairs of forked sticks with cross-bars as described above, but the very short cross-bar of the central post is attached to the outer cross-bars, resting on forked poles, by means of cords. The short cross-bar of the central pole is pierced with two or four holes for the attachment of these cords. I have not seen this type of structure, but have been told that it is occasionally used among the Ahaggar Tuareg.

B.2.g.5. An example of this tent is found in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum

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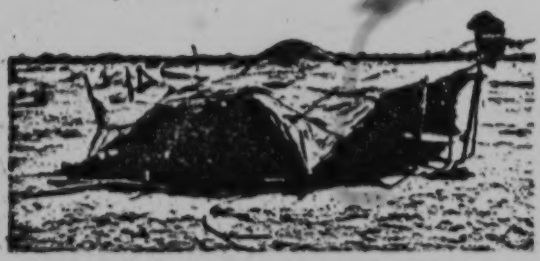

Fig. 280. A large skin tent supported by a central T-shaped post (the B.2.g.2 type). The curved form of the cross-bar resting upon the central post is clearly seen. The sheet of skin has five longitudinal skin rows (*tayda*). From a camp of Ahaggar Tuareg near Ingal.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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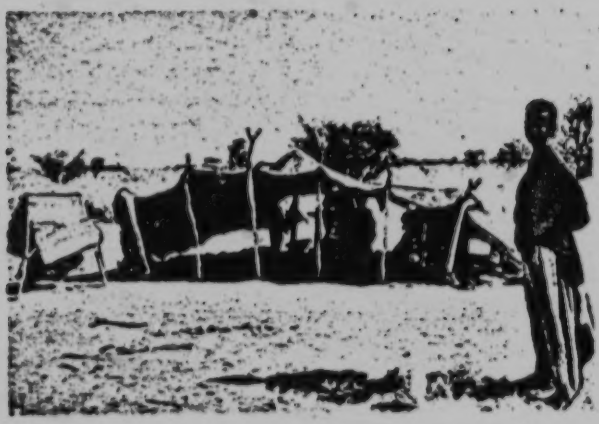

Fig. 281. A small skin tent supported by a central T-shaped post. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Irejenaten* tribe.

in Copenhagen (Museum number G.1.1). It was brought back by Olufsen 1923 from a camp of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Akhamuk* close to Abalessa (cf. Olufsen 1923, p. 4 f.; 1924a, p. 131, 136). This tent is already referred to above (p. 361). Its structure is as follows:— It has a central post 1.87 metres high which carries the comparatively long cross-bar at a right angle to the longitudinal direction of the tent. At each end of the cross-bar, which is slightly curved, there are two holes for the attachment of cords which are also fastened to four short upright poles placed two by two at the narrow sides of the tent. The sheet rests over this structure so that it is also supported by the cords. For a more detailed description of this tent readers are referred to Feilberg's report (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 139 f.). I have not seen tents of this kind among the Ahaggar Tuareg, but I have been told that they are used even nowadays. It is perhaps this type of tent which is depicted by Lhote from a camp of Ayr Tuareg south of the Massif (cf. Lhote 1947a, Fig. 4 p. 39, p. 77 f., photograph 50 p. 80–81, p. 118, 151).

B.2.g.6. This type constitutes the prominent type of tent structure among the *Kel Denneck*. It is largely identical with B.2.g.5, but the short cross-bar of the central post is placed parallel to the longitudinal direction of the tent. The cross-bar has four holes – two at each of its ends – to which are fastened cords which at their other ends are fastened to four upright sticks placed two by two under the sheet. The sheet may rest upon the cords and the poles to which they are fastened, but in day-time when the tent is open the sheet will normally rest solely upon the central post with its cross-bar. The tent is described in detail by Nicolas who states that the central post is comparatively high, from 1.50 to 2.00 metres (cf. Nicolas 1938, p. 54 ff.; 1950a, p. 153 ff., pl. VIII).

The IFAN Museum at Niamey has a tent similar to that described by Nicolas. It derives from the region of Tawa and has the following dimensions:—

The central T-shaped post is 2.00 m high and rests upon the surface. Its cross-bar (cf. no. 8, p. 282) follows the longitudinal direction of the tent and has two triangular holes at each end for cord attach-

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 ment to the two pairs of outer sticks which are about 1.20 m high. The distance between the sticks, which form a pair, is 0.60–0.70 m. The sheet of skin measures 5.00 by 6.00 m and consists of eight *tapda*. It is placed over the structure and fastened to 28 poles. The tent is surrounded by a 1.00 m high *afezu* mat leaning against vertical sticks fixed in the ground under the sheet.

These are the ordinary types of skin tents provided with central T-shaped posts. In literature there seems to be some confusion as to the proper terms to be used for a T-shaped post of the type described. Most authors use the word *tamankayt* for the post, the words *aselhum* (Ahaggar) or *asulan* (*Iwllemmeden*, Ayr) for the short cross-bar which rests upon its top. (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 38; 1955, p. 254 ff.; Balout 1959, pl. XXX; Nicolas 1950a, p. 154, pl. VIII). The word *aselhum* (or *asulan*) may be correctly used to designate the short cross-bar resting upon the central post; its proper meaning according to Foucauld is "a board regardless of its dimensions" (Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1831), but the word *tamankayt* does not refer to the central post. Foucauld uses this word not for the post, but for the post together with its cross-bar (Foucauld 1951–52, I, 247 f., III, p. 1213). The Tuareg of Ahaggar have invariably explained to me that speaking correctly the word *tamankayt* refers to the short horizontal cross-bar alone, while the post is known as *aget* like all other upright posts. It might perhaps be tempting to connect the word *tamankayt* with the verb *enki* which according to Foucauld has the meaning "to perform the movements of the sexual act" (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1373). For it is characteristic of the *tamankayt* system that the central post is placed in a hollow carved at the middle of its cross-bar (cf. Fig. 282).

The cross-bars of *tamankayt* type vary in size and form. Several pieces are found in museums or are described in literature. The following types can be mentioned:—

*From Ahaggar*:—

(1) A flat and slightly curved piece of wood which has a thickening at the middle into which a hollow [531] to support the central post is carved. On both sides of the hollow there is geometrical ornamentation. The flat cross-bar has no holes for the attachment of cords (Musée de l'homme, no. 34.196.1; cf. Lhote 1947a, Fig. 4 (1) p. 39, 117, photograph 15 p. 33).

(2) A slightly curved cross-bar of oval shape provided with a square hollow to support the central post (Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel, no. 48.2.173).

(3) A flat and slightly curved cross-bar with a thickening at the middle in which is carved a round hollow to support the central post. The piece is 0.51 m long, about 0.17 m broad, and only about [531] 0.01 m thick at both sides of the hollow. The inner side has geometrical ornamentation, and there is one little round hole for cord-attachment at each end (Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistoire du Bardo, Alger, No. D.2.; cf. Balout 1959, pl. XXX).

(4) A flat and comparatively long cross-bar about 0.87 m long and 0.08 m broad with a square hollow to support the central post, and four round holes (one close to the four corners of the rectangular piece of wood) for cord-attachment. This cross-bar is conserved in the Ethnographical Col-

[Text continues on p. 382]

Fig. 282. The central T-shaped post of the skin tent belonging to Olufsen's collection in the National Museum. Dimension of the cross-bar: 0.87 × 0.08 m. The tent is of B.2.g.5 type. (N.M. G. 1-1).

[cf. p. 381]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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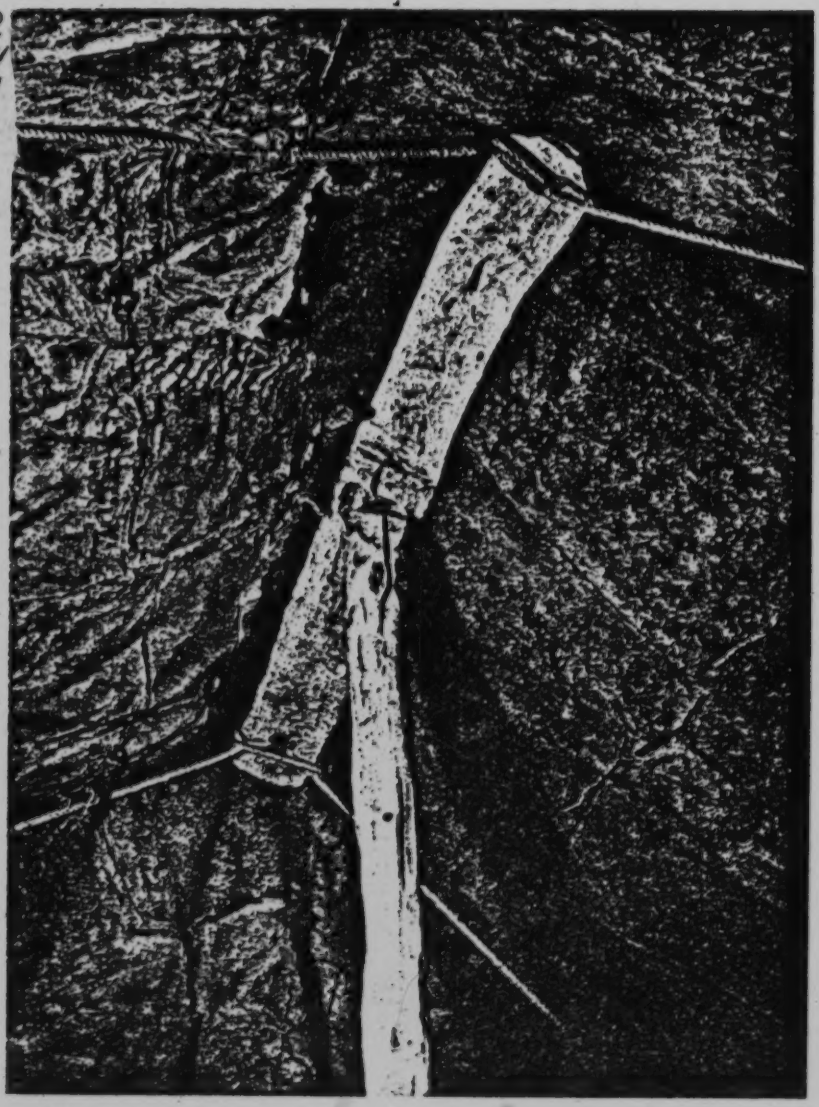

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 lection of the National Museum in Copenhagen. It belongs to the tent referred to under B.2.g.5 (p. 378 f.) (National Museum, G.1.1; cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 140) (cf. Fig. 282).

*From Ayr*:—

(5) A rather curved and heavy cross-bar 0.51 m long, and 0.12 m broad. At its middle there is a funnel-shaped thickening with a round hollow to support the central post. There are four rectangular holes at the corners for cord-attachment. This cross-bar comes from the *Kel Takriza* tribe which belongs to the *Ineslemen* class (Musée de l'homme, No. 41.19.333; cf. Lhote 1947a, Fig. 4 (2) p. 39, p. 118, photograph 50 p. 81).

*From the Kel Dennek*:—

(6) A rectangular slightly curved cross-bar having geometrical ornamentation on the inner side. At the middle of this there is a funnel-shaped thickening with a round hollow to support the central post, and four round holes for cord attachment at the corners. It is 0.55 m long, and bears geometrical ornamentation on the inner side (cf. Nicolas 1950a, pl. VIIIa p. 155).

(7) A slightly curved cross-bar with a square hollow at the middle to support the central post. The inner side has geometrical decoration, and there are four triangular holes for cord-attachment. It is 0.35 m long (Nicolas 1950a, pl. VIIIb p. 155).

(8) A rectangular slightly curved cross-bar with geometrical ornamentation on the inner side. It is 0.61 m long, 0.15 m wide, and 0.02 m thick. It has a funnel-shaped thickening of 0.08 m with a round hollow to support the central post. There are four triangular holes at the corners of the cross-bar for cord-attachment. The cross-bar is in the IFAN Museum at Niamey and belongs to the tent described under B.2.g.6.

*From the Kel Ataram*:—

(9) A slightly curved cross-bar with a funnel-shaped thickening in which is carved a hollow to support the central post. There are four triangular holes for cord-attachment (Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel, No. 48.6.18).

It appears from the description of these specimens that the cross-bar of T-shaped posts are more or less curved and comparatively thin except at the middle where a hollow is carved for the post. The bulk of the cross-bars mentioned have holes for cord-attachment, and this seems to hold for all cross-bars used in Southern Tuareg groups. In Ahaggar cord-attachment is not always employed, but it is said to be extremely useful, as the tent may collapse owing to the very heavy winds so characteristic of desert climate. Thus it may seem as if the main function of the cords fastened to the cross-bar of the T-shaped post is to keep the latter upright.

322 531 I believe that cross-bars, and particularly those that are richly ornamented, are manufactured by blacksmiths and not by pastoral Tuareg, though they may perhaps also be made by noble women who among the Northern Tuareg are skilled in wood-work. In fact, it is claimed by Tuareg of the north that skin tents with T-shaped posts are the traditional type of dwelling of noble Tuareg and Tuareg of the *Iregenuten* tribe, which latter is said to descend partly from noble Tuareg (matrilineally) and from Arabs (patrilineally). The vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar say that T-shaped tents are not traditional to them. They use tents of B.2.f. type with pairs of forked poles carrying horizontal cross-bar, and this type seems to have supplanted skin tents of arch construction. It may happen that vassal Tuareg

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342
[281]
[284]

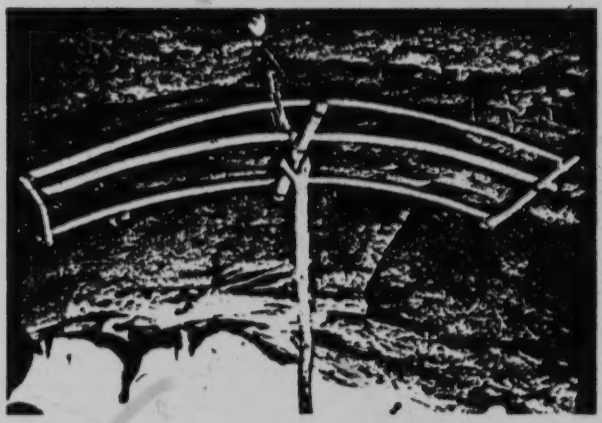

Fig. 283. Cross-bar (*tamankayt*) of the B.2.g.7 type. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Ireḡenaten* tribe.

in case of very extreme heat in the summer make a kind of primitive T-shaped post from a simple bough of tamarisk, to the top of which they attach a short stick of the same material. They then wrap pieces of old cotton around the place of attachment in order that the post shall not gall the sheet. [114] But though I have lived among vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar over extremely long periods of the hot season I have seen such primitive T-shaped posts only once. As already stated T-shaped posts seem to be advantageous also during heavy showers of rain as the water quickly runs off the sheet. However, I have never seen vassal Tuareg use simple T-shaped posts in case of heavy rainfall, for they content themselves with holding a stick or pole against the sheet as long as rain falls. Primitive T-shaped posts like those just described from Ahaggar and consisting of a simple post at the top of which a short horizontal stick is attached, seem to be a mere imitation of the true T-shaped posts. However, there is another and very interesting type of T-shaped post, which I describe below under the two headings:—

[361] B.2.g.7. This tent I saw in a camp of *Ireḡenaten* Tuareg not far from I-n-abanṭerit in the Tamesna Plains. The tent had two pairs of forked sticks (*tiḡeṭṭewin*) each pair carrying a horizontal cross-bar (*areḡarega*). These forked sticks with their cross-bars were about 0.70 m high. While these sticks were buried in the ground there was between their two cross-bars a central forked post (*aḡet*) about 1.20 metres high. In its prong it carried a most unusual cross-bar called *tamankayt*. This consisted of a wooden frame 1.44 m long and 0.72 m broad made from three long sticks attached to three short ones the middle one of which was particularly heavy and rested in the prong of the central post (cf. Fig. 283). The short sticks were parallel to the two outer cross-bars and at right angles to the longitudinal direction. In other words, the length of this cross-bar frame followed the longitudinal direction of the tent, but in spite of this we can speak of a cross-bar placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction, as one of the short sticks of the frame rests upon the central post. The frame-like cross-bar was not fastened to the outer cross-bars with cords, and the central post was not buried in the ground.

*342 The sheet rested upon the cross-bar frame and upon the outer cross-bars, being fastened to poles at the back and the front; it was kept close to the ground at the narrow ends where it was fastened to small wooden pegs. The tent sheet measured about 6.00×4.00 m and had five *tarda* (cf. p. 362). The whole structure was made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*).

B.2.g.8. The tent to be described under this heading is used among the *Kel Dennek*. It is structurally akin to the ordinary *Kel Dennek* tent mentioned above as B.2.g.6. (p. 379) but it is provided with a cross-bar frame much like that just mentioned from the *Ireġenaten* Tuareg. The type is described by Nicolas. The central post is called *tageffut*, and has a prong at its top to support the frame known as *agegu* made from two sticks to which are tied three other sticks, one of which rests in the prong of the central post. The stick which rests in the prong is placed parallel to the longitudinal direction of the tent, and cords are fastened to the cross-bar frame and to four sticks as customary for *Kel Dennek* tents. Nicolas says of this cross-bar frame that it is a cross-bar "de fortune" (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154 Fig. 30 f.). He does not mention this type of cross-bar in his 1938 study of Tuareg tents, and we may perhaps take this as a proof that it is not very common among the *Kel Dennek*.

One might perhaps be tempted to take these two cross-bar frames as primitive types from which other types of cross-bars have developed, the evolution thus passing from the more elaborate to the more simple type. This, however, is hardly possible. It seems difficult to conceive the framelike cross-bars as a true development from a particular type of dwelling. They are most probably a kind of emergency cross-bars used because the more general type, which is made by blacksmiths, is not available for some reason or other. The ordinary type of cross-bar is no doubt the traditional and the oldest type. I revert to this again later in this chapter in my final analysis of Tuareg tents. Here I content myself with the statement that it seems as though the evolution of T-shaped posts followed another direction. They did not originate from the structurally more elaborate cross-bar frames. It may seem remarkable that the term used for a cross-bar frame among the *Kel Dennek* (*agegu* according to Nicolas) among the Northern Tuareg (*aġeġu*) designates a tent arch (cf. p. 356, 367). This term, however, does not literally refer to "arch". It derives from the verb *ġaġġ* which means to "to load" or "to be loaded" with something (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 406 ff.). – I now come to my last [184] structural group of Tuareg skin tents. It is only represented among the Tuareg most to the south-west from where it has been recorded by Lhote:—

B.2.h. *Skin tents with two central oblique posts carrying a short cross-bar*

[101] B.2.h.1. The tent is found among the *Kel Inteser* Tuareg who live in the region of Lac Faguibine. It is supported by two central oblique posts which carry a slightly curved cross-bar of which a specimen collected by Lhote is conserved in the Musée de l'homme. It has a total length of about 0.45 m, and is 0.07 m broad. It has a decorated inner side and close to the edges two thickenings in which holes are carved for the two posts (Musée de l'homme, 41.19.870; cf. Lhote 1947a, Fig. 4 (2) p. 39, p. 117). Lhote has informed me verbally that the two posts are oblique, but that they do not cross each other, and that the cross-bar is also placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction. – I revert to this type later as it contributes to our knowledge of tent development among the Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



In literature there are tent descriptions which I have omitted in my survey of Tuareg tent structures, 342*
partly because the descriptions are unclear, and partly because they clearly indicate tents which are not erected according to any definite method (cf. Demoulin 1928, p. 159; Campbell 1928, p. 205; Bernard quoted by Laoust 1930, p. 225).

Finally, I add that the sheet of skin is very commonly used for a kind of wind-screen among the Tuareg. Such wind-screens are of two types:— (1) The sheet is attached to three or four sticks buried in the ground. A wind-screen of this kind is depicted in Fig. 284a. It serves as a temporary shelter [574]
for visitors in a camp. (2) The sheet is supported by three or four sticks placed in one row with a long stick resting horizontally in their prongs. Such wind-screens are seen in Figs. 284 b-c. They are used by the members of a household in ordinary camps, and it is quite common to erect tents in this manner during seasons when rainfall is not expected. Indeed, many Ahaggar Tuareg use their skin tents only for a part [182]
of the year, for skin tents are not too well adapted to the burning hot desert climate. If possible, many Tuareg prefer to live in the shade of rocks and trees, and if efficient shade of this type is found the skin tents are generally not erected. But the Tuareg will then erect part of the wooden structure, [352]
namely the forked sticks carrying cross-bars, as these elements serve not only as supports of the sheet, but also for the suspension of skin bags and various domestic implements (cf. Fig. 106).

Capot-Rey writes that the Tuareg skin tents are also less waterproof than mat tents (Capot-Rey [114]
1953a, p. 225), but this is not correct. During the rains, as we have seen, skin tents are preferred by [182]
many Tuareg who at other seasons live in mat tents, and we have also seen that many Ayr Tuareg will then cover their mat tents with skin. If skin tents were not well fitted for rain they would indeed be very badly adapted also to the Sudanese zone where they are widely found among the Tuareg.

There can be little doubt that the use of skin sheets is very old, for all over the world we find 342*
them used for portable dwellings among people at primitive subsistence levels. It is also substan- 171
tiated by Feilberg that we have throughout the Near and Middle Easts isolated occurrences of skin tents, and that these seem to have been more common in these regions in the past. Feilberg mentions in particular the use of skin for tents among the Tuareg and among the Sluba of Central Arabia (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144). When Feilberg wrote his book on tent development in the Near and Middle East, a description of the structure of Sluba tents was not available. But later investigations have intimated that some skin tents of the Sluba do not seem to be structurally related to ordinary Tuareg skin tents, but rather constitute a kind of wind-screen (cf. Lundbæk 1962). I have mentioned above that the Ahaggar Tuareg also use their tent skins as wind-screens, but it is evident that structurally the normal skin tents in all Tuareg groups have nothing to do with wind-screens.

It is possible that the use of skin for wind-screens is extremely old among the Tuareg, but there 342*
seem to be some evidence that plaited grass mats for covering the true tents are older. We have 174
seen that among Tuareg who use mat tents (the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*), the inner layer of mats covering the dome-shaped top consists of *ewerwer* mats made of plant stems tied together, and it has also been mentioned that certain arched tents among the *Kel Dennek* and the Sudanese *Bélla* are covered exclusively with mats produced on this principle. According to Duveyrier mats of straw were formerly used for tent covering among the Northern Tuareg, and it is possible that the *afezu* mats, which seem to constitute the walls of all Tuareg skin tents, may be considered a survival from tents

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 174 covered exclusively with straw mats. Tuareg skin tents may perhaps have originated from tents covered with grass-mats which had the dome-shaped top covered with a sheet of skin during the rains. At all events I assume that most Tuareg skin tents have developed from a type of barrel-vaulted dwelling, and it is most significant that rudiments of arch constructions occur in skin tents within all Tuareg groups.

The development of Tuareg tents is difficult to explain by mere reference to environment, and we should also try to take into consideration historical factors. I believe that tents with upright forked poles which carry horizontal cross-bars developed from a barrel-vaulted structure. I believe that this is indicated by the material presented above. Thus most or all barrel-vaulted dwellings among the Tuareg have at their narrow ends a pair of forked poles with a horizontal cross-bar placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction and parallel to the arch or the arches which are placed in the middle of the tent. We have also noted that we have tents of one central arch and two outer pairs of sticks with cross-bars covered with two semi-arches, and tents in which this middle arch is substituted by a pair of sticks carrying a cross-bar. It seems quite natural to consider all tents supported exclusively by pairs of sticks carrying horizontal cross-bars as deriving from barrel-vaulted dwellings. One would perhaps then be tempted to suppose that such an evolution took place in the true desert country, where it might seem easier to make tents from a certain number of sticks tied together than from curved arches. However, as far as our knowledge goes, an evolution of portable dwellings among the Tuareg from arched types to types exclusively consisting of cross-bars resting in forked sticks seems to have taken place outside of the proper desert country. All old Tuareg of Ahaggar admit that the common type of tent structure in their childhood was that of two arches, while these arches, they say, have [114] now been replaced by cross-bars resting in pronged poles. This agrees with the fact that Foucauld, who lived in Ahaggar from 1905 to 1916, does not mention tents of the cross-bar type which are now almost exclusively used by the Ahaggar Tuareg. According to Foucauld, Ahaggar tents fall into two main types, namely those supported by arches and those supported by T-shaped posts. When the structure made exclusively with forked poles and cross-bars was adopted we do not know, but I believe that it may perhaps have taken place in the twenties. In any event there seems to be little doubt that [114] they were common at the end of the twenties, for they are depicted by Moberg from his journey to Ahaggar 1929–30 (cf. Moberg 1933, p. 59, 63, 65). The question now arises why the Ahaggar Tuareg *342 178 gave up their arched dwellings, which are so extremely rare nowadays, and adopted the upright forked poles-crossbar structure? Lhote thinks that in Ahaggar there were perhaps the following reasons:— (1) The arched structure is better adapted to rain, but has become less useful owing to the increasing dryness of Ahaggar; (2) It is more difficult to procure the long roots of tamarisks for arches; (3) The arches used in ancient times were difficult to carry from camp to camp; (4) The structure consisting of cross-bars resting in forked poles may perhaps have been introduced owing to contact with the *Iwellemmeden*, who use a similar type of tent-structure (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 42 f.; 1955a, p. 256). Of these arguments I find the last the most convincing, the more so as I have myself been informed that the tents of cross-bars resting on forked prongs have been introduced owing to contact with the Southern [582] Tuareg who have similar tents. One might perhaps assume that the tent was actually introduced owing to contact with the *Kel Adrar*, as the Ahaggar Tuareg have married women of that Tuareg group

[text continues on p. 388]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342
[374]

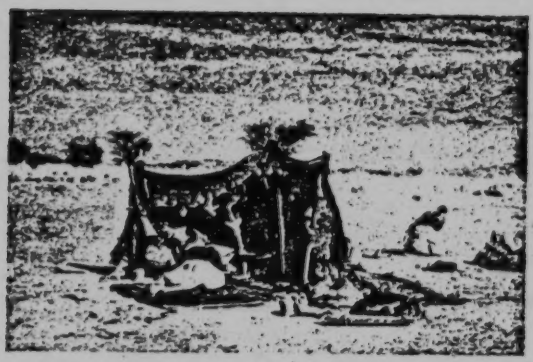

Fig. 284a. The skin sheet erected as a wind-screen for visitors. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

[291]

Fig. 284b. The sheet erected as wind-screen in a Tuareg camp. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-enteklil* tribe.

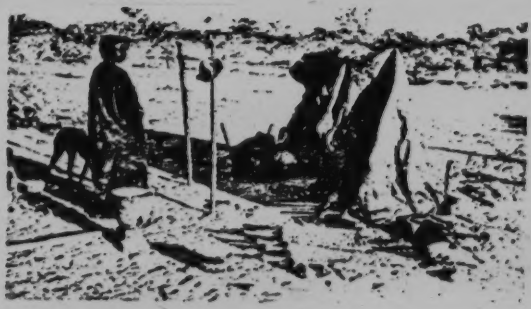

Fig. 284c. The sheet erected as wind-screen in a *Bella* camp near Ayoru on the Niger.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 178 582 while to my knowledge they have never married women of the *Iwillemmeden*. Marriages seem to be of great importance for the diffusion of cultural traits among the Tuareg.

*342 174 182 It is clear that the use of T-shaped posts is not limited to particular environmental zones, for T-shaped posts are characteristic of certain Tuareg skin tents both in the true desert country and in southern regions of plains and savannahs. Furthermore, it seems as if this structure is found mainly among the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar*, and among the *Kel Dennek*, while outside these regions T-shaped posts are rare. Thus if we cannot explain the use and the distribution of T-shaped posts in skin tents from an analysis of environment, we may perhaps ascribe its present distribution to historical events.

*342 174 The most important characteristic of T-shaped posts is that they are not buried in the ground like all other poles and posts of Tuareg portable dwellings. They rest upon the surface, and if they sometimes penetrate two or three centimetres into the soil this is not to keep them upright but to prevent them from sliding. The fact that Tuareg T-shaped posts are not buried in the ground makes it unlikely that they are related to the T-shaped posts of permanent dwellings like those used in huts and houses of North Africa, and I believe that originally they came from a barrel-vaulted dwelling which had one of its arches supported by a post resting upon the surface. That an evolution of this kind is in fact possible is shown by Ferdinand's description of certain black tents among the Duranni nomads of Afghanistan. The middle arch of these tents is made from pieces of curved poles, namely two long pieces lashed to a shorter top piece, which is supported by a central post resting upon the surface of the ground. This is the normal structure of Duranni tents, but in summer and in spring nomads frequently content themselves with the erection of the middle part of the arch supported by the central post resting upon the surface. In other words, the Duranni nomads at certain seasons change their barrel-vaulted dwelling into a dwelling supported by T-shaped posts at a right angle to the longitudinal direction (cf. Ferdinand 1959, Fig. 7 p. 35). I think that this development is also perhaps responsible for the evolution of T-shaped tents among the Tuareg, but I do not believe that it took place among them. We have among the Tuareg no portable barrel-vaulted dwellings of arches supported by central posts. We find this principle in certain barrel-vaulted dwellings used among the *Kel Ewey* farmers of Ayr (cf. p. 347 ff.), but this barrel-vaulted hut originated from the Tuareg mat tent, which among the sedentary *Kel Ewey* adopted certain traits of the bee-hive hut.

*342 174 177 I think there is little doubt that a relationship exists between T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents and similar posts of North African black tents. This relationship was first suggested by Feilberg in his thesis on the black tent (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143), and I believe that it can be proved that such a relationship actually exists.

[184] Black tents are not generally used by the Tuareg. In the extreme north of the *Kel Ajjer* territory a few Tuareg have adopted it owing to contact with Arab pastoralists. It is possible that there are also Tuareg with black tents in the extreme south-west of Tuareg country around Timbuktu. There are black tents in this region (Jackson 1820, p. 23; Barth 1857–58, IV, p. 474 ff.), and it seems as if some Tuareg there occasionally live in them (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). It is clear that the black tent is found within a large semi-circular belt enclosing Tuareg country from the Fezzan via Northern Sahara and the Atlas through Mauretania to Timbuktu (cf. Feilberg 1944, map II). It is also clear that there

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



have been for centuries much contact between the Tuareg and the regions dominated by the black tent and Arab pastoralists. 342* 174 177

Certain Arabs who have immigrated from the north to Tuareg country have adapted their original tent structure of black tents to the Tuareg sheet of skin. This is demonstrated in case of Arab pastoralist known as *Deremchaka* (Dermechaka = Ar. El-Mechākra) who live in the *Kel Dennek* country. These pastoral Arabs, who have been much influenced by their Tuareg neighbours, use two central oblique posts to support a very short cross-bar (*hōmmār* in Arabic), placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction, and it seems as if they have no other wooden elements to support the sheet and no cord attachment to secure the posts in contrast to the *Kel Dennek*. The *Deremchaka* Arabs immigrated to *Kel Dennek* country from Southern Algeria at a date later than the 17th century (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 153 f., pl. VIIIc; p. 67 f.). They have probably taken this tent structure with them from Algeria, where it is common to use two central posts carrying a short cross-bar at a right angle to the longitudinal direction.

It would seem that we have another example of the introduction of structural elements of black tents into skin tents, namely the above-mentioned skin tent supported by two central oblique posts with a short cross-bar which is used among certain *Kel Inteser*. This structure resembles that of certain double-posted black tents used among Arab pastoralists in many parts of North Africa, and the *Kel Inteser* Tuareg seem to be Arabs by origin. This is stated by several authors (Delafosse 1912 I, p. 195; Mohammed Saïd 1903, p. 210 ff.; Richer 1924, p. 14; Marty 1920–21, I, p. 254 ff.), and a Tuareg of the *Kel Inteser* group whom I met in Ayr held the same view. There seem to be little doubt that the structure of *Kel Inteser* skin tents derives from black tents and from the Arabs who most probably were responsible for the introduction of black tents to Mauretania and the whole Western Sahara.

The use of black tents among the Western Moors seems to throw important light upon tent development in North Africa. These tents are mentioned in early literature. Labat says that the Moors of Arguin and the Niger have round and conical tents, and that the former are covered with material of goats and camels (Labat 1728, I, p. 262), while Saugnier and Park mention the occurrence of two central posts in Moorish tents (Saugnier 1799, p. 33; Park ed. 1923, p. 109). A more comprehensive description of such tents is given by Caillié who says that the *Brakna* use two central posts carrying a short cross-bar to support their black tents, which in winter has an interior tent consisting of a sheet of skin supported by poles (Caillié 1830, I, p. 130), and the use of two central posts crossing each other and carrying a short cross-bar on their tops is also mentioned recently from Mauretania (cf. Delpy 1955, p. 18, Fig. 7 no. 25). Douls depicts a black tent of pyramidal form from Rio del Oro (Douls 1888, p. 22 f.) and it would seem that this tent corresponds structurally to the type now in general use among the Moors of Mauretania and described or depicted by several authors (cf. Ould Hamidon 1952, ill. p. 41; Dubié 1953, p. 134, 162; Gabus 1955, ill. p. 72; Meniaud 1912, II, pl. X, p. 48). The particular structure of black tents among the Western Moors is due to the fact that it contains a barrel-vaulted dwelling covered with canvas. This barrel-vaulted dwelling constitutes the only type of dwelling of the Moors in the dry season, but during the rains and when it is extremely hot it is covered by the black tent (cf. Urvoy 1942, p. 33 f., Fig. 2, pl. I, Figs. 3,4). Thus the partic- 342* 171 175

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Thus the partic-

*342 171 174 ular structure of black tents among certain Moors is due to a combination of two dwelling types: the black tent which has apparently been introduced by the Arabs coming down along the Western Sahara from the north, and a barrel-vaulted portable dwelling which we may perhaps conceive as the type of dwelling used in ancient times by the Tuareg of these regions who were conquered by the Arabs.

*342 171 177 If we turn to Tuareg skin tents supported by one central post with a short cross-bar, we may well assume that this particular structure, the so-called T-shaped post, has not only been introduced owing to influence from the black tent, but that it is also largely the result of contact with the Arabs. We know from Duveyrier that the Tuareg of the *Kel Ajjer* have skin tents and in some cases black tents also, and that these dwellings are identical in structure (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403 ff.). It is also certain that the Arabs who live in the region of Tidikelt use T-shaped posts both for black tents and for skin tents. This is recorded (cf. Laoust 1930, p. 224). I have myself gathered the same information from the *Ulad Ba Hammu* Arabs among whom I saw a black tent supported by a T-shaped post. Again, if we turn to the *Kunta* Arabs who live north of the Niger Bend, we find that they use for their tents skin sheets which they obtain from the Tuareg (cf. Geneviève 1950, p. 1125), and from one of my friends, a *Kunta* Arab living at Agadez, I obtained the information that the *Kunta* use a T-shaped post for their tents which are made of skin or canvas, though in very large tents they use two T-shaped posts.

*342 171 It is very interesting that an investigation of the distribution of T-shaped posts further north in Africa seems to indicate that this particular structure in black tents is found among the Arabs, but not among the Berbers. I have been told by the *Chamba* Arabs of Metlili that they use T-shaped posts in their black tents. Further north I have seen tents with a T-shaped post among Arabs who live in the central part of the Sahara Atlas. I may say that Lieutenant Millot, who has an intimate knowledge of the large pastoral Arab tribes *Rebaya* and *Ferjân* living around El Oued and the great sandy desert of Erg Oriental, told me personally that these Arabs use single T-shaped posts in their tents. We can add to this Feilberg's detailed investigation of black tent structures with a T-shaped post from Eastern Algeria, Tunisia, and from the *Ulad Ali* nomads (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 146). It is interesting to note that Feilberg has also found T-shaped posts in black tents among Arab pastoralists of Syria and Central Arabia (Feilberg 1944, p. 146).

*342 171 174 I am not going as far as to claim that the black tent was introduced to North Africa by the Arabs, though this may well be so (cf. Nicolaisen 1959, p. 119 ff.), but I think that the present extensive distribution of black tents in the Sahara must be due to them. This seems quite evident when we consider Feilberg's map of the distribution of black tents in Northern Africa, which also shows that the distribution of black tents is not limited to environment of a definite type (cf. Feilberg 1944, map II). Laoust long ago pointed out that black tent vocabulary in Morocco is derived largely from Arabic (Laoust 1930, p. 168 f.). This has later been emphasized even more by Delpy who thinks that all the present black tents of North Africa, including Mauretania, have been introduced by the Arabs. However that may be there is no doubt that Leo Africanus does not refer much to the use of black tents which have acquired their present wide distribution in Northern Africa later than the 16th century A.D. (cf. Delpy 1955, p. 15 f.).

*342 174 177 I conclude my analysis of Tuareg T-shaped structures by saying that this structure is foreign to

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



traditional Tuareg dwellings having been introduced by contact with the Arabs who use black tents. I believe this to be the most reasonable explanation, and I think that at all events there is one important factor which points to a connection between T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin-tents and similar posts in Arab black tents:— Where T-shaped posts are known to be a traditional type of dwelling, as in the case among the Northern Tuareg and the *Kel Denmark*, skin tents are always placed with the broad entrance side towards the south, which is also the tent orientation of the adjacent Northern Arabs with black tents. Where barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats form the predominant type of portable dwelling the orientation is different. This, anyway, is the case with the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Gerez* who live almost exclusively in barrel-vaulted mat tents which have the broad entrance side turned westwards. This difference in orientation can hardly be accidental. It rather points to a historical connection between the Tuareg groups who possess T-shaped structures and the Northern Arabs who own black tents. It may also be added that both among the Northern Arabs and the Northern Tuareg it is customary to divide the tent into two parts the left (western) ~~one being reserved~~ for the woman, the right (eastern) part for her husband.

Finally, the theory I have advanced about the origin of Tuareg T-shaped posts in skin tents seems to be substantiated by the distributions of other cultural traits mentioned in the previous chapter, for certain traits which seem to have been introduced by the Arabs, e.g., Arab riding saddles for women, seem to occur mainly where T-shaped posts are prevalent.

[text continues on p. 393]

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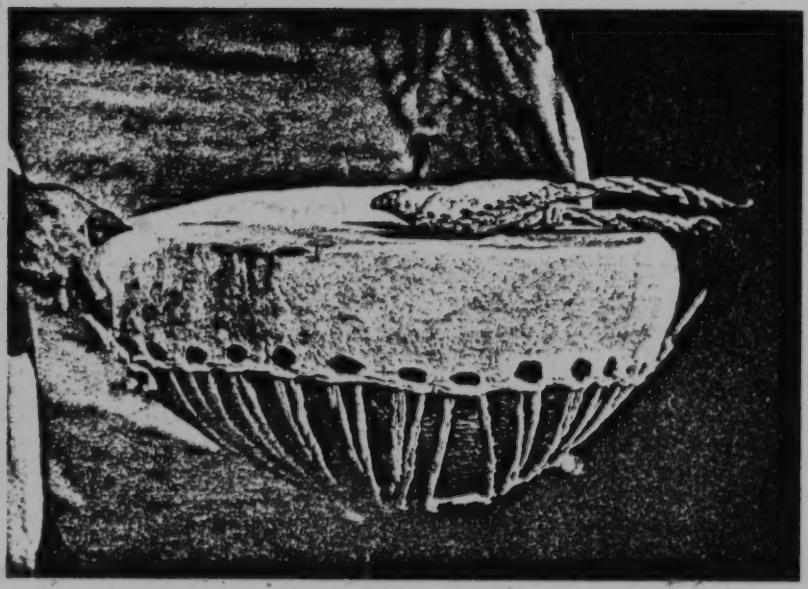

Fig. 285. The drum (*ettabel*) which is the only insignia of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. Similar drums are found in other Tuareg groups.

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# Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg

In the introductory chapter on the Tuareg I mentioned that they fall into a number of main groups. 181
These groups or federations constitute the largest political units and are the following:— the *Kel* 642
*Ahaggar*, the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Adrar*, the *Kel Ayr*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*, and the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*. The federation of *Kel Tadenaket* in the region of Timbuktu was subjected to the *Iwllemmeden Kel Atdram* from about A.D. 1800 (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). In this chapter I attempt to outline the structure of some of the federations, and to consider certain problems connected with their historical development.

The two groups of Northern Tuareg which are so intimately related to one another, both culturally 173
and linguistically, formed originally one large political group under the command of the very powerful 642
noble tribe, the *Imenan* in the region of Ganet. It was not only considered noble to a very high degree, 614
but it was very highly estimated because of its supposed relationship to the Prophet. Many noble 565
Tuareg to-day, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, will claim themselves to be *Echeberifen* through relationship to the ancient *Imenan*, whose leader was the supreme chief of all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer until about A.D. 1650 or somewhat later in the 17th century. The *Imenan* about that date [669]
lost their power owing to insurrections led by the powerful noble tribe, the *Uraren*. A Tuareg of this [643]
tribe killed the supreme chief named *Guma* and the leadership of the *Kel Ajjer* now passed over to the chief of the *Uraren*.

The political system of the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century has been described in some detail 175
by Duveyrier with particular reference to the *Kel Ajjer* among whom he lived in 1859 (cf. Duveyrier 64
1864). Among the authors who visited the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century Duveyrier is by far the most important, and his brief description of political organization is of particular value.

When the *Imenan* lost their supreme authority owing to the rising of the *Uraren*, they retained 643
their titles of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*), which are used for all descendants of the *Imenan*, their [649]
women even to-day being known as *Timenukalin* (sing. *Tamenukalt*). The chief of the *Imenan* was still "the *Amenukal*", a title used for supreme and independent chiefs of large politigal units. It is a word known to all Tuareg, and there have been some discussion about its proper meaning. The meaning according to Duveyrier is "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this interpretation is that generally followed by modern authors (e.g., Lhote 1955, p. 189; Blanguernon 1955, p. 47), though Foucauld does not go into the proper meaning of the word *Amenukal* but contents himself with the statement that it is the title of "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1213 f.). According to Prasse *Amenukal* is very probably a composit of

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643 *amenu* + (*a*)*kal*, "*amenu* of the country". The first part may be the now extinct sing. of *Imenan*, the original meaning of which is unknown ("princes"?); this agrees with Foucauld's statement that normally *Amenukal* is used as sing. of *Imenan*, meaning *iyen daɣ-Menan*" = "one of the *Imenan* tribe" (Frasse, verbal information). My own view is that though the title may perhaps refer to *akal* [423] meaning "land" it is to be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". It is evident, as pointed out recently by Briggs, that an *Amenukal* as a supreme chief does not own the land in any ordinary sense, but rather owns it as a representative of the whole community (cf. Briggs 1958, p. 88). However, many Tuareg of the south do not connect the word *Amenukal* with "*akal*", and even in the past when the supreme *Amenukal* of the *Imenan* reigned over the Northern Tuareg, he apparently did not have the supreme command of the whole country. When Duveyrier stayed among the *Kel*
173 *Ajjer*, the country of these Tuareg was divided between certain noble tribes. This division was said
631 to have taken place in the following way:— The first Tuareg who settled in Tasilé-n-Ajjer were the
614 *Imenan* and the *Ifoɣas*, while other tribes immigrated at a later date. It happened one day in the past that the supreme chief of the *Imenan* summoned the noble women who had sons with rights of succession to chieftainship, and to each of these women he alloted a particular territory as their apanage. Thus the noble woman of the *Uraɣen* tribe was given the valley of Iɣarɣaren, while the noble woman of the *Imanɣasaten* tribe gained the valley of Tekhammalt (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 323). According to this popular account the land of the *Kel Ajjer* was divided between noble tribes even at a time when
175 the supreme chief of the *Imenan*, the *Amenukal*, was the supreme ruler of the *Kel Ajjer*. In Duveyrier's
631 days the important land-holding tribes among the *Kel Ajjer* seem to have been the *Imenan* in the
614 Tasilé around Ganet, the *Uraɣen* north of the Tasilé Mountains around the valley of Iɣarɣaren, the *Imanɣasaten* east of the *Uraɣen*, and finally the *Ifoɣas* who lived in the region south and southwest of Radames. The *Ifoɣas* Tuareg were then, as to-day, held in high esteem because of their position [565] as *Inezlemen*. They also claimed themselves to be noble by origin. They had no vassals attached to them, but one of the *Ifoɣas* tribes had territorial rights around Radames, and it had the right to dues [651] from all foreign caravans passing through the country. Other land-holding tribes possessed the same rights for their particular territories, and their members (i.e., apparently their chiefs) at certain seasons camped around the caravan roads leading through their country to collect dues from caravan [643] traders (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff., 359 ff.). The *Kel Ajjer* country in Duveyrier's days was divided between various noble tribes, and the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Ajjer group*, the chief of the *Uraɣen*, had no rights over the whole country as such.

565 The noble Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* had rights over certain vassal tribes which did not necessarily
614 live within the territory of the noble tribe to which they were attached. Duveyrier tells us so much
642 of this vassalage that it is possible to outline the main structure of this very interesting political institution.

The noble tribes which had particular rights over vassals were the *Uraɣen*, the *Imenan*, and the *Imanɣasaten*. The last-mentioned tribe remained loyal to the ancient rulers of the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Imenan*, to whom they constituted a sort of armed guard in the past. The *Imanɣasaten* were in opposition to the *Uraɣen* but the latter tribe was very powerful because of its direct authority over most vassal tribes. In all 17 vassal tribes or tribal sections were commanded by the *Uraɣen*, while the *Imenan*,

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had five vassal tribes, and the *Imanṛasaten* only three. Four tribes were divided between the *Uraṛen* and the *Imenan*, and one vassal tribe was divided between all three noble tribes. 565 614 642

The *Imenan* in Duveyrier's days comprised only five men who lived like sedentary Arabs at Ganet and Ṛat; they held the titles of *Imenukalen*, and their chief was "*the Amenukal*" who still possessed the drum (*eṭṭebel*) as the symbol of his former power. But the *Imenan* had no political power, and Duveyrier says that they were not allowed to summon their vassals to war. The true political leader of the *Kel Ajjer* was the chief of the *Uraṛen* with the title of *Amṛar*, but he was not the most important person. The practical leader of all Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer was the famous Tuareg known as *Akhenukhen*, whom Duveyrier called *Emir*. He had not accepted the position as *Amṛar* because this would have obliged him to give up his nomadic life and take up residence in a house. *Akhenukhen* held the supreme political and judical authority not only over the particular vassals of the *Uraṛen*, for all Ajjer Tuareg also submitted to his orders. However, we know from Duveyrier's description that the other noble tribes had the right to engage in raiding expeditions on their own behalf supported by their individual vassals, and it was not always easy for *Akhenukhen* to keep order. However, as leader of the bulk of the vassal tribes which were loyal to their master, he could retain the dominant position of the *Uraṛen* tribe, and in difficult judical problems he was aided and supported by the religious leaders of the *Iforas* group. 643 614 721

The noble tribes of the *Kel Ajjer* were subdivided into tribal sections which had their particular vassals. It seems as if this division of vassalage was primarily an economic one. Thus the chief of the *Uraṛen* possessed the supreme political authority over all vassals attached to his tribe though he only had particular economic rights over part of them (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff. & Dubief 1956, p. 87). I revert to these important features of political systems among the Northern Tuareg in a more detailed account of political relations in Ahaggar. 565 614 613

## KEL AHAGGAR

The Ahaggar Tuareg became politically independent in the 17th century when the supreme chief *Guma* of the *Imenan* was killed and the power over the *Kel Ajjer* passed into the hands of the *Uraṛen*. The Ahaggar Tuareg may even then have obtained their own supreme chief, but we know almost nothing about this early period. The supreme chiefs of the Ahaggar Tuareg, who have the title of *Amenukal*, are known as far back as to about 1750 when the ruler was *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir*. During his reign the Ahaggar Tuareg became divided into three major groups centering around the noble tribes known as *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Tégehé Mellet*. These tribes divided the vassals between them. The *Taytoḳ* and the *Kel Ṛela* until then formed one single tribe, and their members even to-day claim to be matrilineally related as *ara-n-tuḥatin*, that is "persons descending from sisters", for the ancestress of the *Kel Ṛela*, by name *Kella*, and the ancestress of the *Taytoḳ*, whose name was *Sakina*, were in fact maternal cousins (cf. p. 140). The third noble tribe, *Tégehé Mellet*, to which vassals were allotted, is said to descend patrilineally from Arabs – perhaps from the *Chamba*. There were two other noble tribes among the Ahaggar Tuareg at this early date. One of them known 173 614 642 643 173 565 614 642

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173 as the *Ikadeyen* had no vassals and its members had apparently then as now a rather subordinate
565 position compared with other noble Tuareg. The noble tribe named *Kel-ahem-mellen*, which to-day
614 is of little importance and not very numerous, with some of its members settled in the oasis of
642 Inṛer in Tidikelt, seems to have had certain *Isekkemaren* tribes as its particular vassals, but they were later placed under the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytok*, and the *Tégehé Mellet*. The *Isekkemaren*, as we shall see below, had a political status somewhat different from that of the true vassals known to the Northern Tuareg as *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad*. The division of the vassals of this group during the reign of *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir* between the three noble tribes of *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytok*, and *Tégehé Mellet* is most interesting. When the vassals were divided between the three noble units it led to a division of some of the vassal tribes. Thus the *Ayt Lowayen* was divided into two between the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Tégehé Mellet* while the tribe known as *Imessiliten* was divided into the *Dag Ṛali* for the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Kel Ahnet* for the *Taytok*. It would have been easier to divide the vassals without splitting their tribes, but we may perhaps suggest that the tribes were split because they were already divided into groups of individual vassals under those who became independent noble tribes. When the division of vassals took place in the 18th century most went to the *Kel Ṛela*, but quite a number of tribes was also allotted to the *Taytok*, while the *Tégehé Mellet* tribe received so few that it could never become politically important.

When the vassals were divided between the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytok*, and the *Tégehé Mellet* these noble tribes became united into a sort of federation known as *tégehé*. The three tribes with their vassals formed
634 so-called drum-groups or *eṭṭebelen* (sing. *eṭṭebel*) with chiefs who had as their insignia a large drum
534 known as *eṭṭebel*. It was endowed with a particular mystic power; it should not be allowed to touch
[778] the ground and when the drum skin was worn, it had to be replaced by a famed warrior. The drum must be obeyed when beaten by the drum-chief to summon his subjects. The drum-chief was the supreme political and judical authority of a drum-group, and he could organize raids and wage war upon other groups. He also collected certain annual payments from his particular vassals. This was
631 true of the chiefs of all three drum-groups in Ahaggar. But within the federation of drum-groups
634 that of the *Kel Ṛela* held a prominent position. The drum-chiefs of the two other groups, the *Taytok*
643 and the *Tégehé Mellet*, only possessed the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaren*), which word is that generally used for a chief among the *Kel Ahaggar*, while the chief of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group had the title of *Amenukal* as the chief of the whole *tégehé* federation. Within every drum-group the drum-chief would ceremoniously install all chiefs of vassal tribes but the two drum-chiefs of *Taytok* and *Tégehé Mellet* were installed by the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* group. The *Amenukal* himself was installed in his
[565] office by a Tuareg from one of the *Isekkemaren* tribes of his own drum-group. When the *Amenukal* was installed, which ceremony nowadays takes place at Tamanṛaset, a Tuareg of the *Isekkemaren* class provided him with a large head-cloth. The installment ceremony, which is preserved to this day, was and is the same for any chief among the Ahaggar Tuareg. When a drum-chief was to install a vassal chief, the ceremony took place in the camp of the drum-chief; when the *Amenukal* had to install drum-chiefs of the two other groups the installation took place in the *Amenukal*'s camp.

The supreme position of the *Amenukal* appears from the rules governing the installation of chiefs, but as already mentioned, the *Amenukal* could not concern himself in all matters of the two other

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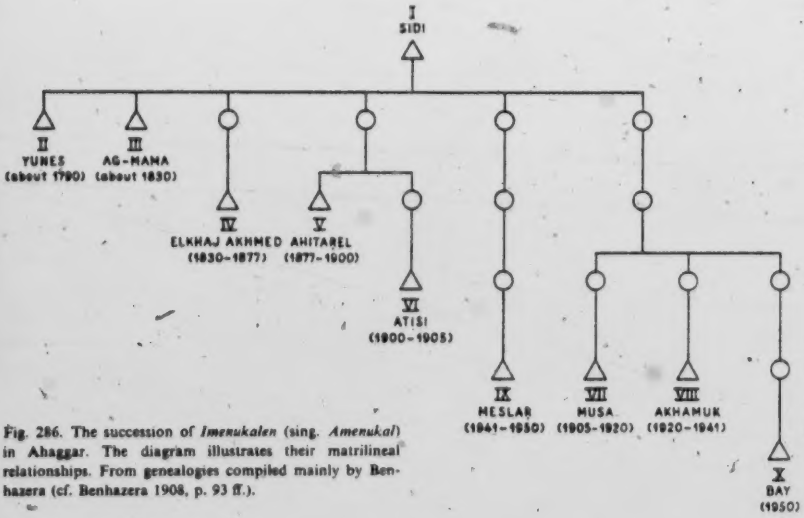


Fig. 286. The succession of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in Ahaggar. The diagram illustrates their matrilineal relationships. From genealogies compiled mainly by Benhazera (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 93 ff.).

drum-groups. The drum-chiefs alone were responsible for the election of vassal chiefs within their 631
groups. The two other drum-groups were largely independent of the *Amenukal*, though the latter 634
was considered the supreme judge in all matters which involved the whole federation, as he was the 643
supreme war leader when the three groups united to fight other groups. It seems as if the *Amenukal* also had a certain religious prestige, and even to-day he goes to the Cherif of Issilessekin once every summer to ask the Cherif to intercede for him with Allah that the rain may fall and the she-camels be fruitful (cf. Morel 1947, p. 129). But the position of the *Amenukal* was very far from that of a divine king. Throughout the 19th century there were long periods in which the two other drum-groups cared very little for the *Amenukal*'s authority, and the *Taytoḳ* and the *Kel Ṛela*, though related to each other, were for long periods engaged in mutual quarrels.

In discussing the position of the *Amenukal* as the supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg, we come 643
to the question whether he was the true owner or commander of the whole country inhabited by the 634
three drum-groups. On this question I have gathered much conflicting information. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* group, including the *Amenukal*, claim that in the past as at the present day the *Amenukal* had rights over the whole country of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while certain other Tuareg, including some old vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* group, say that the two other drum-groups possessed their own territories, the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ* holding all rights over the country of Ahnet with adjacent sections of the western lowland of Ahaggar where some of the *Taytoḳ* vassals lived. I believe that this latter explanation is true and that throughout the 19th century the *Amenukal* was only the

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## THE FEDERATION OF AHAGGAR TUAREG

(Size of tribes according to Lhote 1955a, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949.)

| | Noble tribes | | Vassal tribes | | *Isekkemaren* tribes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The *Kel Rela* Drum-Group | *Kel Rela* | 275 | *Dag Rali* | 386 | *Iheyawen Hada* | 253 |
| | | | *Ayt Loiwayen* | 400 | *Kel Inrer* | 176 |
| | | | *Aguh-en-tehlé* | 585 | *Kel Téfedest* | 61 |
| | | | *Relayddin* | 40 | *Kel Immidir* | 179 |
| | | | *Iklan-en-tawsit* | 500 | *Kel Tazulet* | 158 |
| | | | *Ibettenaten* | 129 | | |
| | | | *Iregenaten* | 435 | | |
| | To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble tribes, with the *Iforas* group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal tribes. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The *Kel Rela* women, like noble women of the *Uraren* (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and *Kel Ferwan* (Ayr), do not associate freely with people of other classes. | | These two tribes are not true vassals by origin. The *Ibettenaten* is said formerly to have had noble status and the *Iregenaten* descend matrilineally from the *Ibettenaten*, patrilineally from Arabs. | | The *Isekkemaren* tribes descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble *Kel-ahem-mellen* tribe. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the *Ulad Ba Hammu*, claims that they were originally their vassals. | |

643 territorial chief over the country inhabited by the vassals of the *Kel Rela* drum-group. He had the
634 right to dues from caravans passing through the territory of that drum-group, while further west
[651] such dues were given to the chief of the *Taytok* drum-group. He had the right to land rents from the vassals of his groups, while land rents further west in the *Taytok* country belonged to the drum-chief of the *Taytok* group.

643 To-day the *Amenukal* holds a very strong position as chief of the whole country of Ahaggar, and
[640] his power has been much augmented because the French govern the country through him. In the past the position of the *Amenukal* was a less powerful one. All Tuareg say that he was then not particularly strong, and there are many examples of the vassals of his own drum-group showing disobedient
[565] to him. The *Amenukal* had to be elected, and, contrary to what is often stated in literature on the subject, he was not elected by the noble Tuareg of his own tribe, though they had a certain influence, but by his vassals who also had the right to dismiss an *Amenukal* if dissatisfied with him. The *Amenukal* lived like other Tuareg and his sole insignia was the drum which followed him on journeys and served to summon his vassals.

643 We have mentioned above (p. 148 ff.) that the *Amenukal* even to-day receives a land-rent (*éhéré-*
651 *n-amadal*) from all tenants of the sub-areas of vassal tribal territories, and the rules of payments and

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| | Noble tribes | Vassal tribes | *Isekkemaren* tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| The *Taytoḳ* Drum-Group | *Taytoḳ* 33<br>There are hardly any Tuareg of pure *Taytoḳ* stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief *Mokhammed ag Mokhammed* who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The *Taytoḳ* and their vassals frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past. | *Kel Ahnet* 127<br>*Iwerweren* 47<br>*Tégehé-n-Efis* 127<br>*Ikuṭṭisen* 84<br>*Ikechchemoḍen* (now mixed with the *Dag Ṛali* tribe of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group).<br>*Iṛechchumen*<br>A tribe patrilineally related to the noble *Taytoḳ*, matrilineally to the vassal tribe of *Kel Ahnet*. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals. | *Kel I-n-tunin* (about 20 tents in 1938). |
| The *Tégehé-Mellet* Drum-Group | *Tégehé Mellet* 33 | *Kel Turha* (part of the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group). | *Kel Terurit* 62<br>*Kel Uhet* 70 |
| Noble Tribes Without Vassals | *Kel-ahem-mellen* | The *Isekkemaren* tribes are said formerly to have been vassals of this tribe | |
| | *Ikadeyen* | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | |

rights have been outlined. These payments were also made to the *Amenukal* by people of his drum- 643
group in the past, and then as now he received an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* from all vassal tribes. 651
The size of such *tiwsé* payments in the past is unknown, but they have no doubt varied from one
tribe to another as they do to-day. I describe in brief the *tiwsé* payments made by the two most im- 643
portant vassal tribes to illustrate this:— (1) The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe is divided into three sub-tribes 651
which make their *tiwsé* payments separately as follows: The *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe gives 600 kgs 614
of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kgs of butter. The man who brings this payment 613
to the *Amenukal* is rewarded with 15 metres of cotton. The *Isandan* sub-tribe gives 300 kgs of millet 565

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643 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man
651 bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Arefsa* sub-tribe its collective
614 payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Ṛali* tribe pays *tiwsé* as follows:—
613 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads,
565 are given to the chief of the *Dag Ṛali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*. – All vassal tribes of the *Kel Ṛela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Amenukal*, and this also applies to the *Isekkemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwsé*, are in fact tokens of vassalage,
[634] and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as drum-chief of the *Kel Ṛela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to their particular drum-chiefs.

643 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his
634 drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war booty taken by his
565 vassals. This right was known as *abellag*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal
[614] kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in the tribe to which the deseased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138). As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief
[614] within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels on the latter's death.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*edduiyet*)
634 among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151).
681 Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance,
[684] he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly
[682] the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth
[614] paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. When the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid.
[683] For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and
[178] such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished
[648] by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he had in the past.

178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

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considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Rali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916–17, the drum-group of the *Kel Rela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Rela* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amrar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Rela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* and *Taytoḳ* tribes might also receive *tiwsé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Adrar* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Tédalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given him a similar payment for protection.

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him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal* were raided by people of his drum-group, the *Amenukal* had the right to a tribute named *ennehet* which according to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amenukal*'s drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the *Amenukal* to whom they paid *tiwsé* for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347 f.).

The drum-group (*eṭṭebel*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The federation (*téġehé*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship (*tehandezzit*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is true notably of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar. People of the *Dag Ṛali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group joke with the tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The word "*Isekkemaren*" means literally "people who lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg and true vassals, who say that the *Isekkemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals will joke with the *Isekkemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the vassal tribe *Aġuh-en-tehlé* and the *Isekkemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed between *Aġuh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Isekkemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* Tuareg come to the *Isekkemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the *Isekkemaren* visiting the *Aġuh-en-tehlé*. The *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relationship to the noble *Kel Ṛela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Ṛela* engage in sham-fights (*tebbillant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between the *Kel Ṛela* and the vassal *Aġuh-en-telhé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between *Isekkemaren* and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Isekkemaren* tribes (*Iheyawen Hada, Kel Tazulet*) and the *Aġuh-en-tehlé tribe*. Wedding feasts in these *Isekkemaren* tribes are most popular with young men of the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Isekkemaren* girls. Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages, if any, while this was not so in the *Taytok* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between

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noble Tuareg and vassals. It would seem as if these mixed marriages had a political function as they served to reinforce the solidarity within the drum-group in view of its opposition to the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group and the *Amenukal*. In consequence of these marriages the political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Taytok* drum-group was in the past much influenced by rules of kinship behaviour, and the payments due to the drum-chief from vassals were less comprehensive than in the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group. 634 565 571 614 [602]

*The Kel Ṛela* drum-group was divided into minor relationships between noble Tuareg and vassals. These relationships were known as *temaẓlayt*, that is literally "the root of the nail". They have almost ceased to exist, and consequently they are very difficult to describe. However, it is possible to outline their organization and main functions. They were structurally akin to the drum-group, as they were matrilineally organized. A noble Tuareg who had rights over certain vassals would be succeeded by a maternal kinsman, and in a group of vassals right and obligations would equally follow matrilineal rules. A *temaẓlayt* relationship was a relationship between a small noble matrilineage with a particular leader and a larger matrilineage of vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class. The noble matrilineage that was attached to a definite group of vassals would not necessarily correspond with the matrilineal core within a section, for there were comparatively many noble Tuareg in the *Kel Ṛela* tribe who were leaders of *temaẓlayt* groups. This is shown by Benhazera's investigations, which took place at a time when the ancient political system of the Ahaggar Tuareg still retained most of its traditional functions. At that time there were at least ten noble Tuareg who were commanders of *temaẓlayt* groups (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.). 634 565 571 613 [178]

There are certain traces of *temaẓlayt* organizations even to-day. The token of this relationship is the payment of an annual due known as *tiwsé* from a group of vassals to the *temaẓlayt* master.

Apparently some vassals who made *tiwsé* payments to a noble *temaẓlayt* master did not make this payment also to their drum-chief (the *Amenukal*). Thus to-day the *Ayt Lqwayen* tribe makes an annual *tiwsé* payment to *Maṛli agg Amayas* of the *Kel Ṛela* section named *Inembo Kel-Emeṛṛi*, but gives no *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal Bay*, who belongs to the *Iboglan* section of the same tribe, though the land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) is always paid to the *Amenukal*. I was also told by the *Kel Ṛela Khalifa* of Tamesna, who belonged to the *Iboglan* section, that he had the right to collect the *tiwsé* payment from the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, but as he was now living outside of Ahaggar this payment was made by the *Isandan* to the *Amenukal*. However, I believe that in the past most vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class made *tiwsé* payments both to their individual *temaẓlayt* masters and to the *Amenukal*. This would also seem to be in agreement with Foucauld's description of *temaẓlayt* relations (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1965).

A noble *temaẓlayt* master had no judicial authority over his individual vassals, and could not summon them to war and raiding against their will. These rights belonged to the drum-chief, consequently in the *Kel Ṛela* group, to the *Amenukal*. The obligations of a noble *temaẓlayt* master towards his vassals were mainly to protect them against raids by and exploitation of other noble Tuareg who formed a class of warriors and raiders roaming the country for enemies and for booty. A *temaẓlayt* master had the right to organize raids with the support of his vassals, if they were interested, and the vassals were also allowed to carry out raids on their own behalf, but in both cases half of the booty (*abellaẓ*) taken by 634 565 571 613 721

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634 vassals was given to the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) and not to the *temaẓlayt* master. However, should
565 a vassal Tuareg have borrowed for raiding a riding camel from his *temaẓlayt* master or another noble
571 Tuareg, they received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty remaining when
613 one half had been given to the *Amenukal*.
721

565 The noble Tuareg possessed many advantages over their individual vassals. They could apparently
571 claim almost what they wanted for their subsistence, and frequently camped close to their vassals who then were obliged to feed them, and when in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take such animals from their vassals (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). Similar information is given by Benhazera, but he states that the vassals in the past would not necessarily supply everything demanded by their noble lords (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The vassals were under a particular obligation to provide the noble Tuareg with goat-breeding products, and if they had milk yielding she-camels the noble Tuareg could claim these animals until milk-yielding stopped. But the vassals had also many advantages from the *temaẓlayt* relationships. They were not only protected by their lords. The noble Tuareg would leave behind the animals they could not take with them when roaming in the desert, and noble Tuareg never had much livestock with them in their camps. It was also of great importance to the vassals that they could use their masters camels for caravan trading. On the whole the system was not exclusively the exploitation of vassals by the noble Tuareg, and it can be added that the vassal Tuareg were always more numerous than the noble Tuareg, that the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) was elected by the vassals, and that he alone had judicial rights. The system was one of give and take to both classes involved, and there can be little doubt that it was well adapted to practical ecological conditions.

233 In Ahaggar, camels and goats are very complementary to each other. The camel supplies the Tuareg
433 with milk, but with very few other products, and the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-
[234] camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important
[262] as food, but it is not well-fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg kill camels to
[281] utilize their meat only when many people congregate, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, for tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the
[437] camels have little direct economic value. But for raiding in the past, camels were very valuable riding animals, and were then, as now, extremely important for caravan trading which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic rôle of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive
[234] part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese
[262] which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore, goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

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Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without 233
camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to 433
the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays, as in the past, base their economy mainly on camels and goats.
I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats and their [262]
vegetable food from caravan trading with the aid of camels.

Formerly, the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned 565
exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but 233
he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). It is, however, confirmed 422
by many Tuareg that the vassals originally had no camels, and that throughout the 19th century they 571
had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals, and even to-day goats and butter form part of the *tiwsé*-payments. The noble Tuareg, on the other hand, allowed their particular vassals to trade with their camels against the payment of a certain amount of vegetable food products which to-day also form part of most *tiwsé*-payments. They allowed their vassals also to have usufructs of such animals as could not be taken with them on their migrations. Noble Tuareg of to-day continue to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts of the vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they obtain part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops; this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. The noble Tuareg of to-day may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals, who can refuse any gift or [178]
service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are even noble Tuareg who wear amulets which are [289]
believed to induce vassals to donate the things required.

It would seem that the economic relationships forming the basis of the Tuareg political system in 174
the north would arise so to speak automatically from two distinct cultures which met each other in 565
the desert: a camel-breeding culture of a Berber-speaking people now known as the noble Tuareg, and a goat-breeding culture of an ancient Berber-speaking population which now constitutes the vassals.

Some Tuareg traditions seem to indicate that political systems based on class-division arose in this 173
way in the north, but we have to admit that other traditions contradict this. Below I attempt to 565
elucidate Tuareg history in Ahaggar by means of native traditions to which, for practical reasons, I allot definite numbers.

*Tradition A.* All Tuareg have a common origin as they descend from a woman named *Lemtuna*, who is also the ancestress of certain Berbers living around Ṛadamas in Tripolitania. Most Berbers of Morocco descend from *Lemtuna*'s sister who became the ancestress of the *Beraber*. This tradition is widely known in Ahaggar.

*Tradition B.I.* This tradition is a very common explanation of the origin of the class-division in Ahaggar: Long ago two Islamic women of the *Beraber* immigrated to the oasis of Silet from Tafilelt in Morocco. One of these women named *Ti-n-Hinan* was noble while the other woman named *Takama*

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173 was the servant girl of *Ti-n-Hinan*. These two women settled in Ahaggar which was almost uninhabited.
565 But in the mountainous parts of the country there lived a pagan people named *Isebeten*, who were goat-breeders and hunters. *Ti-n-Hinan* settled at the oasis of Abalessa not far from Silet, and she was buried in a huge tomb close to Abalessa, while her servant-girl *Takama* was buried in a small tomb not far from the tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan*.

*Ti-n-Hinan* became the ancestress of the two noble tribes *Kel Rela* and *Taytok* who are matrilineally related. According to traditions collected by Benhazera, it seems as if two other noble tribes, namely *Kel-ahem-mellen* and *Tégehé Mellet* also descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* (Benhazera 1908, p. 90 ff.). This disagrees with my own information and also with that of Foucauld (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 536). The two latter tribes are said to be of different origin, while the noble Tuareg of the *Iwllemmeden* descend from *Ti-n-Hinan*'s younger brother.

*Takama* had two daughters, the elder of whom became the ancestress of the noble tribe *Ihadanaren* who now live mainly in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, though a few individuals camp in Ahaggar. The tribe is considered noble but has never had vassals. The younger daughter of *Takama* became the ancestress of the two vassal tribes the *Dag Rali* and the *Ayt Lowayen*, and also of the *Kel Ahnet* which was originally united with the *Dag Rali*.

The tradition of the descent of noble Tuareg and vassals from *Tin-n-Hinan* and *Takama* as outlined above is admitted as true among most Ahaggar Tuareg, though the vassals claim that *Takama* was the younger sister of *Ti-n-Hinan* and not her servant-girl. And they claim that the superior position of the noble tribes is due to this fact, as any person must always pay respect towards elder brothers and sisters.

The tradition is told in a somewhat expanded edition by Foucauld:— After the immigration of *Ti-n-Hinan* and *Takama* their descendants who then constituted the tribes of *Kel Rela*, *Dag Rali*, and *Ayt Lowayen* lived in Ahaggar alone for a very long time. They were very few in number and had no camels. They subsisted mainly by goat-breeding and hunting. They never travelled outside Ahaggar, and had no knowledge of other places such as Tidikelt, Ayr, and Adrar of the Iforas. It then happened that the two noble tribes *Kel-ahem-mellen* and *Tégehé Mellet* penetrated into Ahaggar. They conquered and burned down the agricultural settlement of Ennedid which was a centre of the *Dag Rali* tribe. The *Dag Rali* Tuareg then assembled at the village of Tahart to fight their invading enemies. They succeeded in killing most of the *Kel-ahem-mellen* and *Tégehé Mellet* Tuareg and took their camels. From then onwards the Ahaggar Tuareg became camel-breeders, began to travel outside of Ahaggar, and grew in number (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 536).

*Tradition B.II.* A variation of the tradition about the origin of the Ahaggar Tuareg from *Ti-n-Hinan* and *Takama* has been recorded by Lehureaux as follows:— *Ti-n-Hinan* came from Tafilelt to Ahaggar riding on a white camel and accompanied by her faithful companion *Takama* and a certain number of slaves. From their homeland, the country of the *Beraber*, they had brought with them many loads of dates and millet. But the road to Ahaggar was a very long one, and the caravan became seriously threatened by hunger. However, one day *Takama* discovered a great many ant hills, and assisted by the slave women she collected all the seeds which the ants had stored. *Takama* gave these seeds to *Ti-n-Hinan* who remained sitting on her camel as she was of noble descent. By means of these

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seeds the caravan was able to arrive in Ahaggar. In order to commemorate this event the *Dag Rali* 173
and the *Kel Ahnet*, who descend from *Takama*, each year give a fixed tribute of seeds or dates to the 565
noble Tuareg who descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* (cf. Lehureaux 1929; Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.).

The stories about the origin of certain noble Tuareg from *Ti-n-Hinan* and the descent of the oldest vassal clans from *Takama* are traditions which seem to be created to justify the class-division and the supremacy of the noble Tuareg. The events narrated in the two variations of this tradition are contradictory. According to the tradition quoted by Foucauld, the noble Tuareg descending from *Ti-n-Hinan* had no camels when they arrived in Ahaggar, whereas that recorded by Lehureaux states that their ancestress came to Ahaggar riding on a camel. As to this I may say that all noble Tuareg I have questioned have claimed that they have always been camel owners.

The *Ti-n-Hinan* traditions bear the stamp of myth and they seem to have originated among the noble Tuareg. It is an interesting fact that the tombs near Abalessa, which according to the tradition 172
should contain the bodies of *Ti-n-Hinan* and *Takama*, at their excavation actually contained the skeletal 173
remains of two europid women. The so-called tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan* is in fact not so much a tomb as an enormous fort built of stone and containing several graves. The building is about 26×24 metres but of irregular shape. Its height is estimated to have been about 4 metres. In the interior of the building there are *tifinar* inscriptions and engravings. Around the tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan* there are several small stone graves of the so-called "chouchet" type which contained skeletal remains of men, women, and children. About 200 metres from *Ti-n-Hinan*'s tomb there is a smaller tomb which appears to have been very simple and of the "chouchet" type. This according to tradition is the tomb of *Takama*. There seem to be little doubt that the monument as well as its surrounding tombs are pre-Islamic. It is also very likely that it has been erected by Berber-speaking peoples, and it was perhaps used as a station for caravans crossing the Sahara from the Mediterranean to the Sudan. The archaeological finds show a mixture of Roman artifacts from the 4th century A.D., and Sudanese articles. Reygasse, who has described the fort and its finds in detail, has also collected a tradition in Ahaggar according to which the fort was erected by a *rumi* named *Joluta* who lived in Ahaggar somewhat before the introduction of Islam (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.). Though the *Ti-n-Hinan* monument was probably erected by a Berber-speaking people who dominated Ahaggar, we cannot be so sure that its founders were the ancestors of the noble Tuareg. We must again bear in mind that the *Ti-n-Hinan* tradition 173
contains a strong mythical element, and that traditions and truth are often different things. To-day it is widely said in Ahaggar that *Ti-n-Hinan* is the ancestress of the noble Tuareg and the French. It 648
seems that this tradition derives from a French non-commissioned officer. The Frenchman related it to please the Tuareg and to create a bond between the Tuareg and the French. At all events we cannot accept the *Ti-n-Hinan* tradition as truth, and will now consider certain other traditions regarding the origin of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

*Tradition C.I.* This tradition is in circulation mainly among the vassals. It is as follows:— 173

The oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were a people called *Isebeten* who are also mentioned in the B.I. 565
tradition. They were pagans who lived in a very primitive fashion. They had no proper tents and natural caves in the mountains were their normal habitations. They subsisted mainly by hunting barbary sheep and by goat-breeding, and used donkeys as beasts of burden. Foucauld mentions a

173 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Fou-
565 cauld 1951-52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day.
[172] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten* people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides, two men known as *Mokhammed ag-Kerku* and *Ĕmenni ag-Khedidda*, both members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* claim that their tribe descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten* formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Ṛali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten* were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and introduced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient *Isebeten* contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much
[551] difficulty. For the word *Ĕsebet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending from the woman *Ĕsebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had
[114] a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Ṛali*
[428] tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a, p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent
614 conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are
565 known by the name *Kel Ulli*, that is "the goat people", or by the name *Imṛad* which perhaps also refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *ṛreyd* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas
[433] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly
[224] important to the *Dag Ṛali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this ancient people.

173 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ*, said to descend from
565 *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Beraber*, and that they were Islamic. The claim that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyound doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Isamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

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My arguments in favour of the theory that the noble tribes now dominant in Ahaggar are not the oldest noble Tuareg of that area are the following:— 174 565

(1) The small noble tribe *Ikadeyen*, which to-day comprises very few persons who live mainly as sedentary agriculturists around the cultivation centre of Tit in Ahaggar, is said to have lived in Ahaggar before the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes. Some Tuareg say that the *Ikadeyen* are as old in Ahaggar as the *Isebeten*, and it is most interesting that the *Dag Rali* Tuareg, who descend from the *Isebeten*, pay at each marriage in their tribe a tribute corresponding to 50 kilos of millet or dates to the *Ikadeyen*. This custom is quite unusual and it may perhaps point towards an ancient vassal relationship between the *Dag Rali* (descending from the *Isebeten*) and the *Ikadeyen*. If this is so the vassalage has apparently been different from that prevailing in Ahaggar nowadays and more akin to that of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr, where part of the bride-wealth is given to noble chiefs. It is interesting to note that the *Ikadeyen* Tuareg are said to be "only a little *Ihaggaren*", or to be "*Ihaggaren* but not true *Ihaggaren*". 571 614

(2) The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) as a term for the social class here referred to as "noble Tuareg", seems to be peculiar to the Northern Tuareg. In other Tuareg groups the so-called noble class is known by the term *Imajeren* (sing. *Amajeɣ*), or related terms. Nicolas says that this term refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188 f.). The corresponding word in Northern Tuareg dialect is *Imuhaɣ* (sing. *Amahaɣ*), which is used for all true Tuareg including the vassals. It has generally been accepted that this word derived from the verb *aheɣ* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318; Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674), but Prasse has recently informed me that it is a deformation of *amazir* known in Northern Berber as "free man; Berber". The Foucauld hypothesis that it should be a verbal adjective of *aheɣ* must be discarded, the *h* of this verb being original (Prasse, verbal information) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 457–462). 174 565 [184]

The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) is different. According to the Tuareg it is just a name, and it is very possible that Foucauld is right in claiming that it is identical with the word *Hawwara*, which was the name of an ancient Berber-speaking population of North Africa (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533 f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory is pure speculation (Nicolas 1953b, p. 14). This, however, is not correct, as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds, as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *w* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *w* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

If we can consider *Hawwara* and *Ihaggaren* as identical words and thus assume a relationship between the dominant noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and the ancient Berber-speaking people known as *Hawwara*, we must look for further information about the latter people who are frequently mentioned in Arab historical documents of the Middle Ages. Ibn Khaldun in particular has written about the *Hawwara*, who are described as nomads and sedentary people who live mainly in the regions of Tunisia, Tripolitania, and Cyrenaica, though tribes belonging to the *Hawwara* groups are also found outside this area to the east and west. The *Hawwara*, according to Ibn Khaldun, came under Arab influence at a very early date, and were conquered by the Arabs as early as the 9th century A.D. In Ibn Khaldun's days the *Hawwara* people were entirely dominated by the Arabs and were the vassals of Arabs of the *Beni Sulaym* group. They spoke Arabic and were culturally indistinguishable from the Arabs. But according to Ibn Khaldun some of the pastoral *Hawwara* at very early date migrated 174 175 565

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174 175 525 southwards to settle close to the *Lemta* Tuareg. The *Hawwara* descent of these people is indicated by their name *Heggar*. For the letter *w* in the name *Hawwara* has changed into a sort of *k* with a pronunciation something between a soft and a guttural *k* (cf. Ibn Khaldun I, p. 275 ff.). Thus we see that the theory set forth by Foucauld about the connection between the *Hawwara* and the *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) was advanced much earlier by Ibn Khaldun.

It is interesting to note that though he recognizes a certain relationship between the *Hawwara* and the large Tuareg groups Ibn Khaldun does not as a rule mention the *Hawwara* as belonging to the veiled Tuareg. There are many different and contradicting genealogical views of the origin of the *Hawwara*. It seems as if Ibn Khaldun accepts the explanation given by Ibn Hazm: All Tuareg groups and the *Hawwara* descend from an ancestress named *Tizki*. But the *Hawwara* are not patrilineally related to these large Tuareg groups; they descend from *Hawwar* and through him from an ancestor named *Awrir* (cf. Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 169). It is remarkable that the word *Awrir*, which in the form of *Awrira* is also used by Ibn Khaldun as a name of a Berber tribe in the Fezzan, is identical with *Uraren* – the name of the principal noble tribe among the *Kel Ajjer* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

Of the other Tuareg groups Ibn Khaldun says that they have lived in the desert since immemorial times. The principal groups mentioned are:—

*Gedala* belonging to the large *Ṣanhaja* division. They lived in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Dwi-Ḥasan* of *Makil* root living around Sous in Southern Morocco.

*Lemtuna* and *Wenziga* in the desert south of the Arab tribes *Dwi-Manṣur* and *Dwi-Ubayd-Allah* – tribes of *Makil* root living in Morocco.

*Mesnifa* in the desert south of an Arab tribe named *Zorba* living in the central Maghreb.

*Lemta* living in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Riah* in Eastern Algeria (Zab, Bougie, Constantine).

*Targa* living in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Sulaym* in Ifrikia, that is Tunisia and adjacent parts of Tripolitania (cf. Ibn Khaldun II, p. 104 f.).

The country of the Northern Tuareg in Ibn Khaldun's days was inhabited by two main groups of Tuareg known as *Lemta* and *Targa*. This is confirmed by Leo Africanus who, however, states that the *Targa* live west of *Lemta* as opposed to Ibn Khaldun, who says that the *Lemta* formed the westermost group. The two groups, according to Leo, also occupy the country south of the present territory of Northern Tuareg so that Ayr belonged to the *Targa* group (cf. Leo Africanus p. 797 ff.) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 330 ff.). As to the *Hawwara* Berbers, they are mentioned by Leo in the original Italian edition as *Aoara*, in the English translation as *Haoari* or *Hacari*. They are not mentioned as forming part of the People of the Veil, but as tent-dwelling pastoral Moors living in the northern desert and speaking Arabic though corruptly (Leo Africanus p. 130 ff., note (14) p. 205 f.).

It is most interesting that the words *Targa* and *Lemta*, which have now disappeared as names of Tuareg groups, are mentioned not only by Arab authors but are also found on European Maps of North Africa from the 16th and the 17th centuries. We have the word *Targa* situated in the central or southern part of the Sahara on the *Africae Tabula Nova* of Ortelius (1570). We have the word *Targa* in the Northern Sahara and the word *Lempta* towards the south-east of it in the Central Sahara on the *Africae Nova Descriptio* of Blaeu (1665) (cf. Bovill 1958, maps III & IV p. 113 & 132), and we have both names occurring on a map produced by Dapper in the same century (cf. Dapper 1670, p. 1).

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We mentioned in the introductory chapter that the word "*Tuareg*" seems to be derived from the word "*Targa*" or *Targa*", which latter word nowadays is used for the desert country also known by the Arab word, the "Fezzan". Foucauld says that the word "*Tuareg*" to the Arabs of Tidikelt has two distinct meanings, namely (1) "noble Tuareg", and (2) "Tuareg of all classes". He also says that the Berber-speaking population of Tawat and Tidikelt use the word *Ilemtiyen* synonymously with the word "Tuareg" used by the Arabs of the same area, and that the name *Ilemtéyen* is used for a small tribe of Tuareg living in the *Kel Aljer* territory (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533 f.). It is noteworthy that the *Ilemtéyen* tribe, which is not very numerous nowadays when its members live as sedentary agriculturists near Rat, is noble by descent, and I was told by the *Amenukal Bay* in Ahaggar that the *Ilemtéyen* tribe is not related to the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes but descends from an ancestor named *Lemta*.

In other words the following theory on the origin of the class division and the political systems among the Northern Tuareg might perhaps be justified:— We accept the tradition that the class-division originated as a result of an invasion of Berber-speaking camel-breeders, that these people introduced the camel into the Sahara, and became the first noble Tuareg in the North. These first noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tassilé-n-Ajjer belonged to the group *Lemta*. The noble Tuareg who to-day form the dominant noble tribes in the north came later; they descend from the *Hawwara* Berbers, who very early came under Arab and Islamic influence and took up grazing grounds in the country of the Northern Tuareg at a later date which cannot be fixed precisely.

## TUAREG INVASIONS INTO AYR

The connection between the Mediterranean and the Sudan by means of caravans through the Sahara is of very great, but unknown, age. Caravans have crossed the Sahara as far back as history reaches (cf. Bates 1914, p. 101 ff.; Bovill 1958, p. 24). At the beginning donkeys and oxen were probably used as beasts of burden, and the latter animals were employed also as draught animals for carriages, as were horses at a later date (cf. Lhote 1953a, p. 1138–1228). With the introduction of the camel, caravan trading through the desert was no doubt highly intensified. For although donkeys and also oxen can cross the Sahara in winter without much difficulty, camels are better suited to desert journeys.

The first Tuareg who came to Ayr may perhaps have been caravan traders attracted by the excellent gracing grounds of this country. When they arrived we do not know, but it seems possible to follow in broad outline the history of the Ayr Tuareg a thousand years back in time, and to distinguish between several invasions. However, it must be admitted that the invasions cannot be precisely dated and that our historical knowledge is on the whole most fragmentary. It is derived partly from oral tradition, partly from written historical sources, among which the so-called *Agadez Chronicle* is of particular value. It consists of various Arabic manuscripts in the care of the Sultan of Agadez. They have been published in translation and abstracts (Palmer 1910, 1928, 1936; Urvoy 1934). Several authors have made valuable contributions to the history of the Ayr Tuareg (Barth 1857–58, I; Rodd 1926a, 1926b, 1938; Palmer 1936; Urvoy 1936; Nicolas 1950a, 1950b). But there have been an excessive tendency to speculation upon the basis of superficial resemblances between tribal words.

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174 To my mind, the best general account of the history of the Ayr Tuareg, is given by Urvoy whom I
175 follow in outline.

We do not know when the first Tuareg came to the Sahara, but as early as the 7th century A.D. extensive migrations of pastoral Berbers, including the two important tribal groups of *Lemta* and *Zaṛawa*, passed through the desert. The *Lemta* settled around the Niger and gave rise to the *Sonṛay* Empire, while the *Zaṛawa* reached the Lake Tchad country where the state of Kanem-Bornu was created. At this time pastoral Berbers also arrived in Ayr where new states were created. The name of one of them is known, namely the *Hausa* state of *Gobeṛ* or *Gobir* which existed in Ayr up to the 12th century A.D.

New invasions took place in the following centuries. The ancestors of the tribes of *Igdalen* (now in Tegama and Damergu south of the Massif) and *Iberkhuréyn* (now in Azawaṛ north of Tawa) have probably immigrated before the year 1000 A.D. as may also be the case with the *Kel Tamgak* in Northern Ayr. The great age of the *Igdalen* and the *Kel Tamgak* is recognized by all Ayr Tuareg to-day.

The arrival in North Africa of the Arab bedouins known as *Beni Hilal* and *Beni Sulaym*, who invaded the Tuareg countries of Tripolitania and the Fezzan (cf. Ibn Khaldun, I, p. 134 ff.), had the result that many Tuareg tribes migrated southwards to Ayr. Among them was a group of seven tribes (*Itésen*, *Ijadaranein* [probably the *Ihaḍanaren*], *Ifadalen*, *Tamakwat*, *Tamga'azellet*, *Iza'aran*, and *Ibrazwen*) descending from daughters of one and the same mother. The *Itésen* tribe had as its particular ancestress the eldest daughter. The tribes were united into a sort of federation also known as *Itésen* because its supreme chief, named *Aṛumbulu*, was elected from this tribe. The *Itésen* group settled in Central Ayr, where for a long time it held an extremely powerful position. At a certain date a group named *Immikitan* was separated from the *Itésen* federation to form an independent or semi-independent political unit with its own chief named *Emekki*. Tuareg of *Itésen* and *Immikitan* stocks are nowadays very few in number and mainly live in the savannah south of the Massif, where most of them took refuge owing to wars with later immigrants. However, remnants of these ancient Tuareg tribes are still found in the central parts of the Ayr Massif where they lead a semi-sedentary life. It seems as if the *Itésen* and the *Immikitan* at a very early date became attached to the small agricultural centres of Ayr. Many stone ruins throughout Ayr are ascribed to the *Itésen*, who are said also to have lived at Agadez which originally was a small village of stone houses inhabited by them.

According to tradition the *Itésen* Tuareg came from the oasis of Awjila in Libya, and we may assume that they have immigrated from Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, or adjacent parts of northern desert. The group of Tuareg known as the *Kel Geres* are, according to some traditions, related to the *Itésen*. They are said also to have come from Awjila. However, it seems as if the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres* have immigrated to Ayr at different times, and that the *Kel Geres* came later. According to Urvoy they invaded Ayr at a time between the 12th and the 14th century (cf. Urvoy 1936).

At the end of the 14th century both the *Kel Geres* and the *Itésen* came under the pressure of Tuareg invaders known as the *Kel Ewey*, who are said to have had Awjila as their original homeland like the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres*. They fought these two groups and in particular the *Kel Geres* who lived in Central Ayr around Anu Meḳḳeren. As a result of this the *Kel Geres* finally left Ayr in the 18th century to take up grazing grounds in the region of Madawa of the Nigerian borderlands. They still live in

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these regions and are now extremely rich in stock, though they are said to have had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr for the southlands in the 18th century. 174 175

The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg who probably came to Ayr in the 14th century took up grazing grounds in Central and Eastern Ayr. There were originally seven tribes of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, and five of these still exist. Like the *Iḥesen* and most other Tuareg, these tribes claim descent from a common ancestress. But the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg have largely mixed with the negroid village population which is also now known as *Kel Ewey*, and there are very few fair-skinned pastoralists among them nowadays. Barth mentions that the true *Kel Ewey* tribes are related to the very powerful tribe of *Uraṛen* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372).

As to the origin of the noble nuclei of the two important drum-groups of *Kel Ferwan* and *Kel Faday*, the date of their arrival is most difficult to determine. The name of the *Kel Ferwan* is derived from the village of Iferwan in the north (*Kel Ferwan* = "the people of Iferwan") but they were nevertheless true nomads who originally lived in Northern Ayr. Urvoy thinks that they came to Ayr at the same time as the *Kel Ewey* or somewhat later, and that they lived in Northern Ayr around Iferwan until the 17th century when they moved southwards to the region of Agadez. But this statement is not in agreement with traditions I have collected in Ayr. It is perhaps not to be taken very seriously that all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they came to Ayr before other Tuareg groups, but the present Sultan *Umar* of Agadez says that all Tuareg groups now living in Ayr had arrived in the country when the sultanry was established in the year 1405 A.D., at which time the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg lived at Tafadek north of Agadez. There are different traditions about the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. One mentioned by Urvoy claims Egypt as their homeland; this probably implies immigration from or via the Fezzan (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). Barth says they are related to the *Uraṛen* (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 385). According to my own investigations they came from a country situated towards the east or northeast, or from Awjila, but there are also many Tuareg of this group who claim that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg originally lived in Ahaggar as close kinsmen to the dominating *Kel Ṛela* tribe of that region. Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg will even go so far as to hold that even after their arrival in Ayr they continued to intermarry with the *Kel Ṛela* of Ahaggar. According to Nicolas their ancestress is named *Tadawelt* (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474), while I have been told her name was *Sabenas*. [103]

As to the origin of the *Kel Faday*, their name is derived from a mountainous part of Northern Ayr. According to Urvoy they migrated southwards towards the south-west to the region of Ingal, where they took up grazing grounds at the end of the 18th century (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). The *Kel Faday* Tuareg are said to be related to the *Taytok* of Ahaggar (Duveyrier 1864, p. 322; Urvoy 1936, p. 150; Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Barth however is of the opinion that they came from different regions but in particular from Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 384).

Among the latest Tuareg immigrants are to be mentioned the *Kel Tamat* who came possibly three or four centuries ago. Urvoy mentions Ahaggar as their homeland (Urvoy 1936, p. 150), while Nicolas says they are related to the *Uraṛen* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471). Even later came the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who in Ayr attached themselves to the *Kel Tamat*. According to Urvoy they came from Ahaggar (Urvoy 1936, p. 151), according to Nicolas they descend partly from the *Taytok* of Ahaggar, partly from the *Imanṛasaten* and the *Uraṛen* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Tuareg of the *Ikezkezen* told me that they are related to the *Uraṛen*.

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173 Tuareg traditions of origins must always be regarded with some suspicion. It is well known that all over Northern Africa numerous Arabs and Berbers claim relationship with the Prophet and his family. Most of these traditions seem to be mere fakes, and they have been omitted in this brief account of Tuareg history in Ayr. This does not mean, of course, that we can rely on the above traditions which are very often contradictory. An obvious case is that of the *Kel Ferwan*. There are traditions giving Awjila as their homeland, and I have very frequently been told that they came from Ahaggar as close kinsmen of the *Kel Ṛela*. I do not think this latter tradition contains much historical truth though it may reflect political relations of the past. The *Kel Ferwan* apparently were on quite good terms with the *Kel Ṛela* of Ahaggar whom they admired because of their power. The *Kel Ṛela* had many quarrels with the *Taytoḳ* and also with the *Kel Faday*, and the latter Tuareg again were enemies of the *Kel Ferwan*. As the *Kel Faday*, perhaps for political reasons, claimed themselves related to the *Taytoḳ* it may have been quite natural for the *Kel Ferwan* (the most important tribe in Ayr) to claim relationship to the *Kel Ṛela* (the most important tribe of Ahaggar).

It is often said in Ayr that the dominant noble tribes of most Tuareg groups are related to one another through daughters of the same mother. The Sultan says that there were originally six sisters who became the ancestress of the following noble Tuareg:— The *Kel Ferwan*, the *Kel Faday*, the *Kel Gerez*, the *Itésen*, the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Imanṛasaten*. The *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg, on the other hand, have no relationship to these Tuareg but according to the Sultan are "children of the *Kel Asuf* spirits". The story of the descent of the important noble Tuareg of Ayr from a certain number of sisters is told in variations within the different tribes and groups. People of the *Kel Ferwan* group exclude the *Kel Faday* and claim that once in the past the noble *Kel Faday* tribe was a vassal tribe of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and people of the vassal tribes *Kel Akerra*, *Imezzureg*, *Isakaraman*, and *Kel Tédalé*, the members of which claim noble descent, hold that they descend from a daughter of the ancestress of the important noble Tuareg tribes.

We can never rely on oral traditions of origin which have important political functions, but oral traditions may contain some historical verity. Most traditions mentioned point to a north-eastern origin of the Ayr Tuareg – to Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and to the oasis of Awjila. It is also interesting that there are more general traditions, according to which all Ayr Tuareg ultimately came from a country named *Elbarbar* situated towards the east. In support of these traditions we can refer to the fact that the most important northern trade road from Ayr leads to the oasis of Ṛat, to Tripolitania, and the Fezzan. In the past the important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo went over Gao, Agadez, Ṛat, Murzuk, Awjila, and Siwa.

## THE SULTANRY OF AYR

175 *The Agadez Chronicle* referred to above gives an interesting description of the establishment of the
843 Ayr Sultanry in 1405 A.D. Before that time, it is said, a growing anarchy reigned all over the country, and the *Arumbulu*, supreme chief of the *Itésen* federation, therefore took the initiative in electing a Sultan to act as an arbitrator among the various groups of Tuareg.

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According to the *Agadez Chronicle* five tribes of the *Itésen* went out to discover a Sultan. They found him in a country written in translations *Arim Sotafan* (Palmer 1936, p. 55) or *A'arem-Cattafane* (Urvoy 1934, p. 154). The meaning of this word – correctly written *Arrem Settefen* – is "black town". This seems to indicate that the first Sultan came from a Sudanese state, and it is stated by all Tuareg that all known Sultans of Agadez have been black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives, the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office. 175 643

The fact that the Sultan of Agadez has four ministers like most kings of Sudanese states (cf. Frobenius, Atlas Africanus, H.3; Baumann 1940, p. 58) may perhaps point to a connection between the establishment of the Ayr Sultanry and the Sudan, and this seems also to be intimated in the *Agadez Chronicle*. Nevertheless, the popular tradition about the origin of the Ayr Sultanry goes against this assumption. For it is told all over Ayr, both among Tuareg and the so-called *Imeggedezen*, that the first Sultan of Agadez came from Constantinople. This tradition, which is not mentioned in the *Agadez Chronicle*, is also claimed to be true by the present Sultan of Agadez. He says that the *Itésen* tribes, or representatives from these tribes, went to Constantinople to ask the Sultan to give them one of his sons as the first Sultan over Ayr. The Sultan of Constantinople had three fair-skinned wives who all refused to let their sons go to Ayr with the deputation. But he also had four black-skinned wives or concubines and the first of them who was asked to let her son become the Sultan over Ayr agreed. So it happened that the deputation of *Itésen* Tuareg returned to Agadez with their first Sultan who patrilineally is descended from the Sultan of Constantinople, matrilineally from a slave woman. There are some people who claim this tradition to be spurious, but it is admitted by most people as a true account of the origin of the Ayr Sultanry. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg it is claimed that the Sultan was fetched by people of the *Kel Ferwan* group, or that the *Itésen* deputation was sent out to fetch the Sultan on the initiative of the *Kel Ferwan* group. This variation of the tradition is also recognized by the present Sultan. [645] 173 643

In the *Agadez Chronicle* we are told that the Sultan at first had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chaman from where he moved to Agadez which seem to have been founded as a city at the middle of the 15th century A.D., a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Ayr (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 102, 364 f., 409; Urvoy 1936, p. 164). 175 643 [103]

The present Sultan *Umar*, who has reigned since 1919, says that the first Sultan who came to Ayr had the great task to learn the Ayr Tuareg good manners of living. Before the establishment of the Sultanry the whole country of Ayr had been dominated by the *Izran* (of the Lake Tchad region) who had claimed as their annual tribute a young girl from all Tuareg tribes of Ayr. When the first Sultan arrived the Tuareg lived like donkeys in the rocks. They had extremely bad manners, and there were even people who married with their sisters. The Sultan taught them good manners and brought justice and order to the country. He was the true owner of the land from the northern outskirts of Ayr to the region of Madawa where the *Kel Gerez* Tuareg now live. He divided the land between the main groups of Tuareg, and allotted to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who lived around Tafadek a large part of Ayr up to 173 643

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



173 Talak. This tradition is acknowledged as true by certain Tuareg of Ayr, but all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg
643 claim that the Sultan has never had any right over the country of Ayr. They state that his Tuareg
[634] title of *Amenukal* has nothing to do with *akal* (i.e. "the land"), and that the country of Ayr from the remote past until now has been owned by the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 421). However,
175 if we turn to the information given on this subject by the *Agadez Chronicle*, we learn that until the
643 establishment of the Sultanry it had been customary for the powerful noble tribes to claim a tax of
651 horses from the caravans which passed their particular territories. The first Sultan of Ayr sent a letter to learned people of an Islamic country to ask whether such taxes were lawful or unlawful. And he was answered that these taxes were to be considered good because those who received the taxes protected the very important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo. The taxes should therefore be collected by the Sultan who again should give them to the Tuareg (Urvoy 1934, p. 155). Before the arrival of the French the Sultan had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, which is mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, 828 f.), and he was entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade and to annual taxes from the sedentary Negroes of Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

643 The tradition which says that the Sultan descend patrilineally from the Sultan of Constantinople and matrilineally from a slave woman clearly indicates the position of the Sultan in Tuareg society. The Sultan is looked down upon by fair-skinned Tuareg because of his black skin, but he is also endowed with prestige because of his supposed descendance from the Sultan of Constantinople.

643 A certain *elbaraka* or benediction is ascribed to him, and all people who want to greet the Sultan
772 must remove their sandals. The Sultan is always buried in his palace at Agadez, and it is said that
[766] if he was buried outside there would be a great risk that his subjects would dig up his skeleton to use
[765] part of it for amulets. It is also said that the Sultan preserves a part of the skeleton of his predecessor for amulets. This must be viewed in connection with the particular power of *elbaraka* attached to the Sultan, and it is important to note that the Sultan is believed to possess an unusual power of fertility, which is secured and maintained until his death by means of certain medicines acquired from the Sudan. Thus it seems as though the Sultan possesses some of the qualities of the Sudanese divine
175 kings, but in practice he has little power. The *Agadez Chronicle* refers to Sultans who acted as war
643 leaders of all Ayr Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Ayr it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of pastoral Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have only reigned for very short periods.

631 Although the Sultan is the supreme chief of all Ayr Tuareg, he does not have the same relationship
634 to all Tuareg groups, for many of them are placed directly under the supreme chief of the *Kel Ewey*
648 group known as the *Anestafidet*. The *Anestafidet* originally lived at Asodey in Central Ayr, but he now lives in Agadez where he holds a prominent position as a chief. Like most *Kel Ewey* he is black-skinned and related to the Hausa population of the Southlands, where he lives for a part of the year with the important task of organizing the trade between Ayr and the south. The *Anestafidet* has always been closely attached to the sedentary Hausa of the Southlands, and is said to have part of his family living at a small village named Blanko between Tanut and Zinder. A new *Anestafidet* may even be elected

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from the members of this village. The particular connection between the *Anestafidet* and the sedentary peoples of the Sudan is very natural in view of the fact that the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg nowadays, as in the past, engage much in caravan trading with the south. The name of *Anestafidet* is derived from the tribe *Kel Tafidet* – one of the noble *Kel Ewey* tribes which immigrated to Ayr about the 14th century A.D. The *Anestafidet* has always been a very important chief, and the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, though very mixed with the ancient sedentary population of Ayr Negroes, were for periods in the past very important politically. To-day the *Anestafidet* is the most important chief of Ayr after the Sultan, and it is said that, like a deceased Sultan, a deceased *Anestafidet* should be buried in his house. The *Anestafidet* is treated with respect by all Ayr Tuareg, who take off their sandals when greeting him, and at the beginning of the holy Friday (that is on Thursday night) the professional musicians of Agadez, when they have made music at the Sultan's palace, go to *Anestafidet*'s residence and then to the ministers of the Sultan.

The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, who live predominantly in and around the villages of the eastern and most mountainous part of the Ayr Massif, form the majority of the people placed directly under the command of the *Anestafidet*. According to figures given by Nicolas for tribes and villages of the *Kel Ewey* their total number seems now to be about 8000 (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 465 ff.). But placed under the *Anestafidet* are also the pastoral Tuareg group known as *Kel Tamat*. Formerly it had its own drum-chief (*ettebel*) who was also the supreme chief of the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg. The group of *Kel Tamat*, with the *Ikezkezen*, judged by the figures for some of the tribes (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 471 f.), comprise nowadays about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the true *Kel Ewey*.

The *Kel Tamat* do not form a drum-group nowadays. In the past their drum-chief was elected by tribes within the drum-group, but he had to be installed ceremoniously by the *Anestafidet* who presented him with a large headcloth. All people of the *Anestafidet* have to recognize him as their supreme judicial authority. But the *Anestafidet*, who is elected by people of the ancient noble *Kel Ewey* tribes, is submitted to the authority of the Sultan who also installs the *Anestafidet* ceremoniously.

Most Ayr Tuareg who are not placed under the *Anestafidet* are collectively referred to as the *Kel Amenukal*, that is "the people of the *Amenukal* (or Sultan)". Most of these people are pastoralists though some sedentary or semi-sedentary people are also placed in the Sultan's group. The important Tuareg groups placed directly under the Sultan are the following:—

The *Itesen* with the *Immikitan* most of whom left the Massif long before the arrival of the French. In the past both groups formed politically very important drum-groups, and though they were very few in number throughout the 19th century they were nevertheless politically important, as without them a Sultan could not be elected and installed.

The *Kel Faday* in the region of Ingal consist of a noble tribe and eleven tribes of vassals. The *Kel Faday* constituted throughout the 19th century a politically important drum-group though it was very small. Their total number according to Nicolas is now 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The *Kel Ferwan* comprise tribes in the western parts of the Massif including the regions of Agadez, and also south of the Massif in Dumergu. They number about 5000.

The *Kel Geres* Tuareg live in the Southlands around Madawa most of the year but visit Southern Ayr west of Agadez in the rainy season (cf. p. 7, 431 f.). Properly speaking they are not now recognized

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



631 as Ayr Tuareg and are politically independent. Nevertheless they still consider the Sultan of Agadez
643 as their proper *Amenukal*. They are very rich and numerous, comprising a great many tribes. Their
[189] political system differs from that of most other Tuareg. I outline its structure later in this chapter.
634 The drum-chiefs of the *Itésen*, the *Immikitan*, the *Kel Faday*, and the *Kel Ferwan* have to be rec-
643 ognized and ceremoniously installed by the Sultan. The ceremony should traditionally take place at the Sultan's palace of Agadez, but to-day it is performed at the French Administration Centre. The main feature of the ceremony is the wrapping of a large head-cloth around the elected chief's head by the Sultan. The Sultan, on the other hand, is elected and installed by the chiefs of above-mentioned groups and by the *Anestafidet* as the representative of the *Kel Ewey*. But the chiefs do not take the same part in the election of a Sultan, and it is noteworthy that the *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan*, who throughout the 19th century were extremely powerful and warlike, apparently do not play any rôle in the instalment ceremony.

The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:— From his private room in the palace (Fig. 288) the Sultan is led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres* ask him to sit down upon a bed made of ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he is not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission is given by the *Kel Ewey* (Barth 1857, I, p. 461 f.). Jean, who gives a more detailed account, says that the *Kel Geres* do not participate, and have no voice in the election (Jean 1909, p. 159 ff.). I have myself been told during my visit to the *Kel Geres* drum-chief that the *Kel Geres*, represented by their drum-chief, previously took part in the election of the Sultan. As to the position of the powerful drum-groups of *Kel Faday* and *Kel Ferwan*, people of the latter group frequently claim that they alone could elect a Sultan, and I have been told by *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg that a Sultan should be installed in the way that the supreme chiefs of the *Itésen* and the *Immikitan* take the Sultan by his hands and lead him to a sheepskin where he sits down to receive the large head-cloth from the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group. However, it seems as if the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief does not traditionally play any part in the instalment ceremony.

631 In the 19th century the Sultan was the arbitrator and the supreme judge in disagreements between
634 the different Tuareg groups whose supreme chiefs should be installed by the Sultan. But he could
643 not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels. The *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs did not always pay much respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation of Ayr the *Kel Faday* even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of Ingal (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was much afraid that the *Kel Faday* would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the *Iwilkommeden* (Barth 1857 58, I, p. 478). As to the *Kel Ferwan*, their chief was the most prominent leader of all Ayr. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909; p. 103 f.) and it is repeated over and over again by all Tuareg of Ayr to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and he thinks that the *Kel Ferwan* originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or *Amenukal* was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This
[173] agrees with information I have gathered among the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group. It is however most difficult to judge the value of these traditions as it is difficult to reconstruct political life in pre-European times. All Tuareg try to glorify their own political rôle in the past, and this is particularly true of the noble Kel Ferwan Tuareg.

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Fig. 287. Musicians of the Sultan of Ayr marching through Agadez. In the front a man blowing a clarinet-like instrument, in the background the drummers mounted on camels and beating two drums each. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

631 true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. They are nowadays without much power and prestige, whereas
634 the Sultan, owing to the French, has augmented his power greatly. Many *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg speak
643 disparagingly about the Sultan, and the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* named *Agg-Elkhir* called him
[270] openly a slave and did not take off his sandals in the Sultan's presence.

643 There can be little doubt that the man who was elected the Sultan of all Ayr people at the beginning
642 of the 15th century very quickly became a Sultan not of Ayr, but of Agadez. A state organization like that of the Ayr Sultanry could not function in a Tuareg society characterized by warlike pastoral groups, and the Sultan would have to be dismissed or else recognize the authority of the strongest pastoral group which, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century was the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

## THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has
614 fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie
[114] 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore
[162] quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared,
634 and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when
648 the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to
121 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr,
634 where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were
115 most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

173 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*,
614 and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above
634 (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

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**Fig. 288. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.**

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



according to which the ancestresses of the two noble tribes came from *Awjila* together with a third sister, who became the ancestress of the *Iberalyanen*. This story runs as follows:— 173 614

The three sisters left their original homeland of Awjila riding on bull-camels. One night when the girls were not very far from Iferwan and the three sisters had gone to sleep, the eldest, named *Sabenas*, awoke before her two sisters and removed the hobble-ropes from their riding camels which disappeared in the desert. Thus the only riding camel left was *Sabenas'*, and when the sisters arrived at Iferwan she alone rode on a bull-camel while her two younger sisters were walking. At Iferwan there was then a mighty chief named *Azeṛezzer*. When the girls arrived there he asked them who they were, and *Sabenas* said that one of the two girls who travelled on foot was her sister, but not her true sister, while the other girl was her *tameṛit* or vassal. The supreme chief *Azeṛezzer* was very eager to marry *Sabenas* as she rode on a bull-camel and consequently was of noble birth. *Sabenas* agreed to marry him on the condition that bride-wealth should be paid in land. And it was agreed that she should have for bride-wealth as much land as she could ride through on her camel at a stretch. She rode off from Iferwan and her camel did not get tired until she was close to Tagedufat south of the Massif. Here *Sabenas* dismounted and threw her stick towards the south. The stick fell down at the well of Tagedufat, and *Sabenas* now had the right to all country ranging from Iferwan in the north to the well of Tagedufat situated in the southern plains. This vast territory has since then been owned by the descendants of *Sabenas* who are the true noble *Kel Ferwan* or *Irawatten*. But the Tuareg of this tribe claim that they have since then greatly augmented their territory so that they are the true owners also of the land south of the Massif as far as Tessawa, which is very close to the frontier of Northern Nigeria. 634

The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past all Tuareg groups within the *Kel Ferwan* territory and a few other groups of Tuareg and negroid sedentary people paid an annual tribute known as *tewsé* to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. This annual tribute was calculated as follows:— 173 631 634 651

137 342 634

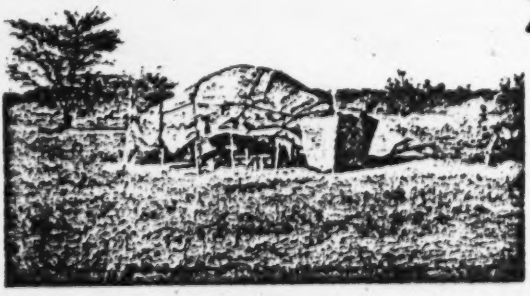

**Fig. 289. Mat tent of the B.1.b type inhabited by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace, containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats.**

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|---|---|
| *Kel Ewey* . . . . . | 50 Tuareg veils of indigo cotton |
| *Kel Faday* . . . . . | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Echchikhen* . . . . . | two small drum-groups in Damergu each giving 3 oryx hides, as their vassals were mainly hunters |
| *Kel Geres* . . . . . | 1 horse with a saddle |
| *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* . . . | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Kel Allekot* . . . . . | 150 kg of millet |
| *Damergu & Katsena* . . . . . | An amount of millet |

Most of these groups, it is said, paid the annual tribute known as *tewsé* because the land belonged to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. But the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg did not pay an annual tribute for this reason but because they were subdued in wars. It is much to be doubted that these annual tributes were paid regularly to the drum-chief by such warlike groups as the *Kel Dennek* and the *Kel Faday*, who frequently joined forces against the *Kel Ferwan*. As to the *Kel Faday*, the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they were formerly the vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They say that in the remote past the whole drum-group of the *Kel Faday*, including its noble tribe, paid bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief as a token of vassalage, which is said to have ceased in the following way:— The *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a *Kel Faday* camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the *Kel Faday* camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the *Kel Faday*. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the *Kel Faday* so that after a time he could return to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the *Kel Faday* Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan*.

634 The drum-chief had as an insignia of his political power over all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg a large drum
534 known as *ettebel* (or *ǫrezu*). The word *ettebel* was, and is, used not only as a name of the drum but
778 also as a name of the drum-group and the drum-chief whose title of address is *ettebel*, or "drum". This drum had a sacred or mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced, the man charged with this task would perform it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. We see that connected with the drum were certain taboos equivalent to those which are believed to maintain the mystic power of *elbaraka*.

634 The drum-chief had the only drum of the *Kel Ferwan* group of which he was the supreme chief.
202 The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal tribes but also by the
[614] noble *Kel Azel*. The chief of the *Kel Azel* had the title of *amṛar* or *ǫrolla* like all other tribal chiefs, but he was addressed *ettebel* although he did not have the right to a drum.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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*Tribes of the Kel Ferwan Drum-Group*

1. *The Irawatten Group*

| Tribes | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Irawatten* | 350 | 58 | There are to-day very few pure noble Tuareg of this dominant noble tribe, as the members have intermarried with negroid peoples and with the *Kel Geres*. The pure noble house-holds number about ten. The chief is also the chief of the *Irawatten* group and the drum-chief of the whole *Kel Ferwan* group. | Télewa (western part) |
| *Kel Tédalé* (3 tribes) | 1300 | | They claim to be of noble descent. They are officially vassals of the *Irawatten*, but are nevertheless very independent politically. | Talak<br>Uraren<br>Zurika |
| *Kel Akerra* | 164 | 39 | Of noble descent with the *Ibararojiten* as their particular vassals. Intermarry frequently with the *Imezzureg* and with the *Kel Tédalé*. | Ti-n-Teburak |
| *Imezzureg* | 106 | 20 | Of noble descent and related to the *Kel Akerra* and the *Isakaranan* with whom they intermarry. | Terezzet |
| *Isakaranan* | 653 | 107 | Of noble descent and related to the *Kel Akerra* and the *Imezzureg*. | Ti-n-Tebezgin |
| *Igendéynen* A section of former slaves known as *Tindeku* is grouped together with this tribe. | 247 | 55 | Always close to the camp of the drum-chief as soldiers permanently under his command. | Burhal |
| *Iberdyanen* (2 tribes) | 621 | 97 | Living close to the noble *Irawatten* as their servants. | Gufat<br>Éknawen<br>Téwendegit |
| *Iḳḳoberen* | | | Living close to the noble *Irawatten* as their servants. | |
| *Ayt Uṛen* | 160 | | | Maramaru |
| *Idaléyen* | 218 | 67 | | Telhecham |

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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|---|---|---|
| *Ifadèyen* (2 tribes) | | Kurubobo<br>Imechchamelawen<br>Turuf<br>Beynabu<br>Ti-n-Dawin<br>Anyalen<br>Abalemma<br>Ékawél |
| *Elbaraten* | | Anwacher |
| *Ibararojiten* | Originally the particular vassals of the *Kel Akerra* tribe. | Endegra |
| *Iragan* | Very few in number and without any tribal organization. They are placed directly under the drum-chief as his servants, and are considered a kind of "white slaves" to other *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. In the *Kel Faday* group there is a tribe of *Iragan* Tuareg. Their traditional homeland is said to be the region of Meneka in the country of the *Western Iwllemmeden*. | Éleleg |
| *Irawélen* | Pastoral Negroes who in the remote past were slaves of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. Culturally they are akin to other Tuareg pastoralists, but they have no tribal organization and are placed directly under the drum-chief's command. | Tombalaga<br>Akadaney<br>Meygawey |

2. *The Kel Azel Group*

| Tribes | Number of Individuals (Nicolas 1950b) | & Households | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kel Azel* | 180 | 47 | Nowadays very few in number. It is said that there are only four households of pure noble origin. | Anoyaran<br>Tiṛezrin<br>Tafadek<br>Gufat |
| *Imezzuren* | 162 | 31 | | Tiṛezrin |

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kel Tésemt* | 237 | | Related to the *Imezzilalen* and the *Ikojjejiten* together with whom they are said to have constituted one tribe. | Assa and eastern part of Télewa 634 614 565 |
| *Imezzilalen* | | 27 | Related to the *Kel Tésemt*. | Assa and eastern part of Télewa 162 |
| *Ikojjejiten* | | | A section of the *Imezzilalen*. | Afarak |
| *Ifokkar* | 42 | 12 | Related to the *Kel Tésemt*, the *Imezzilalen*, and the *Ikojjejiten*. | Eastern part of Télewa |
| *Ikawkan* | 150 | | Said to have been the particular servants of the noble *Kel Azel*. | |
| *Ijakarkaren* | 203 | 41 | Said to be related to the *Igendeynen*. | Tafadek |
| *Iforas* (2 tribes) | 396 | 95 | They came to Ayr from Adrar of the Iforas about one hundred years ago. | Téleyin |
| *Irawélen* | | | A certain number of these negroid pastoralists, who once in the past were slaves, is placed directly under the command of the chief of the *Kel Azel*. They have no tribal organization. They are probably included in the figure of the *Kel Azel* mentioned above. | |

To-day all Tuareg claim that a chief whether a drum-chief or a chief of a vassal tribe should be 634 succeeded by his son, and that a sister's son may inherit the position. These rules have not always been followed in the election of drum-chiefs in the *Kel Ferwan* group, for the drum-chiefs have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, and after the French occupation they have even elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble *Kel Ferwan*. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, 173 but the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their drum- 634 chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The names are known of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent are not remembered further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:—

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173 634 *Sabenas*, the ancestress of the noble *Kel Ferwan* and the first ruler of the drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

*Amenukal*, the eldest son of *Sabenas*.

*Mokhammed Aman*, the younger brother of *Amenukal*.

*Elkarebi*, the younger brother of *Mokhammed Aman*.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:—

*Bubeker*, who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe.

*Ṛali*, who was the younger brother of *Bubeker*. He was the reigning drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years. He was considered a very skilful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group with profound respect. *Ṛali*'s tomb is south [264] of the Massif, somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. 634 On *Ṛali*'s death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in 769 which I had the opportunity to participate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief, who there- [282] upon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the deceased chief. Ancestral worship of this type is most probably not a traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. It should be noted in this context that *Ṛali* was considered a member of the *Echcherifen*, the descendants of the Prophet, through relationship to the *Imenan* (cf. p. 393 ff.).

173 634 *Mokhammed*, who belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* through his mother, while his father came from the *Ifoṛas*. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. Apparently he was not a close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief *Ṛali*.

*Wanarli*, who had no bonds of kinship with the *Kel Ferwan*. His father belonged to the religious, and, in Tuareg opinion, very holy tribe of *Kel es Suk*. He was very strict with the vassals of his drum-group, and he would never take his food in their company, though other drum-chiefs seem to have been less severe. It is probably for this very reason that he was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

*Afanu*, who belonged to the *Echchikhen*. He died after one year's reign.

*Kutiya*, who was of noble *Kel Ferwan* stock, being the son of *Ṛali*'s younger brother.

*Agg-Elkhir*, of pure noble origin being the son of *Ṛali*'s daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected.

*Azeṛor*, who was the son of *Ṛali*.

634 *Agg-Elkhir*, in his second period of reign. He was the reigning drum-chief during my stay in Ayr 1955. He was then very old, and the French considered his son *Khejji* the actual representative of the drum-group.

*Bukha*, who is the newly-elected drum-chief. He is the son of *Azeṛor* and the grand-son of the renowned chief *Ṛali*, who was the mother's brother of the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir*. Consequently *Bukha* is a classificatory sister's son of *Agg-Elkhir* (cf. p. 451, Fig. 294). Before the election took place very many Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group had wanted the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir* to be succeeded by his son *Khejji*. On the day of election, when all adult men of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group came

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together at the French administration post of Agadez, there were two candidates for the office, namely *Bukha* and *Khejji*. Present at the election were the French *Commandant de Cercle*, the Sultan, and other important chiefs. The Sultan requested all men to elect *Bukha* (because *Khejji*'s father *Agg-Elkhir* had scoffed at the Sultan and publicly had called him a slave). Therefore, when the *Commandant* asked the *Kel Ferwan* men to divide into two groups according to whether they wished *Bukha* or *Khejji*, the group of men voting for *Khejji* numbered only four or five men. *Bukha* was thus elected and the Sultan presented him with a large head-cloth and declared him the new *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief.

From what has been said above about the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs it is evident that the drum-chief was elected by the vassals who constitute the majority of the group. But it is very doubtful whether in the past it was normal for a Sultan to advise the vassals to elect a particular Tuareg for drum-chief. For though the drum-chief should then also be installed and recognized by the Sultan, the latter was not strong enough to meddle in the affairs of the drum-group. There are even some noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who claim that in the past the drum-chief should be installed not by the Sultan, but by a vassal Tuareg of the drum-group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But most vassals hold that the drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that in the past, when dissatisfied with a drum-chief, they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him.

In all internal matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge, but it seems as if the chief of the *Kel Azel* who was installed by the drum-chief had almost similar judicial rights over his particular vassals. However, any case occurring within the whole *Kel Ferwan* group could be brought before the drum-chief, who in difficult cases would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez, or the *Echchikhen*. Punishments for thefts are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put into jail (*takormut*) in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:— pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of remaining standing. A few old people remember that they have seen this method of punishment practised in Agadez. Punitive measures like imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law, and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* was in fact the true master of Ayr, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison and may also have imposed capital punishment on thieves. Proper theft seems to have been very rare among pastoral Tuareg in the past, but to-day camel-thieves are extremely common in all groups. Some Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any camel thieves who were hanged like dogs.

All members of the *Kel Ferwan* group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities (*édeyet*) were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen had the right to blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man, whose kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Some Tuareg will claim that the

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634 livestock of a murderer in reality was the property of the drum-chief. Apparently there has never
682 been any fixed size of blood-wealth among the *Kel Ferwan* in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara.

634 The token of vassalage among the *Kel Ferwan* was the payment of half of the bride-wealth to the
565 noble lords so that the drum-chief received bride-wealth from his particular group of vassals, the chief of the *Kel Azel* from his group. The two noble lords received other payments from their vassals.
651 They would inherit a camel on the death of an individual vassal, and they received certain annual payments known as *sadakat* or *tamesodek*. This fee in its origin was a relipious one, and certain tribes such as the *Imezzureg*, the *Kel Akerra*, and the *Isakaranan* claim that in the past, as nowadays, they made this payment to the *Ineslemen* Tuareg and not to the noble chiefs. But true vassal tribes gave their *sadakat* or *tamesodek* to the two noble lords. The fees were collected on behalf of the lords by people of the *Echchikhen* and by negroid blacksmiths, who are very numerous in Ayr. There were definite rules for the payment of the *sadakat* fees which were computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example the payments for camel herds can here be mentioned:—

| Size of herd | *Sadakat* or *tamesodek* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels . . . . . | 2 goats |
| 15 camels . . . . . | 3 goats |
| 25 camels . . . . . | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels . . . . . | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels . . . . . | 2 full-grown camels |

The *Echchikhen* and the blacksmiths took the *sadakat* animals to the two noble lords, who gave some of them to the collectors, themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at
[402] the market of Agadez and most of the proceeds given to poor people by the noble lords, who would
[735] keep a small part for themselves.

634 The two noble lords, the drum-chief and the chief of the *Kel Azel*, had the right to parts of war-
721 booty taken by their vassals according to the following rules:—
565 (1) *témaggedaz*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the noble lords, the drum-chief or the chief of the *Kel Azel*. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g., riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the noble lords, while the other half should be given to their vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that only one seventh of the booty should go to the noble lord. The word *téfades* is said to have been used synonymously with *témaggedaz*.

(2) *téwit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the *Kel Ferwan* group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the noble lord would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A particular case is related of a group of *Iwilemmeden* Tuareg attacking a camp of *Kel Ferwan* vassals

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placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made 634
four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his 721
part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. 565
He kept them there for about a month, when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted [727]
on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based 634
upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. 565
It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal [184]
tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were [423]
not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of 565
cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed be- 571
tween all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other 634
unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Faday*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and [564]
vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Inuggedezen* and even slaves. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the [601]
more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *abubaz* (pl. *ibubazen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This 565
statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only 582
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565 been told about two such marriages which seem to have been contracted in fairly recent times. I think
582 that the main reason why the noble Tuareg do not marry with their vassals is that such marriages
634 would tend to break down the structure of the political system, as the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many in-laws among vassals to whom the conduct would be institutional joking or avoidance. For in addition to true relatives by marriage there are numerous classificatory ones. This will become clear from the description of the rules of behaviour valid for relatives by marriage.

634 In spite of the application of the rules of joking relationship on a political level, troubles within
578 the drum-group were far from unknown. And it is remarkable that even between the related tribes
614 of *Irawatten* and *Kel Azel* there might be very severe quarrels. There was a latent opposition
565 between them which might occasionally lead to fighting between noble Tuareg of the two groups. The existence within the drum-group of another noble tribe, the *Kel Azel*, with a certain number of vassals was always a danger to the position of the drum-chief as a ruler of the whole
[661] *Kel Ferwan* group. And noble Tuareg of the *Irawatten* tribe say that in the past it even happened that the drum-chief punished the *Kel Azel* very severely, not only taking all their livestock, but also burning
[701] down their camps. The drum-chief was able to maintain his power over the whole *Kel Ferwan* group because most vassal tribes were placed directly under his command, and because these tribes camped around Agadez which was dominated by him.

The drum-chief also had trouble with another tribe of his group, the *Kel Akerra*. This tribe is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the *Ibararojiten* tribe. In the past the drum-chief assisted by vassals of the whole group imposed vassalage upon the *Kel Akerra*, who, however, refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the *Kel Akerra* to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the *Kel Akerra* tribe became small and insignificant. It is said that the tribes of *Imezzureg* and *Isakaranan*, who like the *Kel Akerra* are noble by origin, also did not give their bride-wealth to the drum-chief in the past. But the three tribes were vassals in the sense that they had to give part of their war-booty to the drum-chief and could not carry out raids on their own.

[701] A certain discord reigned within the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the drum-chief had the support of most tribes of vassals, who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups, but also quell internal
634 insurrections. However, the three northern tribes of *Kel Tédalé* were so numerous, so rich in camels,
614 and lived so remote from the rest of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes that the drum-chief could not maintain his power over them. They were only nominally part of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the *Kel Tédalé* paid no tribute to other chiefs (Joubert 1939, p. 246), though it is said in Ahaggar that in the past they paid an annual tribute to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. But the *Kel Tédalé* were politically independent of other groups in Ayr, which is also stated by Jean
565 (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim the *Kel Tédalé* to be true vassals of their
614 drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104; Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three tribes the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427). The *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg I met all emphasized

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their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by *Kel Ferwan* vassals who said that both 565
noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the *Kel Tédalé*. That some of them are noble by origin 614
seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the *Kel Tédalé* in part are related to the *Ihaḍanaren* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter tribe, though without vassals, is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

As to the origin of vassalage among the Ayr Tuareg, it is probable that this is due to the meeting 565
of distinct cultures based mainly on camel-breeding and goat-breeding. Rodd has some very interesting 233
remarks on the position of the vassals as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:— [174]
"One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances" (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rôdd, however, also refers [567]
to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to mainly by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the particular camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. But I have been told by many Tuareg that there were in the past very few camels in vassal tribes, and though most Tuareg apparently hold the view that the vassals have always had camels, the Sultan *Umar* claims that originally they had none while the noble Tuareg have owned these animals since times immemorial. So it might seem as if the political system of the drum-group 174
in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, was founded upon a class division with its root in the meeting of distinct 565
pastoral cultures. It is a fact that certain vassal tribes were attached to their noble lords as a kind 634
of workers with the duty of performing such work as could not be done properly by negroid slaves. Among these tribes were the *Ikawkan* attached to the *Kel Azel*, and the *Iḳḳoberen* and the *Iberdyanen* attached to the *Irawatten*.

It is most likely that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg had vassals before they arrived in Ayr, for many true vassals hold that they have immigrated from the traditional homeland of their noble lords. However, there are in Ayr also certain tribes which have lost their noble status and become a kind of vassals owing to having been subdued in fairly recent wars.

## THE KEL GERES DRUM-GROUP

There is no class-division of so-called noble Tuareg and vassals among the *Kel Geres*. In this respect 642
they differ from most other Tuareg groups except for the *Kel Ewey* among whom a division into classes 565
of this kind has ceased to exist – probably because the *Kel Ewey* have mixed with the sedentary negroid population of the Ayr villages. In *Kel Ewey* certain tribes are more important than others, but

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642 565 there are no true vassals or *Imṛad* though some *Kel Ewey* tribes are referred to in literature as vassals.

174 642 565 [144] The lack of the important structural feature of vassalage among the *Kel Geres* may perhaps be explained in the following way:— The *Kel Geres* Tuareg lived originally in Ayr within much the same area as that now occupied by the *Kel Ewey*, and it is most likely that they had mixed very much with the sedentary Negroes as there are among the *Kel Geres* very many black-skinned and negroid Tuareg. It is very probable that the *Kel Geres* when living in Ayr led a semi-sedentary life, for it is said that they had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr in the 18th century owing to the pressure of the *Kel Ewey*. We may perhaps assume that this particular mode of livelihood was the reason why vassalage ceased to exist among the *Kel Geres*. When, in the 18th century, the *Kel Geres* were driven southwards into the Sudanese steppes and savannahs, they became ardent stock-breeders and adopted a political system much related to that of an ordinary Tuareg drum-group with the exception that they had no class-division.

614 642 643 Among the *Kel Ḍeres*, all tribes of pastoral Tuareg are known as *Imajeṛen* but though they are not divided into classes these tribes are nevertheless not politically identical. The most important tribe is that called *Ti-temeḳḳeret*. It is named after Anu-Meḳḳeren in Central Ayr where this tribe originally lived, and the *Kel Geres* drum-chief (*ettebel*) is always elected from this particular group. But the drum-chief is not elected by all adult people of his drum-group, but by members of three tribes, the *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar*. The members of these tribes alone can elect and dismiss a drum-chief entirely at their discretion. When they have elected a new drum-chief he is ceremoniously installed by a man of the *Anyegeren* tribe who wraps the large head-cloth around the chief's head. In all this the *Kel Geres* resemble the *Kel Ewey* among whom the *Anestafidet* is elected by the members of three important tribes.

The three tribes of *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar* are also politically very important in other respects for they consistute the nuclei of three sub-divisions of the *Kel Geres*. The chiefs of the three tribes have the title *Aṛolla* (pl. *Iṛollan*) and they are also the chiefs of certain other pastoral tribes which have individual chiefs with the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaren*). A certain number of people who are non-Tuareg by origin are placed under the authority of all tribal chiefs, e.g., *Iṛawélen* who are slaves manumitted in the past, *Ikenawen* who are professional potmakers, *Ineden* or blacksmiths, and *Itéfnen*, that is sedentary Hausa living in villages. [563]

614 642 645 In addition to the tribe of the drum-chief and the three *Iṛollan* tribes, there is among the Kel Geres a fifth tribe which is politically very important, namely that known as *Ezuṛmani*. It is a religious tribe of the so-called *Echchikhen* class, and its chief is known as *Echchikh* though he also bears the title of *Al-Ḳadi*. He acts as the adviser of the drum-chief in judicial and religious matters, and though he apparently possesses no direct authority over all *Kel Geres* he is very influential and greatly respected. The *Al-Ḳadi* or *Echchikh* is elected according to the traditional rules of succession acknowledged by the *Kel Geres*, a deceased chief being succeeded by his younger brother or by his son. But in contrast to all other chiefs, including the drum-chief, he cannot be dismissed when he is once elected. All religious tribes within the *Kel Geres* drum-group are placed directly under the authority of the *Al-Ḳadi* (*Echchikh*) of the *Ezuṛmani* tribe. But the *sadakat* fees are made to the drum-chief and not to the Al-Ḳadi.

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the *Al-Kadi*. In this respect the position of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is similar to that of drum-chiefs among the Ayr Tuareg, and though the present drum-chief says that the *Kel Geres* were never divided into noble and vassal tribes, he nevertheless claims that part of any war-booty taken by *Kel Geres* Tuareg in the past should be given to the drum-chief who had the right to *témaggedaz* and *téwit* (cf. p. 428). The drum (*ettebel*) of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is akin to drums of other Tuareg chiefs. The drum must not touch the ground, but the drum-chief did not believe that its power would be spoilt were it to be touched by women.

## THE KEL ADRAR

The *Kel Adrar* are very superficially described in literature, but their political system has been outlined by Cortier. They constitute only one drum-group under the leadership of an *Amenukal* who is the possessor of the drum (*ettebel*). The class-division is rather similar to that of most other Tuareg groups. There are certain vassal tribes (*Imrad*) and certain noble tribes though the latter are not considered noble in the usual sense. They are known as proper *Iforas* Tuareg and they are to be grouped rather with the *Ineslemen* class than with the proper noble class termed *Ihaggaren* or *Imajeren*. However, their position within the drum-group is almost identical with that of noble Tuareg in other groups. The *Amenukal* is elected according to patrilineal rules being succeeded by his younger brothers and next by his sons, but the vassal tribes do not participate in the election. Within the drum-group there are many smaller divisions of noble families who have their individual vassals, so that from any vassal tribe there are always certain families living in the camp of a noble lord to work for him and to guard his domestic animals. A noble Tuareg can also claim what he wants from his particular vassals while on the other hand the vassals do not pay any fixed tribute to the noble chiefs, not even to the *Amenukal*. The power of the *Amenukal* is a very limited one, and his position is mainly determined by his personal qualities (cf. Cortier 1908, p. 274 ff.).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL DENNEK

The *Kel Dennek*, that is the *Eastern Iwllemmeden* around Tawa, have been described in detail by Nicolas who, however, is not very clear as to particulars. Apart from the class of *Ineslemen* the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg are divided into the classes of noble Tuareg (*Imazeren*) and vassal Tuareg (*Imrad*, or *Kel Ulli*). These vassal Tuareg are politically attached to four drum-groups (*ettebel*) in which the drum-chief is elected from a noble tribe according to patrilineal rules. One of these drum-groups has a leading position, as its chief with the title of *Amenukal-n-akal* is the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Dennek* group known as *tégezé*. In addition to his drum this supreme chief (*Amenukal-n-akal*) has a burgee or flag to be used in case of a holy war and on certain ceremonial occasions such as the installation of an *Amenukal*. This flag is made of silk and is green, blue, and red in colour. The title *Amenukal* is

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The title of Amenukal is

634 used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *ettebel* is reserved to those
565 chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-*
651 *akal*, have the right to an annual tribute known as *šluse* (*chiwsé*) from their individual vassals, and it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaḳa* or *tamessadeḳ* must also be given to them, because the drum-chief is inseparable from his *Ḳadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasit* or *takote* (*takuté*), that is the
634 right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain
565 delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels. The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. – These are the
[178] main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been
[642] no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579–586 & 1950a, p. 188–193, 201–209).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

642 The *Kel Ataram* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that
565 in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel*
[614] *Tademaket* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchaṛ*) and vassals (*Imṛad*, sing *Ameṛid*, or *Daṛa*). The dominant noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with
[567] Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Bélla*). They pay *tiwsé* to the noble Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals, but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All
[614] tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amṛar*, but all important decisions are made
[646] by the *myad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This
643 council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with warfare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held
642 for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of
565 the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position
[614] (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). – To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:— Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Idnanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.

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The political supremacy of the nobility is founded upon conquest and has become hereditary, but this supremacy can be lost. If a vassal tribe conquers a noble tribe the rôles may change, and though this has not yet happened the principle is considered valid by all Tuareg. The vassals pay an annual tribute to the noble Tuareg. A noble Tuareg can take what he likes from a vassal, but his rights depend upon his strength, just as the tributes paid by vassals depend upon the strength of their noble lords. A noble tribe must protect its vassals against other noble tribes. Chiefs of both noble and vassal Tuareg tribes have the title of *Amenukal*, and this title is hereditary. The power of the supreme noble chief (the *Amenukal*) is such that he cannot kill obstinate subjects. But he can thrash them and even wound them, and he can seize their property. There may be more than one candidate when a chief is elected, and this may lead to severe quarrels and even to the division of the tribe (cf. Aymard 1911, p. 37 ff.).

Mangeot & Marty in their study of the Niger Tuareg mention that even in pre-European times certain tribes of vassal status had no particular duties towards noble tribes. They also state that the relationship between noble and vassal Tuareg was breaking down shortly after the French occupation of the country. The traditional *tiwsé* payments made by vassals to their noble lords differed much from one tribe to the other. Certain vassal tribes gave only one container with butter annually (Mangeot & Marty 1918, p. 258, 461). The chief *Amdeŋ* of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* informed that the *tiwsé* payments, which were abolished long ago, were always insignificant. They were made in goats and butter. The chief also said that originally the *Imrad* tribes had no camels.

## THE ORIGIN OF TUAREG POLITICAL SYSTEMS

We see from the description above that Tuareg political systems bear resemblances to one another in most groups. The largest political unit is the group under the leadership of a supreme chief, generally known as the *Amenukal*, or as *Amenukal-n-akal* in the *Iwllemmeden* groups where the title *Amenukal* is used also for minor chiefs. The *Amenukal* of a political group is also the chief of a so-called drum-group within the larger political group, though in Ayr the *Amenukal* is identical with the Sultan of Agadez. We may say that the political group known among the Northern Tuareg as *tégehé*, in the *Iwllemmeden* groups as *tégezé*, has a central government consisting of the *Amenukal*, his deputies, and a council. And it is clear that the *Amenukal* everywhere was considered the supreme chief with superior judicial rights and also the war-leader of the whole group. But the authority of an *Amenukal* was in all groups a very limited one, and quarrels between the various drum-groups of a federation were very common everywhere.

The most important political unit of Tuareg political systems was in fact the drum-group. Its chief was always a most important person. In most groups he was elected mainly by the vassals, and he was not an absolute monarch, though normally he could obtain the support of most vassals to quell internal insurrections. Within the drum-group the drum-chief was the highest judicial and military authority, and it was he who had to regulate all relations between noble and vassal Tuareg within the drum-group. Other noble Tuareg, e.g., the *temaẓlayt* masters, within the drum-group had no

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634 judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief,
565 whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

[422] In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to
[171] mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

642 In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division,
565 which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral
[173] camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imṛad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imṛad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

565 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar.
[262] Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter
[492] and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinc-
[583] tions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The
[233] noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, donkeys are marked in
[422] both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be
[342] peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirzemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps
[293] connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among
[262] vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found partic-
[224] ularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and
[174] other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but
[233] the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks
[462] of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

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and the manufacture of decorated leather-bags, camel-reins, etc., and decorated wooden milk-bowls, the noble women do extremely little work. 565 462

Among the *Kel Aijer* we find some of the above-mentioned distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals. The traditional dwelling of many vassal Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Aijer is the cylindrical hut (house) with a conical roof, though vassals in winter use skin-tents during nomadic migrations. Nowadays noble and vassal Tuareg alike live in straw-huts throughout the hot season. Barth, in his description of the *Kel Aijer*, mentions that the vassals have no right to possess iron spears and swords (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257), but it is stated explicitly by Duveyrier that noble Tuareg and vassals have the same weapons – the shield included (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). There can be little doubt that Duveyrier's statement is true, and I have been told among all Tuareg that in the past noble and vassal Tuareg did not differ in regard to weapons. A distinction would also seem rather strange in view of the fact that Tuareg of both classes fought together. Barth says that noble Tuareg and vassals differ in dress, but he does not give details (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257). 565 342 565 411

As to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, both noble and vassal Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any cultural distinctions between them. Bride-wealth in both classes was paid in camels. We know that the Ayr vassals in the past were predominantly goat-breeders, like many Ayr vassals to-day, and it seems as if camel-breeding was once a privilege of the nobility in the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 431; cf. tradition on the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan*, p. 421). I have not been able to find differences between the two classes in regard to material culture and social organization. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group say that they never have had types of portable dwellings other than the barrel-vaulted mat tent, which traditionally belongs to the woman. 565

There is very little information about cultural distinctions between noble and vassal Tuareg in other groups. Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* the vassals apparently use the arched mat tent more frequently than do noble Tuareg, but this and the skin tent supported by vertical sticks carrying cross-bars are found in both classes (cf. Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372 f.; Gabus 1945, p. 361 & 1948a, p. 15 & 1948b, p. 16). Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* the mat tent is used by certain noble Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f.). According to the chief *Amder* women's riding saddles for camels (*akhawi*) among the *Kel Ataram* are found only in noble tribes. Vassal tribes of the *Kel Ataram* living close to the Niger even to-day practise matrilineal rules of inheritance and succession in contrast to noble tribes with rules of patrilineal succession and Koranic inheritance (cf. p. 457). [428]

Cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals are particularly prevalent in the two groups of Northern Tuareg, and it is significant that the traits characteristic of the noble class are also common among the *Iregenaten* who live in Tamesna. This tribe is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the *Ibetteraten* tribe, which claims noble descent, and Arab men. This explanation is found in literature (cf. Lhote 1955, p. 238 f.; Briggs 1958, p. 100) and has been confirmed to me by Tuareg of this tribe. It is interesting that some traits characteristic of the noble tribes among the Northern Tuareg are also found in tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The tribes of this latter class are said to be related to Arabs among whom we also find some of these traits. [171]

We do not know when the noble Tuareg in the northern groups adopted traits that are also found among Arab bedouins. One might perhaps venture the theory that some of them were introduced 177

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177 with the immigration of the noble *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes which were, perhaps, related to the northern *Hawwara* Berbers. These may have influenced also the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg who possess some of the traits common to Northern Tuareg and Arabs. The *Hawwara* tribes came under Arab influence at very early stage, and they may have adopted Arab traits before they migrated southwards to settle close to the veiled *Lemta* (cf. p. 409 f.).

64 It is evident that the origin of pastoral political systems dates back to pre-Islamic times, but it is
177 also very clear that political organization has been much influenced by Islam and the Arabs. With Islam and the Arabs came into political life such important classes as the *Inesleman*, the *Echchikhen*, and the *Ichcherifen*, which has made the political organization more complex. Also introduced with Islam was the *sadakat* fee, which in its origin was a purely religious payment. It is also clear that the
[682] rules of blood-wealth payment among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 102) were introduced with Islam, for the Arabs of Northern Sahara, like the Northern Tuareg, give one hundred she-camels for a slain man, and the same payment is fixed by learned Islamic jurists (cf. Schram-Nielsen 1945, p. 58 f.). These rules of blood-wealth payment do not seem to have been accepted among the Ayr Tuareg where there was no fixed amount of camels to be paid for a homicide. Finally the title *Khalifa* given to tribal deputies was doubtless introduced with Islam and the Arabs. This title is used among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*.

634 The problems connected with the origin of the drum-group, the most important political group,
534 are very complicated. It is well known that the drum plays an important part as an insignia of kings
171 and other supreme chiefs over large parts of Africa. The distribution of the drum as an insignia of kings and chiefs has been studied in some detail by Schilde and Wieschhoff, and later by Irstam (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 117 ff.; Wieschhoff 1933, p. 119 ff., map 34; Irstam 1944; p. 28, 101 ff.). Wieschhoff points out that the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in Africa, and that it mainly has this particular function in state organizations of the so-called Erytrean Cultures.

634 The drum which constitutes the insignia of a Tuareg drum-chief is known as *ettebel* or *effebel*. In
634 all Tuareg groups this word is also used for "drum-group", and among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* it is also a title of drum-chiefs. The word *ettebel* is undoubtedly derived from the Arabic word *tobol* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1922), which is also sometimes used for Tuareg drums as it is for drums of chiefs among the Western Moors (Dubié 1947, p. 173). Formerly, the Sultan of the Fezzan also had a drum which according to Lyon was known as *tubbel*. Lyon never saw a drum of this kind but he says that they are found in all towns south of Murzuk (Lyon 1821, p. 248 f.). The drums used by Tuareg chiefs are always of a very particular form, generally known to anthropologists as "the kettle-drum", and this particular drum among the Tuareg is never used by persons other than the chiefs. For ordinary music the Tuareg have other drum types or use a wooden mortar suspended by a piece of skin. It is most interesting that the so-called kettle-drum is a very late type among the many kinds of drums found in Africa.

534 In regard to the distribution of kettle-drums in Africa, Sachs says that they are found in Islamic
171 North Africa, in the Sudan, and in North-East Africa (Sachs 1929, p. 247). According to Wieschhoff kettle-drums have a more limited distribution being found only in the Sudan and in North-East Africa including Ethiopia (Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40, map 29e). As to the distribution of kettle-drums outside

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of Africa, Sachs says that they occur mainly in Islamic West Asia from where they were recently introduced to Europe and to India where terms for kettle-drums are derived from Arabic (Sachs 1923, p. 58 ff.; 1929, p. 247). Wieschhoff admits that the kettle-drums seem to have been introduced into India with Islam, but he concludes that the distribution of them in the Sudan and in North-east Africa indicates that this element belongs to the so-called North Erytrean Culture (cf. Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40 ff., map 29e). 534 171

I do not want to advance any theory about the introduction of kettle-drums into Africa, but it seems natural to consider the Tuareg drums known as *ettebel* as an Islamic trait. However we cannot be sure that the use of drums as insignia of chiefs is post-Islamic, for, as we have seen, the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in many parts of Africa. 534 174

The theory that the drums used by Tuareg chiefs are Islamic seems to agree with the fact that the custom of crowning chiefs among the Tuareg by means of a large turban or headcloth is no doubt also an Arab practice. The use of a turban to crown or install kings and supreme chiefs is rare in Africa south of the Sahara. The use of the turban for the kings of Dar Fur, Wadai, and Bornu is no doubt to be considered Islamic (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 68; Irstam 1944, p. 118), and there can also be little doubt that the use of a large turban at the installation of chiefs in Tibesti and Ennedi was originally introduced as a result of contact with the Arabs – particularly as this turban is known by the Arabic term *ḳadmul* (cf. Kronenberg 1958, p. 74 f.; Fuchs 1961, p. 52). 643 177 171

It is clear that Islam has greatly influenced Tuareg political organization. But we should also bear in mind that North Africa in pre-Islamic times was influenced by various high cultures which are generally known as *Old Mediterranean* (*Syrtic*) and *Young Sudanese* (*North Erytrean*). It is very possible that the first noble Tuareg who penetrated into the Sahara with their camels came from a country situated towards the East or the North-east, and we have seen that the Ayr Tuareg have traditions about their origin in these quarters (cf. p. 412 ff.). It might therefore seem natural to assume that certain traits which are grouped under the vaguely-defined *Young Sudanese Culture* have been introduced into the Sahara with the immigration of the first noble Tuareg. Lhote thinks that the sandal type known as *takalmi* was perhaps introduced from Egypt with Tuareg immigrations from that country (Lhote 1950d, p. 531). We cannot know this, but it is possible that the oldest camel-breeding nomads introduced into the Sahara certain elements of the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture*. 174

## TUAREG SLAVERY

It is very possible that the political system of the pastoral Tuareg has been greatly influenced by slavery in the sense that slavery made the noble Tuareg less dependent on their vassals. Throughout the 19th century slavery was important to fair-skinned pastoralists of all classes. In other respects it has had little effect on the changing political relations, for slaves do not constitute a class or a true caste; they are incorporated into Tuareg society on a kinship pattern. 567 565

Slavery is still extremely important in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer where the French military administration has done very little to abolish it. It is true that the slave-trade no longer exists, but 567 648

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*Fig. 290.* Sun-shade built of branches and grass. It is the normal living quarters for slaves in Ahaggar and for a great part of the year it is more suitable to the climate than Tuareg skin tents. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

567 military administrators have tacitly admitted that slavery continues as an established institution.
648 According to a census of 1949, there are in Ahaggar 1552 slaves owned by 3960 pastoral Tuareg (cf.
[162] Lhote 1955a, p. 224 ff.), and in two tribes the number of slaves exceeds that of fair-skinned Tuareg, namely in the *Dag Rali* and in the *Kel Rela*. Most Ahaggar Tuareg have a few slaves in their camps, while in Ayr very few fair-skinned pastoralists have slaves nowadays. The civil administration of Ayr has done much to secure the abolishment of slavery, and it seems as if many slaves were manumitted
567 after the 1917 revolt. Slavery is actually almost devoid of economic importance in Ayr, while in Ahaggar
[184] it plays a great part in the maintenance of the economic system based upon camel-breeding outside Ahaggar and on caravan-trading.

The structural position of slavery is apparently very much the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. Slaves are their owners' property; they can no longer be traded, but even in pre-European days it was never usual to sell slaves from one's own camp. The slaves are still inherited within one and the same family, and until a few years ago it was the custom for a slave girl to form part of the bride-wealth. Despite everything this may perhaps be taken as an indication that slaves are not conspicuously well treated, and there are also examples of the corporal punishment of slaves. This may occur even to-day, the rule being that certain misdemeanours, for which the light-skinned Tuareg atone by paying a fine of domestic animals, may be punished in the case of slaves by a flogging on the order of senior chiefs.

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Fig. 291. Sun-shade built by slaves in Ayr on the same principle as the mat tents previously mentioned. The standing slave girl only wears a cotton skirt which sometimes in the south forms the sole dress of women. Ayr, the *Irawatten* tribe.

It is, however, rare for a slave to be punished in this way by his own master. Throughout the time I have lived among the Tuareg I have, for example, only noted two instances of corporal punishment, and both in a very mild form. It is also very normal in vassal camps for slave children and Tuareg children to play together, and a slave owner may treat his slave children in much the same way as his own. 567

There are several reasons why the Tuareg, practically speaking, never punish their slaves, and a very interesting custom may here be adduced. For if a slave is badly treated, he has always the recourse of changing masters by means of a system which is still in operation to this day. In Ahaggar the way thereby a slave can obtain his freedom from his master and become attached to another Tuareg is as follows:— When he sees a riding camel belonging to a Tuareg whose slave he wishes to be, he runs up to it and cuts a piece from one of its ears. In consequence of this the owner of the camel is obliged to take possession of the slave, whose actual and original owner can no longer make any claim to recover him. This custom may appear remarkable, but it is in fact a symbolic action with a deeper significance: to cut a piece from the ear of another man's camel is to damage it, and a Tuareg is responsible for the actions of his slaves. The "guilty" slave therefore falls to the lot of the owner of the camel as "compensation" for the "damage" done to his beast, and the original owner of the slave is bound to agree to this. It is an extreme loss of prestige for a Tuareg to lose his slave in this way, [558] and is a great mark of honour for the new master, who will receive his slave with favour and give him

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567 clothes and a camel with saddle; there will thus be an excellent relationship between master and slave. This method of cutting the ear of another man's riding camel to become his slave is also known to have been practised in Ayr. However, the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that among them a slave who wanted to become attached to another master would rather cut a slight slit in the ear of one of that man's children. The slave would thus become attached to the father of the "wounded" child.

In cases where a slave simply runs away, his master will always demand his return. But in Ahaggar, the senior chieftain, the *Amenukal*, may intervene on behalf of the slave if he learns that the runaway slave has been badly treated or is badly clothed. There are thus certain rules which serve to promote reasonably good conditions for the slaves. However, only under exceptional circumstances do they eat with their masters, and they normally live, not in tents, but in open windscreens or shades from the sun. In general, though, there is little difference between the way of life of the Tuareg and their slaves, and they wear fairly similar clothes and ornaments. The slaves also bear weapons, and in the old days, when camel-raiding and warfare formed, as it were, a part of the Tuareg economy, they often accompanied their masters on raids. If a Tuareg family owns a sufficiently large number of slaves they will often not only carry out much of the heavier household work but will also watch over the flocks and herds; and as herdsmen they often have a position of considerable influence, as they are better acquainted with the care of the various types of animals than are the Tuareg themselves. To all this may be added a custom of particular interest. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg each tribe owns [422] a particular portion of a beast so that from a slaughtered beast one tribe is entitled to a portion of the back, another to the heart, a third to the liver, and so on. The slaves have similar rights in such cases, being entitled to the neck and in some regions also to the tail and the feet. When a beast is slaughtered these portions must always be given to the slaves.

The slaves are thus not completely without rights. Nevertheless the ordinary rules of inheritance do not apply to them. If a slave is on good terms with his master, the latter will, in the course of years, give him a certain number of goats as his personal possession – which he may, for example, slaughter or sell as he wishes. But when a slave dies his children cannot inherit his flocks or any other of his possessions. Everything then will become the property of his master.

567 This is in agreement with the fact that slavery is organized upon a kinship pattern in the way that 608 slaves are normally the fictive children of their master, a man being the "father" of his slaves, while a female slave-owner will be their "mother", for slaves are always owned individually by pastoral Tuareg, and though the men are perhaps more frequently slave-owners than are women, slaves may be owned by pastoralists of both sexes. This position of slaves as "children" of the slave-owner means that the owner's brothers, sisters and parents are considered a kind of "parent" by his slaves. This again results in young slaves being considered a kind of "brother and sister" to the slave-owner's children and those of relatives of the slave-owner's generation. The organization of slavery on a kinship pattern can be demonstrated by means of the following examples:—

[583] (1) When a young slave marries it is the duty of the slave-owner as his "father" to pay the necessary amount of bride-wealth which will comprise a few goats – normally three to five animals – and this bride-wealth goes to the owner of the slave girl with whom the slave marries. A Tuareg women will as a slave-owner make and receive the payments connected with the marriages of her individual slaves in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner.

[Text continues on p. 449]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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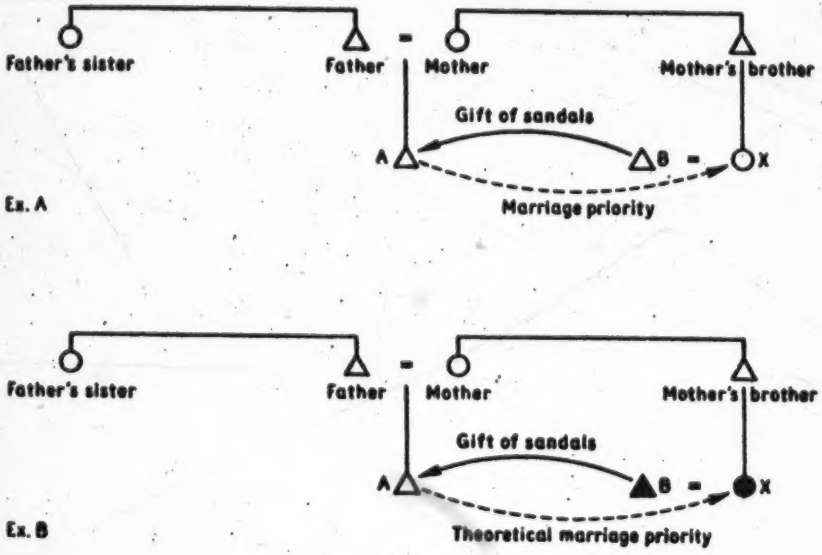


Fig. 292. Diagram illustrating how Tuareg slavery in Ahaggar is based upon kinship structure.

Ex. A. The Tuareg A has a sort of first-priority to marriage with his mother's brother's daughter X, who, however, marries B, who has no especial right to marry X. During the marriage ceremony B or one of his brothers must thus give a pair of sandals to A.

Ex. B. The slave-girl X belongs to A's mother's brother and is the latter's fictive daughter; she is therefore regarded as A's mother's brother's daughter, and A accordingly has first-priority to marriage with X. As a slave-girl, however, X will marry the slave B, but A will receive the gift of sandals, just as though X were his actual mother's brother's daughter.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



567 608 in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner. When a slave marries a slave girl the latter becomes the daughter-in-law of her husband's owner, and there will consequently be a kind of avoidance between these persons as between other relatives-in-law of different generations. In connection with slave-marriages it is of some interest to mention the following custom practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar:—

[582] [431] Among the Tuareg of Ahaggar a man has a certain marriage priority to his mother's brother's daughter according to rules which are outlined in the next chapter (p. 458 ff.). Therefore when a Tuareg's mother's brother's daughter marries somebody else the first man vill be entitled to a pair of sandals from the groom. In agreement with this custom a slave when marrying a slave-girl must give a pair of sandals to his wife's owner's ("father's") sister's son as explained in the diagram above (Fig. 292).

(2) The husband in a Tuareg pastoral family stands in the relationship of "father-in-law" (*adeggal*) to all slaves owned by his wife, while the wife is the "mother-in-law" (*tadeggalt*) of all slaves owned by her husband. Between these fictive relatives-in-law there is institutional avoidance which, however, is far less strictly observed than for true relatives by marriage of different generations. Owing to these rules a man must not or should not marry a slave girl owned by his divorced or deceased wife, just as it would be improper to marry a daughter-in-law.

(3) It is not forbidden for a man to marry a slave-girl whom he owns, even though she is considered his "daughter". This does not disagree with ordinary kinship-rules for a man is permitted to marry some of his classificatory daughters. If a man marries his own slave girl his children, among the Ayr Tuareg, would not be considered *Ichardanen* or *Iburelliten*, that is "mulattoes". They have the right to be considered true Tuareg or *Imajeren*, but in case of disagreements between a Tuareg of this type, and other people, they will call him by one of the terms used for "mulattoes", and may even call him "slave". If a man marries a slave girl who does not belong to him, his children of that marriage will [583] not become true Tuareg. But a Tuareg who wishes to marry a woman of slave status or a mulatto will attempt to secure the acknowledgment of his wife and her children as true Tuareg by the payment of a high bride-price. Thus a Tuareg of Ahaggar who married a mulatto girl gave for bride-wealth seven camels as is customary for noble Tuareg in the two northern groups, though the price according 554 to traditional rules should not exceed the value of one camel. It must be added that the position in Tuareg society of people who are not true Tuareg by origin depends greatly upon personal qualities. If a man is wise, rich, and generous, or if he is a marabut, all Tuareg will be ready to associate with him on equal terms even though he be predominantly negroid. I have noted several examples of this, and once met a very negroid nomad who was greatly respected by all Tuareg because he had once [564] [567] killed seven goats in one day to entertain foreign guests. There are certain classes and castes in Tuareg society. Formally it seems comparatively easy for children of mixed marriages of Tuareg and slaves to be considered Tuareg as slaves have a social position different from that of true black-skinned castes.

567 608 (4) If a slave woman has suckled a Tuareg girl or has taken a little fair-skinned Tuareg girl to her as her own, she will be recognized as the girl's true mother. And if the slave woman has children of her own they will be recognized as brothers and sisters of the little Tuareg girl. When the Tuareg girl later marries, her husband will be considered the true son-inlaw of her slave-mother and there will

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



be a very strict avoidance relationship between them. However, the slave-mother has no right to 567
inherit (*tekachit*) the livestock left on the death of her Tuareg daughter, but a certain amount of stock 608
will be given her under the designation of *elhakk*. The Tuareg girl will not inherit her slave-mother, nor will she have the right to a number of her animals.

The above examples indicate the main structural features of Tuareg slavery. Most important among them is the position of slaves as children of their masters, though it should be stated that the rules of behaviour between owner and slaves are not necessarily like those valid for parents and children. A 567
young slave owner will not be rough with his old slaves, but will generally behave very kindly towards them, refraining from giving them orders in the way he would command his younger slaves. Age distinctions play a great rôle in relationships between Tuareg and their slaves, and a description of Tuareg slavery should not only outline its structure but also underline the fact that we cannot establish very fixed rules for the relationship between Tuareg and slaves, as it varies very much with individuals. Some slave-owners treat their very young slaves almost like their own children, while other slave-owners do not. Some Tuareg are constantly talking disparagingly about their slaves while outwardly appearing to be very kind to them. There are many facets of Tuareg slavery.

The position of slaves as children of their owners causes slaves to belong not only to particular 567
families and family groups, but also to tribes and, in a certain sense, even to classes. I have often noticed 614
this in Ahaggar where tribes within the same class frequently have an attitude towards each other which is described by the Tuareg word *inmeñhaṛen*, that is "to have a feeling of envy or jealousy towards somebody". *Inmeñhaṛen* is rather an attitude of reserve and outward respect than a kind of avoidance. People of tribes or sub-tribes which have *inmeñhaṛen* relationships to one another will not visit each others' camps except on certain occasions when dressed in their best clothes, and they will then behave with the uttermost reservation and respect to each other. If two tribes have such a relationship to one another, it will normally also comprise their slaves, who will behave towards each other in the same fashion. If on the other hand two tribes have institutional joking with one another, as is the case with certain vassal tribes in relation to tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class, there will also be joking between their slaves. There seems to be a strong tendency for the slaves to behave towards each other in a manner corresponding to that of their master.

In spite of the kinship pattern on which the relationships of Tuareg slaves and slave-owners is based, 567
it is most noteworthy that there is always latent joking between them, as there is between many different 571
classes and castes in Tuareg society. On certain occasions a Tuareg slave owner will joke freely even with his young or older slaves, though he will never joke with his children who have to show their father the outmost respect (cf. p. 454). Such a joking relationship is still more common between Tuareg and slaves who are not attached to one another by possession bonds. But it never exists between Tuareg and slaves who are not already known to each other.

The noble Tuareg may also joke with slaves but seem less inclined to do so than Tuareg of other 565
classes. Apart from that, the relationship between noble Tuareg and slaves does not deviate from the 567
description presented above. Noble Tuareg can marry slave women though they cannot easily marry 64
Tuareg women of the vassal class. This may seem rather strange, but is in fact not so unusual as it might seem. We have stated above (p. 429 f.) that the reason why noble Tuareg and vassals could not

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



565 easily intermarry was to be looked for in the structure of the political system based upon the division
567 of society into noble and vassal classes. A marriage between nobles and vassals would apparently tend
64 to break down the political structure, but this would not be the case with a marriage between a noble Tuareg and a slave woman, for slaves are attached to the tribe of their masters as their "children" and play no part in political structure. Furthermore, if a noble Tuareg marries a slave-girl belonging to him, their children will also be able to adopt a noble status.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Bedouin MJ4

# Diffusion and Function in Social Organization

T 121

The problems connected with diffusion of so-called social traits have been only superficially studied by anthropologists, who hold very different views about this matter. Thus Murdock stresses that "the forms of social organization seem singularly impervious to diffusion" and that "traits of social structure appear to be borrowed, in general, only under conditions in which the same traits would be independently elaborated even in the absence of culture contacts" (Murdock 1949, p. 196). This extreme view is that adopted by some anthropologists, while other scholars agree with Lowie that diffusion has played a large part in the distribution of traits of social organization (Lowie 1950, p. 261; 1953, p. 421 f.).

It is often stated in anthropological literature that there is not necessarily any functional connection between a particular type of social organization and a particular type of economic culture. This was shown very clearly by Wissler for the American Indians (cf. Wissler 1922). In regard to Northern Africa we have a type of patrilineal social organization which is shared by all Arabs, whether settled agriculturists or true nomads, and we have another type of social organization among Tuareg-speaking pastoralists and agriculturists. Arab and Tuareg pastoralists have largely the same type of economy, but differ much in social organization. The same holds for Arab and Tuareg agriculturists.

B 613 [114]

I have never studied Arab social organization in great detail. The patrilineages of North African Arab pastoralists have been brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard in regard to the bedouins of Cyrenaica (Evans-Pritchard 1949), and the Arab bedouins I have visited (e.g., *Ulad Ba Ḥammu*, *Chamba*, *Larba*, *Ulad Nail*) apparently have lineage-systems of much the same type. The *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* tribe falls into four maximal patrilineages which again divide into lesser patrilineal units. An Arab is named after an ancestor of a minor patrilineage of his tribe and by an individual name. When he writes his name the ancestral name comes first. A *Chamba* Arab I knew well was named *Ben Hadid Sayah*. *Sayah* was his personal name while *Ben Hadid* ("son of *Hadid*") referred to the ancestor of his patrilineage with a depth of five generations.

B 601

It seems as if Arab kinship terminology is of very much the same type throughout North Africa. I have taken down the systems used among the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba*, and they appear to be identical apart from dialectical distinctions. The systems are characterized by a preference for descriptive terms. Those for "father" and "mother" are not used for kinsmen other than the true parents, though a father's brother may be called "father" if the true father has died. There is a term for "grandfather" and "grandmother" which can be used for all grandparents, while kinsmen of lower generations are known by descriptive terms so that it is always clear whether a kinsman belongs to

[p. 447]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Bedouin M34
Arabs M10



B 601 the father's or the mother's family. Should a man's father have married into his own patrilineage the mother's patrilineal family, however, is generally referred to by the terms given to paternal relatives.

B 602 Kinship behaviour is characterized by a respect-relationship towards older generations. There is also a kind of avoidance between certain in-laws known as *nsib* (male) or *nsiba* (female). The avoided relatives in-law are the following:— father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, younger brother's wife, younger sister's husband, older brother of spouse, older sister of spouse. Other in-laws known as *hamm* (male) or *hamma* (female) are not avoided; these are:— older sister's husband, younger brother of spouse, older brother's wife, younger sister of a spouse (cf. Miner 1953, p. 146). When B 582 the levirate is practised a wife can marry a younger brother of her deceased husband, but not his elder brother, just as in the case of the sororate a man can marry a younger sister of his deceased wife but not her elder sister. Thus marriage between persons of the same generation is not permitted should there already be an established avoidance relationship between them. People involved in an avoidance relationship cannot marry.

B 582 584 An interesting and much discussed trait of Arab social organization is preferential marriage with a father's brother's daughter. Most Arabs I have questioned claimed her to be the most suitable spouse, but they also said that for various reasons other types of marriage frequently took place. It might happen, for example, that marriage of this preferential type was not contracted because of conflict between the two families in question. But the factor which frequently leads to marriages of types other than that with a father's brother's daughter seems to be the following:— In an Arab family, the father has the decisive, final word in choosing spouses for his children. The children when contracting a first marriage are forced to marry the persons chosen by their father. Even so, however, the choice is frequently the result of the mother's initiative for she knows the young girls far better than does her husband. She is able to visit them, can talk freely to them, and she knows their characters and their abilities. A husband will therefore often give way to his wife's wishes even if she chooses a maternal cousin or some girl other than the father's brother's daughter.

B 582 I have already mentioned certain relatives with whom marriage is forbidden when the levirate and the sororate are practised. There are many other kinswomen whom a man is not allowed to marry, namely:— all kinswomen of the parents' and the grandparents' generations, brother's daughter, brother's daughter's daughter, brother's son's daughter, sister, sister's daughter, sister's daughter's daughter, sister's son's daughter.

A T 177 The Arabs I know best are those who live in Tuareg country, and some of them have been much influenced by Tuareg social customs. Many of these Arabs are bi-lingual, speaking of their kinsmen both in Arabic and in Tuareg. Sometimes they seem to be in doubt whether it is better to marry a father's brother's daughter than a cross-cousin. The *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, who lead a pastoral life in Ahaggar and are much mixed with the Tuareg, pay bride-wealth like the vassal Tuareg tribes, but this is not so with *Ahl Azzi* Arabs who are sedentary and live at Tamanraset. These sedentary Arabs never give camels for bride-wealth, but instead certain articles of dress and ornaments, the price of which is about 25,000 French francs, equivalent in value to a camel. A less comprehensive dowry is given by the bride's father. The food expenses connected with a marriage are paid in part by the groom or his father, and in part by the bride's father. The sedentary agriculturists, the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*),

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Arabs M10



pay bride-wealth like sedentary Arabs or pastoral Tuareg, but should they not pay bride-wealth in animals like pastoral Tuareg but follow the custom of sedentary Arabs, they generally pay less than the Arabs. The *Ḥarratin*, who have Arabic as their mother tongue, generally follow the Arab rules of social organization, while negroid agriculturists, who descend from Tuareg slaves and speak Tuareg, practise the rules of the Tuareg social system. A 177

Tuareg kinship systems differ radically from the Arab system just mentioned. The Tuareg have many descriptive terms for relatives, but these are also grouped together under very few terms in classificatory systems which are somewhat different in the various Tuareg groups. However, it seems to be a main characteristic of most true Tuareg kinship systems that there are distinctive terms for cross-cousins and parallel cousins. Here I describe in some detail the kinship systems of the Ahaggar Tuareg and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. T 601

## AHAGGAR

Most relatives of ascending generations are known as "father" (*abba*) and "mother" (*anna*). But there is a particular term for "mother's brother" (*añet ma*), which is also used for certain other relatives of the mother's family, particularly for persons who are related to Ego in the maternal line. Thus the term *añet ma* is used for mother's mother's brother, for mother's mother's sister's son, and also for any older relatives matrilineally related to Ego, e.g., mother's mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's son. Two relatives of the mother's family are not necessarily matrilineally related to Ego, but are nevertheless termed *añet ma*, namely mother's mother's brother's son and mother's father's brother's son.

Relatives of Ego's own generation are known as "brothers and sisters", or as cross-cousins. Brothers and sisters can be referred to as *añaten* (sing. *aña*) and *tañatin* (sing. *welet ma*), but these terms are used mainly for composed descriptive terms, e.g., *aña n ti s em ma*, that is "mother's father's brother". Speaking of brothers and sisters the Ahaggar Tuareg will generally use terms which refer to age. There are terms for "elder brother" (*amekkar*) and "younger brother" (*amedray*), and similar terms for "elder sister" (*tamekkart*) and "younger sister" (*tamedrayt*). These terms are also used for true and distant parallel cousins, but the true age distinctions are then not the basis of terminology. If Ego's father's brother is older than Ego's father, father's brother's children will be "elder brothers and elder sisters" to Ego. Similarly, mother's sister's children will be "elder brothers and sisters" to Ego if their mother is older than Ego's mother. Distant parallel cousins are known as elder or younger brothers and sisters according to the same principle, the difference in age between grandparents determining whether they should be classified as "elder" or "younger". For true and distant parallel cousins there are additional terms which do not refer to age:— All true and distant parallel cousins of the mother's family are known as *ara n tañatin* ("children of sisters") or as *ara n tediden* ("children of women"), while true and distant parallel cousins of the father's family are called *ara n añaten* ("children of brothers") or *ara n midden* ("children of men").

Relatives of Ego's own generation who are not brothers or sisters are cross-cousins. Male cross-cousins are termed *ibubah* (sing. *ababah*) while female cross-cousins are known as *tibubah* (sing. *tababaht*). Cross-cousins comprise not only children of father's sisters and children of mother's



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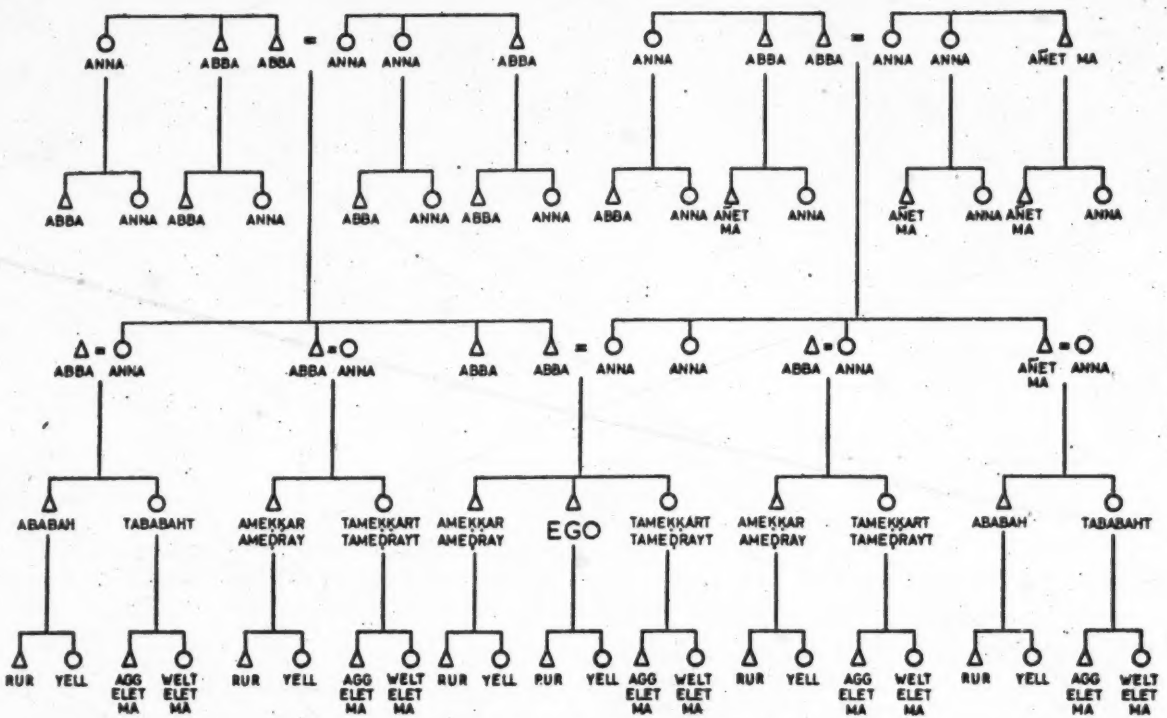


Fig. 293. The kinship system of the Ahaggar Tuareg for Ego male. For Ego female all relatives of descendent generations are "children".

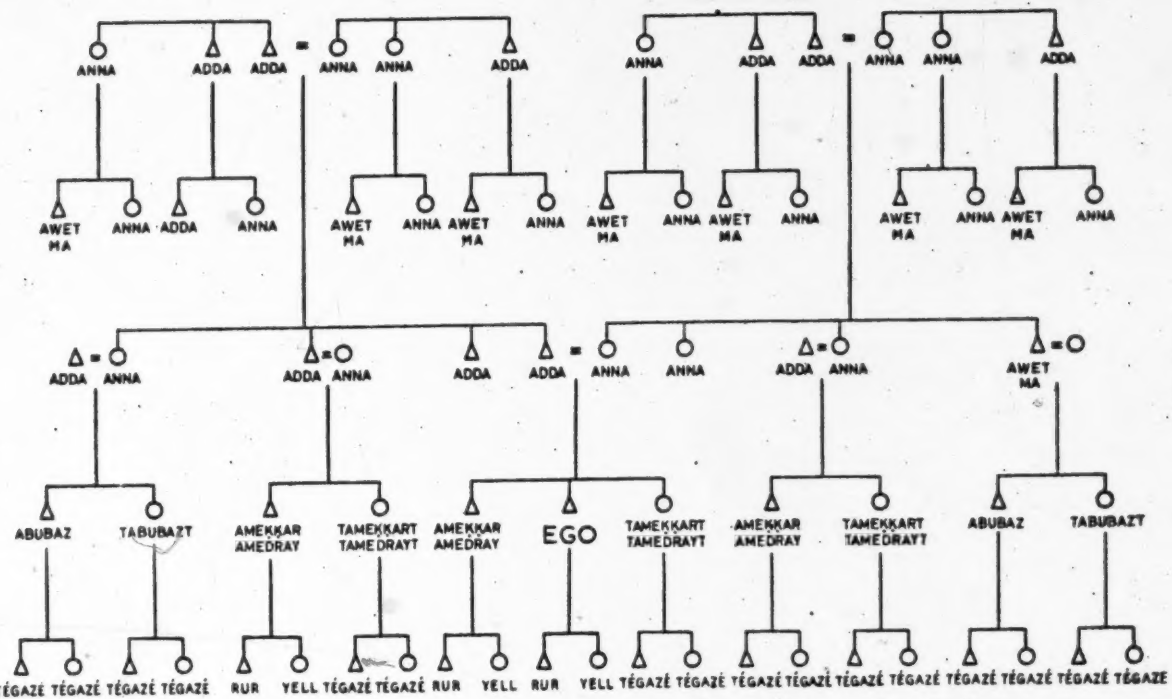


Fig. 294. The kinship system of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg (Ayr) for Ego male. All relatives of descendent generations are "children" to Ego female.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



601 brothers, but also all children of father's female cousins and all children of mother's male counsins.

For descending generations kinship terms are different for Ego male and Ego female. Ego male will call all children of his sisters and all children of his female cousins *agg elet ma* ("sister's son") or *welt elet ma* ("sister's daughter"), while all children of his brothers and all children of his male cousins will be called *rur* ("son") or *yell* ("daughter"). Descendants of persons known as *rur* (*yell*) are known as *rur* (*yell*), descendants of persons known as *agg elet ma* (*welt elet ma*) as *agg elet ma* (*welt elet ma*). Ego female has no "sister's children" but will call all relatives of descending generations *rur* ("son") or *yell* ("daughter"). – Collectively all relatives of the second descending generation are known as *iheyawen* (sing. *ahaya*) or *tiheyawin* (sing. *tahayawt*). This term can be used for descendants of more distant generations as indicated by the tribal name *Iheyawen Hada*, that is "descendants of *Hada*".

## AYR

[84] There are at least two distinct kinship systems in Ayr, both of which differ from that described above in the case of Ahaggar.

[171] The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg have a system related to that of the Hausa-speaking population of Agadez and further south. In *Kel Ewey* the terms for "brothers" and "sisters" are never used classificatorily. All parallel cousins and cross-cousins are known as *ibubazen* (sing. *abubaz*; fem. *tabubazt*), and children of all cousins are known as *tégazé*, which is used both for males and females. The *Kel Ewey*, in contrast to other Tuareg, do not make any distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins. As far as my knowledge goes all this applies only to the true *Kel Ewey* and not for such Tuareg groups as the *Kel Tamat* and the *Ikezkezen* who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey*.

The kinship system of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg comes close to the system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, but the two systems are not identical. The word *anna* ("mother") is used for all female relatives of ascending generations and also for spouses of such relatives, who are called *adda* ("father"). The term for "father" (*adda*) is applied to all grandfathers whether they are patrilineally or matrilineally related to Ego, to father's brothers, and to the husbands of father's sisters and mother's sisters. It is also applied to father's father's sons but not to other male cousins of Ego's father and mother, for all other male cousins of father and mother are termed *awet ma*, the word employed for "mother's brother". Thus the term *awet ma* is used for true mother's brothers and for most male relatives of the parents' generation, while it is never used for matrilineal kinsmen of the second ascending generation. The wives of all males termed *awet ma* are known as *tamtet n awet ma* ("mother's brother's wife") and not as *anna* ("mother").

The Kel Ferwan Tuareg do not use the term *aña* (pl. *añaten*) and welet ma (pl. *tañatin*) for brothers and sisters. When they talk about brothers and sisters without reference to age they use the terms for younger brother (*amedray*, pl. *imedrayen*) and younger sister (*tamedrayt*, pl. *timedrayin*). The term for "elder brother" and "elder sister" are identical with those used in Ahaggar, namely *amekkar* and *tamekkart*. Parallel cousins are called "elder brother" ("younger brother") and "elder sister" ("younger sister") according to the same rule as in Ahaggar. Should their father or mother be older

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than Ego's father or mother, they are considered "elder brothers and sisters". Apart from true brothers 601
and sisters and true parallel cousins, Ego has as "brothers" and "sisters" only the father's father's brothers' sons' children. Whether they should be termed "elder" or "younger" depends upon the difference in age of their grandfathers. These relatives, like the father's brothers' children, are sometimes called *araw n midden* ("children of men") while the term *araw n tedidin* is sometimes used for children of mother's sisters.

The Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group have very few classificatory brothers and sisters. Children of the parents' cousins are cross-cousins with the exception of father's father's brothers' sons' children. In accordance with this we find that most relatives of the first descending generation are known to Ego male as "sister's son" or "sister's daughter" (*tégazé*), while Ego female will call all relatives of her first descending generation "son" (*rur*) or "daughter" (*yell*). She will also use these terms for all relatives of her second descending generation, while Ego male calls all children of *tégazé* relatives *égazé*. – Collectively, all relatives of the second descending generation are known to Ego male and female as *ayaw*.

Classificatory terms are used mainly for terms of reference and less frequently for address. However, grandparents and also their brothers and sisters are generally addressed "father" (*abba*, *adda*) and "mother" (*anna*). Many Tuareg also call their parents' brothers and sisters "father" and "mother", but personal names may also be employed when addressing these relatives, and are frequently used in the case of the parents' cousins. There is a common term of address which is used for all relatives of ascending generations if these relatives are much older than oneself. This term is *amṛar* (fem. *tamṛart*). It is a term of great respect and may be used to address parents-in-law (who rarely are addressed), and even for certain old people though they are not kinsmen. The word *amṛar* is further used as a title of a tribal chief. Kinsmen of one's own generation are generally called by name, though the term for cross-cousin is sometimes used to address cross-cousins in friendly conversation.

The words *ti* ("father") and *ma* ("mother") are not generally used for reference or address. They are employed mainly as descriptive terms, e.g., *ti s n ti s* ("his father's father"), *ma s n ti s* ("his father's mother").

Kinship terminology is different in Ahaggar and in Ayr but there are certain similarities which are even more remarkable for in-law terms. Both in Ayr and in Ahaggar brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are known as *ilusan* (sing. *alegges*) and *tilusin* (sing. *taleggest*), and Tuareg of both groups recognize as such (1) all spouses of true and classificatory brothers and sisters, (2) all spouses of true and classificatory cross-cousins. The terms for parents-in-law and children-in-law are also identical for the two groups; a son-in-law or a father-in-law is called *aḍeggal* (*adeggal* in Ayr) (pl. *iḍulan*), while the feminine form *taḍeggalt* (*tadeggalt* in Ayr) (pl. *tiḍulin*) is used for a mother-in-law or a daughter-in-law. These terms are also used classificatorily and, strictly speaking, a person has as children-in-law the spouses of all relatives called children or sister's children. Consequently parents-in-law comprise all persons called "father", "mother", and "mother's brother" by the spouse.

The Tuareg speak about their kinship relations in terms of a man. They divide all their consanguineous kinsmen into three groups known by the Tuareg terms for "back", "stomach", and "side". The

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601 Ahaggar Tuareg use the following terms for these three classes of kinsmen:— (1) *aruri* ("back") which term is used for relatives of the father's family its true meaning being a group of patrilineally related men; (2) *tésa* ("stomach") which is used for the mother's family with the correct meaning referring to a group of matrilineally related women; (3) *tégehé* ("side", correctly the place between the hips and the lower part of the chest). The proper meaning of this word is "persons descending from sisters and from their parallel female cousins in the maternal line", and is used to indicate the relationship between a man and his true and classificatory sisters' children. – The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr have similar terms with the same meaning:— (1) *aruri* ("back") for father's family; (2) *tédist* ("stomach") for mother's family – the word *tésa* in the Ayr dialect means "liver" and not stomach; (3) *tégazé* ("side") with the same meaning as *tégehé* in Ahaggar; the two words are identical, as the *g* in Ayr is always substituted with a *g*, the *h* frequently with a *z* or *j*. This word in Ayr is used to designate all true and classificatory sister's children, while the Ahaggar Tuareg refer to these relatives by the terms *agg elet ma* and *welt elet ma*. The term *égazé* used by the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg for the children of true and classificatory sister's children is related to *tégazé*; it also refers to part of the side.

602 The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr largely follow the same rules of kinship behaviour. These are outlined below:—

(1) Respect must be shown to all consanguineous relatives of ascending generations, that is respect towards all relatives termed "father", "mother", and "mother's brother".

(2) Respect must be shown to all persons known as "elder brothers" and "elder sisters". Rules of conduct towards such kinsmen are identical with those mentioned above towards kinsmen of ascending generations. Thus a younger brother on a journey with his elder brother will carry out all work as if he was with his father or another kinsman of ascending generations. When with his elder brother he must not talk about any matter referring to sexual life. He must not even talk too much about the copulation of domestic animals, and he should not mention such words as *imzad* and *tindé* – names of musical instruments used at nightly gatherings which may be accompanied by love-making. A man must not ask his elder brother for a gift, but should ask for anything he wants through a third person. When he wishes to marry, the permission of his elder brother should be asked like that of the father and other older relatives. When the father dies the elder brother takes over his position of authority. The identical rules of conduct towards a father (or older relative) and an elder brother can be clearly shown by the following example:— When I lived among the Tuareg I was incorporated in their [123] kinship organization which is the rule for persons who have no relatives among the people they live among. Once I was attached as a younger brother to a man much older than myself. When travelling together among other Tuareg my "elder brother" was occasionally asked: "Are you his father?", and when replying:— "No, I am his elder brother", the questioner would sometimes add:— "Now, there is his father". For classificatory elder brothers (and sisters) the same rules are valid, even though in this case the "elder brother" may in fact be considerably younger than his "younger brother".

605 (3) There is a joking relationship (*tehandezzit* in Ahaggar, *adélen* in Ayr) between all true and classificatory cross-cousins. This joking relationship allows free talk about sexual matters, and when cross-cousins tease each other they frequently refer to matters of sexual life, e.g., "You sleep with old slave women!", "You run after women like a donkey-stallion after a mare!" Teasing permits

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any insolence, even the tearing away of a cross-cousin's veil in public. Insolence always incurs retaliation, and joking frequently gives rise to *tebbillant*, that is a sham-fight. A fight of this kind will normally end with the loosing part running away with something belonging to his cousin. He gives this back only if he feels like it, for cross-cousins are allowed to take each other's things. The same type of joking exists between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law in Ahaggar and in Ayr. 605

(4) There is avoidance between parents-in-law and children-in-law in the way that a man avoids very strictly his mothers-in-law, a woman very strictly her fathers-in-law. This rule of conduct is valid for all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr. A man should not talk to his mother-in-law, and must never eat in her presence; he will avoid her tent, and if visiting her camp he will live at a distance of about one hundred metres from her. Similar rules hold for a woman and her father-in-law. Avoidance is less strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law, and there is generally very little avoidance between a woman and her daughter-in-law. 606

So far we have seen that the Tuareg of Ahaggar and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr follow the same rules of kinship behaviour. But there seems to be one important distinction between the two Tuareg groups. For in Ayr there is an institutional joking relationship (*adélen*) with the wives of mother's brothers including the spouses of the classificatory mother's brothers. This type of joking is similar to that of cross-cousins. The initiative for joking is taken by the mother's brother's wife who begins to tease her husband's sisters' children even when they are babies. The little children soon learn to retaliate and they quickly become those who take the initiative in joking and teasing. – I do not believe that this type of joking with a mother's brother's wife is practised in Ahaggar. It has been denied by informants, but it may perhaps be practised by members of certain tribes which originate in Ayr wherefrom they have immigrated to Ahaggar. Joking with a mother's brother's wife is also unknown in the *Iforas* tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These tribes arrived in Ayr about a hundred years ago from Adrar of the Iforas, where Tuareg have no joking relationship with a mother's brother's wife. 602 184 604

(5) We should mention as a characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour that it is considered the right of a man to take domestic animals from particular kinsmen. 602

In Ahaggar a man can take animals from his father, his father's father, his true mother's brothers, from certain classificatory mother's brothers (mother's mother's sister's son; mother's mother's brother, and the latter's son), from his mother's father, who is not a classificatory mother's brother by name, but it is said that he is much like a mother's brother to the person in question. In addition, cross-cousins, as mentioned above, can take each other's property.

In Ayr it is said that apart from his right to take domestic animals from his cross-cousins a man can also take animals from his parents and his true mother's brothers, though not allowed to take them from any of his classificatory mother's brothers.

I have enquired particularly among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr about this right to take animals from kinsmen. They said that if a man wants to take animals from a kinsman it is necessary for him to inform the "victim" about it through a third person shortly after he has done so. If he does not mention to somebody else that he has taken animals from one of his kinsmen, the act is considered a kind of ordinary theft. But if the "victim" is informed about the matter shortly after the animals have been taken, he can generally not complain about it, as this is considered very poor behaviour.

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602 However, the Tuareg say, a man can complain in very extreme cases when sons or sister's sons constantly take animals from him. I have met several Tuareg who have lost many animals taken by sons and sister's sons. One Tuareg had lost seven camels, taken by his oldest son, who had sold them. The Tuareg was very annoyed about this but he had not complained about it directly to his son. The old drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group was constantly complaining to me about his sisters' sons, who took his animals so that he could not leave so large a fortune to his son. He openly called his sisters' sons "thieves", but as far as I know he did not complain about it to them. I was also told in Ayr that the fact that a man could take animals from herds and flocks of his true mother's brothers would not normally lead to conflict between them. Some Ayr Tuareg said that they were as fond of their sisters' sons as they were of their own children. It can be added that if a man has taken many animals from a mother's brother the latter's son may perhaps be able to retaliate as he has the right to take belongings from this man, who is his cross-cousins.

(6) As the last characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour it may be mentioned that, among certain Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, it is normal for a man to inherit the kinship status of his parents on their death, in the way that he adopts their joking relationships with their classificatory cross-cousins, but he will never inherit a joking relationship with the true cross-cousins of his deceased father and mother.

The above-mentioned rules of kinship behaviour seem traditional to Tuareg social organization and very different from those considered valid among the Arabs. The social systems of Tuareg and 177 Arabs are on the whole most dissimilar, but nevertheless the Arabs and the Tuareg of to-day have 428 exactly the same rules of inheritance which follow Koranic law. It is evident that these rules have been introduced among the Tuareg owing to contact with the Arabs who brought Islam to North Africa. It is very difficult to determine when the Tuareg adopted Islamic inheritance rules, and also to learn about their pre-Islamic inheritance system.

634 In regard to Tuareg rules of succession there can be no doubt that the matrilineal principle was 643 originally recognized in all groups, but the patrilineal principle has been introduced into certain groups owing to Arab influence. The Tuareg who have adopted patrilineal succession are notably the two groups of *Iwilemmeden*, the *Kel Adrar*, and Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class in various groups (cf. Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.; 1950a, p. 213). In fact we know that the *Iwilemmeden* adopted patrilineal succession as early as in the 17th century (cf. Richer 1924, p. 3, 52; Nicolas 1950a, p. 54 f.), and patrilineal succession is undoubtedly also of great age among the *Kel Adrar*, where the dominant tribes belong to the *Ineslemen* class. As to the two important groups of Southern Tuareg, the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, Nicolas states that succession among them is matrilineal, as it is in Ahaggar (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.), and matrilineal succession is also mentioned as traditional to the Ayr Tuareg by Rodd (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). I have not been able to confirm these statements 119 during my investigations among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. All people questioned in these two groups claimed that the proper successor to chieftainship would be the deceased chief's son, though it was admitted among the Ayr Tuareg that a sister's son might be elected chief if considered better fitted for this position than a son. It would be correct to state that both the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* to-day acknowledge the patrilineal principle of succession, but it is not quite certain when they

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adopted this rule. There can be little doubt that it was introduced among them owing to contact with other people, perhaps with the *Ineslemen* Tuareg. The *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, like other Tuareg, once in the past followed matrilineal rules of succession, for this is proved by history and tradition.

It is frequently stated in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the sister's son is the first in the line of succession. As early as Ibn Batutah it is mentioned that among a Southern Tuareg people known as *Mesufa* a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegidda-n-edrar immediately south of the Ayr Massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). Rodd states concerning Ayr that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and refers to the fact that this rule has often been followed at the election of sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). According to Barth, a sister's son was preferred as chief in Ayr and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 374 f.). In the case of the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tasilé-n-Ajjer), Richardson states that the chiefs and sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65 f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have Duveyrier's statement that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship, but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397 ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg), a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). Most *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg have long ago adopted patrilineal succession and Ḳoranic rules of inheritance, but matrilineal traits are found in certain tribes of the *Kel Ataram* group. Gaalon states that the Tuareg of the Cercle de Dori (within the Niger Bend) even follow matrilineal rules of inheritance in the way that a deceased man's sister's son comes first in the line of inheritors. A woman will not generally possess any big fortune – apart from the dowry which on her death goes back to her parents or their family (Gaalon 1939, p. 232). An interesting matrilineal custom is also mentioned from the *Kel Ataram* by Feral. He states that property considered indivisible is still inherited by a sister's son in certain vassal tribes around Gao (Feral 1955, p. 21 f.). During my visit to camps of *Bélla* and noble Tuareg near Ayoru on the Niger I was also able to collect evidence to the existence of matrilineal traits in the *Kel Ataram* group. *Bélla* men informed me that a powerful sister's son among the *Imṛad* or vassal tribes would be able to inherit his mother's brother, and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Tahabanat* tribe claimed that vassals even to-day practise matrilineal inheritance the sister's son being the intestate successor. But all other pastoralists in the region of Ayoru but the vassals follow patrilineal rules of succession and Ḳoranic rules of inheritance.

We see that a sister's son even to-day may have inheritance rights among the South-western Tuareg, and the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors for several Tuareg groups. However, there are also in literature statements that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed in the case of the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97 f.), by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152 f., II, p. 916 f.), and by Lhote, who refers to Benhazera's statement (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Furthermore, Dubief has explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Dubief 1956, p. 89), and

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634 Nicolas says that a maternal cousin is the first in line of succession, not only among the Northern Tuareg,
643 but also among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). This, however, is not correct.
[114] I have been told by many Tuareg in Ahaggar that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies seem to intimate that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Ahaggar Tuareg, whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom, claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statement this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

591 The rules of residence have been outlined in a previous chapter (cf. p. 142 ff.), and I have mentioned
768 that in Ahaggar residence is based upon both the patrilocal and the matrilocal principle as follows:—
586 A man remains with his father after marriage, but after his father's death he joins the camp of his mother and her brothers to live with his matrilineal relatives. A woman after marriage moves to her husband's camp. At her husband's death she will return to her father's camp, and if her father be dead she will join the camp of her mother and her mother's brothers. In case of a divorced woman the same rule is observed, but the children of a divorced couple belong to the father, and stay in his camp as long as he is alive. After his death they belong to the camp where their mother lives. However, the Ahaggar Tuareg sometimes dispense with this rule in case husband and wife belong to different classes or castes (cf. p. 22). It may even happen that children of a dissolved marriage, where husband and wife come from the same class or caste, grow up with their mother – particularly if, when the divorce takes place, the children are so small that they need their mother's care. On the whole, however, the Ahaggar Tuareg follow the rules of residence indicated above, and we have already seen that these particular rules are strongly supported by the authority of the *Amenukal*. The same practise
[178] was perhaps once also followed by the Ayr Tuareg, but, as we have seen (p. 152 f.), in the *Kel Ferwan* group there is nowadays a strong tendency for a man to remain with his patrilineal kinsmen after his father's death. The rules of residence do not play a very important part to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg nowadays. The political unit of the drum-group has very little practical value, economic and political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals have disappeared, and there are no land rights to which certain individuals succeed.

582 In the light of what has been said so far about Tuareg social organization, we shall now consider their traditional rules of marriage. Preferential marriage is that with a cross-cousin; the very best is to marry a mother's brother's daughter, but father's sister's daughter is also considered a suitable choice. An exchange of spouse between two family groups is considered most excellent. It is thus considered ideal for brothers of family A to marry sisters of family B, for brothers of family B to marry sisters of family A.

If Ego marries a classificatory cross-cousin it seems preferably for him to marry one of his mother's
[43] family. This is intimated by a custom connected with marriage in Ahaggar:— At the beginning of the wedding ceremony a pair of sandals should be given to the man who does not marry the bride though traditionally possessing a sort of prior entitlement to do so. Such men are:— (1) the bride's father's sister's son; (2) the bride's father's mother's sister's daughter's son; (3) the bride's father's father's brother's daughter's son.

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The custom of giving sandal gifts to a cross-cousin of the bride is unknown among the *Kel Ferwan* 582
Tuareg, who also claim that cross-cousin marriage and particularly that with a true mother's brother's daughter is the best type of marriage. But though they consider such marriages ideal they admit that some cross-cousin marriages will not last long. For closely related cross-cousins have frequently grown 586
up together, and it is said that such cousins when they have married sometimes agree to dissolve their marriage on the ground that they feel like brother and sister so that there is no mutual attraction or love between them. This is only one of many reasons for divorce which is extremely common in all tribes of Ahaggar and Ayr. Briggs' statement from the Ahaggar Tuareg that divorce is both unusual [114]
and generally frowned upon is absolutely untrue (Briggs 1959, p. 86).

According to the Tuareg there are many reasons why a man should preferably marry a cross-cousin 582
and ideally a mother's brother's daughter. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg I have collected the following arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage:— (1) All people (that is, all Tuareg) descend from one and the same woman, and her sons and daughters consequently had to marry one another. Their offspring established cross-cousin marriage which has been the rule since then. (2) There are many stories told to confirm the contention that cross-cousin marriages are good, while other marriages are bad. There is, for example, the following legend:— Once upon a time the parents of a young Tuareg arranged for him to marry a cross-cousin. This Tuareg, however, was not in love with his cross-cousin but wanted to marry another woman with whom he had no kinship bonds. The result of all this was that he married both his cross-cousin and the other woman. After this it so happened that a heavy punishment was imposed on him by the Sultan. It could be atoned for in one of the following two ways: He could give all his livestock as a fine, or he could have one of his hands cut off. To make his choice he now asked his two wives whether they thought he should loose his hand or rather give away all his stock. The wife to whom he had no bonds of kinship considered that he should keep his animals and have his hand cut off, while his cross-cousin wife asked him to dispose of flock and herd to save his hand. He thus realized that it is best to marry a cross-cousin. (3) It is considered good to marry a cross-cousin because cross-cousins are always extremely good friends. (4) The institutional joking relationship between cross-cousins is considered an important institution in preventing conflicts between married partners. For though joking between two cross-cousins stops on marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between them prevents quarrels and adds to the stable relationship between husband and wife. (5) Cross-cousin marriage has an important economic function as it establishes a constant exchange of persons, goods, and livestock between two families.

The three latter arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage are also supported by the Ahaggar Tuareg. These arguments are very important and will now be discussed in some detail. There is no 605
doubt at all that cross-cousins of both sexes are extremely good friends. They do not joke just to annoy each other, and when joking they laugh and feel very pleased. Cross-cousins who have not seen each other for a considerable time are always pleased to meet. When doing so after a long separation they may make jocular remarks and gestures, but they will also be very kind to each other. They frequently address each other heartily as "cross-cousin", and male cousins will walk around hand in hand, while a woman will do her outmost to please a visiting male cousin. She will serve him the best possible [533]
food, will mend his clothes, and she will play her violin for him. Joking goes with intimate friendship, 582

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582 and the argument that cross-cousin marriage tends to prevent marital conflict is apparently a valid one. I return to his later, and now pass to the last argument that cross-cousin marriage possesses economic functions. To examine this point let us first consider the obligations of two families who intermarry.

## ECONOMIC OBLIGATIONS ON MARRIAGE IN AHAGGAR

602 (a) *Obligations of the groom and his family.*

583 (1) bride-wealth (*taggalt*) which varies according to the social class of the bride. For a noble woman and a woman of the *Iregenaten* tribe it is seven camels, while in most vassal tribes including the *Isekkemaren* bride-wealth comprises only one young camel (*alegges*). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe however two young camels constitute the traditional bride-price, while three camels are given at the marriage of a woman of the *Ibettenaten* tribe. In vassal tribes 25–30 goats can be given instead of one young camel. Bride-wealth is handed over to the bride's father, or, if the father is dead, normally to her elder brother. Bride-wealth animals belong to her father (or elder brother), but it is said that the offspring of bride-wealth animals should be given to the bride or to her children. On a man's first marriage bride-wealth animals are usually given by his father, but if he is divorced and wishes to remarry he will himself furnish the bride-wealth.

585 (2) a camel or a number of goats to be killed for wedding-food (*tardest*). In addition to what is given by the husband or his father, animals to be killed at a wedding may also be brought by visiting relatives.

(3) In noble tribes and among the *Iregenaten* the tent with its straw-mats are given by the husband and/or his relatives.

(4) Some time after marriage it is customary for the husband to give his wife a gift of animals according to his means – a few goats, one or two camels. This gift however remains in the husband's camp so that the animals serve the need of his household.

(5) It does not seem customary in Ahaggar for the groom to give his bride clothes and ornaments, though it is said that in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe the groom has to give his bride two silver bracelets known as *ihebgan* (sing. *ahbeg*).

602 (b) *Obligations of the bride's family.*

583 To illustrate the obligations of the bride's family I list what is considered the proper outfit of the bride in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe as follows:—

1 skin tent (*ihakit*) with the necessary number of poles (cf. p. 364, Figs. 267 ff.).
2 tent mats (*isebran*, sing. *éseber*) plaited from the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) (cf. Figs. 267–269).
3 large decorated skin-bags (*iṛergan*, sing. *aṛreg*) used for storing personal belongings in the tent.
1 *ahaga*, a large container made of untanned camel-hide and used mainly for tanning (Fig. 213).

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5 wooden eating bowls (*tiṛha*, sing. *taṛehat*) (Figs. 195a).
2 wooden milk-bowls (*ikassen*, sing. *akus*) (Fig. 21b).
1 earthen cooking pot (*téṛirt*) (Fig. 187a–b).
10 wooden spoons (*tisukalin*, sing. *tesukalt*) for eating millet porridge, bread, and the like (Fig. 191).
1 metal container (*éṛir*) used for storing butter (Fig. 164).
1 leather cushion (*eddefeṛ*) stuffed with hay.
1 woven carpet (*ahwar*) to be used as a sitting-carpet in the tent, but also as a blanket. It has several colours but is predominantly red. It measures about 1.50 × 5.00 metres.
1 carpet or blanket (*tahwart*) of the same type, but smaller.
1 woven blanket (*tabroḳ*) which serves as a mantle in winter.
5–6 donkey-saddles (*irukan*, sing. *aruku*) (Fig. 86).
5–6 donkeys (*ihéḍan*).
10–40 goats (*ulli*) according to the means of the bride and her family.
1 slave (*akli*) or a slave-girl (*taklit*) may also be given.

All these objects and the animals, which form part of the dowry, are primarily given by the bride's parents, but as the objects and the animals constitute a considerable fortune the parents cannot always provide the necessary dowry. It is customary therefore for close relatives to give a helping hand. Many of the dowry objects are made collectively by Tuareg women of the bride's camp (e.g., skin-bags and donkey-saddles) while other objects are obtained from the blacksmiths (wooden and metal containers, etc.). The skin tent and the tent mats are also often made by the women of the bride's camp.

The bride-wealth and other objects given by the groom and his family are less comprehensive and less valuable than the dowry given by the bride's family. The two bride-wealth camels given among the *Dag Ḳali* may sometimes be used by the bride's father to cope with some of the expenses connected with the raising of the dowry, but they do not cover his total expenses. However, if we consider a marriage of the ideal type, that is a man marrying his mother's brother's daughter, the bride's father will willingly help his sister's son who is to become his son-in-law, and the dowry will not be lost in the event of divorce, as the wife will then bring all dowry back with her to her father's camp. 602 583 [586]

## ECONOMIC OBLIGATIONS ON MARRIAGE IN AYR (KEL FERWAN)

(a) *Obligations of the groom and his family.* 602

(1) bride-wealth (*taggalt*) is not paid according to fixed rules as in the Northern Tuareg groups. The size of bride-wealth is always discussed. Thus it is said that virgins are valued higher than experienced women, and that bride-wealth is higher for a wealthy woman than for a poor one. In most *Kel Ferwan* tribes bride-wealth constitutes one to three camels, but poor people may accept even two camel feet (that is half part in a camel) as bride-wealth for their daughter. In noble tribes there is also no fixed size of bride-wealth which is said to vary from ten to twenty camels for a noble woman – the deceased 583

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583 drum-chief *Agg-Elkhir*'s son, *Khejji*, gave twenty camels for his wife. In certain tribes living around Agadez bride-wealth is nowadays also paid in cash. At a man's first marriage bride-wealth is paid by his father and is given to the bride's father who can dispose of the camels at his discretion. In the *Kel Ferwan* group all bride-wealth must be handed over to the bride's father before marriage takes place.

(2) *tisrar*, that is a gift to the bride and a gift of food to her parents who arrange the wedding-feast. These gifts are given by the husband or his parents and comprise the following:—

[291] 15 metres of cotton for two outer skirts (sing. *téri*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for one under-skirt (*tesegbes*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for a woman's shirt (*aftek*) (cf. p. 293, Fig. 239a).
3 *ilechchan* (sing. *alechchu*), indigo-dyed pieces of cotton which serve as the headcloth (*adalil*) of a married woman (cf. p. 14, 293).
1–2 pairs of *iratimen* (sing. *ératem*), sandals of the *takalmi*-type (cf. p. 298, Fig. 242b).

[212] The amount of food to be given for the entertainment of wedding guests varies, but in general is estimated at 100–200 kgs millet (*énélé*), 10–15 litres of butter (*wiji*), and 5 litres of Sudanese honey (*tariwat*), plus an ox.

The gifts of cotton and food should be brought to the bride's father before marriage with the bride-wealth. The bride should not see the bride-wealth animals, nor should she see the gift of cotton until it has been made into her wedding clothes.

585 (3) The groom and his family have no obligations towards the bride and her family other than those mentioned above, but the groom is expected to give certain gifts to his wife after marriage:—

One gift is known as *timigint*. Before the bride is led into the wedding tent where the groom awaits her (cf. p. 474), the women who lead the veiled bride will claim a promise of *timigint* for the bride. On behalf of the groom one of his friends will promise to give the bride a gift – perhaps a camel – though there is no rule for the size of this gift. When the promise is given the women lead the bride into the tent. It is said that the groom is never forced later to give the *timigint* gift promised.

Some time after marriage the groom is expected to give his wife certain silver ornaments, notably the following:—

[301] *i'izabatin*, a pair of large ear-rings.
*ténélét*, a ring-formed pendant.
*zakkat*, the so-called Cross of Agadez, and the so-called Cross of Iferwan.
*tadnet* (perhaps not correctly spelled), a necklace.
*térewt* (pl. *téra*) *ta n tejekkot*, a silver ornament attached to the hair braid at the back of the head.

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(b) *Obligations of the bride's family*:—

The bride's family has to provide her with everything necessary for domestic life:— 583

1 mat tent (*éhen*) (cf. p. 350 ff., Figs. 265a–f).
1 bed (*tédabut*) (Fig. 212a).
2–3 bed mats (*isebran*) (Fig. 212b).
Further: skin-bags, eating bowls, spoons, cooking pots, etc. A certain number of domestic animals should also be included in the dowry of a bride.

It is clear that both in Ahaggar and in Ayr a marriage is connected with great expenses both for the 584
groom's and the bride's families. In view of this it may seem important that cross-cousin marriage 602
creates a fixed system of exchange between two families which have definite relations to one another.

When marriages are contracted the economic aspects are not considered most important by all 581
Tuareg. Some Tuareg will let their daughters marry less wealthy people if they are considered good men. But to many, and I believe most, Tuareg the economic aspect of marriage is important, and it is generally said that it is more difficult for poor people to obtain a spouse than it is for wealthy people. A poor girl cannot so easily find a husband as a wealthy one, and wealthy girls can be married even though they are not very good-looking.

Normally, a widow will not have much difficulty in getting married again even though she has one 587
or a few children, and the same holds good for a divorced woman. But it is most remarkable that, in Ahaggar, a widow cannot remarry if she has a half-grown son of 12–15 years old who is opposed to her marriage. If the boy is unwilling to let his widow mother marry, people will normally try to induce him to yield to his mother's wish by means of gifts. But if the boy refuses nothing more can be done, and the case cannot even be brought before the *Amenukal*. There may be several reasons for this particular custom, and the following two points should be noted:— (1) When the boy's mother remarries it may imply a shift of residence, as she will join her husband's camp and the boy would live with his mother. (2) The boy's inheritance rights are reduced when his mother remarries. This is evident when we consider the rules of inheritance described above p. 137 f. If his mother does not remarry the boy is the sole inheritor of her whole fortune. If his mother marries again her new husband and his children with the boy's mother will have important inheritance rights to her fortune, while the boy will have no right to inherit from his stepfather.

Inheritance rights in connection with rules of residence are facts which are considered important 581
to most Tuareg when desirous of arranging marriages for their children. A woman cannot marry 584
without her parents' consent, and a man who wants to marry will have to ask his parents and a great many other relatives of ascending generations, including his elder brothers. However, what really matters is the word given by his father. If the father agrees to his son's marriage there will not generally be any further complications about its realization. If the father disagrees there will be no marriage, though in Ahaggar a grown man can bring his case before the *Amenukal* should his father not allow him to marry the woman he wants (cf. p. 400 f.).

First marriages are frequently arranged by the parents (the father) and are not necessarily contracted
with cross-cousins.

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582 with cross-cousins. There are very few relatives with whom marriage is strictly forbidden. A man must not marry a kinswoman of ascending generations, and he should not marry a woman who is his mother-in-law (daughter-in-law) from a previous marriage. With the exception of his own true sisters he is allowed to marry any kinswoman of his own generation, and in the first descending generation he can marry all women except his own daughters and daughters of his brothers and sisters.

582 In Ahaggar where the Tuareg practise a fixed system of patrilocal and matrilocal rules of residence,
591 cross-cousin marriages will imply shifts of residence which can be avoided by other types of marriage.
581 Many Ahaggar Tuareg prefer to arrange for their sons marriages with a mother's sister's daughter (that is a classificatory sister) or with her daughter (that is a classificatory sister's daughter). When the Tuareg thus marry directly into their own matrilineage there will be no shift of residence from one camp (tribe) to another, and children will have rights of inheritance and succession to kinsmen of the same local group. Marriage with a mother's sister's daughter or with her daughter is in fact better suited to rules of inheritance, succession, and residence than is marriage with a cross-cousin. I have met many Ahaggar Tuareg who claimed marriage with a mother's sister's daughter to be preferable to cross-cousin marriage, though they admitted that the latter was traditionally the preferred type.

582 My statistical material, which is not very comprehensive, seems to indicate that in Ahaggar marriages with a mother's sister's daughter and with her daughter are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins. This may be seen from the composition of 44 marriages contracted with kinswomen:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 3 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that marriage with a mother's sister's daughter or with her daughter is also practised among them, but that such marriages are not particularly common. This agrees with my statistical material which is very scarce also from the Ayr Tuareg:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 14 |
| No blood-relationship | 8 |
| Marriages total | 39 |

[178] These statistics are less valuable than those from Ahaggar, for they are collected mainly from tribes
582 living around Agadez where social customs tend to fall into disuse. However, cross-cousin marriages
591 are still very common in these tribes where there is a tendency to follow patrilocal rules of residence and patrilineal succession. The reason why the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg do not consider marriages with

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women of their own matrilineage particularly suitable seems to be connected with these rules of residence and succession. Marriages with maternal kinswomen are clearly advantageous to the Ahaggar Tuareg, where residence is ultimately matrilocal, while such marriages in Ayr have no proper justification.

Tuareg kinship systems in Ahaggar and among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg seem to be adapted to cross-cousin marriage. Parallel cousins are termed brothers and sisters, while there is a particular term for cross-cousins and between them an institutional joking relationship which facilitates contact and marriage. The Tuareg seem to admit that one function of joking between cross-cousins is to promote marriages between them, and they say that in the period during which a man and a woman are in love with each other before marriage – a period which is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *térejjek* – there will always be joking between them even though the two persons are unrelated.

Joking relationship between cross-cousins has another function in addition to that of facilitating marriage. In the description of political systems it has been mentioned that joking plays a rôle in preventing conflicts between people of different classes and castes. When a man marries a cross-cousin, his cross-cousins will become brothers and sisters-in-law with whom joking continues, and there will always be joking with the brothers and sisters of a spouse unless a man marries a particular kinswoman (cf. p. 466). It is the rule that there is joking with brothers and sisters in-law who preferably are also one's cross-cousins so that this joking relationship should in such cases have existed even before marriage. I believe that this convention helps to restrict conflicts between a person and the spouse's family of his own generation, and that joking between in-laws of the same generation has much the same function as has avoidance between parents-in-law and sons and daughters-in-law. There can be no doubt that this type of avoidance is important to the maintenance of good relations between in-laws of different generations, the more so as the Tuareg explain their avoidance relationships by saying that it is only natural that avoidance is particularly strict between people of different sexes in the way that a man avoids his mother-in-law very strictly, a woman her father-in-law equally strictly, for a man has a particularly strong influence over his son, and a woman possesses a corresponding influence over her daughter; consequently conflicts between a man and his mother-in-law, and between a woman and her father-in-law can easily arise.

Radcliffe-Brown was the first to point out the identical functions of joking and avoidance. These outwardly such different types of behaviour both serve to prevent conflicts between in-laws (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56 ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). This theory is very important, and I believe that it is not only confirmed but augmented by the material I have brought back from the Tuareg. It is clear that conflicts cannot easily arise between two persons who avoid each other, and the same is true of two joking partners as when everything is permitted, it is difficult to quarrel. Morally, joking is considered a very good thing, and cross-cousins who do not like to joke much are in public opinion bad cross-cousins. However, the intensity of joking between cross-cousins depends very much on the age difference between the two if they belong to the same sex. There will always be much joking between cross-cousins of the same age, while cross-cousins of very different age will joke very little or not at all. With extreme difference in age, two male cross-cousins may even change their joking relationship into avoidance, though this does not seem to be normal.

582 In case of cross-cousins of different sex, the difference in age does not seem to diminish joking
604 between them, and it is most interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have an institutional joking
606 relationship in the case of a mother's brother's wife (cf. p. 455). This joking relationship, like that between cross-cousins and in-laws of the same generation, is definitely also a relationship of great friendship, and it has a very particular function in connection with cross-cousin marriage. For if a man marries the cross-cousin who is considered the best possible spouse, namely his mother's brother's daughter, it is evident that mother's brother's wife with whom he has a relationship of intense joking will become his mother-in-law. In other words:— When a man marries according to traditional rules he will acquire a reciprocal avoidance relationship to a woman with whom he had intense joking until marriage. So it seems as if joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife serves the purpose of preventing conflicts and creating a bond of friendship between a man and his future mother-in-law.
606 It can be added that the relationship between a man and his mother-in-law is normally one of great friendship, though they very often avoid each other to the extent that they never speak together. A son-in-law and a mother-in-law will frequently exchange gifts during visits to each others' camps, but will generally avoid each other in the way that a man visiting his mother-in-law's camp will stay at a distance of up to a hundred metres from her tent. The relationship of avoidance is somewhat different in case son-in-law and mother-in-law live together in the same camp, though they will always avoid each other to the extent that they talk extremely little to one another and never eat in each other's presence.

602 Joking and avoidance between Tuareg in-laws no doubt constitute a fixed system of behaviour
582 adapted to a particular marriage type, namely that with a cross-cousin — ideally with a mother's brother's daughter. If a man marries a woman with whom he has no blood relationship he will practise joking with his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and avoidance towards his parents-in-law. His behaviour towards all these in-laws will not differ from that he would adopt towards his in-laws if he were married to a cross-cousin. But if a man marries a kinswoman who is not his cross-cousin he will not always obtain relationships of joking and avoidance towards all in-laws. To illustrate this I mention the following examples from the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group:—

(1) If a man marries the daughter of a true cross-cousin he will not achieve any joking relations with his brothers and sisters-in-law. He will not avoid a cross-cousin who is his parent-in-law, but he will cease to joke with him or her. The same rule is probably valid for the cross-cousin's spouse, who will be a classificatory brother-in-law or a sister-in-law.

(2) If a man marries a daughter of a classificatory cross-cousin he may joke with his brothers and sisters-in-law, but there will be no avoidance relationships in regard to the parents-in-law.

(3) If a man marries the daughter of a classificatory child or a classificatory sister's child there will be joking with his brothers and sisters-in-law. I assume that in this case there will also be avoidance between a man and his parents-in-law.

(4) If a man marries a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter there will be no joking with his true brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, but there will be some avoidance towards the parents-in-law.

Joking, and to some extent also avoidance, are modes of behaviour which are particularly adapted
000 to cross-cousin marriage, or to marriages with foreign women. The same is perhaps the case with

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Fig. 295. Tuareg women drumming and singing at a feast. The drum is a large mortar provided with a piece of goat-skin. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

The same is perhaps the case with

583 bride-wealth which does not constitute a proper purchase. The payment of bride-wealth may have an economic aspect, but its main function is most probably not a purely economic one.

583 What then is the function of bride-wealth? I believe that this question can be answered if we consider
586 Tuareg feelings towards bride-wealth in case of divorce. If a man divorces his wife because she has
848 committed adultery, he has the right to the return of his bride-wealth animals, but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that it is improper to claim the return of bride-wealth whatever the cause of the divorce, and the Ayr Tuareg consider it most disgraceful. It would be shameful, utterly improper in fact, if a dissolved marriage has been blessed with children. For children born of a marriage dissolved by the husband taking back his bride-wealth are very much like *anibu*, that is "a child born out of wedlock". Bonds of kinship in respect of illigitimate children are not socially recognized. These children are looked down upon even by their true kinsmen. Illigitimate children therefore have great difficulty in getting married, and this is also true of their mothers. Nobody wants to marry a woman who has children born out of wedlock, while a divorced woman having one or several children can easily get re-married.

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T 583 586 848 It would seem from all this that the main function of bride-wealth is to create a social bond between two families that intermarry, and is a sort of confirmation of the social rights of the children. When bride-wealth is not taken back at the dissolution of a marriage the marriage is not socially dissolved. When two people divorce they continue to have each other's relations as in-laws with whom they have joking and avoidance exactly as if they were still married, and the children continue to have their full rights within both families.

The fact that bride-wealth is the outward symbol of the persistence of in-law relations when a marriage is dissolved, discloses the true meaning of bride-wealth, which is more clearly understood when we consider that children of a dissolved marriage, provided the bride-wealth is not claimed back, will belong to the father as long as he is alive, and not to the mother. The mother and her family obtain no right to the children until their father has died. It is further stated by some Tuareg that a child of a dissolved marriage from which bride-wealth is taken back will have no right to inherit its father. Bride-wealth is a symbolic expression of the new bonds established between two families at a marriage, and it places children of this marriage in the father's family until his death, and secures their inheritance rights in respect of the father and his paternal kin. All this seems to agree with the fact that the Northern Tuareg vassals, who give bride-wealth in goats, do not always hand over all animals at a marriage. The full payment may be postponed for some years, but should be accomplished before the birth of a child.

T [171] The explanation I have given of the functional position of Tuareg bride-wealth would seem to be in agreement with Radcliffe-Brown's account of the functional position of the *lobola* payments of South Africa. Radcliffe-Brown says that one of the chief functions of *lobola* is to fix the social position of the children of a marriage. If the proper payment is made by a family, then the children of the woman who comes to them in exchange for the cattle belong to that family (Radcliffe-Brown 1952, p. 30). This is also stated by Krige (cf. Krige 1937, p. 113).

M 582 The functional position of Tuareg bride-wealth should perhaps also be viewed in the light of recent investigations on the function of bride-wealth in Middle Eastern societies, where preferential marriage is that to a father's brother's daughter. This preferential marriage type has been explained in different ways by different authors. Westermarck says that marriages with a father's brother's daughter are popular because they keep the property in the family, and especially popular in shereefian families, because they preserve the blood pure (Westermarck 1914, p. 53). The argument that marriage with a father's brother's daughter keeps property within the family has been recognized also by Granquist (cf. Granquist 1931, p. 78), and by many other anthropologists. But this argument is valid only when Koranic law is observed, which is not always the case (F. Barth 1954, p. 170; cf. Murphy & Kasdan 1959, p. 17).

Wellhausen observed that marriage with a paternal cousin served the purpose of strengthening the kinship tie within the family, and he believed that marriages contracted within a village had the function of solidifying relationships between its inmates (cf. Westermarck 1914, p. 56). Quite recently this viewpoint has been taken up and reformulated by F. Barth who states that marriage with a father's brother's daughter plays a prominent rôle in solidifying the minimal lineage as a corporate group in factional struggle (F. Barth 1954, p. 171), while Murphy and Kasdan, who refer to Barth's study

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Fig. 296. Tuareg women dancing in front of professional musicians of Agadez. Ayr, the *Igradiynen* tribe.

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state the converse proposition that it underlies the extreme fission process characteristic of Arab lineage structure the one structural function of the institution promoting the segmentation process. From this point of view feud and fission are not at all dysfunctional factors, but are necessary for the continuity and viability of Bedouin society (Murphy & Kasdan 1959, p. 18). Such theories of marriage with a father's brother's daughter and its functional connection with the political system may contain an important element of truth, though Westermarck was told in Morocco that cousin marriages easily lead to quarrels between the husband's and the wife's families, both of whom want to interfere in the married life of the couple. Furthermore, Westermarck observes that this argument against cousin marriage was used by the Arab poet, Mu'allakāt (Westermarck 1914, p. 54 f.).

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All over the Near and Middle East where marriages with a father's brother's daughter constitute the traditional type of mating, it is a rule that a man should have the right to marry his paternal cousin for a reduced price or only pay the wedding expenses. This custom is richly confirmed in the literature from North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula. It has also been observed among the Kurds by F. Barth, who thinks that bride-wealth is paid should a man not marry a paternal cousin, as compensation to the bride's father because he does not secure that reinforcement of his minimal lineage which would have been acquired had his daughter married his brother's son (cf. F. Barth 1954,

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582 p. 168 ff.). I do not want to judge this theory as I have little personal knowledge of the North African
583 Arabs who practise marriage with a paternal cousin. However, the argument that one of the chief
[114] functions of the bride-wealth is the confirmation of the social position of the children of a marriage, seems also valid for bride-wealth customs among people who practise preferential paternal cousin marriage, for it is clear that should a man marry a father's brother's daughter she will not have to change her social group after marriage. Furthermore, the fathers of the groom and the bride are brothers who among North African Arabs may own livestock and other types of property in common.

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582 Tuareg cross-cousin marriage is symetrical, but the very best cross-cousin to marry is the true
604 mother's brother's daughter. This would seem to agree with the very close relationship between a
613 man and his mother's brother of the same matrilineage. A man has succession rights after his mother's brother, and many Tuareg say that the relationship between sister's son and mother's brother is as close as that between father and son. A man should do his outmost to defend his mother's brother, and it is very likely that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter has as its chief function the reinforcement of the matrilineage. It can here be added that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter will not easily lead to quarrels between the families of the married couple, because the fathers of the groom and the bride are cross-cousins and/or brothers-in-law, and consequently there is an institutional joking relationship between them.

We should perhaps explain Tuareg marriage with a mother's brother's daughter in the light of its importance for the reinforcement and maintenance of the matrilineage which has important social functions in Tuareg society. However, this marriage type does not exempt the groom or his family from paying bride-wealth.

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[171] It is interesting to note that among the South African Bantu, who give bride-wealth (*lobola*) at a marriage, the groom is expected to assist his parents-in-law whenever they need his help (Krige 1937,
T
606 p. 113). This is also so among the Tuareg who claim that parents-in-law and sons-in-law should always support each other even if they be in-laws of dissolved marriages from which bride-wealth has not been claimed back. Indeed, some Tuareg consider it a very good thing to have contracted several marriages and thus to have obtained many in-laws who are expected to assist their son-in-law when he needs their help.

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582 Finally, I add the statement of some Ahaggar Tuareg that bride-wealth payment is often considered
583 less essential where a man has married a maternal cousin or her daughter because in that event husband and wife are maternal relatives who, in case maternal cousin marriage is practised within their families, may be closely related also in the paternal line.

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585 Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the marriage is ratified by representatives of the groom and the bride
[593] before an *Aneslem*, that is to say a marabut. This may take place on the first day of the wedding ceremony, but it may as well be done days, weeks, or even months before the wedding takes place. The parents of the groom and the bride may have the marriage ratified even though their children do not want to be married. The wedding ceremonies in Ahaggar and Ayr differ slightly, but they are no doubt functionally identical.

In Ahaggar the marriage ceremony is briefly as follows:—

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(1) The wedding is held close to the camp of the bride's family. A flat sandy place is selected for the ceremony. Relatives and guests from other tribes arrive at this place on the first day of the wedding feast. They are greeted by members of the bride's family, and are offered tea and food. Early in the afternoon the ceremonial ride termed *ilugan* is performed (cf. p. 104 f.). After darkness the guests gather at the wedding place to drum and sing, to play the violin, and slaves and certain vassals dance to the accompaniment of women, who sing and clap their hands. The party will continue in this way until about midnight when all music and singing ceases. – The ceremonial camel ride and the musical gatherings here described are not attended by the bride or the groom. At this juncture they are separated from each other in tents hidden from the wedding place and pitched in opposite directions. They sit in particular tents and both have their faces closely veiled. The groom wears several veils wrapped around his head and face allowing only a very narrow slit for the eyes. The bride is still more closely veiled by a piece of cotton around her head.

(2) When the guests have stopped making music shortly before midnight, preparations are made for the first ceremonial meeting of the bride and the groom at the sandy wedding place. Digging with potsherds, wooden and metal containers, and with their hands the women make a little sand-hill about one metre high and just big enough for two people to sit upon it. When this sand-hill, known as *adebel*, is erected, the wedding tent is brought to the ceremonial place with loud cheers, shrills, and drumming. The sheet of skin is to be suspended over the sand-hill, but before this is done a woman lies down upon the ceremonial hill with a pole in each of her hands. The tops of these poles she presses firmly against each other. While the woman lies thus, two men take up position on each side of the hill with the recumbent woman. They now throw the tent skin between them three times over the sand-hill and the woman. When this is done the tent is erected over the sand-hill in a very imperfect way the sheet resting upon the two poles buried in the ground in the front and upon a shorter pole at the back. The lower part of the skin-sheet is kept to the ground by means of sand and stones. A blanket (*ahwar*) is finally placed over the sand-hill, and most people now leave the wedding tent to fetch the groom and the bride.

(3) Shortly after the erection of the wedding tent the groom leaves his camp in the company of a great many young men. They lead the closely-veiled groom towards the wedding tent, and walk slowly, singing certain Koranic passages. Arrived at the ceremonial place the procession with the groom walks three times around the tent, keeping to the right, and the groom is then led into the tent where he sits down upon the sand-hill. The men squat around the tent to await the arrival of the bride. They talk now and then to the groom who does not reply, or does so in a very low voice.

(4) The bride comes to the wedding tent about half an hour or an hour later than the groom. She is led by a procession of young women, and she walks in the middle of the procession which proceeds with extremely small steps, giving the impression that it hardly moves at all. The young women of the procession lead the bride towards the tent with singing, drumming, and loud cheers and shrills. When they have arrived at the tent they walk around it with the bride three times, keeping to the left, and then stop before the entrance. They claim a pair of sandals for one of the bride's cross-cousins (cf. p. 443, 459); when the sandals have been handed over they lead the bride into the tent where she is placed upon the sand-hill behind the groom. The bride and the groom are thereupon left to themselves, while

575 young people of both sexes begin to drum and sing at a short distance from the wedding tent. They do that not only to amuse themselves but also to pay homage to the couple to be married. They continue to sing and drum until shortly before sunrise, when everybody leaves the place. Shortly afterwards the groom and the bride leave the wedding tent to walk back to their individual tents situated in opposite directions of the wedding place.

(5) In the morning at about ten or eleven o'clock the wedding tent is taken down to be erected again in a normal way at a short distance from the first place it was pitched. Care is taken that the sand-hill is left untouched; it is never touched by anybody and in time is obliterated by the wind. When the wedding tent is re-erected it is put up correctly like a normal tent with the sheet attached to twelve poles around the structure, and is provided with mats which are drawn around the lower part of the tent. However, the interior arrangement differs from that of a normal tent in that a long and very flat sand-hill known as *tuf-adebel* is made; it is very low in comparison with the first sand-hill known as *adebel*. This low sand-hill serves as the sitting place for the married couple, and is covered with coloured blankets.

(6) The veiled groom comes to the tent in the morning just before midday. He is accompanied by young men, but he is not now led by them, but walks in front of the procession. He enters the tent and sits down upon the low sand-hill. Friends and relations gather around him in the tent, but he avoids talking to them, or, if he does, then only in a low voice.

(7) In the afternoon the wedding guests arrange the ceremonial camel ride (*ihugan*) in front of the wedding tent so that the ride can be seen by the groom.

(8) Before the ceremonial ride ends at darkness, the veiled bride is led to the tent where she is placed by the side of the groom on the low sand-hill.

(9) The wedding guests sing, drum, and dance the whole night in front of the wedding tent.

(10) The guests leave the wedding place the next morning to return to their camps. If they have no avoidance relationships with the married couple, they will go to the wedding tent to say good-bye before they leave. The wedding feast is now over.

(11) The newly-married couple remain in the tent for seven days in all, during which period they leave the tent only to releave nature and preferably after darkness.

591 (12) When the seven days' stay is over the bride remains in her father's camp for about one year, and traditionally her husband should stay with her for that period. However, he will usually stay only part of this period in his wife's camp, returning frequently to the camp of his father. If the husband stays in the wife's father's camp for a year he has no obligations towards the members of the [583] camp. There is no bride service.

585 Among the Ayr Tuareg a wedding is known as *éduben*, or as *éhen*, and these terms are identical with those used in Ahaggar. From the latter term we see that the tent plays an important part also in the wedding ceremony of the Ayr Tuareg, but there are ceremonial distinctions as will be seen from the following description:—

(1) On the first wedding day relatives and friends arrive at the wedding place at the camp of the bride's family. The wedding tent is already erected. This is done in the normal way with the exception that the entrance is at the narrow end turning southwards, while a normal tent is always entered from

[Text continues on p. 474]

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Fig. 297a–c. From a wedding ceremony.

a. A woman in front of the skin tent erected over the ceremonial sandhill (*adebel*) on which the couple to be married sit during the first wedding night.

b. The skin tent is removed from the ceremonial sandhill, which is left untouched.

c. The tent correctly erected with the married couple sitting upon the low sandhill (*tuf-adebel*). The groom sits to the left of the central tent post, the bride to the right. Both groom and bride are veiled. Ahaggar, the *Ihryawen Hada* tribe.

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585 the broad side turning westwards. Inside the tent there is nothing beyond the large bed (*tédabut*) covered with mats and blankets.

(2) The wedding guests perform the ceremonial camel-ride (*ilugan*) in the afternoon and continue to sing, make music, and dance throughout the night.

[262] (3) The wedding feast continues the next day with the killing of an ox for the guests. On this day, early in the night (about nine o'clock), the groom comes to the wedding tent. He is closely veiled and walks in the middle of a large procession of men and some women. The procession walks slowly, the [533] women accompanying it shrilling and cheering. If the camp is situated close to Agadez the procession is led by professional musicians who on this occasion are on horseback. When the procession has arrived at the wedding tent the groom enters into it directly and without much formality, but does [564] so through the narrow end turning southwards. Some of his friends squat around him in the tent while a few blacksmiths drum and praise the groom in songs which also refer to the fact that the blacksmiths have arrived in order to transform the wedding into a great feast. When the groom has entered the tent most guests continue to dance and make music until about eleven o'clock, when the bride arrives.

(4) The bride is led towards the wedding tent by a procession of singing women who are not accompanied by musicians mounted on horses even if the camp is close to Agadez. The procession proceeds extremely slowly, and sometimes almost marks time. The women sing the praise of the veiled bride who walks in the middle of the procession behind a tall woman. The bride's hands are around the tall woman's waist, and she is hidden under a large piece of white cotton placed over the tall woman's shoulders and back. When the procession is close to the tent it is joined by many men and by the drumming blacksmiths who lead the procession to the wedding tent. Here the procession walks three times around the tent, stopping in front of the narrow entrance facing southwards. The women now claim the promise of a gift from the groom to his bride (cf. p. 462). When a gift has been promised the tall woman creeps into the tent with the bride clinging to her back. The bride is placed upon the bed together with the groom who is already sitting there, the mat at the southern end is drawn to and closed, and the bride and the groom are left alone. The wedding is now over, and the guests leave for their tents and camps.

(5) The bride and the groom now remain seven days in the tent. They leave it only to releave nature [591] and preferably after darkness. When this stay of seven days in the wedding tent is over, the newly-married couple immediately take up residence in the camp of the husband's father.

From the description of T[illegible] wedding ceremonies above we see that they develop very slowly. This is particular so in Ahagg[illegible] the bride and the groom are brought together to be separated again before being finally united in the correctly erected tent. In Ayr the bride and the groom are brought together more directly, but do not meet until the second day of the wedding feast. They then have to enter the tent in an abnormal way – through the narrow southern end. The fact that the ceremony develops slowly and that the tent is not correctly erected are traits typical both of the Ahaggar and the Ayr Tuareg.

585 121 It is clear that the groom and the bride during the ceremony live so to speak outside the community. Tuareg wedding ceremonies are characteristic rites of passage and contain traits common to many

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initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by traditional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife [illegible]cted to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by [illegible]me this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him *amṛar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidā*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-

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585 laws do not change to a very great extent. There will then already be a relationship of respect between
602 husband and wife, a respect relationship to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law which continues unchanged, and in Ayr the relationship to the mother-in-law does not switch from joking into avoidance. Tuareg wedding ceremonies correspond functionally with the traditional preferential marriage with
[184] cross-cousins. But the wedding ceremonies described are strictly followed at all Tuareg marriages except in the case of important marabuts, who dispense with most ceremonial traits, allowing no public gathering with camel-riding and music, and the groom and the bride enter the wedding tent without formalities.

105 Kinship systems, rules of kinship behaviour, the payment of bride-wealth, and wedding rites seem to be functionally adapted to cross-cousin marriage. All this seems to hold for the Tuareg of Ahaggar and also for those of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group in Ayr. However, we have also observed that there are certain differences in social organization in Ahaggar and Ayr. In both regions Koranic law is valid for inheritance. The rules of succession in Ayr have become predominantly patrilineal, but is matrilineal in Ahaggar. There is also little doubt that most *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg to-day follow patrilocal rules of residence. The Ayr Tuareg are predominantly patrilineal but have remnants of matri-
[587] lineal traits. I note in this connection that some Ayr Tuareg also claim that it is preferable to practise the levirate and the sororate in the way that a widow can marry her deceased husband's younger brother, a widower his deceased wife's younger sister. They hold that this is adopted from Islamic rules.

[601] In Ahaggar matrilineal rules still play a very great rôle as kinship terminology evinces for the term for "mother's brother" is used exclusively for people of the mother's family and mainly for such people of ascending generations who are matrilineally related to Ego – including very distant matrilineal kinsmen. We have also seen that tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and that matrilineal rules are valid for succession to territorial rights, for relations between noble Tuareg and vassals, and ultimately for residence.

105 Tuareg social organization has been submitted to change. Islamic influence has produced a pre-
177 dominantly patrilineal system among the Southern Tuareg, including the *Kel Geres* and the *Kel Ayr*, while among the Northern Tuareg matrilineal rules of succession and residence are still acknowledged.

105 It may perhaps seem rather odd that the Ayr Tuareg, like many Sudanese Tuareg, have been much
177 influenced by the patrilineal rules of Islam in their social organization, while the Ahaggar Tuareg
178 have been far less impressed by these rules in spite of having lived in intimate contact with Arabs
184 for generations, adopting many Arab cultural traits which are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. What is the reason for these distinctions in cultural change among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr? I believe that the answer may lie in the differences in political systems. In pre-European times there was in Ahaggar an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals within the drum-groups, several small noble families being linked with their individual groups of vassals. This relationship (*temazlayt*) was, as we have seen, predominantly an economic one, advantageous to both classes and not least to the noble Tuareg, who were much dependent upon their goat-breeding and caravan-trading vassals. There seem to be little doubt that, before the introduction of Islam, this relationship was organized on the basis of matrilineal rules. And it may perhaps have been very difficult to adopt patrilineal rules and to re-organize relations between noble Tuareg and vassals accordingly. When the first French

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administrators settled in Ahaggar, the noble Tuareg under the leadership of the *Amenukal* are said to have claimed that the French should respect their ancient matrilineal organization. It seems as though such an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals was unknown in Ayr in pre-European times. Subsistence in Ayr is easier than in Ahaggar, and the noble Tuareg there were not so dependent upon their vassals for food as was the case in Ahaggar.

The fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg have conserved matrilineal rules in their social organization though influenced by Islam and the patrilineal Arabs for centuries, may perhaps explain why they have come to consider marriage with a mother's sister's daughter (or her daughter) as a better type of mating than cross-cousin marriage. Marriages with a classificatory sister (or sister's daughter) are, according to the Ahaggar Tuareg, not to be considered a recent phenomena, but have been practised for generations. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that these marriages are most suitable because they do not give rise to changes of residence for the children. It is very probable that such marriages, which do not harmonize with traditional kinship rules, indicate the transition towards fully-fledged patrilineal rules among the Northern Tuareg.

We have no knowledge about Tuareg social organization in pre-Islamic times, but there can be little doubt that matrilineal traits are very ancient, for they are mentioned by Ibn Batutah (cf. p. 457), and most Tuareg have traditions of their descent from an ancestress. Bates thinks that the Libyans of antiquity possessed a type of social organization which was partly or fully matrilineal, though he admits that indications of the existence of the matriarchate are strong, but not conclusive (Bates 1914, p. 111 f.). Gsell, on the contrary, thinks that the ancient Libyans did not have a social organization of a matrilineal type. They were patrilineal like most Northern Berbers of to-day (Gsell 1920-28, V, p. 37 f.).

Baumann states that Tuareg matrilineal organization derives from the so-called Old Mediterranean Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 66). This is perhaps not the true explanation, for Frobenius is probably right in his statement that the Syrtic Culture was a high one which gained little influence among pastoralists, but became very important to sedentary people of North Africa and the Western Sudan (Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 11). On the other hand the theory advanced by Frobenius that the Tuareg matriarchate is an old Hamitic custom does not constitute a satisfactory explanation (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 238 f.; Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 5).

The history of Tuareg matriarchate has been analysed very recently by Murdock, who states that its origin can be explained in three distinct ways:— (1) The Tuareg may have preserved the matrilineate from a very early period of Berber culture, perhaps also reflected among the extinct Guanche of the Canary Islands. This, however, is not considered very probable, because matrilineal traits do not exist among the many other North African Berber tribes, and also because the present relative isolation of the Tuareg is historically recent, dating from the Hilalian Arab invasion. (2) The indigenous *Bélla* were characterized by avunculocal residence and matrilineal descent, and they transmitted these rules to the conquering Tuareg. This second theoretical possibility is discarded by Murdock on the ground that the *Bélla* were presumably akin to the Hausa peoples on the southern border of the Tuareg country, and the Hausa are strictly patrilineal. (3) The ancestral Tuareg, while still resident in Tripolitania, were patrilineal, like all other mainland Berbers, and the matrilineate was developed as an

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174 114 adjustment to special local conditions after their displacement into the Sahara. Murdock accepts this. He believes that the Tuareg, when adopting the very un-Berber caste stratification of the Arabs, may well have instituted matrilineal affiliation for inter-caste marriages in order to preserve their purity of race. He seems to believe that patrilineal affiliation among the *Iwllemmeden* and the *Ifoɣas* is old, while matrilineal affiliation is recent (cf. Murdock 1959, p. 408 f.).

In the main Murdock's theory was advanced already by Gsell, who also stated that the Tuareg constituted the only known example of a people who had substituted their patrilineal type of affiliation with a matrilineal system (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 38). The problems connected with father-right and mother-right in Tuareg society are complicated. It seems as if patrilineal succession among the Tuareg mainly, perhaps exclusively, is due to Arab influence. The existence of a pre-Islamic patrilineal system in the ancestral tribes of certain noble Tuareg can neither be discarded nor confirmed. However, there is absolutely no doubt that Tuareg matriarchate is very old and constitutes the traditional system in vassal tribes. I have shown above that matrilineal succession was once recognized in most Tuareg groups (cf. p. 456 ff.) and that certain vassals of the *Iwllemmeden* even to-day follow matrilineal rules of inheritance.

Briggs believes that pre-Islamic social organization was characterized by matrilineal inheritance and succession to authority, while residence was patrilocal so that the household consisted of a patriarchal extended family (Briggs 1958, p. 87). This is perhaps not very likely for the present custom of ultimate matrilocal residence is undoubtedly very ancient.

I find it adequate to conclude this chapter about diffusion and function in Tuareg social organization as follows:—

Tuareg patrilineal succession seems to be recent and post-Arabian; this holds also for present inheritance rules which follow Koranic law. Thus there can be no doubt that social organization changes owing to the diffusion of certain social traits. Murdock's statement that social traits diffuse only under circumstances where the traits would have developed independently is contrary to the known facts.

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# Conclusion

The description of Tuareg culture presented in this study shows very clearly that cultural evolution should be viewed mainly in the light of history. It seems possible to follow in broad outline cultural development among the Tuareg through the last two thousand years. The main forces of cultural change and development were the following:— 174 177

(1) European occupation. The major change was the abolition of warfare and raiding, and consequently the breakdown of traditional political systems.

(2) Immigration of Arabs. It is possible that the ancestors of the Tuareg were influenced by the Arabs who came to North Africa during the first invasion of the 7th century A.D., but the second so-called Hilalian invasion of the 11th century was more important. It seems as if most Tuareg were converted to Islam in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. The Northern Tuareg have taken over many new cultural traits from the Arabs who enjoy a high religious prestige. Apart from Islam, the Arabs brought into Tuareg country new breeds of domestic animals, new saddle types and the like, new dwelling types, new methods of food praparation, and new articles of dress. It is clear that the Arabs also influenced Tuareg social organization with the introduction of Koranic inheritance, and their rule of patrilineal succession is adopted among most Southern Tuareg. The Arabs have also played a part in changing Tuareg political systems. New social classes were created with the introduction of Islam, and the words *khalifa* and *eṭṭebel* (*ettebel*) seem to indicate Arab influence in political structure. It is very possible that the instalment ceremony of chiefs, who are presented with a large headcloth, is an Arab custom. Furthermore, the rules of blood-wealth payment in the two groups of Northern Tuareg are of Arab-Islamic origin. – Arab cultural traits have been introduced over an extremely long period of years, and certain traits were apparently first adopted by the Tuareg when their country had been opened up after the European occupation.

(3) The invasion of pastoral camel-breeding Berbers which started at an unknown date in the first centuries of the Christian era. These camel-breeders conquered another Berber-speaking population who lived mainly by goat-breeding. As a result of this conquest arose Tuareg class-division into noble Tuareg and vassals, which in most groups forms the basis of the political system. The first noble camel-breeders came from the east or the north-east, and they may perhaps have introduced certain traits of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture, while their techniques of camel-breeding were related to those of the so-called East Hamitic Culture. Noble Tuareg subsisting on camel-breeding have also immigrated to the Sahara in Islamic times owing to the pressure of Arab bedouins from the north. The noble tribes now dominating the two northern groups perhaps descend from *Hawwara* Berbers 174

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174 who very early came under Islamic influence, and it is possible that these noble tribes introduced cultural traits typical of the Arabs.

(4) The Roman occupation of North Africa. The ancestors of certain Tuareg had some contact with the Romans who also penetrated into the northern parts of the present Tuareg country. But the Tuareg seem to have adopted very few culture elements from the Romans. The Tuareg were apparently never Christians.

(5) The Phoenicians. They introduced new cultural traits to North Africa but it seems difficult to sort out in present Tuareg culture those that were introduced by the Phoenicians.

Further back in time we cannot know much about cultural influences. We know that the horse was introduced during a period when the Northern Sahara was strongly influenced by high cultures of the Mediterranean, and we can safely assume that throughout a very long period of the pre-Christian era, when the Sahara had a more humid climate, cultures based on farming and stock-breeding played an important part in these regions. Rock-engravings representing hunting scenes prove that hunting was also once very important for the subsistence of people of these regions.

121 Our knowledge is yet very scarce of the cultures existing in the Sahara in prehistoric times. Nevertheless, I wish to take up in brief the question of the origin of nomadic stock-breeding in the light of Tuareg culture.

Anthropologists have held very different views about the first origin of domestic animals. The theory that stock-breeding originated within a true hunting culture gained many adherents after Hatt had advanced the theory that the reindeer was first domesticated for decoy hunting (cf. Hatt 1918 & 1919). Since then, many German and Austrian scholars have claimed not only that stock-breeding derived from hunting, but also that the first animal to be domesticated was the reindeer so that the stock-breeding based on horses and cattle in Central Asia came later and had reindeer-breeding as its foundation (cf. Schmidt & Koppers 1924; Schmidt 1951; Flor 1930). It seems as though such extreme viewpoints have now been discarded by most students and even Austrian and German scholars have in recent times dissociated themselves from the theories which were advanced mainly on Schmidt's initiative (cf. Jettmar 1953). There can be little doubt that reindeer-breeding is a fairly recent type of stock-breeding. This was explicitly stated already by Hatt, and though certain scholars even to-day claim that reindeer-breeding reaches back to Mesolithic, or even Paleolithic, times, their arguments cannot be accepted (cf. Nellemann 1961).

Though Hatt never claimed any great age for reindeer-breeding, he believed in an intimate connection between stock-breeding and hunting. In his latest study on the origin of primitive subsistence activities he stated that "It does not seem unlikely that the first domestication of ungulate animals was done by hunters who used their tame animals as decoys in the hunt, and later on developed the use of animals for transport and for dairy purposes, originally without any influence from agriculture" (Hatt 1953, p. 278). Among anthropologists who have recently supported the theory that stock-breeding and hunting are intimately connected activities of subsistence, we should also mention Coon who considers goats and sheep among the oldest domestic animals which were domesticated by hunters even before the cultivation of cereals (Coon 1952, p. 24). However, there are many scholars who do not accept the theory that cultures based on stock-breeding derive from hunting cultures.

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Hahn, who was the first to write in detail on the historical origin of subsistence activities, stated as his view that cultures based exclusively on stock-breeding were recent and were preceded by mixed farming cultures (Hahn 1896, p. 31 f.; 1905, p. 131; 1908, p. 19). Though some of Hahn's arguments in favour of this theoretical conception are difficult to accept, his general view that pure stock-breeding did not form a general stage in the evolution of culture is recognized by many scholars who hold that cultivation is everywhere older than stock-breeding. Forde long ago pointed out the great instability of pastoralism and its dependence upon grown cereals (Forde 1950 (1. ed. 1934), p. 403 f.), and in a very recent study, published in collaboration with Mary Douglas, it is stated that "Pastoral nomadism which is popularly believed to have preceded the development of agriculture actually appeared at a later stage in the Old World on the fringes of settled populations used to cultivation with the rearing of livestock" (Forde 1960, p. 330). Important contributions to the solution of the problem of the origin of stock-breeding have also been made by Childe, who says that in practically all the oldest food-producing settlements examined by archaeologists in Europe, Hither Asia, and North Africa, the basic industry is mixed farming (Childe 1936, p. 85). Childe does not explicitly claim that pastoral stock-breeding derived from a mixed farming culture, because pastoralists are not likely to leave many vestiges by which the archaeologists can recognize their presence (Childe 1936, p. 91). But Childe's general view seems to be in favour of origin of pastoral stock-breeding from a culture which knew farming, and he points out "that ancestors of our farmyard animals lived wild in most of the regions that seem likely to have comprised the cradle of grain-growing" (Childe 1936, p. 86). 121

In my description of Tuareg ecology I have indicated the great importance of agricultural products for food among true pastoralists, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. I believe that the latter Tuareg and the Tuareg of the Sudanese savannah could perhaps subsists without cereals grown by agriculturists, though it would not be so easy for them. The Ayr Tuareg around Agadez admit this and refer to their great difficulties in subsisting during one year of the second world war when millet was scarce. Most African pastoralists acquire provisions of cultivated grain for their food during periods when milk is scarce, and the general conception that African nomads live mainly on milk and meat is not valid. However, we cannot state that all pastoralists are dependent on agriculture for food, for a few people seem to subsist on stock-breeding products and on wild seeds. Thus Seligman describes from the Beja a tribe named Bedawib which differs from other Beja groups in that its members have no camels and do not eat agricultural food:— "The Bedawib do not cultivate at all and it is said that they would not touch grain even if it were given to them so that they live almost entirely on milk and meat". (Seligman 1913, p. 599 f.). Other pastoralists of the so-called East African Cattle Complex eat cereals grown by themselves or by neighbouring agriculturists, but agricultural food-products play a very little part to some of these people (cf. Lowie 1938, p. 314), and the Hottentots live by cattle-breeding supplemented by hunting and collecting (cf. Schapera 1930, p. 235). The argument that stock-breeding cultures cannot exists except in a kind of symbiosis with agriculture is not valid, but agricultural food-products make life easier for pastoralists who cannot subsist on milk all the year round. For we must bear in mind that in an arid or semi-arid country conditions of collecting are changeable, and it is also important to note that wild seeds are generally far less nourishing than are grown cereals. Even in the savannah country it is a great advantage for pastoralists to have access to grown cereals, and 433 262 171

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433 pastoralists who live in the true desert country could hardly live without agricultural food-products.
262 In dry years the Ahaggar Tuareg subsist almost exclusively on wheat, millet, and dates. They cannot
171 in such years live on milk and meat, and collecting is of no importance, as the plants suitable for collecting do not germinate with the exception of a few species which are of very little value. In very arid countries agriculture seems to be necessary for the subsistence of pastoralists, and it is of great value also to pastoralists who live under more favourable conditions.

433 Partly owing to the decline of caravan trading, there are pastoralists who have recently taken up
178 agriculture in connection with irrigation. We have also mentioned that the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer
171 engage in a kind of primitive agriculture in the river valleys after heavy rain, and we know from literature that this method was also practised in Ahaggar before the introduction of developed irrigation systems. We have seen that throughout the northern parts of the Sahara a connection between shifting cultivation and pastoralism is the rule rather than the exception. Primitive corn growing is, in fact, practised among many other pastoralists besides the Northern Tuareg, and the bedouins who sow wheat and barley by means of the plough or the hoe further north on the outskirts of the desert. In Southern Mauretania certain nomads grow millet and water melons in the river valleys which are annually flooded. Sowing is done mainly where the valleys broaden, small dams being constructed to detain water. This cultivation method is also applied by certain pastoral *Zenaga* (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 277), who are, perhaps, descendants of the ancient *Ṣanhaja* Tuareg who lived in this country before the Arab conquest. There are also pastoralists of the Beja people who engage in agriculture when living close to rivers. The Bisharin who camp around the Atbara River grow melons in the wet sand (Baker 1867, p. 38), the Hadendoa pastoralists, when camping close to the Gash River in the dry season, grow millet and other cereals (Seligman 1913, p. 599), and agriculture is also practised in the same region by pastoral Beni Amer (Munzinger 1864, p. 332).

A journey from the Mediterranean coast takes us from people who live mainly by agriculture (e.g., the Kabyle) to people who live by mixed farming as semi-nomads (e.g., the Chawiya), to people who are roaming pastoralists but practise shifting cultivation when possible and fairly regularly (e.g., the Ulad Nail, the Larba, and other Arab pastoralists on the outskirts of the desert), and, finally to the true desert nomads where agriculture is practised on a very small scale (e.g., the *Kel Ajjer*) or not at all (e.g., the *Kel Ahaggar* and the Chamba). It would thus be natural to explain the development of true pastoralism in Northern Africa as an adaption of a mixed farming culture to environment, and this view seems to have been adopted by several authors (Frobenius 1904, p. 154 f.; Steensby 1908–09, p. 285; Wölfel 1941, p. 89–140; Herzog 1956, p. 210–223).

174 The question of the origin of North African pastoralism can only be answered by a deeper knowledge of history, and the answer is not easy to find. Historical sources do not reach far back in North Africa. We know that throughout the Middle Ages the people who lived on the borderland of the Northern Sahara south of the Atlas and along the Mediterranean coast possessed an economic system much like that prevailing nowadays. Ibn Khaldun describes the economic life of the *Ṣanhaja* Berbers, who lived in the country between Tunis and Cairuan, saying that they are cow and sheep breeders who also engage in agriculture (Ibn Khaldun III, p. 225). Of an Arab tribe called Azza of Cyrenaica, he says that though its members are plough cultivators they also lead their domestic animals into the

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desert, which they might even cross to allow their animals to graze on Sudanese pastures (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 164 f.). Three Berber tribes or tribal groups, namely the Meseta, the Hawwara, and the Zenara, which, according to Ibn Khaldun, lead a pastoral life in Cyrenaica and further east, are stated to practise agriculture in the area between Alexandria and Old Cairo where they sojourn in winter (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 9). However, it would seem as if to most nomads of the northern desert agriculture was not so much practised that it could provide the necessary amount of cereals for the nomads. For, according to Ibn Khaldun, the Arab and Berber pastoralists of these northern regions generally spent the winter in the desert, while in summer they migrated to the Tell regions where they acquired their grain provisions (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 141, II, p. 275 ff., IV, p. 28 f.). 174

We have no information about agricultural activities among the Tuareg who, throughout the Middle Ages, lived in the very extensive area between the Atlantic Ocean and the Fezzan. Ibn Khaldun says that the Tuareg have camel-breeding as their most important occupation (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 105), and this is confirmed by Edrisi in the case of both Northern and Southern Tuareg. But though Edrisi states that the Tuareg live mainly on camel's milk and meat, certain passages of his book seem to indicate that agricultural products also played a part as food (Edrisi b, p. 10, 41, 67 f.). Ibn Batutah says that the Sultan of Tacadda (Ayr) knew neither wheat nor bread (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 443), which agrees with the fact that even to-day wheat-bread is not common among the people of Ayr, and he says of the Tuareg (the *Bardamah*) who live further south that they live on cow's milk and pounded millet mixed with water (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 437). This latter dish is doubtless identical with that known as *aṛehara* (Ahaggar) or *aṛejira* (Ayr) among modern Tuareg (cf. p. 245). Information about Tuareg nourishment is also given by Leo Africanus who, like Ibn Batutah, writes about this on the basis of personal experience. Leo says that the Tuareg live exclusively on camel's milk, butter, and meat, and eat no bread (Leo Africanus I, p. 152), but later he states that a Tuareg chief he visited in the desert had provisions of grown cereals and dates (Leo Africanus I, p. 154 f.).

Thus it seems as if agricultural food-products played a certain part for pastoral Tuareg of the Middle Ages. It is very possible that these products were obtained mainly through caravan trading, but the fact that agriculture is not mentioned in connection with the Tuareg of that early time cannot of course be taken as a proof that a primitive type of agriculture was then unknown. The Arab authors do not tell us much about Tuareg economy, and most Arabs who wrote about the Tuareg had no real knowledge of them. The fact that the *Kel Aijer* practise a primitive type of agriculture in river valleys [241] has not generally been noticed by Europeans travelling in that part of Africa. This form of agriculture, characterized by a type of primitive sowing, is perhaps to be considered very ancient in North Africa. In any event it would seem as if agriculture and stock-breeding during antiquity were closely connected subsistence activities (cf. Bates 1914, p. 30 f., 91 f.). It is also most interesting that the archaeologically 172 known Fayum culture was based upon mixed farming as early as about 5000 B.C. (cf. Caton-Thompson & Gardner 1934), and the same holds for certain other prehistoric Egyptian cultures of about the same age (cf. Childe 1935, p. 49 ff.). One trait of the Fayum culture, namely the subterranean store-rooms for grain (cf. Caton-Thompson & Gardner 1934, p. 41 ff., pl. XXV ff.), is almost identical with the underground store-rooms used among the Tuareg. We can add that there is one other feature in Tuareg culture which perhaps point towards a connection between Tuareg culture and agriculture,

172 namely the cylindrical house with a conical roof, which seems to have constituted the original type of dwelling of many northern vassals. This dwelling type has a world-wide distribution among primitive agriculturists (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 313), and we know that it was used in North Africa in antiquity. Hut-circles with heavy walls from predynastic cultures near Badari may perhaps be considered remains of such dwellings (cf. Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, p. 44 ff., 82 ff., pl. LXVI).

174 We might perhaps assume that culture as it existed among the ancestors of Tuareg vassals before the introduction of the camel was influenced by agricultural traits, and it would not be unnatural to advance the theory that it derives from a mixed farming culture. However, there can also be little doubt that we find in Tuareg culture features that are extremely old and probably date back to a hunting culture. It is of particular interest that the Tuareg have preserved very primitive methods of food preparation which are not generally known to true agriculturists (e.g., cooking with hot stones). I believe that the existence of such simple methods may be an indication that the culture is related to ancient hunting and collecting cultures. It is also very difficult to reject the possibility of a connection between hunting and the domestication of animals, for we have seen above that the Tuareg even to-day catch wild donkeys for domestication, and that, in the Middle Ages, they most possibly hunted these animals in order to utilize their meat and skin before the introduction of Islam which made 175 donkey's meat unlawful. It seems as if donkeys and asses have been important food animals throughout 171 the Near and Middle East even after the advent of Islam for we not only have Leo Africanus' state- [261] ment that the nomads of the Sahara consume the meat of donkeys caught in snares (Leo Africanus II, p. 944), but Duveyrier's statement that the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer catch donkeys in traps to utilize the skin (Duveyrier 1864, p. 231), and the fact that the Tuareg of Ahaggar even very recently have eaten donkey's meat in case of famine. There is information in literature which indicates that donkeys and asses have been commonly eaten elsewhere. Ibn Khaldun says that donkeys and horses were eaten by Algerian town-dwellers in case of need during the Middle Ages (Ibn Khaldun III, p. 377 f.), and Ibn Batutah states that Arabs of Oman consider donkey's meat lawful (Ibn Batutah II, p. 229). Ibn Batutah also says that meat of asses was eaten by the people of Suakin (Ibn Batutah II, p. 162), and we know that even up to modern times the Beja have hunted asses in order to consume their meat (Baker 1867, p. 55 f.; Murray 1935, p. 125). There is no information about the hunting of asses or donkeys for domestication among the Beja, but it is reported by several authors that members of this group leave their domesticated mares where wild asses are common in order that they shall mate with wild stallions (Heuglin 1869, p. 280; Bland-Sutton 1911, p. 188 f.; Murray 1935, p. 125).

174 We cannot discard the possibility that the domestication of donkeys originated from hunting, and it seems as though the donkey was first domesticated in Africa, where the wild ass still exists. When the domestication took place we do not know, but we are aware that domestic donkeys have been used in Egypt and in Asia (Ur) as early as 3000 B.C. (cf. Antonius 1922, p. 266; Hilzheimer 1930, p. 477). The donkey played a most important rôle in Ancient Egypt where it even had military importance (cf. Erman 1922, p. 592 f., 636, Figs. 207 & 208, pl. 36).

As to the domestication of other animals, we do not know how they were first tamed, and it has generally been overlooked that though there may perhaps be a connection between certain hunting

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methods and domestication, the first domestic animals may of course well have been tamed in a culture which already knew of farming. It seems to me that, generally speaking, the theory of a development of stock-breeding within a farming culture is the most plausible one. 174 [121]

At the time when the noble Tuareg introduced the camel the North African pastoralists were apparently mainly goat-breeders who also had sheep of the *Ovis longipes* type, and donkeys. Tuareg traditions state that the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar, the *Isebeten*, were not only goat-breeders but also hunters, and a tradition collected by Foucauld states that they also knew agriculture (cf. p. 408). This may perhaps be so, though most Tuareg seem to deny it. A tradition of hunting as an important means of subsistence to the ancestors of vassal Tuareg accords well with the fact that important traits of a hunting culture appear to exist among the Tuareg; how can this be explained when we also claim that stock-breeding apparently developed from a mixed farming culture? I believe the most plausible explanation to be that the ancestors of Tuareg vassals first lived in the northern Sahara as roaming hunters. At a later date they were strongly influenced by a mixed-farming culture from which they adopted a primitive type of agriculture and stock-breeding. But stock-breeding came to play the largest rôle for them, partly because it was better fitted to environment, and partly because it was adapted to the roaming life of hunters. 173

It is most unfortunate that archaeology is so little advanced in the Central Sahara. Most archaeologists have been occupied with the study of rock-engravings. These are important to our knowledge of cultural history, but they cannot be precisely dated. Apart from the study of engravings, investigations have mainly concentrated upon tombs and other stone monuments, and these investigations do not help us much to understand the development of subsistence activities in the Sahara. However, we may ascribe some importance to the study of stone tombs of the so-called *chouchet* type. This, it is claimed by the ancient vassals of Ahaggar, constituted the traditional tomb of pre-Islamic Tuareg, and the tomb in which their ancestress *Takama* is said to have been buried is of *chouchet* type. Such tombs in Ahaggar seem to be found mainly close to river valleys that are flooded relatively frequently and generally are also close to modern cultivation centres (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 83). These tombs have been used among the Tuareg even after their Islamization (cf. Monod 1932, p. 34; Reygasse 1950, p. 39) but it is unknown when they were introduced into the Sahara. However, tombs of *chouchet* type are not only found in large parts of Tuareg country (Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, In Azawa, Northern Ayr, around Zinder, between Zinder and the Niger at Adrar of Tawa, Adrar of the Iforas), but also in the adjacent regions of Mauretania, Tibesti, and Bornu, which is their southern limit of distribution (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 40; Lhote 1955a, p. 83; Mauny 1961, p. 76 f.). Types of *chouchet* tombs occur in Algeria north of Hodna and in Aurès (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 8) and perhaps also in the Canary Islands (cf. Wölfel 1950, p. 248). Thus the possibility cannot be excluded that the former existence of such tombs in Tuareg culture may be due to some connection with mixed farmers of the Mediterranean at an early, but unfortunately yet unknown, date. 172 [173] 172 171

A last problem to be touched upon is the generally accepted view that nomadic stock-breeding is intimately connected with a patrilineal social system. This view has been emphasized in particular by the so-called Vienna School of ethnology under the leadership of Schmidt and Koppers, who speak about "Der viehzüchterische Nomadismus als Schöpfer der patriarchalen Systems und des Erst- 121

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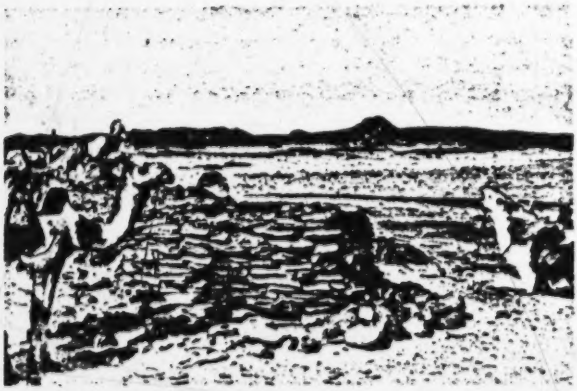

Fig. 298. Circular tomb of the so-called "chouchet" type. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset.

121 geborenenrechtes" (Schmidt & Koppers 1924, p. 537). I have stated above (p. 447) that there is not necessarily any connection between particular types of industry and particular types of social organization in North Africa. There are many examples of this in all continents where primitive peoples live. Whether there is historically any connection between patrilineal systems and pastoral stock-breeding 174 cannot be known. It is true that a great many pastoralists are pronounced patrilineal, but there is no doubt that certain pastoralists have adopted true patrilineal systems after their conversion to Islam. We have seen that this holds good for most Southern Tuareg, and it seems to be true also of the Beja pastoralists of Northeast Africa. They are to-day patrilineal, but formerly they were partly or entirely matrilineal, for Maqrizi states that among them a sister's son or a daughter's son possessed inheritance rights (Maqrizi, p. 561). We do not know whether other pastoralists have had matrilineal traits of social organization. Robertson Smith tried to prove that the Ancient Semites had previously been matrilineal (Robertson Smith 1907, p. 29 ff.), but his arguments have not been accepted by later authorities (cf. Pedersen 1958, p. 394). However, we cannot entirely discard the possibility that a kind of matrilineal social organization has formerly existed among pastoralists other than the Tuareg and the Beja, and this would apparently agree with the theory here accepted – that stock-breeding originated within a culture which knew farming, for matrilineal traits are frequently associated with primitive farming cultures. At all events I do not believe that matrilineal traits are to be considered recent among the Tuareg and the Beja, nor do I believe that these peoples were once patrilineal and that they adopted matrilineal affiliation owing to contact with other cultures, for we know that a true patrilineal system does not easily change into a matrilineal one (Murdock 1949, p. 190).

121 This theory is partly based upon the fact that transition from patrilineal to matrilineal systems cannot be shown to have occurred, partly upon the functional argument that matrilineal systems are not always stable because matrilineal rules frequently conflict with paternal love for sons. These conflicts of matrilineal systems have been described in great detail from Melanesia by Malinowski (Malinowski

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1926, p. 100 ff.), and they have been studied later within the same area by other anthropologists (cf. Schlesier 1956, p. 54 ff.). It is my impression that they are comparatively rare among the Tuareg because their social systems have mechanisms which serve to prevent conflicts: The system of cross-cousin marriage in connection with rules of joking, avoidance, and those which permit a man to take domestic animals not only from his father but also from his mother's brothers would seem to lessen conflicts which are latent in other matrilineal systems.

Functional studies would seem to constitute an important means to explain the historical development of social organization, but the functional method alone cannot help us, for it is evident that diffusion also plays a considerable part in the change of social systems as has been shown in this study of the Tuareg. Anthropology is not science in the ordinary sense of the word. People do not behave according to such fixed rules as those we call "natural laws". They have rules but these are not always followed very strictly, and I have shown above that social rules can change owing to diffusion and the adoption of new social traits. So-called primitive peoples do not always live in the functional world of modern anthropology, but they always live in a world of change and tradition. It is possible that the Northern Tuareg for centuries have practised marriages with a maternal cousin, though this type of marriage disagrees with their social system which favours cross-cousin marriage. As to the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg, we know that some of them adopted patrilineal succession owing to contact with the Arabs more than two hundred years ago. Nevertheless, these Tuareg have not adopted the entire social system of the Arabs, and even to-day there are matrilineal traits among them.

Tuareg culture cannot be understood by a mere functional analysis, for its creation is due to diffusion of traits from other cultures, and this seems to hold for all cultural aspects, including political systems and social organization. Consequently, I have tried to understand cultural development in the light of the methods of both functional and historical anthropology.

I hope that this study on Tuareg culture may be considered a contribution towards a more realistic historical method, and trust that my work may be of some value to others who take up the great problems connected with the history of North African culture. It may well be that some of the theories I have advanced or intimated will not survive when our knowledge of the Tuareg and North African cultures is increased, but I believe that a study of cultural development within limited areas will enable a far more realistic and detailed picture of cultural history to be created than has so far been the case.

# Tuareg Time Reckoning

Tuareg time reckoning is mainly based upon the position of the celestial bodies in relation to the 805
earth. Some Tuareg know the twelve months of the Julian Calendar, but most of them are only aware of a few of these names, some of which have acquired the meaning of definite agricultural activities (cf. Fig. 139). When the Tuareg divide the year into twelve months they normally use the system of the Islamic lunar calendar. The names of the twelve lunar months in the northern dialect are the following:— *azum* (Ar. *ramḍan*), *tésesé* (Ar. *feṭer*), *ǵir muhden* (Ar. *du elḳada*), *tafaské* (Ar. *du elḥajja*), *tamesseḍek* (Ar. *ḳchura*), *tallit seḷḷefet* (Ar. *ṣefer*), *tallit ereṛet* (Ar. *rebiạ awl*), *awhim wa yezzaren* (Ar. *rebiạ tani*), *awhim wa ilkemen* (Ar. *jumad awl*), *sarat* (Ar. *jumad tani*), *ti n tneslemin* (Ar. *rejeb*), *émezzihel* (Ar. *chạban*) (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 982 ff.). These names, known to all Tuareg, [174]
would appear to indicate that the lunar calendar among the Tuareg was introduced before Islam. The division of the week into seven days was apparently introduced with Islam for their names are [177]
clearly derived from Arabic. They seem to be known to all Tuareg, but play no important part in practical time reckoning. To indicate events that will take place within a few days the Tuareg will say to-morrow, the day after to-morrow, in three days, and so on.

The lunar calendar plays a certain rôle to the Tuareg as it fixes all important religious feasts, and [796]
among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg it is normal for the members of a camp to count the succession of lunar years which are named after the place where the camp was situated during the religious feast of *tafaské*. Accordingly there is no definite system of year reckoning common to all Ayr Tuareg, who do not know the Islamic numbers of the years A. H. However, the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg will sometimes talk about *awétay wa-n-Kawchen*, that is "the year when the Ayr Tuareg revolted against the French under the leadership of Kawchen" (1917) and *awétay wa-n-étran*, that is "the year when shooting stars were extraordinarily abundant" (perhaps about 25 years ago).

To the Ahaggar Tuareg the word *awétay* is used in two different ways. It may be used for a lunar year, but it is most frequently used in the sense of "a period between two midwinters", so that the year among the Northern Tuareg is normally to be understood as "a solar year the exact beginning and end of which cannot be stated". Among the Ahaggar Tuareg each such year has its proper name given after the most important event within the year, e.g., the death or the election of an *Amenukal*, the occurrence of good pasture of a particular annual plant, the year of famine, etc. For years of pre-European times the occurrence of raids and warfare also serve as names of years. It may happen that two tribes do not use the same name for a year, but there is a remarkable tendency towards a uniform calendar system for all Ahaggar. The chronology of years is not known equally well by all

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805 Tuareg. Some people are able to reckon only five or ten years back in time, but there are also Tuareg who can count many years back so that they can determine the exact age of most members of their [114] household. The chronology of Ahaggar years has been studied by Foucauld, who gives the names from 1860 to 1906, and a remarkable study has been published by Dubief (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1538 ff.; Dubief 1942). In later studies on the chronology of the years among the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, Dubief has shown that there is no uniform calendar for the *Kel Ajjer*. The *Uraṛen*, the *Imanṛasaten*, and the *Iforas* have their particular chronologies (cf. Dubief 1948, 1950, 1956). In addition to these chronologies for larger groups of Tuareg comprising several tribes, there are also special chronologies for individual tribes referring to events within these units.

To indicate future events the Tuareg may use the lunar calendar and refer to a particular day (night) of a particular month. They normally count in nights but to indicate the length of a journey they will frequently count in days. The sub-divisions of the day among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr are mentioned in the list below:—

(1) The early morning before sunrise, when one begins to see but does not see very clearly. It is a very short period known in Ahaggar as *ahokhak*, in Ayr as *dengelwak*.

(2) The period from sunrise until 1½–2 hours later during which the sun is low and the heat not very trying. This is known in Ahaggar as *aǧedelsit semmiḍet*, in Ayr as *aṛora*.

(3) The period when the sun is getting high in the heavens. People will now avoid the sun and rest in the shade. The name of this period, which corresponds to late morning or forenoon, is in Ahaggar *aǧedelsit tekkuset*, in Ayr *agedelchit*.

(4) The period when the sun is very high. It comprises a certain period before and after midday, and is known as *tarut* (Ahaggar) and *terut* (Ayr).

(5) The early afternoon which begins around two o'clock. It is called *tazerrahat* in Ahaggar, *tézzar* in Ayr.

(6) The late afternoon from about four o'clock until sunset is known as *aẓellewaz* in Ahaggar and as *takkes* in Ayr.

(7) The period of dusk which is known as *almeẓ* and *almez*, respectively.

For the night the divisions are few and less clear, and it seems as if they are based mainly upon normal activities such as eating time, bed time, and the time of the early morning when it is considered preferable to set out upon a journey.

# Fodder Plants of Ahaggar

The most valuable fodder plants in Ahaggar are mentioned in the lists below where my own material has been supplemented with information collected by Maire and published in his valuable study of vegetation of the Central Sahara (Maire 1933 & 1940). The abridgements *Tr.*, *L.M.*, and *U.M.* refer to Maire's botanical zones:— the *Tropical Zone*, the *Lower Mediterranean Zone*, and the *Upper Mediterranean Zone*, while the letters *a*, *b*, and *p* stand for "annual", "biennial", and "perennial" plants. 824 [227]

## FODDER PLANTS OF CAMELS, SHEEP, AND GOATS

*tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*). Tr. p. Young shoots eaten by sheep and goats. Generally not eaten by camels. Maire gives similar information (Maire 1933, p. 52).

*ébestew* (*Imperata cylindrica*). Tr., L.M. p. Not much eaten by camels (Maire 1933, p. 54).

*ézereg* (*Rottboellia hirsuta*). Tr. p. "Excellent pâturage en hiver, tant pour les chameaux que pour les ovins, caprins et autres herbivores (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 54).

*téberimt* (*Andropogon laniger*). Tr., L.M. p. "Cette plante est mangée par les chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 55).

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). Tr., L.M. p. Very important fodder plant for all animals – particularly when green. The green grass is cut by the Tuareg who give it to their riding camels resting in the camp. – "La plante est un élément important de la nourriture des chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 58).

*talenfezut* (*Pennisetum dichotomum*). Tr. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 57). "Cette plante est mangée par tous les herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 58).

*aremmud* (*Aristida plumosa*). Tr. a. & p. According to Gram perennial (Gram 1935, p. 54), according to Maire generally annual in the Central Sahara, while perennial in the Northern Sahara (Maire 1933, p. 61). An important fodder plant for all animals. – "Elle constitue un excellent fourrage pour les chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 61).

*tulluli* (*Aristida pungens*). Tr. p. Found in lower parts of the tropical zone, particularly on the northern outskirts of Ahaggar (including Ahnet) and in Tassilé-n-Ajjer. A very important fodder plant for all domestic animals. The Tuareg cut it green, or dry, to use it as fodder for their camels on caravan journeys through barren desert country (e.g., on journeys from Ahaggar to Tidikelt). – "Elle constitue, particulièrement au moment de la floraison, un excellent fourrage pour les chameaux et les autres herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 62). [484]

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824 *taǧamayt*, or *aharay* (*Danthonia Forskahlei*). Tr., L.M. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 55). An excellent fodder plant for all animals. – "Excellente nourriture pour les chameaux et les autres herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 65).

*taǧamayt*, or *awkraz* (*Cynodon Dactylon*). Tr., L.M., U.M. p. Fodder value like *Danthonia Forskahlei* (cf. Maire 1933, p. 65).

*taysest*, or *tagsest* (*Eragrostis bipinnata*). Tr., L.M. b. or p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 55). Fodder plant of little value. – According to Maire very little eaten by camels (Maire 1933, p. 67).

*tahalema* (*Schismus calycinus*). Tr., L.M. a. "Excellente nourriture pour les moutons, les chèvres et les chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 69).

*tanesmimt* (*Rumex vesicarius*). Tr., L.M., U.M. a. Particularly common in Atakor. An extremely valuable fodder plant. – "La plante est mangée par les herbivores ..." (Maire 1933, p. 78).

*aresu* (*Calligonum comosum*). Tr. p. "Cette arbuste constitue un excellent pâturage pour les chameaux, surtout lorsqu'il est en fleurs. Il est, par contre, peu apprécié des autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 79).

*tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). L.M., U.M. a Eaten by all animals.

*aggawit* (*Chenopodium murale*). Tr., L.M., U.M. a? Eaten by all animals.

*aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*). Tr., L.M., U.M. p. Eaten by all animals. The plant is saliferous, but not very nourishing. Because of its salt content it is particularly valuable for camels. – "La plante est mangée par les chameaux et les autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 81).

*uhas* (*Bassia muricata*). Tr., L.M. a. (p.) (cf. Gram 1935, p. 39). "Bon paturage pour les chameaux et autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 81).

*tirbar* (*Suaeda vermiculata*). Lower desert country. a. "Cette plante est peu appréciée des chameaux, elle leur donne des coliques lorsqu'ils l'absorbent à jeun. Elle est également peu mangée par les moutons et les chèvres (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 82).

*tassak* (*Nucularia Perrini*). Tr. p., evergreen. "Cette plante est appréciée des chameaux, beaucoup moins des autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 82).

*terahit* (*Traganum nudatum*). Tr. p. "Plante très appréciée des chameaux, beaucoup moins des autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 82).

*issin* (*Salsola foetida*). Tr. p., evergreen. This plant is important for its salt content, but is not considered very nourishing. It is eaten particularly by camels. – "Cette plante est mangée par les chameaux, mais fort peu par les autres herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 84).

*tasa*, or *bender* (*Anabasis articulata*). Tr., L.M. p., bush. Eaten by camels, sheep, and goats. – "Cette plante est mangée par les chameaux; mais elle est peu appréciée des autres herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 85).

*tahara* (*Cornulaca monocantha*). Tr. p. Very appreciated by camels. – "Cette plante est mangée par les chameaux, qui en sont très friands; elle est, par contre, à peu près complètement délaissée par les autres herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 85).

*témekerkiṣt* (*Aerva tomentosa*). Tr., (L.M.) p., evergreen. "Cette plante est peu mangée par les chameaux; mais elle est appréciée des moutons et des chèvres. ... (Voinot). – Cette plante est mangée par les zébus et les chèvres; les chameaux n'en veulent pas (Duprez)" (Maire 1933, p. 87).

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*agenesnes* (*Glaucium corniculatum*). L.M., U.M. a. "Ainsi nommé parceque, quand les chameaux en mangent, ils restent ensuite qlq. heures dans l'incapacité de boire ni de manger" (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 464).

*ahoyyar* (*Cleome arabica*). Tr., L.M. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 36 f.). "Les chameaux refusent cette plante et les chèvres et moutons n'en mangent que très peu (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 99).

*tadant* (*Boscia senegalensis*). Tr., very rare in Ahaggar, p., bush or tree. Eaten by camels.

*aslar* (*Morettia canescens*). Tr., L.M. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 48 f.). Excellent fodder plant for camels, sheep, and goats. – "Excellente nourriture pour les chameaux et les autres herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 102).

*ur temes* (*Farsetia aegyptiaca*). Tr., L.M., U.M. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 47). "Plante appréciée des chameaux et autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 103).

*echchengedid* (*Farsetia ramossisima*). Tr., L.M. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 47). "Plante appréciée des chameaux et autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 104).

*aggasit* (*Farsetia Hamiltonii*). Tr., L.M. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 47). "Plante très appréciée des chameaux et des autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 105).

*elmaruget* (*Malcomia aegyptiaca*). Tr., L.M. a. (& p.?) (cf. Gram 1935, p. 48). According to Maire the ssp. *longisiliqua* is annual in the Central Sahara, perennial in the Northern Sahara. "Plante très appréciée des chameaux et des autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 105 f.).

*éyir* (*Sisymbrium Reboudianum*). Tr., L.M., U.M. "Elle est mangée par les chameaux, les moutons et les chèvres" (Maire 1933, p. 106).

*azezzeya* (*Diplotaxis acris*). Very rare in Ahaggar. "Plante appréciée par les chameaux et autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 107).

*tanekfayt* (*Eruca sativa*). Tr., L.M. a. Eaten by camels, sheep, and goats. – "Plante appréciée des chameaux et autres herbivores;" (Maire 1933, p. 108).

*érak* (*Savignya parviflora*). Not mentioned from Ahaggar, while found in the Northern Sahara. – "Plante appréciée des chameaux et des autres herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 109).

*tamaghé* (*Moricandia arvensis*). L.M., U.M. a. According to Gram perennial under favourable conditions (Gram 1935, p. 49). Very common in Atakor. The Tuareg consider it one of their very best fodder plants, and it is eaten by camels, sheep, and goats. – "Cette plante est un excellent aliment pour les chameaux; elle est moins appréciée par les autres herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 109).

*alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea*). Tr. a. An extremely important fodder plant to camels. It is also appreciated by sheep, but less so by goats. – "Plante très appréciée des chameaux, beaucoup moins des autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 111).

*aftezzen* (*Zilla spinosa*). Tr., L.M., U.M. p. Foucauld states this plant to be annual (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 373), while according to Gram it seems to be perennial (Gram 1935, p. 50). I have myself seen it in flower even in extremely dry years, and the Tuareg claim it to be perennial. It is eaten by camels, sheep, and goats. – "Excellent aliment pour les chameaux et autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 112).

*aferhalar* (*Crambe Kralikii*). Tr., L.M., U.M. a. Eaten by camels, sheep, and goats. – "Excellent aliment pour les chameaux et les autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 113).

*ummum* (*Caylusea canescens*). Tr., L.M. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 68). "l'*oummoum* a une odeur

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824 désagréable qui se communique au lait des an. qui le mangent" (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1204).

*absej* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Tr., (L.M.) defoliating, summer-green. One of the basic fodder plants. The thorny shoots are eagerly eaten by camels, while goats highly appreciate very young shoots and leaves. Sheep do not feed properly upon acacias, but they eat the fallen fruit-pods which are very nourishing for domestic animals. Fruit-pods are collected as fodder for animals resting in the camps, and branches are frequently cut so that the kids easily can get at this valuable food. – "Les chameaux et autres herbivores mangent les feuilles de cet arbre, malgré la présence des épines stipulaires. Aussi trouve-t-on très souvent au pied des arbres de nombreuses branches coupées par les indigènes pour l'alimentation de leur bêtes. Les fruits constituent une nourriture particulièrement reconstituante pour les chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 119).

*tamat* (*Acacia seyal*). Tr., defoliating, summer-green. A very valuable fodder plant like the acacia just mentioned and possessing the same value. – "Les feuilles et les fruits de l'*A. seyal* ont la même valeur nutritive, pour les animaux, que ceux de l'*A. Raddiana*" (Maire 1933, p. 120).

*ahtes* (*Acacia albida*). Tr., defoliating, summer-green. Rare compared with the two above-mentioned acacias, and therefore less important for fodder. – "Les feuilles et les fruits sont mangés par les herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 120).

*afarfar* (*Crotalaria Saharae*). Tr. p., evergreen. "Les chameaux, les moutons, chèvres et ânes mangent cette plante mais pas en grande quantité. Elle passe pour lactogène (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 121).

*éheses* (*Trigonella anguina*). Tr., L.M. a. "Bon aliment pour tous les herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 123).

*tachekerut* (*Medicago laciniata*). Tr., L.M., U.M. a. Valuable for camels, sheep, and goats. – "Bon aliment pour tous les herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 123).

*tareda* (*Psoralea plicata*). Tr. a. "Cette plante est très appréciée par tous les herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 125).

*tenefé*, or *amarseros* (*Tephrosia leptostachya*). Tr. p. "Les chameaux et autres herbivores la mangent" (Maire 1933, p. 125).

*aḍreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii* & *A. eremophilus*). Tr., L.M. a. One of the most important fodder plants for camels, goats, and sheep in Ahaggar – particularly to Tuareg living in the lower parts of the country. *A. Vogelii*: "Ces plantes sont appréciées par tous les herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 126). *A. eremophilus*: "Bon aliment pour tous les herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 131).

*ékechchekir* (*Astragalus pseudotrigonus*). Tr. Annual according to Foucauld (1951–52, II, p. 741), while perennial and evergreen according to Gram (1935, p. 64). – "Cette plante est très appréciée par les ânes, beaucoup moins par les chameaux, les moutons et les chèvres (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 128).

*ésker* (*Astragalus corrugatus*). Tr., L.M. a. "Bon aliment pour tous les herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 130).

*laṭul* (*Alhagi maurorum*). Tasilé-n-Ajjer. "Bon aliment pour les herbivores. ... (Kilian)" (Maire 1933, p. 131).

*azren* (*Monsonia heliotropioides* & *M. nivea*). Tr., (L.M.) a. Excellent fodder plant for camels, sheep, and goats. One of the best fodder plants of Ahaggar. According to the Tuareg it is annual, but Gram states that he found a few perennial plants of the latter species *M. nivea* (Gram 1935, p. 53).

*afessur* (*Fagonia Bruguieri*). Tr., L.M. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 73). "Cette plante est mangée, malgré

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ses épines, par les chameaux, les chèvres, les moutons, les gazelles et les bovins. ... (Voinot)" 824 (Maire 1933, p. 139).

*taǧerufi* (*Tribulus terrester*). Tr. a. An extremely valuable fodder plant to camels, sheep, and goats. – "Tous les Tribulus sont très appréciés des chameaux et autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 143).

*aboryal*, or *tameṭṭereylali* (*Tribulus alatus & T. macropterus*). Tr. a. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 75). Valuable fodder plants for camels, sheep, and goats.

*tellakh* (*Euphorbia granulata*). Tr., (L.M.) a. (& p.) (cf. Gram 1935, p. 52). "La plante est mangée par les gazelles, les chèvres et les moutons. ... (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 146).

*téhak* (*Salvadora persica*). Tr., evergreen tree or bush. Eaten by camels. – "Les rameaux feuillés sont mangés par les chameaux;" (Maire 1933, p. 150).

*azawa* (*Tamarix gallica*). Tr., L.M., evergreen tree or bush. The leaves are not very nourishing, but are saliferous for which reason the plant has some value as fodder.

*tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*). Tr., evergreen tree. The leaves contain salt and are eaten to some extent by domestic animals.

*tahawet* (*Helianthemum Lippii*). Tr., L.M. p., evergreen.

*urruǧ* (*Helianthemum ellipticum*). Tr., L.M. Annual according to Foucauld (1951–52, III, p. 1588). – "Ces deux *Helianthemum* sont très appréciés des chameaux et autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 160).

*taṭṭayt* (*Pituranthos scoparius*). Tr., L.M., U.M. p. In my notes I have this plant among the fodder plants of camels, sheep, and goats. According to Maire it is venomous:— "Ces plantes sont toxiques pour la plupart des herbivores; cependant les chameaux en mangent un peu quand ils n'ont pas autre chose à se mettre sous la dent" (Maire 1933, p. 163).

*tazenfela* (*Limoniastrum Guyonianum*). Rare in the Central Sahara, and apparently unknown in Ahaggar (cf. Maire 1933, p. 166). – "Cette plante est peu appréciée des chameaux et autres herbivores, sauf au moment de sa floraison; les inflorescences sont alors broutées avidement" (Maire 1933, p. 166).

*selluf* (*Periploca laevigata*). Tr., L.M. "...; peu brouté par les herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 170).

*arellachchem* (*Solenostemma oleifoleum*). Tr. p., bush. Of very little value for fodder. – "La plante est très peu broutée par les herbivores; toutefois les moutons en mangent un peu (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 171).

*tachkat* (*Pergularia tomentosa*). Tr., L.M. p., evergreen. – "... peu brouté par les herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 172).

*tahenna* (*Heliotropium undulatum*). Tr., L.M. Foucauld has it as annual (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 612), while according to Gram it is perennial and evergreen (Gram 1935, p. 34). – "Cette plante est un excellent aliment pour les chameaux et les autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 177).

*alkah* (*Trichodesma africanum*). Tr., L.M. a. (& p.) (cf. Gram 1935, 35). – "Excellent aliment pour les chameaux et les autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 178).

*aginest* (*Moltkia callosa*). Tr. p., evergreen (cf. Gram 1935, p. 35). According to Maire frequently annual in the Central Sahara (Maire 1933, p. 179). "C'est un des aliments préférés des chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 179).

*taynast* (*Echium humile*). Tr., L.M. a. One of the very best fodder plants of Ahaggar. Valuable to all animals.

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824 *éṛir*, or *tenat* (*Lavandula coronopifolia*). Tr. p., evergreen (cf. Gram 1935, p. 59). – "Cette Lavande (arabe: *sejert-el-aroui*) est mangée par tous les herbivores, mais elle est particulièrement appréciée par les Moufions (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 182).

*awit*, also known by its collective name *awihat* (*Salvia Chudaei*). Tr., L.M. I have noted it as a fodder plant for camels, sheep, and goats. – "Cette plante est mangée par les chèvres et les moutons, mais non par les chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 187).

*takmezzui* (*Teucrium polium*). Tr., L.M. Foucauld states it to be an annual plant (Foucauld 1951–52, p. 821), while it is perennial according to Gram's investigations in Mouydir (Immidir) (Gram 1935, p. 60). The Tuareg have informed me that the plant can be found in certain river valleys all the year round, and even in dry years. The plant is eaten by camels, sheep, and goats.

*éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*). Tr. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 71). – "La plante n'est pas toxique pour les bestiaux, qu'elle fait engraisser;" (Maire 1933, p. 192).

*agerwa* (*Antirrhinum ramosissimum*). Tr. – "... broutée par les herbivores, ..." (Maire 1933, p. 195).

*anaddam* (*Plantago ciliata*). Tr., L.M., U.M. a. Eaten by domestic animals. – "Plante très appréciée des herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 199).

*tanetfirt* (*Pulicaria crispa*). Tr., (L.M.) perennial according to Foucauld (1951–52, III, p. 1304). Important fodder plant of camels, sheep, and goats. – "La plante est mangée par les chameaux et les autres herbivores domestiques (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 207).

*taméyot* (*Asteriscus graveolens*). Tr., L.M., U.M. p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 42). Important fodder plant of camels, sheep, and goats. – "Plante très appréciée des chameaux et autres herbivores (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 208).

*téhatit* (*Pentzia Monodiana*). L.M., U.M. p. Important fodder plant of camels, sheep, and goats.

*téhereggelé* (*Artemisia judaica*). Tr., (L.M.) p., evergreen. Eaten by camels, and possibly also by sheep and goats. When camels eat too much of this plant they may contract a stomach disease, but the plant is also considered a remedy for intestinal worms.

*zézzeré* (*Artemisia herba-alba*). (Tr.), L.M. p., evergreen. Eaten by camels, sheep, and goats.

*teféryast* (*Echinops Bovei*). Tr., L.M. p. – "Cette plante est mangée par les chameaux, les ânes, les moutons et les chèvres (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 215).

*ahu* (?). a. "...; il est un bon pâturage pour les chameaux et les chèvres, mais il donne au lait une odeur d'ail" (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 500).

*ajako* (?). a. "ressemble un peu à la luzerne, mais est plus petite qu'elle; est comestible pour les p. et les an.; se trouve dans l'Ah, mais seulement aux altitudes supérieures à 2.000 mètres" (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 712).

## FODDER PLANTS VERY APPRECIATED BY DONKEYS

*téberimt* (*Andropogon laniger & Panicum Parlatorei*). Tr., L.M., p.

*tésengelt* (*Saccharum Ravennae*). Tr., L.M. p.

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). Tr., (L.M.) p.

*aremmud* (*Artistida plumosa*). Tr. p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 54).

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*taǧamayt* (*Danthonia Forskalei*). Tr., L.M. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 55).
*taǧamayt* (*Cynodon Dactylon*). Tr., L.M., U.M. p.? (cf. Gram 1935, p. 55).
*taysest* (*Eragrostis bipinnata*). Tr., L.M. biennial (cf. Gram 1935, p. 55).
*térakob* (*Grewia populifolia*). Tr. p.
*awkal* (*Cynomorium cocceineum*). Tr., L.M.
*taḫhart* (*Mentha longifolia*). Tr., L.M. a.
*ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*). Tr., L.M.
*teǧellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). Tr., (a.), p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 50).
*alkeḍ* (*Cucumis pustulatus*). Tr.
*tanetfirt* (*Publicaria crispa*). Tr., (L.M.) p. (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1304).
*taǧuḳ* (*Artemisia campestris*). Tr., L.M., U.M. p., evergreen?.

In my early notes on donkeys' fodder plants I have three names which I have not been able to identify – due to the fact that I did not then take Tuareg words down in *tifinaṛ*. The three names are *aharowa* (? = *aharay*; *Aristida* sp. & *Danthonia Forskalei*), *anador* (? = *annaddam*; *Plantago ciliata*), and *terforgit*, or rather *terfuḳḳit*.

Maire mentions that the plant known as *ekechchekir* (*Astragalus pseudotrigonus*), Tr. p., evergreen (cf. Gram 1935, p. 64), is very appreciated by donkeys, but less so by camels, sheep, and goats (Maire 1933, p. 128).

## FODDER PLANTS EATEN PARTICULARLY BY ZEBUS

*tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*). Tr. p.
*akeywoḍ* (*Typha australis*). Tr., L.M. p.
*tésenǧelt* (*Saccharum Ravennae*). Tr., L.M. p.
*aṛemmud* (*Aristida plumosa*). Tr. p.
*taṛemmut* (*Aristida* sp.). According to Maire (1933) this name has the same meaning as that just mentioned above, while I have been told by the Tuareg that *aṛemmud* is as high as barley, while *taṛemmut* is much lower.
*ézenǧ* (*Cyperus laevigatus*). Tr. p.
*ilegga* (*Scirpus Holoschoenus*). Tr., L.M. p.
*taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*). Tr., L.M. p.
*aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*). Tr., L.M., U.M. p.
*issin* (*Salsola foetida*). Tr. p., evergreen.
*taysest* (*Eragrostis bipinnata*). Tr., L.M. biennial (cf. Gram 1935, p. 55).

The plants *aramas* and *issin* are important to zebus mainly for their salt content. It will be noted that the species here mentioned as fodder plants of zebu oxen are mainly perennial plants. Many of them demand humid soil, which is found close to most agricultural settlements where oxen are bred by agriculturists. Most of these peoples have only one to three oxen which generally graze tethered near the village. The oxen thus do not benefit much from the rich annual pastures in years of abundant rainfall, but, on the other hand, they are fed with garden-grown plants, as are donkeys of sedentary peoples.

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# Glossary of Tuareg Words

*Normalization advised by K.-G. Prasse*

## GENERAL VOCABULARY

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agedagédu (Ayr), edible seeds of an annual plant 181
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[For additional information about utensils, especially various kinds of containers, see category 116, pp. 221-33; 239; 242-43; 245-51; 253-54; 257; 260-61; 265-67; 269-86.]

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[For those aspects of land tenure relating specifically to the contractual agreement between landlord and tenant farmer, see category 675.]

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[For an extensive list of the names of Tuareg political and other social groups or categories, including relevant page references, see category 116, pp. 534-37.]

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[ The author makes very frequent cultural comparisons between the Northern Tuareg, especially the Kel Ahagger, and the Southern Tuareg, especially the Kel Air. Only a relatively small number of the more striking differences have been marked for category 184; for further information on this topic the full text should be consulted in category 116. ]

335

[See category 342 for information about techniques of joining and structural devices used in dwellings.]

492

[For additional information about animal transport, especially camel-riding and riding-gear, see category 116, pp. 67-113.]

233

[For additional information about stock-breeding--mainly camels, sheep, and goats--see category 116, pp. 33-73; 117; 119-21; 125-36; 138-42; 146-47; 150-54. Information concerning animal husbandry relating to horses, donkeys, and zebu cattle has been marked for category 231 since these do not involve large-scale pastoral activities.]

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[For additional detailed information concerning Tuareg dwellings and dwelling types, see category 116, pp. 327-391.]

8: Vinogradov E-4 (no date) 1965 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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# TUAREG CULTURAL SUMMARY

by

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# TUAREG CULTURAL SUMMARY

105 The Tuareg are Berber-speaking nomadic stockbreeders who live in the Western Sahara and adjacent regions of the Sudan. They fall into seven main groups or political units, comprising around 240,000-300,000 individuals (excluding Negro slaves). The Tuareg speak various dialects of Tamahaq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber. The peculiarity of Tamahaq as a Berber language is that it can be written with its own characters, which are called tifinagh.

The Tuareg of the Sahara proper are grouped into three confederations: the Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Ahaggar, and the Adrar-n-Ifighas, distributed in that order from northeast to southwest. The Ahaggar confederacy, isolated in the heart of the Sahara desert and the most extensively studied to date, will serve as the sample for the following summary of Tuareg culture. The Ahaggar Tuareg number around 4,400 and comprise twenty-six clans. Approximately 4,000 Negro slaves are attached to the Ahaggars.

The question of the origin and early history of the Tuaregs is still unresolved. Aside from certain somatic traits such as tall stature, an arm span often greater than their height, smooth or

105 wavy black hair and a lack of hirsuteness, the chief distinguishing characteristics of the Tuaregs are the unity of their language, their use of tifinagh characters, and their complex social organization, with its matrilineal and matriarchal elements. Their history, going back to their first contact with Moslem Arabs (probably Shorfa missionaries from Morocco) in the seventh or early eighth century, is one of incessant conflict between Negro kingdoms and Tuareg, between Arabs and Tuareg, and between different Tuareg tribes. They were more or less united under a noble tribe, the Imenanes, until the middle of the seventeenth century, when the Imenanes, following defeat in battle, were obliged to divide their lands and authority. The partition into the present groups dates from that time.

The Tuareg possess a highly stratified and complicated social system. In general they are divided into three main classes: the Tuareg nobles, imochar, the Tuareg vassals, imrad, and a third lower class comprised of Negroid and mixed people grouped into three castes based on occupation (gardeners, harratin, domestics and slaves, iklan, and artisans, inaden). Rank is a quality of the clan rather than the individual, for the Tuareg speak of "noble clans" and "vassal clans." The Ahaggar confederacy is made up of three tribes: the Kel Bela, the Tegehe Mellet, and the Taitoq, each headed by a noble clan which gives its name to the tribe as a whole. Noble clans

105 and their dependent vassal clans are arranged in order of precedence, and the chief of the premier clan (the Kel Bela) is also chief of the Kel Bela tribe and ipso facto the paramount chief, amenokal, of the Ahaggar confederacy. Vassal clans are the traditional pastoralists, camel and goat breeders. They hold exclusive pasturage rights to a definite territory upon which no one may encroach without permission excepting the noble clans, who are always free to use the pasture of their vassal clans. Many Tuareg also own garden plots in agricultural centers which are leased to harratin share croppers or are worked by slaves.

All vassal clans pay tribute to their tribal chiefs, who in turn pay it to the paramount chief, the amenokal. Tribute is normally in grain and/or livestock. In return, the noble clans pledge to supply the warriors and protect their vassals in case of external aggression. Chieftainship is hereditary in the female line, but within fairly broad and seemingly rather indefinite limits of degree of relationship, so that an undesirable heir apparent can easily be passed over in favor of a less direct but more acceptable heir. The chief is chosen from the premier clan of the tribe by a council made up of male heads of households and is confirmed in his office by male representatives of all the component clans of his tribe.

105 Tribal chiefs act as judges, and the amenokal is chief justice of his confederation. The amenokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum called a tobol. This instrument is so representative of command to the Tuareg that they often refer to the amenokal and his whole clan as tobol. The original role of the paramount chief was that of a war leader, and in normal times he still arbitrates conflicts. In principle, he has the power of life and death; on the other hand, in his national role, vis-à-vis neighboring or foreign tribes, the amenokal's decisions do not have full authority unless they have been approved by an assembly of notables called the arollan. This assembly is composed of the principal chiefs of all the factions, plus the nobility. It should be emphasized at this point that the position of a Tuareg clan is not firmly fixed within the framework of the confederation. Component clans may break away from the tribe and attach themselves to a more powerful tribe. At least one clan, the Ibotenaten, was reduced from noble to vassal status by a crushing defeat suffered in the course of a blood feud. In all the Tuareg confederations, the vassals, or imrad, outnumber the nobles in the ration of five to one.

Both manual labor and domestic service are performed by the third class in the Tuareg society. This class is composed of

105 heterogeneous and ethnically mixed peoples living in symbiotic relationship with their masters, the Tuareg. The iklan are the Negro slaves or descendents of former slaves who are attached to Tuareg families and take care of herding, cooking, and all other domestic chores. The artisans and smiths of the Tuareg are the inaden of mixed racial origin, who manufacture all that the nomadic Tuareg needs and in addition act as barber-surgeons. These form a closed caste and are found in single families or small numbers at agricultural centers or attached periodically to Tuareg encampments. The third group are the harratin, Negroid sedentary tenant farmers who rent land from the Tuareg and work it on share cropping basis. The Tuareg hold the three groups in low social esteem.

The economy of the nomadic Tuareg is based on conservational domestication of camels, goats, and hairy sheep, and on crop sharing with the harratin tenant gardeners. The once flourishing caravan trade of the Tuareg has been largely destroyed by mechanized competition, while the exaction of toll charges from passing caravans of other groups and the practice of systematic raiding has been suppressed by French authorities. The Tuareg pitch their camps in or close to mountain massifs, of which the most important are Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. Rainfall is

105 irregular, and a persistent vegetation cannot generally exist outside river valleys and depressions. Pasturage is either very sparse or very scattered, with the result that the people are continually breaking up into small and highly mobile camp units moving at intervals of between a week to a month, always within the territorial limits of the tribe. Herds of camels and flocks of goats and hairy sheep constitute the bulk of the capital investment and the primary basis of the economy. Trade used to be very important, with salt the chief article of export. In July, salt from local mines, camels, donkeys, and dates (from oases in the north) were taken south to markets in Nigeria and exchanged for millet, cotton cloth, tea, sugar, and tobacco. This trade is still practiced, but on a very limited scale.

The Tuareg live on the products of their animals, but meat and milk are not enough, especially in dry years. The basic elements of their diet are milk, millet, and dates. Millet, enelè, is cultivated both in the Saharian oases and the Sudan. It is usually crushed with pestles and winnowed to keep only the white flour, which is used in many dishes. Asink is the national dish: coarse millet flour is boiled into thick porridge to which fine sifted flour is later added. This is served with milk and/or butter. Milk, another basic food, is drunk fresh, sour, or curdled, and is also

105 made into butter and cheese. Meat is highly preferred, but is eaten irregularly. The meat most used is that of goats. Mutton is eaten less often, and camel only in exceptional circumstances, since camels are very rarely slaughtered for food. Meat of gazelles and wild sheep is highly esteemed but is not frequently available. Practically speaking, the Tuareg never eat fresh vegetables, but they do use dried onions and tomatoes. Chicken, eggs, and fish are never eaten by the Tuareg. They drink water, milk, and tea. Green tea is very popular and is served aromatized with mint or other local herbs. Coffee is rarely used and then only medicinally.

Shelter takes the form of small lightweight tents of leather or sometimes grass huts. Clothing is loose, voluminous, and light in weight. Men wear a dark blue or black combination veil and turban that covers all of the head and face except for the eyes. These veils are not removed, even for eating. Women go barefaced but with a head kerchief.

Although the Tuareg still retain many of their pre-Islamic magico-religious beliefs and practices, they are all nominally Moslems. They are known to be lukewarm as to religion, and even the important annual Moslem fast of Ramadhan is not generally observed. Occasionally some fanatic North African Moslem sect

105 (such as the Sanussi of Libya) may rally one clan or another of the Tuareg to its cause. But these conversions do not last long, and the Tuareg revert to a passive, vague form of Islam which is permeated by local superstition and magic. Amulets are very common, and belief in jinns and spirits is not confined to women. Several Marabout and Shorfa families (all claiming some descent from the prophet Mohammad or his Arab clan) are found in the area, and some run Koranic schools in the garden centers. These Marabouts may be called upon by the Tuareg to write amulets or to say prayers at funerals, but in no way are they as active or powerful as they are in the rest of North and West Africa.

Marriage is usually, though not always, within the clan. Cross-cousin marriage is said to be the preferred pattern. Statistically, however, the most common type is for a man to marry a maternal cousin or her daughter. In this way a man and his father may belong to the same matrilineage. The question of Tuareg matriarchy is debatable. The Tuareg practice a system of double descent, following matrilineal principles in specific cases and patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged. Traditionally, the matrilineal principle is valid for (1) succession to chieftainship (since a Tuareg child

105 always inherits rank and position through his mother) (2) succession to land rights, and (3) succession to property considered indivisible. Islamic rules of inheritance, on the other hand, are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit in such a way that a son gets twice the amount allotted to a daughter. Authority is vested in the father, never the maternal uncle or the mother. A newly married couple live in the camp of the bride's parents for about a year, then usually move over to the camp of the husband. Tuareg camps are known by the name of the highest ranking male member of the community. A widowed woman and her unmarried children are usually taken into the family circle of her brother. It is a peculiarity of the Tuareg social organization, which seems to be based on essentially matrilineal and patriarchal extended and joint family clans, in that it resembles groups in West Africa rather than their immediate neighbors, the Arabs or the Berbers.

The usual age for marriage is twenty to twenty-five for women and close to thirty for men. Monogamy is the universal rule, and divorce is both unusual and generally frowned upon. A bride price is given to the parents of the bride, part of which is turned over to the bride as her personal property. She retains full title to this and to any other wealth she has, and is under no obligation

105 to contribute to the household expenses. Women are treated with respect and deference, but they can hold no office nor exercise any command beyond the limits of their tents. Premarital relations between the sexes are conducted at social gatherings, the chief function of which seems to be getting the young people to know each other. These gatherings or "open houses" are of two main types: tendi and ahal. Tendi are held on the afternoon, and ahal at night. At both types, young men and women, dressed in their best, gather in open areas around one or more young women who play musical instruments, sing, or recite poetry. Often the group participates in singing, storytelling, or improvising poetry. Such a gathering is a perfect occasion for young people to show their wit and musical abilities and to arrange secret rendezvous.

Marriage always involves a bride price, which varies according to the beauty and social standing of the bride and the wealth of the husband. Wedding festivities take place in the bride's camp. Children are highly desired in the community, and the sterility of one of the partners is one of the few valid causes for divorce. Nursing lasts from two to two and one half years, with boys being nursed a little longer than girls. All boys are circumcised collectively when they are three or four years old. The occasion is a

105 simple one, and there are no special festivities. Children hang around the camp, the boys helping their fathers with the herding while the girls assist their mothers. At the age of fifteen or sixteen, "when the hair on the face begins to show," the father gives his son a blue veil called a tidjelmoust. This is usually done at the annual Moslem feast. Along with the veil, the boy is given some good advice by his father and gifts of tobacco from his mother and sisters. With the wearing of the veil, the boy has entered the class of men.

The men's veil, or tidjelmoust, is the most distinctive and arresting article of clothing among the Tuareg. Self-respecting Tuareg think it shockingly indecent for a man to let his mouth be seen by anyone to whom he owes formal respect; nor will he show his face to anyone whose social standing he considers superior to his own. The veil is always arranged so that the eyeslit is as narrow as possible. The standard variations in ways of wearing the veil are indicative of the social status, tribal and clan affiliations, and even the moods of the wearer. The most preferred veils are dyed indigo, though many make do with black ones.

Death is not feared by the Tuareg. The deceased are washed, draped in new clothes, and buried in a nearby high spot. If a

105 Marabout is available, he reads the Moslem prayers. There is no wailing nor any public display of sentiment. The camp is immediately broken and the place is not used again. Condolences often include the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you love is now in the paradise of God."

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611 into separate corporate bodies," and so the situation in the Ahaggar appears to be the reverse of that which Gibson found among the cattle-raising Herero of Ngamiland, in southwestern Africa. The Tuareg descent system is like that of the Herero, however, in that "The present function is in terms of a wide range of kin-like relationships leading to economic co-operation and to intermarriage among persons unrelated patrilineally" (although rarely "of scattered origin"). "Double descent, therefore, permits a society such as the Herero," or the Tuareg as a whole, "highly fractured into scattered and politically independent local groups, to maintain cultural uniformity and social cohesion. . . . The segmentation of matri-clans . . . appears to be no more than a mechanism for limiting the wide extension of exogamy and special privilege to persons not too distantly related; it was quite likely a concomitant of an expanding population and the scattering of the tribe."

It is not unnatural to jump to the conclu-
●121 sion, as Gautier (1935, pp. 33 and 109), Lhote
611 (1955, pp. 186–88) and others have done, that
the ancestral Tuareg of ancient times were
[174] exclusively matrilineal and fully matriarchal as well, and that the patrilineal elements we find in modern Tuareg culture were acquired relatively recently through Moslem influence, but this is not necessarily so. The concept of double descent was stated for the first time by Rattray (1923, pp. 77–78) in his description of the pagan Ashanti of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), among whom "Inheritance and succession to authority follow the female line and the avunculate exists, but residence is patrilocal and the household consists of a patriarchal extended family" (Murdock, 1940, p. 557, paraphrasing Rattray), a situation which was probably characteristic of the pre-Islamic Tuareg as well. The Ashanti also have matri-sibs based on "blood" inherited in the maternal line, and patri-sibs based on "spirit" inherited through the father, and this again suggests that the basic concepts underlying the double descent systems of the Ashanti and Tuareg have much in common.

Gibson (1956, p. 137) seems inclined to think that the double descent systems of the Herero and of the southwestern Bantu in general evolved "as a whole," matrilineal and

611 patrilineal elements being present together in a single complex from its beginning, and we
121 have no good reason to suppose that this tentative assumption may not be equally applicable to the Tuareg. But we are hedged about with lack of information. We are faced here with yet another instance of the futility of empirical deduction unsupported by adequate field investigation of the culture concepts that lie at the root of our problem.

423 **Land Tenure and Tribute.** The Amenokal of the Ahaggar is said to be "the owner of the
643 land" by virtue of his position as paramount chief of a warrior aristocracy. We are inclined to suspect, however, that this may be an oversimplification of the case, for the land of the various tribes that make up the Ahaggar confederation is apparently treated as basically communal property, the title to which is vested in each succeeding Amenokal as an executive trustee rather than as a proprietor. This brings out the very important point that the Amenokal of the Ahaggar Tuareg seems to be essentially a chief executive and not a true king or autocratic chief in the commonly accepted sense of those terms. And, theoretically at least, he can be forced out of office by popular demand. All things considered, his position is not so very different in fact from
643 that of the President of the United States.

622 The Amenokal and the noble tribal chiefs
565 under him collect tribute from those whose
[651] destinies they control, but they are also supposed to protect these people by force of arms when necessary. When the warriors of a noble
[721] clan go raiding they often take the men of one or more of their vassal clans along, and these vassals receive a substantial share of plunder if the raid is a success, but vassals also have an obligation to fight at the side of their noble masters in intertribal wars.

423 Each vassal clan holds exclusive pasturage rights to a definite territory upon which no
[565] one else may enter, without express permission of the Amenokal, excepting noble clans who are always free to use the pastures of their own vassals as and when they please. Some men also hold exclusive hunting rights to certain specified areas. Many Tuareg own garden plots in agricultural centers, and sometimes date palms and fruit trees of other kinds as well, all of which holdings are now par-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

# *Political Systems Of Pastoral Tuareg In Air And Ahaggar.*

By Johannes Nicolaisen

The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive area of the Western Sahara and adjacent regions of the Sudan. The territory dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° North Latitude and between 5° West Longitude and 10° East Longitude. They fall into seven main groups or major political units (fig. 1) comprising 240,000–300,000 individuals, their negro slaves excluded. The two northernmost groups (the Kel Ahaggar and the Kel Ajjer) live in the true desert country and number less than 10,000 or about 3% of all Tuareg. In Ahaggar the number according to statistics of 1950 is 4,611. The Air Tuareg further south are more numerous and seem to comprise more than 20.000 individuals (cf. Lhote 1947, p. 15f. & 1955, p. 157).

This study of Tuareg political systems has as its foundation a part of my own field material collected in 1951 (in Ahaggar), 1952 (in Tassili-n-Ajjer), 1953 (in Ahaggar), and 1954–55 (in Ahaggar including Ahnet, and in Air). I have spent about two years in these Tuareg countries living most of the time in Ahaggar and adjacent regions, while my stay further south in Air was limited to six months.

It is my intention here to describe the political systems of Air and Ahaggar, but as my final task is concerned with their origin I find it necessary to take up also more general aspects of Tuareg culture and the distribution of certain cultural traits. I shall make use also of Tuareg oral traditions and of the very comprehensive material on Tuareg history gathered by Arab historians and geographers of the Middle Ages. Thus I do not follow the ordinary lines of any particular anthropological school.

I am much indebted to Dr. Birket-Smith (University of Copenhagen) from whom I acquired my general anthropological knowledge together with a keen interest in historical problems, and to Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry of the London University where I have learnt what I know about social anthropology. Dr. Phyllis Kaberry has taken a profound interest in my studies, and I feel grateful for her kind help and assistance in all matters concerning Tuareg political systems and Tuareg social structure in general.

My journeys among the Tuareg were carried out by means of grants from various Danish foundations, notably Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond, Carlsberg Fondet, Knud Rasmussen Fondet, and Jens Lohmand Rasmussens Rejselegat. During my last journey The University College London assigned me a grant without which I should not have been able to gather the material here presented

/9/ Foreword

121 This work was begun four years ago with modest personal observations and was designed to remain at the Tamanrasset school as a record for the information of my successors.

Little by little I realized that Tamanrasset was not the Ahaggar and that many people upon arrival there had preconceived ideas about the country and its inhabitants. These ideas were often inexact and always incomplete. They were defended with the conviction of ignorance and with an often convincing energy; they spread all the more easily when cloaked in mystery and marvels -- and the country, being little known, lends itself to the marvelous. Attention must be called to an entire florid literature which paints the Ahaggar and the Tuareg with a profusion of epithets but which gives no exact information. It has had the merit, however, of getting many Frenchmen interested in this country, so attractive in so many ways.

For the past three years caravans of tourists have come regularly to visit the Ahaggar. Naturally enough the tourists ask numerous questions that the French of Tamanrasset know well and are tired of answering. I believed this work could enlighten the visitors and relieve the residents, who are weary of repeating the same answers.

This work is, of course, incomplete and certainly contains errors, but it has been prepared with all the objectivity I could muster.

/10/ I owe the geological data to M. Lelubre, and the notes on the climate to the Institut de physique du globe /Institute of Global Physics/. The different annual reports of the heads of the Ahaggar annex have furnished me with valuable information. Finally, many Tuareg friends have initiated me into their way of life.

Specialists in all the scientific disciplines come to study the Ahaggar. Their research often remains unknown to the public. I ask their indulgence for this work, which I have intended for travelers and tourists.

# Preface

In this book I aim at the combination of historical and functional methods of anthropology to analyse the development of Tuareg culture with particular reference to food-producing activities. I do not, therefore, present all my Tuareg material. 121

My general anthropological outlook is doubtless largely due to my training under influential scholars of historical and functional methods. I was introduced to historical methods at the University of Copenhagen by Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith, who taught with that caution and sense which must be the foundation of all anthropological science. His strict demand that anthropology must proceed on the basis of knowledge forms the most valuable part of my whole anthropological training, and for this I express to him my sincere gratitude. 114

I freely admit that I am much attached to the traditional methods of Danish anthropology. Among its scholars I am greatly indebted also to Professor C. G. Feilberg with whom I have a large field of interests in common. From the very day I began my studies in Copenhagen he offered me all possible help in discussing with me the major problems of cultural history in the Near and Middle East, and in Africa, and using much of his spare time to teach me Arabic. His detailed study on the black tent and its history forms an important cornerstone for my chapter on Tuareg tent development.

When I began my studies in Copenhagen Professor Feilberg acted as curator in the Danish National Museum where, like other students of these days, I was generously helped by the curator, Jens Yde – my closest friend. Though his main field of interest is the Indians of the Americas, he has also a surprisingly comprehensive knowledge of African cultures. I hold in very high esteem Mr. Jens Yde's scholarly realistic outlook which has been extremely stimulating to my own work. I express my gratitude also to Dr. Helge Larsen, leader of The Ethnographical Collection of The Danish National Museum, and to the curator Mr. Werner Jacobsen.

My interest in functional anthropology dates right back to my University years in Copenhagen. For though Danish anthropology is in the main historical, it was Dr. Birket-Smith's demand that students should read the important works of such functional or social anthropologists as Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, Firth, Evans-Pritchard, and others. But most knowledge I have of functional anthropology came to me under a two years' study, granted me by The British Council, at The University College London with Professor C. Daryll Forde as my principal teacher. I wish to acknowledge my sincere gratitude for his unusual kindness and valuable help during my stay in London, and for his readiness to consider any problem in the light of his very deep and versatile knowledge. In this book I acknowledge his clear view of the problems connected with the development of food-producing activities advanced in 1934 when many scholars were shooting in the dark.

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114 My gratitude to Dr. Phyllis Kaberry, who acted as my supervisor during my London studies, is not easily expressed in words. Nobody has taken so profound an interest in my studies as Dr. Kaberry, and if my descriptions of economics and political systems contain views of any value this is due largely to her extreme interest in my Tuareg material. Much of my later field-work among the Tuareg has also been carried out along lines suggested by Dr. Kaberry.

My stay in London was indeed a fruitful one as I was also able to attend lectures and seminars by Professor Raymond Firth and Professor I. Schapera, and to benefit from the rich knowledge of East African cultures possessed by Mr. G. W. B. Huntingford of The School of Oriental and African Studies.

121 I try to reconstruct history within the limited area of Northern Africa occupied by the Tuareg. In [12] doing so I use methodologies of different anthropological schools, and also include material available from written sources, from Tuareg traditions, and from archaeology. I feel confident that my procedure is justified, but present it to the reader's judgement with a quotation from the great anthropologist E. E. Evans-Pritchard, who speaks about the rejection of the reconstruction of history by functional anthropologists as follows: "A case can be made out for this rejection, though not in my opinion so strong a case as is usually supposed, for all history is of necessity a reconstruction, the degree of probability attending a particular reconstruction depending on the evidence available" (Evans-Pritchard 1962, p. 21).

114 The real foundation of my book is the field-material I have been able to gather during eight journeys 122 to Northern Africa. I made the first two short trips on my own account, while later journeys were paid by Danish foundations, notably by *Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond*, *Carlsbergfondet*, *Rask-Ørsted Fondet*, *Knud Rasmussen Fondet*, and by grants from the University of Copenhagen. I have also been supported economically by The Danish National Museum and by The Museum of Prehistory in Aarhus, which museums now contain my collections of ethnographical sepcimens. My first Tuareg journey carried out in 1951 owes its beginning to economic and moral support from the former leader of the Aarhus Museum, Professor P. V. Glob, now Director-General of the Central Office and of the Museum of National Antiquities in Denmark. My journey to the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr 1954–55 was partly paid by The University College London on the very kind initiative of Professor Daryll Forde.

122 I express my sincere thanks to the above-mentioned institutions and their directors.

The results achieved on my journeys are due largely to friendly help rendered me by the Algerian administration and the administration of the Niger Republic in Niamey and at Agadez. In Algeria I met at an early date Mr. Pierre Bataillon and Mr. Josef Kniebihly of the Civil Administration at Djelfa. They willingly offered me their friendship and did everything to help me during the three weeks of 1947 when I suffered very greatly from malaria. On my journeys to the Ayr Tuareg I have been very kindly assisted by all governmental offices, and I thank heartily Mr. G. Feral, formerly civil governor of the Cercle d'Agadez, Mr. J. Demonceau, Mr. Claude Gardin, and Mr. and Mrs. Bernus of the IFAN at Niamey.

My two Danish friends, Niels Wismer, Norwegian Vice-Consul in Algeria, and Clas Wismer have been of outstanding importance for all my journeys among North African pastoralists. They supported me morally and practically every time I came to Algiers, and they gave me their friendship which I treasure most highly.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

# Introduction

This book is the result of several years' study of North African pastoralism. My interest in this subject began under climatic conditions rather different from those of North Africa. In the winter 1945–46 I journied on skis through Northern Sweden, Finland, and the Norwegian Finmark. For about three months I lived among the Lapps, and, watching the techniques of reindeer-breeding, I became very interested in the problems connected with the history and evolution of stock-breeding. Shortly after my return from this trip I began to study anthropology in the University of Copenhagen under Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith, and as the main subject of the degree of M.Sc. acquired in summer 1950, I chose pastoral cultures of the Near and Middle East. I had already then made two short journeys to North Africa. 114 121

(1) In summer 1947 I spent about three months in Central Algeria to investigate Arab nomads in the steppes of the High Plateau and the adjacent parts of the Sahara. I travelled around the towns of Djelfa, Zenina, Aflu, Laghwat, and Ghardaya. I had little money at my disposal and could never afford to engage native assistants or to have a horse or a mule for riding and transportation. I walked through the barren steppes and deserts carrying as my main luggage several bottles filled with water. This journey was certainly not easy, and at its end I suffered very badly from malaria. Nevertheless, I managed to get into contact with camps of nomadic tribes such as the *Ulad Naïl*, the *Larba*, and the *Saït Otba*, and for shorter periods I followed them during their migrations towards the south. I also contacted certain semi-nomadic tribes living around Aflu in Djebel Amour of the Sahara Atlas. I did not, however, understand Arabic, and the nomads, who were rather shy and suspicious of Europeans, generally had no knowledge of French. It is evidently most difficult to collect ethnographical material under such circumstances. And if I had not received the very kind assistance of French administrators and officers, of native Arab caids, and of Arabs who had formerly served in the French Army, I should indeed have acquired nothing. The year 1947 followed upon a long period of drought which had caused severe losses to all nomads. Many of them had lost all their livestock, and famine occurred all over pastoral Algeria. The consequences of the drought when at its worst can be illustrated by the following example:— Arriving at Aflu in the Djebel Amour, I discovered a small camp the tents of which apparently belonged to a type constructionally different from those used among Central Algerian nomads. I went to the camp where I was told that it belonged to semi-nomads of the *Adjaletes* and *Ulad Sidi Brahim* tribes. They all suffered extremely from famine, and entering the first tent I found three dying children under filthy rugs. I now concentrated upon the problems connected with this dreadful disaster which seemed to prove the insufficiency of pure pastoralism in the barren countries of North Africa. 114 122 73 [121]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



114 (2) In winter 1950 I visited several *Kabyle* villages in the Djurdjura Mountains, and stayed for some
121 time in the regions which I had already visited in summer 1947. I wanted to gather supplementary material on the consequences of the drought period, and also to acquire some personal knowledge of winter life among nomads. – Part of the material collected 1947 and 1950 has been published (Nicolaisen 1950).

101 On later journeys to Northern Africa I have studied culture and society of pastoral Tuareg:—

114 (3) In summer 1951 I spent about five months (May September) in Ahaggar. I arrived at Algiers
122 from where I travelled southwards by car to make short stops at Djelfa, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El
Golea, and In Salah. Reaching Tamanrasset in Ahaggar in the month of May, I hired an interpreter
[124] to visit many Tuareg camps of the important vassal tribes *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* and *Dag Ṛali* on journeys accomplished by means of camels and donkeys. Part of the time I also lived at Tamanrasset where I was visited daily by Tuareg informants. Apart from Tamanrasset I visited the following centres of
[12] cultivation:— Tit, Utul, Terhenanet, and I-n-dalaǵ. My investigations concentrated upon economics
[126] and material culture in relation to environment, and about 300 ethnographic specimens were collected. I left Tamanrasset for Algiers by plane via Ǵanet (Djanet), Ṛat (Ghat), Ft. Flatters, and Wargla.

(4) I returned to North Africa in summer 1952. The length of this visit was about three months and a half. From Algiers I went by train and trucks to Arris in the Aurès Mountains where I stayed for about five weeks among the semi-nomadic Berber-speaking *Chawiya*. I rode through the valleys of this montain massif on a mule, and the journey terminated with my arrival at the oasis of Biskra. From Biskra I went by train to Tuggurt from where I continued by truck to Wargla. I left this oasis by a French military plane for Ǵanet in Tasilé-n-Ajjer via El Golea, In Salah, and Tamanrasset. At Ǵanet I hired camels and a native guide and went westwards via Ft. Ghardei to Afara, where I had the opportunity to meet the supreme chief of the *Kel Ajjer* living in French territory. From Afara I went up the valley named Aharhar and across the Tasilé Mountains to Éléẓi (Ft. Polignac). After a short rest with the French garrison I went northwards to the region of Hassi Issendjel, where I visited various Tuareg camps, notably of the tribes *Kel Teruṛit* and *Uraṛen*. I stayed in Tasilé-n-Ajjer for six weeks, and returned by plane to Algiers via Ft. Flatters and Wargla. From Algiers I made a very
[126] short trip to the *Kabyle* of the Djurdjura Mountains. From the Kabyle, the Chawiya, and the Ajjer Tuareg an ethnographical collection of about 70 specimens was made.

(5) From autumn 1952 until summer 1954 I studied social anthropology in University College London under Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry. My studies in London were interrupted in summer 1953 when I went to North Africa to stay for three months among the Ahaggar Tuareg. I lived most of the time in camps of the vassal tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aǵuh-en-tehlé*, but I also visited the *Iklan-en-tawsit* and camps of certain *Isekkemaren* tribes, notably the *Iheyawen-Hada*. I also paid a visit to camps of the *Kel Ṛezzi* Tuareg (*Ahl Azzi*) who descend patrilineally from Arabs, and I spent several days in the camp of the *Amenukal*, that is the supreme chief elected from the dominant noble tribe of *Kel Ṛela*. Among agricultural settlements visited the most important were Abalessa and Silet –
[12] apart from Tamanrasset. My studies concentrated upon social and political organization, but I made
[126] an ethnographical collection of more than a hundred specimens. The journey from Algiers to Tamanrasset and return was made by plane via El Golea and In Salah.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 . M525 Tuareg M525



(6) My sixth journey to North Africa was undertaken 1954–55 and comprised about 14 months' field-work among Northern and Southern Tuareg. I left Algiers by car via Djelfa, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El Golea to In Salah at the beginning of the autumn 1954. At In Salah I bought four camels and hired an Arab guide of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe. After a short visit to his camp we went southwards to the region of the Ahnet Massif where I visited camps of *Kel-ahem-mellen* (a small noble tribe), *Kel-Immidir* (*Isekkemaren*), *Ayt Lowayen* of the *Kel Turha* section, *Kel Rezzi*, and notably the *Kel Ahnet*. Two small camps visited claimed to belong to the noble *Taytok* tribe, but they had no matrilineal relationship to that tribe which is now found in the Tamesna plains west of Ayr. I left Ahnet for Tamanrasset about the middle of December, and in the following months I travelled alone with my camels in Ahaggar as I now knew Tuareg language sufficiently to dispense with an interpreter. Until the beginning of April 1955 I lived in camps of the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes, and passed some days in the *Amenukal*'s camp. I also had a house at Tamanrasset where I could work more peacefully with problems connected with kinship, land tenure, and political organization. In this work I was mainly assisted by two older Tuareg of the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes. Apart from Tamanrasset I visited the following cultivation centres:— Utul, Tahart, Ti-n-amenser, Ennedid, Iglen, Abalessa, Amsel, and Tarhawhawt. – On the 3rd of April, 1955, I left Ahaggar for Ayr together with two Ayr Tuareg who were returning to their camps at Northern Ayr after a caravan journey to Tamanrasset. We travelled south-eastwards via the small cultivation centre Tagnut and thence into the very barren country separating Ahaggar from Ayr. We refilled our six skin-bags with water at the wells of I-n-abeggi and I-n-azawa, and had no water again until we arrived at a fairly large and permanent waterhole (*agelmam*) known as Tamengoyt, situated on the northern outskirts of the Ayr Massif. Close to this place we met the first Tuareg camps of the *Kel Tédalé* who dominate the northern parts of Ayr. The following days we saw several camps of these Tuareg. At last we arrived at the camp of one of my companions who belonged to the *Ikkoberen* tribe though his family was very mixed with *Kel Tédalé*. This camp was situated in the Azel valley, where we stayed for about ten days to regain full strength. Thereupon we continued to *Iferwan* which constitutes the northernmost village of the Ayr Massif. I lived in this village for about three weeks and then I continued towards Agadez together with a Tuareg of the *Kel Akerra* tribe. We visited camps of various tribes on our journey southwards (*Kel Rarus*, *Iforas*). The journey was a difficult one as two of my camels were worn out. We left them in a camp of *Ikoffejiten* Tuareg. This was situated at the Afarak valley from where we continued to Agadez via the small agricultural settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses. From Agadez I went by truck down to Zinder, but returned quickly to make a more complete investigation of the Ayr Tuareg. The situation was now very difficult as my two camels left at Afarak died and I was too short of money to buy a new animal. My financial problems were rather acute and were solved only by the very kind and resolute help rendered me by Professor Daryll Forde of University College London. I was thus able to continue my studies for another six months. I hired a house in Agadez where I could work peacefully, and bought a fine riding camel in order to be able to visit Tuareg camps in the vicinity. The most extensive journey made went to the village of Awderas, north-east of Agadez and close to the Begzen Mountains. On this journey I revisited the small settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses, and visited pastoral camps of the *Iforas*, the *Ikoffejiten*, the *Kel Tamat*, the *Igen-*

101 *déynen*, and the *Imezzureg*. If not staying in Agadez I lived mainly in camps of the latter tribe, and
114 spent a considerable time in one particular camp. My studies were concluded with a visit to the camp
122 of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief north of Aderbissinat. I remained in his camp for about a fortnight and also visited camps of the *Echchikhen* Tuareg and the Fulani who are numerous in this area. I left Agadez by air via Tawa, Niamey, Bamako to Dakar whence I returned to Denmark by ship, and a
[126] few days later returned to London to resume my studies at University College. On this comparatively long journey among the Tuareg I did not make any large ethnographical collection, as I could not afford to buy much, but brought back with me about fifty different specimens plus a few archaeological objects.

(7) In 1956 I returned to Copenhagen from London. I was then planning a new journey to North Africa, but for many reasons this had to be postponed until the autumn 1959. The journey was a very short one of only two months. I left Copenhagen by air on the second of August and arrived at Niamey the next day. After a week's stay at Niamey I continued by plane via Maradi and Zinder to Agadez. The day after my arrival at this ancient capital of the Ayr people I was able to join a car expedition organized by Mr. J. Demonceau, who was studying locust migrations, and by Mr. Claude Gardin of the "Peloton Nomade", who was looking for Tuareg camel thieves. We went first to Ingal and from there continued northwards to the village and salt pits of *Tegidda-n-tésemt*. We went further north but stopped at the well of I-n-abanṛerit, then going eastwards across the Talak Plains to the western edge of the Ayr Massif. Our journey back to Agadez followed the road through the mountains. Though this journey did not take much more than a week it was of great importance to my studies, as I had for the first time an occasion to see the extensive plains west of Ayr – a region of great economic value to many tribes not only of Ayr Tuareg but also to certain tribes of Ahaggar. On the journey I visited camps of *Idaléyen*, *Kel Tédalé* and *Ijoṛas* (Ayr Tuareg), of
[121] *Ireḡenaten* (Ahaggar Tuareg), and of *Téḡehé-n-Efis* (originally Ahaggar Tuareg). In all these camps I collected much valuable material concerning tent structures and economics. – Shortly after my
[123] return to Agadez from this brief journey I met a Tuareg of the *Imezzureg* tribe. I knew him well from my visit to Ayr in 1955, and he was in fact my classificatory elder brother. I went immediately to his camp situated not very far from Agadez, and I lived with him and his kinsmen for the rest of the time left at my disposal. During this period the camp was frequently broken and taken to the best possible pastures of annual plants. I left the camp only once for a week when my brother and I made a camel journey westwards to Tegidda-n-tagayt and Tegidda-n-edrar. In these regions we visited several Ayr tribes which I had never been among previously (e.g. *Imezzuren*, *Ijakarkaren*), and we were lucky enough to meet during this journey the supreme chief of the noble *Kel Azel* tribe. We also visited the camp of the drum-chief of the *Kel Gerez* Tuareg, who move northwards to Ayr at the end of the rains. I finished my field-work about the sixth of October and was back in Copenhagen
[126] by plane via Zinder, Maradi, and Niamey on the tenth. I made a very small ethnographical collection comprising about twenty specimens. My investigations were not concentrated on any particular
[121] subject. I acquired valuable supplementary material on such different matters as traditional political systems, kinship, ecology, and technology.

(8) Participating in The First International Congress of Africanists at Accra I had the opportunity

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to visit Niamey for one week at the beginning of December 1962. Here I studied the very valuable ethnographical collections of The IFAN Museum, and I spent two days in camps of *Bélla* and Tuareg of the *Western Iwllemmeden* east and north-east of Ayoru on the Niger. Of particular value was my visit to a camp of the dominant noble tribe, *Kel Tahabanat*. Its supreme chief *Amder* and his family gave me important information on Tuareg culture in this little known area. My visit to Tuareg and *Bélla* near Ayoru was made possible by the very kind assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Bernus of the IFAN. They put a truck with its driver at my free disposition. 101 114 122 [127] [115]

Altogether I have spent almost three years among North African pastoralists – mainly among the Tuareg. This length of time is not so impressive as it may seem, for my investigations have been carried out over an extensive territory ranching from the Mediterranean to the outskirts of the Sudanese savannah. A detailed study of Tuareg ecology and culture necessitates a detailed knowledge of change and variation in environment within and without the country in which the Tuareg live. 114 [121]

The literature which deals with the Tuareg is very comprehensive as can be seen from the bibliography at the end of this book, but most publications are of very little value and many of them are almost inaccessible.

The Tuareg are first mentioned in literature by Arab authors of the Middle Ages, but most of these historians and geographers did not know the Tuareg country and even the few of them who travelled in the Sahara tell us very little about the Tuareg in early Arabic texts generally called *Muletthemin*, that is "the veiled ones". The most important Arab authors who mention the Tuareg are Ibn Hawkal (10th century), El-Bekri (11th century), Edrisi (12th century), Ibn Batutah (14th century), and Ibn Khaldun (14th century). Ibn Khaldun gives the most intimate description of the Tuareg though apparently he never met them. But they played a very important part in his attempt to recount the ancient history of the North African Berbers. After Ibn Khaldun came Leo Africanus (16th century) who published information gathered by himself on journeys in the Sahara. His book was first published in Italian. There are certain later Arab authors who have contributed to our knowledge of North African cultures and the Tuareg, e.g., Es-Sadi who lived in the 17th century. We must also mention in this connection that there are other valuable Arabic manuscripts, notably those generally referred to as the Agadez Chronicle, which contain much historical material on the Ayr Tuareg (cf. Palmer 1910; 1928; 1936; Urvoy 1934).

The first modern description of the Tuareg was given by Hornemann who travelled from Cairo to Murzuk in 1798. Throughout the 19th century many European travellers contributed to our knowledge of the Tuareg, and it is very important now to have their accounts which derive from a time when traditional political systems were unaffected by European colonization. Among these travellers we should mention such outstanding names as Lyon, Caillié, Denham & Clapperton & Oudney, Richardson, Barth, Duveyrier, Rohlfs, Hourst, Foureau, and von Bary. Lyon gives a very valuable description of the Tuareg who live around Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but by far the most important among these authorities are Barth, who wrote about the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Ayr*, and the *Iwllemmeden*, and Duveyrier, who published an excellent monograph on the Northern Tuareg with particular reference to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. At the beginning of the present century military posts were established in the Sahara, and literature about the Tuareg became more abundant. Thus Benhazera wrote a good book on

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# Rationality and Beliefs in Stock-Breeding

Literature on so-called primitive pastoralists often states that these peoples are irrational stock-breeders. It is said that they attach an enormous value to big flocks and herds which overgraze and deteriorate pastures, that they take too little interest in selective breeding with the result that they do not castrate their superfluous male animals or perform this operation too late, and that they take an overwhelmingly large interest in the aesthetic qualities of their animals. 121

Tuareg stock-breeding is essentially rational and is well adopted to environment. This viewpoint can be proved by reference to the description of stock-breeding given in the preceding chapter. I have here described in some detail the system used in the mating of sheep and goats, and how mating is regulated in accordance with the development of pastures. From this description of mating regulations it also appears that the Tuareg are not only interested in having large flocks. They also want flocks of healthy and strong animals, and they generally kill or sell domestic animals before they grow barren. It should be added that the Tuareg very well know that there is a limit to the number of animals (goats and sheep), which can be herded in one and the same place. The Tuareg certainly want to be rich and to possess large flocks and herds, but they are also aware that there is a limit to size. Regarding Tuareg interest in the aesthetic qualities of their animals, I have mentioned that it is mainly focused on camels, and I have described in some detail the value attached to colours. It is clear, however, that the Tuareg interest in their animals is not confined to the aesthetic. The true value of any domestic animal is always judged rationally, and takes into consideration such qualities as age, build, stature, and the like. The Tuareg also know that qualities of domestic animals are inherited and are aware that it is necessary to have good breeding animals. Cauvet states that pastoral Tuareg attach very little importance to the quality of she-camels used in breeding, while greatly interested in the build and stature of bull-camels. In this, he says, the Tuareg differ from Arab pastoralists, who think that camel calves inherit their qualities mainly from the mother-camels (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 348). This statement, I believe, is not quite correctly expressed, for the Tuareg I have asked about this have stated that a camel-calf inherits qualities from both parents and they have also stressed the necessity of having good she-camels to produce the best possible calves. But most Tuareg have so few camels that they are forced to mate all their she-camels. They cannot afford to select certain she-camels for breeding, while it is easy for them to select one or two good bull-camels. All Tuareg I have asked admitted the great value of selective breeding, and said that superflous rams and he-goats should be castrated or

233* 232 [556] 232 [171] [114]

# Hunting

For the pastoral Tuareg hunting is not an important occupation, and nowadays it is practised mainly 224
by those few Tuareg who possess rifles or guns. Traditional hunting methods are thus of far less con- [411]
sequence than in the past, but some of them are very interesting and most significant for a historical [121]
analysis of Tuareg culture.

## AHAGGAR

Northern Tuareg areas are not very rich in game. In Ahaggar the main types of game are the gazelle 136
(*ahenkof*, fem. *tahenkof*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) and the barbary sheep (*udad; Ammotragus lervia*). The 224
big gazelle (*énir; Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amelhul; Addax nasomaculatus*) are very rare; they are occasionally seen in the plains outside of the mountains. The ostrich (*anhél*; *Struthio camelus*) was very common in the past, but is now exterminated.

The small gazelle is rare and shy within the Ahaggar Massif, while fairly abundant and comparatively 224
easy to hunt with a rifle in the northernmost massifs and their surrounding plains. Of seven camps visited in Ahnet 1954, gazelle hunting was engaged in by the members of two households, and I estimate that they killed one or two gazelles every week. In most camps of the Northern Tuareg there are no [262]
true gazelle hunters, and when a rare gazelle is killed its meat is easily eaten in one day by the members of a single household – in addition to three or four pounds of wheat-bread or millet-porridge. Gazelle 237
skin is of little practical value to Tuareg craft. It is not generally used for the manufacture of important [283]
domestic articles such as water bags and containers for milk and butter, but it is suitable and much esteemed for certain types of decorated leather work and for fine leather cords, e.g., necklaces for amulet cases, reins for riding camels.

Barbary sheep are extremely shy, and they live mainly in inaccessible mountains. They are still fairly common in certain isolated parts of the mountains, but they were more numerous in the past when hunting was practised without rifles.

The Tuareg estimate that the amount of meat obtained from two gazelles corresponds to the meat of one grown goat, while a big barbary sheep provides as much meat as that of four goats. Meat of [251]
barbary sheep is better suited for drying than meat of other game animals, and the thick hide of these [232]
animals is valuable for the manufacture of tents and for large bags used for the conservation on [342]
journeys of dates, grain, flour, and the like. The horns of barbary sheep are used as butter containers [415]
(Fig. 165), and some Tuareg add the powder of crushed horns to butter before heating it (cf. p. 222). Barbary sheep are of greater economic value to the Ahaggar Tuareg than other types of game, and

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# Tuareg Culture, History, and African Culture complexes

In the preceding Chapters I have mentioned most cultural traits connected with Tuareg subsistence activities. In this Chapter I attempt to view some of these traits in the light of history and the historical theories which have found their expression in the establishment of African culture complexes. I wish to emphasize at the very beginning that this investigation must omit some important traits of Tuareg culture as there is no historical information about them and because good descriptions of stock-breeding techniques are lacking in the case of most pastoralists of Africa and Asia. Consequently it is very difficult to compare in great detail Tuareg culture with other pastoral cultures. 121

## TUAREG CULTURE AND HISTORY

True historical sources which elucidate the development of African cultures are very scanty and cover only a very short period. We know that most African cultures in recent times have been much influenced by Europeans and their culture, and that some cultures were changed fundamentally at an earlier period owing to Arab migrations and the introduction of Islam. We know that North Africa during antiquity was strongly influenced by Romans and Greeks, and still earlier by the Phoenicians. We possess from North Africa a few valuable written records from olden times and from Egypt we have earlier historical documents which help us to understand certain aspects of cultural evolution. 175 177

The occupation of Ahaggar and Ayr by the French has led to a growing cultural influence from Islam and the Arabs. Ahaggar was conquered by Arab soldiers under the command of French officers, and even nowadays a very large number of Arabs serve in the camel patrols of Ahaggar with Tuareg camel riders. Some of these Arab soldiers marry Tuareg women, and many of them settle in Ahaggar when they have retired from military service. Other Arabs and Arabic-speaking *Harratin* of Tidikelt have immigrated after the French occupation of the country. The number of people who speak Arabic as their mother tongue is not doubt increasing, and Arabic is understood and even spoken by many Tuareg men though generally unknown to Tuareg women. Added to this, the Arabs have acquired a high prestige not only on account of Islam but also because Arabic has been adopted as the main language of the administration in Ahaggar. The officers who act as administrators in Ahaggar speak and write Arabic while with rare exceptions they do not know the Tuareg language. For all these reasons certain cultural traits of the Arabs have been introduced into Ahaggar after the French occupation. [648] [167] [197] [191] [829]

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frequently referred to in books, and some authors have taken certain linguistic Roman traits as a proof that the Tuareg have once been Christians. But as stated by Lhote, the Latin words adopted in the Tuareg language cannot by themselves prove an ancient Tuareg Christianity, though they do indicate that the ancient Tuareg have had direct or indirect contact with Christians (Lhote 1955a, p. 346). We know that Christianity had a fixed position among many Berbers of North-Africa (cf. Ibn Khaldun I, p. 177, 207, 209 & Leo Africanus I, p. 163), and there seem to have lived Christian Berbers more than a hundred years after the introduction of Islam into Morocco, where certain Berbers near Fez still remember Sunday as a day of rest (cf. Westermarck 1926, I, p. 13 f.). As to the Tuareg we do not know whether some of them have been Christians, but Ibn Khaldun states that the great western division of *Sanhaja* Tuareg never adopted Christianity (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 212).

The Phoenicians occupied a limited area of the North African coast where they remained from about 1200 B.C. until the end of the third Punic War in the year 146 B.C. Over this long period they apparently did much to change North African Berber cultures. They introduced the use of iron and bronze, new cultivation methods of wine and olive, and did much to open up North Africa to Mediterranean influences, which also penetrated into the country of the Berber chiefs (cf. Gsell 1920–28, IV, p. 18 ff., 74 ff.; Despois 1949, p. 177 ff.; Mauny 1952, p. 577). However, it does not seem that true Phoenician elements can be proved to exist among the Tuareg. Further back in time true historical knowledge stops, but Aegean influences seem to have been in Tunis before the Phoenicians (Gsell 1920–28, I, p. 347; Despois 1949, p. 117).

## TUAREG CULTURE AND AFRICAN CULTURE COMPLEXES

So-called historical anthropology was from its very beginning closely connected with studies of African cultures. It was inaugurated by Friedrich Ratzel as a reaction against Adolf Bastian's evolutionary theories. Ratzel pointed out that certain weapons were found in identical form in Africa, Asia, and Oceania and he claimed that this could be explained only from the assumption that a historical relationship existed between them. Already in his study of the African bow Ratzel gave as his opinion that "Fast ganz Afrika erscheint uns zuletzt als ein einziges grosses Gebiet mehr oder weniger abgeschwächter asiatischer Anklänge" (Ratzel 1891, p. 333).

Ratzel had many followers who took up distributional studies of cultural traits in Africa and adjacent regions. Important investigations were made by such scholars as Schurtz and Weule, and by Leo Frobenius, who established a particular West African culture complex, which he claimed was historically related to similar compilations of culture traits in Indonesia and Melanesia (Frobenius 1898a). It is remarkable that Frobenius very soon abandoned this method of historical reconstruction though he invented it himself. However, the concept of world-embracing culture complexes disappeared, only to emerge again in a modified form a few years later (1904), when the two German scholars F. Graebner and B. Ankermann compared their studies in Oceania and Africa to establish for these areas culture complexes which they claimed to be historically related (Graebner & Ankermann 1905). The principal supporter of this theory was Graebner, who deepened his methodological

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/2/ viewpoints in a particular book on the subject (Graebner 1911). A later contribution was made by Wilhelm Schmidt who classified all cultures into world-embracing culture complexes based mainly upon social characteristics, therein differing from the culture complexes established by Graebner (cf. Schmidt & Koppers 1924, p. 75 ff.; Schmidt 1937).

The establishment of world wide culture complexes has been of some value for our knowledge of cultural evolution in Africa. But scholars who have adhered to this particular method of historical reconstruction have committed many fallacies, not only because they recognized no other scientific approach but the study of distributions, but also because they were so convinced about a relationship between all cultures that they did not take the trouble to produce evidence of their theories about historical connections.

The methodological approach concerned with the establishment of culture complexes within the African continent was also founded by Leo Frobenius. In 1904, when Graebner and Ankermann established their culture complexes for Oceania and Afrika, Frobenius claimed that he now dissociated himself from this method which he had himself created. From then on he was concerned almost exclusively with the study of African cultures. He firmly believed that most African cultures had been introduced from outside, and he tried to show how these foreign influences had penetrated into the continent. He did this not only by means of distributional studies, but tried to demonstrate how certain trait-distributions should be explained in the light of archaeological finds in African coastal regions. By this method Frobenius established certain culture complexes to which he added two particular cultures which could not be explained in this way. The cultures that could not be explained in the light of archaeological finds he termed "Urkulturen", and he named them the "Ethiopian Culture" and the "Hamitic Culture". Frobenius has written on African cultural developments in [/3] numerous books and articles. His method and his culture complexes are best described in "Atlas Africanus" I–VIII, 1920 ff., and in "Kulturgeschichte Afrikas", 1933. His culture complexes are the following:—

(1) *The Ethiopian Culture.* A primitive culture ("Urkultur") which constitutes the foundation of many cultures of tropical Africa.

(2) *The Hamitic Culture.* A primitive culture ("Urkultur") mainly represented among pastoralists of North and East Africa.

(3) *The Atlantic Culture.* A high culture which came from the Mediterranean, through the Straits of Gibraltar, along the North-west African coast, and settled around the Guinea Coast where there are numerous ruins and archaeological finds.

(4) *The Syrtic Culture.* A high culture which influenced a large part of North-western Africa. It came from the Mediterranean and reached as far south as Senegal – Niger – Tchad – Benue. The Garamantes played an important part in the spreading of this culture.

(5) *The North Erytrean Culture.* A high culture connected with certain North-east African states, notably Axum and the old Kuchitic states in and around Ethiopia. From these regions the culture spread over the Sudan and adjacent regions. But the traits of this culture complex are not limited to any definite period.

(6) *The South Erytrean Culture.* A high culture which like its northern counterpart came from the

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Near East. It was brought across the sea and along the East African coast by a foreign people who /2/ settled in the region between Limpopo and Zambezi. It is connected with ancient ruins, notably with those of Zimbabwe.

There are many extremely weak points in these culture complexes.

The so-called Ethiopian and Hamitic cultures are nothing more than accidental groupings of cultural traits, and the Atlantic culture seems to be a compilation of traits, which did not come to West Africa from the sea in the way Frobenius thought. When all this has been said, it must be admitted that he started a valuable work. For his *Syrtic Culture* and the two *Erytrean Cultures* were founded upon a realistic methodological principle entirely new to African historical anthropology, namely the combination of distributional studies with archaeology.

Frobenius had many followers, who have contributed much to advance his theories (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 7 f.), but since Frobenius no scholar has been of such importance for the establishment of African culture complexes as has Hermann Baumann. He acknowledges the value of some cultures established by Frobenius, and in an early paper he states that the culture complexes of Africa should be elucidated mainly by studies within the continent. Culture complexes should be intra-continental, and not inter-continental (Baumann 1934). As early as 1927 Baumann outlined some of his culture complexes in a study of the Azande and the Mangbetu (Baumann 1927), and the year after he published an important paper on the division of work in African hoe culture, in which paper he stressed the importance of social organization for the establishment of culture complexes (Baumann 1928). Baumann has published other significant papers on various aspects of African cultures, but his main /13/ work is "Völkerkunde von Afrika" (1940), in which book he has outlined his view on the historical development of African cultures. They are divided into the following culture complexes:—

(1) *The Pygmy Culture*. This is limited to the parts of Central Africa, where the Pygmies live. The culture is founded upon hunting and collecting and is very poor in material objects.

(2) *The Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture*. A primitive hunting culture which is represented mainly among the Bushmen though it can be traced over a large part of the African continent in the steppe and savannah regions.

The so-called "Mahalbi" Culture established by Frobenius at the outskirts of the Sahara (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 70 ff.) is incorporated in the Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture, which is not limited to any particular ethnic group. It is found among khoisanid and negroid peoples alike, and in part it is represented among ethiopid and even europid tribal groups. However, it is considered likely that this particular culture in its origin was linked with people of the khoisanid race, which seems to have existed over most of the African continent in the remote past. This hunting culture seems to have been of great importance to people of the Sahara which appears from rock engravings representing hunting scenes, and traits of the Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture were found among the Ancient Libyans of Northern Africa. The Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture, and also the khoisanid race, seem to be connected prehistorically with the Wilton- and Smithfield Cultures of South Africa, the Elementeita Culture in Kenya, the Capsian Culture of North Africa, and perhaps also with the well-known rock engravings of Eastern Spain. Characteristic of the Eurafrican hunting culture are particular hunting rites and hunting methods (hunting in disguise by means of animal masks, poi-

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● /2/ soning of waterplaces, throwing clubs and throwing sticks, the spiked wheel-trap, poisoned arrows placed in the nests of ostriches, hunting by wounding the Achilles tendon of game animals, the running down of gazelle by hunters). Among the weapons of this culture should also be mentioned the sling, and particular types of bows and arrows. The digging stick provided with a heavy stone is typical of the culture to which collecting is of prominent importance. The penis case has a certain connection with hunting and is also considered part of the Eurafrican culture in which women wear leather skirts and a leather garment over the upper part of the body much like women amog then Eastern Hamites. The typical dwelling is the beehive hut, or a windscreen. Social organization is characterized by the hunting groups within which the individual family has a rather independent position. Religion and spiritual culture comprise the belief in a supreme being, primitive toteism, animatism, and sun worship.

(3) *The East Hamitic Culture*. This pastoral culture is best preserved in the regions of the East African Horn and in South-West Africa. The complex is mainly attached to cattle of the long-horned type. The fat-tailed sheep is also esteemed while the agricultural animals, goats and fowls, are lacking. A particular type of greyhound apparently also belongs to this culture complex, which has many peculiar traits attached to stock-breeding:— Cattle are killed only at feasts and ceremonies, the urine and the excrements of cattle are considered clean, cattle urine employed for cleaning milking bowls and the like, milking bowls are predominantly made of wood while bowls made from clay or metal must not be used, milk and water must not be mixed, women must not engage in the tasks of cattle-breeding, there is a particular connection between chiefs and cattle, there is a myth stating that people and cattle have a common origin, milk should be tasted by somebody before it is drunk by the milker, butter is churned in calabashes or skin-bags to be used exclusively for ointment, the constant fire lit to protect cattle against insects which are considered disease-carrying demons, the scape-goat, a peculiar pastoral type of totemism (cattle totems and split totems), ear-marks, decorations burned into the animals' hide with a red-hot iron, horn deformations, blood-drinking and eating of raw meat, the dummy calf, blowing into the cow's vulva to promote milk yielding, divination by means of entrails, the use of coiled basketry, the use of subterranean storerooms, and the fat woman as an ideal of beauty. The East Hamitic Culture is further characterized by beehive huts covered with boughs, mats, dung, or skin; by the leather mantle which is frequently tied up over one of the shoulders, and the leather loin-cloth worn by men while woman's dress consists of a leather skirt frequently ornamented with beads. The typical weapons are the spear and the shield made of hide. There is a strict war-organization attached to this culture in which metal techniques are traditionally unknown, and blacksmiths are looked down upon and not recognized as forming part of society. The important social characteristic is the inheritance right of eldest son within the patrilineal group. As to religion, the culture complex possess many characteristics of hunting cultures.

(4) *The West African Culture*. This falls into two parts, namely the northern *Rain Forest Culture*, and the southern *Matrilineal Bantu Culture*.

(5) *The Old Sudanese Culture*. A patrilineal farming culture mainly preserved in isolated parts of the Sudan. The men engage in the heavy agricultural work connected with shifting cultivation in the Savannah country. The important agricultural implement is the slot-shafted hoe, that is the hoe hafted

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by means of a tongue inserted in the wooden handle, but the digging stick is also known. The typical type of dwelling is the cylindrical house with a conical roof. /21/

(6) *The Young Sudanese Culture*. This is largely identical with the *North Erytrean Culture* established by Frobenius. Its main area of distribution lies between the Senegal River and the Red Sea around Ethiopia, and its culture elements derive from Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and above all from India. It is attached to state organization characterized by divine kingship, and many traits of highly-developed techniques in crafts are particularly attached to the royal court. It is a most refined culture in comparison with the above mentioned *Old Sudanese Culture*. Its original foundation was perhaps a developed agricultural technique based on artificial irrigation, manuring, and the terracing of fields. Certain agricultural implements are also characteristic of this culture complex, notably the socket-shafted hoe and other implements hafted in this way, the sickle, particular knives for rice-harvesting, and crescent-shaped spades. Megalithic monuments are perhaps also peculiar to this culture.

(7) *The Rhodesian Culture*. This is largely identical with the *South Erytrean Culture* established by Frobenius, and has many traits in common with the *Young Sudanese Culture*, notably state organizations characterized by divine kingship. Many other cultural traits are common to the two cultures.

(8) *The Old Mediterranean Culture*. This is largely identical with the *Syrtic Culture* established by Frobenius. It is a high culture, which has been introduced from the Mediterranean into a large part of the Western Sudan between the Senegal River and Lake Tchad. It is less prominent in other parts of the Sudan. It is characterized by the mother-right of the Berbers, and this social trait derives from the old Aegean-Iberian culture of the Mediterranean. Mother-right was introduced into the Western Sudan together with the invasion of fair-skinned Berbers whose racial traits can be traced in numerous chief-families of West Sudanese states. The ancient mother-right of the Berbers even reached the Gold and Ivory Coasts. In the north it disappeared in most places, but was conserved among the isolated Tuareg and the Beja. Many developed cultural traits are considered part of the Old Mediterranean Culture, but as this culture in the Sudan has mixed with the Young Sudanese Culture it is often difficult to determine whether cultural elements of the Western Sudan have been introduced from the east or from the north. An important characteristic of the Old Mediterranean culture is clay or mud architecture, including huts and store rooms of cylindrical form with a conical roof, dome-shaped dwellings, drums made from clay, large earthen jars for storing cereals, painted pottery, refined leather work, stone-carving, the manufacture of beads and glass, etc.

Many scholars other than those mentioned have contributed to our understanding of African cultural development, but none has made so systematic a study as has Baumann. More recently, however, a most important work on the distribution of African cultural traits has been published by Sture Lagercrantz. This deepens our knowledge of African cultures by its distribution maps, founded [113] upon an enormous knowledge of African literature (Lagercrantz 1950). Lagercrantz follows Baumann in the establishment of culture complexes, stating that the results achieved by Baumann are likely on the whole to prove of permanent value (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 8). In what follows I attempt to elucidate certain aspects of Tuareg culture in the light of Baumann's African culture complexes.

There can be no doubt that in the past an *Old Mediterranean Culture*, or a *Syrtic Culture*, has greatly /174 influenced North Africa with related regions. I think that the influence from such a high culture in

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The cotton shirt of poncho cut (p. 289 ff.) is common to all Tuareg, and is widely found in North- 174
western Africa among the Moors as well as among the Hausa and other sedentary peoples of the 171
Sudan where I have seen it as far south as Accra and Abidjan. It is unknown to Berber-speaking tribes of the Atlas, though an almost identical type of garment is found among the Berbers of Siwa (Cline 1936, p. 31). Poncho shirts very akin to those used among the Tuareg are also found in the Fezzan, Tibesti, Borku, and Bornu (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 97, 189, 455 f., 646; Cline 1950, p. 40; Le Coeur 1950, p. 126, pl. XXVIII & XXXIV). It is possibly also this shirt to which Lebeuf refers from the Teda-Daza, from Kanem and Ouadai, and from the Arabs of the Lake Tchad region (Lebeuf 1959, p. 24, 44, 87, 97).

The large poncho-shirts used in North-western Africa were no doubt introduced before Islam, 174
and it is possible that we should class them with the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture* comprising refined cultural traits derived from the Near East including Egypt, and from India, for we note that the same type of garment was used among the Iranians of antiquity (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 279). To the same culture complex should perhaps also be referred Tuareg sandals of the *takalmi* type which are largely used in the Sudan, and were known also in Ancient Egypt (cf. Chasseloup-Laubat 1938, p. 42, pl. XXIXa–c & Lhote 1950d, p. 528 ff.). The same is perhaps also true of sandals plaited of dum palm leaves and structurally related to *takalmi* sandals (cf. Zeltner 1914a, p. 367).

If we follow Baumann's definition of the Young Sudanese Culture there are other traits than those alluded to above which should perhaps be classified with this complex. Thus we note in particular socket-shafted implements and weapons, notably spears and adzes, while the normal axe, as well as the hoe among the sedentary *Kel Ayr*, are slot-shafted. The latter principle is considered a part of the so-called *Old Sudanese Culture* characterized by shifting cultivation with little developed agricultural techniques in contrast to the Young Sudanese Culture, which in its origin was perhaps connected with irrigation, terrace-building, and fertilizing. It is probable that we have conserved in Ayr certain traits of an old negroid culture based on shifting cultivation, and in this connection we note that the Ayr farmers do not harvest by means of the sickle, which by Baumann is also considered a Young Sudanese trait.

So far we have dealt with African Culture complexes that apparently have had very little importance 121
for the creation of Tuareg culture as we know it to-day. More important are the last two complexes to be mentioned, namely the East Hamitic Culture and the Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture. The Hamitic Culture established by Frobenius seems to contain traits from both complexes, and it is very possible that Frobenius in working out his Hamitic Culture was much influenced by Seligman's Old Hamitic Culture which has been recognized by many scholars (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 6 f.).

Baumann's *East Hamitic Culture* constitutes the most reasonable culture complex among all [174]
cultural groupings, for it contains traits which are largely connected with cattle and which seem to have very little meaning without. The East Hamitic Culture in many ways seem to constitute a true unit of traits that have penetrated into Africa with cattle. However, we must emphasize that it is not a functional unit in the sense that all these traits are highly necessary for cattle-breeding, and it
is very evident that all traits are not found where the so-called East Hamitic Culture occurs. Bau- 171
mann finds the East Hamitic Culture particularly well preserved in the Beja group, among the Danakil,

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from an ancient cow-breeding culture. This we know formerly existed in the Sahara where cows are very frequently represented in rock-engravings. There can be little doubt that hump-less long-horned cattle of the *Bos primigenius* type, which are still found in isolated parts of the Western Sudan, once existed in the Sahara, and it is extremely remarkable that Huard has been able to show that horn-deformation like those practised in Ancient Egypt on *Bos primigenius* cattle, and those still practised on oxen among the Nilotes, can be proved to have been in use over most of the Sahara, where such deformation is frequently seen on ancient cattle-pictures. It may be that one or two of his examples are doubtful, but on the whole they seem to be reliably interpreted, and I think with Huard that we should take the rock-engravings of the Sahara as a proof that the so-called East Hamitic Culture was formerly represented all over North-west Africa (cf. Huard 1953, p. 75–106, and notably 1959, p. 109–131). Long-horned cattle seem to have been found among the Ancient Libyans (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96), who according to Baumann also possessed traits in common with the East Hamitic Culture. We do not know when the nomads of the Sahara stopped to breed long-horned and humpless cattle, but the Ayr Tuareg, who are now zebu-breeders, claim that cattle-breeding is not an ancient occupation among them. They seem to hold that cattle were rare in Ayr even as recently as up to the beginning of the French penetration, and they claim that they know less about cattle than about other domestic animals. They also have rather few cattle terms compared with the extensive glossary for other domestic animals. It might be contended that the milking customs of modern Tuareg are derived from an ancient cattle-breeding culture of the Sahara but in general this is not the whole explanation, for it seems as if some of these traits have been introduced or re-introduced into the Sahara with camel-breeding, which originated in the same area from which the East Hamitic Complex must have come to Africa.

Our last problem is to consider Tuareg culture in the light of the so-called *Eurafrican Steppe-Hunting Culture*, which Baumann believes to have existed over most of Africa. He finds remains of this culture among the Ancient Libyans, and he thinks that certain rock-engravings of the Sahara prove that this primitive hunting culture was once widely distributed in the desert, while at present the steppe-hunting culture is mainly preserved on the outskirts of the Sahara. It seems as if the Tuareg have very few elements which can be placed within this culture. They lack the bow and arrow and also the true throwing stick or throwing club, they do not use parts of animals for disguise, and they do not poison water places to kill game, though in pre-European times they killed their enemies in this way. They know the spiked wheel-trap stated by Baumann to be an Eurafrican trait, but I believe with Lindblom and Lagercrantz that this hunting device is not so ancient (Lindblom 1928; Lagercrantz 1950, p. 98), and it can be mentioned in this connection that the torsion traps are also comparatively late arrivals (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 103 ff.; Lips 1927, p. 271). This may be the case also with dog hunting as practised to-day, for greyhound-like dogs are probably not the oldest hunting dog. Hunting barbary sheep with dogs and spears is depicted in a rock-engraving near Ṛat (cf. Frobenius 1933, pl. 28a), but, as generally the case with rock-engravings, it cannot be dated. A type of greyhound was known already in prehistoric Egypt (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 86 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 124 ff.) which may perhaps also be considered the cradle of Tuareg greyhound-like dogs, while the true greyhound, or *sluki*, was introduced to North Africa by the Arabs. The use of stalking animals is most

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with hot stones, which is still used for certain dishes, constituted in the past a very important method 174
of food preparation being used for milk, meat, and for vegetable dishes alike. Also an ancient implement is perhaps the quern-stone, though it has to be admitted that it occurs throughout the world in many farming cultures. Tuareg dishes known as *tébik* and *téderka* (cf. p. 175 ff., 251) should doubtless be considered very ancient, and this is probably also the case with Tuareg method of bread-baking which is different from the methods used among most North African farmers. Bread is frequently baked from wild seeds, and it is not made from true dough but rather from a kind of gruel to be baked according to the *abatul*-method.

The existence among the Tuareg of leather garments of simple poncho type is of particular interest, 171
the more so as such shirts are extremely rare in Africa. In literature they seem to be mentioned only in the case of the Tebu, and there is a well-preserved shirt from this people in the Museé de l'homme (Paris). It is made of the skin of barbary sheep, and is sewn together at both sides, but the upper parts of the sides are left open to form very large and wide arm-holes; patches of leather with ornamented fringes are sewn to the shoulders to form a kind of open sleeves. This skin shirt, which resembles that of the Ahaggar Tuareg, is said to be worn by blacksmiths (Musée de l'homme, no 35.50.107). Le Coeur mentions leather shirts from the Tebu stating that they are but little used nowadays:— "Seuls les hommes de condition servile le portent encore". He provides a photograph showing a Tebu blacksmith in a long skin shirt which has a kind of open sleeves attached to the shoulders (Le Coeur 1950, p. 100, pl. XXXIII Fig. 124). Leather shirts are mentioned from Central Tibesti by Fuchs, who depicts a shirt of this kind which is now in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna (Fuchs 1961, p. 23 f., Fig. 7 p. 24). Lebeuf says that among the Tebu, skin shirts are worn mainly by the Aza who make them from antelope skin, but they are also found among the Danoa of Kanem. These two peoples, the Aza and the Danoa, are related to each other. They never live in villages, but are roaming hunters who use the bow and arrow but mainly hunt by driving animals against cords. The Aza form small sections and are attached to the nomadic Daza as a kind of vassals (cf. Lebeuf 1959, p. 9, 16, 24, 39, 44). The origin of these peoples is uncertain. They seem to constitute remnants of an ancient hunting population.

Tuareg garments of leather or skin are in general of simple form and cut, and most probably 174
constitute types of early dress development. This is perhaps also true of sandals of the *imerkeden* type, and perhaps even of skin stockings. If this be so it is very remarkable that we find among the Tuareg a poncho shirt of very primitive cut together with sandals and stockings, for we know from Hatt's brilliant analysis of arctic dress development that the oldest complex of skin garments in Arctic Eurasia and America – the so-called "Sandal System" – consists of (1) Clothing developed from the poncho type; (2) Breeches developed from leggings, in some cases probably from leggings combined with a triangular genital cloth; (3) Boots and shoes developed from stocking and sandals (cf. Hatt 1914, p. 214 ff. 1934, p. 2755 ff.).

I think that this brief description of Tuareg culture in the light of African culture complexes can 121
adequately be concluded as follows:— Most of Baumann's cultural groupings have little value for an [124]
analysis of the historical development of Tuareg culture. His classifications are often too vaguely defined, and he does not always substantiate his theories by archaeological facts. The so-called Old

●/2/ Mediterranean and Young Sudanese Cultures seem to be cultural influences from distinct regions throughout extremely long periods.

The study of geographical distributions combined with archaeological investigations constitutes a highly important method for the reconstruction of cultural history. But cultural traits should also be studied structurally in great detail within limited areas, and one should take into account the native traditions concerning origin. I attempt to elucidate this in the following chapters on dwelling types, political systems, and social organization.

# Tuareg Dwelling Types

There are many distinct dwelling types within the extended territory dominated by the Tuareg. The occurrence of all these types within this area definitely cannot be explained by mere reference to anthropo-geographical factors for they rather indicate that cultural influences from the outside have been numerous. 342* [121]

In this description of the dwelling types in the Tuareg country I consider it proper to open with various types of fixed or non-portable dwellings which are used mainly by sedentary people, though sometimes also by pastoralists. In another section of this chapter I describe the true portable dwellings of the pastoral Tuareg.

## A. NON-PORTABLE DWELLINGS

There seem to be nine main types, namely the following:—

A.1. Square or rectangular houses built of mud.
A.2. Square or rectangular houses built of mud and stone.
A.3. Square or rectangular houses built of stone.
A.4. Subterranean or semi-subterranean houses.
A.5. Square or rectangular huts (houses) covered with plant material.
A.6. Round houses with a conical roof.
A.7. Conical huts.
A.8. Beehive huts.
A.9. Barrel-vaulted huts.

Within these main groups there are certain sub-types. The way the non-portable dwellings have been listed does not indicate any evolutionary tie between them for there can be little doubt that most types within Tuareg country have their own history.

### A.1. *Square or rectangular houses built of mud.*

342* 171

Houses of this type have an extremely large distribution in Northern Africa. They are found in most oases of the Sahara, and are common in the large Sudanese towns or cities including Agadez. They are also found north of the true desert country. I have seen them up to the foot of the Tell Atlas around Boghari, where they frequently have saddle roofs which was the case also with certain

[text continues on p.329]

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to have suggested a direct historical relationship between the cylindrical dwellings of Morocco and those occurring further east in the Atlas. But it seems to be a fact that this dwelling type has been introduced fairly recently into Morocco, while in the Eastern Atlas and adjacent regions it dates very far back in time. Distributional studies of dwelling types should consider their structural features. Identical outer forms showing continuous distribution do not necessarily have the same historical origin. 342* 171

A.7. *Conical huts.*

342*

They are very rare in Tuareg country where I have never seen them. They are mentioned by Nicolas from the *Kel Dennek* among whom they are used by semi-sedentary slaves (Nicolas 1938, p. 62 ff. & 1950a, p. 156 f.). Huts of this type seem to be common further east in the Sudan around Lake Tchad (cf. Foureau 1905, III, p. 963, 984). [171]

A.8. *Beehive huts.*

Conical huts and beehive huts are believed to be among the oldest types of huts known to mankind (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 311 f.). This is a reasonable hypothesis because such dwellings are typical of many primitive peoples with a mixed hunting and collecting economy. It is also evident that these dwelling types are often very plain in their structure. There is a resemblance between beehive huts and so-called barrel-vaulted huts, and many authors have grouped these dwellings together under the designation of "dome-shaped huts". As I attach a great value to a classification of traits based on detailed analysis of structure, I distinguish between beehive huts and barrel-vaulted huts. 342* 121

Though beehive huts are typical of many peoples at a primitive economic stage they are nevertheless extremely common also at more developed cultural levels. I believe that the fact that true beehive huts are widely used among many agriculturists of Northern Africa, while they seem to be less common among pastoralists who tend to use barrel-vaulted huts or other dwelling types has tended to be lost sight of. [171]

I have never seen true beehive huts in Northern Tuareg country, and they are not mentioned in literature from this part of the Sahara. However, in the collection of the Musée de l'homme a photograph (V. 31.1557.99), stated to be taken in an oasis of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, shows a beehive hut, or perhaps a barrel-vaulted hut. 342*

Beehive huts form the most important type of dwelling for the sedentary agriculturists of Ayr, and huts of beehive form are occasionally erected also by pastoralists. I have noted the following types of beehive structures among the *Kel Ayr*:—

A.8.a. A very simple beehive hut known to the Tuareg as *airam*. The structure consists of slender boughs (*imesekten*; no singular form) which are fixed in the ground, bent against each other, and attached each to each at their tops. This simple structure is covered with bunches of straw of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) fastened to the skeleton of bent boughs by means of cords. Such huts are not used in ordinary camps of the pastoral *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who make these simple dwellings for temporary use. Herdsmen, for instance, build them when herding camels or flocks away from the

## B. PORTABLE DWELLINGS

*342 Portable dwellings represent a great diversity of types among pastoral Tuareg. I speak of all these dwellings as "tents". For practical reasons I distinguish between "mat tents" and "skin tents", and to make it easy to refer to definite types I give them particular numbers. I believe that most portable ●[12] dwellings of the Tuareg *are* historically related to each other and the problem of historical development is considered later in this chapter.

### B.1. *Mat Tents*

285 *342 Mat coverings are nowadays used only in Southern Tuareg groups, but they were formerly known also to the Northern Tuareg, for Duveyrier states that the Northern Tuareg may use for their tents a covering *éhen* "en tissu de chaume" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403).

Tent mats are of two different types, the more common one being that made from dum palm leaves plaited into long narrow bands which are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of a large needle (cf. Fig. 220b). Mats of this type are collectively known as *asala* (pl. *isalan*). The innermost mats which cover the upper part of the tent among the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*, among whom dum palm mats always form the main covering, are made from pieces of straw or similar material which are not plaited, but are attached horizontally to one another by means of thread in much the same way as the mats described p. 269, that is like mats of the *éseber* type. Where dum palm material is not available the tents may be covered exclusively with mats manufactured in this way, and a tent of this kind may then be referred to as *éwerwer* (pl. *iwerweren*), the word used for tent mats of this type. The *éwerwer* type of mat tents is described from the *Kel Dennek* country (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f., Fig. 31a–d), and it seems as if tents exclusively covered with mats of *éwerwer* type also occur among the *Bélla* along the Niger (cf. Chudeau 1909, pl. XXXII & XXXIII p. 218).

*342 My knowledge of Tuareg mat tents derives from my studies among the Ayr Tuareg, the Ahaggar [114] Tuareg living in or close to the Ayr Massif, and the *Kel Geres*. Mat tents used among these Tuareg are largely identical, and the material I have collected in these Tuareg groups will now be presented:—

B.1.a. This is a mat tent like that generally used among the *Kel Ayr*. It has an elaborate structure:—

(1) Three wooden arches each consisting of two curved pieces of wood, lashed together when the tent is erected. These three arches are placed in the middle of the tent at right angles to its longitudinal direction. The two curved wooden pieces which together constitute an arch are not of equal length. The arch piece which is fixed in the soil at the frontal side is very long, while the other curved piece attached to it and buried in the ground at the back is shorter. The short curved arch-pieces of all three arches are known as *ineggebela* (sing. *aneggebalu*), while the three long wooden arch-pieces to which they are attached have different names. The curved frontal piece of the middle arch, higher than the two outer arches, is called *tekkekkewat* (pl. *tekkekkewatin*). The frontal arch-pieces of the two outer and lower arches are known as *t'ilisawin* (sing. *t'ilisawt*). These latter names are also used to designate the erected arches made from the arched pieces lashed together, so that the central arch is referred to as *tekkekkewat*, while the two lower arches are called *t'ilisawin*. – The curved pieces

## THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has
614 fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie
[114] 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore
[162] quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared,
634 and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when
648 the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to
121 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr,
634 where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were
115 most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

173 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*,
614 and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above
634 (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

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643
484
533

Fig. 288. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including these drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Bedouin MJ4

# Diffusion and Function in Social Organization

T 121

The problems connected with diffusion of so-called social traits have been only superficially studied by anthropologists, who hold very different views about this matter. Thus Murdock stresses that "the forms of social organization seem singularly impervious to diffusion" and that "traits of social structure appear to be borrowed, in general, only under conditions in which the same traits would be independently elaborated even in the absence of culture contacts" (Murdock 1949, p. 196). This extreme view is that adopted by some anthropologists, while other scholars agree with Lowie that diffusion has played a large part in the distribution of traits of social organization (Lowie 1950, p. 261; 1953, p. 421 f.).

It is often stated in anthropological literature that there is not necessarily any functional connection between a particular type of social organization and a particular type of economic culture. This was shown very clearly by Wissler for the American Indians (cf. Wissler 1922). In regard to Northern Africa we have a type of patrilineal social organization which is shared by all Arabs, whether settled agriculturists or true nomads, and we have another type of social organization among Tuareg-speaking pastoralists and agriculturists. Arab and Tuareg pastoralists have largely the same type of economy, but differ much in social organization. The same holds for Arab and Tuareg agriculturists.

B 613 [114]

I have never studied Arab social organization in great detail. The patrilineages of North African Arab pastoralists have been brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard in regard to the bedouins of Cyrenaica (Evans-Pritchard 1949), and the Arab bedouins I have visited (e.g., *Ulad Ba Ḥammu*, *Chamba*, *Larba*, *Ulad Nail*) apparently have lineage-systems of much the same type. The *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* tribe falls into four maximal patrilineages which again divide into lesser patrilineal units. An Arab is named after an ancestor of a minor patrilineage of his tribe and by an individual name. When he writes his name the ancestral name comes first. A *Chamba* Arab I knew well was named *Ben Hadid Sayah*. *Sayah* was his personal name while *Ben Hadid* ("son of *Hadid*") referred to the ancestor of his patrilineage with a depth of five generations.

B 601

It seems as if Arab kinship terminology is of very much the same type throughout North Africa. I have taken down the systems used among the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba*, and they appear to be identical apart from dialectical distinctions. The systems are characterized by a preference for descriptive terms. Those for "father" and "mother" are not used for kinsmen other than the true parents, though a father's brother may be called "father" if the true father has died. There is a term for "grandfather" and "grandmother" which can be used for all grandparents, while kinsmen of lower generations are known by descriptive terms so that it is always clear whether a kinsman belongs to

[p. 447]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



585 the broad side turning westwards. Inside the tent there is nothing beyond the large bed (*tédabut*) covered with mats and blankets.

(2) The wedding guests perform the ceremonial camel-ride (*ilugan*) in the afternoon and continue to sing, make music, and dance throughout the night.

[262] (3) The wedding feast continues the next day with the killing of an ox for the guests. On this day, early in the night (about nine o'clock), the groom comes to the wedding tent. He is closely veiled and walks in the middle of a large procession of men and some women. The procession walks slowly, the [533] women accompanying it shrilling and cheering. If the camp is situated close to Agadez the procession is led by professional musicians who on this occasion are on horseback. When the procession has arrived at the wedding tent the groom enters into it directly and without much formality, but does [564] so through the narrow end turning southwards. Some of his friends squat around him in the tent while a few blacksmiths drum and praise the groom in songs which also refer to the fact that the blacksmiths have arrived in order to transform the wedding into a great feast. When the groom has entered the tent most guests continue to dance and make music until about eleven o'clock, when the bride arrives.

(4) The bride is led towards the wedding tent by a procession of singing women who are not accompanied by musicians mounted on horses even if the camp is close to Agadez. The procession proceeds extremely slowly, and sometimes almost marks time. The women sing the praise of the veiled bride who walks in the middle of the procession behind a tall woman. The bride's hands are around the tall woman's waist, and she is hidden under a large piece of white cotton placed over the tall woman's shoulders and back. When the procession is close to the tent it is joined by many men and by the drumming blacksmiths who lead the procession to the wedding tent. Here the procession walks three times around the tent, stopping in front of the narrow entrance facing southwards. The women now claim the promise of a gift from the groom to his bride (cf. p. 462). When a gift has been promised the tall woman creeps into the tent with the bride clinging to her back. The bride is placed upon the bed together with the groom who is already sitting there, the mat at the southern end is drawn to and closed, and the bride and the groom are left alone. The wedding is now over, and the guests leave for their tents and camps.

(5) The bride and the groom now remain seven days in the tent. They leave it only to releave nature [591] and preferably after darkness. When this stay of seven days in the wedding tent is over, the newly-married couple immediately take up residence in the camp of the husband's father.

From the description of Tuareg wedding ceremonies above we see that they develop very slowly. This is particular so in Ahaggar, where the bride and the groom are brought together to be separated again before being finally united in the correctly erected tent. In Ayr the bride and the groom are brought together more directly, but do not meet until the second day of the wedding feast. They then have to enter the tent in an abnormal way – through the narrow southern end. The fact that the ceremony develops slowly and that the tent is not correctly erected are traits typical both of the Ahaggar and the Ayr Tuareg.

585 It is clear that the groom and the bride during the ceremony live so to speak outside the community. 121 Tuareg wedding ceremonies are characteristic rites of passage and contain traits common to many

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by traditional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him *amṛar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidd*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-

7:Nicolaisen E-5.(1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



174 who very early came under Islamic influence, and it is possible that these noble tribes introduced cultural traits typical of the Arabs.

(4) The Roman occupation of North Africa. The ancestors of certain Tuareg had some contact with the Romans who also penetrated into the northern parts of the present Tuareg country. But the Tuareg seem to have adopted very few culture elements from the Romans. The Tuareg were apparently never Christians.

(5) The Phoenicians. They introduced new cultural traits to North Africa but it seems difficult to sort out in present Tuareg culture those that were introduced by the Phoenicians.

Further back in time we cannot know much about cultural influences. We know that the horse was introduced during a period when the Northern Sahara was strongly influenced by high cultures of the Mediterranean, and we can safely assume that throughout a very long period of the pre-Christian era, when the Sahara had a more humid climate, cultures based on farming and stock-breeding played an important part in these regions. Rock-engravings representing hunting scenes prove that hunting was also once very important for the subsistence of people of these regions.

121 Our knowledge is yet very scarce of the cultures existing in the Sahara in prehistoric times. Nevertheless, I wish to take up in brief the question of the origin of nomadic stock-breeding in the light of Tuareg culture.

Anthropologists have held very different views about the first origin of domestic animals. The theory that stock-breeding originated within a true hunting culture gained many adherents after Hatt had advanced the theory that the reindeer was first domesticated for decoy hunting (cf. Hatt 1918 & 1919). Since then, many German and Austrian scholars have claimed not only that stock-breeding derived from hunting, but also that the first animal to be domesticated was the reindeer so that the stock-breeding based on horses and cattle in Central Asia came later and had reindeer-breeding as its foundation (cf. Schmidt & Koppers 1924; Schmidt 1951; Flor 1930). It seems as though such extreme viewpoints have now been discarded by most students and even Austrian and German scholars have in recent times dissociated themselves from the theories which were advanced mainly on Schmidt's initiative (cf. Jettmar 1953). There can be little doubt that reindeer-breeding is a fairly recent type of stock-breeding. This was explicitly stated already by Hatt, and though certain scholars even to-day claim that reindeer-breeding reaches back to Mesolithic, or even Paleolithic, times, their arguments cannot be accepted (cf. Nellemann 1961).

Though Hatt never claimed any great age for reindeer-breeding, he believed in an intimate connection between stock-breeding and hunting. In his latest study on the origin of primitive subsistence activities he stated that "It does not seem unlikely that the first domestication of ungulate animals was done by hunters who used their tame animals as decoys in the hunt, and later on developed the use of animals for transport and for dairy purposes, originally without any influence from agriculture" (Hatt 1953, p. 278). Among anthropologists who have recently supported the theory that stock-breeding and hunting are intimately connected activities of subsistence, we should also mention Coon who considers goats and sheep among the oldest domestic animals which were domesticated by hunters even before the cultivation of cereals (Coon 1952, p. 24). However, there are many scholars who do not accept the theory that cultures based on stock-breeding derive from hunting cultures.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Hahn, who was the first to write in detail on the historical origin of subsistence activities, stated as his view that cultures based exclusively on stock-breeding were recent and were preceded by mixed farming cultures (Hahn 1896, p. 31 f.; 1905, p. 131; 1908, p. 19). Though some of Hahn's arguments in favour of this theoretical conception are difficult to accept, his general view that pure stock-breeding did not form a general stage in the evolution of culture is recognized by many scholars who hold that cultivation is everywhere older than stock-breeding. Forde long ago pointed out the great instability of pastoralism and its dependence upon grown cereals (Forde 1950 (1. ed. 1934), p. 403 f.), and in a very recent study, published in collaboration with Mary Douglas, it is stated that "Pastoral nomadism which is popularly believed to have preceded the development of agriculture actually appeared at a later stage in the Old World on the fringes of settled populations used to cultivation with the rearing of livestock" (Forde 1960, p. 330). Important contributions to the solution of the problem of the origin of stock-breeding have also been made by Childe, who says that in practically all the oldest food-producing settlements examined by archaeologists in Europe, Hither Asia, and North Africa, the basic industry is mixed farming (Childe 1936, p. 85). Childe does not explicitly claim that pastoral stock-breeding derived from a mixed farming culture, because pastoralists are not likely to leave many vestiges by which the archaeologists can recognize their presence (Childe 1936, p. 91). But Childe's general view seems to be in favour of origin of pastoral stock-breeding from a culture which knew farming, and he points out "that ancestors of our farmyard animals lived wild in most of the regions that seem likely to have comprised the cradle of grain-growing" (Childe 1936, p. 86). 121

In my description of Tuareg ecology I have indicated the great importance of agricultural products for food among true pastoralists, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. I believe that the latter Tuareg and the Tuareg of the Sudanese savannah could perhaps subsists without cereals grown by agriculturists, though it would not be so easy for them. The Ayr Tuareg around Agadez admit this and refer to their great difficulties in subsisting during one year of the second world war when millet was scarce. Most African pastoralists acquire provisions of cultivated grain for their food during periods when milk is scarce, and the general conception that African nomads live mainly on milk and meat is not valid. However, we cannot state that all pastoralists are dependent on agriculture for food, for a few people seem to subsist on stock-breeding products and on wild seeds. Thus Seligman describes from the Beja a tribe named Bedawib which differs from other Beja groups in that its members have no camels and do not eat agricultural food:— "The Bedawib do not cultivate at all and it is said that they would not touch grain even if it were given to them so that they live almost entirely on milk and meat". (Seligman 1913, p. 599 f.). Other pastoralists of the so-called East African Cattle Complex eat cereals grown by themselves or by neighbouring agriculturists, but agricultural food-products play a very little part to some of these people (cf. Lowie 1938, p. 314), and the Hottentots live by cattle-breeding supplemented by hunting and collecting (cf. Schapera 1930, p. 235). The argument that stock-breeding cultures cannot exists except in a kind of symbiosis with agriculture is not valid, but agricultural food-products make life easier for pastoralists who cannot subsist on milk all the year round. For we must bear in mind that in an arid or semi-arid country conditions of collecting are changeable, and it is also important to note that wild seeds are generally far less nourishing than are grown cereals. Even in the savannah country it is a great advantage for pastoralists to have access to grown cereals, and 433 262 171

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



methods and domestication, the first domestic animals may of course well have been tamed in a culture which already knew of farming. It seems to me that, generally speaking, the theory of a development of stock-breeding within a farming culture is the most plausible one.

At the time when the noble Tuareg introduced the camel the North African pastoralists were apparently mainly goat-breeders who also had sheep of the *Ovis longipes* type, and donkeys. Tuareg traditions state that the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar, the *Isebeten*, were not only goat-breeders but also hunters, and a tradition collected by Foucauld states that they also knew agriculture (cf. p. 408). This may perhaps be so, though most Tuareg seem to deny it. A tradition of hunting as an important means of subsistence to the ancestors of vassal Tuareg accords well with the fact that important traits of a hunting culture appear to exist among the Tuareg; how can this be explained when we also claim that stock-breeding apparently developed from a mixed farming culture? I believe the most plausible explanation to be that the ancestors of Tuareg vassals first lived in the northern Sahara as roaming hunters. At a later date they were strongly influenced by a mixed-farming culture from which they adopted a primitive type of agriculture and stock-breeding. But stock-breeding came to play the largest rôle for them, partly because it was better fitted to environment, and partly because it was adapted to the roaming life of hunters.

It is most unfortunate that archaeology is so little advanced in the Central Sahara. Most archaeologists have been occupied with the study of rock-engravings. These are important to our knowledge of cultural history, but they cannot be precisely dated. Apart from the study of engravings, investigations have mainly concentrated upon tombs and other stone monuments, and these investigations do not help us much to understand the development of subsistence activities in the Sahara. However, we may ascribe some importance to the study of stone tombs of the so-called *chouchet* type. This, it is claimed by the ancient vassals of Ahaggar, constituted the traditional tomb of pre-Islamic Tuareg, and the tomb in which their ancestress *Takama* is said to have been buried is of *chouchet* type. Such tombs in Ahaggar seem to be found mainly close to river valleys that are flooded relatively frequently and generally are also close to modern cultivation centres (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 83). These tombs have been used among the Tuareg even after their Islamization (cf. Monod 1932, p. 34; Reygasse 1950, p. 39) but it is unknown when they were introduced into the Sahara. However, tombs of *chouchet* type are not only found in large parts of Tuareg country (Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, In Azawa, Northern Ayr, around Zinder, between Zinder and the Niger at Adrar of Tawa, Adrar of the Iforas), but also in the adjacent regions of Mauretania, Tibesti, and Bornu, which is their southern limit of distribution (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 40; Lhote 1955a, p. 83; Mauny 1961, p. 76 f.). Types of *chouchet* tombs occur in Algeria north of Hodna and in Aurès (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 8) and perhaps also in the Canary Islands (cf. Wölfel 1950, p. 248). Thus the possibility cannot be excluded that the former existence of such tombs in Tuareg culture may be due to some connection with mixed farmers of the Mediterranean at an early, but unfortunately yet unknown, date.

A last problem to be touched upon is the generally accepted view that nomadic stock-breeding is intimately connected with a patrilineal social system. This view has been emphasized in particular by the so-called Vienna School of ethnology under the leadership of Schmidt and Koppers, who speak about "Der viehzüchterische Nomadismus als Schöpfer der patriarchalen Systems und des Erst-

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Fig. 298. Circular tomb of the so-called "chouchet" type. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset.

121 geborenenrechtes" (Schmidt & Koppers 1924, p. 537). I have stated above (p. 447) that there is not necessarily any connection between particular types of industry and particular types of social organization in North Africa. There are many examples of this in all continents where primitive peoples live. Whether there is historically any connection between patrilineal systems and pastoral stock-breeding 174 cannot be known. It is true that a great many pastoralists are pronounced patrilineal, but there is no doubt that certain pastoralists have adopted true patrilineal systems after their conversion to Islam. We have seen that this holds good for most Southern Tuareg, and it seems to be true also of the Beja pastoralists of Northeast Africa. They are to-day patrilineal, but formerly they were partly or entirely matrilineal, for Maqrizi states that among them a sister's son or a daughter's son possessed inheritance rights (Maqrizi, p. 561). We do not know whether other pastoralists have had matrilineal traits of social organization. Robertson Smith tried to prove that the Ancient Semites had previously been matrilineal (Robertson Smith 1907, p. 29 ff.), but his arguments have not been accepted by later authorities (cf. Pedersen 1958, p. 394). However, we cannot entirely discard the possibility that a kind of matrilineal social organization has formerly existed among pastoralists other than the Tuareg and the Beja, and this would apparently agree with the theory here accepted – that stock-breeding originated within a culture which knew farming, for matrilineal traits are frequently associated with primitive farming cultures. At all events I do not believe that matrilineal traits are to be considered recent among the Tuareg and the Beja, nor do I believe that these peoples were once patrilineal and that they adopted matrilineal affiliation owing to contact with other cultures, for we know that a true patrilineal system does not easily change into a matrilineal one (Murdock 1949, p. 190).

121 This theory is partly based upon the fact that transition from patrilineal to matrilineal systems cannot be shown to have occurred, partly upon the functional argument that matrilineal systems are not always stable because matrilineal rules frequently conflict with paternal love for sons. These conflicts of matrilineal systems have been described in great detail from Melanesia by Malinowski (Malinowski

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



1926, p. 100 ff.), and they have been studied later within the same area by other anthropologists (cf. Schlesier 1956, p. 54 ff.). It is my impression that they are comparatively rare among the Tuareg because their social systems have mechanisms which serve to prevent conflicts: The system of cross-cousin marriage in connection with rules of joking, avoidance, and those which permit a man to take domestic animals not only from his father but also from his mother's brothers would seem to lessen conflicts which are latent in other matrilineal systems.

Functional studies would seem to constitute an important means to explain the historical development of social organization, but the functional method alone cannot help us, for it is evident that diffusion also plays a considerable part in the change of social systems as has been shown in this study of the Tuareg. Anthropology is not science in the ordinary sense of the word. People do not behave according to such fixed rules as those we call "natural laws". They have rules but these are not always followed very strictly, and I have shown above that social rules can change owing to diffusion and the adoption of new social traits. So-called primitive peoples do not always live in the functional world of modern anthropology, but they always live in a world of change and tradition. It is possible that the Northern Tuareg for centuries have practised marriages with a maternal cousin, though this type of marriage disagrees with their social system which favours cross-cousin marriage. As to the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg, we know that some of them adopted patrilineal succession owing to contact with the Arabs more than two hundred years ago. Nevertheless, these Tuareg have not adopted the entire social system of the Arabs, and even to-day there are matrilineal traits among them.

Tuareg culture cannot be understood by a mere functional analysis, for its creation is due to diffusion of traits from other cultures, and this seems to hold for all cultural aspects, including political systems and social organization. Consequently, I have tried to understand cultural development in the light of the methods of both functional and historical anthropology.

I hope that this study on Tuareg culture may be considered a contribution towards a more realistic historical method, and trust that my work may be of some value to others who take up the great problems connected with the history of North African culture. It may well be that some of the theories I have advanced or intimated will not survive when our knowledge of the Tuareg and North African cultures is increased, but I believe that a study of cultural development within limited areas will enable a far more realistic and detailed picture of cultural history to be created than has so far been the case.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

# *Political Systems Of Pastoral Tuareg In Air And Ahaggar.*

By Johannes Nicolaisen

101 The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive
131 area of the Western Sahara and adjacent regions of the Sudan. The territory
162 dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° North Latitude and between
5° West Longitude and 10° East Longitude. They fall into seven main groups or major political units (fig. 1) comprising 240,000–300,000 individuals, their negro slaves excluded. The two northernmost groups (the Kel Ahaggar and the Kel Ajjer) live in the true desert country and number less than 10,000 or about 3% of all Tuareg. In Ahaggar the number according to statistics of 1950 is 4,611. The Air Tuareg further south are more numerous and seem to comprise more than 20.000 individuals (cf. Lhote 1947, p. 15f. & 1955, p. 157).

114 This study of Tuareg political systems has as its foundation a part of my own field material collected in 1951 (in Ahaggar), 1952 (in Tassili-n-Ajjer), 1953 (in Ahaggar), and 1954–55 (in Ahaggar including Ahnet, and in Air). I have spent about two years in these Tuareg countries living most of the time in Ahaggar and adjacent regions, while my stay further south in Air was limited to six months.

121 It is my intention here to describe the political systems of Air and Ahaggar, but as my final task is concerned with their origin I find it necessary to take up also more general aspects of Tuareg culture and the distribution of certain cultural
[127] traits. I shall make use also of Tuareg oral traditions and of the very comprehensive material on Tuareg history gathered by Arab historians and geographers of the Middle Ages. Thus I do not follow the ordinary lines of any particular anthropological school.

000 I am much indebted to Dr. Birket-Smith (University of Copenhagen) from whom I acquired my general anthropological knowledge together with a keen interest in historical problems, and to Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry of the London University where I have learnt what I know about social anthropology. Dr. Phyllis Kaberry has taken a profound interest in my studies, and I feel grateful for her kind help and assistance in all matters concerning Tuareg political systems and Tuareg social structure in general.

•122 My journeys among the Tuareg were carried out by means of grants from various Danish foundations, notably Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond, Carlsberg Fondet, Knud Rasmussen Fondet, and Jens Lohmand Rasmussens Rejselegat. During my last journey The University College London assigned me a grant without which I should not have been able to gather the material here presented

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on the Air Tuareg. I wish to express my sincere thanks to the above mentioned foundations and their directors. 122

For the transcription of Tuareg letters I have on the whole adopted Foucauld's system (cf. Foucauld 1920 & 1951–52):– 104 212

| Tuareg Letters (*Tifinag*) | Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters | | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| ⵓ | b | ب | |
| ⵛ | ch | ش | |
| ⵔ | d | د | |
| ⵎ | ḍ | ض | Emphatic |
| ⵖ | ḥ | ح | |
| ⵗ | g | | Hard |
| ⵊ | ǧ | | A peculiar soft pronunciation something between g, d, j, and l. |
| ⵀ | h | ه | Aspirated |
| ⵉ | i | ي | Used both as consonant and vowel at the end of a word. At the beginning and in the middle of a word only as consonant. |
| ⵅ | j | | |
| ⵇ | k | ك | |
| ⵍ | ḷ | ل | |
| ⵅ | kh | خ | Foucauld 1951–52 has the transcription ḫ [114] |
| ⵍ | l | ل | |
| ⵎ | m | م | |
| ⵏ | n | ن | |
| ⵄ | ă | | Foucauld 1920 does not mention this letter [114] |
| ⵓ | ou | و | Consonant or vowel as for i mentioned above |
| ⵔ | r | ر | |

114 My gratitude to Dr. Phyllis Kaberry, who acted as my supervisor during my London studies, is not easily expressed in words. Nobody has taken so profound an interest in my studies as Dr. Kaberry, and if my descriptions of economics and political systems contain views of any value this is due largely to her extreme interest in my Tuareg material. Much of my later field-work among the Tuareg has also been carried out along lines suggested by Dr. Kaberry.

My stay in London was indeed a fruitful one as I was also able to attend lectures and seminars by Professor Raymond Firth and Professor I. Schapera, and to benefit from the rich knowledge of East African cultures possessed by Mr. G. W. B. Huntingford of The School of Oriental and African Studies.

121 I try to reconstruct history within the limited area of Northern Africa occupied by the Tuareg. In
[127] doing so I use methodologies of different anthropological schools, and also include material available from written sources, from Tuareg traditions, and from archaeology. I feel confident that my procedure is justified, but present it to the reader's judgement with a quotation from the great anthropologist E. E. Evans-Pritchard, who speaks about the rejection of the reconstruction of history by functional anthropologists as follows: "A case can be made out for this rejection, though not in my opinion so strong a case as is usually supposed, for all history is of necessity a reconstruction, the degree of probability attending a particular reconstruction depending on the evidence available" (Evans-Pritchard 1962, p. 21).

114 The real foundation of my book is the field-material I have been able to gather during eight journeys
122 to Northern Africa. I made the first two short trips on my own account, while later journeys were paid by Danish foundations, notably by *Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond, Carlsbergfondet, Rask-Orsted Fondet, Knud Rasmussen Fondet*, and by grants from the University of Copenhagen. I have also been supported economically by The Danish National Museum and by The Museum of Prehistory in Aarhus, which museums now contain my collections of ethnographical sepcimens. My first Tuareg journey carried out in 1951 owes its beginning to economic and moral support from the former leader of the Aarhus Museum, Professor P. V. Glob, now Director-General of the Central Office and of the Museum of National Antiquities in Denmark. My journey to the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr 1954–55 was partly paid by The University College London on the very kind initiative of Professor Daryll Forde.

122 I express my sincere thanks to the above-mentioned institutions and their directors.

The results achieved on my journeys are due largely to friendly help rendered me by the Algerian administration and the administration of the Niger Republic in Niamey and at Agadez. In Algeria I met at an early date Mr. Pierre Bataillon and Mr. Josef Kniebihly of the Civil Administration at Djelfa. They willingly offered me their friendship and did everything to help me during the three weeks of 1947 when I suffered very greatly from malaria. On my journeys to the Ayr Tuareg I have been very kindly assisted by all governmental offices, and I thank heartily Mr. G. Feral, formerly civil governor of the Cercle d'Agadez, Mr. J. Demonceau, Mr. Claude Gardin, and Mr. and Mrs. Bernus of the IFAN at Niamey.

My two Danish friends, Niels Wismer, Norwegian Vice-Consul in Algeria, and Clas Wismer have been of outstanding importance for all my journeys among North African pastoralists. They supported me morally and practically every time I came to Algiers, and they gave me their friendship which I treasure most highly.

I also acknowledge with grateful thanks the valuable help of the Danish Consulate of Algeria under the leadership of the Vice-Consul, Mr. E. Hartvig. 122

The valuable North African collections preserved in the Musée de l'homme, Paris, Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistoire du Bardo, Algiers, and in the Musée de la ville de Neuchâtel have been of extreme importance to my studies, and I wish to thank sincerely the directors of these museums for their kindness in allowing me free admission to all interesting objects. I thank the Musée de l'homme for its courtesy in permitting me to reproduce the illustrations Figs. 62, 75 & 88. For the photograph Fig. 254 I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Erik Smidt, Copenhagen. 127

Anthropology necessitates co-operation with many other sciences, and this I have often experienced when working on my book. I wish to thank sincerly my friend Mr. K.-G. Prasse for his readiness to let me benefit from his profound knowledge of all structural problems connected with Tuareg language and other Berber dialects. He has kindly undertaken the work of checking the spelling of Tuareg words used in this book, and I owe him much for discussions about the meanings of such Tuareg words that may be important from a culture-historical viewpoint. I also thank my friend Dr. Hans Helback of The Danish National Museum for his assistance on problems connected with cultivated plants, and the veterinary surgeon Mr. Niels Grunnet for his comments on Tuareg stock-diseases. 114

I wrote this book in English which was kindly corrected by Major C. L. Bayliss of The British Embassy in Denmark. As to the drawing of diagrams, maps, etc., they are made by Mr. Arne Morell Nielsen whose readiness to help a friend is unrivalled.

The book was written mainly during eight months of 1961 and nobody has rendered me so much real help as my wife Ida.

I cannot in this way convey my heart-felt thanks to Tuareg friends, but my thoughts are among them with my brothers of the Aguh-en-tehlé and the Imezzureg tribes.

*Copenhagen, June 1963*

JOHANNES NICOLAISEN

# Introduction

This book is the result of several years' study of North African pastoralism. My interest in this subject began under climatic conditions rather different from those of North Africa. In the winter 1945–46 I journied on skis through Northern Sweden, Finland, and the Norwegian Finmark. For about three months I lived among the Lapps, and, watching the techniques of reindeer-breeding, I became very interested in the problems connected with the history and evolution of stock-breeding. Shortly after my return from this trip I began to study anthropology in the University of Copenhagen under Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith, and as the main subject of the degree of M.Sc. acquired in summer 1950, I chose pastoral cultures of the Near and Middle East. I had already then made two short journeys to North Africa. 114 121

(1) In summer 1947 I spent about three months in Central Algeria to investigate Arab nomads in the steppes of the High Plateau and the adjacent parts of the Sahara. I travelled around the towns of Djelfa, Zenina, Aflu, Laghwat, and Ghardaya. I had little money at my disposal and could never afford to engage native assistants or to have a horse or a mule for riding and transportation. I walked through the barren steppes and deserts carrying as my main luggage several bottles filled with water. This journey was certainly not easy, and at its end I suffered very badly from malaria. Nevertheless, I managed to get into contact with camps of nomadic tribes such as the *Ulad Nail*, the *Larba*, and the *Sait Otba*, and for shorter periods I followed them during their migrations towards the south. I also contacted certain semi-nomadic tribes living around Aflu in Djebel Amour of the Sahara Atlas. I did not, however, understand Arabic, and the nomads, who were rather shy and suspicious of Europeans, generally had no knowledge of French. It is evidently most difficult to collect ethnographical material under such circumstances. And if I had not received the very kind assistance of French administrators and officers, of native Arab caids, and of Arabs who had formerly served in the French Army, I should indeed have acquired nothing. The year 1947 followed upon a long period of drought which had caused severe losses to all nomads. Many of them had lost all their livestock, and famine occurred all over pastoral Algeria. The consequences of the drought when at its worst can be illustrated by the following example:— Arriving at Aflu in the Djebel Amour, I discovered a small camp the tents of which apparently belonged to a type constructionally different from those used among Central Algerian nomads. I went to the camp where I was told that it belonged to semi-nomads of the *Adjaletes* and *Ulad Sidi Brahim* tribes. They all suffered extremely from famine, and entering the first tent I found three dying children under filthy rugs. I now concentrated upon the problems connected with this dreadful disaster which seemed to prove the insufficiency of pure pastoralism in the barren countries of North Africa. 114 122 73 [121]

[p. 1]

114 121 (2) In winter 1950 I visited several *Kabyle* villages in the Djurdjura Mountains, and stayed for some time in the regions which I had already visited in summer 1947. I wanted to gather supplementary material on the consequences of the drought period, and also to acquire some personal knowledge of winter life among nomads. – Part of the material collected 1947 and 1950 has been published (Nicolaisen 1950).

101 On later journeys to Northern Africa I have studied culture and society of pastoral Tuareg:—

114 122 (3) In summer 1951 I spent about five months (May September) in Ahaggar. I arrived at Algiers from where I travelled southwards by car to make short stops at Djelfa, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El Golea, and In Salah. Reaching Tamanrasset in Ahaggar in the month of May, I hired an interpreter [124] to visit many Tuareg camps of the important vassal tribes *Aguh-en-tehlé* and *Dag Rali* on journeys accomplished by means of camels and donkeys. Part of the time I also lived at Tamanrasset where I was visited daily by Tuareg informants. Apart from Tamanrasset I visited the following centres of [12] cultivation:— Tit, Utul, Terhenanet, and I-n-dalag. My investigations concentrated upon economics [126] and material culture in relation to environment, and about 300 ethnographic specimens were collected. I left Tamanrasset for Algiers by plane via Ganet (Djanet), Rat (Ghat), Ft. Flatters, and Wargla.

(4) I returned to North Africa in summer 1952. The length of this visit was about three months and a half. From Algiers I went by train and trucks to Arris in the Aurès Mountains where I stayed for about five weeks among the semi-nomadic Berber-speaking *Chawiya*. I rode through the valleys of this montain massif on a mule, and the journey terminated with my arrival at the oasis of Biskra. From Biskra I went by train to Tuggurt from where I continued by truck to Wargla. I left this oasis by a French military plane for Ganet in Tasilé-n-Ajjer via El Golea, In Salah, and Tamanrasset. At Ganet I hired camels and a native guide and went westwards via Ft. Ghardel to Afara, where I had the opportunity to meet the supreme chief of the *Kel Ajjer* living in French territory. From Afara I went up the valley named Aharhar and across the Tasilé Mountains to Éléżi (Ft. Polignac). After a short rest with the French garrison I went northwards to the region of Hassi Issendjel, where I visited various Tuareg camps, notably of the tribes *Kel Terurit* and *Urarren*. I stayed in Tasilé-n-Ajjer for six weeks, and returned by plane to Algiers via Ft. Flatters and Wargla. From Algiers I made a very short trip to the *Kabyle* of the Djurdjura Mountains. From the Kabyle, the Chawiya, and the Ajjer [126] Tuareg an ethnographical collection of about 70 specimens was made.

(5) From autumn 1952 until summer 1954 I studied social anthropology in University College London under Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry. My studies in London were interrupted in summer 1953 when I went to North Africa to stay for three months among the Ahaggar Tuareg. I lived most of the time in camps of the vassal tribes *Dag Rali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*, but I also visited the *Iklan-en-tawsit* and camps of certain *Isekkemaren* tribes, notably the *Iheyawen-Hada*. I also paid a visit to camps of the *Kel Rezzi* Tuareg (*Ahl Azzi*) who descend patrilineally from Arabs, and I spent several days in the camp of the *Amenukal*, that is the supreme chief elected from the dominant noble tribe of *Kel Rela*. Among agricultural settlements visited the most important were Abalessa and Silet – apart from Tamanrasset. My studies concentrated upon social and political organization, but I made [121] an ethnographical collection of more than a hundred specimens. The journey from Algiers to Tamanrasset and return was made by plane via El Golea and In Salah. [126]

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(6) My sixth journey to North Africa was undertaken 1954–55 and comprised about 14 months' field-work among Northern and Southern Tuareg. I left Algiers by car via Djelfa, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El Golea to In Salah at the beginning of the autumn 1954. At In Salah I bought four camels and hired an Arab guide of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe. After a short visit to his camp we went southwards to the region of the Ahnet Massif where I visited camps of *Kel-ahem-mellen* (a small noble tribe), *Kel-Immidir* (*Iseḳḳemaren*), *Ayt Lowayen* of the *Kel Turha* section, *Kel Ṛezzi*, and notably the *Kel Ahnet*. Two small camps visited claimed to belong to the noble *Taytoḳ* tribe, but they had no matrilineal relationship to that tribe which is now found in the Tamesna plains west of Ayr. I left Ahnet for Tamanṛaset about the middle of December, and in the following months I travelled alone with my camels in Ahaggar as I now knew Tuareg language sufficiently to dispense with an interpreter. Until the beginning of April 1955 I lived in camps of the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes, and passed some days in the *Amenukal*'s camp. I also had a house at Tamanṛaset where I could work more peacefully with problems connected with kinship, land tenure, and political organization. In this work I was mainly assisted by two older Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes. Apart from Tamanṛaset I visited the following cultivation centres:— Utul, Tahart, Ti-n-amenser, Ennedid, Iḡlen, Abalessa, Amsel, and Taṛhawhawt. – On the 3rd of April, 1955, I left Ahaggar for Ayr together with two Ayr Tuareg who were returning to their camps at Northern Ayr after a caravan journey to Tamanṛaset. We travelled south-eastwards via the small cultivation centre Taḡnut and thence into the very barren country separating Ahaggar from Ayr. We refilled our six skin-bags with water at the wells of I-n-abeggi and I-n-azawa, and had no water again until we arrived at a fairly large and permanent waterhole (*agelmam*) known as Tamengoyt, situated on the northern outskirts of the Ayr Massif. Close to this place we met the first Tuareg camps of the *Kel Tédalé* who dominate the northern parts of Ayr. The following days we saw several camps of these Tuareg. At last we arrived at the camp of one of my companions who belonged to the *Iḳḳoberen* tribe though his family was very mixed with *Kel Tédalé*. This camp was situated in the Azel valley, where we stayed for about ten days to regain full strength. Thereupon we continued to *Iferwan* which constitutes the northernmost village of the Ayr Massif. I lived in this village for about three weeks and then I continued towards Agadez together with a Tuareg of the *Kel Akerra* tribe. We visited camps of various tribes on our journey southwards (*Kel Ṛarus*, *Iforas*). The journey was a difficult one as two of my camels were worn out. We left them in a camp of *Ikojjejiten* Tuareg. This was situated at the Afarak valley from where we continued to Agadez via the small agricultural settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses. From Agadez I went by truck down to Zinder, but returned quickly to make a more complete investigation of the Ayr Tuareg. The situation was now very difficult as my two camels left at Afarak died and I was too short of money to buy a new animal. My financial problems were rather acute and were solved only by the very kind and resolute help rendered me by Professor Daryll Forde of University College London. I was thus able to continue my studies for another six months. I hired a house in Agadez where I could work peacefully, and bought a fine riding camel in order to be able to visit Tuareg camps in the vicinity. The most extensive journey made went to the village of Awderas, north-east of Agadez and close to the Begzen Mountains. On this journey I revisited the small settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses, and visited pastoral camps of the *Iforas*, the *Ikojjejiten*, the *Kel Tamat*, the *Igen-*

[8] *déymen*, and the *Imezzureg*. If not staying in Agadez I lived mainly in camps of the latter tribe, and
[14] spent a considerable time in one particular camp. My studies were concluded with a visit to the camp
[22] of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief north of Aderbissinat. I remained in his camp for about a fortnight and also visited camps of the *Echchikhen* Tuareg and the Fulani who are numerous in this area. I left Agadez by air via Tawa, Niamey, Bamako to Dakar whence I returned to Denmark by ship, and a
[126] few days later returned to London to resume my studies at University College. On this comparatively long journey among the Tuareg I did not make any large ethnographical collection, as I could not afford to buy much, but brought back with me about fifty different specimens plus a few archaeological objects.

(7) In 1956 I returned to Copenhagen from London. I was then planning a new journey to North Africa, but for many reasons this had to be postponed until the autumn 1959. The journey was a very short one of only two months. I left Copenhagen by air on the second of August and arrived at Niamey the next day. After a week's stay at Niamey I continued by plane via Maradi and Zinder to Agadez. The day after my arrival at this ancient capital of the Ayr people I was able to join a car expedition organized by Mr. J. Demonceau, who was studying locust migrations, and by Mr. Claude Gardin of the "Peloton Nomade", who was looking for Tuareg camel thieves. We went first to Ingal and from there continued northwards to the village and salt pits of *Tegidda-n-tésemt*. We went further north but stopped at the well of I-n-abanṛerit, then going eastwards across the Talak Plains to the western edge of the Ayr Massif. Our journey back to Agadez followed the road through the mountains. Though this journey did not take much more than a week it was of great importance to my studies, as I had for the first time an occasion to see the extensive plains west of Ayr – a region of great economic value to many tribes not only of Ayr Tuareg but also to certain tribes of Ahaggar. On the journey I visited camps of *Idaléyen*, *Kel Tédalé* and *Iforas* (Ayr Tuareg), of
[121] *Iregenaten* (Ahaggar Tuareg), and of *Tégehé-n-Efis* (originally Ahaggar Tuareg). In all these camps I collected much valuable material concerning tent structures and economics. – Shortly after my
[123] return to Agadez from this brief journey I met a Tuareg of the *Imezzureg* tribe. I knew him well from my visit to Ayr in 1955, and he was in fact my classificatory elder brother. I went immediately to his camp situated not very far from Agadez, and I lived with him and his kinsmen for the rest of the time left at my disposal. During this period the camp was frequently broken and taken to the best possible pastures of annual plants. I left the camp only once for a week when my brother and I made a camel journey westwards to Tegidda-n-tagayt and Tegidda-n-edrar. In these regions we visited several Ayr tribes which I had never been among previously (e.g. *Imezzuren*, *Ijakurkaren*), and we were lucky enough to meet during this journey the supreme chief of the noble *Kel Azel* tribe. We also visited the camp of the drum-chief of the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, who move northwards to Ayr at the end of the rains. I finished my field-work about the sixth of October and was back in Copenhagen
[126] by plane via Zinder, Maradi, and Niamey on the tenth. I made a very small ethnographical collection comprising about twenty specimens. My investigations were not concentrated on any particular
[127] subject. I acquired valuable supplementary material on such different matters as traditional political systems, kinship, ecology, and technology.

(8) Participating in The First International Congress of Africanists at Accra I had the opportunity

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



to visit Niamey for one week at the beginning of December 1962. Here I studied the very valuable ethnographical collections of The IFAN Museum, and I spent two days in camps of *Bélla* and Tuareg of the *Western Iwllemmeden* east and north-east of Ayoru on the Niger. Of particular value was my visit to a camp of the dominant noble tribe, *Kel Tahabanat*. Its supreme chief *Amder* and his family gave me important information on Tuareg culture in this little known area. My visit to Tuareg and *Bélla* near Ayoru was made possible by the very kind assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Bernus of the IFAN. They put a truck with its driver at my free disposition.

Altogether I have spent almost three years among North African pastoralists – mainly among the Tuareg. This length of time is not so impressive as it may seem, for my investigations have been carried out over an extensive territory ranching from the Mediterranean to the outskirts of the Sudanese savannah. A detailed study of Tuareg ecology and culture necessitates a detailed knowledge of change and variation in environment within and without the country in which the Tuareg live.

The literature which deals with the Tuareg is very comprehensive as can be seen from the bibliography at the end of this book, but most publications are of very little value and many of them are almost inaccessible.

The Tuareg are first mentioned in literature by Arab authors of the Middle Ages, but most of these historians and geographers did not know the Tuareg country and even the few of them who travelled in the Sahara tell us very little about the Tuareg in early Arabic texts generally called *Muletthemin*, that is "the veiled ones". The most important Arab authors who mention the Tuareg are Ibn Hawkal (10th century), El-Bekri (11th century), Edrisi (12th century), Ibn Batutah (14th century), and Ibn Khaldun (14th century). Ibn Khaldun gives the most intimate description of the Tuareg though apparently he never met them. But they played a very important part in his attempt to recount the ancient history of the North African Berbers. After Ibn Khaldun came Leo Africanus (16th century) who published information gathered by himself on journeys in the Sahara. His book was first published in Italian. There are certain later Arab authors who have contributed to our knowledge of North African cultures and the Tuareg, e.g., Es-Sadi who lived in the 17th century. We must also mention in this connection that there are other valuable Arabic manuscripts, notably those generally referred to as the Agadez Chronicle, which contain much historical material on the Ayr Tuareg (cf. Palmer 1910; 1928; 1936; Urvoy 1934).

The first modern description of the Tuareg was given by Hornemann who travelled from Cairo to Murzuk in 1798. Throughout the 19th century many European travellers contributed to our knowledge of the Tuareg, and it is very important now to have their accounts which derive from a time when traditional political systems were unaffected by European colonization. Among these travellers we should mention such outstanding names as Lyon, Caillié, Denham & Clapperton & Oudney, Richardson, Barth, Duveyrier, Rohlfs, Hourst, Fourcau, and von Bary. Lyon gives a very valuable description of the Tuareg who live around Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but by far the most important among these authorities are Barth, who wrote about the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Ayr*, and the *Iwllemmeden*, and Duveyrier, who published an excellent monograph on the Northern Tuareg with particular reference to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. At the beginning of the present century military posts were established in the Sahara, and literature about the Tuareg became more abundant. Thus Benhazera wrote a good book on

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into fine-grained sand carried from the river bed to the fire place in front of the tent. When this heavy fire has calmed down the embers and most of the ashes are moved from the shallow depression to its fringes by means of a small stick, and the thin porridge or gruel of flour and water to which also a little salt is added is poured out into the depression, a spoon being normally used to remove all the gruel out of the wooden bowl in which it has been stirred. A bunch of dry grasses, herbs, or tender twigs is thereupon fired over the gruel in order that its surface may harden, and it is then covered with hot fine-grained sand, ashes, and embers in the order mentioned. If the embers are considered insufficient for baking, a small fire may be lit on the top of the sand and ashes covering the gruel-bread, which is taken out after about twenty minutes to be turned and baked in the same way on the other side for a few minutes. Baking is then finished, the bread is finally removed to be washed in water (Fig. 183). It is broken into pieces and eaten from a large wooden bowl (Figs. 195a–b) together with liquid butter. It is eaten with wooden spoons (Figs. 191).

The type of bread just mentioned is known to people of the *Kel Ferwan* group as *tugella*. It is made by very few Tuareg. Indeed, when I travelled together with Ayr Tuareg I very frequently baked my own bread as I had learned to from the Tuareg of Ahaggar, because very few of the Ayr Tuareg I met were familiar with bread baking. Bread is not a staple diet of the Ayr Tuareg, and when they want to bake wheat flour they generally do so in the following way:— The flour is mixed with water to a dough which is placed upon the bottom and sides of a metal pot heated over the fire. This type of bread or bread-like dish is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *gurasa*. It can be mentioned that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg also bake a particular type of bread from millet flour mixed with certain other plant materials, but a bread of this kind is not baked for ordinary food, but as a kind of medicine.

Fig. 174. Roasting meat-lumps by the *meckwi* method. Ayr, *Eckchikhen* Tuareg of Damergu.

[text continues on p. 241]

upon this structure is attached to poles fixed in the ground at the sides (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 84 ff., 123 ff., 154 f., photographs Nos. 59–65, p. 96–97). 342*

B.2.f.2. This type, described from the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* by Lhote, is similar to the above-mentioned type but has four pairs of forked sticks provided with cross-bars. The two middle pairs of uprights are somewhat higher than the two outer pairs. This structure is used for particularly large tents among the Western *Iwllemmeden* (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 85).

Lhote says that the above-mentioned two types of structure are also found among the Kel Adrar (Lhote 1947a, p. 108 f.) and this would also seem quite natural in view of the fact that these Tuareg once formed part of the *Iwllemmeden* group. Cortier says that the *Kel Adrar* have tent structures of uprights with horizontal cross-bars (Cortier 1908, p. 327 f.). I have myself been told by Iforas Tuareg whom I met in Ahaggar that they possess tent structures similar to those commonly used in Ahaggar nowadays, and these Ahaggar tents resemble those described from the *Iwllemmeden* by Lhote. I shall now describe these structural types of Ahaggar.

B.2.f.3. This tent, which has three pairs of uprights carrying horizontal cross-bars, has been frequently described and depicted in literature. A most valuable description, with many photographs showing the wooden structure, has been published by Lhote in his book on Tuareg tents (Lhote 1947a, p. 34 ff., photographs Nos. 1, 5, 7, 8, 13, 20, 27, 36, 37). The structure is also described by the same author in his general work on the Ahaggar Tuareg (Lhote 1955a, Fig. 22 p. 254). I present my own observations from Ahaggar, where I have lived in such tents over extremely long periods. A tent which I measured among the noble *Kel Rela* may be taken as an example of the normal structure of this type. It was made from boughs of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*) which is generally used for wooden tent structures in the north. The boughs had a diameter of about 0.05–0.07 m, the upright poles being somewhat thicker than the horizontal cross-bars. The three pairs of uprights had small prongs to which the cross-bars were firmly attached by cords of goat hair. The cross-bars were slightly curved, as is normal for this structure. All three cross-bars are called *ireǧeraǧaten* (sing. *areǧaraǧa*). The two pairs of outer poles are termed *tiǧeǯewin* (sing. *téǧeǯewi*), while the middle pair of uprights are called *iǧetten* (sing. *aǧet*). Lhote gives the name *tamankayt* to the middle pair of sticks (cf. Lhote 1955a, Fig. 22 p. 254), but this is not correct as the term *tamankayt* is used properly for a central T-shaped post to be described in the next section. The sheet rests upon the structure of uprights with their cross-bars, and pieces of old cotton are normally wrapped around the place where the cross-bars rest in the prongs in order that the sheet may not be galled by the prongs. It should be noted that the cross-bars are lashed separately to their uprights, and not by longitudinal cords as among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*. A piece of cord is tied around the end of a cross-bar and around one of the prongs of its uprights, and is then drawn along the cross-bar to be tied around its other end resting in the prong. All upright poles are fixed in holes dug 0.30–0.50 m deep in the ground, like the holes for the outer poles to which the sheet is fastened with cords of goat hair. [122] [124] [114]

B.2.f.4. This tent differs from that just described in that it has two equally high pairs of uprights in the middle of the tent. These middle uprights (*iǧetten*) are higher than the two pairs of outer uprights (*tiǧeǯewin*). There are in other words four parallel pairs of uprights carrying cross-bars which are frequently slightly curved as in the above-mentioned structure. This structure, with an additional pair

101 114 122 *déynen*, and the *Imezzureg*. If not staying in Agadez I lived mainly in camps of the latter tribe, and spent a considerable time in one particular camp. My studies were concluded with a visit to the camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief north of Aderbissinat. I remained in his camp for about a fortnight and also visited camps of the *Echchikhen* Tuareg and the Fulani who are numerous in this area. I left Agadez by air via Tawa, Niamey, Bamako to Dakar whence I returned to Denmark by ship, and a few days later returned to London to resume my studies at University College. On this comparatively [126] long journey among the Tuareg I did not make any large ethnographical collection, as I could not afford to buy much, but brought back with me about fifty different specimens plus a few archaeological objects.

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601 Ahaggar Tuareg use the following terms for these three classes of kinsmen:— (1) *aruri* ("back") which term is used for relatives of the father's family its true meaning being a group of patrilineally related men; (2) *tésa* ("stomach") which is used for the mother's family with the correct meaning referring to a group of matrilineally related women; (3) *tégehé* ("side", correctly the place between the hips and the lower part of the chest). The proper meaning of this word is "persons descending from sisters and from their parallel female cousins in the maternal line", and is used to indicate the relationship between a man and his true and classificatory sisters' children. – The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr have similar terms with the same meaning:— (1) *aruri* ("back") for father's family; (2) *tédist* ("stomach") for mother's family – the word *tésa* in the Ayr dialect means "liver" and not stomach; (3) *tégazé* ("side") with the same meaning as *tégehé* in Ahaggar; the two words are identical, as the *g* in Ayr is always substituted with a *g*, the *h* frequently with a *z* or *j*. This word in Ayr is used to designate all true and classificatory sister's children, while the Ahaggar Tuareg refer to these relatives by the terms *agg elet ma* and *welt elet ma*. The term *égazé* used by the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg for the children of true and classificatory sister's children is related to *tégazé*; it also refers to part of the side.

602 The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr largely follow the same rules of kinship behaviour. These are outlined below:—

(1) Respect must be shown to all consanguineous relatives of ascending generations, that is respect towards all relatives termed "father", "mother", and "mother's brother".

(2) Respect must be shown to all persons known as "elder brothers" and "elder sisters". Rules of conduct towards such kinsmen are identical with those mentioned above towards kinsmen of ascending generations. Thus a younger brother on a journey with his elder brother will carry out all work as if he was with his father or another kinsman of ascending generations. When with his elder brother he must not talk about any matter referring to sexual life. He must not even talk too much about the copulation of domestic animals, and he should not mention such words as *imzad* and *tindé* – names of musical instruments used at nightly gatherings which may be accompanied by love-making. A man must not ask his elder brother for a gift, but should ask for anything he wants through a third person. When he wishes to marry, the permission of his elder brother should be asked like that of the father and other older relatives. When the father dies the elder brother takes over his position of authority. The identical rules of conduct towards a father (or older relative) and an elder brother can be clearly shown by the following example:— When I lived among the Tuareg I was incorporated in their [123] kinship organization which is the rule for persons who have no relatives among the people they live among. Once I was attached as a younger brother to a man much older than myself. When travelling together among other Tuareg my "elder brother" was occasionally asked: "Are you his father?", and when replying:— "No, I am his elder brother", the questioner would sometimes add:— "Now, there is his father". For classificatory elder brothers (and sisters) the same rules are valid, even though in this case the "elder brother" may in fact be considerably younger than his "younger brother".

605 (3) There is a joking relationship (*tehandezzit* in Ahaggar, *adélen* in Ayr) between all true and classificatory cross-cousins. This joking relationship allows free talk about sexual matters, and when cross-cousins tease each other they frequently refer to matters of sexual life, e.g., "You sleep with old slave women!", "You run after women like a donkey-stallion after a mare!" Teasing permits

114 (2) In winter 1950 I visited several *Kabyle* villages in the Djurdjura Mountains, and stayed for some
121 time in the regions which I had already visited in summer 1947. I wanted to gather supplementary material on the consequences of the drought period, and also to acquire some personal knowledge of winter life among nomads. – Part of the material collected 1947 and 1950 has been published (Nicolaisen 1950).

101 On later journeys to Northern Africa I have studied culture and society of pastoral Tuareg:—

114 (3) In summer 1951 I spent about five months (May September) in Ahaggar. I arrived at Algiers
122 from where I travelled southwards by car to make short stops at Djelfa, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El Golea, and In Salah. Reaching Tamanṛaset in Ahaggar in the month of May, I hired an interpreter
[124] to visit many Tuareg camps of the important vassal tribes *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* and *Dag Ṛali* on journeys accomplished by means of camels and donkeys. Part of the time I also lived at Tamanṛaset where I was visited daily by Tuareg informants. Apart from Tamanṛaset I visited the following centres of
[121] cultivation:— Tit, Utul, Terhenanet, and I-n-dalug. My investigations concentrated upon economics
[126] and material culture in relation to environment, and about 300 ethnographic specimens were collected. I left Tamanṛaset for Algiers by plane via Ǵanet (Djanet), Ṛat (Ghat), Ft. Flatters, and Wargla.

(4) I returned to North Africa in summer 1952. The length of this visit was about three months and a half. From Algiers I went by train and trucks to Arris in the Aurès Mountains where I stayed for about five weeks among the semi-nomadic Berber-speaking *Chawiya*. I rode through the valleys of this montain massif on a mule, and the journey terminated with my arrival at the oasis of Biskra. From Biskra I went by train to Tuggurt from where I continued by truck to Wargla. I left this oasis by a French military plane for Ǵanet in Tasilé-n-Ajjer via El Golea, In Salah, and Tamanṛaset. At Ǵanet I hired camels and a native guide and went westwards via Ft. Ghardel to Afara, where I had the opportunity to meet the supreme chief of the *Kel Ajjer* living in French territory. From Afara I went up the valley named Aharhar and across the Tasilé Mountains to Éléẓi (Ft. Polignac). After a short rest with the French garrison I went northwards to the region of Hassi Issendjel, where I visited various Tuareg camps, notably of the tribes *Kel Terurit* and *Urarṛen*. I stayed in Tasilé-n-Ajjer for six weeks, and returned by plane to Algiers via Ft. Flatters and Wargla. From Algiers I made a very
[126] short trip to the *Kabyle* of the Djurdjura Mountains. From the Kabyle, the Chawiya, and the Ajjer Tuareg an ethnographical collection of about 70 specimens was made.

(5) From autumn 1952 until summer 1954 I studied social anthropology in University College London under Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry. My studies in London were interrupted in summer 1953 when I went to North Africa to stay for three months among the Ahaggar Tuareg. I lived most of the time in camps of the vassal tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aǵuh-en-tehlé*, but I also visited the *Iklan-en-iawsit* and camps of certain *Isekkemaren* tribes, notably the *Iheyawen-Hada*. I also paid a visit to camps of the *Kel Ṛezzi* Tuareg (*Ahl Azzi*) who descend patrilineally from Arabs, and I spent several days in the camp of the *Amenukal*, that is the supreme chief elected from the dominant noble tribe of *Kel Ṛela*. Among agricultural settlements visited the most important were Abalessa and Silet –
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114 121 (2) In winter 1950 I visited several *Kabyle* villages in the Djurdjura Mountains, and stayed for some time in the regions which I had already visited in summer 1947. I wanted to gather supplementary material on the consequences of the drought period, and also to acquire some personal knowledge of winter life among nomads. – Part of the material collected 1947 and 1950 has been published (Nicolaisen 1950).

101 On later journeys to Northern Africa I have studied culture and society of pastoral Tuareg:—

114 122 (3) In summer 1951 I spent about five months (May September) in Ahaggar. I arrived at Algiers from where I travelled southwards by car to make short stops at Djelfu, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El Golea, and In Salah. Reaching Tamanṛaset in Ahaggar in the month of May, I hired an interpreter [124] to visit many Tuareg camps of the important vassal tribes *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* and *Dag Ṛali* on journeys accomplished by means of camels and donkeys. Part of the time I also lived at Tamanṛaset where I was visited daily by Tuareg informants. Apart from Tamanṛaset I visited the following centres of [121] cultivation:— Tit, Utul, Terhenanet, and I-n-dalaǧ. My investigations concentrated upon economics [126] and material culture in relation to environment, and about 300 ethnographic specimens were collected. I left Tamanṛaset for Algiers by plane via Ǧanet (Djanet), Ṛat (Ghat), Ft. Flatters, and Wargla.

(4) I returned to North Africa in summer 1952. The length of this visit was about three months and a half. From Algiers I went by train and trucks to Arris in the Aurès Mountains where I stayed for about five weeks among the semi-nomadic Berber-speaking *Chawiya*. I rode through the valleys of this montain massif on a mule, and the journey terminated with my arrival at the oasis of Biskra. From Biskra I went by train to Tuggurt from where I continued by truck to Wargla. I left this oasis by a French military plane for Ǧanet in Tasilé-n-Ajjer via El Golea, In Salah, and Tamanṛaset. At Ǧanet I hired camels and a native guide and went westwards via Ft. Ghardel to Afara, where I had the opportunity to meet the supreme chief of the *Kel Ajjer* living in French territory. From Afara I went up the valley named Aharhar and across the Tasilé Mountains to Éléẓi (Ft. Polignac). After a short rest with the French garrison I went northwards to the region of Hassi Issendjel, where I visited various Tuareg camps, notably of the tribes *Kel Terurit* and *Urureu*. I stayed in Tasilé-n-Ajjer for six weeks, and returned by plane to Algiers via Ft. Flatters and Wargla. From Algiers I made a very [126] short trip to the *Kabyle* of the Djurdjura Mountains. From the Kabyle, the Chawiya, and the Ajjer Tuareg an ethnographical collection of about 70 specimens was made.

(5) From autumn 1952 until summer 1954 I studied social anthropology in University College London under Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry. My studies in London were interrupted in summer 1953 when I went to North Africa to stay for three months among the Ahaggar Tuareg. I lived most of the time in camps of the vassal tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aǧuh-en-tehlé*, but I also visited the *Iklan-en-tawsit* and camps of certain *Isekkemaren* tribes, notably the *Iheyawen-Haḍa*. I also paid a visit to camps of the *Kel Ṛezzi* Tuareg (*Ahl Azzi*) who descend patrilineally from Arabs, and I spent several days in the camp of the *Amenukal*, that is the supreme chief elected from the dominant noble tribe of *Kel Ṛela*. Among agricultural settlements visited the most important were Abalessa and Silet – [121] apart from Tamanṛaset. My studies concentrated upon social and political organization, but I made [126] an ethnographical collection of more than a hundred specimens. The journey from Algiers to Tamanṛaset and return was made by plane via El Golea and In Salah.

101 *déynen*, and the *Imezzureg*. If not staying in Agadez I lived mainly in camps of the latter tribe, and
114 spent a considerable time in one particular camp. My studies were concluded with a visit to the camp
122 of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief north of Aderbissinat. I remained in his camp for about a fortnight and also visited camps of the *Echchikhen* Tuareg and the Fulani who are numerous in this area. I left Agadez by air via Tawa, Niamey, Bamako to Dakar whence I returned to Denmark by ship, and a few days later returned to London to resume my studies at University College. On this comparatively [126] long journey among the Tuareg I did not make any large ethnographical collection, as I could not afford to buy much, but brought back with me about fifty different specimens plus a few archaeological objects.

(7) In 1956 I returned to Copenhagen from London. I was then planning a new journey to North Africa, but for many reasons this had to be postponed until the autumn 1959. The journey was a very short one of only two months. I left Copenhagen by air on the second of August and arrived at Niamey the next day. After a week's stay at Niamey I continued by plane via Maradi and Zinder to Agadez. The day after my arrival at this ancient capital of the Ayr people I was able to join a car expedition organized by Mr. J. Demonceau, who was studying locust migrations, and by Mr. Claude Gardin of the "Peloton Nomade", who was looking for Tuareg camel thieves. We went first to Ingal and from there continued northwards to the village and salt pits of *Tegidda-n-tésemt*. We went further north but stopped at the well of I-n-abanṛerit, then going eastwards across the Talak Plains to the western edge of the Ayr Massif. Our journey back to Agadez followed the road through the mountains. Though this journey did not take much more than a week it was of great importance to my studies, as I had for the first time an occasion to see the extensive plains west of Ayr – a region of great economic value to many tribes not only of Ayr Tuareg but also to certain tribes of Ahaggar. On the journey I visited camps of *Idaléyen*, *Kel Tédalé* and *Ifoṛas* (Ayr Tuareg), of [121] *Iregenaten* (Ahaggar Tuareg), and of *Tégehé-n-Efis* (originally Ahaggar Tuareg). In all these camps I collected much valuable material concerning tent structures and economics. – Shortly after my [123] return to Agadez from this brief journey I met a Tuareg of the *Imezzureg* tribe. I knew him well from my visit to Ayr in 1955, and he was in fact my classificatory elder brother. I went immediately to his camp situated not very far from Agadez, and I lived with him and his kinsmen for the rest of the time left at my disposal. During this period the camp was frequently broken and taken to the best possible pastures of annual plants. I left the camp only once for a week when my brother and I made a camel journey westwards to Tegidda-n-tagayt and Tegidda-n-edrar. In these regions we visited several Ayr tribes which I had never been among previously (e.g. *Imezzuren*, *Ijakarkaren*), and we were lucky enough to meet during this journey the supreme chief of the noble *Kel Azel* tribe. We also visited the camp of the drum-chief of the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, who move northwards to Ayr at the end of the rains. I finished my field-work about the sixth of October and was back in Copenhagen by plane via Zinder, Maradi, and Niamey on the tenth. I made a very small ethnographical collection [126] comprising about twenty specimens. My investigations were not concentrated on any particular [127] subject. I acquired valuable supplementary material on such different matters as traditional political systems, kinship, ecology, and technology.

(8) Participating in The First International Congress of Africanists at Accra I had the opportunity

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



114 the Tuareg of Ahaggar who were also visited by other scientists and explorers. The most important work on these Tuareg is the great dictionary edited by Foucauld, who lived several years in Ahaggar until his death in 1916. Later works are those of Lhote and Blanguernon. From the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer literature is scarce, but recently good studies on them have been published by Dubief, who has also contributed to our knowledge of the Ahaggar Tuareg. From Ayr we have one early book by Jean, who is often unreliable, while the later book by Rodd contains much valuable material. More recently our knowledge of the Ayr Tuareg has also been extended by the studies of Lhote and Nicolas. The latter author has published a good survey of the tribes and groups inhabiting Ayr and adjacent regions, but Nicolas' most important studies deal with the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* around Tawa. Our knowledge of the south-western Tuareg along the Niger and around Timbuktu (the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* and the *Kel Tademaket*) is unfortunately very sparse. There are only two books to be mentioned, namely those of Aymard and Richer. As to the Tuareg north of the Niger in the mountains of Adraf-n-Foras, they have been described by Cortier, and there is no other important work about them.

Very recently our knowledge of the Tuareg has also been increased by important works dealing more generally with the Tuareg or with particular aspects of their culture, e.g., the works of Lhote, Gabus, and Briggs. But none of these authors has tried to describe in detail Tuareg social organization. Nobody but Miner, who writes mainly on culture and social life of Timbuktu, has published a Tuareg kinship system. This system, which is taken down among the *Bélla* who are the former slaves of the Niger Tuareg, does not seem to be entirely correct in the sense that it does not indicate the true classificatory terms. I may add that I have myself published one Tuareg kinship system incorrectly, namely that of the Ayr Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1959, p. 102). This will be correctly re-published in this book.

Tuareg literature is largely superficial, but there are a few good studies. In some of them you will find information also given in this study. When I mention observations which have also been made by earlier authorities, I do not refer to them in case they may be said to be generally known and made by several authors. Many of the works which I mention in my bibliography are of extremely little value. However, I wish to describe cultural features in detail, and a few interesting notes may be found even in more popular travelling books which are also sometimes furnished with good photographs.

[126] Almost all photographs published in this book are of my own taking or represent objects collected by myself among the Tuareg. Where other pictures are used reference to authorities is given.

younger animals which yield more milk. Again, the meat of very old goats is of inferior quality. Much goat-meat derives from he-goats of which a very limited number is needed for mating. Some Tuareg claim that one he-goat is able to cover about a hundred goats, but as a rule I doubt whether it would be called upon to do so. In any event, too many he-goats are brought forth, and even very young male kids are frequently killed and eaten as there will be more milk for the nomads when such animals do not have to be suckled. It is considered ideal that male kids which are not needed for reproduction, and which are not killed at very early age, should be castrated at the time when weaning takes place, but even old he-goats may be castrated to make them fat for slaughtering.

Though meat is not a stable dish of the Tuareg they have to kill a certain number of goats every year to obtain skin for the manufacture of various domestic utensils. The roaming life in the desert necessitates a great many containers for water, butter, milk, grain, dates, and the like, and bags made from goat-skin are appropriate for this purpose. Indeed, goat-skin is so important to Tuareg craft that in speaking of the manufacture of most domestic articles one can hardly avoid mentioning the word "goat". Thus, my fairly large collection of ethnographic specimens from the Ahaggar Tuareg contains about fifty different objects made entirely or mainly of goat-skin, which is also used for the manufacture of tents among the Northern Tuareg. Even nowadays, a few articles of dress are made from goat-skin, and goat-skin was in general use for this purpose in the past (cf. p. 287 ff.).

Goat-hair is extremely useful to the Northern Tuareg. The hair is cut once a year in the hot season when the animals do not suffer from cold (cf. Fig. 98). It is spun into strong cords used for tethering animals, for tying up caravan loads, for reins, and the like. In certain tribes of Ahaggar it is also used for a very primitive kind of weaving (cf. p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

To understand the economic role of goat-breeding one must briefly touch on the question of size of flocks. Statistics concerning the ownership of livestock must always be regarded with much suspicion, as it is extremely difficult to obtain data. It is not only most impolite to ask Tuareg about the size of

Fig. 20. A kid with the stick (*akara, azeghrz*) pierced through the mouth as described in the text. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terwit* tribe.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

# *Political Systems Of Pastoral Tuareg In Air And Ahaggar.*

By Johannes Nicolaisen

101 The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive
131 area of the Western Sahara and adjacent regions of the Sudan. The territory
162 dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° North Latitude and between
5° West Longitude and 10° East Longitude. They fall into seven main groups or major political units (fig. 1) comprising 240,000–300,000 individuals, their negro slaves excluded. The two northernmost groups (the Kel Ahaggar and the Kel Ajjer) live in the true desert country and number less than 10,000 or about 3% of all Tuareg. In Ahaggar the number according to statistics of 1950 is 4,611. The Air Tuareg further south are more numerous and seem to comprise more than 20.000 individuals (cf. Lhote 1947, p. 15f. & 1955, p. 157).

114 This study of Tuareg political systems has as its foundation a part of my own field material collected in 1951 (in Ahaggar), 1952 (in Tassili-n-Ajjer), 1953 (in Ahaggar), and 1954–55 (in Ahaggar including Ahnet, and in Air). I have spent about two years in these Tuareg countries living most of the time in Ahaggar and adjacent regions, while my stay further south in Air was limited to six months.

121 It is my intention here to describe the political systems of Air and Ahaggar, but as my final task is concerned with their origin I find it necessary to take up also more general aspects of Tuareg culture and the distribution of certain cultural
[127] traits. I shall make use also of Tuareg oral traditions and of the very comprehensive material on Tuareg history gathered by Arab historians and geographers of the Middle Ages. Thus I do not follow the ordinary lines of any particular anthropological school.

000 I am much indebted to Dr. Birket-Smith (University of Copenhagen) from whom I acquired my general anthropological knowledge together with a keen interest in historical problems, and to Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry of the London University where I have learnt what I know about social anthropology. Dr. Phyllis Kaberry has taken a profound interest in my studies, and I feel grateful for her kind help and assistance in all matters concerning Tuareg political systems and Tuareg social structure in general.

122 My journeys among the Tuareg were carried out by means of grants from various Danish foundations, notably Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond, Carlsberg Fondet, Knud Rasmussen Fondet, and Jens Lohmand Rasmussens Rejselegat. During my last journey The University College London assigned me a grant without which I should not have been able to gather the material here presented

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*Tuareg Invasions into Air.*

174 The connection between the Mediterranean and the Sudan by means of caravans through the Sahara is of very great but unknown age. Caravans have crossed the Sahara as far back as historical knowledge reaches (cf. Bates 1914, p. 101 ff. – Gsell 1920–28, I–VIII – Bovill 1958, p. 24). At the beginning donkeys and oxen were probably used as beasts of burden and the latter animals were employed also as draught animals for carriages as were horses at a later date (cf. Lhote 1953, p. 1138–1228). With the introduction of the camel, caravan trading through the desert was no doubt highly intensified. For although donkeys and also oxen can cross the Sahara in winter without much difficulty camels are better suited to desert journeys.

The first Tuareg who came to Air may have been caravan traders attracted by the excellent grazing grounds of this country. When they arrived we do not know but it seems possible to follow in broad outline the history of the Air Tuareg a thousand years back in time and to distinguish between several invasions. It must be admitted that these cannot be precisely dated and that our historical knowledge is on the whole very fragmentary. It is derived partly from oral traditions, partly [127] from written historical sources among which the so-called Agadez Chronicle is of particular value. It consists of various Arabic manuscripts in the care of the Sultan [114] of Agadez. They have been published in translation and abstracts (Palmer 1910; 1928; 1936. – Urvoy 1934). Several authors have made valuable contributions to the history of the Air Tuareg (Barth 1857, I. – Rodd 1926a, 1926b, 1938. – Palmer 1936. – Urvoy 1936. – Nicolas 1950a; 1950b), but to my mind the best general account is given by Urvoy whom I follow in outline.

As early as the 7th century A.D. extensive migrations of pastoral Berbers including the two important tribal groups of Lemta and Zaraoua passed through the desert. The Lemta settled around the Niger and gave rise to the Sonrai Empire, while the Zaraoua reached the Lake Tchad country where the state of Kanem-Bornou was created. At this time pastoral Berbers also arrived in Air where new states were created. The name of one of them is known, namely the Hausa state of Gober or Gobir which existed in Air up to the 12th century A.D.

New invasions took place in the following centuries. The ancestors of the clans of Igdalen (now in Tegama and Damergou south of the massif) and Iberkhoreen (now in Azaoua north of Tahoua) have probably immigrated before the year 1000 A.D. as may also be the case of the Kel Tamgak clan in Northern Air.

As mentioned the excellent grazing grounds of Air were probably the reason for the first Tuareg invasions. From the 11th century A.D. another factor seems to have been responsible, namely the arrival in North Africa of the Arab bedouins of Beni Hilal and Beni Soleim. Nomads of the latter group invaded the Tuareg countries of Tripolitania and Fezzan (Ibn Khaldoun, I, p. 134 ff.) with the result that Tuareg clans migrated southwards to Air. Among them was a group of seven [614] clans (Itesen, Ijadaranein, Ifadalen, Tamakou'at, Tamaga'azellet, Iza'aran, and

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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162
614
631

| Clans | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ifadeyen (2 clans)<br>Igetofen | | | Kouroubobo<br>Imechamelouan<br>Torouf<br>Beinabo<br>Ti-n-Daouine<br>Anialen<br>Abelemma<br>Ekaouel |
| Iraouelen | | | Tombalaga<br>Akadanei<br>Meigaouei |
| Elbaraten | | | Onouachor |
| Itagan | | | Eleleg |
| Isakaranen | 653 107 | | Ti-n-Tebezgin |
| Kel Tedale (3 clans) | 1300 | They may be noble by origin. | Talak<br>Ourarene<br>Zourika |
| Kel Akarra | 164 39 | Said to be of noble origin and to have had the Ibararochiten clan as their particular vassals. | Ti-n-Teborak |
| Ibararochchiten | | Said to have been the particular vassals of the Kel Akarra clan. | Emdegra |

175 grounds round Agadez in the 17th century, and were probably called to this
642 region by a Sultan who needed them to keep order in the country. The actual
643 power then passed into the hands of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief.

### *The Kel Ferouan Tuareg.*

114 Lists of clans which belong to the Kel Ferouan drum-group have already been
614 published. Jean has fourteen clans in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427f. – Abadie 1927, p. 391f.), while Nicolas refers twenty-two clans to the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f., 480). My own list comes
614 close to that of Nicolas but contains a few additional names which however may
127 refer to sections of the other clans. In my list I have indicated the relationship
162 between the clans and their traditional grazing grounds. I have not been able to
[631] get precise particulars about the size of clans, and I therefore quote the figures

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 250. 614 [127]

A clan is generally termed *taasit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan-membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg. [162] [196] [611]

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 13). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g., 621 596 [342]

1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season *(akasa)* and in the beginning of the following dry season *(ṛaat)* several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups. 221 361 621 [173]

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occured also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin – ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:– 582 614 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 13 |
| No blood-relationship between husband and wife | 8 |
| Marriages total | 38 |

114 My gratitude to Dr. Phyllis Kaberry, who acted as my supervisor during my London studies, is not easily expressed in words. Nobody has taken so profound an interest in my studies as Dr. Kaberry, and if my descriptions of economics and political systems contain views of any value this is due largely to her extreme interest in my Tuareg material. Much of my later field-work among the Tuareg has also been carried out along lines suggested by Dr. Kaberry.

My stay in London was indeed a fruitful one as I was also able to attend lectures and seminars by Professor Raymond Firth and Professor I. Schapera, and to benefit from the rich knowledge of East African cultures possessed by Mr. G. W. B. Huntingford of The School of Oriental and African Studies.

121 I try to reconstruct history within the limited area of Northern Africa occupied by the Tuareg. In
[127] doing so I use methodologies of different anthropological schools, and also include material available from written sources, from Tuareg traditions, and from archaeology. I feel confident that my procedure is justified, but present it to the reader's judgement with a quotation from the great anthropologist E. E. Evans-Pritchard, who speaks about the rejection of the reconstruction of history by functional anthropologists as follows: "A case can be made out for this rejection, though not in my opinion so strong a case as is usually supposed, for all history is of necessity a reconstruction, the degree of probability attending a particular reconstruction depending on the evidence available" (Evans-Pritchard 1962, p. 21).

114 The real foundation of my book is the field-material I have been able to gather during eight journeys
122 to Northern Africa. I made the first two short trips on my own account, while later journeys were paid by Danish foundations, notably by *Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond, Carlsbergfondet, Rask-Ørsted Fondet, Knud Rasmussen Fondet*, and by grants from the University of Copenhagen. I have also been supported economically by The Danish National Museum and by The Museum of Prehistory in Aarhus, which museums now contain my collections of ethnographical sepcimens. My first Tuareg journey carried out in 1951 owes its beginning to economic and moral support from the former leader of the Aarhus Museum, Professor P. V. Glob, now Director-General of the Central Office and of the Museum of National Antiquities in Denmark. My journey to the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr 1954–55 was partly paid by The University College London on the very kind initiative of Professor Daryll Forde.

122 I express my sincere thanks to the above-mentioned institutions and their directors.

The results achieved on my journeys are due largely to friendly help rendered me by the Algerian administration and the administration of the Niger Republic in Niamey and at Agadez. In Algeria I met at an early date Mr. Pierre Bataillon and Mr. Josef Kniebihly of the Civil Administration at Djelfa. They willingly offered me their friendship and did everything to help me during the three weeks of 1947 when I suffered very greatly from malaria. On my journeys to the Ayr Tuareg I have been very kindly assisted by all governmental offices, and I thank heartily Mr. G. Feral, formerly civil governor of the Cercle d'Agadez, Mr. J. Demonceau, Mr. Claude Gardin, and Mr. and Mrs. Bernus of the IFAN at Niamey.

My two Danish friends, Niels Wismer, Norwegian Vice-Consul in Algeria, and Clas Wismer have been of outstanding importance for all my journeys among North African pastoralists. They supported me morally and practically every time I came to Algiers, and they gave me their friendship which I treasure most highly.

I also acknowledge with grateful thanks the valuable help of the Danish Consulate of Algeria under the leadership of the Vice-Consul, Mr. E. Hartvig. 122

The valuable North African collections preserved in the Musée de l'homme, Paris, Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistoire du Bardo, Algiers, and in the Musée de la ville de Neuchâtel have been of extreme importance to my studies, and I wish to thank sincerely the directors of these museums for their kindness in allowing me free admission to all interesting objects. I thank the Musée de l'homme for its courtesy in permitting me to reproduce the illustrations Figs. 62, 75 & 88. For the photograph Fig. 254 I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Erik Smidt, Copenhagen. 127

Anthropology necessitates co-operation with many other sciences, and this I have often experienced when working on my book. I wish to thank sincerly my friend Mr. K.-G. Prasse for his readiness to let me benefit from his profound knowledge of all structural problems connected with Tuareg language and other Berber dialects. He has kindly undertaken the work of checking the spelling of Tuareg words used in this book, and I owe him much for discussions about the meanings of such Tuareg words that may be important from a culture-historical viewpoint. I also thank my friend Dr. Hans Helbaek of The Danish National Museum for his assistance on problems connected with cultivated plants, and the veterinary surgeon Mr. Niels Grunnet for his comments on Tuareg stock-diseases. 114

I wrote this book in English which was kindly corrected by Major C. L. Bayliss of The British Embassy in Denmark. As to the drawing of diagrams, maps, etc., they are made by Mr. Arne Morell Nielsen whose readiness to help a friend is unrivalled.

The book was written mainly during eight months of 1961 and nobody has rendered me so much real help as my wife Ida.

I cannot in this way convey my heart-felt thanks to Tuareg friends, but my thoughts are among them with my brothers of the Aguh-en-tehlé and the Imezzureg tribes.

*Copenhagen, June 1963*

JOHANNES NICOLAISEN

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



to visit Niamey for one week at the beginning of December 1962. Here I studied the very valuable ethnographical collections of The IFAN Museum, and I spent two days in camps of *Bélla* and Tuareg of the *Western Iwllemmeden* east and north-east of Ayoru on the Niger. Of particular value was my visit to a camp of the dominant noble tribe, *Kel Tahabanat*. Its supreme chief *Amder* and his family gave me important information on Tuareg culture in this little known area. My visit to Tuareg and *Bélla* near Ayoru was made possible by the very kind assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Bernus of the IFAN. They put a truck with its driver at my free disposition.

Altogether I have spent almost three years among North African pastoralists – mainly among the Tuareg. This length of time is not so impressive as it may seem, for my investigations have been carried out over an extensive territory ranching from the Mediterranean to the outskirts of the Sudanese savannah. A detailed study of Tuareg ecology and culture necessitates a detailed knowledge of change and variation in environment within and without the country in which the Tuareg live.

The literature which deals with the Tuareg is very comprehensive as can be seen from the bibliography at the end of this book, but most publications are of very little value and many of them are almost inaccessible.

The Tuareg are first mentioned in literature by Arab authors of the Middle Ages, but most of these historians and geographers did not know the Tuareg country and even the few of them who travelled in the Sahara tell us very little about the Tuareg in early Arabic texts generally called *Muletthemin*, that is "the veiled ones". The most important Arab authors who mention the Tuareg are Ibn Hawkal (10th century), El-Bekri (11th century), Edrisi (12th century), Ibn Batutah (14th century), and Ibn Khaldun (14th century). Ibn Khaldun gives the most intimate description of the Tuareg though apparently he never met them. But they played a very important part in his attempt to recount the ancient history of the North African Berbers. After Ibn Khaldun came Leo Africanus (16th century) who published information gathered by himself on journeys in the Sahara. His book was first published in Italian. There are certain later Arab authors who have contributed to our knowledge of North African cultures and the Tuareg, e.g., Es-Sadi who lived in the 17th century. We must also mention in this connection that there are other valuable Arabic manuscripts, notably those generally referred to as the Agadez Chronicle, which contain much historical material on the Ayr Tuareg (cf. Palmer 1910; 1928; 1936; Urvoy 1934).

The first modern description of the Tuareg was given by Hornemann who travelled from Cairo to Murzuk in 1798. Throughout the 19th century many European travellers contributed to our knowledge of the Tuareg, and it is very important now to have their accounts which derive from a time when traditional political systems were unaffected by European colonization. Among these travellers we should mention such outstanding names as Lyon, Caillié, Denham & Clapperton & Oudney, Richardson, Barth, Duveyrier, Rohlfs, Hourst, Foureau, and von Bary. Lyon gives a very valuable description of the Tuareg who live around Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but by far the most important among these authorities are Barth, who wrote about the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Ayr*, and the *Iwllemmeden*, and Duveyrier, who published an excellent monograph on the Northern Tuareg with particular reference to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. At the beginning of the present century military posts were established in the Sahara, and literature about the Tuareg became more abundant. Thus Benhazera wrote a good book on

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



are also very akin to the Tuareg in culture, but have preserved some Arab traits of material culture and their traditional social organization in addition to their language, though they also know *tamachek*. We are here concerned only with traits adopted into Tuareg culture from contact with the Arabs.

In the description of Tuareg culture I have already pointed out many cultural traits due to Arab influence. I have mentioned such traits in connection with food-preparation (p. 232, 237 ff, 247 ff) and dress (p. 303 f.). I have also mentioned the introduction of cultivation methods and cultivated plants owing to contact with Arabs and the Arabic-speaking *Harratin* (p. 186 ff.), and I have stated that it seems as if new types or new breeds of domestic animals were introduced to North Africa by the invading Arabs. Cats and domestic pigeons seem to be post-Arabian in the Sahara (p. 115 f.), the true grey-hound came to Tuareg country with the Arabs, who also introduced the particular horse-breed known as the *Aryen* type (p. 113). Doutressoulle relates a native tradition to the effect that this breed came to the Begzen Mountains with Arabs of Tripolitania (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238 f., 242). Horses of this breed are introduced to Ayr from the north even to-day, but as far as I know the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* do not use the Arab type of saddle or the very broad stirrups typical of the northern horse-riding Arabs. They generally use very narrow stirrups for the insertion of one or two toes. These stirrups were possibly introduced to the Western Sudan with the Dongolawi breed. It came from Upper Egypt at the end for the 13th century A.D. when the *Djoheyna* Arabs immigrated (Mauny 1961, p. 283).

I have mentioned above (p. 54 ff.) that there are two main types of camels among the Northern Tuareg:— (1) a northern Arab breed (*marroki*) characterized by heavy stature and a thick covering of wool, and (2) a southern breed more slenderly built and with little or no wool – a breed which is typical to the Tuareg. Medieval Arab authors have stated that the Tuareg possessed camels of a particular breed well fitted for riding (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 70, 105; Edrisi, p. 11, 67 f., 144 f.; Leo Africanus p. 940 f.). The division of camels into two distinct types of the above characteristics can be traced elsewhere in Northern Africa, where the heavy woolly breed is found mainly in the north and particularly among Arabs, while the slender non-woolly breed is common among such pastoralists as the Tuareg, the Moors of Mauretania (who are largely of Tuareg stock and have a great many Berber words in their camel vocabulary, according to Monteil 1952), the Tebu, and the Beja tribes around the Nile (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 79 ff.; Doutressoulle 1947, p. 272 ff.; Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415 f.; Murray 1935, p. 92 ff.). The distinction between the two main types cannot apparently be explained by the different environmental conditions, for they frequently live within the same type of environment, and the northern *marroki* type is found particularly among Arabs, and not only among the Arabs of the northern desert. *Marroki*-like camels seem to exist among such Arab tribes as the *Kunta* and the *Berabich* north of the Niger Bend in the Azawad desert (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 273), among the camel-breeding Arabs of the Lake Tchad region, and among Arab pastoralists of the former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan – particularly among the Kababish (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 80 ff., 83 f.). There seem to be little doubt that the *marroki* camel came to North Africa with the Arabs and it is then natural to investigate whether they also introduced particular cultural traits connected with camel-breeding. It is relatively easy to take up such an investigation with reference to particular saddle types, because they are frequently described and depicted in literature.

# Fodder Plants of Ahaggar

The most valuable fodder plants in Ahaggar are mentioned in the lists below where my own material has been supplemented with information collected by Maire and published in his valuable study of vegetation of the Central Sahara (Maire 1933 & 1940). The abridgements *Tr.*, *L.M.*, and *U.M.* refer to Maire's botanical zones:— the *Tropical Zone*, the *Lower Mediterranean Zone*, and the *Upper Mediterranean Zone*, while the letters *a*, *b*, and *p* stand for "annual", "biennial", and "perennial" plants. 824 [22]

## FODDER PLANTS OF CAMELS, SHEEP, AND GOATS

*tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*). Tr. p. Young shoots eaten by sheep and goats. Generally not eaten by camels. Maire gives similar information (Maire 1933, p. 52).

*ébestew* (*Imperata cylindrica*). Tr., L.M. p. Not much eaten by camels (Maire 1933, p. 54).

*ézereg* (*Rottboellia hirsuta*). Tr. p. "Excellent pâturage en hiver, tant pour les chameaux que pour les ovins, caprins et autres herbivores (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 54).

*téberimt* (*Andropogon laniger*). Tr., L.M. p. "Cette plante est mangée par les chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 55).

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). Tr., L.M. p. Very important fodder plant for all animals – particularly when green. The green grass is cut by the Tuareg who give it to their riding camels resting in the camp. – "La plante est un élément important de la nourriture des chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 58).

*talenfezut* (*Pennisetum dichotomum*). Tr. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 57). "Cette plante est mangée par tous les herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 58).

*uremmud* (*Aristida plumosa*). Tr. a. & p. According to Gram perennial (Gram 1935, p. 54), according to Maire generally annual in the Central Sahara, while perennial in the Northern Sahara (Maire 1933, p. 61). An important fodder plant for all animals. – "Elle constitue un excellent fourrage pour les chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 61).

*tullult* (*Aristida pungens*). Tr. p. Found in lower parts of the tropical zone, particularly on the northern outskirts of Ahaggar (including Ahnet) and in Tassilé-n-Ajjer. A very important fodder plant for all domestic animals. The Tuareg cut it green, or dry, to use it as fodder for their camels on caravan journeys through barren desert country (e.g., on journeys from Ahaggar to Tidikelt). – "Elle constitue, particulièrement au moment de la floraison, un excellent fourrage pour les chameaux et les autres herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 62). [484]

[p. 491]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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104 212

| Tuareg Letters (*Tifinagh*) | Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters | | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| ⋮ | r | غ | Prononcunced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in literature. |
| ⊙ | s | س | |
| + | t | ت | |
| ⋿ | ṭ | ط | Emphatic |
| ⋇ | z | ز | |
| # | ẓ | | Emphatic |

•128 For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that of the maps edited by Institut Géographique National. The pronunciation of vowels is not indicated. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels [212] with a dot, which may stand for any vowel.

*Pastoral Ecology in Ahaggar and Air.*

[361] The Tuareg of the true desert country have their camps in or close to mountain [131] massifs of which the more important are Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. Geographically these two regions have many traits in common. In Ahaggar, which rises to 132 3000 metres above sea level, the annual precipitation according to official statistics is between 20 mm and 40 mm. These figures are extremely low, but more characteristic of the desert country is the irregularity of the rainfalls. In some years there may fall no rain at all, while in others precipitation is much bigger than appears from the figures above. Several dry years may follow each other alternating with periods of abundant rainfall. According to investigations by Dubiéf four years out of ten are so dry that rainfall is of no importance for the regeneration of pastures (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23). Owing to the scarcity and the fluctuations of precipitation 137 in Ahaggar a persistent vegetation cannot generally exist outside river valleys and depressions which are flooded during heavy rain. In the valleys perennial plants comprise not only grasses and herbs but also tall trees among which tamarisk and acacia are prominent. In dry years the perennial plants have little value as fodder 233 for the domestic animals of the Tuareg. A great many goats may then die from 221 hunger, and to avoid such a disaster some Tuareg take their flocks to the plains of Tamesna or to the Adrar-n-Iforas Mountains where rain is normally more plentiful and grazing better than in Ahaggar. However, even in dry years the majority of Ahaggar Tuareg will remain in their native country with their goat-flocks. For although they run the risk of losing a great many goats during a drought in Ahaggar

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



Later than the Kel Ferouan other clans or groups arrived in Air from the north. 114 Prominent were the Kel Fadei who are said to be related to the Taitoḳ clan of 174 Ahaggar (Duveyrier 1864, p. 322. – Urvoy 1936, p. 150. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Barth however is of the opinion that they came from different regions but in particular from Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 384). The Kel Fadei Tuareg first lived in Northern Air and their name is derived from the mountains of Fadei in these regions. At the end of the 18th century they migrated towards the south-west to the region of In Gall where they still have grazing grounds.

Still later immigrants are the Kel Tamat who came possibly three or four centuries ago. Urvoy mentions Ahaggar as their homeland (Urvoy 1936, p. 150), while Nicolas says they are related to the Oraren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471). Even later came the Ikaskazan Tuareg who in Air attached themselves to the Kel Tamat. According to Urvoy they came from Ahaggar (Urvoy 1936, p. 151), according to Nicolas they descend partly from the Taitoḳ of Ahaggar, partly from the Imenrasaten and the Oraren of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Tuareg of the Ikaskazan told me that they are related to the Oraren.

It is well known that all over Northern Africa numerous Arabs and Berbers 173 claim relationship with the Prophet and his family. Most of these traditions seem to be mere fake. We may, to mention an extreme example, take the negroid blacksmiths of Ahaggar who firmly hold that their ancestor lived in Mekka as the blacksmith of the Prophet. All traditions relating clans to Islam have been omitted in [128] this brief account of Tuareg history in Air. This does not mean, of course, that we can rely on the above traditions which are very often contradictory. An obvious case is that of the Kel Ferouan. In literature there are traditions of Tripolitania or Tassili-n-Ajjer as their homeland, while I have been constantly told that they came from Ahaggar as close kinsmen of the Kel Ṛela. I think this latter tradition gathered by myself does not contain much historical truth but perhaps reflects political relations of the past. The Kel Ferouan apparently were on quite good terms with 174 the Kel Ṛela of Ahaggar whom they admired because of their power. The Kel Ṛela had many quarrels with the Taitoḳ and also with the Kel Fadei, and the latter Tuareg again were enemies of the Kel Ferouan. As the Kel Fadei claimed themselves related to the Taitoḳ it may have been quite natural for the Kel Ferouan (the most important clan in Air) to claim relationship to the Kel Ṛela (the most important clan of Ahaggar).

We can never rely on oral traditions of origin, but they may contain some historical truth. All traditions mentioned point to a northern origin of the Air Tuareg and in particular to Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and adjacent regions. In support of these traditions we can refer to the fact that the most important northern trade road from Air leads to the oasis of Ghat, Tripolitania, and the Fezzan.

77 /118 cont./ inexplicable repugnance shown by the Tuareg for certain foods or for certain behavior is nothing other than a manifestation of taboos designed to protect them against the spiritual forces loosed by the persons or things in their surroundings.

Perhaps it would be fruitful to study the customs of the Tuareg world in the light of the philosophy of the forces whose principles are set forth by the Reverend Father Tempels in his Philosophie bantoue /Bantu Philosophy/.

/119/ V

## Life of the Individual

● 128 In closing this survey of the Ahaggar it is well to look briefly at the activities engaged in by the Targui from the day of his birth to that of his death. In following the natural course of a life, we may understand better than from more detailed studies of a particular phase the essence of the life of an individual within a tribe, insofar as it is possible to separate what is individual from what is tribal.

844 The young Targui makes his entry into the world in the tent, upon a rug of clean sand from the nearest wadi, sand which is, as we know, practically sterile, the heat destroying all microbes. Before giving birth, the young mother has followed the advice of her aunt or mother; she has walked up and down small hills ever since the first pains in order to "allow the infant to get well placed." As the pains increase, the young woman, now back in the tent, kneels on the sand, buttocks resting on the heels, and knees spread very wide apart; with raised arms she grasps two ropes which hang from the tent stakes. Two women hold her by the waist, encourage her,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



younger animals which yield more milk. Again, the meat of very old goats is of inferior quality. Much goat-meat derives from he-goats of which a very limited number is needed for mating. Some Tuareg claim that one he-goat is able to cover about a hundred goats, but as a rule I doubt whether it would be called upon to do so. In any event, too many he-goats are brought forth, and even very young male kids are frequently killed and eaten as there will be more milk for the nomads when such animals do not have to be suckled. It is considered ideal that male kids which are not needed for reproduction, and which are not killed at very early age, should be castrated at the time when weaning takes place, but even old he-goats may be castrated to make them fat for slaughtering. 233* [262]

Though meat is not a stable dish of the Tuareg they have to kill a certain number of goats every year to obtain skin for the manufacture of various domestic utensils. The roaming life in the desert necessitates a great many containers for water, butter, milk, grain, dates, and the like, and bags made from goat-skin are appropriate for this purpose. Indeed, goat-skin is so important to Tuareg craft that in speaking of the manufacture of most domestic articles one can hardly avoid mentioning the word "goat". Thus, my fairly large collection of ethnographic specimens from the Ahaggar Tuareg contains about fifty different objects made entirely or mainly of goat-skin, which is also used for the manufacture of tents among the Northern Tuareg. Even nowadays, a few articles of dress are made from goat-skin, and goat-skin was in general use for this purpose in the past (cf. p. 287 ff.). 237 [415] [126] [342] [291]

Goat-hair is extremely useful to the Northern Tuareg. The hair is cut once a year in the hot season when the animals do not suffer from cold (cf. Fig. 98). It is spun into strong cords used for tethering animals, for tying up caravan loads, for reins, and the like. In certain tribes of Ahaggar it is also used for a very primitive kind of weaving (cf. p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b). [289] [286]

To understand the economic role of goat-breeding one must briefly touch on the question of size of flocks. Statistics concerning the ownership of livestock must always be regarded with much suspicion, as it is extremely difficult to obtain data. It is not only most impolite to ask Tuareg about the size of 233* 128

233*

Fig. 20. A kid with the stick (*akara, asegbes*) pierced through the mouth as described in the text. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terwit* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*233 their flocks, but it is, on the whole, inproper to show any interest in their animals. Some nomads will
● 128 even claim that although they know all their goats by sight, they do not know, or never mention, the
[172] total number of their animals, as this is believed to bring bad luck. This belief is probably explained by the idea of the evil eye. To this may be added that it is difficult to judge the ownership of goats by merely watching the flock of a household which may also have animals grazing on other pastures.

*233 According to official statistics for 1948, the average number of goats per household among the *Kel Ahaggar* is fifteen (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). This figure is probably derived from the tax lists, and it seems to be much too low – even when households of slaves and sedentary agriculturists are included. Lhote has stated that the number of goats per person, under ideal conditions, is 35–40. If they increase above this, the surplus is slaughtered or sold to the sedentary peoples of the oases (Lhote 1951a, p. 9). This latter figure for ownership of goats under ideal conditions is probably true for the
*233 more wealthy Tuareg of Ahaggar. Thus among the vassal Tuareg of the *Dag Ɣali* tribe many house-
565 hold are said to possess 100–200 goats, but this tribe is considered extremely rich in goats, and households of other tribes will not generally own so many animals. From rough calculations made in a great many camps of vassal Tuareg, and Tuareg of the *Isekkemaren* class, I estimate that households on an average possess 60–70 goats when pastures are not too badly developed, for it must be emphasized that the size of flocks changes with climatic conditions. For the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar I estimate, on the basis of calculations made at Amsel, Abalessa, and Tarhawhawt, that a household possesses on average 15–20 goats.

234 In good years the amount of milk products supplied by a flock of 60 goats is rather considerable. This is clear when we consider the fact that a goat, during the period of three to four months in autumn and early winter when pasture of annual plants is green, will yield up to two litres of milk every day. When annual pasture gets dry the milk yield decreases but milk is still comparatively plentiful
[272] and important for food all the winter. In summer, however, there is little milk for reasons already
*233 referred to, and in dry years goats, even in the cold season, yield little or no milk. The flocks decrease during such periods of drought and some nomads may even lose most of their animals. During my stay among the Tuareg of Ahnet and Ahaggar from November 1954 to April 1955, goats suffered much from lack of fodder. In many camps one or two goats died of hunger every day.

*233 The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot subsist entirely on goat-breeding because severe droughts occur
731 frequently in their country. During drought-periods the goats are so to speak valueless as subsistence for the nomads. But it is remarkable that goats emaciated in consequence of severe drought quickly grow fat and start to yield milk once rain has fallen abundantly enough for the regeneration of pastures. In connection with this we shall point to another characteristic of goat-breeding: The animals have a very short gestation period, and the kids are fully grown for mating in one year. And as one goat may have four kids annually with free mating, a household, which has lost most animals during a drought, will be able very quickly to re-establish a flock large enough for its needs.

*233 Goats are also highly important for the subsistence of the pastoral Tuareg of Ayr. I do not know of any statistic material about the size of flocks in this area, but for Tuareg of Kidal (Adrar-n-Foras) flocks are officially estimated at 74 goats and sheep per household (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 269), and this region is environmentally related to Southern Ayr. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that a household

[Text continues on p. 45]

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*415
237
234

Fig. 157. Skin bag (*imesekey*) for souring milk before churning. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: smallest height 0.20 m. (N.M. G. 5207).

234 Milk of goats, sheep, and cows is frequently mixed to make cheese of the *takammart* type, but milk of these domestic animals is also used individually for cheese-making. The very best milk is said to be sheep-milk which gives almost white cheese, while cow's milk yield a more yellow-coloured one. –
●128 The use of milk, butter, and cheese in connection with various vegetable dishes will be described later in this chapter, and we shall now briefly outline the use of meat and its preparation.

# Dress

In this chapter on Tuareg dress I do neither describe all types of Tuareg garments nor dress ornamentation, but content myself with a brief description of the prominent articles of dress and of certain peculiar garments which are interesting and important for our understanding of the cultural position of the Tuareg. 29 128

In Northern Tuareg country pastoral women sometimes wear a large hat plaited from date palm leaves and known as *téllé*, which literally means "shade" (cf. Fig. 231). However, hats of this kind are never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg who obtain them from sedentary agriculturists. Hats of the same type are very common further north in Africa where they are worn not only by women but also by men, and I believe that hats of this sort were introduced to the Tuareg by the Arabs and the Arabic speaking *Ḥarratin*, who came to Ahaggar about a hundred years ago. In Ayr I have seen plaited hats worn by one or two black-skinned men of the *Kel Ewey* group. These hats are also used among the Hausa. True pastoral Tuareg like those of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not wear hats. 292 [285] [171] [172] [184]

It seems as if the hat is a foreign element in Tuareg culture, and that as traditional head garments the Tuareg have nothing beyond the veil and the headcloth described in some detail in the general chapter about the Tuareg (cf. p. 14 f.). We have seen that both the veil and the headcloth are sometimes referred to as *alechchu*, "a piece of Sudanese indigo cotton sewn together from narrow strips or bands", for the traditional veil and headcloth are made from this type of cotton which is highly esteemed for many other garments. It seems to be the oldest type of cotton used for dress among the Tuareg, while white cotton of an ordinary type has been introduced more recently among them. The Ayr Tuareg use the word *maier* for white cotton woven in one piece, and they say that this word refers to *Miṣr* (Egypt) wherefrom cotton of this particular type was first introduced. It came much later than indigo cotton of Sudanese type, which has been known in Ayr from very ancient times. 291 294

Indigo coloured cotton introduced from the Sudan is very expensive and is nowadays used mainly for festive occasions, while daily dress, including the veil, is made of European cotton, which is indigo or white in colour. There can be no doubt that the comparatively cheap European cotton has displaced the use of skin or leather for daily dress. For we know that skin shirts were extremely common in Ahaggar at the beginning of the present century (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 112), and Duveyrier says that "le pardessus en peau" is held in esteem (Duveyrier 1864, p. 406). Before Duveyrier we have Lyon's statement that Tuareg of the Fezzan area use skin (leather) for dress:— "A leather kaftan is also much worn, of their own manufacture, as are leather shirts of the skins of antelopes, very neatly sewed, and well prepared". In addition Lyon depicts a Tuareg wearing a leather shirt with ample sleeves (Lyon 1821, p. 110). 291 [292] [128]

[p. 287]

114 forming the tobol" and, by extension, "servant of the tobol."
533 At the present time these three fractions number about 150
631 people.
[162] We call attention to them here only as a reminder.

Book V

Material Life

Chapter 1

Living Conditions Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

133 The Ahaggar, as we have already said, is a mountain refuge. We do not know why the Tuareg have continued to live there when they could have found much better countries to the south where they could have had a much easier life. Perhaps we should attribute this to attachment to the country or, quite simply, to an ancient state of things which forced them to take refuge against their will in the middle of the rocks.

13 A superficial examination shows that the Ahaggar is a very poor
[511] country with negligible resources, which imposes a living standard lower than the average. The pasture reserves are calculated, as
[312] are the water reserves. The subsoil possesses nothing, or almost nothing, which is marketable, except a little salt. Consequently, the possibilities for life there are quite limited. For the inhabitants to live, then, they must have recourse to outside resources.

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*tamat*, *Acacia seyal*) and tamarisks (*tabarekkat*, *Tamarix aphylla* & *azawa*, *Tamarix gallica* and related 137
species). Other important perennial species are the grasses *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tullult* (*Aristida pungens*) the latter grass being found especially around the northern massifs of Anhet and Téfedest, and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

2) *Tarayin*, the middle mountain zone which has the following characteristics:— Acacias are lacking or are very rare and badly developed. The big tamarisk (*tabarekkat*) is lacking while the smaller species (*azawa*, *T. gallica*) is common in certain valleys. Two trees are found which do not grow in the lower zone, namely *tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) and *alew* (*Olea Lapperrini*). The *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is missing and the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) is scarce.

3) *Atakor*, the highest part of Ahaggar with the following characteristics:— There are no trees with the exception of *alew* (*Olea Lapperrini*), and there are on the whole very few perennial species while annual species are abundant in case of rainfall.

It should be noted that only the important characteristics of the three Tuareg zones are here mentioned, and I add that a few perennial plants are found within all three zones. Thus the perennial species *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*) occurs along the valleys in all three zones, but it is of very low stature high up in the mountains, while it forms very high and bush-like tufts in the lower parts of the country.

In Ayr there is also a change of vegetation according to altitude but a general description of this is rather complicated. The lower parts of the Ayr Massif as well as the southern plains are dominated by acacias (*afagag*, *Acacia Raddiana* & *tamat*, *A. flava*) like the lower parts of Ahaggar, and the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) is very common almost everywhere throughout the country, while the *tullult* grass is found only in sandy regions at the eastern slopes of the Massif. Species of tamarisks are extremely rare, and this is true of certain other species which are common in Ahaggar. The trees *tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) and *alew* (*Olea Laperrini*) grow only in isolated mountainous parts of Ayr. The extensive plains west of the Ayr Massif around Ingal are dominated by acacias and the *afezu* grass, but these perennial plants become less and less common towards the north, so that the regions around I-n-abanrerit have very little persistent vegetation but a rich vegetation of annual plants. For further information on the botany of Ayr I refer to the study of Miré & Gillet who describe all known [114] species and indicate their division into particular vegetational zones (Miré & Gillet 1956). I conclude this outline of Tuareg botany with the statement that Ahaggar and Ayr have many important species in common. But there are northern species which do not thrive in Ayr while some southern species are unknown in Ahaggar, e.g., the dum palm *tagayt* (*Hyphaena thebaica*) which plays a great role with the Ayr Tuareg.

Climatically as well as botanically the Ahaggar Mountains are situated on the frontier of two [132] distinct zones, namely the Mediterranean and the Tropical zones, while Ayr is predominantly tropical. This seems true also zoologically, as the Ayr fauna contains a great many species of birds and mammals 136 characteristic of tropical Africa. The bird life of Ayr seems very akin to that of the Sudanese savannah, and, for instance, guinea fowl is extremely common even in valleys of the northern-most parts of the Massif. As example of tropical mammal life in Ayr we may here mention that the wart-hog lives in Central Ayr, and that oryx antelope and giraffe are found in the plains immediately south and west of the Massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Ayr and Ahaggar, but 13

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



13 would emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically a certain dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

144 174 At present both fair-skinned europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most Negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern Negroes in the Fezzan constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the ancestors of the present Negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all Negroes of Ahaggar were apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid *Ḥarratin* then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. Another immigration of predominantly black-skinned and negroid agriculturists came from Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Ġanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the *Ḥarratin*. – Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Ayr by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Ayr originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese in regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Ayr were Negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that, before the Tuareg, Ayr was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45; Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Ayr* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the Massif, to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations seem to confirm these statements. All Tuareg [173] [192] questioned about the history of Ayr have admitted that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and in the Berber dialect spoken by these people there are a great many [601] Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of the *Kel Ewey* [184] group is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg and related to the system is use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (Figs. 293–294).

1: Lhote--41a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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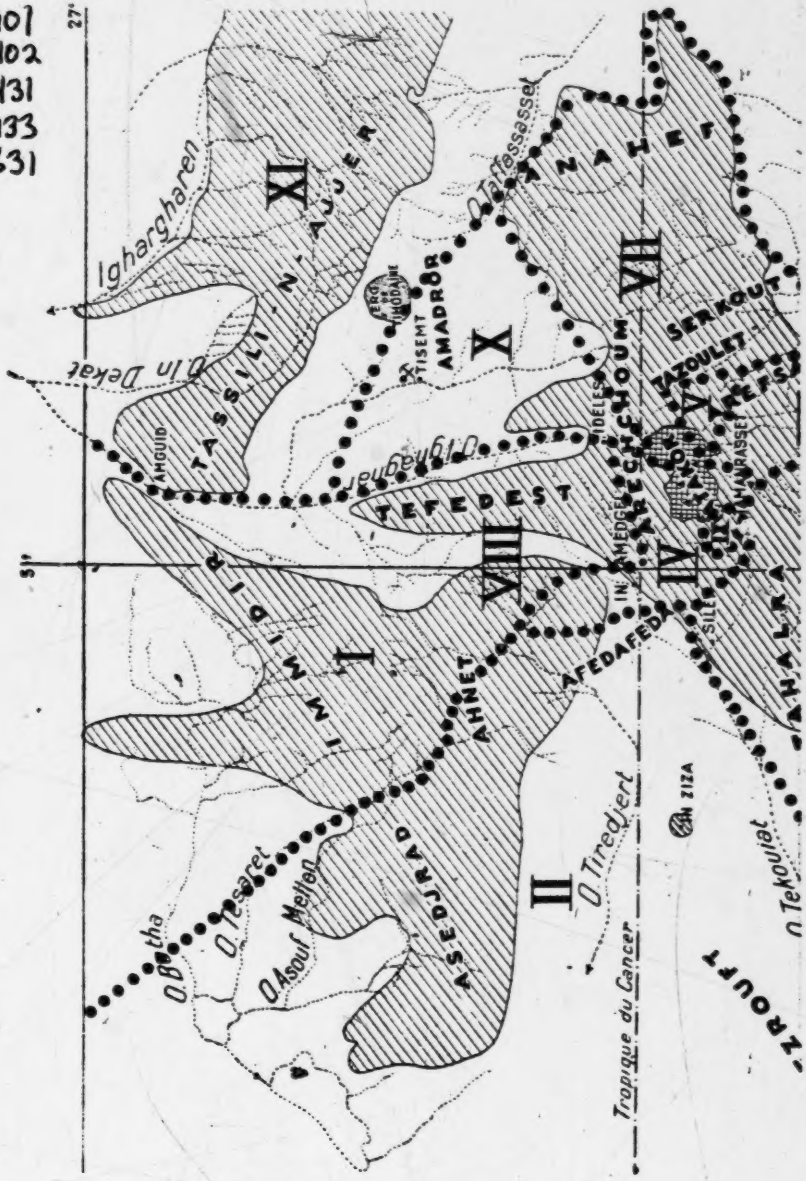
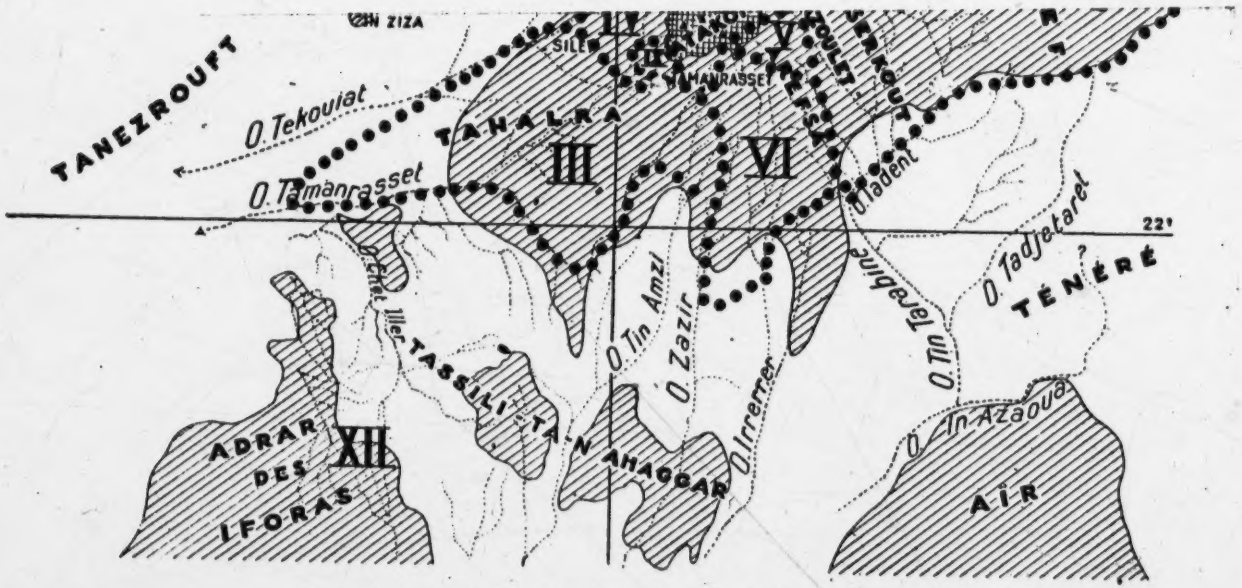





Map IV. Areas of nomadization of Ahaggar tribes.

I. Issekkemâren.
S. f. Kel In-Rhar'
Kel Amgid
Kel Tâfedest
Kel Immîdir

Ihéiaoueà-Hâda
Isselamaten
Kel I-n-Tounîn
Kel Terourirt

II. Tâitok et Kel Ahnet

III. Ikechchemâden
Iklan-en-Tâoussit
Tégéhé-n-Efis

IV. Dâg-Râli
Ibettenâten
Irréguénaten

V. Kel Tazoûlet

VI. Agouh-en Tehlé

VII. Ait Loaien

VIII. Tégéhé-Mellet

IX. Ikâdeien

X. Zone of salt marshes open to all tribes, but owned by the Aménokal.

XI. Ajjer Tuareg

XII. Zone of exceptional nomadization of the Ibettenâten, Irreguenaten, Ikadeien, and Kel Ahnet.

Scale: 1/5, 000, 000.

631 Taken away from the Tăitok and made free, they were put back under their command in 1909.

(31) ●131 They nomadize from Silet to Reggan and Aoulef. The land over which they range includes all of the Ădrar Ăhnet, the Ăseg'rad, and part of the Immidir. The boundaries which separate them from the Issekkemâren are as follows: Tin Tir'atimine and Tagemout (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the northeast; Arak wadi as far as Amsir, and Méniet (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the east, by the In Rabir well; they have at their disposal all the mountainous part on the south, including In Ziza and Nahalet, that is, the whole region bordering on the Tanezrouft and bounded on the east by Ouallen, the last watering place before the Tanezrouft; to the north by the Ăsouf Mellen wadi.

[132] In dry years they descend to the Sudan in the region of In Abangarit-In Gall and Tamaïa. They camp near the Tăitok in the Ădrar Tazerzaït, where they escape the control of the Algerian and Sudanese authorities.

They formerly exploited a sebkha in the In Méraguen wadi.

631 In 1905 they were a group of 35 to 40 tents. In the 1938 census, [162] they numbered no more than 58 persons, 21 of them men.

[181 721] Rather pugnacious by nature, they always accompany the Tăitok on their expeditions and share the loot with them in equal parts.

[669] During the World War, they stayed in the Ăhnet and /207/ took part in the revolt only individually by supplying the rebels, willingly or by force. Only at the end of 1917, under the influence of Ăjjer elements, did they rise up and pillage in Ădrar and at Ăkabli.

[181 795] They are rather unreligious; they follow the Malekite rite, and some are members of the Tijaniyyah order. They profess great respect for the marabouts and willingly receive them in their camps. At the beginning of the conflict the agitator Abidine of [669] the Timbuktu Kounta, took refuge among them; he had led the struggle against us in Timbuktu for a long time.

114 closer look and find out just what really does go on in the bosom of such a seemingly impossible community. The best general source on the Ahaggar Tuareg is probably Blanguernon (1955), while Benhazera (1908) gives some valuable demographic data and Lhote (1947 and 1955) supplies a mass of miscellaneous details. But all these works are in French: Rodd (1926), writing in English, gives a fairly good general picture of the Tuareg as a whole although he deals primarily with the Aïr.

101 The Tuareg of the Sahara proper, as we have defined it, are divided into three confederations, those of the Tassili n Ajjer, the Ahaggar and the Adrar n Ifoghas, distributed in that order from Northeast to Southwest. [161] There are probably only about 10,000 or 11,000 of them in all, for most of the Tuareg, some 140,000 strong, now live outside our area in the Aïr and the northern central Sudan. We will take the Ahaggar confederation as our Tuareg socio-economic sample because this group not only seems to have remained the least affected by foreign influence but has also been the most extensively studied and described, and because it is the only one with which the author is personally familiar.

101 The Tuareg as a whole used to range over an enormous territory extending roughly as 166 far north as Ouargla, eastward to Gatroun, westward to a bit beyond a line running from ● 131 Aoulef to Timbuctoo, and southward to below the Niger Bend and the northern border of Nigeria. The eastern, northern and western limits of this range have been slowly driven back over the last few centuries, first by ever stronger Arab pressure from the East and North and then by the gradual southward extension of French and, more recently, Italian control. These steadily increasing pressures have produced a steadily increasing though fluctuating flow of the Tuareg population southward from the Desert proper, through the Aïr and the Adrar n Ifoghas and into the Sudan. Under the stimulus of disaster in one form or another, this flow has occasionally become torrential for brief periods, as when, following the suppression of the 1916–18 rebellion, a great wave of Aïr Tuareg moved into British Nigeria (Rodd, 1926, p. 361) and the main body of the Taïtoq tribe left their home range in the western Ahaggar for the

101 country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote,
166 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the
131 latest major episodes in a general southwest-
ward drift of which we have evidence going
back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd,
1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great
Arab invasions first began to be felt.

The military administrative unit known as
631 the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the ter-
ritory that lies between Amguid and In Guez-
zam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds
fairly closely to the present normal range of
[101] the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the
size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Vir-
ginia and Maryland put together (146,300
square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabit-
[161] ants in 1950), and supports a total native popu-
lation of probably about 12,000, roughly the
same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massa-
chusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge,
Massachusetts, has more than ten times as
many permanent residents. Twice as many
people work in the Pentagon Building alone
as live in the entire Ahaggar.

162 Accurate population figures for nomadic
peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in
the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to
arrive at anything better than very rough
approximations. We are probably safe in as-
suming, however, that there are about 4,400
Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area,
plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small
families of smiths, and a very small handful of
Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who
have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

197 The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a
form of Senhadjan Berber.

619 **Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided
into confederations as we have seen, and these
are divided into tribes which are subdivided
565 into clans and the latter into fractions. The
nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] [8] A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd
with a skin stretched over the opening.

551 [9] Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in
as many different ways as are the geographical names
104 of the Sahara. The most common variations are found
in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*)
and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes
reflect local differences in pronunciation and some-
times the personal preferences of various translitera-
tors.

622 [10] A chief may be succeeded by his younger
brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by
Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

565 theory, to that of ordinary vassals (Lhote,
173 1955, p. 236), but in fact they are looked
614 down upon as greatly inferior to Tuareg vassal clans (Blanguernon, 1955, p. 52). Although the Issoquamaren clans and fractions have been parceled out among various tribes of the Ahaggar confederation, they still seem to retain some remnants of the social structure of a single and united tribe. Since the Issoquamaren have become rich in camels, they have regained in practical power and influence most of what they once lost in hierarchical prestige.

[131] The Irreguenaten are based on the Tamesna region south of the Ahaggar, and nomadize from there northwestward across the Adrar n Ifoghas sometimes even as far as the Erg Chech (pronounced *Shesh*). They are believed to have sprung from a series of marriages between Gouraran and Kounta Arab men and Tuareg women of the Ibotenaten clan. The descendants of these unions became so numerous and so very rich, in camels and in slaves, that they were finally able to establish a separate clan of their own. Although they are included in the vassal category, they enjoy a nebulous but well-recognized position of precedence in relation to most of the other Tuareg vassal clans.

The Irreguenaten constitute a matri-clan subdivided into two patri-clans, the Haggarenin and the Settafnin, which are based on supposed descent from two ancestral Arab groups, one of them thought to have been of Shorfa stock. And this is very interesting as an example of a matrilineal clan structure that has been effectively split into two patrilineal clans while still remaining basically a unit in the matrilineal terms of Tuareg social and politico-economic organization and, to a great extent, in terms of its own internal economic organization too.

565 It will be noted that the partly Arab clans
614 of the Ahaggar Tuareg confederation live for the most part outside the Ahaggar proper,
101 and are distributed in an arc that curves
131 around its southwestern, western and northwestern borders. The northwestern extremity of this arc continues curving eastward, then southeastward and finally on southward around the territory of the Ajjer Tuareg confederation. The southern gap in the circum-

565 614 101 131 ference of the resulting oval is closed by the Negro-Tuareg contact zone of the southern Aïr. The Ahaggar massif lies at the center of this oval refuge area: it is a Berber island, so to speak, whose broad beaches are continually swept by waves of the surrounding Arab sea and, along the southern and southeastern shores, by the negroid "Gulf Stream" of the Sudan.

565 174 563 [797] There have probably never been many Shorfa or Maraboutic families established in the Ahaggar itself, although a few of them have lived there for a long time now. Arab Shorfa missionaries from Morocco first arrived probably in the 7th or early 8th century. They soon set up a theocratic dynasty, the Imenan, who ruled the Ahaggar and the Ajjer Tuareg as a single confederation until about 1650, when Goma, last of the Imenan "sultans," was murdered by Biska, a noble of the Oraghen tribe of Ajjer Tuareg. There followed a long period of anarchy and civil wars out of which finally arose, about the middle of the 18th century, the main framework of the Tuareg political structure which we now know. Descendants of immigrant Arab holy men are very few and scattered in the Ahaggar today, and their power has been reduced to no more than a faint shadow of what it used to be. People of this kind are much more numerous, united and powerful in the northeastern and southwestern corners of Tuareg territory, among the Ajjer and the Ifoghas of the Adrar, than they are in the region with which we are directly concerned at the moment. It is significant, however, that as recently as 1900 a Shorfa holy man exerted decisive influence in the electoral council of the Ahaggar confederation when that body found itself seriously divided over the choice of a new amenokal (Benhazera, 1908, p. 126).

We know that Arab blood has been seeping very gradually into the topmost level of the Tuareg aristocracy, for at least a century, [591] through the occasional marriages of noble Tuareg women with Arab men. In all such cases residence is strictly matrilocal. Since [611] rank is inherited through the mother, a son of this kind of union ranks as a Tuareg noble and can become a chief. Duveyrier (1864, pp. 22–23) describes the case of the Ajjer Tuareg governor of Ghat in 1861, whose father was

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



# THE TUAREG OF THE AHAGGAR

*by*

GEOFFREY HOLIDAY

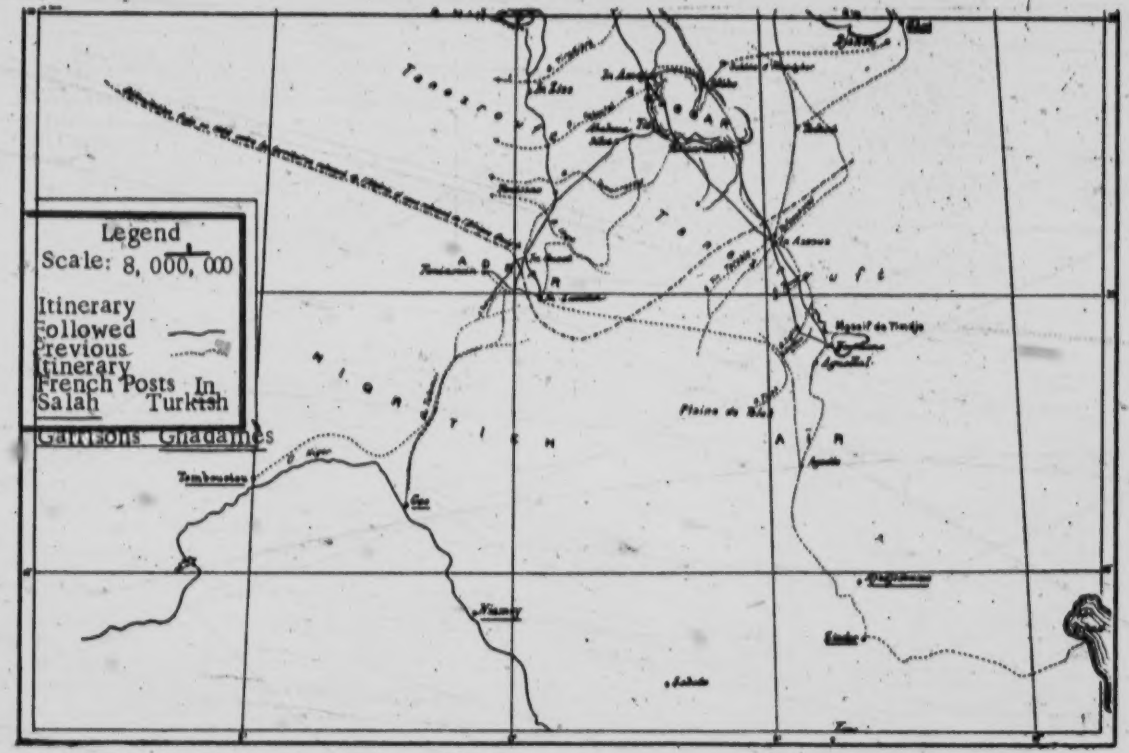
131 The Ahaggar region of the Sahara desert, with its administrative headquarters at Tamanrasset (Fort Laperrine) provides an almost exact geographical centre for the territory inhabited by the Tuareg; the nomadic tribes of the "blue veil". At the northernmost point is In Salah and to the south, Agadez. Eastward there is Djanet in the Tassili des Ajjer and the western boundary is formed, perhaps, by the line of the Tanezrouft. [361] Within this area the Tuareg wander from oasis to oasis or, in the case of a few, dwell peaceably in the shadow of the French towns and outposts that mainly owe their location to the existence of water tempered by administrative and strategic factors.

177 186 The Tuareg would appear, at first glance, to be one of the few remaining peoples of the world possessing a culture of their own that is entirely free of influences, direct or indirect. Some among the tribes still believe that the desert is the world, inhabited admittedly by many different kinds of people, but the world nevertheless. This is the extreme view, obviously not shared by those who have travelled on the great caravan routes as far south as Kano or to Timbucktu and the Niger. It may not be the view of, [648] the younger generations who, to an increasing extent, are benefiting by the primary education facilities inaugurated by the French administrators; particularly in Algeria where the Ahaggar region lies at the foot of the Territoires du Sud: a knowledge of the French language does not necessarily bring about a lessening of superstitions or a widening of perspectives. One is always faced with the parallel of the farmer (who should have known better) and the ostrich: 'There ain't no such animal!' Nevertheless, from this aspect the influences are so few as to be negligible and are more likely to come from the varied genre of the official and semi-official indigenous population gathered together under the Tricolour at the towns and outposts of the region than from direct contact with the European. The Tuareg are almost the exception that proves the rule of man's gregariousness, though, naturally enough, they are gregarious in that they possess very strong tribal instincts.

291 751 As a tribe the Tuareg have very marked characteristics that immediately set them aside from any other social group in what may be termed loosely north Africa. To begin with, the men are seldom seen unveiled: the women, who can be very beautiful, never cover their faces although, often they will wear a head covering, presumably as protection against sun and sand. The men, however, do not wear the veil solely as protection against the elements. Discounting those few who have become soldiers under the French flag, a Tuareg man—or, more properly, a Targui—assumes the veil on approaching manhood and wears it continuously, even for eating and drinking. He unveils to no one, not even in the sanctuary of his tent alone, let alone in the presence of his wife. This veil wound low round his forehead and across the bridge of his nose covers the mouth, ears and nostrils. Since the other openings of his body are concealed by his robes he has complete protection against evil spirits entering and taking control—and this is the key to why the veil is worn. To protect his eyesight against the Evil One amulets are worn from a chain round the neck and doubtless also such amulets provide a measure of safety in battle.

174 The origins of the Tuareg tribe are particularly interesting in that they have as yet to be definitely established. Their antecedents go back anything between 600 and a 1,000 years and it is supposed that they are an offshoot of the Berber Arabs, driven into the desert during one of the many invasions of the Tel, the fertile coastal belts of Algeria and Morocco, that continued up to the 13th century when the Moors became really established on the Barbary coast. Likewise, the Berbers with their light skins and blue

4: Benhazera--iii C-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar




Lithographic printer, A. Jourdan, Algiers

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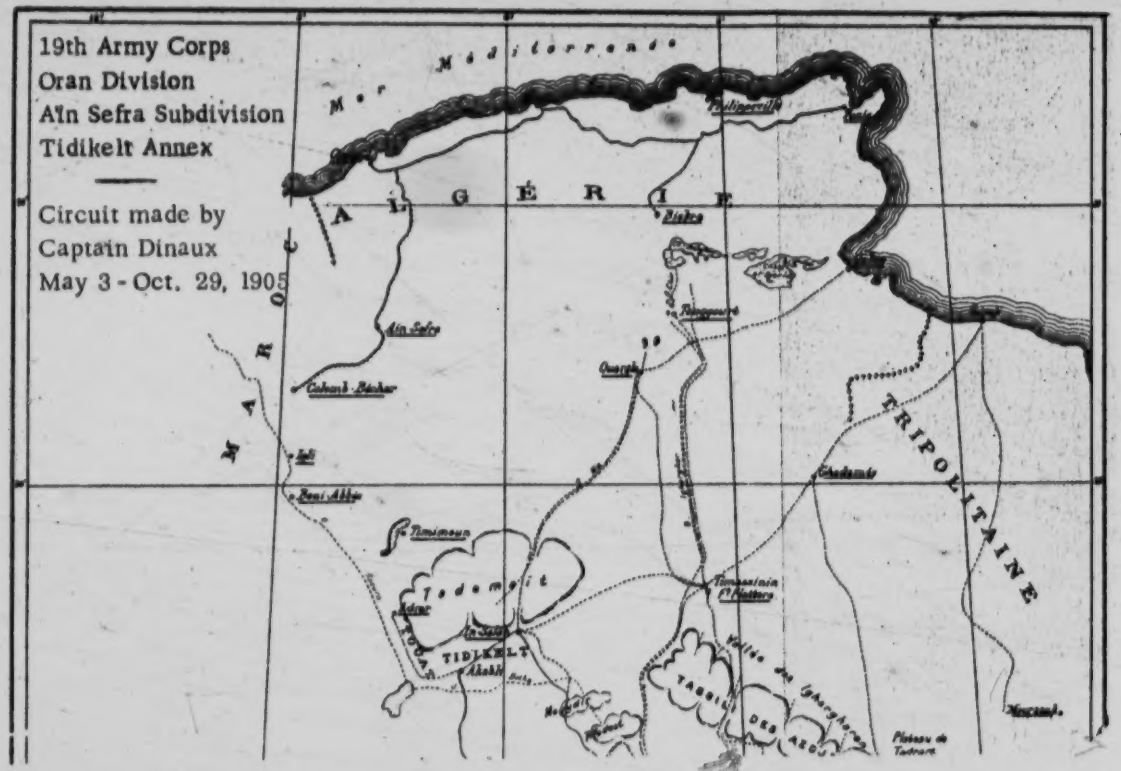
4: Benhazera--iv G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

# *Political Systems Of Pastoral Tuareg In Air And Ahaggar.*

By Johannes Nicolaisen

The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive area of the Western Sahara and adjacent regions of the Sudan. The territory dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° North Latitude and between 5° West Longitude and 10° East Longitude. They fall into seven main groups or major political units (fig. 1) comprising 240,000–300,000 individuals, their negro slaves excluded. The two northernmost groups (the Kel Ahaggar and the Kel Ajjer) live in the true desert country and number less than 10,000 or about 3% of all Tuareg. In Ahaggar the number according to statistics of 1950 is 4,611. The Air Tuareg further south are more numerous and seem to comprise more than 20.000 individuals (cf. Lhote 1947, p. 15f. & 1955, p. 157).

This study of Tuareg political systems has as its foundation a part of my own field material collected in 1951 (in Ahaggar), 1952 (in Tassili-n-Ajjer), 1953 (in Ahaggar), and 1954–55 (in Ahaggar including Ahnet, and in Air). I have spent about two years in these Tuareg countries living most of the time in Ahaggar and adjacent regions, while my stay further south in Air was limited to six months.

It is my intention here to describe the political systems of Air and Ahaggar, but as my final task is concerned with their origin I find it necessary to take up also more general aspects of Tuareg culture and the distribution of certain cultural traits. I shall make use also of Tuareg oral traditions and of the very comprehensive material on Tuareg history gathered by Arab historians and geographers of the Middle Ages. Thus I do not follow the ordinary lines of any particular anthropological school.

I am much indebted to Dr. Birket-Smith (University of Copenhagen) from whom I acquired my general anthropological knowledge together with a keen interest in historical problems, and to Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry of the London University where I have learnt what I know about social anthropology. Dr. Phyllis Kaberry has taken a profound interest in my studies, and I feel grateful for her kind help and assistance in all matters concerning Tuareg political systems and Tuareg social structure in general.

My journeys among the Tuareg were carried out by means of grants from various Danish foundations, notably Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond, Carlsberg Fondet, Knud Rasmussen Fondet, and Jens Lohmand Rasmussens Rejselegat. During my last journey The University College London assigned me a grant without which I should not have been able to gather the material here presented

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



104 212

| Tuareg Letters (*Tifinagh*) | Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters | | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| ⋮ | r | غ | Prononcunced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in literature. |
| ⊙ | s | س | |
| + | t | ت | |
| ⋿ | ṭ | ط | Emphatic |
| ⋇ | z | ز | |
| ⋕ | ẓ | | Emphatic |

128 For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that of the maps edited by Institut Géographique National. The pronunciation of vowels is not indicated. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels [212] with a dot, which may stand for any vowel.

*Pastoral Ecology in Ahaggar and Air.*

[361] The Tuareg of the true desert country have their camps in or close to mountain massifs of which the more important are Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. Geographi- [131] cally these two regions have many traits in common. In Ahaggar, which rises to 132 3000 metres above sea level, the annual precipitation according to official statistics is between 20 mm and 40 mm. These figures are extremely low, but more characteristic of the desert country is the irregularity of the rainfalls. In some years there may fall no rain at all, while in others precipitation is much bigger than appears from the figures above. Several dry years may follow each other alternating with periods of abundant rainfall. According to investigations by Dubiéf four years out of ten are so dry that rainfall is of no importance for the regeneration of pastures (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23). Owing to the scarcity and the fluctuations of precipitation 137 in Ahaggar a persistent vegetation cannot generally exist outside river valleys and depressions which are flooded during heavy rain. In the valleys perennial plants comprise not only grasses and herbs but also tall trees among which tamarisk and acacia are prominent. In dry years the perennial plants have little value as fodder 233 for the domestic animals of the Tuareg. A great many goats may then die from 221 hunger, and to avoid such a disaster some Tuareg take their flocks to the plains of Tamesna or to the Adrar-n-Iforas Mountains where rain is normally more plentiful and grazing better than in Ahaggar. However, even in dry years the majority of Ahaggar Tuareg will remain in their native country with their goat-flocks. For although they run the risk of losing a great many goats during a drought in Ahaggar

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



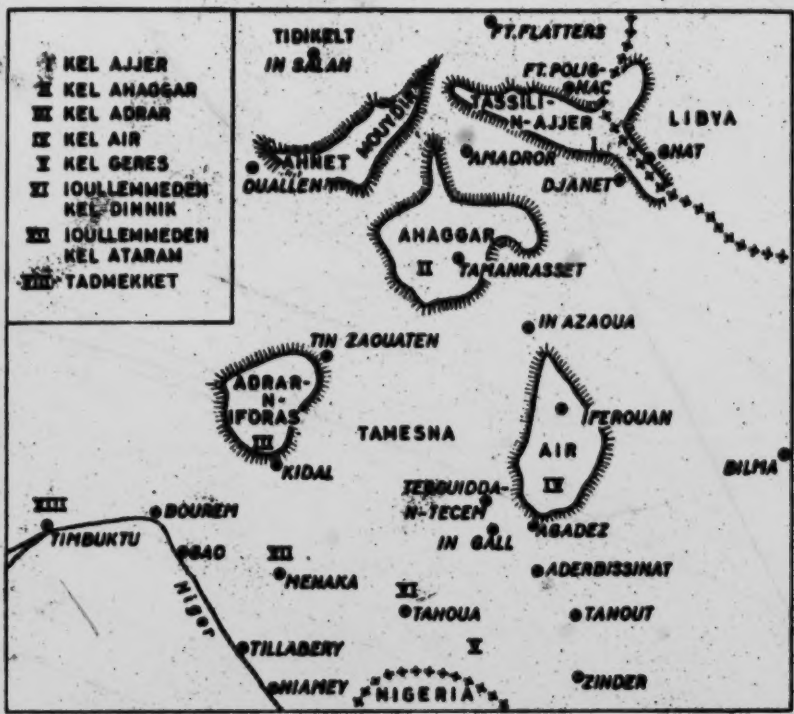


Fig. 1.–Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg, who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups as mentioned in the text are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. – The Tadmekket Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Ioullemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 160 kilometres.

those surviving, although emaciated, will quickly recover as soon as the rainfall starts again. In addition it is often very difficult to take goats through the barren desert country south of Ahaggar without severe loss. With camels, which are also very important domestic animals, things are different. Camels make a great demand on fodder, they are very valuable, can be sold for rather high prices in the oases, and they have a very slow increment compared with goats. For these reasons it is necessary or desirable to keep herds of camels in the south when pastures are dry in Ahaggar, and camels can be taken through the barren desert country without much difficulty. In dry years many Ahaggar Tuareg have their camel-herds in Tanesna, about 300 kilometres from the camps in Ahaggar, and there are even nomads who keep their she-camels constantly in these regions, where the animals are guarded by herdsmen whom are frequently slaves.

6:Blanguernon--iiY-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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[Frontispiece]

6:Blanguernon--2 Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

/11/ I

## The Ahaggar

131 The Ahaggar annex, whose administrative seat is Tamanrasset, covers an area of about 375, 000 square kilometers. It is bounded approximately by 1° and 8° east longitude and 19° and 27° north latitude. The exact boundaries are shown on the 1/1, 000, 000-scale map of the Sahara.

The Tropic of Cancer cuts the territory of the annex into two almost equal parts.

A glance at the quadrilateral in the 1/1, 000, 000-scale map shows an immense system of mountains, bounded on the north by the absolutely sterile plain, the Tidikelt, and on the southeast and west by the strictly desert plateaus of the Ténéré and the Tanezrouft.

It seems that the Ahaggar, isolated by its girdle of deserts, became a natural reserve, a world apart from the Sahara, aging alone and preserving some of its original character.

Its location relates the Ahaggar to the Sudan; the vegetation proves it and the population bears traces of it.

After having been a break between Algeria and Black Africa before the French occupation, the Ahaggar is now becoming a link between them.

175 648 Less than 70 years ago the Ahaggar was completely unknown. The existence of the /12/ Tuareg was merely suspected from tales told by the Arabs, tales full of error and lacking objectivity.

The advance into Tuareg country was provoked by repeated acts of pillage and destruction by the "blue" men, fierce, independent, and warlike.

The few dates to be found in the appendix show that the French advance into the country was slow and always marked by that humanity which, despite several attacks launched by the Tuareg, never ceased to be the constant concern of all the leaders.

# The Tuareg

The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive area of Western Sahara and the northern parts of the Western Sudan. The territory dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° Northern Latitude and between 5° Western Longitude and 10° Eastern Longitude. 101 131

The Tuareg fall into several main groups which correspond largely to political units. These groups are the following:—

I. *Kel Ajjer*, in the mountains named Tasilé-n-Ajjer in the eastern part of the Algerian Sahara and in adjacent parts of Libya. Northwards they reach Tripolitania and the great sandy desert Erg Oriental around Radames.

II. *Kel Ahaggar*, in the Ahaggar Mountains, in the mountains of Ahnet, Immidir, and Téfedest – and in adjacent parts of the lowland. Certain tribes of the Ahaggar group live in the southern plains of Tamesna between the mountain massifs of Adraɣ-n-Foras and Ayr, particularly around I-n-abanɣerit and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

III. *Kel Adraɣ*, in the mountains of Adraɣ-n-Foras south-west of Ahaggar.

IV. *Kel Ayr*, in the mountain massif of Ayr and in the plains to the west and south. The Tuareg of Ayr form several semi-independent units of which the more important are the *Kel Ewey*, the *Kel Tamat*, the *Kel Faday*, and the *Kel Ferwan*.

V. *Kel Geres*, south of the Kel Ayr in the plains around Tessawa. Late in summer at the end of the rains they move up to Southern Ayr around the watering places of Tegidda-n-edrar, Tegidda-n-tagayt, and Tafadek.

VI. *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*, that is the eastern *Iwllemmeden*, in the plains around Tawa. At the end of the rains they move northwards to the region of Ingal which is within the country of the Ayr Tuareg.

VII. *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*, that is the western *Iwllemmeden*, in the plains around Meneka and along the Niger.

VIII. *Kel Tademaket* comprising several tribes and groups of tribes around Timbuktu and Lac Faguibine. Important among these Tuareg are the *Tengerregif* and the *Kel Inteser*. The *Tademaket* Tuareg from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*.

The two former groups, the *Kel Ajjer* and the *Kel Ahaggar*, are frequently referred to by the generic term of *Northern Tuareg*, while the six latter groups living on the outskirts of the true desert and in the Sudanese savannah are known as *Southern Tuareg*. In addition to these groups there are certain small Tuareg groups which in recent times have left their original homeland. After the French penetra- 101 167

[p. 7]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



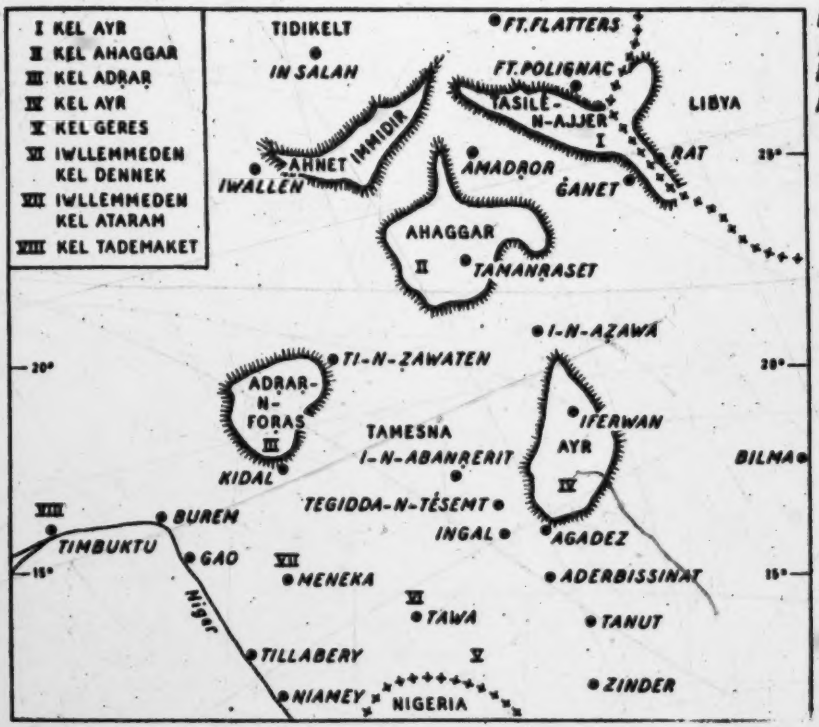


Fig. 1. Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups, as mentioned in the text, are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. The *Kel Tademaket* Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 125 kilometres.

known and used particularly by women. There are slight distinctions in the characters of the alphabet used by various Tuareg groups. I here reproduce the characters generally used in Ahaggar (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and in Ayr. In transcribing *tifinar* into the Roman alphabet I have on the whole adopted the system used by Foucauld who has made the most profound studies of the northern dialect (Foucauld 1918-20, 1920, 1925-30, 1940, 1951-52), but certain alterations have been made in agreement with the proposal of K.-G. Prasse. The Ayr dialect is very badly known. Its grammar and its peculiar vocabulary has never been studied.

# Environment

Tuareg country ranges from comparatively fertile savannah in the south to barren desert in the north, where the nomads live in or near mountainous regions. Four Tuareg groups are named after the dominant mountains of the Western Sahara, namely those of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas, and Ayr. 133 [101]

The mountains of Ahaggar are by far the highest. They consist predominantly of archaic and proterozoic rocks, and of basalt and tufa from a relatively recent period. They are generally of a very dark colour and characterized by formations of rugged ranges, craters and isolated peaks which also bear evidence to former volcanic activity. But the rugged contours of the Ahaggar Mountains are also created by a complicated network of river valleys eroded mainly during the pluvial periods contemporary with the European Ice Age.

The Ahaggar Mountains fall into three main massifs of which that named Atakor is the most important and the highest, with peaks up to 3000 metres above sea level (Ilaman, Tahat). To the north is the massif of Téfedest with peaks which surpass an altitude of 2000 metres, and to the east the lower massif named Anahef. In geological structure these three mountain massifs of Ahaggar differ from the mountains of Ahnet, Immidir (Mouydir), and Tasilé-n-Ajjer which surround Ahaggar in the north. These latter massifs consist predominantly of paleozoic sandstone. They are not so high above sea level and form comparatively flat plateaux. The maximum altitude of Ahnet is 1300 metres while the peaks of Immidir rise to 1680 metres. The extensive plateau of Tasilé-n-Ajjer is on average 1200 metres above sea level, but a few peaks in the south exceed 2000 metres. Parts of the Tasilé-n-Ajjer mountains are covered with basalt rocks, and the river valleys of the comparatively level plateau often form true canyons which make traffic much more difficult than in the higher and more rugged mountains of Ahaggar. Between and around the northern mountain massifs the country consists mainly of flat plains covered with gravel and stone. Extensive areas of sandy desert are rare except in parts of the *Kel Ajjer* territory. [137]

Far to the south of Ahaggar are the low mountains of Tasilé-ta-n-Ahaggar, which are structurally related to the *tasilé* mountains in the north. This area is of little importance to the Tuareg and, in contrast to the higher and more extensive massifs of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas and Ayr, is not regularly inhabited. [131] While the mountains of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas are everywhere below 1000 metres, the peaks of Ayr rise to almost 2000 metres above sea level in the east and the north where the country is covered with basalt rocks. Idukalen in the Begzen Mountains is 1900 metres above sea level, while the Tamgak Mountains in the north have a maximum altitude of about 1800 metres. In its most mountainous parts the Ayr

[p. 25]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



133 Massif resembles Ahaggar, but it is on the whole much more level with broader valleys and in between the lower mountains there are clayey plains. Immediately east of the Massif is the very extended sandy [131] desert which is uninhabited. Further south than Adrar-n-Foras and Ayr there are no considerable mountains. Between the two massifs are the plains of Tamesna and Talak which continue into the plains of the Sudanese savannah.

Tuareg country consists predominantly of rocky mountains and flat, extensive plains of gravel and stone. This configuration is basic to our understanding of Tuareg economy as will become clear when we have outlined the characteristic features of climate.

132 Tuareg country is very hot in summer – so hot that even the nomads born and bred in the country suffer much from the heat at that season. The hottest months are May, June (farthest south) and July (farthest north). During these months temperature may exceed 50° centigrade, and is on average 30°–35°, or higher. In the uppermost mountain zone of Ahaggar nights are comparatively cool even in summer, while in the lower country there is often little difference between day and night temperatures. This is true in particular when, as often happens in summer, the sky is overcast during the night and consequently there is little radiation of the heat absorbed by rocks and sand in daytime. The day temperature in summer is normally higher than the temperature of the human body, and the temperature of sand and rocks will rise to 60°–70°. Travelling is extremely hard under such conditions, [484] and most people spend the day in the shade of rocks and trees, sleeping and drinking water of which [271] an adult person consumes 8–10 litres a day. Violent winds are common in the Sahara most of the year and in particular in the daytime; in summer these winds are usually very hot and add considerably to the discomfort of the climate, as do the numerous flies.

The country of the Northern Tuareg has a rather continental climate characterized by great fluctuations of temperature during the year. Although Tuareg suffer from heat in summer, they do not generally complain much about it, and they consider the comparatively cold winter much worse than the hot summer. In winter, temperature in the country of the Northern Tuareg averages about 10°. The absolute minimum temperature however is very much below this. Thus in Ahaggar the village of Tamanrasset (1400 m) has in January an average temperature of 11,7°, but an absolute minimum of −6,6°. Frost is very common during winter nights, and even snow may fall in the higher parts of Ahaggar at that time of the year. In the country of the Southern Tuareg frost may also occur, but in Southern Ayr around Agadez frost is said to be very rare and snow is unknown; the winter period [511] in the south is on the whole milder than in the north, where the changes between relatively cold and [164] very hot temperatures, allied with inadequate dwellings and clothes, are responsible for pneumonia and similar diseases, which give rise to frequent deaths – especially among children.

The most important climatic distinction between the countries of Northern and Southern Tuareg is due to differences in the annual precipitation as will be seen from the following figures (in m/m) for the annual rainfall 1931–1945 in the territories of seven Tuareg groups:—

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



**B.2.b.** ***Skin tents with semi-arches over horizontal cross-bars*** 342*

I have seen such tents among Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, and it is from this area that I describe the following structure:—

B.2.b.1. Three tents of this type were seen in the *Iregenaten* camp which comprised eight tents south of *I-n-abanyerit*. One of the tents was very large with a sheet measuring about 7.00×7.00 m, while the two others were comparatively small. The two small tents had a maximum height of about 1.50 m, while the large tent was about 1.70 m high. Structurally the three tents were identical, as follows:— [361]

Three pairs of forked sticks with horizontal cross-bars were placed parallel to one another at right angles to the longitudinal direction. The middle pair of sticks was a good deal higher than the two outer pairs; the two central poles or sticks were called *igetten* (sing. *aget*) and the sticks of the two outer pairs *tigeḷḷewin* (sing. *tégeḷḷewt*). The three horizontal cross-bars were all known as *iregeragaten* (sing. *aregaraga*). The skeleton of these three cross-bars resting upon pairs of sticks had in addition two semi-arches known as *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*). Each of these semi-arches consisted of two slender rods, tied together at their thin ends resting upon the central cross-bars to which they were also fastened with cords, while the thick ends of the semi-arches were tied to the two outer cross-bars close to their edges. This structure, we see, is not very different from the B.2.a.2 type. The sole distinction between these two types is that the latter has a central arch instead of a central cross-bar resting upon upright poles. Actually, the types B.2.b.1 and B.2.a.2 were seen in the same camp and constituted five out of the total eight tents found in it. The wooden structure of the B.2.b.1. tents was also made from boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*). The sheet was attached to a number of poles, both in the front and at the back, while the narrow ends were kept close to the grounds by means of short wooden pegs. The ordinary *afezu* mats belonged to all three tents (Fig. 275).

B.2.b.2. This is a very small tent depicted by Lhote from the *Iwellemmeden* Tuareg around Gao. [131] Its structure appears to be related to that just described (cf. Lhote 1947a, photo 79 p. 113).

B.2.b.3. This is a most interesting type of skin tent which is described by Lhote from the south-western Tuareg – the *Tengerregif* and the *Kel Inteser*. The type is illustrated by excellent photographs which clearly indicate the structure, namely:— There are two long semi-arches each of which is made from two curved sticks lashed together. The semi-arches are attached at their thick ends to two horizontal cross-bars, each of which rests upon a pair of forked sticks. The horizontal cross-bars are very short so that the distance between the two parallel semi-arches which follow the longitudinal direction of the structure is also very short. The semi-arches are further supported by two other short cross-bars each resting upon two sticks. These sticks with their cross-bars are not always erected in the same way. In summer, the sticks are upright, while in winter they are placed obliquely towards the inside. All poles and sticks which make up the structure are buried solidly in the ground, and this is also the case with the very large number of poles placed along the sides for fastening the sheet. According to Lhote, some of these poles are termed *igem* and *ounousen* (*unnusen*), which words are also used in Ahaggar for certain poles. Though the structure is a very narrow one, these tents may nevertheless be very large as the sheet is fastened to many poles placed at some distance from the narrow structure [101] (Lhote 1947a, p. 100, 160 f., photographs nos. 85–93 p. 128–129).

563 They nomadize near the Garet ed Djenoun, the Ăseksem, Ămegid, and the Ădrar Torha; they own about 300 goats and 30 [233] camels. (1938 census, as opposed to 600 goats and 200 camels in 1905.)

[241 423] They are the owners of a few gardens in the Tăfedest.

[795] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah order.

[651] The Kel Tăfedest annually pay the amenokal four loads of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Immîdir. -- The Kel Immîdir, or Kel Mouydir, are still called Iheiaouen-n-Tin-Emma. They are of the same origin as the Iheiaouen Hâda and the Kel Tazoulé.

[162] They are subdivided into Kel Terahart and Kel Raris and include about 50 people. They nomadize in the Immîdir massif toward Joraf and Tagmout and have areas for nomadization between Ifetessen and In Eker.

[233 464] They are poor people who own about 20 camels and 250 goats. Very good merchants and excellent caravaneers, they hire themselves out to camel owners to provide for their needs.

[162] /201/ The Isselamaten must be added to the Kel Immidir. They are a small fraction of about 15 tents which lives with them and nomadize near Aneserfa, Ărak, Ahohor, Tagemout, and Tiredjert.

The Kel Tazoûlet. -- The Kel Tazoûlet or Dăg el Mesk camp in the Tăzoûlet region and near Tăzerouk. They number about 225 people and own 285 camels and more than 2, 000 goats. They dryness of the region which they inhabit forces them to take refuge in the Sudan when there are no rains in the Ahaggar.

[162 233] [132]

[241 423] They possess gardens at Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine, and at Tăzerouk.

[669] They were in contact with the Aït Loaien and followed the latter in revolt, participating with them in the battles of Tit and the Ilaman wadi.

[795 798] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah. Four or five of their number have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

631 Taken away from the Ťaitok and made free, they were put back under their command in 1909.

631 131 They nomadize from Silet to Reggan and Aoulef. The land over which they range includes all of the Ǎdrar Ǎhnet, the Ǎseg'rad, and part of the Immîdir. The boundaries which separate them from the Issekkemâren are as follows: Tin Tir'atimine and Tagemout (belonging to the Kel Immîdir) on the northeast; Arak wadi as far as Amsir, and Méniet (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the east, by the In Rabir well; they have at their disposal all the mountainous part on the south, including In Ziza and Nahalet, that is, the whole region bordering on the Tanezrouft and bounded on the east by Ouallen, the last watering place before the Tanezrouft; to the north by the Ǎsouf Mellen wadi.

[132] In dry years they descend to the Sudan in the region of In Abangarit-In Gall and Tamaťa. They camp near the Ťaitok in the Ǎdrar Tazerzaťt, where they escape the control of the Algerian and Sudanese authorities.

They formerly exploited a sebkha in the In Méraguen wadi.

631 [162] In 1905 they were a group of 35 to 40 tents. In the 1938 census, they numbered no more than 58 persons, 21 of them men.

[181 721] Rather pugnacious by nature, they always accompany the Ťaitok on their expeditions and share the loot with them in equal parts.

[669] During the World War, they stayed in the Ǎhnet and /207/ took part in the revolt only individually by supplying the rebels, willingly or by force. Only at the end of 1917, under the influence of Ǎjjer elements, did they rise up and pillage in Ǎdrar and at Ǎkabli.

[181 795] They are rather unreligious; they follow the Malekite rite, and some are members of the Tijaniyyah order. They profess great respect for the marabouts and willingly receive them in their camps. At the beginning of the conflict the agitator Abidine of [669] the Timbuktu Kounta, took refuge among them; he had led the struggle against us in Timbuktu for a long time.

361 When a state of war existed, concealment was a capital necessity
609 easy to understand. By atavism, it seems that they have taken the
[721] habit of always placing themselves in spots where they escape the investigation of indiscreet glances.

361 They set up their tents on valley terraces, and sometimes in a valley itself, if they do not have to fear the rains, which usually fall
[132] at the end of the summer.

221 Because of the need to seek out pastures, camps are continually
361 being moved. They stay from one to two weeks, depending on whether the grass has been revived by rains or whether it is dry. But these moves are never of any great distance, not exceeding seven or eight kilometers. If we take as an example the Dag Rali tribe which nomadizes in the western part of Koudia, we find the camps set up in the high mountain valleys, as high as 2,400 meters altitude, in summer. In winter, on the other hand, they settle on the slopes or in the low parts, seeking places sheltered from the wind. This, of course, is in a normal period of average pasture. But during the summer of 1940, following a long dry period, the Upper Koudia saw a great number of its watering places dry up, and vegetation was nonexistent, so to speak. Therefore, all the nomads took refuge in the low parts of the massif, in the Outoul, Eferer, and I-n-Amegel valleys where water was more abundant and where a trace of pasture still remained. At the beginning of September, the whole massif benefited from abundant rains. A week later, all the tents moved into the mountains in order to use the alpine pastures before winter and to save the lower valley grass for winter.

312 /223/ The watering places of Atakor are chiefly natural reservoirs (aguelmam) and springs flowing at ground level in the hollows of the valleys. In the middle part, there are mainly rédir (abankor), or little wells, dug less than one meter down in the soil to reach the water layer, which is often retained by rocky sills. These rédir are exhausted in time if rains do not come to renew the water accumulated in the sandy wadi bed. The lower part of the Ahaggar benefits from all the water trickling down from the high mountains

342 crosspiece forming the central frame; four vertical stakes are placed two by two on each side of the tent.

[171] This model used to be much more widespread in the Ahaggar, and it seems to be an older form, for the model presently used must have been taken from the Ioullimmiden. All the old people recall having seen it used in their youth in all camps on an equal basis with the vertical stake form.

The tent with arches, the upper part of which forms a kind of dome, is better able to withstand the rains than the other. If [182] that was its raison d' [132] être, we may understand why it disappeared with the gradual drying out of the Sahara. This disappearance may also have been caused by the difficulty of procuring large roots to make the arches.

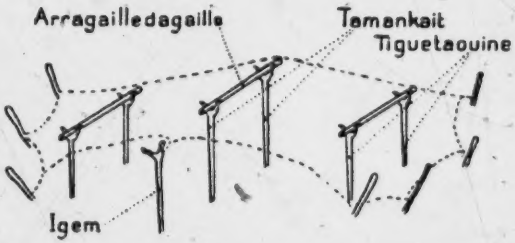


Fig. 25. Tent used by the Kel Rela. During the rainy season, the two central stakes are replaced by a single stake holding up a ridge tile.

[386] The awning is always covered with a coat of red ocher which protects it from the heat of the sun and from the rain.

[285] In both models, the tent always includes a sort of detachable closing made of a long mat (asaber) woven from the stems of graminaceae. It is unrolled inside around the stakes to close the tent completely. High up in the mountains the Tuareg reduce the inside area of the tent in order to keep warmer, and provide the part opposite /225/ the opening with a little stone wall which effectively protects them from the cold. The door is always opened toward the south.

252 They may not heat camel's milk which has just been milked
825 under penalty of causing sickness to the animal which gave it.

264 Insofar as personal interdicts are concerned, there are none to speak of, for although men and women must not eat together, this is a custom rather than an interdict.

[606] A married man must not eat with his parents-in-law, and the oldest son must not eat with his father. These are mainly marks of respect, perhaps traces of ancient practices of a religious nature.

/240/ Chapter 4

## Hunting and Fishing

080 We shall now say a few words on the industries allied to the problems of food, that is, on hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, and agriculture.

Hunting. -- In a country where fauna was at all dense, hunting
136 would have brought a not inconsiderable dietary supplement to the
174 Ihággaren. In the past it was very much esteemed in the Sahara. Many rock drawings and paintings prove this, for they depict hunting scenes which interpret the state of civilization of the men, their preoccupation, and at the same time the nature of the fauna, which has changed a great deal since then.

[132] Today, with the very advanced drying out of almost all the Saharian districts, the fauna has come out into the open and the
224 species likely to be usefully hunted are reduced to a few. Only gazelles and wild sheep are still hunted. We cannot mention the addax and oryx antelopes, for the former is in the process of becoming extinct in the Sahara, while the second is confined to the steppe zone. The hare and jackal may be accessorily added.

312 include a first subterranean part made of numerous wells of depths varying from two to four meters, linked together by a small canal serving as a water conductor; then comes a part on top of the ground in the form of a canal, first at the same level as the wadi, then at a slightly higher level. They empty into the distribution reservoirs (majem), which by secondary canals (seguia) carry water to the gardens to be irrigated.

311 361 [342] These agricultural centers therefore extend along the wadi on both sides of its banks. The cultivators settle near their gardens and live in straw or reed huts or little clay houses.

There are five centers in the high mountains between 1, 500 and 1, 800 meters in altitude, but the majority are located between 1, 200 and 1, 500 meters. Some of them can be lower, such as Silet (730 meters) and I-n-Amegel (1, 030 meters).

245 Some are small date groves such as Silet and Tibeghîn, which have 10, 000 palm trees, Ideles, Tâhârt, and Ăbalessa, but because of its altitude, the Ahaggar does not seem to be very suitable for date growing. The instability of the harratin is also an obstacle to the development of arboriculture which demands continual care. Cultivators who can be here today and gone tomorrow would not be capable of interesting themselves in work from which they could not draw immediate profit. The country would lend itself, however, to rather large-scale cultivation of peaches, /246/ apricots, figs, and grapes. The little center of Tăzerouk has many peach trees, and the center at Tit produces a famous raisin.

134 The Ahaggar soil is of a high quality, owing part of its richness to elements of volcanic origin which make up a large proportion of the alluvial deposits. Furthermore, the climate favors 132 241 agriculture so much that the natives obtain two or even three harvests a year.

241 In the medium altitude centers, they sow wheat and barley in December and harvest it in May. Barely finished with this, they sow millet which is harvested at the beginning of October. In between the natives also engage in kitchen gardening: carrots,

241 turnips, onions, garlic, pimento, beans, pumpkins, native melons, watermelons, various gourds of local origin, and sometimes lentils. [422] These vegetables belong properly to the cultivator and not to the [262] proprietor of the garden. They are consumed by him, for the Tuareg generally disdain them and eat them only when they are staying in the agricultural centers.

But these centers may be handicapped by numerous climatic 132 factors.

241 Rains are obviously beneficial when they come at the right 312 time; unfortunately, they most often fall in winter or in summer, seasons which do not correspond to the largest growth of vegetation. The plants benefit from them only when the rains are very abundant and the ground can store up water for several months. But still, rainfall must not be too strong, or else it can cause the wadies to overflow and immediately destroy the feggaguir. It then requires several months to reconstruct them and in the meantime the crops which cannot be irrigated dry up on the spot and are completely lost.

132 Cold can also have a disastrous effect. Winter wheat does not 241 suffer from it but its development is slowed up. It is much worse for arboriculture, for if it is late and comes after the trees have blossomed, which sometimes occurs in January, it is likely to stop pollination completely. Fortunately, trees in arboricultural centers like Tazerouk bloom much later and there are only sudden frosts to fear.

/247/ The wind which blows violently in the spring may also hinder arboriculture by knocking down flowers or young fruits, indeed even fruits which are almost ripe. The great hot summer winds endanger the harvest by the intense drying they cause, unless this difficulty is overcome by abundant watering. Now, it is precisely at this time that the flow of the feggaguir decreases as a result of the heating of the soil and the intense evaporation.

It may thus be seen that agriculture in the Ahaggar is subject to many risks and that the harvests may be very variable. The abundance or scarcity of water causes the seeded areas to vary in

the proportion of one to four. After several dry years some agricultural centers must be completely abandoned. This was the case of Tit, Aïtoklane, Tâhârt, Dar-Mouli, etc., in the last few years.

In 1940, 555 hectares of land were seeded. This is the figure for a good year, which can occasionally be surpassed but can also be reduced by more than half.

The population of the agricultural centers, which was 1, 310 people in 1916, was 2, 280 in 1938, which denotes a great effort made in favor of agriculture. This could be realized thanks only to the state of peace due to the French occupation.

Here are the figures for each of the principal centers, according to the archives of the Tamanrasset post (1):

1. Florimond report, 1938.

| | 1911 | 1938 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tamanrasset | 150 | 686 | |
| Abalessa | 272 | 250 | |
| I-n-Amgel | 180 | 206 | |
| Iglen | | 168 | |
| Ideles | 70 | 160 | |
| Tazerouk | 150 | 148 | |
| Tit | 75 | 98 | had to leave for other centers after the summer of 1938. |
| Tarhaouhaout | 140 | 91 | |
| Amsel | 90 | 66 | |
| Tahifet | | 39 | |
| /248/ Tigeneouin | 25 | 23 | |
| Mertoûtek | | 60 | |
| Hirhafok | | 80 | |
| Iâman | 10 | | |

174 /250/ introduced before or after the Christian era, it is nonetheless true that the ancestors of the Tuareg must have introduced it.

At the present time, human life in the Sahara, which is al-
182 ready of little consequence, would be reduced to zero without
233 the camel. This is a fundamental fact which has been amply demonstrated and which it is useless to dwell on. Th. Monod, who dedicated one of his works "To the camel and the goat, the vehicle and the container, the two sole conquerors of the Sahara, " (1)

1. Méharées/ Meharis/.

has not only been literary and witty, he has put the truth in a few words. Without the camel, no relation would be possible between the oases, no relation between North Africa and intertropical Africa.

233 One may therefore easily understand that the animal plays a large part in the life of the Saharian Tuareg, and that the latter make a great effort to raise camels. They have always endeavored to own many camels, and at the present time their livestock has increased to more than 10, 000 head.

[132] Although the camel has adapted perfectly to the Saharian
[492] pastures and terrain, it is nonetheless true that the aridity is such that he has difficulty keeping in good condition, and that a slightly prolonged march has to be compensated for by a rest period lasting twice as long as the period during which he was tired out. That is
[361] why the Ihaggaren nomadize with their camels on the borders of the Sahara in the steppe where there are acacias and graminaceae.

Ahaggar breeding is very famous. It furnishes animals which
232 are resistant, very frugal eaters, capable of braving mountain rocks or marching for weeks on end over the granite regoliths of the Tanezrouft, something the Sudanese -bred camels could not do.

The Tuareg select the animals when they are very young, destining them either for saddle camels or for pack camels. The meharis are castrated and undergo special training. In speaking of

136 several different spots, and it is not impossible that the species
[172] bred today in the Ahaggar is of African origin. Bones of the species are found in the Neolithic layers of the Sahara.

137 At the present time there is a death struggle between the goats
233 and trees in the Ahaggar. The goat itself is capable of browsing
185 the lower branches and destroying them, thanks to its agility. The Tuareg do the rest when pasture is scarce, by felling the main branches to put them within the reach of the animals. And so, in a relatively short time, trees, and the tahla (Acacia sp.) in par-particular, will be only a memory in the Ahaggar. Nothing has

[418
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172]

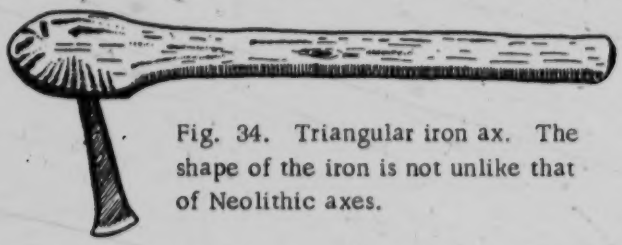

Fig. 34. Triangular iron ax. The shape of the iron is not unlike that of Neolithic axes.

been done by the French administration in the Ahaggar to protect the trees, when it would be sufficient to close some valleys for several years, while taking into account the needs of the shepherds. Measures of this kind have been taken in the environs of Goundam and have given very good results.

132 Prolonged dryness which causes a lack of pasture often puts
233 goat raising in difficulties. The birth rate is stopped short, and mortality may result to such a great extent that the number of animals sometimes falls to one fifth. Then many years are needed to build up the flocks, granting, of course, the arrival of favorable rains.

232 The careless and fatalistic Ihággaren do not even try to step up breeding by buying sires in Adrar or in A'ir. They let their weak flocks reconstitute themselves by their own means, which
[273] sometimes requires many years. In case of an overabundance of births, they limit the number of animals, for they are well aware

233 tents, where a few camps live permanently, filling the function of
361 shepherds for the people remaining in the Ahaggar.

At the same time, then, there is nomadism and transhumance.

Definitions of the two kinds of life are as follows: there is nomadism when the tribe accompanies the moving livestock, and transhumance when the flocks are accompanied only by shepherds. And so we see that it is not possible to link the Tuareg to one category or the other, but that they engage in the two kinds of life, even in a mixed system in some instances. Quite often, in fact, the goats are pastured in the Ahaggar with a few shepherds, while the women stay in the mountains, and all the men are in the Sudan with the camels.

/255/ The migrations of these little herds of goats recall the moving of flocks which Vidal de la Blache has described as "mountain transhumance," that is, the camps move regularly from the summer pastures located on the peaks to the winter pastures in the
[132] plain. These moves cannot be as regular as they are in our country, in view of the irregularity of the rains.

It may thus be said that the Ahaggar Tuareg are small nomads by the short range of the moves of their camps, but that they are, on the other hand, great transhumants.

## Rules Concerning Passage and Nomadization With Flocks

423 The lands over which the tribes range are fixed by the amenokal
643 to whom the land appertains. The origin of the tioussé comes
651 partly from the pasture rights which he grants.

Each tribe is proprietor of its land, with full and exclusive
423 enjoyment of it. Others can come settle among the tribe only with
621 the authorization of the tribe's amrar, but the right of way, including the right to water flocks, is secured for everyone.

These rules may be modified in periods of great dryness or in periods following plentiful rains.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



104 212

| Tuareg Letters (*Tifinagh*) | Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters | | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| ⋮ | r | غ | Prononcunced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in literature. |
| ⊙ | s | س | |
| + | t | ت | |
| ⋿ | ṭ | ط | Emphatic |
| ⋇ | z | ز | |
| ⌗ | ẓ | | Emphatic |

128 For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that of the maps edited by Institut Géographique National. The pronunciation of vowels is not indicated. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels [212] with a dot, which may stand for any vowel.

*Pastoral Ecology in Ahaggar and Air.*

[361] The Tuareg of the true desert country have their camps in or close to mountain [131] massifs of which the more important are Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. Geographically these two regions have many traits in common. In Ahaggar, which rises to 132 3000 metres above sea level, the annual precipitation according to official statistics is between 20 mm and 40 mm. These figures are extremely low, but more characteristic of the desert country is the irregularity of the rainfalls. In some years there may fall no rain at all, while in others precipitation is much bigger than appears from the figures above. Several dry years may follow each other alternating with periods of abundant rainfall. According to investigations by Dubiéf four years out of ten are so dry that rainfall is of no importance for the regeneration of pastures (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23). Owing to the scarcity and the fluctuations of precipitation 137 in Ahaggar a persistent vegetation cannot generally exist outside river valleys and depressions which are flooded during heavy rain. In the valleys perennial plants comprise not only grasses and herbs but also tall trees among which tamarisk and acacia are prominent. In dry years the perennial plants have little value as fodder 233 for the domestic animals of the Tuareg. A great many goats may then die from 221 hunger, and to avoid such a disaster some Tuareg take their flocks to the plains of Tamesna or to the Adrar-n-Iforas Mountains where rain is normally more plentiful and grazing better than in Ahaggar. However, even in dry years the majority of Ahaggar Tuareg will remain in their native country with their goat-flocks. For although they run the risk of losing a great many goats during a drought in Ahaggar

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



132 During drought periods the uttermost poverty is the lot of the Ahaggar Tuareg,
262 who must then rely almost exclusively on agricultural products for their nourish-
ment. But in years of abundant rainfall they have much milk during the winter,
[234] and they make butter and cheese to be used during the hot season when milk even
in good years is scarce. They then also have meat for their sustenance but this is
less important than milk-food.

In good years the perennial plants do not form the most important fodder of the
137 domestic animals. For heavy rainfall will as if by magic change the barren country
233 outside the valleys. An extremely rich vegetation of annual grasses and herbs
springs up, and these tender plants constitute the very best fodder. But as, owing
to the irregularity of the rainfall, annual pastures will not appear every year, it is
difficult to breed other animals than goats and camels to which can be added
donkeys used exclusively as beasts of burden and for riding. It is true that most
Ahaggar Tuareg have a few sheep but none of them have cows (zebus). Cow-
breeding and also effective sheep-breeding cannot be practised in a country like
Ahaggar where for a period of years there may be no pastures of annual plants.
In dry years the thorny acacias form the most important fodder of camels and
goats, but the leaves of these trees cannot be eaten by cows and only with great
difficulty by sheep.

In Ahaggar rain may fall at most seasons as the country is situated on the
132 frontier of two different rainfall belts, namely that of the Mediterranean where
rain occurs mainly in winter, and that of the Sudan where rain will fall late in
summer. For a long period of years rain has fallen most abundantly late in summer,
but according to Dubiéf this has not always been so. Not many years ago rainfall
was almost equally common at all seasons (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23), and Ahaggar
137 still has the characteristics of two distinct climatic zones, likewise as botanically it
belongs both to the Mediterranean and to the Sudan.

On my camel journey from Ahaggar to Air via the wells of In Ebeggi and In
[132] Azaoua in April 1955 I experienced a rapid change of climatical and botanical
conditions. At the outskirts of the southern slopes of the Ahaggar Mountains a
persistent vegetation is very scarce in the valleys, and between the two above-
mentioned wells there are practically no permanent plants. Broadly speaking the
[133] desert region between Ahaggar and Air is nothing but plains of gravel and stone
interspersed with rocks and hills. But a little scattered rain will occur even in these
[132] regions and gives rise to annual pastures which are utilized by passing caravans.
Otherwise the country is uninhabitable.

In the northernmost part of the Air massif acacias and tufts of perennial grasses
grow in most valleys as in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Mountains. But compared
with Ahaggar permanent vegetation is very rich and in places forms almost
impenetrable jungles of trees and brushwood. Further south in Air perenniel plants
including trees are very common also outside the valleys, and the country south of
the massif very rapidly changes into a kind of steppe or open savannah. The com-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



paratively rich vegetation of Air contains species found also in Ahaggar, but Ahaggar has Mediterranean plants including several saline species which do not thrive in Air, where there are tropical or Sudanese species unknown to Ahaggar. 137

Botanically Air is very closely connected with the Sudan, and the mountain massif is within the Sudanese zone of summer rain. It is true that rain at the northern outskirts of Air occasionally falls in winter and may then give rise to scattered pasture of annual plants, but these rains are of no real importance. The important rainfalls of Air occur in the period June-September, and particularly in July and August. As may be gathered from the description of botanical conditions, Air has a much bigger annual precipitation than has Ahaggar. Thus the village of Iferouan in Northern Air has 74 mm, while Agadez at the southern slopes of the massif has 179 mm. Precipitation will of course vary from one year to the other, but rain will always fall sufficiently for the spring of annual plants. This is the reason for a type of stock-breeding different from that of Ahaggar. In Air the Tuareg are richer in camels, they do not possess so many goats but are very rich in sheep, and most of them have zebus. 132 137 [233]

The climatic and botanical differences of Air and Ahaggar can be seen more directly from the division of the year into seasons (fig. 2). Air has a summer and a winter season between which there are two seasons termed *akasa* and *ṛarat*. These two words as seasonal terms express the fact that rain and annual pastures in Air are recurrent events, as the word *akasa* literally means "green annual plants", and the word *ṛarat* refers to "dry annual plants". Both words are known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg but are by them not applied as seasonal terms, for in their country rain will not occur every year and may fall at most seasons. 132 805

Conditions for stock-breeding are very much better in Air than in Ahaggar, but the latter country has a few superior qualities:– 1) Part of the year Ahaggar has a comparatively cool climate which is said to have a positive influence on the lactation of domestic animals. 2) In Ahaggar all over the country there are saline pastures which play an important part in stock-breeding – not because these plants are very nourishing but the animals do not thrive without salt. In Air saline plants are very rare and found mainly to the south and south-west of the massif where water and soil also contain salt. Many pastoralists will migrate to these regions shortly after the rains, while people who do not undertake such migrations feed their domestic animals with salt. Camels and cows have a particular need for fodder with a salt content. 3) Ahaggar has richer wells and a greater number of permanent ponds than Air. This may seem rather peculiar as precipitation is much bigger in the south than in the north. In Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer some ponds may contain fish apparently unknown in Air. In the latter country there are a great many ponds or even small lakes during the rains but they dry out very quickly when rainfall ceases. Water in Air most of the year is drawn from wells many of which go dry during the hot season; this will frequently lead to quarrels between nomads. 233 [132] [135] [137] [221] 312 [136] [578]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



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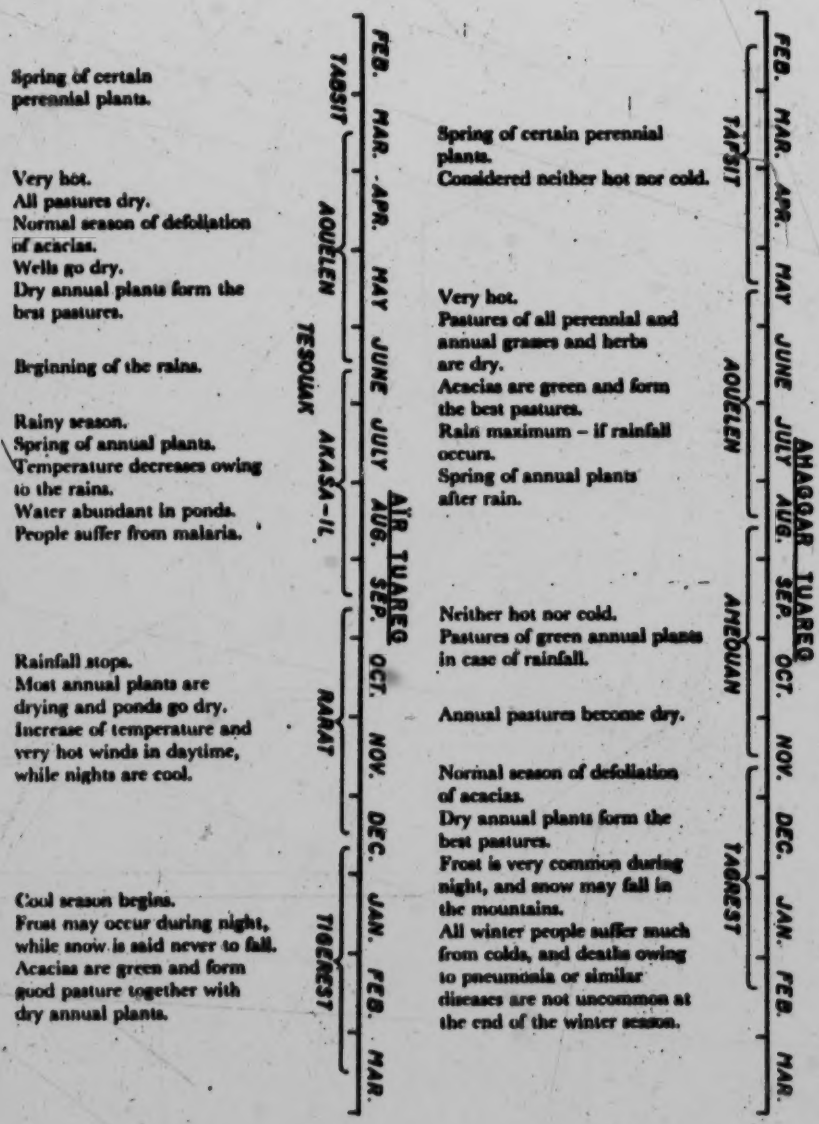



[164]
[164]

Fig. 2.–Division of the year into seasons among the Tuareg of Air and Ahaggar. Climatic and botanical characteristics are indicated. (The proper spelling of *tagerest* (tigerest) is *tagrest*, (tigerest) while *rarat* should be written *ررات*).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa. 136 [132] [137]

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tarahamt)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of weels *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters. 144 74 [567] [167] [177] [312] [342] [312] [342] 567

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while 144 [114] [103] [192] 563 601

133 /18 cont./ increases, for /19/ the tributary basins converge and form an immense flat plain called aciaf by the Tuareg.

Seen from afar the tassilis appear to be impassable barriers whose tops, eaten by water erosion and battered by wind, give the illusion of a fortified city. Eroding wadis have cut through these sandstone plateaus, and their deep valleys with vertical sides constitute savage gorges at the bottom of which a relatively dense vegetation contrasts with the aridity of the plateau, which is wholly bare and raked by the winds. Numerous gueltas, often fringed with tahlis (a kind of reed), are found in these tassilis.

[103] Note. -- A few altitudes:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tahat | 3, 003 meters | In the Atakor |
| Ilaman | 2, 823 " | " " " |
| In-Tara'n | 2, 762 " | " " " |
| Asekrem | 2, 804 " | " " " |
| Tozat | 2, 400 " | " " " |
| Akarakar | 2, 216 " | " " " |
| In-Afilal | 2, 157 " | " " " |
| Garet el Djenoun | 2, 327 " | In the Tefedest |
| Ifetessen | 1, 680 " | In the Mouydir |

## The Climate

132 Meteorological observations are regularly made only at Tamanrasset and only since 1929. There is a lack, therefore, of exact data for the whole territory. If it is known from Tuareg reports that it has rained in a certain place, the intensity of the precipitation is not known. The information concerning the winds and temperatures is still more vague. However, by taking into account the observations made at Tamanrasset and by examining the vegetation at different places in the Ahaggar annex, as well as the distribution of the fauna, one can distinguish three climatic zones, which correspond almost exactly

●|32 /19 cont./ to the zones of the relief. Let us note, however, that /20/ the tassilis of the south are subject to conditions of wind and rain different from those of the tassilis of the north. Before studying the climatic zones, it is well to sketch in the general characteristics common to all the zones.

The climate is generally of the continental desert type, due to the location of the country.

The Tropic of Cancer divides the territory of the Ahaggar in two; the sun mounts to its zenith, giving the country a Sudanese influence in the form of summer clouds which sometimes condense into stormy rains: "tornado tails." This Sudanese monsoon rarely manifests itself north of the Tropic.

In winter a fairly regular predominance of northwest winds makes possible the transport of Atlantic or Mediterranean rains, which rarely affect the south.

If we turn to consider the different climatic zones, we see that the Atakor is, because of its high peaks, the center of distribution for the waters which condense in the mountains when, by chance, the clouds are low enough. Cloud systems are relatively frequent and often large, but they seem to climb when they reach the mountainous region. The altitude moderates the summer heat, and winter brings light snowfalls on the summits nearly every year. One sees only in the Atakor an [137] outlying sample of Mediterranean flora, a wild olive tree: Olea laperrini. In descending toward the peripheral trench, one encounters the kranka (Callotropis proscera), an essentially tropical shrub. Then, at the border of the central mountains, one finds the fruit-bearing palm at Silet, Abalessa, In-Amguel.

Observations of the meteorological station at Tamanrasset have been used to make rain and temperature graphs, which may be found in the appendix. Information is lacking for the war period. The climate is characterized by the regularity of the temperature and the extreme irregularity of the rains. The heavy rains, however, nearly always fall in summer or winter; when there are rains in both of these seasons, there is a rainy

132 /20 cont. / year as in /21/ 1943: 108.5 millimeters of rainfall; when, on the contrary, atmospheric conditions prevent the Sudanese tornadoes and the Atlantic winds from approaching the Ahaggar, there is a dry year as in 1945: 28 millimeters of rainfall, or as in 1949: 9 millimeters.

In view of the insufficient number of meteorological stations and of the enormous distances which separate them, it is impossible to follow the evolution of the cloud systems or to predict periodic rains.

At Tamanrasset the winds are fairly regular; in the morning the prevailing winds range from east to northeast, and in the evening from west-southwest to west-northwest.

In winter the prevailing winds bringing rain are mostly from the northwest, coming from Moroccan depressions.

In summer the rains come with southwest winds, probably originating in Sudanese cyclones.

Sandstorms are not seen, but there are rare dust storms, particularly in March.

In calm weather, or even during violent winds, whirlwinds
132 occur. There have been different theories advanced to account
821 for them, but for the time being the question is still open. The Tuareg have their opinion as to the cause of the whirlwinds; they are manifestations of genii, the Tuareg say. Here, moreover, is a story proving them right:

One sunny afternoon a Tuareg woman (others have told me that it was a Negress) was gathering wood in the ravine of Itharentidjarnin when a violent whirlwind materialized about 100 meters away. The dust began to revolve, describing an almost perfect circle, then mounted vertically, turning faster and faster. When the dust column had reached a great height, the whirlwind began to move. It started slowly, hesitating about which direction to take. Finally, it moved southward, spinning, rolling from side to side, and whistling cheerfully. The woman, entranced by this spectacle, showed her delight by loudly crying, "You-you." The whirlwind approached her, tossed her some gold, and thanked her for being merry, for, the whirlwind said, "One of us is being married."

132 /22/ The elders of the camp, to whom the woman related
821 this adventure, said it was really the first time that the Kel es Souf had ever been agreeable.

Some time later the same woman, at the same place, saw a similar whirlwind. Hoping to be rewarded again by the genii, she saluted the whirlwind with gay "you-you" cries as it passed. She had cause to rue this; she was seized, swept from the ground, whirled to an unbelievable height, then abruptly let go to crash on the ground. As she fell, the Kel es Souf told her: "We are in the funeral procession of one of our kind; this is your punishment for mocking us." The woman was found with all her limbs broken. She told her story and died.

132 The climate of Tamanrasset, which at first seems agreeable because of the mild temperature, is enervating in the long run; this is agreed to by everyone who has lived there a certain length of time. Intellectual work is very tiring. Father de Foucauld tried to settle down at the top of the Asekrem, but found he couldn't work there as hard as he could elsewhere. The extreme nervousness that seizes men, and particularly women, after a long stay is also noticeable. What causes these troubles? Doubtless they are due to the combined effects of the altitude and the extreme dryness of the air. Some ascribe them to magnetic effects, and others blame radiations. (1) In point

132
133

1. I once made a curious observation: two years ago I was collecting different rocks, which I tested with a Geiger counter. I marked on each rock the number of "clicks" per minute. One morning I wanted to test my samples. All my rocks were more radioactive by 25 "clicks." By chance, I was

132 /22 cont./ 133

able to report this anomaly to Father Bordet, a geologist come to study volcanism in the Ahaggar. He suggested cosmic radiations, but, not being a specialist in this field, he affirmed nothing, merely noting the information in order to pass it on to a qualified person.

132 of fact, no satisfactory answer has been found.

A second climatic zone is found in the peripheral trench. This region, situated at a lower altitude, has higher temperatures and much less rain. Vegetation is nearly nonexistent there; even in the wadis, the tahlas /see Appendix, Flora/ are not numerous and the morakba /Panicum turgidum/ is /23/ nearly always dry. The kranka no longer is found, nor is the éthel, /see appendix/, and the true Saharan climate reasserts itself, leading to the complete desert of the Tanezrouft and the Ténéré. The gazelles avoid the center of this region; they approach the more humid mountainous country according to the frequency of the rains which nourish acheb (pasturage).

Lastly, in the tassilis a distinction must be made between those in the north and those in the south.

The tassilis of the north receive winter rains nearly every year, and, more rarely, get precipitation coming from the Sudanese monsoon. Information on these regions is not plentiful and is inexact, except concerning the Mouydir, which is crossed by the route from In-Salah and flown over by airplanes from Algiers. It appears from reports of the Tuareg that the Mouydir receives more rain than the Ahnet and the Acedjerad, which seems reasonable because of its greater altitude, and perhaps also because of a system of atmospheric depressions which are suspected but which have not yet been studied.

•132 /23 cont. / The kranka reappears, a sign of less aridity; the tahlas are fairly dense in the wadis; the gueltas /pools/ rarely dry up and are bordered with berdis /Formium tenax/. The wild sheep is a permanent resident of the summits.

There is still less information about the tassilis of the south. Facts are almost nonexistent for the Tassili n'Ahaggar. There is information given by the Tuareg about the Tassili de Tin-Reroh and the Tassili de Timissao, which are situated on caravan routes coming from the Adrar des Iforas toward the Tidikelt or the Ahaggar. They chiefly report summer rains, and rains abundant enough to engender acheb /pasturage/.

These tassilis receive little water from the "tornado tails" because of their medium altitude. However, it rains in the summer nearly every year. The wells of Tin-Reroh and Timissao are never dry. The Tin-Reroh guelts /pool/ sometimes is.

Although not a tassili, the northern border of the Adrar des Iforas has the same sort of climate. This section is of vital importance to the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, who /24/ graze their she-camels there. Summer rains occur regularly; the Sudanese monsoon causes periodic floods. The gueltas in the wadis fill up in the summer and may still have water when the next floods come. Gergir provides abundant pasturage; it lasts nearly all year. Ethel and tamarisk are dense in the wadis, and tahlas begin to grow on the hillsides. The flora of the wadis is more varied. Gazelles are plentiful; one sees Robert's does, oryx and addax antelopes. This is certainly the most favored region in the territory of the Ahaggar annex, but geographically it is already the Sudan.

## Water in the Ahaggar

133 312 [132] As in every desert region, the question of water is of primary importance. The Ahaggar is relatively favored by rains. Water points are numerous in the mountainous regions of the

565 /50 cont./ Atakor and the Arechchoum are their pasture regions. It is a tribe of rich camel and goat raisers.

[162] [563] It is the most important imrad tribe under the Kel Rela; there are about 390, served by nearly 400 Negroes. The Dag Rali are stubborn mountaineers, a little narrow minded. They [147] are remarkably resistant to fatigue when they walk in their rough country. Let us also note their adaptation to the cold of December, January, and February; the camps are generally situated at an average altitude of 2,000 meters. The Tuareg [291] [132] are clothed in two cotton gandurahs and are quite often wrapped in a "dokali"; they bear cold which drops as low as -12° in the tent toward five in the morning.

The tribe's amrar is Akroud ag Ama (1). The handsomest

1. Died in 1952.

tents belong to the Dag Rali, and the men are renowned as hunters of wild sheep.

[651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is about 12 mezoued /leather grain sacks/ of dates, eight bottas /bottles/ of butter, the loan of 12 ewes for milk, and ten goats for slaughtering.

Several subgroups may be seen within the Dag Rali, named mainly according to the regions they inhabit: Kel Arechchoumi, /sic/ and the Ikhechemaden, who formerly were imrads of the Ta'ttoks.

[162] [563] The most numerous imrad tribe is the Adjouh n'Téhélé. It includes approximately 590 individuals and more than 750 Negro domestics. Although imrads, the Adjouh n'Téhélé are regarded as different by the nobles. Toward the eighteenth century, this tribe, which was living in the A'ir at the time, came of its own accord to incorporate itself into the Kel Ahaggar. This was done to escape the exactions /51/ of the sultan of Agadez, who each year demanded a virgin as a sign of vassalage. This tribe's territory of nomadization extends to the east and south of those of the Dag Rali.

133 /160 cont. / the Ahaggar and which must have lifted the central core. A thorough study of this volcanism has not yet been made by specialized geologists (1). Perhaps it will be

1. Since 1950, P. Bordet has been studying volcanism in the Ahaggar. M. Lelubre's thesis on the pre-Cambrian in the Ahaggar was published during the Geological Congress of Algiers in October, 1952. On this occasion several regional monographs concerning the Ahaggar were published: L'antécambrien de l'Ahaggar /The Pre-Cambrian in the Ahaggar/ by M. Lelubre; Les appareils volcaniques de l'Ahaggar /Volcanic Mechanisms of the Ahaggar/ by Bordet; Ahnet et Mouydir /Ahnet and Mouydir/ by J. Follot.

possible to /161/ separate the essential phases of this eruptive whole.

Study of the Quaternary has not been undertaken. Such a study would perhaps enable us to establish some points very interesting for archeology, notably the advances and retreats of the desert climate.

/163/

## III

## Meteorology

132 Following are some figures concerning meteorology, furnished by the Tamanrasset observatory and the O. N. M. station.

132 /163 cont./

For a period covering 1925 to 1939:

1. Temperature

| | |
|---|---|
| Average of the maxima . . . . . | 28.6° |
| Average of the minima . . . . . | 13.6° |
| M + m/2 . . . . . | 21.1° |
| Amplitude M - m . . . . . | 15° |
| Extreme maximum . . . . . | 39° |
| Extreme minimum . . . . . | -6.6° |

2. Relative humidity

| | |
|---|---|
| Annual average . . . . . | 33% at 7 a.m. |
| | 21% at 1 p.m. |
| | 23% at 6 p.m. |

3. Cloudiness

| | |
|---|---|
| Annual average . . . . . | 2% at 7 a.m. |
| | 2.8% at 1 p.m. |
| | 3.3% at 6 p.m. |

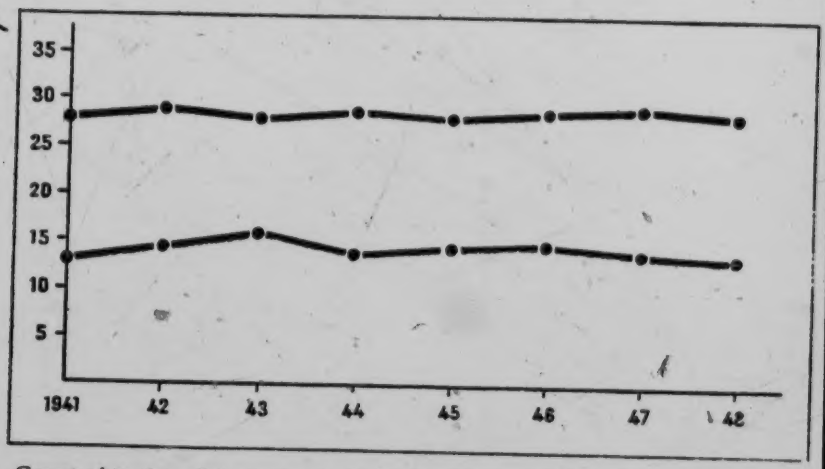
4. Rain

| | |
|---|---|
| Annual average . . . . . | 43.8 millimeters |

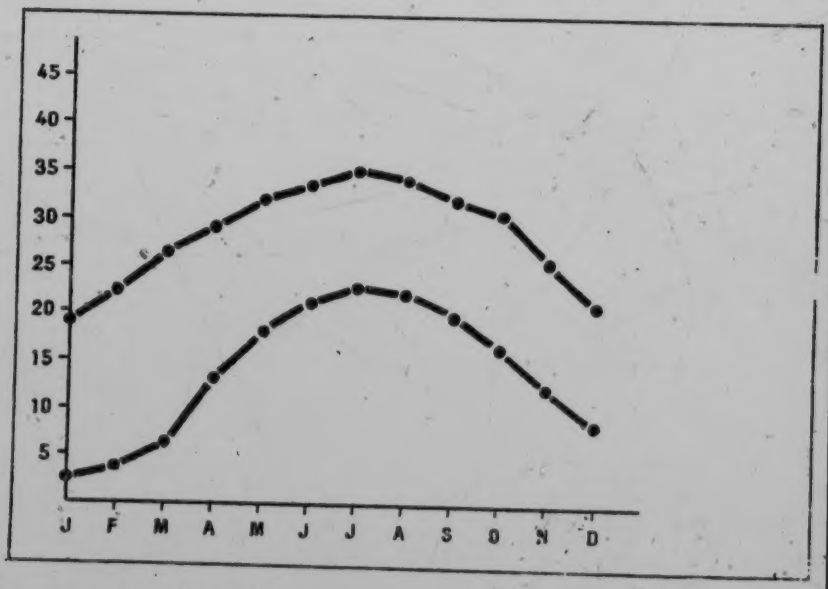
6:Bianguernon--152 Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

/164/

132




Curve showing the average of maxima and minima from 1941 to 1948



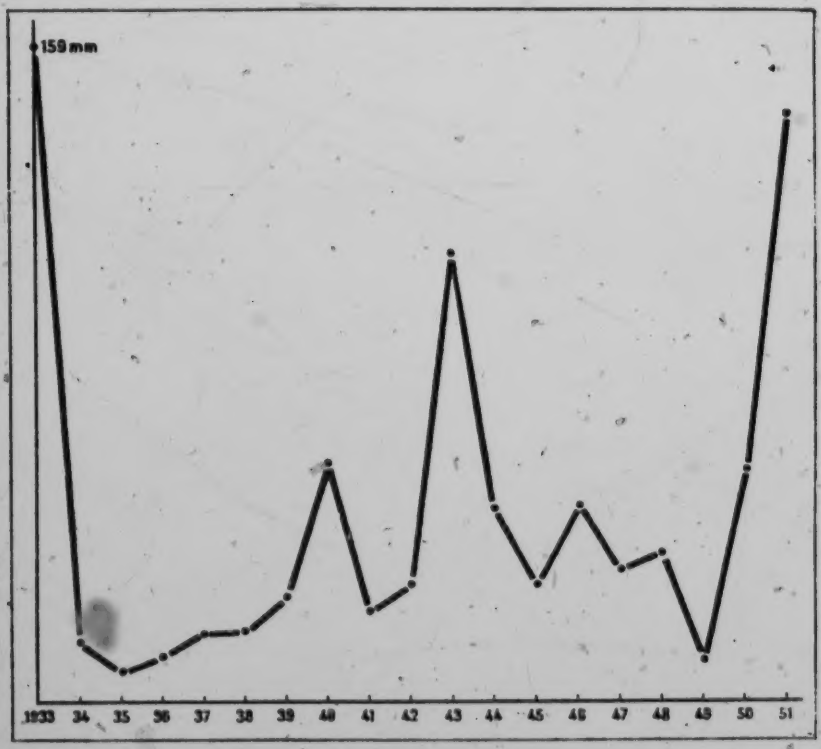

Curve indicating the monthly average of maxima and minima for 1943

6:Blanguernon--153 Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

/165/

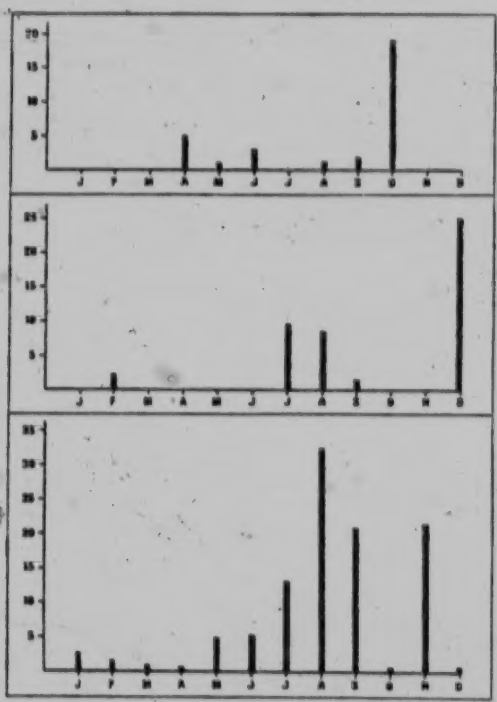
5. Annual précipitation from 1933 to 1951 (in millimeters) 132

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1933 : | 159 | 1943 : | 108.5 |
| 1934 : | 14.1 | 1944 : | 45.9 |
| 1935 : | 6.4 | 1945 : | 28 |
| 1936 : | 10.3 | 1946 : | 47.5 |
| 1937 : | 15.9 | 1947 : | 31.3 |
| 1938 : | 16.6 | 1948 : | 35.5 |
| 1939 : | 26 | 1949 : | 9.4 |
| 1940 : | 58 | 1950 : | 56.2 |
| 1941 : | 22 | 1951 : | 141.4 |
| 1942 : | 28.8 | | |




Annual Rainfall from 1933 to 1951

●132



1945: Year of light rainfall.

1944: Year of average rainfall.

1943: Year of heavy rainfall.

Distribution of rain during the course of the year.

6. Monthly precipitation during a rainy year

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1951: | January . . . . | 0.8 | July . . . . | 1.4 |
| | February . . . | 1.6 | August . . . . | 18.8 |
| | March. . . . . | 0 | September . . | 96.4 |
| | April . . . . . | 0 | October. . . . | 0 |
| | May. . . . . | 0 | November . . | 0.2 |
| | June. . . . . | 14.9 | December . . | 0 |

7. Monthly precipitation during a dry year

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1949: | March . . . . . | 5.3 | July. . . . . | 1.2 |
| | April . . . . . | 2.1 | August . . . . | 0.8 |
| | The other months | 0 | | |

6:Blanguernon--155 Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

/167/ Remarks on the Rainfall

132 M. Dubief of the Algiers Institut de physique du globe has made a very interesting study of the rainfall in the Ahaggar territory, using information furnished by the Tuareg and covering 80 years for the central Ahaggar and 60 years for the Ahnet and the Mouydir.

This research shows that the system of rains in the central Ahaggar is unrelated to that of the northern Sahara.

Moreover, the distribution of the rains in the central Ahaggar has some relation to the distribution in the Tefedest, little to that of the Mouydir, and none to that of the Ahnet; it is completely independent of the Tamesna.

Finally, the dry periods do not seem to exceed seven years (the term "dry" is not used here in its meteorological sense, but relatively speaking, indicating for the nomads a lack of pastures).

Some Tuareg claim to have observed a cycle of seven years in the duration of the ground-water level.

The observations made at Tamanrasset record as years of heavy precipitation: 1924, 1933, 1943, and 1951, which would give a cycle of about nine years.

/169/ IV

Wells or Water Points on the Caravan Trails

From Tamanrasset to Tin-Zaouaten

103 Amsel: Tiggert /natural outflow of water/ and tanout
312 /well for irrigating gardens/. Permanent agricultural center.

Tin-Tounatine: Tigget /sic/ and abankor /water hole/ in the Tamanrasset wadi.

133 Massif resembles Ahaggar, but it is on the whole much more level with broader valleys and in between the lower mountains there are clayey plains. Immediately east of the Massif is the very extended sandy [131] desert which is uninhabited. Further south than Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas and Ayr there are no considerable mountains. Between the two massifs are the plains of Tamesna and Talak which continue into the plains of the Sudanese savannah.

Tuareg country consists predominantly of rocky mountains and flat, extensive plains of gravel and stone. This configuration is basic to our understanding of Tuareg economy as will become clear when we have outlined the characteristic features of climate.

● 132 Tuareg country is very hot in summer – so hot that even the nomads born and bred in the country suffer much from the heat at that season. The hottest months are May, June (farthest south) and July (farthest north). During these months temperature may exceed 50° centigrade, and is on average 30°–35°, or higher. In the uppermost mountain zone of Ahaggar nights are comparatively cool even in summer, while in the lower country there is often little difference between day and night temperatures. This is true in particular when, as often happens in summer, the sky is overcast during the night and consequently there is little radiation of the heat absorbed by rocks and sand in daytime. The day temperature in summer is normally higher than the temperature of the human body, and the temperature of sand and rocks will rise to 60°–70°. Travelling is extremely hard under such conditions, [484] and most people spend the day in the shade of rocks and trees, sleeping and drinking water of which [271] an adult person consumes 8–10 litres a day. Violent winds are common in the Sahara most of the year and in particular in the daytime; in summer these winds are usually very hot and add considerably to the discomfort of the climate, as do the numerous flies.

The country of the Northern Tuareg has a rather continental climate characterized by great fluctuations of temperature during the year. Although Tuareg suffer from heat in summer, they do not generally complain much about it, and they consider the comparatively cold winter much worse than the hot summer. In winter, temperature in the country of the Northern Tuareg averages about 10°. The absolute minimum temperature however is very much below this. Thus in Ahaggar the village of Tamanṛaset (1400 m) has in January an average temperature of 11,7 , but an absolute minimum of –6,6°. Frost is very common during winter nights, and even snow may fall in the higher parts of Ahaggar at that time of the year. In the country of the Southern Tuareg frost may also occur, but in Southern Ayr around Agadez frost is said to be very rare and snow is unknown; the winter period [511] in the south is on the whole milder than in the north, where the changes between relatively cold and [164] very hot temperatures, allied with inadequate dwellings and clothes, are responsible for pneumonia and similar diseases, which give rise to frequent deaths – especially among children.

The most important climatic distinction between the countries of Northern and Southern Tuareg is due to differences in the annual precipitation as will be seen from the following figures (in m/m) for the annual rainfall 1931–1945 in the territories of seven Tuareg groups:—

132

| *Kel Ahaggar* | | *Kel Aijer* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Iwallen | 18.6 | Rat | 11.4 |
| Édeles | 18.9 | Ft. Flatters | 13.7 |
| Tamanraset | 40.7 | Ft. Polignac | 17.6 |
| | | Ganet | 17.8 |
| | | Radames | 37.8 |
| *Kel Adrar* | | *Kel Ayr* | |
| Agelhok | 75.0 | Iferwan | 74.1 |
| Kidal | 123.2 | Agadez | 179.3 |
| *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* | | *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* | |
| Burem | 172.0 | Tawa | 351.4 |
| Meneka | 221.5 | | |
| Gao (Gewgo) | 233.9 | *Kel Geres* | |
| | | Tessawa | 525.0 |

Thus the annual precipitation in Tuareg country ranges from 11.4 mm in the north to more than 500 mm in the extreme south. In the territories of the Southern Tuareg there is a fixed rainy season in summer, and although the annual precipitation may vary from one year to another there will always be enough rain for the regeneration of perennial plants and the sprouting of annual herbs and grasses. The territories of *Iwllemmeden* and *Kel Geres* largely consist of savannahs where trees [137] and grasses grow over extensive plains. Compared with this we have entirely different conditions in the north, where the territories of the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Aijer* are situated on the extreme frontiers of two different rainfall belts, namely that of the Sudan where rain falls in summer, and that of the Mediterranean with a wet season in winter. Therefore there is no special wet season for the whole country of the Northern Tuareg, the most northern parts of which have maximum rain late in autumn or in early spring, while the southernmost regions have summer rain like the Sudan. Rain from the north may however occasionally penetrate as far into the Sahara as the northern outskirts of Ayr, where during my journey from Ahaggar to Ayr in April 1955, I found pastures of annual plants due to winter rain. As far as Ahaggar is concerned rain has, over an extensive period of years, fallen most abundantly late in summer. But what is characteristic of this region as well as of the territory of the *Kel Aijer* is the fact that rain does not fall every year. In Ahaggar, including the northern massifs of Immidir (Mouydir) and Ahnet, four years out of ten are almost completely dry (Dubief 1947, p. 7-23), and in the flat plains outside the mountains many years may pass between two rainfalls on one and the same spot. These plains have little or no vegetation of perennial plants [137] and are known to the Tuareg as *ténéré* or *tanezrufi*. In or round the mountain massifs there is always a better possibility of rain, and when rain falls in Ahaggar late in summer it is normally accompanied by violent thunder-storms and is very heavy. This in conjunction with the morphology of the mountains makes a perennial vegetation possible.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



132 When rain is falling in Ahaggar water immediately flows down the rocky mountain slopes into the sandy river valleys, which may become flooded shortly after rain has started. Indeed, the flood will often rise so suddenly and violently that camels and other animals grazing in the valleys are caught by the strong foaming stream of water. Even humans have been killed by the sudden rise of a flood, but most people will not camp in the river bed itself late in summer when heavy rainfalls are expected to occur. A river valley will generally not be flooded for more than one or two days, but it may, after extremely heavy rain, contain water for a week or even longer. This was the case in the summer of 1953 when the valley of Abalessa in Ahaggar turned into an immense river more than a hundred metres
137 wide. Owing to such heavy rainfalls it is possible for perennial plants with a well developed root-system to survive near the river valleys even in dry years. Outside the river valleys there is very little vegetation of perennial plants in Ahaggar. The bulk of the country has no permanent vegetation, and permanent plants are always more abundant along the broad river valleys of the lower country than along the narrow valleys higher up in the mountains.

Pastures of annual plants may spring up almost anywhere in the desert – even in the otherwise barren countries of *ténéré* and *tanezruft*, where they then constitute valuable fodder for the camels of passing caravans. Rainfall in Ahaggar is most common in the highest parts of the country, where, on the other hand, little perennial vegetation is found. In periods of drought this region is so to speak nothing but rocks and boulders, while after rain in summer it becomes covered with a green curtain of annual plants. South of Ahaggar important perennial vegetation is not found until we arrive at the outskirts of the Adrar and Ayr Mountains, where it is extremely rich compared with Ahaggar. Indeed in Southern Ayr trees and bushes may form dense forests in the valleys outside of which there is also some perennial vegetation. The Ayr Mountains belong to a special zone of vegetation termed *sahel* by French geographers (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 26 ff.). From an economic point of view the main
[132] characteristic of this zone, which includes Ayr and Adrar, is that it has a fixed wet season and consequently pastures of annual plants spring up every year over large areas. South of Ayr and Adrar the zone of *sahel* gradually changes into the Sudanese savannah.

137 Tuareg country thus falls into three distinct zones of vegetation with rather different conditions
311 for stock-breeding:—
233 1) *True Desert* comprising the territories of *Kel Ahaggar* and *Kel Ajjer*. Rainfall is irregular, and pastures of annual plants do not spring up every year. The main livestock are goats, while sheep are bred only to a very limited extent, and the nomads have no cattle.

2) *Sahel* comprising Adrar and Ayr and part of the plains situated between these two mountain massifs. This zone has some of the characteristics of the true desert, but it has a fixed wet season in summer and consequently pastures of annual plants develop every year. Goats are very important and so are sheep; most nomads keep a few cows (zebus).

3) *Savannah* covering mainly the territories of *Kel Geres*, *Iwllemmeden*, and *Kel Tademaket*. Perennial plants grow over extensive plains, and there is a regular spring of annual vegetation. The main kinds of livestock are cows and sheep. In the savannah Tuareg nomads frequently have horses as riding animals, whereas in the two former zones horses are normally bred only by sedentary people. – Camels and donkeys are bred by all Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The climatic and botanical differences between Ayr and Ahaggar can be seen directly from Tuareg division of the year into four seasons each having a duration of about three months. Ayr has a summer season and a winter season between which there are two seasons termed *akasa* (sometimes also called *él*, or *érafit*) and *ṛarat*. These two words as seasonal terms indicate that rain and annual vegetation in Ayr are recurrent events. For the word *akasa* literally means "green annual plants" while the word *ṛarat* refers to "dry annual plants". The season *ṛarat*, most of which is extremely dry, is followed by the winter season *tiǵrest* where rain does not fall, though the northern outskirts of Ayr sometimes have a little rain at this season. The transitional period between winter and summer known as *tabsit* is not considered a main season, but it is frequently mentioned by the Tuareg because certain perennial plants germinate at that time of the year. The summer season *éwilen* is extremely hot and rainless. It is the season of defoliation for acacias and various other perennial plants which change their leaves – generally in the way that they do not loose all leaves at one and the same time. Therefore, even in summer most acacias have some green leaves, though in certain places where rain has not fallen abundantly acacias may loose all their leaves in summer. In certain unfavourable regions outside of the Ayr Massif, acacias may even be without green leaves for a few years, but such trees become verdant again with heavy rainfalls. Scattered barren acacias are found mainly to the north of the Massif. The Tuareg say that acacias can survive an extremely long period of drought during which they are entirely dry. But they normally become green again when rainfalls start. The beginning of the rains is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *t'ézewek*.

In Ahaggar the Tuareg reckon with a summer season named *éwilen* and a winter season called *taǵrest*. These two seasons are separated by the autumn known as *amewan* and the spring termed *tafsit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg know the words *akasa* and *ṛarat*, but do not employ them for seasonal terms because rain and annual pasture do not recur annually in their country. The summer season *éwilen* is extremely hot, but it is not the proper season of defoliation for acacias, which under favourable conditions are green in summer and defoliate in winter. The autumn *amewan* which follows upon the summer is characterized by less hot temperatures and gradually changes into *taǵrest* (winter) when frost is extremely common during night, and snow falls in the mountains. This cold winter season is followed by the spring *tafsit* when many perennial plants germinate.

As will be seen from this description of the year in Ayr and Ahaggar these two countries differ much in regard to climate and plant development. Within each of the two areas there are climatical and botanical zones which are very different.

The Ahaggar Mountains, according to Maire, fall into three distinct zones of vegetation:— 1) *A Tropical Zone* up to 1700–1800 metres above sea level. 2) *A Lower Mediterranean Zone* between 1800 and 2300–2400 metres above sea level. 3) An *Upper Mediterranean Zone* from about 2400 metres up to 2918 metres which is the extreme altitude of Ahaggar (cf. Maire 1933 & 1940; Lhote 1955, p. 41 f.). This division of the Ahaggar Mountains into zones of vegetation by a learned botanist seems to correspond largely with the division of the mountains into three distinct zones by the Tuareg. These three Tuareg zones and their characteristic perennial plants are the following:—

1) *Abada*, the lower parts of Ahaggar where perennial plants are abundant along the broad river valleys. Trees are very important the main species being various acacias (*abser*, *Acacia Raddiana* &

[text continues on p. 31]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



132
137
805

**AYR TUAREG**

FEB. MAR. APR. MAY JUNE JULY AUG. SEP. OCT. NOV. DEC. JAN. FEB. MAR.

TABSIT ÉWILEN T'ÉZEWEK AKÂSA RAKAT TIGREST

Spring of certain perennial plants.
The fruit-pods of *tamat* (*Acacia flava*) and *agar* (*Maerua crassifolia*) fall to the ground.

Very hot. Most pastures dry.
Normal season of defoliation of acacias. Wells go dry. Dry annual plants form the best pastures.

Beginning of the rains.
*Afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) and *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) begin to germinate.

Proper rainy season.
Spring of annual plants.
Temperature decreases owing to the rains.
Water abundant in ponds.
Dew (*rabo*) is heavy.
People suffer from malaria.

Rainfall decreases.
Most annual plants are drying and ponds go dry.
Increase of temperature and very hot winds (*agzir*) in daytime, while nights are cool.
The fruit-pods of *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) fall to the ground.

Cool season begins.
Frost may occur during night while snow is said never to fall.
Acacias are green and form good pasture together with dry annual plants. A few annual species – notably *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea ssp. Schimperi*) remain green throughout winter.

**AHAGGAR TUAREG**

FEB. MAR. APR. MAY JUNE JULY AUG. SEP. OCT. NOV. DEC. JAN. FEB. MAR.

TAFSIT ÉWILEN AMEWAN TAGREST

Spring of certain perennial plants.
Considered neither hot nor cold.

Very hot.
Pastures of all perennial and annual grasses and herbs are dry.
Acacias are green and form the best pastures.

Rain maximum – if rainfall occurs.

Spring of annual plants after rain.

Neither hot nor cold.
Pastures of green annual plants in case of rainfall.

Most annual pastures become dry.

Normal season of defoliation of acacias.
Dry annual plants form the best pastures.
Frost is very common during night, and snow may fall in the mountains. All winter people suffer much from colds, and deaths owing to pneumonia or similar diseases are not uncommon at the end of the winter season.

Fig. 14. Division of the year into seasons among the Tuareg of Ayr and Ahaggar. Climatic and botanical characteristics are indicated. The *akasa* season is also known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ti* and *ifuffi*.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*tamat*, *Acacia seyal*) and tamarisks (*tabarekkat*, *Tamarix aphylla* & *azawa*, *Tamarix gallica* and related species). Other important perennial species are the grasses *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tullult* (*Aristida pungens*) the latter grass being found especially around the northern massifs of Anhet and Téfedest, and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. 137

2) *Tarayin*, the middle mountain zone which has the following characteristics:— Acacias are lacking or are very rare and badly developed. The big tamarisk (*tabarekkat*) is lacking while the smaller species (*azawa*, *T. gallica*) is common in certain valleys. Two trees are found which do not grow in the lower zone, namely *tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) and *alew* (*Olea Lapperrini*). The *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is missing and the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) is scarce.

3) *Atakor*, the highest part of Ahaggar with the following characteristics:— There are no trees with the exception of *alew* (*Olea Lapperrini*), and there are on the whole very few perennial species while annual species are abundant in case of rainfall.

It should be noted that only the important characteristics of the three Tuareg zones are here mentioned, and I add that a few perennial plants are found within all three zones. Thus the perennial species *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*) occurs along the valleys in all three zones, but it is of very low stature high up in the mountains, while it forms very high and bush-like tufts in the lower parts of the country.

In Ayr there is also a change of vegetation according to altitude but a general description of this is rather complicated. The lower parts of the Ayr Massif as well as the southern plains are dominated by acacias (*afagag*, *Acacia Raddiana* & *tamat*, *A. flava*) like the lower parts of Ahaggar, and the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) is very common almost everywhere throughout the country, while the *tullult* grass is found only in sandy regions at the eastern slopes of the Massif. Species of tamarisks are extremely rare, and this is true of certain other species which are common in Ahaggar. The trees *tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) and *alew* (*Olea Laperrini*) grow only in isolated mountainous parts of Ayr. The extensive plains west of the Ayr Massif around Ingal are dominated by acacias and the *afezu* grass, but these perennial plants become less and less common towards the north, so that the regions around I-n-abanjerit have very little persistent vegetation but a rich vegetation of annual plants. For further information on the botany of Ayr I refer to the study of Miré & Gillet who describe all known species and indicate their division into particular vegetational zones (Miré & Gillet 1956). I conclude this outline of Tuareg botany with the statement that Ahaggar and Ayr have many important species in common. But there are northern species which do not thrive in Ayr while some southern species are unknown in Ahaggar, e.g., the dum palm *tagayt* (*Hyphaena thebaica*) which plays a great role with the Ayr Tuareg. [114]

Climatically as well as botanically the Ahaggar Mountains are situated on the frontier of two distinct zones, namely the Mediterranean and the Tropical zones, while Ayr is predominantly tropical. This seems true also zoologically, as the Ayr fauna contains a great many species of birds and mammals characteristic of tropical Africa. The bird life of Ayr seems very akin to that of the Sudanese savannah, and, for instance, guinea fowl is extremely common even in valleys of the northern-most parts of the Massif. As example of tropical mammal life in Ayr we may here mention that the wart-hog lives in Central Ayr, and that oryx antelope and giraffe are found in the plains immediately south and west of the Massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Ayr and Ahaggar, but [132] 136 13

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



133
*233
417
567

Fig. 17. A slave-boy takes kids out of the stone-enclosure (*agror*) to let them suck. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

*233 yielding decreases after mating. It is said that some goats yield milk in the whole period of gestation, while others have no milk whatever during most of that period.

The advantage of free mating is further reduced because goats, if mated too often, become emaciated, and for the northern breed their coat of long hair, so important to craft (cf. p. 263 ff.), will not develop fully. Added to this, kids born in the hot summer season will often be of inferior quality, as they suffer from heat and the lack of fresh annual plants during their period of growth. Again, the mother animals may yield so little milk in summer that it is not even sufficient for the nourishment of their kids.

The free mating of goats is not generally desirable, and therefore most Tuareg practise a system of regulation which varies with the qualities of pastures. If reproduction of the flock is badly needed it may happen that all goats are mated twice a year, but it is considered an ideal in good years to divide the animals into two parts which bring forth kids and yield milk at different seasons.

*233 In Ayr when the flock is divided into two parts to bring forth kids and yield milk at different seasons,
132 one part brings forth kids during the season of *akasa* when the pastures of annual plants are very
[137] rich, the other at the end of the winter season during the period known as *tabsit* at which time certain other plants germinate, and fruit-pods of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*), which are extremely good for fodder, fall to the ground. If kids are wanted for a flock during the season of *akasa*, which is the best season for the birth of kids, the goats are mated in winter. When all the she-goats have been covered, the penis of the he-goat is bound around the foreskin by means of a cord – a method which is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ⵜⵜⵓⵏ*, to the Northern Tuareg as *ⵓⵔⵓⵏ* (cf. Fig. 25). If kids are wanted for a flock in spring at the season of *tabsit*, mating stops with the binding of he-goats at the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



end of the *akasa* season. In other words:— When the inhabitants of a camp have their collectively guarded goats divided into two parts, one of these brings forth kids at the time when the other is mated. 233* 132

This method of mating-regulation is that ideally used by prosperous goat-breeders both in Ayr and among the Northern Tuareg. If in the north a flock is divided into two parts the kids are born in autumn (*amewan*), and in spring (*tafsit*) the former season being the better. Kids brought forth between these two seasons are known as *amezahar*. But as climatic conditions and consequently also the quality of pastures change from one year to another in the true desert country, the mating-system of division into halves cannot always be practised in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. In severe periods of drought goats may be too meagre for mating for a whole year or even longer, during which time the he-goats will have their penis bound. Thus during the dry year 1954/55 no goats were mated in Ahaggar. – It should be noted that the best season for the birth of kids is the late summer or the autumn (*akasa*, *amewan*) when the tender annual plants spring up. Kids borne at this season will be fully grown for mating after one year so that they bring forth kids at the season of spring (*tafsit*, or *tahsit*), while kids born in spring will be mated after a year to bring forth kids late in summer or in autumn (*akasa*, or *amewan*).

Milking takes place twice daily – early in the morning before the flock leaves for grazing, and late in the evening one or two hours after the return of the animals to the camp. Milking is done by women, or occasionally by male slaves. The individual animals to be milked are frequently called by their names and a special sucking sound is made to calm the animals, which are milked differently in Ayr and Ahaggar. In Ahaggar the milk-maid holds the wooden milk-bowl (*akus*; Fig. 21b) in her left hand, presses the left hind leg of the goat firmly under the upper part of her right arm, while she milks with her right hand (Fig. 23–24). In Ayr milking of goats is frequently performed in a standing position the milk-maid then holding the milk-bowl (*takabart*; Fig. 37) in her left hand, keeping the left hind leg of the animal firmly between her knees, and milking with her right hand. If the milk-maid milks 234 462 192 184 415

233*

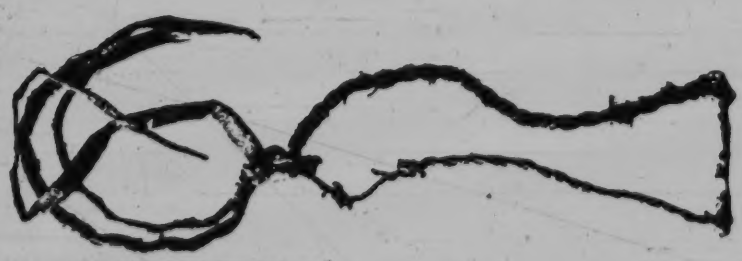


Fig. 18. The little stick (*akara*, *asaḍu*) used by the Northern Tuareg to prevent half-grown kids from sucking. Ahaggar, the *Afuk-en-tahli* tribe. Dimension: the stick 0.056 m; the cords 0.330–0.380 m. (N.M. G. 5825).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



to be considered rich in goats (and sheep) should own about 300 animals. They also say that in the past the Tuareg of their group owned more goats (and sheep) than nowadays. A household at that time might even possess up to a thousand animals, but it would not have many camels and very few zebus, or none. In Southern Ayr, according to the Tuareg, there has been no severe period of drought within the memory of man, and goat-breeding is consequently a much more stable industry than in the desert proper. 233* [132]

## SHEEP

Sheep are very important domestic animals to most North African pastoralists. In the Atlas and on the outskirts of the Northern Sahara sheep belong to various woolly breeds. Woolly sheep are also known in isolated parts of the Western Sudan around Mucina south-west of Timbuktu (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 191 ff.). I have myself seen many woolly sheep along the Niger between Niamey and Ayoru – among the Zerma-Sonray and other semi-sedentary peoples – but I have not seen them in the camps of pastoral Tuareg and *Bella*. These sheep belong to the so-called "Goundoum" breed (Zerma) and according to Doutressoulle they constitute a degenerate type of the Mucina breed (cf. Doutressoulle 1947, p. 195). It is recorded by Aymard that there are some woolly sheep among the south-western Tuareg (Aymard 1911, p. 118). However, Tuareg sheep in all other groups belong exclusively to the hairy breed which is known as *Ovis longipes*. [171]

It is admitted by zoologists that *Ovis longipes* characterized by a short cover of hair, high stature, and a long thin tail, is the oldest known type of domesticated sheep (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 59 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 213 ff.; Hilzheimer 1936, p. 199; Doutressoulle 1947, p. 196). In North-western Africa this hairy sheep falls into two types:— (1) The rams have large circular or snailshell-formed horns. This is the breed known to all Northern Tuareg, the Ayr Tuareg, and the *Kel Geres*, and apparently also to other Southern Tuareg. (2) The rams have very long horns of corkscrew form which protrude horizontally. This type is found among some Southern Tuareg, and it is occasionally seen in Tuareg camps immediately south of the Ayr Massif. The Ayr Tuareg say that this breed is typical of the Fulani, and this is in agreement with Doutressoulle's statement (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 200). This latter type of *Ovis longipes* sheep is also known among Nilotic peoples of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and it seems to have been known in Ancient Egypt. It is perhaps the oldest type of *Ovis longipes* sheep (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 59 ff.).

In Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer sheep are of relatively little importance to pastoral Tuareg. I believe that very few Tuareg of these regions have more than one sheep to ten goats. The reason for this lies in climatic conditions, for effective sheep-breeding is not possible where pastures do not regenerate regularly, as sheep cannot feed properly on the thorny acacias as can goats. Conditions of sheep-breeding are much more favourable in Ayr than in the north, and certain pastoral Tuareg of Southern Ayr have more sheep than goats, though sheep in Ayr suffer from lack of fodder in the dry hot season when they are extremely thin and meagre. With good grazing sheep yield more milk than goats, but otherwise goats are better milch animals. The meat of sheep is considered superior to goat meat, and [262]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



the caravan and feed the animals with annual grasses, and a camel-rider, when he meets plants considered excellent for fodder, will stop for a while to let his riding camel eat them.

Saliferous plants are highly important to all types of livestock, and camels and sheep in particular need much salt nourishment. In Ahaggar there are certain plants of this kind almost everywhere, and the following species serve as fodder:— *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*), *issin* (*Salsola foetida*), *tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*), and *azawa* (*Tamarix gallica* and related species). *Aramas* in particular is very important. It is found almost everywhere within the Ahaggar Massif and at all altitudes. Benhazera states that *aramas* forms the most important fodder plant of Ahaggar (Benhazera 1908, p. 65), but this is not quite correct. It is most important because of its salt content as domestic animals do not thrive without salt, but the saliferous plants mentioned are very little nourishing for most domestic animals, and if the animals constantly eat such plants they become very thin. The most nourishing fodder plants of Ahaggar are tender annual species which spring up after abundant rainfalls. These plants are collectively known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *akasa*; they comprise many different species and those considered most excellent for fodder are: *tageruft* (*Tribulus terrester*), *adreylal* (*Astragalus* sp.), *tajmast* (*Echium humile*), *azren* (*Monsonia heliotropioides* & *M. nivea*), *tamaghé* (*Moricandia arvensis*), and *tanesmimt* (*Rumex vesicarius* & *R. roseus*). To these annual fodder plants can be added another important annual species, namely *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*) which grows in the lower parts of Northern Tuareg countries. It is apparently not so common and important to the Northern Tuareg who live in and around the mountainous massifs, though it is a common and very valuable fodder for domestic animals of the Ahaggar Tuareg who live towards the south in the plains of Tamesna. It is one of the best fodder plants for camels and is also fairly good for sheep, while less valuable for other types of livestock. Annual plants may germinate over a large part of the year in Ahaggar, but as rainfall is most common late in summer (June, July, August) the best annual pasture will spring up at this period, and under very favourable conditions the plants may keep fresh and green for up to four months. When annual plants wither they are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *farat* (*farat n akasa*). Such dry annual plants have lost much of their fodder value, but they are important for fodder even at this stage. The perennial species which are most important for fodder have their optimal value at particular stages of their development at particular seasons. Important are the perennial grasses known to the Tuareg as *tullult* (*Aristida pungens*) and *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). The *tullult* grass is extremely common in the Northern Sahara, and it forms perhaps the basic fodder plant among the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. It is also common in Ahnet and in the other mountain massifs surrounding Ahaggar to the north, but it is not found in the mountain massif proper of Ahaggar where most Tuareg live. The grass grows at Abalessa where cattle, goats, and sheep of the sedentary farmers feed upon it. The *tullult* grass is valuable when green in winter, and hay of this grass is used for camel fodder on caravan expeditions to Tidikelt. The Tuareg cut it with a sickle and take it with them on the journey to the northern oases, because there is normally little vegetation on the road and no pasture around the oases where the Tuareg remain to trade for several days. The *afezu* grass is extremely common in the lower parts of Ahaggar and is found in practically all river valleys. It is valuable for fodder when green after rain, but it is of little value when withered. There are other perennial herbs and grasses which are eaten by domestic animals, but herbs and grasses are

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*233 Each of the three vegetational zones of Ahaggar has its advantages and disadvantages. If we consider
824 a good year when rain has fallen abundantly with a resultant regeneration of all fodder plants, the
137 *Atakor* zone has very excellent pasture. For the plains and the stony mountain slopes are then entirely
● 132 covered with annual plants which by the Tuareg are considered the very best fodder. The Tuareg also
133 claim that the upper mountain zone is preferable because of its cooler climate, which has a beneficial influence on the lactation of domestic animals. The disadvantage of the *Atakor* zone is the lack of acacias to which can be added the scarcity of fuel. The *Tarayin* zone possess characteristics of the *Atakor* zone and of the *Abada* zone. The *Abada* country is botanically very different from *Atakor*. It has annual pastures of great value when abundant rainfall has been experimented and it also has valuable pastures of perennial plants. With heavy rain the *Abada* country is excellent for stock-breeding, and fuel can be found everywhere. But the Abada country is hotter than are the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

If rain falls abundantly all over Ahaggar there is good pasture in all three zones. But rainfall is more frequent and heavier at high altitudes than in the *Abada* zone, so that *Atakor* normally has by far the best pasture of annual plants which spring up late in summer or in autumn. The *Abada* zone on the other hand has the very best pasture of perennial plants, notably acacias that grow around the lower parts of the valleys which are always flooded when it rains in the high mountains.

221 The fluctuations of plant development determine the nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg.
*233 A few tribes have their normal grazing grounds in *Atakor* (e.g., the *Dag Rali* and the *Kel Tazulet*).
824 They camp in this zone at most seasons to let their goats and sheep feed on fresh and dry annual pasture.
[132] In dry years and during the hot summer season they may move to the *Tarayin* zone where there are perennial fodder plants, but they rarely camp in the *Abada* country. Many tribes have their normal grazing grounds in the *Abada* zone (e.g., the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, the *Ayt Lowayen*, the *Iheyawen Huda*, and the *Kel Rela*), but move to the *Atakor* when annual pasture is good in this region. They live in
[342] *Atakor* with tents and flocks when annual plants are green, while the rest of the year they camp in the *Abada* country to let their animals feed on acacias and other perennial species. Finally there are two tribes (*Tégehé-n-Efis* and *Iklan-en-tawsit*), the members of which camp in the *Abada* country all the year round even when rich annual pasture is found in *Atakor*. However, members of these tribes may send their camel herds to the *Atakor* zone, accompanied by herdsmen, while tents and flocks remain in the lower country.

221 With the exception of a few noble households which keep up their old tradition to subsist largely
*233 on camel's milk, the Ahaggar Tuareg do not keep their she-camels in Ahaggar unless there are excellent
[565] pastures of annual plants in this area. They take their camels to pastures far away from Ahaggar,
[262] notably to the Tamesna region where they have their animals guarded by herdsmen who are frequently
[567] slaves. In very dry years there are very few camels in Ahaggar – just the animals needed for riding and transportation. It is in fact very easy to take camels to distant pastures, and it is most necessary to give these animals the utmost care as they are most valuable and their breeding is a very slow process
*233 (cf. p. 56). Goats do not need such excellent fodder as do camels. They can eat almost everything, but
731 in dry years goats may also suffer severely from lack of suitable fodder. This was the case in the year
[36] 1954/55 when I stayed in Ahnet and in Ahaggar. In the small camps of three to four tents each it was

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*233 normal every day to loose one or two goats which died of hunger. The goats were too thin to be mated,
231 and even in winter there was no milk, or so little, that it was all consumed by small children. In spite of these very severe conditions most Ahaggar Tuareg stayed in Ahaggar with their flocks which subsisted on dry perennial plants and annual plants that were two years old. Conditions were extremely bad in
221 the region of Ahnet, and about half of the Ahnet Tuareg left their country to go southwards with
*233 their camps and goats, to the regions of Ti-n-zawaten. In severe drought periods some Tuareg may
231 move their camps far outside of Ahaggar, but even then most of them will remain in their native country for extensive goat migrations are difficult and cannot be realized without a loss of the meagre animals. Most Tuareg therefore prefer to remain and to avoid the strenuous journey connected with these migrations. They may loose many animals during a drought, but they know that sooner or later rainfall will occur so that pastures will regenerate quickly to let the animals grow fat to yield milk and to be mated. The increment of goats is extremely quick in comparison with that of camels.

*233 Stock-breeding conditions are on the whole not very favourable in Ahaggar, but pastoral Tuareg
231 of this region have developed an economic system which secures their existence even in very bad years of extreme drought.

137 In the introductory description of Tuareg environment it was stated that the Ayr Massif and the
*233 surrounding plains have far better possibilities of stock-breeding than Northern Tuareg countries. The broad river valleys of Ayr are very rich in persistent plants which also grow on slopes and in depressions outside the valleys, and the spring of annual pastures is an annually recurrent event. One
● 132 informant told me that there had not been any drought in the Agadez region throughout the many
*233 years the French had reigned over Ayr. At an unknown date in the past, it is said, a very severe drought persisted in the country for a period of seven years, and the Tuareg who had many goats and sheep fed these animals on charcoal. Since then rain has fallen every year and though more

*233

Fig. 96. Tuareg feeding his riding camel with boiled tea leaves which are considered excellent fodder for camels. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ball* tribe.

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



132 abundantly in one year than another there has always been rain enough to allow the annual pastures
*233 to spring up.

*233 In Ayr there are three species of trees or bushes which remain green all the year round, viz. *ébezgin*
824 (*Salvadora persica*), *tadent* (*Boscia senegalensis*), and *turza* (*Calotropis procera*). They are extremely common, and the two first species play a certain role for fodder during the hot and dry summer season (*éwilen*), but dry annual plants then constitute the best fodder for all domestic animals. The annual plants comprise various species; around Agadez they are mainly grasses, but the small thorny seed-plant *ageruf* (*Tribulus terrester*) is also very important. These tender plants spring up shortly after the rains but they wither even before rainfall stops at the beginning of the *ṛarat* season. The perennial fodder plants are of little value in the hot season. The *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*), which is extremely common everywhere, germinates at the beginning of the rains and is dry and contains little nourishment in summer. Acacias form very important fodder plants for camels and goats, but they are also of little value at this season when they defoliate. The two most important acacias are *afagag* (*abser* in Ahaggar) (*Acacia Raddiana*) and *tamat* (*Acacia flava*). The *afagag* acacia germinates shortly after the first rains (*akasa*) and has its highest fodder value in the season of *ṛarat* when the fruit pods fall to the ground providing excellent fodder for all domestic animals. The *tamat*-acacia starts germinating somewhat later and its fruit pods, which are equally important for fodder, do not fall until the beginning of the season known as *tabsit*, at which period the fruit pods of the *agar* tree (*Maerua crassifolia*) also fall. For southern Ayr it can be said that grazing conditions are tolerably good most of the year. They are extremely good when annual plants are green during the period of *akasa*, and they are bad in summer (*éwilen*) when the lactation of domestic animals is low.

Grazing conditions within the Ayr Massif are much more favourable than in Ahaggar, but one thing is lacking:— There are very few saliferous plants. Thus, for instance, there are very few tamarisks (*temeyut* = *Tamarix aphylla*; *azawa* = *Tamarix gallica*), which are found only within limited areas of the Massif; species of *Salsola* are very rare, and the very important saliferous plant, known to the
*233 Northern Tuareg as *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*), is not found within the Massif. The Ayr Tuareg there-
317 fore have to feed their animals with salty earth which can be dug in certain parts of Ayr, or with Bilma salt, which plays an enormous part for most stock-breeders of Ayr and adjacent regions. The Ayr Tuareg cannot so easily take their flocks and herds to salt pastures as can the Northern Tuareg. But there is south and southwest of the Ayr Massif a narrow belt of salt-containing soil and water. This region is known to the Tuareg as *Azawaṛ* because of its particular reddish soil. With this particular
221 type of soil, well water and pools will contain some salt, as do most plants, and many Tuareg of the
824 Ayr Massif migrate to the *Azawaṛ* country at the end of the rains to allow their animals to benefit
221 from the salt-content of the water and plants there. There is another reason why some Ayr Tuareg,
*233 who have their normal grazing areas within the Massif, migrate south and westwards into the plains,
824 namely the appearance in these regions of a small annual plant known as *emchéken* (*Ipomoea verticillata*). The Ayr Tuareg consider it one of the very best fodder plants for camels, goats, and sheep, but claim it to be less valuable for cattle and donkeys. – At the end of the rains the Ayr Tuareg who migrate to the *Azawaṛ* country camp among pastoralists of different and distant regions. At this season most *Kel Geres* Tuareg migrate northwards to camp around Tegidda-n-edrar and Tegidda-n-

7:Nicolaisen E.5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 98. A slave watering goats by means of the leather bucket called *aga*. Water is drawn from a well and poured out into a hole dug in the clayey ground. The goat standing to the left is sheared – a token of the summer season. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*233 conditions, and herdsmen, who live with camelherds far away from camps and wells subsisting on
[272] camel's milk, do not consider water necessary. Should domestic animals have eaten salt or salty plants
[271] they are very eager for water even in winter. When I lived in Ahaggar with my camels during the winter 1954/55 they had rightly to be watered every ten days, but in regions where they fed mainly on saliferous plants they had to be watered more frequently. However, domestic animals must not be watered too often as this would make them slow and emaciated, and a camel must not be worked too hard the day after it has been watered.

312 Tuareg camps are always found around wells, pools, or other types of water places for which there
[361] is a large vocabulary. But the Tuareg never camp too close to water places where there is little pasture, many foreigners and consequently little peace. The distance from camp to water place varies, but is
[132] very frequently 1–3 kilometres. During the rainy season (*akasa*) water is very aundant all over Ayr, but outside this period conditions of water supply for human beings and livestock are more favourable in the north than in Ayr, where water most of the year must be drawn from wells. To raise water the
[415] Tuareg use a leather bucket known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aga* (Fig. 97–98). The water drawn for
[237] the animals is poured out into a hole dug in clayey soil, or into a hole covered with a piece of skin or leather known in Ahaggar as *tafarawt*. This skin is nowadays frequently substituted by canvas (cf. Fig. 99). Where water is scarce and must be drawn from narrow wells, as in Ayr during the summer
312 567 season, the watering of flocks and herds gives rise to frequent quarrels between pastoralists. For
[423] though the right to the use of wells is free to all there are many disputes and fights frequently

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 133. The large water basin (*ilhemi*) from which water is led into the gardens. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

(*teguhamt*, or *tahaft*) from which another canal (*tahaft*, or *teguhamt*) leads water out into the garden, which is always divided into a large number of garden beds (*igemmunen*, sing. *agemmun*) surrounded by low ridges and separated by narrow irrigation canals. The large water basin serves to regulate watering, which outside of the very cold season is done during the night. A flat stone with a hole in its middle and known as *anefif* is placed between the basin and the canal leading water into the garden; water for irrigating the garden flows through this hole when irrigation is needed at night, while the hole is closed by means of a cotton stopper during the day. The basin is thus filled with water during the day and its water runs into the garden at night (cf. Figs. 131–136).

243

The irrigation systems described are most important for the cultivation of the winter crops of wheat and barley. The Tuareg word in Ahaggar for wheat is *éred* which is a collective name for several types of wheat known as *elkhamra*, *elmansuri*, *amekkawi*, *ṛati*, and *menga*. These special names seem to be derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1058, 1211 & IV, p. 1789; Maire 1933, I, p. 246). According to Maire these types of wheat belong to the species *Triticum aestivum*. I have never myself seen fully-grown wheat in Ahaggar and was thus unable to collect ears for identification by botanists, but seeds brought home from Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have been identified by Dr. Hans Helbaek as belonging to common bread wheat. Barley is known to the Tuareg as *timzin*. Threshed seeds brought home from Ahaggar have been identified by Dr. Helbaek as belonging to the six-rowed type (*Hordeum vulgare*, though some, he thinks are perhaps of the two-rowed type (*H. distichum*). Barley, like wheat, is a winter crop though less common. At Abalessa I was told that two thirds of the seed-crops grown in winter were wheat, while only one third was barley.

[221]

Wheat and barley are grown in the same way. Sowing is done in the autumn (*tober*), and the seeds are put into the garden beds with the fingers. Harvesting takes place in the month of April (*ibri*) and is performed with a sickle (Fig. 143). The growing of wheat and barley is a very strenuous task for irrigation agriculturists. Watering is done for the first time immediately after sowing. When I stayed at Abalessa, in the month of January 1955, the tender plants of wheat and barley were watered two days in succession, and the 10–12 gardens belonging to the same *foggara* were irrigated in succession in this way. At that time of the year the plots are not generally watered at night because of the cold temperatures which may be below zero.

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[132]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

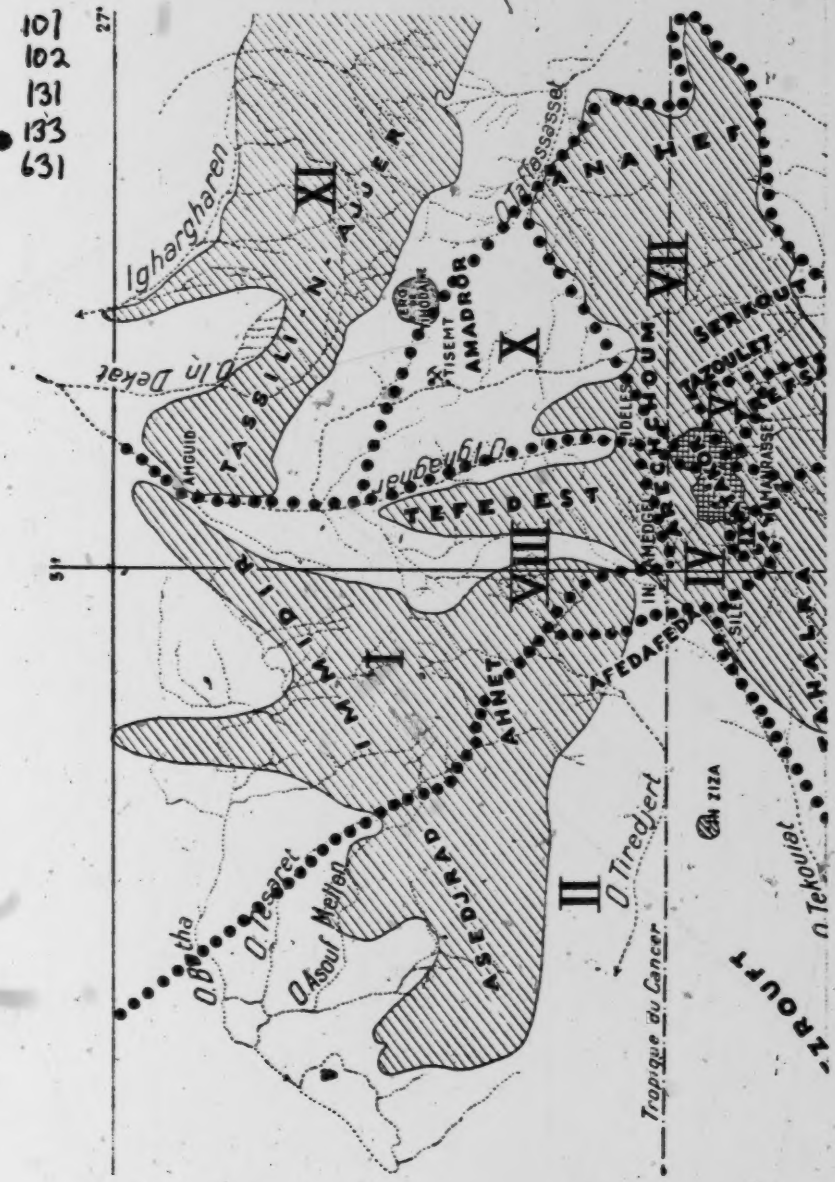


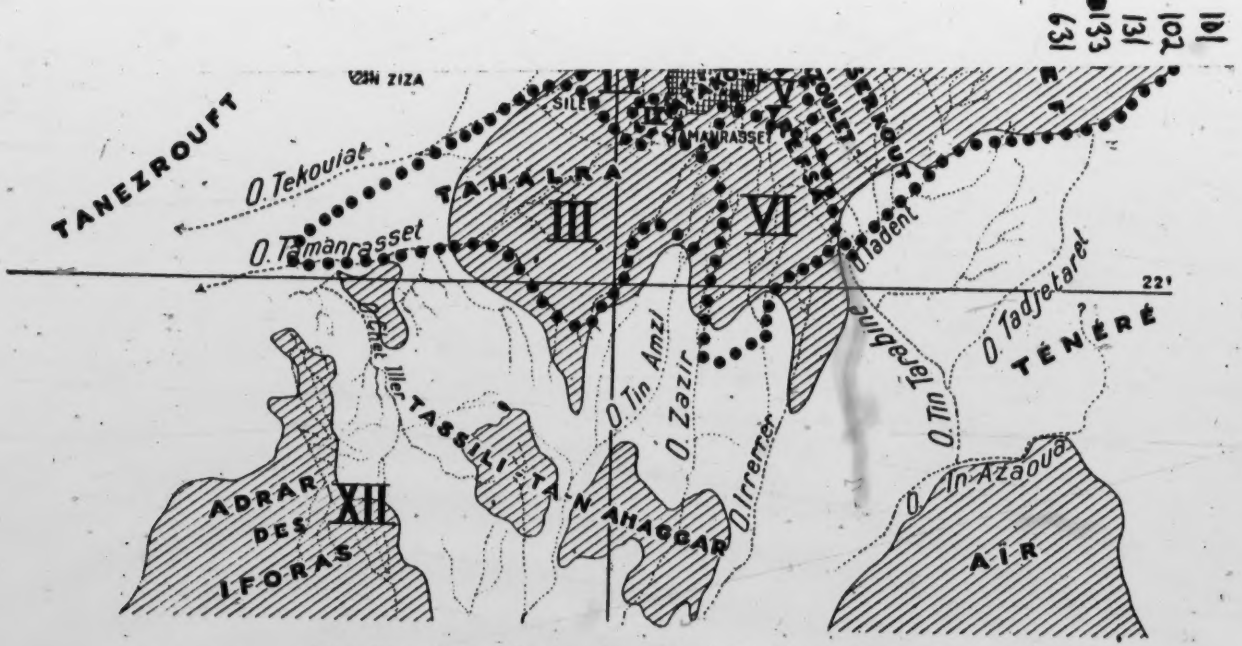
182 *342 suitable natural boughs are abundant. There are advantages and disadvantages in mat tents as well as in skin tents. During the very hot season the mat tent is by far the best type of dwelling; it is comparatively high and the mat covering is not heated to any great extent by the sun. During the [132] rainy season the mat tent is less practical than the skin tent. Rain may fall so heavily and abundantly that it penetrates the mat covering, and even if it does not it will be necessary to remove all mats after a heavy shower in order to dry them in the sun. The skin tent is normally erected quicker than the mat tent, it protects efficiently against rain, but is, on the other hand, most unpleasant during the hot season. [124] It does not seem possible to explain the distribution of mat tents and skin tents on purely geographical grounds, but it seems as though the mat tent is used mainly where dum palm leaves for plaiting are available. Where the dum palm disappears, the mat tent tends to disappear also, though mat tents, as we have seen, may be provided with a covering of *éwerwer* type (p. 350 f.). Outside of the dum palm area most Tuareg have skin tents for portable dwellings. Within the dum palm area mat tents and skin tents are mixed in certain regions, and it has been seen that certain Tuareg use mat tents during the very hot season before the rains, but adopt skin tents when the rains start. This seem to [237] indicate clearly the advantage and the disadvantage of the two dwelling types. But the advantages of both dwellings can be obtained in another way, namely by placing a sheet of skin over the top of the mat tent in the rainy season. This is actually done by many Tuareg. I was told that the *Kel Faday* Tuareg around Ingal very frequently cover their mat tents with skin during the rainy season, and remove the skin again when the rains are over. It is perhaps this to which Rodd refers in a brief note on Tuareg tents in Ayr (Rodd 1926a, p. 212), and we may be sure that the usage is a very ancient one in these regions, for it is mentioned already by Ibn Batutah in reference to the *Bardamah*, who are stated to be nomads that frequently move their camps (cf. Ibn Batutah IV, p. 437). The custom of covering mat tents with a sheet of skin has also been noted in the case of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg by Barth (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 597 f.). It is very possible that it is still more widely known in Southern Tuareg groups, as it allows in an easy way the advantages of both types of dwellings.

B.2. *Skin Tents.*

*342 184 Skin tents are used by Tuareg in all groups, though there is some doubt as to the use of skin tents among the *Kel Geres*. I have myself previously stated that they have skin tents (Nicolaisen 1959, p. 118), this statement being based on information gathered in Ayr 1955. Lhote also mention that some *Kel Geres* use skin tents, while other pastoralists in this group own mat-covered tents (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 79, phot. 51 p. 80–81). But when I visited the camp of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief in 1959 he claimed that the *Kel Geres* always live in mat tents. As to the *Kel Ayr*, skin tents are very rare among them. In all other Tuareg groups skin tents play a very important role. They constitute so to speak the only kind of portable dwellings among the Northern Tuareg and the *Kel Adrar*, and they form the most common type of tent also in the two groups of *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. Zeltner says that the dividing line between skin tents and mat tents in Southern Tuareg country follows the Paris Meridian (Zeltner 1914a, p. 364), but this is in fact the true dividing line between these dwelling types, which are sometimes used by the same people at different seasons, and the two tent types are sometimes combined into one, as mat tents may be covered with skin throughout the rainy season.

1: Lhote--41a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25






Map IV. Areas of nomadization of Ahaggar tribes.

I. Issekkemâren.
S. f. Kel In-Rhar'
Kel Amgid
Kel Tâfedest
Kel Immîdir
Ihéiaoueà-Hâda
Isselamaten
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Terourirt
II. Tâitok et Kel Ahnet
III. Ikechchemâden
Iklân-en-Taoussit
Tégéhé-n-Efis
IV. Dâg-Râli
Ibettenâten
Irréguénaten
V. Kel Tazoûlet
VI. Agouh-en Tehlé
VII. Ait Loajen
VIII. Tégéhé-Mellet
IX. Ikâdeien
X. Zone of salt marshes open to all tribes, but owned by the Aménokal.
XI. Ajjer Tuareg
XII. Zone of exceptional nomadization of the Ibettenâten, Irreguenaten, Ikadeien, and Kel Ahnet.

Scale: 1/5, 000, 000.

114 forming the tobol" and, by extension, "servant of the tobol."
533 At the present time these three fractions number about 150
631 people.
[162] We call attention to them here only as a reminder.

Book V

Material Life

Chapter 1

Living Conditions Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

●133 The Ahaggar, as we have already said, is a mountain refuge. We do not know why the Tuareg have continued to live there when they could have found much better countries to the south where they could have had a much easier life. Perhaps we should attribute this to attachment to the country or, quite simply, to an ancient state of things which forced them to take refuge against their will in the middle of the rocks.

13 A superficial examination shows that the Ahaggar is a very poor
[511] country with negligible resources, which imposes a living standard
[312] lower than the average. The pasture reserves are calculated, as are the water reserves. The subsoil possesses nothing, or almost nothing, which is marketable, except a little salt. Consequently, the possibilities for life there are quite limited. For the inhabitants to live, then, they must have recourse to outside resources.

1: Lhote--74a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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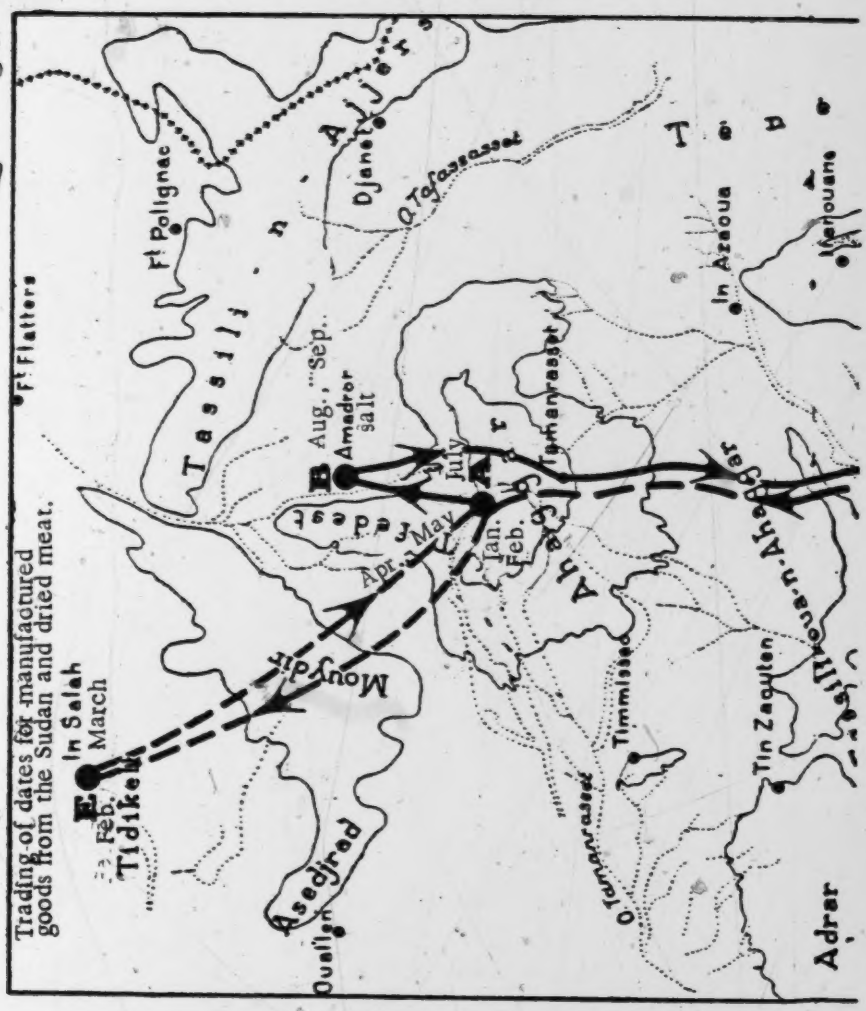


**Map V. Diagram of the caravan cycle of the Ahaggar Tuareg.**

A. Center of transhumance and point of departure of the caravan cycle. B. Center of salt extraction. C. Region of stocking of salt and of temporary nomadization. $D^1$ $D^2$ $D^3$. Center of trade of salt for grain.

1: Lhote--74b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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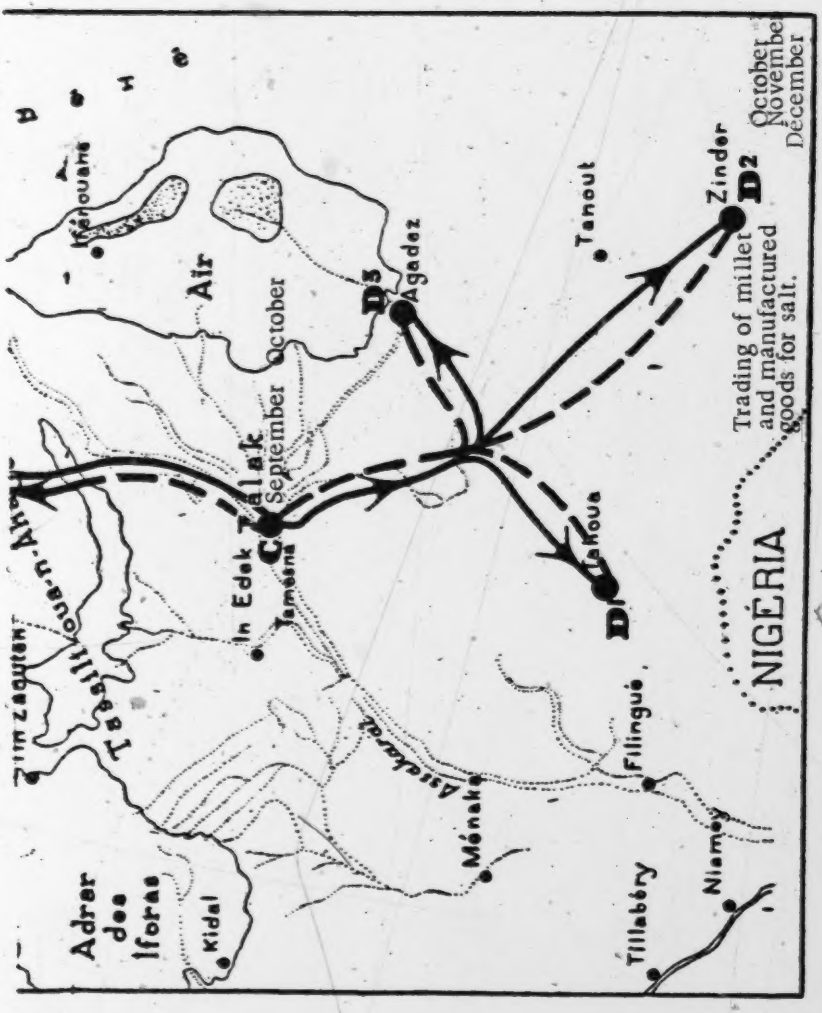


E. Center of trade of manufactured goods and dried meat for dates after return from A.

177 In the last few years a number of notables, including the
492 amenokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the
643 Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them
133 to avoid rocks.

101 The Ihaggaren never travel on zebus and never use them for
492 transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

/321/

## Chapter 2

## War and Raiding

721 The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

182 When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those
221 present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were
361 most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to
721 spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

727 Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not
426 own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case
714

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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A Targui noble of the Ahaggar, beside his tent. (Photograph by L. C. Briggs.)

[Frontispiece]

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 221]

[Pp. 167-220 not processed]

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*b*

Fig. 6. Sandy desert and stony desert. *a*, The Great Western Erg. *b*, A camel trail in the Ahaggar. (Photographs courtesy of OFALAC, Algiers.)

[photo *a* not processed-Analyst]

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 228]
[Pp. 222-227 not processed]



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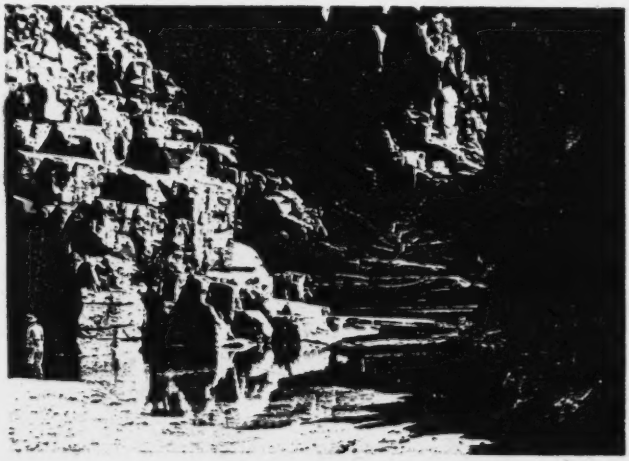

*a*

*b*

Fig. 13. Waterholes in the Ahaggar. (Photographs by A. J. Weber.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 229]



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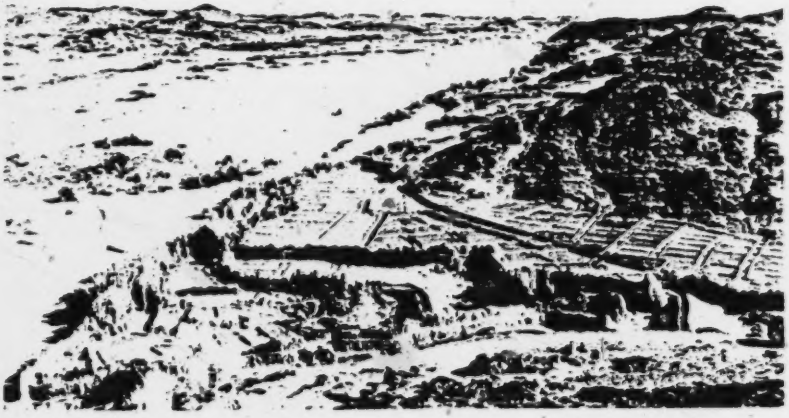

Fig. 14. Gardens at In Amguel, in the Ahaggar (80 odd miles north of Tamanrasset). Here we see the typical disposition of gardens in the agricultural centers of the central Sahara. A checkerboard of square garden plots, separated and at the same time connected by little irrigation ditches, is located just above the dry bed of an occasionally torrential stream, and just below the village, which is perched high enough above it to be safe from freshets and flash floods. (Photograph by Chasseloup-Laubat, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

[361]

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 235]
[Pp. 230-234 not processed]



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Fig. 20. a, Bey ag Akhamouk, heir apparent (and now paramount chief) of the Ahaggar Tuareg, with one of the last horses of the central Sahara.

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 251]

[Pp. 243-250 not processed]



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*a*

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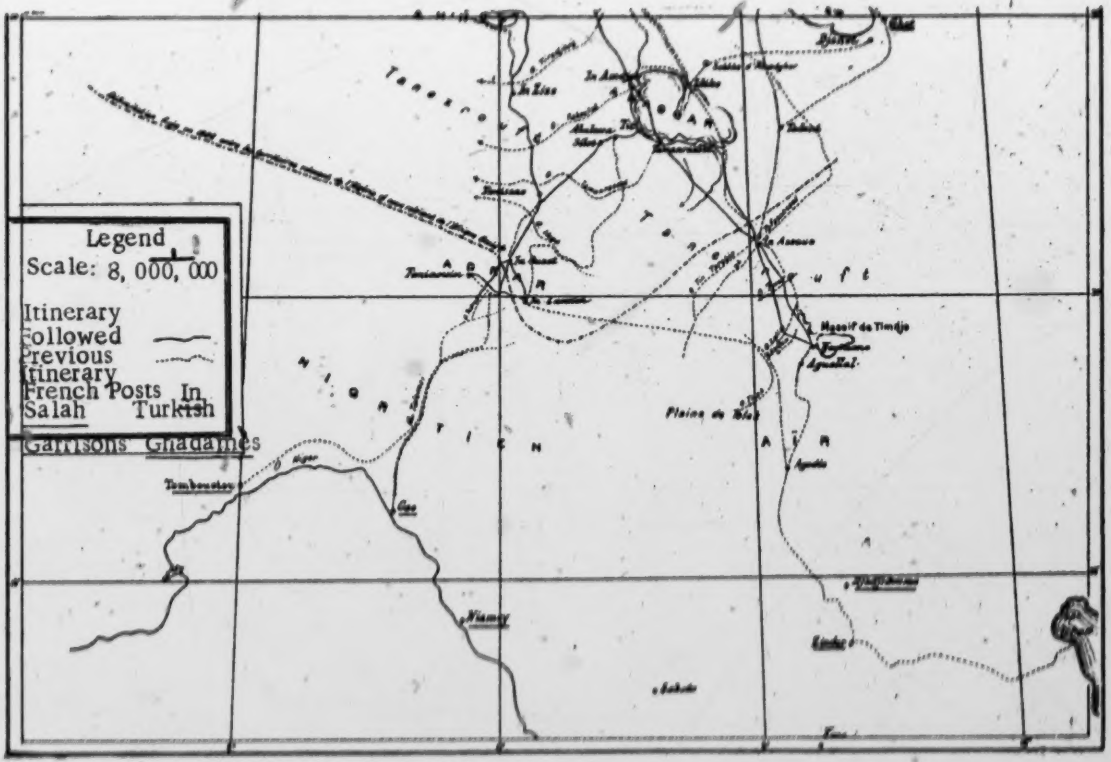
*b*

Fig. 36. *a*, A typical camp site and tent of the Ahaggar Tuareg. *b*, A chief of the Ahaggar Tuareg sits before his tent, camel whip in hand and surrounded by his family. (Photographs by Chaumioup-Lanber, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

4: Benhazera--iii C-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar




Lithographic printer, A. Jourdan, Algiers

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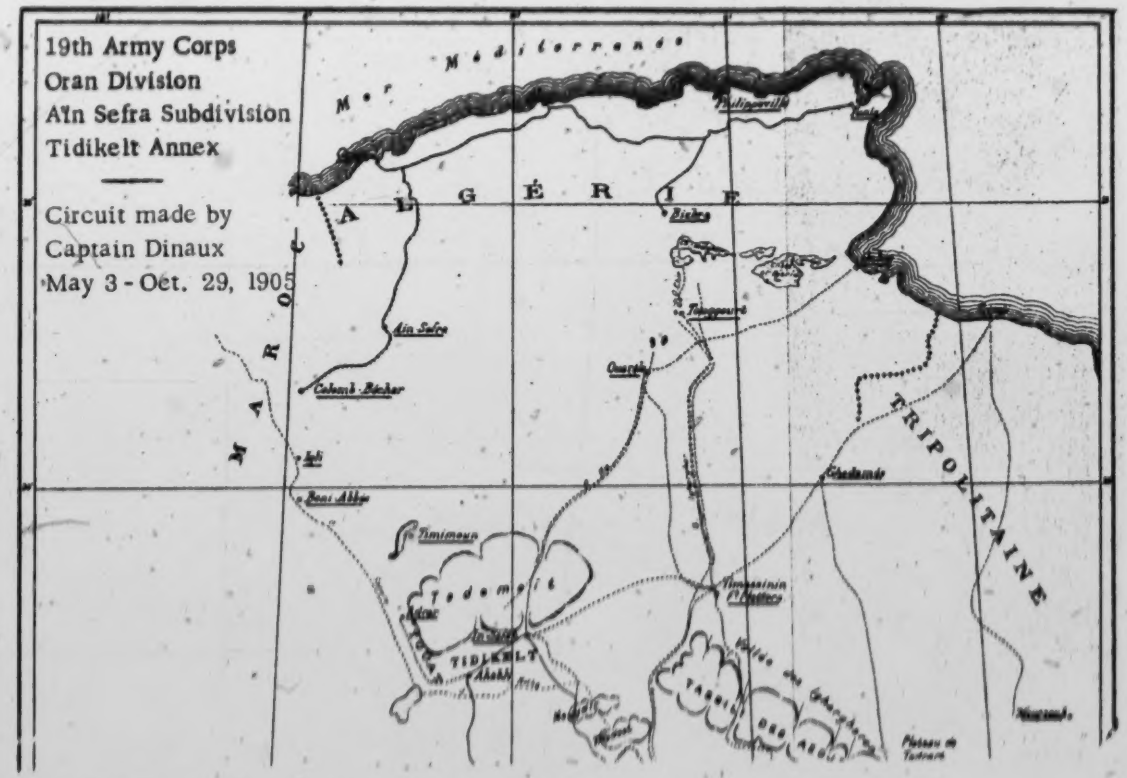


4. Benhazera--iv G-5 (1925) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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4: Benhazera--27 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The laws of hospitality, "amedjarou," are observed as 574
among all Moslems. The guest, "amadjar," is always well
received.

## Chapter XVI

## Hygiene. Diseases

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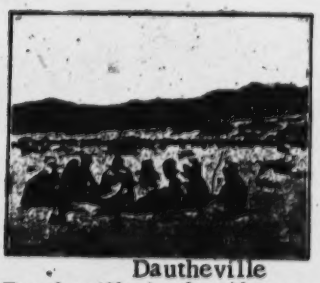

Dautheville
Dr. Dautheville in the Abezzou
Wadi (White Tifedest)

We know that the Tuareg have a horror of water. They do 515
not wash themselves on the pretext that this would make them
sick, but it is essentially because they are very sensitive to [151]
cold. To say their prayers, they do not indulge in the pre- [782
scribed ablutions, even when they are at home and have water 788]
at their disposal. They are content with "ta'moum" (an
imitation of washing with sand), which they call "ettamine."
The amenokal Moussa ag /31/ Amastane is the only Tuareg
whom I have seen making his ablutions with water.

This is also doubtless due to the fact that the Tuareg like 241
to keep the tint of indigo, "sedjeni" ⵙⵉⵏⵉ ⵊ , on their 302
skins, the result of wearing "chegga," or blue cotton, which 386
runs a great deal and of which they make their clothes. They 515

4: Benhazera--57a G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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In-Tekoufi Wadi (Tifedest)

and shields; mehari saddles, saddlebags in all shapes of carved 439
and colored leather, little leather boxes, glossy blue cloth, "ilechchane," gandurahs with sleeves, black cloth ("kehal") for veils, and finally "tikamarine," or dry cheeses. In the Aïr saddles for horses are made, shaped like Mexican saddles and having round stirrups of heavy copper covered with leopard-skin (the Amenokal Moussa ag Amastane has one).

To the Aïr, and sometimes to the Damergou, they bring salt taken from the sebka of Amadr'or, "chegga bought in the Tidikelt, camels, donkeys, dates bought in the Tidikelt, "teheredjlé" (Hartemisia herbalba, Composeae), etc.

[133]

Crater of the
Ouksem Volcano

3. Adhar and Niger, from which they get bechna, rice, sheep, and camels. They bring in salt, "chegga," and dates.

4. Ghat and Ghadames, but seldom. There they buy extra fine burnooses, sabers, sugar, tea, and "chegga." They bring in camels, waterskins, camel-hair ropes, and sheep. /69/

In addition, the people of the Tidikelt, especially the Ahl-Azzi, come to buy wheat and barley on the spot, which they gather into their "ar'erems."

The Tuareg of the Ahaggar would like very much to have, 439
like the Azdjer, the protection of the big caravans which go 484
from Tripoli to Ghat, to the Aïr, and to the Sudan. Thus they 427
would hire out their camels to traders, and this would be an important source of revenue for them (the Al-Loa'in already hire out their camels toGhat traders). They would very much like to see this current turned toward the Ahaggar, and we have the greatest interest in urging them on this course.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



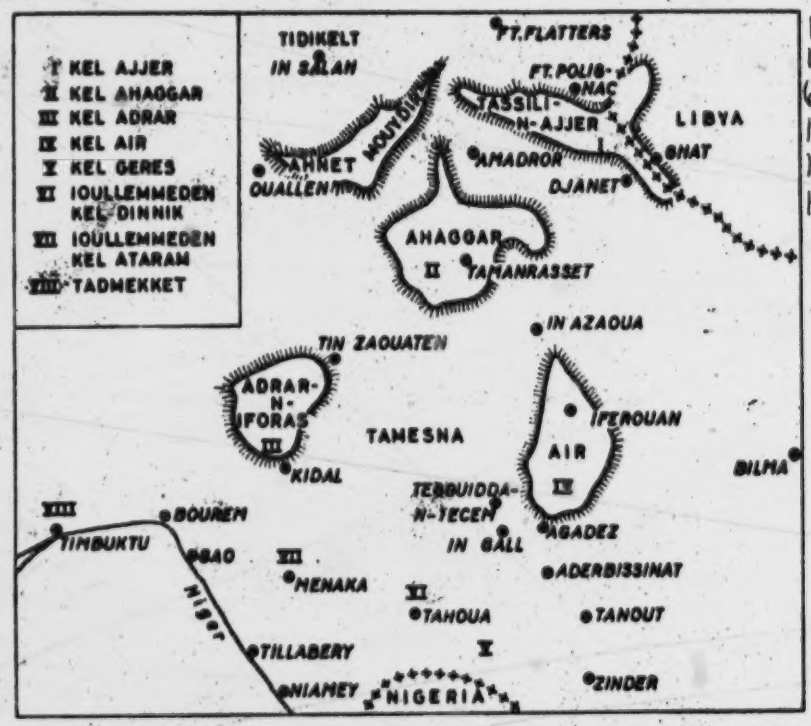


Fig. 1.–Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg, who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups as mentioned in the text are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. – The Tadmekket Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Ioullemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 160 kilometres.

those surviving, although emaciated, will quickly recover as soon as the rainfall starts again. In addition it is often very difficult to take goats through the barren desert country south of Ahaggar without severe loss. With camels, which are also very important domestic animals, things are different. Camels make a great demand on fodder, they are very valuable, can be sold for rather high prices in the oases, and they have a very slow increment compared with goats. For these reasons it is necessary or desirable to keep herds of camels in the south when pastures are dry in Ahaggar, and camels can be taken through the barren desert country without much difficulty. In dry years many Ahaggar Tuareg have their camel-herds in Tamesna, about 300 kilometres from the camps in Ahaggar, and there are even nomads who keep their she-camels constantly in these regions, where the animals are guarded by herdsmen who are frequently slaves.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



During drought periods the uttermost poverty is the lot of the Ahaggar Tuareg, 132 who must then rely almost exclusively on agricultural products for their nourish- 262 ment. But in years of abundant rainfall they have much milk during the winter, [234] and they make butter and cheese to be used during the hot season when milk even in good years is scarce. They then also have meat for their sustenance but this is less important than milk-food.

In good years the perennial plants do not form the most important fodder of the 137 domestic animals. For heavy rainfall will as if by magic change the barren country 233 outside the valleys. An extremely rich vegetation of annual grasses and herbs springs up, and these tender plants constitute the very best fodder. But as, owing to the irregularity of the rainfall, annual pastures will not appear every year, it is difficult to breed other animals than goats and camels to which can be added donkeys used exclusively as beasts of burden and for riding. It is true that most Ahaggar Tuareg have a few sheep but none of them have cows (zebus). Cow-breeding and also effective sheep-breeding cannot be practised in a country like Ahaggar where for a period of years there may be no pastures of annual plants. In dry years the thorny acacias form the most important fodder of camels and goats, but the leaves of these trees cannot be eaten by cows and only with great difficulty by sheep.

In Ahaggar rain may fall at most seasons as the country is situated on the 132 frontier of two different rainfall belts, namely that of the Mediterranean where rain occurs mainly in winter, and that of the Sudan where rain will fall late in summer. For a long period of years rain has fallen most abundantly late in summer, but according to Dubiéf this has not always been so. Not many years ago rainfall was almost equally common at all seasons (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23), and Ahaggar 137 still has the characteristics of two distinct climatic zones, likewise as botanically it belongs both to the Mediterranean and to the Sudan.

On my camel journey from Ahaggar to Air via the wells of In Ebeggi and In [132] Azaoua in April 1955 I experienced a rapid change of climatical and botanical conditions. At the outskirts of the southern slopes of the Ahaggar Mountains a persistent vegetation is very scarce in the valleys, and between the two above-mentioned wells there are practically no permanent plants. Broadly speaking the • [133] desert region between Ahaggar and Air is nothing but plains of gravel and stone interspersed with rocks and hills. But a little scattered rain will occur even in these regions and gives rise to annual pastures which are utilized by passing caravans. [132] Otherwise the country is uninhabitable.

In the northernmost part of the Air massif acacias and tufts of perennial grasses grow in most valleys as in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Mountains. But compared with Ahaggar permanent vegetation is very rich and in places forms almost impenetrable jungles of trees and brushwood. Further south in Air perenniel plants including trees are very common also outside the valleys, and the country south of the massif very rapidly changes into a kind of steppe or open savannah. The com-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air
Ahaggar



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Fig. 12.–Tuareg skin tent in a river valley of the Ahaggar Mountains. The sheet of skin sewn together is placed over three parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a horizontal crossbar. The middle pair is higher than the outer pairs. It may be substituted with two equally high pairs of posts with crossbars, or with two arches. Tuareg skin tents have mats to be drawn round the tent under the sheet of skin, and in winter the Ahaggar Tuareg frequently erect stone walls for protection against cold winds, as shown on this photograph.

184 Hourst 1898, p.105ff., 133. – Gabus 1945, p. 361. – Chudeau 1909, pl. XXXII–
342 XXXIII p. 218. – Le Coeur 1937, p. 42f. – Urvoy 1942, p. 33f., pl. I).

Mat-covered arched huts or tents are found only among the Southern Tuareg,
[171] and as such dwellings are found among many of their Sudanese neighbours it might
342 seem natural to consider them foreign to traditional Tuareg culture. However, the arched mat-covered tent of the Tuareg seems to be constructionally distinct from other barrel-vaulted dwellings. It consists of one to three wooden arches placed parallel to and between a pair of two or three short sticks supporting a horizontal crossbar. A number of very slender curved sticks cover the upper part of this construction. They are fastened to the arches and to the horizontal crossbars (cf. fig. 13). An arched hut of the same type, although more elaborate and solid, is found in certain Kel Owi villages (fig. 13,) as already mentioned p. 77, while the use of crossbars is apparently unknown to other peoples who have barrel-vaulted
171 huts (*The Songai:* – Barth 1857–58, V, p. 160, 163, 165f. – Dubois 1897, p. 232f.;
342 1911, p. 33. – Gabus 1948, p. 10. – Olufsen 1928, p. 137. – Prost 1954, p. 184ff. – Urvoy 1942, pl. II, 3. – Aymard 1911, p. 144 pl. 25; 1908, p. 183. – *The Fulani and*

133 /12 cont./ Beyond any doubt the country was destined to fire the imagination. This mass of mountains, rising below the northern Sahara, appears closed and hostile.

The deep gorges which traverse the tassilis /mountains/ are the doors to a region that seems to isolate itself from the world.

Leaving these somber gorges, one enters a domain of stone. Rocks are encountered in the strangest forms imaginable; there are immense domes of granite surging from a sand plain, or monoliths standing like a forest of dolmens; there are curious fissile schist formations, which seem like the leaves of some monstrous book. This landscape continues over hundreds of kilometers, unveiling a desert nature which adorns itself with the most extraordinary rock forms.

But the strangest is yet to be seen, the heart of the country: each valley there is an enigma; the volcanic crags which border the ravines seem to menace the intruder who dares to violate this domain.

The soil shows hues going from a delicate yellow to black, streaked with violet, green, blue, or pink veins. Jagged and smooth boulders pile up in indescribable chaos, and immense stretches of black and swollen stones seem to come from some devil's caldron.

114 The inhabitants once seemed to be as mysterious as the country which sheltered them. Their tall stature, their proud and disdainful bearing, and their faces veiled by the blue taguelmoust /veil/ were so many factors to stimulate the imagination. Stories circulated throughout the Sahara vaunting the warrior virtues of the Tuareg, their courage, their cruelty joined to a /13/ chivalrous sense of honor. They were, for some, the last of the Atlantes, for others, ancient Francs, whose sword in the form of a cross symbolized the lost faith.

However, little by little, explorers, administrative officers, scholars were to bring things into focus and to show the Ahaggar as it really is.

114 /13 cont./ The first clarification in the general knowledge of the region came from the reports of Barth and Duveyrier. Then followed the scientific works of Flamand, Maire, Reygasse, Kilian, Monod, Lelubre, Bordet, Follot, Dubief -- who laid the solid foundations for as exact a knowledge as possible of the country and its people.

The linguistic work of Father Foucauld portrayed in remarkable fashion the Tuareg and their language at the time he knew them.

Many explorers, notably M. Lhote, have left precise observations joined to personal impressions of the country.

Finally, the novel has spotlighted the Ahaggar, and for many of the French, L'Atlantide, that delightful fabrication by Pierre Benoît, furnishes the picture they have of the country. The last books of Frison-Roche also deserve a great deal of credit for the tourist movement which has begun to the Ahaggar.

## Morphology and Relief

•133 The mountain system which constitutes the Ahaggar seems, at first view, to lack coherence as an entity; its form is better seen upon closer examination. In order to have a schematic idea of the system, one can divide it into three large concentric zones: a central core, a peripheral trench, and the outside belt of tassilis.

In the center of the Ahaggar is an almost circular massif, a sort of plateau with an average altitude of 2, 000 meters, spiked with peaks reaching nearly 3, 000 meters: this is known to the Tuareg as the Atakor (skullcap). A rocky spur projects toward the north: this is the Tefedest, which reaches /15/ 2, 327 meters with the Garet el Djenoun at its northern extremity.

Around the central core, a sort of circular depression, varying in altitude from 500 to 800 meters, forms an almost perfect crown in which rise, here and there, granite crags of volcanic remains.

•133 /14/

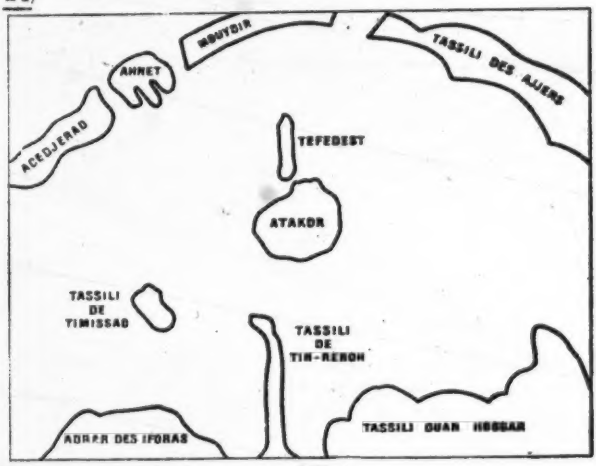
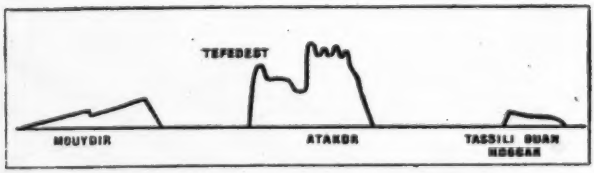



Diagram showing the concentric morphology of the Ahaggar.




North-south diagram of the Tuareg mountain system.

133 /15 cont./ Then around the central crystalline massif at an average distance of 200 kilometers is found a nearly continuous ring of plateaus, which form the outer belt of the Ahaggar. To the north is the Mouydir, then, going clockwise, comes the Tassili des Adjjer /Tassili des Ajjers/ to the east, the Tassili n'Ahaggar /Tassili du Hoggar/ to the southeast, the Tassili de Tin-Reroh to the south, the Tassili de Timissao to the southwest, and, to the northwest, the Acedjerad and the Ahnet, the latter of which borders the Mouydir.

The beds of just a few large quaternary wadis breach this ring of tassilis; they drain nearly all the waters of the Ahaggar. The Tamanrasset wadi disappears in a vast drainage basin north of the Adrar des Iforas; formerly, it must have joined the Niger at the Taoudeni basin. The Tafassasset wadi, which drains the eastern flank of the Ahaggar, now loses itself in the Ténéré; it must have been at one time a tributary of Lake Chad and not, as long believed, of the Niger. The Igharghar leaves the Ahaggar between the Mouydir and the Tassili des Adjjer; its course has been traced as far as the foot of the Aurès.

The Tin-Tarabin wadi drains the waters of the eastern slope of the Atakor.

The Ahaggar as a whole may be compared to an immense system of fortifications. The central massif would be the inner fort bristling with towers and falling off steeply to the surrounding moat. The tassilis, also with a sheer face toward the moat but sloping gently toward the exterior, would be the peripheral glacis. A north-south cross section brings out this defensive aspect of the Ahaggar.

The central core that the Tuareg call the Atakor (some translate this term by "middle of the mountains," others by "knot" where all the wadis originate) presents a /16/ gripping appearance of wild grandeur. It is a landscape bristling with vertical peaks about 3,000 meters in altitude, of which the Ilamane (2,823 meters) is typical. These are ancient volcanoes. They are thought to have thrown up a very viscous lava, which

133 /16 cont. / solidified almost immediately, a little like tooth-paste leaving the tube when it is slightly squeezed. The usual volcanic cone is very restricted; the attention is drawn only by the vertical or spiral columns constituting the peaks.

Sometimes immense tabular mountains, such as the Adrar In Taraf'n or the Adriane, bear witness to the volume of the volcanic flows, and their different planes seem to indicate the contour lines.

One also sees, towering over the immense plateaus covered with lava, veritable fortresses of stone that give the most curious effect in twilight; the Aounahampt, the Akarakar, and the Takouft are the most characteristic of this type. This is the domain of wild sheep.

The Tuareg were impressed by this strange relief. The Ilamane, so pure andmajestic, rising in state, facing south in the middle of an amphitheater of splendidly hued mountains, might have been, in their legends, a god whose praises were sung by the granite organs all around it. But this warrior people, little concerned with religious subjects, imagined a love story which caused a quarrel.

133 Several kilometers west of the Ilamane are two mountains;
773 the northernmost one, massive in form, is named Amdjer -- which, the legend says, was a man; the other, with a pointed summit, is named Tararat -- and Tararat was a woman.

Amdjer and Tararat loved each other. It came about that Ilamane also fell in love with Tararat. This passion was not, of course, well received by Amdjer, who reproached Ilamane. The latter, very violent by nature, struck Amdjer with his spear. Amdjer defended himself vigorously, fetching his attacker two mighty saber blows which completely convinced Ilamane that he shouldn't dispute Tararat with such a rival.... Since that time Amdjer and Tararat have been /17/ united by a chain, and the spear thrust which wounded the mountain is still visible; a spring flows from it as evidence that the wound has not yet healed. Ilamane, on each side of his summit, proudly bears the

133 /17 cont./ two gashes from the saber blows, a souvenir from
773 his youth of a duel of giants.

Some time after that incident, the peace of the Ahaggar was again disturbed. Ilamane fell in love with Tahat, who was a woman, but there was another suitor named Ti Hiyène. Fearing this rival and wiser by experience, Ilamane left the place where he had always been and settled down very close to Tahat, where he has remained ever since. Vexed at feeling himself scorned by Tahat, Ti Hiyène resolved to flee from the Ahaggar and go seek his fortune toward the Adrar des Iforas. He then left, going by way of the Amded wadi. Now, in the Amded wadi there was a mountain named Eheri. Eheri was brave, though peaceable. He respected the customs, and it did not seem proper to him that a mountain of the Ahaggar should thus leave his country for what was, all in all, a rather trifling reason. He left his place and planted himself squarely in the path of the runaway in order to bar the way. Ti Hiyène, informed of Eheri's gesture, doubtless learned his lesson, for he settled upstream, near the well of Tin-Dahar.

Since that time one may admire the Ilamane, fortunate conqueror, rising in state before the Tahat, and one may see his first site in the form of an immense circular crater which forms a depression to the west of the Ilamane wadi. Near the Amded wadi, a similar crater marks the former residence of Eheri. These circular depressions have long been enigmas to geologists.

"And the location of Ti Hiyène?" I asked Marly ag Amayas, who related this legend to me in detail. "Nobody knows it," he answered, "and this is understandable: when a man decides to leave after thinking it over, he moves quietly, thinking of his plans, and leaves no trace, while he who acts from sudden passion goes abruptly and leaves a deep mark on the ground."

133 A network of wadis separates these different summits, forming /18/ drops of from 800 to 1,000 meters. The upper valleys of these wadis are young and have a V form, true canyons out through the lava fields (Tarhoumout wadi). None of these wadis

133 /18 cont./ has finished cutting its bed; they have rapids and sometimes waterfalls where they cut a passage between two Adrars. At these spots, the water stands in permanent pools called gueltas. Certain of these gueltas (Issakarassène, Afilal) contain fish and are surrounded by luxuriant vegetation that contrasts sharply with the aridity of the country.

This region of the Atakor strongly impresses the traveler with the unbelievable hues taken on by the mountains during the course of the day. The wild majesty of the mountains calls up an anxiety hard to dismiss when one is traveling along acacia-lined wadis, guided by a veiled Targui, silent and supple, mounted on a camel whose padded tread blends with the uneasy silence. The zone of the peripheral trench, in which the relief is not very marked, has large regions which are nearly flat and which are often covered with a thin layer of sand. Sometimes small massifs cut the horizon, or, to the side exposed to the prevailing winds, a dune looms up: the Adrar Bourzekal is an example of this. Sometimes granite hills in the form of perfect domes, polished, shining, and mellowed, seem to surge from the horizontal sweep (Tesnou, Iniker, Ahélèheg), or there may be a colossal accumulation of glittering blocks and of nearly geometric forms, which give an appearance of ruins to these garas /flat-topped buttes left through erosion/ 60 to 100 meters high, as at In-Tédéini, or near Ideles, or in the region of the Debna.

In this zone the wadis coming from the Atakor spread out to such an extent that one can no longer distinguish any definite valley: it is more accurate to speak of distribution basins in which the water brought down by rather powerful floods meanders along in no fixed pattern. The passage of the water is sometimes marked by dry grasses and some rare
[137] tahlas /Acacia tortilis/. One again finds a valley where the wadi breaches a rocky barrier by cutting a straight groove through it, and beyond there is another basin. The basins become larger and larger as the distance from the Atakor

133 /18 cont./ increases, for /19/ the tributary basins converge and form an immense flat plain called aciaf by the Tuareg.

Seen from afar the tassilis appear to be impassable barriers whose tops, eaten by water erosion and battered by wind, give the illusion of a fortified city. Eroding wadis have cut through these sandstone plateaus, and their deep valleys with vertical sides constitute savage gorges at the bottom of which a relatively dense vegetation contrasts with the aridity of the plateau, which is wholly bare and raked by the winds. Numerous gueltas, often fringed with tahlis (a kind of reed), are found in these tassilis.

[103] Note. -- A few altitudes:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tahat | 3, 003 | meters | In the Atakor |
| Ilaman | 2, 823 | " | " " " |
| In-Taraïn | 2, 762 | " | " " " |
| Asekrem | 2, 804 | " | " " " |
| Tozat | 2, 400 | " | " " " |
| Akarakar | 2, 216 | " | " " " |
| In-Afilal | 2, 157 | " | " " " |
| Garet el Djenoun | 2, 327 | " | In the Tefedest |
| Ifetessen | 1, 680 | " | In the Mouydir |

## The Climate

132 Meteorological observations are regularly made only at Tamanrasset and only since 1929. There is a lack, therefore, of exact data for the whole territory. If it is known from Tuareg reports that it has rained in a certain place, the intensity of the precipitation is not known. The information concerning the winds and temperatures is still more vague. However, by taking into account the observations made at Tamanrasset and by examining the vegetation at different places in the Ahaggar annex, as well as the distribution of the fauna, one can distinguish three climatic zones, which correspond almost exactly

132 /22/ The elders of the camp, to whom the woman related
821 this adventure, said it was really the first time that the Kel es Souf had ever been agreeable.

Some time later the same woman, at the same place, saw a similar whirlwind. Hoping to be rewarded again by the genii, she saluted the whirlwind with gay "you-you" cries as it passed. She had cause to rue this; she was seized, swept from the ground, whirled to an unbelievable height, then abruptly let go to crash on the ground. As she fell, the Kel es Souf told her: "We are in the funeral procession of one of our kind; this is your punishment for mocking us." The woman was found with all her limbs broken. She told her story and died.

132 The climate of Tamanrasset, which at first seems agreeable because of the mild temperature, is enervating in the long run; this is agreed to by everyone who has lived there a certain length of time. Intellectual work is very tiring. Father de Foucauld tried to settle down at the top of the Asekrem, but found he couldn't work there as hard as he could elsewhere. The extreme nervousness that seizes men, and particularly women, after a long stay is also noticeable. What causes these troubles? Doubtless they are due to the combined effects of the altitude and the extreme dryness of the air. Some ascribe them to magnetic effects, and others blame radiations. (1) In point

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1. I once made a curious observation: two years ago I was collecting different rocks, which I tested with a Geiger counter. I marked on each rock the number of "clicks" per minute. One morning I wanted to test my samples. All my rocks were more radioactive by 25 "clicks." By chance, I was

132 /22 cont./ 133

able to report this anomaly to Father Bordet, a geologist come to study volcanism in the Ahaggar. He suggested cosmic radiations, but, not being a specialist in this field, he affirmed nothing, merely noting the information in order to pass it on to a qualified person.

132 of fact, no satisfactory answer has been found.

A second climatic zone is found in the peripheral trench. This region, situated at a lower altitude, has higher temperatures and much less rain. Vegetation is nearly nonexistent there; even in the wadis, the tahlas /see Appendix, Flora/ are not numerous and the morakba /Panicum turgidum/ is /23/ nearly always dry. The kranka no longer is found, nor is the éthel, /see appendix/, and the true Saharan climate reasserts itself, leading to the complete desert of the Tanezrouft and the Ténéré. The gazelles avoid the center of this region; they approach the more humid mountainous country according to the frequency of the rains which nourish acheb (pasturage).

Lastly, in the tassilis a distinction must be made between those in the north and those in the south.

The tassilis of the north receive winter rains nearly every year, and, more rarely, get precipitation coming from the Sudanese monsoon. Information on these regions is not plentiful and is inexact, except concerning the Mouydir, which is crossed by the route from In-Salah and flown over by airplanes from Algiers. It appears from reports of the Tuareg that the Mouydir receives more rain than the Ahnet and the Acedjerad, which seems reasonable because of its greater altitude, and perhaps also because of a system of atmospheric depressions which are suspected but which have not yet been studied.

132 /23 cont. / The kranka reappears, a sign of less aridity; the tahlas are fairly dense in the wadis; the gueltas /pools/ rarely dry up and are bordered with berdis /Formium tenax/. The wild sheep is a permanent resident of the summits.

There is still less information about the tassilis of the south. Facts are almost nonexistent for the Tassili n'Ahaggar. There is information given by the Tuareg about the Tassili de Tin-Reroh and the Tassili de Timissao, which are situated on caravan routes coming from the Adrar des Iforas toward the Tidikelt or the Ahaggar. They chiefly report summer rains, and rains abundant enough to engender acheb /pasturage/.

These tassilis receive little water from the "tornado tails" because of their medium altitude. However, it rains in the summer nearly every year. The wells of Tin-Reroh and Timissao are never dry. The Tin-Reroh guelts /pool/ sometimes is.

Although not a tassili, the northern border of the Adrar des Iforas has the same sort of climate. This section is of vital importance to the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, who /24/ graze their she-camels there. Summer rains occur regularly; the Sudanese monsoon causes periodic floods. The gueltas in the wadis fill up in the summer and may still have water when the next floods come. Gergir provides abundant pasturage; it lasts nearly all year. Ethel and tamarisk are dense in the wadis, and tahlas begin to grow on the hillsides. The flora of the wadis is more varied. Gazelles are plentiful; one sees Robert's does, oryx and addax antelopes. This is certainly the most favored region in the territory of the Ahaggar annex, but geographically it is already the Sudan.

## Water in the Ahaggar

133 312 [132] As in every desert region, the question of water is of primary importance. The Ahaggar is relatively favored by rains. Water points are numerous in the mountainous regions of the

133 /24 cont. / central core and of the tassilis. From this point of
312 view, then, it is easy enough to travel through those regions. But it is an entirely different story for the zone between the Atakor and the tassilis.

Wherever there is water, the landscape in the Ahaggar is transformed; an intense animal life develops; around the water points grows vegetation that seems luxuriant in contrast with the rest of the country. This thin trace of life has something touching about it, something timid and intimate in comparison with the grandiose face of the desert.

As a result of the crystalline nature of the soil, there is no artesian water table. The only hope of finding water is in the wadi beds, under the alluvial deposits, at depths varying from .20 to 15 meters. Occasionally, when the water table under the wadi is abundant, it flows out freely at a rocky shelf which forms an underground dam; such an outflow is called tiggert in Tamashek. When after a tiggert water accumulates in rock basins and the "potholes" of the rapids, there are gueltas (aguelmam in Tamashek) in which live fish and an entire aquatic fauna. As far as I know, there are only rare /25/ springs in the Ahaggar: we may cite the Chapuis spring near Tamanrasset, which flows from the granites of the Adrar Haggarène. Limestone deposits in certain wadis of the Tahalra permit the supposition that thermal springs may have existed formerly.

Nearly all the wadis originate in the central Ahaggar, the zone where the water is distributed. Two very large quaternary wadis, the Igharghar wadi and the Tamanrasset wadi, drain the waters of the west and north. The Tin-Tarabin wadi and the Tin-Amzi and Zazir wadis take the waters from the south and southeast slopes toward the Tamesnar, in the Azaouak wadi, a tributary of the Niger.

The Ahaggar wadis appear as a succession of basins descending from the summits like a giant staircase whose upper steps receive the water which sustains the only permanent vegetation of the country and which permits man to exercise his ingenuity

133 /25 cont. / in creating gardens. The lower steps, which spread out enormously, are dead to all sedentary life.

312 The Tamanrasset wadi affords a typical example of the Ahaggar wadi. Its source -- or more exactly, its head -- is at the Asekrem, nearly 2, 765 meters high; its mouth, that is to say, the last drainage basin, spreads out and loses itself in the Tanezrouft, at an altitude of 400 meters. Its present length is approximately 750 kilometers; if, in the quaternary period, the Tamanrasset wadi emptied into the Taoudéni depression, it must have measured more than 1, 400 kilometers. The descent in the upper part of its course is very steep, for at Amsel, 160 kilometers from its origin, the altitude has already dropped to 900 meters.

From its source down to Amselka, or about 200 kilometers, one may say that the Tamanrasset wadi is living: it has a distinct valley, the passage of the water is clearly marked; one sees terraces with clear-cut borders, and the valley is often cut in V shape. However, certain basins, such as the one at Tamanrasset (the village) give a preview of the large drainage zones downstream, evidence of a former, more humid epoch.

/26/ The description of this part of the wadi is merely an enumeration of the transversal valleys it cuts across; each of these has a corresponding rock shelf which is at the end of each basin.

In following the descent south of the Asekrem, one goes along a drainage trough which, after a kilometer, has already cut a ravine with sharply vertical sides from four to five meters high. The course then spreads out very wide, then comes a 20-meter fall into a basalt corrie with vertical columns reposing on the alluvial deposits; the valley continues, forming a canyon 60 meters wide and 30 meters deep. At this point the wadi takes the name "Tarhoumout"; it crosses a transversal valley after Mount Oul, the rocky shelf crops out, and abankor /water holes; are dug here.

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/26 cont. / The wadi runs toward the south, then turns eastward: there is then a series of rapids in a gorge where the permanent gueltas of Lundien are found. Then there is a new bend to the south, the valley runs along the Akarakar, narrows, and there is a new rock shelf and the guelta of Ifelouen.

The wadi leaves the Atakor in cutting a passage between the Isekram and the Ahounahampt. It empties into the site of Tamanrasset, where it widens, takes its final name, and receives its first important tributary, the Irharhar Tekecherouet, in which are found the "grand gueltas."

By the Iharen peak the rock is grooved in a corridor 15 meters deep and one or two meters wide for about 200 meters distance. Afterward the wadi is 400 meters wide. Foggaras /subterranean channels dug to tap underground water/ are dug in its bed; they irrigate the gardens of Hadriane and Tamanrasset, and of Tihegouine, a small agricultural center a kilometer downstream from Tamanrasset.

The valley soon widens but remains hemmed in, then narrows again at Tagrambalt, where a garden nourished by a foggara is found a little before an outcropping of rock. The valley then widens once more and reaches 600 meters across.

From this point on the wadi is always very wide, but it is dead. It runs toward the south, then, at the slight narrowing at Timguiaouine, it turns sharply toward the northwest. This may be a case of a former capture.

/27/ The valley becomes immense, the rock shelves are no longer perceptible; former water reaches are suspected where the wadi passes between two hills, but the course has the appearance of an absolutely flat and sterile reg, except toward the middle, where the presence of a few tufts of dried afazzou /Panicum turgidum/ shows that a modest trickle of water sometimes reaches this zone. Near a gara /butte/ encircled by pre-Islamic tombs, the Adjelman wadi meets the Tamanrasset wadi, but its waters cannot pass through because a barrier of dunes blocks its mouth. The Adjelman, which is four kilometers wide

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/27 cont./ at this place, will have a closed basin from now on. One cannot imagine a flood powerful enough to sweep away the sand-dune system which plugs the confluent.

Up to the Tassili de Timissao, the wadi appears to stretch out as far as eye can reach; it may be from 20 to 30 kilometers wide. It is a magnificent reg over which vehicles drive as if on a highway.

A few tahlas dot the course toward the center of the valley; dry stalks of gergir bear witness to a more humid time of long ago.

The confluent wadi Amded is obstructed by a large dune system; here again is a case of a large tributary having an independent basin, and its waters can no longer pass the sandy barrier which blocks their access to the Tamanrasset wadi. However, the Amded has vegetation up to its mouth during a wet year, such as 1950; at the very end of its course I have seen tufts of "had" and a few green tufts of morakba.

I have not personally followed the Tamanrasset wadi beyond Timissao; I have only the information supplied by the Tuareg, chiefly by the Kel-Ahnet.

The Ilafer wadi empties into the Tamanrasset wadi. Their junction forms an outsized flat, an immense sebkha, the final outlet for waters from such a flood as would be inconceivable in the Ahaggar at this time. Up until this point the course of the Tamanrasset wadi has been unobstructed, but, a little east of one degree longitude, it comes up against the Egtelis Erg. This is the present end of the wadi.

I have not been able to obtain any information about the extreme downstream course; it would require painstaking surveys to mark /28/ the ancient quaternary course, which is thought to have gone toward Taoudéni.

The flow of the wadi depends on the rains in the central Ahaggar, which is to say that it is extremely irregular. When, by chance, its upper tributaries -- including the Ajemet wadi -- are flowing, the water may reach to the low flats as far as

133 312 /28 cont. / Timissao, or so the Tuareg tell me, although I have never been able to determine when such a phenomenon last occurred. In 1948, I witnessed a flood; ten millimeters of rain fell in twelve minutes at Tamanrasset, but it was impossible to tell how hard and how long it rained in the mountains; four hours after the rain, the waters arrived like a rising tide, pushing the light detritus and, in effect, cleaning the wadi. At the end of a quarter of an hour, the water in the wadi measured 200 meters across; one could still cross the current with the water halfway up the thighs, leaning sharply to counteract the force of it, and a number of little pebbles could be felt pelting the legs. The flood lasted five hours. It reached only to Amsel, and only the tributaries above Tagrambalt were flowing. This flood, which, seen from Tamanrasset, appeared so considerable, resulted in only a slight infiltration of water, for the underground water level had only an insignificant rise.

Other than in the system of living and dead wadis, of which the Tamanrasset is only one example, water is found fairly deep under ground in the tassilis and close to them, due, no doubt, to the permeability of the sandstone.

312 Men may, then, obtain water for their use in several ways. The Tuareg know how to find, near the rock shelves and upstream of them, the place to dig down from 20 to 50 centimeters with a menassa /copper basin/ until the water seeps out: this type of water point is called an "abankor." The true well, the large one found along the caravan trails, is called "anou" (plural: "ounan").

The presence of these large wells is signaled from very far away by large redjems on the hills. Many paths seem to converge on a mysterious point; the nearer one approaches, the denser becomes the network of paths; then appears /29/ a vast trampled circle, strewn with camel droppings, and in the middle of this circle is the well.

The Tuareg have another name for the well used to irrigate the gardens: this is the "tanout" (plural: "tounin"). These

/157/ II

## Geology

133 Thanks to the work of C. Kilian, Th. Monod, J. Bourcart, and particularly to that of M. Lelubre, partially published, it is possible to give a general idea of the geological structure of the Ahaggar and to sketch in its history.

General view

A. The center of the massif is essentially crystalline, formed of very old rocks from the pre-Cambrian age, already partially leveled at the time of the transgression of the tassili. During the tertiary period there was a rejuvenation of the relief after a powerful volcanism. This mass with the crystalline base has an altitude of 2, 600 meters at the center of the massif; it slopes off at the periphery to form the trench separating the Atakor from the tassili.

B. The tassili are plateaus of nonmetamorphic sandstone. This sandstone surrounds the crystalline mass nearly uninterruptedly. Resting on the crystalline foundation are, first, conglomerates which constitute the lower sandstone of the inner tassili, then, sandstone in small columns, topped by graptolite-bearing schist (intra-tassili depression) and overlooked by the upper sandstone of the outer tassili.

The regions leading to the tassili show Devonian and Carboniferous formations with fossils.

M. Lelubre, going beyond the simple description of the rocks, has been able to determine the genesis and the geological history /158/ of the Ahaggar thanks to data from stratigraphy, lithology, and tectonics.

1. Stratigraphy. -- The schist which bears Gothlandian graptolites rests on nonmetamorphozed Ordovician, or perhaps Cambrian, sandstone, itself resting on a thick base of

133 /158 cont./ conglomerates which are unconforming on folded, granitized, and leveled crystalline schists; this permits the deduction that the lower crystallophyllian parts are pre-Cambrian. Furthermore, M. Lelubre has discovered in the pre-Cambrian crystalline region a Suggaro-Pharusian unconformity, thus showing the existence of an ancient Pharusian basin stretching like an immense north-south trench between two Suggarian massifs. The two lines of unconformity followed by M. Lelubre are marked by rhyolite massifs which emerge from the present-day reg, marking a former volcanism at the edge of these submeridian fractures similar to the recent breaks in eastern Africa. The eastern line of unconformity follows the 5° east longitude from the Adrar In-Hédrane to the north up to the eastern edge of the Tassili de Tin-Reroh; the western line goes from the In-Zize massif up the Adrar des Iforas (40 kilometers west of Tin-Elhaoua); it goes along the western border of the Tassili de Timissao. These two orogenic cycles, Suggarian and Pharusian, have their own special metamorphism, granitization, and foldings.

2. Lithology.--The main rocks surveyed by M. Lelubre are the crystalline schists, the granites, and the vein-bearing rocks /filons/.

The crystalline schists (mica schist, gneiss, etc.) form large mountains; Egéré, Arefsa, Tourha; they dominate in the Suggarian and Pharusian series.

There are granites from different ages. Those of the Pharusian type seem to be "punched out," having produced metamorphic aureoles by contact, such as the Serkout, In-Tounin, Tesselit. Other, older granites appear in "large elongated north-south ellipses"; the Tefedest massif is one of these types.

The main vein-bearing rocks are the microgranites: Tarahouaout and Sersouf regions. Pegmatites are /159/ abundant in the granites and the gneisses; veins of quartz seem to fill vast cracks and form long mountains: border of

133 /159 cont./ the Igharghar wadi. The rhyolites form enormous massifs west of the Ahaggar, aligned in two long belts. Nice series of cipolins and marbles, only calcareous rocks of the Ahaggar, are found in the Egéré, the Tourha, and at Azrou. Finally, volcanic rocks cover immense areas, particularly in the center of the Ahaggar.

3. Tectonics. -- Due to the resistance to erosion of the cipolins, M. Lelubre has been able to inspect a very old flexible dislocation upon which a faulted dislocation is superposed: a phenomenon perhaps resulting from Pharusian orgénèse. /Note: the latter word doubtlessly is a misprint for orogénèse, "mountain building." -- Tr./ Then, Hercynian tectonics are marked in the tassili by very large fold-faults. Finally, there are fractures, resulting from the under folds of the Alpine system, which doubtlessly are linked with recent volcanism.

## Geologic History of the Ahaggar

### 1. Pre-Cambrian

a) Suggarian cycle. Nearly all the crystalline schists of the Ahaggar are from this age. It is almost impossible to set up time divisions during this period which witnessed intense sedimentation followed by folding of the Appalachian type. This cycle ended by the emersion of the Suggarian chains.

b) Pharusian cycle. A long period of erosion followed, filling in the inter-Suggarian furrow. These series underwent a less intense metamorphism than in the preceding cycle. Heavy folding occurred and "punched out" granites later appeared. Rhyolite emissions may be placed in the lower Pharusian.

• 133 /159 cont./

2. Tassili Transgression. Hercynian Cycle.

The conclusion of the Pharusian cycle marks the end of the depth history of the Ahaggar, which from then on consists of a solid system /160/ reinforced by granitic intrusions. An erosion of long duration affected this old massif. It cannot be said whether or not the transgression which followed reached the whole Ahaggar, but its extent shows that it was on a continental scale.

Certain schists contain the first dated fossils: graptolites from the lower Gothlandian. In an upper series, Conrad Kilian has been able to show periods of lagoons, which represent light Caledonian movements. Conglomerates separate the post-tassili series which is ascribed to the middle Devonian or the Carboniferous. This uncovered series is affected by deep Hercynian folds, with the most striking example being the great fault of Tadjemout. It is not known to what extent this folding has affected the crystalline substratum.

3. Cenomanian Transgression

The great marine invasion which covered the Sahara in the middle Cretaceous and cut Africa in two spared the Ahaggar. C. Kilian has found merely a little Cretaceous material in the Amguid region. This doubtlessly was the last incursion of the sea, and it seems really to be a question of no more than a gulf.

4. Alpine Cycle

It was not until the Alpine folding that one sees an orogenic manifestation in Tuareg country. We may admit as true that the reaction to this folding caused volcanism in the Tertiary and the Quaternary, the lava of which covers a large part of

133 /160 cont. / the Ahaggar and which must have lifted the central core. A thorough study of this volcanism has not yet been made by specialized geologists (1). Perhaps it will be

1. Since 1950, P. Bordet has been studying volcanism in the Ahaggar. M. Lelubre's thesis on the pre-Cambrian in the Ahaggar was published during the Geological Congress of Algiers in October, 1952. On this occasion several regional monographs concerning the Ahaggar were published: L'antécambrien de l'Ahaggar /The Pre-Cambrian in the Ahaggar/ by M. Lelubre; Les appareils volcaniques de l'Ahaggar /Volcanic Mechanisms of the Ahaggar/ by Bordet; Ahnet et Mouydir /Ahnet and Mouydir/ by J. Follot.

possible to /161/ separate the essential phases of this eruptive whole.

Study of the Quaternary has not been undertaken. Such a study would perhaps enable us to establish some points very interesting for archeology, notably the advances and retreats of the desert climate.

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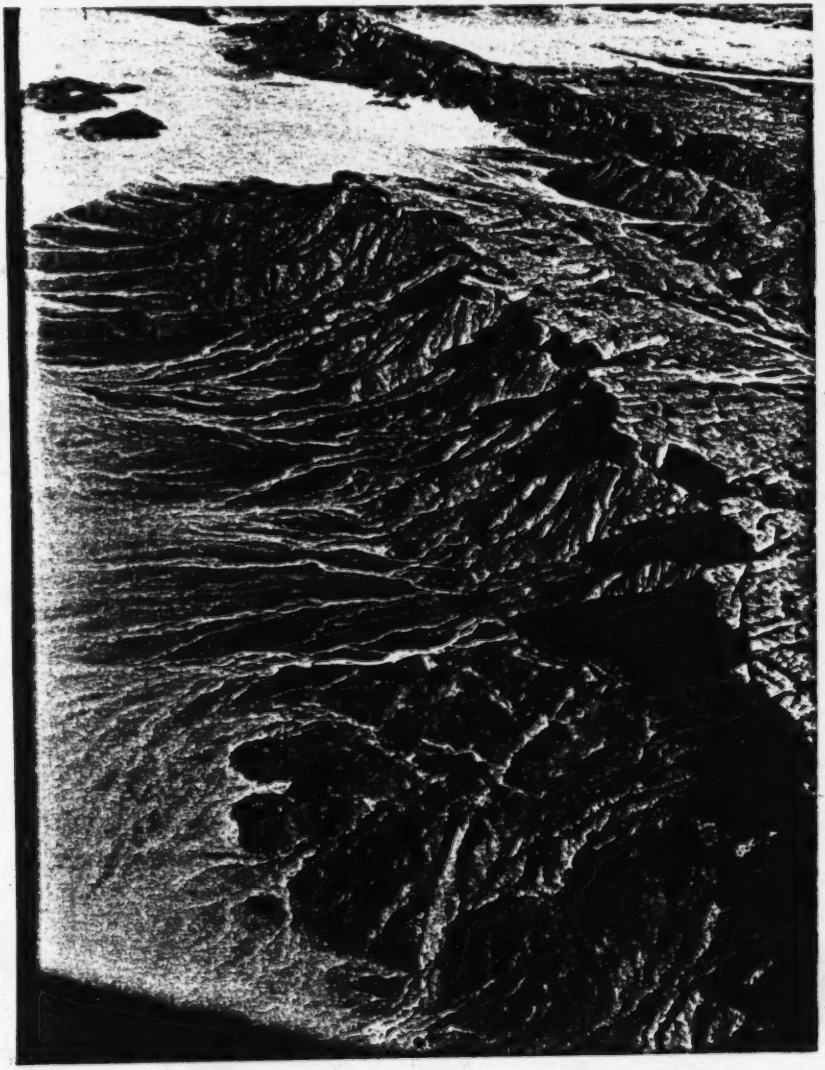
## III

## Meteorology

132 Following are some figures concerning meteorology, furnished by the Tamanrasset observatory and the O. N. M. station.

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

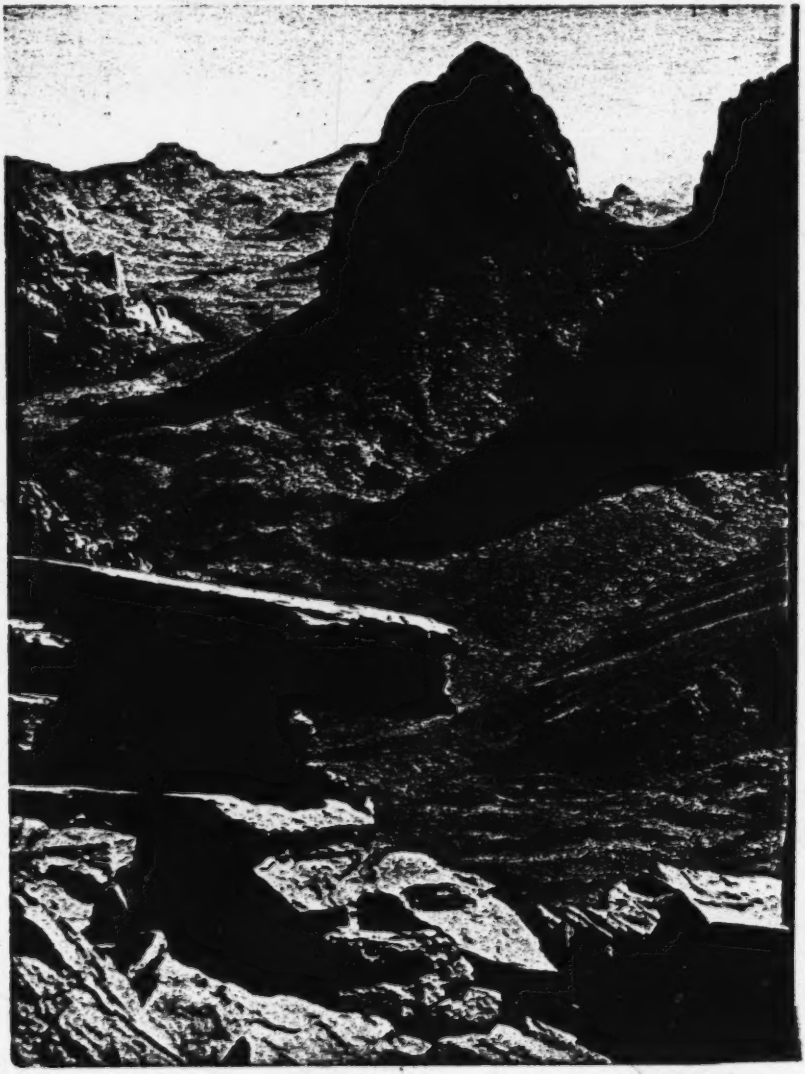
133



1. Aerial view of the Adriane massif.

[p. 183]

133

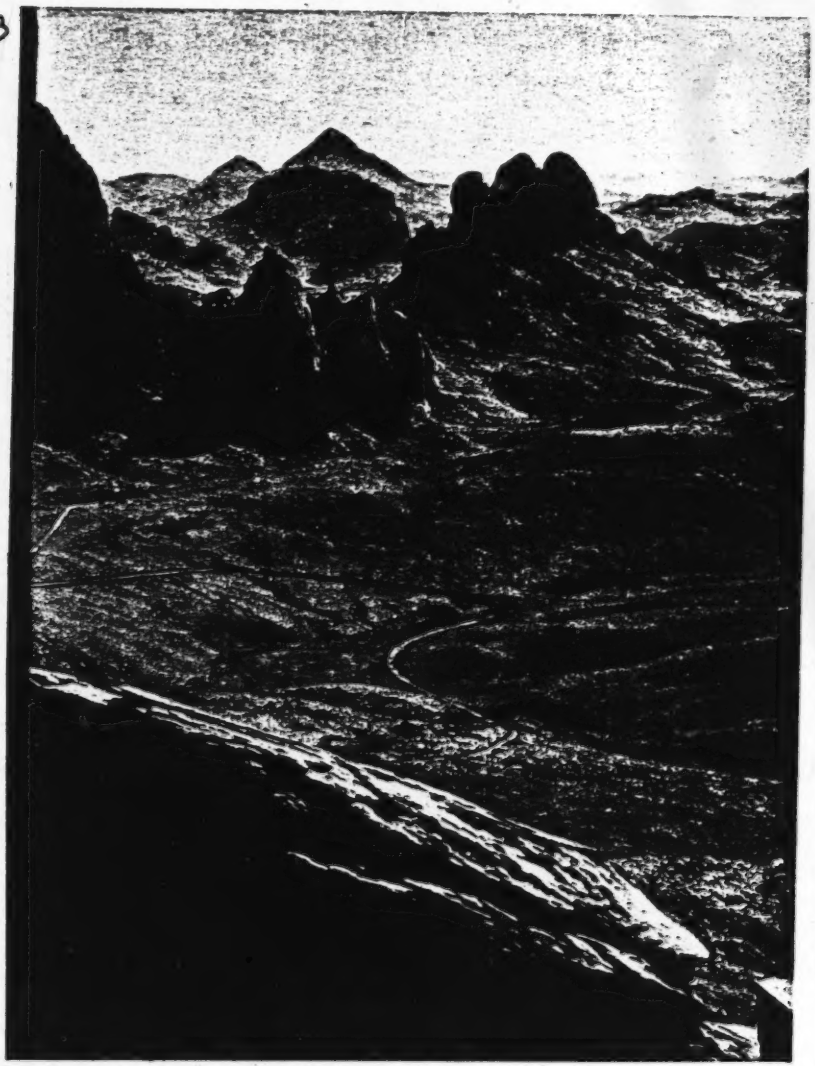


2a. In the Atakor, heart of the Ahaggar, the Fidjemayène massif seen from the Séouénane summit.

[p. 184] [left] [see p. 185]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

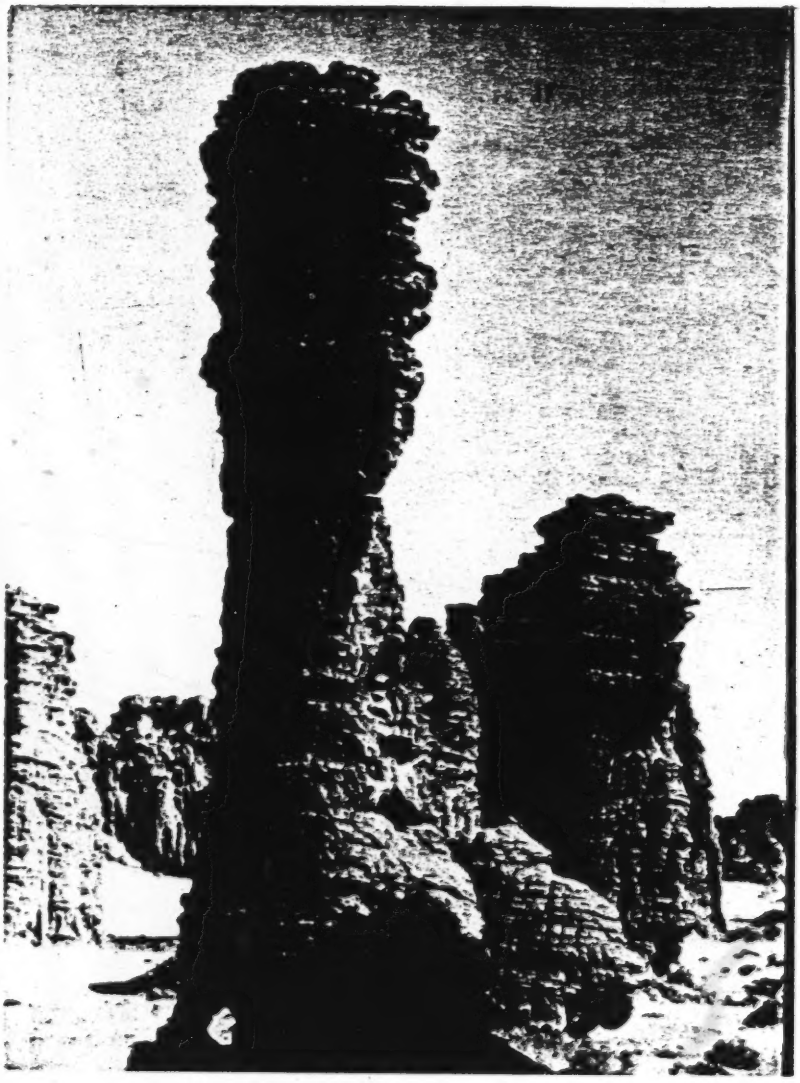
133



2b.

[p.185] [Right - see p.184]

133



4a. Tassili landscape.

[p. 188] [left - see p. 189]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

● 193

4b. [p. 189] [Right- see p. 188]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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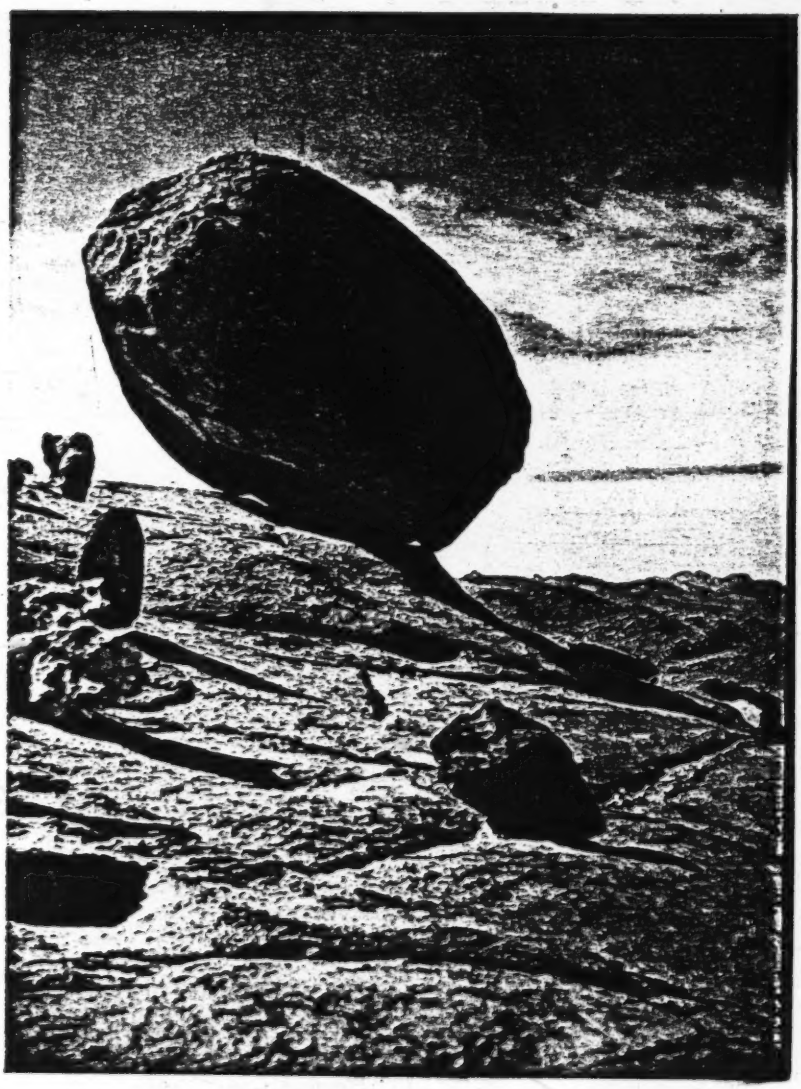


5. Phenomenon of granitic erosion (in the Mertoutek wadi).

[p. 190]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

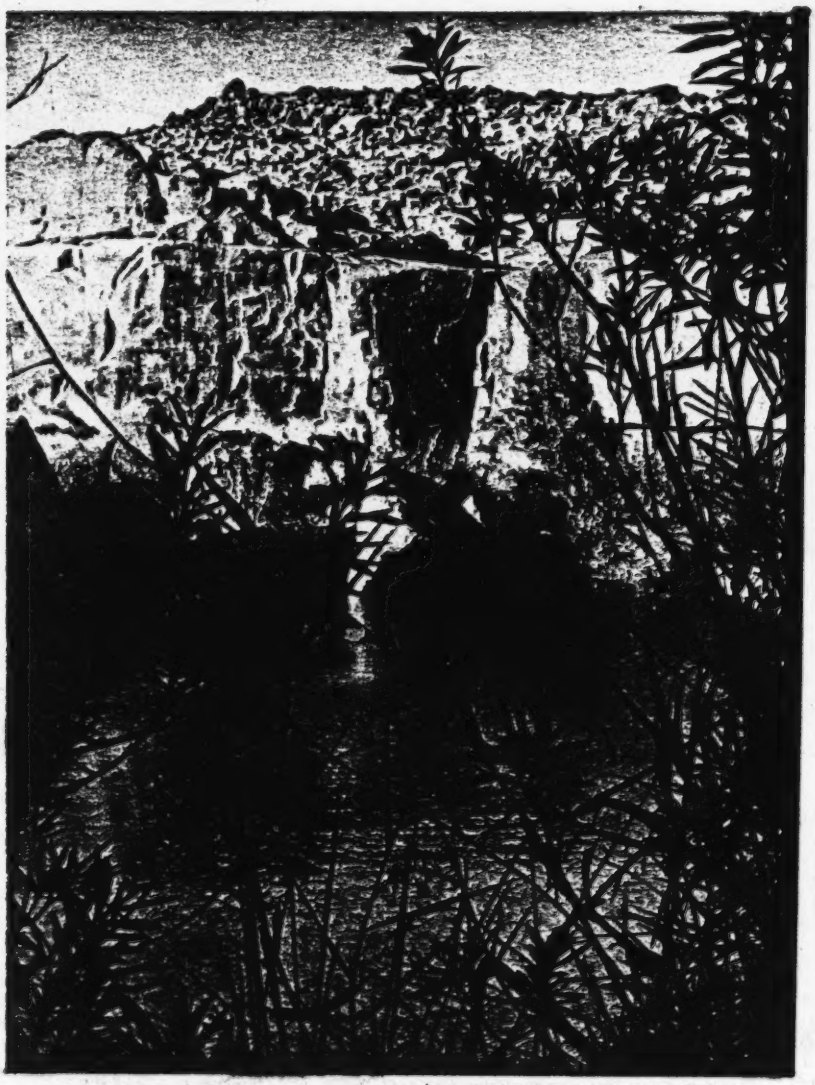
133

6. In a wadi of the Atakor during a dry period.

[p. 191]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

•133
137



7. Oleanders bordering the Issakarassène guelta.

[p. 192]

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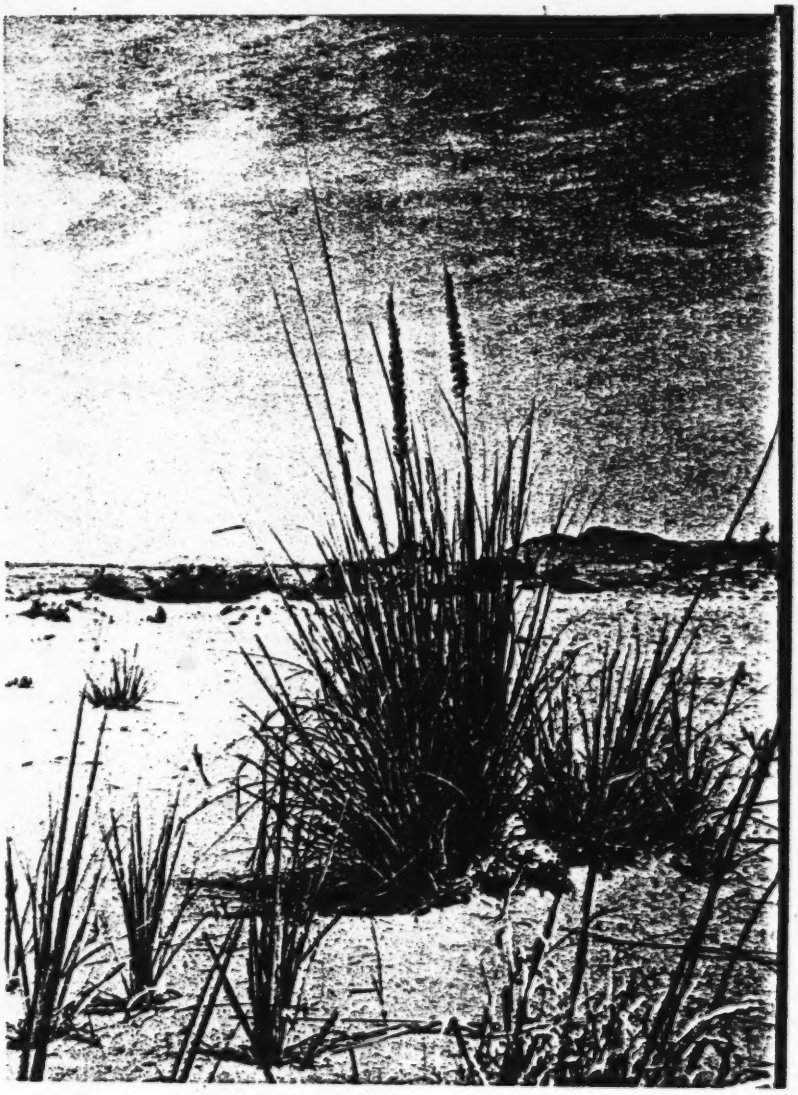
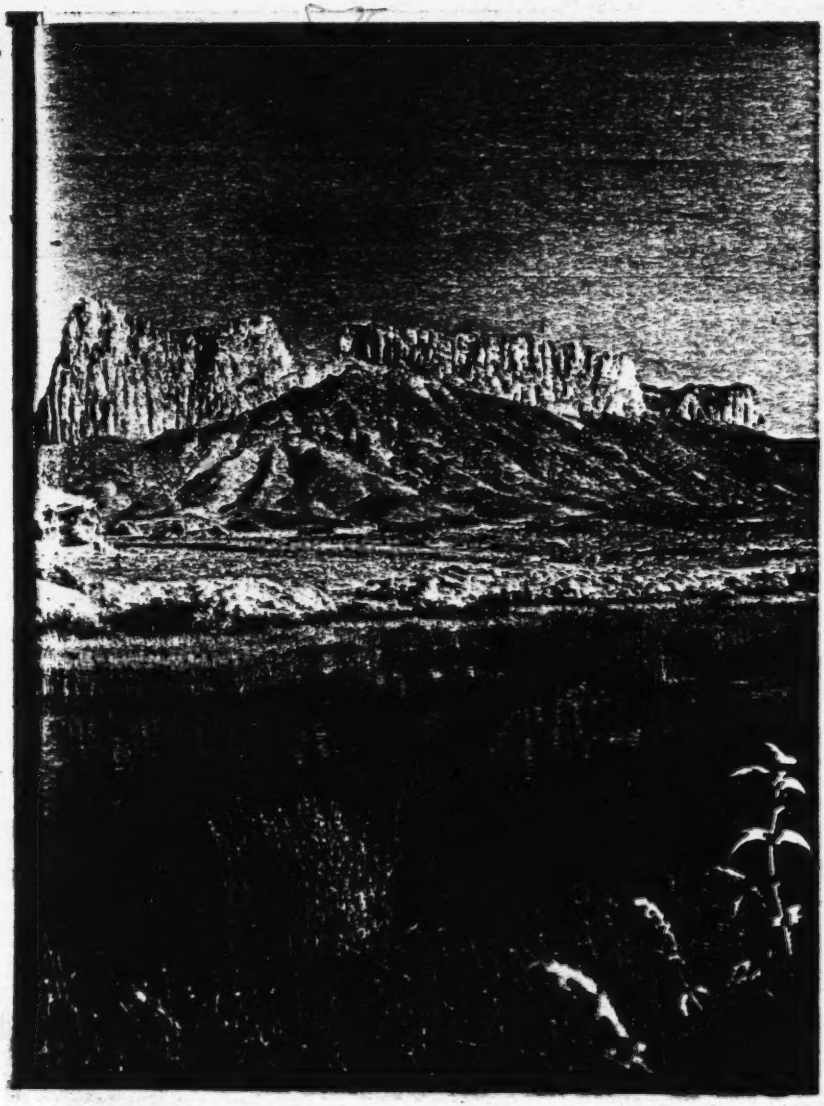
137



11. A tesendgelt (Eragrostis bipinnata).

[P.196]

133



12. Tamanrasset. The Adriane agricultural center.

[p. 197]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

133
137

13. A thora (Callotropis proscera) in the Tamanrasset wadi.

[p. 198]

# Environment

Tuareg country ranges from comparatively fertile savannah in the south to barren desert in the north, where the nomads live in or near mountainous regions. Four Tuareg groups are named after the dominant mountains of the Western Sahara, namely those of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, Adɾaɾ-n-Foɾas, and Ayr. 133 [101]

The mountains of Ahaggar are by far the highest. They consist predominantly of archaic and proterozoic rocks, and of basalt and tufa from a relatively recent period. They are generally of a very dark colour and characterized by formations of rugged ranges, craters and isolated peaks which also bear evidence to former volcanic activity. But the rugged contours of the Ahaggar Mountains are also created by a complicated network of river valleys eroded mainly during the pluvial periods contemporary with the European Ice Age.

The Ahaggar Mountains fall into three main massifs of which that named Atakor is the most important and the highest, with peaks up to 3000 metres above sea level (Ilaman, Tahat). To the north is the massif of Téfedest with peaks which surpass an altitude of 2000 metres, and to the east the lower massif named Anahef. In geological structure these three mountain massifs of Ahaggar differ from the mountains of Ahnet, Immidir (Mouydir), and Tasilé-n-Ajjer which surround Ahaggar in the north. These latter massifs consist predominantly of paleozoic sandstone. They are not so high above sea level and form comparatively flat plateaux. The maximum altitude of Ahnet is 1300 metres while the peaks of Immidir rise to 1680 metres. The extensive plateau of Tasilé-n-Ajjer is on average 1200 metres above sea level, but a few peaks in the south exceed 2000 metres. Parts of the Tasilé-n-Ajjer mountains are covered with basalt rocks, and the river valleys of the comparatively level plateau often form true canyons which make traffic much more difficult than in the higher and more rugged mountains of Ahaggar. Between and around the northern mountain massifs the country consists mainly of flat plains covered with gravel and stone. Extensive areas of sandy desert are rare except in parts of the *Kel Ajjer* territory. [137]

Far to the south of Ahaggar are the low mountains of Tasilé-ta-n-Ahaggar, which are structurally related to the *tasilé* mountains in the north. This area is of little importance to the Tuareg and, in contrast to the higher and more extensive massifs of Adɾaɾ-n-Foɾas and Ayr, is not regularly inhabited. [131] While the mountains of Adɾaɾ-n-Foɾas are everywhere below 1000 metres, the peaks of Ayr rise to almost 2000 metres above sea level in the east and the north where the country is covered with basalt rocks. Idukalen in the Begzen Mountains is 1900 metres above sea level, while the Tamgak Mountains in the north have a maximum altitude of about 1800 metres. In its most mountainous parts the Ayr

[p. 25]

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133 Massif resembles Ahaggar, but it is on the whole much more level with broader valleys and in between
131 the lower mountains there are clayey plains. Immediately east of the Massif is the very extended sandy desert which is uninhabited. Further south than Adrar-n-Foras and Ayr there are no considerable mountains. Between the two massifs are the plains of Tamesna and Talak which continue into the plains of the Sudanese savannah.

Tuareg country consists predominantly of rocky mountains and flat, extensive plains of gravel and stone. This configuration is basic to our understanding of Tuareg economy as will become clear when we have outlined the characteristic features of climate.

132 Tuareg country is very hot in summer – so hot that even the nomads born and bred in the country suffer much from the heat at that season. The hottest months are May, June (farthest south) and July (farthest north). During these months temperature may exceed 50° centigrade, and is on average 30°–35°, or higher. In the uppermost mountain zone of Ahaggar nights are comparatively cool even in summer, while in the lower country there is often little difference between day and night temperatures. This is true in particular when, as often happens in summer, the sky is overcast during the night and consequently there is little radiation of the heat absorbed by rocks and sand in daytime. The day temperature in summer is normally higher than the temperature of the human body, and the
494 temperature of sand and rocks will rise to 60°–70°. Travelling is extremely hard under such conditions,
271 and most people spend the day in the shade of rocks and trees, sleeping and drinking water of which an adult person consumes 8–10 litres a day. Violent winds are common in the Sahara most of the year and in particular in the daytime; in summer these winds are usually very hot and add considerably to the discomfort of the climate, as do the numerous flies.

The country of the Northern Tuareg has a rather continental climate characterized by great fluctuations of temperature during the year. Although Tuareg suffer from heat in summer, they do not generally complain much about it, and they consider the comparatively cold winter much worse than the hot summer. In winter, temperature in the country of the Northern Tuareg averages about 10°. The absolute minimum temperature however is very much below this. Thus in Ahaggar the village of Tamanrasset (1400 m) has in January an average temperature of 11,7 , but an absolute minimum of –6,6 . Frost is very common during winter nights, and even snow may fall in the higher parts of Ahaggar at that time of the year. In the country of the Southern Tuareg frost may also occur, but in Southern Ayr around Agadez frost is said to be very rare and snow is unknown; the winter period
511 in the south is on the whole milder than in the north, where the changes between relatively cold and
164 very hot temperatures, allied with inadequate dwellings and clothes, are responsible for pneumonia and similar diseases, which give rise to frequent deaths – especially among children.

The most important climatic distinction between the countries of Northern and Southern Tuareg is due to differences in the annual precipitation as will be seen from the following figures (in m/m) for the annual rainfall 1931–1945 in the territories of seven Tuareg groups:—

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The climatic and botanical differences between Ayr and Ahaggar can be seen directly from Tuareg division of the year into four seasons each having a duration of about three months. Ayr has a summer season and a winter season between which there are two seasons termed *akasa* (sometimes also called *él*, or *érafit*) and *ṛarat*. These two words as seasonal terms indicate that rain and annual vegetation in Ayr are recurrent events. For the word *akasa* literally means "green annual plants" while the word *ṛarat* refers to "dry annual plants". The season *ṛarat*, most of which is extremely dry, is followed by the winter season *tigrest* where rain does not fall, though the northern outskirts of Ayr sometimes have a little rain at this season. The transitional period between winter and summer known as *tabsit* is not considered a main season, but it is frequently mentioned by the Tuareg because certain perennial plants germinate at that time of the year. The summer season *éwilen* is extremely hot and rainless. It is the season of defoliation for acacias and various other perennial plants which change their leaves – generally in the way that they do not loose all leaves at one and the same time. Therefore, even in summer most acacias have some green leaves, though in certain places where rain has not fallen abundantly acacias may loose all their leaves in summer. In certain unfavourable regions outside of the Ayr Massif, acacias may even be without green leaves for a few years, but such trees become verdant again with heavy rainfalls. Scattered barren acacias are found mainly to the north of the Massif. The Tuareg say that acacias can survive an extremely long period of drought during which they are entirely dry. But they normally become green again when rainfalls start. The beginning of the rains is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *t'ézewek*.

In Ahaggar the Tuareg reckon with a summer season named *éwlen* and a winter season called *tagrest*. These two seasons are separated by the autumn known as *amewan* and the spring termed *tafsit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg know the words *akasa* and *ṛarat*, but do not employ them for seasonal terms because rain and annual pasture do not recur annually in their country. The summer season *éwilen* is extremely hot, but it is not the proper season of defoliation for acacias, which under favourable conditions are green in summer and defoliate in winter. The autumn *amewan* which follows upon the summer is characterized by less hot temperatures and gradually changes into *tagrest* (winter) when frost is extremely common during night, and snow falls in the mountains. This cold winter season is followed by the spring *tafsit* when many perennial plants germinate.

As will be seen from this description of the year in Ayr and Ahaggar these two countries differ much in regard to climate and plant development. Within each of the two areas there are climatical and botanical zones which are very different.

The Ahaggar Mountains, according to Maire, fall into three distinct zones of vegetation:— 1) *A Tropical Zone* up to 1700–1800 metres above sea level. 2) *A Lower Mediterranean Zone* between 1800 and 2300–2400 metres above sea level. 3) An *Upper Mediterranean Zone* from about 2400 metres up to 2918 metres which is the extreme altitude of Ahaggar (cf. Maire 1933 & 1940; Lhote 1955, p. 41 f.). This division of the Ahaggar Mountains into zones of vegetation by a learned botanist seems to correspond largely with the division of the mountains into three distinct zones by the Tuareg. These three Tuareg zones and their characteristic perennial plants are the following:—

1) *Abada*, the lower parts of Ahaggar where perennial plants are abundant along the broad river valleys. Trees are very important the main species being various acacias (*abser*, *Acacia Raddiana* &

[text continues on p. 31]

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Fig. 17. A slave-boy takes kids out of the stone-enclosure (*aḡror*) to let them suck. Ahaggar, the *Aḡuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

*233 yielding decreases after mating. It is said that some goats yield milk in the whole period of gestation, while others have no milk whatever during most of that period.

The advantage of free mating is further reduced because goats, if mated too often, become emaciated, and for the northern breed their coat of long hair, so important to craft (cf. p. 263 ff.), will not develop fully. Added to this, kids born in the hot summer season will often be of inferior quality, as they suffer from heat and the lack of fresh annual plants during their period of growth. Again, the mother animals may yield so little milk in summer that it is not even sufficient for the nourishment of their kids.

The free mating of goats is not generally desirable, and therefore most Tuareg practise a system of regulation which varies with the qualities of pastures. If reproduction of the flock is badly needed it may happen that all goats are mated twice a year, but it is considered an ideal in good years to divide the animals into two parts which bring forth kids and yield milk at different seasons.

*233 In Ayr when the flock is divided into two parts to bring forth kids and yield milk at different seasons,
132 one part brings forth kids during the season of *akasa* when the pastures of annual plants are very
[137] rich, the other at the end of the winter season during the period known as *tabsit* at which time certain other plants germinate, and fruit-pods of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*), which are extremely good for fodder, fall to the ground. If kids are wanted for a flock during the season of *akasa*, which is the best season for the birth of kids, the goats are mated in winter. When all the she-goats have been covered, the penis of the he-goat is bound around the foreskin by means of a cord – a method which is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ékkan*, to the Northern Tuareg as *ayun* (cf. Fig. 25). If kids are wanted for a flock in spring at the season of *tabsit*, mating stops with the binding of he-goats at the

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## CAMELS

*233 [433] [171] Camels are very important domestic animals in all Tuareg groups, and they also play a great part in the subsistence of most Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. The common Arab camel breed, which is known to the Tuareg as *marroki*, is also found in Northern Tuareg country – particularly among the *Kel Aljer*. It is heavily built and is extremely well fitted for transportation. It is a very strong breed in spite of its relatively low stature, and it has large feet which is considered an eminent quality for pack camels. This *marroki* camel has a thick cover of wool on the hump and on the fore-part of the body, while Tuareg camels, which are of higher stature and more elegantly built, in general have little or no wool, but only a short coat of hair much like that of cows and horses. Tuareg camels may have long hairs around the hump but true Tuareg camels have no proper coat of wool. Though the *marroki* breed is excellent for transportation and is considered a better milch-animal than the southern Tuareg breed, the Tuareg generally prefer their own elegantly built camels, and they look down upon the heavily built camels of the north. However, as mentioned, there are some *marroki*

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Fig. 33. Tuareg with riding camels. Ahaggar, the *Ajjab-en-tekki* tribe.

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Fig. 35. A young camel (about 14 months old) sucks its mother before milking. The Tuareg boy bends up the right foreleg of the she-camel and ties it in this bent position to the left foreleg – a method known as *ésemmetil*; it is applied to she-camels that are restless during milking. The she-camel has the colour name *téserift*, its big calf that of *aslay*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

*233 (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 15, 76 ff.). I have inquired about this, and the Tuareg seem to hold that
[014] all camels have an identical number of teeth.

She-camels should ideally be reserved for breeding which is a very slow process. A severe loss of goats during a drought can be restored quickly once rainfalls start again, but this is not so with a loss of camels. She-camels are not generally mated until they are about three years old, and their gestation period is about one year. In addition, she-camels get only one calf which has a long period of sucking so that a she-camel is frequently not mated until one year after the birth of a calf. In other words:—
[435] One she-camel has only one calf every two years. For this reason, and because a grown camel has about the same value as 25–30 goats, the Tuareg pay much more attention to camel-breeding than to the breeding of goats and sheep.

Most she-camels are mated during the cold season in Ahaggar, while the proper season of mating in Ayr is *akasa* with the beginning of *ṛarat*, though some she-camels are also mated in the spring period known as *tabsit*. As the gestation period is about one year most camel calves are born during the cold season in the north, in the rainy season when annual plants are well developed in the south. The rutting male camels roam freely in search of she-camels on heat, and a Tuareg may own several she-camels and not even possess a bull-camel for breeding. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr there are Tuareg who try to keep their very excellent bull-camels away from herds other than their own, but this is considered very bad conduct. In fact, there are Tuareg who do not know with which bull-camels their she-camels mate though the act of mating is normally seen and heard by somebody. Mating is also very frequently arranged by the Tuareg who then assist the bull-camel in introducing its penis into the she-camel's vagina. The act of mating may be connected with some difficulty for the bull-camel because the she-camel has to lie down on the ground during copulation.

A she-camel is well looked after during the period it is expected to have a calf. She stands upright while bearing the calf, and the umbilical cord breaks when the calf falls to the ground. The birth of a calf is not always seen by the owners but they will generally be present at least a few hours after birth.

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Fig. 36. Two Ayr Tuareg milking a she-camel with the colour name *tawinak*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

They draw out the placenta (in Ayr known as *t'imidin*) by the attachment of a heavy stone to the membrane (*abayor*). It is also common a few hours after birth to draw a little milk from the mother camel and pour this milk into the calf's mouth in order that the new-born animal may be able to stand upright and suck its mother quickly. When this has been done it is normal to bleed the mother-camel. Some milk drawn on the day a she-camel has borne a calf is frequently consumed by the Tuareg (cf. *ádeyes*, p. 221), but with this exception the new-born calf is allowed to drink all its mother's milk for the first days after birth. The period during which the calf sucks freely varies. It depends on the yield of the mother-camel and is also determined by the amount of milk available to the owners from other animals. Milking may exceptionally start already four or five days after birth, but this is not normal. The calf is frequently allowed all milk for a fortnight, or even for a whole month. In Ahaggar when pastures are very dry it is quite normal not to milk a mother-camel at all for a still longer period.

The entire suckling period, that is the period in which the calf is allowed to drink part of its mother's milk, including the short period when it sucks freely, also varies. But here there is one main rule: a calf is allowed to suck as long as its mother-camel is milked, for she-camels, like cows, do not generally yield milk unless they have their calves close to them. It is normal to mate a she-camel about one year after the birth of a calf. She will then yield milk for about six months after mating, so that the total suckling period is about 18 months, at the end of which period the calf will be allowed very little milk. If a she-camel is not mated so soon it may yield milk for a longer period, and the suckling period may even be up to about two years when the calf is a grown animal almost as big as its mother.

There are various methods to secure milking in case a camel has lost its calf. The dead calf may be substituted by another calf, but the dummy-calf is also used with she-camels. This device is known as *ahayoy* (Ahaggar), or *azeyaz* (Ayr). Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr it is claimed that some she-camels can be milked without their calves if their udder is patted in a particular way with the hands – which treatment is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the name *ewlewl*. The method of blowing into the vagina described above for cows (p. 51) is never employed with she-camels. But there is another method for

[text continues on p. 59]

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Fig. 78. She-camel with the colour name *tuzurzumt*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

cauld:— *sekkedi* (to let camels trot very slowly at an artificial gait known as *téredeyt*), *settules*, or *selhwen* (to let camels walk at a normal ambling pace), *eg senat-senat* (to let camels trot slowly at a gait known as *senat-senat*), *sekkeber*, *keburet*, and *keberkeber* (a kind of trotting named *akabur* which is somewhat faster than *senat-senat*), *regiregi* (to let camels pace or trot at the types of gait known as *tétalist*, *senat-senat*, and *akabur*), *eg yukey-eder-tayit* (to let camels adopt a fast trot known as *yukey-eder-tayit*), *uykal* (to let camels adopt a sharp trot), *enteg* (to let a camel gallop), *awdet* (to let camels trot or gallop; this verb does not refer to any particular type of gait but to several, from the slow trot known as *senat-senat* to the very fast gallop known as *tabederat*). These gait-terms are used only for camels, but the Tuareg also have terms for gaits of other domestic animals – particularly for those of horses (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 553 ff.). The gait known as *téredeyt* is considered very elegant by the Tuareg, who train camels to walk in this way already when the animals are very young. This is done by means of a large and wide hobblerope tied around the forelegs above the knees the animals being forced to walk by whipping them lightly on the legs (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1696). As far as my knowledge goes the Ayr Tuareg have terms very similar to those mentioned above, but I have not taken them down in my notes and only remember very few of them, e.g. *tarajawit* (a camel which roars during loading and unloading), *alem-n-akabur* (a camel walking with very quick steps), *alem-n-emehal* (a camel which takes very long steps). 233 192

Considering the very special camel terms just mentioned, it is only natural that the Tuareg also have many terms to cover the use and training of camels. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg can refer to a normal heavy pack-camel by one of the following terms which are synonymous:— *abakhul*, *dekhkhe-dekh*, *agelgali*, *akhelkhali*, and *érikhl*. For riding camels the following terms can be mentioned:— *arlam* (any riding camel), *aserensera*, *tanegmoj*, *taletmot*, *arretus* (excellent and very fast running riding animals). There is also a term for a fully-trained riding camel (*amanun*), and another for a camel which is not yet fully-trained (*asanan*). 233 492* 192

[text continues on p. 101]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*492 181 [114] of riders and their camels. This is intimated by the following poem quoted from Foucauld's excellent books on the poetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg:—

[539]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ébeydeg, é ti n ami mellen* | My white camel, O woman with white teeth |
| *W-allahi! iḍeg ul ifel kem* | I swear by God, it shall not go raiding, shall not leave you |
| *Ula daṛ ikk am akal ien* | It shall not go away from you to another country |
| *U i ḍineṛ ar y arabuh ennem* | I lead it to the pastures only to visit you with love again |
| *Ula taharǧit d asemmeḍren* | Neither in dreams nor in thought |
| *Innin é ham yekk akal ien* | Shall it go away from you to another country |

(cf. Foucauld 1925-30, I, p. 210 f. for a literal translation).

## DONKEYS

231 [192] Donkeys are very important domestic animals in the Tuareg groups I have studied. Most animals are grey or greyish but there are other colours for which the Tuareg have special terms. From Ahaggar the following colour-terms can be mentioned:— *adebara* (greyish), *afawa* (greyish with a white stomach), *ewriṛ* (yellow-brown), *éhenbey*, or *takenbawi* (donkey with a black head), *ékawél* (black). Black donkeys seem to be more common among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara than among the Tuareg.

231 136 Donkeys vary less in colour than other domestic animals among the Tuareg. It is interesting to note in this connection that there are fairly big herds of wild donkeys, or asses, in the mountainous massifs of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr. These animals are generally greyish like most domestic donkeys.

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Fig. 83. Women carrying cereals in skin bags loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe.

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*233 Each of the three vegetational zones of Ahaggar has its advantages and disadvantages. If we consider
824 a good year when rain has fallen abundantly with a resultant regeneration of all fodder plants, the
137 *Atakor* zone has very excellent pasture. For the plains and the stony mountain slopes are then entirely
132 covered with annual plants which by the Tuareg are considered the very best fodder. The Tuareg also
133 claim that the upper mountain zone is preferable because of its cooler climate, which has a beneficial influence on the lactation of domestic animals. The disadvantage of the *Atakor* zone is the lack of acacias to which can be added the scarcity of fuel. The *Tarayin* zone possess characteristics of the *Atakor* zone and of the *Abada* zone. The *Abada* country is botanically very different from *Atakor*. It has annual pastures of great value when abundant rainfall has been experimented and it also has valuable pastures of perennial plants. With heavy rain the *Abada* country is excellent for stock-breeding, and fuel can be found everywhere. But the Abada country is hotter than are the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

If rain falls abundantly all over Ahaggar there is good pasture in all three zones. But rainfall is more frequent and heavier at high altitudes than in the *Abada* zone, so that *Atakor* normally has by far the best pasture of annual plants which spring up late in summer or in autumn. The *Abada* zone on the other hand has the very best pasture of perennial plants, notably acacias that grow around the lower parts of the valleys which are always flooded when it rains in the high mountains.

221 The fluctuations of plant development determine the nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg.
*233 A few tribes have their normal grazing grounds in *Atakor* (e.g., the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Kel Tazulet*).
824 They camp in this zone at most seasons to let their goats and sheep feed on fresh and dry annual pasture.
[132] In dry years and during the hot summer season they may move to the *Tarayin* zone where there are perennial fodder plants, but they rarely camp in the *Abada* country. Many tribes have their normal grazing grounds in the *Abada* zone (e.g., the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, the *Ayt Lowayen*, the *Iheyawen Huda*, and the *Kel Ṛela*), but move to the *Atakor* when annual pasture is good in this region. They live in
[342] *Atakor* with tents and flocks when annual plants are green, while the rest of the year they camp in the *Abada* country to let their animals feed on acacias and other perennial species. Finally there are two tribes (*Tẓẓehé-n-Efis* and *Iklan-en-tawsit*), the members of which camp in the *Abada* country all the year round even when rich annual pasture is found in *Atakor*. However, members of these tribes may send their camel herds to the *Atakor* zone, accompanied by herdsmen, while tents and flocks remain in the lower country.

221 With the exception of a few noble households which keep up their old tradition to subsist largely
*233 on camel's milk, the Ahaggar Tuareg do not keep their she-camels in Ahaggar unless there are excellent
[565] pastures of annual plants in this area. They take their camels to pastures far away from Ahaggar,
262 notably to the Tamesna region where they have their animals guarded by herdsmen who are frequently
[567] slaves. In very dry years there are very few camels in Ahaggar – just the animals needed for riding and transportation. It is in fact very easy to take camels to distant pastures, and it is most necessary to give these animals the utmost care as they are most valuable and their breeding is a very slow process
*233 (cf. p. 56). Goats do not need such excellent fodder as do camels. They can eat almost everything, but
731 in dry years goats may also suffer severely from lack of suitable fodder. This was the case in the year
[361] 1954/55 when I stayed in Ahnet and in Ahaggar. In the small camps of three to four tents each it was

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



221 *233 824 tagayt, while the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* at this period will camp around Ingal. Many Southern Tuareg leave the savannah country to avoid its heavy rainfalls and stock-diseases to let their animals benefit from the salty water and plants in the *Azawaŋ* country.

●133 162 137 In the country west of the Ayr Massif, the Tamesna Plains, there is in addition to the Ayr Tuareg a numerous population of Ahaggar Tuareg who live constantly in these regions. These plains are botanically different from the mountains. Perennial vegetation is scarce though there are some *tamat*-acacias (*Acacia flava*), but there is a very rich vegetation of annual plants of great importance to *233 824 domestic animals. Among these plants can be mentioned *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*), which is very valuable for camels and also good for sheep, *adreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tagellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). The two latter plants are valuable as fodder for all domestic animals. It is noteworthy that these three species of annual plants last longer than other annual species. They do not wither at the beginning of the *ŋarat*-season, but remain fresh and green all through the winter until about *tabsit*.

It is evident that Tuareg knowledge of botany is extremely comprehensive, and that they use this knowledge to make stock-breeding as rational as possible. They may perhaps not be so rational in protecting pastures, for they cut acacias' boughs to feed the kids resting in the camps, and it is most possible that they also overgraze certain pastures. However, the grazing grounds are very vast in comparison with the number of pastoralists, and I believe that overgrazing and arboreal devastation take place mainly around villages and towns where the flocks of sedentary people graze continuously in the same area. In Ahaggar the valuable fodder plants and plants which are important for collecting are often protected for two or three months in order that they may become fully developed (cf. p. 150, 179).

*233 The Tuareg take great care that their animals do not lack water. It is true that camels and also donkeys can do without water for many days even in summer, but at this season camels should preferably be watered every two or three days, and goats are always watered every two days when the weather is hot. In winter the animals are not watered so often, and this is true particularly if the animals feed on fresh annual plants. Camels can do without water even for weeks and months under such favourable

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Fig. 97. The leather bucket known as *aju* to the Northern Tuareg. The leather is tied to an iron ring made by blacksmiths. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension of the iron ring: 0.275 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.51).

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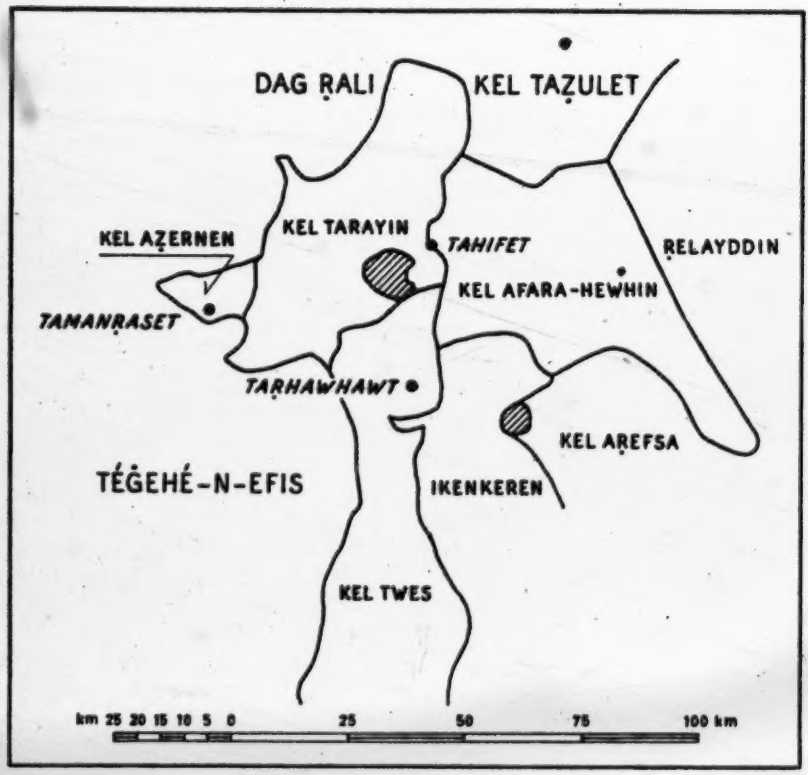


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Fig. 104. Map showing the sub-areas of the territory of the *Aḡuh-en-tehlé* tribe. The sub-areas have no proper limits towards the south where the country changes into barren and uninhabited desert. The hatched areas are mountainous regions which are not considered parts of sub-areas. West of the *Aḡuh-en-tehlé* territory is the territory of the *Téġehé-n-Efis* tribe where two sections of the *Aḡuh-en-tehlé* have their normal grazing grounds. To the north are the territories of the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Kel Taẓulet* tribes. The *Kel Aẓernen* section frequently camps in the *Dag Ṛali* territory and intermarries with the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section of that tribe. To the east is the territory of the *Ṛelayddin* who are now considered part of the *Aḡuh-en-tehlé*. The *Aḡuh-en-tehlé* territory chiefly belongs to the *Aboda* zone, but the northern parts of the two northernmost sub-areas are within the zones of *Tarayin* and *Asukor*.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 106. A small goat-herding camp of three related households. The inmates have not erected their skin tents, but have their luggage and their household utensils hanging upon posts (left). In the hot daytime the people live in the shade of the rock (right). Ahaggar (the *Atakor* zone), the *Dag Ṛali* tribe (the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section).

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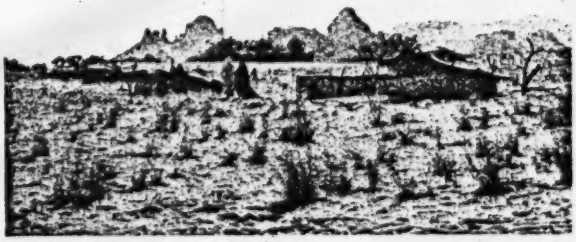

Fig. 107. A camp of four skin tents. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Uraṛen* tribe.

361 *Atakor* zone. In this area kin groups of five or six generations, comprising about twenty tents, may
621 form a section camp for long periods. Thus I was told that all members of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section
*233 camped together in the same place for eight months of the year 1952. Among the Tuareg, who have their grazing grounds mainly in the *Abada* country, section camps are not so easily formed as annual pasture springs up less frequently. People of such tribes as the *Iklan-en-tawsit*, the *Tégehé-n-Efis*, and part of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe, generally live in goat-camps, which are often smaller than those of the
[824] *Dag Ṛali* tribe of the *Atakor* region. Where goats feed mainly on acacias it is not possible to keep such large flocks together as when grazing consists of fresh or dry annual plants. Acacia leaves are very important for fodder and their fruit-pods are still more valuable, but the trees grow scattered and consequently fodder is not so concentrated. We see again how stock-breeding among the Ahaggar Tuareg is an industry adapted to environment. The size of camps is determined by natural conditions.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikebran*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhet* tribe (*Isekkemaren*).

423 422 224 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 148).

423 241 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dag Rali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Rali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

685 643 Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant 423 [428] dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the [613] tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to [114] forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

## AYR

422 * 233 The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark. [428] However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *éjwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and [118] Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 117. Fishing pool (*agelmam*) in Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

136 sunset. There are wild pigeons by the thousand and innumerable flocks of guinea fowls and partridges (*Alectoris* sp.). Two species of turtle-dove are almost as common in Ayr as is the sparrow in Europe. 224 Possibilities of hunting are much more favourable in Ayr than in Northern Tuareg countries, yet, nevertheless, the Ayr Tuareg engage even less in hunting than do the Ahaggar Tuareg. One reason for this is perhaps that very few Ayr Tuareg possess guns. It is extremely rare to meet hunters in Ayr. 224 They are found mainly within one tribe, namely that of *Imedderaren* (or *Kel Tamgak*) living in the 433 Tamgak Mountains of Northern Ayr. I have myself never visited camps of these people, but all Tuareg agree that they live largely as hunters and possess few domestic animals. Unfortunately, these people have never been studied in detail. Buchanan, who met a hunting band of these Tuareg in 1920, says that they have neither goats nor grain, but live by hunting and the collection of wild edible plants (Buchanan 1921, p. 191), while Campbell, who met them at Iferwan in 1926, describes them as hunters who also breed goats and sheep (Campbell 1928, p. 204 f.). Rodd also states that the *Kel Tamgak* have goats and sheep, but that they do not possess camels (Rodd 1926a, p. 307). This is in agreement with information gathered by myself at Iferwan where I met a few Tuareg of this group. There are 224 no Ayr Tuareg who live exclusively by hunting and collecting. The number of game animals killed

7:Nicolaïsen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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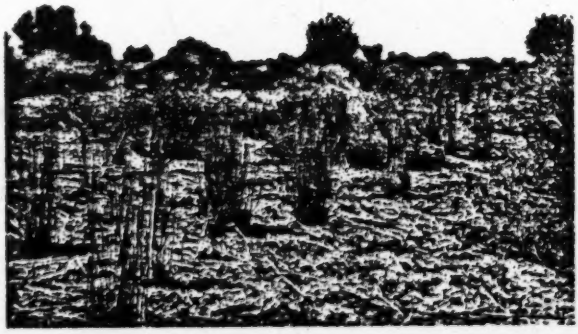

Fig. 128. Harvested wheat-plot grown without artificial irrigation along a river valley. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

PRIMITIVE CORN GROWING

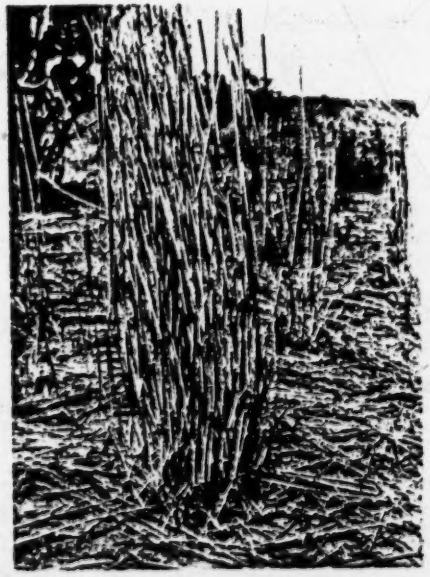

Fig. 129. A close-up of a tuft of harvested wheat from the plot illustrated above (Fig. 128). Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 130. Semi-wild date palms in the canyon-like Aharhar valley of Tasilt-n-Ajjer. The palms are owned and harvested by pastoral Tuareg.

245 (Aharhar and Êherir) where "semi-wild" palms are abundant. These palms are owned by pastoral
[221] Tuareg of various tribes. Their dates are harvested in the autumn when Tuareg palm owners with
[342] their slaves live in straw-huts or huts covered with palm leaves situated among the palm trees.

Similar plantations of palm trees which are left to themselves most of the year are also found in
245 Ahaggar, notably at Silet-Tiheghin. Part of these palms are owned by members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe
423 (the sections of *Kel Tamanrasset* and *Kel Terhenanet*) and by members of the very small tribe, the
[651] *Ikechchemaden*. The palm-owners give as an annual payment to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar one bunch of dates from all palms which have more than two bunches. The yield of another part of the palms
[565] belongs to the vassal tribe *Iklan-en-tawsit* (the sections *Kel Silet* and *Kel Tahaḷra*). For usufructs,
[651] members of these two sections make a collective annual payments to the *Amenukal* comprising four bags of dates, twenty goats, two ropes of goat's hair, and five water bags. The dates are harvested by
245 Tuareg of the above mentioned tribes in August-September. Harvesting is done with sickles and is
[221] finished in three to four weeks when the palm-owners return to their camps with dates packed in bags
[492] and loaded on donkeys and camels. In harvesting their dates most Tuareg are assisted by black-
[564] skinned agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaṛen*) of Abalessa who are given a certain amount of dates
[465] for their work. These agriculturists build the huts in which the palm-owners live during harvest (cf.
[463] p. 338 f.).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 131. A *foggara* canal (*ifeli*) dug into the sandy river bed from where it is led into the gardens of the valley terrace. Southern Ahaggar, *Taḥnut*.

245 [423] In Ayr there are also a few pastoral Tuareg who own date palms growing in river valleys, e.g., people of the *Imezzureg* tribe of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These date palms, like those growing half wild in Northern Tuareg countries, yield very small dates of a quality inferior to those grown in the oases under constant supervision by agriculturists. Such dates are used only for local consumption.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AHAGGAR

241 175 Irrigation agriculture has been practised since ancient times within certain territories now inhabited by the Northern Tuareg. As early as in Roman times there is reference to *Radames*, *Rat*, and certain oases of the Fezzan, which were visited by Roman Expeditions (Lhote 1955a, p. 113 f.; Duveyrier 1864, p. 249 ff., 266 ff., 275 ff., 455 ff.). Lhote thinks that the oasis of Abalessa in the lowland west of the Ahaggar Massif was also visited by the Roman general Cornelius Balbus (Lhote 1955a, p. 88 f., 113 f., 286), but this, perhaps, is to be doubted. In the writings of Medieval Arab authors there is apparently no reference to oases within the Ahaggar country, though oases in neighbouring parts of the Sahara are mentioned.

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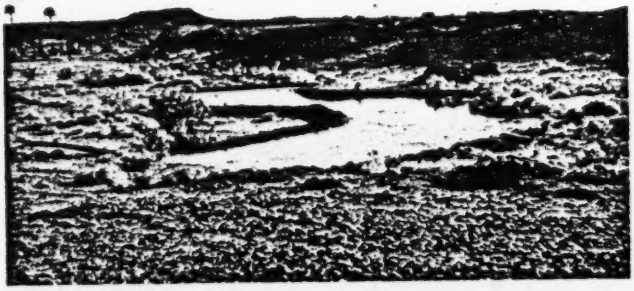

Fig. 133. The large water basin (*ilhemi*) from which water is led into the gardens. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

(*teguhamt*, or *tahaft*) from which another canal (*tahaft*, or *teguhamt*) leads water out into the garden, which is always divided into a large number of garden beds (*igemmunen*, sing. *agemmun*) surrounded by low ridges and separated by narrow irrigation canals. The large water basin serves to regulate watering, which outside of the very cold season is done during the night. A flat stone with a hole in its middle and known as *anefif* is placed between the basin and the canal leading water into the garden; water for irrigating the garden flows through this hole when irrigation is needed at night, while the hole is closed by means of a cotton stopper during the day. The basin is thus filled with water during the day and its water runs into the garden at night (cf. Figs. 131–136).

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[221] The irrigation systems described are most important for the cultivation of the winter crops of wheat and barley. The Tuareg word in Ahaggar for wheat is *éred* which is a collective name for several types of wheat known as *elkhamra*, *elmansuri*, *amekkawi*, *ṛati*, and *menga*. These special names seem to be derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1058, 1211 & IV, p. 1789; Maire 1933, I, p. 246). According to Maire these types of wheat belong to the species *Triticum aestivum*. I have never myself seen fully-grown wheat in Ahaggar and was thus unable to collect ears for identification by botanists, but seeds brought home from Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have been identified by Dr. Hans Helbaek as belonging to common bread wheat. Barley is known to the Tuareg as *timżin*. Threshed seeds brought home from Ahaggar have been identified by Dr. Helbaek as belonging to the six-rowed type (*Hordeum vulgare*, though some, he thinks are perhaps of the two-rowed type (*H. distichum*). Barley, like wheat, is a winter crop though less common. At Abalessa I was told that two thirds of the seed-crops grown in winter were wheat, while only one third was barley.

[221] Wheat and barley are grown in the same way. Sowing is done in the autumn (*tober*), and the seeds are put into the garden beds with the fingers. Harvesting takes place in the month of April (*ibri*) and is performed with a sickle (Fig. 143). The growing of wheat and barley is a very strenuous task for irrigation agriculturists. Watering is done for the first time immediately after sowing. When I stayed at Abalessa, in the month of January 1955, the tender plants of wheat and barley were watered two days in succession, and the 10–12 gardens belonging to the same *foggara* were irrigated in succession [132] in this way. At that time of the year the plots are not generally watered at night because of the cold temperatures which may be below zero.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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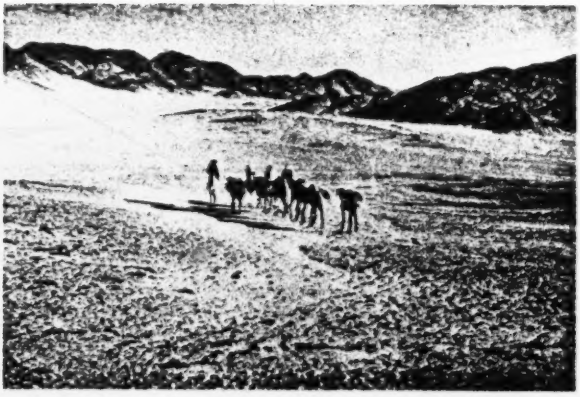

Fig. 147. Tuareg caravan in the barren desert between Ahnet and Ahaggar. The *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

## TUAREG CARAVANS

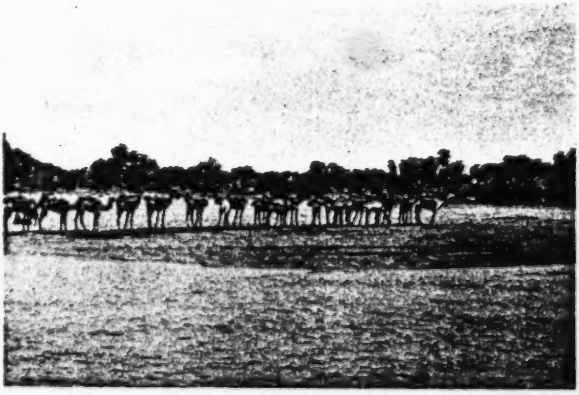

Fig. 148. Caravan crossing the flooded river bed of Oued Dabaga in Southern Ayr. *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The trading expedi-
tions have remained important to the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it is clear that they would not go on trading 437
were these expeditions not profitable, for trading expeditions are extremely strenuous. Though the 484
expeditions set off when the extreme heat is decreasing, it is still very hot in the extensive barren plains 461
in autumn and in winter during daytime. Water and pasture are often extremely scarce in this deserted country, and the Tuareg frequently have to travel rapidly. For days or weeks they live so to say on their camels, and if camels are not too heavily loaded they may do up to 16 hours a day for several days in succession. Under such journeys the Tuareg eat only once a day. Obviously such trading [262]
expeditions are also very hard on the pack-camels, and there is always a risk of loosing a camel during such journeys through barren, desert country.

In this brief outline of caravan trading I have not considered those Ahaggar Tuareg living constantly 433
in the Tamesna plains and adjacent regions. These Tuareg own more livestock than the Tuareg of the 184
Ahaggar Massif, and I do not believe that they engage so much in extensive trading expeditions. [233]
They are comparatively rich in she-camels which are tolerably good milk yielders in these regions [262]
most of the year, and milk is more important as food than it is in Ahaggar. I believe that most Ahaggar 438
Tuareg of the Tamesna region acquire their necessary vegetable products by selling surplus livestock [366]
butter and cheese at the markets of Ingal and Agadez.

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AYR TUAREG

Among the Ayr Tuareg stock-breeding products are far more important for food than in the north. 433
Grazing conditions are better with annual pasture as a recurrent event, and the Tuareg keep bigger 262
flocks of goats and sheep, larger camel herds, and most have a few zebus which are guarded without much difficulty. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr can live on milk for a large part of the year, though they, like those of Ahaggar, become tired of milk drinking if they get no solid food. There are Tuareg of Southern Ayr who live exclusively on milk for two or three months during the periods of *akasa* and *rarat* and to whom milk is important as food for at least six months. In the extremely hot season of *ewilen* when milk is very scarce most Tuareg eat millet porridge with a little milk or sauce (cf. p. 242 f.), and Tuareg who are not very wealthy eat millet porridge to a great extent all the year round, so that the necessary amount of millet for many camps is about 0.5 kilo a day per person, or about 180 kilos a year. In Ayr there are fairly good possibilities of collecting if there are not too many [222]
locusts, but most Tuareg do not collect a great quantity of wild seeds, and claim that they would be very badly off without millet, as seeds of wild plants are not very nourishing in comparison. In one [261]
year during the second world war (in 1943) they say that millet was very hard to get; it was then very difficult to subsist and a great many animals had to be killed for food. Millet is almost indispensable to the Tuareg; they also consume other vegetables derived from agriculture, notably wheat, maize, and dates, but millet is the most essential non-nomadic food product. Normally it can be acquired by most Ayr Tuareg without much difficulty.

The people of Ayr obtain their provisions of millet from the Sudanese area of shifting cultivation, 439
notably from Damergu (Tanut). Millet can also be bought at Agadez whereto it is brought by Tuareg 437

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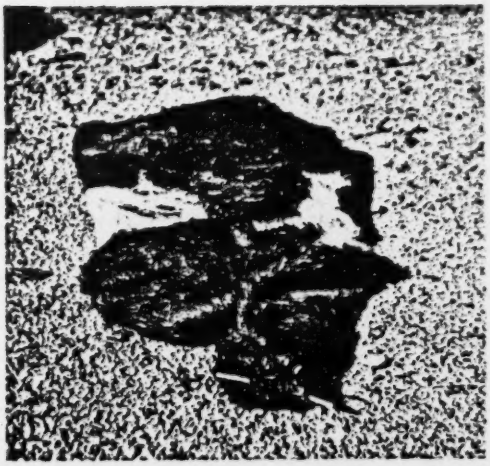

Fig. 215a. The bag to be prepared is filled with a mixture of water and *tiket* (bark) and is placed in the sun. The openings are provisionally closed by sewing with straw.

Preparation of a water bag (*abayor*).

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Fig. 215b. The tanned water bag is suspended for drying. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ball* tribe.

**The Erection of a Mat Tent in Ayr.**

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[352]

Fig. 265d. The narrow ends of the pieces of longitudinal semiarches are lashed together. The tent structure is now finished to be covered with mats. The interior cover consisting of two rectangular mats made from plant stems and known as *Iwerworen* (sing. *Ewerwer*) is seen on this photograph.

[284]

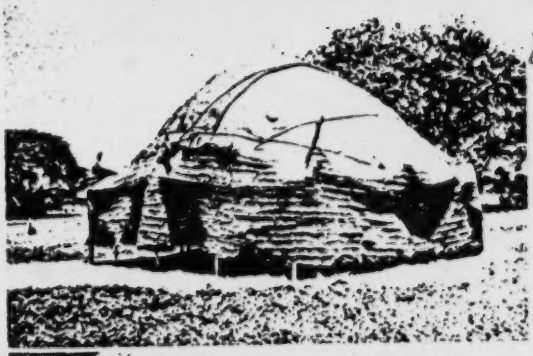

Fig. 265e. The dum palm mats of oval shape (*isfal*) and the long narrow dum palm mats (*asakemamas*) are placed over the *Iwerworen* mats and are tied to the dome-shaped structure with cords. The narrow dum palm mat (*dyeli*) surrounding the lower part of the tent is fixed to the structure.

[133]

Fig. 265f. The mat tent is taken down for erection in a new place. The woman standing within the structure is loosening the looped cord which keeps the semi-arches to the high middle arch. It is not the same tent as that depicted Fig. 265a–e but the two tents belong to the same camp of the *Imezzureg* tribe near Agadez in Southern Ayr.

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Fig. 266. Three mat tents, three heavy wooden beds, and the household utensils belonging to three households are moved by means of six donkeys. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

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from the north from very ancient times (cf. p. 412), and, according to Rouch, we find that mat-covered barrel-vaulted huts do not constitute the traditional type of dwelling of all Sonray, but are found along the Niger between Timbuktu and Asongo, while the Sonray living outside of this area have other dwelling types (cf. Rouch 1954, p. 31). Thus we see that Sonray mat-covered arched dwellings are found precisely within the area which has been most strongly influenced by Tuareg culture, namely the upper part of the Niger Bend. It can be added that such dwellings do not seem to be typical of other African peoples who lead a predominantly sedentary life. Furthermore, Sonray mat-covered barrel-vaulted dwellings are built by the women, who are also the true owners of the huts (cf. Rouch 1954, p. 31). In this we find another parallel to traditional Tuareg custom.

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We see again how wrong it is to speak of the Ayr Tuareg mat tent as a dwelling particular to the *Kel Ewey*, for such mat-covered tents are used by most Ayr Tuareg from the northern outskirts of the Massif to Damergu; it is said to be used exclusively by the *Kel Geres*; it is known among certain *Kel Dennek*, among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* and their *Bélla*, and apparently even in the southernmost parts of the *Kel Adrar* country. Arched mat tents on the southern outskirts of the very vast area inhabited by Tuareg occur in an almost unbroken line in a huge semicircle running from Northern Ayr to Timbuktu.

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This distribution may perhaps indicate that the mat tent is of very ancient standing among the Tuareg. We have mentioned above that the mat-covered arched dwellings of the Sonray may have been adopted by these people through contact with the Tuareg, and it does not seem as if the latter adopted their arched mat tents as a result of contact with other Sudanese peoples who use barrel-vaulted dwellings. Barrel-vaulted dwellings are not common in the Western Sudan, but are found among certain pastoralists whose arched huts and tents are structurally very different from the barrel-vaulted Tuareg mat tent. This appears from literature about the *Fulani* and the *Toucouleurs* (cf. Urvoy

*342 281 shape. In Southern Tuareg groups the skin tents also vary much in size, but they tend to be larger. Thus it is stated by Nicolas that skin tents among the *Kel Dennek* measure up to one hundred square metres (Nicolas 1938, p. 54), and Lhote says that 80–150 skins are used for sheets of the very large tents of the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (Lhote 1947a, p. 100).

[804] The Tuareg themselves do not refer to the size of a tent by counting the number of skins, or by measuring. The size of a tent is indicated by reference to the number of skin rows in the longitudinal direction of the sheet, and these rows of skin are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *taṛda* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). I have myself seen extremely small tents having a sheet of only three *taṛda*, but a tent of normal size will generally have four or five such skin rows, and some even have six or [462] seven *taṛda*. Among the Northern Tuareg the sheet is manufactured in Tuareg camps by pastoral [562] women and their female slaves. Among the *Kel Dennek*, tent sheets are manufactured by women of [564] the blacksmith caste (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 155).

*342 285 A mat to be drawn around the lower part of the dwelling constitutes a very essential part of Tuareg skin tents. This mat is generally made from the stems of *afezu* (*afezu*) grass (*Panicum turgidum*) tied together with leather strips as already described. A tent mat at times is divided into two halves which are rolled up and placed at each of the narrow ends of the tent during hot weather so that currents [351] of air may pass through. When weather is cold and also when storms are raging, the Tuareg close their tents with these mats, which may also be drawn out to form a kind of low courtyard in front of the tent (cf. Figs. 267–269). The straw mat made from *afezu* stems tied to one another is known as *éseber* (pl. *isebran*) both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, while the name of a tent mat among the *Kel Dennek* is *šitek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154), or *chitek* according to our transcription system. Among the Northern Tuareg, tent mats are generally about one metre high, while varying much as to length. These mats very frequently serve as a kind of wind-screen leaning against poles,

*342 281 ● 133

Fig. 267. Skin tent seen from the back. The shape of the sheet is most irregular. Ahaggar, the *Agub-en-tekle* tribe.

[text continues on p. 364]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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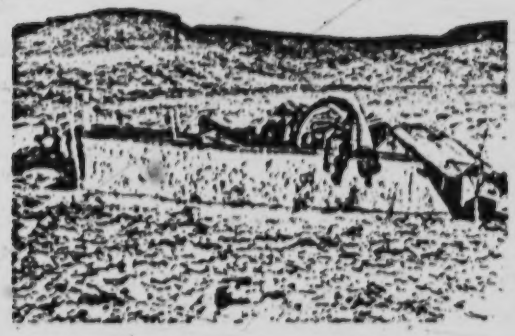

Fig. 269a–b. Skin tent of the B.2.f.3 type. The tent is surrounded by an *afezu* mat (*ásaher*) and a stone wall (*amatey*) to protect the inmates against the cold winter winds. Ahaggar (the *Asaher* zone), the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

*342 the tent are called *igemawen*; but the frontal poles are also known by more particular names according to their position (*madaq*, *igam*, *aserriri*). The terms mentioned by Nicolas in his 1938-study are largely those used in Ahaggar for similar poles (cf. Nicolas 1938, p. 54 ff. & 1950a, p. 153 ff., pl. VIII). It would appear that a somewhat related pole-system is used for suspension of the skin sheet among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Asaram* where very elaborately carved poles are found (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 82 ff.), while among the *Tengerregif* Tuareg further west a large number of high unfashioned boughs or sticks are used to suspend the tent (cf. Lhote 1947, illustrations p. 128 f.). As to the Ayr Tuareg, I have never seen properly suspended skin sheets among them, and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg did not know any names for such pole systems. It would seem as if most Tuareg who live in skin tents use an almost identical system of poles to which they fasten the sheet. The sheet is never fastened to the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 Tuareg groups, perhaps in all. They occur in the two groups of Northern Tuareg, but are rare in and around the Ahaggar Massif, though apparently more common among the Ahaggar Tuareg who live in Tamesna. They are also known among the *Kel Adrar* (cf. Cortier 1908, p. 327 f.), and they constitute the common tent among the *Kel Denek*. On the other hand these tents seem to be rare in and south of the Ayr Massif, where most people have mat tents, and though certain illustrations in literature seem to point to the existence of central T-shaped posts in the tents of the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* nothing seems to have been written about the existence of T-shaped posts there. However, in the ethnographical museum of Neuchâtel there is a short cross-bar of a T-shaped post brought from Tuareg living at Gao (cf. p. 382), and I was told by the chief *Amder* of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* tribe that T-shaped posts once existed among them but were not used nowadays.

It is most likely that all T-shaped structures are historically related, and the question is taken up later in this chapter. The sub-types to be described are the following:—

B.2.g.1. This type has no other elements to support the sheet but the T-shaped post. Such tents have been depicted by Olufsen and Moberg from Ahaggar (Olufsen 1924a, p. 132 f.; Moberg 1927, p. 212, 229, 257) from which region it is also mentioned by Benhazera (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 25) and by Foucauld (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). I have never seen a skin tent thus erected in or around the Ahaggar Massif, and I have only seen a tent of this kind once in a camp of Ahaggar Tuareg close to Ingal in the extreme south. Foucauld mentions this type of tent as a traditional one to the Ahaggar Tuareg, stating that the central post is always very high. It may attain a height of 2.50 metres and it is always possible for adult men to stand upright in the middle of the tent. It is evident that a tent erected in this way must be firmly attached to poles around it, and the twelve poles traditionally belonging to a skin tent in Ahaggar must necessarily be used in tents which are only supported by a T-shaped post under the sheet (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). A tent erected in this way has very much the shape of an umbrella or parasol, and it has the same functions. When it rains the water

●133
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Fig. 279. Skin tent of the B.2.f.3 type. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ralt* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 290. Sun-shade built of branches and grass. It is the normal living quarters for slaves in Ahaggar and for a great part of the year it is more suitable to the climate than Tuareg skin tents. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

567 military administrators have tacitly admitted that slavery continues as an established institution.
648 According to a census of 1949, there are in Ahaggar 1552 slaves owned by 3960 pastoral Tuareg (cf.
[162] Lhote 1955a, p. 224 ff.), and in two tribes the number of slaves exceeds that of fair-skinned Tuareg, namely in the *Dag Rali* and in the *Kel Rela*. Most Ahaggar Tuareg have a few slaves in their camps, while in Ayr very few fair-skinned pastoralists have slaves nowadays. The civil administration of Ayr has done much to secure the abolishment of slavery, and it seems as if many slaves were manumitted
567 after the 1917 revolt. Slavery is actually almost devoid of economic importance in Ayr, while in Ahaggar
[184] it plays a great part in the maintenance of the economic system based upon camel-breeding outside Ahaggar and on caravan-trading.

The structural position of slavery is apparently very much the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. Slaves are their owners' property; they can no longer be traded, but even in pre-European days it was never usual to sell slaves from one's own camp. The slaves are still inherited within one and the same family, and until a few years ago it was the custom for a slave girl to form part of the bride-wealth. Despite everything this may perhaps be taken as an indication that slaves are not conspicuously well treated, and there are also examples of the corporal punishment of slaves. This may occur even to-day, the rule being that certain misdemeanours, for which the light-skinned Tuareg atone by paying a fine of domestic animals, may be punished in the case of slaves by a flogging on the order of senior chiefs.

312 include a first subterranean part made of numerous wells of depths varying from two to four meters, linked together by a small canal serving as a water conductor; then comes a part on top of the ground in the form of a canal, first at the same level as the wadi, then at a slightly higher level. They empty into the distribution reservoirs (majem), which by secondary canals (seguia) carry water to the gardens to be irrigated.

311 These agricultural centers therefore extend along the wadi on
361 both sides of its banks. The cultivators settle near their gardens
[342] and live in straw or reed huts or little clay houses.

There are five centers in the high mountains between 1, 500 and 1, 800 meters in altitude, but the majority are located between 1, 200 and 1, 500 meters. Some of them can be lower, such as Silet (730 meters) and I-n-Amegel (1, 030 meters).

245 Some are small date groves such as Silet and Tibeghîn, which have 10, 000 palm trees, Ideles, Tâhârt, and Ăbalessa, but because of its altitude, the Ahaggar does not seem to be very suitable for date growing. The instability of the harratin is also an obstacle to the development of arboriculture which demands continual care. Cultivators who can be here today and gone tomorrow would not be capable of interesting themselves in work from which they could not draw immediate profit. The country would lend itself, however, to rather large-scale cultivation of peaches, /246/ apricots, figs, and grapes. The little center of Tăzerouk has many peach trees, and the center at Tit produces a famous raisin.

134 The Ahaggar soil is of a high quality, owing part of its richness to elements of volcanic origin which make up a large proportion of the alluvial deposits. Furthermore, the climate favors
132 agriculture so much that the natives obtain two or even three harvests
241 a year.

241 In the medium altitude centers, they sow wheat and barley in December and harvest it in May. Barely finished with this, they sow millet which is harvested at the beginning of October. In between the natives also engage in kitchen gardening: carrots,

579 In addition, they robbed caravans who happened into their country, hatefully ransoming the voyagers. Sometimes they 721 727 went to empty the granaries of the sedentary people of the oases or the Sudanese villages, capturing Negroes and Negresses to [492] sett as slaves.

439 When peace reigned in their country, they willingly organized /218/ caravans to go to the Tidikelt or Touat oases and bring back dates, or else to the Sudan to get supplies of millet. They also made themselves the protectors of caravans [486] crossing their country, naturally making the caravaneer pay a consistently high duty in merchandise.

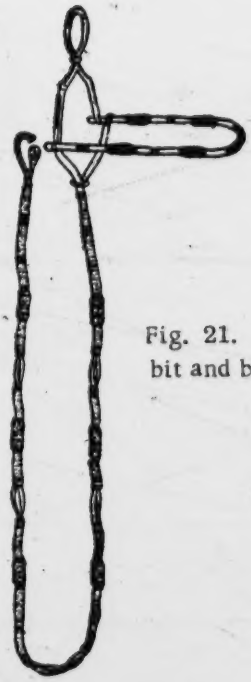

Fig. 21. Camel bit and bridle.

135 The Ahaggar has famous 182 salt mines in the region called Ẋmadror which lies to the east of 439 the Tẋfedest massif in a large depression. They are an appreciable resource for the Iḥẋggaren, but manpower is needed to exploit them. Then, transportation and circulation demand a general state of peace in which the numerous [721] herds of pack camels can be protected from possible surprise attacks and raids. That is why the Ẋmadror salt deposits remained unexploited for a long time before the French occupation, because of the state of perpetual war existing between Ahaggar Tuareg and Tassili Tuareg.

283 Spinning is done by all Tuareg women. They spin the hair of the
462 goat, the camel, and the wild sheep, making very solid cords and saddle girths.

286 Weaving is limited to the making of goat's-hair, or more rarely camel's-hair, bags. This is a very primitive technique which does not require any loom and which is, furthermore, in the process of disappearing from the Ahaggar, where only a few noblewomen still practice it. It is completely extinct in Sudanese tribes.

324 Stonework, a relic of Neolithism, was still carried on in the Ahaggar
438 a few years ago to make arm rings. Layers of granitoid schists were formerly worked at Aseksem and Terahart in
[415 the Tafedest. We also found
322] an ancient workshop south of Silet on the banks of the Tamanrasset wadi. Today all stone bracelets come from Aïr and a few from Hombori, where they are manufactured by Tuareg or Hausa artisans.

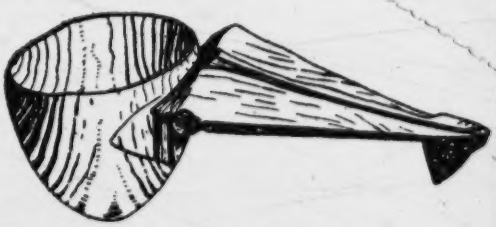

Fig. 48. Tabarekkat wooden ladle, also serving as a drinking vessel.

326 Metalworking is exclusively in the hands of the Enaden, who transform
[56] silver, copper, and iron. These materials, with the exception of iron, do not exist in a native, workable state in the Ahaggar. But although iron
[135] ore is common /279/ in some volcanic rocks of their country, the Tuareg do not have it exploited, for it is found in such small particles that it necessitates a disproportionate amount of forge work for the quantity likely to be recovered. Nevertheless, the memory of casting ore still remains among the Enaden. They use several forges at once, but do not know
[439] the blast furnace. The caravaneers coming from the north or from the Sudan used to bring metals.

177 At the present time silver comes from coins which are melted. For
326 years the Tuareg have had Maria Theresa dollars at their disposal; these

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



paratively rich vegetation of Air contains species found also in Ahaggar, but Ahaggar has Mediterranean plants including several saline species which do not thrive in Air, where there are tropical or Sudanese species unknown to Ahaggar. 137

Botanically Air is very closely connected with the Sudan, and the mountain massif is within the Sudanese zone of summer rain. It is true that rain at the northern outskirts of Air occasionally falls in winter and may then give rise to scattered pasture of annual plants, but these rains are of no real importance. The important rainfalls of Air occur in the period June-September, and particularly in July and August. As may be gathered from the description of botanical conditions, Air has a much bigger annual precipitation than has Ahaggar. Thus the village of Iferouan in Northern Air has 74 mm, while Agadez at the southern slopes of the massif has 179 mm. Precipitation will of course vary from one year to the other, but rain will always fall sufficiently for the spring of annual plants. This is the reason for a type of stock-breeding different from that of Ahaggar. In Air the Tuareg are richer in camels, they do not possess so many goats but are very rich in sheep, and most of them have zebus. 132 137 [233]

The climatic and botanical differences of Air and Ahaggar can be seen more directly from the division of the year into seasons (fig. 2). Air has a summer and a winter season between which there are two seasons termed *akasa* and *ṛarat*. These two words as seasonal terms express the fact that rain and annual pastures in Air are recurrent events, as the word *akasa* literally means "green annual plants", and the word *ṛarat* refers to "dry annual plants". Both words are known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg but are by them not applied as seasonal terms, for in their country rain will not occur every year and may fall at most seasons. 132 805

Conditions for stock-breeding are very much better in Air than in Ahaggar, but the latter country has a few superior qualities:– 1) Part of the year Ahaggar has a comparatively cool climate which is said to have a positive influence on the lactation of domestic animals. 2) In Ahaggar all over the country there are saline pastures which play an important part in stock-breeding – not because these plants are very nourishing but the animals do not thrive without salt. In Air saline plants are very rare and found mainly to the south and south-west of the massif where water and soil also contain salt. Many pastoralists will migrate to these regions shortly after the rains, while people who do not undertake such migrations feed their domestic animals with salt. Camels and cows have a particular need for fodder with a salt content. 3) Ahaggar has richer wells and a greater number of permanent ponds than Air. This may seem rather peculiar as precipitation is much bigger in the south than in the north. In Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer some ponds may contain fish apparently unknown in Air. In the latter country there are a great many ponds or even small lakes during the rains but they dry out very quickly when rainfall ceases. Water in Air most of the year is drawn from wells many of which go dry during the hot season; this will frequently lead to quarrels between nomads. 233 [132] [135] [137] [221] 312 [136] [578]

252 They may not heat camel's milk which has just been milked
825 under penalty of causing sickness to the animal which gave it.

264 Insofar as personal interdicts are concerned, there are none to speak of, for although men and women must not eat together, this is a custom rather than an interdict.

[606] A married man must not eat with his parents-in-law, and the oldest son must not eat with his father. These are mainly marks of respect, perhaps traces of ancient practices of a religious nature.

/240/

## Chapter 4

## Hunting and Fishing

000 We shall now say a few words on the industries allied to the problems of food, that is, on hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, and agriculture.

136 Hunting. -- In a country where fauna was at all dense, hunting would have brought a not inconsiderable dietary supplement to the
174 Ihaggaren. In the past it was very much esteemed in the Sahara. Many rock drawings and paintings prove this, for they depict hunting scenes which interpret the state of civilization of the men, their preoccupation, and at the same time the nature of the fauna, which has changed a great deal since then.

[132] Today, with the very advanced drying out of almost all the Saharian districts, the fauna has come out into the open and the
224 species likely to be usefully hunted are reduced to a few. Only gazelles and wild sheep are still hunted. We cannot mention the addax and oryx antelopes, for the former is in the process of becoming extinct in the Sahara, while the second is confined to the steppe zone. The hare and jackal may be accessorily added.

232 these saddle camels, one may not, therefore, refer to a particular breed /race/ adapted for speed, as one may commonly hear spoken of.

436 The camel has a well determined exchange value among the Tuareg. It is one of the bases for comparison in their commercial transactions.

233 Each tribe marks his animals with a particular sign, and /251/
422 the owners who have many camels also have their own signs, marked with a hot iron on one of the parts of the animal's body -- neck, cheek, or thigh.

The sheep. -- Sheep are raised only accessorily in the Ahaggar,
233 because grass is not abundant enough. But it occupies a large place
[137] in Sudanese animal husbandry.

[136] It is a very peculiar animal with short hair and a long tail. It stands tall, a characteristic which has won for it the name of Ovis
[174] longipes. The Tuareg certainly introduced it into West Africa. Zoologists never refer to it except as Tuareg sheep. Its antiquity in North Africa is well known. The ram of Ammon is pictured with its characteristic form, and it is also recognizable in the splendid rock drawings of Géryville and Tiout. It seems to descend from the Corsican wild sheep rather than from the Algerian wild sheep. Today it is an animal found exclusively in Tuareg camps of the Sudan or
574 in their area of influence.

262 Sheep is the dish served at great feasts, and its skin is used as
237 a ground rug, a blanket, or to make harnessing articles.

The goat. -- The goat is the mountain animal par excellence,
233 as frugal an eater as can be, resisting both cold and heat, and able to be content with the meagerest pastures. It is thus quite natural to find many of these goats among the Ihaggaren.

[136] /252/ The Ahaggar species is small with long black hair. In the Sudan it is different colors -- white and black, or red -- with
[232] short hair; it stands taller than the Ahaggar species and is often crossed with the dwarf female goat in the southern tribes.

136 The origin of the goat is less certain than that of the sheep. Very widespread all over the world, it must have been domesticated at

136 several different spots, and it is not impossible that the species
[172] bred today in the Ahaggar is of African origin. Bones of the species are found in the Neolithic layers of the Sahara.

137 At the present time there is a death struggle between the goats
233 and trees in the Ahaggar. The goat itself is capable of browsing
185 the lower branches and destroying them, thanks to its agility. The Tuareg do the rest when pasture is scarce, by felling the main branches to put them within the reach of the animals. And so, in a relatively short time, trees, and the tahla (Acacia sp.) in parparticular, will be only a memory in the Ahaggar. Nothing has

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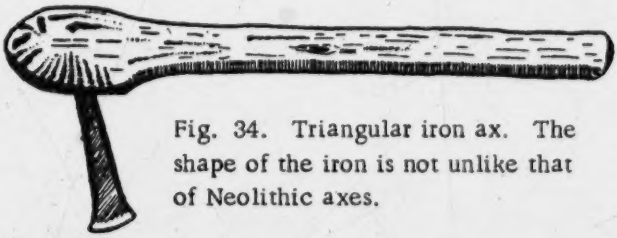

Fig. 34. Triangular iron ax. The shape of the iron is not unlike that of Neolithic axes.

been done by the French administration in the Ahaggar to protect the trees, when it would be sufficient to close some valleys for several years, while taking into account the needs of the shepherds. Measures of this kind have been taken in the environs of Goundam and have given very good results.

132 Prolonged dryness which causes a lack of pasture often puts
233 goat raising in difficulties. The birth rate is stopped short, and mortality may result to such a great extent that the number of animals sometimes falls to one fifth. Then many years are needed to build up the flocks, granting, of course, the arrival of favorable rains.

232 The careless and fatalistic Ihaggaren do not even try to step up breeding by buying sires in Adrar or in Aïr. They let their weak flocks reconstitute themselves by their own means, which
[272] sometimes requires many years. In case of an overabundance of births, they limit the number of animals, for they are well aware

262 237 The ass is never eaten, and its skin is not used.

233 The horse. -- The horse is not a Saharian animal. In 1929 there were four horses in the Ahaggar belonging to the aménokal. [643 644] Today there are about twenty of them belonging to the members of his family or to the notables of his camp.

This is an expensive luxury, for these animals must be fed with [184 262] barley, and there is not enough barley for the people themselves. It tends to replace the camel for the Sudanese Tuareg.

/254/ The zebu. -- A few years ago the aménokal owned a [648] small herd of zebus which he had had sent from the Sudan. This [137] animal is not raised in the Ahaggar proper, and it could not be, for lack of appropriate pasture.

[312] The zebus serve in the agricultural centers by drawing water. They are furnished to the tenant farmer by the proprietor of the land, [427] and they are very poorly fed on hardship rations of hay and grass, or else they are put in rush pastures, which are generally plentiful in the agricultural centers.

[438] When the animal is tired, the owner exchanges him if that is at all possible. The privations which the zebus must undergo bring about their death in a relatively short span of time, and so in the Ahaggar it is a question of keeping them alive rather than raising them. In any case, they never follow the camps in their moves and never live near them.

361 136 When we talked about the camp, we told how the search for pasture directed its location.

233 361 Insofar as animal husbandry properly speaking is concerned, we observe that the small animals -- sheep, goats, and asses -- always stay in the Ahaggar and move with the camp.

As for camels, this is not the case; they are often put out to pasture far from the tents, watched only by a few shepherds. The majority are even kept in the Sudan 800 kilometers from their owners'

1: Lhote--148a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Plate XIII

136

Long-haired Ahaggar goat. This species is localized in the mountain massifs of the Central Sahara (Ahaggar, Aïr, Adrar des Iforas, Tibesti).

Daman sheep, or Tuareg sheep, very widespread in the Sahelian steppe, is also rather common in the Ahaggar, but it is raised there only accessorily. It is a very sturdy beast, and many caravaneers import them from Adrar des Iforas by making them cross the Tanezrouft. It is characterized by its long legs and long tail.

[439]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



262 Even when grazing is good stock-breeding products are less important for food
In Ahaggar than in Air as is illustrated in fig. 3 depicting the relative importance
[222] of milk food and vegetable food. A small part of the vegetable food is provided by
collecting seeds of grasses and herbs, while roots, stems, and berries of wild plants
are less significant. The bulk of Tuareg plant food consists of millet, barley, wheat,
[241] and dates. In Ahaggar many Tuareg have gardens with wheat and barley cultivated
[563] for them by black-skinned agriculturists generally known by the Arab word
*Haratin* (*Izzegaren* to the Tuareg). But most Ahaggar Tuareg acquire the bulk of
438 their plant food from caravan trading with the oases of Tidikelt (dates) and with
262 Sudanese villages as far south as Zinder (millet). Even in years of drought they can
obtain millet from the Sudan in exchange for rock-salt broken at Amadror north-
east of Ahaggar. In Air caravan trading with salt seems less necessary to Tuareg
subsistence, although there are also in this country Tuareg who trade with salt
from Amadror or Bilma. Most pastoral households however have a fairly regular
[234] surplus of livestock, butter, and cheese which can provide for the necessary amount
[563] of millet bought in Agadez or south of the massif in Damergou. There are also
in Air a great many negroid agriculturists from whom pastoral Tuareg can buy
241 vegetable products. But millet, which forms the prominent part of Tuareg plant
262 food, is grown to a very slight extent by the agriculturists of Air. Dates are important
[438] in particular to the Ahaggar Tuareg who acquire large quantities from the oases
of Tidikelt. There are also a few Ahaggar clans the members of which own half-
wild palms with dates of an inferior quality, as there are Tuareg who have a few
palms growing in their garden plots. In Air dates are not so important for food
but even there pastoral Tuareg may have some palms. Among the Tuareg of
Tassili-n-Ajjer it is very common for pastoralists to sow wheat and barley in the
river valleys when these have been heavily flooded (Nicolaisen 1954, p. 83, 88),
and this primitive agricultural method was apparently known also to the Ahaggar
Tuareg in the past (Duveyrier 1864, p. 372). More recently many pastoral Tuareg
[312] of Ahaggar and Air have taken up agriculture by means of irrigation. There seems
[221] to be a tendency towards semi-nomadism among the Tuareg who are very dependent
on vegetable food derived from agriculture.

### *The Negroes Of The Sahara.*

•136 In the above section on Tuareg ecology it is stated that Air climatically and
botanically is closely linked with the Sudan. This is true also zoologically as the
Air fauna contains a great many species of birds and mammals characteristic of
tropical Africa. The bird life of Air seems very akin to that of the Sudanese savan-
nah, and, for instance, guinea fowls are extremely common even in valleys of the
northernmost parts of the massif. As examples of tropical mammal life in Air we
may here mention that the wart-hog lives in Central Air, and that oryx antelopes

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 76]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tarahamt)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of weels *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters.

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 138ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while

137 /30 cont./ In the central Ahaggar, the Atakor, and the Tefedest, a zone of high elevation, one sees plants of Mediterranean origin, such as the wild olive (Olea laperrini) and the oleander. Artemisia and the "takamezout" of the Tuareg are also characteristic of this region.

At a lower level, in the zone which surrounds the central massif, the Sudanese influence is manifested in trees and shrubs such as the thora, the tebourak, and various kinds of acacias, the tabrakat and the morakba. One also sees there Saharan plants: the palm, the fersig, the drinn. And there are some traces of the Mediterranean influence: artemisia, oleander, and reeds. In brief, it is a zone of transition.

The vegetation of the peripheral trench is purely Saharan: a little acheb grows on the regs when it rains; the drinn, the had, and the guetaf invade the wadi beds. One also finds, here and there, morakba and a few tahlas.

The tassilis of the north, with their humid and well-boxed-in wadis, have a flora with Sudanese affinities along with Mediterranean and Saharan plants, while in the southern tassilis and the Adrar des Iforas the influence is very clearly Sudanese. In these latter two regions, the tahlas, still scattered, grow on the slopes outside of the wadis. In the wadi beds, one sees numerous tebourak, some thoras, tabrakat, and various acacias. The morakba grows abundantly in the small ravines as well as in the large wadis. Lastly, a luxuriant growth of gergir, reminiscent of the prairie, covers the wadis after it rains.

In the region of high altitudes, one sees mosses and lichens, as well as mushrooms. After rain, terfes (Saharan truffles) develop.

Near running water, one notes the presence of a special flora: mosses and lichens, false mint, reeds, rushes and tahlis, and couch grass grow profusely. The water itself contains algae and various aquatic plants.

136 /31/ The diversity of the flora would lead one to expect a great variety of fauna. Saharan animals do, in fact, live

136 /31 cont./ next to those habitually found in Mediterranean zones or on the Sudanese steppes. Some are frequently found in the Ahaggar or are often spoken of by the natives.

The gazelle (alenkad), a small, elegant, delicate animal, is found almost everywhere, from the first spurs of the Mouydir up to the frontier of the Niger. It likes pastures of alommoz, a small grass that quivers in the slightest breeze; this is why gazelles are particularly numerous in the Tin-Zaouaten region and in the wadis bordering the Tanezrouft. At certain times of the year, it is not unusual to see herds of 50 head.

[224] The gazelle is protected by hunting laws, but it protects itself even better by avoiding the regions inhabited by man. Because of this, the number of these animals seems to be almost constant.

Nearly all the mountains of the Ahaggar harbor wild sheep (oudad). This splendid animal, characteristic of the country, haunts all the peaks, even those seemingly inaccessible.

136 224 The Tuareg formerly hunted wild sheep with spears; they now use rifles. A small tribe, the Ibardjien, were specialists in this sport; with their dogs trained for this work, the men tracked the game and dispatched it with spears. This tribe is dying out, and this type of hunting will disappear with it. The Adjouh n'Téhélé and the Dag Rali kill a few animals during the year, either with rifles or by trapping them with a noose tied to a log.

136 It is difficult to determine with any degree of accuracy whether the number of wild sheep is increasing or decreasing.

There are practically no antelopes still living in the Ahaggar; only a few rare individuals ascend the valleys of the Adrar des Iforas and are seen at the edge of the southern tassilis.

The most widespread of the carnivores is the jackal. One sees it everywhere, on the lookout for wounded gazelles, following the tracks of small animals, avidly eyeing the herds /32/ of goats. The presence of this animal is a veritable nightmare for the young mountain shepherds.

●136 /32 cont./ A cruel fox, smaller than the jackal, is sometimes found in the sandy regions of the great regs or at the approaches of the tassilis. This is the fenec.

No doubt the most curious animal of this region is the cheetah, or amayas. One rarely sees more than its tracks, and it is very hard to encounter. The cheetah is a true nomad, which hunts over enormous distances.

The Tuareg highly prize its skin, with which they ornament their saddles.

The striped hyena is rather rarely seen in the Ahaggar. It is more numerous in the tassilis and in the Adrar des Iforas.

In the mountains and, above all, close to agricultural areas, wild cats abound. These are handsome animals, the size of a very large domestic cat. Voracious and cruel, they play havoc with the poultry of the harratin /the Negro group which does the gardening/.

The Tuareg often speak of a wolf that was seen in times past in the Ahaggar. The folklore also speaks of a ferocious animal, the cynhyena, which lived in packs. (Colonel Augières reports that bones of the cynhyena have been found in the Timissao region).

Small rodents are found in great numbers in the pastures. Hares and rabbits feed on aromatic herbs which give their flesh a peculiar flavor.

Rats of all sizes and countless mice are found near the tents, and they often damage the leather sacks in which the grain is kept. The tilout, a rat with no ears and with very long, pointed claws hides among the rocks of the Atakor. Another curious animal, the daman, lives in packs among the great granitic rubble. According to scientists, this animal may be related to the rhinoceros, for the female has a linear placenta. It is about as big as a large rabbit and is exceedingly timid.

All the pasturelands of the Ahaggar teem with birds which eat the grain, above all the gergir. Thousands of them may be seen taking off when one crosses a prairie.

•136 /33/ Near the water points, numerous insect-eating birds seek nourishment. Let us mention in particular a gray swallow which lives the year round in the Ahaggar, and a charming black and white bird, the moula-moula, which is considered [825] a messenger by the Tuareg and which accompanies travelers, rapidly becoming very tame.

At Tamanrasset, Bengalis (mange-mil /literally: "eat-millet"/), imported from Agadez, breed rapidly and populate the gardens, which they ornament with their red plumage.

Crows are seen almost everywhere. Vultures soar very high, so high, say the Tuareg, that the sun burns their head feathers, and when an animal dies in the desert, the rapacious birds arrive mysteriously from "nowhere."

Falcons and buzzards circle over the pasturelands in search of food.

Reptiles abound in the Ahaggar. Snakes and vipers live in and around the wadis, burrowing among the clumps of thorny vegetation and tree roots. The Tuareg fear everything that crawls. Several types of vipers (tachilt) live in the Ahaggar; some are gray, others tawny (horned) or spotted. One may encounter, but rather rarely, a sort of cobra called hench-lefel. Some snakes grow to be more than a meter long.

Lizards of all sizes live in the most desolate places. One kind, small, sand-colored, flees terrified at the approach of man in the wadis and on the regs.

The dob prefers rocky places. With its large, spiked tail, this animal has an antediluvian aspect. It plays a very important part in Tuareg stories. Children play with it as with [262] a toy. Its flesh, considered edible, is far from tasty.

The uran, a large gray lizard, possesses a redoubtable weapon in its long, flexible tail. The Tuareg call it their [825] maternal uncle and ascribe to it dauntless courage. It is said that the uran attacks nobles but /34/ refuses to fight Negroes; [262] the latter eat the flesh of the uran, having no kinship tie with it.

136 /34 cont. / A green lizard with a red head is often glimpsed on the rocks: this is the materter. It seems to be saying a continual prayer, nodding its head up and down. The Tuareg [825] claim that its bite is fatal but are contradicted by zoologists on this point.

Large numbers of toads live in the irrigation ditches; tadpoles are found in nearly all water points.

The large gueltas /pools/ such as Issakarassène, Afilal, Amguid, Arak, etc., contain fish: barbus sahari. These barbels run the risk of disappearing during violent floods.

Some water points, at Tamanrasset in particular, are stocked with gambusia, useful for eating mosquito larvae. Some say that the In-Outer guelta, situated upstream in the Tit wadi, once was inhabited by a crocodile. This claim is not to be rejected a priori if one considers the discoveries made in the Ajjers /Adjjer/ of "residual" animals.

Insects are clearly the most important of the Ahaggar's fauna. They are found everywhere, even in places which seem totally devoid of life.

Beetles are the region's largest insects; they leave orderly little dotted tracks on the sand. A green beetle, the zembabar, looks truly ornamental.

The ankokar, a large poisonous wasp which frequents the vicinity of water points, inflicts dangerous stings; the Tuareg fear it and say that several stings may cause death.

Ordinary flies are the best adapted animals in the Ahaggar, as in all the Sahara. They swarm at agricultural centers, where they are carriers of eye diseases. When one halts on a barren reg, it is a surprise to find oneself surrounded by a cloud of flies, come from heaven known where.

Butterflies fly around the gardens and pastures; moths describe thousands of ellipses around the lamps.

/35/ Ants of all sizes, ticks, mantes, dragon flies, mosquitoes, termites, and many other small insects fly and

136 /35 cont./ circle everywhere, among the plants of the wadis, around the rocks in the mountains, on the trees, and in the guemouns /cultivated squares/ of the gardens, as well as near the water points.

The gueltas harbor an entire, very varied, aquatic fauna; the moist soil shelters a quantity of insects, larvae, and worms.

Lastly, scorpions are encountered almost everywhere, yellow or black, small or large. The Tuareg fear them. It appears, however, that the sting of the Ahaggar scorpion is not fatal; it causes a high fever, varying according to the individual victim, the time of the year, and the amount of venom injected.

To my knowledge there is no any complete scientific study of the Ahaggar's fauna.

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## II
## The People of the Ahaggar

172 One can say nothing very exact about the origin of the present populations of the Ahaggar, and less still on that of the populations of past centuries. However, we may be permitted to sketch a picture, a rather hypothetical one, of what the Ahaggar could have been in the remote past, although it is not possible to assign any certain chronology to the different periods.

The only positive knowledge we have of the prehistory is furnished by collections of tools, by the study of rock figurations, by results of excavations of pre-Islamic tombs, and by geological and paleoclimatological contributions. The oral traditions handed down by the Tuareg are not of much use, for they are rare and deal largely in myths.

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

● 136

15. A uran.

[p. 200]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*tamat, Acacia seyal*) and tamarisks (*tabarekkat, Tamarix aphylla & azawa, Tamarix gallica* and related species). Other important perennial species are the grasses *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tullult* (*Aristida pungens*) the latter grass being found especially around the northern massifs of Anhet and Téfedest, and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. 137

2) *Tarayin*, the middle mountain zone which has the following characteristics:— Acacias are lacking or are very rare and badly developed. The big tamarisk (*tabarekkat*) is lacking while the smaller species (*azawa, T. gallica*) is common in certain valleys. Two trees are found which do not grow in the lower zone, namely *tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) and *alew* (*Olea Lapperrini*). The *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is missing and the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) is scarce.

3) *Atakor*, the highest part of Ahaggar with the following characteristics:— There are no trees with the exception of *alew* (*Olea Lapperrini*), and there are on the whole very few perennial species while annual species are abundant in case of rainfall.

It should be noted that only the important characteristics of the three Tuareg zones are here mentioned, and I add that a few perennial plants are found within all three zones. Thus the perennial species *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*) occurs along the valleys in all three zones, but it is of very low stature high up in the mountains, while it forms very high and bush-like tufts in the lower parts of the country.

In Ayr there is also a change of vegetation according to altitude but a general description of this is rather complicated. The lower parts of the Ayr Massif as well as the southern plains are dominated by acacias (*afagag, Acacia Raddiana & tamat, A. flava*) like the lower parts of Ahaggar, and the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) is very common almost everywhere throughout the country, while the *tullult* grass is found only in sandy regions at the eastern slopes of the Massif. Species of tamarisks are extremely rare, and this is true of certain other species which are common in Ahaggar. The trees *tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) and *alew* (*Olea Laperrini*) grow only in isolated mountainous parts of Ayr. The extensive plains west of the Ayr Massif around Ingal are dominated by acacias and the *afezu* grass, but these perennial plants become less and less common towards the north, so that the regions around I-n-abanrerit have very little persistent vegetation but a rich vegetation of annual plants. For further information on the botany of Ayr I refer to the study of Miré & Gillet who describe all known species and indicate their division into particular vegetational zones (Miré & Gillet 1956). I conclude this outline of Tuareg botany with the statement that Ahaggar and Ayr have many important species in common. But there are northern species which do not thrive in Ayr while some southern species are unknown in Ahaggar, e.g., the dum palm *tagayt* (*Hyphaena thebaica*) which plays a great role with the Ayr Tuareg. [114]

Climatically as well as botanically the Ahaggar Mountains are situated on the frontier of two distinct zones, namely the Mediterranean and the Tropical zones, while Ayr is predominantly tropical. This seems true also zoologically, as the Ayr fauna contains a great many species of birds and mammals characteristic of tropical Africa. The bird life of Ayr seems very akin to that of the Sudanese savannah, and, for instance, guinea fowl is extremely common even in valleys of the northern-most parts of the Massif. As example of tropical mammal life in Ayr we may here mention that the wart-hog lives in Central Ayr, and that oryx antelope and giraffe are found in the plains immediately south and west of the Massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Ayr and Ahaggar, but [132] 136 13

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*492 181 [114] of riders and their camels. This is intimated by the following poem quoted from Foucauld's excellent books on the poetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg:—

[539]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ébeydeǧ, é ti n ami mellen* | My white camel, O woman with white teeth |
| *W-allahi! iḍeǧ ul ifel kem* | I swear by God, it shall not go raiding, shall not leave you |
| *Ula daṛ ikk am akal ien* | It shall not go away from you to another country |
| *U t ḍineṛ ar y arabuh ennem* | I lead it to the pastures only to visit you with love again |
| *Ula taharǧit d asemmeḍren* | Neither in dreams nor in thought |
| *Innin é ham yekk akal ien* | Shall it go away from you to another country |

(cf. Foucauld 1925-30, I, p. 210 f. for a literal translation).

## DONKEYS

231 Donkeys are very important domestic animals in the Tuareg groups I have studied. Most animals [192] are grey or greyish but there are other colours for which the Tuareg have special terms. From Ahaggar the following colour-terms can be mentioned:— *adebara* (greyish), *afawa* (greyish with a white stomach), *ewriṛ* (yellow-brown), *éhenbey*, or *takenbawt* (donkey with a black head), *ékawél* (black). Black donkeys seem to be more common among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara than among the Tuareg.

231 Donkeys vary less in colour than other domestic animals among the Tuareg. It is interesting to note ● 136 in this connection that there are fairly big herds of wild donkeys, or asses, in the mountainous massifs of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr. These animals are generally greyish like most domestic donkeys.

133 *492 415

Fig. 83. Women carrying cereals in skin bags loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, the *Dog Rali* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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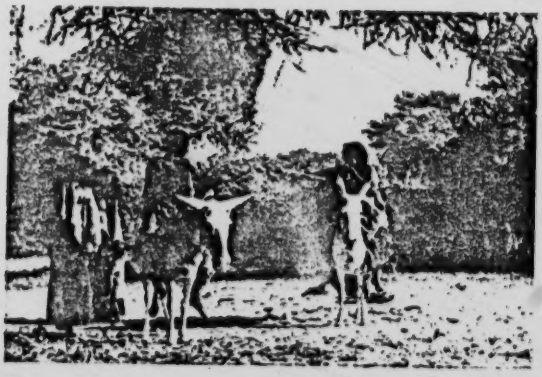

Fig. 84. Boy and woman mounted on donkeys. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

But the wild animals are bigger, which the Tuareg ascribe to the fact that they roam freely in the desert 231
and always can find the very best fodder – an explanation which seems reasonable as the Tuareg 136
camp where fodder is reserved to their milk-yielding animals (cf. p. 491 ff.). It can be added that 231
domestic donkeys are frequently tightly hobbled by means of a narrow rope (*téffart*) around their forelegs (Fig. 45) and sometimes also with another rope (*amahus* in Ahaggar) running from one foreleg to a hind leg.

If donkeys are not hobbled, there is always a great risk that they will disappear in the mountains and join the herds of wild animals. Unhobbled donkeys are often caught with great difficulty. They are sometimes driven together by the inhabitants of a camp, and when mares have foals it may even become necessary to run down the foals on riding camels in order to get hold of their mothers. In some regions where donkeys depend on water from deep wells it is customary not to give them too much water to drink, in which case unhobbled animals can always be caught at the well, where they will wait for water. But donkeys are very well fitted for desert life. They can do without water for several days even when weather is extremely hot, and where water is very near the surface so that the sandy soil is humid donkeys dig small holes with their hoofs to drink the water which quickly gathers in these depressions. I have myself witnessed this in Ahaggar where the Tuareg say that among domestic animals only donkeys are able to make such water-holes. [312]

The Tuareg distinguish between the domestic donkey (*éyhed* in the north, *éyjed* among the Ayr Tuareg) and the wild donkey or ass (*ahulil* in the north, *émedrer* in Ayr), but they are well aware that there is no important distinction between them for many Tuareg even nowadays obtain domestic donkeys by catching wild animals. Wild donkeys or asses were hunted for domestication still more eagerly in the past, and there may perhaps be some connection between donkey-breeding and true hunting – that is hunting for meat. Nowadays the Tuareg never eat donkey's meat, nor do they utilize 231
the skin of these animals. But it is known that the Ahaggar Tuareg have eaten donkey's meat in periods 262
of hunger even fairly recently, and Duveyrier states that old animals caught in traps are killed for their 232

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 85. Tuareg breaking in a young newly-caught donkey. The donkey is prevented from escaping by means of hobble-ropes (*téffert* and *amahur*) and is also tethered to an acacia tree. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tehlé* tribe.

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skin (Duveyrier 1864, p. 231). It is most possible that the taboo on donkey's meat and skin is due to Islam – meat of donkeys and horses is considered unlawful by the Ḳoran. Leo Africanus states that the nomads of the Sahara eat meat of donkeys which they catch in snares (Leo Africanus II, p. 944).

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The wild donkeys, or asses, of Tuareg countries are very shy, and it is most impressive to watch a herd of some twenty animals galloping over the desert plains. Because of their shyness they are often hunted much in the same way as game animals. Among the Northern Tuareg they are caught in the spiked wheel-trap, are run down by men mounted on camels, or are driven into closed river valleys surrounded by steep rocky walls. In certain parts of Ayr wild donkeys can be caught in the same way – notably in valleys of Mount Tamgak (Northern Ayr) and around Anu Meḳḳeren (Central Ayr) – while the method of running down wild donkeys with riding camels is said not to be practised. Whether the so-called spiked wheel-trap is used for catching donkeys or not, I do not know, as the Ayr country is very extensive and inhabited by Tuareg of different origins. The Tuareg belonging to the *Kel Ferwan* group claimed that it was not used for donkeys or asses for which they have a kind of snare called *tayant*, which is also the name used among them for the noosed rope connected with the spiked wheel-trap. The snare used for donkeys is said to consist of a rope some twenty or thirty metres long and plaited from dum palm leaves. The rope is noosed at one end to be used as follows:— The loop is laid out where donkeys come to drink, the whole rope being covered with sand. The hunter lies hidden behind some natural object, a rock or tree, and when a donkey puts one of its legs within the loop he pulls the rope. It is said that this method is also sometimes used for other domestic animals which have gone wild, as happens frequently with oxen. But it is never used for hunting proper game animals such as gazelle, antelope, and barbary sheep. To catch domestic animals which have gone

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 90. Tuareg dogs of the breed which is common among the Ayr Tuareg. Dogs suffer much from heat in summer when they hide under water-bags. Ayr, the *Imezaveg* tribe.

## DOGS

231 The Northern Tuareg distinguish between three types of dogs (sing. *eydi*) as follows:— (1) a long-haired breed (*aberhoh*); (2) a short-haired slender breed (*akhawi*); (3) a very slender and elegantly
[173] built greyhound (*oska*) (Fig. 91). The Ahaggar Tuareg speak of a tradition, according to which the greyhound (*oska*) was introduced fairly recently through contacts with the Northern Arabs. The Ayr Tuareg do not make similar distinctions between dog breeds. They have only one breed which is known as *ijji* (Fig. 90). It is short-haired and slenderly built though less so than the true Arab greyhound.

[136] Dogs are kept to guard the camp and in particular to protect the animals from the attack of jackals or hyenas during night. If the Tuareg had no dogs it would be most difficult for them to breed goats and sheep. Dogs may also follow the flocks in daytime to protect the animals against beasts of prey, though this is not generally considered necessary. Dogs are not trained as "sheep-dogs", but it is said that a few "intelligent" dogs will assist the herdsman in keeping the flock together during grazing,
[224] and many dogs will drive away domestic animals which belong to foreign flocks. Some Tuareg use dogs in hunting barbary sheep, gazelle, antelope, and hare (cf. hunting, p. 159, 166).

[17] It is well-known that the Arabs consider the dog an unclean animal. This is also so among Arab nomads of the Sahara, but they do not consider their greyhounds unclean in this sense. Thus pastoralists of the Chamba group told me that among them a fine greyhound is esteemed in much the same way as are noble riding horses and camels. The Tuareg have very few true greyhounds and
[521] I do not believe that they have this same feeling of interest in them. But many children and young
[541] people are fond of all types of dogs, and one can hear them discuss the qualities of their animals and the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp. Colour-terms are also used for dogs, and I have heard one Tuareg boy claim that he preferred dogs that were black and white. Adult people in general treat dogs differently, and they are frequently cruel to them, which may be due to Islamic influence which is on the increase among the Tuareg. Though the Tuareg may be cruel to their dogs they acknowledge that they are very "wise and intelligent". They say that the dogs are much like humans with the exception that they cannot speak. Therefore they should also be fed like humans, and they are given millet-porridge – with milk if the yield is abundant. The Tuareg kill their old and superfluous dogs by hanging them from a tree in a noosed rope, and they consider this method very effective.

## CATS

The domestic cat is found in many Tuareg camps. It is generally termed *muchch* which is Arabic by origin. I believe that domestic cats have been introduced to Tuareg countries later than the Arab invasions and that they have been introduced by the Arabs. This is in agreement with Lagercrantz's statement that domestic cats in most parts of North Africa outside of Egypt are post-Arabian (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 65). Cats are allowed to live in tents and huts, and are well treated as among the Arabs. The Tuareg keep cats not only for pets to their children, but they much like to have them in their camps as cats catch numerous scorpions and also attack snakes.

Among sedentary people of Ahaggar and particularly at Tamanraset the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, or *tékenisit*) is sometimes kept in the house or within the courtyard as it hunts beetles and scorpions during the night. This custom of keeping tame hedgehogs is no doubt recently adopted from Europeans living at Tamanraset.

Fig. 91. A true greyhound (*aska*) patted by a negroid agriculturist of the *Kel Ğanet*. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Orawa* tribe.

# Hunting

For the pastoral Tuareg hunting is not an important occupation, and nowadays it is practised mainly by those few Tuareg who possess rifles or guns. Traditional hunting methods are thus of far less consequence than in the past, but some of them are very interesting and most significant for a historical analysis of Tuareg culture.

## AHAGGAR

Northern Tuareg areas are not very rich in game. In Ahaggar the main types of game are the gazelle (*ahenkoḍ*, fem. *tahenkoṭ*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) and the barbary sheep (*uḥad; Ammotragus lervia*). The big gazelle (*énir; Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amellul; Addax nasomaculatus*) are very rare; they are occasionally seen in the plains outside of the mountains. The ostrich (*anhél; Struthio camelus*) was very common in the past, but is now exterminated.

The small gazelle is rare and shy within the Ahaggar Massif, while fairly abundant and comparatively easy to hunt with a rifle in the northernmost massifs and their surrounding plains. Of seven camps visited in Ahnet 1954, gazelle hunting was engaged in by the members of two households, and I estimate that they killed one or two gazelles every week. In most camps of the Northern Tuareg there are no true gazelle hunters, and when a rare gazelle is killed its meat is easily eaten in one day by the members of a single household – in addition to three or four pounds of wheat-bread or millet-porridge. Gazelle skin is of little practical value to Tuareg craft. It is not generally used for the manufacture of important domestic articles such as water bags and containers for milk and butter, but it is suitable and much esteemed for certain types of decorated leather work and for fine leather cords, e.g., necklaces for amulet cases, reins for riding camels.

Barbary sheep are extremely shy, and they live mainly in inaccessible mountains. They are still fairly common in certain isolated parts of the mountains, but they were more numerous in the past when hunting was practised without rifles.

The Tuareg estimate that the amount of meat obtained from two gazelles corresponds to the meat of one grown goat, while a big barbary sheep provides as much meat as that of four goats. Meat of barbary sheep is better suited for drying than meat of other game animals, and the thick hide of these animals is valuable for the manufacture of tents and for large bags used for the conservation on journeys of dates, grain, flour, and the like. The horns of barbary sheep are used as butter containers (Fig. 165), and some Tuareg add the powder of crushed horns to butter before heating it (cf. p. 222). Barbary sheep are of greater economic value to the Ahaggar Tuareg than other types of game, and

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224 Tuareg are also aware of the use of poison. I have gathered no information about this myself, but
[224] Lhote states that certain poisonous grain is used for the destruction of jackals and small rodents (Lhote 1951a, p. 43 f. & 132).

226 It is obvious that fishing cannot be an important industry to people of the Sahara, but fishing is practised in certain areas. One species of fish (*Clarias Lazera*) is found in a few permanent pools of Central Ahaggar, but it is particularly common in the numerous permanent ponds of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where there is also another, perch-like species. I have myself caught and eaten both species. Duveyrier states that there are three distinct species in Tasilé-n-Ajjer:— (1) *asoulmeh* (*asulmey*) (*Clarias Lazera*); (2) *isattafen* (*i-settefen*); (3) *imanan* (pl. *imenan*) (Duveyrier 1864, p. 227, 238). Fishing is described
[262] by Duveyrier as follows: "Les poissons des lacs de Mihero donnent lieu à une pêche qui contribue
[515] à l'alimentation des serfs riverains. A cet effet, ils creusent sur les bords des lacs de petits canaux étroits, aboutissant à des réservoirs dans lesquels les poissons viennent pour y chercher une nourriture qu'ils ne trouvent pas dans les profondeurs des lacs. Quand ils y sont entrés on renferme les conduits et on les prend" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 238 f.). Another fishing method is described by Lhote: "Ils construisent des espèces de fascines avec des tiges de mrokba ou des branches de tamarix, puis, entrant à plusieurs dans l'eau ils forment une espèce de barrage au moyen de ces fascines en les mettant bout à bout et les poussent ensuite doucement devant eux. Ils prennent bien soin de drainer le fond de sorte que le poisson soit systématiquement chassé. Lorsqu'ils arrivent près de la rive opposée à celle d'où ils sont partis, ils poussent rapidement par un dernier effort et éjectent le poison sur le sable ou ils le ramassent. Ils recommencent ce manège plusieurs fois jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient capturé la majorité des poissons" (Lhote 1951a, p. 53). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told about a third fishing method, namely the use of a piece of cotton (e.g., an old cotton shirt) attached to two poles. The cotton piece serves as a net over which the fish are fed. There seem to be no other fishing methods, as both the fish-hook and the harpoon are unknown.

## AYR

● 136 The Ayr Massif with adjacent plains is very rich in game in comparison with the true desert country inhabited by the Northern Tuareg. Barbary sheep (*ifital*; *Ammotragus lervia Augusi*) are common in the mountains and also south of the Massif around the cliff known as *Falaise de Tigeddi*. Gazelle (*achenkod*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) (*énir*; *Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amellul*; *Addax nasomaculatus*), which are found in Northern Tuareg countries, are more abundant in Ayr where there are also bigger types of game, notably the oryx antelope (*ézem*; *Aegoryx algazel algazel*), and the giraffe (*awder*; *Giraffa camelopardalis*) which is found south and southwest of the Massif (e.g., around Ingal and Aderbissinat). The ostrich (*énhal*; *Struthio camelus*) is still very common in isolated regions of Ayr including the northern outskirts of the mountains, where I have seen flocks of more than twenty birds. There are in Ayr as mentioned above (p. 31) many bird species which are unknown or rare further north in the desert, e.g., the guinea fowl (*taylalt*; *Numida clappertoni clappertoni*) and a bustard species (*agayis*; *Choriotis arabs stieberi*). Game birds are extremely abundant in certain parts of Ayr. The birds come in amazing numbers to waterholes and open wells to drink in the evening at

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Fig. 117. Fishing pool (*aḡelmam*) in Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

136 sunset. There are wild pigeons by the thousand and innumerable flocks of guinea fowls and partridges (*Alectoris* sp.). Two species of turtle-dove are almost as common in Ayr as is the sparrow in Europe.
224 Possibilities of hunting are much more favourable in Ayr than in Northern Tuareg countries, yet,
410 nevertheless, the Ayr Tuareg engage even less in hunting than do the Ahaggar Tuareg. One reason for this is perhaps that very few Ayr Tuareg possess guns. It is extremely rare to meet hunters in Ayr.
224 They are found mainly within one tribe, namely that of *Imedderaren* (or *Kel Tamgak*) living in the
433 Tamgak Mountains of Northern Ayr. I have myself never visited camps of these people, but all Tuareg
119 agree that they live largely as hunters and possess few domestic animals. Unfortunately, these people have never been studied in detail. Buchanan, who met a hunting band of these Tuareg in 1920, says
222 that they have neither goats nor grain, but live by hunting and the collection of wild edible plants (Buchanan 1921, p. 191), while Campbell, who met them at Iferwan in 1926, describes them as hunters who also breed goats and sheep (Campbell 1928, p. 204 f.). Rodd also states that the *Kel Tamgak* have goats and sheep, but that they do not possess camels (Rodd 1926a, p. 307). This is in agreement with information gathered by myself at Iferwan where I met a few Tuareg of this group. There are
224 no Ayr Tuareg who live exclusively by hunting and collecting. The number of game animals killed

222 Even in good years it may happen that edible seed-plants are eaten by locusts before they become
[134] ripe for collecting. Collecting is of secondary importance to the Tuareg of Ahaggar though to most
[433] pastoralists it is more important than hunting.

## AYR

134 We have seen that Ayr has better grazing grounds and more game than Ahaggar, and it is only
137 natural that this southern area is also a more favourable one for the collecting of wild plants. Never-
222 theless, it seems as if collecting is not so important to the Ayr Tuareg who have more livestock for
[433] which millet and wheat can be obtained without much difficulty. The number of edible plants utilized in Ayr is probably a very large one. Thus it is said that certain *Kel Ewey* Tuareg collect many different plants, but my inquiries into the methods and the value of collecting were limited to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group of Southern Ayr where the following species are collected for food: —

222 *afagag* (*Acacia Radkliana*). Pods of this acacia are dried and, after pounding in a large millet mortar,
262 mixed with milk to be eaten or drunk like the Tuareg dish known as *arejira* (cf. p. 245 f.).

252 *ebezgin* (*Salvadora persica*). Fruit is eaten without any preparation.

*tadent* (*Boscia senegalensis*). Berries are pounded in the millet mortar to obtain the limpid juice which is added to porridge.

[824] *tagayt* (*Hyphaene thebaica*). The dum palm, which is of extreme importance for the handicraft of the Ayr Tuareg, is also valuable as food. The young nuts are opened with a knife and the kernels are eaten. The old nuts have an edible outer coating which is eaten by children and even by adults when they are hungry. These old nuts are also pounded in the millet mortar together with seeds of *ageruf*, cf. below.

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). This perennial grass is very abundant all over Ayr. Collecting of its seeds is done by rubbing the ears of the grass between the hands to allow the seeds to fall into a plaited bowl. Seeds are pounded in a millet mortar to be used for porridge.

*ichiben*, that is seeds of an annual grass – apparently identical with *Panicum longiflorum* and/or *P. spinosa*. The seeds are collected in two different ways: — (1) If the ripe seeds have fallen to the ground they are swept together with a bunch of straw. (2) The ears are cut with a knife to be threshed by pounding in a millet mortar. — The seeds are highly esteemed, being collected to a greater extent than seeds of other wild plants. The seeds are used particularly for porridge, but also for certain other dishes such as *arejira* (cf. p. 245 f.).

*ichit* (*Eragrostis* ssp.). A grass yielding red seeds collected in the following way: — The ears are beaten with the hands so that the seeds fall into a plaited bowl. The seeds are used only for porridge.

*wajeg* (*Cenchrus catharticus* & *C. Priouri*). Annual seed-plants with thorny seeds. The dry plants are beaten with a stick and the fallen seeds are collected in a heap to be threshed with a stick. The seeds are pounded in a millet mortar for porridge.

*ageruf* (*Tribulus terrester*). An annual plant with thorny seeds which are collected as just described for the *wajeg* plants. The seeds are pounded in a millet mortar to be eaten without further preparation

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241 I, p. 424). Rodd thinks the implement seen by Barth was clearly an importation from the north (Rodd
171 1926a, p. 133), and Feilberg assumes that if the plough was once known in this southern area it might perhaps have disappeared together with shifting cultivation (Feilberg 1931, p. 200). All this may be so, for there has been much contact between Ayr and the regions of Fezzan and Tripolitania in the past. But Barth does not say that he saw a plough but "a kind of plough", which may perhaps point to a type of large hoe drawn by men like that described from Senegambia by Feilberg (cf. Feilberg 1931, p. 169 f.).

243 The plough is unknown in the extensive area inhabited by pastoral Tuareg but this is not so with a kind of shifting cultivation. Pastoral Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer sow wheat and barley along the river valleys when these have been heavily flooded. Sowing is then done in a very simple way:— Holes are dug into the sandy soil, usually merely with the hand, and a few seeds are put into these holes. Wheat and barley thus sown grow in tufts with a space of 0.30 to 0.50 metres between each, and there seem to be about fifty straws in a normal tuft – the largest tuft I have seen contained about 130 straws (cf. Figs. 128–129). The plots cultivated in this way are generally very small, and the scattered wild plants growing in the plot are not always removed before sowing. The corn plots are left completely to themselves until harvesting, which is done with a sickle (Fig. 143). Primitive corn growing of this type cannot be practised continuously from one year to another in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the Tuareg of that region say that a household never grows enough corn in this way to meet its annual needs.

[178] The primitive method of corn growing without artificial irrigation is unknown in Ahaggar nowadays, but it seems as if it was known in the past (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 372), and the Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular term (*tawgest*) for a field cultivated without artificial irrigation (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1466).

Rodd states that rain-grown crops could be raised most years in certain parts of Ayr and that in earlier days a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way in Ayr (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). There is little doubt that this statement is correct, and I think that even in parts of Ahaggar millet could be raised without irrigation in most years, for millet has a very short period of growth.

[221] In Ahaggar (at Abalessa) it is sown in June-July and is harvested in September. Though millet plots are irrigated they are never watered much, and never to the same extent as wheat and barley which are grown in winter. In regard to Ayr, millet in southern villages of the Massif very frequently ripens in two months, and late in summer, at the end of the rains (*akasa*) or in the early dry season (*rarat*).

[252] I have frequently seen well-developed small plots of millet and sorghum around deserted Tuareg camps where a great many seeds are always lost on the ground during the pounding and winnowing of millet for porridge. These self-grown plots, however, are not utilized by the Tuareg as the comparatively

[138] small yield is quickly eaten by the numerous millet-eating birds. Owing to these birds it would be difficult for pastoral Tuareg to grow cereals in flooded valleys like the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and it is partly for this very reason that the sedentary agriculturists of Ayr grow very little millet. Millet could easily be raised without artificial irrigation during the rains, and, in fact, millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation of Ayr.

245 In addition to the species of grain mentioned above there is one very important plant which can be grown without artificial irrigation, namely the date palm. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are river valleys

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Fig. 144. *Kel Ewey* woman winnowing grain by shaking it in a plaited bowl. Ayr. Iferwan.

243 large mortar. Winnowing of cereals is performed by shaking the seeds in a plaited bowl or tray to let
[415] husks and other impurities be removed by the wind (Fig. 144).

251 The Northern Tuareg use the following means for storing of crops:— (1) *taddat*, that is a skin bag
343 containing grain, dates, and the like, hidden under stones and rocks in the mountains; (2) *ɛ̄gend*, or *anu*, an underground storeroom lined with mats. It is used for cereals, including wild seeds, and is found both among agriculturists and pastoralists (Fig. 146); (3) *tarassana*, a grain silo built from stones and mud (Fig. 145). Nowadays such storerooms are not only used by agriculturists but also by pastoralists. However, this type of storeroom is said to have been introduced to Ahaggar with the introduction of irrigation agriculture about a hundred years ago, and was originally unknown to pastoral Tuareg.

[136] Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg all storerooms for cereals are known as *tédengewt*. The storing of vegetable food products in skin bags covered with stones or hidden under rocks is apparently unknown – perhaps because of the numerous small rodents and the rich insect life which includes numerous white ants. Underground storerooms like those of Ahaggar are used by agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike. They are frequently excavated so deeply that they can hide a grown man standing in

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492 171 an ancient North African custom. It is the method generally applied by the Tuareg and those Northern Arabs who use saddles of the *térik* or *tahyast* types; it is also practiced among the Moors of Mauretania (cf. Monteil 1952, Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129), and is known to the Tebu (Cline 1950, p. 34). It would appear that the use of nostril rings for riding camels has much the same distribution in North Africa as have saddles of *térik* or *tahyast* types including the Moorish saddle, which is also placed in front of the animal's hump.

The Tuareg halter made of iron or metal shackles and used in connection with the nostril ring so that the camel is controlled by means of a double rein (*akeskabbu*; cf. p. 73, Fig. 50–52), is perhaps a combination of two originally different systems, for the Tebu use this peculiar halter without any attachment to a nostril ring, the camel being controlled by a single rein combined with the halter (cf. Le Coeur 1950, p. 133, pl. XXIX Figs. 111–112 & Cline 1950, p. 34).

136 174 114 Much has been written on the history of the camel in North Africa, and I do not want to take up this question in great detail as I can add very little to what is already known. René Basset's theory that the camel was first introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1907) is contrary to all historical information, for we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived. Contemporary with Basset it was pointed out by Flammand, that skeletal remains of camels from North Africa proved the exsistence of these animals as early as "les temps quaternaire moyens" (Flammand 1907). But while Flammand states that the camel disappeared with a more humid climate, Cauvet later tried to substantiate the theory that the camel did not disappear, but continued to exist further south in Africa. Thus, he claims, the southern camel-breed descends from the ancient camel found in Africa even during the mio-pliocene of the tertiary period, while the northern breed was introduced by the Arabs (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 15 ff.). I can agree with Cauvet's latter statement regarding a connection between northern camels and the Arabs, but his theory of the existence of the one-humped camel in Africa since tertiary time is most difficult to accept. The camel breed which existed in Africa prior to the Arab invasions was no doubt comparatively recently introduced from Asia. Barth pointed out that the camel came to North-western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3 ff.). This theory has later been supported by many scholars, notably by Gautier (Gautier 1928,, p. 99 f., ed. 1946, p. 129 ff.; 1942, p. 190 ff.). Quite recently the various problems connected with the history of the camel in North Africa have been re-examined by Walz. He largely accepts Barth's theory of its introduction in antiquity, but also points out that the camel, which seems to appear in Egypt about 500 B.C. or somewhat earlier, may have been introduced to southern parts of Africa via the Bab-el-Mandeb Straits at an earlier date (Walz 1951, p. 29–51; 1954, p. 45–87).

Gautier states that the Romans had a certain responsibility for the introduction of the camel into North-Africa, though he also claims that it was introduced by the Berber-speaking *Zenata* tribes 174 177 (Gautier 1942, p. 209 f., 227). It is to be doubted that the Romans introduced the camel into North-Africa, and on the whole it seems as if the Romans have influenced Tuareg culture very slightly. It is difficult to point to any definite traits of material culture taken over from the Romans, though Foucauld states that certain lamps of Roman form are found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1399). A fair number of Latin words can be proved to exist in Tuareg dialects. This fact is

312 The question of water is fundamental in the formation of the
[361 camp, both for the choice of its location and for the number of tents
182] to be included.

Water is obviously a problem for all life; it plays a role in the location of our small European villages, but this role is still greater in desert countries where water is quite rare. The existence of watering places is not only necessary for human life but also for the life of the domestic animals.

137 To this primordial condition of the existence of a watering
182 place must be added the condition of pasture for the domestic
312 animals. Therefore, we see that the establishment of a camp among
361 the Ihaggaren is conditioned by two main factors whose character may vary in time, depending on the seasons and the abundance or scarcity of rain. But in the last analysis the pasture needs take precedence, for, generally speaking, pasture is even rarer than
137 water, since it can sometimes be completely lacking. This need
182 for pasture forces tribes to split up and camps to be dispersed in
361 order to exploit it rationally. The situation is such that there are
621 rarely more than five or six tents in each group. Only the amenokal's
[643] camp may number as many as 15 or 20 tents, but this is quite exceptional, involving the question of prestige and social order at the same time. Indeed, the amenokal supports a numerous family, his caliphs, his servants, etc. But this grouping around the chief is quite artificial, and the flocks which the people own are not with them but are /222/ spread out in the mountains, kept by Imrad or servants.

361 The camp is always established rather far from the watering
312 places, for it is preferable to be closer to the pastures. It is often five or six kilometers from water. The animals go there to drink every two or three days, and the people use the occasion to get
[482 their water supply, which will be carried in waterskins on their backs
492] or under the stomach of the asses. Tuareg, moreover, do not like
361 to settle near a watering place, for it is always a stopping point for
609 transients, and they avoid making their presence known to strangers.

773 372 the tortures of hell. Iblis, however, communicated his secret to the blacksmiths, who since that time have known how to use it for metalworking.

372 [824] The Tuareg used to obtain fire by friction, using a board of torha (callotropis procera) and a branch of hardwood; they caught the spark on a tuft of silk from the fruit of the callotropis and blew on it until they got a flame, which required about a minute. They have kept this practice and still use it occasionally.

[439 177] Today they find matches sold by /228/ Tamanrasset merchants, but they all have tinderboxes with flint and a bent piece of iron.

[415 439] They do not keep up the fire. They carry it from one tent to the other in a fragment of an old gourd or sometimes hold a glowing ember in their hands without burning themselves.

[237 484] When they want to transport it long distances, they use camel-dung embers.

Fig. 27. Ahaggar Tuareg dish, imported from Hausa country.

[237] The Tuareg commonly use the excrement of camels and goats as fuel. In the high [137] mountains, wood is quite rare, but in the lower parts of the Koudia old acacia or éthel /atle? Ed. / stumps are to be found. They never [824] use the wood of the callotropis, which is the devil's tree and makes muffled noises when it is burned.

[823] Basalt blocks are never used to make the hearth, since they believe that basalt is possessed by genii and will explode violently when heated.

352 Furniture. -- We have briefly described the objects furnishing the parts of the tent reserved for the husband and wife. To these must be added a certain number of objects which make up the

232 these saddle camels, one may not, therefore, refer to a particular breed /race/ adapted for speed, as one may commonly hear spoken of.

436 The camel has a well determined exchange value among the Tuareg. It is one of the bases for comparison in their commercial transactions.

233 Each tribe marks his animals with a particular sign, and /251/
422 the owners who have many camels also have their own signs, marked with a hot iron on one of the parts of the animal's body -- neck, cheek, or thigh.

The sheep. -- Sheep are raised only accessorily in the Ahaggar,
233 because grass is not abundant enough. But it occupies a large place
[137] in Sudanese animal husbandry.

[136] It is a very peculiar animal with short hair and a long tail. It stands tall, a characteristic which has won for it the name of Ovis
[174] longipes. The Tuareg certainly introduced it into West Africa. Zoologists never refer to it except as Tuareg sheep. Its antiquity in North Africa is well known. The ram of Ammon is pictured with its characteristic form, and it is also recognizable in the splendid rock drawings of Géryville and Tiout. It seems to descend from the Corsican wild sheep rather than from the Algerian wild sheep. Today it is an animal found exclusively in Tuareg camps of the Sudan or in their area of influence.

574 Sheep is the dish served at great feasts, and its skin is used as
262
237 a ground rug, a blanket, or to make harnessing articles.

The goat. -- The goat is the mountain animal par excellence,
233 as frugal an eater as can be, resisting both cold and heat, and able to be content with the meagerest pastures. It is thus quite natural to find many of these goats among the Ihaggaren.

[136] /252/ The Ahaggar species is small with long black hair. In the Sudan it is different colors -- white and black, or red -- with
[232] short hair; it stands taller than the Ahaggar species and is often crossed with the dwarf female goat in the southern tribes.

136 The origin of the goat is less certain than that of the sheep. Very widespread all over the world, it must have been domesticated at

136 several different spots, and it is not impossible that the species
[172] bred today in the Ahaggar is of African origin. Bones of the species are found in the Neolithic layers of the Sahara.

137 At the present time there is a death struggle between the goats
233 and trees in the Ahaggar. The goat itself is capable of browsing
185 the lower branches and destroying them, thanks to its agility. The Tuareg do the rest when pasture is scarce, by felling the main branches to put them within the reach of the animals. And so, in a relatively short time, trees, and the tahla (Acacia sp.) in particular, will be only a memory in the Ahaggar. Nothing has

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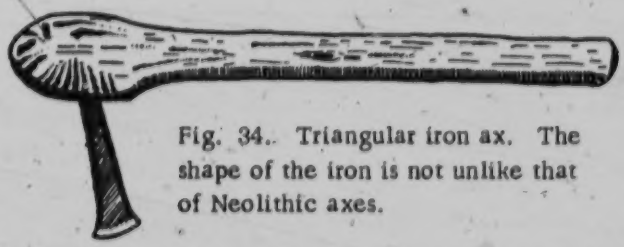


Fig. 34. Triangular iron ax. The shape of the iron is not unlike that of Neolithic axes.

been done by the French administration in the Ahaggar to protect the trees, when it would be sufficient to close some valleys for several years, while taking into account the needs of the shepherds. Measures of this kind have been taken in the environs of Goundam and have given very good results.

132 Prolonged dryness which causes a lack of pasture often puts
233 goat raising in difficulties. The birth rate is stopped short, and mortality may result to such a great extent that the number of animals sometimes falls to one fifth. Then many years are needed to build up the flocks, granting, of course, the arrival of favorable rains.

232 The careless and fatalistic Ihaggaren do not even try to step up breeding by buying sires in Adrar or in Aïr. They let their weak flocks reconstitute themselves by their own means, which
[272] sometimes requires many years. In case of an overabundance of births, they limit the number of animals, for they are well aware

of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled, and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and sometimes tents.

The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact number of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them, and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used. These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg, have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia where they are called "onager."

The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihaggaren have kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage, and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

262 237 The ass is never eaten, and its skin is not used.

233 The horse. -- The horse is not a Saharian animal. In 1929 there were four horses in the Ahaggar belonging to the amenokal. [643 644] Today there are about twenty of them belonging to the members of his family or to the notables of his camp.

This is an expensive luxury, for these animals must be fed with [184 262] barley, and there is not enough barley for the people themselves. It tends to replace the camel for the Sudanese Tuareg.

/254/ The zebu. -- A few years ago the amenokal owned a [648 137] small herd of zebus which he had had sent from the Sudan. This animal is not raised in the Ahaggar proper, and it could not be, for lack of appropriate pasture.

[312 427] The zebus serve in the agricultural centers by drawing water. They are furnished to the tenant farmer by the proprietor of the land, and they are very poorly fed on hardship rations of hay and grass, or else they are put in rush pastures, which are generally plentiful in the agricultural centers.

[438] When the animal is tired, the owner exchanges him if that is at all possible. The privations which the zebus must undergo bring about their death in a relatively short span of time, and so in the Ahaggar it is a question of keeping them alive rather than raising them. In any case, they never follow the camps in their moves and never live near them.

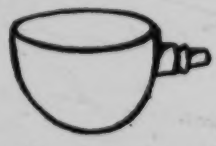
361 136 When we talked about the camp, we told how the search for pasture directed its location.

233 361 Insofar as animal husbandry properly speaking is concerned, we observe that the small animals -- sheep, goats, and asses -- always stay in the Ahaggar and move with the camp.

As for camels, this is not the case; they are often put out to pasture far from the tents, watched only by a few shepherds. The majority are even kept in the Sudan 800 kilometers from their owners'

Wood furnishes containers for food, drinking vessels, milking 322
vessels, mortars, pestles, tent stakes, crosspieces and boards for making saddles. The Ahaggar does not have more than five or six species of woods which can be worked, and the articles, very simply shaped, are much less varied than in the Sudanese tribes.

All Ahaggar women, noble or vassal, know how to tan, re- 281
move hair from, sew, decorate, and embroider leather. They are 462
able to make a waterskin needed to carry water, prepare skins to make tents, and manufacture bags for transporting food and personal objects. They have all become so expert in these labors that it is



[415
862]

Fig. 47. Amoula, a little wooden "bottle" for young children to drink from.

difficult to find any other peoples in the world who possess such a developed leather craft. [137]

The scarcity of vegetable materials in the Ahaggar is one of 285
the reasons why the use of esparto is relatively restricted. Only the stems of a graminacea common in the wadies (Panicum turgidum) [824]
are used to make mats -- large enclosing mats which surround the tent, sleeping mats, mats for covering plates.

/278/ The stems are bound by little leather thongs, and the [283]
combination of graminacea and leather is extremely effective; it [531]
allows very regular geometric decorations at the same time as a very solid work.

There are no esparto vans among the Tuareg. The women 291
use palm-leaf vans and hats, but these articles are the work of the 415
Harratin from the little palm groves of Silet, Ideles, and Abalessa. 438

423 celed out to Haratin sharecroppers although some of them used to be worked by slaves. Since ownership of land is never outright in [427] any case, each leaseholder must pay rent in one form or another to someone or other at least once a year.

565 Vassal clans usually pay annual tribute to their tribal chiefs or to the Amenokal, or 651 both. This tribute includes such things as dates, millet, congealed melted butter, baby camels, sheep, goats and manufactured articles of various kinds, a share of all merchandise imported by the clan as well as a share of the profits from any caravan commerce they may have, and about half of any booty they may capture in independent raids. Each vassal family used to contribute towards the upkeep of a particular noble family, and the nobles in their turn, men and women alike, were constantly begging from their vassals who could hardly afford to refuse them. But if this begging became unbearable, the vassals would sometimes pull up stakes and move quietly out of reach of their noble parasites.

Lhote (1955, pp. 190–91) says that all adult 651 males, potential warriors that is, of the Ahaggar confederation, were supposed to pay an annual head tax of 5 francs (then worth about 4 cents) each to the Amenokal as recently as 1948. Hunters annually paid in mouflon for exclusive local hunting rights. After each harvest each Hartani would pay a third of a bushel (more or less) of grain to the Amenokal for each garden plot that he worked, in addition to a share of the produce which he paid to the local leaseholder. But much of this fiscal system has fallen into disuse in re- 651 cent years, for the Amenokal together with 178 his whole camp is now supported almost entirely by the French Government, which also contributes free grain weekly to many of the poorer Haratin. Once more it is the middle class, the vassal Tuareg and the lesser nobles in this case, who suffer most severely from the stresses of cultural change.

**Tuareg Economy and the Roots of the Class System.** All Saharan nomads live primarily off 233 their livestock, and livestock lives off pastur- 137 age. There are two main kinds of pasture in the Sahara, the permanent growth of wiry yellowish grass, little woody shrubs and thorny bushes that one finds scattered very thinly

233 across much of the land and concentrated along dry river bottoms, and the small patches
[137] of thick, lush, emerald green grass that flourish briefly in hollows here and there following rainstorms. Pasturage is always either very sparse or very scattered in the Ahaggar and so the nomadic inhabitants of the area must move often, for the supply in the immediate neighborhood of a camp is quickly exhausted.
[312] To make life still more difficult, water points are often few and far between as we already know, and it is not unusual to find good pasturage so far from any water that it cannot be used for more than a day or two, if at all. This combination of circumstances has
233 made it necessary for the Ahaggar Tuareg
221 to break up into small and highly mobile camp units composed of fractions of clans, or even single families, and each of these units must move at intervals of usually somewhere between a week and a month and often over considerable distances, although always within the territorial limits of the tribe (fig. 36).

As soon as a camp or constellation of neighboring camps is established in a new location, the head men first set up the daily grazing routine of the flocks and then set out at once to scout far and wide in search of the next pasture to be used and the next camp sites that their families will occupy. And so it goes the year around, and so the Tuareg of the Ahaggar are highly mobile nomads by force of circumstances, for they cannot survive otherwise in the region which they have made their own.

565 It is in the compelling circumstances of their environment that we find the roots of
233 the class system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, for, quite apart from the question of mobility,
463 such conditions can be met successfully only
182 by a well conceived and firmly established division of labor. In the Ahaggar it is the nobles of a tribe and the headmen of the vassal clans who ride out in search of new pastures and at the same time act as military scouts, always on the watch for enemy raiders as

[423] *The fundamental difference between the two systems lies in the fact that the basis of land tenure among the Tuareg is not that of the *beneficium* while personal allegiance is not based on the concept of the *comitatus*. The true feudal system of medieval Europe was based on the conferring of privilege by an absolute ruler (or one of his vassals) on a less

262
The nobles eat better, at least those who are well-to-do. 243
In the Ahaggar especially they own cultivated land in the 556
"ar'erems" (villages), where they grow wheat, "ired," barley, 565
"timzin," and bechna, "inelli"; but usually they sell their 423
438

[137]

Dautheville

Trees Called "Ahatés" (Acacia Albida) at the Tillemas of the Tessht Wadi (Koudia).

wheat and barley to the natives of the Tidikelt and are content with bechna, of which they are very fond. They claim that [824]
bechna is less heating to the stomach than wheat or barley.

The rich allow themselves the luxury of drinking tea, but 272
tea and sugar are very expensive, and they do not misuse them. 556
On the other hand, they do not hesitate to beg for them shame- 263
lessly.

When the year is bad anything seems good to the poor to 222
assure their subsistence. In such years one sees them eating 262
/30/ "berdi," or "taheli," (Typha angustifolia, Typhaceae); 735
ground carob seeds of "talhas," or gum trees, which they call 252
"tahaha" • ⁝⁝⁝ + ; "tanékfaït (Diplotaxis duveyrierana, Cruciferae); fruit of the "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica), which they steep to take out the bitterness; and even leaves of the "aremmas" (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae), which they boil.

In short, nature keeps food resources for them which prevents even the poorest from dying of hunger.

They use camel hair to make rope. They are fond of 237 283 camel meat, and it is they who supply the markets of the 262 439 Tidikelt with it.

There are very few cattle in the Ahaggar, barely thirty, 233 and almost all these belong to Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane, 492 of Tazerouk. They are used to draw water from the wells [312] into the ar'erems. The pasture is scanty, and besides the cattle easily wear out their hooves on the rocks and stones.

In the Koudia, because of the cold which prevails there 233 and the high altitude, there are many small turrets of dry 343 stones, /65/ empty inside, in which the Tuareg confine lambs and kids at night to shelter them from the cold.

The Ahaggar do not have a large number of meharis, and 233 they do not like to sell them, especially the good ones. Among [435] themselves, to set the value of a mehari, they say, "Such a mehari is worth two, three, or four camels." All their meharis are trained to start at a gallop. The Tuareg has great patience with the training of his mehari and never mistreats it. He confines himself to persuading it by voice and foot, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Tuareg mehari is much more silent than the Arab mehari.

The foundation of the pastures of the Ahaggar is aremmas 137 (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae). This plant is quite laxative. 233 So when the year is bad and drought prevails, the Ahaggar are found emigrating toward the Adhar'. There are fine pastures of "had" (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolaceae) in the south of Tin R'arhou, but there is no water. Moussa ag Amastane /66/ [312 intends to have wells dug there and has requested our help and 648] advice for this purpose.

As a rule the Tuareg let their camels out to pasture with- 233 out herders, and they find them again at the well or by tracking, unless they entrust the herding to children or negroes.

/67/ A young camel is called "abal" without designating 192 its age. A camel in general is called "amadjour," plural 233 "imoudjar," or else "amiss," plural "imnass." A female is

4: Benhazera--64a G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

137
291

A Fig Tree at Abalessa

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



104 212

| Tuareg Letters (*Tifinagh*) | Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters | | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| ⋮ | r | غ | Prononcunced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in literature. |
| ⊙ | s | س | |
| + | t | ت | |
| ⋿ | ṭ | ط | Emphatic |
| ⋇ | z | ز | |
| ⌗ | ẓ | | Emphatic |

128 For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that of the maps edited by Institut Géographique National. The pronunciation of vowels is not indicated. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels [212] with a dot, which may stand for any vowel.

*Pastoral Ecology in Ahaggar and Air.*

[361] The Tuareg of the true desert country have their camps in or close to mountain [131] massifs of which the more important are Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. Geographically these two regions have many traits in common. In Ahaggar, which rises to 132 3000 metres above sea level, the annual precipitation according to official statistics is between 20 mm and 40 mm. These figures are extremely low, but more characteristic of the desert country is the irregularity of the rainfalls. In some years there may fall no rain at all, while in others precipitation is much bigger than appears from the figures above. Several dry years may follow each other alternating with periods of abundant rainfall. According to investigations by Dubiéf four years out of ten are so dry that rainfall is of no importance for the regeneration of pastures (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23). Owing to the scarcity and the fluctuations of precipitation • 137 in Ahaggar a persistent vegetation cannot generally exist outside river valleys and depressions which are flooded during heavy rain. In the valleys perennial plants comprise not only grasses and herbs but also tall trees among which tamarisk and acacia are prominent. In dry years the perennial plants have little value as fodder 233 for the domestic animals of the Tuareg. A great many goats may then die from 221 hunger, and to avoid such a disaster some Tuareg take their flocks to the plains of Tamesna or to the Adrar-n-Iforas Mountains where rain is normally more plentiful and grazing better than in Ahaggar. However, even in dry years the majority of Ahaggar Tuareg will remain in their native country with their goat-flocks. For although they run the risk of losing a great many goats during a drought in Ahaggar

5: Nicolaisen I-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



During drought periods the uttermost poverty is the lot of the Ahaggar Tuareg, 132 who must then rely almost exclusively on agricultural products for their nourish- 262 ment. But in years of abundant rainfall they have much milk during the winter, [234] and they make butter and cheese to be used during the hot season when milk even in good years is scarce. They then also have meat for their sustenance but this is less important than milk-food.

In good years the perennial plants do not form the most important fodder of the 137 domestic animals. For heavy rainfall will as if by magic change the barren country 233 outside the valleys. An extremely rich vegetation of annual grasses and herbs springs up, and these tender plants constitute the very best fodder. But as, owing to the irregularity of the rainfall, annual pastures will not appear every year, it is difficult to breed other animals than goats and camels to which can be added donkeys used exclusively as beasts of burden and for riding. It is true that most Ahaggar Tuareg have a few sheep but none of them have cows (zebus). Cow-breeding and also effective sheep-breeding cannot be practised in a country like Ahaggar where for a period of years there may be no pastures of annual plants. In dry years the thorny acacias form the most important fodder of camels and goats, but the leaves of these trees cannot be eaten by cows and only with great difficulty by sheep.

In Ahaggar rain may fall at most seasons as the country is situated on the 132 frontier of two different rainfall belts, namely that of the Mediterranean where rain occurs mainly in winter, and that of the Sudan where rain will fall late in summer. For a long period of years rain has fallen most abundantly late in summer, but according to Dubiéf this has not always been so. Not many years ago rainfall was almost equally common at all seasons (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23), and Ahaggar 137 still has the characteristics of two distinct climatic zones, likewise as botanically it belongs both to the Mediterranean and to the Sudan.

On my camel journey from Ahaggar to Air via the wells of In Ebeggi and In [132] Azaoua in April 1955 I experienced a rapid change of climatical and botanical conditions. At the outskirts of the southern slopes of the Ahaggar Mountains a persistent vegetation is very scarce in the valleys, and between the two above-mentioned wells there are practically no permanent plants. Broadly speaking the [133] desert region between Ahaggar and Air is nothing but plains of gravel and stone interspersed with rocks and hills. But a little scattered rain will occur even in these [132] regions and gives rise to annual pastures which are utilized by passing caravans. Otherwise the country is uninhabitable.

In the northernmost part of the Air massif acacias and tufts of perennial grasses grow in most valleys as in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Mountains. But compared with Ahaggar permanent vegetation is very rich and in places forms almost impenetrable jungles of trees and brushwood. Further south in Air perenniel plants including trees are very common also outside the valleys, and the country south of the massif very rapidly changes into a kind of steppe or open savannah. The com-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



paratively rich vegetation of Air contains species found also in Ahaggar, but Ahaggar has Mediterranean plants including several saline species which do not thrive in Air, where there are tropical or Sudanese species unknown to Ahaggar. 137

Botanically Air is very closely connected with the Sudan, and the mountain massif is within the Sudanese zone of summer rain. It is true that rain at the northern outskirts of Air occasionally falls in winter and may then give rise to scattered pasture of annual plants, but these rains are of no real importance. The important rainfalls of Air occur in the period June–September, and particularly in July and August. As may be gathered from the description of botanical conditions, Air has a much bigger annual precipitation than has Ahaggar. Thus the village of Iferouan in Northern Air has 74 mm, while Agadez at the southern slopes of the massif has 179 mm. Precipitation will of course vary from one year to the other, but rain will always fall sufficiently for the spring of annual plants. This is the reason for a type of stock-breeding different from that of Ahaggar. In Air the Tuareg are richer in camels, they do not possess so many goats but are very rich in sheep, and most of them have zebus. 132 137 [233]

The climatic and botanical differences of Air and Ahaggar can be seen more directly from the division of the year into seasons (fig. 2). Air has a summer and a winter season between which there are two seasons termed *akasa* and *ṛarat*. These two words as seasonal terms express the fact that rain and annual pastures in Air are recurrent events, as the word *akasa* literally means "green annual plants", and the word *ṛarat* refers to "dry annual plants". Both words are known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg but are by them not applied as seasonal terms, for in their country rain will not occur every year and may fall at most seasons. 132 805

Conditions for stock-breeding are very much better in Air than in Ahaggar, but the latter country has a few superior qualities:– 1) Part of the year Ahaggar has a comparatively cool climate which is said to have a positive influence on the lactation of domestic animals. 2) In Ahaggar all over the country there are saline pastures which play an important part in stock-breeding – not because these plants are very nourishing but the animals do not thrive without salt. In Air saline plants are very rare and found mainly to the south and south-west of the massif where water and soil also contain salt. Many pastoralists will migrate to these regions shortly after the rains, while people who do not undertake such migrations feed their domestic animals with salt. Camels and cows have a particular need for fodder with a salt content. 3) Ahaggar has richer wells and a greater number of permanent ponds than Air. This may seem rather peculiar as precipitation is much bigger in the south than in the north. In Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer some ponds may contain fish apparently unknown in Air. In the latter country there are a great many ponds or even small lakes during the rains but they dry out very quickly when rainfall ceases. Water in Air most of the year is drawn from wells many of which go dry during the hot season; this will frequently lead to quarrels between nomads. 233 [132] [135] [137] [221] 312 [136] [578]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



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137
812
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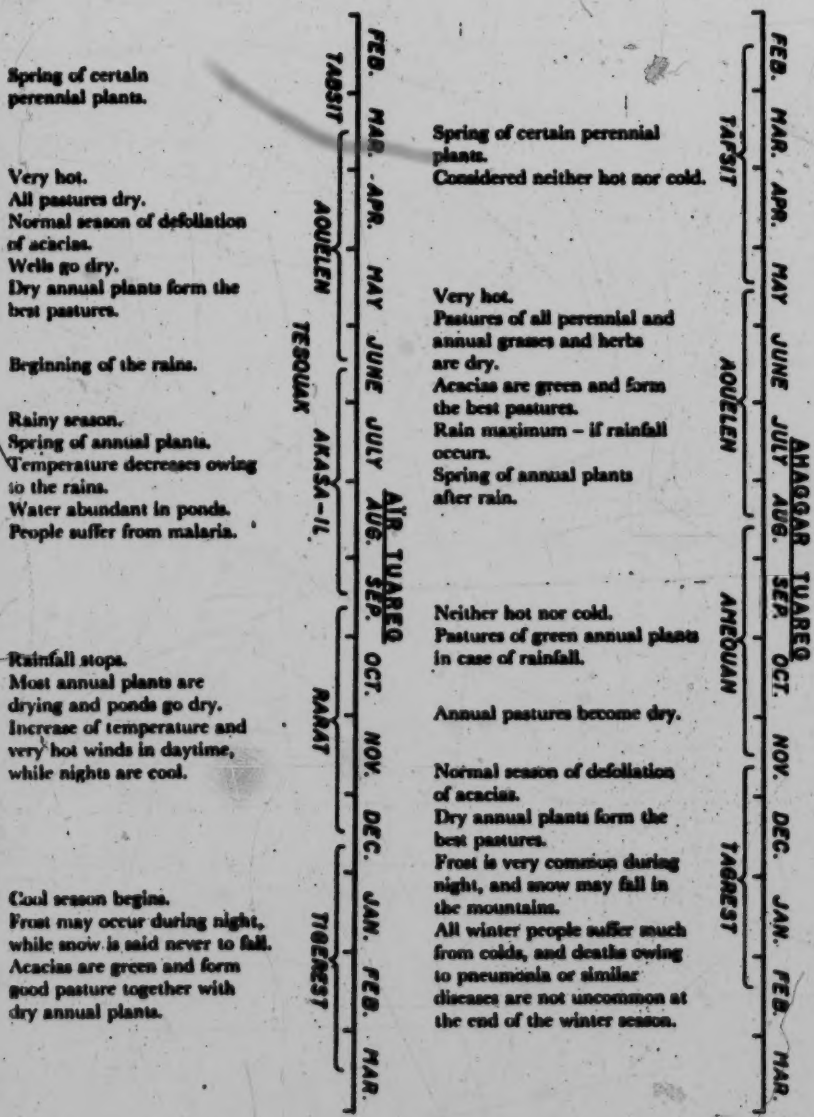


[164]
[164]

Fig. 2.–Division of the year into seasons among the Tuareg of Air and Ahaggar. Climatic and botanical characteristics are indicated. (The proper spelling of *tagerest* (tigerest) is *tagerest*, (tigerest) while *rarat* should be written *ranat*).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa. 136 [132] [137]

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tarakamt)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of weels *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters. [144] 74 [567] [167] [177] [312] [342] [312] [342] 567

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 198ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while [144] [114] [103] [192] 563 601

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

342

Fig. 5.–Mat-covered tent typical of the pastoral Air Tuareg. The tent in this photograph is inhabited by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the Kel Ferouan drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of the rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered trees and bushes of thorny acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats. [643] [137]

Kel Ooui formed the important political units of Air. The Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan at the establishment of the Sultanry had not yet arrived or lived at the northern outskirts of the massif. 175 643

In the 19th century the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan paid very little respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation the Kel Fadei even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of In Gall (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was afraid that the Kel Fadei would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the Ioullemmeden (Barth 1857, I, p. 478). As for the Kel Ferouan their chief was the most prominent leader of all Air. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103f.) and it is told over and over again by all Air Tuareg to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, and he thinks that the Kel Ferouan originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or Amenokal was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This agrees with informations I have gathered among the noble Kel Ferouan, who will also claim that their clan came to Air before all other Tuareg. The truth however seems to be that they had originally nothing to do with the Sultanry. They took up grazing 175 642 643 [114]

[text continues on p. 87]

133 /18 cont./ has finished cutting its bed; they have rapids and sometimes waterfalls where they cut a passage between two Adrars. At these spots, the water stands in permanent pools called gueltas. Certain of these gueltas (Issakarassène, Afilal) contain fish and are surrounded by luxuriant vegetation that contrasts sharply with the aridity of the country.

This region of the Atakor strongly impresses the traveler with the unbelievable hues taken on by the mountains during the course of the day. The wild majesty of the mountains calls up an anxiety hard to dismiss when one is traveling along acacia-lined wadis, guided by a veiled Targui, silent and supple, mounted on a camel whose padded tread blends with the uneasy silence. The zone of the peripheral trench, in which the relief is not very marked, has large regions which are nearly flat and which are often covered with a thin layer of sand. Sometimes small massifs cut the horizon, or, to the side exposed to the prevailing winds, a dune looms up: the Adrar Bourzekal is an example of this. Sometimes granite hills in the form of perfect domes, polished, shining, and mellowed, seem to surge from the horizontal sweep (Tesnou, Iniker, Ahélèheg), or there may be a colossal accumulation of glittering blocks and of nearly geometric forms, which give an appearance of ruins to these garas /flat-topped buttes left through erosion/ 60 to 100 meters high, as at In-Tédéini, or near Ideles, or in the region of the Debna.

In this zone the wadis coming from the Atakor spread out to such an extent that one can no longer distinguish any definite valley: it is more accurate to speak of distribution basins in which the water brought down by rather powerful floods meanders along in no fixed pattern. The passage of the water is sometimes marked by dry grasses and some rare [137] tahlas /Acacia tortilis/. One again finds a valley where the wadi breaches a rocky barrier by cutting a straight groove through it, and beyond there is another basin. The basins become larger and larger as the distance from the Atakor

132 /19 cont./ to the zones of the relief. Let us note, however, that /20/ the tassilis of the south are subject to conditions of wind and rain different from those of the tassilis of the north. Before studying the climatic zones, it is well to sketch in the general characteristics common to all the zones.

The climate is generally of the continental desert type, due to the location of the country.

The Tropic of Cancer divides the territory of the Ahaggar in two; the sun mounts to its zenith, giving the country a Sudanese influence in the form of summer clouds which sometimes condense into stormy rains: "tornado tails." This Sudanese monsoon rarely manifests itself north of the Tropic.

In winter a fairly regular predominance of northwest winds makes possible the transport of Atlantic or Mediterranean rains, which rarely affect the south.

If we turn to consider the different climatic zones, we see that the Atakor is, because of its high peaks, the center of distribution for the waters which condense in the mountains when, by chance, the clouds are low enough. Cloud systems are relatively frequent and often large, but they seem to climb when they reach the mountainous region. The altitude moderates the summer heat, and winter brings light snowfalls on the summits nearly every year. One sees only in the Atakor an [137] outlying sample of Mediterranean flora, a wild olive tree: Olea laperrini. In descending toward the peripheral trench, one encounters the kranka (Callotropis proscera), an essentially tropical shrub. Then, at the border of the central mountains, one finds the fruit-bearing palm at Silet, Abalessa, In-Amguel.

Observations of the meteorological station at Tamanrasset have been used to make rain and temperature graphs, which may be found in the appendix. Information is lacking for the war period. The climate is characterized by the regularity of the temperature and the extreme irregularity of the rains. The heavy rains, however, nearly always fall in summer or winter; when there are rains in both of these seasons, there is a rainy

312 /29 cont./ shallow wells are found in agricultural centers; generally, they are upstream from the rock shelves. The water is drawn by men or, most often, by an ox, in which case a rudimentary scaffolding supports a pulley by which a goatskin full of water may be drawn up and dumped into a basin by an ingenious system.

The last method used to tap underground water is the foggara, called by the natives the "efeli" (plural: "ifelan"). The foggara is used only to irrigate gardens; we shall see how it works when we study agriculture.

## Flora and Fauna

137 [114] The flora of the Ahaggar is more varied than that of the northern Sahara. The work of M. Maire constitutes the basic study one should refer to for information on the spontaneous vegetation. The list of plants given in the appendix was established by questioning the Tuareg in order to learn the varieties most often encountered. Very incomplete as far as herbaceous vegetation is concerned, this enumeration includes the vast majority of trees growing naturally.

There is no forest in the Ahaggar. However, information from the Kel Immidir Tuareg makes it possible to suppose the existence of a wooded stretch in the Ifetessen massif, a region still not thoroughly explored in its entirety. Perhaps it may merely be a case of wadis covered with a particularly luxuriant vegetation. In the Ahaggar almost all the flora grows in wadis. A few plants also grow on the most watered high summits, and, at the time of particularly propitious rains, the regs are covered with patches of acheb /pasturage/, which resemble a thick, sprouting beard.

The distribution of the spontaneous flora in the Ahaggar obviously /30/ is related to the climatic zones we have already discussed. There are some plants which are peculiar to a specific zone, while there is an interpenetration of most of the other vegetation.

137 /30 cont./ In the central Ahaggar, the Atakor, and the Tefedest, a zone of high elevation, one sees plants of Mediterranean origin, such as the wild olive (Olea laperrini) and the oleander. Artemisia and the "takamezout" of the Tuareg are also characteristic of this region.

At a lower level, in the zone which surrounds the central massif, the Sudanese influence is manifested in trees and shrubs such as the thora, the tebourak, and various kinds of acacias, the tabrakat and the morakba. One also sees there Saharan plants: the palm, the fersig, the drinn. And there are some traces of the Mediterranean influence: artemisia, oleander, and reeds. In brief, it is a zone of transition.

The vegetation of the peripheral trench is purely Saharan: a little acheb grows on the regs when it rains; the drinn, the had, and the guetaf invade the wadi beds. One also finds, here and there, morakba and a few tahlas.

The tassilis of the north, with their humid and well-boxed-in wadis, have a flora with Sudanese affinities along with Mediterranean and Saharan plants, while in the southern tassilis and the Adrar des Iforas the influence is very clearly Sudanese. In these latter two regions, the tahlas, still scattered, grow on the slopes outside of the wadis. In the wadi beds, one sees numerous tebourak, some thoras, tabrakat, and various acacias. The morakba grows abundantly in the small ravines as well as in the large wadis. Lastly, a luxuriant growth of gergir, reminiscent of the prairie, covers the wadis after it rains.

In the region of high altitudes, one sees mosses and lichens, as well as mushrooms. After rain, terfes (Saharan truffles) develop.

Near running water, one notes the presence of a special flora: mosses and lichens, false mint, reeds, rushes and tahlis, and couch grass grow profusely. The water itself contains algae and various aquatic plants.

136 /31/ The diversity of the flora would lead one to expect a great variety of fauna. Saharan animals do, in fact, live

/175 cont./

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Arak wadi
Gourdane wadi
Tadjmout wadi
Tiratimine wadi
Tibratine wadi
Takoula wadi
Takoumbaret wadi
Asabal wadi
Amguid region, slope of the Igharghar:
et Tarara wadi
Hesses wadi
Rharis wadi
El Mahek wadi
Teghert wadi
Hamsa wadi
In-Herreki wadi

Region east of the Serkout massif:

This part of the Ahaggar is very little known; the wadis are tributaries of the Tafassasset wadi.

/177/ V

Flora

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| Tamahaq Name | Arabic Name | | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ahtès | | Acacia albida. | Rare. |
| Aliou | | Olea laperrini. | In the high mountains. |
| Adjiar | El Iatim | Argan tree (?). | Hardwood, pasturage for camels, edible berries. |

/177 cont./

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| Tamahaq Name | Arabic Name | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|
| Azaoua | Fersig | Tamarix gallica. Good pasturage. Khecba for roofing, zéribas. |
| Taberkat | Ethel | Softwood, used for bowls and spoons, salty pasturage; the fruit colors leather red. |
| Tamat | Tahala | Acacia seyal. Good pasturage, hardwood. |
| Absaq | Tahla | Acacia tortilis. Good pasturage, hardwood. |
| Teborak | Techat | Banalites aegypticae. Used for common objects; edible fruit, cough remedy. |
| Tihok | Irak | Shrub, softwood, used for cleaning teeth. |
| Telothat | | Firewood. |
| Tedjert | Tedjert | Acacia eburnea. Seeds used in tanning; thorns; nails for rahla /camel's saddle/. |
| Tezzeit | Nakhla | Palm. |
| Thora | Kranka | Callotropis proscera. Wood for rahla; the sap causes ophthalmia. |
| Tehounek | Jeddari | Found in the Atakor. Firewood; used for tanning guerba /waterskins/. |
| Assellouf | Elhelhab | |
| Tarkat | | Fruit which tastes like grapes, size of a jujube. |
| Edjaq | | Hardwood, used to make rosary beads. |

6:Blanguernon--164 Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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Spontaneous Flora -- Herbaceous Vegetation -- Pasturage

| Tamashek Name | Arabic Name | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Tiberimt | Lemmet | Pasturage for asses, to a small extent for goats; tastes like celery (umbelliferous). |
| 2. Ennedam | | Acheb /pasturage/ plant. |
| 3. Tamadi | | Acheb plant. |
| 4. Tamedout | | Acheb plant. |
| 5. Azrem | Merkad | Acheb plant. |
| 6. Ourroug | Errega | Acheb plant. |
| 7. Tahaout | Rguig | Acheb plant. |
| 8. Tahnetnet | Tafsa | Perennial plant. |
| 9. Afessour | Cherelk | Acheb plant. |
| 10. Tanesmimet | Hamoued | Acheb plant; acid. |
| 11. Afazzou | Morakba | Panicum turgidum. Seeds eaten by the Tuareg; used, with straw, for making wind-breaking mats (asaber). |
| 12. Akaïouad | Jonc | Typha augustifolia. For goats. |
| 13. Akecheker | | Thorny plant. Permanent pasturage. |
| 14. Adrilal | | Astralague prolixus. A sort of wild pea, very good pasturage. |
| 15. Alemmoz | Nçi | Aristida ascencionnis. Very good pasturage, in the zone of the peripheral trench after the rains. |
| 16. Telemmoust | Sfar | Very good pasturage. Zone: same as above. |
| 17. Aslak | Haballa | Acheb plant. Héliotropium ondulatum. |

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| Tamashek Name | Arabic Name | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|
| 18. Imatelli | | Acheb plant. |
| 19. Askaf | Damrane | Traganum midatum. Very scarce in the Ahaggar, region of Tiffert. |
| 20. Tadjemaît | Njem | Couch grass, near water points, mediocre pasturage. |
| 21. Affelleleh | Bettina | Henbane. C uses madness for two or three days; its smoke is somniferous. |
| 22. Aressou | Arta | Good pasturage. |
| 23. Amateltel | | Climbing plant, particularly on acacias, the size of a vine. Good pasturage. |
| 24. Atarzim | Ghardek | Lotus of the Lotophagi (?) according to Duveyrier. |
| 25. Alaouat | Gergir | Very good pasturage. In the large wadis after floods. Peripheral trench and Iforas. |
| 26. Aremmas | Guettaf | Atriplex alimus. Laxative, very salty, mediocre pasturage. |
| 27. Tabakat | Sedra | Jujube tree, Zizyphus lotus. Average pasturage, except for asses. /179/ |
| 28. Almès | Guesba | Reed. |
| 29. | Defla | Oleander (poison, except for goats and gazelles). |
| 30. Tedjellit | Coloquinte | Colocynth. Gazelles, goats, asses. |
| 31. Alagoz | Hadjia | Sweet colocynth, edible. |
| 32. Aftezza | Chebrok | Zilla macroptéra. Very good pasturage. |

/179 cont./

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| Tamashek Name | Arabic Name | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|
| 33. Issin | Djell | Fairly good pasturage. |
| 34. Rellachem | | Grows in the mountains, scarce, remedy for gonorrhea and cough. |
| 35. Tahara | Hâdd | Cornulaca monacantha. Very good winter pasturage, poor in the summer. |
| 36. Ana | Merkh | Ginista saharae, broom. Very good pasturage. |
| 37. Tadjerdjert | | Purgative. Fairly good pasturage. |
| 38. Tahiart | Tinhart | In the seguias /irrigation canals/ of the agricultural centers, used to perfume tea. |
| 39. Tahli | Berdi | Formium tenax. Type of large reed which grows near the tiggerts /natural outflows of water/; pasturage for goats. In times of scarcity, the heart is eaten. |
| 40. Taïberou | Bouzaka | Poison, rare (Atakor). No antidote. |
| 41. Tassa | Elbaguel | Mediocre pasturage. |
| 42. Tanatfert | Ghatassa | Makes milk bitter. |
| 43. Toulloult | Drinn | Aristida pugens. Very good pasturage, seed edible in same way as that of afazzou (three parts to one of wheat). |
| 44. Teferrest | Tesskra | Thistle, scarce, good pasturage. |
| 45. Takamezout | Chedengoura | Only in the Atakor. Sure cure for dysentery; yields 14 remedies. |

/179 cont./

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| Tamashek Name | Arabic Name | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|
| 46. Zezeri | Zahta | Atakor. Is put in tea. |
| 47. Tihéréguéli | Chih' | Perfumes tea, remedy for colic. |
| 48. Amiou | N'gouth | Good pasturage. |
| 49. Tamadjéhi | Kroumt | Very good pasturage. |
| 50. Tata'lt | Elgouzah | Good pasturage. |
| 51. Otaq | Mrenza | Mixed with crushed dates, fattens women. Bad odor. |
| 52. Tedjourt | Hallala | Remedy for gastric troubles. |
| 53. Terfes | Terfes | A sort of truffle. |
| 54. Aliouen | Denoun | A sort of large asparagus. |

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## Tools

412 Here is a list of tools used by the maalmine; many of them are made by the users:

Tisadh: double-pocketed bellows.

Abaracha: piece of wood 50 x 20 x 6 centimeters, serving as support for an iron mass used as an anvil.

Tehount: iron mass 6 x 6 x 15 centimeters used as an anvil.

Afadis: hammer.

Tafadist: small hammer.

Irendan: tongs.

Takadimt: adz.

Tataout: chisel for wood. } Neolithic-type hafting.

Tadouft: ax.

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7. Oleanders bordering the Issakarassène guelta.

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6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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11. A tesendgelt (Eragrostis bipinnata).

[P.196]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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13. A thora (Callotropis proscera) in the Tamanrasset wadi.

[p. 198]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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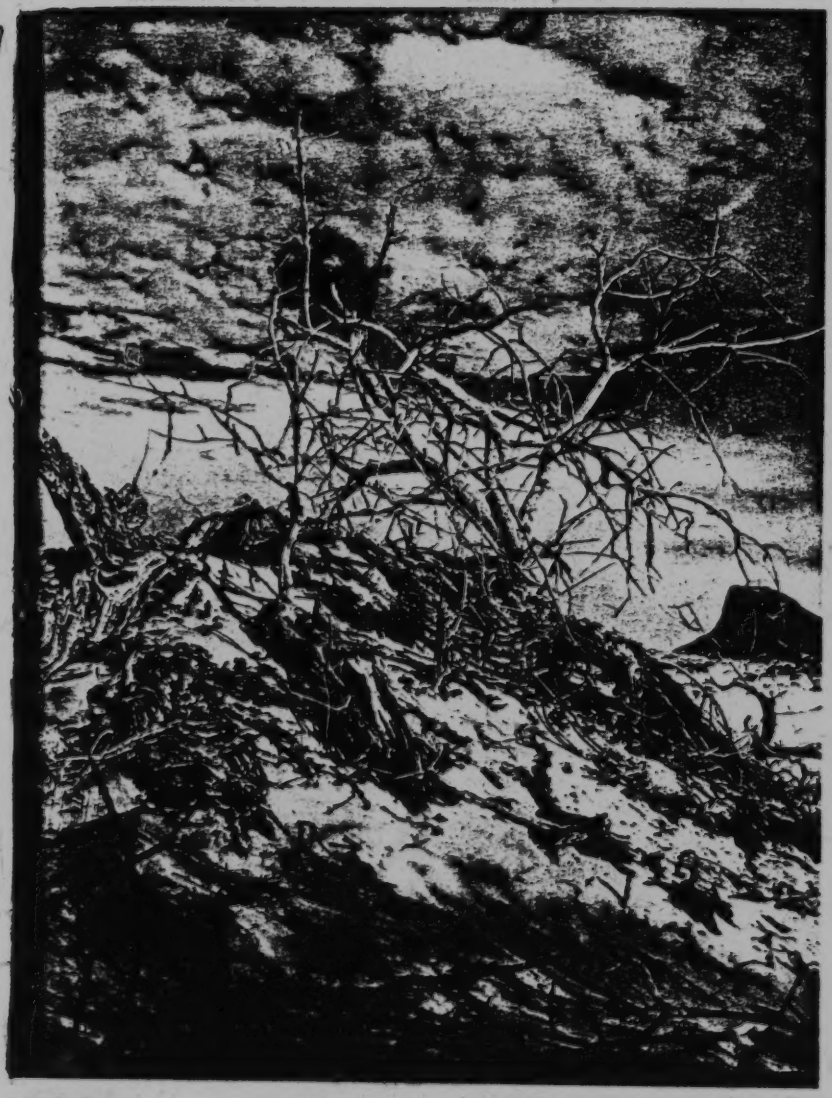

14. Dead tabrakat in the Amded wadi.

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24. Apricot trees and poplars at Tamanrasset.

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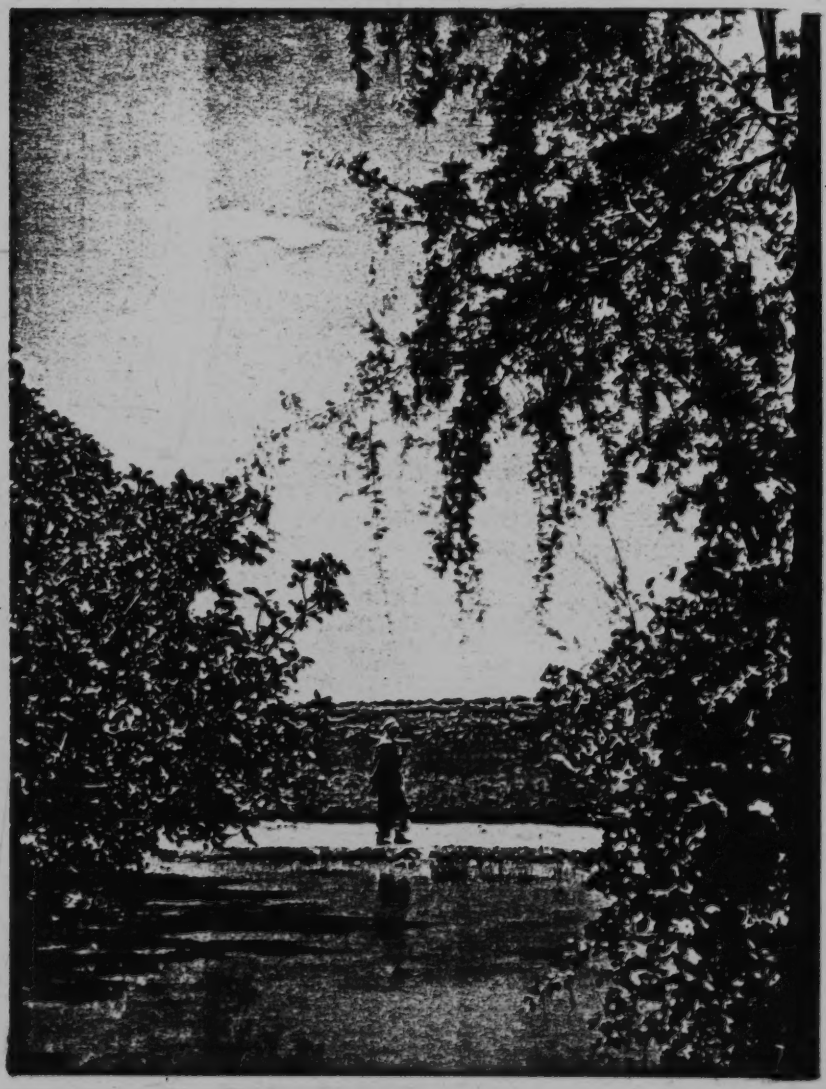

25. Fig trees and tamarisk.

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# Environment

Tuareg country ranges from comparatively fertile savannah in the south to barren desert in the north, where the nomads live in or near mountainous regions. Four Tuareg groups are named after the dominant mountains of the Western Sahara, namely those of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, Adrar-n-Foras, and Ayr. 133 [101]

The mountains of Ahaggar are by far the highest. They consist predominantly of archaic and proterozoic rocks, and of basalt and tufa from a relatively recent period. They are generally of a very dark colour and characterized by formations of rugged ranges, craters and isolated peaks which also bear evidence to former volcanic activity. But the rugged contours of the Ahaggar Mountains are also created by a complicated network of river valleys eroded mainly during the pluvial periods contemporary with the European Ice Age.

The Ahaggar Mountains fall into three main massifs of which that named Atakor is the most important and the highest, with peaks up to 3000 metres above sea level (Ilamas, Tahat). To the north is the massif of Téfedest with peaks which surpass an altitude of 2000 metres, and to the east the lower massif named Anahef. In geological structure these three mountain massifs of Ahaggar differ from the mountains of Ahnet, Immidir (Mouydir), and Tasilé-n-Ajjer which surround Ahaggar in the north. These latter massifs consist predominantly of paleozoic sandstone. They are not so high above sea level and form comparatively flat plateaux. The maximum altitude of Ahnet is 1300 metres while the peaks of Immidir rise to 1680 metres. The extensive plateau of Tasilé-n-Ajjer is on average 1200 metres above sea level, but a few peaks in the south exceed 2000 metres. Parts of the Tasilé-n-Ajjer mountains are covered with basalt rocks, and the river valleys of the comparatively level plateau often form true canyons which make traffic much more difficult than in the higher and more rugged mountains of Ahaggar. Between and around the northern mountain massifs the country consists mainly of flat plains covered with gravel and stone. Extensive areas of sandy desert are rare except in parts of the *Kel Ajjer* territory. [137]

Far to the south of Ahaggar are the low mountains of Tasilé-ta-n-Ahaggar, which are structurally related to the *tasilé* mountains in the north. This area is of little importance to the Tuareg and, in contrast to the higher and more extensive massifs of Adrar-n-Foras and Ayr, is not regularly inhabited. [131] While the mountains of Adrar-n-Foras are everywhere below 1000 metres, the peaks of Ayr rise to almost 2000 metres above sea level in the east and the north where the country is covered with basalt rocks. Idukalen in the Begzen Mountains is 1900 metres above sea level, while the Tamgak Mountains in the north have a maximum altitude of about 1800 metres. In its most moustainous parts the Ayr

[p. 25]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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*Kel Ahaggar*

| | |
|---|---|
| Iwallen | 18.6 |
| Édeles | 18.9 |
| Tamanraset | 40.7 |

*Kel Aijer*

| | |
|---|---|
| Bat | 11.4 |
| Ft. Flatters | 13.7 |
| Ft. Polignac | 17.6 |
| Ganet | 17.8 |
| Radames | 37.8 |

*Kel Adrar*

| | |
|---|---|
| Agelhok | 75.0 |
| Kidal | 123.2 |

*Kel Ayr*

| | |
|---|---|
| Iferwan | 74.1 |
| Agadez | 179.3 |

*Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*

| | |
|---|---|
| Burem | 172.0 |
| Meneka | 221.5 |
| Gao (Gewgo) | 233.9 |

*Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*

| | |
|---|---|
| Tawa | 351.4 |

*Kel Geres*

| | |
|---|---|
| Tessawa | 525.0 |

Thus the annual precipitation in Tuareg country ranges from 11.4 mm in the north to more than 500 mm in the extreme south. In the territories of the Southern Tuareg there is a fixed rainy season in summer, and although the annual precipitation may vary from one year to another there will always be enough rain for the regeneration of perennial plants and the sprouting of annual herbs and grasses. The territories of *Iwllemmeden* and *Kel Geres* largely consist of savannahs where trees and grasses grow over extensive plains. Compared with this we have entirely different conditions in the north, where the territories of the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Aijer* are situated on the extreme frontiers of two different rainfall belts, namely that of the Sudan where rain falls in summer, and that of the Mediterranean with a wet season in winter. Therefore there is no special wet season for the whole country of the Northern Tuareg, the most northern parts of which have maximum rain late in autumn or in early spring, while the southernmost regions have summer rain like the Sudan. Rain from the north may however occasionally penetrate as far into the Sahara as the northern outskirts of Ayr, where during my journey from Ahaggar to Ayr in April 1955, I found pastures of annual plants due to winter rain. As far as Ahaggar is concerned rain has, over an extensive period of years, fallen most abundantly late in summer. But what is characteristic of this region as well as of the territory of the *Kel Aijer* is the fact that rain does not fall every year. In Ahaggar, including the northern massifs of Immidir (Mouydir) and Ahnet, four years out of ten are almost completely dry (Dubief 1947, p. 7-23), and in the flat plains outside the mountains many years may pass between two rainfalls on one and the same spot. These plains have little or no vegetation of perennial plants and are known to the Tuareg as *ténéré* or *tanezruft*. In or round the mountain massifs there is always a better possibility of rain, and when rain falls in Ahaggar late in summer it is normally accompanied by violent thunder-storms and is very heavy. This in conjunction with the morphology of the mountains makes a perennial vegetation possible.

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



132 When rain is falling in Ahaggar water immediately flows down the rocky mountain slopes into the sandy river valleys, which may become flooded shortly after rain has started. Indeed, the flood will often rise so suddenly and violently that camels and other animals grazing in the valleys are caught by the strong foaming stream of water. Even humans have been killed by the sudden rise of a flood, but most people will not camp in the river bed itself late in summer when heavy rainfalls are expected to occur. A river valley will generally not be flooded for more than one or two days, but it may, after extremely heavy rain, contain water for a week or even longer. This was the case in the summer of 1953 when the valley of Abalessa in Ahaggar turned into an immense river more than a hundred metres wide. Owing to such heavy rainfalls it is possible for perennial plants with a well developed root-system to survive near the river valleys even in dry years. Outside the river valleys there is very little vegetation of perennial plants in Ahaggar. The bulk of the country has no permanent vegetation, and permanent plants are always more abundant along the broad river valleys of the lower country than along the narrow valleys higher up in the mountains.

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Pastures of annual plants may spring up almost anywhere in the desert – even in the otherwise barren countries of *ténéré* and *tanezruft*, where they then constitute valuable fodder for the camels of passing caravans. Rainfall in Ahaggar is most common in the highest parts of the country, where, on the other hand, little perennial vegetation is found. In periods of drought this region is so to speak nothing but rocks and boulders, while after rain in summer it becomes covered with a green curtain of annual plants. South of Ahaggar important perennial vegetation is not found until we arrive at the outskirts of the Adrar and Ayr Mountains, where it is extremely rich compared with Ahaggar. Indeed in Southern Ayr trees and bushes may form dense forests in the valleys outside of which there is also some perennial vegetation. The Ayr Mountains belong to a special zone of vegetation termed *sahel* by French geographers (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 26 ff.). From an economic point of view the main characteristic of this zone, which includes Ayr and Adrar, is that it has a fixed wet season and consequently pastures of annual plants spring up every year over large areas. South of Ayr and Adrar the zone of *sahel* gradually changes into the Sudanese savannah.

[132]

137 Tuareg country thus falls into three distinct zones of vegetation with rather different conditions
311 for stock-breeding:—
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1) *True Desert* comprising the territories of *Kel Ahaggar* and *Kel Ajjer*. Rainfall is irregular, and pastures of annual plants do not spring up every year. The main livestock are goats, while sheep are bred only to a very limited extent, and the nomads have no cattle.

2) *Sahel* comprising Adrar and Ayr and part of the plains situated between these two mountain massifs. This zone has some of the characteristics of the true desert, but it has a fixed wet season in summer and consequently pastures of annual plants develop every year. Goats are very important and so are sheep; most nomads keep a few cows (zebus).

3) *Savannah* covering mainly the territories of *Kel Geres*, *Iwllemmeden*, and *Kel Tademaket*. Perennial plants grow over extensive plains, and there is a regular spring of annual vegetation. The main kinds of livestock are cows and sheep. In the savannah Tuareg nomads frequently have horses as riding animals, whereas in the two former zones horses are normally bred only by sedentary people. – Camels and donkeys are bred by all Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The climatic and botanical differences between Ayr and Ahaggar can be seen directly from Tuareg division of the year into four seasons each having a duration of about three months. Ayr has a summer season and a winter season between which there are two seasons termed *akasa* (sometimes also called *él*, or *érafit*) and *ṛarat*. These two words as seasonal terms indicate that rain and annual vegetation in Ayr are recurrent events. For the word *akasa* literally means "green annual plants" while the word *ṛarat* refers to "dry annual plants". The season *ṛarat*, most of which is extremely dry, is followed by the winter season *tigrest* where rain does not fall, though the northern outskirts of Ayr sometimes have a little rain at this season. The transitional period between winter and summer known as *tabsit* is not considered a main season, but it is frequently mentioned by the Tuareg because certain perennial plants germinate at that time of the year. The summer season *éwilen* is extremely hot and rainless. It is the season of defoliation for acacias and various other perennial plants which change their leaves – generally in the way that they do not loose all leaves at one and the same time. Therefore, even in summer most acacias have some green leaves, though in certain places where rain has not fallen abundantly acacias may loose all their leaves in summer. In certain unfavourable regions outside of the Ayr Massif, acacias may even be without green leaves for a few years, but such trees become verdant again with heavy rainfalls. Scattered barren acacias are found mainly to the north of the Massif. The Tuareg say that acacias can survive an extremely long period of drought during which they are entirely dry. But they normally become green again when rainfalls start. The beginning of the rains is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *t'ézewek*.

In Ahaggar the Tuareg reckon with a summer season named *éwilen* and a winter season called *taǵrest*. These two seasons are separated by the autumn known as *amewan* and the spring termed *tafsit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg know the words *akasa* and *ṛarat*, but do not employ them for seasonal terms because rain and annual pasture do not recur annually in their country. The summer season *éwilen* is extremely hot, but it is not the proper season of defoliation for acacias, which under favourable conditions are green in summer and defoliate in winter. The autumn *amewan* which follows upon the summer is characterized by less hot temperatures and gradually changes into *taǵrest* (winter) when frost is extremely common during night, and snow falls in the mountains. This cold winter season is followed by the spring *tafsit* when many perennial plants germinate.

As will be seen from this description of the year in Ayr and Ahaggar these two countries differ much in regard to climate and plant development. Within each of the two areas there are climatical and botanical zones which are very different.

The Ahaggar Mountains, according to Maire, fall into three distinct zones of vegetation:— 1) *A Tropical Zone* up to 1700–1800 metres above sea level. 2) *A Lower Mediterranean Zone* between 1800 and 2300–2400 metres above sea level. 3) An *Upper Mediterranean Zone* from about 2400 metres up to 2918 metres which is the extreme altitude of Ahaggar (cf. Maire 1933 & 1940; Lhote 1955, p. 41 f.). This division of the Ahaggar Mountains into zones of vegetation by a learned botanist seems to correspond largely with the division of the mountains into three distinct zones by the Tuareg. These three Tuareg zones and their characteristic perennial plants are the following:—

1) *Abada*, the lower parts of Ahaggar where perennial plants are abundant along the broad river valleys. Trees are very important the main species being various acacias (*abser*, *Acacia Raddiana* &

[text continues on p. 31]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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**AYR TUAREG**

| Month | Season | Description |
|---|---|---|
| FEB. | TABSIT | Spring of certain perennial plants. The fruit-pods of *tamat* (*Acacia flava*) and *agar* (*Maerua crassifolia*) fall to the ground. |
| MAR. | | |
| APR. | ÉWILEN | Very hot. Most pastures dry. Normal season of defoliation of acacias. Wells go dry. Dry annual plants form the best pastures. |
| MAY | | |
| JUNE | T'ÉZEWEK | Beginning of the rains. *Afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) and *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) begin to germinate. |
| JULY | AKASA | Proper rainy season. Spring of annual plants. Temperature decreases owing to the rains. Water abundant in ponds. Dew (*raba*) is heavy. People suffer from malaria. |
| AUG. | | |
| SEP. | | |
| OCT. | ÇARAT | Rainfall decreases. Most annual plants are drying and ponds go dry. Increase of temperature and very hot winds (*agzir*) in daytime, while nights are cool. The fruit-pods of *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) fall to the ground. |
| NOV. | | |
| DEC. | TIGREST | Cool season begins. Frost may occur during night while snow is said never to fall. Acacias are green and form good pasture together with dry annual plants. A few annual species – notably *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea ssp. Schimperi*) remain green throughout winter. |
| JAN. | | |
| FEB. | | |
| MAR. | | |

**AHAGGAR TUAREG**

| Month | Season | Description |
|---|---|---|
| FEB. | TAFSIT | Spring of certain perennial plants. Considered neither hot nor cold. |
| MAR. | | |
| APR. | | |
| MAY | ÉWILEN | Very hot. Pastures of all perennial and annual grasses and herbs are dry. Acacias are green and form the best pastures. |
| JUNE | | |
| JULY | | |
| AUG. | AMEWAN | Rain maximum – if rainfall occurs. Spring of annual plants after rain. Neither hot nor cold. Pastures of green annual plants in case of rainfall. |
| SEP. | | |
| OCT. | | Most annual pastures become dry. |
| NOV. | TAGREST | Normal season of defoliation of acacias. Dry annual plants form the best pastures. Frost is very common during night, and snow may fall in the mountains. All winter people suffer much from colds, and deaths owing to pneumonia or similar diseases are not uncommon at the end of the winter season. |
| DEC. | | |
| JAN. | | |
| FEB. | | |
| MAR. | | |

Fig. 14. Division of the year into seasons among the Tuareg of Ayr and Ahaggar. Climatic and botanical characteristics are indicated. The *akasa* season is also known to the Ayr Tuareg as *el* and *ifoli*.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*tamat*, *Acacia seyal*) and tamarisks (*tabarekkat*, *Tamarix aphylla* & *azawa*, *Tamarix gallica* and related species). Other important perennial species are the grasses *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tullult* (*Aristida pungens*) the latter grass being found especially around the northern massifs of Anhet and Téfedest, and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. 137

2) *Tarayin*, the middle mountain zone which has the following characteristics:— Acacias are lacking or are very rare and badly developed. The big tamarisk (*tabarekkat*) is lacking while the smaller species (*azawa*, *T. gallica*) is common in certain valleys. Two trees are found which do not grow in the lower zone, namely *tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) and *alew* (*Olea Lapperrini*). The *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is missing and the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) is scarce.

3) *Atakor*, the highest part of Ahaggar with the following characteristics:— There are no trees with the exception of *alew* (*Olea Lapperrini*), and there are on the whole very few perennial species while annual species are abundant in case of rainfall.

It should be noted that only the important characteristics of the three Tuareg zones are here mentioned, and I add that a few perennial plants are found within all three zones. Thus the perennial species *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*) occurs along the valleys in all three zones, but it is of very low stature high up in the mountains, while it forms very high and bush-like tufts in the lower parts of the country.

In Ayr there is also a change of vegetation according to altitude but a general description of this is rather complicated. The lower parts of the Ayr Massif as well as the southern plains are dominated by acacias (*afagag*, *Acacia Raddiana* & *tamat*, *A. flava*) like the lower parts of Ahaggar, and the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) is very common almost everywhere throughout the country, while the *tullult* grass is found only in sandy regions at the eastern slopes of the Massif. Species of tamarisks are extremely rare, and this is true of certain other species which are common in Ahaggar. The trees *tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) and *alew* (*Olea Laperrini*) grow only in isolated mountainous parts of Ayr. The extensive plains west of the Ayr Massif around Ingal are dominated by acacias and the *afezu* grass, but these perennial plants become less and less common towards the north, so that the regions around I-n-abanrerit have very little persistent vegetation but a rich vegetation of annual plants. For further information on the botany of Ayr I refer to the study of Miré & Gillet who describe all known species and indicate their division into particular vegetational zones (Miré & Gillet 1956). I conclude this outline of Tuareg botany with the statement that Ahaggar and Ayr have many important species in common. But there are northern species which do not thrive in Ayr while some southern species are unknown in Ahaggar, e.g., the dum palm *tagayt* (*Hyphaena thebaica*) which plays a great role with the Ayr Tuareg. [114]

Climatically as well as botanically the Ahaggar Mountains are situated on the frontier of two distinct zones, namely the Mediterranean and the Tropical zones, while Ayr is predominantly tropical. This seems true also zoologically, as the Ayr fauna contains a great many species of birds and mammals characteristic of tropical Africa. The bird life of Ayr seems very akin to that of the Sudanese savannah, and, for instance, guinea fowl is extremely common even in valleys of the northern-most parts of the Massif. As example of tropical mammal life in Ayr we may here mention that the wart-hog lives in Central Ayr, and that oryx antelope and giraffe are found in the plains immediately south and west of the Massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Ayr and Ahaggar, but [132] 136 13

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Fig. 15. Goats of the long-haired northern breed. The animals are emaciated and feed on acacias which are almost leafless owing to severe drought. Ahaggar 1955, the *Tayiak* tribe.

points of which turn slightly inward and forward. He-goats of both breeds generally have strong oblique horns of screw-form. Both in Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and in Ayr there are in most flocks one or two goats which are born hornless.

*233 436 Although goats are bred intensively by the Tuareg they take little interest in these animals. Before the arrival of the French, goats formed the most important currency and, though money has now come into general use, they are still used in payment as for example, to the blacksmiths for the making of bracelets, weapons, and various implements. In Ahaggar goats are also used for certain payments to the *Amenukal* from his vassals, such payments being known as *éhéré*. This word, which is also common in Ayr, means literally "a big flock of goats" (or sheep), but it may equally well be translated as "fortune" or "money".

*233 192 Owing to the practical importance of goat-breeding there are a great many terms to designate the animals according to sex, age, and various characteristics. In Ahaggar there are the following age-terms:—

| *Age* | *Female* | *Male* |
|---|---|---|
| New-born kid . . . . . | *awarwa* | |
| Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . . | *téreydet* | *éreyd* |
| Weaned kid with horns, and of bigger growth than above | *tazzift* | *azzif* |
| Weaned kid . . . . . | *tabunkelut* | *abunkelu* |
| Animal not yet fully grown . . . . . | *tabulek* | *abulek* |
| Animal not yet fully grown . . . . . | *tadawalt* | *adawal* |
| Fully grown animal . . . . . | *tíree* (pl. *ulli*) | *aneler* |
| Fully grown animal . . . . . | *tayat* | |
| (The common term for a fully grown goat in Ayr; it is used occasionally also in Ahaggar). | | |

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Fig. 17. A slave-boy takes kids out of the stone-enclosure (*aghror*) to let them suck. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehlé* tribe.

*233 yielding decreases after mating. It is said that some goats yield milk in the whole period of gestation, while others have no milk whatever during most of that period.

The advantage of free mating is further reduced because goats, if mated too often, become emaciated, and for the northern breed their coat of long hair, so important to craft (cf. p. 263 ff.), will not develop fully. Added to this, kids born in the hot summer season will often be of inferior quality, as they suffer from heat and the lack of fresh annual plants during their period of growth. Again, the mother animals may yield so little milk in summer that it is not even sufficient for the nourishment of their kids.

The free mating of goats is not generally desirable, and therefore most Tuareg practise a system of regulation which varies with the qualities of pastures. If reproduction of the flock is badly needed it may happen that all goats are mated twice a year, but it is considered an ideal in good years to divide the animals into two parts which bring forth kids and yield milk at different seasons.

*233 In Ayr when the flock is divided into two parts to bring forth kids and yield milk at different seasons,
132 one part brings forth kids during the season of *akasa* when the pastures of annual plants are very
● [137] rich, the other at the end of the winter season during the period known as *tabsit* at which time certain other plants germinate, and fruit-pods of the flowering acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*), which are extremely good for fodder, fall to the ground. If kids are wanted for a flock during the season of *akasa*, which is the best season for the birth of kids, the goats are mated in winter. When all the she-goats have been covered, the penis of the he-goat is bound around the foreskin by means of a cord – a method which is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ddkan*, to the Northern Tuareg as *urun* (cf. Fig. 25). If kids are wanted for a flock in spring at the season of *tabsit*, mating stops with the binding of he-goats at the

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Fig. 23. Slave boy milking goats – a task which is normally performed by women. The milk-bowl is held in the left hand, and the milking is done with the right hand, while the goat's left hind leg is held fast beneath the right upper arm. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehli* tribe.

GOAT MILKING

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Fig. 24. Tuareg milkmaid milking a goat as described Fig. 23. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehli* tribe.

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p. 93 ff.), and this seems to be true partly also of the so-called Watusi-cattle and related breeds, which have been mixed with zebu-cattle and therefore frequently have well developed humps (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 10 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 148 ff.; Johsi, McLaughlin & Phillips 1957, p. 146, 178, 259).

Adametz believes that zebus were introduced into Africa from Northern India about 2000 B.C. (Adametz 1920, p. 10 ff.). Nowadays Zebus no doubt form the most important types of cattle in Africa, and Tuareg cattle are of the zebu type. The West African zebus fall into a number of sub-breeds described in detail by Doutressoulle. The zebu type found in Ayr and adjacent regions and also introduced into Northern Tuareg country is known as the *Azawaq* breed (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 102 ff.). In Southern Ayr, which nowadays has a fairly large population of pastoral Fulani, a particular type of zebu is also very common. This zebu is characterized by very high stature and extremely long horns often resembling the form of a lyre (Fig. 27). This breed is named Borodji, Bororo or M'Bororo. The Fulani zebu is esteemed by certain Ayr Tuareg because of its fatter milk, but it is claimed that its meat is not so delicious as that of their own cattle.

Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer do not breed cattle (zebus), which do not thrive in their barren countries where pastures of annual plants do not regenerate annually. An attempt to breed zebus among the pastoral Ahaggar Tuareg some years ago failed, and zebus are nowadays found only among settled agriculturists who use these animals as draught-animals at irrigation wells (p. 189; Fig. 132 a–b). A few agriculturists also have cows to raise calves, and to utilize their milk. It is comparatively easy for settled agriculturists of Ahaggar to keep cattle. In dry years, and when pasture is scarce and dry in the hot season, cattle can be fed on vegetables and the straw of certain plants grown in the garden. It can also be mentioned that many agriculturists live in the very broad river valleys of lower Ahaggar where water is not very deep under the sand, and at some agricultural settlements there are even permanent springs. In such places (e.g., the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel) there are even in dry years fresh grazing of a few permanent plants suited to cattle, notably the four following species:— *tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*), *tésengelt* (*Saccharum Ravennae*), *ilegga* (sing. *aleggi*) (*Scirpus Holoschoenus*), and *tayset* (*Eragrostis bipinnata*). The regeneration of these plants is not dependent upon annual rainfall, for the soil is always sufficiently humid for their annual regeneration. Therefore it is very common in Ahaggar (e.g., at Abalessa and at Amsel) to burn down the old dry plants late in winter so that new fresh plants can germinate in spring. This method of renewing pasture by the burning down of old dry plants is not generally possible in desert countries. In Ahaggar it is practised only for the four above mentioned species within very limited humid areas, and the method is said to be entirely unknown in Ayr.

The Ahaggar agriculturists who possess oxen very frequently use these animals for riding, sitting on the hind part of the animals which are kept under control by means of a rein (*tazerkit*) placed through their nostrils, or by means of a halter. No saddle is used apart from a casual piece of cotton, or a blanket (Fig. 28). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer, it is said, the settled farmers have no cows but only bulls and oxen to be used at irrigation wells, and these animals are not used for riding as in Ahaggar.

The zebus found in the settlements of northern agriculturists are all introduced from the south where conditions for ox-breeding are much more favourable. Many, and perhaps most, northern zebus have come from Ayr from which region they are still introduced to Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

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Fig. 29. Milking a cow. The calf is attached to a tree by means of a cord (*témetrek*) around its neck, the mother cow being attached to the same tree with a cord (*aran*) around its horns.
Ayr, Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group.

*233 Zebus are able to cross the barren desert country of the Sahara in winter, and even with so hot a temperature, as that prevailing at the end of April, I have met Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* tribe leading zebus from Northern Ayr to Tamanrasset in Ahaggar.

The Ayr Tuareg seem to admit that they have always had zebus, but they say that in the past they had very few cattle. Nowadays there are zebus in so to speak all camps and villages of the Massif and in the plains to the west of it. At the village of Iferwan sedentary farmers possess three to four animals per household, and figures are much bigger for households of true pastoralists. It is quite normal for a nomadic household to possess a dozen zebus, and this is true even of pastoral Tuareg roaming in the northern outskirts of Ayr where precipitation is lower than in the south.

In fact zebu-breeding is a very profitable industry to the nomads, the more so as very little work is connected with it. The animals leave the camp early in the morning to return again entirely by themselves in the evening before darkness. They are never accompanied by herdsmen as there are no beasts of prey strong enough to attack them nowadays. I have met Tuareg who were evidently very fond of [171] their zebus, but they never showed the same interest towards their cattle as do the Fulani, who always accompany their herds. During grazing Tuareg zebus normally roam freely, but certain animals which are difficult to get hold of are provided with a cord (*aran*) around their horns to which cord is attached [366] a long piece of wood trailing on the ground. When oxen are driven to the market place (at Agadez or Inga) for selling,

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to the killing of a camel for wedding guests. Otherwise the Northern Tuareg like those of Ayr only 262
kill sick animals for food.

There are certain practical reasons why camels should not normally be killed for food among the Tuareg. Even very old camels fetch high prices at markets of the northern oases (Tamanrasset, Tidikelt), [435]
and the Tuareg prefer to get the money instead of eating their old camels. This is easily understood when we consider the fact that one camel contains so much meat that it cannot be eaten quickly by [252]
the members of a household, and camel's meat is rather tough and must be boiled for several hours to be eatable. Besides, camel's meat is not very well suited to be preserved for eating at a later date [251]
on journeys. However, it can be dried and when sick camels are killed part of their meat is often prepared in this way.

A camel is killed in a very particular way quite different from the method of slaughtering other 233*
domestic animals and game. It is killed as follows:— Cords are attached very firmly around the legs of the animal which is kept to the ground by several men who sit on its back and draw its head backwards. The artery is thereupon opened at the lower part of the neck close to the chest, and the knife is thrust into the animal at this place, but not so deeply as to touch the heart or the entrails. This stab is quite sufficient to kill the camel, but some people also cut its throat close to the head in the way other domestic animals are killed. Very peculiar also is the way camels are skinned. While other animals are skinned in such a way that the hide can be removed as entire as possible (cf. Fig. 173), the carcass of a camel is cut up before skinning. The four legs with their thighs are cut loose close to the carcass, which is thereupon cut into several parts by means of a large chopping-knife or an axe (cf. Fig. 44). The hide is thus removed from the carcass after partitioning; but it is difficult to remove the hide as it sticks firmly to the meat, and only part of it is taken off for later use. In Ayr the Tuareg do not 000

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Fig. 44. Skinning and partitioning of a young camel. Ayr, *Irawdhen*.

[text continues on p. 67]

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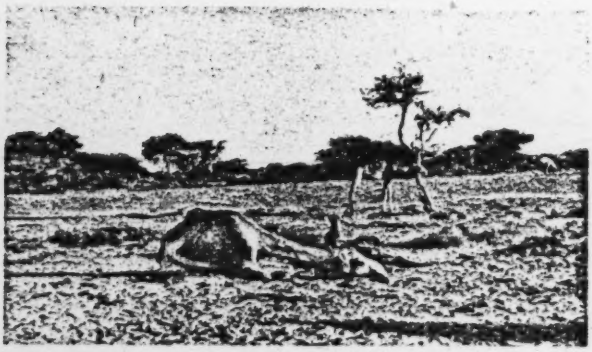

Fig. 46. A resting she-camel with the colour name *tawinak*. The colour term of the young she-camel standing in the back-ground is *ténilt*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

In Ayr the Tuareg do not 237
use camel's hide in their crafts, but give it to the blacksmiths who use it for lashing, or to people [564]
who manufacture beds from ribs of palm leaves (cf. Fig. 257). The Northern Tuareg use camel-skin 352
for the manufacture of a few household implements and also use it for lashing (cf. p. 84, 110, 222, 824
270 f. & Figs. 70, 86, 132a–b, 161a–d, 162, 213). But even in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer the skin of camels is little used compared with the skin of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep.

When employed in craft, camel's hide is normally used raw and unprepared after soaking in water, 281
but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that for certain purposes the hide is treated with salt. In literature there 114
are many statements about the tanning of camel's hide. Thus it is stated by Cauvet that the hide is tanned with plant material in Algeria, and Cauvet also quotes Duveyrier's statement that the Northern Tuareg tan camel's hide to use it for tents and various other implements (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 714 ff.). I very much doubt the correctness of this, as all Tuareg asked about it have stated that the hide of camels is not fitted for proper tanning. Camel's hide is therefore of very limited use to the Tuareg, and the same is the case with camel's hair or wool. Tuareg camels in Ayr have very little wool, and 237
among the Northern Tuareg most animals have less wool than Arab camels of the Northern Sahara. The Northern Tuareg pluck a little wool with the hands or cut it off with a knife. It is spun into cords 283
to be used for certain minor objects, notably for the manufacture of the plaited pouch (*abegu*) to prevent the suckling of calves (p. 62, Fig. 41) and for the particular cord (*asarun*) tied around the foreleg of camels to keep them in a reclining position (p. 72, Fig. 45a). Mixed with goat's hair the wool is 286
also used for a kind of primitive weaving (p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

Camels are very important to the Tuareg as pack-animals for the caravan expeditions which will 492*
be mentioned in a later chapter when other means of subsistence have been described. 484

In the past camels were also extremely valuable as riding animals on raiding expeditions which 492*
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*233 *492 should be remembered that she-camels possess less endurance than bull-camels and geldings on very long journeys.

*233 She-camels and the few bull-camels which are reserved for breeding graze free and unhobbled; pack and riding animals are hobbled with a short rope between their forelegs during grazing. Both in Ayr and among the Northern Tuareg this hobble-rope is known as *téffart* (Fig. 45b-e). In Ayr it is generally [137] rather short because pasture is rich in the valleys where camels are also difficult to find because of the dense vegetation and because the animals frequently leave no trace. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg, vegetation is on the whole more scattered and camels have to wander more freely to find suitable fodder. The Northern Tuareg therefore in general use a somewhat longer hobble-rope, and they find their animals again without much difficulty because of the open country and because the camels leave foot-prints which differ from one animal to the other. When the camels are out of sight they are easily traced by the Tuareg who know their foot-prints. The Ayr Tuareg make their hobble- [283] ropes from dum palm leaves twisted together, while Northern Tuareg use bast of the date palm trees, which latter material is considered the better for hobble-ropes. If hobbled camels are left to themselves for longer periods the Northern Tuareg also use ropes made of goat's hair or ox hide as such ropes do not so easily break (cf. Fig. 45c, e).

[171] Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara do not always let their camels graze during night but frequently keep them lying in front of the tent after darkness; the animals are then tied around one of their forelegs by means of a short rope provided with a small stick. The same device (*asurun*) is also known to the Northern Tuareg (p. 67, Fig. 45a), but it is unknown to the Ayr Tuareg who use for this purpose a short rope (*areufud*) without a stick and made from twisted dum palm leaves. The Tuareg may keep camels in the camp during night and then tie one of their forelegs with the ropes mentioned. This is done with she-camels which rest close to their calves at night time, and in Ayr also with most camels during the short period of the year (*akasa* and the beginning of *rarat*) when dew falls heavily upon annual pasture, for camels may contract stomach diseases from eating wet annual plants. In Ahaggar I have noted that camels are attached in the way mentioned and kept in camp during the night in order that they might not eat noxious plants growing close to the tents (cf. p. 124). However, camels normally graze during the night and do not sleep much. On the very long trading expeditions they eat almost exclusively through a few hours of the night. When a camel sleeps it stretches out its long neck in a slightly curved position and its head rests upon the chin (cf. Fig. 46). It sleeps very lightly; and the Ahaggar Tuareg say that a boy who is able to creep under the neck of a sleeping camel and not awake it will never loose his way in the desert.

*492 Pack-camels of a Tuareg caravan walk one behind the other in a long line. Every pack-camel is provided with a rope noosed around its lower jaw, the loop being prevented from loosening by the [283] insertion of a small stick (Fig. 47). This rope is known as *akalu* to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who use ropes made from twisted pieces of date palm bast, while the Ayr Tuareg make similar ropes from dum palm leaves. The loose end of the *akalu* rope is attached to the pack-camel walking in front, fastened either to its luggage or, more frequently, to its neck around which camels of a caravan carry their hobble ropes.

*233 *492 True halters made from goat's hair or from palm material are used mainly for young untrained

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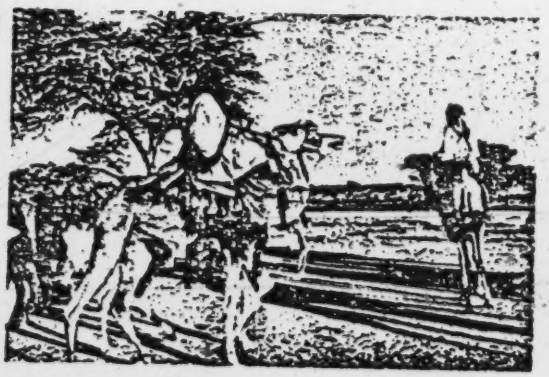

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afagag* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Iewelen*.

Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

In a ceremonial ride termed *ihgan* (*ilagan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

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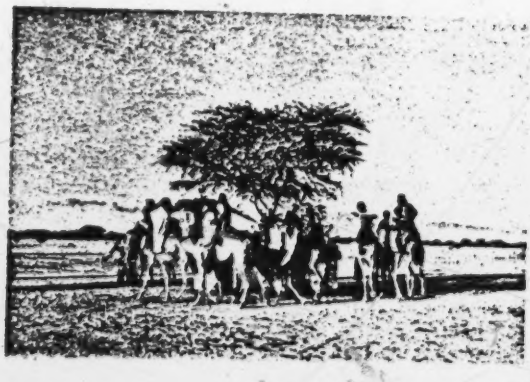

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Fig. 82b. Cf. text Fig. 82a.

qualities as strength and speed, but rather on elegance and sublimity. The riders sit straight in the saddles without watching the crowd of women, and the camels are ridden at a gentle trot (generally that known as *senāt-senat*; cf. p. 99) with their heads drawn back. In this way the men may also ride their animals round the women in a circle as I have seen in Ayr (cf. Fig. 82). 526 492* 585

Camels have important social functions among the Tuareg who take an interest in these animals far beyond their practical value. It may perhaps be useful to compare Tuareg interest in camels with Nuer interest in cattle so brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard. Nuer caress their animals, and there is a tendency for human beings and cattle to form, so to speak, a single community (Evans-Pritchard 1940, p. 16–50). This is not exactly true of Tuareg and camels. The Tuareg do not pat their camels which will not respond to caressing, and they do not live in very close contact with their animals, most of which frequently graze far away from the camp under the supervision of one or two herdsmen. But the Tuareg nevertheless have much the same feeling towards camels as Nuer have towards their cattle. They are very fond of their animals. They may abstain from camel's flesh because they are fond of camels and would feel very sick at heart when eating them. But though the Tuareg are fond of camels as such, they are delighted particularly at the sight of a very fine camel (*akemhur*; Ahaggar) and may even speak disparagingly of a badly built animal (*amugey*; Ahaggar). Fine camels add to the prestige of a man, while too many animals of poor build may even harm his reputation. When girls and young women praise camel-riders in their songs they praise those mounted on fine and richly-decorated animals. When camels are mentioned in poetry this may also be done as praise to their owners, as in a poem composed in honour of noble Tuareg of the *Uraren* (*Kel Aijer*) of whom it is said that "their pack-camels have feet as large as a drum, and the loads they carry are like the crests of mountains" (Hanoteau 1896, p. 218). Such reference to pack-camels, however, seems to be rare in Tuareg poetry, while riding camels are frequently mentioned in connection with warfare and love. Riding camels have much the same esteemed position as had horses in Medieval Europe. Tuareg interest in camels is particularly focused on riding camels and there is a tendency towards identification

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the caravan and feed the animals with annual grasses, and a camel-rider, when he meets plants considered excellent for fodder, will stop for a while to let his riding camel eat them.

Saliferous plants are highly important to all types of livestock, and camels and sheep in particular need much salt nourishment. In Ahaggar there are certain plants of this kind almost everywhere, and the following species serve as fodder:— *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*), *issin* (*Salsola foetida*), *tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*), and *azawa* (*Tamarix gallica* and related species). *Aramas* in particular is very important. It is found almost everywhere within the Ahaggar Massif and at all altitudes. Benhazera states that *aramas* forms the most important fodder plant of Ahaggar (Benhazera 1908, p. 65), but this is not quite correct. It is most important because of its salt content as domestic animals do not thrive without salt, but the saliferous plants mentioned are very little nourishing for most domestic animals, and if the animals constantly eat such plants they become very thin. The most nourishing fodder plants of Ahaggar are tender annual species which spring up after abundant rainfalls. These plants are collectively known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *akasa*; they comprise many different species and those considered most excellent for fodder are: *tageruft* (*Tribulus terrester*), *adreylal* (*Astragalus* sp.), *tasmast* (*Echium humile*), *azren* (*Monsonia heliotropioides* & *M. nivea*), *tamaghé* (*Moricandia arvensis*), and *tanesmimt* (*Rumex vesicarius* & *R. roseus*). To these annual fodder plants can be added another important annual species, namely *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*) which grows in the lower parts of Northern Tuareg countries. It is apparently not so common and important to the Northern Tuareg who live in and around the mountainous massifs, though it is a common and very valuable fodder for domestic animals of the Ahaggar Tuareg who live towards the south in the plains of Tamesna. It is one of the best fodder plants for camels and is also fairly good for sheep, while less valuable for other types of livestock. Annual plants may germinate over a large part of the year in Ahaggar, but as rainfall is most common late in summer (June, July, August) the best annual pasture will spring up at this period, and under very favourable conditions the plants may keep fresh and green for up to four months. When annual plants wither they are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ṛarat* (*ṛarat n akasa*). Such dry annual plants have lost much of their fodder value, but they are important for fodder even at this stage. The perennial species which are most important for fodder have their optimal value at particular stages of their development at particular seasons. Important are the perennial grasses known to the Tuareg as *tullult* (*Aristida pungens*) and *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). The *tullult* grass is extremely common in the Northern Sahara, and it forms perhaps the basic fodder plant among the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. It is also common in Ahnet and in the other mountain massifs surrounding Ahaggar to the north, but it is not found in the mountain massif proper of Ahaggar where most Tuareg live. The grass grows at Abalessa where cattle, goats, and sheep of the sedentary farmers feed upon it. The *tullult* grass is valuable when green in winter, and hay of this grass is used for camel fodder on caravan expeditions to Tidikelt. The Tuareg cut it with a sickle and take it with them on the journey to the northern oases, because there is normally little vegetation on the road and no pasture around the oases where the Tuareg remain to trade for several days. The *afezu* grass is extremely common in the lower parts of Ahaggar and is found in practically all river valleys. It is valuable for fodder when green after rain, but it is of little value when withered. There are other perennial herbs and grasses which are eaten by domestic animals, but herbs and grasses are

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not the most important perennial fodder plants for goats and camels as the very best fodder plants of this kind are acacia trees, notably the species of *tamat* (*Acacia seyal*) and *abser* (*Acacia Raddiana*) which are, perhaps, the most common trees in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Massif. In Ahaggar the acacias defoliate in winter, and they are then not very nourishing fodder, though they do not apparently loose all leaves at one and the same time. Very nourishing are the fruits or pods of the two acacia species mentioned. They are eaten by all domestic animals. 233* 824

The most valuable fodder plants in Ahaggar consist of annual plants and the acacias, with the addition of saliferous plants. The tender annual plants are those considered most nourishing for animals. The annual plants may spring up everywhere at all altitudes, but the three vegetational zones of Ahaggar do not possess exactly the same species, and there are still greater distinctions between the perennial species found within these zones, which as fodder areas have the following main characteristics:— [137]

(1) *Abada*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Annual fodder-plants* . . . . . | *taǧerufi* (*Tribulus terrester*) |
| | *taynast* (*Echium humile*) |
| | *aḍreylal* (*Astragalus* sp.) |
| *Perennial fodder-plants* . . . . . | *tulluli* (*Aristida pungens*) |
| | *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) |
| | *abser* (*Acacia Raddiana*) |
| | *tamat* (*Acacia seyal*) |
| *Saliferous plants* . . . . . | *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*) |
| | *issin* (*Salsola foetida*) |
| | *tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*) |
| | *aẓawa* (*Tamarix gallica* and related species) |

(2) *Tarayin*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Annual fodder-plants* . . . . . | *taǧerufi* (*Tribulus terrester*) |
| | *taynast* (*Echium humile*) |
| | *tamaghé* (*Moricandia arvensis*) |
| | *aẓren* (*Monsonia heliotropioides* & *M. nivea*) |
| *Perennial fodder-plants* . . . . . | *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) Scarce |
| | *abser* (*Acacia Raddiana*) – |
| | *tamat* (*Acacia seyal*) – |
| *Saliferous plants* . . . . . | *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*) |
| | *aẓawa* (*Tamarix gallica* and related species) |

(3) *Atakor*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Annual fodder-plants* . . . . . | *taǧerufi* (*Tribulus terrester*) |
| | *tamaghé* (*Moricandia arvensis*) |
| | *tanesmimi* (*Rumex vesicarius* & *R. roseus*) |
| *Perennial fodder-plants* . . . . . | They are scarce and of little value |
| *Saliferous plants* . . . . . | *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*) |

*233 Each of the three vegetational zones of Ahaggar has its advantages and disadvantages. If we consider
824 a good year when rain has fallen abundantly with a resultant regeneration of all fodder plants, the
● 137 *Atakor* zone has very excellent pasture. For the plains and the stony mountain slopes are then entirely
132 covered with annual plants which by the Tuareg are considered the very best fodder. The Tuareg also
133 claim that the upper mountain zone is preferable because of its cooler climate, which has a beneficial influence on the lactation of domestic animals. The disadvantage of the *Atakor* zone is the lack of acacias to which can be added the scarcity of fuel. The *Tarayin* zone possess characteristics of the *Atakor* zone and of the *Abada* zone. The *Abada* country is botanically very different from *Atakor*. It has annual pastures of great value when abundant rainfall has been experimented and it also has valuable pastures of perennial plants. With heavy rain the *Abada* country is excellent for stock-breeding, and fuel can be found everywhere. But the Abada country is hotter than are the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

If rain falls abundantly all over Ahaggar there is good pasture in all three zones. But rainfall is more frequent and heavier at high altitudes than in the *Abada* zone, so that *Atakor* normally has by far the best pasture of annual plants which spring up late in summer or in autumn. The *Abada* zone on the other hand has the very best pasture of perennial plants, notably acacias that grow around the lower parts of the valleys which are always flooded when it rains in the high mountains.

221 The fluctuations of plant development determine the nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg.
*233 A few tribes have their normal grazing grounds in *Atakor* (e.g., the *Dag Rali* and the *Kel Tazulet*).
824 They camp in this zone at most seasons to let their goats and sheep feed on fresh and dry annual pasture.
[132] In dry years and during the hot summer season they may move to the *Tarayin* zone where there are perennial fodder plants, but they rarely camp in the *Abada* country. Many tribes have their normal grazing grounds in the *Abada* zone (e.g., the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, the *Ayt Lowayen*, the *Iheyawen Huda*, and the *Kel Rela*), but move to the *Atakor* when annual pasture is good in this region. They live in
[342] *Atakor* with tents and flocks when annual plants are green, while the rest of the year they camp in the *Abada* country to let their animals feed on acacias and other perennial species. Finally there are two tribes (*Tegehé-n-Efis* and *Iklan-en-tawsit*), the members of which camp in the *Abada* country all the year round even when rich annual pasture is found in *Atakor*. However, members of these tribes may send their camel herds to the *Atakor* zone, accompanied by herdsmen, while tents and flocks remain in the lower country.

221 With the exception of a few noble households which keep up their old tradition to subsist largely
*233 on camel's milk, the Ahaggar Tuareg do not keep their she-camels in Ahaggar unless there are excellent
[565] pastures of annual plants in this area. They take their camels to pastures far away from Ahaggar,
[262] notably to the Tamesna region where they have their animals guarded by herdsmen who are frequently
[567] slaves. In very dry years there are very few camels in Ahaggar – just the animals needed for riding and transportation. It is in fact very easy to take camels to distant pastures, and it is most necessary to give these animals the utmost care as they are most valuable and their breeding is a very slow process
*233 (cf. p. 56). Goats do not need such excellent fodder as do camels. They can eat almost everything, but
731 in dry years goats may also suffer severely from lack of suitable fodder. This was the case in the year
[36] 1954/55 when I stayed in Ahnet and in Ahaggar. In the small camps of three to four tents each it was

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*233 normal every day to loose one or two goats which died of hunger. The goats were too thin to be mated,
231 and even in winter there was no milk, or so little, that it was all consumed by small children. In spite of these very severe conditions most Ahaggar Tuareg stayed in Ahaggar with their flocks which subsisted on dry perennial plants and annual plants that were two years old. Conditions were extremely bad in
221 the region of Ahnet, and about half of the Ahnet Tuareg left their country to go southwards with
*233 their camps and goats, to the regions of Ti-n-zawaten. In severe drought periods some Tuareg may
731 move their camps far outside of Ahaggar, but even then most of them will remain in their native country for extensive goat migrations are difficult and cannot be realized without a loss of the meagre animals. Most Tuareg therefore prefer to remain and to avoid the strenuous journey connected with these migrations. They may loose many animals during a drought, but they know that sooner or later rainfall will occur so that pastures will regenerate quickly to let the animals grow fat to yield milk and to be mated. The increment of goats is extremely quick in comparison with that of camels.

*233 Stock-breeding conditions are on the whole not very favourable in Ahaggar, but pastoral Tuareg
731 of this region have developed an economic system which secures their existence even in very bad years of extreme drought.

● 137 In the introductory description of Tuareg environment it was stated that the Ayr Massif and the
*233 surrounding plains have far better possibilities of stock-breeding than Northern Tuareg countries. The broad river valleys of Ayr are very rich in persistent plants which also grow on slopes and in depressions outside the valleys, and the spring of annual pastures is an annually recurrent event. One
132 informant told me that there had not been any drought in the Agadez region throughout the many
*233 years the French had reigned over Ayr. At an unknown date in the past, it is said, a very severe drought persisted in the country for a period of seven years, and the Tuareg who had many goats and sheep fed these animals on charcoal. Since then rain has fallen every year and though more

*233

Fig. 96. Tuareg feeding his riding camel with boiled tea leaves which are considered excellent fodder for camels. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

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221 *233 824 tagayt, while the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* at this period will camp around Ingal. Many Southern Tuareg leave the savannah country to avoid its heavy rainfalls and stock-diseases to let their animals benefit from the salty water and plants in the *Azawaq* country.

133 162 ●137 In the country west of the Ayr Massif, the Tamesna Plains, there is in addition to the Ayr Tuareg a numerous population of Ahaggar Tuareg who live constantly in these regions. These plains are botanically different from the mountains. Perennial vegetation is scarce though there are some *tamat*-acacias (*Acacia flava*), but there is a very rich vegetation of annual plants of great importance to *233 824 domestic animals. Among these plants can be mentioned *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*), which is very valuable for camels and also good for sheep, *adreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tagellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). The two latter plants are valuable as fodder for all domestic animals. It is noteworthy that these three species of annual plants last longer than other annual species. They do not wither at the beginning of the *ṛarat*-season, but remain fresh and green all through the winter until about *tabrit*.

It is evident that Tuareg knowledge of botany is extremely comprehensive, and that they use this knowledge to make stock-breeding as rational as possible. They may perhaps not be so rational in protecting pastures, for they cut acacias' boughs to feed the kids resting in the camps, and it is most possible that they also overgraze certain pastures. However, the grazing grounds are very vast in comparison with the number of pastoralists, and I believe that overgrazing and arboreal devastation take place mainly around villages and towns where the flocks of sedentary people graze continuously in the same area. In Ahaggar the valuable fodder plants and plants which are important for collecting are often protected for two or three months in order that they may become fully developed (cf. p. 150, 179).

*233 The Tuareg take great care that their animals do not lack water. It is true that camels and also donkeys can do without water for many days even in summer, but at this season camels should preferably be watered every two or three days, and goats are always watered every two days when the weather is hot. In winter the animals are not watered so often, and this is true particularly if the animals feed on fresh annual plants. Camels can do without water even for weeks and months under such favourable

415 237 326

Fig. 97. The leather bucket known as *aḍe* to the Northern Tuareg. The leather is tied to an iron ring made by blacksmiths. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension of the iron ring: 0.275 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.51).

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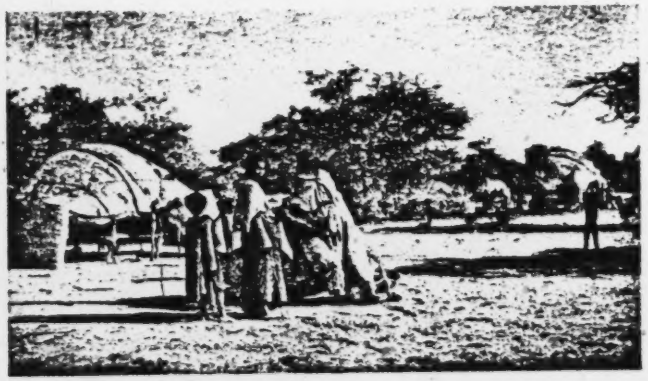

Fig. 109. A family camp of four mat-covered barrel-vaulted tents. Ayr, the *Igendiynen* tribe.

422 * 233 donkeys by certain Ayr Tuareg are most interesting. Though such marks are used by many tribes there does not seem to be a great variety of them, and I have noted only the following marks:—

[565] (1) *tallayt*, that is the tip of right ear cut off while a slit is cut into the left ear. This mark is said to be used by all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the members of the two tribes *Kel Akerra* and *Imezzureg*, who claim to be noble by origin, have an additional brand burned into the left hind thigh close to the animal's anus. This brand is called *ekomed*.

(2) two slits in the animal's left ear. Though different from the mark just mentioned it is said also [565] to be called *tallayt*. It is used by the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg (the *Irawatten*), and also by the negroid *Irawélen* who in the past were once slaves of the nobility.

(3) *tabelechchat*, that is one slit in the left ear. This mark is used by the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

[428] Though all property marks are patrilineally inherited it may happen in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, that a Tuareg use two marks. For certain Tuareg will use the mother's father's mark for animals given them [777] by their mother's family, other Tuareg have been brought up among matrilineal kinsmen whose mark they have adopted, and there are also people who have adopted their mother's family mark because they believed that their father's mark brought them bad luck in camel-breeding.

614 The Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group fall into a number of units which are known by the word *tawchit*. It seems to have much the same meaning as the word *tawsit* of Northern Tuareg dialect, but is also used to designate the so-called spiked wheel-trap. I call these units for tribes as they do not seem to correspond to unilateral descent groups. Many tribes have a tradition of their descent from a common ancestress, but though tribal members may know her name they are never able to connect her with their genealogies which are very badly known. To my knowledge there are no tribes of true Ayr Tuareg that are named after an ancestress or have avuncular names. The Ayr tribes have geographical names or are called after an ancestor to whom they are also unable to connect their [591] genealogies. It is possible that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in the past have followed the rules of residence

# Collecting

In this chapter on collecting such edible plants are mentioned as play a part in Tuareg nourishment. 222
Wild plants are also collected for other purposes. Many species are important to craft or have a medicinal 824
value. Some of these latter species are mentioned elsewhere in this study.

## EDIBLE PLANTS OF THE AHAGGAR AREA

Wild plants which yield edible fruits, seeds, stems, or roots in Ahaggar comprise more than fifty 222
different species. But the importance of collecting should not be judged from this, as all these plants [262]
are never found within the same area, and most are eaten only occasionally as a kind of relish or when
agricultural food (wheat, barley, millet, dates) is lacking. I have supplemented my own list of edible [114]
plants with important information from Maire's study of Ahaggar botany (Maire 1933 & 1940). In
my list the letters Tr., L.M., and U.M. stand for Maire's botanical zones, namely the Tropical Zone, [137]
the Lower Mediterranean Zone, and the Upper Mediterranean Zone. The following edible plants
are collected in Ahaggar and adjacent regions:—

*tirfas* (sing. *tarfest*) (*Terfezia ovalispora*). Tr., L.M. A fungus which, according to Maire, lives on 222
the roots of *Helianthemum Lippii* & *H. ellipticum* known to the Tuareg of Ahaggar as *urrug* (Maire 262
1933, p. 22, 159 et suiv.). This white fungus, which is frequently termed *tirfas n urrug* by the Tuareg, 252
is prepared for eating together with various other dishes. It is frequently added to the so-called kus-kus.

*tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*) Tr. Roots and certain lower parts of the stem are eaten raw or boiled. When vegetable food is scarce they are also pounded or ground into flour.

*akeywod* (*Typha australis*) Tr., L.M. Roots of this plant are ground into flour.

*tésengelt* (*Saccharum Ravennae*). Tr., L.M. "Cette plante ... laisse très souvent exsuder un liquide sucré qui se concrète en masses plus ou moins cristallisées; les Tuareg utilisent ce sucre" (Maire 1933, p. 54).

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). Tr. A perennial grass extremely common in the lower valleys of Ahaggar. Seeds are collected in receptacles (e.g., *ahaga*, Fig. 213) by beating the ears of the grass with a stick. The seeds are not suitable for bread, but are esteemed for porridge and *tébik*, that is seeds pounded in the mortar and eaten without further preparation. Ashes of this grass contain soda and are often [276]
mixed with tobacco for chewing.

[p. 175]

222 Even in good years it may happen that edible seed-plants are eaten by locusts before they become
[134] ripe for collecting. Collecting is of secondary importance to the Tuareg of Ahaggar though to most
[433] pastoralists it is more important than hunting.

## AYR

134 We have seen that Ayr has better grazing grounds and more game than Ahaggar, and it is only
137 natural that this southern area is also a more favourable one for the collecting of wild plants. Never-
222 theless, it seems as if collecting is not so important to the Ayr Tuareg who have more livestock for
[433] which millet and wheat can be obtained without much difficulty. The number of edible plants utilized in Ayr is probably a very large one. Thus it is said that certain *Kel Ewey* Tuareg collect many different plants, but my inquiries into the methods and the value of collecting were limited to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group of Southern Ayr where the following species are collected for food: –

222 *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Pods of this acacia are dried and, after pounding in a large millet mortar,
262 mixed with milk to be eaten or drunk like the Tuareg dish known as *arejira* (cf. p. 245 f.).

252 *ebezgin* (*Salvadora persica*). Fruit is eaten without any preparation.

*tadent* (*Boscia senegalensis*). Berries are pounded in the millet mortar to obtain the limpid juice which is added to porridge.

[824] *tagayt* (*Hyphaene thebaica*). The dum palm, which is of extreme importance for the handicraft of the Ayr Tuareg, is also valuable as food. The young nuts are opened with a knife and the kernels are eaten. The old nuts have an edible outer coating which is eaten by children and even by adults when they are hungry. These old nuts are also pounded in the millet mortar together with seeds of *ageruf*, cf. below.

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). This perennial grass is very abundant all over Ayr. Collecting of its seeds is done by rubbing the ears of the grass between the hands to allow the seeds to fall into a plaited bowl. Seeds are pounded in a millet mortar to be used for porridge.

*ichiben*, that is seeds of an annual grass – apparently identical with *Panicum longiflorum* and/or *P. spinosa*. The seeds are collected in two different ways: – (1) If the ripe seeds have fallen to the ground they are swept together with a bunch of straw. (2) The ears are cut with a knife to be threshed by pounding in a millet mortar. The seeds are highly esteemed, being collected to a greater extent than seeds of other wild plants. The seeds are used particularly for porridge, but also for certain other dishes such as *arejira* (cf. p. 245 f.).

*ichit* (*Eragrostis* ssp.). A grass yielding red seeds collected in the following way: – The ears are beaten with the hands so that the seeds fall into a plaited bowl. The seeds are used only for porridge.

*wajieg* (*Cenchrus catharticus* & *C. Priouri*). Annual seed-plants with thorny seeds. The dry plants are beaten with a stick and the fallen seeds are collected in a heap to be threshed with a stick. The seeds are pounded in a millet mortar for porridge.

*ageruf* (*Tribulus terrester*). An annual plant with thorny seeds which are collected as just described for the *wajieg* plants. The seeds are pounded in a millet mortar to be eaten without further preparation

291 l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

292 In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the [232] Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen [177] blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aglim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-[294] skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl (*tistent*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather [184] cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

178 Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like 291 many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

291 The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *iratimen* (sing. *iratim*) which [287] word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south. [438] The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where the type is also known by the Hausa word *takelmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in 294 detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following 281 way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig. [114] 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manu-291 facture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takelmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The [137] very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal [285] is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *slisleplatine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

[text continues on p.300]

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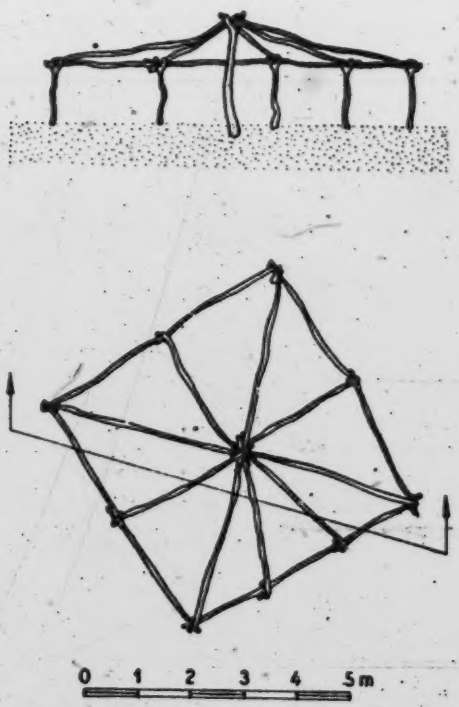


**Fig. 251. The structure of a square *ékeber* hut. It was covered with bulrush and belonged to a camp of the *Kel Ajer* tribe at Ujul in Ahaggar.**

Musée de l'homme, E.47.48.526), and perhaps also in Southern Morocco (Puigaudeau 1945, photograph p. 112). It is possible that huts of the square *ékeber* type are far more widely known in the Northern Sahara. Huts (*zeriba*) of palm material among the semi-sedentary *Chamba Berezga* at Metlili (cf. Mercier 1922, p. 144) may perhaps be of the square *ékeber* type – if they do not belong to the cylindrical type mentioned below. Square huts (*zarbia*) seem to occur also among the Fellahin of Egypt (cf. Ayrout 1938, pl. V, p. 64, p. 134; Schildt 1957, ill. p. 112). Rectangular huts measuring 6 by 2 metres are common in the region of Gurara (cf. Bisson, Le Gourara, p. 158). 342* 171

A 6. *Round huts or houses with conical roof.*

Huts of this type, known as *ékeber* (pl. *ikebran*), are very common among the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where the *tabarekkat* tree (*Tamarix aphylla*) and the *tulhult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) are abundant, [137]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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## The Erection of a Mat Tent in Ayr.

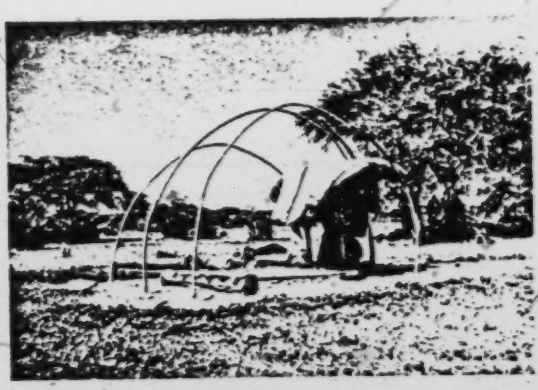

Fig. 265a. The wooden bed (*tédabar*) is placed upon the cleared ground. The pronged posts carrying riding cushions, skin bags, etc., and the curved wooden pieces constituting the three arches known as *tekkekkewar* and *t'illawin* are buried in the ground. The cushions and decorated skin bags resting in the heavy wooden prongs are temporarily covered with tent mats that their colours may not be damaged by sunshine.

Fig. 265b. The arch pieces are lashed together and the two horizontal cross-bars (*ingar*) are fixed to vertical sticks (*tigestewin*) buried in the ground at the narrow ends of the tent. A little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of each cross-bar is seen on this photograph.

[284]

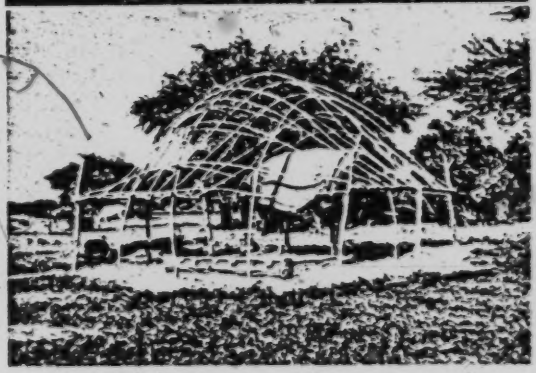

Fig. 265c. A long cord is wound around the high middle arch to form loops for the insertion of the slender rods forming semi-arches in the longitudinal direction. The thick ends of these rods are fastened to the cross-bars but are not yet lashed together at their upper, narrow ends.

**The Erection of a Mat Tent in Ayr.**

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Fig. 265d. The narrow ends of the pieces of longitudinal semiarches are lashed together. The tent structure is now finished to be covered with mats. The interior cover consisting of two rectangular mats made from plant stems and known as *iwerwyren* (sing. *iwerwar*) is seen on this photograph.

[284]

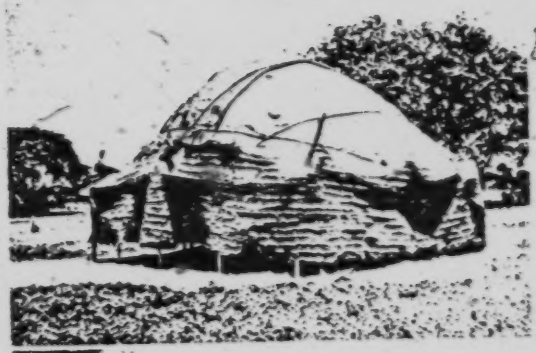

Fig. 265e. The dum palm mats of oval shape (*isfal*) and the long narrow dum palm mats (*asalemamas*) are placed over the *iwerwyren* mats and are tied to the dome-shaped structure with cords. The narrow dum palm mat (*ayeli*) surrounding the lower part of the tent is fixed to the structure.

[133]

Fig. 265f. The mat tent is taken down for erection in a new place. The woman standing within the structure is loosening the looped cord which keeps the semi-arches to the high middle arch. It is not the same tent as that depicted Fig. 265a–e but the two tents belong to the same camp of the *Imezzureg* tribe near Agadez in Southern Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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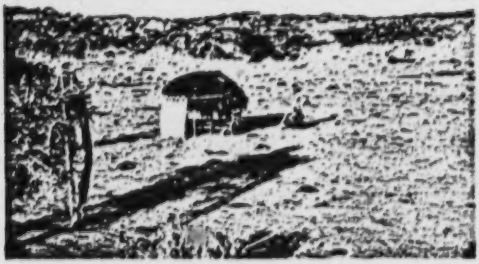

Fig. 270. An arched barrel-vaulted tent covered with a sheet of skin. In the background two arched mat tents. In the foreground to the left two cotton bows. Ayr, the *Kel Tédalé* tribe.

*342 true structure, and structurally there is a great diversity of tent types. It seems as if these tent structures can be divided into a few main groups which I shall describe in detail.

B.2.a. *Skin tents of arch construction.*

Tents which have one or more arches, generally placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction are widely found in Tuareg country. They are in fact more common than appears from the literature which has been so far published on Tuareg culture. The wide distribution of this particular structure in skin tents is interesting, the more so as it is related to the structure of mat tents. There are the following types of arch structures:—

B.2.a.1. This tent was seen in a camp of the *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg of North-western Ayr. It is known that skin tents are found among them (cf. Joubert 1939, p. 252 f.), but they have never been described. The Ayr Tuareg say that in the past many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* lived in skin tents which, however, [119] are less common among them nowadays. This agrees with my own experience. I have visited several *Kel Tédalé* camps, but I have only seen the skin tent here mentioned. This was found in a camp of [361] three tents, the two others being ordinary mat tents. The skin tent I saw in this camp was also of the normal structure used for mat tents in Ayr, though shorter. The lower part was partly covered, not by a mat plaited from dum palm leaves, but by an *afezu* mat.

[221] B.2.a.2. Under this heading I describe two identical tents seen in a camp of *Ireqenaten* Tuareg who belong to the Ahaggar federation but have their traditional grazing grounds west of the Ayr [36] Massif in the Tamesna Plains. The camp was actually situated in the region between Tegidda-n-tésemt [137] and I-n-abanṛerit, where perennial vegetation is extremely scarce and mainly comprises scattered *tamat* acacias (*Acacia flava*). The camp visited had eight skin tents among which were the two of arch construction as follows:—

[824] Both tents were very small, and their wooden structure was made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*). In the middle of the tent and at right angles to its longitudinal direction there was an

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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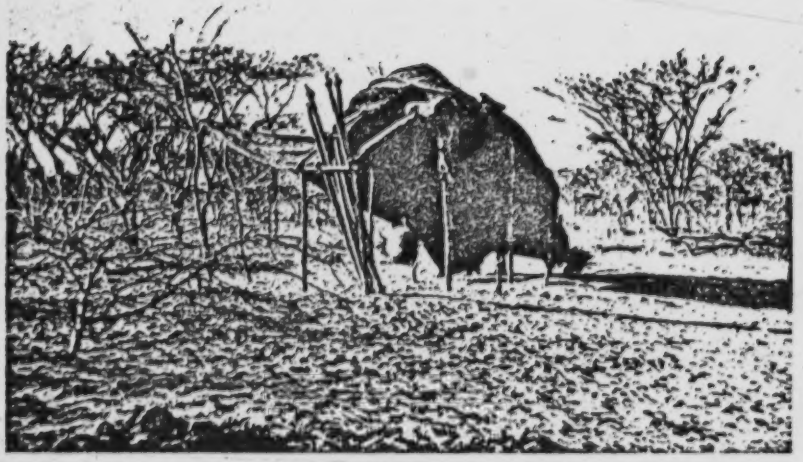

Fig. 277. The B.2.b.4 tent with three pairs of vertical forked sticks carrying three horizontal cross-bars in their prongs. Three semi-arches each of them being made of two slender rods are placed over the cross-bars at right angles. The carved poles leaning against one of the cross-bars constitute the main elements of a narrow wooden bed (*iédabat*). From a *Bélla* camp near Ayoro on the Niger.

I saw a few tents which had two or four longitudinal semi-arches, but three semi-arches were normal. 342*
The structure of the tent inhabited by the chief *Amdey* had the following dimensions:—

The central pair of vertical forked sticks with their cross-bar was about 1.30 m high, and the two outer pairs 0.20 m lower. The distance between the two sticks of the central pair was about 1.00 m, between the sticks of the two outer pairs about 0.70 m. The distance from the central pair of sticks to each of the two outer pairs was 1.50 to 2.00 m.

B.2.c. *Skin tents supported by cross-bars connected with horizontal sticks.*

B.2.c.1. It is uncertain whether the structure to be described forms a regular type, as I know it only from a photograph which is in the photographic collection of the Musée de l'homme in Paris (Collection Photographique, 42.811.301). However, this photograph, which is taken north-east of Kidal in Aḍraṛ of the Ifoṛas, has also been reproduced by Gjessing in his work on general ethnography (Gjessing 1953, II, p. 176–177). The photograph shows three Tuareg women erecting a tent structure as follows:— Two comparatively high forked poles carry a relatively short horizontal cross-bar which, judging from the photograph, measures less than a metre. A pair of exactly similar-poles with

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



according to which the ancestresses of the two noble tribes came from *Awjila* together with a third sister, who became the ancestress of the *Iberdyanen*. This story runs as follows:— 173 614 634

The three sisters left their original homeland of Awjila riding on bull-camels. One night when the girls were not very far from Iferwan and the three sisters had gone to sleep, the eldest, named *Sabenas*, awoke before her two sisters and removed the hobble-ropes from their riding camels which disappeared in the desert. Thus the only riding camel left was *Sabenas'*, and when the sisters arrived at Iferwan she alone rode on a bull-camel while her two younger sisters were walking. At Iferwan there was then a mighty chief named *Azerezzer*. When the girls arrived there he asked them who they were, and *Sabenas* said that one of the two girls who travelled on foot was her sister, but not her true sister, while the other girl was her *tamerit* or vassal. The supreme chief *Azerezzer* was very eager to marry *Sabenas* as she rode on a bull-camel and consequently was of noble birth. *Sabenas* agreed to marry him on the condition that bride-wealth should be paid in land. And it was agreed that she should have for bride-wealth as much land as she could ride through on her camel at a stretch. She rode off from Iferwan and her camel did not get tired until she was close to Tagedufat south of the Massif. Here *Sabenas* dismounted and threw her stick towards the south. The stick fell down at the well of Tagedufat, and *Sabenas* now had the right to all country ranging from Iferwan in the north to the well of Tagedufat situated in the southern plains. This vast territory has since then been owned by the descendants of *Sabenas* who are the true noble *Kel Ferwan* or *Irawatten*. But the Tuareg of this tribe claim that they have since then greatly augmented their territory so that they are the true owners also of the land south of the Massif as far as Tessawa, which is very close to the frontier of Northern Nigeria.

The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past all Tuareg groups within the *Kel Ferwan* territory and a few other groups of Tuareg and negroid sedentary people paid an annual tribute known as *tewsé* to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. This annual tribute was calculated as follows:— 173 631 634 651

137 342 634

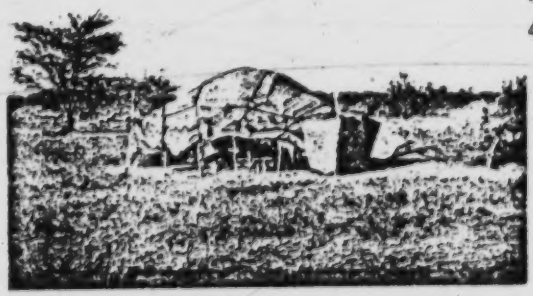

Fig. 289. Mat tent of the B.1.b type inhabited by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace, containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats.

114 sult, and the Tuareg have been among the most spectacular victims.

The famous veil of these great desert warriors (figs. 25, 26, and 51) has cast its shadow of romantic mystery not only over the faces of its wearers but over their whole culture, and so both opportunity and temptation to romanticize have overcome to some extent many of those who have written about the Tuareg tribes. In the summer of 1956 the author heard a well-known public lecturer and traveler, who had even been to Tamanrasset for a few days, declare to his unsuspecting audience of honest New England farmers that the Tuareg are probably descended from a little band of crusaders who got cut off in the rock-walled valley of Petra (in what is now the Kingdom of Jordan), whence they finally escaped and found their way (heaven knows how) clear across Africa to the mountains of the Ahaggar. He added that Tuareg men are [141] about 7 feet tall—and he was speaking in a church—although the tallest one so far recorded measured just over 6 feet 5½ inches, while the average Targui stands only about 5 feet 8 in his sandal-feet (*see* table A-2).

114 Tuareg morality and personal hygiene have been the subjects of hardly less exaggeration.
515 Several generations of frustrated readers have by now found vicarious satisfaction in titillating tales of the great ladies of the Ahaggar, beautiful of face and graceful, gracious and unclean, skilled in the arts of love, poetry and music, fascinating and refined and evil-smelling. These unattractively attractive custodians of a spuriously antique chivalrous tradition have been said to welcome to their bosoms and their beds nearly all socially presentable admirers, while their docile husbands stand modestly aside and show their good breeding by
114 concealing their emotions. Few authors seem to have been bothered by the glaring contrast between this rather pitiful picture of long-suffering patience and the very different one that they usually present only a few pages earlier, in which we see the fire-breathing knights of the Ahaggar, those seven-foot sons of the flower of Christian chivalry, busily chasing each other up and down the rocky mountain slopes when there doesn't happen to be anyone else around to kill. But this contrast bothers us—surely there must be something wrong somewhere. So let us take a

2:Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 163A]
[Pp. 103B-162B not processed]



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We have already seen that the Saharan Tuareg are famous for their extreme tallness, which, however, has often been grievously exaggerated. The fact remains, nevertheless, that they are the tallest people in our area and among the tallest in the world. The mean stature of males is approximately 5 feet 8 inches, a bare ½ inch below the American male mean, but individual statures vary widely, from about 5 feet to 6 feet 5½ inches in the series that have been published. The legs of Tuareg men are relatively long but their arms are of only ordinary length in relation to their stature. Leblanc (1928–29, vol. 39, p. 22), followed occasionally by more recent authors (*e.g.*, Lhote, 1955, p. 165 and Blanguernon, 1955, p. 43), listed excess of span over stature as one of the two most distinctive physical peculiarities of the Tuareg. A glance at table A–11 shows that his theory has no foundation whatever in fact, for span exceeds stature in nearly all human populations everywhere, while even the Mzabites and humble Haratin are set apart much more distinctly in this respect than are the Tuareg. Tuareg shoulders are narrow both relatively and absolutely, by European standards, and hips are rather narrow too. Chests are small and relatively flat.

The heads of the Tuareg are typically longish, with a mean cephalic index just below the lower limit of mesocephaly, but occasional individuals have low brachycephalic indices. Faces are moderately short and wide, with foreheads that are often very broad by European standards although relatively narrower than those of other Saharan groups. Lower jaws are narrow both relatively and absolutely.

[1] Dixon (1923, p. 21) described his fundamental "Proto-Negroid" type merely as Dolichocephalic (long headed), Hypsicephalic (high headed) and

*THE TUAREG*

141 Noses are of medium length and fairly broad, with a mean index that is high by European standards but only average for the Sahara. Ears are moderately large in size and of ordinary proportions (figs. 46–54).

142 Leblanc (1928–29, vol. 39, p. 20), again followed by Lhote (1955, pp. 162 and 165), has laid great stress on the nasal profile as the prime distinctive racial characteristic of the Tuareg. "The Targui nose," he wrote, "is high, narrow at the root, long, slightly aquiline, but never convex in its entirety as one finds among Semitic types. . . . *It ends in a narrow and drooping point*" (the italics are his). But this peculiar nasal profile does not appear to occur in females, nor is it found in all of the men by any means. In fact, the present author is inclined to think that it is probably not a heritable character at all, but merely an artificial deformation produced by the pressure of the veil which the older boys and men of the Tuareg bind, often tightly, across the lower half of the nose (fig. 26, *b*).

Unexposed skin is usually white or pale brunet. As Duveyrier (1864, p. 382) wrote, it is white in infancy but becomes quickly bronzed by exposure to the sun. The degree of tanning is extremely variable, however, and may sometimes be related to incipient blondism or rufousity on the one hand or to negroid admixture on the other.

Eye color varies normally from light to very dark brown, but blue and mixed eyes do occur occasionally in spite of all that has been said to the contrary (Leblanc, 1928–29, vol. 39, pp. 20 and 33; Lhote, 1955, p. 163). In April, 1956, Henri J. Hugot (*verb. com.*) met a Targui of

Platyrrhine (broad nosed), and his "Caspian" type as Dolichocephalic, Hypsicephalic and Leptorrhine (narrow nosed).

174 565 793 its rank, or even its class as a result of events of war or of too frequent or too strong splits, sometimes decides to declare itself /163/ marabout. Piety is not indispensable for this; the tribe need only stop pillaging its neighbors and bearing arms. If some of them display the appearances of pious Moslems, learn a bit of the Koran, and wear beads, particularly if they can refer to some Arab ancestor, who formerly took refuge in the tribe, they succeed in being classed as marabouts after a certain time." (1)

1. Commander Cauvet,
Les noms des tribus Touaregs
/Names of Tuareg Tribes/,
p. 10.

565 793 In tribes which really practice their religion in a more serious way than most of the Tuareg, he continues, there is surely an instillation of foreign blood, sometimes Semitic and often earlier than the Arab invasion. Without discussing here the reasons on which Commander Cauvet stands in speaking of the infusion of Semitic blood into the Ichériffen, we shall recall what we have already said, that we were strongly struck to find persons of a Semitic appearance, particularly marked in the old man, among the Ichériffen from the region of Gao and the Kel Es-Souq of Mohamed Ouguinat.

[144] [142]

565 631 793 The explorer Duveyrier, who lived for a long time among the northern Ifôra, considered them former nobles "who had abdicated any political role in the administration of the confederation in order to conquer a greater religious authority, necessary in a society where justice is represented by no power." (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 132.

He attributed to them a great moral and religious activity. It is true that certain Ifôra chiefs, like Sheik Othman who was one of

326 grubbing gardeners alike. They have turned their status as "untouchables" to their own advantage and so remain untouched.

326 Physically the smiths of the Ahaggar cover the whole range of human variation between
142 the Bush Negro type on the one hand and the Berber variety of Mediterranean on the other, but they seem to fall mostly within a highly variable category characterized in general by "European" features combined with a yellowish brown or occasionally coppery skin, thickish lips, and curly or frizzled hair. They are lean in build as a rule, but seem softer and less wiry than the more active Tuareg (fig. 57, *a*).

326 And this brings us to another exasperating blank in our picture of Saharan peoples. The
174 smiths of the Ahaggar claim to have come from the Adrar n Ifoghas and to be related to the families of smiths who live there now, and Benhazera (1908, pp. 221 and 223) reproduced an old Arabic text which states that "the smiths and the Fulani have the same mother." Cline (1937, p. 141) maintained that the art of smelting iron was introduced into the western Sudan by "camel-riding Berbers" from the North, across the Sahara. But no one really has any idea where the smiths of the Ahaggar actually did come from or when, where and from whom they first learned their trade. No one, so far as the present writer knows, has ever published measurements or blood group classifications of a single one of them, and no one seems to have found out anything to speak of about their social organization or even their kinship terminology. Not a dozen photographs of their faces are available to students. Why? Simply because the Tuareg are spectacularly romantic while the smiths are not.[13] The smiths of the Ahaggar and of the Sahara as a whole have suffered the same fate that the Spanish gypsies might have suffered had George Borrow not been born, and, like the Spanish gypsies, they are
614 disappearing fast.

565 A number of vassal clans of the Ahaggar
173 confederation are said to be of Arab or mixed

[114] [13] Here the author has laid himself wide open to a very embarrassing question. "Why," he seems to hear the frustrated reader ask, "haven't you done something to fill this aching void yourself since you find it so distressing?" The author's time in the field has been severely limited by the exigencies of writing this preliminary survey, and recently by political

2:Briggs E-4,5 (ca.1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P.163B] Hoggar



141 Noses are of medium length and fairly broad, with a mean index that is high by European standards but only average for the Sahara. Ears are moderately large in size and of ordinary proportions (figs. 46–54).

142 Leblanc (1928–29, vol. 39, p. 20), again followed by Lhote (1955, pp. 162 and 165), has laid great stress on the nasal profile as the prime distinctive racial characteristic of the Tuareg. "The Targui nose," he wrote, "is high, narrow at the root, long, slightly aquiline, but never convex in its entirety as one finds among Semitic types. . . . *It ends in a narrow and drooping point*" (the italics are his). But this peculiar nasal profile does not appear to occur in females, nor is it found in all of the men by any means. In fact, the present author is inclined to think that it is probably not a heritable character at all, but merely an artificial deformation produced by the pressure of the veil which the older boys and men of the Tuareg bind, often tightly, across the lower half of the nose (fig. 26, *b*).

Unexposed skin is usually white or pale brunet. As Duveyrier (1864, p. 382) wrote, it is white in infancy but becomes quickly bronzed by exposure to the sun. The degree of tanning is extremely variable, however, and may sometimes be related to incipient blondism or rufousity on the one hand or to negroid admixture on the other.

Eye color varies normally from light to very dark brown, but blue and mixed eyes do occur occasionally in spite of all that has been said to the contrary (Leblanc, 1928–29, vol. 39, pp. 20 and 33; Lhote, 1955, p. 163). In April, 1956, Henri J. Hugot (*verb. com.*) met a Targui of

Platyrrhine (broad nosed), and his "Caspian" type as Dolichocephalic, Hypsicephalic and Leptorrhine (narrow nosed).

142 the Mouydir region who was about 5 feet 10 inches tall, and had "an ivory white skin and very pure sky-blue eyes." General Daumas (1845, p. 326) and Duveyrier (1864, p. 382) both reported blue eyes as occurring now and then among the northern Tuareg, while Saïd (1903, p. 36), Verneau (1916, p. 240) and Rodd (1926, p. 161) speak of blue and gray eyes among their southern cousins. Eyes other than brown must be really rare in the Ahaggar, however, for the author has not observed any there himself, while both Blanguernon and Pierre Cocquet (one of the oldest European inhabitants of Tamanrasset) could remember only two Tuareg men with blue or gray-blue (or light mixed?) eyes when he questioned them on this subject in November, 1955.

Hair color in adults is practically always very dark brown or black. Lhote (1955) says, however, that blond babies are not uncommon, which suggests the possible presence of a partially submerged factor for blondism. He also mentions having seen an adult male Targui of the Ajjer who had red hair and "albino eyes." Hair form varies normally from straight to curly, with a small minority in the frizzly to woolly range.

Tuareg women appear to be fairly tall, but with arms and legs of only moderate length in relation to their bodies. The few female facial measurements that have been recorded suggest that their faces are both smaller and relatively narrower than those of males—and yet, the author cannot refrain from recording his impression that the flaring malars of Tuareg women often give them a startling resemblance to Indian women of the southwestern United States and Mexico, a trait that does not seem to be shared by their menfolk. Female noses are markedly narrower than are those of men, but this again may be due only to the fact that women wear no veils.

143 The Tuareg of the Sahara, and even their cousins who live south of the Desert proper, all show typically Berber *ABO* blood group patterns which set them clearly apart from all other Saharan peoples whose blood has been examined, except for the Teda. In fact we can say that the northern and southern Tuareg, of the Ajjer country and the Aïr respectively, are "super-Berbers" in their very high *O* percentages, while the Ahaggar Tuareg,

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 261]

[Pp. 252-260 not processed]



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Fig. 46. Noble Tuareg (Kel Rela) of the Ahaggar. (*After* Draper, 1931, pls. 33 and 34.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 262]



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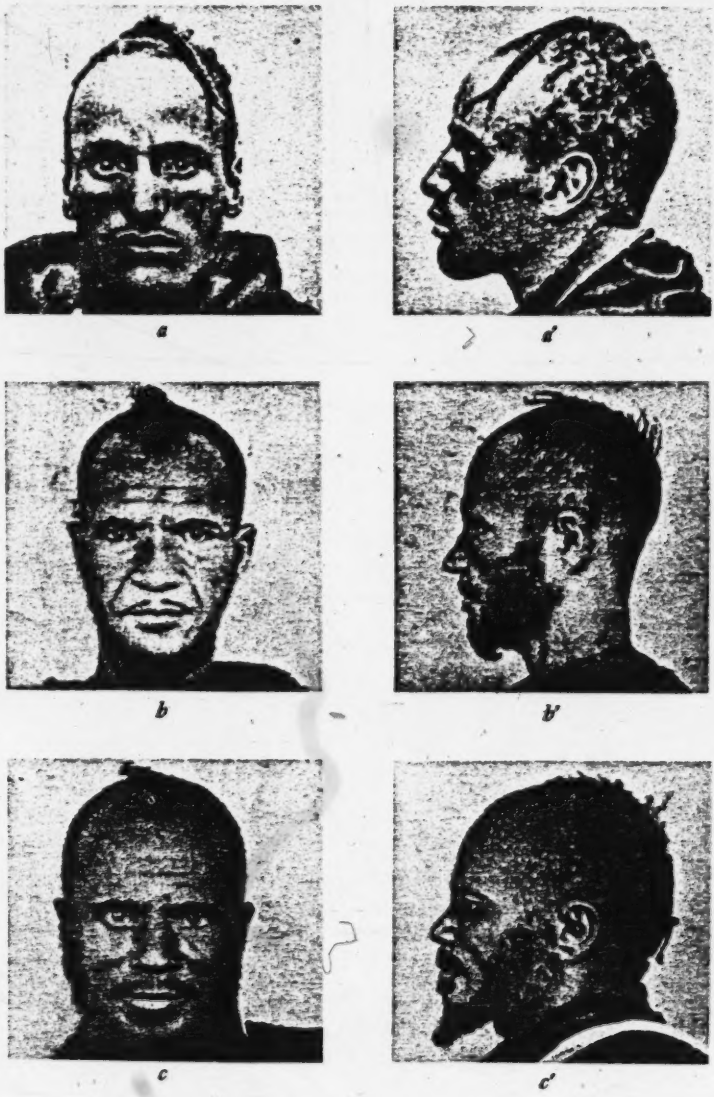


Fig. 47. Vassal Tuareg of the Ahaggar. (*After* Draper, 1931, pls. 32 and 34.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P. 263] Hoggar



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301
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*a*

*b*

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516
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*c*

Fig. 48. Tuareg women of the Ahaggar. (Photographs: *a*, by *Life* photographer David Douglas Duncan, © *Time*, Inc.; *b*, by A. J. Weber; *c*, by P. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 264]

[Pp. 265-289 not processed]



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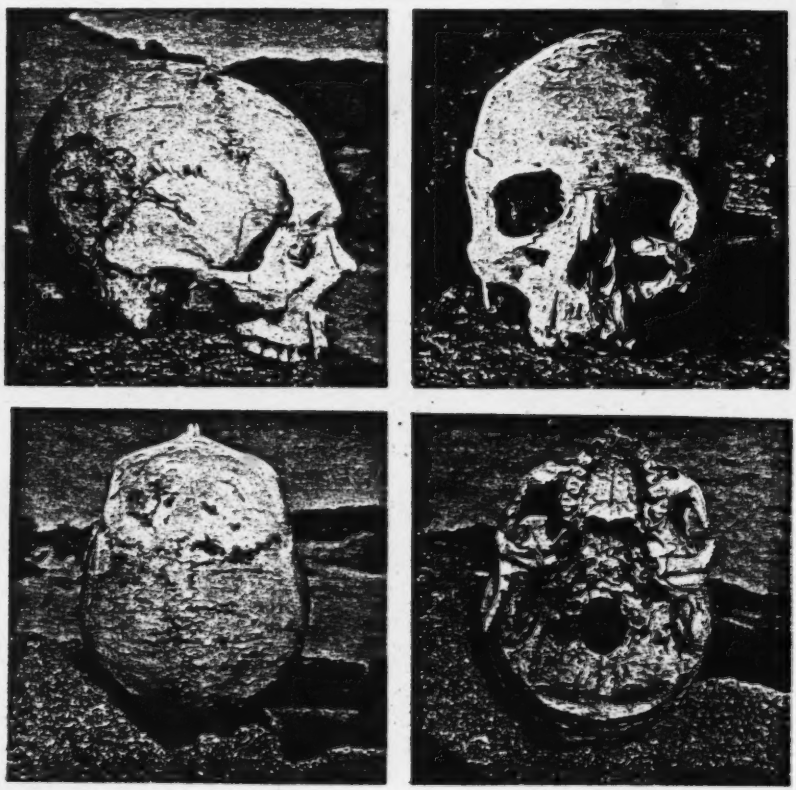

Fig. 49. The skull of a warrior of the Ahaggar Tuareg, killed at the battle of Tir (May 7, 1902), aged 25-30. (Note the extreme development of all muscular attachments, the very light wear on the teeth, and the absence of the upper third molars.) (Photographs by L. C. Briggs.)

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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17. Beyh ag Sidi Moussa, nephew of the present amenokal.

[p. 202]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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18. Rhama, woman of the Iklān Taoussit tribe.

[p. 203]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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22. Young harratin of Ideles.

[p. 209]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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23. A hartani type.

[p. 210]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MA25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

563
854
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142

38. Young Targui and his black servant at Ideles.

[p. 226]

7:Nicolaisen, E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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565

Boy of the noble class, *Kel Tahabanat* on the Niger.

[p. x]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



565 619 *Imrad* (sing. *Amrid*). People of this class are sometimes called "serfs" in literature, but the word "vassals" is also used. I prefer to use the latter term, but add that the word *Imrad* is most difficult to translate into an European language. The vassal class is represented in all groups with the exception of the *Kel Geres*. Among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden* the word *Kel Ulli* (sing. *Agg Ulli*) is used synonymously with *Imrad*. Among south-western Tuareg around Timbuktu the word *Daga* or *Dara* is also used to designate vassals. The *Imrad* class is by far the most numerous in most groups. The relationship between these vassals (*Imrad*) and the noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, *Imajeren*) forms the basis of most political systems which are described later (p. 393 ff.).

101 565 Members of the above-mentioned classes are true Tuareg, though the word *Ineslemen* is also used for marabuts of other peoples and for marabuts of various black-skinned castes found among the Tuareg. Among the Northern Tuareg all people of the above-mentioned classes with the exception of certain *Ineslemen* or marabuts are called *Imuhar* (sing. *Amahar*). The Ayr Tuareg have no such common term to designate the people known to us as *Tuareg*, but occasionally they use generically the word *Imajeren* though strictly speaking this term should be reserved for Tuareg of the supreme noble class.

101 The word *Tuareg* (sing. *Targi*) is never used by the Tuareg themselves, but by Arabs. Duveyrier claims it to be derived from an Arabic word of the root *terek* meaning "to abandon". The meaning of the word accordingly should be "those abandoned (by God)", and should refer to the fact that many Tuareg do not follow Islamic rules very strictly (Duveyrier 1864, p. 317 f.). The same explanation has also been given to me by an Arab of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe of Tidikelt. However, the origin of the word "*Tuareg*" is perhaps a different one: – It may be related to the word *Targa* (Ayr) or *Targa* (Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer), which name is used by the Tuareg to designate the part of the Sahara generally known to us by the Arabic word *Fezzan*. This is very likely, as we know from Arab authors of the Middle Ages that the word *Targa* or *Targa* was then used as a name for a very important Tuareg group living in that area and adjacent regions (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 83 f.; Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 534; Rodd 1926a, p. 273 f.).

142 144 The Tuareg are fair-skinned people who in certain regions and particularly in the south have mixed with Negroes. The Northern Tuareg are predominantly fair-skinned, and many of them are as "white" as Europeans though perhaps a little yellowish or brownish. It is difficult to determine their exact skin colour because they are burned and tanned by the sun and the hot wind characteristic of desert climate. In addition, the Tuareg wear clothes dyed with indigo which comes off on the body, and they rarely wash. When I lived among them my own skin-colour and that of the Tuareg were practically identical. Among the Ayr Tuareg there are also many fair-skinned people, but the Ayr Tuareg are more mixed with Negroes than the Northern Tuareg, and most *Kel Ewey* are predominantly negroid. Very mixed also are the *Kel Geres* and the same seems to hold for other Tuareg groups of the south. A few blond individuals have been recorded from the *Kel Aijer* living around the oases of Rat and Radames, and they may be the offspring of unions between Tuareg women and caravan traders of the north (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 162 f.). The blond individuals met in Southern Ayr are the offspring of the fairly numerous marriages between Frenchmen and Tuareg women, but it is claimed that a few years ago a very blond girl was born to parents of families which had never contracted marriages

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Fig. 3. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Iklan-en-tawsit* tribe.

Fig. 4. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

142 with the French. I have myself never seen a genuine blond Tuareg, but I have met a few albinos though
144 albinism seems to be rare. These observations agree with those of Lhote (1955a, p. 163). All the Tuareg
[143] I have seen had curly or straight black hair, and dark brown or almost black eyes. Many individuals
had fairly broad faces with protuding cheeks which gave them superficially a mongoloid appearance,
142 while others had features more like Mediterranean Europeans. In literature the Tuareg are generally
described as very tall people. I did not myself carry out anthropological measurements, but will not
hesitate to state that in my opinion a great many Tuareg are far from big. Very many adult men in the
groups I have visited were considerably shorter than myself (1.73 m). Tuareg men are generally dry
[147] and meagre, bearing the stamp of their roaming life in the desert. Their most outstanding quality is
[65] that of endurance and contempt of hunger and hardship. The appearance of Tuareg women is often
quite different – they tend to grow fat. This is probably to some extent due to the fact that married
826 women spend most of their life in the tents and get little physical exercise. But fatness is also a sign
832 of feminine beauty, and some women make a great effort to grow fat by drinking milk or eating
[261] certain fattening plants (cf. p. 177, 178). According to some Tuareg fat women symbolize wealth – large
flocks and herds, and much milk – but many Tuareg also say that they prefer fat women because they

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826 832 142 114 get more sexual satisfaction from intercourse with them. "A fat woman is like a woman who has never known a man", they say. Some women are steatopygous though never to the same extent as women among the Bushmen and the Hottentot. Very comprehensive studies of Tuareg physical anthropology are lacking. Readers are referred to the chapter written by Lhote who has also published a brief bibliography of studies on this subject (Lhote 1955a, p. 158–170, 433), and to the recent and valuable publication by Briggs (Briggs 1958, p. 163 ff., 183 ff.).

291 The custom of Tuareg face veiling has attracted the curiosity of many scholars and travellers. Much has been written about the fact that Tuareg men wear a veil (*tagulmust* in Ahaggar, *tagulmust* in Ayr) while their women are unveiled in contrast to Arab custom. There have been given various explanations of the origin of the custom of Tuareg face veiling. Most authors refer it to hygienic conditions: the veil protects the face from sand and dust, and it prevents mouth, nose, and throat from drying up in hot weather. The fact is that the veil has the latter function, and Arab bedouins of the Sahara will also frequently veil their faces during journeys in the hot season. But the hygienic explanation is definitely not the reason why the Tuareg also veil themselves in many situations where face veiling is unpractical and unpleasant. Another explanation of the custom of face veiling is that the veil may perhaps have certain religious or magic functions. This explanation is apparently also insufficient. A [254] few Tuareg have claimed that the veil may yield protection from persons having an "evil eye" or an "evil mouth" beliefs known in Ahaggar as *tehof*, in Ayr as *tugarchet*. But as I have stated elsewhere 291 (Nicolaisen 1957a, p. 112; 1961, p. 114) the proper function of face veiling seems to be a social one. 576 Many Tuareg will leave their face uncovered in family camps or on journeys, but they will always [602] cover mouth, nose, and brow in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) and in the [604] presence of their parents-in-law (particularly their mothers-in-law). Towards such persons it is also considered very indecent to show one's legs. It has been overlooked by most authors that Tuareg women wear a head-cloth (*ékerhey* in Ahaggar, *adalil* in Ayr), which is similar to the veil worn by men in form and shape. The headcloth and the veil are properly made from Sudanese indigo cotton, and both the veil and the headcloth are therefore also known as *alechchu*. It is true that Tuareg women do not veil their face by means of this headcloth in the same way as do the men. But in the presence [602] of foreigners (particularly foreign men) and towards fathers-in-law the women will draw their head- [604] cloth over their mouth (cf. Fig. 297a). The man's veil and the woman's headcloth have identical social functions which is also proved by the fact that young men and women adopt veil or headcloth at initiation (Ahaggar), or at marriage (Ayr). Both the veil and the headcloth are worn by people of various black-skinned castes of Tuareg country but the custom of face veiling seems to be more strictly observed among the true Tuareg.

181 The custom of face veiling is one characteristic of all Tuareg. Another quality peculiar to all Tuareg, and particularly to those of the noble class, is their "snobbishness" as it is frequently called by many Frenchmen living at Tamanraset and Agadez. There are a great many things a Tuareg cannot do, and there are many situations in which he will have to act in a very special way if he is to be regarded as a man worthy of respect and prestige. Tuareg attitudes to etiquette are not easily described in words. Gait, gestures, and postures are all intended to express qualities of elegance, arrogance, refinement, and strength. Vanity with regard to dress and ornaments is another characteristic of all true Tuareg.

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Fig. 7. Tuareg boy of the vassal tribe *Imezzureg* in Ayr.

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Foucauld states that it does not refer to black skin-colour but only to membership of a particular caste (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 787). However, Tuareg slaves are Negroes taken during raids and warfare in the Sudan or bought from slave markets in Sudanese towns and cities. The Sudanese origin of slaves is also indicated by the Ahaggar word *Ibenheren* (sing. *Ébenher*), which term refers to a slave who speaks only a Sudanese language. It is frequently used by Northern Tuareg as an abuse of their slaves, particularly of slave children. Among the Northern Tuareg slavery is still practised with the tacit consent of the French military administration. Most Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have slaves to take care of flocks and herds and to perform various domestic tasks. These slaves live in pastoral camps of the Tuareg, and in Ahaggar they have frequently told me that they felt superior to the black-skinned agriculturists though the latter largely descend from freed slaves. In the Southern Tuareg groups slavery is officially abolished, perhaps because the Southern Tuareg are governed by civil administrators. But it seems as if the official abolition of slavery in the south was also a result of the Tuareg revolt against the French 1916–1917, and very few Ayr Tuareg have slaves nowadays. However, the manumission of slaves is not just a recent phenomenon due to European influence. Slaves have been freed long before the advent of French colonization at the beginning of our century. There are in the south whole groups of slaves who have been manumitted at an unknown date in the past, and these people are known among the Ayr Tuareg by the term *Iṛawélen* most of whom are nomadic stock-breeders culturally akin to true pastoral Tuareg. They are also known by the Hausa term *Buzu*, which term again corresponds to the Sonṛay word *Béllа*. This latter word, however, may sometimes refer also to people who are considered a kind of slaves by the Tuareg. Nicolas divides the freed slaves among the *Iwllemmeden* into three groups, viz. *Iklan-n-Egef*, *Irawelan*, and *Iderfan*. The two first groups comprise pastoralists also known as *Buzu*, or *Béllа*, while most members of the last

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564 region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed*
[463] (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Ahaggar to cultivate
[567] gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaren*, or *Ḥarratin*, like the
[191] immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual, speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahaḳ*). The *Izeggaren* (*Ḥarratin*) are generally less
[144] negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features.
[142] Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*) refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaren* does not seem to exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Ṛat oasis known as *Ikewweren* apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

[361] *Kel Ġanet* (sing. *W' Ġanet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ġanet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-
[144] n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ġanet* have much the same position as
[565] Tuareg vassals (Imṛad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ġanet* immigrants, their status is rather
[567] like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ġanet* may possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

564 *Ineden* (*Ineḍen* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Êned*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg
326 groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one. People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only
[162] a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the
564 blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna*
173 *Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963). A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Tementit in Tawat. At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.). 2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and
564 Adṛar-n-Foṛas. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of
144 them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

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Fig. 10. Young man of the sedentary *Kel Ganet* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. He is yet too young to wear the veil which is used also by these Tuareg-speaking people of Ganet.

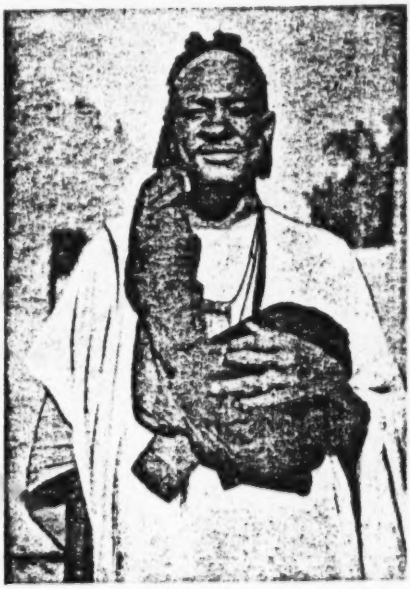

Fig. 11. Unveiled blacksmith. His racial features are predominantly negroid though his skin colour is yellow-brown rather than black. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

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From Ayr Tuareg who had much contact with blacksmiths I collected the following words of *ténet* language:—

| *ténet* | *tamachek* | *English* |
|---|---|---|
| *wochimbagen* | *ineden* | blacksmiths |
| *wosilkum* | *echink* | porridge |
| *tikulkumin* (pl.) | *tikammarin* | cheese |
| *ohundegan* | *aman* | water |
| *ogera* | *éṛef* | head |
| *tokonderey* | *timezzugin* | ears |
| *tedroragen* | *titawin* | eyes |

Prasse is of the opinion that the secret language of the blacksmiths is a kind of slang consisting of circumlocutions of everyday words, but derived from nothing but the local dialect itself. He suggests the following tentative interpretations of some of the words I have noted:— *wa chenbeyen* = "the blackheaded one"; *wa s ilkem* = "the one it follows" or: "sticks to"; *agera* = "leather bag".

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But pastoralists of Arab descent are limited to a few scattered individuals or families in the Ayr area in contrast to the extended Sudanese country around the Niger, where whole pastoral tribes claim patrilineal descent from Arabs, while matrilineally most of them are Tuareg. 101 563

There are many other people within the extended country inhabited by the Tuareg. Very important in the south is a numerous population of Hausa-speaking Negroes. The so-called *Imeggedezen* (sing. *Ameggedez*) of Agadez speak Hausa which language is spoken by various other sedentary people of that region and further south. There are also a few Sonray-speaking people at Agadez, and Ingal further west is predominantly inhabited by Sonray-speakers known to the Ayr Tuareg as *Isaweren*. The Sonray, as is well known, are now found almost exclusively along the Niger, but Ayr was once conquered by the Sonray, and Barth describes Agadez as a Sonray-speaking city. [197]

In the south the pastoral Fulani are now invading the grazing grounds formerly reserved to and owned by the Tuareg. Camps of pastoral Fulani are frequently seen nowadays even as far north as the southern outskirts of the Ayr Massif around Agadez and Ingal. When grazing is good the Fulani may even move further north into the Talak plains with their herds of long-horned cattle. Many other people are frequently met in Tuareg country, e.g. the Tebu, and the Kanuri, who frequently come to Agadez. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are even a few individuals who descend from Tebu women.

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Fig. 13. Mother and son. Slaves of the Tuareg in Ayr.

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292 ceremonial ridings as those described on p. 104 f. I have been informed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr that bandoleers were used exclusively for such purposes. Rodd depicts a rock-drawing from Timia in Ayr and believes that it perhaps represents a man wearing a bandoleer (Rood 1926a, p. 194, pl. 40 p. 305). This may be so, but I have been told by Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group that bandoleers were introduced among the Ayr Tuareg by the French when they formed the camel patrol made up of Tuareg from different Ayr tribes. However, my informants also claimed that the use of bandoleers for camel riders was an ancient custom in the north among the Ahaggar Tuareg, from where it was introduced to Ayr by the French. Informants of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer told me that the custom was traditional to noble Tuareg but not to vassals, though Tuareg of the vassal class also wear bandoleers nowadays.

291 Apart from the head-cloth (*ékerhey*) the following garments are typical of Northern Tuareg women:— (1) *iékamist*, that is a large and wide shirt of cotton, in form and cut identical with the man's shirt; (2) *asegbes*, a large piece of cotton used for a skirt or a petticoat; this is fixed tightly around the waist merely by folding it at the upper edge; (3) *tikest*, a large piece of cotton worn as a shawl over the shoulders and head, covering the head-cloth.

In addition to the head-cloth (*adalil*), which they frequently wear rolled up on the top of the head, Tuareg women of the *Kel Ferwan* group wear three main garments:— (1) *aftek*, a very short shirt of poncho cut. It is very akin to the shirt worn by Hausa-speaking women of Agadez, who use the words

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Fig. 237. Slave-boy wearing the loin-cloth depicted above Fig. 238. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe.

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Songhai MS20



or two arches according to its size. The arches are known as *igagan* (sing. *agĕgu*). They consist of several rods lashed together with plant material. According to Nicolas, these tents are used by semi-nomads and also by members of the *Kel Ansar* tribe who live half of the year in the southern agricultural zone where they use mat tents. The rest of the time these Tuareg live in skin tents which form the traditional dwelling of the *Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156 f.). T 342*

Many other authors have mentioned the existence of mat tents of arch construction in Southern Tuareg country, but no description of their structure has so far been furnished.

Barth states that Tagāma and many vassals of the *Iwllemmeden* have portable huts covered with mats (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372 f.). He adds that the inhabitants of these dwellings have fairer skins than the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 597 f.). Barth also mentions the occurrence of mat-covered dwellings at an Isāḥegen camp on the Niger between Burem and Gao. These dwellings belonged to Arabs of the *Bū 'Alī* tribe, and to Tuareg of the *Kel-e'-Sūk*. The mat-covered huts had two openings turning north and south (Barth 1857–58, V, p. 201). T [142] T [171]

Hourst depicts mat-covered arched dwellings at Rhergo on the Niger. One of his photographs shows a hut which, judging its outer form, is perhaps identical with the mat-covered tent of the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*. The dwellings depicted by Hourst belonged to dark-skinned cherifs of the noble Tuareg tribe called *Igwadaren* (Hourst 1898, p. 105 ff., 133).

Chudeau depicts mat-covered arched dwellings belonging to the *Bélla* of the Niger. These dwellings apparently belong to the *ẓwerwer* type (cf. p. 350 f.) (Chudeau 1909, p. XXXII–XXXIII p. 218).

Delafosse states that the Tuareg have hemispherical dwellings covered with mats (Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334).

Le Coeur has seen mat-covered arched dwellings at Gao and at Tabankort south-west of Adṛaṛ of the Ifoṛas (Le Coeur 1937, p. 42 f.), and a photograph in the collection of Musée de l'homme seems to indicate that such dwellings are found in "Adrar Nigritien" (Collection Photographique du Musée de l'homme, Cl. Nieger, 34.1105).

Gabus says that among the Tuareg of the Niger the *Bélla* live in mat-covered tents. The noble Tuareg have skin tents, but they live in mat-covered tents or in straw-huts during the months of April, May, and June (Gabus 1945, p. 361).

We can add that the Sonṛay, who live within the Southern Tuareg country along the Niger, also largely use mat-covered arched dwellings. This is richly documented in literature:— Barth 1857–58, V, p. 160, 163, 165 f.; Dubois 1897, p. 232 f. & 1911, p. 33; Aymard 1908, p. 183 & 1911, p. 144 pl. 25; Olufsen 1928, p. 137; Urvoy 1942, pl. II, 3; Gabus 1948a, p. 10 & 1948b, p. 15; Prost 1954, p. 184 ff.; Rouch 1954, p. 31 f.). These barrel-vaulted mat-covered dwellings of the Sonṛay do not seem to be structurally identical with those used among pastoral Tuareg – for they seem to lack the horizontal cross-bars at the narrow sides. The mat-covered huts or tents I saw between Niamey and Ayoru along the Niger were covered with a kind of *ẓwerwer* mats and almost hemispherical in form – like two mat-covered huts (from the Woggo and the Kurtey) which are now in the IFAN Museum at Niamey. Gabus states as his opinion that the Sonṛay dwellings are related to Tuareg mat tents by which they have been strongly influenced (Gabus 1948a, p. 10 & 1948b, p. 15). I believe that their origin may perhaps be explained by the fact that the Sonṛay have been culturally influenced by Tuareg invaders T 342* 171 S 342 [171] [131] [113] S [172]

142 the Mouydir region who was about 5 feet 10 inches tall, and had "an ivory white skin and very pure sky-blue eyes." General Daumas (1845, p. 326) and Duveyrier (1864, p. 382) both reported blue eyes as occurring now and then among the northern Tuareg, while Saïd (1903, p. 36), Verneau (1916, p. 240) and Rodd (1926, p. 161) speak of blue and gray eyes among their southern cousins. Eyes other than brown must be really rare in the Ahaggar, however, for the author has not observed any there himself, while both Blanguernon and Pierre Cocquet (one of the oldest European inhabitants of Tamanrasset) could remember only two Tuareg men with blue or gray-blue (or light mixed?) eyes when he questioned them on this subject in November, 1955.

Hair color in adults is practically always very dark brown or black. Lhote (1955) says, however, that blond babies are not uncommon, which suggests the possible presence of a partially submerged factor for blondism. He also mentions having seen an adult male Targui of the Ajjer who had red hair and "albino eyes." Hair form varies normally from straight to curly, with a small minority in the frizzly to woolly range.

Tuareg women appear to be fairly tall, but with arms and legs of only moderate length in relation to their bodies. The few female facial measurements that have been recorded suggest that their faces are both smaller and relatively narrower than those of males—and yet, the author cannot refrain from recording his impression that the flaring malars of Tuareg women often give them a startling resemblance to Indian women of the southwestern United States and Mexico, a trait that does not seem to be shared by their menfolk. Female noses are markedly narrower than are those of men, but this again may be due only to the fact that women wear no veils.

The Tuareg of the Sahara, and even their
● 143 cousins who live south of the Desert proper, all show typically Berber *ABO* blood group patterns which set them clearly apart from all other Saharan peoples whose blood has been examined, except for the Teda. In fact we can say that the northern and southern Tuareg, of the Ajjer country and the Aïr respectively, are "super-Berbers" in their very high *O* percentages, while the Ahaggar Tuareg,

143 curiously enough, seem to be slightly less "pure" in this respect. The latter group, however, has a very low incidence of *B*, which is another typically Berber character and suggests, moreover, a relatively low degree of negroid admixture.

The Ajjer Tuareg are the only people of the Sahara who have been examined for blood group factors other than those of the *ABO* series, and they have been tested in addition only for gross *Rh* positive and negative reactions. The results of these tests indicate that the Saharan Tuareg have an extremely high incidence of *Rh* —, comparable to what one finds among Moroccan Berbers. Kabyles too have moderately high *Rh* — percentages, which, however, do not appear to exceed those of Arabic-speaking groups of Morocco and northern Algeria (Briggs, 1955b, p. 112). This latter situation is due probably to the fact that speakers of Berber and Arabic have intermingled extensively over the last 900 years in most of Barbary, excepting the more remote mountain districts of Morocco. Tuareg of the Aïr, which lies south of the Ahaggar and outside of the Sahara proper, have a very low incidence of *Rh* —, indicating extensive negroid admixture which has, nevertheless, had surprisingly little effect on their outward appearance.

In closing our discussion of Tuareg serology, we may add that the typically Berber combination of very high *O*, low *B* and very high *Rh* — finds a striking parallel among the Basques, who live in the mountainous frontier country that lies between France and Spain. We are still in no position, however, even to make a guess as to what this extremely curious coincidence may mean.

174 The possible origins of the Tuareg have been discussed far more extensively and by more authors than those of any other Saharan [114] people. Barth (1857–58), Duveyrier (1864), Rodd (1926), Lhote (1955) and Blanguernon (1955), to mention only a few, have devoted dozens of pages to the subject. But their original sources consisted only of the writings of Classical and Mediæval Arab historians and travelers, whose verbose, obscure and contradictory statements hardly allow of any broad deductions above the level of rough guesswork, and of the traditions of the Tuareg

144 seem to be very close to northern Berbers, and particularly to relatively isolated and supposedly purer populations, notably the Rifians and Baamaranis (figs. 66 and 67), of northeastern and southwestern Morocco. They resemble these peoples in arm length, head form, facial proportions in general, nose length and nasal profile, hair form and skin color. They differ from the northern Berbers chiefly in that they have narrower shoulders and hips, longer legs, slightly broader noses, longer ears and darker hair and eyes. Their chests are smaller and flatter than those of Rifians or Kabyles but no more so than those of Baamaranis. Tuareg women are distinguished particularly by their short upper faces, narrow foreheads and long noses. We note in passing that the Tuareg seem to be closer in general to the Rifians and Baamaranis than to their eastern cousins.

Thus it is apparent that, metrically speaking, the Tuareg are markedly differentiated from northern Berber stocks only by a more elongated and refined general morphology, the details of which may well be adaptive characters developed locally in response to the extreme stresses of the central Saharan environment, as Bates (1914, p. 33) noted long ago. The broadness of adult male noses is probably due to nothing more than the pressure of the veil, although there may be an adaptive factor also involved. The rareness of light hair and eyes may possibly have been [143] brought about by genetic drift operating in a population where endogamy within the tribe and usually within the clan has long been customary.

Thus we see that the Saharan Tuareg seem to fit very well, both metrically and morphologically, into the great Berber family of Northwest Africa in which their membership has already been established on the basis of both linguistic and serological evidence. But much work still remains to be done before we can even begin to define their relationships to other members of this family or to the other peoples of the Sahara who surround them on three sides.

Boston Museum of Fine Arts, George M. A. Hanfmann and Hugh Hencken of Harvard University, and Raymond Mauny of the *Institut Français de l'Afrique Noire* at Dakar.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 3. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Iklan-en-tawsit* tribe.

Fig. 4. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

142 with the French. I have myself never seen a genuine blond Tuareg, but I have met a few albinos though
144 albinism seems to be rare. These observations agree with those of Lhote (1955a, p. 163). All the Tuareg
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142 while others had features more like Mediterranean Europeans. In literature the Tuareg are generally
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quite different – they tend to grow fat. This is probably to some extent due to the fact that married
826 women spend most of their life in the tents and get little physical exercise. But fatness is also a sign
832 of feminine beauty, and some women make a great effort to grow fat by drinking milk or eating
[261] certain fattening plants (cf. p. 177, 178). According to some Tuareg fat women symbolize wealth – large
flocks and herds, and much milk – but many Tuareg also say that they prefer fat women because they

174 its rank, or even its class as a result of events of war or of too fre-
565 quent or too strong splits, sometimes decides to declare itself /163/
793 marabout. Piety is not indispensable for this; the tribe need only stop pillaging its neighbors and bearing arms. If some of them display the appearances of pious Moslems, learn a bit of the Koran, and wear beads, particularly if they can refer to some Arab ancestor, who formerly took refuge in the tribe, they succeed in being classed as marabouts after a certain time." (1)

1. Commander Cauvet,
Les noms des tribus Touaregs
/Names of Tuareg Tribes/,
p. 10.

565 In tribes which really practice their religion in a more serious
793 way than most of the Tuareg, he continues, there is surely an instillation of foreign blood, sometimes Semitic and often earlier
[144] than the Arab invasion. Without discussing here the reasons on which Commander Cauvet stands in speaking of the infusion of
[142] Semitic blood into the Ichériffen, we shall recall what we have already said, that we were strongly struck to find persons of a Semitic appearance, particularly marked in the old man, among the Ichériffen from the region of Gao and the Kel Es-Souq of Mohamed Ouguinat.

The explorer Duveyrier, who lived for a long time among the
565 northern Ifôra, considered them former nobles "who had abdicated
631 any political role in the administration of the confederation in
793 order to conquer a greater religious authority, necessary in a society where justice is represented by no power." (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 132.

He attributed to them a great moral and religious activity. It is true that certain Ifôra chiefs, like Sheik Othman who was one of

184 The Inislimen way of life is the same as that of the Tuareg.
565 They speak the same language and administer themselves with no
793 intervention from the Imochar. A few cases of polygamy have been
[631] observed among them. This is the result of their gradual Islamization,
[595] which favors the custom, and of patriarchy which was already in practice in some Sudanese tribes.

565 The Imrad. -- Imrad probably comes from the Tamashek root
[192] égeid, égeit, which means "kid," "little goat," and from the prefix
[422] am indicating possession. In short, this means "possessors of goats."
In fact, the Imrad formerly could own only goats, for the Imochar reserved the possession of camels for themselves.

Their nickname is Kel Oulli, which also means "goat people," a name which they prefer to Imrad, which is probably a bit degrading for them.

[631] /165/ They make up tribes enfeoffed to the Imochar and are their vassals.

The Imochar have a certain scorn for them and consider them people of low birth, not of the pure Tuareg race; the name Taouia Settefet, meaning "of black descent," is often applied to them. (1)

1. Among the Ioullimmiden they are referred to as Idinet.

173 Nothing indicates a racial inferiority of the Imrad to the Imochar,
565 however. If we want to interpret the old legends of the Ahaggar,
●144 everything leads us to believe that the Imrad were in most instances the first occupants of the country, and the Imochar, who were the invaders, were conquerers who made themselves masters of the country by force. The crossbreeding with the blacks cannot be a decisive criterion, for many Imrad tribes are not physically more
[186] "Negroid" than the Imochar. It is also true that the Imrad are
[184] less rigorous than the Imochar in maintaining the integrity of old Tuareg customs. They have less greatness of soul and sentiment, as well as less ethnic pride.

563 become sedentary, exists in the Sudan, in the Niafunké region.

There seems to be a category of low-class Iborelliten who are 1 563 referred to as Irraouellan. Nicolas considers them former captives 567 who have been liberated. Chudeau reported an Irraouellan tribe, [727] whose members were said to be freedmen or descendants of former captives. He adds that the children of a Tuareg man and a slave are by law Irraouellan.

We shall add to these different definitions that in the Aïr a slave woman who marries a Tuareg becomes free as does her family, and the children born of her marriage are then called Ikalalen.

[184] Among the Kel-Ahaggar, we do not find any true Iborelliten or Irraouellan tribes, although there are men belonging to these social classes.

567 The Iklan. -- The Iklan (singular, Akli; feminine singular, Taklit) are the serfs, or slaves, of the Tuareg. The name Iklan [192 comes from the Tamashek root Kl, meaning "black being"; (2) ●144]

2. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

and indeed these people are foreign to the Tuareg race. They are Negroes of all origins, formerly captured in the Sudan and reduced to slavery by the Tuareg. They form a separate class, which is not a tribe, except when they are freed conditionally or completely. Then they are called Iklan-n-égef or Iderfan, depending on which is the case.

[144] They have founded a family among the Tuareg and given birth to a new race with the most diverse characteristics, from which the white element is not excluded.

[181] Slaves are employed in keeping the flocks, and in the household work of the camp; they share the life of their masters and from their contact with them have acquired an independent nature which makes them love the freedom of nomadism, so much so that it would now be difficult for them to resume the sedentary life of their Ancestors.

174 themselves, which are either hopelessly vague and sketchy or obvious fabrications of Islamic inspiration, or a combination of the two, and which also are often contradictory. In the opinion of the present author it seems unreasonable to hope to learn much about Tuareg origins from literary sources, either written or preserved by word of mouth.

Fortunately, other kinds of sources are open, 172 to us. The so-called tomb of Tin Hinan (fig. 40), the legendary ancestress of the Ahaggar 174 Tuareg (*see* Reygasse, 1950, pp. 88–106, and Wheeler, 1955, pp. 107–11), yielded a rich collection of jewelry including objects of gold, silver and iron and beads of glass and semiprecious stone, as well as various other odds and ends such as fragments of leather clothing (?) and wooden furniture, Roman lamps and glassware, arrow (or javelin?) points and nails of iron, and thin discs of gold that had been pressed over a coin or coins of Constantine the Great. Specialists consulted by the author[2] agree on two points: firstly, that most of this material bears no resemblance to anything we know from Egypt or the Sudan while all of it may well have come from elsewhere; and, secondly, that the whole assemblage has a distinctly eastern Roman flavor and may date from as early as the 4th or as late as the 6th century A.D. The iron projectile points are faintly disturbing, for they look almost exactly like those used on arrows by the modern Teita who live in the Coastal Province of Kenya Colony (Prins, 1955). All of this does not help us much, however, for as Wheeler (1955, p. 111) says: "In the absence of comparable relics within hundreds of miles of Tin Hinan, it is impossible at present to put her fortlet and tomb into a wider context." The one important lesson to be learned here is that we may hope to learn more about the origins of the Tuareg from future excavations of similar monuments and ancient habitation sites in the Tuareg country and surrounding regions. In the meantime we can only fall back once more on physical, linguistic and cultural evidence.

144 Physically the modern Tuareg of the Sahara

[2] These authorities included Christine Alexander and Vera K. Ostoia of the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, New York City, Anthony J. Arkell of University College London, Dows Dunham of the

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144 The question of the racial origin of the Tuareg, as a branch of the Berber stock, is so intimately bound up with the problem of their origin in the broader sense which we have just been discussing that there is not much left for us to say about it separately. The learned 144 authors cited earlier in this section have all had 174 their say, but we have seen that their conclusions rest on evidence which is unavoidably [114] fragmentary and usually equivocal as well, since there is no other kind available at present. As for ourselves, we shrink as did Leblanc (1928–29, vol. 39, p. 44) from the temptingly spectacular but risky sport of skating over such thin ice in pursuit of a dream, no matter who the dreamer may have been. We are already in substantial agreement with the opinion of Vallois (1948, p. 40) that the Tuareg came into the Sahara probably from the North and possibly about the beginning of the Chris-

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tian Era, and we had better let it go at that for the time being. There are indications in the mythology of the Tuareg that they were already Berber-speakers when they arrived in their present homeland. There are vague hints too, in the tales of Herodotus as well as in the serology of the Teda, that people something like those whom we now call Berbers may have been living in the eastern half of the Sahara for centuries before the birth of Christ, but whether or not they could have qualified as Tuareg, or even Berbers, in the sense in which we have been using those terms, is about as moot a question as one could hope to find. More and much fuller studies of physical morphology, blood groups and linguistics would go far toward helping us to solve the mystery of the Tuareg, but in the meantime our hands are tied.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa. 136 [132] [137]

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tarakami)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of weels *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters. 144 [167] [177] [312] [342] [312] [342] 567

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 198ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while 144 [114] [103] [192] 563 601

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



241 culture is never practised without irrigation. Rodd thinks that the Air agriculturists
[114] gave up shifting cultivation because they are too poor to-day to risk losing their
{174} seed in the event of inadequate or irregular rainfall (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I rather think the reasons are that the agriculturists of the massif nowadays grow very little millet and have a better irrigation system than in the past. In summer maize forms by far the most important crop, and it needs irrigation which is comparatively easy when using zebus for drawing water. However this may be we can assume that a type of agriculture related to Sudanese shifting cultivation was formerly important to the Air agriculturists, and although irrigation is nowadays used everywhere agriculture in certain places of Air is still a kind of shifting cultivation. Many agriculturists do not resort to manuring nor do they carry fresh soil to the gardens as in Ahaggar. With crop rotation they utilize one and the same plot for a few years but then have to cut trees and brush-wood somewhere else to make a new
[312] garden. A new well must then also be dug, but as irrigation wells are rather shallow this work is comparatively easy.

171 There are in Air certain agricultural implements related to those of Sudanese
412 farming cultures. We must mention in particular a small hoe hafted by means of a thong *(tagoumit)*. It is unknown both in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer as well as further north in the desert while extremely common among Sudanese shifting cultivators. Feilberg has classed it with the so-called Old Sudanese Culture es-
[114] tablished by Baumann (Feilberg 1934, p. 260ff. – Baumann 1940, p. 50ff.; 1944, p. 213ff.). Baumann claims that this culture did not know the sickle, considered by him an implement of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 56ff.; 1944, p. 283ff.). The sickle (Air: *elegesouar*, Ahaggar: *amreh*) is in fact unknown in many Air villages, and is according to my investigations not generally used for the harvesting of crops but for cutting annual grasses to be stored for
241 fodder. In Air the harvesting methods are as follows:– millet is cut with a knife,
171 maize is cut at the root by means of the above-mentioned hoe, while wheat and barley are pulled up with the hands. Similar harvesting methods seem to be known in the Sudan (Baumann 1944, p. 295ff.). As a Sudanese trait we can
[415] perhaps also recognize the large clay amphoræ used for the storage of cereals (Rodd 1926, p. 317. – Nicolas 1950a, p. 146).

174 We can conclude this section as follows:– While the negroes of Ahaggar ap-
144 parently have arrived in that country later than the fair-skinned Berbers the oldest known population in Air were Hausa-speaking negroes subsisting predominantly
563 as agriculturists. Their original culture apparently was closely related to that of Sudanese shifting cultivators. Contacts with the north and in particular invasions of fair-skinned Tuareg have changed their cultural position. Mixing with the Tuareg they have also changed their physical type, but they are still predominantly negroid. They have adopted a Tuareg dialect but have retained part of their old vocabulary.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



565 619 *Imrad* (sing. *Amerid*). People of this class are sometimes called "serfs" in literature, but the word "vassals" is also used. I prefer to use the latter term, but add that the word *Imrad* is most difficult to translate into an European language. The vassal class is represented in all groups with the exception of the *Kel Geres*. Among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden* the word *Kel Ulli* (sing. *Agg Ulli*) is used synonymously with *Imrad*. Among south-western Tuareg around Timbuktu the word *Daga* or *Dara* is also used to designate vassals. The *Imrad* class is by far the most numerous in most groups. The relationship between these vassals (*Imrad*) and the noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, *Imajeren*) forms the basis of most political systems which are described later (p. 393 ff.).

101 565 Members of the above-mentioned classes are true Tuareg, though the word *Ineslemen* is also used for marabuts of other peoples and for marabuts of various black-skinned castes found among the Tuareg. Among the Northern Tuareg all people of the above-mentioned classes with the exception of certain *Ineslemen* or marabuts are called *Imuhar* (sing. *Amahar*). The Ayr Tuareg have no such common term to designate the people known to us as *Tuareg*, but occasionally they use generically the word *Imajeren* though strictly speaking this term should be reserved for Tuareg of the supreme noble class.

101 The word *Tuareg* (sing. *Targi*) is never used by the Tuareg themselves, but by Arabs. Duveyrier claims it to be derived from an Arabic word of the root *terek* meaning "to abandon". The meaning of the word accordingly should be "those abandoned (by God)", and should refer to the fact that many Tuareg do not follow Islamic rules very strictly (Duveyrier 1864, p. 317 f.). The same explanation has also been given to me by an Arab of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe of Tidikelt. However, the origin of the word "*Tuareg*" is perhaps a different one: – It may be related to the word *Targa* (Ayr) or *Turga* (Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer), which name is used by the Tuareg to designate the part of the Sahara generally known to us by the Arabic word *Fezzan*. This is very likely, as we know from Arab authors of the Middle Ages that the word *Targa* or *Turga* was then used as a name for a very important Tuareg group living in that area and adjacent regions (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 83 f.; Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 534; Rodd 1926a, p. 273 f.).

142 144 The Tuareg are fair-skinned people who in certain regions and particularly in the south have mixed with Negroes. The Northern Tuareg are predominantly fair-skinned, and many of them are as "white" as Europeans though perhaps a little yellowish or brownish. It is difficult to determine their exact skin colour because they are burned and tanned by the sun and the hot wind characteristic of desert [39] climate. In addition, the Tuareg wear clothes dyed with indigo which comes off on the body, and they [518] rarely wash. When I lived among them my own skin-colour and that of the Tuareg were practically identical. Among the Ayr Tuareg there are also many fair-skinned people, but the Ayr Tuareg are more mixed with Negroes than the Northern Tuareg, and most *Kel Ewey* are predominantly negroid. Very mixed also are the *Kel Geres* and the same seems to hold for other Tuareg groups of the south. A few blond individuals have been recorded from the *Kel Aijer* living around the oases of Rat and Radames, and they may be the offspring of unions between Tuareg women and caravan traders of [148] the north (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 162 f.). The blond individuals met in Southern Ayr are the offspring of the fairly numerous marriages between Frenchmen and Tuareg women, but it is claimed that a few years ago a very blond girl was born to parents of families which had never contracted marriages

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 5. Veiled vassal Tuareg. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

Fig. 6. Irrigation farmer of the *Iburelliten*, that is descendants of mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and Negroes. The man is patrilineally releated to the noble *Tuyuk* tribe, matrilineally to slaves. Ahaggar, Amsel.

[144]

181 and there are indeed many Tuareg both in Ahaggar and in Ayr who wear Islamic amulets which are believed to make the wearers look "great and important". "Prestige" is constantly in the mind of all Tuareg who are much more sophisticated than other people living within their country.

181 Most true Tuareg are nomadic stock-breeders who will not engage in the strenuous work of irriga-
433 tion agriculture. The Tuareg will readily engage in any strenuous work connected with stock-breeding,
461 caravan trading, and in the past also in raiding expeditions, which were organized by people of the nobility, but agricultural work is generally much despised. However, there are in all groups certain families or tribes the members of which subsist predominantly by agriculture, and are nevertheless considered true Tuareg by pastoralists. These agricultural Tuareg will be mentioned in a later chapter,
564 and we shall now pass on to a brief description of various negroid castes and of other non-Tuareg
567 people living within the boundaries of Tuareg territory:—

*Iklan* (sing. *Akli*). These are the proper slaves who are very negroid. Nicolas believes that the word *Akli* (pl. *Iklan*) is in fact derived from a k-l root meaning "to be black" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189), but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Ahaggar to cultivate gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaṛen*, or *Ḥarratin*, like the immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual, speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahaḳ*). The *Izeggaṛen* (*Ḥarratin*) are generally less negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features. Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaṛen* (sing. *Azeggaṛ*) refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaṛen* does not seem to exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Ṛat oasis known as *Ikewweren* apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

*Kel Ĝanet* (sing. *W Ĝanet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ĝanet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ĝanet* have much the same position as Tuareg vassals (Imṛad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ĝanet* immigrants, their status is rather like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ĝanet* may possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

*Ineden* (*Ineden* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Ened*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one. People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963). A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Tementiṭ in Tawat. At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.). 2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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[184] Fig. 9. Vassal woman with her child straddling over the right hip. The Tuareg generally carry their children in this way though certain Ayr Tuareg have adopted the Sudanese fashion of carrying children on the back. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehli* tribe.

564 144 have expressed as their opinion that the blacksmiths originally constituted a fair-skinned Tuareg population who mixed with black-skinned Sudanese people like so many true Tuareg. It is interesting 564 198 that Tuareg blacksmiths have a peculiar language of their own known as *ténet*. This language has unfortunately never been studied. It is used by the blacksmiths mainly as a secret language spoken when they do not want other people to understand them, whereas blacksmiths use Tuareg (*tamachek*) as their family language. The Ayr Tuareg consider the *ténet*-language an invention of the blacksmiths.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



13 would emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically a certain dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

144 174 At present both fair-skinned europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most Negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern Negroes in the Fezzan constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the ancestors of the present Negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all Negroes of Ahaggar were apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid *Ḫarratin* then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. Another immigration of predominantly black-skinned and negroid agriculturists came from Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Ġanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the *Ḫarratin*. – Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Ayr by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Ayr originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese in regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Ayr were Negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that, before the Tuareg, Ayr was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45; Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Ayr* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the Massif, to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations seem to confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Ayr have admitted that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and in the Berber dialect spoken by these people there are a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of the *Kel Ewey* group is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg and related to the system is use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (Figs. 293–294).

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*éndié*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
173 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers
[563] though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of
162 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isawezen*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
563 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
433 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
245 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
221
463 Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
162 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula-
44 tion that subsisted on agriculture.
433
[174]

162 tion that subsisted on agriculture. Most members of the *Kel Ewey* group are fairly negroid in appear-
144 ance, and though some of them lead a nomadic life and subsist mainly on stock-breeding, the bulk of
433 the *Kel Ewey* are sedentary agriculturists who have some livestock comprising goats, sheep, zebus, and sometimes camels also. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group there are very few sedentary agriculturists, though a few vassals have taken up irrigation agriculture in recent times. There are also agriculturists within the negroid group of the *Kel Ferwan* known as *Irawélen*.
[587] Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have gardens cultivated by their slaves, but this is not customary nowadays when slavery is of little importance in Ayr. Contracts between pastoral Tuareg and cultivators
241 are said to have been unknown until recent times when a few pastoralists have made contracts with
466 cultivators. There seem to be no fixed systems regulating such relationships, but it is said to be common for the cultivator and the Tuareg to divide crops equally between them.

241 Though agriculture could be practised in Ayr without artificial irrigation there are no rain-grown
312 crops within the Massif nowadays. The *foggara* system is unknown, and irrigation is done by raising water from shallow wells. The system of a pole and bucket provided with a counterweight known in Ayr as *aseftan* has disappeared quite recently. It was used at many agricultural settlements of Ayr until a few years ago, and in parts of the country formed the only type of irrigation system at the time of the French occupation. One informant told me that in his boyhood about 35 years ago no other irrigation method was employed at Alarses, and this is in agreement with literature (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 322). At that time, however, the method of raising water from wells by animal traction (in Ayr *anu*, in Ahaggar *tanut*) was also practised at many settlements. It is unknown when it came to Ayr, but it is said to have been introduced from the north – probably from the regions of Fezzan and Tasilé-n-Ajjer from where the same system came to Ahaggar (cf. p. 187). It is now used at all
[492] settlements as the only type of irrigation system, and zebu-oxen are always used for traction. This was not so in the past when zebus were less common than to-day, and it is said that donkeys were then the common draught-animals. The irrigation of gardens is performed in much the same way as in Ahaggar. The water raised from the shallow well (*anu*) is led through a narrow canal (*ayelal*) to a large basin (*tisemt*) from where another canal (*duki*) leads to the garden (*afarag*), which is divided into a number of beds (*éfenral*).

243 Cereals form the most important crops in Ayr. The common winter crop is wheat (*elkama*; *Triticum vulgare*), but also barley (*Hordeum tetrastichum* var. *pallidum*) is very widely grown. One crop of these two cereals is taken every winter, and it is said that the period of growth is about five months; sowing is done in October, harvest in March. Cereals are also important for summer crops. Both millet (*énélé*; *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and sorghum (*abora*; *Sorghum caudatum*) are grown, and millet, as we have seen, has a very short period of growth – only about two months (cf. p. 184). But though millet is
[262] most important as food for agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike, it is not widely grown because it is difficult to protect it from the numerous small birds and because, it is said, millet grown in Ayr
[439] is of a quality inferior to that of the Sudanese type. Most of the millet eaten in Ayr is therefore imported from Damergu by pastoral Tuareg. By far the most important summer crop grown in Ayr is maize (*Zea mays*), which is known to the Tuareg as *abora maser*, that is "Egyptian sorghum" (*abora* = sorghum; *maser* = Egypt) (the name *maser* is also used to designate the white cotton used for garments
[286]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



642 565 there are no true vassals or *Imṛad* though some *Kel Ewey* tribes are referred to in literature as vassals.

174 642 565 [144] The lack of the important structural feature of vassalage among the *Kel Geres* may perhaps be explained in the following way:— The *Kel Geres* Tuareg lived originally in Ayr within much the same area as that now occupied by the *Kel Ewey*, and it is most likely that they had mixed very much with the sedentary Negroes as there are among the *Kel Geres* very many black-skinned and negroid Tuareg. It is very probable that the *Kel Geres* when living in Ayr led a semi-sedentary life, for it is said that they had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr in the 18th century owing to the pressure of the *Kel Ewey*. We may perhaps assume that this particular mode of livelihood was the reason why vassalage ceased to exist among the *Kel Geres*. When, in the 18th century, the *Kel Geres* were driven southwards into the Sudanese steppes and savannahs, they became ardent stock-breeders and adopted a political system much related to that of an ordinary Tuareg drum-group with the exception that they had no class-division.

614 642 643 Among the *Kel Geres*, all tribes of pastoral Tuareg are known as *Imajeṛen* but though they are not divided into classes these tribes are nevertheless not politically identical. The most important tribe is that called *Ti-temeḳḳeret*. It is named after Anu-Meḳḳeret in Central Ayr where this tribe originally lived, and the *Kel Geres* drum-chief (*ettebel*) is always elected from this particular group. But the drum-chief is not elected by all adult people of his drum-group, but by members of three tribes, the *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar*. The members of these tribes alone can elect and dismiss a drum-chief entirely at their discretion. When they have elected a new drum-chief he is ceremoniously installed by a man of the *Anyegeren* tribe who wraps the large head-cloth around the chief's head. In all this the *Kel Geres* resemble the *Kel Ewey* among whom the *Anestafidet* is elected by the members of three important tribes.

The three tribes of *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar* are also politically very important in other respects for they consistute the nuclei of three sub-divisions of the *Kel Geres*. The chiefs of the three tribes have the title *Aṛolla* (pl. *Iṛollan*) and they are also the chiefs of certain other pastoral tribes which have individual chiefs with the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaren*). A certain number of people who are non-Tuareg by origin are placed under the authority of all tribal chiefs, e.g., *Iṛawélen* who are slaves manumitted in the past, *Ikenawen* who are professional potmakers, *Ineden* or blacksmiths, and *Iḥḥfnen*, that is sedentary Hausa living in villages. [563]

614 642 645 In addition to the tribe of the drum-chief and the three *Iṛollan* tribes, there is among the Kel Geres a fifth tribe which is politically very important, namely that known as *Ezuṛmani*. It is a religious tribe of the so-called *Echchikhen* class, and its chief is known as *Echchikh* though he also bears the title of *Al-Ḳadi*. He acts as the adviser of the drum-chief in judicial and religious matters, and though he apparently possesses no direct authority over all *Kel Geres* he is very influential and greatly respected. The *Al-Ḳadi* or *Echchikh* is elected according to the traditional rules of succession acknowledged by the *Kel Geres*, a deceased chief being succeeded by his younger brother or by his son. But in contrast to all other chiefs, including the drum-chief, he cannot be dismissed when he is once elected. All religious tribes within the *Kel Geres* drum-group are placed directly under the authority of the *Al-Ḳadi* (*Echchikh*) of the *Ezuṛmani* tribe. But the *sadakat* fees are made to the drum-chief and not to the Al-Ḳadi.

551 not bring about any substitution of names for either sex. If the father's name is Mohamed, one would say Anaba ag (son of) Mohamed, or Chékou oult (daughter of) Mohamed. Nominal filiation is therefore patrilinear.

Nicknames are numerous in the Ahaggar. Father de Foucauld tells us that "they are sometimes proper names of persons different from the one already received, sometimes names recalling a physical peculiarity or an event, sometimes meaningless names. A great many people have no nicknames. Among those who do have them, some accept them and others are insulted by them. Sometimes nicknames are temporary, known only to a few intimate friends and quickly forgotten. Sometimes they become so attached to the person that he is never referred to in any other way and his real name falls into oblivion." (2)

2. Dictionnaire abrégé Touareg-Français des noms propres /Short Tuareg-French Dictionary of Proper Names/, p. xv.

842 Conception and nursing. -- As for conception, the Tuareg see in it nothing but the will of God. However, they also establish the causal relationship of sexual intercourse and do not discuss the possibility that a woman can conceive without contact with a man. The existence and role of spermatozoa are unknown, but the Tuareg /285/ recognize the action of the seminal liquid and women practice spraying as a contraceptive measure. Professor [114] Gautier has even spoken of a primitive douche. This apparatus is not known by Tuareg women, and Gautier surely must have confused it with the enema.

841 Menstruation (iba-n-amoud) begins between the ages of thirteen • [145] and fifteen years for Tuareg girls and causes them great fright. While they are indisposed they make no intimate toilet and often take no precautions to absorb the flow, which spots their clothing. [783] They also abstain from making prayers as if they were in a state of impurity.

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
[412 collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
302] an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of
Tagant and Hodh.

Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
291 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
855 girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear
[556] trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From
that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while
the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated for either the boy or girl.

The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
868 the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
857 which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
[462] milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of
this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then
fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games
between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet
stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly
speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a
camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
[212] Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they
are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
[145] when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
291 father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
[431] ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good advice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

262 According to what we know of the production of the cultivated
433 lands of the Ahaggar itself and according to what the Tuareg are obliged
439 to import, we may know approximately their needs. During the good years, local production is equivalent to only one quarter of the needs. It may be evaluated at 150 tons. To this must be added wheat production, but this cannot be taken in consideration insofar as consumption is concerned, since
237 415 234 it is almost entirely destined for export. It follows from this that import needs amount to 4, 000 loads of millet a year, calculated at 150 kilograms each, making 600 tons, which are for the most part bought or exchanged at Damergou or in the Tahoua region. The annual demand for dates is 400 loads.

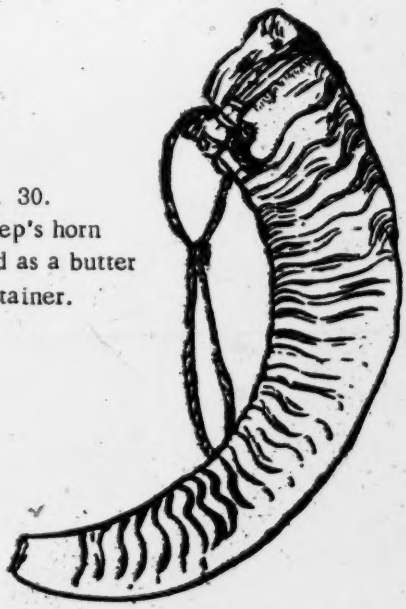

Fig. 30. Sheep's horn used as a butter container.

From these figures it
146 262 511 follows that the annual needs per person are approximately one load of millet and one-tenth of a load of dates.

Individual consumption may thus be estimated at 187 kilograms of millet and 15 kilograms of dates per year, while an identical calculation /232/ for the Saharian Arabs has given us 180 kilograms of wheat and 75 kilograms of dates. But we must not deceive ourselves. These figures are drawn up for years, if not of abundance, at least of relative facility. Indeed, the annual average is very much lower, for the Ihaggaren do not always have at their disposal the means of exchange to meet their needs, and one may reduce the figures cited above by a good third, sometimes even by half.

291 Tuareg attach considerable importance to
[439] indigo blue cotton cloth, a product which they get from the Sudan. This material is commonly known as "chegga" (pronounced *shegga*), and the most archaic and highly prized variety is made of a multitude of long strips about an inch wide sewn tightly together. The cloth itself, of very ordinary quality, is so heavily impregnated with crude indigo as to be literally stiff with it. A brand new piece looks black when seen at a distance or in a poor light, but in bright sunlight it is a dark purplish blue with a coppery sheen like that of cheap carbon paper; and the indigo dye comes off on your fingers at the slightest touch, just as the ink on carbon paper does but much more so.

302 Obviously, anyone who wears clothes made of such material is soon stained with indigo from head to foot, and the Tuareg even rub it into their skins on purpose. Women often smear it on their foreheads, cheeks and temples and around their mouths by way of make-up. The
[751] Tuareg claim that indigo not only protects human skin from the direct effects of sun and wind but also lubricates it and so prevents cracking, and they are quite right, at least up to a point. If the Tuareg wash themselves only
[515] very rarely, it is partly to preserve the accumulated protective coating of indigo, the humble practical value of which has been
[554] gradually enhanced by an ever-increasing value of prestige that has risen in proportion to the rising cost of indigo-dyed cloth. A dirty looking, bluish skin is admired by the Tuareg just as much as a rich golden tan is admired in midwinter by the business men and women of New England and New York.

515 It should be noted that in the Sahara Desert proper one can go unwashed for long periods without either feeling or looking noticeably dirty. The air is so dry that perspiration usually evaporates instantly upon reaching the surface of the skin, and so it is unusual for anyone to sweat visibly. Most of the nomadic
[147] natives are in excellent physical condition in that they are very lean and wiry, and so they sweat relatively little in any case. Thus it is extremely rare to meet one who has any perceptible body odor at all, regardless of whether he looks clean or not. White foreigners are seldom in anywhere near as good physi-

565 /50 cont. / Atakor and the Arechchoum are their pasture regions. It is a tribe of rich camel and goat raisers.

[162] [563] It is the most important imrad tribe under the Kel Rela; there are about 390, served by nearly 400 Negroes. The Dag Rali are stubborn mountaineers, a little narrow minded. They [147] are remarkably resistant to fatigue when they walk in their rough country. Let us also note their adaptation to the cold of December, January, and February; the camps are generally situated at an average altitude of 2, 000 meters. The Tuareg [291] [132] are clothed in two cotton gandurahs and are quite often wrapped in a "dokali"; they bear cold which drops as low as -12° in the tent toward five in the morning.

The tribe's amrar is Akroud ag Ama (1). The handsomest

1. Died in 1952.

tents belong to the Dag Rali, and the men are renowned as hunters of wild sheep.

[651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is about 12 mezoued /leather grain sacks/ of dates, eight bottas /bottles/ of butter, the loan of 12 ewes for milk, and ten goats for slaughtering.

Several subgroups may be seen within the Dag Rali, named mainly according to the regions they inhabit: Kel Arechchoumi, /sic/ and the Ikhechemaden, who formerly were imrads of the Ta'ltoks.

[162] [563] The most numerous imrad tribe is the Adjouh n'Téhélé. It includes approximately 590 individuals and more than 750 Negro domestics. Although imrads, the Adjouh n'Téhélé are regarded as different by the nobles. Toward the eighteenth century, this tribe, which was living in the A'ir at the time, came of its own accord to incorporate itself into the Kel Ahaggar. This was done to escape the exactions /51/ of the sultan of Agadez, who each year demanded a virgin as a sign of vassalage. This tribe's territory of nomadization extends to the east and south of those of the Dag Rali.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 3. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Ikkee-en-tawsit* tribe.

Fig. 4. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

142 with the French. I have myself never seen a genuine blond Tuareg, but I have met a few albinos though
144 albinism seems to be rare. These observations agree with those of Lhote (1955a, p. 163). All the Tuareg
[143] I have seen had curly or straight black hair, and dark brown or almost black eyes. Many individuals had fairly broad faces with protuding cheeks which gave them superficially a mongoloid appearance,
142 while others had features more like Mediterranean Europeans. In literature the Tuareg are generally described as very tall people. I did not myself carry out anthropological measurements, but will not hesitate to state that in my opinion a great many Tuareg are far from big. Very many adult men in the groups I have visited were considerably shorter than myself (1.73 m). Tuareg men are generally dry
[147] and meagre, bearing the stamp of their roaming life in the desert. Their most outstanding quality is
[157] that of endurance and contempt of hunger and hardship. The appearance of Tuareg women is often quite different – they tend to grow fat. This is probably to some extent due to the fact that married
826 women spend most of their life in the tents and get little physical exercise. But fatness is also a sign
832 of feminine beauty, and some women make a great effort to grow fat by drinking milk or eating
[261] certain fattening plants (cf. p. 177, 178). According to some Tuareg fat women symbolize wealth – large flocks and herds, and much milk – but many Tuareg also say that they prefer fat women because they

4: Benhazera--27 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The laws of hospitality, "amedjarou," are observed as 574
among all Moslems. The guest, "amadjar," is always well
received.

## Chapter XVI

## Hygiene. Diseases

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Dautheville
Dr. Dautheville in the Abezzou
Wadi (White Tifedest)

We know that the Tuareg have a horror of water. They do 515
not wash themselves on the pretext that this would make them
sick, but it is essentially because they are very sensitive to [151]
cold. To say their prayers, they do not indulge in the pre- [782
scribed ablutions, even when they are at home and have water 788]
at their disposal. They are content with "taïmoum" (an
imitation of washing with sand), which they call "ettamine."
The amenokal Moussa ag /31/ Amastane is the only Tuareg
whom I have seen making his ablutions with water.

This is also doubtless due to the fact that the Tuareg like 241
to keep the tint of indigo, "sedjeni" ⵙⵉⵏⵉ , on their 302
skins, the result of wearing "chegga," or blue cotton, which 396
runs a great deal and of which they make their clothes. They 515

564 We must acknowledge that the
[153] Enaden often have very open minds and are gifted with an intelligence higher than the average of the ma-
564 jority of the Tuareg. That is why
644 they have sometimes filled trusted posts with the principal chiefs, who have used them as emissaries or interpreters, indeed even as
[152] counselors.

Thus, at the time of the Hourst mission in 1896, Madidou, amenokal of the Ioullimmiden, officially delegated one of them to Gao to deal with the French officer.

564 The Enaden live either in camp
361 groups or in isolated tents or even individually; they are attached to a chief or a tribe.

Although they are foreign to
564 the Tuareg race, they still enter into the components of the great family of veiled men, for the lives /176/ of the two groups are often intermingled. They speak Tamashek,
[198] more specifically a special dialect, tenet, which they alone understand and which is a bit secret in nature. This dialect is unknown in the Ahaggar.

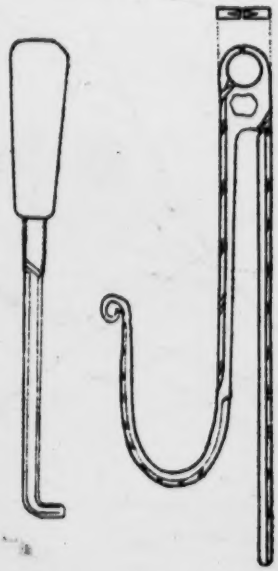

Fig. 17. Forceps for extracting teeth and instrument used for laying bare the roots.

[173] Legend attributes to them a common ancester named Tamamenet, and all of their fractions are supposed to have originated in Adrar des Iforas. Their true origin is as obscure as
[174] can be; we are apt to say that they are descendants of the Jews who formerly lived at the Touat, in the Tamentit oasis, from which they

174 heads of human figures. It seems, under the circumstances, that
291 there was a taboo against representing facial characteristics.

Can the substitution of zoomorphic heads in the human figures drawn at a very early epoch on the Tassili-n-Ajjer rocks, springing from totemic beliefs, also contribute to explaining the origin of the veil? This is a permissible hypothesis.

291 What is certain is that, at the present time, it is shameful for
826 a Tuareg to show his mouth and that the veil is the principal part of his dress. When he goes to draw water from a well, he will take off his gandurah and rull up the bottom of his trousers to be more comfortable, but he will take care that his veil is always in place.

291 Wearing the litham /veil/ -- or tiguelmoust -- includes an entire ritual which implies the existence of beliefs whose details have escaped us, because the Tuareg themselves no longer elucidate its meaning.

184 The style of wearing the veil and of placing the different parts
291 on the head may differ from one tribe to another, and there are local modes which some prefer by personal taste. And so, in recent years, the young men of the Ahaggar adopted the style of wearing the veil used by the Kel Férouan from the Aïr. This, moreover, earned them harsh criticism from the elders of their tribe.

156 /267/ But apart from these different ways of placing the veil
291 according to local or personal modes, the shape and knack make it more or less elegant. There is also a veil psychology, and when one knows a man, the way his veil is fixed may indicate his state of mind -- the reserved, modest way used when he presents himself in a camp where there are women; the elegant, studied manner for going to lover's meetings; the haughty manner of a warrior conscious of his importance; and the whimsical air of the Imrad or the swaggering slave. There is also the jovial, good-natured fellow's style of wearing the veil loosely and sloppily, and the disorderly style of the unstable, easily irritated man.

156 291 The veil can express a fleeting sentiment. Thus, it is pulled down over the eyes before respectable people or women, while it is raised over the forehead, on the contrary, as a sign of familiarity. To laugh freely at a joke, a Tuareg will raise the lower part of his veil very high over his nose. When he is irritated, he will tighten it like a chin strap to mask his anger.

292 In the festive garb worn on the occasion of religious or family festivals, the veil is complicated with many turbans made of white muslin and bands of colored silk. The upper part receives a sort of frame which lets them arrange many cotton bands, interlacing them to form a kind of crest. The top part of the cranium is never covered, and the veil lets tufts of braided hair stick out. At marriages, it was formerly the custom to wear the takoumbout, a sort of big chéchia made of wool fortified with enormous flosses of cotton and covered with silvery appliqués. This headdress is on its way to disappearing completely, and there are no more than one or two in the whole Ahaggar today.

291 The Ihaggaren use two kinds of sandals: the broad cowhide sandal called irratimen with simple red leather straps crossing over the instep, and a sandal called imerkéden made of a number of scraps of goatskin sewed together, with a strap going around the heel and tying with a knot on the instep.

[184 556] The irratimen are particularly worn by well-to-do men and especially appreciated in sandy regions where their large carrying area keeps one from sinking too deep. /268/ This sandal, which [177 439] is manufactured by Hausa artisans from Agadez or Damergou, was borrowed from these peoples by the Tuareg. Its origin must not be attributed to the Tuareg.

The true sandals of the Ahaggar people are the imerkéden, [184 556] which they still wear and which the mountain people always prefer, since they are especially well adapted to walking on rocks. They are worn by the common people and by the Iklan who have no money to buy Sudanese sandals, while they all know how to make very comfortable imerkéden with a few old pieces of goatskin.

565 621 /51 cont./ The most important agricultural centers belonging to the Adjouh n'Téhélé are Tarhaouaout, In Dalag, and Tahifet. There are several subgroups: the Isanden in the Isernan region; the Kel Rafsa, Tahifet region; the Relaïdine, Tin-Tarabin region; and the Kel Hagalella to the south of Tamanrasset. The tribe's amrar is Samaalatokh ag Mansouri. [651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is approximately the same as that paid by the Dag Rali.

565 [157] The Adjouh n'Téhélé have an open character; they are gay and like to joke, but they have the reputation of being quick tempered and irascible.

The Aït Loen tribe is, like the preceding ones, an imrad tribe of the Kel Rela. It is descended from Takamat. These Tuareg are nomads in the eastern Atakor and sometimes penetrate into Ajjers territory. Their most important center is Tin-Tarabin. [491] There are no roads going into the territory of this tribe, so their tents are rarely visited.

[162 563] There are about 500 Aït Loen; they possess 620 black servants. The Kel Torha, Kel Anahef, and Kel Telerteba are the three subgroups of the tribe, whose chief is El Ralen ag Nissoran. [651] Their tioussé is about four mezoued of dates to the Kel Rela and one mezoued of dates paid by the Kel Torha to the Tédjéhé Mellet.

The Aït Loen are experienced guides for going to the Ajjers and Ténéré regions.

[162 563] The Iklan Taoussit number about 600, served by 650 Negroes. They are nomads in the Tahelra, the Silet region, the Amded and Tekouiat wadis, and in the northern part of the Adrar des Iforas. They formerly belonged to the Imenanes, which accounts for their name, which means "servant of the tribe." [651] Their tioussé is on the order of four mezoued of millet, two bottas of butter, and six milch goats. Dali ag Akoumaris is the tribe's amrar. The subgroup of the tribe which sojourns almost continually in the Tin-Zaouaten region has Khadida for chief.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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291
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Fig. 3. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Ikkes-en-tawsit* tribe.

Fig. 4. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

142 with the French. I have myself never seen a genuine blond Tuareg, but I have met a few albinos though
144 albinism seems to be rare. These observations agree with those of Lhote (1955a, p. 163). All the Tuareg
[143] I have seen had curly or straight black hair, and dark brown or almost black eyes. Many individuals had fairly broad faces with protuding cheeks which gave them superficially a mongoloid appearance.
142 while others had features more like Mediterranean Europeans. In literature the Tuareg are generally described as very tall people. I did not myself carry out anthropological measurements, but will not hesitate to state that in my opinion a great many Tuareg are far from big. Very many adult men in the groups I have visited were considerably shorter than myself (1.73 m). Tuareg men are generally dry
[149] and meagre, bearing the stamp of their roaming life in the desert. Their most outstanding quality is
[157] that of endurance and contempt of hunger and hardship. The appearance of Tuareg women is often quite different – they tend to grow fat. This is probably to some extent due to the fact that married
826 women spend most of their life in the tents and get little physical exercise. But fatness is also a sign
832 of feminine beauty, and some women make a great effort to grow fat by drinking milk or eating
[261] certain fattening plants (cf. p. 177, 178). According to some Tuareg fat women symbolize wealth – large flocks and herds, and much milk – but many Tuareg also say that they prefer fat women because they

175 in everything. Much less intelligent than Moussa, he was none the less a faithful chief who knew how to make himself respected.

He married twice and had seven children.

175 Meslah ag Ǎmayas is a second cousin of Ǎkhamouk. He is a
643 grandson of the former Aménokal Ǎ'ltarel and a second cousin of Mohamed ag Ourzig and Ǎttici ag Ǎmellal. The tobol thus came down in the branch of Ǎmennaï, the third son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, for want of male descendants in the branch of Héguier. This follows the rules of matriarchal succession.

Although Moussa ag Ǎmâstan's sister, Rakhma, who married Ǎnaba ag Ǎmellal, brother of Aménokal Ǎttici, left a son named Louki, he was bypassed by the Imochar as weak-minded.

651 The aménokal levies the tioussé on the Imrad and assimilated
[643] vassals. Some of them also pay dues /Fr. droits de redevance/ to the descendants of the old noble families. Thus the Dǎg Râli pay an annual due to the Inemba Kel Tǎhat, and the A'lt Loa'len to the Inemba Kel Emori. The latter levy four percent of the loads of grain brought back from the Sudan by the A'lt Loa'len.

[178 But these duties levied are tending to disappear gradually with
161] the extinction of the old Ahaggar families, some of which are no longer represented by more than a few individuals.

631 The Kel Rela tribe has been gathering strength in a singular way
644 for a century. It is all powerful by the number of its representatives, and matriarchy has only accentuated this situation. Indeed, since
[643] only Kel Rela women are capable of giving birth to an aménokal, young men from other noble tribes seek alliances with them,
[582] abandoning the women of their own tribe. This new blood has given the Kel Rela a certain physical vigor by preventing them from becoming impoverished through too close and too repeated inbred alliances.

631 a very ancient tribe, the Isbeten, who were the autochthons of the Ahaggar and whom the Dăg Rali would have found in Ătakor when they came to settle there.

After the battle at Tit where they lost more than 100 fighters, the Dăg Râli still numbered 60 warriors. The 1938 census gives 1, 090 [161] persons, 334 of them men, including the Iklan. This increase is quite [177] rare among the Tuareg and reflects their wealth and the improvement [511] of their living conditions since the French occupation.

They nomadize in the western part of the Koudia, which is their absolute fief where no other fraction is admitted.

/192/ On the east, the boundaries of the lands over which they range are fixed by the right bank of the Tamanrasset wadi and the Interkadène wadi as far as Ideles; on the south by the southern zone of the Tahalra as far as Tin Dahar; on the west by In Eker; and on the north by the line from In Eker to Hirhafok to Ideles.

631 The Dăg Râli pay a tribute of ten bags of dates or sorghum to the 651 amenokal; in addition, each family which sends a caravan to the Sudan pays him a small bag of sorghum. If the pastures are good, they add several "botta" of melted butter and the milk of twenty ewes. In the case of a successful raid, they pay the nobles half of the ewes.

631 The Dăg Râli are now the richest people in the Ahaggar. They 233 own more than 1, 200 goats and more than 1, 000 camels. Thanks to 556 their beasts of burden, they can take many very remunerative caravans 439 to the Sudan and to the Tidikelt. They hold in common escheated flocks which are called Edjeré-n-boutelma. When the pastures are insufficient to feed all their livestock, they entrust their camels to the Irréguénaten who graze them on the Saharo-Sudanese border.

631 Since they are very open-minded, they were in favor of cultivation 241 in the centers of the Ahaggar, and at the present time they possess 423 lands at Ilâman, Tarahananet, Tamanrasset, Abălessa, Iglen, Tăfârit, I-n-Ămegel, and Silet, which Negroes cultivate for them. The amenokal has granted them a certain number of palm trees in the Silet oasis which formerly belonged to the Tăitok.

173 Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé means "reed people." Legend has it that they
631 were forced to eat the roots of that plant during their flight from the Aïr. Their chief was then a man of Herculean size named Assékal ag Louka; the legend says that his feet were so big that when his pursuers saw the footprints, they preferred to abandon the chase.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé claim to be originally from Mecca where their remote ancestor received a camel from the Prophet. He was supposed to drink only the milk of the camel, but he committed the sin of killing it. Therefore, they had to flee, and after long years of wandering, they settled in Aïr.

At the time when the Imrad were divided up (1750), they were part of the Issandaten. The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé went to the Kel Rela, and the other fraction, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, went to the Tăĭtok.

631 The land over which they range borders on that of the Dăg Râli. It goes from Tamanrasset to Ourchi wadi, then from the Koudia as far as Afrahouhine and Tamaghine.

[651] They pay a tribute to the amenokal, the same size as that of the Dăg Râli, but they do not share captured goats and sheep with him.

They are currently allied with the Dăg Râli and the Relaiddîn.

They took sides against us in the battle of Tit where they had
[648 about ten men killed. During the insurrection of 1916-1918, they rose up, and their women even seized thirty mehari /dromedaries/
669] belonging to the meharist company at Fort Motylinski. On the other hand, they did not take part in the revolt directly and were the first to ask for mercy.

[161] /195/ Totaling 60 men in 1905, the tribe numbers about 150 persons at the present time.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé own nearly a thousand camels, which they
[233] graze on the Saharo-Sudanese borders, and 1,200 to 1,400 goats.
[651] Every year they pay a tribute to the amenokal of 12 bags of dates, 6 pots of butter, and the usufruct of 10 goats. Most of the cultivated
[423] land and the foggara of Tarhaouaout and Tahifet belongs to them,
[241] and they have gardens at Ămsel, Tamanrasset, and Talan-Tédit.

114 closer look and find out just what really does go on in the bosom of such a seemingly impossible community. The best general source on the Ahaggar Tuareg is probably Blanguernon (1955), while Benhazera (1908) gives some valuable demographic data and Lhote (1947 and 1955) supplies a mass of miscellaneous details. But all these works are in French: Rodd (1926), writing in English, gives a fairly good general picture of the Tuareg as a whole although he deals primarily with the Aïr.

101 The Tuareg of the Sahara proper, as we have defined it, are divided into three confederations, those of the Tassili n Ajjer, the Ahaggar and the Adrar n Ifoghas, distributed in that order from Northeast to Southwest. There are probably only about 10,000 or [161] 11,000 of them in all, for most of the Tuareg, some 140,000 strong, now live outside our area in the Aïr and the northern central Sudan. We will take the Ahaggar confederation as our Tuareg socio-economic sample because this group not only seems to have remained the least affected by foreign influence but has also been the most extensively studied and described, and because it is the only one with which the author is personally familiar.

101 The Tuareg as a whole used to range over an enormous territory extending roughly as 166 far north as Ouargla, eastward to Gatroun, westward to a bit beyond a line running from 131 Aoulef to Timbuctoo, and southward to below the Niger Bend and the northern border of Nigeria. The eastern, northern and western limits of this range have been slowly driven back over the last few centuries, first by ever stronger Arab pressure from the East and North and then by the gradual southward extension of French and, more recently, Italian control. These steadily increasing pressures have produced a steadily increasing though fluctuating flow of the Tuareg population southward from the Desert proper, through the Aïr and the Adrar n Ifoghas and into the Sudan. Under the stimulus of disaster in one form or another, this flow has occasionally become torrential for brief periods, as when, following the suppression of the 1916–18 rebellion, a great wave of Aïr Tuareg moved into British Nigeria (Rodd, 1926, p. 361) and the main body of the Taïtoq tribe left their home range in the western Ahaggar for the

101 country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote,
166 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the
131 latest major episodes in a general southwestward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

631 The military administrative unit known as the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds fairly closely to the present normal range of [101] the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabitants in 1950), and supports a total native population of [161] probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

162 Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

197 The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

619 **Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these are divided into tribes which are subdivided
565 into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] [a] A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

551 [b] Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in as many different ways as are the geographical names
104 of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

622 [c] A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



162
565
614
631

| | Noble Clans | | Vassal Clans | Isekkemaren Clans | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The Tegehe-Mellet Drum-Group* | *Tegehe Mellet* | 33 | *Kel Terhe* (part of the Ait Lonien clan of the Kel Ṛela drum-group). | *Kel Teroumit*<br>*Kel Ouhet* | 62<br>70 |
| *Noble Clans Without Vassals* | *Kel Ehan Mellon* | | The Isekkemaren clans are said formerly to have been vassals of this clan. | | |
| | *Ikadrien* | | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | | |

### *The Kel Ṛela Drum-Group in Ahaggar.*

[161] The Ahaggar Tuareg according to statistics from 1950 number 4,611 individuals
565 (Lhote 1955, p. 157) and comprise 26 clans. In addition to the noble class termed
614 *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), and the vassal class termed *Imrad*, (sing. *Amrid*) or *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), there is also a class termed *Isekkemaren* (sing. *Asekkemar*), who can be considered vassals of a somewhat different status. The religious class *Inesleman* (sing. *Anesleman*) is in Ahaggar represented by a few families without clan organization.

614 There are five noble clans but only three of them have vassals. There are in
565 other words three drum-groups *(eṭṭebel*, pl. *eṭṭebelen)*, namely those of Kel Ṛela,
634 Taitoḳ, and Teḡehe Mellet. The Kel Ṛela group is by far the most important, and its chief with the title of Amenokal is the supreme head of all three groups which
643 constitute a sort of federation named *teḡehe*. In rare cases when the Tuareg of Ahaggar joined forces against foreign Tuareg groups, e.g. the Tuareg of Tassili-n-
[701] Aijer, the Amenokal was the war-leader of all three drum-groups. But in the past he had often little authority over the two other drum-groups For long periods of the 19th century he had severe troubles with the Taitoḳ, who had acquired a practically independent position, and it seems as if he had no rights over the land inhabited by the Taitoḳ drum-group. The Amenokal as well as the two other drum-chiefs *(Amṛar*, pl. *Imṛaren)* were elected by the vassals of their respective
[565] drum-groups. It is true that the members of the noble clan had a certain influence,
[614] but – contrary to former opinions on the matter – they did not have any direct voice in elections. The Amenokal was and is ceremoniously installed by a Tuareg of the Isekkemaren class who provides him with a new veil or turban. The two other
634 drum-chiefs should be installed in this way by the Amenokal, who also undertook the installation of all vassal chiefs within his own drum-group. The installment of vassal chiefs within the two other drum-groups were undertaken by their respective drum-chiefs. In the present chapter I shall describe the drum-group of the Kel Ṛela in some detail.

[Text continues on p. 104]

262 /107 cont./ buy them. Rice is considered to be a remedy. In the way of preserved foods, one may see the Tuareg eat sardines in oil and jam and use canned milk. All of these foods are not accepted with enthusiasm; they are too expensive, [181] and the Tuareg seem to be truly conservative in food matters, as well as in the whole of their customs.

They drink water, milk, and tea, the latter being of 272 relatively recent importation but in the way of becoming a necessity. There is no need to mention again the ritual that surrounds the making and drinking of tea.

Coffee is scarcely drunk except with the French; when it [273] is taken in the tent, it is as a remedy. Need I say that the Tuareg drink no alcohol and that at the present time there is no exception ot this rule?

## Public Health

161 It appears to be practically impossible to construct a demographic table for the Ahaggar: figures for the years /108/ before 1947 are rare and suspect; they give an acceptable approximation but do not give an exact picture of population movements.

In this field one must then use figures from recent censuses and observations of the tribes that may be easily visited in trying prudently to project these observations to the whole of the population.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1948 the count was: | 6, 048 | nomads |
| | 4, 240 | harratin |
| | 10, 288 | |
| 1949 | 6, 013 | nomads |
| | 4, 285 | harratin |
| | 10, 298 | |

The population figure for the Ahaggar seems to be fairly stationary (even if one does not rely exclusively on the figures

161 /108 cont./ cited above). The birth rate is not very high, but it is greater than the low death rate. Infant mortality is practically impossible to verify.

In 1948 there were 1, 028 men counted for 1, 202 women,
162 which would seem tosupport the widespread opinion that relative to other peoples there are more men than women among the Tuareg. One must be careful, however, not to make this type of affirmation without having previously examined all the causes that may produce such a state of affairs. It is almost certain that the Tuareg control their birth rate. The
162 chief of the tribe may forbid births or may recommend them
847 according to the number of members of the tribe. This measure seems wise in a country which can scarcely support the existing population. The situation is such as it would be if the Tuareg had found, empirically, the ideal number of individuals able to be supported by their soil and were wise enough to try to maintain this number.

The men interrogated on this subject avoided the question, saying that this concerns their women and that they do not know the methods employed. The women are equally reticent, not to say mute.

/109/ Some of them claim to abort by drinking decoctions of plants. The French doctors know the qualities of these plants and think that this medication would be insufficient to produce the desired effect. By being patient, I was able to learn a method which, although dangerous, should be effective; I got this information from only one woman and have never been able to confirm it, as it is difficult to touch on these subjects directly. The women supposedly use a probe that they make from a "stone" called "azarif" ("cheb" in Arabic), which is of alum; they make this the size of a slate pencil.
162 This probe dissolves after having produced a mechanical effect.
165 It is likely that many women fall victim to these maneuvers,
847 for in questioning the Tuareg one discovers a rather high female mortality rate at a relatively young age. Perhaps we may see

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



167 tion into Ayr many Tuareg of that region emigrated, and some of them settled as far away as Darfur
[648] where they and their descendants still live near El Fasher. Another emigration took place after the
162 Tuareg revolt against the French in 1917. Many Tuareg of the *Kel Ayr* and the *Iwllemmeden* fled to
Northern Nigeria to settle in villages and towns around Kano and Katsena. According to Rodd about 30.000 Ayr Tuareg fled to Nigeria after the revolt (Rodd 1926a, p. 361).

161 According to statistics for the period 1933–38 the total number of Tuareg living in the Algerian Sahara and to the south in the republics of Niger and Soudan is estimated by Lhote to be about 240.000.

162 They were divided among the main groups as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Kel Ahaggar* | 4.254 |
| *Kel Aijer* | 1.508 |
| *Kel Adraŋ* | 4.223 |
| *Kel Ayr & Kel Geres* | 27.765 |
| *Iwllemmeden* | 161.160 |
| *Tengerregif* | 40.000 |

162 These figures need certain corrections. Thus the *Kel Aijer* are more numerous than indicated by the
161 above figure, which does not include Tuareg of that group living in Libya. On the other hand the
[567] figure for *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg is much too high; it includes about 94.000 negroid slaves which should be deducted, as slaves are not included in the other figures. Nevertheless, Lhote believes that the actual number of free Tuareg is about 300.000 as the birth rate is on the increase. Thus statistics for 1950 indicate that there are 4.611 fairskinned Tuareg in Ahaggar (Lhote 1955a, p. 157). Nicolas assumes that there are about 500.000 Sudanese Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. Avertissement). This figure is, no doubt, too high. If we assume that there are in all 300.000 Tuareg, we find that the two northern groups *Kel Aijer & Kel Ahaggar* living in the true desert country constitute about three per cent of the total Tuareg population.*

197 The Tuareg language is known as *tamahaq* in the two northern groups, *tamachek* in the south. It has four main branches or dialects, namely 1) *tahaggarî* spoken by the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Aijer*; 2) *tadraq* spoken by the Tuareg of *Adraŋ-n-Foras*; 3) *tayrt* spoken by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*; 4) *tawllemmet* spoken by the *Iwllemmeden* and other Sudanese Tuareg. Grammatically these four dialects are closely related, but there are important distinctions in pronunciation and vocabulary. The dialects are on the whole mutually intelligible.

212 The alphabet known as *tifinaŋ* is known in all Tuareg groups. It is related to the ancient Libyan script. Several authors have stated that *tifinaŋ* is not so widely known among the modern Tuareg as it was in the past. It is true that certain Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arabic alphabet, but it is very difficult even nowadays to find adult Tuareg who do not know their proper script which is also widely used for letters. This, anyway, is true of the Tuareg groups I have visited, and it must be added that I have never found any proof of the statement so frequently seen in literature that the alphabet is

* Considering the statistics for 1933–38 (240.000 ÷ 94.000) the total number of true Tuareg in 1950 would appear to be lower than 300.000.

# Caravan Trading

Caravan trading of the Sahara has suffered severely from the European colonisation of Northern 178
Africa. The establishment of ports and railways in the Sudanese area and the abolition of the slave- 437
trade have brought to an end the large caravans passing through the desert. In recent times another 484
heavy blow has been struck against the caravans, for transportation is more and more taken over
by trucks which can easily pass through the open desert country. Many pastoralists of Northern [433]
Africa suffer from the decline of their trade, which for centuries has been an important stabilizing
factor for their subsistence. The decline of caravan trading is also strongly felt in the oases, which [361]
have played a very important part as trading posts or trading stations. Some of these oases have far [61]
fewer inhabitants nowadays than in the past, and it is most difficult for many sedentary people of the
oases to exist. The decline of the trade has been felt also among the pastoral Tuareg. But caravan
trading is still important to most of them, and many of them could not support life without it. To
understand the important role of caravan trading we have once more to return to the economic values
of subsistence activities.

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AHAGGAR TUAREG

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot live exclusively on stock-breeding products all the year round – not even 433
in good years when annual pasture is well developed in autumn and early winter. Even in a good 262
year the nomads mainly eat vegetable food throughout the hot season, and some bread or porridge
is also consumed during the period of abundant milk yields. It is true that nomads can subsist entirely
on milk for long periods, and that some people do so for weeks or even months. Galan says that
pastoralists of of Ahaggar, when they live entirely on milk, can do with four litres a day per person
(Galan 1951, p. 231). But it is estimated by the Ayr Tuareg that they need about eight or ten litres a
day to live entirely on milk, and they all claim that they get weary from constant milk drinking. They [261]
say that though they do not feel hungry when they live exclusively on milk they experience a peculiar,
unpleasant feeling in the stomach. The relative importance of stock-breeding products (mainly milk)
and vegetable food (mainly wheat, millet, and dates) may be seen from the diagram Fig. 151.[1] In a
good year there is normally some possibility of collecting wild seeds for bread and porridge, but the
Tuareg claim that they cannot easily cover their need of vegetable products even in a year when milk
is abundant. And milk is not always abundant. We can estimate that for two or three good years 433

[p. 209]

[1] [cf. p. 216]

3: ?Paques--13 S-4 (no date) 1954 FA8 Bambara FA8
Touareg MS25

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T
161

## II. Demographic Situation of the Nomadic Population
[in the Sudan]

| | Moors | | | Touareg | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1940: | Gao | 9,494 | 23,322 | 57,945 | 40,757 | 139,236 |
| | Goundam | 2,885 | | | | |
| | Timbuktu | 10,943 | | 40,934 | | |
| 1944: | Gao | 18,812 | 34,073 | 74,357 | 16,105 | 128,057 |
| | Goundam | 2,505 | | | | |
| | Timbuktu | 12,756 | | 37,595 | | |
| 1959: | Gao | 19,078 | 37,723 | 77,640 | 17,004 | 153,246 |
| | Goundam | 2,743 | | | | |
| | Timbuktu | 15,502 | | 58,599 | | |

B
161

## III. General Movement of the Population in the Past Ten Years

| | Sedentary and Semi-nomadic | Nomadic |
|---|---|---|
| 1940 | 2,750,950 | 163,000 |
| 1941 | 2,790,000 | |
| 1942 | 2,840,000 | |
| 1943 | 2,870,000 | 162,000 |
| 1944 | 2,900,000 | |
| 1945 | 2,800,000 | |
| 1946 | 2,810,000 | |
| 1947 | 2,840,000 | |
| 1948 | 3,125,000 | |
| 1949 | 3,237,000 | |
| 1950 | 3,337,000 | 190,000 |
| Total increase | 586,000 | 27,000 |
| Rate of increase | 21% | 16% |

An age profile of the population. The censuses of future years will no doubt permit a better study of the country's demography.

174 in the Sudan, the Sanhadja-Nounou, was governed by a woman named Bikoun-Kabi, whom the Sonrhaï /Songhai/ emperor Sonni-Ali had to conquer in order to seize her territory. Es-Sadi, author of the Tarik-es-Soudan, reports several facts of this kind.

The Islamization of the Berber tribes certainly had a part in the elimination of the custom. Women no longer play any official [562] political role in our times. But they have made themselves the guardians of ancestral customs and folklore, and their authority is [626] so strong that one /154/ can only quote the answer of a Tuareg to an Arab who admonished him upon the subject of Tuareg mores: "No one would dare do otherwise, for then no woman would look at us any longer."

● 162 182 545 The persistence of monogamy among the Tuareg is also favored by the considerable excess of men found among them, an exceptional fact and contrary to what we observe in other human groups.

The amenokal. -- Amenokal means in Tamashek "possessor of 643 the country" (from am, possessive prefix, and akal, "country").

[192] In the Ahaggar this title is conferred only upon the supreme chief reigning over a whole of noble, vassal, or assimilated tribes. [184] In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, it may be applied to heads of fractions, indeed even to mere camp chiefs.

The amenokal is designated according to hereditary rules deriving from the matriarchal system. He is always chosen, not only in the same tribe, but in the same line which one could compare to the clan. His domination, to be effective, must be sanctioned by the approval of the nobles to whom are joined for the occasion the chiefs of vassal tribes. For the latter, approval involves an agreement to pay tribute later.

Sometimes there are several pretenders to the title; perhaps a descendant of a formerly ousted family asserts his rights, or perhaps the natural heir is recognized incapable of leadership. This brings about a competition where hereditary rules are not always respected.

565 Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of
[511] the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of
[177] prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting
631 matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs internally as they see fit, without intervention of the amenokal or the
[642] Imochar in their affairs.

● 162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps
565 because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by
721 their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often
[727] organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some
701 Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among
[714] the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded
631 in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for
[582] their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

631 For more than a century the life of the Kel Rela has consisted of
643 a constant struggle against the Taïtok. The latter, belligerent and
578 jealous, dreamed only of seizing the aménokalat of the Ahaggar, and the history of the Tuareg of this country is nothing but a long succession of wars where the two fractions were alternately /191/ successful, but where the Kel Rela always kept the advantage thanks to their numerical superiority. The account of these events may be found in the book of Mr. Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 99 ff.

[162] In the 1838 census the Kel Rela included 312 persons, 38 of them men. In 1905, according to Benhazéra, they numbered 55 to 60 tents.

The tobol of the Kel Rela at the beginning included only two
631 tribes, the Dăg Râli and the Ăgouh-en-Tèhlé, as well as a large part of the Issekkemâren. Since then, other fractions have come to seek their protection or to assimilate themselves. Such is the case of the Aït-Loaïen and the Relaiddin.

[65] The Imrad call the Kel Rela "the people who cost dearly," thereby making an allusion to the dues which they are obliged to pay them.

The Dăg Rali. -- The Dăg Râli form the principal fraction of the
[643] Kel Rela tobol, on whom the aménokal of the Ahaggar has always relied to enforce his rights, and without whom he would be nothing and could do nothing.

With the Kel Ăhnet, they originally formed the Imessîlîten tribe, and they were said to be the descendants of Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, the ancestor of the Kel Rela. They sprang from four sub-fractions: the Ikechchemâden, attached to the Taïtok tobol, the Imessîlîten, the Oulad Ir'dal, the Dăg Mertemek.

At the present time they are subdivided into: 1) Kel Tăhat, 2) Kel Tarahananet, 3) Kel Tămanrasset, 4) Kel Hirhâfok, 5) Kel Ărechchoum. To the Dăg Râli must be added a few individuals, today completely assimilated with them; they are descendants of

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Ǎrokam, Serouanout, and in the Ǎnahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[233] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are [241 423] their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and 681 the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the 669 Ihéaouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up [797] the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 The Aït Loaien form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which [181] must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[651] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokal.

The Relaiddîn. -- The Relaiddîn probably came from Aïr, like the Ǎgouh-en-Tǎhlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162 651] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tiousse to the Iboglân.

This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 [177 233] camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1, 500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

631 /197/ They do own a few gardens at Tazerouk, Ti-n-Tarabine, Aïtoklane, and Sersouf, but all lie fallow.

[669] During the revolt, they left the Agouh-en-Tehlé in dissent, but they soon surrendered, for their position between the Ahaggar and the Ajjer always put them at the mercy of raids by the latter.

[651] The Relaiddin pay an annual tribute of two loads of grain, a pot of butter, and a goat to the aménokal.

[162] To the Relaiddin must be added a small fraction on its way toward disappearing; they are the Kel Bardjen, of undetermined origin.

[674] Numbering some ten warriors, they are recognized as inveterate robbers, always encroaching on the nomadic territories of others.

[423] Bardjen is located between Tazerouk, Imerera, and Ideles. The territory of the Kel Bardjen was probably marked off about 1750 and

[212] defined by monoliths, some of which bear tifinagh characters.

The Ibettenaten. -- The Ibettenaten are not "Imrad," properly speaking. According to Benhazéra, this tribe was formerly noble. They were probably subjugated by the Kel Rela following the murder of an Amacher /singular of Imochar, the aristocratic class. Ed./ committed by one of them. Since then, they pay the tioussé to the

[651] aménokal.

The Ibettenaten probably descended from Kel Afella Ifora on the maternal side and from Tidikelt Arabs on the paternal side.

631 About thirty tents are nomads in the Sudan near Bou Djbiha, but they go up as far as Taoudart and In Ouzal in the Adrar des Iforas,

162 following the pasture grounds. Fifteen other tents enfeoffed to the Kel Fadél camp in Aïr.

They number 160 persons, 62 of them men, in the 1938 census.

631 They are entirely herders, making very few caravans and owning

233 no cultivated lands. They have very fine pasture grounds at their disposal. They own about 800 camels, 1,000 sheep, and (a rare thing, but quite in keeping with their area of nomadization) nearly 100 cows.

631 They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since
[669] they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaŭa.

565 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tăousit, still called
644 Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they
631 made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be
[184] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion
[241] to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and
[162] they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[231] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tăhalra, and in the region of Silet-Ăbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers
[241] of Tîgeneouin, Ăbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm
423 grove at Tibeghîn, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is
563 synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and
631 Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hâda
Kel In Rhar'
Kel Tăfedest
Kel Immîdir
Kel Tăzoûlet
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Téroûrirt
Kel Ouhet

563 [162] They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elias, Oulad Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

[233] They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout, [423 241] which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and manpower. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism [795 798] /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

[669] In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Tăfedest.

/200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by [173] Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

[162] Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Tăfedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

[233] Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head. [241 423] They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them entirely, and at I-n-Ămegal, Déhine, and Ăbézou.

[795] Like the Ihéiaouen Hăda, they are mostly affiliated with the Tijaniyyah sect.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us, which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

[224] They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

[65] The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the amenokal six bags of dates and a young camel.

[162] The Kel Tăfedest. -- The Kel Tăfedest or Kel Tégatoufé (or ant people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

563 They nomadize near the Garet ed Djenoun, the Ăseksem, Ămegid, and the Ădrar Torha; they own about 300 goats and 30 [233] camels. (1938 census, as opposed to 600 goats and 200 camels in 1905.)

[241 423] They are the owners of a few gardens in the Tăfedest.

[795] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah order.

[65] The Kel Tăfedest annually pay the amenokal four loads of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Immîdir. -- The Kel Immîdir, or Kel Mouydir, are still called Iheiaouen-n-Tin-Emma. They are of the same origin as the Iheiaouen Hâda and the Kel Tazoulé.

[162] They are subdivided into Kel Terahart and Kel Raris and include about 50 people. They nomadize in the Immîdir massif toward Joraf and Tagmout and have areas for nomadization between Ifetessen and In Eker.

[233 464] They are poor people who own about 20 camels and 250 goats. Very good merchants and excellent caravaneers, they hire themselves out to camel owners to provide for their needs.

/201/ The Isselamaten must be added to the Kel Immidir. They [162] are a small fraction of about 15 tents which lives with them and nomadize near Aneserfa, Ărak, Ahohor, Tagemout, and Tiredjert.

The Kel Tazoûlet. -- The Kel Tazoûlet or Dăg el Mesk camp in the Tăzoûlet region and near Tăzerouk. They number about 225 [162 233] people and own 285 camels and more than 2,000 goats. They dryness of the region which they inhabit forces them to take refuge in the [132] Sudan when there are no rains in the Ahaggar.

[241 423] They possess gardens at Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine, and at Tăzerouk.

[669] They were in contact with the Aït Loaien and followed the latter in revolt, participating with them in the battles of Tit and the Ilaman wadi.

[795 799] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah. Four or five of their number have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

563 [651] Every year they pay the aménokal three loads of dates and three young goats.

[554] The Irréguénaten. -- The Irréguénaten, like the Issekkemâren, are assimilated vassals of a social rank superior to that of the Imrad.

They are of Tuareg mothers from the Ibettenâten tribe and Arab fathers from the Kounta tribe.

They are divided into two groups: 1) the Adrar Irréguénaten or Issettafénine Irréguénaten, who descended from a sherif of Gourara named Abdelmoumen, whose two sons Mouima and Inchelane married Ibettenâten women; 2) the Ahaggar Irréguénaten or Ihaggarénine Irréguénaten, who descended from the Dermachaka, an incorporated tribe of Kounta and Ibettenâten.

All of them nomadize in the northern Ădrar des Ifôras and the Timétrine and even push as far as Erg Chech. They also visit the Ăhnet and Tămasna.

[233] This is a very rich tribe engaged in raising camels. The Irréguénaten own more than 2, 300 camels, 350 cows, and more than 2, 350 goats and sheep.

[162] In 1908 they numbered 50 to 60 men, according to Benhazéra. The 1938 census raises the figure to 358 persons, 100 of them fighters.

[651] /202/ They pay the tioussé to the descendants of the Inemba and to the descendants of Si Mohamed ag Othman.

[669] Although they associated with the Adrar Kounta, they maintained relations with the rebellious marabout Abidine, who took refuge among the Kel Ahnet. They probably even served him as spies, and the people of Ădrar des Ifôras held them in suspicion for a long time.

[28] 462 Their camel raising is very well known, and their wives are quite expert in leatherwork.

[602] There are also Irréguénaten in the Niger loop, but they have no bonds of kinship with the Ahaggar Irréguénaten.

175 back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of
631 the men, including Azioueł, died of thirst in the desert.
643

/204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

579 At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the
631 suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and
[648] more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

[511] Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of
631 their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the
651 nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ădrar des Ifôras, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis and Isoknâten of the Aïr.

[162 Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400
233] camels and about 1, 000 goats.

During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at
175 first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave
631 us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his
648 Imrad Kel I-n-Tounîn. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops, He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of
[423] Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastân.

631 alliances give a glimpse of the scope of the Tăitok raids.
[648] The tobol of the Tăitok includes the Irechchoûmen, a little noble tribe which lost its rights to the tobol as a consequence of misalliances, the Kel Ăhnet, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, the Kel I-n-Toûnin, the Iouarouaren, the Ikouttissen, and the Ikechchemâden.

The Irechchoûmen. -- The Irechchoûmen, also called Iradjenaten (mixed blood), usually camp in the Ăhnet, going as high as Aoulef. The head of the family was Ibédi ag Bassi, who married a daughter of the Oulad Zenan (Aoulef Arabs) and had for sons-in-law Azioueel and Tacha ag Serada of the Tăitok, both dead as a result of raids. (2)

2. Azioueel's widow married Moussa ag Amastân, aménokal of the Ahaggar, in 1910.

[582] They are allies of the Tăitok through numerous marriages, and also of the Imrad Kel Ăhnet. They also marry with /206/ Arab
[643] women from the Touat, and these multiple misalliances have made them lose their right to the tobol.

[173] According to a tradition reported by Duveyrier, the Irechchoûmen originally came from Es Souq. Part of the tribe descends from the Edrissians, and others have the Ikadeien for their ancestors.

[162] They include only about ten tents, or 60 persons, at the present time.

The Kel Ăhnet. -- The Kel Ăhnet are of the same origin as the
[173] Dag Râli with whom they formerly made up the Imessiliten fraction. This schism occurred under the aménokalat of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, at the time of the distribution of the Imrad among the different noble tribes, and the Kel Ăhnet were bestowed upon the Tăitok.

They were among the first to come and surrender, and their chief, Badjeloud ag Maklia, came to In-Salah as early as 1902.

631 Taken away from the Tăitok and made free, they were put back under their command in 1909.

631 131 They nomadize from Silet to Reggan and Aoulef. The land over which they range includes all of the Ădrar Ăhnet, the Ăseg'rad, and part of the Immidir. The boundaries which separate them from the Issekkemâren are as follows: Tin Tir'atimine and Tagemout (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the northeast; Arak wadi as far as Amsir, and Méniet (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the east, by the In Rabir well; they have at their disposal all the mountainous part on the south, including In Ziza and Nahalet, that is, the whole region bordering on the Tanezrouft and bounded on the east by Ouallen, the last watering place before the Tanezrouft; to the north by the Ăsouf Mellen wadi.

[132] In dry years they descend to the Sudan in the region of In Abangarit-In Gall and Tamaïa. They camp near the Tăitok in the Ădrar Tazerzaït, where they escape the control of the Algerian and Sudanese authorities.

They formerly exploited a sebkha in the In Méraguen wadi.

631 In 1905 they were a group of 35 to 40 tents. In the 1938 census, [162] they numbered no more than 58 persons, 21 of them men.

[181 721] Rather pugnacious by nature, they always accompany the Tăitok on their expeditions and share the loot with them in equal parts.

[669] During the World War, they stayed in the Ăhnet and /207/ took part in the revolt only individually by supplying the rebels, willingly or by force. Only at the end of 1917, under the influence of Ăjjer elements, did they rise up and pillage in Ădrar and at Ăkabli.

[181 795] They are rather unreligious; they follow the Malekite rite, and some are members of the Tijaniyyah order. They profess great respect for the marabouts and willingly receive them in their camps. At the beginning of the conflict the agitator Abidine of [669] the Timbuktu Kounta, took refuge among them; he had led the struggle against us in Timbuktu for a long time.

173 Let us add that the Kel Ăhnet claim to be of Beraber origin
631 through Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hînân. But the Tăitok say that it is not known where they come from, except that they must have inhabited the Ahaggar long before the arrival of Ti-n-Hînân.

The Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis. -- The Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis are of the same
631 origin as the Tégéhé-n-Elîmen.

They used to nomadize in Aïr and had to leave that country as a result of the murder of the sultan who wanted to force them to pay too heavy a tax. Efis was their chief, and it is he who decided to leave. The descendants of these families thenceforth bore his name.

They formed only a single tribe with the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. When Mohamed el Kheir was aménokal, the Tégéhé-n-Elîmen came to ask protection from the Ihăggaren -- some say this was under Mohamed el Kheir's grandson, Younès.

During the war which put the Kel Rela and the Tăitok in conflict, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis took refuge on the Aïr borders. Afterwards, they returned for the most part, but some ten tents remained in the Sudan.

[162] In 1905, they numbered about 30 tents; in the 1938 census there were 164 persons, 51 of them men. They own 80 camels, and 250
[233] goats. They are the proprietors of cultivated lands at Tîgenouin,
[241] Amsel, Ăbalessa, and Tahart. They also see to the cultivation of
423] gardens at Tamanrasset, which have belonged to the Imekkeresen (an Imrad tribe of the Ajjer Tassili) for a long time. By rights they should pay the latter a due, but it is never asked for.

They nomadize in the Tahalra (southwest of Koudia) and migrate on the parallel Amsel, Tîgeneouin, Tâmaïa. The line of demarcation separating their area from /208/ that of the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé is formed by the Tamanrasset wadi.

They were bestowed upon the Tăitok at the time of the distribution of the Imrad, and they have followed their suzerains in all their affairs.

The Kel I-n-Toûnîn. -- The Kel I-n-Toûnîn are Issekkemâren.
[173] They were given to the Tăitok under Sidi's aménokalat (1755) when the Kel Rela tobol was split up, while the Kel Ouhet and the Kel Téroûrirt were given to the Tégéhé Mellet.

631 The Kel I-n-Toûnîn owe their name to the wadi near which they ordinarily nomadize in the Tăfedest massif. At the end of the last century they took advantage of the dissensions existing between the Tăitok and the Kel Rela as well as the internal strife of the [651] Tăitok to free themselves of the latter. They moved to the Ăjjer, claiming kinship with them, but they pay them no taxes.

After their surrender to the French, the Tăitok reclaimed them, and General Laperrine agreed to their demand.

[649] They took a big part in the rebellion of 1916 and were the first to rise up, for they were under the direct influence of the Ăjjer.

Taking refuge in Fezzan at first, they set about combating us by launching raids against the fractions under our influence. Later they participated in the combat of Aïn el Hadjadj. Then they went to the Sudan, where they succeeded in taking with them a number of Tăitok, their Chief Amri among them, in spite of the efforts Moussa ag Ămastân made to keep them.

[162] They number about 20 tents which camp in the north of the Tăfedest massif and go up as high as the Ădrar Ifetessen on the foothills of Immîdir.

[582] They are allied to the Tégéhé Mellet by recent marriages.

Famous as good herders, they own about 100 camels and 300 [233 439] goats. They are also good caravaneers who trade on the markets of In Salah, Ghat, and Ghadames.

[241] They have a few gardens cultivated at Ideles and in the Tassili centers of cultivation.

[162] The Iouarouaren. -- The Iouarouaren form a little tribe of about 15 tents, which nomadizes with the Kel Ăhnet in the Adrar.

Some say they are natives of Aïr, others say of the Ăjjer.

173 /210/ When an Ăjjer (or Ifôras) woman had been taken prisoner by the Aïr people, according to Sidi ag Kéradji, it was Ămastân 631 ag Ourzig, maternal uncle of Sidi, who paid her ransom and married her to a Kel Ăhnet; from this union sprang the Iouarouaren. (1)

631
[173]

1. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 177.

[582] They often camp near the Dăg Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Tăitok in their peregrinations.

[423] They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghîn, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given [239] to Moussa ag Ămastan. They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The tioussé paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a [65] bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemaden live mixed in with the Dăg Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Tăitok tobol.

[192] Their name means "the very ugly ones," from the Tamashek akechchemdh, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Ămastân.

[162] They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

[423] They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dăg Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dăg Râli.

[162] The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ăjjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

[162] The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeïen form a little tribe of some 15 tents, whose camp lies near Tit and Tigeneouin.

619 Kel-I-n-Toûnîn Imrad rather than accept the supremacy of Moussa
648 ag Ămastân and the Kel Rela. For a long time they kept up the agitation, encouraged by the former Amenokal Attici ag Ămellal, and they were one of the causes of our difficulties with the Ăjjer.

619 It is now a small tribe of about 15 tents nomadizing near
[162] Ămegid, the Ounane, the Eguéré, and /212/ Tiramar. Its strength comes especially from its vassals, who could not be more turbulent.
[669] They probably participated in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and Attici and Ănaba ag Ămellal, the leaders of the drama, belonged to that fraction.

The Tégéhé-Mellet have no Imrad properly speaking, but several Issekkemâren fractions are enfeoffed to them.

The Kel Terourirt. -- The Kel Terourirt are Issekkemâren and nomadize northeast of the Ahaggar near Tiramar, Tahihaout,
[162] Ounane, the Eguéré, and the Garet ed Djenoun. They number 25 tents at the moment:

[669] During the 1916 events, they followed the Kel Ouhet and the Kel I-n-Toûnîn in rebelling.

[651] They pay the amrar of the Tégéhé Mellet a tioussé which annually adds up to four bags of dates and four goats.

The Kel Ouhet. -- Like the Kel Térourirt, the Kel Ouhet are Issekkemâren. They are subdivided into several small fractions: the Kel Raris, the Dăg-Khamaya, and the Dăg Iknân. In all there are
[162] about 40 tents (51 persons in the 1938 census, 23 of them men).

They camp in the northern part of the Tăfedest massif and go as far as Amegid and into the Igharghar Valley.

[233] They own a number of camels and frequently visit the markets
[439] of the Tidikelt and Ghat.

Some of them have left the Ahaggar and now live in the Ăjjer.

The Kel Torha. -- The Kel Torha, or Dăg Houa, are Aït Loaien and their small fraction is in the process of disappearing. Although they live with the Aït Loaien who belong to the Kel Rela tobol,
[651] they pay the annual tioussé of a mézoued of dates to the Tégéhé-Mellet.

114 forming the tobol" and, by extension, "servant of the tobol."
533 At the present time these three fractions number about 150
631 people.
[162] We call attention to them here only as a reminder.

Book V

Material Life

Chapter 1

Living Conditions Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

133 The Ahaggar, as we have already said, is a mountain refuge. We do not know why the Tuareg have continued to live there when they could have found much better countries to the south where they could have had a much easier life. Perhaps we should attribute this to attachment to the country or, quite simply, to an ancient state of things which forced them to take refuge against their will in the middle of the rocks.

13 A superficial examination shows that the Ahaggar is a very poor
[511] country with negligible resources, which imposes a living standard lower than the average. The pasture reserves are calculated, as
[312] are the water reserves. The subsoil possesses nothing, or almost nothing, which is marketable, except a little salt. Consequently, the possibilities for life there are quite limited. For the inhabitants to live, then, they must have recourse to outside resources.

the proportion of one to four. After several dry years some agricultural centers must be completely abandoned. This was the case of Tit, Altoklane, Tahart, Dar-Mouli, etc., in the last few years.

In 1940, 555 hectares of land were seeded. This is the figure for a good year, which can occasionally be surpassed but can also be reduced by more than half.

The population of the agricultural centers, which was 1, 310 people in 1916, was 2, 280 in 1938, which denotes a great effort made in favor of agriculture. This could be realized thanks only to the state of peace due to the French occupation.

Here are the figures for each of the principal centers, according to the archives of the Tamanrasset post (1):

1. Florimond report, 1938.

| | 1911 | 1938 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tamanrasset | 150 | 686 | |
| Abalessa | 272 | 250 | |
| I-n-Amgel | 180 | 206 | |
| Iglen | | 168 | |
| Ideles | 70 | 160 | |
| Tazerouk | 150 | 148 | |
| Tit | 75 | 98 | had to leave for other centers after the summer of 1938. |
| Tarhaouhaout | 140 | 91 | |
| Amsel | 90 | 66 | |
| Tahifet | | 39 | |
| /248/ Tigeneouin | 25 | 23 | |
| Mertoutek | | 60 | |
| Hirhafok | | 80 | |
| Haman | 10 | | |

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| | 1911 | 1938 |
|---|---|---|
| T-i-n-Ẋmenser . . . . . | 36 | temporarily abandoned |
| Tifert . . . . . | 50 | " " " |
| Essélésékin . . . . . | 30 | |
| T-i-n-Târâbin . . . . . | 15 | abandoned |

166 621 [648] These figures bring out the weakening of some centers to the advantage of others. Thus, a number of cultivators from Tarahouhaout (where the French post was formerly located) came to settle at Tamanrasset, and the group of little centers in the outskirts of Ẋbalessa, Iglen, Tẋfarit, etc., has absorbed the groups from other abandoned centers like Tifert, Esséléséкin, Ilâman, Tarahananet, etc.

[241 312] Together these centers number about 400 gardens and 80 feggaguir.

262 439 433 The wheat harvested is partly consumed by the cultivators and chiefly intended for export; it is exchanged at the Touat for dates. The total harvests in the Ahaggar corresponds to only one -fifth of the needs of its inhabitants, even in good years.

621 433 There are fifteen agricultural centers exploited in the Ahaggar: Tamanrasset, Tẋrhaouahout, Tahifet, Tẋzerouk, Ideles, Ẋbalessa, Hirhafok, Iglen, I-n-Amegel, T-i-n-Ẋmenser, Amsel, Tigeneouin, Talan-Tedit, Mertoûtek, and Esseléséкine.

[166] In addition there are twenty-two other centers which have been abandoned for some years as a result of dryness or lack of manpower: Aïtoklane, Ẋdenek, Ẋmrah, Ẋbezou, Ẋglil, Bloûmet, Déhine, Dar Mouli, Ennedid, Innezal, Ilâman, In Ẋmertek, Ilafok, Outoul, Ouhet, Souaïka, T-i-n-Târabin, Touakin, Teberbert, Tarahananet, Tahart, and Joraf.

101 country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote,
166 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the latest major episodes in a general southwest-
131 ward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

631 The military administrative unit known as the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds fairly closely to the present normal range of
[101] the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabit-
[161] ants in 1950), and supports a total native population of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

●162 Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

197 The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

619 **Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these are divided into tribes which are subdivided
565 into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] [a] A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

551 [b] Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in as many different ways as are the geographical names
104 of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

622 [c] A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

# *Political Systems Of Pastoral Tuareg In Air And Ahaggar.*

By Johannes Nicolaisen

101 The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive
131 area of the Western Sahara and adjacent regions of the Sudan. The territory
dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° North Latitude and between
142 5° West Longitude and 10° East Longitude. They fall into seven main groups or major political units (fig. 1) comprising 240,000–300,000 individuals, their negro slaves excluded. The two northernmost groups (the Kel Ahaggar and the Kel Ajjer) live in the true desert country and number less than 10,000 or about 3% of all Tuareg. In Ahaggar the number according to statistics of 1950 is 4,611. The Air Tuareg further south are more numerous and seem to comprise more than 20.000 individuals (cf. Lhote 1947, p. 15f. & 1955, p. 157).

114 This study of Tuareg political systems has as its foundation a part of my own field material collected in 1951 (in Ahaggar), 1952 (in Tassili-n-Ajjer), 1953 (in Ahaggar), and 1954–55 (in Ahaggar including Ahnet, and in Air). I have spent about two years in these Tuareg countries living most of the time in Ahaggar and adjacent regions, while my stay further south in Air was limited to six months.

121 It is my intention here to describe the political systems of Air and Ahaggar, but as my final task is concerned with their origin I find it necessary to take up also more general aspects of Tuareg culture and the distribution of certain cultural
[127] traits. I shall make use also of Tuareg oral traditions and of the very comprehensive material on Tuareg history gathered by Arab historians and geographers of the Middle Ages. Thus I do not follow the ordinary lines of any particular anthropological school.

000 I am much indebted to Dr. Birket-Smith (University of Copenhagen) from whom I acquired my general anthropological knowledge together with a keen interest in historical problems, and to Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry of the London University where I have learnt what I know about social anthropology. Dr. Phyllis Kaberry has taken a profound interest in my studies, and I feel grateful for her kind help and assistance in all matters concerning Tuareg political systems and Tuareg social structure in general.

122 My journeys among the Tuareg were carried out by means of grants from various Danish foundations, notably Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond, Carlsberg Fondet, Knud Rasmussen Fondet, and Jens Lohmand Rasmussens Rejselegat. During my last journey The University College London assigned me a grant without which I should not have been able to gather the material here presented

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



175 p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have had only
643 very short periods of reign.

Although the Sultan had but little real power he had a high prestige and was very rich. He had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, as men-
[651] tioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, p. 828f.), and he was also entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade. But the Sultan had under his direct command only the negroid populations of Agadez and the villages of In Gall and Teguidda-n-Tecem. The people of Agadez, said to be members of the religious *Ineslemen* class, have never paid any tribute to the Sultan, whereas he received annual payments from the two villages mentioned. All other people of Air apparently had no fixed economic obligations to the Sultan.

The Sultan had the direct jurisdiction over the negroes under his command. He was the arbitrator and supreme judge in disagreements between the different Tuareg groups to be mentioned below. But he could not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels.

As we have seen the dominant Tuareg group at the establishment of the Sultanry was the Itesen most of whom left the massif long before the arrival of the French. We have also seen that the Kel Geres owing to wars with the Kel Ooui in the 18th century went southwards to the Nigerian borderlands where they became politically independent. In the 19th century the important political groups of the Air Sultanry were the following:–

The Kel Ooui occupying the eastern and most mountaineous parts of the
162 massif. According to figures given by Nicolas for clans and villages of the Kel Ooui
175 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 465ff.) their total number seems now to be about 8000.

The Kel Tamat including the Ikaskazan. The group judged by the figures for
631 some of the clans (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471f.) has about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the Kel Ooui. Contrary to the two following groups they were placed under the authority of the supreme Kel Ooui chief, the *Anastafidet*.

The Kel Fadei in the region of In Gall. Their total number according to Nicolas is 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The Kel Ferouan comprising clans in the western parts of the massif including the region of Agadez, and also south of the massif towards Damergou. They number about 5000.

The Kel Ooui group was for periods of the past very important politically. But
175 its political system apparently differed from that of other Tuareg groups which
184 may be explained by the fact that a large number of them were settled agri-
565 culturists. The other Tuareg groups mentioned, on the contrary, were made up exclusively of pastoralists who roamed in the lower parts of the massif and the adjacent plains. In these groups there were two important classes which seem to have been of little importance among the Kel Ooui. The two classes in literature
175 are known as "noble Tuareg" *(Imacheren* sing. *Amacher)* and "vassal Tuareg"
565 *(Imrad*, sing. *Amrid)*. The vassal class in all groups was more numerous than that
631

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*Clans of the Kel Ferouan Drum-Group*

(Clans which are not separated by horizontal lines are said to be related to each other. – The two former clans of the list are the only true noble clans of the group).

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631

| Clans | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kel Ferouan (Iraouattan) | 350 | 58 | There are to-day very few Tuareg of these two noble clans, and it is said that even in the past they were very few. | Teloua (western part) |
| Kel Azel | 180 | 47 | | Aniegen |
| Ijakarkaren | 203 | 41 | Attached to the Kel Azel. Close to the camp of the the drum-chief as soldiers permanently under his command. | Tafadek |
| Igendianen | 247 | 55 | | Borhal |
| Ikhabban? | | | | |
| Iberdianen (2 clans) | 621 | 97 | Living close to the noble Kel Ferouan as servants. | Goufat<br>Teouendegit<br>Eknaouen |
| Irolouren | | | Living close to the noble Kel Ferouan as servants. | |
| Imezzouren | 162 | 31 | Attached to the Kel Azel. | Tirraeren |
| Ikaoukan | 150 | | Attached to the Kel Azel. | |
| Iforas (2 clans) | 396 | 95 | Attached to the Kel Azel. | Tedein |
| Ikochechlien | | | A section of the Immezzilalen. Attached to the Kel Azel. | Afarak |
| Imezzoureg | 106 | 20 | | Terazet |
| Idaleyen | 218 | 67 | | Telhechame |
| Ait Oren | 160 | | | Maramaro |
| Immezzilalen | | 27 | | Teloua (eastern part) Asa |
| Kel Tesemt | 237 | | | Teloua (eastern part) Asa |
| Ifoghar | 42 | 12 | | |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



162
614
631

| Clans | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ifadeyen (2 clans) | | | | Kouroubobo<br>Imechamchouan<br>Goraif |
| Igetofen | | | | Bonabo<br>Ti-n-Daouine<br>Amalen<br>Aledemma<br>Ekaouel |
| Iraouelen | | | | Tombalaga<br>Akadanei<br>Meigaouera |
| Elbaraten | | | | Ououachor |
| Itagan | | | | Eleleg |
| Isakaranen | 653 | 107 | | Ti-n-Tebezgin |
| Kel Tedale (3 clans) | 1300 | | They may be noble by origin. | Talak<br>Ouraeme<br>Zoumka |
| Kel Akarra | 164 | 39 | Said to be of noble origin and to have had the Ibararochiten clan as their particular vassals. | Ti-n-Teborak |
| Ibararochchiten | | | Said to have been the particular vassals of the Kel Akarra clan. | Emdegra |

175 grounds round Agadez in the 17th century, and were probably called to this
642 region by a Sultan who needed them to keep order in the country. The actual
643 power then passed into the hands of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief.

### *The Kel Ferouan Tuareg.*

114 Lists of clans which belong to the Kel Ferouan drum-group have already been
614 published. Jean has fourteen clans in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926*a*, p. 427f. – Abadie 1927, p. 391f.), while Nicolas refers twenty-two clans to the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f., 480). My own list comes
614 close to that of Nicolas but contains a few additional names which however may
127 refer to sections of the other clans. In my list I have indicated the relationship
162 between the clans and their traditional grazing grounds. I have not been able to
[631] get precise particulars about the size of clans, and I therefore quote the figures

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 250. 614 127 162

A clan is generally termed *tassit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan-membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg. 196 611

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 13). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g., 621 596 342

1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season *(akasa)* and in the beginning of the following dry season *(ṛarat)* several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups. 221 361 621 173

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occured also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin – ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:– 582 614 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 13 |
| No blood-relationship between husband and wife | 8 |
| Marriages total | 38 |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



*The Federation of Ahaggar Tuareg*

(Size of clans according to Lhote 1955, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949)

162
631
614
565
582

| | Noble Clans | Vassal Clans | Iseḳḳemaren Clans |
|---|---|---|---|
| *The Kel Ṛela Drum-Group* | *Kel Ṛela* 275<br>To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble clans, with the Ifoṛas group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal clans. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The Kel Ṛela women, like noble women of the Oraṛen (Tassili-n-Ajjer) and Kel Ferouan (Air), do not associate freely with people of other classes. | *Dag Ṛali* 386<br>*Ait Loaien* 400<br>*Agouh-en-Tahala* 585<br>*Ṛelaiddin* 40<br>*Iklan-en-Taousit* 500<br><br>*Ibettenaten* 129<br>*Iregenaten* 435<br><br>These two clans are not true vassals by origin. The Ibettenaten is said formerly to have had noble status and the Iregenaten descend matrilineally from the Ibettenaten, patrilineally from Arabs. | *Ihiaouan Hada* 253<br>*Kel Inṛar* 176<br>*Kel Tafedest* 61<br>*Kel Immidir* 179<br>*Kel Tatoulet* 158<br><br>The Iseḳḳemaren clans descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble Kel Ehan Mellen clan. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the Ouled Ba Hamou, claims that they were originally their vassals. |
| *The Taitoḳ Drum-Group* | *Taitoḳ* 33<br>There are hardly any Tuareg of pure Taitoḳ stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief Mohamed ag Mohamed who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the Taitoḳ drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The Taitoḳ and their vassals will frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past. | *Kel Ahnet* 127<br>*Iouarouaren* 47<br>*Tegehe-n-Efis* 127<br>*Ikoutisen* 84<br>*Ikechchemaden*<br>(now mixed with the Dag Ṛali clan of the Kel Ṛela drum-group).<br><br>*Iṛechchoumen* – a clan patrilineally related to the noble Taitoḳ, matrilineally to the vassal clan of Kel Ahnet. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals. | *Kel I-n-Tounin*<br>(about 20 tents in 1938). |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



162
565
614
631

| | Noble Clans | | Vassal Clans | Iseḳḳemaren Clans | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The Teḡehe-Mellet Drum-Group* | *Teḡehe Mellet* | 33 | *Kel Torha* (part of the Ait Lamin clan of the Kel Ṛela drum-group). | *Kel Tarouri*<br>*Kel Oubet* | 69<br>70 |
| *Noble Clans Without Vassals* | *Kel Ehen Mellen* | | The Iseḳḳemaren clans are said formerly to have been vassals of this clan. | | |
| | *Ikadeien* | | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | | |

### *The Kel Ṛela Drum-Group in Ahaggar.*

[161] The Ahaggar Tuareg according to statistics from 1950 number 4,611 individuals
565 (Lhote 1955, p. 157) and comprise 26 clans. In addition to the noble class termed
614 *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), and the vassal class termed *Imṛad*, (sing. *Amṛid*) or *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), there is also a class termed *Iseḳḳemaren* (sing. *Aseḳḳemar*), who can be considered vassals of a somewhat different status. The religious class *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*) is in Ahaggar represented by a few families without clan organization.

614 There are five noble clans but only three of them have vassals. There are in
565 other words three drum-groups *(eṭṭebel*, pl. *eṭṭebelen)*, namely those of Kel Ṛela,
634 Taitoḳ, and Teḡehe Mellet. The Kel Ṛela group is by far the most important, and its chief with the title of Amenokal is the supreme head of all three groups which
643 constitute a sort of federation named *teḡehe*. In rare cases when the Tuareg of Ahaggar joined forces against foreign Tuareg groups, e.g. the Tuareg of Tassili-n-
[701] Ajjer, the Amenokal was the war-leader of all three drum-groups. But in the past he had often little authority over the two other drum-groups For long periods of the 19th century he had severe troubles with the Taitoḳ, who had acquired a practically independent position, and it seems as if he had no rights over the land inhabited by the Taitoḳ drum-group. The Amenokal as well as the two other drum-chiefs *(Amṛar*, pl. *Imṛaren)* were elected by the vassals of their respective
[565] drum-groups. It is true that the members of the noble clan had a certain influence,
[614] but – contrary to former opinions on the matter – they did not have any direct voice in elections. The Amenokal was and is ceremoniously installed by a Tuareg of the Iseḳḳemaren class who provides him with a new veil or turban. The two other
634 drum-chiefs should be installed in this way by the Amenokal, who also undertook the installation of all vassal chiefs within his own drum-group. The installment of vassal chiefs within the two other drum-groups were undertaken by their respective drum-chiefs. In the present chapter I shall describe the drum-group of the Kel Ṛela in some detail.

[Text continues on p. 104]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *taousit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan.

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult.

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg.

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage.

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10.

565/49 cont. / been the ruling caste for a long time? One is obliged to remark their true nobility, their refined politeness, and their never failing courtesy. They are more open than the imrads, often more intelligent, and some of them even possess a sense of humor. Beyh ag Akhamouk, the present amenokal, is a very representative personage and has fine qualities as a chief. The young Kel Rela turn more and more to the French, associate with them, become their friends. This attraction will become generalized little by little, that is, the esteem that these young people have for particular individuals will be extended to include France, which is only an abstraction for them.

[162] [563] The Kel Rela number slightly over 300 and possess about 350 black servants. Their tents are scattered over the whole of Ahaggar territory. The camp of the amenokal is never very far from Tamanrasset.

[162] Another noble tribe, the Tédjéhé Mellet, is not large; reduced to 32 individuals, it ordinarily sojourns in the Tefedest near the imrad tribes it possesses: the Kel Ohet and Kel Terrourrit. These nobles play practically no role in the Tuareg organization of the Ahaggar. The tribe's amrar is Khourou ag Salah.

Since our arrival in the Ahaggar, the Taïtok tribe has been exiled to the Sudan and has been dispossessed of its lands.

[162] There still remain, however, about 30 nomadic Taïtoks in the vicinity of Tamanrasset. Illou ag Amri is the amrar.

[162] Nearly 70 nobles from the Sudanese tribe of Iforas sojourn in Ahaggar territory. They are often allied with the Kel /50/ Rela. Among these Iforas are a few who belong to the marabout Iforas of Temassinine.

## The Imrads

According to legend, the Dag Rali are the descendants of Takamat, Tin Hinan's servant woman. The mountains of the

565 /50 cont. / Atakor and the Arechchoum are their pasture regions. It is a tribe of rich camel and goat raisers.

[162] [563] It is the most important imrad tribe under the Kel Rela; there are about 390, served by nearly 400 Negroes. The Dag Rali are stubborn mountaineers, a little narrow minded. They [147] are remarkably resistant to fatigue when they walk in their rough country. Let us also note their adaptation to the cold of December, January, and February; the camps are generally situated at an average altitude of 2, 000 meters. The Tuareg [291] [132] are clothed in two cotton gandurahs and are quite often wrapped in a "dokali"; they bear cold which drops as low as -12° in the tent toward five in the morning.

The tribe's amrar is Akroud ag Ama (1). The handsomest

1. Died in 1952.

tents belong to the Dag Rali, and the men are renowned as hunters of wild sheep.

[651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is about 12 mezoued /leather grain sacks/ of dates, eight bottas /bottles/ of butter, the loan of 12 ewes for milk, and ten goats for slaughtering.

Several subgroups may be seen within the Dag Rali, named mainly according to the regions they inhabit: Kel Arechchoumi, /sic/ and the Ikhechemaden, who formerly were imrads of the Taïtoks.

[162] [563] The most numerous imrad tribe is the Adjouh n'Téhélé. It includes approximately 590 individuals and more than 750 Negro domestics. Although imrads, the Adjouh n'Téhélé are regarded as different by the nobles. Toward the eighteenth century, this tribe, which was living in the Aïr at the time, came of its own accord to incorporate itself into the Kel Ahaggar. This was done to escape the exactions /51/ of the sultan of Agadez, who each year demanded a virgin as a sign of vassalage. This tribe's territory of nomadization extends to the east and south of those of the Dag Rali.

565 621 /51 cont./ The most important agricultural centers belonging to the Adjouh n'Téhélé are Tarhouaout, In Dalag, and Tahifet. There are several subgroups: the Isanden in the Isernan region; the Kel Rafsa, Tahifet region; the Relaïdine, Tin-Tarabin region; and the Kel Hagalella to the south of Tamanrasset. The tribe's amrar is Samaalatokh ag Mansouri. [651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is approximately the same as that paid by the Dag Rali.

565 [157] The Adjouh n'Téhélé have an open character; they are gay and like to joke, but they have the reputation of being quick tempered and irascible.

The Aït Loen tribe is, like the preceding ones, an imrad tribe of the Kel Rela. It is descended from Takamat. These Tuareg are nomads in the eastern Atakor and sometimes penetrate into Ajjers territory. Their most important center is Tin-Tarabin. [491] There are no roads going into the territory of this tribe, so their tents are rarely visited.

[162 563] There are about 500 Aït Loen; they possess 620 black servants. The Kel Torha, Kel Anahef, and Kel Telerteba are the three subgroups of the tribe, whose chief is El Ralen ag Nissoran. [651] Their tioussé is about four mezoued of dates to the Kel Rela and one mezoued of dates paid by the Kel Torha to the Tédjéhé Mellet.

The Aït Loen are experienced guides for going to the Ajjers and Ténéré regions.

[162 563] The Iklan Taoussit number about 600, served by 650 Negroes. They are nomads in the Tahelra, the Silet region, the Amded and Tekouiat wadis, and in the northern part of the Adrar des Iforas. They formerly belonged to the Imenanes, which accounts for their name, which means "servant of the tribe." [651] Their tioussé is on the order of four mezoued of millet, two bottas of butter, and six milch goats. Dali ag Akoumaris is the tribe's amrar. The subgroup of the tribe which sojourns almost continually in the Tin-Zaouaten region has Khadida for chief.

565 /51 cont./ The Iklan Taoussit are /52/ the Tuareg who consume the most afazzou seeds (Panicum turgidum).

There are very few Tédjéhé n'Néfis: 98 Tuareg and 120 [162 563] Negroes. This tribe, like the preceding one, is imrad of the Kel Rela but formerly belonged to the Taïtoks. The Tédjéhé n'Néfis are related to the Adjouh n'Téhélé and like them were originally from the Aïr. Their camps are generally in the Tamanrasset wadi, downstream from the village, mostly near the gardens of Tidjenouine. The chief of the tribe is Ad Noumen ag Khadida.

The Ibotenaten tribe, comprising 128 individuals served by [162 563] 153 Blacks, is enfeoffed to the Kel Rela without being truly imrad. It is said that an Ibotenaten once killed a noble Ahaggar. The tribe was beaten by the Kel Rela and condemned to pay a tribute.

The Ibotenaten are rich camel raisers. They live permanently in the Tamesna, benefitting from the annual rains which make this region fertile. Ould Brika is the tribe's amrar.

The Irreguenaten number 434 and have 600 Negroes. [162 563] Normally they reside in the Tamesna, but they nomadize toward the Iforas and even the Timétrine region. Their name means "mixture of Arabs and Tuareg." They are allies of the Ibotenaten. Rich camel raisers, the members of this tribe are essentially nomads; they possess no agricultural center. They are the best guides to the Tassili n'Ahaggar.

The name Issakamaren designates a group of tribes of Arabic origin which were raided in the Touat and the Tidikelt about the eighteenth century by the Kel Ahaggar. The Issakamaren speak Arabic and Tamashek, but their customs have [631] become those of the Tuareg. They are incorporated in the Tuareg confederation and are treated as imrads, although with a slight nuance of inferiority in the caste system. Their pasture regions are situated on the periphery of the central massif.

The Kel in Khar tribe includes 176 individuals and 50 [162 563] Negroes. /53/ They are nomads in the eastern part of the Tefedest and trade in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

565 /53 cont./ The Mertoutek center belongs to them, and they possess gardens at Dehine and Abezzou.

[651] The tioussé is set at one young camel and a mezoued of dates. The chief of the tribe is Ikharis ag Akcham. They are rich camel raisers and are excellent guides to the Tefedest and the Amadror.

[162 563] The Kel Amguid number about 88 and possess 9 Blacks. They are related to other subgroups of the Issakamaren. They range over the region of Amguid, the Igharghar, and the Tefedest.

[651] The Kel Amguid have gardens at Adenek, Mertoutek, and Ideles. They pay a tioussé of four mezoued of dates, an assaber /mat for the tents/, and a young camel. Kelli ag Khabouba is the chief of the tribe.

[162 563] Imrads of the Kel Rela, the Kel Tazolé number 60 Tuareg and 60 Negroes. They possess an important camel herd and nomadize in the region of Tazerouk, chiefly to the east of that center.

The chief of the tribe is El Mamoun ag el Hadj Baba. Tazerouk is their center, and the small neighboring centers

[651] belong to them. Their tioussé is three mezoued of dates, three lambs, and a four-year-old camel.

The Kel Tazolé conduct caravans in the directions of Ghat and the Tidikelt. They exchange millet in Aïr.

[162 563] The Eouen n'Hada number 241 individuals and 90 Negroes. They are nomads in the Tefedest, the Ifetessen, and sometimes in the Selbourak wadi. Tadjemout is their agricultural

[651] center. They pay the amenokal a tioussé of three mezoued of grain, a young camel, and a rug.

The Eouen n'Hada, whose amrar is Nassamou ag Elias, are guides for the Immidir.

[162 563] The Kel Immidir are around 170 individuals; they have 45 black servants. This tribe nomadizes particularly in the tassili, region of Arak, the Ifetessen, and the Rharis.

[651] They own the palms at Tadjemout and the Djoraf. This tioussé amounts to six mezoued of dates and a rug. The amrar

565 /54/ is Sidi Rali ag el Hadj Mohamed. The Kel Immidir are caravaneers going toward Ghat and the Tidikelt.

The Kel Tefedest tribe is poor: for 61 Tuareg, it has only [162 563] 11 Negroes. Allied to the Kel Tazolé and the Kel Immidir, it nomadizes in the Tefedest and the Immidir. The Kel Tefedest formerly possessed gardens in an abandoned center near In-[651] Amguel (Adjelil). Their tioussé is four mezoued of dates and a young camel. The amrar of the tribe is Ikkan ag Magamed.

The Ikoutessen are very poor and few in number: 85 indi-[162 563] viduals and 20 Negroes. Lamari ag Moudi is the tribe's amrar. They were paying a tioussé of two mezoued of dates, a guerba [651] /waterskin/, and an empty mezoued. The Ikoutessen ordinarily sojourn in the Amguid region; they travel to the Sudan and the Tidikelt.

Formerly belonging to the Taïtoks, the Kel In Tounine now are under the Kel Rela. They are not numerous and live in the Igharghar region. The Kel In Tounine possess gardens in the Ajjers. They paid the Taïtoks, very irregularly, a [651] tioussé of six mezoued of dates and two sheep. They are guides for going in the direction of the Ajjers.

The Kel Ahnet, former imrads of the Taïtoks, at present [162 belong to the Kel Rela. This is a poor tribe of 125 Tuareg 563] and 10 Negroes. They are nomads in the Ahnet, the Acedjerad, and the Adrar des Iforas. They are excellent guides for the Tanezrouft. They possess gardens at Abalessa, Tahart, Tit, and Tibeghim, and palm trees in the Ahnet.

The amrar is Daniel ag Chikkat. The Kel Ahnet trade between the Tidikelt and the Iforas.

[162] The Iouarouaren tribe is composed of only 47 individuals and have no Negroes. It nomadizes in the Acedjerad but resides mainly in the Tin-Zaouaten region. Its chief is Bahman ag Beuh. The Iouarouaren possess palm trees at Tibeghim; they have the reputation of being excellent hunters of addax antelopes. They formerly paid the Taïtoks a tioussé of a [651] mezoued of bechena /millet/ and two bottas of butter. They are guides for the Tanezrouft.

565 /55/ An imrad tribe of the Tédjéhé Mellet, the Kel Ohet
[162 includes 80 Tuareg and 20 Negroes. It is allied to the Kel
563] In Tounine and has many dealings with the Ajjers. The tribe's
amrar is Habib ag Ouhaggarène. Its members nomadize in the
eastern Tefedest and own gardens at Ohet and Dehine. The
[651] tioussé formerly was four mezoued of dates, rope, and guerbas.

The Kel Terrourrirt are imrads of the Tédjéhé Mellet.
[162 Their tribe is not numerous: 62 Tuareg and six Negroes. They
563] are very poor. They camp in the Amguid region and in the
Tassili des Adjjer and possess several gardens at In-Amguel.
[651] The amrar is Hadj Mohamed ag Salah. They were paying
four mezoued of dates, four sheep, rope, and guerbas. They
trade with the Tidikelt.

The Ibardjien are not Issakamaren. They are imrads of the
[162] Kel Rela. It is a tribe destined to die out; there are only 24
left. They reside in the Tazrouk and Ideles region. They
were remarkable hunters of wild sheep and had dogs trained for
this practice.

The presence in the Ahaggar of former soldiers, most of
them Chaamba, must be noted. They marry Tuareg women,
found families, and raise their children in the Tuareg customs.
They are fairly numerous in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

## The Maalmines. Inaden

565 Within Tuareg society are found artisans called
463 "maalmines" in Arabic, but whose Tamashek name is "inaden."
The masculine singular is "inade;" plural, "inaden." The
feminine singular is "tinat;" plural, "tinadin."

The maalmines make up a tribe whose members almost
always marry among themselves. They are related to the
maalmines of the Iforas and of the A'ir. Although very black
skinned, they do not have negroid characteristics. The origin
[174] of the maalmines is as obscure as that of the Tuareg tribes;
some think /56/ they are Jews who were captured by the Tuareg

565/56 cont./ and who over a period of time have adopted
463 Tuareg ways (their specialization and their character lend
174 credence to this theory). Some maalmines say that they came to the Ahaggar in the time of the sultan Goma, having been separated from the Idenan tribe of which they were members. Others claim to have always belonged to the Tuareg confederation.

565 In the Ahaggar the maalmines include 17 men, about 20
463 women, and about 40 children. They have ten iklan.

[162] The men are many-sided craftsmen, often clever and fairly artistic; in view of the material they have to work with and the tools at their disposal, one may say that they are remarkable. The women work leather with skill and art. The maalmines are not grouped in tribes but form small families scattered in every corner of the Ahaggar. When a tribe, noble or imrad, needs some work done, it sends for a craftsman and provides him with animals for transporting himself and his equipment. He lives with the tribe during the time necessary for his task and is provided for by the tribe. When the work is done he is paid, according to how satisfactory it is considered, in goats, millet, milk, butter, even camels, but there is no fixed rate paid to the maalmines by the Tuareg. There is a different arrangement when they work for the harratin, who, not being so noble as the Tuareg, would not know how to reward good work with the proper generosity. They are therefore charged the following rate: for one new
[435] hoe (made from an old oil drum): five guessa /dishes/ of wheat or millet; for four rivets put in an old hoe, one guessa of grain; for a new axe the price used to be a goat or five guessa, but since the advent of the black market there is no accurate quotation.

435 For making jewelry, there is a special price fixed by
565 custom, even for the Tuareg; thus for bracelets and earrings
463 the Targui furnishes, for example, ten pieces of silver necessary for making two bracelets; the maalem keeps five

241 /76 cont./ In connection with the conditions of life in the agricultural centers, I shall reproduce here an extract from notes taken in 1949 during a tour I made in the company of the doctor at Tamanrasset. This year of 1949 was particularly dry and came on the heels of four long dry years.

"After having walked five hours since leaving the Tilokatine wadi, where we spent the night, we came in view of a charming little oasis situated in the Outoul wadi, which
241 has cut a bed through basalt rocks, columns of which are
621 seen along the banks. This was the agricultural center of Tahart.

[162 "There are 63 inhabitants, of whom 17 are children --
164] suffering from trachoma and conjunctivitis. Two foggaras serve to irrigate the gardens, as well as two wells with water drawn by oxen. The output of the foggaras is diminishing; the harratin have tried digging other wells at the head of the foggara, but they found large blocks of stone at a depth of three meters which prevented them from reaching the water table. A long and wearying work, with primitive means.

"There are about 100 palm trees, which give small, meager dates. Nearly all of the trees are encumbered with djebars; these harratin have no idea whatsoever of how to cultivate palm trees. Those trees that now produce grew from pits haphazardly cast in a garden.

"The only winter crops are wheat and barley; no turnips, no carrots, no beans, no other vegetables that could tide them over in the period between the millet and the wheat crops and that would permit them to let the cereal ripen.

"At this time nearly all the harratin are eating green barley and young tahli shoots.

"A brief calculation will show how insufficiently these cultivators are fed, although they do very hard work in a hard climate:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Year 1948. | Yield of wheat for Tahart | 1, 500 kilograms |
| | Yield of millet for Tahart | 300 kilograms |
| | | 1, 800 kilograms |

161 /108 cont./ cited above). The birth rate is not very high, but it is greater than the low death rate. Infant mortality is practically impossible to verify.

162 In 1948 there were 1, 028 men counted for 1, 202 women, which would seem tosupport the widespread opinion that relative to other peoples there are more men than women among the Tuareg. One must be careful, however, not to make this type of affirmation without having previously examined all the causes that may produce such a state of affairs. It is almost certain that the Tuareg control their birth rate. The 162 847 chief of the tribe may forbid births or may recommend them according to the number of members of the tribe. This measure seems wise in a country which can scarcely support the existing population. The situation is such as it would be if the Tuareg had found, empirically, the ideal number of individuals able to be supported by their soil and were wise enough to try to maintain this number.

The men interrogated on this subject avoided the question, saying that this concerns their women and that they do not know the methods employed. The women are equally reticent, not to say mute.

/109/ Some of them claim to abort by drinking decoctions of plants. The French doctors know the qualities of these plants and think that this medication would be insufficient to produce the desired effect. By being patient, I was able to learn a method which, although dangerous, should be effective; I got this information from only one woman and have never been able to confirm it, as it is difficult to touch on these subjects directly. The women supposedly use a probe that they make from a "stone" called "azarif" ("cheb" in Arabic), which is of alum; they make this the size of a slate pencil. 162 This probe dissolves after having produced a mechanical effect. 165 It is likely that many women fall victim to these maneuvers, 847 for in questioning the Tuareg one discovers a rather high female mortality rate at a relatively young age. Perhaps we may see

162 /109 cont./ here the cause of the greater proportion of men
165 to women.
847 The most widespread disease in the Ahaggar is undoubtedly malaria, most often contracted in Sudanese territory and
164 spread in the Ahaggar, where anopheles are numerous in the agricultural centers and at all the permanent or temporary water points. Professor Rémy of the faculty at Nancy has found them in the Tarahouaout tiggert /outflow of water/, at the In-Ezzebib guelta /pool/; the doctor, Captain Galan, has collected them in the Afilal guelta at an altitude of nearly 2, 000 meters.

Pneumonia and its pulmonary complications wreak the most havoc among the Tuareg; this is due to the winter cold, which is ill borne in too thin clothes.

[131] In 1949 an epidemic of measles took on the aspect of a catastrophe through its pulmonary consequences.

Venereal diseases are very common among the harratin, rarer among the Tuareg.

A distressing disease of the agricultural centers is trachoma, aggravated by every type of conjunctivitis transmitted by the flies that swarm and cluster around the /110/ eyes of children. The Tuareg seem immune to diseases of the eyes; they rarely have trachoma.

Smallpox, once so common and so feared, has practically disappeared, thanks to systematic vaccination. It was an unusual event to see two Tuareg return from the Sudan in April, 1951 covered with smallpox eruptions.

Tuberculosis does not seem to have appeared; skin tests made at the Tamanrasset school are negative for children born in the Ahaggar. There seems to be no manifestation of cancer.

Although the Tuareg are abundantly provided with lice, above all in the winter, as are the harratin, a case of typhus has never been known. Typhoid is unknown, as are diphtheria, tetanus, and poliomyelitis.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



167 tion into Ayr many Tuareg of that region emigrated, and some of them settled as far away as Darfur
[64] where they and their descendants still live near El Fasher. Another emigration took place after the
[162] Tuareg revolt against the French in 1917. Many Tuareg of the *Kel Ayr* and the *Iwillemmeden* fled to Northern Nigeria to settle in villages and towns around Kano and Katsena. According to Rodd about 30.000 Ayr Tuareg fled to Nigeria after the revolt (Rodd 1926a, p. 361).

161 According to statistics for the period 1933–38 the total number of Tuareg living in the Algerian Sahara and to the south in the republics of Niger and Soudan is estimated by Lhote to be about 240.000.

162 They were divided among the main groups as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Kel Ahaggar* | 4.254 |
| *Kel Aïjer* | 1.508 |
| *Kel Adraŋ* | 4.223 |
| *Kel Ayr & Kel Geres* | 27.765 |
| *Iwillemmeden* | 161.160 |
| *Tengerregif* | 40.000 |

162 These figures need certain corrections. Thus the *Kel Aïjer* are more numerous than indicated by the
161 above figure, which does not include Tuareg of that group living in Libya. On the other hand the
[567] figure for *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg is much too high; it includes about 94.000 negroid slaves which should be deducted, as slaves are not included in the other figures. Nevertheless, Lhote believes that the actual number of free Tuareg is about 300.000 as the birth rate is on the increase. Thus statistics for 1950 indicate that there are 4.611 fairskinned Tuareg in Ahaggar (Lhote 1955a, p. 157). Nicolas assumes that there are about 500.000 Sudanese Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. Avertissement). This figure is, no doubt, too high. If we assume that there are in all 300.000 Tuareg, we find that the two northern groups *Kel Aïjer & Kel Ahaggar* living in the true desert country constitute about three per cent of the total Tuareg population.*

197 The Tuareg language is known as *tamahaḳ* in the two northern groups, *tamacheḳ* in the south. It has four main branches or dialects, namely 1) *tahaggart* spoken by the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Aïjer*; 2) *tadraḳ* spoken by the Tuareg of *Adraŋ-n-Foras*; 3) *tayri* spoken by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*; 4) *tawillemmet* spoken by the *Iwillemmeden* and other Sudanese Tuareg. Grammatically these four dialects are closely related, but there are important distinctions in pronunciation and vocabulary. The dialects are on the whole mutually intelligible.

212 The alphabet known as *tifinar* is known in all Tuareg groups. It is related to the ancient Libyan script. Several authors have stated that *tifinar* is not so widely known among the modern Tuareg as it was in the past. It is true that certain Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arabic alphabet, but it is very difficult even nowadays to find adult Tuareg who do not know their proper script which is also widely used for letters. This, anyway, is true of the Tuareg groups I have visited, and it must be added that I have never found any proof of the statement so frequently seen in literature that the alphabet is

* Considering the statistics for 1933–38 (240.000 + 94.000) the total number of true Tuareg in 1950 would appear to be lower than 300.000.

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564 region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed*
[463] (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Ahaggar to cultivate
[567] gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaren*, or *Ḥarratin*, like the
[191] immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual, speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahaq*). The *Izeggaren* (*Ḥarratin*) are generally less
[144] negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features.
[142] Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*) refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaren* does not seem to exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Rat oasis known as *Ikewweren* apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

[561] *Kel Ĝanet* (sing. *W' Ĝanet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ĝanet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-
[144] n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ĝanet* have much the same position as
[565] Tuareg vassals (Imrad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ĝanet* immigrants, their status is rather
[567] like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ĝanet* may possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

564 *Inneden* (*Ineden* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Ened*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg
326 groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one. People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only
[162] a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the
564 blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna*
173 *Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963). A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Tementit in Tawat. At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.). 2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and
564 Adrar-n-Foras. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of
144 them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

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221 tagayt, while the *Iwilemmeden Kel Dennek* at this period will camp around Ingal. Many Southern
*233 Tuareg leave the savannah country to avoid its heavy rainfalls and stock-diseases to let their animals
824 benefit from the salty water and plants in the *Azawar* country.

133 In the country west of the Ayr Massif, the Tamesna Plains, there is in addition to the Ayr Tuareg
●162 a numerous population of Ahaggar Tuareg who live constantly in these regions. These plains are
137 botanically different from the mountains. Perennial vegetation is scarce though there are some *tamai*-acacias (*Acacia flava*), but there is a very rich vegetation of annual plants of great importance to
*233 domestic animals. Among these plants can be mentioned *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*),
824 which is very valuable for camels and also good for sheep, *adreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tagellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). The two latter plants are valuable as fodder for all domestic animals. It is noteworthy that these three species of annual plants last longer than other annual species. They do not wither at the beginning of the *parat*-season, but remain fresh and green all through the winter until about *tabsit*.

It is evident that Tuareg knowledge of botany is extremely comprehensive, and that they use this knowledge to make stock-breeding as rational as possible. They may perhaps not be so rational in protecting pastures, for they cut acacias' boughs to feed the kids resting in the camps, and it is most possible that they also overgraze certain pastures. However, the grazing grounds are very vast in comparison with the number of pastoralists, and I believe that overgrazing and arboreal devastation take place mainly around villages and towns where the flocks of sedentary people graze continuously in the same area. In Ahaggar the valuable fodder plants and plants which are important for collecting are often protected for two or three months in order that they may become fully developed (cf. p. 150, 179).

*233 The Tuareg take great care that their animals do not lack water. It is true that camels and also donkeys can do without water for many days even in summer, but at this season camels should preferably be watered every two or three days, and goats are always watered every two days when the weather is hot. In winter the animals are not watered so often, and this is true particularly if the animals feed on fresh annual plants. Camels can do without water even for weeks and months under such favourable

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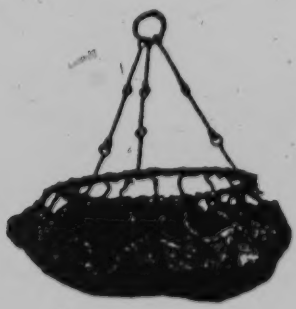

Fig. 97. The leather bucket known as *ejo* to the Northern Tuareg. The leather is tied to an iron ring made by blacksmiths. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension of the iron ring: 0.275 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.51).

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614 591 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two [682] [572] tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 611 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is [428] valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in [565] vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one par- 614 613 ticular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imesziliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 555 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are 631 named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also 423 attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have [643] particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). [162] Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory [578] of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 613 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names – generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections 621 within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

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In literature there seems to be no reliable information about the existence of irrigation agriculture 241
in Ahaggar until Duveyrier, who states that agriculture did not obtain a fixed position in the economic 175
life of the Ahaggar Tuareg until the reign of the *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) (cf. Duveyrier
1864, p. 369). This statement is confirmed by most agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg in Ahaggar, 241
who claim that prior to *Elkhaj Akhmed* irrigation agriculture was not practised in Ahaggar. During 312
the reign of this *Amenukal* irrigation agriculture by means of the subterranean aqueducts known to 173
the Arabs as *foggara* (*éfeli*, pl. *ifelan*) was introduced by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs and negroid *Ḥarratin* from 177
the Tidikelt oases. Some people of Ahaggar claim that another irrigation system was introduced about
the same time, namely irrigation wells from which water is drawn by oxen and donkeys. This system,
known as *tanut*, is said to have been introduced by agriculturists from Ĝanet (Djanet) (the *Kel Ĝanet*).
It should be noted that there are certain traditions which claim irrigation agriculture to be older in
Ahaggar. One tradition says that it was practised at Silet-Tibeghin by Arabs who immigrated from
Tawat to cultivate by means of the *foggara* system even during the reign of the *Inenan* (Lhote 1955,
p. 286 f.). Another tradition, recorded by Foucauld, states that irrigation farming was known at a 241
very remote date by the *Isebeten* – a pagan people said to be the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes of 312
Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535 f.). Traditions of the age of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar 173
are conflicting. If it was practised long before the reign of *Elkhaj Akhmed* by the ancient vassals, I
believe that water was raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counter-
weight. For this system, which is known as *aṛudid*, is said to have been very common in the past. It
is extremely rare nowadys, and I have only seen it once at Terhenanet. There can be no doubt that [171]
this simple irrigation method is a very old one in North Africa, where it is more widely distributed
than all other types of irrigation methods (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, map VII p. 320). The very wide
distribution of this system elsewhere in the Old World points to its great age, and it is perhaps to be
considered the oldest true irrigation machine.

A few Tuareg in the northern groups practise irrigation agriculture, which does not seem to be one 241
of their traditional occupations. Tuareg irrigation farmers are found mainly in the Fezzan, but mention 178
should also be made of the people of three noble tribes, namely the *Ilemtéyen* (living at Ṛat), the
*Ikadeyen* (at Tit in Ahaggar), and the *Kel-ahem-niellen* (roaming pastoralists north of Ahaggar or settled
farmers at the oasis of Inṛer in Tidikelt). These sedentary or semi-sedentary noble Tuareg were originally
true pastoralists, though but little is known of the original mode of livelihood of the *Ikadeyen*. A few
individuals or families among the Ahaggar vassals have more recently taken up irrigation agriculture
in addition to stock-breeding. There seems to be a growing tendency towards semi-nomadism in
Ahaggar nowadays. There may be several reasons for this. Thus one can point to the decline of
caravan trading and to the fact that pastoral Tuareg cannot so easily get the true agriculturists to cul- [432]
tivate for them. The true agriculturists of Ahaggar comprise the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*) of Tidikelt, [564]
who have mixed with the manumitted slaves now also known as *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*), a few fair-
skinned *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, and the *Kel Ĝanet* who are predominantly black-skinned. All these agricultural
people tend to mix with each other and also with tribes of pastoral Tuareg.

There are at present about 25 agricultural settlements in the river valleys of Ahaggar. Apart from 361
the administration centre of Tamanṛaset (1600) and the oasis of Abalessa (547) these agricultural 162

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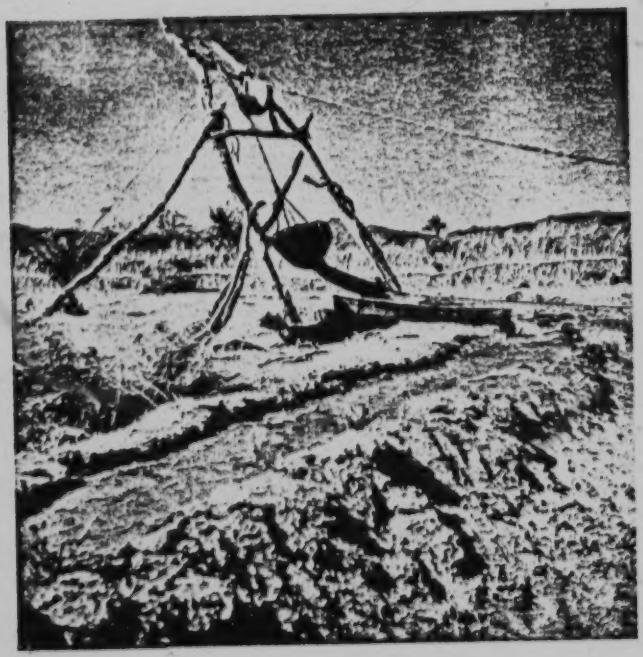

Fig. 132a. The irrigation system known as *tanut*. Ahaggar, Amsel.

361 settlements contain less than 300 individuals, the majority not even a hundred (cf. Lhote 1955a;
[162] p. 292). Most agricultural settlements comprise only a few houses built of stone or mud, or a few
[342] straw-huts (cf. p. 327 ff.). The agriculturists of these small settlements generally keep some goats
[231] and sheep, have donkeys, which are important beasts of burden to all farmers of the Sahara oases,
and in certain families there are one or two zebus to raise water from irrigation wells. A few agri-
433 culturists may be characterized as semi-nomads. This is the case of some inhabitants of Abalessa
who guard their flocks at some distance from the village. Some of these agriculturists, who were
formerly Tuareg slaves, even make skin-tents like pastoral Tuareg.

312 The subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs of the Sahara as *foggara*, to the Tuareg as *ifelan*
241 (sing. *éfeli*), constitute by far the most important irrigation system used in Ahaggar. However, these
[166] *foggara* canals cannot be compared with the large extensive aqueducts of Tidikelt though their intro-
duction to Ahaggar is due to the immigration of agriculturists from that area. The Tidikelt *foggara*
are very large aqueducts which are dug into water-bearing strata which can be situated at a consid-
erable distance from the oasis (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 324 ff., Lô 1953 & 1954; Chaintron 1958).
The Ahaggar foggara are generally very short (about one to two kilometres, or shorter), they are not

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466 obtain a larger amount of vegetable food products and more wheat and barley. The pastoral Tuareg
475 gain less from their gardens than they did when the *khamast* system prevailed, but it is still profitable
423 for them to be garden owners.
241
434 The quantity of agricultural products anually consumed per person among the *Kel Ahaggar* is
511 estimated by Lhote at 187 kilos millet, 15 kilos dates, and a small amount of wheat for which no
262 figure is given. For Arabs of the Sahara the quantity of vegetable food is estimated at 180 kilos wheat,
[171] and 75 kilos dates anually per person (Lhote 1955a, p. 263). I add to this that wheat is used for bread to a very large extent by the Ahaggar Tuareg, who also make much use of barley for bread and porridge. According to Malaurie the amount of agricultural food products available per person among the Ahaggar Tuareg is about 400 grammes a day, or 146 kilos anually (Malaurie 1953, p. 342). It should be noted again that the amount of agricultural food products necessary for a Tuareg household varies greatly from one year to the other. In years of drought when agricultural products form so to speak the only source of food for the nomads, they estimate that a household consisting of husband, wife, and one child will consume about two kilos of cereals (dates) every day, or 730 kilos in a year. Consequently the amount of cereals and dates consumed anually per person may in dry years rise to about 245 kilos. This seems to correspond to the amount of food considered necessary for Arabs of
[171] Tidikelt and Tawat, who live almost exclusively on cereals and dates. When employed as labourers by the French Administration these sedentary Arabs are given 16 kilos of wheat and 4 kilos of rice a month, or 240 kilos of agricultural products anually per person (Information obtained from the administration office of In Salah in 1954). The agricultural products obtained by a pastoral household from a single
511 garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less
433 so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example: During the year 1954 55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with an *aril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar
[437] Tuareg depend on caravan trading for their provisions of agricultural food, and trading also helps them to create the capital of millet and dates which is invested in their gardens in Ahaggar grown on their behalf by agriculturists. I believe that most pastoral households of Ahaggar have gardens, but there are Tuareg who have none. This is true, for instance, of most Tuareg living in and around the Ahnet Massif. Tuareg of this region formerly had gardens irrigated by the *foggara* system at Abalessa, but to-day they acquire their vegetable food products mainly by caravan trading.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AYR

563 The largest aggregation of sedentary people in Ayr is found in Agadez (4.737), which is inhabited al-
[361] most exclusively by negroid peoples who speak Hausa though most of them also know the Tuareg
162 language (*tamachek*). This large sedentary population mainly lives on trade and on crafts of
197 various kinds. The inhabitants are known to the Tuareg as the *Imeggedezen*. They are said to be related
[433] to the Sultan (or the *Amenukal*) of Agadez. There is a tradition which claims that the Sultan came
[173]

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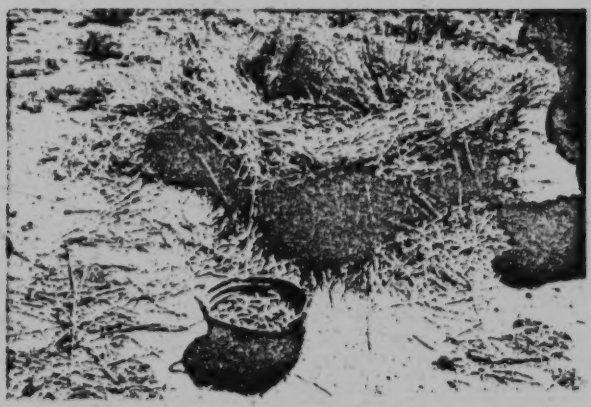

Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tarenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*éndlé*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
173 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers
[563] though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of
162 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Iseweyen*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
563 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
433 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
245 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
221
463 Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
162 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula-
144 tion that subsisted on agriculture.
433
[174]

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162 tion that subsisted on agriculture. Most members of the *Kel Ewey* group are fairly negroid in appear-
144 ance, and though some of them lead a nomadic life and subsist mainly on stock-breeding, the bulk of
433 the *Kel Ewey* are sedentary agriculturists who have some livestock comprising goats, sheep, zebus, and sometimes camels also. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group there are very few sedentary agriculturists, though a few vassals have taken up irrigation agriculture in recent times. There are also agriculturists within the negroid group of the *Kel Ferwan* known as *Iṛawélen*.
[587] Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have gardens cultivated by their slaves, but this is not customary nowadays when slavery is of little importance in Ayr. Contracts between pastoral Tuareg and cultivators
241 are said to have been unknown until recent times when a few pastoralists have made contracts with
466 cultivators. There seem to be no fixed systems regulating such relationships, but it is said to be common for the cultivator and the Tuareg to divide crops equally between them.

241 Though agriculture could be practised in Ayr without artificial irrigation there are no rain-grown
312 crops within the Massif nowadays. The *foggara* system is unknown, and irrigation is done by raising water from shallow wells. The system of a pole and bucket provided with a counterweight known in Ayr as *asefian* has disappeared quite recently. It was used at many agricultural settlements of Ayr until a few years ago, and in parts of the country formed the only type of irrigation system at the time of the French occupation. One informant told me that in his boyhood about 35 years ago no other irrigation method was employed at Alarses, and this is in agreement with literature (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 322). At that time, however, the method of raising water from wells by animal traction (in Ayr *anu*, in Ahaggar *tanut*) was also practised at many settlements. It is unknown when it came to Ayr, but it is said to have been introduced from the north – probably from the regions of Fezzan
[492] and Tasilé-n-Ajjer from where the same system came to Ahaggar (cf. p. 187). It is now used at all settlements as the only type of irrigation system, and zebu-oxen are always used for traction. This was not so in the past when zebus were less common than to-day, and it is said that donkeys were then the common draught-animals. The irrigation of gardens is performed in much the same way as in Ahaggar. The water raised from the shallow well (*anu*) is led through a narrow canal (*aṛelal*) to a large basin (*tisemi*) from where another canal (*duki*) leads to the garden (*afarag*), which is divided into a number of beds (*éfenṛal*).

243 Cereals form the most important crops in Ayr. The common winter crop is wheat (*elkama*; *Triticum vulgare*), but also barley (*Hordeum tetrastichum* var. *pallidum*) is very widely grown. One crop of these two cereals is taken every winter, and it is said that the period of growth is about five months; sowing is done in October, harvest in March. Cereals are also important for summer crops. Both millet (*énélé*; *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and sorghum (*abora*; *Sorghum caudatum*) are grown, and millet, as we have
[262] seen, has a very short period of growth – only about two months (cf. p. 184). But though millet is most important as food for agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike, it is not widely grown because it is difficult to protect it from the numerous small birds and because, it is said, millet grown in Ayr
[439] is of a quality inferior to that of the Sudanese type. Most of the millet eaten in Ayr is therefore imported from Damergu by pastoral Tuareg. By far the most important summer crop grown in Ayr is maize (*Zea mays*), which is known to the Tuareg as *abora maser*, that is "Egyptian sorghum" (*abora* =
[286] sorghum; *maser* = Egypt) (the name *maser* is also used to designate the white cotton used for garments

439 caravans of the south or by Ayr Tuareg who import more millet than they need for their own use.
437 But millet is cheaper in Damergu than at the Agadez market, and most Tuareg prefer to organize
[435] their own millet caravans with camels and donkeys as pack-animals. In Damergu most Ayr Tuareg
[492] get millet in exchange for livestock or they buy it for money. Their caravans are not always very large,
[476] for the Southern Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not organize their caravans co-operatively
[484] on the basis of kinship. Many individual households fetch their own millet with a few animals, and it
[592] is comparatively easy to do so as the millet growing country of Damergu is not very far away – the distance from Agadez to Tanut is only about 300 kilometres. The Ayr Tuareg do not have to engage in extensive trading expeditions to procure millet, and can buy millet very cheaply. A household, it
437 is said, does not have to sell a great many animals to secure the necessary supply of millet. Three or
439 four camel loads will cover the needs of most households, and this amount of millet can be acquired
435 for comparatively few animals – particularly if the animals vended are sheep, which have become
592 very expensive in recent times owing to the rapid increase of Europeans at Agadez. An extremely good
162 sheep or ram for slaughtering can bring in 2000 to 3000 West African francs, and a Tuareg household which buys millet in Damergu will need less than 10,000 francs to acquire the quantity necessary for a year. Thus the Ayr Tuareg can obtain their millet for a few sheep, and there are very few, if any, who do not posses this surplus, and it should be repeated that the increment of livestock is never stopped by drought periods as in the north. The extremely high price for sheep for butchering is a recent phenomena due to the increase of the French population. Fully-grown sheep or rams are expensive, and this is also the case with fowls, while goats are cheap. I believe we can estimate that a household would have to sell about 15 goats anually to obtain the amount of millet necessary for one year's consumption. However, there is little doubt that it has always been quite easy for the Tuareg of Southern Ayr to obtain the requisite amount of millet in exchange for livestock.

262 Millet and milk constitute the basic nourishment of the Ayr Tuareg, but they are very fond of an
[222] occasional change of food. And I believe that this is one important reason why the Ayr Tuareg, like those of Ahaggar, collect wild seeds even in years when grown cereals are abundant. For a change, the Ayr Tuareg are also extremely fond of dates which are not grown to any great extent in their own country. A few Ayr Tuareg own palms yielding dates of poor quality, and I think that a few house-
[439] holds also obtain some dates from Ingal. However, most dates eaten in Ayr are imported from the oasis of Bilma, situated in the very barren desert country between Ayr and Tibesti, about 700 kilometres north-east of Agadez.

437 The trade with Bilma is apparently an ancient one, and its foundation is salt which is of a very bad
439 quality compared with that mined at Amadror in the north. The rock-salt of Amadror is excellent
[317] for food, and though there is one good quality of Bilma salt that is used for food by the Tuareg of
[263] Ayr, most salt from Bilma contains much soil and other impurities. This impure salt is excellent for
[233] domestic animals which, in Ayr and further south where salt pastures do not exist, need a lot of salt. The Ayr Tuareg, and particularly those who do not visit the country of Azaouar at the end of the rains, need salt not only for their own food but also for their domestic animals. They obtain this from Bilma, which is visited by caravans in autumn or in the early winter. The inhabitants of Bilma, like other oases-dwellers, are in constant need of cereals and meat, and these products are imported

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175 721 added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was also fighting within these groups at intervals.

[648] [578] The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwllemmeden* and the Arab pastoralists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg frequently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

[437] Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite of these latent conditions of hostility.

175 437 Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays. They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter, cheese, and the like.

175 437 404 The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times, but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Hamou* who dominated the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays. [439] They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also [438] say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All [317] this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadror were not utilized in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then [361] travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in [162] the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could not defend itself against raiders.

175 587 It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading [648] until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in [17] this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

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177 Arab cultural traits have played a less important part in Ayr, where there are very few Arabs apart
[162] from the merchants living at Agadez. The Arabs in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, have a certain religious prestige
[188] but I have also heard Tuareg say that they did not like Arabs much because of their bad manners, and mainly because the Arabs talk too much and lack the peculiar type of quiet reservation characteristic of so many Tuareg. It seems as if the French administrators of Ayr have been responsible for the introduction of certain Arab cultural traits, but they have not made Arabic an official language
[191] of the administration. Apart from the marabuts there are very few Ayr Tuareg who have some
[149] knowledge of Arabic. The French administration of Ayr, belonging to the former territory of French
[167] West Africa, has led to the immigration of many Sudanese people of negroid type. Clerks and lower officials working in Agadez have mainly come from Dahomey.

175 The Arabs and Islam came to North Africa at a very early date. The first invasion of Arabs took
177 place in the 7th century A.D. and brought Islam and traits of Oriental town-dwelling civilization
[173] into a narrow belt of North Africa along the Mediterranean. There is an Arab tradition according to which the first followers of Mohammed came to Central Sahara and to the Tuareg as early as the 7th century, but there is also a tradition among the Ahaggar Tuareg saying that Islam was introduced among them by a marabut of the Almoravids (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 347 f.). It is very possible that certain Tuareg groups of the extreme north were influenced by Islam and the Arabs after the first invasion, but more important was the second invasion of the 11th century when the Northern Sahara was occupied by Arab bedouins from Egypt and, ultimately, from Arabia. This so-called *Hilalian Invasion* comprised various large tribal groups:— (1) the *Beni Sulaim* (or *B. Soliman*) who settled in Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and in the adjacent parts of Algerian Sahara where some of the present *Chambu* Arabs claim descent from this tribal group; (2) the *Beni Hilal* who settled further west in the Sahara south of Algerian and Moroccan Atlas; the important Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Hammu* of Tidikelt claim descent from this Hilalian group; (3) the smaller tribal group named *Makil*; this followed the *Beni Hilal* but occupied grazing grounds further west in the desert country of Morocco.
175 These tribal groups largely influenced the Tuareg, and there seems to be little doubt that many Tuareg
648 pastoralists were driven southwards owing to the invasion of Arab nomads, who settled in Tripolitania and the Fezzan. But these Arab pastoralists could not everywhere defeat the pastoral Tuareg. In Ibn Khaldun's day the frontier dividing the Arab bedouins from pastoral Tuareg followed mainly the great belt of sand-hills running from east to west in the Northern Sahara. Now and then the Arabs carried out raids against the Tuareg, but Ibn Khaldun says that the Arab raiders were always attacked by the Tuareg and suffered severe losses (Ibn Khaldun I p. 191, II p. 104 f.). The penetration of Arab pastoral groups into the Central Sahara is outlined by Capot-Rey who states (1) that the Berber tribes inhabiting Tripolitania, Tunisia, and adjacent regions were quickly Arabized, (2) that the Western Tuareg of Mauritania were conquered more recently by the *Makil* Arabs, (3) that elsewhere in the Sahara the Tuareg were not only able to defend most of their territory, but also to assimilate certain Arab tribes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 191 f.). This latter statement is correct. Contact between Arabs and Tuareg has also led to the adoption of Tuareg cultural traits by many Arab pastoralists, and even the very powerful Arab tribe, the *Ulad Ba Hammu* of Tidikelt, lived in pre-European times very much like the Tuareg in leather tents and dressed like the Tuareg. Various Arab tribes of the Sudan

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houses I saw at Djelfa in the Sahara Atlas. Further south in the true desert, and also in adjacent parts of the Sudan, mud houses have flat roofs. We see that mud houses are not limited to any particular environmental zone, and as a matter of fact they occur in the Sudanese zone even though they are not particularly well fitted for its climate. This fact has been emphasized by Capot-Rey who believes it an indication that mud houses have been imported from other regions (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 231 f.). 342* 171

There are two distinct types of mud houses in the Sahara. The common type is that built of sun-dried bricks. It is found in many oases and also in Sudanese towns and cities, including Agadez, where some houses are decorated with reliefs or paintings on the facades – a custom which to my knowledge is unknown further north in the desert. The other type of mud house is constructionally rather different from that built of sun-dried bricks. It is built of cones or balls of mud piled upon each other before they are dried in the sun. The distribution of such constructions is unknown. They are mentioned by Nicolas from Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt (Nicolas 1938, p. 67), and I have myself seen houses built in this way at these two towns. In Ayr there are very few mud houses built of sun-dried bricks except in Agadez, Ingal, and Tegidda-n-tésemt. In Ahaggar there are mud houses at Tamanṛaset and at Abalessa, but these dwellings are not common at other cultivation centres where most people have other dwelling types.

A.2. *Houses built of stones and mud.* 342*

Solid houses of this type occur in certain Ayr villages (e.g., Awderas). In some houses the rather heavy walls are built of mud into which the stones have been inserted, while the walls of other houses appear to be built of stones kept together by a thin layer of mud between them. In this latter case mud balls may substitute for stones, as mentioned by Rodd (Rodd 1926a, p. 238 ff.). The Ayr houses can be rectangular or square. Some houses have two or three rooms (cf. Fig. 246), but very few of the houses seem to be inhabited. The houses always have flat roofs in which wooden drain pipes are inserted. They do not generally have a closed courtyard at the front as have Arab mud houses.

Houses built of stones and mud are also found in certain villages of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer and are inhabited to-day by agriculturists. In Abalessa they are mixed with true mud houses, the settlement being divided into four quarters as follows:— (1) *Arakayna* which is inhabited by black-skinned agriculturists known as *Ikewweren* who are said to have immigrated from Tasilé-n-Ajjer. (2) *Bukhelfa* which is inhabited mainly by agriculturists whose ancestors were Tuareg slaves in Ahaggar. (3) *Éfeli-n-Dag Ṛali* mainly inhabited by agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*) who have immigrated from Tidikelt. (4) *Tinḍar* which is inhabited exclusively by agriculturists of Tidikelt. The two first village quarters are situated close to each other and have houses built of stone and mud in contrast to the two last quarters which are inhabited by Arabic-speaking *Ḥarratin* who live in true mud houses of the Arab type. [62] [62]

A.3. *Houses with dry walls.*

In Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in Ayr I have seen a few house ruins with walls of stones, but I was not able to judge whether the stones were originally kept together by thin layers of clay or similar material.

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arch about 1.50 m high. It consisted of two boughs fixed in the ground and lashed together at their tops; this was termed *aǧeǧu* (pl. *iǧeǧan*). At both sides of this arch there was a horizontal cross-bar known as *areǧaraǧa* (pl. *ireǧeraǧaten*) which rested upon two forked sticks (*tégeǧǧewt*, pl. *tigeǧǧewin*). The arch and the two pairs of horizontal cross-bars were parallel to one another, connected by means of two semi-arches termed *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*) each of them made from two slender rods attached to each other over the arch. These semi-arches were fastened to the middle arch and to the outer edges of the two cross-bars by means of cords. Around this structure, which supported the sheet, there was a number of wooden poles or posts some of which were higher than the tent. These poles and posts were used for the attachment of the sheet, which, however, during my visit rested over the structure without any attachment. A narrow mat of the ordinary *afeẓu*-type belonged to this tent (Fig. 271). 342*

Tents structurally akin to the B.2.a.2. type but without semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the dwelling are found south and north of the Tamesna region:—

B.2.a.3. This tent was seen in a camp inhabited by blacksmiths of the *Kel Dennek* country around Tawa. They had temporarily settled not far from Agadez to work among pastoral *Kel Ayr*. The camp comprised only three tents which were very small – about 4.00 × 2.00 m with a height of about 1.20 m. The tents were structurally identical and had sheets sewn together from many small pieces of skin resting upon the following structure:— A central arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction. It was called *teḳḳeḳḳewat* (pl. *teḳḳeḳḳewatin*) like the central arch of the ordinary mat tent among the Ayr Tuareg. At both sides of this arch and parallel to it there was a somewhat lower horizontal cross-bar resting upon two forked sticks (*tigettewin*, sing. *tégettewt*). The sheet rested upon this structure and was fastened to a few upright poles fixed in the ground around it. There were three such sticks at the front and at the back, and one at each of the narrow ends. A mat about one metre high belonged to the tent; this mat was not a normal *afezu* mat, but plaited – apparently of dum palm material (cf. Fig. 272). A wooden bed (*tédabut*) was placed in the middle of the tent, occupying most of its ground area. [361] [162] [352]

342* 281

Fig. 271. Skin tent of the B.2.a.2. type. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Ireǧenatten* tribe.

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162
565
582
614
634
642

## THE FEDERATION OF AHAGGAR TUAREG

(Size of tribes according to Lhote 1955a, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949.)

| | Noble tribes | | Vassal tribes | | *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The *Kel Ṛela* Drum-Group | *Kel Ṛela* | 275 | *Dag Ṛali* | 386 | *Iheyawen Hada* | 253 |
| | To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble tribes, with the *Ifoṛas* group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal tribes. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The *Kel Ṛela* women, like noble women of the *Uraṛen* (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and *Kel Ferwan* (Ayr), do not associate freely with people of other classes. | | *Ayt Lowayen* | 400 | *Kel Imṛer* | 176 |
| | | | *Aguh-en-tehle* | 585 | *Kel Téfedest* | 61 |
| | | | *Ṛelayddin* | 40 | *Kel Immidir* | 179 |
| | | | *Iklan-en-tawsit* | 500 | *Kel Taẓulet* | 158 |
| | | | *Ibettenaten* | 129 | The *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble *Kel-ahem-mellen* tribe. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu*, claims that they were originally their vassals. | |
| | | | *Ireḡenaten* | 435 | | |
| | | | These two tribes are not true vassals by origin. The *Ibettenaten* is said formerly to have had noble status and the *Ireḡenaten* descend matrilineally from the *Ibettenaten*, patrilineally from Arabs. | | | |

643 territorial chief over the country inhabited by the vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group. He had the
634 right to dues from caravans passing through the territory of that drum-group, while further west
[651] such dues were given to the chief of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group. He had the right to land rents from the vassals of his groups, while land rents further west in the *Taytoḳ* country belonged to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ* group.

643 To-day the *Amenukal* holds a very strong position as chief of the whole country of Ahaggar, and
[640] his power has been much augmented because the French govern the country through him. In the past the position of the *Amenukal* was a less powerful one. All Tuareg say that he was then not particularly strong, and there are many examples of the vassals of his own drum-group showing disobedient
[565] to him. The *Amenukal* had to be elected, and, contrary to what is often stated in literature on the subject, he was not elected by the noble Tuareg of his own tribe, though they had a certain influence, but by his vassals who also had the right to dismiss an *Amenukal* if dissatisfied with him. The *Amenukal* lived like other Tuareg and his sole insignia was the drum which followed him on journeys and served to summon his vassals.

643 We have mentioned above (p. 148 ff.) that the *Amenukal* even to-day receives a land-rent (*éhéré-*
651 *n-amaḍal*) from all tenants of the sub-areas of vassal tribal territories, and the rules of payments and

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| | Noble tribes | Vassal tribes | *Isekkemaren* tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| The *Taytok* Drum-Group | *Taytok* 33<br>There are hardly any Tuareg of pure *Taytok* stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief *Mokhammed ag Mokhammed* who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the *Taytok* drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The *Taytok* and their vassals frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past. | *Kel Ahnet* 127<br>*Iwerweren* 47<br>*Téġehé-n-Efis* 127<br>*Ikuttisen* 84<br>*Ikechchemaden* (now mixed with the *Dag Rali* tribe of the *Kel Rela* drum-group).<br>*Irechchumen*<br>A tribe patrilineally related to the noble *Taytok*, matrilineally to the vassal tribe of *Kel Ahnet*. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals. | *Kel I-n-tunin* (about 20 tents in 1938). |
| The *Téġehé-Mellet* Drum-Group | *Téġehé Mellet* 33 | *Kel Turha* (part of the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe of the *Kel Rela* drum-group). | *Kel Terwit* 62<br>*Kel Uhet* 70 |
| Noble Tribes Without Vassals | *Kel-ahem-mellen* | The *Isekkemaren* tribes are said formerly to have been vassals of this tribe | |
| | *Ikadeyen* | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | |

rights have been outlined. These payments were also made to the *Amenukal* by people of his drum-group in the past, and then as now he received an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* from all vassal tribes. The size of such *tiwsé* payments in the past is unknown, but they have no doubt varied from one tribe to another as they do to-day. I describe in brief the *tiwsé* payments made by the two most important vassal tribes to illustrate this:— (1) The *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe is divided into three sub-tribes which make their *tiwsé* payments separately as follows: The *Kel Tayhawhawt* sub-tribe gives 600 kgs of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kgs of butter. The man who brings this payment to the *Amenukal* is rewarded with 15 metres of cotton. The *Isandan* sub-tribe gives 300 kgs of millet

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from the members of this village. The particular connection between the *Anestafidet* and the sedentary 631
peoples of the Sudan is very natural in view of the fact that the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg nowadays, as in the 634
past, engage much in caravan trading with the south. The name of *Anestafidet* is derived from the [648]
tribe *Kel Tafidet* – one of the noble *Kel Ewey* tribes which immigrated to Ayr about the 14th century A.D. The *Anestafidet* has always been a very important chief, and the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, though very mixed with the ancient sedentary population of Ayr Negroes, were for periods in the past very important politically. To-day the *Anestafidet* is the most important chief of Ayr after the Sultan, and [266]
it is said that, like a deceased Sultan, a deceased *Anestafidet* should be buried in his house. The *Anesta-* [533]
*fidet* is treated with respect by all Ayr Tuareg, who take off their sandals when greeting him, and at the beginning of the holy Friday (that is on Thursday night) the professional musicians of Agadez, when they have made music at the Sultan's palace, go to *Anestafidet*'s residence and then to the ministers of the Sultan.

The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, who live predominantly in and around the villages of the eastern and most mountainous part of the Ayr Massif, form the majority of the people placed directly under the command of the *Anestafidet*. According to figures given by Nicolas for tribes and villages of the *Kel Ewey* [162]
their total number seems now to be about 8000 (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 465 ff.). But placed under the *Anestafidet* are also the pastoral Tuareg group known as *Kel Tamat*. Formerly it had its own drum-chief (*ettebel*) who was also the supreme chief of the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg. The group of *Kel Tamat*, [162]
with the *Ikezkezen*, judged by the figures for some of the tribes (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 471 f.), comprise nowadays about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the true *Kel Ewey*.

The *Kel Tamat* do not form a drum-group nowadays. In the past their drum-chief was elected by tribes within the drum-group, but he had to be installed ceremoniously by the *Anestafidet* who presented him with a large headcloth. All people of the *Anestafidet* have to recognize him as their supreme judicial authority. But the *Anestafidet*, who is elected by people of the ancient noble *Kel Ewey* tribes, is submitted to the authority of the Sultan who also installs the *Anestafidet* ceremoniously.

Most Ayr Tuareg who are not placed under the *Anestafidet* are collectively referred to as the *Kel* 631
*Amenukal*, that is "the people of the *Amenukal* (or Sultan)". Most of these people are pastoralists 634
though some sedentary or semi-sedentary people are also placed in the Sultan's group. The important 643
Tuareg groups placed directly under the Sultan are the following:—

The *Itesen* with the *Immikitan* most of whom left the Massif long before the arrival of the French. In the past both groups formed politically very important drum-groups, and though they were very few in number throughout the 19th century they were nevertheless politically important, as without them a Sultan could not be elected and installed.

The *Kel Faday* in the region of Ingal consist of a noble tribe and eleven tribes of vassals. The *Kel Faday* constituted throughout the 19th century a politically important drum-group though it was very small. Their total number according to Nicolas is now 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The *Kel Ferwan* comprise tribes in the western parts of the Massif including the region of Agadez, [162]
and also south of the Massif in Dumergu. They number about 5000.

The *Kel Geres* Tuareg live in the Southlands around Madawa most of the year but visit Southern 631
Ayr west of Agadez in the rainy season (cf. p. 7, 431 f.). Properly speaking they are not now recognized 643
as

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



## THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has
614 fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie
[114] 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore
[162] quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared,
634 and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when
648 the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to
121 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr,
634 where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were
115 most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

173 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*,
614 and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above
634 (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

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Fig. 288. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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*Tribes of the Kel Ferwan Drum-Group*

1. *The Irawatten Group*

| Tribes | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Irawatten* | 350 | 58 | There are to-day very few pure noble Tuareg of this dominant noble tribe, as the members have intermarried with negroid peoples and with the *Kel Geres*. The pure noble house-holds number about ten. The chief is also the chief of the *Irawatten* group and the drum-chief of the whole *Kel Ferwan* group. | Télewa (western part) |
| *Kel Tédalé* (3 tribes) | 1300 | | They claim to be of noble descent. They are officially vassals of the *Irawatten*, but are nevertheless very independent politically. | Talak<br>Uraren<br>Zurika |
| *Kel Akérra* | 164 | 39 | Of noble descent with the *Ibararojiten* as their particular vassals. Intermarry frequently with the *Imezzureg* and with the *Kel Tédalé*. | Ti-n-Teburak |
| *Imezzureg* | 106 | 20 | Of noble descent and related to the *Kel Akérra* and the *Isakaranan* with whom they intermarry. | Terezzet |
| *Isakaranan* | 653 | 107 | Of noble descent and related to the *Kel Akerra* and the *Imezzureg*. | Ti-n-Tebezgin |
| *Igendéynen* A section of former slaves known as *Tindeku* is grouped together with this tribe. | 247 | 55 | Always close to the camp of the drum-chief as soldiers permanently under his command. | Burhal |
| *Iberdyanen* (2 tribes) | 621 | 97 | Living close to the noble *Irawatten* as their servants. | Gufat<br>Éknawen<br>Téwendegit |
| *Ikkoberen* | | | Living close to the noble *Irawatten* as their servants. | |
| *Ayt Uren* | 160 | | | Maramaru |
| *Idaléyen* | 218 | 67 | | Telhecham |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Ifoulèyen* (2 tribes) | | Kurubobo<br>Imechchamelawen<br>Turuf<br>Beynabu<br>Ti-n-Dawin<br>Anyalen<br>Abalemma<br>Ékawél |
| *Elbaraten* | | Anwacher |
| *Ibarawjiten* | Originally the particular vassals of the *Kel Akerra* tribe. | Endegra |
| *Itagan* | Very few in number and without any tribal organization. They are placed directly under the drum-chief as his servants, and are considered a kind of "white slaves" to other *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. In the *Kel Faday* group there is a tribe of *Itagan* Tuareg. Their traditional homeland is said to be the region of Meneka in the country of the *Western Iwllemmeden*. | Éleleg |
| *Irawélen* | Pastoral Negroes who in the remote past were slaves of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. Culturally they are akin to other Tuareg pastoralists, but they have no tribal organization and are placed directly under the drum-chief's command. | Tombalaga<br>Akadaney<br>Meygawey |

2. *The Kel Azel Group*

| Tribes | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kel Azel* | 180 | 47 | Nowadays very few in number. It is said that there are only four households of pure noble origin. | Anoyaran<br>Tiṛezrin<br>Tafadek<br>Gufat |
| *Imezzuren* | 162 | 31 | | Tiṛezrin |

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kel Tésemt* | 237 | | Related to the *Imezzilalen* and the *Ikojjejiten* together with whom they are said to have constituted one tribe. | Assa and eastern part of Télewa |
| *Imezzilalen* | | 27 | Related to the *Kel Tésemt*. | Assa and eastern part of Télewa |
| *Ikojjejiten* | | | A section of the *Imezzilalen*. | Afarak |
| *Ifokkar* | 42 | 12 | Related to the *Kel Tésemt*, the *Imezzilalen*, and the *Ikojjejiten*. | Eastern part of Télewa |
| *Ikawkan* | 150 | | Said to have been the particular servants of the noble *Kel Azel*. | |
| *Ijakarkaren* | 203 | 41 | Said to be related to the *Igendeymen*. | Tafadek |
| *Iforas* (2 tribes) | 396 | 95 | They came to Ayr from Adrar of the Iforas about one hundred years ago. | Tédeyin |
| *Iawélen* | | | A certain number of these negroid pastoralists, who once in the past were slaves, is placed directly under the command of the chief of the *Kel Azel*. They have no tribal organization. They are probably included in the figure of the *Kel Azel* mentioned above. | |

To-day all Tuareg claim that a chief whether a drum-chief or a chief of a vassal tribe should be succeeded by his son, and that a sister's son may inherit the position. These rules have not always been followed in the election of drum-chiefs in the *Kel Ferwan* group, for the drum-chiefs have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, and after the French occupation they have even elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble *Kel Ferwan*. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, but the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The names are known of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent are not remembered further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:—

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Fig. 290. Sun-shade built of branches and grass. It is the normal living quarters for slaves in Ahaggar and for a great part of the year it is more suitable to the climate than Tuareg skin tents. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

567 military administrators have tacitly admitted that slavery continues as an established institution.
648 According to a census of 1949, there are in Ahaggar 1552 slaves owned by 3960 pastoral Tuareg (cf.
[162] Lhote 1955a, p. 224 ff.), and in two tribes the number of slaves exceeds that of fair-skinned Tuareg, namely in the *Dag Rali* and in the *Kel Rela*. Most Ahaggar Tuareg have a few slaves in their camps, while in Ayr very few fair-skinned pastoralists have slaves nowadays. The civil administration of Ayr has done much to secure the abolishment of slavery, and it seems as if many slaves were manumitted
567 after the 1917 revolt. Slavery is actually almost devoid of economic importance in Ayr, while in Ahaggar
[164] it plays a great part in the maintenance of the economic system based upon camel-breeding outside Ahaggar and on caravan-trading.

The structural position of slavery is apparently very much the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. Slaves are their owners' property; they can no longer be traded, but even in pre-European days it was never usual to sell slaves from one's own camp. The slaves are still inherited within one and the same family, and until a few years ago it was the custom for a slave girl to form part of the bride-wealth. Despite everything this may perhaps be taken as an indication that slaves are not conspicuously well treated, and there are also examples of the corporal punishment of slaves. This may occur even to-day, the rule being that certain misdemeanours, for which the light-skinned Tuareg atone by paying a fine of domestic animals, may be punished in the case of slaves by a flogging on the order of senior chiefs.

302 751 Men and women make rings around their eyes with kohl; they put it not only on the eyebrows, but especially at the roots of the eyelashes. They do this for medical purposes, for they attribute [164] to kohl the ability to protect them against eye maladies, in particular against ophthalmia which strikes many of them.

[326] The Tuareg appreciate the long, narrow hands of people who do no manual labor. They do not take any particular [412 531 212] care of them and are satisfied merely to cut their nails rather short. As they do for hair, they bury the scraps so that no one can take them.

Fig. 36. Hairdressing knife, bearing the name of the artisan who made it in tifinagh characters.

304 [171] Tattooing. -- Make-up. -- Unlike the Kabyle and the Berbers, the Tuareg are not tattooed. This detail, which may seem insignificant, nevertheless indicates that the relationship of these different human groups is not nearly as close as one might believe, since there are such appreciable differences in mores.

184 304 Some women blue their gums and sometimes their lips by tattooing them, but this custom is particularly prevalent in the Sudanese tribes of the Timbuktu region.

302 [751] [517] On the other hand, make-up is used on a large scale among Tuareg women. They put red ocher on their faces to protect the skin from the /260/ sun. For aesthetic reasons they also blue their lips and around their mouths with indigo.

278 of trust. Every time they take a caravan down south, they purchase
[439] many drugs, either for their personal use or to resell in their country or at In-Salah.

164 There are not many diseases in the Ahaggar. The country is relatively healthy because of its very dry climate /261/ and the bracing action of the sun, which at the same time destroys microbic germs. Moreover, this is very fortunate, for with the small amount of hygiene practiced by the Tuareg it would be impossible to fight disease. It may also be true that this absence of hygiene stems from the fact that the Tuareg have not had to see the necessity of it.

[165 731] The Ahaggar people die of old age or of war wounds. Of course, there are sometimes epidemics capable of doing damage, but they are rare because of the isolation of the camps. The great distances which separate one from the other are a natural defense against mass contagions. These epidemics always come through the medium
[361] of the caravaneers or the people who return from the Sudan, where they have stayed among sedentary people. We may mention small-pox, very common in the Sudan, which sometimes works great ravages in the tribes. Typhus, spread by lice, may decimate a whole tribe in a few days, and it is not uncommon among the Tuareg. But these two diseases are the exception when they are reported in
[751] the Ahaggar. When a man returning from the Sudan is stricken with one of them, his case is reported by messengers long before his arrival, and the sick man is systematically isolated.

753 The Tuareg under the circumstances recognize the state of contagion, but they do not see the causes of disease. According to
[771] them, it is caused by the action of bad genii. As good Moslems, they pretend not to believe in these genii, but in reality most of the talismans they wear on their persons are intended to protect them from these. To obtain them, they go to the marabouts or to men
[756] with a reputation for their knowledge of the occult sciences; these sorcerers are known as amekelléou.

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga." 291 302 386 515

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵓⵙⴼⴰⵔ 177 plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⵔⴰⵏ , and believe in their efficacy. 278 This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, [432 556] for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly be very well received by the Tuareg. [648 757]

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" ⵜⴰⵣⵣⴰⵇ 164 , gonorrhea, "talaoa'ṭ;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ⵜⵙⵎⴷⵀⵉ ; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴽⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔⵄⴼ .

## Chapter XVII

## Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have. 563 567 [721]

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense. [439]

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished. 178 567

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



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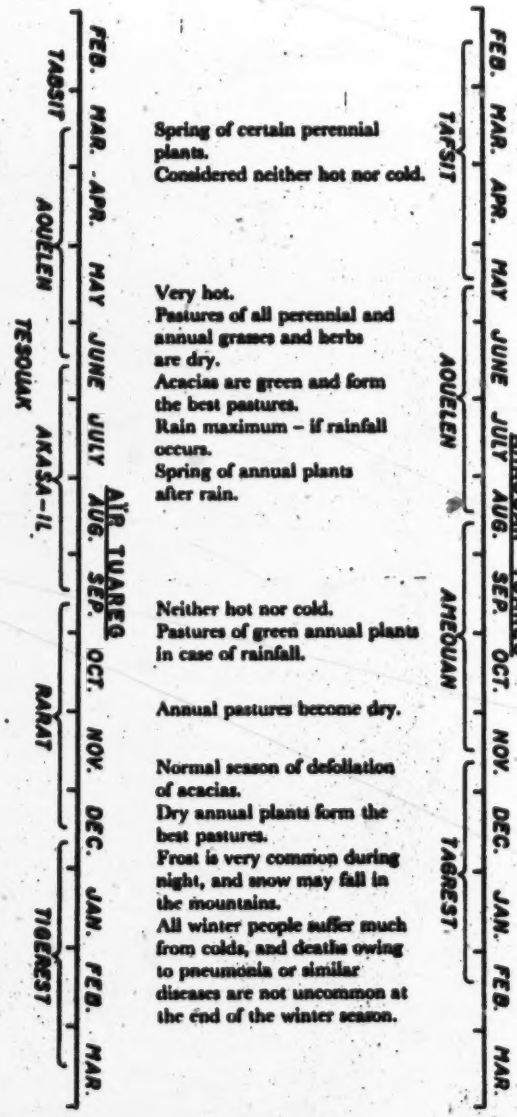


[164]
[164]

Fig. 2.–Division of the year into seasons among the Tuareg of Air and Ahaggar. Climatic and botanical characteristics are indicated. (The proper spelling of *tagerest* (tigerest) is *tagerest*, (tigerest) while *rarat* should be written *ررات*).

241 /76 cont./ In connection with the conditions of life in the agricultural centers, I shall reproduce here an extract from notes taken in 1949 during a tour I made in the company of the doctor at Tamanrasset. This year of 1949 was particularly dry and came on the heels of four long dry years.

"After having walked five hours since leaving the Tilokatine wadi, where we spent the night, we came in view of a charming little oasis situated in the Outoul wadi, which
241 has cut a bed through basalt rocks, columns of which are
621 seen along the banks. This was the agricultural center of Tahart.

[162 "There are 63 inhabitants, of whom 17 are children --
164] suffering from trachoma and conjunctivitis. Two foggaras serve to irrigate the gardens, as well as two wells with water drawn by oxen. The output of the foggaras is diminishing; the harratin have tried digging other wells at the head of the foggara, but they found large blocks of stone at a depth of three meters which prevented them from reaching the water table. A long and wearying work, with primitive means.

"There are about 100 palm trees, which give small, meager dates. Nearly all of the trees are encumbered with djebars; these harratin have no idea whatsoever of how to cultivate palm trees. Those trees that now produce grew from pits haphazardly cast in a garden.

"The only winter crops are wheat and barley; no turnips, no carrots, no beans, no other vegetables that could tide them over in the period between the millet and the wheat crops and that would permit them to let the cereal ripen.

"At this time nearly all the harratin are eating green barley and young tahli shoots.

"A brief calculation will show how insufficiently these cultivators are fed, although they do very hard work in a hard climate:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Year 1948. | Yield of wheat for Tahart | 1, 500 kilograms |
| | Yield of millet for Tahart | 300 kilograms |
| | | 1, 800 kilograms |

162 /109 cont./ here the cause of the greater proportion of men
165 to women.
847 The most widespread disease in the Ahaggar is undoubtedly malaria, most often contracted in Sudanese territory and
● 164 spread in the Ahaggar, where anopheles are numerous in the agricultural centers and at all the permanent or temporary water points. Professor Rémy of the faculty at Nancy has found them in the Tarahouaout tiggert /outflow of water/, at the In-Ezzebib guelta /pool/; the doctor, Captain Galan, has collected them in the Afilal guelta at an altitude of nearly 2, 000 meters.

Pneumonia and its pulmonary complications wreak the most havoc among the Tuareg; this is due to the winter cold, which is ill borne in too thin clothes.

[131] In 1949 an epidemic of measles took on the aspect of a catastrophe through its pulmonary consequences.

Venereal diseases are very common among the harratin, rarer among the Tuareg.

A distressing disease of the agricultural centers is trachoma, aggravated by every type of conjunctivitis transmitted by the flies that swarm and cluster around the /110/ eyes of children. The Tuareg seem immune to diseases of the eyes; they rarely have trachoma.

Smallpox, once so common and so feared, has practically disappeared, thanks to systematic vaccination. It was an unusual event to see two Tuareg return from the Sudan in April, 1951 covered with smallpox eruptions.

Tuberculosis does not seem to have appeared; skin tests made at the Tamanrasset school are negative for children born in the Ahaggar. There seems to be no manifestation of cancer.

Although the Tuareg are abundantly provided with lice, above all in the winter, as are the harratin, a case of typhus has never been known. Typhoid is unknown, as are diphtheria, tetanus, and poliomyelitis.

164 /110 cont./ The country then is sufficiently free of serious
114 diseases; one scourge, however, must be noted: malnutrition, described and well studied by the doctor, Captain Galan, in a publication of the Pasteur Institute of Algeria: Contribution à l'étude du problème alimentaire au Hoggar /Contribution to the Study of the Nutrition Problem in the Ahaggar/.

757 The Tuareg and the Negroes are beginning to like
278 European medication and are coming more frequently to the infirmary; they value above all aspirin, quinine (which is becoming a generic term for all pills), and penicillin. They remain faithful to their pharmacopoeia, chiefly based on plants, of which here are several examples:

Pulmonary diseases: strong pimento and rellachem /see Appendix, Flora/ are specifics; for pleurisy, one must melt camel fat with the ta'noust (fruit of the acacia), eat it as hot as possible, and constrict one's chest with a rope.

For the stomach, butter mixed with tahist.

In cases of diarrhea, takamezout is the sovereign remedy, taken in tea or eaten in leaf form. This takamezout has a great reputation among the Tuareg: it comprises, they say, 40 remedies, but will not heal broken legs.

Constipation is vanquished by adjardjar and taharadjellé. Headaches have no remedy, yet tea is /111/ to be taken in preference to anything else. The liver is treated with ihemhad taken in milk. The victim of ganglions at the groin or under the armpit may easily make them disappear by rubbing them lightly with saliva very early in the morning; another method, more efficient, consists of heating goat dung and placing it on the nails of the affected member.

[752] For an open wound, make a plaster with milk and powdered tassa.

Rheumatism is easily treated; a sort of well is dug, one meter in diameter and 1.50 meters deep, the patient gets in it, a cover is put on the well, and the patient is given an infusion of o'laq to make him sleep. A spring called In-Ahadja exists which is supposed to be equally as good in treating rheumatism.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



133 Massif resembles Ahaggar, but it is on the whole much more level with broader valleys and in between the lower mountains there are clayey plains. Immediately east of the Massif is the very extended sandy [131] desert which is uninhabited. Further south than Adrar-n-Foras and Ayr there are no considerable mountains. Between the two massifs are the plains of Tamesna and Talak which continue into the plains of the Sudanese savannah.

Tuareg country consists predominantly of rocky mountains and flat, extensive plains of gravel and stone. This configuration is basic to our understanding of Tuareg economy as will become clear when we have outlined the characteristic features of climate.

132 Tuareg country is very hot in summer – so hot that even the nomads born and bred in the country suffer much from the heat at that season. The hottest months are May, June (farthest south) and July (farthest north). During these months temperature may exceed 50° centigrade, and is on average 30°–35°, or higher. In the uppermost mountain zone of Ahaggar nights are comparatively cool even in summer, while in the lower country there is often little difference between day and night temperatures. This is true in particular when, as often happens in summer, the sky is overcast during the night and consequently there is little radiation of the heat absorbed by rocks and sand in daytime. The day temperature in summer is normally higher than the temperature of the human body, and the [484] temperature of sand and rocks will rise to 60°–70°. Travelling is extremely hard under such conditions, [271] and most people spend the day in the shade of rocks and trees, sleeping and drinking water of which an adult person consumes 8–10 litres a day. Violent winds are common in the Sahara most of the year and in particular in the daytime; in summer these winds are usually very hot and add considerably to the discomfort of the climate, as do the numerous flies.

The country of the Northern Tuareg has a rather continental climate characterized by great fluctuations of temperature during the year. Although Tuareg suffer from heat in summer, they do not generally complain much about it, and they consider the comparatively cold winter much worse than the hot summer. In winter, temperature in the country of the Northern Tuareg averages about 10°. The absolute minimum temperature however is very much below this. Thus in Ahaggar the village of Tamanrasset (1400 m) has in January an average temperature of 11,7°, but an absolute minimum of –6,6°. Frost is very common during winter nights, and even snow may fall in the higher parts of Ahaggar at that time of the year. In the country of the Southern Tuareg frost may also occur, but in Southern Ayr around Agadez frost is said to be very rare and snow is unknown; the winter period [511] in the south is on the whole milder than in the north, where the changes between relatively cold and [164] very hot temperatures, allied with inadequate dwellings and clothes, are responsible for pneumonia and similar diseases, which give rise to frequent deaths – especially among children.

The most important climatic distinction between the countries of Northern and Southern Tuareg is due to differences in the annual precipitation as will be seen from the following figures (in m/m) for the annual rainfall 1931–1945 in the territories of seven Tuareg groups:—

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



ants is collected and put into the millet mortar and pounded. The pounded mass of ants is then placed on the affected individual at the spot where blood and pus have penetrated the skin. The disease is characterized as very dangerous for human beings as blood and pus may emerge at any place of the body, and can, for instance, destroy an eye. The Ayr Tuareg say that they have no remedy against *tandert* when it affects their sheep and goats. The disease *tandert* can hardly be anything but anthrax. According to information from the veterinary surgeon Niels Grunnet much indicates that the contagious disease *changa* is also anthrax.

Foucauld has recorded a few contagious stock-diseases from Ahaggar:— *tarut*, a lung disease affecting cattle, goats, and camels. The lungs are filled with pus, and the animals die in four to ten days. *tehareṛet*, a disease attacking sheep and goats which will die with yellow entrails. *weñhet*, a contagious disease attacking jackals, dogs and related animals which will die quickly. It is not the true rabies. *talekmet*, apparently a kind of scrofula which affects the udders of female domestic animals. These do not necessarily die from the disease but their udders may wither (Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1558, 1663, III, p. 1509, 1044). Dr. Grunnet has informed me that *tarut* could be the pulmonary form of *pasteurellosis* also called *haemorrhagic septicaemia*, while *weñhet* may very well be distemper. The *talekmet* disease according to Dr. Grunnet is not easy to identify by the present information, but three conditions are possible:— 1) cow pox, 2) *actinomycosis* of the udder, and 3) *mastitis*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, like the Ayr Tuareg, do not seem to have any remedies against such contagious diseases which incidentally are rare. But there are many other stock-diseases and treatments for them.

The Ayr Tuareg have mentioned to me about thirty different names of camel diseases. The description of these diseases was frequently difficult to understand, and I noted only the following names:—

*azni*, that is a disease of congestion due to heat-apoplexy which is cured by bleeding with a knife or with tobacco powder put into the camel's eyes.

*tadanak*, an eye disease cured by cutting around the eyes and by the insertion of salt.

*ichilchal*, a nose disease cured in the following way:— The handle of a wooden spoon is put up through the nostril to pierce the septum, and heated butter is poured into the animal's nose.

*inefdan*, a diseases which gives the camel a swollen and inflamed head. A cure is effected by cutting with a knife and by burning.

*tozu*, a kind of chill which causes pregnant she-camels to miscarry. There is no good remedy for it, but it is normal practice to pour water over the affected animal.

*lejwad*, a paralysis of the hind thighs of camels. The affected animals cannot stand up. The only remedy is a very difficult operation:— A vein is opened in the hind thigs to let out a great quantity of blood. Bleeding is stopped again by sewing together the cuts, which are finally treated with fire.

*tibayaḳ*, a disease which prevents the pregnancy of mated she-camels. The remedy for this consists in cutting slices around the vagina and under the tail so that blood flows. After this operation, which I have frequently attended, it is said that she-camels will become pregnant when mated.

*sanes*, a disease which prevents the pregnancy of she-camels. It is treated by putting the hand and the arm deeply into the anus of the camel. I have seen it performed once, and in this particular case the she-camel became pregnant shortly afterwards. According to Dr. Grunnet this disease is very probably *corpus luteum* which is squeezed out of the ovary by the manipulation.

278 of trust. Every time they take a caravan down south, they purchase
[439] many drugs, either for their personal use or to resell in their country or at In-Salah.

164 There are not many diseases in the Ahaggar. The country is relatively healthy because of its very dry climate /261/ and the bracing action of the sun, which at the same time destroys microbic germs. Moreover, this is very fortunate, for with the small amount of hygiene practiced by the Tuareg it would be impossible to fight disease. It may also be true that this absence of hygiene stems from the fact that the Tuareg have not had to see the necessity of it.

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731] there are sometimes epidemics capable of doing damage, but they are rare because of the isolation of the camps. The great distances which separate one from the other are a natural defense against mass contagions. These epidemics always come through the medium
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[156] with a reputation for their knowledge of the occult sciences; these sorcerers are known as amekelléou.

161 /108 cont./ cited above). The birth rate is not very high, but it is greater than the low death rate. Infant mortality is practically impossible to verify.

162 In 1948 there were 1, 028 men counted for 1, 202 women, which would seem tosupport the widespread opinion that relative to other peoples there are more men than women among the Tuareg. One must be careful, however, not to make this type of affirmation without having previously examined all the causes that may produce such a state of affairs. It is almost certain that the Tuareg control their birth rate. The 162 chief of the tribe may forbid births or may recommend them 847 according to the number of members of the tribe. This measure seems wise in a country which can scarcely support the existing population. The situation is such as it would be if the Tuareg had found, empirically, the ideal number of individuals able to be supported by their soil and were wise enough to try to maintain this number.

The men interrogated on this subject avoided the question, saying that this concerns their women and that they do not know the methods employed. The women are equally reticent, not to say mute.

/109/ Some of them claim to abort by drinking decoctions of plants. The French doctors know the qualities of these plants and think that this medication would be insufficient to produce the desired effect. By being patient, I was able to learn a method which, although dangerous, should be effective; I got this information from only one woman and have never been able to confirm it, as it is difficult to touch on these subjects directly. The women supposedly use a probe that they make from a "stone" called "azarif" ("cheb" in Arabic), which is of alum; they make this the size of a slate pencil. 162 This probe dissolves after having produced a mechanical effect. 165 It is likely that many women fall victim to these maneuvers, 847 for in questioning the Tuareg one discovers a rather high female mortality rate at a relatively young age. Perhaps we may see

162 /109 cont./ here the cause of the greater proportion of men
165 to women.
847 The most widespread disease in the Ahaggar is undoubtedly malaria, most often contracted in Sudanese territory and
164 spread in the Ahaggar, where anopheles are numerous in the agricultural centers and at all the permanent or temporary water points. Professor Rémy of the faculty at Nancy has found them in the Tarahouaout tiggert /outflow of water/, at the In-Ezzebib guelta /pool/; the doctor, Captain Galan, has collected them in the Afilal guelta at an altitude of nearly 2, 000 meters.

Pneumonia and its pulmonary complications wreak the most havoc among the Tuareg; this is due to the winter cold, which is ill borne in too thin clothes.

[131] In 1949 an epidemic of measles took on the aspect of a catastrophe through its pulmonary consequences.

Venereal diseases are very common among the harratin, rarer among the Tuareg.

A distressing disease of the agricultural centers is trachoma, aggravated by every type of conjunctivitis transmitted by the flies that swarm and cluster around the /110/ eyes of children. The Tuareg seem immune to diseases of the eyes; they rarely have trachoma.

Smallpox, once so common and so feared, has practically disappeared, thanks to systematic vaccination. It was an unusual event to see two Tuareg return from the Sudan in April, 1951 covered with smallpox eruptions.

Tuberculosis does not seem to have appeared; skin tests made at the Tamanrasset school are negative for children born in the Ahaggar. There seems to be no manifestation of cancer.

Although the Tuareg are abundantly provided with lice, above all in the winter, as are the harratin, a case of typhus has never been known. Typhoid is unknown, as are diphtheria, tetanus, and poliomyelitis.

132 241 the proportion of one to four. After several dry years some agricultural centers must be completely abandoned. This was the case of Tit, Attoklane, Tahart, Dar-Mouli, etc., in the last few years. [166] [73]

In 1940, 555 hectares of land were seeded. This is the figure for a good year, which can occasionally be surpassed but can also be reduced by more than half.

162 241 The population of the agricultural centers, which was 1, 310 people in 1916, was 2, 280 in 1938, which denotes a great effort made in favor of agriculture. This could be realized thanks only to the state of peace due to the French occupation. [248]

Here are the figures for each of the principal centers, according to the archives of the Tamanrasset post (1): 162 103

1. Florimond report, 1938.

| | 1911 | 1938 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tamanrasset | 150 | 686 | |
| Abalessa | 272 | 250 | |
| I-n-Amgel | 180 | 206 | |
| Iglen | | 168 | |
| Ideles | 70 | 160 | |
| Tazerouk | 150 | 148 | |
| Tit | 75 | 98 | had to leave for other centers after the summer of 1938. |
| Tarhaouhaout | 140 | 91 | |
| Amsel | 90 | 66 | |
| Tahifet | | 39 | |
| /248/ Tigeneouin | 25 | 23 | |
| Mertoutek | | 60 | |
| Hirhafok | | 80 | |
| Haman | 10 | | |

162
103

| | 1911 | 1938 |
|---|---|---|
| T-i-n-Ămenser . . . . . | 36 | temporarily abandoned |
| Tifert . . . . . | 50 | " " |
| Essélésékin . . . . . | 30 | |
| T-i-n-Târaâbin . . . . . | 15 | abandoned |

166 These figures bring out the weakening of some centers to the
621 advantage of others. Thus, a number of cultivators from
[648] Tarahouhaout (where the French post was formerly located) came to settle at Tamanrasset, and the group of little centers in the outskirts of Ăbalessa, Iglen, Tăfarit, etc., has absorbed the groups from other abandoned centers like Tifert, Esséléséekin, Ilâman, Tarahananet, etc.

[541 Together these centers number about 400 gardens and 80
312] feggaguir.

The wheat harvested is partly consumed by the cultivators and
262 chiefly intended for export; it is exchanged at the Touat for dates.
439 The total harvests in the Ahaggar corresponds to only one -fifth of
433 the needs of its inhabitants, even in good years.

621 There are fifteen agricultural centers exploited in the Ahaggar:
433 Tamanrasset, Tărhaouahout, Tahifet, Tăzerouk, Ideles, Ăbalessa, Hirhafok, Iglen, I-n-Amegel, T-i-n-Ămenser, Amsel, Tigeneouin, Talan-Tedit, Mertoûtek, and Esseléséekine.

[166] In addition there are twenty-two other centers which have been abandoned for some years as a result of dryness or lack of manpower: Aïtoklane, Ădenek, Ămrah, Ăbezou, Ăglil, Bloûmet, Déhine, Dar Mouli, Ennedid, Innezal, Ilâman, In Ămertek, Ilafok, Outoul, Ouhet, Souaïka, T-i-n-Târaabin, Touakin, Teberbert, Tarahananet, Tahart, and Joraf.

764 A marabout or a literate man reads the Moslem prayer, and the men, standing behind him with their hands coupled and open at [782] chest height, repeat it with him. Women do not participate in the 793 burial. [562]

Modern Tuareg tombs have stone markers (chouabed), one at the feet and one at the head for men, one at the head and two at the feet for women. They are oval in shape and the mound is slightly dome-shaped. They usually have stones around them, forming a gully with a forward part open to the east. One often finds wooden stakes or tent stakes stuck into the two ends of the grave, as well as large balls of hyaline quartz which, /297/ according to the Tuareg, were used to rub the body of the dead man before burying him. In many places where there are hyenas, as in the Sudan, the tomb is generally covered over with thorny branches to prevent them from digging up the dead man.

After the burial the persons who came for the occasion present [264] their condolences to the family. The family has a meal served for 765 them in memory of the deceased.

768 The dead man's clothing are given to the marabout or to the person who washed him.

[766] Then camp is immediately broken, and the people never return to camp at that place.

765 Mourning does exist among the Tuareg. It lasts only a short time for the man who has lost his wife. For three days he stays shut up in his tent. During this time the ahal and all rejoicings are forbidden in the camp. For the wife who has lost her husband, mourning is a real retreat which lasts four months and ten days, during which time she must not appear in public. The end of the retreat is marked by a little ceremony: the women of the camp take the widow to see the sunrise, present her with an open book of piety, and show her some salt.

761 The Tuareg never bewail the death of a person, and condolences often have the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you loved is now in the paradise of God."

114 closer look and find out just what really does go on in the bosom of such a seemingly impossible community. The best general source on the Ahaggar Tuareg is probably Blanguernon (1955), while Benhazera (1908) gives some valuable demographic data and Lhote (1947 and 1955) supplies a mass of miscellaneous details. But all these works are in French: Rodd (1926), writing in English, gives a fairly good general picture of the Tuareg as a whole although he deals primarily with the Aïr.

101 The Tuareg of the Sahara proper, as we have defined it, are divided into three confederations, those of the Tassili n Ajjer, the Ahaggar and the Adrar n Ifoghas, distributed in that order from Northeast to Southwest. [16] There are probably only about 10,000 or 11,000 of them in all, for most of the Tuareg, some 140,000 strong, now live outside our area in the Aïr and the northern central Sudan. We will take the Ahaggar confederation as our Tuareg socio-economic sample because this group not only seems to have remained the least affected by foreign influence but has also been the most extensively studied and described, and because it is the only one with which the author is personally familiar.

101 The Tuareg as a whole used to range over an enormous territory extending roughly as far north as Ouargla, eastward to Gatroum, westward to a bit beyond a line running from Aoulef to Timbuctoo, and southward to below the Niger Bend and the northern border of Nigeria. The eastern, northern and western limits of this range have been slowly driven back over the last few centuries, first by ever stronger Arab pressure from the East and North and then by the gradual southward extension of French and, more recently, Italian control. These steadily increasing pressures have produced a steadily increasing though fluctuating flow of the Tuareg population southward from the Desert proper, through the Aïr and the Adrar n Ifoghas and into the Sudan. Under the stimulus of disaster in one form or another, this flow has occasionally become torrential for brief periods, as when, following the suppression of the 1916–18 rebellion, a great wave of Aïr Tuareg moved into British Nigeria (Rodd, 1926, p. 361) and the main body of the Taïtoq tribe left their home range in the western Ahaggar for the

166

131

101 country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote,
166 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the
131 latest major episodes in a general southwest-
ward drift of which we have evidence going
back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd,
1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great
Arab invasions first began to be felt.

631 The military administrative unit known as
the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the ter-
ritory that lies between Amguid and In Guez-
zam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds
fairly closely to the present normal range of
[101] the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the
size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Vir-
ginia and Maryland put together (146,300
square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabit-
[161] ants in 1950), and supports a total native popu-
lation of probably about 12,000, roughly the
same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massa-
chusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge,
Massachusetts, has more than ten times as
many permanent residents. Twice as many
people work in the Pentagon Building alone
as live in the entire Ahaggar.

162 Accurate population figures for nomadic
peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in
the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to
arrive at anything better than very rough
approximations. We are probably safe in as-
suming, however, that there are about 4,400
Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area,
plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small
families of smiths, and a very small handful of
Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who
have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

197 The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a
form of Senhadjan Berber.

619 **Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided
into confederations as we have seen, and these
are divided into tribes which are subdivided
565 into clans and the latter into fractions. The
nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] [a] A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

551 [b] Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in
104 as many different ways as are the geographical names of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

622 [c] A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

4: Benhazera--48 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

I saw a camp of Iouarouaren (an imr'ad fraction of the Taïtoq tobol), established near the tents of Taïtoq nobles, move in order to settle farther away. They had come from the Tidikelt with dates and other produce, and the noble women were continually coming to beg something at the imr'ad camp. So their chief In Chikadh gave the signal to leave and said that this was in order to put an end to the importunities of the nobles. /55/ 166 651

## Chapter V

### The Raid. The Loot. Its Restitution

The raid is the life of the Tuareg. He needs it. Here it is that he, the noble especially, seeks part of his means of subsistence. The favorite raids used to be those made against the Sudan, the Aïr, and the Niger, because of the negros and negresses who were captured. But the Tuareg is well aware now that French authority surrounds him on all sides, to the north and to the south, and that that system has ended. This is one of the reasons that make him regret his surrender. 648 721

The Chaânba were as predatory and as independent as the Tuareg. They also raided continually. Since their surrender, it is known what a considerable change has taken place, and we have every reason to believe that this will happen among the Tuareg under our influence.

Usually when a tribe has been raided, unless a state of war has been declared, it sends a deputation, a "miaâd," to demand from the djemaâ of the raiding tribe the loot which was taken from them. The envoys must make their mounts kneel before the tents of the notables of the djemaâ and beg for restitution. 728

565 /57 cont. / The harratin, who are also Negroes, are ranked
as low as the iklan by the Tuareg, who have a high degree of
[563] racial prejudice.

However, there is a nuance: the "akli" (plural: "iklan") belongs to his master, the Targui; he cannot leave him, and, if he is no longer bought and sold because of the presence of the French, he considers himself the property of his master. The /58/ hartani is a free man; he may live where he wants to, do what work he will where he will; he makes contracts with the Tuareg and is dependent on them only in so far as his work is. Moreover, as a resident of the Ahaggar, he must observe the customs of the country.

[622] He is under the authority of the village chief, who is also
[631] a hartani, responsible to the amenokal (1).

1. This ranking and this information concern the observance of custom and have nothing to do with French law, which is administered by the head of the annex and by the judicial authorities at Batna.

The harratin of the Ahaggar apparently have two possible origins. Some come from the oases of the Touat and the Tidikelt. This population movement has, it appears, always
[166] existed. The number of these harratin varies; there is, in fact, a continual coming and going between the Ahaggar and the oases of the north, according with the dry and wet years.

The other harratin are iklan who have been freed by the Tuareg. The chief cause of this emancipation is the growing
[567] poverty of the nobles and vassals, who no longer have sufficient resources to feed and clothe their domestics.

/90 cont./ The thickness of the walls varies from one to three toubs, or from 30 to 90 centimeters. The grave problem is that of the roof, which is made in the local style with a coat of tin over a bed of tahlis or reeds; the framework is made from fersig and éthel branches, with an average length of from two to 2.50 meters. In order to obtain a big enough room, the ends of these branches must be rested on a large log or on a semicircular arch made with toub. It is not possible, therefore, to make rooms more than four meters wide because of the length limitations of the logs or of the vault's span; the room may be made as long as desired by stringing together the units from two to 2.50 meters wide.

Some administration houses have iron beams, which permits the construction of wider rooms and avoids a grave annoyance, that of finding that a beam has been attacked by termites. In order to discourage termites, the frame is covered with drainage oil.

/91/ The inside plastering consists of black tin covered with a layer of white tin or, preferably, with lime, which sticks better. The outside plaster is red tin smoothed with the trowel or grooved vertically by the mason's fingers, which gives a pleasing effect. This red color gives Tamanrasset its particular look. Very often a small flowering garden brightens a house. The houses of Europeans have several rooms, a kitchen, a court, and often a small vegetable garden; they are in general smartly kept up.

## Migrations

361 166 The Tuareg only change their camps to find other pastures for the herds; when food for the animals becomes scarce within a radius of two to three hours' from camp, the head of the tent or subgroup, in agreement with the other members of the family, chooses a new site with good pasturage and, if possible, relatively near a water point. The imrad tribes make these

361 /91 cont./ changes only within the bounds of their territory.
In order to use pastures on the lands of a neighboring tribe,
•166 permission must be obtained from that tribe's amrar, and in addition a fee must be paid, which may be as much as two or three goats. Only the nobles move at will in the whole country.

We have already seen that the female camels are sent to Tamesna in a dry year, and that they stay there until a rainy year gives the Ahaggar desirable pastures. There then remain in the Ahaggar only a few male camels and all the goats, which accentuates the region's desert character. In these dry years the men go back and forth between the Ahaggar and the camel herds, sometimes taking Negroes with them, sometimes young adolescents. The women stay in the camps. A change of tent site is carefully planned, because of the scarcity of water points. /92/ It is not unusual to see a camp remain nearly a year at a site which is not too unfavorable.

During wet years, there are abundant pastures practically everywhere in the Ahaggar, water flows in the wadis, the female camels produce a lot of milk; one would think that the Tuareg then would sojourn long in the same place -- but no, quite the contrary, the camps are constantly moving.

Tuareg custom holds that when the pastures are just beginning to grow, the camp must not remain too long in the same place; this is a wise measure which permits plants to flower and bear seed, but putting that reason aside, there is no rational explanation of that continual shifting of tents in a country covered with the best pastures. Is there here a manifestation of the nomadic spirit? A careful psychological study would have to be made in order to understand the reasons behind these moves, which have no apparent practical purpose and which the Tuareg themselves are unable to justify.

Yet moving a camp is no joke. Dismantling the tents is easily and rapidly enough done by the women, but looking for the donkeys, the loading, the packing of the objects constitutes a job which to a European seems enough to drive one crazy; thought must also be given to milking the animals,

361 /92 cont./ to the departure of the herds, to the means of
166 moving the old people and babies. The camp is hardly ready to move before nine in the morning, although the work has been in progress since sunrise. About three in the afternoon the caravan halts for the night; the animals must then be unloaded, the asabers must be put up, the meals prepared, the animals milked; and the next day everything begins over again.

There is one regular annual migration; when the wheat
166 and barley ripen in the gardens, it is April, and all the caravans
221 returned from the Sudan have stored their millet in silos --
361 then nearly all camps head for the agricultural centers. The goats are left in the desert in the care of the Negroes. Each little agricultural center /93/ then sees a gathering of the Tuareg, who come to supervise the harvest and live at the expense of the khammès, according to the provisions of the agricultural contract. This is a joyous period, and tendi and ilougan are held every day.

In connection with these migrations, it must be noted that the Tuareg do not act exactly according to the necessities of the climate: a dry period should logically lead to an exodus by the tribes toward Sudanese territory, where the herds would be better fed in virtually permanent pastures, and yet the tents and goats stay in the Ahaggar. Political reasons do not suffice to explain this contradiction between custom and the obligations of the climate. Perhaps this custom may be seen as the effect of long habit reinforced by sentimental factors. It is certain that away from the Ahaggar and their own territories of nomadization, the Tuareg are ill at ease; they show their delight on returning to their mountains. There is a saying that the Tuareg are great travelers but not great nomads; the essential reason for this remark is certainly the profound attachment they manifest for their soil, which seems incompatible with the nomad mentality.

361 /93 cont./ To sum up the migrations of the Kel Ahaggar,
166 let us say that they extend in a radius of about 100 kilometers,
221 within the tribal lands, but that the men may lead the herds, according to the times, toward pastures 1, 000 kilometers from the family camp, and that an annual series of caravans sees them cover 15° of latitude.

The harratin cultivators are only sedentary on occasion; each year there is a large human movement from one agricultural center to another. There are three reasons for this: the Tuareg, owners of the soil, are no longer able to furnish the hartani with enough seed or to fulfill the agricultural contract; water bwgins to be lacking in a center, or digging foggaras becomes impossible; lastly, the exhausted land needs rest. It is thus that, from one year to the next, an important, well-cultivated center may become /94/ insignificant and even deserted. It appears to be impossible to establish a cycle for these agricultural migrations.

## Tuareg Furnishings

352 Lightness and flexibility are the two essential qualities of
492 Tuareg furnishings. All of these objects must be transported on the backs of animals; weight, therefore, is the principal enemy; moreover, it is easier for the animals to carry loads capable of molding themselves against the animals' bodies.
415 Thus we find a whole assortment of sacks, chiefly leather ones, in the Tuareg equipment.

These sacks are tanned in such a way as to keep the leather very flexible; but the process employed is suitable only for extremely dry climates: transported to France, the Tuareg leathers seem to come alive again, they swell with humidity, then give off a disagreeable odor, and finally become unusable.

415 All of these sacks are decorated. Some are colored and
531 bear designs put on with dye or are decorated with tinted

Weaning takes place gradually. Long before the end of the suckling period the kids eat green annual plants around the camp or, if such plants are not available, fresh shoots of acacias and tender herbs brought to the camp by Tuareg women. At the end of the suckling period kids, if very abundant, will sometimes be taken to grazing grounds away from the camp, and the flock of kids will then be forced to live exclusively on plant food. But there are also certain devices to wean kids which graze together with the mother animals. Such devices are normally applied to kids when they are about two months old – at which age the Ahaggar Tuareg claim that kids should also be marked and castrated. These devices to wean kids will now be briefly mentioned.

In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer kids are generally weaned by means of a small stick placed in the mouth. This stick can be fixed in two ways. It is frequently placed transversally in the kid's mouth and attached at both ends with a thin piece of cord or leather fastened behind the animal's horns (Figs. 18–19). But it may also be placed in the mouth of the kid in a very simple and apparently rather crude way, namely by piercing right through the cheek of the animal (cf. Fig. 20). Both methods are known to the Northern Tuareg as *asedres*, or *akara*, and the latter method of piercing the stick right through the cheek is claimed to be the better, as in this case the stick does not easily fall out. Both devices are practised by other North African stock-breeders.

According to Foucauld the term *akara* is used among the Ayr Tuareg to denote these practises (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 848), which allow the kids to graze without any difficulty but effectively prevent them from suckling. But according to my investigations among the *Kel Ferwan* of Southern Ayr, the methods are unknown in their above mentioned forms. Devices to wean kids among these Tuareg are known as *asedres*, or *ameru*, and the most common one consists of a piece of dum palm leaf rolled together and drawn through two holes pierced in the upper lip of the kid, a knot being tied at each end of the piece of palm leaf. Another device consists of a cord of dum palm leaf placed in the kid's mouth and fastened behind its horns, but this method is used mainly temporarily (e.g., during movements of the camp to a new place) when small kids mix with the milk-yielding goats. It is possible that devices as those just described from the Northern Tuareg are also found among certain Ayr Tuareg, for many now living in and around Ayr have immigrated fairly recently from the north. A peculiar method should finally be mentioned. It is described from Ahaggar by Lhote, who states that the Tuareg of that region attach the spiky skin of a hedgehog to the head of kids so that they prick the udder of the mother animals when sucking with the result that the mother animals kick them away (Lhote 1951a, p. 136). The use of spiked devices to wean kids and lambs is certainly not a common method among the Tuareg or among other stock-breeders, though spiked devices are commonly applied to the young of certain other domestic animals (cf. p. 52, 62 f.).

Effective goat-breeding is more than anything else a question of an appropriate birth control of the goats. Although goats, if not mated again soon, may yield milk up to two years after the birth of kids, they give much more milk when they have kids. The period of gestation is about five months, and the same goat may be capable of bringing forth kids twice a year.

There are some Tuareg who always let their goats mate freely, but this is not common practice. With free mating the flock will increase enormously, as most goats bring forth two kids, and the same goat may thus have four kids in a year. But there will then be little milk for the nomads, as milk-

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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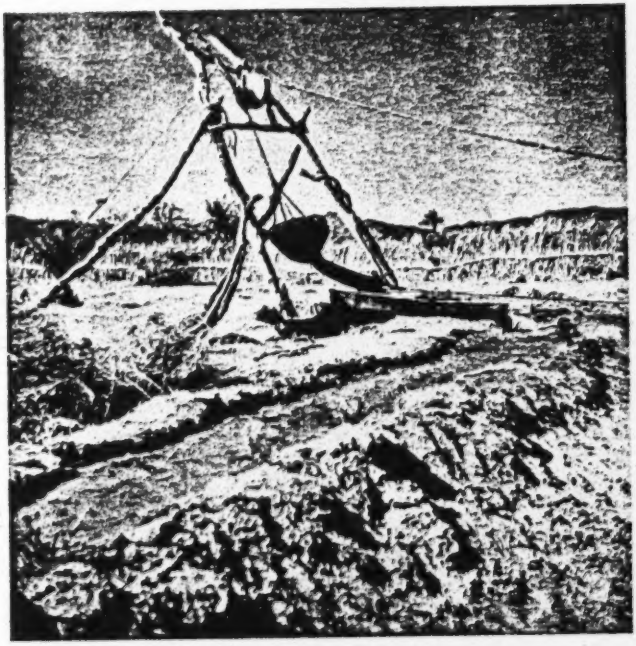

Fig. 132a. The irrigation system known as *sunut*. Ahaggar, Amsel.

361 settlements contain less than 300 individuals, the majority not even a hundred (cf. Lhote 1955a;
[162] p. 292). Most agricultural settlements comprise only a few houses built of stone or mud, or a few
[342] straw-huts (cf. p. 327 ff.). The agriculturists of these small settlements generally keep some goats
[231] and sheep, have donkeys, which are important beasts of burden to all farmers of the Sahara oases,
and in certain families there are one or two zebus to raise water from irrigation wells. A few agri-
433 culturists may be characterized as semi-nomads. This is the case of some inhabitants of Abalessa
who guard their flocks at some distance from the village. Some of these agriculturists, who were formerly Tuareg slaves, even make skin-tents like pastoral Tuareg.

312 The subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs of the Sahara as *foggara*, to the Tuareg as *ifelan*
241 (sing. *éfeli*), constitute by far the most important irrigation system used in Ahaggar. However, these
*foggara* canals cannot be compared with the large extensive aqueducts of Tidikelt though their intro-
● [166] duction to Ahaggar is due to the immigration of agriculturists from that area. The Tidikelt *foggara* are very large aqueducts which are dug into water-bearing strata which can be situated at a considerable distance from the oasis (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 324 ff., Lô 1953 & 1954; Chaintron 1958). The Ahaggar foggara are generally very short (about one to two kilometres, or shorter), they are not

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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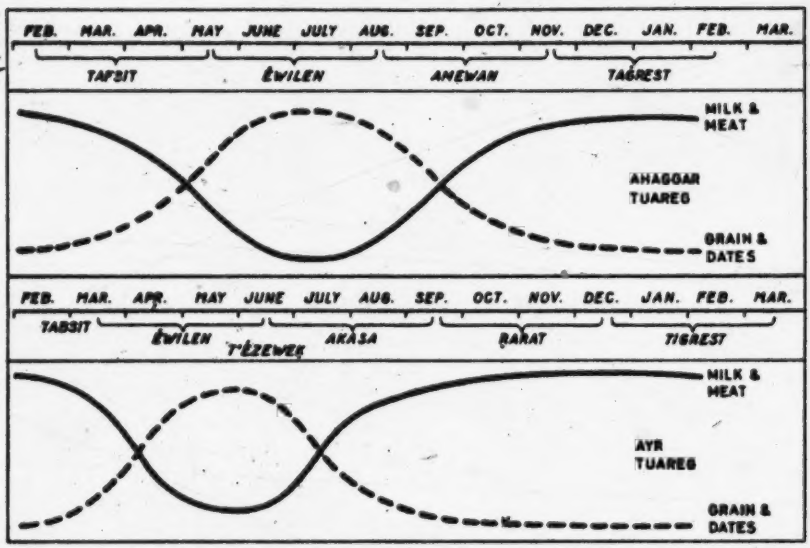


[511] [824] Fig. 151. The relative importance throughout the year of food derived from stock-breeding and vegetable products mainly comprising agricultural products. The curves describe conditions in good years for wealthy families. However, milk (and meat) is less important to most Ayr families than indicated in the diagram which covers a household making use of the particular type of annual pasture which remains green throughout winter, notably *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea ssp. Schimperi*) *adreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tagellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). – This diagram should be compared with Fig. 14 where climatic and botanical changes throughout the year are outlined.

433 it is remunerative to buy an extra supply of millet in Damergu and to exchange it for dates and salt
439 at Bilma. Caravan trading is a source of profit to the Ayr Tuareg, but most of them ultimately acquire their agricultural food products in exchange for stock and stock-breeding products. Very few of them mine salt at Amadṛor, and most of them obtain salt in return for millet bought for domestic animals in Damergu, or for meat of domestic animals butchered in Ayr. The Tuareg cannot easily subsist without agricultural products but they can obtain them in exchange for their livestock.

233 We see again that conditions of stock-breeding are very favourable in Ayr in comparison with those
166 of Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where frequent drought periods make it difficult for the Tuareg to
[184] exist. It is easily understandable that the favourable grazing conditions of Ayr have caused many Tuareg of the north to migrate southwards. These migrations take place even to-day and have gone
433 on for centuries (cf. p. 411 ff.). However, even in Ayr it is most difficult to subsist without cultivated
262 cereals (millet), and we must do away with the myth that pastoralists of North Africa live entirely on milk and meat from their animals – they do not. This is true for all Tuareg I have visited, including

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 [168] [197] B.1.e. A tent which has only one arch. I have once seen a tent like this in a blacksmith's camp close to Agadez, and several in a camp of former Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Tégehé-n-Efis* tribe in Northern Ayr. As this less elaborate structure seems among these Tuareg to constitute a fixed type I shall describe its main elements and the terms used for them which differ slightly from those used in the *Kel Ferwan* group, because the Ahaggar Tuareg living in Ayr even to-day largely speak their old Ahaggar dialect:— (1) A wooden arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction; it is called *aǵeǵu* (pl. *iǵeǵan*). (2) Two horizontal cross-bars known as *éseger* (sing. *isgar*). (3) Forked sticks called *tiǵettewin* (sing. *téǵettewt*) to support the horizontal cross-bars. There are only two forked sticks for each of the two cross-bars. (4) Slender rods forming semi-arches along the longitudinal direction; these are known as *ilellewatin* (sing. *alellewa*). This very simple structure is covered with mats much like other mat tents, the mats being known collectively as *asala* (pl. *isalan*).

Two very particular types of mat tents differing greatly from the above remain to be mentioned:—

[484] B.1.f. During migrations when the members of a camp remain only one or two days on the same spot, they do not always erect mat tents. But they have to do so throughout the rainy season, when the tents are sometimes erected in a very peculiar way:— The two horizontal cross-bars are placed parallel to one another, each of them resting upon two forked sticks. The distance between the two cross-bars is about one metre, and the height of the two pairs of forked sticks is about 1.50 m. The rest of the elements constituting the normal tent structure, that is the bundles of arches and semi-arches, is not untied. The parcels made up of these elements are leaned against the horizontal cross-bars, and the whole is thereupon covered with mats. The tent erected in this way is a very small one, just big enough for the large wooden bed (*tédabut*). The tent thus erected is known as *tafala*.

B.1.g. The tent to be mentioned is known as *éhen* like the normal barrel-vaulted mat tents, but it is nevertheless of beehive shape. This type of dwelling, however, is not used among the Ayr Tuareg, [184] and I have only seen it once in the camp of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief, where many slaves lived in small mat tents of beehive shape. The structure is made of slender, unfashioned boughs which are fixed in the ground and tied together at their tops. But the arrangement is not a fortuitous one. It would seem that these dwellings have a particular structure: two arches placed parallel to each other and four slender arches passing over the two first arches at a right angle. This structure is covered with mats plaited from dum palm leaves. The tents are very low with a height of about 1.50 m, and their diameter does not exceed 2.00 m. Portable tents of beehive shape are unknown to true pastoral Tuareg.

Mat tents of arch construction are known outside the regions inhabited by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*. They seem to occur throughout Southern Tuareg country, but are less common further west than among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. The great majority of the pastoral Ayr Tuareg live in mat tents, and it is not correct to speak of this type of portable dwelling as typical of the *Kel Ewey* as frequently happens in literature. As to the *Kel Geres* they claim that all pastoralists of their group have mat tents. On the occurrence of mat tents outside the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* I have gathered the following information from literature:—

A mat tent of arch construction is described by Nicolas from the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg around *Tawa*. It is called *awaǵwaǵ* or *awarwâr* (*éwerwer*) because it is covered with mats of this particular type (cf. p. 350 f.). A tent of this nature is 6–7 metres long and 4–5 metres broad. The tent has four, three,

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# Chapter 6

## Animal Husbandry

233 If we study mainly the tribes which live in the Sudan, in a country which lends itself perfectly to animal husbandry, we observe that the Tuareg are experienced herders, capable of making their herds prosper. The scarcity of pastures in the Sahara has evidently put animal husbandry in the background among the norther- [184] ern Tuareg, but it was certainly not always that way. The example that we have before us in the Sudan allows us to class all the Tuareg among the great herders.

Animal husbandry is at the very foundation of their living con- [167] ditions. It is probably the source of their migrations and their swarming over the Sahara and the Sudan. On these grounds the Tuareg, like all shepherds, may be reproached for their thieving and destructive bent, the effect of which is often felt by urban groups and always by the vegetation which they shamelessly destroy. With these reservations, however, they have brought with them some elements of cultural civilization which have played a considerable role both in the Sahara and the Sudan.

The Ihaggaren are forced to count on the income from their herds and could not live without them. That is why they devote a large part of their work to animal husbandry, despite the difficulties imposed on them by caring for the animals.

[184] This animal husbandry, moreover, is peculiar to the Saharian regions and is totally different from that of the Sudanese Tuareg. The Sudanese own cattle, great quantities of sheep, and horses; the Sahara could not support such flocks.

The Ahaggar Tuareg raise camels, goats, sheep, and asses.

174 The camel. -- We have seen previously what we must think about the introduction of the camel into the Sahara. Whether it was

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tarahamt)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of weels *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters.

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 198 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while

# The Tuareg

The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive area of Western Sahara and the northern parts of the Western Sudan. The territory dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° Northern Latitude and between 5° Western Longitude and 10° Eastern Longitude. 101 131

The Tuareg fall into several main groups which correspond largely to political units. These groups are the following:—

I. *Kel Ajjer*, in the mountains named Tasilé-n-Ajjer in the eastern part of the Algerian Sahara and in adjacent parts of Libya. Northwards they reach Tripolitania and the great sandy desert Erg Oriental around Radames.

II. *Kel Ahaggar*, in the Ahaggar Mountains, in the mountains of Ahnet, Immidir, and Téfedest – and in adjacent parts of the lowland. Certain tribes of the Ahaggar group live in the southern plains of Tamesna between the mountain massifs of Adrar-n-Foras and Ayr, particularly around I-n-abanrerit and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

III. *Kel Adrar*, in the mountains of Adrar-n-Foras south-west of Ahaggar.

IV. *Kel Ayr*, in the mountain massif of Ayr and in the plains to the west and south. The Tuareg of Ayr form several semi-independent units of which the more important are the *Kel Ewey*, the *Kel Tamat*, the *Kel Faday*, and the *Kel Ferwan*.

V. *Kel Geres*, south of the Kel Ayr in the plains around Tessawa. Late in summer at the end of the rains they move up to Southern Ayr around the watering places of Tegidda-n-edrar, Tegidda-n-tagayt, and Tafadek.

VI. *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*, that is the eastern *Iwllemmeden*, in the plains around Tawa. At the end of the rains they move northwards to the region of Ingal which is within the country of the Ayr Tuareg.

VII. *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*, that is the western *Iwllemmeden*, in the plains around Meneka and along the Niger.

VIII. *Kel Tademaket* comprising several tribes and groups of tribes around Timbuktu and Lac Faguibine. Important among these Tuareg are the *Tengerregif* and the *Kel Inteser*. The *Tademaket* Tuareg from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*.

The two former groups, the *Kel Ajjer* and the *Kel Ahaggar*, are frequently referred to by the generic term of *Northern Tuareg*, while the six latter groups living on the outskirts of the true desert and in the Sudanese savannah are known as *Southern Tuareg*. In addition to these groups there are certain small Tuareg groups which in recent times have left their original homeland. After the French penetra- 101 167

[p. 7]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



167 tion into Ayr many Tuareg of that region emigrated, and some of them settled as far away as Darfur
[648] where they and their descendants still live near El Fasher. Another emigration took place after the
[162] Tuareg revolt against the French in 1917. Many Tuareg of the *Kel Ayr* and the *Iwllemmeden* fled to Northern Nigeria to settle in villages and towns around Kano and Katsena. According to Rodd about 30.000 Ayr Tuareg fled to Nigeria after the revolt (Rodd 1926a, p. 361).

161 According to statistics for the period 1933–38 the total number of Tuareg living in the Algerian Sahara and to the south in the republics of Niger and Soudan is estimated by Lhote to be about 240.000.

162 They were divided among the main groups as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Kel Ahaggar* | 4.254 |
| *Kel Ajjer* | 1.508 |
| *Kel Adrar* | 4.223 |
| *Kel Ayr & Kel Geres* | 27.765 |
| *Iwllemmeden* | 161.160 |
| *Tengerregif* | 40.000 |

162 These figures need certain corrections. Thus the *Kel Ajjer* are more numerous than indicated by the
161 above figure, which does not include Tuareg of that group living in Libya. On the other hand the
[567] figure for *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg is much too high; it includes about 94.000 negroid slaves which should be deducted, as slaves are not included in the other figures. Nevertheless, Lhote believes that the actual number of free Tuareg is about 300.000 as the birth rate is on the increase. Thus statistics for 1950 indicate that there are 4.611 fairskinned Tuareg in Ahaggar (Lhote 1955a, p. 157). Nicolas assumes that there are about 500.000 Sudanese Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. Avertissement). This figure is, no doubt, too high. If we assume that there are in all 300.000 Tuareg, we find that the two northern groups *Kel Ajjer & Kel Ahaggar* living in the true desert country constitute about three per cent of the total Tuareg population.*

197 The Tuareg language is known as *tamahaḳ* in the two northern groups, *tamacheḳ* in the south. It has four main branches or dialects, namely 1) *tahaggart* spoken by the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*; 2) *tadraḳ* spoken by the Tuareg of *Adrar-n-Foras*; 3) *tayrt* spoken by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*; 4) *tawllemmet* spoken by the *Iwllemmeden* and other Sudanese Tuareg. Grammatically these four dialects are closely related, but there are important distinctions in pronunciation and vocabulary. The dialects are on the whole mutually intelligible.

212 The alphabet known as *tifinar* is known in all Tuareg groups. It is related to the ancient Libyan script. Several authors have stated that *tifinar* is not so widely known among the modern Tuareg as it was in the past. It is true that certain Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arabic alphabet, but it is very difficult even nowadays to find adult Tuareg who do not know their proper script which is also widely used for letters. This, anyway, is true of the Tuareg groups I have visited, and it must be added that I have never found any proof of the statement so frequently seen in literature that the alphabet is

* Considering the statistics for 1933–38 (240.000 ÷ 94.000) the total number of true Tuareg in 1950 would appear to be lower than 300.000.

camels. This blood never constitutes a proper dish to the Tuareg. They bleed camels to drink their 272
blood only when they lack water on journeys in the desert. Bleeding is done according to the method [277]
described above, and the blood is collected in a drinking bowl. But the Ayr Tuareg say that they work up the mass of blood with the fingers with the result that the upper part of the amount of blood becomes more liquid, though it is always red in colour.

The Tuareg use the following implements to make cereals or other vegetable products into flour:— 412

(1) A large wooden mortar (*tindé*) with a heavy pestle (*éheren*) (Fig. 177). It is used in all camps 252
and villages of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr, and is in fact known all over Tuareg country. It is used mainly for pounding millet and sorghum, but it is also employed for pounding other cereals, including certain wild seeds, and for dates, cheese, meat, locusts, and the like. These large wooden [564]
mortars are manufactured by the blacksmiths of Southern Tuareg country, including Ayr, where [438]
most Northern Tuareg obtain their mortars. Among the Northern Tuareg there are also other mortar types. A small mortar which like the former rests on a foot and is known by the same name (*tindé*) (Fig. 178), is used mainly by sedentary agriculturists for pounding rock-salt, dried tomatoes, tobacco for chewing, and other plants or materials to be used in small quantities. Another type of mortar without a foot and known to the Northern Tuareg as *akabar*, or *takabart*, (Fig. 176) is found mainly among pastoralists who use it on journeys for pounding millet.

(2) A saddle quern (*tehunt*) (Fig. 179), which consists of two natural and in general unfashioned stones, is found in most camps of the Northern Tuareg. This constitutes the only grinding implement for wheat, barley, and certain wild seeds among the *Kel Ajjer*. The stones used for saddle querns are [324]
sharpened at intervals with a hard stone or some other hard object (*tasettekut*) in order that they may grind effectively. A simple saddle quern (*asar*) is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but it is less common there than in the north.

(3) The handmill (*tasirt*) (Fig. 181) is not a traditional implement of Tuareg culture. It is widely [171]
known all over Northern Africa both by Berbers and Arabs, by sedentary peoples and nomads living in black tents. It has been introduced to Ahaggar mainly by the immigration of the Arabic speaking [167]
Harratin (Izeggaren) of Tidikelt,

262

Fig. 169a–c. Pieces of butter-milk cheese (*awlen*, pl. *iwlan*).
a. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.066–0.068 m in diameter, 0.022 m thick. (N.M. G. 5816).
b. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tebbi* tribe. Dimension: 0.062 × 0.022 m. (N.M. G. 5817b).
c. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tebbi* tribe. Dimension: 0.058 × 0.016 m. (N.M. G. 5817c).

# Tuareg Culture, History, and African Culture complexes

In the preceding Chapters I have mentioned most cultural traits connected with Tuareg subsistence activities. In this Chapter I attempt to view some of these traits in the light of history and the historical theories which have found their expression in the establishment of African culture complexes. I wish to emphasize at the very beginning that this investigation must omit some important traits of Tuareg culture as there is no historical information about them and because good descriptions of stock-breeding techniques are lacking in the case of most pastoralists of Africa and Asia. Consequently it is very difficult to compare in great detail Tuareg culture with other pastoral cultures. 121

## TUAREG CULTURE AND HISTORY

True historical sources which elucidate the development of African cultures are very scanty and cover only a very short period. We know that most African cultures in recent times have been much influenced by Europeans and their culture, and that some cultures were changed fundamentally at an earlier period owing to Arab migrations and the introduction of Islam. We know that North Africa during antiquity was strongly influenced by Romans and Greeks, and still earlier by the Phoenicians. We possess from North Africa a few valuable written records from olden times and from Egypt we have earlier historical documents which help us to understand certain aspects of cultural evolution. 175 177

The occupation of Ahaggar and Ayr by the French has led to a growing cultural influence from Islam and the Arabs. Ahaggar was conquered by Arab soldiers under the command of French officers, and even nowadays a very large number of Arabs serve in the camel patrols of Ahaggar with Tuareg camel riders. Some of these Arab soldiers marry Tuareg women, and many of them settle in Ahaggar when they have retired from military service. Other Arabs and Arabic-speaking *Harratin* of Tidikelt have immigrated after the French occupation of the country. The number of people who speak Arabic as their mother tongue is not doubt increasing, and Arabic is understood and even spoken by many Tuareg men though generally unknown to Tuareg women. Added to this, the Arabs have acquired a high prestige not only on account of Islam but also because Arabic has been adopted as the main language of the administration in Ahaggar. The officers who act as administrators in Ahaggar speak and write Arabic while with rare exceptions they do not know the Tuareg language. For all these reasons certain cultural traits of the Arabs have been introduced into Ahaggar after the French occupation. [448] [167] [197] [191] [829]

[4305]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



177 Arab cultural traits have played a less important part in Ayr, where there are very few Arabs apart
162 from the merchants living at Agadez. The Arabs in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, have a certain religious prestige
168 but I have also heard Tuareg say that they did not like Arabs much because of their bad manners, and mainly because the Arabs talk too much and lack the peculiar type of quiet reservation characteristic of so many Tuareg. It seems as if the French administrators of Ayr have been responsible for the introduction of certain Arab cultural traits, but they have not made Arabic an official language
191 of the administration. Apart from the marabuts there are very few Ayr Tuareg who have some
140 knowledge of Arabic. The French administration of Ayr, belonging to the former territory of French
167 West Africa, has led to the immigration of many Sudanese people of negroid type. Clerks and lower officials working in Agadez have mainly come from Dahomey.

175 The Arabs and Islam came to North Africa at a very early date. The first invasion of Arabs took
177 place in the 7th century A.D. and brought Islam and traits of Oriental town-dwelling civilization
173 into a narrow belt of North Africa along the Mediterranean. There is an Arab tradition according to which the first followers of Mohammed came to Central Sahara and to the Tuareg as early as the 7th century, but there is also a tradition among the Ahaggar Tuareg saying that Islam was introduced among them by a marabut of the Almoravids (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 347 f.). It is very possible that certain Tuareg groups of the extreme north were influenced by Islam and the Arabs after the first invasion, but more important was the second invasion of the 11th century when the Northern Sahara was occupied by Arab bedouins from Egypt and, ultimately, from Arabia. This so-called *Hilalian Invasion* comprised various large tribal groups:— (1) the *Beni Sulaim* (or *B. Soliman*) who settled in Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and in the adjacent parts of Algerian Sahara where some of the present *Chamba* Arabs claim descent from this tribal group; (2) the *Beni Hilal* who settled further west in the Sahara south of Algerian and Moroccan Atlas; the important Arab tribe *Ulad Bu Hammu* of Tidikelt claim descent from this Hilalian group; (3) the smaller tribal group named *Makil*; this followed the *Beni Hilal* but occupied grazing grounds further west in the desert country of Morocco.
175 These tribal groups largely influenced the Tuareg, and there seems to be little doubt that many Tuareg
648 pastoralists were driven southwards owing to the invasion of Arab nomads, who settled in Tripolitania and the Fezzan. But these Arab pastoralists could not everywhere defeat the pastoral Tuareg. In Ibn Khaldun's day the frontier dividing the Arab bedouins from pastoral Tuareg followed mainly the great belt of sand-hills running from east to west in the Northern Sahara. Now and then the Arabs carried out raids against the Tuareg, but Ibn Khaldun says that the Arab raiders were always attacked by the Tuareg and suffered severe losses (Ibn Khaldun I p. 191, II p. 104 f.). The penetration of Arab pastoral groups into the Central Sahara is outlined by Capot-Rey who states (1) that the Berber tribes inhabiting Tripolitania, Tunisia, and adjacent regions were quickly Arabized, (2) that the Western Tuareg of Mauritania were conquered more recently by the *Makil* Arabs, (3) that elsewhere in the Sahara the Tuareg were not only able to defend most of their territory, but also to assimilate certain Arab tribes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 191 f.). This latter statement is correct. Contact between Arabs and Tuareg has also led to the adoption of Tuareg cultural traits by many Arab pastoralists, and even the very powerful Arab tribe, the *Ulad Bu Hammu* of Tidikelt, lived in pre-European times very much like the Tuareg in leather tents and dressed like the Tuareg. Various Arab tribes of the Sudan

565 includes hereditary specialization, hierarchy, repulsion between the
564 different groups, and refusal to associate with people of a different caste. These principles are partly in force among the Tuareg, whose type of social organization borrows from the two systems.

/150/ Furthermore, there are great analogies between the two systems. This sort of aristocratic organization is well suited to nomadic life, in opposition to democratic organization which is more commonly found among sedentary groups.

171 According to some authors, the caste system is specifically Hindu; it only existed in its pure state in India and to a lesser de-
564 gree in ancient Egypt. (1) Thus we are hardly surprised to find this

1. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre /The Races and Peoples of the World/, p. 489.

organization among the Tuareg who, culturally, belong to the same cycle of civilization.

182 The crystallization of that organization among this people,
564 who on the whole possess quite high intellectual qualities, as well as the material crystallization, can only be explained by the isolation in which it was confined as a result of circumstances where climate has certainly played a large role.

565 The Tuareg are divided into suzerains (Imochar) of a specifically warlike nature, vassals (Imrad) most commonly shepherds, religious men (Inislimen), and serfs (Iklan). Other elements from different origins are enfeoffed to them, such as the Issekkemaren, the Iboroliten, and the Enaden.

174 The present hierarchy obviously results from a series of wars and civil conflicts. In the fight for life each person endeavored to
182 get his share, and as always this was at the expense of the weaker.
565 Tribes achieved a predominance which they were not always able

174 Matriarchy, in fact, goes back to the times when primitive man had no exact notions on the causes of childbirth.

For, "it seems," Gautier continues, "that primitive man attributed all birth to parthenogenesis and could only imagine a conception which was immaculate. He saw no ineluctable connection between caressing and gestation. Although he practiced fertilization by instinct, he had no clear idea of this. The word 'father' had no sense for him, and consequently the children could only group themselves around the mother." (2)

2. La conquête du Sahara, p. 190.

On the other hand, since rules of marriage had not yet been established in that period, it was impossible to seek out paternity. It is from this state of things that filiation by the uterine branch is derived. With the totemic beliefs to be found in lower civilizations, the matrilocal system found still another reason for existence. It was linked with exogamy, preventing unions between the closest relatives and between people of different castes, and making incest impossible.

In certain primitive Australian groups, /152/ the study of which
• 171 helps us understand the evolution of societies, there is a system of
601 kinship by classes of kin that is found among the Tuareg and the peoples of the Sudan. It was defined by Morgan, and groups in the first degree brothers, sisters, and cousins; in the second degree the father, mother, and their siblings; in the third degree the grandparents with their siblings, etc.

174 In matriarchy, the natural protector of the child is the brother of his mother. In the same way the obligation for the husband to live with his wife's family is connected with matriarchy. This
591 custom is practiced in the Ahaggar, where the husband must live
[851] one year in the camp of his parents-in-law, this time being shortened when the young wife has borne a child. When a woman becomes
768 the widow of a man who does not belong to her tribe, she rejoins her tribe and takes her children with her.

184 from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin.
643 The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions
[173] gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out,
611 it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except
631 among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the
651 titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll. He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his
[644] appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/
[178] today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It
[644] benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum
[534 called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum, "
177 "cylinder of a drum."
192]

643 644 The aménokal generally has one or two caliphs charged with taking his place or representing him with the fractions.

The amrar. -- Each tribe, called taousit, has its amrar, who, 631 like the aménokal, is chosen according to matriarchal rules.

Amrar, in Tamashek, [192] means "the old," "the respectable," "the ancient," /158/ and by extension, [643 534] "possessor of wisdom." It is the equivalent of the Arab word "sheik."

Fig. 16. The tobol, symbol of the aménokal's command, with its "imîtkar."

The amrar is the intermediary between the people of his tribe and the aménokal. He transmits orders from the latter and sees that they are carried out. He collects the tioussé intended for the aménokal from the Imrad and sets the share that each is to pay. He settles minor disputes between the people of his tribe and fixes the pasturing zone to be used by each camp.

He takes part in the vote which sanctions the election of the aménokal and at the arollan, which discusses major decisions concerning the life of the confederation.

In a confederation subject to an aménokal, a grouping which the Ahaggar Tuareg also call tégéhé, there may be several tobol, that is, several suzerain tribes, each with its vassals. The name taousit, making double use of the word for tribe, is sometimes used to designate the whole whose chief also bears the name of amrar among the Ihaggaren and agoalla among the Kel Aïr /Asben/.

The amrar has no characteristic symbol of command, at least [171] among the Ihaggaren. In certain Sudanese tribes, many formerly had a drum analogous to that of the aménokal.

565 192 The Imochar. -- The Imochar (singular, Amacher) form the aristocratic class. This word means "man of dominant stock

174 564 were chased by Arab marabouts at the end of the fifteenth century. It is plausible that a number of Jews from Tamentit, particularly those practicing the crafts of jeweler or blacksmith, very respected professions among the Tuareg, found refuge with them. Perhaps the Tuareg received a new artistic influence through them. Their knowledge /177/ of fire and treatment of ores must have permitted the introduction of a larger scale of iron industry among the Tuareg, as well as the use of metal instruments which certainly could not have been very developed before that time; in general, the techniques of the nomadic shepherds was limited to leather and wood. There is no doubt of the artistic relationship between Tamentit jewelry and the Jewish goldsmith's work from North Africa, on the one hand, and the goldsmith's craft now in vogue among the Tuareg, on the other; this can justify the opinion that part of the Enaden are of Israelite origin. But Sudanese elements have also contributed to the physical formation of the group. We must see the peculiar Tuareg art, at the same time heavy in its forms and delicate in detail, through this heteroclite mixture.

[301] [531] [17]

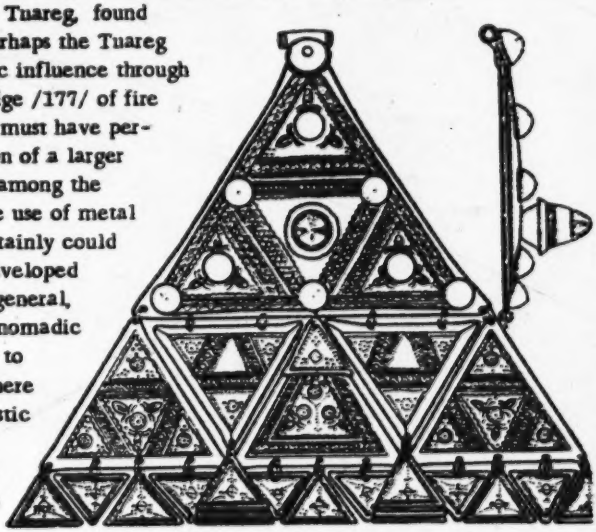

Fig. 18. Silver pendant worn around the neck by Ahaggar women. In the composition are found the triangular motifs common to Kabyle art and to some Berber tribes from Atlas.

564 [727] The Enaden of the Ahaggar are few in number. They include five or six families who recently settled in the country following raids on them by the Ihaggaren. /178/ Most of them are natives of Adrar des Iforas

342 crosspiece forming the central frame; four vertical stakes are placed two by two on each side of the tent.

This model used to be much more widespread in the Ahaggar, [171] and it seems to be an older form, for the model presently used must have been taken from the Ioullimmiden. All the old people recall having seen it used in their youth in all camps on an equal basis with the vertical stake form.

The tent with arches, the upper part of which forms a kind of dome, is better able to withstand the rains than the other. If [182] that was its raison d' [132] être, we may understand why it disappeared with the gradual drying out of the Sahara. This disappearance may also have been caused by the difficulty of procuring large roots to make the arches.

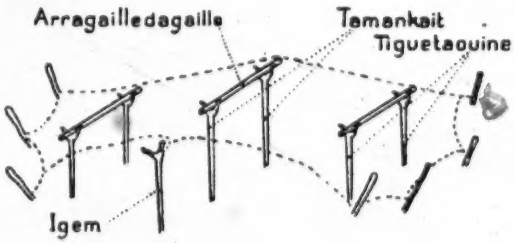


Fig. 25. Tent used by the Kel Rela. During the rainy season, the two central stakes are replaced by a single stake holding up a ridge tile.

[386] The awning is always covered with a coat of red ocher which protects it from the heat of the sun and from the rain.

In both models, the tent always includes a sort of detachable [285] closing made of a long mat (asaber) woven from the stems of graminaceae. It is unrolled inside around the stakes to close the tent completely. High up in the mountains the Tuareg reduce the inside area of the tent in order to keep warmer, and provide the part opposite /225/ the opening with a little stone wall which effectively protects them from the cold. The door is always opened toward the south.

251 Thus, they are forced to keep supplies on hand, /226/ but it is a
343 limited stock, consisting of two or three bags of sorghum or dates which are transported each time the camp is moved. It is customary, when supplies are more considerable, to leave them in the rocks of the mountains in spots known to the people of the tribe. These granaries (ekaham) allow them to travel lighter and at the same time put supplies in safe places. In case camps are raided they make a sufficient food reserve so that the people are not driven to starvation.

Some tribes which have gardens in the centers of cultivation
184 often have food deposits there; they are stored for a whole family
343 group. Thus the Dag Rali have stores in the Koudia, at Ilaman,
423 Tarahananet, Abalessa, etc., where they entrust the care of their
251 goods to their local representatives. These centers have secret granaries; they are scarcely used these days, but they were used before the French occupation for reasons of safety in case of raids. We have seen hiding places of this kind at Tit and at Bloumet, and there are probably some at Tazerouk and Ideles. They consist of cellars dug in the soil at ground level and hidden from the eyes of passers-by. Merchandise was thus protected from men and rodents.

171 While we are on the subject, let us add that granaries dug in rock are common among all Berbers. Today they may still be seen in Morocco and among the Chaouia /Shawia/ of Aurès. This custom seems to have been common in Mediterranean countries, in Syria, and especially in Palestine where it was already reported in Biblical times.

343 The Akhamouk aménokal was the only person who had real
643 granaries. He had three or four of them constructed of stone bound
251 with clay using the Sudanese technique. They were placed at the top of a rocky crest on the left bank of the Abalessa wadi, near the place where his camp was most often established.

513 Sleeping arrangements. -- Bedding includes only one or two
[56] sheepskins sewn together, or more rarely a rug among the rich people.

224 The radial-point trap is the one described by Montandon (1)

1. Traité d'ethnologie culturelle /A Dissertation on Cultural Ethnology/, p. 222, fig. 8.

[M1] and was already known by the Egyptians. It is spread over all of central and intertropical Africa. It is composed of a disk made of vegetable matter to which are attached the stems of rather resistant graminaceae which converge toward the center. The apparatus is placed on a little pit with a diameter a little less than its own, then covered over with straw /242/ and sand. It is arranged under trees whose leaves are still green and which the gazelles come to browse on. While going around the tree, the beasts finally step on it, and the hoof which passes through the stems is caught in the disk. In spite of all efforts and movements, the disk remains attached, thus preventing the animal from getting away. The hunter then steps in. He gets on the animal's trail, follows it, and finally catches up with it. He kills it with a thrust of his lance. Sometimes a lasso is placed on the disk with its end attached to the trunk of the tree or to an old stump.

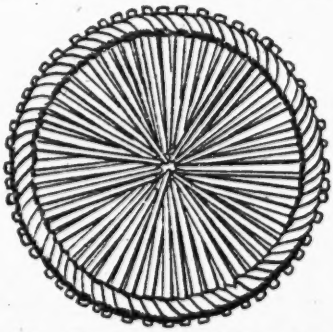

Fig. 33. Trap with radial points used to capture gazelles.

The torsion trap in the shape of an arch is a more complicated system. It is composed of a fragment of oryx antelope horn on [387] which is set a layer of tendons coming from the same animal and

515 care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed [826] every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

751 For them the main question is protecting the different parts of the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the body is to that end.

291 302 They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired color.

302 To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is [171] also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

515 The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth. They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal [112] and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed to form a brush. For this purpose they use irak branches (Salvadora [224] persica) or palm jereed.

/258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring 302 for the hair.

Young boys have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed [593] by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer 276 them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region. [184] They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a [887] certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have themselves shaved completely.

302 Men and women make rings around their eyes with kohl; they
751 put it not only on the eyebrows, but especially at the roots of the eyelashes. They do this for medical purposes, for they attribute
[164] to kohl the ability to protect them against eye maladies, in particular against ophthalmia which strikes many of them.

The Tuareg appre-
[326] ciate the long, narrow hands of people who do no manual labor. They do not take any particular
[412 care of them and are
531] satisfied merely to cut
212] their nails rather short. As they do for hair, they bury the scraps so that no one can take them.

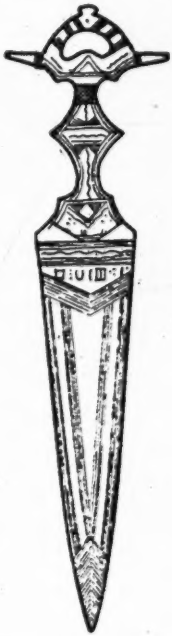

Fig. 36. Hairdressing knife, bearing the name of the artisan who made it in tifinagh characters.

304 Tattooing. -- Make-
[171] up. -- Unlike the Kabyle and the Berbers, the Tuareg are not tattooed. This detail, which may seem insignificant, nevertheless indicates that the relationship of these different human groups is not nearly as close as one might believe, since there are such appreciable differences in mores.

184 Some women blue their gums and sometimes their lips by
304 tattooing them, but this custom is particularly prevalent in the Sudanese tribes of the Timbuktu region.

302 On the other hand, make-up is used on a large scale among
[751] Tuareg women. They put red ocher on their faces to protect the skin from the /260/ sun. For aesthetic reasons they also blue their
[517] lips and around their mouths with indigo.

301 This stone ring (ahbeg) has been described by the explorer
[114] Duveyrier as a weapon. Actually it is only ornamental in nature, for it is so fragile that it could not withstand strong pressure without shattering, which might seriously wound the man wearing it.

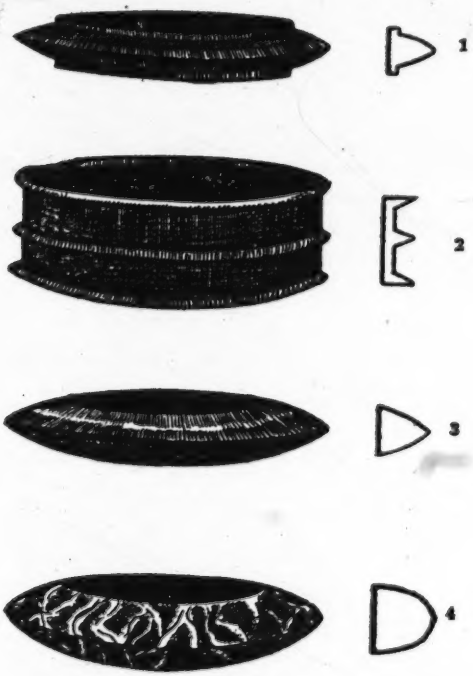


Fig. 41. Types of bracelets worn above the elbow by the Tuareg. 1, 2, and 3 are in soft schist from Aïr, and 4 is made of marble from the Hombori region.

[171] At the present time the Tuareg are the only African people who wear this stone ring, except for some groups of people who live in contact with them and have adopted it in a spirit of imitation.
172 It was, however, in very common use among Neolithic peoples,
301 and it is not rare to find fragments of them in the middle of ancient

841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
842 a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[788] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old
[782] tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
769 pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout
[431] an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
846 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.
431

Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
862 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his
854 stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
[184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimmiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This
[171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are some-
[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
[826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
85] Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517] ennobles the woman.

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
[412 collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
302] an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of
Tagant and Hodh.

291 Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
855 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
[556] girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear
trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From
that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while
the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated for either the boy or girl.

868 The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
857 which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
[162] milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of
this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then
fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games
between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet
stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly
speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a
camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
[212] Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they
are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
[145] father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
291 ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good ad-
[431] vice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

534 horsehair attached to the ends. During the music the player from
[33] time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum
[314] tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The amzad skins are often
decorated with painted motifs in very vivid colors, or else they
[532] are covered with tifinagh inscriptions indicating the name of the
owner and bearing love verses for the use of admirers.

Among the Ihaggaren violins are usually large, reaching as
much as 40 centimeters in diameter. In Sudanese tribes, on the
[171] other hand, they are much smaller, rarely exceeding 25 to 30
centimeters.

533 The amzad plays an important role among the Tuareg, who
really make a true cult of it. Young men go to listen to the girls
play it. After they are married, they love to hear their wives, who
533 charm in this way the empty hours of summer evenings. Not play-
626 ing the amzad is a punishment that the women inflict on the men,
593 and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives
or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no amzad,"
they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This
prospect was often sufficient to restore their courage and incite
them to go efface their defeat.

882 The ahal. -- At about the age of sixteen, boys and girls have
571 access to adult society and begin to participate in the ahal.
521 The word ahal means "meeting, conversation, interview." A
synonym for it is édéouenné. These musical and literary meetings
have a more or less peculiar nature, depending on whether or not
they are mixed with asri.

517 Asri, literally "to run with the bridle loose," means the practice
521 of some very free mores. To live in a state of asri is to exist under
571 conditions which permit one to practice loose mores. Those who
533 can be in a state of asri are pubescent boys and girls, widowers,
and divorced people of either sex.

These meetings take place near the camps in the shelter of
a wadi, but always out of the sight of old people and respectable
people of the tribe. They usually take place before the evening

585 A new tent is prepared with all the accessories -- mats, cords,
342 tent stakes -- also new. Inside on the left side is built a little sand mound, oval in shape, on which the consummation is to take place. Afterward, when the camp is forced to move, this edifice is respected and stays in place for several months.

585 On the seventh day, the girl's father has the marriage confirmed by a marabout. Then, in the evening the fiancée, who
[533] has stayed hidden all day at the home of a relative, is led amidst a procession of women playing tambourines to the nuptial tent, where the young man has preceded her.

The next day the young people gather in the tent of the newlyweds, as they do during the days of festivity which follow the marriage. This meeting is called tigedelsatin.

591 The newlyweds live in the camp of the girl's parents for a year. This institution of "service time" /temps de service/ is
[171] mentioned on several occasions in the Old Testament and was practiced by the Hebrews. It means that the fiancé must live with his future family, or quite near it, for a temporary or permanent period of time. This custom results in temporarily restricting the
[593] husband's authority and assuring that they become acquainted and that the young wife is well treated.

587 If the bride has already been married, she leaves for her
591 husband's camp on the seventh day, mounted on a camel and accompanied by her friends and her servants.

585 In the first case, new festivities are held a year later. The
591 men and women belonging to the husband's camp go one evening to the bride's camp and simulate an armed abduction. The meharists who have stealthily approached then rush into the midst of the tents and utter war cries, answered by the cries of terror of the camp women. They surround the tent of the young wife and claim her as belonging henceforth to their family.

[492] /293/ This is the occasion for new gastronomic flights, and the next evening the young woman, wrapped in a big white shawl,

172 for religious reasons. At any rate it may be stated positively that the fertility cult was in vogue at the same epoch, to judge from the many drawings which are erotic in character. Finally, we may add that magic was practiced with regard to some animals -- antelopes, hippopotamuses. Their reproductions are often connected with cabalistic signs, such as a double spiral or an appendage between the horns resembling the uraeus of the Egyptians. Several stone statuettes, probably from the Neolithic age, have been found at Tit, Tazerouk (Ahaggar), and Tabelbalet (Tassili). They represented animals, rams or bovids and owls, which were surely the object of idolatry.

In the so-called bovid period, identical observations may be made. Several cows wear disks between their horns or else a little ring representing a slip knot. Perhaps these drawings are related to ram worship which was very much in vogue in North Africa and especially in the oasis of Ammon; this cult seems to have been replaced in the Central Sahara by worship of the cow. This animal was still honored as a god by the Berbers, who called it Doul Korneïn. The Sudanese Peul had no mystic life except [171] their cow worship. We must explain that no similar belief has been discovered among the Tuareg.

The rock paintings, which are on the whole more recent than the oldest drawings, also give us a few indications to be remembered. Near Djanet a large painted panel represents a series of more or less steatopygic women dancing in the middle of a circle of people who are clapping their hands; then on his side, a man enters in turn into the dance, wearing a mask topped with horns (he is a sorceror or wears an ancestors' mask). This is exactly the picture of the magic scenes which we see among the Sudanese, where they periodically organize dances in which the masks of family ancestors participate. Traces of these dances have even been maintained [532 535] in the Djanet oasis; every year there, on the occasion of the festival of "zébiba," people dress in tawdry finery and masks topped with horns. At Mertoûtek one may also see a large

492 The tarik is the saddle commonly used by the Ahaggar Tuareg, the one which is peculiar to them and which they must have known from time immemorial. The tamzak, which is a decorated variant [177] of the tarik, owes the origin of its decoration to Hausa influence. In fact, the peculiar technique of applying perforated metal bands [171] enhanced by colored leather fabrics is found in horses' saddles of the

[531]

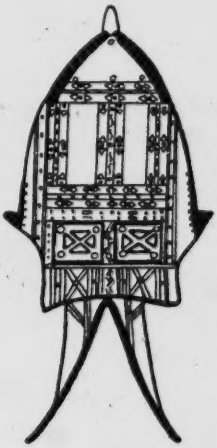

Fig. 54.. 1 2

The camel saddle called tamzack. Detail of the back of the saddle.

Hausa from the Damergou, Sokoto, etc., and there is no doubt that that art, which is unrelated to that of the Tuareg, is much more developed among those peoples.

438 The two saddles are usually made in A'ir, indeed even at Agadez, but the old Tuareg blacksmiths manufacture only the 326 tarik. The tamzak is the work of artisans, who are usually settled 492 at Agadez and more or less crossed with artisans of Hausa origin. 492 Ahaggar blacksmiths make only the tahiast, which is the saddle 171

492 adopted by all the Tuareg of the Ádrar des Iforas, which the
171 Chaamba Arabs also use, and which is derived from the saddle of the Moors of the western Sahara.

492 Ahaggar noblewomen, who travel only on meharis, have
[565] special saddles resembling the basour of the Arabs but without the arch covered in cloth. These saddles are called akhaoui; they
[322] are made /319/ of wood and ornamented with large pommels in front and small plaques trimmed with copper nailheads on the side.
[531] For long moves these saddles can be provided with a wicker cage covered with cloth, but this is not a common practice.

Saddles hold leather bags which contain either a change of
[415] clothes or food reserves as well as the waterskins constituting the necessary provision for crossing regions without wells.

For transport, camels are provided with a special packsaddle made of palm fibers which literally crowns their backbone. Most of these packsaddles are made in the Tidikelt. For caravans which last a long time the animals are loaded with about 100 kilograms, plus the waterskins that are generally added to the baggage. The servants, who accompany the animals and do not have personal mounts at their disposal, /320/ ride on top as excess weight and make the whole trip under these conditions.

[481] The Tuareg are very poor walkers and cannot conceive of a person's going on foot, even to spare the mount for a few kilometers.

Asses, which as we have said are used for transport within the massif, are provided with a little packsaddle serving as a saddle at the same time. When camp is moved, they are loaded with the tent, tent stakes, and bags containing food reserves. They also
[312] assure the carrying of water from the well to camp.

484 When an Amrid travels alone on a voyage, he takes an ass to
492 carry his water, his small baggage, and his blanket. Pushing the ass before him, he walks behind carrying his lance over his shoulders.
[481] He mounts on it only during the hot hours of the day.

291 tract which otherwise suffer severely in an arid climate, even when the ambiant temperature is only moderately high. Thus it is clear that the teguelmoust does have a very real practical value, regardless of what the Tuareg may say; and it is clear also that the men who wear it need it far more than do their womenfolk who go without.

291 It is not true that Tuareg women of the Ahaggar (fig. 48) are exposed to the rigors
512 of their environment either as much or in the same way as are their menfolk. The men are
462 out and about a good deal of the time, riding here and there across the countryside on errands of one sort or another or on long journeys far away, while the women sit quietly in the shelter of their tents, gossiping, telling folk tales, doing fancy leatherwork, and teaching tribal lore and sometimes Tifinagh[11] to the children. Every family that is
[567] not miserably poor has at least two or three slaves to fetch and carry water, prepare the meals and do the other daily chores, so that the mistress of a normal Tuareg household in the Ahaggar has no need to take a single step outside her tent except when camp is moved, or to visit with her neighbors and to answer calls of nature.

291 Although it is true that Tuareg women do not wear veils, it is also true that women
171 of the other Saharan nomad tribes, Arabs included, seldom if ever wear veils either, except on the very rare occasions when they visit a sedentary settlement or town, and even then not always by any means. But Tuareg and other Saharan nomad women alike all draw a corner of the head shawl (or turban cloth) across the nose and mouth occasionally as a simple matter of physical protection, and this has the same practical effect as putting on a veil does.

291 All this data on the wearing of veils and going without them proves nothing, to be sure, but it does go to show that the Tuareg teguelmoust itself can have had a strictly utilitarian origin after all, as Blanguernon (1955, p. 99) implied, quite apart from the origin of the elaborate and rigid ceremonial quality with which its use has become imbued.

291 As for the date at which the teguelmoust
177

[11] The Tuareg alphabetic script.

567 dowry. But slaves are well fed and cared for as a rule; they get two or three days off each week to look after their own affairs, their children are brought up with the children of their masters, and custom forbids the freeing of a slave who is either too old or too young to fend for himself. A slave may even have a few goats of his own, although when he dies they are not inherited by his family but revert to his master instead. Barth (1857a, vol. 1, p. 387) notes as a striking exception that he saw slaves hitched to a plow and driven with whips in the Auderas Valley, some 60 miles northwest of Agadès.

567 Female slaves are often taken as concubines
595 by Tuareg men of the Ahaggar, who prize them because they are less capricious and overbearing than Tuareg women are and "be-
[827] cause they have cool skins," a point which would bear further investigation with a skin temperature machine. The children of such unions are often recognized by their fathers but do not inherit from them, and, although free, they have a debased social standing little better than that of their slave forebears. Moussa ag Amastan, who was Amenokal of the Ahaggar from 1905 to 1921,[12] remained unmarried for over 50 years, during most of which time he lived with a bevy of Negro concubines and a young Tuareg girl, named Harendou, whom he had captured on a raid into the Niger Bend country (Benhazera, 1908, p. 142; Lhote, 1955, pp. 221–23). Although this case was exceptional, it was by no means unique.

567 The slaves of the nomadic Tuareg, like those of sedentary communities in the Sahara, seem to have no tribal or clan organizations, but they too have a strong feeling of corporate solidarity that finds expression now and then in nocturnal jamborees which are Sudanese in character.

326 The smiths of the Ahaggar present a familiar culture pattern that characterizes groups
171 of smiths and tinkers which, as we have seen, are to be found living among a whole series of nomadic peoples scattered all the way from Baluchistan through Arabia and on, southwest-

[217] [12] Lhote (1955, p. 220) gives the date of Moussa's death as 1920, the official genealogical table of the Ahaggar nobility, which is kept in the archives of the French Army post at Tamanrasset, gives it as 1921, and Foley (1930, p. 9) gives it as 1922. In 1956

326 ward and then westward, across the North African hinterland to the shores of the Atlan-
[171] tic. The general description of this pattern, given above in chapter V under the sub-heading *Special Classes and Minority Groups* in the section on *Agricultural Centers*, leaves little more to add.

Smiths of the Ahaggar usually live in single
326 family units or small groups widely separated
463 from each other (fig. 50). A few families follow Tuareg groups on their seasonal rounds, but the great majority remain sedentary most of the time in one agricultural center or another, and go out only now and then for a few weeks or months, to do a general repair and re-equipment job in the camps of some nomadic tribe or clan. The men work wood
[759] and metals and are also barber-surgeons, while the women specialize in fancy leatherwork and embroidery. In addition to these functions
[584] and those previously mentioned, both sexes of the smith community act as both go-betweens and spies in clandestine love affairs. They also engage in intertribal secret intelligence work. And a major Tuareg chief may sometimes have a smith as his most trusted counsellor and confidant.

The smiths usually dress as do the poorer
326 Tuareg. The men all wear the teguelmoust
[291] but in a sloppy fashion, and they seem to have no qualms about exposing their mouths.
[582] They are endogamous and monogamous as a general rule, although a few have more than one wife and some of them marry Haratin or occasionally slaves. Ostensibly because of their lowly social status, but probably in fact more because of the fear of sorcery that they inspire, they come and go everywhere as they please, although always with a cringingly ingratiating manner. Even after one has come to know them fairly well they still give an impression of constant watchfulness and profoundly sycophantic tact of the delicately oiled as opposed to the heavily greased variety. The smiths are the most perspicacious and cleverly adaptable of all Saharan peoples, for they have learned to live off and so outlive flamboyant warriors with their retinues and

[217] the author was so fortunate as to obtain a copy of the genealogical table in question, thanks to the very kind cooperation of Captain Roger Bret, Commandant of the *Annexe du Hoggar*, and Claude Blanguernon, Director of Nomad Schools.

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 562
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé,"
or tribute from the "imr'ad," or serfs. Not only is the son [611
noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless 565]
of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child,"
but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her
husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is 562
not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except [576]
as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi," over
her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, [574
etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances 431]
between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives
her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is [595]
the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" 562
.V] , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, 572
while she gives him something for his personal use. He is,
in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine
embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal
of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while
Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines
which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man [574]
who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

this doctrine, the scholar Dozy tells us: "There was no muezzin, 262
or crier, to call to prayer; people were governed by the crow 565
of the rooster; so no one, except in case of dire necessity, 825
might kill roosters or hens or eat eggs" (1). 773

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme,
by R. Dozy, pages 348 and 349.
Neither mosques nor muezzins are [171]
found in Tuareg country. See also
l'Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale
/History of North Africa/, by E.
Mercier, pages 228 and 255. Volume 1.

Legends and stories are also known on the subject of 773
Ahmamellen and his nephew Elias. Hanoteau told them to us. 823
At Tamanrasset (Ahaggar) the Tuareg showed us a curious
breech in a large "gara" that bounds the horizon to the east.
They call it "Tiouit-n-Elias" (Elias' cut), and they say that
Elias made this breech with one stroke of the "takouba." The
piece removed, an enormous rock, lodged in a wadi three kilo-
meters from there, and we were shown it in passing. The
breech has also been named "Elias' Breech."

Elias is the Arabic translation of Elijah, and Younes that of [551]
Jonah. These two proper names are still used among the Tuareg. [174]
Might there not be a relationship between this Elias and Elijah,
son of Salih?

The Tuareg say that Ahmamellen was a man of extraordinary 174
size and strength, and that he was the equal of an army. Might 773
it have been Salih himself who claimed to be a prophet, then
disappeared in the east after having told his followers that he
was the Mahdi and that he would come back to fill the world
with justice when the seventh king should be mounted on the
throne?

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar
Air



241 culture is never practised without irrigation. Rodd thinks that the Air agriculturists
[114] gave up shifting cultivation because they are too poor to-day to risk losing their
[174] seed in the event of inadequate or irregular rainfall (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I rather think the reasons are that the agriculturists of the massif nowadays grow very little millet and have a better irrigation system than in the past. In summer maize forms by far the most important crop, and it needs irrigation which is comparatively easy when using zebus for drawing water. However this may be we can assume that a type of agriculture related to Sudanese shifting cultivation was formerly important to the Air agriculturists, and although irrigation is nowadays used everywhere agriculture in certain places of Air is still a kind of shifting cultivation. Many agriculturists do not resort to manuring nor do they carry fresh soil to the gardens as in Ahaggar. With crop rotation they utilize one and the same plot for a few years but then have to cut trees and brush-wood somewhere else to make a new
[312] garden. A new well must then also be dug, but as irrigation wells are rather shallow this work is comparatively easy.

171 There are in Air certain agricultural implements related to those of Sudanese
412 farming cultures. We must mention in particular a small hoe hafted by means of a thong *(tagoumit)*. It is unknown both in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer as well as further north in the desert while extremely common among Sudanese shifting cultivators. Feilberg has classed it with the so-called Old Sudanese Culture es-
[114] tablished by Baumann (Feilberg 1934, p. 260ff. – Baumann 1940, p. 50ff.; 1944, p. 213ff.). Baumann claims that this culture did not know the sickle, considered by him an implement of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 56ff.; 1944, p. 283ff.). The sickle (Air: *elegesouar*, Ahaggar: *amreh*) is in fact unknown in many Air villages, and is according to my investigations not generally used for the harvesting of crops but for cutting annual grasses to be stored for
241 fodder. In Air the harvesting methods are as follows:– millet is cut with a knife,
171 maize is cut at the root by means of the above-mentioned hoe, while wheat and barley are pulled up with the hands. Similar harvesting methods seem to be known in the Sudan (Baumann 1944, p. 295ff.). As a Sudanese trait we can
[415] perhaps also recognize the large clay amphorae used for the storage of cereals (Rodd 1926, p. 317. – Nicolas 1950a, p. 146).

174 We can conclude this section as follows:– While the negroes of Ahaggar ap-
144 parently have arrived in that country later than the fair-skinned Berbers the oldest
563 known population in Air were Hausa-speaking negroes subsisting predominantly as agriculturists. Their original culture apparently was closely related to that of Sudanese shifting cultivators. Contacts with the north and in particular invasions of fair-skinned Tuareg have changed their cultural position. Mixing with the Tuareg they have also changed their physical type, but they are still predominantly negroid. They have adopted a Tuareg dialect but have retained part of their old vocabulary.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar
Air



1947, p. 38f., phot. 15, p. 33, p. 117. – Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247ff. – Moberg 1927, photographs p. 229 & 257). Among the Southern Tuareg T-shaped posts are used in Air, where, according to my inquiries, they are found notably among the Kel Tedale, the Ikaskazan, and the Kel Fadei – Tuareg who have immigrated fairly recently from the North and are noble or predominantly noble by origin. Air tents with T-shaped posts are published by Lhote and Chudeau (Lhote 1947, fig. 4 p. 39, photo 50 p. 81. – Chudeau 1909, pl. VIII p. 62). T-shaped posts are also said to occur among the Kel Geres, and they are common in skin tents of the Kel Dinnik (Eastern Ioullemmeden) from where detailed descriptions are given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1938, p. 54ff.; 1950a, p. 153ff., p. VIII.). For other Southern Tuareg there seem to be no reliable information on the use of T-shaped posts in skin tents. 342 184

The central T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin tents may probably be considered as related to similar posts in certain black tents (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143). This is interesting particularly when viewed in connection with Feilberg's theory that there may perhaps be a certain connection between the black tent and the one-humped camel or dromedary because of approximately similar distributions, and because camels and black tents seem to have arrived in North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Feilberg 1944, p. 117, 225ff.) – a view which has also been accepted by Hatt (Hatt 1944–45, p. 260). Obviously a theory connecting camels and black tents in Northern Africa fits very well with our assumption that the camel was introduced to Ahaggar by noble Tuareg among whom we also find the use of central T-shaped posts characteristic of certain black tents. Accordingly we have to test two theories:– 1) The theory that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin-tents are in fact derived from similar constructions of black tents, and 2) the theory that camels and black tents are historically connected in Northern Africa. 171 342 233 174

I think it can be proved that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are derived from similar elements in black tents, and my arguments are the following:– 171 342

1) The Tuareg live in contact with Arab pastoralists who have black tents. It is stated in literature that black tents are common among the Northern Tuareg (Zeltner 1914, p. 364. – Campbell 1928, p. 247), but this is not correct. It is true, however, as already mentioned by Duveyrier, that black tents are used by some Northern Tuareg (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403f.). But as far as my knowledge goes they occur only among the northernmost Kel Ajjer, the Iforas clans, who belong to the religious Ineslemen class and by some Tuareg are claimed to be noble. Black tents seem to be used occasionally in the south by Tuareg who live in close contact with Arabs. But these Tuareg apparently use black tents only when travelling, and not in ordinary camps (Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). Black tents are thus adopted by a few Tuareg, and many Tuareg of the north and the south-west have contact with Arab and Moorish black tent dwellers. [648] [114]

2) The Iforas Tuareg just mentioned use T-shaped posts both in black tents

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171 342 and in skin tents, and according to my investigations this is, or was, also the case of the Arab pastoral tribe Ouled Ba Hamou in Tidikelt.

3) In Northern Africa T-shaped posts are frequently found in permanent dwellings, but they are then solidly embedded in the ground, whereas in Tuareg skin tents and also in black tents they stand on the surface.

4) The use of skin for tents or other movable dwellings is no doubt of very great age (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144), while the T-shaped posts can be considered as belonging to a highly developed tent construction. To my mind there is a certain contrast in this, the more so as the posts or poles of other Tuareg skin tents are fixed in the ground.

5) Arab pastoralists now living in Tuareg countries frequently use Tuareg mat-covered huts and skin tents. Of particular interest is the type of skin tent used by the Deremchaka Arabs living among the Eastern Ioullemmeden (the Kel Dinnik). To support the sheet of skin sewn together these Arabs use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two oblique poles (Nicolas 1950a, p. 154). A similar or related construction is found in black tents of the Brakna Arabs (Caillié 1830, I, p. 130), and is common in black tents of Algeria including the northern parts of Algerian Sahara (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff.). And according to tradition the Deremchaka Arabs immigrated from these regions (Nicolas 1950a, p. 67ff.). There seems to be little doubt that the Deremchaka Arabs have adopted a mode of construction typical of certain black tents to the Tuareg skin tent, and there may perhaps be another example of this among the Southern Tuareg:– The Tuareg known as Kel Antassar in the region of Timbuktu frequently use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two central oblique posts to support their skin tents (Lhote 1947, p. 39, 101, 117). The Kel Antassar Tuareg are of religious status; [174] their presumed Arab origin (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 195. – Mohammed Said 1903, p. 210ff. – Richer 1924, p. 14) gives rise to the supposition that they formerly had black tents.

I think these five arguments support the theory that T-shaped posts are foreign to Tuareg skin tents while customary for black tents in use among certain Arabs of Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and Eastern Libya (cf. Laoust 1930, p. 209ff. – Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff., 146).

I shall now turn to the other theory to be tested, namely that there is a certain 171 relation between the camel and the black tent. This theory is not easy to prove. 233 The statement that camels and black tents have approximately the same distri- 342 butions is far from convincing even if we keep to their westernmost areas. In Northern Africa camel-breeders over large areas use other types of dwelling, and black tents are very common among settled and semi-nomadic people of the Atlas, where there are no camels. The distribution of the black tent in Africa (cf. Feilberg 171 1944, map. II) comes indeed very close to the distribution of Arabic-speaking 342 people, with the main exception that black tents in the Atlas and elsewhere in the 192 north are also used by Berbers. Laoust has proved that some of these northern

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Berbers and particularly those of Central Morocco use for their black tents and for important parts of their tents terms derived from Arabic (Laoust 1930, p. 168f., 227f.). [171] 342 [192]

We cannot disregard the possibility that black tents were known in Northern Africa before the first Arab invasion. But there can be little doubt that outside of the Atlas black tents are characteristic of Arabic-speaking people, and we seem to be on safe ground if we state that the Arabs are responsible for the present fairly large distribution of black tents in the desert regions between the Red Sea and the Atlantic. And the black tent may have been unknown to the Berbers before the Arab invasion. In connection with this I wish to quote the very eminent scholar Stéphane Gsell who states his opinion on the age of the black tent in Northern Africa as follows:– "Cependant elle s'est répandue tardivement chez les Berbères. Ce fut surtout après la conquête musulmane qu'ils l'adoptèrent, à l'exemple de leurs noveaux maîtres: au VIII° siècle, un grand nombre d'entre eux avaient des tentes, semblables à celles des Arabes" (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 216. – cf. El Bekri p. 139). [174]

In discussing the theory of a connection between camels and black tents, our next task is concerned with the history of the camel. For although camels and black tents have different distributions they may nevertheless be historically connected and introduced together. 171 233 342

Much has already been written on the history of the camel. René Basset's theory that the camel was introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1905) is contrary to all historical information. For we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived, though it does not seem to be of very great age, contrary to Cauvet's statement (Cauvet 1925–26). Already Barth suggested that the camel came to North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3ff.), and this theory seems to be valid (cf. Gautier 1942, p. 190ff. – Walz 1951). 114 174 233

Gautier claims that there is a certain connection between the introduction of the camel and the immigration to North-Western Africa of Berber tribes known as the Zenata, who lived in the northern steppes and desert regions from Tripolitania to Western Algeria. According to Ibn Khaldoun quoted by Gautier the Zenata had many traits in common with the Arabs: they lived in tents, they were camel-breeders, and they rode on horseback (Gautier 1942, p. 217 ff., 227. – cf. Ibn Khaldoun III, p. 179). The theory that the camel was introduced by the Zenata is accepted by Feilberg, who thinks that these people may have introduced the black tent together with the camel (Feilberg 1944, p. 119f., 226).

A connection between the Zenata and the camel is extremely difficult to prove. Gautier's theories on North African history are frequently very hazardous and very contradictory. Thus in his book *Le Passé de l'Afrique du Nord* we find the following statements about the introduction of the camel:– 1) "A tant de bienfaits Rome en a ajouté un dernier: elle a introduit le chameau, permettant ainsi la mise en

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114 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc
174 légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale
233 qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau apparaissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe, il semble qu'au VII[e] siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227)

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chameliers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui foit leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the
175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the
101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions:
233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 168ff.).

It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature
175 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding
233 (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. – Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. – Leo Africanus p. 940f.). To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly
171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is
233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds apparently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415f. – Murray 1935, p. 92ff. – Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the
[177] true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black
[342] tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. – Herskovits 1926. – Kroll 1928). The common
[462] traits seem to be the following:– 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is
[825] done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both
[538] camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently characterised by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925-30, 1-11).

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Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925–30, I–II). 3) As mentioned (p. 119) camel's milk is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly also among the Kel Ajjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors (Monteil 1952, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. 4) All Tuareg and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf to deceive the mother animal during milking – for camels like cows will not generally yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or butter as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. – Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of riding camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg, and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East Africa have the same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection with camel-breeding (Monteil 1952, p. 103).

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts like those of Air are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullemmeden, and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country – in particular those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. – Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156f. – Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f., 597f., V, p. 201. – Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. –

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Fig. 12.–Tuareg skin tent in a river valley of the Ahaggar Mountains. The sheet of skin sewn together is placed over three parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a horizontal crossbar. The middle pair is higher than the outer pairs. It may be substituted with two equally high pairs of posts with crossbars, or with two arches. Tuareg skin tents have mats to be drawn round the tent under the sheet of skin, and in winter the Ahaggar Tuareg frequently erect stone walls for protection against cold winds, as shown on this photograph.

184 Hourst 1898, p.105ff., 133. – Gabus 1945, p. 361. – Chudeau 1909, pl. XXXII–
342 XXXIII p. 218. – Le Coeur 1937, p. 42f. – Urvoy 1942, p. 33f., pl. I).

Mat-covered arched huts or tents are found only among the Southern Tuareg,
[171] and as such dwellings are found among many of their Sudanese neighbours it might
342 seem natural to consider them foreign to traditional Tuareg culture. However, the arched mat-covered tent of the Tuareg seems to be constructionally distinct from other barrel-vaulted dwellings. It consists of one to three wooden arches placed parallel to and between a pair of two or three short sticks supporting a horizontal crossbar. A number of very slender curved sticks cover the upper part of this construction. They are fastened to the arches and to the horizontal crossbars (cf. fig. 13). An arched hut of the same type, although more elaborate and solid, is found in certain Kel Owi villages (fig. 13) as already mentioned p. 77, while the use of crossbars is apparently unknown to other peoples who have barrel-vaulted
171 huts (*The Songai:* – Barth 1857–58, V, p. 160, 163, 165f. – Dubois 1897, p. 232f.;
342 1911, p. 33. – Gabus 1948, p. 10. – Olufsen 1928, p. 137. – Prost 1954, p. 184ff. – Urvoy 1942, pl. II, 3. – Aymard 1911, p. 144 pl. 25; 1908, p. 183. – *The Fulani and*

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Air



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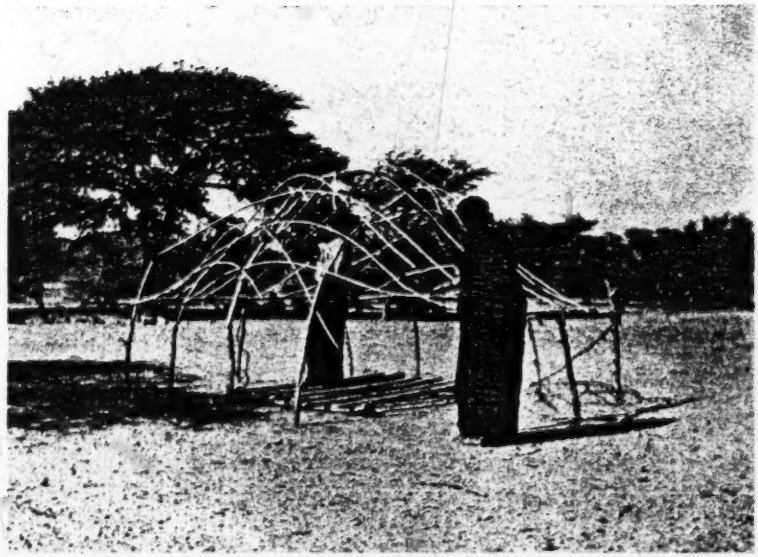

Fig. 13.– Tuareg women of Air erecting the skeleton of a mat-covered arched tent. It consists of three wooden arches placed parallel to and between a pair of three short sticks supporting a horizontal crossbar. Curved sticks cover the upper part of this construction. They are fastened to the arches and at their ends to the horizontal crossbars. Tuareg skin tents with the exception of those provided with T-shaped posts have possibly developed from similar constructions. – The erection of tents among the Tuareg is done by women.

171 *the Toucouleurs:* Urvoy 1952, pl. II, 4. – Desplagnes 1907, pl. CVI p. 396. – *The*
342 *Teda or Tebu:*– Le Coeur 1937, p. 39; 1950, p. 192, pl. XXVI, 99. – Despois 1946, pl. XXII. – Kronenberg 1959, pl. III).

Tuareg arched tents may also be covered with skin as they are among the
342 Tenguereguif Tuareg around Timbuktu. These Tuareg have a very peculiar arch construction which also contains crossbars resting on sticks (Lhote 1947, p. 100, photographs 85–93). In Ahaggar arched tents were formerly extremely common, and may occasionally be seen even nowadays. Their construction consists of two arches which may be placed between and parallel to a pair of crossbars each resting on the tops of two sticks (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247. – Benhazera 1908, p. 26. – Lhote 1947, p. 42f.; 1955, p. 256. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 89, 103f.). In Ahaggar I
[565] have been told that arched skin tents were formerly used by all vassals, who did not have T-shaped posts to support their tents. But arched tents were also used by some noble Tuareg. The mat-covered arched tents among certain Ioullemmeden Tuareg are apparently used particularly by vassals (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f. – Gabus 1948, p. 361), but they are also in frequent use among noble Tuareg. In Air the most common type of dwelling to all Tuareg whatever their social class is the

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174 mentioned that the word *Ihaggaren (Ahaggar)* is perhaps derived from *Hoouara*, [192] which was a common term for certain Berber tribes particularly living in Tripolitania in the Middle Ages. According to Edrisi the Hoouara Berbers were originally Arabs who adopted Berber language (Edrisi p. 66ff.). This is not proved by Ibn [114] Khaldoun's important work on the history of the Berbers. But Ibn Khaldoun states that the Hoouara came under Arab influence at a very early date, and some of the pastoral Hoouara people apparently migrated southwards to the desert at a later date than the Lemta (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275ff.).

I think that the ancestors of the noble Tuareg introduced the camel into the Sahara. I think too that this may have happened before the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. But some of the dominating noble Tuareg have emigrated from Tripolitania after the Arabs have arrived. And it is probable that the political systems of the Tuareg already very early were influenced by the Arabs among whom a class system is found even nowadays as described from Cyrenaica by Evans-Pritchard. In that region there are client tribes known as *Marabtin alsaqan* 171 565 because they pay *sadaka*, a fee, to a free tribe for protection and for the privilege of using the earth and water. Some fragments of client tribes even to-day have a very inferior social position and are forced to make payments to, and to perform services for, the free tribes among whom they live (Evans-Pritchard 1949, p. 53).

The word *sadaqa*, a fee, is known to the Tuareg, and there are other Arabic 171 words connected with their political systems. Here I shall content myself with 192 reference to the word *khalifa* used among the Northern Tuareg for the deputies of a chief, and the very important word *effebel* meaning "drum", "drum-group", and in Air also "drum-chief". Ultimately the history of Tuareg political systems should 174 probably be viewed in connection with those of Arabs. 10)

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*233 The actual number of such terms is not known to me, and the Tuareg say they are almost innumerable.
192 A colour term connected with an age term will, as mentioned above, generally be sufficient to describe the appearance of any animal, but colour terms have practical value also in another sense. They are, as the Tuareg put it, like names of men and dogs, and are used by the women to call individual animals to be milked. The names are then followed by a special sound (cf. p. 39, 135).

It is remarkable how intimately goats are attached to their masters. If the flock, as often happens, is grazing alone at some distance from the camp in the evening after darkness, it will immediately gather round the tents, when a special cry is uttered, or if the dogs bark. On the utterance of another cry by the goatherd the whole flock of goats will follow her quickly. On the whole goat herding is easy, and even very big flocks can be guarded by a single boy, or a girl. Kids still too young to follow the flock during grazing normally browse around the camp all day. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer these kids will not, as a rule, be let out of the sight of the camp, but this is not so in Ayr where vegetation is very dense in the river valleys. Kids in the latter area easily get lost and eaten by the numerous jackals. In order to know where the kids are a woman, while occupied with her domestic task in the tent, utters at short intervals a sharp, shrill cry to which the kids respond by bleating loudly.

*233 Goats are chiefly useful for the milk they provide. In general, goat-breeding is organized in such
[237] a way that the maximum possible milk is obtained by the nomads, and kids are allowed to suck freely only for a short period after birth. At this period a kid is known as *asarwas*, which term is used for all sucklings without restriction. The duration of the entire period of suckling is dependent on the pasture. If grazing is good, the kids will suck for two to four weeks, while under severe conditions the period of suckling may be up to two months.

To prevent kids from drinking more than their proper share of milk the Tuareg use various devices.
*233 In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer small kids are frequently placed in stone enclosures (*agrov*). Such
417 enclosures are also used to prevent kids from following the mother animals when the flock leaves the camp for grazing in the morning, and they serve as a protection against beasts of prey during the night. They are about one metre high, and have a diametre of about one metre (cf. Fig. 17). Similar stone enclosures are said to exist among the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg but not elsewhere in Ayr, where the Tuareg generally make larger round enclosures from boughs of thorny acacias, so that one enclosure is big enough for all kids of a household. These enclosures are often known as *zeriba* (Ar.), but the proper Tuareg name is *afaraq* (in the north *afaraǵ*). They are said to be used also by certain Northern
*233 Tuareg who camp in the lowland where acacias are common. To prevent small kids from running away, get lost or eaten by jackals, the Tuareg may attach them to a tree or to one of the tent-posts by one of their hind legs, which attachment is known as *témdit* among the Ayr Tuareg. Kids are also sometimes tied with a cord around their necks to prevent suckling when the mother animals are resting in the camp. If there are very few kids they are frequently attached to individual cords (sing. *témetrek*), but several kids are also frequently tied to one and the same cord, which is then known as *éseddi* or *aseddi*. Such a cord has several loops into which the heads of the kids are put, while the other end
[171] of the cord or rope is fastened to pegs or trees. These methods are not only practised by the Tuareg. I have frequently seen them in use also among pastoral Arabs of the Sahara and of the Algerian High Plateau.

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Fig. 19. Photograph illustrating how the stick (*akara, aseḍres*) is attached to the head of a kid. This photograph shows the semi-nomadic Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

234 squatting, she puts the left hind leg of the goat between her right thigh and calf. Goat-milk is drunk,
[262] added to food, or made into butter and cheese as described in detail p. 221 ff. Both in Ayr and in Ahaggar it is claimed that goats under favourable conditions yield about two litres of milk a day. But this is to be considered the maximum yield obtained only from goats with young kids when fresh-green annual pasture is available.

*233 Meat is not a staple food among the Tuareg. Most of them are reluctant to kill their animals except
[262] at certain feasts. But most meat eaten by the Tuareg is goat's meat. In Ayr I was told that some pastoralists keep their goats as well as other domestic animals as long as possible, that is until the animals die a natural death. However, the Tuareg are generally not so irrational. They say that goats may live for about twenty years, and that they are capable of bringing forth kids and yield milk until 15 years old. When goats have reached that age they are sold or killed, but many Tuareg prefer for obvious reasons to keep their milk-goats only to an age of eight or ten years. There is a limit to the number of goats that can be bred by the members of a small camp, because it is not possible to have more than a certain number of goats in one and the same flock, and there will not always be sufficient labour to tend several flocks. Therefore it is evidently preferable to substitute old milk-goats with

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to be considered rich in goats (and sheep) should own about 300 animals. They also say that in the 233*
past the Tuareg of their group owned more goats (and sheep) than nowadays. A household at that time might even possess up to a thousand animals, but it would not have many camels and very few zebus, or none. In Southern Ayr, according to the Tuareg, there has been no severe period of drought [132]
within the memory of man, and goat-breeding is consequently a much more stable industry than in the desert proper.

## SHEEP

Sheep are very important domestic animals to most North African pastoralists. In the Atlas and on [171]
the outskirts of the Northern Sahara sheep belong to various woolly breeds. Woolly sheep are also known in isolated parts of the Western Sudan around Macina south-west of Timbuktu (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 191 ff.). I have myself seen many woolly sheep along the Niger between Niamey and Ayoru – among the Zerma-Sonray and other semi-sedentary peoples – but I have not seen them in the camps of pastoral Tuareg and *Bella*. These sheep belong to the so-called "Goundoum" breed (Zerma) and according to Doutressoulle they constitute a degenerate type of the Mucina breed (cf. Doutressoulle 1947, p. 195). It is recorded by Aymard that there are some woolly sheep among the south-western Tuareg (Aymard 1911, p. 118). However, Tuareg sheep in all other groups belong exclusively to the hairy breed which is known as *Ovis longipes*.

It is admitted by zoologists that *Ovis longipes* characterized by a short cover of hair, high stature, and a long thin tail, is the oldest known type of domesticated sheep (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 59 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 213 ff.; Hilzheimer 1936, p. 199; Doutressoulle 1947, p. 196). In North-western Africa this hairy sheep falls into two types:— (1) The rams have large circular or snailshell-formed horns. This is the breed known to all Northern Tuareg, the Ayr Tuareg, and the *Kel Geres*, and apparently also to other Southern Tuareg. (2) The rams have very long horns of corkscrew form which protrude horizontally. This type is found among some Southern Tuareg, and it is occasionally seen in Tuareg camps immediately south of the Ayr Massif. The Ayr Tuareg say that this breed is typical of the Fulani, and this is in agreement with Doutressoulle's statement (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 200). This latter type of *Ovis longipes* sheep is also known among Nilotic peoples of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and it seems to have been known in Ancient Egypt. It is perhaps the oldest type of *Ovis longipes* sheep (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 59 ff.).

In Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer sheep are of relatively little importance to pastoral Tuareg. I believe that very few Tuareg of these regions have more than one sheep to ten goats. The reason for this lies in climatic conditions, for effective sheep-breeding is not possible where pastures do not regenerate regularly, as sheep cannot feed properly on the thorny acacias as can goats. Conditions of sheep-breeding are much more favourable in Ayr than in the north, and certain pastoral Tuareg of Southern Ayr have more sheep than goats, though sheep in Ayr suffer from lack of fodder in the dry hot season when they are extremely thin and meagre. With good grazing sheep yield more milk than goats, but [262]
otherwise goats are better milch animals. The meat of sheep is considered superior to goat meat, and

food or to sell them when they are five years old. Many rams are killed or sold at a younger age, and male lambs are frequently killed when half-grown, but the Tuareg do not kill very young lambs. 233*

It is well known from literature that pastoralists of Tibet use sheep as beasts of burden (several authorities; cf. Bell 1928, p. 116; Hermanns 1949, p. 84). Among the Tuareg sheep are not used for this purpose, but I have seen herdsmen attach their empty water bags to the belly of rams, which are very tall, strong animals. [192]

## CATTLE

The oldest African cattle is believed to have been a type of the *Bos primigenius* breed characterized by comparatively long horns. This breed was known in Ancient Egypt, and also in Prehistoric Sahara, where its former existence is documented by numerous rock engravings (cf. Monod 1932; Gautier 1908; Lhote 1955a, 1958; Erman 1922; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 142 f.). It seems as if cattle of this particular type was found in parts of North Africa even in antiquity (Bates 1914, p. 95 f.), and we can adequately quote Faulkner & Epstein on the former distribution of humpless longhorn cattle in the north: "All along the shores of the Mediterranean, from Palestine through Egypt to North West Africa, and from Asia Minor through the Balkans to the Appenine and Iberian peninsulas, an ancient stratum of longhorn cattle can be traced, extending to the north and south as far as Mediterranean man or his culture spread" (Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 143). *Bos primigenius* cattle are still found in certain parts of Africa. It is known in isolated regions of the Western Sudan – notably in Guinea and Liberia (cf. Doutressoulle 1947, p. 79 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 87 ff.; Johsi, McLaughlin & Phillips 1957, p. 118 ff.). It is perhaps this breed to which Maqrizi refers in his description of the Beja (Maqrizi, p. 561). The very special thick-horned Lake Tchad breed is probably to be considered a *Bos primigenius* type (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 88 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, 233* 174 233* 171

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Fig. 26. Young ram of the hairy *Ovis longipes* breed. Ahaggar.

[text continues on p. 49]

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p. 93 ff.), and this seems to be true partly also of the so-called Watusi-cattle and related breeds, which have been mixed with zebu-cattle and therefore frequently have well developed humps (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 10 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 148 ff.; Johsi, McLaughlin & Phillips 1957, p. 146, 178, 259). 233* 171 ●

Adametz believes that zebus were introduced into Africa from Northern India about 2000 B.C. (Adametz 1920, p. 10 ff.). Nowadays Zebus no doubt form the most important types of cattle in Africa, and Tuareg cattle are of the zebu type. The West African zebus fall into a number of sub-breeds described in detail by Doutressoulle. The zebu type found in Ayr and adjacent regions and also introduced into Northern Tuareg country is known as the *Azawaq* breed (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 102 ff.). In Southern Ayr, which nowadays has a fairly large population of pastoral Fulani, a particular type of zebu is also very common. This zebu is characterized by very high stature and extremely long horns often resembling the form of a lyre (Fig. 27). This breed is named Borodji, Bororo, or M'Bororo. The Fulani zebu is esteemed by certain Ayr Tuareg because of its fatter milk, but it is claimed that its meat is not so delicious as that of their own cattle. 233* 174 262

Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer do not breed cattle (zebus), which do not thrive in their barren countries where pastures of annual plants do not regenerate annually. An attempt to breed zebus among the pastoral Ahaggar Tuareg some years ago failed, and zebus are nowadays found only among settled agriculturists who use these animals as draught-animals at irrigation wells (p. 189; Fig. 132 a–b). A few agriculturists also have cows to raise calves, and to utilize their milk. It is comparatively easy for settled agriculturists of Ahaggar to keep cattle. In dry years, and when pasture is scarce and dry in the hot season, cattle can be fed on vegetables and the straw of certain plants grown in the garden. It can also be mentioned that many agriculturists live in the very broad river valleys of lower Ahaggar where water is not very deep under the sand, and at some agricultural settlements there are even permanent springs. In such places (e.g., the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel) there are even in dry years fresh grazing of a few permanent plants suited to cattle, notably the four following species:— *tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*), *tésengeli* (*Saccharum Ravennae*), *ilegga* (sing. *aleggi*) (*Scirpus Holoschoenus*), and *taysest* (*Eragrostis bipinnata*). The regeneration of these plants is not dependent upon annual rainfall, for the soil is always sufficiently humid for their annual regeneration. Therefore it is very common in Ahaggar (e.g., at Abalessa and at Amsel) to burn down the old dry plants late in winter so that new fresh plants can germinate in spring. This method of renewing pasture by the burning down of old dry plants is not generally possible in desert countries. In Ahaggar it is practised only for the four above mentioned species within very limited humid areas, and the method is said to be entirely unknown in Ayr. 361 187 824

The Ahaggar agriculturists who possess oxen very frequently use these animals for riding, sitting on the hind part of the animals which are kept under control by means of a rein (*tazerkit*) placed through their nostrils, or by means of a halter. No saddle is used apart from a casual piece of cotton, or a blanket (Fig. 28). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer, it is said, the settled farmers have no cows but only bulls and oxen to be used at irrigation wells, and these animals are not used for riding as in Ahaggar. 492

The zebus found in the settlements of northern agriculturists are all introduced from the south where conditions for ox-breeding are much more favourable. Many, and perhaps most, northern zebus have come from Ayr from which region they are still introduced to Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

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Fig. 29. Milking a cow. The calf is attached to a tree by means of a cord (*témetrek*) around its neck, the mother cow being attached to the same tree with a cord (*ayan*) around its horns.
Ayr, Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group.

*233 Zebus are able to cross the barren desert country of the Sahara in winter, and even with so hot a temperature, as that prevailing at the end of April, I have met Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* tribe leading zebus from Northern Ayr to Tamanraset in Ahaggar.

The Ayr Tuareg seem to admit that they have always had zebus, but they say that in the past they had very few cattle. Nowadays there are zebus in so to speak all camps and villages of the Massif and in the plains to the [illegible] of it. At the village of Iferwan sedentary farmers possess three to four animals per household, a[illegible] are much bigger for households of true pastoralists. It is quite normal for a nomadic household to possess a dozen zebus, and this is true even of pastoral Tuareg roaming in the northern outskirts of Ayr where precipitation is lower than in the south.

In fact zebu-breeding is a very profitable industry to the nomads, the more so as very little work is connected with it. The animals leave the camp early in the morning to return again entirely by themselves in the evening before darkness. They are never accompanied by herdsmen as there are no beasts of prey strong enough to attack them nowadays. I have met Tuareg who were evidently very fond of [171] their zebus, but they never showed the same interest towards their cattle as do the Fulani, who always accompany their herds. During grazing Tuareg zebus normally roam freely, but certain animals which are difficult to get hold of are provided with a cord (*ayan*) around their horns to which cord is attached [366] a long piece of wood trailing on the ground. When oxen are driven to the market place (at Agadez or Inga for selling,

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or Ingal) for selling, they are also frequently provided with a wooden prong (*aburl*) loosely attached around one foreleg to prevent them running away. I have never seen this practised among the Fulani who have much more control over their cattle than have the Ayr Tuareg.

Cows continue to bring forth calves and yield milk until they are about 15 years old, and the duration of their life is estimated at about 20 years. But it is considered appropriate to keep milch-cows until they are ten or twelve years old when they should be sold or killed. The period of gestation for cows is about ten months, and there is no regulation of mating. The Tuareg say that cows will be on heat and mate again shortly after the birth of a calf, and that milk-yielding does not stop until five months after mating. Free mating of the cows agrees well with Tuareg interests as prices of calves are high.

Milking of cows takes place twice daily and is generally done by women – in rare cases by men. Milking is performed as follows:— Just before the herd returns from grazing in the evening every calf is firmly attached to a tree by means of a cord (*témetrek*) around its neck so that it cannot reach the udder of the mother cow. When milking is to take place the mother cow is attached to the same tree by means of a cord (*aran*) around its horns. The calf's rope is now loosened and it will immediately start to suck while the milk-maid fastenes another rope or cord (*akarab*) around the hind legs of the cow. When this is done the calf is attached to its tree again, and milking begins. The milk-maid squats at one side of the cow (generally at the right side) holding the large milking bowl (*akabar*) (Fig. 37) between her legs and knees, and milks with both hands (Fig. 29). When the milk-maid has taken the milk she wants she releases the calf to let it drink what is left in the udder, but the calf is thereupon attached to its tree again in order that it may not suck during the night. Before the cows leave the camp in the morning milking is performed again as just described, but it may happen that the cows leave for grazing already during the night, and they are then not milked again until next evening. Tuareg who possess a great many calves may guard them within a so-called *zeriba* (*afarag*) made of thorny acacia boughs.

Most cows will not yield milk unless they have their calves close to them. If a cow loses its calf it may be replaced with the calf of another cow so that milking can be done, but it is also common to use the so-called dummy-calf (*azeyuz*) made from the dead calf's skin stuffed with hay. This puppet is then set close to the cow which is deceived by it. It feels that its calf is standing by, it licks the skin, and milking can then be done without much difficulty.

The dummy-calf is not used by the zebu-owning agriculturists of Ahaggar, though I have met one of these *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*) who had once made a calfskin-puppet after he had seen the method practised among *Iforas* Tuareg at Kidal. The method of blowing into the cow's vulva is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *askuf*; it is used particularly for cows which are difficult to milk shortly after the birth of a calf. During migrations, when young calves march together with the mother cows, suckling is prevented by means of a piece of dum palm leaf attached around the calves' mouths. Such an attachment known to the Ayr Tuareg as *adabar* may be used also for other domestic animals.

Weaning of calves takes place according to one of the following methods:— (1) *ikembar*, that is cuttings made with a knife in two or three places on the bridge of the calf's nose. The wounds of these cuts hurt the calf when it tries to suck, but the method is effective only for a very short period until the wounds have healed. On adult animals the scars of these wounds appear as small bumps (Fig. 30).

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## CAMELS

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Camels are very important domestic animals in all Tuareg groups, and they also play a great part in the subsistence of most Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. The common Arab camel breed, which is known to the Tuareg as *marroki*, is also found in Northern Tuareg country – particularly among the *Kel Ajjer*. It is heavily built and is extremely well fitted for transportation. It is a very strong breed in spite of its relatively low stature, and it has large feet which is considered an eminent quality for pack camels. This *marroki* camel has a thick cover of wool on the hump and on the fore-part of the body, while Tuareg camels, which are of higher stature and more elegantly built, in general have little or no wool, but only a short coat of hair much like that of cows and horses. Tuareg camels may have long hairs around the hump but true Tuareg camels have no proper coat of wool. Though the *marroki* breed is excellent for transportation and is considered a better milch-animal than the southern Tuareg breed, the Tuareg generally prefer their own elegantly built camels, and they look down upon the heavily built camels of the north. However, as mentioned, there are some *marroki*

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**Fig. 33. Tuareg with riding camels. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tehle* tribe.**

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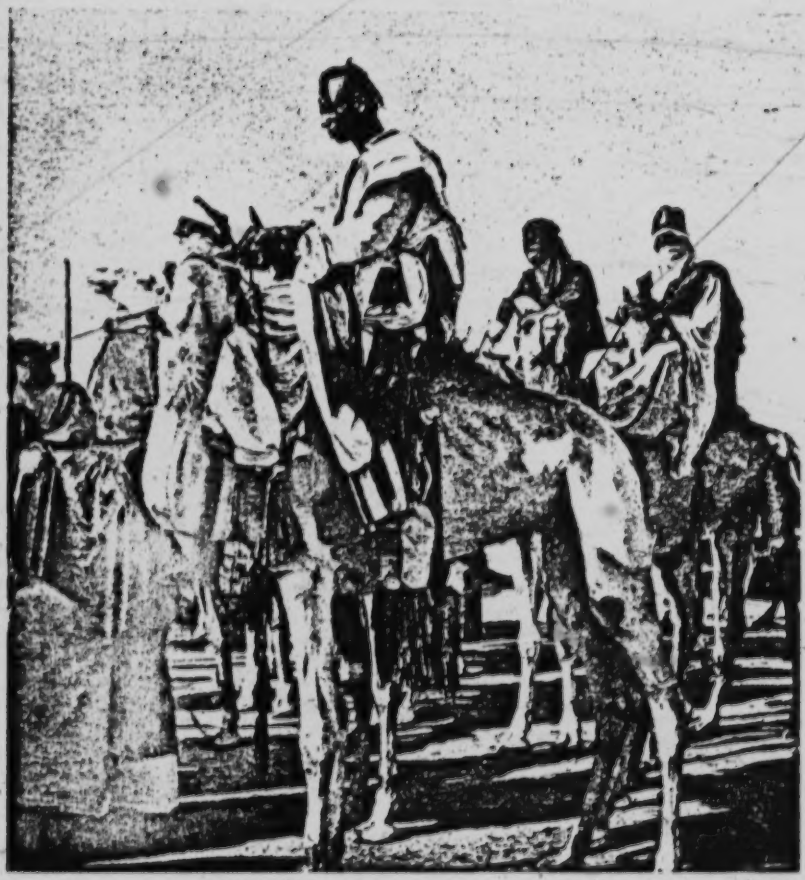

Fig. 34. Tuareg camel riders. The young man seen in the front has not yet adopted the veil. Ayr, Agadez.

camels among the Northern Tuareg, as there are cross-breeds between camels of this type and Tuareg camels. There are also to-day some Tuareg camels among Arab pastoralists of the Sahara, but I was told among *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* Arabs that originally all their camels were of the *marroki* type, while camels of the southern Tuareg breed were introduced among them more recently. I have not been able to prove or to refute Cauvet's theory that northern and southern camel-breeds differ in dentition

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*233 *492 should be remembered that she-camels possess less endurance than bull-camels and geldings on very long journeys.

*233 She-camels and the few bull-camels which are reserved for breeding graze free and unhobbled; pack and riding animals are hobbled with a short rope between their forelegs during grazing. Both in Ayr and among the Northern Tuareg this hobble-rope is known as *téffart* (Fig. 45b–e). In Ayr it is generally [137] rather short because pasture is rich in the valleys where camels are also difficult to find because of the dense vegetation and because the animals frequently leave no trace. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg, vegetation is on the whole more scattered and camels have to wander more freely to find suitable fodder. The Northern Tuareg therefore in general use a somewhat longer hobble-rope, and they find their animals again without much difficulty because of the open country and because the camels leave foot-prints which differ from one animal to the other. When the camels are out of sight they are easily traced by the Tuareg who know their foot-prints. The Ayr Tuareg make their hobble- [283] ropes from dum palm leaves twisted together, while Northern Tuareg use bast of the date palm trees, which latter material is considered the better for hobble-ropes. If hobbled camels are left to themselves for longer periods the Northern Tuareg also use ropes made of goat's hair or ox hide as such ropes do not so easily break (cf. Fig. 45c, e).

●[171] Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara do not always let their camels graze during night but frequently keep them lying in front of the tent after darkness; the animals are then tied around one of their forelegs by means of a short rope provided with a small stick. The same device (*asafun*) is also known to the Northern Tuareg (p. 67, Fig. 45a), but it is unknown to the Ayr Tuareg who use for this purpose a short rope (*arenfud*) without a stick and made from twisted dum palm leaves. The Tuareg may keep camels in the camp during night and then tie one of their forelegs with the ropes mentioned. This is done with she-camels which rest close to their calves at night time, and in Ayr also with most camels during the short period of the year (*akasa* and the beginning of *rarat*) when dew falls heavily upon annual pasture, for camels may contract stomach diseases from eating wet annual plants. In Ahaggar I have noted that camels are attached in the way mentioned and kept in camp during the night in order that they might not eat noxious plants growing close to the tents (cf. p. 124). However, camels normally graze during the night and do not sleep much. On the very long trading expeditions they eat almost exclusively through a few hours of the night. When a camel sleeps it stretches out its long neck in a slightly curved position and its head rests upon the chin (cf. Fig. 46). It sleeps very lightly, and the Ahaggar Tuareg say that a boy who is able to creep under the neck of a sleeping camel and not awake it will never loose his way in the desert.

*492 Pack-camels of a Tuareg caravan walk one behind the other in a long line. Every pack-camel is provided with a rope noosed around its lower jaw, the loop being prevented from loosening by the insertion of a small stick (Fig. 47). This rope is known as *akalu* to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who use ropes [283] made from twisted pieces of date palm bast, while the Ayr Tuareg make similar ropes from dum palm leaves. The loose end of the *akalu* rope is attached to the pack-camel walking in front, fastened either to its luggage or, more frequently, to its neck around which camels of a caravan carry their hobble ropes.

*233 *492 True halters made from goat's hair or from palm material are used mainly for young untrained

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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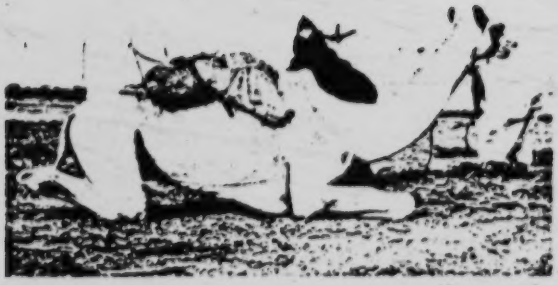

Fig. 53. Pack camel with the saddle consisting of two skin-bags (*imaytalen*) stuffed with hay. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.
Fig. 54. A skin bag (*amaytal*, pl. *imaytalen*) of the type used for pack-saddle. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: ca. 0.80 m. (N.M. G. 6658).

*492 leather fringes (cf. Fig. 52). Some very elaborate halters are found in the Musée de l'homme (Nos. 531 5.66.5; 30.61.228; 95.46.3; D $\frac{34}{1}$ 42; D $\frac{34}{1}$ 25).

*492 Foucauld describes a peculiar method for leading camels, as follows:— A little wooden stick (*agula*) is stuck into the skin between the chin and the lower jaw of the animal, and the lead is attached to this stick. The method is practised with camels which have no nostril ring and cannot be led by means of a rope attached around their lower jaw (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 426). I have seen this peculiar method practised once in Ahaggar.

Pack-camels are rarely used without some type of saddle, but it happens that camels are used for water-transportation from the well to the camp without a saddle. The waterbags are then hung over the animal's back, their cords resting upon a layer of straw or sprays. In Ahaggar, and more so in Ayr, it is also common instead of a proper saddle to use two skin-bags filled with grain, straw, or the like to form cushions. One of these is placed before, the other behind the hump so that the cords of luggage bags can rest upon them (cf. Fig. 53–54). These cushions are known as *imaytalen* (sing. *amaytal*), and they may serve as a pack-saddle even on long journeys, though the Tuareg in general use proper saddles on trading expeditions.

[171] Pack-saddles of the Northern Tuareg correspond to saddles found among the Arabs of the Sahara. The common type is that known to the Arabs as *hawiyya* or *hidâge*, and called *élaki* by the Northern [284] Tuareg. It consists of a wooden frame (*élaki*) generally made from pieces of palm leaf ribs (Fig. 55). [284] It is made up of two crossbars placed close to each other, each of them being composed of two short and slightly curved pieces of palm leaves' ribs lashed together at the top with raw camel-hide. The

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*492 fixed with a rope running under the tail and/or a rope around the camel's chest. The *elakt*-saddle is [184] unknown to the Ayr Tuareg, but I have seen it in use among Arab traders living at Iferwan of Northern [171] Ayr. It is by far the most common type of pack-saddle in both groups of Northern Tuareg.

Another type of pack-saddle named *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* corresponds to the *herej* saddle of the Arabs. It is used occasionally by the Northern Tuareg, but I have only seen it among the *Kel Ajjer*. The saddle-frame is made from date palm ribs and consists of two cross-bars connected with each other by two crossed sticks at both sides. One of the cross-bars rests in front of the animal's hump, the [283] other behind. The frame is lashed together by means of strips of raw camel-hide and is fastened to two pads of palm bast as can be seen from the photograph Fig. 57. As far as I know this saddle-type, [563] like the type above-mentioned, is manufactured by palm-growing agriculturists of the oases. This saddle type seems to be unknown among the Ayr Tuareg.

The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is known to them as *arukt*. It consists of one [285] wooden arch lashed to two flat boards (Fig. 58). These two sideboards are attached to two pads made from hay stuffed into tubular pieces of dum palm matting. The two pads or mat cylinders are fitted on each side of the camel so that the wooden arch rests in front of the hump. But there is also a rear pad consisting of a stuffed skin-bag laid over the camel's back behind the hump and attached to the wooden arch by means of cords. The loading cords bear on this stuffed skin-bag and on the mat-cylinders in front of the wooden arch. The wooden arch is manufactured by blacksmiths, while the [564] side pads and rear pad are made by the Tuareg. The saddle is not generally fixed to the camel by means of girths or cords. The place of origin for this saddle-type seems to be Ayr. It is used also among the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, and it seems as if related saddle-types occur elsewhere in the south (cf. p. 311).

*492 Transportation bags of various types are used for camel loads, but the very large bags woven from 415 a mixture of goat's hair and camel's wool so typical of northern Arab pastoralists are not in current use among the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*, and are entirely unknown to the Tuareg of Ayr. The [563] Northern Tuareg generally use bags made from the skin of barbary sheep, or bags made from date palm bast by the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. Fig. 59). In Ayr the Tuareg normally use transportation bags of plaited dum palm leaves.

The ideal load of a camel consists of two bags forming a total weight of up to 200 kgs for a very strong animal. The two bags, which together form one load, are each provided with two short loading loops. They are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *elferwet* when bags are woven, as *tadekmert* when the bags are of skin. The loading is done as follows:— The two bags are lifted up and supported against the sides of the recumbent pack-camel by two men who put the loops of one bag into those of the other and insert between them two little sticks, known in the north as *tihdad* (sing. *tehedit*). To unload the camel all one has to do is to pull out the two small sticks inserted between the loops, and the two bags fall to the ground. This same system is also used in Ayr, and, I believe, among all [17] camel-breeders of North Africa. - To secure the load in a fixed position it is very common to surround its two halves with a rope (*takhamit* in Ahaggar), which is laid over the saddle-frame before loading and another rope around the luggage and the belly of the pack-camel is also used if considered necessary.

*492 When camels are taken to the camp from pasture, they are sometimes mounted without a saddle

[text continues on p. 78]

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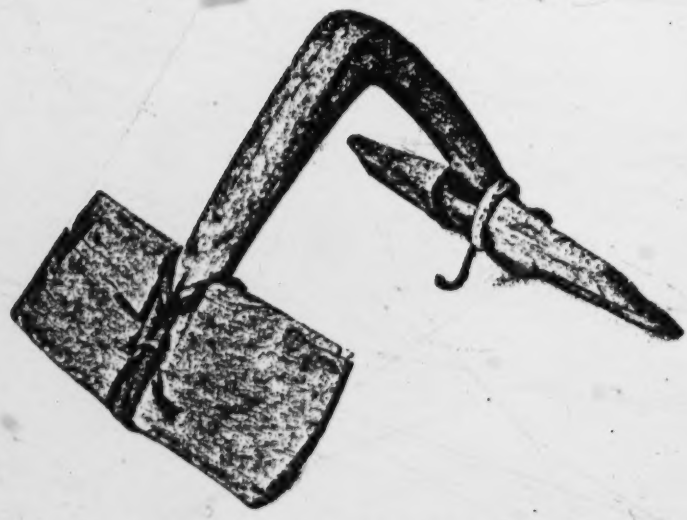

Fig. 58. Wooden saddle frame of the *aruki* type. The curved piece of wood is fastened to two boards with strips of raw hide. The frame is manufactured by an Ayr blacksmith. Bought at Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.337 m long, 0.275 m high. (N.M. G. 5247).

*492 by men and boys, who sit sideways in front of the hump resting their feet upon the animal's neck, or, [171] more rarely, behind the hump with their feet hanging down, as is the custom of Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. It should be added that on long trading expeditions the Tuareg frequently content themselves with sitting on the top of their loaded pack-camels. But riding in these ways is not very pleasant, and whenever possible the Tuareg use proper riding saddles placed in front of the camel's hump so that the rider sits cross-legged in the saddle with his feet resting upon the lower part of the animal's neck.

Most Tuareg have saddles of the well-known type with a cruciformed pommel. This saddle is known [531] as *térik* which term is used for three distinct sub-types. One is known as *tekokeyi* (Fig. 60); it differs from the type known as *tamzak* mainly therein that the latter is provided with peculiar ornaments and designs (Fig. 61). These two saddles are those normally used by the Tuareg, while the third sub-type known as *bertekes* is extremely rare; it resembles the *tamzak*-saddle, but is provided with many [564] small bells fastened to be back (Fig. 62). Such saddles are hardly ever manufactured by the black-[432] smiths of Northern Tuareg countries, but are made in Ayr, notably in Agadez, where the Northern Tuareg also buy their riding saddles. Even the Arab pastoralists of the tribes *Chamba* and *Ulad Ba*

[text continues on p. 80]

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Fig. 82b. Cf. text Fig. 82a.

qualities as strength and speed, but rather on elegance and sublimity. The riders sit straight in the 526
saddles without watching the crowd of women, and the camels are ridden at a gentle trot (generally 492*
that known as *senat-senat*; cf. p. 99) with their heads drawn back. In this way the men may also ride 585
their animals round the women in a circle as I have seen in Ayr (cf. Fig. 82).

Camels have important social functions among the Tuareg who take an interest in these animals 233
far beyond their practical value. It may perhaps be useful to compare Tuareg interest in camels with 181
Nuer interest in cattle so brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard. Nuer caress their animals, and [171]
there is a tendency for human beings and cattle to form, so to speak, a single community (Evans-Pritchard 1940, p. 16–50). This is not exactly true of Tuareg and camels. The Tuareg do not pat their camels which will not respond to caressing, and they do not live in very close contact with their animals, most of which frequently graze far away from the camp under the supervision of one or two herdsmen. But the Tuareg nevertheless have much the same feeling towards camels as Nuer have towards their cattle. They are very fond of their animals. They may abstain from camel's flesh because they [262]
are fond of camels and would feel very sick at heart when eating them. But though the Tuareg are fond of camels as such, they are delighted particularly at the sight of a very fine camel (*akemhur*; Ahaggar) and may even speak disparagingly of a badly built animal (*amugey*; Ahaggar). Fine camels [554]
add to the prestige of a man, while too many animals of poor build may even harm his reputation. When girls and young women praise camel-riders in their songs they praise those mounted on fine [533]
and richly-decorated animals. When camels are mentioned in poetry this may also be done as praise [538]
to their owners, as in a poem composed in honour of noble Tuareg of the *Urayen* (*Kel Ajjer*) of whom it is said that "their pack-camels have feet as large as a drum, and the loads they carry are like the crests of mountains" (Hanoteau 1896, p. 218). Such reference to pack-camels, however, seems to be [492]*
rare in Tuareg poetry, while riding camels are frequently mentioned in connection with warfare and [171]
love. Riding camels have much the same esteemed position as had horses in Medieval Europe. Tuareg 492*
interest in camels is particularly focused on riding camels and there is a tendency towards identification 181

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wild the Ayr Tuareg also know another type of snare, or rather lasso, which is also known as *tuzunt*. 231
It consists of a long rope noosed at one end, but the loop in this case is thrown against the animal 224
by means of a short forked stick. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that this type of lasso is not widely found [17]
among them, and claim it is typical of and traditional for the pastoral Fulani, who use it to catch cows which are difficult to approach.

The wild donkeys caught for domestication are young animals, for very old ones cannot be tamed. 231
When an animal is caught by one of the above mentioned methods it is beaten a heavy blow between the ears so that it falls unconscious to the ground. It is thereupon given a rope around its mouth, for wild donkeys are fierce and have a dangerous bite, and is also tied with ropes around its legs so that it cannot run. When the animal comes to after the blow it is led to the camp where it is tethered. It remains tethered and fitted with hobble-ropes in the camp for one or two months during which period it gets a very brutal treatment. It is trained for riding by the men who mount it daily during [492]*
this period of training (cf. Fig. 85) until it can be ridden as freely as domestic donkeys. The Tuareg say that not all donkeys survive the heavy blow on the head but that most of them do.

Donkeys constitute the important riding animal of all vassal women, and there are also some men 492*
of the true vassal class who ride donkeys though most of them have riding camels. Donkeys are also [562]
extremely important pack-animals. They are used by most Tuareg for the transportation of tents and [565]

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Fig. 86. Donkey saddle (*aruku*) of the type described in detail in the text (cf. p. 110). It is fixed to the animal by two cords of goat's hair: the girth (left), the cord passing under the tail (right). Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.585 m long, 0.360 broad. (N.M. G. 5246).

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*492 Tuareg. Some Ayr Tuareg use a kind of saddle for the transportation of water-bags. It consists of two pieces of wood with grooves to support the cords of the water-bags; it corresponds to the type of saddle described and depicted by Lhote from the *Iullemmeden* (Lhote 1947a, p. 114, 134) which type I have seen also among the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Kel Ataram* group. However, most Ayr Tuareg do not employ this device. They content themselves with a layer of thin green twigs placed on the donkey's back so that the cords of the water-bag, which hangs under the animal's belly, shall not hurt and gall. This method is also sometimes used by Northern Tuareg. To transport the tent and its belongings during nomadic migrations, the Ayr Tuareg use one or two rolled-up mats of the tent-covering for saddle, while on trading expeditions to Damergu they place their skin-bags filled with millet directly on the donkey's back. Such bags (*alelu*) may also serve as a kind of saddle for luggage. When the Ayr Tuareg ride donkeys they sit on the naked back, on a blanket, or on a piece of matting. The Tuareg never use bridle, bit, or rein for riding as do some people of the northernmost parts of the desert and the Atlas. They control their donkeys with a short stick and constantly beat them over the neck to keep up their speed. I have never seen them prick the animal's neck with a spiked stick as is frequently done in the Atlas and adjacent regions. Here many donkeys wear iron shoes which are also unknown among the Tuareg.

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## HORSES

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231 Horses play a very small rôle with the Tuareg I have studied. There are very few horses in the Northern
[171] Sahara where they are bred mainly by sedentary people who are able to feed their animals on barley,
[565] millet, and other garden products. Some years ago there were a few horses in the noble *Kel Rela* tribe of Ahaggar, but nowadays there are no horses among pastoral Tuareg of this region, and in all Ahaggar

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Fig. 87. Hausa Negroes with their richly ornamented riding horses. Ayr, the *Imeggedrezen* of Agadez.

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Fig. 88. Riding saddle of the type manufactured at Agadez and used by horse-riding Tuareg and Negroes in Ayr and further south. Note the very narrow stirrups which are often used for the insertion of only one or two toes. (Musée de l'homme, Collection Henri Lhote, 38/617).

231 there are perhaps less than ten horses which are all owned by sedentary people (blacksmiths and
[563] Arabs). Conditions for horse-breeding are better in Ayr, but even there pastoral Tuareg do not generally breed horses which for a large part of the year must be fed on barley, millet, or on milk. In Ayr,
[563] horses are mainly bred by sedentary Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group and by the negroid citizens of Agadez who hold horses in very great esteem. There are perhaps 100–200 horses in and around Agadez, where the animals are kept in or at the houses most of the year to be fed on cereals and on hay of annual grasses cut with a sickle (cf. Fig. 143 f). During the period of *akasa* it is common to let the
*492 animals graze on annual pasture, and they are then very tightly hobbled. The Ayr peoples use a bit
● [171] (*araba*) (Fig. 89) similar to the type used by Arabs in the North, but their saddles are not of the general Arab type (cf. Fig. 88). The very broad Arab stirrups also seem to be unknown to the *Kel Ayr* and to the *Kel Geres*, who have many horses. The stirrups used by horse-riding Tuareg are generally very thin and slender, and they are frequently used for the insertion of only one or two toes.
[113] The riding-gear used by the *Kel Ayr* (including the *Imeggedezen*) and the *Kel Geres* is described in detail in literature (cf. Foureau 1905, III, p. 879 ff. & 921 ff.). This is very complete, and was, perhaps,
[175] introduced fairly recently, for we know that the Libyans of Antiquity rode without a saddle and governed their horses mainly by means of a stick (Bates 1941, p. 96 f.), and we are informed by Ibn Batutah that in the Middles Ages the people of Ayr rode without saddles (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 442).
231 The history of the horse in Africa constitutes a very important problem. It is generally admitted
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Fig. 89. Horse bit of iron. Made by blacksmith of Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: ca. 0.11 m broad. (N.M. G. 6667).

that the horse was introduced to Egypt with the Hyksos invasion about 1700 B.C. From Egypt it 231
spread to other African peoples, and it was common among the Libyans during the reign of Rameses 174
III (about 1200 B.C.). This first horse-breed introduced among the North African Berbers seems to have been of the pony type (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96 f.; Adametz 1920, p. 46 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 284) which is still represented in Africa. I believe that the so-called Togo-pony which is found in scattered and isolated parts of the Western Sudan belongs to the old pony-breed, though this theory is not accepted by Doutressoulle on the ground that such ponies are not found nowadays in North Africa and Egypt (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238). Doutressoulle has made a detailed study of the horse-breeds 231
of the area formerly known as French West-Africa. Apart from the pony-type just mentioned above, 171
there are three main types:— (1) the *Aryen type* known in Ayr as the Begzen horse. It is an Arab breed [114]
introduced from the North – from Tripolis according to tradition. Horses of this type are found scattered throughout Ayr, Adɾaɾ-n-Foɾas, and Hodh. (2) the *Barbe type* found mainly among the Moors west of Timbuktu. (3) *the Dongolawi type* mainly found to the east of the Niger (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 237 ff.).

Horses become valuable riding animals to many Tuareg living in the true savannah country. The 492*
*Kel Geres* Tuareg use horses for short riding trips though they prefer camels for riding on long journeys. They claim horses of the Begzen breed to be the very best riding animal. In the remote past when the 492*
horse was introduced into North Africa and the Sahara, horses may have been important also to 174
Libyans and Tuareg living further north in the desert, where the climate may then have been more favourable to horse-breeding than it is in modern times. Lhote has studied the ancient rock-pictures representing horses, horse-riders, and horse-drawn waggons in the Sahara, and he ascribes to the horse very great importance for the opening up of the desert country and invasions into these regions by fair-skinned Berbers (cf. Lhote 1953a). This theory is perhaps supported by the fact that the Ahaggar [192]
Tuareg though they do not breed horses have a fairly extensive vocabulary connected with horses and horse-breeding. Briggs states as his opinion that horses were probably never common in the Sahara (Briggs 1960, p. 21). This, of course, we cannot know, but it seems safe to say that in the Sahara the horse has never had the same economic value as the camel later has had.

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Fig. 90. Tuareg dogs of the breed which is common among the Ayr Tuareg. Dogs suffer much from heat in summer when they hide under water-bags. Ayr, the *Imezureg* tribe.

## DOGS

231 The Northern Tuareg distinguish between three types of dogs (sing. *eydi*) as follows:— (1) a long-haired breed (*aberhoh*); (2) a short-haired slender breed (*akhami*); (3) a very slender and elegantly
[173] built greyhound (*oska*) (Fig. 91). The Ahaggar Tuareg speak of a tradition, according to which the greyhound (*oska*) was introduced fairly recently through contacts with the Northern Arabs. The Ayr Tuareg do not make similar distinctions between dog breeds. They have only one breed which is known as *ijji* (Fig. 90). It is short-haired and slenderly built though less so than the true Arab greyhound.

[136] Dogs are kept to guard the camp and in particular to protect the animals from the attack of jackals or hyenas during night. If the Tuareg had no dogs it would be most difficult for them to breed goats and sheep. Dogs may also follow the flocks in daytime to protect the animals against beasts of prey, though this is not generally considered necessary. Dogs are not trained as "sheep-dogs", but it is said that a few "intelligent" dogs will assist the herdsman in keeping the flock together during grazing,
[224] and many dogs will drive away domestic animals which belong to foreign flocks. Some Tuareg use dogs in hunting barbary sheep, gazelle, antelope, and hare (cf. hunting, p. 159, 166).

[17] It is well-known that the Arabs consider the dog an unclean animal. This is also so among Arab nomads of the Sahara, but they do not consider their greyhounds unclean in this sense. Thus pastoralists of the Chamba group told me that among them a fine greyhound is esteemed in much the same way as are noble riding horses and camels. The Tuareg have very few true greyhounds and
[521] I do not believe that they have this same feeling of interest in them. But many children and young
[541] people are fond of all types of dogs, and one can hear them discuss the qualities of their animals and the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp.

# Rationality and Beliefs in Stock-Breeding

Literature on so-called primitive pastoralists often states that these peoples are irrational stock- 121
breeders. It is said that they attach an enormous value to big flocks and herds which overgraze and deteriorate pastures, that they take too little interest in selective breeding with the result that they do not castrate their superfluous male animals or perform this operation too late, and that they take an overwhelmingly large interest in the aesthetic qualities of their animals.

Tuareg stock-breeding is essentially rational and is well adopted to environment. This viewpoint 233*
can be proved by reference to the description of stock-breeding given in the preceding chapter. I have 232
here described in some detail the system used in the mating of sheep and goats, and how mating is regulated in accordance with the development of pastures. From this description of mating regulations it also appears that the Tuareg are not only interested in having large flocks. They also want flocks of healthy and strong animals, and they generally kill or sell domestic animals before they grow barren. It should be added that the Tuareg very well know that there is a limit to the number of animals (goats and sheep), which can be herded in one and the same place. The Tuareg certainly want to be rich [556]
and to possess large flocks and herds, but they are also aware that there is a limit to size. Regarding Tuareg interest in the aesthetic qualities of their animals, I have mentioned that it is mainly focused on camels, and I have described in some detail the value attached to colours. It is clear, however, that the Tuareg interest in their animals is not confined to the aesthetic. The true value of any domestic animal is always judged rationally, and takes into consideration such qualities as age, build, stature, and the like. The Tuareg also know that qualities of domestic animals are inherited and are aware 232
that it is necessary to have good breeding animals. Cauvet states that pastoral Tuareg attach very little importance to the quality of she-camels used in breeding, while greatly interested in the build and stature of bull-camels. In this, he says, the Tuareg differ from Arab pastoralists, who think that [171] ●
camel calves inherit their qualities mainly from the mother-camels (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 348). This [114]
statement, I believe, is not quite correctly expressed, for the Tuareg I have asked about this have stated that a camel-calf inherits qualities from both parents and they have also stressed the necessity of having good she-camels to produce the best possible calves. But most Tuareg have so few camels that they are forced to mate all their she-camels. They cannot afford to select certain she-camels for breeding, while it is easy for them to select one or two good bull-camels. All Tuareg I have asked admitted the great value of selective breeding, and said that superflous rams and he-goats should be castrated or

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Fulani MS11



The most dangerous African cattle disease is the rinderpest. It is known to have entered Egypt in the year 1884 from the regions around the Black Sea, and about 1890, or somewhat later, it came to Eastern Africa and to the Sudan. Rinderpest is nowadays widely found in Africa but it is rare or unknown in Northern Tuareg countries. Rinderpest is apparently very rare in the Ayr Massif and it occurs mainly south of the Massif in savannah country. The Tuareg have no remedy against this disease. It is stated by St. Croix that the Fulani of Northern Nigeria once deliberately exposed their cattle to mild rinderpest to make them immune from this disease in its more severe and dangerous form. However, this method did not work and the Fulani gave up further experiments of this kind. It is also mentioned by St. Croix that the Fulani practise a kind of vaccination against cattle pleuro-pneumonia and that this is done as follows:— A piece of infected lung is put into milk for two to three days and thereupon placed into a small opening cut under the nose-skin of the animal. The method is claimed to be effective (St. Croix 1944, p. 24 f.). Vaccination methods are also known to some of the Southern Tuareg, e.g. the *Iwillemmeden*. These people vaccinate human beings against small-pox by inserting the pus of this disease into wounds cut with a knife (Aymard 1911, p. 108), and they also vaccinate their cattle against cattle pleuro-pneumonia ("peripneumonie bovine"). They do this in much the same way as described above for the Fulani:— An infected piece of lung is placed in sour milk or in the soil for a few days, and is thereupon inserted under the skin of the forehead. Nicolas describes the method as dangerous because the infection attacks the whole forehead and also the nose-bone (Nicolas 1950a, p. 133), but two veterinary surgeons who practised among the *Iwillemmeden* of Tawa told me that they considered this kind of vaccination effective. The method is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg of the Massif where this contagious lung-disease is unknown or very rare.

I have no great knowledge of the contagious diseases in the Tuareg groups I have studied, but such diseases seem to occur comparatively rarely, and there is no veterinary surgeon attached to the French administration of Northern Tuareg countries. There is one veterinary surgeon in Agadez, but his most important field of work lies outside of the mountain massif to the south.

Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr I have been told about two contagious diseases which, when they occur, may give rise to very heavy losses. One of these diseases is known to the Tuareg as *changa*. It attacks only cows, which die very quickly, but if cattle suffering from the disease are ritually killed their meat is nevertheless considered edible. One Tuareg told me that some years ago about thirty cattle of his camp died in one day from an attack of *changa*.

The other contagious disease I have recorded from Southern Ayr is called *tandert*. It attacks sheep and goats, and I collected the following notes about it:— The blood penetrates the animal's flesh which becomes quite red. If sheep or goats suffer from *tandert* and are ritually killed for eating, very great care must be taken in the preparation of the meat. It must be boiled until it contains no blood, and must not be eaten until it is cold and dry. It is said that if these precautions are not taken the people who eat meat from animals suffering from *tandert* will themselves become attacked by the disease, with the result that blood and pus may penetrate the skin at any part of the body. They say that a man who has eaten unboiled meat of an animal suffering from this disease with consequent infection is treated in the following way:— A species of ant more venomous than the normal small

878 Religious beliefs also interfere with Tuareg stock-breeding and create usages of an irrational kind.
[23] Thus the Tuareg, like other North African peoples, firmly believe in the mystic benevolent power,
[171] or benediction, known as *elbaraka*. This is a power that emenates from God. It is given by God to
[784] man and it cannot act unless certain taboos, or rather religious prescriptions, are followed. The bene-
[783] diction *elbaraka* is more than anything else hurt by impurity. Cleanness is an absolute necessity for
this good force to be sustained in the same way that a man cannot approach God through prayer if
[841] he be unclean. Women are considered unclean during their periods of menstruation and cannot, there-
[262] fore, then pray to God. They are also forbidden to drink the milk of domestic animals which have very
young kids, lambs, or calves, and they must not drink water which has been conserved in newly-made skin-bags. These taboos are maintained in order not to hurt the benediction given the animals
778 by bringing it into contact with impurity. For the same reason milk taken from animals which have
784 recently brought forth young should not be given to strangers – they might be unclean and harm the
234 *elbaraka*. It is also believed that soil is an impurity dangerous to *elbaraka*, and milk must never be spilt on the ground. Even when milk-bowls are cleaned with water, this liquid should be poured out upon plants or stones, and never be spilt on the ground. Should this be done, God will withdraw his *elbaraka* and the result will be severe periods of drought without milk. I have frequently heard Tuareg ascribe the lack of rain and the dry pasture – the lack of *elbaraka* – to the fact that somebody had spilt milk upon the ground. This had caused God to be angry and to withdraw his benediction. Some Tuareg have also said that *elbaraka* is harmed by a person who blows upon milk. When a man drinks milk he must not blow away impurities before drinking but must remove them by means of a piece of straw.
*233 In the two groups of Northern Tuareg and also in Ayr it is considered very disgraceful for a person
577 who watches the animals away from camp to drink milk directly from an animal's udder. Some Tuareg
272 say that a man when staying alone among milk-yielding animals should not utilize their milk even if he performs milking in the usual way. A person who breaks these rules is called *émenkes* or *émelded* among the Ahaggar Tuareg, *émelded* in Ayr. The Tuareg say that there are some people, and in particular many slaves, who do not follow this rule, and that they are despised if known to have broken it. When two or more people are alone with a herd or flock away from the camp they can freely utilize the animals' milk. And it is very normal for camel herdsmen to live with a herd of she-camels in isolated places for long periods. They then live almost exclusively on camel's milk taken from the herd they guard.

272 Certain usages connected with stock-breeding are rationally explained by the Tuareg. Thus when they heat milk by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221) put into the milking bowl, they claim that this is done in order that the milk shall not get dirty as would happen were it heated in an ordinary cooking
272 pot. Another custom which by other stock-breeders has been explained as being based upon magic,
262 namely the usage not to drink milk and eat meat at the same time, is also rationally explained by the Tuareg. They say that there is no taboo on taking these kinds of food together, but it is very unwise to do so because the mixture will act as a laxative and upset the stomach. Therefore, if a Tuareg has drunk much milk he will not eat meat shortly afterwards, and if he has eaten meat he will not take milk for some hours, though he may do so should ample water have been added to the milk. The
*233 Tuareg to my knowledge have no other special customs in connection with stock-breeding and milk
234 than there mentioned

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*233 192 [492] [171] I have referred to the use of such signals above in connection with goat-breeding, and I have mentioned that goats will respond to signals and also to names more willingly than other domestic animals with the exception of dogs. Some of the signals used in Ayr and Ahaggar differ, and it is interesting that the Tuareg of these regions use different sounds to accelerate the speed of riding camels. The riders in Ahaggar use the same signal as the Arabs – a gutturally pronounced *ha* – while the Ayr Tuareg use a rolling sound *ur*. The signal used by the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Western Iwllemmeden* is *ut*.

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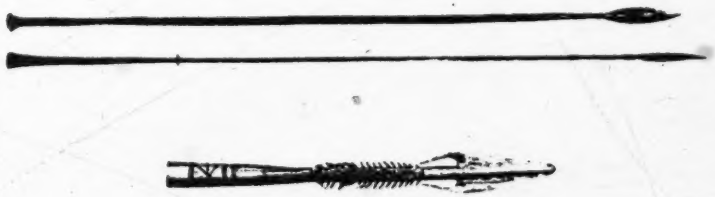

Fig. 112a–c. Tuareg spears.

a. Spear of the *taṛda* type used for hunting. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 1.80 m (N.M. G. 1.156).
b. Iron spear of the *allaṛ* type which is mainly a war weapon. Ahaggar, Collected by Olufsen. Dimension 1.82 m (N.M. G. 1.155).
c. Iron point of the barbed Tebu lance (*taṛda*) occasionally used by the Ayr Tuareg. Dimension: 0.265 m (N.M. G. 6619).

224 they are eagerly pursued by many rifle-owning nomads. Lhote estimates that in the year 1939 the Ahaggar Tuareg killed 300 barbary sheep by means of their traditional hunting methods, while in the winter season 1949–50 more than 200 animals were killed with rifles in the central parts of Ahaggar [432] (Lhote 1955a, p. 284). In 1954 the meat of one barbary sheep was sold for 4000 French francs, the [648] hide for 2000 francs. Though hunting of these animals is officially prohibited by the French, it is tacitly permitted and meat is frequently sold at the market place of Tamanṛaset.

The traditional methods used mainly in hunting gazelle and barbary sheep are as follows:—

[411] (1) The spear (*taṛda;* Fig. 112a) is nowadays used mainly by slaves, who never possess rifles. Before [562] rifles became common it was the typical hunting weapon of all vassal Tuareg. Hunting with the spear [565] takes place during the hottest time of the day, when the animals hide under rocks and trees to seek protection from the burning sun and the flies. It is then possible to creep very close to the game, and even the otherwise very shy barbary sheep can be taken in this way. When the hunter is close to the hiding place of a barbary sheep he claps his hand, and the animal rises, bewildered, and is then speared. In the past many barbary sheep were killed in this way, and it is said that a skilled and lucky hunter may even secure four or five animals in one day.

[171] (2) The use of stalking animals. Hunting by this method is used by some African stock-breeders (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 97 ff.). There is a detailed description of the use of camels trained for this purpose among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara (Harding King 1903, p. 171 ff.). As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not train their camels for stalking, but on journeys they frequently hide behind their animals to approach and kill gazelle. In this case the hunting weapon is normally a rifle. But the method is perhaps an ancient one and used also for other hunting weapons in the past, as game animals do not fear domestic animals among which they frequently graze in the desert. In fact, [172] the ancient use of stalking animals in Northern Africa is clearly substantiated by a rock engraving at

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



411 p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *éfezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals – there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Ineslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Koran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

224 Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. To-day true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Tamgak* or *Imeddeṛaren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Ṛali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals withing two hunting territories where barbary sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

| Age | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . . | *awhim* | *tawhimt* |
| Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . . | *ahyar* | *tahyart* |
| Fully grown animal . . . . . | *ahenkoḍ* | *tahenkoṭ* |

224 Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—

(1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

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*abellenigad* (*Reseda villosa*). Tr., L.M., U.M. Seeds of this plant are edible, but of bad taste – 222 according to Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 65. 262

*abseṛ* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Tr., (L.M.). Fruits are collected mainly for goat fodder, but are eaten by 252 human beings when vegetable food is scarce. The fruit is then crushed into flour. The resin of this acacia is also edible.

*tamat* (*Acacia seyal*). Tr. The resin (*taynwst*) is edible. I believe it is used mainly as a remedy against [257] stomachache. This is perhaps also true of the resin of the *abseṛ*-acacia mentioned above.

*ahtes* (*Acacia albida*). Tr., L.M. "La gousse est même comestible pour l'homme" (Maire 1933, p. 120).

*ténefé* (*Tephrosia leptostachya*). Tr. "Les Touareg mélangent cette plante desséchée au thé vert" [272] (Maire 1933, p. 125).

*laḡul* (*Alhagi maurorum*). Unknown in Ahaggar, but found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. "Les racines tuberisées sont mangées par les indigènes (Killian)" (Maire 1933, p. 131).

*alora* (*Peganum Harmala*). Tr., L.M., U.M. An annual seed-plant. Seeds are used for *tébik*.

*taburak* (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruits which are macerated in water to remove the bitter taste.

*tedjoq* (spelling according to Maire 1933, p. 241) (*Pistacia atlantica*). L.M. Very rare according to Maire (1933, p. 148). According to my own observations the fruit of this tree is eaten by Arab [171] pastoralists (e.g., *Ulad Nail*) of the so-called *daya* region south of the Sahara Atlas. It is possible that it is also eaten by the Tuareg.

*tahunek* (*Rhux oxyacantha*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruit.

*téhak* (*Salvadora persica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

*tabakat* (*Ziziphus lotus* var. *Saharae*). Tr. The berries are crushed and mixed with millet flour.

*azawa* (*Tamarix gallica*). Tr., L.M. "La manne produits par ces arbres est receuillié par les indigènes qui l'emploient comme matière sucrante. (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 156).

*tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*). Tr. "Les rameaux mannifères sont employés pour sucrer l'eau" (Maire [263] 1933, p. 159).

*tafeltast* (*Myrtus Nivellii*). (Tr.), L.M. "Les rameaux de ce Myrte sont récoltés par les Touareg, [439] desséchés et exportés par sac entiers au Soudan et au Mzab, avec *l'Artemisia judaica* ssp. *sahariensis*. [752] Ces deux plantes sont utilisées comme médicaments et comme condiments" (Maire 1933, p. 162). [263]

*awkal* (*Cynomorium coccineum*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots which are dried and ground into flour (cf. Maire 1933, p. 163).

*aséyar* (*Anethum graveolens*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual plant. Its seeds are used as a spice and [272] for adding to tea.

*takmezzut* (*Teucrium Polium*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant used for adding to tea.

*élel* (*Nerium Oleander*). Tr., L.M. This plant is extremely venomous particularly so for camels, which die from eating its leaves. "La cendre de bois de *Nerium* est employée par les femmes du Tidikelt [261] pour se faire engraisser. A cet effet elles mélangent un peu de cette cendre avec des dattes pilées et du beurre, puis absorbent ce mélange dans du leben" (Maire 1933, p. 170).

*arellachchem* (*Solenostemma oleifoleum*). Tr. A perennial plant. Its leaves are used as a substitute [272] for tea.

# Agriculture

In the present chapter are described the agricultural techniques as I know them from Ahaggar (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and from Ayr, and the economic role of agriculture to the subsistence of pastoral Tuareg is discussed. 241

## CULTIVATION WITHOUT ARTIFICIAL IRRIGATION

In the Sahara farming is almost exclusively based on artificial irrigation, and agriculture and stock-breeding are largely separated industries. Large-scale stock-breeding necessitates migrations, while irrigation agriculture must be practised by people who live on the same spot almost continuously. But nomadic stock-breeding and shifting cultivation are occupations which go well together at the borderland of steppe and desert in the north where nomads or semi-nomads sow wheat and barley. Lyon says that the bedouins of Tripolitania use a rude plough but more generally a hoe (Lyon 1821, p. 44). However, plough cultivation seems to predominate among the northern nomads nowadays. Shifting plough cultivation is an important subsidiary occupation for most northern nomads in an almost unbroken area between the Atlantic and the Nile or the Red Sea, but it does not penetrate very far into the true desert country. In Algeria I have not seen shifting cultivation practised further south than the oasis of Ghardaya, where nomads under favourable conditions of rainfall sow wheat and barley by means of a simple plough made of a forked piece of wood (Nicolaisen 1950, Fig. 9, p. 70; Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, pl. II,5 p. 47, Fig. 6 p. 54). West of Ghardaya the plough is known as far south as Tinduf and Beni Abbes, while it is known at Brak of Central Libya towards the east (cf. Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, map p. 40). Feilberg in one of his early works stated that the plough in Northern Africa is particularly attached to shifting cultivation as a sowing implement (Feilberg 1931, p. 199 ff.). This is in agrement with my own investigations in the Northern Sahara, and it is confirmed by the very remarkable study of Capot-Rey & Marçais, who state that the plough is not fitted irrigation agriculture of the Sahara because of the many fruit trees, notably date palm trees, and because of the whole complicated irrigation system (Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, p. 51; Feilberg 1931, p. 199). But there seems also to be another reason why the plough is found only in the Northern Sahara: It is particularly fitted for the sowing of wheat and barley, but less suitable for the sowing of millet and sorghum which are the most important cereals grown in the south (cf. Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, p. 51; Feilberg 1931, p. 201). Barth records that he saw a kind of plough at Auderas in Ayr. It was drawn by three slaves who were driven like oxen by their master (Barth 1857, I, p. 424). 433 241 171 [567]

[p. 183]

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241 I, p. 424). Rodd thinks the implement seen by Barth was clearly an importation from the north (Rodd
171 1926a, p. 133), and Feilberg assumes that if the plough was once known in this southern area it might perhaps have disappeared together with shifting cultivation (Feilberg 1931, p. 200). All this may be so, for there has been much contact between Ayr and the regions of Fezzan and Tripolitania in the past. But Barth does not say that he saw a plough but "a kind of plough", which may perhaps point to a type of large hoe drawn by men like that described from Senegambia by Feilberg (cf. Feilberg 1931, p. 169 f.).

243 The plough is unknown in the extensive area inhabited by pastoral Tuareg but this is not so with a kind of shifting cultivation. Pastoral Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer sow wheat and barley along the river valleys when these have been heavily flooded. Sowing is then done in a very simple way:— Holes are dug into the sandy soil, usually merely with the hand, and a few seeds are put into these holes. Wheat and barley thus sown grow in tufts with a space of 0.30 to 0.50 metres between each, and there seem to be about fifty straws in a normal tuft – the largest tuft I have seen contained about 130 straws (cf. Figs. 128–129). The plots cultivated in this way are generally very small, and the scattered wild plants growing in the plot are not always removed before sowing. The corn plots are left completely to themselves until harvesting, which is done with a sickle (Fig. 143). Primitive corn growing of this type cannot be practised continuously from one year to another in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the Tuareg of that region say that a household never grows enough corn in this way to meet its annual needs.
[178] The primitive method of corn growing without artificial irrigation is unknown in Ahaggar nowadays, but it seems as if it was known in the past (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 372), and the Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular term (*tawgest*) for a field cultivated without artificial irrigation (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1466).

Rodd states that rain-grown crops could be raised most years in certain parts of Ayr and that in earlier days a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way in Ayr (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). There is little doubt that this statement is correct, and I think that even in parts of Ahaggar millet could be raised without irrigation in most years, for millet has a very short period of growth.
[221] In Ahaggar (at Abalessa) it is sown in June-July and is harvested in September. Though millet plots are irrigated they are never watered much, and never to the same extent as wheat and barley which are grown in winter. In regard to Ayr, millet in southern villages of the Massif very frequently ripens in two months, and late in summer, at the end of the rains (*akasa*) or in the early dry season (*rarat*).
[252] I have frequently seen well-developed small plots of millet and sorghum around deserted Tuareg camps where a great many seeds are always lost on the ground during the pounding and winnowing of millet for porridge. These self-grown plots, however, are not utilized by the Tuareg as the comparatively
[134] small yield is quickly eaten by the numerous millet-eating birds. Owing to these birds it would be difficult for pastoral Tuareg to grow cereals in flooded valleys like the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and it is partly for this very reason that the sedentary agriculturists of Ayr grow very little millet. Millet could easily be raised without artificial irrigation during the rains, and, in fact, millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation of Ayr.

245 In addition to the species of grain mentioned above there is one very important plant which can be grown without artificial irrigation, namely the date palm. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are river valleys

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In literature there seems to be no reliable information about the existence of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar until Duveyrier, who states that agriculture did not obtain a fixed position in the economic life of the Ahaggar Tuareg until the reign of the *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 369). This statement is confirmed by most agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg in Ahaggar, who claim that prior to *Elkhaj Akhmed* irrigation agriculture was not practised in Ahaggar. During the reign of this *Amenukal* irrigation agriculture by means of the subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs as *foggara* (*éfeli*, pl. *ifelan*) was introduced by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs and negroid *Ḥarratin* from the Tidikelt oases. Some people of Ahaggar claim that another irrigation system was introduced about the same time, namely irrigation wells from which water is drawn by oxen and donkeys. This system, known as *tanut*, is said to have been introduced by agriculturists from Ġanet (Djanet) (the *Kel Ġanet*). It should be noted that there are certain traditions which claim irrigation agriculture to be older in Ahaggar. One tradition says that it was practised at Silet-Tibeghin by Arabs who immigrated from Tawat to cultivate by means of the *foggara* system even during the reign of the *Imenan* (Lhote 1955, p. 286 f.). Another tradition, recorded by Foucauld, states that irrigation farming was known at a very remote date by the *Isebeten* – a pagan people said to be the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes of Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535 f.). Traditions of the age of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar are conflicting. If it was practised long before the reign of *Elkhaj Akhmed* by the ancient vassals, I believe that water was raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight. For this system, which is known as *arudid*, is said to have been very common in the past. It is extremely rare nowadys, and I have only seen it once at Terhenanet. There can be no doubt that this simple irrigation method is a very old one in North Africa, where it is more widely distributed than all other types of irrigation methods (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, map VII p. 320). The very wide distribution of this system elsewhere in the Old World points to its great age, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest true irrigation machine.

A few Tuareg in the northern groups practise irrigation agriculture, which does not seem to be one of their traditional occupations. Tuareg irrigation farmers are found mainly in the Fezzan, but mention should also be made of the people of three noble tribes, namely the *Ilemteyen* (living at Rat), the *Ikadeyen* (at Tit in Ahaggar), and the *Kel-ahem-niellen* (roaming pastoralists north of Ahaggar or settled farmers at the oasis of Inṛer in Tidikelt). These sedentary or semi-sedentary noble Tuareg were originally true pastoralists, though but little is known of the original mode of livelihood of the *Ikadeyen*. A few individuals or families among the Ahaggar vassals have more recently taken up irrigation agriculture in addition to stock-breeding. There seems to be a growing tendency towards semi-nomadism in Ahaggar nowadays. There may be several reasons for this. Thus one can point to the decline of caravan trading and to the fact that pastoral Tuareg cannot so easily get the true agriculturists to cultivate for them. The true agriculturists of Ahaggar comprise the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*) of Tidikelt, who have mixed with the manumitted slaves now also known as *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*), a few fair-skinned *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, and the *Kel Ġanet* who are predominantly black-skinned. All these agricultural people tend to mix with each other and also with tribes of pastoral Tuareg.

There are at present about 25 agricultural settlements in the river valleys of Ahaggar. Apart from the administration centre of Tamanṛaset (1600) and the oasis of Abalessa (547) these agricultural

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243 Wheat and barley grown in winter constitute the most important crops in Ahaggar, but, as mentioned,
[262] the gardens are also cultivated at other seasons, and crops of millet and sorghum taken in summer
are most important substistence for irrigation farmers in Ahaggar. Millet is known to the Tuareg as
[171] *énélé*; it seems to be the same species as that so widely grown by African agriculturists of the savannah
[221] countries (*Pennisetum typhoideum*, or *P. Americanum*). Millet is sown in June-July and harvested in Sep-
[461] tember, or in October. Little work is involved with the cultivation of this plant which is never watered
much (cf. p. 184), and the agriculturists do not carry fresh soil to the millet plots as they do to plots of
wheat and barley. Species of sorghum are less important than millet. The common species is known as
[386] *abora* or *tafsut* (*Andropogon Sorghum*). Another species is known as *tallak*; it has smaller seeds than
the species just mentioned, and is grown mainly because of its stems, which are reduced to powder
to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 282).

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Fig 135. Basket (*ideuir*) of the type used for transportation of fresh soil to old garden land. It is plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*afum*) and has handles of rope made from date palm bast (*asum*). Soil is also carried to gardens in larger baskets (*ahwirt*, pl. *iyrar*) loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m high, 0.35 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5285).

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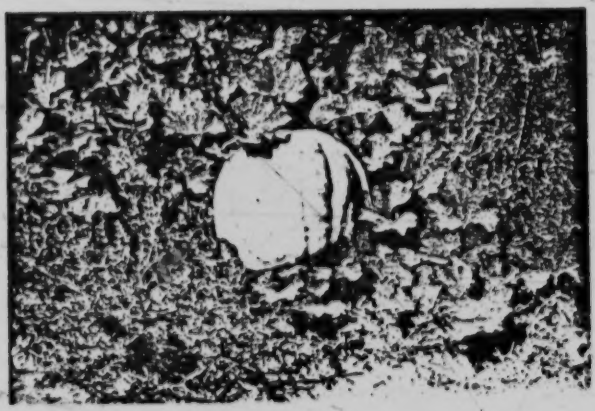

Fig. 141. The large gourd known as *kabaya* (*Cucurbita maxima*) growing close to the thorny fence (*aforaf*) which term is also generally used to designate a garden. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

466 625 423 241 [171] [578] Tuareg garden owners have other obligations besides those listed under these three items, but these obligations vary with the systems of contract of which there are three. One system is known as *khamast* according to which the agriculturists gets only one fifth of the crops. This system is widely found in North Africa but has disappeared in Ahaggar some years ago. It is said that it was abolished by the *Amenukal* because it very frequently gave rise to disputes between Tuareg garden owners and their cultivators. It is now replaced by two other systems, the *tilt* system allowing one third of the crops to the cultivator, and the *aril* system according to which crops are divided equally between the owner and the cultivator. This last system is that almost exclusively used in Ahaggar nowadays.

To revert to Tuareg obligations towards their cultivators, these obligations, in addition to those mentioned above, are as follows:—

(4) To hand over an amount of seed-corn (*tifest*) of wheat and barley according to the size of the garden plot and the system of contract. With a *khamast* agreement the Tuareg garden owner gives all seed-corn. With a *tilt* agreement half of the seed-corn is supplied by the owner, the other half by the cultivator who is then also allowed to cultivate a private garden. With an *aril* agreement half of the seed-corn is given by the garden owner, the other half by the cultivator who does not possess a private garden unless he is headman of a *foggara* (p. 196).

(5) To give an amount of food to the agriculturist during the cultivation period of six months. This payment is known as *tenafok*, and is fixed at 75 kilos of millet, barley, or dates when cultivation is done according to the *aril* system, while 150 kilos are given for cultivation according to agreements of the two systems *tilt* and *khamast*.

[434] The net profit to an agriculturist who cultivates for a Tuareg garden owner is lower than that gained by an agriculturist cultivating exclusively for his own private use. This will be seen more clearly from the calculations below where a garden with an annual yield of 700 kilos wheat and barley is considered:—

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



466 obtain a larger amount of vegetable food products and more wheat and barley. The pastoral Tuareg
475 gain less from their gardens than they did when the *khamast* system prevailed, but it is still profitable
423 for them to be garden owners.
241
434 The quantity of agricultural products anually consumed per person among the *Kel Ahaggar* is
511 estimated by Lhote at 187 kilos millet, 15 kilos dates, and a small amount of wheat for which no
262 figure is given. For Arabs of the Sahara the quantity of vegetable food is estimated at 180 kilos wheat,
[171] and 75 kilos dates anually per person (Lhote 1955a, p. 263). I add to this that wheat is used for bread to a very large extent by the Ahaggar Tuareg, who also make much use of barley for bread and porridge. According to Malaurie the amount of agricultural food products available per person among the Ahaggar Tuareg is about 400 grammes a day, or 146 kilos anually (Malaurie 1953, p. 342). It should be noted again that the amount of agricultural food products necessary for a Tuareg household varies greatly from one year to the other. In years of drought when agricultural products form so to speak the only source of food for the nomads, they estimate that a household consisting of husband, wife, and one child will consume about two kilos of cereals (dates) every day, or 730 kilos in a year. Consequently the amount of cereals and dates consumed anually per person may in dry years rise to about 245 kilos. This seems to correspond to the amount of food considered necessary for Arabs of
[171] Tidikelt and Tawat, who live almost exclusively on cereals and dates. When employed as labourers by the French Administration these sedentary Arabs are given 16 kilos of wheat and 4 kilos of rice a month, or 240 kilos of agricultural products anually per person (Information obtained from the administration office of In Salah in 1954). The agricultural products obtained by a pastoral household from a single
511 garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less
433 so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example: During the year 1954-55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with an *aril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar
[437] Tuareg depend on caravan trading for their provisions of agricultural food, and trading also helps them to create the capital of millet and dates which is invested in their gardens in Ahaggar grown on their behalf by agriculturists. I believe that most pastoral households of Ahaggar have gardens, but there are Tuareg who have none. This is true, for instance, of most Tuareg living in and around the Ahnet Massif. Tuareg of this region formerly had gardens irrigated by the *foggara* system at Abalessa, but to-day they acquire their vegetable food products mainly by caravan trading.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AYR

563 The largest aggregation of sedentary people in Ayr is found in Agadez (4.737), which is inhabited al-
[361] most exclusively by negroid peoples who speak Hausa though most of them also know the Tuareg
162 language (*tamachek*). This large sedentary population mainly lives on trade and on crafts of
197 various kinds. The inhabitants are known to the Tuareg as the *Imeggedezen*. They are said to be related
[433] to the Sultan (or the *Amenukal*) of Agadez. There is a tradition which claims that the Sultan came
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## AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND THE PRESERVATION OF CROPS

241 The hoe forms the basic agricultural implement in Ahaggar and in Ayr. The type of hoe used in
412 Ahaggar is known as *agelhim*, and it is akin to that in general use among irrigation farmers of the northern oases. It has a very large and heavy iron head provided with a ring for the shaft. I believe that this type of hoe is particularly fitted for irrigation work, but it does not seem to be in general use in Ayr. I have seen it at Iferwan in Northern Ayr where agriculturists have much contact with Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but I have not seen it further south in the Massif where it seems to be unknown. The common type of hoe in Ayr is different; it is named *tagumit* and is hafted by means of a tongue (Fig.
[171] 143d). The same type of hoe is widely distributed in Africa south of the Sahara, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest type of iron hoe within the continent (cf. Feilberg 1934, p. 228–278).

241 The hoe is used for agricultural work in general, for digging irrigation canals, making garden beds, and for the preparation of the soil. The hoe is not used for sowing cereals. Sowing in Ayr is known as *anabal* and is performed in the following way:— As many seeds as can be kept between the first and second fingers are pressed a little into the soil, and water is led into the garden beds immediately after sowing. I have myself never watched sowing, but I was told in Ayr that it was frequently done
[178] by old women. I think that this is probably connected with the belief in the mystic power known as
[841] *elbaraka* so characteristic of all North African peoples. For cereals contain this mystic power, which can be spoiled by unclean women. It is considered harmful to the *elbaraka* blessing if cereals are
241 handled by menstruating women (cf. Westermarck 1926, I, p. 230). The hoe is used for weeding,
412 but the agriculturists of Ayr also have a special implement for this particular task. This is known as *elgechwad* and consists of a curved semi-circular iron blade hafted to a short wooden handle by means of a tongue (Fig. 143e). The semi-circular blade is sharpened at its outer and convex side which is pushed against the roots of weeds.

243 Various methods are used for the harvesting of crops. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer wheat and
412 barley are always harvested by means of a sickle (*amreh*) (Fig. 143a–b). The sickle in Ayr is known as *elgechwad*, like the weeding implement mentioned above. It is not used for harvesting crops, but for the cutting of annual grasses to be stored for fodder (Fig. 143f). In Ayr both wheat and barley are
245 harvested by drawing the straws from the ground with the hands. In Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer sickles are also used for harvesting dates, while the date-growing agriculturists of Ayr use another method. They do not cut the bunches, but proceed in the following way:— When dates begin to ripen they enclose every bunch in a plaited pouch to protect the fruit from the ravens and other birds. The dates are harvested one by one when they are ripe, while those not yet fully ripe are left to be harvested
243 later. Harvest is done in this manner about once a week until all dates have become ripe. Maize in Ayr is harvested by drawing the plant from the ground with the hand, and this work is normally facilitated by loosening the soil around the roots by means of the hoe. I do not know how maize is harvested in Ahaggar, where this plant is not so widely grown as in Ayr. Everywhere among agricultural people of Ahaggar and Ayr millet and sorghum are cut with a knife (Ahaggar, *elmusi*; Ayr, *ezegiz*) (Figs. 171–172)

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



175 721 added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was also fighting within these groups at intervals.

[648] [578] The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwllemmeden* and the Arab pastoralists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg frequently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

[437] Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite of these latent conditions of hostility.

175 437 Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays. They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter, cheese, and the like.

175 437 484 The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times, but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Hammu* who dominated the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays. [439] They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also [438] say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All [317] this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadror were not utilized in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then [361] [162] travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could not defend itself against raiders.

175 587 It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading [648] until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet [171] who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

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Fig. 155. Skin bag (*sassufra*) for the conservation of butter-milk on journeys. The bag is made from an entire goat-skin and has a handle of goat-hair cord tied to the skin patches of the hind legs. A leather handle is attached to the lower part of the bag which is ornamented with leather fringes, Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-ukkil* tribe. Dimension: 0.77 m long without the fringes. (F.M. 89).

They churn most butter from cows

234 [262] milk, and this butter is not considered as delicious by the Ahaggar Tuareg as their own butter, churned mainly from goat's milk. – The use of wooden churning sticks by means of which milk is stirred in 234 an open container is unknown in Ahaggar and Ayr, so far as I know. Churning sticks are used in 412 other Tuareg groups. They are common among the Tuareg of Adrar-n-Foras (Musée d'Ethono- 184 graphie, Neuchâtel, no. 49.2.44 & Musée de l'homme, Paris, no. 38.16.48) and among the *Iwellemmeden* 171 Tuareg and the Fulani (Musée de l'homme, Paris, nos. 41.19.411 & 41.19.1326).

234 All Northern Tuareg, as well as the Northern Arab pastoralists and semi-nomadic Berbers and [17] Arabs of the Atlas, make cheese from butter-milk, while this type of cheese is unknown among the [184] Southern Tuareg and also among the Fulani. In Ahaggar butter-milk cheese (*awles*) is manufactured [462] by women in the following manner :— Butter-milk is heated over the fire in an earthen pot (*téfirt*, or *ufrun*) *[415] (Figs. 186, 187a–b) by which process the milk is divided into two parts, namely pure water and a curdled mass of milk (*akru*). This mass of curdled milk is placed in a special basket (*arugu*) (Figs. 167a–b) hanging from a tree or a similar object to sort out the whey. Thus there remains a mass of cheese in the basket, and this mass is formed into small round pieces to be left for drying. Butter-milk cheese is manufactured in this way by all Northern Tuareg who are thus able to obtain butter and cheese from the same milk.

234 Another type of cheese is made from fresh milk and is manufactured not only by the Northern
171 [i.e. the Ayr Tuareg -- Analyst]

Tuareg but also by the southern groups and by Arab pastoralists of the Sahara; it is also known in the Atlas, and is on the whole widely distributed in Northern Africa. This type of cheese is known to the Northern Tuareg as *takammart* and it is manufactured as follows:— Fresh milk is heated and then poured into a large wooden bowl (e.g., *tayelut*) (Figs. 195a–b). The milk is curdled into a mass of cheese by means of a rennet (*akammar*) consisting of the abomasum of kids that have never tasted anything but milk. The curdled mass of cheese is pressed with the hands and with a piece of straw-mat (*éseber*) in order that the liquids may separate. The mass of cheese is formed into small rectangular pieces of cheese which are left on the little straw-mat for about one day. They are then removed to be dried finally on a platform (*takaṭa*, *tafalkat*) made of branches.

234 [17] ● [415]* [285] [417]

Cheese made from fresh milk is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tekemmart*; it is manufactured to very great extent and much in the same fashion as just described from Ahaggar. The abomasum of little kids or lambs to be used for rennet is named *tedeṛant*, and the Ayr Tuareg add parts of an annual plant known as *ekochmaren* (*Caralluma Mouretii*) in order that the milk may curdle quickly. The Ayr Tuareg also use little mats plaited from stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) to press and form the rectangular pieces of cheese; the Ayr Tuareg make mats (*tésebert*) (Fig. 168) particularly for this purpose, while the Ahaggar Tuareg generally use an old piece of a tent mat (*éseber*). In Ayr the rectangular pieces of cheese are dried on bunches of hay placed in trees (acacias), or on the top of the mat-covered tents.

[824] [285]

The *takammart* or *tekemmart* type of cheese made from fresh milk is in high esteem as food among all pastoralists of the Sahara. It is generally eaten when newly-made and soft, though it may also be stored. The Ahaggar Tuareg make this type of cheese only when milk is plentiful, while the Ayr Tuareg manufacture it most of the year though the main season of cheese-making is the season of *akasa*.

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Fig. 156. Skin bag of the *ámmeslay* type used to sour milk before churning. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-addi* tribe. Dimension: 0.37 m high. (F.M. 170).

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up with small strips of fat. The pieces of liver covered with fat are put on a slender iron or 252
wooden rod to be roasted slightly over the fire. This dish is known to all Tuareg by the Arabic word [177]
*elmefiif*. It was introduced among the Northern Tuareg by the Arabs, but is not widely known among the Ayr Tuareg.

This brief description of Tuareg meat preparation can adequately be supplemented by a reference 252
to two peculiar dishes:— (1) A dish known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *talebeggar*. It consists of meat 262
which after boiling or roasting is pounded in a large mortar and frequently served with liquid butter. This dish is also known to the Ayr Tuareg. (2) A dish which is described from Ahaggar by Foucauld 252
under the name *abangor*. It consists of untanned skin which is eaten in case of hunger after the following 261
preparation:— Untanned skin from household implements, shields, and the like is roasted under the ashes, and is thereupon pounded into small pieces. These are eaten without any further preparation, or after boiling. (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 73).

Like other North African peoples the Tuareg dry meat of domestic animals and of game. The people 251
of Ayr know three distinct drying methods, namely (1) *iwesan*, that is meat which is boiled until it is free of blood; it is dried in the shade; (2) *tikelzin*, uncooked meat cut into pieces to be dried on a string in the shade; (3) *kules*, uncooked meat cut into strips which are dried for some time to be treated with salt and various spices. This last method is not practised among the Tuareg of Ayr, but by sedentary people of Agadez and by Negroes further south in Damergu. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally boil or roast the meat before drying; meat roasted in the ashes according to the *abatul* method and thereupon dried is known as *takasa*. I do not know whether the Ahaggar Tuareg also practise the [225]
method of drying raw meat like the Ayr Tuareg, but the dried *agezzeram* lizzards which they take to Tidikelt on trading expeditions, are dried uncooked. Furthermore, the method of drying raw meat [171]
is known elsewhere in the Northern Sahara, and I have myself seen it practised among the Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

I conclude the description of Tuareg meat preparation with a brief note on the use of blood of living 272

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Fig. 166. Wooden double-vessel (*azar*) to contain water and butter for greasing the hair. Similar containers with a third vessel for fine-grained sand are also found among the Tuareg. Made by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Geometrical ornaments are produced by burning with a hot iron. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.241 m long. (N.M. G. 5880).

[text continues on p 235]

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camels. This blood never constitutes a proper dish to the Tuareg. They bleed camels to drink their blood only when they lack water on journeys in the desert. Bleeding is done according to the method described above, and the blood is collected in a drinking bowl. But the Ayr Tuareg say that they work up the mass of blood with the fingers with the result that the upper part of the amount of blood becomes more liquid, though it is always red in colour.

The Tuareg use the following implements to make cereals or other vegetable products into flour:—

(1) A large wooden mortar (*tindé*) with a heavy pestle (*éheren*) (Fig. 177). It is used in all camps and villages of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr, and is in fact known all over Tuareg country. It is used mainly for pounding millet and sorghum, but it is also employed for pounding other cereals, including certain wild seeds, and for dates, cheese, meat, locusts, and the like. These large wooden mortars are manufactured by the blacksmiths of Southern Tuareg country, including Ayr, where most Northern Tuareg obtain their mortars. Among the Northern Tuareg there are also other mortar types. A small mortar which like the former rests on a foot and is known by the same name (*tindé*) (Fig. 178), is used mainly by sedentary agriculturists for pounding rock-salt, dried tomatoes, tobacco for chewing, and other plants or materials to be used in small quantities. Another type of mortar without a foot and known to the Northern Tuareg as *akabar*, or *takabart*, (Fig. 176) is found mainly among pastoralists who use it on journeys for pounding millet.

(2) A saddle quern (*tehunt*) (Fig. 179), which consists of two natural and in general unfashioned stones, is found in most camps of the Northern Tuareg. This constitutes the only grinding implement for wheat, barley, and certain wild seeds among the *Kel Ajjer*. The stones used for saddle querns are sharpened at intervals with a hard stone or some other hard object (*tasettekut*) in order that they may grind effectively. A simple saddle quern (*asar*) is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but it is less common there than in the north.

(3) The handmill (*tasirt*) (Fig. 181) is not a traditional implement of Tuareg culture. It is widely known all over Northern Africa both by Berbers and Arabs, by sedentary peoples and nomads living in black tents. It has been introduced to Ahaggar mainly by the immigration of the Arabic speaking Harratin (Izeggaren) of Tidikelt,

Fig. 180a–c. Pieces of butter-milk cheese (*awdes*, pl. *tehuni*).

a. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.066–0.068 m in diameter, 0.022 m thick. (N.M. G. 5816).

b. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tahlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.062 × 0.022 m. (N.M. G. 5817b).

c. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tahlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.058 × 0.016 m. (N.M. G. 5817c).

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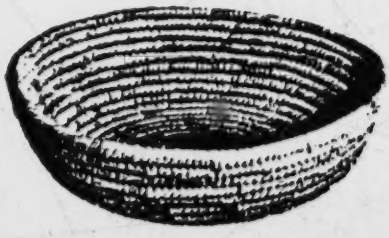

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Fig. 185. Tray or bowl *,ubeyka* – perhaps not correctly spelled). It is used for winnowing, and it serves as an eating bowl and a drinking bowl as this container is watertight. Coiled basketry of date palm leaves (*afum*). Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.205 m in diameter. (F.M. 263).

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Fig. 186. Pot (*ulekkian*) with a single handle. Manufactured by *Harratin* women in Ahaggar, the *Aghaw-ahki* tribe. Dimension: 0.18 m high. (F.M. 172).

in a mortar with a little water to a soft dough to which a little cheese, butter, or milk is added before 262
eating. If a large quantity of milk is added this dish is known as *tarkit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, as men- 252
tioned (p. 167), also pound dried dates with locusts to make a dish eaten by women who wish to grow fat. [261]

The Arabs and the Arabic-speaking agriculturists of Tidikelt (the *Harratin*) have introduced among 262
the Northern Tuareg the well-known North African dish generally called kuskus. The dish is known [172]
to the Tuareg as *keskesu* which is also Arabic by origin. But this dish is not the staple diet among [171]
the Northern Tuareg that it is among the Arabs and the Berbers of the Atlas. It is eaten mainly on
festive occasions, and there are many Tuareg women who even to-day do not know how to prepare it.
The *keskesu* dish is preferably made from wheat flour, though barley flour may also be used. The 252
cereals are ground with hand-mills or quern stones (saddle querns), and the flour is rolled into very

# Crafts

Tuareg crafts clearly disclose traits belonging to distinct cultural levels. This may be seen from a brief description of the methods of fire-making. 372 [174]

Matches are in ordinary use nowadays, but they are used economically not only because they cost money but also because many Tuareg live far away from towns or trading posts where matches can be obtained. [189] The embers of a fire smoulder for a very long time, and when the Tuareg want to light a fire they normally find embers under the ashes where their fire has been. Glowing wood is carried from one tent to another on a fragment of calabashes or earthen pots, and some Tuareg even take fire with them in this way during nomadic migrations. If a new fire has to be lit and matches are not available, most Tuareg use the well-known method of fire-making by means of flint and steel. This method is widely resorted to in Northern Africa even to-day, and is practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar as follows:— The curved piece of steel (*énefed*) is placed over the three middle fingers of the right hand. It is struck against a small piece of flint (*tafarast*) held between the first and second fingers of the left hand together with a small piece of lighting material which may be a small piece of cotton cloth. However, the best lighting material (*tajjert*) is a piece of wood of *teferyast* (*Echinops Bovei*), [324] which has been boiled and thereupon beaten into a fibrous mass with a stone. The Tuareg keep this lighting material in a particular leather bag (*tarallabt*) together with the steel and one or two pieces of flint (Fig. 198). Lighting material according to Maire is also made from a plant named *térahit* (*Traganum nudatum*) (Maire 1933, p. 82). The spark produced by striking the steel against the flint causes the lighting material to glow, and after blowing on it or swinging it in the air, it is placed under a small bunch of hay which burst into flame after further heavy blowing. The use of flint and steel is not a very difficult method of fire-making, and I have used it myself on journeys when matches had come to an end. [171] [145] [324]

The Tuareg do not generally use more primitive methods of fire-making nowadays. But they know an ancient method of making fire by rubbing a piece of hard wood (*agar* in Ahaggar, *agar* in Ayr; *Maerua crassifolia*) against a piece of soft wood (*turha* in Ahaggar, *turza* in Ayr; *Calotropis procera*). By this process they produce by hand rubbing a glowing dust which is brought into flame by means of lighting material and hay as described above. One of my informants among the Ayr Tuareg had produced fire according to this method. Lhote states that the method is at times used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar, where the hard ribs of date palm leaves are also used for starting a fire by rubbing (Lhote 1955a, p. 258). [324]

Stone materials play a very little part in Tuareg crafts. Natural stones are used occasionally as 412 [324]

[p. 255]

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A photograph illustrating a women making a bag from spun hair is reproduced by Lhote, who states that bags of this nature are rarely manufactured nowadays and are made exclusively by a few noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe (Lhote 1955a, p. 319 f., pl. XV p. 384). This statement does not agree with information gathered by myself in Ahaggar, where I was told that bags were made from spun hair by Tuareg women of other tribes and notably by women of the *Isekkamaren* class.

In Ayr spinning of cotton is performed mainly to obtain sewing thread, which is considered superior to European thread for sewing cotton clothes. To my knowledge most pastoral women do not spin their own cotton thread but buy it at the market of Agadez. However I have noted the existence of simple cotton bows in a *Kel Tédalé* camp in the northern part of the Ayr Massif. The occurrence of the simple cotton bow among the Ayr Tuareg should no doubt be viewed in connection with the use of this implement in the Western Sudan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 260 ff.) from where the cotton plant has also been introduced.

Coiled basket-work plays an important part with the Tuareg, particularly the Northern Tuareg who are experts in this technique which is related to sewing. A very primitive type of coiled basketry

Fig. 211. Basket (*aleguigui*) plaited from date palm leaves (*afum*). The handle is of date palm bast (*asen*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Aboloma. Dimension: 0.38 m high. (N.M. G. 5835).

[text continues on p. 269]

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may be seen in Fig. 167a–b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*tistent*) (Fig. 218a). 285 [413]

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a–c, 210a–b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*éstan*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices. [184] [432] [366]

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among the *Kel Ayr*. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*aḡum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*alegutguten*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig 220b). This basket type (*tésenit*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals. [824] [413] [462] [184] [413] [171] [415]

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éseber* or *tésebert* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents, and they are manufactured by many women among the *Kel Ahaggar* (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers, and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*tédabut*) (Fig. 212a–b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Igdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south. [824] [351] [462] [352] [563] [462] [342] [438]

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitues the most important craft in the 281

# Dress

In this chapter on Tuareg dress I do neither describe all types of Tuareg garments nor dress ornamentation, but content myself with a brief description of the prominent articles of dress and of certain peculiar garments which are interesting and important for our understanding of the cultural position of the Tuareg. 29 128

In Northern Tuareg country pastoral women sometimes wear a large hat plaited from date palm leaves and known as *téłé*, which literally means "shade" (cf. Fig. 231). However, hats of this kind are never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg who obtain them from sedentary agriculturists. Hats of the same type are very common further north in Africa where they are worn not only by women but also by men, and I believe that hats of this sort were introduced to the Tuareg by the Arabs and the Arabic speaking *Ḫarratin*, who came to Ahaggar about a hundred years ago. In Ayr I have seen plaited hats worn by one or two black-skinned men of the *Kel Ewey* group. These hats are also used among the Hausa. True pastoral Tuareg like those of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not wear hats. 292 [285] [17] [172] [184]

It seems as if the hat is a foreign element in Tuareg culture, and that as traditional head garments the Tuareg have nothing beyond the veil and the headcloth described in some detail in the general chapter about the Tuareg (cf. p. 14 f.). We have seen that both the veil and the headcloth are sometimes referred to as *alechchu*, "a piece of Sudanese indigo cotton sewn together from narrow strips or bands", for the traditional veil and headcloth are made from this type of cotton which is highly esteemed for many other garments. It seems to be the oldest type of cotton used for dress among the Tuareg, while white cotton of an ordinary type has been introduced more recently among them. The Ayr Tuareg use the word *maser* for white cotton woven in one piece, and they say that this word refers to *Miṣr* (Egypt) wherefrom cotton of this particular type was first introduced. It came much later than indigo cotton of Sudanese type, which has been known in Ayr from very ancient times. 291 294

Indigo coloured cotton introduced from the Sudan is very expensive and is nowadays used mainly for festive occasions, while daily dress, including the veil, is made of European cotton, which is indigo or white in colour. There can be no doubt that the comparatively cheap European cotton has displaced the use of skin or leather for daily dress. For we know that skin shirts were extremely common in Ahaggar at the beginning of the present century (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 112), and Duveyrier says that "le pardessus en peau" is held in esteem (Duveyrier 1864, p. 406). Before Duveyrier we have Lyon's statement that Tuareg of the Fezzan area use skin (leather) for dress:— "A leather kaftan is also much worn, of their own manufacture, as are leather shirts of the skins of antelopes, very neatly sewed, and well prepared". In addition Lyon depicts a Tuareg wearing a leather shirt with ample sleeves (Lyon 1821, p. 110). 291 [292] [178]

[p. 287]

292 seen them worn by a few Tuareg men in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The fact that they are worn by
177 women during their period of isolation after the husband's death, a custom introduced with Islam, also indicates that these boots are connected with Islamic culture and thus with the Arabs.

[129] The Arabs possess a great religious prestige with the Tuareg, and are responsible for the introduction of many articles of dress among them. Some Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arab *gandura* of kaftan cut as a substitute for their traditional poncho shirt, and many Tuareg nowadays wear the Arab type of headcloth instead of the traditional veil. The burnus (*abernuh*) is also worn by some [171] Northern Tuareg in winter. This garment is widely used by Berbers and Arabs further north in Northern Africa. It is not traditional to the Tuareg who may have adopted it from contact with the Arabs.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



are also very akin to the Tuareg in culture, but have preserved some Arab traits of material culture and their traditional social organization in addition to their language, though they also know *tamaçhek*. We are here concerned only with traits adopted into Tuareg culture from contact with the Arabs.

In the description of Tuareg culture I have already pointed out many cultural traits due to Arab influence. I have mentioned such traits in connection with food-preparation (p. 232, 237 ff, 247 ff) and dress (p. 303 f.). I have also mentioned the introduction of cultivation methods and cultivated plants owing to contact with Arabs and the Arabic-speaking *Harratin* (p. 186 ff.), and I have stated that it seems as if new types or new breeds of domestic animals were introduced to North Africa by the invading Arabs. Cats and domestic pigeons seem to be post-Arabian in the Sahara (p. 115 f.), the true grey-hound came to Tuareg country with the Arabs, who also introduced the particular horse-breed known as the *Aryen* type (p. 113). Doutressoulle relates a native tradition to the effect that this breed came to the Begzen Mountains with Arabs of Tripolitania (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238 f., 242). Horses of this breed are introduced to Ayr from the north even to-day, but as far as I know the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* do not use the Arab type of saddle or the very broad stirrups typical of the northern horse-riding Arabs. They generally use very narrow stirrups for the insertion of one or two toes. These stirrups were possibly introduced to the Western Sudan with the Dongolawi breed. It came from Upper Egypt at the end for the 13th century A.D. when the *Djoheyna* Arabs immigrated (Mauny 1961, p. 283).

I have mentioned above (p. 54 ff.) that there are two main types of camels among the Northern Tuareg:— (1) a northern Arab breed (*marroki*) characterized by heavy stature and a thick covering of wool, and (2) a southern breed more slenderly built and with little or no wool – a breed which is typical to the Tuareg. Medieval Arab authors have stated that the Tuareg possessed camels of a particular breed well fitted for riding (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 70, 105; Edrisi, p. 11, 67 f., 144 f.; Leo Africanus p. 940 f.). The division of camels into two distinct types of the above characteristics can be traced elsewhere in Northern Africa, where the heavy woolly breed is found mainly in the north and particularly among Arabs, while the slender non-woolly breed is common among such pastoralists as the Tuareg, the Moors of Mauretania (who are largely of Tuareg stock and have a great many Berber words in their camel vocabulary, according to Monteil 1952), the Tebu, and the Beja tribes around the Nile (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 79 ff.; Doutressoulle 1947, p. 272 ff.; Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415 f.; Murray 1935, p. 92 ff.). The distinction between the two main types cannot apparently be explained by the different environmental conditions, for they frequently live within the same type of environment, and the northern *marroki* type is found particularly among Arabs, and not only among the Arabs of the northern desert. *Marroki*-like camels seem to exist among such Arab tribes as the *Kunta* and the *Berabich* north of the Niger Bend in the Azawad desert (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 273), among the camel-breeding Arabs of the Lake Tchad region, and among Arab pastoralists of the former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan – particularly among the Kababish (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 80 ff., 83 f.). There seem to be little doubt that the *marroki* camel came to North Africa with the Arabs and it is then natural to investigate whether they also introduced particular cultural traits connected with camel-breeding. It is relatively easy to take up such an investigation with reference to particular saddle types, because they are frequently described and depicted in literature.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



492 [177] The large saddles for women (*akhawi*, *tkhawit*, *aragen*) (p. 88 f.) were most probably introduced by Arab pastoralists. These saddles are not known among all Tuareg. In the Northern Tuareg groups they are used in the noble class (*Ihaggaren*), in the *Isekkemaren* class, which seems to have relationship with Arabs (p. 10, 398 f.), and in the *Iregenaten* tribe which lives in Tamesna though it belongs to the group of Ahaggar Tuareg. Its members claim to descend patrilineally from Arabs, matrineally from noble Tuareg. Large women's saddles are also found among the Tuareg of Adrar-n-Foras, and there is a saddle of the *akhawi* type from this group in the ethnographical collection of the Neuchâtel Museum (no. 49.2.35). Women's saddles are also common among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*. They are described by Nicolas who mentions two types. One named *tahâwit* is perhaps constructionally different from the saddles of the north, while the other type termed *aruku* is constructionally related to riding saddles in Ahaggar, but is without the large wooden side-arches characteristic of certain northern saddles. However, saddles having arches like this are found among the *Deremchaka* Arabs who live in *Kel Dennek* territory (Nicolas 1950a, p. 178 Fig. 47a & e, pl. X p. 177). Light women's saddles resembling the Ahaggar *tkhawit* saddle without side-arches and known as *akhawi* was seen in the camp of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* Tuareg near Ayoru. Here I was told that the wooden structure is always manufactured by blacksmiths while its cover of ochre-coloured leather is made by Tuareg women who also make the little *afezu* mat placed over the structure and serving for seat. Such saddles [565] are found only in noble tribes of the *Western Iwllemmeden*, never among vassals. Women's saddles are unknown in Ayr where the Tuareg build a riding saddle upon large cushions (cf. p. 90), and they are apparently also unknown among the *Kel Geres*. The Ayr Tuareg speak of riding saddles known as *akhawi* or *tkhawit* as "Arab saddles", and these terms are also derived from Arabic. Lhote states that he has not seen the richly-decorated saddles known as *akhawi* outside of Ahaggar (Lhote 1947a, p. 142). Thus it seems that proper women's saddles have a limited distribution among the Tuareg. They occur mainly in certain classes of the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar*, and the *Iwllemmeden*. 492 In these areas they are apparently also used by Arabs. Somewhat related women's saddles are found ● 171 among the Tebu. These saddles are described by Le Coeur who states that they are normally bought in Kanem (Le Coeur 1950, p. 60, 126). I think that this may perhaps indicate their origin as this region and adjacent parts of the Lake Tchad plains have a population of pastoralists of Arab descent. Various types of women's saddles occur among all Arab pastoralists of North Africa and the Arab peninsula – possibly with the exception of certain bedouin tribes of South-eastern Arabia. I do not know whether these saddles occur among the Beja, the Danakil, and the Somali. They are not mentioned in the literature I have consulted.

492 The pack saddle known as *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* (p. 76, Fig. 57) is not very common among the Northern Tuareg. It is unknown among the *Kel Ayr* and so far as I know also among the *Kel Geres*. It seems to be unknown also among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* where the same structure is used as a women's saddle as mentioned above (Nicolas 1950a, p. 178 Fig. 47e). I do not know if this saddle type occurs 492 in other Tuareg groups. It is found in the Lake Tchad region and Chudeau considers it typical of the 171 sahelian zone (Chudeau 1909, p. 206; Capot-Rey 1946, p. 163). It is also mentioned by Nachtigal as the typical type of saddle of the Tebu (Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457), while the Tebu saddle described by Le Coeur and now preserved in the Musée de l'homme (no. 32.50.4) is slightly different from the

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saddle depicted by Nachtigal the fore and the aft trees being connected by two horizontal or oblique sticks instead of two crossed sticks at each side (Le Coeur 1950, p. 175). This saddle type is also depicted from the Tebu by Moberg and Fuchs (Moberg 1953, p. 192; Fuchs 1961, p. 39), and I have myself seen a saddle like this among camel-owning Fulani at Niamey on the Niger. A related saddle type with fore and aft trees at each side connected with two horizontal sticks, is depicted by Heuglin from North-east Africa (Heuglin 1877, I, p. 26). It is perhaps the common saddle type in and around the Beja country.

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The saddle corresponding to the *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type of the Northern Tuareg is known by the Arabic word *basur* among the Tebu (Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457), while among the Arabs of North Africa the word *basur* is generally used for women's saddles of the same fundamental construction. Pack saddles of *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type are known to the Arabs of Algeria as *herej*. However, such saddles do not seem to be common among Arabs of Algeria, where I have never seen them, though they are probably used by Arabs of Upper Egypt and in Sinai (cf. Murray 1935, p. 116).

In Arabia saddles constructionally resembling the *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type are extremely common. They are used as pack-saddles and also for riding. There seem to be three distinct Arabic names for them:— (1) a sadle known as *sdad* (or *shadad*) and characterized by particularly high pommels; it is used mainly as a riding saddle (cf. Boucheman 1934, p. 35 ff., Fig. 9–11; Musil 1928b, p. 350 ff., Figs. 37, 44; Euting 1906, p. 394 ff., ill. p. 393, 397; Dickson 1949, p. 84 ff.) (2) a saddle known as *misame* constructionally of the same type, but having no high pommels; it is very much like the *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type described from the Northern Tuareg (cf. Boucheman 1934, p. 61 f., Fig. 23; Musil 1928b, p. 354, Fig. 41; Dickson 1949, p. 84 ff.) (3) a saddle known as *rabit* of very much the same type as the *misame* saddle but of a somewhat heavier construction (cf. Musil 1928b, p. 354; Euting 1906, p. 398, ill. p. 394). The two last mentioned saddles are mainly pack-saddles but they are also used for riding. The distribution of the saddle types *sdad*, *misame* or *rabit* in Arabia seems to be as follows:—

*The Syrian Desert*; the tribes *Sba'a* and *Rawala* (cf. Boucheman 1934 & Musil 1928b quoted above).
*Hedjas*; *sdad* (Musil 1926, Figs. 30, 84, 85, etc.).
*Negd*; *sdad* (Musil 1928a, Figs. 8, 22, 28, 62, 63); *misame* or *rabit* (Musil 1928a, Fig. 15).
*Irak*; *sdad* (Musil 1927b, Figs. 1, 19, 33, etc.).
*Kuweit*; *misame* or *rabit* (Raunkiær 1913, Fig. 21; Dickson 1949 quoted above).
*South Arabia*; *sdad*; the tribes of *Murra*, *Sa'ar*, and *Harab*. Riding saddles of the *sdad* type are not found east of Dhufar (Thomas 1932, p. 268).

It would appear that a riding saddle of the *sdad* type is depicted in a 9th century B.C. relief at Tell Halaf (cf. Dostal 1958, p. 2, pl. I Fig. 2).

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The common pack-saddle among the Northern Tuareg is the *ilaki* (cf. p. 74 f., Fig. 55). This saddle type, as mentioned, is not made by the Tuareg themselves, but normally by sedentary *Harratin* of Tidikelt where palm material is abundant, more rarely by blacksmiths who make the construction of wood, and not from the ribs of date palms. The *ilaki* is the common saddle type all

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Tuareg where influence from Arab material culture is particular strong, and it is structurally identical with the Arab pack-saddle known as *ḥawiyya* or *ḥedâǧe*. The origin of the pack-saddle called *aruki* among the Southern Tuareg is not easily determined. It may perhaps constitute a late type which developed from a pack-saddle with two curved or angular trees in front of the camel's hump. This may be true of some *aruki*-like saddles. But certain pack-saddles of *aruki* type may perhaps have originated from a kind of split wood similar to that used for camels by the Somali of Tana River (cf. Ahlefeldt 1948, ill. p. 137).

There are other traits of camel breeding that have apparently been introduced among the Tuareg through contact with the Arabs. This may be true of the looped rope (*asaṛun*) connected with a little stick for attachment around the camel's foreleg (p. 72 ff., Fig. 45a). This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg though common among the Northern Tuareg who often make it of camel's wool. It seems to be known among most, perhaps all, Arabs, who manufacture it from the same material. Among the Ababde and the Bisharin it is plaited from dum palm material (cf. Sleesen-Dolk 1957, p. 12, Figs. 28–30). It is most probably an Arab trait which also seems to be Cauvet's opinion (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 554 & pl. LXII, p. 555).

We may perhaps also mention the large woven transportation bags which are extremely common among all North African Arab pastoralists, while unknown among the Tuareg. But small plaited or woven bags of goat hair mixed with camel's wool are manufactured in Ahaggar by women of certain tribes (p. 266 f, Fig. 209a–b) .These bags are known as *tiṛrar* (sing. *téreriṛt*) which seems to be derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711). The small loading sticks *tihḍaḍ* (sing. *téhedit*) (p. 76) used to unite the two halves of a camel load are perhaps also Arab in origin for this particular word is apparently also derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 520 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711).

The origin of other traits of camel-breeding is not so easy to determine, but it is very possible that the plaited pouch which among the Northern Tuareg constitutes the normal method to prevent camel calves from sucking (p. 62, Figs. 41–42) was also introduced by the Arabs. This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg and apparently also among the *Kel Geres*. It is found among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* (*abegu*) and is recorded in literature from the *Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 141), and from the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 71). It is widely found among all pastoral Arabs of Northern Africa and of the Arabian Peninsula.

As to the use of camel brands produced by burning with a redhot iron it seems difficult to judge from distributions the origin of this method. These brands are known among most Tuareg with the exception of the *Kel Ferwan* and other Tuareg of Ayr, who use earmarks cut with a knife. Earmarks seem to be used for camels also among the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 103) and were apparently used in ancient Arabia (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 298). One might perhaps assume that earmarks constitute an older type of proprietry marks, while brands came later. But information about marks and brands is scarce.

The origin of many traits of camel-breeding cannot be determined, but it is not be doubted that the Arabs have introduced into North Africa a particular breed of camel together with certain saddles and objects connected with the use of the camel as a pack animal. There is also no doubt that these

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233 177 traits are found among the Northern Tuareg and partly among the *Iwllemmeden*, while they have not generally been adopted by the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. It is most interesting in this connection that when they wish to speed up their riding camels the Northern Tuareg use a sound identical with that used among the Arabs, while the Tuareg of Ayr use a very different signal (p. 136).

The Arabs only partially influenced Tuareg camel-breeding, for this was well-established in North Africa before the Arab invasions. There is no doubt that certain traits of camel-breeding are known 233 171 to most pastoralists who breed the one-humped camel. Such traits may well have been introduced to North Africa with the Arabs, but they were most probably also known to North Africa camel-breeders before the Arabs arrived. Among such traits universally known to camel-breeders, the following can be mentioned:—

Milking with the dummy-calf. This seems to be practised among all Arab pastoralists of the Peninsula; it is frequently described, in modern literature about this area, and is mentioned as well in ancient Arabic poetry (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 355). The custom is known to Arabs of the Sahara and, according to Monteil, also to the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 72). I have mentioned above that the dummy-calf is used for milking camels among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, and according to Nicolas the custom is also practised among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 140).

Perhaps a milking method universally known is that of patting the udder. I have recorded this method from Ahaggar, from Ayr (p. 57), and from Arab pastoralists of the Sahara (e.g. the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba*). I have not been able to find much information about this method in literature, but it is possibly this to which Thesiger refers in his description of camel milking in Southern Arabia (cf. Thesiger 1959, p. 145).

A method of which there is also very little information is that of weaning calves by cutting them on the bridge of the nose in two or three places. I have noted it from the *Kēl Ahaggar*, the *Kel Ajjer*, and the *Kel Ayr* and from pastoralists of Arab tribes such as the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu*, but have not seen it among Arabs in the borderlands of the Atlas and the Sahara. I have also noted the existence of this particular method among the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Western Iwllemmeden*, but it is not mentioned by Nicolas from the *Iwllemmeden Kel Denek*, though he states that it is known among the *Kunta* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 141). In certain parts of North Africa a cut on the bridge of the nose of camel calves is given one or two thorns. These sting the mother camel when the calf tries to suck and the mother camel therefore kicks the calf away. The method is described from In Salah by Cauvet, while Nicolas mentions it from certain Arabs and *Ifoyas* Tuareg (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 359; Nicolas 1950a, p. 141). A related method is known to pastoralists of Arabia where a little pointed stick is tied to the head of the calf to prevent it from sucking (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 359).

261 171 A very interesting custom, perhaps also a very ancient one, is that of using the blood of living camels for food. Among the Tuareg, blood of living camels is drunk only when water is lacking during camel expeditions in the desert (cf. p. 235). The bleeding of camels to utilize their blood is also practiced among the Tebu (Huard & Charpin 1960, p. 195), and among the bedouins of Arabia it seems as though camel's blood is consumed regularly for food. Doughty describes how Arab bedouins boil camel's meat in broth and blood, as they are unaware that the Koran forbids the use of blood for food (Doughty ed. 1926, I, p. 561). A good description of the use of blood of living camels as food among

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Arab bedouins is given by Finbert:— "Dans les jours de disette, on pulvérise les ossements de la carcasse, et bien que l'Islam interdise l'usage du sang, on l'y mêle en le recueillant d'une veine que l'on ouvre à un chameau. De ce mélange on fait une pâtée que l'on dévore. En cas de famine prolongée, on mange de la corne moulue avec des trayons macérés dans du sang. Le sang lui-même, toujours pris sur l'animal vivant, est versé dans des boyaux qui sont ensuite grillés comme du boudin" (Finbert 1938, p. 39). It is very possible that the custom of bleeding live animals for food has once been widely known among many people of the area now dominated by Islam; thus Ibn Batutah mentions a Turanian people among whom blood of live horses is used for food (Ibn Batutah III, p. 24). 261 171

Among the Tuareg a certain medical value is attached to camel's urine (p. 127), but they do not wash in it as do many Arab bedouins of the Peninsula. A conception of camel's urine as something clean seems to exist among many camel-breeders, and Thesiger mentions that bedouins of Southern Arabia wash their hands in camel's urine before milking (Thesiger 1959, p. 145). 237 171

It is evident that some traits of camel-breeding resemble customs known also to African cattle-breeders, and it seems as if these customs are widely found among people who breed one-humped camels. – Certain traits of camel-breeding are peculiar to the Tuareg and a few adjacent peoples. 233 171

In contrast to all other camel breeding peoples the Tuareg and some adjacent peoples have riding saddles that they place in front of the camel's hump (p. 78 ff.). The common saddles are those known as *térik*, comprising the two main types named *tamzak* and *tekokeyt*, the most developed riding saddles among the Tuareg. These saddles are also used by some of the Northern Arabs, notably the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba* who import them from Southern Tuareg country – particularly from Agadez where the best saddles are made. The *térik* saddles with a cruciformed pommel are quite peculiar to the Tuareg. 492 171

The Tuareg saddle known as *ahyas* or *tahyast* (Fig. 63) resembles the *térik* type in that it is also placed in front of the camel's hump, so that camels are ridden in exactly the same manner as with *térik*-saddles. The *ahyas* type is not mentioned from the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg. But it is extremely common among the *Western Iwllemmeden* and is said to have originated in Aḍraṛ-n-Foṛas. Further west among the Moors, a riding saddle somewhat resembling the *ahyas* type seems to form the common type. It differs from the *ahyas* mainly in that it has a very low pommel and a very broad and deep seat. Several specimens of this Moorish saddle type are found in the Musée de l'homme in Paris (e.g., nos. D. 33.24.14 & 34.76.15). These Moorish saddles are placed in front of the hump like all Tuareg riding saddles, but I have been told that owing to their peculiar structure the riders cannot generally reach the camel's neck with their feet, so that they ride more bumpily and less steadily than the Tuareg, who secure their position by stemming their naked feet against the camel's neck. This is also seen from photographs of camel riders from Mauretania (cf. Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129).

The *térik* and *ahyas* saddles are always made by blacksmiths, and this is probably also the case with the Moorish riding saddles. But as mentioned above (p. 82 ff.) the Tuareg of Ayr make certain primitive riding saddles themselves, and these, called *kantarki* or *delobi*, are perhaps the prototypes of the more developed saddles made by the blacksmiths. Tuareg riding saddles for camels do not seem to have been introduced to Africa by the Arabs of the Peninsula where such saddles are unknown. The use of a single rein attached to a metal ring fixed in the right nostril of the riding camel is perhaps [564]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



492 171 an ancient North African custom. It is the method generally applied by the Tuareg and those Northern Arabs who use saddles of the *térik* or *tahyast* types; it is also practiced among the Moors of Mauretania (cf. Monteil 1952, Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129), and is known to the Tebu (Cline 1950, p. 34). It would appear that the use of nostril rings for riding camels has much the same distribution in North Africa as have saddles of *térik* or *tahyast* types including the Moorish saddle, which is also placed in front of the animal's hump.

The Tuareg halter made of iron or metal shackles and used in connection with the nostril ring so that the camel is controlled by means of a double rein (*akeskabbu*; cf. p. 73, Fig. 50–52), is perhaps a combination of two originally different systems, for the Tebu use this peculiar halter without any attachment to a nostril ring, the camel being controlled by a single rein combined with the halter (cf. Le Coeur 1950, p. 133, pl. XXIX Figs. 111–112 & Cline 1950, p. 34).

136 174 114 Much has been written on the history of the camel in North Africa, and I do not want to take up this question in great detail as I can add very little to what is already known. René Basset's theory that the camel was first introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1907) is contrary to all historical information, for we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived. Contemporary with Basset it was pointed out by Flammand, that skeletal remains of camels from North Africa proved the existence of these animals as early as "les temps quaternaire moyens" (Flammand 1907). But while Flammand states that the camel disappeared with a more humid climate, Cauvet later tried to substantiate the theory that the camel did not disappear, but continued to exist further south in Africa. Thus, he claims, the southern camel-breed descends from the ancient camel found in Africa even during the mio-pliocene of the tertiary period, while the northern breed was introduced by the Arabs (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 15 ff.). I can agree with Cauvet's latter statement regarding a connection between northern camels and the Arabs, but his theory of the existence of the one-humped camel in Africa since tertiary time is most difficult to accept. The camel breed which existed in Africa prior to the Arab invasions was no doubt comparatively recently introduced from Asia. Barth pointed out that the camel came to North-western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3 ff.). This theory has later been supported by many scholars, notably by Gautier (Gautier 1928, p. 99 f., ed. 1946, p. 129 ff.; 1942, p. 190 ff.). Quite recently the various problems connected with the history of the camel in North Africa have been re-examined by Walz. He largely accepts Barth's theory of its introduction in antiquity, but also points out that the camel, which seems to appear in Egypt about 500 B.C. or somewhat earlier, may have been introduced to southern parts of Africa via the Bab-el-Mandeb Straits at an earlier date (Walz 1951, p. 29–51; 1954, p. 45–87).

Gautier states that the Romans had a certain responsibility for the introduction of the camel into North-Africa, though he also claims that it was introduced by the Berber-speaking *Zenata* tribes 174 177 (Gautier 1942, p. 209 f., 227). It is to be doubted that the Romans introduced the camel into North-Africa, and on the whole it seems as if the Romans have influenced Tuareg culture very slightly. It is difficult to point to any definite traits of material culture taken over from the Romans, though Foucauld states that certain lamps of Roman form are found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1399). A fair number of Latin words can be proved to exist in Tuareg dialects. This fact is

The cotton shirt of poncho cut (p. 289 ff.) is common to all Tuareg, and is widely found in North- 174
western Africa among the Moors as well as among the Hausa and other sedentary peoples of the 171
Sudan where I have seen it as far south as Accra and Abidjan. It is unknown to Berber-speaking tribes of the Atlas, though an almost identical type of garment is found among the Berbers of Siwa (Cline 1936, p. 31). Poncho shirts very akin to those used among the Tuareg are also found in the Fezzan, Tibesti, Borku, and Bornu (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 97, 189, 455 f., 646; Cline 1950, p. 40; Le Coeur 1950, p. 126, pl. XXVIII & XXXIV). It is possibly also this shirt to which Lebeuf refers from the Teda-Daza, from Kanem and Ouadai, and from the Arabs of the Lake Tchad region (Lebeuf 1959, p. 24, 44, 87, 97).

The large poncho-shirts used in North-western Africa were no doubt introduced before Islam, 174
and it is possible that we should class them with the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture* comprising refined cultural traits derived from the Near East including Egypt, and from India, for we note that the same type of garment was used among the Iranians of antiquity (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 279). To the same culture complex should perhaps also be referred Tuareg sandals of the *takalmi* type which are largely used in the Sudan, and were known also in Ancient Egypt (cf. Chasseloup-Laubat 1938, p. 42, pl. XXIXa–c & Lhote 1950d, p. 528 ff.). The same is perhaps also true of sandals plaited of dum palm leaves and structurally related to *takalmi* sandals (cf. Zeltner 1914a, p. 367).

If we follow Baumann's definition of the Young Sudanese Culture there are other traits than those alluded to above which should perhaps be classified with this complex. Thus we note in particular socket-shafted implements and weapons, notably spears and adzes, while the normal axe, as well as the hoe among the sedentary *Kel Ayr*, are slot-shafted. The latter principle is considered a part of the so-called *Old Sudanese Culture* characterized by shifting cultivation with little developed agricultural techniques in contrast to the Young Sudanese Culture, which in its origin was perhaps connected with irrigation, terrace-building, and fertilizing. It is probable that we have conserved in Ayr certain traits of an old negroid culture based on shifting cultivation, and in this connection we note that the Ayr farmers do not harvest by means of the sickle, which by Baumann is also considered a Young Sudanese trait.

So far we have dealt with African Culture complexes that apparently have had very little importance 121
for the creation of Tuareg culture as we know it to-day. More important are the last two complexes to be mentioned, namely the East Hamitic Culture and the Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture. The Hamitic Culture established by Frobenius seems to contain traits from both complexes, and it is very possible that Frobenius in working out his Hamitic Culture was much influenced by Seligman's Old Hamitic Culture which has been recognized by many scholars (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 6 f.).

Baumann's *East Hamitic Culture* constitutes the most reasonable culture complex among all 174
cultural groupings, for it contains traits which are largely connected with cattle and which seem to have very little meaning without. The East Hamitic Culture in many ways seem to constitute a true unit of traits that have penetrated into Africa with cattle. However, we must emphasize that it is not a functional unit in the sense that all these traits are highly necessary for cattle-breeding, and it is very evident that all traits are not found where the so-called East Hamitic Culture occurs. Bau- 171
mann finds the East Hamitic Culture particularly well preserved in the Beja group, among the Danakil,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



171 the Somali, and certain Galla, among the Nilo-Hamites and the Bahima, and in South-western Africa among such tribes as the Hottentots, the Herero, the Ovimbu, and others. The complex is mixed with other cultures among neighbouring Bantu-speaking peoples of southern Africa, and among the Nilotes. He states that the Fulani of the Western Sudan are culturally related to the East Hamites, but their historical origin is rather obscure. He also points out that certain traits of the East Hamitic complex are found among Arabs of the Eastern Sudan as far as Lake Tchad, where non-humped cattle of the *Bos primigenius* type seem to occur. Many authors have dealt with the distribution of the so-called East Hamitic traits, and Lagercrantz has published some very detailed maps of the distribution of certain milking customs of the East Hamitic complex (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 44 ff.). The traits mentioned by Lagercrantz have a larger distribution in Northern Africa than appears from his valuable maps. Thus the distribution of milking by inflating is indicated as practised in parts of South, East, and North-east Africa, and also in the Eastern Sudan, but it is not mentioned from the Sahara or from the Western Sudan. I have noted it among the Ayr Tuareg, and it is probably known elsewhere in the Western Sudan. Milking with the dummy-calf is shown to have a somewhat larger distribution. For North-western Africa it is mentioned among the Fulani of the Western Sudan, and in the Canary Islands. I can add that the method is common among the Ayr Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar* and probably also other groups of Sudanese Tuareg, and I have noted it also in Kabylia, from which region it has been earlier mentioned by Hanoteau and Letourneux in their large monograph on the Kabyle (Hanoteau & Letourneux 1893, I, p. 497). It can be added that it seems as though this custom is known to most camel-breeders of the Sahara and the Sudan. Milking by udder patting is shown by Lagercrantz to exist almost exclusively in South-west Africa, though there is one instance of this method being used among the Nuer. I can add that this method is applied among the Ayr Tuareg, and among the Tuareg of Ayr, Ahaggar, and adjacent Arab tribes it is used also for milking camels. Finally, with regard to blood-letting with spears or knives, Lagercrantz mentions this custom only in the case of certain peoples of the Lower Congo region, a few instances from the Nilotes and East Africa, the Hottentots and the Ayr Tuareg. We can confirm the occurrence among the Ayr Tuareg, and add that blood-letting also occurs among the Tebu, and perhaps among many other pastoral people of the desert. Other so-called East Hamitic traits have not been distributionally studied in great detail, but I believe that there are other resemblances between the so-called East Hamitic Culture and the culture of North-west African pastoralists, including that of the Tuareg, e.g., the custom of not drinking milk alone when the animals graze away from camp, the small knots carved into the bridge of a calf's nose to prevent sucking, a custom used among the Tuareg for both cattle and camels, and which has been mentioned from the Nilo-Hamites by Huntingford (verbal information). In other words we find that the bulk of East Hamitic cattle traits are found also in North-western Africa among the Tuareg, with the main exception that they do not use urine added to milk or for the cleaning of milking bowls. However, this custom is known in the Western Sudan. I have been told that it is done by the Fulani in the region south of Ayr (cf. also Dupire 1962, p. 87).

174 The distinction between pastoral North Hamites and pastoral East Hamites is not so great as is often believed. A great many usages are common to the two branches of pastoral Hamites, and one might ask if the milking customs found among the Tuareg and adjacent pastoralists do not derive

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with hot stones, which is still used for certain dishes, constituted in the past a very important method 174
of food preparation being used for milk, meat, and for vegetable dishes alike. Also an ancient implement is perhaps the quern-stone, though it has to be admitted that it occurs throughout the world in many farming cultures. Tuareg dishes known as *tébik* and *téderka* (cf. p. 175 ff., 251) should doubtless be considered very ancient, and this is probably also the case with Tuareg method of bread-baking which is different from the methods used among most North African farmers. Bread is frequently baked from wild seeds, and it is not made from true dough but rather from a kind of gruel to be baked according to the *abanul*-method.

The existence among the Tuareg of leather garments of simple poncho type is of particular interest, 171
the more so as such shirts are extremely rare in Africa. In literature they seem to be mentioned only in the case of the Tebu, and there is a well-preserved shirt from this people in the Museé de l'homme (Paris). It is made of the skin of barbary sheep, and is sewn together at both sides, but the upper parts of the sides are left open to form very large and wide arm-holes; patches of leather with ornamented fringes are sewn to the shoulders to form a kind of open sleeves. This skin shirt, which resembles that of the Ahaggar Tuareg, is said to be worn by blacksmiths (Musée de l'homme, no 35.50.107). Le Coeur mentions leather shirts from the Tebu stating that they are but little used nowadays:— "Seuls les hommes de condition servile le portent encore". He provides a photograph showing a Tebu blacksmith in a long skin shirt which has a kind of open sleeves attached to the shoulders (Le Coeur 1950, p. 100, pl. XXXIII Fig. 124). Leather shirts are mentioned from Central Tibesti by Fuchs, who depicts a shirt of this kind which is now in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna (Fuchs 1961, p. 23 f., Fig. 7 p. 24). Lebeuf says that among the Tebu, skin shirts are worn mainly by the Aza who make them from antelope skin, but they are also found among the Danoa of Kanem. These two peoples, the Aza and the Danoa, are related to each other. They never live in villages, but are roaming hunters who use the bow and arrow but mainly hunt by driving animals against cords. The Aza form small sections and are attached to the nomadic Daza as a kind of vassals (cf. Lebeuf 1959, p. 9, 16, 24, 39, 44). The origin of these peoples is uncertain. They seem to constitute remnants of an ancient hunting population.

Tuareg garments of leather or skin are in general of simple form and cut, and most probably 174
constitute types of early dress development. This is perhaps also true of sandals of the *imerkeden* type, and perhaps even of skin stockings. If this be so it is very remarkable that we find among the Tuareg a poncho shirt of very primitive cut together with sandals and stockings, for we know from Hatt's brilliant analysis of arctic dress development that the oldest complex of skin garments in Arctic Eurasia and America – the so-called "Sandal System" – consists of (1) Clothing developed from the poncho type; (2) Breeches developed from leggings, in some cases probably from leggings combined with a triangular genital cloth; (3) Boots and shoes developed from stocking and sandals (cf. Hatt 1914, p. 214 ff. 1934, p. 2755 ff.).

I think that this brief description of Tuareg culture in the light of African culture complexes can 121
adequately be concluded as follows:— Most of Baumann's cultural groupings have little value for an [14]
analysis of the historical development of Tuareg culture. His classifications are often too vaguely defined, and he does not always substantiate his theories by archaeological facts. The so-called Old

# Tuareg Dwelling Types

There are many distinct dwelling types within the extended territory dominated by the Tuareg. The occurrence of all these types within this area definitely cannot be explained by mere reference to anthropo-geographical factors for they rather indicate that cultural influences from the outside have been numerous. 342* [21]

In this description of the dwelling types in the Tuareg country I consider it proper to open with various types of fixed or non-portable dwellings which are used mainly by sedentary people, though sometimes also by pastoralists. In another section of this chapter I describe the true portable dwellings of the pastoral Tuareg.

## A. NON-PORTABLE DWELLINGS

There seem to be nine main types, namely the following:—

A.1. Square or rectangular houses built of mud.
A.2. Square or rectangular houses built of mud and stone.
A.3. Square or rectangular houses built of stone.
A.4. Subterranean or semi-subterranean houses.
A.5. Square or rectangular huts (houses) covered with plant material.
A.6. Round houses with a conical roof.
A.7. Conical huts.
A.8. Beehive huts.
A.9. Barrel-vaulted huts.

Within these main groups there are certain sub-types. The way the non-portable dwellings have been listed does not indicate any evolutionary tie between them for there can be little doubt that most types within Tuareg country have their own history.

### A.1. *Square or rectangular houses built of mud.* 342* 171

Houses of this type have an extremely large distribution in Northern Africa. They are found in most oases of the Sahara, and are common in the large Sudanese towns or cities including Agadez. They are also found north of the true desert country. I have seen them up to the foot of the Tell Atlas around Boghari, where they frequently have saddle roofs which was the case also with certain

[text continues on p.329]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



houses I saw at Djelfa in the Sahara Atlas. Further south in the true desert, and also in adjacent parts of the Sudan, mud houses have flat roofs. We see that mud houses are not limited to any particular environmental zone, and as a matter of fact they occur in the Sudanese zone even though they are not particularly well fitted for its climate. This fact has been emphasized by Capot-Rey who believes it an indication that mud houses have been imported from other regions (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 231 f.). 342* 171

There are two distinct types of mud houses in the Sahara. The common type is that built of sun-dried bricks. It is found in many oases and also in Sudanese towns and cities, including Agadez, where some houses are decorated with reliefs or paintings on the facades – a custom which to my knowledge is unknown further north in the desert. The other type of mud house is constructionally rather different from that built of sun-dried bricks. It is built of cones or balls of mud piled upon each other before they are dried in the sun. The distribution of such constructions is unknown. They are mentioned by Nicolas from Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt (Nicolas 1938, p. 67), and I have myself seen houses built in this way at these two towns. In Ayr there are very few mud houses built of sun-dried bricks except in Agadez, Ingal, and Tegidda-n-tésemt. In Ahaggar there are mud houses at Tamanraset and at Abalessa, but these dwellings are not common at other cultivation centres where most people have other dwelling types.

A.2. *Houses built of stones and mud.* 342*

Solid houses of this type occur in certain Ayr villages (e.g., Awderas). In some houses the rather heavy walls are built of mud into which the stones have been inserted, while the walls of other houses appear to be built of stones kept together by a thin layer of mud between them. In this latter case mud balls may substitute for stones, as mentioned by Rodd (Rodd 1926a, p. 238 ff.). The Ayr houses can be rectangular or square. Some houses have two or three rooms (cf. Fig. 246), but very few of the houses seem to be inhabited. The houses always have flat roofs in which wooden drain pipes are inserted. They do not generally have a closed courtyard at the front as have Arab mud houses.

Houses built of stones and mud are also found in certain villages of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer and are inhabited to-day by agriculturists. In Abalessa they are mixed with true mud houses, the settlement being divided into four quarters as follows:— (1) *Arakayna* which is inhabited by black-skinned agriculturists known as *Ikewweren* who are said to have immigrated from Tasilé-n-Ajjer. (2) *Bukhelfa* which is inhabited mainly by agriculturists whose ancestors were Tuareg slaves in Ahaggar. (3) *Éfeli-n-Dag Rali* mainly inhabited by agriculturists (*Harratin*) who have immigrated from Tidikelt. (4) *Tindar* which is inhabited exclusively by agriculturists of Tidikelt. The two first village quarters are situated close to each other and have houses built of stone and mud in contrast to the two last quarters which are inhabited by Arabic-speaking *Harratin* who live in true mud houses of the Arab type. [62] [162]

A.3. *Houses with dry walls.*

In Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in Ayr I have seen a few house ruins with walls of stones, but I was not able to judge whether the stones were originally kept together by thin layers of clay or similar material.

*342 174 ago when the *Harratin* agriculturists immigrated from Tidikelt. Most people even aver that there were hardly any houses in Ahaggar until the arrival of the French at the beginning of the century. This is confirmed by Foucauld (1951–52, II, p. 609), and Bissuel was told by the Tuareg captives at 361 Algiers that Abalessa had no solid houses but only straw-huts (cf. Bissuel 1888, p. 53). It is true that 125 Hornemann mentions a village comprising 25–30 houses built of stone and situated in the country *[342] of Hhagarâ (Hornemann 1803, I, p. 154 f.). But Hornemann travelled further east and never visited Ahaggar or Tasilé-n-Ajjer. His information may perhaps refer to a village in the latter region also inhabited by noble *Ihaggaren* Tuareg. Permanent settlements of Ahaggar are apparently never mentioned in the writings of Medieval Arab authors. We know that Ahaggar was visited by Ibn Batutah. He does not mention any settlements in this country, of which and its inhabitants "there is little good to say" (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 446).

*342 A.4. *Subterranean or semi-subterranean dwellings.*

● [17] Subterranean or semi-subterranean dwellings seem to be unknown in Ayr and also in the regions inhabited by most other Southern Tuareg though found among sedentary people along the Niger [363] Bend (cf. Hefel 1946, p. 190 ff.). They are known also in Ahaggar where they are used exclusively by black-skinned agriculturists who claim that this type of dwelling named *eddamar* was introduced into Ahaggar with the *Kel Ganet*. This agrees with the fact that these dwellings are particularly common in the region of Tafhawhawt where many of the *Kel Ganet* live. However, subterranean dwellings nowadays are also used by certain other sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The dwellings are not very deep, and frequently they are only semi-subterranean, the upper part then consisting of walls built of rectangular pieces of sundried mud or of stones kept together by mud. The subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling normally has a rectangular site, and is not very spacious. Introduced by the *Kel Ganet*, this type of dwelling is comparatively recent in Ahaggar. I have not seen subterranean

Fig. 248. Semi-subterranean house with two rooms (*eddamar*). Ahaggar, I-n-gawan.

*342 houses in Ganet or elsewhere in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but I have been told that they exist in these regions
*342 to this day. Various types of subterranean dwellings are recorded as existing further north in the
171 Sahara and in the Atlas. Semi-dugouts roofed with brush are occasionally used among the Chamba (Briggs 1958, p. 120), and it is interesting to note that subterranean dwellings also occur among the semi-nomadic Chawiya of Aurès, who use such dwellings only when they live with their flocks in the desert south of the mountain massif (cf. Rivière 1938). Elsewhere in Northern Africa they seem to be found exclusively among sedentary peoples. The main area of distribution is the Atlas, Tripolitania, the northern parts of the Western Sahara, and the Western Sudan (cf. Hefel 1946 & Le Moal 1960). Frobenius considered the subterranean dwelling a so-called "Hamitic" trait (Frobenius
[124] 1933, p. 214 ff.). Recent investigations seem to indicate that this particular dwelling type was introduced to North Africa by contact with civilizations of the Western Mediterranean in pre-Christian times (cf. Hefel 1946).

*342 A.5. *Square or rectangular huts covered with plant material.*

The dwellings to be described under this item should perhaps be termed houses rather than huts as
[184] they have walls and roof made separately. They fall into two sub-types one of which is characteristic of Ayr, the other of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The two types may be historically related, but this cannot be taken for granted, for constructionally they are somewhat different.

A.5.a. In Ayr the square or rectangular hut is called *téjira*, and is found mainly among sedentary people of the *Kel Ewey* group. It is never used by pastoralists. The structure of this hut can be described in the following way:—

Nine heavy and forked poles are fixed solidly in the ground in three rows parallel to each other. In other words there are three poles in each row. These poles are called *tigettewin* (sing. *tégettewt*), the word generally used for various kinds of prongs and forked sticks or poles.

Fig. 249a. Straw-hut of the *téjira* type. The wooden skeleton of the hut with the roof covered. Ayr, Iferwan.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342
[824]

Fig. 250. A square *ékeber* hut covered with bulrush. Ahaggar, Amsel.

parallel to each other. The middle pole of the central row of poles is somewhat higher than all the other poles, connected with each other by means of laths resting in the prongs to form a square frame, which may be supported by one or two subsidiary forked poles if considered necessary. Slender boughs or laths are fastened to the horizontal laths and to the top of the forked central pole, and other slender boughs are placed over them to form the foundation of the roof-covering which consists of plant material. If bulrush is available this material is preferred, but hay of various grasses is also used. The walls of the hut are generally covered with the same material as the roof. If walls are covered with bulrush its very long stems are placed vertically around the hut-frame and attached to it by means of one or two horizontal bands of the same material (cf. Fig. 250). If hay of grasses (e.g., *tulhult*; *Aristida pungens*) is employed for wall covering it is necessary to insert boughs or sticks leaning against the square frame to support the bunches of hay which are kept to the wooden structure by means of cords. I was told by old people of Ahaggar that the square *ékeber* hut was introduced to Ahaggar with the immigration of the *Kel Ganet*. This is very likely, for I have seen identical huts at the oasis of Ganet and also among some pastoral Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Some huts have only one entrance which is placed at the middle of one of the walls, but huts may also have two openings sited opposite to each other to provide a current of air. The door-openings can be closed by means of a shutter made from bulrush, grass-stems, or palm material. The square *ékeber* hut is generally so high that grown people can stand upright within it.

[824]

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Huts akin to the square *ékeber* hut of Northern Tuareg country seem to have a rather wide distribution in adjacent parts of North Africa. They are used in the Fezzan from where they have been described in some detail by Scarin and Despois (Scarin 1934, I, p. 110 ff. Despois 1946, p. 80 ff., pl. XIX–XXI). It is possible that square huts of the *ékeber* type also occur at El Golea in the north of Algerian Sahara (Collection Photographique du Musée de l'homme, 34.1019.222), at Ksar El Azoudj of Oued Zousfana south of Monts des Ksours of the Sahara Atlas (Collection Photographique du

342*

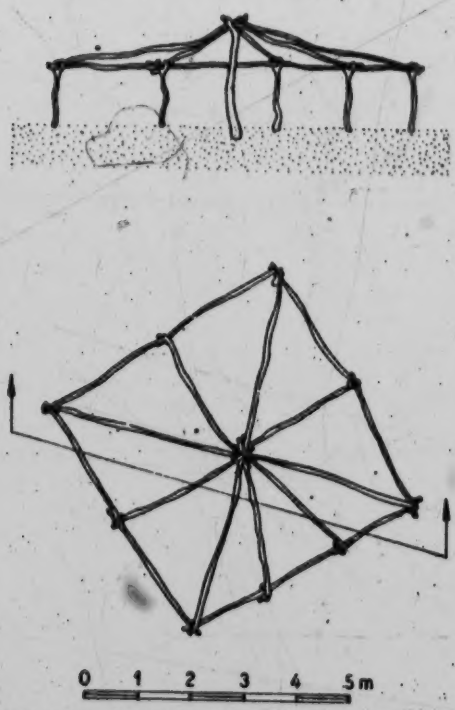


**Fig. 251. The structure of a square *ékeber* hut. It was covered with bulrush and belonged to a camp of the *Kel Ğela* tribe at Ulul in Ahaggar.**

Musée de l'homme, E.47.48.526), and perhaps also in Southern Morocco (Puigaudeau 1945, photograph p. 112). It is possible that huts of the square *ékeber* type are far more widely known in the Northern Sahara. Huts (*zeriba*) of palm material among the semi-sedentary *Chamba Berezga* at Metlili (cf. Mercier 1922, p. 144) may perhaps be of the square *ékeber* type – if they do not belong to the cylindrical type mentioned below. Square huts (*zarbia*) seem to occur also among the Fellahin of Egypt (cf. Ayrout 1938, pl. V, p. 64, p. 134; Schildt 1957, ill. p. 112). Rectangular huts measuring 6 by 2 metres are common in the region of Gurara (cf. Bisson, Le Gourara, p. 158). 342* 171

A 8. *Round huts or houses with conical roof.*

Huts of this type, known as *ékeber* (pl. *ikebran*), are very common among the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where the *taharekkat* tree (*Tamarix aphylla*) and the *tulluk* grass (*Aristida pungens*) are abundant, [137]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



cleft at their tops to provide a sort of prong to support horizontal laths and roof laths. These dwellings were not built by the Tuareg themselves, but were erected by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa who assisted the Tuareg during harvest. It is most likely that there is a connection between these huts and those used among pastoral Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, for they are built according to the same structural principle. 342*

Three huts constructionally somewhat akin to the round *ékeber* described above from Ahaggar were seen at Abalessa. The huts were inhabited by blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*), who had immigrated from Adrar of the Iforas comparatively recently, and they claimed that the huts were built according to a method generally applied in their original homeland. [564]

The photograph Fig. 254 taken by Dr. Erik Smidt, Copenhagen, who has travelled in Tripolitania and in the Fezzan, shows a cylindrical hut with a conical roof of a type found in the latter region. Huts or houses of much the same type are also depicted by Barth from Éderi (cf. Barth 1857–58, I, ill. p. 153). I believe that all these dwellings built of plant material in the regions of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and Tripolitania are related to each other, and they are perhaps also historically related to cylindrical houses with more solid walls built of stone. I have in fact seen one such dwelling in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (in Oued Aharhar close to Afara).

Cylindrical huts and houses are used for summer dwellings by the people of Medenine in Tunisia where these dwellings fall into two groups:— (1) the *kib* which is covered with mats, and (2) the *lahia* which has a wall built of stone (cf. Bernard 1924, p. 19 f.). The cylindrical mat-covered hut, the *kib*, is also described from Tunisia by Despois. It has a central post fixed in the ground and carrying a cross-bar which is further supported by two poles — one at each of the ends of the cross-bar. Certain huts, also known as *kib*, have an oblong form, but most of them are cylindrical. Certain huts are portable, but the majority is a kind of permanent or semi-permanent dwelling for poor people during the summer (cf. Despois 1955, p. 404 f., pl. XVI Fig. 1). 342* 171

Cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs seem to be of very great age in North Africa, having been known to the ancient Eastern Libyans (cf. Bates 1914, p. 169 f.). Great age must no doubt also be attached to cylindrical buildings with conical roofs used as barns among the Kabyle of Djurdjura.

Cylindrical houses or huts with conical roofs also occur within Southern Tuareg country, but they are to my knowledge nowhere built by pastoral Tuareg of this extended region. In Ayr I have noticed that such huts or houses are also extremely rarely used by sedentary agriculturists. I have only seen this dwelling form at Iferwan and at Ingal. 342*

At Iferwan there seemed to be only two cylindrical dwellings which were built within a sort of compound together with a square *téjira* hut and a beehive hut (cf. A.5.a & A.8.). Both buildings were thatched with straw, which at the top was formed into a kind of tuft as is frequently seen with some Sudanese huts. One of them had a cylindrical wall consisting of a piece of matting, while the other had a wall plastered with mud – also very common in Sudanese villages. I believe that the forms of both dwellings were due to Sudanese influence, but I did not investigate their structure. That cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs occur at Iferwan has also been mentioned by Foureau (Foureau 1905, p. 883 ff.). [171]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



34 The hut I saw at Ingal was situated close to the market place, and was apparently not used as an ordinary dwelling. It had a low cylindrical mud wall and a high, conical roof covered with straw.

*342 171 It is curious that cylindrical houses with conical roofs are so extremely rare in Ayr and its adjacent regions, for they have a very wide distribution among sedentary shifting cultivators of Damergu, and I have seen them almost everywhere in the region between Zinder and Dakar. There can thus be little doubt that they play a part for many sedentary agriculturists living in the regions dominated by such Sudanese Tuareg as the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwllemmeden*, and the group of *Kel Tademaket*. Among sedentary farmers of the Ader area in the *Kel Dennek* territory, Nicolas mentions and depicts a typical Sudanese cylindrical house with a conical roof (Nicolas 1938, p. III p. 63 & 1950a, p. 156 f.), but it does not appear that this type of dwelling is used by the Tuareg or by negroid castes of Tuareg society. Nicolas also mentions a straw hut of the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg, but this is so unsatisfactorily described that it is impossible to gain any clear idea of its form and construction – despite illustrations. In an early study this hut (*akaber*) is described as a cylindrical hut with a flat roof (Nicolas 1938, p. 61, pl. I p. 55), while in the later book on the *Kel Dennek* he mentions a hut called *akarben* (*ekarben*) which seems to be of cylindrical form. It has a central post named *tamākait* (*tamankayt*) and, perhaps, a slightly elevated roof (cf. Nicolas 1950a, pl. VIII, p. 155). In both studies Nicolas says that straw-huts of this type are used mainly by slaves or manumitted slaves who are semi-sedentary, but he adds that in the very hot season certain Tuareg make their slaves build for them huts of this kind.

*342 174 It is possible that cylindrical houses, including barns like those used in the Sudan, were introduced to certain oases of Adrar-Timimoun from the south (cf. Stuart 1936, p. 299, ill. p. 256, 294). Sudanese Negroes may in fact have been responsible for the distribution of these dwellings even as far north as Morocco. This is stated by Despois, who is of the opinion that the cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs (called *nwala* while the proper name is *ḳabbusa*) were introduced with black-skinned troops coming to Morocco from the Niger Bend during the 17th century A.D. The relations between the Sudan and Morocco initiated at the end of the 16th century by Sultan *Aḥmed al-Manṣur*, gave rise to the immigration of negroid peoples who took dwellings of the *nwala* type with them (Despois 1949, p. 308 f., 529, pl. VI B.).

*342 171 I think we may conclude our analysis of cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs as follows:— (1) It is most probable that they are very ancient and traditional to many vassal tribes of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. To-day they constitute their prominent type of dwelling, which should probably be viewed in connection with the occurrence of related dwelling forms in the Fezzan, and in Tripolitania – the more so as it seems as if many cultural traits and migrations of peoples have followed the route from the Mediterranean via Tripolitania and the Fezzan to Tasilé-n-Ajjer. We know that the type was used among the Eastern Libyans of Antiquity. I believe cylindrical dwellings of Ahaggar like those used among certain Tuareg of the *Amenukal*'s camp and those found at Silet, are probably historically related to the cylindrical dwellings of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. (2) It seems as if cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs are rarely used by Sudanese Tuareg, though they are common among sedentary agriculturists within the territory dominated by Southern Tuareg groups. These Sudanese dwellings have spread northwards in the Western Sahara via Tawat to Morocco. – We see that distributional studies of cultural traits are extremely difficult and liable to give very wrong results. It might have been natural

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



to have suggested a direct historical relationship between the cylindrical dwellings of Morocco and 342*
those occurring further east in the Atlas. But it seems to be a fact that this dwelling type has been 171
introduced fairly recently into Morocco, while in the Eastern Atlas and adjacent regions it dates very far back in time. Distributional studies of dwelling types should consider their structural features. Identical outer forms showing continuous distribution do not necessarily have the same historical origin.

A.7. *Conical huts.*

They are very rare in Tuareg country where I have never seen them. They are mentioned by Nicolas 342*
from the *Kel Dennek* among whom they are used by semi-sedentary slaves (Nicolas 1938, p. 62 ff. & 1950a, p. 156 f.). Huts of this type seem to be common further east in the Sudan around Lake [171]
Tchad (cf. Foureau 1905, III, p. 963, 984).

A.8. *Beehive huts.*

Conical huts and beehive huts are believed to be among the oldest types of huts known to mankind 342*
(cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 311 f.). This is a reasonable hypothesis because such dwellings are typical 121
of many primitive peoples with a mixed hunting and collecting economy. It is also evident that these dwelling types are often very plain in their structure. There is a resemblance between beehive huts and so-called barrel-vaulted huts, and many authors have grouped these dwellings together under the designation of "dome-shaped huts". As I attach a great value to a classification of traits based on detailed analysis of structure, I distinguish between beehive huts and barrel-vaulted huts.

Though beehive huts are typical of many peoples at a primitive economic stage they are nevertheless extremely common also at more developed cultural levels. I believe that the fact that true beehive [171]
huts are widely used among many agriculturists of Northern Africa, while they seem to be less common among pastoralists who tend to use barrel-vaulted huts or other dwelling types has tended to be lost sight of.

I have never seen true beehive huts in Northern Tuareg country, and they are not mentioned in 342*
literature from this part of the Sahara. However, in the collection of the Musée de l'homme a photograph (V. 31.1557.99), stated to be taken in an oasis of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, shows a beehive hut, or perhaps a barrel-vaulted hut.

Beehive huts form the most important type of dwelling for the sedentary agriculturists of Ayr, and huts of beehive form are occasionally erected also by pastoralists. I have noted the following types of beehive structures among the *Kel Ayr*:—

A.8.a. A very simple beehive hut known to the Tuareg as *atram*. The structure consists of slender boughs (*imesekten*; no singular form) which are fixed in the ground, bent against each other, and attached each to each at their tops. This simple structure is covered with bunches of straw of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) fastened to the skeleton of bent boughs by means of cords. Such huts are not used in ordinary camps of the pastoral *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who make these simple dwellings for temporary use. Herdsmen, for instance, build them when herding camels or flocks away from the

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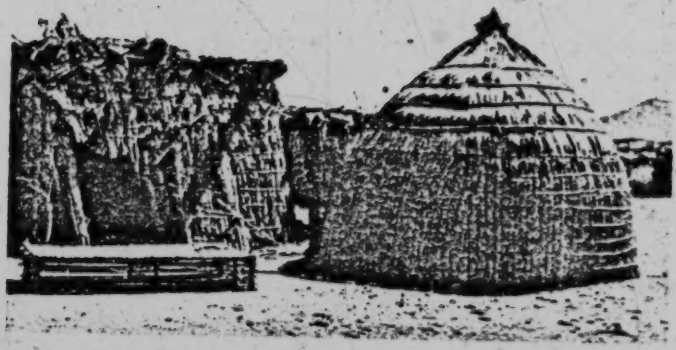

Fig. 257. A square *séjira* hut (left) and a beehive hut of the *tatramt* type (right). To the left is also seen a bed of palm fronds lashed together with hide. These beds are used by sedentary agriculturists. Ayr, Awderas.

palm leaves. The upper part of the hut is generally covered with palm leaves kept together by means of outer circular rods, but, before the roof is laid on, a small plaited mat attached to a wooden frame and known as *tégelengeli* (pl. *tigelengelin*) is placed over the top of the structure as a protection against rain. Seen from the outside beehive huts of this type bear a resemblance to cylindrical huts with conical roofs. Beehive huts of the structure just described vary much in size. A normal hut is about 1.75–2.00 metres high with a diameter of about 2.50–3.00 metres.

Beehive huts possibly different from those mentioned above are described by Rodd. They are said to have a frame made of palm-frond ribs planted in the ground and tied together at the top, and according to illustrations they are covered exclusively with straw. Rodd's illustrations of beehive huts are taken from the villages of Towar and Timia (Rodd 1926a, p. 184, pl. 20). Huts akin to those mentioned by Rodd have also been depicted by Buchanan (Buchanan 1936, p. 140).

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Beehive huts are extremely common in Southern Tuareg countries and adjacent regions. In Ayr I have seen beehive huts of the *tatramt* type in all villages visited from Iferwan to Agadez, and they also occur in Damergu together with cylindrical huts with conical roofs. I have not seen beehive huts at Zinder, but they are found among the sedentary Hausa of the Birni – N'Koni region – according to the excellent exhibition of the IFAN Museum at Niamey. Hausa beehive huts differ as to construction. Some huts have a cylindrical wall built of mud and supporting the roof, which may also be plastered with mud at the inner side, while other huts have a cylindrical mud wall inside the lower part of the structure and a pronged central post to support the roof. There are also very simple beehive huts which serve for sleeping huts; they are sometimes placed upon high platforms where mosquitoes are less embarrassing. Beehive huts are extremely common along the Niger where I have seen them

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



almost everywhere between Niamey and Ayoru. The Zerma-Sonray and related peoples of this region have huts made of boughs burried in the ground, lashed at their tops, and supported by a pronged central post equally fixed in the ground. Some huts have a cylindrical mud wall inside the structure as among the Hausa. Beehive huts are depicted from Gao by Barth (Barth 1857–58, V, p. 216), from Faraka by Frobenius (Frobenius 1933, p. 233), and from Timbuktu by Caillié (Caillié 1830, Atlas). Around Timbuktu beehive huts are used by *Bella*, and also by Arabs of the Berabich belonging to the Cherif class or to the blacksmith caste. These Timbuktu huts are described in some detail by Dupuis-Yakouba and by Miner (Dupuis-Yakouba 1921, p. 20; Miner 1953, p. 19, 36 f., 40, ill. p. 61). It seems as if beehive huts also occur at Djénné (Dubois 1897, ill. p. 210, 232), and it is stated by Monteil that pastoral Fulani of this region have beehive huts with a central post (Monteil 1932, p. 214). According to the exhibition of the IFAN Museum at Niamey there are also simple beehive huts among the Fulani within the Niger Republique. This was confirmed by informants of Niamy, and my friend Johannes Larsen, civil engineer of Northern Nigeria, has informed me that beehive huts are common among the Fulani of this region. Further east in the Sudan there are beehive huts towards the region of Lake Tchad (cf. Foureau 1905, III, p. 948 f.).

Beehive huts play a great part for sedentary peoples of the Sudan, and they are perhaps far more common than generally assumed, as many huts which appear from the outside to be cylindrical huts with conical roofs may structurally be beehive huts. This is obviously the case with a "Kegeldachhütte" described from Faraka by Frobenius (Frobenius 1933, p. 233), and the dwelling described by Fuchs as "das Kegeldachhaus der Tuba" seems to be a beehive hut supplied with a cylindrical stone wall on the inside of the lower part of the structure (cf. Fuchs 1961, p. 15 ff.). Further north than Tibesti, where beehive huts seem to constitute the prominent dwelling type in villages, this type of dome-shaped dwelling seems to be rare. But Briggs states that hemispherical huts are found among

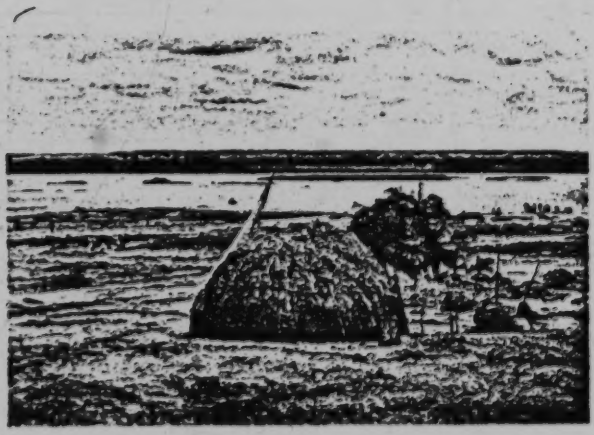

Fig. 258. A beehive hut of Zerma fishermen at Niamey on the Niger.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Songhai MS20



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Fig. 259. Sonray dwelling resembling a cylindrical house with conical roof. Structurally it is a beehive hut consisting of 30 semiarches each made from a bundle of lashed rods and connected at their tops. The structure is supported by a heavy central post (*bongere*) buried in the ground. The upper part of the structure carries the thatched roof while the lower part is uncovered but surrounded by a cylindrical mud wall on the inside. The hut has a diameter of 5–6 metres and a little barrel-vaulted hut (*tengotongo*) covered with mats is erected within it. To the right is a simple sunshade serving as the workshop of three weaving men. The photograph was taken at the IFAN-Museum, Niamey.

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the Chamba (Briggs 1958, p. 120), and beehive huts are also mentioned from Tunesia (Bernard 1924, pl. II) and from Tripolis, where they may have been introduced by Sudanese Negroes (cf. Todd 1912, ill. p. 90, 102). As far as I know beehive huts do not occur in the Algerian Atlas, but I have seen a kind of beehive structure erected in a market place of a Kabyle village. It seems as if beehive huts are found in Morocco (Meakin 1902, p. 48 f.; Coon 1931, pl. 22 p. 72) and they may perhaps be more widely found in the Atlas, as a great variety of huts mentioned in literature on North Africa is known by the term *gurbi*.

Beehive huts of various types exist within very different economic cultures of Northern Africa. Their distribution does not correspond with that of any African cultural complex. There may seem to be some agreement between the distribution of beehive huts and the distribution of certain traits of the Eurafrican Steppe-Hunting Culture. However, these distributions are not identical, and dis-
[177] tributions of culture elements should be studied very carefully. Migrations and trading expeditions have greatly influenced the distributions of traits in Northern Africa.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



### A.9. *Barrel-vaulted huts*

A barrel-vaulted dwelling according to my difinition is "a dwelling with a certain number of parallel arches which form the main support for the rest of the structure". Non-portable dwellings of barrel-vaulted structure are far less important in North-west Africa than beehive huts. They seem to be known in the Fezzan area (cf. Scarin 1934, I, phot. 81 p. 169), and they are found along the Niger where they are not always used for dwellings but frequently serve as store-rooms, and the like. 342* 171

There are a few barrel-vaulted huts in most Ayr villages but everywhere they constitute a minority compared with other dwellings. The origin of barrel-vaulted village dwellings is not very difficult to determine. The name of such a hut is *ẓhen*, which is the word also used for the portable barrel-vaulted dwelling of Ayr pastoralists, and there is often very little difference between small barrel-vaulted huts and the portable dwellings of pastoralists. But barrel-vaulted huts of sedentary people have adopted some of the structural elements found in beehive huts. Most barrel-vaulted huts of the Ayr villages can be described as a hybrid type of dwelling, which seems to have been adopted as a result of contact with pastoralists, largely because village farmers have married pastoral women, for barrel-vaulted huts, like beehive huts, are built by women, and portable barrel-vaulted dwellings are also made by women among pastoral Tuareg. 342* [462]

The following is the structure of a normal barrel-vaulted hut of the Ayr villages:

(1) Three arches made of slender rods of *ẓbizgen* (*Salvadora persica*), or from midribs of palm leaves, which are lashed together in a bundle. These arches are similar to those used for beehive huts (cf. A.8.c.) and they are also called *igegan* (sing. *ɛgegu*).

(2) The three arches are fastened to short heavy poles (*isekṭan*, sing. *asekṭu*) buried in the ground on the same system as that used for beehive huts, but the arches are placed parallel to one another, and the middle arch is higher than the two outer arches.

Fig. 260. The wooden skeleton of a large *ẓhen* hut. Ayr, Azzel.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Songhai MS20



or two arches according to its size. The arches are known as *igagan* (sing. *agāgu*). They consist of several rods lashed together with plant material. According to Nicolas, these tents are used by semi-nomads and also by members of the *Kel Ansar* tribe who live half of the year in the southern agricultural zone where they use mat tents. The rest of the time these Tuareg live in skin tents which form the traditional dwelling of the *Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156 f.). T 342*

Many other authors have mentioned the existence of mat tents of arch construction in Southern Tuareg country, but no description of their structure has so far been furnished.

Barth states that Tagāma and many vassals of the *Iwllemmeden* have portable huts covered with mats (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372 f.). He adds that the inhabitants of these dwellings have fairer skins than the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 597 f.). Barth also mentions the occurrence of mat-covered dwellings at an Issábegen camp on the Niger between Burem and Gao. These dwellings belonged to Arabs of the *Bā 'Ali* tribe, and to Tuareg of the *Kel-e'-Sṇūk*. The mat-covered huts had two openings turning north and south (Barth 1857–58, V, p. 201). T [142] T [171]

Hourst depicts mat-covered arched dwellings at Rhergo on the Niger. One of his photographs shows a hut which, judging its outer form, is perhaps identical with the mat-covered tent of the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*. The dwellings depicted by Hourst belonged to dark-skinned cherifs of the noble Tuareg tribe called *Igwadaren* (Hourst 1898, p. 105 ff., 133).

Chudeau depicts mat-covered arched dwellings belonging to the *Bélla* of the Niger. These dwellings apparently belong to the *ẓwerwer* type (cf. p. 350 f.) (Chudeau 1909, p. XXXII–XXXIII p. 218).

Delafosse states that the Tuareg have hemispherical dwellings covered with mats (Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334).

Le Coeur has seen mat-covered arched dwellings at Gao and at Tabankort south-west of Adṛar of the Ifoṛas (Le Coeur 1937, p. 42 f.), and a photograph in the collection of Musée de l'homme seems to indicate that such dwellings are found in "Adrar Nigritien" (Collection Photographique du Musée de l'homme, Cl. Nieger, 34.1105).

Gabus says that among the Tuareg of the Niger the *Bélla* live in mat-covered tents. The noble Tuareg have skin tents, but they live in mat-covered tents or in straw-huts during the months of April, May, and June (Gabus 1945, p. 361).

We can add that the Sonṛay, who live within the Southern Tuareg country along the Niger, also largely use mat-covered arched dwellings. This is richly documented in literature:— Barth 1857–58, V, p. 160, 163, 165 f.; Dubois 1897, p. 232 f. & 1911, p. 33; Aymard 1908, p. 183 & 1911, p. 144 pl. 25; Olufsen 1928, p. 137; Urvoy 1942, pl. II, 3; Gabus 1948a, p. 10 & 1948b, p. 15; Prost 1954, p. 184 ff.; Rouch 1954, p. 31 f.). These barrel-vaulted mat-covered dwellings of the Sonṛay do not seem to be structurally identical with those used among pastoral Tuareg – for they seem to lack the horizontal cross-bars at the narrow sides. The mat-covered huts or tents I saw between Niamey and Ayoru along the Niger were covered with a kind of *ẓwerwer* mats and almost hemispherical in form – like two mat-covered huts (from the Woggo and the Kurtey) which are now in the IFAN Museum at Niamey. Gabus states as his opinion that the Sonṛay dwellings are related to Tuareg mat tents by which they have been strongly influenced (Gabus 1948a, p. 10 & 1948b, p. 15). I believe that their origin may perhaps be explained by the fact that the Sonṛay have been culturally influenced by Tuareg invaders T 342* 171 S 342 171 131 113 S 177

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Songhai MS20



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Fig. 266. Three mat tents, three heavy wooden beds, and the household utensils belonging to three households are moved by means of six donkeys. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

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from the north from very ancient times (cf. p. 412), and, according to Rouch, we find that mat-covered barrel-vaulted huts do not constitute the traditional type of dwelling of all Sonray, but are found along the Niger between Timbuktu and Asongo, while the Sonray living outside of this area have other dwelling types (cf. Rouch 1954, p. 31). Thus we see that Sonray mat-covered arched dwellings are found precisely within the area which has been most strongly influenced by Tuareg culture, namely the upper part of the Niger Bend. It can be added that such dwellings do not seem to be typical of other African peoples who lead a predominantly sedentary life. Furthermore, Sonray mat-covered barrel-vaulted dwellings are built by the women, who are also the true owners of the huts (cf. Rouch 1954, p. 31). In this we find another parallel to traditional Tuareg custom.

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We see again how wrong it is to speak of the Ayr Tuareg mat tent as a dwelling particular to the *Kel Ewey*, for such mat-covered tents are used by most Ayr Tuareg from the northern outskirts of the Massif to Damergu; it is said to be used exclusively by the *Kel Geres*; it is known among certain *Kel Dennek*, among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* and their *Bélla*, and apparently even in the southernmost parts of the *Kel Adrar* country. Arched mat tents on the southern outskirts of the very vast area inhabited by Tuareg occur in an almost unbroken line in a huge semicircle running from Northern Ayr to Timbuktu.

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This distribution may perhaps indicate that the mat tent is of very ancient standing among the Tuareg. We have mentioned above that the mat-covered arched dwellings of the Sonray may have been adopted by these people through contact with the Tuareg, and it does not seem as if the latter adopted their arched mat tents as a result of contact with other Sudanese peoples who use barrel-vaulted dwellings. Barrel-vaulted dwellings are not common in the Western Sudan, but are found among certain pastoralists whose arched huts and tents are structurally very different from the barrel-vaulted Tuareg mat tent. This appears from literature about the *Fulani* and the *Toucouleurs* (cf. Urvoy

1952, pl. II, 4; Desplagnes 1907, pl. CVI p. 396). Various pastoralists within the huge area of Tibesti, Borku, and Ennedi also use barrel-vaulted mat-covered tents. These are very different from Tuareg mat tents (cf. Biassuti 1933, Fig. 2, p. 173; Despois 1946, pl. XXII; Le Coeur 1937, p. 39 & 1950, p. 192, pl. XXVI, 99; Schiffers 1957, pl. IV; Kronenberg 1959, pl. III; Fuchs 1961, p. 18 ff., pl. IV). However, a mat tent described in detail by Chapelle has a structure which includes pronged sticks and horizontal bars (Chapelle 1957, p. 227 ff.), and a Tebu tent from Bilma now in the IFAN Museum at Niamey resembles the mat-covered Ayr tent in having two horizontal cross-bars at the narrow sides – each bar resting upon seven vertical pronged sticks. 342* 171

We presume that Tuareg mat tents constitute a very ancient and traditional type of dwelling, which, perhaps, was originally covered with mats of grass-stems (cf. p. 350 f.). We venture to advance this theory, the more so as other types of Tuareg tents less elaborate in their structures show very close affinities with the arched mat tent. Our theory, however, gives rise to one important question:— Is the elaborate structure of Tuareg mat tents well fitted to pastoral life? 342* [174] 182 342*

It is evident that some of the Tuareg, who live in mat tents, and notably the *Bélla*, are semi-nomads, and Capot-Rey says that "– – les populations qui l'ont adoptée ne se deplacent presque plus; – –" (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 222). This is not correct. Mat tents like that described in B.I.a. are used by true nomads, who move much during the rainy season to find the best annual pasture for their domestic animals. At that season many pastoralists move their camps of barrel-vaulted tents about once a week, and though some of them prefer to erect their tents according to the simple *tafala* method (cf. B.I.f., p. 356), most nomads will erect the tent in the ordinary fashion. It may be added that even the *Kel Geres* who come to Southern Ayr at the end of the rains have with them their mat tents which they erect correctly. There are, it is true, many Tuareg possessing mat tents who remain almost on the same spot throughout the year, but this is equally true of many Tuareg with skin tents. The mat tent is a true pastoral dwelling type. It is not very difficult to put up though it takes more time than does the erection of most skin tents. It is also not very difficult to transport the comparatively elaborate structure of normal mat tents. With few exceptions the pastoral *Kel Ayr* who live in and around the Massif use donkeys for tent transportation. The light tent mats are simply used as a kind of pack-saddle, being rolled up and placed over the back and along both sides of the pack-animal. The curved boughs and rods which form arches and semi-arches, and the comparatively few vertical sticks with the two cross-bars are tied up into parcels which are fastened over the mats at the animal's sides. I have frequently seen a tent, together with the very heavy wooden bed (*tédabut*) and various domestic utensils, being transported by two donkeys, and a normal tent can be transported by a single donkey without much difficulty. As a further indication of this I produce a photograph showing the movement of a camp comprising three ordinary tents, three wooden beds, and the necessary household implements and provisions, and it will be seen that all this is transported by six donkeys (cf. Fig. 266). [221] 182 342* 492 [484]

On the whole, an ordinary mat tent is neither very difficult to erect, nor difficult to transport. It is more difficult to erect the mat tent than the skin tent, but skin tents very often constitute a heavier burden. The sheet of skin, or more correctly leather, is heavier than the covering of mats, and though it is true of many skin tents that they have a less elaborate structure than the mat tents, the former need a system of pegs and poles to fasten the sheet, and these have to be transported except where 182 342*

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



In literature there are tent descriptions which I have omitted in my survey of Tuareg tent structures, partly because the descriptions are unclear, and partly because they clearly indicate tents which are not erected according to any definite method (cf. Demoulin 1928, p. 159; Campbell 1928, p. 205; Bernard quoted by Laoust 1930, p. 225). 342*

Finally, I add that the sheet of skin is very commonly used for a kind of wind-screen among the Tuareg. Such wind-screens are of two types:— (1) The sheet is attached to three or four sticks buried in the ground. A wind-screen of this kind is depicted in Fig. 284a. It serves as a temporary shelter for visitors in a camp. (2) The sheet is supported by three or four sticks placed in one row with a long stick resting horizontally in their prongs. Such wind-screens are seen in Figs. 284 b-c. They are used by the members of a household in ordinary camps, and it is quite common to erect tents in this manner during seasons when rainfall is not expected. Indeed, many Ahaggar Tuareg use their skin tents only for a part of the year, for skin tents are not too well adapted to the burning hot desert climate. If possible, many Tuareg prefer to live in the shade of rocks and trees, and if efficient shade of this type is found the skin tents are generally not erected. But the Tuareg will then erect part of the wooden structure, namely the forked sticks carrying cross-bars, as these elements serve not only as supports of the sheet, but also for the suspension of skin bags and various domestic implements (cf. Fig. 106). [574] [182] [352]

Capot-Rey writes that the Tuareg skin tents are also less waterproof than mat tents (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 225), but this is not correct. During the rains, as we have seen, skin tents are preferred by many Tuareg who at other seasons live in mat tents, and we have also seen that many Ayr Tuareg will then cover their mat tents with skin. If skin tents were not well fitted for rain they would indeed be very badly adapted also to the Sudanese zone where they are widely found among the Tuareg. [114] [182]

There can be little doubt that the use of skin sheets is very old, for all over the world we find them used for portable dwellings among people at primitive subsistence levels. It is also substantiated by Feilberg that we have throughout the Near and Middle Easts isolated occurrences of skin tents, and that these seem to have been more common in these regions in the past. Feilberg mentions in particular the use of skin for tents among the Tuareg and among the Sluba of Central Arabia (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144). When Feilberg wrote his book on tent development in the Near and Middle East, a description of the structure of Sluba tents was not available. But later investigations have intimated that some skin tents of the Sluba do not seem to be structurally related to ordinary Tuareg skin tents, but rather constitute a kind of wind-screen (cf. Lundbæk 1962). I have mentioned above that the Ahaggar Tuareg also use their tent skins as wind-screens, but it is evident that structurally the normal skin tents in all Tuareg groups have nothing to do with wind-screens. 342* 171

It is possible that the use of skin for wind-screens is extremely old among the Tuareg, but there seem to be some evidence that plaited grass mats for covering the true tents are older. We have seen that among Tuareg who use mat tents (the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*), the inner layer of mats covering the dome-shaped top consists of *ćwerwer* mats made of plant stems tied together, and it has also been mentioned that certain arched tents among the *Kel Dennek* and the Sudanese *Bélla* are covered exclusively with mats produced on this principle. According to Duveyrier mats of straw were formerly used for tent covering among the Northern Tuareg, and it is possible that the *afezu* mats, which seem to constitute the walls of all Tuareg skin tents, may be considered a survival from tents 342* 174

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



have been for centuries much contact between the Tuareg and the regions dominated by the black tent and Arab pastoralists. 342* 174 177

Certain Arabs who have immigrated from the north to Tuareg country have adapted their original tent structure of black tents to the Tuareg sheet of skin. This is demonstrated in case of Arab pastoralist known as *Deremchaka* (Dermechaka = Ar. El-Mechākra) who live in the *Kel Dennek* country. These pastoral Arabs, who have been much influenced by their Tuareg neighbours, use two central oblique posts to support a very short cross-bar (*hámmár* in Arabic), placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction, and it seems as if they have no other wooden elements to support the sheet and no cord attachment to secure the posts in contrast to the *Kel Dennek*. The *Deremchaka* Arabs immigrated to *Kel Dennek* country from Southern Algeria at a date later than the 17th century (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 153 f., pl. VIIIc; p. 67 f.). They have probably taken this tent structure with them from Algeria, where it is common to use two central posts carrying a short cross-bar at a right angle to the longitudinal direction.

It would seem that we have another example of the introduction of structural elements of black tents into skin tents, namely the above-mentioned skin tent supported by two central oblique posts with a short cross-bar which is used among certain *Kel Inteser*. This structure resembles that of certain double-posted black tents used among Arab pastoralists in many parts of North Africa, and the *Kel Inteser* Tuareg seem to be Arabs by origin. This is stated by several authors (Delafosse 1912 I, p. 195; Mohammed Said 1903, p. 210 ff.; Richer 1924, p. 14; Marty 1920–21, I, p. 254 ff.), and a Tuareg of the *Kel Inteser* group whom I met in Ayr held the same view. There seem to be little doubt that the structure of *Kel Inteser* skin tents derives from black tents and from the Arabs who most probably were responsible for the introduction of black tents to Mauretania and the whole Western Sahara.

The use of black tents among the Western Moors seems to throw important light upon tent development in North Africa. These tents are mentioned in early literature. Labat says that the Moors of Arguin and the Niger have round and conical tents, and that the former are covered with material of goats and camels (Labat 1728, I, p. 262), while Saugnier and Park mention the occurrence of two central posts in Moorish tents (Saugnier 1799, p. 33; Park ed. 1923, p. 109). A more comprehensive description of such tents is given by Caillié who says that the *Brakna* use two central posts carrying a short cross-bar to support their black tents, which in winter has an interior tent consisting of a sheet of skin supported by poles (Caillié 1830, I, p. 130), and the use of two central posts crossing each other and carrying a short cross-bar on their tops is also mentioned recently from Mauretania (cf. Delpy 1955, p. 18, Fig. 7 no. 25). Douls depicts a black tent of pyramidal form from Rio del Oro (Douls 1888, p. 22 f.) and it would seem that this tent corresponds structurally to the type now in general use among the Moors of Mauretania and described or depicted by several authors (cf. Ould Hamidon 1952, ill. p. 41; Dubié 1953, p. 134, 162; Gabus 1955, ill. p. 72; Meniaud 1912, II, pl. X, p. 48). The particular structure of black tents among the Western Moors is due to the fact that it contains a barrel-vaulted dwelling covered with canvas. This barrel-vaulted dwelling constitutes the only type of dwelling of the Moors in the dry season, but during the rains and when it is extremely hot it is covered by the black tent (cf. Urvoy 1942, p. 33 f., Fig. 2, pl. I, Figs. 3,4). Thus the partic- 342* 171 175

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Thus the partic-

*342 171 174 ular structure of black tents among certain Moors is due to a combination of two dwelling types: the black tent which has apparently been introduced by the Arabs coming down along the Western Sahara from the north, and a barrel-vaulted portable dwelling which we may perhaps conceive as the type of dwelling used in ancient times by the Tuareg of these regions who were conquered by the Arabs.

*342 171 177 If we turn to Tuareg skin tents supported by one central post with a short cross-bar, we may well assume that this particular structure, the so-called T-shaped post, has not only been introduced owing to influence from the black tent, but that it is also largely the result of contact with the Arabs. We know from Duveyrier that the Tuareg of the *Kel Ajjer* have skin tents and in some cases black tents also, and that these dwellings are identical in structure (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403 ff.). It is also certain that the Arabs who live in the region of Tidikelt use T-shaped posts both for black tents and for skin tents. This is recorded (cf. Laoust 1930, p. 224). I have myself gathered the same information from the *Ulad Ba Hammu* Arabs among whom I saw a black tent supported by a T-shaped post. Again, if we turn to the *Kunta* Arabs who live north of the Niger Bend, we find that they use for their tents skin sheets which they obtain from the Tuareg (cf. Geneviève 1950, p. 1125), and from one of my friends, a *Kunta* Arab living at Agadez, I obtained the information that the *Kunta* use a T-shaped post for their tents which are made of skin or canvas, though in very large tents they use two T-shaped posts.

*342 171 It is very interesting that an investigation of the distribution of T-shaped posts further north in Africa seems to indicate that this particular structure in black tents is found among the Arabs, but not among the Berbers. I have been told by the *Chamba* Arabs of Metlili that they use T-shaped posts in their black tents. Further north I have seen tents with a T-shaped post among Arabs who live in the central part of the Sahara Atlas. I may say that Lieutenant Millot, who has an intimate knowledge of the large pastoral Arab tribes *Rebaya* and *Ferjân* living around El Oued and the great sandy desert of Erg Oriental, told me personally that these Arabs use single T-shaped posts in their tents. We can add to this Feilberg's detailed investigation of black tent structures with a T-shaped post from Eastern Algeria, Tunisia, and from the *Ulad Ali* nomads (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 146). It is interesting to note that Feilberg has also found T-shaped posts in black tents among Arab pastoralists of Syria and Central Arabia (Feilberg 1944, p. 146).

*342 171 174 I am not going as far as to claim that the black tent was introduced to North Africa by the Arabs, though this may well be so (cf. Nicolaisen 1959, p. 119 ff.), but I think that the present extensive distribution of black tents in the Sahara must be due to them. This seems quite evident when we consider Feilberg's map of the distribution of black tents in Northern Africa, which also shows that the distribution of black tents is not limited to environment of a definite type (cf. Feilberg 1944, map II). Laoust long ago pointed out that black tent vocabulary in Morocco is derived largely from Arabic (Laoust 1930, p. 168 f.). This has later been emphasized even more by Delpy who thinks that all the present black tents of North Africa, including Mauretania, have been introduced by the Arabs. However that may be there is no doubt that Leo Africanus does not refer much to the use of black tents which have acquired their present wide distribution in Northern Africa later than the 16th century A.D. (cf. Delpy 1955, p. 15 f.).

*342 174 177 I conclude my analysis of Tuareg T-shaped structures by saying that this structure is foreign to

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judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief, whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division, which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imṛad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imṛad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, donkeys are marked in both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirzemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found particularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

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and the manufacture of decorated leather-bags, camel-reins, etc., and decorated wooden milk-bowls, the noble women do extremely little work.

Among the *Kel Aïjer* we find some of the above-mentioned distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals. The traditional dwelling of many vassal Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Aïjer is the cylindrical hut (house) with a conical roof, though vassals in winter use skin-tents during nomadic migrations. Nowadays noble and vassal Tuareg alike live in straw-huts throughout the hot season. Barth, in his description of the *Kel Aïjer*, mentions that the vassals have no right to possess iron spears and swords (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257), but it is stated explicitly by Duveyrier that noble Tuareg and vassals have the same weapons – the shield included (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). There can be little doubt that Duveyrier's statement is true, and I have been told among all Tuareg that in the past noble and vassal Tuareg did not differ in regard to weapons. A distinction would also seem rather strange in view of the fact that Tuareg of both classes fought together. Barth says that noble Tuareg and vassals differ in dress, but he does not give details (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257).

As to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, both noble and vassal Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any cultural distinctions between them. Bride-wealth in both classes was paid in camels. We know that the Ayr vassals in the past were predominantly goat-breeders, like many Ayr vassals to-day, and it seems as if camel-breeding was once a privilege of the nobility in the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 431; cf. tradition on the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan*, p. 421). I have not been able to find differences between the two classes in regard to material culture and social organization. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group say that they never have had types of portable dwellings other than the barrel-vaulted mat tent, which traditionally belongs to the woman.

There is very little information about cultural distinctions between noble and vassal Tuareg in other groups. Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* the vassals apparently use the arched mat tent more frequently than do noble Tuareg, but this and the skin tent supported by vertical sticks carrying cross-bars are found in both classes (cf. Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372 f.; Gabus 1945, p. 361 & 1948a, p. 15 & 1948b, p. 16). Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* the mat tent is used by certain noble Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f.). According to the chief *Amder* women's riding saddles for camels (*akhawi*) among the *Kel Ataram* are found only in noble tribes. Vassal tribes of the *Kel Ataram* living close to the Niger even to-day practise matrilineal rules of inheritance and succession in contrast to noble tribes with rules of patrilineal succession and Koranic inheritance (cf. p. 457).

Cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals are particularly prevalent in the two groups of Northern Tuareg, and it is significant that the traits characteristic of the noble class are also common among the *Iregenaten* who live in Tamesna. This tribe is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the *Ibettenaten* tribe, which claims noble descent, and Arab men. This explanation is found in literature (cf. Lhote 1955, p. 238 f.; Briggs 1958, p. 100) and has been confirmed to me by Tuareg of this tribe. It is interesting that some traits characteristic of the noble tribes among the Northern Tuareg are also found in tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The tribes of this latter class are said to be related to Arabs among whom we also find some of these traits.

We do not know when the noble Tuareg in the northern groups adopted traits that are also found among Arab bedouins. One might perhaps venture the theory that some of them were introduced

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177 with the immigration of the noble *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes which were, perhaps, related to the northern *Hawwara* Berbers. These may have influenced also the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg who possess some of the traits common to Northern Tuareg and Arabs. The *Hawwara* tribes came under Arab influence at very early stage, and they may have adopted Arab traits before they migrated southwards to settle close to the veiled *Lemta* (cf. p. 409 f.).

64 It is evident that the origin of pastoral political systems dates back to pre-Islamic times, but it is
177 also very clear that political organization has been much influenced by Islam and the Arabs. With Islam and the Arabs came into political life such important classes as the *Ineslemen*, the *Echchikhen*, and the *Ichcherifen*, which has made the political organization more complex. Also introduced with Islam was the *sadakat* fee, which in its origin was a purely religious payment. It is also clear that the
[182] rules of blood-wealth payment among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 102) were introduced with Islam, for the Arabs of Northern Sahara, like the Northern Tuareg, give one hundred she-camels for a slain man, and the same payment is fixed by learned Islamic jurists (cf. Schram-Nielsen 1945, p. 58 f.). These rules of blood-wealth payment do not seem to have been accepted among the Ayr Tuareg where there was no fixed amount of camels to be paid for a homicide. Finally the title *Khalifa* given to tribal deputies was doubtless introduced with Islam and the Arabs. This title is used among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*.

634 The problems connected with the origin of the drum-group, the most important political group,
534 are very complicated. It is well known that the drum plays an important part as an insignia of kings
171 and other supreme chiefs over large parts of Africa. The distribution of the drum as an insignia of kings and chiefs has been studied in some detail by Schilde and Wieschhoff, and later by Irstam (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 117 ff.; Wieschhoff 1933, p. 119 ff., map 34; Irstam 1944; p. 28, 101 ff.). Wieschhoff points out that the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in Africa, and that it mainly has this particular function in state organizations of the so-called Erytrean Cultures.

634 The drum which constitutes the insignia of a Tuareg drum-chief is known as *ettebel* or *ettebel*. In
534 all Tuareg groups this word is also used for "drum-group", and among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* it is also a title of drum-chiefs. The word *ettebel* is undoubtedly derived from the Arabic word *tobol* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1922), which is also sometimes used for Tuareg drums as it is for drums of chiefs among the Western Moors (Dubié 1947, p. 173). Formerly, the Sultan of the Fezzan also had a drum which according to Lyon was known as *tubbel*. Lyon never saw a drum of this kind but he says that they are found in all towns south of Murzuk (Lyon 1821, p. 248 f.). The drums used by Tuareg chiefs are always of a very particular form, generally known to anthropologists as "the kettle-drum", and this particular drum among the Tuareg is never used by persons other than the chiefs. For ordinary music the Tuareg have other drum types or use a wooden mortar suspended by a piece of skin. It is most interesting that the so-called kettle-drum is a very late type among the many kinds of drums found in Africa.

534 In regard to the distribution of kettle-drums in Africa, Sachs says that they are found in Islamic
171 North Africa, in the Sudan, and in North-East Africa (Sachs 1929, p. 247). According to Wieschhoff kettle-drums have a more limited distribution being found only in the Sudan and in North-East Africa including Ethiopia (Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40, map 29e). As to the distribution of kettle-drums outside

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of Africa, Sachs says that they occur mainly in Islamic West Asia from where they were recently introduced to Europe and to India where terms for kettle-drums are derived from Arabic (Sachs 1923, p. 58 ff.; 1929, p. 247). Wieschhoff admits that the kettle-drums seem to have been introduced into India with Islam, but he concludes that the distribution of them in the Sudan and in North-east Africa indicates that this element belongs to the so-called North Erytrean Culture (cf. Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40 ff., map 29e).

I do not want to advance any theory about the introduction of kettle-drums into Africa, but it seems natural to consider the Tuareg drums known as *ettebel* as an Islamic trait. However we cannot be sure that the use of drums as insignia of chiefs is post-Islamic, for, as we have seen, the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in many parts of Africa.

The theory that the drums used by Tuareg chiefs are Islamic seems to agree with the fact that the custom of crowning chiefs among the Tuareg by means of a large turban or headcloth is no doubt also an Arab practice. The use of a turban to crown or install kings and supreme chiefs is rare in Africa south of the Sahara. The use of the turban for the kings of Dar Fur, Wadai, and Bornu is no doubt to be considered Islamic (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 68; Irstam 1944, p. 118), and there can also be little doubt that the use of a large turban at the installation of chiefs in Tibesti and Ennedi was originally introduced as a result of contact with the Arabs – particularly as this turban is known by the Arabic term *ḳadmul* (cf. Kronenberg 1958, p. 74 f.; Fuchs 1961, p. 52).

It is clear that Islam has greatly influenced Tuareg political organization. But we should also bear in mind that North Africa in pre-Islamic times was influenced by various high cultures which are generally known as *Old Mediterranean* (*Syrtic*) and *Young Sudanese* (*North Erytrean*). It is very possible that the first noble Tuareg who penetrated into the Sahara with their camels came from a country situated towards the East or the North-east, and we have seen that the Ayr Tuareg have traditions about their origin in these quarters (cf. p. 412 ff.). It might therefore seem natural to assume that certain traits which are grouped under the vaguely-defined *Young Sudanese Culture* have been introduced into the Sahara with the immigration of the first noble Tuareg. Lhote thinks that the sandal type known as *takalmi* was perhaps introduced from Egypt with Tuareg immigrations from that country (Lhote 1950d, p. 531). We cannot know this, but it is possible that the oldest camel-breeding nomads introduced into the Sahara certain elements of the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture*.

## TUAREG SLAVERY

It is very possible that the political system of the pastoral Tuareg has been greatly influenced by slavery in the sense that slavery made the noble Tuareg less dependent on their vassals. Throughout the 19th century slavery was important to fair-skinned pastoralists of all classes. In other respects it has had little effect on the changing political relations, for slaves do not constitute a class or a true caste; they are incorporated into Tuareg society on a kinship pattern.

Slavery is still extremely important in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer where the French military administration has done very little to abolish it. It is true that the slave-trade no longer exists, but

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601 brothers, but also all children of father's female cousins and all children of mother's male counsins.

For descending generations kinship terms are different for Ego male and Ego female. Ego male will call all children of his sisters and all children of his female cousins *agg elet ma* ("sister's son") or *welt elet ma* ("sister's daughter"), while all children of his brothers and all children of his male cousins will be called *rur* ("son") or *yell* ("daughter"). Descendants of persons known as *rur* (*yell*) are known as *rur* (*yell*), descendants of persons known as *agg elet ma* (*welt elet ma*) as *agg elet ma* (*welt elet ma*). Ego female has no "sister's children" but will call all relatives of descending generations *rur* ("son") or *yell* ("daughter"). – Collectively all relatives of the second descending generation are known as *iheyawen* (sing. *ahaya*) or *tiheyawin* (sing. *tahayawt*). This term can be used for descendants of more distant generations as indicated by the tribal name *Iheyawen Hada*, that is "descendants of *Hada*".

## AYR

[84] There are at least two distinct kinship systems in Ayr, both of which differ from that described above in the case of Ahaggar.

[171] The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg have a system related to that of the Hausa-speaking population of Agadez and further south. In *Kel Ewey* the terms for "brothers" and "sisters" are never used classificatorily. All parallel cousins and cross-cousins are known as *ibubazen* (sing. *abubaz*; fem. *tabubazt*), and children of all cousins are known as *tégazé*, which is used both for males and females. The *Kel Ewey*, in contrast to other Tuareg, do not make any distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins. As far as my knowledge goes all this applies only to the true *Kel Ewey* and not for such Tuareg groups as the *Kel Tamat* and the *Ikezkezen* who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey*.

The kinship system of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg comes close to the system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, but the two systems are not identical. The word *anna* ("mother") is used for all female relatives of ascending generations and also for spouses of such relatives, who are called *adda* ("father"). The term for "father" (*adda*) is applied to all grandfathers whether they are patrilineally or matrilineally related to Ego, to father's brothers, and to the husbands of father's sisters and mother's sisters. It is also applied to father's father's sons but not to other male cousins of Ego's father and mother, for all other male cousins of father and mother are termed *awet ma*, the word employed for "mother's brother". Thus the term *awet ma* is used for true mother's brothers and for most male relatives of the parents' generation, while it is never used for matrilineal kinsmen of the second ascending generation. The wives of all males termed *awet ma* are known as *tamtet n awet ma* ("mother's brother's wife") and not as *anna* ("mother").

The Kel Ferwan Tuareg do not use the term *aña* (pl. *añaten*) and welet ma (pl. *tañatin*) for brothers and sisters. When they talk about brothers and sisters without reference to age they use the terms for younger brother (*amedray*, pl. *imedrayen*) and younger sister (*tamedrayt*, pl. *timedrayin*). The term for "elder brother" and "elder sister" are identical with those used in Ahaggar, namely *amekkar* and *tamekkart*. Parallel cousins are called "elder brother" ("younger brother") and "elder sister" ("younger sister") according to the same rule as in Ahaggar. Should their father or mother be older

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Middle East M1



T 583 586 848 It would seem from all this that the main function of bride-wealth is to create a social bond between two families that intermarry, and is a sort of confirmation of the social rights of the children. When bride-wealth is not taken back at the dissolution of a marriage the marriage is not socially dissolved. When two people divorce they continue to have each other's relations as in-laws with whom they have joking and avoidance exactly as if they were still married, and the children continue to have their full rights within both families.

The fact that bride-wealth is the outward symbol of the persistence of in-law relations when a marriage is dissolved, discloses the true meaning of bride-wealth, which is more clearly understood when we consider that children of a dissolved marriage, provided the bride-wealth is not claimed back, will belong to the father as long as he is alive, and not to the mother. The mother and her family obtain no right to the children until their father has died. It is further stated by some Tuareg that a child of a dissolved marriage from which bride-wealth is taken back will have no right to inherit its father. Bride-wealth is a symbolic expression of the new bonds established between two families at a marriage, and it places children of this marriage in the father's family until his death, and secures their inheritance rights in respect of the father and his paternal kin. All this seems to agree with the fact that the Northern Tuareg vassals, who give bride-wealth in goats, do not always hand over all animals at a marriage. The full payment may be postponed for some years, but should be accomplished before the birth of a child.

T [171] The explanation I have given of the functional position of Tuareg bride-wealth would seem to be in agreement with Radcliffe-Brown's account of the functional position of the *lobola* payments of South Africa. Radcliffe-Brown says that one of the chief functions of *lobola* is to fix the social position of the children of a marriage. If the proper payment is made by a family, then the children of the woman who comes to them in exchange for the cattle belong to that family (Radcliffe-Brown 1952, p. 30). This is also stated by Krige (cf. Krige 1937, p. 113).

M 582 The functional position of Tuareg bride-wealth should perhaps also be viewed in the light of recent investigations on the function of bride-wealth in Middle Eastern societies, where preferential marriage is that to a father's brother's daughter. This preferential marriage type has been explained in different ways by different authors: Westermarck says that marriages with a father's brother's daughter are popular because they keep the property in the family, and especially popular in shereefian families, because they preserve the blood pure (Westermarck 1914, p. 53). The argument that marriage with a father's brother's daughter keeps property within the family has been recognized also by Granquist (cf. Granquist 1931, p. 78), and by many other anthropologists. But this argument is valid only when Koranic law is observed, which is not always the case (F. Barth 1954, p. 170; cf. Murphy & Kasdan 1959, p. 17).

Wellhausen observed that marriage with a paternal cousin served the purpose of strengthening the kinship tie within the family, and he believed that marriages contracted within a village had the function of solidifying relationships between its inmates (cf. Westermarck 1914, p. 56). Quite recently this viewpoint has been taken up and reformulated by F. Barth who states that marriage with a father's brother's daughter plays a prominent rôle in solidifying the minimal lineage as a corporate group in factional struggle (F. Barth 1954, p. 171), while Murphy and Kasdan, who refer to Barth's study

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Middle East M1



M 582 583 [114] p. 168 ff.). I do not want to judge this theory as I have little personal knowledge of the North African Arabs who practise marriage with a paternal cousin. However, the argument that one of the chief functions of the bride-wealth is the confirmation of the social position of the children of a marriage, seems also valid for bride-wealth customs among people who practise preferential paternal cousin marriage, for it is clear that should a man marry a father's brother's daughter she will not have to change her social group after marriage. Furthermore, the fathers of the groom and the bride are brothers who among North African Arabs may own livestock and other types of property in common.

T 582 604 613 Tuareg cross-cousin marriage is symetrical, but the very best cross-cousin to marry is the true mother's brother's daughter. This would seem to agree with the very close relationship between a man and his mother's brother of the same matrilineage. A man has succession rights after his mother's brother, and many Tuareg say that the relationship between sister's son and mother's brother is as close as that between father and son. A man should do his outmost to defend his mother's brother, and it is very likely that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter has as its chief function the reinforcement of the matrilineage. It can here be added that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter will not easily lead to quarrels between the families of the married couple, because the fathers of the groom and the bride are cross-cousins and/or brothers-in-law, and consequently there is an institutional joking relationship between them.

We should perhaps explain Tuareg marriage with a mother's brother's daughter in the light of its importance for the reinforcement and maintenance of the matrilineage which has important social functions in Tuareg society. However, this marriage type does not exempt the groom or his family from paying bride-wealth.

T [171] It is interesting to note that among the South African Bantu, who give bride-wealth (*lobola*) at a marriage, the groom is expected to assist his parents-in-law whenever they need his help (Krige 1937, T 606 p. 113). This is also so among the Tuareg who claim that parents-in-law and sons-in-law should always support each other even if they be in-laws of dissolved marriages from which bride-wealth has not been claimed back. Indeed, some Tuareg consider it a very good thing to have contracted several marriages and thus to have obtained many in-laws who are expected to assist their son-in-law when he needs their help.

T 582 583 Finally, I add the statement of some Ahaggar Tuareg that bride-wealth payment is often considered less essential where a man has married a maternal cousin or her daughter because in that event husband and wife are maternal relatives who, in case maternal cousin marriage is practised within their families, may be closely related also in the paternal line.

T 585 [173] Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the marriage is ratified by representatives of the groom and the bride before an *Aneslem*, that is to say a marabut. This may take place on the first day of the wedding ceremony, but it may as well be done days, weeks, or even months before the wedding takes place. The parents of the groom and the bride may have the marriage ratified even though their children do not want to be married. The wedding ceremonies in Ahaggar and Ayr differ slightly, but they are no doubt functionally identical.

In Ahaggar the marriage ceremony is briefly as follows:—

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Hahn, who was the first to write in detail on the historical origin of subsistence activities, stated as his view that cultures based exclusively on stock-breeding were recent and were preceded by mixed farming cultures (Hahn 1896, p. 31 f.; 1905, p. 131; 1908, p. 19). Though some of Hahn's arguments in favour of this theoretical conception are difficult to accept, his general view that pure stock-breeding did not form a general stage in the evolution of culture is recognized by many scholars who hold that cultivation is everywhere older than stock-breeding. Forde long ago pointed out the great instability of pastoralism and its dependence upon grown cereals (Forde 1950 (1. ed. 1934), p. 403 f.), and in a very recent study, published in collaboration with Mary Douglas, it is stated that "Pastoral nomadism which is popularly believed to have preceded the development of agriculture actually appeared at a later stage in the Old World on the fringes of settled populations used to cultivation with the rearing of livestock" (Forde 1960, p. 330). Important contributions to the solution of the problem of the origin of stock-breeding have also been made by Childe, who says that in practically all the oldest food-producing settlements examined by archaeologists in Europe, Hither Asia, and North Africa, the basic industry is mixed farming (Childe 1936, p. 85). Childe does not explicitly claim that pastoral stock-breeding derived from a mixed farming culture, because pastoralists are not likely to leave many vestiges by which the archaeologists can recognize their presence (Childe 1936, p. 91). But Childe's general view seems to be in favour of origin of pastoral stock-breeding from a culture which knew farming, and he points out "that ancestors of our farmyard animals lived wild in most of the regions that seem likely to have comprised the cradle of grain-growing" (Childe 1936, p. 86). 121

In my description of Tuareg ecology I have indicated the great importance of agricultural products for food among true pastoralists, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. I believe that the latter Tuareg and the Tuareg of the Sudanese savannah could perhaps subsists without cereals grown by agriculturists, though it would not be so easy for them. The Ayr Tuareg around Agadez admit this and refer to their great difficulties in subsisting during one year of the second world war when millet was scarce. Most African pastoralists acquire provisions of cultivated grain for their food during periods when milk is scarce, and the general conception that African nomads live mainly on milk and meat is not valid. However, we cannot state that all pastoralists are dependent on agriculture for food, for a few people seem to subsist on stock-breeding products and on wild seeds. Thus Seligman describes from the Beja a tribe named Bedawib which differs from other Beja groups in that its members have no camels and do not eat agricultural food:— "The Bedawib do not cultivate at all and it is said that they would not touch grain even if it were given to them so that they live almost entirely on milk and meat". (Seligman 1913, p. 599 f.). Other pastoralists of the so-called East African Cattle Complex eat cereals grown by themselves or by neighbouring agriculturists, but agricultural food-products play a very little part to some of these people (cf. Lowie 1938, p. 314), and the Hottentots live by cattle-breeding supplemented by hunting and collecting (cf. Schapera 1930, p. 235). The argument that stock-breeding cultures cannot exists except in a kind of symbiosis with agriculture is not valid, but agricultural food-products make life easier for pastoralists who cannot subsist on milk all the year round. For we must bear in mind that in an arid or semi-arid country conditions of collecting are changeable, and it is also important to note that wild seeds are generally far less nourishing than are grown cereals. Even in the savannah country it is a great advantage for pastoralists to have access to grown cereals, and 433 262 171

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



433 pastoralists who live in the true desert country could hardly live without agricultural food-products.
262 In dry years the Ahaggar Tuareg subsist almost exclusively on wheat, millet, and dates. They cannot
171 in such years live on milk and meat, and collecting is of no importance, as the plants suitable for collecting do not germinate with the exception of a few species which are of very little value. In very arid countries agriculture seems to be necessary for the subsistence of pastoralists, and it is of great value also to pastoralists who live under more favourable conditions.

433 Partly owing to the decline of caravan trading, there are pastoralists who have recently taken up
178 agriculture in connection with irrigation. We have also mentioned that the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer
171 engage in a kind of primitive agriculture in the river valleys after heavy rain, and we know from literature that this method was also practised in Ahaggar before the introduction of developed irrigation systems. We have seen that throughout the northern parts of the Sahara a connection between shifting cultivation and pastoralism is the rule rather than the exception. Primitive corn growing is, in fact, practised among many other pastoralists besides the Northern Tuareg, and the bedouins who sow wheat and barley by means of the plough or the hoe further north on the outskirts of the desert. In Southern Mauretania certain nomads grow millet and water melons in the river valleys which are annually flooded. Sowing is done mainly where the valleys broaden, small dams being constructed to detain water. This cultivation method is also applied by certain pastoral *Zenaga* (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 277), who are, perhaps, descendants of the ancient *Sanhaja* Tuareg who lived in this country before the Arab conquest. There are also pastoralists of the Beja people who engage in agriculture when living close to rivers. The Bisharin who camp around the Atbara River grow melons in the wet sand (Baker 1867, p. 38), the Hadendoa pastoralists, when camping close to the Gash River in the dry season, grow millet and other cereals (Seligman 1913, p. 599), and agriculture is also practised in the same region by pastoral Beni Amer (Munzinger 1864, p. 332).

A journey from the Mediterranean coast takes us from people who live mainly by agriculture (e.g., the Kabyle) to people who live by mixed farming as semi-nomads (e.g., the Chawiya), to people who are roaming pastoralists but practise shifting cultivation when possible and fairly regularly (e.g., the Ulad Nail, the Larba, and other Arab pastoralists on the outskirts of the desert), and, finally to the true desert nomads where agriculture is practised on a very small scale (e.g., the *Kel Ajjer*) or not at all (e.g., the *Kel Ahaggar* and the Chamba). It would thus be natural to explain the development of true pastoralism in Northern Africa as an adaption of a mixed farming culture to environment, and this view seems to have been adopted by several authors (Frobenius 1904, p. 154 f.; Steensby 1908–09, p. 285; Wölfel 1941, p. 89–40; Herzog 1956, p. 210–223).

174 The question of the originof North African pastoralism can only be answered by a deeper knowledge of history, and the answer is not easy to find. Historical sources do not reach far back in North Africa. We know that throughout the Middle Ages the people who lived on the borderland of the Northern Sahara south of the Atlas and along the Mediterranean coast possessed an economic system much like that prevailing nowadays. Ibn Khaldun describes the economic life of the *Sanhaja* Berbers, who lived in the country between Tunis and Cairuan, saying that they are cow and sheep breeders who also engage in agriculture (Ibn Khaldun III, p. 225). Of an Arab tribe called Azza of Cyrenaica, he says that though its members are plough cultivators they also lead their domestic animals into the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



172 namely the cylindrical house with a conical roof, which seems to have constituted the original type of dwelling of many northern vassals. This dwelling type has a world-wide distribution among primitive agriculturists (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 313), and we know that it was used in North Africa in antiquity. Hut-circles with heavy walls from predynastic cultures near Badari may perhaps be considered remains of such dwellings (cf. Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, p. 44 ff., 82 ff., pl. LXVI).

174 We might perhaps assume that culture as it existed among the ancestors of Tuareg vassals before the introduction of the camel was influenced by agricultural traits, and it would not be unnatural to advance the theory that it derives from a mixed farming culture. However, there can also be little doubt that we find in Tuareg culture features that are extremely old and probably date back to a hunting culture. It is of particular interest that the Tuareg have preserved very primitive methods of food preparation which are not generally known to true agriculturists (e.g., cooking with hot stones). I believe that the existence of such simple methods may be an indication that the culture is related to ancient hunting and collecting cultures. It is also very difficult to reject the possibility of a connection between hunting and the domestication of animals, for we have seen above that the Tuareg even to-day catch wild donkeys for domestication, and that, in the Middle Ages, they most possibly hunted these animals in order to utilize their meat and skin before the introduction of Islam which made 175 donkey's meat unlawful. It seems as if donkeys and asses have been important food animals throughout 171 the Near and Middle East even after the advent of Islam for we not only have Leo Africanus' statement [261] that the nomads of the Sahara consume the meat of donkeys caught in snares (Leo Africanus II, p. 944), but Duveyrier's statement that the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer catch donkeys in traps to utilize the skin (Duveyrier 1864, p. 231), and the fact that the Tuareg of Ahaggar even very recently have eaten donkey's meat in case of famine. There is information in literature which indicates that donkeys and asses have been commonly eaten elsewhere. Ibn Khaldun says that donkeys and horses were eaten by Algerian town-dwellers in case of need during the Middle Ages (Ibn Khaldun III, p. 377 f.), and Ibn Batutah states that Arabs of Oman consider donkey's meat lawful (Ibn Batutah II, p. 229). Ibn Batutah also says that meat of asses was eaten by the people of Suakin (Ibn Batutah II, p. 162), and we know that even up to modern times the Beja have hunted asses in order to consume their meat (Baker 1867, p. 55 f.; Murray 1935, p. 125). There is no information about the hunting of asses or donkeys for domestication among the Beja, but it is reported by several authors that members of this group leave their domesticated mares where wild asses are common in order that they shall mate with wild stallions (Heuglin 1869, p. 280; Bland-Sutton 1911, p. 188 f.; Murray 1935, p. 125).

174 We cannot discard the possibility that the domestication of donkeys originated from hunting, and it seems as though the donkey was first domesticated in Africa, where the wild ass still exists. When the domestication took place we do not know, but we are aware that domestic donkeys have been used in Egypt and in Asia (Ur) as early as 3000 B.C. (cf. Antonius 1922, p. 266; Hilzheimer 1930, p. 477). The donkey played a most important rôle in Ancient Egypt where it even had military importance (cf. Erman 1922, p. 592 f., 636, Figs. 207 & 208, pl. 36).

As to the domestication of other animals, we do not know how they were first tamed, and it has generally been overlooked that though there may perhaps be a connection between certain hunting

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



methods and domestication, the first domestic animals may of course well have been tamed in a culture which already knew of farming. It seems to me that generally speaking the theory of a development of stock-breeding within a farming culture is the most plausible one.

At the time when the noble Tuareg introduced the camel the North African pastoralists were apparently mainly goat-breeders who also had sheep of the *Ovis longipes* type, and donkeys. Tuareg traditions state that the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar, the *Isebeten*, were not only goat-breeders but also hunters, and a tradition collected by Foucauld states that they also knew agriculture (cf. p. 408). This may perhaps be so, though most Tuareg seem to deny it. A tradition of hunting as an important means of subsistence to the ancestors of vassal Tuareg accords well with the fact that important traits of a hunting culture appear to exist among the Tuareg; how can this be explained when we also claim that stock-breeding apparently developed from a mixed farming culture? I believe the most plausible explanation to be that the ancestors of Tuareg vassals first lived in the northern Sahara as roaming hunters. At a later date they were strongly influenced by a mixed-farming culture from which they adopted a primitive type of agriculture and stock-breeding. But stock-breeding came to play the largest rôle for them, partly because it was better fitted to environment, and partly because it was adapted to the roaming life of hunters.

It is most unfortunate that archaeology is so little advanced in the Central Sahara. Most archaeologists have been occupied with the study of rock-engravings. These are important to our knowledge of cultural history, but they cannot be precisely dated. Apart from the study of engravings, investigations have mainly concentrated upon tombs and other stone monuments, and these investigations do not help us much to understand the development of subsistence activities in the Sahara. However, we may ascribe some importance to the study of stone tombs of the so-called *chouchet* type. This, it is claimed by the ancient vassals of Ahaggar, constituted the traditional tomb of pre-Islamic Tuareg, and the tomb in which their ancestress *Takama* is said to have been buried is of *chouchet* type. Such tombs in Ahaggar seem to be found mainly close to river valleys that are flooded relatively frequently and generally are also close to modern cultivation centres (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 83). These tombs have been used among the Tuareg even after their Islamization (cf. Monod 1932, p. 34; Reygasse 1950, p. 39) but it is unknown when they were introduced into the Sahara. However, tombs of *chouchet* type are not only found in large parts of Tuareg country (Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, In Azawa, Northern Ayr, around Zinder, between Zinder and the Niger at Adrar of Tawa, Adrar of the Iforas), but also in the adjacent regions of Mauretania, Tibesti, and Bornu, which is their southern limit of distribution (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 40; Lhote 1955a, p. 83; Mauny 1961, p. 76 f.). Types of *chouchet* tombs occur in Algeria north of Hodna and in Aurès (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 8) and perhaps also in the Canary Islands (cf. Wölfel 1950, p. 248). Thus the possibility cannot be excluded that the former existence of such tombs in Tuareg culture may be due to some connection with mixed farmers of the Mediterranean at an early, but unfortunately yet unknown, date.

A last problem to be touched upon is the generally accepted view that nomadic stock-breeding is intimately connected with a patrilineal social system. This view has been emphasized in particular by the so-called Vienna School of ethnology under the leadership of Schmidt and Koppers, who speak about "Der viehzüchterische Nomadismus als Schöpfer der patriarchalen Systems und des Erst-

W 301 177 [97 cont.]
the Sudan. The only place in Africa south of the Sudan where any orientation toward a display side is sometimes found is Benin. Figure 4 shows a ring made of bronze (Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Inv. No. 64,768), which is done in a "lost form" and stems from Benin. The display center is clearly indicated by [98] a horizontal double loop and two boat-shaped, very prominent forms set crosswise. Among the Jaunde [Yaunde] in the Cameroons we likewise find rings which have a certain resemblance in their construction to the two arm-circlets of the Wolof. W 301 Figure 5 (Museum für Völkerkunde, Inv. No. 88,037) is made of brass, twisted, open, the ends terminating in multi-faceted cubes -- incidentally, resembling the clasp-nail of our foot-ring. If we compare this circlet with an arm-ring of the Wolof (Fig. 1), we find the clearly projecting terminal knob (in this case circularly flattened) and the twisted rod, in this case, however, W [325] merely cut out as it were -- determined by the different technique of construction. Complete twisting is possible only if the square glowing metal rod is twisted, but not if the ring is poured into a clay mold. This is shown especially clearly in Figure 3. We therefore see here how extensively the technique of manufacture may alter stylistic expression, and one must first "translate back," if relationships are to be established.

W T 301 53 171 An earring of the Tuareg from Air (Fig. 13)[1] is almost identical with the Jaunde specimen. The correspondence extends to the details, for example, the terminal knob and its ornamental decoration (central concentric circles flanked by four smaller circles).

The form of the ornamental decoration gives us a few more quite interesting hints. In this connection, it has already been mentioned that an impression made with punches is involved here. If we disregard the difference in technique, however, we find the greatest similarity in the design and composition of the ornaments in the silver work of the Tuareg (2). In a silver

[1] [For Figs. 7-13, See category 116, P. 10 -- Analyst]

W [127] 2. All of the reproductions of Tuareg ornaments were made from drawings

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[98 cont.]

by L. Zöhrer, D.D., Vienna. Dr. Zöhrer made them on his expeditions into Tuareg territory. I sincerely thank Dr. Zöhrer here for his permission to use the illustrations.

head-ornament of a Tuareg soldier from Atakar (Fig. 7) we find correspondences extending almost to details with the design of our foot-ring (Fig. 2).* The arrangement of the design on the center rhomboid (raised in both cases) is almost congruent: two small concentric circles in the center, surrounded by a smaller rhomboid, the latter bordered by small, linked, diagonal crosses; emphasis on the four corners of the background, among the Wolof by means of semicircles, among the Tuareg by means of circles. A chest ornament from Air (Fig. 8) is surprisingly similar to the center section of our foot-ring in the way the entire surface is filled out. Moreover, we again find the entire surface bordered by small diagonally-placed crosses. Figure 9, a Tuareg chest ornament of silver from Seken in Ifoghas, shows a characteristic detail of our Wolof ornament: the semicircle filled in with parallel hatching.

On the reverse side of a door latch from Hoggar (Fig. 10) we find very marked agreement with the design on the center section of the Wolof arm-ring in Figure 3: crescents with the convex sides touching, enclosed by hatched triangles along the edge. [99] [Figs. 1-6 appear here.]

[100] Certain similarities with the Wolof arm-ring (Fig. 1), the design of which deviates somewhat from the scheme and yet is in some respects reminiscent of plant motifs -- although purely geometrical -- are found in a chest ornament from Ifoghas (Fig. 11) and a door latch from Ifoghas (Fig. 12).

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The final offshoots of these decorative motifs (concentric circles, hatching, etc.) seem to reach as far as Benin, as is shown by a bronze bracelet (Inv. No. 64,708) in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (Fig. 6). Along with certain correspondences in the decorative design, it also has the display

* [For Figs. 1-6, see category 116, p. 8 -- Analyst]

17: Schweeger-Hefel--10 E-4 (no date) 1954 MS30 Wolof MS30
Tuareg MS 25

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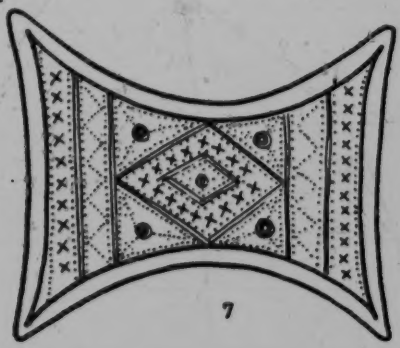

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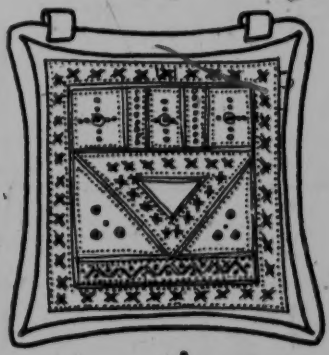

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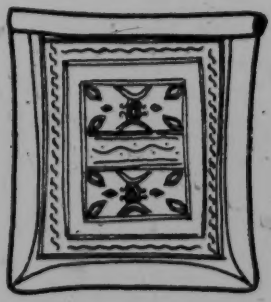

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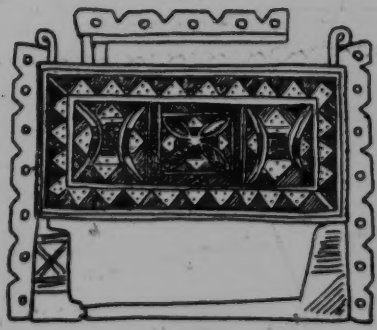

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Fig. 7. Head ornament, silver, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Inv. No. Post XX/1938, No. 8a, Tuareg.

Fig. 8. Chest ornament, silver, original in the possession of the Tuareg Neni ag Ghali near Agadez; drawing in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 75.

(captions cont.)

[Captions cont. for Figs. 7-13 p. 101.]

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Fig. 9. Chest ornament, silver; original in the possession of the Tuareg Baba ag Hamu, Tin-Reiden, Ifoghas; the drawing as for Fig. 8, Post IX/1950, No. 61.

Fig. 10. Door latch (reverse side); original in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich; drawing, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 125.

Fig. 11. Chest ornament. Original in the possession of the Tuareg Akauil, Idnan from Tinesraft. Drawing in the Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel.

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Fig. 12. Door latch. Original in the possession of the Tuareg Belcho ag Bibi, Abelessa; drawing, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 146.

Fig. 13. Earring. Original in the possession of the Tuareg Tauti, Agadez; drawing, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 30.

Figs. 7-13 are drawings from the originals by Ludwig Zöhrer, D.D., Vienna.

136 several different spots, and it is not impossible that the species
[172] bred today in the Ahaggar is of African origin. Bones of the species are found in the Neolithic layers of the Sahara.

137 At the present time there is a death struggle between the goats
233 and trees in the Ahaggar. The goat itself is capable of browsing
185 the lower branches and destroying them, thanks to its agility. The Tuareg do the rest when pasture is scarce, by felling the main branches to put them within the reach of the animals. And so, in a relatively short time, trees, and the tahla (Acacia sp.) in parparticular, will be only a memory in the Ahaggar. Nothing has

[418
326
172]

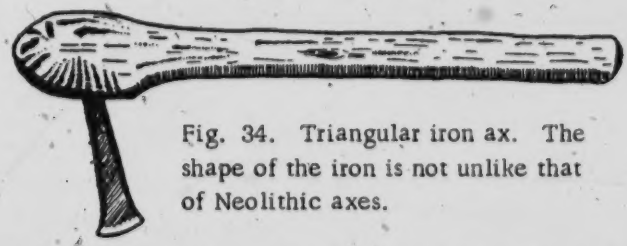

Fig. 34. Triangular iron ax. The shape of the iron is not unlike that of Neolithic axes.

been done by the French administration in the Ahaggar to protect the trees, when it would be sufficient to close some valleys for several years, while taking into account the needs of the shepherds. Measures of this kind have been taken in the environs of Goundam and have given very good results.

132 Prolonged dryness which causes a lack of pasture often puts
233 goat raising in difficulties. The birth rate is stopped short, and mortality may result to such a great extent that the number of animals sometimes falls to one fifth. Then many years are needed to build up the flocks, granting, of course, the arrival of favorable rains.

232 The careless and fatalistic Ihaggaren do not even try to step up breeding by buying sires in Adrar or in Air. They let their weak flocks reconstitute themselves by their own means, which
[272] sometimes requires many years. In case of an overabundance of births, they limit the number of animals, for they are well aware

of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled, and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and sometimes tents.

The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact number of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them, and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used. These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg, have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia where they are called "onager."

The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihaggaren have kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage, and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

301 [114] This stone ring (alibeg) has been described by the explorer Duveyrier as a weapon. Actually it is only ornamental in nature, for it is so fragile that it could not withstand strong pressure without shattering, which might seriously wound the man wearing it.

Fig. 41. Types of bracelets worn above the elbow by the Tuareg. 1, 2, and 3 are in soft schist from Aïr, and 4 is made of marble from the Hombori region.

[171] At the present time the Tuareg are the only African people who wear this stone ring, except for some groups of people who live in contact with them and have adopted it in a spirit of imitation. 172 It was, however, in very common use among Neolithic peoples, 301 and it is not rare to find fragments of them in the middle of ancient

[172] 301 layers /271/ dating from that epoch. Its origin must be sought there, and it is now nothing more than a Neolithic vestige.

A number of little cases which the Tuareg wear suspended around the neck and resting on the chest may be considered ornaments. [531] They are little leather cases -- decorated, painted or embroidered, or even stamped in relief -- and they contain various little instruments. [415] Thus, there are mirror cases, needle cases, razor cases, scissor cases, toothbrush cases, etc., and little wallets in which the Tuareg put what they prize most -- money, a /strike-a-light/ steel box and its flint, or tobacco.

/272/ They also wear 301 75 quantities of amulets in leather or metal cases on their chests, their arms, or their hair. But [178] this custom, religious in origin, has evolved in the direction of ornamentation, for many of these amulet cases contain nothing.

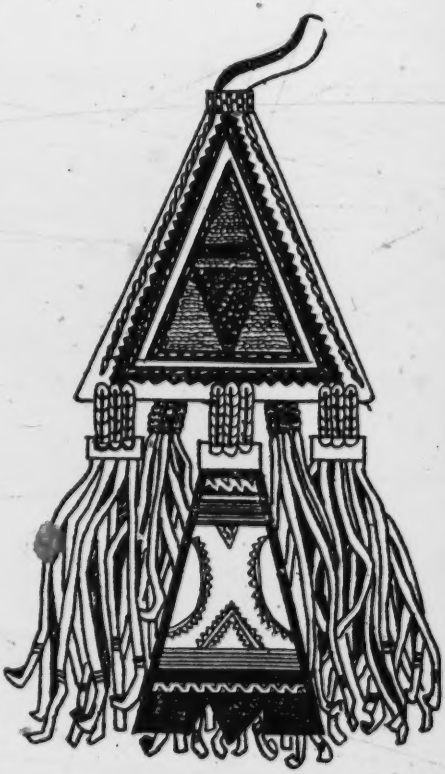

Fig. 42. Needle case of worked leather, with knife slits and embroidery. The background is red; the ornamental painting, black; the embroidery, red and green cotton.

301 Female jewelry is much richer and more varied. It is [328] all made of silver; gold jewelry is never seen among the Tuareg. They maintain [223 777] that gold is unlucky for the possessor and that this metal corrupts people.

326 /280/ Silver is used to make jewelry--pendants, pendants for the
[301] hair, bracelets, rings, earrings, amulet cases, etc.

Copper furnishes a number of more important and naturally more
[493] commonly used
414 articles -- saddlery
articles, cavessons for
[412] camels, highly
ornamented padlocks
with keys, hair knives,
etc. This metal is generally better worked than silver. It is often
chiseled, engraved, and topped with applications of tin by a technique
[531] which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little
knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

Fig. 50. Hammer.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta
crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them
is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or
with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian
Arabs and the Sudanese.

Fig. 51. Blacksmith's tongs.

438 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms;
326 they merely repair them. Sahara, daggers, and
411 lances were for the most part manufactured by black-
smiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimmiden from
Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and
mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel
Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an
iron mine which is located beside the village of
Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally
not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the
[172] Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments
are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic
period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized
in the camps.

323

Pottery is made by Negresses, the wives /281/ of Harratin, or freed former captives who live in the agricultural centers.

This outline of the techniques and industries of the Kel Ahaggar Tuareg brings out their poverty.

Can we speak of art among the Ihǎggaren? That seems difficult, for aside from a few rare objects, all those that they use are more or less in use in the Ahaggar are imported from Aïr or Ǎdrar des Ifôras, and that is explained all the better by the fact that the artisans are more or less originally from these regions. 438 531 517

Fig. 52. Sugar tongs.

[415]

It is difficult to determine the origins of Tuareg art in general. It is in reality a composite art taken from all their neighbors, which, is not, for the most part, the achievement of the Tuareg themselves but of their artisans. It is among the latter that the distant origins /of Tuareg art/ must be sought. 177 517

The tastes of the Tuareg appear to be unchangeable. They have been fixed for centuries; therefore, in ancient documents some hundred years old one finds the same shape, the same dimensions, the same coloring as today. In this regard we shall say that the Enad is not an artist. He is a worker who may have taste, but who is, on the whole, incapable of creating. He faithfully reproduces the model which has been handed down to him. He 517 [178 172]

/298/

# Chapter 2

## Ancient Cults, Religions, and Beliefs of the Tuareg

797 The Tuareg are Moslem today, but their conversion to Islam is very superficial and relatively recent. Although, like all new converts, they strive to hide their former beliefs, it is nonetheless true that these beliefs have left still visible traces among them. For a few years they have made a point of honor of calling themselves good disciples of the Prophet, and they have even tried to claim a sherif origin. Thus it is very difficult to obtain the least enlightenment on their former religion from them.

What were these ancient beliefs? Idolatry or fetishism? On this subject we can only interpret some facts which will always remain very vague, for, as Gautier says, the Tuareg are Islamized enough to have lost all curiosity about their own pre-Islam past.

•172 Prehistoric and protohistoric cults. -- If we closely examine the rock drawings and paintings discovered in the Central Sahara in the last few years, we find a certain number of elements which can give us an idea of the beliefs of these ancient inhabitants. Perhaps there is no connection between the latter and the Tuareg, which is probable, but it can also be granted that there were common points of contact down through the centuries which have left traces in the different peoples who inhabited the regions we are interested in.

In the precameline drawings, earlier than the bovid period, the totemic nature is brought out by several persons with zoomorphic heads (dog, mastiff) and false tails; they recall the representation of the old gods of ancient Egypt and at the same time the ritual disguises still used among African Negroes. They may be either appropriate disguises used for hunting in order to be able /299/ to approach game more easily, or else they are persons wearing masks

172 for religious reasons. At any rate it may be stated positively that the fertility cult was in vogue at the same epoch, to judge from the many drawings which are erotic in character. Finally, we may add that magic was practiced with regard to some animals -- antelopes, hippopotamuses. Their reproductions are often connected with cabalistic signs, such as a double spiral or an appendage between the horns resembling the uraeus of the Egyptians. Several stone statuettes, probably from the Neolithic age, have been found at Tit, Tazerouk (Ahaggar), and Tabelbalet (Tassili). They represented animals, rams or bovids and owls, which were surely the object of idolatry.

In the so-called bovid period, identical observations may be made. Several cows wear disks between their horns or else a little ring representing a slip knot. Perhaps these drawings are related to ram worship which was very much in vogue in North Africa and especially in the oasis of Ammon; this cult seems to have been replaced in the Central Sahara by worship of the cow. This animal was still honored as a god by the Berbers, who called it Doul Korneïn. The Sudanese Peul had no mystic life except
[171] their cow worship. We must explain that no similar belief has been discovered among the Tuareg.

The rock paintings, which are on the whole more recent than the oldest drawings, also give us a few indications to be remembered. Near Djanet a large painted panel represents a series of more or less steatopygic women dancing in the middle of a circle of people who are clapping their hands; then on his side, a man enters in turn into the dance, wearing a mask topped with horns (he is a sorceror or wears an ancestors' mask). This is exactly the picture of the magic scenes which we see among the Sudanese, where they periodically organize dances in which the masks of family ancestors
[532 participate. Traces of these dances have even been maintained
535] in the Djanet oasis; every year there, on the occasion of the festival of "zébiba," people dress in tawdry finery and masks topped with horns. At Mertoûtek one may also see a large

personage painted in the back of an apse resembling an altar; his head is crowned /300/ by an enormous disk which must be religious in nature. Finally, many little human figures are headless, which, according to several scholars, Gautier in particular, must be interpreted as an interdiction relating to the head; the wearing of the veil among the Tuareg would be a reminder of this.

Let us also recall that in Tuareg country there are numerous stone disks, large in diameter, which might be ancient altars intended for sun worship (Gautier). There are also many pagan tombs where the bodies lie in a fetal position, a custom of religious nature which was widespread in all of North Africa and in pre-Pharaonic Egypt.

Religion of the ancient Libyans. -- We have only very little information on the religion of the ancient Libyans, most of it left by Herodotus. This author tells us that the Nasamonians venerated the tombs of those of their ancestors who passed for having been the most just and the best, and that they swore on them by going to touch their tombs (CLXXII). The Ammonians from the Ammon oasis practiced ram worship, which must have been borrowed from Thebes, where Zeus, the god of that locality, was pictured as a human being with a ram's face (CLXXXI). The Auseans worshipped the goddess Athena, daughter of Poseidon and the limmê Tritonis (CLXXX). As for the Atlantes, greatly renowned for their wisdom, they did not dream dreams (that is, they did not use oracles as most of the Mediterranean peoples did) and ate nothing which had been alive (CLXXXIV); this may be interpreted as a vestige of totemism. Herodotus tells us further that all the Libyan nomads, who lived from Egypt to Lake Tritonis and ate meat and milk, imitated the Egyptians and abstained from eating beef and pork; their wives also followed that rule out of respect for Isis, the Egyptian goddess (CLXXXVI). They all made sacrifices to the moon and to the sun. Those of Lake Tritonis made sacrifices to Athena, then to Triton and Poseidon (CLXXXVIII).

197 Abd Allah Ed-Djafar, a lieutenant of Sidi Okba ben Nafi (died in
173 683), whose two companions died near a little Hirhafok village, at Tiokine exactly, where their tombs are still the objects of veneration to a certain degree.

In legends the natives even claim that Sidi Okba was killed by a Tuareg (Koceilata), thus confusing their history with that of the people from Aurès and the Kounta Dag Ech Cheikh who call themselves the descendants of Sidi Okba. This explains the ancestral hate which exists between them and the Tuareg. It has, however, been proved that Sidi Okba ben Nafi never penetrated into the Sahara, although perhaps it is a question of a confusion of names or a homonym.

[172] In addition to the Tiokine tombs, there is the rock inscription painted on the ceiling of a grotto at T-i-m-missao which testifies to the passage of the first Islamizers. This was pointed out for the first time by Duveyrier and followed up by Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, pp. 205-208. Since then, this inscription has been the subject of a detailed study by Th. Monod, Journal des Africanistes, vol. VIII, part 1, 1938, pp. 83-95.

[177] We must not believe that the Tuareg adopted Islamism right away, for although they accepted the Koran as a guide to their religious faith, they gave up nothing of their mores or their former pagan customs. The Arabs even claim that they apostasized as much as fourteen times, and they still consider them very lukewarm Moslems today. Furthermore, they probably belonged
[669] for a long time to the heretical sect of Wahabis, with whom they were allied; this was just another way of rebelling against the conquerors.

174 themselves, which are either hopelessly vague and sketchy or obvious fabrications of Islamic inspiration, or a combination of the two, and which also are often contradictory. In the opinion of the present author it seems unreasonable to hope to learn much about Tuareg origins from literary sources, either written or preserved by word of mouth.

172 Fortunately, other kinds of sources are open, to us. The so-called tomb of Tin Hinan (fig. 40), the legendary ancestress of the Ahaggar 174 Tuareg (*see* Reygasse, 1950, pp. 88–106, and Wheeler, 1955, pp. 107–11), yielded a rich collection of jewelry including objects of gold, silver and iron and beads of glass and semiprecious stone, as well as various other odds and ends such as fragments of leather clothing (?) and wooden furniture, Roman lamps and glassware, arrow (or javelin?) points and nails of iron, and thin discs of gold that had been pressed over a coin or coins of Constantine the Great. Specialists consulted by the author[2] agree on two points: firstly, that most of this material bears no resemblance to anything we know from Egypt or the Sudan while all of it may well have come from elsewhere; and, secondly, that the whole assemblage has a distinctly eastern Roman flavor and may date from as early as the 4th or as late as the 6th century A.D. The iron projectile points are faintly disturbing, for they look almost exactly like those used on arrows by the modern Teita who live in the Coastal Province of Kenya Colony (Prins, 1955). All of this does not help us much, however, for as Wheeler (1955, p. 111) says: "In the absence of comparable relics within hundreds of miles of Tin Hinan, it is impossible at present to put her fortlet and tomb into a wider context." The one important lesson to be learned here is that we may hope to learn more about the origins of the Tuareg from future excavations of similar monuments and ancient habitation sites in the Tuareg country and surrounding regions. In the meantime we can only fall back once more on physical, linguistic and cultural evidence.

144 Physically the modern Tuareg of the Sahara

[2] These authorities included Christine Alexander and Vera K. Ostoia of the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, New York City, Anthony J. Arkell of University College London, Dows Dunham of the

## Chapter XIII

### Ancient Graves. Upright Stones

Ancient graves. Almost everywhere, in the Ahnet, Adhar', 172
Ahaggar, Immidir, and even on the banks of the wadis that 764
cross Tanezrouft, are found many ancient graves shaped either like a truncated cone, or "chouchat," or like a little turret, or "bazina," like those found everywhere in North Africa.

I saw one, however, at Tamanrasset (right next to the grave of the Tamenokalt Taber'ourt oult Akhalakham of the Imanan) which had a special shape. It was a pile of stones in the shape of a rectangular parallelepiped, four meters long by one meter wide, and one meter high.

172
173
764
[192]

The Tuareg say that these graves, which they call "adebni," plural "idebnane" (a word which seems to be derived from the Arab word "beni," building), are those of the "Izabbaren" ⵉⵣⴱⴱⴰⵔⵏ . Then, too, this word in Tamashek means "ogres" and in the singular is "zabbar" ⵣⴱⴱⴰⵔ , "ogre." The Ahaggar and the Ta'ttoq refuse to admit that these were perhaps their ancestors at the time of paganism who had graves of this kind. "The Izabbaren," they say, "have nothing in common with us. They are not our ancestors." It was for this reason that Professor Gautier could explore some of these graves without opposition on their part.

Meanwhile, there is also another kind of grave which still 172
has a circular shape but with the "chouahed," or markers, custom- 764
ary with all Moslems, while the "chouchat," or "bazina," graves are without them. This kind of grave is more unusual. It seems to be a form intermediary between the "Izabbaren" graves and the present graves.

On the other hand, the Tuareg will show you the grave of 172
Tin /78/ Hinane, the ancestress from whom they claim to be 173
descended, which is located at the junction of the Tefirt wadi 764

and the Abalessa wadi. Now, this grave has the shape of an 172
enormous circular wall and is surrounded by other graves of the 173
"chouchat" shape which are those of Tin Hinane's servants. 764
Beside her grave is that of Takamat, the woman whom the Kel Ahnet claim as their ancestress. All these graves resemble those of the "izabbaren" so closely as to be confusing. Why do the Tuareg disclaim these while they acknowledge those of Tin Hinane, Takamat, and their servants?

We saw in the chapter "Superstitions, Beliefs" that the 769
Tuareg go to consult the Izzabaren graves to obtain news of 787
those absent.

In the Tafidjiq wadi (about four hours' walk from Ideles) there is a grave which is the object of great veneration on the

[342]

Harratine Huts at Ideles
(Koudia)

part of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is that of Adjadj Alemine [797
(probably the missionary who converted them to Islamism; see 174]
the chapter on the origin of the Tuareg /not translated/). The Ahaggar say that this Adjadj Alemine was a marabout, a saint, and they call on him in their prayers when they are in trouble or grief, as the Arabs, under the same circumstances, call on Sidi Abdelkader el Djillali. I have not seen his grave, but I was told that it has "chouahed" like all Moslem graves.

Upright stones. Following the directions of the guide 172
Deguemma ag Chikat of the Adjouh-n-Taheli, I found, in the Koudia of the Ahaggar, a place where there was a collection of some ten upright stones of which only one remained /79/

standing. The others had fallen, and one could definitely see 172
the marks of the holes into which they had been set, as well as
of the stones placed at the base to hold them erect.

The stone that remains erect is covered on one side with [532]
symbols cut deeply into the stone, next to others which are al-
most effaced. It is about 2.60 meters high and about 25 cm.
wide on each of its four sides, which are smoothed and polished.

The other stones that are fallen to the ground have about the
same dimensions, and one of them also has engraved inscriptions.

I took rubbings of the inscriptions cut into the stone still
standing.

Near by in the rocks of the footpath by which it is reached,
I also saw some engraved drawings of which I also took rubbings.

The location of these stones is right next to the trail from
Tiltekine, not far from the spring of the In Dalladj wadi, about
1,700 meters in altitude (in the Koudia of the Ahaggar), on
the road which leads from Tamanrasset to the sebkha of
Amadr'or, by way of Ideles.

I questioned the guide and the Tuareg who know these
stones, and of course they could give me no explanation for
them. "We call them the standing stones, 'ebdaden' ⵉⵏⵏ
ⵉⴷⴷ . Those of old made them," they told me. "It is very
old. That is all we know."

-136 /35 cont./ circle everywhere, among the plants of the wadis, around the rocks in the mountains, on the trees, and in the guemouns /cultivated squares/ of the gardens, as well as near the water points.

The gueltas harbor an entire, very varied, aquatic fauna; the moist soil shelters a quantity of insects, larvae, and worms.

Lastly, scorpions are encountered almost everywhere, yellow or black, small or large. The Tuareg fear them. It appears, however, that the sting of the Ahaggar scorpion is not fatal; it causes a high fever, varying according to the individual victim, the time of the year, and the amount of venom injected.

To my knowledge there is no any complete scientific study of the Ahaggar's fauna.

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## II

## The People of the Ahaggar

• 172 One can say nothing very exact about the origin of the present populations of the Ahaggar, and less still on that of the populations of past centuries. However, we may be permitted to sketch a picture, a rather hypothetical one, of what the Ahaggar could have been in the remote past, although it is not possible to assign any certain chronology to the different periods.

The only positive knowledge we have of the prehistory is furnished by collections of tools, by the study of rock figurations, by results of excavations of pre-Islamic tombs, and by geological and paleoclimatological contributions. The oral traditions handed down by the Tuareg are not of much use, for they are rare and deal largely in myths.

172 /37 cont. / Many chipped stones have been found in the Ahaggar, indicating an early occupation of the region, but nearly all of the objects have been found on the surface, preventing the establishment of a chronology. However, Acheulian axes have been discovered by M. Arambourg in a basin of the Tihodaine erg beneath undisturbed sediments, with fossilized elephant bones. The In-Guezzam basin has also furnished paleolithic tools in association with fossilized bones. Objects of neolithic make are, in general, scattered on the ground.

/38/ Arrowheads are very rare. The most numerous tools are polished, two-edged axes; they are found in all sizes; some very small ones are made of very soft stone, and perhaps were used for money. Magnificent polished pestles, varying in length from 15 to 70 centimeters, are still sometimes used by the Negroes. Also to be found are polishing tools, fixed grindstones, scrapers, and the debris of pottery with linear decorations.

Some interesting information is furnished by the rock engravings. One may say that the Ahaggar is covered with them. At the present time, nearly 120 sites are known, and there are certainly others to be discovered; on the other hand, rock paintings are infrequent.

An examination of the engravings shows a succession of periods. The oldest are characterized by the presence of fauna found in humid steppe regions: elephants, lions, ostriches, giraffes, antelopes, bovids, horses. The most recent are identified by the presence of camels, asses, and crude line drawings of men.

[532 212] Contemporary engravings, accompanied by inscriptions in tifinagh, are easily recognizable, for the legends may be translated.

The rarity of paintings in the Ahaggar is explained by the almost total absence of caves permitting their preservation. Those that have been discovered were found in sheltered places

•172 /38 cont./ in granitic regions. The tassilis, which have genuine caves, have not yet furnished us with any paintings. The most famous paintings are those in the Tefedest: at the Coche and Cousin-Lelubre sites. Another site, discovered in April, 1951, by M. Bobo in a valley of the Adrar Haggarène, adds a new element for the Ahaggar in that its figurations are different from those of the Tefedest.

The oldest engravings, which are termed "pre-cameline" for want of more precise references, have a considerable patina; the patina of some seems identical to that of the rock. We find perfectly drawn animals, /39/ sometimes in a dynamic posture; the line is precise, often deep in spite of the hardness of the base rocks (microgranites, basalts, etc.); sometimes the drawing is filled in in spots. Bovids and horses, although certainly ancient, have a less heavy patina than do the elephants, giraffes, and lions. Certain horses seem to be drawn less surely; it seems that one sees a decadence of the rock art which announces the following period. In addition to animals, there are enigmatic drawings, tracks, human figures; some animals are striped with parallel lines.

Next comes the "cameline" period. In addition to camels, there are also frequent asses and horses, as well as stylized men drawn with a maximum of three strokes. All of the drawings are summarily done and are without artistic interest; the line is often imprecise and there is almost no patina. There are also some scarcely comprehensible figures, some outlines of nails /sandals/, and a few ostrich silhouettes. The Tuareg are unable to translate the inscriptions in tifinagh characters.

[532] Contemporary engravings are rather rare. They portray asses, camels, and are of no interest whatsoever, except to illustrate the fact that men have been attracted to the same places, as these engravings and inscriptions overlap older ones.

Tombs of different forms are scattered throughout the Ahaggar. They are found practically everywhere, and no

172 /39 cont./ conclusions may be drawn from the presence of pre-Islamic tombs near sites of rock drawings. The Tuareg call the pre-Islamic tombs "debni" -- "idebnan" in the plural. The most frequent type is a tumulus with a diameter of about four or five meters, but much bigger ones exist, and some even have diameters of 20 or 25 meters. Sometimes the tumulus is isolated, but most often there are three or four idebnan together, and it is not unusual to find veritable necropolises. If a great many sepulchers are found near the most watered wadis of the Ahaggar, there are also /40/ many at more remote points: in the Tanezrouft and the Ténéré, where there is absolute desert at the present time.

Chouchets are less numerous than the tumuli, although very numerous. Quite well constructed, perfectly round, this type of debni required considerable work; some are as big as 20 meters in diameter.

Other types of monuments, less numerous than the preceding, are nevertheless rather widespread. They consist of perfectly regular concentric circles, marked out with stones dug into the ground; the largest have diameters of about 25 meters.

Rectangles enclosed by standing slabs and filled with average-sized pebbles also exist. These rectangles may be from 40 to 60 centimeters high. To the east, about two meters away, is constructed a U, with the ends pointing to the debni.

One also finds circles entirely paved with slabs, ordinary tumuli surrounded by oval flagging, and tumuli enclosed by little concentric walls crossed by a paved path. Lastly, idebnan in the form of crescents, with the central part filled with pebbles, are often associated with tumuli. The filling of the crescent diminishes toward the points to end in a line of stones. Some of these crescents have an enormous spread, with the distance between the points reaching as much as 400 meters; they are nearly always situated on an elongated and

172 /40 cont./ isolated gara /butte/, or on the slopes of a larger hill. One hardly ever sees them in the Ahaggar; the area in which these crescents are found extends toward the south of the central massif, beyond the large regs; a great many are found in the Adrar des Iforas and in the southern tassilis. It may be that they are manifestations of a civilization different from that of the central Ahaggar.

Oral Traditions

172 173 The Tuareg know that before their arrival a people called the Issabaten existed in the Ahaggar. These people had a social system /41/ of castes and were ignorant of the camel. The Issabaten were unintelligent, and their stupidity is still proverbial today. The Tuareg say that they never had any conflict with these gentle and calm beings. Some of the Issabaten, no doubt of a higher caste, must have been cleverer, for tradition still conserves the name of Amamellen and of his nephew Elias, who reputedly were the founders of rock art. These people had no religion -- this must be understood to mean that they were not Moslems.

No one has yet been able to translate the ancient inscriptions in tifinagh characters that are found rather frequently. The Tuareg maintain that the inscriptions are in a language different from their own, although written with the same characters; some Tuareg believe that the inscriptions are in code, with the letters transposed within the words, and that whoever is able to decipher them will learn where treasures are hidden.

172 174 It is certain that a civilization with paleolithic techniques existed in the Ahaggar during a humid period, probably at the edge of lakes or around the drainage basins into which the large wadis (Tanezrouft; Amded, Tamanrasset; Igharghar, Tin-Tarabin, In-Guezzam, Amadror, Thihodaïne, Tafassasset) emptied. There is every reason to believe that

M2 M4 /41 cont./ the beings who peopled the Ahaggar at that epoch must have been of a Negroid race, similar in general characteristics to the people of Asselar. They were probably fishermen and hunters. Vegetation was abundant at the edges of the present-day wadis. A fauna composed of elephants, felines, giraffes, etc., reigned in the plains. The Atakor no doubt enjoyed a Mediterranean climate, but must not have been inhabited. It does not appear to be possible at this time to determine the duration of this period or to place it in time; it must have had some connection with the glacial periods in Europe.

During an interglacial period, the change to a dry climate gave the Ahaggar a desertlike character. The Negroid population, seeing its way of life upset, must have fled the Ahaggar to go south until it found conditions of existence suitable to it.

For a long while the Ahaggar remained uninhabited. /42/ The dryness continued, and the Sahara was a more terrible desert for man than it is today. Then came a period of great humidity, brought on by more regular Sudanese monsoons. The wadis flowed again, although not as heavily or as regularly as in the paleolithic epoch. One must imagine the Ahaggar with a climate scarcely different from that of today, but with regular annual rains which allowed a fauna of the savannah to move from pasture to pasture, from the northern to the southern tassilis. The Atakor retained something of its Mediterranean character, evolving toward the residual type one sees at the present time.

With conditions suitable for human life again realized in the Ahaggar, man returned to populate these regions. The new inhabitant of the Ahaggar possessed a civilization that he brought with him, no doubt from Upper Egypt. He was a cattle raiser, Negroid in type, clever at working and polishing stone; he knew how to cultivate cereals, and how to grind and cook them. The women, fat and often steatopygic,

172 /42 cont./ made pots decorated with line drawings. These
174 peoples, with a neolithic culture, could have come to the Ahaggar from the south and the east, but some groups could have come by way of the Igharghar Valley, driving their cattle before them. The tribal chiefs were aged men, masters of magic rites; they knew how to cast spells and used esoteric signs. Some were veritable artists in engraving and sculpture.

Later, there is reason to believe, white populations from Libya settled in the Ahaggar, bringing with them heliolithic customs from the Mediterranean shores, such as megalithic monuments, the sun and serpent cults, cranial deformation, the caste system. The paintings in the Tefedest clearly represent Negro shepherds, but the new paintings of the Takecherouelt wadi show people of a white race, tall and thin.

Should we consider these whites to be the ancestors of the /43/ present-day Tuareg? It would be premature to think this, but they may have been the first wave of Berbers to come to the Ahaggar. Their exodus may have been remembered by the nomadic Berber tribes who, later, camel owners, fled for various reasons before Roman and Arab promiscuity, and rediscovered the route of the neolithic whites to the Ahaggar.

The chronology of the protohistory is difficult to establish. However, a certain number of documents on this period exist. In the first place, we have the results of archaeological research, from the excavation of pre-Islamic monuments, particularly that of Tin-Hinan (cf. the book by M. Reygasse on the pre-Islamic funerary monuments).

173 The Tuareg have a certain number of oral traditions concerning this period. On the other hand, the inscriptions from the "cameline" age give us only very sketchy information: the oldest are untranslatable, and the most recent offer very little of interest; they are limited to the expression of the admiration of a man for a woman, or to arranging rendezvous.

539 /129 cont./ Upon arriving at the scene of the drama, he soon was able to reconstruct the event and to see its fatal outcome. As he was a brave man, he could not return to camp without avenging his brother.

He tested his takouba to make sure it left the scabbard easily, held his shield close to him, and steadied his spear. When he was ready, he cried "Arr arr rrrinek" several times with all his might. (This cry, it seems, has the power to render the lion particularly furious.)

The lion soon appeared, his mane bristling, his eyes /130/ terrible. The man gave his cry again. The furious beast charged. At the first bound, the spear which still hobbled him broke. The Targui threw his spear but missed the bounding animal. Parrying the animal's terrible cuff with his shield, the Targui drew his sword and with one blow cut off the lion's head.

He returned to the tent with his trophy and with his brother's broken spear.

Even for going to the ahal, one must, in the desert, be very well armed!

[72] In the vicinity of nearly all water points in the Ahaggar, one may see engravings on the rocks. The Tuareg are very familiar with these reminders of another age; by tradition they attribute these works to two mythical characters whose names we cited in a previous chapter: Amamellen and Elias. Here is a legend concerning these two heros.

Long, long ago, long before the Tuareg came to the Ahaggar, other peoples lived on these lands. No one now is able to say who these people were. All that is known is that some among them were rich, for the land was fertile and the rains abundant. The chiefs were honored, as their tombs

103 /192 cont./ capital of the Ahaggar from 1908 to 1921. One
361 may see the old bordj overlooking the wadi, as well as old
621 houses at the foot of the cliff.

An important center, it is the fief of the Adjouh n'Téhélé tribe. Fifty-two hectares are cultivable, irrigated by ten foggara. There are numerous tanout. Fruit trees are in decline but there are still fig trees, apricot trees, and vines.

[172] Numerous pre-Islamic tombs are evidence of a very ancient occupation of this water point. Three rock-drawing sites exist on ridges downstream from the bordj.

Six kilometers downstream from the gardens, an enormous stand of tahli announces the entrance to very narrow gorges, in which one may follow over a distance of ten kilometers a veritable stream connecting a string of guelta. This is perhaps the most important permanent flow of water in the Ahaggar.

In-Dalag (altitude: 1,450 meters)

Located in the In-Dalag wadi, this very important center extends over a length of 15 kilometers. The water table is fed by waters running from the southeast of the Atakor and from the Ahélélheg djebel. The Adjouh n'Téhélé own the gardens. In dry periods this center is partly abandoned, as well as the small villages downstream: Tehi n'Oudi, Tin-Tsoumar, Tabarakaten, In-Tinsi, In-Tolouline.

There are five foggara at In-Dalag. Downstream from the cultivated centers gorges are found where great numbers of tahli grow.

/193/ Tahifet

An important center located in the wadi of the same name 50 kilometers north of Tarhaouaout. The Adjouh n'Téhélé are owners of the gardens. The cultivable surface comes to 22 hectares; there are eight foggara. Six kilometers downstream from the gardens is a tiggert surrounded by a large amount of spontaneous vegetation. The site is very picturesque.

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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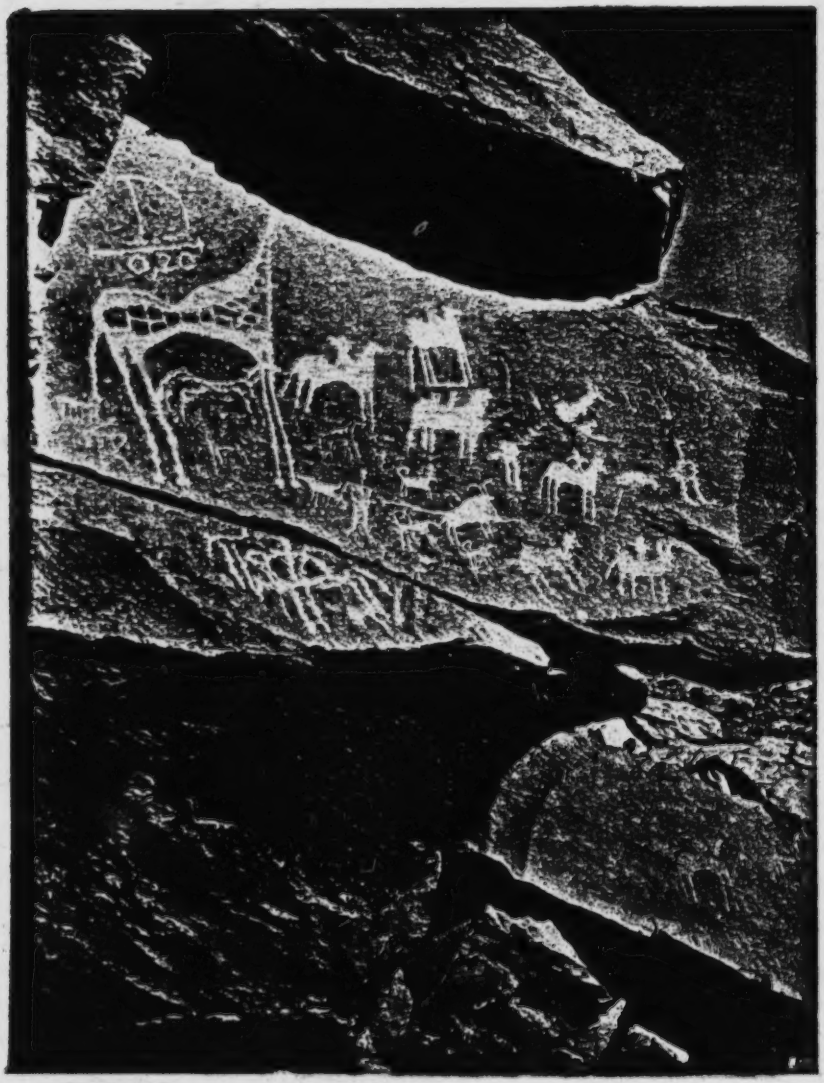

16. Rock painting near the Hirafok oasis.

[p.20]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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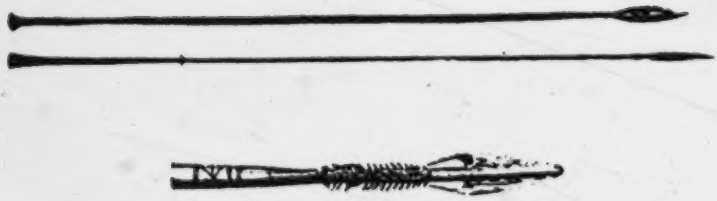

Fig. 112a–c. Tuareg spears.

a. Spear of the *tarda* type used for hunting. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 1.80 m (N.M. G. 1.156).
b. Iron spear of the *allay* type which is mainly a war weapon. Ahaggar, Collected by Olufsen. Dimension 1.82 m (N.M. G. 1.155).
c. Iron point of the barbed Tebu lance (*tarda*) occasionally used by the Ayr Tuareg. Dimension: 0.265 m (N.M. G. 6619).

224 they are eagerly pursued by many rifle-owning nomads. Lhote estimates that in the year 1939 the Ahaggar Tuareg killed 300 barbary sheep by means of their traditional hunting methods, while in the winter season 1949–50 more than 200 animals were killed with rifles in the central parts of Ahaggar [432] (Lhote 1955a, p. 284). In 1954 the meat of one barbary sheep was sold for 4000 French francs, the [648] hide for 2000 francs. Though hunting of these animals is officially prohibited by the French, it is tacitly permitted and meat is frequently sold at the market place of Tamanrasset.

The traditional methods used mainly in hunting gazelle and barbary sheep are as follows:—

[411] (1) The spear (*tarda;* Fig. 112a) is nowadays used mainly by slaves, who never possess rifles. Before [567] rifles became common it was the typical hunting weapon of all vassal Tuareg. Hunting with the spear [565] takes place during the hottest time of the day, when the animals hide under rocks and trees to seek protection from the burning sun and the flies. It is then possible to creep very close to the game, and even the otherwise very shy barbary sheep can be taken in this way. When the hunter is close to the hiding place of a barbary sheep he claps his hand, and the animal rises, bewildered, and is then speared. In the past many barbary sheep were killed in this way, and it is said that a skilled and lucky hunter may even secure four or five animals in one day.

[171] (2) The use of stalking animals. Hunting by this method is used by some African stock-breeders (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 97 ff.). There is a detailed description of the use of camels trained for this purpose among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara (Harding King 1903, p. 171 ff.). As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not train their camels for stalking, but on journeys they frequently hide behind their animals to approach and kill gazelle. In this case the hunting weapon is normally a rifle. But the method is perhaps an ancient one and used also for other hunting weapons in the past, as game animals do not fear domestic animals among which they frequently graze in the desert. In fact, [172] the ancient use of stalking animals in Northern Africa is clearly substantiated by a rock engraving at

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Wan Abu (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) from the pre-historic cattle-breeding period ("periode bovine"). The picture shows a hunter armed with a bow and hiding behind an ox (?) which is provided with a lead held in the left hand. The hunter approaches an ostrich and perhaps also giraffes and gazelles which are also depicted. This rock engraving was discovered by Lhote, who believes that the stalking animal depicted is an antelope (cf. Lhote 1958, Fig. 69 p. 147, p. 264). 224 /72

(3) Hunting in disguise. True hunters do not use their ordinary dress of indigo or white colours during a hunt as it is seen by game animals at a great distance. The hunters use preferably a shirt and a head-cloth of yellow-brown colours which resemble the colours of sand and dry plants. I do not know whether other types of disguise are known. It is very likely (cf. Ayr Tuareg below p. 166). 224 [292]

(4) Hunting from artificial hiding-places. The use of artificial hiding-places consisting of walls built of stone is mentioned by Foucauld, who does not explain their use. They are known as *timuyal* (sing. *tamayilt*) (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1179).

(5) Hunting with dogs. Greyhounds and greyhound-like dogs are used in hunting barbary sheep. The dogs surround the animal and prevent it to escaping, so that it can be killed by a hunter with a spear. There are very few greyhounds among the Ahaggar Tuareg, but slender greyhound-like dogs are fairly common (cf. p. 114 f.). The true greyhounds may succeed in running down gazelle, and I was told among the *Kel Ajjer* that greyhound are trained not to kill the game but to bite its legs, and then to return to their master to lead him to the ferociously-bitten animal so that he can kill it ritually. However, most Tuareg dogs are not able to run down adult gazelle. Occasionally they catch young animals of which they are allowed to eat such entrails as are not eaten by the Tuareg. Dogs can more easily catch hares. It is said that some dogs are trained to bring caught hares alive to their masters, but most dogs are not too well fed and therefore eat on the spot the hares they catch. [231]

(6) Riding camels are sometimes used for the running down of game animals. Gazelle can be taken in this way only if they are wounded, and barbary sheep normally graze in mountains inaccessible to camels. But it happens that barbary sheep descend into sandy plains to feed on certain annual plants, and can then easily be taken by camel riders as they get very exhausted when they have to run quickly

[224]

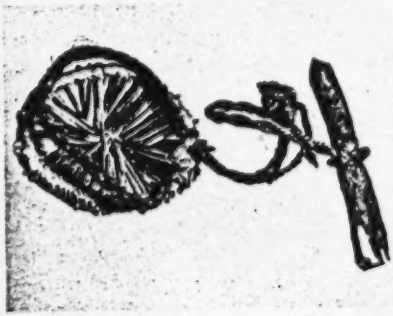

Fig. 113. The spiked wheel-trap (*ifetaw*) connected with a noosed rope (*taqaur*) attached to a stick. The wheel is made from straw of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) bent into circular form. Small pointed sticks (*iğulan*, sing. *ağula*) are inserted into the straw circle and fixed to it by means of bast of the *abuy* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) which is wrapped around the straw-wheel and the pointed sticks. The noosed rope is made from date palm bast, but frequently it is also made from *abuy* bast. The small pointed sticks are made from twigs of the *apawu* tamarisk (*Tamarix gallica*). Ahaggar, the *Ağub-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the wheel: about 0.20 m (F.M. 141a–b).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 198. Flint (*taforast*), steel (*ćwefed*), and lighting material (*tajjert*). The lighting material, which is conserved in a leather bag (*tarallobt*), is made from wood of *teféryast* (*Echinops Bovei*). Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tekki* tribe. Dimension of the steel 0.065 m long. (F.M. 154a–d).

412 tools, e.g., for hammering tent pegs into the ground, for rope making as described below, for separating the hide from the body when skinning a barbary sheep, and for crushing rock-salt, red pebber, dried tomatoes, tobacco, and the like. We have seen above that the Tuareg saddle querns used for grinding cereals are natural stones of a particular form and size, and that they are used for grinding without any particular fashioning, though sometimes treated with a hard stone or a piece of iron to make the [324] grinding surface more rugged and effective. The handmill is never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg (cf. p. 214 ff., Figs. 179–182).

412 Prehistoric quern stones and stone pestles are found in many regions of the Central Sahara and ●172 these ancient implements, I was told, are sometimes used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar for grinding and pounding (Fig. 200). The Tuareg also use the numerous neolithic stone axes (Fig. 199) as whetstones for iron knives. These axes are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tadeft n eğenna*, that is "the axe of the rain (or the thunder)", and all Tuareg believe that they have fallen from the sky during heavy storms.

301 Stone material is still used for certain Tuareg ornaments, and notably for the well-known arm-ring (*ahbeğ* in Ahaggar, *ćweki* in Ayr) which is worn by most adult men and also by some boys. These rings are sometimes mentioned in literature as a weapon, but they are not well fitted for this owing [564] to their fragility. Most arm-rings are made from soft stone such as serpentine, and are manufactured by blacksmiths (Iueden).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



by blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*amerwan*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talak*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akralal, abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *taḥeft n ejenna*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Aḫuh-en-tahil* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

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Fig. 200. Neolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isebeten* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045–0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

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Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*amerwan*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

The pottery made in

323 [531] Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have [114] been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing [113] of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information [437] (Lhote 1947b, p. 145–154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

[462] In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 507–512).

[Text continues on p. 260]

172 The so-called *Tomb of Ti-n-Hinan*, an enormous fort at Abalessa in Ahaggar dating back to the 4th century A.D., has dry walls (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.; Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 95).

*342 Any solid house of the above mentioned types is known to the Tuareg as *tarahamt* (Ahaggar) or [253] *tarajamt* (Ayr). Pastoral Tuareg do not like to live in houses, and some of them believe that they may contract an illness if they stay too long in a house (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 221).

*342 174 Capot-Rey thinks that mud houses with terraces were introduced into the Sudan with the Arabs (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 231 f.), while Engeström and Le Moal hold them to be pre-Islamic (Engeström 1959, p.64–69; Le Moal 1960, p. 202). I believe that houses built of sun-dried bricks are post-Islamic in Tuareg countries. This agrees with Nicolas' statement that there are two Hausa words which are generally used for sun-dried bricks, and both words are derived from Arabic (Nicolas 1938, p. 67). Furthermore, houses constructed in this way are not very common in the Southern Sahara except in towns and cities. In Ahaggar there were apparently no houses built of sun-dried bricks until the beginning of the French occupation when the immigration of Tidikelt Arabs increased.

Houses built of balls of mud piled upon each other before sun-drying are no doubt pre-Islamic (cf. Nicolas 1938, p. 67), and we know that this is also true of houses built of stones and mud. They are still widely found in the Sahara and constituted an important dwelling type in ancient towns and cities including Ghana. Capot-Rey thinks that houses built predominantly of stone were introduced to the Sahara and the Sudan by Berber tribes of the north, and that these houses have to some extent displaced the straw-huts of the Negroes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 233). A connection between the stone houses of the Sahara and the immigration of Berbers is also claimed by Rodd, who thinks that the oldest type of solid houses in Ayr (the "A-type" according to Rodd's division) was built of stone and came to Ayr with the *Itésen* Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 244 ff.). I myself was frequently told by Tuareg of Ayr that originally there was a very close association between the *Itésen* Tuareg and stone houses, and various ruins of houses built of stone or predominantly of stone are ascribed to the *Itésen*. Ruins [173] at Tegidda-n-tagayt of small rectangular houses and a ruin at the same place of a large fort or walled enclosure, measuring about 35 X 35 metres, are said by modern Tuareg to derive from the ancient *Itésen* Tuareg who according to native tradition were among the early Tuareg immigrants (cf. p. 412).

*342 172 It seems that houses built predominantly of stone are of very great age in the northern parts of the Sahara, including Tasilé-n-Ajjer. At Êherir, situated in the latter mountain massif, there are house-ruins with walls of stones kept together by a thin layer of clay or similar material. It has been suggested that these constructions may reach back to antiquity and be due to Roman influence (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 87).

*342 172 174 Though solid houses built of stone seem to be very ancient in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, it would seem that all types of solid houses were introduced into Ahaggar in late pre-Islamic times. For the oldest houses ruins of Ahaggar, apart from the *Tomb of Ti-n-Hinan*, show walls of stones united with mud at Silef, and seem to derive from Arab marabuts who lived there during the reign of the *Imenan* (cf. p. 393).

*342 174 There are also house-ruins, probably of the same age, at Tit (Lhote 1955a, p. 87, 286). Apart from these ruins the Tuareg of Ahaggar say there were no solid houses in Ahaggar until about a hundred years

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



seeds the caravan was able to arrive in Ahaggar. In order to commemorate this event the *Dag Rali* 173
and the *Kel Ahnet*, who descend from *Takama*, each year give a fixed tribute of seeds or dates to the 565
noble Tuareg who descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* (cf. Lehureaux 1929; Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.).

The stories about the origin of certain noble Tuareg from *Ti-n-Hinan* and the descent of the oldest vassal clans from *Takama* are traditions which seem to be created to justify the class-division and the supremacy of the noble Tuareg. The events narrated in the two variations of this tradition are contradictory. According to the tradition quoted by Foucauld, the noble Tuareg descending from *Ti-n-Hinan* had no camels when they arrived in Ahaggar, whereas that recorded by Lehureaux states that their ancestress came to Ahaggar riding on a camel. As to this I may say that all noble Tuareg I have questioned have claimed that they have always been camel owners.

The *Ti-n-Hinan* traditions bear the stamp of myth and they seem to have originated among the noble Tuareg. It is an interesting fact that the tombs near Abalessa, which according to the tradition 172
should contain the bodies of *Ti-n-Hinan* and *Takama*, at their excavation actually contained the skeletal 173
remains of two europid women. The so-called tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan* is in fact not so much a tomb as an enormous fort built of stone and containing several graves. The building is about 26×24 metres but of irregular shape. Its height is estimated to have been about 4 metres. In the interior of the building there are *tifinar* inscriptions and engravings. Around the tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan* there are several small stone graves of the so-called "chouchet" type which contained skeletal remains of men, women, and children. About 200 metres from *Ti-n-Hinan*'s tomb there is a smaller tomb which appears to have been very simple and of the "chouchet" type. This according to tradition is the tomb of *Takama*. There seem to be little doubt that the monument as well as its surrounding tombs are pre-Islamic. It is also very likely that it has been erected by Berber-speaking peoples, and it was perhaps used as a station for caravans crossing the Sahara from the Mediterranean to the Sudan. The archaeological finds show a mixture of Roman artifacts from the 4th century A.D., and Sudanese articles. Reygasse, who has described the fort and its finds in detail, has also collected a tradition in Ahaggar a[illegible]g to which the fort was erected by a *rumi* named *Johuta* who lived in Ahaggar somewhat be[illegible]the introduction of Islam (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.). Though the *Ti-n-Hinan* monument was probably erected by a Berber-speaking people who dominated Ahaggar, we cannot be so sure that its founders were the ancestors of the noble Tuareg. We must again bear in mind that the *Ti-n-Hinan* tradition 173
contains a strong mythical element, and that traditions and truth are often different things. To-day it is widely said in Ahaggar that *Ti-n-Hinan* is the ancestress of the noble Tuareg and the French. It [648]
seems that this tradition derives from a French non-commissioned officer. The Frenchman related it to please the Tuareg and to create a bond between the Tuareg and the French. At all events we cannot accept the *Ti-n-Hinan* tradition as truth, and will now consider certain other traditions regarding the origin of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

*Tradition C.I.* This tradition is in circulation mainly among the vassals. It is as follows:— 173

The oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were a people called *Isebeten* who are also mentioned in the B.I. 565
tradition. They were pagans who lived in a very primitive fashion. They had no proper tents and natural caves in the mountains were their normal habitations. They subsisted mainly by hunting barbary sheep and by goat-breeding, and used donkeys as beasts of burden. Foucauld mentions a

173 565 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day. [172] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten* people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides, two men known as *Mokhammed ag-Kerku* and *Êmenni ag-Khedidda*, both members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* claim that their tribe descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten* formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Ṛali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten* were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and introduced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient *Isebeten* contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much [551] difficulty. For the word *Ésebet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending from the woman *Ésebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had [114] a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Ṛali* [428] tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a, p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 614 565 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are known by the name *Kel Ulli*, that is "the goat people", or by the name *Imṛad* which perhaps also refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *eṛeyd* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas [433] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly [224] important to the *Dag Ṛali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this ancient people.

173 565 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ*, said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Berober*, and that they were Islamic. The claim that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyound doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Isamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



desert, which they might even cross to allow their animals to graze on Sudanese pastures (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 164 f.). Three Berber tribes or tribal groups, namely the Meseta, the Hawwara, and the Zenara, which, according to Ibn Khaldun, lead a pastoral life in Cyrenaica and further east, are stated to practise agriculture in the area between Alexandria and Old Cairo where they sojourn in winter (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 9). However, it would seem as if to most nomads of the northern desert agriculture was not so much practised that it could provide the necessary amount of cereals for the nomads. For, according to Ibn Khaldun, the Arab and Berber pastoralists of these northern regions generally spent the winter in the desert, while in summer they migrated to the Tell regions where they acquired their grain provisions (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 141, II, p. 275 ff., IV, p. 28 f.). 174

We have no information about agricultural activities among the Tuareg who, throughout the Middle Ages, lived in the very extensive area between the Atlantic Ocean and the Fezzan. Ibn Khaldun says that the Tuareg have camel-breeding as their most important occupation (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 105), and this is confirmed by Edrisi in the case of both Northern and Southern Tuareg. But though Edrisi states that the Tuareg live mainly on camel's milk and meat, certain passages of his book seem to indicate that agricultural products also played a part as food (Edrisi b, p. 10, 41, 67 f.). Ibn Batutah says that the Sultan of Tacadda (Ayr) knew neither wheat nor bread (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 443), which agrees with the fact that even to-day wheat-bread is not common among the people of Ayr, and he says of the Tuareg (the *Bardamah*) who live further south that they live on cow's milk and pounded millet mixed with water (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 437). This latter dish is doubtless identical with that known as *ạrehara* (Ahaggar) or *ạrejira* (Ayr) among modern Tuareg (cf. p. 245). Information about Tuareg nourishment is also given by Leo Africanus who, like Ibn Batutah, writes about this on the basis of personal experience. Leo says that the Tuareg live exclusively on camel's milk, butter, and meat, and eat no bread (Leo Africanus I, p. 152), but later he states that a Tuareg chief he visited in the desert had provisions of grown cereals and dates (Leo Africanus I, p. 154 f.).

Thus it seems as if agricultural food-products played a certain part for pastoral Tuareg of the Middle Ages. It is very possible that these products were obtained mainly through caravan trading, but the fact that agriculture is not mentioned in connection with the Tuareg of that early time cannot of course be taken as a proof that a primitive type of agriculture was then unknown. The Arab authors do not tell us much about Tuareg economy, and most Arabs who wrote about the Tuareg had no real knowledge of them. The fact that the *Kel Aïjer* practise a primitive type of agriculture in river valleys has not generally been noticed by Europeans travelling in that part of Africa. This form of agriculture, characterized by a type of primitive sowing, is perhaps to be considered very ancient in North Africa. In any event it would seem as if agriculture and stock-breeding during antiquity were closely connected subsistence activities (cf. Bates 1914, p. 30 f., 91 f.). It is also most interesting that the archaeologically known Fayum culture was based upon mixed farming as early as about 5000 B.C. (cf. Caton-Thompson & Gardner 1934), and the same holds for certain other prehistoric Egyptian cultures of about the same age (cf. Childe 1935, p. 49 ff.). One trait of the Fayum culture, namely the subterranean store-rooms for grain (cf. Caton-Thompson & Gardner 1934, p. 41 ff., pl. XXV ff.), is almost identical with the underground store-rooms used among the Tuareg. We can add that there is one other feature in Tuareg culture which perhaps point towards a connection between Tuareg culture and agriculture, [241] 172

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



172 namely the cylindrical house with a conical roof, which seems to have constituted the original type of dwelling of many northern vassals. This dwelling type has a world-wide distribution among primitive agriculturists (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 313), and we know that it was used in North Africa in antiquity. Hut-circles with heavy walls from predynastic cultures near Badari may perhaps be considered remains of such dwellings (cf. Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, p. 44 ff., 82 ff., pl. LXVI).

174 We might perhaps assume that culture as it existed among the ancestors of Tuareg vassals before the introduction of the camel was influenced by agricultural traits, and it would not be unnatural to advance the theory that it derives from a mixed farming culture. However, there can also be little doubt that we find in Tuareg culture features that are extremely old and probably date back to a hunting culture. It is of particular interest that the Tuareg have preserved very primitive methods of food preparation which are not generally known to true agriculturists (e.g., cooking with hot stones). I believe that the existence of such simple methods may be an indication that the culture is related to ancient hunting and collecting cultures. It is also very difficult to reject the possibility of a connection between hunting and the domestication of animals, for we have seen above that the Tuareg even to-day catch wild donkeys for domestication, and that, in the Middle Ages, they most possibly hunted these animals in order to utilize their meat and skin before the introduction of Islam which made 175 donkey's meat unlawful. It seems as if donkeys and asses have been important food animals throughout 171 the Near and Middle East even after the advent of Islam for we not only have Leo Africanus' state- [261] ment that the nomads of the Sahara consume the meat of donkeys caught in snares (Leo Africanus II, p. 944), but Duveyrier's statement that the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer catch donkeys in traps to utilize the skin (Duveyrier 1864, p. 231), and the fact that the Tuareg of Ahaggar even very recently have eaten donkey's meat in case of famine. There is information in literature which indicates that donkeys and asses have been commonly eaten elsewhere. Ibn Khaldun says that donkeys and horses were eaten by Algerian town-dwellers in case of need during the Middle Ages (Ibn Khaldun III, p. 377 f.), and Ibn Batutah states that Arabs of Oman consider donkey's meat lawful (Ibn Batutah II, p. 229). Ibn Batutah also says that meat of asses was eaten by the people of Suakin (Ibn Batutah II, p. 162), and we know that even up to modern times the Beja have hunted asses in order to consume their meat (Baker 1867, p. 55 f.; Murray 1935, p. 125). There is no information about the hunting of asses or donkeys for domestication among the Beja, but it is reported by several authors that members of this group leave their domesticated mares where wild asses are common in order that they shall mate with wild stallions (Heuglin 1869, p. 280; Bland-Sutton 1911, p. 188 f.; Murray 1935, p. 125).

174 We cannot discard the possibility that the domestication of donkeys originated from hunting, and it seems as though the donkey was first domesticated in Africa, where the wild ass still exists. When the domestication took place we do not know, but we are aware that domestic donkeys have been used in Egypt and in Asia (Ur) as early as 3000 B.C. (cf. Antonius 1922, p. 266; Hilzheimer 1930, p. 477). The donkey played a most important rôle in Ancient Egypt where it even had military importance (cf. Erman 1922, p. 592 f., 636, Figs. 207 & 208, pl. 36).

As to the domestication of other animals, we do not know how they were first tamed, and it has generally been overlooked that though there may perhaps be a connection between certain hunting

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



methods and domestication, the first domestic animals may of course well have been tamed in a culture which already knew of farming. It seems to me that, generally speaking, the theory of a development of stock-breeding within a farming culture is the most plausible one.

At the time when the noble Tuareg introduced the camel the North African pastoralists were apparently mainly goat-breeders who also had sheep of the *Ovis longipes* type, and donkeys. Tuareg traditions state that the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar, the *Isebeten*, were not only goat-breeders but also hunters, and a tradition collected by Foucauld states that they also knew agriculture (cf. p. 408). This may perhaps be so, though most Tuareg seem to deny it. A tradition of hunting as an important means of subsistence to the ancestors of vassal Tuareg accords well with the fact that important traits of a hunting culture appear to exist among the Tuareg; how can this be explained when we also claim that stock-breeding apparently developed from a mixed farming culture? I believe the most plausible explanation to be that the ancestors of Tuareg vassals first lived in the northern Sahara as roaming hunters. At a later date they were strongly influenced by a mixed-farming culture from which they adopted a primitive type of agriculture and stock-breeding. But stock-breeding came to play the largest rôle for them, partly because it was better fitted to environment, and partly because it was adapted to the roaming life of hunters.

It is most unfortunate that archaeology is so little advanced in the Central Sahara. Most archaeologists have been occupied with the study of rock-engravings. These are important to our knowledge of cultural history, but they cannot be precisely dated. Apart from the study of engravings, investigations have mainly concentrated upon tombs and other stone monuments, and these investigations do not help us much to understand the development of subsistence activities in the Sahara. However, we may ascribe some importance to the study of stone tombs of the so-called *chouchet* type. This, it is claimed by the ancient vassals of Ahaggar, constituted the traditional tomb of pre-Islamic Tuareg, and the tomb in which their ancestress *Takama* is said to have been buried is of *chouchet* type. Such tombs in Ahaggar seem to be found mainly close to river valleys that are flooded relatively frequently and generally are also close to modern cultivation centres (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 83). These tombs have been used among the Tuareg even after their Islamization (cf. Monod 1932, p. 34; Reygasse 1950, p. 39) but it is unknown when they were introduced into the Sahara. However, tombs of *chouchet* type are not only found in large parts of Tuareg country (Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, In Azawa, Northern Ayr, around Zinder, between Zinder and the Niger at Adṛaṛ of Tawa, Adṛaṛ of the Iforas), but also in the adjacent regions of Mauretania, Tibesti, and Bornu, which is their southern limit of distribution (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 40; Lhote 1955a, p. 83; Mauny 1961, p. 76 f.). Types of *chouchet* tombs occur in Algeria north of Hodna and in Aurès (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 8) and perhaps also in the Canary Islands (cf. Wölfel 1950, p. 248). Thus the possibility cannot be excluded that the former existence of such tombs in Tuareg culture may be due to some connection with mixed farmers of the Mediterranean at an early, but unfortunately yet unknown, date.

A last problem to be touched upon is the generally accepted view that nomadic stock-breeding is intimately connected with a patrilineal social system. This view has been emphasized in particular by the so-called Vienna School of ethnology under the leadership of Schmidt and Koppers, who speak about "Der viehzüchterische Nomadismus als Schöpfer der patriarchalen Systems und des Erst-

172

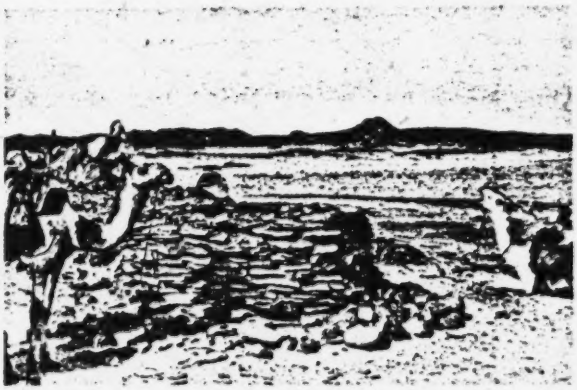

Fig. 298. Circular tomb of the so-called "chouchet" type. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset.

121 geborenenrechtes" (Schmidt & Koppers 1924, p. 537). I have stated above (p. 447) that there is not necessarily any connection between particular types of industry and particular types of social organization in North Africa. There are many examples of this in all continents where primitive peoples live. Whether there is historically any connection between patrilineal systems and pastoral stock-breeding 174 cannot be known. It is true that a great many pastoralists are pronounced patrilineal, but there is no doubt that certain pastoralists have adopted true patrilineal systems after their conversion to Islam. We have seen that this holds good for most Southern Tuareg, and it seems to be true also of the Beja pastoralists of Northeast Africa. They are to-day patrilineal, but formerly they were partly or entirely matrilineal, for Maqrizi states that among them a sister's son or a daughter's son possessed inheritance rights (Maqrizi, p. 561). We do not know whether other pastoralists have had matrilineal traits of social organization. Robertson Smith tried to prove that the Ancient Semites had previously been matrilineal (Robertson Smith 1907, p. 29 ff.), but his arguments have not been accepted by later authorities (cf. Pedersen 1958, p. 394). However, we cannot entirely discard the possibility that a kind of matrilineal social organization has formerly existed among pastoralists other than the Tuareg and the Beja, and this would apparently agree with the theory here accepted – that stock-breeding originated within a culture which knew farming, for matrilineal traits are frequently associated with primitive farming cultures. At all events I do not believe that matrilineal traits are to be considered recent among the Tuareg and the Beja, nor do I believe that these peoples were once patrilineal and that they adopted matrilineal affiliation owing to contact with other cultures, for we know that a true patrilineal system does not easily change into a matrilineal one (Murdock 1949, p. 190).

121 This theory is partly based upon the fact that transition from patrilineal to matrilineal systems cannot be shown to have occurred, partly upon the functional argument that matrilineal systems are not always stable because matrilineal rules frequently conflict with paternal love for sons. These conflicts of matrilineal systems have been described in great detail from Melanesia by Malinowski (Malinowski

184 from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin.
643 The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet,
[173] the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out,
611 it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except
631 among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the
651 titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll. He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his
[644] appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/
[178] today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It
[644] benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum
[534 called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum, "
177 "cylinder of a drum. "
192]

643 This instrument is so representative of command in the eyes of the Tuareg that they often refer to the aménokal and all the tribes which he holds under his command as "tobol."

184 643 Among the eastern Ioullimmiden (Kel Dinnik), the aménokal always had a standard placed in his tent, which was taken out exceptionally for war or the enthroning of a new aménokal. It was in blue-green and red silk. (1)

1. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik /Notes on the Society and State of the Dinnik Tuareg/," Bulletin de l'Institut Français, Afrique noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, p. 586.

Among the Ihăggaren, the tobol tribe, that is, the one from which the aménokal is always chosen, is the Kel Rela; however, the tobol has presumably changed hands over the centuries. The memory [173] of another chief-tribe, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, has remained, and thus the former Aménokal Altarel was accustomed to saying that the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi formed the back (of the political organization of the Ihăggaren), /while/ the Kel Rela, the Tăltok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet /formed/ the sides, but that the back was weakening to the profit of the sides. (2) This modification was caused by the total

2. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs de l'Ahaggar, p. 107.

extinction of the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi.

578 643 692 The aménokal's role is chiefly that of a war chief. In normal times he arbitrates the conflicts which set the tribes against one another, and he has the power of life or death, in principle. His authority is often contested by the Imochar of his own tribe, who try

565 /Fr. race/, " "aristocrat, " and not "noble" as some have written.
[192] This would be said elli (plural, illellan) in Tamashek. (1)

1. Cf. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik, " Bulletin de l'Institut Français, Afrique Noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, pp. 579-586.

192 In Sudanese dialects, amacher, by transposition into local
197 phonetics, becomes amajer (plural, imajeuren). As we have already said, it is easy to find in these names the old Berber root amazir, which formerly referred to certain Libyan peoples and which still exists in the name of a considerable Berber fraction in Morocco.

565 The Imochar, who hold the political rights, are the real masters of the country. All of them claim to be of sherif origin, more or
[173] less descendants of the Prophet; however, this claim has no solid foundation, except the desire to assume a high birth affiliating them to Islamism and its founder a long time back, but this is not true.

/159/ Among themselves, the Tuareg refer to men of old nobility and old stock /Fr. race/ as loumet.

565 All the Imochar are essentially warriors. They owe their high
701 social position to the saber, and they know no other occupation than
631 war and raiding. Their role as suzerain makes them parasites of the vassal classes, and they used to constitute a scourge to caravans
[181 crossing their country. Their way of life has always been pillage,
461] and in their eyes manual labor is a disgrace which only slaves can accept.

181 Covering the desert on their camels, fighting, risking death in
565 faraway escapades -- that is what the life of a man of noble blood, who intends to remain one, must be. They take their vassals on their escapades and save part of the booty for them, by right of participation. Scorn for manual labor is a class prejudice with them

184 The Inislimen way of life is the same as that of the Tuareg.
565 They speak the same language and administer themselves with no
793 intervention from the Imochar. A few cases of polygamy have been
[631] observed among them. This is the result of their gradual Islamization,
[595] which favors the custom, and of patriarchy which was already in practice in some Sudanese tribes.

565 The Imrad. -- Imrad probably comes from the Tamashek root
[192] égeid, égeit, which means "kid, " "little goat, " and from the prefix
[422] am indicating possession. In short, this means "possessors of goats. "
In fact, the Imrad formerly could own only goats, for the Imochar reserved the possession of camels for themselves.

Their nickname is Kel Oulli, which also means "goat people, " a name which they prefer to Imrad, which is probably a bit degrading for them.

[631] /165/ They make up tribes enfeoffed to the Imochar and are their vassals.

The Imochar have a certain scorn for them and consider them people of low birth, not of the pure Tuareg race; the name Taouia Settefet, meaning "of black descent, " is often applied to them. (1)

1. Among the Ioullimmiden they are referred to as Idinet.

173 Nothing indicates a racial inferiority of the Imrad to the Imochar,
565 however. If we want to interpret the old legends of the Ahaggar,
144 everything leads us to believe that the Imrad were in most instances the first occupants of the country, and the Imochar, who were the invaders, were conquerers who made themselves masters of the country by force. The crossbreeding with the blacks cannot be a decisive criterion, for many Imrad tribes are not physically more
[186] "Negroid" than the Imochar. It is also true that the Imrad are
[184] less rigorous than the Imochar in maintaining the integrity of old Tuareg customs. They have less greatness of soul and sentiment, as well as less ethnic pride.

564 We must acknowledge that the
[153] Enaden often have very open minds and are gifted with an intelligence higher than the average of the ma-
564 jority of the Tuareg. That is why
644 they have sometimes filled trusted posts with the principal chiefs, who have used them as emissaries or interpreters, indeed even as
[152] counselors.

Thus, at the time of the Hourst mission in 1896, Madidou, amenokal of the Ioullimmiden, officially delegated one of them to Gao to deal with the French officer.

564 The Enaden live either in camp
361 groups or in isolated tents or even individually; they are attached to a chief or a tribe.

Although they are foreign to
564 the Tuareg race, they still enter into the components of the great family of veiled men, for the lives /176/ of the two groups are often intermingled. They speak Tamashek,
[198] more specifically a special dialect, tenet, which they alone understand and which is a bit secret in nature. This dialect is unknown in the Ahaggar.

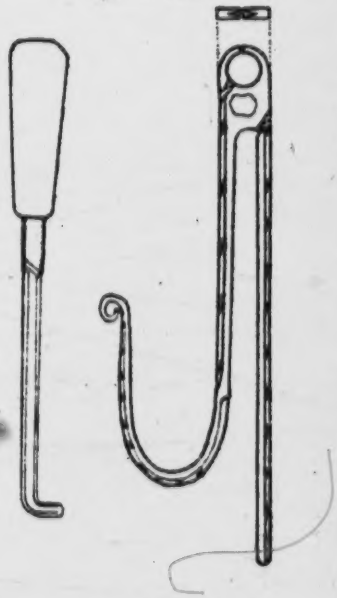

Fig. 17. Forceps for extracting teeth and instrument used for laying bare the roots.

[173] Legend attributes to them a common ancester named Tamamenet, and all of their fractions are supposed to have originated in Adrar des Iforas. Their true origin is as obscure as
[174] can be; we are apt to say that they are descendants of the Jews who formerly lived at the Touat, in the Tamentit oasis, from which they

564 The Enaden do not pay any vassalage dues. Socially, they
[651] occupy a place halfway between the Imrad and the Iklan. In cer-
tain cases they can even possess captives, and many of them have
[567] at their command an affluence unknown among the Imrad, and

[414
531
326]

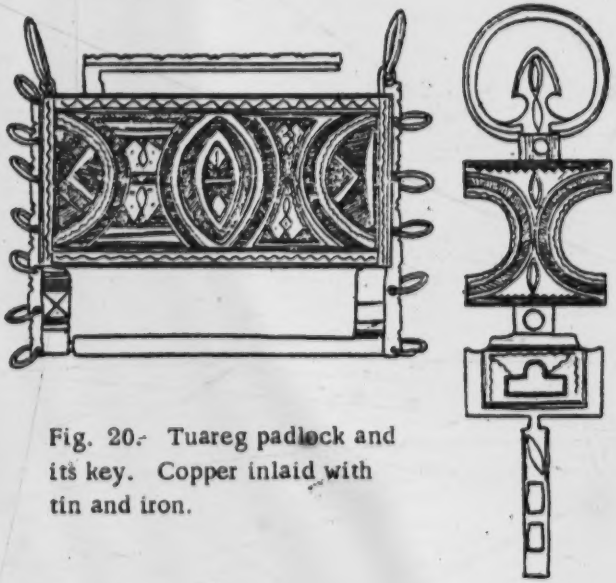

Fig. 20.- Tuareg padlock and its key. Copper inlaid with tin and iron.

even among some Imochar.

/180/ Chapter 2

Confederation of the Ahaggar

173 Oral traditions handed down among the northern Tuareg maintain that they originally came from the city of Es-Souq in Ăḍrar des Iforas, known as Tăḍemeka in ancient times, and equidistant from Timbuktu and In-Salah.

•173 This tradition is also found among the Ioullimmiden and in all the fractions now camped in the Adrar and on the banks of the Niger, which implies the idea of a common origin in their minds.

Another legend, which originated in Arabic writings, takes the arrival of the Ihaggaren in their present habitat back to the sixteenth century. Formerly they had been settled in the Ajjer and Fezzan.

As we have already related, the Ahaggar nobles claim, on the one hand, to be of sherif origin descended from the Edrissides of Fez. This claim cannot be believed, except with regard to a few families who contracted alliances with marabouts coming to settle among them. In fact, tradition relates that the Arab sherifs came to settle among the Tuareg after Islamization and established great authority over them. Profiting, then, from the anarchy which reigned there, kept up by the constant rivalry between clans, the sherifs seized power and were able to keep it for a long time. These sherifs belonged to the family of Imenan, "sultan," who founded families by marrying high-born Tuareg women, thus forming a new nobility. They kept their authority for a long time, thanks to the support of an important tribe, the Imanrassâten, descended from the eastern Arabs.

The Imanan /sic/ sultans then grouped the Tuareg of the Ahaggar and the Tassili-n-Ajjer under their authority. But the national character, sharpened by the vitality of the old Berber customs, finally revealed itslef among the Tuareg. As a result of extortion on the part of the Imanan, several tribes revolted /181/ in a show of independence, and an Ajjer noble named Biska from the Oûraren fraction killed the Imenan Sultan Goma. This was the beginning of a series of wars between the Oûraren tribe, which made itself the champion of independence, and the Imanan and their Imanrassâten allies, a fight in which the Oûraren, after battles some favorable and some unfavorable, finally triumphed.

As a result of these events, the suzerainty of the Imanan was henceforth destroyed. The successors of Goma, who still bore the title of aménokal, tried in vain to re-establish their authority during interminable strife.

•173 Sultan Goma was killed about 1650, and the independence of the Ahaggar tribes dates from that epoch. They profited from this event and from the Ouraren-Imanrassâten struggle to free themselves from the yoke of the Imenân.

The Ahaggar nobles formed only a single tribe in the beginning, the Kel Ehan Mellen tribe divided into fourteen fractions, which, according to pasture needs, split off and detached themselves from the original branch. The Kel Ehan Mellen probably lived in the Tidikelt in primitive times, whence they were chased by the Arab invasion. At the present time all that remains of them are the Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the Kel Ehan Mellen-ouan-Taghert.

At one time, one of these extinct tribes, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, was in power in the Ahaggar, but it gradually became weaker and weaker through misalliances, to the advantage of the present tribes of the Kel Réla, the Taïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet, who gradually absorbed the other fractions.

Among the Kel Réla today we find the last elements of the three tribes mentioned who descended from the Kel Ehan-Mellen.

The Kel Réla, Taïtok, and Tégéhé-Mellet each enjoyed the most complete independence. However, through political inheritances, the Kel Réla became the most important and the holders of the tobol.

Later, about 1755, profiting from the weakness of Aménokal Salah (called Mokhamed el Khir), the Taïtok and Tégéhé-Mellet obtained a distribution of the Imrad tribes among the three groups, at the same time still recognizing the authority of the aménokal. But the Taïtok, in spite of these considerable advantages, were dissatisfied and wanted to seize the tobol from the Ihaggaren, which set off a series of internal struggles with their Kel Réla cousins.

175 /182/ When the Ahaggar Tuareg surrendered to France, the
631 Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet were organized as free tobol, and
643 their chiefs bore the title of aménokal, although recognizing at the
648 same time the authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Amâstan, who had just been enthroned by the French. Azioul,

175 the Taïtok chief, and Ser'ir ag Bedda, the chief of the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet, accepted this vassalage without question, but later on they
643 raised endless difficulties. This policy, which had been initiated to
648 reinforce the authority of Moussa ag Amâstan, caused us several disappointments. As early as 1910, Captain Niéger, Adjutant Commander of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, interpreted the dissidence of two Imrad tribes, the Ait Loaien and the Kel-i-n-Tounin, as the beginning of serious complications.

We were able to measure his perspicacity during the revolt of 1916-1918, and the misunderstanding between the Kel Réla and Taïtok still persists today. But since the Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet participated in the revolt of 1916-1918 and their chiefs did not live up to the confidence which had been placed in them, they were placed under the direct authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, with the title of amrar.

## Tobol of the Kel Rela

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela is the most important in the Ahaggar,
643 and its chief is at the same time the aménokal of the confederation.

It is formed by a certain number of noble families, several of
565 which have been reduced to one or two tents. They are the Inemba,
631 the Iboglan, the Ikerremlen, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the
643 Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal; all of whom are entitled to the tobol, and the Kembiden, the Oulad el Goute, the Oulad Amechaoui, and the Oulad Ibra, who lost their right to the tobol through misalliances.

• 173 Legend recounts that the Kel Rela nobles were descended from a woman by the name of Ti-n-Hinan, who came from the Tafilalet with her servant Takamat. Then her people bore the name of Kel Ehan Mellen (meaning "white-tent peoples") as opposed to another tribe, the Issetafenine, "black-tent peoples," who were the ancestors of the Ioullimmiden.

Later the dominant fraction was the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, /183/ which was that fraction of the former Aménokal Sidi, and which was composed of the Kel Rela, the Taïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet.

173 Another fraction, the Ikerromoïen, was formed meanwhile. The ancestor of this tribe, named Akerromoï, was of guérissouten origin from Aïr, and had married a noble Ahaggar woman, daughter of the tobol; their most famous descendant was Aménokal Moussa ag Ǎmâstan.

As for the Iboglân, their ancestor is a man called Khatita, brother of Sakal, the chief of the Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal. He had married a Kel Réla woman.

The Tégéhé-n-ǎgg-Ali gave birth to the Inemba, and their name disappeared with the last men of that old tribe.

According to legends gathered among the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, Ti-n-Hînân had seven daughters, three of whom had children who were the forefathers of the present tribes. The first engendered the Iboglân and the Inemba; the second, the Ikerremoïen and the Kel Ehan Mellen; the third, the Kel Rela, the Tǎïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet.

Let us interpret the legend by saying that descendants of the three daughters of Ti-n-Hînân are found in the different tribes mentioned.

173 According to another legend current in the Ahaggar and reported by Mr. Benhazera, (1) Ti-n-Hînân had three female descendants

1. Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 92.

who were the ancestors of the three principal noble families of the Ahaggar; we do not know how many generations separated them. They are:

Tinirt, the antelope, who was the ancestor of the Inemba

Tahenkat, the gazelle, who was the ancestor of the Kel Rela

Tamerouelt, the doe rabbit or female of the hare, who was the ancestor of the Iboglân

The Kel Rela (alteration of the word Kella) owe their right to the tobol to Kella, a descendant of Tahenkat, who was married to Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir.

173 The Kel Rela have accurately kept the memory of the filiation of their amenokal from Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir down to the present amenokal. Formerly, the filiations were established through the women, but aside from a few of them, their names have been forgotten. This very clear demarcation dating from the seventeenth century indicates a profound modification /186/ in the rules of succession and a pronounced weakening of the absolute matriarchal system.

Succeeding Amenokal Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir (ca. 1750) were the following:

Younès ag Sidi (ca. 1790)
Ag Mama ag Sidi (in 1830)
El Hadj Ahmed ag El Hadj el Bekri (1830-1877)
Aitarel ag Mohamed Biska (1877-1900)
Attici ag Amellal, named at the same time as /the following/
Mohamed ag Ourzig (1900-1905)
Moussa ag Amastan (1905-1920)
Akhamouk ag Yema (1920-1941)
Meslah ag Amyas (1941- )

Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir ag Salah married Kella, great-granddaughter of Tahenkat, herself the daughter of Ti-n-Hinan, the ancestor of the Ahaggar Tuareg. He had nine children, six of them girls, who are the ancestors of all the great present-day families from whom the following amenokal were taken. He is the founder of the tribe of the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi.

He died about 1790, after having yielded, or so it seems, to all the demands of the Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet on the subject of the dividing up of the Imrad. He had to carry on a war with the Taïtok, but finally conquered them, and peace was made. His two sons then married two Taïtok women.

Younes ag Sidi succeeded his father. He was the eldest of the children of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir. He married a Taïtok woman by whom he had a son, Amechaoui, who later became amrar of the Taïtok through the blood of his mother.

173 Ag Mama ag Sidi was the brother of Younès ag Sidi and the second son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir. Like his brother he married a Tăltok woman, who bore him a son, Mohamed, who also later became amrar of the Tăltok. Ag Mama reached the age of 100 before he died.

175 El Hadj Ahmed ag el Hadj Bekri was the grandson of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir through the latter's daughter, Zahra, who was married to El Hadj Bekri from the Ifôra tribe. He was the nephew of the preceding aménokal, being the son of his eldest sister. He had to fight against the Tăltok, because one of them, Mohamed ag Mama, the son of the preceding aménokal, wanted to succeed him.

During his reign a long war broke out with the Ăjjer, when the Ihăggaren wholeheartedly supported the descendants of the Sultan Imânen. He was killed during this fight.

/187/ Ăltarel ag Mohamed Biska was the grandson of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir through his third daughter Ăménéna, married to Mohamed Biska of the Tégéhé-Mellet tribe.

In relation to the preceding aménokal, he was his first cousin, the eldest son of his father's sister. He led a very eventful life. He had to fight the Ăjjer over whom he won a great vitory at Edjmidhan, and he was subjected to Tăltok attacks. Under his aménokalat the Flatters mission was massacred, and he was largely responsible for it.

He died in 1900, leaving a daughter who married Ămayas ag Khelbi, by whom she had a son, Meslah, now aménokal of the Ahaggar.

Ăttici ag Ămellal was the nephew of the preceding aménokal, as the eldest son of his second sister. He was named at the same time as his cousin Mohamed ag Ourzig, the eldest son of the eldest daughter of Ăltarel; the tobol ordinarily would have gone to the latter, but he was old and tired and could not assert his rights. This was a long period of anarchy, for which the Imrad had to bear the consequences, and which ended with the French occupation and the nomination of Moussa ag Ămâstan.

622 631 717 time. Unfortunately the garden was abandoned after Father de Foucauld was gone.

Although it is difficult to imagine, Father de Foucauld had even thought of Ouksem ag Ourar as a possible aménokal, against all Tuareg social rules.

But what remains of all that? The dead are quickly forgotten among the Tuareg, and although Ouksem may recall from time to time that the marabout was his good friend, it is to be presumed that he, no more than his Dăg Râli, understood the devotion and the affection which was to cost the life of the hermit in the Sahara.

631 The Ikechchemâden, whom we have mentioned previously, have always lived near the Dăg Râli, with whom they used to form only a single tribe. Upon the distribution of the Imrad, they became the vassals of the Tăîtok, but they remained with the Dăg Râli and contracted numerous unions with them so that it is difficult to tell them apart. And so, in 1907, they asked to be attached to the tobol of the Kel Rela.

173 631 The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. -- The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé form the most important Imrad tribe in the Ahaggar after the Dăg Râli. They are said to have formerly nomadized in the neighborhood of In /194/ Gall in A'ir and have emigrated into the Ahaggar because of the demands of the Sultan of Agadez on whom they originally depended. The latter had polygamous mores and each year demanded of them a young and pretty virgin. Tired of this custom, which was contrary to Tuareg mores, they left the country and came to place themselves under the protection of the aménokal of the Kel Rela, Younès, the son (?) of Kella (ca. 1700). (The version reported by Mr. Benhazéra says "son of Mohamed el Kheir.")

Before coming to seek protection from the Ihăggaren, they belonged to the tribe of the Tégéhé-n-Élimen, a name by which they are still called sometimes. One fraction of this tribe remained in A'ir and bears the name of Ir'Alaman or Kel Rapsa. They were the ones chiefly responsible for founding the Ghat oasis.

173 Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé means "reed people." Legend has it that they
631 were forced to eat the roots of that plant during their flight from the Aïr. Their chief was then a man of Herculean size named Assékal ag Louka; the legend says that his feet were so big that when his pursuers saw the footprints, they preferred to abandon the chase.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé claim to be originally from Mecca where their remote ancestor received a camel from the Prophet. He was supposed to drink only the milk of the camel, but he committed the sin of killing it. Therefore, they had to flee, and after long years of wandering, they settled in Aïr.

At the time when the Imrad were divided up (1750), they were part of the Issandaten. The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé went to the Kel Rela, and the other fraction, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, went to the Tăîtok.

631 The land over which they range borders on that of the Dăg Râli. It goes from Tamanrasset to Ourchi wadi, then from the Koudia as far as Afrahouhine and Tamaghine.

[651] They pay a tribute to the amenokal, the same size as that of the Dăg Râli, but they do not share captured goats and sheep with him.

They are currently allied with the Dăg Râli and the Relaiddîn.

[648 669] They took sides against us in the battle of Tit where they had about ten men killed. During the insurrection of 1916-1918, they rose up, and their women even seized thirty mehari /dromedaries/ belonging to the meharist company at Fort Motylinski. On the other hand, they did not take part in the revolt directly and were the first to ask for mercy.

[161] /195/ Totaling 60 men in 1905, the tribe numbers about 150 persons at the present time.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé own nearly a thousand camels, which they [233] graze on the Saharo-Sudanese borders, and 1,200 to 1,400 goats. [651] Every year they pay a tribute to the amenokal of 12 bags of dates, 6 pots of butter, and the usufruct of 10 goats. Most of the cultivated [423 241] land and the foggara of Tarhaouaout and Tahifet belongs to them, and they have gardens at Ămsel, Tamanrasset, and Talan-Tédit.

631 427 [175] The founding of Tamanrasset is attributed to them; it is said to be the work of the chief of the Issenda (Issendaten) fraction, Ilachen by name. This creation goes back some sixty years, but the irrigable lands were the property of the Ajjer. In the last few years, the Imanrassatên, who were the true proprietors of the cultivable lands at Tamanrasset, came several times to claim the rental price which was one ass or a sheep per year according to the place. But this claim was only payable if the owners presented themselves; the year not claimed was gained by the renter.

[651] 631 They often found themselves in conflict with the amenokal, because they made difficulties in paying the tiousee.

They are subdivided into Kel Aguelella or Kel Tarhaouhaout, into Kel Rapsa or Kel Ezarounfat, and into Issendaten or Kel Tahifet.

631 ●173 [192] The Aït Loaien. -- The Aït Loaien get their name from the verb élouai, which means "to attach camels in Indian file." (1)

1. According to Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, p. 148.

Through their ancestor Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, they are said to be of the same origin as the Dag Râli and the Kel Ahnet. At the time of the division of the Imrad, it is said they were bestowed half upon the Inemba and half upon the Tégéhé Mellet. They are subdivided into Irayen (today extinct), Kel Torha or Dag Houa, and Aït Loaien proper.

631 [651] The Aït Loaien pay the tioussé to the family of the Téjéhé-n-agg-Ali, also called Kel Ahamellen (Kel Rela), and the Dag Houa group pays it to the Tégéhé Mellet.

[578] Formerly allied to the Imekkérressen of the Ajjer group by numerous marriages, they separated from them following disputes and the murder of one of them, the Tuareg Reskou /196/ ag Yahia, famous in all the Ahaggar. Since then, the Imekkérressen have settled in the Ajjer.

563 631 They are not vassals like the Irréguénaten and the Ibettenâten, but are incorporated.

563 173 According to a tradition reported by Dr. Richer, (1) the

1. Les Oulliminden, p. 71.

Issekkemâren are the descendants of the family of the Sagmara, pointed out in the Ádrar des Iforas and in the region of Gao by El Bekri. They were driven back by the Sonrhai invasion and came to take refuge among the northern Tuareg while a small fraction remained in the south in the environs /199/ of Timbuktu and today has a marabout character.

[799] 197 [648] Although they are more Islamized than the other tribes, they are nonetheless Tuaregized in the sense that they follow Tuareg customs and speak Tamashek. Many of them speak Arabic fluently, either because of their origin or because of their constant relations with the Tidikelt.

173 563 631 At the time of the division of the Imrad, some tribes were bestowed upon the Kel Rela, others on the Tâitok and the Tégéhé-Mellet. The tribes attached to the Kel Rela are the Ihéiaouen Hâda, the Kel Immîdir, the Kel Tâzoûlet, the Kel Tâfedest, and the Kel In Rhar'.

563 439 484 233 They are all great caravaneers who trade a great deal on the Tidikelt markets. They own a large number of camels and their camel raising is particularly renowned.

563 [173] The Iheiaouen Hada. -- The Iheiaouen Hada, also called Oulad Elias or Ihéiaouen-n-Temounent, are said to be descended from an Arab woman who was seized at Touat. The word Iheiaouen means in Tamashek "the grandsons of . . . ," so that we must conclude that the people of this tribe are the descendants of a woman named Ada.

They nomadize in the Tâfedest massif near Ádenek, Abezou, In Takoufi, Eguelougal, and Tidessi. During dry periods they lead [221] their camels to the Saharo-Sudanese borders in the neighborhood of the Tamaïa well.

563 [162] They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elias, Oulad Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

[233] They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout, [423 241] which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and manpower. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism [795 788] /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

[669] In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Tăfedest.

/200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by [173] Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

[162] Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Tăfedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

[233] Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head. [241 423] They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them entirely, and at I-n-Ămegal, Déhine, and Ăbézou.

[795] Like the Ihéiaouen Hăda, they are mostly affiliated with the Tijaniyyah sect.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us, which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

[224] They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

[65] The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the aménokal six bags of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Tăfedest. -- The Kel Tăfedest or Kel Tégatoufé (or ant [162] people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

## Tobol of the Tăitok

631 The Tăitok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with
565 the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin,
[602] Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Tăitok.

According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin
[173] as the Imenân sultans, that is, descendants of Idris, and the other part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Aïr where the stock /souche/ still exists. (1)

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 322.

114 The Tăitok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Inifel in
631 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity
565 with the Ihăggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live; our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the Ăjjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of

2. Les Touareg de l'Ouest
/The Western Tuareg/, p. 18
(Algiers, 1888).

any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without
579 balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela
631 and the suzerainty of the aménokal of the Ahaggar. After the
643 division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the aménokalat,
[181] which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These
175 battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/ by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Tăitok are bound by numerous marriages and are all more or less cousins.

631 alliances give a glimpse of the scope of the Tăitok raids.
[648] The tobol of the Tăitok includes the Irechchoûmen, a little noble tribe which lost its rights to the tobol as a consequence of misalliances, the Kel Ăhnet, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, the Kel I-n-Toûnin, the Iouarouaren, the Ikouttissen, and the Ikechchemâden.

The Irechchoûmen. -- The Irechchoûmen, also called Iradjenaten (mixed blood), usually camp in the Ăhnet, going as high as Aoulef. The head of the family was Ibédi ag Bassi, who married a daughter of the Oulad Zenan (Aoulef Arabs) and had for sons-in-law Aziouel and Tacha ag Seradá of the Tăitok, both dead as a result of raids. (2)

2. Aziouel's widow married Moussa ag Amastân, aménokal of the Ahaggar, in 1910.

[582] They are allies of the Tăitok through numerous marriages, and also of the Imrad Kel Ăhnet. They also marry with /206/ Arab
[643] women from the Touat, and these multiple misalliances have made them lose their right to the tobol.

[173] According to a tradition reported by Duveyrier, the Irechchoûmen originally came from Es Souq. Part of the tribe descends from the Edrissians, and others have the Ikadeien for their ancestors.

[162] They include only about ten tents, or 60 persons, at the present time.

The Kel Ăhnet. -- The Kel Ăhnet are of the same origin as the
[173] Dag Râli with whom they formerly made up the Imessiliten fraction. This schism occurred under the aménokalat of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, at the time of the distribution of the Imrad among the different noble tribes, and the Kel Ăhnet were bestowed upon the Tăitok.

They were among the first to come and surrender, and their chief, Badjeloud ag Maklia, came to In-Salah as early as 1902.

173 Let us add that the Kel Ăhnet claim to be of Beraber origin
631 through Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hînân. But the Tăitok say that it is not known where they come from, except that they must have inhabited the Ahaggar long before the arrival of Ti-n-Hînân.

631 The Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis. -- The Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis are of the same origin as the Tégéhé-n-Elîmen.

They used to nomadize in Aïr and had to leave that country as a result of the murder of the sultan who wanted to force them to pay too heavy a tax. Efis was their chief, and it is he who decided to leave. The descendants of these families thenceforth bore his name.

They formed only a single tribe with the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. When Mohamed el Kheir was aménokal, the Tégéhé-n-Elîmen came to ask protection from the Ihăggaren -- some say this was under Mohamed el Kheir's grandson, Younès.

During the war which put the Kel Rela and the Tăitok in conflict, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis took refuge on the Aïr borders. Afterwards, they returned for the most part, but some ten tents remained in the Sudan.

[162] In 1905, they numbered about 30 tents; in the 1938 census there
[233] were 164 persons, 51 of them men. They own 80 camels, and 250
[241] goats. They are the proprietors of cultivated lands at Tîgenouin,
423] Amsel, Ăbalessa, and Tahart. They also see to the cultivation of gardens at Tamanrasset, which have belonged to the Imekkeresen (an Imrad tribe of the Ajjer Tassili) for a long time. By rights they should pay the latter a due, but it is never asked for.

They nomadize in the Tahalra (southwest of Koudia) and migrate on the parallel Amsel, Tîgeneouin, Tâmaïa. The line of demarcation separating their area from /208/ that of the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé is formed by the Tamanrasset wadi.

They were bestowed upon the Tăitok at the time of the distribution of the Imrad, and they have followed their suzerains in all their affairs.

The Kel I-n-Toûnîn. -- The Kel I-n-Toûnîn are Issekkemâren.
[173] They were given to the Tăitok under Sidi's aménokalat (1755) when the Kel Rela tobol was split up, while the Kel Ouhet and the Kel Téroûrirt were given to the Tégéhé Mellet.

631 The Kel I-n-Toûnîn owe their name to the wadi near which they ordinarily nomadize in the Tăfedest massif. At the end of the last century they took advantage of the dissensions existing between the Tăitok and the Kel Rela as well as the internal strife of the
[651] Tăitok to free themselves of the latter. They moved to the Ăjjer, claiming kinship with them, but they pay them no taxes.

After their surrender to the French, the Tăitok reclaimed them, and General Laperrine agreed to their demand.

[669] They took a big part in the rebellion of 1916 and were the first to rise up, for they were under the direct influence of the Ăjjer.

Taking refuge in Fezzan at first, they set about combating us by launching raids against the fractions under our influence. Later they participated in the combat of Aïn el Hadjadj. Then they went to the Sudan, where they succeeded in taking with them a number of Tăitok, their Chief Amri among them, in spite of the efforts Moussa ag Ămastân made to keep them.

[162] They number about 20 tents which camp in the north of the Tăfedest massif and go up as high as the Ădrar Ifetessen on the foothills of Immîdir.

[582] They are allied to the Tégéhé Mellet by recent marriages.

Famous as good herders, they own about 100 camels and 300
[233 439] goats. They are also good caravaneers who trade on the markets of In Salah, Ghat, and Ghadames.

[241] They have a few gardens cultivated at Ideles and in the Tassili centers of cultivation.

[162] The Iouarouaren. -- The Iouarouaren form a little tribe of about 15 tents, which nomadizes with the Kel Ăhnet in the Adrar.

Some say they are natives of Aïr, others say of the Ăjjer.

•173 /210/ When an Ăjjer (or Ifôras) woman had been taken prisoner
631 by the Aïr people, according to Sidi ag Kéradji, it was Ămastân ag Ourzig, maternal uncle of Sidi, who paid her ransom and married her to a Kel Ăhnet; from this union sprang the Iouarouaren. (1)

631
[173]

1. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 177.

[582] They often camp near the Dăg Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Tăitok in their peregrinations.

[423] They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghîn, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given [233] to Moussa ag Ămastan. They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The tioussé paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a [651] bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemaden live mixed in with the Dăg Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Tăitok tobol.

[192] Their name means "the very ugly ones," from the Tamashek akechchemdh, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Ămastân.

[162] They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

[423] They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dăg Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dăg Râli.

[162] The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ăjjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

[162] The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeïen form a little tribe of some 15 tents, whose camp lies near Tit and Tigeneouin.

631 /211/ Originally from Es Souq in the Ădrar des Ifôras, they are mixed with the Ahl Azzi from In-Salah.

Without being Imrad of the Tăitok, properly speaking, they may be considered satellites of this tobol.

## Tobol of the Tégéhé-Mellet

173 631 The Tégéhé-Mellet make up the third and least important of the three Ahaggar tobol.

According to oral tradition, they are the descendants of Ti-n-Hînân through her daughter Tahenkat. More recently they are said to be descended from the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi. But according to another tradition they are of Chaamba origin, from the Oulad Messaoud tribe. More exactly, we are led to believe that some Oulad Messaoud men came to settle among them and founded families; for some, this would make their pure Imochar origin questionable. On the other hand, they married Kel-I-n-Toûnîn women, while Tégéhé Mellet women married Issekkemâren.

They obtained their independence at the same time as the Tăitok while Sidi Mohamed was aménokal, and were assigned a certain number of vassal tribes. Since then, however, they have played only a very unobtrusive part in the history of the Ahaggar, and the Tégéhé Mellet are on the way to disappearing.

631 According to Duveyrier, they had the reputation of bringing a conciliatory spirit into the often strained relations between the Ihăggaren [578] and the Ăjjer Tuareg. The geographical position that they occupied between the two opposing groups quite naturally drafted them for the role.

They were formerly a free tobol, and only with the French 619 occupation were they placed under the guardianship of Moussa ag Ămastân.

648 Ser'ir ag Bedda, their amrar, protested for a long time and never stopped claiming his independence. In connection with this state of mind, many Tégéhé Mellet rebelled and left with the

232 of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks
[272] exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their
family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is
[438] consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes
233 excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled,
[234] and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and
[252 262] sometimes tents.

237 The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do
not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting
[232] them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact num-
ber of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon
[422] them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The
young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them,
and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used.
137 These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg,
have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier
cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass
hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal
had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is
nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the
[172] rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia
where they are called "onager."

233 The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible
that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihággaren have
[174] kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had
[173] only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage,
442 and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also
[312] take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the
[357] heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

175 continually strengthened by the constant arrival of new subjects
797 from Egypt. Therefore, a few years later under the Byzantine Empire, their influence was so great, in the cultural as well as in the political sphere, that it offended the established authorities, and Emperor Justinian undertook to drive them out. Many of them fled to the interior of the continent and even took refuge in the Sahara, where they formed numerous active communities. So it is that a Jewish state was formed at the Touat, as we have already pointed out.

When the Arabs appeared in their turn in North Africa, they also found many Jewish groups there. This was the occasion for violent persecutions and a new exodus, and many Israelite communities were forced to embrace Islamism.

In the fifteenth century there were still some Jews in the Sahara. They disappeared as Israelites under the pressure of the Moslem conquerors who abhorred them, and they must have merged with the peoples of the Niger loop.

[174] It seems that the tribes who gathered around Kahéna to defend the independence of the Berbers were Judaized. The very name of the heroine of Aurès -- Kahéna -- sounds Jewish, and could come from the Hebrew cohen (priest) which would mean "the priestess."

Father Mesnage has pointed out that several fractions of the Haouara /hawara/ were Judaized, particularly the Herreneha, who today live northeast of Aurès. (1)

1. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. III, pp. 95-107.

We have remarked elsewhere that the Jewish type was found
[173 /304/ in some Tuareg groups of the Niger loop, that the star of
53[] Solomon often decorated articles they used, and that legend attributes a Jewish origin to their artisans.

797 Islamism. -- According to Arab tales, the Islamization of the
173 Tuareg, and of the Ahaggar Tuareg in particular, was led by

797 Abd Allah Ed-Djafar, a lieutenant of Sidi Okba ben Nafi (died in
173 683), whose two companions died near a little Hirhafok village, at Tiokine exactly, where their tombs are still the objects of veneration to a certain degree.

In legends the natives even claim that Sidi Okba was killed by a Tuareg (Koceilata), thus confusing their history with that of the people from Aurès and the Kounta Dag Ech Cheikh who call themselves the descendants of Sidi Okba. This explains the ancestral hate which exists between them and the Tuareg. It has, however, been proved that Sidi Okba ben Nafi never penetrated into the Sahara, although perhaps it is a question of a confusion of names or a homonym.

[172] In addition to the Tiokine tombs, there is the rock inscription painted on the ceiling of a grotto at T-i-m-missao which testifies to the passage of the first Islamizers. This was pointed out for the first time by Duveyrier and followed up by Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, pp. 205-208. Since then, this inscription has been the subject of a detailed study by Th. Monod, Journal des Africanistes, vol. VIII, part 1, 1938, pp. 83-95.

[177] We must not believe that the Tuareg adopted Islamism right away, for although they accepted the Koran as a guide to their religious faith, they gave up nothing of their mores or their former pagan customs. The Arabs even claim that they apostasized as much as fourteen times, and they still consider them very lukewarm Moslems today. Furthermore, they probably belonged
[469] for a long time to the heretical sect of Wahabis, with whom they were allied; this was just another way of rebelling against the conquerors.

326 grubbing gardeners alike. They have turned their status as "untouchables" to their own advantage and so remain untouched.

326 Physically the smiths of the Ahaggar cover
142 the whole range of human variation between the Bush Negro type on the one hand and the Berber variety of Mediterranean on the other, but they seem to fall mostly within a highly variable category characterized in general by "European" features combined with a yellowish brown or occasionally coppery skin, thickish lips, and curly or frizzled hair. They are lean in build as a rule, but seem softer and less wiry than the more active Tuareg (fig. 57, *a*).

326 And this brings us to another exasperating
174 blank in our picture of Saharan peoples. The smiths of the Ahaggar claim to have come from the Adrar n Ifoghas and to be related to the families of smiths who live there now, and Benhazera (1908, pp. 221 and 223) reproduced an old Arabic text which states that "the smiths and the Fulani have the same mother." Cline (1937, p. 141) maintained that the art of smelting iron was introduced into the western Sudan by "camel-riding Berbers" from the North, across the Sahara. But no one really has any idea where the smiths of the Ahaggar actually did come from or when, where and from whom they first learned their trade. No one, so far as the present writer knows, has ever published measurements or blood group classifications of a single one of them, and no one seems to have found out anything to speak of about their social organization or even their kinship terminology. Not a dozen photographs of their faces are available to students. Why? Simply because the Tuareg are spectacularly romantic while the smiths are not.[18] The smiths of the Ahaggar and of the Sahara as a whole have suffered the same fate that the Spanish gypsies might have suffered had George Borrow not been born, and, like the Spanish gypsies, they are
614 disappearing fast.

565 A number of vassal clans of the Ahaggar
173 confederation are said to be of Arab or mixed

[18] Here the author has laid himself wide open to a very embarrassing question. "Why," he seems to hear the frustrated reader ask, "haven't you done something to fill this aching void yourself since you find it so distressing?" The author's time in the field has been severely limited by the exigencies of writing this preliminary survey, and recently by political

[114]

565 Arab and Tuareg ancestry. Benhazera (1908,
173 pp. 90, 102 and 222–23), Lhote (1955, pp.
614 234–36) and Blanguernon (1955, pp. 52–55) all agree in lumping most of them together in a special almost tribelike class known as the Issoquamaren, but they do not agree entirely on just which clans should be included in this group. According to Benhazera the Issoquamaren once claimed descent from a woman purchased in the Adrar n Ifoghas country by Arab invaders who came there straight from Mecca about the middle of the 7th century A.D., and he adds that they are thought to have moved northward to the Touat early in the 12th century. The first part of this tale is very characteristic of the marginal Arab schools of historical fiction, or fictional history if you prefer, which are often no more reliable than is the modern school of lecturers who tell us, for example, that the Tuareg are descendants of veteran crusaders who came to the Ahaggar from the Levant. This parallel that spans the centuries is funny, to be sure, but there is much more in it than just an amusing concidence. It is a striking illustration of the fact that uncritical minds, Moslem and Christian alike, are always deeply moved by thoughts of the past glories of their race and of "that old time religion." We must never forget the dangers of grotesque misinterpretation that result from the action of this powerful subconscious force. Most of the Saharan peoples who have been converted to Islam stubbornly insist against all sense and reason that they are of Arabian Moslem origin.

According to Lhote (1955, p. 236) the Issoquamaren are believed to be the descendants of Arab fathers and Tuareg mothers of the Tademaït region, whence they were recruited as mercenaries by the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, but Blanguernon (1955, p. 52) holds that they are descended from a group of Arab tribes of the Tidikelt and the Touat who were defeated and then assimilated by the Ahaggar Tuareg in the 18th century or possibly before. The Issoquamaren have been thought by some to enjoy a social status superior, at least in

[114] unrest as well, and so he has had to resign himself to filling in small but important gaps in relatively complete pictures rather than run a serious risk of getting bogged down for months or doing only a superficial job in attempting to reconstruct pictures whose main outlines even are as yet unknown.

565 theory, to that of ordinary vassals (Lhote,
1955, p. 236), but in fact they are looked
173 down upon as greatly inferior to Tuareg vas-
614 sal clans (Blanguernon, 1955, p. 52). Although
the Issoquamaren clans and fractions have
been parceled out among various tribes of the
Ahaggar confederation, they still seem to re-
tain some remnants of the social structure of
a single and united tribe. Since the Issoquama-
ren have become rich in camels, they have
regained in practical power and influence
most of what they once lost in hierarchical
prestige.

[131] The Irreguenaten are based on the Tamesna
region south of the Ahaggar, and nomadize
from there northwestward across the Adrar
n Ifoghas sometimes even as far as the Erg
Chech (pronounced *Shesh*). They are be-
lieved to have sprung from a series of mar-
riages between Gouraran and Kounta Arab
men and Tuareg women of the Ibotenaten
clan. The descendants of these unions became
so numerous and so very rich, in camels and
in slaves, that they were finally able to estab-
lish a separate clan of their own. Although
they are included in the vassal category, they
enjoy a nebulous but well-recognized position
of precedence in relation to most of the other
Tuareg vassal clans.

The Irreguenaten constitute a matri-clan
subdivided into two patri-clans, the Hag-
garenin and the Settafnin, which are based on
supposed descent from two ancestral Arab
groups, one of them thought to have been of
Shorfa stock. And this is very interesting as
an example of a matrilineal clan structure that
has been effectively split into two patrilineal
clans while still remaining basically a unit in
the matrilineal terms of Tuareg social and
politico-economic organization and, to a great
extent, in terms of its own internal economic
organization too.

565 It will be noted that the partly Arab clans
of the Ahaggar Tuareg confederation live for
614 the most part outside the Ahaggar proper,
and are distributed in an arc that curves
101 around its southwestern, western and north-
131 western borders. The northwestern extremity
of this arc continues curving eastward, then
southeastward and finally on southward
around the territory of the Ajjer Tuareg con-
federation. The southern gap in the circum-

The men leave, the women go back into the tents, but 832
the fortunate ones who have succeeded by means of assiduous 836
courtship to touch the heart of their love, will soon come back secretly or will go to the place which has been appointed for them. Let us draw a veil!...

One might wonder what can become of the virtue of 585
young girls with such customs. Almost always it has gone up 836
in the air. But a Tuareg will not pay attention to this detail when it is a matter of getting married. He knows with what to be content: he has often profited by it. It is all the same to him.

The ahal is one of the reasons for late marriages among the 582
Tuareg. Marriage requires expenditures upon which one does 836
not decide until one has been able to acquire a little means, and that is why it is not unusual among the Tuareg to see men marry at the age of forty. With all he finds to entertain him, the Tuareg does not feel the need to get married. This does not mean that many do not marry around twenty-five, but in general a man marries quite late.

Farther on, in the little collection of songs, will appear 000
the qualities which a man must have in order to succeed at the ahal, as well as the kind of songs which are sung there. /Not translated./ /11/

## Chapter V

## The Role of the Woman in Tuareg Society

At every step one sees the influence of the woman in 562
Tuareg society. In Tuareg history, the inheritance, the life, the thought, and the behavior, everywhere her influence is felt.

In the matter of history, it is from her that the Tuareg 173
says he is descended. Thus the nobles of the Ahaggar will tell 562

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 562
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé, "
or tribute from the "imr'ad, " or serfs. Not only is the son [611
noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless 565]
of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child, "
but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her
husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is 562
not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except [576]
as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi, " over
her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, [574
etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances 431]
between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives
her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is [595]
the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" 562
.V] , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, 572
while she gives him something for his personal use. He is,
in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine
embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal
of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while
Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines
which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man [574]
who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

Earrings in the shape of large rings, "tizabbatine" 301 [55-6]
Rings, "tisseq, " plural "tisser'ine"

Also, like the men, she wears amulets, "tira. " [789]

Finally, in summer she wears a large parasol hat ("medols" 291 in Arabic), which she sometimes decorates with red wool and which is called "tili" (shade).

Concerning the veil: whence comes this use of the veil among the Tuareg? Even those involved do not know.

Sidi ag Keradji, however, gave me an explanation which 173 is quite without validity but shows the craze which the Tuareg 291 have to attribute an Arab origin to themselves. This is his story:

"At the caputre of Mecca, the Prophet Mohammed was mounted on a 'cidah' (female mehari). He had wrapped his head with his 'ihram' (a garment peculiar to the pilgrim who enters the sacred territory of Mecca). It is since this time that the Tuareg have worn the veil. "

What is certain is that this is a very old custom, since Arabian writers have for several centuries called /39/ the Tuareg by the name of "Ahl-el-Litham, " or "people of the veil. "

Did they adopt this custom for utilitarian reasons, to pro- 173 tect their sight from the brilliance of the sun's rays and to 183 insure their eyes against the dust which rises from the sand? 291 To this question they reply in the negative. It is primarily, they say, a question of modesty and dignity. A Tuareg must never show his mouth, the door through which he introduces food into his body. That is shameful. Even at night he does not take off his veil. When he enters a camp foreign to his 183 tribe, he must lower his veil completely over his eyes so as 291 not to be suspected of having come to seduce. In meetings 576 he also veils himself completely, perhaps in order better to hide his feelings.

unnecessary to review this matter after him. I want to limit [114]
myself simply to noting some observations which I was able 565
to make in the course of my stay among the Tuareg of the
Ahaggar confederation.

First of all, the striking thing is that at the end of a short period of contact, one can easily guess if one is in the presence of a noble or of an amr'id. His look, his walk, his carriage, his features (if the veil is lifted to the forehead), an indefinable something, all lead correctly to the conclusion that the Tuareg before you is really a noble. However, in the course of palavers im'rad, many of whom are rich, often come as well dressed as the nobles. But their features are less fine, their bearing less easy, their look less assured, and one thinks, "This is an amr'id."

Furthermore, the Tuareg will tell you, "An amr'id may /48/ act well, dress in fine clothes, and bear fine arms, but he is still 'iamir'ed, '" that is to say, "he lacks something," [196]
and it is from this verb that they have derived the name amr'id, plural imr'ad.

Should it be thought that the imr'ad are a less pure race 173
than the nobles because of long-ago crossings with the Negro 174
race? The sheik Ben Djellas states that the mother of the 565
Issoqqamaren (an imr'ad tribe of the Ahaggar) was bought by the first inhabitants of Es-Souk. On the other hand, we will see how the Adjouh-n-Taheli and the Tedjehé-n-Efis came from Aïr to place themselves under the protection of the noble Kel R'ela and Taïtoq.

Should the admitted differences be attributed to the state of subjection and dependence in which the imr'ad have been for a long time in relation to the nobles? I would be tempted to accept this second hypothesis as more in line with the facts of history.

And from what I have seen and ascertained, I cannot 565
bring myself to translate the word "amr'id" as "serf," a word 631

Concerning inheritance. We have seen that private in- [428]
heritance is passed on to the natural heirs, according to the 611
rules of Mohammedan law. As for political inheritance, that 631
is to say, the right to the title of chief of a tobol and to the collection of the "tioussé," or tribute from the imr'ad, this is handed down according to special rules.

Duveyrier has told us that these rights are handed down [114]
"to the oldest son of the oldest sister." I would never have dared to go on record as disagreeing with a statement from such an authority if I did not have complete assurance that the order of inheritance is not exactly that which Duveyrier indicated, and I will furnish proofs of this assurance in the chapter entitled "Genealogy" in the second book of this study /not translated/.

I would therefore say that with the Tuareg when a tobol chief dies there are to succeed him: /51/

1. His brother (the oldest of those living, if there are several)
2. The oldest son of his maternal aunt
3. The oldest son of his oldest sister

This last one is only the third in line.

It is the ancestress, it is her daughters who hand down
to their children the right to the "tobol." At present the Kel [173]
R'ela trace back their laws of inheritance and of access to the tobol to Kella, their ancestress, and the Taïtoq to Sakina, a contemporary of Kella and a collateral relative.

The son follows the tobol of his mother. Thus, if the father belongs to the tobol of the Kel R'ela, for example, and the mother to the tobol of the Taïtoq, the son would belong to the tobol of his mother. This is what happened to Sidi ag Keradji, the present amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet, whose father was of the tobol of the Kel R'ela and whose mother was of the tobol of the Taïtoq. The same applies to Attici ag Amellal and his brother Anaba, whose father belonged to the tobol of the Tedjehé Mellet, and who /themselves/ at present belong to the tobol of the Kel R'ela.

## Chapter III

### The Amenokal. The Amr'ar

The northern Tuareg, after the downfall of the Imanan 173
sultan, who held absolute rule over them, regained their inde- 631
pendence. Then two confederations were formed: that of the Azdjer and that of the Ahaggar, each including several noble tribes. /52/

We will see later ("Origin of the Tuareg" /not translated/) 631
that among the Berbers several tribes often formed a confed- 643
eration under the supreme rule of a single chief and that the right to rule belonged specifically to certain tribes who held a kind of supremacy over the others. And this is what we will find again. Among the Azdjer the tribe that held this kind of supremacy was that of the Orar'en; among the Ahaggar, it was that of the Kel R'ela. The amenokal of the Ahaggar was always chosen from the tobol of the Kel R'ela.

The title of amenokal, although subject primarily to the 643
laws of heredity which we have mentioned, had to be ratified by the delegates of the nobles of all the tribes and by those of the imr'ad of all fractions of the confederation. The inheritance must be confirmed by election, and this agrees well with the democratic spirit of all the Berbers and with all that is known of their history and of the theories introduced to them by Kharijism, of which they were adherents.

As we have said, the imr'ad had to speak first, to say if [565]
they would accept the amenokal designated by heredity, and agree to pay him the "tiousse." The nobles spoke later. The discussion was open and an agreement was reached. Sometimes it was not reached. We saw an example of this at the death of the amenokal of the Ahaggar, Attar'el ag Biska, in 1900. The law of heredity called Mokhammed ag Ourzig as amenokal, but the latter, opposed by the imr'ad and the majority of the nobles, was not elected and saw his rival, Attici ag Amellal, preferred.

## Chapter XIII

### Ancient Graves. Upright Stones

Ancient graves. Almost everywhere, in the Ahnet, Adhar', 172
Ahaggar, Immidir, and even on the banks of the wadis that 764
cross Tanezrouft, are found many ancient graves shaped either like a truncated cone, or "chouchat," or like a little turret, or "bazina," like those found everywhere in North Africa.

I saw one, however, at Tamanrasset (right next to the grave of the Tamenokalt Taber'ourt oult Akhalakham of the Imanan) which had a special shape. It was a pile of stones in the shape of a rectangular parallelepiped, four meters long by one meter wide, and one meter high.

172
The Tuareg say that these graves, which they call "adebni," 173
plural "idebnane" (a word which seems to be derived from the 764
Arab word "beni," building), are those of the "Izabbaren" [192]
ⵉⵣⴱⴱⴰⵔⵏ . Then, too, this word in Tamashek means "ogres" and in the singular is "zabbar" ⵣⴱⴱⴰⵔ , "ogre." The Ahaggar and the Ta'toq refuse to admit that these were perhaps their ancestors at the time of paganism who had graves of this kind. "The Izabbaren," they say, "have nothing in common with us. They are not our ancestors." It was for this reason that Professor Gautier could explore some of these graves without opposition on their part.

Meanwhile, there is also another kind of grave which still 172
has a circular shape but with the "chouahed," or markers, custom- 764
ary with all Moslems, while the "chouchat," or "bazina," graves are without them. This kind of grave is more unusual. It seems to be a form intermediary between the "Izabbaren" graves and the present graves.

On the other hand, the Tuareg will show you the grave of 172
Tin /78/ Hinane, the ancestress from whom they claim to be 173
descended, which is located at the junction of the Tefirt wadi 764

and the Abalessa wadi. Now, this grave has the shape of an enormous circular wall and is surrounded by other graves of the "chouchat" shape which are those of Tin Hinane's servants. Beside her grave is that of Takamat, the woman whom the Kel Ahnet claim as their ancestress. All these graves resemble those of the "izabbaren" so closely as to be confusing. Why do the Tuareg disclaim these while they acknowledge those of Tin Hinane, Takamat, and their servants? 172 173 764

We saw in the chapter "Superstitions, Beliefs" that the Tuareg go to consult the Izzabaren graves to obtain news of those absent. 769 787

In the Tafidjiq wadi (about four hours' walk from Ideles) there is a grave which is the object of great veneration on the

[342]

Harratine Huts at Ideles
(Koudia)

part of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is that of Adjadj Alemine (probably the missionary who converted them to Islamism; see the chapter on the origin of the Tuareg /not translated/). The Ahaggar say that this Adjadj Alemine was a marabout, a saint, and they call on him in their prayers when they are in trouble or grief, as the Arabs, under the same circumstances, call on Sidi Abdelkader el Djillali. I have not seen his grave, but I was told that it has "chouahed" like all Moslem graves. [797 174]

Upright stones. Following the directions of the guide Deguemma ag Chikat of the Adjouh-n-Taheli, I found, in the Koudia of the Ahaggar, a place where there was a collection of some ten upright stones of which only one remained /79/ 172

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



Later than the Kel Ferouan other clans or groups arrived in Air from the north. 114 Prominent were the Kel Fadei who are said to be related to the Taitoḳ clan of 174 Ahaggar (Duveyrier 1864, p. 322. – Urvoy 1936, p. 150. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Barth however is of the opinion that they came from different regions but in particular from Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 384). The Kel Fadei Tuareg first lived in Northern Air and their name is derived from the mountains of Fadei in these regions. At the end of the 18th century they migrated towards the south-west to the region of In Gall where they still have grazing grounds.

Still later immigrants are the Kel Tamat who came possibly three or four centuries ago. Urvoy mentions Ahaggar as their homeland (Urvoy 1936, p. 150), while Nicolas says they are related to the Oraṛen clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471). Even later came the Ikaskazan Tuareg who in Air attached themselves to the Kel Tamat. According to Urvoy they came from Ahaggar (Urvoy 1936, p. 151), according to Nicolas they descend partly from the Taitoḳ of Ahaggar, partly from the Imenṛasaten and the Oraṛen of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Tuareg of the Ikaskazan told me that they are related to the Oraṛen.

It is well known that all over Northern Africa numerous Arabs and Berbers 173 claim relationship with the Prophet and his family. Most of these traditions seem to be mere fake. We may, to mention an extreme example, take the negroid blacksmiths of Ahaggar who firmly hold that their ancestor lived in Mekka as the blacksmith of the Prophet. All traditions relating clans to Islam have been omitted in [128] this brief account of Tuareg history in Air. This does not mean, of course, that we can rely on the above traditions which are very often contradictory. An obvious case is that of the Kel Ferouan. In literature there are traditions of Tripolitania or Tassili-n-Ajjer as their homeland, while I have been constantly told that they came from Ahaggar as close kinsmen of the Kel Ṛela. I think this latter tradition gathered by myself does not contain much historical truth but perhaps reflects political relations of the past. The Kel Ferouan apparently were on quite good terms with 174 the Kel Ṛela of Ahaggar whom they admired because of their power. The Kel Ṛela had many quarrels with the Taitoḳ and also with the Kel Fadei, and the latter Tuareg again were enemies of the Kel Ferouan. As the Kel Fadei claimed themselves related to the Taitoḳ it may have been quite natural for the Kel Ferouan (the most important clan in Air) to claim relationship to the Kel Ṛela (the most important clan of Ahaggar).

We can never rely on oral traditions of origin, but they may contain some historical truth. All traditions mentioned point to a northern origin of the Air Tuareg and in particular to Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and adjacent regions. In support of these traditions we can refer to the fact that the most important northern trade road from Air leads to the oasis of Ghat, Tripolitania, and the Fezzan.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*The Sultanry of Air.*

The Agadez Chronicle referred to above gives an interesting description of the establishment of the Air Sultanry in 1405 A.D. Before that time, it is said, a growing anarchy reigned all over the country, and the Arombolou, supreme chief of the Itesen, therefore took the initiative to elect a Sultan to act as an arbitrator among the various groups of Tuareg. 175

According to tradition representatives of the Itesen clans were sent to the Sultan of Constantinople to persuade one of his sons to become the first Sultan of Air. After eight years' absence the deputation returned with a slave who became the ruler over the Air people. This peculiar story as stated by Urvoy is not mentioned in the Agadez Chronicle nor in any other written account (Urvoy 1936, p. 162), and I shall add to this that although even nowadays it is told all over Air, there are many Tuareg who consider it spurious. Actually we do not know from which country the Sultan came nor can we know if he was in fact a slave. But according to the Tuareg all known Sultans have been black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office. 173 643

Although the Sultanry was created by the initiative of the Itesen, the Sultan was also recognized by the Kel Geres who then lived in Air, by the Kel Ooui, and later by other Tuareg groups. At first he had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chamane from where he moved to Agadez which was founded at the middle of the 15th century A.D. as a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Air (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 102, 364f., 409. – Urvoy 1936, p. 164). To the Tuareg the Sultan is known by the title *Amenokal* – a word used for supreme chiefs by most Tuareg. The meaning of this word is not exactly clear. Foucauld does not discuss its origin but only identifies its meaning as "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1213f.). According to Duveyrier *Amenokal* means literally "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this meaning is also ascribed to the word by Lhote (Lhote 1955, p. 189) and Blanguernon (Blanguernon 1955, p. 47). It is my own view that although there can be no doubt that *Amenokal* is connected with *akal* meaning "land", it may perhaps be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". 643 114

In practise the Sultan had little power. The Agadez Chronicle refers to Sultans who acted as war leaders of all Air Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Air it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, 175 643

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 250. 614 [127]

A clan is generally termed *taousit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg. [162] [196] [611]

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 13). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g., 621 596 [342]

1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season *(akasa)* and in the beginning of the following dry season *(ranat)* several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups. 221 361 621 [173]

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occured also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin – ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:– 582 614 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 13 |
| No blood-relationship between husband and wife | 8 |
| Marriages total | 38 |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air
Ahaggar



sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullemmeden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, p. 213; 1950c, p. 492f. – Richer 1924, p. 3, 52) an interesting matrilineal custom has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhazera (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Dubiéf has further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubiéf 1956, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes. In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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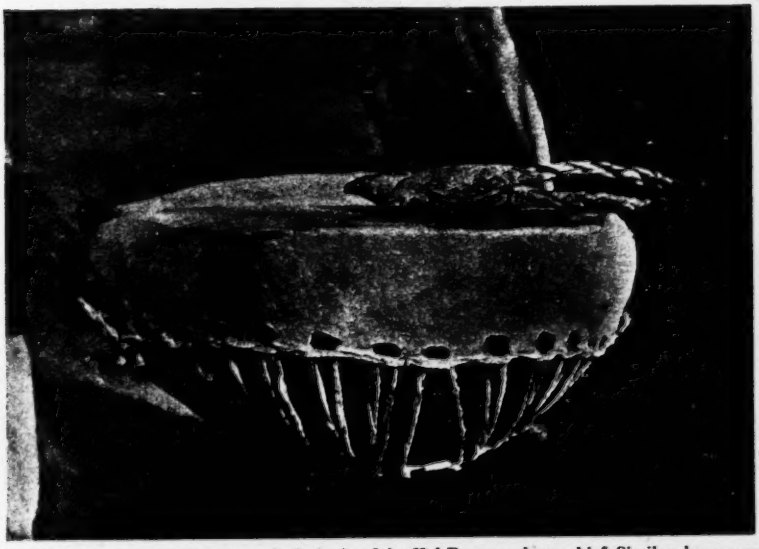

Fig. 6.–The drum which is the only insignia of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. Similar drums are found in all Tuareg groups.

614 past, as nowadays, the proper successor to chieftainship was the deceased chief's son. This rule of succession is no doubt due to Islamic influence which, as mentioned, [174] has introduced patrilineal succession among the Ioullemmeden Tuareg and also in various clans of the religious class of *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). I think there can be no doubt that succession among the Air Tuareg was originally matrilineal and that most possibly a sister's son was considered the proper successor to chieftainship.

### *The Political System of the Kel Ferouan.*

634 The important noble clans of the Kel Ferouan drum-group, namely the true Kel [614] Ferouan (or Iraouatten) and the Kel Azel, are said to be matrilineally related, as [173] the ancestress of the Kel Azel was a woman of the Kel Ferouan clan. She married, tradition says, an Arab who was killed at her own request.

The chief of the noble Kel Ferouan clan had the only drum of the whole group [202] of which he was the supreme chief. The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal clans but also by the noble Kel Azel. 778 The drum, which may still be seen in the camp of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, is 534 made of wood and covered with skin (fig. 6). It is believed that it has a mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced the man charged with this task would do it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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614

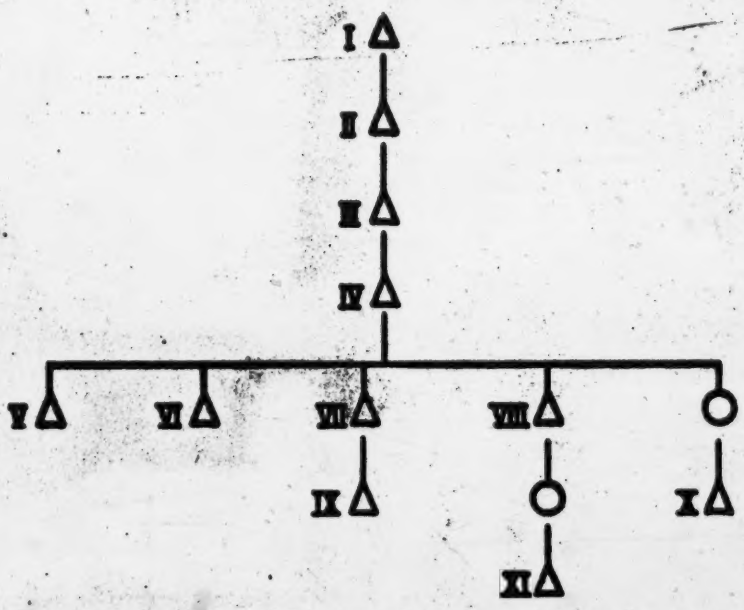


Fig. 7.–Succession of drum-chiefs in the small drum-group of Echchikhen living in Damergou south of the Air Massif.

blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, 778 534 and that it must never be touched by women.

Matrilineally related to the Kel Ferouan are also the Echchikhen clan of Damergou, as its ancestress was a noble woman from the Kel Ferouan. But patrilineally 634 [614] the Echchikhen seem to be related to Iforas Tuareg of religious status. The chief of the Echchikhen has a drum of his own as he has the right over a few vassal clans of Damergou, namely the Imasoren, Khamedan, Ekanaouen, and Iraouelen – clans said to be poor and in part subsisting as hunters. Among the Echchikhen I was able to collect a list of drumchiefs who have been chosen mainly according to the patrilineal principle (fig. 7). A new chief of the drum-group had just been elected, and he had no ties of kinship with the Echchikhen. He belonged to the Kel Geres group, and the prominent noble Echchikhen Tuareg were very sorry and infuriated about his election, as they wanted a man from their own clan to take over the leadership of the whole drum-group. But they could do nothing about it as the chief can be elected only by his vassals.

This same principle is and was valid for the election of drum-chiefs in the Kel Ferouan group – they have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, who [177] after the French occupation have also elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble Kel Ferouan clan. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, 173 but the noble Kel Ferouan unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their 634

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



173 634 drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The present drum-chief and his brother know the names of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent chiefs are not known further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:–

*Sabenas,* the ancestress of the noble clan and the first ruler of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

*Amenokal,* the elder son of Sabenas.

*Mohammed Aman,* the younger brother of Amenokal.

*Elkarebi,* the brother of Mohammed Aman.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:–

*Boboker,* who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan and was of pure noble origin.

*Ṛali,* who was the younger brother of Boboker. He was drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years and to have died about 30 years ago. He was considered a very skillful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the Kel Ferouan drum-group with profound respect. Ṛali's tomb is 769 south of the massif somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. On Ṛali's death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in which I had the opportunity to partic- [782] ipate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief and eaten close to the tomb. Later there was a prayer led by the chief, who thereupon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the [177] deceased chief. – Ancestral worship of this type is most probably no traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. Tuareg are generally afraid of deceased persons and will avoid their tombs.

*Mohammed,* who belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan through his mother, while 175 his father came from the Iforas. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. Apparently he was no close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief, Ṛali.

634 *Ouanarli,* who had no bonds of kinship with the Kel Ferouan clan. His father belonged to the religious and in Tuareg opinion very holy clan of Kel Es Souk. He was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

*Afanou,* who belonged to the Echchikhen. He died after one year's reign.

*Koutia,* who was of noble Kel Ferouan stock being the son of Ṛali's younger brother.

*Agg Elkher,* of pure noble origin being the son of Ṛali's daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected. He is the present drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan group.

*Azerher,* who was the son of Ṛali.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



It is said that in the 19th century all Tuareg groups of Air and adjacent regions paid an annual tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as follows:– 634 651

| | |
|---|---|
| Kel Ooui | 50 Tuareg veils |
| Kel Fadei | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| Echchikhen | two groups each giving 3 oryx hides |
| Kel Geres | 1 horse with a saddle |
| Ioullemmeden | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| Kel Allekot | 150 kg of millet |
| Damergou<br>Katsena | An amount of millet |

The Tuareg name for these payments is *toouse* meaning "annual tribute". The present drum-chief says that this tribute was given by the groups because all land belonged to the Kel Ferouan group. I think that the correctness of this is perhaps to be doubted, and that there may be other possible explanations:– 1) The payments may at some remote date have been made to the Sultan (Amenokal), but later collected by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became more important or, more possibly 2) they may have been given to the drum-chief for protection. Thus annual duties, termed *tiouse* by the Northern Tuareg, were formerly given by foreign Tuareg groups to mighty chiefs of Ahaggar to avoid raids (cf. p. 113). [423] [174]

The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim that in the remote past the whole drum-group of Kel Fadei including its noble clan paid bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as his vassals. This vassalship of the Kel Fadei is said to have ceased in the following way:– The Kel Ferouan drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a Kel Fadei camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the Kel Fadei camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the Kel Fadei. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the Kel Fadei so that after a time he could return safely to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the Kel Fadei Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan. 173

The political system of the Kel Ferouan group may be characterized as simple, all political rights resting in the hands of the drum-chief. He had no particular ministers or deputies, but he would discuss important matters with noble Tuareg of his camp and with the chiefs of vassal clans. 634

It has been mentioned above that the Kel Akarra clan in the past had one 634 614

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



dominating an extensive area of North Africa and particularly in Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and adjacent regions before the Arab invasion of the 11th century A.D. This theory was set forth already by Ibn Khaldoun, who says that *Hessara* has changed into *Haggar* (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 273f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory has no other foundation but mere speculation (Nicolas 1959, p. 14). This, however, is not correct as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *ss* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *ss* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533). 565 192 [114] [194]

The term used in Air for vassal Tuareg is *Imrad* (sing. *Amrid*), a word which seems to be known to all Tuareg. Foucauld gives no particular explanation of its meaning (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1833f.). Nicolas claims the word related to *ayrid*, literally meaning "a kid" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189). If this explanation given by Nicolas is correct, *Imrad* refers to goat-breeding. So does another term for vassals used more frequently among the Northern Tuareg and the Ioullemmeden, namely *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), which means literally "the goat people". In Air this word is never used as a term for the vassal class, but only as a proper name for one particular vassal clan attached to the Ikaakazan.

One of the terms for vassals and maybe both terms are thus connected with goat-breeding, while one of the terms for noble Tuareg seems to refer to raiding, which among the Tuareg was intimately connected with camel-breeding. Camels were not only the means by which raiding was carried out, but they were also the main object of raiding expeditions as they could be abducted very quickly from foreign camps. So we may perhaps see from some of the terms used for vassal and noble Tuareg that the two classes originated from the meeting of two distinct cultures, a goat-breeding and a camel-breeding culture. And we have already seen that in the past the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar were in particular camel-breeders, the vassals breeders of goats and donkeys. [233] [721] [174] [233]

The Ahaggar Tuareg – in contrast to the Tuareg of Air – have traditions about the origin of the class system. References to these traditions are common in literature (Benhazera 1908, p. 89ff. – Reygasse 1950, p. 88. – Foucauld 1951 – 52, II, p. 533ff. – Lhote 1955, p. 213ff. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 99f.). There are in fact two conflicting traditions, but some Tuareg will nevertheless acknowledge both. It seems, however, as if one tradition had its origin among the nobility, the other among vassals. The tradition which originated in the noble class says that the dominant noble clans of Ahaggar had a woman named Ti-n-Hinan as their ancestress. She immigrated to Ahaggar from Tafilelt in Morocco together with her servant girl named Takama, who became the ancestress of the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loalen). The two women were both Islamic and belonged to the Beraber tribes. They found the country uninhabited except for the higher parts of the massif, where a pagan people named the Isebeten lived. This tradition 173 565

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Aggar



173 is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to
565 be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain
[114] an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and
184 vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's
565 milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much import-
492 ance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble
[234] Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

184 Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects,
565 and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:– 1) In noble
[583] clans bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal clans one to three camels which may be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas
[422] true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Rali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble
[342] Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post – that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-
[614] breeding clan Iregenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed
[173] marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. – Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Iregenaten Tuareg met in Air.

342 Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently
184 referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. – Lhote

172 /40 cont./ isolated gara /butte/, or on the slopes of a larger hill. One hardly ever sees them in the Ahaggar; the area in which these crescents are found extends toward the south of the central massif, beyond the large regs; a great many are found in the Adrar des Iforas and in the southern tassilis. It may be that they are manifestations of a civilization different from that of the central Ahaggar.

Oral Traditions

172 173 The Tuareg know that before their arrival a people called the Issabaten existed in the Ahaggar. These people had a social system /41/ of castes and were ignorant of the camel. The Issabaten were unintelligent, and their stupidity is still proverbial today. The Tuareg say that they never had any conflict with these gentle and calm beings. Some of the Issabaten, no doubt of a higher caste, must have been cleverer, for tradition still conserves the name of Amamellen and of his nephew Elias, who reputedly were the founders of rock art. These people had no religion -- this must be understood to mean that they were not Moslems.

No one has yet been able to translate the ancient inscriptions in tifinagh characters that are found rather frequently. The Tuareg maintain that the inscriptions are in a language different from their own, although written with the same characters; some Tuareg believe that the inscriptions are in code, with the letters transposed within the words, and that whoever is able to decipher them will learn where treasures are hidden.

172 174 It is certain that a civilization with paleolithic techniques existed in the Ahaggar during a humid period, probably at the edge of lakes or around the drainage basins into which the large wadis (Tanezrouft; Amded, Tamanrasset; Igharghar, Tin-Tarabin, In-Guezzam, Amadror, Thihodaïne, Tafassasset) emptied. There is every reason to believe that

172 /42 cont./ made pots decorated with line drawings. These
174 peoples, with a neolithic culture, could have come to the Ahaggar from the south and the east, but some groups could have come by way of the Igharghar Valley, driving their cattle before them. The tribal chiefs were aged men, masters of magic rites; they knew how to cast spells and used esoteric signs. Some were veritable artists in engraving and sculpture.

Later, there is reason to believe, white populations from Libya settled in the Ahaggar, bringing with them heliolithic customs from the Mediterranean shores, such as megalithic monuments, the sun and serpent cults, cranial deformation, the caste system. The paintings in the Tefedest clearly represent Negro shepherds, but the new paintings of the Takecherouelt wadi show people of a white race, tall and thin.

Should we consider these whites to be the ancestors of the /43/ present-day Tuareg? It would be premature to think this, but they may have been the first wave of Berbers to come to the Ahaggar. Their exodus may have been remembered by the nomadic Berber tribes who, later, camel owners, fled for various reasons before Roman and Arab promiscuity, and rediscovered the route of the neolithic whites to the Ahaggar.

The chronology of the protohistory is difficult to establish. However, a certain number of documents on this period exist. In the first place, we have the results of archaeological research, from the excavation of pre-Islamic monuments, particularly that of Tin-Hinan (cf. the book by M. Reygasse on the pre-Islamic funerary monuments).

The Tuareg have a certain number of oral traditions
173 concerning this period. On the other hand, the inscriptions from the "cameline" age give us only very sketchy information: the oldest are untranslatable, and the most recent offer very little of interest; they are limited to the expression of the admiration of a man for a woman, or to arranging rendezvous.

173 /43 cont./ The Latin, Greek, and Arab texts that have come down to us give rise to very diverse interpretations and are, in any case, extremely fragmentary.

It seems acceptable to put the beginning of this period, as far as the Ahaggar is concerned, at about the time of the Punic Wars, and to end it on February 16, 1881, date of the massacre of the Flatters mission. From that date on, the Ahaggar enters into history properly speaking.

The protohistory of the Ahaggar poses the question of the origin of the Tuareg, a question which has not yet been satisfactorily resolved. They are probably Berbers coming from different tribes, who could have crossed with a white population already settled in the Ahaggar. What characterizes the Tuareg, aside from certain somatic traits such as tall stature, an arm span /envergure/ often greater than their height, smooth or wavy black hair, the rarity of hairiness, is the unity of the language, the use of tifinagh characters, and a way of life with particular customs which has succeeded in assimilating tribes of Arab origin, such as the Issakamaren.

/44/ The Tuareg pass on orally the legendary story of Tin Hinan, said to be the "mother, " ancestress of the Kel Rela nobles, who know no masculine ancestor, although some say he was French (an affirmation to be regarded with suspicion and certainly of recent origin).

Tin Hinan supposedly came from Tafilalet, but no one knows why she came to the Ahaggar, accompanied by her servant woman Takamat, ancestress of the Dag Rali.

The story, which neglects the male ancestor, must be
[565] regarded as the expression of the Tuareg tradition which calls for the transmission of the rights of nobility through the women.

The /early/ Tuareg must have possessed camels, for Tin Hinan rode a white female camel. Did they join, either as guides or protectors, caravans going to the north? We may think this, for the excavations of Tin Hinan's tomb by M. Reygasse uncovered funerary furniture which included objects of Roman origin.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



564 region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed*
[463] (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Ahaggar to cultivate
[567] gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaren*, or *Ḥarratin*, like the
[191] immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual, speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahak*). The *Izeggaren* (*Ḥarratin*) are generally less
[144] negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features.
[142] Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*) refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaren* does not seem to exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Ṛat oasis known as *Ikewweren* apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

[361] *Kel Ĝanet* (sing. *W' Ĝanet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ĝanet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-
[144] n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ĝanet* have much the same position as
[565] Tuareg vassals (Imṛad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ĝanet* immigrants, their status is rather
[567] like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ĝanet* may possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

564 *Ineden* (*Ineden* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Ened*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg
326 groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one. People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only
[162] a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the
564 blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna*
173 *Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963). A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Tementiṛ in Tawat. At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.). 2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and
564 Adṛar-n-Foṛas. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of
144 them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



13 would emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically a certain dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

144 174 At present both fair-skinned europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most Negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern Negroes in the Fezzan constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the ancestors of the present Negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all Negroes of Ahaggar were apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid *Ḥarratin* then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. Another immigration of predominantly black-skinned and negroid agriculturists came from Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Ġanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the *Ḥarratin*. – Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Ayr by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Ayr originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese in regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Ayr were Negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that, before the Tuareg, Ayr was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45; Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Ayr* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the Massif, to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations seem to confirm these statements. All Tuareg 173 questioned about the history of Ayr have admitted that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the 192 country before the Tuareg, and in the Berber dialect spoken by these people there are a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of the *Kel Ewey* 601 group is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg and related to the 164 system is use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (Figs. 293–294).

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Fig. 90. Tuareg dogs of the breed which is common among the Ayr Tuareg. Dogs suffer much from heat in summer when they hide under water-bags. Ayr, the *Imrezureg* tribe.

## DOGS

231 The Northern Tuareg distinguish between three types of dogs (sing. *eydi*) as follows:— (1) a long-haired breed (*aberkoh*); (2) a short-haired slender breed (*akhamî*); (3) a very slender and elegantly
[173] built greyhound (*oska*) (Fig. 91). The Ahaggar Tuareg speak of a tradition, according to which the greyhound (*oska*) was introduced fairly recently through contacts with the Northern Arabs. The Ayr Tuareg do not make similar distinctions between dog breeds. They have only one breed which is known as *ijji* (Fig. 90). It is short-haired and slenderly built though less so than the true Arab greyhound.

[136] Dogs are kept to guard the camp and in particular to protect the animals from the attack of jackals or hyenas during night. If the Tuareg had no dogs it would be most difficult for them to breed goats and sheep. Dogs may also follow the flocks in daytime to protect the animals against beasts of prey, though this is not generally considered necessary. Dogs are not trained as "sheep-dogs", but it is said that a few "intelligent" dogs will assist the herdsman in keeping the flock together during grazing,
[224] and many dogs will drive away domestic animals which belong to foreign flocks. Some Tuareg use dogs in hunting barbary sheep, gazelle, antelope, and hare (cf. hunting, p. 159, 166).

[17] It is well-known that the Arabs consider the dog an unclean animal. This is also so among Arab nomads of the Sahara, but they do not consider their greyhounds unclean in this sense. Thus pastoralists of the Chamba group told me that among them a fine greyhound is esteemed in much the same way as are noble riding horses and camels. The Tuareg have very few true greyhounds and
[521] I do not believe that they have this same feeling of interest in them. But many children and young
[541] people are fond of all types of dogs, and one can hear them discuss the qualities of their animals and the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp.

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In literature there seems to be no reliable information about the existence of irrigation agriculture 241
in Ahaggar until Duveyrier, who states that agriculture did not obtain a fixed position in the economic 175
life of the Ahaggar Tuareg until the reign of the *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) (cf. Duveyrier
1864, p. 369). This statement is confirmed by most agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg in Ahaggar, 241
who claim that prior to *Elkhaj Akhmed* irrigation agriculture was not practised in Ahaggar. During 312
the reign of this *Amenukal* irrigation agriculture by means of the subterranean aqueducts known to 173
the Arabs as *foggara* (*éfeli*, pl. *ifelan*) was introduced by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs and negroid *Ḫarratin* from 177
the Tidikelt oases. Some people of Ahaggar claim that another irrigation system was introduced about the same time, namely irrigation wells from which water is drawn by oxen and donkeys. This system, known as *tanut*, is said to have been introduced by agriculturists from Ĝanet (Djanet) (the *Kel Ĝanet*). It should be noted that there are certain traditions which claim irrigation agriculture to be older in Ahaggar. One tradition says that it was practised at Silet-Tibeghin by Arabs who immigrated from Tawat to cultivate by means of the *foggara* system even during the reign of the *Imenan* (Lhote 1955, p. 286 f.). Another tradition, recorded by Foucauld, states that irrigation farming was known at a 241
very remote date by the *Isebeten* – a pagan people said to be the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes of 312
Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535 f.). Traditions of the age of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar 173
are conflicting. If it was practised long before the reign of *Elkhaj Akhmed* by the ancient vassals, I believe that water was raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight. For this system, which is known as *ajudid*, is said to have been very common in the past. It is extremely rare nowadys, and I have only seen it once at Terhenanet. There can be no doubt that [171]
this simple irrigation method is a very old one in North Africa, where it is more widely distributed than all other types of irrigation methods (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, map VII p. 320). The very wide distribution of this system elsewhere in the Old World points to its great age, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest true irrigation machine.

A few Tuareg in the northern groups practise irrigation agriculture, which does not seem to be one 241
of their traditional occupations. Tuareg irrigation farmers are found mainly in the Fezzan, but mention 178
should also be made of the people of three noble tribes, namely the *Ilemteyen* (living at Ṛat), the *Ikadeyen* (at Tit in Ahaggar), and the *Kel-ahem-mellen* (roaming pastoralists north of Ahaggar or settled farmers at the oasis of Inṛer in Tidikelt). These sedentary or semi-sedentary noble Tuareg were originally true pastoralists, though but little is known of the original mode of livelihood of the *Ikadeyen*. A few individuals or families among the Ahaggar vassals have more recently taken up irrigation agriculture in addition to stock-breeding. There seems to be a growing tendency towards semi-nomadism in Ahaggar nowadays. There may be several reasons for this. Thus one can point to the decline of [432]
caravan trading and to the fact that pastoral Tuareg cannot so easily get the true agriculturists to cul- [564]
tivate for them. The true agriculturists of Ahaggar comprise the *Ḫarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*) of Tidikelt, who have mixed with the manumitted slaves now also known as *Ḫarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*), a few fair-skinned *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, and the *Kel Ĝanet* who are predominantly black-skinned. All these agricultural people tend to mix with each other and also with tribes of pastoral Tuareg.

There are at present about 25 agricultural settlements in the river valleys of Ahaggar. Apart from 361
the administration centre of Tamanṛaset (1600) and the oasis of Abalessa (547) these agricultural 162

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 · MS25 Tuareg MS25



466 obtain a larger amount of vegetable food products and more wheat and barley. The pastoral Tuareg
475 gain less from their gardens than they did when the *khamast* system prevailed, but it is still profitable
423 for them to be garden owners.
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The quantity of agricultural products anually consumed per person among the *Kel Ahaggar* is
511 estimated by Lhote at 187 kilos millet, 15 kilos dates, and a small amount of wheat for which no
262 figure is given. For Arabs of the Sahara the quantity of vegetable food is estimated at 180 kilos wheat,
[171] and 75 kilos dates anually per person (Lhote 1955a, p. 263). I add to this that wheat is used for bread to a very large extent by the Ahaggar Tuareg, who also make much use of barley for bread and porridge. According to Malaurie the amount of agricultural food products available per person among the Ahaggar Tuareg is about 400 grammes a day, or 146 kilos anually (Malaurie 1953, p. 342). It should be noted again that the amount of agricultural food products necessary for a Tuareg household varies greatly from one year to the other. In years of drought when agricultural products form so to speak the only source of food for the nomads, they estimate that a household consisting of husband, wife, and one child will consume about two kilos of cereals (dates) every day, or 730 kilos in a year. Consequently the amount of cereals and dates consumed anually per person may in dry years rise to
[171] about 245 kilos. This seems to correspond to the amount of food considered necessary for Arabs of Tidikelt and Tawat, who live almost exclusively on cereals and dates. When employed as labourers by the French Administration these sedentary Arabs are given 16 kilos of wheat and 4 kilos of rice a month, or 240 kilos of agricultural products anually per person (Information obtained from the administration office of In Salah in 1954). The agricultural products obtained by a pastoral household from a single
511 garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less
433 so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example: During the year 1954 55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with an *aril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar
[437] Tuareg depend on caravan trading for their provisions of agricultural food, and trading also helps them to create the capital of millet and dates which is invested in their gardens in Ahaggar grown on their behalf by agriculturists. I believe that most pastoral households of Ahaggar have gardens, but there are Tuareg who have none. This is true, for instance, of most Tuareg living in and around the Ahnet Massif. Tuareg of this region formerly had gardens irrigated by the *foggara* system at Abalessa, but to-day they acquire their vegetable food products mainly by caravan trading.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AYR

513 The largest aggregation of sedentary people in Ayr is found in Agadez (4.737), which is inhabited al-
[361] most exclusively by negroid peoples who speak Hausa though most of them also know the Tuareg
[162] language (*tamachek*). This large sedentary population mainly lives on trade and on crafts of
[197] various kinds. The inhabitants are known to the Tuareg as the *Imeggedezen*. They are said to be related
[433] to the Sultan (or the *Amenukal*) of Agadez. There is a tradition which claims that the Sultan came
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Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*énélé*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
173 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers
[563] though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of
162 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isawerem*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
563 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
433 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
245 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
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Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
162 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula-
144 tion that subsisted on agriculture.
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177 Arab cultural traits have played a less important part in Ayr, where there are very few Arabs apart
[162] from the merchants living at Agadez. The Arabs in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, have a certain religious prestige
[183] but I have also heard Tuareg say that they did not like Arabs much because of their bad manners, and mainly because the Arabs talk too much and lack the peculiar type of quiet reservation characteristic of so many Tuareg. It seems as if the French administrators of Ayr have been responsible for the introduction of certain Arab cultural traits, but they have not made Arabic an official language
[191] of the administration. Apart from the marabuts there are very few Ayr Tuareg who have some
[148] knowledge of Arabic. The French administration of Ayr, belonging to the former territory of French West Africa, has led to the immigration of many Sudanese people of negroid type. Clerks and lower
[167] officials working in Agadez have mainly come from Dahomey.

175 The Arabs and Islam came to North Africa at a very early date. The first invasion of Arabs took
177 place in the 7th century A.D. and brought Islam and traits of Oriental town-dwelling civilization into a narrow belt of North Africa along the Mediterranean. There is an Arab tradition according
[173] to which the first followers of Mohammed came to Central Sahara and to the Tuareg as early as the 7th century, but there is also a tradition among the Ahaggar Tuareg saying that Islam was introduced among them by a marabut of the Almoravids (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 347 f.). It is very possible that certain Tuareg groups of the extreme north were influenced by Islam and the Arabs after the first invasion, but more important was the second invasion of the 11th century when the Northern Sahara was occupied by Arab bedouins from Egypt and, ultimately, from Arabia. This so-called *Hilalian Invasion* comprised various large tribal groups:— (1) the *Beni Sulaim* (or *B. Soliman*) who settled in Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and in the adjacent parts of Algerian Sahara where some of the present *Chambu* Arabs claim descent from this tribal group; (2) the *Beni Hilal* who settled further west in the Sahara south of Algerian and Moroccan Atlas; the important Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Hammu* of Tidikelt claim descent from this Hilalian group; (3) the smaller tribal group named *Makil*; this followed the *Beni Hilal* but occupied grazing grounds further west in the desert country of Morocco.
175 These tribal groups largely influenced the Tuareg, and there seems to be little doubt that many Tuareg
648 pastoralists were driven southwards owing to the invasion of Arab nomads, who settled in Tripolitania and the Fezzan. But these Arab pastoralists could not everywhere defeat the pastoral Tuareg. In Ibn Khaldun's day the frontier dividing the Arab bedouins from pastoral Tuareg followed mainly the great belt of sand-hills running from east to west in the Northern Sahara. Now and then the Arabs carried out raids against the Tuareg, but Ibn Khaldun says that the Arab raiders were always attacked by the Tuareg and suffered severe losses (Ibn Khaldun I p. 191, II p. 104 f.). The penetration of Arab pastoral groups into the Central Sahara is outlined by Capot-Rey who states (1) that the Berber tribes inhabiting Tripolitania, Tunisia, and adjacent regions were quickly Arabized, (2) that the Western Tuareg of Mauritania were conquered more recently by the *Makil* Arabs, (3) that elsewhere in the Sahara the Tuareg were not only able to defend most of their territory, but also to assimilate certain Arab tribes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 191 f.). This latter statement is correct. Contact between Arabs and Tuareg has also led to the adoption of Tuareg cultural traits by many Arab pastoralists, and even the very powerful Arab tribe, the *Ulad Ba Hammu* of Tidikelt, lived in pre-European times very much like the Tuareg in leather tents and dressed like the Tuareg. Various Arab tribes of the Sudan

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



from an ancient cow-breeding culture. This we know formerly existed in the Sahara where cows are very frequently represented in rock-engravings. There can be little doubt that hump-less long-horned cattle of the *Bos primigenius* type, which are still found in isolated parts of the Western Sudan, once existed in the Sahara, and it is extremely remarkable that Huard has been able to show that horn-deformation like those practised in Ancient Egypt on *Bos primigenius* cattle, and those still practised on oxen among the Nilotes, can be proved to have been in use over most of the Sahara, where such deformation is frequently seen on ancient cattle-pictures. It may be that one or two of his examples are doubtful, but on the whole they seem to be reliably interpreted, and I think with Huard that we should take the rock-engravings of the Sahara as a proof that the so-called East Hamitic Culture was formerly represented all over North-west Africa (cf. Huard 1953, p. 75–106, and notably 1959, p. 109–131). Long-horned cattle seem to have been found among the Ancient Libyans (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96), who according to Baumann also possessed traits in common with the East Hamitic Culture. We do not know when the nomads of the Sahara stopped to breed long-horned and humpless cattle, but the Ayr Tuareg, who are now zebu-breeders, claim that cattle-breeding is not an ancient occupation among them. They seem to hold that cattle were rare in Ayr even as recently as up to the beginning of the French penetration, and they claim that they know less about cattle than about other domestic animals. They also have rather few cattle terms compared with the extensive glossary for other domestic animals. It might be contended that the milking customs of modern Tuareg are derived from an ancient cattle-breeding culture of the Sahara but in general this is not the whole explanation, for it seems as if some of these traits have been introduced or re-introduced into the Sahara with camel-breeding, which originated in the same area from which the East Hamitic Complex must have come to Africa.

Our last problem is to consider Tuareg culture in the light of the so-called *Eurafrican Steppe-Hunting Culture*, which Baumann believes to have existed over most of Africa. He finds remains of this culture among the Ancient Libyans, and he thinks that certain rock-engravings of the Sahara prove that this primitive hunting culture was once widely distributed in the desert, while at present the steppe-hunting culture is mainly preserved on the outskirts of the Sahara. It seems as if the Tuareg have very few elements which can be placed within this culture. They lack the bow and arrow and also the true throwing stick or throwing club, they do not use parts of animals for disguise, and they do not poison water places to kill game, though in pre-European times they killed their enemies in this way. They know the spiked wheel-trap stated by Baumann to be an Eurafrican trait, but I believe with Lindblom and Lagercrantz that this hunting device is not so ancient (Lindblom 1928; Lagercrantz 1950, p. 98), and it can be mentioned in this connection that the torsion traps are also comparatively late arrivals (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 103 ff.; Lips 1927, p. 271). This may be the case also with dog hunting as practised to-day, for greyhound-like dogs are probably not the oldest hunting dog. Hunting barbary sheep with dogs and spears is depicted in a rock-engraving near Rat (cf. Frobenius 1933, pl. 28a), but, as generally the case with rock-engravings, it cannot be dated. A type of greyhound was known already in prehistoric Egypt (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 86 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 124 ff.) which may perhaps also be considered the cradle of Tuareg greyhound-like dogs, while the true greyhound, or *sluki*, was introduced to North Africa by the Arabs. The use of stalking animals is most

172 The so-called *Tomb of Ti-n-Hinan*, an enormous fort at Abalessa in Ahaggar dating back to the 4th century A.D., has dry walls (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.; Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 95).

*342 Any solid house of the above mentioned types is known to the Tuareg as *tarahamt* (Ahaggar) or
[253] *tarajamt* (Ayr). Pastoral Tuareg do not like to live in houses, and some of them believe that they may contract an illness if they stay too long in a house (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 221).

*342 Capot-Rey thinks that mud houses with terraces were introduced into the Sudan with the Arabs
174 (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 231 f.), while Engeström and Le Moal hold them to be pre-Islamic (Engeström 1959, p.64–69; Le Moal 1960, p. 202). I believe that houses built of sun-dried bricks are post-Islamic in Tuareg countries. This agrees with Nicolas' statement that there are two Hausa words which are generally used for sun-dried bricks, and both words are derived from Arabic (Nicolas 1938, p. 67). Furthermore, houses constructed in this way are not very common in the Southern Sahara except in towns and cities. In Ahaggar there were apparently no houses built of sun-dried bricks until the beginning of the French occupation when the immigration of Tidikelt Arabs increased.

Houses built of balls of mud piled upon each other before sun-drying are no doubt pre-Islamic (cf. Nicolas 1938, p. 67), and we know that this is also true of houses built of stones and mud. They are still widely found in the Sahara and constituted an important dwelling type in ancient towns and cities including Ghana. Capot-Rey thinks that houses built predominantly of stone were introduced to the Sahara and the Sudan by Berber tribes of the north, and that these houses have to some extent displaced the straw-huts of the Negroes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 233). A connection between the stone houses of the Sahara and the immigration of Berbers is also claimed by Rodd, who thinks that the oldest type of solid houses in Ayr (the "A-type" according to Rodd's division) was built of stone and came to Ayr with the *Itésen* Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 244 ff.). I myself was frequently told by Tuareg of Ayr that originally there was a very close association between the *Itésen* Tuareg and stone houses, and various ruins of houses built of stone or predominantly of stone are ascribed to the *Itésen*. Ruins
[173] at Tegidda-n-tagayt of small rectangular houses and a ruin at the same place of a large fort or walled enclosure, measuring about 35 × 35 metres, are said by modern Tuareg to derive from the ancient *Itésen* Tuareg who according to native tradition were among the early Tuareg immigrants (cf. p. 412).

*342 It seems that houses built predominantly of stone are of very great age in the northern parts of the
172 Sahara, including Tasilé-n-Ajjer. At Êherir, situated in the latter mountain massif, there are house-ruins with walls of stones kept together by a thin layer of clay or similar material. It has been suggested that these constructions may reach back to antiquity and be due to Roman influence (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 87).

*342 Though solid houses built of stone seem to be very ancient in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, it would seem that
172 all types of solid houses were introduced into Ahaggar in late pre-Islamic times. For the oldest houses
174 ruins of Ahaggar, apart from the *Tomb of Ti-n-Hinan*, show walls of stones united with mud at Silef, and seem to derive from Arab marabuts who lived there during the reign of the *Imenan* (cf. p. 393).

*342 There are also house-ruins, probably of the same age, at Tit (Lhote 1955a, p. 87, 286). Apart from these
174 ruins the Tuareg of Ahaggar say there were no solid houses in Ahaggar until about a hundred years

# Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg

In the introductory chapter on the Tuareg I mentioned that they fall into a number of main groups. 181
These groups or federations constitute the largest political units and are the following:— the *Kel* 642
*Ahaggar*, the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Adrar*, the *Kel Ayr*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*, and the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*. The federation of *Kel Tademekket* in the region of Timbuktu was subjected to the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* from about A.D. 1800 (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). In this chapter I attempt to outline the structure of some of the federations, and to consider certain problems connected with their historical development.

The two groups of Northern Tuareg which are so intimately related to one another, both culturally 173
and linguistically, formed originally one large political group under the command of the very powerful 642
noble tribe, the *Imenan* in the region of Ganet. It was not only considered noble to a very high degree, 614
but it was very highly estimated because of its supposed relationship to the Prophet. Many noble 565
Tuareg to-day, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, will claim themselves to be *Echcherifen* through relationship to the ancient *Imenan*, whose leader was the supreme chief of all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer until about A.D. 1650 or somewhat later in the 17th century. The *Imenan* about that date [669]
lost their power owing to insurrections led by the powerful noble tribe, the *Uraren*. A Tuareg of this [643]
tribe killed the supreme chief named *Guma* and the leadership of the *Kel Ajjer* now passed over to the chief of the *Uraren*.

The political system of the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century has been described in some detail 175
by Duveyrier with particular reference to the *Kel Ajjer* among whom he lived in 1859 (cf. Duveyrier 64
1864). Among the authors who visited the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century Duveyrier is by far the most important, and his brief description of political organization is of particular value.

When the *Imenan* lost their supreme authority owing to the rising of the *Uraren*, they retained 643
their titles of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*), which are used for all descendants of the *Imenan*, their [614]
women even to-day being known as *Timenukalin* (sing. *Tamenukalt*). The chief of the *Imenan* was still "the *Amenukal*", a title used for supreme and independent chiefs of large political units. It is a word known to all Tuareg, and there have been some discussion about its proper meaning. The meaning according to Duveyrier is "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this interpretation is that generally followed by modern authors (e.g., Lhote 1955, p. 189; Blanguernon 1955, p. 47), though Foucauld does not go into the proper meaning of the word *Amenukal* but contents himself with the statement that it is the title of "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1213 f.). According to Prasse *Amenukal* is very probably a composit of

[p. 393]

643 *amenu* + (*a*)*kal*, "*amenu* of the country". The first part may be the now extinct sing. of *Imenan*, the original meaning of which is unknown ("princes"?); this agrees with Foucauld's statement that normally *Amenukal* is used as sing. of *Imenan*, meaning *iyen daṛ-Menan*" = "one of the *Imenan* tribe" (Prasse, verbal information). My own view is that though the title may perhaps refer to *akal* [423] meaning "land" it is to be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". It is evident, as pointed out recently by Briggs, that an *Amenukal* as a supreme chief does not own the land in any ordinary sense, but rather owns it as a representative of the whole community (cf. Briggs 1958, p. 88). However, many Tuareg of the south do not connect the word *Amenukal* with "*akal*", and even in the past when the supreme *Amenukal* of the *Imenan* reigned over the Northern Tuareg, he apparently did not have the supreme command of the whole country. When Duveyrier stayed among the *Kel* ●173 *Ajjer*, the country of these Tuareg was divided between certain noble tribes. This division was said 631 to have taken place in the following way:— The first Tuareg who settled in Tasilé-n-Ajjer were the 614 *Imenan* and the *Ifoṛas*, while other tribes immigrated at a later date. It happened one day in the past that the supreme chief of the *Imenan* summoned the noble women who had sons with rights of succession to chieftainship, and to each of these women he alloted a particular territory as their apanage. Thus the noble woman of the *Uraṛen* tribe was given the valley of Iṛarṛaren, while the noble woman of the *Imanṛasaten* tribe gained the valley of Tekhammalt (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 323). According to this popular account the land of the *Kel Ajjer* was divided between noble tribes even at a time when 175 the supreme chief of the *Imenan*, the *Amenukal*, was the supreme ruler of the *Kel Ajjer*. In Duveyrier's 631 days the important land-holding tribes among the *Kel Ajjer* seem to have been the *Imenan* in the 614 Tasilé around Ganet, the *Uraṛen* north of the Tasilé Mountains around the valley of Iṛarṛaren, the *Imanṛasaten* east of the *Uraṛen*, and finally the *Ifoṛas* who lived in the region south and southwest of Ṛadames. The *Ifoṛas* Tuareg were then, as to-day, held in high esteem because of their position [565] as *Ineslemen*. They also claimed themselves to be noble by origin. They had no vassals attached to them, but one of the *Ifoṛas* tribes had territorial rights around Ṛadames, and it had the right to dues [651] from all foreign caravans passing through the country. Other land-holding tribes possessed the same rights for their particular territories, and their members (i.e., apparently their chiefs) at certain seasons camped around the caravan roads leading through their country to collect dues from caravan [643] traders (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff., 359 ff.). The *Kel Ajjer* country in Duveyrier's days was divided between various noble tribes, and the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Ajjer group*, the chief of the *Uraṛen*, had no rights over the whole country as such.

565 The noble Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* had rights over certain vassal tribes which did not necessarily 614 live within the territory of the noble tribe to which they were attached. Duveyrier tells us so much 642 of this vassalage that it is possible to outline the main structure of this very interesting political institution.

The noble tribes which had particular rights over vassals were the *Uraṛen*, the *Imenan*, and the *Imanṛasaten*. The last-mentioned tribe remained loyal to the ancient rulers of the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Imenan*, to whom they constituted a sort of armed guard in the past. The *Imanṛasaten* were in opposition to the *Uraṛen* but the latter tribe was very powerful because of its direct authority over most vassal tribes. In all 17 vassal tribes or tribal sections were commanded by the *Uraṛen*, while the *Imenan*,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



had five vassal tribes, and the *Imanrasaten* only three. Four tribes were divided between the *Uraren* and the *Imenan*, and one vassal tribe was divided between all three noble tribes.

The *Imenan* in Duveyrier's days comprised only five men who lived like sedentary Arabs at Ganet and Rat; they held the titles of *Imenukalen*, and their chief was "*the Amenukal*" who still possessed the drum (*ettebel*) as the symbol of his former power. But the *Imenan* had no political power, and Duveyrier says that they were not allowed to summon their vassals to war. The true political leader of the *Kel Ajjer* was the chief of the *Uraren* with the title of *Amrar*, but he was not the most important person. The practical leader of all Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer was the famous Tuareg known as *Akhenukhen*, whom Duveyrier called *Emir*. He had not accepted the position as *Amrar* because this would have obliged him to give up his nomadic life and take up residence in a house. *Akhenukhen* held the supreme political and judical authority not only over the particular vassals of the *Uraren*, for all Ajjer Tuareg also submitted to his orders. However, we know from Duveyrier's description that the other noble tribes had the right to engage in raiding expeditions on their own behalf supported by their individual vassals, and it was not always easy for *Akhenukhen* to keep order. However, as leader of the bulk of the vassal tribes which were loyal to their master, he could retain the dominant position of the *Uraren* tribe, and in difficult judical problems he was aided and supported by the religious leaders of the *Iforas* group.

The noble tribes of the *Kel Ajjer* were subdivided into tribal sections which had their particular vassals. It seems as if this division of vassalage was primarily an economic one. Thus the chief of the *Uraren* possessed the supreme political authority over all vassals attached to his tribe though he only had particular economic rights over part of them (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff. & Dubief 1956, p. 87). I revert to these important features of political systems among the Northern Tuareg in a more detailed account of political relations in Ahaggar.

## KEL AHAGGAR

The Ahaggar Tuareg became politically independent in the 17th century when the supreme chief *Guma* of the *Imenan* was killed and the power over the *Kel Ajjer* passed into the hands of the *Uraren*. The Ahaggar Tuareg may even then have obtained their own supreme chief, but we know almost nothing about this early period. The supreme chiefs of the Ahaggar Tuareg, who have the title of *Amenukal*, are known as far back as to about 1750 when the ruler was *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir*. During his reign the Ahaggar Tuareg became divided into three major groups centering around the noble tribes known as *Kel Rela*, *Taytok*, and *Tégehé Mellet*. These tribes divided the vassals between them. The *Taytok* and the *Kel Rela* until then formed one single tribe, and their members even to-day claim to be matrilineally related as *ara-n-tañatin*, that is "persons descending from sisters", for the ancestress of the *Kel Rela*, by name *Kella*, and the ancestress of the *Taytok*, whose name was *Sakina*, were in fact maternal cousins (cf. p. 140). The third noble tribe, *Tégehé Mellet*, to which vassals were allotted, is said to descend patrilineally from Arabs – perhaps from the *Chamba*. There were two other noble tribes among the Ahaggar Tuareg at this early date. One of them known

173 as the *Ikadeyen* had no vassals and its members had apparently then as now a rather subordinate
565 position compared with other noble Tuareg. The noble tribe named *Kel-ahem-mellen*, which to-day
614 is of little importance and not very numerous, with some of its members settled in the oasis of
642 Inṛer in Tidikelt, seems to have had certain *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes as its particular vassals, but they were later placed under the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Tégehé Mellet*. The *Iseḳḳemaren*, as we shall see below, had a political status somewhat different from that of the true vassals known to the Northern Tuareg as *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad*. The division of the vassals of this group during the reign of *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir* between the three noble tribes of *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Tégehé Mellet* is most interesting. When the vassals were divided between the three noble units it led to a division of some of the vassal tribes. Thus the *Ayt Lowayen* was divided into two between the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Tégehé Mellet* while the tribe known as *Imessiliten* was divided into the *Dag Ṛali* for the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Kel Ahnet* for the *Taytoḳ*. It would have been easier to divide the vassals without splitting their tribes, but we may perhaps suggest that the tribes were split because they were already divided into groups of individual vassals under those who became independent noble tribes. When the division of vassals took place in the 18th century most went to the *Kel Ṛela*, but quite a number of tribes was also allotted to the *Taytoḳ*, while the *Tégehé Mellet* tribe received so few that it could never become politically important.

When the vassals were divided between the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Tégehé Mellet* these noble
634 tribes became united into a sort of federation known as *tégehé*. The three tribes with their vassals formed
[534] so-called drum-groups or *eṭṭebelen* (sing. *eṭṭebel*) with chiefs who had as their insignia a large drum
[778] known as *eṭṭebel*. It was endowed with a particular mystic power; it should not be allowed to touch the ground and when the drum skin was worn, it had to be replaced by a famed warrior. The drum must be obeyed when beaten by the drum-chief to summon his subjects. The drum-chief was the supreme political and judical authority of a drum-group, and he could organize raids and wage war upon other groups. He also collected certain annual payments from his particular vassals. This was
631 true of the chiefs of all three drum-groups in Ahaggar. But within the federation of drum-groups
634 that of the *Kel Ṛela* held a prominent position. The drum-chiefs of the two other groups, the *Taytoḳ*
643 and the *Tégehé Mellet*, only possessed the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaṛen*), which word is that generally used for a chief among the *Kel Ahaggar*, while the chief of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group had the title of *Amenukal* as the chief of the whole *tégehé* federation. Within every drum-group the drum-chief would ceremoniously install all chiefs of vassal tribes but the two drum-chiefs of *Taytoḳ* and *Tégehé Mellet* were installed by the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* group. The *Amenukal* himself was installed in his office by a Tuareg from one of the *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes of his own drum-group. When the *Amenukal*
[565] was installed, which ceremony nowadays takes place at Tamanṛaset, a Tuareg of the *Iseḳḳemaren* class provided him with a large head-cloth. The installment ceremony, which is preserved to this day, was and is the same for any chief among the Ahaggar Tuareg. When a drum-chief was to install a vassal chief, the ceremony took place in the camp of the drum-chief, and when the *Amenukal* had to install drum-chiefs of the two other groups the installation took place in the *Amenukal*'s camp.

The supreme position of the *Amenukal* appears from the rules governing the installation of chiefs, but as already mentioned, the *Amenukal* could not concern himself in all matters of the two other

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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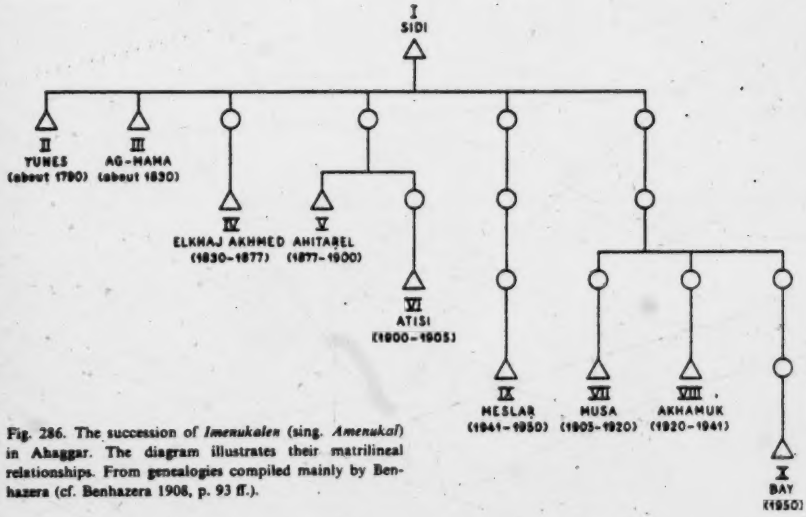


Fig. 286. The succession of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in Ahaggar. The diagram illustrates their matrilineal relationships. From genealogies compiled mainly by Benhazera (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 93 ff.).

drum-groups. The drum-chiefs alone were responsible for the election of vassal chiefs within their 631
groups. The two other drum-groups were largely independent of the *Amenukal*, though the latter 634
was considered the supreme judge in all matters which involved the whole federation, as he was the 643
supreme war leader when the three groups united to fight other groups. It seems as if the *Amenukal* also had a certain religious prestige, and even to-day he goes to the Cherif of Issilessekin once every summer to ask the Cherif to intercede for him with Allah that the rain may fall and the she-camels be fruitful (cf. Morel 1947, p. 129). But the position of the *Amenukal* was very far from that of a divine king. Throughout the 19th century there were long periods in which the two other drum-groups cared very little for the *Amenukal*'s authority, and the *Taytoḳ* and the *Kel Ṛela*, though related to each other, were for long periods engaged in mutual quarrels.

In discussing the position of the *Amenukal* as the supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg, we come 643
to the question whether he was the true owner or commander of the whole country inhabited by the 634
three drum-groups. On this question I have gathered much conflicting information. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* group, including the *Amenukal*, claim that in the past as at the present day the *Amenukal* had rights over the whole country of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while certain other Tuareg, including some old vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* group, say that the two other drum-groups possessed their own territories, the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ* holding all rights over the country of Ahnet with adjacent sections of the western lowland of Ahaggar where some of the *Taytoḳ* vassals lived. I believe that this latter explanation is true and that throughout the 19th century the *Amenukal* was only the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without 233
camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to 433
the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays, as in the past, base their economy mainly on camels and goats.
I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats and their [262]
vegetable food from caravan trading with the aid of camels.

Formerly, the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned 565
exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but 233
he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). It is, however, confirmed 422
by many Tuareg that the vassals originally had no camels, and that throughout the 19th century they 571
had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals, and even to-day goats and butter form part of the *tiwsé*-payments. The noble Tuareg, on the other hand, allowed their particular vassals to trade with their camels against the payment of a certain amount of vegetable food products which to-day also form part of most *tiwsé*-payments. They allowed their vassals also to have usufructs of such animals as could not be taken with them on their migrations. Noble Tuareg of to-day continue to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts of the vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they obtain part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops; this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. The noble Tuareg of to-day may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals, who can refuse any gift or [178]
service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are even noble Tuareg who wear amulets which are [283]
believed to induce vassals to donate the things required.

It would seem that the economic relationships forming the basis of the Tuareg political system in 174
the north would arise so to speak automatically from two distinct cultures which met each other in 565
the desert: a camel-breeding culture of a Berber-speaking people now known as the noble Tuareg, and a goat-breeding culture of an ancient Berber-speaking population which now constitutes the vassals.

Some Tuareg traditions seem to indicate that political systems based on class-division arose in this 173
way in the north, but we have to admit that other traditions contradict this. Below I attempt to 565
elucidate Tuareg history in Ahaggar by means of native traditions to which, for practical reasons, I allot definite numbers.

*Tradition A.* All Tuareg have a common origin as they descend from a woman named *Lemtuna*, who is also the ancestress of certain Berbers living around Ṛadamas in Tripolitania. Most Berbers of Morocco descend from *Lemtuna*'s sister who became the ancestress of the *Beraber*. This tradition is widely known in Ahaggar.

*Tradition B.I.* This tradition is a very common explanation of the origin of the class-division in Ahaggar: Long ago two Islamic women of the *Beraber* immigrated to the oasis of Silet from Tafilelt in Morocco. One of these women named *Ti-n-Hinan* was noble while the other woman named *Takama*

173 565 was the servant girl of *Ti-n-Hinan*. These two women settled in Ahaggar which was almost uninhabited. But in the mountainous parts of the country there lived a pagan people named *Isebeten*, who were goat-breeders and hunters. *Ti-n-Hinan* settled at the oasis of Abalessa not far from Silet, and she was buried in a huge tomb close to Abalessa, while her servant-girl *Takama* was buried in a small tomb not far from the tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan*.

*Ti-n-Hinan* became the ancestress of the two noble tribes *Kel Ṛela* and *Taytoḳ* who are matrilineally related. According to traditions collected by Benhazera, it seems as if two other noble tribes, namely *Kel-ahem-mellen* and *Tégehé Mellet* also descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* (Benhazera 1908, p. 90 ff.). This disagrees with my own information and also with that of Foucauld (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 536). The two latter tribes are said to be of different origin, while the noble Tuareg of the *Iwllemmeden* descend from *Ti-n-Hinan*'s younger brother.

*Takama* had two daughters, the elder of whom became the ancestress of the noble tribe *Ihaḍanaren* who now live mainly in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, though a few individuals camp in Ahaggar. The tribe is considered noble but has never had vassals. The younger daughter of *Takama* became the ancestress of the two vassal tribes the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Ayt Lowayen*, and also of the *Kel Ahnet* which was originally united with the *Dag Ṛali*.

The tradition of the descent of noble Tuareg and vassals from *Tin-n-Hinan* and *Takama* as outlined above is admitted as true among most Ahaggar Tuareg, though the vassals claim that *Takama* was the younger sister of *Ti-n-Hinan* and not her servant-girl. And they claim that the superior position of the noble tribes is due to this fact, as any person must always pay respect towards elder brothers and sisters.

The tradition is told in a somewhat expanded edition by Foucauld:— After the immigration of *Ti-n-Hinan* and *Takama* their descendants who then constituted the tribes of *Kel Ṛela*, *Dag Ṛali*, and *Ayt Lowayen* lived in Ahaggar alone for a very long time. They were very few in number and had no camels. They subsisted mainly by goat-breeding and hunting. They never travelled outside Ahaggar, and had no knowledge of other places such as Tidikelt, Ayr, and Adṛaṛ of the Ifoṛas. It then happened that the two noble tribes *Kel-ahem-mellen* and *Tégehé Mellet* penetrated into Ahaggar. They conquered and burned down the agricultural settlement of Ennedid which was a centre of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. The *Dag Ṛali* Tuareg then assembled at the village of Tahart to fight their invading enemies. They succeeded in killing most of the *Kel-ahem-mellen* and *Tégehé Mellet* Tuareg and took their camels. From then onwards the Ahaggar Tuareg became camel-breeders, began to travel outside of Ahaggar, and grew in number (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 536).

*Tradition B.II.* A variation of the tradition about the origin of the Ahaggar Tuareg from *Ti-n-Hinan* and *Takama* has been recorded by Lehureaux as follows:— *Ti-n-Hinan* came from Tafilelt to Ahaggar riding on a white camel and accompanied by her faithful companion *Takama* and a certain number of slaves. From their homeland, the country of the *Beraber*, they had brought with them many loads of dates and millet. But the road to Ahaggar was a very long one, and the caravan became seriously threatened by hunger. However, one day *Takama* discovered a great many ant hills, and assisted by the slave women she collected all the seeds which the ants had stored. *Takama* gave these seeds to *Ti-n-Hinan* who remained sitting on her camel as she was of noble descent. By means of these

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seeds the caravan was able to arrive in Ahaggar. In order to commemorate this event the *Dag Rali* and the *Kel Ahnet*, who descend from *Takama*, each year give a fixed tribute of seeds or dates to the noble Tuareg who descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* (cf. Lehureaux 1929; Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.).

The stories about the origin of certain noble Tuareg from *Ti-n-Hinan* and the descent of the oldest vassal clans from *Takama* are traditions which seem to be created to justify the class-division and the supremacy of the noble Tuareg. The events narrated in the two variations of this tradition are contradictory. According to the tradition quoted by Foucauld, the noble Tuareg descending from *Ti-n-Hinan* had no camels when they arrived in Ahaggar, whereas that recorded by Lehureaux states that their ancestress came to Ahaggar riding on a camel. As to this I may say that all noble Tuareg I have questioned have claimed that they have always been camel owners.

The *Ti-n-Hinan* traditions bear the stamp of myth and they seem to have originated among the noble Tuareg. It is an interesting fact that the tombs near Abalessa, which according to the tradition should contain the bodies of *Ti-n-Hinan* and *Takama*, at their excavation actually contained the skeletal remains of two europid women. The so-called tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan* is in fact not so much a tomb as an enormous fort built of stone and containing several graves. The building is about 26 × 24 metres but of irregular shape. Its height is estimated to have been about 4 metres. In the interior of the building there are *tifinar* inscriptions and engravings. Around the tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan* there are several small stone graves of the so-called "chouchet" type which contained skeletal remains of men, women, and children. About 200 metres from *Ti-n-Hinan*'s tomb there is a smaller tomb which appears to have been very simple and of the "chouchet" type. This according to tradition is the tomb of *Takama*. There seem to be little doubt that the monument as well as its surrounding tombs are pre-Islamic. It is also very likely that it has been erected by Berber-speaking peoples, and it was perhaps used as a station for caravans crossing the Sahara from the Mediterranean to the Sudan. The archaeological finds show a mixture of Roman artifacts from the 4th century A.D., and Sudanese articles. Reygasse, who has described the fort and its finds in detail, has also collected a tradition in Ahaggar according to which the fort was erected by a *rumi* named *Joluta* who lived in Ahaggar somewhat before the introduction of Islam (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.). Though the *Ti-n-Hinan* monument was probably erected by a Berber-speaking people who dominated Ahaggar, we cannot be so sure that its founders were the ancestors of the noble Tuareg. We must again bear in mind that the *Ti-n-Hinan* tradition contains a strong mythical element, and that traditions and truth are often different things. To-day it is widely said in Ahaggar that *Ti-n-Hinan* is the ancestress of the noble Tuareg and the French. It seems that this tradition derives from a French non-commissioned officer. The Frenchman related it to please the Tuareg and to create a bond between the Tuareg and the French. At all events we cannot accept the *Ti-n-Hinan* tradition as truth, and will now consider certain other traditions regarding the origin of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

*Tradition C.I.* This tradition is in circulation mainly among the vassals. It is as follows:—

The oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were a people called *Isebeten* who are also mentioned in the B.I. tradition. They were pagans who lived in a very primitive fashion. They had no proper tents and natural caves in the mountains were their normal habitations. They subsisted mainly by hunting barbary sheep and by goat-breeding, and used donkeys as beasts of burden. Foucauld mentions a

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173 565 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day. [172] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten* people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides, two men known as *Mokhammed ag-Kerku* and *Êmenni ag-Khedikda*, both members of the *Dag Rali* tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Rali* claim that their tribe descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten* formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Rali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten* were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and introduced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient *Isebeten* contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much [551] difficulty. For the word *Êsebet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Rali* tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending from the woman *Êsebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Rali* [114] [428] tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a, p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 614 565 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Rali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are *known by the name Kel Ulli, that is "the goat people", or by the name Imrad* which perhaps also refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *ereyd* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas [433] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly [224] important to the *Dag Rali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this ancient people.

173 565 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Rela* and the *Taytok*, said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Beraber*, and that they were Islamic. The claim that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyound doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Isamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

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173 Tuareg traditions of origins must always be regarded with some suspicion. It is well known that all over Northern Africa numerous Arabs and Berbers claim relationship with the Prophet and his family. Most of these traditions seem to be mere fakes, and they have been omitted in this brief account of Tuareg history in Ayr. This does not mean, of course, that we can rely on the above traditions which are very often contradictory. An obvious case is that of the *Kel Ferwan*. There are traditions giving Awjila as their homeland, and I have very frequently been told that they came from Ahaggar as close kinsmen of the *Kel Ṛela*. I do not think this latter tradition contains much historical truth though it may reflect political relations of the past. The *Kel Ferwan* apparently were on quite good terms with the *Kel Ṛela* of Ahaggar whom they admired because of their power. The *Kel Ṛela* had many quarrels with the *Taytok* and also with the *Kel Faday*, and the latter Tuareg again were enemies of the *Kel Ferwan*. As the *Kel Faday*, perhaps for political reasons, claimed themselves related to the *Taytok* it may have been quite natural for the *Kel Ferwan* (the most important tribe in Ayr) to claim relationship to the *Kel Ṛela* (the most important tribe of Ahaggar).

It is often said in Ayr that the dominant noble tribes of most Tuareg groups are related to one another through daughters of the same mother. The Sultan says that there were originally six sisters who became the ancestress of the following noble Tuareg:— The *Kel Ferwan*, the *Kel Faday*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Itésen*, the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Imanṛasaten*. The *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg, on the other hand, have no relationship to these Tuareg but according to the Sultan are "children of the *Kel Asuf* spirits". The story of the descent of the important noble Tuareg of Ayr from a certain number of sisters is told in variations within the different tribes and groups. People of the *Kel Ferwan* group exclude the *Kel Faday* and claim that once in the past the noble *Kel Faday* tribe was a vassal tribe of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and people of the vassal tribes *Kel Akerra*, *Imezzureg*, *Isakaranan*, and *Kel Tédalé*, the members of which claim noble descent, hold that they descend from a daughter of the ancestress of the important noble Tuareg tribes.

We can never rely on oral traditions of origin which have important political functions, but oral traditions may contain some historical verity. Most traditions mentioned point to a north-eastern origin of the Ayr Tuareg – to Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and to the oasis of Awjila. It is also interesting that there are more general traditions, according to which all Ayr Tuareg ultimately came from a country named *Elbarbar* situated towards the east. In support of these traditions we can refer to the fact that the most important northern trade road from Ayr leads to the oasis of Ṛat, to Tripolitania, and the Fezzan. In the past the important caravan road between Timbukta and Cairo went over Gao, Agadez, Ṛat, Murzuk, Awjila, and Siwa.

## THE SULTANRY OF AYR

175 643 *The Agadez Chronicle* referred to above gives an interesting description of the establishment of the Ayr Sultanry in 1405 A.D. Before that time, it is said, a growing anarchy reigned all over the country, and the *Ayumbulu*, supreme chief of the *Itésen* federation, therefore took the initiative in electing a Sultan to act as an arbitrator among the various groups of Tuareg.

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According to the *Agadez Chronicle* five tribes of the *Itésen* went out to discover a Sultan. They found him in a country written in translations *Arim Sotafan* (Palmer 1936, p. 55) or *A'arem-Cassafane* (Urvoy 1934, p. 154). The meaning of this word – correctly written *Arrem Settefen* – is "black town". This seems to indicate that the first Sultan came from a Sudanese state, and it is stated by all Tuareg that all known Sultans of Agadez have been black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives, the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office. 175 643

The fact that the Sultan of Agadez has four ministers like most kings of Sudanese states (cf. Frobenius, Atlas Africanus, H.3; Baumann 1940, p. 58) may perhaps point to a connection between the establishment of the Ayr Sultanry and the Sudan, and this seems also to be intimated in the *Agadez Chronicle*. Nevertheless, the popular tradition about the origin of the Ayr Sultanry goes against this assumption. For it is told all over Ayr, both among Tuareg and the so-called *Imeggedezen*, that the first Sultan of Agadez came from Constantinople. This tradition, which is not mentioned in the *Agadez Chronicle*, is also claimed to be true by the present Sultan of Agadez. He says that the *Itésen* tribes, or representatives from these tribes, went to Constantinople to ask the Sultan to give them one of his sons as the first Sultan over Ayr. The Sultan of Constantinople had three fair-skinned wives who all refused to let their sons go to Ayr with the deputation. But he also had four black-skinned wives or concubines and the first of them who was asked to let her son become the Sultan over Ayr agreed. So it happened that the deputation of *Itésen* Tuareg returned to Agadez with their first Sultan who patrilineally is descended from the Sultan of Constantinople, matrilineally from a slave woman. There are some people who claim this tradition to be spurious, but it is admitted by most people as a true account of the origin of the Ayr Sultanry. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg it is claimed that the Sultan was fetched by people of the *Kel Ferwan* group, or that the *Itésen* deputation was sent out to fetch the Sultan on the initiative of the *Kel Ferwan* group. This variation of the tradition is also recognized by the present Sultan. [645] 178 643

In the *Agadez Chronicle* we are told that the Sultan at first had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chaman from where he moved to Agadez which seem to have been founded as a city at the middle of the 15th century A.D., a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Ayr (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 102, 364 f., 409; Urvoy 1936, p. 164). 175 643 [103]

The present Sultan *Umar*, who has reigned since 1919, says that the first Sultan who came to Ayr had the great task to learn the Ayr Tuareg good manners of living. Before the establishment of the Sultanry the whole country of Ayr had been dominated by the *Itsan* (of the Lake Tchad region) who had claimed as their annual tribute a young girl from all Tuareg tribes of Ayr. When the first Sultan arrived the Tuareg lived like donkeys in the rocks. They had extremely bad manners, and there were even people who married with their sisters. The Sultan taught them good manners and brought justice and order to the country. He was the true owner of the land from the northern outskirts of Ayr to the region of Madawa where the *Kel Geres* Tuareg now live. He divided the land between the main groups of Tuareg, and allotted to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who lived around Tafadek a large part of Ayr up to 173 643

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173 643 [634] Talak. This tradition is acknowledged as true by certain Tuareg of Ayr, but all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that the Sultan has never had any right over the country of Ayr. They state that his Tuareg title of *Amenukal* has nothing to do with *akal* (i.e. "the land"), and that the country of Ayr from the remote past until now has been owned by the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 421). However, 175 643 651 if we turn to the information given on this subject by the *Agadez Chronicle*, we learn that until the establishment of the Sultanry it had been customary for the powerful noble tribes to claim a tax of horses from the caravans which passed their particular territories. The first Sultan of Ayr sent a letter to learned people of an Islamic country to ask whether such taxes were lawful or unlawful. And he was answered that these taxes were to be considered good because those who received the taxes protected the very important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo. The taxes should therefore be collected by the Sultan who again should give them to the Tuareg (Urvoy 1934, p. 155). Before the arrival of the French the Sultan had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, which is mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, 828 f.), and he was entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade and to annual taxes from the sedentary Negroes of Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

643 The tradition which says that the Sultan descend patrilineally from the Sultan of Constantinople and matrilineally from a slave woman clearly indicates the position of the Sultan in Tuareg society. The Sultan is looked down upon by fair-skinned Tuareg because of his black skin, but he is also endowed with prestige because of his supposed descendance from the Sultan of Constantinople.

643 778 [766] [765] A certain *elbaraka* or benediction is ascribed to him, and all people who want to greet the Sultan must remove their sandals. The Sultan is always buried in his palace at Agadez, and it is said that if he was buried outside there would be a great risk that his subjects would dig up his skeleton to use part of it for amulets. It is also said that the Sultan preserves a part of the skeleton of his predecessor for amulets. This must be viewed in connection with the particular power of *elbaraka* attached to the Sultan, and it is important to note that the Sultan is believed to possess an unusual power of fertility, which is secured and maintained until his death by means of certain medicines acquired from the Sudan. Thus it seems as though the Sultan possesses some of the qualities of the Sudanese divine 175 643 kings, but in practice he has little power. The *Agadez Chronicle* refers to Sultans who acted as war leaders of all Ayr Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Ayr it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of pastoral Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have only reigned for very short periods.

631 634 649 Although the Sultan is the supreme chief of all Ayr Tuareg, he does not have the same relationship to all Tuareg groups, for many of them are placed directly under the supreme chief of the *Kel Ewey* group known as the *Anestafidet*. The *Anestafidet* originally lived at Asodey in Central Ayr, but he now lives in Agadez where he holds a prominent position as a chief. Like most *Kel Ewey* he is black-skinned and related to the Hausa population of the Southlands, where he lives for a part of the year with the important task of organizing the trade between Ayr and the south. The *Anestafidet* has always been closely attached to the sedentary Hausa of the Southlands, and is said to have part of his family living at a small village named Blanko between Tanut and Zinder. A new *Anestafidet* may even be elected

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631 as Ayr Tuareg and are politically independent. Nevertheless they still consider the Sultan of Agadez
643 as their proper *Amenukal*. They are very rich and numerous, comprising a great many tribes. Their
[189] political system differs from that of most other Tuareg. I outline its structure later in this chapter.

634 The drum-chiefs of the *Itésen*, the *Immikitan*, the *Kel Faday*, and the *Kel Ferwan* have to be rec-
643 ognized and ceremoniously installed by the Sultan. The ceremony should traditionally take place at the Sultan's palace of Agadez, but to-day it is performed at the French Administration Centre. The main feature of the ceremony is the wrapping of a large head-cloth around the elected chief's head by the Sultan. The Sultan, on the other hand, is elected and installed by the chiefs of above-mentioned groups and by the *Anestafidet* as the representative of the *Kel Ewey*. But the chiefs do not take the same part in the election of a Sultan, and it is noteworthy that the *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan*, who throughout the 19th century were extremely powerful and warlike, apparently do not play any rôle in the instalment ceremony.

The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:— From his private room in the palace (Fig. 288) the Sultan is led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres* ask him to sit down upon a bed made of ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he is not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission is given by the *Kel Ewey* (Barth 1857, I, p. 461 f.). Jean, who gives a more detailed account, says that the *Kel Geres* do not participate, and have no voice in the election (Jean 1909, p. 159 ff.). I have myself been told during my visit to the *Kel Geres* drum-chief that the *Kel Geres*, represented by their drum-chief, previously took part in the election of the Sultan. As to the position of the powerful drum-groups of *Kel Faday* and *Kel Ferwan*, people of the latter group frequently claim that they alone could elect a Sultan, and I have been told by *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg that a Sultan should be installed in the way that the supreme chiefs of the *Itésen* and the *Immikitan* take the Sultan by his hands and lead him to a sheepskin where he sits down to receive the large head-cloth from the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group. However, it seems as if the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief does not traditionally play any part in the instalment ceremony.

631 In the 19th century the Sultan was the arbitrator and the supreme judge in disagreements between
634 the different Tuareg groups whose supreme chiefs should be installed by the Sultan. But he could
643 not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels. The *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs did not always pay much respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation of Ayr the *Kel Faday* even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of Ingal (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was much afraid that the *Kel Faday* would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the *Iwilimmeden* (Barth 1857 58, I, p. 478). As to the *Kel Ferwan*, their chief was the most prominent leader of all Ayr. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103 f.) and it is repeated over and over again by all Tuareg of Ayr to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and he thinks that the *Kel Ferwan* originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan of *Amenukal* was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This
[173] agrees with information I have gathered among the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group. It is however most difficult to judge the value of these traditions as it is difficult to reconstruct political life in pre-European times. All Tuareg try to glorify their own political rôle in the past, and this is particularly true of the noble Kel Ferwan Tuareg.

## THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has
614 fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie
[114] 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore
[162] quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared,
634 and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when
648 the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to
121 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr,
634 where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were
115 most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

● 173 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*,
614 and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above
634 (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

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Fig. 288. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



according to which the ancestresses of the two noble tribes came from *Awjila* together with a third sister, who became the ancestress of the *Iberdyanen*. This story runs as follows:— 173 614 634

The three sisters left their original homeland of Awjila riding on bull-camels. One night when the girls were not very far from Iferwan and the three sisters had gone to sleep, the eldest, named *Sabenas*, awoke before her two sisters and removed the hobble-ropes from their riding camels which disappeared in the desert. Thus the only riding camel left was *Sabenas'*, and when the sisters arrived at Iferwan she alone rode on a bull-camel while her two younger sisters were walking. At Iferwan there was then a mighty chief named *Azeṛezzer*. When the girls arrived there he asked them who they were, and *Sabenas* said that one of the two girls who travelled on foot was her sister, but not her true sister, while the other girl was her *tameṛit* or vassal. The supreme chief *Azeṛezzer* was very eager to marry *Sabenas* as she rode on a bull-camel and consequently was of noble birth. *Sabenas* agreed to marry him on the condition that bride-wealth should be paid in land. And it was agreed that she should have for bride-wealth as much land as she could ride through on her camel at a stretch. She rode off from Iferwan and her camel did not get tired until she was close to Tagedufat south of the Massif. Here *Sabenas* dismounted and threw her stick towards the south. The stick fell down at the well of Tagedufat, and *Sabenas* now had the right to all country ranging from Iferwan in the north to the well of Tagedufat situated in the southern plains. This vast territory has since then been owned by the descendants of *Sabenas* who are the true noble *Kel Ferwan* or *Irawatten*. But the Tuareg of this tribe claim that they have since then greatly augmented their territory so that they are the true owners also of the land south of the Massif as far as Tessawa, which is very close to the frontier of Northern Nigeria.

The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past all Tuareg groups within the *Kel Ferwan* territory and a few other groups of Tuareg and negroid sedentary people paid an annual tribute known as *tewzé* to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. This annual tribute was calculated as follows:— 173 631 634 651

137 342 634

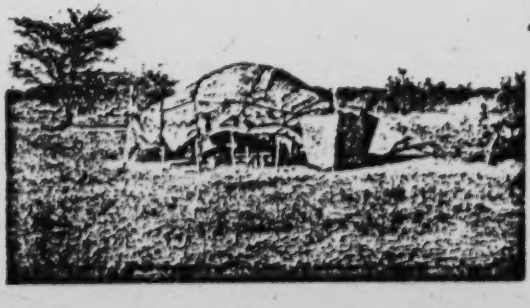

Fig. 289. Mat tent of the B.1.b type inhabited by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace, containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats.

173
631
634
651

| | |
|---|---|
| *Kel Ewey* . . . . . | 50 Tuareg veils of indigo cotton |
| *Kel Faday* . . . . . | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Echchikhen* . . . . . | two small drum-groups in Damergu each giving 3 oryx hides, as their vassals were mainly hunters |
| *Kel Geres* . . . . . | 1 horse with a saddle |
| *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* . . . | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Kel Allekot* . . . . . | 150 kg of millet |
| *Damergu & Katsena* . . . . . | An amount of millet |

Most of these groups, it is said, paid the annual tribute known as *tewsé* because the land belonged to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. But the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg did not pay an annual tribute for this reason but because they were subdued in wars. It is much to be doubted that these annual tributes were paid regularly to the drum-chief by such warlike groups as the *Kel Dennek* and the *Kel Faday*, who frequently joined forces against the *Kel Ferwan*. As to the *Kel Faday*, the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they were formerly the vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They say that in the remote past the whole drum-group of the *Kel Faday*, including its noble tribe, paid bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief as a token of vassalage, which is said to have ceased in the following way:— The *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a *Kel Faday* camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the *Kel Faday* camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the *Kel Faday*. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the *Kel Faday* so that after a time he could return to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the *Kel Faday* Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan*.

634 The drum-chief had as an insignia of his political power over all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg a large drum
534 known as *ettebel* (or *arezu*). The word *ettebel* was, and is, used not only as a name of the drum but
778 also as a name of the drum-group and the drum-chief whose title of address is *ettebel*, or "drum". This drum had a sacred or mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced, the man charged with this task would perform it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. We see that connected with the drum were certain taboos equivalent to those which are believed to maintain the mystic power of *elbaraka*.

634 The drum-chief had the only drum of the *Kel Ferwan* group of which he was the supreme chief.
202 The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal tribes but also by the
[614] noble *Kel Azel*. The chief of the *Kel Azel* had the title of *amyar* or *arolla* like all other tribal chiefs, but he was addressed *ettebel* although he did not have the right to a drum.

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kel Tésemt* | 237 | | Related to the *Imezzilalen* and the *Ikojjejiten* together with whom they are said to have constituted one tribe. | Assa and eastern part of Télewa 634 614 565 162 |
| *Imezzilalen* | | 27 | Related to the *Kel Tésemt*. | Assa and eastern part of Télewa |
| *Ikojjejiten* | | | A section of the *Imezzilalen*. | Afarak |
| *Ifokkar* | 42 | 12 | Related to the *Kel Tésemt*, the *Imezzilalen*, and the *Ikojjejiten*. | Eastern part of Télewa |
| *Ikawkan* | 150 | | Said to have been the particular servants of the noble *Kel Azel*. | |
| *Ijakarkaren* | 203 | 41 | Said to be related to the *Igendéymen*. | Tafadek |
| *Iforas* (2 tribes) | 396 | 95 | They came to Ayr from Adraf of the Iforas about one hundred years ago. | Tédeyin |
| *Iguwélen* | | | A certain number of these negroid pastoralists, who once in the past were slaves, is placed directly under the command of the chief of the *Kel Azel*. They have no tribal organization. They are probably included in the figure of the *Kel Azel* mentioned above. | |

To-day all Tuareg claim that a chief whether a drum-chief or a chief of a vassal tribe should be 634
succeeded by his son, and that a sister's son may inherit the position. These rules have not always been followed in the election of drum-chiefs in the *Kel Ferwan* group, for the drum-chiefs have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, and after the French occupation they have even elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble *Kel Ferwan*. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, 173
but the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their drum- 634
chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The names are known of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent are not remembered further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:—

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173 634 *Sabenas*, the ancestress of the noble *Kel Ferwan* and the first ruler of the drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

*Amenukal*, the eldest son of *Sabenas*.

*Mokhammed Aman*, the younger brother of *Amenukal*.

*Elkarebi*, the younger brother of *Mokhammed Aman*.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:—

*Bubeker*, who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe.

*Ṛali*, who was the younger brother of *Bubeker*. He was the reigning drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years. He was considered a very skilful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group with profound respect. *Ṛali*'s tomb is south [764] of the Massif, somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. 634 On *Ṛali*'s death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in 769 which I had the opportunity to participate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief, who there- [782] upon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the deceased chief. Ancestral worship of this type is most probably not a traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. It should be noted in this context that *Ṛali* was considered a member of the *Echcherifen*, the descendants of the Prophet, through relationship to the *Imenan* (cf. p. 393 ff.).

173 634 *Mokhammed*, who belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* through his mother, while his father came from the *Ifoṛas*. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. Apparently he was not a close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief *Ṛali*.

*Wanarli*, who had no bonds of kinship with the *Kel Ferwan*. His father belonged to the religious, and, in Tuareg opinion, very holy tribe of *Kel es Suk*. He was very strict with the vassals of his drum-group, and he would never take his food in their company, though other drum-chiefs seem to have been less severe. It is probably for this very reason that he was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

*Ajanu*, who belonged to the *Echchikhen*. He died after one year's reign.

*Kutiya*, who was of noble *Kel Ferwan* stock, being the son of *Ṛali*'s younger brother.

*Agg-Elkhir*, of pure noble origin being the son of *Ṛali*'s daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected.

*Azeṛor*, who was the son of *Ṛali*.

634 *Agg-Elkhir*, in his second period of reign. He was the reigning drum-chief during my stay in Ayr 1955. He was then very old, and the French considered his son *Khejji* the actual representative of the drum-group.

*Bukha*, who is the newly-elected drum-chief. He is the son of *Azeṛor* and the grand-son of the renowned chief *Ṛali*, who was the mother's brother of the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir*. Consequently *Bukha* is a classificatory sister's son of *Agg-Elkhir* (cf. p. 451, Fig. 294). Before the election took place very many Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group had wanted the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir* to be succeeded by his son *Khejji*. On the day of election, when all adult men of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group came

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judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief, whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division, which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imṛad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imṛad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, donkeys are marked in both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirzemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found particularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

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methods and domestication, the first domestic animals may of course well have been tamed in a culture which already knew of farming. It seems to me that, generally speaking, the theory of a development of stock-breeding within a farming culture is the most plausible one.

At the time when the noble Tuareg introduced the camel the North African pastoralists were apparently mainly goat-breeders who also had sheep of the *Ovis longipes* type, and donkeys. Tuareg traditions state that the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar, the *Isebeten*, were not only goat-breeders but also hunters, and a tradition collected by Foucauld states that they also knew agriculture (cf. p. 408). This may perhaps be so, though most Tuareg seem to deny it. A tradition of hunting as an important means of subsistence to the ancestors of vassal Tuareg accords well with the fact that important traits of a hunting culture appear to exist among the Tuareg; how can this be explained when we also claim that stock-breeding apparently developed from a mixed farming culture? I believe the most plausible explanation to be that the ancestors of Tuareg vassals first lived in the northern Sahara as roaming hunters. At a later date they were strongly influenced by a mixed-farming culture from which they adopted a primitive type of agriculture and stock-breeding. But stock-breeding came to play the largest rôle for them, partly because it was better fitted to environment, and partly because it was adapted to the roaming life of hunters.

It is most unfortunate that archaeology is so little advanced in the Central Sahara. Most archaeologists have been occupied with the study of rock-engravings. These are important to our knowledge of cultural history, but they cannot be precisely dated. Apart from the study of engravings, investigations have mainly concentrated upon tombs and other stone monuments, and these investigations do not help us much to understand the development of subsistence activities in the Sahara. However, we may ascribe some importance to the study of stone tombs of the so-called *chouchet* type. This, it is claimed by the ancient vassals of Ahaggar, constituted the traditional tomb of pre-Islamic Tuareg, and the tomb in which their ancestress *Takama* is said to have been buried is of *chouchet* type. Such tombs in Ahaggar seem to be found mainly close to river valleys that are flooded relatively frequently and generally are also close to modern cultivation centres (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 83). These tombs have been used among the Tuareg even after their Islamization (cf. Monod 1932, p. 34; Reygasse 1950, p. 39) but it is unknown when they were introduced into the Sahara. However, tombs of *chouchet* type are not only found in large parts of Tuareg country (Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, In Azawa, Northern Ayr, around Zinder, between Zinder and the Niger at Adrar of Tawa, Adrar of the Iforas), but also in the adjacent regions of Mauretania, Tibesti, and Bornu, which is their southern limit of distribution (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 40; Lhote 1955a, p. 83; Mauny 1961, p. 76 f.). Types of *chouchet* tombs occur in Algeria north of Hodna and in Aurès (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 8) and perhaps also in the Canary Islands (cf. Wölfel 1950, p. 248). Thus the possibility cannot be excluded that the former existence of such tombs in Tuareg culture may be due to some connection with mixed farmers of the Mediterranean at an early, but unfortunately yet unknown, date.

A last problem to be touched upon is the generally accepted view that nomadic stock-breeding is intimately connected with a patrilineal social system. This view has been emphasized in particular by the so-called Vienna School of ethnology under the leadership of Schmidt and Koppers, who speak about "Der viehzüchterische Nomadismus als Schöpfer der patriarchalen Systems und des Erst-

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174 HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION--inferences as to origins, migrations, contacts, prehistory and culture history from various types of evidence (e.g., anthropometry and language); etc. See also:

Historical research . . . . . 814

565 includes hereditary specialization, hierarchy, repulsion between the
564 different groups, and refusal to associate with people of a different caste. These principles are partly in force among the Tuareg, whose type of social organization borrows from the two systems.

/150/ Furthermore, there are great analogies between the two systems. This sort of aristocratic organization is well suited to nomadic life, in opposition to democratic organization which is more commonly found among sedentary groups.

According to some authors, the caste system is specifically
171 Hindu; it only existed in its pure state in India and to a lesser de-
564 gree in ancient Egypt. (1) Thus we are hardly surprised to find this

1. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre /The Races and Peoples of the World/, p. 489.

organization among the Tuareg who, culturally, belong to the same cycle of civilization.

182 The crystallization of that organization among this people,
564 who on the whole possess quite high intellectual qualities, as well as the material crystallization, can only be explained by the isolation in which it was confined as a result of circumstances where climate has certainly played a large role.

565 The Tuareg are divided into suzerains (Imochar) of a specifically warlike nature, vassals (Imrad) most commonly shepherds, religious men (Inislimen), and serfs (Iklân). Other elements from different origins are enfeoffed to them, such as the Issekkemâren, the Iboroliten, and the Enaden.

174 The present hierarchy obviously results from a series of wars
182 and civil conflicts. In the fight for life each person endeavored to get his share, and as always this was at the expense of the weaker.
565 Tribes achieved a predominance which they were not always able

174 to maintain, which others seized from them, and suzerains became
182 vassals. But in spite of these contingencies of war, the Tuareg
565 attach great importance to blood origins and always respect high-
[554 727] born people, even though they may be their vanquished /adversaries/.

Thus, at the present time, the nobles of the Ahaggar and the
554 Ajjer may be seen to seek alliances with women of the fallen fraction
565 of the Imenan Sultans. This adds to the luster of their high origin
581 a certain character of religious nobility, which is much appreciated among Moslems.

000 Monogamy and matriarchy. -- To understand Tuareg society, one must remember two important facts, facts which are, moreover, not completely independent of each other, monogamy and matriarchy.

/151/ While the Tuareg are Moslems and have polygamous
174 peoples as neighbors, it is astonishing to note that they practice
562 monogamy. This is an evident indication that women occupy an
[595] important place in their society, in no way comparable to what they occupy among the Arabs. This was very striking to the first travelers who thought they saw traces of an ancient Christianity in the persistence of monogamy. This argument might be held if we did not know, on the other hand, that the social organization of the Tuareg rests on matriarchy, an ancient custom much earlier than the Christian era, which explains monogamy and the particularly high position of women.

Gautier writes on this subject: "It may be said that the Tuareg practice chivalrous gallantry; the expression is inadequate only because of the association it evokes. Our chivalry has a Christian origin; the respect of the Tuareg for women has much deeper and more remote reasons. It goes back to matriarchy, which is earlier than the notion of the state and even that of the family. It is a living witness of completely primordial humanity, a sentiment, if I may say so, of the quaternary age." (1)

1. La conquête du Sahara /The Conquest of the Sahara/, p. 33.

•174 Matriarchy, in fact, goes back to the times when primitive man had no exact notions on the causes of childbirth.

For, "it seems," Gautier continues, "that primitive man attributed all birth to parthenogenesis and could only imagine a conception which was immaculate. He saw no ineluctable connection between caressing and gestation. Although he practiced fertilization by instinct, he had no clear idea of this. The word 'father' had no sense for him, and consequently the children could only group themselves around the mother." (2)

2. La conquête du Sahara, p. 190.

On the other hand, since rules of marriage had not yet been established in that period, it was impossible to seek out paternity. It is from this state of things that filiation by the uterine branch is derived. With the totemic beliefs to be found in lower civilizations, the matrilocal system found still another reason for existence. It was linked with exogamy, preventing unions between the closest relatives and between people of different castes, and making incest impossible.

171 In certain primitive Australian groups, /152/ the study of which
601 helps us understand the evolution of societies, there is a system of kinship by classes of kin that is found among the Tuareg and the peoples of the Sudan. It was defined by Morgan, and groups in the first degree brothers, sisters, and cousins; in the second degree the father, mother, and their siblings; in the third degree the grandparents with their siblings, etc.

174 In matriarchy, the natural protector of the child is the brother of his mother. In the same way the obligation for the husband to live with his wife's family is connected with matriarchy. This
591 custom is practiced in the Ahaggar, where the husband must live
[851] one year in the camp of his parents-in-law, this time being shortened when the young wife has borne a child. When a woman becomes
768 the widow of a man who does not belong to her tribe, she rejoins her tribe and takes her children with her,

000 tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has
586 177 adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

184 One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between
614 his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation. It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live.

[174] In their case we are confronted at the present time by a matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman
562 ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights,
[178] her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the
[611] man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many
[554] Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in
[584] matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on
[421] choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes, and even has a greater freedom of mores.

174 It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy among the Tuareg.

174 It seems to have existed in ancient times among all the Hamites. Frobenius sees traces of it in traditional customs which leave the raising of the tent to the women and give them a monopoly on leather-work. These singular characteristics reveal the primordial nature of the sentiment of life among the Hamites. (1)

1. In Jenson, "Les orbes culturels de l'Afrique /Culture Spheres of Africa/, " L'Afrique, Cahiers d'art, 1931.

428 554 622 Among the Ihaggaren, the wife wills her social and political rights to her children. These are particularly important when it is a question of the succession of a chief. Political filiation of the first degree is made to the brother; in the second degree to the eldest son of the maternal aunt; in the third degree, to the eldest son of the eldest sister, which constitutes a guarantee for blood descent in the line of chiefs.

184 622 The Ioullimmiden /Aulliminden/ do not practice political succession according to matriarchal rules. The explorer Barth has even reported that they consider this custom shameful "and show that the chief has little confidence in his wife's virtue." (2)

2. Voyages et découvertes en Afrique /Travels and Discoveries in Africa/, vol. I, p. 205.

174 Though command is now the privilege of the men, it is not impossible that in the past women were invested with power. We have evidence of it in the story of the Berber queen, Kahéna, who for a long time resisted the Arab invaders who were trying to conquer Aurès in the eighth century. The legend of Ti-n-Hinan, maternal ancestor of the Ihaggaren Tuareg, leads us to believe that the woman was their queen. In 1475, a Berber fraction settled

174 in the Sudan, the Sanhadja-Nounou, was governed by a woman named Bikoun-Kabi, whom the Sonrhaï /Songhai/ emperor Sonni-Ali had to conquer in order to seize her territory. Es-Sadi, author of the Tarik-es-Soudan, reports several facts of this kind.

The Islamization of the Berber tribes certainly had a part in the elimination of the custom. Women no longer play any official [562] political role in our times. But they have made themselves the guardians of ancestral customs and folklore, and their authority is [626] so strong that one /154/ can only quote the answer of a Tuareg to an Arab who admonished him upon the subject of Tuareg mores: "No one would dare do otherwise, for then no woman would look at us any longer."

162 The persistence of monogamy among the Tuareg is also favored 182 by the considerable excess of men found among them, an exceptional 595 fact and contrary to what we observe in other human groups.

The aménokal. -- Aménokal means in Tamashek "possessor of 643 the country" (from am, possessive prefix, and akal, "country"). [192] In the Ahaggar this title is conferred only upon the supreme chief reigning over a whole of noble, vassal, or assimilated tribes. [184] In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, it may be applied to heads of fractions, indeed even to mere camp chiefs.

The aménokal is designated according to hereditary rules deriving from the matriarchal system. He is always chosen, not only in the same tribe, but in the same line which one could compare to the clan. His domination, to be effective, must be sanctioned by the approval of the nobles to whom are joined for the occasion the chiefs of vassal tribes. For the latter, approval involves an agreement to pay tribute later.

Sometimes there are several pretenders to the title; perhaps a descendant of a formerly ousted family asserts his rights, or perhaps the natural heir is recognized incapable of leadership. This brings about a competition where hereditary rules are not always respected.

565 from all vassalage taxes and are often the object of much respect
[651] and consideration wherever they go. Thus, in the Ahaggar, they are treated on an equal footing with the Imochar, and the latter
[582] sometimes accept marriages with them, while at the same time re-
[641] fusing to grant political rights to the children born of these unions.
[184] On the other hand, among the Ioullimmiden, the Imochar reject any alliance with them and make them pay a vassalage due. These
[582] /Inislimen/ of the Damergou, contrary to the rule, are considered nobles; they own Imrad and may wage war. Furthermore, they have made themselves noticed as the most bellicose among the Aïr tribes. Finally, those of the Adrar succeeded in forming a confederation after the Ioullimmiden abandoned the country; they have Imrad, but the Imochar from the other confederations do not want to regard them as their equals.

They are often referred to under the name of Ichériffen, or
[192] Chériffen, which comes from the Arab word sherif, meaning "noble," or, by extension, "descendant of the Prophet." But among the Tuareg, Ichériffen has a more specialized meaning and designates persons of a religious nature, without their necessarily being descendants of Mahomet.

The marabout tribes include the Ichériffen properly so called and the Ifôra.

This religious nature has various origins and qualities.

Some elements really number sherifs among their ancestors; such is the case of the Ifôra from the Adrar and certain Kel Es-Souq fractions. But opposed to them are others who have only an accidental religious character.

174 Concerning this, Commander Cauvet says that these marabout
565 tribes often appear to be noble collectivities, who were formerly
793 strong and became too weak to continue enjoying the rights and prestige of the strong. They declared themselves withdrawn from the business of arms and devoted to pious practices for love of God and Islam. "A tribe threatened with losing its preponderance,

174 its rank, or even its class as a result of events of war or of too fre-
565 quent or too strong splits, sometimes decides to declare itself /163/
793 marabout. Piety is not indispensable for this; the tribe need only stop pillaging its neighbors and bearing arms. If some of them display the appearances of pious Moslems, learn a bit of the Koran, and wear beads, particularly if they can refer to some Arab ancestor, who formerly took refuge in the tribe, they succeed in being classed as marabouts after a [illegible]n time." (1)

1. Commander Cauvet,
Les noms des tribus Touaregs
/Names of Tuareg Tribes/,
p. 10.

565 In tribes which really practice their religion in a more serious
793 way than most of the Tuareg, he continues, there is surely an instillation of foreign blood, sometimes Semitic and often earlier
[144] than the Arab invasion. Without discussing here the reasons on which Commander Cauvet stands in speaking of the infusion of
[142] Semitic blood into the Ichériffen, we shall recall what we have already said, that we were strongly struck to find persons of a Semitic appearance, particularly marked in the old man, among the Ichériffen from the region of Gao and the Kel Es-Souq of Mohamed Ouguinat.

The explorer Duveyrier, who lived for a long time among the
565 northern Ifôra, considered them former nobles "who had abdicated
631 any political role in the administration of the confederation in
793 order to conquer a greater religious authority, necessary in a society where justice is represented by no power." (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 132.

He attributed to them a great moral and religious activity. It is true that certain Ifôra chiefs, like Sheik Othman who was one of

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Ihăggaren and the Kel Ăjjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifŏra were pillaged themselves upon several occasions by the Ihăggaren and forced to seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

The influence of the Inislimen on the Ihăggaren and the Kel
[797] Ăjjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact, they are generally quite ignorant.

[554] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving, they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and disapproved of the belligerent action of the Ihăggaren against us, in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tăademaket
565 and the Ioutlimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.
797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable
[648] enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifŏra was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tăademeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents. They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721 Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
181] refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
701 other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Chériffen are divided into ordinary Chériffen and warrior Chériffen.

563 There are also important tribes in the Sudan who bear the name of Daoussak. They are generally considered /168/ Imrad, but actually the Daoussak were probably former Ioullimmiden shepherds who were not authorized to carry the lance and take part in combats. They tend to give themselves a certain marabout air, and they multiply the Koranic schools in their camps.

[174] [701] [793]

Iborelliten. -- We can rank among assimilated vassals still other free tribes, quite little known until now, who bear the name of Iborelliten (singular, Aborelli).

They speak the Tamashek language and on the surface are in no way different from the Tuareg in the midst of whom they live. In some confederations they form very distinct tribes, depending in general only on the direct authority of the chief of the confederation; such tribes are those of the Aïr who are under the command of the anastafidet of the Kel-Oui. (1)

1. The Kel-Aïr are divided into Kel-Gerès and Kel-Oui, placed under the authority of the Sultan of Agadez. The Kel-Oui, probably of Oraren /Ouraren?, see below p. 37./ origin, have mixed enormously with the sedentary Hausa. Because of that they have diminished in the eyes of their racial brothers, who now consider them Negroes. They have a peculiar organization, and their chief bears the name of anastafidet.

They are more or less colored depending on the group, and some are as white as the Tuareg. They intermarry among themselves

564 We must acknowledge that the
[153] Enaden often have very open minds and are gifted with an intelligence higher than the average of the ma-
564 jority of the Tuareg. That is why
644 they have sometimes filled trusted posts with the principal chiefs, who have used them as emissaries or interpreters, indeed even as
[152] counselors.

Thus, at the time of the Hourst mission in 1896, Madidou, aménokal of the Ioullimmiden, officially delegated one of them to Gao to deal with the French officer.

564 The Enaden live either in camp
361 groups or in isolated tents or even individually; they are attached to a chief or a tribe.

564 Although they are foreign to the Tuareg race, they still enter into the components of the great family of veiled men, for the lives /176/ of the two groups are often intermingled. They speak Tamashek,
[198] more specifically a special dialect, tenet, which they alone understand and which is a bit secret in nature. This dialect is unknown in the Ahaggar.

Fig. 17. Forceps for extracting teeth and instrument used for laying bare the roots.

[173] Legend attributes to them a common ancester named Tamamenet, and all of their fractions are supposed to have originated in Adrar des Iforas. Their true origin is as obscure as
[174] can be; we are apt to say that they are descendants of the Jews who formerly lived at the Touat, in the Tamentit oasis, from which they

174 564 were chased by Arab marabouts at the end of the fifteenth century. It is plausible that a number of Jews from Tamentit, particularly those practicing the crafts of jeweler or blacksmith, very respected professions among the Tuareg, found refuge with them. Perhaps the Tuareg received a new artistic influence through them. Their knowledge /177/ of fire and treatment of ores must have permitted the introduction of a larger scale of iron industry among the Tuareg, as well as the use of metal instruments which certainly could not have been very developed before that time; in general, the techniques of the nomadic shepherds was limited to leather and wood. There is no doubt of the artistic relationship between Tamentit jewelry and the Jewish goldsmith's work from North Africa, on the one hand, and the goldsmith's craft now in vogue among the Tuareg, on the other; this can justify the opinion that part of the Enaden are of Israelite origin. But Sudanese elements have also contributed to the physical formation of the group. We must see the peculiar Tuareg art, at the same time heavy in its forms and delicate in detail, through this heteroclite mixture.

[301] [531] [17]

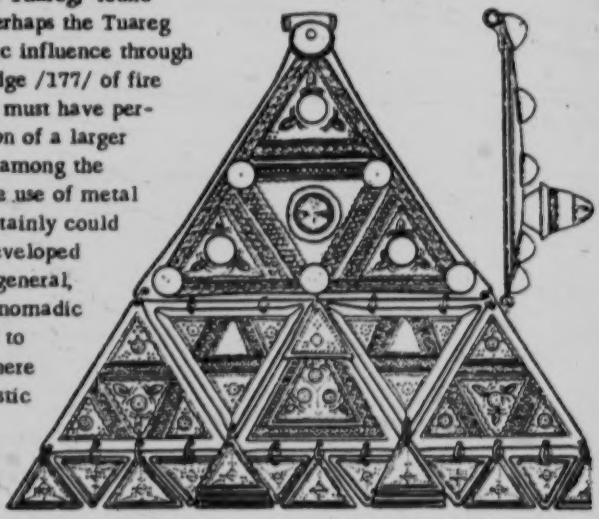

Fig. 18. Silver pendant worn around the neck by Ahaggar women. In the composition are found the triangular motifs common to Kabyle art and to some Berber tribes from Atlas.

564 [727] The Enaden of the Ahaggar are few in number. They include five or six families who recently settled in the country following raids on them by the Ihaggaren. /178/ Most of them are natives of Adrar des Iforas

252 They may not heat camel's milk which has just been milked
825 under penalty of causing sickness to the animal which gave it.

264 Insofar as personal interdicts are concerned, there are none to speak of, for although men and women must not eat together, this is a custom rather than an interdict.

[606] A married man must not eat with his parents-in-law, and the oldest son must not eat with his father. These are mainly marks of respect, perhaps traces of ancient practices of a religious nature.

/240/ Chapter 4

## Hunting and Fishing

000 We shall now say a few words on the industries allied to the problems of food, that is, on hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, and agriculture.

Hunting. -- In a country where fauna was at all dense, hunting
136 would have brought a not inconsiderable dietary supplement to the
174 Ihaggaren. In the past it was very much esteemed in the Sahara. Many rock drawings and paintings prove this, for they depict hunting scenes which interpret the state of civilization of the men, their preoccupation, and at the same time the nature of the fauna, which has changed a great deal since then.

[132] Today, with the very advanced drying out of almost all the Saharian districts, the fauna has come out into the open and the
224 species likely to be usefully hunted are reduced to a few. Only gazelles and wild sheep are still hunted. We cannot mention the addax and oryx antelopes, for the former is in the process of becoming extinct in the Sahara, while the second is confined to the steppe zone. The hare and jackal may be accessorily added.

/249/

# Chapter 6

## Animal Husbandry

233 If we study mainly the tribes which live in the Sudan, in a country which lends itself perfectly to animal husbandry, we observe that the Tuareg are experienced herders, capable of making their herds prosper. The scarcity of pastures in the Sahara has evidently put animal husbandry in the background among the northern Tuareg, but it was certainly not always that way. The example that we have before us in the Sudan allows us to class all the Tuareg among the great herders. [184]

Animal husbandry is at the very foundation of their living conditions. It is probably the source of their migrations and their swarming over the Sahara and the Sudan. On these grounds the Tuareg, like all shepherds, may be reproached for their thieving and destructive bent, the effect of which is often felt by urban groups and always by the vegetation which they shamelessly destroy. With these reservations, however, they have brought with them some elements of cultural civilization which have played a considerable role both in the Sahara and the Sudan. [167]

The Ihaggaren are forced to count on the income from their herds and could not live without them. That is why they devote a large part of their work to animal husbandry, despite the difficulties imposed on them by caring for the animals.

This animal husbandry, moreover, is peculiar to the Saharian regions and is totally different from that of the Sudanese Tuareg. The Sudanese own cattle, great quantities of sheep, and horses; the Sahara could not support such flocks. [184]

The Ahaggar Tuareg raise camels, goats, sheep, and asses.

174 The camel. -- We have seen previously what we must think about the introduction of the camel into the Sahara. Whether it was

174 /250/ introduced before or after the Christian era, it is nonetheless true that the ancestors of the Tuareg must have introduced it.

182 At the present time, human life in the Sahara, which is already of little consequence, would be reduced to zero without 233 the camel. This is a fundamental fact which has been amply demonstrated and which it is useless to dwell on. Th. Monod, who dedicated one of his works "To the camel and the goat, the vehicle and the container, the two sole conquerors of the Sahara, " (1)

1. Méharées/ Meharis/.

has not only been literary and witty, he has put the truth in a few words. Without the camel, no relation would be possible between the oases, no relation between North Africa and intertropical Africa.

233 One may therefore easily understand that the animal plays a large part in the life of the Saharian Tuareg, and that the latter make a great effort to raise camels. They have always endeavored to own many camels, and at the present time their livestock has increased to more than 10, 000 head.

[132] Although the camel has adapted perfectly to the Saharian pastures and terrain, it is nonetheless true that the aridity is such [492] that he has difficulty keeping in good condition, and that a slightly prolonged march has to be compensated for by a rest period lasting twice as long as the period during which he was tired out. That is [361] why the Ihaggaren nomadize with their camels on the borders of the Sahara in the steppe where there are acacias and graminaceae.

Ahaggar breeding is very famous. It furnishes animals which 232 are resistant, very frugal eaters, capable of braving mountain rocks or marching for weeks on end over the granite regoliths of the Tanezrouft, something the Sudanese -bred camels could not do.

The Tuareg select the animals when they are very young, destining them either for saddle camels or for pack camels. The meharis are castrated and undergo special training. In speaking of

232 these saddle camels, one may not, therefore, refer to a particular breed /race/ adapted for speed, as one may commonly hear spoken of.

436 The camel has a well determined exchange value among the Tuareg. It is one of the bases for comparison in their commercial transactions.

233 Each tribe marks his animals with a particular sign, and /251/
422 the owners who have many camels also have their own signs, marked with a hot iron on one of the parts of the animal's body -- neck, cheek, or thigh.

The sheep. -- Sheep are raised only accessorily in the Ahaggar,
233 because grass is not abundant enough. But it occupies a large place
[137] in Sudanese animal husbandry.

[136] It is a very peculiar animal with short hair and a long tail. It stands tall, a characteristic which has won for it the name of Ovis
[174] longipes. The Tuareg certainly introduced it into West Africa. Zoologists never refer to it except as Tuareg sheep. Its antiquity in North Africa is well known. The ram of Ammon is pictured with its characteristic form, and it is also recognizable in the splendid rock drawings of Géryville and Tiout. It seems to descend from the Corsican wild sheep rather than from the Algerian wild sheep. Today it is an animal found exclusively in Tuareg camps of the Sudan or
574 in their area of influence.

262 Sheep is the dish served at great feasts, and its skin is used as
237 a ground rug, a blanket, or to make harnessing articles.

The goat. -- The goat is the mountain animal par excellence,
233 as frugal an eater as can be, resisting both cold and heat, and able to be content with the meagerest pastures. It is thus quite natural to find many of these goats among the Ihaggaren.

[136] /252/ The Ahaggar species is small with long black hair. In the Sudan it is different colors -- white and black, or red -- with
[232] short hair; it stands taller than the Ahaggar species and is often crossed with the dwarf female goat in the southern tribes.

136 The origin of the goat is less certain than that of the sheep. Very widespread all over the world, it must have been domesticated at

232 of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks
[272] exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their
family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is
[438] consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes
233 excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled,
[234] and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and
[252] sometimes tents.
[262]
237

The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting
[232] them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact num-
ber of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon
[422] them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them, and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used.
137 These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg, have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the
[172] rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia where they are called "onager."

The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible
233 that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihaggaren have
[174] kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had
[173] only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage,
442 and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also
[312] take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the
[357] heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

291 /265/ Clothes, except for the gandurah made of cotton bands,
489 are made of material imported from Europe. This material, called
chêga, is heavily dyed with indigo, giving it a very dark gloss; it
[556] is the favorite material of Tuareg men and women, but it is replaced by ordinary cloth among less well-off people.

Veils are manufactured in English Nigeria, in the village of Koura near the large city of Kano. They are made by assembling
[435] a multitude of little cloth bands. They are very expensive and can cost from three to five goats, depending on the quality. In
[177] Hausa language they bear the name toukourdi, which has been adopted by the Tuareg. For a long time they have served as ex-
[436] change currency for commercial transactions.

It has been asked many times why the Tuareg were led to veil
291 their faces. Hygiene, which has often been mentioned, and the
• 174 need to protect their respiratory tracts against sandstorms, are not sufficient reasons to explain this practice. There is something else, a /266/ very ancient enigmatic custom whose origin is lost in the night of time and which is kept up without their really knowing why. It is so deep rooted among the Tuareg, however, that they cannot conceive of a self-respecting man who can forego wearing the veil.

The headless men and acephalous people of ancient authors certainly owed their cognomen only to this very peculiar custom of hiding their faces, a custom which must have already existed in this remote epoch. One can only construct hypotheses on the origin of this veil.

We know through Ibn Khaldoun that the wearing of the veil was in general use among the peoples who inhabited the Atlantic coast and adjacent countries in the fourth century. This establishes that the custom is very ancient.

In the rock paintings from prehistoric or protohistoric times which have been discovered in the central Sahara in the last few years, we have noted the very peculiar method of representing the

174 291 heads of human figures. It seems, under the circumstances, that there was a taboo against representing facial characteristics.

Can the substitution of zoomorphic heads in the human figures drawn at a very early epoch on the Tassili-n-Ajjer rocks, springing from totemic beliefs, also contribute to explaining the origin of the veil? This is a permissible hypothesis.

291 826 What is certain is that, at the present time, it is shameful for a Tuareg to show his mouth and that the veil is the principal part of his dress. When he goes to draw water from a well, he will take off his gandurah and rull up the bottom of his trousers to be more comfortable, but he will take care that his veil is always in place.

291 Wearing the litham /veil/ -- or tiguelmoust -- includes an entire ritual which implies the existence of beliefs whose details have escaped us, because the Tuareg themselves no longer elucidate its meaning.

184 291 The style of wearing the veil and of placing the different parts on the head may differ from one tribe to another, and there are local modes which some prefer by personal taste. And so, in recent years, the young men of the Ahaggar adopted the style of wearing the veil used by the Kel Férouan from the Aïr. This, moreover, earned them harsh criticism from the elders of their tribe.

156 291 /267/ But apart from these different ways of placing the veil according to local or personal modes, the shape and knack make it more or less elegant. There is also a veil psychology, and when one knows a man, the way his veil is fixed may indicate his state of mind -- the reserved, modest way used when he presents himself in a camp where there are women; the elegant, studied manner for going to lover's meetings; the haughty manner of a warrior conscious of his importance; and the whimsical air of the Imrad or the swaggering slave. There is also the jovial, good-natured fellow's style of wearing the veil loosely and sloppily, and the disorderly style of the unstable, easily irritated man.

[177] Cloth garments have certainly been used only recently among
291 the Tuareg; they used to wear leather clothing. A few Ahaggar
174 Iklan still wear these knee-length blouses with fringes over the chest, sides, and sleeves. Evidences of these leather clothes are still to be found among captives from the Sudan and the Timbuktu region. They wear skirts tight at the waist, dyed half red and half yellow, and decorated with multicolored fringes. In Aïr little girls still wear /270/ a kind of small leather apron, and little boys, little leather trousers.

These seem to be the ancestral clothes of the Tuareg. The description of the dress of Libyan women which Herodotus has given us corresponds in all details to the leather dress used in the Timbuktu region, and some rock drawings of the Tassili are the very image of the small leather tunic of the Koudia Iklan.

832 Ornaments. Jewelry. -- The coquetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg is a most remarkable thing and quite unexpected among people who live under such primitive conditions and whose natural instincts must lead them first of all toward the spirit of self-preservation and material preoccupations. However, it reflects their rather superficial
[181] life, their light mores, and that pleasurable existence which the nobles intend to lead.

And so the Tuareg sacrifice everything to their coquetry, depriving themselves of food and parting with some of their goods in order to procure lustrous clothes, multicolored ribbons to set off the brilliancy of their coiffure, and amulet boxes which are carried more for aesthetic than religious reasons.

301 Women conform to the same faults and know no rest until they
832 have a certain number of jewels with which to adorn themselves.

For men, adornment consists of a few jewels, especially cases for amulets. As regards jewelry, they wear only one or two silver rings on their fingers, a heavy and coarse kind of ring, either plain or slightly twisted. In addition they wear a stone ring above the elbow.

32 If, secondly, we look for the aptitudes which the Tuareg have for working these different raw materials, we notice that their enumeration follows the same order as above, with the reservation 325 that none of them know how to work metals. The latter occupations 463 are the prerogative of the Enaden, that is to say, the artisans, and 564 it is evident from this that without the artisans' help Tuareg industry would be limited to work in wood, leather, and esparto. In short, it is the cultural cycle of the pastoral peoples of the steppe.

It is only much later, when the Tuareg had integrated the [174] Enaden with their social organization, that they used metals. Therefore, [415 531] we perceive the considerable role which artisans must have played in technical evolution and that of art itself.

Fig. 46. Wooden funnel.

/277/ The presence of Enaden in the camps has reduced the manual labor [322] of the Tuareg, but the latter are still able to make wooden articles -- milking vessels, bowls, tent stakes, etc.

565 One of their most curious customs is that women from the high 462 nobility work wooden vessels and funnels with their hands by means 322 of a little adze. They usually give them to the wives of their Imrad, 431 who are very appreciative of these gifts. In the Ahaggar camps we found many little utensils which were the work of famous noble-women, of tamenokalin whose names are piously kept; these objects were saved with much veneration. This custom is even more re- [174] markable since we know the scorn that the Tuareg have for manual labor; we must see in it a relic of woodworking which must formerly have been everyone's work, without distinction, before the creation of the artisan class.

844 the child is in a good position; she also rolls her on the ground to put the child in place if need be, but she never makes a vaginal exploration.

845 If the birth does not go normally, the midwife may ask the [756] marabout's help. The latter comes and stands outside the tent, giving verbal advice but never intervening personally; he cannot go near the parturient woman.

844 To give birth the woman squats down on her knees and braces herself on the center stake of the tent. Generally /283/ the baby falls on a layer of fine sand which has been prepared for that purpose. The midwife immediately cuts the umbilical cord, washes the baby in warm water, and makes him cry by pinching him to make sure he is alive. Then the mother takes him, puts a bit of her milk in [856] his nostrils, stretches his nose so that it will be long and narrow, and presses his head between her hands to give it an elongated shape. [174] This custom is certainly a vestige of cranial deformation, which is no longer practiced among the Tuareg but which was formerly common among the Egyptians.

As soon as the father learns of the birth of the baby, he has a sheep butchered and sends it to the wife's camp. The sheep is meant 846 to feed her and the people who have assisted her. The woman is made to absorb a great deal of meat bouillon. Sometimes the new mother gets up two or three days after confinement.

851 The birth of a boy is welcomed with more joy than that of a girl. [842] In the first case, all the people, men and women, come to con- [852] gratulate the mother, but if it is a girl only the women come to see her. During this visit the women often put yellow ocher under [751] their eyes and around their mouths to keep away the bad genii which are always supposed to prowl around in tents where a newborn baby has just arrived.

846 On the seventh day after the birth, the woman returns to her husband's camp, accompanied by the women of her family and her brothers, if she has any. The father then sees his child for the first time.

847 under these circumstances, she usually goes to visit a relative and tries to hide her pregnancy. No one is taken in, but nobody says anything. She goes to see a marabout who, for a rather high price, [756] makes a few mysterious signs before the sinner, writes a few words in Arabic on a small board, washes the writing, and gathers the water in a gourd for the woman to drink. In case these practices are successful (?), a second sum identical to the first one is paid. If not, the woman tries several mixtures, generally with a base of [278] adjerdjir (Cassia abavata), and in case the results are still negative, the baby is simply strangled when it comes into the world. Although these mores are still more or less in force, they seem some- [797] what reduced by Islamization, and unnatural mothers are some- 848] times punished severely.

The ahal seems to have existed in ancient North African •174 Libyan tribes. Herodotus mentioned the community of women among the Nasamonians, and the ahal is, in fact, only a derived and evolved form of it, if one could call it evolved.

582 Marriage. -- With the existence of such easy mores, it is understandable that young men and women do not care to marry early. Women rarely marry before the age of twenty, and men, before thirty.

584 Although the girl is free with her body, as we have seen, she still needs her father's authorization to marry. On the other hand, [593] however, it is rare for a husband to be imposed on her or for her to be married before puberty, as is the custom among the Arabs.

/291/ Mates are chosen in the lovers' meetings which form a sort of trial marriage. The suitor must ask the young girl's father through one of his parents or through a religious person if there is one in the region.

[184] Among the Ihaggaren everyone is informed of the suit, but in Aïr this is not the case; there the mother and the family of the girl are informed only when everything is arranged. If the [587] woman has already been married, her father's permission is no longer necessary.

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be
is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and
[584 565] less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats,
or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid
all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the
parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her
property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses
[562] fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's
[421] fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or
decreases.

584 As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the
marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times
a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter
[184] custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and
the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers
and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents,
where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During
the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé
does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then
takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company.
During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage
festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass
back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women,
[533] among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the
tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the
Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of
"aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to
[174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where
the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

114 "The conversion of these new peoples spread the influence of the
175 church or the empire quite deeply into the interior of Africa. But was it solid? Religious propaganda was for a long time one of the favorite forms of Byzantine expansion. It follows from this that the conversions which it caused were especially political and were made without previous instruction in the catechism, consequently without conviction on the part of the converts. It lasted, alas, only as long as political interest remained in agreement with personal interests." (2)

2. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. II., p. 72.

The Arab author Ibn Khaldoun said in the fourteenth century, while speaking of the Islamization of the Sanhadja Berbers, that this pagan people had never adopted the Christian religion.

Thus it seems probable that the Tuareg were never Christians.
[531] Nothing in their present mores betrays the least trace of it. The cross found on the bucklers, weapons, saddle articles, and jewelry has no typically Christian character; it is a decorative motif to be found in ornamentation used among peoples who have nothing to do with Christianity. Only the Latin words introduced into the
[192 Tamashek language may indicate /303/ that the Tuareg must have
174] been in more or less distant relations with the Christian peoples, but they cannot vouch for the early Christianization of the Tuareg by themselves alone.

175 Judaism. -- Although Christianity certainly no more than
797 grazed the North African Berbers and by repercussion the Saharian nomads, it is perhaps quite different with Judaism. Indeed, the Jews settled early in North Africa, where paganism was then professed, and they made many adepts among the Berber peoples. Entire tribes were converted, and when Christianity came to take root in its turn, it found before it numerous groups, both Judaic and Judaized. The position of the followers of Israel was

175 continually strengthened by the constant arrival of new subjects
797 from Egypt. Therefore, a few years later under the Byzantine Empire, their influence was so great, in the cultural as well as in the political sphere, that it offended the established authorities, and Emperor Justinian undertook to drive them out. Many of them fled to the interior of the continent and even took refuge in the Sahara, where they formed numerous active communities. So it is that a Jewish state was formed at the Touat, as we have already pointed out.

When the Arabs appeared in their turn in North Africa, they also found many Jewish groups there. This was the occasion for violent persecutions and a new exodus, and many Israelite communities were forced to embrace Islamism.

In the fifteenth century there were still some Jews in the Sahara. They disappeared as Israelites under the pressure of the Moslem conquerors who abhorred them, and they must have merged with the peoples of the Niger loop.

[174] It seems that the tribes who gathered around Kahéna to defend the independence of the Berbers were Judaized. The very name of the heroine of Aurès -- Kahéna -- sounds Jewish, and could come from the Hebrew cohen (priest) which would mean "the priestess."

Father Mesnage has pointed out that several fractions of the Haouara /hawara/ were Judaized, particularly the Herreneha, who today live northeast of Aurès. (1)

1. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. III, pp. 95-107.

We have remarked elsewhere that the Jewish type was found
[173 /304/ in some Tuareg groups of the Niger loop, that the star of
53] Solomon often decorated articles they used, and that legend attributes a Jewish origin to their artisans.

797 Islamism. -- According to Arab tales, the Islamization of the
173 Tuareg, and of the Ahaggar Tuareg in particular, was led by

773 had asked God to escape a raid which was coming to pillage her
778 camp. After the raid had passed, however, God kept the women
782 in the state of stone in spite of their entreaties, and it was so that life might be returned to them that the Tuareg came to leave different objects every time they passed near the tomb. The worship
[174] of the Tibaradines is certainly a trace of pre-Islamic and perhaps Neolithic beliefs which must have been deformed through the centuries. One of the statuettes represents a cow and is clearly related to the one found at Silet.

771 The remains of totemism are still affirmed by food taboos.
262 The nobles refuse to eat fish or bird flesh, as well as birds' eggs; only the ostrich escapes this interdiction. On the other hand, a
[825 legend even reports that the uran, or great sand lizard, is the
773] maternal uncle of all the Tuareg.

Some trees are also the object of worship. The Maerua
824 crassifolia which the Tuareg call agar is supposed to be inhabited by a genie which they chase away by striking the tree with stones every time they want to get in its shade. As we have already pointed out, repudiated women who do not wish to stay in the prescribed retirement as imposed by custom and want to take up the state of free living, rely on the tree to take over this retirement which bothers them so much.

754 Sorcery. -- Divination. -- Besides these more or less religious beliefs the Tuareg practice sorcery, divination, and the interpretation of dreams.

Some men, often blacksmiths, are known as sorcerors and make potions intended to cast spells; these are generally made of animal skins /309/ and are given to people who wish to cast a spell
[825] on someone, with the intention of taking him by surprise. The uran lizard plays a large part in the making of these sorceries.

787 Divination, practiced especially by women, is done in several ways and always aims to ask news of absent ones.

We have already mentioned divination through tombs. There is also what the Tuareg call tachilet (the viper). It is done either

The subtropical zone is Negro country. The Egyptians were well aware of that, and they drew much profit from this distant neighbor. Their Pharaohs did not hesitate to send military expeditions to bring back gold, ivory, ostrich plumes, and human livestock! The North African inhabitants were not ignorant of it either, and soon the riches of the Sudan were a fact known by all. Great caravan routes grooved the whole Sahara from north to south.

Their trail seems to have bypassed the Ahaggar. We do not know the real reasons for this, but we can guess them. The mountain must have been avoided because of the obstacles it presented, its altitude and the rocky nature of the ground. The shortest trail which follows a north-south direction therefore cannot pass through the Ahaggar but can run along beside it. That is what happened. The reputation as brigands and highway robbers which the Tuareg enjoyed is perhaps not irrelevant to this turning away of the caravan trails either.

/311/ The great arteries which furrow the immediate approaches of the Ahaggar tie important oases together. They were able to prosper because of the fact that these oases participate directly in the life of the Tuareg and because the Tuareg need them to ensure their food supplies.

The largest and most frequented trail is the one connecting the oases of the Touat and Tidikelt to the city of Agadez. For the Ihăggaren this is the granary route: dates at the Tidikelt, millet in the Sudan. It takes 40 days to go from Akabli to Agadez, and the Ahaggar is halfway between. There is a mountain near the guelta /well? Ed. / of Outoul located 18 kilometers west of Tamanrasset which the Arabs call Ounous and which marks exactly half the way. This trail is, in fact, used by the Arabs, for whom the Sudan is an attraction. They gain very great benefits from these transactions, and everyone's dream is to be able to take a caravan to the Sudan, whence he hopes to return a rich man.

After leaving In-Salah the trail crosses the Ahaggar through the Arak gorges, reaches Lower Koudia at I-n-Ămegel, passes to

487 When one speaks of a caravan trail, one must banish the idea of a route more or less arranged to facilitate traffic. The Saharian trails are simply marked on the ground by the tracks which the camels make, passing there in the same place for centuries. In the Ahaggar they look like a long, light ribbon running through the middle of the black rocks. The trail may be made up of two, three, or six ribbons which run parallel to each other, depending on its importance and the lay of the land.

Trails always follow the sides of valleys, naturally linking one well to the other and passing from one valley to another through the most accessible passes. They are never marked out. Of course in some places there are a few redjem, a kind of pile of pebbles to mark the passes or the nearness of certain wells, but these are rare and on the whole recently constructed, for the Ihaggaren have always strived to hide the routes through their country from strangers.

[648 312 20]

In sandy places and in regolith terrain where the ground is always more or less transformed by the action of the wind, the trail often becomes invisible, and the caravan must then trust to the knowledge of a guide or a man who has already traveled over the road several times and knows it.

Secondary trails. -- There are within the Ahaggar numerous secondary trails which are used for local needs. They all go from one well to another. All the agricultural centers are connected by a network of well-marked trails which are easy to follow without any great knowledge of the country. There are also pasture trails, little routes marked by the repeated trampling of goats going from one valley to the other and winding around the mountains; the animals follow them every day. This network is unbelievably extensive, and one might say that every mountain and every plateau is furrowed by several of these little paths. /314/ They are to be found in the most inaccessible and barest places, which shows that the Ahaggar used to be traversed in all directions,

[174]

174 in its remotest regions, the result of more intensive goat raising
487 and proof that pastures used to be more numerous than they are today.

492 There are very appreciable differences in the way Tuareg and
484 Arab caravaneers travel. The Arabs always push their camels in front of them; these camels march in a line freely, without any bridle or /head/ rope. The Tuareg, on the other hand, always advance in file, the camels attached one behind the other and guided by a man who takes the head of the convoy by holding one of the animals by the bridle, or else by riding it.

These different methods are imposed for two reasons, both connected with the structure of the terrain. The Arab Sahara is generally a flat country where it is easy to move about and where no natural obstacle opposes the animals' walking. In mountainous country, however, as in the Ahaggar, the narrowness of some trails, particularly going through certain passes, forces them to take precautions to control the camels' march, unless they want to see them crowd up on one another to the detriment of the baggage with which they are loaded. Moreover, pastureage also occurs under different conditions. In the northern Sahara, where the soil consists mainly of calcareous formations, vegetation is always diffuse, which forces the camels to move about a great deal, browsing from one tuft to another. Thus the Arabs have got in the habit of never putting their animals on a leash in order to let them gather tufts of vegetation which are within their reach, all the time they are moving.

In the Ahaggar, as we have had occasion to say, vegetation is, on the contrary, concentrated and sheltered in the valleys where water is hidden under the sandy alluvial deposits. Therefore there is no point in leaving any liberty to the camels; quite the opposite, they must not lose a minute on the trail but must reach

611 into separate corporate bodies," and so the situation in the Ahaggar appears to be the reverse of that which Gibson found among the cattle-raising Herero of Ngamiland, in southwestern Africa. The Tuareg descent system is like that of the Herero, however, in that "The present function is in terms of a wide range of kin-like relationships leading to economic co-operation and to intermarriage among persons unrelated patrilineally" (although rarely "of scattered origin"). "Double descent, therefore, permits a society such as the Herero," or the Tuareg as a whole, "highly fractured into scattered and politically independent local groups, to maintain cultural uniformity and social cohesion. . . . The segmentation of matri-clans . . . appears to be no more than a mechanism for limiting the wide extension of exogamy and special privilege to persons not too distantly related; it was quite likely a concomitant of an expanding population and the scattering of the tribe."

It is not unnatural to jump to the conclu-
121 sion, as Gautier (1935, pp. 33 and 109), Lhote
611 (1955, pp. 186–88) and others have done, that the ancestral Tuareg of ancient times were
[174] exclusively matrilineal and fully matriarchal as well, and that the patrilineal elements we find in modern Tuareg culture were acquired relatively recently through Moslem influence, but this is not necessarily so. The concept of double descent was stated for the first time by Rattray (1923, pp. 77–78) in his description of the pagan Ashanti of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), among whom "Inheritance and succession to authority follow the female line and the avunculate exists, but residence is patrilocal and the household consists of a patriarchal extended family" (Murdock, 1940, p. 557, paraphrasing Rattray), a situation which was probably characteristic of the pre-Islamic Tuareg as well. The Ashanti also have matri-sibs based on "blood" inherited in the maternal line, and patri-sibs based on "spirit" inherited through the father, and this again suggests that the basic concepts underlying the double descent systems of the Ashanti and Tuareg have much in common.

Gibson (1956, p. 137) seems inclined to think that the double descent systems of the Herero and of the southwestern Bantu in general evolved "as a whole," matrilineal and

326 grubbing gardeners alike. They have turned their status as "untouchables" to their own advantage and so remain untouched.

326 Physically the smiths of the Ahaggar cover the whole range of human variation between
142 the Bush Negro type on the one hand and the Berber variety of Mediterranean on the other, but they seem to fall mostly within a highly variable category characterized in general by "European" features combined with a yellowish brown or occasionally coppery skin, thickish lips, and curly or frizzled hair. They are lean in build as a rule, but seem softer and less wiry than the more active Tuareg (fig. 57, *a*).

326 And this brings us to another exasperating blank in our picture of Saharan peoples. The
174 smiths of the Ahaggar claim to have come from the Adrar n Ifoghas and to be related to the families of smiths who live there now, and Benhazera (1908, pp. 221 and 223) reproduced an old Arabic text which states that "the smiths and the Fulani have the same mother." Cline (1937, p. 141) maintained that the art of smelting iron was introduced into the western Sudan by "camel-riding Berbers" from the North, across the Sahara. But no one really has any idea where the smiths of the Ahaggar actually did come from or when, where and from whom they first learned their trade. No one, so far as the present writer knows, has ever published measurements or blood group classifications of a single one of them, and no one seems to have found out anything to speak of about their social organization or even their kinship terminology. Not a dozen photographs of their faces are available to students. Why? Simply because the Tuareg are spectacularly romantic while the smiths are not.[13] The smiths of the Ahaggar and of the Sahara as a whole have suffered the same fate that the Spanish gypsies might have suffered had George Borrow not been born, and, like the Spanish gypsies, they are
614 disappearing fast.

565 A number of vassal clans of the Ahaggar
173 confederation are said to be of Arab or mixed

[13] Here the author has laid himself wide open to
[114] a very embarrassing question. "Why," he seems to hear the frustrated reader ask, "haven't you done something to fill this aching void yourself since you find it so distressing?" The author's time in the field has been severely limited by the exigencies of writing this preliminary survey, and recently by political

565 ference of the resulting oval is closed by the
614 Negro-Tuareg contact zone of the southern
101 Aïr. The Ahaggar massif lies at the center of
131 this oval refuge area: it is a Berber island, so to speak, whose broad beaches are continually swept by waves of the surrounding Arab sea and, along the southern and southeastern shores, by the negroid "Gulf Stream" of the Sudan.

565 There have probably never been many
●174 Shorfa or Maraboutic families established in
563 the Ahaggar itself, although a few of them have lived there for a long time now. Arab Shorfa missionaries from Morocco first ar-
[797] rived probably in the 7th or early 8th century. They soon set up a theocratic dynasty, the Imenan, who ruled the Ahaggar and the Ajjer Tuareg as a single confederation until about 1650, when Goma, last of the Imenan "sultans," was murdered by Biska, a noble of the Oraghen tribe of Ajjer Tuareg. There followed a long period of anarchy and civil wars out of which finally arose, about the middle of the 18th century, the main framework of the Tuareg political structure which we now know. Descendants of immigrant Arab holy men are very few and scattered in the Ahaggar today, and their power has been reduced to no more than a faint shadow of what it used to be. People of this kind are much more numerous, united and powerful in the northeastern and southwestern corners of Tuareg territory, among the Ajjer and the Ifoghas of the Adrar, than they are in the region with which we are directly concerned at the moment. It is significant, however, that as recently as 1900 a Shorfa holy man exerted decisive influence in the electoral council of the Ahaggar confederation when that body found itself seriously divided over the choice of a new amenokal (Benhazera, 1908, p. 126).

We know that Arab blood has been seeping very gradually into the topmost level of the Tuareg aristocracy, for at least a century,
[591] through the occasional marriages of noble Tuareg women with Arab men. In all such cases residence is strictly matrilocal. Since
[611] rank is inherited through the mother, a son of this kind of union ranks as a Tuareg noble and can become a chief. Duveyrier (1864, pp. 22–23) describes the case of the Ajjer Tuareg governor of Ghat in 1861, whose father was

565 an Arab merchant from the Touat, Leblanc
563 (1946, table facing p. 40) mentions an heir to
174 an Ajjer Tuareg chieftainship whose father was an Arab, and the son of a Maraboutic Arab from Ouargla is at present one of the potential heirs to the paramount chieftainship of the Ahaggar confederation.

The question of Tuareg mixture with the Teda has been discussed above, in the section dealing with the latter group.

771 Although the Tuareg of the Ahaggar still retain much of the pre-Islamic magico-religious practices and doctrine of their animistic ancestors, they are all Moslems now, at least nominally, but are not very pious as a rule. It has been said that the Tuareg once had a Berber translation of the Koran, in the 8th and 9th centuries (Benhazera, 1908, p. 57), but it was long ago destroyed or lost (if indeed such a text ever did exist) in the course of a religious reform movement. The annual
[796] Moslem fast, during the month of Ramdhan, is not very generally observed, although in the middle of the 14th century Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338) noted that the Ahaggar Tuareg suspended raiding operations during this period.

794 The religious order of the Tidjani used to count an overwhelming majority of the Ahaggar Tuareg among its followers, but the Senoussi have built up a substantial following in the region during the last 70 years or so, much aided in this by Tuareg who passed through Senoussi territory on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Very few Tuareg from the Ahag-
778 gar have been to Mecca in recent times, although Lyon (1821, pp. 101–102) saw a single group of roughly 150 of them pass through Mourzouk on their way there in May, 1819 (before the Senoussi order was founded). The
643 Amenokal, Mecca pilgrim or not, has usually been the local model of formal piety. Bey ag
771 Akhamouk, the present Amenokal of the Ahaggar, is an unusually good example of this, as was Moussa ag Amastan in the early years of the present century. There are indications that in ancient times Tuareg chieftains may have been vested with religious as well as temporal primacy (Bates, 1914, p. 117).

648 The European conquest of the Sahara Des-
797 ert has done much to stimulate the Islamization of the Tuareg in general during the last

143 curiously enough, seem to be slightly less "pure" in this respect. The latter group, however, has a very low incidence of *B*, which is another typically Berber character and suggests, moreover, a relatively low degree of negroid admixture.

The Ajjer Tuareg are the only people of the Sahara who have been examined for blood group factors other than those of the *ABO* series, and they have been tested in addition only for gross *Rh* positive and negative reactions. The results of these tests indicate that the Saharan Tuareg have an extremely high incidence of *Rh* —, comparable to what one finds among Moroccan Berbers. Kabyles too have moderately high *Rh* — percentages, which, however, do not appear to exceed those of Arabic-speaking groups of Morocco and northern Algeria (Briggs, 1955b, p. 112). This latter situation is due probably to the fact that speakers of Berber and Arabic have intermingled extensively over the last 900 years in most of Barbary, excepting the more remote mountain districts of Morocco. Tuareg of the Aïr, which lies south of the Ahaggar and outside of the Sahara proper, have a very low incidence of *Rh* —, indicating extensive negroid admixture which has, nevertheless, had surprisingly little effect on their outward appearance.

In closing our discussion of Tuareg serology, we may add that the typically Berber combination of very high *O*, low *B* and very high *Rh* — finds a striking parallel among the Basques, who live in the mountainous frontier country that lies between France and Spain. We are still in no position, however, even to make a guess as to what this extremely curious coincidence may mean.

174 The possible origins of the Tuareg have been discussed far more extensively and by more authors than those of any other Saharan [114] people. Barth (1857–58), Duveyrier (1864), Rodd (1926), Lhote (1955) and Blanguernon (1955), to mention only a few, have devoted dozens of pages to the subject. But their original sources consisted only of the writings of Classical and Mediæval Arab historians and travelers, whose verbose, obscure and contradictory statements hardly allow of any broad deductions above the level of rough guesswork, and of the traditions of the Tuareg

174 themselves, which are either hopelessly vague and sketchy or obvious fabrications of Islamic inspiration, or a combination of the two, and which also are often contradictory. In the opinion of the present author it seems unreasonable to hope to learn much about Tuareg origins from literary sources, either written or preserved by word of mouth.

Fortunately, other kinds of sources are open,
172 to us. The so-called tomb of Tin Hinan (fig.
174 40), the legendary ancestress of the Ahaggar Tuareg (*see* Reygasse, 1950, pp. 88–106, and Wheeler, 1955, pp. 107–11), yielded a rich collection of jewelry including objects of gold, silver and iron and beads of glass and semiprecious stone, as well as various other odds and ends such as fragments of leather clothing (?) and wooden furniture, Roman lamps and glassware, arrow (or javelin?) points and nails of iron, and thin discs of gold that had been pressed over a coin or coins of Constantine the Great. Specialists consulted by the author[2] agree on two points: firstly, that most of this material bears no resemblance to anything we know from Egypt or the Sudan while all of it may well have come from elsewhere; and, secondly, that the whole assemblage has a distinctly eastern Roman flavor and may date from as early as the 4th or as late as the 6th century A.D. The iron projectile points are faintly disturbing, for they look almost exactly like those used on arrows by the modern Teita who live in the Coastal Province of Kenya Colony (Prins, 1955). All of this does not help us much, however, for as Wheeler (1955, p. 111) says: "In the absence of comparable relics within hundreds of miles of Tin Hinan, it is impossible at present to put her fortlet and tomb into a wider context." The one important lesson to be learned here is that we may hope to learn more about the origins of the Tuareg from future excavations of similar monuments and ancient habitation sites in the Tuareg country and surrounding regions. In the meantime we can only fall back once more on physical, linguistic and cultural evidence.

144 Physically the modern Tuareg of the Sahara

[2] These authorities included Christine Alexander and Vera K. Ostoia of the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, New York City, Anthony J. Arkell of University College London, Dows Dunham of the

144 The question of the racial origin of the Tuareg, as a branch of the Berber stock, is so intimately bound up with the problem of their origin in the broader sense which we have just been discussing that there is not much left for us to say about it separately. The learned 144 authors cited earlier in this section have all had 174 their say, but we have seen that their conclusions rest on evidence which is unavoidably [114] fragmentary and usually equivocal as well, since there is no other kind available at present. As for ourselves, we shrink as did Leblanc (1928–29, vol. 39, p. 44) from the temptingly spectacular but risky sport of skating over such thin ice in pursuit of a dream, no matter who the dreamer may have been. We are already in substantial agreement with the opinion of Vallois (1948, p. 40) that the Tuareg came into the Sahara probably from the North and possibly about the beginning of the Chris-

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174

tian Era, and we had better let it go at that for the time being. There are indications in the mythology of the Tuareg that they were already Berber-speakers when they arrived in their present homeland. There are vague hints too, in the tales of Herodotus as well as in the serology of the Teda, that people something like those whom we now call Berbers may have been living in the eastern half of the Sahara for centuries before the birth of Christ, but whether or not they could have qualified as Tuareg, or even Berbers, in the sense in which we have been using those terms, is about as moot a question as one could hope to find. More and much fuller studies of physical morphology, blood groups and linguistics would go far toward helping us to solve the mystery of the Tuareg, but in the meantime our hands are tied.

3: Holiday J-5 (ca.1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



# THE TUAREG OF THE AHAGGAR

*by*

GEOFFREY HOLIDAY

131 The Ahaggar region of the Sahara desert, with its administrative headquarters at Tamanrasset (Fort Laperrine) provides an almost exact geographical centre for the territory inhabited by the Tuareg; the nomadic tribes of the "blue veil". At the northernmost point is In Salah and to the south, Agadez. Eastward there is Djanet in the Tassili des Ajjer and the western boundary is formed, perhaps, by the line of the Tanezrouft. [361] Within this area the Tuareg wander from oasis to oasis or, in the case of a few, dwell peaceably in the shadow of the French towns and outposts that mainly owe their location to the existence of water tempered by administrative and strategic factors.

177 186 The Tuareg would appear, at first glance, to be one of the few remaining peoples of the world possessing a culture of their own that is entirely free of influences, direct or indirect. Some among the tribes still believe that the desert is the world, inhabited admittedly by many different kinds of people, but the world nevertheless. This is the extreme view, obviously not shared by those who have travelled on the great caravan routes as far south as Kano or to Timbucktu and the Niger. It may not be the view of [648] the younger generations who, to an increasing extent, are benefiting by the primary education facilities inaugurated by the French administrators; particularly in Algeria where the Ahaggar region lies at the foot of the Territoires du Sud: a knowledge of the French language does not necessarily bring about a lessening of superstitions or a widening of perspectives. One is always faced with the parallel of the farmer (who should have known better) and the ostrich: 'There ain't no such animal!' Nevertheless, from this aspect the influences are so few as to be negligible and are more likely to come from the varied genre of the official and semi-official indigenous population gathered together under the Tricolour at the towns and outposts of the region than from direct contact with the European. The Tuareg are almost the exception that proves the rule of man's gregariousness, though, naturally enough, they are gregarious in that they possess very strong tribal instincts.

291 751 As a tribe the Tuareg have very marked characteristics that immediately set them aside from any other social group in what may be termed loosely north Africa. To begin with, the men are seldom seen unveiled: the women, who can be very beautiful, never cover their faces although, often they will wear a head covering, presumably as protection against sun and sand. The men, however, do not wear the veil solely as protection against the elements. Discounting those few who have become soldiers under the French flag, a Tuareg man—or, more properly, a Targui—assumes the veil on approaching manhood and wears it continuously, even for eating and drinking. He unveils to no one, not even in the sanctuary of his tent alone, let alone in the presence of his wife. This veil wound low round his forehead and across the bridge of his nose covers the mouth, ears and nostrils. Since the other openings of his body are concealed by his robes he has complete protection against evil spirits entering and taking control—and this is the key to why the veil is worn. To protect his eyesight against the Evil One amulets are worn from a chain round the neck and doubtless also such amulets provide a measure of safety in battle.

174 The origins of the Tuareg tribe are particularly interesting in that they have as yet to be definitely established. Their antecedents go back anything between 600 and a 1,000 years and it is supposed that they are an offshoot of the Berber Arabs, driven into the desert during one of the many invasions of the Tel, the fertile coastal belts of Algeria and Morocco, that continued up to the 13th century when the Moors became really established on the Barbary coast. Likewise, the Berbers with their light skins and blue

3: Holiday J-5 (a. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.

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ⵜⴰⵏ ⵙⵓ ⵏⵏⵍⵏ ⵜⴰⵏⵏⴰ, ⵉⵏⵏⵓ ⵙⵉⵜⵜ

The Bible in Tamahaq

(*Ruth. Ch. 2, Verse* 17)

*"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."*

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

unnecessary to review this matter after him. I want to limit [114]
myself simply to noting some observations which I was able 565
to make in the course of my stay among the Tuareg of the
Ahaggar confederation.

First of all, the striking thing is that at the end of a short period of contact, one can easily guess if one is in the presence of a noble or of an amr'id. His look, his walk, his carriage, his features (if the veil is lifted to the forehead), an indefinable something, all lead correctly to the conclusion that the Tuareg before you is really a noble. However, in the course of palavers im'rad, many of whom are rich, often come as well dressed as the nobles. But their features are less fine, their bearing less easy, their look less assured, and one thinks, "This is an amr'id."

Furthermore, the Tuareg will tell you, "An amr'id may /48/ act well, dress in fine clothes, and bear fine arms, but he is still 'iamir'ed, '" that is to say, "he lacks something," [196]
and it is from this verb that they have derived the name amr'id, plural imr'ad.

Should it be thought that the imr'ad are a less pure race 173
than the nobles because of long-ago crossings with the Negro 174
race? The sheik Ben Djellas states that the mother of the 565
Issoqqamaren (an imr'ad tribe of the Ahaggar) was bought by the first inhabitants of Es-Souk. On the other hand, we will see how the Adjouh-n-Taheli and the Tedjehé-n-Efis came from Aïr to place themselves under the protection of the noble Kel R'ela and Taïtoq.

Should the admitted differences be attributed to the state of subjection and dependence in which the imr'ad have been for a long time in relation to the nobles? I would be tempted to accept this second hypothesis as more in line with the facts of history.

And from what I have seen and ascertained, I cannot 565
bring myself to translate the word "amr'id" as "serf," a word 631

4: Benhazera--43G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Duveyrier has told us that the Imanan (Cheurfa) sultans 534
entrusted their tobols to a marabout tribe, the Ifor'as-oui-n- 565
Tobol. This practice is maintained: noble chiefs pretend to
keep the tobols with them, but they do not use them any more.

It is said that the nobles have access to the tobols because 534
some day, according to the law of inheritance practiced among 565
the Tuareg, they or their descendants may have the hope of 643
obtaining the tobol, that is, the right to rule.

On the other hand, it is said that a noble has lost his rights [558]
to the tobol if, through a misalliance, his children are no
longer of a pure noble line /race/. For example, the
Kembiben, the Oulad El Goute, and the Oulad Ibra (among
the Kel R'ela of the Ahaggar) can no longer hope to have the
right to rule, to the tobol. Similarly, the son of a noble and
a "tamr'idt" (feminine /50/ of "amr'id") is an amr'id and
loses all right to the tobol which his father had.

From this first meaning, the word "tobol" ended by mean- 534
ing the group of nobles and imr'ad tribes who answered the call 565
of the tobol, and one might, for example, say, "The tobol 631
of the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe) includes such-and-such imr'ad
tribes, " or again, "A certain proportion of imr'ad makes up
the tobol of the noble Kel R'ela. "

The word "tobol" is certainly not of Tamashek origin, but [192]
definitely Arabic. In fact, "tobol" طبل in literary Arabic
means: 1) drum, 2) kettledrum, 3) tribute, tax; and in
order to say "I do not know who that man is, " the early Arabs
said, ما ادري اي الطبل هو I do not know of what tobol he is" (1).

1. Arab-French dictionary by
A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski.

Thus I believe that this usage was introduced by the early [174
Arabs who, in the first century after the hegira, pushed their 797]
conquest through the country inhabited by the Tuareg in order
to convert them to Islamism.

4: Benhazera--53 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

When they want to stretch out at the foot of the tree called "el yatil" in Arabic and "tadjart" ⊕ⵜ+ in Tamashek (a kind of acacia), which is inhabited by jinn, they must first wound it with a stone, and stones are always to be found at the foot of these trees. One can also see the wounds made in the bark. 776 824 789

The "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica) is also a haunted tree. If one wants to rest under its shade, it is first necessary to break seven of the tree's thorns.

There are also "kel esouf" in the place where an animal has had its throat cut. 776

Mount Oudane is haunted, as are many others. [823]

These superstitions are probably survivals of their old religion, before their conversion to Islamism. Like them, "The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period worshipped jinn, or genii. The deserts and mountains where one sometimes gets lost for entire weeks are full of beings of this kind.... They can do much harm and much good,... They live in rocks, trees, or statues. Each tribe, or sometimes a group of tribes, had its special jinni; its rock, its tree, its own image, before which an appointed family carried out priestly duties" (1). 174 771 776

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 5 and 6.

The Tuareg have many other superstitions. Thus nobles would never kill a "uran" (varanus), which in Tamashek is called "ar'ata" • +⁝ , and a fortiori would not eat it. Sidi ag Keradji and Aziouel ag Ser'ada told me that the uran is the maternal uncle of the Tuareg, and Sidi told me the following legend: "Seven nobles had killed a camel belonging to Sidna Nouh (Hoah). Among them there was a noble Tuareg. To punish them God changed them, one into an uran, another into a jackal, a third into a chameleon, etc. /61/ The uran was the noble Tuareg. The camel that was killed is now in the sky: it is the Great Bear. The Polar Star, 'Bel Hadi', is its head." 565 825 773 784 [821]

this doctrine, the scholar Dozy tells us: "There was no muezzin, 262
or crier, to call to prayer; people were governed by the crow 565
of the rooster; so no one, except in case of dire necessity, 825
might kill roosters or hens or eat eggs" (1). 773

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 348 and 349. Neither mosques nor muezzins are found in Tuareg country. See also l'Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale /History of North Africa/, by E. Mercier, pages 228 and 255. Volume 1. [171]

Legends and stories are also known on the subject of 773
Ahmamellen and his nephew Elias. Hanoteau told them to us. 823
At Tamanrasset (Ahaggar) the Tuareg showed us a curious breech in a large "gara" that bounds the horizon to the east. They call it "Tiouit-n-Elias" (Elias' cut), and they say that Elias made this breech with one stroke of the "takouba." The piece removed, an enormous rock, lodged in a wadi three kilometers from there, and we were shown it in passing. The breech has also been named "Elias' Breech."

Elias is the Arabic translation of Elijah, and Younes that of [551]
Jonah. These two proper names are still used among the Tuareg. [174]
Might there not be a relationship between this Elias and Elijah, son of Salih?

The Tuareg say that Ahmamellen was a man of extraordinary 174
size and strength, and that he was the equal of an army. Might 773
it have been Salih himself who claimed to be a prophet, then disappeared in the east after having told his followers that he was the Mahdi and that he would come back to fill the world with justice when the seventh king should be mounted on the throne?

and the Abalessa wadi. Now, this grave has the shape of an 172
enormous circular wall and is surrounded by other graves of the 173
"chouchat" shape which are those of Tin Hinane's servants. 764
Beside her grave is that of Takamat, the woman whom the Kel Ahnet claim as their ancestress. All these graves resemble those of the "izabbaren" so closely as to be confusing. Why do the Tuareg disclaim these while they acknowledge those of Tin Hinane, Takamat, and their servants?

We saw in the chapter "Superstitions, Beliefs" that the 769
Tuareg go to consult the Izzabaren graves to obtain news of 787
those absent.

In the Tafidjiq wadi (about four hours' walk from Ideles) there is a grave which is the object of great veneration on the

[342]

Harratine Huts at Ideles
(Koudia)

part of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is that of Adjadj Alemine [797
(probably the missionary who converted them to Islamism; see 174]
the chapter on the origin of the Tuareg /not translated/). The Ahaggar say that this Adjadj Alemine was a marabout, a saint, and they call on him in their prayers when they are in trouble or grief, as the Arabs, under the same circumstances, call on Sidi Abdelkader el Djillali. I have not seen his grave, but I was told that it has "chouahed" like all Moslem graves.

Upright stones. Following the directions of the guide 172
Deguemma ag Chikat of the Adjouh-n-Taheli, I found, in the Koudia of the Ahaggar, a place where there was a collection of some ten upright stones of which only one remained /79/

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *cfeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tarahamt)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of weels *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters.

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 138ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



563 601 akin to the system in use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These peopl. draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (fig. 8 9).

563 342 The material culture of the Air negroes is marked by both northern and southern traits. The most common type of dwelling is a beehive hut *(tatramt)*, which I have also seen south of Air in the savannah, while similar huts are unknown to the north in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. The huts are often placed within round enclosures which are possibly of Sudanese origin (cf. fig. 15). There are however other types of dwellings in the Air villages. Very common is a square straw hut *(terhira)* with a slightly elevated saddle-roof. It is built by the men while the beehive hut is made by women, and both types are frequently used by one and the same household. This square hut differs constructionally from the straw huts used among settled agriculturists in the north. Also rather common is a barrel-vaulted hut *(shen)* covered with mats (fig. 14). It has the same name and is of much the same construction as the movable huts or tents used by most pastoral Air Tuareg (fig. 5 & 13). It is built by women and seems to have been introduced by pastoral [462] women married to settled agriculturists. Finally there is in some villages a rectangular house *(tarachamt)* with a flat roof. It has very solid walls generally built from stones inserted in and covered with mud. It has various sub-types more elaborately described by Rodd, who considers these houses to be of northern origin (Rodd 1926a, p. 240ff.). They have most probably been introduced from Tassili-n-Ajjer 177 312 or the Fezzan from which regions came also the irrigation system now forming the basis of agriculture all over Air, namely the drawing of water from shallow wells *(awu)* by means of zebus. This system is extremely common in the Fezzan and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where, as mentioned, it was introduced also to Ahaggar. It is not known when it came to Air, but in many villages it has been adopted only very recently. Not so many years ago water for irrigation in most villages was apparently raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight *(arendit)* (cf. Capot-Rey 1933, p. 322), but this method has now disappeared. It can be considered the oldest irrigation machine and it is no doubt [174] of very great age in Northern Africa including the Sudan. The method however 241 involves much strenuous work and in view of this it may seem quite natural that agriculture in Air was in the past also practised as shifting cultivation without any irrigation. Rodd states that in certain areas of Air rain-grown crops could be raised most years and that in the past a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I think this is correct. Certain crops as for instance millet has a very short period of growth; in Ahaggar (Abelessa) millet is sown in June-July and harvested in September, and it is said that it is not watered very much and never to the same extent as wheat grown in winter. It would no doubt be possible to grow millet in many parts of Air without artificial irrigation during the rains, and in fact millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation. But nowadays agri-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



241 culture is never practised without irrigation. Rodd thinks that the Air agriculturists
[114] gave up shifting cultivation because they are too poor to-day to risk losing their
[174] seed in the event of inadequate or irregular rainfall (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I rather think the reasons are that the agriculturists of the massif nowadays grow very little millet and have a better irrigation system than in the past. In summer maize forms by far the most important crop, and it needs irrigation which is comparatively easy when using zebus for drawing water. However this may be we can assume that a type of agriculture related to Sudanese shifting cultivation was formerly important to the Air agriculturists, and although irrigation is nowadays used everywhere agriculture in certain places of Air is still a kind of shifting cultivation. Many agriculturists do not resort to manuring nor do they carry fresh soil to the gardens as in Ahaggar. With crop rotation they utilize one and the same plot for a few years but then have to cut trees and brush-wood somewhere else to make a new
[312] garden. A new well must then also be dug, but as irrigation wells are rather shallow this work is comparatively easy.

171 There are in Air certain agricultural implements related to those of Sudanese
412 farming cultures. We must mention in particular a small hoe hafted by means of a thong *(tagoumit)*. It is unknown both in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer as well as further north in the desert while extremely common among Sudanese shifting cultivators. Feilberg has classed it with the so-called Old Sudanese Culture es-
[114] tablished by Baumann (Feilberg 1934, p. 260ff. – Baumann 1940, p. 50ff.; 1944, p. 213ff.). Baumann claims that this culture did not know the sickle, considered by him an implement of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 56ff.; 1944, p. 283ff.). The sickle (Air: *elegesouar*, Ahaggar: *amreh*) is in fact unknown in many Air villages, and is according to my investigations not generally used for the harvesting of crops but for cutting annual grasses to be stored for
241 fodder. In Air the harvesting methods are as follows:– millet is cut with a knife,
171 maize is cut at the root by means of the above-mentioned hoe, while wheat and barley are pulled up with the hands. Similar harvesting methods seem to be known in the Sudan (Baumann 1944, p. 295ff.). As a Sudanese trait we can
[415] perhaps also recognize the large clay amphoræ used for the storage of cereals (Rodd 1926, p. 317. – Nicolas 1950a, p. 146).

174 We can conclude this section as follows:– While the negroes of Ahaggar ap-
144 parently have arrived in that country later than the fair-skinned Berbers the oldest
563 known population in Air were Hausa-speaking negroes subsisting predominantly as agriculturists. Their original culture apparently was closely related to that of Sudanese shifting cultivators. Contacts with the north and in particular invasions of fair-skinned Tuareg have changed their cultural position. Mixing with the Tuareg they have also changed their physical type, but they are still predominantly negroid. They have adopted a Tuareg dialect but have retained part of their old vocabulary.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



*Tuareg Invasions into Air.*

174 The connection between the Mediterranean and the Sudan by means of caravans through the Sahara is of very great but unknown age. Caravans have crossed the Sahara as far back as historical knowledge reaches (cf. Bates 1914, p. 101 ff. – Gsell 1920–28, I–VIII – Bovill 1958, p. 24). At the beginning donkeys and oxen were probably used as beasts of burden and the latter animals were employed also as draught animals for carriages as were horses at a later date (cf. Lhote 1953, p. 1138–1228). With the introduction of the camel, caravan trading through the desert was no doubt highly intensified. For although donkeys and also oxen can cross the Sahara in winter without much difficulty camels are better suited to desert journeys.

The first Tuareg who came to Air may have been caravan traders attracted by the excellent grazing grounds of this country. When they arrived we do not know but it seems possible to follow in broad outline the history of the Air Tuareg a thousand years back in time and to distinguish between several invasions. It must be admitted that these cannot be precisely dated and that our historical knowledge is on the whole very fragmentary. It is derived partly from oral traditions, partly [127] from written historical sources among which the so-called Agadez Chronicle is of particular value. It consists of various Arabic manuscripts in the care of the Sultan [114] of Agadez. They have been published in translation and abstracts (Palmer 1916; 1928; 1936. – Urvoy 1934). Several authors have made valuable contributions to the history of the Air Tuareg (Barth 1857, I. – Rodd 1926a, 1926b, 1938. – Palmer 1936. – Urvoy 1936. – Nicolas 1950a; 1950b), but to my mind the best general account is given by Urvoy whom I follow in outline.

As early as the 7th century A.D. extensive migrations of pastoral Berbers including the two important tribal groups of Lemta and Zaraoua passed through the desert. The Lemta settled around the Niger and gave rise to the Sonrai Empire, while the Zaraoua reached the Lake Tchad country where the state of Kanem-Bornou was created. At this time pastoral Berbers also arrived in Air where new states were created. The name of one of them is known, namely the Hausa state of Gober or Gobir which existed in Air up to the 12th century A.D.

New invasions took place in the following centuries. The ancestors of the clans of Igdalen (now in Tegama and Damergou south of the massif) and Iberkhoreen (now in Azaoua north of Tahoua) have probably immigrated before the year 1000 A.D. as may also be the case of the Kel Tamgak clan in Northern Air.

As mentioned the excellent grazing grounds of Air were probably the reason for the first Tuareg invasions. From the 11th century A.D. another factor seems to have been responsible, namely the arrival in North Africa of the Arab bedouins of Beni Hilal and Beni Soleim. Nomads of the latter group invaded the Tuareg countries of Tripolitania and Fezzan (Ibn Khaldoun, I, p. 134ff.) with the result [614] that Tuareg clans migrated southwards to Air. Among them was a group of seven clans (Itesen, Ijadaranein, Ifadalen, Tamakou'at, Tamaga'azellet, Iza'aran, and

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



Ibrazouen) descending from daughters of one and the same mother. The Itesen clan had as its particular ancestress the oldest daughter. The clans were united into a federation also named the Itesen, as its supreme chief known as the *Arombolou* was elected from this clan. The Itesen group settled in Central Air, where for a long time it held an extremely powerful position. At a certain date a group named Immikitan was separated from the Itesen federation to form an independent or semi-independent political unit with its own chief by the title of *Emokki*. Tuareg of the Itesen-stock including the Immikitan are nowadays very few in number and mainly live in the savannah south of the massif where most of them took refuge owing to wars with later immigrants. Two of the oldest clans mentioned still exist, namely the Ifadalen in Damergou, and the Iza'aran partly in Damergou, partly in Air.

According to tradition the Itesen Tuareg came from the oasis of Aouidjila (Aujila) in Libya, and we may assume that they have immigrated from Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan or adjacent parts of the northern desert. The group of Tuareg known as the Kel Geres is said to have come also from Aouidjila. They invaded Air at a time between the 12th and the 14th century.

At the end of the 14th century both the Kel Geres and the Itesen came under the pressure of Tuareg invaders known as the Kel Ooui who are said to have had Aouidjila as their original homeland like the Itesen and the Kel Geres. They fought these two groups and in particular the Kel Geres who left Air finally in the 18th century to take up grazing grounds in the region of Madoua of the Nigerian borderlands. There were originally seven clans of Kel Ooui Tuareg, and five of them still exist. Like the Itesen and other Tuareg they claim descent from a common ancestress. The Kel Ooui pastoralists have largely mixed with the negroid village population also now known as Kel Ooui. Barth mentions that the true Kel Ooui clans are related to the very powerful clan of Oraren of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 372).

At the same time as the Kel Ooui, or somewhat later, a clan or a group of clans known as the Kel Ferouan came to Air from the north. Their name is derived from the village of Iferouan (Kel Ferouan = "the people of Iferouan") but they were nevertheless true nomads roaming the northern parts of Air until the 17th century when they moved southwards to live around the city of Agadez. There are different traditions about their origin. One mentioned by Urvoy claims Egypt as their home-land; this probably implies immigration from or via Tripolitania (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). Barth says they are related to the Oraren clan (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). According to my own investigations they claim to have lived originally in Ahaggar as close kinsmen to the dominating Kel Rela clan of that region. Some Kel Ferouan Tuareg will even go so far as to hold that even after their arrival in Air they continued to intermarry with the Kel Rela of Ahaggar. According to Nicolas their ancestress in named Tadaouelt (Tadawelt) (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474), while I have been told her name was Sabenas.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



Later than the Kel Ferouan other clans or groups arrived in Air from the north. 114 Prominent were the Kel Fadei who are said to be related to the Taitoḳ clan of 174 Ahaggar (Duveyrier 1864, p. 322. – Urvoy 1936, p. 150. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Barth however is of the opinion that they came from different regions but in particular from Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 384). The Kel Fadei Tuareg first lived in Northern Air and their name is derived from the mountains of Fadei in these regions. At the end of the 18th century they migrated towards the south-west to the region of In Gall where they still have grazing grounds.

Still later immigrants are the Kel Tamat who came possibly three or four centuries ago. Urvoy mentions Ahaggar as their homeland (Urvoy 1936, p. 150), while Nicolas says they are related to the Oraṛen clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471). Even later came the Ikaskazan Tuareg who in Air attached themselves to the Kel Tamat. According to Urvoy they came from Ahaggar (Urvoy 1936, p. 151), according to Nicolas they descend partly from the Taitoḳ of Ahaggar, partly from the Imenṛasaten and the Oraṛen of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Tuareg of the Ikaskazan told me that they are related to the Oraṛen.

It is well known that all over Northern Africa numerous Arabs and Berbers 173 claim relationship with the Prophet and his family. Most of these traditions seem to be mere fake. We may, to mention an extreme example, take the negroid blacksmiths of Ahaggar who firmly hold that their ancestor lived in Mekka as the blacksmith of the Prophet. All tra[illegible]ons relating clans to Islam have been omitted in [128] this brief account of Tuareg history in Air. This does not mean, of course, that we can rely on the above traditions which are very often contradictory. An obvious case is that of the Kel Ferouan. In literature there are traditions of Tripolitania or Tassili-n-Ajjer as their homeland, while I have been constantly told that they came from Ahaggar as close kinsmen of the Kel Ṛela. I think this latter tradition gathered by myself does not contain much historical truth but perhaps reflects political relations of the past. The Kel Ferouan apparently were on quite good terms with 174 the Kel Ṛela of Ahaggar whom they admired because of their power. The Kel Ṛela had many quarrels with the Taitoḳ and also with the Kel Fadei, and the latter Tuareg again were enemies of the Kel Ferouan. As the Kel Fadei claimed themselves related to the Taitoḳ it may have been quite natural for the Kel Ferouan (the most important clan in Air) to claim relationship to the Kel Ṛela (the most important clan of Ahaggar).

We can never rely on oral traditions of origin, but they may contain some historical truth. All traditions mentioned point to a northern origin of the Air Tuareg and in particular to Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and adjacent regions. In support of these traditions we can refer to the fact that the most important northern trade road from Air leads to the oasis of Ghat, Tripolitania, and the Fezzan.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullemmeden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, p. 213; 1950c, p. 492f. – Richer 1924, p. 3, 52) an interesting matrilineal custom has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhazera (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Dubiéf has further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubiéf 1956, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes. In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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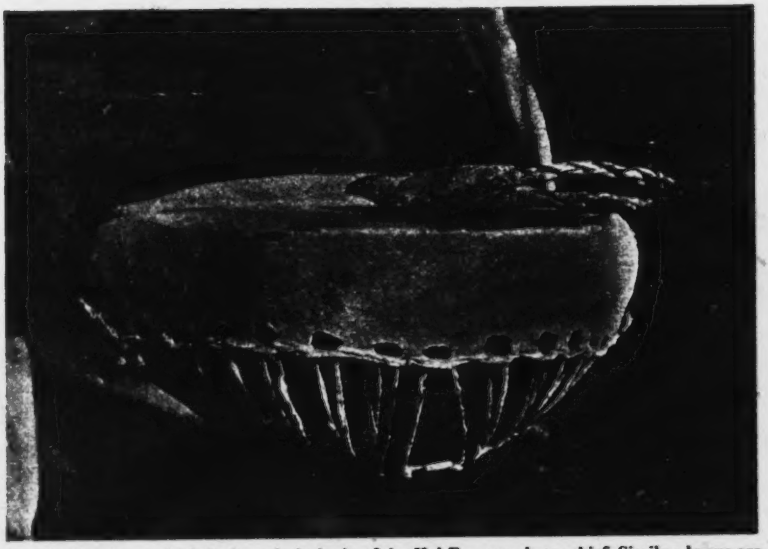

Fig. 6.–The drum which is the only insignia of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. Similar drums are found in all Tuareg groups.

614 past, as nowadays, the proper successor to chieftainship was the deceased chief's son. This rule of succession is no doubt due to Islamic influence which, as mentioned, [174] has introduced patrilineal succession among the Ioullemmeden Tuareg and also in various clans of the religious class of *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). I think there can be no doubt that succession among the Air Tuareg was originally matrilineal and that most possibly a sister's son was considered the proper successor to chieftainship.

### *The Political System of the Kel Ferouan.*

634 The important noble clans of the Kel Ferouan drum-group, namely the true Kel [614] Ferouan (or Iraouatten) and the Kel Azel, are said to be matrilineally related, as [173] the ancestress of the Kel Azel was a woman of the Kel Ferouan clan. She married, tradition says, an Arab who was killed at her own request.

The chief of the noble Kel Ferouan clan had the only drum of the whole group [202] of which he was the supreme chief. The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal clans but also by the noble Kel Azel. 778 The drum, which may still be seen in the camp of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, is 534 made of wood and covered with skin (fig. 6). It is believed that it has a mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced the man charged with this task would do it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air



It is said that in the 19th century all Tuareg groups of Air and adjacent regions paid an annual tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as follows:– 634 651

| | |
|---|---|
| Kel Ooui | 50 Tuareg veils |
| Kel Fadei | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| Echchikhen | two groups each giving 3 oryx hides |
| Kel Geres | 1 horse with a saddle |
| Ioullemmeden | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| Kel Allekot | 150 kg of millet |
| Damergou<br>Katsena | An amount of millet |

The Tuareg name for these payments is *iooure* meaning "annual tribute". The present drum-chief says that this tribute was given by the groups because all land [423] belonged to the Kel Ferouan group. I think that the correctness of this is perhaps to be doubted, and that there may be other possible explanations:– 1) The payments may at some remote date have been made to the Sultan (Amenokal), but [174] later collected by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became more important or, more possibly 2) they may have been given to the drum-chief for protection. Thus annual duties, termed *iioure* by the Northern Tuareg, were formerly given by foreign Tuareg groups to mighty chiefs of Ahaggar to avoid raids (cf. p. 113).

The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim that in the remote past the whole drum-group of Kel Fadei including its noble clan paid bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan 173 drum-chief as his vassals. This vassalship of the Kel Fadei is said to have ceased in the following way:– The Kel Ferouan drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a Kel Fadei camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the Kel Fadei camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the Kel Fadei. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the Kel Fadei so that after a time he could return safely to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the Kel Fadei Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan.

The political system of the Kel Ferouan group may be characterised as simple, all political rights resting in the hands of the drum-chief. He had no particular 634 ministers or deputies, but he would discuss important matters with noble Tuareg of his camp and with the chiefs of vassal clans.

It has been mentioned above that the Kel Akarra clan in the past had one 634 614

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air



634 565 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzouren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had con- [463] stantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly [701] by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers and protectors.

Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals *(Imghad)* 114 565 614 as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:– "One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the [422] camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible [672] for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p. 141f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen [567] both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much about this.

Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin: 174 565 614 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a, p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg have emigrated.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar



The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *taousit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan. 614 [162] [565] 613 614

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult. 114 611 [177]

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. 611 [591] [428] [631]

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage. 428 [422] [174]

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10. 614 591 768

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
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Air



dominating an extensive area of North Africa and particularly in Cyrenaica, 565
Tripolitania, and adjacent regions before the Arab invasion of the 11th century 192
A.D. This theory was set forth already by Ibn Khaldoun, who says that *Hoouara*
has changed into *Heggar* (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275f.). Nicolas has stated as his [114]
opinion that this theory has no other foundation but mere speculation (Nicolas
1953, p. 14). This, however, is not correct as the relationship between the words
can be explained on linguistic grounds as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *ou* [194]
when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *ou* very frequently permutes
with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 333).

The term used in Air for vassal Tuareg is *Imrad* (sing. *Amrid*), a word which seems to be known to all Tuareg. Foucauld gives no particular explanation of its meaning (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1033f.). Nicolas claims the word related to *ereid*, literally meaning "a kid" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189). If this explanation given by Nicolas is correct, *Imrad* refers to goat-breeding. So does another term for vassals used more frequently among the Northern Tuareg and the Ioullemmeden, namely *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), which means literally "the goat people". In Air this word is never used as a term for the vassal class, but only as a proper name for one particular vassal clan attached to the Ikaskazan.

One of the terms for vassals and maybe both terms are thus connected with goat-breeding, while one of the terms for noble Tuareg seems to refer to raiding, [233]
which among the Tuareg was intimately connected with camel-breeding. Camels [721]
were not only the means by which raiding was carried out, but they were also the main object of raiding expeditions as they could be abducted very quickly from foreign camps. So we may perhaps see from some of the terms used for vassal and noble Tuareg that the two classes originated from the meeting of two distinct [174]
cultures, a goat-breeding and a camel-breeding culture. And we have already seen that in the past the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar were in particular camel- [233]
breeders, the vassals breeders of goats and donkeys.

The Ahaggar Tuareg – in contrast to the Tuareg of Air – have traditions about 173
the origin of the class system. References to these traditions are common in liter- 565
ature (Benhazera 1908, p. 89ff. – Reygasse 1950, p. 88. – Foucauld 1951 – 52,
II, p. 533ff. – Lhote 1955, p. 213ff. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 99f.). There are in fact two conflicting traditions, but some Tuareg will nevertheless acknowledge both. It seems, however, as if one tradition had its origin among the nobility, the other among vassals. The tradition which originated in the noble class says that the dominant noble clans of Ahaggar had a woman named Ti-n-Hinan as their ancestress. She immigrated to Ahaggar from Tafilelt in Morocco together with her servant girl named Takama, who became the ancestress of the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The two women were both Islamic and belonged to the Beraber tribes. They found the country uninhabited except for the higher parts of the massif, where a pagan people named the Isebeten lived. This tradition

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar
Air



1947, p. 38f., phot. 15, p. 33, p. 117. – Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247ff. – Moberg 1927, photographs p. 229 & 257). Among the Southern Tuareg T-shaped posts are used in Air, where, according to my inquiries, they are found notably among the Kel Tedale, the Ikaskazan, and the Kel Fadei – Tuareg who have immigrated fairly recently from the North and are noble or predominantly noble by origin. Air tents with T-shaped posts are published by Lhote and Chudeau (Lhote 1947, fig. 4 p. 39, photo 50 p. 81. – Chudeau 1909, pl. VIII p. 62). T-shaped posts are also said to occur among the Kel Geres, and they are common in skin tents of the Kel Dinnik (Eastern Ioullemmeden) from where detailed descriptions are given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1938, p. 54ff.; 1950a, p. 153ff., p. VIII.). For other Southern Tuareg there seem to be no reliable information on the use of T-shaped posts in skin tents. 342 184

The central T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin tents may probably be considered as related to similar posts in certain black tents (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143). This is interesting particularly when viewed in connection with Feilberg's theory that there may perhaps be a certain connection between the black tent and the one-humped camel or dromedary because of approximately similar distributions, and because camels and black tents seem to have arrived in North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Feilberg 1944, p. 117, 225ff.) – a view which has also been accepted by Hatt (Hatt 1944–45, p. 260). Obviously a theory connecting camels and black tents in Northern Africa fits very well with our assumption that the camel was introduced to Ahaggar by noble Tuareg among whom we also find the use of central T-shaped posts characteristic of certain black tents. Accordingly we have to test two theories:– 1) The theory that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin-tents are in fact derived from similar constructions of black tents, and 2) the theory that camels and black tents are historically connected in Northern Africa. 171 342 233 174

I think it can be proved that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are derived from similar elements in black tents, and my arguments are the following:– 171 342

1) The Tuareg live in contact with Arab pastoralists who have black tents. It is stated in literature that black tents are common among the Northern Tuareg (Zeltner 1914, p. 364. – Campbell 1928, p. 247), but this is not correct. It is true, however, as already mentioned by Duveyrier, that black tents are used by some Northern Tuareg (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403f.). But as far as my knowledge goes they occur only among the northernmost Kel Ajjer, the Iforas clans, who belong to the religious Ineslemen class and by some Tuareg are claimed to be noble. Black tents seem to be used occasionally in the south by Tuareg who live in close contact with Arabs. But these Tuareg apparently use black tents only when travelling, and not in ordinary camps (Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). Black tents are thus adopted by a few Tuareg, and many Tuareg of the north and the south-west have contact with Arab and Moorish black tent dwellers. [648] [114]

2) The Iforas Tuareg just mentioned use T-shaped posts both in black tents

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



171 342 and in skin tents, and according to my investigations this is, or was, also the case of the Arab pastoral tribe Ouled Ba Hamou in Tidikelt.

3) In Northern Africa T-shaped posts are frequently found in permanent dwellings, but they are then solidly embedded in the ground, whereas in Tuareg skin tents and also in black tents they stand on the surface.

4) The use of skin for tents or other movable dwellings is no doubt of very great age (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144), while the T-shaped posts can be considered as belonging to a highly developed tent construction. To my mind there is a certain contrast in this, the more so as the posts or poles of other Tuareg skin tents are fixed in the ground.

5) Arab pastoralists now living in Tuareg countries frequently use Tuareg mat-covered huts and skin tents. Of particular interest is the type of skin tent used by the Deremchaka Arabs living among the Eastern Ioullemmeden (the Kel Dinnik). To support the sheet of skin sewn together these Arabs use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two oblique poles (Nicolas 1950a, p. 154). A similar or related construction is found in black tents of the Brakna Arabs (Caillié 1830, I, p. 130), and is common in black tents of Algeria including the northern parts of Algerian Sahara (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff.). And according to tradition the Deremchaka Arabs immigrated from these regions (Nicolas 1950a, p. 67ff.). There seems to be little doubt that the Deremchaka Arabs have adopted a mode of construction typical of certain black tents to the Tuareg skin tent, and there may perhaps be another example of this among the Southern Tuareg:– The Tuareg known as Kel Antassar in the region of Timbuktu frequently use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two central oblique posts to support their skin tents (Lhote 1947, p. 39, 101, 117). The Kel Antassar Tuareg are of religious status; [174] their presumed Arab origin (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 195. – Mohammed Said 1903, p. 210ff. – Richer 1924, p. 14) gives rise to the supposition that they formerly had black tents.

I think these five arguments support the theory that T-shaped posts are foreign to Tuareg skin tents while customary for black tents in use among certain Arabs of Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and Eastern Libya (cf. Laoust 1930, p. 209ff. – Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff., 146).

I shall now turn to the other theory to be tested, namely that there is a certain 171 relation between the camel and the black tent. This theory is not easy to prove. 233 The statement that camels and black tents have approximately the same distri- 342 butions is far from convincing even if we keep to their westernmost areas. In Northern Africa camel-breeders over large areas use other types of dwelling, and black tents are very common among settled and semi-nomadic people of the Atlas, where there are no camels. The distribution of the black tent in Africa (cf. Feilberg 171 1944, map. II) comes indeed very close to the distribution of Arabic-speaking 342 people, with the main exception that black tents in the Atlas and elsewhere in the 192 north are also used by Berbers. Laoust has proved that some of these northern

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Berbers and particularly those of Central Morocco use for their black tents and for important parts of their tents terms derived from Arabic (Laoust 1930, p. 168f., 227f.). [171] 342 [192]

We cannot disregard the possibility that black tents were known in Northern Africa before the first Arab invasion. But there can be little doubt that outside of the Atlas black tents are characteristic of Arabic-speaking people, and we seem to be on safe ground if we state that the Arabs are responsible for the present fairly large distribution of black tents in the desert regions between the Red Sea and the Atlantic. And the black tent may have been unknown to the Berbers before the Arab invasion. In connection with this I wish to quote the very eminent scholar Stéphane Gsell who states his opinion on the age of the black tent in Northern Africa as follows:– "Cependant elle s'est répandue tardivement chez les Berbères. Ce fut surtout après la conquête musulmane qu'ils l'adoptèrent, à l'exemple de leurs noveaux maîtres: au VIIIe siècle, un grand nombre d'entre eux avaient des tentes, semblables à celles des Arabes" (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 216. – cf. El Bekri p. 139). [174]

In discussing the theory of a connection between camels and black tents, our next task is concerned with the history of the camel. For although camels and black tents have different distributions they may nevertheless be historically connected and introduced together. 171 233 342

Much has already been written on the history of the camel. René Basset's theory that the camel was introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1905) is contrary to all historical information. For we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived, though it does not seem to be of very great age, contrary to Cauvet's statement (Cauvet 1925–26). Already Barth suggested that the camel came to North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3ff.), and this theory seems to be valid (cf. Gautier 1942, p. 190ff. – Walz 1951). 114 174 233

Gautier claims that there is a certain connection between the introduction of the camel and the immigration to North-Western Africa of Berber tribes known as the Zenata, who lived in the northern steppes and desert regions from Tripolitania to Western Algeria. According to Ibn Khaldoun quoted by Gautier the Zenata had many traits in common with the Arabs: they lived in tents, they were camel-breeders, and they rode on horseback (Gautier 1942, p. 217 ff., 227. – cf. Ibn Khaldoun III, p. 179). The theory that the camel was introduced by the Zenata is accepted by Feilberg, who thinks that these people may have introduced the black tent together with the camel (Feilberg 1944, p. 119f., 226).

A connection between the Zenata and the camel is extremely difficult to prove. Gautier's theories on North African history are frequently very hazardous and very contradictory. Thus in his book *La Passé de l'Afrique du Nord* we find the following statements about the introduction of the camel:– 1) "A tant de bienfaits Rome en a ajouté un dernier: elle a introduit le chameau, permettant ainsi la mise en

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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114 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc
● 174 légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale
233 qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau apparaissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe, il semble qu'au VII[e] siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227)

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chameliers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui fait leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the
175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the
101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions:
233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 168ff.).

It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature
175 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding
233 (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. – Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. – Leo Africanus p. 940f.). To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly
171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is
233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds apparently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415f. – Murray 1935, p. 92ff. – Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the
[177] true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black
[342] tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. – Herskovits 1926. – Kroll 1928). The common
[462] traits seem to be the following:– 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is
[825] done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their
[538] breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently characterised by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925-30, I-II).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925–30, I–II). 3) As mentioned (p. 113) camel's milk 171
is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain 234
Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly
also among the Kel Ajjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors
(Monteil 1952, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used [302]
for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East [262]
African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. 4) All Tuareg
and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf
to deceive the mother animal during milking – for camels like cows will not gener-
ally yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed
among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative 171
and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or but- 237
ter as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living 325
camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without [261]
water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab
pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently
in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. – Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom
may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which
forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and 171
difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the 233
wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these
wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of rid- [825]
ing camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means
to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg,
and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East Africa have the
same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as 171
among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks 233
cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some 422
of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the
Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection
with camel-breeding (Monteil 1952, p. 103).

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they 171
may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The 174
domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of 233
the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of 342
camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders
of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch
construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts 184
like those of Air are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullem- 342
meden, and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country – in particular
those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. – Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a,
p. 156f. – Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f., 597f., V, p. 201. – Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. –

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air
Ahaggar



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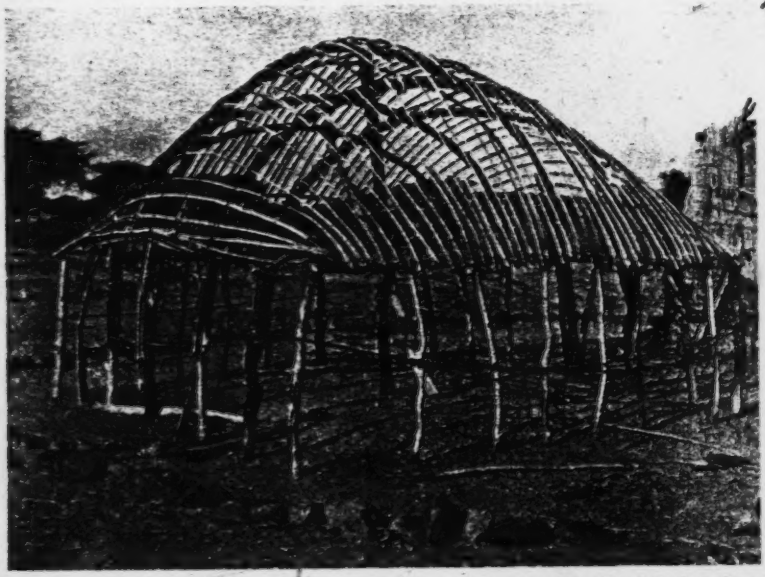

Fig. 14.–The skeleton of an arched mat-covered hut constructionally related to that shown fig. 13 but more elaborately and solidly built. The arches are made from lashed bundles of very slender sticks fastened to short poles embedded in the ground as is the heavy central post supporting the whole construction. – This type of hut is used among settled agriculturists of the Air villages, and is due to influence from pastoral Tuareg.

arched mat-covered tent, and the noble Kel Ferouan claim that they have never used any other type. The Western Ioullemmeden (Kel Ataram) use a skin tent consisting of three or four parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a horizontal crossbar (Lhote 1947, p. 85f., photographs 59–64). Gabus claims this dwelling as typical of the noble Tuareg (Gabus 1945, p. 15). I think that most probably it developed from a dwelling constructionally related to the arched mat-covered tent like that of Air. The common type of skin tent nowadays used in Ahaggar and Adrar-n-Iforas is of a somewhat related type (Lhote 1947, p. 42f., photographs 7–8, 11–13, 20–21.; 1955, p. 254ff. – Foley 1930, p. 12f., pl. IV, 6–7. – Briggs 1958, p. 92, fig. 36. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 103). It is apparently not possible to refer Tuareg arched tents exclusively to vassals, and it should be noted that in Tassili-n-Ajjer the dwelling typical of the vassal class is a straw hut constructionally related to a round house with conical roof (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 89, 104).

184 342 [565]

Finally I shall now return to our main problem, namely the history of Tuareg political systems. We have explained their origin from the meeting of two distinct cultures, and we have seen that in the past the noble class was connected with

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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
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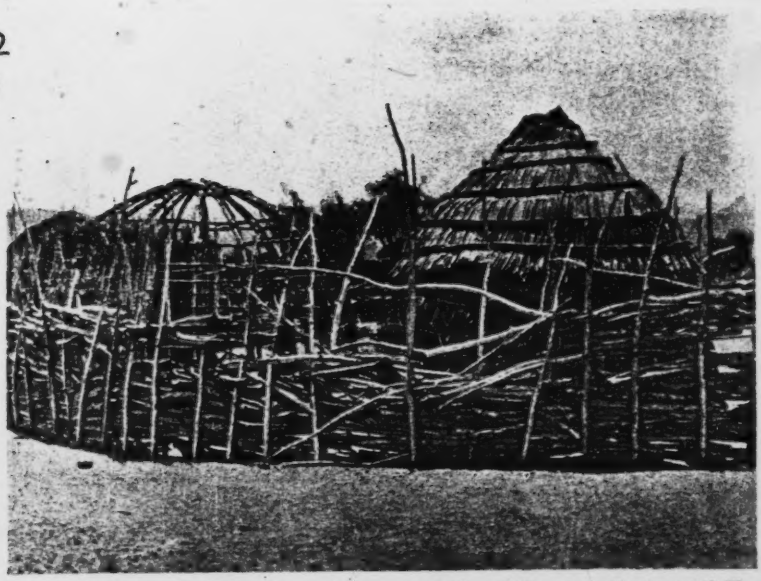

Fig. 15.–Beehive huts within a round enclosure at the village of Iferouan in Northern Air. The construction seen on this photograph consists of arches made from lashed bundles of slender sticks fastened to poles embedded in the ground. Horizontal sticks are fastened to the arches which are supported by a central forked post with a short crossbar placed on its top. For a detailed description of this construction see Foureau 1905, III, p. 885 f. Beehive huts in Air are also made from boughs embedded in the ground and tied together at the top without a central post.

174 camel-breeding. The camel is known to have been very common in Tripolitania
233 in the 4th century A.D. It was introduced to this region a few centuries before that time, and it was known in Egypt about the year 500 B.C. It is therefore probable that the camel was introduced into the Central Sahara even prior to the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. Camel-breeding seems to have certain traits in common with pastoral cow-breeding, and the oldest camel-breeders of Northern Africa may have lived in tents or huts of arch construction – most possibly in so-called barrel-vaulted dwellings, which appear to have been extremely common in Northern Africa throughout Antiquity (cf. Le Coeur 1937. – Feilberg 1944, p. 202 f.).

174 The T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are apparently historically related to similar posts of Arab black tents in Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and
[342] Eastern Libya. Considering the fact that T-shaped posts among the Northern
[565] Tuareg are claimed to be characteristic of the noble class, there may be a certain connection between noble Tuareg of the North and Arabs. I have mentioned above
[184] that in the North the term for noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, sing. *Ahaggar*) is different
[792] from the term used in other Tuareg groups (*Imacheren*, sing. *Amacher*). I have also

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



174 mentioned that the word *Ihaggaren (Ahaggar)* is perhaps derived from *Hoouara*, [192] which was a common term for certain Berber tribes particularly living in Tripolitania in the Middle Ages. According to Edrisi the Hoouara Berbers were originally Arabs who adopted Berber language (Edrisi p. 66 ff.). This is not proved by Ibn [114] Khaldoun's important work on the history of the Berbers. But Ibn Khaldoun states that the Hoouara came under Arab influence at a very early date, and some of the pastoral Hoouara people apparently migrated southwards to the desert at a later date than the Lemta (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275 ff.).

I think that the ancestors of the noble Tuareg introduced the camel into the Sahara. I think too that this may have happened before the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. But some of the dominating noble Tuareg have emigrated from Tripolitania after the Arabs have arrived. And it is probable that the political systems of the Tuareg already very early were influenced by the Arabs among whom a class system is found even nowadays as described from Cyrenaica by Evans-Pritchard. In that region there are client tribes known as *Marabtin alsaqan* 171 565 because they pay *sadaka*, a fee, to a free tribe for protection and for the privilege of using the earth and water. Some fragments of client tribes even to-day have a very inferior social position and are forced to make payments to, and to perform services for, the free tribes among whom they live (Evans-Pritchard 1949, p. 53).

The word *sadaqa*, a fee, is known to the Tuareg, and there are other Arabic 171 words connected with their political systems. Here I shall content myself with 192 reference to the word *khalifa* used among the Northern Tuareg for the deputies of a chief, and the very important word *effebel* meaning "drum", "drum-group", and in Air also "drum-chief". Ultimately the history of Tuareg political systems should 174 10 probably be viewed in connection with those of Arabs.

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172 /40 cont./ isolated gara /butte/, or on the slopes of a larger hill. One hardly ever sees them in the Ahaggar; the area in which these crescents are found extends toward the south of the central massif, beyond the large regs; a great many are found in the Adrar des Iforas and in the southern tassilis. It may be that they are manifestations of a civilization different from that of the central Ahaggar.

Oral Traditions

172 173 The Tuareg know that before their arrival a people called the Issabaten existed in the Ahaggar. These people had a social system /41/ of castes and were ignorant of the camel. The Issabaten were unintelligent, and their stupidity is still proverbial today. The Tuareg say that they never had any conflict with these gentle and calm beings. Some of the Issabaten, no doubt of a higher caste, must have been cleverer, for tradition still conserves the name of Amamellen and of his nephew Elias, who reputedly were the founders of rock art. These people had no religion -- this must be understood to mean that they were not Moslems.

No one has yet been able to translate the ancient inscriptions in tifinagh characters that are found rather frequently. The Tuareg maintain that the inscriptions are in a language different from their own, although written with the same characters; some Tuareg believe that the inscriptions are in code, with the letters transposed within the words, and that whoever is able to decipher them will learn where treasures are hidden.

172 174 It is certain that a civilization with paleolithic techniques existed in the Ahaggar during a humid period, probably at the edge of lakes or around the drainage basins into which the large wadis (Tanezrouft; Amded, Tamanrasset; Igharghar, Tin-Tarabin, In-Guezzam, Amadror, Thihodaïne, Tafassasset) emptied. There is every reason to believe that

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/41 cont. / the beings who peopled the Ahaggar at that epoch must have been of a Negroid race, similar in general characteristics to the people of Asselar. They were probably fishermen and hunters. Vegetation was abundant at the edges of the present-day wadis. A fauna composed of elephants, felines, giraffes, etc., reigned in the plains. The Atakor no doubt enjoyed a Mediterranean climate, but must not have been inhabited. It does not appear to be possible at this time to determine the duration of this period or to place it in time; it must have had some connection with the glacial periods in Europe.

During an interglacial period, the change to a dry climate gave the Ahaggar a desertlike character. The Negroid population, seeing its way of life upset, must have fled the Ahaggar to go south until it found conditions of existence suitable to it.

For a long while the Ahaggar remained uninhabited. /42/ The dryness continued, and the Sahara was a more terrible desert for man than it is today. Then came a period of great humidity, brought on by more regular Sudanese monsoons. The wadis flowed again, although not as heavily or as regularly as in the paleolithic epoch. One must imagine the Ahaggar with a climate scarcely different from that of today, but with regular annual rains which allowed a fauna of the savannah to move from pasture to pasture, from the northern to the southern tassilis. The Atakor retained something of its Mediterranean character, evolving toward the residual type one sees at the present time.

With conditions suitable for human life again realized in the Ahaggar, man returned to populate these regions. The new inhabitant of the Ahaggar possessed a civilization that he brought with him, no doubt from Upper Egypt. He was a cattle raiser, Negroid in type, clever at working and polishing stone; he knew how to cultivate cereals, and how to grind and cook them. The women, fat and often steatopygic,

172 /42 cont./ made pots decorated with line drawings. These
174 peoples, with a neolithic culture, could have come to the Ahaggar from the south and the east, but some groups could have come by way of the Igharghar Valley, driving their cattle before them. The tribal chiefs were aged men, masters of magic rites; they knew how to cast spells and used esoteric signs. Some were veritable artists in engraving and sculpture.

Later, there is reason to believe, white populations from Libya settled in the Ahaggar, bringing with them heliolithic customs from the Mediterranean shores, such as megalithic monuments, the sun and serpent cults, cranial deformation, the caste system. The paintings in the Tefedest clearly represent Negro shepherds, but the new paintings of the Takecherouel wadi show people of a white race, tall and thin.

Should we consider these whites to be the ancestors of the /43/ present-day Tuareg? It would be premature to think this, but they may have been the first wave of Berbers to come to the Ahaggar. Their exodus may have been remembered by the nomadic Berber tribes who, later, camel owners, fled for various reasons before Roman and Arab promiscuity, and rediscovered the route of the neolithic whites to the Ahaggar.

The chronology of the protohistory is difficult to establish. However, a certain number of documents on this period exist. In the first place, we have the results of archaeological research, from the excavation of pre-Islamic monuments, particularly that of Tin-Hinan (cf. the book by M. Reygasse on the pre-Islamic funerary monuments).

173 The Tuareg have a certain number of oral traditions concerning this period. On the other hand, the inscriptions from the "cameline" age give us only very sketchy information: the oldest are untranslatable, and the most recent offer very little of interest; they are limited to the expression of the admiration of a man for a woman, or to arranging rendezvous.

•174 /44 cont./ But the life of the Ahaggar soon was oriented toward the Sudan, from whence came the current of Islamization originating in Morocco. It is the Arab chroniclers, above all Ibn Khaldoun, who give us a view of the centuries troubled by incessant conflicts between the Negro kingdoms and the Tuareg, between the Tuareg and the Arabs, and between the different Tuareg tribes. Thanks to the genealogy of the noble families, recorded in oral traditions, a tentative chronology is possible.

The first Moslems probably came to preach in the Ahaggar toward the seventh or eighth century; they came from south Morocco and represented themselves to be Chorfa.

Continual wars raged between the Moslem Berbers and the Sonraï /Songhai/ of Gao, who controlled the Sudanese Sahel. After a series of successes and reverses, the Tuareg permanently installed themselves in the Ahaggar, the Adrar des Iforas, the Aïr, and the Tassili des Adjjer, mountainous, semi-desert regions where life is possible for nomads, where places of retreat are easy to defend, which make excellent bases for raids, and which constitute a zone of wells indispensable to caravans.

/45/ Beginning in the sixteenth century, the history of the Ahaggar is that of the struggle between rival tribes: a long enumeration of successful or unsuccessful raids, of assassinations of chiefs, of abductions.

The tribe which ruled the whole of the Tuareg from the beginning of the conversion to Islam was that of the Iménanes, of whom there are only a few descendants today. The Iménanes were Moroccan Chorfa. Toward the seventeenth century, the Iménanes were obliged to divide their lands and authority among the different, altogether too bellicose, Tuareg tribes. From this time dates the partition into the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, the Aïr, the Ajjers, and the Iforas.

The Kel Ahaggar emerged as a tribal confederation, ruled over by noble tribes, each of which had vassal tribes. Four

174 /45 cont./ more or less related noble tribes divided the lands of the Ahaggar. The Kel Rela claim to be descended from a Moroccan sherif; the Ta'ltoks are related to the Iménanes, therefore are Chorfa, but they are said to have crossed with the Negroes; those two tribes are the most important. The Ikadéiens were supposedly Berbers crossed with the Arabs of the Tidikelt; this tribe has hardly any descendants left today. The Tédjéhé Mellet have Chorfa blood; they were never very numerous and at present are represented by a small group of tents living in the Tefedest.

Constant anarchy reigned in this confederation. Assassinations led to a rapid turnover in leadership, and command was a dangerous game. The noble tribes divided the lands of the Ahaggar. The Kel Rela had the Atakor, the Tédjéhé Mellet had the Tefedest and the northern tassilis, the Ta'ltoks had the Ahnet and the southwest of the Ahaggar.

Since this partition, the genealogy of the Kel Rela is fairly accurately known. Kella, a noble Tuareg woman, transmitted the tobol (1) from mother to daughters. The two most

1. A sort of drum, symbol of command; by extension: the right to command.

important noble tribes, the Kel Rela and the Ta'ltoks, quarreled incessantly over rights of succession to the tobol, after marriages concluded in periods of friendship. Battles and alliances followed each other /46/ in confused fashion. When they were united, the Kel Ahaggar fought the Arabs of the Touat or the Negroes of the Sudan; when they fell out, they resumed their internal fights or attacked the Ajjers /Azjer/.

Pillaging or protecting the caravans, the Tuareg controlled the central and southern Sahara at the time the French sought to secure a liaison between Black Africa and Algeria. Even this common enemy scarcely succeeded in uniting the Tuareg.

565 /55/ An imrad tribe of the Tédjéhé Mellet, the Kel Ohet
[162 includes 80 Tuareg and 20 Negroes. It is allied to the Kel
563] In Tounine and has many dealings with the Ajjers. The tribe's
amrar is Habib ag Ouhaggarène. Its members nomadize in the
eastern Tefedest and own gardens at Ohet and Dehine. The
[65] tioussé formerly was four mezoued of dates, rope, and guerbas.

The Kel Terrourrirt are imrads of the Tédjéhé Mellet.
[162 Their tribe is not numerous: 62 Tuareg and six Negroes. They
563] are very poor. They camp in the Amguid region and in the
Tassili des Adjjer and possess several gardens at In-Amguel.
[65] The amrar is Hadj Mohamed ag Salah. They were paying
four mezoued of dates, four sheep, rope, and guerbas. They
trade with the Tidikelt.

The Ibardjien are not Issakamaren. They are imrads of the
[162] Kel Rela. It is a tribe destined to die out; there are only 24
left. They reside in the Tazrouk and Ideles region. They
were remarkable hunters of wild sheep and had dogs trained for
this practice.

The presence in the Ahaggar of former soldiers, most of
them Chaamba, must be noted. They marry Tuareg women,
found families, and raise their children in the Tuareg customs.
They are fairly numerous in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

## The Maalmines. Inaden

565 Within Tuareg society are found artisans called
463 "maalmines" in Arabic, but whose Tamashek name is "inaden."
The masculine singular is "inade;" plural, "inaden." The
feminine singular is "tinat;" plural, "tinadin."

The maalmines make up a tribe whose members almost
always marry among themselves. They are related to the
maalmines of the Iforas and of the A'ir. Although very black
skinned, they do not have negroid characteristics. The origin
[174] of the maalmines is as obscure as that of the Tuareg tribes;
some think /56/ they are Jews who were captured by the Tuareg

565 /56 cont. / and who over a period of time have adopted
463 Tuareg ways (their specialization and their character lend
174 credence to this theory). Some maalmines say that they came to the Ahaggar in the time of the sultan Goma, having been separated from the Idenan tribe of which they were members. Others claim to have always belonged to the Tuareg confederation.

565 In the Ahaggar the maalmines include 17 men, about 20
463 women, and about 40 children. They have ten iklan.

[162] The men are many-sided craftsmen, often clever and fairly artistic; in view of the material they have to work with and the tools at their disposal, one may say that they are remarkable. The women work leather with skill and art. The maalmines are not grouped in tribes but form small families scattered in every corner of the Ahaggar. When a tribe, noble or imrad, needs some work done, it sends for a craftsman and provides him with animals for transporting himself and his equipment. He lives with the tribe during the time necessary for his task and is provided for by the tribe. When the work is done he is paid, according to how satisfactory it is considered, in goats, millet, milk, butter, even camels, but there is no fixed rate paid to the maalmines by the Tuareg. There is a different arrangement when they work for the harratin, who, not being so noble as the Tuareg, would not know how to reward good work with the proper generosity. They are therefore charged the following rate: for one new
[435] hoe (made from an old oil drum): five guessa /dishes/ of wheat or millet; for four rivets put in an old hoe, one guessa of grain; for a new axe the price used to be a goat or five guessa, but since the advent of the black market there is no accurate quotation.

435 For making jewelry, there is a special price fixed by
565 custom, even for the Tuareg; thus for bracelets and earrings
463 the Targui furnishes, for example, ten pieces of silver necessary for making two bracelets; the maalem keeps five

565 /58 cont./ These freed men are no happier for their rise in the caste system, for this liberty is often synonymous with complete destitution.

The economic difficulties resulting from the prohibition of raiding have done more to suppress slavery than law and reason.

174 565 What is to be said on the historic origins of the harratin as an ethnic type? We have already seen that there are two types of harratin.

The former Tuareg slaves are probably originally from the Sudan and the Niger, where they were bought or captured in raids.

The harratin from the Touat and the Tidikelt may have the same origin as the others, but one cannot dismiss the theory that they are descendants, more or less pure, /59/ of an ancient negroid people of the Sahara (1).

1. In this connection, it is useful to read the articles published in the Bulletins de liaison saharienne at Algiers. These were prepared by professors of the University of Algiers and by all the important persons who, in different capacities, have worked in the Sahara. (Editor: Commander Ferry. Administration of the Territories of the South: Government General of Algeria).

565 241 The harratin constitute a most interesting social element in the Ahaggar, because it is they who cultivate the rare productive plots and who furnish the workmen: masons, carpenters, and manual laborers. If they appear at first sight

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



13 would emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically a certain dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

144 At present both fair-skinned europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara,
174 and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most Negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern Negroes in the Fezzan constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the ancestors of the present Negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all Negroes of Ahaggar were apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid *Ḥarratin* then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. Another immigration of predominantly black-skinned and negroid agriculturists came from Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Ġanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the *Ḥarratin*. – Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Ayr by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Ayr originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese in regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Ayr were Negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that, before the Tuareg, Ayr was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45; Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Ayr* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the Massif, to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations seem to confirm these statements. All Tuareg
173 questioned about the history of Ayr have admitted that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the
192 country before the Tuareg, and in the Berber dialect spoken by these people there are a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of the *Kel Ewey*
601 group is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg and related to the
164 system is use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (Figs. 293–294).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



food or to sell them when they are five years old. Many rams are killed or sold at a younger age, and male lambs are frequently killed when half-grown, but the Tuareg do not kill very young lambs. 233*

It is well known from literature that pastoralists of Tibet use sheep as beasts of burden (several authorities; cf. Bell 1928, p. 116; Hermanns 1949, p. 84). Among the Tuareg sheep are not used for this purpose, but I have seen herdsmen attach their empty water bags to the belly of rams, which are very tall, strong animals. [492]

## CATTLE

The oldest African cattle is believed to have been a type of the *Bos primigenius* breed characterized by comparatively long horns. This breed was known in Ancient Egypt, and also in Prehistoric Sahara, where its former existence is documented by numerous rock engravings (cf. Monod 1932; Gautier 1908; Lhote 1955a, 1958; Erman 1922; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 142 f.). It seems as if cattle of this particular type was found in parts of North Africa even in antiquity (Bates 1914, p. 95 f.), and we can adequately quote Faulkner & Epstein on the former distribution of humpless longhorn cattle in the north: "All along the shores of the Mediterranean, from Palestine through Egypt to North West Africa, and from Asia Minor through the Balkans to the Appenine and Iberian peninsulas, an ancient stratum of longhorn cattle can be traced, extending to the north and south as far as Mediterranean man or his culture spread" (Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 143). *Bos primigenius* cattle are still found in certain parts of Africa. It is known in isolated regions of the Western Sudan – notably in Guinea and Liberia (cf. Doutressoulle 1947, p. 79 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 87 ff.; Johsi, McLaughlin & Phillips 1957, p. 118 ff.). It is perhaps this breed to which Maqrizi refers in his description of the Beja (Maqrizi, p. 561). The very special thick-horned Lake Tchad breed is probably to be considered a *Bos primigenius* type (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 88 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, 233* 174 233* 171

233*

Fig. 26. Young ram of the hairy *Ovis longipes* breed. Ahaggar.

[text continues on p. 49]

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p. 93 ff.), and this seems to be true partly also of the so-called Watusi-cattle and related breeds, which have been mixed with zebu-cattle and therefore frequently have well developed humps (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 10 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 148 ff.; Johsi, McLaughlin & Phillips 1957, p. 146, 178, 259).

Adametz believes that zebus were introduced into Africa from Northern India about 2000 B.C. (Adametz 1920, p. 10 ff.). Nowadays Zebus no doubt form the most important types of cattle in Africa, and Tuareg cattle are of the zebu type. The West African zebus fall into a number of sub-breeds described in detail by Doutressoulle. The zebu type found in Ayr and adjacent regions and also introduced into Northern Tuareg country is known as the *Azawar* breed (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 102 ff.). In Southern Ayr, which nowadays has a fairly large population of pastoral Fulani, a particular type of zebu is also very common. This zebu is characterized by very high stature and extremely long horns often resembling the form of a lyre (Fig. 27). This breed is named Borodji, Bororo, or M'Bororo. The Fulani zebu is esteemed by certain Ayr Tuareg because of its fatter milk, but it is claimed that its meat is not so delicious as that of their own cattle.

Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer do not breed cattle (zebus), which do not thrive in their barren countries where pastures of annual plants do not regenerate annually. An attempt to breed zebus among the pastoral Ahaggar Tuareg some years ago failed, and zebus are nowadays found only among settled agriculturists who use these animals as draught-animals at irrigation wells (p. 189; Fig. 132 a–b). A few agriculturists also have cows to raise calves, and to utilize their milk. It is comparatively easy for settled agriculturists of Ahaggar to keep cattle. In dry years, and when pasture is scarce and dry in the hot season, cattle can be fed on vegetables and the straw of certain plants grown in the garden. It can also be mentioned that many agriculturists live in the very broad river valleys of lower Ahaggar where water is not very deep under the sand, and at some agricultural settlements there are even permanent springs. In such places (e.g., the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel) there are even in dry years fresh grazing of a few permanent plants suited to cattle, notably the four following species:— *tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*), *tésengelt* (*Saccharum Ravennae*), *ilegga* (sing. *aleggi*) (*Scirpus Holoschoenus*), and *taysest* (*Eragrostis bipinnata*). The regeneration of these plants is not dependent upon annual rainfall, for the soil is always sufficiently humid for their annual regeneration. Therefore it is very common in Ahaggar (e.g., at Abalessa and at Amsel) to burn down the old dry plants late in winter so that new fresh plants can germinate in spring. This method of renewing pasture by the burning down of old dry plants is not generally possible in desert countries. In Ahaggar it is practised only for the four above mentioned species within very limited humid areas, and the method is said to be entirely unknown in Ayr.

The Ahaggar agriculturists who possess oxen very frequently use these animals for riding, sitting on the hind part of the animals which are kept under control by means of a rein (*tazerkit*) placed through their nostrils, or by means of a halter. No saddle is used apart from a casual piece of cotton, or a blanket (Fig. 28). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer, it is said, the settled farmers have no cows but only bulls and oxen to be used at irrigation wells, and these animals are not used for riding as in Ahaggar.

The zebus found in the settlements of northern agriculturists are all introduced from the south where conditions for ox-breeding are much more favourable. Many, and perhaps most, northern zebus have come from Ayr from which region they are still introduced to Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

household goods during nomadic migrations, and are employed daily in all camps to carry water in skin-bags from wells and waterholes to the tents. They are very strong animals considering their low stature, and good pack-donkeys can carry up to one hundred kilograms even for very long trips. Donkeys are occasionally used for long journeys by the Northern Tuareg, and many Ayr Tuareg use them to fetch provisions of millet around Tanut in Damergu. Caravans of donkeys are frequently observed in these regions, and one even sees mixed caravans of donkeys and camels. There can be no doubt that before the introduction of the camel the donkey was still more important for riding and transportation than is the case nowadays. This is clearly demonstrated by historical material from Egypt and adjacent regions (cf. Erman 1922, p. 518 f., 529, 592 f., 636).

It has already been mentioned that donkey's meat and skin are not utilized nowadays by the Tuareg. The same is true of mare's milk which, however, is used as a remedy against a kind of cough known to the Ayr Tuareg as *khamkham*. There is no regulation of mating for donkeys which in many ways are semi-domesticated animals. In Ayr male donkeys are never castrated, while the Ahaggar Tuareg say they castrate such stallions as constantly run after the mares and in this way cause too much trouble. The Tuareg also have no methods to prevent foals from sucking, while a method of this kind is sometimes applied by sedentary people in and around Agadez. This method known as *éfinjar* consists in the cutting of the nostrils of half-grown foals so that they cannot suck pregnant mares. Both stallions and mares are used for riding and transportation, but female animals are much preferred for these purposes. Mares are used almost exclusively for the transportation of water-bags hanging under the animals, as the bags might be squirted by stallions' urine.

The Northern Tuareg saddle their donkeys, using the same saddle type for riding and for transportation (Fig. 86). This is known as *aruku* and is manufactured by the women in the following way:— Two fresh boughs of the *tahunek*-tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) are heated, or slightly burned, over the fire. The boughs are thereupon barked and bent into the curved form wanted, and are then kept in this position by cords. After drying for a few days the boughs will retain their curved form, and the cords are untied. The boughs are then cut up and their ends are connected by two pieces of camel's hide soaked in water, and sewn together by means of a large iron needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (cf. Fig. 220b) and a thread which is also cut from camel's hide. The wooden saddle frame is attached to three cushions. These cushions are generally made of goat-skin or sheep-skin stuffed with hay or with date palm bast, but may also be plaited from leaves of the date palm tree. Cushions made from goat-skin are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of the little awl known as *tistent* (cf. Fig. 218a). The two long cushions resting lengthwise upon the animals back are known as *tastek*, and the small cushion resting over the animal's back close to its shoulders is called *tafelledut*. The saddle is fixed to the donkey by two girths consisting of cords made of goat-hair. One of these cords (*tidmechart*) passes under the tail, the other (*ahayif*) is tied around the chest of the animal. This saddle type is well fitted for the transportation of burdens and in particular of water-bags, the cords of which are attached to the pommels. When the saddle is used for riding it is frequently covered with a blanket or a piece of cloth. Saddles of this type are found in all camps of the Northern Tuareg, and Lhote states that they are also found in Adrar-n-Foras and in Ayr (Lhote 1947a, p. 120). This may be so but I have myself never seen them in the latter region where they are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan*

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Fig. 88. Riding saddle of the type manufactured at Agadez and used by horse-riding Tuareg and Negroes in Ayr and further south. Note the very narrow stirrups which are often used for the insertion of only one or two toes. (Musée de l'homme, Collection Henri Lhote, 38/617).

231 there are perhaps less than ten horses which are all owned by sedentary people (blacksmiths and
[563] Arabs). Conditions for horse-breeding are better in Ayr, but even there pastoral Tuareg do not generally breed horses which for a large part of the year must be fed on barley, millet, or on milk. In Ayr,
[563] horses are mainly bred by sedentary Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group and by the negroid citizens of Agadez who hold horses in very great esteem. There are perhaps 100–200 horses in and around Agadez, where the animals are kept in or at the houses most of the year to be fed on cereals and on hay of annual grasses cut with a sickle (cf. Fig. 143 f). During the period of *akasa* it is common to let the
*492 animals graze on annual pasture., and they are then very tightly hobbled. The Ayr peoples use a bit
[171] (*ayaba*) (Fig. 89) similar to the type used by Arabs in the North, but their saddles are not of the general Arab type (cf. Fig. 88). The very broad Arab stirrups also seem to be unknown to the *Kel Ayr* and to the *Kel Gerez*, who have many horses. The stirrups used by horse-riding Tuareg are generally very thin and slender, and they are frequently used for the insertion of only one or two toes.
[113] The riding-gear used by the *Kel Ayr* (including the *Imeggedezen*) and the *Kel Gerez* is described in detail in literature (cf. Foureau 1905, III, p. 879 ff. & 921 ff.). This is very complete, and was, perhaps,
[175] introduced fairly recently, for we know that the Libyans of Antiquity rode without a saddle and governed their horses mainly by means of a stick (Bates 1941, p. 96 f.), and we are informed by Ibn Batutah that in the Middles Ages the people of Ayr rode without saddles (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 442).
231 The history of the horse in Africa constitutes a very important problem. It is generally admitted
● 174

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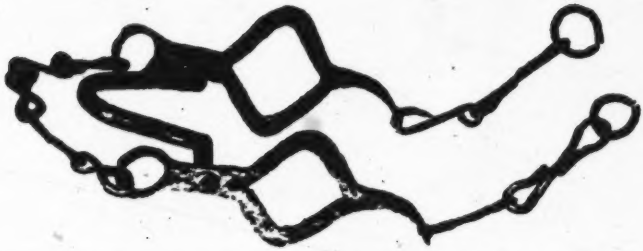

Fig. 89. Horse bit of iron. Made by blacksmith of Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: ca. 0.11 m broad. (N.M. G. 6667).

that the horse was introduced to Egypt with the Hyksos invasion about 1700 B.C. From Egypt it 231
spread to other African peoples, and it was common among the Libyans during the reign of Rameses 174
III (about 1200 B.C.). This first horse-breed introduced among the North African Berbers seems to have been of the pony type (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96 f.; Adametz 1920, p. 46 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 284) which is still represented in Africa. I believe that the so-called Togo-pony which is found in scattered and isolated parts of the Western Sudan belongs to the old pony-breed, though this theory is not accepted by Doutressoulle on the ground that such ponies are not found nowadays in North Africa and Egypt (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238). Doutressoulle has made a detailed study of the horse-breeds 231
of the area formerly known as French West-Africa. Apart from the pony-type just mentioned above, 171
there are three main types:— (1) the *Aryen type* known in Ayr as the Begzen horse. It is an Arab breed [114]
introduced from the North – from Tripolis according to tradition. Horses of this type are found scattered throughout Ayr, Adɹaɹ-n-Foɹas, and Hodh. (2) the *Barbe type* found mainly among the Moors west of Timbuktu. (3) *the Dongolawi type* mainly found to the east of the Niger (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 237 ff.).

Horses become valuable riding animals to many Tuareg living in the true savannah country. The 492*
*Kel Geres* Tuareg use horses for short riding trips though they prefer camels for riding on long journeys. They claim horses of the Begzen breed to be the very best riding animal. In the remote past when the 492*
horse was introduced into North Africa and the Sahara, horses may have been important also to 174
Libyans and Tuareg living further north in the desert, where the climate may then have been more favourable to horse-breeding than it is in modern times. Lhote has studied the ancient rock-pictures representing horses, horse-riders, and horse-drawn waggons in the Sahara, and he ascribes to the horse very great importance for the opening up of the desert country and invasions into these regions by fair-skinned Berbers (cf. Lhote 1953a). This theory is perhaps supported by the fact that the Ahaggar [192]
Tuareg though they do not breed horses have a fairly extensive vocabulary connected with horses and horse-breeding. Briggs states as his opinion that horses were probably never common in the Sahara (Briggs 1960, p. 21). This, of course, we cannot know, but it seems safe to say that in the Sahara the horse has never had the same economic value as the camel later has had.

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp. Colour-terms are also used for dogs, and I have heard one Tuareg boy claim that he preferred dogs that were black and white. Adult people in general treat dogs differently, and they are frequently cruel to them, which may be due to Islamic influence which is on the increase among the Tuareg. Though the Tuareg may be cruel to their dogs they acknowledge that they are very "wise and intelligent". They say that the dogs are much like humans with the exception that they cannot speak. Therefore they should also be fed like humans, and they are given millet-porridge – with milk if the yield is abundant. The Tuareg kill their old and superfluous dogs by hanging them from a tree in a noosed rope, and they consider this method very effective.

## CATS

The domestic cat is found in many Tuareg camps. It is generally termed *muchch* which is Arabic by origin. I believe that domestic cats have been introduced to Tuareg countries later than the Arab invasions and that they have been introduced by the Arabs. This is in agreement with Lagercrantz's statement that domestic cats in most parts of North Africa outside of Egypt are post-Arabian (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 65). Cats are allowed to live in tents and huts, and are well treated as among the Arabs. The Tuareg keep cats not only for pets to their children, but they much like to have them in their camps as cats catch numerous scorpions and also attack snakes.

Among sedentary people of Ahaggar and particularly at Tamanṛaset the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, or *tékenisit*) is sometimes kept in the house or within the courtyard as it hunts beetles and scorpions during the night. This custom of keeping tame hedgehogs is no doubt recently adopted from Europeans living at Tamanṛaset.

Fig. 91. A true greyhound (*oska*) patted by a negroid agriculturist of the *Kel Ganet*. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Uraṛen* tribe.

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## DOMESTIC BIRDS

235 Many sedentary people within Tuareg countries breed fowls of which a few may also be found in pastoral camps of the Ayr Tuareg, though fowls seem to be of very little use to them. For the hens kept by pastoralists do not hatch out their eggs, and these are not always found by the Tuareg. I think that most pastoralists of Ayr keep fowls mainly because they like to have them walking around the camp, and I believe that their owners in general are children. Domestic guinea fowls are bred by some sedentary people of Agadez, and young Tuareg who find a guinea fowl chicken in the bush may even take it to the camp to keep it as a pet. In Ahaggar there are no fowls among pastoralists, many of whom will refuse to eat fowls and their eggs (cf. p. 162). [262]

Domestic pigeons are bred by some sedentary people living within Tuareg countries. I believe that they have been introduced by the Arabs – in accordance with the theory advanced by Stuhlmann and Lagercrantz (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 74). [174]

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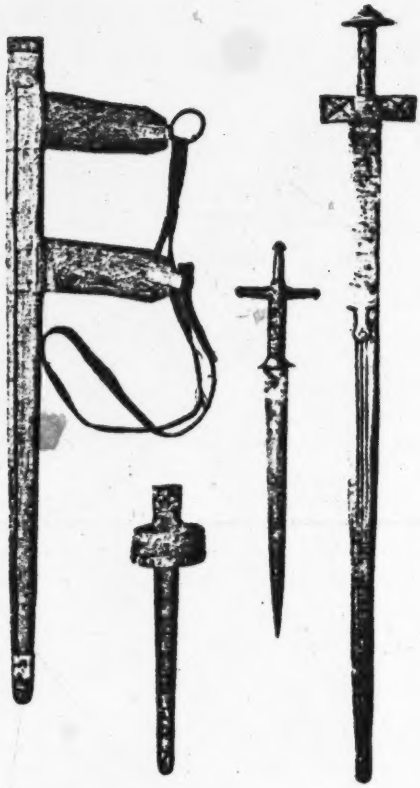

Fig. 121 a–b. Tuareg sword and dagger from Ahaggar.
a. Sword (*takuba*). Dimension: 0.925 m. (N.M. G. 1.141).
b. The so-called arm-dagger (*téléḳ*). Dimension: 0.475 m. (N.M. G. 1.145).
Olufsen's Collection.

adult people, though bow and arrows like those depicted Fig. 119 are in general use among the Hausa 411
and the Fulani within the territory inhabited by the Ayr Tuareg. It is very possible that bow and arrows
were used as weapons among the Tuareg in the past when fire-arms were uncommon. This is claimed [174]
by certain older authorities, but it seems as if the weapons were manufactured in Damergu south of
Ayr where the bow is traditionally used by negroid peoples (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 445, pl. XXV,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*énélé*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
173 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers
[563] though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of
162 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isaweren*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
563 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
433 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
245 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
221
463 Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
162 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula-
144 tion that subsisted on agriculture.
433
[174]

# Crafts

Tuareg crafts clearly disclose traits belonging to distinct cultural levels. This may be seen from a brief description of the methods of fire-making. 372 [179]

Matches are in ordinary use nowadays, but they are used economically not only because they cost money but also because many Tuareg live far away from towns or trading posts where matches can be obtained. [439] The embers of a fire smoulder for a very long time, and when the Tuareg want to light a fire they normally find embers under the ashes where their fire has been. Glowing wood is carried from one tent to another on a fragment of calabashes or earthen pots, and some Tuareg even take fire with them in this way during nomadic migrations. If a new fire has to be lit and matches are not available, most Tuareg use the well-known method of fire-making by means of flint and steel. This method is widely resorted to in Northern Africa even to-day, and is practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar as follows:— The curved piece of steel (*énefed*) is placed over the three middle fingers of the right hand. It is struck against a small piece of flint (*tafarast*) held between the first and second fingers of the left hand together with a small piece of lighting material which may be a small piece of cotton cloth. However, the best lighting material (*tajjert*) is a piece of wood of *tefèryast* (*Echinops Bovei*), which has been boiled and thereupon beaten into a fibrous mass with a stone. The Tuareg keep this lighting material in a particular leather bag (*tarallabt*) together with the steel and one or two pieces of flint (Fig. 198). Lighting material according to Maire is also made from a plant named *térahit* (*Traganum nudatum*) (Maire 1933, p. 82). The spark produced by striking the steel against the flint causes the lighting material to glow, and after blowing on it or swinging it in the air, it is placed under a small bunch of hay which burst into flame after further heavy blowing. The use of flint and steel is not a very difficult method of fire-making, and I have used it myself on journeys when matches had come to an end. [121] [324] [415] [324]

The Tuareg do not generally use more primitive methods of fire-making nowadays. But they know an ancient method of making fire by rubbing a piece of hard wood (*agar* in Ahaggar, *agar* in Ayr; *Maerua crassifolia*) against a piece of soft wood (*turha* in Ahaggar, *turza* in Ayr; *Calotropis procera*). By this process they produce by hand rubbing a glowing dust which is brought into flame by means of lighting material and hay as described above. One of my informants among the Ayr Tuareg had produced fire according to this method. Lhote states that the method is at times used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar, where the hard ribs of date palm leaves are also used for starting a fire by rubbing (Lhote 1955a, p. 258). [324]

Stone materials play a very little part in Tuareg crafts. Natural stones are used occasionally as 412 [324]

[p. 255]

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Fig. 228a–c.

a. A cylindrical hollowed piece of wood covered with leather. It is known as *tafendit* and serves to contain antimony (*tazult*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m long. (N.M. G. 5875).

[824]* b. Cylindrical brass tube covered with ornamented leather. It is known as *faralu wa n tuka* and serves for the conservation of *tuka*, that is ashes of burned *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ashes of this grass are used by some Tuareg for chewing tobacco. It is said in Ahaggar that containers of this type are made exclusively by noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe, and that the containers should be worn only by noble Tuareg and not by vassals. The brass tube is always made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.265 m long (total length). (N.M. G. 5888).
[276]
[462]
[563]

c. A piece of cane covered with coloured leather and fringes of the same material. It is called *tafendit* and serves for the conservation of *tazult* (antimony). Ahaggar, the *Aghh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.116 m. (N.M. G. 5267).

386 the south, or are obtained from plants grown by sedentary agriculturists. The technique of skin dyeing
[281] as practised by the Tuareg nowadays cannot be considered an ancient one in Tuareg culture. Its
[174] origin is probably to be looked for in the more developed civilizations of Northern Africa, and not in a nomadic culture like that of the Tuareg. Other dyeing methods known to the Tuareg may well be very ancient. I believe this to be true of the red ochre known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tamegkoyt*,

[text continues on p. 286]

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are also very akin to the Tuareg in culture, but have preserved some Arab traits of material culture and their traditional social organization in addition to their language, though they also know *tamachek*. We are here concerned only with traits adopted into Tuareg culture from contact with the Arabs.

In the description of Tuareg culture I have already pointed out many cultural traits due to Arab influence. I have mentioned such traits in connection with food-preparation (p. 232, 237 ff, 247 ff) and dress (p. 303 f.). I have also mentioned the introduction of cultivation methods and cultivated plants owing to contact with Arabs and the Arabic-speaking *Harratin* (p. 186 ff.), and I have stated that it seems as if new types or new breeds of domestic animals were introduced to North Africa by the invading Arabs. Cats and domestic pigeons seem to be post-Arabian in the Sahara (p. 115 f.), the true grey-hound came to Tuareg country with the Arabs, who also introduced the particular horse-breed known as the *Aryen* type (p. 113). Doutressoulle relates a native tradition to the effect that this breed came to the Begzen Mountains with Arabs of Tripolitania (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238 f., 242). Horses of this breed are introduced to Ayr from the north even to-day, but as far as I know the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* do not use the Arab type of saddle or the very broad stirrups typical of the northern horse-riding Arabs. They generally use very narrow stirrups for the insertion of one or two toes. These stirrups were possibly introduced to the Western Sudan with the Dongolawi breed. It came from Upper Egypt at the end for the 13th century A.D. when the *Djoheyna* Arabs immigrated (Mauny 1961, p. 283).

I have mentioned above (p. 54 ff.) that there are two main types of camels among the Northern Tuareg:— (1) a northern Arab breed (*marroki*) characterized by heavy stature and a thick covering of wool, and (2) a southern breed more slenderly built and with little or no wool – a breed which is typical to the Tuareg. Medieval Arab authors have stated that the Tuareg possessed camels of a particular breed well fitted for riding (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 70, 105; Edrisi, p. 11, 67 f., 144 f.; Leo Africanus p. 940 f.). The division of camels into two distinct types of the above characteristics can be traced elsewhere in Northern Africa, where the heavy woolly breed is found mainly in the north and particularly among Arabs, while the slender non-woolly breed is common among such pastoralists as the Tuareg, the Moors of Mauretania (who are largely of Tuareg stock and have a great many Berber words in their camel vocabulary, according to Monteil 1952), the Tebu, and the Beja tribes around the Nile (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 79 ff.; Doutressoulle 1947, p. 272 ff.; Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415 f.; Murray 1935, p. 92 ff.). The distinction between the two main types cannot apparently be explained by the different environmental conditions, for they frequently live within the same type of environment, and the northern *marroki* type is found particularly among Arabs, and not only among the Arabs of the northern desert. *Marroki*-like camels seem to exist among such Arab tribes as the *Kunta* and the *Berabich* north of the Niger Bend in the Azawad desert (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 273), among the camel-breeding Arabs of the Lake Tchad region, and among Arab pastoralists of the former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan – particularly among the Kababish (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 80 ff., 83 f.). There seem to be little doubt that the *marroki* camel came to North Africa with the Arabs and it is then natural to investigate whether they also introduced particular cultural traits connected with camel-breeding. It is relatively easy to take up such an investigation with reference to particular saddle types, because they are frequently described and depicted in literature.

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492 171 an ancient North African custom. It is the method generally applied by the Tuareg and those Northern Arabs who use saddles of the *térik* or *tahyast* types; it is also practiced among the Moors of Mauretania (cf. Monteil 1952, Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129), and is known to the Tebu (Cline 1950, p. 34). It would appear that the use of nostril rings for riding camels has much the same distribution in North Africa as have saddles of *térik* or *tahyast* types including the Moorish saddle, which is also placed in front of the animal's hump.

The Tuareg halter made of iron or metal shackles and used in connection with the nostril ring so that the camel is controlled by means of a double rein (*akeskabbu*; cf. p. 73, Fig. 50–52), is perhaps a combination of two originally different systems, for the Tebu use this peculiar halter without any attachment to a nostril ring, the camel being controlled by a single rein combined with the halter (cf. Le Coeur 1950, p. 133, pl. XXIX Figs. 111–112 & Cline 1950, p. 34).

136 174 114 Much has been written on the history of the camel in North Africa, and I do not want to take up this question in great detail as I can add very little to what is already known. René Basset's theory that the camel was first introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1907) is contrary to all historical information, for we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived. Contemporary with Basset it was pointed out by Flammand, that skeletal remains of camels from North Africa proved the exsistence of these animals as early as "les temps quaternaire moyens" (Flammand 1907). But while Flammand states that the camel disappeared with a more humid climate, Cauvet later tried to substantiate the theory that the camel did not disappear, but continued to exist further south in Africa. Thus, he claims, the southern camel-breed descends from the ancient camel found in Africa even during the mio-pliocene of the tertiary period, while the northern breed was introduced by the Arabs (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 15 ff.). I can agree with Cauvet's latter statement regarding a connection between northern camels and the Arabs, but his theory of the existence of the one-humped camel in Africa since tertiary time is most difficult to accept. The camel breed which existed in Africa prior to the Arab invasions was no doubt comparatively recently introduced from Asia. Barth pointed out that the camel came to North-western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3 ff.). This theory has later been supported by many scholars, notably by Gautier (Gautier 1928,, p. 99 f., ed. 1946, p. 129 ff.; 1942, p. 190 ff.). Quite recently the various problems connected with the history of the camel in North Africa have been re-examined by Walz. He largely accepts Barth's theory of its introduction in antiquity, but also points out that the camel, which seems to appear in Egypt about 500 B.C. or somewhat earlier, may have been introduced to southern parts of Africa via the Bab-el-Mandeb Straits at an earlier date (Walz 1951, p. 29–51; 1954, p. 45–87).

Gautier states that the Romans had a certain responsibility for the introduction of the camel into North-Africa, though he also claims that it was introduced by the Berber-speaking *Zenata* tribes (Gautier 1942, p. 209 f., 227). It is to be doubted that the Romans introduced the camel into North-Africa, and on the whole it seems as if the Romans have influenced Tuareg culture very slightly. It is difficult to point to any definite traits of material culture taken over from the Romans, though Foucauld states that certain lamps of Roman form are found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1399). A fair number of Latin words can be proved to exist in Tuareg dialects. This fact is

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frequently referred to in books, and some authors have taken certain linguistic Roman traits as a proof that the Tuareg have once been Christians. But as stated by Lhote, the Latin words adopted in the Tuareg language cannot by themselves prove an ancient Tuareg Christianity, though they do indicate that the ancient Tuareg have had direct or indirect contact with Christians (Lhote 1955a, p. 346). We know that Christianity had a fixed position among many Berbers of North-Africa (cf. Ibn Khaldun I, p. 177, 207, 209 & Leo Africanus I, p. 163), and there seem to have lived Christian Berbers more than a hundred years after the introduction of Islam into Morocco, where certain Berbers near Fez still remember Sunday as a day of rest (cf. Westermarck 1926, I, p. 13 f.). As to the Tuareg we do not know whether some of them have been Christians, but Ibn Khaldun states that the great western division of *Sanhaja* Tuareg never adopted Christianity (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 212).

The Phoenicians occupied a limited area of the North African coast where they remained from about 1200 B.C. until the end of the third Punic War in the year 146 B.C. Over this long period they apparently did much to change North African Berber cultures. They introduced the use of iron and bronze, new cultivation methods of wine and olive, and did much to open up North Africa to Mediterranean influences, which also penetrated into the country of the Berber chiefs (cf. Gsell 1920–28, IV, p. 18 ff., 74 ff.; Despois 1949, p. 177 ff.; Mauny 1952, p. 577). However, it does not seem that true Phoenician elements can be proved to exist among the Tuareg. Further back in time true historical knowledge stops, but Aegean influences seem to have been in Tunis before the Phoenicians (Gsell 1920–28, I, p. 347; Despois 1949, p. 117).

## TUAREG CULTURE AND AFRICAN CULTURE COMPLEXES

So-called historical anthropology was from its very beginning closely connected with studies of African cultures. It was inaugurated by Friedrich Ratzel as a reaction against Adolf Bastian's evolutionary theories. Ratzel pointed out that certain weapons were found in identical form in Africa, Asia, and Oceania and he claimed that this could be explained only from the assumption that a historical relationship existed between them. Already in his study of the African bow Ratzel gave as his opinion that "Fast ganz Afrika erscheint uns zuletzt als ein einziges grosses Gebiet mehr oder weniger abgeschwächter asiatischer Anklänge" (Ratzel 1891, p. 333).

Ratzel had many followers who took up distributional studies of cultural traits in Africa and adjacent regions. Important investigations were made by such scholars as Schurtz and Weule, and by Leo Frobenius, who established a particular West African culture complex, which he claimed was historically related to similar compilations of culture traits in Indonesia and Melanesia (Frobenius 1898a). It is remarkable that Frobenius very soon abandoned this method of historical reconstruction though he invented it himself. However, the concept of world-embracing culture complexes disappeared, only to emerge again in a modified form a few years later (1904), when the two German scholars F. Graebner and B. Ankermann compared their studies in Oceania and Africa to establish for these areas culture complexes which they claimed to be historically related (Graebner & Ankermann 1905). The principal supporter of this theory was Graebner, who deepened his methodological

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by means of a tongue inserted in the wooden handle, but the digging stick is also known. The typical /2/ type of dwelling is the cylindrical house with a conical roof.

(6) *The Young Sudanese Culture*. This is largely identical with the *North Erytrean Culture* established by Frobenius. Its main area of distribution lies between the Senegal River and the Red Sea around Ethiopia, and its culture elements derive from Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and above all from India. It is attached to state organization characterized by divine kingship, and many traits of highly-developed techniques in crafts are particularly attached to the royal court. It is a most refined culture in comparison with the above mentioned *Old Sudanese Culture*. Its original foundation was perhaps a developed agricultural technique based on artificial irrigation, manuring, and the terracing of fields. Certain agricultural implements are also characteristic of this culture complex, notably the socket-shafted hoe and other implements hafted in this way, the sickle, particular knives for rice-harvesting, and crescent-shaped spades. Megalithic monuments are perhaps also peculiar to this culture.

(7) *The Rhodesian Culture*. This is largely identical with the *South Erytrean Culture* established by Frobenius, and has many traits in common with the *Young Sudanese Culture*, notably state organizations characterized by divine kingship. Many other cultural traits are common to the two cultures.

(8) *The Old Mediterranean Culture*. This is largely identical with the *Syrtic Culture* established by Frobenius. It is a high culture, which has been introduced from the Mediterranean into a large part of the Western Sudan between the Senegal River and Lake Tchad. It is less prominent in other parts of the Sudan. It is characterized by the mother-right of the Berbers, and this social trait derives from the old Aegean-Iberian culture of the Mediterranean. Mother-right was introduced into the Western Sudan together with the invasion of fair-skinned Berbers whose racial traits can be traced in numerous chief-families of West Sudanese states. The ancient mother-right of the Berbers even reached the Gold and Ivory Coasts. In the north it disappeared in most places, but was conserved among the isolated Tuareg and the Beja. Many developed cultural traits are considered part of the Old Mediterranean Culture, but as this culture in the Sudan has mixed with the Young Sudanese Culture it is often difficult to determine whether cultural elements of the Western Sudan have been introduced from the east or from the north. An important characteristic of the Old Mediterranean culture is clay or mud architecture, including huts and store rooms of cylindrical form with a conical roof, dome-shaped dwellings, drums made from clay, large earthen jars for storing cereals, painted pottery, refined leather work, stone-carving, the manufacture of beads and glass, etc.

Many scholars other than those mentioned have contributed to our understanding of African cultural development, but none has made so systematic a study as has Baumann. More recently, however, a most important work on the distribution of African cultural traits has been published by Sture Lagercrantz. This deepens our knowledge of African cultures by its distribution maps, founded [/13] upon an enormous knowledge of African literature (Lagercrantz 1950). Lagercrantz follows Baumann in the establishment of culture complexes, stating that the results achieved by Baumann are likely on the whole to prove of permanent value (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 8). In what follows I attempt to elucidate certain aspects of Tuareg culture in the light of Baumann's African culture complexes.

There can be no doubt that in the past an *Old Mediterranean Culture*, or a *Syrtic Culture*, has greatly /14 influenced North Africa with related regions. I think that the influence from such a high culture in

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174 the regions now inhabited by the Tuareg is very clearly schown by the excellent study made by Lhote on rock engravings and paintings of horse-drawn waggons and carts in the Sahara (Lhote 1953a). For it is demonstrated by Lhote that though these pictures may show a resemblance to Egyptian carts and harnesses they are more particularly related to those of Ancient Greece, which is also intimated by the artistic style and the occurrence of spiral motives. The most excellent representations of horse-drawn carts have been found in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but pictures are also known from the Fezzan around the ancient city of Garama, in Ahaggar, Adraṛ-n-Foras, and in parts of Mauretania. Further east in the Sahara, in Ayr and in Tibesti, no cart pictures have so far been found. Lhote thinks it possible that horse-drawn carts may have been used on a route connecting the ancient city of Garama with the city of Ṭademaket (Es Suk) in Adraṛ-n-Foras, though he admits that the mere representation of carts in rock pictures does not necessarily prove that they were used in regions where such pictures are found. For rock pictures representing carts may also be found in mountainous regions where cart-driving has no doubt been impossible, though the cart used by the ancient people of the Sahara was probably a light one (Lhote 1953a, p. 1138–1228).

It would be natural to investigate how far this *Old Mediterranean Culture* has influenced Tuareg [212] culture. We may then perhaps assume that Tuareg alphabet (*tifinaṛ*) is a so-called *Old Mediterranean* element though it has not yet been exactly shown to which other alphabet *tifinaṛ* is most directly related (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 174 ff.). It is more difficult still to prove other cultural traits among modern Tuareg to be Old Mediterranean. One might suppose that a high culture of North Africa with a centre of gravity in the Syrtic region would also have influenced the ancestors of the Tuareg in regard to dress and weapons. It is of some interest to note that the bi-triangular persons depicted in Ancient Crete are also characteristic of the rock-engravings in the Sahara, whether associated with carts or not. Rodd has stated as his opinion that there is a close relationship between these bi-triangular figures in rock engravings and the leather shirt of poncho type still used by isolated tribes among the Ahaggar Tuareg (Rodd 1938, p. 101 ff.). But, as pointed out by Lhote, there is no obvious reason to connect this ancient type of dress with Mediterranean civilizations, and the dress worn by persons depicted during the cart-period does not correspond to any definite type (cf. Lhote 1953a, p. 1148 ff.).

It would not be unnatural to expect that Tuareg culture would have adopted the sword from the Old Mediterranean culture which, we know, was found in North Africa long before the advent of Islam. But while spear warriors mounted on camels and horses are frequently depicted in ancient rock-engravings there seem to be little evidence of the ancient use of the sword (cf. Huard 1960, p. 144). Many theories have been advanced about the origin in Africa of the sword with a cross-like hilt (cf. Ankermann 1905, p. 60; Schilde 1929, p. 172; Murray 1935, p. 101). These authors give various explanations, but they all believe that the sword was introduced comparatively recently. Gsell states that the sword was not common among North African Berbers until the 6th century A.D., and he believes that the particular Tuareg sword with a cross-like hilt was introduced to the Sahara from Spain with the Almoravides during the 11th century A.D. (Gsell 1920–28, VI, p. 44 f.). Baumann asigns the sword to the so-called Young Sudanese Culture, to which complex Tuareg armdaggers are credited by Lagercrantz (cf. Lagercrantz 1938a; 1950; p. 206 ff.). The developed techniques of leatherwork and skin-dyeing are perhaps to be considered Old Mediterranean rather than Young Sudanese?

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The cotton shirt of poncho cut (p. 289 ff.) is common to all Tuareg, and is widely found in North-western Africa among the Moors as well as among the Hausa and other sedentary peoples of the Sudan where I have seen it as far south as Accra and Abidjan. It is unknown to Berber-speaking tribes of the Atlas, though an almost identical type of garment is found among the Berbers of Siwa (Cline 1936, p. 31). Poncho shirts very akin to those used among the Tuareg are also found in the Fezzan, Tibesti, Borku, and Bornu (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 97, 189, 455 f., 646; Cline 1950, p. 40; Le Coeur 1950, p. 126, pl. XXVIII & XXXIV). It is possibly also this shirt to which Lebeuf refers from the Teda-Daza, from Kanem and Ouadai, and from the Arabs of the Lake Tchad region (Lebeuf 1959, p. 24, 44, 87, 97). 174 171

The large poncho-shirts used in North-western Africa were no doubt introduced before Islam, and it is possible that we should class them with the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture* comprising refined cultural traits derived from the Near East including Egypt, and from India, for we note that the same type of garment was used among the Iranians of antiquity (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 279). To the same culture complex should perhaps also be referred Tuareg sandals of the *takalmi* type which are largely used in the Sudan, and were known also in Ancient Egypt (cf. Chasseloup-Laubat 1938, p. 42, pl. XXIXa–c & Lhote 1950d, p. 528 ff.). The same is perhaps also true of sandals plaited of dum palm leaves and structurally related to *takalmi* sandals (cf. Zeltner 1914a, p. 367). 174

If we follow Baumann's definition of the Young Sudanese Culture there are other traits than those alluded to above which should perhaps be classified with this complex. Thus we note in particular socket-shafted implements and weapons, notably spears and adzes, while the normal axe, as well as the hoe among the sedentary *Kel Ayr*, are slot-shafted. The latter principle is considered a part of the so-called *Old Sudanese Culture* characterized by shifting cultivation with little developed agricultural techniques in contrast to the Young Sudanese Culture, which in its origin was perhaps connected with irrigation, terrace-building, and fertilizing. It is probable that we have conserved in Ayr certain traits of an old negroid culture based on shifting cultivation, and in this connection we note that the Ayr farmers do not harvest by means of the sickle, which by Baumann is also considered a Young Sudanese trait.

So far we have dealt with African Culture complexes that apparently have had very little importance for the creation of Tuareg culture as we know it to-day. More important are the last two complexes to be mentioned, namely the East Hamitic Culture and the Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture. The Hamitic Culture established by Frobenius seems to contain traits from both complexes, and it is very possible that Frobenius in working out his Hamitic Culture was much influenced by Seligman's Old Hamitic Culture which has been recognized by many scholars (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 6 f.). 121

Baumann's *East Hamitic Culture* constitutes the most reasonable culture complex among all cultural groupings, for it contains traits which are largely connected with cattle and which seem to have very little meaning without. The East Hamitic Culture in many ways seem to constitute a true unit of traits that have penetrated into Africa with cattle. However, we must emphasize that it is not a functional unit in the sense that all these traits are highly necessary for cattle-breeding, and it is very evident that all traits are not found where the so-called East Hamitic Culture occurs. Baumann finds the East Hamitic Culture particularly well preserved in the Beja group, among the Danakil, 174 171

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171 the Somali, and certain Galla, among the Nilo-Hamites and the Bahima, and in South-western Africa among such tribes as the Hottentots, the Herero, the Ovimbu, and others. The complex is mixed with other cultures among neighbouring Bantu-speaking peoples of southern Africa, and among the Nilotes. He states that the Fulani of the Western Sudan are culturally related to the East Hamites, but their historical origin is rather obscure. He also points out that certain traits of the East Hamitic complex are found among Arabs of the Eastern Sudan as far as Lake Tchad, where non-humped cattle of the *Bos primigenius* type seem to occur. Many authors have dealt with the distribution of the so-called East Hamitic traits, and Lagercrantz has published some very detailed maps of the distribution of certain milking customs of the East Hamitic complex (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 44 ff.). The traits mentioned by Lagercrantz have a larger distribution in Northern Africa than appears from his valuable maps. Thus the distribution of milking by inflating is indicated as practised in parts of South, East, and North-east Africa, and also in the Eastern Sudan, but it is not mentioned from the Sahara or from the Western Sudan. I have noted it among the Ayr Tuareg, and it is probably known elsewhere in the Western Sudan. Milking with the dummy-calf is shown to have a somewhat larger distribution. For North-western Africa it is mentioned among the Fulani of the Western Sudan, and in the Canary Islands. I can add that the method is common among the Ayr Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar* and probably also other groups of Sudanese Tuareg, and I have noted it also in Kabylia, from which region it has been earlier mentioned by Hanoteau and Letourneux in their large monograph on the Kabyle (Hanoteau & Letourneux 1893, I, p. 497). It can be added that it seems as though this custom is known to most camel-breeders of the Sahara and the Sudan. Milking by udder patting is shown by Lagercrantz to exist almost exclusively in South-west Africa, though there is one instance of this method being used among the Nuer. I can add that this method is applied among the Ayr Tuareg, and among the Tuareg of Ayr, Ahaggar, and adjacent Arab tribes it is used also for milking camels. Finally, with regard to blood-letting with spears or knives, Lagercrantz mentions this custom only in the case of certain peoples of the Lower Congo region, a few instances from the Nilotes and East Africa, the Hottentots and the Ayr Tuareg. We can confirm the occurrence among the Ayr Tuareg, and add that blood-letting also occurs among the Tebu, and perhaps among many other pastoral people of the desert. Other so-called East Hamitic traits have not been distributionally studied in great detail, but I believe that there are other resemblances between the so-called East Hamitic Culture and the culture of North-west African pastoralists, including that of the Tuareg, e.g., the custom of not drinking milk alone when the animals graze away from camp, the small knots carved into the bridge of a calf's nose to prevent sucking, a custom used among the Tuareg for both cattle and camels, and which has been mentioned from the Nilo-Hamites by Huntingford (verbal information). In other words we find that the bulk of East Hamitic cattle traits are found also in North-western Africa among the Tuareg, with the main exception that they do not use urine added to milk or for the cleaning of milking bowls. However, this custom is known in the Western Sudan. I have been told that it is done by the Fulani in the region south of Ayr (cf. also Dupire 1962, p. 87).

174 The distinction between pastoral North Hamites and pastoral East Hamites is not so great as is often believed. A great many usages are common to the two branches of pastoral Hamites, and one might ask if the milking customs found among the Tuareg and adjacent pastoralists do not derive

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from an ancient cow-breeding culture. This we know formerly existed in the Sahara where cows are very frequently represented in rock-engravings. There can be little doubt that hump-less long-horned cattle of the *Bos primigenius* type, which are still found in isolated parts of the Western Sudan, once existed in the Sahara, and it is extremely remarkable that Huard has been able to show that horn-deformation like those practised in Ancient Egypt on *Bos primigenius* cattle, and those still practised on oxen among the Nilotes, can be proved to have been in use over most of the Sahara, where such deformation is frequently seen on ancient cattle-pictures. It may be that one or two of his examples are doubtful, but on the whole they seem to be reliably interpreted, and I think with Huard that we should take the rock-engravings of the Sahara as a proof that the so-called East Hamitic Culture was formerly represented all over North-west Africa (cf. Huard 1953, p. 75–106, and notably 1959, p. 109–131). Long-horned cattle seem to have been found among the Ancient Libyans (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96), who according to Baumann also possessed traits in common with the East Hamitic Culture. We do not know when the nomads of the Sahara stopped to breed long-horned and humpless cattle, but the Ayr Tuareg, who are now zebu-breeders, claim that cattle-breeding is not an ancient occupation among them. They seem to hold that cattle were rare in Ayr even as recently as up to the beginning of the French penetration, and they claim that they know less about cattle than about other domestic animals. They also have rather few cattle terms compared with the extensive glossary for other domestic animals. It might be contended that the milking customs of modern Tuareg are derived from an ancient cattle-breeding culture of the Sahara but in general this is not the whole explanation, for it seems as if some of these traits have been introduced or re-introduced into the Sahara with camel-breeding, which originated in the same area from which the East Hamitic Complex must have come to Africa.

Our last problem is to consider Tuareg culture in the light of the so-called *Eurafrican Steppe-Hunting Culture*, which Baumann believes to have existed over most of Africa. He finds remains of this culture among the Ancient Libyans, and he thinks that certain rock-engravings of the Sahara prove that this primitive hunting culture was once widely distributed in the desert, while at present the steppe-hunting culture is mainly preserved on the outskirts of the Sahara. It seems as if the Tuareg have very few elements which can be placed within this culture. They lack the bow and arrow and also the true throwing stick or throwing club, they do not use parts of animals for disguise, and they do not poison water places to kill game, though in pre-European times they killed their enemies in this way. They know the spiked wheel-trap stated by Baumann to be an Eurafrican trait, but I believe with Lindblom and Lagercrantz that this hunting device is not so ancient (Lindblom 1928; Lagercrantz 1950, p. 98), and it can be mentioned in this connection that the torsion traps are also comparatively late arrivals (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 103 ff.; Lips 1927, p. 271). This may be the case also with dog hunting as practised to-day, for greyhound-like dogs are probably not the oldest hunting dog. Hunting barbary sheep with dogs and spears is depicted in a rock-engraving near Rat (cf. Frobenius 1933, pl. 28a), but, as generally the case with rock-engravings, it cannot be dated. A type of greyhound was known already in prehistoric Egypt (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 86 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 124 ff.) which may perhaps also be considered the cradle of Tuareg greyhound-like dogs, while the true greyhound, or *sluki*, was introduced to North Africa by the Arabs. The use of stalking animals is most

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174 probably not an old hunting trait. Lagercrantz thinks that it came into Africa with an early Hamitic migration (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 97 f.), and I believe myself that the origin of this usage should be looked for in a culture which already knew stock-breeding. I believe this to be the case also with lassos and throwing snares, though the so-called short throwing snares according to Lagercrantz originated within the so-called Old Sudanese Culture (cf. Lindblom 1939, p. 386–393 & Lagercrantz 1950, p. 173 ff.). It seems to me that we have no evidence for the assumption that lassos and throwing snares are old hunting weapons, for these implements occur mainly among peoples who are also stock-breeders. As to the use of such implements among the Tuareg, we see that the pulling snare and also the throwing snare, used in connection with a short stick, are both employed mainly for catching domestic animals which have run wild. It remains to mention the sling, which is considered by Baumann to be an ancient hunting weapon of the Eurafrican hunting culture. The sling has later been studied in detail by Lagercrantz, who finds it in use over large areas of Africa, but mainly in East Africa, North-east Africa, and in the Western Sudan, though it is also noted in South Africa and in North Africa (Egypt, the Fezzan, the Atlas countries, the Canary Islands). We cannot be sure, according to Lagercrantz, that the sling in Africa everywhere derives from the same source. It was known by Eurafrican Steppe-hunters who made their slings of leather, but it has been re-introduced by various other immigrants such as the Hamites and the Arabs (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.). The antiquity of the sling seems to be proved by its existence in distinct hunting cultures of all continents with exception of Australia (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 206 f.). We see that though the origin of the sling possibly reaches back to very primitive hunting cultures, there is little evidence that among the Tuareg it belongs to such a culture (cf. p. 170).

Finally I mention the Tuareg use of a stick provided with an iron crook for catching lizzards in holes (cf. p. 162). It is interesting to note that the Bushmen catch burrowing animals, such as the spring hare (jerboa) and anteater, in their holes by means of a long stick with a barb or crook. This is stated by Schapera (1930, p. 133) and a crooked implement of this type deriving from the Bushmen is found in the Ethnographical Collection of the Danish National Museum. However, the distribution of this particular hunting implement in Africa seems to be unknown. One cannot, of course, take it as a proof of cultural connections between Tuareg and Bushmen.

Altogether, we have some difficulty in finding the so-called Eurafrican Steppe-Hunting Culture among the Tuareg. But there can be little doubt that traits of some ancient hunting culture are preserved among them; we have evidence of this in certain rituals connected with hunting, and some of the sub-areas of tribal teritories are true hunting territories (cf. p. 148 f.). This points towards hunting as an important means of subsistence to the Tuareg in the past, and there can be little doubt that the same may be said of collecting. For though wild plants play a little part in Tuareg nourishment nowadays, the plants utilized for food belong to many different species, some of which are protected to allow them to grow ripe for collecting, which is generally done by methods unknown among agriculturists with the exception that the *tullult*-grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle. We may perhaps also see a rudiment of ancient collecting in the use of the digging stick by vassal women of Ahaggar. More than anything else I believe that the ancient remains of hunting and collecting are proved by the existence among the Tuareg of very primitive methods of food-preparation. Cooking

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



with hot stones, which is still used for certain dishes, constituted in the past a very important method of food preparation being used for milk, meat, and for vegetable dishes alike. Also an ancient implement is perhaps the quern-stone, though it has to be admitted that it occurs throughout the world in many farming cultures. Tuareg dishes known as *tébik* and *téderka* (cf. p. 175 ff., 251) should doubtless be considered very ancient, and this is probably also the case with Tuareg method of bread-baking which is different from the methods used among most North African farmers. Bread is frequently baked from wild seeds, and it is not made from true dough but rather from a kind of gruel to be baked according to the *abatul*-method. /174

The existence among the Tuareg of leather garments of simple poncho type is of particular interest, the more so as such shirts are extremely rare in Africa. In literature they seem to be mentioned only in the case of the Tebu, and there is a well-preserved shirt from this people in the Museé de l'homme (Paris). It is made of the skin of barbary sheep, and is sewn together at both sides, but the upper parts of the sides are left open to form very large and wide arm-holes; patches of leather with ornamented fringes are sewn to the shoulders to form a kind of open sleeves. This skin shirt, which resembles that of the Ahaggar Tuareg, is said to be worn by blacksmiths (Musée de l'homme, no 35.50.107). Le Coeur mentions leather shirts from the Tebu stating that they are but little used nowadays:— "Seuls les hommes de condition servile le portent encore". He provides a photograph showing a Tebu blacksmith in a long skin shirt which has a kind of open sleeves attached to the shoulders (Le Coeur 1950, p. 100, pl. XXXIII Fig. 124). Leather shirts are mentioned from Central Tibesti by Fuchs, who depicts a shirt of this kind which is now in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna (Fuchs 1961, p. 23 f., Fig. 7 p. 24). Lebeuf says that among the Tebu, skin shirts are worn mainly by the Aza who make them from antelope skin, but they are also found among the Danoa of Kanem. These two peoples, the Aza and the Danoa, are related to each other. They never live in villages, but are roaming hunters who use the bow and arrow but mainly hunt by driving animals against cords. The Aza form small sections and are attached to the nomadic Daza as a kind of vassals (cf. Lebeuf 1959, p. 9, 16, 24, 39, 44). The origin of these peoples is uncertain. They seem to constitute remnants of an ancient hunting population. /171

Tuareg garments of leather or skin are in general of simple form and cut, and most probably constitute types of early dress development. This is perhaps also true of sandals of the *imerkeden* type, and perhaps even of skin stockings. If this be so it is very remarkable that we find among the Tuareg a poncho shirt of very primitive cut together with sandals and stockings, for we know from Hatt's brilliant analysis of arctic dress development that the oldest complex of skin garments in Arctic Eurasia and America – the so-called "Sandal System" – consists of (1) Clothing developed from the poncho type; (2) Breeches developed from leggings, in some cases probably from leggings combined with a triangular genital cloth; (3) Boots and shoes developed from stocking and sandals (cf. Hatt 1914, p. 214 ff. 1934, p. 2755 ff.). /174

I think that this brief description of Tuareg culture in the light of African culture complexes can adequately be concluded as follows:— Most of Baumann's cultural groupings have little value for an analysis of the historical development of Tuareg culture. His classifications are often too vaguely defined, and he does not always substantiate his theories by archaeological facts. The so-called Old /121 [114]

172 The so-called *Tomb of Ti-n-Hinan*, an enormous fort at Abalessa in Ahaggar dating back to the 4th century A.D., has dry walls (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.; Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 95).

*342 Any solid house of the above mentioned types is known to the Tuareg as *taṛahamt* (Ahaggar) or
[253] *taṛajamt* (Ayr). Pastoral Tuareg do not like to live in houses, and some of them believe that they may contract an illness if they stay too long in a house (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 221).

*342 Capot-Rey thinks that mud houses with terraces were introduced into the Sudan with the Arabs
174 (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 231 f.), while Engeström and Le Moal hold them to be pre-Islamic (Engeström 1959, p.64–69; Le Moal 1960, p. 202). I believe that houses built of sun-dried bricks are post-Islamic in Tuareg countries. This agrees with Nicolas' statement that there are two Hausa words which are generally used for sun-dried bricks, and both words are derived from Arabic (Nicolas 1938, p. 67). Furthermore, houses constructed in this way are not very common in the Southern Sahara except in towns and cities. In Ahaggar there were apparently no houses built of sun-dried bricks until the beginning of the French occupation when the immigration of Tidikelt Arabs increased.

Houses built of balls of mud piled upon each other before sun-drying are no doubt pre-Islamic (cf. Nicolas 1938, p. 67), and we know that this is also true of houses built of stones and mud. They are still widely found in the Sahara and constituted an important dwelling type in ancient towns and cities including Ghana. Capot-Rey thinks that houses built predominantly of stone were introduced to the Sahara and the Sudan by Berber tribes of the north, and that these houses have to some extent displaced the straw-huts of the Negroes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 233). A connection between the stone houses of the Sahara and the immigration of Berbers is also claimed by Rodd, who thinks that the oldest type of solid houses in Ayr (the "A-type" according to Rodd's division) was built of stone and came to Ayr with the *Itésen* Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 244 ff.). I myself was frequently told by Tuareg of Ayr that originally there was a very close association between the *Itésen* Tuareg and stone houses, and various ruins of houses built of stone or predominantly of stone are ascribed to the *Itésen*. Ruins
[173] at Tegidda-n-tagayt of small rectangular houses and a ruin at the same place of a large fort or walled enclosure, measuring about 35 × 35 metres, are said by modern Tuareg to derive from the ancient *Itésen* Tuareg who according to native tradition were among the early Tuareg immigrants (cf. p. 412).

*342 It seems that houses built predominantly of stone are of very great age in the northern parts of the
172 Sahara, including Tasilé-n-Ajjer. At Êherir, situated in the latter mountain massif, there are house-ruins with walls of stones kept together by a thin layer of clay or similar material. It has been suggested that these constructions may reach back to antiquity and be due to Roman influence (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 87).

*342 Though solid houses built of stone seem to be very ancient in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, it would seem that
172 all types of solid houses were introduced into Ahaggar in late pre-Islamic times. For the oldest house-
174 ruins of Ahaggar, apart from the *Tomb of Ti-n-Hinan*, show walls of stones united with mud at Silef, and seem to derive from Arab marabuts who lived there during the reign of the *Imenan* (cf. p. 393).

*342 There are also house-ruins, probably of the same age, at Tit (Lhote 1955a, p. 87, 286). Apart from these
174 ruins the Tuareg of Ahaggar say there were no solid houses in Ahaggar until about a hundred years

*342 ago when the *Ḥarratin* agriculturists immigrated from Tidikelt. Most people even aver that there
●174 were hardly any houses in Ahaggar until the arrival of the French at the beginning of the century.
This is confirmed by Foucauld (1951–52, II, p. 609), and Bissuel was told by the Tuareg captives at
361 Algiers that Abalessa had no solid houses but only straw-huts (cf. Bissuel 1888, p. 53). It is true that
125 Hornemann mentions a village comprising 25–30 houses built of stone and situated in the country
*[342] of Hhagarâ (Hornemann 1803, I, p. 154 f.). But Hornemann travelled further east and never visited Ahaggar or Tasilé-n-Ajjer. His information may perhaps refer to a village in the latter region also inhabited by noble *Ihaggaren* Tuareg. Permanent settlements of Ahaggar are apparently never mentioned in the writings of Medieval Arab authors. We know that Ahaggar was visited by Ibn Batutah. He does not mention any settlements in this country, of which and its inhabitants "there is little good to say" (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 446).

*342 A.4. *Subterranean or semi-subterranean dwellings.*

[17] Subterranean or semi-subterranean dwellings seem to be unknown in Ayr and also in the regions inhabited by most other Southern Tuareg though found among sedentary people along the Niger
[563] Bend (cf. Hefel 1946, p. 190 ff.). They are known also in Ahaggar where they are used exclusively by black-skinned agriculturists who claim that this type of dwelling named *eddamus* was introduced into Ahaggar with the *Kel Ġanet*. This agrees with the fact that these dwellings are particularly common in the region of Taṛhawhawt where many of the *Kel Ġanet* live. However, subterranean dwellings nowadays are also used by certain other sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The dwellings are not very deep, and frequently they are only semi-subterranean, the upper part then consisting of walls built of rectangular pieces of sundried mud or of stones kept together by mud. The subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling normally has a rectangular site, and is not very spacious. Introduced by the *Kel Ġanet*, this type of dwelling is comparatively recent in Ahaggar. I have not seen subterranean

**Fig. 248. Semi-subterranean house with two rooms (*eddamus*). Ahaggar, I-n-pawen.**

*342 houses in Ganet or elsewhere in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but I have been told that they exist in these regions
*342 171 to this day. Various types of subterranean dwellings are recorded as existing further north in the Sahara and in the Atlas. Semi-dugouts roofed with brush are occasionally used among the Chamba (Briggs 1958, p. 120), and it is interesting to note that subterranean dwellings also occur among the semi-nomadic Chawiya of Aurès, who use such dwellings only when they live with their flocks in the desert south of the mountain massif (cf. Rivière 1938). Elsewhere in Northern Africa they seem to be found exclusively among sedentary peoples. The main area of distribution is the Atlas, Tripolitania, the northern parts of the Western Sahara, and the Western Sudan (cf. Hefel 1946 & Le Moal 1960). Frobenius considered the subterranean dwelling a so-called "Hamitic" trait (Frobenius [124] 1933, p. 214 ff.). Recent investigations seem to indicate that this particular dwelling type was introduced to North Africa by contact with civilizations of the Western Mediterranean in pre-Christian times (cf. Hefel 1946).

*342 A.5. *Square or rectangular huts covered with plant material.*

The dwellings to be described under this item should perhaps be termed houses rather than huts as [104] they have walls and roof made separately. They fall into two sub-types one of which is characteristic of Ayr, the other of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The two types may be historically related, but this cannot be taken for granted, for constructionally they are somewhat different.

A.5.a. In Ayr the square or rectangular hut is called *téjira*, and is found mainly among sedentary people of the *Kel Ewey* group. It is never used by pastoralists. The structure of this hut can be described in the following way:—

Nine heavy and forked poles are fixed solidly in the ground in three rows parallel to each other. In other words there are three poles in each row. These poles are called *tigettewin* (sing. *tégettewt*), the word generally used for various kinds of prongs and forked sticks or poles.

Fig. 249a. Straw-hut of the *téjira* type. The wooden skeleton of the hut with the roof covered. Ayr, Iferwan.

34 The hut I saw at Ingal was situated close to the market place, and was apparently not used as an ordinary dwelling. It had a low cylindrical mud wall and a high, conical roof covered with straw.

*342 171 It is curious that cylindrical houses with conical roofs are so extremely rare in Ayr and its adjacent regions, for they have a very wide distribution among sedentary shifting cultivators of Damergu, and I have seen them almost everywhere in the region between Zinder and Dakar. There can thus be little doubt that they play a part for many sedentary agriculturists living in the regions dominated by such Sudanese Tuareg as the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwllemmeden*, and the group of *Kel Tademaket*. Among sedentary farmers of the Ader area in the *Kel Dennek* territory, Nicolas mentions and depicts a typical Sudanese cylindrical house with a conical roof (Nicolas 1938, p. III p. 63 & 1950a, p. 156 f.), but it does not appear that this type of dwelling is used by the Tuareg or by negroid castes of Tuareg society. Nicolas also mentions a straw hut of the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg, but this is so unsatisfactorily described that it is impossible to gain any clear idea of its form and construction – despite illustrations. In an early study this hut (*akaber*) is described as a cylindrical hut with a flat roof (Nicolas 1938, p. 61, pl. I p. 55), while in the later book on the *Kel Dennek* he mentions a hut called *akarben* (*ekarben*) which seems to be of cylindrical form. It has a central post named *tamākait* (*tamankayt*) and, perhaps, a slightly elevated roof (cf. Nicolas 1950a, pl. VIII, p. 155). In both studies Nicolas says that straw-huts of this type are used mainly by slaves or manumitted slaves who are semi-sedentary, but he adds that in the very hot season certain Tuareg make their slaves build for them huts of this kind.

*342 174 It is possible that cylindrical houses, including barns like those used in the Sudan, were introduced to certain oases of Adrar-Timimoun from the south (cf. Stuart 1936, p. 299, ill. p. 256, 294). Sudanese Negroes may in fact have been responsible for the distribution of these dwellings even as far north as Morocco. This is stated by Despois, who is of the opinion that the cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs (called *nwala* while the proper name is *ḳabbusa*) were introduced with black-skinned troops coming to Morocco from the Niger Bend during the 17th century A.D. The relations between the Sudan and Morocco initiated at the end of the 16th century by Sultan *Aḥmed al-Manṣur*, gave rise to the immigration of negroid peoples who took dwellings of the *nwala* type with them (Despois 1949, p. 308 f., 529, pl. VI B.).

*342 171 I think we may conclude our analysis of cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs as follows:— (1) It is most probable that they are very ancient and traditional to many vassal tribes of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. To-day they constitute their prominent type of dwelling, which should probably be viewed in connection with the occurrence of related dwelling forms in the Fezzan, and in Tripolitania – the more so as it seems as if many cultural traits and migrations of peoples have followed the route from the Mediterranean via Tripolitania and the Fezzan to Tasilé-n-Ajjer. We know that the type was used among the Eastern Libyans of Antiquity. I believe cylindrical dwellings of Ahaggar like those used among certain Tuareg of the *Amenukal*'s camp and those found at Silet, are probably historically related to the cylindrical dwellings of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. (2) It seems as if cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs are rarely used by Sudanese Tuareg, though they are common among sedentary agriculturists within the territory dominated by Southern Tuareg groups. These Sudanese dwellings have spread northwards in the Western Sahara via Tawat to Morocco. – We see that distributional studies of cultural traits are extremely difficult and liable to give very wrong results. It might have been natural

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



1952, pl. II, 4; Desplagnes 1907, pl. CVI p. 396). Various pastoralists within the huge area of Tibesti, Borku, and Ennedi also use barrel-vaulted mat-covered tents. These are very different from Tuareg mat tents (cf. Biassuti 1933, Fig. 2, p. 173; Despois 1946, pl. XXII; Le Coeur 1937, p. 39 & 1950, p. 192, pl. XXVI, 99; Schiffers 1957, pl. IV; Kronenberg 1959, pl. III; Fuchs 1961, p. 18 ff., pl. IV). However, a mat tent described in detail by Chapelle has a structure which includes pronged sticks and horizontal bars (Chapelle 1957, p. 227 ff.), and a Tebu tent from Bilma now in the IFAN Museum at Niamey resembles the mat-covered Ayr tent in having two horizontal cross-bars at the narrow sides – each bar resting upon seven vertical pronged sticks. 342* 171

We presume that Tuareg mat tents constitute a very ancient and traditional type of dwelling, which, perhaps, was originally covered with mats of grass-stems (cf. p. 350 f.). We venture to advance this theory, the more so as other types of Tuareg tents less elaborate in their structures show very close affinities with the arched mat tent. Our theory, however, gives rise to one important question:— Is the elaborate structure of Tuareg mat tents well fitted to pastoral life? 342* [174] 182 342*

It is evident that some of the Tuareg, who live in mat tents, and notably the *Bélla*, are semi-nomads, and Capot-Rey says that "– – les populations qui l'ont adoptée ne se deplacent presque plus; – –" (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 222). This is not correct. Mat tents like that described in B.1.a. are used by true nomads, who move much during the rainy season to find the best annual pasture for their domestic animals. At that season many pastoralists move their camps of barrel-vaulted tents about once a week, and though some of them prefer to erect their tents according to the simple *tafala* method (cf. B.1.f., p. 356), most nomads will erect the tent in the ordinary fashion. It may be added that even the *Kel Geres* who come to Southern Ayr at the end of the rains have with them their mat tents which they erect correctly. There are, it is true, many Tuareg possessing mat tents who remain almost on the same spot throughout the year, but this is equally true of many Tuareg with skin tents. The mat tent is a true pastoral dwelling type. It is not very difficult to put up though it takes more time than does the erection of most skin tents. It is also not very difficult to transport the comparatively elaborate structure of normal mat tents. With few exceptions the pastoral *Kel Ayr* who live in and around the Massif use donkeys for tent transportation. The light tent mats are simply used as a kind of pack-saddle, being rolled up and placed over the back and along both sides of the pack-animal. The curved boughs and rods which form arches and semi-arches, and the comparatively few vertical sticks with the two cross-bars are tied up into parcels which are fastened over the mats at the animal's sides. I have frequently seen a tent, together with the very heavy wooden bed (*tédabut*) and various domestic utensils, being transported by two donkeys, and a normal tent can be transported by a single donkey without much difficulty. As a further indication of this I produce a photograph showing the movement of a camp comprising three ordinary tents, three wooden beds, and the necessary household implements and provisions, and it will be seen that all this is transported by six donkeys (cf. Fig. 266). On the whole, an ordinary mat tent is neither very difficult to erect, nor difficult to transport. It is more difficult to erect the mat tent than the skin tent, but skin tents very often constitute a heavier burden. The sheet of skin, or more correctly leather, is heavier than the covering of mats, and though it is true of many skin tents that they have a less elaborate structure than the mat tents, the former need a system of pegs and poles to fasten the sheet, and these have to be transported except where 182 342* [221] 182 342* 442 [464] 182 342*

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



In literature there are tent descriptions which I have omitted in my survey of Tuareg tent structures, 342*
partly because the descriptions are unclear, and partly because they clearly indicate tents which are not erected according to any definite method (cf. Demoulin 1928, p. 159; Campbell 1928, p. 205; Bernard quoted by Laoust 1930, p. 225).

Finally, I add that the sheet of skin is very commonly used for a kind of wind-screen among the Tuareg. Such wind-screens are of two types:— (1) The sheet is attached to three or four sticks buried in the ground. A wind-screen of this kind is depicted in Fig. 284a. It serves as a temporary shelter [574]
for visitors in a camp. (2) The sheet is supported by three or four sticks placed in one row with a long stick resting horizontally in their prongs. Such wind-screens are seen in Figs. 284 b-c. They are used by the members of a household in ordinary camps, and it is quite common to erect tents in this manner during seasons when rainfall is not expected. Indeed, many Ahaggar Tuareg use their skin tents only for a part [182]
of the year, for skin tents are not too well adapted to the burning hot desert climate. If possible, many Tuareg prefer to live in the shade of rocks and trees, and if efficient shade of this type is found the skin tents are generally not erected. But the Tuareg will then erect part of the wooden structure, [352]
namely the forked sticks carrying cross-bars, as these elements serve not only as supports of the sheet, but also for the suspension of skin bags and various domestic implements (cf. Fig. 106).

Capot-Rey writes that the Tuareg skin tents are also less waterproof than mat tents (Capot-Rey [114]
1953a, p. 225), but this is not correct. During the rains, as we have seen, skin tents are preferred by [182]
many Tuareg who at other seasons live in mat tents, and we have also seen that many Ayr Tuareg will then cover their mat tents with skin. If skin tents were not well fitted for rain they would indeed be very badly adapted also to the Sudanese zone where they are widely found among the Tuareg.

There can be little doubt that the use of skin sheets is very old, for all over the world we find 342*
them used for portable dwellings among people at primitive subsistence levels. It is also substan- 171
tiated by Feilberg that we have throughout the Near and Middle Easts isolated occurrences of skin tents, and that these seem to have been more common in these regions in the past. Feilberg mentions in particular the use of skin for tents among the Tuareg and among the Sluba of Central Arabia (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144). When Feilberg wrote his book on tent development in the Near and Middle East, a description of the structure of Sluba tents was not available. But later investigations have intimated that some skin tents of the Sluba do not seem to be structurally related to ordinary Tuareg skin tents, but rather constitute a kind of wind-screen (cf. Lundbæk 1962). I have mentioned above that the Ahaggar Tuareg also use their tent skins as wind-screens, but it is evident that structurally the normal skin tents in all Tuareg groups have nothing to do with wind-screens.

It is possible that the use of skin for wind-screens is extremely old among the Tuareg, but there 342*
seem to be some evidence that plaited grass mats for covering the true tents are older. We have 174
seen that among Tuareg who use mat tents (the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*), the inner layer of mats covering the dome-shaped top consists of *éwerwer* mats made of plant stems tied together, and it has also been mentioned that certain arched tents among the *Kel Dennek* and the Sudanese *Bélla* are covered exclusively with mats produced on this principle. According to Duveyrier mats of straw were formerly used for tent covering among the Northern Tuareg, and it is possible that the *afezu* mats, which seem to constitute the walls of all Tuareg skin tents, may be considered a survival from tents

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 174 covered exclusively with straw mats. Tuareg skin tents may perhaps have originated from tents covered with grass-mats which had the dome-shaped top covered with a sheet of skin during the rains. At all events I assume that most Tuareg skin tents have developed from a type of barrel-vaulted dwelling, and it is most significant that rudiments of arch constructions occur in skin tents within all Tuareg groups.

The development of Tuareg tents is difficult to explain by mere reference to environment, and we should also try to take into consideration historical factors. I believe that tents with upright forked poles which carry horizontal cross-bars developed from a barrel-vaulted structure. I believe that this is indicated by the material presented above. Thus most or all barrel-vaulted dwellings among the Tuareg have at their narrow ends a pair of forked poles with a horizontal cross-bar placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction and parallel to the arch or the arches which are placed in the middle of the tent. We have also noted that we have tents of one central arch and two outer pairs of sticks with cross-bars covered with two semi-arches, and tents in which this middle arch is substituted by a pair of sticks carrying a cross-bar. It seems quite natural to consider all tents supported exclusively by pairs of sticks carrying horizontal cross-bars as deriving from barrel-vaulted dwellings. One would perhaps then be tempted to suppose that such an evolution took place in the true desert country, where it might seem easier to make tents from a certain number of sticks tied together than from curved arches. However, as far as our knowledge goes, an evolution of portable dwellings among the Tuareg from arched types to types exclusively consisting of cross-bars resting in forked sticks seems to have taken place outside of the proper desert country. All old Tuareg of Ahaggar admit that the common type of tent structure in their childhood was that of two arches, while these arches, they say, have now been replaced by cross-bars resting in pronged poles. This agrees with the fact that Foucauld, [114] who lived in Ahaggar from 1905 to 1916, does not mention tents of the cross-bar type which are now almost exclusively used by the Ahaggar Tuareg. According to Foucauld, Ahaggar tents fall into two main types, namely those supported by arches and those supported by T-shaped posts. When the structure made exclusively with forked poles and cross-bars was adopted we do not know, but I believe that it may perhaps have taken place in the twenties. In any event there seems to be little doubt that [114] they were common at the end of the twenties, for they are depicted by Moberg from his journey to *342 178 Ahaggar 1929-30 (cf. Moberg 1933, p. 59, 63, 65). The question now arises why the Ahaggar Tuareg gave up their arched dwellings, which are so extremely rare nowadays, and adopted the upright forked poles-crossbar structure? Lhote thinks that in Ahaggar there were perhaps the following reasons:— (1) The arched structure is better adapted to rain, but has become less useful owing to the increasing dryness of Ahaggar; (2) It is more difficult to procure the long roots of tamarisks for arches; (3) The arches used in ancient times were difficult to carry from camp to camp; (4) The structure consisting of cross-bars resting in forked poles may perhaps have been introduced owing to contact with the *Iwellemmeden*, who use a similar type of tent-structure (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 42 f.; 1955a, p. 256). Of these arguments I find the last the most convincing, the more so as I have myself been informed that the tents of cross-bars resting on forked prongs have been introduced owing to contact with the Southern [582] Tuareg who have similar tents. One might perhaps assume that the tent was actually introduced owing to contact with the *Kel Adrar*, as the Ahaggar Tuareg have married women of that Tuareg group

[Text continues on p. 388]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 178 582 while to my knowledge they have never married women of the *Iwllemmeden*. Marriages seem to be of great importance for the diffusion of cultural traits among the Tuareg.

*342 174 182 It is clear that the use of T-shaped posts is not limited to particular environmental zones, for T-shaped posts are characteristic of certain Tuareg skin tents both in the true desert country and in southern regions of plains and savannahs. Furthermore, it seems as if this structure is found mainly among the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar*, and among the *Kel Dennek*, while outside these regions T-shaped posts are rare. Thus if we cannot explain the use and the distribution of T-shaped posts in skin tents from an analysis of environment, we may perhaps ascribe its present distribution to historical events.

*342 174 The most important characteristic of T-shaped posts is that they are not buried in the ground like all other poles and posts of Tuareg portable dwellings. They rest upon the surface, and if they sometimes penetrate two or three centimetres into the soil this is not to keep them upright but to prevent them from sliding. The fact that Tuareg T-shaped posts are not buried in the ground makes it unlikely that they are related to the T-shaped posts of permanent dwellings like those used in huts and houses of North Africa, and I believe that originally they came from a barrel-vaulted dwelling which had one of its arches supported by a post resting upon the surface. That an evolution of this kind is in fact possible is shown by Ferdinand's description of certain black tents among the Duranni nomads of Afghanistan. The middle arch of these tents is made from pieces of curved poles, namely two long pieces lashed to a shorter top piece, which is supported by a central post resting upon the surface of the ground. This is the normal structure of Duranni tents, but in summer and in spring nomads frequently content themselves with the erection of the middle part of the arch supported by the central post resting upon the surface. In other words, the Duranni nomads at certain seasons change their barrel-vaulted dwelling into a dwelling supported by T-shaped posts at a right angle to the longitudinal direction (cf. Ferdinand 1959, Fig. 7 p. 35). I think that this development is also perhaps responsible for the evolution of T-shaped tents among the Tuareg, but I do not believe that it took place among them. We have among the Tuareg no portable barrel-vaulted dwellings of arches supported by central posts. We find this principle in certain barrel-vaulted dwellings used among the *Kel Ewey* farmers of Ayr (cf. p. 347 ff.), but this barrel-vaulted hut originated from the Tuareg mat tent, which among the sedentary *Kel Ewey* adopted certain traits of the bee-hive hut.

*342 174 177 I think there is little doubt that a relationship exists between T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents and similar posts of North African black tents. This relationship was first suggested by Feilberg in his thesis on the black tent (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143), and I believe that it can be proved that such a relationship actually exists.

[184] Black tents are not generally used by the Tuareg. In the extreme north of the *Kel Aïr* territory a few Tuareg have adopted it owing to contact with Arab pastoralists. It is possible that there are also Tuareg with black tents in the extreme south-west of Tuareg country around Timbuktu. There are black tents in this region (Jackson 1820, p. 23; Barth 1857–58, IV, p. 474 ff.), and it seems as if some Tuareg there occasionally live in them (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). It is clear that the black tent is found within a large semi-circular belt enclosing Tuareg country from the Fezzan via Northern Sahara and the Atlas through Mauretania to Timbuktu (cf. Feilberg 1944, map II). It is also clear that there

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



have been for centuries much contact between the Tuareg and the regions dominated by the black tent and Arab pastoralists.

Certain Arabs who have immigrated from the north to Tuareg country have adapted their original tent structure of black tents to the Tuareg sheet of skin. This is demonstrated in case of Arab pastoralist known as *Deremchaka* (Dermechaka = Ar. El-Mechâkra) who live in the *Kel Dennek* country. These pastoral Arabs, who have been much influenced by their Tuareg neighbours, use two central oblique posts to support a very short cross-bar (*hómmâr* in Arabic), placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction, and it seems as if they have no other wooden elements to support the sheet and no cord attachment to secure the posts in contrast to the *Kel Dennek*. The *Deremchaka* Arabs immigrated to *Kel Dennek* country from Southern Algeria at a date later than the 17th century (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 153 f., pl. VIIIc; p. 67 f.). They have probably taken this tent structure with them from Algeria, where it is common to use two central posts carrying a short cross-bar at a right angle to the longitudinal direction.

It would seem that we have another example of the introduction of structural elements of black tents into skin tents, namely the above-mentioned skin tent supported by two central oblique posts with a short cross-bar which is used among certain *Kel Inteser*. This structure resembles that of certain double-posted black tents used among Arab pastoralists in many parts of North Africa, and the *Kel Inteser* Tuareg seem to be Arabs by origin. This is stated by several authors (Delafosse 1912 I, p. 195; Mohammed Saïd 1903, p. 210 ff.; Richer 1924, p. 14; Marty 1920–21, I, p. 254 ff.), and a Tuareg of the *Kel Inteser* group whom I met in Ayr held the same view. There seem to be little doubt that the structure of *Kel Inteser* skin tents derives from black tents and from the Arabs who most probably were responsible for the introduction of black tents to Mauretania and the whole Western Sahara.

The use of black tents among the Western Moors seems to throw important light upon tent development in North Africa. These tents are mentioned in early literature. Labat says that the Moors of Arguin and the Niger have round and conical tents, and that the former are covered with material of goats and camels (Labat 1728, I, p. 262), while Saugnier and Park mention the occurrence of two central posts in Moorish tents (Saugnier 1799, p. 33; Park ed. 1923, p. 109). A more comprehensive description of such tents is given by Caillié who says that the *Brakna* use two central posts carrying a short cross-bar to support their black tents, which in winter has an interior tent consisting of a sheet of skin supported by poles (Caillié 1830, I, p. 130), and the use of two central posts crossing each other and carrying a short cross-bar on their tops is also mentioned recently from Mauretania (cf. Delpy 1955, p. 18, Fig. 7 no. 25). Douls depicts a black tent of pyramidal form from Rio del Oro (Douls 1888, p. 22 f.) and it would seem that this tent corresponds structurally to the type now in general use among the Moors of Mauretania and described or depicted by several authors (cf. Ould Hamidon 1952, ill. p. 41; Dubié 1953, p. 134, 162; Gabus 1955, ill. p. 72; Meniaud 1912, II, pl. X, p. 48). The particular structure of black tents among the Western Moors is due to the fact that it contains a barrel-vaulted dwelling covered with canvas. This barrel-vaulted dwelling constitutes the only type of dwelling of the Moors in the dry season, but during the rains and when it is extremely hot it is covered by the black tent (cf. Urvoy 1942, p. 33 f., Fig. 2, pl. I, Figs. 3,4). Thus the partic-

Thus the partic-

*342 171 174 ular structure of black tents among certain Moors is due to a combination of two dwelling types: the black tent which has apparently been introduced by the Arabs coming down along the Western Sahara from the north, and a barrel-vaulted portable dwelling which we may perhaps conceive as the type of dwelling used in ancient times by the Tuareg of these regions who were conquered by the Arabs.

*342 171 177 If we turn to Tuareg skin tents supported by one central post with a short cross-bar, we may well assume that this particular structure, the so-called T-shaped post, has not only been introduced owing to influence from the black tent, but that it is also largely the result of contact with the Arabs. We know from Duveyrier that the Tuareg of the *Kel Ajjer* have skin tents and in some cases black tents also, and that these dwellings are identical in structure (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403 ff.). It is also certain that the Arabs who live in the region of Tidikelt use T-shaped posts both for black tents and for skin tents. This is recorded (cf. Laoust 1930, p. 224). I have myself gathered the same information from the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* Arabs among whom I saw a black tent supported by a T-shaped post. Again, if we turn to the *Kunta* Arabs who live north of the Niger Bend, we find that they use for their tents skin sheets which they obtain from the Tuareg (cf. Geneviève 1950, p. 1125), and from one of my friends, a *Kunta* Arab living at Agadez, I obtained the information that the *Kunta* use a T-shaped post for their tents which are made of skin or canvas, though in very large tents they use two T-shaped posts.

*342 171 It is very interesting that an investigation of the distribution of T-shaped posts further north in Africa seems to indicate that this particular structure in black tents is found among the Arabs, but not among the Berbers. I have been told by the *Chamba* Arabs of Metlili that they use T-shaped posts in their black tents. Further north I have seen tents with a T-shaped post among Arabs who live in the central part of the Sahara Atlas. I may say that Lieutenant Millot, who has an intimate knowledge of the large pastoral Arab tribes *Rebaya* and *Ferjân* living around El Oued and the great sandy desert of Erg Oriental, told me personally that these Arabs use single T-shaped posts in their tents. We can add to this Feilberg's detailed investigation of black tent structures with a T-shaped post from Eastern Algeria, Tunisia, and from the *Ulad Ali* nomads (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 146). It is interesting to note that Feilberg has also found T-shaped posts in black tents among Arab pastoralists of Syria and Central Arabia (Feilberg 1944, p. 146).

*342 171 174 I am not going as far as to claim that the black tent was introduced to North Africa by the Arabs, though this may well be so (cf. Nicolaisen 1959, p. 119 ff.), but I think that the present extensive distribution of black tents in the Sahara must be due to them. This seems quite evident when we consider Feilberg's map of the distribution of black tents in Northern Africa, which also shows that the distribution of black tents is not limited to environment of a definite type (cf. Feilberg 1944, map II). Laoust long ago pointed out that black tent vocabulary in Morocco is derived largely from Arabic (Laoust 1930, p. 168 f.). This has later been emphasized even more by Delpy who thinks that all the present black tents of North Africa, including Mauretania, have been introduced by the Arabs. However that may be there is no doubt that Leo Africanus does not refer much to the use of black tents which have acquired their present wide distribution in Northern Africa later than the 16th century A.D. (cf. Delpy 1955, p. 15 f.).

*342 174 177 I conclude my analysis of Tuareg T-shaped structures by saying that this structure is foreign to

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



traditional Tuareg dwellings having been introduced by contact with the Arabs who use black tents. I believe this to be the most reasonable explanation, and I think that at all events there is one important factor which points to a connection between T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin-tents and similar posts in Arab black tents:— Where T-shaped posts are known to be a traditional type of dwelling, as is the case among the Northern Tuareg and the *Kel Dennek*, skin tents are always placed with the broad entrance side towards the south, which is also the tent orientation of the adjacent Northern Arabs with black tents. Where barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats form the predominant type of portable dwelling the orientation is different. This, anyway, is the case with the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* who live almost exclusively in barrel-vaulted mat tents which have the broad entrance side turned westwards. This difference in orientation can hardly be accidental. It rather points to a historical connection between the Tuareg groups who possess T-shaped structures and the Northern Arabs who own black tents. It may also be added that both among the Northern Arabs and the Northern Tuareg it is customary to divide the tent into two parts the left (western) one being reserved for the woman, the right (eastern) part for her husband.

Finally, the theory I have advanced about the origin of Tuareg T-shaped posts in skin tents seems to be substantiated by the distributions of other cultural traits mentioned in the previous chapter, for certain traits which seem to have been introduced by the Arabs, e.g., Arab riding saddles for women, seem to occur mainly where T-shaped posts are prevalent.

[text continues on p. 393]

342* 174 177 [823]

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Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without 233
camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to 433
the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays, as in the past, base their economy mainly on camels and goats.
I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats and their [262]
vegetable food from caravan trading with the aid of camels.

Formerly, the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned 565
exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but 233
he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). It is, however, confirmed 422
by many Tuareg that the vassals originally had no camels, and that throughout the 19th century they 571
had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals, and even to-day goats and butter form part of the *tiwsé*-payments. The noble Tuareg, on the other hand, allowed their particular vassals to trade with their camels against the payment of a certain amount of vegetable food products which to-day also form part of most *tiwsé*-payments. They allowed their vassals also to have usufructs of such animals as could not be taken with them on their migrations. Noble Tuareg of to-day continue to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts of the vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they obtain part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops; this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. The noble Tuareg of to-day may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals, who can refuse any gift or [178]
service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are even noble Tuareg who wear amulets which are [789]
believed to induce vassals to donate the things required.

It would seem that the economic relationships forming the basis of the Tuareg political system in 174
the north would arise so to speak automatically from two distinct cultures which met each other in 565
the desert: a camel-breeding culture of a Berber-speaking people now known as the noble Tuareg, and a goat-breeding culture of an ancient Berber-speaking population which now constitutes the vassals.

Some Tuareg traditions seem to indicate that political systems based on class-division arose in this 173
way in the north, but we have to admit that other traditions contradict this. Below I attempt to 565
elucidate Tuareg history in Ahaggar by means of native traditions to which, for practical reasons, I allot definite numbers.

*Tradition A.* All Tuareg have a common origin as they descend from a woman named *Lemtuna*, who is also the ancestress of certain Berbers living around Ṛadamas in Tripolitania. Most Berbers of Morocco descend from *Lemtuna*'s sister who became the ancestress of the *Beraber*. This tradition is widely known in Ahaggar.

*Tradition B.I.* This tradition is a very common explanation of the origin of the class-division in Ahaggar: Long ago two Islamic women of the *Beraber* immigrated to the oasis of Silet from Tafilelt in Morocco. One of these women named *Ti-n-Hinan* was noble while the other woman named *Takama*

173 565 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day. [172] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten* people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides, two men known as *Mokhammed ag-Kerku* and *Émenni ag-Khedidda*, both members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* claim that their tribe descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten* formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Ṛali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten* were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and introduced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient *Isebeten* contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much [551] difficulty. For the word *Ésebet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending from the woman *Ésebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had [114] a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Ṛali* [428] tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a, p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 614 565 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are known by the name *Kel Ulli*, that is "the goat people", or by the name *Imṛad* which perhaps also refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *eṛeyd* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas [433] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly [224] important to the *Dag Ṛali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this ancient people.

173 565 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ*, said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Beraber*, and that they were Islamic. The claim that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyound doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Isamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



My arguments in favour of the theory that the noble tribes now dominant in Ahaggar are not the oldest noble Tuareg of that area are the following:— 174 565

(1) The small noble tribe *Ikadeyen*, which to-day comprises very few persons who live mainly as sedentary agriculturists around the cultivation centre of Tit in Ahaggar, is said to have lived in Ahaggar before the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes. Some Tuareg say that the *Ikadeyen* are as old in Ahaggar as the *Isebeten*, and it is most interesting that the *Dag Rali* Tuareg, who descend from the *Isebeten*, pay at each marriage in their tribe a tribute corresponding to 50 kilos of millet or dates to the *Ikadeyen*. This custom is quite unusual and it may perhaps point towards an ancient vassal relationship between the *Dag Rali* (descending from the *Isebeten*) and the *Ikadeyen*. If this is so the vassalage has apparently been different from that prevailing in Ahaggar nowadays and more akin to that of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr, where part of the bride-wealth is given to noble chiefs. It is interesting to note that the *Ikadeyen* Tuareg are said to be "only a little *Ihaggaren*", or to be "*Ihaggaren* but not true *Ihaggaren*". 571 614

(2) The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) as a term for the social class here referred to as "noble Tuareg", seems to be peculiar to the Northern Tuareg. In other Tuareg groups the so-called noble class is known by the term *Imajeren* (sing. *Amajer*), or related terms. Nicolas says that this term refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188 f.). The corresponding word in Northern Tuareg dialect is *Imuhar* (sing. *Amahar*), which is used for all true Tuareg including the vassals. It has generally been accepted that this word derived from the verb *aher* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318; Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674), but Prasse has recently informed me that it is a deformation of *amazir* known in Northern Berber as "free man; Berber". The Foucauld hypothesis that it should be a verbal adjective of *aher* must be discarded, the *h* of this verb being original (Prasse, verbal information) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 457–462). 174 565 184

The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) is different. According to the Tuareg it is just a name, and it is very possible that Foucauld is right in claiming that it is identical with the word *Hawwara*, which was the name of an ancient Berber-speaking population of North Africa (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533 f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory is pure speculation (Nicolas 1953b, p. 14). This, however, is not correct, as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds, as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *w* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *w* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

If we can consider *Hawwara* and *Ihaggaren* as identical words and thus assume a relationship between the dominant noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and the ancient Berber-speaking people known as *Hawwara*, we must look for further information about the latter people who are frequently mentioned in Arab historical documents of the Middle Ages. Ibn Khaldun in particular has written about the *Hawwara*, who are described as nomads and sedentary people who live mainly in the regions of Tunisia, Tripolitania, and Cyrenaica, though tribes belonging to the *Hawwara* groups are also found outside this area to the east and west. The *Hawwara*, according to Ibn Khaldun, came under Arab influence at a very early date, and were conquered by the Arabs as early as the 9th century A.D. In Ibn Khaldun's days the *Hawwara* people were entirely dominated by the Arabs and were the vassals of Arabs of the *Beni Sulaym* group. They spoke Arabic and were culturally indistinguishable from the Arabs. But according to Ibn Khaldun some of the pastoral *Hawwara* at very early date migrated 174 175 565

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



174 175 565 southwards to settle close to the *Lemta* Tuareg. The *Hawwara* descent of these people is indicated by their name *Heggar*. For the letter *w* in the name *Hawwara* has changed into a sort of *k* with a pronunciation something between a soft and a guttural *k* (cf. Ibn Khaldun I, p. 275 ff.). Thus we see that the theory set forth by Foucauld about the connection between the *Hawwara* and the *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) was advanced much earlier by Ibn Khaldun.

It is interesting to note that though he recognizes a certain relationship between the *Hawwara* and the large Tuareg groups Ibn Khaldun does not as a rule mention the *Hawwara* as belonging to the veiled Tuareg. There are many different and contradicting genealogical views of the origin of the *Hawwara*. It seems as if Ibn Khaldun accepts the explanation given by Ibn Hazm: All Tuareg groups and the *Hawwara* descend from an ancestress named *Tizki*. But the *Hawwara* are not patrilineally related to these large Tuareg groups; they descend from *Hawwar* and through him from an ancestor named *Awrir* (cf. Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 169). It is remarkable that the word *Awrir*, which in the form of *Awrira* is also used by Ibn Khaldun as a name of a Berber tribe in the Fezzan, is identical with *Uraren* – the name of the principal noble tribe among the *Kel Aïïer* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

Of the other Tuareg groups Ibn Khaldun says that they have lived in the desert since immemorial times. The principal groups mentioned are:—

*Gedala* belonging to the large *Şanhaja* division. They lived in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Dwi-Ḥasan* of *Makil* root living around Sous in Southern Morocco.

*Lemtuna* and *Wenziga* in the desert south of the Arab tribes *Dwi-Manşur* and *Dwi-Ubayd-Allah* – tribes of *Makil* root living in Morocco.

*Meznifa* in the desert south of an Arab tribe named *Zorba* living in the central Maghreb.

*Lemta* living in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Riaḥ* in Eastern Algeria (Zab, Bougie, Constantine).

*Targa* living in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Sulaym* in Ifrikia, that is Tunisia and adjacent parts of Tripolitania (cf. Ibn Khaldun II, p. 104 f.).

The country of the Northern Tuareg in Ibn Khaldun's days was inhabited by two main groups of Tuareg known as *Lemta* and *Targa*. This is confirmed by Leo Africanus who, however, states that the *Targa* live west of *Lemta* as opposed to Ibn Khaldun, who says that the *Lemta* formed the westernmost group. The two groups, according to Leo, also occupy the country south of the present territory of Northern Tuareg so that Ayr belonged to the *Targa* group (cf. Leo Africanus p. 797 ff.) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 330 ff.). As to the *Hawwara* Berbers, they are mentioned by Leo in the original Italian edition as *Aoara*, in the English translation as *Haoari* or *Hacari*. They are not mentioned as forming part of the People of the Veil, but as tent-dwelling pastoral Moors living in the northern desert and speaking Arabic though corruptly (Leo Africanus p. 130 ff., note (14) p. 205 f.).

It is most interesting that the words *Targa* and *Lemta*, which have now disappeared as names of Tuareg groups, are mentioned not only by Arab authors but are also found on European Maps of North Africa from the 16th and the 17th centuries. We have the word *Targa* situated in the central or southern part of the Sahara on the *Africae Tabula Nova* of Ortelius (1570). We have the word *Targa* in the Northern Sahara and the word *Lempta* towards the south-east of it in the Central Sahara on the *Africae Nova Descriptio* of Blaeu (1665) (cf. Bovill 1958, maps III & IV p. 113 & 132), and we have both names occurring on a map produced by Dapper in the same century (cf. Dapper 1670, p. 1).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



We mentioned in the introductory chapter that the word "*Tuareg*" seems to be derived from the word "*Targa*" or *Targa*", which latter word nowadays is used for the desert country also known by the Arab word, the "Fezzan". Foucauld says that the word "*Tuareg*" to the Arabs of Tidikelt has two distinct meanings, namely (1) "noble Tuareg", and (2) "Tuareg of all classes". He also says that the Berber-speaking population of Tawat and Tidikelt use the word *Ilemtiyen* synonymously with the word "Tuareg" used by the Arabs of the same area, and that the name *Ilemtéyen* is used for a small tribe of Tuareg living in the *Kel Ajjer* territory (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533 f.). It is noteworthy that the *Ilemtéyen* tribe, which is not very numerous nowadays when its members live as sedentary agriculturists near Rat, is noble by descent, and I was told by the *Amenukal Bay* in Ahaggar that the *Ilemtéyen* tribe is not related to the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes but descends from an ancestor named *Lemta*.

In other words the following theory on the origin of the class division and the political systems among the Northern Tuareg might perhaps be justified:— We accept the tradition that the class-division originated as a result of an invasion of Berber-speaking camel-breeders, that these people introduced the camel into the Sahara, and became the first noble Tuareg in the North. These first noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tassilé-n-Ajjer belonged to the group *Lemta*. The noble Tuareg who to-day form the dominant noble tribes in the north came later; they descend from the *Hawwara* Berbers, who very early came under Arab and Islamic influence and took up grazing grounds in the country of the Northern Tuareg at a later date which cannot be fixed precisely.

## TUAREG INVASIONS INTO AYR

The connection between the Mediterranean and the Sudan by means of caravans through the Sahara is of very great, but unknown, age. Caravans have crossed the Sahara as far back as history reaches (cf. Bates 1914, p. 101 ff.; Bovill 1958, p. 24). At the beginning donkeys and oxen were probably used as beasts of burden, and the latter animals were employed also as draught animals for carriages, as were horses at a later date (cf. Lhote 1953a, p. 1138–1228). With the introduction of the camel, caravan trading through the desert was no doubt highly intensified. For although donkeys and also oxen can cross the Sahara in winter without much difficulty, camels are better suited to desert journeys.

The first Tuareg who came to Ayr may perhaps have been caravan traders attracted by the excellent gracing grounds of this country. When they arrived we do not know, but it seems possible to follow in broad outline the history of the Ayr Tuareg a thousand years back in time, and to distinguish between several invasions. However, it must be admitted that the invasions cannot be precisely dated and that our historical knowledge is on the whole most fragmentary. It is derived partly from oral tradition, partly from written historical sources, among which the so-called *Agadez Chronicle* is of particular value. It consists of various Arabic manuscripts in the care of the Sultan of Agadez. They have been published in translation and abstracts (Palmer 1910, 1928, 1936; Urvoy 1934). Several authors have made valuable contributions to the history of the Ayr Tuareg (Barth 1857–58, I; Rodd 1926a, 1926b, 1938; Palmer 1936; Urvoy 1936; Nicolas 1950a, 1950b). But there have been an excessive tendency to speculation upon the basis of superficial resemblances between tribal words.

174 175 To my mind, the best general account of the history of the Ayr Tuareg, is given by Urvoy whom I follow in outline.

We do not know when the first Tuareg came to the Sahara, but as early as the 7th century A.D. extensive migrations of pastoral Berbers, including the two important tribal groups of *Lemta* and *Zaṛawa*, passed through the desert. The *Lemta* settled around the Niger and gave rise to the *Sonray* Empire, while the *Zaṛawa* reached the Lake Tchad country where the state of Kanem-Bornu was created. At this time pastoral Berbers also arrived in Ayr where new states were created. The name of one of them is known, namely the *Hausa* state of *Gober* or *Gobir* which existed in Ayr up to the 12th century A.D.

New invasions took place in the following centuries. The ancestors of the tribes of *Igdalen* (now in Tegama and Dumergu south of the Massif) and *Iberkhuréyn* (now in Azawaṛ north of Tawa) have probably immigrated before the year 1000 A.D. as may also be the case with the *Kel Tamgak* in Northern Ayr. The great age of the *Igdalen* and the *Kel Tamgak* is recognized by all Ayr Tuareg to-day.

The arrival in North Africa of the Arab bedouins known as *Beni Hilal* and *Beni Sulaym*, who invaded the Tuareg countries of Tripolitania and the Fezzan (cf. Ibn Khaldun, I, p. 134 ff.), had the result that many Tuareg tribes migrated southwards to Ayr. Among them was a group of seven tribes (*Itésen*, *Ijadaranein* [probably the *Ihadanaren*], *Ifadalen*, *Tamakwat*, *Tamga'azellet*, *Iza'aran*, and *Ibraz-wen*) descending from daughters of one and the same mother. The *Itésen* tribe had as its particular ancestress the eldest daughter. The tribes were united into a sort of federation also known as *Itésen* because its supreme chief, named *Ayuenbulu*, was elected from this tribe. The *Itésen* group settled in Central Ayr, where for a long time it held an extremely powerful position. At a certain date a group named *Immikitan* was separated from the *Itésen* federation to form an independent or semi-independent political unit with its own chief named *Emekki*. Tuareg of *Itésen* and *Immikitan* stocks are nowadays very few in number and mainly live in the savannah south of the Massif, where most of them took refuge owing to wars with later immigrants. However, remnants of these ancient Tuareg tribes are still found in the central parts of the Ayr Massif where they lead a semi-sedentary life. It seems as if the *Itésen* and the *Immikitan* at a very early date became attached to the small agricultural centres of Ayr. Many stone ruins throughout Ayr are ascribed to the *Itésen*, who are said also to have lived at Agadez which originally was a small village of stone houses inhabited by them.

According to tradition the *Itésen* Tuareg came from the oasis of Awjila in Libya, and we may assume that they have immigrated from Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, or adjacent parts of northern desert. The group of Tuareg known as the *Kel Geres* are, according to some traditions, related to the *Itésen*. They are said also to have come from Awjila. However, it seems as if the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres* have immigrated to Ayr at different times, and that the *Kel Geres* came later. According to Urvoy they invaded Ayr at a time between the 12th and the 14th century (cf. Urvoy 1936).

At the end of the 14th century both the *Kel Geres* and the *Itésen* came under the pressure of Tuareg invaders known as the *Kel Ewey*, who are said to have had Awjila as their original homeland like the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres*. They fought these two groups and in particular the *Kel Geres* who lived in Central Ayr around Anu Meḳḳeren. As a result of this the *Kel Geres* finally left Ayr in the 18th century to take up grazing grounds in the region of Madawa of the Nigerian borderlands. They still live in

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these regions and are now extremely rich in stock, though they are said to have had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr for the southlands in the 18th century. 174 175

The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg who probably came to Ayr in the 14th century took up grazing grounds in Central and Eastern Ayr. There were originally seven tribes of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, and five of these still exist. Like the *Itésen* and most other Tuareg, these tribes claim descent from a common ancestress. But the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg have largely mixed with the negroid village population which is also now known as *Kel Ewey*, and there are very few fair-skinned pastoralists among them nowadays. Barth mentions that the true *Kel Ewey* tribes are related to the very powerful tribe of *Uraṛen* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372).

As to the origin of the noble nuclei of the two important drum-groups of *Kel Ferwan* and *Kel Faday*, the date of their arrival is most difficult to determine. The name of the *Kel Ferwan* is derived from the village of Iferwan in the north (*Kel Ferwan* = "the people of Iferwan") but they were nevertheless true nomads who originally lived in Northern Ayr. Urvoy thinks that they came to Ayr at the same time as the *Kel Ewey* or somewhat later, and that they lived in Northern Ayr around Iferwan until the 17th century when they moved southwards to the region of Agadez. But this statement is not in agreement with traditions I have collected in Ayr. It is perhaps not to be taken very seriously that all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they came to Ayr before other Tuareg groups, but the present Sultan *Umar* of Agadez says that all Tuareg groups now living in Ayr had arrived in the country when the sultanry was established in the year 1405 A.D., at which time the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg lived at Tafadek north of Agadez. There are different traditions about the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. One mentioned by Urvoy claims Egypt as their homeland; this probably implies immigration from or via the Fezzan (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). Barth says they are related to the *Uraṛen* (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 385). According to my own investigations they came from a country situated towards the east or northeast, or from Awjila, but there are also many Tuareg of this group who claim that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg originally lived in Ahaggar as close kinsmen to the dominating *Kel Ṛela* tribe of that region. Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg will even go so far as to hold that even after their arrival in Ayr they continued to intermarry with the *Kel Ṛela* of Ahaggar. According to Nicolas their ancestress is named *Tadaweli* (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474), while I have been told her name was *Sabenas*. [103]

As to the origin of the *Kel Faday*, their name is derived from a mountainous part of Northern Ayr. According to Urvoy they migrated southwards towards the south-west to the region of Ingal, where they took up grazing grounds at the end of the 18th century (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). The *Kel Faday* Tuareg are said to be related to the *Taytok* of Ahaggar (Duveyrier 1864, p. 322; Urvoy 1936, p. 150; Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Barth however is of the opinion that they came from different regions but in particular from Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 384).

Among the latest Tuareg immigrants are to be mentioned the *Kel Tamat* who came possibly three or four centuries ago. Urvoy mentions Ahaggar as their homeland (Urvoy 1936, p. 150), while Nicolas says they are related to the *Uraṛen* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471). Even later came the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who in Ayr attached themselves to the *Kel Tamat*. According to Urvoy they came from Ahaggar (Urvoy 1936, p. 151), according to Nicolas they descend partly from the *Taytok* of Ahaggar, partly from the *Imanṛasaten* and the *Uraṛen* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Tuareg of the *Ikezkezen* told me that they are related to the *Uraṛen*.

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their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by *Kel Ferwan* vassals who said that both 565
noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the *Kel Tédalé*. That some of them are noble by origin 614
seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the *Kel Tédalé* in part are related to the *Ihaḍanaren* of Tasilé-*n*-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter tribe, though without vassals, is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

As to the origin of vassalage among the Ayr Tuareg, it is probable that this is due to the meeting 565
of distinct cultures based mainly on camel-breeding and goat-breeding. Rodd has some very interesting 233
remarks on the position of the vassals as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:— [174]
"One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances" (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rôdd, however, also refers [567]
to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to mainly by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the particular camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. But I have been told by many Tuareg that there were in the past very few camels in vassal tribes, and though most Tuareg apparently hold the view that the vassals have always had camels, the Sultan *Umar* claims that originally they had none while the noble Tuareg have owned these animals since times immemorial. So it might seem as if the political system of the drum-group 174
in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, was founded upon a class division with its root in the meeting of distinct 565
pastoral cultures. It is a fact that certain vassal tribes were attached to their noble lords as a kind 634
of workers with the duty of performing such work as could not be done properly by negroid slaves. Among these tribes were the *Ikawkan* attached to the *Kel Azel*, and the *Iḳḳoberen* and the *Iberdyanen* attached to the *Irawatten*.

It is most likely that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg had vassals before they arrived in Ayr, for many true vassals hold that they have immigrated from the traditional homeland of their noble lords. However, there are in Ayr also certain tribes which have lost their noble status and become a kind of vassals owing to having been subdued in fairly recent wars.

## THE KEL GERES DRUM-GROUP

There is no class-division of so-called noble Tuareg and vassals among the *Kel Geres*. In this respect 642
they differ from most other Tuareg groups except for the *Kel Ewey* among whom a division into classes 565
of this kind has ceased to exist – probably because the *Kel Ewey* have mixed with the sedentary negroid population of the Ayr villages. In *Kel Ewey* certain tribes are more important than others, but

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there are no true vassals or *Imṛad* though some *Kel Ewey* tribes are referred to in literature as vassals.

The lack of the important structural feature of vassalage among the *Kel Geres* may perhaps be explained in the following way:— The *Kel Geres* Tuareg lived originally in Ayr within much the same area as that now occupied by the *Kel Ewey*, and it is most likely that they had mixed very much with the sedentary Negroes as there are among the *Kel Geres* very many black-skinned and negroid Tuareg. It is very probable that the *Kel Geres* when living in Ayr led a semi-sedentary life, for it is said that they had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr in the 18th century owing to the pressure of the *Kel Ewey*. We may perhaps assume that this particular mode of livelihood was the reason why vassalage ceased to exist among the *Kel Geres*. When, in the 18th century, the *Kel Geres* were driven southwards into the Sudanese steppes and savannahs, they became ardent stock-breeders and adopted a political system much related to that of an ordinary Tuareg drum-group with the exception that they had no class-division.

Among the *Kel Geres*, all tribes of pastoral Tuareg are known as *Imajeṛen* but though they are not divided into classes these tribes are nevertheless not politically identical. The most important tribe is that called *Ti-temekkeret*. It is named after Anu-Mekkeren in Central Ayr where this tribe originally lived, and the *Kel Geres* drum-chief (*ettebel*) is always elected from this particular group. But the drum-chief is not elected by all adult people of his drum-group, but by members of three tribes, the *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar*. The members of these tribes alone can elect and dismiss a drum-chief entirely at their discretion. When they have elected a new drum-chief he is ceremoniously installed by a man of the *Anyegeren* tribe who wraps the large head-cloth around the chief's head. In all this the *Kel Geres* resemble the *Kel Ewey* among whom the *Anestafidet* is elected by the members of three important tribes.

The three tribes of *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar* are also politically very important in other respects for they consistute the nuclei of three sub-divisions of the *Kel Geres*. The chiefs of the three tribes have the title *Aṛolla* (pl. *Iṛollan*) and they are also the chiefs of certain other pastoral tribes which have individual chiefs with the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaren*). A certain number of people who are non-Tuareg by origin are placed under the authority of all tribal chiefs, e.g., *Iṛawélen* who are slaves manumitted in the past, *Ikenawen* who are professional potmakers, *Ineden* or blacksmiths, and *Itéfnen*, that is sedentary Hausa living in villages.

In addition to the tribe of the drum-chief and the three *Iṛollan* tribes, there is among the Kel Geres a fifth tribe which is politically very important, namely that known as *Eẓṛmani*. It is a religious tribe of the so-called *Echchikhen* class, and its chief is known as *Echchikh* though he also bears the title of *Al-Ḳadi*. He acts as the adviser of the drum-chief in judicial and religious matters, and though he apparently possesses no direct authority over all *Kel Geres* he is very influential and greatly respected. The *Al-Ḳadi* or *Echchikh* is elected according to the traditional rules of succession acknowledged by the *Kel Geres*, a deceased chief being succeeded by his younger brother or by his son. But in contrast to all other chiefs, including the drum-chief, he cannot be dismissed when he is once elected. All religious tribes within the *Kel Geres* drum-group are placed directly under the authority of the *Al-Ḳadi* (*Echchikh*) of the *Eẓṛmani* tribe. But the *sadakat* fees are made to the drum-chief and not to the Al-Ḳadi.

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judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief, whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division, which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imṛad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imṛad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, donkeys are marked in both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirzemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found particularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

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of Africa, Sachs says that they occur mainly in Islamic West Asia from where they were recently introduced to Europe and to India where terms for kettle-drums are derived from Arabic (Sachs 1923, p. 58 ff.; 1929, p. 247). Wieschhoff admits that the kettle-drums seem to have been introduced into India with Islam, but he concludes that the distribution of them in the Sudan and in North-east Africa indicates that this element belongs to the so-called North Erytrean Culture (cf. Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40 ff., map 29e). 534 171

I do not want to advance any theory about the introduction of kettle-drums into Africa, but it seems natural to consider the Tuareg drums known as *ettebel* as an Islamic trait. However we cannot be sure that the use of drums as insignia of chiefs is post-Islamic, for, as we have seen, the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in many parts of Africa. 534 174

The theory that the drums used by Tuareg chiefs are Islamic seems to agree with the fact that the custom of crowning chiefs among the Tuareg by means of a large turban or headcloth is no doubt also an Arab practice. The use of a turban to crown or install kings and supreme chiefs is rare in Africa south of the Sahara. The use of the turban for the kings of Dar Fur, Wadai, and Bornu is no doubt to be considered Islamic (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 68; Irstam 1944, p. 118), and there can also be little doubt that the use of a large turban at the installation of chiefs in Tibesti and Ennedi was originally introduced as a result of contact with the Arabs – particularly as this turban is known by the Arabic term *kadmul* (cf. Kronenberg 1958, p. 74 f.; Fuchs 1961, p. 52). 643 177 171

It is clear that Islam has greatly influenced Tuareg political organization. But we should also bear in mind that North Africa in pre-Islamic times was influenced by various high cultures which are generally known as *Old Mediterranean* (*Syrtic*) and *Young Sudanese* (*North Erytrean*). It is very possible that the first noble Tuareg who penetrated into the Sahara with their camels came from a country situated towards the East or the North-east, and we have seen that the Ayr Tuareg have traditions about their origin in these quarters (cf. p. 412 ff.). It might therefore seem natural to assume that certain traits which are grouped under the vaguely-defined *Young Sudanese Culture* have been introduced into the Sahara with the immigration of the first noble Tuareg. Lhote thinks that the sandal type known as *takalmi* was perhaps introduced from Egypt with Tuareg immigrations from that country (Lhote 1950d, p. 531). We cannot know this, but it is possible that the oldest camel-breeding nomads introduced into the Sahara certain elements of the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture*. 174

## TUAREG SLAVERY

It is very possible that the political system of the pastoral Tuareg has been greatly influenced by slavery in the sense that slavery made the noble Tuareg less dependent on their vassals. Throughout the 19th century slavery was important to fair-skinned pastoralists of all classes. In other respects it has had little effect on the changing political relations, for slaves do not constitute a class or a true caste; they are incorporated into Tuareg society on a kinship pattern. 567 565

Slavery is still extremely important in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer where the French military administration has done very little to abolish it. It is true that the slave-trade no longer exists, but 567 648

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administrators settled in Ahaggar, the noble Tuareg under the leadership of the *Amenukal* are said to have claimed that the French should respect their ancient matrilineal organization. It seems as though such an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals was unknown in Ayr in pre-European times. Subsistence in Ayr is easier than in Ahaggar, and the noble Tuareg there were not so dependent upon their vassals for food as was the case in Ahaggar.

The fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg have conserved matrilineal rules in their social organization though influenced by Islam and the patrilineal Arabs for centuries, may perhaps explain why they have come to consider marriage with a mother's sister's daughter (or her daughter) as a better type of mating than cross-cousin marriage. Marriages with a classificatory sister (or sister's daughter) are, according to the Ahaggar Tuareg, not to be considered a recent phenomena, but have been practised for generations. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that these marriages are most suitable because they do not give rise to changes of residence for the children. It is very probable that such marriages, which do not harmonize with traditional kinship rules, indicate the transition towards fully-fledged patrilineal rules among the Northern Tuareg.

We have no knowledge about Tuareg social organization in pre-Islamic times, but there can be little doubt that matrilineal traits are very ancient, for they are mentioned by Ibn Batutah (cf. p. 457), and most Tuareg have traditions of their descent from an ancestress. Bates thinks that the Libyans of antiquity possessed a type of social organization which was partly or fully matrilineal, though he admits that indications of the existence of the matriarchate are strong, but not conclusive (Bates 1914, p. 111 f.). Gsell, on the contrary, thinks that the ancient Libyans did not have a social organization of a matrilineal type. They were patrilineal like most Northern Berbers of to-day (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 37 f.).

Baumann states that Tuareg matrilineal organization derives from the so-called Old Mediterranean Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 66). This is perhaps not the true explanation, for Frobenius is probably right in his statement that the Syrtic Culture was a high one which gained little influence among pastoralists, but became very important to sedentary people of North Africa and the Western Sudan (Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 11). On the other hand the theory advanced by Frobenius that the Tuareg matriarchate is an old Hamitic custom does not constitute a satisfactory explanation (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 238 f.; Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 5).

The history of Tuareg matriarchate has been analysed very recently by Murdock, who states that its origin can be explained in three distinct ways:— (1) The Tuareg may have preserved the matrilineate from a very early period of Berber culture, perhaps also reflected among the extinct Guanche of the Canary Islands. This, however, is not considered very probable, because matrilineal traits do not exist among the many other North African Berber tribes, and also because the present relative isolation of the Tuareg is historically recent, dating from the Hilalian Arab invasion. (2) The indigenous *Bélla* were characterized by avunculocal residence and matrilineal descent, and they transmitted these rules to the conquering Tuareg. This second theoretical possibility is discarded by Murdock on the ground that the *Bélla* were presumably akin to the Hausa peoples on the southern border of the Tuareg country, and the Hausa are strictly patrilineal. (3) The ancestral Tuareg, while still resident in Tripolitania, were patrilineal, like all other mainland Berbers, and the matrilineate was developed as an

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174 114 adjustment to special local conditions after their displacement into the Sahara. Murdock accepts this. He believes that the Tuareg, when adopting the very un-Berber caste stratification of the Arabs, may well have instituted matrilineal affiliation for inter-caste marriages in order to preserve their purity of race. He seems to believe that patrilineal affiliation among the *Iwllemmeden* and the *Iforas* is old, while matrilineal affiliation is recent (cf. Murdock 1959, p. 408 f.).

In the main Murdock's theory was advanced already by Gsell, who also stated that the Tuareg constituted the only known example of a people who had substituted their patrilineal type of affiliation with a matrilineal system (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 38). The problems connected with father-right and mother-right in Tuareg society are complicated. It seems as if patrilineal succession among the Tuareg mainly, perhaps exclusively, is due to Arab influence. The existence of a pre-Islamic patrilineal system in the ancestral tribes of certain noble Tuareg can neither be discarded nor confirmed. However, there is absolutely no doubt that Tuareg matriarchate is very old and constitutes the traditional system in vassal tribes. I have shown above that matrilineal succession was once recognized in most Tuareg groups (cf. p. 456 ff.) and that certain vassals of the *Iwllemmeden* even to-day follow matrilineal rules of inheritance.

Briggs believes that pre-Islamic social organization was characterized by matrilineal inheritance and succession to authority, while residence was patrilocal so that the household consisted of a patriarchal extended family (Briggs 1958, p. 87). This is perhaps not very likely for the present custom of ultimate matrilocal residence is undoubtedly very ancient.

I find it adequate to conclude this chapter about diffusion and function in Tuareg social organization as follows:—

Tuareg patrilineal succession seems to be recent and post-Arabian; this holds also for present inheritance rules which follow Koranic law. Thus there can be no doubt that social organization changes owing to the diffusion of certain social traits. Murdock's statement that social traits diffuse only under circumstances where the traits would have developed independently is contrary to the known facts.

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# Conclusion

The description of Tuareg culture presented in this study shows very clearly that cultural evolution should be viewed mainly in the light of history. It seems possible to follow in broad outline cultural development among the Tuareg through the last two thousand years. The main forces of cultural change and development were the following:—

(1) European occupation. The major change was the abolition of warfare and raiding, and consequently the breakdown of traditional political systems.

(2) Immigration of Arabs. It is possible that the ancestors of the Tuareg were influenced by the Arabs who came to North Africa during the first invasion of the 7th century A.D., but the second so-called Hilalian invasion of the 11th century was more important. It seems as if most Tuareg were converted to Islam in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. The Northern Tuareg have taken over many new cultural traits from the Arabs who enjoy a high religious prestige. Apart from Islam, the Arabs brought into Tuareg country new breeds of domestic animals, new saddle types and the like, new dwelling types, new methods of food praparation, and new articles of dress. It is clear that the Arabs also influenced Tuareg social organization with the introduction of Koranic inheritance, and their rule of patrilineal succession is adopted among most Southern Tuareg. The Arabs have also played a part in changing Tuareg political systems. New social classes were created with the introduction of Islam, and the words *khalifa* and *eṭṭebel* (*ettebel*) seem to indicate Arab influence in political structure. It is very possible that the instalment ceremony of chiefs, who are presented with a large headcloth, is an Arab custom. Furthermore, the rules of blood-wealth payment in the two groups of Northern Tuareg are of Arab-Islamic origin. – Arab cultural traits have been introduced over an extremely long period of years, and certain traits were apparently first adopted by the Tuareg when their country had been opened up after the European occupation.

(3) The invasion of pastoral camel-breeding Berbers which started at an unknown date in the first centuries of the Christian era. These camel-breeders conquered another Berber-speaking population who lived mainly by goat-breeding. As a result of this conquest arose Tuareg class-division into noble Tuareg and vassals, which in most groups forms the basis of the political system. The first noble camel-breeders came from the east or the north-east, and they may perhaps have introduced certain traits of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture, while their techniques of camel-breeding were related to those of the so-called East Hamitic Culture. Noble Tuareg subsisting on camel-breeding have also immigrated to the Sahara in Islamic times owing to the pressure of Arab bedouins from the north. The noble tribes now dominating the two northern groups perhaps descend from *Hawwara* Berbers

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



174 who very early came under Islamic influence, and it is possible that these noble tribes introduced cultural traits typical of the Arabs.

(4) The Roman occupation of North Africa. The ancestors of certain Tuareg had some contact with the Romans who also penetrated into the northern parts of the present Tuareg country. But the Tuareg seem to have adopted very few culture elements from the Romans. The Tuareg were apparently never Christians.

(5) The Phoenicians. They introduced new cultural traits to North Africa but it seems difficult to sort out in present Tuareg culture those that were introduced by the Phoenicians.

Further back in time we cannot know much about cultural influences. We know that the horse was introduced during a period when the Northern Sahara was strongly influenced by high cultures of the Mediterranean, and we can safely assume that throughout a very long period of the pre-Christian era, when the Sahara had a more humid climate, cultures based on farming and stock-breeding played an important part in these regions. Rock-engravings representing hunting scenes prove that hunting was also once very important for the subsistence of people of these regions.

121 Our knowledge is yet very scarce of the cultures existing in the Sahara in prehistoric times. Nevertheless, I wish to take up in brief the question of the origin of nomadic stock-breeding in the light of Tuareg culture.

Anthropologists have held very different views about the first origin of domestic animals. The theory that stock-breeding originated within a true hunting culture gained many adherents after Hatt had advanced the theory that the reindeer was first domesticated for decoy hunting (cf. Hatt 1918 & 1919). Since then, many German and Austrian scholars have claimed not only that stock-breeding derived from hunting, but also that the first animal to be domesticated was the reindeer so that the stock-breeding based on horses and cattle in Central Asia came later and had reindeer-breeding as its foundation (cf. Schmidt & Koppers 1924; Schmidt 1951; Flor 1930). It seems as though such extreme viewpoints have now been discarded by most students and even Austrian and German scholars have in recent times dissociated themselves from the theories which were advanced mainly on Schmidt's initiative (cf. Jettmar 1953). There can be little doubt that reindeer-breeding is a fairly recent type of stock-breeding. This was explicitly stated already by Hatt, and though certain scholars even to-day claim that reindeer-breeding reaches back to Mesolithic, or even Paleolithic, times, their arguments cannot be accepted (cf. Nellemann 1961).

Though Hatt never claimed any great age for reindeer-breeding, he believed in an intimate connection between stock-breeding and hunting. In his latest study on the origin of primitive subsistence activities he stated that "It does not seem unlikely that the first domestication of ungulate animals was done by hunters who used their tame animals as decoys in the hunt, and later on developed the use of animals for transport and for dairy purposes, originally without any influence from agriculture" (Hatt 1953, p. 278). Among anthropologists who have recently supported the theory that stock-breeding and hunting are intimately connected activities of subsistence, we should also mention Coon who considers goats and sheep among the oldest domestic animals which were domesticated by hunters even before the cultivation of cereals (Coon 1952, p. 24). However, there are many scholars who do not accept the theory that cultures based on stock-breeding derive from hunting cultures.

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433 pastoralists who live in the true desert country could hardly live without agricultural food-products.
262 In dry years the Ahaggar Tuareg subsist almost exclusively on wheat, millet, and dates. They cannot
171 in such years live on milk and meat, and collecting is of no importance, as the plants suitable for collecting do not germinate with the exception of a few species which are of very little value. In very arid countries agriculture seems to be necessary for the subsistence of pastoralists, and it is of great value also to pastoralists who live under more favourable conditions.

433 Partly owing to the decline of caravan trading, there are pastoralists who have recently taken up
178 agriculture in connection with irrigation. We have also mentioned that the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer
171 engage in a kind of primitive agriculture in the river valleys after heavy rain, and we know from literature that this method was also practised in Ahaggar before the introduction of developed irrigation systems. We have seen that throughout the northern parts of the Sahara a connection between shifting cultivation and pastoralism is the rule rather than the exception. Primitive corn growing is, in fact, practised among many other pastoralists besides the Northern Tuareg, and the bedouins who sow wheat and barley by means of the plough or the hoe further north on the outskirts of the desert. In Southern Mauretania certain nomads grow millet and water melons in the river valleys which are annually flooded. Sowing is done mainly where the valleys broaden, small dams being constructed to detain water. This cultivation method is also applied by certain pastoral *Zenaga* (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 277), who are, perhaps, descendants of the ancient *Sanhaja* Tuareg who lived in this country before the Arab conquest. There are also pastoralists of the Beja people who engage in agriculture when living close to rivers. The Bisharin who camp around the Atbara River grow melons in the wet sand (Baker 1867, p. 38), the Hadendoa pastoralists, when camping close to the Gash River in the dry season, grow millet and other cereals (Seligman 1913, p. 599), and agriculture is also practised in the same region by pastoral Beni Amer (Munzinger 1864, p. 332).

A journey from the Mediterranean coast takes us from people who live mainly by agriculture (e.g., the Kabyle) to people who live by mixed farming as semi-nomads (e.g., the Chawiya), to people who are roaming pastoralists but practise shifting cultivation when possible and fairly regularly (e.g., the Ulad Nail, the Larba, and other Arab pastoralists on the outskirts of the desert), and, finally to the true desert nomads where agriculture is practised on a very small scale (e.g., the *Kel Ajjer*) or not at all (e.g., the *Kel Ahaggar* and the Chamba). It would thus be natural to explain the development of true pastoralism in Northern Africa as an adaption of a mixed farming culture to environment, and this view seems to have been adopted by several authors (Frobenius 1904, p. 154 f.; Steensby 1908–09, p. 285; Wölfel 1941, p. 89–140; Herzog 1956, p. 210–223).

●174 The question of the origin of North African pastoralism can only be answered by a deeper knowledge of history, and the answer is not easy to find. Historical sources do not reach far back in North Africa. We know that throughout the Middle Ages the people who lived on the borderland of the Northern Sahara south of the Atlas and along the Mediterranean coast possessed an economic system much like that prevailing nowadays. Ibn Khaldun describes the economic life of the *Sanhaja* Berbers, who lived in the country between Tunis and Cairuan, saying that they are cow and sheep breeders who also engage in agriculture (Ibn Khaldun III, p. 225). Of an Arab tribe called Azza of Cyrenaica, he says that though its members are plough cultivators they also lead their domestic animals into the

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desert, which they might even cross to allow their animals to graze on Sudanese pastures (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 164 f.). Three Berber tribes or tribal groups, namely the Meseta, the Hawwara, and the Zenara, which, according to Ibn Khaldun, lead a pastoral life in Cyrenaica and further east, are stated to practise agriculture in the area between Alexandria and Old Cairo where they sojourn in winter (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 9). However, it would seem as if to most nomads of the northern desert agriculture was not so much practised that it could provide the necessary amount of cereals for the nomads. For, according to Ibn Khaldun, the Arab and Berber pastoralists of these northern regions generally spent the winter in the desert, while in summer they migrated to the Tell regions where they acquired their grain provisions (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 141, II, p. 275 ff., IV, p. 28 f.). 174

We have no information about agricultural activities among the Tuareg who, throughout the Middle Ages, lived in the very extensive area between the Atlantic Ocean and the Fezzan. Ibn Khaldun says that the Tuareg have camel-breeding as their most important occupation (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 105), and this is confirmed by Edrisi in the case of both Northern and Southern Tuareg. But though Edrisi states that the Tuareg live mainly on camel's milk and meat, certain passages of his book seem to indicate that agricultural products also played a part as food (Edrisi b, p. 10, 41, 67 f.). Ibn Batutah says that the Sultan of Tacadda (Ayr) knew neither wheat nor bread (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 443), which agrees with the fact that even to-day wheat-bread is not common among the people of Ayr, and he says of the Tuareg (the *Bardamah*) who live further south that they live on cow's milk and pounded millet mixed with water (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 437). This latter dish is doubtless identical with that known as *arehara* (Ahaggar) or *arejira* (Ayr) among modern Tuareg (cf. p. 245). Information about Tuareg nourishment is also given by Leo Africanus who, like Ibn Batutah, writes about this on the basis of personal experience. Leo says that the Tuareg live exclusively on camel's milk, butter, and meat, and eat no bread (Leo Africanus I, p. 152), but later he states that a Tuareg chief he visited in the desert had provisions of grown cereals and dates (Leo Africanus I, p. 154 f.).

Thus it seems as if agricultural food-products played a certain part for pastoral Tuareg of the Middle Ages. It is very possible that these products were obtained mainly through caravan trading, but the fact that agriculture is not mentioned in connection with the Tuareg of that early time cannot of course be taken as a proof that a primitive type of agriculture was then unknown. The Arab authors do not tell us much about Tuareg economy, and most Arabs who wrote about the Tuareg had no real knowledge of them. The fact that the *Kel Ajjer* practise a primitive type of agriculture in river valleys [241] has not generally been noticed by Europeans travelling in that part of Africa. This form of agriculture, characterized by a type of primitive sowing, is perhaps to be considered very ancient in North Africa. In any event it would seem as if agriculture and stock-breeding during antiquity were closely connected subsistence activities (cf. Bates 1914, p. 30 f., 91 f.). It is also most interesting that the archaeologically 172 known Fayum culture was based upon mixed farming as early as about 5000 B.C. (cf. Caton-Thompson & Gardner 1934), and the same holds for certain other prehistoric Egyptian cultures of about the same age (cf. Childe 1935, p. 49 ff.). One trait of the Fayum culture, namely the subterranean store-rooms for grain (cf. Caton-Thompson & Gardner 1934, p. 41 ff., pl. XXV ff.), is almost identical with the underground store-rooms used among the Tuareg. We can add that there is one other feature in Tuareg culture which perhaps point towards a connection between Tuareg culture and agriculture,

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172 namely the cylindrical house with a conical roof, which seems to have constituted the original type of dwelling of many northern vassals. This dwelling type has a world-wide distribution among primitive agriculturists (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 313), and we know that it was used in North Africa in antiquity. Hut-circles with heavy walls from predynastic cultures near Badari may perhaps be considered remains of such dwellings (cf. Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, p. 44 ff., 82 ff., pl. LXVI).

174 We might perhaps assume that culture as it existed among the ancestors of Tuareg vassals before the introduction of the camel was influenced by agricultural traits, and it would not be unnatural to advance the theory that it derives from a mixed farming culture. However, there can also be little doubt that we find in Tuareg culture features that are extremely old and probably date back to a hunting culture. It is of particular interest that the Tuareg have preserved very primitive methods of food preparation which are not generally known to true agriculturists (e.g., cooking with hot stones). I believe that the existence of such simple methods may be an indication that the culture is related to ancient hunting and collecting cultures. It is also very difficult to reject the possibility of a connection between hunting and the domestication of animals, for we have seen above that the Tuareg even to-day catch wild donkeys for domestication, and that, in the Middle Ages, they most possibly hunted these animals in order to utilize their meat and skin before the introduction of Islam which made 175 donkey's meat unlawful. It seems as if donkeys and asses have been important food animals throughout 171 the Near and Middle East even after the advent of Islam for we not only have Leo Africanus' state- [261] ment that the nomads of the Sahara consume the meat of donkeys caught in snares (Leo Africanus II, p. 944), but Duveyrier's statement that the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer catch donkeys in traps to utilize the skin (Duveyrier 1864, p. 231), and the fact that the Tuareg of Ahaggar even very recently have eaten donkey's meat in case of famine. There is information in literature which indicates that donkeys and asses have been commonly eaten elsewhere. Ibn Khaldun says that donkeys and horses were eaten by Algerian town-dwellers in case of need during the Middle Ages (Ibn Khaldun III, p. 377 f.), and Ibn Batutah states that Arabs of Oman consider donkey's meat lawful (Ibn Batutah II, p. 229). Ibn Batutah also says that meat of asses was eaten by the people of Suakin (Ibn Batutah II, p. 162), and we know that even up to modern times the Beja have hunted asses in order to consume their meat (Baker 1867, p. 55 f.; Murray 1935, p. 125). There is no information about the hunting of asses or donkeys for domestication among the Beja, but it is reported by several authors that members of this group leave their domesticated mares where wild asses are common in order that they shall mate with wild stallions (Heuglin 1869, p. 280; Bland-Sutton 1911, p. 188 f.; Murray 1935, p. 125).

174 We cannot discard the possibility that the domestication of donkeys originated from hunting, and it seems as though the donkey was first domesticated in Africa, where the wild ass still exists. When the domestication took place we do not know, but we are aware that domestic donkeys have been used in Egypt and in Asia (Ur) as early as 3000 B.C. (cf. Antonius 1922, p. 266; Hilzheimer 1930, p. 477). The donkey played a most important rôle in Ancient Egypt where it even had military importance (cf. Erman 1922, p. 592 f., 636, Figs. 207 & 208, pl. 36).

As to the domestication of other animals, we do not know how they were first tamed, and it has generally been overlooked that though there may perhaps be a connection between certain hunting

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methods and domestication, the first domestic animals may of course well have been tamed in a culture which already knew of farming. It seems to me that, generally speaking, the theory of a development of stock-breeding within a farming culture is the most plausible one.

At the time when the noble Tuareg introduced the camel the North African pastoralists were apparently mainly goat-breeders who also had sheep of the *Ovis longipes* type, and donkeys. Tuareg traditions state that the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar, the *Isebeten*, were not only goat-breeders but also hunters, and a tradition collected by Foucauld states that they also knew agriculture (cf. p. 408). This may perhaps be so, though most Tuareg seem to deny it. A tradition of hunting as an important means of subsistence to the ancestors of vassal Tuareg accords well with the fact that important traits of a hunting culture appear to exist among the Tuareg; how can this be explained when we also claim that stock-breeding apparently developed from a mixed farming culture? I believe the most plausible explanation to be that the ancestors of Tuareg vassals first lived in the northern Sahara as roaming hunters. At a later date they were strongly influenced by a mixed-farming culture from which they adopted a primitive type of agriculture and stock-breeding. But stock-breeding came to play the largest rôle for them, partly because it was better fitted to environment, and partly because it was adapted to the roaming life of hunters.

It is most unfortunate that archaeology is so little advanced in the Central Sahara. Most archaeologists have been occupied with the study of rock-engravings. These are important to our knowledge of cultural history, but they cannot be precisely dated. Apart from the study of engravings, investigations have mainly concentrated upon tombs and other stone monuments, and these investigations do not help us much to understand the development of subsistence activities in the Sahara. However, we may ascribe some importance to the study of stone tombs of the so-called *chouchet* type. This, it is claimed by the ancient vassals of Ahaggar, constituted the traditional tomb of pre-Islamic Tuareg, and the tomb in which their ancestress *Takama* is said to have been buried is of *chouchet* type. Such tombs in Ahaggar seem to be found mainly close to river valleys that are flooded relatively frequently and generally are also close to modern cultivation centres (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 83). These tombs have been used among the Tuareg even after their Islamization (cf. Monod 1932, p. 34; Reygasse 1950, p. 39) but it is unknown when they were introduced into the Sahara. However, tombs of *chouchet* type are not only found in large parts of Tuareg country (Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, In Azawa, Northern Ayr, around Zinder, between Zinder and the Niger at Adṛaṛ of Tawa, Adṛaṛ of the Iforas), but also in the adjacent regions of Mauretania, Tibesti, and Bornu, which is their southern limit of distribution (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 40; Lhote 1955a, p. 83; Mauny 1961, p. 76 f.). Types of *chouchet* tombs occur in Algeria north of Hodna and in Aurès (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 8) and perhaps also in the Canary Islands (cf. Wölfel 1950, p. 248). Thus the possibility cannot be excluded that the former existence of such tombs in Tuareg culture may be due to some connection with mixed farmers of the Mediterranean at an early, but unfortunately yet unknown, date.

A last problem to be touched upon is the generally accepted view that nomadic stock-breeding is intimately connected with a patrilineal social system. This view has been emphasized in particular by the so-called Vienna School of ethnology under the leadership of Schmidt and Koppers, who speak about "Der viehzüchterische Nomadismus als Schöpfer der patriarchalen Systems und des Erst-

172

**Fig. 298. Circular tomb of the so-called "chouchet" type. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset.**

121 geborenenrechtes" (Schmidt & Koppers 1924, p. 537). I have stated above (p. 447) that there is not necessarily any connection between particular types of industry and particular types of social organization in North Africa. There are many examples of this in all continents where primitive peoples live. Whether there is historically any connection between patrilineal systems and pastoral stock-breeding 174 cannot be known. It is true that a great many pastoralists are pronounced patrilineal, but there is no doubt that certain pastoralists have adopted true patrilineal systems after their conversion to Islam. We have seen that this holds good for most Southern Tuareg, and it seems to be true also of the Beja pastoralists of Northeast Africa. They are to-day patrilineal, but formerly they were partly or entirely matrilineal, for Maqrizi states that among them a sister's son or a daughter's son possessed inheritance rights (Maqrizi, p. 561). We do not know whether other pastoralists have had matrilineal traits of social organization. Robertson Smith tried to prove that the Ancient Semites had previously been matrilineal (Robertson Smith 1907, p. 29 ff.), but his arguments have not been accepted by later authorities (cf. Pedersen 1958, p. 394). However, we cannot entirely discard the possibility that a kind of matrilineal social organization has formerly existed among pastoralists other than the Tuareg and the Beja, and this would apparently agree with the theory here accepted – that stock-breeding originated within a culture which knew farming, for matrilineal traits are frequently associated with primitive farming cultures. At all events I do not believe that matrilineal traits are to be considered recent among the Tuareg and the Beja, nor do I believe that these peoples were once patrilineal and that they adopted matrilineal affiliation owing to contact with other cultures, for we know that a true patrilineal system does not easily change into a matrilineal one (Murdock 1949, p. 190).

121 This theory is partly based upon the fact that transition from patrilineal to matrilineal systems cannot be shown to have occurred, partly upon the functional argument that matrilineal systems are not always stable because matrilineal rules frequently conflict with paternal love for sons. These conflicts of matrilineal systems have been described in great detail from Melanesia by Malinowski (Malinowski

# Tuareg Time Reckoning

Tuareg time reckoning is mainly based upon the position of the celestial bodies in relation to the earth. Some Tuareg know the twelve months of the Julian Calendar, but most of them are only aware of a few of these names, some of which have acquired the meaning of definite agricultural activities (cf. Fig. 139). When the Tuareg divide the year into twelve months they normally use the system of the Islamic lunar calendar. The names of the twelve lunar months in the northern dialect are the following:— *azum* (Ar. *ramḍan*), *tésesé* (Ar. *feṭer*), *ǧir muhden* (Ar. *du elḳada*), *tafaské* (Ar. *du elḥajja*), *tamesseḍek* (Ar. *ḍchura*), *tallit seḫḫefet* (Ar. *ṣefer*), *tallit ereṭet* (Ar. *rebiḥ awl*), *awhim wa yezzaren* (Ar. *rebiḥ tani*), *awhim wa ilkemen* (Ar. *jumad awl*), *sarat* (Ar. *jumad tani*), *ti n tneslemin* (Ar. *rejeb*), *émezzihel* (Ar. *chaban*) (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 982 ff.). These names, known to all Tuareg, would appear to indicate that the lunar calendar among the Tuareg was introduced before Islam. The division of the week into seven days was apparently introduced with Islam for their names are clearly derived from Arabic. They seem to be known to all Tuareg, but play no important part in practical time reckoning. To indicate events that will take place within a few days the Tuareg will say to-morrow, the day after to-morrow, in three days, and so on.

The lunar calendar plays a certain rôle to the Tuareg as it fixes all important religious feasts, and among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg it is normal for the members of a camp to count the succession of lunar years which are named after the place where the camp was situated during the religious feast of *tafaské*. Accordingly there is no definite system of year reckoning common to all Ayr Tuareg, who do not know the Islamic numbers of the years A. H. However, the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg will sometimes talk about *awétay wa-n-Kawchen*, that is "the year when the Ayr Tuareg revolted against the French under the leadership of Kawchen" (1917) and *awétay wa-n-étran*, that is "the year when shooting stars were extraordinarily abundant" (perhaps about 25 years ago).

To the Ahaggar Tuareg the word *awétay* is used in two different ways. It may be used for a lunar year, but it is most frequently used in the sense of "a period between two midwinters", so that the year among the Northern Tuareg is normally to be understood as "a solar year the exact beginning and end of which cannot be stated". Among the Ahaggar Tuareg each such year has its proper name given after the most important event within the year, e.g., the death or the election of an *Amenukal*, the occurrence of good pasture of a particular annual plant, the year of famine, etc. For years of pre-European times the occurrence of raids and warfare also serve as names of years. It may happen that two tribes do not use the same name for a year, but there is a remarkable tendency towards a uniform calendar system for all Ahaggar. The chronology of years is not known equally well by all

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[p. 489]

173 Sultan Goma was killed about 1650, and the independence of the Ahaggar tribes dates from that epoch. They profited from this event and from the Ouraren-Imanrassâten struggle to free themselves from the yoke of the Imenân.

The Ahaggar nobles formed only a single tribe in the beginning, the Kel Ehan Mellen tribe divided into fourteen fractions, which, according to pasture needs, split off and detached themselves from the original branch. The Kel Ehan Mellen probably lived in the Tidikelt in primitive times, whence they were chased by the Arab invasion. At the present time all that remains of them are the Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the Kel Ehan Mellen-ouan-Taghert.

At one time, one of these extinct tribes, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, was in power in the Ahaggar, but it gradually became weaker and weaker through misalliances, to the advantage of the present tribes of the Kel Réla, the Taïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet, who gradually absorbed the other fractions.

Among the Kel Réla today we find the last elements of the three tribes mentioned who descended from the Kel Ehan-Mellen.

The Kel Réla, Taïtok, and Tégéhé-Mellet each enjoyed the most complete independence. However, through political inheritances, the Kel Réla became the most important and the holders of the tobol.

Later, about 1755, profiting from the weakness of Aménokal Salah (called Mokhamed el Khir), the Taïtok and Tégéhé-Mellet obtained a distribution of the Imrad tribes among the three groups, at the same time still recognizing the authority of the aménokal. But the Taïtok, in spite of these considerable advantages, were dissatisfied and wanted to seize the tobol from the Ihaggaren, which set off a series of internal struggles with their Kel Réla cousins.

175 /182/ When the Ahaggar Tuareg surrendered to France, the
631 Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet were organized as free tobol, and
643 their chiefs bore the title of aménokal, although recognizing at the
648 same time the authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Amâstan, who had just been enthroned by the French. Aziouel,

175 the Taïtok chief, and Ser'ir ag Bedda, the chief of the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet, accepted this vassalage without question, but later on they
643 raised endless difficulties. This policy, which had been initiated to
648 reinforce the authority of Moussa ag Amastan, caused us several disappointments. As early as 1910, Captain Niéger, Adjutant Commander of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, interpreted the dissidence of two Imrad tribes, the Ait Loaien and the Kel-i-n-Tounin, as the beginning of serious complications.

We were able to measure his perspicacity during the revolt of 1916-1918, and the misunderstanding between the Kel Réla and Taïtok still persists today. But since the Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet participated in the revolt of 1916-1918 and their chiefs did not live up to the confidence which had been placed in them, they were placed under the direct authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, with the title of amrar.

## Tobol of the Kel Rela

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela is the most important in the Ahaggar,
643 and its chief is at the same time the aménokal of the confederation.

It is formed by a certain number of noble families, several of
565 which have been reduced to one or two tents. They are the Inemba,
631 the Iboglan, the Ikerremlen, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the
643 Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal; all of whom are entitled to the tobol, and the Kembiden, the Oulad el Goute, the Oulad Amechaoui, and the Oulad Ibra, who lost their right to the tobol through misalliances.

173 Legend recounts that the Kel Rela nobles were descended from a woman by the name of Ti-n-Hinan, who came from the Tafilalet with her servant Takamat. Then her people bore the name of Kel Ehan Mellen (meaning "white-tent peoples") as opposed to another tribe, the Issetafenine, "black-tent peoples," who were the ancestors of the Ioullimmiden.

Later the dominant fraction was the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, /183/ which was that fraction of the former Aménokal Sidi, and which was composed of the Kel Rela, the Taïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet.

173 Ag Mama ag Sidi was the brother of Younès ag Sidi and the second son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir. Like his brother he married a Tăïtok woman, who bore him a son, Mohamed, who also later became amrar of the Tăïtok. Ag Mama reached the age of 100 before he died.

175 El Hadj Ahmed ag el Hadj Bekri was the grandson of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir through the latter's daughter, Zahra, who was married to El Hadj Bekri from the Ifora tribe. He was the nephew of the preceding aménokal, being the son of his eldest sister. He had to fight against the Tăïtok, because one of them, Mohamed ag Mama, the son of the preceding aménokal, wanted to succeed him.

During his reign a long war broke out with the Ăjjer, when the Ihăggaren wholeheartedly supported the descendants of the Sultan Imânen. He was killed during this fight.

/187/ Ăïtarel ag Mohamed Biska was the grandson of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir through his third daughter Ăménéna, married to Mohamed Biska of the Tégéhé-Mellet tribe.

In relation to the preceding aménokal, he was his first cousin, the eldest son of his father's sister. He led a very eventful life. He had to fight the Ăjjer over whom he won a great vitory at Edjmidhan, and he was subjected to Tăïtok attacks. Under his aménokalat the Flatters mission was massacred, and he was largely responsible for it.

He died in 1900, leaving a daughter who married Amayas ag Khelbi, by whom she had a son, Meslah, now aménokal of the Ahaggar.

Ăttici ag Ămellal was the nephew of the preceding aménokal, as the eldest son of his second sister. He was named at the same time as his cousin Mohamed ag Ourzig, the eldest son of the eldest daughter of Ăïtarel; the tobol ordinarily would have gone to the latter, but he was old and tired and could not assert his rights. This was a long period of anarchy, for which the Imrad had to bear the consequences, and which ended with the French occupation and the nomination of Moussa ag Ămâstan.

175 Moussa ag Ămâstan, Ăttici's cousin and great-grandson of Sidi Mohamed el Kheir by the latter's last daughter, Tar'aoussist, and by his grandmother Tiguent, was born about 1865 of a Kel Rela mother and an Ikerremoïen father. The latter, very acute in nature, had advised against the massacre of the Flatters mission, although it has been asserted that he participated in it.

Moussa was still young when his father died, and his uncle Ămdor brought him up. Ămdor lived with the Ifôra from the Adrar, and it is there that Moussa made the acquaintance of a very famous Kounta marabout, who had established his religious center at Teleya and must have had great influence on Moussa.

Later he always lived north of the Adrar, which permitted him to make raids among the Ioullimmiden, the Ifôra, the Idnân, the Kounta, and the Bérabiches, who finally paid him dues to secure peace. But Moussa ag Ămâstan never raided the poor or the weak, making himself their protector instead.

[578] When the Tăïtok were raided by the Kel Tădelé (from the A'ïr) they accused Moussa of it; the animosity which still prevails between them dates from that day. Since his brother had been killed by the Ioullimmiden, he organized a raid composed of Kel Tădelé, /188/ Tăïtok, and Ifôra. En route, however, the Tăïtok pillaged the herds of the Kel Tădelé. Moussa was deeply angered by this conduct and did not hesitate to attack the Tăïtok to punish them and take back their loot. The Ihăggaren became indignant at this gesture and demanded that Moussa return the raided animals to the Tăïtok. He refused and withdrew to the home of the Ioullimmiden aménokal, Firhoun, where he worked to re-establish peace between his hosts and the Ihăggaren. He did the same with the Kel A'ïr, which made it possible for the Issekkemâren and the Imrad to go to the Sudan on business, and did much to establish his fame.

Leaving the Sudanese camps, he then approached the Ahaggar and followed events closely.

175 It seems that Ăitarel had designated him as his successor, but he refused the job in view of the anarchy which reigned in the Ahaggar and did not oppose Ăttici, who was elected by the party hostile to peace with the French.

Events moved very rapidly; in 1903 he talked with Kaid Bilou of In-Salah, one of our trusted men, about the surrender of the Ihăggaren. Then he went to Ghat to visit the chief of that region, In Gueddassen, in order to invite him to come to In-Salah with him. When In Gueddassen refused, he went directly to In-Salah to discuss the surrender of the Ahaggar people.

The history of his life after that is the history of the French penetration.

Moussa married late and lived until 1910 in concubinage with a captive who bore him a daughter. Then he married the daughter of Ibedi ag Bassi, Tihit, from the Tăitok tribe, who gave him a second daughter. After that he left for France on the invitation of General Laperrine.

The following year, as a reward for services rendered, he was made an officer of the Legion of Honor.

Through his efforts, thus recompensed by the French, Moussa ag Ămăstan saw his people rally completely, but he was not to enjoy his triumph for long. He died rather mysteriously on December 30, 1920.

Sickly by nature -- syphilitic, it is said, and asthmatic -- he was taken one day by sickness which he attributed to the aftereffects of a serious chest wound received at the time of a fall from a horse. He had to take to his bed the sixth day, but he seemed to be getting better when, during the night, he asked to make his prayer. At that time, he was camped /189/ near Tamanrasset and had the resident officer informed. When the latter arrived to visit him, however, Moussa had just died, not without having first advised the chiefs in attendance to always follow the French.

The members of his family were overwhelmed by such a sudden death, and one Ăjjer man who had arrived in camp within the

● 175 previous ten days, was accused of having poisoned him. He was made to swear on the Koran, but he swore that he had no hand in the death of Moussa and was set free.

A marabout from the zāwiyah /monastery --ed./ of Teleya, Sidi Mohamed ben Badi, a mkaddam delegated by the great religious leader of the Kounta, Bey el Bekkay, was present at the death of [787] Moussa. He claimed to have been sent by Bey, to whom the death of Moussa ag Ǎmastan had been revealed in a dream.

This assertion did much to dissipate the doubt in people's minds, at the same time as it increased the reputation of the marabout from Teleya as a "saint."

A few days later, the djemaa met and named as a replacement [643 648] Akhamouk ag Yema, informing the authorities by the following letter:

30 December 1920

"Glory to the one God.

"On the part of your friend Boukhelil ben Douka to your Lordship the honorable Captain Depommier, head of the dependency of In-Salah and the Ahaggar. May salvation be yours.

"I have the honor to inform you that our father, Moussa ag Ǎmâstan, is dead, may God bless him.

"We, the Kébar Tuareg nobles, have met with the Kébar of the Imrad. Without any exception, we have accepted Ǎkhammouk ag Yéma to replace Moussa. Be well assured that while Moussa was alive, we entrusted to him all the affairs with which he was charged in dealing with the French military authority.

[648] "I would have you know that today we shall make all possible efforts to serve the French government in good faith as before, and even better, and we shall do in good part all that we can do."

Ǎkhamouk ag Yema was the first cousin of Moussa ag Ǎmâstan, the eldest son of the latter's maternal aunt. Through his mother he descended from the Inemba. He was a childhood companion of /190/ Moussa, undergoing his cousin's influence and following him

175 in everything. Much less intelligent than Moussa, he was none the less a faithful chief who knew how to make himself respected.

He married twice and had seven children.

175 643 Meslah ag Ămayas is a second cousin of Ăkhamouk. He is a grandson of the former Aménokal Ăïtarel and a second cousin of Mohamed ag Ourzig and Ăttici ag Ămellal. The tobol thus came down in the branch of Ămennaï, the third son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, for want of male descendants in the branch of Héguier. This follows the rules of matriarchal succession.

Although Moussa ag Ămâstan's sister, Rakhma, who married Ănaba ag Ămellal, brother of Aménokal Ăttici, left a son named Louki, he was bypassed by the Imochar as weak-minded.

651 [643] The aménokal levies the tioussé on the Imrad and assimilated vassals. Some of them also pay dues /Fr. droits de redevance/ to the descendants of the old noble families. Thus the Dăg Ràli pay an annual due to the Inemba Kel Tăhat, and the Aït Loaïen to the Inemba Kel Emori. The latter levy four percent of the loads of grain brought back from the Sudan by the Aït Loaïen.

[178] 161 But these duties levied are tending to disappear gradually with the extinction of the old Ahaggar families, some of which are no longer represented by more than a few individuals.

631 644 [643] [582] The Kel Rela tribe has been gathering strength in a singular way for a century. It is all powerful by the number of its representatives, and matriarchy has only accentuated this situation. Indeed, since only Kel Rela women are capable of giving birth to an aménokal, young men from other noble tribes seek alliances with them, abandoning the women of their own tribe. This new blood has given the Kel Rela a certain physical vigor by preventing them from becoming impoverished through too close and too repeated inbred alliances.

631 427 [195] The founding of Tamanrasset is attributed to them; it is said to be the work of the chief of the Issenda (Issendaten) fraction, Ilachen by name. This creation goes back some sixty years, but the irrigable lands were the property of the Ajjer. In the last few years, the Imanrassatên, who were the true proprietors of the cultivable lands at Tamanrasset, came several times to claim the rental price which was one ass or a sheep per year according to the place. But this claim was only payable if the owners presented themselves; the year not claimed was gained by the renter.

[651] 631 They often found themselves in conflict with the amenokal, because they made difficulties in paying the tiousee.

They are subdivided into Kel Aguelella or Kel Tarhaouhaout, into Kel Rapsa or Kel Ezarounfat, and into Issendaten or Kel Tahifet.

631 173 [192] The Ait Loaien. -- The Ait Loaien get their name from the verb élouai, which means "to attach camels in Indian file." (1)

1. According to Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, p. 148.

Through their ancestor Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, they are said to be of the same origin as the Dag Râli and the Kel Ahnet. At the time of the division of the Imrad, it is said they were bestowed half upon the Inemba and half upon the Tégéhé Mellet. They are subdivided into Irayen (today extinct), Kel Torha or Dag Houa, and Ait Loaien proper.

631 [651] The Ait Loaien pay the tioussé to the family of the Téjéhé-n-agg-Ali, also called Kel Ahamellen (Kel Rela), and the Dag Houa group pays it to the Tégéhé Mellet.

[578] Formerly allied to the Imekkérressen of the Ajjer group by numerous marriages, they separated from them following disputes and the murder of one of them, the Tuareg Reskou /196/ ag Yahia, famous in all the Ahaggar. Since then, the Imekkérressen have settled in the Ajjer.

## Tobol of the Taïtok

631 565 The Taïtok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

[602] They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin, Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Taïtok.

[173] According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin as the Imenan sultans, that is, descendants of Idris, and the other part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Aïr where the stock /souche/ still exists. (1)

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 322.

114 631 565 The Taïtok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Inifel in 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity with the Ihaggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live; our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the Ajjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of

2. Les Touareg de l'Ouest
/The Western Tuareg/, p. 18
(Algiers, 1888).

any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

579 631 643 [181] 675 They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela and the suzerainty of the amenokal of the Ahaggar. After the division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the amenokalat, which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/ by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Taïtok are bound by numerous marriages and are all more or less cousins.

175 The dissensions began with respect to the Imrad tribes depend-
579 ing on the Kel Rela; they were shamelessly stolen by the Tăitok,
631 necessitating the intervention of the suzerains. The Tăitok, fewer
643 in number than the Kel Rela, got the worst of it most of the time, but that never prevented them from beginning again a short time later.

This was still the state of affairs at the end of the last century when Aménokal Ăïtarel, a very peace-loving man, succeeded in bringing about a cessation of hostilities between the two rival tribes.

The chief of the Tăitok at that time, Sidi ag Kéradji, was the nephew of Ăïtarel through his father; consequently, he was a Kel Rela, while he held the right to the Tăitok tobol from his mother. Ăïtarel, as his uncle, strove to protect him from the Kel Rela as well as from some Tăitok elements whom this truce did not suit.

Sidi, feeling the situation escape him, renounced his tobol, believing that by so doing he was ensuring the safety of his wealth and his person in case hostilities broke out again. He took refuge in the Ahaggar with the Kel Rela.

But upon the death of Ăïtarel, rivalry reawakened, and the Kel Rela begged Sidi to leave their camps. Where could he go when the Tăitok had only enemies?

Anarchy reigned everywhere, and the Kel I-n-Toûnîn, Imrad of the Tăitok, took advantage of this to emancipate themselves. They appealed to the Oûraren, a noble Ăjjer tribe. Sidi resolved to settle among them, when Aziouel, a pretender to the tobol, was trying to seize it.

[81] Aziouel was the typical Tăitok, the typical desert looter, with cruel and unrestrained instincts. Captain Métois, former chief of the Annex of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, called him a "man of fine saber blows and abusive language, and in addition, a liar, thief, and traitor." He negotiated the surrender of the Tăitok, while Sidi ag
643 Kéradji was kept as aménokal.
175 Aziouel was guided by his taste for robbery to lead an enormous
631 raid in the Hodh in 1905, but he had a run of bad luck. Pushed
[121]

175 631 643 back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of the men, including Azioueł, died of thirst in the desert.

/204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

579 631 At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and [648] more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

[511] 631 651 Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ăadrar des Iforas, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis and Isoknâten of the Aïr.

[162 233] Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400 camels and about 1,000 goats.

175 631 648 During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his Imrad Kel-I-n-Tounin. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops. He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

[423] Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastân.

000 In the third century B. C., the Massyles, a Numidian nation, worshipped Cronus, it is said, and offered him human victims. (1)

1. Gsell, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord /Ancient History of North Africa/, vol. IV, p. 289.

The Byzantine author Corripus tells us, on the other hand, that the /301/ Louata and the Hoouara professed paganism. They pictured divinity in the shape of a bull who was the source of other native gods also having the shape of young bulls. One bore the name of Gurzil. They had holy idols whose names they shouted during battles, and these idols were watered with the blood of sacrifices on the eve of the battles.

114 Christianization. -- Much has been said about an early Christianization of the Tuareg. Duveyrier in particular attributed 175 the high place of women in Tuareg society to Christian influence. He wanted to see the same influence in the existence of a certain number of Latin words of religious origin in Tamashek, as well as in the decorative motifs of some objects where the cross is often represented (on warriors' bucklers, in saddle pommels, on the handles of daggers and swords, in a little pendant worn around the neck by women).

Furthermore, Duveyrier is not the only one of this opinion. One has only to look at the drawing given by Barth (vol. I-II, no. 12), picturing a Tuareg meharist, where the crosses on the saddle and the buckler are clearly Christian. Such a document, which has no connection with reality, is well calculated to propagate a belief based on imagination rather than on the facts.

First we must examine what the true position of Christianity was in North Africa, where it took root in the first years of the Christian era. From the very first the new religion made great progress; many bishops were created who took the new faith from Caesarean Mauritania to Byzacène /Byzacium? Tr. / reaching the High Plateaus

114 and even the Chott Djerid. According to Tertullian, not only
175 was all of proconsular Africa Christian, but also all the Syrta /Syrtis Minor? Ed./ region and some Getulian tribes as well. However, Father Mesnage, to whom we owe important works on Christianization in Africa, has asked with justification whether the ministers of the gospel were sufficiently careful of the quality of the new converts. The spectacle given in particular by the community of Carthage in 250, at the time of the persecution of Decius, was really lamentable, and the apostates numbered thousands. The Numidians, by converting to Christianity, /302/ adopted the religion of their conquerors, or at least they seemed to be converted, for the masses remained pagan. What, then, are we to think of the nomadic tribes who still escaped the masters of North Africa? In a letter written to Hesychius, Bishop of Salone in Dalmatia, Saint Augustine said "that the gospel had not been preached among the barbarians, and as for the more remote nations who did not in any way recognize Roman power, they did not belong to the Christian religion through any of those who make it up." (Letter no. 199)

Speaking of the Berbers to whom the gospel had been preached, Saint Gregory said, in another connection, that many had remained pagan and continued to worship stones and trees. (1)

1. Saint Gregory, IV, 23, 27; VIII, loc. cit, Mésnage, Le Christianisme en Afrique /Christianity in Africa/, vol. I, p. 75.

On the other hand, Procopius tells us that about 548, under Emperor Justinian, the Nasamonians from Ghadames were converted and that in 569 the Garamantians from Fezzan concluded a peace treaty with the empire and were also converted. "Never was the faith so widespread in Africa," says Father Mesnage.

114 "The conversion of these new peoples spread the influence of the
175 church or the empire quite deeply into the interior of Africa. But was it solid? Religious propaganda was for a long time one of the favorite forms of Byzantine expansion. It follows from this that the conversions which it caused were especially political and were made without previous instruction in the catechism, consequently without conviction on the part of the converts. It lasted, alas, only as long as political interest remained in agreement with personal interests." (2)

2. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. II., p. 72.

The Arab author Ibn Khaldoun said in the fourteenth century, while speaking of the Islamization of the Sanhadja Berbers, that this pagan people had never adopted the Christian religion.

Thus it seems probable that the Tuareg were never Christians.
[531] Nothing in their present mores betrays the least trace of it. The cross found on the bucklers, weapons, saddle articles, and jewelry has no typically Christian character; it is a decorative motif to be found in ornamentation used among peoples who have nothing to do with Christianity. Only the Latin words introduced into the
[192 Tamashek language may indicate /303/ that the Tuareg must have
174] been in more or less distant relations with the Christian peoples, but they cannot vouch for the early Christianization of the Tuareg by themselves alone.

175 Judaism. -- Although Christianity certainly no more than
797 grazed the North African Berbers and by repercussion the Saharian nomads, it is perhaps quite different with Judaism. Indeed, the Jews settled early in North Africa, where paganism was then professed, and they made many adepts among the Berber peoples. Entire tribes were converted, and when Christianity came to take root in its turn, it found before it numerous groups, both Judaic and Judaized. The position of the followers of Israel was

175 797 continually strengthened by the constant arrival of new subjects from Egypt. Therefore, a few years later under the Byzantine Empire, their influence was so great, in the cultural as well as in the political sphere, that it offended the established authorities, and Emperor Justinian undertook to drive them out. Many of them fled to the interior of the continent and even took refuge in the Sahara, where they formed numerous active communities. So it is that a Jewish state was formed at the Touat, as we have already pointed out.

When the Arabs appeared in their turn in North Africa, they also found many Jewish groups there. This was the occasion for violent persecutions and a new exodus, and many Israelite communities were forced to embrace Islamism.

In the fifteenth century there were still some Jews in the Sahara. They disappeared as Israelites under the pressure of the Moslem conquerors who abhorred them, and they must have merged with the peoples of the Niger loop.

[174] It seems that the tribes who gathered around Kahéna to defend the independence of the Berbers were Judaized. The very name of the heroine of Aurès -- Kahéna -- sounds Jewish, and could come from the Hebrew cohen (priest) which would mean "the priestess."

Father Mesnage has pointed out that several fractions of the Haouara /hawara/ were Judaized, particularly the Herreneha, who today live northeast of Aurès. (1)

1. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. III, pp. 95-107.

We have remarked elsewhere that the Jewish type was found [173 /304/ in some Tuareg groups of the Niger loop, that the star of 53[] Solomon often decorated articles they used, and that legend attributes a Jewish origin to their artisans.

797 173 Islamism. -- According to Arab tales, the Islamization of the Tuareg, and of the Ahaggar Tuareg in particular, was led by

771 They are little versed in the religion and are incapable of reading the Koran, with the exception of a few men among the Tăitok, [773] for example, or in the Sudanese tribe of the Kel es Souq. There 212 are very few marabouts among them, and those who are there, with a few exceptions, live there in a spirit more mercenary than anything else. Among the Tuareg there are no imam or mufti, and [346] /305/ mosques are reduced to simple prayer places formed of an alignment of stones.

[781] Many Tuareg do not follow the prescriptions of the Koran, and a few years ago some chiefs relied on the marabouts "to make their prayers for them!" Those who practice do it ostentatiously. 795 A great number are affiliated with religious orders, but they are 175 usually ignorant of the meaning of the rites. Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the brotherhood of the Tijaniyyah was powerful among them. The majority of the people that the explorer Foureau met during his voyages in the Tassili were members, but he points out that there were also a few Qādiriyyah. Chief In Guéddassen and a certain number of nobles of the Ghat region were Senusi /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. So long as the Oulad Sidi Cheikh, who were the most important groups of the Tijaniyyah, fought France, the majority of the Tuareg remained attached to that brotherhood, but afterwards many of them adopted Senusism. The principal representatives of the Tijaniyyah in Tuareg country were the Tassili Ifôra, whose zāwiyah of Témaçinine had been founded by one of them, El Hadj el Foki. His son Moussa acquired very great renown as a holy man, and so his tomb, located near the little palm grove, is honored by all the northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg of the Ădrar des Ifôras are affiliated with the Qādiriyyah and received the ouerd from Cheikh Bay, a former Kounta marabout from Teleya; he died a few years ago, and his renown extends over the whole Sahara. Among the Ioullimmiden, some tribes are Qādiriyyah (Kel es Souq) and others Tijaniyyah (Daoussahak).

291 177 was introduced among or developed by the Tuareg, we have as yet only negative evidence to go on and precious little of that. All we can say with any assurance is that it cannot very well be older than the introduction of cotton cloth, which is self-evident, and that it could easily have been derived from some quite ordinary type of turban, like that of the Arab Chaamba for example. Cotton cloth must have been introduced into the Sahara on a commercial scale very soon after the introduction of camel domestication had led to the establishment of a regular caravan trade with Egypt, if not before. There are indications 291 that it may have been known in the Ahaggar ● 175 as early as the 5th century A.D. (Reygasse, 1950, p. 98) and perhaps even in late Neolithic times, and yet there is no evidence in the literature that the Tuareg were wearing veils before the 10th or early 11th century. As Rodd (1926, p. 328) has said: "It seems very strange that none of the classical and post-classical authors should have recorded a feature which so distinguishes this people from other races. There is no reference to the Veil until we come to the first Arab authors. . . ." Desert raiders remarkably like the Tuareg are known to have been in increasingly frequent and violent contact with Romans, Vandals and finally with Byzantines from probably as early as the dawn of the Christian era until the first wave of Arab invaders arrived some 600 years later, and after that they were in contact with the Arabs for another 350 years or so before we begin to hear talk of veiled men in the Sahara.

El Bekri (Lhote, 1955, p. 128) describing the city of Tademekka (in the Adrar n Ifoghas country) as it was early in the 11th century, wrote of the inhabitants that ". . . they veil their faces as do all Berbers of the desert . . . ," while Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338), writing 300 years later, said: " . . . we came to the country of the Haggar, who are a tribe of Berbers; they wear face veils and are a rascally lot." But these statements too are very strange, for the matter-of-fact language in which they are couched seems to suggest that even El Bekri may have taken it for granted that his readers were already familiar with veiled men of Saharan Berber tribes, presumably the northern

Tuareg.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*The Sultanry of Air.*

The Agadez Chronicle referred to above gives an interesting description of the establishment of the Air Sultanry in 1403 A.D. Before that time, it is said, a growing anarchy reigned all over the country, and the Arombolou, supreme chief of the Itesen, therefore took the initiative to elect a Sultan to act as an arbitrator among the various groups of Tuareg. 175

According to tradition representatives of the Itesen clans were sent to the Sultan of Constantinople to persuade one of his sons to become the first Sultan of Air. After eight years' absence the deputation returned with a slave who became the ruler over the Air people. This peculiar story as stated by Urvoy is not mentioned in the Agadez Chronicle nor in any other written account (Urvoy 1936, p. 162), and I shall add to this that although even nowadays it is told all over Air, there are many Tuareg who consider it spurious. Actually we do not know from which country the Sultan came nor can we know if he was in fact a slave. But according to the Tuareg all known Sultans have been black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office. 173 643

Although the Sultanry was created by the initiative of the Itesen, the Sultan was also recognized by the Kel Geres who then lived in Air, by the Kel Ooui, and later by other Tuareg groups. At first he had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chamane from where he moved to Agadez which was founded at the middle of the 15th century A.D. as a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Air (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 102, 364f., 409. – Urvoy 1936, p. 164). To the Tuareg the Sultan is known by the title *Amenokal* – a word used for supreme chiefs by most Tuareg. The meaning of this word is not exactly clear. Foucauld does not discuss its origin but only identifies its meaning as "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1213f.). According to Duveyrier *Amenokal* means literally "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this meaning is also ascribed to the word by Lhote (Lhote 1955, p. 189) and Blanguernon (Blanguernon 1955, p. 47). It is my own view that although there can be no doubt that *Amenokal* is connected with *akal* meaning "land", it may perhaps be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". 643 114

In practise the Sultan had little power. The Agadez Chronicle refers to Sultans who acted as war leaders of all Air Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states; but within Air it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, 175 643

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



175 p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have had only
643 very short periods of reign.

Although the Sultan had but little real power he had a high prestige and was very rich. He had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, as men-
[651] tioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, p. 828f.), and he was also entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade. But the Sultan had under his direct command only the negroid populations of Agadez and the villages of In Gall and Teguidda-n-Tecem. The people of Agadez, said to be members of the religious *Ineslemen* class, have never paid any tribute to the Sultan, whereas he received annual payments from the two villages mentioned. All other people of Air apparently had no fixed economic obligations to the Sultan.

The Sultan had the direct jurisdiction over the negroes under his command. He was the arbitrator and supreme judge in disagreements between the different Tuareg groups to be mentioned below. But he could not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels.

As we have seen the dominant Tuareg group at the establishment of the Sultanry was the Itesen most of whom left the massif long before the arrival of the French. We have also seen that the Kel Geres owing to wars with the Kel Ooui in the 18th century went southwards to the Nigerian borderlands where they became politically independent. In the 19th century the important political groups of the Air Sultanry were the following:–

The Kel Ooui occupying the eastern and most mountaineous parts of the
162 massif. According to figures given by Nicolas for clans and villages of the Kel Ooui
175 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 465ff.) their total number seems now to be about 8000.

The Kel Tamat including the Ikaskazan. The group judged by the figures for
631 some of the clans (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471f.) has about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the Kel Ooui. Contrary to the two following groups they were placed under the authority of the supreme Kel Ooui chief, the *Anastafidet*.

The Kel Fadei in the region of In Gall. Their total number according to Nicolas is 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The Kel Ferouan comprising clans in the western parts of the massif including the region of Agadez, and also south of the massif towards Damergou. They number about 5000.

The Kel Ooui group was for periods of the past very important politically. But
175 its political system apparently differed from that of other Tuareg groups which
184 may be explained by the fact that a large number of them were settled agri-
565 culturists. The other Tuareg groups mentioned, on the contrary, were made up exclusively of pastoralists who roamed in the lower parts of the massif and the adjacent plains. In these groups there were two important classes which seem to have been of little importance among the Kel Ooui. The two classes in literature
175 are known as "noble Tuareg" *(Imacheren* sing. *Amacher)* and "vassal Tuareg"
565 *(Imrad,* sing. *Amrid)*. The vassal class in all groups was more numerous than that
631

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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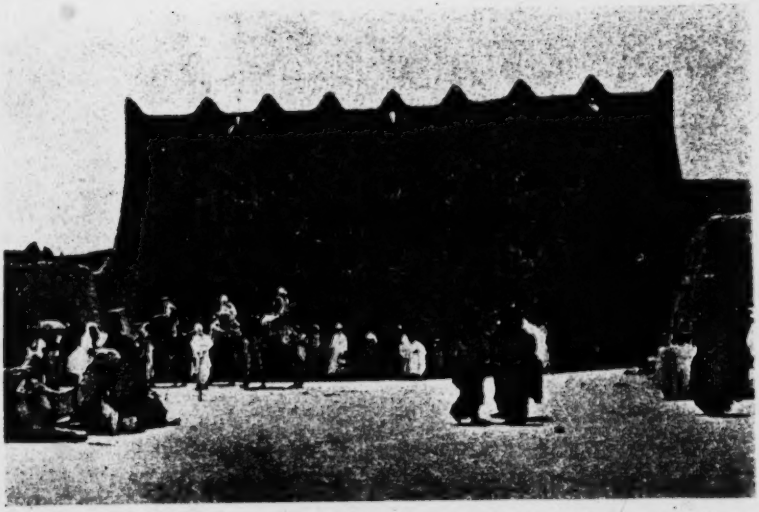

[533] Fig. 4.–The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. – The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the [534] Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

175 of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief
565 had as his sole insignia a drum named *eṭṭebel*, or *arazou*. The name of the drum
631 *eṭṭebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is adressed by this very word, and *eṭṭebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command. I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat, the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs. There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikhen of Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

175 The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is
643 described by Barth as follows:– From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission was given by the Kel Ooui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461f.). Jean who gives a more [114] detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of election (Jean 1909, p. 159ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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Fig. 5.–Mat-covered tent typical of the pastoral Air Tuareg. The tent in this photograph is inhabited by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the Kel Ferouan drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of the rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered trees and bushes of thorny acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats. [643] [137]

Kel Ooui formed the important political units of Air. The Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan at the establishment of the Sultanry had not yet arrived or lived at the northern outskirts of the massif. 175 643

In the 19th century the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan paid very little respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation the Kel Fadei even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of In Gall (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was afraid that the Kel Fadei would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the Ioullemmeden (Barth 1857, I, p. 478). As for the Kel Ferouan their chief was the most prominent leader of all Air. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103f.) and it is told over and over again by all Air Tuareg to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, and he thinks that the Kel Ferouan originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or Amenokal was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This agrees with informations I have gathered among the noble Kel Ferouan, who will also claim that their clan came to Air before all other Tuareg. The truth however seems to be that they had originally nothing to do with the Sultanry. They took up grazing 175 642 643 [114]

[text continues on p. 87]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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| Clans | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ifadeyen (2 clans) | | | | Kouroulobo<br>Imechamchouan<br>Toroufi |
| Igetofen | | | | Beinalso<br>Ti-n-Daouine<br>Anialen<br>Abelemma<br>Ekaouel |
| Iraouelen | | | | Tombalaga<br>Akadanei<br>Meigaouei |
| Elbaraten | | | | Onouachor |
| Itagan | | | | Eleleg |
| Isakaranen | 633 | 107 | | Ti-n-Tebezgin |
| Kel Tedale (3 clans) | 1300 | | They may be noble by origin. | Talak<br>Ourarene<br>Zourika |
| Kel Akarra | 164 | 39 | Said to be of noble origin and to have had the Ibararochiten clan as their particular vassals. | Ti-n-Teborak |
| Ibararochchiten | | | Said to have been the particular vassals of the Kel Akarra clan. | Emdegra |

175 grounds round Agadez in the 17th century, and were probably called to this
642 region by a Sultan who needed them to keep order in the country. The actual
643 power then passed into the hands of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief.

### *The Kel Ferouan Tuareg.*

114 Lists of clans which belong to the Kel Ferouan drum-group have already been
614 published. Jean has fourteen clans in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427f. – Abadie 1927, p. 391f.), while Nicolas refers twenty-two clans to the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f., 480). My own list comes
614 close to that of Nicolas but contains a few additional names which however may
127 refer to sections of the other clans. In my list I have indicated the relationship
162 between the clans and their traditional grazing grounds. I have not been able to
[631] get precise particulars about the size of clans, and I therefore quote the figures

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



173 drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group
634 until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The present drum-chief and his brother know the names of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent chiefs are not known further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:–

*Sabenas,* the ancestress of the noble clan and the first ruler of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

*Amenokal,* the elder son of Sabenas.

*Mohammed Aman,* the younger brother of Amenokal.

*Elkarebi,* the brother of Mohammed Aman.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:–

*Boboker,* who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan and was of pure noble origin.

*Ṛali,* who was the younger brother of Boboker. He was drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years and to have died about 30 years ago. He was considered a very skillful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the Kel Ferouan drum-group with profound respect. Ṛali's tomb is
769 south of the massif somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. On Ṛali's death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in which I had the opportunity to partic-
[782] ipate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief and eaten close to the tomb. Later there was a prayer led by the chief, who thereupon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the
[177] deceased chief. – Ancestral worship of this type is most probably no traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. Tuareg are generally afraid of deceased persons and will avoid their tombs.

*Mohammed,* who belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan through his mother, while
175 his father came from the Iforas. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals.
634 Apparently he was no close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief, Ṛali.

*Ouanarli,* who had no bonds of kinship with the Kel Ferouan clan. His father belonged to the religious and in Tuareg opinion very holy clan of Kel Es Souk. He was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

*Afanou,* who belonged to the Echchikhen. He died after one year's reign.

*Koutia,* who was of noble Kel Ferouan stock being the son of Ṛali's younger brother.

*Agg Elkher,* of pure noble origin being the son of Ṛali's daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected. He is the present drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan group.

*Azerhar,* who was the son of Ṛali.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*Agg Elkher*, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [175] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals. [643]

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. 614 634 [431] [178]

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 651 [583]

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:- 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Teouit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



114 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc
174 légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale
233 qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau apparaissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe, il semble qu'au VII[e] siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227)

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chameliers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui foit leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the
175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the
101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions:
233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 168ff.).

It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature
175 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding
233 (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. – Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. – Leo Africanus p. 940f.). To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly
171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is
233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds apparently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415f. – Murray 1935, p. 92ff. – Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the
[177] true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black
[342] tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. – Herskovits 1926. – Kroll 1928). The common
[462] traits seem to be the following:– 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is
[825] done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both
[538] camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently characterised by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925-30, I-II).

6:Blanguernon--2 Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

/11/

# I

## The Ahaggar

131 The Ahaggar annex, whose administrative seat is Tamanrasset, covers an area of about 375, 000 square kilometers. It is bounded approximately by 1° and 8° east longitude and 19° and 27° north latitude. The exact boundaries are shown on the 1/1, 000, 000-scale map of the Sahara.

The Tropic of Cancer cuts the territory of the annex into two almost equal parts.

A glance at the quadrilateral in the 1/1, 000, 000-scale map shows an immense system of mountains, bounded on the north by the absolutely sterile plain, the Tidikelt, and on the southeast and west by the strictly desert plateaus of the Ténéré and the Tanezrouft.

It seems that the Ahaggar, isolated by its girdle of deserts, became a natural reserve, a world apart from the Sahara, aging alone and preserving some of its original character.

Its location relates the Ahaggar to the Sudan; the vegetation proves it and the population bears traces of it.

After having been a break between Algeria and Black Africa before the French occupation, the Ahaggar is now becoming a link between them.

175 648 Less than 70 years ago the Ahaggar was completely unknown. The existence of the /12/ Tuareg was merely suspected from tales told by the Arabs, tales full of error and lacking objectivity.

The advance into Tuareg country was provoked by repeated acts of pillage and destruction by the "blue" men, fierce, independent, and warlike.

The few dates to be found in the appendix show that the French advance into the country was slow and always marked by that humanity which, despite several attacks launched by the Tuareg, never ceased to be the constant concern of all the leaders.

177 /152 cont./ Large-scale tourism has adopted the Ahaggar; mountain climbers count the virgin peaks still to be scaled and are guided by young Tuareg who begin to speak French. We cannot do otherwise than congratulate ourselves on the material results obtained, but how many Saharans miss, in the bottom of their hearts, the days of the monthly mail, evoking a fairly recent period but one which already seems long past? It was the period that drew them to the Ahaggar, which now is being led, little by little, to the light of this century.

/153/ Appendices

I

Historical Account of the French Occupation

175

February 16, 1881. The Flatters mission is massacred by the Kel Rela and Tédjéhé Mellet Tuareg, aided by a few imrad.

1887. A Taïtok raiding party is taken by surprise at Hassi Hinifel. Thirty Tuareg are taken to Algiers as prisoners for four years. It is with the aid of these Tuareg that Hanoteau will work out the first Tamashek grammar. One of these prisoners becomes the friend of the explorer Crampel, who later was to be killed by his so-called friend.

1898. The Kel Rela and the Taïtok are at war. The latter, defeated by Moussa ag Amastane, flee to the region of the Oulimiden.

1899. Commandant Pein, accompanied by Flamand, carries out a mission to occupy the Tidikelt, thus cutting the Tuareg off from their trading markets of Aoulef and In-Salah.

175 /153 cont./ The Foureau-Lamy mission crosses the Ahaggar without being troubled at any time.

1900. The amenokal Aïtarel dies. The situation is confused. Two amenokal are named, Mohamed ad Ourzig and Attici. This double command brings on a state of anarchy which causes the Tuareg to turn to Moussa ag Amastane, a courageous, /154/ brillant man who speaks of a possible settlement with the French. The Taïtok, however, are the first to submit, chiefly because of their desire to act before Moussa, their personal enemy since the combats of 1898.

1902. After the pillage of a caravan by the Kel Ahaggar, Lieutenant Cottenest is sent to the Ahaggar to make an example of them. The account of this expedition, La Randonnée du lieutenant Cottenest /The Long March of Lieutenant Cottenest/, written by Commandant Cauvet, is required reading for an appreciation of the man to whom we owe the Ahaggar. After a circuit of Tuareg territory that attested to the qualities of the leader of the expedition, Cottenest gives battle at Tit, at the Tin-Essa gara. About 100 Tuareg are killed in making an assault with spears and sabers. The Dag Rali and the Adjouh n'Téhélé were the tribes that suffered most in this battle.

1903. Commandant Laperrine and his lieutenants make a peaceful tour of the Ahaggar.

1904. Moussa ag Amastane submits at In-Salah.

Commandant Laperrine, accompanied by Father de Foucauld, Gautier, and Chudeau, skirts the Ahaggar to the west and effects a liaison with the colonial troops at Timiaouine.

1905. Father de Foucauld settles permanently at Tamanrasset.

Lieutenant Roussel is the first commander of the Tamanrasset post.

175/154 cont./

1908. Incidents between the Kel Rela and the Taïtok; the latter are driven back to the Sudan.

1909. Incidents between the Kel Rela and the Tuareg tribes of the Ajjers.

1910. Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal, goes to France to travel with Father de Foucauld.

1914. The territory of the Ajjers is occupied.

1916. New incidents between the Kel Rela and the Taïtok.

/155/ On December 2, 1916, Father de Foucauld is murdered at Tamanrasset by Senussites accompanied by Aït Loen, who carry off 20 rifles and 3,000 cartridges.

1917. Revolt by several imrad groups with the object of stealing camels from the French of the Sahara.

Captain Masson gives battle to a group of Tuareg in the Ilaman wadi on April 5, 1917. (Thirteen killed, two of them French soldiers).

On June 1, near Iniker, the detachment under Pietri is attacked. (Five killed, two wounded, two missing).

On July 26 Second Lieutenant Lehuraux has to battle a party of 300 Tuareg.

1918. Peace is re-established in the Ahaggar. The Taïtok are permanently ousted from their lands and are driven back to the Sudan.

1920. General Laperrine dies at Anesbaraka from injuries sustained in an airplane accident.

1921. Death of Moussa ag Amastane. He is succeeded by Akhamouk ag Yemma.

1925. The Taïtok lay claim to their lands confiscated by the Kel Rela, but the status quo is maintained.

1927. Death of Akhamouk. Meslar ag Amayas is elected amenokal.

1950. Death of Meslar. The caliph, Bey ag Akhamouk, is elected in 1951.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 47. The *akala* rope noosed around the lower jaw of a pack-camel and prevented from loosening by the insertion of a small stick. Ayr, *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg.

*492 played an important part for all Tuareg. Raiding expeditions were carried out to gain all kinds of
721 booty, but camels were the main objective, and it was difficult to carry off other kinds of domestic animals over long distances. Thus camels were the main cause of raiding and also the means by which
721 raiding expeditions were carried out. In Ahaggar large scale raiding stopped long ago with the advent
175 of the French at the beginning of our century, though it recovered again during the revolt of 1916–17. This was also true of Ayr, but it seems as if raiding in and around this Massif continued still later
685 (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 187 ff. & Buchanan 1921, p. 209 ff.). Nowadays raiding has ceased everywhere among the Tuareg, but theft of camels has been on the increase in the south. There are many camel thieves among the Ayr Tuareg, for it is very easy to steal grazing camels during the night and to lead them to some distant market and sell them. The Tuareg claim that in pre-European times there were
[640] hardly any camel thieves in Ayr as such persons were punished very severely. They say that the theft of camels became normal with the French who have great difficulty in proving the guilt of thieves.

[text continues on p. 70]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*492

Fig. 85. Tuareg breaking in a young newly-caught donkey. The donkey is prevented from escaping by means of hobble-ropes (*téffart* and *amahus*) and is also tethered to an acacia tree. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

231 262 237 [175] skin (Duveyrier 1864, p. 231). It is most possible that the taboo on donkey's meat and skin is due to Islam – meat of donkeys and horses is considered unlawful by the Ḳoran. Leo Africanus states that the nomads of the Sahara eat meat of donkeys which they catch in snares (Leo Africanus II, p. 944).

136 224 The wild donkeys, or asses, of Tuareg countries are very shy, and it is most impressive to watch a herd of some twenty animals galloping over the desert plains. Because of their shyness they are often hunted much in the same way as game animals. Among the Northern Tuareg they are caught in the spiked wheel-trap, are run down by men mounted on camels, or are driven into closed river valleys surrounded by steep rocky walls. In certain parts of Ayr wild donkeys can be caught in the same way – notably in valleys of Mount Tamgak (Northern Ayr) and around Anu Meḳḳeren (Central Ayr) – while the method of running down wild donkeys with riding camels is said not to be practised. Whether the so-called spiked wheel-trap is used for catching donkeys or not, I do not know, as the Ayr country is very extensive and inhabited by Tuareg of different origins. The Tuareg belonging to the *Kel Ferwan* group claimed that it was not used for donkeys or asses for which they have a kind of snare called *tuyunt*, which is also the name used among them for the noosed rope connected with the spiked wheel-trap. The snare used for donkeys is said to consist of a rope some twenty or thirty metres long and [283] plaited from dum palm leaves. The rope is noosed at one end to be used as follows:— The loop is laid out where donkeys come to drink, the whole rope being covered with sand. The hunter lies hidden behind some natural object, a rock or tree, and when a donkey puts one of its legs within the loop he pulls the rope. It is said that this method is also sometimes used for other domestic animals [231] which have gone wild, as happens frequently with oxen. But it is never used for hunting proper game 231 224 animals such as gazelle, antelope, and barbary sheep. To catch domestic animals which have gone

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Fig. 88. Riding saddle of the type manufactured at Agadez and used by horse-riding Tuareg and Negroes in Ayr and further south. Note the very narrow stirrups which are often used for the insertion of only one or two toes. (Musée de l'homme, Collection Henri Lhote, 38/617).

231 there are perhaps less than ten horses which are all owned by sedentary people (blacksmiths and
[563] Arabs). Conditions for horse-breeding are better in Ayr, but even there pastoral Tuareg do not generally breed horses which for a large part of the year must be fed on barley, millet, or on milk. In Ayr,
[563] horses are mainly bred by sedentary Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group and by the negroid citizens of Agadez who hold horses in very great esteem. There are perhaps 100–200 horses in and around Agadez, where the animals are kept in or at the houses most of the year to be fed on cereals and on hay of annual grasses cut with a sickle (cf. Fig. 143 f). During the period of *akasa* it is common to let the
*492 animals graze on annual pasture, and they are then very tightly hobbled. The Ayr peoples use a bit (*arabo*) (Fig. 89) similar to the type used by Arabs in the North, but their saddles are not of the
[171] general Arab type (cf. Fig. 88). The very broad Arab stirrups also seem to be unknown to the *Kel Ayr* and to the *Kel Geres*, who have many horses. The stirrups used by horse-riding Tuareg are generally very thin and slender, and they are frequently used for the insertion of only one or two toes.
[113] The riding-gear used by the *Kel Ayr* (including the *Imeggedezen*) and the *Kel Geres* is described in detail in literature (cf. Foureau 1905, III, p. 879 ff. & 921 ff.). This is very complete, and was, perhaps,
[175] introduced fairly recently, for we know that the Libyans of Antiquity rode without a saddle and governed their horses mainly by means of a stick (Bates 1941, p. 96 f.), and we are informed by Ibn Batutah that in the Middles Ages the people of Ayr rode without saddles (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 442).
231 The history of the horse in Africa constitutes a very important problem. It is generally admitted
174

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Fig. 131. A *foggara* canal (*dfell*) dug into the sandy river bed from where it is led into the gardens of the valley terrace. Southern Ahaggar, *Tafaut*.

245 [423] In Ayr there are also a few pastoral Tuareg who own date palms growing in river valleys, e.g., people of the *Imezzureg* tribe of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These date palms, like those growing half wild in Northern Tuareg countries, yield very small dates of a quality inferior to those grown in the oases under constant supervision by agriculturists. Such dates are used only for local consumption.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AHAGGAR

241 175 Irrigation agriculture has been practised since ancient times within certain territories now inhabited by the Northern Tuareg. As early as in Roman times there is reference to *Radames*, *Rat*, and certain oases of the Fezzan, which were visited by Roman Expeditions (Lhote 1955a, p. 113 f.; Duveyrier 1864, p. 249 ff., 266 ff., 275 ff., 455 ff.). Lhote thinks that the oasis of Abalessa in the lowland west of the Ahaggar Massif was also visited by the Roman general Cornelius Balbus (Lhote 1955a, p. 88 f., 113 f., 286), but this, perhaps, is to be doubted. In the writings of Medieval Arab authors there is apparently no reference to oases within the Ahaggar country, though oases in neighbouring parts of the Sahara are mentioned.

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In literature there seems to be no reliable information about the existence of irrigation agriculture 241
in Ahaggar until Duveyrier, who states that agriculture did not obtain a fixed position in the economic 175
life of the Ahaggar Tuareg until the reign of the *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) (cf. Duveyrier
1864, p. 369). This statement is confirmed by most agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg in Ahaggar, 241
who claim that prior to *Elkhaj Akhmed* irrigation agriculture was not practised in Ahaggar. During 312
the reign of this *Amenukal* irrigation agriculture by means of the subterranean aqueducts known to 173
the Arabs as *foggara* (*éfeli*, pl. *ifelan*) was introduced by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs and negroid *Ḥarratin* from 177
the Tidikelt oases. Some people of Ahaggar claim that another irrigation system was introduced about
the same time, namely irrigation wells from which water is drawn by oxen and donkeys. This system,
known as *tanut*, is said to have been introduced by agriculturists from Ġanet (Djanet) (the *Kel Ġanet*).
It should be noted that there are certain traditions which claim irrigation agriculture to be older in
Ahaggar. One tradition says that it was practised at Silet-Tibeghin by Arabs who immigrated from
Tawat to cultivate by means of the *foggara* system even during the reign of the *Imenan* (Lhote 1955,
p. 286 f.). Another tradition, recorded by Foucauld, states that irrigation farming was known at a 241
very remote date by the *Isebeten* – a pagan people said to be the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes of 312
Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535 f.). Traditions of the age of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar 173
are conflicting. If it was practised long before the reign of *Elkhaj Akhmed* by the ancient vassals, I
believe that water was raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counter-
weight. For this system, which is known as *ajudid*, is said to have been very common in the past. It
is extremely rare nowadys, and I have only seen it once at Terhenanet. There can be no doubt that [171]
this simple irrigation method is a very old one in North Africa, where it is more widely distributed
than all other types of irrigation methods (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, map VII p. 320). The very wide
distribution of this system elsewhere in the Old World points to its great age, and it is perhaps to be
considered the oldest true irrigation machine.

A few Tuareg in the northern groups practise irrigation agriculture, which does not seem to be one 241
of their traditional occupations. Tuareg irrigation farmers are found mainly in the Fezzan, but mention 178
should also be made of the people of three noble tribes, namely the *Hemiéyen* (living at Ṛat), the
*Ikadeyen* (at Tit in Ahaggar), and the *Kel-ahem-miellen* (roaming pastoralists north of Ahaggar or settled
farmers at the oasis of Inṛer in Tidikelt). These sedentary or semi-sedentary noble Tuareg were originally
true pastoralists, though but little is known of the original mode of livelihood of the *Ikadeyen*. A few
individuals or families among the Ahaggar vassals have more recently taken up irrigation agriculture
in addition to stock-breeding. There seems to be a growing tendency towards semi-nomadism in
Ahaggar nowadays. There may be several reasons for this. Thus one can point to the decline of [432]
caravan trading and to the fact that pastoral Tuareg cannot so easily get the true agriculturists to cul-
tivate for them. The true agriculturists of Ahaggar comprise the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*) of Tidikelt, [564]
who have mixed with the manumitted slaves now also known as *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*), a few fair-
skinned *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, and the *Kel Ġanet* who are predominantly black-skinned. All these agricultural
people tend to mix with each other and also with tribes of pastoral Tuareg.

There are at present about 25 agricultural settlements in the river valleys of Ahaggar. Apart from 361
the administration centre of Tamanṛaset (1600) and the oasis of Abalessa (547) these agricultural 162

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those of Tasilé-n-Ajjer and the *Kel Geres*. I have been informed by *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg of the *Kel Dennek* group, whom I met in Ayr, that they live on millet to much the same extent as the Ayr Tuareg, and that some of them have gardens cultivated by negroid agriculturists. For the *Kel Dennek* it is expressively stated by Nicolas that they cannot live on milk, that they kill comparatively few of their animals, and that they largely live on cereals obtained not only by collecting. Some of the Tuareg mentioned by Nicolas are described as semi-nomads (Nicolas 1950a, p. 145 ff.). Among the Southern Tuareg living further west in the Sudanese savannahs (the *Iwllemmeden Kel Aṭaram*), agricultural products are very important to the pastoralists who may possess gardens along the banks of the Niger, these gardens being cultivated by the *Bélla* (Aymard 1911, p. 117; Miner 1953, p. 60 ff.).

Nowadays there are no Tuareg who subsist without agricultural products, a few of them (the *Kel Ajjer*) practise a primitive type of agriculture in the river valleys, and within all groups there seem to be Tuareg who have turned to irrigation farming as their most important occupation. In the following section I discuss briefly the subject of Tuareg economy in the past.

## TUAREG ECONOMY IN THE PAST

Tuareg culture was not profoundly altered by the advent of European military administration around the beginning of the present century. Their traditional material culture has persisted largely unchanged up to the present day. The major change has been the abolition of warfare and consequently the breakdown of the traditional political system, but the abolition of warfare also led to important changes in the organization of caravan trading.

Raiding expeditions were carried out in some Tuareg groups even after the arrival of the Europeans, who established small garrisons in the oases and had camel patrols roaming the country as they have nowadays. Buchanan thus describes a raid carried out by Ahaggar Tuareg against the Ayr village of Timia in the year 1920 (Buchanan 1921, p. 207 ff.), and raids have not been entirely unknown in Ayr even later, though the raiders have then been severely handicapped by the establishment of the French wireless stations which enabled the camel patrols of different areas to communicate with each other (Rodd 1926a, p. 188). Raiding have nowadays stopped, but before the European penetration and conquest it was so to speak an industry to be mentioned with other subsistence activities.

The Ahaggar Tuareg were known as prominent raiders and warriors in the past. The two dominent chiefdoms within the group of Ahaggar Tuareg, the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ*, frequently raided the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg and the Arabs living north of Timbuktu, as these southern pastoralists were very rich in livestock and in slaves. Some of these Tuareg and Arabs even paid fixed dues to chiefs of the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ* in order that they should not be raided by Tuareg of these groups. However, these annual payments did not safeguard against raiding (cf. p. 401 f.). It seems as if the south-bound raiding expeditions were mainly profitable to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who could not so easily be raided in return by the Southern Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg also raided other neighbouring pastoralists such as the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the powerful Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* with whom they had frequent and very serious quarrels; these people raided the Ahaggar Tuareg in return. It can be

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175 721 added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was also fighting within these groups at intervals.

[648] The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwllemmeden* and the Arab pastor-
[578] alists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg frequently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

[437] Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite of these latent conditions of hostility.

175 437 Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays. They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter, cheese, and the like.

175 437 484 The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times, but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Hammu* who dominated the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays.

[439] They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also
[438] say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All
[317] this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadror were not utilized in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to
[361] the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then
[162] travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could not defend itself against raiders.

175 567 It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading
[648] until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in
[171] this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

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1888, p. 21 f.). Duveyrier says that among the *Kel Aijer* all noble Tuareg had slaves, while only some of the vassals were slave owners. He says that slaves were bought and sold in towns (Duveyrier 1864, p. 339). Information about the Tuareg slave trade is given by Richardson, who undertook his journeys mainly to collect material on slavery which is described throughout his journals. According to Richardson's descriptions there can be little doubt that the Tuareg engaged in the slave trade, but I think that perhaps his statements are tinged by his deep antiphathy to slavery (cf. Richardson 1848, I–II & 1853, I–II). It is most possible that the Tuareg slave caravans he mentions were organized by Arab merchants of Rat and Radames. The former engagement of pastoral Tuareg in the slave trade has also been mentioned by Lyon (Lyon 1821).

As to Tuareg caravan trade throughout the 19th century, we can add that all Tuareg tribes did not trade to the same extent. Within most groups there were certain tribes of particular classes which did not go in so much for warfare and raiding, but were keen traders. This was true of tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class in Ahaggar, and in Ahnet there were two Arab tribes allied with the drum-group of *Tayiok*, namely the *Sekakna* and the *Mazil* who were responsible for the very important trade with Timbuktu (Bissuel 1888, p. 24). Among the *Kel Aijer* the *Iforas* tribes traded on a much larger scale than other tribes (Duveyrier 1864, p. 359 ff.). In Ayr the same was true of certain tribes of the *Kel Ewey* group.

However, throughout the 19th century all Tuareg, with the exception of those of the nobility, engaged in caravan trading which played a great part for the pastoralists, providing them with cereals and dates necessary for their subsistence. Already in this century certain pastoralists had taken up irrigation agriculture, and some of them practised a very primitive type of agriculture, but vegetable products were acquired mainly through caravan trading.

[text continues on p. 221]

# Tuareg Culture, History, and African Culture complexes

In the preceding Chapters I have mentioned most cultural traits connected with Tuareg subsistence activities. In this Chapter I attempt to view some of these traits in the light of history and the historical theories which have found their expression in the establishment of African culture complexes. I wish to emphasize at the very beginning that this investigation must omit some important traits of Tuareg culture as there is no historical information about them and because good descriptions of stock-breeding techniques are lacking in the case of most pastoralists of Africa and Asia. Consequently it is very difficult to compare in great detail Tuareg culture with other pastoral cultures. /121

## TUAREG CULTURE AND HISTORY

True historical sources which elucidate the development of African cultures are very scanty and cover only a very short period. We know that most African cultures in recent times have been much influenced by Europeans and their culture, and that some cultures were changed fundamentally at an earlier period owing to Arab migrations and the introduction of Islam. We know that North Africa during antiquity was strongly influenced by Romans and Greeks, and still earlier by the Phoenicians. We possess from North Africa a few valuable written records from olden times and from Egypt we have earlier historical documents which help us to understand certain aspects of cultural evolution. /175 /177

The occupation of Ahaggar and Ayr by the French has led to a growing cultural influence from Islam and the Arabs. Ahaggar was conquered by Arab soldiers under the command of French officers, and even nowadays a very large number of Arabs serve in the camel patrols of Ahaggar with Tuareg camel riders. Some of these Arab soldiers marry Tuareg women, and many of them settle in Ahaggar when they have retired from military service. Other Arabs and Arabic-speaking *Harratin* of Tidikelt have immigrated after the French occupation of the country. The number of people who speak Arabic as their mother tongue is not doubt increasing, and Arabic is understood and even spoken by many Tuareg men though generally unknown to Tuareg women. Added to this, the Arabs have acquired a high prestige not only on account of Islam but also because Arabic has been adopted as the main language of the administration in Ahaggar. The officers who act as administrators in Ahaggar speak and write Arabic while with rare exceptions they do not know the Tuareg language. For all these reasons certain cultural traits of the Arabs have been introduced into Ahaggar after the French occupation. [48] [187] [197] [191] [829]

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177 Arab cultural traits have played a less important part in Ayr, where there are very few Arabs apart
162 from the merchants living at Agadez. The Arabs in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, have a certain religious prestige
189 but I have also heard Tuareg say that they did not like Arabs much because of their bad manners, and mainly because the Arabs talk too much and lack the peculiar type of quiet reservation characteristic of so many Tuareg. It seems as if the French administrators of Ayr have been responsible for the introduction of certain Arab cultural traits, but they have not made Arabic an official language
191 of the administration. Apart from the marabuts there are very few Ayr Tuareg who have some
148 knowledge of Arabic. The French administration of Ayr, belonging to the former territory of French
167 West Africa, has led to the immigration of many Sudanese people of negroid type. Clerks and lower officials working in Agadez have mainly come from Dahomey.

175 The Arabs and Islam came to North Africa at a very early date. The first invasion of Arabs took
177 place in the 7th century A.D. and brought Islam and traits of Oriental town-dwelling civilization into a narrow belt of North Africa along the Mediterranean. There is an Arab tradition according
173 to which the first followers of Mohammed came to Central Sahara and to the Tuareg as early as the 7th century, but there is also a tradition among the Ahaggar Tuareg saying that Islam was introduced among them by a marabut of the Almoravids (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 347 f.). It is very possible that certain Tuareg groups of the extreme north were influenced by Islam and the Arabs after the first invasion, but more important was the second invasion of the 11th century when the Northern Sahara was occupied by Arab bedouins from Egypt and, ultimately, from Arabia. This so-called *Hilalian Invasion* comprised various large tribal groups:— (1) the *Beni Sulaim* (or *B. Soliman*) who settled in Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and in the adjacent parts of Algerian Sahara where some of the present *Chambu* Arabs claim descent from this tribal group; (2) the *Beni Hilal* who settled further west in the Sahara south of Algerian and Moroccan Atlas; the important Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Hammu* of Tidikelt claim descent from this Hilalian group; (3) the smaller tribal group named *Makil*; this followed the *Beni Hilal* but occupied grazing grounds further west in the desert country of Morocco.
175 These tribal groups largely influenced the Tuareg, and there seems to be little doubt that many Tuareg
148 pastoralists were driven southwards owing to the invasion of Arab nomads, who settled in Tripolitania and the Fezzan. But these Arab pastoralists could not everywhere defeat the pastoral Tuareg. In Ibn Khaldun's day the frontier dividing the Arab bedouins from pastoral Tuareg followed mainly the great belt of sand-hills running from east to west in the Northern Sahara. Now and then the Arabs carried out raids against the Tuareg, but Ibn Khaldun says that the Arab raiders were always attacked by the Tuareg and suffered severe losses (Ibn Khaldun I p. 191, II p. 104 f.). The penetration of Arab pastoral groups into the Central Sahara is outlined by Capot-Rey who states (1) that the Berber tribes inhabiting Tripolitania, Tunisia, and adjacent regions were quickly Arabized, (2) that the Western Tuareg of Mauritania were conquered more recently by the *Makil* Arabs, (3) that elsewhere in the Sahara the Tuareg were not only able to defend most of their territory, but also to assimilate certain Arab tribes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 191 f.). This latter statement is correct. Contact between Arabs and Tuareg has also led to the adoption of Tuareg cultural traits by many Arab pastoralists, and even the very powerful Arab tribe, the *Ulad Ba Hammu* of Tidikelt, lived in pre-European times very much like the Tuareg in leather tents and dressed like the Tuareg. Various Arab tribes of the Sudan

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are also very akin to the Tuareg in culture, but have preserved some Arab traits of material culture and their traditional social organization in addition to their language, though they also know *tamachek*. We are here concerned only with traits adopted into Tuareg culture from contact with the Arabs.

In the description of Tuareg culture I have already pointed out many cultural traits due to Arab influence. I have mentioned such traits in connection with food-preparation (p. 232, 237 ff, 247 ff) and dress (p. 303 f.). I have also mentioned the introduction of cultivation methods and cultivated plants owing to contact with Arabs and the Arabic-speaking *Harratin* (p. 186 ff.), and I have stated that it seems as if new types or new breeds of domestic animals were introduced to North Africa by the invading Arabs. Cats and domestic pigeons seem to be post-Arabian in the Sahara (p. 115 f.), the true grey-hound came to Tuareg country with the Arabs, who also introduced the particular horse-breed known as the *Aryen* type (p. 113). Doutressoulle relates a native tradition to the effect that this breed came to the Begzen Mountains with Arabs of Tripolitania (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238 f., 242). Horses of this breed are introduced to Ayr from the north even to-day, but as far as I know the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* do not use the Arab type of saddle or the very broad stirrups typical of the northern horse-riding Arabs. They generally use very narrow stirrups for the insertion of one or two toes. These stirrups were possibly introduced to the Western Sudan with the Dongolawi breed. It came from Upper Egypt at the end for the 13th century A.D. when the *Djoheyna* Arabs immigrated (Mauny 1961, p. 283).

I have mentioned above (p. 54 ff.) that there are two main types of camels among the Northern Tuareg:— (1) a northern Arab breed (*marroki*) characterized by heavy stature and a thick covering of wool, and (2) a southern breed more slenderly built and with little or no wool – a breed which is typical to the Tuareg. Medieval Arab authors have stated that the Tuareg possessed camels of a particular breed well fitted for riding (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 70, 105; Edrisi, p. 11, 67 f., 144 f.; Leo Africanus p. 940 f.). The division of camels into two distinct types of the above characteristics can be traced elsewhere in Northern Africa, where the heavy woolly breed is found mainly in the north and particularly among Arabs, while the slender non-woolly breed is common among such pastoralists as the Tuareg, the Moors of Mauretania (who are largely of Tuareg stock and have a great many Berber words in their camel vocabulary, according to Monteil 1952), the Tebu, and the Beja tribes around the Nile (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 79 ff.; Doutressoulle 1947, p. 272 ff.; Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415 f.; Murray 1935, p. 92 ff.). The distinction between the two main types cannot apparently be explained by the different environmental conditions, for they frequently live within the same type of environment, and the northern *marroki* type is found particularly among Arabs, and not only among the Arabs of the northern desert. *Marroki*-like camels seem to exist among such Arab tribes as the *Kunta* and the *Berabich* north of the Niger Bend in the Azawad desert (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 273), among the camel-breeding Arabs of the Lake Tchad region, and among Arab pastoralists of the former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan – particularly among the Kababish (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 80 ff., 83 f.). There seem to be little doubt that the *marroki* camel came to North Africa with the Arabs and it is then natural to investigate whether they also introduced particular cultural traits connected with camel-breeding. It is relatively easy to take up such an investigation with reference to particular saddle types, because they are frequently described and depicted in literature.

*342 ago when the *Ḫarratin* agriculturists immigrated from Tidikelt. Most people even aver that there
174 were hardly any houses in Ahaggar until the arrival of the French at the beginning of the century. This is confirmed by Foucauld (1951–52, II, p. 609), and Bissuel was told by the Tuareg captives at
361 Algiers that Abalessa had no solid houses but only straw-huts (cf. Bissuel 1888, p. 53). It is true that
125 Hornemann mentions a village comprising 25–30 houses built of stone and situated in the country
*[342] of Hhagarâ (Hornemann 1803, I, p. 154 f.). But Hornemann travelled further east and never visited Ahaggar or Tasilé-n-Ajjer. His information may perhaps refer to a village in the latter region also inhabited by noble *Ihaggaren* Tuareg. Permanent settlements of Ahaggar are apparently never mentioned in the writings of Medieval Arab authors. We know that Ahaggar was visited by Ibn Batutah. He does not mention any settlements in this country, of which and its inhabitants "there is little good to say" (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 446).

*342 A.4. *Subterranean or semi-subterranean dwellings.*

[17] Subterranean or semi-subterranean dwellings seem to be unknown in Ayr and also in the regions inhabited by most other Southern Tuareg though found among sedentary people along the Niger
[563] Bend (cf. Hefel 1946, p. 190 ff.). They are known also in Ahaggar where they are used exclusively by black-skinned agriculturists who claim that this type of dwelling named *eddamus* was introduced into Ahaggar with the *Kel Ĝanet*. This agrees with the fact that these dwellings are particularly common in the region of Taṛhawhawt where many of the *Kel Ĝanet* live. However, subterranean dwellings nowadays are also used by certain other sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The dwellings are not very deep, and frequently they are only semi-subterranean, the upper part then consisting of walls built of rectangular pieces of sundried mud or of stones kept together by mud. The subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling normally has a rectangular site, and is not very spacious. Introduced by the *Kel Ĝanet*, this type of dwelling is comparatively recent in Ahaggar. I have not seen subterranean

Fig. 248. Semi-subterranean house with two rooms (*eddamus*). Ahaggar, I-n-ṣawen.

have been for centuries much contact between the Tuareg and the regions dominated by the black tent and Arab pastoralists. 342* 174 177

Certain Arabs who have immigrated from the north to Tuareg country have adapted their original tent structure of black tents to the Tuareg sheet of skin. This is demonstrated in case of Arab pastoralist known as *Deremchaka* (Dermechaka = Ar. El-Mechākra) who live in the *Kel Dennek* country. These pastoral Arabs, who have been much influenced by their Tuareg neighbours, use two central oblique posts to support a very short cross-bar (*hómmâr* in Arabic), placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction, and it seems as if they have no other wooden elements to support the sheet and no cord attachment to secure the posts in contrast to the *Kel Dennek*. The *Deremchaka* Arabs immigrated to *Kel Dennek* country from Southern Algeria at a date later than the 17th century (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 153 f., pl. VIIIc; p. 67 f.). They have probably taken this tent structure with them from Algeria, where it is common to use two central posts carrying a short cross-bar at a right angle to the longitudinal direction.

It would seem that we have another example of the introduction of structural elements of black tents into skin tents, namely the above-mentioned skin tent supported by two central oblique posts with a short cross-bar which is used among certain *Kel Inteser*. This structure resembles that of certain double-posted black tents used among Arab pastoralists in many parts of North Africa, and the *Kel Inteser* Tuareg seem to be Arabs by origin. This is stated by several authors (Delafosse 1912 I, p. 195; Mohammed Saïd 1903, p. 210 ff.; Richer 1924, p. 14; Marty 1920–21, I, p. 254 ff.), and a Tuareg of the *Kel Inteser* group whom I met in Ayr held the same view. There seem to be little doubt that the structure of *Kel Inteser* skin tents derives from black tents and from the Arabs who most probably were responsible for the introduction of black tents to Mauretania and the whole Western Sahara.

The use of black tents among the Western Moors seems to throw important light upon tent development in North Africa. These tents are mentioned in early literature. Labat says that the Moors of Arguin and the Niger have round and conical tents, and that the former are covered with material of goats and camels (Labat 1728, I, p. 262), while Saugnier and Park mention the occurrence of two central posts in Moorish tents (Saugnier 1799, p. 33; Park ed. 1923, p. 109). A more comprehensive description of such tents is given by Caillié who says that the *Brakna* use two central posts carrying a short cross-bar to support their black tents, which in winter has an interior tent consisting of a sheet of skin supported by poles (Caillié 1830, I, p. 130), and the use of two central posts crossing each other and carrying a short cross-bar on their tops is also mentioned recently from Mauretania (cf. Delpy 1955, p. 18, Fig. 7 no. 25). Douls depicts a black tent of pyramidal form from Rio del Oro (Douls 1888, p. 22 f.) and it would seem that this tent corresponds structurally to the type now in general use among the Moors of Mauretania and described or depicted by several authors (cf. Ould Hamidon 1952, ill. p. 41; Dubié 1953, p. 134, 162; Gabus 1955, ill. p. 72; Meniaud 1912, II, pl. X, p. 48). The particular structure of black tents among the Western Moors is due to the fact that it contains a barrel-vaulted dwelling covered with canvas. This barrel-vaulted dwelling constitutes the only type of dwelling of the Moors in the dry season, but during the rains and when it is extremely hot it is covered by the black tent (cf. Urvoy 1942, p. 33 f., Fig. 2, pl. I, Figs. 3,4). Thus the partic- 342* 171 175

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

# Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg

In the introductory chapter on the Tuareg I mentioned that they fall into a number of main groups. 181
These groups or federations constitute the largest political units and are the following:— the *Kel* 642
*Ahaggar*, the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Adrar*, the *Kel Ayr*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*, and the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*. The federation of *Kel Tadenaket* in the region of Timbuktu was subjected to the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* from about A.D. 1800 (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). In this chapter I attempt to outline the structure of some of the federations, and to consider certain problems connected with their historical development.

The two groups of Northern Tuareg which are so intimately related to one another, both culturally 173
and linguistically, formed originally one large political group under the command of the very powerful 642
noble tribe, the *Imenan* in the region of Ganet. It was not only considered noble to a very high degree, 614
but it was very highly estimated because of its supposed relationship to the Prophet. Many noble 565
Tuareg to-day, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, will claim themselves to be *Echcherifen* through relationship to the ancient *Imenan*, whose leader was the supreme chief of all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer until about A.D. 1650 or somewhat later in the 17th century. The *Imenan* about that date [669]
lost their power owing to insurrections led by the powerful noble tribe, the *Uraren*. A Tuareg of this [643]
tribe killed the supreme chief named *Guma* and the leadership of the *Kel Ajjer* now passed over to the chief of the *Uraren*.

The political system of the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century has been described in some detail 175
by Duveyrier with particular reference to the *Kel Ajjer* among whom he lived in 1859 (cf. Duveyrier 64
1864). Among the authors who visited the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century Duveyrier is by far the most important, and his brief description of political organization is of particular value.

When the *Imenan* lost their supreme authority owing to the rising of the *Uraren*, they retained 643
their titles of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*), which are used for all descendants of the *Imenan*, their [614]
women even to-day being known as *Timenukalin* (sing. *Tamenukalt*). The chief of the *Imenan* was still "the *Amenukal*", a title used for supreme and independent chiefs of large political units. It is a word known to all Tuareg, and there have been some discussion about its proper meaning. The meaning according to Duveyrier is "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this interpretation is that generally followed by modern authors (e.g., Lhote 1955, p. 189; Blanguernon 1955, p. 47), though Foucauld does not go into the proper meaning of the word *Amenukal* but contents himself with the statement that it is the title of "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1213 f.). According to Prasse *Amenukal* is very probably a composit of

[p. 393]

643 *amenu* + (*a*)*kal*, "*amenu* of the country". The first part may be the now extinct sing. of *Imenan*, the original meaning of which is unknown ("princes"?); this agrees with Foucauld's statement that normally *Amenukal* is used as sing. of *Imenan*, meaning *iyen daṛ-Menan*" = "one of the *Imenan* tribe" (Prasse, verbal information). My own view is that though the title may perhaps refer to *akal* [423] meaning "land" it is to be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". It is evident, as pointed out recently by Briggs, that an *Amenukal* as a supreme chief does not own the land in any ordinary sense, but rather owns it as a representative of the whole community (cf. Briggs 1958, p. 88). However, many Tuareg of the south do not connect the word *Amenukal* with "*akal*", and even in the past when the supreme *Amenukal* of the *Imenan* reigned over the Northern Tuareg, he apparently did not have the supreme command of the whole country. When Duveyrier stayed among the *Kel* 173 *Ajjer*, the country of these Tuareg was divided between certain noble tribes. This division was said 631 to have taken place in the following way:— The first Tuareg who settled in Tasilé-n-Ajjer were the 614 *Imenan* and the *Ifoṛas*, while other tribes immigrated at a later date. It happened one day in the past that the supreme chief of the *Imenan* summoned the noble women who had sons with rights of succession to chieftainship, and to each of these women he alloted a particular territory as their apanage. Thus the noble woman of the *Uraṛen* tribe was given the valley of Iṛarṛaren, while the noble woman of the *Imanṛasaten* tribe gained the valley of Tekhammalt (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 323). According to this popular account the land of the *Kel Ajjer* was divided between noble tribes even at a time when 175 the supreme chief of the *Imenan*, the *Amenukal*, was the supreme ruler of the *Kel Ajjer*. In Duveyrier's 631 days the important land-holding tribes among the *Kel Ajjer* seem to have been the *Imenan* in the 614 Tasilé around Ganet, the *Uraṛen* north of the Tasilé Mountains around the valley of Iṛarṛaren, the *Imanṛasaten* east of the *Uraṛen*, and finally the *Ifoṛas* who lived in the region south and southwest [566] of Ṛadames. The *Ifoṛas* Tuareg were then, as to-day, held in high esteem because of their position as *Ineslemen*. They also claimed themselves to be noble by origin. They had no vassals attached to them, but one of the *Ifoṛas* tribes had territorial rights around Ṛadames, and it had the right to dues [651] from all foreign caravans passing through the country. Other land-holding tribes possessed the same rights for their particular territories, and their members (i.e., apparently their chiefs) at certain seasons camped around the caravan roads leading through their country to collect dues from caravan [643] traders (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff., 359 ff.). The *Kel Ajjer* country in Duveyrier's days was divided between various noble tribes, and the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Ajjer group*, the chief of the *Uraṛen*, had no rights over the whole country as such.

565 The noble Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* had rights over certain vassal tribes which did not necessarily 614 live within the territory of the noble tribe to which they were attached. Duveyrier tells us so much 642 of this vassalage that it is possible to outline the main structure of this very interesting political institution.

The noble tribes which had particular rights over vassals were the *Uraṛen*, the *Imenan*, and the *Imanṛasaten*. The last-mentioned tribe remained loyal to the ancient rulers of the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Imenan*, to whom they constituted a sort of armed guard in the past. The *Imanṛasaten* were in opposition to the *Uraṛen* but the latter tribe was very powerful because of its direct authority over most vassal tribes. In all 17 vassal tribes or tribal sections were commanded by the *Uraṛen*, while the *Imenan*,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



My arguments in favour of the theory that the noble tribes now dominant in Ahaggar are not the oldest noble Tuareg of that area are the following:— 174 565

(1) The small noble tribe *Ikadeyen*, which to-day comprises very few persons who live mainly as sedentary agriculturists around the cultivation centre of Tit in Ahaggar, is said to have lived in Ahaggar before the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes. Some Tuareg say that the *Ikadeyen* are as old in Ahaggar as the *Isebeten*, and it is most interesting that the *Dag Rali* Tuareg, who descend from the *Isebeten*, pay at each marriage in their tribe a tribute corresponding to 50 kilos of millet or dates to the *Ikadeyen*. This custom is quite unusual and it may perhaps point towards an ancient vassal relationship between the *Dag Rali* (descending from the *Isebeten*) and the *Ikadeyen*. If this is so the vassalage has apparently been different from that prevailing in Ahaggar nowadays and more akin to that of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr, where part of the bride-wealth is given to noble chiefs. It is interesting to note that the *Ikadeyen* Tuareg are said to be "only a little *Ihaggaren*", or to be "*Ihaggaren* but not true *Ihaggaren*". 571 614

(2) The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) as a term for the social class here referred to as "noble Tuareg", seems to be peculiar to the Northern Tuareg. In other Tuareg groups the so-called noble class is known by the term *Imajeyen* (sing. *Amajer*), or related terms. Nicolas says that this term refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188 f.). The corresponding word in Northern Tuareg dialect is *Imuhar* (sing. *Amahar*), which is used for all true Tuareg including the vassals. It has generally been accepted that this word derived from the verb *aher* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318; Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 665-674), but Prasse has recently informed me that it is a deformation of *amazir* known in Northern Berber as "free man; Berber". The Foucauld hypothesis that it should be a verbal adjective of *aher* must be discarded, the *h* of this verb being original (Prasse, verbal information) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 457-462). 174 565 184

The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) is different. According to the Tuareg it is just a name, and it is very possible that Foucauld is right in claiming that it is identical with the word *Hawwara*, which was the name of an ancient Berber-speaking population of North Africa (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 533 f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory is pure speculation (Nicolas 1953b, p. 14). This, however, is not correct, as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds, as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *w* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *w* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 533).

If we can consider *Hawwara* and *Ihaggaren* as identical words and thus assume a relationship between the dominant noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and the ancient Berber-speaking people known as *Hawwara*, we must look for further information about the latter people who are frequently mentioned in Arab historical documents of the Middle Ages. Ibn Khaldun in particular has written about the *Hawwara*, who are described as nomads and sedentary people who live mainly in the regions of Tunisia, Tripolitania, and Cyrenaica, though tribes belonging to the *Hawwara* groups are also found outside this area to the east and west. The *Hawwara*, according to Ibn Khaldun, came under Arab influence at a very early date, and were conquered by the Arabs as early as the 9th century A.D. In Ibn Khaldun's days the *Hawwara* people were entirely dominated by the Arabs and were the vassals of Arabs of the *Beni Sulaym* group. They spoke Arabic and were culturally indistinguishable from the Arabs. But according to Ibn Khaldun some of the pastoral *Hawwara* at very early date migrated 174 175 565

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174 175 565 southwards to settle close to the *Lemta* Tuareg. The *Hawwara* descent of these people is indicated by their name *Heggar*. For the letter *w* in the name *Hawwara* has changed into a sort of *k* with a pronunciation something between a soft and a guttural *k* (cf. Ibn Khaldun I, p. 275 ff.). Thus we see that the theory set forth by Foucauld about the connection between the *Hawwara* and the *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) was advanced much earlier by Ibn Khaldun.

It is interesting to note that though he recognizes a certain relationship between the *Hawwara* and the large Tuareg groups Ibn Khaldun does not as a rule mention the *Hawwara* as belonging to the veiled Tuareg. There are many different and contradicting genealogical views of the origin of the *Hawwara*. It seems as if Ibn Khaldun accepts the explanation given by Ibn Hazm: All Tuareg groups and the *Hawwara* descend from an ancestress named *Tizki*. But the *Hawwara* are not patrilineally related to these large Tuareg groups; they descend from *Hawwar* and through him from an ancestor named *Awrir* (cf. Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 169). It is remarkable that the word *Awrir*, which in the form of *Awrira* is also used by Ibn Khaldun as a name of a Berber tribe in the Fezzan, is identical with *Urarren* – the name of the principal noble tribe among the *Kel Ajjer* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

Of the other Tuareg groups Ibn Khaldun says that they have lived in the desert since immemorial times. The principal groups mentioned are:—

*Gedala* belonging to the large *Ṣanhaja* division. They lived in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Dwi-Ḥasan* of *Makil* root living around Sous in Southern Morocco.

*Lemtuna* and *Wenziga* in the desert south of the Arab tribes *Dwi-Manṣur* and *Dwi-Ubayd-Allah* – tribes of *Makil* root living in Morocco.

*Messufa* in the desert south of an Arab tribe named *Zorba* living in the central Maghreb.

*Lemta* living in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Riaḥ* in Eastern Algeria (Zab, Bougie, Constantine).

*Targa* living in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Sulaym* in Ifrikia, that is Tunisia and adjacent parts of Tripolitania (cf. Ibn Khaldun II, p. 104 f.).

The country of the Northern Tuareg in Ibn Khaldun's days was inhabited by two main groups of Tuareg known as *Lemta* and *Targa*. This is confirmed by Leo Africanus who, however, states that the *Targa* live west of *Lemta* as opposed to Ibn Khaldun, who says that the *Lemta* formed the westernmost group. The two groups, according to Leo, also occupy the country south of the present territory of Northern Tuareg so that Ayr belonged to the *Targa* group (cf. Leo Africanus p. 797 ff.) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 330 ff.). As to the *Hawwara* Berbers, they are mentioned by Leo in the original Italian edition as *Aoara*, in the English translation as *Haoari* or *Hacari*. They are not mentioned as forming part of the People of the Veil, but as tent-dwelling pastoral Moors living in the northern desert and speaking Arabic though corruptly (Leo Africanus p. 130 ff., note (14) p. 205 f.).

It is most interesting that the words *Targa* and *Lemta*, which have now disappeared as names of Tuareg groups, are mentioned not only by Arab authors but are also found on European Maps of North Africa from the 16th and the 17th centuries. We have the word *Targa* situated in the central or southern part of the Sahara on the *Africae Tabula Nova* of Ortelius (1570). We have the word *Targa* in the Northern Sahara and the word *Lempta* towards the south-east of it in the Central Sahara on the *Africae Nova Descriptio* of Blaeu (1665) (cf. Bovill 1958, maps III & IV p. 113 & 132), and we have both names occurring on a map produced by Dapper in the same century (cf. Dapper 1670, p. 1).

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We mentioned in the introductory chapter that the word "*Tuareg*" seems to be derived from the word "*Targa*" or *Targa*", which latter word nowadays is used for the desert country also known by the Arab word, the "Fezzan". Foucauld says that the word "*Tuareg*" to the Arabs of Tidikelt has two distinct meanings, namely (1) "noble Tuareg", and (2) "Tuareg of all classes". He also says that the Berber-speaking population of Tawat and Tidikelt use the word *Ilemtiyen* synonymously with the word "Tuareg" used by the Arabs of the same area, and that the name *Ilemtéyen* is used for a small tribe of Tuareg living in the *Kel Aljer* territory (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533 f.). It is noteworthy that the *Ilemtéyen* tribe, which is not very numerous nowadays when its members live as sedentary agriculturists near Rat, is noble by descent, and I was told by the *Amenukal Bay* in Ahaggar that the *Ilemtéyen* tribe is not related to the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes but descends from an ancestor named *Lemta*.

In other words the following theory on the origin of the class division and the political systems among the Northern Tuareg might perhaps be justified:— We accept the tradition that the class-division originated as a result of an invasion of Berber-speaking camel-breeders, that these people introduced the camel into the Sahara, and became the first noble Tuareg in the North. These first noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tassilé-n-Ajjer belonged to the group *Lemta*. The noble Tuareg who to-day form the dominant noble tribes in the north came later; they descend from the *Hawwara* Berbers, who very early came under Arab and Islamic influence and took up grazing grounds in the country of the Northern Tuareg at a later date which cannot be fixed precisely.

## TUAREG INVASIONS INTO AYR

The connection between the Mediterranean and the Sudan by means of caravans through the Sahara is of very great, but unknown, age. Caravans have crossed the Sahara as far back as history reaches (cf. Bates 1914, p. 101 ff.; Bovill 1958, p. 24). At the beginning donkeys and oxen were probably used as beasts of burden, and the latter animals were employed also as draught animals for carriages, as were horses at a later date (cf. Lhote 1953a, p. 1138–1228). With the introduction of the camel, caravan trading through the desert was no doubt highly intensified. For although donkeys and also oxen can cross the Sahara in winter without much difficulty, camels are better suited to desert journeys.

The first Tuareg who came to Ayr may perhaps have been caravan traders attracted by the excellent gracing grounds of this country. When they arrived we do not know, but it seems possible to follow in broad outline the history of the Ayr Tuareg a thousand years back in time, and to distinguish between several invasions. However, it must be admitted that the invasions cannot be precisely dated and that our historical knowledge is on the whole most fragmentary. It is derived partly from oral tradition, partly from written historical sources, among which the so-called *Agadez Chronicle* is of particular value. It consists of various Arabic manuscripts in the care of the Sultan of Agadez. They have been published in translation and abstracts (Palmer 1910, 1928, 1936; Urvoy 1934). Several authors have made valuable contributions to the history of the Ayr Tuareg (Barth 1857–58, I; Rodd 1926a, 1926b, 1938; Palmer 1936; Urvoy 1936; Nicolas 1950a, 1950b). But there have been an excessive tendency to speculation upon the basis of superficial resemblances between tribal words.

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174 175 To my mind, the best general account of the history of the Ayr Tuareg, is given by Urvoy whom I follow in outline.

We do not know when the first Tuareg came to the Sahara, but as early as the 7th century A.D. extensive migrations of pastoral Berbers, including the two important tribal groups of *Lemta* and *Zaṛawa*, passed through the desert. The *Lemta* settled around the Niger and gave rise to the *Sonṛay* Empire, while the *Zaṛawa* reached the Lake Tchad country where the state of Kanem-Bornu was created. At this time pastoral Berbers also arrived in Ayr where new states were created. The name of one of them is known, namely the *Hausa* state of *Gober* or *Gobir* which existed in Ayr up to the 12th century A.D.

New invasions took place in the following centuries. The ancestors of the tribes of *Igdalen* (now in Tegama and Damergu south of the Massif) and *Iberkhuréyn* (now in Azawaṛ north of Tawa) have probably immigrated before the year 1000 A.D. as may also be the case with the *Kel Tamgak* in Northern Ayr. The great age of the *Igdalen* and the *Kel Tamgak* is recognized by all Ayr Tuareg to-day.

The arrival in North Africa of the Arab bedouins known as *Beni Hilal* and *Beni Sulaym*, who invaded the Tuareg countries of Tripolitania and the Fezzan (cf. Ibn Khaldun, I, p. 134 ff.), had the result that many Tuareg tribes migrated southwards to Ayr. Among them was a group of seven tribes (*Itésen*, *Ijadaranein* [probably the *Ihaḍanaren*], *Ifadalen*, *Tamakwat*, *Tamga'azellet*, *Iza'aran*, and *Ibrazwen*) descending from daughters of one and the same mother. The *Itésen* tribe had as its particular ancestress the eldest daughter. The tribes were united into a sort of federation also known as *Itésen* because its supreme chief, named *Aṛumbulu*, was elected from this tribe. The *Itésen* group settled in Central Ayr, where for a long time it held an extremely powerful position. At a certain date a group named *Immikitan* was separated from the *Itésen* federation to form an independent or semi-independent political unit with its own chief named *Emekki*. Tuareg of *Itésen* and *Immikitan* stocks are nowadays very few in number and mainly live in the savannah south of the Massif, where most of them took refuge owing to wars with later immigrants. However, remnants of these ancient Tuareg tribes are still found in the central parts of the Ayr Massif where they lead a semi-sedentary life. It seems as if the *Itésen* and the *Immikitan* at a very early date became attached to the small agricultural centres of Ayr. Many stone ruins throughout Ayr are ascribed to the *Itésen*, who are said also to have lived at Agadez which originally was a small village of stone houses inhabited by them.

According to tradition the *Itésen* Tuareg came from the oasis of Awjila in Libya, and we may assume that they have immigrated from Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, or adjacent parts of northern desert. The group of Tuareg known as the *Kel Geres* are, according to some traditions, related to the *Itésen*. They are said also to have come from Awjila. However, it seems as if the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres* have immigrated to Ayr at different times, and that the *Kel Geres* came later. According to Urvoy they invaded Ayr at a time between the 12th and the 14th century (cf. Urvoy 1936).

At the end of the 14th century both the *Kel Geres* and the *Itésen* came under the pressure of Tuareg invaders known as the *Kel Ewey*, who are said to have had Awjila as their original homeland like the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres*. They fought these two groups and in particular the *Kel Geres* who lived in Central Ayr around Anu Meḳḳeren. As a result of this the *Kel Geres* finally left Ayr in the 18th century to take up grazing grounds in the region of Madawa of the Nigerian borderlands. They still live in

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



these regions and are now extremely rich in stock, though they are said to have had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr for the southlands in the 18th century. 174 175

The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg who probably came to Ayr in the 14th century took up grazing grounds in Central and Eastern Ayr. There were originally seven tribes of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, and five of these still exist. Like the *Itésen* and most other Tuareg, these tribes claim descent from a common ancestress. But the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg have largely mixed with the negroid village population which is also now known as *Kel Ewey*, and there are very few fair-skinned pastoralists among them nowadays. Barth mentions that the true *Kel Ewey* tribes are related to the very powerful tribe of *Uraṛen* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372).

As to the origin of the noble nuclei of the two important drum-groups of *Kel Ferwan* and *Kel Faday*, the date of their arrival is most difficult to determine. The name of the *Kel Ferwan* is derived from the village of Iferwan in the north (*Kel Ferwan* = "the people of Iferwan") but they were nevertheless true nomads who originally lived in Northern Ayr. Urvoy thinks that they came to Ayr at the same time as the *Kel Ewey* or somewhat later, and that they lived in Northern Ayr around Iferwan until the 17th century when they moved southwards to the region of Agadez. But this statement is not in agreement with traditions I have collected in Ayr. It is perhaps not to be taken very seriously that all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they came to Ayr before other Tuareg groups, but the present Sultan *Umar* of Agadez says that all Tuareg groups now living in Ayr had arrived in the country when the sultanry was established in the year 1405 A.D., at which time the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg lived at Tafadek north of Agadez. There are different traditions about the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. One mentioned by Urvoy claims Egypt as their homeland; this probably implies immigration from or via the Fezzan (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). Barth says they are related to the *Uraṛen* (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 385). According to my own investigations they came from a country situated towards the east or northeast, or from Awjila, but there are also many Tuareg of this group who claim that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg originally lived in Ahaggar as close kinsmen to the dominating *Kel Ṛela* tribe of that region. Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg will even go so far as to hold that even after their arrival in Ayr they continued to intermarry with the *Kel Ṛela* of Ahaggar. According to Nicolas their ancestress is named *Tadawelt* (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474), while I have been told her name was *Sabenas*. 103

As to the origin of the *Kel Faday*, their name is derived from a mountainous part of Northern Ayr. According to Urvoy they migrated southwards towards the south-west to the region of Ingal, where they took up grazing grounds at the end of the 18th century (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). The *Kel Faday* Tuareg are said to be related to the *Taytok* of Ahaggar (Duveyrier 1864, p. 322; Urvoy 1936, p. 150; Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Barth however is of the opinion that they came from different regions but in particular from Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 384).

Among the latest Tuareg immigrants are to be mentioned the *Kel Tamat* who came possibly three or four centuries ago. Urvoy mentions Ahaggar as their homeland (Urvoy 1936, p. 150), while Nicolas says they are related to the *Uraṛen* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471). Even later came the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who in Ayr attached themselves to the *Kel Tamat*. According to Urvoy they came from Ahaggar (Urvoy 1936, p. 151), according to Nicolas they descend partly from the *Taytok* of Ahaggar, partly from the *Imanṛasaten* and the *Uraṛen* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Tuareg of the *Ikezkezen* told me that they are related to the *Uraṛen*.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



173 Tuareg traditions of origins must always be regarded with some suspicion. It is well known that all over Northern Africa numerous Arabs and Berbers claim relationship with the Prophet and his family. Most of these traditions seem to be mere fakes, and they have been omitted in this brief account of Tuareg history in Ayr. This does not mean, of course, that we can rely on the above traditions which are very often contradictory. An obvious case is that of the *Kel Ferwan*. There are traditions giving Awjila as their homeland, and I have very frequently been told that they came from Ahaggar as close kinsmen of the *Kel Ṛela*. I do not think this latter tradition contains much historical truth though it may reflect political relations of the past. The *Kel Ferwan* apparently were on quite good terms with the *Kel Ṛela* of Ahaggar whom they admired because of their power. The *Kel Ṛela* had many quarrels with the *Taytoḳ* and also with the *Kel Faday*, and the latter Tuareg again were enemies of the *Kel Ferwan*. As the *Kel Faday*, perhaps for political reasons, claimed themselves related to the *Taytoḳ* it may have been quite natural for the *Kel Ferwan* (the most important tribe in Ayr) to claim relationship to the *Kel Ṛela* (the most important tribe of Ahaggar).

It is often said in Ayr that the dominant noble tribes of most Tuareg groups are related to one another through daughters of the same mother. The Sultan says that there were originally six sisters who became the ancestress of the following noble Tuareg:— The *Kel Ferwan*, the *Kel Faday*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Itésen*, the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Imanṛasaten*. The *Iwlemmeden* Tuareg, on the other hand, have no relationship to these Tuareg but according to the Sultan are "children of the *Kel Asuf* spirits". The story of the descent of the important noble Tuareg of Ayr from a certain number of sisters is told in variations within the different tribes and groups. People of the *Kel Ferwan* group exclude the *Kel Faday* and claim that once in the past the noble *Kel Faday* tribe was a vassal tribe of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and people of the vassal tribes *Kel Akerra*, *Imezzureg*, *Isakaranan*, and *Kel Tédalé*, the members of which claim noble descent, hold that they descend from a daughter of the ancestress of the important noble Tuareg tribes.

We can never rely on oral traditions of origin which have important political functions, but oral traditions may contain some historical verity. Most traditions mentioned point to a north-eastern origin of the Ayr Tuareg – to Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and to the oasis of Awjila. It is also interesting that there are more general traditions, according to which all Ayr Tuareg ultimately came from a country named *Elberbar* situated towards the east. In support of these traditions we can refer to the fact that the most important northern trade road from Ayr leads to the oasis of Ṛat, to Tripolitania, and the Fezzan. In the past the important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo went over Gao, Agadez, Ṛat, Murzuk, Awjila, and Siwa.

## THE SULTANRY OF AYR

175 643 *The Agadez Chronicle* referred to above gives an interesting description of the establishment of the Ayr Sultanry in 1405 A.D. Before that time, it is said, a growing anarchy reigned all over the country, and the *Aṛumbulu*, supreme chief of the *Itésen* federation, therefore took the initiative in electing a Sultan to act as an arbitrator among the various groups of Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



According to the *Agadez Chronicle* five tribes of the *Itésen* went out to discover a Sultan. They found him in a country written in translations *Arim Sotafan* (Palmer 1936, p. 55) or *A'arem-Cattafane* (Urvoy 1934, p. 154). The meaning of this word – correctly written *Ayrem Settefen* – is "black town". This seems to indicate that the first Sultan came from a Sudanese state, and it is stated by all Tuareg that all known Sultans of Agadez have been black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives, the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office. 175 643

The fact that the Sultan of Agadez has four ministers like most kings of Sudanese states (cf. Frobenius, Atlas Africanus, H.3; Baumann 1940, p. 58) may perhaps point to a connection between the establishment of the Ayr Sultanry and the Sudan, and this seems also to be intimated in the *Agadez Chronicle*. Nevertheless, the popular tradition about the origin of the Ayr Sultanry goes against this assumption. For it is told all over Ayr, both among Tuareg and the so-called *Imeggedezen*, that the first Sultan of Agadez came from Constantinople. This tradition, which is not mentioned in the *Agadez Chronicle*, is also claimed to be true by the present Sultan of Agadez. He says that the *Itésen* tribes, or representatives from these tribes, went to Constantinople to ask the Sultan to give them one of his sons as the first Sultan over Ayr. The Sultan of Constantinople had three fair-skinned wives who all refused to let their sons go to Ayr with the deputation. But he also had four black-skinned wives or concubines and the first of them who was asked to let her son become the Sultan over Ayr agreed. So it happened that the deputation of *Itésen* Tuareg returned to Agadez with their first Sultan who patrilineally is descended from the Sultan of Constantinople, matrilineally from a slave woman. There are some people who claim this tradition to be spurious, but it is admitted by most people as a true account of the origin of the Ayr Sultanry. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg it is claimed that the Sultan was fetched by people of the *Kel Ferwan* group, or that the *Itésen* deputation was sent out to fetch the Sultan on the initiative of the *Kel Ferwan* group. This variation of the tradition is also recognized by the present Sultan. [645] 178 643

In the *Agadez Chronicle* we are told that the Sultan at first had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chaman from where he moved to Agadez which seem to have been founded as a city at the middle of the 15th century A.D., a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Ayr (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 102, 364 f., 409; Urvoy 1936, p. 164). 175 643 [103]

The present Sultan *Umar*, who has reigned since 1919, says that the first Sultan who came to Ayr had the great task to learn the Ayr Tuareg good manners of living. Before the establishment of the Sultanry the whole country of Ayr had been dominated by the *Izran* (of the Lake Tchad region) who had claimed as their annual tribute a young girl from all Tuareg tribes of Ayr. When the first Sultan arrived the Tuareg lived like donkeys in the rocks. They had extremely bad manners, and there were even people who married with their sisters. The Sultan taught them good manners and brought justice and order to the country. He was the true owner of the land from the northern outskirts of Ayr to the region of Madawa where the *Kel Geres* Tuareg now live. He divided the land between the main groups of Tuareg, and allotted to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who lived around Tafadek a large part of Ayr up to 173 643

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



173 Talak. This tradition is acknowledged as true by certain Tuareg of Ayr, but all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg
643 claim that the Sultan has never had any right over the country of Ayr. They state that his Tuareg
[634] title of *Amenukal* has nothing to do with *akal* (i.e. "the land"), and that the country of Ayr from the remote past until now has been owned by the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 421). However,
175 if we turn to the information given on this subject by the *Agadez Chronicle*, we learn that until the
643 establishment of the Sultanry it had been customary for the powerful noble tribes to claim a tax of
651 horses from the caravans which passed their particular territories. The first Sultan of Ayr sent a letter to learned people of an Islamic country to ask whether such taxes were lawful or unlawful. And he was answered that these taxes were to be considered good because those who received the taxes protected the very important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo. The taxes should therefore be collected by the Sultan who again should give them to the Tuareg (Urvoy 1934, p. 155). Before the arrival of the French the Sultan had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, which is mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, 828 f.), and he was entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade and to annual taxes from the sedentary Negroes of Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

643 The tradition which says that the Sultan descend patrilineally from the Sultan of Constantinople and matrilineally from a slave woman clearly indicates the position of the Sultan in Tuareg society. The Sultan is looked down upon by fair-skinned Tuareg because of his black skin, but he is also endowed with prestige because of his supposed descendance from the Sultan of Constantinople.

643 A certain *elbaraka* or benediction is ascribed to him, and all people who want to greet the Sultan
778 must remove their sandals. The Sultan is always buried in his palace at Agadez, and it is said that
[766] if he was buried outside there would be a great risk that his subjects would dig up his skeleton to use
[765] part of it for amulets. It is also said that the Sultan preserves a part of the skeleton of his predecessor for amulets. This must be viewed in connection with the particular power of *elbaraka* attached to the Sultan, and it is important to note that the Sultan is believed to possess an unusual power of fertility, which is secured and maintained until his death by means of certain medicines acquired from the Sudan. Thus it seems as though the Sultan possesses some of the qualities of the Sudanese divine
175 kings, but in practice he has little power. The *Agadez Chronicle* refers to Sultans who acted as war
643 leaders of all Ayr Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Ayr it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of pastoral Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have only reigned for very short periods.

631 Although the Sultan is the supreme chief of all Ayr Tuareg, he does not have the same relationship
634 to all Tuareg groups, for many of them are placed directly under the supreme chief of the *Kel Ewey*
648 group known as the *Anestafidet*. The *Anestafidet* originally lived at Asodey in Central Ayr, but he now lives in Agadez where he holds a prominent position as a chief. Like most *Kel Ewey* he is black-skinned and related to the Hausa population of the Southlands, where he lives for a part of the year with the important task of organizing the trade between Ayr and the south. The *Anestafidet* has always been closely attached to the sedentary Hausa of the Southlands, and is said to have part of his family living at a small village named Blanko between Tanut and Zinder. A new *Anestafidet* may even be elected

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



adopted this rule. There can be little doubt that it was introduced among them owing to contact with other people, perhaps with the *Ineslemen* Tuareg. The *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, like other Tuareg, once in the past followed matrilineal rules of succession, for this is proved by history and tradition.

It is frequently stated in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the sister's son is the first in the line of succession. As early as Ibn Batutah it is mentioned that among a Southern Tuareg people known as *Mesufa* a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegidda-n-edrar immediately south of the Ayr Massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). Rodd states concerning Ayr that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and refers to the fact that this rule has often been followed at the election of sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). According to Barth, a sister's son was preferred as chief in Ayr and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 374 f.). In the case of the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tasilé-n-Ajjer), Richardson states that the chiefs and sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65 f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have Duveyrier's statement that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship, but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397 ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg), a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). Most *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg have long ago adopted patrilineal succession and Koranic rules of inheritance, but matrilineal traits are found in certain tribes of the *Kel Ataram* group. Gaalon states that the Tuareg of the Cercle de Dori (within the Niger Bend) even follow matrilineal rules of inheritance in the way that a deceased man's sister's son comes first in the line of inheritors. A woman will not generally possess any big fortune – apart from the dowry which on her death goes back to her parents or their family (Gaalon 1939, p. 232). An interesting matrilineal custom is also mentioned from the *Kel Ataram* by Feral. He states that property considered indivisible is still inherited by a sister's son in certain vassal tribes around Gao (Feral 1955, p. 21 f.). During my visit to camps of *Bélla* and noble Tuareg near Ayoru on the Niger I was also able to collect evidence to the existence of matrilineal traits in the *Kel Ataram* group. *Bélla* men informed me that a powerful sister's son among the *Imrad* or vassal tribes would be able to inherit his mother's brother, and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Tahabanat* tribe claimed that vassals even to-day practise matrilineal inheritance the sister's son being the intestate successor. But all other pastoralists in the region of Ayoru but the vassals follow patrilineal rules of succession and Koranic rules of inheritance.

We see that a sister's son even to-day may have inheritance rights among the South-western Tuareg, and the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors for several Tuareg groups. However, there are also in literature statements that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed in the case of the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97 f.), by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152 f., II, p. 916 f.), and by Lhote, who refers to Benhazera's statement (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Furthermore, Dubief has explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Dubief 1956, p. 89), and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



172 namely the cylindrical house with a conical roof, which seems to have constituted the original type of dwelling of many northern vassals. This dwelling type has a world-wide distribution among primitive agriculturists (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 313), and we know that it was used in North Africa in antiquity. Hut-circles with heavy walls from predynastic cultures near Badari may perhaps be considered remains of such dwellings (cf. Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, p. 44 ff., 82 ff., pl. LXVI).

174 We might perhaps assume that culture as it existed among the ancestors of Tuareg vassals before the introduction of the camel was influenced by agricultural traits, and it would not be unnatural to advance the theory that it derives from a mixed farming culture. However, there can also be little doubt that we find in Tuareg culture features that are extremely old and probably date back to a hunting culture. It is of particular interest that the Tuareg have preserved very primitive methods of food preparation which are not generally known to true agriculturists (e.g., cooking with hot stones). I believe that the existence of such simple methods may be an indication that the culture is related to ancient hunting and collecting cultures. It is also very difficult to reject the possibility of a connection between hunting and the domestication of animals, for we have seen above that the Tuareg even to-day catch wild donkeys for domestication, and that, in the Middle Ages, they most possibly hunted these animals in order to utilize their meat and skin before the introduction of Islam which made 175 donkey's meat unlawful. It seems as if donkeys and asses have been important food animals throughout 171 the Near and Middle East even after the advent of Islam for we not only have Leo Africanus' state- [261] ment that the nomads of the Sahara consume the meat of donkeys caught in snares (Leo Africanus II, p. 944), but Duveyrier's statement that the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer catch donkeys in traps to utilize the skin (Duveyrier 1864, p. 231), and the fact that the Tuareg of Ahaggar even very recently have eaten donkey's meat in case of famine. There is information in literature which indicates that donkeys and asses have been commonly eaten elsewhere. Ibn Khaldun says that donkeys and horses were eaten by Algerian town-dwellers in case of need during the Middle Ages (Ibn Khaldun III, p. 377 f.), and Ibn Batutah states that Arabs of Oman consider donkey's meat lawful (Ibn Batutah II, p. 229). Ibn Batutah also says that meat of asses was eaten by the people of Suakin (Ibn Batutah II, p. 162), and we know that even up to modern times the Beja have hunted asses in order to consume their meat (Baker 1867, p. 55 f.; Murray 1935, p. 125). There is no information about the hunting of asses or donkeys for domestication among the Beja, but it is reported by several authors that members of this group leave their domesticated mares where wild asses are common in order that they shall mate with wild stallions (Heuglin 1869, p. 280; Bland-Sutton 1911, p. 188 f.; Murray 1935, p. 125).

174 We cannot discard the possibility that the domestication of donkeys originated from hunting, and it seems as though the donkey was first domesticated in Africa, where the wild ass still exists. When the domestication took place we do not know, but we are aware that domestic donkeys have been used in Egypt and in Asia (Ur) as early as 3000 B.C. (cf. Antonius 1922, p. 266; Hilzheimer 1930, p. 477). The donkey played a most important rôle in Ancient Egypt where it even had military importance (cf. Erman 1922, p. 592 f., 636, Figs. 207 & 208, pl. 36).

As to the domestication of other animals, we do not know how they were first tamed, and it has generally been overlooked that though there may perhaps be a connection between certain hunting

edible, and considering also that there is a very fine palm at 245
Abalessa (which could become a splendid oasis since there is
no lack of water), one may ask if the creation of an oasis of
palms in the Ahaggar might not be tried with success. But the [438]
Ahl Azzi and all the inhabitants of the Tidikelt, who live
entirely on the sale of their dates to the Tuareg, have persuaded

[361]

Haratine Gourbi at Ideles
(Koudia)

the latter to the contrary, that the climate of their country is
not suited to growing palms. Besides, the Ahaggar do not in [185]
the least wish to undertake plantations from which one could
expect no profit for several years, and they prefer to stay with
growing wheat, barley, and bechna, which pay at once.

The Amenokal Moussa ag Amastane, realizing that the era 643
of raids will soon be ended forever, sees that it will be necessary 185
to demand from the soil the means of subsistence which raids 176
formerly procured. So he has announced his intention of having
a foggara dug at "Endid" and of having gardens made there,
and his example will very probably be followed. This is an
undertaking which will certainly be encouraged and supported,
and which shows the slow evolution which is beginning to take
place among the Tuareg, in the best interests of peace and
civilization.

/149/

# Book IV

## The Tuareg of the Ahaggar

## Social Organization

## The Ahaggar Confederation

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## Chapter 1

## Social Organization

101 Here we shall speak of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar. But since all of the Tuareg form a quite homogeneous ethnic group, what we [184 177] say about their /Tuareg of the Ahaggar/ social organization will, in general, be valid for the whole, although their social organization remained more sheltered from foreign influences than that of the other groups, because of their isolation in the heart of the Sahara.

The Ihǎggaren /Ahaggaren/ may thus be considered, as a result of that isolation, the witnesses and representatives of Tuareg civilization.

565 Classes and castes. -- Social organization among them /the Tuareg/ shows strong analogies with our ancient feudal system. Indeed, there is a chief whose nominal authority holds sway over all the tribes, a class system (aserkam) which divides tribes into suzerains and vassals, religious elements and serfs, enfeoffed the ones to the others, and an artisan class.

564 565 Classes in so-called primitive societies are born out of private property, wealth, and the authority of the strong who become the protectors of the weak, and have had as a corollary war and slavery. The caste system, which is an accentuated form of the class system,

tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation. It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live.

In their case we are confronted at the present time by a matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights, her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes, and even has a greater freedom of mores.

It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy among the Tuareg.

184 from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin.
643 The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions
[173] gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out,
611 it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except
631 among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the
651 titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll. He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his
[644] appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/
[178] today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It
[644] benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum
[534 called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum, "
177 "cylinder of a drum. "
192]

565 In exchange for the rights of suzerainty which the Imochar exer-
631 cise over the Imrad, they owe the latter absolute protection, defend their interests each time that they are threatened, and endeavor to obtain reparation if they are pillaged by an opposing tribe.

177 The Imochar spend lavishly as great lords and have kept this
631 mania in spite of the change in regime brought by the French peace. Their way of living like parasites has taken away any idea of fore-
565 sight, and because of this they are more often in want than well off.
511 In fact, the first consequence of the French occupation was to stop the state of war and the pillaging, which deprived the Imochar of their principal resources. They became poor people, while the Imrad, as herd owners, saw their wealth increase and become stabilized. This social disturbance could have had serious consequences, but the Imrad did not totally abandon the Imochar, despite the opportunity which was offered them to emancipate themselves from their ancestral guardianship. Perhaps we can be glad of this, for one might wonder what the material situation of the Imochar would have been and, consequently, their state of mind with regard to us.

291 The terms "black Tuareg" and "white Tuareg" have often been
565 used to designate the Imochar and the Imrad. "In the north, "
178 Seligman says, "the nobles have black veils and the subjects white ones." (1) This distinction in dress does not exist today, when the

1. Les races de l'Afrique, p. 129.

Tuareg indiscriminately wear black or white veils according to their taste and wealth. /161/ It is possible that the Imrad formerly could not obtain indigo veils, always considered a luxury item, and had to be content with ordinary cotton veils; that would explain the division into black and white Tuareg.

According to Duveyrier, the white Tuareg, "Touareg-el-biodh," were probably the Oulad Ba Hamou, Arabs of the region of In-Salah. They took from the Tuareg the habit of wearing veils, but in white instead of dark indigo.

565 Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of
[511] the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of
[177] prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting
631 matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs
[642] internally as they see fit, without intervention of the amenokal or the Imochar in their affairs.

162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps
565 because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were
721 often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own
[727] each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some
701 Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among
[714] the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded
631 in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for
[582] their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

567 his property. In cases of this nature the two parties have usually
[685] come to an agreement beforehand.

The Iklan are responsible for introducing a quantity of words
[177 and new expressions into the Tamashek language, all of them
192] naturally of Sudanese origin. They have a very vulgar language and murder the language of their masters abominably, so that they make a real argot of it.

They have kept a great many characteristics of their folklore,
[536] which we /172/ find in their dances, the pantomimed scenes that they organize among themselves at the time of public rejoicing or of events in the family life of their masters.

Social evolution due to the French occupation will in an indefinite time bring about the disappearance of bondage, which we must explain does not have the inhumane nature that one might presume.

567 It would have been a blunder to immediately impose the
648 liberation of the Iklan, and it would have been contrary to their own interests. Attempts made in this direction in the Sudan have given deplorable results. Iklan liberated from one day to the next are unsettled in class; they cannot and do not want to go back to working the land and thus find it impossible to earn a living.

The disappearance of slavery will come about gradually and individually. It will occur slowly, but inexorably, and it will bring important social transformations among the Tuareg.

One can already observe this evolution among the Ioullimmiden, in Adrar, and particularly around Timbuktu where Imrad women occupy themselves from now on with grinding millet and doing the heavy housework, which was formerly left to the captives.

567 Iklan-n-Egef. -- Liberation of captives, furthermore, has always existed among the Tuareg in more or less attenuated forms.

It may have several causes, first of which is the excess of captives, which makes a great many useless mouths to feed. The Tuareg thus gave a halfway freedom to some of them whom they

and were enfeoffed to the Kounta tribe, or Dag-Ech-Cheich. The origin of the oldest known families goes back no more than two generations. They are the Ehellellou, who have left descendants, the Badahol and Mohamed /families/, today extinct, and the Rati whose descendants are now settled among the Taitok. 564

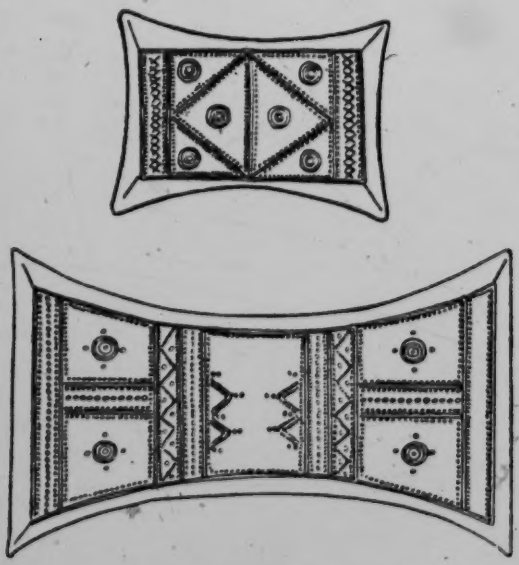


Fig. 19. Silver amulets worn by men on the crests of their hairdo.

At the time of Amenokal Attici (1899) there was a chief of the blacksmiths named Alamine whose role was to oversee and distribute the work and to reduce the newly captured blacksmiths from the Sudan to obedience. He also had judiciary power. 564 326 [301 789 531] [692]

Formerly endogamy was the general rule, but since the occupation it has been violated numerous times, and artisans often take their wives from the Harratin and the Eklan. 564 [582 177]

Their industry is limited to the fabrication of jewels, padlocks, knives, and a few wooden utensils. They are particularly occupied with repairing worn articles.

/179/ In the Sudan the Enaden are much more numerous. That is why industries there are found to be much more developed, even more so since more varied and more abundant raw materials are at their disposal. 564

631 a very ancient tribe, the Isbeten, who were the autochthons of the Ahaggar and whom the Dăg Rali would have found in Ătakor when they came to settle there.

After the battle at Tit where they lost more than 100 fighters, the Dăg Râli still numbered 60 warriors. The 1938 census gives 1, 090 [161] persons, 334 of them men, including the Iklan. This increase is quite [177] rare among the Tuareg and reflects their wealth and the improvement [511] of their living conditions since the French occupation.

They nomadize in the western part of the Koudia, which is their absolute fief where no other fraction is admitted.

/192/ On the east, the boundaries of the lands over which they range are fixed by the right bank of the Tamanrasset wadi and the Interkadène wadi as far as Ideles; on the south by the southern zone of the Tahalra as far as Tin Dahar; on the west by In Eker; and on the north by the line from In Eker to Hirhafok to Ideles.

631 The Dăg Râli pay a tribute of ten bags of dates or sorghum to the
651 aménokal; in addition, each family which sends a caravan to the Sudan pays him a small bag of sorghum. If the pastures are good, they add several "botta" of melted butter and the milk of twenty ewes. In the case of a successful raid, they pay the nobles half of the ewes.

631 The Dăg Râli are now the richest people in the Ahaggar. They
233 own more than 1, 200 goats and more than 1, 000 camels. Thanks to
556 their beasts of burden, they can take many very remunerative caravans
439 to the Sudan and to the Tidikelt. They hold in common escheated flocks which are called Edjeré-n-boutelma. When the pastures are insufficient to feed all their livestock, they entrust their camels to the Irréguénaten who graze them on the Saharo-Sudanese border.

631 Since they are very open-minded, they were in favor of cultivation
241 in the centers of the Ahaggar, and at the present time they possess
423 lands at Ilâman, Tarahananet, Tamanrasset, Abălessa, Iglen, Tăfârit, I-n-Ămegel, and Silet, which Negroes cultivate for them. The aménokal has granted them a certain number of palm trees in the Silet oasis which formerly belonged to the Tăitok.

631 781 [794] The Dag Râli are the most pious people in the Ahaggar. The majority of them are affiliated with the order of the Tijanyyah, although some of them adhere to the Sanusiyyah and the order of the Qâdiriyyah; these affiliations seem to be purely formal, however, for, with a few exceptions, they do not follow the rites of these religious orders.

797 The activity of Father de Foucauld was particularly effective in this tribe. Because of his installation at Tamanrasset and later at his hermitage at Asekrem, Father de Foucauld was in constant contact with the Dag Râli. At first they were mistrustful of him, but they were not long in coming to him, and they were the first beneficiaries of his good deeds, for the Father went to them, caring for the sick and rendering them many services.

[622] Their chief, Ouksem ag Ourar, was a short, stocky man of average intelligence, but very crafty, especially when it was a question of material interest for him or even that of his people. /193/ He saw the benefit that he could draw from this getting together. Little by little the priest did his best to conquer him and win his affection, and he supported his interests with the authorities of Fort Motylinski. Thus, a few months later, Ouksem was completely won over.

[648] Ouksem gained a certain importance with the authorities, which made him proud and which he knew he owed to Father de Foucauld.

622 631 797 [648] Later on he was a good help in the pacification of the Ahaggar. During the dissidence of 1915, he showed himself very eager to please us, which made Father de Foucauld write to General Laperrine: "Ouksem, chief of the Dag Râli, could not be better; he does not cease to make progress. It is evident that he is bent not only on being faithful, but on showing his fidelity in a dazzling way by his attitude." He did nothing without asking the Father's advice, and he followed this advice by creating a garden at the Ilâman wadi in order to use the waters which descended from the mountain. [777] This garden was established, and to flatter this meritorious effort which was an example, Ouksem received the Medal of Agricultural Merit, a unique feat in the annals of the Tuareg even up to the present

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Ẋrokam, Serouanout, and in the Ẋnahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[233] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are [241 423] their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

631 669 They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the Ihéaouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up [797] the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 The Aït Loaien form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which [181] must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[651] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokal.

The Relaiddin. -- The Relaiddin probably came from Aïr, like the Ẋgouh-en-Tehlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162 651] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tioussé to the Iboglan.

[177 233] This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1, 500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

season which generally ends with the month of September. 439
When the caravaneers arrive earlier, they wait in the Tamasna 484
region and protect their salt by hiding it in the crags of the rocks.

At any rate they always stay at least two months in that region so that their camels may regain their strength. Then, they go in small groups toward the Damergou where they know people in some villages with whom they exchange their salt for millet. These exchanges are made on variable bases, depending on whether or not the millet harvest has been abundant, or whether the salt has arrived in greater or lesser quantity. Most generally they are made on the basis of one load of salt for three loads of millet, but sometimes in the proportion of one load of salt for ten loads of millet, which is much to the advantage of the Ihaggaren.

[291]
[177]

Fig. 24. Irratimen sandal of Hausa make, such as the Ihaggaren wear.

[435]

Since they do not have enough camels to carry all this grain back, and since they do not need that much grain in the Ahaggar, they sell or exchange a good part of it for manufactured objects, which are easy to transport and /220/ easy to dispose of -- sandals, saddle bags, camel saddles, leather boxes,

513 No one has a bed except the aménokal, who owns one of the Hausa
[352 type; this model has also been adopted in a certain number /227/
177 of Kel Oui /Owey/ camps. (1) The man and woman each sleep on
643]

1. Contrary to what has been said, the bed is not Tuareg but Hausa. Its use is spread among the sedentary people of Aïr, Damergou, and Sokoto, and it is made by Hausa smiths.

his or her own side of the tent, the boys with their father and the girls with their mother.

854 There are no cradles for babies among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and young children are placed on a skin or on blankets. Sometimes a hemispheric wicker frame is put over them and covered with a cloth to cut off the light or protect them from sandstorms.

The Kel Aïr and the Tenguéréguif have little cradles which are suspended from the top of the tent.

354 Fire. -- In front of each tent there is a hearth, generally made of three stones. It is not intended for cooking purposes, but rather for warmth in the evening after the sun has gone down when all the people gather in the shelter of the asaber, which is unrolled in an arc in front of the tent. The flame warms up hearts and
[272 bodies and synthesizes family and friendship. Sometimes a container of water is placed on the three stones to heat in order to make tea.

343 The cooking fire is set apart, generally some three or four
354 meters from the tent, in the shelter of a little stone wall in order to protect it from the wind.

We have not been able to find any myth on the origin of fire
372 among the Tuareg. According to them it was created by God,
773 who gave it to man to cook food. Iblis (Satan) wanted to seize the secret of how it was made, and God punished him by creating

773 the tortures of hell. Iblis, however, communicated his secret to
372 the blacksmiths, who since that time have known how to use it for metalworking.

372 The Tuareg used to obtain fire by friction, using a board of
[824] torha (callotropis procera) and a branch of hardwood; they caught the spark on a tuft of silk from the fruit of the callotropis and blew on it until they got a flame, which required about a minute. They have kept this practice and still use it occasionally.

Today they find matches sold by /228/ Tamanrasset merchants,
[439 but they all have tinderboxes
177] with flint and a bent piece of iron.

They do not keep up the
[415 fire. They carry it from
439] one tent to the other in a fragment of an old gourd or sometimes hold a glowing ember in their hands without burning themselves.
[237 When they want to transport
484] it long distances, they use camel-dung embers.

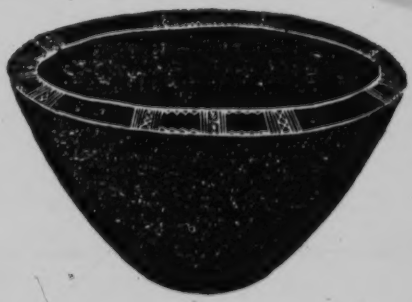


Fig. 27. Ahaggar Tuareg dish, imported from Hausa country.

The Tuareg commonly
[237] use the excrement of camels and goats as fuel. In the high
[137] mountains, wood is quite rare, but in the lower parts of the Koudia old acacia or éthel /atle? Ed. / stumps are to be found. They never
[824] use the wood of the callotropis, which is the devil's tree and makes muffled noises when it is burned.

Basalt blocks are never used to make the hearth, since they be-
[823] lieve that basalt is possessed by genii and will explode violently when heated.

352 Furniture. -- We have briefly described the objects furnishing the parts of the tent reserved for the husband d wife. To these must be added a certain number of objects ch make up the

243 he generally carries with him in his migrations. Wheat raising
262 goes down to the Sudan as far as Timbuktu, Aïr, and a little north of Nigeria; but everywhere it has been introduced recently, due to the influence of the Arabs, who have not abandoned their traditional food.

Béchena is a food they adopted because of their exodus toward the Sudan; they are at the present time much closer to the Sudan than they are to North Africa from the point of view of material living conditions, that is, unless this plant formerly existed in a self-sown state in the Sahara, as Professor Chevalier has assumed, and was one of the principal food resources of its first inhabitants.

Fig. 29. Caravaneer's mortar and pestle.

By its agriculture and its production, the Sahara is completely Negro. Agricultural methods, except for irrigation, /231/ are borrowed from the Sudanese, especially work with the hoe (daba), while North Africa mainly uses the plow which is unknown in the intertropical zone.

252 Béchena is eaten as a cooked flour porridge, as raw flour, or
262 mixed with liquids, water or milk.

Dates also play a large part in the diet of the Tuareg. Every year each family head organizes a little caravan to the Touat or Tidikelt to bring back two or three loads of poor-quality dried dates which are crushed with a pestle and eaten with camel's milk.

264 The Tuareg use spoons. The use of this implement is peculiar
[415] to them, for their Arab or Negro neighbors eat with their hands.
The custom must be related to the wearing of the veil, which they
do not take off to eat and which prevents them from putting their
[182 291] hands full of food to their mouths. They carry food to their mouths
while slightly holding up the ends of their veils.

[271] For beverages they drink only water, whether it is clean or
272 polluted, and milk.

For half a century they have had the habit of drinking green tea in the Arab manner; they aromatize it with mint or some perfumed plants of the Ahaggar, /238/ chih (Artemisia herba alba) in particular. Coffee, which was formerly much used by them, is now
[757 178] taken mainly as a medication to calm violent coughs or stomach aches.

276 If we now seek consumer goods taken as stimulants or narcotics, we see that the Tuareg know only tobacco, which they chew or take as snuff.

Smoking is not one of their customs. The young men who are
[177] in contact with the French like to beg a cigarette, but it is simply in the spirit of imitation.

Duveyrier, however, has said that the Tuareg smoke. Was this,
114 perhaps, the fashion among the Tuareg who visited Ghat? Before
276 him Barth wrote that all riverain people living along the Niger loved to smoke. "It is very seldom that they leave their pretty little clay pipes, and all the Rouma, like the Tuareg, cover their mouths when smoking, so that all one sees is a pipe bowl coming out of the shawl which covers the face." (1)

1. Voyage en Afrique,
vol. IV, p. 137.

[114] 276 For his part, Commander Cauvet, in describing Tuareg clothing, said that men kept their pipes and tobacco in the pocket of their big blouses.

Thus all these testimonies coming from such trustworthy travelers tried to make us believe that the Tuareg are pipe smokers. For our part, we have never seen any.

On the other hand, they are very fond of chewing tobacco, and their wives also practice this custom, so that they finally have a deformation of the lower lip caused by the craze they have of stowing the quid between the gum and lower lip.

[439] Tobacco is not cultivated in the Ahaggar; it is imported from the Touat by the Arabs. The Sudanese Tuareg get it from the sedentary peoples of the Niger or through caravaneers from Upper Dahomey. They generally add a few natron crystals to it to take away the acridity, or else the ashes of graminaceae which play the same role as natron.

•177 276 Many Nigerian Tuareg have formed the habit of chewing kola nuts; this is a powerful stimulant which the Negroes use a good deal. A few Ihaggaren /239/ indulge in this practice when they go to the Sudan, but they have not introduced it into their everyday mores and never use kola when they are in their own country.

262 The Tuareg are subject to a rather large number of dietary interdicts. First, like Moslems, they may eat only meats from ritually butchered animals. They must abstain from eating the [273] meat of pigs and wart hogs and from drinking fermented drinks which are harīm. The meat of fowls--except the ostrich -- and fish is also forbidden and considered impure. But these are customs which go back before Islam. They also may not eat the [825] meat of the uran, because this lizard is considered to be the descendant of their maternal uncle.

224 which is rolled up on a stick, one end of which is cut in a point. A
[243] second apparatus consists in a little wooden disk covered with hide, the whole mounted on another stick a little longer than that of the first apparatus which is embedded between the layer and the arc, while the pointed stick is fastened in the hole of a bead or on a little leather ring fixed on the leather disk. A lasso is placed on this disk, and its end is fastened on the main part of the pointed stick.

This trap is generally placed on the paths frequented by gazelles and lightly covered with sand. If the animal puts its foot on the leather disk, the pressure that it causes unhooks the pointed stick; the shock of this can break a paw and in any case it tightens the lasso around the paw.

More recently the Tuareg have used the metallic spring trap
[177] of the English type, which their blacksmiths now know how to make.
324 They have replaced the balanced bait pan by a taut skin on which they have attached a large glass bead. The bait is fixed to the bead and is more sensitive to the touch. This trap may accidentally catch gazelles, but the most common catches are hares and jackals.

224 The Tuareg hunt on the lands over which they range and have
423 no right to hunt on the lands of the neighboring tribes. If such a case occurred, they would be obliged to give the game to the owners of the area. The latter may at least grant back part of the meat, but they keep the skin, especially when it is a wild sheep.

/243/ Some regions are the hunting fief of a single man. So, in the Koudia, no one has the right to hunt on Tahat Peak without the permission of its owner, who is a descendant of the old Isebeten tribe. At any rate, the skin, head, and half of the animal must be handed over to him.

224 The Ahaggar Tuareg have had rapid-firing guns at their
411 disposal for a few years. They are not good shots, but they know admirably well how to approach game, so that they have made massive massacres which will take a long time to repair.

224 The administration fortunately has decided to confiscate these
[411 weapons.
648]

It is very difficult to get an exact idea of the number of animals killed annually by hunters. But we believe we are close to accurate in giving the figure 300. Thus we say that hunting holds a very small place in Ahaggar Tuareg economy.

Fishing. -- Fishing is not done by the Tuareg for the reasons
226 we have given. Only the Issekkemâren and the Iklan engage in it.
[184] They fish when the pond water is very low. In the Tassili they dig little ditches on the lower side at water level, leading to little reservoirs where the fish find refuge and are then surely caught.

[251] When fishing has been fruitful, the Issekkemâren dry the fish to keep them for periods of scarcity.

/244/ Chapter 5

## Agriculture

241 The Ahaggar Tuareg have never attached more than a very secondary importance to agriculture. Their nomadic turn of mind is at the opposite pole from land ownership and still more from exploiting it, which implies sedentary life. There are, however, a number of centers of cultivation in their country; they are of undeniable interest and could be extended more widely if improper legislation did not hinder their development.

•177 The creation of most of these centers of cultivation does not go back more than a century. It was accomplished under the in-
241 fluence of Arab groups settled in the Ahaggar. Only the Silet and Tibeghîn oases are much older and probably date from the time of the Imanan sultans who had brought into the Ahaggar some

177 241 marabouts from the Touat who brought with them the system of irrigation by foggara. The Tuareg later grasped the advantage they could gain from multiplying these centers, and so, at the moment of the French occupation, more than forty centers were being exploited.

423 241 The enjoyment of land appertains to the people who first cultivated it. Land of itself appertains to the amenokal, but he leases it out and in return levies an annual tax -- mesk -- on the harvest, in [427 651] the amount of four guessa of wheat, or about 10 kilograms per garden. The land may thus have as proprietors Imochar or Imrad, indeed Enaden, but Iklan may not hold gardens.

241 427 Gardens are not cultivated by their proprietors but by Negro tenant farmers, natives of the Touat or Tidikelt, who are called harratin (singular hartani). An arrangement is worked out between them and the proprietors on the following terms: the proprietor furnishes the hartani two loads of millet a year for his sustenance, [312] seeds, a hoe, and then pays for digging /245/ the wells of the foggara. Once the foggara has been dug, the hartani is responsible for keeping it up. He sows, waters, harvests, threshes the grain, and keeps one-fifth of the harvest. Furthermore, he has the right to sow on his own account in the irrigation canals and to cultivate several beds of vegetables.

[311] 312 Centers of cultivation are set up on the terraces of valleys when they are wide enough and have old alluvial deposits. The feggaguir [241] /plural of foggara -- translator/ of the Ahaggar have nothing in common with those of the Tidikelt or those in the Saoura oasis, which pipe water to the gardens from great distances, from the geological faults where it is retained. In the Ahaggar rain water collects in the wadi beds and is stored under the sand. The feggaguir are therefore dug in the wadi bed and seek water at distances varying from one to seven kilometers. The wadi presents a certain slope, and it is necessary to bring the water gradually to the same level or to a level slightly higher than that of the gardens. The feggaguir

302 For festive occasions, some women bear paintings on their faces, white or ocher dots above the bridge of the nose, under the [517] cheeks, and on their chins. These paintings have only an aesthetic nature, or so it seems.

304 All Tuareg, men and women, have two or three small linear 75 scars on their foreheads and temples, and the indigo from their clothing which is often inlaid there gives them the appearance of tattoos. They are incisions made for medico-magic reasons when [855] the children are very young to protect them from headaches and convulsions.

[856] It also seems that this custom contributes to make them strong and making them walk very early. (1)

1. De Foucauld, Textes en prose /Prose Texts/, p. 64.

757 Medicine and surgery. -- If we now turn our attention to medicine and surgery among the Tuareg, we shall observe that their knowledge is not very extensive and has nothing singular about it.

753 In their minds the Tuareg classify sickness in two categories: those which are the result of an external action, visible and determinable, and those whose origin cannot be explained by any causal link. The former are treated with appropriate medical treatments, the latter by magic procedures.

757 The medical procedures, which belong rather to surgery, are clearly empirical. A few of them serve for a quantity of ills. They chiefly include bleeding and applying heat. In bleeding, the operator relieves congestion in the diseased part; in applying heat, he limits the pain, at the same time relieving congestion.

278 The Ihaggaren have a whole stock of drugs which they [577] borrowed from the Sudanese. These are roots, plants, and seeds which grow in the Sudan and in which the Tuareg have a great deal

291 489 /265/ Clothes, except for the gandurah made of cotton bands, are made of material imported from Europe. This material, called chêga, is heavily dyed with indigo, giving it a very dark gloss; it [556] is the favorite material of Tuareg men and women, but it is replaced by ordinary cloth among less well-off people.

Veils are manufactured in English Nigeria, in the village of Koura near the large city of Kano. They are made by assembling [438] a multitude of little cloth bands. They are very expensive and can cost from three to five goats, depending on the quality. In [177] Hausa language they bear the name toukourdi, which has been adopted by the Tuareg. For a long time they have served as [436] exchange currency for commercial transactions.

291 174 It has been asked many times why the Tuareg were led to veil their faces. Hygiene, which has often been mentioned, and the need to protect their respiratory tracts against sandstorms, are not sufficient reasons to explain this practice. There is something else, a /266/ very ancient enigmatic custom whose origin is lost in the night of time and which is kept up without their really knowing why. It is so deep rooted among the Tuareg, however, that they cannot conceive of a self-respecting man who can forego wearing the veil.

The headless men and acephalous people of ancient authors certainly owed their cognomen only to this very peculiar custom of hiding their faces, a custom which must have already existed in this remote epoch. One can only construct hypotheses on the origin of this veil.

We know through Ibn Khaldoun that the wearing of the veil was in general use among the peoples who inhabited the Atlantic coast and adjacent countries in the fourth century. This establishes that the custom is very ancient.

In the rock paintings from prehistoric or protohistoric times which have been discovered in the central Sahara in the last few years, we have noted the very peculiar method of representing the

156 291 The veil can express a fleeting sentiment. Thus, it is pulled down over the eyes before respectable people or women, while it is raised over the forehead, on the contrary, as a sign of familiarity. To laugh freely at a joke, a Tuareg will raise the lower part of his veil very high over his nose. When he is irritated, he will tighten it like a chin strap to mask his anger.

292 In the festive garb worn on the occasion of religious or family festivals, the veil is complicated with many turbans made of white muslin and bands of colored silk. The upper part receives a sort of frame which lets them arrange many cotton bands, interlacing them to form a kind of crest. The top part of the cranium is never covered, and the veil lets tufts of braided hair stick out. At marriages, it was formerly the custom to wear the takoumbout, a sort of big chéchia made of wool fortified with enormous flosses of cotton and covered with silvery appliqués. This headdress is on its way to disappearing completely, and there are no more than one or two in the whole Ahaggar today.

291 The Ihǎggaren use two kinds of sandals: the broad cowhide sandal called irratimen with simple red leather straps crossing over the instep, and a sandal called imerkéden made of a number of scraps of goatskin sewed together, with a strap going around the heel and tying with a knot on the instep.

[184 556] The irratimen are particularly worn by well-to-do men and especially appreciated in sandy regions where their large carrying area keeps one from sinking too deep. /268/ This sandal, which [177 439] is manufactured by Hausa artisans from Agadez or Damergou, was borrowed from these peoples by the Tuareg. Its origin must not be attributed to the Tuareg.

The true sandals of the Ahaggar people are the imerkéden, [184 556] which they still wear and which the mountain people always prefer, since they are especially well adapted to walking on rocks. They are worn by the common people and by the Iklan who have no money to buy Sudanese sandals, while they all know how to make very comfortable imerkéden with a few old pieces of goatskin.

[177] Cloth garments have certainly been used only recently among
291 the Tuareg; they used to wear leather clothing. A few Ahaggar
174 Iklan still wear these knee-length blouses with fringes over the chest, sides, and sleeves. Evidences of these leather clothes are still to be found among captives from the Sudan and the Timbuktu region. They wear skirts tight at the waist, dyed half red and half yellow, and decorated with multicolored fringes. In Aïr little girls still wear /270/ a kind of small leather apron, and little boys, little leather trousers.

These seem to be the ancestral clothes of the Tuareg. The description of the dress of Libyan women which Herodotus has given us corresponds in all details to the leather dress used in the Timbuktu region, and some rock drawings of the Tassili are the very image of the small leather tunic of the Koudia Iklan.

832 Ornaments. Jewelry. -- The coquetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg is a most remarkable thing and quite unexpected among people who live under such primitive conditions and whose natural instincts must lead them first of all toward the spirit of self-preservation and material preoccupations. However, it reflects their rather superficial
[181] life, their light mores, and that pleasurable existence which the nobles intend to lead.

And so the Tuareg sacrifice everything to their coquetry, depriving themselves of food and parting with some of their goods in order to procure lustrous clothes, multicolored ribbons to set off the brilliancy of their coiffure, and amulet boxes which are carried more for aesthetic than religious reasons.

301 Women conform to the same faults and know no rest until they
832 have a certain number of jewels with which to adorn themselves.

For men, adornment consists of a few jewels, especially cases for amulets. As regards jewelry, they wear only one or two silver rings on their fingers, a heavy and coarse kind of ring, either plain or slightly twisted. In addition they wear a stone ring above the elbow.

/273/ On their fingers Ahaggar women wear big, round-shaped rings, made of small cases in which there is a little pebble which tinkles like a bell. Rich women wear two or three on each hand. 301 [556]

The wrists are adorned with hollow silver bracelets with triangular cross sections, bearing little linear drawings. There are also rather

[531]

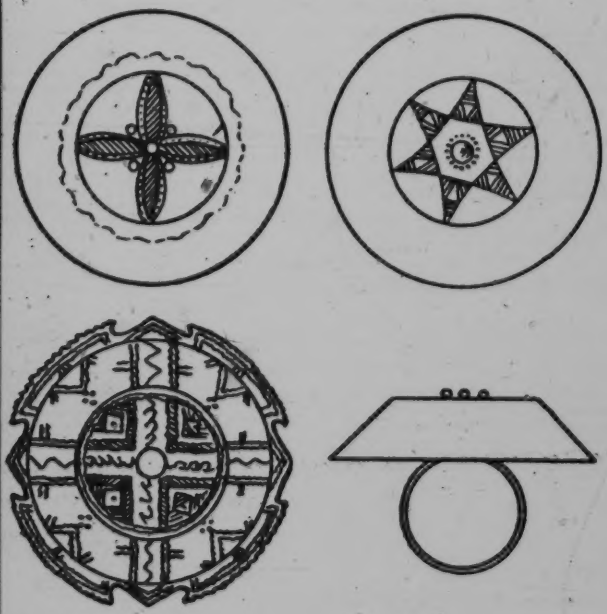


Fig. 43. Ahaggar women's rings.

broad black horn bracelets. Bracelets of Sudanese origin made of multicolored beads mounted on leather are also adopted by a few women. [177]

The neck is ornamented with a necklace bearing an oval (?) shell or a substance coming from a native Nigerian animal, which could very well be the manatee. This jewel (ameréouan) is extremely valuable and very rare in the Ahaggar. It is handed down from mother to daughter. [237] [428 556]

283 Spinning is done by all Tuareg women. They spin the hair of the
462 goat, the camel, and the wild sheep, making very solid cords and saddle girths.

286 Weaving is limited to the making of goat's-hair, or more rarely camel's-hair, bags. This is a very primitive technique which does not require any loom and which is, furthermore, in the process of disappearing from the Ahaggar, where only a few noblewomen still practice it. It is completely extinct in Sudanese tribes.

324 Stonework, a relic of Neolithism, was still carried on in the Ahaggar
438 a few years ago to make arm rings. Layers of granitoid schists were formerly worked
[415 at Aseksem and Terahart in the Tafedest. We also found
322] an ancient workshop south of Silet on the banks of the Tamanrasset wadi. Today all stone bracelets come from Aïr and a few from Hombori, where they are manufactured by Tuareg or Hausa artisans.

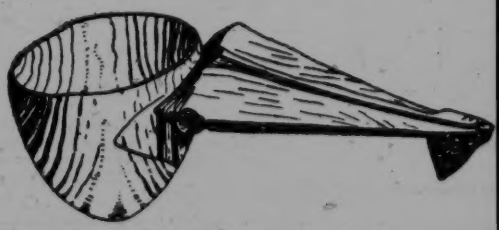


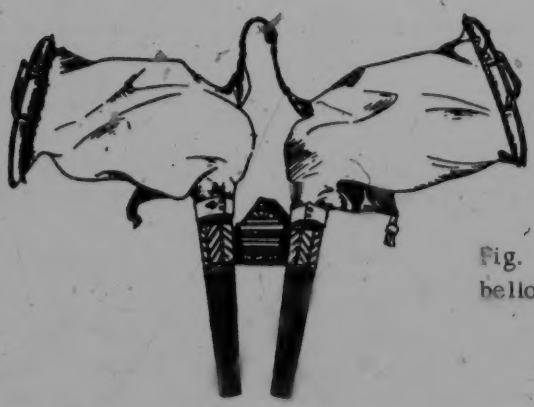
Fig. 48. Tabarekkat wooden ladle, also serving as a drinking vessel.

326 Metalworking is exclusively in the hands of the Enaden, who transform
[564 silver, copper, and iron. These materials, with the exception of iron, do not exist in a native, workable state in the Ahaggar. But although iron
[135 ore is common /279/ in some volcanic rocks of their country, the Tuareg do not have it exploited, for it is found in such small particles that it necessitates a disproportionate amount of forge work for the quantity likely to be recovered. Nevertheless, the memory of casting ore still remains among the Enaden. They use several forges at once, but do not know
[439 the blast furnace. The caravaneers coming from the north or from the Sudan used to bring metals.

177 At the present time silver comes from coins which are melted. For
326 years the Tuareg have had Maria Theresa dollars at their disposal; these

coins were for a long time the money standard in all of Central Africa. 177 326
(1) Copper is chiefly furnished by cartridge cases, and iron by abandoned

1. The Maria Theresa dollar was introduced into Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century by navigators [177 436]



[325]

Fig. 49. Double forge bellows.

and traders who visited the Gulf of Guinea. With the iron bar, it became the basis of commercial exchange, and it was circulated in the interior of West Africa as well as in Abyssinia.

scraps of old carriages, auto springs, sheet metal, tin cans, etc.

Aluminum, which is beginning to penetrate into the Niger region, 177 328
is not yet utilized in the Ahaggar. So far the pipes and guys left to the four corners of the desert by wrecked airplanes have served only to make tent poles.

323

Pottery is made by Negresses, the wives /281/ of Harratin, or freed former captives who live in the agricultural centers.

This outline of the techniques and industries of the Kel Ahaggar Tuareg brings out their poverty.

Can we speak of art among the Ihaggaren? That seems difficult, for aside from a few rare objects, all those that they use are more or less in use in the Ahaggar are imported from Aïr or Adrar des Ifôras, and that is explained all the better by the fact that the artisans are more or less originally from these regions. 438 531 517

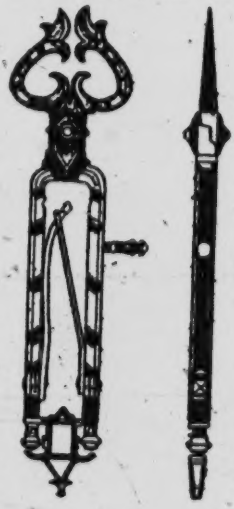


Fig. 52. Sugar tongs.

[415]

It is difficult to determine the origins of Tuareg art in general. It is in reality a composite art taken from all their neighbors, which, is not, for the most part, the achievement of the Tuareg themselves but of their artisans. It is among the latter that the distant origins /of Tuareg art/ must be sought. 177 517

The tastes of the Tuareg appear to be unchangeable. They have been fixed for centuries; therefore, in ancient documents some hundred years old one finds the same shape, the same dimensions, the same coloring as today. In this regard we shall say that the Enad is not an artist. He is a worker who may have taste, but who is, on the whole, incapable of creating. He faithfully reproduces the model which has been handed down to him. He 517 [178 172]

553 852 Naming the child. -- It is then that the child is named. A choice is made among several names by drawing straws. In the tribes of the Aïr, when there is a dispute over the choice of a name, each of the parties present brings a small goat and secretly gives it the preferred name. The mother, who does not know who has donated each goat, chooses the one she likes and has it slaughtered. [674] The child must then bear the name which had been given the goat for the occasion. Then a meal is served to the people of the camp [431] and to the guests, and a present is given to the marabout if one came.

[302] The same day the newborn's hair is cut for the first time, and the marabout places an amulet around his neck.

551 /284/ The names given to children are quite varied and sometimes very whimsical. They observe customs like those of the American Indians, and so the parents take into account certain fortuitous circumstances which surrounded the birth. We have seen a young girl who bore the name of Tédigrès, meaning "hail," because there was hail at the moment she came into the world. Others bear the names of animals such as Ǎnaba, the panther; Ǎbagui, the jackal; Acotey, the jerboa; Tinirt, the antelope; Ǎhenkatt, the gazelle, etc.

[177] Because of Arab influence, the Tuareg have adopted many names taken from the Bible and Arabized, e.g., Moussa from Moses, Firhoun from Pharaoh, Younès from Jonas, etc.

They also bear very ancient names which come to them through tradition and whose meaning and origin they are ignorant of: Akhamouk (masc.), Amastane (masc.), Yklou (masc.), Chékou (fem.), Tinguelous (fem.). (1)

1. This name may come from the Latin angelus.

From then on the child has his father's name joined to his and keeps it all his life. There are no family names and marriage does

797 Abd Allah Ed-Djafar, a lieutenant of Sidi Okba ben Nafi (died in
173 683), whose two companions died near a little Hirhafok village, at Tiokine exactly, where their tombs are still the objects of veneration to a certain degree.

In legends the natives even claim that Sidi Okba was killed by a Tuareg (Koceilata), thus confusing their history with that of the people from Aurès and the Kounta Dag Ech Cheikh who call themselves the descendants of Sidi Okba. This explains the ancestral hate which exists between them and the Tuareg. It has, however, been proved that Sidi Okba ben Nafi never penetrated into the Sahara, although perhaps it is a question of a confusion of names or a homonym.

[172] In addition to the Tiokine tombs, there is the rock inscription painted on the ceiling of a grotto at T-i-m-missao which testifies to the passage of the first Islamizers. This was pointed out for the first time by Duveyrier and followed up by Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, pp. 205-208. Since then, this inscription has been the subject of a detailed study by Th. Monod, Journal des Africanistes, vol. VIII, part 1, 1938, pp. 83-95.

[177] We must not believe that the Tuareg adopted Islamism right away, for although they accepted the Koran as a guide to their religious faith, they gave up nothing of their mores or their former pagan customs. The Arabs even claim that they apostasized as much as fourteen times, and they still consider them very lukewarm Moslems today. Furthermore, they probably belonged
[69] for a long time to the heretical sect of Wahabis, with whom they were allied; this was just another way of rebelling against the conquerors.

797 sometimes the Koran as an amulet, but that they had kept its fatalism. (1) Many authors also take pleasure in pointing out

1. Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, p. 388.

their more than superficial polish in matters of Islamism.

781 In spite of all this, we must not exaggerate the degree of
797 irreligion of the Tuareg. Since the French occupation, the
777 action of marabouts who cross the country trading is growing
648 slowly but surely. The state of lethargy into which the suppression of their life of brigandage has thrown them is gradually pushing them toward religion, and it is becoming more and more common
[517 to see young nobles kill time by reciting in front of a small
565] Koran board.

771 Superstition is very strong in them. They have not succeeded in breaking away from their ancient beliefs, and they wear a
[789] quantity of amulets which are often pagan in origin (jackal's foot, lizard's head, hyena skin, etc.).

[776] One observes certain noble families /307/ that, along with orthodox saints, invoke mysterious personages who can only be ancient minor gods they never got rid of. (1) In the old legends

1. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara, in Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

of the Ahaggar, Father de Foucauld has found the names of some of them: Tamâres, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Ouerdaz, Noulana, Radès. The Ihaggaren used to call on them to make their wishes come
[177 true, but today these personages have fallen into oblivion, and
782] only a few old people still remember their names. (2)

2. In Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

1777 Some Tuareg scrupulously practice fasting, and the different
785 Moslem holidays are now followed punctually. But along with that
795 they keep the ahal, monogamy, and matriarchy.

774 Pagan survivals. -- Ten centuries of Islamism have not completely rid the Tuareg of their former beliefs. They still believe in the existence of an animated world peopled by elements acting visibly or invisibly, living in minerals, vegetables, water, etc. To be sure, these beliefs are growing blurred, dwindling and losing their intensity, but the Tuareg still live with them, even going so far as to practice certain rites, just as in the country in France.

Their belief in supernatural matter is more than we could possibly imagine. They believe in genii (ahinnen or imdounen) who
776 inhabit the mountains, springs, steep places, and some trees. They
[055] protect themselves from them by numerous talismans, which they beg from the marabouts, or by the practice of exorcizing. The women are even more credulous than the men on this point. They
768 consult the dead by going to pray on their tombs and ask them news
787 of those who are absent.

778 Petrographic cults are still very much alive among the Tuareg.
782 They believe that some stones are haunted, and to gain the good will of the spirits they place votive offerings in the form of pebbles nearby. Therefore, at the crossing of some mountain passes and some unavoidable paths one often finds enormous piles of stones imitating tumuli, or else many little piles placed on both sides of some camel trails. Some ancient tombs are the object of a quite peculiar worship, for example the one discovered at Tazerouk a few /308/ years ago by Captain Niéger. This tomb, on which lay several stone statuettes, polished axes, and numerous Neolithic objects, was still visited in recent years until the time when it was excavated by the French. The Tuareg deny this, of course, but the discovery of objects placed there recently (fragments of cloth,
773 beads, etc.) proves it. The stone statues represented the Tibaradines,
778 that is, "the maidens." They were supposedly a highborn woman
782 and her servant who were turned into stone because the mistress

484 This was observed by Duveyrier, Captain de Bonnemain, and
674 Bou Derba on the Ouargla-Ghat itinerary. We have witnessed similar actions ourselves, but the goods stored in this way belonged to some Ihaggaren, and no one would have dared lay a hand on
[609] them. The thing is less safe in the case of a stranger's property.

When a camel dies en route, the load that it was carrying is left on the spot and put under public protection. The caravaneer is always certain to find his property, even six or eight months later. In this regard, it is well to say that the Tuareg, raiders though they must be, are not thieves. When a theft has been committed in their /316/ country, the guilty party is generally a Negro, but rarely a Tuareg of the white race.

439 What were the products transported? Manufactured goods, for the most part, generally made in Europe. There were fabrics and silks which the Tuareg and the Sudanese eagerly sought, and there were knickknacks, unmounted sword blades, sugar, and coffee
[177 272] (tea only recently made its appearance in the Sahara).

All these goods were resold or exchanged for ten times their value. On the return trip the caravaneers brought back ostrich plumes, gold dust, ivory, and little Negro girls and boys bought as slaves and resold for very high prices in the cities of Algeria. Leather was also the object of an intensive traffic, as well as medications of plant or animal (ostrich fat) origin which were part of the Sudanese pharmacopoeia and much appreciated by the Arabs.

177 Today, except for gold and ivory, which have become rare
439 and whose traffic is in the hands of Europeans, and except for the sale of slaves, which has been forbidden since the French
[486] occupation, trade has remained the same. But the routes have become free and the Tuareg can no longer count on their former profits. There was one resort left, that of making themselves caravaneers in their turn and using their many camels in that way. This is what they have done.

439 Sheep trading, which has grown greatly in these last few years,
[437] is largely carried on by barter. It is especially done by Arab caravaneers from the Touat who go to the Sudan with dates, tobacco, fabrics, and blankets, which they exchange not in the markets but in the camps. Tuareg from the Adrar des Iforas and Kounta Arabs also do the opposite and take their sheep to the Tidikelt and Touat.

In 1939 the sale price of sheep on the market at In-Salah
439 was from 75 to 100 francs. The purchase price in the Sudan
435 varied from 35 to 45 francs, but as we said, barter was most often the basis for all transactions.

And so for a camel that they received the Adrar Tuareg gave 120 sheep. One sheep alone was exchanged for 12 or 15 cubits of cloth or /317/ 10 guêcâa of dates. A dokkali, a large blanket from the Touat which the Tuareg hold in high esteem, was worth 10 sheep in the Sudan and 7 in the Adrar.

436 The camel served as a basis of exchange. The Tuareg have
[177] never used money, although they did accept the Maria Theresa dollar which circulated in the Sudan and the Turkish livre which was widespread in Tripolitania. Sudanese tribes negotiated with
[825] toukourdi, the band of material serving as a veil, and with kori (Cypraea moneta), a little seashell native to the Indian Ocean.

648 Since the French occupation we have seen a certain number
439 of native merchants settle at Tamanrasset, the administrative capital of the Ahaggar. They are for the most part Mozabites and a few Arabs from Metlili who have constructed shops and have merchandise sent them by their correspondents in the Algerian Tell.

This recent state of affairs tends to grow more and more
[305] extensive, and the postal agency at Tamanrasset records several million transactions every year.

492 The tarik is the saddle commonly used by the Ahaggar Tuareg, the one which is peculiar to them and which they must have known from time immemorial. The tamzak, which is a decorated variant [177] of the tarik, owes the origin of its decoration to Hausa influence. [171] In fact, the peculiar technique of applying perforated metal bands enhanced by colored leather fabrics is found in horses' saddles of the

[531]

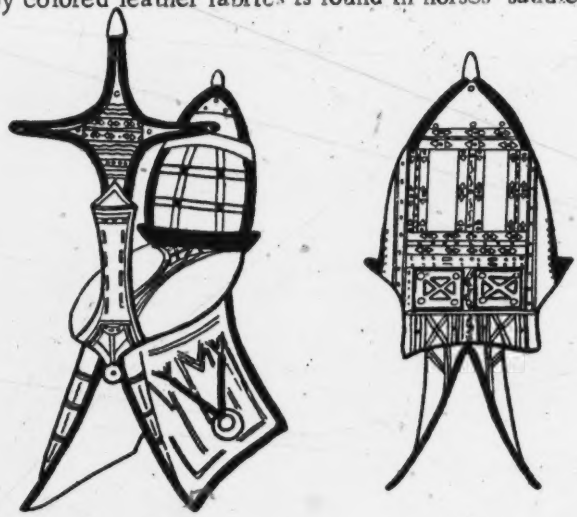


Fig. 54. 1 The camel saddle called tamzack. 2 Detail of the back of the saddle.

Hausa from the Damergou, Sokoto, etc., and there is no doubt that that art, which is unrelated to that of the Tuareg, is much more developed among those peoples.

438 The two saddles are usually made in Aïr, indeed even at Agadez, but the old Tuareg blacksmiths manufacture only the 326 tarik. The tamzak is the work of artisans, who are usually settled 492 at Agadez and more or less crossed with artisans of Hausa origin. 492 Ahaggar blacksmiths make only the tahiast, which is the saddle 171

177 In the last few years a number of notables, including the
492 aménokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the
643 Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them
133 to avoid rocks.

101 The Ihaggaren never travel on zebus and never use them for
492 transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

/321/

## Chapter 2

## War and Raiding

721 The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

182 When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those
221 present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were
361 most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to
721 spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

727 Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not
426 own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case
714

more chivalrous Imochar and a few rare Imrad try to oppose this, but in warlike escapades the Iklan and people with few morals are often more numerous than the others.

Abuses of women always called for vengeance, which the adversaries usually received before long. Acts of this kind were enough to raise up entire tribes against one another. And so, in the Sudan, the exactions of Marabout Abidine's people on the Kel Adrar Tuareg, at the time of the murder of their amenokal Safikroum in 1912, made irreconcilable enemies of these two fractions.

At the beginning of the French occupation, when lieutenants Cottenest and Guilho-Lohan carried out their reconnaissance missions in the Ahaggar, they found women abandoned in the camps by their husbands. The good care which was taken of them made it easier to make peaceful contact later with the Ihaggaren.

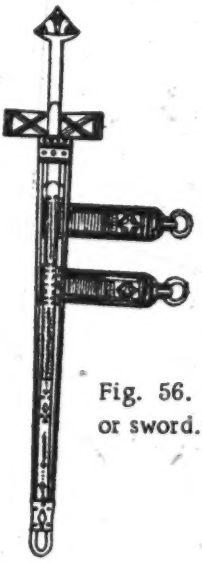


Fig. 56. The tacouba, or sword.

Tuareg weapons include iron lances, javelins with wooden staff, swords, daggers, and a buckler.

/325/ Even before the French occupation the Tuareg knew how to use firearms and possessed a certain number of guns. They were for the most part projectile weapons or archaic models of the

721 simple, and this activity can be divided into two main types according to the chief object in view. Raiding for booty was practised irregularly but fairly often, especially in times of hardship or in connection with intertribal feuds. Sneak attacks by small bands who lifted livestock and then promptly fled with it were typical. Slave raiding was practised on a fairly regular basis. In the nomad camps of the 727 Ahaggar the number of Negro domestic servants is usually about equal to the number of Tuareg present, and this labor force used to be replenished when necessary by raids on Negro villages in the desert fringe of the Sudan and occasionally even on Tuareg camps in the Aïr, Tamesna and Adrar n Ifoghas regions. The present writer knows a mulatto freedwoman who was taken in this way from the Aïr some 40 years ago, and has long been happily settled at Tamanrasset; and she is by no means an exception. Thus raiding, the fourth corner post of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar, was primarily a mechanism designed to keep the supply of livestock, both animal and human, at a satisfactory level in an area where the environment caused a steady normal decrease in the local supply.

**Economic Summary.** We have seen that pastoralism was the central column and crop 177 shares, trading, protection and raiding the four 182 corner posts of the economic structure of the Ahaggar Tuareg. With the coming of European domination the last two pillars were kicked away, the third buckled and bent to a mere fraction of its former height, and the roof fell in along three sides and part of the fourth. The Ahaggar Tuareg presumably never lived a life of ease—no pastoralist can in such a rigorous environment—but their greatest perils used to be those of warfare. These dangers have been removed completely by the new European rulers of the area, and yet the Tuareg of the Ahaggar as a whole are undoubtedly in worse economic shape today than they have ever been before. Their old 182 culture, whatever some may think of it on the basis of modern European standards, was remarkably well adapted to conditions in their chosen homeland. The destruction of two of its five main supports and the progressive weakening of a third have thrown their economic structure so seriously out of balance that the whole edifice is obviously doomed,

29 some Moroccan Arab tribes wear them even now. This type of headdress seems to have been exactly or almost exactly like the tall, fezlike tasseled cap that we see worn, though without a turban, by Chusor Phtah in portraits that occur on coins struck probably during the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. at the provincial Berber capital of Lixus, the modern Tchemmich, an old Phoenician settlement on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, roughly half way between Rabat and Tangier (Mazard, 1955, pp. 60, 64, 125 and 153; figs. 630–35, 640–42). Chusor Phtah has been identified as the diety who was supposed by the Phoenicians to have brought order out of primeval chaos. And so we are left wondering if the high-crowned floppy fez of the Tuareg was originally a northwestern African Berber invention or a Phoenician import from the Near East. In any case it suggests the possibility of
[177] a very early relationship of some sort between the Tuareg and the northwestern coastal fringe of Barbary.

Tuareg men today wear very loose, baggy trousers made of dark indigo blue or black cotton cloth,[10] which are held in place in the same way as our pajama trousers are but with a braided leather cord by way of drawstring. The seat is baggy and hangs down below the knees, the ends of the legs are sewed up so as to fit closely around the ankles, and there are no pockets and no fly. A loose, white cotton shirt, rather like a nightgown with very wide sleeves of medium length, used to be the standard undergarment, but the gandoura
[177] of the Arabs finally replaced it and is now being replaced in turn by the European type of shirt. The Tuareg gandoura is made of a huge rectangle of cloth, roughly 7 to 8 feet wide by 8 to 9 feet long. This is folded over on itself and the free corners are sewn together so as to leave the bottom and most of both sides open, a V-shaped opening for the head and neck is cut out of the fold at the top, and a large patch is sewed on inside so as to make a roomy pocket placed just below the left breast. The gandoura worn next to the skin, or directly over the undershirt, is usually made of white cotton, and a second

[10] Frequent reference to the plates will make the following descriptions easier to understand.

291 tract which otherwise suffer severely in an arid climate, even when the ambiant temperature is only moderately high. Thus it is clear that the teguelmoust does have a very real practical value, regardless of what the Tuareg may say; and it is clear also that the men who wear it need it far more than do their womenfolk who go without.

It is not true that Tuareg women of the
291 Ahaggar (fig. 48) are exposed to the rigors
512 of their environment either as much or in the
462 same way as are their menfolk. The men are out and about a good deal of the time, riding here and there across the countryside on errands of one sort or another or on long journeys far away, while the women sit quietly in the shelter of their tents, gossiping, telling folk tales, doing fancy leatherwork, and teaching tribal lore and sometimes Tifinagh [11] to the children. Every family that is
[567] not miserably poor has at least two or three slaves to fetch and carry water, prepare the meals and do the other daily chores, so that the mistress of a normal Tuareg household in the Ahaggar has no need to take a single step outside her tent except when camp is moved, or to visit with her neighbors and to answer calls of nature.

Although it is true that Tuareg women
291 do not wear veils, it is also true that women
171 of the other Saharan nomad tribes, Arabs included, seldom if ever wear veils either, except on the very rare occasions when they visit a sedentary settlement or town, and even then not always by any means. But Tuareg and other Saharan nomad women alike all draw a corner of the head shawl (or turban cloth) across the nose and mouth occasionally as a simple matter of physical protection, and this has the same practical effect as putting on a veil does.

All this data on the wearing of veils and
291 going without them proves nothing, to be sure, but it does go to show that the Tuareg teguelmoust itself can have had a strictly utilitarian origin after all, as Blanguernon (1955, p. 99) implied, quite apart from the origin of the elaborate and rigid ceremonial
291 quality with which its use has become imbued.
177 As for the date at which the teguelmoust

[11] The Tuareg alphabetic script.

291 177 was introduced among or developed by the Tuareg, we have as yet only negative evidence to go on and precious little of that. All we can say with any assurance is that it cannot very well be older than the introduction of cotton cloth, which is self-evident, and that it could easily have been derived from some quite ordinary type of turban, like that of the Arab Chaamba for example. Cotton cloth must have been introduced into the Sahara on a commercial scale very soon after the introduction of camel domestication had led to the establishment of a regular caravan trade with Egypt, if not before. There are indications
291 that it may have been known in the Ahaggar
175 as early as the 5th century A.D. (Reygasse, 1950, p. 98) and perhaps even in late Neolithic times, and yet there is no evidence in the literature that the Tuareg were wearing veils before the 10th or early 11th century. As Rodd (1926, p. 328) has said: "It seems very strange that none of the classical and post-classical authors should have recorded a feature which so distinguishes this people from other races. There is no reference to the Veil until we come to the first Arab authors. . . ." Desert raiders remarkably like the Tuareg are known to have been in increasingly frequent and violent contact with Romans, Vandals and finally with Byzantines from probably as early as the dawn of the Christian era until the first wave of Arab invaders arrived some 600 years later, and after that they were in contact with the Arabs for another 350 years or so before we begin to hear talk of veiled men in the Sahara.

El Bekri (Lhote, 1955, p. 128) describing the city of Tademekka (in the Adrar n Ifoghas country) as it was early in the 11th century, wrote of the inhabitants that ". . . they veil their faces as do all Berbers of the desert . . . ," while Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338), writing 300 years later, said: " . . . we came to the country of the Haggar, who are a tribe of Berbers; they wear face veils and are a rascally lot." But these statements too are very strange, for the matter-of-fact language in which they are couched seems to suggest that even El Bekri may have taken it for granted that his readers were already familiar with veiled men of Saharan Berber tribes, presumably the northern

Tuareg.

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



# THE TUAREG OF THE AHAGGAR

by

GEOFFREY HOLIDAY

131 The Ahaggar region of the Sahara desert, with its administrative headquarters at Tamanrasset (Fort Laperrine) provides an almost exact geographical centre for the territory inhabited by the Tuareg; the nomadic tribes of the "blue veil". At the northernmost point is In Salah and to the south, Agadez. Eastward there is Djanet in the Tassili des Ajjer and the western boundary is formed, perhaps, by the line of the Tanezrouft. [361] Within this area the Tuareg wander from oasis to oasis or, in the case of a few, dwell peaceably in the shadow of the French towns and outposts that mainly owe their location to the existence of water tempered by administrative and strategic factors.

177 186 The Tuareg would appear, at first glance, to be one of the few remaining peoples of the world possessing a culture of their own that is entirely free of influences, direct or indirect. Some among the tribes still believe that the desert is the world, inhabited admittedly by many different kinds of people, but the world nevertheless. This is the extreme view, obviously not shared by those who have travelled on the great caravan routes as far south as Kano or to Timbucktu and the Niger. It may not be the view of [648] the younger generations who, to an increasing extent, are benefiting by the primary education facilities inaugurated by the French administrators; particularly in Algeria where the Ahaggar region lies at the foot of the Territoires du Sud: a knowledge of the French language does not necessarily bring about a lessening of superstitions or a widening of perspectives. One is always faced with the parallel of the farmer (who should have known better) and the ostrich: 'There ain't no such animal!' Nevertheless, from this aspect the influences are so few as to be negligible and are more likely to come from the varied genre of the official and semi-official indigenous population gathered together under the Tricolour at the towns and outposts of the region than from direct contact with the European. The Tuareg are almost the exception that proves the rule of man's gregariousness, though, naturally enough, they are gregarious in that they possess very strong tribal instincts.

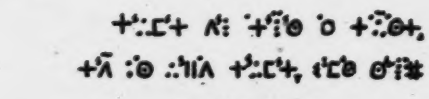
291 751 As a tribe the Tuareg have very marked characteristics that immediately set them aside from any other social group in what may be termed loosely north Africa. To begin with, the men are seldom seen unveiled: the women, who can be very beautiful, never cover their faces although, often they will wear a head covering, presumably as protection against sun and sand. The men, however, do not wear the veil solely as protection against the elements. Discounting those few who have become soldiers under the French flag, a Tuareg man—or, more properly, a Targui—assumes the veil on approaching manhood and wears it continuously, even for eating and drinking. He unveils to no one, not even in the sanctuary of his tent alone, let alone in the presence of his wife. This veil wound low round his forehead and across the bridge of his nose covers the mouth, ears and nostrils. Since the other openings of his body are concealed by his robes he has complete protection against evil spirits entering and taking control—and this is the key to why the veil is worn. To protect his eyesight against the Evil One amulets are worn from a chain round the neck and doubtless also such amulets provide a measure of safety in battle.

174 The origins of the Tuareg tribe are particularly interesting in that they have as yet to be definitely established. Their antecedents go back anything between 600 and a 1,000 years and it is supposed that they are an offshoot of the Berber Arabs, driven into the desert during one of the many invasions of the Tel, the fertile coastal belts of Algeria and Morocco, that continued up to the 13th century when the Moors became really established on the Barbary coast. Likewise, the Berbers with their light skins and blue

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.



The Bible in Tamahaq

(*Ruth. Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

*"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."*

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

3: Holiday J-5 (ca.1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



533 For example, a rough division can be made straight away between the songs that seem
[177] to suggest a negro origin and those whose flavour is indisputably, let us say Moorish, rather than Arabic. First of all it would be as well to deal with the few instruments used by the Tuareg in relation to the type of song they accompany; for, here again, the same division occurs.

534 The nearest that the Tuareg possess to an instrument capable of producing a melodic line is the "amzhad" (or "imzad". The plural of the word, "imzaden" meaning "hair"). This is a single stringed instrument of the lute variety comprising a sound box usually made from a gourd and covered with stretched membrane, a rough neck of stick being fixed across the diameter and projecting about 12 inches. The string is passed over a rudimentary bridge made of two short pieces of stick lashed together so as to form a shallow "V" and tied to the end of the curved neck. The pitch of the string is determined first of all by a sliding loop further down the neck and controlled during performance by the musician's left hand. A bow is used and it is from this that the instrument derives its name, since the bowstring is made from the hair of the women. The instrument is pitched on the open string usually at an approximate middle "C", though this can vary since an "E" above middle "C" frequently becomes the tonic note. Its range is roughly an octave and a third, accompaniments often being played in the top part of the register. Intervals approximating to perfect intervals predominate during performance.

Two kinds of percussion are used by the Tuareg, not counting group handclapping that features with many of the songs: a tom-tom with a wooden shell and single head, and a more hybrid contraption involving a gourd and a bowl of water. The tom-tom, which is played with the flat of the hand, has a head of stretched gazelle skin fastened by a cord made of goat hair and can be tuned by damping with water. Dry, the tom-tom produces a "treble" note, and wet, a bass one. The shape of the shell resembles an eggcup, and although tom-toms vary in size they are roughly a foot in diameter and eighteen
[434] inches high. The wood comes from the French Sudan, but the tom-tom is to be found wherever the Tuareg go. The gourd and bowl of water suggest that it is a recent innovation, since bowls are not readily obtainable in the Sahara except through foreign manufacture and trade, i.e., foreign to the Tuareg. Indeed, the bowl largely favoured is an ordinary enamelled affair about six inches deep and perhaps eighteen inches across such as is found in the kitchen of any European home. Filled with water and this surface struck rhythmically with an inverted half gourd it produces a deep, damped note comparable to a well-tuned bass drum.

Wind instruments are unknown among the Tuareg and the "amzhad" and the two percussion instruments mentioned above are the only musical devices used. Certain distinctions govern the use of these three instruments that have their roots in tradition.
462 All of them are played by the women who, particularly with the "amzhad" display con-
533 siderable virtuosity: for a Targui to play an instrument would be *infra dig*. Consequently, much or the propagation of folk-culture is in the hands of the women, though the men-
[177] folk do not consider the heroic beneath their dignity. However, the war songs, recounting the deeds of great warriors, are practically extinct since the Tuareg have passed from being a fighting race, levying protective tolls upon the caravans, to become a quiet, almost passive people, anxious for survival in the face of encroaching modern civilisation that has already dissipated the often considerable wealth amassed before the French gained control in the Sahara.

533 The music of the Tuareg falls into the two types mentioned earlier: songs that seem
[177] to owe their origin to negro influences, and those that have certain Moorish characteristics. It is curious to note that none of the songs of the women feature the use of mordents or shakes, whereas those of the men invariably do so. Secondly, percussion other than handclapping is never used to accompany the men, while the "amzhad" is never used to accompany the songs of the women. When the "amzhad" is used, perhaps because

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga."

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" plural "isefran" , and believe in their efficacy. This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" , gonorrhea, "talaoaît;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef"

## Chapter XVII

### Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

The "tidjelmoust" ⊕⊐ ||'|'+ , or veil. The veil 291
is made of a single strip of dark-blue or black cotton. To put it on, the end is placed on top of the head, then it is first wrapped around at the bottom to hide the lower part of the face. Then it is brought back up to hide the upper part of the face, and the head is wound with the rest of the strip to hold it in place.

The upper part of the veil is called "amaoual-oua-n-afella," the lower part "amaoual-oua-n-aris." The top of the [302]
head remains uncovered to leave free the hair, which is braided in small strands or cut in the shape of a cock's comb, or just cut short. The part of the veil which covers the nape of the neck is called "adjedellehouf."

When the veil is on the forehead is bound with white or colored material, "asaded" ΛΛ⊡ , and to be pleasing a bright-colored ribbon or cloth, "itelli" Σ||+ , can be added.

The young people some time ago imported a fashion which 177
they borrowed from the Kel Fedé of the Aïr and which consists 291
of a kind of diadem of this shape:

It is placed on the forehead and is covered and hidden by the veil, which holds it in place.

This diadem, which is called "tadebanat" +I⊠V+ , [184]
is not liked by the "old Tuareg" party, who have not adopted it. Sidi ag /37/ Keradji told me that he preferred the old fashion which consisted of slipping under the "assaded" amulets enclosed in silver plaques, called "tira-n-azerouf." But the "young Tuareg" party is not of this opinion and considers the new fashion not lacking in elegance.

Sometimes they cross a white sash on the chest, 291
"tirezzemine" I⊐# O+ .

because of the lack of vowels, the "tifinagh" are guessed rather than read, and this system of writing has remained quite primitive. 212

However, among the Ahaggar Tuareg some know how to read and write Arabic, especially the Issoqqamaren, almost all [177 191]

[291 643]

The Amenokal Sidi ag Keradji Reading the Address of a Letter Sent to Him.

of whom understand Arabic because of their frequent relations with the Tidikelt, where they must have lived for a long time (1). It is the same for the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet, many

1. See section on history /not translated/.

of whom speak Arabic. /43/

Knowledge of the "tifinagh" is rather a diversion for the Tuareg than a useful study. They like to try to decipher inscriptions or to show you, on the sand, the exact orthography of a word.

They have no numbers, and they do not use the Arabic 802
numbers. They prefer to make holes in the sand, and by this rather long process succeed in figuring just the same. A Tuareg, moreover, cannot talk for five minutes without emphasizing his recitation with dots or lines on the sand. If he is asked, "How many days' march are there between this point and that one, " he cannot answer any number without marking on the ground as many dots as there are days in his answer.

A Tuareg who has been made to sit on the ground on a [516
blanket, before he begins to talk raises the edges of the 521]
blanket /44/ so as to indulge in his favorite occupation. Certainly if he were transported to France, into a well-waxed apartment, he would be very unhappy and would quickly ask for sand or earth so as to be able to draw his dots and lines.

But this custom has its use when one wishes to have an 487
idea of the road one must travel. The Tuareg who, like all 823
nomads, has a very accurate sense of direction, will draw an over-all map of the route to be followed, with the wadis and landmarks which would be met.

The Tuareg do not have words in their language to denote 177
the days of the week. Those that they use have been borrowed 192
from the Arabic and changed. 805

On the other hand, for their months they have kept some truly Tamashek names, while others are definitely taken from the Arabic. Thus:

1. "Tamessedek, " corresponding to Muharram and which seems to be derived from the Arabic "sedeq" صدق "to give alms." It is said that this name means "zekkat" ةكز , or "legal alms."

2. "Talilt tassettafet" (corresponding to Safar). This 773
means "the black month." Here is why this month is so 776
called: "Sidna Slimane (Solomon) was in command of the 805
genii and demons. One day when he was standing leaning on his cane, the "djinns" (genii) told a termite to eat out the bottom of the cane. The termite did the job so well that the

cane broke at the bottom, and poor Solomon fell over, all 773
fours in the air, and was killed in his fall. His death was the 776
signal of liberty for the genii and demons, who spread through- 805
out the world, precisely in that month which was later called
the "black month."

3. "Talilt tarer'ert," that is, the "yellow month," 177
(corresponding to Rabia I, or Mouloud, the month of the 805
Prophet's birth), so called, it is said, because it is lighted,
صفر by the birth of the Prophet. /45/

4. "Aouhim oua izzaren," that is, "the first Aouhim," 805
(corresponding to Rabia II). Aouhim means "fawn of a gazelle."
This is also the name of a star. [821]

5. "Aouhim oua ilkamen," that is, "the next Aouhim,"
(corresponding to Jumada I).

6. "Sarat" (corresponding to Jumada II). The Tuareg
have been unable to give me any explanation of this name.

7. "Tin tineslimine," that is, "the month of the
marabouts," (corresponding to Rajab). In the time of the
Kharijite doctrine, the Ramadan was put back to the month
Rajab, and it is known that the Tuareg espoused this doctrine
(1).

1. See Essai sur l'Histoire de
l'Islamisme /Essay on the History
of Islamism/ by Dozy.

8. "Amezzehel," that is "he who runs," (from the root
"zehel," to run), thus named because it has only 29 days and
it precedes the arrival of Ramadan. It corresponds to Shaban.

9. "Azzoum," that is, "the fast" (corresponding to the [177
month of Ramadan), a name taken from the Arabic word 192]
الصوم "essoum," the fast.

10. "Tessessi," that is, "act of drinking" or "libations,"
because one may drink after the fast. It corresponds to
Shawwal, the month in which the feast called "A'id Ser'ir"
takes place.

11. "Djer mouhaden, " that is, "between prayers, " because it comes between the feasts. It corresponds to Zu'lkadah. 805

12. "Tafaski, " that is, "the sacrifice. " It corresponds to Zu'lhijjah, in which the feast called "Aïd el Kebir, " also called by the Arabs "Aïd el Adha" عيد الاضحى , or "feast of sacrifices, " takes place. [177]

There is no book in Tamashek, at least that is what was told me. However, the secretary of the amenokal Moussa /46/ ag Amastane informed me that there was, at the Ahaggar, a book written in the Tamashek language, but with Arabic characters, which was the translation of a work on law of which Ibn Achir was the author (1). 177 213

1. This book is at present in the possession of someone called Salakh ag Meguemmed of the Isoqqamaren. /47/

## Part Two

## The Tuareg in their Public Life

### Chapter I

### Nobles and Imr'ad

Duveyrier has described so well the characteristics which distinguish a noble from an amr'id (1) that I think it 114 565

1. Les Touareg du Nord /The Northern Tuareg/, pages 331 to 335.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa. 136 [132] [137]

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tarahamt)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of weels *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters. [144] 74 [567] [167] [177] [312] [342] [312] [342] 567

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 138ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while [144] [114] [103] [192] 563 601

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



563 601 akin to the system in use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These peoples draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (fig. 8 9).

563 342 The material culture of the Air negroes is marked by both northern and southern traits. The most common type of dwelling is a beehive hut *(tatramt)*, which I have also seen south of Air in the savannah, while similar huts are unknown to the north in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. The huts are often placed within round enclosures which are possibly of Sudanese origin (cf. fig. 15). There are however other types of dwellings in the Air villages. Very common is a square straw hut *(terhira)* with a slightly elevated saddle-roof. It is built by the men while the beehive hut is made by women, and both types are frequently used by one and the same household. This square hut differs constructionally from the straw huts used among settled agriculturists in the north. Also rather common is a barrel-vaulted hut *(ehen)* covered with mats (fig. 14). It has the same name and is of much the same construction as the movable huts or tents used by most pastoral Air Tuareg (fig. 5 & 13). It is built by women and seems to have been introduced by pastoral [482] women married to settled agriculturists. Finally there is in some villages a rectangular house *(tarachant)* with a flat roof. It has very solid walls generally built from stones inserted in and covered with mud. It has various sub-types more elaborately described by Rodd, who considers these houses to be of northern origin (Rodd 177 1926a, p. 240ff.). They have most probably been introduced from Tassili-n-Ajjer 312 or the Fezzan from which regions came also the irrigation system now forming the basis of agriculture all over Air, namely the drawing of water from shallow wells *(anou)* by means of zebus. This system is extremely common in the Fezzan and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where, as mentioned, it was introduced also to Ahaggar. It is not known when it came to Air, but in many villages it has been adopted only very recently. Not so many years ago water for irrigation in most villages was apparently raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight *(ayoudit)* (cf. Capot-Rey 1933, p. 322), but this method has now disappeared. It can be considered the oldest irrigation machine and it is no doubt [174] of very great age in Northern Africa including the Sudan. The method however 241 involves much strenuous work and in view of this it may seem quite natural that agriculture in Air was in the past also practised as shifting cultivation without any irrigation. Rodd states that in certain areas of Air rain-grown crops could be raised most years and that in the past a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I think this is correct. Certain crops as for instance millet has a very short period of growth; in Ahaggar (Abelessa) millet is sown in June-July and harvested in September, and it is said that it is not watered very much and never to the same extent as wheat grown in winter. It would no doubt be possible to grow millet in many parts of Air without artificial irrigation during the rains, and in fact millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation. But nowadays agri-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



634
614

Fig. 7.–Succession of drum-chiefs in the small drum-group of Echchikhen living in Damergou south of the Air Massif.

blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, 778 534 and that it must never be touched by women.

Matrilineally related to the Kel Ferouan are also the Echchikhen clan of Damergou, as its ancestress was a noble woman from the Kel Ferouan. But patrilineally 634 the Echchikhen seem to be related to Iforas Tuareg of religious status. The chief [614] of the Echchikhen has a drum of his own as he has the right over a few vassal clans of Damergou, namely the Imasoren, Khamedan, Ekanaouen, and Iraouelen – clans said to be poor and in part subsisting as hunters. Among the Echchikhen I was able to collect a list of drumchiefs who have been chosen mainly according to the patrilineal principle (fig. 7). A new chief of the drum-group had just been elected, and he had no ties of kinship with the Echchikhen. He belonged to the Kel Geres group, and the prominent noble Echchikhen Tuareg were very sorry and infuriated about his election, as they wanted a man from their own clan to take over the leadership of the whole drum-group. But they could do nothing about it as the chief can be elected only by his vassals.

This same principle is and was valid for the election of drum-chiefs in the Kel Ferouan group – they have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, who [177] after the French occupation have also elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble Kel Ferouan clan. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, 173 but the noble Kel Ferouan unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their 634

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



173 634 drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The present drum-chief and his brother know the names of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent chiefs are not known further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:–

*Sabenas,* the ancestress of the noble clan and the first ruler of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

*Amenokal,* the elder son of Sabenas.

*Mohammed Aman,* the younger brother of Amenokal.

*Elkarebi,* the brother of Mohammed Aman.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:–

*Boboker,* who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan and was of pure noble origin.

*Ṛali,* who was the younger brother of Boboker. He was drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years and to have died about 30 years ago. He was considered a very skillful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the Kel Ferouan drum-group with profound respect. Ṛali's tomb is 769 south of the massif somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. On Ṛali's death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in which I had the opportunity to partic- [782] ipate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief and eaten close to the tomb. Later there was a prayer led by the chief, who thereupon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the • [177] deceased chief. – Ancestral worship of this type is most probably no traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. Tuareg are generally afraid of deceased persons and will avoid their tombs.

*Mohammed,* who belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan through his mother, while 175 his father came from the Iforas. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. 634 Apparently he was no close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief, Ṛali.

*Ouanarli,* who had no bonds of kinship with the Kel Ferouan clan. His father belonged to the religious and in Tuareg opinion very holy clan of Kel Es Souk. He was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

*Afanou,* who belonged to the Echchikhen. He died after one year's reign.

*Koutia,* who was of noble Kel Ferouan stock being the son of Ṛali's younger brother.

*Agg Elkher,* of pure noble origin being the son of Ṛali's daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected. He is the present drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan group.

*Azerhar,* who was the son of Ṛali.

5; Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft 000
are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put 685
into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, [697]
while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:– pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment [177]
and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were [681]
in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel [643]
Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe 634
with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his [692]
power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with 565
the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relation- 571
ship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum- [634]
chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place 582
in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that 607
one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and [565]
their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory 607
in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *taousit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Ṛela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Ṛali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Aǵouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan. 614 [162] [565] 613 614

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult. 114 611 [177]

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. 611 [591] [428] [631]

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage. 428 [422] [174]

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10. 614 591 768

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



114 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc
174 légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale
233 qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau apparaissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe, il semble qu'au VII^e siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227)

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chameliers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui foit leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the
175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the
101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions:
233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 168ff.).

It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature
175 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding
233 (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. – Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. – Leo Africanus p. 940f.). To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly
171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is
233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds apparently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415f. – Murray 1935, p. 92ff. – Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the
[177] true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black
[342] tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. – Herskovits 1926. – Kroll 1928). The common
[462] traits seem to be the following:– 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is
[825] done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both
[538] camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently characterized by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925-30, 1-11).

191 /62 cont./ In spite of this difficulty in transcription, the Tuareg amuse themselves by transposing the letters in a word, making it utterly incomprehensible for the uninitiated.

[177] At the present time Tamashek is borrowing many words from Arabic and French. Father de Foucauld had already noticed during his time this invasion of Arabic and the way the Tuareg adapted numerous words to their own speech habits.

[212] In the noble tribes, each individual knows how to read and write, but that is not the case with the imrads, for many of the vassals barely know how to write their names.

The richness of the spoken language is greatly declining due to bilingualism and doubtless also because poetry, formerly inspired by the exploits of the warriors, tends to disappear. One may thus realize the importance of Father de Foucauld's work, which permanently recorded a language of oral tradition.

There will certainly come a day when the Tuareg will have to use French to perfect themselves in their own language.

NOTE: Some compound characters.:

[212] = bt = cht = rt = st

/63/

## II
## Economy

### Generalizations on the Economy of the Ahaggar

241 A country such as the one we have seen in the study of the physical characteristics of the Ahaggar, possessing very limited resources because of the scarcity of water and the poverty of the soil, can only have an agriculture of small and uncertain productivity.

291 /103 cont./ occasions. The "ra'ki" is another veil, as large as the tabarikant and made of wool, but white; it is also very rare.

The Tuareg woman does not wear a sarroil but a kind of knee-length skirt, a simple piece of cloth tied around the waist, called "assedjebès." Young girls begin wearing assedjebès when they are nubile.

The woman wear ighatimen for footgear, carry tera, and all have a taralabt slightly different from that of the men. The iremdan is often carried without a case. In winter the tabrok (dokkali) is also a feminine garment.

[854] All of the young children are naked; later they put on the blue gandurah; the boys have a sarroil toward the age of eight or nine. At about fifteen, they begin to wear the veil.

## Food

262 The Tuareg are particularly frugal eaters, and their condition of life does not predispose them to a finely prepared cuisine. Tuareg food has nothing about it to flatter the tastes of a gourmet. The few /104/ dishes palatable for a French-
[177] man have been borrowed from the Arabs and will not be mentioned here.

The basic elements of the Tuareg diet are: millet, milk, and dates. Millet (enelé) comes from the Sudan or is harvested in the Ahaggar as a summer crop; the latter, whose grain is smaller, is better liked but is insufficient in quantity.

252 Millet (the "bechena" of the Arabs) is crushed with a pestle and winnowed to keep only the white flour. This flour is sometimes eaten just as it is after crushing: this is the "tibik" used on the trail by the hurrying cameleer, and it is sometimes used even in camp.

Also called tibik is a more complicated preparation: millet is crushed, winnowed, then washed and put in a tarahout. Heated pebbles are buried in the grain until it become slightly cooked or rather roasted. The progress of the

526 /141 cont./ The young Tuareg dress very carefully, /142/ each showing great fastidiousness. The camel is decked out as richly as possible. Half of the riders line up about 50 meters from the tendi, and the other half at an equal distance on the other side of the tendi. The Tuareg ride from one line to the other in pairs; each Targui watches his bearing, holding himself straight but supple, makes his mount hold its head as high as possible and keeps it abreast of its neighbor, making it trot with the gait called senat-senat or kibarat.

Quitting this back-and-forth movement, a group of riders circles the tendi as close as possible to the women; one of the Tuareg seizes one of the singers' alechou and rides off furiously, whipping his mount. His friends chase him, trying to take the veil from him. The one who succeeds in recapturing it takes it back, as victor, to its owner. He is saluted with tarallélit (the you-you of the Moors). The ilougan lasts until nightfall.

[177] It must be noted that the tendi did not originate in the Ahaggar; it was imported from the Adrar des Iforas and from Tamesna.

584 A gathering native to the Ahaggar is the assihar. A great number of men and women gather around a famous woman imzad player. They listen to the violin, which begins the first measures of a familiar song, then a man or a woman begins to sing. Between songs conversations are held, and flirtations begin in the darkness, but within the strictest bounds of propriety.

When the assihar ends late at night, young men and women go off in small groups; this is the ahal. A woman escorted by two or three young men goes to sit by a bend in a wadi. Her companions speak to her aloud when the conversation is for all ears or very softly in the ear when there are confidences to make. One of them takes the young woman's hand and holds it in his; an old Targui said: "I once held the hand of the woman I desired for three straight nights, and for three days I did not eat."

593 /149 cont./ commands." "Tuareg hospitality is characterized
562 by promiscuity, a sort of traditional prostitution." The truth is entirely different. The origin of Tuareg matriarchy is certainly lost in neolithic customs; ignorance of the process of conception may have been the cause. This familial organization led to exogamy, which tends to disappear; incest is
[835] a crime more terrible than murder. Matriarchy is the guardian of the caste system: the duty of mutual assistance bestows on the warriors (nobles) part of the fruits of others' labor and
[548] gives them ownership of the land. Prostitution does not exist; monogamy is the rule; the woman is respected. "Maternal rights," as L.-G. Richard says, "consist rather of mutual obligations than of prerogatives or advantages." There is no female liberty, for the woman owes herself to her family; in fact, she exercises no rights whatsoever; she transmits them. A custom still practiced, characteristic of matriarchy, is the requirement for the young husband to live a certain time in his wife's camp.

177 Let us repeat that Islam little by little is destroying the
593 matriarchal customs, particularly insofar as succession is con-
622 cerned, for they are increasingly regulated by Moslem practices. Today, the chiefs even desire to leave their power to their sons.

/151/ VI

## Conclusion

000 The Ahaggar is, I believe, the most engaging part of the Sahara -- and I have conveyed neither the picturesqueness of the scenery, the attraction it has for travelers, nor the anguish it sometimes instills in certain souls, when from October to

177 /152 cont./ Large-scale tourism has adopted the Ahaggar; mountain climbers count the virgin peaks still to be scaled and are guided by young Tuareg who begin to speak French. We cannot do otherwise than congratulate ourselves on the material results obtained, but how many Saharans miss, in the bottom of their hearts, the days of the monthly mail, evoking a fairly recent period but one which already seems long past? It was the period that drew them to the Ahaggar, which now is being led, little by little, to the light of this century.

/153/ Appendices

I

Historical Account of the French Occupation

175

February 16, 1881. The Flatters mission is massacred by the Kel Rela and Tédjéhé Mellet Tuareg, aided by a few imrad.

1887. A Taïtok raiding party is taken by surprise at Hassi Hinifel. Thirty Tuareg are taken to Algiers as prisoners for four years. It is with the aid of these Tuareg that Hanoteau will work out the first Tamashek grammar. One of these prisoners becomes the friend of the explorer Crampel, who later was to be killed by his so-called friend.

1898. The Kel Rela and the Taïtok are at war. The latter, defeated by Moussa ag Amastane, flee to the region of the Oulimiden.

1899. Commandant Pein, accompanied by Flamand, carries out a mission to occupy the Tidikelt, thus cutting the Tuareg off from their trading markets of Aoulef and In-Salah.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



177 The Tuareg have contact with a great many people speaking other tongues, and most Tuareg men
[191] know one or two languages in addition to their mother tongue. A great many Northern Tuareg speak
Arabic, and some of them even Hausa, as these two languages are important to them during caravan
[192] trading. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-*n*-Ajjer the Tuareg language has adopted many Arabic words. This
is not the case to the same extent in Ayr, where most loan-words are taken over from Hausa which
language is spoken by most Tuareg men. Even the *Kel Ewey* dialect is extremely mixed with
177 Hausa. It should be mentioned that Tuareg women have very little knowledge of foreign languages.
184 They generally speak neither Arabic nor Hausa.

The women have played a great part in the preservation of the Tuareg language and culture. But the latter has nevertheless been much influenced by contact with culturally different peoples. Foreign influences are responsible for certain distinctions in the Tuareg cultures of the north and the south.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



their flocks, but it is, on the whole, inproper to show any interest in their animals. Some nomads will even claim that although they know all their goats by sight, they do not know, or never mention, the total number of their animals, as this is believed to bring bad luck. This belief is probably explained by the idea of the evil eye. To this may be added that it is difficult to judge the ownership of goats by merely watching the flock of a household which may also have animals grazing on other pastures.

According to official statistics for 1948, the average number of goats per household among the *Kel Ahaggar* is fifteen (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). This figure is probably derived from the tax lists, and it seems to be much too low – even when households of slaves and sedentary agriculturists are included. Lhote has stated that the number of goats per person, under ideal conditions, is 35–40. If they increase above this, the surplus is slaughtered or sold to the sedentary peoples of the oases (Lhote 1951a, p. 9). This latter figure for ownership of goats under ideal conditions is probably true for the more wealthy Tuareg of Ahaggar. Thus among the vassal Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe many household are said to possess 100–200 goats, but this tribe is considered extremely rich in goats, and households of other tribes will not generally own so many animals. From rough calculations made in a great many camps of vassal Tuareg, and Tuareg of the *Isekkemaren* class, I estimate that households on an average possess 60–70 goats when pastures are not too badly developed, for it must be emphasized that the size of flocks changes with climatic conditions. For the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar I estimate, on the basis of calculations made at Amsel, Abalessa, and Taṛhawhawt, that a household possesses on average 15–20 goats.

In good years the amount of milk products supplied by a flock of 60 goats is rather considerable. This is clear when we consider the fact that a goat, during the period of three to four months in autumn and early winter when pasture of annual plants is green, will yield up to two litres of milk every day. When annual pasture gets dry the milk yield decreases but milk is still comparatively plentiful and important for food all the winter. In summer, however, there is little milk for reasons already referred to, and in dry years goats, even in the cold season, yield little or no milk. The flocks decrease during such periods of drought and some nomads may even lose most of their animals. During my stay among the Tuareg of Ahnet and Ahaggar from November 1954 to April 1955, goats suffered much from lack of fodder. In many camps one or two goats died of hunger every day.

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot subsist entirely on goat-breeding because severe droughts occur frequently in their country. During drought-periods the goats are so to speak valueless as subsistence for the nomads. But it is remarkable that goats emaciated in consequence of severe drought quickly grow fat and start to yield milk once rain has fallen abundantly enough for the regeneration of pastures. In connection with this we shall point to another characteristic of goat-breeding: The animals have a very short gestation period, and the kids are fully grown for mating in one year. And as one goat may have four kids annually with free mating, a household, which has lost most animals during a drought, will be able very quickly to re-establish a flock large enough for its needs.

Goats are also highly important for the subsistence of the pastoral Tuareg of Ayr. I do not know of any statistic material about the size of flocks in this area, but for Tuareg of Kidal (Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas) flocks are officially estimated at 74 goats and sheep per household (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 269), and this region is environmentally related to Southern Ayr. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that a household

[Text continues on p. 45]

the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp. Colour- 231
terms are also used for dogs, and I have heard one Tuareg boy claim that he preferred dogs that were
black and white. Adult people in general treat dogs differently, and they are frequently cruel to them, [177]
which may be due to Islamic influence which is on the increase among the Tuareg. Though the Tuareg
may be cruel to their dogs they acknowledge that they are very "wise and intelligent". They say that
the dogs are much like humans with the exception that they cannot speak. Therefore they should
also be fed like humans, and they are given millet-porridge – with milk if the yield is abundant. The
Tuareg kill their old and superfluous dogs by hanging them from a tree in a noosed rope, and they
consider this method very effective.

## CATS

The domestic cat is found in many Tuareg camps. It is generally termed *muchch* which is Arabic by
origin. I believe that domestic cats have been introduced to Tuareg countries later than the Arab [174]
invasions and that they have been introduced by the Arabs. This is in agreement with Lagercrantz's
statement that domestic cats in most parts of North Africa outside of Egypt are post-Arabian (Lager-
crantz 1950, p. 65). Cats are allowed to live in tents and huts, and are well treated as among the Arabs.
The Tuareg keep cats not only for pets to their children, but they much like to have them in their [136]
camps as cats catch numerous scorpions and also attack snakes.

Among sedentary people of Ahaggar and particularly at Tamanrasset the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, or
*tékenisit*) is sometimes kept in the house or within the courtyard as it hunts beetles and scorpions
during the night. This custom of keeping tame hedgehogs is no doubt recently adopted from Europeans [177]
living at Tamanrasset.

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Fig. 91. A true greyhound (*aska*) patted by a negroid agriculturist of the *Kel Ganet*. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Ureren* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

# Social Aspects of Stock-Breeding

Pastoral Tuareg have (or had) important matrilineal traits of social organization and also patrilineal traits which have been adopted partly through contact with the Arabs from whom they have taken over the Islamic rules of inheritance. Koranic inheritance rules are followed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, but some social aspects of Tuareg stock-breeding differ in these two areas. 611 428 177

## AHAGGAR

I shall briefly describe the Koranic rules valid for inheritance of all kinds of individually owned property, e.g., livestock, material goods, and money, though most Tuareg do not regard money as something to be conserved. It is a main rule that children inherit their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as large as that allotted to a daughter. Important details of these rules can appropriately be illustrated with a few examples which I took down in Ahaggar:— 428

(1) A married couple having a son and a daughter. When the husband dies all his property is divided into eight parts of equal value. One of these parts is given to the widow, and the remaining seven parts are thereupon re-divided into three parts, two of which are allotted the son while one part is given to the daughter. When the widow dies her property is divided into three parts – two parts for her son, one part for her daughter.

(2) A married couple having a son and a daughter. The wife dies and her property is divided into four parts – one for the widower, another for the daughter, and two parts for the son. When the widower dies his property is divided into three parts – two parts for the son, one part for the daughter.

(3) A married couple having no children. At the death of the husband his property is divided into four parts. Only one of these parts is allotted to the widow, while the remaining three parts are taken over by individuals of the husband's family according to the rules mentioned below for inheritance from an unmarried man.

(4) A married couple having no children. At the wife's death her property is divided into two parts. One part is given to the widower, the other to the deceased wife's family.

(5) At the death of an unmarried man one sixth of his property is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), while the remainder is taken over by his father.

(6) An unmarried man who has lost his father, but has alive his father's father, a brother and a

[p. 137]

224 on sandy ground. This same method is also used to catch asses or wild donkeys for domestication (cf. p. 108).

(7) It has been mentioned above (p. 108) that wild donkeys are also caught by driving them into closed valleys from which they cannot escape. As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not hunt proper game animals in this way, but the driving method is used in fishing as described below (cf. p. 164).

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*éfetaw*) (Fig. 113) connected with a noosed rope (*taṛant*) attached to a piece of wood (*aḡula*) is used to catch gazelle, barbary sheep, and donkeys. Such traps are easily and quickly manufactured by the Tuareg, and when they want to trap gazelle in this way they make a great many traps which are placed in the sand around young acacias upon which the animals feed. [43] The arrangement of the spiked wheel-trap is brilliantly illustrated in literature (cf. Lhote 1951a, photos p. 112–113; Brouin 1950, p. 454).

(9) A torsion trap (*tenḍerbat*) provided with a noosed rope is used particularly for barbary sheep. This trap is also depicted in literature (Lhote 1951a, p. 113; Mérite 1942, p. 185). The trap is rare in Ahaggar nowadays. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that the trap was introduced from Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas. It is said to be unknown to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (cf. Fig. 114a).

[564] [172] The Ahaggar Tuareg nowadays engage little in trapping in contrast to the negroid agriculturists (the *Ḥarratin*), most of whom have steel traps (*elkhenlyet*) manufactured in Europe, or made by native blacksmiths on the European pattern. A few agriculturists have large steel traps to be used for gazelle, barbary sheep, and even for the big gazelle and antelope, but the common steel traps are small and are used mainly for hares (*émerwel*, fem. *témerwelt; abekni*; *Lepus harterti*), jackals (*ébeggi, aggwr*; *Thos aureus* sp.), and fennecs (*akhorhi, éṛechter*; *Fennecus zerda*). Still smaller traps are used for minor rodents (*éḍewi*; *Gerbillus gerbillus*?) (*akundar*; *Masoutiera* sp.) and for certain birds such as ravens [223] (*aṛaleḳ, taslaft*; *Corvus ruficollis ruficollis*), pigeons (*akekkemaẓ*; *Columbia livia targia*), turtle-doves (*tédebirt*; *Streptopelia turtur hoggara*), and sand grouse (*tékaḍewt, tédebirt*; *Pterocles* sp.).

Steel traps are now widely used, and traditional trapping methods for small animals and birds are therefore rarely resorted to. Among the *Kel Ajjer* small rodents are caught in snares (*asendi*) made of leather. Snares of this kind are known both to pastoral Tuareg and to sedentary agriculturists of Ganet and Ṛat. Among the latter there are also two different trap-systems used for small rodents, which in both systems are killed by a flat, heavy stone falling upon them. One of these traps is named *téselselt*. I do not know whether these traps exist in Ahaggar.

223 564 Small birds, including pigeons and turtle-doves, are caught in torsion traps by sedentary agriculturists of the oases. Traps of this kind, which are normally provided with a net (cf. Fig. 114b), are found in most oases of the Northern and Central Sahara, but I have never seen them in use among pastoral Tuareg. Pigeon, turtle-dove, sand grouse, and also partridge (*Alectoris barbara shuprezi*) are caught in snares made of hair. Ten or twenty of these snares (*éḡefey*) are attached to a string so that several birds can be taken at the same time. Bird-snaring is practised mainly by sedentary agriculturists.

262 565 Sedentary agriculturists, slaves, and some vassal Tuareg are not squeamish. Even meat of beasts and birds of prey is eaten by certain vassals, though such animals are unclean and inedible according to Islamic rules. The meat of fennecs, jackals, and a large eagle-like bird known as *tamikkla* is eaten

[Text continues on p. 162]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



224 annually among the Ayr Tuareg is apparently also a low one. Brouin estimates that about 200 oryx antelopes, 3–10 of the protected giraffes, and 100–1000 gazelles are killed annually by native hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 435).

Traditional hunting methods in Ayr are as follows:—

[411] [172] (1) Hunting by means of the spear (*tarda*). This weapon is fitted with a wooden shaft like the hunting spear used in Ahaggar, but the slender barbed spear of the Tebu is also used by many Ayr Tuareg.

(2) The use of stalking animals. Cf. the Ahaggar Tuareg above (p. 158 f.).

(3) Hunting in disguise. The Ayr hunters employ a disguise of straw. Bundles of straw are attached to the hunter's body, and the hunter furthermore carries a big straw-bundle in each hand. Walking in a bent position he is able to approach the game (gazelle and antelope) in this way. It is very probable that skin-clothing has also been used as a disguise (cf. Brouin 1950, p. 447 f.).

(4) The running down of game animals by men mounted on camels or horses is a method rarely employed within the Ayr Massif, though practised by certain Tuareg inhabiting the southern plains.

(5) Hunting with dogs. This is practised in the mountains. Barbary sheep are attacked and surrounded by the dogs, and normally killed by means of the spear. – It is said that a hunter having no dogs at his disposal can make a barbary sheep stop if he barks like a dog.

(6) Hunting by driving the animals into closed river valleys. The method is said to be used for

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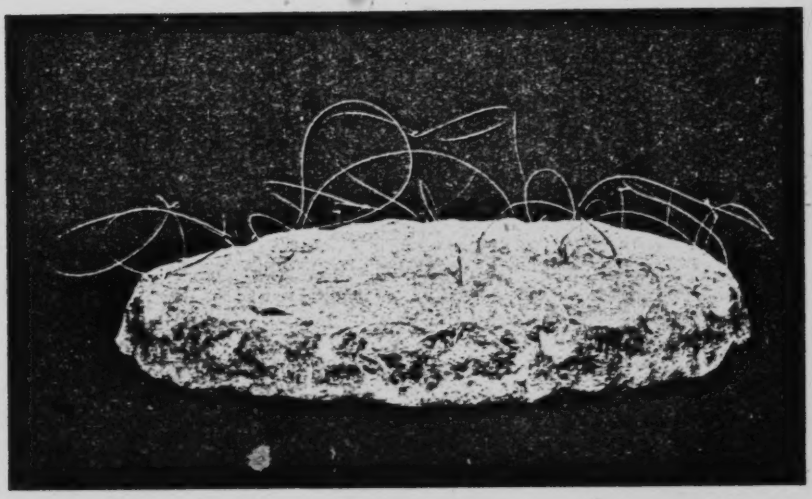

Fig. 118. Snares (*t'izagin*, sing. *tazek*) made from hair and inserted into a piece of sun-dried clay. Used for little birds which are fed with millet placed upon the piece of clay. Ayr, boys of the *Imeggedezen*. Dimension: 0.15 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 6622).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



411 p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *ifezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals – there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as [324] though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Ineslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Ḳoran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely [171] wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing [114] poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these [172] people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

224 Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. To-[184] day true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Tamgak* or *Imedderaren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Ḡali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting [311] that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Ḡali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals withing two hunting territories where barbary sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting 224 825 that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

| Age | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . . | *awhim* | *tawhimt* |
| Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . . | *ahyar* | *tahyart* |
| Fully grown animal . . . . . | *ahenkoḍ* | *tahenkoṭ* |

224 Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—
764 (1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's
777 nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



In literature there seems to be no reliable information about the existence of irrigation agriculture 241
in Ahaggar until Duveyrier, who states that agriculture did not obtain a fixed position in the economic 175
life of the Ahaggar Tuareg until the reign of the *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) (cf. Duveyrier
1864, p. 369). This statement is confirmed by most agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg in Ahaggar, 241
who claim that prior to *Elkhaj Akhmed* irrigation agriculture was not practised in Ahaggar. During 312
the reign of this *Amenukal* irrigation agriculture by means of the subterranean aqueducts known to 173
the Arabs as *foggara* (*éfeli*, pl. *ifelan*) was introduced by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs and negroid *Ḥarratin* from 177
the Tidikelt oases. Some people of Ahaggar claim that another irrigation system was introduced about
the same time, namely irrigation wells from which water is drawn by oxen and donkeys. This system,
known as *tanut*, is said to have been introduced by agriculturists from Ġanet (Djanet) (the *Kel Ġanet*).
It should be noted that there are certain traditions which claim irrigation agriculture to be older in
Ahaggar. One tradition says that it was practised at Silet-Tibeghin by Arabs who immigrated from
Tawat to cultivate by means of the *foggara* system even during the reign of the *Imenan* (Lhote 1955,
p. 286 f.). Another tradition, recorded by Foucauld, states that irrigation farming was known at a 241
very remote date by the *Isebeten* – a pagan people said to be the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes of 312
Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535 f.). Traditions of the age of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar 173
are conflicting. If it was practised long before the reign of *Elkhaj Akhmed* by the ancient vassals, I
believe that water was raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counter-
weight. For this system, which is known as *aṣudid*, is said to have been very common in the past. It
is extremely rare nowadys, and I have only seen it once at Terhenanet. There can be no doubt that [171]
this simple irrigation method is a very old one in North Africa, where it is more widely distributed
than all other types of irrigation methods (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, map VII p. 320). The very wide
distribution of this system elsewhere in the Old World points to its great age, and it is perhaps to be
considered the oldest true irrigation machine.

A few Tuareg in the northern groups practise irrigation agriculture, which does not seem to be one 241
of their traditional occupations. Tuareg irrigation farmers are found mainly in the Fezzan, but mention 178
should also be made of the people of three noble tribes, namely the *Ilemṭeyen* (living at Ṛat), the
*Ikadeyen* (at Tit in Ahaggar), and the *Kel-ahem-niellen* (roaming pastoralists north of Ahaggar or settled
farmers at the oasis of Inṛer in Tidikelt). These sedentary or semi-sedentary noble Tuareg were originally
true pastoralists, though but little is known of the original mode of livelihood of the *Ikadeyen*. A few
individuals or families among the Ahaggar vassals have more recently taken up irrigation agriculture
in addition to stock-breeding. There seems to be a growing tendency towards semi-nomadism in
Ahaggar nowadays. There may be several reasons for this. Thus one can point to the decline of [432]
caravan trading and to the fact that pastoral Tuareg cannot so easily get the true agriculturists to cul-
tivate for them. The true agriculturists of Ahaggar comprise the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*) of Tidikelt, [564]
who have mixed with the manumitted slaves now also known as *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*), a few fair-
skinned *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, and the *Kel Ġanet* who are predominantly black-skinned. All these agricultural
people tend to mix with each other and also with tribes of pastoral Tuareg.

There are at present about 25 agricultural settlements in the river valleys of Ahaggar. Apart from 361
the administration centre of Tamanṛaset (1600) and the oasis of Abalessa (547) these agricultural 162

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433 439 in the Sudan for such articles as camel saddles, sandals, swords, millet mortars, indigo cotton, earthenware pots, and the like. The Tuareg may also buy quantities of butter and cheese for sale to the sedentary people of Tidikelt and for their own use in dry years.

The Sudanese trade constitutes the great stabilizing factor in the economy of pastoral Tuareg of [262] Ahaggar. In return for the valuable rock-salt, pastoral Tuareg obtain the bulk of their agricultural food products (millet), butter and cheese for their own consumption in dry years, many important artefacts and notably their camel saddles and their millet mortars. They also get a surplus of millet and goods for investment in their Ahaggar gardens and for selling to the sedentary people of the Tidikelt oases.

There are certain Tuareg who do not engage in the Sudanese salt trade, notably those living in Ahnet; and these Tuareg nowadays have no irrigated gardens either. They acquire their necessary vegetable food products from Tidikelt (dates) and from Abalessa and Tamanrasset (wheat). They buy these vegetable products with their surplus of goats, sheep, camels, butter and cheese, and an occasional [511] barbary sheep. In a good year they can meet their needs of food in this way, but it is most difficult for them to subsist in dry years; and it may happen that two dry years come in succession. When I [114] stayed among the Ahnet Tuareg in 1954–55, all camps visited were very short of food, while the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif who engage much in the salt trade (the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé*) possessed what they needed of wheat, barley, dates, and millet.

[366] To-day there is a rather important market at Tamanrasset where many Tuareg sell surplus livestock, and where they can also buy cereals and dates. But it is always profitable to sell livestock and meat [435] in the Tidikelt oases where meat, butter and cheese are very expensive articles. Dates are cheap in these 000 oases, European goods and woven blankets are also cheaper than at Tamanrasset. The trading expedi-

804 322 177

Fig. 150. Wooden measure (*mada*) which contains one kilo of cereals, or the like. The Tuareg have adopted the kilogramme into their own weight system. The proper Tuareg unit is the *tazîwa* which, according to Foucauld, corresponds to three kilogrammes (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1160), but nowadays the Ahaggar Tuareg count one *tazîwa* as equal to two kilogrammes and a half. The Tuareg have wooden or metal measures of *tazîwa* size, and there are also larger measures to be used for grain, dates, and the like. For units smaller than *mada* the Tuareg sometimes use a wooden measure called *tanakat* which holds half a kilogramme. Smaller quantities are measured with the hand held half open, and it is recognized in Ahaggar that one *tazîwa* corresponds to 99 handfuls. In Ayr it is very common to use a little plaited bowl (*téfakemi*) as the smallest unit of measurement. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.125 m in diameter at the rim. (F.M. 168).

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Fig. 164. Pail (*ɛ́rir*) made from tinned brass by blacksmiths. It is used for storing butter to be used for food preparation in the tent. Pails of this type form part of the dowry in the *Dag Bali* tribe. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamazgunt. Dimension: 0.155 m high, 0.230–0.235 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5820).

Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food 231
they perform a sacrifice, the idea of which seems to be an identification of the man and the killed animal. 282
This idea appears most clearly at the sacrifice made on the occasion of the name-giving feast seven 225
days after the birth of a child. A marabut, that is a Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class, and the father of 553
the child stand close together with their faces towards Mecca while the animal to be sacrified is kept 282
to the ground. The marabut cuts the animal's throat and doing so cries out the name to be given to [565]
the child, and this name is thereupon repeated by the child's father. When the killing is performed in [442]
this way the knife (*elmusi* in Ahaggar; *ɛzegiz* in Ayr) and the cut across the throat are washed with
water before skinning is undertaken. I have dealt with certain ideas of Tuareg sacrifice elsewhere, 114
and have stated that on certain occasions they may sacrifice not to God but to the *Kel Asuf* spirits 282
(Nicolaisen 1961, p. 122 f., 147 f.). But whatever may be the ideas attached to Tuareg sacrifices all 231
animals, with the exception of the camel (cf. above p. 65), are killed by cutting their throat.

The methods of meat preparation are almost identical in Ayr and Ahaggar. The most common 252
method everywhere is cooking in an earthen pot, known in Ahaggar as *ufrun*, *ɛ́rirt*, *alekkin*, or *talekkint* 4/5 *
according to its size and form, or in a metal pot (*ɛ́rir*) of European origin. Such European pots are [177]
common everywhere in Tuareg camps, but earthen pots are still used though less durable, for earthen
pots are cheap. Pots made of metal or copper, which are also known as *ɛ́rir*, were also found among

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 165. Horn (*isrk*) of barbary sheep used for storing butter for greasing the hair. The opening is closed with a piece of date palm bast (*asan*), and the edge is pierced with a glowing awl (*énder*) for the insertion of a cord of goat's hair by means of which the horn is attached to the tent ceiling. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.30 m long. (F.M. 236).

252 the Tuareg in the past. I believe that they were made by blacksmiths or imported from the north.
*415 Pastoral Tuareg do not manufacture earthen pots which are obtained from sedentary people. The
[222] cooking of meat is perhaps not a traditional method of food preparation to the Tuareg, though they seem to have used cooking pots for centuries.

252 A method of meat preparation undoubtedly introduced recently among the Tuareg, is that of spit
●177 roasting. Meat roasted in this way is known as *mechwi*, a word of Arab origin, and the Northern Tuareg have taken over the method from the Arabs. The *mechwi* method is also known in Ayr, where it has perhaps been introduced by French administrators who had learned to appreciate meat thus
252 prepared during their visits among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Pieces of sheep and goats and entire animals are prepared in this way (Fig. 174), and the meat should preferably be prepared with butter and red pepper before roasting.

The traditional Tuareg roasting method is to place entire animals (goats, sheep), or parts of them, under the hot ashes of the fire. This method is known to the Northern Tuareg as *abatul*, to the Tuareg of Ayr as *ébewil* (Fig. 175). This method of roasting meat is practised everywhere among the Tuareg, and it is on the whole similar to the method used for bread-baking described below (p. 238 f.).

Meat-roasting in the ashes is no doubt an ancient Tuareg method of food-preparation, and this also holds good for another method described in connection with the preparation of milk, namely food preparation by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221). The Ahaggar Tuareg prepare the stomachs of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep in this way, putting hot stones into the stomachs, while camel stomachs are boiled in a cooking pot and gazelle stomachs roasted in the ashes according to the *abatul* method mentioned above. These rules of food preparation seem also to be practised by the Ayr Tuareg, who put hot stones into stomachs of sheep and goats together with small pieces of meat. A stomach of goats or sheep prepared in this way, however, is given a final treatment in hot sand or in ashes close to the fire. The stomach of sheep or goats cooked with hot stones is known as *tarafa*, and a related word seems to be known also in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1583).

[262] The Tuareg eat most entrails of their slaughtered animals. Entrails of camels are normally boiled, and kidneys of all animals are prepared in this way. Most entrails of goats and sheep (liver, heart, and lungs) are roasted on the embers or in the ashes, and in Ayr the Tuareg roast fat put into the abomasum (*tedeɣant*). The Northern Tuareg generally prepare liver and fat together in the following manner:— The liver is roasted upon the embers, is thereupon cut into small pieces which are wrapped

up with small strips of fat. The pieces of liver covered with fat are put on a slender iron or 252
wooden rod to be roasted slightly over the fire. This dish is known to all Tuareg by the Arabic word [177]
*elmefef*. It was introduced among the Northern Tuareg by the Arabs, but is not widely known among the Ayr Tuareg.

This brief description of Tuareg meat preparation can adequately be supplemented by a reference 252
to two peculiar dishes:— (1) A dish known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *talebeggat*. It consists of meat 262
which after boiling or roasting is pounded in a large mortar and frequently served with liquid butter. This dish is also known to the Ayr Tuareg. (2) A dish which is described from Ahaggar by Foucauld 252
under the name *abengor*. It consists of untanned skin which is eaten in case of hunger after the following 261
preparation:— Untanned skin from household implements, shields, and the like is roasted under the ashes, and is thereupon pounded into small pieces. These are eaten without any further preparation, or after boiling. (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 73).

Like other North African peoples the Tuareg dry meat of domestic animals and of game. The people 251
of Ayr know three distinct drying methods, namely (1) *iwesan*, that is meat which is boiled until it is free of blood; it is dried in the shade; (2) *tikelsin*, uncooked meat cut into pieces to be dried on a string in the shade; (3) *kulez*, uncooked meat cut into strips which are dried for some time to be treated with salt and various spices. This last method is not practised among the Tuareg of Ayr, but by sedentary people of Agadez and by Negroes further south in Damergu. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally boil or roast the meat before drying; meat roasted in the ashes according to the *abanul* method and thereupon dried is known as *takasa*. I do not know whether the Ahaggar Tuareg also practise the [P25]
method of drying raw meat like the Ayr Tuareg, but the dried *agezzeram* lizzards which they take to Tidikelt on trading expeditions, are dried uncooked. Furthermore, the method of drying raw meat [171]
is known elsewhere in the Northern Sahara, and I have myself seen it practised among the Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

I conclude the description of Tuareg meat preparation with a brief note on the use of blood of living 272

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**Fig. 166. Wooden double-vessel (*azar*) to contain water and butter for greasing the hair. Similar containers with a third vessel for fine-grained sand are also found among the Tuareg. Made by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Geometrical ornaments are produced by burning with a hot iron. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs at Tamaqquet. Dimension: 0.241 m long. (N.M. G. 5880).**

[text continues on p. 235]

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Fig. 171. Ordinary meat-knife (*elmusi*) of the type used among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Its broken handle is mended with hide of barbary sheep sewn with leather thread. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m (total length). (F.M. 249).
All knives are manufactured by blacksmiths.

wheat bread is eaten particularly during migrations and on trading expeditions, or in periods when 262
butter is rare (Lhote 1955a, p. 262). This statement disagrees with my own experience. Wheat bread [114]
is an ordinary diet of many Northern Tuareg. Bread is also baked from barley and from certain wild [124]
seeds (notably *tawit*, *Chenopodium Vulvaria*; *éhéyefyef*, *Aizoon canariense*; *tullult*, *Aristida pungens*)
and wild roots (*ahahel*, *Cistanche Phelypaea*), while millet and sorghum are considered less suitable
for baking. Seeds are generally prepared for baking by grinding them into flour by saddle querns or 262
handmills. In Northern Tuareg country there are two types of bread which have been introduced as [172]
a result of contact with Arabs or the Arabic-speaking *Ḥarratin*. One type is named *elfetat* and is baked

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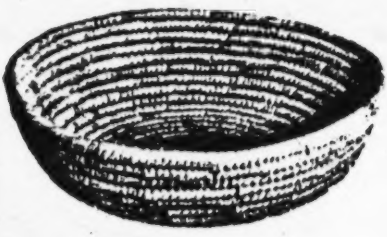
Fig. 172a–b. Meat knives.
a. Knife (*dzegiz*) of Tebu type to be carried in its sheath around the upper arm. These knives are sometimes used in Ayr. Agadez. Dimension: 0.370 m. (total length). (N.M. G. 6620a–b).
b. Knife (*dzegiz*) of the double-edged type normally used in Ayr. The *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.377 m (total length). N.M. G. 6665a–b).



285
824
415*
462

Fig. 185. Tray or bowl (*sakeyka* – perhaps not correctly spelled). It is used for winnowing, and it serves as an eating bowl and a drinking bowl as this container is watertight. Coiled basketry of date palm leaves (*afum*). Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.205 m in diameter. (F.M. 263).

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415*
564
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Fig. 186. Pot (*takekkist*) with a single handle. Manufactured by *Ḥarratin* women in Ahaggar, the *Aɣuhen-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.18 m high. (F.M. 172).

in a mortar with a little water to a soft dough to which a little cheese, butter, or milk is added before 262
eating. If a large quantity of milk is added this dish is known as *tarkit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, as men- 252
tioned (p. 167), also pound dried dates with locusts to make a dish eaten by women who wish to grow fat. [261]

The Arabs and the Arabic-speaking agriculturists of Tidikelt (the *Ḥarratin*) have introduced among 262
the Northern Tuareg the well-known North African dish generally called kuskus. The dish is known [272]
to the Tuareg as *keskesu* which is also Arabic by origin. But this dish is not the staple diet among [271]
the Northern Tuareg that it is among the Arabs and the Berbers of the Atlas. It is eaten mainly on festive occasions, and there are many Tuareg women who even to-day do not know how to prepare it. The *keskesu* dish is preferably made from wheat flour, though barley flour may also be used. The 252
cereals are ground with hand-mills or quern stones (saddle querns), and the flour is rolled into very

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



as *téyint* (Ayr) or *talekkint* (Ahaggar). But pastoral Tuareg do not make eartenware pots themselves. They obtain them from sedentary people, and it is possible that vegetable dishes have been prepared with hot stones up to recent times, for Foucauld states that hot stones are occasionally used for various vegetable dishes in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951-52, IV, p. 1583). However, I have not been able to confirm this during my own investigations among the Tuareg. It should be added that certain vegetable dishes are neither boiled nor baked. This is the case with seeds and roots of various wild plants which are ground and pounded into flour to be eaten without further preparation. Such dishes are known to the Tuareg as *tébik* (Ahaggar) or *téderka* (Ayr). Seeds and roots of wild plants utilized in this way have been mentioned in the chapter on collecting p. 175 ff.

The Tuareg have a great many different dishes, but in spite of this variety they do not always change their food from one day to another. They frequently live on the same type of food for extremely long periods. They may live almost exclusively on milk for weeks and even months, and if milk is not available they live so to speak exclusively on vegetable dishes, which may also not be changed for very long periods.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have three meals a day:— (1) *taǧimǧimt* which is a light meal taken in the morning. (2) *amekli* which is a prepared meal (e.g., bread, porridge, or *aṛehara*) eaten at midday. (3) *amaǧin* which is the evening meal, also known as *amensi*, or *aẓuẓeǧ*. It is the most important meal.

Fig. 193. Tuareg woman cooking kuskus (*keskesu*) in an European enamelled pot. Ahaggar, the *Deg Ḥali* tribe.

by blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*amerwan*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talaḳ*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akralal, abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *teḍeft n eferaw*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Aṭuk-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

A photograph illustrating a women making a bag from spun hair is reproduced by Lhote, who states 286
that bags of this nature are rarely manufactured nowadays and are made exclusively by a few noble 415*
women of the *Kel Rela* tribe (Lhote 1955a, p. 319 f., pl. XV p. 384). This statement does not agree 462
with information gathered by myself in Ahaggar, where I was told that bags were made from spun 565
hair by Tuareg women of other tribes and notably by women of the *Isekkamaren* class. 114

In Ayr spinning of cotton is performed mainly to obtain sewing thread, which is considered superior 283
to European thread for sewing cotton clothes. To my knowledge most pastoral women do not spin [432]
their own cotton thread but buy it at the market of Agadez. However I have noted the existence of
simple cotton bows in a *Kel Tédalé* camp in the northern part of the Ayr Massif. The occurrence of [171]
the simple cotton bow among the Ayr Tuareg should no doubt be viewed in connection with the use [248]
of this implement in the Western Sudan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 260 ff.) from where the cotton plant [172]
has also been introduced.

Coiled basket-work plays an important part with the Tuareg, particularly the Northern Tuareg 285
who are experts in this technique which is related to sewing. A very primitive type of coiled basketry

[824]

Fig. 211. Basket (*alegwegwi*) plaited from date palm leaves (*aghum*). The handle is of date palm bast (*azum*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abelema. Dimension: 0.38 m high. (N.M. G. 5835).

[text continues on p. 269]

# Dress

In this chapter on Tuareg dress I do neither describe all types of Tuareg garments nor dress ornamentation, but content myself with a brief description of the prominent articles of dress and of certain peculiar garments which are interesting and important for our understanding of the cultural position of the Tuareg. 29 128

In Northern Tuareg country pastoral women sometimes wear a large hat plaited from date palm leaves and known as *téłé*, which literally means "shade" (cf. Fig. 231). However, hats of this kind, are never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg who obtain them from sedentary agriculturists. Hats of the same type are very common further north in Africa where they are worn not only by women but also by men, and I believe that hats of this sort were introduced to the Tuareg by the Arabs and the Arabic speaking *Ḫarratin*, who came to Ahaggar about a hundred years ago. In Ayr I have seen plaited hats worn by one or two black-skinned men of the *Kel Ewey* group. These hats are also used among the Hausa. True pastoral Tuareg like those of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not wear hats. 292 [285] [171] [172] [184]

It seems as if the hat is a foreign element in Tuareg culture, and that as traditional head garments the Tuareg have nothing beyond the veil and the headcloth described in some detail in the general chapter about the Tuareg (cf. p. 14 f.). We have seen that both the veil and the headcloth are sometimes referred to as *alechchu*, "a piece of Sudanese indigo cotton sewn together from narrow strips or bands", for the traditional veil and headcloth are made from this type of cotton which is highly esteemed for many other garments. It seems to be the oldest type of cotton used for dress among the Tuareg, while white cotton of an ordinary type has been introduced more recently among them. The Ayr Tuareg use the word *maser* for white cotton woven in one piece, and they say that this word refers to *Miṣr* (Egypt) wherefrom cotton of this particular type was first introduced. It came much later than indigo cotton of Sudanese type, which has been known in Ayr from very ancient times. 291 294

Indigo coloured cotton introduced from the Sudan is very expensive and is nowadays used mainly for festive occasions, while daily dress, including the veil, is made of European cotton, which is indigo or white in colour. There can be no doubt that the comparatively cheap European cotton has displaced the use of skin or leather for daily dress. For we know that skin shirts were extremely common in Ahaggar at the beginning of the present century (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 112), and Duveyrier says that "le pardessus en peau" is held in esteem (Duveyrier 1864, p. 406). Before Duveyrier we have Lyon's statement that Tuareg of the Fezzan area use skin (leather) for dress:— "A leather kaftan is also much worn, of their own manufacture, as are leather shirts of the skins of antelopes, very neatly sewed, and well prepared". In addition Lyon depicts a Tuareg wearing a leather shirt with ample sleeves (Lyon 1821, p. 110). 291 [292] [28]

[p. 287]

292 ceremonial ridings as those described on p. 104 f. I have been informed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr that bandoleers were used exclusively for such purposes. Rodd depicts a rock-drawing from Timia in Ayr and believes that it perhaps represents a man wearing a bandoleer (Rood 1926a, p. 194, pl. 40 p. 305). This may be so, but I have been told by Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group that bandoleers were introduced among the Ayr Tuareg by the French when they formed the camel patrol made up of Tuareg from different Ayr tribes. However, my informants also claimed that the use of bandoleers for camel riders was an ancient custom in the north among the Ahaggar Tuareg, from where it was introduced to Ayr by the French. Informants of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer told me that the custom was traditional to noble Tuareg but not to vassals, though Tuareg of the vassal class also wear bandoleers nowadays.

291 Apart from the head-cloth (*ékerhey*) the following garments are typical of Northern Tuareg women:— (1) *tékamist*, that is a large and wide shirt of cotton, in form and cut identical with the man's shirt; (2) *asegbes*, a large piece of cotton used for a skirt or a petticoat; this is fixed tightly around the waist merely by folding it at the upper edge; (3) *tikest*, a large piece of cotton worn as a shawl over the shoulders and head, covering the head-cloth.

In addition to the head-cloth (*adalil*), which they frequently wear rolled up on the top of the head, Tuareg women of the *Kel Ferwan* group wear three main garments:— (1) *aftek*, a very short shirt of poncho cut. It is very akin to the shirt worn by Hausa-speaking women of Agadez, who use the words

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Fig. 237. Slave-boy wearing the loin-cloth depicted above Fig. 238. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehli* tribe.

291 l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

292 In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the [232] Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen [177] blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aglim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-[294] skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl (*ristent*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather [184] cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

178 Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like 291 many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

291 The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *iratimen* (sing. *iratim*) which [237] word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south. [438] The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where the type is also known by the Hausa word *takelmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in 294 detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following 281 way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig. [114] 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manu-291 facture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takelmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The [37] very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal [288] is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *slisleplatine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

[text continues on p.300]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Lhote describes the skin-stockings (*abuheg*) used among the Ahaggar Tuareg as having a very particular cut, so that the first toe is separated from the other toes in order that the stocking may be worn with sandals. The following description of Tuareg skin-stockings is additionally given:— "Cette chaussette monte un peu plus haut que les chaussures européennes à tiges et se lace de même au moyen d'un lacet de peau. Il y a une petite languette et la jonction empeignetige est renforcée par une rondelle de peau fixée par une couture. La semelle est une simple peau de filali qui serait vite usée si l'on marchait directement dessus. *L'aboûheg* est fait en peau de mouton ou en peau de gazelle tannée, et souvent avec des chutes de mauvaise qualité. Les peaux sont ordinairement teintes en noire et la rondelle de renforcement en vert. Mais il y en a aussi qui sont faites en filali rouge de bonne qualité. Le prix de ces dernières est plus élevé et elles sont généralement faites sur commande. On trouve sur le marché d'Agadez, des *iboûhegen* qui sont l'oeuvre des artisans cordonniers de cette ville. Nous n'en avons jamais vu faire chez les Touareg du Nord, qui les font aujourd'hui confectionner par des artisans de Tamanrasset et s'en procurent également à Agadez. De même, nous n'en avons jamais vu porter chez les Ioullimiden de Ménéka ou chez les Tenguéréguifs. Les gens d'In Salah et de Djanet la connaissent ainsi que les Chaamba" (Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). According to Lhote, just quoted, *abouheg* (*abuheg*) is described by Foley not as stockings, but as boots, which form part of the ceremonial equipment of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while Foureau (1894, p. 203) says that wealthy Tuareg among the *Kel Aïr* wear boots made of soft leather and manufactured at Radames, Rat, and in Ayr. These boots according to Foureau have a separate space for the first toe in order that they may be worn with sandals, and as claimed by Lhote, they are not true boots, but skin-stockings (cf. Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). Duveyrier also speaks of the use of soft leather boots known as *ibôhadjen* sometimes worn by chiefs (Duveyrier 1864, p. 407), and in the case of the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* Nicolas mentions the use of a type of boots ("la botte de cavalier") known as *abûzag* (pl. *ibuzâgen*) (Ar. *imâg*) (Nicolas 1950a p. 174).

Foucauld speaks of *abuheg* as a type of soft leather boots, but he mentions that this same word is also used for knitted stocking. Such stocking are also known by the feminine form *tabuhek*, though the proper meaning of this latter word is "slipper". Slippers are worn by a few men and women in winter, and a woman frequently wears them during the period of isolation (4 months and ten days) after her husband's death. According to Foucauld the leather boots (*abuheg*) are never worn by women but only by a very few men (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 36). It is a great pity that the authors who refer to the use of soft leather boots or stockings have reproduced no illustration which clearly indicates their cut. But fortunately there is a pair of leather stockings in the collection of the Ethnographical Museum at Neuchâtel. There can be little doubt that this garment serves as a stocking and not as a boot, for it has a separate space for the first toe which would be meaningless if not worn with sandals. The leather stocking is made from three pieces of leather:— (1) A sole or rather a bottom piece which is bent slightly up over the foot, notably at the heel; (2) A piece of leather covering the instep and sewn to the forepart of the bottom piece; (3) A piece of leather forming the leg and sewn to the instep and bottom pieces. It is interesting that all three pieces are of the same type of leather and that the bottom piece resembles that of moccasins.

The sort of slipper termed *tabuhek* by Foucauld and worn by both sexes, is identical with leather slippers or shoes provided with a distinct sole. These shoes seem to be of Arab origin, and I have

292 seen them worn by a few Tuareg men in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The fact that they are worn by
177 women during their period of isolation after the husband's death, a custom introduced with Islam, also indicates that these boots are connected with Islamic culture and thus with the Arabs.

[829] The Arabs possess a great religious prestige with the Tuareg, and are responsible for the introduction of many articles of dress among them. Some Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arab *gandura* of kaftan cut as a substitute for their traditional poncho shirt, and many Tuareg nowadays wear the Arab type of headcloth instead of the traditional veil. The burnus (*abernuh*) is also worn by some
[171] Northern Tuareg in winter. This garment is widely used by Berbers and Arabs further north in Northern Africa. It is not traditional to the Tuareg who may have adopted it from contact with the Arabs.

# Tuareg Culture, History, and African Culture complexes

In the preceding Chapters I have mentioned most cultural traits connected with Tuareg subsistence activities. In this Chapter I attempt to view some of these traits in the light of history and the historical theories which have found their expression in the establishment of African culture complexes. I wish to emphasize at the very beginning that this investigation must omit some important traits of Tuareg culture as there is no historical information about them and because good descriptions of stock-breeding techniques are lacking in the case of most pastoralists of Africa and Asia. Consequently it is very difficult to compare in great detail Tuareg culture with other pastoral cultures. 121

## TUAREG CULTURE AND HISTORY

True historical sources which elucidate the development of African cultures are very scanty and cover only a very short period. We know that most African cultures in recent times have been much influenced by Europeans and their culture, and that some cultures were changed fundamentally at an earlier period owing to Arab migrations and the introduction of Islam. We know that North Africa during antiquity was strongly influenced by Romans and Greeks, and still earlier by the Phoenicians. We possess from North Africa a few valuable written records from olden times and from Egypt we have earlier historical documents which help us to understand certain aspects of cultural evolution. 175 177

The occupation of Ahaggar and Ayr by the French has led to a growing cultural influence from Islam and the Arabs. Ahaggar was conquered by Arab soldiers under the command of French officers, and even nowadays a very large number of Arabs serve in the camel patrols of Ahaggar with Tuareg camel riders. Some of these Arab soldiers marry Tuareg women, and many of them settle in Ahaggar when they have retired from military service. Other Arabs and Arabic-speaking *Harratin* of Tidikelt have immigrated after the French occupation of the country. The number of people who speak Arabic as their mother tongue is not doubt increasing, and Arabic is understood and even spoken by many Tuareg men though generally unknown to Tuareg women. Added to this, the Arabs have acquired a high prestige not only on account of Islam but also because Arabic has been adopted as the main language of the administration in Ahaggar. The officers who act as administrators in Ahaggar speak and write Arabic while with rare exceptions they do not know the Tuareg language. For all these reasons certain cultural traits of the Arabs have been introduced into Ahaggar after the French occupation. [48] [167] [197] [191] [829]

[4305]

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177 Arab cultural traits have played a less important part in Ayr, where there are very few Arabs apart
[162] from the merchants living at Agadez. The Arabs in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, have a certain religious prestige
[168] but I have also heard Tuareg say that they did not like Arabs much because of their bad manners, and mainly because the Arabs talk too much and lack the peculiar type of quiet reservation characteristic of so many Tuareg. It seems as if the French administrators of Ayr have been responsible for the introduction of certain Arab cultural traits, but they have not made Arabic an official language
[191] of the administration. Apart from the marabuts there are very few Ayr Tuareg who have some
648 knowledge of Arabic. The French administration of Ayr, belonging to the former territory of French
[167] West Africa, has led to the immigration of many Sudanese people of negroid type. Clerks and lower officials working in Agadez have mainly come from Dahomey.

175 The Arabs and Islam came to North Africa at a very early date. The first invasion of Arabs took
177 place in the 7th century A.D. and brought Islam and traits of Oriental town-dwelling civilization
[173] into a narrow belt of North Africa along the Mediterranean. There is an Arab tradition according to which the first followers of Mohammed came to Central Sahara and to the Tuareg as early as the 7th century, but there is also a tradition among the Ahaggar Tuareg saying that Islam was introduced among them by a marabut of the Almoravids (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 347 f.). It is very possible that certain Tuareg groups of the extreme north were influenced by Islam and the Arabs after the first invasion, but more important was the second invasion of the 11th century when the Northern Sahara was occupied by Arab bedouins from Egypt and, ultimately, from Arabia. This so-called *Hilalian Invasion* comprised various large tribal groups:— (1) the *Beni Sulaim* (or *B. Soliman*) who settled in Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and in the adjacent parts of Algerian Sahara where some of the present *Chambu* Arabs claim descent from this tribal group; (2) the *Beni Hilal* who settled further west in the Sahara south of Algerian and Moroccan Atlas; the important Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* of Tidikelt claim descent from this Hilalian group; (3) the smaller tribal group named *Makil*; this followed the *Beni Hilal* but occupied grazing grounds further west in the desert country of Morocco.
175 These tribal groups largely influenced the Tuareg, and there seems to be little doubt that many Tuareg
648 pastoralists were driven southwards owing to the invasion of Arab nomads, who settled in Tripolitania and the Fezzan. But these Arab pastoralists could not everywhere defeat the pastoral Tuareg. In Ibn Khaldun's day the frontier dividing the Arab bedouins from pastoral Tuareg followed mainly the great belt of sand-hills running from east to west in the Northern Sahara. Now and then the Arabs carried out raids against the Tuareg, but Ibn Khaldun says that the Arab raiders were always attacked by the Tuareg and suffered severe losses (Ibn Khaldun I p. 191, II p. 104 f.). The penetration of Arab pastoral groups into the Central Sahara is outlined by Capot-Rey who states (1) that the Berber tribes inhabiting Tripolitania, Tunisia, and adjacent regions were quickly Arabized, (2) that the Western Tuareg of Mauritania were conquered more recently by the *Makil* Arabs, (3) that elsewhere in the Sahara the Tuareg were not only able to defend most of their territory, but also to assimilate certain Arab tribes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 191 f.). This latter statement is correct. Contact between Arabs and Tuareg has also led to the adoption of Tuareg cultural traits by many Arab pastoralists, and even the very powerful Arab tribe, the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* of Tidikelt, lived in pre-European times very much like the Tuareg in leather tents and dressed like the Tuareg. Various Arab tribes of the Sudan

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are also very akin to the Tuareg in culture, but have preserved some Arab traits of material culture and their traditional social organization in addition to their language, though they also know *tamachek*. We are here concerned only with traits adopted into Tuareg culture from contact with the Arabs.

In the description of Tuareg culture I have already pointed out many cultural traits due to Arab influence. I have mentioned such traits in connection with food-preparation (p. 232, 237 ff, 247 ff) and dress (p. 303 f.). I have also mentioned the introduction of cultivation methods and cultivated plants owing to contact with Arabs and the Arabic-speaking *Harratin* (p. 186 ff.), and I have stated that it seems as if new types or new breeds of domestic animals were introduced to North Africa by the invading Arabs. Cats and domestic pigeons seem to be post-Arabian in the Sahara (p. 115 f.), the true grey-hound came to Tuareg country with the Arabs, who also introduced the particular horse-breed known as the *Aryen* type (p. 113). Doutressoulle relates a native tradition to the effect that this breed came to the Begzen Mountains with Arabs of Tripolitania (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238 f., 242). Horses of this breed are introduced to Ayr from the north even to-day, but as far as I know the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* do not use the Arab type of saddle or the very broad stirrups typical of the northern horse-riding Arabs. They generally use very narrow stirrups for the insertion of one or two toes. These stirrups were possibly introduced to the Western Sudan with the Dongolawi breed. It came from Upper Egypt at the end for the 13th century A.D. when the *Djoheyna* Arabs immigrated (Mauny 1961, p. 283).

I have mentioned above (p. 54 ff.) that there are two main types of camels among the Northern Tuareg:— (1) a northern Arab breed (*marroki*) characterized by heavy stature and a thick covering of wool, and (2) a southern breed more slenderly built and with little or no wool – a breed which is typical to the Tuareg. Medieval Arab authors have stated that the Tuareg possessed camels of a particular breed well fitted for riding (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 70, 105; Edrisi, p. 11, 67 f., 144 f.; Leo Africanus p. 940 f.). The division of camels into two distinct types of the above characteristics can be traced elsewhere in Northern Africa, where the heavy woolly breed is found mainly in the north and particularly among Arabs, while the slender non-woolly breed is common among such pastoralists as the Tuareg, the Moors of Mauretania (who are largely of Tuareg stock and have a great many Berber words in their camel vocabulary, according to Monteil 1952), the Tebu, and the Beja tribes around the Nile (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 79 ff.; Doutressoulle 1947, p. 272 ff.; Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415 f.; Murray 1935, p. 92 ff.). The distinction between the two main types cannot apparently be explained by the different environmental conditions, for they frequently live within the same type of environment, and the northern *marroki* type is found particularly among Arabs, and not only among the Arabs of the northern desert. *Marroki*-like camels seem to exist among such Arab tribes as the *Kunta* and the *Berabich* north of the Niger Bend in the Azawad desert (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 273), among the camel-breeding Arabs of the Lake Tchad region, and among Arab pastoralists of the former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan – particularly among the Kababish (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 80 ff., 83 f.). There seem to be little doubt that the *marroki* camel came to North Africa with the Arabs and it is then natural to investigate whether they also introduced particular cultural traits connected with camel-breeding. It is relatively easy to take up such an investigation with reference to particular saddle types, because they are frequently described and depicted in literature.

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492 [177] The large saddles for women (*akhawi*, *tkhawit*, *aragen*) (p. 88 f.) were most probably introduced by Arab pastoralists. These saddles are not known among all Tuareg. In the Northern Tuareg groups they are used in the noble class (*Ihaggaren*), in the *Isekkemaren* class, which seems to have relationship with Arabs (p. 10, 398 f.), and in the *Iregenaten* tribe which lives in Tamesna though it belongs to the group of Ahaggar Tuareg. Its members claim to descend patrilineally from Arabs, matrineally from noble Tuareg. Large women's saddles are also found among the Tuareg of Adrar-n-Foras, and there is a saddle of the *akhawi* type from this group in the ethnographical collection of the Neuchâtel Museum (no. 49.2.35). Women's saddles are also common among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*. They are described by Nicolas who mentions two types. One named *tahâwit* is perhaps constructionally different from the saddles of the north, while the other type termed *aruku* is constructionally related to riding saddles in Ahaggar, but is without the large wooden side-arches characteristic of certain northern saddles. However, saddles having arches like this are found among the *Deremchaka* Arabs who live in *Kel Dennek* territory (Nicolas 1950a, p. 178 Fig. 47a & e, pl. X p. 177). Light women's saddles resembling the Ahaggar *tkhawit* saddle without side-arches and known as *akhawi* was seen in the camp of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* Tuareg near Ayoru. Here I was told that the wooden structure is always manufactured by blacksmiths while its cover of ochre-coloured leather is made by Tuareg women who also make the little *afezu* mat placed over the structure and serving for seat. Such saddles [565] are found only in noble tribes of the *Western Iwllemmeden*, never among vassals. Women's saddles are unknown in Ayr where the Tuareg build a riding saddle upon large cushions (cf. p. 90), and they are apparently also unknown among the *Kel Geres*. The Ayr Tuareg speak of riding saddles known as *akhawi* or *tkhawit* as "Arab saddles", and these terms are also derived from Arabic. Lhote states that he has not seen the richly-decorated saddles known as *akhawi* outside of Ahaggar (Lhote 1947a, p. 142). Thus it seems that proper women's saddles have a limited distribution among the Tuareg. They occur mainly in certain classes of the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar*, and the *Iwllemmeden*. 492 171 In these areas they are apparently also used by Arabs. Somewhat related women's saddles are found among the Tebu. These saddles are described by Le Coeur who states that they are normally bought in Kanem (Le Coeur 1950, p. 60, 126). I think that this may perhaps indicate their origin as this region and adjacent parts of the Lake Tchad plains have a population of pastoralists of Arab descent. Various types of women's saddles occur among all Arab pastoralists of North Africa and the Arab peninsula – possibly with the exception of certain bedouin tribes of South-eastern Arabia. I do not know whether these saddles occur among the Beja, the Danakil, and the Somali. They are not mentioned in the literature I have consulted.

492 The pack saddle known as *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* (p. 76, Fig. 57) is not very common among the Northern Tuareg. It is unknown among the *Kel Ayr* and so far as I know also among the *Kel Geres*. It seems to be unknown also among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* where the same structure is used as a women's saddle as mentioned above (Nicolas 1950a, p. 178 Fig. 47e). I do not know if this saddle type occurs 492 171 in other Tuareg groups. It is found in the Lake Tchad region and Chudeau considers it typical of the sahelian zone (Chudeau 1909, p. 206; Capot-Rey 1946, p. 163). It is also mentioned by Nachtigal as the typical type of saddle of the Tebu (Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457), while the Tebu saddle described by Le Coeur and now preserved in the Musée de l'homme (no. 32.50.4) is slightly different from the

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The ʿelaki is the common saddle type all

B 492 171 over the northern desert inhabited by Arabs. It is known to Algerian Arabs as *ḫawiyya*, the word also used in Tripolitania where the type is extremely common (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457). Saddles of entirely identical types occur among the Moors of Mauretania (Monteil 1952, p. 92), among Arabs of Upper Egypt (Klunzinger 1878, p. 206, Fig. 11; Murray 1935, p. 116), and in the Egyptian Sudan (Marno 1874, p. 207). Further east it seems to be in use among most, perhaps all, Arabs:— Sinai (Murray 1935, p. 116), Syrian Desert (*Sbaʿa* and *Rawala*) (Boucheman 1934; Musil 1928b), Hedjas (Musil 1926, Figs. 9, 15, 30, 59, 84), Negd (Musil 1928a, Fig. 66), Irak (Musil 1927b, Fig. 40). These Arabs generally call the saddle *ḥedāǧe*. It is perhaps common to all Arabs including those of Southern Arabia. However, the *ḥedāǧe* or *ḫawiyya* is not mentioned from Kuweit by Dickson, who describes from this region a peculiar saddle of somewhat related type used mainly for riding and having Oman as its homeland. The saddle is named *al fulani*; it consists of a pair of miniature saddle arches fixed in front of the animal's hump by means of a girth, and a cylindrical straw-stuffed mattress which is placed over the back behind the hump and fastened to the little saddle-frame with cords (Dickson 1949, p. 87). The same type of riding saddle is depicted by Thesiger from Oman and adjacent parts of South Arabia (Thesiger 1959, Fig. 12 p. 33), and Mr. Klaus Ferdinand has informed me that he has seen only this type of riding saddle around Qatar. It would seem natural to derive the *al fulani* riding saddle from a pack saddle of *ḫawiyya* or *ḥedāǧe* type the more so because riding saddles for camels and horses seem frequently to have developed from saddles used for transportation. Dostal's theory that the riding saddle of *al fulani* type is very ancient and constitutes the proto-type of other Arabian saddles is very queer (cf. Dostal 1958, p. 2 ff.). In North-west Africa there is a peculiar type of pack-saddle which resembles the *ḫawiyya* or *ḥedāǧe* saddles. It consists of two curved pieces of wood united by broad side-boards and by two small sticks inserted into holes at the upper part of the curved arches. This saddle-frame is placed before the camel's hump and is fixed to two pieces of plaited mattresses. Saddles of this kind are found in the Musée de l'homme in Paris from the borderland of Algeria and Morocco (no. 38.180.80), from the Regeibat of Northern Mauritania (no. 38.133.6), and from the *Ida w Aich* Moors around Tidjika of Southern Mauretania (no. 38.136.58) (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 92).

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T 492 Saddles of the *ḫawiyya* or *ḥedāǧe* type (*ʿilaki* to the Northern Tuareg) seem to be unknown to the Southern Tuareg. The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is that called *arsaki*, consisting of one curved piece attached to two flat side-boards by means of which the whole structure is attached to two pads or mat cylinders fitted each side of the camel (cf. p. 76). This very simple wooden structure is found not only in Ayr but also among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 47 f, p. 178). Nicolas also depicts two other simple wooden structures for pack-saddles. One of them consists of two pieces of wood lashed together at the upper and narrow ends, the broader lower ends being attached to pads or mats; the other one is of similar type but is made from one single piece of wood – probably from a heavy forked stick (Nicolas 1950a, Figs. 47g & h, p. 178). A saddle consisting of an angular piece of wood like that just mentioned, but attached to two flat sideboards, is in the Musée d'Ethnographie of Neuchâtel (no. 48.2.63); it is manufactured in the Sudan within the Tuareg area.

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The *ʿilaki* saddle of the Northern Tuareg is probably an Arab culture trait. It occurs among the

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Tuareg where influence from Arab material culture is particular strong, and it is structurally identical with the Arab pack-saddle known as *ḥawiyya* or *ḥedôge*. The origin of the pack-saddle called *aruki* among the Southern Tuareg is not easily determined. It may perhaps constitute a late type which developed from a pack-saddle with two curved or angular trees in front of the camel's hump. This may be true of some *aruki*-like saddles. But certain pack-saddles of *aruki* type may perhaps have originated from a kind of split wood similar to that used for camels by the Somali of Tana River (cf. Ahlefeldt 1948, ill. p. 137). 492 [177] [171]

There are other traits of camel breeding that have apparently been introduced among the Tuareg through contact with the Arabs. This may be true of the looped rope (*amaṛun*) connected with a little stick for attachment around the camel's foreleg (p. 72 ff., Fig. 45a). This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg though common among the Northern Tuareg who often make it of camel's wool. It seems to be known among most, perhaps all, Arabs, who manufacture it from the same material. Among the Ababde and the Bisharin it is plaited from dum palm material (cf. Sleesen-Dolk 1957, p. 12, Figs. 28–30). It is most probably an Arab trait which also seems to be Cauvet's opinion (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 554 & pl. LXII, p. 555). 233 177 [171]

We may perhaps also mention the large woven transportation bags which are extremely common among all North African Arab pastoralists, while unknown among the Tuareg. But small plaited or woven bags of goat hair mixed with camel's wool are manufactured in Ahaggar by women of certain tribes (p. 266 f, Fig. 209a–b). These bags are known as *tiṛṛar* (sing. *téṛerirt*) which seems to be derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711). The small loading sticks *téḥḍaḍ* (sing. *téḥeḍiṭ*) (p. 76) used to unite the two halves of a camel load are perhaps also Arab in origin for this particular word is apparently also derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 520 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711). 415 177 [462]

The origin of other traits of camel-breeding is not so easy to determine, but it is very possible that the plaited pouch which among the Northern Tuareg constitutes the normal method to prevent camel calves from sucking (p. 62, Figs. 41–42) was also introduced by the Arabs. This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg and apparently also among the *Kel Geres*. It is found among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* (*abegu*) and is recorded in literature from the *Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 141), and from the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 71). It is widely found among all pastoral Arabs of Northern Africa and of the Arabian Peninsula. 233 177 [171]

As to the use of camel brands produced by burning with a redhot iron it seems difficult to judge from distributions the origin of this method. These brands are known among most Tuareg with the exception of the *Kel Ferwan* and other Tuareg of Ayr, who use earmarks cut with a knife. Earmarks seem to be used for camels also among the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 103) and were apparently used in ancient Arabia (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 298). One might perhaps assume that earmarks constitute an older type of proprietry marks, while brands came later. But information about marks and brands is scarce. 233 422 [171]

The origin of many traits of camel-breeding cannot be determined, but it is not be doubted that the Arabs have introduced into North Africa a particular breed of camel together with certain saddles and objects connected with the use of the camel as a pack animal. There is also no doubt that these 233 177

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233 177 traits are found among the Northern Tuareg and partly among the *Iwllemmeden*, while they have not generally been adopted by the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. It is most interesting in this connection that when they wish to speed up their riding camels the Northern Tuareg use a sound identical with that used among the Arabs, while the Tuareg of Ayr use a very different signal (p. 136).

The Arabs only partially influenced Tuareg camel-breeding, for this was well-established in North Africa before the Arab invasions. There is no doubt that certain traits of camel-breeding are known to most pastoralists who breed the one-humped camel. Such traits may well have been introduced to North Africa with the Arabs, but they were most probably also known to North Africa camel-breeders before the Arabs arrived. Among such traits universally known to camel-breeders, the following can be mentioned:—

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Milking with the dummy-calf. This seems to be practised among all Arab pastoralists of the Peninsula; it is frequently described, in modern literature about this area, and is mentioned as well in ancient Arabic poetry (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 355). The custom is known to Arabs of the Sahara and, according to Monteil, also to the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 72). I have mentioned above that the dummy-calf is used for milking camels among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, and according to Nicolas the custom is also practised among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 140).

Perhaps a milking method universally known is that of patting the udder. I have recorded this method from Ahaggar, from Ayr (p. 57), and from Arab pastoralists of the Sahara (e.g. the *Ulad Ba Hammu* and the *Chamba*). I have not been able to find much information about this method in literature, but it is possibly this to which Thesiger refers in his description of camel milking in Southern Arabia (cf. Thesiger 1959, p. 145).

A method of which there is also very little information is that of weaning calves by cutting them on the bridge of the nose in two or three places. I have noted it from the *Kel Ahaggar*, the *Kel Ajjer*, and the *Kel Ayr* and from pastoralists of Arab tribes such as the *Ulad Ba Hammu*, but have not seen it among Arabs in the borderlands of the Atlas and the Sahara. I have also noted the existence of this particular method among the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Western Iwllemmeden*, but it is not mentioned by Nicolas from the *Iwllemmeden Kel Denek*, though he states that it is known among the *Kunta* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 141). In certain parts of North Africa a cut on the bridge of the nose of camel calves is given one or two thorns. These sting the mother camel when the calf tries to suck and the mother camel therefore kicks the calf away. The method is described from In Salah by Cauvet, while Nicolas mentions it from certain Arabs and *Iforas* Tuareg (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 359; Nicolas 1950a, p. 141). A related method is known to pastoralists of Arabia where a little pointed stick is tied to the head of the calf to prevent it from sucking (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 359).

261 171 A very interesting custom, perhaps also a very ancient one, is that of using the blood of living camels for food. Among the Tuareg, blood of living camels is drunk only when water is lacking during camel expeditions in the desert (cf. p. 235). The bleeding of camels to utilize their blood is also practiced among the Tebu (Huard & Charpin 1960, p. 195), and among the bedouins of Arabia it seems as though camel's blood is consumed regularly for food. Doughty describes how Arab bedouins boil camel's meat in broth and blood, as they are unaware that the Koran forbids the use of blood for food (Doughty ed. 1926, I, p. 561). A good description of the use of blood of living camels as food among

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492 171 an ancient North African custom. It is the method generally applied by the Tuareg and those Northern Arabs who use saddles of the *térik* or *tahyast* types; it is also practiced among the Moors of Mauretania (cf. Monteil 1952, Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129), and is known to the Tebu (Cline 1950, p. 34). It would appear that the use of nostril rings for riding camels has much the same distribution in North Africa as have saddles of *térik* or *tahyast* types including the Moorish saddle, which is also placed in front of the animal's hump.

The Tuareg halter made of iron or metal shackles and used in connection with the nostril ring so that the camel is controlled by means of a double rein (*akeskabbu*; cf. p. 73, Fig. 50–52), is perhaps a combination of two originally different systems, for the Tebu use this peculiar halter without any attachment to a nostril ring, the camel being controlled by a single rein combined with the halter (cf. Le Coeur 1950, p. 133, pl. XXIX Figs. 111–112 & Cline 1950, p. 34).

136 174 114 Much has been written on the history of the camel in North Africa, and I do not want to take up this question in great detail as I can add very little to what is already known. René Basset's theory that the camel was first introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1907) is contrary to all historical information, for we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived. Contemporary with Basset it was pointed out by Flammand, that skeletal remains of camels from North Africa proved the exsistence of these animals as early as "les temps quaternaire moyens" (Flammand 1907). But while Flammand states that the camel disappeared with a more humid climate, Cauvet later tried to substantiate the theory that the camel did not disappear, but continued to exist further south in Africa. Thus, he claims, the southern camel-breed descends from the ancient camel found in Africa even during the mio-pliocene of the tertiary period, while the northern breed was introduced by the Arabs (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 15 ff.). I can agree with Cauvet's latter statement regarding a connection between northern camels and the Arabs, but his theory of the existence of the one-humped camel in Africa since tertiary time is most difficult to accept. The camel breed which existed in Africa prior to the Arab invasions was no doubt comparatively recently introduced from Asia. Barth pointed out that the camel came to North-western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3 ff.). This theory has later been supported by many scholars, notably by Gautier (Gautier 1928,, p. 99 f., ed. 1946, p. 129 ff.; 1942, p. 190 ff.). Quite recently the various problems connected with the history of the camel in North Africa have been re-examined by Walz. He largely accepts Barth's theory of its introduction in antiquity, but also points out that the camel, which seems to appear in Egypt about 500 B.C. or somewhat earlier, may have been introduced to southern parts of Africa via the Bab-el-Mandeb Straits at an earlier date (Walz 1951, p. 29–51; 1954, p. 45–87).

Gautier states that the Romans had a certain responsibility for the introduction of the camel into North-Africa, though he also claims that it was introduced by the Berber-speaking *Zenata* tribes (Gautier 1942, p. 209 f., 227). It is to be doubted that the Romans introduced the camel into North-Africa, and on the whole it seems as if the Romans have influenced Tuareg culture very slightly. It is difficult to point to any definite traits of material culture taken over from the Romans, though Foucauld states that certain lamps of Roman form are found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1399). A fair number of Latin words can be proved to exist in Tuareg dialects. This fact is

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frequently referred to in books, and some authors have taken certain linguistic Roman traits as a proof that the Tuareg have once been Christians. But as stated by Lhote, the Latin words adopted in the Tuareg language cannot by themselves prove an ancient Tuareg Christianity, though they do indicate that the ancient Tuareg have had direct or indirect contact with Christians (Lhote 1955a, p. 346). We know that Christianity had a fixed position among many Berbers of North-Africa (cf. Ibn Khaldun I, p. 177, 207, 209 & Leo Africanus I, p. 163), and there seem to have lived Christian Berbers more than a hundred years after the introduction of Islam into Morocco, where certain Berbers near Fez still remember Sunday as a day of rest (cf. Westermarck 1926, I, p. 13 f.). As to the Tuareg we do not know whether some of them have been Christians, but Ibn Khaldun states that the great western division of *Sanhaja* Tuareg never adopted Christianity (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 212).

The Phoenicians occupied a limited area of the North African coast where they remained from about 1200 B.C. until the end of the third Punic War in the year 146 B.C. Over this long period they apparently did much to change North African Berber cultures. They introduced the use of iron and bronze, new cultivation methods of wine and olive, and did much to open up North Africa to Mediterranean influences, which also penetrated into the country of the Berber chiefs (cf. Gsell 1920–28, IV, p. 18 ff., 74 ff.; Despois 1949, p. 177 ff.; Mauny 1952, p. 577). However, it does not seem that true Phoenician elements can be proved to exist among the Tuareg. Further back in time true historical knowledge stops, but Aegean influences seem to have been in Tunis before the Phoenicians (Gsell 1920–28, I, p. 347; Despois 1949, p. 117).

## TUAREG CULTURE AND AFRICAN CULTURE COMPLEXES

So-called historical anthropology was from its very beginning closely connected with studies of African cultures. It was inaugurated by Friedrich Ratzel as a reaction against Adolf Bastian's evolutionary theories. Ratzel pointed out that certain weapons were found in identical form in Africa, Asia, and Oceania and he claimed that this could be explained only from the assumption that a historical relationship existed between them. Already in his study of the African bow Ratzel gave as his opinion that "Fast ganz Afrika erscheint uns zuletzt als ein einziges grosses Gebiet mehr oder weniger abgeschwächter asiatischer Anklänge" (Ratzel 1891, p. 333).

Ratzel had many followers who took up distributional studies of cultural traits in Africa and adjacent regions. Important investigations were made by such scholars as Schurtz and Weule, and by Leo Frobenius, who established a particular West African culture complex, which he claimed was historically related to similar compilations of culture traits in Indonesia and Melanesia (Frobenius 1898a). It is remarkable that Frobenius very soon abandoned this method of historical reconstruction though he invented it himself. However, the concept of world-embracing culture complexes disappeared, only to emerge again in a modified form a few years later (1904), when the two German scholars F. Graebner and B. Ankermann compared their studies in Oceania and Africa to establish for these areas culture complexes which they claimed to be historically related (Graebner & Ankermann 1905). The principal supporter of this theory was Graebner, who deepened his methodological

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Songhai MS20



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Fig. 259. Sonray dwelling resembling a cylindrical house with conical roof. Structurally it is a beehive hut consisting of 30 semiarches each made from a bundle of lashed rods and connected at their tops. The structure is supported by a heavy central post (*bongoro*) buried in the ground. The upper part of the structure carries the thatched roof while the lower part is uncovered but surrounded by a cylindrical mud wall on the inside. The hut has a diameter of 5–6 metres and a little barrel-vaulted hut (*zongotongo*) covered with mats is erected within it. To the right is a simple sunshade serving as the workshop of three weaving men. The photograph was taken at the IFAN-Museum, Niamey.

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the Chamba (Briggs 1958, p. 120), and beehive huts are also mentioned from Tunesia (Bernard 1924, pl. II) and from Tripolis, where they may have been introduced by Sudanese Negroes (cf. Todd 1912, ill. p. 90, 102). As far as I know beehive huts do not occur in the Algerian Atlas, but I have seen a kind of beehive structure erected in a market place of a Kabyle village. It seems as if beehive huts are found in Morocco (Meakin 1902, p. 48 f.; Coon 1931, pl. 22 p. 72) and they may perhaps be more widely found in the Atlas, as a great variety of huts mentioned in literature on North Africa is known by the term *garbi*.

Beehive huts of various types exist within very different economic cultures of Northern Africa. Their distribution does not correspond with that of any African cultural complex. There may seem to be some agreement between the distribution of beehive huts and the distribution of certain traits of the Eurafrican Steppe-Hunting Culture. However, these distributions are not identical, and distributions of culture elements should be studied very carefully. Migrations and trading expeditions have greatly influenced the distributions of traits in Northern Africa.

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*342 178 while to my knowledge they have never married women of the *Iwillemmeden*. Marriages seem to be of 582 great importance for the diffusion of cultural traits among the Tuareg.

*342 174 182 It is clear that the use of T-shaped posts is not limited to particular environmental zones, for T-shaped posts are characteristic of certain Tuareg skin tents both in the true desert country and in southern regions of plains and savannahs. Furthermore, it seems as if this structure is found mainly among the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar*, and among the *Kel Dennek*, while outside these regions T-shaped posts are rare. Thus if we cannot explain the use and the distribution of T-shaped posts in skin tents from an analysis of environment, we may perhaps ascribe its present distribution to historical events.

*342 174 The most important characteristic of T-shaped posts is that they are not buried in the ground like all other poles and posts of Tuareg portable dwellings. They rest upon the surface, and if they sometimes penetrate two or three centimetres into the soil this is not to keep them upright but to prevent them from sliding. The fact that Tuareg T-shaped posts are not buried in the ground makes it unlikely that they are related to the T-shaped posts of permanent dwellings like those used in huts and houses of North Africa, and I believe that originally they came from a barrel-vaulted dwelling which had one of its arches supported by a post resting upon the surface. That an evolution of this kind is in fact possible is shown by Ferdinand's description of certain black tents among the Duranni nomads of Afghanistan. The middle arch of these tents is made from pieces of curved poles, namely two long pieces lashed to a shorter top piece, which is supported by a central post resting upon the surface of the ground. This is the normal structure of Duranni tents, but in summer and in spring nomads frequently content themselves with the erection of the middle part of the arch supported by the central post resting upon the surface. In other words, the Duranni nomads at certain seasons change their barrel-vaulted dwelling into a dwelling supported by T-shaped posts at a right angle to the longitudinal direction (cf. Ferdinand 1959, Fig. 7 p. 35). I think that this development is also perhaps responsible for the evolution of T-shaped tents among the Tuareg, but I do not believe that it took place among them. We have among the Tuareg no portable barrel-vaulted dwellings of arches supported by central posts. We find this principle in certain barrel-vaulted dwellings used among the *Kel Ewey* farmers of Ayr (cf. p. 347 ff.), but this barrel-vaulted hut originated from the Tuareg mat tent, which among the sedentary *Kel Ewey* adopted certain traits of the bee-hive hut.

*342 174 177 I think there is little doubt that a relationship exists between T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents and similar posts of North African black tents. This relationship was first suggested by Feilberg in his thesis on the black tent (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143), and I believe that it can be proved that such a relationship actually exists.

[184] Black tents are not generally used by the Tuareg. In the extreme north of the *Kel Aïr* territory a few Tuareg have adopted it owing to contact with Arab pastoralists. It is possible that there are also Tuareg with black tents in the extreme south-west of Tuareg country around Timbuktu. There are black tents in this region (Jackson 1820, p. 23; Barth 1857–58, IV, p. 474 ff.), and it seems as if some Tuareg there occasionally live in them (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). It is clear that the black tent is found within a large semi-circular belt enclosing Tuareg country from the Fezzan via Northern Sahara and the Atlas through Mauretania to Timbuktu (cf. Feilberg 1944, map II). It is also clear that there

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have been for centuries much contact between the Tuareg and the regions dominated by the black tent and Arab pastoralists. 342* 174 177

Certain Arabs who have immigrated from the north to Tuareg country have adapted their original tent structure of black tents to the Tuareg sheet of skin. This is demonstrated in case of Arab pastoralist known as *Deremchaka* (Dermechaka = Ar. El-Mechākra) who live in the *Kel Dennek* country. These pastoral Arabs, who have been much influenced by their Tuareg neighbours, use two central oblique posts to support a very short cross-bar (*hómmdr* in Arabic), placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction, and it seems as if they have no other wooden elements to support the sheet and no cord attachment to secure the posts in contrast to the *Kel Dennek*. The *Deremchaka* Arabs immigrated to *Kel Dennek* country from Southern Algeria at a date later than the 17th century (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 153 f., pl. VIIIc; p. 67 f.). They have probably taken this tent structure with them from Algeria, where it is common to use two central posts carrying a short cross-bar at a right angle to the longitudinal direction.

It would seem that we have another example of the introduction of structural elements of black tents into skin tents, namely the above-mentioned skin tent supported by two central oblique posts with a short cross-bar which is used among certain *Kel Inteser*. This structure resembles that of certain double-posted black tents used among Arab pastoralists in many parts of North Africa, and the *Kel Inteser* Tuareg seem to be Arabs by origin. This is stated by several authors (Delafosse 1912 I, p. 195; Mohammed Saïd 1903, p. 210 ff.; Richer 1924, p. 14; Marty 1920–21, I, p. 254 ff.), and a Tuareg of the *Kel Inteser* group whom I met in Ayr held the same view. There seem to be little doubt that the structure of *Kel Inteser* skin tents derives from black tents and from the Arabs who most probably were responsible for the introduction of black tents to Mauretania and the whole Western Sahara.

The use of black tents among the Western Moors seems to throw important light upon tent development in North Africa. These tents are mentioned in early literature. Labat says that the Moors of Arguin and the Niger have round and conical tents, and that the former are covered with material of goats and camels (Labat 1728, I, p. 262), while Saugnier and Park mention the occurrence of two central posts in Moorish tents (Saugnier 1799, p. 33; Park ed. 1923, p. 109). A more comprehensive description of such tents is given by Caillié who says that the *Brakna* use two central posts carrying a short cross-bar to support their black tents, which in winter has an interior tent consisting of a sheet of skin supported by poles (Caillié 1830, I, p. 130), and the use of two central posts crossing each other and carrying a short cross-bar on their tops is also mentioned recently from Mauretania (cf. Delpy 1955, p. 18, Fig. 7 no. 25). Douls depicts a black tent of pyramidal form from Rio del Oro (Douls 1888, p. 22 f.) and it would seem that this tent corresponds structurally to the type now in general use among the Moors of Mauretania and described or depicted by several authors (cf. Ould Hamidon 1952, ill. p. 41; Dubié 1953, p. 134, 162; Gabus 1955, ill. p. 72; Meniaud 1912, II, pl. X, p. 48). The particular structure of black tents among the Western Moors is due to the fact that it contains a barrel-vaulted dwelling covered with canvas. This barrel-vaulted dwelling constitutes the only type of dwelling of the Moors in the dry season, but during the rains and when it is extremely hot it is covered by the black tent (cf. Urvoy 1942, p. 33 f., Fig. 2, pl. I, Figs. 3,4). Thus the partic- 342* 171 175

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Thus the partic-

*342 171 174 ular structure of black tents among certain Moors is due to a combination of two dwelling types: the black tent which has apparently been introduced by the Arabs coming down along the Western Sahara from the north, and a barrel-vaulted portable dwelling which we may perhaps conceive as the type of dwelling used in ancient times by the Tuareg of these regions who were conquered by the Arabs.

*342 171 177 If we turn to Tuareg skin tents supported by one central post with a short cross-bar, we may well assume that this particular structure, the so-called T-shaped post, has not only been introduced owing to influence from the black tent, but that it is also largely the result of contact with the Arabs. We know from Duveyrier that the Tuareg of the *Kel Ajjer* have skin tents and in some cases black tents also, and that these dwellings are identical in structure (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403 ff.). It is also certain that the Arabs who live in the region of Tidikelt use T-shaped posts both for black tents and for skin tents. This is recorded (cf. Laoust 1930, p. 224). I have myself gathered the same information from the *Ulad Ba Hammu* Arabs among whom I saw a black tent supported by a T-shaped post. Again, if we turn to the *Kunta* Arabs who live north of the Niger Bend, we find that they use for their tents skin sheets which they obtain from the Tuareg (cf. Geneviève 1950, p. 1125), and from one of my friends, a *Kunta* Arab living at Agadez, I obtained the information that the *Kunta* use a T-shaped post for their tents which are made of skin or canvas, though in very large tents they use two T-shaped posts.

*342 171 It is very interesting that an investigation of the distribution of T-shaped posts further north in Africa seems to indicate that this particular structure in black tents is found among the Arabs, but not among the Berbers. I have been told by the *Chamba* Arabs of Metlili that they use T-shaped posts in their black tents. Further north I have seen tents with a T-shaped post among Arabs who live in the central part of the Sahara Atlas. I may say that Lieutenant Millot, who has an intimate knowledge of the large pastoral Arab tribes *Rebaya* and *Ferjân* living around El Oued and the great sandy desert of Erg Oriental, told me personally that these Arabs use single T-shaped posts in their tents. We can add to this Feilberg's detailed investigation of black tent structures with a T-shaped post from Eastern Algeria, Tunisia, and from the *Ulad Ali* nomads (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 146). It is interesting to note that Feilberg has also found T-shaped posts in black tents among Arab pastoralists of Syria and Central Arabia (Feilberg 1944, p. 146).

*342 171 174 I am not going as far as to claim that the black tent was introduced to North Africa by the Arabs, though this may well be so (cf. Nicolaisen 1959, p. 119 ff.), but I think that the present extensive distribution of black tents in the Sahara must be due to them. This seems quite evident when we consider Feilberg's map of the distribution of black tents in Northern Africa, which also shows that the distribution of black tents is not limited to environment of a definite type (cf. Feilberg 1944, map II). Laoust long ago pointed out that black tent vocabulary in Morocco is derived largely from Arabic (Laoust 1930, p. 168 f.). This has later been emphasized even more by Delpy who thinks that all the present black tents of North Africa, including Mauretania, have been introduced by the Arabs. However that may be there is no doubt that Leo Africanus does not refer much to the use of black tents which have acquired their present wide distribution in Northern Africa later than the 16th century A.D. (cf. Delpy 1955, p. 15 f.).

*342 174 177 I conclude my analysis of Tuareg T-shaped structures by saying that this structure is foreign to

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traditional Tuareg dwellings having been introduced by contact with the Arabs who use black tents. I believe this to be the most reasonable explanation, and I think that at all events there is one important factor which points to a connection between T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin-tents and similar posts in Arab black tents:— Where T-shaped posts are known to be a traditional type of dwelling, as is the case among the Northern Tuareg and the *Kel Dennek*, skin tents are always placed with the broad entrance side towards the south, which is also the tent orientation of the adjacent Northern Arabs with black tents. Where barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats form the predominant type of portable dwelling the orientation is different. This, anyway, is the case with the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* who live almost exclusively in barrel-vaulted mat tents which have the broad entrance side turned westwards. This difference in orientation can hardly be accidental. It rather points to a historical connection between the Tuareg groups who possess T-shaped structures and the Northern Arabs who own black tents. It may also be added that both among the Northern Arabs and the Northern Tuareg it is customary to divide the tent into two parts the left (western) one being reserved for the woman, the right (eastern) part for her husband.

342* 174 177 [823]

Finally, the theory I have advanced about the origin of Tuareg T-shaped posts in skin tents seems to be substantiated by the distributions of other cultural traits mentioned in the previous chapter, for certain traits which seem to have been introduced by the Arabs, e.g., Arab riding saddles for women, seem to occur mainly where T-shaped posts are prevalent.

[text continues on p. 393]

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and the manufacture of decorated leather-bags, camel-reins, etc., and decorated wooden milk-bowls, the noble women do extremely little work.

Among the *Kel Ajjer* we find some of the above-mentioned distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals. The traditional dwelling of many vassal Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer is the cylindrical hut (house) with a conical roof, though vassals in winter use skin-tents during nomadic migrations. Nowadays noble and vassal Tuareg alike live in straw-huts throughout the hot season. Barth, in his description of the *Kel Ajjer*, mentions that the vassals have no right to possess iron spears and swords (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257), but it is stated explicitly by Duveyrier that noble Tuareg and vassals have the same weapons – the shield included (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). There can be little doubt that Duveyrier's statement is true, and I have been told among all Tuareg that in the past noble and vassal Tuareg did not differ in regard to weapons. A distinction would also seem rather strange in view of the fact that Tuareg of both classes fought together. Barth says that noble Tuareg and vassals differ in dress, but he does not give details (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257).

As to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, both noble and vassal Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any cultural distinctions between them. Bride-wealth in both classes was paid in camels. We know that the Ayr vassals in the past were predominantly goat-breeders, like many Ayr vassals to-day, and it seems as if camel-breeding was once a privilege of the nobility in the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 431; cf. tradition on the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan*, p. 421). I have not been able to find differences between the two classes in regard to material culture and social organization. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group say that they never have had types of portable dwellings other than the barrel-vaulted mat tent, which traditionally belongs to the woman.

There is very little information about cultural distinctions between noble and vassal Tuareg in other groups. Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* the vassals apparently use the arched mat tent more frequently than do noble Tuareg, but this and the skin tent supported by vertical sticks carrying cross-bars are found in both classes (cf. Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372 f.; Gabus 1945, p. 361 & 1948a, p. 15 & 1948b, p. 16). Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* the mat tent is used by certain noble Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f.). According to the chief *Amder* women's riding saddles for camels (*akhawi*) among the *Kel Ataram* are found only in noble tribes. Vassal tribes of the *Kel Ataram* living close to the Niger even to-day practise matrilineal rules of inheritance and succession in contrast to noble tribes with rules of patrilineal succession and Koranic inheritance (cf. p. 457).

Cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals are particularly prevalent in the two groups of Northern Tuareg, and it is significant that the traits characteristic of the noble class are also common among the *Iregenaten* who live in Tamesna. This tribe is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the *Ibettenaten* tribe, which claims noble descent, and Arab men. This explanation is found in literature (cf. Lhote 1955, p. 238 f.; Briggs 1958, p. 100) and has been confirmed to me by Tuareg of this tribe. It is interesting that some traits characteristic of the noble tribes among the Northern Tuareg are also found in tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The tribes of this latter class are said to be related to Arabs among whom we also find some of these traits.

We do not know when the noble Tuareg in the northern groups adopted traits that are also found among Arab bedouins. One might perhaps venture the theory that some of them were introduced

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177 with the immigration of the noble *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes which were, perhaps, related to the northern *Hawwara* Berbers. These may have influenced also the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg who possess some of the traits common to Northern Tuareg and Arabs. The *Hawwara* tribes came under Arab influence at very early stage, and they may have adopted Arab traits before they migrated southwards to settle close to the veiled *Lemta* (cf. p. 409 f.).

64 It is evident that the origin of pastoral political systems dates back to pre-Islamic times, but it is
177 also very clear that political organization has been much influenced by Islam and the Arabs. With Islam and the Arabs came into political life such important classes as the *Ineslemen*, the *Echchikhen*, and the *Ichcherifen*, which has made the political organization more complex. Also introduced with Islam was the *sadakat* fee, which in its origin was a purely religious payment. It is also clear that the
[682] rules of blood-wealth payment among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 102) were introduced with Islam, for the Arabs of Northern Sahara, like the Northern Tuareg, give one hundred she-camels for a slain man, and the same payment is fixed by learned Islamic jurists (cf. Schram-Nielsen 1945, p. 58 f.). These rules of blood-wealth payment do not seem to have been accepted among the Ayr Tuareg where there was no fixed amount of camels to be paid for a homicide. Finally the title *Khalifa* given to tribal deputies was doubtless introduced with Islam and the Arabs. This title is used among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*.

634 The problems connected with the origin of the drum-group, the most important political group,
534 are very complicated. It is well known that the drum plays an important part as an insignia of kings
171 and other supreme chiefs over large parts of Africa. The distribution of the drum as an insignia of kings and chiefs has been studied in some detail by Schilde and Wieschhoff, and later by Irstam (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 117 ff.; Wieschhoff 1933, p. 119 ff., map 34; Irstam 1944; p. 28, 101 ff.). Wieschhoff points out that the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in Africa, and that it mainly has this particular function in state organizations of the so-called Erytrean Cultures.

634 The drum which constitutes the insignia of a Tuareg drum-chief is known as *ettebel* or *ettebel*. In
634 all Tuareg groups this word is also used for "drum-group", and among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* it is also a title of drum-chiefs. The word *ettebel* is undoubtedly derived from the Arabic word *tobol* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1922), which is also sometimes used for Tuareg drums as it is for drums of chiefs among the Western Moors (Dubié 1947, p. 173). Formerly, the Sultan of the Fezzan also had a drum which according to Lyon was known as *tubbel*. Lyon never saw a drum of this kind but he says that they are found in all towns south of Murzuk (Lyon 1821, p. 248 f.). The drums used by Tuareg chiefs are always of a very particular form, generally known to anthropologists as "the kettle-drum", and this particular drum among the Tuareg is never used by persons other than the chiefs. For ordinary music the Tuareg have other drum types or use a wooden mortar suspended by a piece of skin. It is most interesting that the so-called kettle-drum is a very late type among the many kinds of drums found in Africa.

534 In regard to the distribution of kettle-drums in Africa, Sachs says that they are found in Islamic
171 North Africa, in the Sudan, and in North-East Africa (Sachs 1929, p. 247). According to Wieschhoff kettle-drums have a more limited distribution being found only in the Sudan and in North-East Africa including Ethiopia (Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40, map 29e). As to the distribution of kettle-drums outside

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of Africa, Sachs says that they occur mainly in Islamic West Asia from where they were recently introduced to Europe and to India where terms for kettle-drums are derived from Arabic (Sachs 1923, p. 58 ff.; 1929, p. 247). Wieschhoff admits that the kettle-drums seem to have been introduced into India with Islam, but he concludes that the distribution of them in the Sudan and in North-east Africa indicates that this element belongs to the so-called North Erytrean Culture (cf. Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40 ff., map 29e). 534 171

I do not want to advance any theory about the introduction of kettle-drums into Africa, but it seems natural to consider the Tuareg drums known as *ettebel* as an Islamic trait. However we cannot be sure that the use of drums as insignia of chiefs is post-Islamic, for, as we have seen, the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in many parts of Africa. 534 174

The theory that the drums used by Tuareg chiefs are Islamic seems to agree with the fact that the custom of crowning chiefs among the Tuareg by means of a large turban or headcloth is no doubt also an Arab practice. The use of a turban to crown or install kings and supreme chiefs is rare in Africa south of the Sahara. The use of the turban for the kings of Dar Fur, Wadai, and Bornu is no doubt to be considered Islamic (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 68; Irstam 1944, p. 118), and there can also be little doubt that the use of a large turban at the installation of chiefs in Tibesti and Ennedi was originally introduced as a result of contact with the Arabs – particularly as this turban is known by the Arabic term *ḳadmul* (cf. Kronenberg 1958, p. 74 f.; Fuchs 1961, p. 52). 643 177 171

It is clear that Islam has greatly influenced Tuareg political organization. But we should also bear in mind that North Africa in pre-Islamic times was influenced by various high cultures which are generally known as *Old Mediterranean* (*Syrtic*) and *Young Sudanese* (*North Erytrean*). It is very possible that the first noble Tuareg who penetrated into the Sahara with their camels came from a country situated towards the East or the North-east, and we have seen that the Ayr Tuareg have traditions about their origin in these quarters (cf. p. 412 ff.). It might therefore seem natural to assume that certain traits which are grouped under the vaguely-defined *Young Sudanese Culture* have been introduced into the Sahara with the immigration of the first noble Tuareg. Lhote thinks that the sandal type known as *takalmi* was perhaps introduced from Egypt with Tuareg immigrations from that country (Lhote 1950d, p. 531). We cannot know this, but it is possible that the oldest camel-breeding nomads introduced into the Sahara certain elements of the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture*. 174

## TUAREG SLAVERY

It is very possible that the political system of the pastoral Tuareg has been greatly influenced by slavery in the sense that slavery made the noble Tuareg less dependent on their vassals. Throughout the 19th century slavery was important to fair-skinned pastoralists of all classes. In other respects it has had little effect on the changing political relations, for slaves do not constitute a class or a true caste; they are incorporated into Tuareg society on a kinship pattern. 567 565

Slavery is still extremely important in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer where the French military administration has done very little to abolish it. It is true that the slave-trade no longer exists, but 567 648

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Bedouin MJ4
Arabs M10



B 601 the father's or the mother's family. Should a man's father have married into his own patrilineage the mother's patrilineal family, however, is generally referred to by the terms given to paternal relatives.

B 602 Kinship behaviour is characterized by a respect-relationship towards older generations. There is also a kind of avoidance between certain in-laws known as *nsib* (male) or *nsiba* (female). The avoided relatives in-law are the following:— father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, younger brother's wife, younger sister's husband, older brother of spouse, older sister of spouse. Other in-laws known as *ḥamm* (male) or *ḥamma* (female) are not avoided; these are:— older sister's husband, younger brother of spouse, older brother's wife, younger sister of a spouse (cf. Miner 1953, p. 146). When B 582 the levirate is practised a wife can marry a younger brother of her deceased husband, but not his elder brother, just as in the case of the sororate a man can marry a younger sister of his deceased wife but not her elder sister. Thus marriage between persons of the same generation is not permitted should there already be an established avoidance relationship between them. People involved in an avoidance relationship cannot marry.

B 582 584 An interesting and much discussed trait of Arab social organization is preferential marriage with a father's brother's daughter. Most Arabs I have questioned claimed her to be the most suitable spouse, but they also said that for various reasons other types of marriage frequently took place. It might happen, for example, that marriage of this preferential type was not contracted because of conflict between the two families in question. But the factor which frequently leads to marriages of types other than that with a father's brother's daughter seems to be the following:— In an Arab family, the father has the decisive, final word in choosing spouses for his children. The children when contracting a first marriage are forced to marry the persons chosen by their father. Even so, however, the choice is frequently the result of the mother's initiative for she knows the young girls far better than does her husband. She is able to visit them, can talk freely to them, and she knows their characters and their abilities. A husband will therefore often give way to his wife's wishes even if she chooses a maternal cousin or some girl other than the father's brother's daughter.

B 582 I have already mentioned certain relatives with whom marriage is forbidden when the levirate and the sororate are practised. There are many other kinswomen whom a man is not allowed to marry, namely:— all kinswomen of the parents' and the grandparents' generations, brother's daughter, brother's daughter's daughter, brother's son's daughter, sister, sister's daughter, sister's daughter's daughter, sister's son's daughter.

A T ● 177 The Arabs I know best are those who live in Tuareg country, and some of them have been much influenced by Tuareg social customs. Many of these Arabs are bi-lingual, speaking of their kinsmen both in Arabic and in Tuareg. Sometimes they seem to be in doubt whether it is better to marry a father's brother's daughter than a cross-cousin. The *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, who lead a pastoral life in Ahaggar and are much mixed with the Tuareg, pay bride-wealth like the vassal Tuareg tribes, but this is not so with *Ahl Azzi* Arabs who are sedentary and live at Tamanraset. These sedentary Arabs never give camels for bride-wealth, but instead certain articles of dress and ornaments, the price of which is about 25,000 French francs, equivalent in value to a camel. A less comprehensive dowry is given by the bride's father. The food expenses connected with a marriage are paid in part by the groom or his father, and in part by the bride's father. The sedentary agriculturists, the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*),

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However, the Tuareg say, a man can complain in very extreme cases when sons or sister's sons constantly take animals from him. I have met several Tuareg who have lost many animals taken by sons and sister's sons. One Tuareg had lost seven camels, taken by his oldest son, who had sold them. The Tuareg was very annoyed about this but he had not complained about it directly to his son. The old drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group was constantly complaining to me about his sisters' sons, who took his animals so that he could not leave so large a fortune to his son. He openly called his sisters' sons "thieves", but as far as I know he did not complain about it to them. I was also told in Ayr that the fact that a man could take animals from herds and flocks of his true mother's brothers would not normally lead to conflict between them. Some Ayr Tuareg said that they were as fond of their sisters' sons as they were of their own children. It can be added that if a man has taken many animals from a mother's brother the latter's son may perhaps be able to retaliate as he has the right to take belongings from this man, who is his cross-cousins.

(6) As the last characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour it may be mentioned that, among certain Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, it is normal for a man to inherit the kinship status of his parents on their death, in the way that he adopts their joking relationships with their classificatory cross-cousins, but he will never inherit a joking relationship with the true cross-cousins of his deceased father and mother.

The above-mentioned rules of kinship behaviour seem traditional to Tuareg social organization and very different from those considered valid among the Arabs. The social systems of Tuareg and Arabs are on the whole most disssimilar, but nevertheless the Arabs and the Tuareg of to-day have exactly the same rules of inheritance which follow Koranic law. It is evident that these rules have been introduced among the Tuareg owing to contact with the Arabs who brought Islam to North Africa. It is very difficult to determine when the Tuareg adopted Islamic inheritance rules, and also to learn about their pre-Islamic inheritance system.

In regard to Tuareg rules of succession there can be no doubt that the matrilineal principle was originally recognized in all groups, but the patrilineal principle has been introduced into certain groups owing to Arab influence. The Tuareg who have adopted patrilineal succession are notably the two groups of *Iwllemmeden*, the *Kel Adrar*, and Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class in various groups (cf. Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.; 1950a, p. 213). In fact we know that the *Iwlemmeden* adopted patrilineal succession as early as in the 17th century (cf. Richer 1924, p. 3, 52; Nicolas 1950a, p. 54 f.), and patrilineal succession is undoubtedly also of great age among the *Kel Adrar*, where the dominant tribes belong to the *Ineslemen* class. As to the two important groups of Southern Tuareg, the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, Nicolas states that succession among them is matrilineal, as it is in Ahaggar (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.), and matrilineal succession is also mentioned as traditional to the Ayr Tuareg by Rodd (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). I have not been able to confirm these statements during my investigations among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. All people questioned in these two groups claimed that the proper successor to chieftainship would be the deceased chief's son, though it was admitted among the Ayr Tuareg that a sister's son might be elected chief if considered better fitted for this position than a son. It would be correct to state that both the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* to-day acknowledge the patrilineal principle of succession, but it is not quite certain when they

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585 laws do not change to a very great extent. There will then already be a relationship of respect between
602 husband and wife, a respect relationship to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law which continues unchanged, and in Ayr the relationship to the mother-in-law does not switch from joking into avoidance. Tuareg wedding ceremonies correspond functionally with the traditional preferential marriage with
[184] cross-cousins. But the wedding ceremonies described are strictly followed at all Tuareg marriages except in the case of important marabuts, who dispense with most ceremonial traits, allowing no public gathering with camel-riding and music, and the groom and the bride enter the wedding tent without formalities.

105 Kinship systems, rules of kinship behaviour, the payment of bride-wealth, and wedding rites seem to be functionally adapted to cross-cousin marriage. All this seems to hold for the Tuareg of Ahaggar and also for those of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group in Ayr. However, we have also observed that there are certain differences in social organization in Ahaggar and Ayr. In both regions Koranic law is valid for inheritance. The rules of succession in Ayr have become predominantly patrilineal, but is matrilineal in Ahaggar. There is also little doubt that most *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg to-day follow patrilocal rules of residence. The Ayr Tuareg are predominantly patrilineal but have remnants of matri-
[587] lineal traits. I note in this connection that some Ayr Tuareg also claim that it is preferable to practise the levirate and the sororate in the way that a widow can marry her deceased husband's younger brother, a widower his deceased wife's younger sister. They hold that this is adopted from Islamic rules.
[601] In Ahaggar matrilineal rules still play a very great rôle as kinship terminology evinces for the term for "mother's brother" is used exclusively for people of the mother's family and mainly for such people of ascending generations who are matrilineally related to Ego – including very distant matrilineal kinsmen. We have also seen that tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and that matrilineal rules are valid for succession to territorial rights, for relations between noble Tuareg and vassals, and ultimately for residence.

105 Tuareg social organization has been submitted to change. Islamic influence has produced a pre-
● 177 dominantly patrilineal system among the Southern Tuareg, including the *Kel Geres* and the *Kel Ayr*, while among the Northern Tuareg matrilineal rules of succession and residence are still acknowledged.

105 It may perhaps seem rather odd that the Ayr Tuareg, like many Sudanese Tuareg, have been much
177 influenced by the patrilineal rules of Islam in their social organization, while the Ahaggar Tuareg
178 have been far less impressed by these rules in spite of having lived in intimate contact with Arabs
184 for generations, adopting many Arab cultural traits which are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. What is the reason for these distinctions in cultural change among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr? I believe that the answer may lie in the differences in political systems. In pre-European times there was in Ahaggar an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals within the drum-groups, several small noble families being linked with their individual groups of vassals. This relationship (*temazlayt*) was, as we have seen, predominantly an economic one, advantageous to both classes and not least to the noble Tuareg, who were much dependent upon their goat-breeding and caravan-trading vassals. There seem to be little doubt that, before the introduction of Islam, this relationship was organized on the basis of matrilineal rules. And it may perhaps have been very difficult to adopt patrilineal rules and to re-organize relations between noble Tuareg and vassals accordingly. When the first French

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



administrators settled in Ahaggar, the noble Tuareg under the leadership of the *Amenukal* are said to have claimed that the French should respect their ancient matrilineal organization. It seems as though such an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals was unknown in Ayr in pre-European times. Subsistence in Ayr is easier than in Ahaggar, and the noble Tuareg there were not so dependent upon their vassals for food as was the case in Ahaggar.

The fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg have conserved matrilineal rules in their social organization though influenced by Islam and the patrilineal Arabs for centuries, may perhaps explain why they have come to consider marriage with a mother's sister's daughter (or her daughter) as a better type of mating than cross-cousin marriage. Marriages with a classificatory sister (or sister's daughter) are, according to the Ahaggar Tuareg, not to be considered a recent phenomena, but have been practised for generations. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that these marriages are most suitable because they do not give rise to changes of residence for the children. It is very probable that such marriages, which do not harmonize with traditional kinship rules, indicate the transition towards fully-fledged patrilineal rules among the Northern Tuareg.

We have no knowledge about Tuareg social organization in pre-Islamic times, but there can be little doubt that matrilineal traits are very ancient, for they are mentioned by Ibn Batutah (cf. p. 457), and most Tuareg have traditions of their descent from an ancestress. Bates thinks that the Libyans of antiquity possessed a type of social organization which was partly or fully matrilineal, though he admits that indications of the existence of the matriarchate are strong, but not conclusive (Bates 1914, p. 111 f.). Gsell, on the contrary, thinks that the ancient Libyans did not have a social organization of a matrilineal type. They were patrilineal like most Northern Berbers of to-day (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 37 f.).

Baumann states that Tuareg matrilineal organization derives from the so-called Old Mediterranean Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 66). This is perhaps not the true explanation, for Frobenius is probably right in his statement that the Syrtic Culture was a high one which gained little influence among pastoralists, but became very important to sedentary people of North Africa and the Western Sudan (Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 11). On the other hand the theory advanced by Frobenius that the Tuareg matriarchate is an old Hamitic custom does not constitute a satisfactory explanation (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 238 f.; Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 5).

The history of Tuareg matriarchate has been analysed very recently by Murdock, who states that its origin can be explained in three distinct ways:— (1) The Tuareg may have preserved the matrilineate from a very early period of Berber culture, perhaps also reflected among the extinct Guanche of the Canary Islands. This, however, is not considered very probable, because matrilineal traits do not exist among the many other North African Berber tribes, and also because the present relative isolation of the Tuareg is historically recent, dating from the Hilalian Arab invasion. (2) The indigenous *Bélla* were characterized by avunculocal residence and matrilineal descent, and they transmitted these rules to the conquering Tuareg. This second theoretical possibility is discarded by Murdock on the ground that the *Bélla* were presumably akin to the Hausa peoples on the southern border of the Tuareg country, and the Hausa are strictly patrilineal. (3) The ancestral Tuareg, while still resident in Tripolitania, were patrilineal, like all other mainland Berbers, and the matrilineate was developed as an

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



# Conclusion

The description of Tuareg culture presented in this study shows very clearly that cultural evolution should be viewed mainly in the light of history. It seems possible to follow in broad outline cultural development among the Tuareg through the last two thousand years. The main forces of cultural change and development were the following:—

(1) European occupation. The major change was the abolition of warfare and raiding, and consequently the breakdown of traditional political systems.

(2) Immigration of Arabs. It is possible that the ancestors of the Tuareg were influenced by the Arabs who came to North Africa during the first invasion of the 7th century A.D., but the second so-called Hilalian invasion of the 11th century was more important. It seems as if most Tuareg were converted to Islam in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. The Northern Tuareg have taken over many new cultural traits from the Arabs who enjoy a high religious prestige. Apart from Islam, the Arabs brought into Tuareg country new breeds of domestic animals, new saddle types and the like, new dwelling types, new methods of food praparation, and new articles of dress. It is clear that the Arabs also influenced Tuareg social organization with the introduction of Koranic inheritance, and their rule of patrilineal succession is adopted among most Southern Tuareg. The Arabs have also played a part in changing Tuareg political systems. New social classes were created with the introduction of Islam, and the words *khalifa* and *eṭṭebel* (*ettebel*) seem to indicate Arab influence in political structure. It is very possible that the instalment ceremony of chiefs, who are presented with a large headcloth, is an Arab custom. Furthermore, the rules of blood-wealth payment in the two groups of Northern Tuareg are of Arab-Islamic origin. – Arab cultural traits have been introduced over an extremely long period of years, and certain traits were apparently first adopted by the Tuareg when their country had been opened up after the European occupation.

(3) The invasion of pastoral camel-breeding Berbers which started at an unknown date in the first centuries of the Christian era. These camel-breeders conquered another Berber-speaking population who lived mainly by goat-breeding. As a result of this conquest arose Tuareg class-division into noble Tuareg and vassals, which in most groups forms the basis of the political system. The first noble camel-breeders came from the east or the north-east, and they may perhaps have introduced certain traits of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture, while their techniques of camel-breeding were related to those of the so-called East Hamitic Culture. Noble Tuareg subsisting on camel-breeding have also immigrated to the Sahara in Islamic times owing to the pressure of Arab bedouins from the north. The noble tribes now dominating the two northern groups perhaps descend from *Hawwara* Berbers

# Tuareg Time Reckoning

Tuareg time reckoning is mainly based upon the position of the celestial bodies in relation to the earth. Some Tuareg know the twelve months of the Julian Calendar, but most of them are only aware of a few of these names, some of which have acquired the meaning of definite agricultural activities (cf. Fig. 139). When the Tuareg divide the year into twelve months they normally use the system of the Islamic lunar calendar. The names of the twelve lunar months in the northern dialect are the following:— *azum* (Ar. *ramḍan*), *tésesé* (Ar. *feṭer*), *ǧir muhden* (Ar. *du elḳada*), *tafaské* (Ar. *du elḥajja*), *tamesseḍek* (Ar. *ạchura*), *tallit seṭṭefet* (Ar. *ṣefer*), *tallit ereṛet* (Ar. *rebiạ awl*), *awhim wa yezzaren* (Ar. *rebiạ tani*), *awhim wa ilkemen* (Ar. *jumad awl*), *sarat* (Ar. *jumad tani*), *ti n tneslemin* (Ar. *rejeb*), *émezzihel* (Ar. *chạban*) (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 982 ff.). These names, known to all Tuareg, would appear to indicate that the lunar calendar among the Tuareg was introduced before Islam. The division of the week into seven days was apparently introduced with Islam for their names are clearly derived from Arabic. They seem to be known to all Tuareg, but play no important part in practical time reckoning. To indicate events that will take place within a few days the Tuareg will say to-morrow, the day after to-morrow, in three days, and so on.

The lunar calendar plays a certain rôle to the Tuareg as it fixes all important religious feasts, and among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg it is normal for the members of a camp to count the succession of lunar years which are named after the place where the camp was situated during the religious feast of *tafaské*. Accordingly there is no definite system of year reckoning common to all Ayr Tuareg, who do not know the Islamic numbers of the years A. H. However, the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg will sometimes talk about *awétay wa-n-Kawchen*, that is "the year when the Ayr Tuareg revolted against the French under the leadership of Kawchen" (1917) and *awétay wa-n-étran*, that is "the year when shooting stars were extraordinarily abundant" (perhaps about 25 years ago).

To the Ahaggar Tuareg the word *awétay* is used in two different ways. It may be used for a lunar year, but it is most frequently used in the sense of "a period between two midwinters", so that the year among the Northern Tuareg is normally to be understood as "a solar year the exact beginning and end of which cannot be stated". Among the Ahaggar Tuareg each such year has its proper name given after the most important event within the year, e.g., the death or the election of an *Amenukal*, the occurrence of good pasture of a particular annual plant, the year of famine, etc. For years of pre-European times the occurrence of raids and warfare also serve as names of years. It may happen that two tribes do not use the same name for a year, but there is a remarkable tendency towards a uniform calendar system for all Ahaggar. The chronology of years is not known equally well by all

[p. 488 is blank]

[p 489]

000 tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has
586 177 adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

184 One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between
614 his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation. It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live.

[174] In their case we are confronted at the present time by a matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman
562 ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights,
[178] her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the
[611] man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many
[554] Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in
[584] matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has
[421] free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes, and even has a greater freedom of mores.

174 It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy among the Tuareg.

184 from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin.
643 The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions
[173] gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out,
611 it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except
631 among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the
651 titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll. He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his
[644] appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/
• [178] today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It
[644] benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum
[534 called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum, "
177 "cylinder of a drum. "
192]

565 In exchange for the rights of suzerainty which the Imochar exer-
631 cise over the Imrad, they owe the latter absolute protection, defend their interests each time that they are threatened, and endeavor to obtain reparation if they are pillaged by an opposing tribe.

The Imochar spend lavishly as great lords and have kept this
177 mania in spite of the change in regime brought by the French peace.
631 Their way of living like parasites has taken away any idea of fore-
565 sight, and because of this they are more often in want than well off.
511 In fact, the first consequence of the French occupation was to stop the state of war and the pillaging, which deprived the Imochar of their principal resources. They became poor people, while the Imrad, as herd owners, saw their wealth increase and become stabilized. This social disturbance could have had serious consequences, but the Imrad did not totally abandon the Imochar, despite the opportunity which was offered them to emancipate themselves from their ancestral guardianship. Perhaps we can be glad of this, for one might wonder what the material situation of the Imochar would have been and, consequently, their state of mind with regard to us.

291 The terms "black Tuareg" and "white Tuareg" have often been
565 used to designate the Imochar and the Imrad. "In the north, "
●178 Seligman says, "the nobles have black veils and the subjects white ones." (1) This distinction in dress does not exist today, when the

1. Les races de l'Afrique, p. 129.

Tuareg indiscriminately wear black or white veils according to their taste and wealth. /161/ It is possible that the Imrad formerly could not obtain indigo veils, always considered a luxury item, and had to be content with ordinary cotton veils; that would explain the division into black and white Tuareg.

According to Duveyrier, the white Tuareg, "Touareg-el-biodh," were probably the Oulad Ba Hamou, Arabs of the region of In-Salah. They took from the Tuareg the habit of wearing veils, but in white instead of dark indigo.

175 in everything. Much less intelligent than Moussa, he was none the less a faithful chief who knew how to make himself respected.

He married twice and had seven children.

175 Meslah ag Ămayas is a second cousin of Ăkhamouk. He is a
643 grandson of the former Amĕnokal Ăltarel and a second cousin of Mohamed ag Ourzig and Ăttici ag Ămellal. The tobol thus came down in the branch of Ămennaï, the third son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, for want of male descendants in the branch of Hĕguier, This follows the rules of matriarchal succession.

Although Moussa ag Ămâstan's sister, Rakhma, who married Ănaba ag Ămellal, brother of Amĕnokal Ăttici, left a son named Louki, he was bypassed by the Imochar as weak-minded.

651 The amĕnokal levies the tioussé on the Imrad and assimilated
[643] vassals. Some of them also pay dues /Fr. droits de redevance/ to the descendants of the old noble families. Thus the Dăg Rălî pay an annual due to the Inemba Kel Tăhat, and the Ăît Loaïen to the Inemba Kel Emori. The latter levy four percent of the loads of grain brought back from the Sudan by the Ăît Loaïen.

[178 But these duties levied are tending to disappear gradually with
161] the extinction of the old Ahaggar families, some of which are no longer represented by more than a few individuals.

631 The Kel Rela tribe has been gathering strength in a singular way
644 for a century. It is all powerful by the number of its representatives, and matriarchy has only accentuated this situation. Indeed, since
[643] only Kel Rela women are capable of giving birth to an amĕnokal, young men from other noble tribes seek alliances with them,
[582] abandoning the women of their own tribe. This new blood has given the Kel Rela a certain physical vigor by preventing them from becoming impoverished through too close and too repeated inbred alliances.

264 The Tuareg use spoons. The use of this implement is peculiar
[415] to them, for their Arab or Negro neighbors eat with their hands.
The custom must be related to the wearing of the veil, which they
do not take off to eat and which prevents them from putting their
[182 291] hands full of food to their mouths. They carry food to their mouths
while slightly holding up the ends of their veils.

[271] For beverages they drink only water, whether it is clean or
272 polluted, and milk.

For half a century they have had the habit of drinking green tea in the Arab manner; they aromatize it with mint or some perfumed plants of the Ahaggar, /238/ chih (Artemisia herba alba) in particular. Coffee, which was formerly much used by them, is now
[757 178] taken mainly as a medication to calm violent coughs or stomach aches.

276 If we now seek consumer goods taken as stimulants or narcotics, we see that the Tuareg know only tobacco, which they chew or take as snuff.

Smoking is not one of their customs. The young men who are
[177] in contact with the French like to beg a cigarette, but it is simply in the spirit of imitation.

Duveyrier, however, has said that the Tuareg smoke. Was this,
114 perhaps, the fashion among the Tuareg who visited Ghat? Before
276 him Barth wrote that all riverain people living along the Niger loved to smoke. "It is very seldom that they leave their pretty little clay pipes, and all the Rouma, like the Tuareg, cover their mouths when smoking, so that all one sees is a pipe bowl coming out of the shawl which covers the face." (1)

1. Voyage en Afrique, vol. IV, p. 137.

[172] 301 layers /271/ dating from that epoch. Its origin must be sought there, and it is now nothing more than a Neolithic vestige.

A number of little cases which the Tuareg wear suspended around the neck and resting on the chest may be considered ornaments. [531] They are little leather cases -- decorated, painted or embroidered, or even stamped in relief -- and they contain various little instruments. [415] Thus, there are mirror cases, needle cases, razor cases, scissor cases, toothbrush cases, etc., and little wallets in which the Tuareg put what they prize most -- money, a /strike-a-light/ steel box and its flint, or tobacco.

/272/ They also wear 301 75 quantities of amulets in leather or metal cases on their chests, their arms, or their hair. But [178] this custom, religious in origin, has evolved in the direction of ornamentation, for many of these amulet cases contain nothing.

301 Female jewelry is much richer and more varied. It is [328] all made of silver; gold jewelry is never seen among the Tuareg. They maintain [228 777] that gold is unlucky for the possessor and that this metal corrupts people.

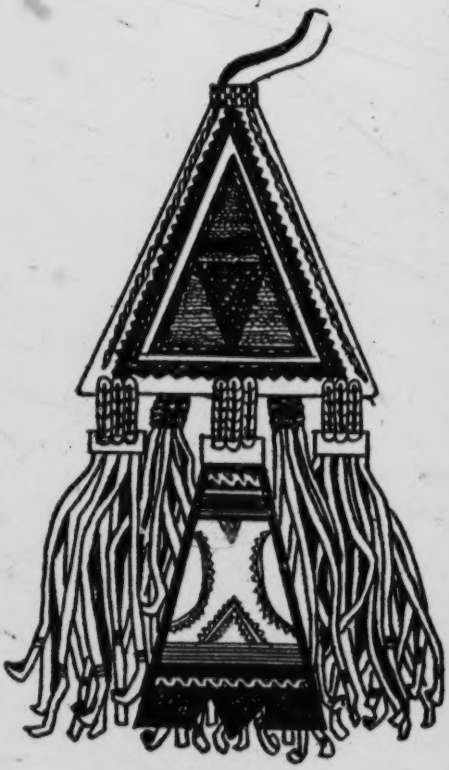

Fig. 42. Needle case of worked leather, with knife slits and embroidery. The background is red; the ornamental painting, black; the embroidery, red and green cotton.

323

Pottery is made by Negresses, the wives /281/ of Harratin, or freed former captives who live in the agricultural centers.

This outline of the techniques and industries of the Kel Ahaggar Tuareg brings out their poverty.

Can we speak of art among the Ihăggaren? That seems difficult, for aside from a few rare objects, all those that they use are more or less in use in the Ahaggar are imported from Aïr or Ădrar des Ifôras, and that is explained all the better by the fact that the artisans are more or less originally from these regions. 438 531 517 [415]

Fig. 52. Sugar tongs.

It is difficult to determine the origins of Tuareg art in general. It is in reality a composite art taken from all their neighbors, which, is not, for the most part, the achievement of the Tuareg themselves but of their artisans. It is among the latter that the distant origins /of Tuareg art/ must be sought. 177 517

The tastes of the Tuareg appear to be unchangeable. They have been fixed for centuries; therefore, in ancient documents some hundred years old one finds the same shape, the same dimensions, the same coloring as today. In this regard we shall say that the Enad is not an artist. He is a worker who may have taste, but who is, on the whole, incapable of creating. He faithfully reproduces the model which has been handed down to him. He 517 [178 172]

423 celed out to Haratin sharecroppers although some of them used to be worked by slaves. Since ownership of land is never outright in
[427] any case, each leaseholder must pay rent in one form or another to someone or other at least once a year.

565 Vassal clans usually pay annual tribute to their tribal chiefs or to the Amenokal, or
651 both. This tribute includes such things as dates, millet, congealed melted butter, baby camels, sheep, goats and manufactured articles of various kinds, a share of all merchandise imported by the clan as well as a share of the profits from any caravan commerce they may have, and about half of any booty they may capture in independent raids. Each vassal family used to contribute towards the upkeep of a particular noble family, and the nobles in their turn, men and women alike, were constantly begging from their vassals who could hardly afford to refuse them. But if this begging became unbearable, the vassals would sometimes pull up stakes and move quietly out of reach of their noble parasites.

Lhote (1955, pp. 190–91) says that all adult
651 males, potential warriors that is, of the Ahaggar confederation, were supposed to pay an annual head tax of 5 francs (then worth about 4 cents) each to the Amenokal as recently as 1948. Hunters annually paid in mouflon for exclusive local hunting rights. After each harvest each Hartani would pay a third of a bushel (more or less) of grain to the Amenokal for each garden plot that he worked, in addition to a share of the produce which he paid to the local leaseholder. But much of this fiscal system has fallen into disuse in re-
651 cent years, for the Amenokal together with
178 his whole camp is now supported almost entirely by the French Government, which also contributes free grain weekly to many of the poorer Haratin. Once more it is the middle class, the vassal Tuareg and the lesser nobles in this case, who suffer most severely from the stresses of cultural change.

**Tuareg Economy and the Roots of the Class**
233 **System.** All Saharan nomads live primarily off their livestock, and livestock lives off pastur-
137 age. There are two main kinds of pasture in the Sahara, the permanent growth of wiry yellowish grass, little woody shrubs and thorny bushes that one finds scattered very thinly

291
claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the 302
Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been 386
sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga." 515

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵓⵙⴼⴰⵔ 177
plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⵔⴰⵏ , and believe in their efficacy. 278
This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, [432
for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his 556]
purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees
that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very [648
willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly 757]
be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" 164
ⵜⴰⵣⵣⴰⵇ , gonorrhea, "talaoa'ⵜ;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi"
ⵜⵙⵎⴷⵀⵉ ; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴽⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔⵄⴼ .

## Chapter XVII

## Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro 563
and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the 567
Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have. [721]

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which [439]
brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes
without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave 178
them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the 567
progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

4: Benhazera--62 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter XI

### Industry. Blacksmiths

There is no industry in the Ahaggar. They do not exist. 433
One cannot describe as an industry the minor arms repair that 326
a few blacksmiths make, nor the little wooden implements that the Tuareg make for their personal use.

We have seen above that the Ahaggar Tuareg buy all 326
their arms in the Aïr. They are not made at home. [439]

In the Ahnet I watched a blacksmith, Eg Ahnet, work. He was mending spears, sabers, and daggers, and he told me that he also made some jewelry when they were ordered from him. He asked for preserve cans to make his settings. His tools were quite primitive. He had:

A bellows, "tissedhi" , made of two iron tubes set into a hollowed piece of wood onto which were fitted two waterskins open at the ends. These openings were held by rings and furnished with handles. The iron tubes blew the air into a clay furnace, "anefif" , set before the fire. /72/

An anvil, "tahount"
Files, "azezoua"
Pliers, "ir'emdane"
A large hammer, "afadhis"
A small hammer, "tafadhist"
Tin-snips, "timouda"
A small hatchet, "tetaout" , which he had made from a bent branch.

Finally, a rake, "asekredh" , which he hafted with two wooden handles each time he wished to use it.

He also made locks and keys of copper. He complained [414]
of hard times and how the craft no longer prospered. Where [178]
was the age of the great raids, the expeditions from which arms were brought back to him to repair and sharpen! Where are we going? Times have really changed!

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air
Ahaggar



sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullemmeden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, p. 213; 1950c, p. 492f. – Richer 1924, p. 3, 52) an interesting matrilineal custom has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhazera (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Dubiéf has further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubiéf 1956, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes. In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*Agg Elkher*, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [75] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that [643] in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals.

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. 614 634 [431] [178]

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 651 [583]

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:- 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Teouit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
643 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation
692 of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-
643 wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer. The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had
178 in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
643 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have
[701] shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[727] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half
[721] of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
Scale raiding.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



565 651 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The [178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are [789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals, but these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility [721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also [422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these animals.

The master of a temażlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids, but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the [643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellaǵ* or half of the booty taken by all vassals [727] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for [426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also known as *abellaǵ*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been given to the Amenokal. The temażlait-masters were apparently without any judicial [692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller units within the drum-group – the temażlait-relations – were predominantly economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit, the drum-group.

### *The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.*

565 192 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheren* (sing. *Amacher*), but correctly this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohar* (sing. *Amahar*). It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb *aher* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that this latter word is identical with *Hoouara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



yield decreases to about two litres (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 104). It should be added that, as for other domestic animals, the daily yield of milk depends very much on the conditions of pastures, and cows always yield little milk when pastures are dry – even at the beginning of their lactation period. 234

Bulls are frequently castrated two or three years old to be used for riding and transportation. Oxen are used for this purpose particularly among the Tuareg of the plains towards the south and west, while most pastoralists of the Massif almost exclusively use donkeys and camels. Oxen are ridden without a saddle. The rider sits on the back of the animal which is covered with a blanket or a piece of cotton as in Ahaggar. The animals have a cord (*asabar*) placed through their nostrils, but plaited halters (*amerar*) are also used for riding oxen. 492 [232] [184]

The Tuareg have terms to cover the age and sex of their cattle, and they also have a certain number of colour terms; but they say that there are very few colour terms for cattle (about ten terms according to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group). They explain this lack of colour terms by the fact that cattle did not play any important rôle to their subsistence in the past. Cattle do not respond to their names, but some of them will come to the camp on the utterance of a certain cry (cf. p. 135). 233* 192 [433] [178]

233* [283] →

Fig. 31. Zebu calf with a pronged stick (*tabellat*) put through its nostrils to prevent sucking. Ayr, the *Isakaranan* tribe.
Fig. 32. Muzzle (*akimbob*) to wean zebu calves. The muzzle is made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*) which form a frame covered with cords of *tamat* bast and with cotton strips. It is fastened to the head of a calf with a piece of cord plaited of goat's hair, and the attachment is done in such a way that the calf can graze without difficulty though it cannot suck. Tamesna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Iregenaten* tribe. Dimension: 0.17–0.19 m high. (N. M. G. 6661). [824]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



241 171 I, p. 424). Rodd thinks the implement seen by Barth was clearly an importation from the north (Rodd 1926a, p. 133), and Feilberg assumes that if the plough was once known in this southern area it might perhaps have disappeared together with shifting cultivation (Feilberg 1931, p. 200). All this may be so, for there has been much contact between Ayr and the regions of Fezzan and Tripolitania in the past. But Barth does not say that he saw a plough but "a kind of plough", which may perhaps point to a type of large hoe drawn by men like that described from Senegambia by Feilberg (cf. Feilberg 1931, p. 169 f.).

243 The plough is unknown in the extensive area inhabited by pastoral Tuareg but this is not so with a kind of shifting cultivation. Pastoral Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer sow wheat and barley along the river valleys when these have been heavily flooded. Sowing is then done in a very simple way:— Holes are dug into the sandy soil, usually merely with the hand, and a few seeds are put into these holes. Wheat and barley thus sown grow in tufts with a space of 0.30 to 0.50 metres between each, and there seem to be about fifty straws in a normal tuft – the largest tuft I have seen contained about 130 straws (cf. Figs. 128–129). The plots cultivated in this way are generally very small, and the scattered wild plants growing in the plot are not always removed before sowing. The corn plots are left completely to themselves until harvesting, which is done with a sickle (Fig. 143). Primitive corn growing of this type cannot be practised continuously from one year to another in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the Tuareg of that region say that a household never grows enough corn in this way to meet its annual needs. [178] The primitive method of corn growing without artificial irrigation is unknown in Ahaggar nowadays, but it seems as if it was known in the past (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 372), and the Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular term (*iawgest*) for a field cultivated without artificial irrigation (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1466).

Rodd states that rain-grown crops could be raised most years in certain parts of Ayr and that in earlier days a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way in Ayr (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). There is little doubt that this statement is correct, and I think that even in parts of Ahaggar millet could be raised without irrigation in most years, for millet has a very short period of growth. [221] In Ahaggar (at Abalessa) it is sown in June-July and is harvested in September. Though millet plots are irrigated they are never watered much, and never to the same extent as wheat and barley which are grown in winter. In regard to Ayr, millet in southern villages of the Massif very frequently ripens in two months, and late in summer, at the end of the rains (*akasa*) or in the early dry season (*rarat*). [252] I have frequently seen well-developed small plots of millet and sorghum around deserted Tuareg camps where a great many seeds are always lost on the ground during the pounding and winnowing of millet for porridge. These self-grown plots, however, are not utilized by the Tuareg as the comparatively [134] small yield is quickly eaten by the numerous millet-eating birds. Owing to these birds it would be difficult for pastoral Tuareg to grow cereals in flooded valleys like the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and it is partly for this very reason that the sedentary agriculturists of Ayr grow very little millet. Millet could easily be raised without artificial irrigation during the rains, and, in fact, millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation of Ayr.

245 In addition to the species of grain mentioned above there is one very important plant which can be grown without artificial irrigation, namely the date palm. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are river valleys

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



In literature there seems to be no reliable information about the existence of irrigation agriculture 241
in Ahaggar until Duveyrier, who states that agriculture did not obtain a fixed position in the economic 175
life of the Ahaggar Tuareg until the reign of the *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) (cf. Duveyrier
1864, p. 369). This statement is confirmed by most agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg in Ahaggar, 241
who claim that prior to *Elkhaj Akhmed* irrigation agriculture was not practised in Ahaggar. During 312
the reign of this *Amenukal* irrigation agriculture by means of the subterranean aqueducts known to 173
the Arabs as *foggara* (*éfeli*, pl. *ifelan*) was introduced by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs and negroid *Ḥarratin* from 177
the Tidikelt oases. Some people of Ahaggar claim that another irrigation system was introduced about the same time, namely irrigation wells from which water is drawn by oxen and donkeys. This system, known as *tanut*, is said to have been introduced by agriculturists from Ĝanet (Djanet) (the *Kel Ĝanet*). It should be noted that there are certain traditions which claim irrigation agriculture to be older in Ahaggar. One tradition says that it was practised at Silet-Tibeghin by Arabs who immigrated from Tawat to cultivate by means of the *foggara* system even during the reign of the *Imenan* (Lhote 1955, p. 286 f.). Another tradition, recorded by Foucauld, states that irrigation farming was known at a 241
very remote date by the *Isebeten* – a pagan people said to be the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes of 312
Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535 f.). Traditions of the age of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar 173
are conflicting. If it was practised long before the reign of *Elkhaj Akhmed* by the ancient vassals, I believe that water was raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight. For this system, which is known as *aṛudid*, is said to have been very common in the past. It is extremely rare nowadys, and I have only seen it once at Terhenanet. There can be no doubt that [171]
this simple irrigation method is a very old one in North Africa, where it is more widely distributed than all other types of irrigation methods (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, map VII p. 320). The very wide distribution of this system elsewhere in the Old World points to its great age, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest true irrigation machine.

A few Tuareg in the northern groups practise irrigation agriculture, which does not seem to be one 241
of their traditional occupations. Tuareg irrigation farmers are found mainly in the Fezzan, but mention 178
should also be made of the people of three noble tribes, namely the *Ilemtéyen* (living at Ṛat), the *Ikadeyen* (at Tit in Ahaggar), and the *Kel-ahem-niellen* (roaming pastoralists north of Ahaggar or settled farmers at the oasis of Inṛer in Tidikelt). These sedentary or semi-sedentary noble Tuareg were originally true pastoralists, though but little is known of the original mode of livelihood of the *Ikadeyen*. A few individuals or families among the Ahaggar vassals have more recently taken up irrigation agriculture in addition to stock-breeding. There seems to be a growing tendency towards semi-nomadism in Ahaggar nowadays. There may be several reasons for this. Thus one can point to the decline of [432]
caravan trading and to the fact that pastoral Tuareg cannot so easily get the true agriculturists to cultivate for them. The true agriculturists of Ahaggar comprise the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*) of Tidikelt, [564]
who have mixed with the manumitted slaves now also known as *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*), a few fair-skinned *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, and the *Kel Ĝanet* who are predominantly black-skinned. All these agricultural people tend to mix with each other and also with tribes of pastoral Tuareg.

There are at present about 25 agricultural settlements in the river valleys of Ahaggar. Apart from 361
the administration centre of Tamanṛaset (1600) and the oasis of Abalessa (547) these agricultural 162

# Caravan Trading

Caravan trading of the Sahara has suffered severely from the European colonisation of Northern Africa. The establishment of ports and railways in the Sudanese area and the abolition of the slave-trade have brought to an end the large caravans passing through the desert. In recent times another heavy blow has been struck against the caravans, for transportation is more and more taken over by trucks which can easily pass through the open desert country. Many pastoralists of Northern Africa suffer from the decline of their trade, which for centuries has been an important stabilizing factor for their subsistence. The decline of caravan trading is also strongly felt in the oases, which have played a very important part as trading posts or trading stations. Some of these oases have far fewer inhabitants nowadays than in the past, and it is most difficult for many sedentary people of the oases to exist. The decline of the trade has been felt also among the pastoral Tuareg. But caravan trading is still important to most of them, and many of them could not support life without it. To understand the important role of caravan trading we have once more to return to the economic values of subsistence activities.

178 437 484 [433] [361] [16]

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AHAGGAR TUAREG

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot live exclusively on stock-breeding products all the year round – not even in good years when annual pasture is well developed in autumn and early winter. Even in a good year the nomads mainly eat vegetable food throughout the hot season, and some bread or porridge is also consumed during the period of abundant milk yields. It is true that nomads can subsist entirely on milk for long periods, and that some people do so for weeks or even months. Galan says that pastoralists of of Ahaggar, when they live entirely on milk, can do with four litres a day per person (Galan 1951, p. 231). But it is estimated by the Ayr Tuareg that they need about eight or ten litres a day to live entirely on milk, and they all claim that they get weary from constant milk drinking. They say that though they do not feel hungry when they live exclusively on milk they experience a peculiar, unpleasant feeling in the stomach. The relative importance of stock-breeding products (mainly milk) and vegetable food (mainly wheat, millet, and dates) may be seen from the diagram Fig. 151.[1] In a good year there is normally some possibility of collecting wild seeds for bread and porridge, but the Tuareg claim that they cannot easily cover their need of vegetable products even in a year when milk is abundant. And milk is not always abundant. We can estimate that for two or three good years

433 262 [261] 433

[p. 209]

[1] [cf. p. 216]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



by the Tuareg of Ayr, the *Kel Geres*, and other Tuareg. The Tuareg obtain salt generally in exchange 437
for millet, but they also bring with them dried meat, and meat from animals newly slaughtered; and 439
although this meat is largely rotten when it arrives at Bilma it is easily sold to the oases dwellers who
are yearning for meat. The oases dwellers have little to subsist upon but dates of which they have a
surplus. This is purchased by the Tuareg, who get two loads of dates for one load of millet. The [178]
Bilma trade is less important nowadays than it was at the beginning of the century. In 1922 the Bilma [484]
caravans comprised about 7000 camels (Buchanan 1926, p. 83), while in 1908, when the trade was
already decreasing, caravans numbered about 20,000 camels (Abadie 1927, p. 292). Caravans still go [435]
to Bilma to fetch salt and dates, but the salt trade is not so profitable to-day when Bilma salt can be [494]
bought fairly cheaply at Agadez, as the trucks bringing provisions from Agadez to the French admin-
istration and to the merchants of Bilma, take salt back with them when they return. The Ayr Tuareg 437
do not organize their trading expeditions within family groups or sections as in Ahaggar. A Tuareg [602]
who does not want himself to go to Bilma may let a kinsman or a friend trade for him with his camels.
The payment for this is a large loaf of salt which constitute one sixth or one seventh of a camel load.

The Ayr Tuareg do not generally obtain salt from the pits of Tegidda-n-tésemt though this place 317
is not very far from the Massif to the west. They say that the Tegidda salt is not as good as 439
Bilma's. The salt of Tegidda-n-tésemt is purchased mainly by the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* when
visiting the regions around Ingal after the rains. Some of the *Kel Ayr* who live in the extreme north [437]
(the *Kel Tédalé*, and others) occasionally go to Amadror in the north to fetch salt which is taken down
to the Sudanese towns and villages. In years when drought prevails in Ahaggar these Tuareg take their 437
surplus of livestock to the market at Tamanraset, for in dry years the provision of meat, butter, and 438
cheese consumed in Ahaggar come mainly from Ayr and adjacent regions. When I stayed in Ahaggar [114]
in 1954–55 a great many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* came to Tamanraset to sell camels, donkeys, sheep,
goats, and zebus, and also brought with them large quantities of cow's butter and cheese. The route 437
followed from Northern Ayr to Ahaggar runs via I-n-azawa and I-n-abeggi which are the only wells 487
between the two mountain massifs. Water is very scarce and so is pasture, which is mainly limited to
a scattered vegetation of annual plants; over very large areas there is no vegetation at all. It is easy
to drive camels and donkeys through these regions, while more difficult for sheep, goats, and cattle.
The zebus easily get cut hooves from walking on stony ground, while sheep and goats suffer much
from thirst. In spite of this, all kinds of livestock can be driven through the barren desert from Ayr
to Ahaggar, even as late as the month of March which is extremely hot in the barren desert country.
The Tuareg frequently lose animals which die from thirst and hunger during the journey, but the trade [435]
is nevertheless extremely profitable as prices of livestock are high in Ahaggar in dry years, while prices
of European goods such as tea, sugar, cotton, metal vessels, and the like are extremenly low compared
with the prices asked for these goods in Ayr.

The Ayr Tuareg, though owning more livestock than the Tuareg of Ahaggar, have a certain demand 433
of agricultural food products. These products are mainly grown outside of the Massif, for the farmers 439
of Ayr grow little millet, very few dates, and part of the wheat grown in Ayr is exported to the oases
of Ganet and Ṛat in the north. Though these vegetable products can be purchased at Agadez, it is
profitable to fetch them where they are cheap, namely in the Sudan (millet) and in Bilma (dates). And

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



those of Tasilé-n-Ajjer and the *Kel Geres*. I have been informed by *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg of the *Kel Dennek* group, whom I met in Ayr, that they live on millet to much the same extent as the Ayr Tuareg, and that some of them have gardens cultivated by negroid agriculturists. For the *Kel Dennek* it is expressively stated by Nicolas that they cannot live on milk, that they kill comparatively few of their animals, and that they largely live on cereals obtained not only by collecting. Some of the Tuareg mentioned by Nicolas are described as semi-nomads (Nicolas 1950a, p. 145 ff.). Among the Southern Tuareg living further west in the Sudanese savannahs (the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*), agricultural products are very important to the pastoralists who may possess gardens along the banks of the Niger, these gardens being cultivated by the *Bélla* (Aymard 1911, p. 117; Miner 1953, p. 60 ff.). 433 262

Nowadays there are no Tuareg who subsist without agricultural products, a few of them (the *Kel Ajjer*) practise a primitive type of agriculture in the river valleys, and within all groups there seem to be Tuareg who have turned to irrigation farming as their most important occupation. In the following section I discuss briefly the subject of Tuareg economy in the past. [178]

## TUAREG ECONOMY IN THE PAST

Tuareg culture was not profoundly altered by the advent of European military administration around the beginning of the present century. Their traditional material culture has persisted largely unchanged up to the present day. The major change has been the abolition of warfare and consequently the breakdown of the traditional political system, but the abolition of warfare also led to important changes in the organization of caravan trading. 178 648

Raiding expeditions were carried out in some Tuareg groups even after the arrival of the Europeans, who established small garrisons in the oases and had camel patrols roaming the country as they have nowadays. Buchanan thus describes a raid carried out by Ahaggar Tuareg against the Ayr village of Timia in the year 1920 (Buchanan 1921, p. 207 ff.), and raids have not been entirely unknown in Ayr even later, though the raiders have then been severely handicapped by the establishment of the French wireless stations which enabled the camel patrols of different areas to communicate with each other (Rodd 1926a, p. 188). Raiding have nowadays stopped, but before the European penetration and conquest it was so to speak an industry to be mentioned with other subsistence activities. 175 721 648

The Ahaggar Tuareg were known as prominent raiders and warriors in the past. The two dominent chiefdoms within the group of Ahaggar Tuareg, the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ*, frequently raided the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg and the Arabs living north of Timbuktu, as these southern pastoralists were very rich in livestock and in slaves. Some of these Tuareg and Arabs even paid fixed dues to chiefs of the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ* in order that they should not be raided by Tuareg of these groups. However, these annual payments did not safeguard against raiding (cf. p. 401 f.). It seems as if the south-bound raiding expeditions were mainly profitable to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who could not so easily be raided in return by the Southern Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg also raided other neighbouring pastoralists such as the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the powerful Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* with whom they had frequent and very serious quarrels; these people raided the Ahaggar Tuareg in return. It can be 175 721

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 203. Earthen incense jar (*elbakkhar*). Abaggar, *Harratin* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.179 m high. (N.M. G. 5889).

323 512). Most pastoral Tuareg of Ayr get their pots from Agadez, but pots are also imported from the
[437] south where they are of superior quality. These pots are said to be manufactured by black-skinned
323 *Igdalen* Tuareg (cf. p. 432) of the southlands, notably by people of the *Ikenawen* class which comprises
513 professional pot-makers. These people are not found among the *Kel Ayr* but are common in camps
[197] of the *Kel Geres* where I have met them. They speak *tamachek* but also have their own language
323 which is said to be related to *Sonyay*. The pots made by these southern people are painted and decorated
531 (cf. Fig. 205) in contrast to those of Agadez which are plain and of very simple forms (Figs. 204a–b). So far as I am aware painted and decorated pottery is rarely manufactured in Ayr nowadays. But Rodd states that such pottery in the form of pitchers with a blue design is made near Agadez (Rodd 1926a, p. 160 f., pl. 22 p. 209), and when I investigated ruins of stone houses at Iferwan I found a great many sherds of finely-decorated painted pots which must have been used up to the end of the
[178] great Tuareg revolt in 1917 when these houses were destroyed by the French. Lhote has also mentioned the decline of pottery techniques in Ayr, and he states that, apart from little incense jars, no painted and decorated pots are manufactured at Agadez nowadays (Lhote 1950c, p. 511).

*415 Certain metal receptacles were known to the Tuareg long before the European occupation, notably
[437] a cooking pot (*éṛir*) made from copper, and the flat drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned
[326] copper or brass in Tripolitania, or in Tunisia. Metal receptacles are also manufactured by native blacksmiths in Tuareg country, e.g., the pail (*éṛir*) to be used for liquid butter (Fig. 164).

322 The blacksmiths are excellent wood-workers and make most wooden domestic utensils used by
[564] pastoral Tuareg (Figs. 21b, 37, 38, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63a–b, 75, 150, 153–154, 166, 176, 177, 178, 191,
[412] 194, 195, 212a, 219a–b, 285). The main implements for wood working are axes and adzes (Figs. 206a–d).

# Dress

In this chapter on Tuareg dress I do neither describe all types of Tuareg garments nor dress ornamentation, but content myself with a brief description of the prominent articles of dress and of certain peculiar garments which are interesting and important for our understanding of the cultural position of the Tuareg. 29 128

In Northern Tuareg country pastoral women sometimes wear a large hat plaited from date palm leaves and known as *télé*, which literally means "shade" (cf. Fig. 231). However, hats of this kind are never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg who obtain them from sedentary agriculturists. Hats of the same type are very common further north in Africa where they are worn not only by women but also by men, and I believe that hats of this sort were introduced to the Tuareg by the Arabs and the Arabic speaking *Harratin*, who came to Ahaggar about a hundred years ago. In Ayr I have seen plaited hats worn by one or two black-skinned men of the *Kel Ewey* group. These hats are also used among the Hausa. True pastoral Tuareg like those of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not wear hats. 292 [285] [170] [172] [184]

It seems as if the hat is a foreign element in Tuareg culture, and that as traditional head garments the Tuareg have nothing beyond the veil and the headcloth described in some detail in the general chapter about the Tuareg (cf. p. 14 f.). We have seen that both the veil and the headcloth are sometimes referred to as *alechchu*, "a piece of Sudanese indigo cotton sewn together from narrow strips or bands", for the traditional veil and headcloth are made from this type of cotton which is highly esteemed for many other garments. It seems to be the oldest type of cotton used for dress among the Tuareg, while white cotton of an ordinary type has been introduced more recently among them. The Ayr Tuareg use the word *maser* for white cotton woven in one piece, and they say that this word refers to *Misr* (Egypt) wherefrom cotton of this particular type was first introduced. It came much later than indigo cotton of Sudanese type, which has been known in Ayr from very ancient times. 291 292

Indigo coloured cotton introduced from the Sudan is very expensive and is nowadays used mainly for festive occasions, while daily dress, including the veil, is made of European cotton, which is indigo or white in colour. There can be no doubt that the comparatively cheap European cotton has displaced the use of skin or leather for daily dress. For we know that skin shirts were extremely common in Ahaggar at the beginning of the present century (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 112), and Duveyrier says that "le pardessus en peau" is held in esteem (Duveyrier 1864, p. 406). Before Duveyrier we have Lyon's statement that Tuareg of the Fezzan area use skin (leather) for dress:— "A leather kaftan is also much worn, of their own manufacture, as are leather shirts of the skins of antelopes, very neatly sewed, and well prepared". In addition Lyon depicts a Tuareg wearing a leather shirt with ample sleeves (Lyon 1821, p. 110). 291 [292] [178]

[p. 287]

291 l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwilemmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

292 In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the [232] Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen [177] blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aglim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of [294] several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl (*tistent*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes [184] no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

178 Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like 291 many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

291 The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *tratimen* (sing. *tratim*), which [237] word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south. 438 The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where the type is also known by the Hausa word *takelmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in 294 detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following 281 way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig. [114] 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manufacture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takelmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are 291 easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The [37] very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal [285] is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *slisleplatine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

[Text continues on p. 300]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 174 covered exclusively with straw mats. Tuareg skin tents may perhaps have originated from tents covered with grass-mats which had the dome-shaped top covered with a sheet of skin during the rains. At all events I assume that most Tuareg skin tents have developed from a type of barrel-vaulted dwelling, and it is most significant that rudiments of arch constructions occur in skin tents within all Tuareg groups.

The development of Tuareg tents is difficult to explain by mere reference to environment, and we should also try to take into consideration historical factors. I believe that tents with upright forked poles which carry horizontal cross-bars developed from a barrel-vaulted structure. I believe that this is indicated by the material presented above. Thus most or all barrel-vaulted dwellings among the Tuareg have at their narrow ends a pair of forked poles with a horizontal cross-bar placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction and parallel to the arch or the arches which are placed in the middle of the tent. We have also noted that we have tents of one central arch and two outer pairs of sticks with cross-bars covered with two semi-arches, and tents in which this middle arch is substituted by a pair of sticks carrying a cross-bar. It seems quite natural to consider all tents supported exclusively by pairs of sticks carrying horizontal cross-bars as deriving from barrel-vaulted dwellings. One would perhaps then be tempted to suppose that such an evolution took place in the true desert country, where it might seem easier to make tents from a certain number of sticks tied together than from curved arches. However, as far as our knowledge goes, an evolution of portable dwellings among the Tuareg from arched types to types exclusively consisting of cross-bars resting in forked sticks seems to have taken place outside of the proper desert country. All old Tuareg of Ahaggar admit that the common type of tent structure in their childhood was that of two arches, while these arches, they say, have now been replaced by cross-bars resting in pronged poles. This agrees with the fact that Foucauld, [114] who lived in Ahaggar from 1905 to 1916, does not mention tents of the cross-bar type which are now almost exclusively used by the Ahaggar Tuareg. According to Foucauld, Ahaggar tents fall into two main types, namely those supported by arches and those supported by T-shaped posts. When the structure made exclusively with forked poles and cross-bars was adopted we do not know, but I believe that it may perhaps have taken place in the twenties. In any event there seems to be little doubt that [114] they were common at the end of the twenties, for they are depicted by Moberg from his journey to *342 Ahaggar 1929-30 (cf. Moberg 1933, p. 59, 63, 65). The question now arises why the Ahaggar Tuareg 178 gave up their arched dwellings, which are so extremely rare nowadays, and adopted the upright forked poles-crossbar structure? Lhote thinks that in Ahaggar there were perhaps the following reasons:— (1) The arched structure is better adapted to rain, but has become less useful owing to the increasing dryness of Ahaggar; (2) It is more difficult to procure the long roots of tamarisks for arches; (3) The arches used in ancient times were difficult to carry from camp to camp; (4) The structure consisting of cross-bars resting in forked poles may perhaps have been introduced owing to contact with the *Iullemmeden*, who use a similar type of tent-structure (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 42 f.; 1955a, p. 256). Of these arguments I find the last the most convincing, the more so as I have myself been informed that the tents of cross-bars resting on forked prongs have been introduced owing to contact with the Southern [388] Tuareg who have similar tents. One might perhaps assume that the tent was actually introduced owing to contact with the *Kel Adrar*, as the Ahaggar Tuareg have married women of that Tuareg group

[text continues on p. 388]

*342 178 582 while to my knowledge they have never married women of the *Iwllemmeden*. Marriages seem to be of great importance for the diffusion of cultural traits among the Tuareg.

*342 174 182 It is clear that the use of T-shaped posts is not limited to particular environmental zones, for T-shaped posts are characteristic of certain Tuareg skin tents both in the true desert country and in southern regions of plains and savannahs. Furthermore, it seems as if this structure is found mainly among the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar*, and among the *Kel Dennek*, while outside these regions T-shaped posts are rare. Thus if we cannot explain the use and the distribution of T-shaped posts in skin tents from an analysis of environment, we may perhaps ascribe its present distribution to historical events.

*342 174 The most important characteristic of T-shaped posts is that they are not buried in the ground like all other poles and posts of Tuareg portable dwellings. They rest upon the surface, and if they sometimes penetrate two or three centimetres into the soil this is not to keep them upright but to prevent them from sliding. The fact that Tuareg T-shaped posts are not buried in the ground makes it unlikely that they are related to the T-shaped posts of permanent dwellings like those used in huts and houses of North Africa, and I believe that originally they came from a barrel-vaulted dwelling which had one of its arches supported by a post resting upon the surface. That an evolution of this kind is in fact possible is shown by Ferdinand's description of certain black tents among the Duranni nomads of Afghanistan. The middle arch of these tents is made from pieces of curved poles, namely two long pieces lashed to a shorter top piece, which is supported by a central post resting upon the surface of the ground. This is the normal structure of Duranni tents, but in summer and in spring nomads frequently content themselves with the erection of the middle part of the arch supported by the central post resting upon the surface. In other words, the Duranni nomads at certain seasons change their barrel-vaulted dwelling into a dwelling supported by T-shaped posts at a right angle to the longitudinal direction (cf. Ferdinand 1959, Fig. 7 p. 35). I think that this development is also perhaps responsible for the evolution of T-shaped tents among the Tuareg, but I do not believe that it took place among them. We have among the Tuareg no portable barrel-vaulted dwellings of arches supported by central posts. We find this principle in certain barrel-vaulted dwellings used among the *Kel Ewey* farmers of Ayr (cf. p. 347 ff.), but this barrel-vaulted hut originated from the Tuareg mat tent, which among the sedentary *Kel Ewey* adopted certain traits of the bee-hive hut.

*342 174 177 I think there is little doubt that a relationship exists between T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents and similar posts of North African black tents. This relationship was first suggested by Feilberg in his thesis on the black tent (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143), and I believe that it can be proved that such a relationship actually exists.

[184] Black tents are not generally used by the Tuareg. In the extreme north of the *Kel Aïr* territory a few Tuareg have adopted it owing to contact with Arab pastoralists. It is possible that there are also Tuareg with black tents in the extreme south-west of Tuareg country around Timbuktu. There are black tents in this region (Jackson 1820, p. 23; Barth 1857–58, IV, p. 474 ff.), and it seems as if some Tuareg there occasionally live in them (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). It is clear that the black tent is found within a large semi-circular belt enclosing Tuareg country from the Fezzan via Northern Sahara and the Atlas through Mauretania to Timbuktu (cf. Feilberg 1944, map II). It is also clear that there

643 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man
151 bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Arefsa* sub-tribe its collective
614 payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Rali* tribe pays *tiwsé* as follows:—
613 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads,
565 are given to the chief of the *Dag Rali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*. – All vassal tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Amenukal*, and this also applies to the *Isekkemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwsé*, are in fact tokens of vassalage,
[639] and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as drum-chief of the *Kel Rela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to their particular drum-chiefs.

643 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his
634 drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war booty taken by his
565 vassals. This right was known as *abellaq*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel Rela* drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal
[614] kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in the tribe to which the deseased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138). As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief
[614] within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels on the latter's death.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*eklijyet*)
634 among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151).
681 Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance,
[684] he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly
[682] the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth
[614] paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. When the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid.
[683] For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and
[178] such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished
[648] by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he had in the past.

178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Ralli* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916–17, the drum-group of the *Kel Rela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Rela* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amrar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytok*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Rela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytok*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* and *Taytok* tribes might also receive *tiwsé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Adrar* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Téhalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given

him a similar payment for protection.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



noble Tuareg and vassals. It would seem as if these mixed marriages had a political function as they served to reinforce the solidarity within the drum-group in view of its opposition to the *Kel Rela* drum-group and the *Amenukal*. In consequence of these marriages the political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group was in the past much influenced by rules of kinship behaviour, and the payments due to the drum-chief from vassals were less comprehensive than in the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group. 634 565 571 614 [802]

*The Kel Ṛela* drum-group was divided into minor relationships between noble Tuareg and vassals. These relationships were known as *temaẓlayt*, that is literally "the root of the nail". They have almost ceased to exist, and consequently they are very difficult to describe. However, it is possible to outline their organization and main functions. They were structurally akin to the drum-group, as they were matrilineally organized. A noble Tuareg who had rights over certain vassals would be succeeded by a maternal kinsman, and in a group of vassals right and obligations would equally follow matrilineal rules. A *temaẓlayt* relationship was a relationship between a small noble matrilineage with a particular leader and a larger matrilineage of vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class. The noble matrilineage that was attached to a definite group of vassals would not necessarily correspond with the matrilineal core within a section, for there were comparatively many noble Tuareg in the *Kel Ṛela* tribe who were leaders of *temaẓlayt* groups. This is shown by Benhazera's investigations, which took place at a time when the ancient political system of the Ahaggar Tuareg still retained most of its traditional functions. At that time there were at least ten noble Tuareg who were commanders of *temaẓlayt* groups (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.). 634 565 571 613 [178]

There are certain traces of *temaẓlayt* organizations even to-day. The token of this relationship is the payment of an annual due known as *tiwsé* from a group of vassals to the *temaẓlayt* master.

Apparently some vassals who made *tiwsé* payments to a noble *temaẓlayt* master did not make this payment also to their drum-chief (the *Amenukal*). Thus to-day the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe makes an annual *tiwsé* payment to *Maṛli agg Amayas* of the *Kel Ṛela* section named *Inemba Kel-Emeyri*, but gives no *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal Bay*, who belongs to the *Iboglan* section of the same tribe, though the land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) is always paid to the *Amenukal*. I was also told by the *Kel Ṛela Khalifa* of Tamesna, who belonged to the *Iboglan* section, that he had the right to collect the *tiwsé* payment from the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, but as he was now living outside of Ahaggar this payment was made by the *Isandan* to the *Amenukal*. However, I believe that in the past most vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class made *tiwsé* payments both to their individual *temaẓlayt* masters and to the *Amenukal*. This would also seem to be in agreement with Foucauld's description of *temaẓlayt* relations (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1965).

A noble *temaẓlayt* master had no judicial authority over his individual vassals, and could not summon them to war and raiding against their will. These rights belonged to the drum-chief, consequently in the *Kel Ṛela* group, to the *Amenukal*. The obligations of a noble *temaẓlayt* master towards his vassals were mainly to protect them against raids by and exploitation of other noble Tuareg who formed a class of warriors and raiders roaming the country for enemies and for booty. A *temaẓlayt* master had the right to organize raids with the support of his vassals, if they were interested, and the vassals were also allowed to carry out raids on their own behalf, but in both cases half of the booty (*abellag*) taken by 634 565 571 613 721

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without 233
camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to 433
the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays, as in the past, base their economy mainly on camels and goats.
I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats and their [262]
vegetable food from caravan trading with the aid of camels.

Formerly, the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned 565
exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but 233
he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). It is, however, confirmed 422
by many Tuareg that the vassals originally had no camels, and that throughout the 19th century they 571
had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals, and even to-day goats and butter form part of the *tiwsé*-payments. The noble Tuareg, on the other hand, allowed their particular vassals to trade with their camels against the payment of a certain amount of vegetable food products which to-day also form part of most *tiwsé*-payments. They allowed their vassals also to have usufructs of such animals as could not be taken with them on their migrations. Noble Tuareg of to-day continue to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts of the vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they obtain part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops; this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. The noble Tuareg of to-day may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals, who can refuse any gift or [178]
service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are even noble Tuareg who wear amulets which are [289]
believed to induce vassals to donate the things required.

It would seem that the economic relationships forming the basis of the Tuareg political system in 174
the north would arise so to speak automatically from two distinct cultures which met each other in 565
the desert: a camel-breeding culture of a Berber-speaking people now known as the noble Tuareg, and a goat-breeding culture of an ancient Berber-speaking population which now constitutes the vassals.

Some Tuareg traditions seem to indicate that political systems based on class-division arose in this 173
way in the north, but we have to admit that other traditions contradict this. Below I attempt to 565
elucidate Tuareg history in Ahaggar by means of native traditions to which, for practical reasons, I allot definite numbers.

*Tradition A.* All Tuareg have a common origin as they descend from a woman named *Lemtuna*, who is also the ancestress of certain Berbers living around Radamas in Tripolitania. Most Berbers of Morocco descend from *Lemtuna*'s sister who became the ancestress of the *Beraber*. This tradition is widely known in Ahaggar.

*Tradition B.I.* This tradition is a very common explanation of the origin of the class-division in Ahaggar: Long ago two Islamic women of the *Beraber* immigrated to the oasis of Silet from Tafilelt in Morocco. One of these women named *Ti-n-Hinan* was noble while the other woman named *Takama*

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Fig. 287. Musicians of the Sultan of Ayr marching through Agadez. In the front a man blowing a clarinet-like instrument, in the background the drummers mounted on camels and beating two drums each. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

631 true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. They are nowadays without much power and prestige, whereas
634 the Sultan, owing to the French, has augmented his power greatly. Many *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg speak
643 disparagingly about the Sultan, and the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* named *Agg-Elkhir* called him
[178] openly a slave and did not take off his sandals in the Sultan's presence.

643 There can be little doubt that the man who was elected the Sultan of all Ayr people at the beginning
642 of the 15th century very quickly became a Sultan not of Ayr, but of Agadez. A state organization like that of the Ayr Sultanry could not function in a Tuareg society characterized by warlike pastoral groups, and the Sultan would have to be dismissed or else recognize the authority of the strongest pastoral group which, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century was the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

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## THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has
614 fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie
[114] 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore
[162] quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared,
634 and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when
648 the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to
121 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr,
634 where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were
115 most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

173 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*,
614 and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above
634 (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

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Fig. 288. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

The title of Amenukal is

634 used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *ettebel* is reserved to those
565 chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-*
651 *akal*, have the right to an annual tribute known as *šiuse* (*chiwsé*) from their individual vassals, and it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaḳa* or *tamessadeḳ* must also be given to them, because the drum-chief is inseparable from his *Ḳadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasit* or *takote* (*takuté*), that is the
634 right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain
565 delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels. The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. – These are the
[178] main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been
[642] no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579–586 & 1950a, p. 188–193, 201–209).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

642 The *Kel Ataram* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that
565 in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel*
[114] *Tademaket* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchar*) and vassals (*Imrad*, sing *Amerid*, or *Dara*). The dominant noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with
[567] Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Bélla*). They pay *tiwsé* to the noble Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals, but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All
[614] tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amrar*, but all important decisions are made
[646] by the *myad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This
643 council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with warfare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of
642 the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position
565 (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). – To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:—
[614] Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Idnanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.

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The political supremacy of the nobility is founded upon conquest and has become hereditary, but 642
this supremacy can be lost. If a vassal tribe conquers a noble tribe the rôles may change, and though 565
this has not yet happened the principle is considered valid by all Tuareg. The vassals pay an annual tribute to the noble Tuareg. A noble Tuareg can take what he likes from a vassal, but his rights depend upon his strength, just as the tributes paid by vassals depend upon the strength of their noble lords. A noble tribe must protect its vassals against other noble tribes. Chiefs of both noble and vassal [644]
Tuareg tribes have the title of *Amenukal*, and this title is hereditary. The power of the supreme noble 643
chief (the *Amenukal*) is such that he cannot kill obstinate subjects. But he can thrash them and even wound them, and he can seize their property. There may be more than one candidate when a chief is elected, and this may lead to severe quarrels and even to the division of the tribe (cf. Aymard 1911, p. 37 ff.).

Mangeot & Marty in their study of the Niger Tuareg mention that even in pre-European times 642
certain tribes of vassal status had no particular duties towards noble tribes. They also state that the 565
relationship between noble and vassal Tuareg was breaking down shortly after the French occupation [178]
of the country. The traditional *tiwsé* payments made by vassals to their noble lords differed much from one tribe to the other. Certain vassal tribes gave only one container with butter annually (Mangeot & Marty 1918, p. 258, 461). The chief *Amdeṛ* of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* informed that the *tiwsé* payments, which were abolished long ago, were always insignificant. They were made in goats and butter. The chief also said that originally the *Imṛad* tribes had no camels.

## THE ORIGIN OF TUAREG POLITICAL SYSTEMS

We see from the description above that Tuareg political systems bear resemblances to one another 642
in most groups. The largest political unit is the group under the leadership of a supreme chief, generally 631
known as the *Amenukal*, or as *Amenukal-n-akal* in the *Iwllemmeden* groups where the title *Amenukal* 643
is used also for minor chiefs. The *Amenukal* of a political group is also the chief of a so-called drum-group within the larger political group, though in Ayr the *Amenukal* is identical with the Sultan of Agadez. We may say that the political group known among the Northern Tuareg as *tégehé*, in the *Iwllemmeden* groups as *tégezé*, has a central government consisting of the *Amenukal*, his deputies, and a council. And it is clear that the *Amenukal* everywhere was considered the supreme chief with superior judicial rights and also the war-leader of the whole group. But the authority of an *Amenukal* was in all groups a very limited one, and quarrels between the various drum-groups of a federation were very common everywhere.

The most important political unit of Tuareg political systems was in fact the drum-group. Its chief 634
was always a most important person. In most groups he was elected mainly by the vassals, and he was not an absolute monarch, though normally he could obtain the support of most vassals to quell internal insurrections. Within the drum-group the drum-chief was the highest judicial and military authority, and it was he who had to regulate all relations between noble and vassal Tuareg within the drum-group. Other noble Tuareg, e.g., the *tamaẓlayt* masters, within the drum-group had no [565]

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634 Nicolas says that a maternal cousin is the first in line of succession, not only among the Northern Tuareg,
643 but also among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). This, however, is not correct.
[114] I have been told by many Tuareg in Ahaggar that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies seem to intimate that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Ahaggar Tuareg, whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom, claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statement this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

591 The rules of residence have been outlined in a previous chapter (cf. p. 142 ff.), and I have mentioned
768 that in Ahaggar residence is based upon both the patrilocal and the matrilocal principle as follows:—
586 A man remains with his father after marriage, but after his father's death he joins the camp of his mother and her brothers to live with his matrilineal relatives. A woman after marriage moves to her husband's camp. At her husband's death she will return to her father's camp, and if her father be dead she will join the camp of her mother and her mother's brothers. In case of a divorced woman the same rule is observed, but the children of a divorced couple belong to the father, and stay in his camp as long as he is alive. After his death they belong to the camp where their mother lives. However, the Ahaggar Tuareg sometimes dispense with this rule in case husband and wife belong to different classes or castes (cf. p. 22). It may even happen that children of a dissolved marriage, where husband and wife come from the same class or caste, grow up with their mother – particularly if, when the divorce takes place, the children are so small that they need their mother's care. On the whole, however, the Ahaggar Tuareg follow the rules of residence indicated above, and we have already seen that these particular rules are strongly supported by the authority of the *Amenukal*. The same practise
● [178] was perhaps once also followed by the Ayr Tuareg, but, as we have seen (p. 152 f.), in the *Kel Ferwan* group there is nowadays a strong tendency for a man to remain with his patrilineal kinsmen after his father's death. The rules of residence do not play a very important part to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg nowadays. The political unit of the drum-group has very little practical value, economic and political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals have disappeared, and there are no land rights to which certain individuals succeed.

582 In the light of what has been said so far about Tuareg social organization, we shall now consider their traditional rules of marriage. Preferential marriage is that with a cross-cousin; the very best is to marry a mother's brother's daughter, but father's sister's daughter is also considered a suitable choice. An exchange of spouse between two family groups is considered most excellent. It is thus considered ideal for brothers of family A to marry sisters of family B, for brothers of family B to marry sisters of family A.

If Ego marries a classificatory cross-cousin it seems preferably for him to marry one of his mother's
[431] family. This is intimated by a custom connected with marriage in Ahaggar:— At the beginning of the wedding ceremony a pair of sandals should be given to the man who does not marry the bride though traditionally possessing a sort of prior entitlement to do so. Such men are:— (1) the bride's father's sister's son; (2) the bride's father's mother's sister's daughter's son; (3) the bride's father's father's brother's daughter's son.

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582 with cross-cousins. There are very few relatives with whom marriage is strictly forbidden. A man must not marry a kinswoman of ascending generations, and he should not marry a woman who is his mother-in-law (daughter-in-law) from a previous marriage. With the exception of his own true sisters he is allowed to marry any kinswoman of his own generation, and in the first descending generation he can marry all women except his own daughters and daughters of his brothers and sisters.

582 In Ahaggar where the Tuareg practise a fixed system of patrilocal and matrilocal rules of residence,
591 cross-cousin marriages will imply shifts of residence which can be avoided by other types of marriage.
581 Many Ahaggar Tuareg prefer to arrange for their sons marriages with a mother's sister's daughter (that is a classificatory sister) or with her daughter (that is a classificatory sister's daughter). When the Tuareg thus marry directly into their own matrilineage there will be no shift of residence from one camp (tribe) to another, and children will have rights of inheritance and succession to kinsmen of the same local group. Marriage with a mother's sister's daughter or with her daughter is in fact better suited to rules of inheritance, succession, and residence than is marriage with a cross-cousin. I have met many Ahaggar Tuareg who claimed marriage with a mother's sister's daughter to be preferable to cross-cousin marriage, though they admitted that the latter was traditionally the preferred type.
582 My statistical material, which is not very comprehensive, seems to indicate that in Ahaggar marriages with a mother's sister's daughter and with her daughter are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins. This may be seen from the composition of 44 marriages contracted with kinswomen:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 3 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that marriage with a mother's sister's daughter or with her daughter is also practised among them, but that such marriages are not particularly common. This agrees with my statistical material which is very scarce also from the Ayr Tuareg:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 14 |
| No blood-relationship | 8 |
| Marriages total | 39 |

[178] These statistics are less valuable than those from Ahaggar, for they are collected mainly from tribes
582 living around Agadez where social customs tend to fall into disuse. However, cross-cousin marriages
591 are still very common in these tribes where there is a tendency to follow patrilocal rules of residence and patrilineal succession. The reason why the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg do not consider marriages with

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585 laws do not change to a very great extent. There will then already be a relationship of respect between
602 husband and wife, a respect relationship to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law which continues unchanged, and in Ayr the relationship to the mother-in-law does not switch from joking into avoidance. Tuareg wedding ceremonies correspond functionally with the traditional preferential marriage with
[184] cross-cousins. But the wedding ceremonies described are strictly followed at all Tuareg marriages except in the case of important marabuts, who dispense with most ceremonial traits, allowing no public gathering with camel-riding and music, and the groom and the bride enter the wedding tent without formalities.

105 Kinship systems, rules of kinship behaviour, the payment of bride-wealth, and wedding rites seem to be functionally adapted to cross-cousin marriage. All this seems to hold for the Tuareg of Ahaggar and also for those of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group in Ayr. However, we have also observed that there are certain differences in social organization in Ahaggar and Ayr. In both regions Koranic law is valid for inheritance. The rules of succession in Ayr have become predominantly patrilineal, but is matrilineal in Ahaggar. There is also little doubt that most *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg to-day follow patrilocal rules of residence. The Ayr Tuareg are predominantly patrilineal but have remnants of matri-
[587] lineal traits. I note in this connection that some Ayr Tuareg also claim that it is preferable to practise the levirate and the sororate in the way that a widow can marry her deceased husband's younger brother, a widower his deceased wife's younger sister. They hold that this is adopted from Islamic rules.

[601] In Ahaggar matrilineal rules still play a very great rôle as kinship terminology evinces for the term for "mother's brother" is used exclusively for people of the mother's family and mainly for such people of ascending generations who are matrilineally related to Ego – including very distant matrilineal kinsmen. We have also seen that tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and that matrilineal rules are valid for succession to territorial rights, for relations between noble Tuareg and vassals, and ultimately for residence.

105 Tuareg social organization has been submitted to change. Islamic influence has produced a pre-
177 dominantly patrilineal system among the Southern Tuareg, including the *Kel Geres* and the *Kel Ayr*, while among the Northern Tuareg matrilineal rules of succession and residence are still acknowledged.

105 It may perhaps seem rather odd that the Ayr Tuareg, like many Sudanese Tuareg, have been much
177 influenced by the patrilineal rules of Islam in their social organization, while the Ahaggar Tuareg
178 have been far less impressed by these rules in spite of having lived in intimate contact with Arabs
184 for generations, adopting many Arab cultural traits which are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. What is the reason for these distinctions in cultural change among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr? I believe that the answer may lie in the differences in political systems. In pre-European times there was in Ahaggar an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals within the drum-groups, several small noble families being linked with their individual groups of vassals. This relationship (*temazlayt*) was, as we have seen, predominantly an economic one, advantageous to both classes and not least to the noble Tuareg, who were much dependent upon their goat-breeding and caravan-trading vassals. There seem to be little doubt that, before the introduction of Islam, this relationship was organized on the basis of matrilineal rules. And it may perhaps have been very difficult to adopt patrilineal rules and to re-organize relations between noble Tuareg and vassals accordingly. When the first French

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administrators settled in Ahaggar, the noble Tuareg under the leadership of the *Amenukal* are said to have claimed that the French should respect their ancient matrilineal organization. It seems as though such an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals was unknown in Ayr in pre-European times. Subsistence in Ayr is easier than in Ahaggar, and the noble Tuareg there were not so dependent upon their vassals for food as was the case in Ahaggar.

The fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg have conserved matrilineal rules in their social organization though influenced by Islam and the patrilineal Arabs for centuries, may perhaps explain why they have come to consider marriage with a mother's sister's daughter (or her daughter) as a better type of mating than cross-cousin marriage. Marriages with a classificatory sister (or sister's daughter) are, according to the Ahaggar Tuareg, not to be considered a recent phenomena, but have been practised for generations. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that these marriages are most suitable because they do not give rise to changes of residence for the children. It is very probable that such marriages, which do not harmonize with traditional kinship rules, indicate the transition towards fully-fledged patrilineal rules among the Northern Tuareg.

We have no knowledge about Tuareg social organization in pre-Islamic times, but there can be little doubt that matrilineal traits are very ancient, for they are mentioned by Ibn Batutah (cf. p. 457), and most Tuareg have traditions of their descent from an ancestress. Bates thinks that the Libyans of antiquity possessed a type of social organization which was partly or fully matrilineal, though he admits that indications of the existence of the matriarchate are strong, but not conclusive (Bates 1914, p. 111 f.). Gsell, on the contrary, thinks that the ancient Libyans did not have a social organization of a matrilineal type. They were patrilineal like most Northern Berbers of to-day (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 37 f.).

Baumann states that Tuareg matrilineal organization derives from the so-called Old Mediterranean Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 66). This is perhaps not the true explanation, for Frobenius is probably right in his statement that the Syrtic Culture was a high one which gained little influence among pastoralists, but became very important to sedentary people of North Africa and the Western Sudan (Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 11). On the other hand the theory advanced by Frobenius that the Tuareg matriarchate is an old Hamitic custom does not constitute a satisfactory explanation (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 238 f.; Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 5).

The history of Tuareg matriarchate has been analysed very recently by Murdock, who states that its origin can be explained in three distinct ways:— (1) The Tuareg may have preserved the matrilineate from a very early period of Berber culture, perhaps also reflected among the extinct Guanche of the Canary Islands. This, however, is not considered very probable, because matrilineal traits do not exist among the many other North African Berber tribes, and also because the present relative isolation of the Tuareg is historically recent, dating from the Hilalian Arab invasion. (2) The indigenous *Bélla* were characterized by avunculocal residence and matrilineal descent, and they transmitted these rules to the conquering Tuareg. This second theoretical possibility is discarded by Murdock on the ground that the *Bélla* were presumably akin to the Hausa peoples on the southern border of the Tuareg country, and the Hausa are strictly patrilineal. (3) The ancestral Tuareg, while still resident in Tripolitania, were patrilineal, like all other mainland Berbers, and the matrilineate was developed as an

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433 pastoralists who live in the true desert country could hardly live without agricultural food-products.
262 In dry years the Ahaggar Tuareg subsist almost exclusively on wheat, millet, and dates. They cannot
171 in such years live on milk and meat, and collecting is of no importance, as the plants suitable for collecting do not germinate with the exception of a few species which are of very little value. In very arid countries agriculture seems to be necessary for the subsistence of pastoralists, and it is of great value also to pastoralists who live under more favourable conditions.

433 Partly owing to the decline of caravan trading, there are pastoralists who have recently taken up
178 agriculture in connection with irrigation. We have also mentioned that the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer
171 engage in a kind of primitive agriculture in the river valleys after heavy rain, and we know from literature that this method was also practised in Ahaggar before the introduction of developed irrigation systems. We have seen that throughout the northern parts of the Sahara a connection between shifting cultivation and pastoralism is the rule rather than the exception. Primitive corn growing is, in fact, practised among many other pastoralists besides the Northern Tuareg, and the bedouins who sow wheat and barley by means of the plough or the hoe further north on the outskirts of the desert. In Southern Mauretania certain nomads grow millet and water melons in the river valleys which are annually flooded. Sowing is done mainly where the valleys broaden, small dams being constructed to detain water. This cultivation method is also applied by certain pastoral *Zenaga* (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 277), who are, perhaps, descendants of the ancient *Sanhaja* Tuareg who lived in this country before the Arab conquest. There are also pastoralists of the Beja people who engage in agriculture when living close to rivers. The Bisharin who camp around the Atbara River grow melons in the wet sand (Baker 1867, p. 38), the Hadendoa pastoralists, when camping close to the Gash River in the dry season, grow millet and other cereals (Seligman 1913, p. 599), and agriculture is also practised in the same region by pastoral Beni Amer (Munzinger 1864, p. 332).

A journey from the Mediterranean coast takes us from people who live mainly by agriculture (e.g., the Kabyle) to people who live by mixed farming as semi-nomads (e.g., the Chawiya), to people who are roaming pastoralists but practise shifting cultivation when possible and fairly regularly (e.g., the Ulad Nail, the Larba, and other Arab pastoralists on the outskirts of the desert), and, finally to the true desert nomads where agriculture is practised on a very small scale (e.g., the *Kel Ajjer*) or not at all (e.g., the *Kel Ahaggar* and the Chamba). It would thus be natural to explain the development of true pastoralism in Northern Africa as an adaption of a mixed farming culture to environment, and this view seems to have been adopted by several authors (Frobenius 1904, p. 154 f.; Steensby 1908–09, p. 285; Wölfel 1941, p. 89–140; Herzog 1956, p. 210–223).

174 The question of the origin of North African pastoralism can only be answered by a deeper knowledge of history, and the answer is not easy to find. Historical sources do not reach far back in North Africa. We know that throughout the Middle Ages the people who lived on the borderland of the Northern Sahara south of the Atlas and along the Mediterranean coast possessed an economic system much like that prevailing nowadays. Ibn Khaldun describes the economic life of the *Sanhaja* Berbers, who lived in the country between Tunis and Cairuan, saying that they are cow and sheep breeders who also engage in agriculture (Ibn Khaldun III, p. 225). Of an Arab tribe called Azza of Cyrenaica, he says that though its members are plough cultivators they also lead their domestic animals into the

565 /Fr. race/, " "aristocrat, " and not "noble" as some have written.
[192] This would be said elli (plural, illellan) in Tamashek. (1)

1. Cf. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik, " Bulletin de l'Institut Français, Afrique Noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, pp. 579-586.

192 In Sudanese dialects, amacher, by transposition into local
197 phonetics, becomes amajer (plural, imajeuren). As we have already said, it is easy to find in these names the old Berber root amazir, which formerly referred to certain Libyan peoples and which still exists in the name of a considerable Berber fraction in Morocco.

565 The Imochar, who hold the political rights, are the real masters of the country. All of them claim to be of sherif origin, more or
[173] less descendants of the Prophet; however, this claim has no solid foundation, except the desire to assume a high birth affiliating them to Islamism and its founder a long time back, but this is not true.

/159/ Among themselves, the Tuareg refer to men of old nobility and old stock /Fr. race/ as loumet.

565 All the Imochar are essentially warriors. They owe their high
701 social position to the saber, and they know no other occupation than
631 war and raiding. Their role as suzerain makes them parasites of the vassal classes, and they used to constitute a scourge to caravans
[181 crossing their country. Their way of life has always been pillage,
461] and in their eyes manual labor is a disgrace which only slaves can accept.

181 Covering the desert on their camels, fighting, risking death in
565 faraway escapades -- that is what the life of a man of noble blood, who intends to remain one, must be. They take their vassals on their escapades and save part of the booty for them, by right of participation. Scorn for manual labor is a class prejudice with them

181 and not caused by a state of laziness, for although they would not
565 consider working the land at any price, they would not mind traveling thousands of kilometers under often difficult and quite dangerous conditions to go pillage opposing tribes. Once back in camp, they intend to lead a life free from any material cares, shifting the burden to their vassals.

They entrust the keeping of the captured herds to the Imrad,
422 reclaiming the beasts from them when they need them and the
565 necessary usufruct for their food. For themselves, they keep only
[231 mounts for war and for transporting household objects and are content
234] with small herds of goats with only the number of head strictly necessary to assure their daily milk needs. In the same way, they
[567] do not own many slaves of their own, for the latter would make so many months to feed, which they are wary of.

565 Although they rely on their Imrad for everything, they do not abuse them, for, as a Tuareg proverb says, "we must not kill the camel which feeds us," and their demands always take into account the wealth and the possibilities of the moment.

566 Every year the Imochar levy a vassalage tax called a tioussé
631 on the Imrad. This tax, fixed for each tribe, includes an annual
651 contribution of a certain number of head of livestock, loads of grain, miscellaneous items /160/ waterskins, tent stakes, etc.),
[643] tanned hides, butter, etc. In principal it is invariable and paid to the amenokal who disposes of it as he wishes, making allowances for the needs of the Imochar.

643 The amenokal leaves the animals which he levies under the
651 management of the Imrad, who furnish him the usufruct from them.

Individual rights of Imochar over Imrad do not exist in principal.
565 Actually they do exist when a man is the last representative of a
631 tribe and levies for himself the rights falling to his tribe.
651 On the other hand, some undertake to make small levies on the Imrad; the latter never refuse. And we must say in defense of the nobles that they treat their Imrad quite generously when a fortunate raid makes them temporarily well off.

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Ihaggaren and the Kel Ajjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifora were pillaged themselves upon several occasions by the Ihaggaren and forced to seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

The influence of the Inislimen on the Ihaggaren and the Kel
[797] Ajjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact, they are generally quite ignorant.

[554] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving, they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and disapproved of the belligerent action of the Ihaggaren against us, in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tademaket
565 and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.
797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable
[648] enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifora was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tademeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents. They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721] Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
[181] refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
701 other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Chériffen are divided into ordinary Chériffen and warrior Chériffen.

565 Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of
[51] the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of
[177] prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting
631 matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs
[642] internally as they see fit, without intervention of the amenokal or the Imochar in their affairs.

162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps
565 because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were
721 often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own
[727] each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some
701 Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among
[714] the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded
631 in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for
[582] their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

563 become sedentary, exists in the Sudan, in the Niafunké region.

563 There seems to be a category of low-class Iborelliten who are referred to as Irraouellan. Nicolas considers them former captives 567 who have been liberated. Chudeau reported an Irraouellan tribe, [727] whose members were said to be freedmen or descendants of former captives. He adds that the children of a Tuareg man and a slave are by law Irraouellan.

We shall add to these different definitions that in the Aïr a slave woman who marries a Tuareg becomes free as does her family, and the children born of her marriage are then called Ikalalen.

[184] Among the Kel-Ahaggar, we do not find any true Iborelliten or Irraouellan tribes, although there are men belonging to these social classes.

567 The Iklan. -- The Iklan (singular, Akli; feminine singular, Taklit) are the serfs, or slaves, of the Tuareg. The name Iklan [192 comes from the Tamashek root Kl, meaning "black being"; (2) 144]

2. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

and indeed these people are foreign to the Tuareg race. They are Negroes of all origins, formerly captured in the Sudan and reduced to slavery by the Tuareg. They form a separate class, which is not a tribe, except when they are freed conditionally or completely. Then they are called Iklan-n-égef or Iderfan, depending on which is the case.

[144] They have founded a family among the Tuareg and given birth to a new race with the most diverse characteristics, from which the white element is not excluded.

[181] Slaves are employed in keeping the flocks, and in the household work of the camp; they share the life of their masters and from their contact with them have acquired an independent nature which makes them love the freedom of nomadism, so much so that it would now be difficult for them to resume the sedentary life of their Ancestors.

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Xrokam, Serouanout, and in the Xnahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[233] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are [241 423] their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

631 669 They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the Iheaouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up [797] the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 The Aït Loaien form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which [181] must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[651] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokal.

The Relaiddin. -- The Relaiddin probably came from Aïr, like the Xgouh-en-Tehlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162 651] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tioussé to the Iboglan.

This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 [177 233] camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1, 500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

## Tobol of the Taïtok

631 The Taïtok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with
565 the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin,
[602] Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Taïtok.

According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin
[173] as the Imenan sultans, that is, descendants of Idris, and the other part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Aïr where the stock /souche/ still exists. (1)

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 322.

114 The Taïtok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Inifel in
631 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity
565 with the Ihaggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live; our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the Ajjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of

2. Les Touareg de l'Ouest
/The Western Tuareg/, p. 18
(Algiers, 1888).

any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without
579 balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela
631 and the suzerainty of the amenokal of the Ahaggar. After the
643 division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the amenokalat,
[181] which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These
175 battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/ by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Taïtok are bound by numerous marriages and are all more or less cousins.

175 The dissensions began with respect to the Imrad tribes depend-
579 ing on the Kel Rela; they were shamelessly stolen by the Ta̱itok,
631 necessitating the intervention of the suzerains. The Ta̱itok, fewer
643 in number than the Kel Rela, got the worst of it most of the time, but that never prevented them from beginning again a short time later.

This was still the state of affairs at the end of the last century when Amenokal A̱ttarel, a very peace-loving man, succeeded in bringing about a cessation of hostilities between the two rival tribes.

The chief of the Ta̱itok at that time, Sidi ag Keradji, was the nephew of A̱ttarel through his father; consequently, he was a Kel Rela, while he held the right to the Ta̱itok tobol from his mother. A̱ttarel, as his uncle, strove to protect him from the Kel Rela as well as from some Ta̱itok elements whom this truce did not suit.

Sidi, feeling the situation escape him, renounced his tobol, believing that by so doing he was ensuring the safety of his wealth and his person in case hostilities broke out again. He took refuge in the Ahaggar with the Kel Rela.

But upon the death of A̱ttarel, rivalry reawakened, and the Kel Rela begged Sidi to leave their camps. Where could he go when the Ta̱itok had only enemies?

Anarchy reigned everywhere, and the Kel I-n-Tounin, Imrad of the Ta̱itok, took advantage of this to emancipate themselves. They appealed to the Ouraren, a noble A̱jjer tribe. Sidi resolved to settle among them, when Azioueł, a pretender to the tobol, was trying to seize it.

[81] Azioueł was the typical Ta̱itok, the typical desert looter, with cruel and unrestrained instincts. Captain Métois, former chief of the Annex of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, called him a "man of fine saber blows and abusive language, and in addition, a liar, thief, and traitor." He negotiated the surrender of the Ta̱itok, while Sidi ag
643 Keradji was kept as amenokal.

175 Azioueł was guided by his taste for robbery to lead an enormous
631 raid in the Hodh in 1905, but he had a run of bad luck. Pushed
[21]

631 The amrar of the Ta̓itok is named according to matriarchal rules, and his election must be approved by the chiefs of the Imrad tribes. However, it must be pointed out that since Amrar Salah the chiefs have succeeded from father to son upon several occasions.

101 The Ta̓itok sometimes give the name Ar'rerf A̓hnet to /205/ their group, from the name of the region where they range most of the time and also from their Imrad. (1)

1. "Ar'rerf" corresponds here to "tobol." According to Nicolas, op. cit., "Agref," following his orthography, means small fraction.

631 565 [582] The Ta̓itok live on very good terms with their vassals, and the vassals, proud of being called Ta̓itok, espouse all the rivalries of their lords. Marriages between different castes are not uncommon, and many nobles have married Imrad women, which causes their children to lose political rights to the tobol. But the greater and greater extension of this custom will necessarily bring about modifications in the customary law of filiation, or else patriarchy will finally replace matriarchy.

[651] The Imrad pay a lump tioussé which is divided among the different Imochar. There is no longer any individual right /droit/ like that still found among the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

631 648 [161] Thieves to end all thieves, the Ta̓itok have still been able to keep alliances almost everywhere outside their country in the regions they have to cross to carry out their robberies; these alliances are military or protective. Thus, in order to keep from being robbed, the Sékakna and the Mazil, Arab tribes from the environs of A̓kabli who sometimes nomadized in the A̓drar A̓hnet, paid them a slight due. They were allied with the Fergoumoussen, an Imochar tribe from the Adrar, with the Tarat Mellet, the Kel Boujbiha, the Kel Arouan, the Tadjakant, the Arib, and the Kel Taoudeni. These

631 Taken away from the Ťaitok and made free, they were put back under their command in 1909.

631 131 They nomadize from Silet to Reggan and Aoulef. The land over which they range includes all of the Ǩdrar Ǎhnet, the Ǩseg'rad, and part of the Immidir. The boundaries which separate them from the Issekkemaren are as follows: Tin Tir'atimine and Tagemout (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the northeast; Arak wadi as far as Amsir, and Méniet (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the east, by the In Rabir well; they have at their disposal all the mountainous part on the south, including In Ziza and Nahalet, that is, the whole region bordering on the Tanezrouft and bounded on the east by Ouallen, the last watering place before the Tanezrouft; to the north by the Ǩsouf Mellen wadi.

[132] In dry years they descend to the Sudan in the region of In Abangarit-In Gall and Tamaťa. They camp near the Ťaitok in the Ǩdrar Tazerzaťt, where they escape the control of the Algerian and Sudanese authorities.

They formerly exploited a sebkha in the In Méraguen wadi.

631 In 1905 they were a group of 35 to 40 tents. In the 1938 census, [162] they numbered no more than 58 persons, 21 of them men.

[181 727] Rather pugnacious by nature, they always accompany the Ťaitok on their expeditions and share the loot with them in equal parts.

[669] During the World War, they stayed in the Ǎhnet and /207/ took part in the revolt only individually by supplying the rebels, willingly or by force. Only at the end of 1917, under the influence of Ǩjjer elements, did they rise up and pillage in Ǩdrar and at Ǎkabli.

[181 795] They are rather unreligious; they follow the Malekite rite, and some are members of the Tijaniyyah order. They profess great respect for the marabouts and willingly receive them in their camps. At the beginning of the conflict the agitator Abidine of [669] the Timbuktu Kounta, took refuge among them; he had led the struggle against us in Timbuktu for a long time.

233 721 The Tuareg are herders. It does not seem that they ever knew any other stage of civilization, except hunting which is the prelude to animal husbandry. But even by judicious use of pasturage they cannot own a great number of domestic animals, and in the last analysis herding falls into the background in their means of existence. Since the country could not feed them, they had to look elsewhere for what they lacked. They therefore looked to their sabers for the rest.

181 721 Like the majority of herders, the perpetually famished Tuareg are born warriors, because from time immemorial they have had to dispute the rich lands with the sedentary peoples. Their free life has made them independent and anarchistic. The wealth /215/ of others has not inspired any respect in them, but rather a sentiment of envy which no moral rule has been able to check. Pillage has thus been raised to the state of an institution, and the Tuareg have become masters of the trade.

721 The raid, now a continual state of war with their neighbors, may be considered the principal social achievement of the Tuareg. [182] And thus we may see the important role that the Ahaggar Mountains play; they are not only a refuge for life, but also a refuge for brigands who want to shelter themselves from the possible investigations of their victims.

579 627 The raid is organized, even ordered, pillage. It is an institution with its rules which the antagonists respect. Its simplest form is taking the neighbor's herds; once the deed is done, the raider makes a deal with him and compromises by giving him back a certain number of animals so that he can subsist, keeping for himself what is judged to be the surplus. The complicated form occurs when the attacked man defends himself or tries to take back his property. That can lead to pitched battles and, as a consequence, dead men. From that time on, it is fratricidal war which demands blood and which creates eternal hatred.

That was what the life of the Ahaggar Tuareg was before the French occupation.

[177] Cloth garments have certainly been used only recently among
291 the Tuareg; they used to wear leather clothing. A few Ahaggar
174 Iklan still wear these knee-length blouses with fringes over the chest, sides, and sleeves. Evidences of these leather clothes are still to be found among captives from the Sudan and the Timbuktu region. They wear skirts tight at the waist, dyed half red and half yellow, and decorated with multicolored fringes. In Aïr little girls still wear /270/ a kind of small leather apron, and little boys, little leather trousers.

These seem to be the ancestral clothes of the Tuareg. The description of the dress of Libyan women which Herodotus has given us corresponds in all details to the leather dress used in the Timbuktu region, and some rock drawings of the Tassili are the very image of the small leather tunic of the Koudia Iklan.

832 Ornaments. Jewelry. -- The coquetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg is a most remarkable thing and quite unexpected among people who live under such primitive conditions and whose natural instincts must lead them first of all toward the spirit of self-preservation and material preoccupations. However, it reflects their rather superficial [181] life, their light mores, and that pleasurable existence which the nobles intend to lead.

And so the Tuareg sacrifice everything to their coquetry, depriving themselves of food and parting with some of their goods in order to procure lustrous clothes, multicolored ribbons to set off the brilliancy of their coiffure, and amulet boxes which are carried more for aesthetic than religious reasons.

301 Women conform to the same faults and know no rest until they
832 have a certain number of jewels with which to adorn themselves.

For men, adornment consists of a few jewels, especially cases for amulets. As regards jewelry, they wear only one or two silver rings on their fingers, a heavy and coarse kind of ring, either plain or slightly twisted. In addition they wear a stone ring above the elbow.

262 /107 cont./ buy them. Rice is considered to be a remedy. In the way of preserved foods, one may see the Tuareg eat sardines in oil and jam and use canned milk. All of these foods are not accepted with enthusiasm; they are too expensive, [181] and the Tuareg seem to be truly conservative in food matters, as well as in the whole of their customs.

They drink water, milk, and tea, the latter being of 272 relatively recent importation but in the way of becoming a necessity. There is no need to mention again the ritual that surrounds the making and drinking of tea.

Coffee is scarcely drunk except with the French; when it [273] is taken in the tent, it is as a remedy. Need I say that the Tuareg drink no alcohol and that at the present time there is no exception ot this rule?

## Public Health

It appears to be practically impossible to construct a 161 demographic table for the Ahaggar: figures for the years /108/ before 1947 are rare and suspect; they give an acceptable approximation but do not give an exact picture of population movements.

In this field one must then use figures from recent censuses and observations of the tribes that may be easily visited in trying prudently to project these observations to the whole of the population.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1948 the count was: | 6, 048 | nomads |
| | 4, 240 | harratin |
| | 10, 288 | |
| 1949 | 6, 013 | nomads |
| | 4, 285 | harratin |
| | 10, 298 | |

The population figure for the Ahaggar seems to be fairly stationary (even if one does not rely exclusively on the figures

861 /140 cont./ The child has never been able to have his way in his parents' camp; he has always had to bow to the canouns; if, by chance, he was disobedient, his parents did not hesitate to use corporal punishment -- a few slaps, nothing more; for a more serious fault or for the repetition of an offense, he would find himself tied up like a young goat and condemned to stay in the tent. However, punishments are the exception; a word, a look, suffices. It is not at all good, the Tuareg say, to beat children too much. This training gives the young Targui a proud character, an acute sense of
• 181 his dignity, and a sometimes disquieting reserve. Absolute obedience to custom makes it necessary to lead a moral life which is perhaps more rigid than a religion could make it. To know a Targui and to predict his behavior is very difficult for a Frenchman, who must sort out what is individual from what comes from the constraint exercised by Tuareg society and then must take into account the coloring that Islam gives to the whole.

836 Soon the time comes when the young Targui may go to the tendi and ahals. It is necessary to say here a few words on sexual problems.

Certain stories have greatly exaggerated the freedom of morals among the Tuareg. The training of the boys, which keeps them very often out of the company of adults, and that of the girls, which ties them to their mother and obliges them to be modest, does not predispose to license.

836 There is no sexual education properly speaking; for a very long time the young girl is ignorant of everything con-
864 cerning conception. Casually, thanks to an older girl companion, she learns the essentials of intimate relations between men and women. The young man is initiated much sooner, for he may easily leave the camp; enlightened by his comrades, he wastes no time in starting an affair with a Negress of the neighborhood. The sexual customs are transmitted in conversations /141/ among the young Tuareg and are observed

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



826 get more sexual satisfaction from intercourse with them. "A fat woman is like a woman who has never
832 known a man", they say. Some women are steatopygous though never to the same extent as women
142 among the Bushmen and the Hottentot. Very comprehensive studies of Tuareg physical anthropology
114 are lacking. Readers are referred to the chapter written by Lhote who has also published a brief bibliography of studies on this subject (Lhote 1955a, p. 158–170, 433), and to the recent and valuable publication by Briggs (Briggs 1958, p. 163 ff., 183 ff.).

291 The custom of Tuareg face veiling has attracted the curiosity of many scholars and travellers. Much has been written about the fact that Tuareg men wear a veil (*tagulmust* in Ahaggar, *tagulmust* in Ayr) while their women are unveiled in contrast to Arab custom. There have been given various explanations of the origin of the custom of Tuareg face veiling. Most authors refer it to hygienic conditions: the veil protects the face from sand and dust, and it prevents mouth, nose, and throat from drying up in hot weather. The fact is that the veil has the latter function, and Arab bedouins of the Sahara will also frequently veil their faces during journeys in the hot season. But the hygienic explanation is definitely not the reason why the Tuareg also veil themselves in many situations where face veiling is unpractical and unpleasant. Another explanation of the custom of face veiling is that the veil may perhaps have certain religious or magic functions. This explanation is apparently also insufficient. A
[254] few Tuareg have claimed that the veil may yield protection from persons having an "evil eye" or an
291 "evil mouth" – beliefs known in Ahaggar as *tehoj*, in Ayr as *tugarchet*. But as I have stated elsewhere
576 (Nicolaisen 1957a, p. 112; 1961, p. 114) the proper function of face veiling seems to be a social one.
[609] Many Tuareg will leave their face uncovered in family camps or on journeys, but they will always
[604] cover mouth, nose, and brow in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) and in the presence of their parents-in-law (particularly their mothers-in-law). Towards such persons it is also considered very indecent to show one's legs. It has been overlooked by most authors that Tuareg women wear a head-cloth (*ekerhey* in Ahaggar, *adalil* in Ayr), which is similar to the veil worn by men in form and shape. The headcloth and the veil are properly made from Sudanese indigo cotton, and both the veil and the headcloth are therefore also known as *alechchu*. It is true that Tuareg women
[609] do not veil their face by means of this headcloth in the same way as do the men. But in the presence
[604] of foreigners (particularly foreign men) and towards fathers-in-law the women will draw their headcloth over their mouth (cf. Fig. 297a). The man's veil and the woman's headcloth have identical social functions which is also proved by the fact that young men and women adopt veil or headcloth at initiation (Ahaggar), or at marriage (Ayr). Both the veil and the headcloth are worn by people of various black-skinned castes of Tuareg country but the custom of face veiling seems to be more strictly observed among the true Tuareg.

181 The custom of face veiling is one characteristic of all Tuareg. Another quality peculiar to all Tuareg, and particularly to those of the noble class, is their "snobbishness" as it is frequently called by many Frenchmen living at Tamanrasset and Agadez. There are a great many things a Tuareg cannot do, and there are many situations in which he will have to act in a very special way if he is to be regarded as a man worthy of respect and prestige. Tuareg attitudes to etiquette are not easily described in words. Gait, gestures, and postures are all intended to express qualities of elegance, arrogance, refinement, and strength. Vanity with regard to dress and ornaments is another characteristic of all true Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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[144]

Fig. 5. Veiled vassal Tuareg. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

Fig. 6. Irrigation farmer of the *Ibwelliten*, that is descendants of mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and Negroes. The man is patrilineally releated to the noble *Taytok* tribe, matrilineally to slaves. Ahaggar, Amsel.

181 and there are indeed many Tuareg both in Ahaggar and in Ayr who wear Islamic amulets which are believed to make the wearers look "great and important". "Prestige" is constantly in the mind of all Tuareg who are much more sophisticated than other people living within their country.

181 Most true Tuareg are nomadic stock-breeders who will not engage in the strenuous work of irriga-
433 tion agriculture. The Tuareg will readily engage in any strenuous work connected with stock-breeding,
461 caravan trading, and in the past also in raiding expeditions, which were organized by people of the nobility, but agricultural work is generally much despised. However, there are in all groups certain families or tribes the members of which subsist predominantly by agriculture, and are nevertheless considered true Tuareg by pastoralists. These agricultural Tuareg will be mentioned in a later chapter,
564 and we shall now pass on to a brief description of various negroid castes and of other non-Tuareg
567 people living within the boundaries of Tuareg territory:—

*Iklan* (sing. *Akli*). These are the proper slaves who are very negroid. Nicolas believes that the word *Akli* (pl. *Iklan*) is in fact derived fom a k-l root meaning "to be black" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189), but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



As an illustration of camel terms given to animals in very special situations, I give the two following examples:— (1) A she-camel when driven out for grazing while its calf is tethered in the camp is known as *tamantak* to the Ahaggar Tuareg, as *tenteg* to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr; (2) A pack-camel when walking in a caravan is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *amekkalu*, while the corresponding term in Ayr seems to be *alaway*. 233 192 [492]*

For the size of herds the Ahaggar Tuareg have the following terms:— *tazegga* (a small herd of 20-40 camels and/or she-camels), *ahammal* (from very few animals up to about one hundred, the herd consisting mainly of male camels), *adyaw* (a very large herd comprising about one hundred animals at least, regardless of their sex). As far as my investigations go these terms are not known among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. They refer to a small number of camels as *imnas* (10 to 15 animals comprising male and/or female camels), while a bigger herd is known as *tollemin* (comprising male and/or female camels).

All the above-mentioned camel terms are with very few exceptions used exclusively for camels and not for other animals. Extensive vocabularies are found also for other domestic animals and for many aspects of stock-breeding, but the camel vocabulary is extremely large by comparison. This seems understandable as camels have a many-sided use to the Tuareg, and there can be no doubt that camel-terms like goat-terms are primarily a linguistic technique of practical value – a technique which enables the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. But this is evidently not the sole reason why the camel vocabulary is so extensive that a detailed description of all terms would necessitate an independant book on this subject. For the camel vocabulary is extremely large not only because of its practical value, but also because Tuareg interest in camels is not solely confined to their practical uses. This is intimated, I believe, by some of the peculiar terms mentioned and above all by the very many synonyms. [181]

Camels, in contrast to most domestic animals, have social functions among the Tuareg. It is true that bride-wealth in vassal tribes of the Northern Tuareg may be paid in goats (25–30 animals), but this is the case mainly among the *Kel Ajjer* while most Ahaggar vassals will claim that bride-wealth should be paid in camels. The true vassals of Ahaggar give one to three camels for a wife, the payment being dependent upon the bride's tribe – in most tribes it is the custom to give only one camel, while two tribes will claim two and three camels respectively for their women. Among the Ayr vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group bride-wealth may be paid in cash, though the bride-wealth in these tribes is generally one camel as among most northern vassals. But the size of bride-wealth among the Ayr Tuareg is frequently discussed by representatives of the families, and it depends much upon the age, quality, and wealth of the bride. For very desired girls the payment may rise to two or three camels while for others the payment is only "two camel feet", that is a "half share in a camel"; it is said that even "one foot" is sometimes accepted as bride-wealth. This system of giving shares in camels may give rise to trouble between the persons who share the same animal. Among noble Tuareg, both in the north and in Ayr, bride-wealth can be paid only in camels. Among noble tribes of the Northern Tuareg the bride-wealth to be paid is fixed at seven camels, while among the few noble Tuareg now left in the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group the price, it is said, varies between ten and twenty camels. Camels given for bride-wealth are generally *ilusan* (sing. *alegges*) (fem. *tilusin*, sing. *taleggest*), 233 583 565 [578] 233 583 601

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*.

683 For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

233 436 682

| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *tilgad*, or *chét awétay* | (one year old) | 10 | *tibeydegin* | (white) |
| 10 | *tihusin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *titlorin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *tekkenifaklen* | (3 years old) | 10 | *tizeggerin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiruyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *tibhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chét ezzin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *tilemlorin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chét okkoz* | (6 years old) | 10 | *tizerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *timesseḍas* | (7 years old) | 10 | *timengelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chét tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 | *tikewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tireggamin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *tizerrafin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *tiwinorin* | (white cornea) |

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 545 524 237 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[Text continues on p. 104]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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492*
137

Fig. 82b. Cf. text Fig. 82a.

qualities as strength and speed, but rather on elegance and sublimity. The riders sit straight in the 526
saddles without watching the crowd of women, and the camels are ridden at a gentle trot (generally 492*
that known as *senat-senat*; cf. p. 99) with their heads drawn back. In this way the men may also ride 585
their animals round the women in a circle as I have seen in Ayr (cf. Fig. 82).

Camels have important social functions among the Tuareg who take an interest in these animals 233
far beyond their practical value. It may perhaps be useful to compare Tuareg interest in camels with 181
Nuer interest in cattle so brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard. Nuer caress their animals, and [171]
there is a tendency for human beings and cattle to form, so to speak, a single community (Evans-Pritchard 1940, p. 16–50). This is not exactly true of Tuareg and camels. The Tuareg do not pat their camels which will not respond to caressing, and they do not live in very close contact with their animals, most of which frequently graze far away from the camp under the supervision of one or two herdsmen. But the Tuareg nevertheless have much the same feeling towards camels as Nuer have towards their cattle. They are very fond of their animals. They may abstain from camel's flesh because they [262]
are fond of camels and would feel very sick at heart when eating them. But though the Tuareg are fond of camels as such, they are delighted particularly at the sight of a very fine camel (*akemhur*; Ahaggar) and may even speak disparagingly of a badly built animal (*amugey*; Ahaggar). Fine camels [564]
add to the prestige of a man, while too many animals of poor build may even harm his reputation. When girls and young women praise camel-riders in their songs they praise those mounted on fine [533]
and richly-decorated animals. When camels are mentioned in poetry this may also be done as praise [538]
to their owners, as in a poem composed in honour of noble Tuareg of the *Uraren* (*Kel Ajjer*) of whom it is said that "their pack-camels have feet as large as a drum, and the loads they carry are like the crests of mountains" (Hanoteau 1896, p. 218). Such reference to pack-camels, however, seems to be [492]*
rare in Tuareg poetry, while riding camels are frequently mentioned in connection with warfare and [171]
love. Riding camels have much the same esteemed position as had horses in Medieval Europe. Tuareg 492*
interest in camels is particularly focused on riding camels and there is a tendency towards identification 181

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*492 181 [114] [539] of riders and their camels. This is intimated by the following poem quoted from Foucauld's excellent books on the poetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg:—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ébeydeg, é ti n ami mellen* | My white camel, O woman with white teeth |
| *W-allahi! iḍeg ul ifel kem* | I swear by God, it shall not go raiding, shall not leave you |
| *Ula daṛ ikk am akal ien* | It shall not go away from you to another country |
| *U i ḍineṛ ar y arabuh ennem* | I lead it to the pastures only to visit you with love again |
| *Ula taharġit d asemmeḍren* | Neither in dreams nor in thought |
| *Innin é ham yekk akal ien* | Shall it go away from you to another country |

(cf. Foucauld 1925-30, I, p. 210 f. for a literal translation).

## DONKEYS

231 Donkeys are very important domestic animals in the Tuareg groups I have studied. Most animals [192] are grey or greyish but there are other colours for which the Tuareg have special terms. From Ahaggar the following colour-terms can be mentioned:— *adebara* (greyish), *afawa* (greyish with a white stomach), *ewriṛ* (yellow-brown), *éhenbey*, or *takenbawt* (donkey with a black head), *ékawél* (black). Black donkeys seem to be more common among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara than among the Tuareg.

231 Donkeys vary less in colour than other domestic animals among the Tuareg. It is interesting to note 136 in this connection that there are fairly big herds of wild donkeys, or asses, in the mountainous massifs of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr. These animals are generally greyish like most domestic donkeys.

133 *492 415

Fig. 83. Women carrying cereals in skin bags loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ġali* tribe.

565 includes hereditary specialization, hierarchy, repulsion between the
564 different groups, and refusal to associate with people of a different caste. These principles are partly in force among the Tuareg, whose type of social organization borrows from the two systems.

/150/ Furthermore, there are great analogies between the two systems. This sort of aristocratic organization is well suited to nomadic life, in opposition to democratic organization which is more commonly found among sedentary groups.

According to some authors, the caste system is specifically
171 Hindu; it only existed in its pure state in India and to a lesser de-
564 gree in ancient Egypt. (1) Thus we are hardly surprised to find this

1. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre /The Races and Peoples of the World/, p. 489.

organization among the Tuareg who, culturally, belong to the same cycle of civilization.

182 The crystallization of that organization among this people,
564 who on the whole possess quite high intellectual qualities, as well as the material crystallization, can only be explained by the isolation in which it was confined as a result of circumstances where climate has certainly played a large role.

565 The Tuareg are divided into suzerains (Imochar) of a specifically warlike nature, vassals (Imrad) most commonly shepherds, religious men (Inislimen), and serfs (Iklan). Other elements from different origins are enfeoffed to them, such as the Issekkemâren, the Iboroliten, and the Enaden.

The present hierarchy obviously results from a series of wars
174 and civil conflicts. In the fight for life each person endeavored to
182 get his share, and as always this was at the expense of the weaker.
565 Tribes achieved a predominance which they were not always able

174 to maintain, which others seized from them, and suzerains became
182 vassals. But in spite of these contingencies of war, the Tuareg
565 attach great importance to blood origins and always respect high-
[554 727] born people, even though they may be their vanquished /adversaries/.

Thus, at the present time, the nobles of the Ahaggar and the
554 Ajjer may be seen to seek alliances with women of the fallen fraction
565 of the Imenan Sultans. This adds to the luster of their high origin
581 a certain character of religious nobility, which is much appreciated among Moslems.

000 Monogamy and matriarchy. -- To understand Tuareg society, one must remember two important facts, facts which are, moreover, not completely independent of each other, monogamy and matriarchy.

/151/ While the Tuareg are Moslems and have polygamous
174 peoples as neighbors, it is astonishing to note that they practice
562 monogamy. This is an evident indication that women occupy an
[595] important place in their society, in no way comparable to what they occupy among the Arabs. This was very striking to the first travelers who thought they saw traces of an ancient Christianity in the persistence of monogamy. This argument might be held if we did not know, on the other hand, that the social organization of the Tuareg rests on matriarchy, an ancient custom much earlier than the Christian era, which explains monogamy and the particularly high position of women.

Gautier writes on this subject: "It may be said that the Tuareg practice chivalrous gallantry; the expression is inadequate only because of the association it evokes. Our chivalry has a Christian origin; the respect of the Tuareg for women has much deeper and more remote reasons. It goes back to matriarchy, which is earlier than the notion of the state and even that of the family. It is a living witness of completely primordial humanity, a sentiment, if I may say so, of the quaternary age." (1)

1. La conquête du Sahara /The Conquest of the Sahara/, p. 33.

174 in the Sudan, the Sanhadja-Nounou, was governed by a woman named Bikoun-Kabi, whom the Sonrhaï /Songhai/ emperor Sonni-Ali had to conquer in order to seize her territory. Es-Sadi, author of the Tarik-es-Soudan, reports several facts of this kind.

The Islamization of the Berber tribes certainly had a part in the elimination of the custom. Women no longer play any official [562] political role in our times. But they have made themselves the guardians of ancestral customs and folklore, and their authority is [626] so strong that one /154/ can only quote the answer of a Tuareg to an Arab who admonished him upon the subject of Tuareg mores: "No one would dare do otherwise, for then no woman would look at us any longer."

162 The persistence of monogamy among the Tuareg is also favored 182 by the considerable excess of men found among them, an exceptional 595 fact and contrary to what we observe in other human groups.

The aménokal. -- Aménokal means in Tamashek "possessor of 643 the country" (from am, possessive prefix, and akal, "country"). [192] In the Ahaggar this title is conferred only upon the supreme chief reigning over a whole of noble, vassal, or assimilated tribes. [184] In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, it may be applied to heads of fractions, indeed even to mere camp chiefs.

The aménokal is designated according to hereditary rules deriving from the matriarchal system. He is always chosen, not only in the same tribe, but in the same line which one could compare to the clan. His domination, to be effective, must be sanctioned by the approval of the nobles to whom are joined for the occasion the chiefs of vassal tribes. For the latter, approval involves an agreement to pay tribute later.

Sometimes there are several pretenders to the title; perhaps a descendant of a formerly ousted family asserts his rights, or perhaps the natural heir is recognized incapable of leadership. This brings about a competition where hereditary rules are not always respected.

233 721 The Tuareg are herders. It does not seem that they ever knew any other stage of civilization, except hunting which is the prelude to animal husbandry. But even by judicious use of pasturage they cannot own a great number of domestic animals, and in the last analysis herding falls into the background in their means of existence. Since the country could not feed them, they had to look elsewhere for what they lacked. They therefore looked to their sabers for the rest.

181 721 Like the majority of herders, the perpetually famished Tuareg are born warriors, because from time immemorial they have had to dispute the rich lands with the sedentary peoples. Their free life has made them independent and anarchistic. The wealth /215/ of others has not inspired any respect in them, but rather a sentiment of envy which no moral rule has been able to check. Pillage has thus been raised to the state of an institution, and the Tuareg have become masters of the trade.

721 The raid, now a continual state of war with their neighbors, may be considered the principal social achievement of the Tuareg. [182] And thus we may see the important role that the Ahaggar Mountains play; they are not only a refuge for life, but also a refuge for brigands who want to shelter themselves from the possible investigations of their victims.

579 627 The raid is organized, even ordered, pillage. It is an institution with its rules which the antagonists respect. Its simplest form is taking the neighbor's herds; once the deed is done, the raider makes a deal with him and compromises by giving him back a certain number of animals so that he can subsist, keeping for himself what is judged to be the surplus. The complicated form occurs when the attacked man defends himself or tries to take back his property. That can lead to pitched battles and, as a consequence, dead men. From that time on, it is fratricidal war which demands blood and which creates eternal hatred.

That was what the life of the Ahaggar Tuareg was before the French occupation.

579 In addition, they robbed caravans who happened into their country, hatefully ransoming the voyagers. Sometimes they 721 727 went to empty the granaries of the sedentary people of the oases or the Sudanese villages, capturing Negroes and Negresses to [492] sett as slaves.

439 When peace reigned in their country, they willingly organized /218/ caravans to go to the Tidikelt or Touat oases and bring back dates, or else to the Sudan to get supplies of millet. They also made themselves the protectors of caravans [486] crossing their country, naturally making the caravaneer pay a consistently high duty in merchandise.

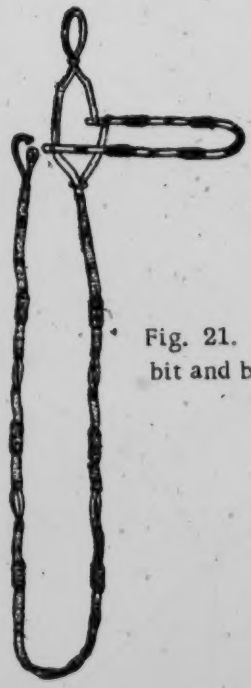


Fig. 21. Camel bit and bridle.

135 182 439 The Ahaggar has famous salt mines in the region called Amadror which lies to the east of the Tafedest massif in a large depression. They are an appreciable resource for the Ihaggaren, but manpower is needed to exploit them. Then, transportation and circulation demand a general state of peace in which the numerous [721] herds of pack camels can be protected from possible surprise attacks and raids. That is why the Amadror salt deposits remained unexploited for a long time before the French occupation, because of the state of perpetual war existing between Ahaggar Tuareg and Tassili Tuareg.

312 The question of water is fundamental in the formation of the
[361 camp, both for the choice of its location and for the number of tents
182] to be included.

Water is obviously a problem for all life; it plays a role in the location of our small European villages, but this role is still greater in desert countries where water is quite rare. The existence of watering places is not only necessary for human life but also for the life of the domestic animals.

137 To this primordial condition of the existence of a watering
182 place must be added the condition of pasture for the domestic
312 animals. Therefore, we see that the establishment of a camp among
361 the Ihaggaren is conditioned by two main factors whose character may vary in time, depending on the seasons and the abundance or scarcity of rain. But in the last analysis the pasture needs take precedence, for, generally speaking, pasture is even rarer than
137 water, since it can sometimes be completely lacking. This need
182 for pasture forces tribes to split up and camps to be dispersed in
361 order to exploit it rationally. The situation is such that there are
621 rarely more than five or six tents in each group. Only the amenokal's
[643] camp may number as many as 15 or 20 tents, but this is quite exceptional, involving the question of prestige and social order at the same time. Indeed, the amenokal supports a numerous family, his caliphs, his servants, etc. But this grouping around the chief is quite artificial, and the flocks which the people own are not with them but are /222/ spread out in the mountains, kept by Imrad or servants.

361 The camp is always established rather far from the watering
312 places, for it is preferable to be closer to the pastures. It is often five or six kilometers from water. The animals go there to drink every two or three days, and the people use the occasion to get
[482 their water supply, which will be carried in waterskins on their backs
492] or under the stomach of the asses. Tuareg, moreover, do not like
361 to settle near a watering place, for it is always a stopping point for
609 transients, and they avoid making their presence known to strangers.

342 crosspiece forming the central frame; four vertical stakes are placed two by two on each side of the tent.

[71] This model used to be much more widespread in the Ahaggar, and it seems to be an older form, for the model presently used must have been taken from the Ioullimmiden. All the old people recall having seen it used in their youth in all camps on an equal basis with the vertical stake form.

The tent with arches, the upper part of which forms a kind of dome, is better able to withstand the rains than the other. If [182] that was its raison d' [132] être, we may understand why it disappeared with the gradual drying out of the Sahara. This disappearance may also have been caused by the difficulty of procuring large roots to make the arches.

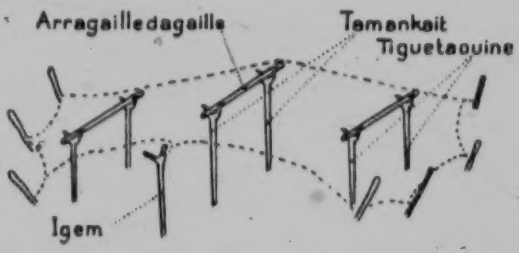



Fig. 25. Tent used by the Kel Rela. During the rainy season, the two central stakes are replaced by a single stake holding up a ridge tile.

[386] The awning is always covered with a coat of red ocher which protects it from the heat of the sun and from the rain.

[285] In both models, the tent always includes a sort of detachable closing made of a long mat (asaber) woven from the stems of graminaceae. It is unrolled inside around the stakes to close the tent completely. High up in the mountains the Tuareg reduce the inside area of the tent in order to keep warmer, and provide the part opposite /225/ the opening with a little stone wall which effectively protects them from the cold. The door is always opened toward the south.

264 [415] The Tuareg use spoons. The use of this implement is peculiar to them, for their Arab or Negro neighbors eat with their hands. The custom must be related to the wearing of the veil, which they do not take off to eat and which prevents them from putting their [182 291] hands full of food to their mouths. They carry food to their mouths while slightly holding up the ends of their veils.

[271] 272 For beverages they drink only water, whether it is clean or polluted, and milk.

For half a century they have had the habit of drinking green tea in the Arab manner; they aromatize it with mint or some perfumed plants of the Ahaggar, /238/ chih (Artemisia herba alba) in particular. Coffee, which was formerly much used by them, is now [757 178] taken mainly as a medication to calm violent coughs or stomach aches.

276 If we now seek consumer goods taken as stimulants or narcotics, we see that the Tuareg know only tobacco, which they chew or take as snuff.

Smoking is not one of their customs. The young men who are [177] in contact with the French like to beg a cigarette, but it is simply in the spirit of imitation.

Duveyrier, however, has said that the Tuareg smoke. Was this, 114 perhaps, the fashion among the Tuareg who visited Ghat? Before 276 him Barth wrote that all riverain people living along the Niger loved to smoke. "It is very seldom that they leave their pretty little clay pipes, and all the Rouma, like the Tuareg, cover their mouths when smoking, so that all one sees is a pipe bowl coming out of the shawl which covers the face." (1)

1. Voyage en Afrique,
vol. IV, p. 137.

174 /250/ introduced before or after the Christian era, it is nonetheless true that the ancestors of the Tuareg must have introduced it.

182 At the present time, human life in the Sahara, which is already of little consequence, would be reduced to zero without
233 the camel. This is a fundamental fact which has been amply demonstrated and which it is useless to dwell on. Th. Monod, who dedicated one of his works "To the camel and the goat, the vehicle and the container, the two sole conquerors of the Sahara, " (1)

1. Méharées/ Meharis/.

has not only been literary and witty, he has put the truth in a few words. Without the camel, no relation would be possible between the oases, no relation between North Africa and intertropical Africa.

233 One may therefore easily understand that the animal plays a large part in the life of the Saharian Tuareg, and that the latter make a great effort to raise camels. They have always endeavored to own many camels, and at the present time their livestock has increased to more than 10, 000 head.

[132] Although the camel has adapted perfectly to the Saharian
[492] pastures and terrain, it is nonetheless true that the aridity is such that he has difficulty keeping in good condition, and that a slightly prolonged march has to be compensated for by a rest period lasting twice as long as the period during which he was tired out. That is
[361] why the Ihaggaren nomadize with their camels on the borders of the Sahara in the steppe where there are acacias and graminaceae.

Ahaggar breeding is very famous. It furnishes animals which
232 are resistant, very frugal eaters, capable of braving mountain rocks or marching for weeks on end over the granite regoliths of the Tanezrouft, something the Sudanese -bred camels could not do.

The Tuareg select the animals when they are very young, destining them either for saddle camels or for pack camels. The meharis are castrated and undergo special training. In speaking of

177 In the last few years a number of notables, including the
492 aménokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the
643 Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them
133 to avoid rocks.

101 The Ihaggaren never travel on zebus and never use them for
492 transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

/321/

## Chapter 2

## War and Raiding

721 The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

182 When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those
221 present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were
361 most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to
721 spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

727 Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not
426 own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case
714

233 across much of the land and concentrated
[137] along dry river bottoms, and the small patches of thick, lush, emerald green grass that flourish briefly in hollows here and there following rainstorms. Pasturage is always either very sparse or very scattered in the Ahaggar and so the nomadic inhabitants of the area must move often, for the supply in the immediate neighborhood of a camp is quickly exhausted.
[312] To make life still more difficult, water points are often few and far between as we already know, and it is not unusual to find good pasturage so far from any water that it cannot be used for more than a day or two, if at all. This combination of circumstances has
233 made it necessary for the Ahaggar Tuareg
221 to break up into small and highly mobile camp units composed of fractions of clans, or even single families, and each of these units must move at intervals of usually somewhere between a week and a month and often over considerable distances, although always within the territorial limits of the tribe (fig. 36).

As soon as a camp or constellation of neighboring camps is established in a new location, the head men first set up the daily grazing routine of the flocks and then set out at once to scout far and wide in search of the next pasture to be used and the next camp sites that their families will occupy. And so it goes the year around, and so the Tuareg of the Ahaggar are highly mobile nomads by force of circumstances, for they cannot survive otherwise in the region which they have made their own.

565 It is in the compelling circumstances of their environment that we find the roots of
233 the class system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, for,
463 quite apart from the question of mobility, such conditions can be met successfully only
182 by a well conceived and firmly established division of labor. In the Ahaggar it is the nobles of a tribe and the headmen of the vassal clans who ride out in search of new pastures and at the same time act as military scouts, always on the watch for enemy raiders as

[423] *The fundamental difference between the two systems lies in the fact that the basis of land tenure among the Tuareg is not that of the *beneficium* while personal allegiance is not based on the concept of the *comitatus*. The true feudal system of mediæval Europe was based on the conferring of privilege by an absolute ruler (or one of his vassals) on a less

565 well as for potential victims, alien camps or
233 caravans which they can raid themselves. The
463 vassals in their turn are responsible for the daily management and immediate protection of the flocks and herds, and also constitute an armed reserve that can be called up quickly in case a battle becomes imminent or the opportunity for a major raid presents itself. The
[567] slaves take care of the domestic service and household chores of the camps while their boys go out as shepherds to the flocks.

Thus it is clear that the Tuareg class system
565 is a necessity of pastoral life in the Ahaggar;
642 for no pastoral community can survive there without nomadizing, and no community of
[182] nomads can survive without a rigidly formalized division of labor and authority similar to that embodied in the class system of the Tuareg. It now becomes clear also that the seemingly paradoxical combination, within the social framework, of rigidity during the period of a single adult lifetime and a relative fluidity over slightly longer periods still so short as to span often no more than a couple of generations and sometimes less, is not in fact a paradox at all. It merely reflects in simple functional terms the fact that extreme conditions call for an extreme response, that the framework within which the allocation of authority is made at various levels in the communal structure must be very firmly established but must also allow considerable freedom periodically in the choice of those who are to occupy critical positions of decision and command so as to avoid the danger of having such positions filled automatically by persons unfit to occupy them, a danger that could well be quickly fatal to the whole community.

And finally we see that Tuareg government really has nothing essential in common with the feudal system of mediæval Europe to which it has so often been confusingly compared.[9] In the last analysis authority resides in the vassals, for they can make and at least
[643] in theory break the mightiest of all the nobles, the Amenokal himself, and they can do all this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.

powerful neighbor in exchange for some specified kind of continuing or periodic service. Among the Tuareg the relationship between "noble" and "vassal" looks much the same at first glance, but this is an optical illusion, a case of merely superficial resemblance.

721 simple, and this activity can be divided into two main types according to the chief object in view. Raiding for booty was practised irregularly but fairly often, especially in times of hardship or in connection with intertribal feuds. Sneak attacks by small bands who lifted livestock and then promptly fled with it were typical. Slave raiding was practised on a fairly regular basis. In the nomad camps of the
727 Ahaggar the number of Negro domestic servants is usually about equal to the number of Tuareg present, and this labor force used to be replenished when necessary by raids on Negro villages in the desert fringe of the Sudan and occasionally even on Tuareg camps in the Aïr, Tamesna and Adrar n Ifoghas regions. The present writer knows a mulatto freedwoman who was taken in this way from the Aïr some 40 years ago, and has long been happily settled at Tamanrasset; and she is by no means an exception. Thus raiding, the fourth corner post of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar, was primarily a mechanism designed to keep the supply of livestock, both animal and human, at a satisfactory level in an area where the environment caused a steady normal decrease in the local supply.

**Economic Summary.** We have seen that pas-
177 toralism was the central column and crop shares, trading, protection and raiding the four
182 corner posts of the economic structure of the Ahaggar Tuareg. With the coming of European domination the last two pillars were kicked away, the third buckled and bent to a mere fraction of its former height, and the roof fell in along three sides and part of the fourth. The Ahaggar Tuareg presumably never lived a life of ease—no pastoralist can in such a rigorous environment—but their greatest perils used to be those of warfare. These dangers have been removed completely by the new European rulers of the area, and yet the Tuareg of the Ahaggar as a whole are undoubtedly in worse economic shape today than they have ever been before. Their old
182 culture, whatever some may think of it on the basis of modern European standards, was remarkably well adapted to conditions in their chosen homeland. The destruction of two of its five main supports and the progressive weakening of a third have thrown their economic structure so seriously out of balance that the whole edifice is obviously doomed,

182 and the Tuareg of the Ahaggar as a nation, too stubborn to adapt themselves to any way of life other than their own, have at last signed their name to the ever-lengthening list of vanishing peoples.

342 Shelter. The typical dwelling of the Ahaggar Tuareg is a leather tent, made preferably of the skins of goats although sometimes those of sheep or even calves are used (fig. 36). A tent of mouflon skins is considered the height of luxury and elegance, but it is almost impossible to come by enough of them to make such a tent nowadays. The prepared skins are 281 very soft and have a pleasing dull red brick 342 color which is produced by rubbing them on both sides with a mixture of red ocherous clay and dried camel dung. After being prepared and cut down to rectangular form, they are sewed together with fine strips of leather. Anywhere from 30 to as many as 150 may be used to make a single tent, but the first number is not far below the average. A finished tent of ordinary size weighs about 50 pounds more or less.

342 Tents are mounted on wooden frames of various closely similar types, the most common of which consists of three elements, each composed of two uprights with a horizontal member laid across their tops. The highest element is set in the middle with one upright in front and the other in the back, and the two remaining elements are set up parallel to it, one on either side. The tent covering is then stretched over this framework, with its back and sides pegged down and the front left open, usually facing south. In good weather the overhanging front of the roof is stretched out horizontally to form an awning held in place by three supplementary posts, one in the middle and another at each end. The average tent is 6 to 10 feet deep from front to back, 10 to 15 feet wide and 4 to 5 feet high in the middle, with the roof sloping away very gently on both sides and toward the back wall. The structure is completed by [285] long strips of stiff, yellow matting made of 351 thin reeds, roughly 3 feet wide and up to 20 feet long more or less, with simple geometric designs in black or reddish brown leather ribbon woven into them. These strips are set on edge around the inside of the tent so as to make an inner wall at the back and sides,

It is probably because of this custom that the Tuareg 182 291 shaves his mustache and he finds it strange that we wear them. 302 On the other hand, he wears a full beard.

## Chapter XIX

## The Woman's Saddle

I think it well to give below the following description of 492 the very unusual mehari saddle of Tuareg women.

I had the opportunity to see one, of which I was able to get a sketch (see the accompanying illustration). /40/

It seems that many other saddles are handsomer, with painted wood, and they say that the beautiful Dassine suffered considerable distress when she learned that a beautiful saddle belonging to her had been plundered by one of the insurrectionists at the beginning of our establishment in the /Saharah? Oases.

The woman's saddle, which somewhat resembles a sedan chair, is placed over the hump of the mehari without touching it. It consists of the following essential parts: a rectangular seat of netted strands, supported by four uprights to which are fastened four cushions with holes in the center which rest, two on each side, on the flanks of the mehari. These cushions A are called "afelledoud" ⵎⵎ ⵍⵍ ⵊⵅ , plural "ifelledad" ⵉⵎⵍⵍⵉⵊⵅ .

The uprights are fastened to each other by two transverse bars on each side.

A chain of iron links B called "imetredj" ⵉⵎⵜⵔⵉⵊ goes around the saddle and passes through the ring of the girth C, which is called "ahif"

Onto the upright with the rear cushion, which is hidden in the picture, is attached an embroidered ornament which has hanging from it strands of wool or colored leather. This ornament D is called "tegarsim"

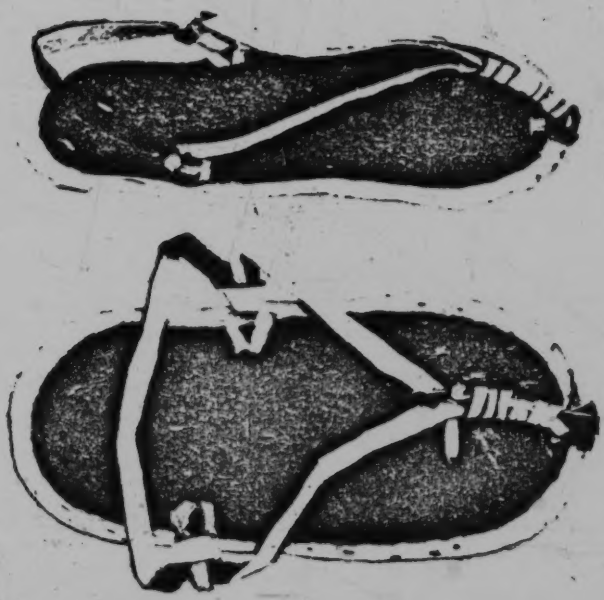
It is 291 never manufactured by noble women, but noble Tuareg obtain this footwear from vassals, or have [294] them made by their slaves. Lhote states that *imerkeden* sandals in the past were more common among the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar (Lhote 1952a, p. 605). *Imerkeden* sandals are very common in Tasilit-n-Ajjer. They are said to be known among the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg under the name *tadakat*. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that they have a related type, but this I have never seen. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg almost exclusively wear sandals of *takalmi* type.

A third main type of sandals is that known to most Tuareg as *tagliezez*. Like other sandal types it [114] is described in detail by Lhote in his sudy on Tuareg sandals (Lhote 1950d, p. 512–533). Sandals [294] of this type are generally made from one piece of hide or leather which is bent up over the toes. The system of attachment consists of a leather strap attached to the bent-up flap of the sole and passing around the heel through two loops at the back of the sandal. These sandals are extremely common all over the steppes and savannahs of the south, and in Ayr they are used among the *Kel Ewey* and other Tuareg who make them from untanned hide of oxen. In Northern Tuareg country this sandal [294] type is rare and generally not used by pastoral Tuareg who do not manufacture them. However, a pair of sandals resembling this type was brought from Ahaggar to the National Museum of Copenhagen by Olufsen (museum number G 13) (Fig. 243). Sandals of *tagliezez* type are nowadays used by many sedentary people of Tamanrasset in Ahaggar. They are esteemed by Europeans and by Tuareg and Arabs of the camel corps in Northern Tuareg country. But the sandals worn by the last-mentioned people are manufactured by professional craftsmen. The sandals illustrated Fig. 244 were bought at [439] the market of Agadez, but derive from the south – from Sokoto it is said. I have noted their name as *ahroga*. – The type of sandal here called *tagliezez* is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tifrdilli* (pl. *tifrdillin*) (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 304).

A fourth type of sandal is described by Lhote under the name of *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*). It is made of a single piece of untanned hide which is treated as described above for the *takalmi* type, and Lhote thinks that this type of sandal, which is common in the south among poor people, is the most primitive type. Lhote believes that the same type occurs also in Ahaggar because the word *éfekil* is mentioned by Foucauld in his dictionary (Lhote 1950d, p. 525 f., Fig. 18). This does not seem to be correct, for the word *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*), according to Foucauld, is used synonymously with *émerked* (pl. *imerkeden*) [114] (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 313).

Lhote writes that the sandals worn by the Tuareg can be divided into three main types, namely the 291 *ératim*, (or *takalmi*), the *émerked*, and the *éfekil*, and that these three types correspond to different 182 types of environment, namely desert, mountain, and steppe (Lhote 1950d, p. 528 f.). Perhaps one should substitute the word *éfekil* with *tagliezez*. There seems to be a certain correspondance between footwear and environment, but it should be added that the distribution of sandal types cannot be explained solely by reference to natural conditions. The *ératim* (or *takalmi*) type of sandal, for example, is used throughout Tuareg country from the Sudan to the central and northern parts of the Sahara, an extremely large area comprising great environmental differences. Nor are they suited to all types of desert. They quickly wear out when used on stony ground, and it is very tiring to wear them when walking through deep sand as the broad soles do not bear upon the surface. The *émerked* type of sandal is doubtless the best for walking on mountains, for it is fixed firmly to the foot and its sole of

291



[439] Fig. 244. Sandals known to the Ayr Tuareg as *akeroga*. Bought at Agadez, said to be manufactured at Sokoto in Nigeria. Similar sandals were very common among the *Kel Ataram* Tuareg I saw near Ayoru on the Niger. Dimension: ca. 0.29 m. (N.M. G. 6641).

291 tanned skin does not so easily slide upon the rocks. But sandals of this type are used by a great many
182 Tuareg who do not live in proper mountain areas. The distribution of cultural traits can rarely be explained by mere reference to environmental factors.

292 A most interesting type of footwear, known to the Northern Tuareg and to those of Ayr, is a kind of skin-stocking which is worn with sandals in the winter. I have never myself seen it among the Tuareg and though it has been described in literature published prior to my investigations I failed to enquire
[114] about its use and manufacture. The fact that I have not seen Tuareg skin-stockings does not prove that they are rarely used, for while I have stayed among the Tuareg throughout five summer seasons I have only been among them for one winter, when I mainly lived in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Massif. Most Tuareg I met that winter went barefooted or wore sandals, and those who wanted an extra protection against the cold wore various types of European footwear and stockings.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



1952, pl. II, 4; Desplagnes 1907, pl. CVI p. 396). Various pastoralists within the huge area of Tibesti, Borku, and Ennedi also use barrel-vaulted mat-covered tents. These are very different from Tuareg mat tents (cf. Biassuti 1933, Fig. 2, p. 173; Despois 1946, pl. XXII; Le Coeur 1937, p. 39 & 1950, p. 192, pl. XXVI, 99; Schiffers 1957, pl. IV; Kronenberg 1959, pl. III; Fuchs 1961, p. 18 ff., pl. IV). However, a mat tent described in detail by Chapelle has a structure which includes pronged sticks and horizontal bars (Chapelle 1957, p. 227 ff.), and a Tebu tent from Bilma now in the IFAN Museum at Niamey resembles the mat-covered Ayr tent in having two horizontal cross-bars at the narrow sides – each bar resting upon seven vertical pronged sticks. 342* 171

We presume that Tuareg mat tents constitute a very ancient and traditional type of dwelling, which, perhaps, was originally covered with mats of grass-stems (cf. p. 350 f.). We venture to advance this theory, the more so as other types of Tuareg tents less elaborate in their structures show very close affinities with the arched mat tent. Our theory, however, gives rise to one important question:— Is the elaborate structure of Tuareg mat tents well fitted to pastoral life? 342* [174] 182 342*

It is evident that some of the Tuareg, who live in mat tents, and notably the *Bélla*, are semi-nomads, and Capot-Rey says that "– – les populations qui l'ont adoptée ne se deplacent presque plus; – –" (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 222). This is not correct. Mat tents like that described in B.I.a. are used by true nomads, who move much during the rainy season to find the best annual pasture for their domestic animals. At that season many pastoralists move their camps of barrel-vaulted tents about once a week, and though some of them prefer to erect their tents according to the simple *tafala* method (cf. B.I.f., p. 356), most nomads will erect the tent in the ordinary fashion. It may be added that even the *Kel Geres* who come to Southern Ayr at the end of the rains have with them their mat tents which they erect correctly. There are, it is true, many Tuareg possessing mat tents who remain almost on the same spot throughout the year, but this is equally true of many Tuareg with skin tents. The mat tent is a true pastoral dwelling type. It is not very difficult to put up though it takes more time than does the erection of most skin tents. It is also not very difficult to transport the comparatively elaborate structure of normal mat tents. With few exceptions the pastoral *Kel Ayr* who live in and around the Massif use donkeys for tent transportation. The light tent mats are simply used as a kind of pack-saddle, being rolled up and placed over the back and along both sides of the pack-animal. The curved boughs and rods which form arches and semi-arches, and the comparatively few vertical sticks with the two cross-bars are tied up into parcels which are fastened over the mats at the animal's sides. I have frequently seen a tent, together with the very heavy wooden bed (*tédabut*) and various domestic utensils, being transported by two donkeys, and a normal tent can be transported by a single donkey without much difficulty. As a further indication of this I produce a photograph showing the movement of a camp comprising three ordinary tents, three wooden beds, and the necessary household implements and provisions, and it will be seen that all this is transported by six donkeys (cf. Fig. 266). On the whole, an ordinary mat tent is neither very difficult to erect, nor difficult to transport. It is more difficult to erect the mat tent than the skin tent, but skin tents very often constitute a heavier burden. The sheet of skin, or more correctly leather, is heavier than the covering of mats, and though it is true of many skin tents that they have a less elaborate structure than the mat tents, the former need a system of pegs and poles to fasten the sheet, and these have to be transported except where [221] 182 342* 492 [484] 182 342*

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



182 suitable natural boughs are abundant. There are advantages and disadvantages in mat tents as well
*342 as in skin tents. During the very hot season the mat tent is by far the best type of dwelling; it is comparatively high and the mat covering is not heated to any great extent by the sun. During the
[132] rainy season the mat tent is less practical than the skin tent. Rain may fall so heavily and abundantly that it penetrates the mat covering, and even if it does not it will be necessary to remove all mats after a heavy shower in order to dry them in the sun. The skin tent is normally erected quicker than the mat tent, it protects efficiently against rain, but is, on the other hand, most unpleasant during the hot season.
[824] It does not seem possible to explain the distribution of mat tents and skin tents on purely geographical grounds, but it seems as though the mat tent is used mainly where dum palm leaves for plaiting are available. Where the dum palm disappears, the mat tent tends to disappear also, though mat tents, as we have seen, may be provided with a covering of *éwerwer* type (p. 350 f.). Outside of the dum palm area most Tuareg have skin tents for portable dwellings. Within the dum palm area mat tents and skin tents are mixed in certain regions, and it has been seen that certain Tuareg use mat tents during the very hot season before the rains, but adopt skin tents when the rains start. This seem to
[237] indicate clearly the advantage and the disadvantage of the two dwelling types. But the advantages of both dwellings can be obtained in another way, namely by placing a sheet of skin over the top of the mat tent in the rainy season. This is actually done by many Tuareg. I was told that the *Kel Faday* Tuareg around Ingal very frequently cover their mat tents with skin during the rainy season, and remove the skin again when the rains are over. It is perhaps this to which Rodd refers in a brief note on Tuareg tents in Ayr (Rodd 1926a, p. 212), and we may be sure that the usage is a very ancient one in these regions, for it is mentioned already by Ibn Batutah in reference to the *Bardamah*, who are stated to be nomads that frequently move their camps (cf. Ibn Batutah IV, p. 437). The custom of covering mat tents with a sheet of skin has also been noted in the case of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg by Barth (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 597 f.). It is very possible that it is still more widely known in Southern Tuareg groups, as it allows in an easy way the advantages of both types of dwellings.

B.2. *Skin Tents.*

*342 Skin tents are used by Tuareg in all groups, though there is some doubt as to the use of skin tents
184 among the *Kel Geres*. I have myself previously stated that they have skin tents (Nicolaisen 1959, p. 118), this statement being based on information gathered in Ayr 1955. Lhote also mention that some *Kel Geres* use skin tents, while other pastoralists in this group own mat-covered tents (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 79, phot. 51 p. 80–81). But when I visited the camp of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief in 1959 he claimed that the *Kel Geres* always live in mat tents. As to the *Kel Ayr*, skin tents are very rare among them. In all other Tuareg groups skin tents play a very important role. They constitute so to speak the only kind of portable dwellings among the Northern Tuareg and the *Kel Adrar*, and they form the most common type of tent also in the two groups of *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. Zeltner says that the dividing line between skin tents and mat tents in Southern Tuareg country follows the Paris Meridian (Zeltner 1914a, p. 364), but there is in fact no true dividing line between these dwelling types, which are sometimes used by the same people at different seasons, and the two tent types are sometimes combined into one, as mat tents may be covered with skin throughout the rainy season.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



In literature there are tent descriptions which I have omitted in my survey of Tuareg tent structures, partly because the descriptions are unclear, and partly because they clearly indicate tents which are not erected according to any definite method (cf. Demoulin 1928, p. 159; Campbell 1928, p. 205; Bernard quoted by Laoust 1930, p. 225). 342*

Finally, I add that the sheet of skin is very commonly used for a kind of wind-screen among the Tuareg. Such wind-screens are of two types:— (1) The sheet is attached to three or four sticks buried in the ground. A wind-screen of this kind is depicted in Fig. 284a. It serves as a temporary shelter for visitors in a camp. (2) The sheet is supported by three or four sticks placed in one row with a long stick resting horizontally in their prongs. Such wind-screens are seen in Figs. 284 b-c. They are used by the members of a household in ordinary camps, and it is quite common to erect tents in this manner during seasons when rainfall is not expected. Indeed, many Ahaggar Tuareg use their skin tents only for a part of the year, for skin tents are not too well adapted to the burning hot desert climate. If possible, many Tuareg prefer to live in the shade of rocks and trees, and if efficient shade of this type is found the skin tents are generally not erected. But the Tuareg will then erect part of the wooden structure, namely the forked sticks carrying cross-bars, as these elements serve not only as supports of the sheet, but also for the suspension of skin bags and various domestic implements (cf. Fig. 106). [574] [182] [352]

Capot-Rey writes that the Tuareg skin tents are also less waterproof than mat tents (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 225), but this is not correct. During the rains, as we have seen, skin tents are preferred by many Tuareg who at other seasons live in mat tents, and we have also seen that many Ayr Tuareg will then cover their mat tents with skin. If skin tents were not well fitted for rain they would indeed be very badly adapted also to the Sudanese zone where they are widely found among the Tuareg. [114] [182]

There can be little doubt that the use of skin sheets is very old, for all over the world we find them used for portable dwellings among people at primitive subsistence levels. It is also substantiated by Feilberg that we have throughout the Near and Middle Easts isolated occurrences of skin tents, and that these seem to have been more common in these regions in the past. Feilberg mentions in particular the use of skin for tents among the Tuareg and among the Sluba of Central Arabia (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144). When Feilberg wrote his book on tent development in the Near and Middle East, a description of the structure of Sluba tents was not available. But later investigations have intimated that some skin tents of the Sluba do not seem to be structurally related to ordinary Tuareg skin tents, but rather constitute a kind of wind-screen (cf. Lundbæk 1962). I have mentioned above that the Ahaggar Tuareg also use their tent skins as wind-screens, but it is evident that structurally the normal skin tents in all Tuareg groups have nothing to do with wind-screens. 342* 171

It is possible that the use of skin for wind-screens is extremely old among the Tuareg, but there seem to be some evidence that plaited grass mats for covering the true tents are older. We have seen that among Tuareg who use mat tents (the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*), the inner layer of mats covering the dome-shaped top consists of *éwerwer* mats made of plant stems tied together, and it has also been mentioned that certain arched tents among the *Kel Dennek* and the Sudanese *Bélla* are covered exclusively with mats produced on this principle. According to Duveyrier mats of straw were formerly used for tent covering among the Northern Tuareg, and it is possible that the *afezu* mats, which seem to constitute the walls of all Tuareg skin tents, may be considered a survival from tents 342* 174

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 178 582 while to my knowledge they have never married women of the *Iwillemmeden*. Marriages seem to be of great importance for the diffusion of cultural traits among the Tuareg.

*342 174 182 It is clear that the use of T-shaped posts is not limited to particular environmental zones, for T-shaped posts are characteristic of certain Tuareg skin tents both in the true desert country and in southern regions of plains and savannahs. Furthermore, it seems as if this structure is found mainly among the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar*, and among the *Kel Denek*, while outside these regions T-shaped posts are rare. Thus if we cannot explain the use and the distribution of T-shaped posts in skin tents from an analysis of environment, we may perhaps ascribe its present distribution to historical events.

*342 174 The most important characteristic of T-shaped posts is that they are not buried in the ground like all other poles and posts of Tuareg portable dwellings. They rest upon the surface, and if they sometimes penetrate two or three centimetres into the soil this is not to keep them upright but to prevent them from sliding. The fact that Tuareg T-shaped posts are not buried in the ground makes it unlikely that they are related to the T-shaped posts of permanent dwellings like those used in huts and houses of North Africa, and I believe that originally they came from a barrel-vaulted dwelling which had one of its arches supported by a post resting upon the surface. That an evolution of this kind is in fact possible is shown by Ferdinand's description of certain black tents among the Duranni nomads of Afghanistan. The middle arch of these tents is made from pieces of curved poles, namely two long pieces lashed to a shorter top piece, which is supported by a central post resting upon the surface of the ground. This is the normal structure of Duranni tents, but in summer and in spring nomads frequently content themselves with the erection of the middle part of the arch supported by the central post resting upon the surface. In other words, the Duranni nomads at certain seasons change their barrel-vaulted dwelling into a dwelling supported by T-shaped posts at a right angle to the longitudinal direction (cf. Ferdinand 1959, Fig. 7 p. 35). I think that this development is also perhaps responsible for the evolution of T-shaped tents among the Tuareg, but I do not believe that it took place among them. We have among the Tuareg no portable barrel-vaulted dwellings of arches supported by central posts. We find this principle in certain barrel-vaulted dwellings used among the *Kel Ewey* farmers of Ayr (cf. p. 347 ff.), but this barrel-vaulted hut originated from the Tuareg mat tent, which among the sedentary *Kel Ewey* adopted certain traits of the bee-hive hut.

*342 174 177 I think there is little doubt that a relationship exists between T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents and similar posts of North African black tents. This relationship was first suggested by Feilberg in his thesis on the black tent (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143), and I believe that it can be proved that such a relationship actually exists.

[184] Black tents are not generally used by the Tuareg. In the extreme north of the *Kel Aïr* territory a few Tuareg have adopted it owing to contact with Arab pastoralists. It is possible that there are also Tuareg with black tents in the extreme south-west of Tuareg country around Timbuktu. There are black tents in this region (Jackson 1820, p. 23; Barth 1857–58, IV, p. 474 ff.), and it seems as if some Tuareg there occasionally live in them (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). It is clear that the black tent is found within a large semi-circular belt enclosing Tuareg country from the Fezzan via Northern Sahara and the Atlas through Mauretania to Timbuktu (cf. Feilberg 1944, map II). It is also clear that there

Earrings in the shape of large rings, "tizabbatine" 301 [55-6]
Rings, "tisseq," plural "tisser'ine"

Also, like the men, she wears amulets, "tira." [789]

Finally, in summer she wears a large parasol hat ("medols" 291
in Arabic), which she sometimes decorates with red wool and which is called "tili" (shade).

Concerning the veil: whence comes this use of the veil among the Tuareg? Even those involved do not know.

Sidi ag Keradji, however, gave me an explanation which 173
is quite without validity but shows the craze which the Tuareg 291
have to attribute an Arab origin to themselves. This is his story:

"At the caputre of Mecca, the Prophet Mohammed was mounted on a 'cidah' (female mehari). He had wrapped his head with his 'ihram' (a garment peculiar to the pilgrim who enters the sacred territory of Mecca). It is since this time that the Tuareg have worn the veil."

What is certain is that this is a very old custom, since Arabian writers have for several centuries called /39/ the Tuareg by the name of "Ahl-el-Litham," or "people of the veil."

Did they adopt this custom for utilitarian reasons, to pro- 173
tect their sight from the brilliance of the sun's rays and to 183
insure their eyes against the dust which rises from the sand? 291
To this question they reply in the negative. It is primarily, they say, a question of modesty and dignity. A Tuareg must never show his mouth, the door through which he introduces food into his body. That is shameful. Even at night he does not take off his veil. When he enters a camp foreign to his 183
tribe, he must lower his veil completely over his eyes so as 291
not to be suspected of having come to seduce. In meetings 576
he also veils himself completely, perhaps in order better to hide his feelings.

113, 101, 184, 565, 463 Tuareg MS25

[For information on the Tuareg see 1: Coon, M1 Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 204-210.]

/149/

# Book IV

## The Tuareg of the Ahaggar

## Social Organization

## The Ahaggar Confederation

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### Chapter 1

### Social Organization

101 Here we shall speak of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar. But since all of the Tuareg form a quite homogeneous ethnic group, what we [184 177] say about their /Tuareg of the Ahaggar/ social organization will, in general, be valid for the whole, although their social organization remained more sheltered from foreign influences than that of the other groups, because of their isolation in the heart of the Sahara.

The Ihǎggaren /Ahaggaren/ may thus be considered, as a result of that isolation, the witnesses and representatives of Tuareg civilization.

565 Classes and castes. -- Social organization among them /the Tuareg/ shows strong analogies with our ancient feudal system. Indeed, there is a chief whose nominal authority holds sway over all the tribes, a class system (aserkam) which divides tribes into suzerains and vassals, religious elements and serfs, enfeoffed the ones to the others, and an artisan class.

564 565 Classes in so-called primitive societies are born out of private property, wealth, and the authority of the strong who become the protectors of the weak, and have had as a corollary war and slavery. The caste system, which is an accentuated form of the class system,

000 tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has
586 adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an
177 Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes
184 which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between
614 his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation. It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live.

[174] In their case we are confronted at the present time by a
562 matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman
[178] ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights,
[611] her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the
[554] man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in
[584] matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on
[421] choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes, and even has a greater freedom of mores.

174 It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy among the Tuareg.

174 It seems to have existed in ancient times among all the Hamites. Frobenius sees traces of it in traditional customs which leave the raising of the tent to the women and give them a monopoly on leather-work. These singular characteristics reveal the primordial nature of the sentiment of life among the Hamites. (1)

1. In Jenson, "Les orbes culturels de l'Afrique /Culture Spheres of Africa/," L'Afrique, Cahiers d'art, 1931.

428 554 622 Among the Ihaggaren, the wife wills her social and political rights to her children. These are particularly important when it is a question of the succession of a chief. Political filiation of the first degree is made to the brother; in the second degree to the eldest son of the maternal aunt; in the third degree, to the eldest son of the eldest sister, which constitutes a guarantee for blood descent in the line of chiefs.

184 622 The Ioullimmiden /Aulliminden/ do not practice political succession according to matriarchal rules. The explorer Barth has even reported that they consider this custom shameful "and show that the chief has little confidence in his wife's virtue." (2)

2. Voyages et découvertes en Afrique /Travels and Discoveries in Africa/, vol. I, p. 205.

174 Though command is now the privilege of the men, it is not impossible that in the past women were invested with power. We have evidence of it in the story of the Berber queen, Kahéna, who for a long time resisted the Arab invaders who were trying to conquer Aurès in the eighth century. The legend of Ti-n-Hinan, maternal ancestor of the Ihaggaren Tuareg, leads us to believe that the woman was their queen. In 1475, a Berber fraction settled

174 in the Sudan, the Sanhadja-Nounou, was governed by a woman named Bikoun-Kabi, whom the Sonrha'i /Songhai/ emperor Sonni-Ali had to conquer in order to seize her territory. Es-Sadi, author of the Tarik-es-Soudan, reports several facts of this kind.

The Islamization of the Berber tribes certainly had a part in the elimination of the custom. Women no longer play any official [562] political role in our times. But they have made themselves the guardians of ancestral customs and folklore, and their authority is [626] so strong that one /154/ can only quote the answer of a Tuareg to an Arab who admonished him upon the subject of Tuareg mores: "No one would dare do otherwise, for then no woman would look at us any longer."

162 The persistence of monogamy among the Tuareg is also favored 182 by the considerable excess of men found among them, an exceptinnal 545 fact and contrary to what we observe in other human groups.

The aménokal. -- Aménokal means in Tamashek "possessor of 643 the country" (from am, possessive prefix, and akal, "country").

[192] In the Ahaggar this title is conferred only upon the supreme chief reigning over a whole of noble, vassal, or assimilated tribes. [184] In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, it may be applied to heads of fractions, indeed even to mere camp chiefs.

The aménokal is designated according to hereditary rules deriving from the matriarchal system. He is always chosen, not only in the same tribe, but in the same line which one could compare to the clan. His domination, to be effective, must be sanctioned by the approval of the nobles to whom are joined for the occasion the chiefs of vassal tribes. For the latter, approval involves an agreement to pay tribute later.

Sometimes there are several pretenders to the title; perhaps a descendant of a formerly ousted family asserts his rights, or perhaps the natural heir is recognized incapable of leadership. This brings about a competition where hereditary rules are not always respected.

643 According to the rules cited above, the political succession of an aménokal goes in the first degree to his brother; in the second degree, that is, if he has no brother, to his first cousin, the eldest son of his maternal aunt; and in the third degree, to the eldest son of his eldest sister. In fact, this is what comes out of the genealogical [114] study of the Ahaggar chiefs made by Mr. Benhazéra, (1) modifying

1. Six mois dans l'Ahaggar /Six Months in the Ahaggar/.

the order indicated by Duveyrier who attributed the succession to the eldest son of the eldest sister. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord /The Northern Tuareg/, p. 397.

For reasons we do not know, these rules have not always been followed. Thus, Aménokal Younès succeeded his /155/ father Mohamed el Khir, and Aménokal Ăitarel /succeeded/ his cousin El Khadj Akhmed, even though the latter had closer relatives. More recently, upon the death of Aménokal Akhamouk, his second cousin Meslah was named to replace him, although he had a first cousin, son of the sister of the former Aménokal Moussa ag Ămâstan, who was removed from command because of incompetence.

184 643 Among the Tenguériguif /Tehgeredief/, chiefs are chosen alternately from two lateral lines descended from the same chief, Ikhmed. Thus the deceased aménokal can never be succeeded by his brother, but by a second or third cousin, who is not necessarily taken from the uterine branch. The nomination of the aménokal is submitted to an assembly of notables for their approval, just as among the Ihăggaren.

Among the Ioullimmiden, since Aménokal Our Ilmet (1650-1715), out of fourteen chiefs who succeeded one another, we note six successions from father to son, two from brother to brother, two

184 643 [173] from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin. The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 611 631 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out, it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 651 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll. He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his [644] appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

[178] There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/ today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It [644] benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 [534 177 192] The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum," "cylinder of a drum."

643 This instrument is so representative of command in the eyes of the Tuareg that they often refer to the aménokal and all the tribes which he holds under his command as "tobol."

184 Among the eastern Ioullimmiden (Kel Dinnik), the aménokal
643 always had a standard placed in his tent, which was taken out exceptionally for war or the enthroning of a new aménokal. It was in blue-green and red silk. (1)

1. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik /Notes on the Society and State of the Dinnik Tuareg/," Bulletin de l'Institut Français. Afrique noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, p. 586.

Among the Ihággaren, the tobol tribe, that is, the one from which the aménokal is always chosen, is the Kel Rela; however, the tobol has presumably changed hands over the centuries. The memory
[173] of another chief-tribe, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, has remained, and thus the former Aménokal A'ltarel was accustomed to saying that the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi formed the back (of the political organization of the Ihággaren), /while/ the Kel Rela, the Táttok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet /formed/ the sides, but that the back was weakening to the profit of the sides. (2) This modification was caused by the total

2. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs de l'Ahaggar, p. 107.

extinction of the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi.

578 The aménokal's role is chiefly that of a war chief. In normal
643 times he arbitrates the conflicts which set the tribes against one
692 another, and he has the power of life or death, in principle. His authority is often contested by the Imochar of his own tribe, who try

565 from all vassalage taxes and are often the object of much respect
[651] and consideration wherever they go. Thus, in the Ahaggar, they are treated on an equal footing with the Imochar, and the latter
[582] sometimes accept marriages with them, while at the same time re-
[641] fusing to grant political rights to the children born of these unions. On the other hand, among the Ioullimmiden, the Imochar reject
[184] any alliance with them and make them pay a vassalage due. These /Inislimen/ of the Damergou, contrary to the rule, are considered
[582] nobles; they own Imrad and may wage war. Furthermore, they have made themselves noticed as the most bellicose among the Aïr tribes. Finally, those of the Adrar succeeded in forming a confederation after the Ioullimmiden abandoned the country; they have Imrad, but the Imochar from the other confederations do not want to regard them as their equals.

They are often referred to under the name of Ichériffen, or
[192] Chériffen, which comes from the Arab word sherif, meaning "noble," or, by extension, "descendant of the Prophet." But among the Tuareg, Ichériffen has a more specialized meaning and designates persons of a religious nature, without their necessarily being descendants of Mahomet.

The marabout tribes include the Ichériffen properly so called and the Ifôra.

This religious nature has various origins and qualities.

Some elements really number sherifs among their ancestors; such is the case of the Ifôra from the Adrar and certain Kel Es-Souq fractions. But opposed to them are others who have only an accidental religious character.

174 Concerning this, Commander Cauvet says that these marabout
565 tribes often appear to be noble collectivities, who were formerly
793 strong and became too weak to continue enjoying the rights and prestige of the strong. They declared themselves withdrawn from the business of arms and devoted to pious practices for love of God and Islam. "A tribe threatened with losing its preponderance,

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Ihăggaren and the Kel Ăjjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifora were pillaged themselves upon several occasions by the Ihăggaren and forced to seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

The influence of the Inislimen on the Ihăggaren and the Kel
[797] Ăjjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact, they are generally quite ignorant.

[554] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving, they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and disapproved of the belligerent action of the Ihăggaren against us, in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tăademaket
565 and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.
797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable
[648] enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifora was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tăademeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents. They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721] Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
[181] refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
701 other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Chériffen are divided into ordinary Chériffen and warrior Chériffen.

184 The Inislimen way of life is the same as that of the Tuareg.
565 They speak the same language and administer themselves with no
793 intervention from the Imochar. A few cases of polygamy have been
[631] observed among them. This is the result of their gradual Islamization,
[595] which favors the custom, and of patriarchy which was already in practice in some Sudanese tribes.

565 The Imrad. -- Imrad probably comes from the Tamashek root
[192] égeid, égeit, which means "kid," "little goat," and from the prefix
[422] am indicating possession. In short, this means "possessors of goats."
In fact, the Imrad formerly could own only goats, for the Imochar reserved the possession of camels for themselves.

Their nickname is Kel Oulli, which also means "goat people," a name which they prefer to Imrad, which is probably a bit degrading for them.

[631] /165/ They make up tribes enfeoffed to the Imochar and are their vassals.

The Imochar have a certain scorn for them and consider them people of low birth, not of the pure Tuareg race; the name Taouia Settefet, meaning "of black descent," is often applied to them. (1)

1. Among the Ioullimmiden they are referred to as Idinet.

173 Nothing indicates a racial inferiority of the Imrad to the Imochar,
565 however. If we want to interpret the old legends of the Ahaggar,
144 everything leads us to believe that the Imrad were in most instances the first occupants of the country, and the Imochar, who were the invaders, were conquerers who made themselves masters of the country by force. The crossbreeding with the blacks cannot be a decisive criterion, for many Imrad tribes are not physically more "Negroid" than the Imochar. It is also true that the Imrad are
[186] less rigorous than the Imochar in maintaining the integrity of old
[184] Tuareg customs. They have less greatness of soul and sentiment, as well as less ethnic pride.

565 192 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga, a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 233 423 241 563 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate themselves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote [602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general- [582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihǎggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihǎggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 631 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an [643 annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. 651] They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores [184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous [567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. 461] They own slaves, but they do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar, [582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

563 become sedentary, exists in the Sudan, in the Niafunké region.

There seems to be a category of low-class Iborelliten who are
563 referred to as Irraouellan. Nicolas considers them former captives
567 who have been liberated. Chudeau reported an Irraouellan tribe,
[727] whose members were said to be freedmen or descendants of former captives. He adds that the children of a Tuareg man and a slave are by law Irraouellan.

We shall add to these different definitions that in the Aïr a slave woman who marries a Tuareg becomes free as does her family, and the children born of her marriage are then called Ikalalen.

Among the Kel-Ahaggar, we do not find any true Iborelliten
[184] or Irraouellan tribes, although there are men belonging to these social classes.

The Iklan. -- The Iklan (singular, Akli; feminine singular,
567 Taklit) are the serfs, or slaves, of the Tuareg. The name Iklan
[192 144] comes from the Tamashek root Kl, meaning "black being"; (2)

2. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

and indeed these people are foreign to the Tuareg race. They are Negroes of all origins, formerly captured in the Sudan and reduced to slavery by the Tuareg. They form a separate class, which is not a tribe, except when they are freed conditionally or completely. Then they are called Iklan-n-égef or Iderfan, depending on which is the case.

They have founded a family among the Tuareg and given birth
[144] to a new race with the most diverse characteristics, from which the white element is not excluded.

Slaves are employed in keeping the flocks, and in the house-
[181] hold work of the camp; they share the life of their masters and from their contact with them have acquired an independent nature which makes them love the freedom of nomadism, so much so that it would now be difficult for them to resume the sedentary life of their Ancestors.

564 The Tuareg, who heartily scorn them because of their obscure origin and servile profession, recognize their good qualities and are happy to profit from them. They also fear them a good deal, for [754] they credit them with supernatural powers of sorcery and magic. Possessors of fire, mistreating the earth and the minerals by beating them, they are placed in a world apart, inhabited by the genii with whom they are likely to enter into relations. Although the Moslem [751] marabouts willingly sell amulets, which the Tuareg prize, the latter do not hesitate, in case of need, to ask the Enaden for amulets in preference.

The Enaden are still more despised because they have no moral principles and willingly serve as spies and traitors; they spy on the Iklan and the wives of their masters and also act as go-between for [837] lovers. Like the jesters in our Middle Ages, they have the right to go anywhere, including among the women. Everyone finds this natural, for this is a right which is all but acknowledged.

Sometimes they take part in raids, and they are reputed to fight [726] bravely, although no one wants to stay beside them during combat, since they seem to possess talismans so powerful that javelins directed toward them deviate /175/ from their route and are apt to strike those [626] nearby. The Tuareg never kill an Enad, for this brings misfortune and the Enad might take revenge from beyond the tomb.

In Sudanese tribes they are called ag'gou (plural, ag'gouten) and 184 sometimes play the part of jesters (griot). Some are musicians and 564 storytellers. This role is not widespread, but it happens that the amenokal of the Tenguéréguif, Chéboun, has several griots attached to his person. They avenge themselves on people who are not [626] generous enough to them by making satirical songs against them to which the Tuareg are often very sensitive.

They are willing to do anything to earn a bit of money, which 564 they spend as fast as they get it. A blacksmith always has his debts, 436 but people give him credit for they know that he will be shrewd 454 enough to repay them one day.

631 They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since
[669] they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaïa.

565 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tăousit, still called
644 Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they
631 made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be
[184] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion
[241] to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and
[162] they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[23] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tăhalra, and in the region of Silet-Ăbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers
[241] of Tîgeneouin, Ăbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm
423 grove at Tibeghîn, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is
563 synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and
631 Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hâda
Kel In Rhar'
Kel Tăfedest
Kel Immîdir
Kel Tăzoûlet
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Téroûrirt
Kel Ouhet

312 and from all the subterranean flows; thus it is richer in watering places. There are rédir, or wells, varying from 5 to 10 meters in depth.

342 The tent. -- This kind of habitation is found from the western Asian steppes to the Atlantic, where nomads have generally adopted the camel's-hair tent. Tuareg, who do not own any camels with long hair, use skins.

[281] The tent is composed of a large awning formed by assembling 30 to 40 wild-sheep or goat hides, with the hair removed and tanned. Because of the scarcity of wild-sheep skins, goatskin and even cow-
[184] hide are gradually being substituted for them. Cowhide is used exclusively by the Ioullimmiden Tuareg. The awning is held up by a frame of arches or poles. The Kel Ahaggar, moreover, have two kinds of tents: one with vertical supports and one with arches. The former is more widespread at the present time. It includes a central pole with a wooden ridge tile and six secondary poles placed in a circle. The highest part of the awning is about 1.5 meters from the ground. The edges of the skin hang down almost level with the ground where they are attached by small pegs in order to keep out the sandstorms which are very common in spring and summer, and keep out the winter cold.

The ridge tile on a central pole is especially used in summer when rains are feared, for it gives the proper slope to the awning so that water can flow off. In other seasons this ridge tile is replaced by two poles supporting a crosspiece.

Although one cannot stand inside, the Tuareg tent is spacious enough. The poles are in tamarisk wood, with coarse sculpture,
323 531 pyrography, and paintings on the upper part. /224/ This type of tent is used by the Kel Rela, the Dǎg Rǎli, and most of the Kel Ahaggar.

[184] The other model is now used only among the Ǎgouh-en-Tĕhlé. It appears that the Kel Ǎhnet and the Kel In Rhar may still use it, too. The center stake of the type described above is replaced by one or two arches made of éthel /atle? Ed./ roots joined by a

The tent is occupied by only one household, and each of the married couple has his own side. The man's side is to the left as one enters the door; there he keeps his mehari saddle, his weapons, and his bags of salt. To the right is the woman's place, where she keeps her bag of personal things, her saddle if she has one, the bags containing the food supplies, and the kitchen implements which she has charge of. 592 [422]

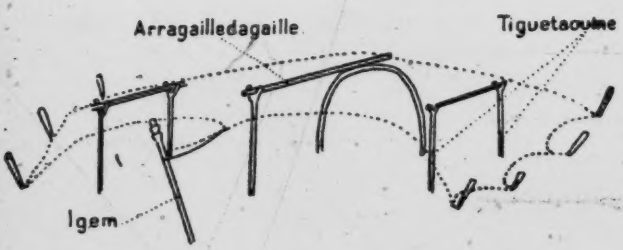


Fig. 26. Tent used by the Agouh-n-Tehlé. Sometimes the stake supporting the aragailledagaille may be replaced by a second arch. In some tribes, particularly among the Kel Ahnet, the arches were placed crosswise.

In summer when it is very hot, the Tuareg sometimes use straw huts, as much to save hides as to be a bit more comfortable. The leather tent, in fact, is made almost useless by the heat, and nomads often seek shelter during the heat of the day under neighboring trees when there are any or else in the rocks. 342 [184]

trees when there are any or else in the rocks.

Captives never have tents. They build themselves little shelters with a few branches on which are hung scraps of leather or cloth. [727]

It falls entirely to the women to put up the tents. [462]

Granaries. -- One of the most characteristic facts of nomadic life is its lack of foresight in questions of food. For the most part, the nomad lives from one day to the next, following the seasons, without accumulating anything. This is somewhat the case for the Tuareg. Still, the Sahara is not a country where one can find supplies easily. 251 343

251 Thus, they are forced to keep supplies on hand, /226/ but it is a
343 limited stock, consisting of two or three bags of sorghum or dates which are transported each time the camp is moved. It is customary, when supplies are more considerable, to leave them in the rocks of the mountains in spots known to the people of the tribe. These granaries (ekaham) allow them to travel lighter and at the same time put supplies in safe places. In case camps are raided they make a sufficient food reserve so that the people are not driven to starvation.

184 Some tribes which have gardens in the centers of cultivation
343 often have food deposits there; they are stored for a whole family
423 group. Thus the Dag Rali have stores in the Koudia, at Ilaman,
251 Tarahananet, Abalessa, etc., where they entrust the care of their goods to their local representatives. These centers have secret granaries; they are scarcely used these days, but they were used before the French occupation for reasons of safety in case of raids. We have seen hiding places of this kind at Tit and at Bloumet, and there are probably some at Tazerouk and Ideles. They consist of cellars dug in the soil at ground level and hidden from the eyes of passers-by. Merchandise was thus protected from men and rodents.

171 While we are on the subject, let us add that granaries dug in rock are common among all Berbers. Today they may still be seen in Morocco and among the Chaouia /Shawia/ of Aurès. This custom seems to have been common in Mediterranean countries, in Syria, and especially in Palestine where it was already reported in Biblical times.

343 The Akhamouk amenokal was the only person who had real
643 granaries. He had three or four of them constructed of stone bound
251 with clay using the Sudanese technique. They were placed at the top of a rocky crest on the left bank of the Abalessa wadi, near the place where his camp was most often established.

513 Sleeping arrangements. -- Bedding includes only one or two
[566] sheepskins sewn together, or more rarely a rug among the rich people.

224 The administration fortunately has decided to confiscate these
[411 weapons.
648] It is very difficult to get an exact idea of the number of animals killed annually by hunters. But we believe we are close to accurate in giving the figure 300. Thus we say that hunting holds a very small place in Ahaggar Tuareg economy.

236 Fishing. -- Fishing is not done by the Tuareg for the reasons
[184] we have given. Only the Issekkemâren and the Iklan engage in it. They fish when the pond water is very low. In the Tassili they dig little ditches on the lower side at water level, leading to little reservoirs where the fish find refuge and are then surely caught.

[251] When fishing has been fruitful, the Issekkemâren dry the fish to keep them for periods of scarcity.

/244/ Chapter 5

## Agriculture

241 The Ahaggar Tuareg have never attached more than a very secondary importance to agriculture. Their nomadic turn of mind is at the opposite pole from land ownership and still more from exploiting it, which implies sedentary life. There are, however, a number of centers of cultivation in their country; they are of undeniable interest and could be extended more widely if improper legislation did not hinder their development.

The creation of most of these centers of cultivation does not
177 go back more than a century. It was accomplished under the in-
241 fluence of Arab groups settled in the Ahaggar. Only the Silet and Tibeghîn oases are much older and probably date from the time of the Imanan sultans who had brought into the Ahaggar some

/249/ Chapter 6

## Animal Husbandry

233 If we study mainly the tribes which live in the Sudan, in a country which lends itself perfectly to animal husbandry, we observe that the Tuareg are experienced herders, capable of making their herds prosper. The scarcity of pastures in the Sahara has evidently put animal husbandry in the background among the northern Tuareg, but it was certainly not always that way. The example that we have before us in the Sudan allows us to class all the Tuareg among the great herders. [184]

Animal husbandry is at the very foundation of their living conditions. It is probably the source of their migrations and their swarming over the Sahara and the Sudan. On these grounds the Tuareg, like all shepherds, may be reproached for their thieving and destructive bent, the effect of which is often felt by urban groups and always by the vegetation which they shamelessly destroy. With these reservations, however, they have brought with them some elements of cultural civilization which have played a considerable role both in the Sahara and the Sudan. [167]

The Ihaggaren are forced to count on the income from their herds and could not live without them. That is why they devote a large part of their work to animal husbandry, despite the difficulties imposed on them by caring for the animals.

This animal husbandry, moreover, is peculiar to the Saharian regions and is totally different from that of the Sudanese Tuareg. The Sudanese own cattle, great quantities of sheep, and horses; the Sahara could not support such flocks. [184]

The Ahaggar Tuareg raise camels, goats, sheep, and asses.

174 The camel. -- We have seen previously what we must think about the introduction of the camel into the Sahara. Whether it was

262 237 The ass is never eaten, and its skin is not used.

233 The horse. -- The horse is not a Saharian animal. In 1929 there were four horses in the Ahaggar belonging to the aménokal. [643] Today there are about twenty of them belonging to the members of 644 his family or to the notables of his camp.

[184 This is an expensive luxury, for these animals must be fed with barley, and there is not enough barley for the people themselves. 262] It tends to replace the camel for the Sudanese Tuareg.

/254/ The zebu. -- A few years ago the aménokal owned a [648] small herd of zebus which he had had sent from the Sudan. This [137] animal is not raised in the Ahaggar proper, and it could not be, for lack of appropriate pasture.

[312] The zebus serve in the agricultural centers by drawing water. They are furnished to the tenant farmer by the proprietor of the land, [427] and they are very poorly fed on hardship rations of hay and grass, or else they are put in rush pastures, which are generally plentiful in the agricultural centers.

[438] When the animal is tired, the owner exchanges him if that is at all possible. The privations which the zebus must undergo bring about their death in a relatively short span of time, and so in the Ahaggar it is a question of keeping them alive rather than raising them. In any case, they never follow the camps in their moves and never live near them.

361 136 When we talked about the camp, we told how the search for pasture directed its location.

233 Insofar as animal husbandry properly speaking is concerned, we 361 observe that the small animals -- sheep, goats, and asses -- always stay in the Ahaggar and move with the camp.

As for camels, this is not the case; they are often put out to pasture far from the tents, watched only by a few shepherds. The majority are even kept in the Sudan 800 kilometers from their owners'

515 care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed [824] every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

751 For them the main question is protecting the different parts of the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the body is to that end.

291 They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue 302 color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired color.

302 To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their [171] limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

515 The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth. They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal [412] and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed [824] to form a brush. For this purpose they use irak branches (Salvadora persica) or palm jereed.

/258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring 302 for the hair.

Young boys have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed [593 by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer 279 them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region. [184] They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a [882] certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have themselves shaved completely.

302 751 Men and women make rings around their eyes with kohl; they put it not only on the eyebrows, but especially at the roots of the eyelashes. They do this for medical purposes, for they attribute [164] to kohl the ability to protect them against eye maladies, in particular against ophthalmia which strikes many of them.

[826] The Tuareg appreciate the long, narrow hands of people who do no manual labor. They do not take any particular [412] care of them and are [531] satisfied merely to cut 212 their nails rather short. As they do for hair, they bury the scraps so that no one can take them.

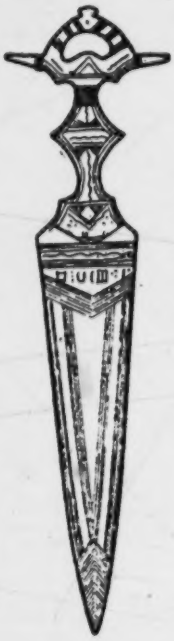

Fig. 36. Hairdressing knife, bearing the name of the artisan who made it in tifinagh characters.

304 [171] Tattooing. -- Make-up. -- Unlike the Kabyle and the Berbers, the Tuareg are not tattooed. This detail, which may seem insignificant, nevertheless indicates that the relationship of these different human groups is not nearly as close as one might believe, since there are such appreciable differences in mores.

184 304 Some women blue their gums and sometimes their lips by tattooing them, but this custom is particularly prevalent in the Sudanese tribes of the Timbuktu region.

302 [751] [517] On the other hand, make-up is used on a large scale among Tuareg women. They put red ocher on their faces to protect the skin from the /260/ sun. For aesthetic reasons they also blue their lips and around their mouths with indigo.

174 heads of human figures. It seems, under the circumstances, that
291 there was a taboo against representing facial characteristics.

Can the substitution of zoomorphic heads in the human figures drawn at a very early epoch on the Tassili-n-Ajjer rocks, springing from totemic beliefs, also contribute to explaining the origin of the veil? This is a permissible hypothesis.

291 What is certain is that, at the present time, it is shameful for
826 a Tuareg to show his mouth and that the veil is the principal part of his dress. When he goes to draw water from a well, he will take off his gandurah and rull up the bottom of his trousers to be more comfortable, but he will take care that his veil is always in place.

291 Wearing the litham /veil/ -- or tiguelmoust -- includes an entire ritual which implies the existence of beliefs whose details have escaped us, because the Tuareg themselves no longer elucidate its meaning.

184 The style of wearing the veil and of placing the different parts
291 on the head may differ from one tribe to another, and there are local modes which some prefer by personal taste. And so, in recent years, the young men of the Ahaggar adopted the style of wearing the veil used by the Kel Férouan from the Aïr. This, moreover, earned them harsh criticism from the elders of their tribe.

156 /267/ But apart from these different ways of placing the veil
291 according to local or personal modes, the shape and knack make it more or less elegant. There is also a veil psychology, and when one knows a man, the way his veil is fixed may indicate his state of mind -- the reserved, modest way used when he presents himself in a camp where there are women; the elegant, studied manner for going to lover's meetings; the haughty manner of a warrior conscious of his importance; and the whimsical air of the Imrad or the swaggering slave. There is also the jovial, good-natured fellow's style of wearing the veil loosely and sloppily, and the disorderly style of the unstable, easily irritated man.

156 291 The veil can express a fleeting sentiment. Thus, it is pulled down over the eyes before respectable people or women, while it is raised over the forehead, on the contrary, as a sign of familiarity. To laugh freely at a joke, a Tuareg will raise the lower part of his veil very high over his nose. When he is irritated, he will tighten it like a chin strap to mask his anger.

292 In the festive garb worn on the occasion of religious or family festivals, the veil is complicated with many turbans made of white muslin and bands of colored silk. The upper part receives a sort of frame which lets them arrange many cotton bands, interlacing them to form a kind of crest. The top part of the cranium is never covered, and the veil lets tufts of braided hair stick out. At marriages, it was formerly the custom to wear the takoumbout, a sort of big chéchia made of wool fortified with enormous flosses of cotton and covered with silvery appliqués. This headdress is on its way to disappearing completely, and there are no more than one or two in the whole Ahaggar today.

291 The Ihaggaren use two kinds of sandals: the broad cowhide sandal called irratimen with simple red leather straps crossing over the instep, and a sandal called imerkéden made of a number of scraps of goatskin sewed together, with a strap going around the heel and tying with a knot on the instep.

[184 556] The irratimen are particularly worn by well-to-do men and especially appreciated in sandy regions where their large carrying area keeps one from sinking too deep. /268/ This sandal, which [177 439] is manufactured by Hausa artisans from Agadez or Damergou, was borrowed from these peoples by the Tuareg. Its origin must not be attributed to the Tuareg.

The true sandals of the Ahaggar people are the imerkéden, [184 556] which they still wear and which the mountain people always prefer, since they are especially well adapted to walking on rocks. They are worn by the common people and by the Iklan who have no money to buy Sudanese sandals, while they all know how to make very comfortable imerkéden with a few old pieces of goatskin.

184 Although men's costume does not vary at all, or very little,
291 this is not the case for women's clothing. That worn by Ahaggar women is peculiar to that region, while Aïr or Ioullimmiden women dress in their own way.

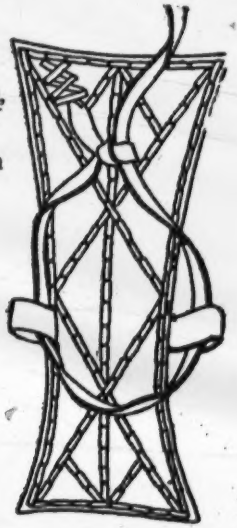

Fig. 39. An imerkéden, sandal made of skins sewed together and worn by Ahaggar mountaineers.

291 Tuareg women do not wear trousers but have a white cloth skirt wound around the loins. Ahaggar women wear over it a large white cloth blouse, similar in shape to that of the men, but closed
[556] on the sides. Well-to-do women wear a second blouse on top, made of indigo-dyed cloth.

184 In Aïr the blouse is replaced by a little bolero, and in
291 Ioullimmiden tribes women usually go bare chested or content themselves with a rectangular piece of material which they casually throw over their shoulders.

291 They do not veil their faces like the men. A little mantilla made of one or two toukourdi is worn wrapped around the head and

face to hide their features in front of strangers. During their moves, Ahaggar women use a big, broad-brimmed straw hat -- the téléé -- to protect themselves from the sun. 291 [484]

/269/ They wear irratimen on their feet like the men, but more often they go barefoot. In the Sudan, during the rainy season, they replace the leather irratimen by very light wooden irratimen, which fulfill the same function there as wooden shoes do for us.

[487]

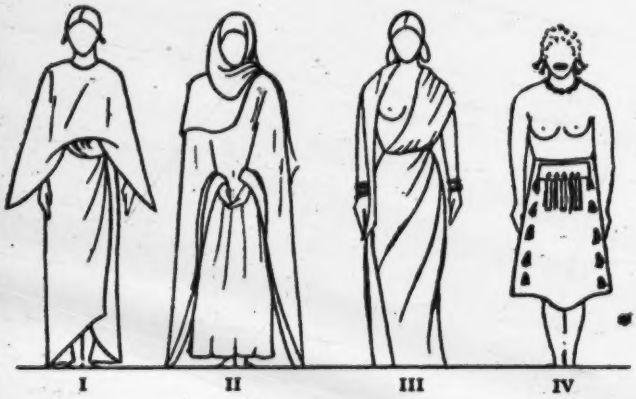


Fig. 40. Costume of Tuareg women.

1) Costume of Aïr Tuareg women, which includes a skirt and a little bolero.
2) Ahaggar Tuareg women's costume, including a skirt and a big gandurah reaching to the feet.
3) Sudanese Tuareg women's costume, including a skirt and a shawl around the shoulders.
4) Leather skirts for servant girls, in use in Ioullimmiden tribes.

In the Ahaggar and the Tassili, men and women wear a large white wool haik to wrap up the head and shoulders. During the cold period of winter they wrap up in a long woolen blanket (dokkali) made by the Arabs in Touat. The latter exchange them with the Ihaggaren for sheep. [439]

841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
842 a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[788] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
[782 769] pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout
[431] an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
846 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.
431

Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
862 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his
854 stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
[184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimmiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This
[171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are some-
[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
851 Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517 ennobles the woman.

847 under these circumstances, she usually goes to visit a relative and tries to hide her pregnancy. No one is taken in, but nobody says [756] anything. She goes to see a marabout who, for a rather high price, makes a few mysterious signs before the sinner, writes a few words in Arabic on a small board, washes the writing, and gathers the water in a gourd for the woman to drink. In case these practices are successful (?), a second sum identical to the first one is paid. [278] If not, the woman tries several mixtures, generally with a base of adjerdjir (Cassia abavata), and in case the results are still negative, the baby is simply strangled when it comes into the world. Although these mores are still more or less in force, they seem some- [797] what reduced by Islamization, and unnatural mothers are some- 848 times punished severely.

174 The ahal seems to have existed in ancient North African Libyan tribes. Herodotus mentioned the community of women among the Nasamonians, and the ahal is, in fact, only a derived and evolved form of it, if one could call it evolved.

582 Marriage. -- With the existence of such easy mores, it is understandable that young men and women do not care to marry early. Women rarely marry before the age of twenty, and men, before thirty.

584 Although the girl is free with her body, as we have seen, she still needs her father's authorization to marry. On the other hand, [593] however, it is rare for a husband to be imposed on her or for her to be married before puberty, as is the custom among the Arabs.

/291/ Mates are chosen in the lovers' meetings which form a sort of trial marriage. The suitor must ask the young girl's father through one of his parents or through a religious person if there is one in the region.

[184] Among the Ihaggaren everyone is informed of the suit, but in Aïr this is not the case; there the mother and the family of the girl are informed only when everything is arranged. If the [587] woman has already been married, her father's permission is no longer necessary.

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and [584-565] less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats, or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses [562] fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's [421] fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or decreases.

584 As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter [184] custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents, where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company. During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women, [533] among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of "aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to [174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

727 that the Amrid paid part of it to the Imochar. The lender of arms or meharis was compensated in his turn, and that part of the booty was called abellag.

726 The Tuareg had the reputation of acting treacherously in battle and not always following the rules of chivalry for Saharian war.

In battle a man who threw himself at the feet of his conqueror and touched his clothes placed himself under his protection and 727 had a right to live; but the Tuareg did not always value this rule and often killed their prisoners.

When a tribe had been pillaged illegally, that is, when there had been no previous acts of hostility authorizing reprisal, a delegation of warriors from that tribe came to the opposing camp to try to negotiate for the return of the captures. This is what the Arabs call the myad, a term which has been adopted by the Tuareg. There again the Tuareg did not always show themselves to be very chivalrous, and they often savagely massacred the defenseless ambassadors.

726 562 During wars and raids, women enjoy the rare privilege of being respected by the combatants. During the operations of the French occupation, men were often seen fleeing the camps, abandoning the women /324/ and children to the conquerors. [648] This conduct has often caused the Tuareg to be accused of cowardice. This was a false intepretation of the facts, for the Tuareg acted that way prompted by the immunity which women enjoyed.

184 726 562 It is shameful during a raid to forget this rule of protection and do violence to women, strip them of their clothes, or penetrate into their tents. The infractions committed were often the acts of unscrupulous persons without honor. Most of the Imrad and Iklan, it appears, are in the habit of stripping women of their clothes and their jewels, going so far as to leave them completely nude, and it even happens that they rape them. The

more chivalrous Imochar and a few rare Imrad try to oppose this, but in warlike escapades the Iklan and people with few morals are often more numerous than the others.

Abuses of women always called for vengeance, which the adversaries usually received before long. Acts of this kind were enough to raise up entire tribes against one another. And so, in the Sudan, the exactions of Marabout Abidine's people on the Kel Ádrar Tuareg, at the time of the murder of their amenokal Safikroum in 1912, made irreconcilable enemies of these two fractions.

At the beginning of the French occupation, when lieutenants Cottenest and Guilho-Lohan carried out their reconnaissance missions in the Ahaggar, they found women abandoned in the camps by their husbands. The good care which was taken of them made it easier to make peaceful contact later with the Ihaggaren.

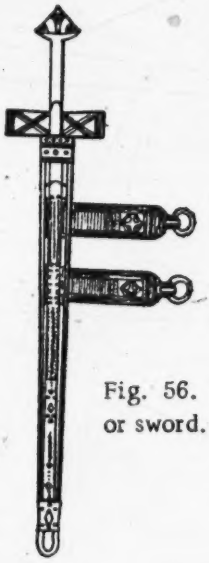

Fig. 56. The tacouba, or sword.

Tuareg weapons include iron lances, javelins with wooden staff, swords, daggers, and a buckler.

/325/ Even before the French occupation the Tuareg knew how to use firearms and possessed a certain number of guns. They were for the most part projectile weapons or archaic models of the

Lefaucheux type. But their prices were high for Tuareg pocket- 411
books, and it was difficult to procure powder and bullets, which 439
made firearms uncommon and often the prerogative of the chiefs. 554

Tuareg weapons vary according to the circumstances. The
Imochar carries the arms he likes: they include the sword 184
(tacouba), which is the 411
weapon par excellence 565
of the nobles; the iron
lance (allar') carried by
nobles and vassals; [531]
javelins with iron shoulder
and point and wooden
staff (tarda), which are
set aside for vassals and
slaves; and the forearm
dagger (télak) provided
with a leather ring so that
it may be hung from the
wrist. In the Sudan slaves
also carry wooden clubs
(tabouri), heavy branches
with a knot at one end.

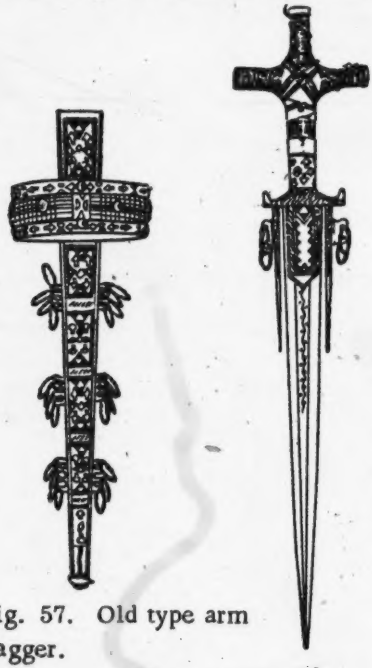

Fig. 57. Old type arm dagger.

The Tuareg have only
one defensive weapon,
the buckler (ahrer) which
is made of oryx antelope
skin. It was generally the prerogative of the nobles, and only
they had the right to carry it. It recalls the coat of arms by its [531]
shape and the ideology which surrounds it; the decorative motifs
which it bears have a magic character.

The Tuareg are adroit fencers, fighting hand /326/ to hand 411
with their swords while protecting themselves with their bucklers 714
which cover their bodies and which they handle with a great deal
of dexterity in spite of the volume and weight. The sword cuts

The "tidjelmoust" ⊕⊐||'|'+ , or veil. The veil 291
is made of a single strip of dark-blue or black cotton. To put it on, the end is placed on top of the head, then it is first wrapped around at the bottom to hide the lower part of the face. Then it is brought back up to hide the upper part of the face, and the head is wound with the rest of the strip to hold it in place.

The upper part of the veil is called "amaoual-oua-n-afella," the lower part "amaoual-oua-n-aris." The top of the [302]
head remains uncovered to leave free the hair, which is braided in small strands or cut in the shape of a cock's comb, or just cut short. The part of the veil which covers the nape of the neck is called "adjedellehouf."

When the veil is on the forehead is bound with white or colored material, "asaded" ΛΛ⊡ , and to be pleasing a bright-colored ribbon or cloth, "itelli" Σ||+ , can be added.

The young people some time ago imported a fashion which 177
they borrowed from the Kel Fedé of the Aïr and which consists 291
of a kind of diadem of this shape:

It is placed on the forehead and is covered and hidden by the veil, which holds it in place.

This diadem, which is called "tadebanat" +|⊡V+ , [184]
is not liked by the "old Tuareg" party, who have not adopted it. Sidi ag /37/ Keradji told me that he preferred the old fashion which consisted of slipping under the "assaded" amulets enclosed in silver plaques, called "tira-n-azerouf." But the "young Tuareg" party is not of this opinion and considers the new fashion not lacking in elegance.

Sometimes they cross a white sash on the chest, 291
"tirezzemine" |⊐# O+ .

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



175 p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have had only
643 very short periods of reign.

Although the Sultan had but little real power he had a high prestige and was very rich. He had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, as men-
[651] tioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, p. 828f.), and he was also entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade. But the Sultan had under his direct command only the negroid populations of Agadez and the villages of In Gall and Teguidda-n-Tecem. The people of Agadez, said to be members of the religious *Ineslemen* class, have never paid any tribute to the Sultan, whereas he received annual payments from the two villages mentioned. All other people of Air apparently had no fixed economic obligations to the Sultan.

The Sultan had the direct jurisdiction over the negroes under his command. He was the arbitrator and supreme judge in disagreements between the different Tuareg groups to be mentioned below. But he could not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels.

As we have seen the dominant Tuareg group at the establishment of the Sultanry was the Itesen most of whom left the massif long before the arrival of the French. We have also seen that the Kel Geres owing to wars with the Kel Ooui in the 18th century went southwards to the Nigerian borderlands where they became politically independent. In the 19th century the important political groups of the Air Sultanry were the following:–

The Kel Ooui occupying the eastern and most mountaineous parts of the
162 massif. According to figures given by Nicolas for clans and villages of the Kel Ooui
175 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 465ff.) their total number seems now to be about 8000.

631 The Kel Tamat including the Ikaskazan. The group judged by the figures for some of the clans (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471f.) has about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the Kel Ooui. Contrary to the two following groups they were placed under the authority of the supreme Kel Ooui chief, the *Anastafidet*.

The Kel Fadei in the region of In Gall. Their total number according to Nicolas is 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The Kel Ferouan comprising clans in the western parts of the massif including the region of Agadez, and also south of the massif towards Damergou. They number about 5000.

The Kel Ooui group was for periods of the past very important politically. But
175 its political system apparently differed from that of other Tuareg groups which
•184 may be explained by the fact that a large number of them were settled agri-
565 culturists. The other Tuareg groups mentioned, on the contrary, were made up exclusively of pastoralists who roamed in the lower parts of the massif and the adjacent plains. In these groups there were two important classes which seem to have been of little importance among the Kel Ooui. The two classes in literature
175 are known as "noble Tuareg" *(Imacheren* sing. *Amacher)* and "vassal Tuareg"
565 *(Imrad,* sing. *Amrid)*. The vassal class in all groups was more numerous than that
631

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



582 Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there
[773] have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it
[581] results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally
[605] cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

605 Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with
606 joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance be-
221 tween children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown, the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two outwardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in
[184] the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8)[1]
601 which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and for certain matrilineal relatives. As clans, according to traditional rules, are groups
614 of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims the line of succession to be as follows:– 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Geres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims
614 that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that
613 this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

[1] [p.102, categor 116.—Analyst]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar



sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullemmeden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, p. 213; 1950c, p. 492f. – Richer 1924, p. 3, 52) an interesting matrilineal custom has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhazera (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Dubiéf has further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubiéf 1956, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes. In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

5:Nicolaisen E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air



634 727 particular case is related of a group of Ioullemmeden Tuareg attacking a camp of Kel Ferouan vassals who made a counterattack and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, then they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

[565] [721] 3) *Ekachchadi*, that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their drum-chief. In this case the drum-chief would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals who were not allowed to engage in warfare on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

The drum-chief had other income from his subjects who paid him an annual 634 651 565 fee termed *sadaḳa*. This fee, it is said, was paid not only by vassals but also by noble households of the Kel Azel clan. The sadaḳa fees were collected on behalf of the drum-chief by people of the Echchikhen and by negroid blacksmiths, who form a particular and rather numerous caste. There were definite rules for the payment of sadaḳa. It was computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example can here be mentioned the payments for camel herds:–

| *Size of Herd.* | *Sadaḳa.* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels | 2 goats |
| 15 camels | 3 goats |
| 25 camels | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels | 2 full-grown camels. |

The Echchikhen and the blacksmiths took the sadaḳa animals to the drum-chief. He gave some of them to the collectors who were themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of [735] the proceeds given to poor people by the drum-chief, who would keep a small part for himself.

The drum-chief had the supreme jurisdiction over his group. In all internal 634 692 matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge. In difficult cases he would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez or the Echchikhen. All members of the Kel Ferouan group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities *(edeiet)* were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen 682 had the right of blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. [696] But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man whose 184 kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Apparently there has never been any 682 fixed size of blood-wealth among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab Tribes of The Sahara.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:- 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 3 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan and eight in the three sub-clans of the Agouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up in minor camps of 2–7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative of the section in relation to the clan chief *(Amgar)*. These khalifas are not necessarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilineal as it is for clan chiefs. 614 [361] 621 476 [596] [422] [613] 622 [614]

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8–9), but the rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most clans. [184] [601] 602

[Text continues on p. 108]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Aggar



173 is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to
565 be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain
[114] an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and
184 vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's
565 milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much import-
492 ance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble
[234] Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

184 Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects,
565 and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:– 1) In noble
[583] clans bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal clans one to three camels which may be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas
[422] true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Rali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble
[342] Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post – that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-
[614] breeding clan Iregenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed
[173] marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. – Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Iregenaten Tuareg met in Air.

342 Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently
184 referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. – Lhote

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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1947, p. 38f., phot. 15, p. 33, p. 117. – Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247ff. – Moberg 1927, photographs p. 229 & 237). Among the Southern Tuareg T-shaped posts are used in Air, where, according to my inquiries, they are found notably among the Kel Tedale, the Ikaskazan, and the Kel Fadei – Tuareg who have immigrated fairly recently from the North and are noble or predominantly noble by origin. Air tents with T-shaped posts are published by Lhote and Chudeau (Lhote 1947, fig. 4 p. 39, photo 50 p. 81. – Chudeau 1909, pl. VIII p. 62). T-shaped posts are also said to occur among the Kel Geres, and they are common in skin tents of the Kel Dinnik (Eastern Ioullemmeden) from where detailed descriptions are given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1938, p. 54ff.; 1950a, p. 153ff., p. VIII.). For other Southern Tuareg there seem to be no reliable information on the use of T-shaped posts in skin tents. 342 184

The central T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin tents may probably be considered as related to similar posts in certain black tents (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143). This is interesting particularly when viewed in connection with Feilberg's theory that there may perhaps be a certain connection between the black tent and the one-humped camel or dromedary because of approximately similar distributions, and because camels and black tents seem to have arrived in North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Feilberg 1944, p. 117, 225ff.) – a view which has also been accepted by Hatt (Hatt 1944–45, p. 260). Obviously a theory connecting camels and black tents in Northern Africa fits very well with our assumption that the camel was introduced to Ahaggar by noble Tuareg among whom we also find the use of central T-shaped posts characteristic of certain black tents. Accordingly we have to test two theories:– 1) The theory that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin-tents are in fact derived from similar constructions of black tents, and 2) the theory that camels and black tents are historically connected in Northern Africa. 171 342 233 174

I think it can be proved that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are derived from similar elements in black tents, and my arguments are the following:– 171 342

1) The Tuareg live in contact with Arab pastoralists who have black tents. It is stated in literature that black tents are common among the Northern Tuareg (Zeltner 1914, p. 364. – Campbell 1928, p. 247), but this is not correct. It is true, however, as already mentioned by Duveyrier, that black tents are used by some Northern Tuareg (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403f.). But as far as my knowledge goes they occur only among the northernmost Kel Ajjer, the Iforas clans, who belong to the religious Ineslemen class and by some Tuareg are claimed to be noble. Black tents seem to be used occasionally in the south by Tuareg who live in close contact with Arabs. But these Tuareg apparently use black tents only when travelling, and not in ordinary camps (Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). Black tents are thus adopted by a few Tuareg, and many Tuareg of the north and the south-west have contact with Arab and Moorish black tent dwellers. [648] [114]

2) The Iforas Tuareg just mentioned use T-shaped posts both in black tents

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air



Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925–30, I–II). 3) As mentioned (p. 113) camel's milk is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly also among the Kel Ajjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors (Monteil 1952, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. 4) All Tuareg and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf to deceive the mother animal during milking – for camels like cows will not generally yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or butter as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. – Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of riding camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg, and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East Africa have the same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection with camel-breeding (Monteil 1952, p. 103).

171 234 [302] [262] 171 237 825 [261] 171 233 [825] 171 233 422

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts like those of Air are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullemmeden, and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country – in particular those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. – Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156f. – Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f., 597f., V, p. 201. – Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. –

171 174 233 342 184 342

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air
Ahaggar



133
342

Fig. 12.–Tuareg skin tent in a river valley of the Ahaggar Mountains. The sheet of skin sewn together is placed over three parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a horizontal crossbar. The middle pair is higher than the outer pairs. It may be substituted with two equally high pairs of posts with crossbars, or with two arches. Tuareg skin tents have mats to be drawn round the tent under the sheet of skin, and in winter the Ahaggar Tuareg frequently erect stone walls for protection against cold winds, as shown on this photograph.

184 Hourst 1898, p.105ff., 133. – Gabus 1945, p. 361. – Chudeau 1909, pl. XXXII–
342 XXXIII p. 218. – Le Coeur 1937, p. 42f. – Urvoy 1942, p. 33f., pl. I).

Mat-covered arched huts or tents are found only among the Southern Tuareg,
[171] and as such dwellings are found among many of their Sudanese neighbours it might
342 seem natural to consider them foreign to traditional Tuareg culture. However, the arched mat-covered tent of the Tuareg seems to be constructionally distinct from other barrel-vaulted dwellings. It consists of one to three wooden arches placed parallel to and between a pair of two or three short sticks supporting a horizontal crossbar. A number of very slender curved sticks cover the upper part of this construction. They are fastened to the arches and to the horizontal crossbars (cf. fig. 13). An arched hut of the same type, although more elaborate and solid, is found in certain Kel Owi villages (fig. 13) as already mentioned p. 77, while the use of crossbars is apparently unknown to other peoples who have barrel-vaulted
171 huts (*The Songai:* – Barth 1857–58, V, p. 160, 163, 165f. – Dubois 1897, p. 232f.;
342 1911, p. 33. – Gabus 1948, p. 10. – Olufsen 1928, p. 137. – Prost 1954, p. 184ff. – Urvoy 1942, pl. II, 3. – Aymard 1911, p. 144 pl. 25; 1908, p. 183. – *The Fulani and*

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air
Ahaggar



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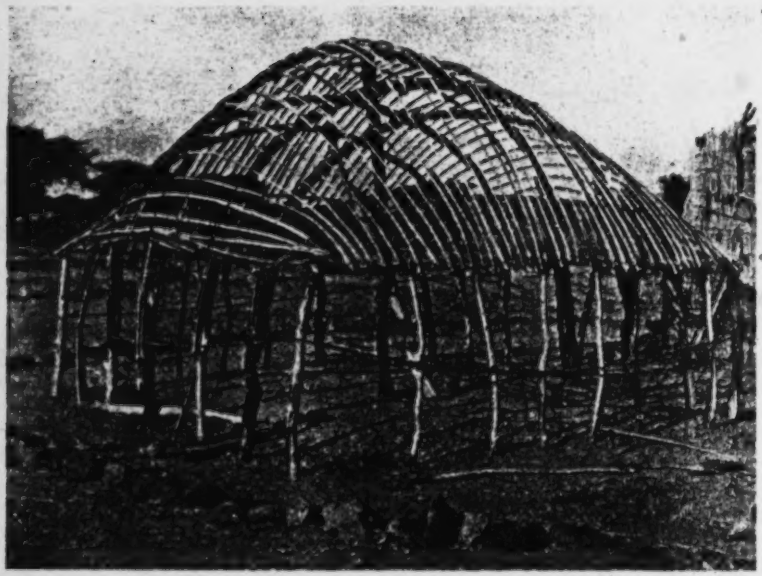

Fig. 14.–The skeleton of an arched mat-covered hut constructionally related to that shown fig. 13 but more elaborately and solidly built. The arches are made from lashed bundles of very slender sticks fastened to short poles embedded in the ground as is the heavy central post supporting the whole construction. – This type of hut is used among settled agriculturists of the Air villages, and is due to influence from pastoral Tuareg.

arched mat-covered tent, and the noble Kel Ferouan claim that they have never used any other type. The Western Ioullemmeden (Kel Ataram) use a skin tent consisting of three or four parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a horizontal crossbar (Lhote 1947, p. 85f., photographs 59–64). Gabus claims this dwelling as typical of the noble Tuareg (Gabus 1945, p. 15). I think that most probably it developed from a dwelling constructionally related to the arched mat-covered tent like that of Air. The common type of skin tent nowadays used in Ahaggar and Adrar-n-Iforas is of a somewhat related type (Lhote 1947, p. 42f., photographs 7–8, 11–13, 20–21.; 1955, p. 254ff. – Foley 1930, p. 12f., pl. IV, 6–7. – Briggs 1958, p. 92, fig. 36. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 103). It is apparently not possible to refer Tuareg arched tents exclusively to vassals, and it should be noted that in Tassili-n-Ajjer the dwelling typical of the vassal class is a straw hut constructionally related to a round house with conical roof (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 89, 104). 184 342 [565]

Finally I shall now return to our main problem, namely the history of Tuareg political systems. We have explained their origin from the meeting of two distinct cultures, and we have seen that in the past the noble class was connected with 174 233

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air



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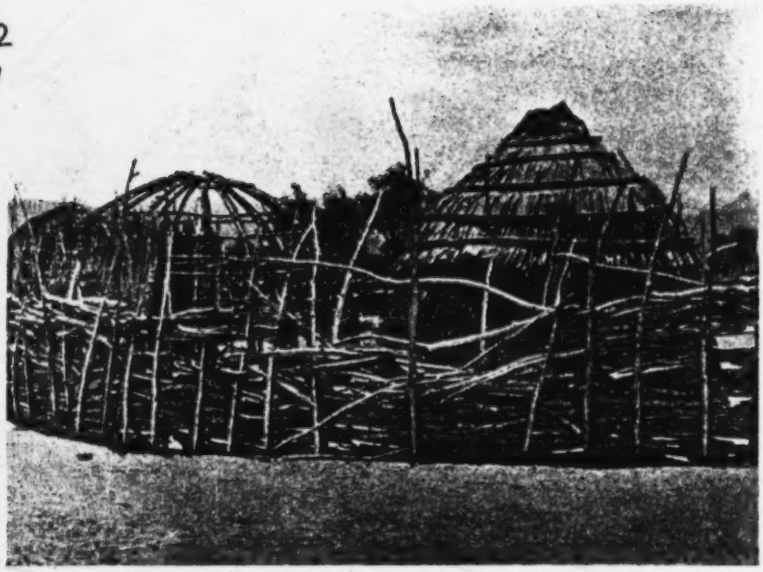

Fig. 15.–Beehive huts within a round enclosure at the village of Iferouan in Northern Air. The construction seen on this photograph consists of arches made from lashed bundles of slender sticks fastened to poles embedded in the ground. Horizontal sticks are fastened to the arches which are supported by a central forked post with a short crossbar placed on its top. For a detailed description of this construction see Foureau 1905, III, p. 885 f. Beehive huts in Air are also made from boughs embedded in the ground and tied together at the top without a central post.

174 camel-breeding. The camel is known to have been very common in Tripolitania
233 in the 4th century A.D. It was introduced to this region a few centuries before that time, and it was known in Egypt about the year 500 B.C. It is therefore probable that the camel was introduced into the Central Sahara even prior to the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. Camel-breeding seems to have certain traits in common with pastoral cow-breeding, and the oldest camel-breeders of Northern Africa may have lived in tents or huts of arch construction – most possibly in so-called barrel-vaulted dwellings, which appear to have been extremely common in Northern Africa throughout Antiquity (cf. Le Coeur 1937. – Feilberg 1944, p. 202 f.).

174 The T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are apparently historically related to similar posts of Arab black tents in Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and
[342] Eastern Libya. Considering the fact that T-shaped posts among the Northern
[565] Tuareg are claimed to be characteristic of the noble class, there may be a certain connection between noble Tuareg of the North and Arabs. I have mentioned above
[184] that in the North the term for noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, sing. *Ahaggar*) is different
[192] from the term used in other Tuareg groups (*Imacheren*, sing. *Amacher*). I have also

844 /119 cont./ advise her. The waters are rapidly absorbed by the sand, which is replaced; then, naturally, without any help from the matrons, the infant emerges to lie on a bed of clean sand, his first cradle. During the delivery, it is good form for the woman to hide her suffering.

[184] /120/ In the noble tribes, with the Kel Rela in particular, the woman who begins to feel birth pains leaves the camp and goes into a sufficiently sheltered ravine, where the sand is very clean. She makes the delivery alone, taking the position noted above, then returns to the camp, holding her baby in her arms. She does not show the least trace of joy at the compliments of the other women. I spoke of this custom of the nobles to a vassal woman, who said to me: "It is true that the nobles do this, but it just swagger." The word she used might better be translated "affectation."

The baby, after being washed, is wrapped in a cotton cloth, preferably an old chèche /a long scarf/, and then laid on a rug near its mother.

846 853 For three days the baby will be given goat's milk with a small spoon, and only at the end of this time will the young mother nurse it. If the mother does not have enough milk, the infant is brought up on goat's milk, unless a woman of the camp can nurse the baby.

846 The new mother rests for seven days and receives no man, except for her near relatives, but nearly all the women get up from bed from the second day on. In the noble tribes most under the influence of Islam, the women observe a retreat of 40 days.

846 751 The newly delivered woman affords a particularly defenseless prey for the Kel es Souf. In order to protect herself and her infant against the attempts of the genii, she burns taharadjellé in the tent and goes outside the asaber /that is, outside the mats which line the tent and encircle the space before the tent/ only when armed with a knife, which, it seems, is very effective against evis spells. On the subject of superstition, it

● 184

[ The author makes very frequent cultural comparisons between the Northern Tuareg, especially the Kel Ahagger, and the Southern Tuareg, especially the Kel Air. Only a relatively small number of the more striking differences have been marked for category 184; for further information on this topic the full text should be consulted in category 116. ]

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565 The true Tuareg in most groups fall into several classes as follows:—
619

*Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), or *Imajeren* (sing. *Amajer*). These two words designate the supreme Tuareg class which is generally referred to in literature as "nobility". The term *Ihaggaren* is used only among the Northern Tuareg, while *Imajeren* is employed in Ayr and also among Sudanese Tuareg. The two terms are synonymous, and so-called noble Tuareg are found in most Tuareg groups. However, the *Kel Geres* employ the term *Imajeren* for all true Tuareg. Among the *Kel Adrar* certain tribes claim to be noble, but though these tribes have very much the same position as noble tribes in Ahaggar and in Ayr, they are not recognized as true noble Tuareg by people of other groups.

*Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). This class is that of *Mrabetin* or marabuts, the religious class established after the introduction of Islam. In most Tuareg groups there are whole tribes of *Ineslemen* under the leadership of their own chiefs, but in Ahaggar there are only a few scattered families. The political position of the *Ineslemen* varies greatly from one group to another. Certain tribes in Ayr which are *Ineslemen* by origin have the same status as the true vassals to be mentioned below, while other *Ineslemen* tribes like the *Iforas* of the *Kel Aijer* have much the same status as noble Tuareg with the exception that they have no vassals. The *Ineslemen* perform religious duties connected with certain
[793] rites of passage. Any Tuareg can acquire the position of *Aneslem* after training in reading the Koran and education in the divine laws under the tutorship of another *Aneslem* or marabut.

*Echchikhen* (sing. *Echchikh*). This word also refers to people of religious status, and is used almost synonymously with *Ineslemen*. Certain tribes of Ayr (Damergu) have a kind of noble status and possess vassals. The word does not have the meaning of *Echcherifen* (sing. *Echcherif*), which refers to descendants of the Prophet. Individual Tuareg families – particularly in noble tribes – often claim relationship with the Prophet.

*Isekkemaren* (sing. *Asekkemar*). A class which is found only in the two northern groups – particularly among the *Kel Ahaggar*. The *Isekkemaren* Tuareg descend from Arabs, or from unions between Arab men and Tuareg women. They are vassals who have a somewhat different status from that of true vassals, who are mentioned below.

*Iregenaten* (sing. *Aregenat*). This name is not always applied to people of a particular class. It is used as a proper name for one Ahaggar tribe which has its origin from mixed marriages between (noble) Tuareg women and Arabs. In most groups the term *Iregenaten* (*Iregenaten*) is applied to Tuareg descending from unions between noble Tuareg men and vassal women.

212 Fig. 2. The Tuareg alphabet (*tifinag*). The distinctions between Tuareg alphabets of Ahaggar and Ayr are less essential
104 than appears from this list, for some differences are due to the fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg for certain letters prefer
184 an edged form, the Ayr Tuareg a curved one. But both forms are known to all Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg normally write from the right to the left like the Arabs, while the Ayr Tuareg consider it correct to write the letters in vertical rows from bottom to top. It can be seen from the list that the Ahaggar Tuareg have an alphabet of 25 consonants while the Ayr Tuareg have only 21. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels with a dot, which may stand for any vowel. This simple vowel letter is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tagerit*, to the Ayr Tuareg as *tetenukit*. The dialect of the Ayr Tuareg is very little known and most Ayr words mentioned in this study have never been published previously. Even my collection of Ahaggar words seems to contain terms lacking in Foucauld's dictionaries. For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that generally used for geographical maps.

[text continues on p. 12]

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184

| Ahaggar | Ayr | Transcription and value in Arabic letters | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| yeb | eb | b ب | |
| yech | ech | ch ش | |
| yed | ed | d د | |
| yeḍ | | ḍ ض | Emphatic |
| yef | ef | f ف | |
| yeg | eg | g | Hard |
| yeġ | | ġ | A peculiar soft pronunciation something between g, d, j, and i |
| yeh | eh | h ه | Aspirated |
| yey | ey | y (i) ى | Used both as consonant and vowel at the end of a word. At the beginning and in the middle of a word only as consonant |
| yej | ej | j | |
| yek | ek | k ك | |
| yeḳ | eḳ | ḳ ق | |
| yekh | ekh | kh خ | Foucauld 1951-52 has the transcription ḫ |
| yel | el | l ل | |
| yem | em | m م | |
| yen | en | n ن | |
| yeñ | | ñ | |
| yew | ew | w (u) و | Consonant or vowel as for i mentioned above |
| yer | er | r ر | |
| yeṛ | eṛ | ṛ غ | Pronounced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in litterature |
| yes | es | s س | |
| yet | et | t ت | |
| yeṭ | | ṭ ط | Emphatic |
| | et' | t' | Patalized t |
| yez | ez | z ز | |
| yeẓ | | ẓ | Emphatic |

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854
565

[184] Fig. 9. Vassal woman with her child straddling over the right hip. The Tuareg generally carry their children in this way though certain Ayr Tuareg have adopted the Sudanese fashion of carrying children on the back. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-trhil* tribe.

564 144 have expressed as their opinion that the blacksmiths originally constituted a fair-skinned Tuareg population who mixed with black-skinned Sudanese people like so many true Tuareg. It is interesting 564 198 that Tuareg blacksmiths have a peculiar language of their own known as *ténet*. This language has unfortunately never been studied. It is used by the blacksmiths mainly as a secret language spoken when they do not want other people to understand them, whereas blacksmiths use Tuareg (*tamachek*) as their family language. The Ayr Tuareg consider the *ténet*-language an invention of the blacksmiths.

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177 The Tuareg have contact with a great many people speaking other tongues, and most Tuareg men
[191] know one or two languages in addition to their mother tongue. A great many Northern Tuareg speak
Arabic, and some of them even Hausa, as these two languages are important to them during caravan
[192] trading. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer the Tuareg language has adopted many Arabic words. This
is not the case to the same extent in Ayr, where most loan-words are taken over from Hausa which
language is spoken by most Tuareg men. Even the *Kel Ewey* dialect is extremely mixed with
177 Hausa. It should be mentioned that Tuareg women have very little knowledge of foreign languages.
184 They generally speak neither Arabic nor Hausa.

The women have played a great part in the preservation of the Tuareg language and culture. But the latter has nevertheless been much influenced by contact with culturally different peoples. Foreign influences are responsible for certain distinctions in the Tuareg cultures of the north and the south.

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13 would emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically a certain dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

144 174 At present both fair-skinned europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most Negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern Negroes in the Fezzan constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the ancestors of the present Negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all Negroes of Ahaggar were apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid *Ḥarratin* then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. Another immigration of predominantly black-skinned and negroid agriculturists came from Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Ġanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the *Ḥarratin*. – Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Ayr by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Ayr originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese in regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Ayr were Negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that, before the Tuareg, Ayr was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45; Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Ayr* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the Massif, to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations seem to confirm these statements. All Tuareg 173 questioned about the history of Ayr have admitted that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the 192 country before the Tuareg, and in the Berber dialect spoken by these people there are a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of the *Kel Ewey* 601 group is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg and related to the 184 system is use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (Figs. 293–294).

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end of the *akasa* season. In other words:— When the inhabitants of a camp have their collectively guarded goats divided into two parts, one of these brings forth kids at the time when the other is mated. 233* 132

This method of mating-regulation is that ideally used by prosperous goat-breeders both in Ayr and among the Northern Tuareg. If in the north a flock is divided into two parts the kids are born in autumn (*amewan*), and in spring (*tafsit*) the former season being the better. Kids brought forth between these two seasons are known as *amesahar*. But as climatic conditions and consequently also the quality of pastures change from one year to another in the true desert country, the mating-system of division into halves cannot always be practised in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. In severe periods of drought goats may be too meagre for mating for a whole year or even longer, during which time the he-goats will have their penis bound. Thus during the dry year 1954/55 no goats were mated in Ahaggar. – It should be noted that the best season for the birth of kids is the late summer or the autumn (*akasa*, *amewan*) when the tender annual plants spring up. Kids borne at this season will be fully grown for mating after one year so that they bring forth kids at the season of spring (*tafsit*, or *tabsit*), while kids born in spring will be mated after a year to bring forth kids late in summer or in autumn (*akasa*, or *amewan*).

Milking takes place twice daily – early in the morning before the flock leaves for grazing, and late in the evening one or two hours after the return of the animals to the camp. Milking is done by women, or occasionally by male slaves. The individual animals to be milked are frequently called by their names and a special sucking sound is made to calm the animals, which are milked differently in Ayr and Ahaggar. In Ahaggar the milk-maid holds the wooden milk-bowl (*akus*; Fig. 21 b) in her left hand, presses the left hind leg of the goat firmly under the upper part of her right arm, while she milks with her right hand (Fig. 23–24). In Ayr milking of goats is frequently performed in a standing position the milk-maid then holding the milk-bowl (*takabart*; Fig. 37) in her left hand, keeping the left hind leg of the animal firmly between her knees, and milking with her right hand. If the milk-maid milks 234 462 192 184 415

233*

Fig. 18. The little stick (*akaru*, *assdrus*) used by the Northern Tuareg to prevent half-grown kids from sucking. Ahaggar, the *Ajjub-en-tahli* tribe. Dimension: the stick 0.056 m; the cords 0.330–0.380 m. (N.M. G. 5825).

415

[323]

[322]

Fig. 21 a–b. Milk-bowls (*akus*, pl. *ikassen*) which are used for milking and for milk drinking.

[184] a. A bowl made of burned clay like an ordinary earthen pot. These bowls are never used by pastoral Tuareg but by a few sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar who also manufacture them. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.120 m high with an upper diameter of 0.187 m. (N.M. G. 5821).

[824] [463] [184] b. A bowl cut of the wood of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*). It is made by a blacksmith, but certain Tuareg women cut similar bowls which are common in all camps of pastoral Northern Tuareg. Such milk-bowls are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Aĝuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.102 m high with an upper diameter of 0.199 m. (N.M. G. 5199).

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531

Fig. 22. Calabash of a type which is used occasionally for milking in Ahaggar. It is called *atekkas* (*wa n akh*) or *atekkas* (*wa n tapek*), that is "calabash for milk, or "calabash for milking". Introduced to Ahaggar from the south and bought at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.110 m high with an upper diameter of 0.195–0.203 m. (N.M. G. 5823).

*233

Fig. 30. Young zebu ox with *ikembar*, that is cuts made with a knife on the bridge of the animal's nose, and with a cord (*asabar*) placed through the nostrils. Ayr, sedentary *Kel Ewey* Tuareg near Agadez.

(2) *tabellut*, that is a small pronged stick about 40 centimetres long placed through the nostrils of the calf which is thus prevented from reaching its mother's udder (Fig. 31). (3) *ikemban*, that is two small pointed sticks crossing each other and attached over the calf's nosebridge. When the calf tries to suck it hurts the udder of the mother cow which will kick the calf away. I have only seen this device once in Southern Ayr, and I am not quite sure that the term mentioned is correctly spelled, as I did not take it down in *tifinaṛ*. (4) *akimbab*, that is a muzzle. It is not in general use among the Ayr Tuareg though they know of it. It is in current use among the Tuareg of the plains west of the Massif (Tamesna) [184] [631] where I have seen it among the *Ireḡenaten* Tuareg, who politically belong to the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group of Ahaggar (Fig. 32). I have seen the same device also known as *akimbab* among the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Western Iwllemmeden*. Similar muzzles are used among the *Iwllemmeden* around Meneka (Musée de l'homme, nos. 36.44.50 & 41.19. 1111–1114) and also among the Tuareg of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas (Musée de Neuchâtel, no. 49.2.39). – These are the weaning devices used in Ayr, the method most commonly applied being that known as *tabellut*, the small pronged stick passed through the calf's nostrils.

234 Cow's milk is drunk fresh, added to food, or made into butter and cheese according to methods [262] described in a later chapter. The Tuareg say that an extremely good milch-cow yields up to seven litres of milk a day. This agrees with Doutressoulle's statement that cows of the *Azawaṛ* breed yield six to eight litres daily at the beginning of their lactation period, while at the end of this period the daily

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yield decreases to about two litres (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 104). It should be added that, as for other domestic animals, the daily yield of milk depends very much on the conditions of pastures, and cows always yield little milk when pastures are dry – even at the beginning of their lactation period. 234

Bulls are frequently castrated two or three years old to be used for riding and transportation. Oxen are used for this purpose particularly among the Tuareg of the plains towards the south and west, while most pastoralists of the Massif almost exclusively use donkeys and camels. Oxen are ridden without a saddle. The rider sits on the back of the animal which is covered with a blanket or a piece of cotton as in Ahaggar. The animals have a cord (*asabar*) placed through their nostrils, but plaited halters (*amerar*) are also used for riding oxen. 492 [232] [184]

The Tuareg have terms to cover the age and sex of their cattle, and they also have a certain number of colour terms; but they say that there are very few colour terms for cattle (about ten terms according to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group). They explain this lack of colour terms by the fact that cattle did not play any important rôle to their subsistence in the past. Cattle do not respond to their names, but some of them will come to the camp on the utterance of a certain cry (cf. p. 135). 233* 192 [433] [178]

233* [283] →

Fig. 31. Zebu calf with a pronged stick (*tabellut*) put through its nostrils to prevent sucking. Ayr, the *Isakaranan* tribe.
Fig. 32. Muzzle (*akimbab*) to wean zebu calves. The muzzle is made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*) which form a frame covered with cords of *tamat* bast and with cotton strips. It is fastened to the head of a calf with a piece of cord plaited of goat's hair, and the attachment is done in such a way that the calf can graze without difficulty though it cannot suck. Tamesna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Ireḍenaten* tribe. Dimension: 0.17–0.19 m high. (N. M. G. 6661). [824]

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*492 fixed with a rope running under the tail and/or a rope around the camel's chest. The *elakt*-saddle is [184] unknown to the Ayr Tuareg, but I have seen it in use among Arab traders living at Iferwan of Northern [171] Ayr. It is by far the most common type of pack-saddle in both groups of Northern Tuareg.

Another type of pack-saddle named *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* corresponds to the *berej* saddle of the Arabs. It is used occasionally by the Northern Tuareg, but I have only seen it among the *Kel Ajjer*. The saddle-frame is made from date palm ribs and consists of two cross-bars connected with each other by two crossed sticks at both sides. One of the cross-bars rests in front of the animal's hump, the [283] other behind. The frame is lashed together by means of strips of raw camel-hide and is fastened to [563] two pads of palm bast as can be seen from the photograph Fig. 57. As far as I know this saddle-type, like the type above-mentioned, is manufactured by palm-growing agriculturists of the oases. This saddle type seems to be unknown among the Ayr Tuareg.

The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is known to them as *aruki*. It consists of one [285] wooden arch lashed to two flat boards (Fig. 58). These two sideboards are attached to two pads made from hay stuffed into tubular pieces of dum palm matting. The two pads or mat cylinders are fitted on each side of the camel so that the wooden arch rests in front of the hump. But there is also a rear pad consisting of a stuffed skin-bag laid over the camel's back behind the hump and attached to the wooden arch by means of cords. The loading cords bear on this stuffed skin-bag and on the mat-cylinders in front of the wooden arch. The wooden arch is manufactured by blacksmiths, while the [564] side pads and rear pad are made by the Tuareg. The saddle is not generally fixed to the camel by means of girths or cords. The place of origin for this saddle-type seems to be Ayr. It is used also among the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, and it seems as if related saddle-types occur elsewhere in the south (cf. p. 311).

*492 Transportation bags of various types are used for camel loads, but the very large bags woven from 415 a mixture of goat's hair and camel's wool so typical of northern Arab pastoralists are not in current use among the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*, and are entirely unknown to the Tuareg of Ayr. The [563] Northern Tuareg generally use bags made from the skin of barbary sheep, or bags made from date palm bast by the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. Fig. 59). In Ayr the Tuareg normally use transportation bags of plaited dum palm leaves.

The ideal load of a camel consists of two bags forming a total weight of up to 200 kgs for a very strong animal. The two bags, which together form one load, are each provided with two short loading loops. They are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *elrerwet* when bags are woven, as *tadekmert* when the bags are of skin. The loading is done as follows:— The two bags are lifted up and supported against the sides of the recumbent pack-camel by two men who put the loops of one bag into those of the other and insert between them two little sticks, known in the north as *tihdad* (sing. *tehedit*). To unload the camel all one has to do is to pull out the two small sticks inserted between the loops, [171] and the two bags fall to the ground. This same system is also used in Ayr, and, I believe, among all camel-breeders of North Africa. - To secure the load in a fixed position it is very common to surround its two halves with a rope (*akhamil* in Ahaggar), which is laid over the saddle-frame before loading, and another rope around the luggage and the belly of the pack-camel is also used if considered necessary.

*492 When camels are taken to the camp from pasture, they are sometimes mounted without a saddle

[text continues on p. 78]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



411 p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *éfezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals – there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as [524] though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Ineslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Koran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely [171] wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing [114] poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these [172] people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

224 Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. To- [184] day true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Tamgak* or *Imeddeleren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Rali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting [311] that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals withing two hunting territories where barbary sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting 224 that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar 825 Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

| Age | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . . | *awhim* | *tawhimt* |
| Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . . | *ahyar* | *tahyart* |
| Fully grown animal . . . . . | *ahenkod* | *tahenkot* |

224 Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—
754 (1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's
777 nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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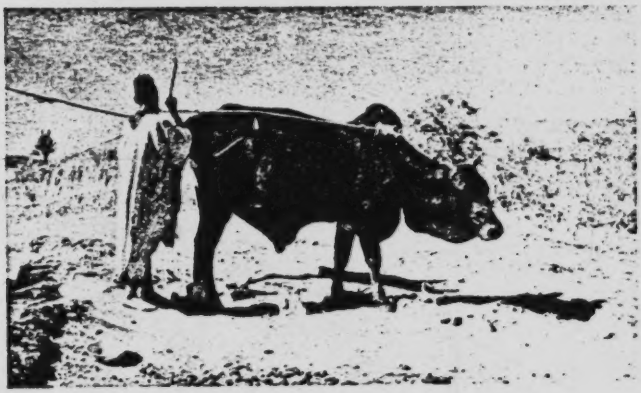

Fig. 132b. Cf. text Fig. 132a.

deep, and are dug into the sandy river bed to lead its water to the gardens of the valley terrace. A map of the foggara aqueducts placed in the river valley of Taṛhawhawt is reproduced by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, Fig. 18 p. 328). There are many advantages attached to the use of foggara systems of the Ahaggar type, for once the aqueducts are dug water automatically flows to the garden. But there are also disadvantages. If a foggara valley is heavily flooded after rains and changed into a roaring stream, the aqueducts are destroyed and the crops also. In general it will be necessary to abandon a foggara system after some years, as it must be cleaned at intervals and in time it becomes too dangerous to work in them as subsidences may occur and kill workers. It may also happen that a river valley is not flooded at all for a period of years when it becomes essential to move to another valley, rich in water under the sandy river bed, to make a new foggara there. For all these reasons deserted foggara systems are common in the river valleys of Ahaggar. [114]

The *foggara* system is unknown south of Ahaggar and has on the whole a rather limited distribution in the Sahara. One reason for this is perhaps that the construction and maintenance of the aqueduct imply the agricultural co-operation of several households. This is not the case with the other common system in Ahaggar, the use of wells (*tunin*, sing. *tanut*) from which water is raised by animal traction. The wells are usually shallow and not very difficult to dig out, and the maintenance of the whole system is usually limited to occasional mendings of the zebu's harness and of the large waterbag. While a foggara canal is always used for the irrigation of several gardens (6–12), the wells are used for single gardens. The irrigation wells are dug into the valley terrace so that they are not destroyed by a flood, and in dry years watering from wells is considered the better system. But in the period when crops need much water irrigation by means of wells is hard work for the garden owner who must drive his ox all day long. [184] [476]

Irrespective of the system resorted to irrigation of a garden is done in the same manner. Water from the *foggara* aqueduct or water raised from well flows into a large basin (*tihemt*) through a canal

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



tions have remained important to the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it is clear that they would not go on trading were these expeditions not profitable, for trading expeditions are extremely strenuous. Though the expeditions set off when the extreme heat is decreasing, it is still very hot in the extensive barren plains in autumn and in winter during daytime. Water and pasture are often extremely scarce in this deserted country, and the Tuareg frequently have to travel rapidly. For days or weeks they live so to say on their camels, and if camels are not too heavily loaded they may do up to 16 hours a day for several days in succession. Under such journeys the Tuareg eat only once a day. Obviously such trading expeditions are also very hard on the pack-camels, and there is always a risk of loosing a camel during such journeys through barren, desert country.

In this brief outline of caravan trading I have not considered those Ahaggar Tuareg living constantly in the Tamesna plains and adjacent regions. These Tuareg own more livestock than the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif, and I do not believe that they engage so much in extensive trading expeditions. They are comparatively rich in she-camels which are tolerably good milk yielders in these regions most of the year, and milk is more important as food than it is in Ahaggar. I believe that most Ahaggar Tuareg of the Tamesna region acquire their necessary vegetable products by selling surplus livestock, butter and cheese at the markets of Ingal and Agadez.

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AYR TUAREG

Among the Ayr Tuareg stock-breeding products are far more important for food than in the north. Grazing conditions are better with annual pasture as a recurrent event, and the Tuareg keep bigger flocks of goats and sheep, larger camel herds, and most have a few zebus which are guarded without much difficulty. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr can live on milk for a large part of the year, though they, like those of Ahaggar, become tired of milk drinking if they get no solid food. There are Tuareg of Southern Ayr who live exclusively on milk for two or three months during the periods of *akasa* and *ṛarat* and to whom milk is important as food for at least six months. In the extremely hot season of *ewilen* when milk is very scarce most Tuareg eat millet porridge with a little milk or sauce (cf. p. 242 f.), and Tuareg who are not very wealthy eat millet porridge to a great extent all the year round, so that the necessary amount of millet for many camps is about 0.5 kilo a day per person, or about 180 kilos a year. In Ayr there are fairly good possibilities of collecting if there are not too many locusts, but most Tuareg do not collect a great quantity of wild seeds, and claim that they would be very badly off without millet, as seeds of wild plants are not very nourishing in comparison. In one year during the second world war (in 1943) they say that millet was very hard to get; it was then very difficult to subsist and a great many animals had to be killed for food. Millet is almost indispensable to the Tuareg; they also consume other vegetables derived from agriculture, notably wheat, maize, and dates, but millet is the most essential non-nomadic food product. Normally it can be acquired by most Ayr Tuareg without much difficulty.

The people of Ayr obtain their provisions of millet from the Sudanese area of shifting cultivation, notably from Damergu (Tanut). Millet can also be bought at Agadez whereto it is brought by Tuareg

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



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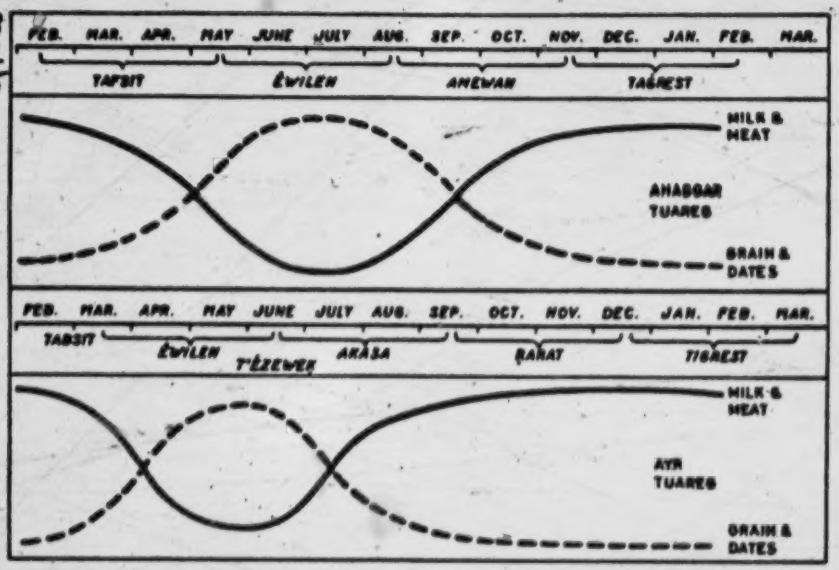


Fig. 151. The relative importance throughout the year of food derived from stock-breeding and vegetable products mainly comprising agricultural products. The curves describe conditions in good years for wealthy families. However, milk (and meat) is less important to most Ayr families than indicated in the diagram which covers a household making use of the particular type of annual pasture which remains green throughout winter, notably *alwat* (*Schoenia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*) *adrayial* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *ingellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). – This diagram should be compared with Fig. 14 where climatic and botanical changes throughout the year are outlined.

[511]
[824]

433 it is remunerative to buy an extra supply of millet in Damergu and to exchange it for dates and salt
439 at Bilma. Caravan trading is a source of profit to the Ayr Tuareg, but most of them ultimately acquire their agricultural food products in exchange for stock and stock-breeding products. Very few of them mine salt at Amadror, and most of them obtain salt in return for millet bought for domestic animals in Damergu, or for meat of domestic animals butchered in Ayr. The Tuareg cannot easily subsist without agricultural products but they can obtain them in exchange for their livestock.

233 We see again that conditions of stock-breeding are very favourable in Ayr in comparison with those
166 of Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where frequent drought periods make it difficult for the Tuareg to
[184] exist. It is easily understandable that the favourable grazing conditions of Ayr have caused many Tuareg of the north to migrate southwards. These migrations take place even to-day and have gone
433 on for centuries (cf. p. 411 ff.). However, even in Ayr it is most difficult to subsist without cultivated
262 cereals (millet), and we must do away with the myth that pastoralists of North Africa live entirely on milk and meat from their animals – they do not. This is true for all Tuareg I have visited, including

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



1888, p. 21 f.). Duveyrier says that among the *Kel Aïjer* all noble Tuareg had slaves, while only some of the vassals were slave owners. He says that slaves were bought and sold in towns (Duveyrier 1864, p. 339). Information about the Tuareg slave trade is given by Richardson, who undertook his journeys mainly to collect material on slavery which is described throughout his journals. According to Richardson's descriptions there can be little doubt that the Tuareg engaged in the slave trade, but I think that perhaps his statements are tinged by his deep antipathy to slavery (cf. Richardson 1848, I–II & 1853, I–II). It is most possible that the Tuareg slave caravans he mentions were organized by Arab merchants of Ṛat and Ṛadames. The former engagement of pastoral Tuareg in the slave trade has also been mentioned by Lyon (Lyon 1821). 175 567 [114]

As to Tuareg caravan trade throughout the 19th century, we can add that all Tuareg tribes did not trade to the same extent. Within most groups there were certain tribes of particular classes which did not go in so much for warfare and raiding, but were keen traders. This was true of tribes of the *Isəḳḳemoren* class in Ahaggar, and in Ahnet there were two Arab tribes allied with the drum-group of *Taytoḳ*, namely the *Sekakna* and the *Mazil* who were responsible for the very important trade with Timbuktu (Bissuel 1888, p. 24). Among the *Kel Aïjer* the *Iforas* tribes traded on a much larger scale than other tribes (Duveyrier 1864, p. 359 ff.). In Ayr the same was true of certain tribes of the *Kel Ewey* group. 175 437 184

However, throughout the 19th century all Tuareg, with the exception of those of the nobility, engaged in caravan trading which played a great part for the pastoralists, providing them with cereals and dates necessary for their subsistence. Already in this century certain pastoralists had taken up irrigation agriculture, and some of them practised a very primitive type of agriculture, but vegetable products were acquired mainly through caravan trading. 175 437 433

[text continues on p. 221]

*415
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Fig. 155. Skin bag (*tassafra*) for the conservation of butter-milk on journeys. The bag is made from an entire goat-skin and has a handle of goat-hair cord tied to the skin patches of the hind legs. A leather handle is attached to the lower part of the bag which is ornamented with leather fringes, Ahaggar, the *Aḍnab-en-tahlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.77 m long without the fringes. (F.M. 89).

They churn most butter from cow's

234 milk, and this butter is not considered as delicious by the Ahaggar Tuareg as their own butter, churned
[262] mainly from goat's milk. – The use of wooden churning sticks by means of which milk is stirred in
234 an open container is unknown in Ahaggar and Ayr, so far as I know. Churning sticks are used in
412 other Tuareg groups. They are common among the Tuareg of Aḍraṛ-n-Foṛas (Musée d'Ethnogra-
184 phie, Neuchâtel, no. 49.2.44 & Musée de l'homme, Paris, no. 38.16.48) and among the *Iwillemmeden*
171 Tuareg and the Fulani (Musée de l'homme, Paris, nos. 41.19.411 & 41.19.1326).

234 All Northern Tuareg, as well as the Northern Arab pastoralists and semi-nomadic Berbers and
[17] Arabs of the Atlas, make cheese from butter-milk, while this type of cheese is unknown among the
[184] Southern Tuareg and also among the Fulani. In Ahaggar butter-milk cheese (*awlez*) is manufactured
[412] by women in the following manner:— Butter-milk is heated over the fire in an earthen pot (*tefirt*, or *ufrun*)
*[415] (Figs. 186, 187a–b) by which process the milk is divided into two parts, namely pure water and a curdled mass of milk (*akru*). This mass of curdled milk is placed in a special basket (*arugur*) (Figs. 167a–b) hanging from a tree or a similar object to sort out the whey. Thus there remains a mass of cheese in the basket, and this mass is formed into small round pieces to be left for drying. Butter-milk cheese is manufactured in this way by all Northern Tuareg who are thus able to obtain butter and cheese from the same milk.

234 Another type of cheese is made from fresh milk and is manufactured not only by the Northern
171 [i.e. the Ayr Tuareg -- Analyst]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 173. Tuareg skinning a ram. Ayr, the *Igendtynen* tribe.

252 by placing the dough on a baking sheet. The other type of bread is generally known by the Arabic word *khubz*. This is baked from dough placed in the sand close to the fire, where it is covered with hot sand, ashes, and glows. These two types of bread in Ahaggar are baked mainly by sedentary agri-
189 culturists and by Arab families. The type of bread traditionally baked by the Tuareg differs from Arab bread in that it is not made from proper dough, but from a kind of thin porridge or gruel consisting of flour mixed with water. This Tuareg type of bread is known as *tagella* and is baked as follows:—A heavy fire is lit in a shallow depression (about 25–30 cms in diameter and 8–10 cms deep) made

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 192. Tuareg woman cooking millet porridge. Ahaggar, the *Aǵab-en-tehli* tribe. The cooking pots seen on this photograph are bought in the Sudan on trading expeditions. Sudanese pots are superior to those made in Ahaggar.

Like

264 most Tuareg dishes they are eaten from a large wooden bowl. If meat is cooked with the soup it may be broken into small pieces to be eaten with the balls, but part of the meat cooked is always eaten separately. The Tuareg eat *keskesu* with spoons, but if spoons are lacking they also eat it with the
262 hand, as do the Arabs. In addition to *keskesu* with its small balls which resemble grains of rice, the Northern Tuareg have another dish prepared in the same way but with larger balls. It is termed
● [189] *tikhemmezin* and is considered inferior to the *keskesu*. – Both these dishes are unknown to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group.

262 Two particular dishes are mentioned from Ahaggar by Foucauld. One of them is called *iberǵan*
252 and consists of unripe barley boiled in its own juice without water. The other one is known as *abezbez*
[267] and is made from tender plants of wheat and barley which are dried and pounded or ground into powder, to be eaten, boiled or unboiled, in periods of famine (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 89, 118).

Tuareg vegetable dishes are frequently prepared in a very simple way. Thus there is a dish known as *twes* (Ahaggar) or *tewes* (Ayr) which consists of entire seeds of millet or sorghum boiled in water. It is eaten mainly by children who frequently walk about the camp eating these boiled grains from their hands.

252 It is clear from the description of vegetable dishes that the cooking pot plays an important role for
*415 food preparation, and all dishes prepared in this way, including cooked meat, are known to the Tuareg

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



by blacksmiths (*Ineqlen*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*amerwan*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talak*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akrulal*, *abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *tedeft n ajenna*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Ajjeh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

may be seen in Fig. 167a–b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*ilstent*) (Fig. 218a).

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a–c, 210a–b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*éstan*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices.

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among the *Kel Ayr*. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*aǵum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*alegutguten*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig 220b). This basket type (*iésenit*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals.

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éseber* or *iésebert* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents, and they are manufactured by many women among the *Kel Ahaggar* (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers, and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*iéidabat*) (Fig. 212a–b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Igdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south.

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitues the most important craft in the

# Dress

In this chapter on Tuareg dress I do neither describe all types of Tuareg garments nor dress orna- 29
mentation, but content myself with a brief description of the prominent articles of dress and of 128
certain peculiar garments which are interesting and important for our understanding of the cultural position of the Tuareg.

In Northern Tuareg country pastoral women sometimes wear a large hat plaited from date palm 292
leaves and known as *télé*, which literally means "shade" (cf. Fig. 231). However, hats of this kind, [285]
are never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg who obtain them from sedentary agriculturists. Hats of [171]
the same type are very common further north in Africa where they are worn not only by women but [172]
also by men, and I believe that hats of this sort were introduced to the Tuareg by the Arabs and the
Arabic speaking *Ḥarratin*, who came to Ahaggar about a hundred years ago. In Ayr I have seen [184]
plaited hats worn by one or two black-skinned men of the *Kel Ewey* group. These hats are also used among the Hausa. True pastoral Tuareg like those of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not wear hats.

It seems as if the hat is a foreign element in Tuareg culture, and that as traditional head garments 291
the Tuareg have nothing beyond the veil and the headcloth described in some detail in the general 294
chapter about the Tuareg (cf. p. 14 f.). We have seen that both the veil and the headcloth are sometimes referred to as *alechchu*, "a piece of Sudanese indigo cotton sewn together from narrow strips or bands", for the traditional veil and headcloth are made from this type of cotton which is highly esteemed for many other garments. It seems to be the oldest type of cotton used for dress among the Tuareg, while white cotton of an ordinary type has been introduced more recently among them. The Ayr Tuareg use the word *maser* for white cotton woven in one piece, and they say that this word refers to *Miṣr* (Egypt) wherefrom cotton of this particular type was first introduced. It came much later than indigo cotton of Sudanese type, which has been known in Ayr from very ancient times.

Indigo coloured cotton introduced from the Sudan is very expensive and is nowadays used mainly 291
for festive occasions, while daily dress, including the veil, is made of European cotton, which is indigo [292]
or white in colour. There can be no doubt that the comparatively cheap European cotton has displaced [28]
the use of skin or leather for daily dress. For we know that skin shirts were extremely common in Ahaggar at the beginning of the present century (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 112), and Duveyrier says that "le pardessus en peau" is held in esteem (Duveyrier 1864, p. 406). Before Duveyrier we have Lyon's statement that Tuareg of the Fezzan area use skin (leather) for dress:— "A leather kaftan is also much worn, of their own manufacture, as are leather shirts of the skins of antelopes, very neatly sewed, and well prepared". In addition Lyon depicts a Tuareg wearing a leather shirt with ample sleeves (Lyon 1821, p. 110).

[p. 287]

291 l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

292 In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the [232] Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen [177] blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aḡlim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-[294] skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl (*tisteni*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather [184] cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

178 Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like 291 many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

291 The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *iratimen* (sing. *iratim*) which [237] word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south. 438 The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where the type is also known by the Hausa word *takelmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in 294 detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following 281 way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig. [114] 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manu-291 facture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takelmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The [137] very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal [288] is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *silisleplatine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

[Text continues on p.300]

never manufactured by noble women, but noble Tuareg obtain this footwear from vassals, or have them made by their slaves. Lhote states that *imerkeden* sandals in the past were more common among the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar (Lhote 1952a, p. 605). *Imerkeden* sandals are very common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. They are said to be known among the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg under the name *tadakat*. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that they have a related type, but this I have never seen. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg almost exclusively wear sandals of *takalmi* type.

A third main type of sandals is that known to most Tuareg as *tagliezez*. Like other sandal types it is described in detail by Lhote in his study on Tuareg sandals (Lhote 1950d, p. 512–533). Sandals of this type are generally made from one piece of hide or leather which is bent up over the toes. The system of attachment consists of a leather strap attached to the bent-up flap of the sole and passing around the heel through two loops at the back of the sandal. These sandals are extremely common all over the steppes and savannahs of the south, and in Ayr they are used among the *Kel Ewey* and other Tuareg who make them from untanned hide of oxen. In Northern Tuareg country this sandal type is rare and generally not used by pastoral Tuareg who do not manufacture them. However, a pair of sandals resembling this type was brought from Ahaggar to the National Museum of Copenhagen by Olufsen (museum number G 1.8) (Fig. 243). Sandals of *tagliezez* type are nowadays used by many sedentary people of Tamanrasset in Ahaggar. They are esteemed by Europeans and by Tuareg and Arabs of the camel corps in Northern Tuareg country. But the sandals worn by the last-mentioned people are manufactured by professional craftsmen. The sandals illustrated Fig. 244 were bought at the market of Agadez, but derive from the south – from Sokoto it is said. I have noted their name as *akeroga*. – The type of sandal here called *tagliezez* is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tifedilt* (pl. *tifedillin*) (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 304).

A fourth type of sandal is described by Lhote under the name of *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*). It is made of a single piece of untanned hide which is treated as described above for the *takalmi* type, and Lhote thinks that this type of sandal, which is common in the south among poor people, is the most primitive type. Lhote believes that the same type occurs also in Ahaggar because the word *éfekil* is mentioned by Foucauld in his dictionary (Lhote 1950d, p. 525 f., Fig. 18). This does not seem to be correct, for the word *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*), according to Foucauld, is used synonymously with *émerked* (pl. *imerkeden*) (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 313).

Lhote writes that the sandals worn by the Tuareg can be divided into three main types, namely the *ératim*, (or *takalmi*), the *émerked*, and the *éfekil*, and that these three types correspond to different types of environment, namely desert, mountain, and steppe (Lhote 1950d, p. 528 f.). Perhaps one should substitute the word *éfekil* with *tagliezez*. There seems to be a certain correspondance between footwear and environment, but it should be added that the distribution of sandal types cannot be explained solely by reference to natural conditions. The *ératim* (or *takalmi*) type of sandal, for example, is used throughout Tuareg country from the Sudan to the central and northern parts of the Sahara, an extremely large area comprising great environmental differences. Nor are they suited to all types of desert. They quickly wear out when used on stony ground, and it is very tiring to wear them when walking through deep sand as the broad soles do not bear upon the surface. The *émerked* type of sandal is doubtless the best for walking in mountains, for it is fixed firmly to the foot and its sole of

*342 houses in Ganet or elsewhere in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but I have been told that they exist in these regions
*342 171 to this day. Various types of subterranean dwellings are recorded as existing further north in the Sahara and in the Atlas. Semi-dugouts roofed with brush are occasionally used among the Chamba (Briggs 1958, p. 120), and it is interesting to note that subterranean dwellings also occur among the semi-nomadic Chawiya of Aurès, who use such dwellings only when they live with their flocks in the desert south of the mountain massif (cf. Rivière 1938). Elsewhere in Northern Africa they seem to be found exclusively among sedentary peoples. The main area of distribution is the Atlas, Tripolitania, the northern parts of the Western Sahara, and the Western Sudan (cf. Hefel 1946 & Le Moal 1960). Frobenius considered the subterranean dwelling a so-called "Hamitic" trait (Frobenius
[174] 1933, p. 214 ff.). Recent investigations seem to indicate that this particular dwelling type was introduced to North Africa by contact with civilizations of the Western Mediterranean in pre-Christian times (cf. Hefel 1946).

*342 A.5. *Square or rectangular huts covered with plant material.*

The dwellings to be described under this item should perhaps be termed houses rather than huts as
[184] they have walls and roof made separately. They fall into two sub-types one of which is characteristic of Ayr, the other of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The two types may be historically related, but this cannot be taken for granted, for constructionally they are somewhat different.

A.5.a. In Ayr the square or rectangular hut is called *téjira*, and is found mainly among sedentary people of the *Kel Ewey* group. It is never used by pastoralists. The structure of this hut can be described in the following way:—

Nine heavy and forked poles are fixed solidly in the ground in three rows parallel to each other. In other words there are three poles in each row. These poles are called *tigettewin* (sing. *tégettewt*), the word generally used for various kinds of prongs and forked sticks or poles.

Fig. 249a. Straw-hut of the *téjira* type. The wooden skeleton of the hut with the roof covered. Ayr, Iferwan.

or a large chopping knife of European origin; (4) Holes are dug with one of the implements mentioned in front of the bed and behind it, and the curved wooden pieces forming the arches are placed in these holes and are lashed together at their upper ends. These holes are 0.30–0.35 m deep; (5) Holes of the same depth are dug for the vertical sticks which support the cross-bars at both sides of the arches, the cross-bars being attached to the vertical sticks by means of cords; (6) A long cord is wound around the high middle arch so that the cord forms tight loops along the upper part of the arch; (7) The slender semi-arches, each consisting of two rods, are placed in the loops of the middle arch from both ends; (8) The thick ends of these rods are attached to the cross-bars with cords; (9) The upper ends of these rods are attached to each other to form semi-arches, and the wooden structure is now finished; (10) Two mats of the *ewerwer* type, which form the inner layer of the roof, are laid over the semi-arches; (11) Dum palm mats of oval shape are placed upon these mats; (12) A long and narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent following its longitudinal direction; (13) The mats are fastened to the wooden structure by means of a cord running over the high central arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction of the dwelling; (14) An oval dum palm mat is placed on each side of the high central arch, and these two mats are fastened to the wooden structure with cords attached to the two lower middle arches; (15) A long narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent along the high middle arch at a right angle to the longitudinal direction; (16) All mats covering the upper structure of the tent are finally fastened by means of a cord system running all over the roof and attached to the horizontal cross-bars and the lower parts of the arches; (17) The long narrow dum palm mat is drawn around the lower part of the tent if considered necessary. 342* [284] [285]

The mat tent is normally erected as here described, but all women do not erect their tents exactly in the order mentioned. The work seems to be very easy to the women who measure no distances. They seem to carry out their work automatically. I have not been able to control the amount of time needed for one or two women to erect a mat tent of the type mentioned, for the women are frequently interrupted in their work by many other household duties, by their crying babies, or by visitors from other camps, but I believe that one woman can erect this elaborate tent structure in about half an hour. 342* 461

There are some mat tents which are slightly different in structure from the above-mentioned tent. These are mentioned below:— 342*

B.1.b. Tents which are larger and have a more elaborate structure. Such tents are rare and are found mainly in the camps of chiefs. They may have four or five arches and a larger number of semi-arches than other tents. I have seen very large tents in the camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and the largest tent I have seen was that of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief. It contained two large beds and measured about 6.00 × 3.50 m; it was over two metres high at the middle arch. [634]

Mat tents of a less elaborate structure are not so rare. The following types can be mentioned:—

B.1.c. A tent structurally identical with B.1.a with the exception that it has only two arches which are of equal height. These arches are then both known by the term *tekkekkewatin* (sing. *tekkekkewat*). Tents of this type with only two arches seem to be common among the *Iforas* tribes of Southern Ayr.

B.1.d. A tent with two slender arches of equal height, secured in an erect position by means of cords from the middle of the arches to the middle of the horizontal cross-bars. This is not a common type, and I have seen only one such dwelling in a vassal camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. [184]

[text continues on p. 356]

*342 [166] [197] B.1.e. A tent which has only one arch. I have once seen a tent like this in a blacksmith's camp close to Agadez, and several in a camp of former Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Tégehé-n-Efis* tribe in Northern Ayr. As this less elaborate structure seems among these Tuareg to constitute a fixed type I shall describe its main elements and the terms used for them which differ slightly from those used in the *Kel Ferwan* group, because the Ahaggar Tuareg living in Ayr even to-day largely speak their old Ahaggar dialect:— (1) A wooden arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction; it is called *aǵeǵu* (pl. *iǵeǵan*). (2) Two horizontal cross-bars known as *éseger* (sing. *isgar*). (3) Forked sticks called *tiǵettewin* (sing. *téǵettewt*) to support the horizontal cross-bars. There are only two forked sticks for each of the two cross-bars. (4) Slender rods forming semi-arches along the longitudinal direction; these are known as *ilellewatin* (sing. *alellewa*). This very simple structure is covered with mats much like other mat tents, the mats being known collectively as *asala* (pl. *isalan*).

Two very particular types of mat tents differing greatly from the above remain to be mentioned:—

[484] B.1.f. During migrations when the members of a camp remain only one or two days on the same spot, they do not always erect mat tents. But they have to do so throughout the rainy season, when the tents are sometimes erected in a very peculiar way:— The two horizontal cross-bars are placed parallel to one another, each of them resting upon two forked sticks. The distance between the two cross-bars is about one metre, and the height of the two pairs of forked sticks is about 1.50 m. The rest of the elements constituting the normal tent structure, that is the bundles of arches and semi-arches, is not untied. The parcels made up of these elements are leaned against the horizontal cross-bars, and the whole is thereupon covered with mats. The tent erected in this way is a very small one, just big enough for the large wooden bed (*tédabut*). The tent thus erected is known as *tafala*.

B.1.g. The tent to be mentioned is known as *éhen* like the normal barrel-vaulted mat tents, but [184] it is nevertheless of beehive shape. This type of dwelling, however, is not used among the Ayr Tuareg, and I have only seen it once in the camp of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief, where many slaves lived in small mat tents of beehive shape. The structure is made of slender, unfashioned boughs which are fixed in the ground and tied together at their tops. But the arrangement is not a fortuitous one. It would seem that these dwellings have a particular structure: two arches placed parallel to each other and four slender arches passing over the two first arches at a right angle. This structure is covered with mats plaited from dum palm leaves. The tents are very low with a height of about 1.50 m, and their diameter does not exceed 2.00 m. Portable tents of beehive shape are unknown to true pastoral Tuareg.

Mat tents of arch construction are known outside the regions inhabited by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*. They seem to occur throughout Southern Tuareg country, but are less common further west than among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. The great majority of the pastoral Ayr Tuareg live in mat tents, and it is not correct to speak of this type of portable dwelling as typical of the *Kel Ewey* as frequently happens in literature. As to the *Kel Geres* they claim that all pastoralists of their group have mat tents. On the occurrence of mat tents outside the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* I have gathered the following information from literature:—

A mat tent of arch construction is described by Nicolas from the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg around *Tawa*. It is called *awaǵwaǵ* or *awarwâr* (*éwerwer*) because it is covered with mats of this particular type (cf. p. 350 f.). A tent of this nature is 6–7 metres long and 4–5 metres broad. The tent has four, three,

182 suitable natural boughs are abundant. There are advantages and disadvantages in mat tents as well
*342 as in skin tents. During the very hot season the mat tent is by far the best type of dwelling; it is comparatively high and the mat covering is not heated to any great extent by the sun. During the
[132] rainy season the mat tent is less practical than the skin tent. Rain may fall so heavily and abundantly that it penetrates the mat covering, and even if it does not it will be necessary to remove all mats after a heavy shower in order to dry them in the sun. The skin tent is normally erected quicker than the mat tent, it protects efficiently against rain, but is, on the other hand, most unpleasant during the hot season.
[824] It does not seem possible to explain the distribution of mat tents and skin tents on purely geographical grounds, but it seems as though the mat tent is used mainly where dum palm leaves for plaiting are available. Where the dum palm disappears, the mat tent tends to disappear also, though mat tents, as we have seen, may be provided with a covering of *ćwerwer* type (p. 350 f.). Outside of the dum palm area most Tuareg have skin tents for portable dwellings. Within the dum palm area mat tents and skin tents are mixed in certain regions, and it has been seen that certain Tuareg use mat tents during the very hot season before the rains, but adopt skin tents when the rains start. This seem to
[237] indicate clearly the advantage and the disadvantage of the two dwelling types. But the advantages of both dwellings can be obtained in another way, namely by placing a sheet of skin over the top of the mat tent in the rainy season. This is actually done by many Tuareg. I was told that the *Kel Faday* Tuareg around Ingal very frequently cover their mat tents with skin during the rainy season, and remove the skin again when the rains are over. It is perhaps this to which Rodd refers in a brief note on Tuareg tents in Ayr (Rodd 1926a, p. 212), and we may be sure that the usage is a very ancient one in these regions, for it is mentioned already by Ibn Batutah in reference to the *Bardamah*, who are stated to be nomads that frequently move their camps (cf. Ibn Batutah IV, p. 437). The custom of covering mat tents with a sheet of skin has also been noted in the case of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg by Barth (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 597 f.). It is very possible that it is still more widely known in Southern Tuareg groups, as it allows in an easy way the advantages of both types of dwellings.

B.2. *Skin Tents.*

*342 Skin tents are used by Tuareg in all groups, though there is some doubt as to the use of skin tents
● 184 among the *Kel Geres*. I have myself previously stated that they have skin tents (Nicolaisen 1959, p. 118), this statement being based on information gathered in Ayr 1955. Lhote also mention that some *Kel Geres* use skin tents, while other pastoralists in this group own mat-covered tents (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 79, phot. 51 p. 80–81). But when I visited the camp of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief in 1959 he claimed that the *Kel Geres* always live in mat tents. As to the *Kel Ayr*, skin tents are very rare among them. In all other Tuareg groups skin tents play a very important role. They constitute so to speak the only kind of portable dwellings among the Northern Tuareg and the *Kel Adrar*, and they form the most common type of tent also in the two groups of *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. Zeltner says that the dividing line between skin tents and mat tents in Southern Tuareg country follows the Paris Meridian (Zeltner 1914a, p. 364), but there is in fact no true dividing line between these dwelling types, which are sometimes used by the same people at different seasons, and the two tent types are sometimes combined into one, as mat tents may be covered with skin throughout the rainy season.

*342

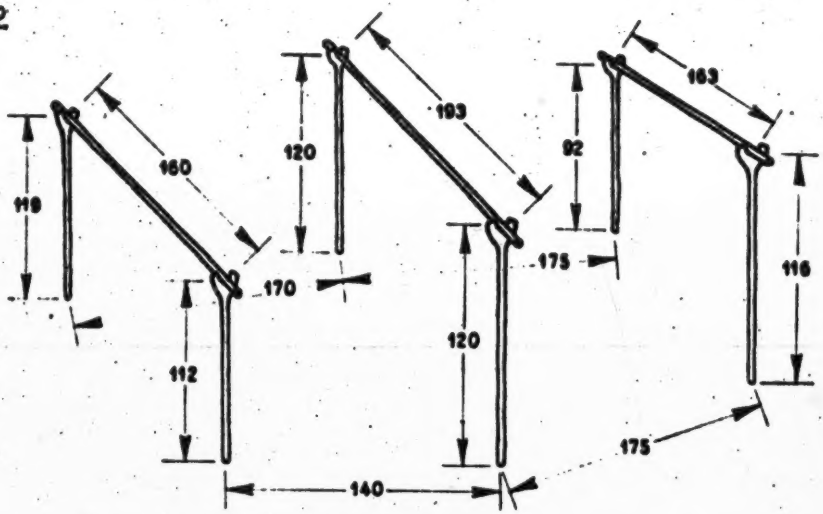


Fig. 278. The wooden structure of a skin tent of B.2.f.3 type. Measurements are in centimetres. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ferin* tribe.

of uprights plus a cross-bar, may perhaps be explained as a support of very large tents, but I do not believe that this is the whole explanation, for I have frequently seen a structure having two middle pairs of uprights with cross-bars in very small tents, and it is remarkable that in tents of this type, whether large or small, the two middle pairs of uprights are frequently placed very close to each other.

B.2.f.5. This type occurs in Ahaggar. It is much like the above-mentioned two types, but has six pairs of parallel forked uprights with cross-bars. So many pairs of uprights with cross-bars are found only in large tents, and I have not seen such tents in tribes other than the *Dag Rali*. The two middle pairs of uprights are equally high and higher than the two next pairs which again are higher than the two outer pairs. The *Dag Rali* Tuareg say that tents with them may have yet another pair of uprights in addition to the six pairs, but this I have never seen.

B.2.g. *Skin tents with a central T-shaped post*

Under this heading I mention skin tents with a central post which carries a short horizontal cross-bar causing it to resemble a *T*. It is characteristic of this post that it is never buried in the ground, but rests upon the surface; the post is kept in upright position mainly by the weight of the suspended sheet, though in certain tents the T-shaped post is also supported by cords attached to sticks and to the short cross-bar of the post. Skin tents provided with a central T-shaped post are found in many

*342 The sheet rested upon the cross-bar frame and upon the outer cross-bars, being fastened to poles at the back and the front; it was kept close to the ground at the narrow ends where it was fastened to small wooden pegs. The tent sheet measured about 6.00×4.00 m and had five *tarda* (cf. p. 362). The whole structure was made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*).

B.2.g.8. The tent to be described under this heading is used among the *Kel Dennek*. It is structurally akin to the ordinary *Kel Dennek* tent mentioned above as B.2.g.6. (p. 379) but it is provided with a cross-bar frame much like that just mentioned from the *Ireġenaten* Tuareg. The type is described by Nicolas. The central post is called *tageṭṭut*, and has a prong at its top to support the frame known as *agegu* made from two sticks to which are tied three other sticks, one of which rests in the prong of the central post. The stick which rests in the prong is placed parallel to the longitudinal direction of the tent, and cords are fastened to the cross-bar frame and to four sticks as customary for *Kel Dennek* tents. Nicolas says of this cross-bar frame that it is a cross-bar "de fortune" (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154 Fig. 30 f.). He does not mention this type of cross-bar in his 1938 study of Tuareg tents, and we may perhaps take this as a proof that it is not very common among the *Kel Dennek*.

One might perhaps be tempted to take these two cross-bar frames as primitive types from which other types of cross-bars have developed, the evolution thus passing from the more elaborate to the more simple type. This, however, is hardly possible. It seems difficult to conceive the framelike cross-bars as a true development from a particular type of dwelling. They are most probably a kind of emergency cross-bars used because the more general type, which is made by blacksmiths, is not available for some reason or other. The ordinary type of cross-bar is no doubt the traditional and the oldest type. I revert to this again later in this chapter in my final analysis of Tuareg tents. Here I content myself with the statement that it seems as though the evolution of T-shaped posts followed another direction. They did not originate from the structurally more elaborate cross-bar frames. It may seem remarkable that the term used for a cross-bar frame among the *Kel Dennek* (*agegu* according to Nicolas) among the Northern Tuareg (*aġeġu*) designates a tent arch (cf. p. 356, 367). This term, however, does not literally refer to "arch". It derives from the verb *ġaġġ* which means to "to load" or "to be loaded" with something (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 406 ff.). – I now come to my last structural group of Tuareg skin tents. It is only represented among the Tuareg most to the south-west from where it has been recorded by Lhote:— [184]

B.2.h. *Skin tents with two central oblique posts carrying a short cross-bar*

[101] B.2.h.1. The tent is found among the *Kel Inteser* Tuareg who live in the region of Lac Faguibine. It is supported by two central oblique posts which carry a slightly curved cross-bar of which a specimen collected by Lhote is conserved in the Musée de l'homme. It has a total length of about 0.45 m, and is 0.07 m broad. It has a decorated inner side and close to the edges two thickenings in which holes are carved for the two posts (Musée de l'homme, 41.19.870; cf. Lhote 1947a, Fig. 4 (2) p. 39, p. 117). Lhote has informed me verbally that the two posts are oblique, but that they do not cross each other, and that the cross-bar is also placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction. – I revert to this type later as it contributes to our knowledge of tent development among the Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 178 582 while to my knowledge they have never married women of the *Iwillemmeden*. Marriages seem to be of great importance for the diffusion of cultural traits among the Tuareg.

*342 174 182 It is clear that the use of T-shaped posts is not limited to particular environmental zones, for T-shaped posts are characteristic of certain Tuareg skin tents both in the true desert country and in southern regions of plains and savannahs. Furthermore, it seems as if this structure is found mainly among the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar*, and among the *Kel Dennek*, while outside these regions T-shaped posts are rare. Thus if we cannot explain the use and the distribution of T-shaped posts in skin tents from an analysis of environment, we may perhaps ascribe its present distribution to historical events.

*342 174 The most important characteristic of T-shaped posts is that they are not buried in the ground like all other poles and posts of Tuareg portable dwellings. They rest upon the surface, and if they sometimes penetrate two or three centimetres into the soil this is not to keep them upright but to prevent them from sliding. The fact that Tuareg T-shaped posts are not buried in the ground makes it unlikely that they are related to the T-shaped posts of permanent dwellings like those used in huts and houses of North Africa, and I believe that originally they came from a barrel-vaulted dwelling which had one of its arches supported by a post resting upon the surface. That an evolution of this kind is in fact possible is shown by Ferdinand's description of certain black tents among the Duranni nomads of Afghanistan. The middle arch of these tents is made from pieces of curved poles, namely two long pieces lashed to a shorter top piece, which is supported by a central post resting upon the surface of the ground. This is the normal structure of Duranni tents, but in summer and in spring nomads frequently content themselves with the erection of the middle part of the arch supported by the central post resting upon the surface. In other words, the Duranni nomads at certain seasons change their barrel-vaulted dwelling into a dwelling supported by T-shaped posts at a right angle to the longitudinal direction (cf. Ferdinand 1959, Fig. 7 p. 35). I think that this development is also perhaps responsible for the evolution of T-shaped tents among the Tuareg, but I do not believe that it took place among them. We have among the Tuareg no portable barrel-vaulted dwellings of arches supported by central posts. We find this principle in certain barrel-vaulted dwellings used among the *Kel Ewey* farmers of Ayr (cf. p. 347 ff.), but this barrel-vaulted hut originated from the Tuareg mat tent, which among the sedentary *Kel Ewey* adopted certain traits of the bee-hive hut.

*342 174 177 I think there is little doubt that a relationship exists between T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents and similar posts of North African black tents. This relationship was first suggested by Feilberg in his thesis on the black tent (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143), and I believe that it can be proved that such a relationship actually exists.

[184] Black tents are not generally used by the Tuareg. In the extreme north of the *Kel Aïr* territory a few Tuareg have adopted it owing to contact with Arab pastoralists. It is possible that there are also Tuareg with black tents in the extreme south-west of Tuareg country around Timbuktu. There are black tents in this region (Jackson 1820, p. 23; Barth 1857–58, IV, p. 474 ff.), and it seems as if some Tuareg there occasionally live in them (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). It is clear that the black tent is found within a large semi-circular belt enclosing Tuareg country from the Fezzan via Northern Sahara and the Atlas through Mauretania to Timbuktu (cf. Feilberg 1944, map II). It is also clear that there

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



My arguments in favour of the theory that the noble tribes now dominant in Ahaggar are not the oldest noble Tuareg of that area are the following:— 174 565

(1) The small noble tribe *Ikadeyen*, which to-day comprises very few persons who live mainly as sedentary agriculturists around the cultivation centre of Tit in Ahaggar, is said to have lived in Ahaggar before the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes. Some Tuareg say that the *Ikadeyen* are as old in Ahaggar as the *Isebeten*, and it is most interesting that the *Dag Rali* Tuareg, who descend from the *Isebeten*, pay at each marriage in their tribe a tribute corresponding to 50 kilos of millet or dates to the *Ikadeyen*. This custom is quite unusual and it may perhaps point towards an ancient vassal relationship between the *Dag Rali* (descending from the *Isebeten*) and the *Ikadeyen*. If this is so the vassalage has apparently been different from that prevailing in Ahaggar nowadays and more akin to that of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr, where part of the bride-wealth is given to noble chiefs. It is interesting to note that the *Ikadeyen* Tuareg are said to be "only a little *Ihaggaren*", or to be "*Ihaggaren* but not true *Ihaggaren*". 571 614

(2) The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) as a term for the social class here referred to as "noble Tuareg", seems to be peculiar to the Northern Tuareg. In other Tuareg groups the so-called noble class is known by the term *Imajeren* (sing. *Amajer*), or related terms. Nicolas says that this term refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188 f.). The corresponding word in Northern Tuareg dialect is *Imuhar* (sing. *Amahar*), which is used for all true Tuareg including the vassals. It has generally been accepted that this word derived from the verb *aher* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318; Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674), but Prasse has recently informed me that it is a deformation of *amazir* known in Northern Berber as "free man; Berber". The Foucauld hypothesis that it should be a verbal adjective of *aher* must be discarded, the *h* of this verb being original (Prasse, verbal information) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 457–462). 174 565 [184]

The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) is different. According to the Tuareg it is just a name, and it is very possible that Foucauld is right in claiming that it is identical with the word *Hawwara*, which was the name of an ancient Berber-speaking population of North Africa (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533 f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory is pure speculation (Nicolas 1953b, p. 14). This, however, is not correct, as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds, as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *w* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *w* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

If we can consider *Hawwara* and *Ihaggaren* as identical words and thus assume a relationship between the dominant noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and the ancient Berber-speaking people known as *Hawwara*, we must look for further information about the latter people who are frequently mentioned in Arab historical documents of the Middle Ages. Ibn Khaldun in particular has written about the *Hawwara*, who are described as nomads and sedentary people who live mainly in the regions of Tunisia, Tripolitania, and Cyrenaica, though tribes belonging to the *Hawwara* groups are also found outside this area to the east and west. The *Hawwara*, according to Ibn Khaldun, came under Arab influence at a very early date, and were conquered by the Arabs as early as the 9th century A.D. In Ibn Khaldun's days the *Hawwara* people were entirely dominated by the Arabs and were the vassals of Arabs of the *Beni Sulaym* group. They spoke Arabic and were culturally indistinguishable from the Arabs. But according to Ibn Khaldun some of the pastoral *Hawwara* at very early date migrated 174 175 565

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631 as Ayr Tuareg and are politically independent. Nevertheless they still consider the Sultan of Agadez
643 as their proper *Amenukal*. They are very rich and numerous, comprising a great many tribes. Their
[189] political system differs from that of most other Tuareg. I outline its structure later in this chapter.

634 The drum-chiefs of the *Itésen*, the *Immikitan*, the *Kel Faday*, and the *Kel Ferwan* have to be rec-
643 ognized and ceremoniously installed by the Sultan. The ceremony should traditionally take place at the Sultan's palace of Agadez, but to-day it is performed at the French Administration Centre. The main feature of the ceremony is the wrapping of a large head-cloth around the elected chief's head by the Sultan. The Sultan, on the other hand, is elected and installed by the chiefs of above-mentioned groups and by the *Anestafidet* as the representative of the *Kel Ewey*. But the chiefs do not take the same part in the election of a Sultan, and it is noteworthy that the *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan*, who throughout the 19th century were extremely powerful and warlike, apparently do not play any rôle in the instalment ceremony.

The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:— From his private room in the palace (Fig. 288) the Sultan is led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres* ask him to sit down upon a bed made of ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he is not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission is given by the *Kel Ewey* (Barth 1857, I, p. 461 f.). Jean, who gives a more detailed account, says that the *Kel Geres* do not participate, and have no voice in the election (Jean 1909, p. 159 ff.). I have myself been told during my visit to the *Kel Geres* drum-chief that the *Kel Geres*, represented by their drum-chief, previously took part in the election of the Sultan. As to the position of the powerful drum-groups of *Kel Faday* and *Kel Ferwan*, people of the latter group frequently claim that they alone could elect a Sultan, and I have been told by *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg that a Sultan should be installed in the way that the supreme chiefs of the *Itésen* and the *Immikitan* take the Sultan by his hands and lead him to a sheepskin where he sits down to receive the large head-cloth from the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group. However, it seems as if the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief does not traditionally play any part in the instalment ceremony.

631 In the 19th century the Sultan was the arbitrator and the supreme judge in disagreements between
634 the different Tuareg groups whose supreme chiefs should be installed by the Sultan. But he could
643 not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels. The *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs did not always pay much respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation of Ayr the *Kel Faday* even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of Ingal (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was much afraid that the *Kel Faday* would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the *Iwlhemmeden* (Barth 1857 58, I, p. 478). As to the *Kel Ferwan*, their chief was the most prominent leader of all Ayr. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103 f.) and it is repeated over and over again by all Tuareg of Ayr to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and he thinks that the *Kel Ferwan* originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or *Amenukal* was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This
[173] agrees with information I have gathered among the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group. It is however most difficult to judge the value of these traditions as it is difficult to reconstruct political life in pre-European times. All Tuareg try to glorify their own political rôle in the past, and this is particularly true of the noble Kel Ferwan Tuareg.

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placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made 634
four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his 721
part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. 565
He kept them there for about a month; when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted [727]
on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based 634
upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. 565
It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal [184]
tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were [423]
not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of 565
cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed be- 571
tween all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other 634
unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Faday*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and [564]
vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Imeggedezen* and even slaves. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the [601]
more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *ibubaz* (pl. *ibubazen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This 565
statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only 582
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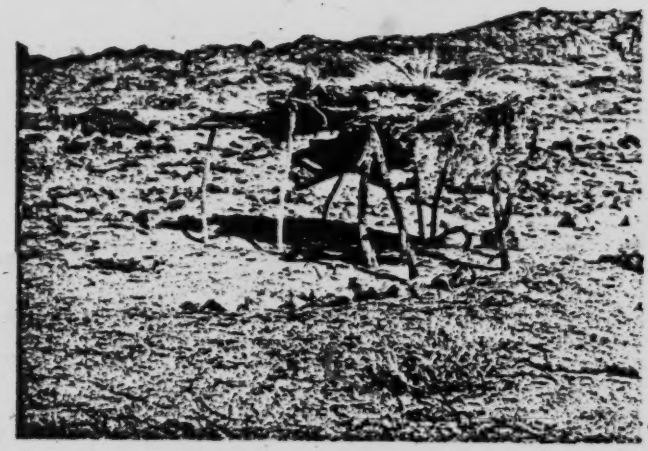

Fig. 191. Sun-shade built of branches and grass. It is the normal living quarters for slaves in Ahaggar and for a great part of the year it is more suitable to the climate than Tuareg skin tents. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

567 military administrators have tacitly admitted that slavery continues as an established institution.
648 According to a census of 1949, there are in Ahaggar 1552 slaves owned by 3960 pastoral Tuareg (cf.
[162] Lhote 1955a, p. 224 ff.), and in two tribes the number of slaves exceeds that of fair-skinned Tuareg, namely in the *Dag Ṛali* and in the *Kel Ṛela*. Most Ahaggar Tuareg have a few slaves in their camps, while in Ayr very few fair-skinned pastoralists have slaves nowadays. The civil administration of Ayr has done much to secure the abolishment of slavery, and it seems as if many slaves were manumitted
567 after the 1917 revolt. Slavery is actually almost devoid of economic importance in Ayr, while in Ahaggar
[164] it plays a great part in the maintenance of the economic system based upon camel-breeding outside Ahaggar and on caravan-trading.

The structural position of slavery is apparently very much the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. Slaves are their owners' property; they can no longer be traded, but even in pre-European days it was never usual to sell slaves from one's own camp. The slaves are still inherited within one and the same family, and until a few years ago it was the custom for a slave girl to form part of the bride-wealth. Despite everything this may perhaps be taken as an indication that slaves are not conspicuously well treated, and there are also examples of the corporal punishment of slaves. This may occur even to-day, the rule being that certain misdemeanours, for which the light-skinned Tuareg atone by paying a fine of domestic animals, may be punished in the case of slaves by a flogging on the order of senior chiefs.

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601 brothers, but also all children of father's female cousins and all children of mother's male counsins.

For descending generations kinship terms are different for Ego male and Ego female. Ego male will call all children of his sisters and all children of his female cousins *agg elet ma* ("sister's son") or *welt elet ma* ("sister's daughter"), while all children of his brothers and all children of his male cousins will be called *rur* ("son") or *yell* ("daughter"). Descendants of persons known as *rur* (*yell*) are known as *rur* (*yell*), descendants of persons known as *agg elet ma* (*welt elet ma*) as *agg elet ma* (*welt elet ma*). Ego female has no "sister's children" but will call all relatives of descending generations *rur* ("son") or *yell* ("daughter"). – Collectively all relatives of the second descending generation are known as *iheyawen* (sing. *ahaya*) or *tiheyawin* (sing. *tahayawt*). This term can be used for descendants of more distant generations as indicated by the tribal name *Iheyawen Hada*, that is "descendants of *Hada*".

## AYR

[604] There are at least two distinct kinship systems in Ayr, both of which differ from that described above in the case of Ahaggar.

[171] The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg have a system related to that of the Hausa-speaking population of Agadez and further south. In *Kel Ewey* the terms for "brothers" and "sisters" are never used classificatorily. All parallel cousins and cross-cousins are known as *ibubazen* (sing. *abubaz*; fem. *tabubazt*), and children of all cousins are known as *tégazé*, which is used both for males and females. The *Kel Ewey*, in contrast to other Tuareg, do not make any distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins. As far as my knowledge goes all this applies only to the true *Kel Ewey* and not for such Tuareg groups as the *Kel Tamat* and the *Ikezkezen* who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey*.

The kinship system of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg comes close to the system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, but the two systems are not identical. The word *anna* ("mother") is used for all female relatives of ascending generations and also for spouses of such relatives, who are called *adda* ("father"). The term for "father" (*adda*) is applied to all grandfathers whether they are patrilineally or matrilineally related to Ego, to father's brothers, and to the husbands of father's sisters and mother's sisters. It is also applied to father's father's sons but not to other male cousins of Ego's father and mother, for all other male cousins of father and mother are termed *awet ma*, the word employed for "mother's brother". Thus the term *awet ma* is used for true mother's brothers and for most male relatives of the parents' generation, while it is never used for matrilineal kinsmen of the second ascending generation. The wives of all males termed *awet ma* are known as *tamtet n awet ma* ("mother's brother's wife") and not as *anna* ("mother").

The Kel Ferwan Tuareg do not use the term *aña* (pl. *añaten*) and welet ma (pl. *tañatin*) for brothers and sisters. When they talk about brothers and sisters without reference to age they use the terms for younger brother (*amedray*, pl. *imedrayen*) and younger sister (*tamedrayt*, pl. *timedrayin*). The term for "elder brother" and "elder sister" are identical with those used in Ahaggar, namely *amekkar* and *tamekkart*. Parallel cousins are called "elder brother" ("younger brother") and "elder sister" ("younger sister") according to the same rule as in Ahaggar. Should their father or mother be older

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any insolence, even the tearing away of a cross-cousin's veil in public. Insolence always incurs retaliation, and joking frequently gives rise to *tebbillant*, that is a sham-fight. A fight of this kind will normally end with the looding part running away with something belonging to his cousin. He gives this back only if he feels like it, for cross-cousins are allowed to take each other's things. The same type of joking exists between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law in Ahaggar and in Ayr. 605

(4) There is avoidance between parents-in-law and children-in-law in the way that a man avoids very strictly his mothers-in-law, a woman very strictly her fathers-in-law. This rule of conduct is valid for all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr. A man should not talk to his mother-in-law, and must never eat in her presence; he will avoid her tent, and if visiting her camp he will live at a distance of about one hundred metres from her. Similar rules hold for a woman and her father-in-law. Avoidance is less strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law, and there is generally very little avoidance between a woman and her daughter-in-law. 606

So far we have seen that the Tuareg of Ahaggar and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr follow the same rules of kinship behaviour. But there seems to be one important distinction between the two Tuareg groups. For in Ayr there is an institutional joking relationship (*adélen*) with the wives of mother's brothers including the spouses of the classificatory mother's brothers. This type of joking is similar to that of cross-cousins. The initiative for joking is taken by the mother's brother's wife who begins to tease her husband's sisters' children even when they are babies. The little children soon learn to retaliate and they quickly become those who take the initiative in joking and teasing. – I do not believe that this type of joking with a mother's brother's wife is practised in Ahaggar. It has been denied by informants, but it may perhaps be practised by members of certain tribes which originate in Ayr wherefrom they have immigrated to Ahaggar. Joking with a mother's brother's wife is also unknown in the *Iforas* tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These tribes arrived in Ayr about a hundred years ago from Adrar of the Iforas, where Tuareg have no joking relationship with a mother's brother's wife. 602 184 604

(5) We should mention as a characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour that it is considered the right of a man to take domestic animals from particular kinsmen. 602

In Ahaggar a man can take animals from his father, his father's father, his true mother's brothers, from certain classificatory mother's brothers (mother's mother's sister's son; mother's mother's brother, and the latter's son), from his mother's father, who is not a classificatory mother's brother by name, but it is said that he is much like a mother's brother to the person in question. In addition, cross-cousins, as mentioned above, can take each other's property.

In Ayr it is said that apart from his right to take domestic animals from his cross-cousins a man can also take animals from his parents and his true mother's brothers, though not allowed to take them from any of his classificatory mother's brothers.

I have enquired particularly among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr about this right to take animals from kinsmen. They said that if a man wants to take animals from a kinsman it is necessary for him to inform the "victim" about it through a third person shortly after he has done so. If he does not mention to somebody else that he has taken animals from one of his kinsmen, the act is considered a kind of ordinary theft. But if the "victim" is informed about the matter shortly after the animals have been taken, he can generally not complain about it, as this is considered very poor behaviour.

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585 laws do not change to a very great extent. There will then already be a relationship of respect between
602 husband and wife, a respect relationship to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law which continues unchanged, and in Ayr the relationship to the mother-in-law does not switch from joking into avoidance. Tuareg wedding ceremonies correspond functionally with the traditional preferential marriage with
[184] cross-cousins. But the wedding ceremonies described are strictly followed at all Tuareg marriages except in the case of important marabuts, who dispense with most ceremonial traits, allowing no public gathering with camel-riding and music, and the groom and the bride enter the wedding tent without formalities.

105 Kinship systems, rules of kinship behaviour, the payment of bride-wealth, and wedding rites seem to be functionally adapted to cross-cousin marriage. All this seems to hold for the Tuareg of Ahaggar and also for those of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group in Ayr. However, we have also observed that there are certain differences in social organization in Ahaggar and Ayr. In both regions Koranic law is valid for inheritance. The rules of succession in Ayr have become predominantly patrilineal, but is matrilineal in Ahaggar. There is also little doubt that most *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg to-day follow patrilocal rules of residence. The Ayr Tuareg are predominantly patrilineal but have remnants of matri-
[587] lineal traits. I note in this connection that some Ayr Tuareg also claim that it is preferable to practise the levirate and the sororate in the way that a widow can marry her deceased husband's younger brother, a widower his deceased wife's younger sister. They hold that this is adopted from Islamic rules.
[601] In Ahaggar matrilineal rules still play a very great rôle as kinship terminology evinces for the term for "mother's brother" is used exclusively for people of the mother's family and mainly for such people of ascending generations who are matrilineally related to Ego – including very distant matrilineal kinsmen. We have also seen that tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and that matrilineal rules are valid for succession to territorial rights, for relations between noble Tuareg and vassals, and ultimately for residence.

105 Tuareg social organization has been submitted to change. Islamic influence has produced a pre-
177 dominantly patrilineal system among the Southern Tuareg, including the *Kel Geres* and the *Kel Ayr*, while among the Northern Tuareg matrilineal rules of succession and residence are still acknowledged.
105 It may perhaps seem rather odd that the Ayr Tuareg, like many Sudanese Tuareg, have been much
177 influenced by the patrilineal rules of Islam in their social organization, while the Ahaggar Tuareg
178 have been far less impressed by these rules in spite of having lived in intimate contact with Arabs
184 for generations, adopting many Arab cultural traits which are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. What is the reason for these distinctions in cultural change among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr? I believe that the answer may lie in the differences in political systems. In pre-European times there was in Ahaggar an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals within the drum-groups, several small noble families being linked with their individual groups of vassals. This relationship (*temazlayt*) was, as we have seen, predominantly an economic one, advantageous to both classes and not least to the noble Tuareg, who were much dependent upon their goat-breeding and caravan-trading vassals. There seem to be little doubt that, before the introduction of Islam, this relationship was organized on the basis of matrilineal rules. And it may perhaps have been very difficult to adopt patrilineal rules and to re-organize relations between noble Tuareg and vassals accordingly. When the first French

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administrators settled in Ahaggar, the noble Tuareg under the leadership of the *Amenukal* are said to have claimed that the French should respect their ancient matrilineal organization. It seems as though such an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals was unknown in Ayr in pre-European times. Subsistence in Ayr is easier than in Ahaggar, and the noble Tuareg there were not so dependent upon their vassals for food as was the case in Ahaggar.

The fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg have conserved matrilineal rules in their social organization though influenced by Islam and the patrilineal Arabs for centuries, may perhaps explain why they have come to consider marriage with a mother's sister's daughter (or her daughter) as a better type of mating than cross-cousin marriage. Marriages with a classificatory sister (or sister's daughter) are, according to the Ahaggar Tuareg, not to be considered a recent phenomena, but have been practised for generations. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that these marriages are most suitable because they do not give rise to changes of residence for the children. It is very probable that such marriages, which do not harmonize with traditional kinship rules, indicate the transition towards fully-fledged patrilineal rules among the Northern Tuareg.

We have no knowledge about Tuareg social organization in pre-Islamic times, but there can be little doubt that matrilineal traits are very ancient, for they are mentioned by Ibn Batutah (cf. p. 457), and most Tuareg have traditions of their descent from an ancestress. Bates thinks that the Libyans of antiquity possessed a type of social organization which was partly or fully matrilineal, though he admits that indications of the existence of the matriarchate are strong, but not conclusive (Bates 1914, p. 111 f.). Gsell, on the contrary, thinks that the ancient Libyans did not have a social organization of a matrilineal type. They were patrilineal like most Northern Berbers of to-day (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 37 f.).

Baumann states that Tuareg matrilineal organization derives from the so-called Old Mediterranean Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 66). This is perhaps not the true explanation, for Frobenius is probably right in his statement that the Syrtic Culture was a high one which gained little influence among pastoralists, but became very important to sedentary people of North Africa and the Western Sudan (Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 11). On the other hand the theory advanced by Frobenius that the Tuareg matriarchate is an old Hamitic custom does not constitute a satisfactory explanation (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 238 f.; Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 5).

The history of Tuareg matriarchate has been analysed very recently by Murdock, who states that its origin can be explained in three distinct ways:— (1) The Tuareg may have preserved the matrilineate from a very early period of Berber culture, perhaps also reflected among the extinct Guanche of the Canary Islands. This, however, is not considered very probable, because matrilineal traits do not exist among the many other North African Berber tribes, and also because the present relative isolation of the Tuareg is historically recent, dating from the Hilalian Arab invasion. (2) The indigenous *Béllа* were characterized by avunculocal residence and matrilineal descent, and they transmitted these rules to the conquering Tuareg. This second theoretical possibility is discarded by Murdock on the ground that the *Béllа* were presumably akin to the Hausa peoples on the southern border of the Tuareg country, and the Hausa are strictly patrilineal. (3) The ancestral Tuareg, while still resident in Tripolitania, were patrilineal, like all other mainland Berbers, and the matrilineate was developed as an

136 several different spots, and it is not impossible that the species
[172] bred today in the Ahaggar is of African origin. Bones of the species are found in the Neolithic layers of the Sahara.

137 At the present time there is a death struggle between the goats
233 and trees in the Ahaggar. The goat itself is capable of browsing
185 the lower branches and destroying them, thanks to its agility. The Tuareg do the rest when pasture is scarce, by felling the main branches to put them within the reach of the animals. And so, in a relatively short time, trees, and the tahla (Acacia sp.) in par-particular, will be only a memory in the Ahaggar. Nothing has

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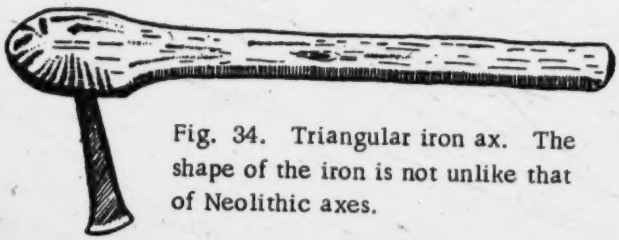


Fig. 34. Triangular iron ax. The shape of the iron is not unlike that of Neolithic axes.

been done by the French administration in the Ahaggar to protect the trees, when it would be sufficient to close some valleys for several years, while taking into account the needs of the shepherds. Measures of this kind have been taken in the environs of Goundam and have given very good results.

132 Prolonged dryness which causes a lack of pasture often puts
233 goat raising in difficulties. The birth rate is stopped short, and mortality may result to such a great extent that the number of animals sometimes falls to one fifth. Then many years are needed to build up the flocks, granting, of course, the arrival of favorable rains.

232 The careless and fatalistic Ihággaren do not even try to step up breeding by buying sires in Adrar or in Aïr. They let their weak flocks reconstitute themselves by their own means, which
[272] sometimes requires many years. In case of an overabundance of births, they limit the number of animals, for they are well aware

423 When pasture is scarce as the result of a long dry period, an
621 understanding is reached between the different tribal chiefs, and
311 one of them may authorize the other's tribe to come nomadize on his territory, on the condition, of course, that they not do any damage, mutilate the trees, or engage in hunting.

185 When a region has been abundantly favored by rain, the amrar
423 decrees the land forbidden -- ganent. No one can go there, in-
621 cluding the people of the tribe. This measure is designed to protect
311 young growths from the teeth of the animals and let the pasture grow to maturity. A few weeks later the interdiction is raised, the land is free, and anyone, without distinction, may profit from it, always conforming, of course, to the jurisdiction /sic/ concerning the protection of trees and to the hunting interdiction.

423 Animals straying on the land of a neighboring tribe are /256/
621 returned to their owners without the intervention of any sanction.
685 But when a flock is surprised on ganent land, the owner is fined one head of livestock -- one goat if it is a flock of goats, one sheep if it is a flock of sheep, one camel if it is a herd of camels.

A branch cut by a member of a neighboring tribe entails a fine
[185] of one goat or one sheep. This rule is not often applied, however, for the Tuareg have little respect for the protection of trees.

/257/

## Chapter 7

## Care of the Body and Bodily Habits

515 Cleanliness and care of the body. -- In a country where water is scarce, it is natural that the people are not inclined to wash every day. The Tuareg, through living in the desert far from wells, have lost the habit of washing themselves. It is not that they despise

edible, and considering also that there is a very fine palm at 245
Abalessa (which could become a splendid oasis since there is
no lack of water), one may ask if the creation of an oasis of
palms in the Ahaggar might not be tried with success. But the [438]
Ahl Azzi and all the inhabitants of the Tidikelt, who live
entirely on the sale of their dates to the Tuareg, have persuaded

[361]

Haratine Gourbi at Ideles
(Koudia)

the latter to the contrary, that the climate of their country is
not suited to growing palms. Besides, the Ahaggar do not in [185]
the least wish to undertake plantations from which one could
expect no profit for several years, and they prefer to stay with
growing wheat, barley, and bechna, which pay at once.

The Amenokal Moussa ag Amastane, realizing that the era 643
of raids will soon be ended forever, sees that it will be necessary 185
to demand from the soil the means of subsistence which raids 176
formerly procured. So he has announced his intention of having
a foggara dug at "Endid" and of having gardens made there,
and his example will very probably be followed. This is an
undertaking which will certainly be encouraged and supported,
and which shows the slow evolution which is beginning to take
place among the Tuareg, in the best interests of peace and
civilization.

184 The Inislimen way of life is the same as that of the Tuareg.
565 They speak the same language and administer themselves with no
793 intervention from the Imochar. A few cases of polygamy have been
[631] observed among them. This is the result of their gradual Islamization,
[595] which favors the custom, and of patriarchy which was already in practice in some Sudanese tribes.

565 The Imrad. -- Imrad probably comes from the Tamashek root
[192] Égeid, Égeit, which means "kid," "little goat," and from the prefix
[422] am indicating possession. In short, this means "possessors of goats."
In fact, the Imrad formerly could own only goats, for the Imochar reserved the possession of camels for themselves.

Their nickname is Kel Oulli, which also means "goat people," a name which they prefer to Imrad, which is probably a bit degrading for them.

[631] /165/ They make up tribes enfeoffed to the Imochar and are their vassals.

The Imochar have a certain scorn for them and consider them people of low birth, not of the pure Tuareg race; the name Taouia Settefet, meaning "of black descent," is often applied to them. (1)

1. Among the Ioullimmiden they are referred to as Idinet.

173 Nothing indicates a racial inferiority of the Imrad to the Imochar,
565 however. If we want to interpret the old legends of the Ahaggar,
144 everything leads us to believe that the Imrad were in most instances the first occupants of the country, and the Imochar, who were the invaders, were conquerers who made themselves masters of the country by force. The crossbreeding with the blacks cannot be a decisive criterion, for many Imrad tribes are not physically more "Negroid" than the Imochar. It is also true that the Imrad are
[186] less rigorous than the Imochar in maintaining the integrity of old
[184] Tuareg customs. They have less greatness of soul and sentiment, as well as less ethnic pride.

3: Holiday J-5 (ca.1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



# THE TUAREG OF THE AHAGGAR

*by*

GEOFFREY HOLIDAY

131 The Ahaggar region of the Sahara desert, with its administrative headquarters at Tamanrasset (Fort Laperrine) provides an almost exact geographical centre for the territory inhabited by the Tuareg; the nomadic tribes of the "blue veil". At the northernmost point is In Salah and to the south, Agadez. Eastward there is Djanet in the Tassili des Ajjer and the western boundary is formed, perhaps, by the line of the Tanezrouft. [361] Within this area the Tuareg wander from oasis to oasis or, in the case of a few, dwell peaceably in the shadow of the French towns and outposts that mainly owe their location to the existence of water tempered by administrative and strategic factors.

177 186 The Tuareg would appear, at first glance, to be one of the few remaining peoples of the world possessing a culture of their own that is entirely free of influences, direct or indirect. Some among the tribes still believe that the desert is the world, inhabited admittedly by many different kinds of people, but the world nevertheless. This is the extreme view, obviously not shared by those who have travelled on the great caravan routes as far south as Kano or to Tiimbucktu and the Niger. It may not be the view of [648] the younger generations who, to an increasing extent, are benefiting by the primary education facilities inaugurated by the French administrators; particularly in Algeria where the Ahaggar region lies at the foot of the Territoires du Sud: a knowledge of the French language does not necessarily bring about a lessening of superstitions or a widening of perspectives. One is always faced with the parallel of the farmer (who should have known better) and the ostrich: 'There ain't no such animal!' Nevertheless, from this aspect the influences are so few as to be negligible and are more likely to come from the varied genre of the official and semi-official indigenous population gathered together under the Tricolour at the towns and outposts of the region than from direct contact with the European. The Tuareg are almost the exception that proves the rule of man's gregariousness, though, naturally enough, they are gregarious in that they possess very strong tribal instincts.

291 751 As a tribe the Tuareg have very marked characteristics that immediately set them aside from any other social group in what may be termed loosely north Africa. To begin with, the men are seldom seen unveiled: the women, who can be very beautiful, never cover their faces although, often they will wear a head covering, presumably as protection against sun and sand. The men, however, do not wear the veil solely as protection against the elements. Discounting those few who have become soldiers under the French flag, a Tuareg man—or, more properly, a Targui—assumes the veil on approaching manhood and wears it continuously, even for eating and drinking. He unveils to no one, not even in the sanctuary of his tent alone, let alone in the presence of his wife. This veil wound low round his forehead and across the bridge of his nose covers the mouth, ears and nostrils. Since the other openings of his body are concealed by his robes he has complete protection against evil spirits entering and taking control—and this is the key to why the veil is worn. To protect his eyesight against the Evil One amulets are worn from a chain round the neck and doubtless also such amulets provide a measure of safety in battle.

174 The origins of the Tuareg tribe are particularly interesting in that they have as yet to be definitely established. Their antecedents go back anything between 600 and a 1,000 years and it is supposed that they are an offshoot of the Berber Arabs, driven into the desert during one of the many invasions of the Tel, the fertile coastal belts of Algeria and Morocco, that continued up to the 13th century when the Moors became really established on the Barbary coast. Likewise, the Berbers with their light skins and blue

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



177 Arab cultural traits have played a less important part in Ayr, where there are very few Arabs apart
[162] from the merchants living at Agadez. The Arabs in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, have a certain religious prestige
[168] but I have also heard Tuareg say that they did not like Arabs much because of their bad manners, and mainly because the Arabs talk too much and lack the peculiar type of quiet reservation characteristic of so many Tuareg. It seems as if the French administrators of Ayr have been responsible for the introduction of certain Arab cultural traits, but they have not made Arabic an official language
[191] of the administration. Apart from the marabuts there are very few Ayr Tuareg who have some
[164] knowledge of Arabic. The French administration of Ayr, belonging to the former territory of French
[167] West Africa, has led to the immigration of many Sudanese people of negroid type. Clerks and lower officials working in Agadez have mainly come from Dahomey.

175 The Arabs and Islam came to North Africa at a very early date. The first invasion of Arabs took
177 place in the 7th century A.D. and brought Islam and traits of Oriental town-dwelling civilization
[173] into a narrow belt of North Africa along the Mediterranean. There is an Arab tradition according to which the first followers of Mohammed came to Central Sahara and to the Tuareg as early as the 7th century, but there is also a tradition among the Ahaggar Tuareg saying that Islam was introduced among them by a marabut of the Almoravids (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 347 f.). It is very possible that certain Tuareg groups of the extreme north were influenced by Islam and the Arabs after the first invasion, but more important was the second invasion of the 11th century when the Northern Sahara was occupied by Arab bedouins from Egypt and, ultimately, from Arabia. This so-called *Hilalian Invasion* comprised various large tribal groups:— (1) the *Beni Sulaim* (or *B. Soliman*) who settled in Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and in the adjacent parts of Algerian Sahara where some of the present *Chambu* Arabs claim descent from this tribal group; (2) the *Beni Hilal* who settled further west in the Sahara south of Algerian and Moroccan Atlas; the important Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Hammu* of Tidikelt claim descent from this Hilalian group; (3) the smaller tribal group named *Makil*; this followed the *Beni Hilal* but occupied grazing grounds further west in the desert country of Morocco.
175 These tribal groups largely influenced the Tuareg, and there seems to be little doubt that many Tuareg
648 pastoralists were driven southwards owing to the invasion of Arab nomads, who settled in Tripolitania and the Fezzan. But these Arab pastoralists could not everywhere defeat the pastoral Tuareg. In Ibn Khaldun's day the frontier dividing the Arab bedouins from pastoral Tuareg followed mainly the great belt of sand-hills running from east to west in the Northern Sahara. Now and then the Arabs carried out raids against the Tuareg, but Ibn Khaldun says that the Arab raiders were always attacked by the Tuareg and suffered severe losses (Ibn Khaldun I p. 191, II p. 104 f.). The penetration of Arab pastoral groups into the Central Sahara is outlined by Capot-Rey who states (1) that the Berber tribes inhabiting Tripolitania, Tunisia, and adjacent regions were quickly Arabized, (2) that the Western Tuareg of Mauritania were conquered more recently by the *Makil* Arabs, (3) that elsewhere in the Sahara the Tuareg were not only able to defend most of their territory, but also to assimilate certain Arab tribes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 191 f.). This latter statement is correct. Contact between Arabs and Tuareg has also led to the adoption of Tuareg cultural traits by many Arab pastoralists, and even the very powerful Arab tribe, the *Ulad Ba Hammu* of Tidikelt, lived in pre-European times very much like the Tuareg in leather tents and dressed like the Tuareg. Various Arab tribes of the Sudan

because of the lack of vowels, the "tifinagh" are guessed rather 212
than read, and this system of writing has remained quite primitive.

However, among the Ahaggar Tuareg some know how to [177
read and write Arabic, especially the Issoqqamaren, almost all 191]

[291
643]

The Amenokal Sidi ag Keradji Reading the Address of a Letter Sent to Him.

of whom understand Arabic because of their frequent relations with the Tidikelt, where they must have lived for a long time (1). It is the same for the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet, many

1. See section on history /not translated/.

of whom speak Arabic. /43/

Knowledge of the "tifinagh" is rather a diversion for the Tuareg than a useful study. They like to try to decipher inscriptions or to show you, on the sand, the exact orthography of a word.

191 /62 cont./ In spite of this difficulty in transcription, the Tuareg amuse themselves by transposing the letters in a word, making it utterly incomprehensible for the uninitiated.

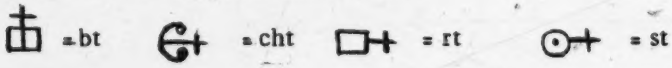
[177] At the present time Tamashek is borrowing many words from Arabic and French. Father de Foucauld had already noticed during his time this invasion of Arabic and the way the Tuareg adapted numerous words to their own speech habits.

[212] In the noble tribes, each individual knows how to read and write, but that is not the case with the imrads, for many of the vassals barely know how to write their names.

The richness of the spoken language is greatly declining due to bilingualism and doubtless also because poetry, formerly inspired by the exploits of the warriors, tends to disappear. One may thus realize the importance of Father de Foucauld's work, which permanently recorded a language of oral tradition.

There will certainly come a day when the Tuareg will have to use French to perfect themselves in their own language.

NOTE: Some compound characters.:

[212]  = bt = cht = rt = st

/63/

## II
## Economy

### Generalizations on the Economy of the Ahaggar

241 A country such as the one we have seen in the study of the physical characteristics of the Ahaggar, possessing very limited resources because of the scarcity of water and the poverty of the soil, can only have an agriculture of small and uncertain productivity.

564 region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed*
[463] (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Ahaggar to cultivate
[567] gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaren*, or *Ḥarratin*, like the
[191] immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual, speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahaḳ*). The *Izeggaren* (*Ḥarratin*) are generally less
[144] negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features.
[142] Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*) refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaren* does not seem to exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Ṛat oasis known as *Ikewweren* apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

[361] *Kel Ġanet* (sing. *W Ġanet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ġanet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-
[144] n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ġanet* have much the same position as
[565] Tuareg vassals (Imṛad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ġanet* immigrants, their status is rather
[567] like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ġanet* may possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

564 *Ineden* (*Ineḍen* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Ened*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg
326 groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one. People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only
[162] a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the
564 blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna*
173 *Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963). A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Tementiṭ in Tawat. At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.). 2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and
564 Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of
144 them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



177 [191] [192] The Tuareg have contact with a great many people speaking other tongues, and most Tuareg men know one or two languages in addition to their mother tongue. A great many Northern Tuareg speak Arabic, and some of them even Hausa, as these two languages are important to them during caravan trading. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer the Tuareg language has adopted many Arabic words. This is not the case to the same extent in Ayr, where most loan-words are taken over from Hausa which language is spoken by most Tuareg men. Even the *Kel Ewey* dialect is extremely mixed with 177 184 Hausa. It should be mentioned that Tuareg women have very little knowledge of foreign languages. They generally speak neither Arabic nor Hausa.

The women have played a great part in the preservation of the Tuareg language and culture. But the latter has nevertheless been much influenced by contact with culturally different peoples. Foreign influences are responsible for certain distinctions in the Tuareg cultures of the north and the south.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

# Tuareg Culture, History, and African Culture complexes

In the preceding Chapters I have mentioned most cultural traits connected with Tuareg subsistence activities. In this Chapter I attempt to view some of these traits in the light of history and the historical theories which have found their expression in the establishment of African culture complexes. I wish to emphasize at the very beginning that this investigation must omit some important traits of Tuareg culture as there is no historical information about them and because good descriptions of stock-breeding techniques are lacking in the case of most pastoralists of Africa and Asia. Consequently it is very difficult to compare in great detail Tuareg culture with other pastoral cultures. 121

## TUAREG CULTURE AND HISTORY

True historical sources which elucidate the development of African cultures are very scanty and cover only a very short period. We know that most African cultures in recent times have been much influenced by Europeans and their culture, and that some cultures were changed fundamentally at an earlier period owing to Arab migrations and the introduction of Islam. We know that North Africa during antiquity was strongly influenced by Romans and Greeks, and still earlier by the Phoenicians. We possess from North Africa a few valuable written records from olden times and from Egypt we have earlier historical documents which help us to understand certain aspects of cultural evolution. 175 177

The occupation of Ahaggar and Ayr by the French has led to a growing cultural influence from Islam and the Arabs. Ahaggar was conquered by Arab soldiers under the command of French officers, and even nowadays a very large number of Arabs serve in the camel patrols of Ahaggar with Tuareg camel riders. Some of these Arab soldiers marry Tuareg women, and many of them settle in Ahaggar when they have retired from military service. Other Arabs and Arabic-speaking *Harratin* of Tidikelt have immigrated after the French occupation of the country. The number of people who speak Arabic as their mother tongue is not doubt increasing, and Arabic is understood and even spoken by many Tuareg men though generally unknown to Tuareg women. Added to this, the Arabs have acquired a high prestige not only on account of Islam but also because Arabic has been adopted as the main language of the administration in Ahaggar. The officers who act as administrators in Ahaggar speak and write Arabic while with rare exceptions they do not know the Tuareg language. For all these reasons certain cultural traits of the Arabs have been introduced into Ahaggar after the French occupation. [48] [167] [197] [191] [329]

[305]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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175 The Arabs and Islam came to North Africa at a very early date. The first invasion of Arabs took 177 place in the 7th century A.D. and brought Islam and traits of Oriental town-dwelling civilization [173] into a narrow belt of North Africa along the Mediterranean. There is an Arab tradition according to which the first followers of Mohammed came to Central Sahara and to the Tuareg as early as the 7th century, but there is also a tradition among the Ahaggar Tuareg saying that Islam was introduced among them by a marabut of the Almoravids (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 347 f.). It is very possible that certain Tuareg groups of the extreme north were influenced by Islam and the Arabs after the first invasion, but more important was the second invasion of the 11th century when the Northern Sahara was occupied by Arab bedouins from Egypt and, ultimately, from Arabia. This so-called *Hilalian Invasion* comprised various large tribal groups:— (1) the *Beni Sulaim* (or *B. Soliman*) who settled in Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and in the adjacent parts of Algerian Sahara where some of the present *Chamba* Arabs claim descent from this tribal group; (2) the *Beni Hilal* who settled further west in the Sahara south of Algerian and Moroccan Atlas; the important Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* of Tidikelt claim descent from this Hilalian group; (3) the smaller tribal group named *Makil*; this followed the *Beni Hilal* but occupied grazing grounds further west in the desert country of Morocco. 175 These tribal groups largely influenced the Tuareg, and there seems to be little doubt that many Tuareg 648 pastoralists were driven southwards owing to the invasion of Arab nomads, who settled in Tripolitania and the Fezzan. But these Arab pastoralists could not everywhere defeat the pastoral Tuareg. In Ibn Khaldun's day the frontier dividing the Arab bedouins from pastoral Tuareg followed mainly the great belt of sand-hills running from east to west in the Northern Sahara. Now and then the Arabs carried out raids against the Tuareg, but Ibn Khaldun says that the Arab raiders were always attacked by the Tuareg and suffered severe losses (Ibn Khaldun I p. 191, II p. 104 f.). The penetration of Arab pastoral groups into the Central Sahara is outlined by Capot-Rey who states (1) that the Berber tribes inhabiting Tripolitania, Tunisia, and adjacent regions were quickly Arabized, (2) that the Western Tuareg of Mauritania were conquered more recently by the *Makil* Arabs, (3) that elsewhere in the Sahara the Tuareg were not only able to defend most of their territory, but also to assimilate certain Arab tribes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 191 f.). This latter statement is correct. Contact between Arabs and Tuareg has also led to the adoption of Tuareg cultural traits by many Arab pastoralists, and even the very powerful Arab tribe, the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* of Tidikelt, lived in pre-European times very much like the Tuareg in leather tents and dressed like the Tuareg. Various Arab tribes of the Sudan

174 in the Sudan, the Sanhadja-Nounou, was governed by a woman named Bikoun-Kabi, whom the Sonrhaï /Songhai/ emperor Sonni-Ali had to conquer in order to seize her territory. Es-Sadi, author of the Tarik-es-Soudan, reports several facts of this kind.

The Islamization of the Berber tribes certainly had a part in the elimination of the custom. Women no longer play any official [562] political role in our times. But they have made themselves the guardians of ancestral customs and folklore, and their authority is [626] so strong that one /154/ can only quote the answer of a Tuareg to an Arab who admonished him upon the subject of Tuareg mores: "No one would dare do otherwise, for then no woman would look at us any longer."

162 The persistence of monogamy among the Tuareg is also favored 182 by the considerable excess of men found among them, an exceptinnal 595 fact and contrary to what we observe in other human groups.

The aménokal. -- Aménokal means in Tamashek "possessor of 643 the country" (from am, possessive prefix, and akal, "country").

[192] In the Ahaggar this title is conferred only upon the supreme chief reigning over a whole of noble, vassal, or assimilated tribes. [184] In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, it may be applied to heads of fractions, indeed even to mere camp chiefs.

The aménokal is designated according to hereditary rules deriving from the matriarchal system. He is always chosen, not only in the same tribe, but in the same line which one could compare to the clan. His domination, to be effective, must be sanctioned by the approval of the nobles to whom are joined for the occasion the chiefs of vassal tribes. For the latter, approval involves an agreement to pay tribute later.

Sometimes there are several pretenders to the title; perhaps a descendant of a formerly ousted family asserts his rights, or perhaps the natural heir is recognized incapable of leadership. This brings about a competition where hereditary rules are not always respected.

184 from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin.
643 The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions
[173] gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out,
611 it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except
631 among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the
651 titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll. He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his
[644] appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/
[178] today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It
[644] benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum
[534] called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum,"
[177] "cylinder of a drum."
[192]

643 The aménokal generally has one or two caliphs charged with taking
644 his place or representing him with the fractions.

The amrar. -- Each tribe, called taousit, has its amrar, who,
631 like the aménokal, is chosen according to matriarchal rules.

Amrar, in Tamashek,
[192] means "the old," "the respectable," "the ancient," /158/ and by extension,
[643 534] "possessor of wisdom." It is the equivalent of the Arab word "shéik."

Fig. 16. The tobol, symbol of the aménokal's command, with its "imîtkar."

The amrar is the intermediary between the people of his tribe and the aménokal. He transmits orders from the latter and sees that they are carried out. He collects the tioussé intended for the aménokal from the Imrad and sets the share that each is to pay. He settles minor disputes between the people of his tribe and fixes the pasturing zone to be used by each camp.

He takes part in the vote which sanctions the election of the aménokal and at the arollan, which discusses major decisions concerning the life of the confederation.

In a confederation subject to an aménokal, a grouping which the Ahaggar Tuareg also call tégéhé, there may be several tobol, that is, several suzerain tribes, each with its vassals. The name taousit, making double use of the word for tribe, is sometimes used to designate the whole whose chief also bears the name of amrar among the Ihaggaren and agoalla among the Kel Aïr /Asben/.

The amrar has no characteristic symbol of command, at least
[171] among the Ihaggaren. In certain Sudanese tribes, many formerly had a drum analogous to that of the aménokal.

The Imochar. -- The Imochar (singular, Amacher) form the
565 aristocratic class. This word means "man of dominant stock
192

565 /Fr. race/, " "aristocrat, " and not "noble" as some have written.
[192] This would be said elli (plural, illellan) in Tamashek. (1)

1. Cf. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik, " Bulletin de l'Institut Français, Afrique Noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, pp. 579-586.

192 In Sudanese dialects, amacher, by transposition into local
197 phonetics, becomes amajer (plural, imajeuren). As we have already said, it is easy to find in these names the old Berber root amazir, which formerly referred to certain Libyan peoples and which still exists in the name of a considerable Berber fraction in Morocco.

The Imochar, who hold the political rights, are the real masters
565 of the country. All of them claim to be of sherif origin, more or
[173] less descendants of the Prophet; however, this claim has no solid foundation, except the desire to assume a high birth affiliating them to Islamism and its founder a long time back, but this is not true.

/159/ Among themselves, the Tuareg refer to men of old nobility and old stock /Fr. race/ as loumet.

All the Imochar are essentially warriors. They owe their high
565 social position to the saber, and they know no other occupation than
701 war and raiding. Their role as suzerain makes them parasites of the
631 vassal classes, and they used to constitute a scourge to caravans crossing their country. Their way of life has always been pillage,
[181 and in their eyes manual labor is a disgrace which only slaves can
461] accept.

Covering the desert on their camels, fighting, risking death in
181 faraway escapades -- that is what the life of a man of noble blood,
565 who intends to remain one, must be. They take their vassals on their escapades and save part of the booty for them, by right of participation. Scorn for manual labor is a class prejudice with them

565 from all vassalage taxes and are often the object of much respect
[651] and consideration wherever they go. Thus, in the Ahaggar, they are treated on an equal footing with the Imochar, and the latter
[582] sometimes accept marriages with them, while at the same time re-
[641] fusing to grant political rights to the children born of these unions.
[184] On the other hand, among the Ioullimmiden, the Imochar reject any alliance with them and make them pay a vassalage due. These
[582] /Inislimen/ of the Damergou, contrary to the rule, are considered nobles; they own Imrad and may wage war. Furthermore, they have made themselves noticed as the most bellicose among the A'ir tribes. Finally, those of the Adrar succeeded in forming a confederation after the Ioullimmiden abandoned the country; they have Imrad, but the Imochar from the other confederations do not want to regard them as their equals.

They are often referred to under the name of Ichériffen, or
[192] Chériffen, which comes from the Arab word sherif, meaning "noble," or, by extension, "descendant of the Prophet." But among the Tuareg, Ichériffen has a more specialized meaning and designates persons of a religious nature, without their necessarily being descendants of Mahomet.

The marabout tribes include the Ichériffen properly so called and the Ifôra.

This religious nature has various origins and qualities.

Some elements really number sherifs among their ancestors; such is the case of the Ifôra from the Adrar and certain Kel Es-Souq fractions. But opposed to them are others who have only an accidental religious character.

174 Concerning this, Commander Cauvet says that these marabout
565 tribes often appear to be noble collectivities, who were formerly
793 strong and became too weak to continue enjoying the rights and prestige of the strong. They declared themselves withdrawn from the business of arms and devoted to pious practices for love of God and Islam. "A tribe threatened with losing its preponderance,

184 The Inislimen way of life is the same as that of the Tuareg.
565 They speak the same language and administer themselves with no
793 intervention from the Imochar. A few cases of polygamy have been
[631] observed among them. This is the result of their gradual Islamization,
[595] which favors the custom, and of patriarchy which was already in practice in some Sudanese tribes.

565 The Imrad. -- Imrad probably comes from the Tamashek root
[192] égeid, égeit, which means "kid, " "little goat, " and from the prefix am indicating possession. In short, this means "possessors of goats. "
[422] In fact, the Imrad formerly could own only goats, for the Imochar reserved the possession of camels for themselves.

Their nickname is Kel Oulli, which also means "goat people, " a name which they prefer to Imrad, which is probably a bit degrading for them.

[631] /165/ They make up tribes enfeoffed to the Imochar and are their vassals.

The Imochar have a certain scorn for them and consider them people of low birth, not of the pure Tuareg race; the name Taouia Settefet, meaning "of black descent, " is often applied to them. (1)

1. Among the Ioullimmiden they are referred to as Idinet.

173 Nothing indicates a racial inferiority of the Imrad to the Imochar,
565 however. If we want to interpret the old legends of the Ahaggar,
144 everything leads us to believe that the Imrad were in most instances the first occupants of the country, and the Imochar, who were the invaders, were conquerers who made themselves masters of the country by force. The crossbreeding with the blacks cannot be a decisive criterion, for many Imrad tribes are not physically more "Negroid" than the Imochar. It is also true that the Imrad are
[186] less rigorous than the Imochar in maintaining the integrity of old
[184] Tuareg customs. They have less greatness of soul and sentiment, as well as less ethnic pride.

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote
[602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general-
[582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihăggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihăggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were
[643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores
[184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous
[567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar,
[582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

563 and may be owners of slaves and herds. They sometimes seek
[582] matrimonial alliances with the Imrad, but the latter, who hold
them in rather great contempt, most often refuse.

According to Nicolas, the Iborelliten might be captives of a
114 higher origin. (2) For de Foucauld, (3) Aborelli (plural, Ibourelliten)
563
[192]

2. Loc. cit., pp. 579-586.

3. Dictionnaire touareg-français
/Tuareg-French Dictionary/,
vol. I, p. 79.

designates a mulatto of a white man and a Negress, or inversely.
In our opinion, it should be added that one of the parents is of
Taureg origin; and we are all the more convinced that this trait is
[192] indispensable since de Foucauld elsewhere refers to the ordinary
mulatto by the name of Achardan (plural, Ichardanen). (3)

3. Dictionnaire touareg-français
/Tuareg-French Dictionary/,
vol. I, p. 79.

We have gathered information in the regions of Tahoua and
Gao, where éborelli refers to a child born of an Amajer and a non-
captive Negress, or of a foreign woman. The Iborelliten are there-
fore mulattos born of mixed parentage, Tuareg and Negro.

563 As groups of Iborelliten we shall cite the Igdâlen of /169/ the
Aïr and the Aboghelité spoken of by Barth, (1) who were born of

1. Op. cit., vol. I, p. 204.

Tuareg mothers (Imochar, according to Barth) and Negro fathers.
Another Iborelliten tribe, of Tuareg and Peul stock, said to have

563 become sedentary, exists in the Sudan, in the Niafunké region.

563 There seems to be a category of low-class Iborelliten who are referred to as Irraouellan. Nicolas considers them former captives 567 who have been liberated. Chudeau reported an Irraouellan tribe, [727] whose members were said to be freedmen or descendants of former captives. He adds that the children of a Tuareg man and a slave are by law Irraouellan.

We shall add to these different definitions that in the Aïr a slave woman who marries a Tuareg becomes free as does her family, and the children born of her marriage are then called Ikalalen.

[184] Among the Kel-Ahaggar, we do not find any true Iborelliten or Irraouellan tribes, although there are men belonging to these social classes.

567 The Iklan. -- The Iklan (singular, Akli; feminine singular, Taklit) are the serfs, or slaves, of the Tuareg. The name Iklan [192 144] comes from the Tamashek root Kl, meaning "black being"; (2)

2. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

and indeed these people are foreign to the Tuareg race. They are Negroes of all origins, formerly captured in the Sudan and reduced to slavery by the Tuareg. They form a separate class, which is not a tribe, except when they are freed conditionally or completely. Then they are called Iklan-n-égef or Iderfan, depending on which is the case.

[144] They have founded a family among the Tuareg and given birth to a new race with the most diverse characteristics, from which the white element is not excluded.

[181] Slaves are employed in keeping the flocks, and in the household work of the camp; they share the life of their masters and from their contact with them have acquired an independent nature which makes them love the freedom of nomadism, so much so that it would now be difficult for them to resume the sedentary life of their Ancestors.

567 his property. In cases of this nature the two parties have usually
[685] come to an agreement beforehand.

The Iklan are responsible for introducing a quantity of words
[177 and new expressions into the Tamashek language, all of them
192] naturally of Sudanese origin. They have a very vulgar language and murder the language of their masters abominably, so that they make a real argot of it.

They have kept a great many characteristics of their folklore,
[536] which we /172/ find in their dances, the pantomimed scenes that they organize among themselves at the time of public rejoicing or of events in the family life of their masters.

Social evolution due to the French occupation will in an indefinite time bring about the disappearance of bondage, which we must explain does not have the inhumane nature that one might presume.

567 It would have been a blunder to immediately impose the
liberation of the Iklan, and it would have been contrary to their own
648 interests. Attempts made in this direction in the Sudan have given deplorable results. Iklan liberated from one day to the next are unsettled in class; they cannot and do not want to go back to working the land and thus find it impossible to earn a living.

The disappearance of slavery will come about gradually and individually. It will occur slowly, but inexorably, and it will bring important social transformations among the Tuareg.

One can already observe this evolution among the Ioullimmiden, in Adrar, and particularly around Timbuktu where Imrad women occupy themselves from now on with grinding millet and doing the heavy housework, which was formerly left to the captives.

567 Iklan-n-Egef. -- Liberation of captives, furthermore, has always existed among the Tuareg in more or less attenuated forms.

It may have several causes, first of which is the excess of captives, which makes a great many useless mouths to feed. The Tuareg thus gave a halfway freedom to some of them whom they

567 have been freed as a group as a reward for some outstanding action. Nicolas mentions the present Tamjert fraction in the center of Tahoua who were freed after the battle of Izerwan where they had courageously resisted the Kel Ahaggar (1898). Many Iderfan go back to cultivation. They often live with the sedentary groups, with whom they join forces. They do small services for the latter, such as tending their flocks.

114 Nicolas likens them to the Harratines of the Kel Ahaggar. This
563 is only partially justified, for, although it is true that a few former
567 slaves work in the centers of cultivation of the Ahaggar, the majority of the Harratin are Negroes from the Tidikelt who freely came to get jobs among the Tuareg. Thus, we must not confuse the Harratin with the Iderfan.

567 As in the case of the Iklan-n-Egef, there are no Iderfan in the Ahaggar except in isolated cases.

564 The Enaden. -- The Enaden (singular, Enad) form the artisan class of the Tuareg. In the Sudan they are called /174/ garassa or gargassa, which is very probably of Sonrhaï origin.

[192] The word Enadan probably comes from enad, meaning "the other," extended to mean "those we don't talk about." (1) This is

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

because the Enaden form a closed caste, scorned and cursed by the Tuareg whose repulsion for manual labor is well known.

463 Their role is to manufacture anything the Tuareg may have need
564 of: weapons, wooden table utensils, tent pegs, mehari saddles, and harnessing articles.

In addition, they also willingly engage in the business of barber-
[757 surgeon, and with the little instruments they make they adroitly do
752] bloodletting, cupping, scarification, and other little operations of the same order, including tooth extraction. They are remunerated
[465] for their work when they work for tribes, or, if they are attached to a master, he has them entirely at his disposal.

631 427 [195] The founding of Tamanrasset is attributed to them; it is said to be the work of the chief of the Issenda (Issendaten) fraction, Ilachen by name. This creation goes back some sixty years, but the irrigable lands were the property of the Ajjer. In the last few years, the Imanrassatên, who were the true proprietors of the cultivable lands at Tamanrasset, came several times to claim the rental price which was one ass or a sheep per year according to the place. But this claim was only payable if the owners presented themselves; the year not claimed was gained by the renter.

[651] 631 They often found themselves in conflict with the amenokal, because they made difficulties in paying the tiousee.

They are subdivided into Kel Aguelella or Kel Tarhaouhaout, into Kel Rapsa or Kel Ezarounfat, and into Issendaten or Kel Tahifet.

631 173 [192] The Aït Loaien. -- The Aït Loaien get their name from the verb élouai, which means "to attach camels in Indian file." (1)

1. According to Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, p. 148.

Through their ancestor Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, they are said to be of the same origin as the Dag Râli and the Kel Ahnet. At the time of the division of the Imrad, it is said they were bestowed half upon the Inemba and half upon the Tégéhé Mellet. They are subdivided into Irayen (today extinct), Kel Torha or Dag Houa, and Aït Loaien proper.

631 [651] The Aït Loaien pay the tiousse to the family of the Téjéhé-n-agg-Ali, also called Kel Ahamellen (Kel Rela), and the Dag Houa group pays it to the Tégéhé Mellet.

[578] Formerly allied to the Imekkérressen of the Ajjer group by numerous marriages, they separated from them following disputes and the murder of one of them, the Tuareg Reskou /196/ ag Yahia, famous in all the Ahaggar. Since then, the Imekkérressen have settled in the Ajjer.

631
[173]

1. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 177.

[582] They often camp near the Dăg Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Tăitok in their peregrinations.

[423] They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghîn, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given [233] to Moussa ag Ămastan. They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The tioussé paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a [651] bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemaden live mixed in with the Dăg Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Tăitok tobol.

[192] Their name means "the very ugly ones," from the Tamashek akechchemdh, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Ămastân.

[162] They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them [423] in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dăg Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dăg Râli.

[162] The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ăjjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeïen form a little tribe of some 15 [162] tents, whose camp lies near Tit and Tigeneouin.

114 "The conversion of these new peoples spread the influence of the
175 church or the empire quite deeply into the interior of Africa. But was it solid? Religious propaganda was for a long time one of the favorite forms of Byzantine expansion. It follows from this that the conversions which it caused were especially political and were made without previous instruction in the catechism, consequently without conviction on the part of the converts. It lasted, alas, only as long as political interest remained in agreement with personal interests." (2)

2. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. II., p. 72.

The Arab author Ibn Khaldoun said in the fourteenth century, while speaking of the Islamization of the Sanhadja Berbers, that this pagan people had never adopted the Christian religion.

Thus it seems probable that the Tuareg were never Christians.
[531] Nothing in their present mores betrays the least trace of it. The cross found on the bucklers, weapons, saddle articles, and jewelry has no typically Christian character; it is a decorative motif to be found in ornamentation used among peoples who have nothing to do with Christianity. Only the Latin words introduced into the
[192 Tamashek language may indicate /303/ that the Tuareg must have
174] been in more or less distant relations with the Christian peoples, but they cannot vouch for the early Christianization of the Tuareg by themselves alone.

Judaism. -- Although Christianity certainly no more than
175 grazed the North African Berbers and by repercussion the Saharian
797 nomads, it is perhaps quite different with Judaism. Indeed, the Jews settled early in North Africa, where paganism was then professed, and they made many adepts among the Berber peoples. Entire tribes were converted, and when Christianity came to take root in its turn, it found before it numerous groups, both Judaic and Judaized. The position of the followers of Israel was

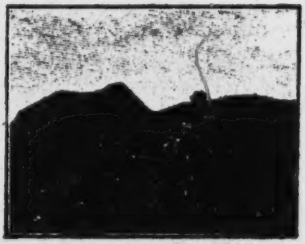
The donkey carries the waterskins from the well to the [312]
tent, and on its back is placed a packsaddle made of curved 492
pieces of wood bound together, which is called "eroukou."

Let us not forget the Tuareg's saddle, "terik," and if the master of the tent is well-to-do, his wife's saddle, "tekhaouit." /28/

The tent is divided in two: one side for the man and 342
the other for the woman. On the man's side are his saddle, 592
his arms, and the things used for eating. On the woman's side are her saddle, her "amz'ad," and the cooking utensils.

Custom decrees that the man choose the east part for his side, and the woman the west part.

A group of tents is called "amezar'" [illegible] , and [192]
a single tent "ehan" [illegible] , plural "ehanan" [illegible] .



Dautheville

Tent of a Tedjehe-Mellet
at Amra (Black Tifedest)

## Chapter XV

## Food

The main meal takes place at noon and is called 264
"tarout" [illegible] . In the evening the Tuareg is

## Chapter XVIII

## Clothing. The Veil

The Tuareg are very clothes conscious. They love 291
beautiful clothes and do not fail to put the best they have in their wardrobes on their backs every time the occasion arises.

The more garments they can put on, one over the other, the better it is. Even in midsummer if a Tuareg has a wool burnoose, he does not hesitate to put it over his shoulders if he is to attend a palaver or present himself to a chief, though he suffer from it.

Their clothes are almost all made of dark-blue cotton, "tchoqqit" (a word which seems to be a [192]
variation of the word "chegga" used by the Arabs).

White cotton is not fashionable and is not worn except by [556]
those who do not have the means to buy dark-blue cotton, which looks black and from a distance when they are in a group, gives them a slight resemblance to crows.

Their costume consists of:

The "takarbast" , a sleeveless gandurah slit at the sides and sewed only at the bottom, so that when they raise onto their shoulders the panels that fall to their wrists, the entire bare chest is seen through the opening.

The "karteba" , trousers à la hussarde, or full like the Arab "seroual," tight at the ankle.

The "takammist" , a gandurah with large wide sleeves and a large pocket on the left side of the chest, "el hib" . The "takammist," which is usually made of cotton with small blue /36/ and white squares or with dark-blue and mauve stripes, is decorated on the shoulders with white embroidery. This garment is expensive and is only worn [556]
by well-to-do Tuareg.

An "abrour" , a haïk of wool bought in the Tidikelt or the Touat, and worn only in winter.

They have no numbers, and they do not use the Arabic 802
numbers. They prefer to make holes in the sand, and by this rather long process succeed in figuring just the same. A Tuareg, moreover, cannot talk for five minutes without emphasizing his recitation with dots or lines on the sand. If he is asked, "How many days' march are there between this point and that one, " he cannot answer any number without marking on the ground as many dots as there are days in his answer.

A Tuareg who has been made to sit on the ground on a [516
blanket, before he begins to talk raises the edges of the 521]
blanket /44/ so as to indulge in his favorite occupation. Certainly if he were transported to France, into a well-waxed apartment, he would be very unhappy and would quickly ask for sand or earth so as to be able to draw his dots and lines.

But this custom has its use when one wishes to have an 487
idea of the road one must travel. The Tuareg who, like all 823
nomads, has a very accurate sense of direction, will draw an over-all map of the route to be followed, with the wadis and landmarks which would be met.

The Tuareg do not have words in their language to denote 177
the days of the week. Those that they use have been borrowed 192
from the Arabic and changed. 805

On the other hand, for their months they have kept some truly Tamashek names, while others are definitely taken from the Arabic. Thus:

1. "Tamessedek, " corresponding to Muharram and which seems to be derived from the Arabic "sedeq" صدق "to give alms. " It is said that this name means "zekkat" زكاة , or "legal alms. "

2. "Talilt tassettafet" (corresponding to Safar). This 773
means "the black month. " Here is why this month is so 776
called: "Sidna Slimane (Solomon) was in command of the 805
genii and demons. One day when he was standing leaning on his cane, the "djinns" (genii) told a termite to eat out the bottom of the cane. The termite did the job so well that the

cane broke at the bottom, and poor Solomon fell over, all 773
fours in the air, and was killed in his fall. His death was the 776
signal of liberty for the genii and demons, who spread through- 805
out the world, precisely in that month which was later called
the "black month."

3. "Talilt tarer'ert," that is, the "yellow month," 177
(corresponding to Rabia I, or Mouloud, the month of the 805
Prophet's birth), so called, it is said, because it is lighted,
منوّر by the birth of the Prophet. /45/

4. "Aouhim oua izzaren," that is, "the first Aouhim," 805
(corresponding to Rabia II). Aouhim means "fawn of a gazelle."
This is also the name of a star. [821]

5. "Aouhim oua ilkamen," that is, "the next Aouhim,"
(corresponding to Jumada I).

6. "Sarat" (corresponding to Jumada II). The Tuareg
have been unable to give me any explanation of this name.

7. "Tin tineslimine," that is, "the month of the
marabouts," (corresponding to Rajab). In the time of the
Kharijite doctrine, the Ramadan was put back to the month
Rajab, and it is known that the Tuareg espoused this doctrine
(1).

1. See Essai sur l'Histoire de
l'Islamisme /Essay on the History
of Islamism/ by Dozy.

8. "Amezzehel," that is "he who runs," (from the root
"zehel," to run), thus named because it has only 29 days and
it precedes the arrival of Ramadan. It corresponds to Shaban.

9. "Azzoum," that is, "the fast" (corresponding to the [177
month of Ramadan), a name taken from the Arabic word 1927
الصوم "essoum," the fast.

10. "Tessessi," that is, "act of drinking" or "libations,"
because one may drink after the fast. It corresponds to
Shawwal, the month in which the feast called "A'id Ser'ir"
takes place.

4: Benhazera--43G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Duveyrier has told us that the Imanan (Cheurfa) sultans 534
entrusted their tobols to a marabout tribe, the Ifor'as-oui-n- 565
Tobol. This practice is maintained: noble chiefs pretend to keep the tobols with them, but they do not use them any more.

It is said that the nobles have access to the tobols because 534
some day, according to the law of inheritance practiced among 565
the Tuareg, they or their descendants may have the hope of 643
obtaining the tobol, that is, the right to rule.

On the other hand, it is said that a noble has lost his rights [558]
to the tobol if, through a misalliance, his children are no longer of a pure noble line /race/. For example, the Kembiben, the Oulad El Goute, and the Oulad Ibra (among the Kel R'ela of the Ahaggar) can no longer hope to have the right to rule, to the tobol. Similarly, the son of a noble and a "tamr'idt" (feminine /50/ of "amr'id") is an amr'id and loses all right to the tobol which his father had.

From this first meaning, the word "tobol" ended by mean- 534
ing the group of nobles and imr'ad tribes who answered the call 565
of the tobol, and one might, for example, say, "The tobol 631
of the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe) includes such-and-such imr'ad tribes, " or again, "A certain proportion of imr'ad makes up the tobol of the noble Kel R'ela."

The word "tobol" is certainly not of Tamashek origin, but [192]
definitely Arabic. In fact, "tobol" طبل in literary Arabic means: 1) drum, 2) kettledrum, 3) tribute, tax; and in order to say "I do not know who that man is, " the early Arabs said, ما ادري اي الطبل هو I do not know of what tobol he is" (1).

1. Arab-French dictionary by
A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski.

Thus I believe that this usage was introduced by the early [174
Arabs who, in the first century after the hegira, pushed their 797]
conquest through the country inhabited by the Tuareg in order to convert them to Islamism.

233/78 cont. / "maroki." The Sudan camel is the largest, generally has /79/ a light coat, is strong and fast; when it is very fat, its hump becomes high; it must have plenty of nourishment and fares badly on poor pasturage. When it is in good shape, it can carry 200 kilograms of merchandise.

The Ahaggar camel is smaller but always has a nice bearing; its coat may be light, but many of these camels are dark. When it is fat, its hump does not rise much but overflows on the sides; a more frugal eater than the Sudan camel, it can get along on meager pastures. If it runs more slowly, it climbs better; its feet become overheated on the sand but will hold up on jagged pebbles. It cannot carry more than about 150 kilograms.

There are not many maroki in the Ahaggar. It is smaller than the others but much stronger; in comparason with them it seems awkward. It requires abundant food, but in exchange can carry up to 300 kilograms. Generally dark colored, the maroki has a thick coat.

233 The Tuareg vocabulary to designate the camel is rich, a
• 192 proof of the interest in the animal. The generic term is "amis," "imenas" in the plural. "Amadjor" is also generic but is used in the sense of: "camel seen in the distance but not identified." The plural is "imoudjar." The female camel is called "talemt" (plural: "tillemin"); "timetirout" (plural: "timetterouin") means "pregnant camel." The newborn camel is called "aoura"; at one year it is called "ag aouatey"; at two years, "allogues"; three years, "akanafoud"; four years (the teeth begin to grow but do not emerge), "ara'ler"; five years (two teeth), "ag essin"; six years (four teeth), "ag okkoz"; seven years (six teeth), "Ammessedis"; eight years (two canines), "aoutahallat"; adult and old camels intermingle so that a Targui is incapable of saying how old camels live to be; some die young, some old, but the Targui never gives an
[777] opinion as to age, for that could be bad luck.

They use camel hair to make rope. They are fond of 237 283 camel meat, and it is they who supply the markets of the 262 439 Tidikelt with it.

There are very few cattle in the Ahaggar, barely thirty, 233 and almost all these belong to Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane, 492 of Tazerouk. They are used to draw water from the wells [312] into the ar'erems. The pasture is scanty, and besides the cattle easily wear out their hooves on the rocks and stones.

In the Koudia, because of the cold which prevails there 233 and the high altitude, there are many small turrets of dry 343 stones, /65/ empty inside, in which the Tuareg confine lambs and kids at night to shelter them from the cold.

The Ahaggar do not have a large number of meharis, and 233 they do not like to sell them, especially the good ones. Among [435] themselves, to set the value of a mehari, they say, "Such a mehari is worth two, three, or four camels." All their meharis are trained to start at a gallop. The Tuareg has great patience with the training of his mehari and never mistreats it. He confines himself to persuading it by voice and foot, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Tuareg mehari is much more silent than the Arab mehari.

The foundation of the pastures of the Ahaggar is aremmas 137 (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae). This plant is quite laxative. 233 So when the year is bad and drought prevails, the Ahaggar are found emigrating toward the Adhar'. There are fine pastures of "had" (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolaceae) in the south of Tin R'arhou, but there is no water. Moussa ag Amastane /66/ [312 intends to have wells dug there and has requested our help and 648] advice for this purpose.

As a rule the Tuareg let their camels out to pasture with- 233 out herders, and they find them again at the well or by track- ing, unless they entrust the herding to children or negroes.

/67/ A young camel is called "abal" without designating 192 its age. A camel in general is called "amadjour," plural 233 "imoudjar," or else "amiss," plural "imnass." A female is

4: Benhazera--57b G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

233
312

Tuareg Watering Their Sheep at the Tin-Zaouten Well

[192]

| Names of Camels in Tamashek (according to their age) | Names of Camels in Arabic (in the Tidikelt) |
|---|---|
| 1st year: *Aouara.* | 1 to 6 months: *H'ouar.* |
| | 6 mos. to 1 year: *Mekhloul.* |
| 2nd year: *Aledjoudh.* | 2 yrs.: *Ould lewoun.* |
| 3rd year: *Aleggues.* | 3 yrs.: *H'eugg.* |
| 4th year: *Aqnefoud.* | 4 yrs.: *Djedaâ.* |
| 5th year: *H'air.* | 5 yrs.: *Teni* |
| 6th year: *Eg essine.* | 6 yrs.: *Rebaâ.* |
| 7th year: *Eg okkoz.* | 7 yrs.: *Sedass.* |
| 8th year: *Amessedis.* | 8 yrs.: *Bou fettra.* |
| 9th year: *Tahellat.* | 9 yrs.: *Bou fettertine.* |

called "talemt," plural "tillemine"; one that has calved with [192] 233
in a year is "t-n-aouara"; one that is heavy with calf is "timettirout." A stud camel is called "amali," plural "imoulaï."

The wool-bearing sheep does not exist in the Ahaggar. There is only the hairy sheep which the Tuareg call "ekrer," plural "ikraren." This sheep is covered with a pelt of long, rough hair, and its legs are longer than those of wool-bearing sheep. This is why it got the name ovis longipes, or sheep with long legs. The meat of this sheep is good and does not have the smell characteristic of the wool-bearing sheep of Algeria.

On the oases of the Tidikelt and Touat, only this kind of sheep is found.

As to the goats, they are of two kinds: those with long hair and those with short hair. They have no characteristics which distinguish them noticeably from the goats of Algeria.

## Chapter X

### Trade. Caravans. Market Prices

The Ahaggar Tuareg have trade relations with: 1. the 439
Saharan Oases (Tidikelt and Touat) for dates, "chegga" (blue cotton), "malti" and "mahmoudi" (white cotton), "chach" (white muslin), haïks, smoking tobacco, "taba," and snuff, "chemma," tea, and sugar. /68/

They bring in male and female camels, hairy sheep, goats, donkeys, melted butter, and sometimes products that they have brought back from the Aïr.

2. Aïr and Damergou. Having no industry, they buy all manufactured goods from the Aïr. Thus, by means of barter (aside from bechna) they acquire arms: spears, daggers, sabers,

Many legends circulate about blacksmiths. They say that 326
because they work with iron and fire, they will go into the fire 565
of hell. They are scorned, first because they devote themselves
to a manual craft, a disgrace in the eyes of a Tuareg, and
secondly because it is said that they are of Negro origin. It is
also claimed that they were pagans and that their conversion
to Islamism is not sincere. They are also taken for sorcerers. [754]
The sheik Ben Djellas (see the Appendix /not translated/) says
of them: "Blacksmiths hate God and his Prophet, and they
betray God and his Prophet." Their ancestor was called
Tamamenet.

The blacksmith does not belong to any tribe. He goes
where he pleases, wherever he finds work. Sometimes he goes
to war, and he is said to fight well, but a noble Tuareg will not
cross swords with him.

In the Ahaggar a blacksmith is called "mr'allem," variation 326
of the Arab "maâlem." However, there is a word in Tamashek [192]
for him, "inedh," plural "inedhane," but it is not used. /73/

At Tamanrasset I was shown many ancient graves (of the [764]
"chouchat" shape) which, it seems, were the burial places of
a tribe of blacksmiths said to have been massacred and died of
starvation a very long time ago.

The gardens of the Ahaggar "ar'erems" are worked by the 241
Harratine of the Touat and the Tidilkelt, who bring their tools 312
with them. It is they also who dig the "foggaras," or covered 565
wells; and all the tools that they use come from the Saharan Oases.

## Chapter XII

## Agriculture. Ar'erems

While in all of the Ahnet no trace of agriculture is to be 241
found, however small, because of the scarcity of wells, whose 361
312

## Chapter XIII

### Ancient Graves. Upright Stones

Ancient graves. Almost everywhere, in the Ahnet, Adhar', Ahaggar, Immidir, and even on the banks of the wadis that cross Tanezrouft, are found many ancient graves shaped either like a truncated cone, or "chouchat," or like a little turret, or "bazina," like those found everywhere in North Africa. 172 764

I saw one, however, at Tamanrasset (right next to the grave of the Tamenokalt Taber'ourt oult Akhalakham of the Imanan) which had a special shape. It was a pile of stones in the shape of a rectangular parallelepiped, four meters long by one meter wide, and one meter high.

The Tuareg say that these graves, which they call "adebni," plural "idebnane" (a word which seems to be derived from the Arab word "beni," building), are those of the "Izabbaren" ⵉⵣⴱⴱⴰⵔⴻⵏ. Then, too, this word in Tamashek means "ogres" and in the singular is "zabbar" ⵣⴱⴱⴰⵔ, "ogre." The Ahaggar and the Taïtoq refuse to admit that these were perhaps their ancestors at the time of paganism who had graves of this kind. "The Izabbaren," they say, "have nothing in common with us. They are not our ancestors." It was for this reason that Professor Gautier could explore some of these graves without opposition on their part. 172 173 764 [192]

Meanwhile, there is also another kind of grave which still has a circular shape but with the "chouahed," or markers, customary with all Moslems, while the "chouchat," or "bazina," graves are without them. This kind of grave is more unusual. It seems to be a form intermediary between the "Izabbaren" graves and the present graves. 172 764

On the other hand, the Tuareg will show you the grave of Tin /78/ Hinane, the ancestress from whom they claim to be descended, which is located at the junction of the Tefirt wadi 172 173 764

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa. 136 [132] [137]

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tayahant)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of weels *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters. [44] 74 [567] [167] [177] [312] [342] [312] [342] 567

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while [144] [114] [103] [192] 563 601

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



565 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance,
651 to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The
[178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are
[789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals, but these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility
[721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also
[422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these animals.

The master of a temażlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids, but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the
[643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellag* or half of the booty taken by all vassals
[727] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for
[426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been given to the Amenokal. The temażlait-masters were apparently without any judicial
[692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller units within the drum-group – the temażlait-relations – were predominantly economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit, the drum-group.

## *The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.*

565 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately
192 open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheren* (sing. *Amacher*), but correctly this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohar* (sing. *Amahar*). It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb *ahar* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that this latter word is identical with *Hoggara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



dominating an extensive area of North Africa and particularly in Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and adjacent regions before the Arab invasion of the 11th century A.D. This theory was set forth already by Ibn Khaldoun, who says that *Hoouara* has changed into *Hoggar* (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory has no other foundation but mere speculation (Nicolas 1953, p. 14). This, however, is not correct as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *ou* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *ou* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533). 565 192 [114] [194]

The term used in Air for vassal Tuareg is *Imrad* (sing. *Amrid*), a word which seems to be known to all Tuareg. Foucauld gives no particular explanation of its meaning (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1233f.). Nicolas claims the word related to *ereid*, literally meaning "a kid" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189). If this explanation given by Nicolas is correct, *Imrad* refers to goat-breeding. So does another term for vassals used more frequently among the Northern Tuareg and the Ioullemmeden, namely *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), which means literally "the goat people". In Air this word is never used as a term for the vassal class, but only as a proper name for one particular vassal clan attached to the Ikaskazan.

One of the terms for vassals and maybe both terms are thus connected with goat-breeding, while one of the terms for noble Tuareg seems to refer to raiding, which among the Tuareg was intimately connected with camel-breeding. Camels were not only the means by which raiding was carried out, but they were also the main object of raiding expeditions as they could be abducted very quickly from foreign camps. So we may perhaps see from some of the terms used for vassal and noble Tuareg that the two classes originated from the meeting of two distinct cultures, a goat-breeding and a camel-breeding culture. And we have already seen that in the past the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar were in particular camel-breeders, the vassals breeders of goats and donkeys. [233] [721] [174] [233]

The Ahaggar Tuareg – in contrast to the Tuareg of Air – have traditions about the origin of the class system. References to these traditions are common in literature (Benhazera 1908, p. 89ff. – Reygasse 1950, p. 88. – Foucauld 1951 – 52, II, p. 533ff. – Lhote 1955, p. 213ff. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 99f.). There are in fact two conflicting traditions, but some Tuareg will nevertheless acknowledge both. It seems, however, as if one tradition had its origin among the nobility, the other among vassals. The tradition which originated in the noble class says that the dominant noble clans of Ahaggar had a woman named Ti-n-Hinan as their ancestress. She immigrated to Ahaggar from Tafilelt in Morocco together with her servant girl named Takama, who became the ancestress of the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The two women were both Islamic and belonged to the Beraber tribes. They found the country uninhabited except for the higher parts of the massif, where a pagan people named the Isebeten lived. This tradition 173 565

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



171 342 and in skin tents, and according to my investigations this is, or was, also the case of the Arab pastoral tribe Ouled Ba Hamou in Tidikelt.

3) In Northern Africa T-shaped posts are frequently found in permanent dwellings, but they are then solidly embedded in the ground, whereas in Tuareg skin tents and also in black tents they stand on the surface.

4) The use of skin for tents or other movable dwellings is no doubt of very great age (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144), while the T-shaped posts can be considered as belonging to a highly developed tent construction. To my mind there is a certain contrast in this, the more so as the posts or poles of other Tuareg skin tents are fixed in the ground.

5) Arab pastoralists now living in Tuareg countries frequently use Tuareg mat-covered huts and skin tents. Of particular interest is the type of skin tent used by the Deremchaka Arabs living among the Eastern Ioullemmeden (the Kel Dinnik). To support the sheet of skin sewn together these Arabs use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two oblique poles (Nicolas 1950a, p. 154). A similar or related construction is found in black tents of the Brakna Arabs (Caillié 1830, I, p. 190), and is common in black tents of Algeria including the northern parts of Algerian Sahara (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff.). And according to tradition the Deremchaka Arabs immigrated from these regions (Nicolas 1950a, p. 67ff.). There seems to be little doubt that the Deremchaka Arabs have adopted a mode of construction typical of certain black tents to the Tuareg skin tent, and there may perhaps be another example of this among the Southern Tuareg:– The Tuareg known as Kel Antassar in the region of Timbuktu frequently use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two central oblique posts to support their skin tents (Lhote 1947, p. 39, 101, 117). The Kel Antassar Tuareg are of religious status; [174] their presumed Arab origin (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 195. – Mohammed Said 1903, p. 210ff. – Richer 1924, p. 14) gives rise to the supposition that they formerly had black tents.

I think these five arguments support the theory that T-shaped posts are foreign to Tuareg skin tents while customary for black tents in use among certain Arabs of Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and Eastern Libya (cf. Laoust 1930, p. 209ff. – Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff., 146).

I shall now turn to the other theory to be tested, namely that there is a certain 171 relation between the camel and the black tent. This theory is not easy to prove. 233 The statement that camels and black tents have approximately the same distri- 342 butions is far from convincing even if we keep to their westernmost areas. In Northern Africa camel-breeders over large areas use other types of dwelling, and black tents are very common among settled and semi-nomadic people of the Atlas, where there are no camels. The distribution of the black tent in Africa (cf. Feilberg 171 1944, map. II) comes indeed very close to the distribution of Arabic-speaking 342 people, with the main exception that black tents in the Atlas and elsewhere in the 192 north are also used by Berbers. Laoust has proved that some of these northern

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



Berbers and particularly those of Central Morocco use for their black tents and for important parts of their tents terms derived from Arabic (Laoust 1930, p. 168f., 227f.). [171] 342 [172]

We cannot disregard the possibility that black tents were known in Northern Africa before the first Arab invasion. But there can be little doubt that outside of the Atlas black tents are characteristic of Arabic-speaking people, and we seem to be on safe ground if we state that the Arabs are responsible for the present fairly large distribution of black tents in the desert regions between the Red Sea and the Atlantic. And the black tent may have been unknown to the Berbers before the Arab invasion. In connection with this I wish to quote the very eminent scholar Stéphane Gsell who states his opinion on the age of the black tent in Northern Africa as follows:– "Cependant elle s'est répandue tardivement chez les Berbères. Ce fut surtout après la conquête musulmane qu'ils l'adoptèrent, à l'exemple de leurs noveaux maîtres: au VIII° siècle, un grand nombre d'entre eux avaient des tentes, semblables à celles des Arabes" (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 216. – cf. El Bekri p. 139). [174]

In discussing the theory of a connection between camels and black tents, our next task is concerned with the history of the camel. For although camels and black tents have different distributions they may nevertheless be historically connected and introduced together. 171 233 342

Much has already been written on the history of the camel. René Basset's theory that the camel was introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1905) is contrary to all historical information. For we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived, though it does not seem to be of very great age, contrary to Cauvet's statement (Cauvet 1925–26). Already Barth suggested that the camel came to North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3ff.), and this theory seems to be valid (cf. Gautier 1942, p. 190ff. – Walz 1951). 114 174 233

Gautier claims that there is a certain connection between the introduction of the camel and the immigration to North-Western Africa of Berber tribes known as the Zenata, who lived in the northern steppes and desert regions from Tripolitania to Western Algeria. According to Ibn Khaldoun quoted by Gautier the Zenata had many traits in common with the Arabs: they lived in tents, they were camel-breeders, and they rode on horseback (Gautier 1942, p. 217 ff., 227. – cf. Ibn Khaldoun III, p. 179). The theory that the camel was introduced by the Zenata is accepted by Feilberg, who thinks that these people may have introduced the black tent together with the camel (Feilberg 1944, p. 119f., 226).

A connection between the Zenata and the camel is extremely difficult to prove. Gautier's theories on North African history are frequently very hazardous and very contradictory. Thus in his book *Le Passé de l'Afrique du Nord* we find the following statements about the introduction of the camel:– 1) "A tant de bienfaits Rome en a ajouté un dernier: elle a introduit le chameau, permettant ainsi la mise en

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



174 mentioned that the word *Ihaggaren (Ahaggar)* is perhaps derived from *Hoouara*, which was a common term for certain Berber tribes particularly living in Tripoli-
● [192] tania in the Middle Ages. According to Edrisi the Hoouara Berbers were originally Arabs who adopted Berber language (Edrisi p. 66ff.). This is not proved by Ibn
[114] Khaldoun's important work on the history of the Berbers. But Ibn Khaldoun states that the Hoouara came under Arab influence at a very early date, and some of the pastoral Hoouara people apparently migrated southwards to the desert at a later date than the Lemta (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275ff.).

I think that the ancestors of the noble Tuareg introduced the camel into the Sahara. I think too that this may have happened before the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. But some of the dominating noble Tuareg have emigrated from Tripolitania after the Arabs have arrived. And it is probable that the political systems of the Tuareg already very early were influenced by the Arabs among whom a class system is found even nowadays as described from Cyrenaica by
171 Evans-Pritchard. In that region there are client tribes known as *Marabtin alsaqan*
565 because they pay *sadaḳa*, a fee, to a free tribe for protection and for the privilege of using the earth and water. Some fragments of client tribes even to-day have a very inferior social position and are forced to make payments to, and to perform services for, the free tribes among whom they live (Evans-Pritchard 1949, p. 53).

The word *sadaqa*, a fee, is known to the Tuareg, and there are other Arabic
171 words connected with their political systems. Here I shall content myself with
192 reference to the word *khalifa* used among the Northern Tuareg for the deputies of a chief, and the very important word *ettebel* meaning "drum", "drum-group", and in Air also "drum-chief". Ultimately the history of Tuareg political systems should
174 probably be viewed in connection with those of Arabs.
10)

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Bissing, F. W. von: Zur Geschichte des Kamels. Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde XXXVIII. Leipzig 1900.
Bissuel, H.: Les Touareg de l'Ouest. Alger 1888.

233 /79 cont./ When the young camel is weaned it is called
"assaka"; when it is trained, one says "abal" or "amougui."
192 The stud camel is called "amali."

Generous with the names bestowed on the camel, the Tuareg are even more wordy when it comes to describing the camel's color. /80/ While green or bright red spread on a paper is poorly appraised, the imperceptible nuances of a camel's coat are distinguished in precise fashion; this is because the colors that we mentioned are abstractions, while the difference between two grays is concrete, being the difference between two observed, known, and perhaps loved camels.

The correspondence between the colors expressed by the Tamashek words and the French shades is arbitrary; another investigator could quite well give another scale just as valid.

White: beïdedj; dark gray: iendjelan; fawn: iebramine; light fawn: atlar; fawn brown: ibazaouane; black: ikaoualane; black and white: azelraf; dirty white: idegnassen; gazelle: ierrane; light gray: ibahouane; green tones: israfane; reddish white: ilemlarane; reddish brown: ihaggarène; between red and yellow: ietlarine; the one with the blue eyes: iouinaran; the one with the white mouth: imoulssan.

According to what an animal is used for or according to his merits, there are about 20 other names, a few examples of which follow:

Saddle camel: "amis ouan tarik"; pack camel: "amis ouan edjidji"; saddle camel for a woman: "amis ouan takhaouit." Tired camel: "yaddah"; wounded camel: "yakoder"; well-trained camel: "iounane"; a hard camel to mount: "irraguel."

233 There is no need to repeat here the characteristics of the camel, its sobriety, its endurance, its fragility, too; let us remember, though, /81/ that when it "drinks its fill," it downs up to 120 liters of water.

In a moist pasture, whose grass is green, of course, the camel stays practically without drinking; when it is mounted or packed, having to undertake a journey across a strictly

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Fig. 10. Young man of the sedentary *Kel Ganet* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. He is yet too young to wear the veil which is used also by these Tuareg-speaking people of Ganet.

Fig. 11. Unveiled blacksmith. His racial features are predominantly negroid though his skin colour is yellow-brown rather than black. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

564 From Ayr Tuareg who had much contact with blacksmiths I collected the following words of *ténet*
198 language:—
[192]

| *ténet* | *tamachek* | *English* |
|---|---|---|
| *wochimbagen* | *ineden* | blacksmiths |
| *wosilkum* | *echink* | porridge |
| *tikulkumin* (pl.) | *tikammarin* | cheese |
| *ohundegan* | *aman* | water |
| *ogera* | *éref* | head |
| *tokonderey* | *timezzugin* | ears |
| *tedroragen* | *tiiawin* | eyes |

Prasse is of the opinion that the secret language of the blacksmiths is a kind of slang consisting of circumlocutions of everyday words, but derived from nothing but the local dialect itself. He suggests the following tentative interpretations of some of the words I have noted:— *wa chenbeyen* = "the blackheaded one"; *wa s ilkem* = "the one it follows" or: "sticks to"; *ogera* = "leather bag".

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177 The Tuareg have contact with a great many people speaking other tongues, and most Tuareg men
[191] know one or two languages in addition to their mother tongue. A great many Northern Tuareg speak
Arabic, and some of them even Hausa, as these two languages are important to them during caravan
[192] trading. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer the Tuareg language has adopted many Arabic words. This
is not the case to the same extent in Ayr, where most loan-words are taken over from Hausa which
language is spoken by most Tuareg men. Even the *Kel Ewey* dialect is extremely mixed with
177 Hausa. It should be mentioned that Tuareg women have very little knowledge of foreign languages.
184 They generally speak neither Arabic nor Hausa.

The women have played a great part in the preservation of the Tuareg language and culture. But the latter has nevertheless been much influenced by contact with culturally different peoples. Foreign influences are responsible for certain distinctions in the Tuareg cultures of the north and the south.

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would emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically a certain dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

At present both fair-skinned europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most Negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern Negroes in the Fezzan constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the ancestors of the present Negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all Negroes of Ahaggar were apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid *Ḥarratin* then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. Another immigration of predominantly black-skinned and negroid agriculturists came from Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Ĝanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the *Ḥarratin*. – Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Ayr by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Ayr originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese in regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Ayr were Negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that, before the Tuareg, Ayr was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45; Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Ayr* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the Massif, to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations seem to confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Ayr have admitted that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and in the Berber dialect spoken by these people there are a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of the *Kel Éwey* group is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg and related to the system is use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (Figs. 293–294).

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*233 [132]

Fig. 15. Goats of the long-haired northern breed. The animals are emaciated and feed on acacias which are almost leafless owing to severe drought. Ahaggar 1955, the *Tayseḳ* tribe.

points of which turn slightly inward and forward. He-goats of both breeds generally have strong oblique horns of screw-form. Both in Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and in Ayr there are in most flocks one or two goats which are born hornless.

*233 436 Although goats are bred intensively by the Tuareg they take little interest in these animals. Before the arrival of the French, goats formed the most important currency and, though money has now come into general use, they are still used in payment as for example, to the blacksmiths for the making of bracelets, weapons, and various implements. In Ahaggar goats are also used for certain payments to the *Amenukal* from his vassals, such payments being known as *dhéré*. This word, which is also common in Ayr, means literally "a big flock of goats" (or sheep), but it may equally well be translated as "fortune" or "money".

*233 ● 192 Owing to the practical importance of goat-breeding there are a great many terms to designate the animals according to sex, age, and various characteristics. In Ahaggar there are the following age-terms:—

| *Age* | *Female* | *Male* |
|---|---|---|
| New-born kid . . . . . | *amaṛwa* | |
| Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . . | *tḥreydat* | *ḥreyd* |
| Weaned kid with horns, and of bigger growth than above | *tazzift* | *azzif* |
| Weaned kid . . . . . | *tabunkelat* | *abunkelu* |
| Animal not yet fully grown . . . . . | *tabulek* | *abulek* |
| Animal not yet fully grown . . . . . | *tadawalt* | *adawal* |
| Fully grown animal . . . . . | *tiṛse* (pl. *ulli*) | *aḥulaṛ* |
| Fully grown animal . . . . . | *taṛat* | |
| (The common term for a fully grown goat in Ayr; it is used occasionally also in Ahaggar). | | |

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These terms are used frequently in discussions of prices. Thus a blacksmith will claim that the price of an axe is *abuleg* (*adawal*) while for the manufacture of smaller objects or for certain repairs he will only claim *azzif* or *dreyd*. 233* 192 [436]

By the combination of age and colour terms, if necessary with the addition of a covering to certain other characteristics, the Tuareg are able to describe the exact appearance of any animal. Goat-terms have a practical value in enabling the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. A few of the terms indicating colour and other characteristics in Ahaggar are mentioned below:—

| *Characteristics* | *Female* | *Male* |
|---|---|---|
| Black animal | *taseffefut* | *aseffefu* |
| Red animal | *tézeggek* | *ézegger* |
| Black animal with a red belly | *takahamit* | *akahami* |
| Animal white on the hind part, and black on the fore-part of the body | *tégehé* | (No term for males which never have this combination of colours) |
| Black animal with white colour on the lower part of the legs | *tazeburt* | *azbur* |
| Black animal with a white blaze (Foucauld, 1951–52, III p. 1194 f., states that this term is used for horses, donkeys, camels, and oxen, but he does not mention goats and sheep) | *tamulast* | *amulas* |
| Black animal with white colour on the ears | *ta[illegible]yt* | *ahrey* |
| Animal of any colour having very small ears | *tad[illegible]mak* | *adermag* |
| Animal of any colour having no horns | *tabiyawit* | *abiyawi* |

[342 492]

Fig. 16. A flock of southern, short-haired goats during migration. The woman seen in the middle of the picture rides an ox loaded with arches of a barrel-vaulted mat tent. From Domergu south of Ayr.

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*233 The actual number of such terms is not known to me; and the Tuareg say they are almost innumerable.
● 192 A colour term connected with an age term will, as mentioned above, generally be sufficient to describe the appearance of any animal, but colour terms have practical value also in another sense. They are, as the Tuareg put it, like names of men and dogs, and are used by the women to call individual animals to be milked. The names are then followed by a special sound (cf. p. 39, 135).

It is remarkable how intimately goats are attached to their masters. If the flock, as often happens, is grazing alone at some distance from the camp in the evening after darkness, it will immediately gather round the tents, when a special cry is uttered, or if the dogs bark. On the utterance of another cry by the goatherd the whole flock of goats will follow her quickly. On the whole goat herding is easy, and even very big flocks can be guarded by a single boy, or a girl. Kids still too young to follow the flock during grazing normally browse around the camp all day. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer these kids will not, as a rule, be let out of the sight of the camp, but this is not so in Ayr where vegetation is very dense in the river valleys. Kids in the latter area easily get lost and eaten by the numerous jackals. In order to know where the kids are a woman, while occupied with her domestic task in the tent, utters at short intervals a sharp, shrill cry to which the kids respond by bleating loudly.

*233 Goats are chiefly useful for the milk they provide. In general, goat-breeding is organized in such
[234] a way that the maximum possible milk is obtained by the nomads, and kids are allowed to suck freely only for a short period after birth. At this period a kid is known as *asarwas*, which term is used for all sucklings without restriction. The duration of the entire period of suckling is dependent on the pasture. If grazing is good, the kids will suck for two to four weeks, while under severe conditions the period of suckling may be up to two months.

To prevent kids from drinking more than their proper share of milk the Tuareg use various devices.
*233 In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer small kids are frequently placed in stone enclosures (*agror*). Such
417 enclosures are also used to prevent kids from following the mother animals when the flock leaves the camp for grazing in the morning, and they serve as a protection against beasts of prey during the night. They are about one metre high, and have a diametre of about one metre (cf. Fig. 17). Similar stone enclosures are said to exist among the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg but not elsewhere in Ayr, where the Tuareg generally make larger round enclosures from boughs of thorny acacias, so that one enclosure is big enough for all kids of a household. These enclosures are often known as *zeriba* (Ar.), but the proper Tuareg name is *afarag* (in the north *afarag*). They are said to be used also by certain Northern
*233 Tuareg who camp in the lowland where acacias are common. To prevent small kids from running away, get lost or eaten by jackals, the Tuareg may attach them to a tree or to one of the tent-posts by one of their hind legs, which attachment is known as *témdit* among the Ayr Tuareg. Kids are also sometimes tied with a cord around their necks to prevent suckling when the mother animals are resting in the camp. If there are very few kids they are frequently attached to individual cords (sing. *témetrek*), but several kids are also frequently tied to one and the same cord, which is then known as *éseddi* or *aseddi*. Such a cord has several loops into which the heads of the kids are put, while the other end of the cord or rope is fastened to pegs or trees. These methods are not only practised by the Tuareg.
[171] I have frequently seen them in use also among pastoral Arabs of the Sahara and of the Algerian High Plateau.

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end of the *akasa* season. In other words:— When the inhabitants of a camp have their collectively guarded goats divided into two parts, one of these brings forth kids at the time when the other is mated. 233* 132

This method of mating-regulation is that ideally used by prosperous goat-breeders both in Ayr and among the Northern Tuareg. If in the north a flock is divided into two parts the kids are born in autumn (*amewan*), and in spring (*tafsit*) the former season being the better. Kids brought forth between these two seasons are known as *amesahar*. But as climatic conditions and consequently also the quality of pastures change from one year to another in the true desert country, the mating-system of division into halves cannot always be practised in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. In severe periods of drought goats may be too meagre for mating for a whole year or even longer, during which time the he-goats will have their penis bound. Thus during the dry year 1954/55 no goats were mated in Ahaggar. – It should be noted that the best season for the birth of kids is the late summer or the autumn (*akasa, amewan*) when the tender annual plants spring up. Kids borne at this season will be fully grown for mating after one year so that they bring forth kids at the season of spring (*tafsit*, or *taksit*), while kids born in spring will be mated after a year to bring forth kids late in summer or in autumn (*akasa*, or *amewan*).

Milking takes place twice daily – early in the morning before the flock leaves for grazing, and late in the evening one or two hours after the return of the animals to the camp. Milking is done by women, or occasionally by male slaves. The individual animals to be milked are frequently called by their names and a special sucking sound is made to calm the animals, which are milked differently in Ayr and Ahaggar. In Ahaggar the milk-maid holds the wooden milk-bowl (*akas*; Fig. 21 b) in her left hand, presses the left hind leg of the goat firmly under the upper part of her right arm, while she milks with her right hand (Fig. 23–24). In Ayr milking of goats is frequently performed in a standing position the milk-maid then holding the milk-bowl (*takabart*; Fig. 37) in her left hand, keeping the left hind leg of the animal firmly between her knees, and milking with her right hand. If the milk-maid milks 234 462 192 184 415

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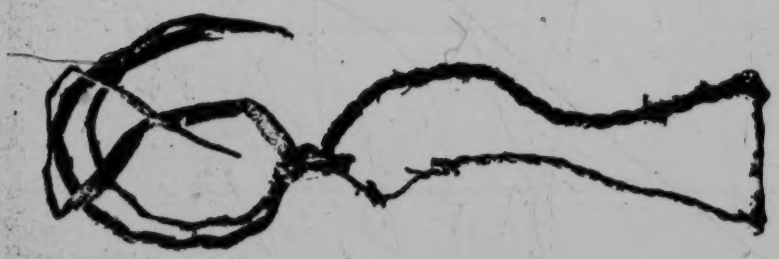

Fig. 18. The little stick (*akaru, asaghes*) used by the Northern Tuareg to prevent half-grown kids from sucking. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tahli* tribe. Dimension: the stick 0.056 m; the cords 0.330–0.380 m. (N.M. G. 5825).

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yield decreases to about two litres (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 104). It should be added that, as for other domestic animals, the daily yield of milk depends very much on the conditions of pastures, and cows always yield little milk when pastures are dry – even at the beginning of their lactation period. 234

Bulls are frequently castrated two or three years old to be used for riding and transportation. Oxen are used for this purpose particularly among the Tuareg of the plains towards the south and west, while most pastoralists of the Massif almost exclusively use donkeys and camels. Oxen are ridden without a saddle. The rider sits on the back of the animal which is covered with a blanket or a piece of cotton as in Ahaggar. The animals have a cord (*asabar*) placed through their nostrils, but plaited halters (*amerar*) are also used for riding oxen. 492 [232] [184]

The Tuareg have terms to cover the age and sex of their cattle, and they also have a certain number of colour terms; but they say that there are very few colour terms for cattle (about ten terms according to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group). They explain this lack of colour terms by the fact that cattle did not play any important rôle to their subsistence in the past. Cattle do not respond to their names, but some of them will come to the camp on the utterance of a certain cry (cf. p. 135). 233* 192 [433] [178]

233* [283] →

Fig. 31. Zebu calf with a pronged stick (*tabellist*) put through its nostrils to prevent sucking. Ayr, the *Isakaranan* tribe.
Fig. 32. Muzzle (*akimbab*) to wean zebu calves. The muzzle is made of bought of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*) which form a frame covered with cords of *tamat* bast and with cotton strips. It is fastened to the head of a calf with a piece of cord plaited of goat's hair, and the attachment is done in such a way that the calf can graze without difficulty though it cannot suck. Tamesna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Ireḍenaten* tribe. Dimension: 0.17–0.19 m high. (N. M. G. 6661). [824]

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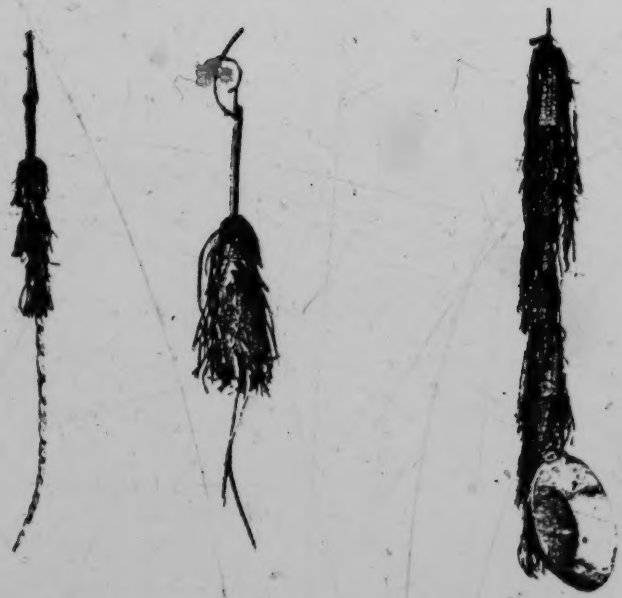

Fig. 70a–b. Tuareg camel whips (*alekkoḍ*, pl. *ilekkaḍ*).

a. Whip with a single lash. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.08 m long. (M.N. G. 1.138).

b. Whip with two lashes. Tasilê-n-Ajjer, the *Urafen* tribe. Dimension: 0.845 m long. (Author's collection).

Fig. 71. The drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned brass and fixed to its ornamented leather cord (*témerrek*) by means of which it is attached to the saddle pommel (cf. Fig. 49). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the bowl: 0.258 m in diameter (upper part). Dimension of the leather cord: 0.685 m long. (N. M. G. 5287).

*492 562 donkeys, but, as in the North, they sometimes mount the riding camels of men sitting across the animal behind the saddle.

*492 531 233 The Tuareg take a keen interest in the adornment of all objects used for riding camels. The richly decorated saddles and the ornaments of the riding gear express the particular value attached to the animals used for riding. But Tuareg interest in camels is perhaps more clearly understood, when we consider their rich camel vocabulary.

● 192 The Tuareg have one word which can be used for any camel regardless of its sex and age, its colour, and all other particular qualities. This word (*amaǧur*, pl. *imuǧar* in the northern dialect) does not seem to have its equivalents in vocabularies of other domestic animals which collectively are referred to by means of a sex term of adult animals (e.g., *ulli* = "goats"). The word *amaǧur* (pl. *imuǧar*) is used in conversation, but it is heard less frequently than camel terms which have a very definite meaning.

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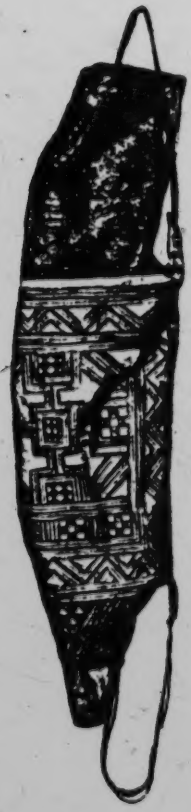

Fig. 72a–b. Leather bags for camel riders.

a. Large saddle bag known as *ejjebira* (*eljebira*) and used by all riders. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen, manufactured by the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez (Ayr). Dimension: 0.70 × 0.70 m. (N.M. G. 1.108).

b. Large luggage bag (*ebaun*). Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.20 m long. (N.M. G. 1.136).

In a few words camel vocabulary has the characteristics mentioned under the following items:— (1) Sex terms; (2) Age terms which, like most camel terms, also refer to the sex; (3) Colour terms; (4) Terms for very special qualities; (5) Terms for camels according to their training and use; (6) Terms for camels in very definite situations; (7) Terms for the number of camels in a herd; (8) Many entirely synonymous terms. 233 192

The Northern Tuareg use the term *amis* (pl. *imnas*) for all male camels including geldings, and the term *talemi* (pl. *tellemin*) for all she-camels. In Ayr a male camel is known as *alem* (pl. *imnas*) and a

[text continues on p. 95]

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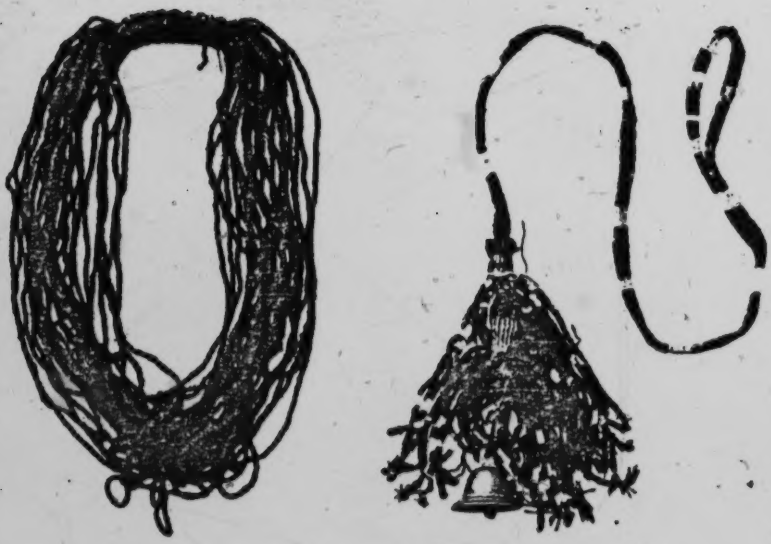

Fig. 74a–b. Neck collars for riding camels.

a. Collar made from fine cords of goat's hair. It is called *tahawt*. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the winding seen at the top: 0.07 m long. (N.M. G. 5193).

b. Neck collar (*tahawt*) plaited from goat's hair, ornamented with coloured thread, and provided with a small brass bell (*amayna*). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.995 m long. (N.M. G. 5191).

she-camel as *talemt* (pl. *tollemin*). In both groups a bull-camel is termed *amali* which word is generally used only for bull-camels reserved for breeding. 233
192

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have definite age terms for camels until they are eight years old. These terms may be seen from the list on p. 102 where they are mentioned in their feminine forms. At the age of eight years the dentition of a camel is fully developed and later it becomes more difficult to state its exact age. Camels older than eight years are therefore generally known by one and the same term as long as they are strong enough to be used for riding and transportation, or for breeding. The age terms used among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr are different from those mentioned from the north. They are used with precision for camels up to eight years old, and if the exact age of a camel is known by the owner he may continue to apply such terms for camels up to fifteen years old. Older camels are just referred to as "camels" or "old camels".

Colour terms of camels are many. I find it appropriate to list colour terms of the Northern Tuareg

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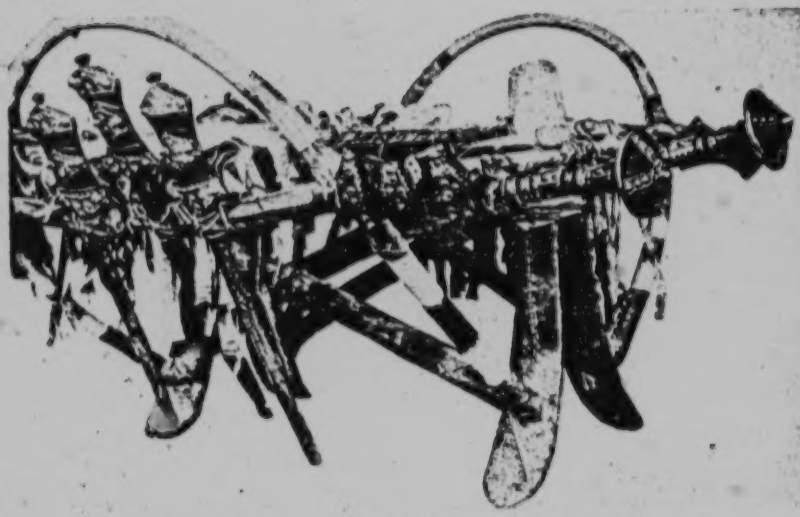

Fig. 75. Women's camel saddle (*akhawi*). Ahaggar, noble tribes. (Musée de l'homme).

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and the Ayr Tuareg separately, because they frequently use different terms for the same colours and because the Ayr Tuareg have a great many piebald animals which seem to be rare in the north. In the north most animals are of one colour, and the common terms of Ahaggar camels are the following:— *adegnas* (dirty white), *ébeydeg* (white), *éberim* (whitish yellow), *atlaɣ* (mahogany), *abẓaw* (whitish), *émenǵel* (dark grey), *alemlaɣ* (grey), *ézerif* (metallic grey), *ahaggar* or *ézeggeɣ* (red), *abhaw* (reddish-brown), and *ékawél* (black). There are a few other terms. I have noted the following terms of piebald camels in Ahaggar:— *éḍemḍem* (a dark or red camel being white on the nose or around the mouth), *iíǵen* (a camel with white legs), and *azerraf* which term seems to be applied to all camels of two colours, and also to other piebald domestic animals.

I have noted the following terms of camels of one colour among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr:— *adegnas* or *wa mellen* (white), *abzaw* (whitish), *atlaɣ* (mahogany), *égadé* (light brown), *awraɣ* (something between light grey and light brown), *éberhey* (something between whitish and light grey), *aberog* (greyish), *ingal* (dark grey), *ézerif* (metallic grey). Most camels of one colour belong to one of these shades, which are frequently so close to each other that a correct description and translation into European colour words is difficult. Most one-coloured camels I have seen in Ayr were *adegnas*, *abzaw*, *atlaɣ*, and *ézerif*, but piebald camels seem to be more common than the unicoloured animals. I have noted the following terms of piebald animals:— *amulas* (white blaze, white colour around the mouth, the remainder of the animal being dark), *agurer* (the back and partly also the neck greyish

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Fig. 76. The two large cushions (*dzeg*, pl. *dzigen*) which form the basis of the woman's camel saddle in Ayr. The *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 1.90 m. (N.M. G. 6659a-b).

brown, the remainder of the animal white), *dnil* (dark grey with white colours on the belly, the hind thighs, and the four legs), *awinaḳ* (dark grey back but with white on the sides close to the hump, on the hind thighs and legs, on the forelegs, and on the tail), *azurzum* (white on the hind thighs, the remainder plain), *qiwilal* (camel with numerous small circular spots close to each other), *azerraf* (camel of two colours, black and white, or black and red; there is no definite rule for the distribution of these

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Fig. 77. The woman's riding saddle built upon large cushions (*dsigen*). Ayr, the *Imazureg* tribe.

233 two colours on the animal). There are other terms for piebald camels, but I have only mentioned the
● 192 colours I have seen myself, as it is extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to note down colour terms without seeing the animals. One characteristic of many piebald Ayr camels has not been mentioned above: They very frequently have red-white eyes, and such animals according to the Tuareg are always deaf. Red-white eyes and deafness seem to go together with certain forms of piebaldness, so that all camels termed *azerraf* and *ajmilal*, and some camels termed *agusrer*, *awinak*, and *azurzum* are deaf.
*[492] This, however, does not prevent the Tuareg from using these animals for riding and transportation, and even deaf bull-camels are frequently used in breeding.

The Northern Tuareg have a great many different terms for particular qualities of their camels which are named after their way of roaring and walking. The following examples come from the Ahaggar Tuareg:— *ahenderremma* or *arenennas* (a camel which has the habit of neighing with joy when it sees something very agreable; e.g., a she-camel seeing its calf when it returns to the camp from grazing), *amerregreg* (camel which roars mournfully when it becomes separated from its master, or from another camel with which it normally grazes; certain camels are particularly attached to each other and never separate during grazing), *arewaha* (a camel which has the habit of uttering the plaintive roaring named *tarewahit* during loading and unloading), *asekkelela* (a rutting camel uttering the sound named *terelelit*). The Ahaggar Tuareg have other terms for camels to denote their behaviour. Thus there is a particular term for a camel which becomes scared when walking in a caravan after sunset so that it throws off its load and gives rise to a lot of panic among the other caravan animals.

As examples of camel terms given according to the animals' way of walking, mention should be made of following examples from Ahaggar:— *ategemtegam* (camel which takes very short steps), *aseffokas* or *alemdeyyas* (camel which takes very long steps). The Tuareg of Ahaggar have many special terms for camel-gaits. To indicate this I quote the detailed description of gaits given by Fou-

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Fig. 78. She-camel with the colour name *tazurzumi*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

cauld:— ***sekkedi*** (to let camels trot very slowly at an artificial gait known as *téredeyt*), *setteles*, or ***selhwen*** (to let camels walk at a normal ambling pace), ***eg senat-senat*** (to let camels trot slowly at a gait known as *senat-senat*), ***sekkeber***, ***keburet***, and ***keberkeber*** (a kind of trotting named *akabur* which is somewhat faster than *senat-senat*), ***regiregi*** (to let camels pace or trot at the types of gait known as ***tétalist***, ***senat-senat***, and ***akabur***), ***eg yukey-eder-tayit*** (to let camels adopt a fast trot known as *yukey-eder-tayit*), ***uylal*** (to let camels adopt a sharp trot), ***enteg*** (to let a camel gallop), ***awdet*** (to let camels trot or gallop; this verb does not refer to any particular type of gait but to several, from the slow trot known as *senat-senat* to the very fast gallop known as *tabederat*). These gait-terms are used only for camels, but the Tuareg also have terms for gaits of other domestic animals – particularly for those of horses (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 553 ff.). The gait known as *téredeyt* is considered very elegant by the Tuareg, who train camels to walk in this way already when the animals are very young. This is done by means of a large and wide hobblerope tied around the forelegs above the knees the animals being forced to walk by whipping them lightly on the legs (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1696). As far as my knowledge goes the Ayr Tuareg have terms very similar to those mentioned above, but I have not taken them down in my notes and only remember very few of them, e.g. *tarajawit* (a camel which roars during loading and unloading), *alem-n-akabur* (a camel walking with very quick steps), *alem-n-emehal* (a camel which takes very long steps). 233 192

Considering the very special camel terms just mentioned, it is only natural that the Tuareg also have many terms to cover the use and training of camels. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg can refer to a normal heavy pack-camel by one of the following terms which are synonymous:— ***abakhul***, ***dekhkhe-dekh***, ***agelgali***, ***akhelkhali***, and ***érikhi***. For riding camels the following terms can be mentioned:— ***aylam*** (any riding camel), ***aserensera***, ***tanegmot***, ***taletmot***, ***arretus*** (excellent and very fast running riding animals). There is also a term for a fully-trained riding camel (***amanun***), and another for a camel which is not yet fully-trained (***asanan***). 233 492* 192

[text continues on p. 101]

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As an illustration of camel terms given to animals in very special situations, I give the two following examples:— (1) A she-camel when driven out for grazing while its calf is tethered in the camp is known as *tamantak* to the Ahaggar Tuareg, as *tenteg* to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr; (2) A pack-camel when walking in a caravan is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *amekkalu*, while the corresponding term in Ayr seems to be *alaway*. 233 192 [492]

For the size of herds the Ahaggar Tuareg have the following terms:— *tazegga* (a small herd of 20-40 camels and/or she-camels), *ahammal* (from very few animals up to about one hundred, the herd consisting mainly of male camels), *adyaw* (a very large herd comprising about one hundred animals at least, regardless of their sex). As far as my investigations go these terms are not known among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. They refer to a small number of camels as *imnas* (10 to 15 animals comprising male and/or female camels), while a bigger herd is known as *tollemin* (comprising male and/or female camels).

All the above-mentioned camel terms are with very few exceptions used exclusively for camels and not for other animals. Extensive vocabularies are found also for other domestic animals and for many aspects of stock-breeding, but the camel vocabulary is extremely large by comparison. This seems understandable as camels have a many-sided use to the Tuareg, and there can be no doubt that camel-terms like goat-terms are primarily a linguistic technique of practical value – a technique which enables the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. But this is evidently not the sole reason why the camel vocabulary is so extensive that a detailed description of all terms would necessitate an independant book on this subject. For the camel vocabulary is extremely large not only because of its practical value, but also because Tuareg interest in camels is not solely confined to their practical uses. This is intimated, I believe, by some of the peculiar terms mentioned and above all by the very many synonyms. [181]

Camels, in contrast to most domestic animals, have social functions among the Tuareg. It is true that bride-wealth in vassal tribes of the Northern Tuareg may be paid in goats (25–30 animals), but this is the case mainly among the *Kel Ajjer* while most Ahaggar vassals will claim that bride-wealth should be paid in camels. The true vassals of Ahaggar give one to three camels for a wife, the payment being dependent upon the bride's tribe – in most tribes it is the custom to give only one camel, while two tribes will claim two and three camels respectively for their women. Among the Ayr vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group bride-wealth may be paid in cash, though the bride-wealth in these tribes is generally one camel as among most northern vassals. But the size of bride-wealth among the Ayr Tuareg is frequently discussed by representatives of the families, and it depends much upon the age, quality, and wealth of the bride. For very desired girls the payment may rise to two or three camels while for others the payment is only "two camel feet", that is a "half share in a camel"; it is said that even "one foot" is sometimes accepted as bride-wealth. This system of giving shares in camels may give rise to trouble between the persons who share the same animal. Among noble Tuareg, both in the north and in Ayr, bride-wealth can be paid only in camels. Among noble tribes of the Northern Tuareg the bride-wealth to be paid is fixed at seven camels, while among the few noble Tuareg now left in the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group the price, it is said, varies between ten and twenty camels. Camels given for bride-wealth are generally *ilusan* (sing. *alegges*) (fem. *tilusin*, sing. *taleggest*), 233 583 565 [578] 233 583 601

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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of riders and their camels. This is intimated by the following poem quoted from Foucauld's excellent books on the poetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg:—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ébeydeǧ, é ti n ami mellen* | My white camel, O woman with white teeth |
| *W-allahi! iḍeǧ ul ifel kem* | I swear by God, it shall not go raiding, shall not leave you |
| *Ula doṛ ikk am akal ien* | It shall not go away from you to another country |
| *U i ḍineṛ ar y arabuh ennem* | I lead it to the pastures only to visit you with love again |
| *Ula taharǧit d asemmeḍren* | Neither in dreams nor in thought |
| *Innin é ham yekk akal ien* | Shall it go away from you to another country |

(cf. Foucauld 1925-30, I, p. 210 f. for a literal translation).

## DONKEYS

231 Donkeys are very important domestic animals in the Tuareg groups I have studied. Most animals are grey or greyish but there are other colours for which the Tuareg have special terms. From Ahaggar the following colour-terms can be mentioned:— *adebara* (greyish), *afawa* (greyish with a white stomach), *ewriṛ* (yellow-brown), *éhenbey*, or *takenbawt* (donkey with a black head), *ékawél* (black). Black donkeys seem to be more common among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara than among the Tuareg. [192]

231 Donkeys vary less in colour than other domestic animals among the Tuareg. It is interesting to note
136 in this connection that there are fairly big herds of wild donkeys, or asses, in the mountainous massifs of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr. These animals are generally greyish like most domestic donkeys.

133 *492 415

Fig. 83. Women carrying cereals in skin bags loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe.

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Fig. 89. Horse bit of iron. Made by blacksmith of Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: ca. 0.11 m broad. (N.M. G. 6667).

that the horse was introduced to Egypt with the Hyksos invasion about 1700 B.C. From Egypt it 231
spread to other African peoples, and it was common among the Libyans during the reign of Rameses 174
III (about 1200 B.C.). This first horse-breed introduced among the North African Berbers seems to have been of the pony type (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96 f.; Adametz 1920, p. 46 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 284) which is still represented in Africa. I believe that the so-called Togo-pony which is found in scattered and isolated parts of the Western Sudan belongs to the old pony-breed, though this theory is not accepted by Doutressoulle on the ground that such ponies are not found nowadays in North Africa and Egypt (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238). Doutressoulle has made a detailed study of the horse-breeds 231
of the area formerly known as French West-Africa. Apart from the pony-type just mentioned above, 171
there are three main types:— (1) the *Aryen type* known in Ayr as the Begzen horse. It is an Arab breed [114]
introduced from the North – from Tripolis according to tradition. Horses of this type are found scattered throughout Ayr, Adrar-n-Foras, and Hodh. (2) the *Barbe type* found mainly among the Moors west of Timbuktu. (3) *the Dongolawi type* mainly found to the east of the Niger (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 237 ff.).

Horses become valuable riding animals to many Tuareg living in the true savannah country. The 492*
*Kel Geres* Tuareg use horses for short riding trips though they prefer camels for riding on long journeys.
They claim horses of the Begzen breed to be the very best riding animal. In the remote past when the 492*
horse was introduced into North Africa and the Sahara, horses may have been important also to 174
Libyans and Tuareg living further north in the desert, where the climate may then have been more favourable to horse-breeding than it is in modern times. Lhote has studied the ancient rock-pictures representing horses, horse-riders, and horse-drawn waggons in the Sahara, and he ascribes to the horse very great importance for the opening up of the desert country and invasions into these regions by fair-skinned Berbers (cf. Lhote 1953a). This theory is perhaps supported by the fact that the Ahaggar [192]
Tuareg though they do not breed horses have a fairly extensive vocabulary connected with horses and horse-breeding. Briggs states as his opinion that horses were probably never common in the Sahara (Briggs 1960, p. 21). This, of course, we cannot know, but it seems safe to say that in the Sahara the horse has never had the same economic value as the camel later has had.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies. However, this plant does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, p. 192). One plant (*téhereggelé*) (*Artemisia judaica*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten venomous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for domestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe they have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings (Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be understood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil mouth (*teho*) in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as *ettama* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding camels in Ayr:— Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order that their riding animal may not stumble.

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start around wells. It may happen, for instance, that two men who draw water from the same well get the ropes of their leather buckets entangled. They will then start to quarrel and the result may be a fight with swords.

I conclude this chapter with a brief description of the signals used by the Tuareg for their domestic animals. As these animals do not have the same needs for food and water and are frequently mixed with each other in camps and around wells, it is only natural that the Tuareg have different signals to call, stop, or drive away their various types of domestic animals. I have noted these signals among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr:—

Signals to call domestic animals:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| goats | *ay, ay* | |
| sheep | a rolling sound | the three rolling sounds are somewhat different though resembling each other |
| cows | a rolling sound | |
| camels | a rolling sound | |
| donkeys | *ahay, ahay* | |

Signals to stop animals:—

| | |
|---|---|
| goats | *aw* |
| sheep, cows, camels | *ár* |
| donkeys | *as* |

Signals to drive away animals:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| goats | *áy* | pronounced emphatically |
| sheep, cows, camels | *hey* | |
| donkeys | *aheyt* | |

Fig. 99. Tuareg drawing water for camels which drink from a piece of canvas (*teferawt*) placed over a hollow in the ground. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

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*233 192 [492] [17]

I have referred to the use of such signals above in connection with goat-breeding, and I have mentioned that goats will respond to signals and also to names more willingly than other domestic animals with the exception of dogs. Some of the signals used in Ayr and Ahaggar differ, and it is interesting that the Tuareg of these regions use different sounds to accelerate the speed of riding camels. The riders in Ahaggar use the same signal as the Arabs – a gutturally pronounced *ha* – while the Ayr Tuareg use a rolling sound *ur*. The signal used by the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Western Iwllemmeden* is *ut*.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



brand known as *azeglu*. To illustrate ill this I reproduce the camel-brands used within three tribes of Ahaggar (Fig. 101a–c).

The term *tawsit*, which is the Tuareg word generally applied to the unit here called a tribe, seems to have the meaning of "a hand-root fron which fingers issue". But the word may have other meanings, e.g., "a mat (*téséberi*) plaited from *afezo*-grass" (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1533). The latter meaning intimates something kept firmly togetler, while the word *tawsit* in its first sense seems to indicate a lineage structure. I have sometimes hard Tuareg indicate tribal relationship between two persons saying that they belong to the same haad (*afus*), or that they are of the same root (*éké*, thát is the root of a tree). There are other words which are sometimes used for "tribe". One term is *tekkebilt*, another is *arref*, but the meaning of these word seems to be the more general one of "people" or "race". An interesting word, namely *hama*, which has the definite meaning of "mother's kin", is according to Foucauld also used synonymously wih "tribe" (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 603), but according to information I have gathered in Ahaggr these two words are not entirely synonymous.

It is most remarkable that the Ahagar Tuareg do not follow any particular rule for the naming of tribes. Some tribes are named after an ancestress (e.g., *Kel Rela* = *Kel Kella*, that is "people descending from the woman *Kella*"), while other tribes have avuncular names (e.g., *Téjehé-n-Éfis*, that is "the man *Éfis*'s sister's children"). Both these principles intimate that the tribe is a matrilineal unit, but certain tribes have patrilineal names mch like those of Arab tribes (e.g., *Dag Rali*, that is "sons of the man *Rali*"; *Ayt Lowayen*, that is "sons of the man *Lowayen*"). Reference to an ancestor is also made in another way (e.g., *Ikadeyen*, that is "those descending from the man *Kadi*"). In addition we have tribal names which seem to be a kind if nick-names (e.g., *Aguh-en-tehlé*, that is "the Achilles-tendon of *tehlé*" – the word *tehlé* being the name of a perennial plant (*Typha elephantina*), and we have geographical names (e.g., *Kel Ahnet*, tiat is "the people of the Ahnet country"; *Kel Tazulet*, that is "people of the Tazulet region", etc.).

Previously I have used the term "clan" for the Tuareg term *tawsit* in agreement with the fact that many people claim it to be a matrilinel unit (cf. Nicolaisen 1959). Thus the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* tribe say that they all descend frm the woman *Kella*, who lived about seven generations ago and had a maternal female cousin *Sakia* (or *Skina*) who became the ancestress of the other prominent noble tribe in Ahaggar named *Taytok*.

The very numerous vassal tribe the *Aguh-en-tehlé* is also said by its members to constitute a matrilineal unit. They claim descent from a common ancestress and occasionally use the name *Téjehé-n-Elimen* for their tribe. Actually the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe falls into three sub-tribes known as *Kel Tayhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Arefua*. They are said to be matrilineally related, but nobody is able to prove this genealogically, and among the *Isandan* there is a matrilineage of four generations which is matrilineally related to people of the *Ibettenten* tribe and not to their fellow tribesmen.

Members of the important vassal trib the *Dag Rali* will also frequently claim common matrilineal descent. However, they do not know th name of their proper ancestress. They say that they descend from a woman named *Takama* who was also the ancestress of the vassal tribes known as *Ayt Lowayen* and *Kel Ahnet*. The *Dag Rali* tribe was founded by the man *Rali* who lived about seven generations ago. It falls into two halves known as his *Dag Rali* proper and the *Imezzilitan*. Some Tuareg of the

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***Sub-areas of the territory of the Aguh-en-tehlé*** tribe
(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named Kel *Taṛhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Arefsa*)

| Tenants | Value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA ALATOKH, chief of the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, chief of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*, leader of the section *Kel Twes* | Cultivation grounds at Taṛhawhawt and I-n-dalaǧ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys for domestication | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, *khalifa* (leader) of the *Ikenkeren* section of the sub-tribe Kel *Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Collecting of wild seeds | 3 goats |
| ABERǦALI, *khalifa* of the *Kel Tarayin* section of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the *Kel Tarayin* section. No position as leader | Cultivation grounds at I-n-aǧriwal and I-n-dalaǧ. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys | 2 donkeys |
| DEYNI, chief of the *Kel Arefsa* sub-tribe forming only one section | No particular value | No land-rent |
| AKAWALI, chief of the *Isandan* sub-tribe and leader of the *Kel Afara-he hin* section | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| HANU, *khalifa* of the *Kel Azernen* section of the *Isandan* sub-tribe | Cultivation grounds at Tamanṛaset<br>In the past wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, *khalifa* of the *Ṛelayddin* now attached to the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe | *Khoseni* is in command of the *Ṛelayddin* territory to which all members of the *Ṛelayddin* have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the *Amenukal* | |

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzaṛ*, while a small camp is called *éréwen* or *tamezzaḳ*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100–200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *heregen* (or *amezzaṛ n heregen*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *aharagen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 213. Tanning receptacle (*ahaǵa*) of camel-hide lashed to a ring consisting of a bough bent into a circular position. Ahaggar, the *Deg Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.55 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5229).

281 north where tents and a great many domestic implements and containers are made from skin. Skin
[462] work plays a certain role also for the Ayr Tuareg, but pastoral women in Ayr do not engage in this craft to the same extent as do women among the Ahaggar Tuareg.

281 The Tuareg have several terms for skin and leather. In Ahaggar I have noted the following:—
192 (1) *élem*, the common word for the skin of most animals whether tanned or untanned; (2) *aḳḳer*, that is the common word for an untanned hide of all animals with the exception of camels, oxen, giraffe, and certain antelope; (3) *éṛit*, the skin of camels, oxen, giraffe, and certain antelope whether tanned or untanned. The terms noted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr are largely different:— (1) *awreṛeṛ*, an untanned hide; (2) *égachik*, tanned or untanned skin of all animals with the exception of oxen, camels, giraffe, and certain antelope; (3) *éṛit*, tanned or untanned skin of oxen, camels, giraffe, and certain antelope; (4) *esarku*, tanned skin of oxen.

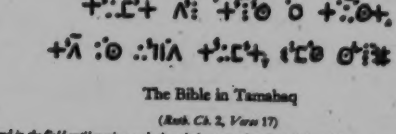
281 I have already mentioned that camels are killed in a peculiar way and partitioned before skinning so that the hide is never removed entire. I have stated in the same connection that pastoral Ayr Tuareg do not use camel's hide in their crafts, and I have mentioned that though camel's hide plays a certain part in Northern Tuareg crafts they never tan it, while they tan skin of all other domestic animals and game animals such as gazelle and barbary sheep. The Northern Tuareg use camel's hide for lashing wood (cf. Fig. 86), and they also employ it for camel whips (cf. p. 84) and for certain other artifacts which are now to be described.

*[415] The Northern Tuareg use camel's hide for the manufacturing of a large tanning receptacle known as ahaǵa (Fig. 213).

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.



**The Bible in Tamahaq**

(*Ruth. Ch.* 2, *Verse* 17)

*"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."*

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



dominating an extensive area of North Africa and particularly in Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and adjacent regions before the Arab invasion of the 11th century A.D. This theory was set forth already by Ibn Khaldoun, who says that *Hoouara* has changed into *Hoggar* (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory has no other foundation but mere speculation (Nicolas 1953, p. 14). This, however, is not correct as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *ou* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *ou* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

The term used in Air for vassal Tuareg is *Imrad* (sing. *Amrid*), a word which seems to be known to all Tuareg. Foucauld gives no particular explanation of its meaning (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1233f.). Nicolas claims the word related to *ereid*, literally meaning "a kid" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189). If this explanation given by Nicolas is correct, *Imrad* refers to goat-breeding. So does another term for vassals used more frequently among the Northern Tuareg and the Ioullemmeden, namely *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), which means literally "the goat people". In Air this word is never used as a term for the vassal class, but only as a proper name for one particular vassal clan attached to the Ikaskazan.

One of the terms for vassals and maybe both terms are thus connected with goat-breeding, while one of the terms for noble Tuareg seems to refer to raiding, which among the Tuareg was intimately connected with camel-breeding. Camels were not only the means by which raiding was carried out, but they were also the main object of raiding expeditions as they could be abducted very quickly from foreign camps. So we may perhaps see from some of the terms used for vassal and noble Tuareg that the two classes originated from the meeting of two distinct cultures, a goat-breeding and a camel-breeding culture. And we have already seen that in the past the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar were in particular camel-breeders, the vassals breeders of goats and donkeys.

The Ahaggar Tuareg – in contrast to the Tuareg of Air – have traditions about the origin of the class system. References to these traditions are common in literature (Benhazera 1908, p. 89ff. – Reygasse 1950, p. 88. – Foucauld 1951 – 52, II, p. 533ff. – Lhote 1955, p. 213ff. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 99f.). There are in fact two conflicting traditions, but some Tuareg will nevertheless acknowledge both. It seems, however, as if one tradition had its origin among the nobility, the other among vassals. The tradition which originated in the noble class says that the dominant noble clans of Ahaggar had a woman named Ti-n-Hinan as their ancestress. She immigrated to Ahaggar from Tafilelt in Morocco together with her servant girl named Takama, who became the ancestress of the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The two women were both Islamic and belonged to the Beraber tribes. They found the country uninhabited except for the higher parts of the massif, where a pagan people named the Isebeten lived. This tradition

114 /60 cont./ It would be impossible to praise too highly the work of the "hermit of the Ahaggar," for it has in a sense illuminated a civilization for history.

212 /61/ The peculiarity of Tamashek as a Berber language is that
194 it can be written with its own characters, which are called "tifinagh."

There are 25 tifinagh characters, to which must be added compound letters formed by the combination of two simple elements.

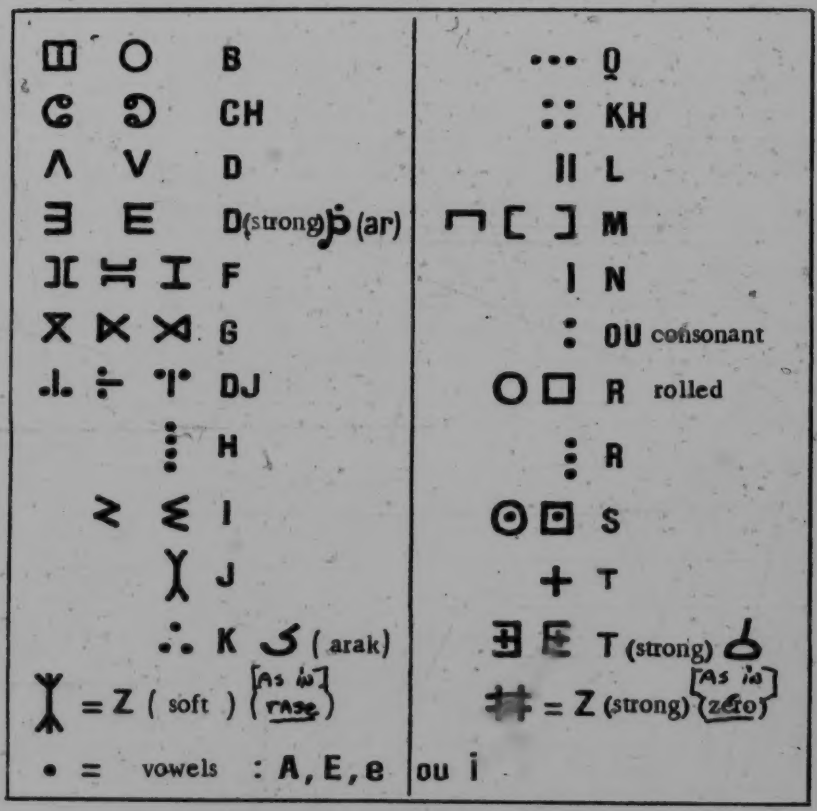


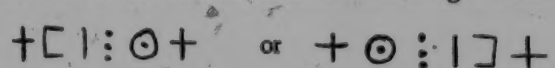

Table of tifinagh letters.

212
194

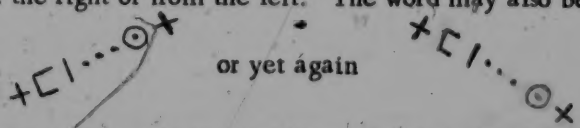
/61 cont./ Each letter represents a consonant of the language; a single sign at the end of a word indicates the vowel element. To write a word, all that need be done is to write its consonants one after the other, without attaching them to each other, in any direction one pleases, from left to right or from right to left, from top to bottom or else from bottom to top, according to the fancy of the writer. Some letters, such as the M, the G, or the strong D, indicate the direction of the writing.

All written letters are pronounced, with very rare exceptions.

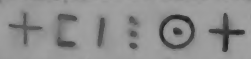
Here is "Tamanrasset" written in tifinagh characters:



The way the prongs of the M point indicate whether to read from the right or from the left. The word may also be written:



One may easily imagine that this writing without vowels is rather hard to read; it is necessary, in fact, to insert the vowels in their proper places as one reads. It is always an amusing sight to see a Targui deciphering tifinagh script; he mumbles to himself as he spells out each letter of a word until, /62/ saying it aloud, he identifies the word, realizes its meaning, and finally pronounces it with evident satisfaction.



Iété..é. é, ém..ne.éé.,énné.. é., IèR... éssé..é.é. éTT.
This permits him to decipher: Tamanrasset.

This system of spelling makes reading a text a long and complicated process, for one must remember the words that have been deciphered in order to reconstruct the sentence, otherwise one must begin all over again. A thorough knowledge of the language is indispensable for being able to place the vowels correctly and for avoiding misreadings.

565 554 [302] [516] [195] 554 562 574 [633] [565]

The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of appearance and language is even more perceptible among the women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society. Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in knowing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and knowing how to play the violin.

565 [83] 513

Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

[842] 582 [648]

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it, and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting itself to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could bring it.

565 [793] 871

The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/ and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the children.

[651]

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

unnecessary to review this matter after him. I want to limit [114]
myself simply to noting some observations which I was able 565
to make in the course of my stay among the Tuareg of the
Ahaggar confederation.

First of all, the striking thing is that at the end of a short period of contact, one can easily guess if one is in the presence of a noble or of an amr'id. His look, his walk, his carriage, his features (if the veil is lifted to the forehead), an indefinable something, all lead correctly to the conclusion that the Tuareg before you is really a noble. However, in the course of palavers im'rad, many of whom are rich, often come as well dressed as the nobles. But their features are less fine, their bearing less easy, their look less assured, and one thinks, "This is an amr'id."

Furthermore, the Tuareg will tell you, "An amr'id may /48/ act well, dress in fine clothes, and bear fine arms, but he is still 'iamir'ed, '" that is to say, "he lacks something," [196]
and it is from this verb that they have derived the name amr'id, plural imr'ad.

Should it be thought that the imr'ad are a less pure race 173
than the nobles because of long-ago crossings with the Negro 174
race? The sheik Ben Djellas states that the mother of the 565
Issoqqamaren (an imr'ad tribe of the Ahaggar) was bought by the first inhabitants of Es-Souk. On the other hand, we will see how the Adjouh-n-Taheli and the Tedjehé-n-Efis came from Aïr to place themselves under the protection of the noble Kel R'ela and Taïtoq.

Should the admitted differences be attributed to the state of subjection and dependence in which the imr'ad have been for a long time in relation to the nobles? I would be tempted to accept this second hypothesis as more in line with the facts of history.

And from what I have seen and ascertained, I cannot 565
bring myself to translate the word "amr'id" as "serf," a word 631

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging 614
from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 250. [27]

A clan is generally termed *tassit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm [162]
from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to [196]
the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan- [611]
membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg.

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to 621
five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 13). The inhabitants of these 596
small camps generally form an extended family, e.g., [342]

1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season *(akasa)* and in the beginning of the following dry season 221
*(rarat)* several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only 361
reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have 621
myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided [173]
by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups.

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous 582
marriages are common and have occured also in the past. The members of two 614
clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin – ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the 582
composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:–

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 13 |
| No blood-relationship between husband and wife | 8 |
| Marriages total | 38 |

565 /Fr. race/, " "aristocrat, " and not "noble" as some have written.
[192] This would be said elli (plural, illellan) in Tamashek. (1)

1. Cf. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik, " Bulletin de l'Institut Français, Afrique Noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, pp. 579-586.

In Sudanese dialects, amacher, by transposition into local
192 phonetics, becomes amajer (plural, imajeuren). As we have already
197 said, it is easy to find in these names the old Berber root amazir, which formerly referred to certain Libyan peoples and which still exists in the name of a considerable Berber fraction in Morocco.

The Imochar, who hold the political rights, are the real masters
565 of the country. All of them claim to be of sherif origin, more or
[173] less descendants of the Prophet; however, this claim has no solid foundation, except the desire to assume a high birth affiliating them to Islamism and its founder a long time back, but this is not true.

/159/ Among themselves, the Tuareg refer to men of old nobility and old stock /Fr. race/ as loumet.

All the Imochar are essentially warriors. They owe their high
565 social position to the saber, and they know no other occupation than
701 war and raiding. Their role as suzerain makes them parasites of the
631 vassal classes, and they used to constitute a scourge to caravans crossing their country. Their way of life has always been pillage,
[181 461] and in their eyes manual labor is a disgrace which only slaves can accept.

Covering the desert on their camels, fighting, risking death in
181 faraway escapades -- that is what the life of a man of noble blood,
565 who intends to remain one, must be. They take their vassals on their escapades and save part of the booty for them, by right of participation. Scorn for manual labor is a class prejudice with them

563 631 They are not vassals like the Irréguénaten and the Ibettenâten, but are incorporated.

563 173 According to a tradition reported by Dr. Richer, (1) the

1. Les Oulliminden, p. 71.

Issekkemâren are the descendants of the family of the Sagmara, pointed out in the Ádrar des Iforas and in the region of Gao by El Bekri. They were driven back by the Sonrhai invasion and came to take refuge among the northern Tuareg while a small fraction remained in the south in the environs /199/ of Timbuktu and today has a marabout character.

Although they are more Islamized than the other tribes, they are [797] nonetheless Tuaregized in the sense that they follow Tuareg customs ●197 and speak Tamashek. Many of them speak Arabic fluently, either [648] because of their origin or because of their constant relations with the Tidikelt.

173 At the time of the division of the Imrad, some tribes were be-
563 stowed upon the Kel Rela, others on the Tâitok and the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet. The tribes attached to the Kel Rela are the Ihéiaouen Hâda, the Kel Immîdir, the Kel Tâzoûllet, the Kel Tâfedest, and the Kel In Rhar'.

563 They are all great caravaneers who trade a great deal on the
439 Tidikelt markets. They own a large number of camels and their
484 camel raising is particularly renowned.
233 The Iheiaouen Hada. -- The Iheiaouen Hada, also called Oulad
563 Elias or Ihéiaouen-n-Temounent, are said to be descended from an
[173] Arab woman who was seized at Touat. The word Iheiaouen means in Tamashek "the grandsons of . . . ," so that we must conclude that the people of this tribe are the descendants of a woman named Ada.

They nomadize in the Tâfedest massif near Ádenek, Abezou, In Takoufi, Eguelougal, and Tidessi. During dry periods they lead [221] their camels to the Saharo-Sudanese borders in the neighborhood of the Tamala well.

101 country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote,
166 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the
131 latest major episodes in a general southwest-
ward drift of which we have evidence going
back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd,
1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great
Arab invasions first began to be felt.

631 The military administrative unit known as
the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the ter-
ritory that lies between Amguid and In Guez-
zam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds
fairly closely to the present normal range of
[101] the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the
size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Vir-
ginia and Maryland put together (146,300
square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabit-
[161] ants in 1950), and supports a total native popu-
lation of probably about 12,000, roughly the
same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massa-
chusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge,
Massachusetts, has more than ten times as
many permanent residents. Twice as many
people work in the Pentagon Building alone
as live in the entire Ahaggar.

162 Accurate population figures for nomadic
peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in
the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to
arrive at anything better than very rough
approximations. We are probably safe in as-
suming, however, that there are about 4,400
Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area,
plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small
families of smiths, and a very small handful of
Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who
have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

197 The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a
form of Senhadjan Berber.

**Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided
619 into confederations as we have seen, and these
are divided into tribes which are subdivided
565 into clans and the latter into fractions. The
nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] [a] A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

551 [b] Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in
as many different ways as are the geographical names
104 of the Sahara. The most common variations are found
in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*)
and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes
reflect local differences in pronunciation and some-
times the personal preferences of various transliterators.

622 [c] A chief may be succeeded by his younger
brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by
Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

565 /59 cont./ to possess few intellectual or moral qualities, they
241 are perhaps nonetheless readily adaptable.

## The Language

•197 The Tuareg speak a Berber language. This language is certainly the strongest link which unites the scattered populations from the regs of the Tidikelt to the banks of the Niger; it is, more than the ethnic type, the element characteristic of these peoples. It is through the language that is maintained what may still be called "Tuareg culture," which survives in the traditions, mores, and superstitions.

This language, which is called "Tamahaq" in the Ahaggar and "Tamacheq" in the Sudan, has several dialects: that spoken by the Kel Ahaggar is called "Tahaggart," thus designated by the Kel Ajjers and the Taïtoks; in the Aïr it is called "Taïrt"; in the Adrar des Iforas, "Tadrak," and the dialect of the Aoullimiden is called "Taoullemmet."

These dialects are very similar to each other; a few local differences in pronunciation distinguish them, as well as certain idioms.

Tahaggart, the language of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, has been studied the most, chiefly in the noble tribes because, Father de Foucauld said, "the language is pure only as spoken by the nobles."

It is a complex language, rich and full of nuances, with
114 a precise and difficult syntax. General Hanoteau succeeded, with the help of Tuareg captured during a battle, in writing a /60/ Tuareg grammar; this was the first formal study of Tamashek.

Dictionaries were compiled by Cid Kaoui and M. Masqueray, but the most remarkable work, which constitutes a summary, is the dictionary of Father de Foucauld. Father de Foucauld's grammar and the texts he has collected afford the best material for studying Tamashek.

167 tion into Ayr many Tuareg of that region emigrated, and some of them settled as far away as Darfur
[649] where they and their descendants still live near El Fasher. Another emigration took place after the
162 Tuareg revolt against the French in 1917. Many Tuareg of the *Kel Ayr* and the *Iwllemmeden* fled to Northern Nigeria to settle in villages and towns around Kano and Katsena. According to Rodd about 30.000 Ayr Tuareg fled to Nigeria after the revolt (Rodd 1926a, p. 361).

161 According to statistics for the period 1933–38 the total number of Tuareg living in the Algerian Sahara and to the south in the republics of Niger and Soudan is estimated by Lhote to be about 240.000.

162 They were divided among the main groups as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Kel Ahaggar* | 4.254 |
| *Kel Ajjer* | 1.508 |
| *Kel Adraṛ* | 4.223 |
| *Kel Ayr & Kel Geres* | 27.765 |
| *Iwllemmeden* | 161.160 |
| *Tengerregif* | 40.000 |

162 These figures need certain corrections. Thus the *Kel Ajjer* are more numerous than indicated by the
161 above figure, which does not include Tuareg of that group living in Libya. On the other hand the
[567] figure for *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg is much too high; it includes about 94.000 negroid slaves which should be deducted, as slaves are not included in the other figures. Nevertheless, Lhote believes that the actual number of free Tuareg is about 300.000 as the birth rate is on the increase. Thus statistics for 1950 indicate that there are 4.611 fairskinned Tuareg in Ahaggar (Lhote 1955a, p. 157). Nicolas assumes that there are about 500.000 Sudanese Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. Avertissement). This figure is, no doubt, too high. If we assume that there are in all 300.000 Tuareg, we find that the two northern groups *Kel Ajjer & Kel Ahaggar* living in the true desert country constitute about three per cent of the total Tuareg population.*

197 The Tuareg language is known as *tamahaḳ* in the two northern groups, *tamachek* in the south. It has four main branches or dialects, namely 1) *tahaggart* spoken by the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*; 2) *tadraḳ* spoken by the Tuareg of *Adraṛ-n-Foras*; 3) *tayrt* spoken by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*; 4) *tawllemmet* spoken by the *Iwllemmeden* and other Sudanese Tuareg. Grammatically these four dialects are closely related, but there are important distinctions in pronunciation and vocabulary. The dialects are on the whole mutually intelligible.

212 The alphabet known as *tifinaṛ* is known in all Tuareg groups. It is related to the ancient Libyan script. Several authors have stated that *tifinaṛ* is not so widely known among the modern Tuareg as it was in the past. It is true that certain Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arabic alphabet, but it is very difficult even nowadays to find adult Tuareg who do not know their proper script which is also widely used for letters. This, anyway, is true of the Tuareg groups I have visited, and it must be added that I have never found any proof of the statement so frequently seen in literature that the alphabet is

* Considering the statistics for 1933–38 (240.000 ÷ 94.000) the total number of true Tuareg in 1950 would appear to be lower than 300.000.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



291
564

Fig. 12. Blacksmith woman. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

563 they more frequently refer to mulattoes as *Ichardanen* (sing. *Acharda*). Such mulattoes do not form any particular class or caste.

It is stated in almost all writings on the Tuareg that the offspring of mixed marriages will acquire the social status of their mothers, but though this may be theoretically true in some Tuareg groups actual conditions are more complicated. Among *Ineslemen* Tuareg and generally in southern Tuareg [564] groups there is a strong tendency to acknowledge patrilineal affiliation. In Ahaggar classes and castes [565] should ideally be matrilineal organizations. However, this is not always so. A man who descends from a vassal mother and a noble father will not become a true vassal. He will not have to perform any of the obligations characteristic of the vassal class, and to-day he is normally considered noble 563 though he cannot succed to chieftainship in his father's tribe. If a pastoral Tuareg marries a woman 591 of one of the black-skinned castes the children who grow up in the father's camp will frequently remain there as pastoralists and members of their father's tribe. Conversely children descending from a black-skinned father of an agricultural settlement and a fair-skinned pastoral woman will often remain in the settlement to practise agriculture even after their father's death. As to offspring of marriages between Tuareg men and slave women, they will continue to live in the father's tribe as pastoralists, and will frequently acquire the social position of the father as mentioned later in the description of Tuareg slavery. Mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and people of black-skinned castes constitute a minority. But it seems as if such marriages are on the increase.

101 All the above mentioned peolpe are Tuareg-speaking though part of the sedentary agriculturists of 563 Ahaggar (*Harratin*, or *Izeggaren*) have Arabic as their mother tongue. In Ahaggar there are also many [197] true Arabs – particularly at the administration centre of Tamanrasset. There are also Arabs at certain other villages in Ahaggar, and there are Arab pastoralists. They have largely mixed with the Tuareg, and certain Arab pastoralists such as the *Ahl Azzi* (*Kel Rezzi*) should be classed rather with Tuareg than with Arabs. There are also some Arabs in Ayr. There are Arab traders at Agadez, Iferwan, and Ingal, and there are a few Arab pastoralists who have mixed with pastoral Tuareg of Northern Ayr.

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But pastoralists of Arab descent are limited to a few scattered individuals or families in the Ayr area in contrast to the extended Sudanese country around the Niger, where whole pastoral tribes claim patrilineal descent from Arabs, while matrilineally most of them are Tuareg. 101 563

There are many other people within the extended country inhabited by the Tuareg. Very important in the south is a numerous population of Hausa-speaking Negroes. The so-called *Imeggedezen* (sing. *Ameggedez*) of Agadez speak Hausa which language is spoken by various other sedentary people of that region and further south. There are also a few Sonray-speaking people at Agadez, and Ingal further west is predominantly inhabited by Sonray-speakers known to the Ayr Tuareg as *Isawezen*. The Sonray, as is well known, are now found almost exclusively along the Niger, but Ayr was once conquered by the Sonray, and Barth describes Agadez as a Sonray-speaking city. [197]

In the south the pastoral Fulani are now invading the grazing grounds formerly reserved to and owned by the Tuareg. Camps of pastoral Fulani are frequently seen nowadays even as far north as the southern outskirts of the Ayr Massif around Agadez and Ingal. When grazing is good the Fulani may even move further north into the Talak plains with their herds of long-horned cattle. Many other people are frequently met in Tuareg country, e.g. the Tebu, and the Kanuri, who frequently come to Agadez. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are even a few individuals who descend from Tebu women.

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Fig. 13. Mother and son. Slaves of the Tuareg in Ayr.

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466 475 obtain a larger amount of vegetable food products and more wheat and barley. The pastoral Tuareg
423 gain less from their gardens than they did when the *khamast* system prevailed, but it is still profitable
241 for them to be garden owners.
434

The quantity of agricultural products anually consumed per person among the *Kel Ahaggar* is
511 estimated by Lhote at 187 kilos millet, 15 kilos dates, and a small amount of wheat for which no
262 figure is given. For Arabs of the Sahara the quantity of vegetable food is estimated at 180 kilos wheat,
[171] and 75 kilos dates anually per person (Lhote 1955a, p. 263). I add to this that wheat is used for bread to a very large extent by the Ahaggar Tuareg, who also make much use of barley for bread and porridge. According to Malaurie the amount of agricultural food products available per person among the Ahaggar Tuareg is about 400 grammes a day, or 146 kilos anually (Malaurie 1953, p. 342). It should be noted again that the amount of agricultural food products necessary for a Tuareg household varies greatly from one year to the other. In years of drought when agricultural products form so to speak the only source of food for the nomads, they estimate that a household consisting of husband, wife, and one child will consume about two kilos of cereals (dates) every day, or 730 kilos in a year. Consequently the amount of cereals and dates consumed anually per person may in dry years rise to
[171] about 245 kilos. This seems to correspond to the amount of food considered necessary for Arabs of Tidikelt and Tawat, who live almost exclusively on cereals and dates. When employed as labourers by the French Administration these sedentary Arabs are given 16 kilos of wheat and 4 kilos of rice a month, or 240 kilos of agricultural products anually per person (Information obtained from the administration
511 office of In Salah in 1954). The agricultural products obtained by a pastoral household from a single
433 garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example: During the year 1954 55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with an *aril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar
[437] Tuareg depend on caravan trading for their provisions of agricultural food, and trading also helps them to create the capital of millet and dates which is invested in their gardens in Ahaggar grown on their behalf by agriculturists. I believe that most pastoral households of Ahaggar have gardens, but there are Tuareg who have none. This is true, for instance, of most Tuareg living in and around the Ahnet Massif. Tuareg of this region formerly had gardens irrigated by the *foggara* system at Abalessa, but to-day they acquire their vegetable food products mainly by caravan trading.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AYR

563 The largest aggregation of sedentary people in Ayr is found in Agadez (4.737), which is inhabited al-
[361] most exclusively by negroid peoples who speak Hausa though most of them also know the Tuareg
162 language (*tamachek*). This large sedentary population mainly lives on trade and on crafts of
197 various kinds. The inhabitants are known to the Tuareg as the *Imeggedezen*. They are said to be related
433 to the Sultan (or the *Amenukal*) of Agadez. There is a tradition which claims that the Sultan came
[173]

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Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenuí*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*ánéié*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Araba.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
173 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers
[563] though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of
162 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isawerren*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
563 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
433 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
245 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
221
463 Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
162 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula-
144 tion that subsisted on agriculture.
433
[174]

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Fig. 203. Earthen incense jar (*elbokkhar*). Ahaggar, *Harrusis* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.179 m high. (N.M. G. 5889).

323 512). Most pastoral Tuareg of Ayr get their pots from Agadez, but pots are also imported from the
[457] south where they are of superior quality. These pots are said to be manufactured by black-skinned
323 *Igdalen* Tuareg (cf. p. 432) of the southlands, notably by people of the *Ikenawen* class which comprises
563 professional pot-makers. These people are not found among the *Kel Ayr* but are common in camps
[197] of the *Kel Geres* where I have met them. They speak *tamochek* but also have their own language
323 which is said to be related to *Sonray*. The pots made by these southern people are painted and decorated
531 (cf. Fig. 205) in contrast to those of Agadez which are plain and of very simple forms (Figs. 204a–b). So far as I am aware painted and decorated pottery is rarely manufactured in Ayr nowadays. But Rodd states that such pottery in the form of pitchers with a blue design is made near Agadez (Rodd 1926a, p. 160 f., pl. 22 p. 209), and when I investigated ruins of stone houses at Iferwan I found a great many sherds of finely-decorated painted pots which must have been used up to the end of the
[178] great Tuareg revolt in 1917 when these houses were destroyed by the French. Lhote has also mentioned the decline of pottery techniques in Ayr, and he states that, apart from little incense jars, no painted and decorated pots are manufactured at Agadez nowadays (Lhote 1950c, p. 511).

*415 Certain metal receptacles were known to the Tuareg long before the European occupation, notably
[437] a cooking pot (*éṛir*) made from copper, and the flat drinking bowl (*tameninast*) made from tinned
[326] copper or brass in Tripolitania, or in Tunisia. Metal receptacles are also manufactured by native blacksmiths in Tuareg country, e.g., the pail (*éṛir*) to be used for liquid butter (Fig. 164).

322 The blacksmiths are excellent wood-workers and make most wooden domestic utensils used by
[564] pastoral Tuareg (Figs. 21b, 37, 38, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63a–b, 75, 150, 153–154, 166, 176, 177, 178, 191,
[412] 194, 195, 212a, 219a–b, 285). The main implements for wood working are axes and adzes (Figs. 206a–d).

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# Tuareg Culture, History, and African Culture complexes

In the preceding Chapters I have mentioned most cultural traits connected with Tuareg subsistence activities. In this Chapter I attempt to view some of these traits in the light of history and the historical theories which have found their expression in the establishment of African culture complexes. I wish to emphasize at the very beginning that this investigation must omit some important traits of Tuareg culture as there is no historical information about them and because good descriptions of stock-breeding techniques are lacking in the case of most pastoralists of Africa and Asia. Consequently it is very difficult to compare in great detail Tuareg culture with other pastoral cultures. 121

## TUAREG CULTURE AND HISTORY

True historical sources which elucidate the development of African cultures are very scanty and cover only a very short period. We know that most African cultures in recent times have been much influenced by Europeans and their culture, and that some cultures were changed fundamentally at an earlier period owing to Arab migrations and the introduction of Islam. We know that North Africa during antiquity was strongly influenced by Romans and Greeks, and still earlier by the Phoenicians. We possess from North Africa a few valuable written records from olden times and from Egypt we have earlier historical documents which help us to understand certain aspects of cultural evolution. 175 177

The occupation of Ahaggar and Ayr by the French has led to a growing cultural influence from Islam and the Arabs. Ahaggar was conquered by Arab soldiers under the command of French officers, and even nowadays a very large number of Arabs serve in the camel patrols of Ahaggar with Tuareg camel riders. Some of these Arab soldiers marry Tuareg women, and many of them settle in Ahaggar when they have retired from military service. Other Arabs and Arabic-speaking *Harratin* of Tidikelt have immigrated after the French occupation of the country. The number of people who speak Arabic as their mother tongue is not doubt increasing, and Arabic is understood and even spoken by many Tuareg men though generally unknown to Tuareg women. Added to this, the Arabs have acquired a high prestige not only on account of Islam but also because Arabic has been adopted as the main language of the administration in Ahaggar. The officers who act as administrators in Ahaggar speak and write Arabic while with rare exceptions they do not know the Tuareg language. For all these reasons certain cultural traits of the Arabs have been introduced into Ahaggar after the French occupation. [648] [167] [197] [192] [829]

[4305]

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*342 [166] [197] B.1.e. A tent which has only one arch. I have once seen a tent like this in a blacksmith's camp close to Agadez, and several in a camp of former Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Tégehé-n-Efis* tribe in Northern Ayr. As this less elaborate structure seems among these Tuareg to constitute a fixed type I shall describe its main elements and the terms used for them which differ slightly from those used in the *Kel Ferwan* group, because the Ahaggar Tuareg living in Ayr even to-day largely speak their old Ahaggar dialect:— (1) A wooden arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction; it is called *aǵeǵu* (pl. *iǵeǵan*). (2) Two horizontal cross-bars known as *éseger* (sing. *isgar*). (3) Forked sticks called *tiǵettewin* (sing. *téǵettèwt*) to support the horizontal cross-bars. There are only two forked sticks for each of the two cross-bars. (4) Slender rods forming semi-arches along the longitudinal direction; these are known as *ilellewatin* (sing. *alellewa*). This very simple structure is covered with mats much like other mat tents, the mats being known collectively as *asala* (pl. *isalan*).

Two very particular types of mat tents differing greatly from the above remain to be mentioned:—

[484] B.1.f. During migrations when the members of a camp remain only one or two days on the same spot, they do not always erect mat tents. But they have to do so throughout the rainy season, when the tents are sometimes erected in a very peculiar way:— The two horizontal cross-bars are placed parallel to one another, each of them resting upon two forked sticks. The distance between the two cross-bars is about one metre, and the height of the two pairs of forked sticks is about 1.50 m. The rest of the elements constituting the normal tent structure, that is the bundles of arches and semi-arches, is not untied. The parcels made up of these elements are leaned against the horizontal cross-bars, and the whole is thereupon covered with mats. The tent erected in this way is a very small one, just big enough for the large wooden bed (*tédabat*). The tent thus erected is known as *tafala*.

B.1.g. The tent to be mentioned is known as *éhen* like the normal barrel-vaulted mat tents, but it is nevertheless of beehive shape. This type of dwelling, however, is not used among the Ayr Tuareg, [184] and I have only seen it once in the camp of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief, where many slaves lived in small mat tents of beehive shape. The structure is made of slender, unfashioned boughs which are fixed in the ground and tied together at their tops. But the arrangement is not a fortuitous one. It would seem that these dwellings have a particular structure: two arches placed parallel to each other and four slender arches passing over the two first arches at a right angle. This structure is covered with mats plaited from dum palm leaves. The tents are very low with a height of about 1.50 m, and their diameter does not exceed 2.00 m. Portable tents of beehive shape are unknown to true pastoral Tuareg.

Mat tents of arch construction are known outside the regions inhabited by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*. They seem to occur throughout Southern Tuareg country, but are less common further west than among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. The great majority of the pastoral Ayr Tuareg live in mat tents, and it is not correct to speak of this type of portable dwelling as typical of the *Kel Ewey* as frequently happens in literature. As to the *Kel Geres* they claim that all pastoralists of their group have mat tents. On the occurrence of mat tents outside the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* I have gathered the following information from literature:—

A mat tent of arch construction is described by Nicolas from the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg around *Tawa*. It is called *awaǵwaǵ* or *awarwár* (*éwerwer*) because it is covered with mats of this particular type (cf. p. 350 f.). A tent of this nature is 6–7 metres long and 4–5 metres broad. The tent has four, three,

564 We must acknowledge that the
[153] Enaden often have very open minds and are gifted with an intelligence higher than the average of the ma-
564 jority of the Tuareg. That is why
644 they have sometimes filled trusted posts with the principal chiefs, who have used them as emissaries or interpreters, indeed even as
[152] counselors.

Thus, at the time of the Hourst mission in 1896, Madidou, amenokal of the Ioullimmiden, officially delegated one of them to Gao to deal with the French officer.

564 The Enaden live either in camp
361 groups or in isolated tents or even individually; they are attached to a chief or a tribe.

Although they are foreign to
564 the Tuareg race, they still enter into the components of the great family of veiled men, for the lives /176/ of the two groups are often intermingled. They speak Tamashek,
[198] more specifically a special dialect, tenet, which they alone understand and which is a bit secret in nature. This dialect is unknown in the Ahaggar.

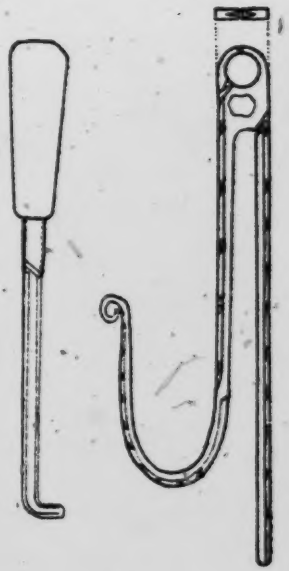

Fig. 17. Forceps for extracting teeth and instrument used for laying bare the roots.

Legend attributes to them a common ancester named
[173] Tamamenet, and all of their fractions are supposed to have originated in Adrar des Iforas. Their true origin is as obscure as
[174] can be; we are apt to say that they are descendants of the Jews who formerly lived at the Touat, in the Tamentit oasis, from which they

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[184] Fig. 9. Vassal woman with her child straddling over the right hip. The Tuareg generally carry their children in this way though certain Ayr Tuareg have adopted the Sudanese fashion of carrying children on the back. Ahaggar, the *Aghal-en-tehli* tribe.

544 144 have expressed as their opinion that the blacksmiths originally constituted a fair-skinned Tuareg population who mixed with black-skinned Sudanese people like so many true Tuareg. It is interesting 564 198 that Tuareg blacksmiths have a peculiar language of their own known as *ténet*. This language has unfortunately never been studied. It is used by the blacksmiths mainly as a secret language spoken when they do not want other people to understand them, whereas blacksmiths use Tuareg (*tamachek*) as their family language. The Ayr Tuareg consider the *ténet*-language an invention of the blacksmiths.

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Fig. 10. Young man of the sedentary *Kel Ganet* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. He is yet too young to wear the veil which is used also by these Tuareg-speaking people of Ganet.

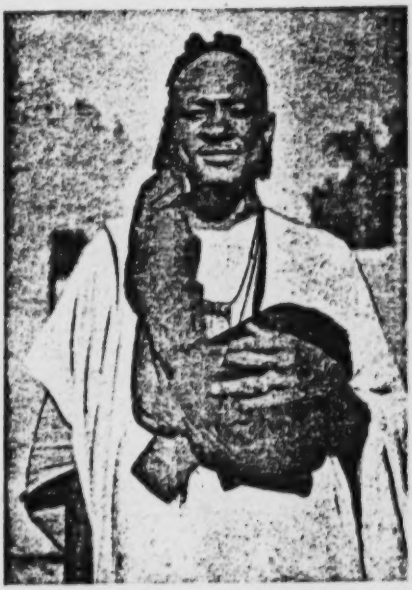

Fig. 11. Unveiled blacksmith. His racial features are predominantly negroid though his skin colour is yellow-brown rather than black. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

564 From Ayr Tuareg who had much contact with blacksmiths I collected the following words of *ténet* language:—
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[192]

| *ténet* | *tamachek* | *English* |
|---|---|---|
| *wochimbagen* | *ineden* | blacksmiths |
| *wozilkum* | *echink* | porridge |
| *tikulkumin* (pl.) | *tikammarin* | cheese |
| *ohundegan* | *aman* | water |
| *ogera* | *ɛɣef* | head |
| *tokonderey* | *timezzugin* | ears |
| *tedroragen* | *titawin* | eyes |

Prasse is of the opinion that the secret language of the blacksmiths is a kind of slang consisting of circumlocutions of everyday words, but derived from nothing but the local dialect itself. He suggests the following tentative interpretations of some of the words I have noted:— *wa chembeyen* = "the blackheaded one"; *wa s ilkem* = "the one it follows" or: "sticks to"; *agera* = "leather bag".

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The Ayr Tuareg say that the blacksmiths do not have *ténet* words for everything, but always use Tuareg words for certain objects and animals. It is in fact possible that the *ténet* language has been created by the blacksmiths to be used as a secret language. This explanation agrees excellently with the social position of blacksmiths. They make weapons, ornaments, household implements, and the like for the Tuareg. The Tuareg therefore consider them indispensable, and admire them for their skill. But this is only one aspect of the Tuareg attitude towards blacksmiths who are also looked down upon because of their obscure origin and their predominantly negroid appearance. Furthermore, blacksmiths are frequently wearisome to the Tuareg. They claim gifts from the Tuareg on every possible occasion, and if they are given nothing when they ask it is believed that they can do severe harm to the persons from whom a gift is claimed. For the blacksmiths possess a mystic power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama* or *tezma*. This mystic power has nothing to do with black magic. It comes into action automatically without any physical performance by the blacksmith if his demand is ignored. The *ettama* power is dangerous to children and to animals but not so much to adults. Children frequently fall ill with a swollen belly, while the effect on domestic animals is more severe and often causes their death. Though blacksmiths do not perform any physical act to put their mystic power into operation, they are nevertheless held responsible for damage ascribed to it by the Tuareg. This can be illustrated by the following example from Southern Ayr:— An Ayr Tuareg was on his way from Damergu to Ayr with a caravan of camels loaded with millet. One evening at dusk, when he was just about to lead his camels out for grazing at night, a blacksmith came to him to ask for a gift of millet. The Tuareg said that the blacksmith had better wait until next morning as it was already getting dark. The blacksmith went away, and shortly after his departure one of the Tuareg's camels fell ill and died. The Tuareg was convinced that the death of his camel was due to the blacksmith's *ettama* power, and therefore wanted revenge. He mounted a camel, pursued the blacksmith and killed him with an axe. This event happened only a few years ago. It illustrates how firmly many Tuareg believe in the evil *ettama* power of blacksmiths. In fact many Tuareg openly declare that they dislike and fear all blacksmiths. They do not like to associate with them except on festive occasions when blacksmiths frequently act as singers and musicians. The Tuareg never intermarry with people of the blacksmith caste, and even people of other negroid castes are reluctant to intermarry with blacksmiths. In Ahaggar a marriage may be contracted between blacksmiths and *Ḥarratin*, and in Ayr there are said to be a few marriages between blacksmiths and people of other negroid classes or castes. But on the whole the caste of blacksmiths (*Ineden*) can be characterized as endogamous. This is quite natural in view of the fact that blacksmiths possess the evil mystic power (*ettama*, or *tezma*), which I have described in more detail elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1961, pp. 134 f., 146).

Between fair-skinned, true Tuareg and other black-skinned castes but that of the blacksmiths, marriages are contracted now and then, and it seems as if mixed marriages of this type are becoming more and more numerous. In Ahaggar there are some marriages between Tuareg and women belonging to the castes of slaves (*Iklan*) or sedentary agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) and there are even marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg women and negroid men though such marriages are less frequent. Mixed marriages are even more frequent in Ayr. The offspring of such unions are known in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer as *Iburelliten* (*Aburelli*). This word is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but

682 assassin be returned to the victim's family. If he was not known,
628 however, the djema, or assembly of notables, designated a man from the tribe to go make himself prisoner in his place. There is
[682] no example of the hostage's having been put to death in such a
[643] case. Serious cases were usually judged by the amenokal, who was aided by four assessors, two taken from each side.

762 /296/ Suicide. -- Suicide is as rare as murder among the Tuareg. When one occurs, the person who committed suicide is
[766] abandoned on the ground unburied, and the camp is moved and abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the Tuareg regard the suicide as if he had never existed and must never speak of him again.

Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

[775] The soul of a suicide cannot find refuge and wanders forever. It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and people claim that they can hear it nearby in the evening and that it makes so much noise that it is impossible to sleep.

[761] Death. -- The Tuareg do not fear death. When one of them sees that he is dying, he gathers his relatives around him and gives
763 his last instructions. Then, according to the religious principles which he may have neglected during his life but which he recalls at the final moment, he pronounces the "Fatika /fatiha? Ed./" or
[29] if he does not have the strength for that, he raises the index finger of his right hand and breathes his last.

764 The body is immediately washed in lukewarm water and wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the
[567] slaves go to dig the grave on a neighboring high spot. The grave is made of a little trench with two stages such as the Arabs use.
[482] The body is carried on a kind of stretcher ans taken to the burial
417 place, head first, by four men. It is then placed on its right side with the face turned in the direction of Mecca.

487 When one speaks of a caravan trail, one must banish the idea of a route more or less arranged to facilitate traffic. The Saharian trails are simply marked on the ground by the tracks which the camels make, passing there in the same place for centuries. In the Ahaggar they look like a long, light ribbon running through the middle of the black rocks. The trail may be made up of two, three, or six ribbons which run parallel to each other, depending on its importance and the lay of the land.

Trails always follow the sides of valleys, naturally linking one well to the other and passing from one valley to another through the most accessible passes. They are never marked out. Of course in some places there are a few redjem, a kind of pile of pebbles to mark the passes or the nearness of certain wells, but these are rare and on the whole recently constructed, for the Ihaggaren have always strived to hide the routes through their country from strangers.

In sandy places and in regolith terrain where the ground is always more or less transformed by the action of the wind, the trail often becomes invisible, and the caravan must then trust to the knowledge of a guide or a man who has already traveled over the road several times and knows it.

Secondary trails. -- There are within the Ahaggar numerous secondary trails which are used for local needs. They all go from one well to another. All the agricultural centers are connected by a network of well-marked trails which are easy to follow without any great knowledge of the country. There are also pasture trails, little routes marked by the repeated trampling of goats going from one valley to the other and winding around the mountains; the animals follow them every day. This network is unbelievably extensive, and one might say that every mountain and every plateau is furrowed by several of these little paths. /314/ They are to be found in the most inaccessible and barest places, which shows that the Ahaggar used to be traversed in all directions,

"Tamott tekness 524
"Eheré iouof 533
"Tathett ter'tess 584
"Tir'irt touoss" 832
[539]

which means:

The woman who argues.
Flocks that scatter.
The she-ass that breaks her tether.
The pot that tips over.

In a joking way, to be a real wit, the man could answer: "If I should find myself in this situation, I would first gather the flock, I would re-tether the ass, I would put the pot back on the fire, and only then would I pay attention to the woman," and there would be a chorus of indignant protests.

The woman makes it a point of honor to have as many admirers as possible. This is a proof that she is pretty and will not have trouble in getting married. 584 832

The ahal, begun after sunset, lasts quite late into the night, and the pale light that is shed by the stars allows shamelessness to have free rein. Although the married women joke and take part in the games, they behave themselves comparatively well. The others, however, may sit on the knees of their admirers. They kiss, but in a special way. Since the man must never uncover his mouth, he lowers his veil under his nose, and he piously smells the nose! of his loved one, who herself may kiss him. Even intimate handling (proh pudor! /oh, shame/) is allowed, which is never seen among the Arabs. 533 584 832

During these gatherings, when the amz'ad is played, it is listened to with great pleasure. This instrument has a way of exciting /10/ the Tuareg, who utter "Ouh! ouh!" as a sign of pleasure. They have even made a verb of it: isouhouh. [201]

But now is the time when the camels come from the pasture. They must be milked: that is the az'ouz'edj ⵣⵓⵣⵉⵜ ⵜ (from ez'edj ⵣⵓⵣ ⵉⵜ, to milk). The women get up, and those present are given milk to drink. They will have to disperse. [272]

578 to arrogate rights over vassals for themselves. There are internal
643 disputes of the sort: "Who made you a count? And who made you
692 king?"

643 It is particularly in the relations with neighboring or foreign tribes that the aménokal's role takes on a more national aspect, yet his decisions do not have full authority unless they have been approved by an assembly of notables -- the arollan -- composed of the principal chiefs of fractions and nobles.

/157/ The aménokal lives like the other Tuareg, and there is no ceremony surrounding his person. All comers present themselves [644] at his tent with no more formality than that. There is no court or court etiquette.

534 Only the tobol, generally placed at the entrance to the tent, indicates the rank of the host.

643 This drum is in the shape of a hemisphere, hollowed out of a tree trunk and covered with a cowhide with the hair still on it. The hide is held by leather thongs with the hairy side up. It may be as much as 80 centimeters in diameter. Two leather handles on the sides are used to carry it. For gatherings, two men strike it alternately with a camelskin drumstick (imîtkar). Only the aménokal has the right to have it sounded, which he does only on the most important occasions. Upon his death, his brother or his caliph is entrusted with it until it can be given to his successor. The aménokal does not go [492] far without his drum, which is carried on a camel led by a trusted man; when he gives the order to beat the drum, another meharist /man mounted on a mehari, or fast dromedary/ approaches to take the other handle, and the two men march side by side, striking alternately. Any warrior who hears it is supposed to rally to the call and at the same time inform the people he meets. In case of war, [202] the beating tells whether they are dealing with foot soldiers or meharists, depending on whether there are one or two imîtkar.

[554] When the hide of the tobol is worn out, the most renowned warrior of the tribe is entrusted to replace it.

which brings to our minds the idea of the serf attached to the 565
glebe and sold with the domain which he cultivated, but rather 631
as "client, bondsman, tributary."

In fact, if the amr'id pays the "tioussé," or tribute, to the noble, if he "lets him taste a little of what he has," according to his expression, if he is dependent on the noble, he nevertheless enjoys a freedom of action which the serf of the Middle Ages did not know. He has a right to the noble's protection if he is attacked, but he marches and fights with him [701]
armed with the same arms. In a raid he also shares with him [727]
and receives his portion of the loot, a portion which varies according to the tribe and which seems to have been fixed according to an ancient contract, in exchange for the protection granted.

And we will find the most convincing proof in the appoint- 565
ment of the amenokal. The imr'ad take part in this: it is 631
they who speak first and state whether they accept the new 643
amenokal, whether they have confidence in him, whether they promise /49/ faithfully to pay him the "tioussé." And he, on his part, promises to give them help and protection against all.

The noble makes it a point of honor to keep this promise. 558
It would be a shame, "el r'ar," according to his expression 565
(from the Arab word "el aâr" الوِتر , not to avenge an insult 577
or an injury rendered to one who pays him the "tioussé." 631

## Chapter II

## The Tobol. Inheritance

Concerning the tobol. The "tobol" originally was a drum 202
made of a large gourd and covered with stretched hide, which 534
the chief of the tribe sounded to gather his clients /dependents/ 643
to tell them that pastures must be changed, etc. It was the 565
insignia of command.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



534
778

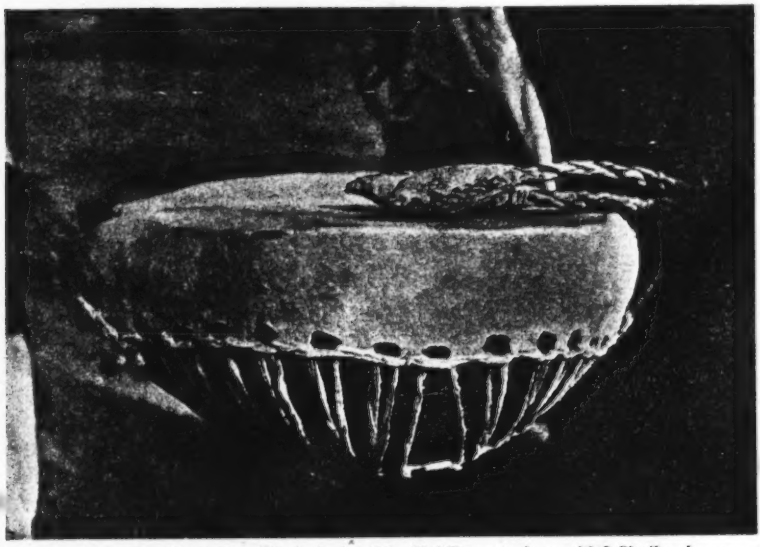


Fig. 6.–The drum which is the only insignia of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. Similar drums are found in all Tuareg groups.

614 past, as nowadays, the proper successor to chieftainship was the deceased chief's
[174] son. This rule of succession is no doubt due to Islamic influence which, as mentioned, has introduced patrilineal succession among the Ioullemmeden Tuareg and also in various clans of the religious class of *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). I think there can be no doubt that succession among the Air Tuareg was originally matrilineal and that most possibly a sister's son was considered the proper successor to chieftainship.

### *The Political System of the Kel Ferouan.*

634 The important noble clans of the Kel Ferouan drum-group, namely the true Kel
[614] Ferouan (or Iraouatten) and the Kel Azel, are said to be matrilineally related, as
[173] the ancestress of the Kel Azel was a woman of the Kel Ferouan clan. She married, tradition says, an Arab who was killed at her own request.

The chief of the noble Kel Ferouan clan had the only drum of the whole group
●[202] of which he was the supreme chief. The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal clans but also by the noble Kel Azel.
778 The drum, which may still be seen in the camp of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, is
534 made of wood and covered with skin (fig. 6). It is believed that it has a mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced the man charged with this task would do it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck

173
631
634
651

| | |
|---|---|
| *Kel Ewey* . . . . . | 50 Tuareg veils of indigo cotton |
| *Kel Faday* . . . . . | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Echchikhen* . . . . . | two small drum-groups in Damergu each giving 3 oryx hides, as their vassals were mainly hunters |
| *Kel Geres* . . . . . | 1 horse with a saddle |
| *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* . . . | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Kel Allekot* . . . . . | 150 kg of millet |
| *Damergu & Katsena* . . . . . | An amount of millet |

Most of these groups, it is said, paid the annual tribute known as *tewsé* because the land belonged to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. But the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg did not pay an annual tribute for this reason but because they were subdued in wars. It is much to be doubted that these annual tributes were paid regularly to the drum-chief by such warlike groups as the *Kel Dennek* and the *Kel Faday*, who frequently joined forces against the *Kel Ferwan*. As to the *Kel Faday*, the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they were formerly the vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They say that in the remote past the whole drum-group of the *Kel Faday*, including its noble tribe, paid bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief as a token of vassalage, which is said to have ceased in the following way:— The *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a *Kel Faday* camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the *Kel Faday* camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the *Kel Faday*. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the *Kel Faday* so that after a time he could return to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the *Kel Faday* Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan*.

634 The drum-chief had as an insignia of his political power over all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg a large drum
534 known as *ettebel* (or *ąrezu*). The word *ettebel* was, and is, used not only as a name of the drum but
778 also as a name of the drum-group and the drum-chief whose title of address is *ettebel*, or "drum". This drum had a sacred or mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced, the man charged with this task would perform it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. We see that connected with the drum were certain taboos equivalent to those which are believed to maintain the mystic power of *elbaraka*.

634 The drum-chief had the only drum of the *Kel Ferwan* group of which he was the supreme chief.
● 202 The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal tribes but also by the
[614] noble *Kel Azel*. The chief of the *Kel Azel* had the title of *amṛar* or *ąrolla* like all other tribal chiefs, but he was addressed *ettebel* although he did not have the right to a drum.

489 [437] Sheep trading, which has grown greatly in these last few years, is largely carried on by barter. It is especially done by Arab caravaneers from the Touat who go to the Sudan with dates, tobacco, fabrics, and blankets, which they exchange not in the markets but in the camps. Tuareg from the Adrar des Iforas and Kounta Arabs also do the opposite and take their sheep to the Tidikelt and Touat.

439 435 In 1939 the sale price of sheep on the market at In-Salah was from 75 to 100 francs. The purchase price in the Sudan varied from 35 to 45 francs, but as we said, barter was most often the basis for all transactions.

And so for a camel that they received the Adrar Tuareg gave 120 sheep. One sheep alone was exchanged for 12 or 15 cubits of cloth or /317/ 10 guêcâa of dates. A dokkali, a large blanket from the Touat which the Tuareg hold in high esteem, was worth 10 sheep in the Sudan and 7 in the Adrar.

436 [177] The camel served as a basis of exchange. The Tuareg have never used money, although they did accept the Maria Theresa dollar which circulated in the Sudan and the Turkish livre which was widespread in Tripolitania. Sudanese tribes negotiated with toukourdi, the band of material serving as a veil, and with kori [825] (Cypraea moneta), a little seashell native to the Indian Ocean.

648 439 Since the French occupation we have seen a certain number of native merchants settle at Tamanrasset, the administrative capital of the Ahaggar. They are for the most part Mozabites and a few Arabs from Metlili who have constructed shops and have merchandise sent them by their correspondents in the Algerian Tell.

This recent state of affairs tends to grow more and more [305] extensive, and the postal agency at Tamanrasset records several million transactions every year.

857 /138 cont./ When, by chance, the camp is near a guelta, the child may frolic in the water, the favorite summer sport.

If two large camps are near each other, joint games very
857 soon are organized. Sometimes a kind of hockey is played
526 with a leather ball stuffed with goat's hair. The ball is hit with a cudgel taken from a tahla; sometimes, to the delight of the spectators, hand-to-hand fights break out, with the first of the two antagonists to fall to the ground being declared the loser. As the children get excited, veritable battles take place between the two camps; it is war. Sticks and stones enter the game; trickery and force are used. The battle stops at night or when the first child is hurt, but custom requires that nothing be said to the parents, above all nothing of the origin of an injury; the child who did that would lose his honor, and parents are so slow to understand!

857 The little girl prepares for her task as mistress of the house at the side of her mother. She sews in collaboration with the
868 women, who never work individually. She is taught how to cut fine leather thongs and how to plait them; while she works she is taught the traditions of which she must be the fierce guardian later on, as she often will have to recall them to the men, who, always on the move, have a tendency, through lack of use, to forget the true Tuareg "canouns."

During their play, the children learn tifinagh writing
868 from the older ones; they trace words in the sand, then phrases. But it is in the evening before bed that their mother will give more precise lessons in spelling the words they have acquired. Thus, gradually, /139/ the child learns to read and write his language; he will never have great facility in it, but that is due to the difficulty of the method of writing.

Every Targui knows the mnemonic aid for remembering
868 the letters of the tifinagh alphabet; it is the following phrase:
211 "Fatimata oult Oghanis, tagueltenit mraou issen edssedis; tedjehenet ouart thouadis," which may be translated: "Fatimata, daughter of Oghanis, whose bride price (to be paid) is 16

868 /139 cont./ horses; no one may touch her ribs." As a matter
[211] of fact, many of the letters are not found in this phrase, but it is a good enough reminder.

Among the imrads the young boy, from the age of ten, accompanies his father to the Sudan or to the Amadror saltworks. In this way, little by little, he acquires knowledge of the trail. The noble remains at camp longer; by listening to the discussions of his elders he becomes acquainted with the art of command.

884 Gradually, the young Targui begins to wear the veil, at first using an old chèche /scarf/, which he tries to arrange in the proper fashion. At the age of fifteen he will put on the taguelmoust /blue veil/ for good during a celebration; he
[431] will take part in an ilougan /tournament/ mounted on his own camel, the gift of his godfather, or on a borrowed animal.

On this occasion he receives gifts, a takouba /sword/, a taguelmoust, or a takamist /a kind of gandurah worn on festive occasions/. He is now a young man. The girl officially takes
[881] her alechou /shawl/ at the time of puberty; she also receives gifts: the alechou, clothes. She is made much of. Now she is considered to be a woman. Until now she did not speak before the men, maintaining a shy attitude; now there is an end to that, everyone obliges her to talk and to conduct herself as a lady of the house.

Boys and girls who have assumed the taguelmoust and the alechou may thenceforth attend meetings of the adults, but they do not speak except when asked a question.

The occupations of the young people are practically the same as those of the adults. The girls help with cleaning the tent, mend clothes, and make leather bags; among the imrads, they milk the cows.

/140/ The young man begins to travel alone and tends the camels. If he still amuses himself by fighting with his friends, he no longer fences with the takouba, a practice in former times.

631 /197/ They do own a few gardens at Tazerouk, Ti-n-Tarabine, Aïtoklane, and Sersouf, but all lie fallow.

[669] During the revolt, they left the Agouh-en-Tehlé in dissent, but they soon surrendered, for their position between the Ahaggar and the Ajjer always put them at the mercy of raids by the latter.

[651] The Relaiddin pay an annual tribute of two loads of grain, a pot of butter, and a goat to the aménokal.

[162] To the Relaiddin must be added a small fraction on its way toward disappearing; they are the Kel Bardjen, of undetermined origin.

[674] Numbering some ten warriors, they are recognized as inveterate robbers, always encroaching on the nomadic territories of others.

[423] Bardjen is located between Tazerouk, Imerera, and Ideles. The territory of the Kel Bardjen was probably marked off about 1750 and defined by monoliths, some of which bear tifinagh characters.

[312] The Ibettenaten. -- The Ibettenaten are not "Imrad," properly speaking. According to Benhazéra, this tribe was formerly noble. They were probably subjugated by the Kel Rela following the murder of an Amacher /singular of Imochar, the aristocratic class. Ed./ committed by one of them. Since then, they pay the tioussé to the

[651] aménokal.

The Ibettenaten probably descended from Kel Afella Ifora on the maternal side and from Tidikelt Arabs on the paternal side.

631 162 About thirty tents are nomads in the Sudan near Bou Djbiha, but they go up as far as Taoudart and In Ouzal in the Adrar des Iforas, following the pasture grounds. Fifteen other tents enfeoffed to the Kel Fadéï camp in Aïr.

They number 160 persons, 62 of them men, in the 1938 census.

631 233 They are entirely herders, making very few caravans and owning no cultivated lands. They have very fine pasture grounds at their disposal. They own about 800 camels, 1,000 sheep, and (a rare thing, but quite in keeping with their area of nomadization) nearly 100 cows.

302 751 Men and women make rings around their eyes with kohl; they put it not only on the eyebrows, but especially at the roots of the eyelashes. They do this for medical purposes, for they attribute [164] to kohl the ability to protect them against eye maladies, in particular against ophthalmia which strikes many of them.

[826] The Tuareg appreciate the long, narrow hands of people who do no manual labor. They do not take any particular [412] care of them and are [531] satisfied merely to cut [212] their nails rather short. As they do for hair, they bury the scraps so that no one can take them.

Fig. 36. Hairdressing knife, bearing the name of the artisan who made it in tifinagh characters.

304 [171] Tattooing. -- Make-up. -- Unlike the Kabyle and the Berbers, the Tuareg are not tattooed. This detail, which may seem insignificant, nevertheless indicates that the relationship of these different human groups is not nearly as close as one might believe, since there are such appreciable differences in mores.

184 304 Some women blue their gums and sometimes their lips by tattooing them, but this custom is particularly prevalent in the Sudanese tribes of the Timbuktu region.

302 [751] [517] On the other hand, make-up is used on a large scale among Tuareg women. They put red ocher on their faces to protect the skin from the /260/ sun. For aesthetic reasons they also blue their lips and around their mouths with indigo.

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
[412 302] an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of
Tagant and Hodh.

291 Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
855 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
[556] girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear
trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From
that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while
the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated for either the boy or girl.

868 The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
857 the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
[462] milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of
this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then
fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games
between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet
stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly
speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a
camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
[212] Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they
are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
[145] father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
291 ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good ad-
[431] vice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

881 From this day on the boy enters into the class of men. He
884 may go to war and attend the ahal.

868 Education of girls is hardly more interesting. At six or seven, the little girl begins to see to household duties, participating in cleaning the tent and making meals, etc. A little later she learns to weave mats, work little copper articles, and spin goat hair.

[534] Musical and literary education for young girls is very much esteemed among the Tuareg and [212] most particularly among the Imochar. Little girls learn to write tifinagh letters and play the amzad, a sort of small one-stringed violin which brightens up the dull evenings of the Tuareg.

Fig. 53. Amzad, or one-stringed violin of Ahaggar Tuareg women, and its bow.

534 The amzad is made
237 of half a hollowed-out and dried gourd, over which a goatskin or uran /lizard/ skin has been stretched, attached by cords (in the Ahaggar) or little acacia thorns (in the Aïr). The skin is pierced by one or two holes to increase the resonance. The handle is made of a stick which penetrates into one side of the gourd through a hole and is secured at the other side by a point, or else it may go through that side too. The string is formed of several pieces of horsehair separated from the skin by a little bridge made of two small pieces of wood tied together crosswise. The bow (taganhé) forms an arc with

771 They are little versed in the religion and are incapable of reading the Koran, with the exception of a few men among the Tăitok, [773] for example, or in the Sudanese tribe of the Kel es Souq. There 212 are very few marabouts among them, and those who are there, with a few exceptions, live there in a spirit more mercenary than anything else. Among the Tuareg there are no imam or mufti, and [346] /305/ mosques are reduced to simple prayer places formed of an alignment of stones.

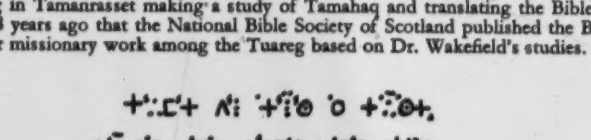
[781] Many Tuareg do not follow the prescriptions of the Koran, and a few years ago some chiefs relied on the marabouts "to make their prayers for them!" Those who practice do it ostentatiously. 795 A great number are affiliated with religious orders, but they are 175 usually ignorant of the meaning of the rites. Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the brotherhood of the Tijaniyyah was powerful among them. The majority of the people that the explorer Foureau met during his voyages in the Tassili were members, but he points out that there were also a few Qādiriyyah. Chief In Guéddassen and a certain number of nobles of the Ghat region were Senusi /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. So long as the Oulad Sidi Cheikh, who were the most important groups of the Tijaniyyah, fought France, the majority of the Tuareg remained attached to that brotherhood, but afterwards many of them adopted Senusism. The principal representatives of the Tijaniyyah in Tuareg country were the Tassili Ifôra, whose zăwiyah of Témaçinine had been founded by one of them, El Hadj el Foki. His son Moussa acquired very great renown as a holy man, and so his tomb, located near the little palm grove, is honored by all the northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg of the Ădrar des Ifôras are affiliated with the Qādiriyyah and received the ouerd from Cheikh Bay, a former Kounta marabout from Teleya; he died a few years ago, and his renown extends over the whole Sahara. Among the Ioullimmiden, some tribes are Qādiriyyah (Kel es Souq) and others Tijaniyyah (Daoussahak).

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.



The Bible in Tamahaq

(*Ruth. Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

*"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."*

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

4: Benhazera--vii G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

TAMASHEK ALPHABET

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Method of Transcription Adopted

| Forms of the Letters | Names | Value | Arabic Equivalents | Observations |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| • | t'arerit | A I OU | ا و ي | |
| ⊖ ⊟ | ieb | B | ب | |
| + | iet | T | ت | |
| ⌶ | iej | J | ج | With the Kel Rela |
| :: | iekh | KH | خ | Spanish J |
| V ∧ ⊓ ⊔ | ied | D | د | |
| ✕ | iez | Z (soft) | between ز and ذ | |
| □ ○ | ier | R | ر | |
| ⊡ ⊙ | ies | S | س | |
| ⊡ | iech | CH | ش | |
| ∃ | iedh | DH | ص | |
| +∃ | iedht (iett) | TT | ط | |
| # | iezz | Z' or ZZ | between ز and ظ | |
| ⁝ | ier' | R' | غ | (1) |

(1) The transcription by R' is preferable to that by GH, which is generally used. In fact it is best to write R'adamès, R'ardaïa

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| Forms of the Letters | Names | Value | Arabic Equivalents | Observations |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ⵉⴼ ⵉⵅ ⵉⵀ | ief | F | ف | |
| ⵉⵇ | ieq | Q | ق | |
| ⵉⴽ | iek | K | ك | |
| ⵉⵍ | iel | L | ل | |
| ⵉⵎ | iemm | M | م | |
| ⵉⵏ | ienn | N | ن | |
| ⵉⵀ | ieh | H (aspirate) | ه | |
| ⵉⵓ | ieou | OU | و | |
| ⵉⵢ ⵉⵢ ⵉⵢ | iey | Y | ي | |
| ⵉⵊ | iej | j | ج | Among the Taïtoq |
| ⵉⴳ | iegue | Gu (before e, i); G (before a, o, u) | ق | |
| ⵉⴷ | iedj | Dj | between ج and ق | Special pronunciation |

Radamès and Rardaïa, than to write Ghadamès and Ghardaïa and pronounce Gadamès and Gardaïa. The first transcription is closer to the true pronunciation.

Note: The Arab ح (H') has no equivalent in Tamashek. The Tuareg always pronounce it KH ( خ ). Thus they say Mokhammed for Mohammed; El Khadj for El Hadj.

The Arabic ع (âa) no longer has an equivalent in Tamashek. The Tuareg always pronounce it R' ( غ ). Thus they say R'ali for Ali; br'ir for bâïr. /xix/

4: Benhazera--ix G-5 (1905)1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## COMPOSITE LETTERS

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| Forms | Names | Value | Arabic Equivalents |
|---|---|---|---|
| | iebt | bt | بت |
| | iejt | jt | جت |
| | iert | rt | رت |
| | ieft | ft | فت |
| | iemt | mt | مت |
| | iecht | cht | شت |
| | iennt | nt | نت |
| | ielt | lt | لت |
| | iest | st | ست |
| | iezzt | zt | زت |
| | iennb | nb | نب |
| | iennd | nd | ند |
| | ienngue | ng | نڭ |
| | ienn | nn | نن |
| | iennk | nk | نك |

4: Benhazera--10 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

Extending the seat there are four small bars, E, one at each corner. Finally, there are four other small perpendicular bars F on the seat. 492

In order to mount, with the camel kneeling, the woman takes the bridle in her hands and sits on the bare withers of the camel (in the place where the man's saddle rests) and, in this position, her legs on the neck of the mehari, she makes it get up. When the animal is standing, the woman places both hands on the two small front bars, E, of the saddle, and, with a slight adjustment, she sits in the saddle, her legs hanging on the withers of the camel.

The top of the saddle is generally covered with a /42/ haïk which is fastened to the four perpendicular bars F, so that the woman is sitting in a sort of hammock.

This saddle is called "tekhaouit" ⵜⵅⵉⵡⵉⵜ . The de luxe saddle, more decorated, is called "araguen" ⵉⵔⴰⴳⵏ .

## Chapter XX

## Education

One cannot say that the knowledge of reading and writing 213 "tifinagh," or symbols for the Tamashek language, is a proof of education, for this knowledge does not have any practical use.

The Tuareg very seldom use the symbols for their language, and use them largely for little inscriptions of no great significance (of a kind which we will see later) on boulders or on the inside of arm bracelets.

When there are letters to be written, they have them written in Arabic, for they fear, with reason, being misunderstood if they should write them in "tifinagh." In fact,

because of the lack of vowels, the "tifinagh" are guessed rather 212
than read, and this system of writing has remained quite primitive.

However, among the Ahaggar Tuareg some know how to [177
read and write Arabic, especially the Issoqqamaren, almost all 191]

[291
643]

The Amenokal Sidi ag Keradji Reading the
Address of a Letter Sent to Him.

of whom understand Arabic because of their frequent relations with the Tidikelt, where they must have lived for a long time (1). It is the same for the Ta'ltoq and the Kel Ahnet, many

1. See section on history /not translated/.

of whom speak Arabic. /43/

Knowledge of the "tifinagh" is rather a diversion for the Tuareg than a useful study. They like to try to decipher inscriptions or to show you, on the sand, the exact orthography of a word.

11. "Djer mouhaden, " that is, "between prayers, " because it comes between the feasts. It corresponds to Zu'lkadah. 805

12. "Tafaski, " that is, "the sacrifice. " It corresponds to Zu'lhijjah, in which the feast called "Aïd el Kebir, " also called by the Arabs "Aïd el Adha" عيد الأضحى , or "feast of sacrifices, " takes place. [177]

There is no book in Tamashek, at least that is what was told me. However, the secretary of the amenokal Moussa /46/ ag Amastane informed me that there was, at the Ahaggar, a book written in the Tamashek language, but with Arabic characters, which was the translation of a work on law of which Ibn Achir was the author (1). 177 212

1. This book is at present in the possession of someone called Salakh ag Meguemmed of the Isoqqamaren. /47/

## Part Two

## The Tuareg in their Public Life

### Chapter I

### Nobles and Imr'ad

Duveyrier has described so well the characteristics which distinguish a noble from an amr'id (1) that I think it 114 565

1. Les Touareg du Nord /The Northern Tuareg/, pages 331 to 335.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



on the Air Tuareg. I wish to express my sincere thanks to the above mentioned foundations and their directors. 122

For the transcription of Tuareg letters I have on the whole adopted Foucauld's system (cf. Foucauld 1920 & 1951–52):- 104 212

| Tuareg Letters (*Tifinar*) | Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters | | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| ⵓ | b | ب | |
| ⵛ | ch | ش | |
| ⵔ | d | د | |
| ⵉ | ḍ | ض | Emphatic |
| ⵅ | f | ف | |
| ⵖ | g | | Hard |
| ⵊ | ǧ | | A peculiar soft pronunciation something between g, d, j, and i |
| ⵀ | h | ه | Aspirated |
| ⵉ | i | ي | Used both as consonant and vowel at the end of a word. At the beginning and in the middle of a word only as consonant. |
| ⵊ | j | | |
| ⵇ | k | ك | |
| ⵍ | ḳ | ق | |
| ⵅ | kh | خ | Foucauld 1951–52 has the transcription ḵ [114] |
| ⵍ | l | ل | |
| ⵎ | m | م | |
| ⵏ | n | ن | |
| ⵄ | ḥ | | Foucauld 1920 does not mention this letter [114] |
| ⵓ | ou | و | Consonant or vowel as for i mentioned above |
| ⵔ | r | ر | |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



104 212

| Tuareg Letters (*Tifinagh*) | Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters | | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| ⋮ | r | غ | Prononcunced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in literature. |
| ⊙ | s | س | |
| + | t | ت | |
| ⋿ | ṭ | ط | Emphatic |
| ⋇ | z | ز | |
| # | ẓ | | Emphatic |

128 For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that of the maps edited by Institut Géographique National. The pronunciation of vowels is not indicated. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels [212] with a dot, which may stand for any vowel.

*Pastoral Ecology in Ahaggar and Air.*

[361] The Tuareg of the true desert country have their camps in or close to mountain [131] massifs of which the more important are Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. Geographically these two regions have many traits in common. In Ahaggar, which rises to 132 3000 metres above sea level, the annual precipitation according to official statistics is between 20 mm and 40 mm. These figures are extremely low, but more characteristic of the desert country is the irregularity of the rainfalls. In some years there may fall no rain at all, while in others precipitation is much bigger than appears from the figures above. Several dry years may follow each other alternating with periods of abundant rainfall. According to investigations by Dubiéf four years out of ten are so dry that rainfall is of no importance for the regeneration of pastures (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23). Owing to the scarcity and the fluctuations of precipitation 137 in Ahaggar a persistent vegetation cannot generally exist outside river valleys and depressions which are flooded during heavy rain. In the valleys perennial plants comprise not only grasses and herbs but also tall trees among which tamarisk and acacia are prominent. In dry years the perennial plants have little value as fodder 233 for the domestic animals of the Tuareg. A great many goats may then die from 221 hunger, and to avoid such a disaster some Tuareg take their flocks to the plains of Tamesna or to the Adrar-n-Iforas Mountains where rain is normally more plentiful and grazing better than in Ahaggar. However, even in dry years the majority of Ahaggar Tuareg will remain in their native country with their goat-flocks. For although they run the risk of losing a great many goats during a drought in Ahaggar

172 /37 cont. / Many chipped stones have been found in the Ahaggar, indicating an early occupation of the region, but nearly all of the objects have been found on the surface, preventing the establishment of a chronology. However, Acheulian axes have been discovered by M. Arambourg in a basin of the Tihodaine erg beneath undisturbed sediments, with fossilized elephant bones. The In-Guezzam basin has also furnished paleolithic tools in association with fossilized bones. Objects of neolithic make are, in general, scattered on the ground.

/38/ Arrowheads are very rare. The most numerous tools are polished, two-edged axes; they are found in all sizes; some very small ones are made of very soft stone, and perhaps were used for money. Magnificent polished pestles, varying in length from 15 to 70 centimeters, are still sometimes used by the Negroes. Also to be found are polishing tools, fixed grindstones, scrapers, and the debris of pottery with linear decorations.

Some interesting information is furnished by the rock engravings. One may say that the Ahaggar is covered with them. At the present time, nearly 120 sites are known, and there are certainly others to be discovered; on the other hand, rock paintings are infrequent.

An examination of the engravings shows a succession of periods. The oldest are characterized by the presence of fauna found in humid steppe regions: elephants, lions, ostriches, giraffes, antelopes, bovids, horses. The most recent are identified by the presence of camels, asses, and crude line drawings of men.

[532 212] Contemporary engravings, accompanied by inscriptions in tifinagh, are easily recognizable, for the legends may be translated.

The rarity of paintings in the Ahaggar is explained by the almost total absence of caves permitting their preservation. Those that have been discovered were found in sheltered places

114 /60 cont. / It would be impossible to praise too highly the work of the "hermit of the Ahaggar, " for it has in a sense illuminated a civilization for history.

212 194 /61/ The peculiarity of Tamashek as a Berber language is that it can be written with its own characters, which are called "tifinagh. "

There are 25 tifinagh characters, to which must be added compound letters formed by the combination of two simple elements.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| B | | Q | |
| CH | | KH | |
| D | | L | |
| D (strong) ض (ar) | | M | |
| F | | N | |
| G | | OU consonant | |
| DJ | | R | rolled |
| H | | R | |
| I | | S | |
| J | | T | |
| K ك (arak) | | T (strong) ط | |
| = Z ( soft ) [As in rase] | | = Z (strong) [As in zero] | |
| • = vowels : A, E, e | | ou i | |

Table of tifinagh letters.

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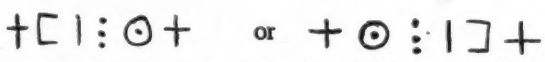
194

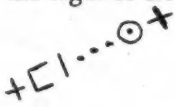
/61 cont./ Each letter represents a consonant of the language; a single sign at the end of a word indicates the vowel element. To write a word, all that need be done is to write its consonants one after the other, without attaching them to each other, in any direction one pleases, from left to right or from right to left, from top to bottom or else from bottom to top, according to the fancy of the writer. Some letters, such as the M, the G, or the strong D, indicate the direction of the writing.

All written letters are pronounced, with very rare exceptions.

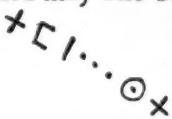
Here is "Tamanrasset" written in tifinagh characters:



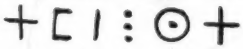
The way the prongs of the M point indicate whether to read from the right or from the left. The word may also be written:



or yet again



One may easily imagine that this writing without vowels is rather hard to read; it is necessary, in fact, to insert the vowels in their proper places as one reads. It is always an amusing sight to see a Targui deciphering tifinagh script; he mumbles to himself as he spells out each letter of a word until, /62/ saying it aloud, he identifies the word, realizes its meaning, and finally pronounces it with evident satisfaction.



Iété..é. é, émmé.éé., énné.. é ., IèR... éssé..é.é. éTT.
This permits him to decipher: Tamanrasset.

This system of spelling makes reading a text a long and complicated process, for one must remember the words that have been deciphered in order to reconstruct the sentence, otherwise one must begin all over again. A thorough knowledge of the language is indispensable for being able to place the vowels correctly and for avoiding misreadings.

191 /62 cont./ In spite of this difficulty in transcription, the Tuareg amuse themselves by transposing the letters in a word, making it utterly incomprehensible for the uninitiated.

[177] At the present time Tamashek is borrowing many words from Arabic and French. Father de Foucauld had already noticed during his time this invasion of Arabic and the way the Tuareg adapted numerous words to their own speech habits.

• [212] In the noble tribes, each individual knows how to read and write, but that is not the case with the imrads, for many of the vassals barely know how to write their names.

The richness of the spoken language is greatly declining due to bilingualism and doubtless also because poetry, formerly inspired by the exploits of the warriors, tends to disappear. One may thus realize the importance of Father de Foucauld's work, which permanently recorded a language of oral tradition.

There will certainly come a day when the Tuareg will have to use French to perfect themselves in their own language.

NOTE: Some compound characters.:

[212] = bt = cht = rt = st

/63/

## II
## Economy

### Generalizations on the Economy of the Ahaggar

241 A country such as the one we have seen in the study of the physical characteristics of the Ahaggar, possessing very limited resources because of the scarcity of water and the poverty of the soil, can only have an agriculture of small and uncertain productivity.

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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291

45. The public scribe.

[p. 233]

872
212

55a. Nomadic school in the camp of the amenokal.

[p. 244] [left - see p. 245]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

872
212

55b. [p. 245] [Right-see p. 244]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



167 tion into Ayr many Tuareg of that region emigrated, and some of them settled as far away as Darfur
[649] where they and their descendants still live near El Fasher. Another emigration took place after the
[162] Tuareg revolt against the French in 1917. Many Tuareg of the *Kel Ayr* and the *Iwllemmeden* fled to Northern Nigeria to settle in villages and towns around Kano and Katsena. According to Rodd about 30.000 Ayr Tuareg fled to Nigeria after the revolt (Rodd 1926a, p. 361).

161 According to statistics for the period 1933–38 the total number of Tuareg living in the Algerian Sahara and to the south in the republics of Niger and Soudan is estimated by Lhote to be about 240.000.

162 They were divided among the main groups as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Kel Ahaggar* | 4.254 |
| *Kel Ajjer* | 1.508 |
| *Kel Adrar* | 4.223 |
| *Kel Ayr & Kel Geres* | 27.765 |
| *Iwllemmeden* | 161.160 |
| *Tengerregif* | 40.000 |

162 These figures need certain corrections. Thus the *Kel Ajjer* are more numerous than indicated by the
161 above figure, which does not include Tuareg of that group living in Libya. On the other hand the
[567] figure for *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg is much too high; it includes about 94.000 negroid slaves which should be deducted, as slaves are not included in the other figures. Nevertheless, Lhote believes that the actual number of free Tuareg is about 300.000 as the birth rate is on the increase. Thus statistics for 1950 indicate that there are 4.611 fairskinned Tuareg in Ahaggar (Lhote 1955a, p. 157). Nicolas assumes that there are about 500.000 Sudanese Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. Avertissement). This figure is, no doubt, too high. If we assume that there are in all 300.000 Tuareg, we find that the two northern groups *Kel Ajjer & Kel Ahaggar* living in the true desert country constitute about three per cent of the total Tuareg population.*

197 The Tuareg language is known as *tamahaq* in the two northern groups, *tamachek* in the south. It has four main branches or dialects, namely 1) *tahaggart* spoken by the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*; 2) *tadraq* spoken by the Tuareg of *Adrar-n-Foras*; 3) *tayri* spoken by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*; 4) *tawllemmet* spoken by the *Iwllemmeden* and other Sudanese Tuareg. Grammatically these four dialects are closely related, but there are important distinctions in pronunciation and vocabulary. The dialects are on the whole mutually intelligible.

● 212 The alphabet known as *tifinar* is known in all Tuareg groups. It is related to the ancient Libyan script. Several authors have stated that *tifinar* is not so widely known among the modern Tuareg as it was in the past. It is true that certain Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arabic alphabet, but it is very difficult even nowadays to find adult Tuareg who do not know their proper script which is also widely used for letters. This, anyway, is true of the Tuareg groups I have visited, and it must be added that I have never found any proof of the statement so frequently seen in literature that the alphabet is

* Considering the statistics for 1933–38 (240.000 ÷ 94.000) the total number of true Tuareg in 1950 would appear to be lower than 300.000.

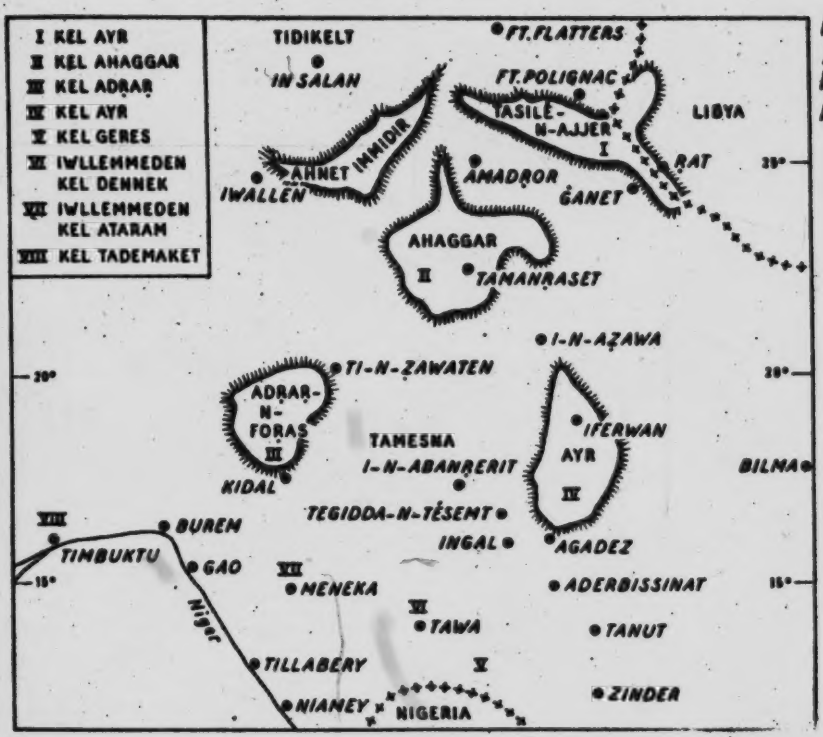


Fig. 1. Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups, as mentioned in the text, are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. The *Kel Tademaket* Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 125 kilometres.

known and used particularly by women. There are slight distinctions in the characters of the alphabet used by various Tuareg groups. I here reproduce the characters generally used in Ahaggar (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and in Ayr. In transcribing *tifinar* into the Roman alphabet I have on the whole adopted the system used by Foucauld who has made the most profound studies of the northern dialect (Foucauld 1918-20, 1920, 1925-30, 1940, 1951-52), but certain alterations have been made in agreement with the proposal of K.-G. Prasse. The Ayr dialect is very badly known. Its grammar and its peculiar vocabulary has never been studied.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



565 619 The true Tuareg in most groups fall into several classes as follows:—

*Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), or *Imajeren* (sing. *Amajer*). These two words designate the supreme Tuareg class which is generally referred to in literature as "nobility". The term *Ihaggaren* is used only among the Northern Tuareg, while *Imajeren* is employed in Ayr and also among Sudanese Tuareg. The two terms are synonymous, and so-called noble Tuareg are found in most Tuareg groups. However, the *Kel Geres* employ the term *Imajeren* for all true Tuareg. Among the *Kel Adrar* certain tribes claim to be noble, but though these tribes have very much the same position as noble tribes in Ahaggar and in Ayr, they are not recognized as true noble Tuareg by people of other groups.

*Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). This class is that of *Mrabetin* or marabuts, the religious class established after the introduction of Islam. In most Tuareg groups there are whole tribes of *Ineslemen* under the leadership of their own chiefs, but in Ahaggar there are only a few scattered families. The political position of the *Ineslemen* varies greatly from one group to another. Certain tribes in Ayr which are *Ineslemen* by origin have the same status as the true vassals to be mentioned below, while other *Ineslemen* tribes like the *Iforas* of the *Kel Ajjer* have much the same status as noble Tuareg with the exception that they have no vassals. The *Ineslemen* perform religious duties connected with certain [793] rites of passage. Any Tuareg can acquire the position of *Aneslem* after training in reading the Koran and education in the divine laws under the tutorship of another *Aneslem* or marabut.

*Echchikhen* (sing. *Echchikh*). This word also refers to people of religious status, and is used almost synonymously with *Ineslemen*. Certain tribes of Ayr (Damergu) have a kind of noble status and possess vassals. The word does not have the meaning of *Echcherifen* (sing. *Echcherif*), which refers to descendants of the Prophet. Individual Tuareg families – particularly in noble tribes – often claim relationship with the Prophet.

*Isekkemaren* (sing. *Asekkemar*). A class which is found only in the two northern groups – particularly among the *Kel Ahaggar*. The *Isekkemaren* Tuareg descend from Arabs, or from unions between Arab men and Tuareg women. They are vassals who have a somewhat different status from that of true vassals, who are mentioned below.

*Iregenaten* (sing. *Aregenat*). This name is not always applied to people of a particular class. It is used as a proper name for one Ahaggar tribe which has its origin from mixed marriages between (noble) Tuareg women and Arabs. In most groups the term *Iregenaten* (*Iregenaten*) is applied to Tuareg descending from unions between noble Tuareg men and vassal women.

212 104 184 Fig. 2. The Tuareg alphabet (*tifinar*). The distinctions between Tuareg alphabets of Ahaggar and Ayr are less essential than appears from this list, for some differences are due to the fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg for certain letters prefer an edged form, the Ayr Tuareg a curved one. But both forms are known to all Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg normally write from the right to the left like the Arabs, while the Ayr Tuareg consider it correct to write the letters in vertical rows from bottom to top. It can be seen from the list that the Ahaggar Tuareg have an alphabet of 25 consonants while the Ayr Tuareg have only 21. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels with a dot, which may stand for any vowel. This simple vowel letter is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tiyerit*, to the Ayr Tuareg as *teremit*. The dialect of the Ayr Tuareg is very little known and most Ayr words mentioned in this study have never been published previously. Even my collection of Ahaggar words seems to contain terms lacking in Foucauld's dictionaries. For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that generally used for geographical maps.

[text continues on p. 12]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



212
104
184

| Ahaggar | Ayr | Transcription and value in Arabic letters | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| yeb | eb | b ب | |
| yech | ech | ch ش | |
| yed | ed | d د | |
| yeḍ | | ḍ ض | Emphatic |
| yer | er | r ر | |
| yeg | eg | g | Hard |
| yeǵ | | ǵ | A peculiar soft pronunciation something between g, d, j, and i |
| yeh | eh | h ه | Aspirated |
| yey | ey | y (i) ى | Used both as consonant and vowel at the end of a word. At the beginning and in the middle of a word only as consonant |
| yej | ej | j | |
| yek | ek | k ك | |
| yeḳ | eḳ | ḳ ق | |
| yekh | ekh | kh خ | Foucauld 1951-52 has the transcription ḫ |
| yel | el | l ل | |
| yem | em | m م | |
| yen | en | n ن | |
| yeñ | | ñ | |
| yew | ew | w (u) و | Consonant or vowel as her i mentioned above |
| yer | er | r ر | |
| yeṛ | eṛ | ṛ غ | Pronounced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in litterature |
| yes | es | s س | |
| yet | et | t ت | |
| yeṭ | | ṭ ط | Emphatic |
| | et' | t' | Petalized t |
| yez | ez | z ز | |
| yeẓ | | ẓ | Emphatic |

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



174 the regions now inhabited by the Tuareg is very clearly schown by the excellent study made by Lhote on rock engravings and paintings of horse-drawn waggons and carts in the Sahara (Lhote 1953a). For it is demonstrated by Lhote that though these pictures may show a resemblance to Egyptian carts and harnesses they are more particularly related to those of Ancient Greece, which is also intimated by the artistic style and the occurrence of spiral motives. The most excellent representations of horse-drawn carts have been found in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but pictures are also known from the Fezzan around the ancient city of Garama, in Ahaggar, Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas, and in parts of Mauretania. Further east in the Sahara, in Ayr and in Tibesti, no cart pictures have so far been found. Lhote thinks it possible that horse-drawn carts may have been used on a route connecting the ancient city of Garama with the city of Tademaket (Es Suk) in Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas, though he admits that the mere representation of carts in rock pictures does not necessarily prove that they were used in regions where such pictures are found. For rock pictures representing carts may also be found in mountainous regions where cart-driving has no doubt been impossible, though the cart used by the ancient people of the Sahara was probably a light one (Lhote 1953a, p. 1138–1228).

It would be natural to investigate how far this *Old Mediterranean Culture* has influenced Tuareg [212] culture. We may then perhaps assume that Tuareg alphabet (*tifinar*) is a so-called *Old Mediterranean* element though it has not yet been exactly shown to which other alphabet *tifinar* is most directly related (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 174 ff.). It is more difficult still to prove other cultural traits among modern Tuareg to be Old Mediterranean. One might suppose that a high culture of North Africa with a centre of gravity in the Syrtic region would also have influenced the ancestors of the Tuareg in regard to dress and weapons. It is of some interest to note that the bi-triangular persons depicted in Ancient Crete are also characteristic of the rock-engravings in the Sahara, whether associated with carts or not. Rodd has stated as his opinion that there is a close relationship between these bi-triangular figures in rock engravings and the leather shirt of poncho type still used by isolated tribes among the Ahaggar Tuareg (Rodd 1938, p. 101 ff.). But, as pointed out by Lhote, there is no obvious reason to connect this ancient type of dress with Mediterranean civilizations, and the dress worn by persons depicted during the cart-period does not correspond to any definite type (cf. Lhote 1953a, p. 1148 ff.).

It would not be unnatural to expect that Tuareg culture would have adopted the sword from the Old Mediterranean culture which, we know, was found in North Africa long before the advent of Islam. But while spear warriors mounted on camels and horses are frequently depicted in ancient rock-engravings there seem to be little evidence of the ancient use of the sword (cf. Huard 1960, p. 144). Many theories have been advanced about the origin in Africa of the sword with a cross-like hilt (cf. Ankermann 1905, p. 60; Schilde 1929, p. 172; Murray 1935, p. 101). These authors give various explanations, but they all believe that the sword was introduced comparatively recently. Gsell states that the sword was not common among North African Berbers until the 6th century A.D., and he believes that the particular Tuareg sword with a cross-like hilt was introduced to the Sahara from Spain with the Almoravides during the 11th century A.D. (Gsell 1920–28, VI, p. 44 f.). Baumann asigns the sword to the so-called Young Sudanese Culture, to which complex Tuareg armdaggers are credited by Lagercrantz (cf. Lagercrantz 1938a; 1950; p. 206 ff.). The developed techniques of leatherwork and skin-dyeing are perhaps to be considered Old Mediterranean rather than Young Sudanese?

567 dowry. But slaves are well fed and cared for as a rule; they get two or three days off each week to look after their own affairs, their children are brought up with the children of their masters, and custom forbids the freeing of a slave who is either too old or too young to fend for himself. A slave may even have a few goats of his own, although when he dies they are not inherited by his family but revert to his master instead. Barth (1857a, vol. 1, p. 387) notes as a striking exception that he saw slaves hitched to a plow and driven with whips in the Auderas Valley, some 60 miles northwest of Agadès.

567 Female slaves are often taken as concubines
595 by Tuareg men of the Ahaggar, who prize them because they are less capricious and overbearing than Tuareg women are and "be-
[827] cause they have cool skins," a point which would bear further investigation with a skin temperature machine. The children of such unions are often recognized by their fathers but do not inherit from them, and, although free, they have a debased social standing little better than that of their slave forebears. Moussa ag Amastan, who was Amenokal of the Ahaggar from 1905 to 1921,[12] remained unmarried for over 50 years, during most of which time he lived with a bevy of Negro concubines and a young Tuareg girl, named Harendou, whom he had captured on a raid into the Niger Bend country (Benhazera, 1908, p. 142; Lhote, 1955, pp. 221–23). Although this case was exceptional, it was by no means unique.

567 The slaves of the nomadic Tuareg, like those of sedentary communities in the Sahara, seem to have no tribal or clan organizations, but they too have a strong feeling of corporate solidarity that finds expression now and then in nocturnal jamborees which are Sudanese in character.

326 The smiths of the Ahaggar present a fa-
171 miliar culture pattern that characterizes groups of smiths and tinkers which, as we have seen, are to be found living among a whole series of nomadic peoples scattered all the way from Baluchistan through Arabia and on, southwest-

[217] [12] Lhote (1955, p. 220) gives the date of Moussa's death as 1920, the official genealogical table of the Ahaggar nobility, which is kept in the archives of the French Army post at Tamanrasset, gives it as 1921, and Foley (1930, p. 9) gives it as 1922. In 1956

326 ward and then westward, across the North
[171] African hinterland to the shores of the Atlantic. The general description of this pattern, given above in chapter V under the sub-heading *Special Classes and Minority Groups* in the section on *Agricultural Centers*, leaves little more to add.

326 Smiths of the Ahaggar usually live in single
463 family units or small groups widely separated from each other (fig. 50). A few families follow Tuareg groups on their seasonal rounds, but the great majority remain sedentary most of the time in one agricultural center or another, and go out only now and then for a few weeks or months, to do a general repair and re-equipment job in the camps of some
[759] nomadic tribe or clan. The men work wood and metals and are also barber-surgeons, while the women specialize in fancy leatherwork and embroidery. In addition to these functions
[584] and those previously mentioned, both sexes of the smith community act as both go-betweens and spies in clandestine love affairs. They also engage in intertribal secret intelligence work. And a major Tuareg chief may sometimes have a smith as his most trusted counsellor and confidant.

326 The smiths usually dress as do the poorer
[291] Tuareg. The men all wear the teguelmoust but in a sloppy fashion, and they seem to have no qualms about exposing their mouths.
[582] They are endogamous and monogamous as a general rule, although a few have more than one wife and some of them marry Haratin or occasionally slaves. Ostensibly because of their lowly social status, but probably in fact more because of the fear of sorcery that they inspire, they come and go everywhere as they please, although always with a cringingly ingratiating manner. Even after one has come to know them fairly well they still give an impression of constant watchfulness and profoundly sycophantic tact of the delicately oiled as opposed to the heavily greased variety. The smiths are the most perspicacious and cleverly adaptable of all Saharan peoples, for they have learned to live off and so outlive flamboyant warriors with their retinues and

[217] the author was so fortunate as to obtain a copy of the genealogical table in question, thanks to the very kind co-operation of Captain Roger Bret, Commandant of the *Annexe du Hoggar*, and Claude Blanguernon, Director of Nomad Schools.

usually satisfied with milk, "akh, " fresh ("akh oua kefaïen" 264
[illegible] ) or sour ("akh iezza", [illegible] ), at
the hour when the camels, sheep, or goats come in from
pasture.

The basic food of the Ahaggar Tuareg consists of bechna, 262
"inelli" (white-grain sorghum, Graminaceae), dates, "teïni, "
and milk, "akh. " [illegible]

But their country provides them with many resources 22●
which they are careful not to neglect, especially the poor, 556
the "tileqqiouin" [illegible] , who constitute the majority.

All the "imr'ad" go to harvest the grains of "toulloult" 243
and "afezzou. " Women, children, youths, negroes and 221
negresses go into the wadis
to gather the harvest, which
takes place from May to June
for "toulloult" and from July
to the end of September for
"afezzou. " /29/

[000]
Dautheville
Idelés (Koudia)

Usually, before the
harvest several wadis are for-
bidden territory, and camels
are not led there until the
harvest is finished.

The produce is gathered
and put into hide sacks. After the grains have dried, they 252
need only to be put onto small trays of "afezzou, " called
"tissiin, " which are shaken, and the hulls fall off and remain
on top. The grains are ground to powder, and a kind of gruel
is made with water or butter.

The Tuareg are also very fond of "tikamarin" [illegible] 234 252 262
, cheeses as hard as wood which they get from Aïr. They 438
grind them in mortars and mix them in their food.

They very seldom eat meat, except that of game which 262
they can kill in a hunt: gazelles, mountain sheep, and 224
antelopes. But often they prefer to smoke this game in order 251
to go and sell it in the Tidikelt. 438

563 They are not vassals like the Irréguénaten and the Ibettenâten,
631 but are incorporated.

563 According to a tradition reported by Dr. Richer, (1) the
173

1. Les Oulliminden, p. 71.

Issekkemâren are the descendants of the family of the Sagmara, pointed out in the Ádrar des Iforas and in the region of Gao by El Bekrî. They were driven back by the Sonrhai invasion and came to take refuge among the northern Tuareg while a small fraction remained in the south in the environs /199/ of Timbuktu and today has a marabout character.

Although they are more Islamized than the other tribes, they are
[799] nonetheless Tuaregized in the sense that they follow Tuareg customs
197 and speak Tamashek. Many of them speak Arabic fluently, either
[648] because of their origin or because of their constant relations with the Tidikelt.

173 At the time of the division of the Imrad, some tribes were be-
563 stowed upon the Kel Rela, others on the Tâitok and the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet. The tribes attached to the Kel Rela are the Ihéiaouen Hâda, the Kel Immîdir, the Kel Tâzoûlet, the Kel Tâfedest, and the Kel In Rhar'.

563 They are all great caravaneers who trade a great deal on the
439 Tidikelt markets. They own a large number of camels and their
484 camel raising is particularly renowned.
233

The Iheiaouen Hada. -- The Iheiaouen Hada, also called Oulad
563 Elias or Ihéiaouen-n-Temounent, are said to be descended from an
[173] Arab woman who was seized at Touat. The word Iheiaouen means in Tamashek "the grandsons of . . . ," so that we must conclude that the people of this tribe are the descendants of a woman named Ada.

They nomadize in the Tâfedest massif near Ádenek, Abezou, In Takoufi, Eguelougal, and Tidessi. During dry periods they lead
[221] their camels to the Saharo-Sudanese borders in the neighborhood of the Tamata well.

1: Lhote--74a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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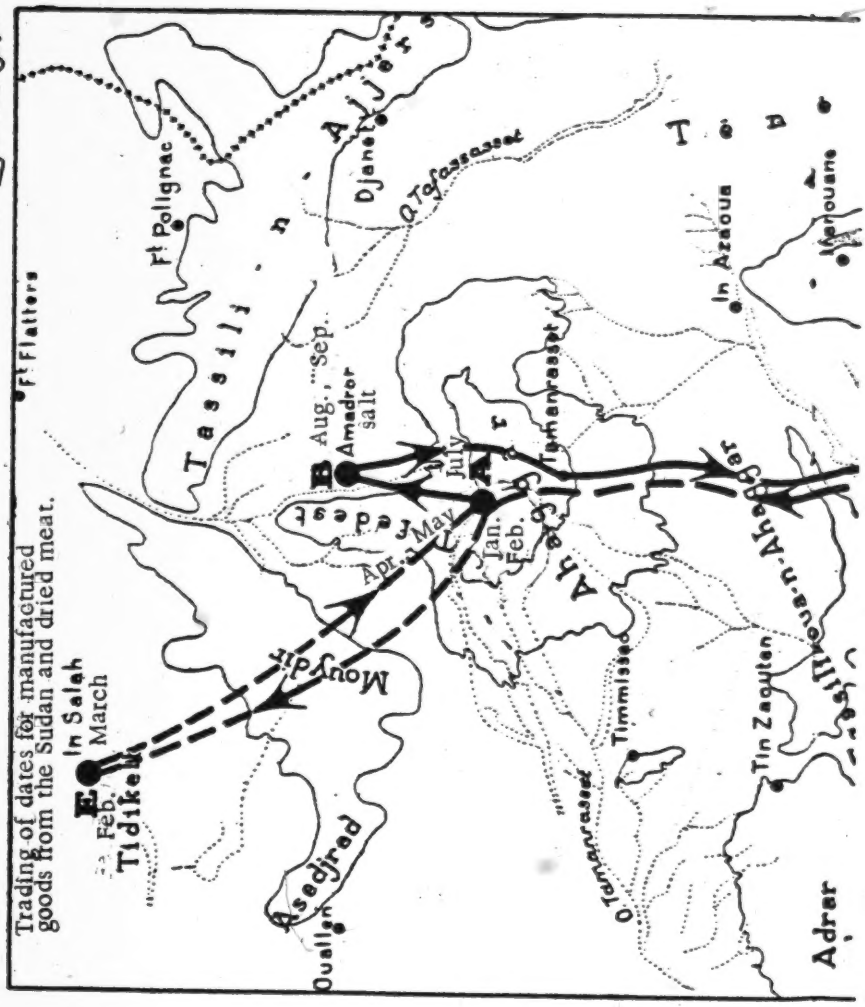


**Map V. Diagram of the caravan cycle of the Ahaggar Tuareg.**

A. Center of transhumance and point of departure of the caravan cycle. B. Center of salt extraction. C. Region of stocking of salt and of temporary nomadization. $D^1$ $D^2$ $D^3$. Center of trade of salt for grain.

1; Lhote--74b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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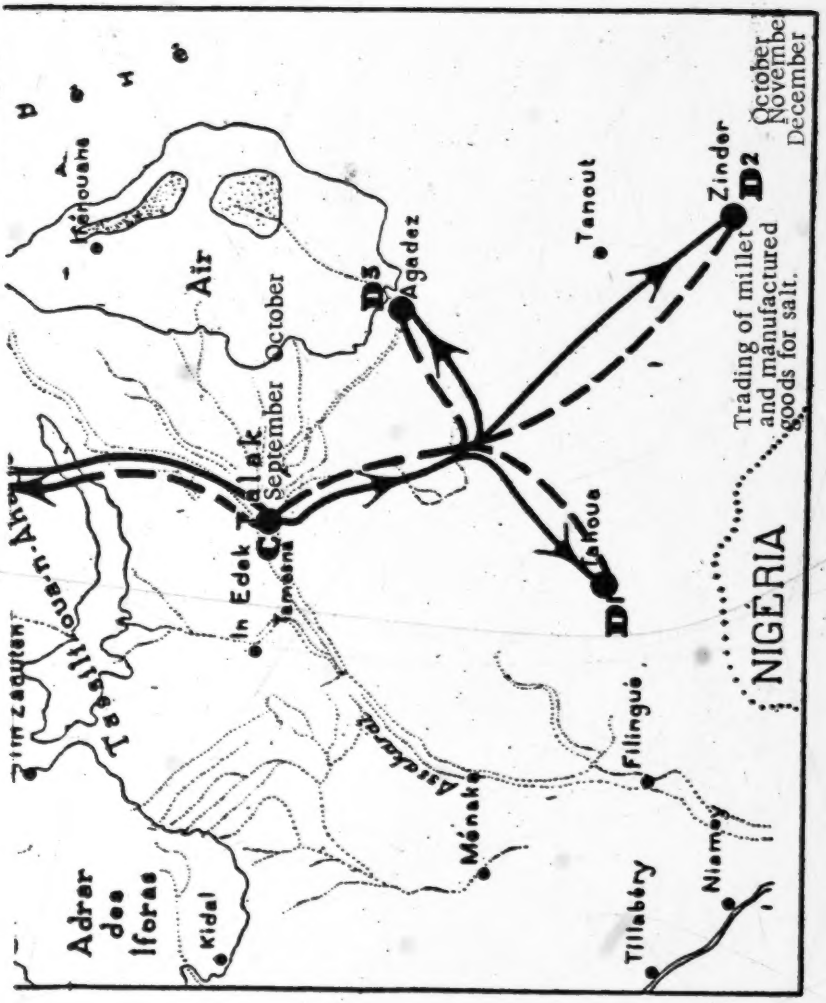


E. Center of trade of manufactured goods and dried meat for dates after return from A.

439 cotton clothes, and Sudanese-made lithams /veils/. Then after
484 two months of rest spent in the Sudan, during which time the camels revel in the rich pasture, they all set out again for the Ahaggar, where they arrive from January on. February and March see them leave again for the Tidikelt or Touat. At that time they take only a few camels and exchange the excess manufactured articles which they collected in the Sudan and trade dried mutton for dates. This trip lasts an average of two months, and toward the end of April everyone is back in the Ahaggar, as a rule. There is a rest of a few weeks, and everyone thinks about the next salt campaign he is going to have to prepare.

Thus we see a complete caravan cycle which, by itself, could allow the Tuareg a normal life. But as we have said, it implies a
[46!] state of peace which was previously the exception, as well as an amount of work to be furnished which is not always in harmony with the warlike tastes of the Imochar.

224 Hunting supplies some employment for the Tuareg, as does gathering. But both of them are only uncertain pastimes, without
221 much profit. The life of the Tuareg may thus be summed up in a few lines: basic animal husbandry doubled by brigandage raised to the state of an institution, and accessorily by some caravaneering. Now we shall see the domestic life of the Tuareg.

/221/

## Chapter 2

## Dwellings

361 The camp. -- The camp is the traditional Tuareg form of
621 habitation; it is connected with nomadism which always implies animal husbandry. It includes a certain number of people gathered together under a patriarchal authority by very close bonds of kinship.

361 When a state of war existed, concealment was a capital necessity
609 easy to understand. By atavism, it seems that they have taken the
[72] habit of always placing themselves in spots where they escape the investigation of indiscreet glances.

361 They set up their tents on valley terraces, and sometimes in a
[132] valley itself, if they do not have to fear the rains, which usually fall at the end of the summer.

221 Because of the need to seek out pastures, camps are continually
361 being moved. They stay from one to two weeks, depending on whether the grass has been revived by rains or whether it is dry. But these moves are never of any great distance, not exceeding seven or eight kilometers. If we take as an example the Dag Rali tribe which nomadizes in the western part of Koudia, we find the camps set up in the high mountain valleys, as high as 2, 400 meters altitude, in summer. In winter, on the other hand, they settle on the slopes or in the low parts, seeking places sheltered from the wind. This, of course, is in a normal period of average pasture. But during the summer of 1940, following a long dry period, the Upper Koudia saw a great number of its watering places dry up, and vegetation was nonexistent, so to speak. Therefore, all the nomads took refuge in the low parts of the massif, in the Outoul, Eferer, and I-n-Amegel valleys where water was more abundant and where a trace of pasture still remained. At the beginning of September, the whole massif benefited from abundant rains. A week later, all the tents moved into the mountains in order to use the alpine pastures before winter and to save the lower valley grass for winter.

312 /223/ The watering places of Atakor are chiefly natural reservoirs (aguelmam) and springs flowing at ground level in the hollows of the valleys. In the middle part, there are mainly rédir (abankor), or little wells, dug less than one meter down in the soil to reach the water layer, which is often retained by rocky sills. These rédir are exhausted in time if rains do not come to renew the water accumulated in the sandy wadi bed. The lower part of the Ahaggar benefits from all the water trickling down from the high mountains

487 the oases of the Tidikelt and Touat which have none. Thanks to
[439] the wells of T-i-m-missao and In Ziza, the sheep succeed in crossing the Tanezrouft without too much suffering.

484 This trace movement is evidently engaged in only during
221 the coolest months of the year, that is, from October to April, and it demands great precautions from the caravaneers.

312 Here is a list of the wells, starting from Timelaouine (Ădrar
484 des Iforas), where the animals are watered, as well as the number
487 of days of march between them, according to the information furnished us by El Bak el Fassi, the Amrar of the Kel Ăhnet.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Timelaouine (well, watering place) | | |
| I-n-Gezzal | 1 day | Ădrar des Iforas |
| Efenargh | 1 " | |
| In Ouzzal | 1 1/2 days | |
| Tirek | 3 " | Tanezrouft |
| Ti-m-missao | 2 " | |
| Tin Senatet | 5 " | |
| In Torha | 1/2 day | |
| Aleg'nenou | 5 days | Ăhnet |
| Tin Khalifa | 2 " | |
| In Belret | 1 day | |
| El Khenig | 1 1/2 days | Immidir |
| In-Salah | 3 " | Tidikelt |

Or 26 1/2 days' march.

484 /313/ Depending on whether pasture is more or less abundant,
439 caravaneers suffer more or less losses in their flocks. Sometimes this loss is complete, sometimes it is none at all.

We saw a Kel Ăhnet make the trip at the end of the month of April, a period which is not favorable, with 35 sheep and not have to kill more than one of them on the way.

177 In the last few years a number of notables, including the
492 aménokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the
643 Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them
133 to avoid rocks.

101 The Ihaggaren never travel on zebus and never use them for
492 transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

/321/

## Chapter 2

## War and Raiding

721 The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

182 When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those
221 present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were
361 most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to
721 spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

727 Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not
426 own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case
714

233 across much of the land and concentrated
[137] along dry river bottoms, and the small patches of thick, lush, emerald green grass that flourish briefly in hollows here and there following rainstorms. Pasturage is always either very sparse or very scattered in the Ahaggar and so the nomadic inhabitants of the area must move often, for the supply in the immediate neighborhood of a camp is quickly exhausted.
[312] To make life still more difficult, water points are often few and far between as we already know, and it is not unusual to find good pasturage so far from any water that it cannot be used for more than a day or two, if at all. This combination of circumstances has
[illegible]3 made it necessary for the Ahaggar Tuareg
221 to break up into small and highly mobile camp units composed of fractions of clans, or even single families, and each of these units must move at intervals of usually somewhere between a week and a month and often over considerable distances, although always within the territorial limits of the tribe (fig. 36).

As soon as a camp or constellation of neighboring camps is established in a new location, the head men first set up the daily grazing routine of the flocks and then set out at once to scout far and wide in search of the next pasture to be used and the next camp sites that their families will occupy. And so it goes the year around, and so the Tuareg of the Ahaggar are highly mobile nomads by force of circumstances, for they cannot survive otherwise in the region which they have made their own.

565 It is in the compelling circumstances of their environment that we find the roots of
233 the class system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, for,
463 quite apart from the question of mobility, such conditions can be met successfully only
182 by a well conceived and firmly established division of labor. In the Ahaggar it is the nobles of a tribe and the headmen of the vassal clans who ride out in search of new pastures and at the same time act as military scouts, always on the watch for enemy raiders as

[423] *The fundamental difference between the two systems lies in the fact that the basis of land tenure among the Tuareg is not that of the *beneficium* while personal allegiance is not based on the concept of the *comitatus*. The true feudal system of medieval Europe was based on the conferring of privilege by an absolute ruler (or one of his vassals) on a less

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[illegible] ) or sour ("akh iezza", [illegible] ), at
the hour when the camels, sheep, or goats come in from
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antelopes. But often they prefer to smoke this game in order 251 438
to go and sell it in the Tidikelt.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



104 212

| Tuareg Letters (*Tifinagh*) | Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters | | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| ⵖ | r | غ | Prononcunced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in literature. |
| ⵙ | s | س | |
| ⵜ | t | ت | |
| ⵟ | ṭ | ط | Emphatic |
| ⵣ | z | ز | |
| ⵥ | ẓ | | Emphatic |

128 For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that of the maps edited by Institut Géographique National. The pronunciation of vowels is not indicated. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels [212] with a dot, which may stand for any vowel.

*Pastoral Ecology in Ahaggar and Air.*

[361] The Tuareg of the true desert country have their camps in or close to mountain [131] massifs of which the more important are Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. Geographically these two regions have many traits in common. In Ahaggar, which rises to 132 3000 metres above sea level, the annual precipitation according to official statistics is between 20 mm and 40 mm. These figures are extremely low, but more characteristic of the desert country is the irregularity of the rainfalls. In some years there may fall no rain at all, while in others precipitation is much bigger than appears from the figures above. Several dry years may follow each other alternating with periods of abundant rainfall. According to investigations by Dubiéf four years out of ten are so dry that rainfall is of no importance for the regeneration of pastures (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23). Owing to the scarcity and the fluctuations of precipitation 137 in Ahaggar a persistent vegetation cannot generally exist outside river valleys and depressions which are flooded during heavy rain. In the valleys perennial plants comprise not only grasses and herbs but also tall trees among which tamarisk and acacia are prominent. In dry years the perennial plants have little value as fodder 233 for the domestic animals of the Tuareg. A great many goats may then die from 221 hunger, and to avoid such a disaster some Tuareg take their flocks to the plains of Tamesna or to the Adrar-n-Iforas Mountains where rain is normally more plentiful and grazing better than in Ahaggar. However, even in dry years the majority of Ahaggar Tuareg will remain in their native country with their goat-flocks. For although they run the risk of losing a great many goats during a drought in Ahaggar

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



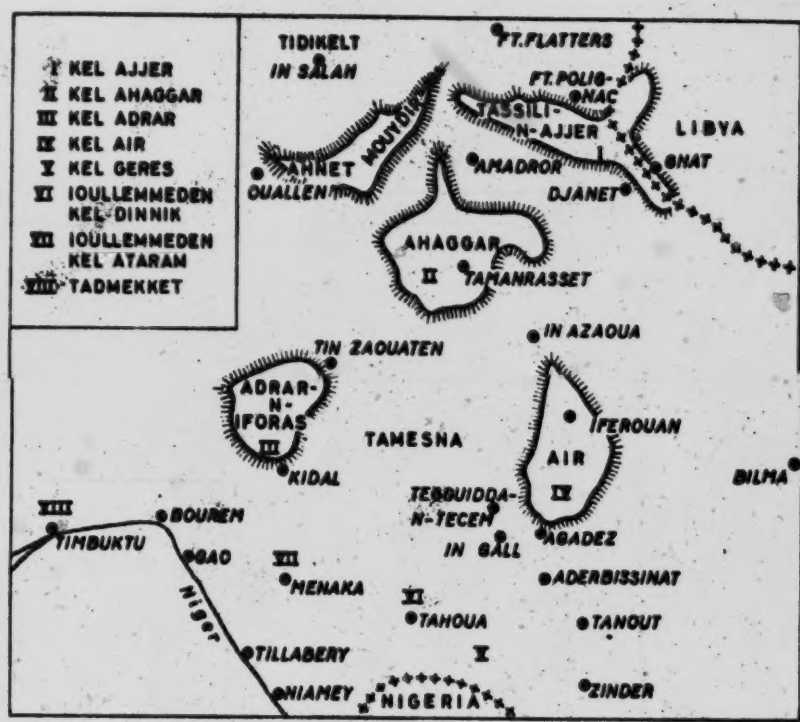


Fig. 1.–Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg, who fall into eight major political groups or federations. Three groups as mentioned in the text are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. – The Tadmekket Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Ioullemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 160 kilometres.

those surviving, although emaciated, will quickly recover as soon as the rainfall starts again. In addition it is often very difficult to take goats through the barren desert country south of Ahaggar without severe loss. With camels, which are also very important domestic animals, things are different. Camels make a great demand on fodder, they are very valuable, can be sold for rather high prices in the oases, and they have a very slow increment compared with goats. For these reasons it is necessary or desirable to keep herds of camels in the south when pastures are dry in Ahaggar, and camels can be taken through the barren desert country without much difficulty. In dry years many Ahaggar Tuareg have their camel-herds in Tamesna, about 500 kilometres from the camps in Ahaggar, and there are even nomads who keep their she-camels constantly in these regions, where the animals are guarded by herdsmen who are frequently slaves.

5; Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



paratively rich vegetation of Air contains species found also in Ahaggar, but Ahaggar has Mediterranean plants including several saline species which do not thrive in Air, where there are tropical or Sudanese species unknown to Ahaggar. 137

Botanically Air is very closely connected with the Sudan, and the mountain massif is within the Sudanese zone of summer rain. It is true that rain at the northern outskirts of Air occasionally falls in winter and may then give rise to scattered pasture of annual plants, but these rains are of no real importance. The important rainfalls of Air occur in the period June–September, and particularly in July and August. As may be gathered from the description of botanical conditions, Air has a much bigger annual precipitation than has Ahaggar: Thus the village of Iferouan in Northern Air has 74 mm, while Agadez at the southern slopes of the massif has 179 mm. Precipitation will of course vary from one year to the other, but rain will always fall sufficiently for the spring of annual plants. This is the reason for a type of stock-breeding different from that of Ahaggar. In Air the Tuareg are richer in camels, they do not possess so many goats but are very rich in sheep, and most of them have zebus. 132 137 [233]

The climatic and botanical differences of Air and Ahaggar can be seen more directly from the division of the year into seasons (fig. 2). Air has a summer and a winter season between which there are two seasons termed *akasa* and *ṛarat*. These two words as seasonal terms express the fact that rain and annual pastures in Air are recurrent events, as the word *akasa* literally means "green annual plants", and the word *ṛarat* refers to "dry annual plants". Both words are known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg but are by them not applied as seasonal terms, for in their country rain will not occur every year and may fall at most seasons. 132 805

Conditions for stock-breeding are very much better in Air than in Ahaggar, but the latter country has a few superior qualities:– 1) Part of the year Ahaggar has a comparatively cool climate which is said to have a positive influence on the lactation of domestic animals. 2) In Ahaggar all over the country there are saline pastures which play an important part in stock-breeding – not because these plants are very nourishing but the animals do not thrive without salt. In Air saline plants are very rare and found mainly to the south and south-west of the massif where water and soil also contain salt. Many pastoralists will migrate to these regions shortly after the rains, while people who do not undertake such migrations feed their domestic animals with salt. Camels and cows have a particular need for fodder with a salt content. 3) Ahaggar has richer wells and a greater number of permanent ponds than Air. This may seem rather peculiar as precipitation is much bigger in the south than in the north. In Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer some ponds may contain fish apparently unknown in Air. In the latter country there are a great many ponds or even small lakes during the rains but they dry out very quickly when rainfall ceases. Water in Air most of the year is drawn from wells many of which go dry during the hot season; this will frequently lead to quarrels between nomads. 233 [132] [135] [137] [221] 312 [136] [578]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



262 Even when grazing is good stock-breeding products are less important for food
[222] in Ahaggar than in Air as is illustrated in fig. 3 depicting the relative importance of milk food and vegetable food. A small part of the vegetable food is provided by collecting seeds of grasses and herbs, while roots, stems, and berries of wild plants are less significant. The bulk of Tuareg plant food consists of millet, barley, wheat,
[241] and dates. In Ahaggar many Tuareg have gardens with wheat and barley cultivated
[563] for them by black-skinned agriculturists generally known by the Arab word *Haratin* (*Izzegaren* to the Tuareg). But most Ahaggar Tuareg acquire the bulk of
438 their plant food from caravan trading with the oases of Tidikelt (dates) and with
262 Sudanese villages as far south as Zinder (millet). Even in years of drought they can obtain millet from the Sudan in exchange for rock-salt broken at Amadror north-east of Ahaggar. In Air caravan trading with salt seems less necessary to Tuareg subsistence, although there are also in this country Tuareg who trade with salt from Amadror or Bilma. Most pastoral households however have a fairly regular
[234] surplus of livestock, butter, and cheese which can provide for the necessary amount
[563] of millet bought in Agadez or south of the massif in Damergou. There are also
241 in Air a great many negroid agriculturists from whom pastoral Tuareg can buy
262 vegetable products. But millet, which forms the prominent part of Tuareg plant
[438] food, is grown to a very slight extent by the agriculturists of Air. Dates are important in particular to the Ahaggar Tuareg who acquire large quantities from the oases of Tidikelt. There are also a few Ahaggar clans the members of which own half-wild palms with dates of an inferior quality, as there are Tuareg who have a few palms growing in their garden plots. In Air dates are not so important for food but even there pastoral Tuareg may have some palms. Among the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer it is very common for pastoralists to sow wheat and barley in the river valleys when these have been heavily flooded (Nicolaisen 1954, p. 83, 88), and this primitive agricultural method was apparently known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg in the past (Duveyrier 1864, p. 372). More recently many pastoral Tuareg
[312] of Ahaggar and Air have taken up agriculture by means of irrigation. There seems
[221] to be a tendency towards semi-nomadism among the Tuareg who are very dependent on vegetable food derived from agriculture.

### *The Negroes Of The Sahara.*

136 In the above section on Tuareg ecology it is stated that Air climatically and botanically is closely linked with the Sudan. This is true also zoologically as the Air fauna contains a great many species of birds and mammals characteristic of tropical Africa. The bird life of Air seems very akin to that of the Sudanese savannah, and, for instance, guinea fowls are extremely common even in valleys of the northernmost parts of the massif. As examples of tropical mammal life in Air we may here mention that the wart-hog lives in Central Air, and that oryx antelopes

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 76]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 250. 614 [127] [162]

A clan is generally termed *tasusit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan-membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg. [196] [611]

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 13). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g., 621 596 [342]

1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season *(akasa)* and in the beginning of the following dry season *(ṛarat)* several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups. 221 361 621 [173]

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occured also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin – ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:– 582 614 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 13 |
| No blood-relationship between husband and wife | 8 |
| Marriages total | 38 |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



582 [778] Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it [581] results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally [605] cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

605 606 221 Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance between children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown, the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two outwardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in [184] the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

601 The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8)[1] which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and for certain matrilineal relatives. As clans, according to traditional rules, are groups 614 of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims the line of succession to be as follows:– 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Geres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims 614 that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that 643 this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

[1] [p. 102, categor 116.—Analyst]

361 /92 cont./ to the departure of the herds, to the means of
166 moving the old people and babies. The camp is hardly ready to move before nine in the morning, although the work has been in progress since sunrise. About three in the afternoon the caravan halts for the night; the animals must then be unloaded, the asabers must be put up, the meals prepared, the animals milked; and the next day everything begins over again.

There is one regular annual migration; when the wheat
166 and barley ripen in the gardens, it is April, and all the caravans
● 221 returned from the Sudan have stored their millet in silos --
361 then nearly all camps head for the agricultural centers. The goats are left in the desert in the care of the Negroes. Each little agricultural center /93/ then sees a gathering of the Tuareg, who come to supervise the harvest and live at the expense of the khammès, according to the provisions of the agricultural contract. This is a joyous period, and tendi and ilougan are held every day.

In connection with these migrations, it must be noted that the Tuareg do not act exactly according to the necessities of the climate: a dry period should logically lead to an exodus by the tribes toward Sudanese territory, where the herds would be better fed in virtually permanent pastures, and yet the tents and goats stay in the Ahaggar. Political reasons do not suffice to explain this contradiction between custom and the obligations of the climate. Perhaps this custom may be seen as the effect of long habit reinforced by sentimental factors. It is certain that away from the Ahaggar and their own territories of nomadization, the Tuareg are ill at ease; they show their delight on returning to their mountains. There is a saying that the Tuareg are great travelers but not great nomads; the essential reason for this remark is certainly the profound attachment they manifest for their soil, which seems incompatible with the nomad mentality.

361 /93 cont./ To sum up the migrations of the Kel Ahaggar,
166 let us say that they extend in a radius of about 100 kilometers,
221 within the tribal lands, but that the men may lead the herds, according to the times, toward pastures 1, 000 kilometers from the family camp, and that an annual series of caravans sees them cover 15° of latitude.

The harratin cultivators are only sedentary on occasion; each year there is a large human movement from one agricultural center to another. There are three reasons for this: the Tuareg, owners of the soil, are no longer able to furnish the hartani with enough seed or to fulfill the agricultural contract; water bwgins to be lacking in a center, or digging foggaras becomes impossible; lastly, the exhausted land needs rest. It is thus that, from one year to the next, an important, well-cultivated center may become /94/ insignificant and even deserted. It appears to be impossible to establish a cycle for these agricultural migrations.

## Tuareg Furnishings

352 Lightness and flexibility are the two essential qualities of
492 Tuareg furnishings. All of these objects must be transported on the backs of animals; weight, therefore, is the principal enemy; moreover, it is easier for the animals to carry loads capable of molding themselves against the animals' bodies.
415 Thus we find a whole assortment of sacks, chiefly leather ones, in the Tuareg equipment.

These sacks are tanned in such a way as to keep the leather very flexible; but the process employed is suitable only for extremely dry climates: transported to France, the Tuareg leathers seem to come alive again, they swell with humidity, then give off a disagreeable odor, and finally become unusable.

415 All of these sacks are decorated. Some are colored and
531 bear designs put on with dye or are decorated with tinted

*233 Each of the three vegetational zones of Ahaggar has its advantages and disadvantages. If we consider
824 a good year when rain has fallen abundantly with a resultant regeneration of all fodder plants, the
137 *Atakor* zone has very excellent pasture. For the plains and the stony mountain slopes are then entirely
132 covered with annual plants which by the Tuareg are considered the very best fodder. The Tuareg also
133 claim that the upper mountain zone is preferable because of its cooler climate, which has a beneficial influence on the lactation of domestic animals. The disadvantage of the *Atakor* zone is the lack of acacias to which can be added the scarcity of fuel. The *Tarayin* zone possess characteristics of the *Atakor* zone and of the *Abada* zone. The *Abada* country is botanically very different from *Atakor*. It has annual pastures of great value when abundant rainfall has been experimented and it also has valuable pastures of perennial plants. With heavy rain the *Abada* country is excellent for stock-breeding, and fuel can be found everywhere. But the Abada country is hotter than are the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

If rain falls abundantly all over Ahaggar there is good pasture in all three zones. But rainfall is more frequent and heavier at high altitudes than in the *Abada* zone, so that *Atakor* normally has by far the best pasture of annual plants which spring up late in summer or in autumn. The *Abada* zone on the other hand has the very best pasture of perennial plants, notably acacias that grow around the lower parts of the valleys which are always flooded when it rains in the high mountains.

●221 The fluctuations of plant development determine the nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg.
*233 A few tribes have their normal grazing grounds in *Atakor* (e.g., the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Kel Tazulet*).
824 They camp in this zone at most seasons to let their goats and sheep feed on fresh and dry annual pasture.
[132] In dry years and during the hot summer season they may move to the *Tarayin* zone where there are perennial fodder plants, but they rarely camp in the *Abada* country. Many tribes have their normal grazing grounds in the *Abada* zone (e.g., the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, the *Ayt Lowayen*, the *Ihryawen Hada*, and the *Kel Ṛela*), but move to the *Atakor* when annual pasture is good in this region. They live in
[342] *Atakor* with tents and flocks when annual plants are green, while the rest of the year they camp in the *Abada* country to let their animals feed on acacias and other perennial species. Finally there are two tribes (*Teġehé-n-Efis* and *Iklan-en-tawsit*), the members of which camp in the *Abada* country all the year round even when rich annual pasture is found in *Atakor*. However, members of these tribes may send their camel herds to the *Atakor* zone, accompanied by herdsmen, while tents and flocks remain in the lower country.

221 With the exception of a few noble households which keep up their old tradition to subsist largely
*233 on camel's milk, the Ahaggar Tuareg do not keep their she-camels in Ahaggar unless there are excellent
[565] pastures of annual plants in this area. They take their camels to pastures far away from Ahaggar,
[262] notably to the Tamesna region where they have their animals guarded by herdsmen who are frequently
[567] slaves. In very dry years there are very few camels in Ahaggar – just the animals needed for riding and transportation. It is in fact very easy to take camels to distant pastures, and it is most necessary to give these animals the utmost care as they are most valuable and their breeding is a very slow process
*233 (cf. p. 56). Goats do not need such excellent fodder as do camels. They can eat almost everything, but
731 in dry years goats may also suffer severely from lack of suitable fodder. This was the case in the year
[36] 1954/55 when I stayed in Ahnet and in Ahaggar. In the small camps of three to four tents each it was

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*233 normal every day to loose one or two goats which died of hunger. The goats were too thin to be mated,
231 and even in winter there was no milk, or so little, that it was all consumed by small children. In spite of these very severe conditions most Ahaggar Tuareg stayed in Ahaggar with their flocks which subsisted on dry perennial plants and annual plants that were two years old. Conditions were extremely bad in
●221 the region of Ahnet, and about half of the Ahnet Tuareg left their country to go southwards with
*233 their camps and goats, to the regions of Ti-n-zawaten. In severe drought periods some Tuareg may
231 move their camps far outside of Ahaggar, but even then most of them will remain in their native country for extensive goat migrations are difficult and cannot be realized without a loss of the meagre animals. Most Tuareg therefore prefer to remain and to avoid the strenuous journey connected with these migrations. They may loose many animals during a drought, but they know that sooner or later rainfall will occur so that pastures will regenerate quickly to let the animals grow fat to yield milk and to be mated. The increment of goats is extremely quick in comparison with that of camels.

*233 Stock-breeding conditions are on the whole not very favourable in Ahaggar, but pastoral Tuareg
231 of this region have developed an economic system which secures their existence even in very bad years of extreme drought.

137 In the introductory description of Tuareg environment it was stated that the Ayr Massif and the
*233 surrounding plains have far better possibilities of stock-breeding than Northern Tuareg countries. The broad river valleys of Ayr are very rich in persistent plants which also grow on slopes and in depressions outside the valleys, and the spring of annual pastures is an annually recurrent event. One
132 informant told me that there had not been any drought in the Agadez region throughout the many
*233 years the French had reigned over Ayr. At an unknown date in the past, it is said, a very severe drought persisted in the country for a period of seven years, and the Tuareg who had many goats and sheep fed these animals on charcoal. Since then rain has fallen every year and though more

*233

Fig. 96. Tuareg feeding his riding camel with boiled tea leaves which are considered excellent fodder for camels. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

*132 233 abundantly in one year than another there has always been rain enough to allow the annual pastures to spring up.

*233 824 In Ayr there are three species of trees or bushes which remain green all the year round, viz. *ébezgin* (*Salvadora persica*), *tadent* (*Boscia senegalensis*), and *turza* (*Calotropis procera*). They are extremely common, and the two first species play a certain role for fodder during the hot and dry summer season (*éwilen*), but dry annual plants then constitute the best fodder for all domestic animals. The annual plants comprise various species; around Agadez they are mainly grasses, but the small thorny seed-plant *ageruf* (*Tribulus terrester*) is also very important. These tender plants spring up shortly after the rains but they wither even before rainfall stops at the beginning of the *ɣarat* season. The perennial fodder plants are of little value in the hot season. The *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*), which is extremely common everywhere, germinates at the beginning of the rains and is dry and contains little nourishment in summer. Acacias form very important fodder-plants for camels and goats, but they are also of little value at this season when they defoliate. The two most important acacias are *afagag* (*ahser* in Ahaggar) (*Acacia Raddiana*) and *tamat* (*Acacia flava*). The *afagag* acacia germinates shortly after the first rains (*akasa*) and has its highest fodder value in the season of *ɣarat* when the fruit pods fall to the ground providing excellent fodder for all domestic animals. The *tamat*-acacia starts germinating somewhat later and its fruit pods, which are equally important for fodder, do not fall until the beginning of the season known as *tahsit*, at which period the fruit pods of the *agar* tree (*Maerua crassifolia*) also fall. For southern Ayr it can be said that grazing conditions are tolerably good most of the year. They are extremely good when annual plants are green during the period of *akasa*, and they are bad in summer (*éwilen*) when the lactation of domestic animals is low.

Grazing conditions within the Ayr Massif are much more favourable than in Ahaggar, but one thing is lacking:— There are very few saliferous plants. Thus, for instance, there are very few tamarisks (*temeyut* = *Tamarix aphylla*; *azawa* = *Tamarix gallica*), which are found only within limited areas of the Massif; species of *Salsola* are very rare, and the very important saliferous plant, known to the Northern Tuareg as *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*), is not found within the Massif. The Ayr Tuareg therefore have to feed their animals with salty earth which can be dug in certain parts of Ayr, or with Bilma salt, which plays an enormous part for most stock-breeders of Ayr and adjacent regions. The Ayr Tuareg cannot so easily take their flocks and herds to salt pastures as can the Northern Tuareg. But there is south and southwest of the Ayr Massif a narrow belt of salt-containing soil and water. This region is known to the Tuareg as *Azawaɣ* because of its particular reddish soil. With this particular type of soil, well water and pools will contain some salt, as do most plants, and many Tuareg of the Ayr Massif migrate to the *Azawaɣ* country at the end of the rains to allow their animals to benefit from the salt-content of the water and plants there. There is another reason why some Ayr Tuareg, who have their normal grazing areas within the Massif, migrate south and westwards into the plains, namely the appearance in these regions of a small annual plant known as *emchiken* (*Ipomoea verticillata*). The Ayr Tuareg consider it one of the very best fodder plants for camels, goats, and sheep, but claim it to be less valuable for cattle and donkeys. – At the end of the rains the Ayr Tuareg who migrate to the *Azawaɣ* country camp among pastoralists of different and distant regions. At this season most *Kel Geres* Tuareg migrate northwards to camp around Tegidda-n-edrar and Tegidda-n-

*233 317

221 824

221 *233 824

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



221 *233 824 tagayt, while the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* at this period will camp around Ingal. Many Southern Tuareg leave the savannah country to avoid its heavy rainfalls and stock-diseases to let their animals benefit from the salty water and plants in the *Azawaɣ* country.

133 162 137 In the country west of the Ayr Massif, the Tamesna Plains, there is in addition to the Ayr Tuareg a numerous population of Ahaggar Tuareg who live constantly in these regions. These plains are botanically different from the mountains. Perennial vegetation is scarce though there are some *tamat*-acacias (*Acacia flava*), but there is a very rich vegetation of annual plants of great importance to *233 824 domestic animals. Among these plants can be mentioned *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*), which is very valuable for camels and also good for sheep, *adreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tagellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). The two latter plants are valuable as fodder for all domestic animals. It is noteworthy that these three species of annual plants last longer than other annual species. They do not wither at the beginning of the *ɣarat*-season, but remain fresh and green all through the winter until about *tabsit*.

It is evident that Tuareg knowledge of botany is extremely comprehensive, and that they use this knowledge to make stock-breeding as rational as possible. They may perhaps not be so rational in protecting pastures, for they cut acacias' boughs to feed the kids resting in the camps, and it is most possible that they also overgraze certain pastures. However, the grazing grounds are very vast in comparison with the number of pastoralists, and I believe that overgrazing and arboreal devastation take place mainly around villages and towns where the flocks of sedentary people graze continuously in the same area. In Ahaggar the valuable fodder plants and plants which are important for collecting are often protected for two or three months in order that they may become fully developed (cf. p. 150, 179).

*233 The Tuareg take great care that their animals do not lack water. It is true that camels and also donkeys can do without water for many days even in summer, but at this season camels should preferably be watered every two or three days, and goats are always watered every two days when the weather is hot. In winter the animals are not watered so often, and this is true particularly if the animals feed on fresh annual plants. Camels can do without water even for weeks and months under such favourable

415 237 326

Fig. 97. The leather bucket known as *aḍu* to the Northern Tuareg. The leather is tied to an iron ring made by blacksmiths. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension of the iron ring: 0.275 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.51).

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*Sub-areas of the territory of the Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe

(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named Kel *Taṛhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Aṛefsa*)

| Tenants | Value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA ALATOKH, chief of the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé*, chief of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*, leader of the section *Kel Twes* | Cultivation grounds at Taṛhawhawt and I-n-dalaǧ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys for domestication | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, *khalifa* (leader) of the *Ikenkeren* section of the sub-tribe Kel *Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Collecting of wild seeds | 3 goats |
| ABERĠALI, *khalifa* of the *Kel Tarayin* section of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the *Kel Tarayin* section. No position as leader | Cultivation grounds at I-n-aǧriwal and I-n-dalaǧ. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys | 2 donkeys |
| DEYNI, chief of the *Kel Aṛefsa* sub-tribe forming only one section | No particular value | No land-rent |
| AKAWALI, chief of the *Isandan* sub-tribe and leader of the *Kel Afara-he hin* section | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| HANU, *khalifa* of the *Kel Aẓernen* section of the *Isandan* sub-tribe | Cultivation grounds at Tamanṛaset<br>In the past wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, *khalifa* of the *Ṛelayddin* now attached to the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe | *Khoseni* is in command of the *Ṛelayddin* territory to which all members of the *Ṛelayddin* have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the *Amenukal* | |

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzaṛ*, while a small camp is called *éṛéwen* or *tamezzaḳ*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100–200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *hereǧen* (or *amezzaṛ n hereǧen*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *aharaǧen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

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221 many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading.
[241] Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess
[423] irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*). Some goat-camps may move
their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date
[565] palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikechchemaden*) will also visit the oases
[245] of Silet and Tibeghin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting
these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are
* [233] harvested mainly by black-skinned *Ḥarratin* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most
Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar – mainly in Tamesna – and
the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

423 The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in
311 individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an
economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for
the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds,
or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied
614 the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*.
613 In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondance between sections and sub-areas in the
423 way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular
section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section
territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-
areas, and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants
(cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas
have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use
[428] these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a
maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are
[643] frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148–149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Ṛali* and
*Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual
land-rent paid to the *Amenukal*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel
Ṛela* drum-group.

423 For the land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) paid to the *Amenukal* the tenants obtain the following rights
422 over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

[224] (3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

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361 *akasa* period when there is green annual pasture, but the large camps have no co-operative functions
621 and no particular leader. The small camps join together to form big camps because their members are linked to each other by bonds of kinship, and consequently like to come together.

361 Most of the year the Ayr Tuareg live in very small camps around wells, and certain camps remain
221 on almost the same spot throughout the year. However, most camps move about in the *akasa* period, and later, at the end of the rains, many camps move southwards and westwards to the salt plains of Azawaq.

## DIVISION OF LABOUR IN STOCK-BREEDING

462 Before we consider other activities, we shall briefly describe the division of labour in stock-breeding according to sex.

462 In all Tuareg groups noble women do very little work. They engage in a few very esteemed crafts
565 such as embroidery, neat decoration of leather work, and in the north they cut ornamented milk-
[567] bowls from wood. The true domestic duties of a noble household are performed by slaves. This to some extent is also true of other social classes among the Northern Tuareg, while the Ayr Tuareg vassals have very few slaves nowadays. But even in vassal camps among the Northern Tuareg women have their duties and engage in all kinds of domestic work, also in stock-breeding. In the two groups
462 of Northern Tuareg the division of work in stock-breeding can be seen when one enters a tent of a
*233 342 vassal camp:—
[565] One half of the tent (the left part) is occupied by the woman and contains such implements as are connected with tanning, leather-work, cooking, butter- and cheese-making, and generally all implements connected with the breeding of goats, sheep, and donkeys. The other half of the tent (the right part), occupied by the husband, contains saddles and all other objects connected with camels. The tending of goats, sheep, and donkeys is the task of women, while camel-breeding is the business of men.

462 Before initiation Tuareg boys may be occupied with herding goats, sheep, and donkeys, but when
*233 they have adopted the veil they should preferably take care of camels only. There are, however, a
[857] few occasions where men engage in tasks connected with goats and donkeys:—

Goats like any other animal can be killed only by adult men, who also undertake the skinning and partition of the meat.

Castration of he-goats and rams may be done by men, but it is said that it is also performed by women.

When goats suffer from certain diseases they may in a few very special cases be taken care of by men. Thus when a goat has broken a leg and wooden splints are applied to the fracture this is generally performed by the husband of the household to which the animal belongs.

When goats and sheep are lost in the desert they may be searched for by men mounted on camels.

On the whole there are not many situations where the assistance of men is needed in tending goats and sheep, and most men have so little to do with goat-breeding that they do not know the exact meaning of many colour terms for goats.

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*ajako*. According to Foucauld a small annual edible plant growing in the Ahaggar Mountains at an altitude above 2000 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 712). Maire mentions this plant as unindentified (Maire 1933, p. 263).

Collecting is mainly the task of women, but males – particularly uninitiated boys and slaves – also participate. Seed-plants are generally harvested by rubbing the ears of the plants between the fingers, but the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle (*amreh*; Fig. 143 a–b) to be thrashed and winnowed like wheat and barley. Edible roots are frequently collected merely by hand. However, a digging stick (*élaweg*; Fig. 123) provided with an iron point is also used to dig up certain wild plants such as *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) and similar root plants. This digging stick is characteristic of vassal women who use it for many different purposes, e.g., to make holes for tent poles.

The very best among the above mentioned seed-plants is the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*). Its seeds are collected or harvested by certain Tuareg inhabiting the lower parts of Ahaggar, but are important particularly to the Tuareg living in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Within the Ahaggar Massif the most important seeds are those of *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). The right to collect these seeds is free to everybody, and Tuareg of the *Abada* zone may send their slaves to the *Atakor* zone to collect *tawit*-seeds in the mountain plateau of Asekrem. The species of *afezu* and *tawit* are sometimes protected by an ban on grazing for three and two months respectively in order that their seeds may grow ripe for collecting. The right to put a ban on grazing of the two species belongs to the Tuareg in whom territorial rights of a sub-area are vested (cf. p. 150). It is said that under very favourable conditions a single household may collect some hundred kilos of seeds of the two plants mentioned. This may seem rather impressive, but even in good years when milk is abundant collecting will not provide pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar with sufficient vegetable food, for seeds of wild plants are far less nourishing than are grains of wheat, barley, and millet. The collecting of wild plants important for food is as dependent on climatic conditions as is stock-breeding. In dry years, when domestic animals yield little or no milk at all, there will also be no wild seeds for collecting.

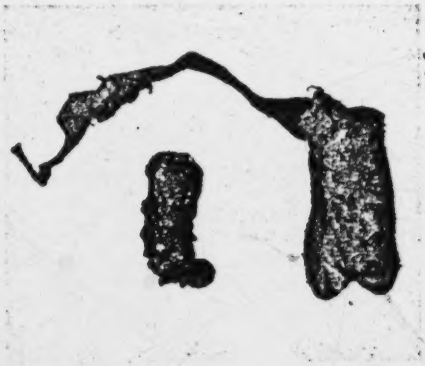

Fig. 127. Very small bag known as *élem* ("skin") made from a kid's scrotum (*tigassat*). The bag contains a piece of resin of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). This resin is eaten by the Tuareg as a remedy against stomachache. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the piece of resin: 0.07 m long. (F.M. 149a–b).

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a dish known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tdderka*. For this purpose the pounded seeds may also be mixed with pounded dum palm nuts. 222 262

*acheror* (*Sorghum virgatum*). A tall grass the seeds of which are swept together when fallen to the ground. They are used for porridge. 252

*agazagi*. Edible seeds of a grass. They are swept together when they have fallen to the ground, and are used for porridge.

*agedagedu*. Seeds of an annual plant. When they have fallen to the ground they are swept together by means of a straw bundle. They are pounded in a millet mortar to be eaten as *tdderka* without any further preparation.

*makokhiya* (*Corchorus tridens*). A plant growing in the bush though also grown in gardens. The leaves of this plant are dried and thereupon pounded in a millet mortar to be used as an admixture to porridge-sauce.

*abezey* (*Cassia tora*). Leaves of this plant are plucked with the hand, or, if the plant is dry, shaken into a plaited bowl. They are pounded and used as an admixture to porridge-sauce.

*kat'aket'i* (*Cistanche* sp.). It is said to be known as *achellewen* among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The edible roots of this plant are dug out with a stick. They are pounded and boiled for a kind of porridge.

*acheku* (*Glossonema Boveanum*). An annual plant with small lacteal fruit which is eaten as a relish without any preparation.

These are the plant species collected by the *Kel Ferwan* of Southern Ayr. It may happen that some of these plants are destroyed by locusts, but in most years there are excellent possibilities of collecting wild seeds. Most plants are collected late in summer after the rains (at the season of *farat*), or in winter (*tigrest*). It is said that in good years more than a thousand kilos of wild seeds can be collected by the members of a single household, but even this amount of wild seeds does not answer the need for vegetable products. Collecting is of secondary importance to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. Very few of the plant species mentioned are collected if there is abundant millet. The main exceptions are the plants used for sauce-admixture, and the *ichiben* seeds. The latter are collected even by Tuareg who have enough millet, because porridge made from these seeds is considered a very delicious dish. 222 [221] [433]

The two groups of Northern Tuareg and also the Tuareg of Ayr acquire their vegetable food products mainly from agriculture, which occupation will now briefly be described. 433

[text continues on p. 183]

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241 171 I, p. 424). Rodd thinks the implement seen by Barth was clearly an importation from the north (Rodd 1926a, p. 133), and Feilberg assumes that if the plough was once known in this southern area it might perhaps have disappeared together with shifting cultivation (Feilberg 1931, p. 200). All this may be so, for there has been much contact between Ayr and the regions of Fezzan and Tripolitania in the past. But Barth does not say that he saw a plough but "a kind of plough", which may perhaps point to a type of large hoe drawn by men like that described from Senegambia by Feilberg (cf. Feilberg 1931, p. 169 f.).

243 The plough is unknown in the extensive area inhabited by pastoral Tuareg but this is not so with a kind of shifting cultivation. Pastoral Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer sow wheat and barley along the river valleys when these have been heavily flooded. Sowing is then done in a very simple way:— Holes are dug into the sandy soil, usually merely with the hand, and a few seeds are put into these holes. Wheat and barley thus sown grow in tufts with a space of 0.30 to 0.50 metres between each, and there seem to be about fifty straws in a normal tuft – the largest tuft I have seen contained about 130 straws (cf. Figs. 128–129). The plots cultivated in this way are generally very small, and the scattered wild plants growing in the plot are not always removed before sowing. The corn plots are left completely to themselves until harvesting, which is done with a sickle (Fig. 143). Primitive corn growing of this type cannot be practised continuously from one year to another in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the Tuareg of that region say that a household never grows enough corn in this way to meet its annual needs. [178] The primitive method of corn growing without artificial irrigation is unknown in Ahaggar nowadays, but it seems as if it was known in the past (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 372), and the Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular term (*tawgest*) for a field cultivated without artificial irrigation (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1466).

Rodd states that rain-grown crops could be raised most years in certain parts of Ayr and that in earlier days a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way in Ayr (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). There is little doubt that this statement is correct, and I think that even in parts of Ahaggar millet could be raised without irrigation in most years, for millet has a very short period of growth. [221] In Ahaggar (at Abalessa) it is sown in June-July and is harvested in September. Though millet plots are irrigated they are never watered much, and never to the same extent as wheat and barley which are grown in winter. In regard to Ayr, millet in southern villages of the Massif very frequently ripens in two months, and late in summer, at the end of the rains (*akasa*) or in the early dry season (*rarat*). [252] I have frequently seen well-developed small plots of millet and sorghum around deserted Tuareg camps where a great many seeds are always lost on the ground during the pounding and winnowing of millet for porridge. These self-grown plots, however, are not utilized by the Tuareg as the comparatively [136] small yield is quickly eaten by the numerous millet-eating birds. Owing to these birds it would be difficult for pastoral Tuareg to grow cereals in flooded valleys like the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and it is partly for this very reason that the sedentary agriculturists of Ayr grow very little millet. Millet could easily be raised without artificial irrigation during the rains, and, in fact, millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation of Ayr.

245 In addition to the species of grain mentioned above there is one very important plant which can be grown without artificial irrigation, namely the date palm. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are river valleys

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Fig. 130. Semi-wild date palms in the canyon-like Aharhar valley of Tassilé-n-Ajjer. The palms are owned and harvested by pastoral Tuareg.

245 (Aharhar and Éherir) where "semi-wild" palms are abundant. These palms are owned by pastoral
[221] Tuareg of various tribes. Their dates are harvested in the autumn when Tuareg palm owners with
[342] their slaves live in straw-huts or huts covered with palm leaves situated among the palm trees.

Similar plantations of palm trees which are left to themselves most of the year are also found in
245 Ahaggar, notably at Silet-Tibeghin. Part of these palms are owned by members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe
423 (the sections of *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*) and by members of the very small tribe, the
[651] *Ikechchemaḍen*. The palm-owners give as an annual payment to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar one bunch
of dates from all palms which have more than two bunches. The yield of another part of the palms
[525] belongs to the vassal tribe *Iklan-en-tawsit* (the sections *Kel Silet* and *Kel Tahaḷṛa*). For usufructs,
[651] members of these two sections make a collective annual payments to the *Amenukal* comprising four
bags of dates, twenty goats, two ropes of goat's hair, and five water bags. The dates are harvested by
245 Tuareg of the above mentioned tribes in August-September. Harvesting is done with sickles and is
[221] finished in three to four weeks when the palm-owners return to their camps with dates packed in bags
[492] and loaded on donkeys and camels. In harvesting their dates most Tuareg are assisted by black-
[564] skinned agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaṛen*) of Abalessa who are given a certain amount of dates
[465] for their work. These agriculturists build the huts in which the palm-owners live during harvest (cf.
[463] p. 338 f.).

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[33]

Fig. 133. The large water basin (*ilhemt*) from which water is led into the gardens. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

(*teguhamt*, or *tahaft*) from which another canal (*tahaft*, or *teguhamt*) leads water out into the garden, which is always divided into a large number of garden beds (*igemmunen*, sing. *agemmun*) surrounded by low ridges and separated by narrow irrigation canals. The large water basin serves to regulate watering, which outside of the very cold season is done during the night. A flat stone with a hole in its middle and known as *anefif* is placed between the basin and the canal leading water into the garden; water for irrigating the garden flows through this hole when irrigation is needed at night, while the hole is closed by means of a cotton stopper during the day. The basin is thus filled with water during the day and its water runs into the garden at night (cf. Figs. 131–136).

243
[221] The irrigation systems described are most important for the cultivation of the winter crops of wheat and barley. The Tuareg word in Ahaggar for wheat is *éred* which is a collective name for several types of wheat known as *elkhamra*, *elmansuri*, *amekkawi*, *ṛati*, and *menga*. These special names seem to be derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1058, 1211 & IV, p. 1789; Maire 1933, I, p. 246). According to Maire these types of wheat belong to the species *Triticum aestivum*. I have never myself seen fully-grown wheat in Ahaggar and was thus unable to collect ears for identification by botanists, but seeds brought home from Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have been identified by Dr. Hans Helbaek as belonging to common bread wheat. Barley is known to the Tuareg as *timẓin*. Threshed seeds brought home from Ahaggar have been identified by Dr. Helbaek as belonging to the six-rowed type (*Hordeum vulgare*, though some, he thinks are perhaps of the two-rowed type (*H. distichum*). Barley, like wheat, is a winter crop though less common. At Abalessa I was told that two thirds of the seed-crops grown in winter were wheat, while only one third was barley.

[221] Wheat and barley are grown in the same way. Sowing is done in the autumn (*tober*), and the seeds are put into the garden beds with the fingers. Harvesting takes place in the month of April (*ibri*) and is performed with a sickle (Fig. 143). The growing of wheat and barley is a very strenuous task for irrigation agriculturists. Watering is done for the first time immediately after sowing. When I stayed at Abalessa, in the month of January 1955, the tender plants of wheat and barley were watered two days in succession, and the 10–12 gardens belonging to the same *foggara* were irrigated in succession
[132] in this way. At that time of the year the plots are not generally watered at night because of the cold temperature which may be below zero.

243 Wheat and barley grown in winter constitute the most important crops in Ahaggar, but, as mentioned, [262] the gardens are also cultivated at other seasons, and crops of millet and sorghum taken in summer are most important substistence for irrigation farmers in Ahaggar. Millet is known to the Tuareg as [171] *énélé*; it seems to be the same species as that so widely grown by African agriculturists of the savannah countries (*Pennisetum typhoideum*, or *P. Americanum*). Millet is sown in June-July and harvested in Sep- [221] tember, or in October. Little work is involved with the cultivation of this plant which is never watered [461] much (cf. p. 184), and the agriculturists do not carry fresh soil to the millet plots as they do to plots of wheat and barley. Species of sorghum are less important than millet. The common species is known as *abora* or *tafsut* (*Andropogon Sorghum*). Another species is known as *tallak*; it has smaller seeds than [386] the species just mentioned, and is grown mainly because of its stems, which are reduced to powder to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 182).

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Fig 135. Basket (*tésenit*) of the type used for transportation of fresh soil to old garden land. It is plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*afum*) and has handles of rope made from date palm bast (*asan*). Soil is also carried to gardens in larger baskets (*téferirt*, pl. *tiyrar*) loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m high, 0.35 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5285).

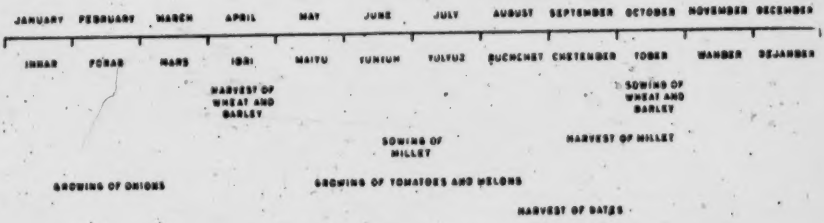


Fig. 139. Horticultural calendar from Ahaggar.

The Tuareg and the negroid agriculturists have a lunar calendar of twelve months corresponding to the Arab calendar, but a lunar calendar has no practical value for the indication of seasonal agricultural activities. The Julian Calendar is known to some people of Ahaggar as well as to other Berbers of the Sahara and the Atlas. Tuareg names of Julian months are given above. Very few people in Ahaggar know the exact beginning and the end of the twelve Julian months, but a few names are used as seasonal terms: *innar* "midwinter", *mars* = "beginning of spring", *ibri* "early harvest" (of wheat and barley), *maiyu* "beginning of summer", *tober* = "late harvest" (millet).

which no definite figures can be given, while the yield of fruit trees growing in the garden plot does not necessarily belong to the agriculturist. These trees frequently belong to pastoral Tuareg.

I think it can be estimated that an agricultural household with its own garden produce about a thousand kilos of vegetables food products annually for its private use. We can add that though the members of an agricultural household live mainly on vegetable food products they also acquire a certain amount of food from livestock, which normally comprises a few goats and sheep, and perhaps one or two zebus. Conditions of stock-breeding are not always favourable to people who live continuously on the same spot, but it is advantageous to the agriculturists of Ahaggar, who live close to valleys with some pasture, that they are able to feed their animals on green garden products when pasture is badly developed and thus avoid the disaster of a drought. It is also an advantage to most agriculturists that they do not have to water their animals which can drink freely from the irrigation canals. The agriculturists can kill a few goats or sheep annually, they obtain milk and a little butter to be used mainly as a sauce for bread and porridge, and they make cheese of the *awles* type (cf. p. 224), but they never make cheese from fresh milk as do many pastoral Tuareg when milk is abundant. The agriculturists also breed fowls and pigeons, and some of them have an important meat supply from hunting with steel-traps (hares, jackals, fennecs, and ravens). Collecting, on the other hand, is of little or no value to irrigation farmers of Ahaggar.

The economic position of agriculturists who work without any particular obligations towards pastoral Tuareg is tolerably good. It is less favourable to those who grow winter crops also on behalf of the Tuareg, as do most cultivators. Some of them irrigate the garden plot with water raised from wells by oxen which may belong to the cultivator or to the Tuareg. But most agriculturists who work for the pastoral Tuareg irrigate by means of *foggara*. It is very strenuous work to dig a *foggara* canal and co-operation is needed not only for this but also for the maintenance of the whole irrigation system. The gardens are individually tended by the agriculturists, who co-operate in the *foggara* work under the leadership of a headman known as *amṛar n efeli*, that is "chief of the *foggara*". This headman is

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*énélé*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
193 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers
[563] though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of
162 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isaweren*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
563 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
433 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
245 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
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Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
162 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula-
144 tion that subsisted on agriculture.
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[174]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



there will be one entirely dry year throughout, during which stock-breeding products have little or no value as food, and in such years of dry pasture there will also be very few wild plants to collect. Hunting, which plays little part for most Tuareg nowadays, is also of little value in an entirely dry year when many game animals die or migrate to other regions with more favourable pasture. It would seem obvious for pastoral Tuareg to do the same and to take their animals to grazing grounds outside of Ahaggar – particularly to the southern plains where pasture is normally better than in their own country. We have seen that most Ahaggar Tuareg in bad years have their she-camels far from Ahaggar in the Tamesna plains or in the country north of Adraf-n-Foras. We have also mentioned that, under very severe conditions, camps of Ahaggar and Ahnet may move to these southern regions with their flocks, though extensive goat-migrations are not always profitable. But most Tuareg remain in Ahaggar even in very dry years with their camps and flocks. Some of the animals will die, and none of them can be mated so that the flocks may rapidly decrease. During such years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg live so to speak exclusively on agricultural food products of which they get only a part from their gardens grown by sedentary agriculturists (the *Hurratin*, or *Izzegaren*). It is mainly through caravan trading that the Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their vegetable food products. Their two important trading expeditions to the Tidikelt oases and to the Sudan are carried out anually for the main purpose of acquiring dates and millet.

Trading with the Tidikelt oases (Awlef and In Salah) is based mainly upon a surplus of goats, camels, butter and cheese, and on dried meat. But many Tuareg who obtain large amounts of millet from the Sudanese trading expedition also sell part of their wheat grown in their own gardens in Ahaggar, and Sudanese articles bought during their south-bound trading expedition. In a dry year some Tuareg may choose not to visit the Tidikelt area as they have too small a surplus for trading. The south-bound caravans, on the other hand, are rarely prevented from going as their main trading object is rock-salt of an excellent quality mined at Amadror north-east of the Ahaggar Massif. Both north-bound and south-bound caravans will set off in autumn when the hottest season has come to an end, that is at the end of September or at the beginning of October.

The caravan route from Tamanraset in Ahaggar to In Salah in Tidikelt is about 750 kilometres, and the route is rather difficult because pasture is normally lacking for three to four days of the journey. Most Tuareg who cross this part of the desert therefore bring with them large supplies of the dried *tullult*-grass (*Aristida pungens*), which also serves as fodder for the pack-camels during the stay in the oases around which there is little pasture. The journey takes about twenty days in each direction, and the north-bound caravans return to Ahaggar again already in December or in January. The traders return with their camels loaded with dates of which a part may be re-sold in Ahaggar (Tamanraset), but they also buy European cotton and other European articles, which are cheaper in the north, and woollen blankets woven by sedentary people of the northern oases.

The south-bound caravans are very extensive. The towns visited in the south are Agadez, Tawa Tanut, and Zinder. The distance from Tamanraset to Zinder is, as the crow flies, about 1200 kilometres, while the distance from Tamanraset to Amadror, where salt is mined, is about 300 kilometres. In total the caravan journey from Ahaggar to Zinder and back again for many Tuareg amounts to more than 3000 kilometres. The south-bound caravans are organized as follows:— Slaves take the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 149. The market place of Agadez. In the front negroid Hausa men roasting small pieces of meat on a spit; in the background Tuareg camels offered for sale.

484 pack-camels to the salt pit of Amadror to mine salt in the hot season. They load the camels with salt
487 and bring them to the camp where further preparations for the journey are made. When the caravans
[317] have started southwards they stop in the Tamesna plains and rest there for at least one month to allow
[437] the pack-camels to feed on annual pasture, and, if necessary, to exchange the pack-camels with others kept by the Ahaggar Tuareg in Tamesna. Thereupon the caravan will continue towards the millet-
[221] growing towns and villages of the Sudan to bargain with the Hausa. The caravan returns to Ahaggar again at the end of March or at the beginning of April, so that the total duration of a south-bound caravan is up to six or seven months.

433 The Sudanese millet trade is of extreme value to the subsistence of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is partic-
439 ularly important to their economy that they obtain millet for non-nomadic products transported by camels, which are mainly bred outside of Ahaggar. The millet trade is consequently not much influenced by Ahaggar's changeable climate. According to official statistics, the Ahaggar caravans in 1946 exported 375 tons salt, and imported 720 tons millet, while the cereals grown in Ahaggar amounted to 197 tons (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). According to Galan vegetable food grown in the gardens of Ahaggar in 1950 (a bad year) amounted to 121 tons wheat, 5 tons millet and barley, and 4 tons of tomatoes – about 10 kg of wheat and 0.5 kg of millet, barley, and tomatoes per person (Galan 1951, p. 233). We see from this that the amount of cereals acquired in the Sudan far exceeds the amount
[416] grown in Ahaggar, and as we have mentioned, the millet trade is also important for the establishment of Tuareg agriculture in their own country where this cereal is used for payments to cultivators. It can also be added that the Sudanese caravan trade is more important to the Tuareg than appears from
[435] the figures above. For salt is much more valuable than millet, and for one load of salt the Tuareg receive from four to fifteen loads of millet – in 1946 the price was fifteen to one (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). It is evident that the Tuareg could not take all this millet back to Ahaggar. Most of it is re-sold

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Tuareg but also by the southern groups and by Arab pastoralists of the Sahara; it is also known in the Atlas, and is on the whole widely distributed in Northern Africa. This type of cheese is known to the Northern Tuareg as *takammart* and it is manufactured as follows:— Fresh milk is heated and then poured into a large wooden bowl (e.g., *taṛehut*) (Figs. 195a–b). The milk is curdled into a mass of cheese by means of a rennet (*akammar*) consisting of the abomasum of kids that have never tasted anything but milk. The curdled mass of cheese is pressed with the hands and with a piece of straw-mat (*éseber*) in order that the liquids may separate. The mass of cheese is formed into small rectangular pieces of cheese which are left on the little straw-mat for about one day. They are then removed to be dried finally on a platform (*tahaṭa*, *taṭalkat*) made of branches.

Cheese made from fresh milk is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tekemmart*; it is manufactured to very great extent and much in the same fashion as just described from Ahaggar. The abomasum of little kids or lambs to be used for rennet is named *tedeṛani*, and the Ayr Tuareg add parts of an annual plant known as *ekochmaren* (*Caralluma Mouretii*) in order that the milk may curdle quickly. The Ayr Tuareg also use little mats plaited from stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) to press and form the rectangular pieces of cheese; the Ayr Tuareg make mats (*ésebert*) (Fig. 168) particularly for this purpose, while the Ahaggar Tuareg generally use an old piece of a tent mat (*éseber*). In Ayr the rectangular pieces of cheese are dried on bunches of hay placed in trees (acacias), or on the top of the mat-covered tents.

The *takammart* or *tekemmart* type of cheese made from fresh milk is in high esteem as food among all pastoralists of the Sahara. It is generally eaten when newly-made and soft, though it may also be stored. The Ahaggar Tuareg make this type of cheese only when milk is plentiful, while the Ayr Tuareg manufacture it most of the year though the main season of cheese-making is the season of *akasa*.

Fig. 156. Skin bag of the *ámessley* type used to sour milk before churning. Ahaggar, the *Afuk-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.37 m high. (F.M. 170).

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Fig. 254. Cylindrical huts with conical roofs. The Fezzan area. Photograph by Dr. Erik Scidt, Copenhagen.

*342 Duveyrier states that in such fixed camps ("campements
544 de station") the noble Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer live in tents, while the vassals use straw-huts (Duveyrier
[341] 1864, p. 403). The Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer agreed that this was so in the past, but nowadays noble Tuareg and vassals alike prefer the straw-hut in summer because the leather tent is extremely hot at that season. Barth also states that many vassal Tuareg of the *Kel Ajjer* do not live in leather tents like the noble Tuareg, but in round, conical huts akin to those of Central Africa, and he says that many Tuareg of the *Ajjer* group have an intermediate position between sedentary and nomadic people (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257). Everything seems to indicate that the straw-huts (*ikebran*) used among the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer form the traditional dwelling of most vassal Tuareg, and it seems as if the round and conical *ikeber* type is of more ancient date with them than the square or rectangular type A.5.b.

*342 Cylindrical huts with a conical roof are used by the Tuareg who live in the Fezzan area, and they are also here somewhat mixed with the square or rectangular straw hut. This is stated by Despois who describes these dwellings in some detail (Despois 1946, p. 83 f.). A round hut with conical roof similar to the hut mentioned above from the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but having 16 forked sticks around the central post instead of 9, is described in detail by Scarin from the Tuareg of the Ṛadames region (Scarin 1934, I, p. 112 f., Fig. 90–94 & phot. 42).

In Ahaggar cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs are less common than in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. I have seen very few of them, and they seem to be of different origins as follows:—

[22] Huts akin to the round *ikeber* type described above from Tasilé-n-Ajjer were seen in the *Amenukal*'s camp close to the village of Abalessa, and the same type occurred at Silet where it was used by Tuareg pastoralists of the tribes *Iklan-en-tawsit*, *Ikechchemaḍen*, and *Dag Ṛali* during their stay at Silet to harvest dates. These latter huts were made from very thick poles of palm trunk and their construction was identical to that described from Tasilé-n-Ajjer above (cf. Fig. 253 a-b). The palm trunk poles were

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



1952, pl. II, 4; Desplagnes 1907, pl. CVI p. 396). Various pastoralists within the huge area of Tibesti, Borku, and Ennedi also use barrel-vaulted mat-covered tents. These are very different from Tuareg mat tents (cf. Biassuti 1933, Fig. 2, p. 173; Despois 1946, pl. XXII; Le Coeur 1937, p. 39 & 1950, p. 192, pl. XXVI, 99; Schiffers 1957, pl. IV; Kronenberg 1959, pl. III; Fuchs 1961, p. 18 ff., pl. IV). However, a mat tent described in detail by Chapelle has a structure which includes pronged sticks and horizontal bars (Chapelle 1957, p. 227 ff.), and a Tebu tent from Bilma now in the IFAN Museum at Niamey resembles the mat-covered Ayr tent in having two horizontal cross-bars at the narrow sides – each bar resting upon seven vertical pronged sticks. 342* 171

We presume that Tuareg mat tents constitute a very ancient and traditional type of dwelling, which, perhaps, was originally covered with mats of grass-stems (cf. p. 350 f.). We venture to advance this theory, the more so as other types of Tuareg tents less elaborate in their structures show very close affinities with the arched mat tent. Our theory, however, gives rise to one important question:— Is the elaborate structure of Tuareg mat tents well fitted to pastoral life? 342* [174] 182 342*

It is evident that some of the Tuareg, who live in mat tents, and notably the *Bélla*, are semi-nomads, and Capot-Rey says that "– – les populations qui l'ont adoptée ne se deplacent presque plus; – –" (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 222). This is not correct. Mat tents like that described in B.I.a. are used by true nomads, who move much during the rainy season to find the best annual pasture for their domestic animals. At that season many pastoralists move their camps of barrel-vaulted tents about once a week, and though some of them prefer to erect their tents according to the simple *tafala* method (cf. B.I.f., p. 356), most nomads will erect the tent in the ordinary fashion. It may be added that even the *Kel Geres* who come to Southern Ayr at the end of the rains have with them their mat tents which they erect correctly. There are, it is true, many Tuareg possessing mat tents who remain almost on the same spot throughout the year, but this is equally true of many Tuareg with skin tents. The mat tent is a true pastoral dwelling type. It is not very difficult to put up though it takes more time than does the erection of most skin tents. It is also not very difficult to transport the comparatively elaborate structure of normal mat tents. With few exceptions the pastoral *Kel Ayr* who live in and around the Massif use donkeys for tent transportation. The light tent mats are simply used as a kind of pack-saddle, being rolled up and placed over the back and along both sides of the pack-animal. The curved boughs and rods which form arches and semi-arches, and the comparatively few vertical sticks with the two cross-bars are tied up into parcels which are fastened over the mats at the animal's sides. I have frequently seen a tent, together with the very heavy wooden bed (*tédabut*) and various domestic utensils, being transported by two donkeys, and a normal tent can be transported by a single donkey without much difficulty. As a further indication of this I produce a photograph showing the movement of a camp comprising three ordinary tents, three wooden beds, and the necessary household implements and provisions, and it will be seen that all this is transported by six donkeys (cf. Fig. 266). On the whole, an ordinary mat tent is neither very difficult to erect, nor difficult to transport. It is more difficult to erect the mat tent than the skin tent, but skin tents very often constitute a heavier burden. The sheet of skin, or more correctly leather, is heavier than the covering of mats, and though it is true of many skin tents that they have a less elaborate structure than the mat tents, the former need a system of pegs and poles to fasten the sheet, and these have to be transported except where [221] 182 342* 492 [494] 182 342*

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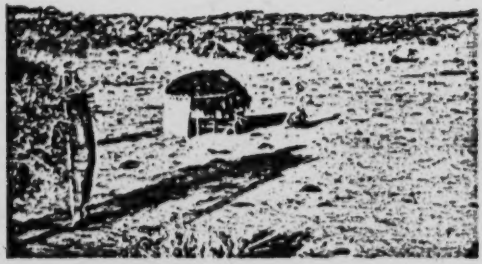

Fig. 270. An arched barrel-vaulted tent covered with a sheet of skin. In the background two arched mat tents. In the foreground to the left two cotton bows. Ayr, the *Kel Tédalé* tribe.

*342 true structure, and structurally there is a great diversity of tent types. It seems as if these tent structures can be divided into a few main groups which I shall describe in detail.

B.2.a. *Skin tents of arch construction.*

Tents which have one or more arches, generally placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction are widely found in Tuareg country. They are in fact more common than appears from the literature which has been so far published on Tuareg culture. The wide distribution of this particular structure in skin tents is interesting, the more so as it is related to the structure of mat tents. There are the following types of arch structures:—

B.2.a.1. This tent was seen in a camp of the *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg of North-western Ayr. It is known that skin tents are found among them (cf. Joubert 1939, p. 252 f.), but they have never been described. The Ayr Tuareg say that in the past many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* lived in skin tents which, however, are less common among them nowadays. This agrees with my own experience. I have visited several *Kel Tédalé* camps, but I have only seen the skin tent here mentioned. This was found in a camp of three tents, the two others being ordinary mat tents. The skin tent I saw in this camp was also of the normal structure used for mat tents in Ayr, though shorter. The lower part was partly covered, not by a mat plaited from dum palm leaves, but by an *afezu* mat.

[114] [361]

● [221] B.2.a.2. Under this heading I describe two identical tents seen in a camp of *Iregenaten* Tuareg who belong to the Ahaggar federation but have their traditional grazing grounds west of the Ayr Massif in the Tamesna Plains. The camp was actually situated in the region between Tegidda-n-tésemt and I-n-abanṛerit, where perennial vegetation is extremely scarce and mainly comprises scattered *tamat* acacias (*Acacia flava*). The camp visited had eight skin tents among which were the two of arch construction as follows:—

[361] [135]

[824] Both tents were very small, and their wooden structure was made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*). In the middle of the tent and at right angles to its longitudinal direction there was an

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To make up this deficiency in graminaceae, the Tuareg have recourse to products of gathering.

After a rain the captives and the Imrad women gather the seeds of certain plants which grow in the Ahaggar valleys. They are the afasso (Panicum turgidum F.) and the oulloul (Aristida pungens D.). But the size of the yield varies with the abundance of rain, and one may say that most of the time it is quite /233/ uncertain. This is not the case in the Sudan, where the Iklan gather whole bags of wild seeds, particularly cram-cram (Cenchrus echinatus), every year.

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[237 281 415 234]

Fig. 31. Little leather flask used as a butter container.

To be sure, there are a few wild berries in the Ahaggar, such as those from the jujube tree (Zizyphus lotus D.) and the téborak (Balanites aegyptiaca). In case of famine the Tuareg fall back on other seeds, such as those of the colocynth, the Acacia tortillis, etc. However, all these plants play only a secondary role in the Tuareg diet.

[731]

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The Tuareg have at their disposal milk from their camels, goats, and ewes. They drink it either whole or diluted with water, either fresh or sour.

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The luxury of drinking whole milk is reserved for young mothers and children. Adults generally drink fresh milk morning and

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234 to extract all the water, and then dry them on /235/ small screens placed in the branches of trees. It goes without saying that cheese making is very rare in the Ahaggar and that the Tuareg make it [438] particularly when they are nomadizing in the Sudan. Every year the Ihaggaren bring back large supplies of cheese from their stay in the Sudanese zone; these cheeses, dry as a bone, are either made by the Ihaggaren or bought from the southern tribes. They make 252 an important contribution to the Tuareg diet. These dry cheeses 262 are ground in a mortar and reduced to small fragments so that they have the consistency of flour. Then they are mixed with food, either in béchena gruel or in a drink of béchena flour and dates.

262 It might be supposed that meat plays a very large role in the Tuareg diet. But let us recall one of our old French proverbs which says that the shoemaker is always the worst shod. We could apply this adage to herders, who perhaps eat less meat than anyone else. A herder has animals for the use of their products, but he very seldom eats them, for each butchering is a loss of capital.

Indeed, the Tuareg kill their animals only under very unusual [233] circumstances, especially at the time of religious and family festivals. These killings recall somewhat the religious meaning of sacrifices. This does not mean that they do not like meat, for when they raid a rival camp, they hasten to make drastic inroads on the smaller livestock and eat until they are about to burst.

224 Hunting furnishes them a little additional meat. Each year 262 they kill a certain number of gazelles and wild sheep, eating part of the meat fresh and drying the rest to keep it on hand.

[251] They capture star lizards (Uromastix acanthinurus), jerboas, 222 gondi (Ctenodactylus sp.), sometimes even jackals and hares. We 262 can add to their meat diet grasshoppers (Shistocerca gregaria), [324] which they grill in the embers and then dry in order to pulverize [252] them. All Saharian nomads are very fond of grasshoppers, and since remotest antiquity some North African tribes are supposed to

222 have made them the base of their diet; for this reason they were
262 nicknamed acridophages. The Nasamonians of Herodotus prepared them in the same way the Tuareg do, and the /236/ similar diets of the two peoples is perhaps not pure coincidence.

There are a few fish ponds in the Ahaggar, but the Imochar
226 and the Imrad do not eat the flesh of these animals; only the
262 Issekkemâren catch barbels and sometimes catfish, or rather they gather them up in the wadis after floods, for they do not know how to fish, properly speaking.

The sedentary peoples raise chickens, but the Tuareg do not
262 eat them either, since they consider the meat impure. The same interdict is extended to eggs. The only bird which is an exception is the ostrich. There are no longer any ostriches in the Sahara, but
[223] when the Ihaggaren go to the Sudan they capture them if they have the chance; in addition, they eat ostrich eggs cooked in the ashes.

Times of scarcity were sometimes experienced. They are rare
262 now that caravans can circulate freely, but they were much more
731 frequent when the state of war continued for a long time. The
224 Tuareg fell back on wild plants which do not generally enter into their diet: the young growths of tahlé (Typha elephantina), the
[824] leaves of the tanekfit (Eruca aurea) and the aramas (Atriplex halimus), the underground stems of the danoun (Cistanche lutea) which resembles asparagus, and many other plants of very dubious food value, which they ate to assuage their hunger. The state of famine can
[252] become so pronounced that they sometimes gather up old bones, grind them up, reduce them to flour, and make gruels of them. It
[579] goes without saying that it is during these periods that pillaging is at its height. People steal from camp to camp, from tribe to tribe, and everyone forgets his brother and his friend, thinking of only one thing -- survival by any means.

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The nobles eat better, at least those who are well-to-do. In the Ahaggar especially they own cultivated land in the "ar'erems" (villages), where they grow wheat, "ired," barley, "timzin," and bechna, "inelli"; but usually they sell their

[137]

Dautheville

Trees Called "Ahatés" (Acacia Albida) at the Tillemas of the Tessht Wadí (Koudia).

wheat and barley to the natives of the Tidikelt and are content with bechna, of which they are very fond. They claim that [824] bechna is less heating to the stomach than wheat or barley.

The rich allow themselves the luxury of drinking tea, but tea and sugar are very expensive, and they do not misuse them. On the other hand, they do not hesitate to beg for them shamelessly.

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When the year is bad anything seems good to the poor to assure their subsistence. In such years one sees them eating /30/ "berdi," or "taheli," (Typha angustifolia, Typhaceae); ground carob seeds of "talhas," or gum trees, which they call "tahaha" ; "tanékfaït (Diplotaxis duveyrierana, Cruciferae); fruit of the "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica), which they steep to take out the bitterness; and even leaves of the "aremmas" (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae), which they boil.

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In short, nature keeps food resources for them which prevents even the poorest from dying of hunger.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar
Air



262 Even when grazing is good stock-breeding products are less important for food
[222] in Ahaggar than in Air as is illustrated in fig. 3 depicting the relative importance of milk food and vegetable food. A small part of the vegetable food is provided by collecting seeds of grasses and herbs, while roots, stems, and berries of wild plants are less significant. The bulk of Tuareg plant food consists of millet, barley, wheat,
[241] and dates. In Ahaggar many Tuareg have gardens with wheat and barley cultivated
[563] for them by black-skinned agriculturists generally known by the Arab word
438 *Haratin* (*Izzegaren* to the Tuareg). But most Ahaggar Tuareg acquire the bulk of their plant food from caravan trading with the oases of Tidikelt (dates) and with
262 Sudanese villages as far south as Zinder (millet). Even in years of drought they can obtain millet from the Sudan in exchange for rock-salt broken at Amadror north-east of Ahaggar. In Air caravan trading with salt seems less necessary to Tuareg subsistence, although there are also in this country Tuareg who trade with salt from Amadror or Bilma. Most pastoral households however have a fairly regular
[234] surplus of livestock, butter, and cheese which can provide for the necessary amount
[563] of millet bought in Agadez or south of the massif in Damergou. There are also
241 in Air a great many negroid agriculturists from whom pastoral Tuareg can buy
262 vegetable products. But millet, which forms the prominent part of Tuareg plant
[438] food, is grown to a very slight extent by the agriculturists of Air. Dates are important in particular to the Ahaggar Tuareg who acquire large quantities from the oases of Tidikelt. There are also a few Ahaggar clans the members of which own half-wild palms with dates of an inferior quality, as there are Tuareg who have a few palms growing in their garden plots. In Air dates are not so important for food but even there pastoral Tuareg may have some palms. Among the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer it is very common for pastoralists to sow wheat and barley in the river valleys when these have been heavily flooded (Nicolaisen 1954, p. 83, 88), and this primitive agricultural method was apparently known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg in the past (Duveyrier 1864, p. 372). More recently many pastoral Tuareg
[312] of Ahaggar and Air have taken up agriculture by means of irrigation. There seems
[221] to be a tendency towards semi-nomadism among the Tuareg who are very dependent on vegetable food derived from agriculture.

### *The Negroes Of The Sahara.*

136 In the above section on Tuareg ecology it is stated that Air climatically and botanically is closely linked with the Sudan. This is true also zoologically as the Air fauna contains a great many species of birds and mammals characteristic of tropical Africa. The bird life of Air seems very akin to that of the Sudanese savannah, and, for instance, guinea fowls are extremely common even in valleys of the northernmost parts of the massif. As examples of tropical mammal life in Air we may here mention that the wart-hog lives in Central Air, and that oryx antelopes

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 76]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1955, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Rali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent *(ehare-n-amerdal)* paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:–

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. – Foley 1930, p. 43f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Rali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatos.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



133

Fig. 117. Fishing pool (*aṭelmam*) in Tasilé-n-Aijer.

136 sunset. There are wild pigeons by the thousand and innumerable flocks of guinea fowls and partridges (*Alectoris* sp.). Two species of turtle-dove are almost as common in Ayr as is the sparrow in Europe.

224 Possibilities of hunting are much more favourable in Ayr than in Northern Tuareg countries, yet, [411] nevertheless, the Ayr Tuareg engage even less in hunting than do the Ahaggar Tuareg. One reason for this is perhaps that very few Ayr Tuareg possess guns. It is extremely rare to meet hunters in Ayr.

224 They are found mainly within one tribe, namely that of *Imedderaren* (or *Kel Tamgak*) living in the 433 Tamgak Mountains of Northern Ayr. I have myself never visited camps of these people, but all Tuareg [719] agree that they live largely as hunters and possess few domestic animals. Unfortunately, these people have never been studied in detail. Buchanan, who met a hunting band of these Tuareg in 1920, says [222] that they have neither goats nor grain, but live by hunting and the collection of wild edible plants (Buchanan 1921, p. 191), while Campbell, who met them at Iferwan in 1926, describes them as hunters who also breed goats and sheep (Campbell 1928, p. 204 f.). Rodd also states that the *Kel Tamgak* have goats and sheep, but that they do not possess camels (Rodd 1926a, p. 307). This is in agreement with information gathered by myself at Iferwan where I met a few Tuareg of this group. There are 224 no Ayr Tuareg who live exclusively by hunting and collecting. The number of game animals killed

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 123. Digging stick (*ɛlaweɣ*) which serves to dig up wild edible roots and other purposes. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.883 m (total length). (N.M. G. 5252).

Fig. 124. The wild plant *ihahelewen* (sing. *ahahel*) (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) which yields edible roots esteemed for food (bread). Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

Fig. 125. Skin bag of the *téchchékwat* type made from the skin of a kid and containing *adamam* berries (*Osyris alba*). The berries are normally eaten fresh, but are also conserved in skin bags to be eaten later after soaking in water. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension of the skin bag: 0.33 m. (N.M. G. 5244).

# Collecting

In this chapter on collecting such edible plants are mentioned as play a part in Tuareg nourishment. 222
Wild plants are also collected for other purposes. Many species are important to craft or have a medicinal 824
value. Some of these latter species are mentioned elsewhere in this study.

## EDIBLE PLANTS OF THE AHAGGAR AREA

Wild plants which yield edible fruits, seeds, stems, or roots in Ahaggar comprise more than fifty 222
different species. But the importance of collecting should not be judged from this, as all these plants 262
are never found within the same area, and most are eaten only occasionally as a kind of relish or when
agricultural food (wheat, barley, millet, dates) is lacking. I have supplemented my own list of edible 114
plants with important information from Maire's study of Ahaggar botany (Maire 1933 & 1940). In
my list the letters Tr., L.M., and U.M. stand for Maire's botanical zones, namely the Tropical Zone, 137
the Lower Mediterranean Zone, and the Upper Mediterranean Zone. The following edible plants
are collected in Ahaggar and adjacent regions:—

*tirfas* (sing. *tarfest*) (*Terfezia ovalispora*). Tr., L.M. A fungus which, according to Maire, lives on 222
the roots of *Helianthemum Lippii* & *H. ellipticum* known to the Tuareg of Ahaggar as *urruǵ* (Maire 262
1933, p. 22, 159 et suiv.). This white fungus, which is frequently termed *tirfas n urruǵ* by the Tuareg, 252
is prepared for eating together with various other dishes. It is frequently added to the so-called kus-kus.

*tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*) Tr. Roots and certain lower parts of the stem are eaten raw or boiled. When vegetable food is scarce they are also pounded or ground into flour.

*akeywoḍ* (*Typha australis*) Tr., L.M. Roots of this plant are ground into flour.

*téseñgelt* (*Saccharum Ravennae*). Tr., L.M. "Cette plante ... laisse très souvent exsuder un liquide sucré qui se concrète en masses plus ou moins cristallisées; les Tuareg utilisent ce sucre" (Maire 1933, p. 54).

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). Tr. A perennial grass extremely common in the lower valleys of Ahaggar. Seeds are collected in receptacles (e.g., *ahaga*, Fig. 213) by beating the ears of the grass with a stick. The seeds are not suitable for bread, but are esteemed for porridge and *tébik*, that is seeds pounded in the mortar and eaten without further preparation. Ashes of this grass contain soda and are often 276
mixed with tobacco for chewing.

[p. 175]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



●222 *aremmud* (*Aristida plumosa & A. Adscensionis*). Tr. Seeds are edible.

262 *tullult* (*Aristida pungens*). Tr. A perennial grass found in certain parts of Ahaggar and particularly
252 common further north (Ahnet, Immidir) and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Seeds are collected by men and women in the following manner:— The ears are cut with a sickle and placed in a piece of cotton (e.g., a cotton blanket known as *abror*). The ears are left for drying, and threshing is done by beating with a stick. The husks are winnowed as described for wheat and barley (cf. p. 206), and seeds are then stocked in *aǧera* (a skin-bag). According to Foucauld collecting may also be done by digging out the nests of ants as these small insects stock a great many *tullult* seeds (Foucauld 1922, p. 29 f.). – The *tullult* seeds
[412] are used for bread and porridge, and are also eaten as *tébik* after pounding in a wooden [illegible]let mortar.

*lewliwen* (*Scirpus maritimus*). An annual plant having edible fruit in its roots (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1098).

*taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*). Tr., L.M. Young shoots are edible.

*izéyan* (*Asphodelus tenuifolius*). Tr., L.M. Eaten when vegetable food is scarce.

*telokat* (*Ficus salicifolia*). Tr. "Les fruits murs, de couleur rouge, sont tendres, un peu sucrés et comestibles" (Maire 1933, p. 76).

[574] *adamam* (*Osyris alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Its red fruits or berries are eaten as a relish. A bowl of berries is frequently offered to guests of Tuareg camps.

*tanesmimt* (*Rumex vesicarius & R. roseus*). Tr. Inedible according to Foucauld (Foucauld 1922, p. 85), while Foley states that leaves of this plant are eaten after boiling (Foley 1930, p. 42).

*tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual herb which is particularly common in the mountain of Asekrem. The small black seeds are collected in bowls or similar receptacles by rubbing the plants with the fingers. The seeds are ground into flour, which is very suitable for bread and porridge.

*aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*). Tr., L.M., U.M. Seeds and boiled leaves of this plant are eaten when vegetable food is very scarce.

*ébedébed* (*Boerhavia agglutinans & B. repens*). Tr. An annual plant with edible seeds.

*éhéyefyef* (*Aizoon canariense*). An annual plant resembling the *twuit* plant and particularly common in the upper mountain zone. Seeds are used for bread and *tébik*, but not for porridge.

*aǧar* (*Maerua crassifolia*). Tr., (L.M.). A tree yielding edible fruit.

*tadant* (*Boscia senegalensis*). A tree or bush which is extremely rare in Ahaggar where its edible fruit are consequently consumed very rarely.

*aggasit* (*Farsetia Hamiltonii*). Tr., L.M. A seed-plant.

*aherera* (*Alyssum libycum*). An annual plant which is rare in Ahaggar, while common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Eaten after boiling in water.

*azezzeǧa* (*Diplotaxis acris*). The plant is rare in Ahaggar. Its leaves are boiled and eaten.

*tanekfayt* (*Eruca sativa*). Tr., L.M. Leaves are eaten raw or boiled.

*tamaghé* (*Moricandia arvensis*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual plant – a kind of wild cabbage.

*ahwat* (*Schouwia purpurea*). Tr. An annual plant. "Les Touareg mangent la feuille cuite et essorée, sans sel. La plante jeune donne une salade assez analogue à la Roquette, quoique d'un goût moins agréable" (Maire 1933, p. 111).

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*abellengad* (*Reseda villosa*). Tr., L.M., U.M. Seeds of this plant are edible, but of bad taste – according to Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 65. 222 262

*abser* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Tr., (L.M.). Fruits are collected mainly for goat fodder, but are eaten by human beings when vegetable food is scarce. The fruit is then crushed into flour. The resin of this acacia is also edible. 252

*tamat* (*Acacia seyal*). Tr. The resin (*taynwst*) is edible. I believe it is used mainly as a remedy against stomachache. This is perhaps also true of the resin of the *abser*-acacia mentioned above. [757]

*ahtes* (*Acacia albida*). Tr., L.M. "La gousse est même comestible pour l'homme" (Maire 1933, p. 120).

*ténefé* (*Tephrosia leptostachya*). Tr. "Les Touareg mélangent cette plante desséchée au thé vert" (Maire 1933, p. 125). [272]

*lagul* (*Alhagi maurorum*). Unknown in Ahaggar, but found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. "Les racines tuberisées sont mangées par les indigènes (Killian)" (Maire 1933, p. 131).

*alora* (*Peganum Harmala*). Tr., L.M., U.M. An annual seed-plant. Seeds are used for *tébik*.

*taburak* (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruits which are macerated in water to remove the bitter taste.

*tedjoq* (spelling according to Maire 1933, p. 241) (*Pistacia atlantica*). L.M. Very rare according to Maire (1933, p. 148). According to my own observations the fruit of this tree is eaten by Arab pastoralists (e.g., *Ulad Nail*) of the so-called *daya* region south of the Sahara Atlas. It is possible that it is also eaten by the Tuareg. [171]

*tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruit.

*téhak* (*Salvadora persica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

*tabakat* (*Ziziphus lotus* var. *Saharae*). Tr. The berries are crushed and mixed with millet flour.

*azawa* (*Tamarix gallica*). Tr., L.M. "La manne produits par ces arbres est receuillié par les indigènes qui l'emploient comme matière sucrante. (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 156).

*tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*). Tr. "Les rameaux mannifères sont employés pour sucrer l'eau" (Maire 1933, p. 159). [263]

*tafeltast* (*Myrtus Nivellii*). (Tr.), L.M. "Les rameaux de ce Myrte sont récoltés par les Touareg, desséchés et exportés par sac entiers au Soudan et au Mzab, avec *l'Artemisia judaica* ssp. *sahariensis*. Ces deux plantes sont utilisées comme médicaments et comme condiments" (Maire 1933, p. 162). [439] [752] [263]

*awkal* (*Cynomorium coccineum*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots which are dried and ground into flour (cf. Maire 1933, p. 163).

*aséyar* (*Anethum graveolens*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual plant. Its seeds are used as a spice and for adding to tea. [272]

*takmezzut* (*Teucrium Polium*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant used for adding to tea.

*élel* (*Nerium Oleander*). Tr., L.M. This plant is extremely venomous particularly so for camels, which die from eating its leaves. "La cendre de bois de *Nerium* est employée par les femmes du Tidikelt pour se faire engraisser. A cet effet elles mélangent un peu de cette cendre avec des dattes pilées et du beurre, puis absorbent ce mélange dans du leben" (Maire 1933, p. 170). [261]

*arellachchem* (*Solenostemma oleifolium*). Tr. A perennial plant. Its leaves are used as a substitute for tea. [272]

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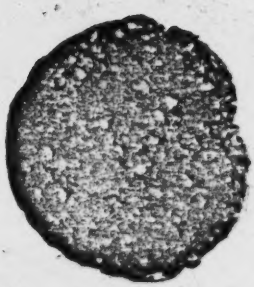

Fig. 126. A cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries (*Osyris alba*). The fresh berries are pounded in the large mortar (*tindé*) or are crushed between two stones to be formed into pieces of cheese form to be dried. This cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries is used by Tuareg women as a kind of face ointment against sun burn, pimples, and the like. They apply this ointment to the face as follows:— A little milk is poured upon a stone, the cheese-like mass of berries is rubbed against it, and the mixture of milk and berries is thereupon rubbed into the skin of the face with the fingers. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.075 m. (N.M. G. 5279a).

222
262 *enag* (*Leptadenia pyrotechnica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

[272] *tañhart* (*Mentha longifolia*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

*awit*, generally known by the collective name *awihat* (*Salvia Chudaei*). Tr., (L.M.). An annual plant used as an aromatic for tea.

[824] [682] *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*). Tr. This plant is extremely venomous for human beings, though not for animals. In the past it was used by the Tuareg as a poison for enemies. Members of La Mission Flatters (1880–81) were poisoned by the Tuareg using poison of this plant inserted into dates presented to the expedition. "La plante, absorbée à petite dose, aurait la propriété de faire [261] engraisser. Les femmes du Tidikelt l'emploient dans ce but, en en faisant cuire une petite quantité dans de l'eau avec de la farine et de la graisse; elles laissent réduire et absorbent la bouillie obtenue, puis se couvrent pour transpirer (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 192).

222 *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots. After drying the roots are
262 pounded in a large millet mortar to be used for bread which is much esteemed by the Tuareg. "Cette
252 plante est recoltée jeune par les indigènes, puis placée dans le sable sous une couche de *drinn* (*Aristida pungens*) jusqu'à noircissement et dessication. Le produit sec est moulu et utilisé dans l'alimentation (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 196).

*éfetekchi* (*Orobanche aegyptiaca* & *O. cernua*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots.

*tamzellit* (*Orobanche sp.*). Tr. Very rare. A plant yielding edible roots.

*tegellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). Tr. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

*alked* (*Cucumis pustulatus*). Tr. Rare. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

[263] *takkilt* (*Cotula cinerea*). Tr. "Les Touareg utilisent cette plante comme condiment, principalement pour la viande qui commence à se gâter" (Maire 1933, p. 209).

[439] *téhereggelé* (*Artemisia judaica* ssp. *sahariensis*). Tr., (L.M.). "Cette plante, comme le *Myrtus Nivellei*, est récoltée en grande quantité, séchée et exportée au Soudan, où elle est employée comme aromate et condiment" (Maire 1933, p. 212).

[272] *zézzeré* (*Artemisia herba alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*ajako*. According to Foucauld a small annual edible plant growing in the Ahaggar Mountains at an altitude above 2000 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 712). Maire mentions this plant as unindentified (Maire 1933, p. 263).

Collecting is mainly the task of women, but males – particularly uninitiated boys and slaves – also participate. Seed-plants are generally harvested by rubbing the ears of the plants between the fingers, but the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle (*amreh*; Fig. 143 a–b) to be thrashed and winnowed like wheat and barley. Edible roots are frequently collected merely by hand. However, a digging stick (*élaweg*; Fig. 123) provided with an iron point is also used to dig up certain wild plants such as *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) and similar root plants. This digging stick is characteristic of vassal women who use it for many different purposes, e.g., to make holes for tent poles.

The very best among the above mentioned seed-plants is the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*). Its seeds are collected or harvested by certain Tuareg inhabiting the lower parts of Ahaggar, but are important particularly to the Tuareg living in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Within the Ahaggar Massif the most important seeds are those of *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). The right to collect these seeds is free to everybody, and Tuareg of the *Abada* zone may send their slaves to the *Atakor* zone to collect *tawit*-seeds in the mountain plateau of Asekrem. The species of *afezu* and *tawit* are sometimes protected by an ban on grazing for three and two months respectively in order that their seeds may grow ripe for collecting. The right to put a ban on grazing of the two species belongs to the Tuareg in whom territorial rights of a sub-area are vested (cf. p. 150). It is said that under very favourable conditions a single household may collect some hundred kilos of seeds of the two plants mentioned. This may seem rather impressive, but even in good years when milk is abundant collecting will not provide pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar with sufficient vegetable food, for seeds of wild plants are far less nourishing than are grains of wheat, barley, and millet. The collecting of wild plants important for food is as dependent on climatic conditions as is stock-breeding. In dry years, when domestic animals yield little or no milk at all, there will also be no wild seeds for collecting.

Fig. 127. Very small bag known as *élem* ("skin") made from a kid's scrotum (*tigassati*). The bag contains a piece of resin of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). This resin is eaten by the Tuareg as a remedy against stomachache. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the piece of resin: 0.07 m long. (F.M. 149a–b).

222 Even in good years it may happen that edible seed-plants are eaten by locusts before they become
[134] ripe for collecting. Collecting is of secondary importance to the Tuareg of Ahaggar though to most
[433] pastoralists it is more important than hunting.

## AYR

134 We have seen that Ayr has better grazing grounds and more game than Ahaggar, and it is only
137 natural that this southern area is also a more favourable one for the collecting of wild plants. Never-
222 theless, it seems as if collecting is not so important to the Ayr Tuareg who have more livestock for
[433] which millet and wheat can be obtained without much difficulty. The number of edible plants utilized in Ayr is probably a very large one. Thus it is said that certain *Kel Ewey* Tuareg collect many different plants, but my inquiries into the methods and the value of collecting were limited to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group of Southern Ayr where the following species are collected for food: —

222 *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Pods of this acacia are dried and, after pounding in a large millet mortar,
262 mixed with milk to be eaten or drunk like the Tuareg dish known as *arejira* (cf. p. 245 f.).

252 *ebezgin* (*Salvadora persica*). Fruit is eaten without any preparation.

*tadent* (*Boscia senegalensis*). Berries are pounded in the millet mortar to obtain the limpid juice which is added to porridge.

[824] *tagayt* (*Hyphaene thebaica*). The dum palm, which is of extreme importance for the handicraft of the Ayr Tuareg, is also valuable as food. The young nuts are opened with a knife and the kernels are eaten. The old nuts have an edible outer coating which is eaten by children and even by adults when they are hungry. These old nuts are also pounded in the millet mortar together with seeds of *ageruf*, cf. below.

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). This perennial grass is very abundant all over Ayr. Collecting of its seeds is done by rubbing the ears of the grass between the hands to allow the seeds to fall into a plaited bowl. Seeds are pounded in a millet mortar to be used for porridge.

*ichiben*, that is seeds of an annual grass – apparently identical with *Panicum longiflorum* and/or *P. spinosa*. The seeds are collected in two different ways: – (1) If the ripe seeds have fallen to the ground they are swept together with a bunch of straw. (2) The ears are cut with a knife to be threshed by pounding in a millet mortar. The seeds are highly esteemed, being collected to a greater extent than seeds of other wild plants. The seeds are used particularly for porridge, but also for certain other dishes such as *arejira* (cf. p. 245 f.).

*ijit* (*Eragrostis* ssp.). A grass yielding red seeds collected in the following way: – The ears are beaten with the hands so that the seeds fall into a plaited bowl. The seeds are used only for porridge.

*wajeg* (*Cenchrus catharticus* & *C. Pricuri*). Annual seed-plants with thorny seeds. The dry plants are beaten with a stick and the fallen seeds are collected in a heap to be threshed with a stick. The seeds are pounded in a millet mortar for porridge.

*ageruf* (*Tribulus terrester*). An annual plant with thorny seeds which are collected as just described for the *wajeg* plants. The seeds are pounded in a millet mortar to be eaten without further preparation.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



a dish known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tiderka*. For this purpose the pounded seeds may also be mixed with pounded dum palm nuts. 222 262

*ucherur* (*Sorghum virgatum*). A tall grass the seeds of which are swept together when fallen to the ground. They are used for porridge. 252

*agazagi*. Edible seeds of a grass. They are swept together when they have fallen to the ground, and are used for porridge.

*agrshgedu*. Seeds of an annual plant. When they have fallen to the ground they are swept together by means of a straw bundle. They are pounded in a millet mortar to be eaten as *tiderka* without any further preparation.

*mukkhiyu* (*Corchorus tridens*). A plant growing in the bush though also grown in gardens. The leaves of this plant are dried and thereupon pounded in a millet mortar to be used as an admixture to porridge-sauce.

*abezey* (*Cassia tora*). Leaves of this plant are plucked with the hand, or, if the plant is dry, shaken into a plaited bowl. They are pounded and used as an admixture to porridge-sauce.

*kat'aket'i* (*Cistanche* sp.). It is said to be known as *achellewen* among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The edible roots of this plant are dug out with a stick. They are pounded and boiled for a kind of porridge.

*ochrku* (*Ghossumema Boreanum*). An annual plant with small lacteal fruit which is eaten as a relish without any preparation.

These are the plant species collected by the *Kel Ferwan* of Southern Ayr. It may happen that some of these plants are destroyed by locusts, but in most years there are excellent possibilities of collecting wild seeds. Most plants are collected late in summer after the rains (at the season of *ferat*), or in winter (*tigrest*). It is said that in good years more than a thousand kilos of wild seeds can be collected by the members of a single household, but even this amount of wild seeds does not answer the need for vegetable products. Collecting is of secondary importance to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. Very few of the plant species mentioned are collected if there is abundant millet. The main exceptions are the plants used for sauce-admixture, and the *ichiben* seeds. The latter are collected even by Tuareg who have enough millet, because porridge made from these seeds is considered a very delicious dish. 222 [221] [433]

The two groups of Northern Tuareg and also the Tuareg of Ayr acquire their vegetable food products mainly from agriculture, which occupation will now briefly be described. 433

[text continues on p. 183]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The trading expedi- 437
tions have remained important to the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it is clear that they would not go on trading 484
were these expeditions not profitable, for trading expeditions are extremely strenuous. Though the 461
expeditions set off when the extreme heat is decreasing, it is still very hot in the extensive barren plains in autumn and in winter during daytime. Water and pasture are often extremely scarce in this deserted country, and the Tuareg frequently have to travel rapidly. For days or weeks they live so to say on their camels, and if camels are not too heavily loaded they may do up to 16 hours a day for several days in succession. Under such journeys the Tuareg eat only once a day. Obviously such trading [262] expeditions are also very hard on the pack-camels, and there is always a risk of loosing a camel during such journeys through barren, desert country.

In this brief outline of caravan trading I have not considered those Ahaggar Tuareg living constantly 433
in the Tamesna plains and adjacent regions. These Tuareg own more livestock than the Tuareg of the 184
Ahaggar Massif, and I do not believe that they engage so much in extensive trading expeditions. [133]
They are comparatively rich in she-camels which are tolerably good milk yielders in these regions [262]
most of the year, and milk is more important as food than it is in Ahaggar. I believe that most Ahaggar [438]
Tuareg of the Tamesna region acquire their necessary vegetable products by selling surplus livestock [366]
butter and cheese at the markets of Ingal and Agadez.

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AYR TUAREG

Among the Ayr Tuareg stock-breeding products are far more important for food than in the north. 433
Grazing conditions are better with annual pasture as a recurrent event, and the Tuareg keep bigger 262
flocks of goats and sheep, larger camel herds, and most have a few zebus which are guarded without much difficulty. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr can live on milk for a large part of the year, though they, like those of Ahaggar, become tired of milk drinking if they get no solid food. There are Tuareg of Southern Ayr who live exclusively on milk for two or three months during the periods of *akasa* and *ferat* and to whom milk is important as food for at least six months. In the extremely hot season of *ewilen* when milk is very scarce most Tuareg eat millet porridge with a little milk or sauce (cf. p. 242 f.), and Tuareg who are not very wealthy eat millet porridge to a great extent all the year round, so that the necessary amount of millet for many camps is about 0.5 kilo a day per person, or about 180 kilos a year. In Ayr there are fairly good possibilities of collecting if there are not too many [222] locusts, but most Tuareg do not collect a great quantity of wild seeds, and claim that they would be very badly off without millet, as seeds of wild plants are not very nourishing in comparison. In one [261] year during the second world war (in 1943) they say that millet was very hard to get; it was then very difficult to subsist and a great many animals had to be killed for food. Millet is almost indispensable to the Tuareg; they also consume other vegetables derived from agriculture, notably wheat, maize, and dates, but millet is the most essential non-nomadic food product. Normally it can be acquired by most Ayr Tuareg without much difficulty.

The people of Ayr obtain their provisions of millet from the Sudanese area of shifting cultivation, 439
notably from Damergu (Tanut). Millet can also be bought at Agadez whereto it is brought by Tuareg 437

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



439 caravans of the south or by Ayr Tuareg who import more millet than they need for their own use.
437 But millet is cheaper in Damergu than at the Agadez market, and most Tuareg prefer to organize
[435] their own millet caravans with camels and donkeys as pack-animals. In Damergu most Ayr Tuareg
[492] get millet in exchange for livestock or they buy it for money. Their caravans are not always very large,
[476] for the Southern Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not organize their caravans co-operatively
[484] on the basis of kinship. Many individual households fetch their own millet with a few animals, and it
[592] is comparatively easy to do so as the millet growing country of Damergu is not very far away – the distance from Agadez to Tanut is only about 300 kilometres. The Ayr Tuareg do not have to engage in extensive trading expeditions to procure millet, and can buy millet very cheaply. A household, it
437 is said, does not have to sell a great many animals to secure the necessary supply of millet. Three or
439 four camel loads will cover the needs of most households, and this amount of millet can be acquired
435 for comparatively few animals – particularly if the animals vended are sheep, which have become
592 very expensive in recent times owing to the rapid increase of Europeans at Agadez. An extremely good
162 sheep or ram for slaughtering can bring in 2000 to 3000 West African francs, and a Tuareg household which buys millet in Damergu will need less than 10,000 francs to acquire the quantity necessary for a year. Thus the Ayr Tuareg can obtain their millet for a few sheep, and there are very few, if any, who do not posses this surplus, and it should be repeated that the increment of livestock is never stopped by drought periods as in the north. The extremely high price for sheep for butchering is a recent phenomena due to the increase of the French population. Fully-grown sheep or rams are expensive, and this is also the case with fowls, while goats are cheap. I believe we can estimate that a household would have to sell about 15 goats anually to obtain the amount of millet necessary for one year's consumption. However, there is little doubt that it has always been quite easy for the Tuareg of Southern Ayr to obtain the requisite amount of millet in exchange for livestock.

262 Millet and milk constitute the basic nourishment of the Ayr Tuareg, but they are very fond of an
[222] occasional change of food. And I believe that this is one important reason why the Ayr Tuareg, like those of Ahaggar, collect wild seeds even in years when grown cereals are abundant. For a change, the Ayr Tuareg are also extremely fond of dates which are not grown to any great extent in their own country. A few Ayr Tuareg own palms yielding dates of poor quality, and I think that a few house-
[439] holds also obtain some dates from Ingal. However, most dates eaten in Ayr are imported from the oasis of Bilma, situated in the very barren desert country between Ayr and Tibesti, about 700 kilometres north-east of Agadez.

437 The trade with Bilma is apparently an ancient one, and its foundation is salt which is of a very bad
439 quality compared with that mined at Amadṛor in the north. The rock-salt of Amadṛor is excellent
[317] for food, and though there is one good quality of Bilma salt that is used for food by the Tuareg of
[263] Ayr, most salt from Bilma contains much soil and other impurities. This impure salt is excellent for
[233] domestic animals which, in Ayr and further south where salt pastures do not exist, need a lot of salt. The Ayr Tuareg, and particularly those who do not visit the country of Azaouaṛ at the end of the rains, need salt not only for their own food but also for their domestic animals. They obtain this from Bilma, which is visited by caravans in autumn or in the early winter. The inhabitants of Bilma, like other oases-dwellers, are in constant need of cereals and meat, and these products are imported

222 have made them the base of their diet; for this reason they were
262 nicknamed acridophages. The Nasamonians of Herodotus prepared them in the same way the Tuareg do, and the /236/ similar diets of the two peoples is perhaps not pure coincidence.

There are a few fish ponds in the Ahaggar, but the Imochar
226 and the Imrad do not eat the flesh of these animals; only the
262 Issekkemâren catch barbels and sometimes catfish, or rather they gather them up in the wadis after floods, for they do not know how to fish, properly speaking.

The sedentary peoples raise chickens, but the Tuareg do not
262 eat them either, since they consider the meat impure. The same interdict is extended to eggs. The only bird which is an exception is the ostrich. There are no longer any ostriches in the Sahara, but
[223] when the Ihaggaren go to the Sudan they capture them if they have the chance; in addition, they eat ostrich eggs cooked in the ashes.

Times of scarcity were sometimes experienced. They are rare
262 now that caravans can circulate freely, but they were much more
731 frequent when the state of war continued for a long time. The
224 Tuareg fell back on wild plants which do not generally enter into their diet: the young growths of tahlé (Typha elephantina), the
[824] leaves of the tanekfit (Eruca aurea) and the aramas (Atriplex halimus), the underground stems of the danoun (Cistanche lutea) which resembles asparagus, and many other plants of very dubious food value, which they ate to assuage their hunger. The state of famine can
[252] become so pronounced that they sometimes gather up old bones, grind them up, reduce them to flour, and make gruels of them. It
[579] goes without saying that it is during these periods that pillaging is at its height. People steal from camp to camp, from tribe to tribe, and everyone forgets his brother and his friend, thinking of only one thing -- survival by any means.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



224 on sandy ground. This same method is also used to catch asses or wild donkeys for domestication (cf. p. 108).

(7) It has been mentioned above (p. 108) that wild donkeys are also caught by driving them into closed valleys from which they cannot escape. As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not hunt proper game animals in this way, but the driving method is used in fishing as described below (cf. p. 164).

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*éfetaw*) (Fig. 113) connected with a noosed rope (*taṛant*) attached to a piece of wood (*aḡula*) is used to catch gazelle, barbary sheep, and donkeys. Such traps are easily and quickly manufactured by the Tuareg, and when they want to trap gazelle in this way they make a great many traps which are placed in the sand around young acacias upon which the animals feed. [43] The arrangement of the spiked wheel-trap is brilliantly illustrated in literature (cf. Lhote 1951a, photos p. 112-113; Brouin 1950, p. 454).

(9) A torsion trap (*tenḍerbat*) provided with a noosed rope is used particularly for barbary sheep. This trap is also depicted in literature (Lhote 1951a, p. 113; Mérite 1942, p. 185). The trap is rare in Ahaggar nowadays. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that the trap was introduced from Adṛar-n-Foṛas. It is said to be unknown to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (cf. Fig. 114a).

[564] [177] The Ahaggar Tuareg nowadays engage little in trapping in contrast to the negroid agriculturists (the *Ḥarratin*), most of whom have steel traps (*elkheniyet*) manufactured in Europe, or made by native blacksmiths on the European pattern. A few agriculturists have large steel traps to be used for gazelle, barbary sheep, and even for the big gazelle and antelope, but the common steel traps are small and are used mainly for hares (*émerwel*, fem. *témerwelt*; *abekni*; *Lepus harterti*), jackals (*ébeggi*, *aggur*; *Thos aureus* sp.), and fennecs (*akhorhi*, *érechter*; *Fennecus zerda*). Still smaller traps are used for minor rodents (*éḍewi*; *Gerbillus gerbillus*?) (*akundar*; *Masoutiera* sp.) and for certain birds such as ravens [223] (*aṛaleḳ*, *taslaft*; *Corvus ruficollis ruficollis*), pigeons (*akekkemaz*; *Columbia livia targia*), turtle-doves (*téḍebirt*; *Streptopelia turtur hoggara*), and sand grouse (*téḳaḍewt*, *tédebirt*; *Pterocles* sp.).

Steel traps are now widely used, and traditional trapping methods for small animals and birds are therefore rarely resorted to. Among the *Kel Ajjer* small rodents are caught in snares (*asendi*) made of leather. Snares of this kind are known both to pastoral Tuareg and to sedentary agriculturists of Ganet and Ṛat. Among the latter there are also two different trap-systems used for small rodents, which in both systems are killed by a flat, heavy stone falling upon them. One of these traps is named *téselseli*. I do not know whether these traps exist in Ahaggar.

223 564 Small birds, including pigeons and turtle-doves, are caught in torsion traps by sedentary agriculturists of the oases. Traps of this kind, which are normally provided with a net (cf. Fig. 114b), are found in most oases of the Northern and Central Sahara, but I have never seen them in use among pastoral Tuareg. Pigeon, turtle-dove, sand grouse, and also partridge (*Alectoris barbara shuprezi*) are caught in snares made of hair. Ten or twenty of these snares (*éḡefey*) are attached to a string so that several birds can be taken at the same time. Bird-snaring is practised mainly by sedentary agriculturists.

262 565 Sedentary agriculturists, slaves, and some vassal Tuareg are not squeamish. Even meat of beasts and birds of prey is eaten by certain vassals, though such animals are unclean and inedible according to Islamic rules. The meat of fennecs, jackals, and a large eagle-like bird known as *tamikkla* is eaten

[text continues on p. 162]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



224 annually among the Ayr Tuareg is apparently also a low one. Brouin estimates that about 200 oryx antelopes, 3–10 of the protected giraffes, and 100–1000 gazelles are killed annually by native hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 435).

Traditional hunting methods in Ayr are as follows:—

[411] [172] (1) Hunting by means of the spear (*tarda*). This weapon is fitted with a wooden shaft like the hunting spear used in Ahaggar, but the slender barbed spear of the Tebu is also used by many Ayr Tuareg.

(2) The use of stalking animals. Cf. the Ahaggar Tuareg above (p. 158 f.).

(3) Hunting in disguise. The Ayr hunters employ a disguise of straw. Bundles of straw are attached to the hunter's body, and the hunter furthermore carries a big straw-bundle in each hand. Walking in a bent position he is able to approach the game (gazelle and antelope) in this way. It is very probable that skin-clothing has also been used as a disguise (cf. Brouin 1950, p. 447 f.).

(4) The running down of game animals by men mounted on camels or horses is a method rarely employed within the Ayr Massif, though practised by certain Tuareg inhabiting the southern plains.

(5) Hunting with dogs. This is practised in the mountains. Barbary sheep are attacked and surrounded by the dogs, and normally killed by means of the spear. – It is said that a hunter having no dogs at his disposal can make a barbary sheep stop if he barks like a dog.

(6) Hunting by driving the animals into closed river valleys. The method is said to be used for

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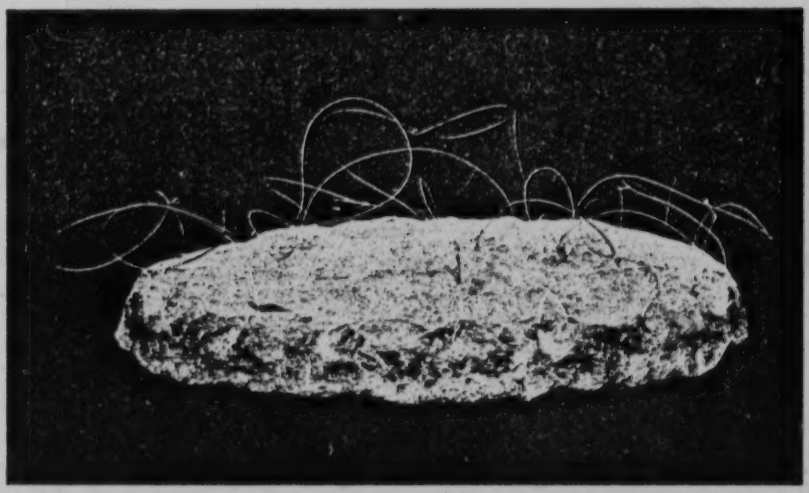

Fig. 118. Snares (*t'izagin*, sing. *tazek*) made from hair and inserted into a piece of sun-dried clay. Used for little birds which are fed with millet placed upon the piece of clay. Ayr, boys of the *Imaggadesen*. Dimension: 0.15 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 6522).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



catching wild donkeys in the mountains around the valley of Anu Mekkeren. The method is not used for proper game animals. 224

(7) A pulling and a throwing snare are both known as *tuṛunt*. They are said not to be used for hunting, though commonly employed to catch wild donkeys and domestic animals which have gone astray; cf. p. 108 f.

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*tawchit*) provided with a noosed rope (*tuṛunt*) attached to a stick. This is used for gazelle and bigger game animals in isolated places rarely visited by representatives of the administration. According to Buchanan, the spiked wheel-trap is used for ostriches in the plains south of Ayr (Buchanan 1921, p. 117 ff.). Large traps of this type are also used for giraffe by certain hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 453).

(9) The torsion trap (*tenderbat*) akin to that of Ahaggar. It is used for big game animals, notably for barbary sheep.

(10) Snares (*tazek*, pl. *t'izagin*) made from strips of dum palm leaves are used for guinea fowl and other edible birds. They are generally set near water where birds come to drink. Little boys of the negroid *Imeggedezen* of Agadez also make snares of hair to catch small birds (Fig. 118). [223] [857]

These are the hunting methods known to the Ayr Tuareg, who do not engage much in hunting with the exception of the *Kel Tamgak* mentioned above. Most Ayr Tuareg refuse the small types of game and beasts of prey, and reject not only the *aṛata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.), but also the smaller lizzard known in Ahaggar as *aggezzeram*, in Ayr as *emekkechchu* (*Uromastix acanthinurus*), though it is claimed that the latter is eaten among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The two lizzards do not play any part in Tuareg mythology – the *aṛata* lizzard is greatly detested by the Ayr Tuareg who kill it with stones or sticks, whenever possible. The Ayr Tuareg, including those of noble descent, have no taboos about birds and eggs, and many pastoral Tuareg collect guinea fowl eggs late in summer after the rains. There are a few animals not mentioned above which are considered edible among the Ayr Tuareg, e.g., the tortoise (*aṛaras*) which is found in the plains south of the Massif. With the exception of the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg the people of Ayr do not collect locusts (*tahwalt* in Ahaggar, *achwal* in Ayr). Locusts are eaten by all people of the two Northern Tuareg groups. The animals are roasted in the ashes or are boiled in a cooking pot to be pounded in the large mortar together with dried dates. This dish is very esteemed by the women who say that it is fattening and in this way adds to their beauty. 262 [252] [832]

Certain weapons have not been mentioned above because they either cannot be considered proper hunting weapons, or because it is doubtful whether they exist among the Tuareg or not. 411 [114]

Traditional Tuareg arms comprise an iron lance (*allaṛ*), a sword (*takuba*), and a dagger (*iélek*) carried in a sheath fastened to the left arm. The iron lance may serve as a hunting weapon, and this is true also of the sword. Thus the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group said that wild animals were occasionally killed with the sword, and they claimed that two Tuareg of the past had killed lions with this weapon.

The bow (Ahaggar, *taṛayyé* or *taḡahhé*; Ayr, *taganzé*) and arrows (Ahaggar, *imurren*, sing. *amor*, or *tinassabin*, sing. *tanassabt*; Ayr, *imeran*, sing. *amer*) are not traditional Tuareg weapons. Nowadays very ineffective bows and arrows are used as toys by little Tuareg boys, but they are never used by [524]

[text continues on p. 169]

563 [162] They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elías, Oulad Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

[233] They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout, [423 241] which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and manpower. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism [795 798] /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

[669] In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Ťafedest.

/200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by [173] Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

[162] Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Ťafedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

[233] Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head. [241 423] They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them entirely, and at I-n-Ǎmegal, Déhine, and Ǎbézou.

[795] Like the Ihéiaouen Hǎda, they are mostly affiliated with the Tijaniyyah sect.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us, which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

[224] They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

[65] The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the amenokal six bags of dates and a young camel.

[162] The Kel Ťafedest. -- The Kel Ťafedest or Kel Tégatouré (or ant people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

Plate XII

Hunting with dogs is common among the Tuareg, who use saluki something like Arabian greyhounds for the purpose. Their eklan /Iklan? Ed. / are often famous hunters. In this photograph we see one of them holding two dogs on a leash and getting ready to go track wild sheep.

Besides hunting with dogs, the Tuareg engage in trapping. Here we see a trap with radial points being set. The lasso is being tied to a big tree branch sunk in the ground and hidden by a layer of sand.

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439 cotton clothes, and Sudanese-made lithams /veils/. Then after
484 two months of rest spent in the Sudan, during which time the camels revel in the rich pasture, they all set out again for the Ahaggar, where they arrive from January on. February and March see them leave again for the Tidikelt or Touat. At that time they take only a few camels and exchange the excess manufactured articles which they collected in the Sudan and trade dried mutton for dates. This trip lasts an average of two months, and toward the end of April everyone is back in the Ahaggar, as a rule. There is a rest of a few weeks, and everyone thinks about the next salt campaign he is going to have to prepare.

Thus we see a complete caravan cycle which, by itself, could allow the Tuareg a normal life. But as we have said, it implies a
[461] state of peace which was previously the exception, as well as an amount of work to be furnished which is not always in harmony with the warlike tastes of the Imochar.

224 Hunting supplies some employment for the Tuareg, as does gathering. But both of them are only uncertain pastimes, without
221 much profit. The life of the Tuareg may thus be summed up in a few lines: basic animal husbandry doubled by brigandage raised to the state of an institution, and accessorily by some caravaneering. Now we shall see the domestic life of the Tuareg.

/221/

## Chapter 2

## Dwellings

361 The camp. -- The camp is the traditional Tuareg form of
621 habitation; it is connected with nomadism which always implies animal husbandry. It includes a certain number of people gathered together under a patriarchal authority by very close bonds of kinship.

234 to extract all the water, and then dry them on /235/ small screens placed in the branches of trees. It goes without saying that cheese making is very rare in the Ahaggar and that the Tuareg make it [438] particularly when they are nomadizing in the Sudan. Every year the Ihaggaren bring back large supplies of cheese from their stay in the Sudanese zone; these cheeses, dry as a bone, are either made by the Ihaggaren or bought from the southern tribes. They make 252 an important contribution to the Tuareg diet. These dry cheeses 262 are ground in a mortar and reduced to small fragments so that they have the consistency of flour. Then they are mixed with food, either in bechena gruel or in a drink of bechena flour and dates.

262 It might be supposed that meat plays a very large role in the Tuareg diet. But let us recall one of our old French proverbs which says that the shoemaker is always the worst shod. We could apply this adage to herders, who perhaps eat less meat than anyone else. A herder has animals for the use of their products, but he very seldom eats them, for each butchering is a loss of capital.

Indeed, the Tuareg kill their animals only under very unusual [233] circumstances, especially at the time of religious and family festivals. These killings recall somewhat the religious meaning of sacrifices. This does not mean that they do not like meat, for when they raid a rival camp, they hasten to make drastic inroads on the smaller livestock and eat until they are about to burst.

224 Hunting furnishes them a little additional meat. Each year 262 they kill a certain number of gazelles and wild sheep, eating part [251] of the meat fresh and drying the rest to keep it on hand.

They capture star lizards (Uromastix acanthinurus), jerboas, 222 gondi (Ctenodactylus sp.), sometimes even jackals and hares. We 262 can add to their meat diet grasshoppers (Shistocerca gregaria), [224] which they grill in the embers and then dry in order to pulverize [252] them. All Saharian nomads are very fond of grasshoppers, and since remotest antiquity some North African tribes are supposed to

222 have made them the base of their diet; for this reason they were
262 nicknamed acridophages. The Nasamonians of Herodotus prepared them in the same way the Tuareg do, and the /236/ similar diets of the two peoples is perhaps not pure coincidence.

There are a few fish ponds in the Ahaggar, but the Imochar
226 and the Imrad do not eat the flesh of these animals; only the
262 Issekkemâren catch barbels and sometimes catfish, or rather they gather them up in the wadis after floods, for they do not know how to fish, properly speaking.

The sedentary peoples raise chickens, but the Tuareg do not
262 eat them either, since they consider the meat impure. The same interdict is extended to eggs. The only bird which is an exception is the ostrich. There are no longer any ostriches in the Sahara, but
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Times of scarcity were sometimes experienced. They are rare
262 now that caravans can circulate freely, but they were much more
731 frequent when the state of war continued for a long time. The
224 Tuareg fell back on wild plants which do not generally enter into their diet: the young growths of tahlé (Typha elephantina), the
[824] leaves of the tanekfit (Eruca aurea) and the aramas (Atriplex halimus), the underground stems of the danoun (Cistanche lutea) which resembles asparagus, and many other plants of very dubious food value, which they ate to assuage their hunger. The state of famine can
[252] become so pronounced that they sometimes gather up old bones, grind them up, reduce them to flour, and make gruels of them. It
[509] goes without saying that it is during these periods that pillaging is at its height. People steal from camp to camp, from tribe to tribe, and everyone forgets his brother and his friend, thinking of only one thing -- survival by any means.

252 They may not heat camel's milk which has just been milked
825 under penalty of causing sickness to the animal which gave it.

264 Insofar as personal interdicts are concerned, there are none to speak of, for although men and women must not eat together, this is a custom rather than an interdict.

[606] A married man must not eat with his parents-in-law, and the oldest son must not eat with his father. These are mainly marks of respect, perhaps traces of ancient practices of a religious nature.

/240/ Chapter 4

## Hunting and Fishing

000 We shall now say a few words on the industries allied to the problems of food, that is, on hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, and agriculture.

136 Hunting. -- In a country where fauna was at all dense, hunting
174 would have brought a not inconsiderable dietary supplement to the Iḥaggaren. In the past it was very much esteemed in the Sahara. Many rock drawings and paintings prove this, for they depict hunting scenes which interpret the state of civilization of the men, their preoccupation, and at the same time the nature of the fauna, which has changed a great deal since then.

[132] Today, with the very advanced drying out of almost all the Saharian districts, the fauna has come out into the open and the
● 224 species likely to be usefully hunted are reduced to a few. Only gazelles and wild sheep are still hunted. We cannot mention the addax and oryx antelopes, for the former is in the process of becoming extinct in the Sahara, while the second is confined to the steppe zone. The hare and jackal may be accessorily added.

224 Among the Tuareg hunting is the business of a few men, a few [463] specialists who have made it their profession; however, we see a [567] large proportion of Iklan who seem to have more aptitude and more taste for hunting than their masters. There is certainly an atavistic character in this, a vestige of ancestral mores influenced by the original forest environment, where hunting was most often the basis of human activity. But it is nonetheless true that many Tuareg are very good hunters. The most renowned seem to be among the Issekkemâren and the Dâg Râli.

224 Hunting with hounds is the most popular. They hunt wild sheep and gazelles with saluki-type greyhounds, who serve at the same 231 time as camp dogs /241/ for the Tuareg. These animals, who stand tall, belong to a race halfway between the Kabyle dog and the Berber saluki and must also possess jackal blood. They are particularly suited for running and have innate talent for hunting.

224 The hunter's job is to track down the animal, to succeed in discovering him, either grazing or in his lair, and to set the dogs on him at the propitious moment when he does not expect it and at a suitable distance. An epic battle between the animal and the dogs sometimes results from this; often the battle necessitates the man's intervention, for example when there is a wild sheep which does not hesitate to confront its assailants. The hunter, who is [411] usually armed with a long javeline with a wooden shaft, then tries to stick his weapon in the animal's body and kill it. When it is a question of gazelles, he only needs let the dogs alone. If they can catch it, the animal will be quickly neutralized by the powerful jaws of the saluki.

Beside the common hunting with hounds, the Tuareg engage in trapping, which is a lazy method of hunting. It is all the more appreciated in the Sahara because game is rare and wary, and a certain amount of luck is always involved in capturing it.

The Ihaggaren use two types of traps: traps with radial points and torsion traps in the shape of an arc.

●224 The radial-point trap is the one described by Montandon (1)

1. Traité d'ethnologie culturelle /A Dissertation on Cultural Ethnology/, p. 222, fig. 8.

[M1] and was already known by the Egyptians. It is spread over all of central and intertropical Africa. It is composed of a disk made of vegetable matter to which are attached the stems of rather resistant graminaceae which converge toward the center. The apparatus is placed on a little pit with a diameter a little less than its own, then covered over with straw /242/ and sand. It is arranged under trees whose leaves are still green and which the gazelles come to browse on. While going around the tree, the beasts finally step on it, and the hoof which passes through the stems is caught in the disk. In spite of all efforts and movements, the disk remains attached, thus preventing the animal from getting away. The hunter then steps in. He gets on the animal's trail, follows it, and finally catches up with it. He kills it with a thrust of his lance. Sometimes a lasso is placed on the disk with its end attached to the trunk of the tree or to an old stump.

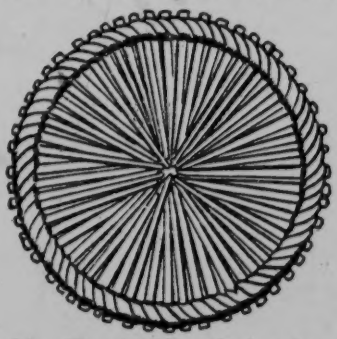

Fig. 33. Trap with radial points used to capture gazelles.

The torsion trap in the shape of an arch is a more complicated system. It is composed of a fragment of oryx antelope horn on [38] which is set a layer of tendons coming from the same animal and

224 which is rolled up on a stick, one end of which is cut in a point. A
[23] second apparatus consists in a little wooden disk covered with hide, the whole mounted on another stick a little longer than that of the first apparatus which is embedded between the layer and the arc, while the pointed stick is fastened in the hole of a bead or on a little leather ring fixed on the leather disk. A lasso is placed on this disk, and its end is fastened on the main part of the pointed stick.

This trap is generally placed on the paths frequented by gazelles and lightly covered with sand. If the animal puts its foot on the leather disk, the pressure that it causes unhooks the pointed stick; the shock of this can break a paw and in any case it tightens the lasso around the paw.

More recently the Tuareg have used the metallic spring trap
[17] of the English type, which their blacksmiths now know how to make.
324 They have replaced the balanced bait pan by a taut skin on which they have attached a large glass bead. The bait is fixed to the bead and is more sensitive to the touch. This trap may accidentally catch gazelles, but the most common catches are hares and jackals.

224 The Tuareg hunt on the lands over which they range and have
423 no right to hunt on the lands of the neighboring tribes. If such a case occurred, they would be obliged to give the game to the owners of the area. The latter may at least grant back part of the meat, but they keep the skin, especially when it is a wild sheep.

/243/ Some regions are the hunting fief of a single man. So, in the Koudia, no one has the right to hunt on Tahat Peak without the permission of its owner, who is a descendant of the old Isebeten tribe. At any rate, the skin, head, and half of the animal must be handed over to him.

224 The Ahaggar Tuareg have had rapid-firing guns at their
411 disposal for a few years. They are not good shots, but they know admirably well how to approach game, so that they have made massive massacres which will take a long time to repair.

224 The administration fortunately has decided to confiscate these
[411 weapons.
648]

It is very difficult to get an exact idea of the number of animals killed annually by hunters. But we believe we are close to accurate in giving the figure 300. Thus we say that hunting holds a very small place in Ahaggar Tuareg economy.

Fishing. -- Fishing is not done by the Tuareg for the reasons
226 we have given. Only the Issekkemâren and the Iklan engage in it.
[184] They fish when the pond water is very low. In the Tassili they dig little ditches on the lower side at water level, leading to little reservoirs where the fish find refuge and are then surely caught.

[251] When fishing has been fruitful, the Issekkemâren dry the fish to keep them for periods of scarcity.

/244/ Chapter 5

## Agriculture

241 The Ahaggar Tuareg have never attached more than a very secondary importance to agriculture. Their nomadic turn of mind is at the opposite pole from land ownership and still more from exploiting it, which implies sedentary life. There are, however, a number of centers of cultivation in their country; they are of undeniable interest and could be extended more widely if improper legislation did not hinder their development.

The creation of most of these centers of cultivation does not
177 go back more than a century. It was accomplished under the in-
241 fluence of Arab groups settled in the Ahaggar. Only the Silet and Tibeghîn oases are much older and probably date from the time of the Imanan sultans who had brought into the Ahaggar some

usually satisfied with milk, "akh, " fresh ("akh oua kefaïen" 264
[illegible] ) or sour ("akh iezza", [illegible] ), at
the hour when the camels, sheep, or goats come in from
pasture.

The basic food of the Ahaggar Tuareg consists of bechna, 262
"inelli" (white-grain sorghum, Graminaceae), dates, "teïni, "
and milk, "akh. " [illegible]

But their country provides them with many resources 22
which they are careful not to neglect, especially the poor, 556
the "tileqqiouin" [illegible] , who constitute the majority.

All the "imr'ad" go to harvest the grains of "toulloult" 243
and "afezzou. " Women, children, youths, negroes and 221
negresses go into the wadis
to gather the harvest, which
takes place from May to June
for "toulloult" and from July
to the end of September for
"afezzou. " /29/

[000]

Dautheville

Idelès (Koudia)

Usually, before the
harvest several wadis are for-
bidden territory, and camels
are not led there until the
harvest is finished.

The produce is gathered
and put into hide sacks. After the grains have dried, they 252
need only to be put onto small trays of "afezzou, " called
"tissiin, " which are shaken, and the hulls fall off and remain
on top. The grains are ground to powder, and a kind of gruel
is made with water or butter.

The Tuareg are also very fond of "tikamarin" [illegible] 234 252 262
, cheeses as hard as wood which they get from Aïr. They 438
grind them in mortars and mix them in their food.

They very seldom eat meat, except that of game which 262
they can kill in a hunt: gazelles, mountain sheep, and 224
antelopes. But often they prefer to smoke this game in order 251
to go and sell it in the Tidikelt. 438

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar



*Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Aǵouh-en-Tehele Clan.*

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafia).

| Tenants | Value of Sub-Area | Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Aǵouh-en-Tehele, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tôles. | Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Daledge. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication. | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, Khalifa of the Ihenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds. | 3 goats |
| ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader. | Cultivation grounds at Inagriouel and In Deledjé. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 2 donkeys |
| DEINI, Chief of the Kel Rafia sub-clan. | No particular value. | No land-rent. |
| AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section. | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Azernan section of the Isandan sub-clan. | Cultivation grounds at Tamanrasset. In the past wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaiddin now attached to the Aǵouh-en-Tehele clan. | Khoseni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaiddin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal. | |

621 427 614 283 651 224 423

clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Ḳali and the Ait Loaien, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Aǵouh-en-Tehele have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Isekkemaren class. Between the Aǵouh-en-Tehele and the Isekkemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Aǵouh-en-Tehele people come to the Isekkemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Isekkemaren visiting the Aǵouh-en-Tehele. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

000 565 614 [431] [602]

[Text continues on p. 110]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



*Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Dag Rali Clan.*

(The clan is divided into two matrilineages: 1) the Dag Rali proper comprising most members of the Kel Tamanrasset and the Kel Terhananet sections, 2) the Imesiliten comprising most members of the Kel Hirhafok and the Kel Tiñhart sections.

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| Tenants | Name and Value of Sub-Area | Land-Rent to the Amenokal |
|---|---|---|
| DANGOCHI, Clan chief belonging to the Kel Tamanrasset section. Rights to this subarea is not necessarily vested in the chief. | ISEKRAM<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. – (For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant). | 2 goats |
| JERKIE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section. | TADJEMART<br>No particular value. | 2 water bags.<br>1 rope of goat's hair. |
| AMMA, of the Kel Terhananet section | ARECHCHOUM<br>No particular value. | 2 water bags.<br>1 rope of goat's hair. |
| KHABTE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section.<br>ARKASSEN, of the Kel Terhananet section. | IN DALADJ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep.<br>Wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| AFARAK, of the Kel Hirhafok section. | AKALARAREN<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. | Unknown |
| BOUSKEAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the Kel Tiñhart section. | TAHAT<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months. Domestic animals never graze in this area. | Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown). |
| DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet. | ABELESSA<br>A very extended area comprising the village of Abelessa and many other agricultural settlements. | No land-rent as the Amenokal receives dues from crops of every garden in this area. |
| DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet. Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections. | TAESSA<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep. – Domestic animals are never allowed to graze in this subarea, and barbary sheep are protected for three months every year. | 1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep) (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) is also given to Dangorhi as clan chief). |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1955, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Rali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent *(ehare-n-amerdal)* paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:–

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. – Foley 1930, p. 43f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Rali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatos.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.

136 /31 cont./ next to those habitually found in Mediterranean zones or on the Sudanese steppes. Some are frequently found in the Ahaggar or are often spoken of by the natives.

The gazelle (alenkad), a small, elegant, delicate animal, is found almost everywhere, from the first spurs of the Mouydir up to the frontier of the Niger. It likes pastures of alommoz, a small grass that quivers in the slightest breeze; this is why gazelles are particularly numerous in the Tin-Zaouaten region and in the wadis bordering the Tanezrouft. At certain times of the year, it is not unusual to see herds of 50 head.

[224] The gazelle is protected by hunting laws, but it protects itself even better by avoiding the regions inhabited by man. Because of this, the number of these animals seems to be almost constant.

Nearly all the mountains of the Ahaggar harbor wild sheep (oudad). This splendid animal, characteristic of the country, haunts all the peaks, even those seemingly inaccessible.

136 224 The Tuareg formerly hunted wild sheep with spears; they now use rifles. A small tribe, the Ibardjien, were specialists in this sport; with their dogs trained for this work, the men tracked the game and dispatched it with spears. This tribe is dying out, and this type of hunting will disappear with it. The Adjouh n'Téhélé and the Dag Rali kill a few animals during the year, either with rifles or by trapping them with a noose tied to a log.

136 It is difficult to determine with any degree of accuracy whether the number of wild sheep is increasing or decreasing.

There are practically no antelopes still living in the Ahaggar; only a few rare individuals ascend the valleys of the Adrar des Iforas and are seen at the edge of the southern tassilis.

The most widespread of the carnivores is the jackal. One sees it everywhere, on the lookout for wounded gazelles, following the tracks of small animals, avidly eyeing the herds /32/ of goats. The presence of this animal is a veritable nightmare for the young mountain shepherds.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*492

Fig. 85. Tuareg breaking in a young newly-caught donkey. The donkey is prevented from escaping by means of hobble-ropes (*téffart* and *amahas*) and is also tethered to an acacia tree. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

231
262 skin (Duveyrier 1864, p. 231). It is most possible that the taboo on donkey's meat and skin is due to
237 Islam – meat of donkeys and horses is considered unlawful by the Ḳoran. Leo Africanus states that
[175] the nomads of the Sahara eat meat of donkeys which they catch in snares (Leo Africanus II, p. 944).

136 The wild donkeys, or asses, of Tuareg countries are very shy, and it is most impressive to watch a
224 herd of some twenty animals galloping over the desert plains. Because of their shyness they are often hunted much in the same way as game animals. Among the Northern Tuareg they are caught in the spiked wheel-trap, are run down by men mounted on camels, or are driven into closed river valleys surrounded by steep rocky walls. In certain parts of Ayr wild donkeys can be caught in the same way – notably in valleys of Mount Tamgak (Northern Ayr) and around Anu Meḳḳeren (Central Ayr) – while the method of running down wild donkeys with riding camels is said not to be practised. Whether the so-called spiked wheel-trap is used for catching donkeys or not, I do not know, as the Ayr country is very extensive and inhabited by Tuareg of different origins. The Tuareg belonging to the *Kel Ferwan* group claimed that it was not used for donkeys or asses for which they have a kind of snare called *tuyunt*, which is also the name used among them for the noosed rope connected with the spiked wheel-
[283] trap. The snare used for donkeys is said to consist of a rope some twenty or thirty metres long and plaited from dum palm leaves. The rope is noosed at one end to be used as follows:— The loop is laid out where donkeys come to drink, the whole rope being covered with sand. The hunter lies hidden behind some natural object, a rock or tree, and when a donkey puts one of its legs within the
[231] loop he pulls the rope. It is said that this method is also sometimes used for other domestic animals which have gone wild, as happens frequently with oxen. But it is never used for hunting proper game
231 animals such as gazelle, antelope, and barbary sheep. To catch domestic animals which have gone
224

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



wild the Ayr Tuareg also know another type of snare, or rather lasso, which is also known as *turumi*. 231
It consists of a long rope noosed at one end, but the loop in this case is thrown against the animal 224
by means of a short forked stick. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that this type of lasso is not widely found [171]
among them, and claim it is typical of and traditional for the pastoral Fulani, who use it to catch cows which are difficult to approach.

The wild donkeys caught for domestication are young animals, for very old ones cannot be tamed. 231
When an animal is caught by one of the above mentioned methods it is beaten a heavy blow between the ears so that it falls unconscious to the ground. It is thereupon given a rope around its mouth, for wild donkeys are fierce and have a dangerous bite, and is also tied with ropes around its legs so that it cannot run. When the animal comes to after the blow it is led to the camp where it is tethered. It remains tethered and fitted with hobble-ropes in the camp for one or two months during which period it gets a very brutal treatment. It is trained for riding by the men who mount it daily during [492]* this period of training (cf. Fig. 85) until it can be ridden as freely as domestic donkeys. The Tuareg say that not all donkeys survive the heavy blow on the head but that most of them do.

Donkeys constitute the important riding animal of all vassal women, and there are also some men 492*
of the true vassal class who ride donkeys though most of them have riding camels. Donkeys are also [562]
extremely important pack-animals. They are used by most Tuareg for the transportation of tents and [565]

[283]

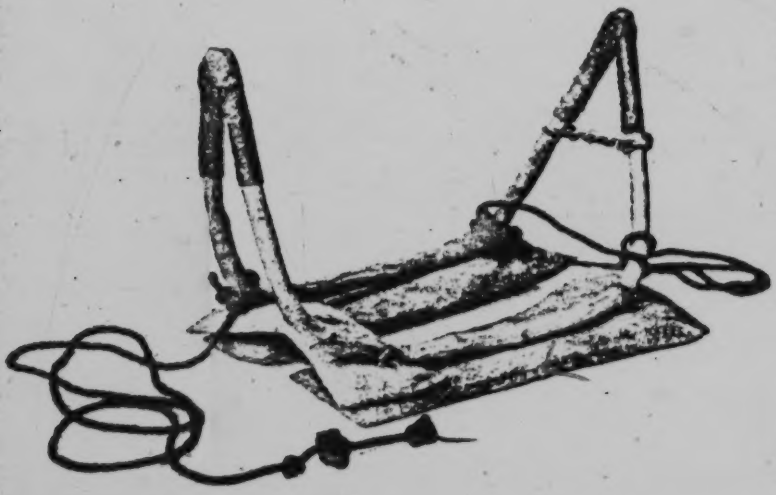

Fig. 86. Donkey saddle (*arnka*) of the type described in detail in the text (cf. p. 110). It is fixed to the animal by two cords of goat's hair: the girth (left), the cord passing under the tail (right). Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.585 m long, 0.360 broad. (N.M. G. 5246).

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Fig. 90. Tuareg dogs of the breed which is common among the Ayr Tuareg. Dogs suffer much from heat in summer when they hide under water-bags. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

## DOGS

231 The Northern Tuareg distinguish between three types of dogs (sing. *eydi*) as follows:— (1) a long-haired breed (*aberhoh*); (2) a short-haired slender breed (*akhami*); (3) a very slender and elegantly
[173] built greyhound (*oska*) (Fig. 91). The Ahaggar Tuareg speak of a tradition, according to which the greyhound (*oska*) was introduced fairly recently through contacts with the Northern Arabs. The Ayr Tuareg do not make similar distinctions between dog breeds. They have only one breed which is known as *ijji* (Fig. 90). It is short-haired and slenderly built though less so than the true Arab greyhound.

[136] Dogs are kept to guard the camp and in particular to protect the animals from the attack of jackals or hyenas during night. If the Tuareg had no dogs it would be most difficult for them to breed goats and sheep. Dogs may also follow the flocks in daytime to protect the animals against beasts of prey, though this is not generally considered necessary. Dogs are not trained as "sheep-dogs", but it is said that a few "intelligent" dogs will assist the herdsman in keeping the flock together during grazing,
[224] and many dogs will drive away domestic animals which belong to foreign flocks. Some Tuareg use dogs in hunting barbary sheep, gazelle, antelope, and hare (cf. hunting, p. 159, 166).

[17] It is well-known that the Arabs consider the dog an unclean animal. This is also so among Arab nomads of the Sahara, but they do not consider their greyhounds unclean in this sense. Thus pastoralists of the Chamba group told me that among them a fine greyhound is esteemed in much the same way as are noble riding horses and camels. The Tuareg have very few true greyhounds and
[521] I do not believe that they have this same feeling of interest in them. But many children and young
[541] people are fond of all types of dogs, and one can hear them discuss the qualities of their animals and the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg MS25



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*Sub-areas of the territory of the Dag Ṛali* tribe

(The tribe is divided into two halves:— (1) the *Dag Ṛali* proper comprising the sections named *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*, (2) the *Imessiliten* comprising the two sections named *Kel Hérhafek* and *Kel Teñhart*)

| Tenants | Name and value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe and leader of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section | ISEKRAM<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant | 2 goats |
| YEḲI of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section | TAĠMART<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| AMMA of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | AṚECHCHUM<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| KHABTÊ of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section<br>&<br>AKHASEN of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | I-N-DALAĠ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br><br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| AFAREḲ of the *Kel Hérhafek* section | AKAL-EREṚEN<br>Hunting of barbary sheep | Unknown |
| BUSKEYAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the *Kel Teñhart* section | TAHAT<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown) |
| [361] DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet* | ABALESSA<br>A very extended area comprising the village of Abalessa and other agricultural settlements | No land-rent as the *Amenukal* receives dues for every garden in this area |
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections of *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet* Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections | TEẒẒA<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | 1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep). (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) are also given to Danguchi as tribal chief) |

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*Sub-areas of the territory of the Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe

(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named Kel *Taṛhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Aṛefsa*)

| Tenants | Value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA ALATOKH, chief of the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, chief of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*, leader of the section *Kel Twes* | Cultivation grounds at Taṛhawhawt and I-n-dalaǧ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys for domestication | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, *khalifa* (leader) of the *Ikenkeren* section of the sub-tribe Kel *Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Collecting of wild seeds | 3 goats |
| ABERĠALI, *khalifa* of the *Kel Tarayin* section of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the *Kel Tarayin* section. No position as leader | Cultivation grounds at I-n-aǧriwal and I-n-dalaǧ. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys | 2 donkeys |
| DEYNI, chief of the *Kel Aṛefsa* sub-tribe forming only one section | No particular value | No land-rent |
| AKAWALI, chief of the *Isandan* sub-tribe and leader of the *Kel Afaro-ke hin* section | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| HANU, *khalifa* of the *Kel Azernen* section of the *Isandan* sub-tribe | Cultivation grounds at Tamanṛaset<br>In the past wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, *khalifa* of the *Ṛelayddin* now attached to the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe | *Khoseni* is in command of the *Ṛelayddin* territory to which all members of the *Ṛelayddin* have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the *Amenukal* | |

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzaṛ*, while a small camp is called *éṛéwen* or *tamezzaḳ*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100–200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *heregen* (or *amezzaṛ n heregen*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *aharaǧen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

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221 many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading.
[241] Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess
[423] irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*). Some goat-camps may move their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date
[565] palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikechchemaḍen*) will also visit the oases
[245] of Silet and Tibeghin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are
* [233] harvested mainly by black-skinned *Ḥarratin* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar – mainly in Tamesna – and the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

423 The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in
311 individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds, or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied
614 the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aǵuh-en-tehlé*.
613 In the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondance between sections and sub-areas in the
423 way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-areas, and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants (cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use
[428] these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are
[643] frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148-149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Ṛali* and *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the *Amenukal*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group.

423 For the land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) paid to the *Amenukal* the tenants obtain the following rights
422 over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

[224] (3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

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Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikebrau*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhet* tribe (*Isakkemaren*).

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224 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 148).

423
241 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Ṛali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

685 Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity
643 falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the
423 violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant
[428] dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally
[613] the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary
[114] sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

## AYR

422
* 233 The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property
[428] marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark. However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *éjwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the
[113] *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

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462 Among Northern Tuareg vassals donkeys are tended by women, who use them for riding and
231 transportation over short distances. Tuareg men rarely ride donkeys, but the assistance of men is
[492] needed in connection with some of the tasks of donkey-breeding:—

It may become desirable to increase the stock of donkeys by catching wild animals as already described above. This is always done by men who also break-in the captured animals for riding. The assistance of men is also frequently needed for catching half-wild, though domesticated donkeys.

The marking of donkeys, castration, which is rarely performed, and the curing of diseases, which are also rare, are said to be tasks which should properly be carried out by men.

[565] Vassal women only tend camels when all men are absent from their camp.

The above rules of division of labour are in general also valid in Ayr among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. But there are in Ayr vassal Tuareg who have no camels and vassal men in Ayr frequently ride donkeys. The tending of cows in Ayr is mainly the work of women, who are also more familiar with cattle terms than are the men. – Among the *Kel Ewey* the skinning of goats and sheep, as well as the partition of the meat, are done by women.

428 In the Tuareg groups I have studied both men and women inherit camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys according to Islamic rules of inheritance.

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Fig. 110. The skinning of a gazelle placed upon straw of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ahaggar, the *Taytoḳ* tribe.

# Hunting

For the pastoral Tuareg hunting is not an important occupation, and nowadays it is practised mainly by those few Tuareg who possess rifles or guns. Traditional hunting methods are thus of far less consequence than in the past, but some of them are very interesting and most significant for a historical analysis of Tuareg culture.

## AHAGGAR

Northern Tuareg areas are not very rich in game. In Ahaggar the main types of game are the gazelle (*ahenkod*, fem. *tahenkot*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) and the barbary sheep (*udad*; *Ammotragus lervia*). The big gazelle (*éwir*; *Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amellul*; *Addax nasomaculatus*) are very rare; they are occasionally seen in the plains outside of the mountains. The ostrich (*auhél*; *Struthio camelus*) was very common in the past, but is now exterminated.

The small gazelle is rare and shy within the Ahaggar Massif, while fairly abundant and comparatively easy to hunt with a rifle in the northernmost massifs and their surrounding plains. Of seven camps visited in Ahnet 1954, gazelle hunting was engaged in by the members of two households, and I estimate that they killed one or two gazelles every week. In most camps of the Northern Tuareg there are no true gazelle hunters, and when a rare gazelle is killed its meat is easily eaten in one day by the members of a single household – in addition to three or four pounds of wheat-bread or millet-porridge. Gazelle skin is of little practical value to Tuareg craft. It is not generally used for the manufacture of important domestic articles such as water bags and containers for milk and butter, but it is suitable and much esteemed for certain types of decorated leather work and for fine leather cords, e.g., necklaces for amulet cases, reins for riding camels.

Barbary sheep are extremely shy, and they live mainly in inaccessible mountains. They are still fairly common in certain isolated parts of the mountains, but they were more numerous in the past when hunting was practised without rifles.

The Tuareg estimate that the amount of meat obtained from two gazelles corresponds to the meat of one grown goat, while a big barbary sheep provides as much meat as that of four goats. Meat of barbary sheep is better suited for drying than meat of other game animals, and the thick hide of these animals is valuable for the manufacture of tents and for large bags used for the conservation on journeys of dates, grain, flour, and the like. The horns of barbary sheep are used as butter containers (Fig. 165), and some Tuareg add the powder of crushed horns to butter before heating it (cf. p. 222). Barbary sheep are of greater economic value to the Ahaggar Tuareg than other types of game, and

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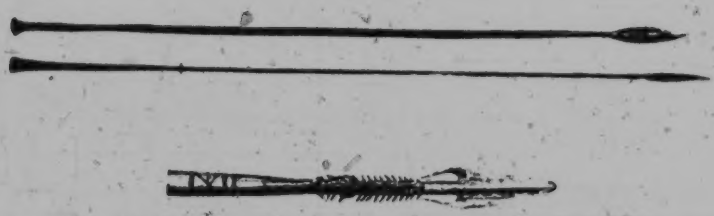

Fig. 112a–c. Tuareg spears.

a. Spear of the *tarda* type used for hunting. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 1.80 m (N.M. G. 1.156).
b. Iron spear of the *allaŋ* type which is mainly a war weapon. Ahaggar, Collected by Olufsen. Dimension 1.82 m (N.M. G. 1.155).
c. Iron point of the barbed Tebu lance (*tarda*) occasionally used by the Ayr Tuareg. Dimension: 0.265 m (N.M. G. 6619).

224 they are eagerly pursued by many rifle-owning nomads. Lhote estimates that in the year 1939 the Ahaggar Tuareg killed 300 barbary sheep by means of their traditional hunting methods, while in the winter season 1949–50 more than 200 animals were killed with rifles in the central parts of Ahaggar [432] (Lhote 1955a, p. 284). In 1954 the meat of one barbary sheep was sold for 4000 French francs, the [648] hide for 2000 francs. Though hunting of these animals is officially prohibited by the French, it *is* tacitly permitted and meat is frequently sold at the market place of Tamanraset.

The traditional methods used mainly in hunting gazelle and barbary sheep are as follows:—

[411] (1) The spear (*tarda;* Fig. 112a) is nowadays used mainly by slaves, who never possess rifles. Before [562] rifles became common it was the typical hunting weapon of all vassal Tuareg. Hunting with the spear [565] takes place during the hottest time of the day, when the animals hide under rocks and trees to seek protection from the burning sun and the flies. It is then possible to creep very close to the game, and even the otherwise very shy barbary sheep can be taken in this way. When the hunter is close to the hiding place of a barbary sheep he claps his hand, and the animal rises, bewildered, and is then speared. In the past many barbary sheep were killed in this way, and it is said that a skilled and lucky hunter may even secure four or five animals in one day.

[171] (2) The use of stalking animals. Hunting by this method is used by some African stock-breeders (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 97 ff.). There is a detailed description of the use of camels trained for this purpose among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara (Harding King 1903, p. 171 ff.). As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not train their camels for stalking, but on journeys they frequently hide behind their animals to approach and kill gazelle. In this case the hunting weapon is normally a rifle. But the method is perhaps an ancient one and used also for other hunting weapons in the past, as game animals do not fear domestic animals among which they frequently graze in the desert. In fact, [172] the ancient use of stalking animals in Northern Africa is clearly substantiated by a rock engraving at

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Wan Abu (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) from the pre-historic cattle-breeding period ("periode bovine"). The picture shows a hunter armed with a bow and hiding behind an ox (?) which is provided with a lead held in the left hand. The hunter approaches an ostrich and perhaps also giraffes and gazelles which are also depicted. This rock engraving was discovered by Lhote, who believes that the stalking animal depicted is an antelope (cf. Lhote 1958, Fig. 69 p. 147, p. 264). 224 /72

(3) Hunting in disguise. True hunters do not use their ordinary dress of indigo or white colours during a hunt as it is seen by game animals at a great distance. The hunters use preferably a shirt and a head-cloth of yellow-brown colours which resemble the colours of sand and dry plants. I do not know whether other types of disguise are known. It is very likely (cf. Ayr Tuareg below p. 166). 224 [292]

(4) Hunting from artificial hiding-places. The use of artificial hiding-places consisting of walls built of stone is mentioned by Foucauld, who does not explain their use. They are known as *timuyal* (sing. *tamayilt*) (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1179).

(5) Hunting with dogs. Greyhounds and greyhound-like dogs are used in hunting barbary sheep. The dogs surround the animal and prevent it to escaping, so that it can be killed by a hunter with a spear. There are very few greyhounds among the Ahaggar Tuareg, but slender greyhound-like dogs are fairly common (cf. p. 114 f.). The true greyhounds may succeed in running down gazelle, and I was told among the *Kel Ajjer* that greyhound are trained not to kill the game but to bite its legs, and then to return to their master to lead him to the ferociously-bitten animal so that he can kill it ritually. However, most Tuareg dogs are not able to run down adult gazelle. Occasionally they catch young animals of which they are allowed to eat such entrails as are not eaten by the Tuareg. Dogs can more easily catch hares. It is said that some dogs are trained to bring caught hares alive to their masters, but most dogs are not too well fed and therefore eat on the spot the hares they catch. [231]

(6) Riding camels are sometimes used for the running down of game animals. Gazelle can be taken in this way only if they are wounded, and barbary sheep normally graze in mountains inaccessible to camels. But it happens that barbary sheep descend into sandy plains to feed on certain annual plants, and can then easily be taken by camel riders as they get very exhausted when they have to run quickly

[824]

Fig. 113. The spiked wheel-trap (*ifetaw*) connected with a noosed rope (*tayant*) attached to a stick. The wheel is made from straw of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) bent into circular form. Small pointed sticks (*ifulan*, sing. *afula*) are inserted into the straw circle and fixed to it by means of bast of the *absey* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) which is wrapped around the straw-wheel and the pointed sticks. The noosed rope is made from date palm bast, but frequently it is also made from *absey* bast. The small pointed sticks are made from twigs of the *azawa* tamarisk (*Tamarix gallica*). Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension of the wheel: about 0.20 m (F.M. 141 a–b).

224 on sandy ground. This same method is also used to catch asses or wild donkeys for domestication (cf. p. 108).

(7) It has been mentioned above (p. 108) that wild donkeys are also caught by driving them into closed valleys from which they cannot escape. As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not hunt proper game animals in this way, but the driving method is used in fishing as described below (cf. p. 164).

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*éfetaw*) (Fig. 113) connected with a noosed rope (*taṛant*) attached to a piece of wood (*aḡula*) is used to catch gazelle, barbary sheep, and donkeys. Such traps are easily and quickly manufactured by the Tuareg, and when they want to trap gazelle in this way they make a great many traps which are placed in the sand around young acacias upon which the animals feed. [43] The arrangement of the spiked wheel-trap is brilliantly illustrated in literature (cf. Lhote 1951a, photos p. 112-113; Brouin 1950, p. 454).

(9) A torsion trap (*tenḍerbat*) provided with a noosed rope is used particularly for barbary sheep. This trap is also depicted in literature (Lhote 1951a, p. 113; Mérite 1942, p. 185). The trap is rare in Ahaggar nowadays. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that the trap was introduced from Adṛaṛ-n-Foraś. It is said to be unknown to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (cf. Fig. 114a).

564 177 The Ahaggar Tuareg nowadays engage little in trapping in contrast to the negroid agriculturists (the *Ḥarratin*), most of whom have steel traps (*elkhenlyet*) manufactured in Europe, or made by native blacksmiths on the European pattern. A few agriculturists have large steel traps to be used for gazelle, barbary sheep, and even for the big gazelle and antelope, but the common steel traps are small and are used mainly for hares (*émerwel*, fem. *témerwelt*; *abekni*; *Lepus hartérti*), jackals (*ébeggi*, *aggur*; *Thos aureus* sp.), and fennecs (*akhorhi*, *éṛechter*; *Fennecus zerda*). Still smaller traps are used for minor rodents (*éḍewi*; *Gerbillus gerbillus*?) (*akumlar*; *Masoutiera* sp.) and for certain birds such as ravens (*aṛaleḡ*, *taslaft*; *Corvus ruficollis ruficollis*), pigeons (*akekkemaz*; *Columbia livia targia*), turtle-doves (*tédebirt*; *Streptopelia turtur hoggara*), and sand grouse (*tékaḍewt*, *tédebirt*; *Pterocles* sp.). 223

Steel traps are now widely used, and traditional trapping methods for small animals and birds are therefore rarely resorted to. Among the *Kel Ajjer* small rodents are caught in snares (*asendi*) made of leather. Snares of this kind are known both to pastoral Tuareg and to sedentary agriculturists of Ganet and Ṛat. Among the latter there are also two different trap-systems used for small rodents, which in both systems are killed by a flat, heavy stone falling upon them. One of these traps is named *téselselt*. I do not know whether these traps exist in Ahaggar.

223 564 Small birds, including pigeons and turtle-doves, are caught in torsion traps by sedentary agriculturists of the oases. Traps of this kind, which are normally provided with a net (cf. Fig. 114b), are found in most oases of the Northern and Central Sahara, but I have never seen them in use among pastoral Tuareg. Pigeon, turtle-dove, sand grouse, and also partridge (*Alectoris barbara dupreziʼ*) are caught in snares made of hair. Ten or twenty of these snares (*éḡefey*) are attached to a string so that several birds can be taken at the same time. Bird-snaring is practised mainly by sedentary agriculturists.

262 565 Sedentary agriculturists, slaves, and some vassal Tuareg are not squeamish. Even meat of beasts and birds of prey is eaten by certain vassals, though such animals are unclean and inedible according to Islamic rules. The meat of fennecs, jackals, and a large eagle-like bird known as *tamikkin* is eaten

[text continues on p. 162]

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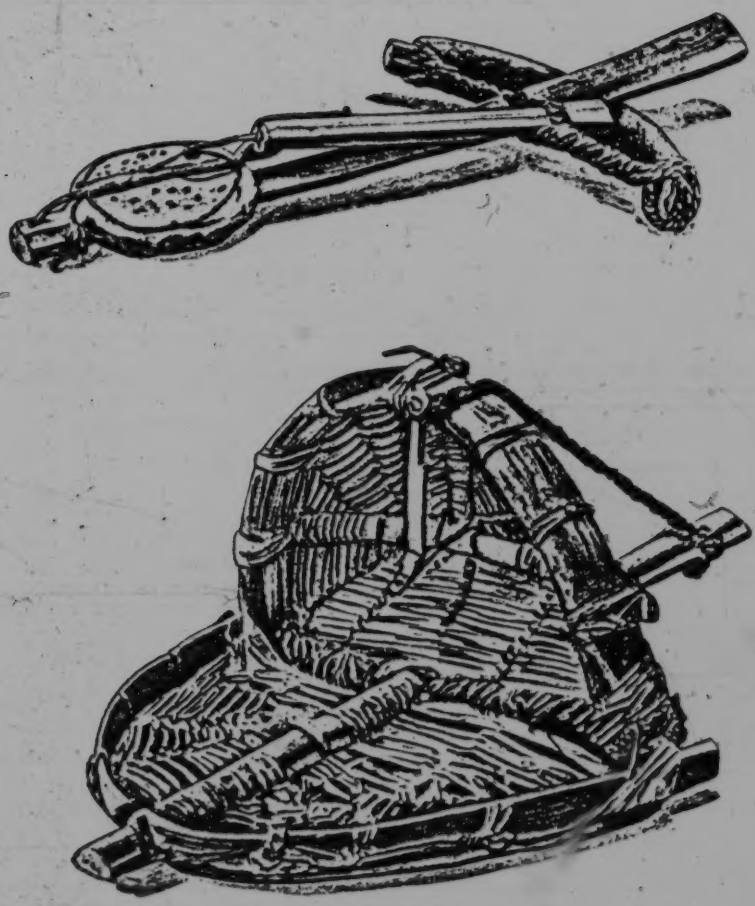

Fig. 114a–b.

a. Torsion trap of the *tendarhat* type used among the Tuareg. From the Sahara (Mérite 1942, Fig. 59).

[564] b. Torsion trap provided with a net. This trap is known to most sedentary agriculturists of the Sahara but it is not used by pastoral Tuareg (Mérite 1942, Fig. 60).

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Fig. 115. Nagroid agriculturist (*Harisai*) with a hare caught in a steel-trap (*elkhenlyet*) of European type. Ahaggar.

262 by many people in vassal tribes, and jackal's meat is popular as it is considered an excellent remedy
565 against fever (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 146). But there are also many Tuareg who refuse all types of game
[267] with the exception of such animals as gazelle, barbary sheep, and antelope. Some Tuareg consider hare's meat unlawful, but this, perhaps, is a conception introduced with Islam, for many people of the religious *Ineslemen* class claim that hare should not be eaten because their blood resembles that of menstruating women. The food taboos strictly followed by all noble Tuareg are older than Islam: they never eat birds, eggs, reptiles, and fish.

These rules are not traditional for vassal Tuareg, though some of them have adopted the taboos of the noble Tuareg.

224 In Northern Tuareg areas two big lizzard types are found. One of them is called *agezzeram* (*dobb*
564 in Arabic; *Uromastix acanthinurus*). This is caught and eaten by slaves, agriculturists, and by many
565 vassals. It is frequently taken by hand, but there is also a special implement (*taskumt*, *takoda*) consisting
262 of a stick provided with an iron crook for catching lizzards hiding in holes and under rocks. When
[432] vassal Tuareg are able to catch a great many *agezzeram*-lizzards they cut them up and dry them for
[464] sale on their regular trading expeditions in autumn to the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. p. 210). The *agezzeram*-lizzard is said to be the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the negroid blacksmiths (*Ineden*), because the lizzard's tail resembles a file. I do not know whether the few blacksmiths found in Northern Tuareg country eat this lizzard, but do not think they do. The lizzard is not considered very delicious, and blacksmiths have emigrated from the south where it is not generally eaten.

The other edible lizzard is named *arata* (*Varanus* sp.). It is much bigger than the *agezzeram*-lizzard just mentioned, and its meat is excellent according to the taste of most Europeans. But this big lizzard

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is refused by noble Tuareg and in general also by vassals. One reason for this is that the Tuareg have a myth saying that the *ayata*-lizzard is the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the noble Tuareg. Some vassals claim that it is the ancestor of all true Tuareg, but this statement does not agree with mythology (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 61). However, this lizzard is eaten mainly by slaves and by certain agriculturists, though its meat is considered a remedy against snake-bite and scorpion stings (cf. Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.). The head of an *ayata* is considered an excellent amulet against these poisonous animals (Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.), and the skin of this lizzard is not only utilized for the manufacture of amulet cases but also for small bags of various types (Fig. 116a).

Small animals are not necessarily killed with any particular hunting implement. The animals may be taken with the hand or killed with sticks and stones, as is the case with the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, *tékenisit*), which is eaten by some people, and with small rodents. Even hares can be taken with the hand when they hide in the grass or under rocks. The hunter may then approach the hare swinging one of his sandals over his head. This, it is said, makes the animals believe that it is hunted by a hawk or an eagle, and it will therefore remain stubbornly in its hiding place. Even gazelle are sometimes taken without any proper hunting weapon. Some Tuareg say that on journeys through the barren desert country in the summer they have met gazelle so exhausted from thirst that they could take these animals with their hands. Although this is rarely possible, I know Tuareg who have crept up to gazelle hiding from the sun in daytime and killed them with a stone. Finally it can be mentioned that the

Fig. 116a–b. Two small skin bags.

a. Skin bag (*abelhoḑ n ayata*) made from the skin of the big *ayata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.). Ahaggar, *Hurratin* of Taṛhawhawt. Dimension: 0.325 m long. (N.M. G. 5834).

b. Skin bag (*abelhoḑ n timerwelt*) made from hare-skin. Ahaggar, bought from *Hurratin* at Taṛhawhawt, manufactured in the *Aḑub-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5833).

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224 Tuareg are also aware of the use of poison. I have gathered no information about this myself, but
[824] Lhote states that certain poisonous grain is used for the destruction of jackals and small rodents (Lhote 1951a, p. 43 f. & 132).

226 It is obvious that fishing cannot be an important industry to people of the Sahara, but fishing is practised in certain areas. One species of fish (*Clarias Lazera*) is found in a few permanent pools of Central Ahaggar, but it is particularly common in the numerous permanent ponds of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where there is also another, perch-like species. I have myself caught and eaten both species. Duveyrier states that there are three distinct species in Tasilé-n-Ajjer:— (1) *asoulmeh* (*asulmey*) (*Clarias Lazera*); (2) *isattafen* (*i-settefen*); (3) *imanan* (pl. *imenan*) (Duveyrier 1864, p. 227, 238). Fishing is described
[262] by Duveyrier as follows: "Les poissons des lacs de Mihero donnent lieu à une pêche qui contribue
[565] à l'alimentation des serfs riverains. A cet effet, ils creusent sur les bords des lacs de petits canaux étroits, aboutissant à des réservoirs dans lesquels les poissons viennent pour y chercher une nourriture qu'ils ne trouvent pas dans les profondeurs des lacs. Quand ils y sont entrés on renferme les conduits et on les prend" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 238 f.). Another fishing method is described by Lhote: "Ils construisent des espèces de fascines avec des tiges de mrokba ou des branches de tamarix, puis, entrant à plusieurs dans l'eau ils forment une espèce de barrage au moyen de ces fascines en les mettant bout à bout et les poussent ensuite doucement devant eux. Ils prennent bien soin de drainer le fond de sorte que le poisson soit systématiquement chassé. Lorsqu'ils arrivent près de la rive opposée à celle d'où ils sont partis, ils poussent rapidement par un dernier effort et éjectent le poison sur le sable ou ils le ramassent. Ils recommencent ce manège plusieurs fois jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient capturé la majorité des poissons" (Lhote 1951a, p. 53). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told about a third fishing method, namely the use of a piece of cotton (e.g., an old cotton shirt) attached to two poles. The cotton piece serves as a net over which the fish are fed. There seem to be no other fishing methods, as both the fish-hook and the harpoon are unknown.

## AYR

136 The Ayr Massif with adjacent plains is very rich in game in comparison with the true desert country inhabited by the Northern Tuareg. Barbary sheep (*éjital*; *Ammotragus lervia Augusi*) are common in the mountains and also south of the Massif around the cliff known as *Falaise de Tigeddi*. Gazelle (*achenkod*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) (*énir*; *Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amellul*; *Addax nasomaculatus*), which are found in Northern Tuareg countries, are more abundant in Ayr where there are also bigger types of game, notably the oryx antelope (*ézem*; *Aegoryx algazel algazel*), and the giraffe (*amder*; *Giraffa camelopardalis*) which is found south and southwest of the Massif (e.g., around Ingal and Aderbissinat). The ostrich (*énhal*; *Struthio camelus*) is still very common in isolated regions of Ayr including the northern outskirts of the mountains, where I have seen flocks of more than twenty birds. There are in Ayr as mentioned above (p. 31) many bird species which are unknown or rare further north in the desert, e.g., the guinea fowl (*taylali*; *Numida clappertoni clappertoni*) and a bustard species (*agayis*; *Choriotis arabs stieberi*). Game birds are extremely abundant in certain parts of Ayr. The birds come in amazing numbers to waterholes and open wells to drink in the evening at

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 117. Fishing pool (*aɣelmqm*) in Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

136 sunset. There are wild pigeons by the thousand and innumerable flocks of guinea fowls and partridges (*Alectoris* sp.). Two species of turtle-dove are almost as common in Ayr as is the sparrow in Europe.
224 Possibilities of hunting are much more favourable in Ayr than in Northern Tuareg countries, yet, [410] nevertheless, the Ayr Tuareg engage even less in hunting than do the Ahaggar Tuareg. One reason for this is perhaps that very few Ayr Tuareg possess guns. It is extremely rare to meet hunters in Ayr.
224 They are found mainly within one tribe, namely that of *Imedderaren* (or *Kel Tamgak*) living in the 433 Tamgak Mountains of Northern Ayr. I have myself never visited camps of these people, but all Tuareg [119] agree that they live largely as hunters and possess few domestic animals. Unfortunately, these people have never been studied in detail. Buchanan, who met a hunting band of these Tuareg in 1920, says [222] that they have neither goats nor grain, but live by hunting and the collection of wild edible plants (Buchanan 1921, p. 191), while Campbell, who met them at Iferwan in 1926, describes them as hunters who also breed goats and sheep (Campbell 1928, p. 204 f.). Rodd also states that the *Kel Tamgak* have goats and sheep, but that they do not possess camels (Rodd 1926a, p. 307). This is in agreement with information gathered by myself at Iferwan where I met a few Tuareg of this group. There are
224 no Ayr Tuareg who live exclusively by hunting and collecting. The number of game animals killed

224 annually among the Ayr Tuareg is apparently also a low one. Brouin estimates that about 200 oryx antelopes, 3–10 of the protected giraffes, and 100–1000 gazelles are killed annually by native hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 435).

Traditional hunting methods in Ayr are as follows:—

[411] [172] (1) Hunting by means of the spear (*tarda*). This weapon is fitted with a wooden shaft like the hunting spear used in Ahaggar, but the slender barbed spear of the Tebu is also used by many Ayr Tuareg.

(2) The use of stalking animals. Cf. the Ahaggar Tuareg above (p. 158 f.).

(3) Hunting in disguise. The Ayr hunters employ a disguise of straw. Bundles of straw are attached to the hunter's body, and the hunter furthermore carries a big straw-bundle in each hand. Walking in a bent position he is able to approach the game (gazelle and antelope) in this way. It is very probable that skin-clothing has also been used as a disguise (cf. Brouin 1950, p. 447 f.).

(4) The running down of game animals by men mounted on camels or horses is a method rarely employed within the Ayr Massif, though practised by certain Tuareg inhabiting the southern plains.

(5) Hunting with dogs. This is practised in the mountains. Barbary sheep are attacked and surrounded by the dogs, and normally killed by means of the spear. – It is said that a hunter having no dogs at his disposal can make a barbary sheep stop if he barks like a dog.

(6) Hunting by driving the animals into closed river valleys. The method is said to be used for

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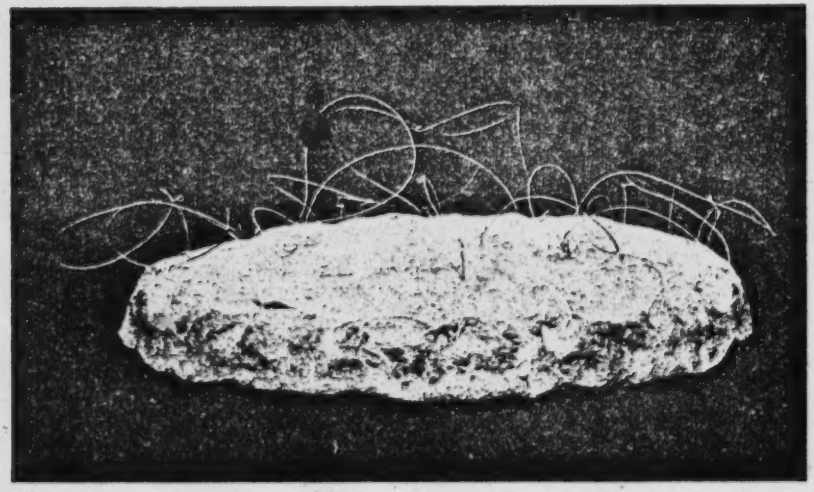

Fig. 118. Snares (*t'izogin*, sing. *tazek*) made from hair and inserted into a piece of sun-dried clay. Used for little birds which are fed with millet placed upon the piece of clay. Ayr, boys of the *Imeggedesen*. Dimension: 0.15 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 6622).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



catching wild donkeys in the mountains around the valley of Anu Mekkeren. The method is not used for proper game animals. 224

(7) A pulling and a throwing snare are both known as *tuṛunt*. They are said not to be used for hunting, though commonly employed to catch wild donkeys and domestic animals which have gone astray; cf. p. 108 f.

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*tawchit*) provided with a noosed rope (*tuṛunt*) attached to a stick. This is used for gazelle and bigger game animals in isolated places rarely visited by representatives of the administration. According to Buchanan, the spiked wheel-trap is used for ostriches in the plains south of Ayr (Buchanan 1921, p. 117 ff.). Large traps of this type are also used for giraffe by certain hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 453).

(9) The torsion trap (*tenderbat*) akin to that of Ahaggar. It is used for big game animals, notably for barbary sheep.

(10) Snares (*tazek*, pl. *t'izagin*) made from strips of dum palm leaves are used for guinea fowl and other edible birds. They are generally set near water where birds come to drink. Little boys of the negroid *Imeggedezen* of Agadez also make snares of hair to catch small birds (Fig. 118). [223] [857]

These are the hunting methods known to the Ayr Tuareg, who do not engage much in hunting with the exception of the *Kel Tamgak* mentioned above. Most Ayr Tuareg refuse the small types of game and beasts of prey, and reject not only the *aṛata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.), but also the smaller lizzard known in Ahaggar as *aggezzeram*, in Ayr as *emekkechchu* (*Uromastix acanthinurus*), though it is claimed that the latter is eaten among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The two lizzards do not play any part to Tuareg mythology – the *aṛata* lizzard is greatly detested by the Ayr Tuareg who kill it with stones or sticks, whenever possible. The Ayr Tuareg, including those of noble descent, have no taboos about birds and eggs, and many pastoral Tuareg collect guinea fowl eggs late in summer after the rains. There are a few animals not mentioned above which are considered edible among the Ayr Tuareg, e.g., the tortoise (*afaras*) which is found in the plains south of the Massif. With the exception of the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg the people of Ayr do not collect locusts (*tahwalt* in Ahaggar, *achwal* in Ayr). Locusts are eaten by all people of the two Northern Tuareg groups. The animals are roasted in the ashes or are boiled in a cooking pot to be pounded in the large mortar together with dried dates. This dish is very esteemed by the women who say that it is fattening and in this way adds to their beauty. 262 [252] [832]

Certain weapons have not been mentioned above because they either cannot be considered proper hunting weapons, or because it is doubtful whether they exist among the Tuareg or not. 411 [114]

Traditional Tuareg arms comprise an iron lance (*allaṛ*), a sword (*takuba*), and a dagger (*téleḳ*) carried in a sheath fastened to the left arm. The iron lance may serve as a hunting weapon, and this is true also of the sword. Thus the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group said that wild animals were occasionally killed with the sword, and they claimed that two Tuareg of the past had killed lions with this weapon.

The bow (Ahaggar, *taṛayyé* or *taḡaḥḥé*; Ayr, *taganzé*) and arrows (Ahaggar, *imurren*, sing. *amor*, or *tinassabin*, sing. *tanassabt*; Ayr, *imeran*, sing. *amer*) are not traditional Tuareg weapons. Nowadays very ineffective bows and arrows are used as toys by little Tuareg boys, but they are never used by [524]

[text continues on p. 169]

411 p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *ifezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals – there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as 524 though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Ineslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Koran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely 171 wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing 114 poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these 177 people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

● 229 Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. To-184 day true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Tamgak* or *Imeddeṛaren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Ṛali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting 311 that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals withing two hunting territories where barbary sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting 224 825 that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

| Age | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . . | *awhim* | *tawhimt* |
| Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . . | *ahyar* | *tahyart* |
| Fully grown animal . . . . . | *ahenkoḍ* | *tahenkoṭ* |

224 Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—
754 (1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's
777 nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

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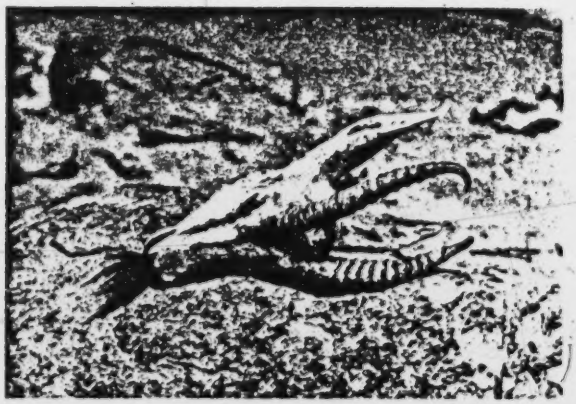

Fig. 122. Gazelle's head with the black tail-tuft inserted into one of the nostrils as a remedy against the mystic evil power called *ettama* (*tezma*). Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

This custom is believed to afford protection against the mystical power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama*, or *tezma* – an evil power possessed by certain Tuareg and by all blacksmiths (cf. p. 21). A person who possesses this evil power may, if he does not receive part of the booty, spoil the hunter's luck when seeing the killed gazelle. The tail-tuft put into the animal's nostril eliminates this risk.

(2) When a hunter returns to his camp with booty he should not show the killed game to other people, and if asked about the results of his hunting trip he should deny that he has had any luck. This custom is also explained as being a protection against the evil power *ettama* (*tezma*) just mentioned.

(3) When a man leaves his camp for a hunting trip he must not talk about it, nor must it be mentioned by other people. This belief has its root in the conception of the "evil mouth" (the "evil eye") known in Ayr as *tugarchet*, in Ahaggar as *tehoṭ*.

(4) If a hunter has given meat from his killed game to another man, the latter should not praise it. This belief is due to the belief in the "evil mouth" – the belief that a man's luck can be spoiled by praise.

224 777 (5) In a *Dag Ṛali* camp I have noticed that a piece of bone of a barbary sheep was conserved in a skin bag. I was told that this was done in order that the hunter might have good luck in his future hunting of barbary sheep.

[825] (6) Certain omens bring good luck in hunting as well as in other projects, e.g., to walk between two black ravens (Ayr), or to see two black ravens (Ahaggar); to see a jackal; to see the hawk called *ahullam*; to see three gazelles.

224 787 (7) The Tuareg have various methods of divination some of which are frequently used in connection with hunting. The hunter will frequently enquire into the result of a planned hunting trip by means of a method known in Ahaggar as *igehan*, in Ayr as *igazan*. In brief the method is practised as follows:— The diviner presses his thumb or his forefinger quickly into the sand to make two rows of holes close to each other. He does not know ahead how many holes he has made in the two rows. He counts

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



224 787 the number of holes in each row and makes a special sign in the sand for even and uneven numbers. There are four possibilities of different signs:— (1) A sign called *tezli* if there is an uneven number of holes in both rows; (2) A sign known as *éléllí* if there is an even number of holes in both rows; (3) A sign, *eggur*, if the number of holes is uneven in the right row, but even in the left row; (4) A sign, *tamayit*, if the number of holes is even in the right row, but uneven in the left. The diviner makes two rows of holes six times successively. Each time he makes one of the mentioned signs according to the distribution of holes, and the result of his divination depends upon the character of the signs and their relative position to each other (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 151 f.). – The Tuareg have other methods of divination which are perhaps also used to predict the result of planned hunting trips. They also know to take omens from the shoulder-blades of wild and domestic animals. When a hunter has killed [262] a gazelle he will often keep the shoulder-blades for himself, and having eaten the meat he will take omens of future happenings from the structure of these bones. Such shoulder-blades will not be thrown to the dogs – they are hidden under rocks and stones (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 150 f.).

224 Some of the above mentioned usages and beliefs have been mentioned also by Lhote (Lhote 1951a, p. 180 f.), who has noted a few other customs connected with hunting:—

[825] (8) If a hunter kills a snake he will get nothing. (A particular snake species known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *émegel* is never killed, as it is considered "sacred" and is referred to as a "marabut").

(9) If two men hunt together, but separate to meet later, the man who comes upon the other must not receive food from him.

(10) Handling the skin of game animals one must not put fingers into a bullet hole. This would cause bad shooting or accidents on future hunting trips, and the rule is observed even with tanned skin.

A few other superstitious usages have been recorded from Ahaggar by Captain Florimond (Rapport Annuel. Ouargla 1940). They are here quoted from Lhote 1951a, p. 181 f.:—

(11) Hunters of the *Dag Ṛali* take omens from the breaking of sandal straps in the pursuit of barbary sheep. If the straps passing between the toes break the hunter will kill a male, while he will get a female animal if the side-straps break.

[776] (12) When Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* (*Dag Ṛali*) leave for a hunting trip they put a stone or pebble on their heads and utter an invocation to hunting spirits which is rapidly repeated ten times.

(13) When *Dag Ṛali* Tuareg set out hunting they take with them a stone from a pre-Islamic tomb. When game is seen they throw this stone far away crying at their dogs: "Go! What you kill shall be *ḥallal* and lawful!"

[777] (14) When a barbary sheep has been killed by people hunting with dogs, the head of the animal is cut off and thrown on the fire while the following words are uttered:— "The smell from the burned skin of the head of the barbary sheep shall forever flatter the hunter's nostrils so that he may have good luck in future hunting also!" Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* will add:— "I have taken you from the *Kel Asuf* and I have taken only the blessing they have sold you that you may soon be followed by your peer!"

(15) At the partition of killed game the meat must be handled with slow motions. If not, the dogs will lose their fierceness.

(16) It is believed that a hunter should fix a burning piece of wood in the soil by the fire in which

his game has been prepared. If this wooden piece is removed by another hunter he will spoil all the 224
hunting luck of the first hunter, who will then have to find the offender and spit three times between [227]
his shoulders in order to regain the lost hunting luck. If he does not find the offender he will give all his hunting dogs the following treatment:— Black powder is set on fire, and one ear of every dog is held close to the burning powder so that the dog will cry as loudly as possible. The same treatment is applied to the dogs in case anybody has handled the meat of game with rapid motions.

There can be little doubt that some of these superstitious usages are pre-Islamic, and it seems as [226]
though there is a certain connection between hunting rites and the *Kel Asuf* spirits corresponding to the *jinn* of the Arabs. This is also quite natural in view of the fact that these pre-Islamic spirits are believed mainly to inhabit the isolated areas preferred by game animals (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 125 ff.).

Game animals should always be killed ritually by cutting the throat like domestic animals (cf. p. 231). If an animal is killed by a rifle bullet, its throat is cut as quickly as possible, but the Tuareg say that even an animal killed in this way die "slowly" and that its death is not accomplished until the throat is cut. If a knife is lacking the Tuareg sometimes use a stone to beat open the throat of birds such as pigeon and guinea fowl.

[text continues on p. 175]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



from an ancient cow-breeding culture. This we know formerly existed in the Sahara where cows are 174
very frequently represented in rock-engravings. There can be little doubt that hump-less long-horned cattle of the *Bos primigenius* type, which are still found in isolated parts of the Western Sudan, once existed in the Sahara, and it is extremely remarkable that Huard has been able to show that horn-deformation like those practised in Ancient Egypt on *Bos primigenius* cattle, and those still practised on oxen among the Nilotes, can be proved to have been in use over most of the Sahara, where such deformation is frequently seen on ancient cattle-pictures. It may be that one or two of his examples are doubtful, but on the whole they seem to be reliably interpreted, and I think with Huard that we should take the rock-engravings of the Sahara as a proof that the so-called East Hamitic Culture was formerly represented all over North-west Africa (cf. Huard 1953, p. 75–106, and notably 1959, p. 109–131). Long-horned cattle seem to have been found among the Ancient Libyans (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96), who according to Baumann also possessed traits in common with the East Hamitic Culture. We do not know when the nomads of the Sahara stopped to breed long-horned and humpless cattle, [173]
but the Ayr Tuareg, who are now zebu-breeders, claim that cattle-breeding is not an ancient occupation among them. They seem to hold that cattle were rare in Ayr even as recently as up to the beginning of the French penetration, and they claim that they know less about cattle than about other domestic animals. They also have rather few cattle terms compared with the extensive glossary for other domestic animals. It might be contended that the milking customs of modern Tuareg are derived from an ancient cattle-breeding culture of the Sahara but in general this is not the whole explanation, for it seems as if some of these traits have been introduced or re-introduced into the Sahara with camel-breeding, which originated in the same area from which the East Hamitic Complex must have come to Africa.

Our last problem is to consider Tuareg culture in the light of the so-called *Eurafrican Steppe-Hunting Culture*, which Baumann believes to have existed over most of Africa. He finds remains of [121]
this culture among the Ancient Libyans, and he thinks that certain rock-engravings of the Sahara prove that this primitive hunting culture was once widely distributed in the desert, while at present the steppe-hunting culture is mainly preserved on the outskirts of the Sahara. It seems as if the Tuareg have very few elements which can be placed within this culture. They lack the bow and arrow and also [411]
the true throwing stick or throwing club, they do not use parts of animals for disguise, and they do [224]
not poison water places to kill game, though in pre-European times they killed their enemies in this way. They know the spiked wheel-trap stated by Baumann to be an Eurafrican trait, but I believe with Lindblom and Lagercrantz that this hunting device is not so ancient (Lindblom 1928; Lagercrantz 1950, p. 98), and it can be mentioned in this connection that the torsion traps are also comparatively late arrivals (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 103 ff.; Lips 1927, p. 271). This may be the case also with dog hunting as practised to-day, for greyhound-like dogs are probably not the oldest hunting dog. Hunting barbary sheep with dogs and spears is depicted in a rock-engraving near Rat (cf. Frobenius 1933, pl. 28a), but, as generally the case with rock-engravings, it cannot be dated. A type of greyhound was known already in prehistoric Egypt (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 86 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 124 ff.) which may perhaps also be considered the cradle of Tuareg greyhound-like dogs, while the true greyhound, or *sluki*, was introduced to North Africa by the Arabs. The use of stalking animals is most

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Tent skins derive from domestic animals or from game animals. In older literature one can find 342* a reference to Tuareg tents made of a sheet of camel skin (cf. Denham & Clapperton 1826, p. L). 281 However, we have already seen that the Tuareg do not tan camel hides and they are not used for tent sheets. The Northern Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, zebu-calves, barbary sheep, antelope, and gazelle. Goat skin is most commonly used, skin of barbary sheep is considered the very best type of tent skin, while gazelle skin is rarely employed as it is very thin. According to Lhote, the *Kel Adrar* Tuareg generally use the skin of barbary sheep (Lhote 1947a, p. 108). The Ayr Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, and zebus. It is most possible that some Tuareg also use skin of game animals, but [224] most Ayr Tuareg engage very little in hunting, though barbary sheep are very common in certain parts of the Massif. In the southern plains of the *Iwllemmeden* there are no barbary sheep. According to Nicolas, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* use for their tents the skin of sheep, goats, gazelle, and sometimes even the skin of ostriches, but they do not use zebu skin which becomes very hard and shrinks when heavily moistened during the rainy season (Nicolas 1938, p. 54 & 1950a, p. 155). The *Iwllemmeden* and their *Béila* of the Ayoru region use the skin of goats and sheep for tent-sheets.

Tent skins are prepared in the same way as skins used for transportation bags, dress articles, and the like. They are depilated and tanned according to the methods described on p. 275 ff. After tanning they are treated with butter, and are thereupon soaked to be rubbed and coloured with red ochre, these treatments making the skins impervious to water. A tent sheet is always made of several pieces [283] of skin which are sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl known as *tistent* (Ahaggar), [413] or *éstan* (Ayr). The edges where the skins have to be sewn are made even with a knife, while the outer edges of the sheet are left largely unfashioned so that the circumference of the sheet is of very irregular shape with protruding patches of leg or neck skin. These patches of skin frequently serve for the attachment of the cords by means of which the sheet is suspended. When two pieces of skin are sewn together a narrow leather strip is inserted between their edges before sewing. Loose ends of leather [531] thread hang down from the inner side of the sheet to serve as a kind of decoration, and in Ahaggar the tents are also frequently ornamented with hanging patches of leather with a carved decoration (cf. Fig. 182). On the whole the Tuareg of Ahaggar take a great interest in their tents. They like to 342* have richly-decorated dwellings, and when a tent is made for a newly-married couple, the women 281 do their outmost to make the sheet very beautiful. These aestethic feelings seem to be unknown in 517 regard to other types of dwelling used among the Tuareg, including the mat tent, and I think that they are responsible for some Tuareg using skin tents even when other dwelling types would be more suitable. I believe this to be true, the more so as the skin tent among the Northern Tuareg plays a [585] great part in the wedding ceremony, which is called *éhen*, that is "a tent".

It is evident that the number of skins to be used for a sheet greatly varies; if a sheet is made from 342* goat skins it may be estimated that a tent of normal size in Ahaggar comprises about 35–40 skins, 281 but very large tents with sheets of 60–80 skins are found among rich noble Tuareg and also in the *Dag Rali* tribe. A tent from Ahaggar now in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen has a sheet sewn together from a great many skin patches, and it measures 4.00 × 3.85 metres (N.M., no. G.1; cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 139). This is perhaps to be considered a normal size of skin tents among the Ahaggar Tuareg, though the sheet is generally somewhat more rectangular in

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



173 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Fou-
565 cauld 1951-52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day.
[172] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten* people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides, two men known as *Mokhammed ag-Kerku* and *Êmenni ag-Khedidda*, both members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* claim that their tribe descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten* formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Ṛali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten* were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and introduced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient *Isebeten* contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much
[551] difficulty. For the word *Ésebet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending from the woman *Ésebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had
[114] a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Ṛali*
[428] tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a, p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent
614 conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are
565 known by the name *Kel Ulli*, that is "the goat people", or by the name *Imṛad* which perhaps also refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *eṛeyd* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas
[433] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly
[224] important to the *Dag Ṛali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this ancient people.

173 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ*, said to descend from
565 *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Beraber*, and that they were Islamic. The claim that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyound doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Isamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief, whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division, which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imṛad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imṛad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, donkeys are marked in both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirzemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found particularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

222 have made them the base of their diet; for this reason they were
262 nicknamed acridophages. The Nasamonians of Herodotus prepared them in the same way the Tuareg do, and the /236/ similar diets of the two peoples is perhaps not pure coincidence.

There are a few fish ponds in the Ahaggar, but the Imochar
226 and the Imrad do not eat the flesh of these animals; only the
262 Issekkemâren catch barbels and sometimes catfish, or rather they gather them up in the wadis after floods, for they do not know how to fish, properly speaking.

The sedentary peoples raise chickens, but the Tuareg do not
262 eat them either, since they consider the meat impure. The same interdict is extended to eggs. The only bird which is an exception is the ostrich. There are no longer any ostriches in the Sahara, but
[223] when the Ihăggaren go to the Sudan they capture them if they have the chance; in addition, they eat ostrich eggs cooked in the ashes.

Times of scarcity were sometimes experienced. They are rare
262 now that caravans can circulate freely, but they were much more
731 frequent when the state of war continued for a long time. The
224 Tuareg fell back on wild plants which do not generally enter into their diet: the young growths of tahlé (Typha elephantina), the
[824] leaves of the tanekfit (Eruca aurea) and the aramas (Atriplex halimus), the underground stems of the danoun (Cistanche lutea) which resembles asparagus, and many other plants of very dubious food value, which they ate to assuage their hunger. The state of famine can
[252] become so pronounced that they sometimes gather up old bones, grind them up, reduce them to flour, and make gruels of them. It
[519] goes without saying that it is during these periods that pillaging is at its height. People steal from camp to camp, from tribe to tribe, and everyone forgets his brother and his friend, thinking of only one thing -- survival by any means.

224 The administration fortunately has decided to confiscate these
[411 weapons.
648]

It is very difficult to get an exact idea of the number of animals killed annually by hunters. But we believe we are close to accurate in giving the figure 300. Thus we say that hunting holds a very small place in Ahaggar Tuareg economy.

•226 Fishing. -- Fishing is not done by the Tuareg for the reasons
[184] we have given. Only the Issekkemâren and the Iklan engage in it. They fish when the pond water is very low. In the Tassili they dig little ditches on the lower side at water level, leading to little reservoirs where the fish find refuge and are then surely caught.

[251] When fishing has been fruitful, the Issekkemâren dry the fish to keep them for periods of scarcity.

/244/ Chapter 5

## Agriculture

241 The Ahaggar Tuareg have never attached more than a very secondary importance to agriculture. Their nomadic turn of mind is at the opposite pole from land ownership and still more from exploiting it, which implies sedentary life. There are, however, a number of centers of cultivation in their country; they are of undeniable interest and could be extended more widely if improper legislation did not hinder their development.

The creation of most of these centers of cultivation does not
177 go back more than a century. It was accomplished under the in-
241 fluence of Arab groups settled in the Ahaggar. Only the Silet and Tibeghîn oases are much older and probably date from the time of the Imanan sultans who had brought into the Ahaggar some

224 Tuareg are also aware of the use of poison. I have gathered no information about this myself, but
[829] Lhote states that certain poisonous grain is used for the destruction of jackals and small rodents (Lhote 1951a, p. 43 f. & 132).

● 226 It is obvious that fishing cannot be an important industry to people of the Sahara, but fishing is practised in certain areas. One species of fish (*Clarias Lazera*) is found in a few permanent pools of Central Ahaggar, but it is particularly common in the numerous permanent ponds of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where there is also another, perch-like species. I have myself caught and eaten both species. Duveyrier states that there are three distinct species in Tasilé-n-Ajjer:— (1) *asoulmeh* (*asulmey*) (*Clarias Lazera*): (2) *isattafen* (*i-settefen*); (3) *imanan* (pl. *imenan*) (Duveyrier 1864, p. 227, 238). Fishing is described
[262] by Duveyrier as follows: "Les poissons des lacs de Mihero donnent lieu à une pêche qui contribue
[365] à l'alimentation des serfs riverains. A cet effet, ils creusent sur les bords des lacs de petits canaux étroits, aboutissant à des réservoirs dans lesquels les poissons viennent pour y chercher une nourriture qu'ils ne trouvent pas dans les profondeurs des lacs. Quand ils y sont entrés on renferme les conduits et on les prend" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 238 f.). Another fishing method is described by Lhote: "Ils construisent des espèces de fascines avec des tiges de mrokba ou des branches de tamarix, puis, entrant à plusieurs dans l'eau ils forment une espèce de barrage au moyen de ces fascines en les mettant bout à bout et les poussent ensuite doucement devant eux. Ils prennent bien soin de drainer le fond de sorte que le poisson soit systématiquement chassé. Lorsqu'ils arrivent près de la rive opposée à celle d'où ils sont partis, ils poussent rapidement par un dernier effort et éjectent le poison sur le sable ou ils le ramassent. Ils recommencent ce manège plusieurs fois jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient capturé la majorité des poissons" (Lhote 1951a, p. 53). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told about a third fishing method, namely the use of a piece of cotton (e.g., an old cotton shirt) attached to two poles. The cotton piece serves as a net over which the fish are fed. There seem to be no other fishing methods, as both the fish-hook and the harpoon are unknown.

## AYR

136 The Ayr Massif with adjacent plains is very rich in game in comparison with the true desert country inhabited by the Northern Tuareg. Barbary sheep (*éjital*; *Ammotragus lervia Aiqusi*) are common in the mountains and also south of the Massif around the cliff known as *Falaise de Tigeddi*. Gazelle (*achenkod*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) (*énir*; *Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amellul*; *Addax nasomaculatus*), which are found in Northern Tuareg countries, are more abundant in Ayr where there are also bigger types of game, notably the oryx antelope (*ézem*; *Aegoryx algazel algazel*), and the giraffe (*amder*; *Giraffa camelopardalis*) which is found south and southwest of the Massif (e.g., around Ingal and Aderbissinat). The ostrich (*énhal*; *Struthio camelus*) is still very common in isolated regions of Ayr including the northern outskirts of the mountains, where I have seen flocks of more than twenty birds. There are in Ayr as mentioned above (p. 31) many bird species which are unknown or rare further north in the desert, e.g., the guinea fowl (*taylalt*; *Numida clappertoni clappertoni*) and a bustard species (*agayis*; *Choriotis arabs stieberi*). Game birds are extremely abundant in certain parts of Ayr. The birds come in amazing numbers to waterholes and open wells to drink in the evening at

181 and not caused by a state of laziness, for although they would not
565 consider working the land at any price, they would not mind traveling thousands of kilometers under often difficult and quite dangerous conditions to go pillage opposing tribes. Once back in camp, they intend to lead a life free from any material cares, shifting the burden to their vassals.

422 They entrust the keeping of the captured herds to the Imrad,
565 reclaiming the beasts from them when they need them and the necessary usufruct for their food. For themselves, they keep only
[231 mounts for war and for transporting household objects and are content
234] with small herds of goats with only the number of head strictly necessary to assure their daily milk needs. In the same way, they
[567] do not own many slaves of their own, for the latter would make so many months to feed, which they are wary of.

565 Although they rely on their Imrad for everything, they do not abuse them, for, as a Tuareg proverb says, "we must not kill the camel which feeds us," and their demands always take into account the wealth and the possibilities of the moment.

565 Every year the Imochar levy a vassalage tax called a tioussé
631 on the Imrad. This tax, fixed for each tribe, includes an annual
651 contribution of a certain number of head of livestock, loads of grain, miscellaneous items /160/ waterskins, tent stakes, etc.), tanned hides, butter, etc. In principal it is invariable and paid to
[643] the amenokal who disposes of it as he wishes, making allowances for the needs of the Imochar.

643 The amenokal leaves the animals which he levies under the
651 management of the Imrad, who furnish him the usufruct from them.

Individual rights of Imochar over Imrad do not exist in principal.
565 Actually they do exist when a man is the last representative of a
631 tribe and levies for himself the rights falling to his tribe.
651 On the other hand, some undertake to make small levies on the Imrad; the latter never refuse. And we must say in defense of the nobles that they treat their Imrad quite generously when a fortunate raid makes them temporarily well off.

631 They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since
[669] they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaïa.

565 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tăousit, still called
644 Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they
631 made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be
[184] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion
[241] to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and
[162] they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[231] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tăhalra, and in the region of Silet-Ăbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers
[241 423] of Tîgeneouin, Ăbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm grove at Tibeghîn, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is
563 synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and
631 Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hâda
Kel In Rhar'
Kel Tăfedest
Kel Immîdir
Kel Tăzoûlet
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Téroûrirt
Kel Ouhet

Plate XII

Hunting with dogs is common among the Tuareg, who use saluki something like Arabian greyhounds for the purpose. Their eklan /Iklan? Ed./ are often famous hunters. In this photograph we see one of them holding two dogs on a leash and getting ready to go track wild sheep.

Besides hunting with dogs, the Tuareg engage in trapping. Here we see a trap with radial points being set. The lasso is being tied to a big tree branch sunk in the ground and hidden by a layer of sand.

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224 Among the Tuareg hunting is the business of a few men, a few
[463] specialists who have made it their profession; however, we see a
[567] large proportion of Iklan who seem to have more aptitude and more taste for hunting than their masters. There is certainly an atavistic character in this, a vestige of ancestral mores influenced by the original forest environment, where hunting was most often the basis of human activity. But it is nonetheless true that many Tuareg are very good hunters. The most renowned seem to be among the Issekkemâren and the Dâg Râli.

Hunting with hounds is the most popular. They hunt wild sheep
224 and gazelles with saluki-type greyhounds, who serve at the same
231 time as camp dogs /241/ for the Tuareg. These animals, who stand tall, belong to a race halfway between the Kabyle dog and the Berber saluki and must also possess jackal blood. They are particularly suited for running and have innate talent for hunting.

The hunter's job is to track down the animal, to succeed in
224 discovering him, either grazing or in his lair, and to set the dogs on him at the propitious moment when he does not expect it and at a suitable distance. An epic battle between the animal and the dogs sometimes results from this; often the battle necessitates the man's intervention, for example when there is a wild sheep which does not hesitate to confront its assailants. The hunter, who is
[411] usually armed with a long javeline with a wooden shaft, then tries to stick his weapon in the animal's body and kill it. When it is a question of gazelles, he only needs let the dogs alone. If they can catch it, the animal will be quickly neutralized by the powerful jaws of the saluki.

Beside the common hunting with hounds, the Tuareg engage in trapping, which is a lazy method of hunting. It is all the more appreciated in the Sahara because game is rare and wary, and a certain amount of luck is always involved in capturing it.

The Ihaggaren use two types of traps: traps with radial points and torsion traps in the shape of an arc.

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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A Targui noble of the Ahaggar, beside his tent. (Photograph by L. C. Briggs.)

[Frontispiece]

565 this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.
642 Ancient Egyptian records tell of a Libyan chieftain, Meryey who was peacefully deposed and replaced by a younger brother following a disastrous defeat in battle (Bates, 1914, pp. 114–15, 218 and 221). It is some of the vassal clans that are the biggest numerically and also the richest on a *per capita* basis; and if vassal clansmen pay tribute to their noble "masters" it is only because they choose to do so, because they find it in their interest to keep the nobles on their payroll so to speak. Thus the Tuareg government of the Ahaggar is in fact a kind of republic and not a real monarchy or true military aristocratic autocracy at all.

233 **Livestock.** Herds of camels and flocks of hairy sheep and goats constitute the bulk of the capital investment and so form the primary basis of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar. The quantity and composition of the total livestock investment has been variously estimated, but the following rough approximations are probably not far from the true figures: camels—12,000, sheep—2,000, goats—20,000, donkeys—5,000 and cattle (zebus)—300 or thereabouts. Donkeys, as we have seen, are unproductive
[231] except as beasts of burden, and the cattle are so few as to be of negligible importance. Only some 4,500 camels are actually kept in the Ahaggar while the rest are put out to pasture in the Tamesna region on the northern edge of the Sudan, roughly half way between the Aïr and the Niger Bend. Most of the sheep too are pastured outside the Ahaggar proper, mainly in the country around Tin Zaouaten, southwest of the Ahaggar and northwest of the Tamesna.

235 The Haratin of the Ahaggar keep chickens,
262 but only the eggs are eaten as a rule. The Tuareg eat neither eggs, fowl nor fish, but we will discuss this further in the section on *Nomad Diet* in the following chapter.

232 It has been said that the Tuareg have no special breed of riding camels but that likely looking animals are picked out early and given special training for use as mounts. The fact remains, however, that the young of famous stud camels are always the preferred choice, and these animals are specially marked shortly after birth. The method of marking consists of pinching up three small folds of skin in a row, about 2 to 3 inches apart, along

2: Briggs E-4,5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 235]
[Pp. 230-234 not processed]



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Fig. 20. a, Bey ag Akhamouk, heir apparent (and now paramount chief) of the Ahaggar Tuareg, with one of the last horses of the central Sahara.

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P. 241] Hoggar



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*a*

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*b*

Fig. 26. Tuareg of the Ahaggar. *a*, Camel Corps soldiers. *b*, A young noble of the Kel Rela Tribe. (Photographs: *a*, by A. J. Weber; *b*, by L. C. Briggs.)

tanned and sewed together. The assemblage of these hides [281]
constitutes the cover, the essential part of the tent, and is 342
called "ehakit" ⵜⵃⴰⴽⵉⵜ .

The tent is supported by a central master beam called
"tamankalt" ⵜⵎⴰⵏⴽⴰⵍⵜ .

A pole, "idjem" ⵉⵊⵎ , is placed at the entrance
of the tent and is flanked right and left by poles called
"madar'en" ⵎⴰⴷⴰⵔⵉⵏ . /26/

Other poles are used to hold up the edges: these are the
"tissedass" ⵜⵉⵙⵙⴷⴰⵙ . The little pegs that hold the tent
to the ground are called "tisselitat" ⵜⵉⵙⵍⵉⵜⴰⵜ . Some-
times bows are also used, called "adjedjou" ⴰⵊⵊⵓ ,
plural "idjedjan" ⵉⵊⵊⴰⵏ .

The tent is surrounded by mats of "afezzou" ⴰⴼⵣⵣⵓ [285
(Panicum turgidum, Graminaceae), called "asabar" ⴰⵙⴰⴱⴰⵔ 824]
plural "isebran" ⵉⵙⴱⴰⵏ , which are pulled back in the
day and drawn close at night, to close the tent.

In the tent one finds first that which concerns water, that 352
is, waterskins, "abelor'" ⴰⴱⵍⵓⵔ , plural "ibiyar'" 415
ⵉⴱⵉⵢⴰⵔ , hung on forked sticks, "tidjettaouin" ⵜⵉⵊⵉⵜⵜⴰⵓⵉⵏ .
They are filled by means of a funnel, "asegueffi" ⴰⵙⴳⵓⴼⴼⵉ ,
plural "isegueffa" ⵉⵙⴳⵓⴼⴼⴰ . To water the camels, the 231
Tuareg use troughs of hide supported by hoops at the top and
called "tafaraout" ⵜⴰⴼⴰⵔⴰⵓⵜ , plural "tiferouin" ⵜⵉⴼⴰⵔⴰⵓⵉⵏ .
They also use these troughs for the harvest of "toulloult" grain 243
(Arthraterum pungens, Graminaceae) or of "afezzou" (Panicum
turgidum, Graminaceae).

For milk and butter, they have a waterskin for milk, 415
"tanouart" ⵜⴰⵏⵓⴰⵔⵜ , plural "tinouarin" ⵜⵉⵏⵓⴰⵔⵉⵏ , and
a kind of porous water jug made of a hollowed gourd and called
"az'enou" ⴰⵣⵉⵏⵓ . To ladle the milk, serve it or pour it,
they use a wooden vessel with one handle called "asoukal"
ⴰⵙⵓⴽⴰⵍ . To store and transport melted butter, "oudi," they
have waterskins of various shapes, the most common being the
one called "tahattint" ⵜⴰⵃⴰⵜⵜⵉⵏⵜ , but they also sometimes [281]
use the tanned hide of a camel's thigh. /27/

4: Benhazera--23 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

To feed young camels and lambs, they use a kind of 231
nursing bottle of wood shaped like a cup equipped with a tube. 415
This utensil is called "ar'alala" .

For dishes, one finds in the tent wooden bowls of all sizes, 415
called "akous" , plural "ikassen" ,
large wooden dishes, "tar'elalt" , and smaller dishes
used as plates and called "tar'ehout" , plural
"tireha" . To ladle milk or gruel, the Tuareg use
a large ladle, "temoulat" , plural "timoulatin"

[361]

Dautheville

Tuareg Camp at Tazerouk

, and for eating they have ordinary wooden spoons
called "tesoukalt" , plural "tsoukaline" .

To separate the grains of "toulloult" and "afezzou" from 252
their hulls, they use small trays of afezzou called "tissiit" 415
, plural "tissiin" .

They also use a great deal the wooden mortar, "akabar" 415
, with its pestle, "ihar'en" .

Finally, they have hide sacks to hold dates or grains, which 281
they call "adjera" , plural "idjerouen" 415

All the above utensils are made of the wood of the 415
"teborak" (Balanites aegyptiaca, Simaroubaceae) and of the 824
abser', or "tamat," (Acacia arabica).

4: Benhazera--29 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The negroes and negresses are well treated by the Tuareg, 563
who do not impose hard labor upon them. The negroes are pri- 567
marily busy with the flocks, which they drive to pasture and water. [233]
The negresses are concerned with the kitchen; they go after [357]
water and take care of the children.

[231 291 312]

Tuareg Watering their Sheep at the Tin Zaouaten Well

Negroes and negresses also gather the harvest of "toulloult" and "afezzou" grains, but this is more fun than work, for everyone takes part in it with them, in gay groups.

Many negroes eventually become the trusted men of their masters, who put them in charge of caravans or even of responsible missions. Thus, the amenokal Moussa had a trusted negro, Chernach, whom he regarded highly, for, he said, "I know that this man would have himself killed for me." Moreover, he gave him a gun, a spear, and a saber. /33/ These negroes are very happy and can consider themselves as freed.

Should one see here some agreement with what we have 114
read in Dozy, or might the uran have been a "totem" among 825
the Tuareg, as among the Redskins of America?

Nobles do not eat the "dobb" (star lizard) either, which 262
is called "aguezzeram" in Tamashek. As a reason for this 565
abstinence, they quoted me these two lines of nine syllables: 825

Our ekcher' aguezzeram idit [539]
Iladhou ichchaden ilir'it.

This means:

"I do not eat the aguezzeram because it smells bad and has a rough skin" (1).

1. Iladhou is put instead of "ili adhou." Similarly, ilir'it is put for "ili ir'it." Ir'it, plural ir'ten, means hide (of beef, camel, etc.).

Finally, they firmly refuse to eat chickens and eggs, and chickens are found nowhere among the Tuareg, except among [231]
some "harratine" /Haratin/ Arabs of the Ahaggar villages. They claim that this abstinence dates back for a long time. Azioueel ag Ser'ada when pressed ended by telling me that it was because chickens seek their food in manure. In the Niger, according to a study by officer-interpreter Merle, the French are called egg eaters. But I believe that the following is the 262
real reason for this abstention: The Tuareg, like all the 565
Berbers, had embraced Kharijism. Among the chiefs who took 825
part in the insurrection of the Kharwarij /plural of Kharijite. 773
Ed./ was Tarif, who made the first invasion into Spain (the city of Tarifa still bears his name). His son Salih, or Salah, claimed to be a prophet and composed a new Koran. Elijah, or Elias, son of /62/ the latter, openly remained Moslem, and it was only Salih's grandson, Jonah, or Younes, (end of the eighth century), who spread the new doctrine, which was a much modified Islamism. According to one of the precepts of

233 /85 cont. / When the Tuareg want to recapture some of these animals, they organize veritable battues and must use a great deal of cleverness and energy to succeed. It is necessary to break these donkeys in order to fit them for domestic use, for many of them are born wild.

It is estimated that there are 5, 000 donkeys in the Ahaggar, but this figure is certainly too conservative.

[262] The flesh of the donkey is not eaten, nor is the milk of the female drunk.

A few horses, most of them originating in the Sudan, are to be found in certain agricultural centers. A "luxury" animal, the horse (aïs) cannot live off the Ahaggar pastures. When well nourished with barley, it bears the climate perfectly well and can be used as a mount in the mountains of the Ahaggar where water points are numerous.

Lastly, chickens are raised by the harratin in all the
231 agricultural centers; they are lean fowl which find practically all of their own food. The harratin chiefly eat the eggs,
[437] rather rarely the meat, which is sold to the Europeans.

/87/

## IV
## Material Life

### Dwelling

342 The Tuareg, as true nomads, use the tent for habitation,
281 and sometimes, in exceptional circumstances, the zériba.

The Tuareg tent is made of skins sown together and specially prepared. Its red tint, which harmonizes with the dominant tones of the Ahaggar landscape, is agreeable to the eye. For making the tent (éhakit), goat, sheep, wild sheep, and, very rarely, cattle skins are used; the skins of wild sheep are considered the best. After being stripped of its hair, the

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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8. An abankor.

[p. 193]

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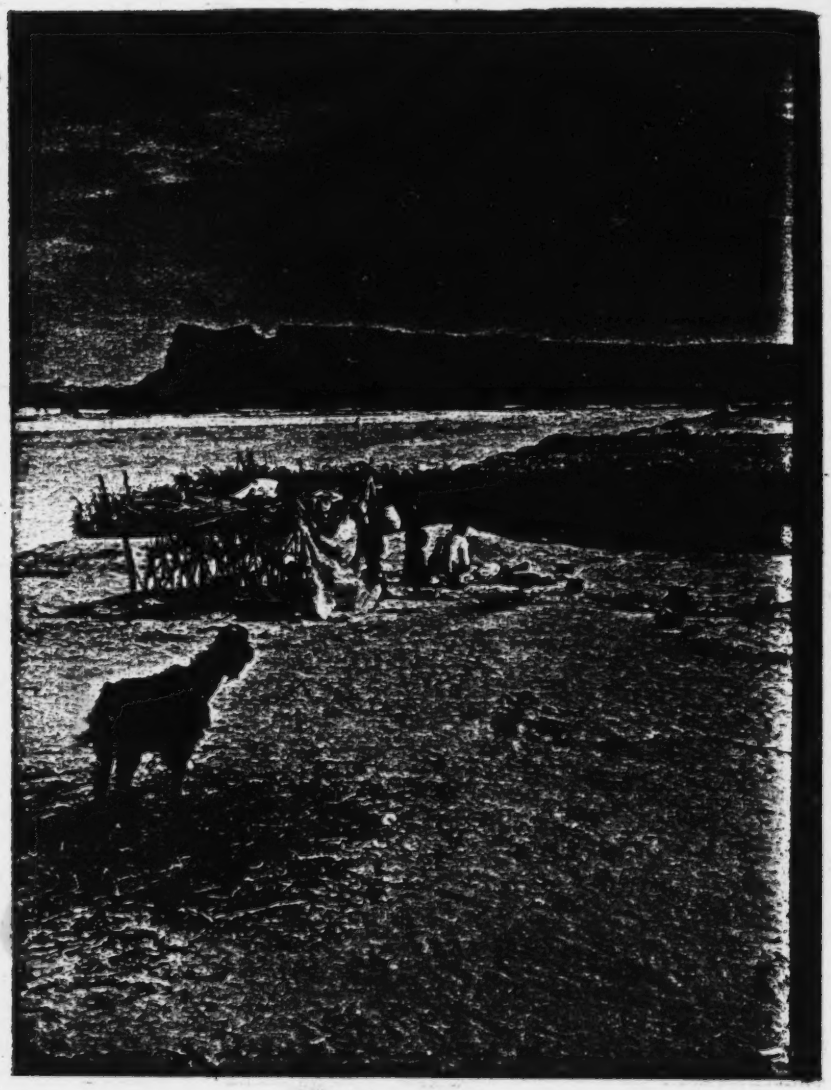

27. A jeriba near a wheat field.

[p. 214]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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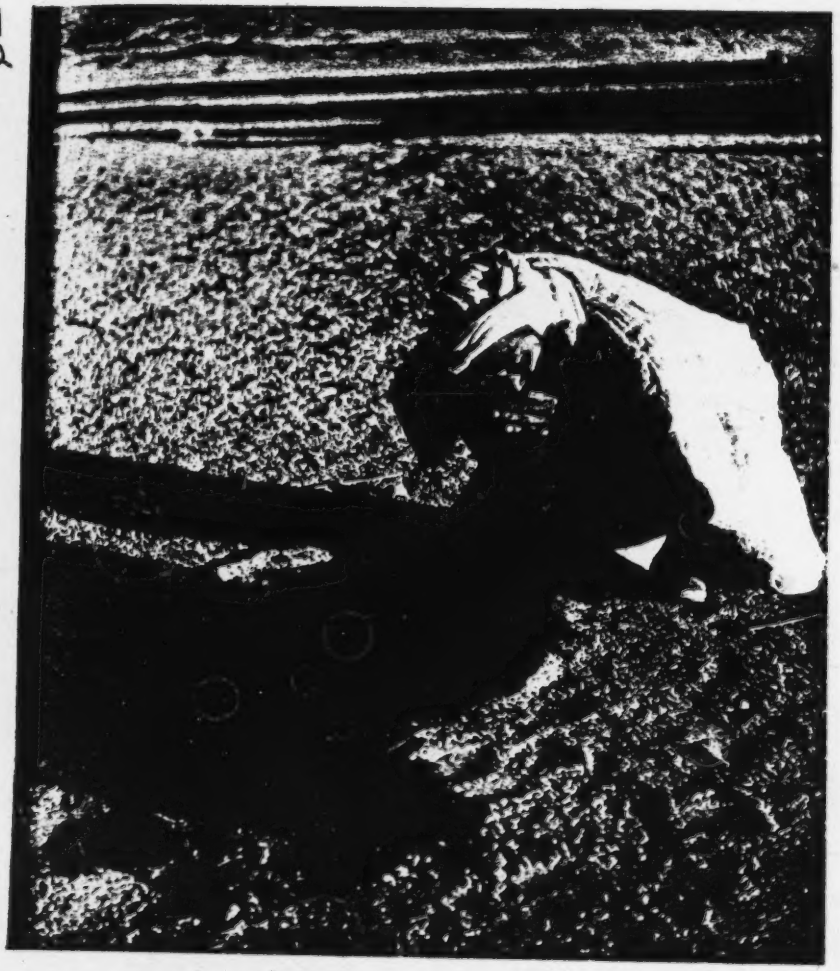

51. After killing a goat, one blows in the skin to loosen it.

[p.239]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*492 181 [114] [539]

of riders and their camels. This is intimated by the following poem quoted from Foucauld's excellent books on the poetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg:—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ébeydeg, é ti n ami mellen* | My white camel, O woman with white teeth |
| *W-allahi! iḍeg ul ifel kem* | I swear by God, it shall not go raiding, shall not leave you |
| *Ula daṛ ikk am akal ien* | It shall not go away from you to another country |
| *U t ḍineṛ ar y arabuh ennem* | I lead it to the pastures only to visit you with love again |
| *Ula taharġit d asemmeḍren* | Neither in dreams nor in thought |
| *Innin é ham yekk akal ien* | Shall it go away from you to another country |

(cf. Foucauld 1925-30, I, p. 210 f. for a literal translation).

## DONKEYS

231 [192] Donkeys are very important domestic animals in the Tuareg groups I have studied. Most animals are grey or greyish but there are other colours for which the Tuareg have special terms. From Ahaggar the following colour-terms can be mentioned:— *aḍebara* (greyish), *afawa* (greyish with a white stomach), *ewriṛ* (yellow-brown), *éhenbey*, or *takenbawt* (donkey with a black head), *ékawél* (black). Black donkeys seem to be more common among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara than among the Tuareg.

231 136 Donkeys vary less in colour than other domestic animals among the Tuareg. It is interesting to note in this connection that there are fairly big herds of wild donkeys, or asses, in the mountainous massifs of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr. These animals are generally greyish like most domestic donkeys.

133 *492 415

Fig. 83. Women carrying cereals in skin bags loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṛali* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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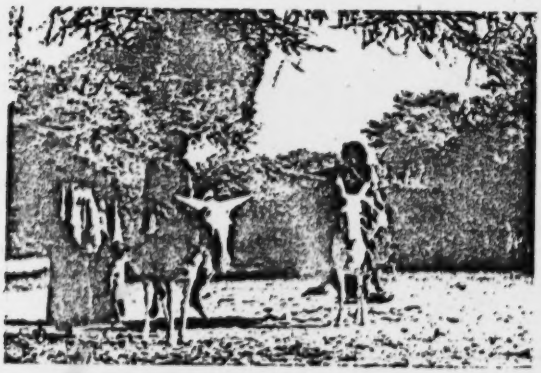

Fig. 84. Boy and woman mounted on donkeys. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

But the wild animals are bigger, which the Tuareg ascribe to the fact that they roam freely in the desert 231 and always can find the very best fodder – an explanation which seems reasonable as the Tuareg 136 camp where fodder is reserved to their milk-yielding animals (cf. p. 491 ff.). It can be added that 231 domestic donkeys are frequently tightly hobbled by means of a narrow rope (*téffart*) around their forelegs (Fig. 45) and sometimes also with another rope (*amahus* in Ahaggar) running from one foreleg to a hind leg.

If donkeys are not hobbled, there is always a great risk that they will disappear in the mountains and join the herds of wild animals. Unhobbled donkeys are often caught with great difficulty. They are sometimes driven together by the inhabitants of a camp, and when mares have foals it may even become necessary to run down the foals on riding camels in order to get hold of their mothers. In [312] some regions where donkeys depend on water from deep wells it is customary not to give them too much water to drink, in which case unhobbled animals can always be caught at the well, where they will wait for water. But donkeys are very well fitted for desert life. They can do without water for several days even when weather is extremely hot, and where water is very near the surface so that the sandy soil is humid donkeys dig small holes with their hoofs to drink the water which quickly gathers in these depressions. I have myself witnessed this in Ahaggar where the Tuareg say that among domestic animals only donkeys are able to make such water-holes.

The Tuareg distinguish between the domestic donkey (*éyhed* in the north, *éyjed* among the Ayr Tuareg) and the wild donkey or ass (*ahulil* in the north, *émedrer* in Ayr), but they are well aware that there is no important distinction between them for many Tuareg even nowadays obtain domestic donkeys by catching wild animals. Wild donkeys or asses were hunted for domestication still more eagerly in the past, and there may perhaps be some connection between donkey-breeding and true hunting – that is hunting for meat. Nowadays the Tuareg never eat donkey's meat, nor do they utilize 231 the skin of these animals. But it is known that the Ahaggar Tuareg have eaten donkey's meat in periods 242 of hunger even fairly recently, and Duveyrier states that old animals caught in traps are killed for their 233

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 85. Tuareg breaking in a young newly-caught donkey. The donkey is prevented from escaping by means of hobble-ropes (*téffart* and *amahus*) and is also tethered to an acacia tree. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

●231 262 237 skin (Duveyrier 1864, p. 231). It is most possible that the taboo on donkey's meat and skin is due to Islam – meat of donkeys and horses is considered unlawful by the Ḳoran. Leo Africanus states that [175] the nomads of the Sahara eat meat of donkeys which they catch in snares (Leo Africanus II, p. 944).

136 224 The wild donkeys, or asses, of Tuareg countries are very shy, and it is most impressive to watch a herd of some twenty animals galloping over the desert plains. Because of their shyness they are often hunted much in the same way as game animals. Among the Northern Tuareg they are caught in the spiked wheel-trap, are run down by men mounted on camels, or are driven into closed river valleys surrounded by steep rocky walls. In certain parts of Ayr wild donkeys can be caught in the same way – notably in valleys of Mount Tamgak (Northern Ayr) and around Anu Meḳḳeren (Central Ayr) – while the method of running down wild donkeys with riding camels is said not to be practised. Whether the so-called spiked wheel-trap is used for catching donkeys or not, I do not know, as the Ayr country is very extensive and inhabited by Tuareg of different origins. The Tuareg belonging to the *Kel Ferwan* group claimed that it was not used for donkeys or asses for which they have a kind of snare called *tuṛunt*, which is also the name used among them for the noosed rope connected with the spiked wheel-[283] trap. The snare used for donkeys is said to consist of a rope some twenty or thirty metres long and plaited from dum palm leaves. The rope is noosed at one end to be used as follows:— The loop is laid out where donkeys come to drink, the whole rope being covered with sand. The hunter lies hidden behind some natural object, a rock or tree, and when a donkey puts one of its legs within the [231] loop he pulls the rope. It is said that this method is also sometimes used for other domestic animals which have gone wild, as happens frequently with oxen. But it is never used for hunting proper game 231 224 animals such as gazelle, antelope, and barbary sheep. To catch domestic animals which have gone

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



wild the Ayr Tuareg also know another type of snare, or rather lasso, which is also known as *turunt*. It consists of a long rope noosed at one end, but the loop in this case is thrown against the animal by means of a short forked stick. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that this type of lasso is not widely found among them, and claim it is typical of and traditional for the pastoral Fulani, who use it to catch cows which are difficult to approach.

The wild donkeys caught for domestication are young animals, for very old ones cannot be tamed. When an animal is caught by one of the above mentioned methods it is beaten a heavy blow between the ears so that it falls unconscious to the ground. It is thereupon given a rope around its mouth, for wild donkeys are fierce and have a dangerous bite, and is also tied with ropes around its legs so that it cannot run. When the animal comes to after the blow it is led to the camp where it is tethered. It remains tethered and fitted with hobble-ropes in the camp for one or two months during which period it gets a very brutal treatment. It is trained for riding by the men who mount it daily during this period of training (cf. Fig. 85) until it can be ridden as freely as domestic donkeys. The Tuareg say that not all donkeys survive the heavy blow on the head but that most of them do.

Donkeys constitute the important riding animal of all vassal women, and there are also some men of the true vassal class who ride donkeys though most of them have riding camels. Donkeys are also extremely important pack-animals. They are used by most Tuareg for the transportation of tents and

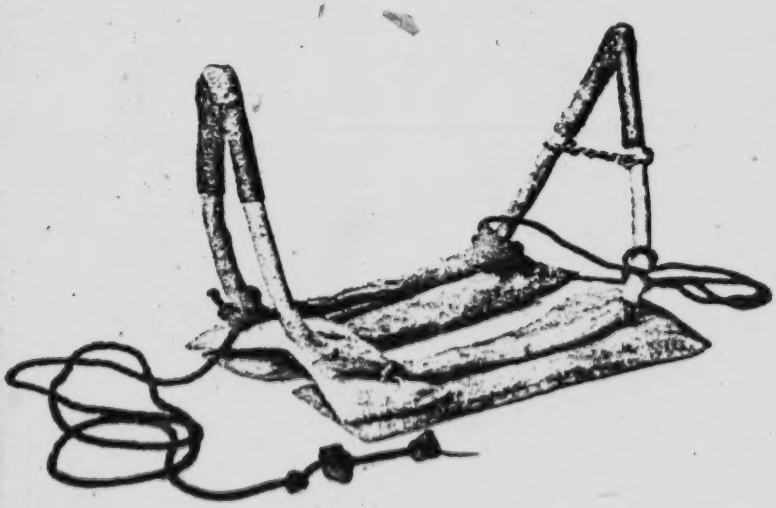

Fig. 86. Donkey saddle (*aruka*) of the type described in detail in the text (cf. p. 110). It is fixed to the animal by two cords of goat's hair: the girth (left), the cord passing under the tail (right). Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.585 m long, 0.360 broad. (N.M. G. 5246).

*492 household goods during nomadic migrations, and are employed daily in all camps to carry water in skin-
[415] [312] bags from wells and waterholes to the tents. They are very strong animals considering their low stature,
and good pack-donkeys can carry up to one hundred kilograms even for very long trips. Donkeys
[262] are occasionally used for long journeys by the Northern Tuareg, and many Ayr Tuareg use them to
[484] fetch provisions of millet around Tanut in Damergu. Caravans of donkeys are frequently observed
in these regions, and one even sees mixed caravans of donkeys and camels. There can be no doubt
[174] that before the introduction of the camel the donkey was still more important for riding and transportation than is the case nowadays. This is clearly demonstrated by historical material from Egypt and adjacent regions (cf. Erman 1922, p. 518 f., 529, 592 f., 636).

231 It has already been mentioned that donkey's meat and skin are not utilized nowadays by the Tuareg.
[262] The same is true of mare's milk which, however, is used as a remedy against a kind of cough known
[257] to the Ayr Tuareg as *khamkham*. There is no regulation of mating for donkeys which in many ways are semi-domesticated animals. In Ayr male donkeys are never castrated, while the Ahaggar Tuareg say they castrate such stallions as constantly run after the mares and in this way cause too much trouble. The Tuareg also have no methods to prevent foals from sucking, while a method of this kind is sometimes applied by sedentary people in and around Agadez. This method known as *éfinjar* consists in the cutting of the nostrils of half-grown foals so that they cannot suck pregnant mares. Both stallions
*492 and mares are used for riding and transportation, but female animals are much preferred for these purposes. Mares are used almost exclusively for the transportation of water-bags hanging under the animals, as the bags might be squirted by stallions' urine.

The Northern Tuareg saddle their donkeys, using the same saddle type for riding and for transpor-
[462] tation (Fig. 86). This is known as *aruku* and is manufactured by the women in the following way:—
[824] Two fresh boughs of the *tahunek*-tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) are heated, or slightly burned, over the fire.
[322] The boughs are thereupon barked and bent into the curved form wanted, and are then kept in this position by cords. After drying for a few days the boughs will retain their curved form, and the cords are untied. The boughs are then cut up and their ends are connected by two pieces of camel's hide
[237] [412] soaked in water, and sewn together by means of a large iron needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (cf. Fig. 220b) and a thread which is also cut from camel's hide. The wooden saddle frame is attached to three cushions. These cushions are generally made of goat-skin or sheep-skin stuffed with hay or with date
[237] palm bast, but may also be plaited from leaves of the date palm tree. Cushions made from goat-skin
[412] are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of the little awl known as *tistent* (cf. Fig. 218a). The two long cushions resting lengthwise upon the animals back are known as *tastek*, and the small cushion resting over the animal's back close to its shoulders is called *tafelledut*. The saddle is fixed to the donkey by two girths consisting of cords made of goat-hair. One of these cords (*tidmechart*) passes under the tail, the other (*ahayif*) is tied around the chest of the animal. This saddle type is well fitted for the transportation of burdens and in particular of water-bags, the cords of which are attached to the pommels. When the saddle is used for riding it is frequently covered with a blanket or a piece of cloth. Saddles of this type are found in all camps of the Northern Tuareg, and Lhote states that they are also found in Adrar-n-Foras and in Ayr (Lhote 1947a, p. 120). This may be so but I have myself never seen them in the latter region where they are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan*

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hausa MS12



T
*492 Tuareg. Some Ayr Tuareg use a kind of saddle for the transportation of water-bags. It consists of two pieces of wood with grooves to support the cords of the water-bags; it corresponds to the type of saddle described and depicted by Lhote from the *Iullemmeden* (Lhote 1947a, p. 114, 134) which type I have seen also among the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Kel Ataram* group. However, most Ayr Tuareg do not employ this device. They content themselves with a layer of thin green twigs placed on the donkey's back so that the cords of the water-bag, which hangs under the animal's belly, shall not hurt and gall.
T
[484] This method is also sometimes used by Northern Tuareg. To transport the tent and its belongings during nomadic migrations, the Ayr Tuareg use one or two rolled-up mats of the tent-covering for saddle, while on trading expeditions to Damergu they place their skin-bags filled with millet directly on the donkey's back. Such bags (*alehu*) may also serve as a kind of saddle for luggage. When the Ayr Tuareg ride donkeys they sit on the naked back, on a blanket, or on a piece of matting. The Tuareg
T
[171] never use bridle, bit, or rein for riding as do some people of the northernmost parts of the desert and the Atlas. They control their donkeys with a short stick and constantly beat them over the neck to keep up their speed. I have never seen them prick the animal's neck with a spiked stick as is frequently done in the Atlas and adjacent regions. Here many donkeys wear iron shoes which are also unknown among the Tuareg.

## HORSES

T
231 Horses play a very small rôle with the Tuareg I have studied. There are very few horses in the Northern
[171] Sahara where they are bred mainly by sedentary people who are able to feed their animals on barley,
[565] millet, and other garden products. Some years ago there were a few horses in the noble *Kel Rela* tribe of Ahaggar, but nowadays there are no horses among pastoral Tuareg of this region, and in all Ahaggar

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Fig. 87. Hausa Negroes with their richly ornamented riding horses. Ayr, the *Iwegguderen* of Agadez.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 88. Riding saddle of the type manufactured at Agadez and used by horse-riding Tuareg and Negroes in Ayr and further south. Note the very narrow stirrups which are often used for the insertion of only one or two toes. (Musée de l'homme, Collection Henri Lhote, 38/617).

231 there are perhaps less than ten horses which are all owned by sedentary people (blacksmiths and
[563] Arabs). Conditions for horse-breeding are better in Ayr, but even there pastoral Tuareg do not generally breed horses which for a large part of the year must be fed on barley, millet, or on milk. In Ayr,
[563] horses are mainly bred by sedentary Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group and by the negroid citizens of Agadez who hold horses in very great esteem. There are perhaps 100–200 horses in and around Agadez, where the animals are kept in or at the houses most of the year to be fed on cereals and on hay of annual grasses cut with a sickle (cf. Fig. 143 f). During the period of *akaza* it is common to let the animals graze on annual pasture, and they are then very tightly hobbled. The Ayr peoples use a bit
*492 (*arabe*) (Fig. 89) similar to the type used by Arabs in the North, but their saddles are not of the
[171] general Arab type (cf. Fig. 88). The very broad Arab stirrups also seem to be unknown to the *Kel Ayr* and to the *Kel Geres*, who have many horses. The stirrups used by horse-riding Tuareg are generally very thin and slender, and they are frequently used for the insertion of only one or two toes.
[13] The riding-gear used by the *Kel Ayr* (including the *Imeggedezen*) and the *Kel Geres* is described in detail in literature (cf. Foureau 1905, III, p. 879 ff. & 921 ff.). This is very complete, and was, perhaps,
[175] introduced fairly recently, for we know that the Libyans of Antiquity rode without a saddle and governed their horses mainly by means of a stick (Bates 1941, p. 96 f.), and we are informed by Ibn Batutah that in the Middles Ages the people of Ayr rode without saddles (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 442).
231 The history of the horse in Africa constitutes a very important problem. It is generally admitted
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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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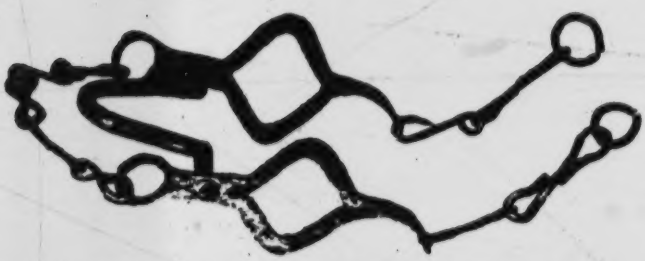

Fig. 89. Horse bit of iron. Made by blacksmith of Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: ca. 0.11 m broad. (N.M. G. 6667).

that the horse was introduced to Egypt with the Hyksos invasion about 1700 B.C. From Egypt it 231
spread to other African peoples, and it was common among the Libyans during the reign of Rameses 174
III (about 1200 B.C.). This first horse-breed introduced among the North African Berbers seems to have been of the pony type (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96 f.; Adametz 1920, p. 46 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 284) which is still represented in Africa. I believe that the so-called Togo-pony which is found in scattered and isolated parts of the Western Sudan belongs to the old pony-breed, though this theory is not accepted by Doutressoulle on the ground that such ponies are not found nowadays in North Africa and Egypt (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238). Doutressoulle has made a detailed study of the horse-breeds 231
of the area formerly known as French West-Africa. Apart from the pony-type just mentioned above, 171
there are three main types:— (1) the *Aryen type* known in Ayr as the Begzen horse. It is an Arab breed [114]
introduced from the North – from Tripolis according to tradition. Horses of this type are found scattered throughout Ayr, Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas, and Hodh. (2) the *Barbe type* found mainly among the Moors west of Timbuktu. (3) *the Dongolawi type* mainly found to the east of the Niger (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 237 ff.).

Horses become valuable riding animals to many Tuareg living in the true savannah country. The 492*
*Kel Geres* Tuareg use horses for short riding trips though they prefer camels for riding on long journeys.
They claim horses of the Begzen breed to be the very best riding animal. In the remote past when the 492*
horse was introduced into North Africa and the Sahara, horses may have been important also to 174
Libyans and Tuareg living further north in the desert, where the climate may then have been more favourable to horse-breeding than it is in modern times. Lhote has studied the ancient rock-pictures representing horses, horse-riders, and horse-drawn waggons in the Sahara, and he ascribes to the horse very great importance for the opening up of the desert country and invasions into these regions by fair-skinned Berbers (cf. Lhote 1953a). This theory is perhaps supported by the fact that the Ahaggar [192]
Tuareg though they do not breed horses have a fairly extensive vocabulary connected with horses and horse-breeding. Briggs states as his opinion that horses were probably never common in the Sahara (Briggs 1960, p. 21). This, of course, we cannot know, but it seems safe to say that in the Sahara the horse has never had the same economic value as the camel later has had.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 90. Tuareg dogs of the breed which is common among the Ayr Tuareg. Dogs suffer much from heat in summer when they hide under water-bags. Ayr, the *Imezureg* tribe.

## DOGS

231 The Northern Tuareg distinguish between three types of dogs (sing. *eydi*) as follows:— (1) a long-
[173] haired breed (*aberhoh*); (2) a short-haired slender breed (*akhami*); (3) a very slender and elegantly built greyhound (*aska*) (Fig. 91). The Ahaggar Tuareg speak of a tradition, according to which the greyhound (*aska*) was introduced fairly recently through contacts with the Northern Arabs. The Ayr Tuareg do not make similar distinctions between dog breeds. They have only one breed which is known as *ijji* (Fig. 90). It is short-haired and slenderly built though less so than the true Arab greyhound.

[136] Dogs are kept to guard the camp and in particular to protect the animals from the attack of jackals or hyenas during night. If the Tuareg had no dogs it would be most difficult for them to breed goats and sheep. Dogs may also follow the flocks in daytime to protect the animals against beasts of prey, though this is not generally considered necessary. Dogs are not trained as "sheep-dogs", but it is said that a few "intelligent" dogs will assist the herdsman in keeping the flock together during grazing,
[224] and many dogs will drive away domestic animals which belong to foreign flocks. Some Tuareg use dogs in hunting barbary sheep, gazelle, antelope, and hare (cf. hunting, p. 159, 166).

[17] It is well-known that the Arabs consider the dog an unclean animal. This is also so among Arab nomads of the Sahara, but they do not consider their greyhounds unclean in this sense. Thus pastoralists of the Chamba group told me that among them a fine greyhound is esteemed in much the same way as are noble riding horses and camels. The Tuareg have very few true greyhounds and
[52] I do not believe that they have this same feeling of interest in them. But many children and young
[541] people are fond of all types of dogs, and one can hear them discuss the qualities of their animals and the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp. Colour- 231
terms are also used for dogs, and I have heard one Tuareg boy claim that he preferred dogs that were black and white. Adult people in general treat dogs differently, and they are frequently cruel to them [171]
which may be due to Islamic influence which is on the increase among the Tuareg. Though the Tuareg may be cruel to their dogs they acknowledge that they are very "wise and intelligent". They say that the dogs are much like humans with the exception that they cannot speak. Therefore they should also be fed like humans, and they are given millet-porridge – with milk if the yield is abundant. The Tuareg kill their old and superfluous dogs by hanging them from a tree in a noosed rope, and they consider this method very effective.

## CATS

The domestic cat is found in many Tuareg camps. It is generally termed *muchch* which is Arabic by origin. I believe that domestic cats have been introduced to Tuareg countries later than the Arab [174]
invasions and that they have been introduced by the Arabs. This is in agreement with Lagercrantz's statement that domestic cats in most parts of North Africa outside of Egypt are post-Arabian (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 65). Cats are allowed to live in tents and huts, and are well treated as among the Arabs. The Tuareg keep cats not only for pets to their children, but they much like to have them in their [136]
camps as cats catch numerous scorpions and also attack snakes.

Among sedentary people of Ahaggar and particularly at Tamanraset the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, or *iékenisit*) is sometimes kept in the house or within the courtyard as it hunts beetles and scorpions during the night. This custom of keeping tame hedgehogs is no doubt recently adopted from Europeans [177]
living at Tamanraset.

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Fig. 91. A true greyhound (*aska*) patted by a negroid agriculturist of the *Kel Ganet*. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Ureyen* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525
Fulani M511



The most dangerous African cattle disease is the rinderpest. It is known to have entered Egypt in the year 1884 from the regions around the Black Sea, and about 1890, or somewhat later, it came to Eastern Africa and to the Sudan. Rinderpest is nowadays widely found in Africa but it is rare or unknown in Northern Tuareg countries. Rinderpest is apparently very rare in the Ayr Massif and it occurs mainly south of the Massif in savannah country. The Tuareg have no remedy against this disease. It is stated by St. Croix that the Fulani of Northern Nigeria once deliberately exposed their cattle to mild rinderpest to make them immune from this disease in its more severe and dangerous form. However, this method did not work and the Fulani gave up further experiments of this kind. It is also mentioned by St. Croix that the Fulani practise a kind of vaccination against cattle pleuro-pneumonia and that this is done as follows:— A piece of infected lung is put into milk for two to three days and thereupon placed into a small opening cut under the nose-skin of the animal. The method is claimed to be effective (St. Croix 1944, p. 24 f.). Vaccination methods are also known to some of the Southern Tuareg, e.g. the *Iwillemmeden*. These people vaccinate human beings against small-pox by inserting the pus of this disease into wounds cut with a knife (Aymard 1911, p. 108), and they also vaccinate their cattle against cattle pleuro-pneumonia ("peripneumonie bovine"). They do this in much the same way as described above for the Fulani:— An infected piece of lung is placed in sour milk or in the soil for a few days, and is thereupon inserted under the skin of the forehead. Nicolas describes the method as dangerous because the infection attacks the whole forehead and also the nose-bone (Nicolas 1950a, p. 133), but two veterinary surgeons who practised among the *Iwillemmeden* of Tawa told me that they considered this kind of vaccination effective. The method is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg of the Massif where this contagious lung-disease is unknown or very rare.

I have no great knowledge of the contagious diseases in the Tuareg groups I have studied, but such diseases seem to occur comparatively rarely, and there is no veterinary surgeon attached to the French administration of Northern Tuareg countries. There is one veterinary surgeon in Agadez, but his most important field of work lies outside of the mountain massif to the south.

Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr I have been told about two contagious diseases which, when they occur, may give rise to very heavy losses. One of these diseases is known to the Tuareg as *changa*. It attacks only cows, which die very quickly, but if cattle suffering from the disease are ritually killed their meat is nevertheless considered edible. One Tuareg told me that some years ago about thirty cattle of his camp died in one day from an attack of *changa*.

The other contagious disease I have recorded from Southern Ayr is called *tandert*. It attacks sheep and goats, and I collected the following notes about it:— The blood penetrates the animal's flesh which becomes quite red. If sheep or goats suffer from *tandert* and are ritually killed for eating, very great care must be taken in the preparation of the meat. It must be boiled until it contains no blood, and must not be eaten until it is cold and dry. It is said that if these precautions are not taken the people who eat meat from animals suffering from *tandert* will themselves become attacked by the disease, with the result that blood and pus may penetrate the skin at any part of the body. They say that a man who has eaten unboiled meat of an animal suffering from this disease with consequent infection is treated in the following way:— A species of ant more venomous than the normal small

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ants is collected and put into the millet mortar and pounded. The pounded mass of ants is then placed on the affected individual at the spot where blood and pus have penetrated the skin. The disease is characterized as very dangerous for human beings as blood and pus may emerge at any place of the body, and can, for instance, destroy an eye. The Ayr Tuareg say that they have no remedy against *tandert* when it affects their sheep and goats. The disease *tandert* can hardly be anything but anthrax. According to information from the veterinary surgeon Niels Grunnet much indicates that the contagious disease *changa* is also anthrax.

Foucauld has recorded a few contagious stock-diseases from Ahaggar:— *tarut*, a lung disease affecting cattle, goats, and camels. The lungs are filled with pus, and the animals die in four to ten days. *tehareret*, a disease attacking sheep and goats which will die with yellow entrails. *weñhet*, a contagious disease attacking jackals, dogs and related animals which will die quickly. It is not the true rabies. *talekmet*, apparently a kind of scrofula which affects the udders of female domestic animals. These do not necessarily die from the disease but their udders may wither (Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1558, 1663, III, p. 1509, 1044). Dr. Grunnet has informed me that *tarut* could be the pulmonary form of *pasteurellosis* also called *haemorrhagic septicaemia*, while *weñhet* may very well be distemper. The *talekmet* disease according to Dr. Grunnet is not easy to identify by the present information, but three conditions are possible:— 1) cow pox, 2) *actinomycosis* of the udder, and 3) *mastitis*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, like the Ayr Tuareg, do not seem to have any remedies against such contagious diseases which incidentally are rare. But there are many other stock-diseases and treatments for them.

The Ayr Tuareg have mentioned to me about thirty different names of camel diseases. The description of these diseases was frequently difficult to understand, and I noted only the following names:—

*azni*, that is a disease of congestion due to heat-apoplexy which is cured by bleeding with a knife or with tobacco powder put into the camel's eyes.

*tadanak*, an eye disease cured by cutting around the eyes and by the insertion of salt.

*ichilchal*, a nose disease cured in the following way:— The handle of a wooden spoon is put up through the nostril to pierce the septum, and heated butter is poured into the animal's nose.

*inefdan*, a diseases which gives the camel a swollen and inflamed head. A cure is effected by cutting with a knife and by burning.

*toza*, a kind of chill which causes pregnant she-camels to miscarry. There is no good remedy for it, but it is normal practice to pour water over the affected animal.

*lejwad*, a paralysis of the hind thighs of camels. The affected animals cannot stand up. The only remedy is a very difficult operation:— A vein is opened in the hind thigs to let out a great quantity of blood. Bleeding is stopped again by sewing together the cuts, which are finally treated with fire.

*tibayak*, a disease which prevents the pregnancy of mated she-camels. The remedy for this consists in cutting slices around the vagina and under the tail so that blood flows. After this operation, which I have frequently attended, it is said that she-camels will become pregnant when mated.

*sanes*, a disease which prevents the pregnancy of she-camels. It is treated by putting the hand and the arm deeply into the anus of the camel. I have seen it performed once, and in this particular case the she-camel became pregnant shortly afterwards. According to Dr. Grunnet this disease is very probably *corpus luteum* which is squeezed out of the ovary by the manipulation.

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human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies. However, this plant does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, p. 192). One plant (*téhereggelé*) (*Artemisia judaica*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten venomous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for domestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe they have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings (Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be understood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil mouth (*tehoṭ* in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as *ettama* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding camels in Ayr:— Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order that their riding animal may not stumble.

778 Religious beliefs also interfere with Tuareg stock-breeding and create usages of an irrational kind.
[23] Thus the Tuareg, like other North African peoples, firmly believe in the mystic benevolent power,
[171] or benediction, known as *elbaraka*. This is a power that emenates from God. It is given by God to
[784] man and it cannot act unless certain taboos, or rather religious prescriptions, are followed. The bene-
[783] diction *elbaraka* is more than anything else hurt by impurity. Cleanness is an absolute necessity for
this good force to be sustained in the same way that a man cannot approach God through prayer if
[841] he be unclean. Women are considered unclean during their periods of menstruation and cannot, there-
[262] fore, then pray to God. They are also forbidden to drink the milk of domestic animals which have very
young kids, lambs, or calves, and they must not drink water which has been conserved in newly-
made skin-bags. These taboos are maintained in order not to hurt the benediction given the animals
778 by bringing it into contact with impurity. For the same reason milk taken from animals which have
784 recently brought forth young should not be given to strangers – they might be unclean and harm the
234 *elbaraka*. It is also believed that soil is an impurity dangerous to *elbaraka*, and milk must never be
spilt on the ground. Even when milk-bowls are cleaned with water, this liquid should be poured out
upon plants or stones, and never be spilt on the ground. Should this be done, God will withdraw his
*elbaraka* and the result will be severe periods of drought without milk. I have frequently heard Tuareg
ascribe the lack of rain and the dry pasture – the lack of *elbaraka* – to the fact that somebody had spilt
milk upon the ground. This had caused God to be angry and to withdraw his benediction. Some Tuareg
have also said that *elbaraka* is harmed by a person who blows upon milk. When a man drinks milk
he must not blow away impurities before drinking but must remove them by means of a piece of straw.
*233 In the two groups of Northern Tuareg and also in Ayr it is considered very disgraceful for a person
577 who watches the animals away from camp to drink milk directly from an animal's udder. Some Tuareg
272 say that a man when staying alone among milk-yielding animals should not utilize their milk even if
he performs milking in the usual way. A person who breaks these rules is called *émenkes* or *émelded*
among the Ahaggar Tuareg, *émelded* in Ayr. The Tuareg say that there are some people, and in
particular many slaves, who do not follow this rule, and that they are despised if known to have
broken it. When two or more people are alone with a herd or flock away from the camp they can
freely utilize the animals' milk. And it is very normal for camel herdsmen to live with a herd of she-
camels in isolated places for long periods. They then live almost exclusively on camel's milk taken
from the herd they guard.

272 Certain usages connected with stock-breeding are rationally explained by the Tuareg. Thus when
they heat milk by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221) put into the milking bowl, they claim that this is
done in order that the milk shall not get dirty as would happen were it heated in an ordinary cooking
272 pot. Another custom which by other stock-breeders has been explained as being based upon magic,
262 namely the usage not to drink milk and eat meat at the same time, is also rationally explained by the
Tuareg. They say that there is no taboo on taking these kinds of food together, but it is very unwise
to do so because the mixture will act as a laxative and upset the stomach. Therefore, if a Tuareg has
drunk much milk he will not eat meat shortly afterwards, and if he has eaten meat he will not take
milk for some hours, though he may do so should ample water have been added to the milk. The
*233 Tuareg to my knowledge have no other special customs in connection with stock-breeding and milk
234 than there mentioned

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Fig. 95. A Tuareg feeding his riding camel with *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Many Tuareg feed their riding animals with stems of this perennial grass – partly to obtain a docile camel for riding, partly to change its fodder which consists largely of acacias and annual plants. The photograph is taken near Agadez at the *akaza* season. Annual plants grow between trees and bushes (*afagag*, *Acacia Raddiana*; *ebezgin*, *Salvadora persica*; *tadent*, *Boscia senegalensis*). Ayr, the *Isakoranan* tribe.

234 than those mentioned. Thus they can use any kind of receptacle for milk and milking, and they do
445 not clean their milk-bowls with urine as is normal among certain East African stock-breeders, and,
237 perhaps, also among certain of the Fulani living south of Ayr. The taste of urine is detested by the
262 Tuareg, who know this taste all too well as the water drawn from pools and wells is frequently flavoured
237 with urine and the excrement of domestic animals. Nor is camel urine used by Tuareg women for
302 hairdressing as is done among the Arabs, but it is said that it may have a medical value in curing
252 wounds. The custom of drinking blood has been mentioned above (p. 122 f.) and will be described later (p. 235).

*233 The Tuareg apparently have comparatively few superstitious usages in stock-breeding, which is
232 mainly to be considered rational. We have seen that stock-breeding is adapted to environment, and we have also mentioned that there are veterinary methods which doubtless have their origin in considerable knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of domestic animals. This knowledge forms one corner-stone of rational stock-breeding, and another is the very detailed knowledge of botany. In
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Ahaggar there are more than 600 different plant species for which the Tuareg have particular names, though a few related species are sometimes known by one and the same name. Every Tuareg know about the ecological conditions of these plants, and he knows exactly their fodder value for domestic animals. He knows that certain plants form excellent fodder for all domestic animals, but he is also well aware that the different types of stock have different needs, so that certain plant species are valuable for camels, other species for other domestic animals.

G 231 The Tuareg are occasionally cruel to donkeys, and to dogs, but they take the greatest care of all other domestic animals to ensure their wellbeing and reproduction. Women bring acacia pods or tender annual plants to kids, lambs, and calves, and to sick animals which remain in the camp. On
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long trading expeditions, when the camels have little time for grazing, some Tuareg will walk along

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start around wells. It may happen, for instance, that two men who draw water from the same well get the ropes of their leather buckets entangled. They will then start to quarrel and the result may be a fight with swords. 312 57 [411]

I conclude this chapter with a brief description of the signals used by the Tuareg for their domestic animals. As these animals do not have the same needs for food and water and are frequently mixed with each other in camps and around wells, it is only natural that the Tuareg have different signals to call, stop, or drive away their various types of domestic animals. I have noted these signals among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr:— 231 233* 192

**Signals to call domestic animals:—**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| goats . . . . . | *ay, ay* | |
| sheep . . . . . | a rolling sound | the three rolling sounds are somewhat different though resembling each other |
| cows . . . . . | a rolling sound | |
| camels . . . . . | a rolling sound | |
| donkeys . . . . . | *ahay, ahay* | |

**Signals to stop animals:—**

| | |
|---|---|
| goats . . . . . | *aw* |
| sheep, cows, camels . . . | *ôr* |
| donkeys . . . . . | *as* |

**Signals to drive away animals:—**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| goats . . . . . | *ây* | pronounced emphatically |
| sheep, cows, camels . . . | *hey* | |
| donkeys . . . . . | *aheyt* | |

233* 312

Fig. 99. Tuareg drawing water for camels which drink from a piece of canvas (*tafarawt*) placed over a hollow in the ground. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



462 Among Northern Tuareg vassals donkeys are tended by women, who use them for riding and
231 transportation over short distances. Tuareg men rarely ride donkeys, but the assistance of men is
[492] needed in connection with some of the tasks of donkey-breeding:—

It may become desirable to increase the stock of donkeys by catching wild animals as already described above. This is always done by men who also break-in the captured animals for riding. The assistance of men is also frequently needed for catching half-wild, though domesticated donkeys.

The marking of donkeys, castration, which is rarely performed, and the curing of diseases, which are also rare, are said to be tasks which should properly be carried out by men.

[565] Vassal women only tend camels when all men are absent from their camp.

The above rules of division of labour are in general also valid in Ayr among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. But there are in Ayr vassal Tuareg who have no camels and vassal men in Ayr frequently ride donkeys. The tending of cows in Ayr is mainly the work of women, who are also more familiar with cattle terms than are the men. – Among the *Kel Ewey* the skinning of goats and sheep, as well as the partition of the meat, are done by women.

428 In the Tuareg groups I have studied both men and women inherit camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys according to Islamic rules of inheritance.

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Fig. 110. The skinning of a gazelle placed upon straw of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ahaggar, the *Taynak* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Wan' Abu (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) from the pre-historic cattle-breeding period ("periode bovine"). The picture 224 shows a hunter armed with a bow and hiding behind an ox (?) which is provided with a lead held in /72 the left hand. The hunter approaches an ostrich and perhaps also giraffes and gazelles which are also depicted. This rock engraving was discovered by Lhote, who believes that the stalking animal depicted is an antelope (cf. Lhote 1958, Fig. 69 p. 147, p. 264).

(3) Hunting in disguise. True hunters do not use their ordinary dress of indigo or white colours 224 during a hunt as it is seen by game animals at a great distance. The hunters use preferably a shirt and [292] a head-cloth of yellow-brown colours which resemble the colours of sand and dry plants. I do not know whether other types of disguise are known. It is very likely (cf. Ayr Tuareg below p. 166).

(4) Hunting from artificial hiding-places. The use of artificial hiding-places consisting of walls built of stone is mentioned by Foucauld, who does not explain their use. They are known as *timuyal* (sing. *tamayilt*) (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1179).

(5) Hunting with dogs. Greyhounds and greyhound-like dogs are used in hunting barbary sheep. The dogs surround the animal and prevent it to escaping, so that it can be killed by a hunter with a spear. There are very few greyhounds among the Ahaggar Tuareg, but slender greyhound-like dogs [231] are fairly common (cf. p. 114 f.). The true greyhounds may succeed in running down gazelle, and I was told among the *Kel Ajjer* that greyhound are trained not to kill the game but to bite its legs, and then to return to their master to lead him to the ferociously-bitten animal so that he can kill it ritually. However, most Tuareg dogs are not able to run down adult gazelle. Occasionally they catch young animals of which they are allowed to eat such entrails as are not eaten by the Tuareg. Dogs can more easily catch hares. It is said that some dogs are trained to bring caught hares alive to their masters, but most dogs are not too well fed and therefore eat on the spot the hares they catch.

(6) Riding camels are sometimes used for the running down of game animals. Gazelle can be taken in this way only if they are wounded, and barbary sheep normally graze in mountains inaccessible to camels. But it happens that barbary sheep descend into sandy plains to feed on certain annual plants, and can then easily be taken by camel riders as they get very exhausted when they have to run quickly

[124]

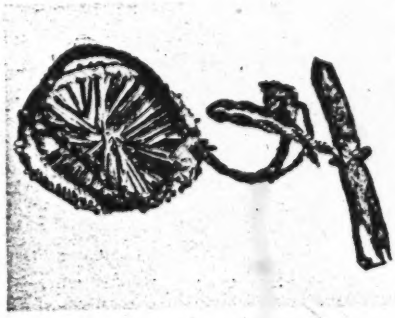

Fig. 113. The spiked wheel-trap (*ɛfetaw*) connected with a noosed rope (*taɣant*) attached to a stick. The wheel is made from straw of the *aferu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) bent into circular form. Small pointed sticks (*iɣulan*, sing. *aɣula*) are inserted into the straw circle and fixed to it by means of bast of the *absey* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) which is wrapped around the straw-wheel and the pointed sticks. The noosed rope is made from date palm bast, but frequently it is also made from *absey* bast. The small pointed sticks are made from twigs of the *azawa* tamarisk (*Tamarix gallica*). Ahaggar, the *Aɣuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the wheel: about 0.20 m (F.M. 141a–b).

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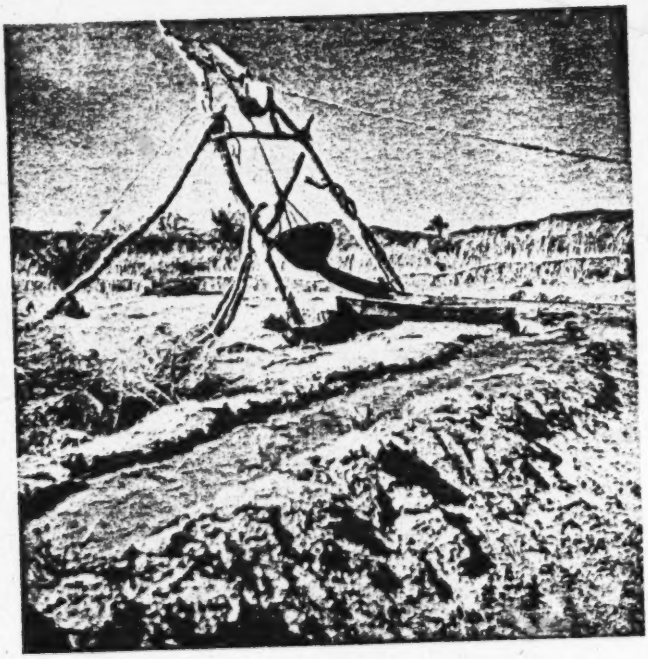

Fig. 132a. The irrigation system known as *tanut*. Ahaggar, Amsel.

settlements contain less than 300 individuals, the majority not even a hundred (cf. Lhote 1955a; p. 292). Most agricultural settlements comprise only a few houses built of stone or mud, or a few straw-huts (cf. p. 327 ff.). The agriculturists of these small settlements generally keep some goats and sheep, have donkeys, which are important beasts of burden to all farmers of the Sahara oases, and in certain families there are one or two zebus to raise water from irrigation wells. A few agriculturists may be characterized as semi-nomads. This is the case of some inhabitants of Abalessa who guard their flocks at some distance from the village. Some of these agriculturists, who were formerly Tuareg slaves, even make skin-tents like pastoral Tuareg.

The subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs of the Sahara as *foggara*, to the Tuareg as *ifelan* (sing. *éfeli*), constitute by far the most important irrigation system used in Ahaggar. However, these *foggara* canals cannot be compared with the large extensive aqueducts of Tidikelt though their introduction to Ahaggar is due to the immigration of agriculturists from that area. The Tidikelt *foggara* are very large aqueducts which are dug into water-bearing strata which can be situated at a considerable distance from the oasis (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 324 ff., Lô 1953 & 1954; Chaintron 1958). The Ahaggar foggara are generally very short (about one to two kilometres, or shorter), they are not

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 132b. Cf. text Fig. 132a.

deep, and are dug into the sandy river bed to lead its water to the gardens of the valley terrace. A map of the foggara aqueducts placed in the river valley of Taṛhawhawt is reproduced by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, Fig. 18 p. 328). There are many advantages attached to the use of foggara systems of the Ahaggar type, for once the aqueducts are dug water automatically flows to the garden. But there are also disadvantages. If a foggara valley is heavily flooded after rains and changed into a roaring stream, the aqueducts are destroyed and the crops also. In general it will be necessary to abandon a foggara system after some years, as it must be cleaned at intervals and in time it becomes too dangerous to work in them as subsidences may occur and kill workers. It may also happen that a river valley is not flooded at all for a period of years when it becomes essential to move to another valley, rich in water under the sandy river bed, to make a new foggara there. For all these reasons deserted foggara systems are common in the river valleys of Ahaggar.

The *foggara* system is unknown south of Ahaggar and has on the whole a rather limited distribution in the Sahara. One reason for this is perhaps that the construction and maintenance of the aqueduct imply the agricultural co-operation of several households. This is not the case with the other common system in Ahaggar, the use of wells (*tunin*, sing. *tanut*) from which water is raised by animal traction. The wells are usually shallow and not very difficult to dig out, and the maintenance of the whole system is usually limited to occasional mendings of the zebu's harness and of the large waterbag. While a foggara canal is always used for the irrigation of several gardens (6–12), the wells are used for single gardens. The irrigation wells are dug into the valley terrace so that they are not destroyed by a flood, and in dry years watering from wells is considered the better system. But in the period when crops need much water irrigation by means of wells is hard work for the garden owner who must drive his ox all day long.

Irrespective of the system resorted to irrigation of a garden is done in the same manner. Water from the *foggara* aqueduct or water raised from well flows into a large basin (*tihemt*) through a canal

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415*
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Fig. 158. Woman churning butter by shaking the inflated churning-bag (*agiwir*) between her hands. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

Meat (*isan*) is not a staple diet of the Tuareg. The Tuareg of Ayr consume more meat than the Northern Tuareg, but even in the south it is not eaten daily. There are Ayr Tuareg who are reluctant to kill their animals, and people who have much milk have very little need of meat. Meat is eaten by all Tuareg on certain festive occasions, whether social or (and) religious, and when camps are visited by friends, certain relatives, and important guests. He-goats and rams, or barren goats and sheep, are the animals most commonly killed. The meat of sheep and rams is considered better than goat meat, and sheep are also highly esteemed for sacrifice. Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food 262 [874] [231] [282] 000



[text continues on p. 231]

415 *
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**Fig. 164. Pail (*éṛir*) made from tinned brass by blacksmiths. It is used for storing butter to be used for food preparation in the tent. Pails of this type form part of the dowry in the *Dag Rali* tribe. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.155 m high, 0.230–0.235 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5820).**

Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food 231

they perform a sacrifice, the idea of which seems to be an identification of the man and the killed animal. 282
This idea appears most clearly at the sacrifice made on the occasion of the name-giving feast seven 825
days after the birth of a child. A marabut, that is a Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class, and the father of 553
the child stand close together with their faces towards Mecca while the animal to be sacrificed is kept 282
to the ground. The marabut cuts the animal's throat and doing so cries out the name to be given to 565
the child, and this name is thereupon repeated by the child's father. When the killing is performed in 112
this way the knife (*elmusi* in Ahaggar; *ézegiz* in Ayr) and the cut across the throat are washed with
water before skinning is undertaken. I have dealt with certain ideas of Tuareg sacrifice elsewhere, 114
and have stated that on certain occasions they may sacrifice not to God but to the *Kel Asuf* spirits 282
(Nicolaisen 1961, p. 122 f., 147 f.). But whatever may be the ideas attached to Tuareg sacrifices all 231
animals, with the exception of the camel (cf. above p. 65), are killed by cutting their throat.

The methods of meat preparation are almost identical in Ayr and Ahaggar. The most common 252
method everywhere is cooking in an earthen pot, known in Ahaggar as *ufrun*, *téṛirt*, *alekkin*, or *talekkint* 415 *
according to its size and form, or in a metal pot (*éṛir*) of European origin. Such European pots are 172
common everywhere in Tuareg camps, but earthen pots are still used though less durable, for earthen
pots are cheap. Pots made of metal or copper, which are also known as *éṛir*, were also found among

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 173. Tuareg skinning a ram. Ayr, the *Igendéynen* tribe.

252 by placing the dough on a baking sheet. The other type of bread is generally known by the Arabic word *khubz*. This is baked from dough placed in the sand close to the fire, where it is covered with hot sand, ashes, and glows. These two types of bread in Ahaggar are baked mainly by sedentary agri-
[189] culturists and by Arab families. The type of bread traditionally baked by the Tuareg differs from Arab bread in that it is not made from proper dough, but from a kind of thin porridge or gruel consisting of flour mixed with water. This Tuareg type of bread is known as *tagella* and is baked as follows:— A heavy fire is lit in a shallow depression (about 25–30 cms in diameter and 8–10 cms deep) made

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as *ahaja* (Fig. 213). Such tanning receptacles are made in the following way among the Ahaggar Tuareg:— A slender bough of the *tahunek* tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) is bent and fixed into a circular form, and a piece of camel's hide soaked in water is attached to this frame. Sand and pebbles are thereupon placed upon the hide within the frame, which is lifted upwards by means of cords fastened to it and to the bough of a tree. This is done to produce the bowl-like form of the receptacle which is left filled with sand and pebbles and attached to the tree for a few days. Thus it is dried by the sun, and thereafter it will become very hard and keep the desired bowl-like form. Certain butter-containers made from raw camel hide are manufactured on the same principle, the entrance to such containers being made by the insertion of a piece of wood around which the upper part of the piece of hide is firmly attached. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar also use camel's hide for the manufacture of a long rope (*akhawil*), which is used for drawing water from wells by means of oxen when the *tanut* system of irrigation (Fig. 132a–b) is employed. A rope of this kind is made from strips of soaked hide twisted together and hammered between stones to be left for drying in the sun. It is also said that camel's hide in the north is used for sandals of a particular type, while the Ayr Tuareg may use raw oxe-hide for sandals (cf. p. 301). The Ayr Tuareg may also employ raw oxe-hide for the manufacture of ropes and cords, and for camel whips. The hides of camels and oxen are known to the Tuareg by the common term *éyit* and they seem to possess certain qualities in common.

281 [824] [46]* [283] [294]

The hide of such animals as goats, sheep, gazelle, barbary sheep is never used untanned among the Tuareg, and they may tan the hide of oxen and various other animals.

The Tuareg use a particular method for tanning goat-skin to be used for water-bags (*abayor*) (Figs. 215–217). I have watched this, particularly in Ahaggar, where a water-bag is prepared in the following way:— The animal is killed in the normal way of cutting its throat, and is then so skinned that the hide comes off almost entire. This is done by making the following openings with the knife: the head is cut off, cuts are made around the lower part of all four feet, and on the inner side of the

[415]* [231]

281 824

Fig. 214. Tannin consisting of bark (*ibber*) of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*) which is used for tanning water bags. The bark is left upon a piece of rock for drying. Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tehlé* tribe.

[text continues on p. 273]

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*taḡamayt* (*Danthonia Forskalei*). Tr., L.M. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 55).
*taḡamayt* (*Cynodon Dactylon*). Tr., L.M., U.M. p.? (cf. Gram 1935, p. 55).
*tayeest* (*Eragrostis bipinnata*). Tr., L.M. biennial (cf. Gram 1935, p. 55).
*tirakob* (*Grewia populifolia*). Tr. p.
*awkal* (*Cynomorium coccineum*). Tr., L.M.
*takhart* (*Mentha longifolia*). Tr., L.M. a.
*ahakel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*). Tr., L.M.
*teḡellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). Tr., (a.), p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 50).
*alkeḍ* (*Cucumis pustulatus*). Tr.
*tawefirt* (*Publicaria crispa*). Tr., (L.M.) p. (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1304).
*taḡuk* (*Artemisia campestris*). Tr., L.M., U.M. p., evergreen?.

In my early notes on donkeys' fodder plants I have three names which I have not been able to identify – due to the fact that I did not then take Tuareg words down in *tifinay*. The three names are *aharowa* (? = *aharay*; *Aristida* sp. & *Danthonia Forskalei*), *anador* (? = *awaddam*; *Plantago ciliata*), and *terforgit*, or rather *terfukkit*.

Maire mentions that the plant known as *ekechekir* (*Astragalus pseudotrigonus*), Tr. p., evergreen (cf. Gram 1935, p. 64), is very appreciated by donkeys, but less so by camels, sheep, and goats (Maire 1933, p. 128).

## FODDER PLANTS EATEN PARTICULARLY BY ZEBUS

*tahli* (*Typha elephantina*). Tr. p.
*akeywed* (*Typha australis*). Tr., L.M. p.
*tizengelt* (*Saccharum Ravennae*). Tr., L.M. p.
*ayemmud* (*Aristida plumosa*). Tr. p.
*tayemmut* (*Aristida* sp.). According to Maire (1933) this name has the same meaning as that just mentioned above, while I have been told by the Tuareg that *ayemmud* is as high as barley, while *tayemmut* is much lower.
*dzeng* (*Cyperus laevigatus*). Tr. p.
*ilagga* (*Scirpus Holoschoenus*). Tr., L.M. p.
*taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*). Tr., L.M. p.
*aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*). Tr., L.M., U.M. p.
*issin* (*Salsola foetida*). Tr. p., evergreen.
*tayeest* (*Eragrostis bipinnata*). Tr., L.M. biennial (cf. Gram 1935, p. 55).

The plants *aramas* and *issin* are important to zebus mainly for their salt content. It will be noted that the species here mentioned as fodder plants of zebu oxen are mainly perennial plants. Many of them demand humid soil, which is found close to most agricultural settlements where oxen are bred by agriculturists. Most of these peoples have only one to three oxen which generally graze tethered near the village. The oxen thus do not benefit much from the rich annual pastures in years of abundant rainfall, but, on the other hand, they are fed with garden-grown plants, as are donkeys of sedentary peoples. 824 231

174 /250/ introduced before or after the Christian era, it is nonetheless true that the ancestors of the Tuareg must have introduced it.

At the present time, human life in the Sahara, which is al-
182 ready of little consequence, would be reduced to zero without
233 the camel. This is a fundamental fact which has been amply demonstrated and which it is useless to dwell on. Th. Monod, who dedicated one of his works "To the camel and the goat, the vehicle and the container, the two sole conquerors of the Sahara, " (1)

1. Méharées/ Meharis/.

has not only been literary and witty, he has put the truth in a few words. Without the camel, no relation would be possible between the oases, no relation between North Africa and intertropical Africa.

233 One may therefore easily understand that the animal plays a large part in the life of the Saharian Tuareg, and that the latter make a great effort to raise camels. They have always endeavored to own many camels, and at the present time their livestock has increased to more than 10, 000 head.

[132] Although the camel has adapted perfectly to the Saharian
[492] pastures and terrain, it is nonetheless true that the aridity is such that he has difficulty keeping in good condition, and that a slightly prolonged march has to be compensated for by a rest period lasting twice as long as the period during which he was tired out. That is
[361] why the Ihaggaren nomadize with their camels on the borders of the Sahara in the steppe where there are acacias and graminaceae.

Ahaggar breeding is very famous. It furnishes animals which
232 are resistant, very frugal eaters, capable of braving mountain rocks or marching for weeks on end over the granite regoliths of the Tanezrouft, something the Sudanese -bred camels could not do.

The Tuareg select the animals when they are very young, destining them either for saddle camels or for pack camels. The meharis are castrated and undergo special training. In speaking of

232 these saddle camels, one may not, therefore, refer to a particular breed /race/ adapted for speed, as one may commonly hear spoken of.

436 The camel has a well determined exchange value among the Tuareg. It is one of the bases for comparison in their commercial transactions.

233 Each tribe marks his animals with a particular sign, and /251/
422 the owners who have many camels also have their own signs, marked with a hot iron on one of the parts of the animal's body -- neck, cheek, or thigh.

The sheep. -- Sheep are raised only accessorily in the Ahaggar,
233 because grass is not abundant enough. But it occupies a large place
[137] in Sudanese animal husbandry.

[136] It is a very peculiar animal with short hair and a long tail. It
stands tall, a characteristic which has won for it the name of Ovis
[174] longipes. The Tuareg certainly introduced it into West Africa. Zoologists never refer to it except as Tuareg sheep. Its antiquity in North Africa is well known. The ram of Ammon is pictured with its characteristic form, and it is also recognizable in the splendid rock drawings of Géryville and Tiout. It seems to descend from the Corsican wild sheep rather than from the Algerian wild sheep. Today it is an animal found exclusively in Tuareg camps of the Sudan or
574 in their area of influence.

262 Sheep is the dish served at great feasts, and its skin is used as
237 a ground rug, a blanket, or to make harnessing articles.

The goat. -- The goat is the mountain animal par excellence,
233 as frugal an eater as can be, resisting both cold and heat, and able to be content with the meagerest pastures. It is thus quite natural to find many of these goats among the Ihaggaren.

[136] /252/ The Ahaggar species is small with long black hair. In
the Sudan it is different colors -- white and black, or red -- with
[232] short hair; it stands taller than the Ahaggar species and is often crossed with the dwarf female goat in the southern tribes.

136 The origin of the goat is less certain than that of the sheep. Very widespread all over the world, it must have been domesticated at

136 several different spots, and it is not impossible that the species
[172] bred today in the Ahaggar is of African origin. Bones of the species are found in the Neolithic layers of the Sahara.

137 At the present time there is a death struggle between the goats
233 and trees in the Ahaggar. The goat itself is capable of browsing
185 the lower branches and destroying them, thanks to its agility. The Tuareg do the rest when pasture is scarce, by felling the main branches to put them within the reach of the animals. And so, in a relatively short time, trees, and the tahla (Acacia sp.) in par-particular, will be only a memory in the Ahaggar. Nothing has

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172]

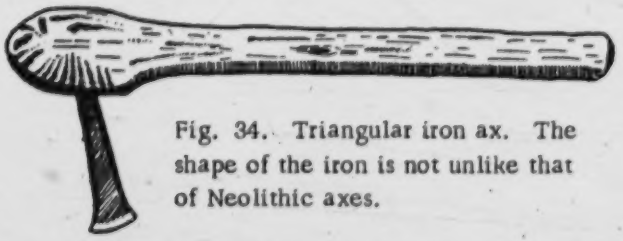

Fig. 34. Triangular iron ax. The shape of the iron is not unlike that of Neolithic axes.

been done by the French administration in the Ahaggar to protect the trees, when it would be sufficient to close some valleys for several years, while taking into account the needs of the shepherds. Measures of this kind have been taken in the environs of Goundam and have given very good results.

132 Prolonged dryness which causes a lack of pasture often puts
233 goat raising in difficulties. The birth rate is stopped short, and mortality may result to such a great extent that the number of animals sometimes falls to one fifth. Then many years are needed to build up the flocks, granting, of course, the arrival of favorable rains.

• 232 The careless and fatalistic Ihaggaren do not even try to step up breeding by buying sires in Adrar or in Aïr. They let their weak flocks reconstitute themselves by their own means, which
[272] sometimes requires many years. In case of an overabundance of births, they limit the number of animals, for they are well aware

232 of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks
[272] exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their
family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is
[438] consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes
233 excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled,
[234] and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and
[252 sometimes tents.
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237]

The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do
not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting
[232] them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact num-
ber of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon
[422] them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The
young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them,
and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used.
137 These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg,
have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier
cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass
hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal
had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is
nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the
[172] rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia
where they are called "onager."

The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible
233 that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihaggaren have
[174] kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had
[173] only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage,
492 and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also
[312] take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the
[357] heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

565 this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.
642 Ancient Egyptian records tell of a Libyan chieftain, Meryey who was peacefully deposed and replaced by a younger brother following a disastrous defeat in battle (Bates, 1914, pp. 114–15, 218 and 221). It is some of the vassal clans that are the biggest numerically and also the richest on a *per capita* basis; and if vassal clansmen pay tribute to their noble "masters" it is only because they choose to do so, because they find it in their interest to keep the nobles on their payroll so to speak. Thus the Tuareg government of the Ahaggar is in fact a kind of republic and not a real monarchy or true military aristocratic autocracy at all.

232 **Livestock.** Herds of camels and flocks of hairy sheep and goats constitute the bulk of the capital investment and so form the primary basis of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar. The quantity and composition of the total livestock investment has been variously estimated, but the following rough approximations are probably not far from the true figures: camels—12,000, sheep—2,000, goats—20,000, donkeys—5,000 and cattle (zebus)—300 or thereabouts.
[231] Donkeys, as we have seen, are unproductive except as beasts of burden, and the cattle are so few as to be of negligible importance. Only some 4,500 camels are actually kept in the Ahaggar while the rest are put out to pasture in the Tamesna region on the northern edge of the Sudan, roughly half way between the Aïr and the Niger Bend. Most of the sheep too are pastured outside the Ahaggar proper, mainly in the country around Tin Zaouaten, southwest of the Ahaggar and northwest of the Tamesna.

235 The Haratin of the Ahaggar keep chickens,
262 but only the eggs are eaten as a rule. The Tuareg eat neither eggs, fowl nor fish, but we will discuss this further in the section on *Nomad Diet* in the following chapter.

●232 It has been said that the Tuareg have no special breed of riding camels but that likely looking animals are picked out early and given special training for use as mounts. The fact remains, however, that the young of famous stud camels are always the preferred choice, and these animals are specially marked shortly after birth. The method of marking consists of pinching up three small folds of skin in a row, about 2 to 3 inches apart, along

232 the ridge of the nose, and then tying a very thin leather thong very tightly around the base of each fold much as a string is tied around the opening of a toy balloon to keep the air in. After a while the thongs are cut away and three little round knobs, about the size of the end of your index finger, remain for the rest of the camel's life as a kind of hallmark of outstanding quality (fig. 26, *a*). Riding camels are very carefully and patiently trained from the age of about 2 years on, and the males are castrated when about 5 years old.

**Trading.** We have now seen that pastoralism 439 is the central column and garden rent a corner post of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar. Trade is the second corner post, and salt is, as we have seen, the chief article of export. In April or May some of the Ahaggar Tuareg [317] send their slaves to the salt mines of the Amadror for two or three weeks. In July they go south with their cargoes of salt, through the [487] rich pastures of the Tamesna region where they rest their animals for a while or exchange them for fresh ones, and then on to the commercial centers of the country just north of the Nigerian frontier. Here trading begins in earnest, late in October as a rule, and endless discussions and bargaining go on for a couple of months or so. Salt, and also camels, donkeys, and dates obtained from the North, are exchanged chiefly for millet but also for a variety of manufactured articles such as cotton cloth and clothing, leather goods, sandals, saddles and bridles, wooden household utensils and tools and weapons of iron and steel. In January the Ahaggar Tuareg turn north again, pause once more for a while in the Tamesna, and finally reach their homes in March or early April.

Camels, hairy sheep, goats, donkeys and congealed melted butter used to be traded in the oases of the Tidikelt and the Touat mainly for dates, and also for cotton cloth, thin woolen blankets from the Gourara, tea, sugar and tobacco. Caravans engaged in this trade used to leave the Ahaggar in January or early February and return in April. Over the last 30 years or so, however, this commercial current has been reduced to a mere trickle by middlemen with trucks who have gradually taken over delivery of the goods that caravans used to fetch from the North. The trade still exists in a sense, but it has become indirect

233/82 cont. / testicle sac; a large head is a favorable sign, as is a white coat.

The Tuareg keep one male for 30 or 40 females; all the [232] other males are castrated: "ennedi." The castration is done rather late in order not to interfere with the development of the animal, which will always be used as a mount or as a pack animal.

The sires having been chosen, the breeding takes place without control by man. The male pursues the female and obliges her to squat down, either by putting his neck on hers or by biting her foot. Females in heat sometimes solicit the male. The covering is made after the female has been brought to squat with the male behind her; his hind legs are completely folded, his pectoral callus rests on the female's back, and his front legs are placed along her breast to keep her prisoner. The covering lasts, it seems, half an hour; after two hours, the male can begin another covering. When all the females of the herd are impregnated, the sire grazes and rests for nearly three months.

The female camel carries her young for 12 months, sometimes 11; she bears one young camel (the Tuareg questioned have never seen twin camels born). A good milk camel gives six liters at each milking, but she is only half milked, the rest being saved for the baby camel, which begins to eat only at the age of about three months.

When the female camel goes to graze during the day, followed by her colt, she wears an "abedjo" over the udder so the young camel cannot suck. The abedjo is a sort of coarse net attached to the loins and exactly covering the udder (it is made with cord from fibers of tahla branches: "ikakaben," extremely strong and rough, which repulses the young camel).

Goats constitute a veritable fortune for the /83/ Tuareg. They are content with the meager pastures of the dry years; they graze near the tents, to which they return each night to sleep. They are seen everywhere in the Ahaggar, even in the places that at first sight seem the most bleak.

yield decreases to about two litres (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 104). It should be added that, as for other domestic animals, the daily yield of milk depends very much on the conditions of pastures, and cows always yield little milk when pastures are dry – even at the beginning of their lactation period. 234

Bulls are frequently castrated two or three years old to be used for riding and transportation. Oxen are used for this purpose particularly among the Tuareg of the plains towards the south and west, while most pastoralists of the Massif almost exclusively use donkeys and camels. Oxen are ridden without a saddle. The rider sits on the back of the animal which is covered with a blanket or a piece of cotton as in Ahaggar. The animals have a cord (*asabar*) placed through their nostrils, but plaited halters (*amerar*) are also used for riding oxen. 492 [232] [184]

The Tuareg have terms to cover the age and sex of their cattle, and they also have a certain number of colour terms; but they say that there are very few colour terms for cattle (about ten terms according to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group). They explain this lack of colour terms by the fact that cattle did not play any important rôle to their subsistence in the past. Cattle do not respond to their names, but some of them will come to the camp on the utterance of a certain cry (cf. p. 135). 233* 192 [433] [178]

233* [283] →

Fig. 31. Zebu calf with a pronged stick (*tabellut*) put through its nostrils to prevent sucking. Ayr, the *Isakaranan* tribe.
Fig. 32. Muzzle (*akimbab*) to wean zebu calves. The muzzle is made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*) which form a frame covered with cords of *tamat* bast and with cotton strips. It is fastened to the head of a calf with a piece of cord plaited of goat's hair, and the attachment is done in such a way that the calf can graze without difficulty though it cannot suck. Tamesna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Ireganaten* tribe. Dimension: 0.17–0.19 m high. (N. M. G. 6661). [824]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



685 648 One of the principal tasks of the Ayr camel patrol consists in hunting down camel thieves to take them to Agadez and prove their guilt. Most Tuareg sympathize with this judicial work of the French but claim that it is too ineffective.

232 * 492 [435] The Tuareg still take a very great interest in the breeding of riding camels, and extremely good riding animals are occasionally sold for a price equal to that paid for five or six normal camels. When a calf is born they at once recognize whether it will be well fitted for riding or not, for there are certain basic characteristics of riding camels. Ideally they should have a relatively short body, be deep-chested, and of high stature with small feet and slender limbs. For pack-camels they prefer heavy and strong animals with very large feet. Both for riding and for transportation they prefer bulls or castrated animals. Geldings are calmer than bull-camels which are often very fierce and dangerous when she-camels are on heat. Rutting bull-camels may even attack people, and they will fight each other – sometimes with the result that one of them is bitten to death. But there is another reason for castration. For bull-camels which have not been allowed to mate freely with she-camels are generally not very difficult to handle. Castration makes bull-camels stronger and more enduring as they more easily grow fat and get larger humps than non-castrated animals. Castration is never carried out until the bull-camel is fully grown, and both in Ahaggar and in Ayr castration is performed comparatively late when the animals are about five or six years old, or later. Many bull-camels are castrated at an age of ten or eleven years.

* 233 * 492 She-camels are not generally used for riding and transportation, but are reserved for breeding. But some Tuareg may use their she-camels even for extensive trading expeditions, and there are Tuareg who prefer to ride she-camels because of their smoother walk. If a Tuareg has a very good she-camel as a riding animal he may even desire to prevent it from mating by the insertion of a very small pebble into the uterus of the she-camel which will then not be able to mate until the pebble is removed. However,

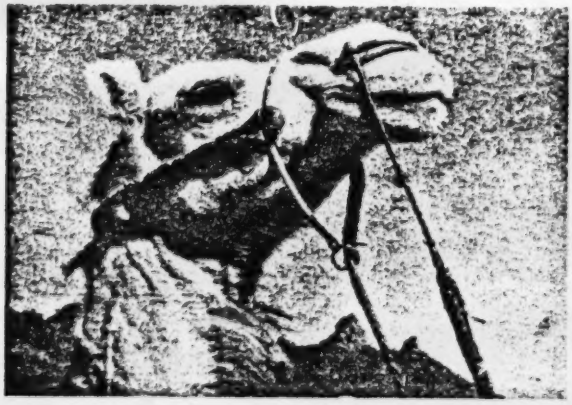

Fig. 50. The headgear known as *akeskabbu*. The upper iron shackle resting upon the bridge of the nose is called *akeskabbu*, the lower shackle to be tightened against the chin is known as *amadel*. The two shackles are connected with a rein of ornamented leather, the other end of which is fastened to the nostril ring (*tiğemt*). Ahaggar, the *Ikkan-en-tawsit* tribe.

# Rationality and Beliefs in Stock-Breeding

Literature on so-called primitive pastoralists often states that these peoples are irrational stock- 121
breeders. It is said that they attach an enormous value to big flocks and herds which overgraze and deteriorate pastures, that they take too little interest in selective breeding with the result that they do not castrate their superfluous male animals or perform this operation too late, and that they take an overwhelmingly large interest in the aesthetic qualities of their animals.

Tuareg stock-breeding is essentially rational and is well adopted to environment. This viewpoint 233* can be proved by reference to the description of stock-breeding given in the preceding chapter. I have 232 here described in some detail the system used in the mating of sheep and goats, and how mating is regulated in accordance with the development of pastures. From this description of mating regulations it also appears that the Tuareg are not only interested in having large flocks. They also want flocks of healthy and strong animals, and they generally kill or sell domestic animals before they grow barren. It should be added that the Tuareg very well know that there is a limit to the number of animals (goats and sheep), which can be herded in one and the same place. The Tuareg certainly want to be rich [356] and to possess large flocks and herds, but they are also aware that there is a limit to size. Regarding Tuareg interest in the aesthetic qualities of their animals, I have mentioned that it is mainly focused on camels, and I have described in some detail the value attached to colours. It is clear, however, that the Tuareg interest in their animals is not confined to the aesthetic. The true value of any domestic animal is always judged rationally, and takes into consideration such qualities as age, build, stature, and the like. The Tuareg also know that qualities of domestic animals are inherited and are aware 232 that it is necessary to have good breeding animals. Cauvet states that pastoral Tuareg attach very little importance to the quality of she-camels used in breeding, while greatly interested in the build and stature of bull-camels. In this, he says, the Tuareg differ from Arab pastoralists, who think that [171] camel calves inherit their qualities mainly from the mother-camels (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 348). This [114] statement, I believe, is not quite correctly expressed, for the Tuareg I have asked about this have stated that a camel-calf inherits qualities from both parents and they have also stressed the necessity of having good she-camels to produce the best possible calves. But most Tuareg have so few camels that they are forced to mate all their she-camels. They cannot afford to select certain she-camels for breeding, while it is easy for them to select one or two good bull-camels. All Tuareg I have asked admitted the great value of selective breeding, and said that superflous rams and he-goats should be castrated or

[p. 117]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



232 [114] killed. This does not agree with Nicolas' statement that selective breeding is unknown among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* for all types of domestic animals (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 133).

Superfluous bull-camels are generally castrated very late – rarely before they are six or seven years old, and frequently much later. But this is not to say that all bull-camels are used in breeding, as those used for riding and transportation are generally hobled during grazing and copulation is thus effectively prevented. Bull-camels used in breeding are not always used for riding and pack animals, as they may be very savage and dangerous. In the rutting season they are left unhobled among the she-camels.

The Tuareg consider it best to castrate bull-camels late, and say that bull-camels if castrated at a very early age will not develop fully, or become such good riding and pack animals. Bull-camels which have not been allowed to mate are not so difficult to control during the periods when she-camels are on heat. Nevertheless, when bull-camels are castrated they become more docile. But to the Tuareg it is more important that gelded animals easily grow fat and thus acquire the strengh and endurance to enable them to perform the long and arduous expeditions connected with caravan trading and, in the past, also with raiding. In brief, castration of bull-camels is done as follows:— The legs of the animal to be operated are tied tightly with strong cords, and it is kept firmly to the ground by the weight of people sitting upon it. The operator thereupon cuts two slices in the animals scrotum and pulls out the testicles together with the spermatic cords. This must be done with great care because, it is said, the animal may die if one of the spermatic cords breaks. This method of castration by extraction is the only method used foı camels, and it may also be applied to other domestic animals such as bulls, rams, he-goats, and in Ahaggar also to donkey stallions. In the north this extraction method is known as *aselbi* while the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr use the word *azam*. The latter people claim that castration by means of cutting and extraction should be performed in spring (*tabsit*) or during the early rains (*akasa*), as the wounds will heal properly at these seasons. The other important castration method used among the Tuareg is that of chrushing the spermatic cords, it is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *éddaz*, and is never used for camels but is frequently applied to he-goats, rams, and [112] bulls. Chrushing of the spermatic cords is done by means of stones or pieces of wood – frequently by beating with the heavy wooden pestle of the large millet mortar (cf. Fig. 177). I believe that this method is that most commonly applied to he-goats and rams, and Tuareg of Ayr claim that they can use this method all the year round as it leaves no wounds to be healed. Rams and he-goats may be castrated at any age and even very old animals are castrated to make them fat for slaughtering. It is claimed that it is best to castrate superfluous lambs and kids very early, preferably as soon as they are weaned.

I believe that the examples given above confirm my statement that the Tuareg are mainly rationalists in their stock-breeding methods. To elucidate this in more detail I shall now present my material on Tuareg veterinary knowledge. This material is unfortunately not very precise because the Tuareg distinguish between very many stock-diseases, and the treatments applied can be studied scientifically only by a veterinary surgeon. A description of stock-diseases is available for the northern parts of the [113] Sahara ("Notice sur l'Institut Pasteur d'Algérie", I–II, 1934–1949), but there seems to be no particular study of Tuareg stock-diseases, which I know only by their Tuareg names. As I have not studied this [114] rather special subject in great detail, I supplement my own material with informations gathered from literature.

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Fulani M511



The most dangerous African cattle disease is the rinderpest. It is known to have entered Egypt in the year 1884 from the regions around the Black Sea, and about 1890, or somewhat later, it came to Eastern Africa and to the Sudan. Rinderpest is nowadays widely found in Africa but it is rare or unknown in Northern Tuareg countries. Rinderpest is apparently very rare in the Ayr Massif and it occurs mainly south of the Massif in savannah country. The Tuareg have no remedy against this disease. It is stated by St. Croix that the Fulani of Northern Nigeria once deliberately exposed their cattle to mild rinderpest to make them immune from this disease in its more severe and dangerous form. However, this method did not work and the Fulani gave up further experiments of this kind. It is also mentioned by St. Croix that the Fulani practise a kind of vaccination against cattle pleuro-pneumonia and that this is done as follows:— A piece of infected lung is put into milk for two to three days and thereupon placed into a small opening cut under the nose-skin of the animal. The method is claimed to be effective (St. Croix 1944, p. 24 f.). Vaccination methods are also known to some of the Southern Tuareg, e.g. the *Iwillemmeden*. These people vaccinate human beings against small-pox by inserting the pus of this disease into wounds cut with a knife (Aymard 1911, p. 108), and they also vaccinate their cattle against cattle pleuro-pneumonia ("peripneumonie bovine"). They do this in much the same way as described above for the Fulani:— An infected piece of lung is placed in sour milk or in the soil for a few days, and is thereupon inserted under the skin of the forehead. Nicolas describes the method as dangerous because the infection attacks the whole forehead and also the nose-bone (Nicolas 1950a, p. 133), but two veterinary surgeons who practised among the *Iwillemmeden* of Tawa told me that they considered this kind of vaccination effective. The method is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg of the Massif where this contagious lung-disease is unknown or very rare.

I have no great knowledge of the contagious diseases in the Tuareg groups I have studied, but such diseases seem to occur comparatively rarely, and there is no veterinary surgeon attached to the French administration of Northern Tuareg countries. There is one veterinary surgeon in Agadez, but his most important field of work lies outside of the mountain massif to the south.

Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr I have been told about two contagious diseases which, when they occur, may give rise to very heavy losses. One of these diseases is known to the Tuareg as *chongu*. It attacks only cows, which die very quickly, but if cattle suffering from the disease are ritually killed their meat is nevertheless considered edible. One Tuareg told me that some years ago about thirty cattle of his camp died in one day from an attack of *chongu*.

The other contagious disease I have recorded from Southern Ayr is called *tandert*. It attacks sheep and goats, and I collected the following notes about it:— The blood penetrates the animal's flesh which becomes quite red. If sheep or goats suffer from *tandert* and are ritually killed for eating, very great care must be taken in the preparation of the meat. It must be boiled until it contains no blood, and must not be eaten until it is cold and dry. It is said that if these precautions are not taken the people who eat meat from animals suffering from *tandert* will themselves become attacked by the disease, with the result that blood and pus may penetrate the skin at any part of the body. They say that a man who has eaten unboiled meat of an animal suffering from this disease with consequent infection is treated in the following way:— A species of ant more venomous than the normal small

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



757 ants is collected and put into the millet mortar and pounded. The pounded mass of ants is then placed
114 on the affected individual at the spot where blood and pus have penetrated the skin. The disease is characterized as very dangerous for human beings as blood and pus may emerge at any place of the
232 body, and can, for instance, destroy an eye. The Ayr Tuareg say that they have no remedy against
*233 *tandert* when it affects their sheep and goats. The disease *tandert* can hardly be anything but anthrax. According to information from the veterinary surgeon Niels Grunnet much indicates that the contagious disease *changa* is also anthrax.

*233 Foucauld has recorded a few contagious stock-diseases from Ahaggar:— *tarut*, a lung disease
231 affecting cattle, goats, and camels. The lungs are filled with pus, and the animals die in four to ten days. *tehareret*, a disease attacking sheep and goats which will die with yellow entrails. *weñhet*, a contagious disease attacking jackals, dogs and related animals which will die quickly. It is not the true rabies. *talekmet*, apparently a kind of scrofula which affects the udders of female domestic animals. These do not necessarily die from the disease but their udders may wither (Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1558, 1663, III, p. 1509, 1044). Dr. Grunnet has informed me that *tarut* could be the pulmonary form of *pasteurellosis* also called *haemorrhagic septicaemia*, while *weñhet* may very well be distemper. The *talekmet* disease according to Dr. Grunnet is not easy to identify by the present information, but
232 three conditions are possible:— 1) cow pox, 2) *actinomycosis* of the udder, and 3) *mastitis*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, like the Ayr Tuareg, do not seem to have any remedies against such contagious diseases which incidentally are rare. But there are many other stock-diseases and treatments for them.

*233 The Ayr Tuareg have mentioned to me about thirty different names of camel diseases. The descrip-
232 tion of these diseases was frequently difficult to understand, and I noted only the following names:—

*azni*, that is a disease of congestion due to heat-apoplexy which is cured by bleeding with a knife or with tobacco powder put into the camel's eyes.

*tadanak*, an eye disease cured by cutting around the eyes and by the insertion of salt.

*ichilchal*, a nose disease cured in the following way:— The handle of a wooden spoon is put up through the nostril to pierce the septum, and heated butter is poured into the animal's nose.

*inefdan*, a diseases which gives the camel a swollen and inflamed head. A cure is effected by cutting with a knife and by burning.

*tozu*, a kind of chill which causes pregnant she-camels to miscarry. There is no good remedy for it, but it is normal practice to pour water over the affected animal.

*lejwad*, a paralysis of the hind thighs of camels. The affected animals cannot stand up. The only remedy is a very difficult operation:— A vein is opened in the hind thigs to let out a great quantity of blood. Bleeding is stopped again by sewing together the cuts, which are finally treated with fire.

*tibayak*, a disease which prevents the pregnancy of mated she-camels. The remedy for this consists in cutting slices around the vagina and under the tail so that blood flows. After this operation, which I have frequently attended, it is said that she-camels will become pregnant when mated.

*sanes*, a disease which prevents the pregnancy of she-camels. It is treated by putting the hand and the arm deeply into the anus of the camel. I have seen it performed once, and in this particular case the she-camel became pregnant shortly afterwards. According to Dr. Grunnet this disease is very probably *corpus luteum* which is squeezed out of the ovary by the manipulation.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



A chest disease for which the Ayr Tuareg have no particular name. It is cured by cutting two rows of small slices through the animal's skin at both sides of the fore thighs so that blood flows. 233* 232 ●

*awaras*, that is swelling of the foot caused by an acacia-thorn or other pointed object. The remedy is to remove the thorn by means of knife and awl and then burn the upper side of the foot with a red-hot iron.

*tafadé*, that is wounds on the camel's back caused by galling of the saddle and the loads. Very many camels have such wounds which are treated by pressing out the pus, by cutting, and by burning.

*ajawad*, that is scabies (*Sarcoptes scabiei* var. *Camelli*) which is extremely common. The Tuareg living around Agadez treat it in two distinct ways:— (1) an animal bone is crushed in a large mortar and the pounded mass is put into a cooking pot to be heated over the fire. A black liquid with a consistency like that of liquid butter comes out of the bone-substance after heating. It is rubbed into the skin of the infected animal. (2) Fruit of the *aborak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*) are put into a cooking pot to be heated over the fire. A black liquid comes out of the fruits after heating. This is rubbed into the skin. [824]

Camels in Africa are considered to suffer from only three major infectious diseases (*anthrax*, *pasteurellosis*, *trypanosomiasis*), but several types of local infections can be met with. 233*

I believe that camel diseases of Ayr and Ahaggar are not very different, but I have not collected much material on the subject in the north. I give a few additional examples from Ahaggar: *adder*, that is a bunion close to the junction of leg and body of camels. The bunion is produced by rubbing of the fore thigh against the chest during walking, and some camels suffer from such bunions during long journeys. I do not know if there is any treatment for it. *ǵelek*, that is the swelling of camels which have drunk too much water after the consumption of salty plants; this swelling disappears by itself. *irelenrwahen*, a nose disease which attack camels and goats. The nostrils are filled with pus so that the animals have difficulty in breathing. The treatment is burning. *amerwas*, swelling of the feet which are washed with hot water. *toza*, a chest disease considered contagious. The animals lose their appetite. The remedy is burning. Dr. Grunnet thinks that it could be an oedematous form of *pasteurellosis* (*haemorrhagic septicaemia*). – For scabies the Ahaggar Tuareg seem to know several treatments. They use pounded leaves of *ahoyyar* (*Cleome arabica*) and of *telulut* (*Capparis spinosa*) added to sour milk and rubbed into the camel's skin. According to Maire, who has made use of information from Voinot, there are other treatments for scabies, namely the use of ashes of the *aferegak* plant (*Chrozophora Brocchiana*), tar extracted from the *azawa* tree (*Tamarix gallica* ssp. *nilotica*), charcoal of *turha* (*Calotropis procera*) which is pounded and mixed with butter, seeds of *tegellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*) which are boiled into a black oil called *akaha* (cf. Maire 1933, p. 145, 156, 172, 200). Congestion due to heat-apoplexy (*ahni*) is cured as mentioned in the case of the Ayr Tuareg. [114] 233* 232 824

From the above description of camel diseases and their treatment it will be seen that the Tuareg know several types of veterinary methods. In brief the veterinary techniques can be summarized under the following five items:— 232

(1) Treatment by the hand, e.g., *Corpus luteum* which is squeezed out of the ovary by the manipulation (cf. *sanes*, p. 120), and massage treatments which the Tuareg practise with human beings and with domestic animals. [257]

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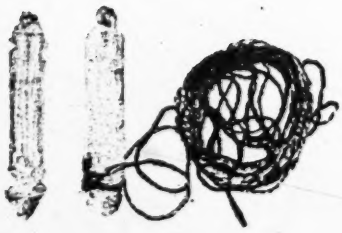

Fig. 92. Wooden splints (*safasast*, pl. *tifesasin*) applied to broken legs of sheep and goats by means of a long thin cord of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimensions of wooden splints: about 0.12 m. (F.M. 282).

232 (2) Operation with a knife. Such operations are often very simple. Thus I have once seen sheep with swollen throats and ears which were scratched with a knife to let out some water-like pus, but I do not know the name of this disease. The knife is used for many different operations some of which have been mentioned above. It is also used for bleeding which plays a great part in Tuareg veterinary [257] practise. Bleeding is applied to humans and to domestic animals as a treatment for various diseases. [253] The Tuareg may bleed individuals and animals bitten by snakes or stung by scorpions, but bleeding is used for many different diseases, as the Tuareg believe that these can be removed away with bad blood which is considered their cause. Bleeding is practised with camels. Thus in summer camels are frequently bled because they get slow and tired owing to *azni* (*ahni*), that is congestion due to heat-apoplexy, and a she-camel will normally be bled two or three hours after it has brought forth a calf. I frequently attended the bleeding of camels among the Ayr Tuareg where the method is as follows:— The camel is forced to stand upright while its head is turned downwards by a man (or a woman) who grasps the head firmly at the upper lip with one hand and pulls at a rope fixed to the animal's lower jaw with the other. A rope is tied around the camel's neck close to its chest so that the neck vein can contain as much blood as possible. The neck vein in this way will swell with blood particularly close to the animal's head at a place known to the Tuareg as *abayor*. A slice about two centimetres long is cut in this place with a small sharp knife, and immediately blood will flow from the neck vein in a thin but powerful squirt. Shortly after bleeding has started the rope tied around the animal's neck is loosened, but blood is allowed to flow for several minutes, and I believe that at least two or three litres of blood is tapped. When the operation is to end the animal's head is raised, the skin around the wound is pressed together with two fingers, and bleeding immediately ceases. Once blood has started to flow from the camel it does not protest at the operation which is illustrated by the photograph Fig. 93. When a camel has been bled it will normally rest for a few hours before it starts eating again. When Tuareg get lost in the desert and lack water, they bleed their camels and

When Tuareg get lost in the desert and lack water, they bleed their camels and drink the blood (cf. p. 235). In situations of great distress they may also kill their camels in order to 261 obtain the water supply conserved in the animal's stomach.

(3) Treatment by burning. Wounds are cauterized by means of a redhot iron known as *tamak* 232 (Ayr), or *taterkemt* (Ahaggar). Burning with a redhot iron is also practised for camels with swollen feet as already described (p. 121). It is also common to burn a line around wounds or other sites of disease in order that it shall not spread, and burning is even practised for internal diseases, as is the case with the *toza*-disease of camels (p. 121). Redhot irons are, on the whole, used particularly for camels. Wounds of sheep and goats, e.g., wounds from jackal bites, are cauterized by means of glowing camel dung. Certain stomach diseases, such as types of tympanites, are cured by a bunch of flaming grass swept under the animal's belly. I have seen this practised with donkeys which, like horses, may suffer from a kind of tympanites known in Ahaggar as *tahagá*.

(4) Instruments and bandages. Enema should be mentioned under this heading. It is known in 232 Ahaggar as *sebegiwen*, and is applied to humans and to animals by means of a funnel or by a special 757 apparatus made from a piece of hollow cane connected with a skin-bag. I never had the opportunity [113] to see this apparatus, which is depicted by Lhote who also gives some information about the use of enemas with human beings (Lhote 1955a, p. 303, Fig. 36). He mentions that an enema is also given by a mother to her little children by blowing water into the anus with her mouth. I have seen this done to children in Ahaggar, but I do not know whether this method is practised with animals also. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the Tuareg apply wooden splints to their domestic animals with broken 232 legs. I have seen this device only in Ahaggar where wooden splints are known as *tifesasin* (sing. *tafasast*). They are used for sheep and goats (Fig. 92), and, by the sedentary agriculturists, also for cows. The wooden splints applied to goats are sometimes replaced by a leather bandage solidly tied [237] around the broken leg. I mention under this heading that camels bred and born in stony or mountainous 492 countries cannot always stand the long journeys through plain and sandy deserts. Their feet suffer

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Fig. 93. Tuareg bleeding a camel at the place of the neck vein known as *abayor*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

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Fig. 94. Tuareg operating a camel's foreleg with a knife. Northern Ayr, the *Kel Tédalé*.

492 from the constant friction against the sand, and it may become necessary to provide the animals with leather shoes, that is pieces of ox-skin sewn around the hoofs. These leather shoes are known to [113] the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tissal* (sing. *tasselt*). Their appearance is excellently depicted by Lhote (Lhote 1951 b, photographs p. 224).

232 824 (5) Medical treatment which forms an important part of Tuareg veterinary knowledge. I have mentioned in the description of camel diseases the use of certain plants for the external treatment of scabies. The Tuareg also use various plants for drugs. Seeds of certain annual plants are mixed with milk and given to goats and sheep which suffer from stomach-diseases. Leaves of various plants are also considered laxatives. The Tuareg know many drugs made from wild plants, and they are aware that there are several wild plants that are dangerous to domestic animals. A very dangerous venomous plant is *élel* (*Nerium oleander*) which is extremely common in the higher parts of Ahaggar. It contains a kind of strychnine, and camels which eat *Nerium* leaves will die from this poison. The Tuareg say that camels bred and born in Ahaggar know the plant to be dangerous. These camels do not eat the *Nerium* leaves but others introduced to Ahaggar from the south may do so. To prevent camels from eating *Nerium* leaves the Tuareg put a leaf of the plant into their nostrils, or burn *Nerium* leaves so that the smoke and the scent of the plant enter the animal's nostrils. In this way camels come to loathe it. There are, according to Foucauld, other venomous plants in Ahaggar, e.g. *awrhed* (*Perralderia coronopifolia*), *arenked* (*Leptadenia heterophylla*, and/or *Cocculus pendulus*) which are fatal to goats and sheep (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1524 & IV, p. 1647; Maire 1933, p. 230, 236). The species [682] known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*) is very venomous for human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies. However, this plant does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, p. 192). One plant (*téhereggelé*) (*Artemisia judaica*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten venomous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for domestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe they have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings (Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be understood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil mouth (*tehoṭ* in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as *eltama* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding camels in Ayr:— Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order that their riding animal may not stumble.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 95. A Tuareg feeding his riding camel with *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Many Tuareg feed their riding animals with stems of this perennial grass – partly to obtain a docile camel for riding, partly to change its fodder which consists largely of acacias and annual plants. The photograph is taken near Agadez at the *akasa* season. Annual plants grow between trees and bushes (*afagag*, *Acacia Raddiana*; *ebezgin*, *Salvadora persica*; *tadent*, *Boscia senegalensis*). Ayr, the *Isakaraman* tribe.

234 than those mentioned. Thus they can use any kind of receptacle for milk and milking, and they do
445 not clean their milk-bowls with urine as is normal among certain East African stock-breeders, and,
237 perhaps, also among certain of the Fulani living south of Ayr. The taste of urine is detested by the
262 Tuareg, who know this taste all too well as the water drawn from pools and wells is frequently flavoured
237 with urine and the excrement of domestic animals. Nor is camel urine used by Tuareg women for
302 hairdressing as is done among the Arabs, but it is said that it may have a medical value in curing
252 wounds. The custom of drinking blood has been mentioned above (p. 122 f.) and will be described later (p. 235).

*233 The Tuareg apparently have comparatively few superstitious usages in stock-breeding, which is
232 mainly to be considered rational. We have seen that stock-breeding is adapted to environment, and we have also mentioned that there are veterinary methods which doubtless have their origin in considerable knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of domestic animals. This knowledge forms one corner-stone of rational stock-breeding, and another is the very detailed knowledge of botany. In
*233 Ahaggar there are more than 600 different plant species for which the Tuareg have particular names,
824 though a few related species are sometimes known by one and the same name. Every Tuareg know about the ecological conditions of these plants, and he knows exactly their fodder value for domestic animals. He knows that certain plants form excellent fodder for all domestic animals, but he is also well aware that the different types of stock have different needs, so that certain plant species are valuable for camels, other species for other domestic animals.

231 The Tuareg are occasionally cruel to donkeys, and to dogs, but they take the greatest care of all other domestic animals to ensure their wellbeing and reproduction. Women bring acacia pods or tender annual plants to kids, lambs, and calves, and to sick animals which remain in the camp. On
444 long trading expeditions, when the camels have little time for grazing, some Tuareg will walk along
*233

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
●233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haṛatin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote
[602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general-
[582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihǎggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihǎggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were
[643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores
[184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous
[567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar,
[582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

631 a very ancient tribe, the Isbeten, who were the autochthons of the Ahaggar and whom the Dăg Rali would have found in Ătakor when they came to settle there.

After the battle at Tit where they lost more than 100 fighters, the Dăg Râli still numbered 60 warriors. The 1938 census gives 1, 090 persons, 334 of them men, including the Iklan. This increase is quite rare among the Tuareg and reflects their wealth and the improvement of their living conditions since the French occupation.

[161] [177] [511]

They nomadize in the western part of the Koudia, which is their absolute fief where no other fraction is admitted.

/192/ On the east, the boundaries of the lands over which they range are fixed by the right bank of the Tamanrasset wadi and the Interkadène wadi as far as Ideles; on the south by the southern zone of the Tahalra as far as Tin Dahar; on the west by In Eker; and on the north by the line from In Eker to Hirhafok to Ideles.

631 651 The Dăg Râli pay a tribute of ten bags of dates or sorghum to the aménokal; in addition, each family which sends a caravan to the Sudan pays him a small bag of sorghum. If the pastures are good, they add several "botta" of melted butter and the milk of twenty ewes. In the case of a successful raid, they pay the nobles half of the ewes.

631 233 556 439 The Dăg Râli are now the richest people in the Ahaggar. They own more than 1, 200 goats and more than 1, 000 camels. Thanks to their beasts of burden, they can take many very remunerative caravans to the Sudan and to the Tidikelt. They hold in common escheated flocks which are called Edjeré-n-boutelma. When the pastures are insufficient to feed all their livestock, they entrust their camels to the Irréguénaten who graze them on the Saharo-Sudanese border.

631 241 423 Since they are very open-minded, they were in favor of cultivation in the centers of the Ahaggar, and at the present time they possess lands at Ilâman, Tarahananet, Tamanrasset, Abălessa, Iglen, Tăfârit, I-n-Ămegel, and Silet, which Negroes cultivate for them. The aménokal has granted them a certain number of palm trees in the Silet oasis which formerly belonged to the Tăitok.

173 Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé means "reed people." Legend has it that they
631 were forced to eat the roots of that plant during their flight from the Aïr. Their chief was then a man of Herculean size named Assékal ag Louka; the legend says that his feet were so big that when his pursuers saw the footprints, they preferred to abandon the chase.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé claim to be originally from Mecca where their remote ancestor received a camel from the Prophet. He was supposed to drink only the milk of the camel, but he committed the sin of killing it. Therefore, they had to flee, and after long years of wandering, they settled in Aïr.

At the time when the Imrad were divided up (1750), they were part of the Issandaten. The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé went to the Kel Rela, and the other fraction, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, went to the Taïtok.

631 The land over which they range borders on that of the Dăg Râli. It goes from Tamanrasset to Ourchi wadi, then from the Koudia as far as Afrahouhine and Tamaghine.

[651] They pay a tribute to the amenokal, the same size as that of the Dăg Râli, but they do not share captured goats and sheep with him.

They are currently allied with the Dăg Râli and the Relaiddin.

They took sides against us in the battle of Tit where they had
[648 about ten men killed. During the insurrection of 1916-1918, they
669] rose up, and their women even seized thirty mehari /dromedaries/ belonging to the meharist company at Fort Motylinski. On the other hand, they did not take part in the revolt directly and were the first to ask for mercy.

[161] /195/ Totaling 60 men in 1905, the tribe numbers about 150 persons at the present time.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé own nearly a thousand camels, which they
[233] graze on the Saharo-Sudanese borders, and 1,200 to 1,400 goats.
[651] Every year they pay a tribute to the amenokal of 12 bags of dates, 6 pots of butter, and the usufruct of 10 goats. Most of the cultivated
[423 land and the foggara of Tarhaouaout and Tahifet belongs to them,
241] and they have gardens at Ămsel, Tamanrasset, and Talan-Tédit.

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Ẋrokam, Serouanout, and in the Ẋnahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[233] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are [241 423] their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

631 669 They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the Ihéaouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up [797] the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 The Aït Loaïen form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which [181] must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[651] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokal.

The Relaiddîn. -- The Relaiddîn probably came from Aïr, like the Ẋgouh-en-Tẋhlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162 651] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tiousse to the Iboglân.

This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 [177 233] camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1, 500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

631 /197/ They do own a few gardens at Tazerouk, Ti-n-Tarabine, Altoklane, and Sersouf, but all lie fallow.

[69] During the revolt, they left the Agouh-en-Tehle in dissent, but they soon surrendered, for their position between the Ahaggar and the Ajjer always put them at the mercy of raids by the latter.

[651] The Relaiddin pay an annual tribute of two loads of grain, a pot of butter, and a goat to the amenokal.

[162] To the Relaiddin must be added a small fraction on its way toward disappearing; they are the Kel Bardjen, of undetermined origin.

[674] Numbering some ten warriors, they are recognized as inveterate robbers, always encroaching on the nomadic territories of others. Bardjen is located between Tazerouk, Imerera, and Ideles. The

[423] territory of the Kel Bardjen was probably marked off about 1750 and

[212] defined by monoliths, some of which bear tifinagh characters.

The Ibettenaten. -- The Ibettenaten are not "Imrad," properly speaking. According to Benhazera, this tribe was formerly noble. They were probably subjugated by the Kel Rela following the murder of an Amacher /singular of Imochar, the aristocratic class. Ed./ committed by one of them. Since then, they pay the tioussé to the

[651] amenokal.

The Ibettenaten probably descended from Kel Afella Ifora on the maternal side and from Tidikelt Arabs on the paternal side.

631 About thirty tents are nomads in the Sudan near Bou Djbiha, but

162 they go up as far as Taoudart and In Ouzal in the Adrar des Iforas, following the pasture grounds. Fifteen other tents enfeoffed to the Kel Fadel camp in Air.

They number 160 persons, 62 of them men, in the 1938 census.

631 They are entirely herders, making very few caravans and owning

233 no cultivated lands. They have very fine pasture grounds at their disposal. They own about 800 camels, 1,000 sheep, and (a rare thing, but quite in keeping with their area of nomadization) nearly 100 cows.

563 They are not vassals like the Irréguénaten and the Ibettenâten,
631 but are incorporated.

563 According to a tradition reported by Dr. Richer, (1) the
173

1. Les Oulliminden, p. 71.

Issekkemâren are the descendants of the family of the Sagmara, pointed out in the Ádrar des Iforas and in the region of Gao by El Bekri. They were driven back by the Sonrhai invasion and came to take refuge among the northern Tuareg while a small fraction remained in the south in the environs /199/ of Timbuktu and today has a marabout character.

Although they are more Islamized than the other tribes, they are
[797] nonetheless Tuaregized in the sense that they follow Tuareg customs
197] and speak Tamashek. Many of them speak Arabic fluently, either
[648] because of their origin or because of their constant relations with the Tidikelt.

173 At the time of the division of the Imrad, some tribes were be-
563 stowed upon the Kel Rela, others on the Tâitok and the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet. The tribes attached to the Kel Rela are the Ihéiaouen Hâda, the Kel Immîdir, the Kel Tâzoûlet, the Kel Tâfedest, and the Kel In Rhar'.

563 They are all great caravaneers who trade a great deal on the
439 Tidikelt markets. They own a large number of camels and their
484 camel raising is particularly renowned.
233

The Iheiaouen Hada. -- The Iheiaouen Hada, also called Oulad
563 Elias or Ihéiaouen-n-Temounent, are said to be descended from an
[173] Arab woman who was seized at Touat. The word Iheiaouen means in Tamashek "the grandsons of . . . ," so that we must conclude that the people of this tribe are the descendants of a woman named Ada.

They nomadize in the Tâfedest massif near Ádenek, Abezou, In Takoufi, Eguelougal, and Tidessi. During dry periods they lead
[221] their camels to the Saharo-Sudanese borders in the neighborhood of the Tamaïa well.

563 [162] They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elias, Oulad Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

[233] They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout, [423 241] which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and manpower. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism [795 788] /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

[669] In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Tăfedest.

[173] /200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

[162] Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Tăfedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

[233] Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head. [241 423] They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them entirely, and at I-n-Ămegal, Déhine, and Ăbézou.

[795] Like the Iheiaouen Hâda, they are mostly affiliated with the Tijaniyyah sect.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us, which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

[224] They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

[651] The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the amenokal six bags of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Tăfedest. -- The Kel Tăfedest or Kel Tégatoufé (or ant [162] people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

563 They nomadize near the Garet ed Djenoun, the Ăseksem, Ămegid, and the Ădrar Torha; they own about 300 goats and 30 [233] camels. (1938 census, as opposed to 600 goats and 200 camels in 1905.)

[241 423] They are the owners of a few gardens in the Tăfedest.

They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah order.

[795] The Kel Tăfedest annually pay the amenokal four loads of dates [65] and a young camel.

The Kel Immîdir. -- The Kel Immîdir, or Kel Mouydir, are still called Ihéiaouen-n-Tin-Emma. They are of the same origin as the Ihéiaouen Hâda and the Kel Tazoulé.

[162] They are subdivided into Kel Terahart and Kel Raris and include about 50 people. They nomadize in the Immîdir massif toward Joraf and Tagmout and have areas for nomadization between Ifetessen and In Eker.

[233 464] They are poor people who own about 20 camels and 250 goats. Very good merchants and excellent caravaneers, they hire themselves out to camel owners to provide for their needs.

/201/ The Isselamaten must be added to the Kel Immidir. They [162] are a small fraction of about 15 tents which lives with them and nomadize near Aneserfa, Ărak, Ahohor, Tagemout, and Tiredjert.

The Kel Tazoûlet. -- The Kel Tazoûlet or Dăg el Mesk camp in [162 233] the Tăzoûlet region and near Tăzerouk. They number about 225 people and own 285 camels and more than 2, 000 goats. They dryness of the region which they inhabit forces them to take refuge in the [132] Sudan when there are no rains in the Ahaggar.

[241 423] They possess gardens at Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine, and at Tăzerouk.

[669] They were in contact with the Aït Loaien and followed the latter in revolt, participating with them in the battles of Tit and the Ilaman wadi.

[795 788] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah. Four or five of their number have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

563 [651] Every year they pay the aménokal three loads of dates and three young goats.

[554] The Irréguénaten. -- The Irréguénaten, like the Issekkemâren, are assimilated vassals of a social rank superior to that of the Imrad.

They are of Tuareg mothers from the Ibettenâten tribe and Arab fathers from the Kounta tribe.

They are divided into two groups: 1) the Adrar Irréguénaten or Issettafénine Irréguénaten, who descended from a sherif of Gourara named Abdelmoumen, whose two sons Mouima and Inchelane married Ibettenâten women; 2) the Ahaggar Irréguénaten or Ihaggarénine Irréguénaten, who descended from the Dermachaka, an incorporated tribe of Kounta and Ibettenâten.

All of them nomadize in the northern Ădrar des Ifôras and the Timétrine and even push as far as Erg Chech. They also visit the Ăhnet and Tamasna.

[233] This is a very rich tribe engaged in raising camels. The Irréguénaten own more than 2, 300 camels, 350 cows, and more than 2, 350 goats and sheep.

[162] In 1908 they numbered 50 to 60 men, according to Benhazéra. The 1938 census raises the figure to 358 persons, 100 of them fighters.

[651] /202/ They pay the tioussé to the descendants of the Inemba and to the descendants of Si Mohamed ag Othman.

[669] Although they associated with the Adrar Kounta, they maintained relations with the rebellious marabout Abidine, who took refuge among the Kel Ahnet. They probably even served him as spies, and the people of Ădrar des Ifôras held them in suspicion for a long time.

[28] 462 Their camel raising is very well known, and their wives are quite expert in leatherwork.

[600] There are also Irréguénaten in the Niger loop, but they have no bonds of kinship with the Ahaggar Irréguénaten.

175 back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of
631 the men, including Azioueł, died of thirst in the desert.
643 /204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

579 At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the
631 suzerainty of the amenokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and
[648] more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the amenokal of the Ahaggar.

[511] Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of
631 their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the
651 nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ăadrar des Iforas, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis and Isoknâten of the Aïr.

[162 Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400
233] camels and about 1, 000 goats.

During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at
175 first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave
631 us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his
648 Imrad Kel I-n-Tounin. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops, He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of
[423] Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastân.

173 Let us add that the Kel Ăhnet claim to be of Beraber origin
631 through Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hînân. But the Tăitok say that it is not known where they come from, except that they must have inhabited the Ahaggar long before the arrival of Ti-n-Hînân.

631 The Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis. -- The Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis are of the same origin as the Tégéhé-n-Elîmen.

They used to nomadize in Aïr and had to leave that country as a result of the murder of the sultan who wanted to force them to pay too heavy a tax. Efis was their chief, and it is he who decided to leave. The descendants of these families thenceforth bore his name.

They formed only a single tribe with the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. When Mohamed el Kheir was aménokal, the Tégéhé-n-Elîmen came to ask protection from the Ihăggaren -- some say this was under Mohamed el Kheir's grandson, Younès.

During the war which put the Kel Rela and the Tăitok in conflict, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis took refuge on the Aïr borders. Afterwards, they returned for the most part, but some ten tents remained in the Sudan.

[162] In 1905, they numbered about 30 tents; in the 1938 census there
[233] were 164 persons, 51 of them men. They own 80 camels, and 250
[241] goats. They are the proprietors of cultivated lands at Tîgenouin,
423] Amsel, Ăbalessa, and Tahart. They also see to the cultivation of gardens at Tamanrasset, which have belonged to the Imekkeresen (an Imrad tribe of the Ajjer Tassili) for a long time. By rights they should pay the latter a due, but it is never asked for.

They nomadize in the Tahalra (southwest of Koudia) and migrate on the parallel Amsel, Tîgeneouin, Tâmaïa. The line of demarcation separating their area from /208/ that of the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé is formed by the Tamanrasset wadi.

They were bestowed upon the Tăitok at the time of the distribution of the Imrad, and they have followed their suzerains in all their affairs.

[173] The Kel I-n-Toûnîn. -- The Kel I-n-Toûnîn are Issekkemâren. They were given to the Tăitok under Sidi's aménokalat (1755) when the Kel Rela tobol was split up, while the Kel Ouhet and the Kel Téroûrirt were given to the Tégéhé Mellet.

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631

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| KEL RELA | or | on the right cheek. on the right front. | KEL I-N-TOÛNÎNE | // | on the neck. |
| DÂB RALÎ | | crossing the neck, at the right. | TÂÎTOK | or | at the right front. on the cheek. |
| ÂJOUH-EN-TÊHLÉ | or | on the right front. on the neck, to the right. | KEL ÂHNET | | on the neck, to the right. |
| ÎKLÂN-EN-TÂOUSÎT | | at the top of the right thigh. | TÉGÉHÉ-N-ÊFIS | | on the right cheek. |
| KEL TÂZOÛLET | + | on the neck, to the right. | ÎROUAROUAREN | | on the right cheek. |
| KEL ÎN RHAR' | | on the right thigh. | ÎKOUTTÎSEN | or | on the neck. |
| RELAÎDIN | IV | on the neck. | TÉGÉHÉ MELLET | | on the right cheek. |
| ÎHEAOUEN HADA | +I | on the right thigh. | ÎRECHCHOÛMEN | | |
| KEL ÎMMÎDIR | | on the right thigh. | KEL OHET | | on the right thigh. |
| KEL TÂFEDEST | — | on the right thigh. | ÎKERREMOÎEN | | |
| KEL AMGUID | | on the right thigh. | ÎNEMBA | | |
| ÂÎT LOAÎEN | or | on the right cheek. | TÉGÉHÉ-N-AG-ALÎ | | |
| ÎRRÉGUÉNATEN | or | on the neck, to the right. on the right cheek. | TÉGÉHÉ-N-OU-SIDI | I | |
| KEL TEROÛRÎRT | | on the neck. | ÎBOGLÂN | | |
| ÎBETTENÂTEN | | on the right cheek. | | | |

Table of the brands applied to camels in the different Ahaggar tribes.

631 The Kel I-n-Toûnîn owe their name to the wadi near which they ordinarily nomadize in the Tăfedest massif. At the end of the last century they took advantage of the dissensions existing between the Tăitok and the Kel Rela as well as the internal strife of the
[651] Tăitok to free themselves of the latter. They moved to the Ăjjer, claiming kinship with them, but they pay them no taxes.

After their surrender to the French, the Tăitok reclaimed them, and General Laperrine agreed to their demand.

[669] They took a big part in the rebellion of 1916 and were the first to rise up, for they were under the direct influence of the Ăjjer.

Taking refuge in Fezzan at first, they set about combating us by launching raids against the fractions under our influence. Later they participated in the combat of Aïn el Hadjadj. Then they went to the Sudan, where they succeeded in taking with them a number of Tăitok, their Chief Amri among them, in spite of the efforts Moussa ag Ămastân made to keep them.

[162] They number about 20 tents which camp in the north of the Tăfedest massif and go up as high as the Ădrar Ifetessen on the foothills of Immîdir.

[582] They are allied to the Tégéhé Mellet by recent marriages.

Famous as good herders, they own about 100 camels and 300
[233 439] goats. They are also good caravaneers who trade on the markets of In Salah, Ghat, and Ghadames.

[241] They have a few gardens cultivated at Ideles and in the Tassili centers of cultivation.

[162] The Iouarouaren. -- The Iouarouaren form a little tribe of about 15 tents, which nomadizes with the Kel Ăhnet in the Adrar.

Some say they are natives of Aïr, others say of the Ăjjer.

173 /210/ When an Ăjjer (or Ifôras) woman had been taken prisoner
631 by the Aïr people, according to Sidi ag Kéradji, it was Ămastân ag Ourzig, maternal uncle of Sidi, who paid her ransom and married her to a Kel Ăhnet; from this union sprang the Iouarouaren. (1)

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[173]

1. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 177.

[582] They often camp near the Dăg Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Tăitok in their peregrinations.

[423] They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghîn, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given [233] to Moussa ag Ămastan. They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The tioussé paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a [651] bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemâden live mixed in with the Dăg Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Tăitok tobol.

[192] Their name means "the very ugly ones," from the Tamashek akechchemdh, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Ămastân.

[162] They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them [423] in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dăg Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dăg Râli.

[162] The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ăjjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeïen form a little tribe of some 15 [162] tents, whose camp lies near Tit and Tigeneouin.

619 Kel-I-n-Toûnîn Imrad rather than accept the supremacy of Moussa
648 ag Ămastân and the Kel Rela. For a long time they kept up the agitation, encouraged by the former Amenokal Attici ag Ămellal, and they were one of the causes of our difficulties with the Ăjjer.

619 It is now a small tribe of about 15 tents nomadizing near
[162] Ămegid, the Ounane, the Eguéré, and /212/ Tiramar. Its strength comes especially from its vassals, who could not be more turbulent.
[669] They probably participated in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and Attici and Ănaba ag Ămellal, the leaders of the drama, belonged to that fraction.

The Tégéhé-Mellet have no Imrad properly speaking, but several Issekkemâren fractions are enfeoffed to them.

The Kel Terourirt. -- The Kel Terourirt are Issekkemâren and nomadize northeast of the Ahaggar near Tiramar, Tahihaout,
[162] Ounane, the Eguéré, and the Garet ed Djenoun. They number 25 tents at the moment:

[669] During the 1916 events, they followed the Kel Ouhet and the Kel I-n-Toûnîn in rebelling.

[651] They pay the amrar of the Tégéhé Mellet a tioussé which annually adds up to four bags of dates and four goats.

The Kel Ouhet. -- Like the Kel Térourirt, the Kel Ouhet are Issekkemâren. They are subdivided into several small fractions: the Kel Raris, the Dăg-Khamaya, and the Dăg Iknân. In all there are
[162] about 40 tents (51 persons in the 1938 census, 23 of them men).

They camp in the northern part of the Tăfedest massif and go as far as Amegid and into the Igharghar Valley.

[233] They own a number of camels and frequently visit the markets
[439] of the Tidikelt and Ghat.

Some of them have left the Ahaggar and now live in the Ăjjer.

The Kel Torha. -- The Kel Torha, or Dăg Houa, are Aït Loaïen and their small fraction is in the process of disappearing. Although they live with the Aït Loaïen who belong to the Kel Rela tobol,
[651] they pay the annual tioussé of a mézoued of dates to the Tégéhé-Mellet.

233 721 The Tuareg are herders. It does not seem that they ever knew any other stage of civilization, except hunting which is the prelude to animal husbandry. But even by judicious use of pasturage they cannot own a great number of domestic animals, and in the last analysis herding falls into the background in their means of existence. Since the country could not feed them, they had to look elsewhere for what they lacked. They therefore looked to their sabers for the rest.

181 721 Like the majority of herders, the perpetually famished Tuareg are born warriors, because from time immemorial they have had to dispute the rich lands with the sedentary peoples. Their free life has made them independent and anarchistic. The wealth /215/ of others has not inspired any respect in them, but rather a sentiment of envy which no moral rule has been able to check. Pillage has thus been raised to the state of an institution, and the Tuareg have become masters of the trade.

721 The raid, now a continual state of war with their neighbors, may be considered the principal social achievement of the Tuareg. [182] And thus we may see the important role that the Ahaggar Mountains play; they are not only a refuge for life, but also a refuge for brigands who want to shelter themselves from the possible investigations of their victims.

579 627 The raid is organized, even ordered, pillage. It is an institution with its rules which the antagonists respect. Its simplest form is taking the neighbor's herds; once the deed is done, the raider makes a deal with him and compromises by giving him back a certain number of animals so that he can subsist, keeping for himself what is judged to be the surplus. The complicated form occurs when the attacked man defends himself or tries to take back his property. That can lead to pitched battles and, as a consequence, dead men. From that time on, it is fratricidal war which demands blood and which creates eternal hatred.

That was what the life of the Ahaggar Tuareg was before the French occupation.

234 to extract all the water, and then dry them on /235/ small screens placed in the branches of trees. It goes without saying that cheese making is very rare in the Ahaggar and that the Tuareg make it [438] particularly when they are nomadizing in the Sudan. Every year the Ihăggaren bring back large supplies of cheese from their stay in the Sudanese zone; these cheeses, dry as a bone, are either made by the Ihăggaren or bought from the southern tribes. They make 252 an important contribution to the Tuareg diet. These dry cheeses 262 are ground in a mortar and reduced to small fragments so that they have the consistency of flour. Then they are mixed with food, either in béchena gruel or in a drink of béchena flour and dates.

262 It might be supposed that meat plays a very large role in the Tuareg diet. But let us recall one of our old French proverbs which says that the shoemaker is always the worst shod. We could apply this adage to herders, who perhaps eat less meat than anyone else. A herder has animals for the use of their products, but he very seldom eats them, for each butchering is a loss of capital.

Indeed, the Tuareg kill their animals only under very unusual [233] circumstances, especially at the time of religious and family festivals. These killings recall somewhat the religious meaning of sacrifices. This does not mean that they do not like meat, for when they raid a rival camp, they hasten to make drastic inroads on the smaller livestock and eat until they are about to burst.

224 Hunting furnishes them a little additional meat. Each year 262 they kill a certain number of gazelles and wild sheep, eating part [251] of the meat fresh and drying the rest to keep it on hand.

They capture star lizards (Uromastix acanthinurus), jerboas, 222 gondi (Ctenodactylus sp.), sometimes even jackals and hares. We 262 can add to their meat diet grasshoppers (Shistocerca gregaria), [324] which they grill in the embers and then dry in order to pulverize [352] them. All Saharian nomads are very fond of grasshoppers, and since remotest antiquity some North African tribes are supposed to

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# Chapter 6

## Animal Husbandry

233 If we study mainly the tribes which live in the Sudan, in a country which lends itself perfectly to animal husbandry, we observe that the Tuareg are experienced herders, capable of making their herds prosper. The scarcity of pastures in the Sahara has evidently put animal husbandry in the background among the northern Tuareg, but it was certainly not always that way. The example that we have before us in the Sudan allows us to class all the Tuareg among the great herders. [184]

Animal husbandry is at the very foundation of their living conditions. It is probably the source of their migrations and their swarming over the Sahara and the Sudan. On these grounds the Tuareg, like all shepherds, may be reproached for their thieving and destructive bent, the effect of which is often felt by urban groups and always by the vegetation which they shamelessly destroy. With these reservations, however, they have brought with them some elements of cultural civilization which have played a considerable role both in the Sahara and the Sudan. [167]

The Ihaggaren are forced to count on the income from their herds and could not live without them. That is why they devote a large part of their work to animal husbandry, despite the difficulties imposed on them by caring for the animals.

This animal husbandry, moreover, is peculiar to the Saharian regions and is totally different from that of the Sudanese Tuareg. The Sudanese own cattle, great quantities of sheep, and horses; the Sahara could not support such flocks. [184]

The Ahaggar Tuareg raise camels, goats, sheep, and asses.

174 The camel. -- We have seen previously what we must think about the introduction of the camel into the Sahara. Whether it was

174 /250/ introduced before or after the Christian era, it is nonetheless true that the ancestors of the Tuareg must have introduced it.

182 At the present time, human life in the Sahara, which is already of little consequence, would be reduced to zero without 233 the camel. This is a fundamental fact which has been amply demonstrated and which it is useless to dwell on. Th. Monod, who dedicated one of his works "To the camel and the goat, the vehicle and the container, the two sole conquerors of the Sahara, " (1)

1. Méharées/ Meharis/.

has not only been literary and witty, he has put the truth in a few words. Without the camel, no relation would be possible between the oases, no relation between North Africa and intertropical Africa.

233 One may therefore easily understand that the animal plays a large part in the life of the Saharian Tuareg, and that the latter make a great effort to raise camels. They have always endeavored to own many camels, and at the present time their livestock has increased to more than 10, 000 head.

[132] Although the camel has adapted perfectly to the Saharian pastures and terrain, it is nonetheless true that the aridity is such [492] that he has difficulty keeping in good condition, and that a slightly prolonged march has to be compensated for by a rest period lasting twice as long as the period during which he was tired out. That is [361] why the Ihaggaren nomadize with their camels on the borders of the Sahara in the steppe where there are acacias and graminaceae.

232 Ahaggar breeding is very famous. It furnishes animals which are resistant, very frugal eaters, capable of braving mountain rocks or marching for weeks on end over the granite regoliths of the Tanezrouft, something the Sudanese -bred camels could not do.

The Tuareg select the animals when they are very young, destining them either for saddle camels or for pack camels. The meharis are castrated and undergo special training. In speaking of

232 these saddle camels, one may not, therefore, refer to a particular breed /race/ adapted for speed, as one may commonly hear spoken of.

436 The camel has a well determined exchange value among the Tuareg. It is one of the bases for comparison in their commercial transactions.

233 Each tribe marks his animals with a particular sign, and /251/
422 the owners who have many camels also have their own signs, marked with a hot iron on one of the parts of the animal's body -- neck, cheek, or thigh.

The sheep. -- Sheep are raised only accessorily in the Ahaggar,
233 because grass is not abundant enough. But it occupies a large place
[137] in Sudanese animal husbandry.

[136] It is a very peculiar animal with short hair and a long tail. It stands tall, a characteristic which has won for it the name of Ovis
[174] longipes. The Tuareg certainly introduced it into West Africa. Zoologists never refer to it except as Tuareg sheep. Its antiquity in North Africa is well known. The ram of Ammon is pictured with its characteristic form, and it is also recognizable in the splendid rock drawings of Géryville and Tiout. It seems to descend from the Corsican wild sheep rather than from the Algerian wild sheep. Today it is an animal found exclusively in Tuareg camps of the Sudan or
574 in their area of influence.

262 Sheep is the dish served at great feasts, and its skin is used as
237 a ground rug, a blanket, or to make harnessing articles.

The goat. -- The goat is the mountain animal par excellence,
233 as frugal an eater as can be, resisting both cold and heat, and able to be content with the meagerest pastures. It is thus quite natural to find many of these goats among the Ihaggaren.

[136] /252/ The Ahaggar species is small with long black hair. In the Sudan it is different colors -- white and black, or red -- with
[232] short hair; it stands taller than the Ahaggar species and is often crossed with the dwarf female goat in the southern tribes.

136 The origin of the goat is less certain than that of the sheep. Very widespread all over the world, it must have been domesticated at

136 several different spots, and it is not impossible that the species
[172] bred today in the Ahaggar is of African origin. Bones of the species are found in the Neolithic layers of the Sahara.

137 At the present time there is a death struggle between the goats
233 and trees in the Ahaggar. The goat itself is capable of browsing
185 the lower branches and destroying them, thanks to its agility. The Tuareg do the rest when pasture is scarce, by felling the main branches to put them within the reach of the animals. And so, in a relatively short time, trees, and the tahla (Acacia sp.) in par-particular, will be only a memory in the Ahaggar. Nothing has

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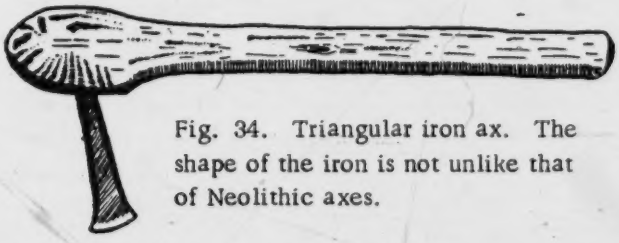

Fig. 34. Triangular iron ax. The shape of the iron is not unlike that of Neolithic axes.

been done by the French administration in the Ahaggar to protect the trees, when it would be sufficient to close some valleys for several years, while taking into account the needs of the shepherds. Measures of this kind have been taken in the environs of Goundam and have given very good results.

132 Prolonged dryness which causes a lack of pasture often puts
233 goat raising in difficulties. The birth rate is stopped short, and mortality may result to such a great extent that the number of animals sometimes falls to one fifth. Then many years are needed to build up the flocks, granting, of course, the arrival of favorable rains.

232 The careless and fatalistic Ihaggaren do not even try to step up breeding by buying sires in Adrar or in A'ir. They let their weak flocks reconstitute themselves by their own means, which
[272] sometimes requires many years. In case of an overabundance of births, they limit the number of animals, for they are well aware

232 of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks
[272] exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their
family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is
[438] consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes
233 excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled,
[234] and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and
[252 262] sometimes tents.

The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do
237 not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting
[232] them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact num-
ber of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon
[422] them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The
young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them,
and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used.
137 These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg,
have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier
cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass
hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal
had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is
nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the
[172] rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia
where they are called "onager."

The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible
233 that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihaggaren have
[174] kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had
[173] only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage,
442 and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also
[312] take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the
[357] heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

262 237 The ass is never eaten, and its skin is not used.

233 The horse. -- The horse is not a Saharian animal. In 1929 there were four horses in the Ahaggar belonging to the aménokal. [643] Today there are about twenty of them belonging to the members of 644 his family or to the notables of his camp.

[184 This is an expensive luxury, for these animals must be fed with barley, and there is not enough barley for the people themselves. 262] It tends to replace the camel for the Sudanese Tuareg.

/254/ The zebu. -- A few years ago the aménokal owned a [648] small herd of zebus which he had had sent from the Sudan. This [137] animal is not raised in the Ahaggar proper, and it could not be, for lack of appropriate pasture.

[312] The zebus serve in the agricultural centers by drawing water. They are furnished to the tenant farmer by the proprietor of the land, [427] and they are very poorly fed on hardship rations of hay and grass, or else they are put in rush pastures, which are generally plentiful in the agricultural centers.

[438] When the animal is tired, the owner exchanges him if that is at all possible. The privations which the zebus must undergo bring about their death in a relatively short span of time, and so in the Ahaggar it is a question of keeping them alive rather than raising them. In any case, they never follow the camps in their moves and never live near them.

361 136 When we talked about the camp, we told how the search for pasture directed its location.

233 361 Insofar as animal husbandry properly speaking is concerned, we observe that the small animals -- sheep, goats, and asses -- always stay in the Ahaggar and move with the camp.

As for camels, this is not the case; they are often put out to pasture far from the tents, watched only by a few shepherds. The majority are even kept in the Sudan 800 kilometers from their owners'

293 tents, where a few camps live permanently, filling the function of
361 shepherds for the people remaining in the Ahaggar.

At the same time, then, there is nomadism and transhumance.

Definitions of the two kinds of life are as follows: there is nomadism when the tribe accompanies the moving livestock, and transhumance when the flocks are accompanied only by shepherds. And so we see that it is not possible to link the Tuareg to one category or the other, but that they engage in the two kinds of life, even in a mixed system in some instances. Quite often, in fact, the goats are pastured in the Ahaggar with a few shepherds, while the women stay in the mountains, and all the men are in the Sudan with the camels.

/255/ The migrations of these little herds of goats recall the moving of flocks which Vidal de la Blache has described as "mountain transhumance," that is, the camps move regularly from the summer pastures located on the peaks to the winter pastures in the
[122] plain. These moves cannot be as regular as they are in our country, in view of the irregularity of the rains.

It may thus be said that the Ahaggar Tuareg are small nomads by the short range of the moves of their camps, but that they are, on the other hand, great transhumants.

## Rules Concerning Passage and Nomadization With Flocks

423 The lands over which the tribes range are fixed by the amenokal
643 to whom the land appertains. The origin of the tioussé comes
651 partly from the pasture rights which he grants.

Each tribe is proprietor of its land, with full and exclusive
423 enjoyment of it. Others can come settle among the tribe only with
621 the authorization of the tribe's amrar, but the right of way, including the right to water flocks, is secured for everyone.

These rules may be modified in periods of great dryness or in periods following plentiful rains.

755 When a bad genie is supposed to inhabit a person's body, people gather together and make a frightful uproar around him, accompanied by the tom-tom. The object of this is to put him in a trance so that the genie finally becomes frightened and decides to go away. [233] They use the same method for camels who are sometimes stricken with nervous difficulties.

A few years ago, a noble Ahaggar woman was subject to epileptic seizures. She had hallucinations and said she was possessed by an evil genie which she saw and felt in her. And so, each time the seizure occured, the people of her camp engaged in their /262/ habitual demonstrations. One day she got it into her head to get rid of her guest and slit her throat to allow him to leave. She wounded herself so badly that her life was in great danger for a long time afterwards. Scarcely had she recovered, however, when she had another attack and slit her throat a second time.

759 752 The surgery of the Kel Ahaggar is as elementary as their medicine. First let us say that there are no surgeons among them, no more than there are persons known for their medical knowledge. Medicine and surgery are everybody's business; the knowledge that they possess is everybody's domain, and each Tuareg is able to care for himself or for the people in his camp. For surgical operations, nevertheless, the Enaden are called upon by preference, 752 since they are generally more adroit than the others. They usually 413 have small instruments that they make themselves -- forceps, instruments for baring the neck of teeth, scarificator, cupping glasses, tonsil cutters, etc. -- and with which they operate quite skillfully.

They have been very aptly compared to our barber-surgeons of days gone by. (1)

Plate XVI

326

Settled in improvised camps, blacksmiths work in the open air making weapons and utensils needed by the Tuareg.

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The Imrad women are in charge of taking the flocks to pasture and water. Every two or three days they go to the wells, drawing water for the goats, who drink out of wooden bowls or out of skins used as containers by placing them on mounds of sand in the shape of a basin. They fill the waterskins which will be transported to the camp by asses.

423 celed out to Haratin sharecroppers although some of them used to be worked by slaves. Since ownership of land is never outright in
[427] any case, each leaseholder must pay rent in one form or another to someone or other at least once a year.

565 Vassal clans usually pay annual tribute to their tribal chiefs or to the Amenokal, or
651 both. This tribute includes such things as dates, millet, congealed melted butter, baby camels, sheep, goats and manufactured articles of various kinds, a share of all merchandise imported by the clan as well as a share of the profits from any caravan commerce they may have, and about half of any booty they may capture in independent raids. Each vassal family used to contribute towards the upkeep of a particular noble family, and the nobles in their turn, men and women alike, were constantly begging from their vassals who could hardly afford to refuse them. But if this begging became unbearable, the vassals would sometimes pull up stakes and move quietly out of reach of their noble parasites.

Lhote (1955, pp. 190–91) says that all adult
651 males, potential warriors that is, of the Ahaggar confederation, were supposed to pay an annual head tax of 5 francs (then worth about 4 cents) each to the Amenokal as recently as 1948. Hunters annually paid in mouflon for exclusive local hunting rights. After each harvest each Hartani would pay a third of a bushel (more or less) of grain to the Amenokal for each garden plot that he worked, in addition to a share of the produce which he paid to the local leaseholder. But much of this fiscal system has fallen into disuse in re-
651 cent years, for the Amenokal together with
178 his whole camp is now supported almost entirely by the French Government, which also contributes free grain weekly to many of the poorer Haratin. Once more it is the middle class, the vassal Tuareg and the lesser nobles in this case, who suffer most severely from the stresses of cultural change.

233 **Tuareg Economy and the Roots of the Class System.** All Saharan nomads live primarily off
137 their livestock, and livestock lives off pasturage. There are two main kinds of pasture in the Sahara, the permanent growth of wiry yellowish grass, little woody shrubs and thorny bushes that one finds scattered very thinly

233 across much of the land and concentrated
[137] along dry river bottoms, and the small patches of thick, lush, emerald green grass that flourish briefly in hollows here and there following rainstorms. Pasturage is always either very sparse or very scattered in the Ahaggar and so the nomadic inhabitants of the area must move often, for the supply in the immediate neighborhood of a camp is quickly exhausted.
[312] To make life still more difficult, water points are often few and far between as we already know, and it is not unusual to find good pasturage so far from any water that it cannot be used for more than a day or two, if at all. This combination of circumstances has
233 made it necessary for the Ahaggar Tuareg
221 to break up into small and highly mobile camp units composed of fractions of clans, or even single families, and each of these units must move at intervals of usually somewhere between a week and a month and often over considerable distances, although always within the territorial limits of the tribe (fig. 36).

As soon as a camp or constellation of neighboring camps is established in a new location, the head men first set up the daily grazing routine of the flocks and then set out at once to scout far and wide in search of the next pasture to be used and the next camp sites that their families will occupy. And so it goes the year around, and so the Tuareg of the Ahaggar are highly mobile nomads by force of circumstances, for they cannot survive otherwise in the region which they have made their own.

565 It is in the compelling circumstances of their environment that we find the roots of
233 the class system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, for,
463 quite apart from the question of mobility, such conditions can be met successfully only
182 by a well conceived and firmly established division of labor. In the Ahaggar it is the nobles of a tribe and the headmen of the vassal clans who ride out in search of new pastures and at the same time act as military scouts, always on the watch for enemy raiders as

[423] *The fundamental difference between the two systems lies in the fact that the basis of land tenure among the Tuareg is not that of the *beneficium* while personal allegiance is not based on the concept of the *comitatus*. The true feudal system of mediæval Europe was based on the conferring of privilege by an absolute ruler (or one of his vassals) on a less

565 well as for potential victims, alien camps or
233 caravans which they can raid themselves. The
463 vassals in their turn are responsible for the daily management and immediate protection of the flocks and herds, and also constitute an armed reserve that can be called up quickly in case a battle becomes imminent or the opportunity for a major raid presents itself. The
[567] slaves take care of the domestic service and household chores of the camps while their boys go out as shepherds to the flocks.

Thus it is clear that the Tuareg class system
565 is a necessity of pastoral life in the Ahaggar;
642 for no pastoral community can survive there without nomadizing, and no community of
[182] nomads can survive without a rigidly formalized division of labor and authority similar to that embodied in the class system of the Tuareg. It now becomes clear also that the seemingly paradoxical combination, within the social framework, of rigidity during the period of a single adult lifetime and a relative fluidity over slightly longer periods still so short as to span often no more than a couple of generations and sometimes less, is not in fact a paradox at all. It merely reflects in simple functional terms the fact that extreme conditions call for an extreme response, that the framework within which the allocation of authority is made at various levels in the communal structure must be very firmly established but must also allow considerable freedom periodically in the choice of those who are to occupy critical positions of decision and command so as to avoid the danger of having such positions filled automatically by persons unfit to occupy them, a danger that could well be quickly fatal to the whole community.

And finally we see that Tuareg government really has nothing essential in common with the feudal system of mediæval Europe to which it has so often been confusingly compared.[9] In the last analysis authority resides in the vassals, for they can make and at least
[643] in theory break the mightiest of all the nobles, the Amenokal himself, and they can do all this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.

powerful neighbor in exchange for some specified kind of continuing or periodic service. Among the Tuareg the relationship between "noble" and "vassal" looks much the same at first glance, but this is an optical illusion, a case of merely superficial resemblance.

565 this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.
642 Ancient Egyptian records tell of a Libyan chieftain, Meryey who was peacefully deposed and replaced by a younger brother following a disastrous defeat in battle (Bates, 1914, pp. 114–15, 218 and 221). It is some of the vassal clans that are the biggest numerically and also the richest on a *per capita* basis; and if vassal clansmen pay tribute to their noble "masters" it is only because they choose to do so, because they find it in their interest to keep the nobles on their payroll so to speak. Thus the Tuareg government of the Ahaggar is in fact a kind of republic and not a real monarchy or true military aristocratic autocracy at all.

233 **Livestock.** Herds of camels and flocks of hairy sheep and goats constitute the bulk of the capital investment and so form the primary basis of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar. The quantity and composition of the total livestock investment has been variously estimated, but the following rough approximations are probably not far from the true figures: camels—12,000, sheep—2,000, goats—20,000, donkeys—5,000 and cattle (zebus)—300 or thereabouts.
[231] Donkeys, as we have seen, are unproductive except as beasts of burden, and the cattle are so few as to be of negligible importance. Only some 4,500 camels are actually kept in the Ahaggar while the rest are put out to pasture in the Tamesna region on the northern edge of the Sudan, roughly half way between the Aïr and the Niger Bend. Most of the sheep too are pastured outside the Ahaggar proper, mainly in the country around Tin Zaouaten, southwest of the Ahaggar and northwest of the Tamesna.

235 The Haratin of the Ahaggar keep chickens,
262 but only the eggs are eaten as a rule. The Tuareg eat neither eggs, fowl nor fish, but we will discuss this further in the section on *Nomad Diet* in the following chapter.

232 It has been said that the Tuareg have no special breed of riding camels but that likely looking animals are picked out early and given special training for use as mounts. The fact remains, however, that the young of famous stud camels are always the preferred choice, and these animals are specially marked shortly after birth. The method of marking consists of pinching up three small folds of skin in a row, about 2 to 3 inches apart, along

The negroes and negresses are well treated by the Tuareg, 563
who do not impose hard labor upon them. The negroes are pri- 567
marily busy with the flocks, which they drive to pasture and water. [233]
The negresses are concerned with the kitchen; they go after [357]
water and take care of the children.

[231
291
312]

Tuareg Watering their Sheep at the Tin Zaouaten Well

Negroes and negresses also gather the harvest of "toulloult" and "afezzou" grains, but this is more fun than work, for everyone takes part in it with them, in gay groups.

Many negroes eventually become the trusted men of their masters, who put them in charge of caravans or even of responsible missions. Thus, the amenokal Moussa had a trusted negro, Chernach, whom he regarded highly, for, he said, "I know that this man would have himself killed for me." Moreover, he gave him a gun, a spear, and a saber. /33/ These negroes are very happy and can consider themselves as freed.

There are also lucky or unlucky days. The lucky days, 777
those which are recommended for starting on a journey, are [484]
Friday after prayer, Saturday morning, and Monday. /63/
For the lucky day of the month one first counts 2 from the index finger and, coming back to the index finger, 7, 12, 17, 22, 27.

The unlucky days are Sunday and Wednesday.

The Tuareg also believe in the evil eye, "tahott." 754

An eclipse is the sun's raid on the moon, and vice versa. 821

Finally, there is a very curious custom of which Duveyrier 769
has spoken, which is that of consulting old graves. Usually 787
it is the women who go to consult them. They dress well and must avoid having on themselves anything of iron or steel, even a needle. They lie down near the grave, and the "zabbar" (ogre) inhabiting the grave appears to them in the form of a giant with eyes as large as a camel's, and gives them the answers they want. They are consulted especially in order to get news of absent ones, people gone on a raid or in a caravan, from whom there has been no news.

## Chapter IX

### Stock Raising. Flocks

Camels, sheep, and goats constitute the chief resource 233
of the Tuareg, as of all nomads. Camels especially are the object of all their care, since these give them the greatest service. They rely greatly on camels, ewes, and goats be- [234]
cause of the milk, of which they drink a great deal, and melted butter, "oudi," which they make.

They use all the hides: those of camels for sandals, 237
containers for butter, watering troughs, etc.; those of sheep 281
or goats for waterskins and the manufacture of tents, leather clothes, etc. /64/

4: Benhazera--56a G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

000

Aïn Redjem in the Botha Wadi
(Immidir)

233
312

Tuareg Watering Their Sheep at the Tin-Zaouaten Well

They use camel hair to make rope. They are fond of 237 283 camel meat, and it is they who supply the markets of the 262 439 Tidikelt with it.

There are very few cattle in the Ahaggar, barely thirty, 233 and almost all these belong to Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane, 492 of Tazerouk. They are used to draw water from the wells [312] into the ar'erems. The pasture is scanty, and besides the cattle easily wear out their hooves on the rocks and stones.

In the Koudia, because of the cold which prevails there 233 and the high altitude, there are many small turrets of dry 343 stones, /65/ empty inside, in which the Tuareg confine lambs and kids at night to shelter them from the cold.

The Ahaggar do not have a large number of meharis, and 233 they do not like to sell them, especially the good ones. Among [435] themselves, to set the value of a mehari, they say, "Such a mehari is worth two, three, or four camels." All their meharis are trained to start at a gallop. The Tuareg has great patience with the training of his mehari and never mistreats it. He confines himself to persuading it by voice and foot, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Tuareg mehari is much more silent than the Arab mehari.

The foundation of the pastures of the Ahaggar is aremmas 137 (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae). This plant is quite laxative. 233 So when the year is bad and drought prevails, the Ahaggar are found emigrating toward the Adhar'. There are fine pastures of "had" (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolaceae) in the south of Tin R'arhou, but there is no water. Moussa ag Amastane /66/ [312 intends to have wells dug there and has requested our help and 648] advice for this purpose.

As a rule the Tuareg let their camels out to pasture with- 233 out herders, and they find them again at the well or by tracking, unless they entrust the herding to children or negroes.

/67/ A young camel is called "abal" without designating 192 its age. A camel in general is called "amadjour," plural 233 "imoudjar," or else "amiss," plural "imnass." A female is

4: Benhazera--57b G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

233
312

Tuareg Watering Their Sheep at the Tin-Zaouten Well

[192]

| Names of Camels in Tamashek (according to their age) | Names of Camels in Arabic (in the Tidikelt) |
|---|---|
| 1st year: *Aouara.* | 1 to 6 months: *H'ouar.* |
| | 6 mos. to 1 year: *Mekhloul.* |
| 2nd year: *Aledjoudh.* | 2 yrs.: *Ould lebboun.* |
| 3rd year: *Aleggue.* | 3 yrs.: *H'eugg.* |
| 4th year: *Aqnefoud.* | 4 yrs.: *Djedaâ.* |
| 5th year: *H'aïr.* | 5 yrs.: *Teni* |
| 6th year: *Eg essine.* | 6 yrs.: *Rebaâ.* |
| 7th year: *Eg okkoz.* | 7 yrs.: *Sedass.* |
| 8th year: *Amessedis.* | 8 yrs.: *Bou fettra.* |
| 9th year: *Tahellat.* | 9 yrs.: *Bou fettertine.* |

called "talemt, " plural "tillemine"; one that has calved within a year is "t-n-aouara"; one that is heavy with calf is "timettirout." A stud camel is called "amali, " plural "imoulaï." [192] 233

The wool-bearing sheep does not exist in the Ahaggar. There is only the hairy sheep which the Tuareg call "ekrer, " plural "ikraren." This sheep is covered with a pelt of long, rough hair, and its legs are longer than those of wool-bearing sheep. This is why it got the name ovis longipes, or sheep with long legs. The meat of this sheep is good and does not have the smell characteristic of the wool-bearing sheep of Algeria.

On the oases of the Tidikelt and Touat, only this kind of sheep is found.

As to the goats, they are of two kinds: those with long hair and those with short hair. They have no characteristics which distinguish them noticeably from the goats of Algeria.

## Chapter X

### Trade. Caravans. Market Prices

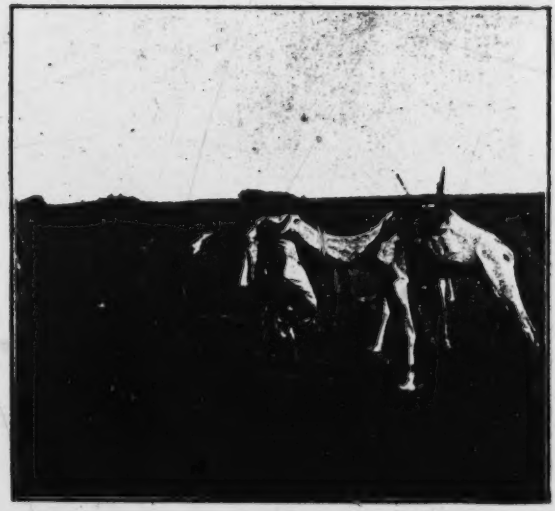
The Ahaggar Tuareg have trade relations with: 1. the Saharan Oases (Tidikelt and Touat) for dates, "chegga" (blue cotton), "malti" and "mahmoudi" (white cotton), "chach" (white muslin), haïks, smoking tobacco, "taba, " and snuff, "chemma, " tea, and sugar. /68/ 439

They bring in male and female camels, hairy sheep, goats, donkeys, melted butter, and sometimes products that they have brought back from the Aïr.

2. Aïr and Damergou. Having no industry, they buy all manufactured goods from the Aïr. Thus, by means of barter (aside from bechna) they acquire arms: spears, daggers, sabers,

4: Benhazera--61G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

It is to be noted that the Tuareg fasten their camels 233●
one behind the other, Indian file, when they go on cara- 484
vans. Thus they are more orderly than /71/ Arab caravans.
In particular, fewer shouts, oaths, etc., are heard. The
Tuareg caravan passes almost silently, without disorder,
and this is all to the good.



Tuareg Caravan

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



104 212

| Tuareg Letters (*Tifinagh*) | Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters | | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| ⵖ | r | غ | Prononcunced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in literature. |
| ⵙ | s | س | |
| ⵜ | t | ت | |
| ⵟ | ṭ | ط | Emphatic |
| ⵣ | z | ز | |
| ⵥ | ẓ | | Emphatic |

128 For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that of the maps edited by Institut Géographique National. The pronunciation of vowels is not indicated. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels [212] with a dot, which may stand for any vowel.

*Pastoral Ecology in Ahaggar and Air.*

[361] The Tuareg of the true desert country have their camps in or close to mountain [131] massifs of which the more important are Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. Geographically these two regions have many traits in common. In Ahaggar, which rises to 132 3000 metres above sea level, the annual precipitation according to official statistics is between 20 mm and 40 mm. These figures are extremely low, but more characteristic of the desert country is the irregularity of the rainfalls. In some years there may fall no rain at all, while in others precipitation is much bigger than appears from the figures above. Several dry years may follow each other alternating with periods of abundant rainfall. According to investigations by Dubiéf four years out of ten are so dry that rainfall is of no importance for the regeneration of pastures (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23). Owing to the scarcity and the fluctuations of precipitation 137 in Ahaggar a persistent vegetation cannot generally exist outside river valleys and depressions which are flooded during heavy rain. In the valleys perennial plants comprise not only grasses and herbs but also tall trees among which tamarisk and acacia are prominent. In dry years the perennial plants have little value as fodder 233 for the domestic animals of the Tuareg. A great many goats may then die from hunger, and to avoid such a disaster some Tuareg take their flocks to the plains of 221 Tamesna or to the Adrar-n-Iforas Mountains where rain is normally more plentiful and grazing better than in Ahaggar. However, even in dry years the majority of Ahaggar Tuareg will remain in their native country with their goat-flocks. For although they run the risk of losing a great many goats during a drought in Ahaggar

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



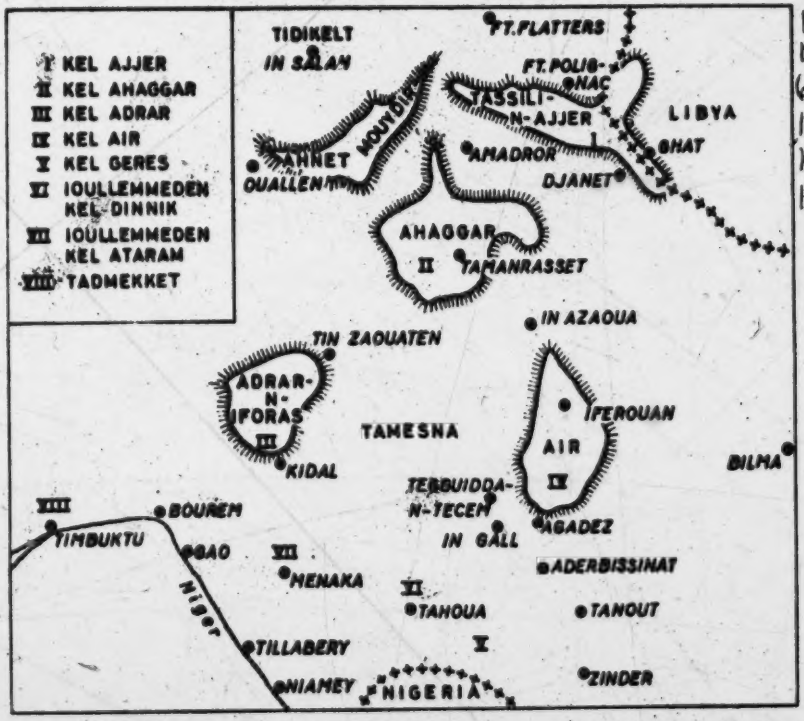



Fig. 1.–Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg, who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups as mentioned in the text are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. – The Tadmekket Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Ioullemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 160 kilometres.

those surviving, although emaciated, will quickly recover as soon as the rainfall starts again. In addition it is often very difficult to take goats through the barren desert country south of Ahaggar without severe loss. With camels, which are also very important domestic animals, things are different. Camels make a great demand on fodder, they are very valuable, can be sold for rather high prices in the oases, and they have a very slow increment compared with goats. For these reasons it is necessary or desirable to keep herds of camels in the south when pastures are dry in Ahaggar, and camels can be taken through the barren desert country without much difficulty. In dry years many Ahaggar Tuareg have their camel-herds in Tamesna, about 300 kilometres from the camps in Ahaggar, and there are even nomads who keep their she-camels constantly in these regions, where the animals are guarded by herdsmen who are frequently slaves.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



132 During drought periods the uttermost poverty is the lot of the Ahaggar Tuareg, who must then rely almost exclusively on agricultural products for their nourish-
262 ment. But in years of abundant rainfall they have much milk during the winter, and they make butter and cheese to be used during the hot season when milk even
[234] in good years is scarce. They then also have meat for their sustenance but this is less important than milk-food.

In good years the perennial plants do not form the most important fodder of the
137 domestic animals. For heavy rainfall will as if by magic change the barren country outside the valleys. An extremely rich vegetation of annual grasses and herbs
233 springs up, and these tender plants constitute the very best fodder. But as, owing to the irregularity of the rainfall, annual pastures will not appear every year, it is difficult to breed other animals than goats and camels to which can be added donkeys used exclusively as beasts of burden and for riding. It is true that most Ahaggar Tuareg have a few sheep but none of them have cows (zebus). Cow-breeding and also effective sheep-breeding cannot be practised in a country like Ahaggar where for a period of years there may be no pastures of annual plants. In dry years the thorny acacias form the most important fodder of camels and goats, but the leaves of these trees cannot be eaten by cows and only with great difficulty by sheep.

In Ahaggar rain may fall at most seasons as the country is situated on the
132 frontier of two different rainfall belts, namely that of the Mediterranean where rain occurs mainly in winter, and that of the Sudan where rain will fall late in summer. For a long period of years rain has fallen most abundantly late in summer, but according to Dubiéf this has not always been so. Not many years ago rainfall was almost equally common at all seasons (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23), and Ahaggar
137 still has the characteristics of two distinct climatic zones, likewise as botanically it belongs both to the Mediterranean and to the Sudan.

On my camel journey from Ahaggar to Air via the wells of In Ebeggi and In
[132] Azaoua in April 1955 I experienced a rapid change of climatical and botanical conditions. At the outskirts of the southern slopes of the Ahaggar Mountains a persistent vegetation is very scarce in the valleys, and between the two above-mentioned wells there are practically no permanent plants. Broadly speaking the
[133] desert region between Ahaggar and Air is nothing but plains of gravel and stone interspersed with rocks and hills. But a little scattered rain will occur even in these
[132] regions and gives rise to annual pastures which are utilized by passing caravans. Otherwise the country is uninhabitable.

In the northernmost part of the Air massif acacias and tufts of perennial grasses grow in most valleys as in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Mountains. But compared with Ahaggar permanent vegetation is very rich and in places forms almost impenetrable jungles of trees and brushwood. Further south in Air perenniel plants including trees are very common also outside the valleys, and the country south of the massif very rapidly changes into a kind of steppe or open savannah. The com-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



paratively rich vegetation of Air contains species found also in Ahaggar, but Ahaggar has Mediterranean plants including several saline species which do not thrive in Air, where there are tropical or Sudanese species unknown to Ahaggar. 137

Botanically Air is very closely connected with the Sudan, and the mountain massif is within the Sudanese zone of summer rain. It is true that rain at the northern outskirts of Air occasionally falls in winter and may then give rise to scattered pasture of annual plants, but these rains are of no real importance. The important rainfalls of Air occur in the period June–September, and particularly in July and August. As may be gathered from the description of botanical conditions, Air has a much bigger annual precipitation than has Ahaggar. Thus the village of Iferouan in Northern Air has 74 mm, while Agadez at the southern slopes of the massif has 179 mm. Precipitation will of course vary from one year to the other, but rain will always fall sufficiently for the spring of annual plants. This is the reason for a type of stock-breeding different from that of Ahaggar. In Air the Tuareg are richer in camels, they do not possess so many goats but are very rich in sheep, and most of them have zebus. 132 137 [233]

The climatic and botanical differences of Air and Ahaggar can be seen more directly from the division of the year into seasons (fig. 2). Air has a summer and a winter season between which there are two seasons termed *akasa* and *ṛarat*. These two words as seasonal terms express the fact that rain and annual pastures in Air are recurrent events, as the word *akasa* literally means "green annual plants", and the word *ṛarat* refers to "dry annual plants". Both words are known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg but are by them not applied as seasonal terms, for in their country rain will not occur every year and may fall at most seasons. 132 805

Conditions for stock-breeding are very much better in Air than in Ahaggar, but the latter country has a few superior qualities:– 1) Part of the year Ahaggar has a comparatively cool climate which is said to have a positive influence on the lactation of domestic animals. 2) In Ahaggar all over the country there are saline pastures which play an important part in stock-breeding – not because these plants are very nourishing but the animals do not thrive without salt. In Air saline plants are very rare and found mainly to the south and south-west of the massif where water and soil also contain salt. Many pastoralists will migrate to these regions shortly after the rains, while people who do not undertake such migrations feed their domestic animals with salt. Camels and cows have a particular need for fodder with a salt content. 3) Ahaggar has richer wells and a greater number of permanent ponds than Air. This may seem rather peculiar as precipitation is much bigger in the south than in the north. In Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer some ponds may contain fish apparently unknown in Air. In the latter country there are a great many ponds or even small lakes during the rains but they dry out very quickly when rainfall ceases. Water in Air most of the year is drawn from wells many of which go dry during the hot season; this will frequently lead to quarrels between nomads. 233 [132] [135] [137] [221] 312 [136] [578]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



*Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Agouh-en-Tehele Clan.*

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafsa).

| Tenants | Value of Sub-Area | Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Agouh-en-Tehele, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tôules. | Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Daledge. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication. | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, Khalifa of the Ikenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds. | 3 goats |
| ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader. | Cultivation grounds at Inagriouel and In Deledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 2 donkeys |
| DEINI, Chief of the Kel Rafsa sub-clan. | No particular value. | No land-rent. |
| AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section. | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Asernan section of the Isandan sub-clan. | Cultivation grounds at Tamanrasset. In the past wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaiddin now attached to the Agouh-en-Tehele clan. | Khoseni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaiddin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal. | |

621 427 614 233 651 224 423

clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Agouh-en-Tehele have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Isekkemaren class. Between the Agouh-en-Tehele and the Isekkemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Agouh-en-Tehele people come to the Isekkemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Isekkemaren visiting the Agouh-en-Tehele. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

000 565 614 [431] [602]

[Text continues on p. 110]

5; Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1955, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Rali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent *(ehars-n-amerdal)* paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:–

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. – Foley 1930, p. 43f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Rali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatos.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



565 Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Ṛela clan, but as he now lives outside of
614 Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

643 In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to
651 noble Kel Ṛela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Isekkemaren class, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Ṛela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139ff.).

Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known
643 as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order
651 to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the
579 Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *ennehet*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347f.).

The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was
565 also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg.
614 But the relation (*temaẓlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals
651 and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another.
233 The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And
511 the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little
[234] when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food,
[262] but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar
[574] Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft,
[281] as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only
[237] for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the 233 511 camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan [492] trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food. [439]

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is [234] also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly [262] by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in [281] Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also [291] employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes [283] with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, [422] which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years [565] ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that through- [114] out the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to 565 the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble 651 Tuareg of the Kel Rela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small [421] temaŝlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble [431] Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



dominating an extensive area of North Africa and particularly in Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and adjacent regions before the Arab invasion of the 11th century A.D. This theory was set forth already by Ibn Khaldoun, who says that *Hecmara* has changed into *Heggar* (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory has no other foundation but mere speculation (Nicolas 1953, p. 14). This, however, is not correct as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *ou* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *ou* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533). 565 192 [114] [194]

The term used in Air for vassal Tuareg is *Imrad* (sing. *Amrid*), a word which seems to be known to all Tuareg. Foucauld gives no particular explanation of its meaning (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1033f.). Nicolas claims the word related to *ayrid*, literally meaning "a kid" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189). If this explanation given by Nicolas is correct, *Imrad* refers to goat-breeding. So does another term for vassals used more frequently among the Northern Tuareg and the Ioullemmeden, namely *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), which means literally "the goat people". In Air this word is never used as a term for the vassal class, but only as a proper name for one particular vassal clan attached to the Ikaskazan.

One of the terms for vassals and maybe both terms are thus connected with goat-breeding, while one of the terms for noble Tuareg seems to refer to raiding, which among the Tuareg was intimately connected with camel-breeding. Camels were not only the means by which raiding was carried out, but they were also the main object of raiding expeditions as they could be abducted very quickly from foreign camps. So we may perhaps see from some of the terms used for vassal and noble Tuareg that the two classes originated from the meeting of two distinct cultures, a goat-breeding and a camel-breeding culture. And we have already seen that in the past the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar were in particular camel-breeders, the vassals breeders of goats and donkeys. [233] [721] [174] [233]

The Ahaggar Tuareg – in contrast to the Tuareg of Air – have traditions about the origin of the class system. References to these traditions are common in literature (Benhazera 1908, p. 89ff. – Reygasse 1950, p. 88. – Foucauld 1951 – 52, II, p. 533ff. – Lhote 1955, p. 213ff. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 99f.). There are in fact two conflicting traditions, but some Tuareg will nevertheless acknowledge both. It seems, however, as if one tradition had its origin among the nobility, the other among vassals. The tradition which originated in the noble class says that the dominant noble clans of Ahaggar had a woman named Ti-n-Hinan as their ancestress. She immigrated to Ahaggar from Tafilelt in Morocco together with her servant girl named Takama, who became the ancestress of the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The two women were both Islamic and belonged to the Beraber tribes. They found the country uninhabited except for the higher parts of the massif, where a pagan people named the Isebeten lived. This tradition 173 565

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar
Air



1947, p. 38f., phot. 15, p. 33, p. 117. – Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247ff. – Moberg 1927, photographs p. 229 & 257). Among the Southern Tuareg T-shaped posts are used in Air, where, according to my inquiries, they are found notably among the Kel Tedale, the Ikaskazan, and the Kel Fadei – Tuareg who have immigrated fairly recently from the North and are noble or predominantly noble by origin. Air tents with T-shaped posts are published by Lhote and Chudeau (Lhote 1947, fig. 4 p. 39, photo 50 p. 81. – Chudeau 1909, pl. VIII p. 62). T-shaped posts are also said to occur among the Kel Geres, and they are common in skin tents of the Kel Dinnik (Eastern Ioullemmeden) from where detailed descriptions are given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1938, p. 54ff.; 1950a, p. 153ff., p. VIII.). For other Southern Tuareg there seem to be no reliable information on the use of T-shaped posts in skin tents. 342 184

The central T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin tents may probably be considered as related to similar posts in certain black tents (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143). This is interesting particularly when viewed in connection with Feilberg's theory that there may perhaps be a certain connection between the black tent and the one-humped camel or dromedary because of approximately similar distributions, and because camels and black tents seem to have arrived in North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Feilberg 1944, p. 117, 225ff.) – a view which has also been accepted by Hatt (Hatt 1944–45, p. 260). Obviously a theory connecting camels and black tents in Northern Africa fits very well with our assumption that the camel was introduced to Ahaggar by noble Tuareg among whom we also find the use of central T-shaped posts characteristic of certain black tents. Accordingly we have to test two theories:– 1) The theory that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin-tents are in fact derived from similar constructions of black tents, and 2) the theory that camels and black tents are historically connected in Northern Africa. 171 342 233 174

I think it can be proved that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are derived from similar elements in black tents, and my arguments are the following:– 171 342

1) The Tuareg live in contact with Arab pastoralists who have black tents. It is stated in literature that black tents are common among the Northern Tuareg (Zeltner 1914, p. 364. – Campbell 1928, p. 247), but this is not correct. It is true, however, as already mentioned by Duveyrier, that black tents are used by some Northern Tuareg (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403f.). But as far as my knowledge goes they occur only among the northernmost Kel Ajjer, the Iforas clans, who belong to the religious Ineslemen class and by some Tuareg are claimed to be noble. Black tents seem to be used occasionally in the south by Tuareg who live in close contact with Arabs. But these Tuareg apparently use black tents only when travelling, and not in ordinary camps (Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). Black tents are thus adopted by a few Tuareg, and many Tuareg of the north and the south-west have contact with Arab and Moorish black tent dwellers. [648] [114]

2) The Iforas Tuareg just mentioned use T-shaped posts both in black tents

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



171 342 and in skin tents, and according to my investigations this is, or was, also the case of the Arab pastoral tribe Ouled Ba Hamou in Tidikelt.

3) In Northern Africa T-shaped posts are frequently found in permanent dwellings, but they are then solidly embedded in the ground, whereas in Tuareg skin tents and also in black tents they stand on the surface.

4) The use of skin for tents or other movable dwellings is no doubt of very great age (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144), while the T-shaped posts can be considered as belonging to a highly developed tent construction. To my mind there is a certain contrast in this, the more so as the posts or poles of other Tuareg skin tents are fixed in the ground.

5) Arab pastoralists now living in Tuareg countries frequently use Tuareg mat-covered huts and skin tents. Of particular interest is the type of skin tent used by the Deremchaka Arabs living among the Eastern Ioullemmeden (the Kel Dinnik). To support the sheet of skin sewn together these Arabs use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two oblique poles (Nicolas 1950a, p. 154). A similar or related construction is found in black tents of the Brakna Arabs (Caillié 1830, I, p. 190), and is common in black tents of Algeria including the northern parts of Algerian Sahara (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff.). And according to tradition the Deremchaka Arabs immigrated from these regions (Nicolas 1950a, p. 67ff.). There seems to be little doubt that the Deremchaka Arabs have adopted a mode of construction typical of certain black tents to the Tuareg skin tent, and there may perhaps be another example of this among the Southern Tuareg:– The Tuareg known as Kel Antassar in the region of Timbuktu frequently use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two central oblique posts to support their skin tents (Lhote 1947, p. 39, 101, 117). The Kel Antassar Tuareg are of religious status; [174] their presumed Arab origin (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 195. – Mohammed Said 1909, p. 210ff. – Richer 1924, p. 14) gives rise to the supposition that they formerly had black tents.

I think these five arguments support the theory that T-shaped posts are foreign to Tuareg skin tents while customary for black tents in use among certain Arabs of Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and Eastern Libya (cf. Laoust 1930, p. 209ff. – Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff., 146).

I shall now turn to the other theory to be tested, namely that there is a certain 171 relation between the camel and the black tent. This theory is not easy to prove. ●233 The statement that camels and black tents have approximately the same distri- 342 butions is far from convincing even if we keep to their westernmost areas. In Northern Africa camel-breeders over large areas use other types of dwelling, and black tents are very common among settled and semi-nomadic people of the Atlas, where there are no camels. The distribution of the black tent in Africa (cf. Feilberg 171 1944, map. II) comes indeed very close to the distribution of Arabic-speaking 342 people, with the main exception that black tents in the Atlas and elsewhere in the 192 north are also used by Berbers. Laoust has proved that some of these northern

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MS25 Tuareg MS25



Berbers and particularly those of Central Morocco use for their black tents and for important parts of their tents terms derived from Arabic (Laoust 1930, p. 168f., 227f.). 171 342 [192]

We cannot disregard the possibility that black tents were known in Northern Africa before the first Arab invasion. But there can be little doubt that outside of the Atlas black tents are characteristic of Arabic-speaking people, and we seem to be on safe ground if we state that the Arabs are responsible for the present fairly large distribution of black tents in the desert regions between the Red Sea and the Atlantic. And the black tent may have been unknown to the Berbers before the Arab invasion. In connection with this I wish to quote the very eminent scholar Stéphane Gsell who states his opinion on the age of the black tent in Northern Africa as follows:– "Cependant elle s'est répandue tardivement chez les Berbères. Ce fut surtout après la conquête musulmane qu'ils l'adoptèrent, à l'exemple de leurs noveaux maîtres: au VIIIe siècle, un grand nombre d'entre eux avaient des tentes, semblables à celles des Arabes" (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 216. – cf. El Bekri p. 139). [174]

In discussing the theory of a connection between camels and black tents, our next task is concerned with the history of the camel. For although camels and black tents have different distributions they may nevertheless be historically connected and introduced together. 171 233 342

Much has already been written on the history of the camel. René Basset's theory that the camel was introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1905) is contrary to all historical information. For we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived, though it does not seem to be of very great age, contrary to Cauvet's statement (Cauvet 1925–26). Already Barth suggested that the camel came to North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3ff.), and this theory seems to be valid (cf. Gautier 1942, p. 190ff. – Walz 1951). 114 174 233

Gautier claims that there is a certain connection between the introduction of the camel and the immigration to North-Western Africa of Berber tribes known as the Zenata, who lived in the northern steppes and desert regions from Tripolitania to Western Algeria. According to Ibn Khaldoun quoted by Gautier the Zenata had many traits in common with the Arabs: they lived in tents, they were camel-breeders, and they rode on horseback (Gautier 1942, p. 217 ff., 227. – cf. Ibn Khaldoun III, p. 179). The theory that the camel was introduced by the Zenata is accepted by Feilberg, who thinks that these people may have introduced the black tent together with the camel (Feilberg 1944, p. 119f., 226).

A connection between the Zenata and the camel is extremely difficult to prove. Gautier's theories on North African history are frequently very hazardous and very contradictory. Thus in his book *Le Passé de l'Afrique du Nord* we find the following statements about the introduction of the camel:– 1) "A tant de bienfaits Rome en a ajouté un dernier: elle a introduit le chameau, permettant ainsi la mise en

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



114 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc
174 légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale
233 qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau apparaissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe, il semble qu'au VII^e siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227)

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chameliers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui foit leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the
175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the
101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions:
233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 168ff.).

It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature
175 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding
233 (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. – Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. – Leo Africanus p. 940f.). To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly
171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is
233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds apparently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415f. – Murray 1935, p. 92ff. – Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the
[177] true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black
[342] tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. – Herskovits 1926. – Kroll 1928). The common
[462] traits seem to be the following:– 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is
[825] done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both
[538] camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently characterised by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925-30, I-II).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925–30, I–II). 3) As mentioned (p. 113) camel's milk is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly also among the Kel Ajjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors (Monteil 1952, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. 4) All Tuareg and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf to deceive the mother animal during milking – for camels like cows will not generally yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or butter as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. – Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of riding camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg, and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East Africa have the same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection with camel-breeding (Monteil 1952, p. 103).

171 234 [302] [262] 171 237 825 [261] 171 233 [825] 171 233 422

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts like those of Air are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullemmeden, and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country – in particular those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. – Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156f. – Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f., 597f., V, p. 201. – Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. –

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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air
Ahaggar



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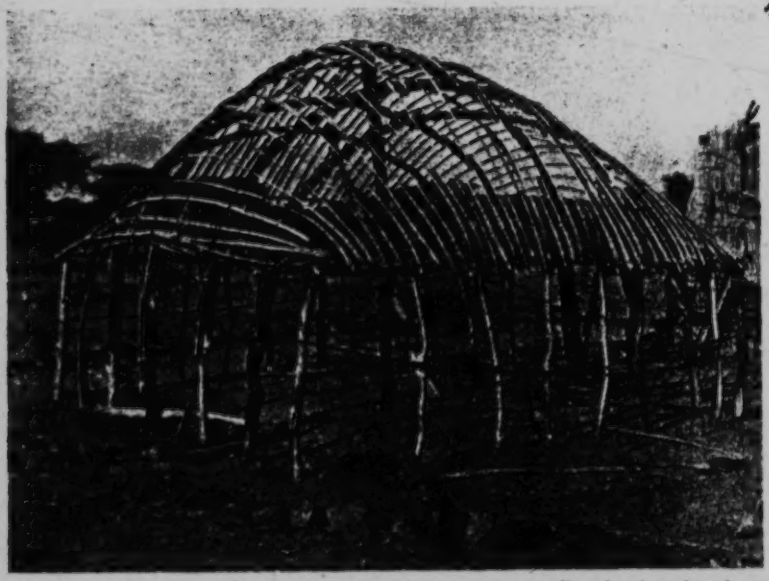

Fig. 14.–The skeleton of an arched mat-covered hut constructionally related to that shown fig. 13 but more elaborately and solidly built. The arches are made from lashed bundles of very slender sticks fastened to short poles embedded in the ground as is the heavy central post supporting the whole construction. – This type of hut is used among settled agriculturists of the Air villages, and is due to influence from pastoral Tuareg.

arched mat-covered tent, and the noble Kel Ferouan claim that they have never used any other type. The Western Ioullemmeden (Kel Ataram) use a skin tent consisting of three or four parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a horizontal crossbar (Lhote 1947, p. 85f., photographs 59–64). Gabus claims this dwelling as typical of the noble Tuareg (Gabus 1945, p. 15). I think that most probably it developed from a dwelling constructionally related to the arched mat-covered tent like that of Air. The common type of skin tent nowadays used in Ahaggar and Adrar-n-Iforas is of a somewhat related type (Lhote 1947, p. 42f., photographs 7–8, 11–13, 20–21.; 1955, p. 254ff. – Foley 1930, p. 12f., pl. IV, 6–7. – Briggs 1958, p. 92, fig. 36. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 103). It is apparently not possible to refer Tuareg arched tents exclusively to vassals, and it should be noted that in Tassili-n-Ajjer the dwelling typical of the vassal class is a straw hut constructionally related to a round house with conical roof (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 89, 104).

184 342 [565]

Finally I shall now return to our main problem, namely the history of Tuareg political systems. We have explained their origin from the meeting of two distinct cultures, and we have seen that in the past the noble class was connected with

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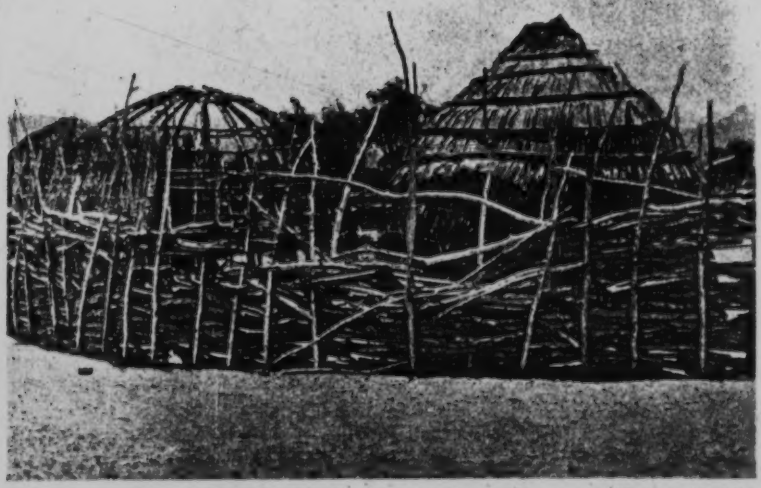

Fig. 15.–Beehive huts within a round enclosure at the village of Iferouan in Northern Air. The construction seen on this photograph consists of arches made from lashed bundles of slender sticks fastened to poles embedded in the ground. Horizontal sticks are fastened to the arches which are supported by a central forked post with a short crossbar placed on its top. For a detailed description of this construction see Foureau 1905, III, p. 885 f. Beehive huts in Air are also made from boughs embedded in the ground and tied together at the top without a central post.

174 camel-breeding. The camel is known to have been very common in Tripolitania
233 in the 4th century A.D. It was introduced to this region a few centuries before that time, and it was known in Egypt about the year 500 B.C. It is therefore probable that the camel was introduced into the Central Sahara even prior to the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. Camel-breeding seems to have certain traits in common with pastoral cow-breeding, and the oldest camel-breeders of Northern Africa may have lived in tents or huts of arch construction – most possibly in so-called barrel-vaulted dwellings, which appear to have been extremely common in Northern Africa throughout Antiquity (cf. Le Coeur 1937. – Feilberg 1944, p. 202 f.).

174 The T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are apparently historically related to similar posts of Arab black tents in Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and
[342] Eastern Libya. Considering the fact that T-shaped posts among the Northern
[565] Tuareg are claimed to be characteristic of the noble class, there may be a certain connection between noble Tuareg of the North and Arabs. I have mentioned above
[184] that in the North the term for noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, sing. *Ahaggar*) is different
[192] from the term used in other Tuareg groups (*Imacheren*, sing. *Amacher*). I have also

241 621 /77/ or 1, 800 kilograms of grain to divide 63 times during 365 days, giving scarcely 100 grams a day per person, to which we may add three or four meals of meat per year.

"This year a green louse menaces the grain harvest; in summer a sort of 'mosquito' attacks the millet."

To complete these observations, one must add to the food listed for the harratin the very sweet tea they drink whenever they can, and it must be noted that this year 1949 was particularly bad.

If the wheat, set amid the arid mountains, gives an air of opulence to the village, the cultivator well knows that the production will be insufficient and that the fifth part of it coming to him is already pledged to Mozabite merchants to pay for the different purchases of the year. What to do? Go on farming, for such is life. This stubborn work to coax a little wheat from a hostile soil is most touching and merits a better success; but it would be necessary to educate these Negroes, and that is another story.

[361] Certain of these centers are temporary; the harratin abandon them when the soil is exhausted or when the water is no longer sufficient for irrigation; others are always occupied and under cultivation. The harratin merely cultivate smaller areas during dry years. In the permanent centers, the gardens have fruit trees.

In the appendix is the list of the principal agricultural centers of the Ahaggar.

## Animal Raising

233 A land of nomads, the Ahaggar is a region of extensive animal raising. The pastures grow according to the chance of rainfall, and the Tuareg use them with due regard to the growth of the grass. The irregularity of the annual rains obliges the Kel Ahaggar to drive the majority of their camel herd to Sudanese territory, so that about 7, 500 camels graze

233 /77 cont./ in the Tamesna, while 4, 500 stay in the Ahaggar.
/78/ The goats and sheep stay near the tents and find their sustenance more or less easily. The donkeys that live in freedom are perhaps the best adapted animals. Several zebus used for drawing water in the agricultural centers are poorly fed.

It does not appear that animal raising is destined to increase much, as the climatic conditions do not permit much enlargement of the herds.

The camel is indispensable to the Tuareg; without it they could not live in the Ahaggar. The Targui-camel partnership is seen throughout the region; it is necessary; it is part of the scenery. One sees the double silhouette outlined on the crests of the central plateaus, or tracing a network of paths on the black lava regs, or printing the sand with the parallel tracks of the Targui and the camel. This strange beast seems a holdover from another age; despite its antediluvian appearance and its stiff limbs -- only its neck is supple -- it manages to climb up slopes for grazing where man sometimes has trouble following.

As far as the camel is concerned, the term animal raising seems inappropriate. For the Targui the camel is his life; thanks to it, he is able to travel at will in the desert, make his commercial exchanges, and stay for months in a region without wells if the pasturage is good. The camel is his joy; it enables him to demonstrate his masculinity; it is also the object of his fears when it is sick or when it has disappeared after breaking its fetters, making it necessary for the Targui to follow its tracks for days in order to recapture it.

The camel also is wealth, the scale of values, the gift for a birth or a marriage; it is the noble animal.

There are about 12, 000 camels in the Ahaggar. It would be tedious to enumerate the wealth of each tribe, but let us note that the Dag Rali alone possess a fifth of the herd.

The Tuareg distinguish three races of camels: a race of the Ahaggar, one of the Sudan, and a race of the north called

233/78 cont. / "maroki." The Sudan camel is the largest, generally has /79/ a light coat, is strong and fast; when it is very fat, its hump becomes high; it must have plenty of nourishment and fares badly on poor pasturage. When it is in good shape, it can carry 200 kilograms of merchandise.

The Ahaggar camel is smaller but always has a nice bearing; its coat may be light, but many of these camels are dark. When it is fat, its hump does not rise much but overflows on the sides; a more frugal eater than the Sudan camel, it can get along on meager pastures. If it runs more slowly, it climbs better; its feet become overheated on the sand but will hold up on jagged pebbles. It cannot carry more than about 150 kilograms.

There are not many maroki in the Ahaggar. It is smaller than the others but much stronger; in comparason with them it seems awkward. It requires abundant food, but in exchange can carry up to 300 kilograms. Generally dark colored, the maroki has a thick coat.

233 192 The Tuareg vocabulary to designate the camel is rich, a proof of the interest in the animal. The generic term is "amis," "imenas" in the plural. "Amadjor" is also generic but is used in the sense of: "camel seen in the distance but not identified." The plural is "imoudjar." The female camel is called "talemt" (plural: "tillemin"); "timetirout" (plural: "timetterouin") means "pregnant camel." The newborn camel is called "aoura"; at one year it is called "ag aouatey"; at two years, "allogués"; three years, "akanafoud"; four years (the teeth begin to grow but do not emerge), "ara'ler"; five years (two teeth), "ag essin"; six years (four teeth), "ag okkoz"; seven years (six teeth), "Ammessedis"; eight years (two canines), "aoutahaliat"; adult and old camels intermingle so that a Targui is incapable of saying how old camels live to be; some die young, some old, but the Targui never gives an [777] opinion as to age, for that could be bad luck.

233 /79 cont./ When the young camel is weaned it is called
192 "assaka"; when it is weaned, one says "abal" or "amougui." The stud camel is called "amali."

Generous with the names bestowed on the camel, the Tuareg are even more wordy when it comes to describing the camel's color. /80/ While green or bright red spread on a paper is poorly appraised, the imperceptible nuances of a camel's coat are distinguished in precise fashion; this is because the colors that we mentioned are abstractions, while the difference between two grays is concrete, being the difference between two observed, known, and perhaps loved camels.

The correspondence between the colors expressed by the Tamashek words and the French shades is arbitrary; another investigator could quite well give another scale just as valid.

White: beldedj; dark gray: iendjelan; fawn: iebramine; light fawn: atlar; fawn brown: ibazaouane; black: ikaoualane; black and white: azelraf; dirty white: idegnassen; gazelle: ierrane; light gray: ibahouane; green tones: israfane; reddish white: ilemlarane; reddish brown: ihaggarène; between red and yellow: ietlarine; the one with the blue eyes: iouinaran; the one with the white mouth: imoulssan.

According to what an animal is used for or according to his merits, there are about 20 other names, a few examples of which follow:

Saddle camel: "amis ouan tarik"; pack camel: "amis ouan edjidji"; saddle camel for a woman: "amis ouan takhaouit." Tired camel: "yaddah"; wounded camel: "yakoder"; well-trained camel: "iounane"; a hard camel to mount: "irraguel."

233 There is no need to repeat here the characteristics of the camel, its sobriety, its endurance, its fragility, too; let us remember, though, /81/ that when it "drinks its fill," it downs up to 120 liters of water.

In a moist pasture, whose grass is green, of course, the camel stays practically without drinking; when it is mounted or packed, having to undertake a journey across a strictly

●233 /81 cont. / desert region or one lacking verdure, it can go for four or five days in summer and about eight days in winter without eating or drinking.

If the Tuareg have the reputation of being good camel trainers, it is because they begin training the camel when it is about two years old. The young camel is seized, and a "tiriouit" is passed over its mouth. The tiriouit is an arrangement of ropes which encloses the head something like a muzzle. A long rope serves as a rein; the trainer mounts bareback behind the nump, and does this for three or four days. The young camel begins to know the man, and then an "akala" is put on him; this is simply a rope securely tied to the lower jaw. A saddle is put on the camel for the first time, preferably the "tahlast" type, which is sturdier. For three months, the young camel is taught how to walk straight and to let itself be led wherever desired. The training is finished only after a year, at which time the "tiguemt" is inserted. This is the ring in the nose through which passes the "tarant" which finally classifies the animal as "assaka" or "amougui."

The training for pack camels is much simpler. The animal is fettered by the two front feet, a tiriouit is passed over its head, and it is attached to a tree by a very short rope. It is kept there for two days without eating, then is untied but not unfettered, so that it may find food by jumping in a ridiculous fashion from tuft to tuft. From that time, the animal is ready to be an "amis ouan edjidji." The female camels may also be trained at about the age of two years, either for the saddle or for the pack. The Tuareg only use them when their milk is dried up.

The camels do not breed at will, for the Tuareg select the males.

A half-bred Sudan-Ahaggar camel is preferred as sire.

/82/ The future sire must have certain well-determined physical characteristics; most particularly examined are the form of the legs, the length of the tail, and the size of the

●233/82 cont. / testicle sac; a large head is a favorable sign, as is a white coat.

The Tuareg keep one male for 30 or 40 females; all the [232] other males are castrated: "ennedi." The castration is done rather late in order not to interfere with the development of the animal, which will always be used as a mount or as a pack animal.

The sires having been chosen, the breeding takes place without control by man. The male pursues the female and obliges her to squat down, either by putting his neck on hers or by biting her foot. Females in heat sometimes solicit the male. The covering is made after the female has been brought to squat with the male behind her; his hind legs are completely folded, his pectoral callus rests on the female's back, and his front legs are placed along her breast to keep her prisoner. The covering lasts, it seems, half an hour; after two hours, the male can begin another covering. When all the females of the herd are impregnated, the sire grazes and rests for nearly three months.

The female camel carries her young for 12 months, sometimes 11; she bears one young camel (the Tuareg questioned have never seen twin camels born). A good milk camel gives six liters at each milking, but she is only half milked, the rest being saved for the baby camel, which begins to eat only at the age of about three months.

When the female camel goes to graze during the day, followed by her colt, she wears an "abedjo" over the udder so the young camel cannot suck. The abedjo is a sort of coarse net attached to the loins and exactly covering the udder (it is made with cord from fibers of tahla branches: "ikakaben," extremely strong and rough, which repulses the young camel).

Goats constitute a veritable fortune for the /83/ Tuareg. They are content with the meager pastures of the dry years; they graze near the tents, to which they return each night to sleep. They are seen everywhere in the Ahaggar, even in the places that at first sight seem the most bleak.

233 /83 cont./ The Ahaggar goat (a goat: "tirsi"; plural: "oulli") is small, lively, a good walker. It has long black hair, but crossing it with Sudanese goats gives offspring with black and white coats. Milk production is very variable according to the seasons and the abundance and quality of the pastures. A very good milch goat may produce nearly two liters of milk per day, a month after having given birth. The average production is about one liter a day for the two milkings. Goat's milk furnishes butter, "oudi amellen," which is cooked to preserve it: "oudi"; it also is made into the different cheeses (let us recall that camel's milk is used only for drinking).

It is estimated that there are about 20,000 goats in the Ahaggar, although there may be more. The Tuareg keep one male for about 50 females. The Ahaggar goat bears one [262] kid, sometime two, but very rarely. The male kids are always eaten young; they constitute the bulk of meat consumption by the Tuareg.

[283] Goat hair is used to make ropes of all sorts, and we shall see how the hide is used in making all of the Tuareg furniture.

Sheep raising is very limited; the number of head would hardly come to a tenth of the caprine livestock, and most of the sheep are found in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

The sheep raised in the Ahaggar is a native of the Sudan; long legged, it has no wool but long stiff hairs, generally fawn colored. Its meat is excellent. It is a robust animal, a good walker, but according to the Tuareg does not bear up well during the dry years in the Ahaggar, the pastures not being sufficiently nourishing. This sheep /84/ accomplishes considerable feats; the Tuareg drive flocks from the Adrar des Iforas to the markets of the Tidikelt and the A'ir in the Ahaggar. These migrations are carried out, of course, in the winter, but the regs crossed are truly poor in water points, and the pastures are sufficiently rare to make these journeys a remarkable exploit.

233 /84 cont. /Ewe's milk is mixed with goat's milk; the hides
[262] are also used in all sorts of leatherwork. Mutton is considered choice meat and is the preference for serving to an important guest.

The ox is imported from the Sudan; it is a zebu with the characteristic hump. It is used for drawing water in the agricultural centers. However, it can live in freedom in the wadis of the Ahaggar. The amenokal owns a herd which has gone wild: when he wants a beast, he must have it shot. The oxen eat the tahlis which grow abundantly on the rocky shelves of the wadis; they drink from the numerous gueltas. This ox is a sturdy animal capable of going from the Tamesna region to the Ahaggar across desolate regs.

Milk production is practically negligible, since there are at most 300 bovids /sic/ in the Ahaggar.

The hide is used to make the large dellous /skin sacks/ for drawing water and the bottas for keeping butter in.

The bull is called: "essou" (plural: "issouan"); the cow: "tessout" (plural: "tissita").

The donkey ("eled"; plural: "ieldan") is, perhaps, the animal best adapted to the Ahaggar. The Tuareg say: "It eats everything, green or dry." It is of average size, with a rather light coat and a large darker cross on the back. The donkey
[492] is used for camp chores; it goes to fetch water and wood. It carries nearly the whole load when moving; it is the mount of the women, children, and Negroes. Some travelers claim to have seen onagers in the Ahaggar; these were actually donkeys reverted to the wild state: the Tuareg, not being able to keep them near their camps because of the paucity of pastures, /85/ let them run free. Thus it is that herds of donkeys are seen in silhouette on the mountains or fleeing in the wadis as men approach. The donkeys drink at the permanent water points, and their habitual approaches to them are marked by narrow, well-trodden paths.

233 /85 cont. / When the Tuareg want to recapture some of these animals, they organize veritable battues and must use a great deal of cleverness and energy to succeed. It is necessary to break these donkeys in order to fit them for domestic use, for many of them are born wild.

It is estimated that there are 5, 000 donkeys in the Ahaggar, but this figure is certainly too conservative.

[262] The flesh of the donkey is not eaten, nor is the milk of the female drunk.

A few horses, most of them originating in the Sudan, are to be found in certain agricultural centers. A "luxury" animal, the horse (aïs) cannot live off the Ahaggar pastures. When well nourished with barley, it bears the climate perfectly well and can be used as a mount in the mountains of the Ahaggar where water points are numerous.

Lastly, chickens are raised by the harratin in all the
231 agricultural centers; they are lean fowl which find practically all of their own food. The harratin chiefly eat the eggs,
[439] rather rarely the meat, which is sold to the Europeans.

/87/

## IV
## Material Life

### Dwelling

342 The Tuareg, as true nomads, use the tent for habitation,
281 and sometimes, in exceptional circumstances, the zériba.

The Tuareg tent is made of skins sown together and specially prepared. Its red tint, which harmonizes with the dominant tones of the Ahaggar landscape, is agreeable to the eye. For making the tent (éhakit), goat, sheep, wild sheep, and, very rarely, cattle skins are used; the skins of wild sheep are considered the best. After being stripped of its hair, the

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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28. In the pastureland rounding up the animals.

[p. 215]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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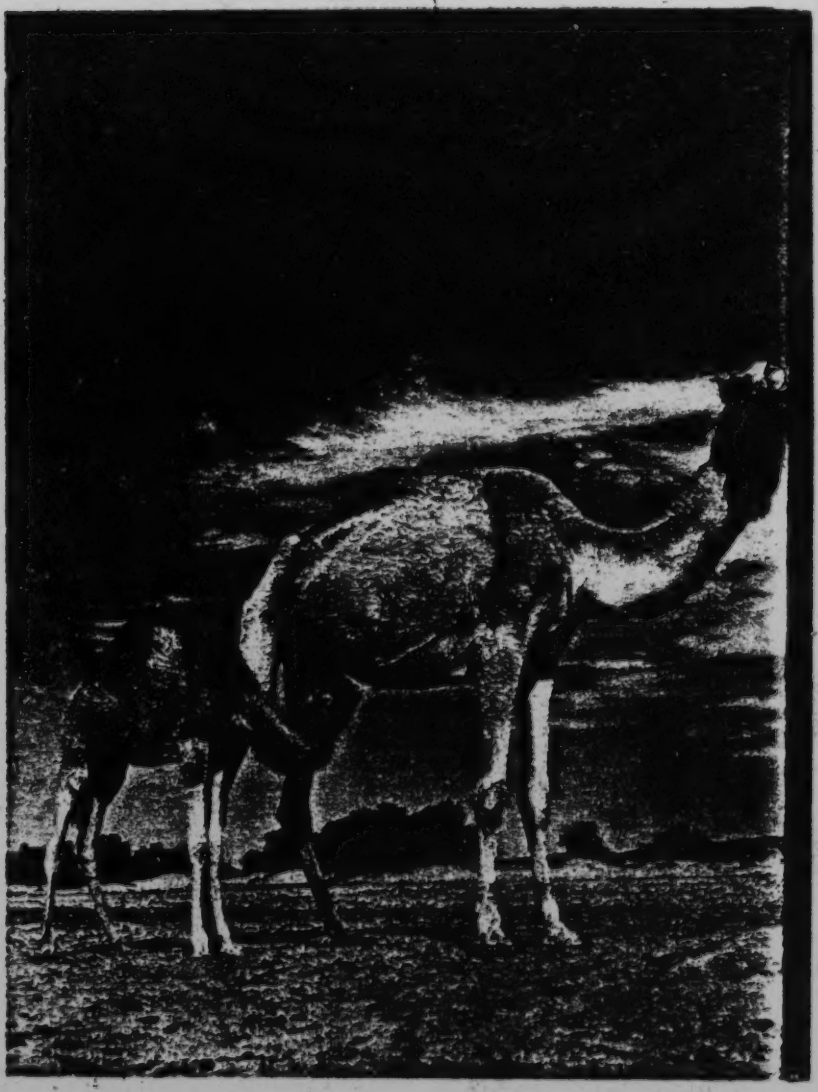

29. In the pastureland in the Amded wadi.

[p. 216]

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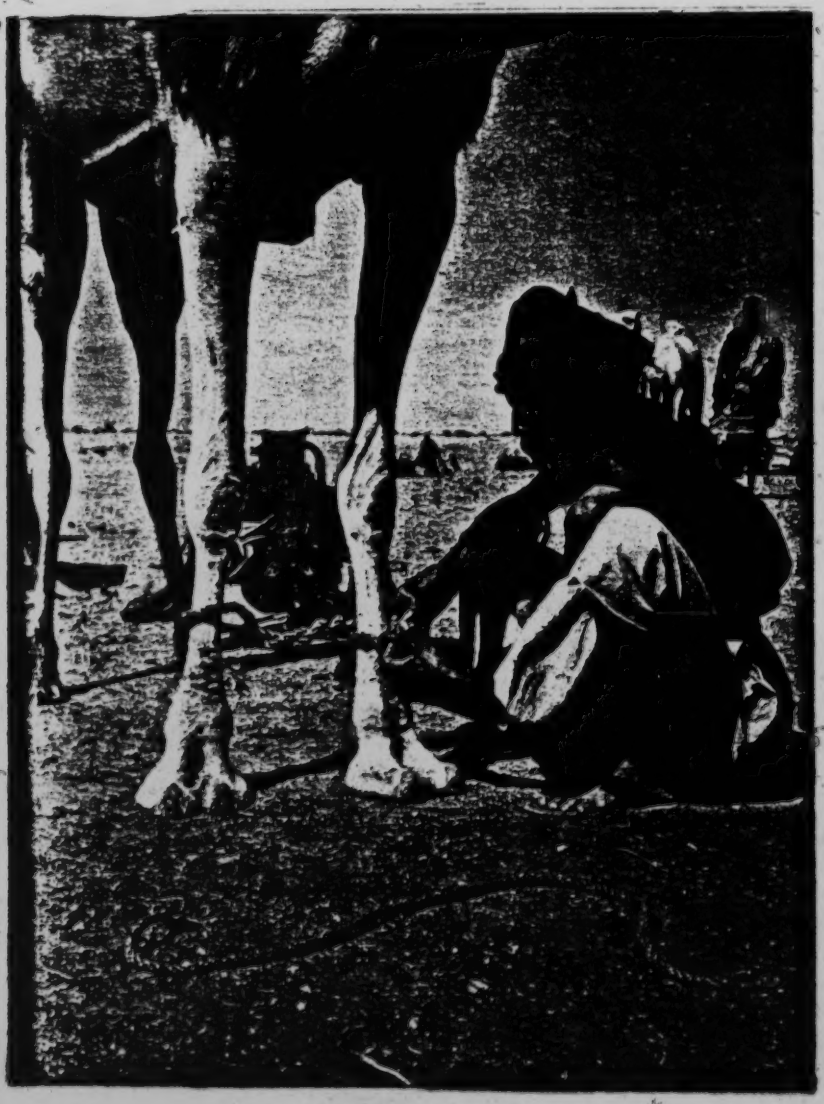

30. On a stopover the animals are hobbled for the night.

[p. 217]

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[For additional information about stock-breeding--mainly camels, sheep, and goats--see category 116, pp. 33-73; 117; 119-21; 125-36; 138-42; 146-47; 150-54. Information concerning animal husbandry relating to horses, donkeys, and zebu cattle has been marked for category 231 since these do not involve large-scale pastoral activities.]

7:Nicolaisén E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



132 When rain is falling in Ahaggar water immediately flows down the rocky mountain slopes into the sandy river valleys, which may become flooded shortly after rain has started. Indeed, the flood will often rise so suddenly and violently that camels and other animals grazing in the valleys are caught by the strong foaming stream of water. Even humans have been killed by the sudden rise of a flood, but most people will not camp in the river bed itself late in summer when heavy rainfalls are expected to occur. A river valley will generally not be flooded for more than one or two days, but it may, after extremely heavy rain, contain water for a week or even longer. This was the case in the summer of 1953 when the valley of Abalessa in Ahaggar turned into an immense river more than a hundred metres
137 wide. Owing to such heavy rainfalls it is possible for perennial plants with a well developed root-system to survive near the river valleys even in dry years. Outside the river valleys there is very little vegetation of perennial plants in Ahaggar. The bulk of the country has no permanent vegetation, and permanent plants are always more abundant along the broad river valleys of the lower country than along the narrow valleys higher up in the mountains.

Pastures of annual plants may spring up almost anywhere in the desert – even in the otherwise barren countries of *ténéré* and *tanezruft*, where they then constitute valuable fodder for the camels of passing caravans. Rainfall in Ahaggar is most common in the highest parts of the country, where, on the other hand, little perennial vegetation is found. In periods of drought this region is so to speak nothing but rocks and boulders, while after rain in summer it becomes covered with a green curtain of annual plants. South of Ahaggar important perennial vegetation is not found until we arrive at the outskirts of the Adɾaɾ and Ayr Mountains, where it is extremely rich compared with Ahaggar. Indeed in Southern Ayr trees and bushes may form dense forests in the valleys outside of which there is also some perennial vegetation. The Ayr Mountains belong to a special zone of vegetation termed *sahel* by French geographers (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 26 ff.). From an economic point of view the main
[132] characteristic of this zone, which includes Ayr and Adɾaɾ, is that it has a fixed wet season and consequently pastures of annual plants spring up every year over large areas. South of Ayr and Adɾaɾ the zone of *sahel* gradually changes into the Sudanese savannah.

137 Tuareg country thus falls into three distinct zones of vegetation with rather different conditions
311 for stock-breeding:—

● 233 1) *True Desert* comprising the territories of *Kel Ahaggar* and *Kel Ajjer*. Rainfall is irregular, and pastures of annual plants do not spring up every year. The main livestock are goats, while sheep are bred only to a very limited extent, and the nomads have no cattle.

2) *Sahel* comprising Adɾaɾ and Ayr and part of the plains situated between these two mountain massifs. This zone has some of the characteristics of the true desert, but it has a fixed wet season in summer and consequently pastures of annual plants develop every year. Goats are very important and so are sheep; most nomads keep a few cows (zebus).

3) *Savannah* covering mainly the territories of *Kel Geres*, *Iwllemmeden*, and *Kel Tademaket*. Perennial plants grow over extensive plains, and there is a regular spring of annual vegetation. The main kinds of livestock are cows and sheep. In the savannah Tuareg nomads frequently have horses as riding animals, whereas in the two former zones horses are normally bred only by sedentary people. – Camels and donkeys are bred by all Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 70a–b. Tuareg camel whips (*alekkoḍ*, pl. *ilekkoḍ*).

a. Whip with a single lash. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.08 m long. (M.N. G. 1.138).
b. Whip with two lashes. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Urayen* tribe. Dimension: 0.845 m long. (Author's collection).

Fig. 71. The drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned brass and fixed to its ornamented leather cord (*témetrek*) by means of which it is attached to the saddle pommel (cf. Fig. 49). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the bowl: 0.258 m in diameter (upper part). Dimension of the leather cord: 0.685 m long. (N. M. G. 5287).

*492 562 donkeys, but, as in the North, they sometimes mount the riding camels of men sitting across the animal behind the saddle.

*492 531 The Tuareg take a keen interest in the adornment of all objects used for riding camels. The richly decorated saddles and the ornaments of the riding gear express the particular value attached to the animals used for riding. But Tuareg interest in camels is perhaps more clearly understood, when we ●233 192 consider their rich camel vocabulary.

The Tuareg have one word which can be used for any camel regardless of its sex and age, its colour, and all other particular qualities. This word (*amaḡur*, pl. *imuḡar* in the northern dialect) does not seem to have its equivalents in vocabularies of other domestic animals which collectively are referred to by means of a sex term of adult animals (e.g., *ulli* = "goats"). The word *amaḡur* (pl. *imuḡar*) is used in conversation, but it is heard less frequently than camel terms which have a very definite meaning.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 72a–b. Leather bags for camel riders.

a. Large saddle bag known as *eljebiro* (*eljebiro*) and used by all riders. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen, manufactured by the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez (Ayr). Dimension: 0.70 × 0.70 m. (N.M. G. 1.108).

b. Large luggage bag (*abaro*). Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.20 m long. (N.M. G. 1.136).

In a few words camel vocabulary has the characteristics mentioned under the following items:— 233 192
(1) Sex terms; (2) Age terms which, like most camel terms, also refer to the sex; (3) Colour terms; (4) Terms for very special qualities; (5) Terms for camels according to their training and use; (6) Terms for camels in very definite situations; (7) Terms for the number of camels in a herd; (8) Many entirely synonymous terms.

The Northern Tuareg use the term *amis* (pl. *imnas*) for all male camels including geldings, and the term *talemi* (pl. *tellemin*) for all she-camels. In Ayr a male camel is known as *alem* (pl. *imnas*) and a

[text continues on p. 95]

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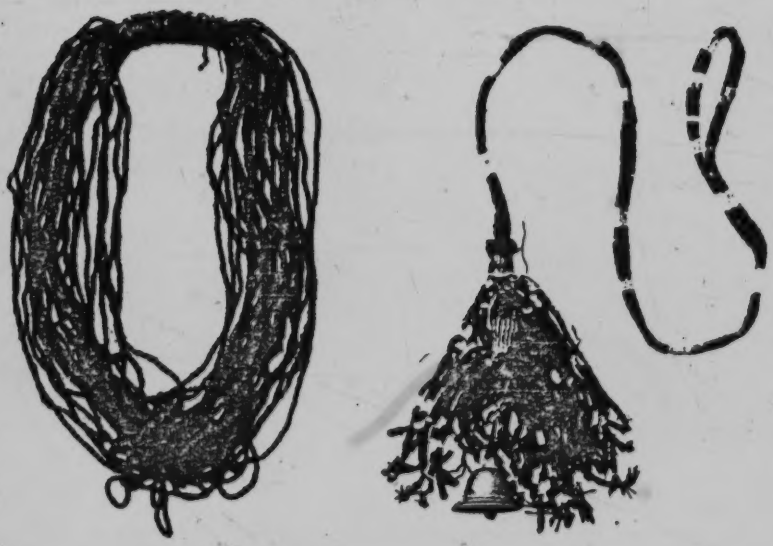

Fig. 74a–b. Neck collars for riding camels.

a. Collar made from fine cords of goat's hair. It is called *tahawt*. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the winding seen at the top: 0.07 m long. (N.M. G. 5193).

b. Neck collar (*tahawt*) plaited from goat's hair, ornamented with coloured thread, and provided with a small brass bell (*anayna*). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.995 m long. (N.M. G. 5191).

she-camel as *talemt* (pl. *tollemin*). In both groups a bull-camel is termed *amali* which word is generally used only for bull-camels reserved for breeding. 233 ❶
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The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have definite age terms for camels until they are eight years old. These terms may be seen from the list on p. 102 where they are mentioned in their feminine forms. At the age of eight years the dentition of a camel is fully developed and later it becomes more difficult to state its exact age. Camels older than eight years are therefore generally known by one and the same term as long as they are strong enough to be used for riding and transportation, or for breeding. The age terms used among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr are different from those mentioned from the north. They are used with precision for camels up to eight years old, and if the exact age of a camel is known by the owner he may continue to apply such terms for camels up to fifteen years old. Older camels are just referred to as "camels" or "old camels".

Colour terms of camels are many. I find it appropriate to list colour terms of the Northern Tuareg

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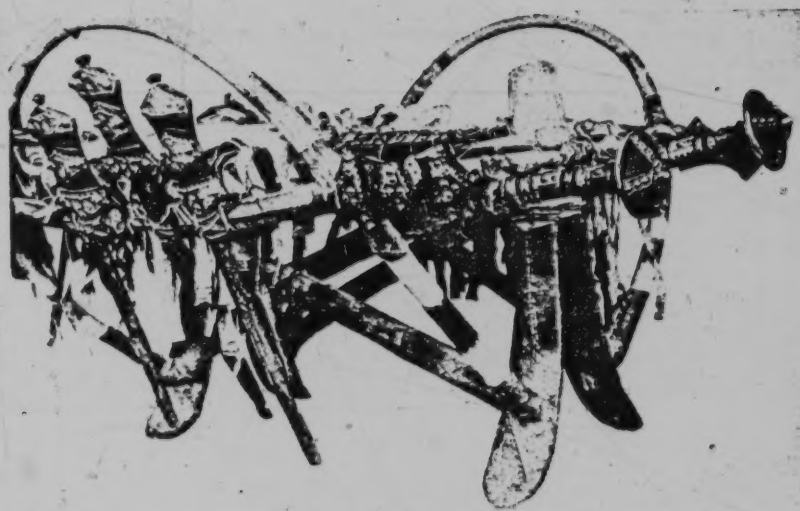

Fig. 75. Women's camel saddle (*akhawi*). Ahaggar, noble tribes. (Musée de l'homme).

●233 192 and the Ayr Tuareg separately, because they frequently use different terms for the same colours and because the Ayr Tuareg have a great many piebald animals which seem to be rare in the north. In the north most animals are of one colour, and the common terms of Ahaggar camels are the following:— *adegnas* (dirty white), *ébeydeǵ* (white), *éberim* (whitish yellow), *atlaṛ* (mahogany), *abẓaw* (whitish), *émengel* (dark grey), *alemlaṛ* (grey), *ézerif* (metallic grey), *ahaggar* or *ézegger* (red), *abhaw* (reddish-brown), and *ékawél* (black). There are a few other terms. I have noted the following terms of piebald camels in Ahaggar:— *éḍemḍem* (a dark or red camel being white on the nose or around the mouth), *iiger* (a camel with white legs), and *azerraf* which term seems to be applied to all camels of two colours, and also to other piebald domestic animals.

I have noted the following terms of camels of one colour among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr:— *adegnas* or *wa mellen* (white), *abzaw* (whitish), *atlaṛ* (mahogany), *égadé* (light brown), *awraṛ* (something between light grey and light brown), *éberhey* (something between whitish and light grey), *aberog* (greyish), *ingal* (dark grey), *ézerif* (metallic grey). Most camels of one colour belong to one of these shades, which are frequently so close to each other that a correct description and translation into European colour words is difficult. Most one-coloured camels I have seen in Ayr were *adegnas*, *abzaw*, *atlaṛ*, and *ézerif*, but piebald camels seem to be more common than the unicoloured animals. I have noted the following terms of piebald animals:— *amulas* (white blaze, white colour around the mouth, the remainder of the animal being dark), *agusrer* (the back and partly also the neck greyish

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Fig. 76. The two large cushions (*ésteg*, pl. *éstigen*) which form the basis of the woman's camel saddle in Ayr. The *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 1.90 m. (N.M. G. 6659a-b).

brown, the remainder of the animal white), *énil* (dark grey with white colours on the belly, the hind thighs, and the four legs), *awinak* (dark grey back but with white on the sides close to the hump, on the hind thighs and legs, on the forelegs, and on the tail), *azurzum* (white on the hind thighs, the remainder plain), *ajnilal* (camel with numerous small circular spots close to each other), *azerraf* (camel of two colours, black and white, or black and red; there is no definite rule for the distribution of these

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 77. The woman's riding saddle built upon large cushions (*éstigen*). Ayr, the *Imezureg* tribe.

233
192 two colours on the animal). There are other terms for piebald camels, but I have only mentioned the colours I have seen myself, as it is extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to note down colour terms without seeing the animals. One characteristic of many piebald Ayr camels has not been mentioned above: They very frequently have red-white eyes, and such animals according to the Tuareg are always deaf. Red-white eyes and deafness seem to go together with certain forms of piebaldness, so that all camels termed *azerraf* and *ajmilal*, and some camels termed *agusrer*, *awinak*, and *azurzum* are deaf. *[492] This, however, does not prevent the Tuareg from using these animals for riding and transportation, and even deaf bull-camels are frequently used in breeding.

The Northern Tuareg have a great many different terms for particular qualities of their camels which are named after their way of roaring and walking. The following examples come from the Ahaggar Tuareg:— *ahenderremma* or *arenennas* (a camel which has the habit of neighing with joy when it sees something very agreable; e.g., a she-camel seeing its calf when it returns to the camp from grazing), *émerreğreğ* (camel which roars mournfully when it becomes separated from its master, or from another camel with which it normally grazes; certain camels are particularly attached to each other and never separate during grazing), *arewaha* (a camel which has the habit of uttering the plaintive roaring named *tarewahit* during loading and unloading), *asekkelela* (a rutting camel uttering the sound named *terelelit*). The Ahaggar Tuareg have other terms for camels to denote their behaviour. Thus there is a particular term for a camel which becomes scared when walking in a caravan after sunset so that it throws off its load and gives rise to a lot of panic among the other caravan animals.

As examples of camel terms given according to the animals' way of walking, mention should be made of following examples from Ahaggar:— *ategemtegam* (camel which takes very short steps), *aseffakas* or *alemdeyyas* (camel which takes very long steps). The Tuareg of Ahaggar have many special terms for camel-gaits. To indicate this I quote the detailed description of gaits given by Fou-

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Fig. 78. She-camel with the colour name *tazurzumt* Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

cauld:— ***sekkedi*** (to let camels trot very slowly at an artificial gait known as ***téredeyt***), ***setteles***, or ***sellwen*** (to let camels walk at a normal ambling pace), ***eg senat-senat*** (to let camels trot slowly at a gait known as ***senat-senat***), ***sekkeber***, ***keburet***, and ***keberkeber*** (a kind of trotting named ***akabur*** which is somewhat faster than ***senat-senat***), ***regiregi*** (to let camels pace or trot at the types of gait known as ***tétalist***, ***senat-senat***, and ***akabur***), ***eg yukey-eder-tayit*** (to let camels adopt a fast trot known as ***yukey-eder-tayit***), ***uylal*** (to let camels adopt a sharp trot), ***enteg*** (to let a camel gallop), ***awdet*** (to let camels trot or gallop; this verb does not refer to any particular type of gait but to several, from the slow trot known as ***senat-senat*** to the very fast gallop known as ***tabederat***). These gait-terms are used only for camels, but the Tuareg also have terms for gaits of other domestic animals – particularly for those of horses (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 553 ff.). The gait known as ***téredeyt*** is considered very elegant by the Tuareg, who train camels to walk in this way already when the animals are very young. This is done by means of a large and wide hobblerope tied around the forelegs above the knees the animals being forced to walk by whipping them lightly on the legs (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1696). As far as my knowledge goes the Ayr Tuareg have terms very similar to those mentioned above, but I have not taken them down in my notes and only remember very few of them, e.g. ***tarajawit*** (a camel which roars during loading and unloading), ***alem-n-akabur*** (a camel walking with very quick steps), ***alem-n-emehal*** (a camel which takes very long steps). 233 192

Considering the very special camel terms just mentioned, it is only natural that the Tuareg also have many terms to cover the use and training of camels. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg can refer to a normal heavy pack-camel by one of the following terms which are synonymous:— ***abakhul***, ***dekhkhe-dekh***, ***agelgali***, ***akhelkhali***, and ***érikhi***. For riding camels the following terms can be mentioned:— ***arlam*** (any riding camel), ***aserensera***, ***tanegmot***, ***taletmot***, ***arretus*** (excellent and very fast running riding animals). There is also a term for a fully-trained riding camel (***amanun***), and another for a camel which is not yet fully-trained (***asaman***). 233 492* 192

[text continues on p. 101]

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As an illustration of camel terms given to animals in very special situations, I give the two following examples:— (1) A she-camel when driven out for grazing while its calf is tethered in the camp is known as *tamantak* to the Ahaggar Tuareg, as *tenteg* to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr; (2) A pack-camel when walking in a caravan is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *amekkalu*, while the corresponding term in Ayr seems to be *alaway*. 233 192 [492]*

For the size of herds the Ahaggar Tuareg have the following terms:— *tazegga* (a small herd of 20-40 camels and/or she-camels), *ahammal* (from very few animals up to about one hundred, the herd consisting mainly of male camels), *adyaw* (a very large herd comprising about one hundred animals at least, regardless of their sex). As far as my investigations go these terms are not known among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. They refer to a small number of camels as *imnas* (10 to 15 animals comprising male and/or female camels), while a bigger herd is known as *tollemin* (comprising male and/or female camels).

All the above-mentioned camel terms are with very few exceptions used exclusively for camels and not for other animals. Extensive vocabularies are found also for other domestic animals and for many aspects of stock-breeding, but the camel vocabulary is extremely large by comparison. This seems understandable as camels have a many-sided use to the Tuareg, and there can be no doubt that camel-terms like goat-terms are primarily a linguistic technique of practical value – a technique which enables the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. But this is evidently not the sole reason why the camel vocabulary is so extensive that a detailed description of all terms would necessitate an independant book on this subject. For the camel vocabulary is extremely large not only because of its practical value, but also because Tuareg interest in camels is not solely confined to their practical uses. This is intimated, I believe, by some of the peculiar terms mentioned and above all by the very many synonyms. [181]

Camels, in contrast to most domestic animals, have social functions among the Tuareg. It is true that bride-wealth in vassal tribes of the Northern Tuareg may be paid in goats (25–30 animals), but this is the case mainly among the *Kel Ajjer* while most Ahaggar vassals will claim that bride-wealth should be paid in camels. The true vassals of Ahaggar give one to three camels for a wife, the payment being dependent upon the bride's tribe – in most tribes it is the custom to give only one camel, while two tribes will claim two and three camels respectively for their women. Among the Ayr vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group bride-wealth may be paid in cash, though the bride-wealth in these tribes is generally one camel as among most northern vassals. But the size of bride-wealth among the Ayr Tuareg is frequently discussed by representatives of the families, and it depends much upon the age, quality, and wealth of the bride. For very desired girls the payment may rise to two or three camels while for others the payment is only "two camel feet", that is a "half share in a camel"; it is said that even "one foot" is sometimes accepted as bride-wealth. This system of giving shares in camels may give rise to trouble between the persons who share the same animal. Among noble Tuareg, both in the north and in Ayr, bride-wealth can be paid only in camels. Among noble tribes of the Northern Tuareg the bride-wealth to be paid is fixed at seven camels, while among the few noble Tuareg now left in the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group the price, it is said, varies between ten and twenty camels. Camels given for bride-wealth are generally *ilusân* (sing. *alegges*) (fem. *tilusin*, sing. *taleggest*), 233 583 585 [578] 233 583 601

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 683 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

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| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *iliḡad*, or *chêt awêay* | (one year old) | 10 | *ilbeyleḡin* | (white) |
| 10 | *ihusin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *ililoṛin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *teḳḳenifaḳḳen* | (3 years old) | 10 | *tizeggeṛin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiruyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *ilbhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chêt essin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *ilemlaṛin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chêt okkoz* | (6 years old) | 10 | *tizerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *timessedas* | (7 years old) | 10 | *timenḡelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chêt tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 | *ilkewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tireggamin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *tizerraḡin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *tiwinaṛin* | (white cornea) |

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 565 524 232 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[text continues on p. 104]

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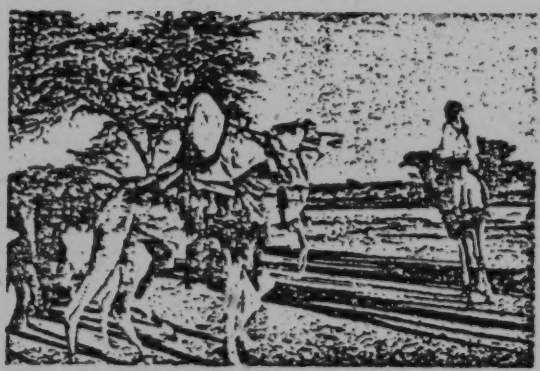

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afagag* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Iyawdan*.

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Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

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Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

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In a ceremonial ride termed *ihgon* (*ihgan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

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Fig. 82b. Cf. text Fig. 82a.

qualities as strength and speed, but rather on elegance and sublimity. The riders sit straight in the saddles without watching the crowd of women, and the camels are ridden at a gentle trot (generally that known as *senat-senat*; cf. p. 99) with their heads drawn back. In this way the men may also ride their animals round the women in a circle as I have seen in Ayr (cf. Fig. 82).

Camels have important social functions among the Tuareg who take an interest in these animals far beyond their practical value. It may perhaps be useful to compare Tuareg interest in camels with Nuer interest in cattle so brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard. Nuer caress their animals, and there is a tendency for human beings and cattle to form, so to speak, a single community (Evans-Pritchard 1940, p. 16–50). This is not exactly true of Tuareg and camels. The Tuareg do not pat their camels which will not respond to caressing, and they do not live in very close contact with their animals, most of which frequently graze far away from the camp under the supervision of one or two herdsmen. But the Tuareg nevertheless have much the same feeling towards camels as Nuer have towards their cattle. They are very fond of their animals. They may abstain from camel's flesh because they are fond of camels and would feel very sick at heart when eating them. But though the Tuareg are fond of camels as such, they are delighted particularly at the sight of a very fine camel (*akemhur*; Ahaggar) and may even speak disparagingly of a badly built animal (*amugey*; Ahaggar). Fine camels add to the prestige of a man, while too many animals of poor build may even harm his reputation. When girls and young women praise camel-riders in their songs they praise those mounted on fine and richly-decorated animals. When camels are mentioned in poetry this may also be done as praise to their owners, as in a poem composed in honour of noble Tuareg of the *Uraren* (*Kel Aijer*) of whom it is said that "their pack-camels have feet as large as a drum, and the loads they carry are like the crests of mountains" (Hanoteau 1896, p. 218). Such reference to pack-camels, however, seems to be rare in Tuareg poetry, while riding camels are frequently mentioned in connection with warfare and love. Riding camels have much the same esteemed position as had horses in Medieval Europe. Tuareg interest in camels is particularly focused on riding camels and there is a tendency towards identification

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439 caravans of the south or by Ayr Tuareg who import more millet than they need for their own use.
437 But millet is cheaper in Damergu than at the Agadez market, and most Tuareg prefer to organize
[435] their own millet caravans with camels and donkeys as pack-animals. In Damergu most Ayr Tuareg
[492] get millet in exchange for livestock or they buy it for money. Their caravans are not always very large,
[476] for the Southern Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not organize their caravans co-operatively
[484] on the basis of kinship. Many individual households fetch their own millet with a few animals, and it
[592] is comparatively easy to do so as the millet growing country of Damergu is not very far away – the distance from Agadez to Tanut is only about 300 kilometres. The Ayr Tuareg do not have to engage in extensive trading expeditions to procure millet, and can buy millet very cheaply. A household, it
437 is said, does not have to sell a great many animals to secure the necessary supply of millet. Three or
439 four camel loads will cover the needs of most households, and this amount of millet can be acquired
435 for comparatively few animals – particularly if the animals vended are sheep, which have become
592 very expensive in recent times owing to the rapid increase of Europeans at Agadez. An extremely good
162 sheep or ram for slaughtering can bring in 2000 to 3000 West African francs, and a Tuareg household which buys millet in Damergu will need less than 10,000 francs to acquire the quantity necessary for a year. Thus the Ayr Tuareg can obtain their millet for a few sheep, and there are very few, if any, who do not posses this surplus, and it should be repeated that the increment of livestock is never stopped by drought periods as in the north. The extremely high price for sheep for butchering is a recent phenomena due to the increase of the French population. Fully-grown sheep or rams are expensive, and this is also the case with fowls, while goats are cheap. I believe we can estimate that a household would have to sell about 15 goats anually to obtain the amount of millet necessary for one year's consumption. However, there is little doubt that it has always been quite easy for the Tuareg of Southern Ayr to obtain the requisite amount of millet in exchange for livestock.

262 Millet and milk constitute the basic nourishment of the Ayr Tuareg, but they are very fond of an
[222] occasional change of food. And I believe that this is one important reason why the Ayr Tuareg, like those of Ahaggar, collect wild seeds even in years when grown cereals are abundant. For a change, the Ayr Tuareg are also extremely fond of dates which are not grown to any great extent in their own country. A few Ayr Tuareg own palms yielding dates of poor quality, and I think that a few house-
[439] holds also obtain some dates from Ingal. However, most dates eaten in Ayr are imported from the oasis of Bilma, situated in the very barren desert country between Ayr and Tibesti, about 700 kilometres north-east of Agadez.

437 The trade with Bilma is apparently an ancient one, and its foundation is salt which is of a very bad
439 quality compared with that mined at Amadror in the north. The rock-salt of Amadror is excellent
[317] for food, and though there is one good quality of Bilma salt that is used for food by the Tuareg of
[263] Ayr, most salt from Bilma contains much soil and other impurities. This impure salt is excellent for
[233] domestic animals which, in Ayr and further south where salt pastures do not exist, need a lot of salt. The Ayr Tuareg, and particularly those who do not visit the country of Azaouaq at the end of the rains, need salt not only for their own food but also for their domestic animals. They obtain this from Bilma, which is visited by caravans in autumn or in the early winter. The inhabitants of Bilma, like other oases-dwellers, are in constant need of cereals and meat, and these products are imported

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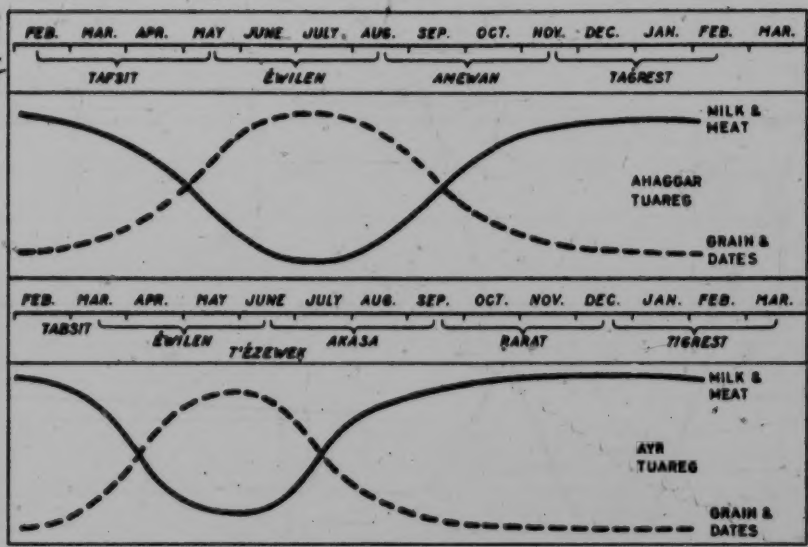


[511] [824] Fig. 151. The relative importance throughout the year of food derived from stock-breeding and vegetable products mainly comprising agricultural products. The curves describe conditions in good years for wealthy families. However, milk (and meat) is less important to most Ayr families than indicated in the diagram which covers a household making use of the particular type of annual pasture which remains green throughout winter, notably *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea sup. Schimperi*) *adreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tagellat* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). – This diagram should be compared with Fig. 14 where climatic and botanical changes throughout the year are outlined.

433 it is remunerative to buy an extra supply of millet in Damergu and to exchange it for dates and salt
439 at Bilma. Caravan trading is a source of profit to the Ayr Tuareg, but most of them ultimately acquire their agricultural food products in exchange for stock and stock-breeding products. Very few of them mine salt at Amadror, and most of them obtain salt in return for millet bought for domestic animals in Damergu, or for meat of domestic animals butchered in Ayr. The Tuareg cannot easily subsist without agricultural products but they can obtain them in exchange for their livestock.

●233 We see again that conditions of stock-breeding are very favourable in Ayr in comparison with those
166 of Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where frequent drought periods make it difficult for the Tuareg to
[184] exist. It is easily understandable that the favourable grazing conditions of Ayr have caused many Tuareg of the north to migrate southwards. These migrations take place even to-day and have gone
433 on for centuries (cf. p. 411 ff.). However, even in Ayr it is most difficult to subsist without cultivated
262 cereals (millet), and we must do away with the myth that pastoralists of North Africa live entirely on milk and meat from their animals – they do not. This is true for all Tuareg I have visited, including

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Fig. 206a–d. Axe and adzes of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

a. The ordinary axe (*sodeft*) which is found in all Tuareg camps. Ahaggar, the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.572 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.157 m long, 0.053 m broad. (N.M. G. 5233).

b. *tasiawt*, a small socket-shafted adze with knee-shaft. Adzes of this type are common in Tuareg camps. They are used mainly by women for wood-carving. Ahaggar, the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.301 m long. (N.M. G. 5232). [322]

c. *téksdimt*, adze shafted by means of a piece of sheet-iron and nails. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.440 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.150 m long, 0.058 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5864).

d. *téksdimt*, slot-shafted adze. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.430 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.222 m long, 0.065 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5865).

The axe and the adzes are all made by blacksmiths. [564]

The very best ropes or cords manufactured by the Ahaggar Tuareg are those made from goat's 283
hair which is sheared with a knife by the women once a year in the hot season. These ropes are known 237
to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ihelhumen* (sing. *ahellum*), while the proper term for a rope of goat's hair 233
in Ayr is *azaw*. But the Ayr Tuareg do not make such ropes as they have goats of the short-haired
breed (p. 33). They obtain their ropes from the Ahaggar Tuareg. Ropes of goat hair are manufactured 438
by women by the following method:— The mass of hair, known as *éhafilen*, is placed upon a piece 462
of skin and is prevented from blowing away by means of a stone. The hair is then taken out in small quantities with the first and second fingers of the left hand to be spun upon a stick 30–40 cms long.

[text continues on p. 266]

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are also very akin to the Tuareg in culture, but have preserved some Arab traits of material culture and their traditional social organization in addition to their language, though they also know *tamahaq*. We are here concerned only with traits adopted into Tuareg culture from contact with the Arabs.

In the description of Tuareg culture I have already pointed out many cultural traits due to Arab influence. I have mentioned such traits in connection with food-preparation (p. 232, 237 ff, 247 ff) and dress (p. 303 f.). I have also mentioned the introduction of cultivation methods and cultivated plants owing to contact with Arabs and the Arabic-speaking *Harratin* (p. 186 ff.), and I have stated that it seems as if new types or new breeds of domestic animals were introduced to North Africa by the invading Arabs. Cats and domestic pigeons seem to be post-Arabian in the Sahara (p. 115 f.), the true grey-hound came to Tuareg country with the Arabs, who also introduced the particular horse-breed known as the *Aryen* type (p. 113). Doutressoulle relates a native tradition to the effect that this breed came to the Begzen Mountains with Arabs of Tripolitania (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238 f., 242). Horses of this breed are introduced to Ayr from the north even to-day, but as far as I know the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* do not use the Arab type of saddle or the very broad stirrups typical of the northern horse-riding Arabs. They generally use very narrow stirrups for the insertion of one or two toes. These stirrups were possibly introduced to the Western Sudan with the Dongolawi breed. It came from Upper Egypt at the end for the 13th century A.D. when the *Djoheyna* Arabs immigrated (Mauny 1961, p. 283).

I have mentioned above (p. 54 ff.) that there are two main types of camels among the Northern Tuareg:— (1) a northern Arab breed (*marroki*) characterized by heavy stature and a thick covering of wool, and (2) a southern breed more slenderly built and with little or no wool – a breed which is typical to the Tuareg. Medieval Arab authors have stated that the Tuareg possessed camels of a particular breed well fitted for riding (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 70, 105; Edrisi, p. 11, 67 f., 144 f.; Leo Africanus p. 940 f.). The division of camels into two distinct types of the above characteristics can be traced elsewhere in Northern Africa, where the heavy woolly breed is found mainly in the north and particularly among Arabs, while the slender non-woolly breed is common among such pastoralists as the Tuareg, the Moors of Mauretania (who are largely of Tuareg stock and have a great many Berber words in their camel vocabulary, according to Monteil 1952), the Tebu, and the Beja tribes around the Nile (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 79 ff.; Doutressoulle 1947, p. 272 ff.; Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 418 f.; Murray 1935, p. 92 ff.). The distinction between the two main types cannot apparently be explained by the different environmental conditions, for they frequently live within the same type of environment, and the northern *marroki* type is found particularly among Arabs, and not only among the Arabs of the northern desert. *Marroki*-like camels seem to exist among such Arab tribes as the *Kunta* and the *Berabich* south of the Niger Bend in the Azawad desert (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 273), among the camel-breeding Arabs of the Lake Tchad region, and among Arab pastoralists of the former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan – particularly among the Kababish (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 80 ff., 83 f.). There seem to be little doubt that the *marroki* camel came to North Africa with the Arabs and it is then natural to investigate whether they also introduced particular cultural traits connected with camel-breeding. It is relatively easy to take up such an investigation with reference to particular saddle types, because they are frequently described and depicted in literature.

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Tuareg where influence from Arab material culture is particular strong, and it is structurally identical with the Arab pack-saddle known as *ḥawiyya* or *ḥedāğe*. The origin of the pack-saddle called *aruki* among the Southern Tuareg is not easily determined. It may perhaps constitute a late type which developed from a pack-saddle with two curved or angular trees in front of the camel's hump. This may be true of some *aruki*-like saddles. But certain pack-saddles of *aruki* type may perhaps have originated from a kind of split wood similar to that used for camels by the Somali of Tana River (cf. Ahlefeldt 1948, ill. p. 137). 492 [177] [171]

There are other traits of camel breeding that have apparently been introduced among the Tuareg through contact with the Arabs. This may be true of the looped rope (*asaṛun*) connected with a little stick for attachment around the camel's foreleg (p. 72 ff., Fig. 45a). This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg though common among the Northern Tuareg who often make it of camel's wool. It seems to be known among most, perhaps all, Arabs, who manufacture it from the same material. Among the Ababde and the Bisharin it is plaited from dum palm material (cf. Sleesen-Dolk 1957, p. 12, Figs. 28–30). It is most probably an Arab trait which also seems to be Cauvet's opinion (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 554 & pl. LXII, p. 555). 233 177 [171]

We may perhaps also mention the large woven transportation bags which are extremely common among all North African Arab pastoralists, while unknown among the Tuareg. But small plaited or woven bags of goat hair mixed with camel's wool are manufactured in Ahaggar by women of certain tribes (p. 266 f, Fig. 209a–b). These bags are known as *tiṛṛar* (sing. *téṛerirt*) which seems to be derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711). The small loading sticks *tihḍaḍ* (sing. *téhedij*) (p. 76) used to unite the two halves of a camel load are perhaps also Arab in origin for this particular word is apparently also derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 520 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711). 415 177 [462]

The origin of other traits of camel-breeding is not so easy to determine, but it is very possible that the plaited pouch which among the Northern Tuareg constitutes the normal method to prevent camel calves from sucking (p. 62, Figs. 41–42) was also introduced by the Arabs. This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg and apparently also among the *Kel Geres*. It is found among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* (*abegu*) and is recorded in literature from the *Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 141), and from the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 71). It is widely found among all pastoral Arabs of Northern Africa and of the Arabian Peninsula. 233 177 [171]

As to the use of camel brands produced by burning with a redhot iron it seems difficult to judge from distributions the origin of this method. These brands are known among most Tuareg with the exception of the *Kel Ferwan* and other Tuareg of Ayr, who use earmarks cut with a knife. Earmarks seem to be used for camels also among the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 103) and were apparently used in ancient Arabia (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 298). One might perhaps assume that earmarks constitute an older type of proprietry marks, while brands came later. But information about marks and brands is scarce. 233 422 [171]

The origin of many traits of camel-breeding cannot be determined, but it is not be doubted that the Arabs have introduced into North Africa a particular breed of camel together with certain saddles and objects connected with the use of the camel as a pack animal. There is also no doubt that these 233 177

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233 177 traits are found among the Northern Tuareg and partly among the *Iwllemmeden*, while they have not generally been adopted by the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. It is most interesting in this connection that when they wish to speed up their riding camels the Northern Tuareg use a sound identical with that used among the Arabs, while the Tuareg of Ayr use a very different signal (p. 136).

The Arabs only partially influenced Tuareg camel-breeding, for this was well-established in North Africa before the Arab invasions. There is no doubt that certain traits of camel-breeding are known to most pastoralists who breed the one-humped camel. Such traits may well have been introduced to North Africa with the Arabs, but they were most probably also known to North Africa camel-breeders before the Arabs arrived. Among such traits universally known to camel-breeders, the following can be mentioned:—

233 171

Milking with the dummy-calf. This seems to be practised among all Arab pastoralists of the Peninsula; it is frequently described, in modern literature about this area, and is mentioned as well in ancient Arabic poetry (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 355). The custom is known to Arabs of the Sahara and, according to Monteil, also to the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 72). I have mentioned above that the dummy-calf is used for milking camels among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, and according to Nicolas the custom is also practised among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 140).

Perhaps a milking method universally known is that of patting the udder. I have recorded this method from Ahaggar, from Ayr (p. 57), and from Arab pastoralists of the Sahara (e.g. the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba*). I have not been able to find much information about this method in literature, but it is possibly this to which Thesiger refers in his description of camel milking in Southern Arabia (cf. Thesiger 1959, p. 145).

A method of which there is also very little information is that of weaning calves by cutting them on the bridge of the nose in two or three places. I have noted it from the *Kel Ahaggar*, the *Kel Aïjer*, and the *Kel Ayr* and from pastoralists of Arab tribes such as the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu*, but have not seen it among Arabs in the borderlands of the Atlas and the Sahara. I have also noted the existence of this particular method among the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Western Iwllemmeden*, but it is not mentioned by Nicolas from the *Iwllemmeden Kel Denek*, though he states that it is known among the *Kunta* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 141). In certain parts of North Africa a cut on the bridge of the nose of camel calves is given one or two thorns. These sting the mother camel when the calf tries to suck and the mother camel therefore kicks the calf away. The method is described from In Salah by Cauvet, while Nicolas mentions it from certain Arabs and *Iforas* Tuareg (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 359; Nicolas 1950a, p. 141). A related method is known to pastoralists of Arabia where a little pointed stick is tied to the head of the calf to prevent it from sucking (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 359).

261 171

A very interesting custom, perhaps also a very ancient one, is that of using the blood of living camels for food. Among the Tuareg, blood of living camels is drunk only when water is lacking during camel expeditions in the desert (cf. p. 235). The bleeding of camels to utilize their blood is also practiced among the Tebu (Huard & Charpin 1960, p. 195), and among the bedouins of Arabia it seems as though camel's blood is consumed regularly for food. Doughty describes how Arab bedouins boil camel's meat in broth and blood, as they are unaware that the Koran forbids the use of blood for food (Doughty ed. 1926, I, p. 561). A good description of the use of blood of living camels as food among

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Arab bedouins is given by Finbert:— "Dans les jours de disette, on pulvérise les ossements de la carcasse, et bien que l'Islam interdise l'usage du sang, on l'y mêle en le recueillant d'une veine que l'on ouvre à un chameau. De ce mélange on fait une pâtée que l'on dévore. En cas de famine prolongée, on mange de la corne moulue avec des trayons macérés dans du sang. Le sang lui-même, toujours pris sur l'animal vivant, est versé dans des boyaux qui sont ensuite grillés comme du boudin" (Finbert 1938, p. 39). It is very possible that the custom of bleeding live animals for food has once been widely known among many people of the area now dominated by Islam; thus Ibn Batutah mentions a Turanian people among whom blood of live horses is used for food (Ibn Batutah III, p. 24). 261 171

Among the Tuareg a certain medical value is attached to camel's urine (p. 127), but they do not wash in it as do many Arab bedouins of the Peninsula. A conception of camel's urine as something clean seems to exist among many camel-breeders, and Thesiger mentions that bedouins of Southern Arabia wash their hands in camel's urine before milking (Thesiger 1959, p. 145). 237 171

It is evident that some traits of camel-breeding resemble customs known also to African cattle-breeders, and it seems as if these customs are widely found among people who breed one-humped camels. – Certain traits of camel-breeding are peculiar to the Tuareg and a few adjacent peoples. 233 171

In contrast to all other camel breeding peoples the Tuareg and some adjacent peoples have riding saddles that they place in front of the camel's hump (p. 78 ff.). The common saddles are those known as *térik*, comprising the two main types named *tamzak* and *tekokeyt*, the most developed riding saddles among the Tuareg. These saddles are also used by some of the Northern Arabs, notably the *Ulad Ba Hammu* and the *Chamba* who import them from Southern Tuareg country – particularly from Agadez where the best saddles are made. The *térik* saddles with a cruciformed pommel are quite peculiar to the Tuareg. 492 171

The Tuareg saddle known as *ahyas* or *tahyast* (Fig. 63) resembles the *térik* type in that it is also placed in front of the camel's hump, so that camels are ridden in exactly the same manner as with *térik*-saddles. The *ahyas* type is not mentioned from the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg. But it is extremely common among the *Western Iwllemmeden* and is said to have originated in Aḍraṛ-n-Foṛas. Further west among the Moors, a riding saddle somewhat resembling the *ahyas* type seems to form the common type. It differs from the *ahyas* mainly in that it has a very low pommel and a very broad and deep seat. Several specimens of this Moorish saddle type are found in the Musée de l'homme in Paris (e.g., nos. D. 33.24.14 & 34.76.15). These Moorish saddles are placed in front of the hump like all Tuareg riding saddles, but I have been told that owing to their peculiar structure the riders cannot generally reach the camel's neck with their feet, so that they ride more bumpily and less steadily than the Tuareg, who secure their position by stemming their naked feet against the camel's neck. This is also seen from photographs of camel riders from Mauretania (cf. Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129).

The *térik* and *ahyas* saddles are always made by blacksmiths, and this is probably also the case with the Moorish riding saddles. But as mentioned above (p. 82 ff.) the Tuareg of Ayr make certain primitive riding saddles themselves, and these, called *kantarki* or *delobi*, are perhaps the prototypes of the more developed saddles made by the blacksmiths. Tuareg riding saddles for camels do not seem to have been introduced to Africa by the Arabs of the Peninsula where such saddles are unknown. The use of a single rein attached to a metal ring fixed in the right nostril of the riding camel is perhaps [564]

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634 vassals was given to the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) and not to the *temaẓlayt* master. However, should
565 a vassal Tuareg have borrowed for raiding a riding camel from his *temaẓlayt* master or another noble
571 Tuareg, they received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty remaining when
613 one half had been given to the *Amenukal*.
721

565 The noble Tuareg possessed many advantages over their individual vassals. They could apparently
571 claim almost what they wanted for their subsistence, and frequently camped close to their vassals who then were obliged to feed them, and when in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take such animals from their vassals (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). Similar information is given by Benhazera, but he states that the vassals in the past would not necessarily supply everything demanded by their noble lords (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The vassals were under a particular obligation to provide the noble Tuareg with goat-breeding products, and if they had milk yielding she-camels the noble Tuareg could claim these animals until milk-yielding stopped. But the vassals had also many advantages from the *temaẓlayt* relationships. They were not only protected by their lords. The noble Tuareg would leave behind the animals they could not take with them when roaming in the desert, and noble Tuareg never had much livestock with them in their camps. It was also of great importance to the vassals that they could use their masters camels for caravan trading. On the whole the system was not exclusively the exploitation of vassals by the noble Tuareg, and it can be added that the vassal Tuareg were always more numerous than the noble Tuareg, that the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) was elected by the vassals, and that he alone had judicial rights. The system was one of give and take to both classes involved, and there can be little doubt that it was well adapted to practical ecological conditions.

●233 In Ahaggar, camels and goats are very complementary to each other. The camel supplies the Tuareg
433 with milk, but with very few other products, and the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-
[234] camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important
[262] as food, but it is [illegible] well-fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg kill camels to
[281] utilize their meat only when many people congregate, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, for tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the
[437] camels have little direct economic value. But for raiding in the past, camels were very valuable riding animals, and were then, as now, extremely important for caravan trading which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic rôle of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive
[234] part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese
[262] which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore, goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

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Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without 233
camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to 433
the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays, as in the past, base their economy mainly on camels and goats.
I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats and their [262]
vegetable food from caravan trading with the aid of camels.

Formerly, the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned 565
exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but 233
he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). It is, however, confirmed 422
by many Tuareg that the vassals originally had no camels, and that throughout the 19th century they 571
had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals, and even to-day goats and butter form part of the *tiwsé*-payments. The noble Tuareg, on the other hand, allowed their particular vassals to trade with their camels against the payment of a certain amount of vegetable food products which to-day also form part of most *tiwsé*-payments. They allowed their vassals also to have usufructs of such animals as could not be taken with them on their migrations. Noble Tuareg of to-day continue to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts of the vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they obtain part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops; this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. The noble Tuareg of to-day may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals, who can refuse any gift or [178]
service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are even noble Tuareg who wear amulets which are [289]
believed to induce vassals to donate the things required.

It would seem that the economic relationships forming the basis of the Tuareg political system in 174
the north would arise so to speak automatically from two distinct cultures which met each other in 565
the desert: a camel-breeding culture of a Berber-speaking people now known as the noble Tuareg, and a goat-breeding culture of an ancient Berber-speaking population which now constitutes the vassals.

Some Tuareg traditions seem to indicate that political systems based on class-division arose in this 173
way in the north, but we have to admit that other traditions contradict this. Below I attempt to 565
elucidate Tuareg history in Ahaggar by means of native traditions to which, for practical reasons, I allot definite numbers.

*Tradition A.* All Tuareg have a common origin as they descend from a woman named *Lemtuna*, who is also the ancestress of certain Berbers living around Ṛadamas in Tripolitania. Most Berbers of Morocco descend from *Lemtuna*'s sister who became the ancestress of the *Beraber*. This tradition is widely known in Ahaggar.

*Tradition B.I.* This tradition is a very common explanation of the origin of the class-division in Ahaggar: Long ago two Islamic women of the *Beraber* immigrated to the oasis of Silet from Tafilelt in Morocco. One of these women named *Ti-n-Hinan* was noble while the other woman named *Takama*

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their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by *Kel Ferwan* vassals who said that both 565
noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the *Kel Tédalé*. That some of them are noble by origin 614
seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the *Kel Tédalé* in part are related to the *Ihaḍanaren* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter tribe, though without vassals, is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

As to the origin of vassalage among the Ayr Tuareg, it is probable that this is due to the meeting 565
of distinct cultures based mainly on camel-breeding and goat-breeding. Rodd has some very interesting 233
remarks on the position of the vassals as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:— [174]
"One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances" (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd, however, also refers [567]
to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to mainly by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the particular camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. But I have been told by many Tuareg that there were in the past very few camels in vassal tribes, and though most Tuareg apparently hold the view that the vassals have always had camels, the Sultan *Umar* claims that originally they had none while the noble Tuareg have owned these animals since times immemorial. So it might seem as if the political system of the drum-group 174
in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, was founded upon a class division with its root in the meeting of distinct 565
pastoral cultures. It is a fact that certain vassal tribes were attached to their noble lords as a kind 634
of workers with the duty of performing such work as could not be done properly by negroid slaves. Among these tribes were the *Ikawkan* attached to the *Kel Azel*, and the *Iḳḳoberen* and the *Iberdyanen* attached to the *Irawatten*.

It is most likely that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg had vassals before they arrived in Ayr, for many true vassals hold that they have immigrated from the traditional homeland of their noble lords. However, there are in Ayr also certain tribes which have lost their noble status and become a kind of vassals owing to having been subdued in fairly recent wars.

## THE KEL GERES DRUM-GROUP

There is no class-division of so-called noble Tuareg and vassals among the *Kel Geres*. In this respect 642
they differ from most other Tuareg groups except for the *Kel Ewey* among whom a division into classes 565
of this kind has ceased to exist – probably because the *Kel Ewey* have mixed with the sedentary negroid population of the Ayr villages. In *Kel Ewey* certain tribes are more important than others, but

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634 judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief,
565 whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

[422] In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to
[171] mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

642 In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division,
565 which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral
[173] camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imṛad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imṛad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

565 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar.
[262] Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter
[492] and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinc-
[583] tions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The
[233] noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, donkeys are marked in
[422] both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be
[342] peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirzemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps
[293] connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among
[262] vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found partic-
[224] ularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and
[174] other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but
[233] the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks
[462] of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

181 and not caused by a state of laziness, for although they would not
565 consider working the land at any price, they would not mind traveling thousands of kilometers under often difficult and quite dangerous conditions to go pillage opposing tribes. Once back in camp, they intend to lead a life free from any material cares, shifting the burden to their vassals.

422 They entrust the keeping of the captured herds to the Imrad,
565 reclaiming the beasts from them when they need them and the necessary usufruct for their food. For themselves, they keep only
[231 mounts for war and for transporting household objects and are content
234] with small herds of goats with only the number of head strictly necessary to assure their daily milk needs. In the same way, they
[567] do not own many slaves of their own, for the latter would make so many months to feed, which they are wary of.

565 Although they rely on their Imrad for everything, they do not abuse them, for, as a Tuareg proverb says, "we must not kill the camel which feeds us," and their demands always take into account the wealth and the possibilities of the moment.

565 Every year the Imochar levy a vassalage tax called a tioussé
631 on the Imrad. This tax, fixed for each tribe, includes an annual
651 contribution of a certain number of head of livestock, loads of grain, miscellaneous items /160/ waterskins, tent stakes, etc.),
[643 tanned hides, butter, etc. In principal it is invariable and paid to the amenokal who disposes of it as he wishes, making allowances for the needs of the Imochar.

643 The amenokal leaves the animals which he levies under the
651 management of the Imrad, who furnish him the usufruct from them.

Individual rights of Imochar over Imrad do not exist in principal.
565 Actually they do exist when a man is the last representative of a
631 tribe and levies for himself the rights falling to his tribe.
651

On the other hand, some undertake to make small levies on the Imrad; the latter never refuse. And we must say in defense of the nobles that they treat their Imrad quite generously when a fortunate raid makes them temporarily well off.

565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
567 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are
not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as
[428] his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can
inherit from their father.

565 /171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with
833 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
558 not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that
[842] the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

867 The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
[838] other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found
679] for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed
[272] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any
milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves
304 first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not
234] hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their
lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar
who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have
deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former amenokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa
ag Amastan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and
the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object
of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or
567 when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally
685 does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense,
the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear
of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes
henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the
same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the
slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice,
according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

262 According to what we know of the production of the cultivated
433 lands of the Ahaggar itself and according to what the Tuareg are obliged
439 to import, we may know approximately their needs. During the good years, local production is equivalent to only one quarter of the needs. It may be evaluated at 150 tons. To this must be added wheat production, but this cannot be taken in consideration insofar as consumption is concerned, since
237 415 234 it is almost entirely destined for export. It follows from this that import needs amount to 4, 000 loads of millet a year, calculated at 150 kilograms each, making 600 tons, which are for the most part bought or exchanged at Damergou or in the Tahoua region. The annual demand for dates is 400 loads.

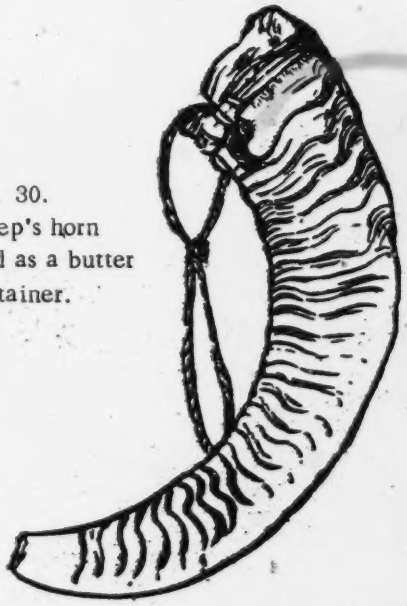

Fig. 30. Sheep's horn used as a butter container.

From these figures it
146 follows that the annual needs per person are approximately one load of
262 millet and one-tenth of a load of dates.
511

Individual consumption may thus be estimated at 187 kilograms of millet and 15 kilograms of dates per year, while an identical calculation /232/ for the Saharian Arabs has given us 180 kilograms of wheat and 75 kilograms of dates. But we must not deceive ourselves. These figures are drawn up for years, if not of abundance, at least of relative facility. Indeed, the annual average is very much lower, for the Ihaggaren do not always have at their disposal the means of exchange to meet their needs, and one may reduce the figures cited above by a good third, sometimes even by half.

824
222

To make up this deficiency in graminaceae, the Tuareg have recourse to products of gathering.

After a rain the captives and the Imrad women gather the seeds [262] of certain plants which grow in the Ahaggar valleys. They are the afasso (Panicum turgidum F.) and the oulloul (Aristida pungens D.). But the size of the yield varies with the abundance of rain, and one may say that most of the time it is quite /233/ uncertain. This is not the case in the Sudan, where the Iklan gather whole bags of wild seeds, particularly cram-cram (Cenchrus echinatus), every year.

[233 281 415 234]

To be sure, there are a few wild berries in the Ahaggar, such as those from the jujube tree (Zizyphus lotus D.) and the téborak (Balanites aegyptiaca). In case of famine the Tuareg fall back on other seeds, such as those of the colocynth, the Acacia tortillis, etc. However, all these plants play only a secondary role in the Tuareg diet.

[731] [262]

Fig. 31. Little leather flask used as a butter container.

The Tuareg have at their disposal milk from their camels, goats, and ewes. They drink it either whole or diluted with water, either fresh or sour. 272

The luxury of drinking whole milk is reserved for young mothers and children. Adults generally drink fresh milk morning and [264]

[264]
272 evening after the milking, and at the noon meal they drink milk which has already soured. It may accompany the dishes /234/ of
[262] béchena, serve as a sauce, and also be taken as a drink. When they make long moves, the Tuareg carry a bag full of skim milk on their camels. This turns rapidly and gives a sour-tasting whey which is very refreshing. But milk is particularly appreciated for its by-products, butter and cheese.

234 Butter -- oudi -- is obtained by churning milk in a
[415 237] little leather bag; a woman shakes it on her knees, making it swing from right to left and from left to right. The butter col-
[237 415] lected is placed inside a sheep's horn which serves as a receptacle. When butter production exceeds daily consumption, the butter is placed in leather containers, in the shape of a flask, where the heat usually keeps it liquid or very fluid, except in winter when it is necessary to heat it to get it out of the container.

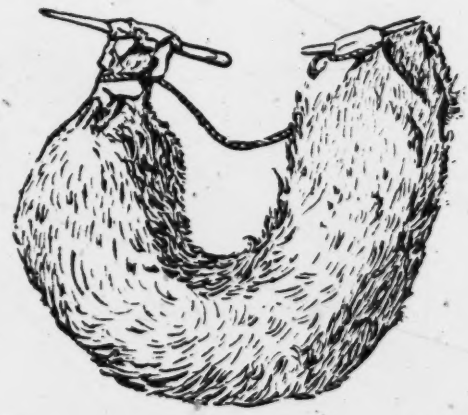

Fig. 32. Butter container made from the skin of a camel's neck.

Butter is mainly eaten as a sauce; béchena gruel or wheat
262 cakes are moistened with it. The Tuareg never cook it, as in fried foods.

In years when pasturage is particularly good, which assures an
234 abundance of milk from the animals, the Tuareg make cheese -- tikomaren. They sour the milk, squeeze the curds in little mats

234 to extract all the water, and then dry them on /235/ small screens placed in the branches of trees. It goes without saying that cheese making is very rare in the Ahaggar and that the Tuareg make it [438] particularly when they are nomadizing in the Sudan. Every year the Ihaggaren bring back large supplies of cheese from their stay in the Sudanese zone; these cheeses, dry as a bone, are either made by the Ihaggaren or bought from the southern tribes. They make 252 an important contribution to the Tuareg diet. These dry cheeses 262 are ground in a mortar and reduced to small fragments so that they have the consistency of flour. Then they are mixed with food, either in béchena gruel or in a drink of béchena flour and dates.

262 It might be supposed that meat plays a very large role in the Tuareg diet. But let us recall one of our old French proverbs which says that the shoemaker is always the worst shod. We could apply this adage to herders, who perhaps eat less meat than anyone else. A herder has animals for the use of their products, but he very seldom eats them, for each butchering is a loss of capital.

Indeed, the Tuareg kill their animals only under very unusual [233] circumstances, especially at the time of religious and family festivals. These killings recall somewhat the religious meaning of sacrifices. This does not mean that they do not like meat, for when they raid a rival camp, they hasten to make drastic inroads on the smaller livestock and eat until they are about to burst.

224 Hunting furnishes them a little additional meat. Each year 262 they kill a certain number of gazelles and wild sheep, eating part [251] of the meat fresh and drying the rest to keep it on hand.

They capture star lizards (Uromastix acanthinurus), jerboas, 222 gondi (Ctenodactylus sp.), sometimes even jackals and hares. We 262 can add to their meat diet grasshoppers (Shistocerca gregaria), [224] which they grill in the embers and then dry in order to pulverize [252] them. All Saharian nomads are very fond of grasshoppers, and since remotest antiquity some North African tribes are supposed to

232 of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks
[272] exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their
family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is
[438] consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes
233 excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled,
[234] and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and
[252] sometimes tents.
[262]
237

The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do
not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting
[232] them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact num-
ber of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon
[422] them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The
young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them,
and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used.
137 These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg,
have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier
cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass
hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal
had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is
nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the
[172] rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia
where they are called "onager."

The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible
233 that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihaggaren have
[174] kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had
[173] only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage,
492 and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also
[312] take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the
[357] heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

usually satisfied with milk, "akh, " fresh ("akh oua kefaïen" 264
) or sour ("akh iezza", ), at
the hour when the camels, sheep, or goats come in from pasture.

The basic food of the Ahaggar Tuareg consists of bechna, 262
"inelli" (white-grain sorghum, Graminaceae), dates, "teïni," and milk, "akh."

But their country provides them with many resources 22
which they are careful not to neglect, especially the poor, 556
the "tileqqiouin" , who constitute the majority.

All the "imr'ad" go to harvest the grains of "toulloult" 243.
and "afezzou." Women, children, youths, negroes and 221
negresses go into the wadis to gather the harvest, which takes place from May to June for "toulloult" and from July to the end of September for "afezzou." /29/

[000]
Dautheville

Idelés (Koudia)

Usually, before the harvest several wadis are forbidden territory, and camels are not led there until the harvest is finished.

The produce is gathered
and put into hide sacks. After the grains have dried, they 252
need only to be put onto small trays of "afezzou," called "tissiin," which are shaken, and the hulls fall off and remain on top. The grains are ground to powder, and a kind of gruel is made with water or butter.

The Tuareg are also very fond of "tikamarin" 234
, cheeses as hard as wood which they get from A'ir. They 252 262 438
grind them in mortars and mix them in their food.

They very seldom eat meat, except that of game which 262
they can kill in a hunt: gazelles, mountain sheep, and 224
antelopes. But often they prefer to smoke this game in order 251
to go and sell it in the Tidikelt. 438

There are also lucky or unlucky days. The lucky days, 777
those which are recommended for starting on a journey, are [484]
Friday after prayer, Saturday morning, and Monday. /63/
For the lucky day of the month one first counts 2 from the
index finger and, coming back to the index finger, 7, 12,
17, 22, 27.

The unlucky days are Sunday and Wednesday.

The Tuareg also believe in the evil eye, "tahott." 754

An eclipse is the sun's raid on the moon, and vice versa. 821

Finally, there is a very curious custom of which Duveyrier 769
has spoken, which is that of consulting old graves. Usually 787
it is the women who go to consult them. They dress well
and must avoid having on themselves anything of iron or steel,
even a needle. They lie down near the grave, and the
"zabbar" (ogre) inhabiting the grave appears to them in the
form of a giant with eyes as large as a camel's, and gives
them the answers they want. They are consulted especially
in order to get news of absent ones, people gone on a raid
or in a caravan, from whom there has been no news.

## Chapter IX

### Stock Raising. Flocks

Camels, sheep, and goats constitute the chief resource 233
of the Tuareg, as of all nomads. Camels especially are the
object of all their care, since these give them the greatest
service. They rely greatly on camels, ewes, and goats be- [234]
cause of the milk, of which they drink a great deal, and melted
butter, "oudi," which they make.

They use all the hides: those of camels for sandals, 237
containers for butter, watering troughs, etc.; those of sheep 281
or goats for waterskins and the manufacture of tents, leather
clothes, etc. /64/

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



132 During drought periods the uttermost poverty is the lot of the Ahaggar Tuareg,
262 who must then rely almost exclusively on agricultural products for their nourish-
ment. But in years of abundant rainfall they have much milk during the winter,
[234] and they make butter and cheese to be used during the hot season when milk even
in good years is scarce. They then also have meat for their sustenance but this is
less important than milk-food.

In good years the perennial plants do not form the most important fodder of the
137 domestic animals. For heavy rainfall will as if by magic change the barren country
233 outside the valleys. An extremely rich vegetation of annual grasses and herbs
springs up, and these tender plants constitute the very best fodder. But as, owing
to the irregularity of the rainfall, annual pastures will not appear every year, it is
difficult to breed other animals than goats and camels to which can be added
donkeys used exclusively as beasts of burden and for riding. It is true that most
Ahaggar Tuareg have a few sheep but none of them have cows (zebus). Cow-
breeding and also effective sheep-breeding cannot be practised in a country like
Ahaggar where for a period of years there may be no pastures of annual plants.
In dry years the thorny acacias form the most important fodder of camels and
goats, but the leaves of these trees cannot be eaten by cows and only with great
difficulty by sheep.

In Ahaggar rain may fall at most seasons as the country is situated on the
132 frontier of two different rainfall belts, namely that of the Mediterranean where
rain occurs mainly in winter, and that of the Sudan where rain will fall late in
summer. For a long period of years rain has fallen most abundantly late in summer,
but according to Dubiéf this has not always been so. Not many years ago rainfall
was almost equally common at all seasons (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23), and Ahaggar
137 still has the characteristics of two distinct climatic zones, likewise as botanically it
belongs both to the Mediterranean and to the Sudan.

On my camel journey from Ahaggar to Air via the wells of In Ebeggi and In
[132] Azaoua in April 1955 I experienced a rapid change of climatical and botanical
conditions. At the outskirts of the southern slopes of the Ahaggar Mountains a
persistent vegetation is very scarce in the valleys, and between the two above-
mentioned wells there are practically no permanent plants. Broadly speaking the
[133] desert region between Ahaggar and Air is nothing but plains of gravel and stone
interspersed with rocks and hills. But a little scattered rain will occur even in these
[132] regions and gives rise to annual pastures which are utilized by passing caravans.
Otherwise the country is uninhabitable.

In the northernmost part of the Air massif acacias and tufts of perennial grasses
grow in most valleys as in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Mountains. But compared
with Ahaggar permanent vegetation is very rich and in places forms almost
impenetrable jungles of trees and brushwood. Further south in Air perenniel plants
including trees are very common also outside the valleys, and the country south of
the massif very rapidly changes into a kind of steppe or open savannah. The com-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



262 Even when grazing is good stock-breeding products are less important for food
[222] In Ahaggar than in Air as is illustrated in fig. 3 depicting the relative importance of milk food and vegetable food. A small part of the vegetable food is provided by collecting seeds of grasses and herbs, while roots, stems, and berries of wild plants are less significant. The bulk of Tuareg plant food consists of millet, barley, wheat,
[241] and dates. In Ahaggar many Tuareg have gardens with wheat and barley cultivated
[563] for them by black-skinned agriculturists generally known by the Arab word
438 *Haratin* (*Izzegaren* to the Tuareg). But most Ahaggar Tuareg acquire the bulk of their plant food from caravan trading with the oases of Tidikelt (dates) and with
262 Sudanese villages as far south as Zinder (millet). Even in years of drought they can obtain millet from the Sudan in exchange for rock-salt broken at Amadror north-east of Ahaggar. In Air caravan trading with salt seems less necessary to Tuareg subsistence, although there are also in this country Tuareg who trade with salt from Amadror or Bilma. Most pastoral households however have a fairly regular
[234] surplus of livestock, butter, and cheese which can provide for the necessary amount
[563] of millet bought in Agadez or south of the massif in Damergou. There are also
241 in Air a great many negroid agriculturists from whom pastoral Tuareg can buy
262 vegetable products. But millet, which forms the prominent part of Tuareg plant
[438] food, is grown to a very slight extent by the agriculturists of Air. Dates are important in particular to the Ahaggar Tuareg who acquire large quantities from the oases of Tidikelt. There are also a few Ahaggar clans the members of which own half-wild palms with dates of an inferior quality, as there are Tuareg who have a few palms growing in their garden plots. In Air dates are not so important for food but even there pastoral Tuareg may have some palms. Among the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer it is very common for pastoralists to sow wheat and barley in the river valleys when these have been heavily flooded (Nicolaisen 1954, p. 83, 88), and this primitive agricultural method was apparently known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg in the past (Duveyrier 1864, p. 372). More recently many pastoral Tuareg
[312] of Ahaggar and Air have taken up agriculture by means of irrigation. There seems
[221] to be a tendency towards semi-nomadism among the Tuareg who are very dependent on vegetable food derived from agriculture.

### *The Negroes Of The Sahara.*

136 In the above section on Tuareg ecology it is stated that Air climatically and botanically is closely linked with the Sudan. This is true also zoologically as the Air fauna contains a great many species of birds and mammals characteristic of tropical Africa. The bird life of Air seems very akin to that of the Sudanese savannah, and, for instance, guinea fowls are extremely common even in valleys of the northernmost parts of the massif. As examples of tropical mammal life in Air we may here mention that the wart-hog lives in Central Air, and that oryx antelopes

[Text continues on p. 76]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



565 Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Rela clan, but as he now lives outside of
614 Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

643 In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to
651 noble Kel Rela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Rela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Iskkemaren class, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Rela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139ff.).

Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known
643 as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order
651 to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the
579 Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *emnehet*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347f.).

The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was
565 also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg.
614 But the relation (*temaẓlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals
651 and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another.
233 The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And
511 the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little
[234] when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food,
[262] but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar
[574] Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft,
[281] as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only
[237] for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food. 233 511 [492] [439]

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like. [234] [262] [291] [291] [283]

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats, of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Rela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temażlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. [422] [565] [114] 565 651 [421] [431]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Aggar



173 is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to
565 be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain
[114] an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and
184 vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's
565 milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much import-
492 ance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble
[234] Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

184 Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects,
565 and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:– 1) In noble
[583] clans bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal clans one to three camels which may be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas
[422] true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Rali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble
[342] Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post – that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-
[614] breeding clan Iregenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed
[173] marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. – Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Iregenaten Tuareg met in Air.

342 Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently
184 referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. – Lhote

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Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925–30, I–II). 3) As mentioned (p. 119) camel's milk is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly also among the Kel Ajjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors (Monteil 1952, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. 4) All Tuareg and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf to deceive the mother animal during milking – for camels like cows will not generally yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or butter as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. – Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of riding camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg, and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East Africa have the same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection with camel-breeding (Monteil 1952, p. 103).

171 234 [302] [262] 171 237 [525] [261] 171 233 [825] 171 233 422

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts like those of Air are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullemmeden, and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country – in particular those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. – Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156f. – Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f., 597f., V, p. 201. – Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. –

171 174 233 342 184 342

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*233 The actual number of such terms is not known to me, and the Tuareg say they are almost innumerable.
192 A colour term connected with an age term will, as mentioned above, generally be sufficient to describe the appearance of any animal, but colour terms have practical value also in another sense. They are, as the Tuareg put it, like names of men and dogs, and are used by the women to call individual animals to be milked. The names are then followed by a special sound (cf. p. 39, 135).

It is remarkable how intimately goats are attached to their masters. If the flock, as often happens, is grazing alone at some distance from the camp in the evening after darkness, it will immediately gather round the tents, when a special cry is uttered, or if the dogs bark. On the utterance of another cry by the goatherd the whole flock of goats will follow her quickly. On the whole goat herding is easy, and even very big flocks can be guarded by a single boy, or a girl. Kids still too young to follow the flock during grazing normally browse around the camp all day. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer these kids will not, as a rule, be let out of the sight of the camp, but this is not so in Ayr where vegetation is very dense in the river valleys. Kids in the latter area easily get lost and eaten by the numerous jackals. In order to know where the kids are a woman, while occupied with her domestic task in the tent, utters at short intervals a sharp, shrill cry to which the kids respond by bleating loudly.

*233 Goats are chiefly useful for the milk they provide. In general, goat-breeding is organized in such
[234] a way that the maximum possible milk is obtained by the nomads, and kids are allowed to suck freely only for a short period after birth. At this period a kid is known as *asarwas*, which term is used for all sucklings without restriction. The duration of the entire period of suckling is dependent on the pasture. If grazing is good, the kids will suck for two to four weeks, while under severe conditions the period of suckling may be up to two months.

To prevent kids from drinking more than their proper share of milk the Tuareg use various devices.
*233 In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer small kids are frequently placed in stone enclosures (*afror*). Such
417 enclosures are also used to prevent kids from following the mother animals when the flock leaves the camp for grazing in the morning, and they serve as a protection against beasts of prey during the night. They are about one metre high, and have a diametre of about one metre (cf. Fig. 17). Similar stone enclosures are said to exist among the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg but not elsewhere in Ayr, where the Tuareg generally make larger round enclosures from boughs of thorny acacias, so that one enclosure is big enough for all kids of a household. These enclosures are often known as *zeriba* (Ar.), but the proper Tuareg name is *afarag* (in the north *afarag*). They are said to be used also by certain Northern
*233 Tuareg who camp in the lowland where acacias are common. To prevent small kids from running away, get lost or eaten by jackals, the Tuareg may attach them to a tree or to one of the tent-posts by one of their hind legs, which attachment is known as *témdit* among the Ayr Tuareg. Kids are also sometimes tied with a cord around their necks to prevent suckling when the mother animals are resting in the camp. If there are very few kids they are frequently attached to individual cords (sing. *témetrek*), but several kids are also frequently tied to one and the same cord, which is then known as *éseddi* or *aseddi*. Such a cord has several loops into which the heads of the kids are put, while the other end
[171] of the cord or rope is fastened to pegs or trees. These methods are not only practised by the Tuareg. I have frequently seen them in use also among pastoral Arabs of the Sahara and of the Algerian High Plateau.

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end of the *akasa* season. In other words:— When the inhabitants of a camp have their collectively guarded goats divided into two parts, one of these brings forth kids at the time when the other is mated. 233* 132

This method of mating-regulation is that ideally used by prosperous goat-breeders both in Ayr and among the Northern Tuareg. If in the north a flock is divided into two parts the kids are born in autumn (*amewan*), and in spring (*tafsit*) the former season being the better. Kids brought forth between these two seasons are known as *amesahar*. But as climatic conditions and consequently also the quality of pastures change from one year to another in the true desert country, the mating-system of division into halves cannot always be practised in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. In severe periods of drought goats may be too meagre for mating for a whole year or even longer, during which time the he-goats will have their penis bound. Thus during the dry year 1954/55 no goats were mated in Ahaggar. – It should be noted that the best season for the birth of kids is the late summer or the autumn (*akasa*, *amewan*) when the tender annual plants spring up. Kids borne at this season will be fully grown for mating after one year so that they bring forth kids at the season of spring (*tafsit*, or *tabsit*), while kids born in spring will be mated after a year to bring forth kids late in summer or in autumn (*akasa*, or *amewan*).

Milking takes place twice daily – early in the morning before the flock leaves for grazing, and late in the evening one or two hours after the return of the animals to the camp. Milking is done by women, or occasionally by male slaves. The individual animals to be milked are frequently called by their names and a special sucking sound is made to calm the animals, which are milked differently in Ayr and Ahaggar. In Ahaggar the milk-maid holds the wooden milk-bowl (*akus*; Fig. 21 b) in her left hand, presses the left hind leg of the goat firmly under the upper part of her right arm, while she milks with her right hand (Fig. 23–24). In Ayr milking of goats is frequently performed in a standing position the milk-maid then holding the milk-bowl (*takabart*; Fig. 37) in her left hand, keeping the left hind leg of the animal firmly between her knees, and milking with her right hand. If the milk-maid milks 234 [462] [192] [184] [415]

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Fig. 18. The little stick (*akara*, *asafes*) used by the Northern Tuareg to prevent half-grown kids from sucking. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: the stick 0.056 m; the cords 0.330–0.380 m. (N.M. G. 5825).

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Fig. 19. Photograph illustrating how the stick (*akara, asedres*) is attached to the head of a kid. This photograph shows the semi-nomadic Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

234 squatting, she puts the left hind leg of the goat between her right thigh and calf. Goat-milk is drunk,
[262] added to food, or made into butter and cheese as described in detail p. 221 ff. Both in Ayr and in Ahaggar it is claimed that goats under favourable conditions yield about two litres of milk a day. But this is to be considered the maximum yield obtained only from goats with young kids when fresh-green annual pasture is available.

*233 Meat is not a staple food among the Tuareg. Most of them are reluctant to kill their animals except
[262] at certain feasts. But most meat eaten by the Tuareg is goat's meat. In Ayr I was told that some pastoralists keep their goats as well as other domestic animals as long as possible, that is until the animals die a natural death. However, the Tuareg are generally not so irrational. They say that goats may live for about twenty years, and that they are capable of bringing forth kids and yield milk until 15 years old. When goats have reached that age they are sold or killed, but many Tuareg prefer for obvious reasons to keep their milk-goats only to an age of eight or ten years. There is a limit to the number of goats that can be bred by the members of a small camp, because it is not possible to have more than a certain number of goats in one and the same flock, and there will not always be sufficient labour to tend several flocks. Therefore it is evidently preferable to substitute old milk-goats with

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*233 128 their flocks, but it is, on the whole, inproper to show any interest in their animals. Some nomads will
[177] even claim that although they know all their goats by sight, they do not know, or never mention, the total number of their animals, as this is believed to bring bad luck. This belief is probably explained by the idea of the evil eye. To this may be added that it is difficult to judge the ownership of goats by merely watching the flock of a household which may also have animals grazing on other pastures.

*233 According to official statistics for 1948, the average number of goats per household among the *Kel Ahaggar* is fifteen (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). This figure is probably derived from the tax lists, and it seems to be much too low – even when households of slaves and sedentary agriculturists are included. Lhote has stated that the number of goats per person, under ideal conditions, is 35–40. If they increase above this, the surplus is slaughtered or sold to the sedentary peoples of the oases (Lhote 1951a, p. 9). This latter figure for ownership of goats under ideal conditions is probably true for the
*233 565 more wealthy Tuareg of Ahaggar. Thus among the vassal Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe many household are said to possess 100–200 goats, but this tribe is considered extremely rich in goats, and households of other tribes will not generally own so many animals. From rough calculations made in a great many camps of vassal Tuareg, and Tuareg of the *Isekkemaren* class, I estimate that households on an average possess 60–70 goats when pastures are not too badly developed, for it must be emphasized that the size of flocks changes with climatic conditions. For the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar I estimate, on the basis of calculations made at Amsel, Abalessa, and Taṛhawhawt, that a household possesses on average 15–20 goats.

● 234 In good years the amount of milk products supplied by a flock of 60 goats is rather considerable. This is clear when we consider the fact that a goat, during the period of three to four months in autumn and early winter when pasture of annual plants is green, will yield up to two litres of milk every day. When annual pasture gets dry the milk yield decreases but milk is still comparatively plentiful
[278] and important for food all the winter. In summer, however, there is little milk for reasons already
*233 referred to, and in dry years goats, even in the cold season, yield little or no milk. The flocks decrease during such periods of drought and some nomads may even lose most of their animals. During my stay among the Tuareg of Ahnet and Ahaggar from November 1954 to April 1955, goats suffered much from lack of fodder. In many camps one or two goats died of hunger every day.

*233 The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot subsist entirely on goat-breeding because severe droughts occur
731 frequently in their country. During drought-periods the goats are so to speak valueless as subsistence for the nomads. But it is remarkable that goats emaciated in consequence of severe drought quickly grow fat and start to yield milk once rain has fallen abundantly enough for the regeneration of pastures. In connection with this we shall point to another characteristic of goat-breeding: The animals have a very short gestation period, and the kids are fully grown for mating in one year. And as one goat may have four kids annually with free mating, a household, which has lost most animals during a drought, will be able very quickly to re-establish a flock large enough for its needs.

*233 Goats are also highly important for the subsistence of the pastoral Tuareg of Ayr. I do not know of any statistic material about the size of flocks in this area, but for Tuareg of Kidal (Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas) flocks are officially estimated at 74 goats and sheep per household (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 269), and this region is environmentally related to Southern Ayr. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that a household

[Text continues on p. 45]

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Fig. 23. Slave boy milking goats – a task which is normally performed by women. The milk-bowl is held in the left hand, and the milking is done with the right hand, while the goat's left hind leg is held fast beneath the right upper arm. Ahaggar, the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

GOAT MILKING

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Fig. 24. Tuareg milkmaid milking a goat as described Fig. 23. Ahaggar, the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

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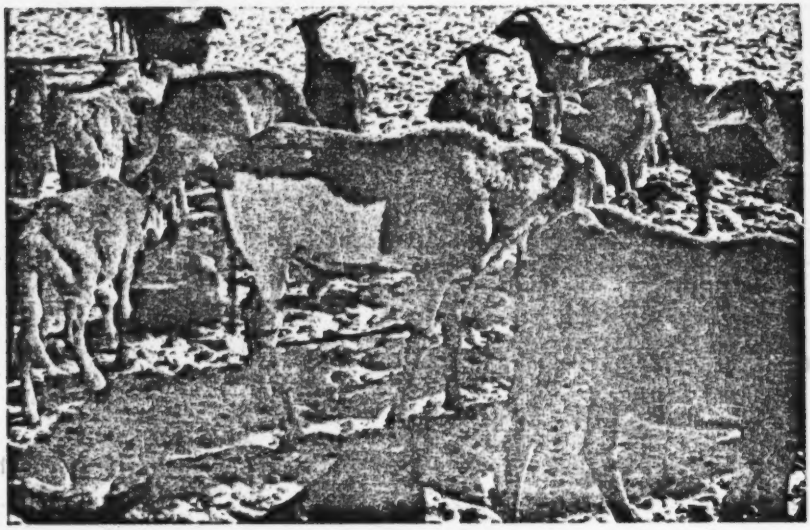

Fig. 25. Ram prevented from mating by means of a cord (*ufun*) tied around the foreskin of the penis and also around the scrotum. A longitudinal hobble-rope (*amahus*) also serves to prevent copulation.
Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terurit* tribe.

[435] the price of sheep for slaughtering is very high compared with the price of goats. Sheep are also con-
[782] sidered the proper animals for Islamic sacrifices, and it should be added that sheepskin is considered
[237] very suitable for the manufacture of certain articles (cf. p. 288 & p. 298; Figs. 232, 240).

[825] The Tuareg say that sheep are more "stupid" or less "intelligent" than goats. Sheep do not respond to their names, they get more easily lost during grazing, and they do not return to the camp by themselves. It is difficult to herd sheep if there are no goats in the flock. Among the Tuareg, as elsewhere in North Africa, sheep and goats are normally mixed in one flock. The goats then always march at the head of the flock, obeying the orders of the herdsman, while the sheep follow behind. It may happen, however, that goats and sheep become divided during grazing, as goats march too quickly for sheep to follow them, while on long journeys sheep show more endurance than goats.

The techniques of sheep-breeding are largely identical with those of goat-breeding mentioned above.
●234 It should be observed, however, that goats can be milked without any difficulty whether they have kids or not, while this is not always so with sheep. It is said that they are more easily milked when they have lambs. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr I have noted more than once that a good milch-sheep which had lost its lamb was given another lamb belonging to a sheep yielding less milk.

*233 Sheep can lamb until an age of seven or eight years, but it is considered appropriate to kill them for

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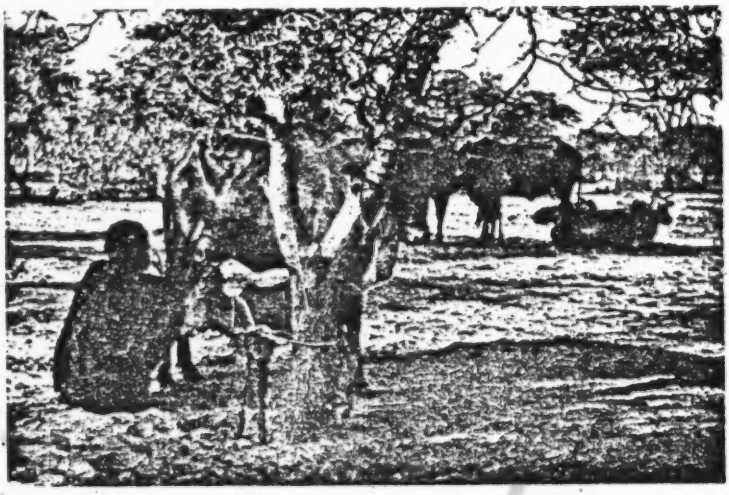

Fig. 29. Milking a cow. The calf is attached to a tree by means of a cord (*témetrek*) around its neck, the mother cow being attached to the same tree with a cord (*aṛan*) around its horns.
Ayr, Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group.

*233 Zebus are able to cross the barren desert country of the Sahara in winter, and even with so hot a temperature, as that prevailing at the end of April, I have met Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* tribe leading zebus from Northern Ayr to Tamaṛaset in Ahaggar.

The Ayr Tuareg seem to admit that they have always had zebus, but they say that in the past they had very few cattle. Nowadays there are zebus in so to speak all camps and villages of the Massif and in the plains to the west of it. At the village of Iferwan sedentary farmers possess three to four animals per household, and figures are much bigger for households of true pastoralists. It is quite normal for a nomadic household to possess a dozen zebus, and this is true even of pastoral Tuareg roaming in the northern outskirts of Ayr where precipitation is lower than in the south.

In fact zebu-breeding is a very profitable industry to the nomads, the more so as very little work is connected with it. The animals leave the camp early in the morning to return again entirely by themselves in the evening before darkness. They are never accompanied by herdsmen as there are no beasts of prey strong enough to attack them nowadays. I have met Tuareg who were evidently very fond of [17] their zebus, but they never showed the same interest towards their cattle as do the Fulani, who always accompany their herds. During grazing Tuareg zebus normally roam freely, but certain animals which are difficult to get hold of are provided with a cord (*aṛan*) around their horns to which cord is attached [36b] a long piece of wood trailing on the ground. When oxen are driven to the market place (at Agadez or Ingal) for selling,

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or Ingal) for selling, they are also frequently provided with a wooden prong (*aburl*) loosely attached around one foreleg to prevent them running away. I have never seen this practised among the Fulani who have much more control over their cattle than have the Ayr Tuareg. 233* [17]

Cows continue to bring forth calves and yield milk until they are about 15 years old, and the duration of their life is estimated at about 20 years. But it is considered appropriate to keep milch-cows until they are ten or twelve years old when they should be sold or killed. The period of gestation for cows is about ten months, and there is no regulation of mating. The Tuareg say that cows will be on heat and mate again shortly after the birth of a calf, and that milk-yielding does not stop until five months after mating. Free mating of the cows agrees well with Tuareg interests as prices of calves are high. [435]

Milking of cows takes place twice daily and is generally done by women – in rare cases by men. 234 [462] Milking is performed as follows:— Just before the herd returns from grazing in the evening every calf is firmly attached to a tree by means of a cord (*temetrek*) around its neck so that it cannot reach the udder of the mother cow. When milking is to take place the mother cow is attached to the same tree by means of a cord (*aran*) around its horns. The calf's rope is now loosened and it will immediately start to suck while the milk-maid fastenes another rope or cord (*akarab*) around the hind legs of the cow. When this is done the calf is attached to its tree again, and milking begins. The milk-maid squats at one side of the cow (generally at the right side) holding the large milking bowl (*akabar*) (Fig. 37) between her legs and knees, and milks with both hands (Fig. 29). When the milk-maid has taken the milk she wants she releases the calf to let it drink what is left in the udder, but the calf is thereupon attached to its tree again in order that it may not suck during the night. Before the cows leave the camp in the morning milking is performed again as just described, but it may happen that the cows leave for grazing already during the night, and they are then not milked again until next evening. Tuareg who possess a great many calves may guard them within a so-called *zeriba* (*afaraq*) made of thorny acacia boughs. [417]

Most cows will not yield milk unless they have their calves close to them. If a cow loses its calf it may be replaced with the calf of another cow so that milking can be done, but it is also common to use the so-called dummy-calf (*azeyuz*) made from the dead calf's skin stuffed with hay. This puppet is then set close to the cow which is deceived by it. It feels that its calf is standing by, it licks the skin, and milking can then be done without much difficulty. [237]

The dummy-calf is not used by the zebu-owning agriculturists of Ahaggar, though I have met one of these *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*) who had once made a calfskin-puppet after he had seen the method practised among *Iforas* Tuareg at Kidal. The method of blowing into the cow's vulva is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *askuf*; it is used particularly for cows which are difficult to milk shortly after the birth of a calf. During migrations, when young calves march together with the mother cows, suckling is prevented by means of a piece of dum palm leaf attached around the calves' mouths. Such an attachment known to the Ayr Tuareg as *adabar* may be used also for other domestic animals.

Weaning of calves takes place according to one of the following methods:— (1) *ikembar*, that is cuttings made with a knife in two or three places on the bridge of the calf's nose. The wounds of these cuts hurt the calf when it tries to suck, but the method is effective only for a very short period until the wounds have healed. On adult animals the scars of these wounds appear as small bumps (Fig. 30). 233*

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Fig. 30. Young zebu ox with *ikembar*, that is cuts made with a knife on the bridge of the animal's nose, and with a cord (*asabar*) placed through the nostrils. Ayr, sedentary *Kel Ewey* Tuareg near Agadez.

(2) *tabellut*, that is a small pronged stick about 40 centimetres long placed through the nostrils of the calf which is thus prevented from reaching its mother's udder (Fig. 31). (3) *ikemban*, that is two small pointed sticks crossing each other and attached over the calf's nosebridge. When the calf tries to suck it hurts the udder of the mother cow which will kick the calf away. I have only seen this device once in Southern Ayr, and I am not quite sure that the term mentioned is correctly spelled, as I did not take it down in *ufinar*. (4) *akimbab*, that is a muzzle. It is not in general use among the Ayr Tuareg
[184] though they know of it. It is in current use among the Tuareg of the plains west of the Massif (Tamesna)
[131] where I have seen it among the *Ireḡenaten* Tuareg, who politically belong to the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group of Ahaggar (Fig. 32). I have seen the same device also known as *akimbab* among the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Western Iwllemmeden*. Similar muzzles are used among the *Iwllemmeden* around Meneka (Musée de l'homme, nos. 36.44.50 & 41.19. 1111–1114) and also among the Tuareg of Adrar-n-Foras (Musée de Neuchâtel, no. 49.2.39). – These are the weaning devices used in Ayr, the method most commonly applied being that known as *tabellut*, the small pronged stick passed through the calf's nostrils.

● 234 Cow's milk is drunk fresh, added to food, or made into butter and cheese according to methods
[262] described in a later chapter. The Tuareg say that an extremely good milch-cow yields up to seven litres of milk a day. This agrees with Doutressoulle's statement that cows of the *Azawaṛ* breed yield six to eight litres daily at the beginning of their lactation period, while at the end of this period the daily

yield decreases to about two litres (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 104). It should be added that, as for other domestic animals, the daily yield of milk depends very much on the conditions of pastures, and cows always yield little milk when pastures are dry – even at the beginning of their lactation period. 234

Bulls are frequently castrated two or three years old to be used for riding and transportation. Oxen are used for this purpose particularly among the Tuareg of the plains towards the south and west, while most pastoralists of the Massii almost exclusively use donkeys and camels. Oxen are ridden without a saddle. The rider sits on the back of the animal which is covered with a blanket or a piece of cotton as in Ahaggar. The animals have a cord (*asabar*) placed through their nostrils, but plaited halters (*amerar*) are also used for riding oxen. 492 [232] [184]

The Tuareg have terms to cover the age and sex of their cattle, and they also have a certain number of colour terms; but they say that there are very few colour terms for cattle (about ten terms according to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group). They explain this lack of colour terms by the fact that cattle did not play any important rôle to their subsistence in the past. Cattle do not respond to their names, but some of them will come to the camp on the utterance of a certain cry (cf. p. 135). 233* 192 [433] [178]

233* [283] →

Fig. 31. Zebu calf with a pronged stick (*tabellut*) put through its nostrils to prevent sucking. Ayr, the *Isakaranan* tribe.
Fig. 32. Muzzle (*akimbab*) to wean zebu calves. The muzzle is made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*) which form a frame covered with cords of *tamat* bast and with cotton strips. It is fastened to the head of a calf with a piece of cord plaited of goat's hair, and the attachment is done in such a way that the calf can graze without difficulty though it cannot suck. Tamesna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Iregenaten* tribe. Dimension: 0.17–0.19 m high. (N. M. G. 6661). [824]

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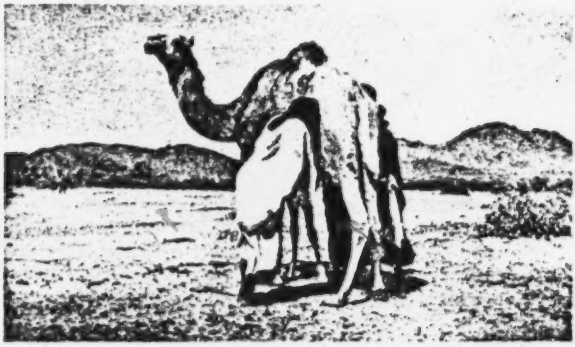

Fig. 36. Two Ayr Tuareg milking a she-camel with the colour name *tawizak*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

They draw out the placenta (in Ayr known as *t'imidin*) by the attachment of a heavy stone to the membrane (*abayor*). It is also common a few hours after birth to draw a little milk from the mother camel and pour this milk into the calf's mouth in order that the new-born animal may be able to stand upright and suck its mother quickly. When this has been done it is normal to bleed the mother-camel. Some milk drawn on the day a she-camel has borne a calf is frequently consumed by the Tuareg (cf. *éderes*, p. 221), but with this exception the new-born calf is allowed to drink all its mother's milk for the first days after birth. The period during which the calf sucks freely varies. It depends on the yield of the mother-camel and is also determined by the amount of milk available to the owners from other animals. Milking may exceptionally start already four or five days after birth, but this is not normal. The calf is frequently allowed all milk for a fortnight, or even for a whole month. In Ahaggar when pastures are very dry it is quite normal not to milk a mother-camel at all for a still longer period. 233* [272] [234]

The entire suckling period, that is the period in which the calf is allowed to drink part of its mother's milk, including the short period when it sucks freely, also varies. But here there is one main rule: a calf is allowed to suck as long as its mother-camel is milked, for she-camels, like cows, do not generally yield milk unless they have their calves close to them. It is normal to mate a she-camel about one year after the birth of a calf. She will then yield milk for about six months after mating, so that the total suckling period is about 18 months, at the end of which period the calf will be allowed very little milk. If a she-camel is not mated so soon it may yield milk for a longer period, and the suckling period may even be up to about two years when the calf is a grown animal almost as big as its mother. 233* 234

There are various methods to secure milking in case a camel has lost its calf. The dead calf may be substituted by another calf, but the dummy-calf is also used with she-camels. This device is known as *ahayoy* (Ahaggar), or *azeyuz* (Ayr). Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr it is claimed that some she-camels can be milked without their calves if their udder is patted in a particular way with the hands – which treatment is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the name *ewlewl*. The method of blowing into the vagina described above for cows (p. 51) is never employed with she-camels. But there is another method for 234

[text continues on p. 59]

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Fig. 37. Wooden milk-bowl (*akabar*) of the type used in Ayr not only for she-camels but also for cows, sheep, and goats. It is carved out of wood of the *turza* tree (*turha* in Ahaggar) (*Calotropis procera*) by a blacksmith. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.285 m high. (N.M. G. 6662).

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Fig. 38. Wooden milk-bowl (*akabar*) of the type used for she-camels in Ahaggar. It was introduced to Ahaggar from the south where it was made by an Ayr blacksmith from wood of the *turha* tree (*Calotropis procera*). The cracked brim is mended with a piece of raw camel hide. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-trhli* tribe. Dimension: 0.240 m high. (N.M. G. 5822).

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Fig. 39. A very young camel calf tethered in the camp by means of the *témdit* rope depicted below (Fig. 40). Tamesna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Ireqnoten* tribe.

she-camels which are difficult to milk because they will not allow the calf to suck. The method has been described to me by Tuareg of Ayr. It is named *arazak* and is as follows:— Fresh camel-dung is put into the nostrils of the mother-camel, and its nose is thereupon pierced at three places with an awl a hole being made in each nostril and one hole between them. A cord of dum palm leaf is thereupon drawn through these three holes so that the nostrils are firmly closed, and the animal can consequently breathe only through the mouth. It is said that a she-camel which has carried this bandage for one day will be fond of its calf and will allow it to suck so that milking can be done. 234 [412]

Milking of she-camels is usually done twice a day, early in the morning and very late in the evening. In Ayr certain Tuareg milk their she-camels several times during the day, as the animals generally graze close to the camp and frequently come to the tents to see their calves. Milking between the two proper milking times may also be done with other domestic animals in Ayr if milk is needed for some purpose or other during the day, but it is practised particularly with she-camels, as milk gathers in the udder of these animals very quickly after milking.

Milking of she-camels is done by two men standing at the sides of the she-camel and leaning their heads against the animal (Fig. 36). One of the men holds the large wooden milk-bowl *akabar* (Figs. 37–38) [462] [415]

[text continues on p. 61]

37–38) and milks only with one hand, but the milk-bowl may also be held by a woman or a boy so that both milkers have two hands free. If men are absent from the camp, milking may be done by women though properly this is the task of grown men. Certain she-camels are very difficult to milk so that milking should be done as quickly as possible. If a she-camel is very restless and therefore difficult to milk it is customary to bend up its right foreleg and attach it in this bent position to its left foreleg before milking is done. This method is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the term *ésemmetil* (cf. Fig. 35). 234 [462]

The Tuareg have various devices to prevent camel calves from drinking more than their proper share of milk. In Ayr and also among the Ahaggar Tuareg of the Tamesna region it is common to keep the young calves tethered by means of a particular cord (*témdit*) fastened to the calf's forelegs (Fig. 39–40). The calf is not allowed to follow its mother during grazing, and in the night when all she-camels rest in the camp they are kept lying on the ground so that the calves cannot suck them. When young calves are tethered in the camp they are fed on fresh annual plants collected for them by the Tuareg. When calves grow older and plant food constitutes their most important nourishment, 233* [824]

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Fig. 41. Plaited pouch (*abeǵu*) to prevent the sucking of camel calves. It is made of goat's hair, and it has three cords for attachment to the hind part of the she-camel so that the pouch covers the udder. Ahaggar, the *Aǵuh-en-tehld* tribe. Dimension of the three cords: 1.19, 1.05, and 0.97 m. (N.M. G. 5198).

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Fig. 42. She-camel provided with the plaited pouch (*abegu*) which covers its udder. The pouch is attached as follows:— A cord is tied around the body in front of the animal's hump while another cord runs along the back at both sides of the hump to pass under the tail. The three cords which form part of the pouch are tied to the tail cord in front of the hind thighs and at the tail. To milk a she-camel carrying a pouch around its udder the hind pouch-cord fastened to the animal's tail is untied. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

● [234]

*233 they are hobbled by means of a cord (*téffart*) attached around their forelegs (p. 72, Fig. 45b–e) and
[284] are kept away from the mother animals during grazing in day-time. In Ahaggar as well as elsewhere in Northern Tuareg country suckling of calves are normally regulated by another method, namely a plaited pouch (*abegu*) which covers the udder of the mother camel, and the calf can thus be allowed to graze freely together with its mother (Fig. 41–42). This device is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr as *ébeyembey*, but though they know it by name they do not use it. They say, however, that it is in use among the *Kel Ewey* of the Ayr Massif.

The plaited pouch just described also serves as a means of weaning half-grown calves, but there are other weaning methods, namely the following:— (1) *ikembar*, that is cuttings on the bridge of the nose as described above for cow calves (p. 51). In addition to these cuttings, the scars of which form small bumps, it is common to cut the calf also under the chin, the visible result of such a cut being a hanging patch of skin. This method is known both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, and it is, I believe, nowadays carried out mainly for aesthetic reasons as the bumps and the hanging patch of skin adds, in Tuareg opinion, to the beauty of riding camels (Fig. 43). In fact, the cut made under the chin does not seem to hurt a sucking calf, and this cut is not made on cow calves (cf. Fig. 30). – (2) A method
[114] which is described by Cauvet from the oasis of In Salah may perhaps also be known to the Northern Tuareg though I have not recorded it. It consists of a thorn put into a patch of skin cut loose on the

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bridge of the nose of a calf, so that it hurts its mother when it tries to suck (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 359). – 233*
(3) *akimbab*, that is a plaited muzzle which allows the calf to graze, but prevents it from sucking. I have been told both in Ahaggar and Ayr that such muzzles are used for camel calves, but apparently they do not constitute a normal weaning method. – (4) *asedres* or *ameru* are said to be synonymous terms for the weaning method generally adopted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. The method is as follows:— The upper lip of the calf is pierced on both sides of the harelip so characteristic of all camels. A piece of thin root of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) is drawn through these holes so [824]
that the ends of the root protude at both sides, and a knot is made at both ends that the root will not fall out. These knots hurt the udder of a she-camel when the calf starts to suck, but this is not the real idea of the device. For the root-piece keeps the pierced holes open and the calf is therefore unable to suck at all.

A she-camel may yield about ten litres of milk at the beginning of its lactation period, but at the 234
end of this period it does not yield more than two or three litres even with good grazing. The yield is always dependent on grazing conditions. Thus during my stay in Ahnet and Ahaggar 1954–55, a Tuareg who owned about twenty she-camels acquired only two litres of milk a day in all from these animals. But conditions of camel-breeding are much better in Ayr and in the southern plains where [433]
she-camels are tolerably good milk-yielders most of the year, and camel's milk is therefore very important to some pastoralists of these regions. Camel's milk is drunk and not generally used for food [272]
in other ways. It is much esteemed by all Tuareg, who claim that it possesses a particular power and gives strength. It is never stored in the shape of butter or cheese. The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr [262]
never eat camel's butter which they consider possesses a poor taste, and, besides, it is very difficult to churn. They make butter of camel's milk only when butter of milk from other domestic animals is [302]
lacking for the greasing of the hair. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr butter is then churned by the men in a rather peculiar way:— A skin bag containing an amount of camel's milk is attached to the riding [415]
saddle of a camel which is then ridden at very fast speed for some time. But even with this method, it is said, camel's milk gives very little butter, and it is also definitely stated that the milk cannot be used for cheese-making. These Tuareg statements seem to be confirmed by analyses of veterinaries, [114]
who claim camel's milk to contain very little casein, and it has been proved difficult to separate butter from camel's milk (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 707 ff.).

She-camels can mate and yield milk until an age of about 25, and their average length of life is 233*
estimated by the Tuareg at about 30 years. But pastoral Tuareg do not generally keep their camels until they die a natural death. In Ayr I was told that she-camels more than twenty years old should be sold or killed. Most Tuareg sell their old camels in the oases of the Central or Northern Sahara [432]
where a large population of sedentary farmers is constantly yearning for meat. Very few camels are [366]
killed by the butchers of Agadez, where meat from oxen, sheep, and goats is always available and [262]
fairly cheap, but a great many old camels are slaughtered at the market places of the oases further north.

Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr very rarely kill their own camels to eat them. They will slaughter a camel 262
which suffers from some severe disease as all animals dying by accident or from disease are unlawful to eat. However, there are also some Ayr Tuareg who will never eat camel's meat. They say that they would feel very sick at heart were they to do so, and some Tuareg even say that they would vomit [261]

778 Religious beliefs also interfere with Tuareg stock-breeding and create usages of an irrational kind.
[23] Thus the Tuareg, like other North African peoples, firmly believe in the mystic benevolent power,
[171] or benediction, known as *elbaraka*. This is a power that emenates from God. It is given by God to
[784] man and it cannot act unless certain taboos, or rather religious prescriptions, are followed. The bene-
[783] diction *elbaraka* is more than anything else hurt by impurity. Cleanness is an absolute necessity for this good force to be sustained in the same way that a man cannot approach God through prayer if
[841] he be unclean. Women are considered unclean during their periods of menstruation and cannot, there-
[262] fore, then pray to God. They are also forbidden to drink the milk of domestic animals which have very young kids, lambs, or calves, and they must not drink water which has been conserved in newly-made skin-bags. These taboos are maintained in order not to hurt the benediction given the animals
778 by bringing it into contact with impurity. For the same reason milk taken from animals which have
784 recently brought forth young should not be given to strangers – they might be unclean and harm the
234 *elbaraka*. It is also believed that soil is an impurity dangerous to *elbaraka*, and milk must never be spilt on the ground. Even when milk-bowls are cleaned with water, this liquid should be poured out upon plants or stones, and never be spilt on the ground. Should this be done, God will withdraw his *elbaraka* and the result will be severe periods of drought without milk. I have frequently heard Tuareg ascribe the lack of rain and the dry pasture – the lack of *elbaraka* – to the fact that somebody had spilt milk upon the ground. This had caused God to be angry and to withdraw his benediction. Some Tuareg have also said that *elbaraka* is harmed by a person who blows upon milk. When a man drinks milk he must not blow away impurities before drinking but must remove them by means of a piece of straw.

*233 In the two groups of Northern Tuareg and also in Ayr it is considered very disgraceful for a person
577 who watches the animals away from camp to drink milk directly from an animal's udder. Some Tuareg
272 say that a man when staying alone among milk-yielding animals should not utilize their milk even if he performs milking in the usual way. A person who breaks these rules is called *émenkes* or *émelked* among the Ahaggar Tuareg, *émelked* in Ayr. The Tuareg say that there are some people, and in particular many slaves, who do not follow this rule, and that they are despised if known to have broken it. When two or more people are alone with a herd or flock away from the camp they can freely utilize the animals' milk. And it is very normal for camel herdsmen to live with a herd of she-camels in isolated places for long periods. They then live almost exclusively on camel's milk taken from the herd they guard.

272 Certain usages connected with stock-breeding are rationally explained by the Tuareg. Thus when they heat milk by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221) put into the milking bowl, they claim that this is done in order that the milk shall not get dirty as would happen were it heated in an ordinary cooking
272 pot. Another custom which by other stock-breeders has been explained as being based upon magic,
262 namely the usage not to drink milk and eat meat at the same time, is also rationally explained by the Tuareg. They say that there is no taboo on taking these kinds of food together, but it is very unwise to do so because the mixture will act as a laxative and upset the stomach. Therefore, if a Tuareg has drunk much milk he will not eat meat shortly afterwards, and if he has eaten meat he will not take milk for some hours, though he may do so should ample water have been added to the milk. The
*233 Tuareg to my knowledge have no other special customs in connection with stock-breeding and milk
234 than there mentioned

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Fig. 95. A Tuareg feeding his riding camel with *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Many Tuareg feed their riding animals with stems of this perennial grass – partly to obtain a docile camel for riding, partly to change its fodder which consists largely of acacias and annual plants. The photograph is taken near Agadez at the *akasa* season. Annual plants grow between trees and bushes (*afagag*, *Acacia Raddiana*; *ebezgin*, *Salvadora persica*; *iadent*, *Boscia senegalensis*). Ayr, the *Isakaraman* tribe.

234 than those mentioned. Thus they can use any kind of receptacle for milk and milking, and they do
415 not clean their milk-bowls with urine as is normal among certain East African stock-breeders, and,
237 perhaps, also among certain of the Fulani living south of Ayr. The taste of urine is detested by the
262 Tuareg, who know this taste all too well as the water drawn from pools and wells is frequently flavoured
237 with urine and the excrement of domestic animals. Nor is camel urine used by Tuareg women for
302 hairdressing as is done among the Arabs, but it is said that it may have a medical value in curing
752 wounds. The custom of drinking blood has been mentioned above (p. 122 f.) and will be described later (p. 235).

*233 The Tuareg apparently have comparatively few superstitious usages in stock-breeding, which is
232 mainly to be considered rational. We have seen that stock-breeding is adapted to environment, and we have also mentioned that there are veterinary methods which doubtless have their origin in considerable knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of domestic animals. This knowledge forms one corner-stone of rational stock-breeding, and another is the very detailed knowledge of botany. In
*233 Ahaggar there are more than 600 different plant species for which the Tuareg have particular names,
824 though a few related species are sometimes known by one and the same name. Every Tuareg know about the ecological conditions of these plants, and he knows exactly their fodder value for domestic animals. He knows that certain plants form excellent fodder for all domestic animals, but he is also well aware that the different types of stock have different needs, so that certain plant species are valuable for camels, other species for other domestic animals.

231 The Tuareg are occasionally cruel to donkeys, and to dogs, but they take the greatest care of all other domestic animals to ensure their wellbeing and reproduction. Women bring acacia pods or tender annual plants to kids, lambs, and calves, and to sick animals which remain in the camp. On
484 long trading expeditions, when the camels have little time for grazing, some Tuareg will walk along
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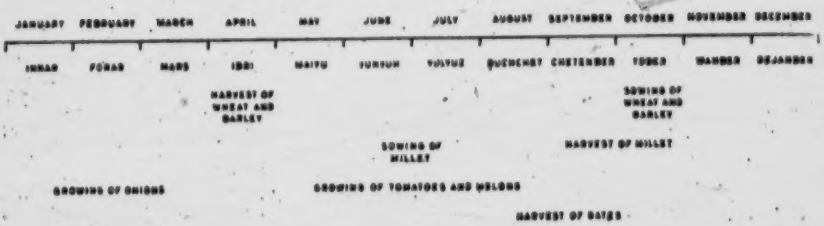


Fig. 139. Horticultural calendar from Ahaggar.

The Tuareg and the negroid agriculturists have a lunar calendar of twelve months corresponding to the Arab calendar, but a lunar calendar has no practical value for the indication of seasonal agricultural activities. The Julian Calendar is known to some people of Ahaggar as well as to other Berbers of the Sahara and the Atlas. Tuareg names of Julian months are given above. Very few people in Ahaggar know the exact beginning and the end of the twelve Julian months, but a few names are used as seasonal terms: *innar* "midwinter", *mars* = "beginning of spring", *ibri* "early harvest" (of wheat and barley), *muiyu* "beginning of summer", *tober* = "late harvest" (millet).

241 which no definite figures can be given, while the yield of fruit trees growing in the garden plot does
[423] not necessarily belong to the agriculturist. These trees frequently belong to pastoral Tuareg.

433 I think it can be estimated that an agricultural household with its own garden produce about a
262 thousand kilos of vegetables food products annually for its private use. We can add that though the members of an agricultural household live mainly on vegetable food products they also acquire a certain amount of food from livestock, which normally comprises a few goats and sheep, and perhaps one or two zebus. Conditions of stock-breeding are not always favourable to people who live continuously on the same spot, but it is advantageous to the agriculturists of Ahaggar, who live close to valleys with some pasture, that they are able to feed their animals on green garden products when pasture is badly developed and thus avoid the disaster of a drought. It is also an advantage to most agriculturists that they do not have to water their animals which can drink freely from the irrigation canals. The agriculturists can kill a few goats or sheep annually, they obtain milk and a little butter
1230 to be used mainly as a sauce for bread and porridge, and they make cheese of the *awles* type (cf. p. 224), but they never make cheese from fresh milk as do many pastoral Tuareg when milk is abundant. The agriculturists also breed fowls and pigeons, and some of them have an important meat supply from hunting with steel-traps (hares, jackals, fennecs, and ravens). Collecting, on the other hand, is of little or no value to irrigation farmers of Ahaggar.

241 The economic position of agriculturists who work without any particular obligations towards
466 pastoral Tuareg is tolerably good. It is less favourable to those who grow winter crops also on behalf
[423] of the Tuareg, as do most cultivators. Some of them irrigate the garden plot with water raised from
[511] wells by oxen which may belong to the cultivator or to the Tuareg. But most agriculturists who work
241 for the pastoral Tuareg irrigate by means of *foggara*. It is very strenuous work to dig a *foggara* canal,
312 and co-operation is needed not only for this but also for the maintenance of the whole irrigation system.
466 The gardens are individually tended by the agriculturists, who co-operate in the *foggaru* work under
476 the leadership of a headman known as *amrar n efeli*, that is "chief of the *foggaru*". This headman is

# Food Preparation

It is natural to open this chapter on food preparation with a description of the use of milk (*akh*) among 234
pastoral Tuareg. The milk which serves as nourishment for the Tuareg derives from goats, sheep, 262
cows, and camels. Milk of all these animals is frequently drunk fresh without any preparation, and this is generally the case with camel's milk, which is not fitted for churning butter or for the manufacture of cheese (cf. p. 63). Milk of goats, sheep, and cows is used for butter and cheese, and is added to various dishes to be described below.

Fresh milk, which is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *akh kefayen*, is sometimes heated by means 252
of hot stones (*iḍaṛen* in Ahaggar; no particular name in Ayr). The stones heated are then put directly into the wooden milking bowl. The Tuareg practise this method mainly in winter as they do not like to drink cold milk, but milk is heated all the year round in this way with milk of animals which have just brought forth kids, lambs, or calves including camel calves. The milk taken from a mother animal until about twenty four hours after the birth of kids, lambs, or calves is known to the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr as *éḍeṛes*. It is very rich and when it is heated by means of hot stones it becomes very thick forming almost a kind of cheese which is highly esteemed by the nomads. The milk of sheep and goats is considered *éḍeṛes* for two days after the birth of kids and lambs, though this term should properly be applied only to milk taken the first day after birth. The main reason for using hot stones for milk heating is said to be that milk does not get dirty in this way as it does if heated in earthenware pots over the fire (cf. p. 126).

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Sour milk (*selay* in Ayr) is consumed mainly by the Ayr Tuareg, who conserve it in skin bags and [251] especially in calabashes, for which reason this sour milk is also known to the Ayr Tuareg as *akh n* [415]* *ezenu*, that is "calabash milk". The milk is often left about twenty four hours for souring, and it is [252] then placed in a very cool place in order that it may not turn into junket which is not eaten by the Tuareg.

Both in Ayr and in Ahaggar the Tuareg may add water to fresh milk (cf. p. 126), and the Northern Tuareg also add water to buttermilk (*akh n agiwir*). This mixture of water and butter-milk is in high [484] esteem among the Northern Tuareg, and camel riders frequently carry it with them in a special skin- [415]* bag, known as *tasufra* (Fig. 155), attached to the riding saddle. Butter-milk cannot be transported in this way if water is not added, for the milk, though already once churned, will become butter during the camel's march. The Ayr Tuareg do not drink butter-milk which is given to domestic animals, but this beverage is so appreciated by the Northern Tuareg that some of them will not drink fresh milk unless butter-milk has been added, a mixture known as *agerengefa*, *akh imsayen*, or *umsey*.

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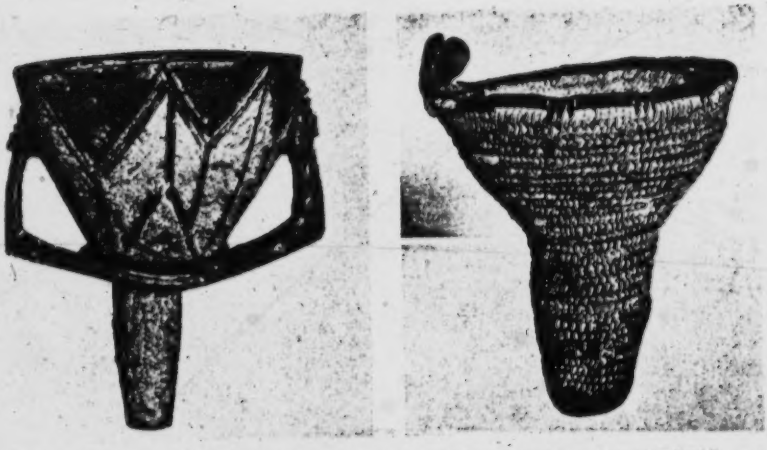

Fig. 153a–b. Tuareg funnels (*issegefi*, pl. *issegefa*) which are used for milk, butter, and for other liquids.
a. Wooden funnel ornamented by burning. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (F.M. 240).
b. Funnel plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) with the rim reinforced with leather. Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.135 m high. (F.M. 243).

234 *4/5 In Ahaggar the method of churning butter is as follows:— Milk of the morning yield is put into a skin bag (*émesesley*) (Figs. 156–157) to remain in this bag until next morning when churning takes place. During the hot season the *émesesley*, filled with milk, is placed in the shade of the tent in daytime, while in winter it is placed in sunshine, or close to the fire. Some milk of the evening yield is sometimes added to the morning milk in the *émesesley*. Before churning the milk thus soured is poured into the proper churning bag (*aghiwir*, *tanwart*) which is inflated and shaken. Churning bags may vary in size; when there is little milk to be churned a little bag is used and shaking is done holding it in the hands (Fig. 158). When milk is very plentiful, butter is sometimes churned in larger bags (*anwar*), which at one end is attached to a pole, while shaking is done by pulling the other end of the bag with one or both hands. When the milk is shaken in this way it forms small white balls of butter which are removed from the churning bag with a wooden spoon (Fig. 191) when water has been added. This white butter (*udi wa mellen*, or *tesendut*) is occasionally used for food without further preparation, but this is not normal, for newly-churned butter is generally put into an earthen pot (*téṛirt*, or *ufrun*) (Figs. 186, 187a–b) together with parts of an annual plant known as *aymesnis* (*Chlamydophora pubescens*) (Fig. 160) to be heated over the fire. Some Tuareg also add meal of dried dates, or of horns of barbary sheep. After heating, butter (*udi*) assumes a dark yellow colour. It is stored in containers made of camel's hide (*tahattint*, *asogen*, *ayaḥha*) (Figs. 161–162), or in Sudanese calabashes (*azenu*) (Figs. 163a–b). A particular metal pail (*éṛir*) (Fig. 164) manufactured by native blacksmiths is also used for butter in Ahaggar,

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butter in Ahaggar, and butter reserved for greasing the hair is frequently kept in a large horn (*isek*) of barbary sheep (Fig. 165).

The Ayr Tuareg make butter (*wijl*) in much the same way as the Northern Tuareg. For churning they use a skin bag (*amwar*), or a calabash (*azemu*), and they say that they prefer skin bags in winter, and calabashes in the hot season. Butter is heated or boiled immediately after churning, but the Ayr Tuareg do not add parts of plants, date flour, or the like. In Ayr butter is not churned as regularly as in the north. It is used mainly for cooking meat of thin animals, for a sauce which may be used for millet porridge instead of milk (cf. p. 243 f.), and for greasing the hair. Among the Northern Tuareg butter is added to many different dishes and particularly to bread, which is eaten almost daily by many people. In years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg get their butter from Ayr (cf. p. 212, 215), and the Ayr Tuareg make much butter for export in such circumstances. They churn most butter from cow's

Fig. 154a–c.

a. Wooden funnel. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣall* tribe. Dimension: 0.146 m high. (N.M. G. 5203).
b. Funnel consisting of a piece of calabash which derives from the south. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣall* tribe. Dimension: 0.131 m high. (N.M. G. 5202).
c. Wooden funnel with a strap of cord of goat's hair. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.175 m high. (N.M. G. 1.150).

All wooden funnels are cut from wood of the *taborokkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*).

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Fig. 155. Skin bag (*sasufra*) for the conservation of butter-milk on journeys. The bag is made from an entire goat-skin and has a handle of goat-hair cord tied to the skin patches of the hind legs. A leather handle is attached to the lower part of the bag which is ornamented with leather fringes, Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.77 m long without the fringes. (F.M. 89).

They churn most butter from cow's

234 milk, and this butter is not considered as delicious by the Ahaggar Tuareg as their own butter, churned
[262] mainly from goat's milk. – The use of wooden churning sticks by means of which milk is stirred in
234 an open container is unknown in Ahaggar and Ayr, so far as I know. Churning sticks are used in
412 other Tuareg groups. They are common among the Tuareg of Adrar-n-Foras (Musée d'Ethono-
184 graphie, Neuchâtel, no. 49.2.44 & Musée de l'homme, Paris, no. 38.16.48) and among the *Iwillemmeden*
171 Tuareg and the Fulani (Musée de l'homme, Paris, nos. 41.19.411 & 41.19.1326).

234 All Northern Tuareg, as well as the Northern Arab pastoralists and semi-nomadic Berbers and
[172] Arabs of the Atlas, make cheese from butter-milk, while this type of cheese is unknown among the
[184] Southern Tuareg and also among the Fulani. In Ahaggar butter-milk cheese (*awles*) is manufactured
[412] by women in the following manner:— Butter-milk is heated over the fire in an earthen pot (*téṛirt*, or *ufrun*)
*[415] (Figs. 186, 187a–b) by which process the milk is divided into two parts, namely pure water and a curdled mass of milk (*akru*). This mass of curdled milk is placed in a special basket (*aragus*) (Figs. 167a–b) hanging from a tree or a similar object to sort out the whey. Thus there remains a mass of cheese in the basket, and this mass is formed into small round pieces to be left for drying. Butter-milk cheese is manufactured in this way by all Northern Tuareg who are thus able to obtain butter and cheese from the same milk.

234 Another type of cheese is made from fresh milk and is manufactured not only by the Northern
171 [i.e. the Ayr Tuareg -- Andjur]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Tuareg but also by the southern groups and by Arab pastoralists of the Sahara; it is also known in 234
the Atlas, and is on the whole widely distributed in Northern Africa. This type of cheese is known to [171]
the Northern Tuareg as *takammart* and it is manufactured as follows:— Fresh milk is heated and [415]*
then poured into a large wooden bowl (e.g., *tarehut*) (Figs. 195a–b). The milk is curdled into a mass
of cheese by means of a rennet (*akammar*) consisting of the abomasum of kids that have never tasted
anything but milk. The curdled mass of cheese is pressed with the hands and with a piece of straw- [285]
mat (*éseber*) in order that the liquids may separate. The mass of cheese is formed into small rectangular
pieces of cheese which are left on the little straw-mat for about one day. They are then removed to [417]
be dried finally on a platform (*tahaga*, *tafalkat*) made of branches.

Cheese made from fresh milk is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tekemmart*; it is manufactured to very
great extent and much in the same fashion as just described from Ahaggar. The abomasum of little
kids or lambs to be used for rennet is named *tederant*, and the Ayr Tuareg add parts of an annual [224]
plant known as *ekochnaren* (*Caralluma Mouretii*) in order that the milk may curdle quickly. The
Ayr Tuareg also use little mats plaited from stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) to press and [285]
form the rectangular pieces of cheese; the Ayr Tuareg make mats (*tésebert*) (Fig. 168) particularly
for this purpose, while the Ahaggar Tuareg generally use an old piece of a tent mat (*éseber*). In Ayr
the rectangular pieces of cheese are dried on bunches of hay placed in trees (acacias), or on the top
of the mat-covered tents.

The *takammart* or *tekemmart* type of cheese made from fresh milk is in high esteem as food among 262
all pastoralists of the Sahara. It is generally eaten when newly-made and soft, though it may also be 251
stored. The Ahaggar Tuareg make this type of cheese only when milk is plentiful, while the Ayr Tuareg 234
manufacture it most of the year though the main season of cheese-making is the season of *akasa*. 221

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Fig. 156. Skin bag of the *ámesekey* type used to sour milk before churning. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.37 m high. (F.M. 170).

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Fig. 157. Skin bag (*ímesrahy*) for souring milk before churning. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: smallest height 0.20 m. (N.M. G. 5207).

234 Milk of goats, sheep, and cows is frequently mixed to make cheese of the *takammart* type, but milk of these domestic animals is also used individually for cheese-making. The very best milk is said to be sheep-milk which gives almost white cheese, while cow's milk yield a more yellow-coloured one. –
128 The use of milk, butter, and cheese in connection with various vegetable dishes will be described later in this chapter, and we shall now briefly outline the use of meat and its preparation.

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Fig. 158. Woman churning butter by shaking the inflated churning-bag (*aghwir*) between her hands. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehlé* tribe.

Meat (*isan*) is not a staple diet of the Tuareg. The Tuareg of Ayr consume more meat than the 262
Northern Tuareg, but even in the south it is not eaten daily. There are Ayr Tuareg who are reluctant
to kill their animals, and people who have much milk have very little need of meat. Meat is eaten by [874]
all Tuareg on certain festive occasions, whether social or (and) religious, and when camps are visited
by friends, certain relatives, and important guests. He-goats and rams, or barren goats and sheep, [231]
are the animals most commonly killed. The meat of sheep and rams is considered better than goat [282]
meat, and sheep are also highly esteemed for sacrifice. Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food 000



[text continues on p. 231]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 159. Calabash (*azenu*) of the type used by Ayr Tuareg for milk and for churning butter. It is provided with a wooden stopper and a handle plaited from goat-skin. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.30 m. (N.M, G. 6664).

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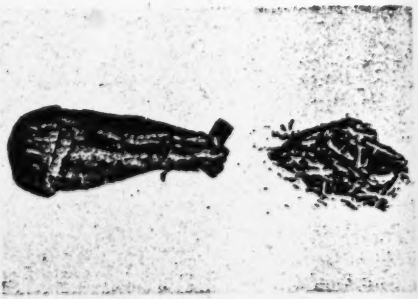

Fig. 160. Skin bag (*abelbof*) containing parts of the annual plant *aynersnis* (*Chlamydophora pubescens*) which are added to butter before heating in an earthen pot. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tokki* tribe. Dimension: the skin bag is about 0.15 m long. (F.M. 153).

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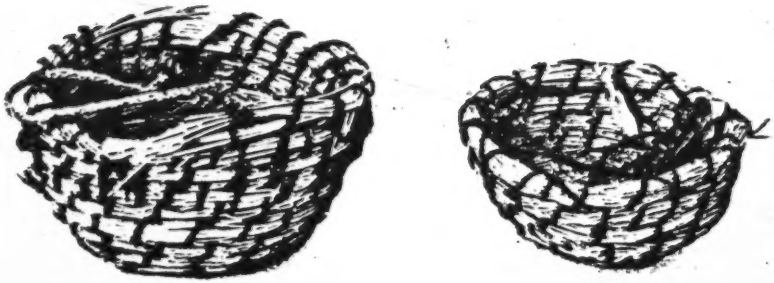

Fig. 167a–b. Baskets of the *aragas* type used for making butter-milk cheese (*awlez*). They are made from straw bent into circular bundles and kept together with thin cords (*dhafilen*) of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tahlt* tribe.
a. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.240 in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5818).
b. Dimension: 0.100–0.105 m high, 0.205–0.215 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5819).

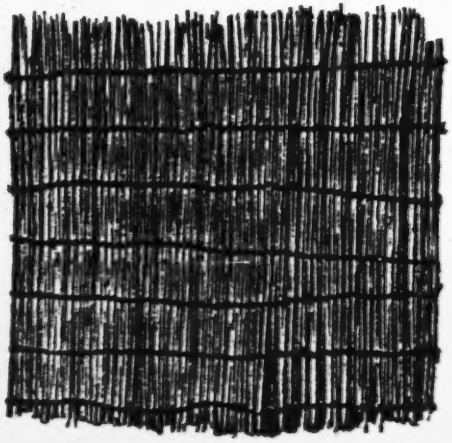

Fig. 168. The straw-mat (*tizebert*) used for the manufacture of *tukammart*-cheese known as *tokommart* in Ayr, that is cheese made from fresh milk. The mat is made of stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) united with narrow leather strips. Ayr, the *Kel Akerra* tribe. Dimension: 0.46 × 0.44 m high. (N.M. G. 6612).

634 vassals was given to the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) and not to the *temazlayt* master. However, should
565 a vassal Tuareg have borrowed for raiding a riding camel from his *temazlayt* master or another noble
571 Tuareg, they received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty remaining when
613 one half had been given to the *Amenukal*.
721

565 The noble Tuareg possessed many advantages over their individual vassals. They could apparently
571 claim almost what they wanted for their subsistence, and frequently camped close to their vassals who then were obliged to feed them, and when in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take such animals from their vassals (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). Similar information is given by Benhazera, but he states that the vassals in the past would not necessarily supply everything demanded by their noble lords (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The vassals were under a particular obligation to provide the noble Tuareg with goat-breeding products, and if they had milk yielding she-camels the noble Tuareg could claim these animals until milk-yielding stopped. But the vassals had also many advantages from the *temazlayt* relationships. They were not only protected by their lords. The noble Tuareg would leave behind the animals they could not take with them when roaming in the desert, and noble Tuareg never had much livestock with them in their camps. It was also of great importance to the vassals that they could use their masters camels for caravan trading. On the whole the system was not exclusively the exploitation of vassals by the noble Tuareg, and it can be added that the vassal Tuareg were always more numerous than the noble Tuareg, that the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) was elected by the vassals, and that he alone had judicial rights. The system was one of give and take to both classes involved, and there can be little doubt that it was well adapted to practical ecological conditions.

233 In Ahaggar, camels and goats are very complementary to each other. The camel supplies the Tuareg
433 with milk, but with very few other products, and the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-
[234] camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important
[262] as food, but it is not well-fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg kill camels to
[281] utilize their meat only when many people congregate, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, for tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the
[437] camels have little direct economic value. But for raiding in the past, camels were very valuable riding animals, and were then, as now, extremely important for caravan trading which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic rôle of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive
[234] part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese
[262] which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore, goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

# 235

235 POULTRY RAISING--domesticated fowl of economic importance; care and treatment (e.g., feeding, shelter); hatching; egg production; special equipment (e.g., incubation); raising of birds for special purposes (e.g., for eggs, for feathers, for fighting); elaboration of a specialized poultry industry; etc.

See also:


Falconry . . . . . 223
Poultry breeding . . . . . 232
Diet. . . . . 262
Featherwork . . . . . 287
Poultry shelters . . . . . 343
Incubators . . . . . 416
Cockfighting . . . . . 541

565 this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.
642 Ancient Egyptian records tell of a Libyan chieftain, Meryey who was peacefully deposed and replaced by a younger brother following a disastrous defeat in battle (Bates, 1914, pp. 114–15, 218 and 221). It is some of the vassal clans that are the biggest numerically and also the richest on a *per capita* basis; and if vassal clansmen pay tribute to their noble "masters" it is only because they choose to do so, because they find it in their interest to keep the nobles on their payroll so to speak. Thus the Tuareg government of the Ahaggar is in fact a kind of republic and not a real monarchy or true military aristocratic autocracy at all.

233 **Livestock.** Herds of camels and flocks of hairy sheep and goats constitute the bulk of the capital investment and so form the primary basis of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar. The quantity and composition of the total livestock investment has been variously estimated, but the following rough approximations are probably not far from the true figures: camels—12,000, sheep—2,000, goats—20,000, donkeys—5,000 and cattle (zebus)—300 or thereabouts.
[231] Donkeys, as we have seen, are unproductive except as beasts of burden, and the cattle are so few as to be of negligible importance. Only some 4,500 camels are actually kept in the Ahaggar while the rest are put out to pasture in the Tamesna region on the northern edge of the Sudan, roughly half way between the Aïr and the Niger Bend. Most of the sheep too are pastured outside the Ahaggar proper, mainly in the country around Tin Zaouaten, southwest of the Ahaggar and northwest of the Tamesna.

235 The Haratin of the Ahaggar keep chickens,
262 but only the eggs are eaten as a rule. The Tuareg eat neither eggs, fowl nor fish, but we will discuss this further in the section on *Nomad Diet* in the following chapter.

232 It has been said that the Tuareg have no special breed of riding camels but that likely looking animals are picked out early and given special training for use as mounts. The fact remains, however, that the young of famous stud camels are always the preferred choice, and these animals are specially marked shortly after birth. The method of marking consists of pinching up three small folds of skin in a row, about 2 to 3 inches apart, along

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## DOMESTIC BIRDS

235 Many sedentary people within Tuareg countries breed fowls of which a few may also be found in pastoral camps of the Ayr Tuareg, though fowls seem to be of very little use to them. For the hens kept by pastoralists do not hatch out their eggs, and these are not always found by the Tuareg. I think that most pastoralists of Ayr keep fowls mainly because they like to have them walking around the camp, and I believe that their owners in general are children. Domestic guinea fowls are bred by some sedentary people of Agadez, and young Tuareg who find a guinea fowl chicken in the bush may even take it to the camp to keep it as a pet. In Ahaggar there are no fowls among pastoralists, many of whom will refuse to eat fowls and their eggs (cf. p. 162). [262]

Domestic pigeons are bred by some sedentary people living within Tuareg countries. I believe that they have been introduced by the Arabs – in accordance with the theory advanced by Stuhlmann and Lagercrantz (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 74). [174]

# 237

237 ANIMAL BY-PRODUCTS--uses of animal by-products (e.g., bone, teeth, horn, hoofs, claws, eggshells, hides, fur, hair, bristles, feathers, sinews, brains, entrails, urine, manure); processing of such materials not elsewhere described; etc. See also:


Use of manure in agriculture . . . . . 241
Work in skins and furs . . . . . 281
Cordage made from animal by-products . . . . 283
Featherwork . . . . . 287
Ornament . . . . . 301
Work in bone and horn . . . . . 321
Glue manufacture . . . . . 381
Fertilizer industry . . . . . 387
Amulets, fetishes, and charms . . . 751, 778, 789

773 the tortures of hell. Iblis, however, communicated his secret to
372 the blacksmiths, who since that time have known how to use it for metalworking.

The Tuareg used to obtain fire by friction, using a board of
372 torha (callotropis procera) and a branch of hardwood; they caught
[824] the spark on a tuft of silk from the fruit of the callotropis and blew on it until they got a flame, which required about a minute. They have kept this practice and still use it occasionally.

Today they find matches sold by /228/ Tamanrasset merchants,
[439 but they all have tinderboxes
177] with flint and a bent piece of iron.

They do not keep up the
[415 fire. They carry it from
439] one tent to the other in a fragment of an old gourd or sometimes hold a glowing ember in their hands without burning themselves.

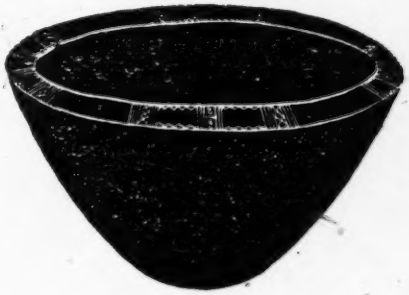

Fig. 27. Ahaggar Tuareg dish, imported from Hausa country.

[237 When they want to transport
484] it long distances, they use camel-dung embers.

The Tuareg commonly
[237] use the excrement of camels and goats as fuel. In the high
[137] mountains, wood is quite rare, but in the lower parts of the Koudia old acacia or éthel /atle? Ed. / stumps are to be found. They never
[824] use the wood of the callotropis, which is the devil's tree and makes muffled noises when it is burned.

Basalt blocks are never used to make the hearth, since they be-
[823] lieve that basalt is possessed by genii and will explode violently when heated.

352 Furniture. -- We have briefly described the objects furnishing the parts of the tent reserved for the husband and wife. To these must be added a certain number of objects which make up the

262 According to what we know of the production of the cultivated
433 lands of the Ahaggar itself and according to what the Tuareg are obliged
439 to import, we may know approximately their needs. During the good years, local production is equivalent to only one quarter of the needs. It may be evaluated at 150 tons. To this must be added wheat production, but this cannot be taken in con-
237 sideration insofar as con-
415 sumption is concerned, since
234 it is almost entirely destined for export. It follows from this that import needs amount to 4, 000 loads of millet a year, calculated at 150 kilograms each, making 600 tons, which are for the most part bought or exchanged at Damergou or in the Tahoua region. The annual demand for dates is 400 loads.

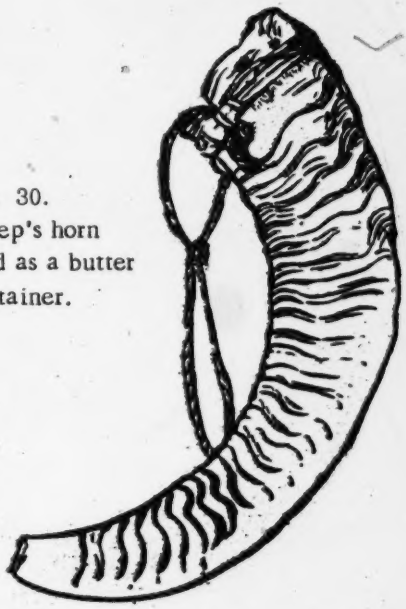

Fig. 30. Sheep's horn used as a butter container.

From these figures it
146 follows that the annual needs per person are approximately one load of
262 millet and one-tenth of a load of dates.
511

Individual consumption may thus be estimated at 187 kilograms of millet and 15 kilograms of dates per year, while an identical calculation /232/ for the Saharian Arabs has given us 180 kilograms of wheat and 75 kilograms of dates. But we must not deceive ourselves. These figures are drawn up for years, if not of abundance, at least of relative facility. Indeed, the annual average is very much lower, for the Ihaggaren do not always have at their disposal the means of exchange to meet their needs, and one may reduce the figures cited above by a good third, sometimes even by half.

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To make up this deficiency in graminaceae, the Tuareg have recourse to products of gathering.

After a rain the captives and the Imrad women gather the seeds of certain plants which grow in the Ahaggar valleys. They are the afasso (Panicum turgidum F.) and the oulloul (Aristida pungens D.). But the size of the yield varies with the abundance of rain, and one may say that most of the time it is quite /233/ uncertain. This is not the case in the Sudan, where the Iklan gather whole bags of wild seeds, particularly cram-cram (Cenchrus echinatus), every year.

[262]

[237 281 415 234]

Fig. 31. Little leather flask used as a butter container.

To be sure, there are a few wild berries in the Ahaggar, such as those from the jujube tree (Zizyphus lotus D.) and the téborak (Balanites aegyptiaca). In case of famine the Tuareg fall back on other seeds, such as those of the colocynth, the Acacia tortillis, etc. However, all these plants play only a secondary role in the Tuareg diet.

[731]

[262]

The Tuareg have at their disposal milk from their camels, goats, and ewes. They drink it either whole or diluted with water, either fresh or sour.

272

The luxury of drinking whole milk is reserved for young mothers and children. Adults generally drink fresh milk morning and

[264]

[264]
272 evening after the milking, and at the noon meal they drink milk which has already soured. It may accompany the dishes /234/ of
[262] béchena, serve as a sauce, and also be taken as a drink. When they make long moves, the Tuareg carry a bag full of skim milk on their camels. This turns rapidly and gives a sour-tasting whey which is very refreshing. But milk is particularly appreciated for its by-products, butter and cheese.

234 Butter -- oudi -- is obtained by churning milk in a
[415 little leather
237] bag; a woman shakes it on her knees, making it swing from right to left and from left to right.
[237 The butter collected is placed
415] inside a sheep's horn which serves as a receptacle. When butter production exceeds daily consumption, the butter is placed in leather containers, in the shape of a flask, where the heat usually keeps it liquid or very fluid, except in winter when it is necessary to heat it to get it out of the container.

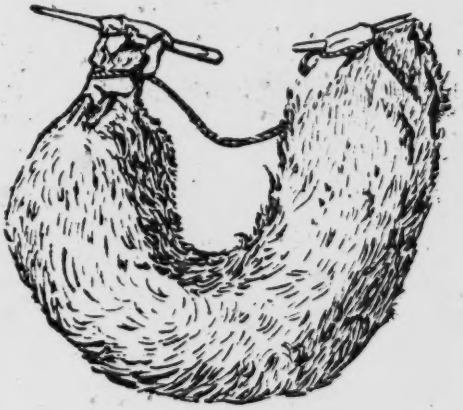

Fig. 32. Butter container made from the skin of a camel's neck.

Butter is mainly eaten as a sauce; béchena gruel or wheat
262 cakes are moistened with it. The Tuareg never cook it, as in fried foods.

In years when pasturage is particularly good, which assures an
234 abundance of milk from the animals, the Tuareg make cheese -- tikomaren. They sour the milk, squeeze the curds in little mats

224 The radial-point trap is the one described by Montandon (1)

1. Traité d'ethnologie culturelle /A Dissertation on Cultural Ethnology/, p. 222, fig. 8.

[M1] and was already known by the Egyptians. It is spread over all of central and intertropical Africa. It is composed of a disk made of vegetable matter to which are attached the stems of rather resistant graminaceae which converge toward the center. The apparatus is placed on a little pit with a diameter a little less than its own, then covered over with straw /242/ and sand. It is arranged under trees whose leaves are still green and which the gazelles come to browse on. While going around the tree, the beasts finally step on it, and the hoof which passes through the stems is caught in the disk. In spite of all efforts and movements, the disk remains attached, thus preventing the animal from getting away. The hunter then steps in. He gets on the animal's trail, follows it, and finally catches up with it. He kills it with a thrust of his lance. Sometimes a lasso is placed on the disk with its end attached to the trunk of the tree or to an old stump.

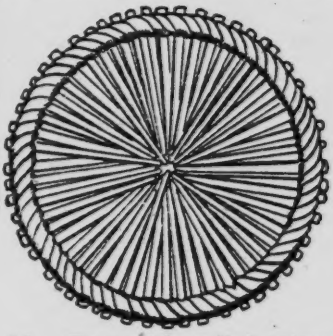

Fig. 33. Trap with radial points used to capture gazelles.

The torsion trap in the shape of an arch is a more complicated system. It is composed of a fragment of oryx antelope horn on [283] which is set a layer of tendons coming from the same animal and

224 which is rolled up on a stick, one end of which is cut in a point. A
[235] second apparatus consists in a little wooden disk covered with hide, the whole mounted on another stick a little longer than that of the first apparatus which is embedded between the layer and the arc, while the pointed stick is fastened in the hole of a bead or on a little leather ring fixed on the leather disk. A lasso is placed on this disk, and its end is fastened on the main part of the pointed stick.

This trap is generally placed on the paths frequented by gazelles and lightly covered with sand. If the animal puts its foot on the leather disk, the pressure that it causes unhooks the pointed stick; the shock of this can break a paw and in any case it tightens the lasso around the paw.

More recently the Tuareg have used the metallic spring trap
[177] of the English type, which their blacksmiths now know how to make.
326 They have replaced the balanced bait pan by a taut skin on which they have attached a large glass bead. The bait is fixed to the bead and is more sensitive to the touch. This trap may accidentally catch gazelles, but the most common catches are hares and jackals.

224 The Tuareg hunt on the lands over which they range and have
423 no right to hunt on the lands of the neighboring tribes. If such a case occurred, they would be obliged to give the game to the owners of the area. The latter may at least grant back part of the meat, but they keep the skin, especially when it is a wild sheep.

/243/ Some regions are the hunting fief of a single man. So, in the Koudia, no one has the right to hunt on Tahat Peak without the permission of its owner, who is a descendant of the old Isebeten tribe. At any rate, the skin, head, and half of the animal must be handed over to him.

224 The Ahaggar Tuareg have had rapid-firing guns at their
411 disposal for a few years. They are not good shots, but they know admirably well how to approach game, so that they have made massive massacres which will take a long time to repair.

232 these saddle camels, one may not, therefore, refer to a particular breed /race/ adapted for speed, as one may commonly hear spoken of.

436 The camel has a well determined exchange value among the Tuareg. It is one of the bases for comparison in their commercial transactions.

233 Each tribe marks his animals with a particular sign, and /251/
422 the owners who have many camels also have their own signs, marked with a hot iron on one of the parts of the animal's body -- neck, cheek, or thigh.

The sheep. -- Sheep are raised only accessorily in the Ahaggar,
233 because grass is not abundant enough. But it occupies a large place
[137] in Sudanese animal husbandry.

[136] It is a very peculiar animal with short hair and a long tail. It stands tall, a characteristic which has won for it the name of Ovis
[174] longipes. The Tuareg certainly introduced it into West Africa. Zoologists never refer to it except as Tuareg sheep. Its antiquity in North Africa is well known. The ram of Ammon is pictured with its characteristic form, and it is also recognizable in the splendid rock drawings of Géryville and Tiout. It seems to descend from the Corsican wild sheep rather than from the Algerian wild sheep. Today it is an animal found exclusively in Tuareg camps of the Sudan or in their area of influence.

574 Sheep is the dish served at great feasts, and its skin is used as
262
●237 a ground rug, a blanket, or to make harnessing articles.

The goat. -- The goat is the mountain animal par excellence,
233 as frugal an eater as can be, resisting both cold and heat, and able to be content with the meagerest pastures. It is thus quite natural to find many of these goats among the Ihaggaren.

[136] /252/ The Ahaggar species is small with long black hair. In the Sudan it is different colors -- white and black, or red -- with
[232] short hair; it stands taller than the Ahaggar species and is often crossed with the dwarf female goat in the southern tribes.

136 The origin of the goat is less certain than that of the sheep. Very widespread all over the world, it must have been domesticated at

232 of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks
[272] exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their
family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is
[438] *consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.*

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes
233 excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled,
[234] and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and
[252 262] sometimes tents.

237 The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do
not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting
[232] them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact num-
ber of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon
[422] them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The
young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them,
and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used.
137 These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg,
have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier
cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass
hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal
had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is
nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the
[172] rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia
where they are called "onager."

233 The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible
[174] that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihaggaren have
kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had
[173] only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage,
442 and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also
[312] take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the
[359] heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

262 237 The ass is never eaten, and its skin is not used.

The horse. -- The horse is not a Saharian animal. In 1929 233 there were four horses in the Ahaggar belonging to the aménokal. [643 Today there are about twenty of them belonging to the members of 644] his family or to the notables of his camp.

This is an expensive luxury, for these animals must be fed with [184 barley, and there is not enough barley for the people themselves. 262] It tends to replace the camel for the Sudanese Tuareg.

/254/ The zebu. -- A few years ago the aménokal owned a [648] small herd of zebus which he had had sent from the Sudan. This [137] animal is not raised in the Ahaggar proper, and it could not be, for lack of appropriate pasture.

[312] The zebus serve in the agricultural centers by drawing water. They are furnished to the tenant farmer by the proprietor of the land, [427] and they are very poorly fed on hardship rations of hay and grass, or else they are put in rush pastures, which are generally plentiful in the agricultural centers.

[438] When the animal is tired, the owner exchanges him if that is at all possible. The privations which the zebus must undergo bring about their death in a relatively short span of time, and so in the Ahaggar it is a question of keeping them alive rather than raising them. In any case, they never follow the camps in their moves and never live near them.

361 When we talked about the camp, we told how the search for 136 pasture directed its location.

Insofar as animal husbandry properly speaking is concerned, we 233 observe that the small animals -- sheep, goats, and asses -- always 361 stay in the Ahaggar and move with the camp.

As for camels, this is not the case; they are often put out to pasture far from the tents, watched only by a few shepherds. The majority are even kept in the Sudan 800 kilometers from their owners'

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1. Dr. Foley, Moeurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar /Mores and Medicine among the Ahaggar Tuareg/, p. 85.

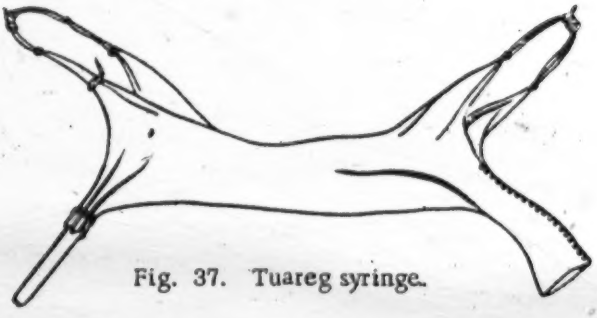

Fig. 37. Tuareg syringe.

752 The warlike and eventful life of the Tuareg exposes them to
[278] many wounds or accidents. They care for war wounds by sprinkling the wound with sugar or smearing it with plasters of vegetable origin, chopped leaves of the Zizyptus lotus, or ground resin of the Balsamodron africanum. Sometimes they pour butter on it, and if the wound is infected they apply plasters of butter and ashes of aferegak (Chrozophora brocchiana).

But we have been able to observe that the use of this ash was of no great efficacy, that the wounds took a very long time to heal, and that in many cases they preferred to call on a European doctor.

Fractures are cared for with absolutely the same methods as those used by our European doctors. The fractured member, after being set, is coated with a flour plaster, furnished with a little cushion of goat hair, and braced by means of splints made of wooden boards attached to a sheepskin and kept in place by leather cords.

/263/ We have never seen any amputation among the Tuareg, and we do not know whether or not they know how to do it.

757 The Tuareg also know the use of enemas. The apparatus is
413 made of a sheep's bone, one end of which has been rounded and
● 207

757 polished and whose other end is inserted in a small goatskin water
[413 bottle which holds the liquid to be injected. During the operation
237 one presses on the bag so as to make the liquid penetrate, while
the patient has his head down and his feet attached to a tree. The
[278 enema is generally composed of water, butter, and ground afasso
roots. When it is a question of giving an enema to a young child,
[855 the mother fills her mouth with water and, putting her lips against
the anus, blows the liquid with all her might.

/264/ Chapter 8

Dress. Adornment.

291 Clothing. -- The portrait of the Tuareg is now well known. Draped in a long, dark-colored blouse, belted at the waist, and with his head surrounded by a black veil placed in the shape of a haumier /?/, he makes a silhouette as majestic as it is mysterious
[492 when he is mounted on his slender mehari. Hanging from the saddle, as well known as the man, is the broad antelopeskin buckler.

The Tuareg, even though they are poor, are very natty. Although they have only sordid rags, they always are able to wear them with good taste and to keep a proud and dignified attitude under all circumstances.

The costume for men is the same in all confederations. It is made up of: 1) a very full pair of trousers, drawn in at the waist by a cord of braided leather; the leg is nipped in at the instep /sic/ and blouses over it so that it sometimes drags the ground; 2) a big, very full blouse, formed of a rectangular-shaped piece of cloth, sewn by a stitch at the four corners, and provided with an opening in the middle to let the head go through; it descends to the knees

/273/ On their fingers Ahaggar women wear big, round-shaped rings, made of small cases in which there is a little pebble which tinkles like a bell. Rich women wear two or three on each hand. 301 [556]

The wrists are adorned with hollow silver bracelets with triangular cross sections, bearing little linear drawings. There are also rather [531]

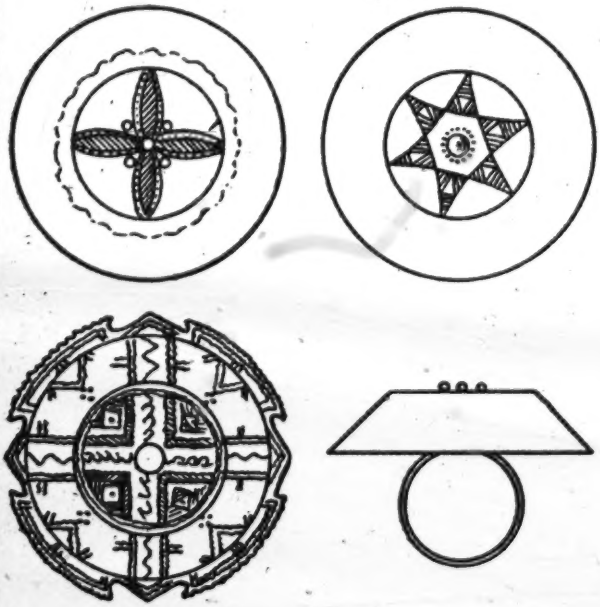

Fig. 43. Ahaggar women's rings.

broad black horn bracelets. Bracelets of Sudanese origin made of multicolored beads mounted on leather are also adopted by a few women. [177]

The neck is ornamented with a necklace bearing an oval (?) shell or a substance coming from a native Nigerian animal, which could very well be the manatee. This jewel (ameréouan) is extremely valuable and very rare in the Ahaggar. It is handed down from mother to daughter. [237] [428 556]

881 From this day on the boy enters into the class of men. He
884 may go to war and attend the ahal.

868 Education of girls is hardly more interesting. At six or seven, the little girl begins to see to household duties, participating in cleaning the tent and making meals, etc. A little later she learns to weave mats, work little copper articles, and spin goat hair.

[534] Musical and literary education for young girls is very much esteemed among the Tuareg and [212] most particularly among the Imochar. Little girls learn to write tifinagh letters and play the amzad, a sort of small one-stringed violin which brightens up the dull evenings of the Tuareg.

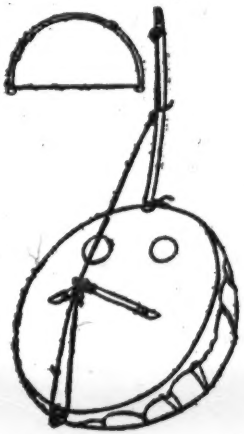

Fig. 53. Amzad, or one-stringed violin of Ahaggar Tuareg women, and its bow.

534 The amzad is made
237 of half a hollowed-out and dried gourd, over which a goatskin or uran /lizard/ skin has been stretched, attached by cords (in the Ahaggar) or little acacia thorns (in the Aïr). The skin is pierced by one or two holes to increase the resonance. The handle is made of a stick which penetrates into one side of the gourd through a hole and is secured at the other side by a point, or else it may go through that side too. The string is formed of several pieces of horsehair separated from the skin by a little bridge made of two small pieces of wood tied together crosswise. The bow (taganhé) forms an arc with

534 horsehair attached to the ends. During the music the player from
[233] time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum
[314] tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The amzad skins are often
decorated with painted motifs in very vivid colors, or else they
[532] are covered with tifinagh inscriptions indicating the name of the
owner and bearing love verses for the use of admirers.

Among the Ihaggaren violins are usually large, reaching as
much as 40 centimeters in diameter. In Sudanese tribes, on the
[171] other hand, they are much smaller, rarely exceeding 25 to 30
centimeters.

533 The amzad plays an important role among the Tuareg, who
really make a true cult of it. Young men go to listen to the girls
play it. After they are married, they love to hear their wives, who
533 charm in this way the empty hours of summer evenings. Not play-
626 ing the amzad is a punishment that the women inflict on the men,
593 and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives
or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no amzad,"
they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This
prospect was often sufficient to restore their courage and incite
them to go efface their defeat.

882 The ahal. -- At about the age of sixteen, boys and girls have
access to adult society and begin to participate in the ahal.

571 The word ahal means "meeting, conversation, interview." A
521 synonym for it is édéouenné. These musical and literary meetings
have a more or less peculiar nature, depending on whether or not
they are mixed with asri.

517 Asri, literally "to run with the bridle loose," means the practice
521 of some very free mores. To live in a state of asri is to exist under
571 conditions which permit one to practice loose mores. Those who
533 can be in a state of asri are pubescent boys and girls, widowers,
and divorced people of either sex.

These meetings take place near the camps in the shelter of
a wadi, but always out of the sight of old people and respectable
people of the tribe. They usually take place before the evening

1: Lhote--166a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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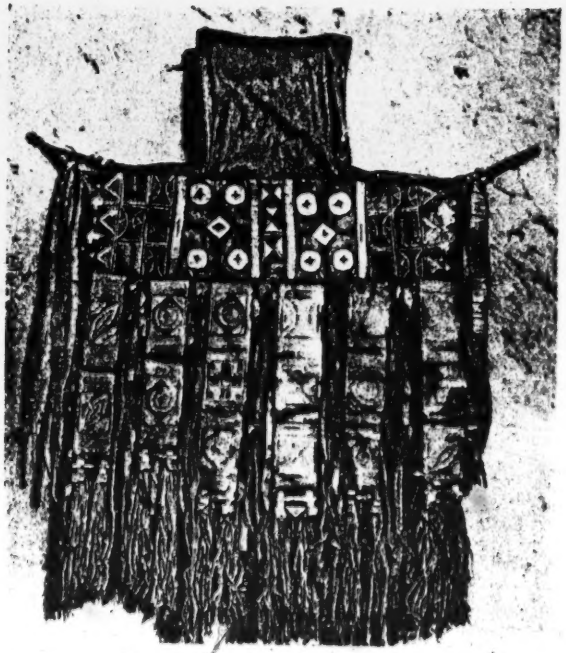
Plate XV



Goatskin bag used by women to transport their personal clothing. The very delicate decoration is obtained by cutting out the skin and applying embroidered leather.

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Old noblewoman from the Kel Rela tribe weaving a bag with goat's hair thread.

4: Benhazera--3 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter II

## Circumcision

In Tamashek, "azemhoud-n-baradhen" (circumcision of children) from the verb "ezmahad" , to circumcise. 304 852

There is no set age for circumcision; generally it is carried out after the age of five.

The operator is summoned to the amazar' (douar), and all the people present take part in the operation, carried out as follows:

The operator holds the foreskin with a bit of "saâf" (djerid or palm leaf) and cuts it with a well-sharpened knife. To cicatrize the wound, it is dusted with leaves of atle (Tamarix articulata) and skins of dried pomegranates ground to powder. Then it is washed with camel urine, and all painful contact is avoided by means of splints held by strings fastened behind the back. [278] [237]

Then there is a feast: a sheep's throat is cut, and it is eaten by the guests.

## Chapter III

## Puberty

In Tamashek, "tamendjott" . As soon as he is of an age to fast, that is to say, as soon as he has reached puberty, the boy begins to wear the "tidjelmoust" veil which he will never leave off thereafter. 882 291

There are also lucky or unlucky days. The lucky days, 777
those which are recommended for starting on a journey, are [484]
Friday after prayer, Saturday morning, and Monday. /63/
For the lucky day of the month one first counts 2 from the
index finger and, coming back to the index finger, 7, 12,
17, 22, 27.

The unlucky days are Sunday and Wednesday.

The Tuareg also believe in the evil eye, "tahott." 754

An eclipse is the sun's raid on the moon, and vice versa. 821

Finally, there is a very curious custom of which Duveyrier 769
has spoken, which is that of consulting old graves. Usually 787
it is the women who go to consult them. They dress well
and must avoid having on themselves anything of iron or steel,
even a needle. They lie down near the grave, and the
"zabbar" (ogre) inhabiting the grave appears to them in the
form of a giant with eyes as large as a camel's, and gives
them the answers they want. They are consulted especially
in order to get news of absent ones, people gone on a raid
or in a caravan, from whom there has been no news.

## Chapter IX

### Stock Raising. Flocks

Camels, sheep, and goats constitute the chief resource 233
of the Tuareg, as of all nomads. Camels especially are the
object of all their care, since these give them the greatest
service. They rely greatly on camels, ewes, and goats be- [234]
cause of the milk, of which they drink a great deal, and melted
butter, "oudi," which they make.

They use all the hides: those of camels for sandals, 237
containers for butter, watering troughs, etc.; those of sheep 281
or goats for waterskins and the manufacture of tents, leather
clothes, etc. /64/

They use camel hair to make rope. They are fond of 237 283 camel meat, and it is they who supply the markets of the 262 439 Tidikelt with it.

There are very few cattle in the Ahaggar, barely thirty, 233 and almost all these belong to Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane, 492 of Tazerouk. They are used to draw water from the wells [312] into the ar'erems. The pasture is scanty, and besides the cattle easily wear out their hooves on the rocks and stones.

In the Koudia, because of the cold which prevails there 233 and the high altitude, there are many small turrets of dry 343 stones, /65/ empty inside, in which the Tuareg confine lambs and kids at night to shelter them from the cold.

The Ahaggar do not have a large number of meharis, and 233 they do not like to sell them, especially the good ones. Among [435] themselves, to set the value of a mehari, they say, "Such a mehari is worth two, three, or four camels." All their meharis are trained to start at a gallop. The Tuareg has great patience with the training of his mehari and never mistreats it. He confines himself to persuading it by voice and foot, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Tuareg mehari is much more silent than the Arab mehari.

The foundation of the pastures of the Ahaggar is aremmas 137 (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae). This plant is quite laxative. 233 So when the year is bad and drought prevails, the Ahaggar are found emigrating toward the Adhar'. There are fine pastures of "had" (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolaceae) in the south of Tin R'arhou, but there is no water. Moussa ag Amastane /66/ [312 intends to have wells dug there and has requested our help and 648] advice for this purpose.

As a rule the Tuareg let their camels out to pasture with- 233 out herders, and they find them again at the well or by track- ing, unless they entrust the herding to children or negroes.

/67/ A young camel is called "abal" without designating 192 its age. A camel in general is called "amadjour," plural 233 "imoudjar," or else "amiss," plural "imnass." A female is

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



565 Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Ṛela clan, but as he now lives outside of
614 Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

643 In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to
651 noble Kel Ṛela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Iskkemaren class, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Ṛela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139ff.).

643 Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known
651 as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the
579 Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *ennehet*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347f.).

The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was
565 also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg.
614 But the relation (*temaẓlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals
651 and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

233 In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another.
511 The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And
[234] the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food,
[262] but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar
[574] Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together,
[281] as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft,
[237] as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925–30, I–II). 3) As mentioned (p. 113) camel's milk is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly also among the Kel Ajjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors (Monteil 1952, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. 4) All Tuareg and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf to deceive the mother animal during milking – for camels like cows will not generally yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or butter as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. – Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of riding camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg, and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East Africa have the same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection with camel-breeding (Monteil 1952, p. 103).

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts like those of Air are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullemmeden, and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country – in particular those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. – Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156f. – Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f., 597f., V, p. 201. – Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. –

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



younger animals which yield more milk. Again, the meat of very old goats is of inferior quality. Much goat-meat derives from he-goats of which a very limited number is needed for mating. Some Tuareg claim that one he-goat is able to cover about a hundred goats, but as a rule I doubt whether it would be called upon to do so. In any event, too many he-goats are brought forth, and even very young male kids are frequently killed and eaten as there will be more milk for the nomads when such animals do not have to be suckled. It is considered ideal that male kids which are not needed for reproduction, and which are not killed at very early age, should be castrated at the time when weaning takes place, but even old he-goats may be castrated to make them fat for slaughtering.

Though meat is not a stable dish of the Tuareg they have to kill a certain number of goats every year to obtain skin for the manufacture of various domestic utensils. The roaming life in the desert necessitates a great many containers for water, butter, milk, grain, dates, and the like, and bags made from goat-skin are appropriate for this purpose. Indeed, goat-skin is so important to Tuareg craft that in speaking of the manufacture of most domestic articles one can hardly avoid mentioning the word "goat". Thus, my fairly large collection of ethnographic specimens from the Ahaggar Tuareg contains about fifty different objects made entirely or mainly of goat-skin, which is also used for the manufacture of tents among the Northern Tuareg. Even nowadays, a few articles of dress are made from goat-skin, and goat-skin was in general use for this purpose in the past (cf. p. 287 ff.).

Goat-hair is extremely useful to the Northern Tuareg. The hair is cut once a year in the hot season when the animals do not suffer from cold (cf. Fig. 98). It is spun into strong cords used for tethering animals, for tying up caravan loads, for reins, and the like. In certain tribes of Ahaggar it is also used for a very primitive kind of weaving (cf. p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

To understand the economic role of goat-breeding one must briefly touch on the question of size of flocks. Statistics concerning the ownership of livestock must always be regarded with much suspicion, as it is extremely difficult to obtain data. It is not only most impolite to ask Tuareg about the size of

Fig. 20. A kid with the stick (*akara, asegrez*) pierced through the mouth as described in the text. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Tarwit* tribe.

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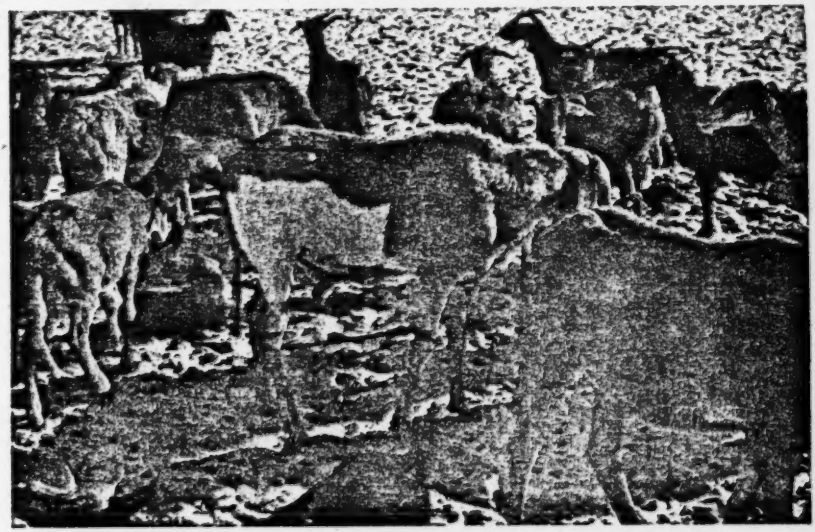

Fig. 25. Ram prevented from mating by means of a cord (*uɣun*) tied around the foreskin of the penis and also around the scrotum. A longitudinal hobble-rope (*amahus*) also serves to prevent copulation.
Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terwit* tribe.

[435] the price of sheep for slaughtering is very high compared with the price of goats. Sheep are also con-
[382] sidered the proper animals for Islamic sacrifices, and it should be added that sheepskin is considered
● [237] very suitable for the manufacture of certain articles (cf. p. 288 & p. 298; Figs. 232, 240).

[825] The Tuareg say that sheep are more "stupid" or less "intelligent" than goats. Sheep do not respond to their names, they get more easily lost during grazing, and they do not return to the camp by themselves. It is difficult to herd sheep if there are no goats in the flock. Among the Tuareg, as elsewhere in North Africa, sheep and goats are normally mixed in one flock. The goats then always march at the head of the flock, obeying the orders of the herdsman, while the sheep follow behind. It may happen, however, that goats and sheep become divided during grazing, as goats march too quickly for sheep to follow them, while on long journeys sheep show more endurance than goats.

The techniques of sheep-breeding are largely identical with those of goat-breeding mentioned above.
234 It should be observed, however, that goats can be milked without any difficulty whether they have kids or not, while this is not always so with sheep. It is said that they are more easily milked when they have lambs. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr I have noted more than once that a good milch-sheep which had lost its lamb was given another lamb belonging to a sheep yielding less milk.

*233 Sheep can lamb until an age of seven or eight years, but it is considered appropriate to kill them for

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or Ingal) for selling, they are also frequently provided with a wooden prong (*aburi*) loosely attached around one foreleg to prevent them running away. I have never seen this practised among the Fulani who have much more control over their cattle than have the Ayr Tuareg. 233* [27]

Cows continue to bring forth calves and yield milk until they are about 15 years old, and the duration of their life is estimated at about 20 years. But it is considered appropriate to keep milch-cows until they are ten or twelve years old when they should be sold or killed. The period of gestation for cows is about ten months, and there is no regulation of mating. The Tuareg say that cows will be on heat and mate again shortly after the birth of a calf, and that milk-yielding does not stop until five months after mating. Free mating of the cows agrees well with Tuareg interests as prices of calves are high. [435]

Milking of cows takes place twice daily and is generally done by women – in rare cases by men. 234 Milking is performed as follows:— Just before the herd returns from grazing in the evening every calf is firmly attached to a tree by means of a cord (*témetrek*) around its neck so that it cannot reach the udder of the mother cow. When milking is to take place the mother cow is attached to the same tree by means of a cord (*aran*) around its horns. The calf's rope is now loosened and it will immediately start to suck while the milk-maid fastenes another rope or cord (*akarab*) around the hind legs of the cow. When this is done the calf is attached to its tree again, and milking begins. The milk-maid squats at one side of the cow (generally at the right side) holding the large milking bowl (*akabar*) (Fig. 37) between her legs and knees, and milks with both hands (Fig. 29). When the milk-maid has taken the milk she wants she releases the calf to let it drink what is left in the udder, but the calf is thereupon attached to its tree again in order that it may not suck during the night. Before the cows leave the camp in the morning milking is performed again as just described, but it may happen that the cows leave for grazing already during the night, and they are then not milked again until next evening. Tuareg who possess a great many calves may guard them within a so-called *zeriba* (*afarag*) made of thorny acacia boughs. [462] [417]

Most cows will not yield milk unless they have their calves close to them. If a cow loses its calf it may be replaced with the calf of another cow so that milking can be done, but it is also common to use the so-called dummy-calf (*azeyuz*) made from the dead calf's skin stuffed with hay. This puppet is then set close to the cow which is deceived by it: It feels that its calf is standing by, it licks the skin, and milking can then be done without much difficulty. [237]

The dummy-calf is not used by the zebu-owning agriculturists of Ahaggar, though I have met one of these *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*) who had once made a calfskin-puppet after he had seen the method practised among *Iforas* Tuareg at Kidal. The method of blowing into the cow's vulva is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *askuf*; it is used particularly for cows which are difficult to milk shortly after the birth of a calf. During migrations, when young calves march together with the mother cows, suckling is prevented by means of a piece of dum palm leaf attached around the calves' mouths. Such an attachment known to the Ayr Tuareg as *adabar* may be used also for other domestic animals.

Weaning of calves takes place according to one of the following methods:— (1) *ikembar*, that is cuttings made with a knife in two or three places on the bridge of the calf's nose. The wounds of these cuts hurt the calf when it tries to suck, but the method is effective only for a very short period until the wounds have healed. On adult animals the scars of these wounds appear as small bumps (Fig. 30). 233*

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Fig. 37. Wooden milk-bowl (*akabar*) of the type used in Ayr not only for she-camels but also for cows, sheep, and goats. It is carved out of wood of the *tarza* tree (*tarha* in Ahaggar) (*Calotropis procera*) by a blacksmith. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.285 m high. (N.M. G. 6662).

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Fig. 38. Wooden milk-bowl (*akabar*) of the type used for she-camels in Ahaggar. It was introduced to Ahaggar from the south where it was made by an Ayr blacksmith from wood of the *tarha* tree (*Calotropis procera*). The cracked brim is mended with a piece of raw camel hide. Ahaggar, the *Aghal-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension: 0.240 m high. (N.M. G. 5822).

37–38) and milks only with one hand, but the milk-bowl may also be held by a woman or a boy so that both milkers have two hands free. If men are absent from the camp, milking may be done by women though properly this is the task of grown men. Certain she-camels are very difficult to milk so that milking should be done as quickly as possible. If a she-camel is very restless and therefore difficult to milk it is customary to bend up its right foreleg and attach it in this bent position to its left foreleg before milking is done. This method is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the term *ésemmetil* (cf. Fig. 35). 234 [462]

The Tuareg have various devices to prevent camel calves from drinking more than their proper share of milk. In Ayr and also among the Ahaggar Tuareg of the Tamesna region it is common to keep the young calves tethered by means of a particular cord (*témdit*) fastened to the calf's forelegs (Fig. 39–40). The calf is not allowed to follow its mother during grazing, and in the night when all she-camels rest in the camp they are kept lying on the ground so that the calves cannot suck them. When young calves are tethered in the camp they are fed on fresh annual plants collected for them by the Tuareg. When calves grow older and plant food constitutes their most important nourishment, 233* [824]

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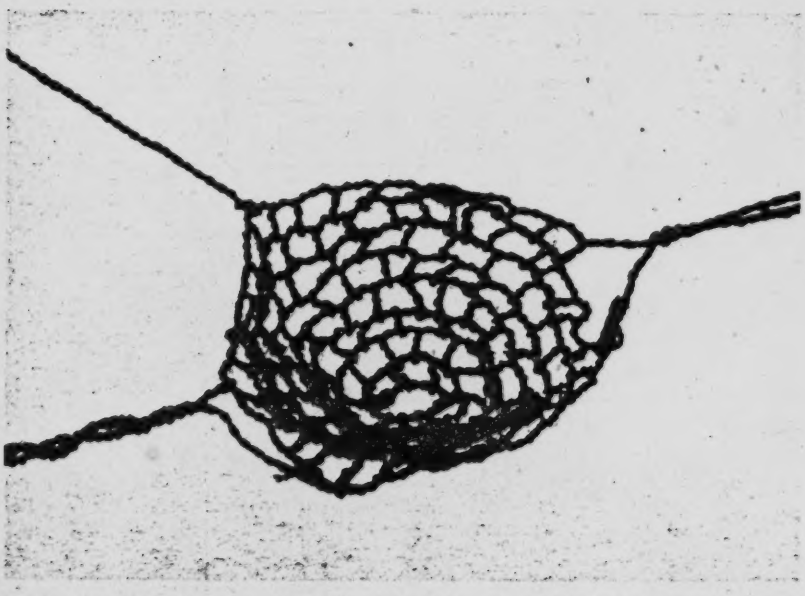

Fig. 41. Plaited pouch (*ebeju*) to prevent the sucking of camel calves. It is made of goat's hair, and it has three cords for attachment to the hind part of the she-camel so that the pouch covers the udder. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension of the three cords: 1.19, 1.05, and 0.97 m. (N.M. G. 5198).

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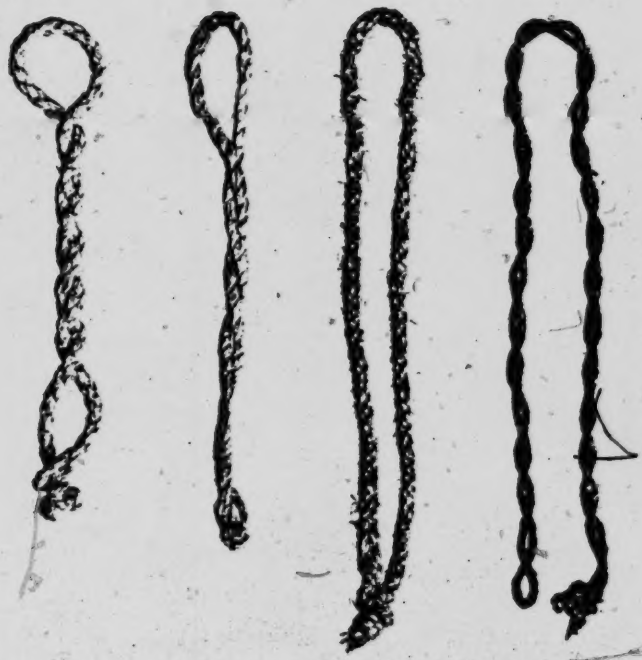

Fig. 45a–e. Hobble-ropes for camels.

a. The *asayan* rope to be tied around the foreleg of a camel to keep it lying down. This rope is made of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Ajjab-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension of the stick 0.128 m (N.M. G. 5195).

b. Hobble-rope (*tiffari*) made of dum palm leaves. Ayr, *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. Dimension: 0.43 m. (doubled). (N.M. G. 6609).

c. Hobble-rope (*tiffari*) made of raw ox-hide. Ahaggar, the *Ajjab-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 1.03 m. (N.M. G. 5196).

d. Hobble-rope (*tiffari*) newly-made of date palm bast. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.60 m. (doubled). (N. M. G. 5197).

e. Hobble-rope (*tiffari*) made of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Ajjab-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 1.16 m. (N.M. G. 5198).

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Fig. 46. A resting she-camel with the colour name *tawinat*. The colour term of the young she-camel standing in the back-ground is *ténilt*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

In Ayr the Tuareg do not use camel's hide in their crafts, but give it to the blacksmiths who use it for lashing, or to people who manufacture beds from ribs of palm leaves (cf. Fig. 257). The Northern Tuareg use camel-skin for the manufacture of a few household implements and also use it for lashing (cf. p. 84, 110, 222, 270 f. & Figs. 70, 86, 132a–b, 161a–d, 162, 213). But even in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer the skin of camels is little used compared with the skin of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep. 237 564 352 824

When employed in craft, camel's hide is normally used raw and unprepared after soaking in water, but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that for certain purposes the hide is treated with salt. In literature there are many statements about the tanning of camel's hide. Thus it is stated by Cauvet that the hide is tanned with plant material in Algeria, and Cauvet also quotes Duveyrier's statement that the Northern Tuareg tan camel's hide to use it for tents and various other implements (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 714 ff.). I very much doubt the correctness of this, as all Tuareg asked about it have stated that the hide of camels is not fitted for proper tanning. Camel's hide is therefore of very limited use to the Tuareg, and the same is the case with camel's hair or wool. Tuareg camels in Ayr have very little wool, and among the Northern Tuareg most animals have less wool than Arab camels of the Northern Sahara. The Northern Tuareg pluck a little wool with the hands or cut it off with a knife. It is spun into cords to be used for certain minor objects, notably for the manufacture of the plaited pouch (*abegu*) to prevent the suckling of calves (p. 62, Fig. 41) and for the particular cord (*asarun*) tied around the foreleg of camels to keep them in a reclining position (p. 72, Fig. 45a). Mixed with goat's hair the wool is also used for a kind of primitive weaving (p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b). 281 114 237 283 286

Camels are very important to the Tuareg as pack-animals for the caravan expeditions which will be mentioned in a later chapter when other means of subsistence have been described. 492* 494

In the past camels were also extremely valuable as riding animals on raiding expeditions which 492* 721

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Fig. 52. The *akeskabbu* shakles connected with a leather rein richly decorated with fringes of the same material. This headgear is now in the National Museum (N.M. G. 5192). Hanging around the camel's neck is also a neck collar (*takawt*) with a brass bell (*anayna*) which is also now in the National Museum (N.M. G. 5191) (cf. Fig. 74b). Below the brass bell is an amulet case fixed to a piece of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehli* tribe.

*233 *492 camels and for other animals which are difficult to control (Fig. 48). Such halters are known by the term *amerar* among the Ayr Tuareg. Certain camels which are difficult to catch even when hobbled during grazing constantly wear a halter provided with a short rope hanging down from the head – a device applied to many fierce bull-camels (Fig. 56).

*492 To break-in young riding camels the Tuareg frequently use a double rein one end of which is tied around the animal's head to serve as a halter while the other end is noosed around the lower jaw according to the method generally used for pack-camels and described above. But for trained riding [233] camels the nomads normally content themselves with the use of a single rein (generally known as *tarant* in Ahaggar, in Ayr as *trézem*) plaited of goatskin or goat's hair and attached to a copper ring [564] (*tiğemt* in Ahaggar) inserted in the right nostril of the camel (cf. Fig. 43). This is done by the blacksmiths who also manufacture a very special headgear (*akeskabbu*, or *taryet* in Ahaggar) for riding camels which are difficult to control. The rider when using such a head-gear has a double rein one end of which is attached to a nostril ring (*tiğemt*) while the other end is connected with two iron shackles known as *akeskabbu* (*taryet*) and *amadel*. When the rider pulls the right rein the camel is pulled at the nostril ring, but when he pulls the left rein the two iron shackles are tightened around the bridge of the nose and the lower jaw of the animal. The system is illustrated Figs. 50–52. Black- [824] smiths also make very elaborate halters of this type to be used mainly as an ornament of riding camels [531] on festive occasions. In such cases the halter as well as the rein are richly decorated with coloured

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Fig. 60. Riding saddle of *tekokeyt* type (*térik*). Bought in Ahaggar by Olufsen, manufactured in Ayr. Dimension: 0.70 m high, 0.50 m long, 0.35 m broad. (N.M. G. 1.126).

[284] [237] [113] *Hammu* obtain their riding saddles from Ayr. All three sub-types of the *térik*-saddle are constructionally identical, being made from pieces of wood lashed together with raw hide and then covered with coloured leather. The structure of this *térik*-saddle is described and depicted in literature (cf. notably Gabus 1949, pl. XII; 1957, p. 176 & Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 48, p. 179).

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Fig. 62. Riding saddle of *bertakes* type (*térik*). This saddle was brought to the Musée de l'homme by Duveyrier. From Tasilé-n-Ajjer, probably manufactured in Ayr.

*492 mainly by blacksmiths of Adrar-n-Foras, which region is considered its original homeland, but it is
564 also made at Agadez in Ayr where the wooden skeleton is often covered with hairy ox hide. The wooden
237 structure of this saddle type is described in literature (Gabus 1949, pl. XII; 1957, p. 176).
113 In Ayr and further south in Damergu I have often seen a very simple riding saddle which has never been mentioned in literature. It is known as *kantarki* or *delobi* (Figs. 64–65), and it is very interesting

[Text continues on p. 84]

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**Fig. 63a. Riding saddle of the *tahyast* type. The saddle is made of wood of the *tarha* tree (*Calotropis procera*) which is often used for riding saddles. The wooden frame is lashed with strips of raw hide and covered with depilated ox-hide which is coloured with the dyes known as *herki*, *temesarwak*, and *tawnkent* (cf. p. 282). Bought in Ahaggar, manufactured in Adrar-n-Foras, or in Ayr. Dimension: 0.55 m high, 0.51 m broad. (N.M. G. 5189).**

that it is manufactured by pastoral Tuareg of these regions and not by blacksmiths, though the latter may also make such saddles for their own use. The wooden structure is made of two cross-bars, which are natural prongs fashioned with knife and axe, and these two cross-bars are lashed to each other at their lower ends, or are connected with each other by means of two sticks crossing each other at the two sides. A wreath of slender roots of *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) covered with a network of dum palm rope may serve as a saddle seat, which can also be covered with a piece of matting plaited from the leaves of the dum palm tree. This very simple saddle may perhaps be considered the prototype of the more developed riding saddles of the *térik* and *tahyast* types.

All the above-mentioned types of riding saddles are placed in front of the camel's hump and rest upon two to four saddle cloths, the number depending upon their quality and also upon the nutritional condition of the animal. Two saddle-cloths are considered enough for a fat camel while four should be applied to a very thin one. Saddle cloths are frequently called *ésatfar* (Ayr) or *asetfer* (Ahaggar), but this name is in fact used for everything placed upon the back of an animal to protect it against galling from the luggage and/or the saddle. Saddle cloths for camels are properly termed *éselis* (Ayr) and *ameslak* (Ahaggar). Both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr saddle cloths are generally made of cotton, but they are also made from dum palm matting and a piece of leather among the Ayr Tuareg (Figs. 66–67). The riding saddles are fixed to the camel by a single girth known as *ahayif* (Ahaggar) or *azuw* (Ayr). In the north such girths are normally made from goat-hair while the Ayr Tuareg use plaited leather (goat-skin). Girths in both regions are frequently furnished with a very large tassel hanging down from the right side of the camel (Fig. 69). On rare occasions when the Tuareg ride their camels with all possible speed, e.g., at the annual camel races organized by the French administration, the riders often secure the position of their saddles by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren* among the Northern Tuareg) tied around the hind part of the camel as shown by the photograph Fig. 68.

The camel rider sits in the saddle cross-leged with his feet resting upon the camel's neck. To accelerate the speed of his riding animal he pushes one of his feet against its neck in step with the rocking gait peculiar to camels. A whip (*alekkod*) also belongs to the equipment of the rider. Most whips have a single lash made from a twisted strip of hide, but whips provided with two lashes of hide attached to a wooden handle are also found and are common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Figs. 70a–b). The whips used in the north are said to be made from camel's hide soaked in water; the raw hide is twisted and kept in this position until it is dry. The Ayr Tuareg say that camel's hide is not well fitted for whips, which among them are manufactured from the raw hide of a newly-killed ox. A piece of this hide is twisted and left to dry as in the north. The handle of the one-lash whip is made of cotton wrapped around the upper part of the lash and covered with coloured goat-skin.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular implement to hasten the speed of riding camels. It is described in literature notably by Foucauld. It consists of a slender iron rod 0.35–0.50 metres long, fixed into a wooden handle. It has a small crook much like that of a staple and is used for scratching the animal and thus to incite it to greater speed. It is called *azalla*, or *asekred* (Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 856 & IV, p. 1960). I have never seen this peculiar implement among the Tuareg.

A camel rider's equipment comprises various types of skin bags of which the most common is a

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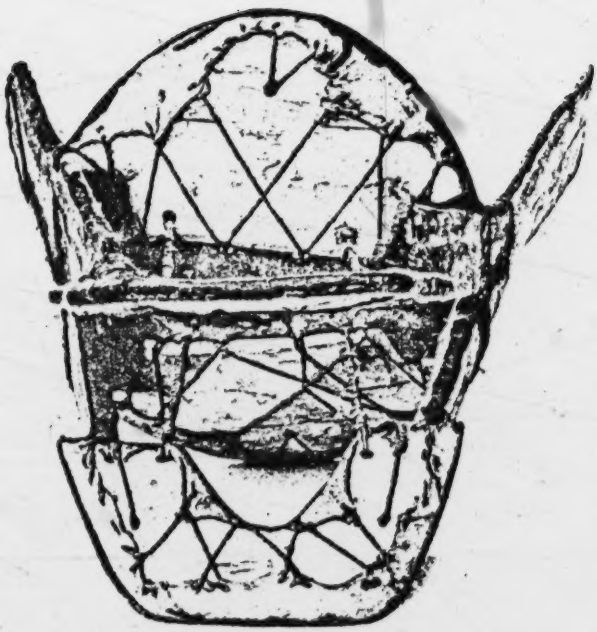

Fig. 63b. cf. Fig. 63a.

*492 415 huge saddle bag known as *ejjebira*, manufactured exclusively by the sedentary people of Agadez, the *Imeggedezen* (Fig. 72a). Other bags are often used by riders and some of them will be mentioned in the description of skin and leather work.

[283] An important part of the rider's equipment is the drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from metal and attached to the saddle pommel with a plaited leather cord (*témetrek*); it is particularly common *492 among the Northern Tuareg (Fig. 71). The Tuareg also possess a great many objects which serve [331] exclusively as ornaments for riding camels. The Northern Tuareg adorn their animals with a collar (*tahawt*) made from fine cords of goat's hair, while the Ayr Tuareg use another type of collar called

[Text continues on p. 88]

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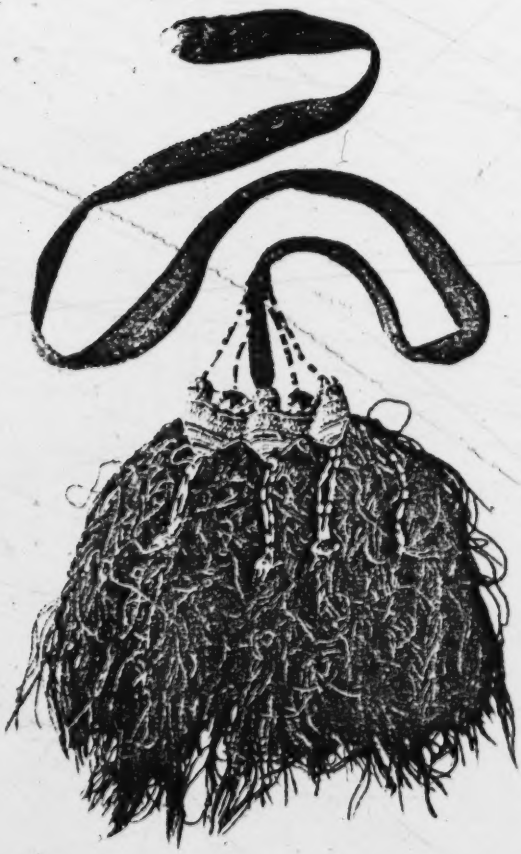

Fig. 69. Camel girth (*akayif*) made of goat's hair and provided with a large tassel of the same material. Ahaggar, *Kel Rezzi*. Dimension: 3.00 m long. (N.M. G. 5826).

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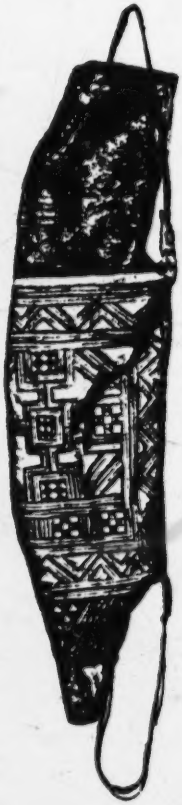

Fig. 72a–b. Leather bags for camel riders.

a. Large saddle bag known as *eljebira* (*eljebira*) and used by all riders. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen, manufactured by the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez (Ayr). Dimension: 0.70×0.70 m. (N.M. G. 1.108).

b. Large luggage bag (*ahoun*). Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.20 m long. (N.M. G. 1.136).

In a few words camel vocabulary has the characteristics mentioned under the following items:— (1) Sex terms; (2) Age terms which, like most camel terms, also refer to the sex; (3) Colour terms; (4) Terms for very special qualities; (5) Terms for camels according to their training and use; (6) Terms for camels in very definite situations; (7) Terms for the number of camels in a herd; (8) Many entirely synonymous terms. 233 192

The Northern Tuareg use the term *amis* (pl. *imnas*) for all male camels including geldings, and the term *talemt* (pl. *tellemin*) for all she-camels. In Ayr a male camel is known as *alem* (pl. *imnas*) and a

[text continues on p. 95]

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Fig. 73 a–b. a. Camel rein (*rézem*) plaited of leather (goat skin) and ornamented with fringes of the same material. Ayr, the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Dimension: 2.70 m long. (N.M. G. 6653).

b. Neck collar (*ilgam*) which serves as an ornament of riding camels. Made of leather (goat skin). Ayr, the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Dimension: 0.43 m. (N.M. G. 6654).

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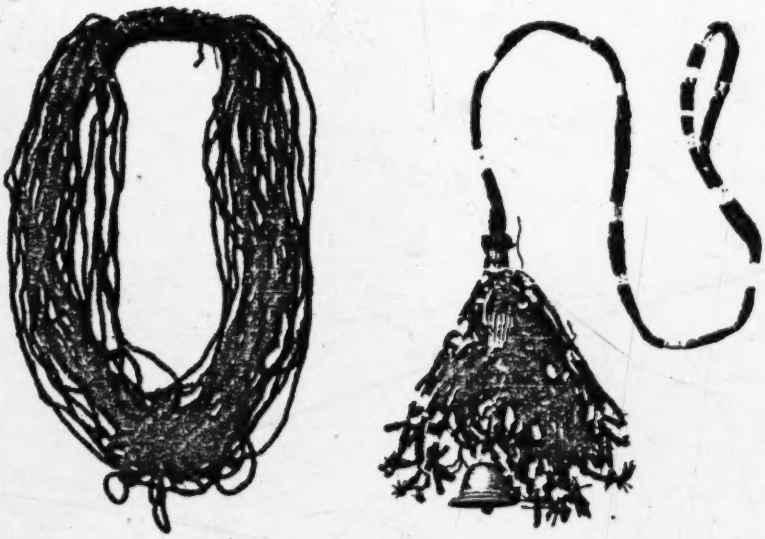

Fig. 74 a–b. Neck collars for riding camels.

a. Collar made from fine cords of goat's hair. It is called *tahawt*. Ahaggar, the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the winding seen at the top: 0.07 m long. (N.M. G. 5193).

b. Neck collar (*tahawt*) plaited from goat's hair, ornamented with coloured thread, and provided with a small brass bell (*anayna*). Ahaggar, the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.995 m long. (N.M. G. 5191).

she-camel as *talemt* (pl. *tollemin*). In both groups a bull-camel is termed *amali* which word is generally used only for bull-camels reserved for breeding. 233
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The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have definite age terms for camels until they are eight years old. These terms may be seen from the list on p. 102 where they are mentioned in their feminine forms. At the age of eight years the dentition of a camel is fully developed and later it becomes more difficult to state its exact age. Camels older than eight years are therefore generally known by one and the same term as long as they are strong enough to be used for riding and transportation, or for breeding. The age terms used among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr are different from those mentioned from the north. They are used with precision for camels up to eight years old, and if the exact age of a camel is known by the owner he may continue to apply such terms for camels up to fifteen years old. Older camels are just referred to as "camels" or "old camels".

Colour terms of camels are many. I find it appropriate to list colour terms of the Northern Tuareg

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Fig. 79a–d. Children's toy camels. a. Jaw-bone of goat provided with saddle and rider. It is known as *akmar n amis*. Ahaggar, *Ḫarratin* of Abalessa. (N.M. G. 5914).

b–d. Three roughly-cut stones used as toy camels by Tuareg children. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe. Dimensions: 0.067, 0.063, and 0.073 m. (N.M. G. 6604 b, d, a).

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233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. 683 For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

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| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *tilgad*, or *chêt awêtay* | (one year old) | 10 | *tibeydegin* | (white) |
| 10 | *tilusin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *titlarin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *tekkenifadden* | (3 years old) | 10 | *tizeggerin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiruyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *tibhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chêt essin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *tilemlarin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chêt okkoz* | (6 years old) | 10 | *tizerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *timessedas* | (7 years old) | 10 | *timengelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chêt tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 | *tikewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tiregganin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *tizerrafin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *tiwinarin* | (white cornea) |

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 565 524 232 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[text continues on p. 104]

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Fig. 84. Boy and women mounted on donkeys. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

But the wild animals are bigger, which the Tuareg ascribe to the fact that they roam freely in the desert and always can find the very best fodder – an explanation which seems reasonable as the Tuareg camp where fodder is reserved to their milk-yielding animals (cf. p. 491 ff.). It can be added that domestic donkeys are frequently tightly hobbled by means of a narrow rope (*iéffart*) around their forelegs (Fig. 45) and sometimes also with another rope (*amalur* in Ahaggar) running from one foreleg to a hind leg.

If donkeys are not hobbled, there is always a great risk that they will disappear in the mountains and join the herds of wild animals. Unhobbled donkeys are often caught with great difficulty. They are sometimes driven together by the inhabitants of a camp, and when mares have foals it may even become necessary to run down the foals on riding camels in order to get hold of their mothers. In some regions where donkeys depend on water from deep wells it is customary not to give them too much water to drink, in which case unhobbled animals can always be caught at the well, where they will wait for water. But donkeys are very well fitted for desert life. They can do without water for several days even when weather is extremely hot, and where water is very near the surface so that the sandy soil is humid donkeys dig small holes with their hoofs to drink the water which quickly gathers in these depressions. I have myself witnessed this in Ahaggar where the Tuareg say that among domestic animals only donkeys are able to make such water-holes.

The Tuareg distinguish between the domestic donkey (*éyhed* in the north, *éyjed* among the Ayr Tuareg) and the wild donkey or ass (*ahalil* in the north, *éwedrer* in Ayr), but they are well aware that there is no important distinction between them for many Tuareg even nowadays obtain domestic donkeys by catching wild animals. Wild donkeys or asses were hunted for domestication still more eagerly in the past, and there may perhaps be some connection between donkey-breeding and true hunting – that is hunting for meat. Nowadays the Tuareg never eat donkey's meat, nor do they utilize the skin of these animals. But it is known that the Ahaggar Tuareg have eaten donkey's meat in periods of hunger even fairly recently, and Duveyrier states that old animals caught in traps are killed for their

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Fig. 85. Tuareg breaking in a young newly-caught donkey. The donkey is prevented from escaping by means of hobble-ropes (*téffart* and *amokur*) and is also tethered to an acacia tree. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehlé* tribe.

231 262 237 [175] skin (Duveyrier 1864, p. 231). It is most possible that the taboo on donkey's meat and skin is due to Islam – meat of donkeys and horses is considered unlawful by the Ḳoran. Leo Africanus states that the nomads of the Sahara eat meat of donkeys which they catch in snares (Leo Africanus II, p. 944).

136 224 The wild donkeys, or asses, of Tuareg countries are very shy, and it is most impressive to watch a herd of some twenty animals galloping over the desert plains. Because of their shyness they are often hunted much in the same way as game animals. Among the Northern Tuareg they are caught in the spiked wheel-trap, are run down by men mounted on camels, or are driven into closed river valleys surrounded by steep rocky walls. In certain parts of Ayr wild donkeys can be caught in the same way – notably in valleys of Mount Tamgak (Northern Ayr) and around Anu Meḳḳeren (Central Ayr) – while the method of running down wild donkeys with riding camels is said not to be practised. Whether the so-called spiked wheel-trap is used for catching donkeys or not, I do not know, as the Ayr country is very extensive and inhabited by Tuareg of different origins. The Tuareg belonging to the *Kel Ferwan* group claimed that it was not used for donkeys or asses for which they have a kind of snare called *tuṛunt*, which is also the name used among them for the noosed rope connected with the spiked wheel-trap. The snare used for donkeys is said to consist of a rope some twenty or thirty metres long and [283] plaited from dum palm leaves. The rope is noosed at one end to be used as follows:— The loop is laid out where donkeys come to drink, the whole rope being covered with sand. The hunter lies hidden behind some natural object, a rock or tree, and when a donkey puts one of its legs within the loop he pulls the rope. It is said that this method is also sometimes used for other domestic animals [231] which have gone wild, as happens frequently with oxen. But it is never used for hunting proper game animals such as gazelle, antelope, and barbary sheep. To catch domestic animals which have gone 231 224

*492 household goods during nomadic migrations, and are employed daily in all camps to carry water in skin-
[415] bags from wells and waterholes to the tents. They are very strong animals considering their low stature,
[512] and good pack-donkeys can carry up to one hundred kilograms even for very long trips. Donkeys
[262] are occasionally used for long journeys by the Northern Tuareg, and many Ayr Tuareg use them to
[484] fetch provisions of millet around Tanut in Dumergu. Caravans of donkeys are frequently observed
in these regions, and one even sees mixed caravans of donkeys and camels. There can be no doubt
[174] that before the introduction of the camel the donkey was still more important for riding and transportation than is the case nowadays. This is clearly demonstrated by historical material from Egypt and adjacent regions (cf. Erman 1922, p. 518 f., 529, 592 f., 636).

231 It has already been mentioned that donkey's meat and skin are not utilized nowadays by the Tuareg.
[262] The same is true of mare's milk which, however, is used as a remedy against a kind of cough known
[257] to the Ayr Tuareg as *khamkham*. There is no regulation of mating for donkeys which in many ways are semi-domesticated animals. In Ayr male donkeys are never castrated, while the Ahaggar Tuareg say they castrate such stallions as constantly run after the mares and in this way cause too much trouble. The Tuareg also have no methods to prevent foals from sucking, while a method of this kind is sometimes applied by sedentary people in and around Agadez. This method known as *éfinjar* consists in the cutting of the nostrils of half-grown foals so that they cannot suck pregnant mares. Both stallions
*492 and mares are used for riding and transportation, but female animals are much preferred for these purposes. Mares are used almost exclusively for the transportation of water-bags hanging under the animals, as the bags might be squirted by stallions' urine.

The Northern Tuareg saddle their donkeys, using the same saddle type for riding and for transpor-
[462] tation (Fig. 86). This is known as *aruku* and is manufactured by the women in the following way:—
[824] Two fresh boughs of the *tahunek*-tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) are heated, or slightly burned, over the fire.
[322] The boughs are thereupon barked and bent into the curved form wanted, and are then kept in this position by cords. After drying for a few days the boughs will retain their curved form, and the cords
[237] are untied. The boughs are then cut up and their ends are connected by two pieces of camel's hide
[412] soaked in water, and sewn together by means of a large iron needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (cf. Fig. 220b) and a thread which is also cut from camel's hide. The wooden saddle frame is attached to three
[237] cushions. These cushions are generally made of goat-skin or sheep-skin stuffed with hay or with date palm bast, but may also be plaited from leaves of the date palm tree. Cushions made from goat-skin
[412] are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of the little awl known as *tisteni* (cf. Fig. 218a). The two long cushions resting lengthwise upon the animals back are known as *tastek*, and the small cushion resting over the animal's back close to its shoulders is called *tafelledut*. The saddle is fixed to the donkey by two girths consisting of cords made of goat-hair. One of these cords (*tidmechart*) passes under the tail, the other (*ahayif*) is tied around the chest of the animal. This saddle type is well fitted for the transportation of burdens and in particular of water-bags, the cords of which are attached to the pommels. When the saddle is used for riding it is frequently covered with a blanket or a piece of cloth. Saddles of this type are found in all camps of the Northern Tuareg, and Lhote states that they are also found in Adrar-n-Foras and in Ayr (Lhote 1947a, p. 120). This may be so but I have myself never seen them in the latter region where they are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan*

When Tuareg get lost in the desert and lack water, they bleed their camels and 261
drink the blood (cf. p. 235). In situations of great distress they may also kill their camels in order to obtain the water supply conserved in the animal's stomach.

(3) Treatment by burning. Wounds are cauterized by means of a redhot iron known as *tamak* 232
(Ayr), or *taterkemt* (Ahaggar). Burning with a redhot iron is also practised for camels with swollen feet as already described (p. 121). It is also common to burn a line around wounds or other sites of disease in order that it shall not spread, and burning is even practised for internal diseases, as is the case with the *toza*-disease of camels (p. 121). Redhot irons are, on the whole, used particularly for camels. Wounds of sheep and goats, e.g., wounds from jackal bites, are cauterized by means of glowing camel dung. Certain stomach diseases, such as types of tympanites, are cured by a bunch of flaming grass swept under the animal's belly. I have seen this practised with donkeys which, like horses, may suffer from a kind of tympanites known in Ahaggar as *tahagá*.

(4) Instruments and bandages. Enema should be mentioned under this heading. It is known in 232
Ahaggar as *sebegiwen*, and is applied to humans and to animals by means of a funnel or by a special 757
apparatus made from a piece of hollow cane connected with a skin-bag. I never had the opportunity [913]
to see this apparatus, which is depicted by Lhote who also gives some information about the use of enemas with human beings (Lhote 1955a, p. 303, Fig. 36). He mentions that an enema is also given by a mother to her little children by blowing water into the anus with her mouth. I have seen this done to children in Ahaggar, but I do not know whether this method is practised with animals also. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the Tuareg apply wooden splints to their domestic animals with broken 232
legs. I have seen this device only in Ahaggar where wooden splints are known as *tifesasin* (sing. *tafasast*). They are used for sheep and goats (Fig. 92), and, by the sedentary agriculturists, also for cows. The wooden splints applied to goats are sometimes replaced by a leather bandage solidly tied [237]
around the broken leg. I mention under this heading that camels bred and born in stony or mountainous 492
countries cannot always stand the long journeys through plain and sandy deserts. Their feet suffer

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Fig. 93. Tuareg bleeding a camel at the place of the neck vein known as *abayor*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

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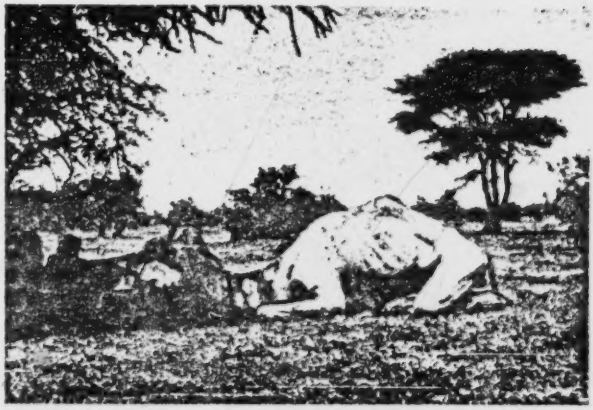

Fig. 95. A Tuareg feeding his riding camel with *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Many Tuareg feed their riding animals with stems of this perennial grass – partly to obtain a docile camel for riding, partly to change its fodder which consists largely of acacias and annual plants. The photograph is taken near Agadez at the *akasa* season. Annual plants grow between trees and bushes (*afagag*, *Acacia Raddiana*; *ebezgin*, *Salvadora persica*; *tadent*, *Boscia senegalensis*). Ayr, the *Isakaranan* tribe.

234 than those mentioned. Thus they can use any kind of receptacle for milk and milking, and they do
415 not clean their milk-bowls with urine as is normal among certain East African stock-breeders, and,
237 perhaps, also among certain of the Fulani living south of Ayr. The taste of urine is detested by the
262 Tuareg, who know this taste all too well as the water drawn from pools and wells is frequently flavoured
237 with urine and the excrement of domestic animals. Nor is camel urine used by Tuareg women for
302 hairdressing as is done among the Arabs, but it is said that it may have a medical value in curing
752 wounds. The custom of drinking blood has been mentioned above (p. 122 f.) and will be described later (p. 235).

*233 The Tuareg apparently have comparatively few superstitious usages in stock-breeding, which is
232 mainly to be considered rational. We have seen that stock-breeding is adapted to environment, and we have also mentioned that there are veterinary methods which doubtless have their origin in considerable knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of domestic animals. This knowledge forms one corner-stone of rational stock-breeding, and another is the very detailed knowledge of botany. In
*233 824 Ahaggar there are more than 600 different plant species for which the Tuareg have particular names, though a few related species are sometimes known by one and the same name. Every Tuareg know about the ecological conditions of these plants, and he knows exactly their fodder value for domestic animals. He knows that certain plants form excellent fodder for all domestic animals, but he is also well aware that the different types of stock have different needs, so that certain plant species are valuable for camels, other species for other domestic animals.

231 The Tuareg are occasionally cruel to donkeys, and to dogs, but they take the greatest care of all other domestic animals to ensure their wellbeing and reproduction. Women bring acacia pods or tender annual plants to kids, lambs, and calves, and to sick animals which remain in the camp. On
484 *233 long trading expeditions, when the camels have little time for grazing, some Tuareg will walk along

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221 *233 824 tagayt, while the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* at this period will camp around Ingal. Many Southern Tuareg leave the savannah country to avoid its heavy rainfalls and stock-diseases to let their animals benefit from the salty water and plants in the *Azawaq* country.

133 162 137 In the country west of the Ayr Massif, the Tamesna Plains, there is in addition to the Ayr Tuareg a numerous population of Ahaggar Tuareg who live constantly in these regions. These plains are botanically different from the mountains. Perennial vegetation is scarce though there are some *tamat*-acacias (*Acacia flava*), but there is a very rich vegetation of annual plants of great importance to *233 824 domestic animals. Among these plants can be mentioned *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*), which is very valuable for camels and also good for sheep, *adreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tagellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). The two latter plants are valuable as fodder for all domestic animals. It is noteworthy that these three species of annual plants last longer than other annual species. They do not wither at the beginning of the *ṛarat*-season, but remain fresh and green all through the winter until about *tabsit*.

It is evident that Tuareg knowledge of botany is extremely comprehensive, and that they use this knowledge to make stock-breeding as rational as possible. They may perhaps not be so rational in protecting pastures, for they cut acacias' boughs to feed the kids resting in the camps, and it is most possible that they also overgraze certain pastures. However, the grazing grounds are very vast in comparison with the number of pastoralists, and I believe that overgrazing and arboreal devastation take place mainly around villages and towns where the flocks of sedentary people graze continuously in the same area. In Ahaggar the valuable fodder plants and plants which are important for collecting are often protected for two or three months in order that they may become fully developed (cf. p. 150, 179).

*233 The Tuareg take great care that their animals do not lack water. It is true that camels and also donkeys can do without water for many days even in summer, but at this season camels should preferably be watered every two or three days, and goats are always watered every two days when the weather is hot. In winter the animals are not watered so often, and this is true particularly if the animals feed on fresh annual plants. Camels can do without water even for weeks and months under such favourable

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Fig. 97. The leather bucket known as *aje* to the Northern Tuareg. The leather is tied to an iron ring made by blacksmiths. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension of the iron ring: 0.275 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.51).

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Fig. 98. A slave watering goats by means of the leather bucket called *aga*. Water is drawn from a well and poured out into a hole dug in the clayey ground. The goat standing to the left is sheared – a token of the summer season. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*233 conditions, and herdsmen, who live with camelherds far away from camps and wells subsisting on
[272] camel's milk, do not consider water necessary. Should domestic animals have eaten salt or salty plants
[271] they are very eager for water even in winter. When I lived in Ahaggar with my camels during the winter 1954/55 they had rightly to be watered every ten days, but in regions where they fed mainly on saliferous plants they had to be watered more frequently. However, domestic animals must not be watered too often as this would make them slow and emaciated, and a camel must not be worked too hard the day after it has been watered.

312 Tuareg camps are always found around wells, pools, or other types of water places for which there
[361] is a large vocabulary. But the Tuareg never camp too close to water places where there is little pasture, many foreigners and consequently little peace. The distance from camp to water place varies, but is
[132] very frequently 1–3 kilometres. During the rainy season (*akasa*) water is very aundant all over Ayr, but outside this period conditions of water supply for human beings and livestock are more favourable
[415] in the north than in Ayr, where water most of the year must be drawn from wells. To raise water the Tuareg use a leather bucket known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aga* (Fig. 97–98). The water drawn for
[237] the animals is poured out into a hole dug in clayey soil, or into a hole covered with a piece of skin or leather known in Ahaggar as *tafarawt*. This skin is nowadays frequently substituted by canvas (cf.
312 Fig. 99). Where water is scarce and must be drawn from narrow wells, as in Ayr during the summer
578 season, the watering of flocks and herds gives rise to frequent quarrels between pastoralists. For
[423] though the right to the use of wells is free to all there are many disputes and fights frequently

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Fig. 111. Skin bag of *tchchdkwat* type made from a jackal's skin. The Ahaggar Tuareg believe that people who conserve their money in a skin bag of this kind will have good luck in trading. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.63 m (F.M. 283).

# Hunting

For the pastoral Tuareg hunting is not an important occupation, and nowadays it is practised mainly 224
by those few Tuareg who possess rifles or guns. Traditional hunting methods are thus of far less con- [41]
sequence than in the past, but some of them are very interesting and most significant for a historical [121]
analysis of Tuareg culture.

## AHAGGAR

Northern Tuareg areas are not very rich in game. In Ahaggar the main types of game are the gazelle 136
(*ahenkof*, fem. *tahenkof*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) and the barbary sheep (*ukad*; *Ammotragus lervia*). The 224
big gazelle (*énir*; *Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amellul*; *Addax nasomaculatus*) are very rare; they are occasionally seen in the plains outside of the mountains. The ostrich (*auhél*; *Struthio camelus*) was very common in the past, but is now exterminated.

The small gazelle is rare and shy within the Ahaggar Massif, while fairly abundant and comparatively 224
easy to hunt with a rifle in the northernmost massifs and their surrounding plains. Of seven camps visited in Ahnet 1954, gazelle hunting was engaged in by the members of two households, and I estimate that they killed one or two gazelles every week. In most camps of the Northern Tuareg there are no [262]
true gazelle hunters, and when a rare gazelle is killed its meat is easily eaten in one day by the members of a single household – in addition to three or four pounds of wheat-bread or millet-porridge. Gazelle 237
skin is of little practical value to Tuareg craft. It is not generally used for the manufacture of important [283]
domestic articles such as water bags and containers for milk and butter, but it is suitable and much esteemed for certain types of decorated leather work and for fine leather cords, e.g., necklaces for amulet cases, reins for riding camels.

Barbary sheep are extremely shy, and they live mainly in inaccessible mountains. They are still fairly common in certain isolated parts of the mountains, but they were more numerous in the past when hunting was practised without rifles.

The Tuareg estimate that the amount of meat obtained from two gazelles corresponds to the meat of one grown goat, while a big barbary sheep provides as much meat as that of four goats. Meat of [251]
barbary sheep is better suited for drying than meat of other game animals, and the thick hide of these [237]
animals is valuable for the manufacture of tents and for large bags used for the conservation on [372]
journeys of dates, grain, flour, and the like. The horns of barbary sheep are used as butter containers [415]
(Fig. 165), and some Tuareg add the powder of crushed horns to butter before heating it (cf. p. 222). Barbary sheep are of greater economic value to the Ahaggar Tuareg than other types of game, and

[A157]

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is refused by noble Tuareg and in general also by vassals. One reason for this is that the Tuareg have a myth saying that the *ạrata*-lizzard is the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the noble Tuareg. Some vassals claim that it is the ancestor of all true Tuareg, but this statement does not agree with mythology (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 61). However, this lizzard is eaten mainly by slaves and by certain agriculturists, though its meat is considered a remedy against snake-bite and scorpion stings (cf. Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.). The head of an *ạrata* is considered an excellent amulet against these poisonous animals (Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.), and the skin of this lizzard is not only utilized for the manufacture of amulet cases but also for small bags of various types (Fig. 116a).

Small animals are not necessarily killed with any particular hunting implement. The animals may be taken with the hand or killed with sticks and stones, as is the case with the hedgehog (*ẹkenisi*, *tẹkenisit*), which is eaten by some people, and with small rodents. Even hares can be taken with the hand when they hide in the grass or under rocks. The hunter may then approach the hare swinging one of his sandals over his head. This, it is said, makes the animals believe that it is hunted by a hawk or an eagle, and it will therefore remain stubbornly in its hiding place. Even gazelle are sometimes taken without any proper hunting weapon. Some Tuareg say that on journeys through the barren desert country in the summer they have met gazelle so exhausted from thirst that they could take these animals with their hands. Although this is rarely possible, I know Tuareg who have crept up to gazelle hiding from the sun in daytime and killed them with a stone. Finally it can be mentioned that the

Fig. 116a-b. Two small skin bags.

a. Skin bag (*abelḥoḍ n ạrata*) made from the skin of the big *ạrata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.). Ahaggar, *Ḥarratin* of Tarhawhawt. Dimension: 0.325 m long. (N.M. G. 5834).

b. Skin bag (*abelḥoḍ n tẹmerwelt*) made from hare-skin. Ahaggar, bought from *Ḥarratin* at Tarhawhawt, manufactured in the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5833).

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Fig. 119. Bow (*ingunzi*), arrows (*imeran*), and quiver (*thamaren*) from the Hausa-speaking population living south of Ayr around Aderbissinat. The bow is made from wood of a tree called *ddinew* and has a string of ox-hide. The arrows have shafts of wood or reed; their iron points are made by blacksmiths. The quiver is made from ox-hide with a plaster of cow's excreta applied to the inner side. Dimension of the bow: 1.20 m. (N.M. G. 6621).

[567]

Fig. 120. Tuareg clubs.

a. Wooden club (*aburi*). Dimension: 0.995 m long. (N.M. G. 1.159). Ahaggar, Olufsen's Collection.

b. Wooden club. Used for weapon and for cattle-driving by Tuareg around Timbuktu. Made from a bough of *Combretum aculeatum*. Collected by O. Hagerup. Dimension: 1.39 m long. (N.M. G. 3086). All slaves I saw among the *Iwilimmeden* near Ayoru carried this weapon.

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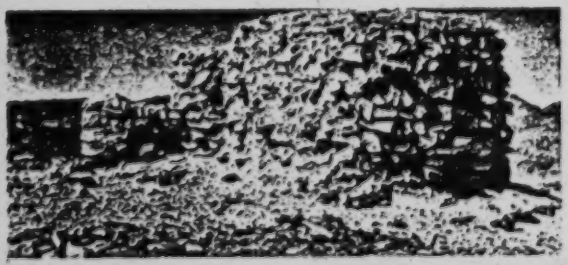
them. They are lined and covered with mats as in Ahaggar, and though they may be used for the 251
storage of wild seeds they are mainly used for grown cereals and are generally found in or close to 343
gardens. Grain silos built of stones and mud – the *tarassana* type of Ahaggar – are said to occur among the *Kel Ewey* but I have never seen such storerooms in their villages, nor have I met the typical African storeroom built of straw and resting upon poles until south of the Massif in Damergu where they are used by shifting cultivators. Large earthenware containers shaped like cooking pots are used [415]
to store vegetable products (cereals) in certain villages, particularly at Iferwan. Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr have the underground storerooms for the preservation of surplus grain and other vegetable products. Cereals to be consumed in the camps (notably millet) are kept in large skin-bags resting [415]
upon poles that they may not be damaged by white ants. The Ahaggar Tuareg also preserve cereals in their tents in skin-bags.

Irrigation agriculture is a strenuous task, but it is less influenced by climatic conditions than all 241
other occupations practised in the Sahara. The farmers are not exposed to the same disasters of drought [461]
periods as are pastoral Tuareg in the north, though it is said that rain is a direct blessing also to irrigated crops. But cultivated plants are exposed to certain dangers, e.g., locusts, and crops do not always thrive as they should. Bad luck in agricultural activities may in the opinion of the farmers be due to [272]
some mystical power or other. It may arise from incorrect treatment of cereals and dates so that they [278]
lose their *elbaraka*. Menstruating women, as mentioned above, are dangerous to vegetable food, and [841]
this is also true of the fire, for which reason one should never throw date kernels into the flames. The [754]
farmers also fear that their crops may suffer damage from the attack of the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and particularly from the attack of the malignant force attached to the "evil eye" or the "evil mouth". To protect [237]
their crops the farmers frequently use amulets such as broken pots and skulls of domestic animals (notably of donkeys), which are considered an effective means against the "evil eye" and the "evil mouth" (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 133 f., 160).



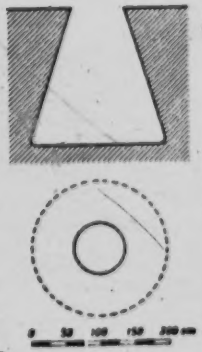



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Fig. 145. Grain silos of the *tarassana* type built of stones and mud. Ahaggar, Abalessa.
Fig. 146. Cross section of a subterranean storeroom for cereals, and the like (*ifend*). Dimensions according to Foucauld: 2.00 m–2.50 m deep, 2.00 m in diameter at the bottom, 0.75 m in diameter at the surface (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 459 f.).

[text continues on p. 209]

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Fig. 155. Skin bag (*sarafra*) for the conservation of butter-milk on journeys. The bag is made from an entire goat-skin and has a handle of goat-hair cord tied to the skin patches of the hind legs. A leather handle is attached to the lower part of the bag which is ornamented with leather fringes, Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tahli* tribe. Dimension: 0.77 m long without the fringes. (F.M. 89).

They churn most butter from cow's

234 milk, and this butter is not considered as delicious by the Ahaggar Tuareg as their own butter, churned
[262] mainly from goat's milk. – The use of wooden churning sticks by means of which milk is stirred in
234 an open container is unknown in Ahaggar and Ayr, so far as I know. Churning sticks are used in
412 other Tuareg groups. They are common among the Tuareg of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas (Musée d'Ethono-
184 graphie, Neuchâtel, no. 49.2.44 & Musée de l'homme, Paris, no. 38.16.48) and among the *Iwillemmeden*
171 Tuareg and the Fulani (Musée de l'homme, Paris, nos. 41.19.411 & 41.19.1326).

234 All Northern Tuareg, as well as the Northern Arab pastoralists and semi-nomadic Berbers and
[17] Arabs of the Atlas, make cheese from butter-milk, while this type of cheese is unknown among the
[184] Southern Tuareg and also among the Fulani. In Ahaggar butter-milk cheese (*awles*) is manufactured
[412] by women in the following manner :— Butter-milk is heated over the fire in an earthen pot (*téṛirt*, or *afrum*)
*[415] (Figs. 186, 187a–b) by which process the milk is divided into two parts, namely pure water and a curdled mass of milk (*akru*). This mass of curdled milk is placed in a special basket (*araṛu*) (Figs. 167a–b) hanging from a tree or a similar object to sort out the whey. Thus there remains a mass of cheese in the basket, and this mass is formed into small round pieces to be left for drying. Butter-milk cheese is manufactured in this way by all Northern Tuareg who are thus able to obtain butter and cheese from the same milk.

234 Another type of cheese is made from fresh milk and is manufactured not only by the Northern
171 [ie. the Ayr Tuareg -- Analyst]

Tuareg but also by the southern groups and by Arab pastoralists of the Sahara; it is also known in the Atlas, and is on the whole widely distributed in Northern Africa. This type of cheese is known to the Northern Tuareg as *takammart* and it is manufactured as follows:— Fresh milk is heated and then poured into a large wooden bowl (e.g., *tayehut*) (Figs. 195a–b). The milk is curdled into a mass of cheese by means of a rennet (*akammar*) consisting of the abomasum of kids that have never tasted anything but milk. The curdled mass of cheese is pressed with the hands and with a piece of straw-mat (*ésebet*) in order that the liquids may separate. The mass of cheese is formed into small rectangular pieces of cheese which are left on the little straw-mat for about one day. They are then removed to be dried finally on a platform (*tahoga, tafalkat*) made of branches.

Cheese made from fresh milk is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tekemmart*; it is manufactured to very great extent and much in the same fashion as just described from Ahaggar. The abomasum of little kids or lambs to be used for rennet is named *tedayant*, and the Ayr Tuareg add parts of an annual plant known as *ekochmaren* (*Caralluma Mouretii*) in order that the milk may curdle quickly. The Ayr Tuareg also use little mats plaited from stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) to press and form the rectangular pieces of cheese; the Ayr Tuareg make mats (*tésebert*) (Fig. 168) particularly for this purpose, while the Ahaggar Tuareg generally use an old piece of a tent mat (*ésebet*). In Ayr the rectangular pieces of cheese are dried on bunches of hay placed in trees (acacias), or on the top of the mat-covered tents.

The *takammart* or *tekemmart* type of cheese made from fresh milk is in high esteem as food among all pastoralists of the Sahara. It is generally eaten when newly-made and soft, though it may also be stored. The Ahaggar Tuareg make this type of cheese only when milk is plentiful, while the Ayr Tuareg manufacture it most of the year though the main season of cheese-making is the season of *akasa*.

Fig. 156. Skin bag of the *ámessekey* type used to sour milk before churning. Ahaggar, the *Afu(l)-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.37 m high. (F.M. 170).

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Fig. 157. Skin bag (*ámezzeky*) for souring milk before churning. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: smallest height 0.20 m. (N.M. G. 5207).

234 Milk of goats, sheep, and cows is frequently mixed to make cheese of the *takammart* type, but milk of these domestic animals is also used individually for cheese-making. The very best milk is said to be sheep-milk which gives almost white cheese, while cow's milk yield a more yellow-coloured one. –
128 The use of milk, butter, and cheese in connection with various vegetable dishes will be described later in this chapter, and we shall now briefly outline the use of meat and its preparation.

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Fig. 159. Calabash (*azenu*) of the type used by Ayr Tuareg for milk and for churning butter. It is provided with a wooden stopper and a handle plaited from goat-skin. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.30 m. (N.M, G. 6664).

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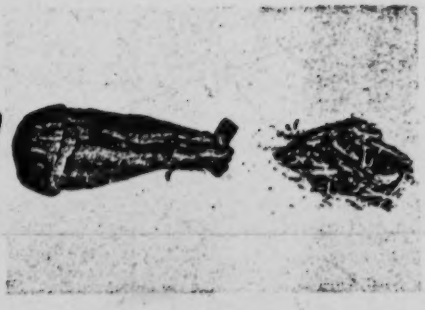

Fig. 160. Skin bag (*abelbof*) containing parts of the annual plant *aynezais* (*Chlamydophora pubescens*) which are added to butter before heating in an earthen pot. Ahaggar, the *Aḡah-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: the skin bag is about 0.15 m long. (F.M. 153).

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Fig. 161a–d. Butter containers of the *tahattint* type made from camel's hide.

a. Provided with a leather stopper and a cord of goat's hair. Dimension: about 0.24 m high. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. (F.M. 113).

b. Made from camel's hide covered with goat-skin leather. The leather stopper is seen to the right. The handle consists of cords made from goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: about 0.30 m high. (F.M. 91).

c. Large container with four sticks inserted around the opening and a handle of rope made from goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Dag Bali* tribe. Dimension: about 0.36 m high. (F.M. 253).

d. Large container with a wooden stopper. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.60 m high the stopper included. (N.M. G. 1.45).

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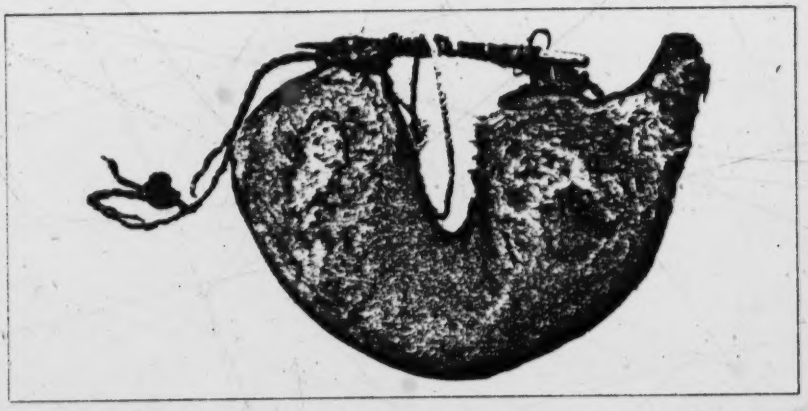

Fig. 162. Very large butter container (*arakka*) made from the neck-hide of a camel. It is provided with a wooden handle wound with hide and with cords made from goat's hair and bast of *ebser* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Similar containers are also used for the conservation of cereals. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.62 m long. (N.M. G. 5201).

Fig. 163a–b. Calabashes used for storing butter in Ahaggar but introduced from the south (Ayr).

a. Calabash (*azenu*) with a wooden stopper fastened to a leather strap and provided with a handle of cord made of goat's hair. The wooden stopper is called *azhar*. Ahaggar, the *Aghak-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.620 m high. (N.M. G. 5206).

[484] b. Calabash (*tazenut*) with a handle of white goat's hair. Used for transportation of butter on journeys. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.175 m high. (F.M. 252).

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Fig. 165. Horn (*isrk*) of barbary sheep used for storing butter for greasing the hair. The opening is closed with a piece of date palm bast (*azaa*), and the edge is pierced with a glowing awl (*tudel*) for the insertion of a cord of goat's hair by means of which the horn is attached to the tent ceiling. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.30 m long. (F.M. 236).

252 the Tuareg in the past. I believe that they were made by blacksmiths or imported from the north.
*415 Pastoral Tuareg do not manufacture earthen pots which are obtained from sedentary people. The
[222] cooking of meat is perhaps not a traditional method of food preparation to the Tuareg, though they seem to have used cooking pots for centuries.

252 A method of meat preparation undoubtedly introduced recently among the Tuareg, is that of spit
177 roasting. Meat roasted in this way is known as *mechwi*, a word of Arab origin, and the Northern Tuareg have taken over the method from the Arabs. The *mechwi* method is also known in Ayr, where it has perhaps been introduced by French administrators who had learned to appreciate meat thus
252 prepared during their visits among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Pieces of sheep and goats and entire animals are prepared in this way (Fig. 174), and the meat should preferably be prepared with butter and red pepper before roasting.

The traditional Tuareg roasting method is to place entire animals (goats, sheep), or parts of them, under the hot ashes of the fire. This method is known to the Northern Tuareg as *abatul*, to the Tuareg of Ayr as *ebewil* (Fig. 175). This method of roasting meat is practised everywhere among the Tuareg, and it is on the whole similar to the method used for bread-baking described below (p. 238 f.).

Meat-roasting in the ashes is no doubt an ancient Tuareg method of food-preparation, and this also holds good for another method described in connection with the preparation of milk, namely food preparation by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221). The Ahaggar Tuareg prepare the stomachs of goats, sheep, *and barbary sheep in this way, putting hot stones into* the stomachs, while camel stomachs are boiled in a cooking pot and gazelle stomachs roasted in the ashes according to the *abatul* method mentioned above. These rules of food preparation seem also to be practised by the Ayr Tuareg, who put hot stones into stomachs of sheep and goats together with small pieces of meat. A stomach of goats or sheep prepared in this way, however, is given a final treatment in hot sand or in ashes close to the fire. The stomach of sheep or goats cooked with hot stones is known as *tarafa*, and a related word seems to be known also in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1583).

[262] The Tuareg eat most entrails of their slaughtered animals. Entrails of camels are normally boiled, and kidneys of all animals are prepared in this way. Most entrails of goats and sheep (liver, heart, and lungs) are roasted on the embers or in the ashes, and in Ayr the Tuareg roast fat put into the abomasum (*tederant*). The Northern Tuareg generally prepare liver and fat together in the following manner:— The liver is roasted upon the embers, is thereupon cut into small pieces which are wrapped

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Fig. 171. Ordinary meat-knife (*elmusi*) of the type used among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Its broken handle is mended with hide of barbary sheep sewn with leather thread. Ahaggar, the *Dog Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m (total length). (F.M. 249).
All knives are manufactured by blacksmiths.

wheat bread is eaten particularly during migrations and on trading expeditions, or in periods when 262
butter is rare (Lhote 1955a, p. 262). This statement disagrees with my own experience. Wheat bread [114]
is an ordinary diet of many Northern Tuareg. Bread is also baked from barley and from certain wild [224]
seeds (notably *tawit*, *Chenopodium Vulvaria*; *ëhéyefyef*, *Aizoon canariense*; *tullult*, *Aristida pungens*)
and wild roots (*ahahel*, *Cistanche Phelypaea*), while millet and sorghum are considered less suitable
for baking. Seeds are generally prepared for baking by grinding them into flour by saddle querns or 282
handmills. In Northern Tuareg country there are two types of bread which have been introduced as [172]
a result of contact with Arabs or the Arabic-speaking *Harratin*. One type is named *elfetai* and is baked

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Fig. 172a–b. Meat knives.
a. Knife (*dzegis*) of Tebu type to be carried in its sheath around the upper arm. These knives are sometimes used in Ayr. Agadez. Dimension: 0.370 m. (total length). (N.M. G. 6620a–b).
b. Knife (*dzegis*) of the double-edged type normally used in Ayr. The *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.377 m (total length). N.M. G. 6665a–b).

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Fig. 206a–d. Axe and adzes of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

a. The ordinary axe (*taḍefi*) which is found in all Tuareg camps. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.572 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.157 m long, 0.053 m broad. (N.M. G. 5233).

b. *tassawt*, a small socket-shafted adze with knee-shaft. Adzes of this type are common in Tuareg camps. They are used mainly by women for wood-carving. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.301 m long. (N.M. G. 5232). [322]

c. *tékadimt*, adze shafted by means of a piece of sheet-iron and nails. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.440 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.150 m long, 0.058 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5864).

d. *tékadimt*, slot-shafted adze. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Tamanṛaset. Dimension: 0.430 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.222 m long, 0.065 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5865).

The axe and the adzes are all made by blacksmiths. [564]

The very best ropes or cords manufactured by the Ahaggar Tuareg are those made from goat's 283
hair which is sheared with a knife by the women once a year in the hot season. These ropes are known [237]
to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ihellumen* (sing. *ahellum*), while the proper term for a rope of goat's hair [233]
in Ayr is *azaw*. But the Ayr Tuareg do not make such ropes as they have goats of the short-haired
breed (p. 33). They obtain their ropes from the Ahaggar Tuareg. Ropes of goat hair are manufactured [438]
by women by the following method:— The mass of hair, known as *éhafilen*, is placed upon a piece [462]
of skin and is prevented from blowing away by means of a stone. The hair is then taken out in small
quantities with the first and second fingers of the left hand to be spun upon a stick 30–40 cms long.

[text continues on p. 266]

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Fig. 207. Tuareg making a hobble-rope (*iffart*) of date palm bast (*asan*). Ahaggar, the *Kel Rezi*.

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Fig. 208. The manufacture of a cord of goat's hair: (1) the hair (*dhafiten*) is spun around a little stick (*aseggelem*). (2) The spun hair is trebled and twisted into a thread known as *tassarkit*, or *tassagit*, between two sticks (*iseggelam*, sing. *aseggelem*). (3) The finished cord (*ahellum*) which is made by trebling the *tassagit* thread. Ahaggar, the *Aghi-ou-tekhé* tribe. Dimension of the *aseggelem* stick to the left: 0.41 m long. (F.M. 74, 120, 122).

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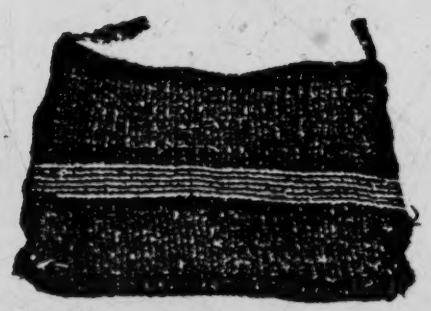
Fig. 209a–b. Two bags (*iḥrerirt*, pl. *tiṛrar*) plaited from hair of goat and camel.

a. Bag woven from hair of goat and camel and reinforced with leather around the opening. It is made into two halves which are sewn together. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.405 × 0.480 m. (N.M. G. 5245).



b. Bag woven exclusively of goat-hair. It has two leather straps for suspension. Dimension: 0.34 m long. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. (F.M. 259).

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Fig. 210a–b. Two coiled baskets provided with lids.

[462] a. *taklulit*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*aḡum*) and reinforced with coloured leather (goat-skin). Manufactured by women of the sedentary *Kel Ras* in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, bought from blacksmiths at Tamanrasset in Ahaggar. Dimension: 0.13 m high. (F.M. 227).

b. *aḡobun*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*aḡum*). It is ornamented with coloured leather thread and with woollen yarn. Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.205 m high. (N.M. G. 5837a–b).

283 This stick, which is held in the right hand, is turned around its own axes while the hair taken out from the mass with the left hand is occasionally moistened with water or with spittle. The stick upon which the hair is spun is known as *aseggelem*. I have noted in Ahaggar that a length of 50–60 metres of spun hair can be made in about twenty minutes. Such a lenght of spun hair is trebled and attached to two sticks also known as *aseggelem* (pl. *iseggelam*). It is twisted together by two women each holding one of the sticks, and may be conserved for some time before it is finally made into a rope by further trebling and twisting (cf. Fig. 208). Certain cords to be used in connection with riding camels (e.g., reins) are not twisted in the above manner, but are plaited (cf. Fig. 51). The spun hair is used for the manufacture of certain objects without twisting (cf. Fig. 167a–b). Lhote states that the hair growing on the knees and neck of barbary sheep is also used for spinning (Lhote 1955a, p. 319).

[237] The Northern Tuareg spin camel's hair or wool (*teḡuft*) which is used for very few purposes (cf.
[288] p. 67). But camel's hair is sometimes mixed with goat's hair to be spun for thread used for a primitive type of weaving; true weaving is an unknown craft among the Tuareg while important to Arab pastor-
288 alists of the Northern Sahara. The Tuareg type of primitive weaving with spun hair is carried out
* [415] with no other implement but the hand; it is used for small transportation bags known as *tirrar* (sing.
[114] *téṛerirt*), a word, according to Foucauld, derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776) (cf. Fig. 209a–b). I have myself never had the opportunity to see how weaving of this type is done.

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Fig. 224. Decorated skin bag (*abelhoḍ*) for the conservation of tea leaves. Ahaggar, the *Aṭuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.25 m long. (F.M. 151).

Fig. 225. Skin bag known as *aleguiguí* (pl. *aleguiguten*). The specimen depicted is an old bag which shows that the bottom consists of a bowl plaited in coiled technique and covered with leather. New bags of this type are ornamented with leather fringes. These bags are used for the transportation of tea glasses, sugar, and the like. The correct name of such bags according to some Tuareg is *eggebankob* (pl. *eggebankobben*). Ahaggar, the *Aṭuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.33 m high. (F.M. 80).

413 used to burn marks of property into camels and donkeys. The large awl may also be employed for
[321] wood and horn work after heating in the fire. Horn or bone material, however, plays a little part to
[757] the Tuareg. A horn implement common to all Tuareg is that depicted Fig. 230; it is used for sucking
237 out blood of sick persons after bleeding and is widely known in the Sahara. Arm rings (sing. *ewek(*)
[301] made of horn are worn by many adult men among the *Kel Ajjer*, but are rare in Ahaggar. Among the

[text continues on p. 282]

237 Ayr Tuareg a piece of ram's horn may serve as an amulet case attached around the upper arm. Horns
*[415] of barbary sheep are used for butter containers among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 223; Fig. 165), who sometimes use a piece of pointed gazelle horn for daubing antimony around the eye.

281 The Ahaggar women cut skin and leather with a small knife (*telmusit*), and a piece of wood (*azettemu*)
462 and/or a stone (*tazzet*) are used for smoothing the skin which is then placed upon a particular wooden
[413] board (*elkeyleb*) (cf. Figs. 219a–d). The Ayr Tuareg do not make so much refined skin work. Women
*[445] among the Northern Tuareg conserve their implements for skin and leather work in a particular bag (*askagen*) which is made from leather attached to a bottom piece of horn (*isek*) (Figs. 220a–g).

[53] Northern Tuareg women take a great interest in their skin and leather artifacts, which are richly decorated with fringes and hanging tassels, and with geometric designs in different colours. I have
386 noted the following colours among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer:—
822 (1) *baba*, indigo which is introduced from the south in the form of balls.

(2) *tawnkent*, which is also known as *tafidet* and *tanezezzeft* according to Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1934. It is a yellowish mineral which yields an entirely black colour frequently seen on ornamented skin bags. The mineral according to the Ahaggar Tuareg is introduced from the south, while the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer claim that they obtain their minerals of this type from Serdeles north-east of Rat. – A black colour which is also known as *tawnkent* is said to be made by the Tuareg of Ahaggar in the following way:— Pieces of iron are put into water contained in some small receptacle, usually a tea glass. This receptacle containing water and iron pieces is covered with a bowl or a similar object in order that the sun light cannot penetrate. After a few days the water turns into a black colour to be used for skin dyeing.

(3) *semento*, a green colour derived from a mineral or a powder introduced from the south. According to some Tuareg this green colour is also made by means of a vegetable powder introduced from the north, from the region of Mzab.

(4) *khodarbas*, a powder which yields a green colour. It is said to be introduced from the south (from Tawa) and to derive from a tree known as *tafnit*.

[824] (5) *errummun*, the fruit of the pomegranate tree known as *terrummunt* (*Punica Granatum*). It is used with a white mineral (alum), known as *azref n Tawat*, and introduced from In Salah. Parts of the pomegranate fruit and of this mineral are mixed with water to be used for a yellow or yellow-brown dye which is applied to many decorated skin bags for ground colour.

(6) *temesaruak*, a mineral introduced from the north (Mzab). It produces a yellow colour.

[243] (7) *herki*, a reddish brown colour obtained from a particular type of sorghum known as *tallok* grown in the cultivation centres of Ahaggar.

(8) *téderse*, a white colour obtained by placing the skin for about three days in a container with fresh milk to which a little salt is added. – Among Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told that a white colour is also obtained from a kind of powder introduced from the Sudan.

386 Before use these above mentioned colours or dyeing materials are generally dissolved in water
[53] contained in a tea glass. When they are employed for the very fine geometric designs of leather bags they are daubed with a small knife known as *telmusit* (Fig. 219b).

[439] It is interesting that most dyes used by the Northern Tuareg are introduced from the north or from the south,

[Text continues on p. 284]

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Fig. 229. Tobacco bag (*ahribof*) with the bottom made from the scrotum of a goat. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.22 m deep. (F.M. 94).

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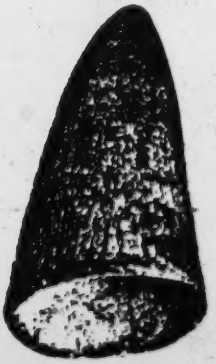

Fig. 230. Piece of ox-horn (*ésafi*) to suck out blood of bled persons. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.09 m. (F.M. 148).

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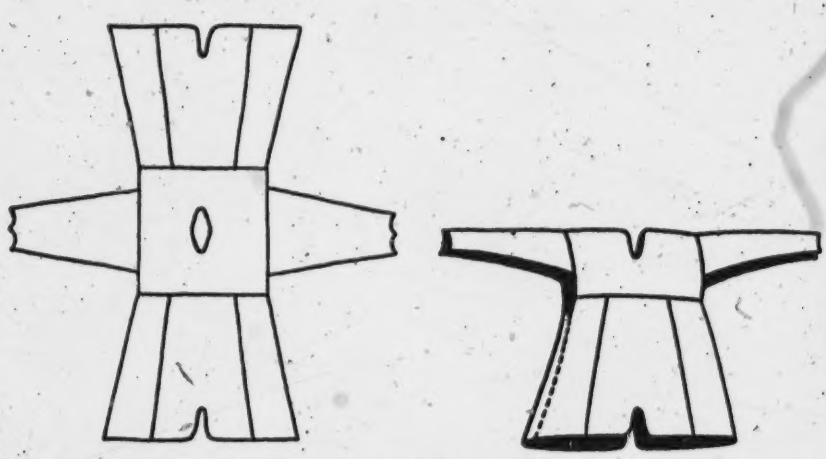

Fig. 232. The cut of a leather shirt (*tébetiḳ*) from Ahaggar. The shirt is ornamented with leather fringes along the seams and at the ends of the open sleeves. The shirt is made from sheepskin dyed with indigo. Ahaggar, the *Kel Inṛer* tribe. Dimension: 1.15 m long, 0.60 m wide at the waist. (Musée de l'homme, No. 41-19-1645).

291 I have never seen a skin shirt among the Tuareg, but it seems as if skin shirts are worn in certain
[237] parts of Ahaggar even at the present time. They are described from the regions north and east of the Kudia, and are made by certain tribes of the *Isekkemaren* who use skin of barbary sheep or goats for the lower part of the shirt, fine goatskin for the upper part covering the shoulders, and gazelle skin or the skin of kids for the sleeves (Mounier 1942, p. 158). A skin shirt is found in the "Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistorie du Bardo" in Algiers. It is called *tébetiḳ*, and is described as follows:—

291 "Le corps de la tunique figurée est fait de trois pièces de cuir: une pour les épaules et la poitrine,
294 avec un trou pour passer la tête, deux autres pour le devant et le dos. Ces deux dernières pièces sont reliées sur le côté par deux bandes de cuir verticales; le tout formant une sorte de robe évasée à la base. Les manches sont ouvertes dans le sens de la longeur, donnont ainsi liberté complète aux bras. De petites franges de cuir très fines décorent l'ensemble à l'emplacement des coutures. – Dimensions: hauteur totale 1.20 m; taille 45 cm; manche 55 cm. Inventaire du Musée: F 9". (Balout 1959, pl. VI).

291 The above-described shirt is clearly of the poncho type, and this is also the case with three leather
[28] shirts preserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. The shirts seem to be identical in cut and size, and are here briefly described by reference to one of them. It is made from tanned and depilated sheep skin, dyed with indigo. Its total length is 1.15 m and width at waist 0.60 m. Its museum number is 41.19.1625 and it is said to have been manufactured by a woman of the *Kel-Inṛer* tribe (*Isekkemaren*).
[292] It is also stated in the museum's card-index that such shirts are worn by poor people in Téfedest and by *Dag Rali* slaves.

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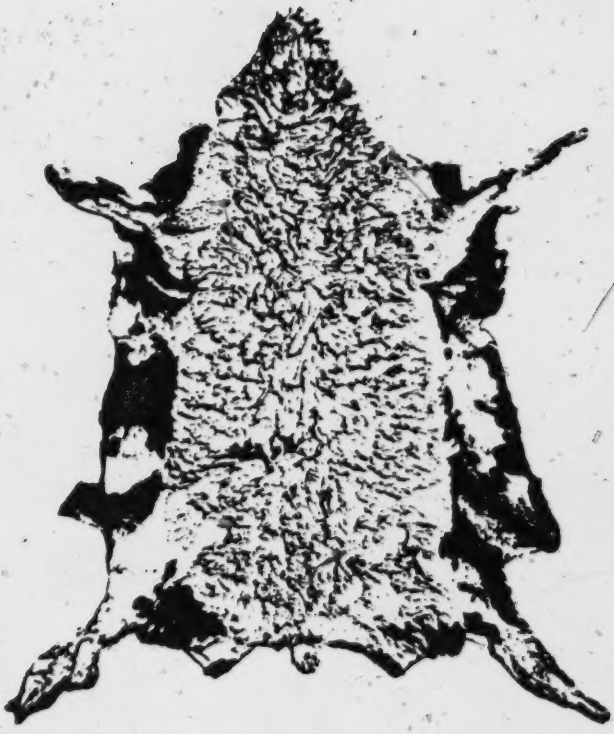

Fig. 240. Sheep-skin (*aglim*) to be worn over the back with the hairy side turning inward in cold weather. Dimension at the middle: 1.170 m long. Ahaggar, the *Aghab-ra-sahl* tribe

291 Ayr Tuareg up to the French occupation of Ayr (cf. Musée de l'homme, card-index 41.19.847). The [237] skirts mentioned are made from goat-skin, and this is also the case with two other skirts found in the collection of the Paris museum. These latter skirts differ from those mentioned above in that they

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 241. Skin mantle made from several pieces of hairy goat-skin sewn together with leather thread. It is known as *tafemis* (sing. *tafilmi*). Ahaggar, the *Dag Ball* tribe. Dimension: 0.99 m without the fringes. (F. M. 281).

are somewhat longer, and provided with two shoulder-straps. The skirts were collected by Lhote in 291
1939 in the region of Ansongo at the Niger, and derive from the *Kel es Suk* Tuareg. According to the card-index similar skirts are also worn by *Bélla* women of the *Dawssahak* and *Echcherifen* (Musée de

l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwilemmeden Kel Asaram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aglim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl (*tistent*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *tratimen* (sing. *tratim*) which word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south. The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where the type is also known by the Hausa word *takelmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig. 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manufacture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takelmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *ahisleplatine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

[text continues on p. 300]

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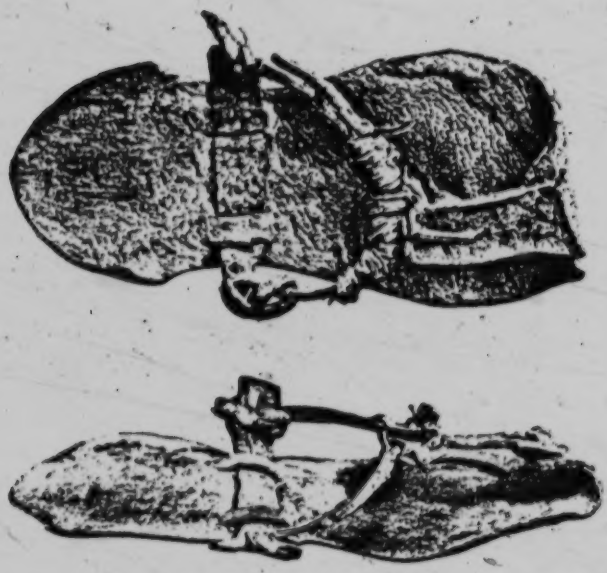

Fig. 243. Sandals resembling the *tagliezez* type but having no heel-straps. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.275–0.285 m long. (N.M. G. 1.8).

have heard being *éyatim n tagayt*. It is provided with a strap of leaf passing between the first and second toes, and straps of the same material to support the instep. Thus it is kept to the foot in much the same way as the leather *takalmi* sandal, and there is possibly a historical relationship between the two types. Sandals made from plaiting dum palm leaves wear out rapidly but are quickly made. They are worn mainly by children and by very poor people.

[42] An extremely common type of sandal in Ahaggar is that known as *émerked* (pl. *imerkeden*). These are never made by professional craftsmen, but are manufactured in Tuareg camps by vassal women [23] who use the large awl (*éndel*) for sewing sandals. They are made of the tanned skin of sheep and 294 goats, or the skin of oxen if this is available. The sandals, almost rectangular in form, are made from several layers of tanned skin sewn together with leather thread. At the back of each sandal two leather loops are inserted in, and sewn to, the leather layers, while a long leather strap is inserted in and sewn 291 to, the fore part. The sandal is kept firmly to the foot by means of the leather strap which passes between the first and second toes, and through the two leather loops to be fastened over the instep (cf. Fig. 242a). This sandal type is in high esteem for walking in the mountainous parts of the Ahaggar Massif, for it is strong, keeps firmly to the foot, and does not easily slide on the rocky surface. It is

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Lhote describes the skin-stockings (*abuheg*) used among the Ahaggar Tuareg as having a very particular cut, so that the first toe is separated from the other toes in order that the stocking may be worn with sandals. The following description of Tuareg skin-stockings is additionally given:— "Cette chaussette monte un peu plus haut que les chaussures européennes à tiges et se lace de même au moyen d'un lacet de peau. Il y a une petite languette et la jonction empeignetige est renforcée par une rondelle de peau fixée par une couture. La semelle est une simple peau de filali qui serait vite usée si l'on marchait directement dessus. *L'aboûheg* est fait en peau de mouton ou en peau de gazelle tannée, et souvent avec des chutes de mauvaise qualité. Les peaux sont ordinairement teintes en noire et la rondelle de renforcement en vert. Mais il y en a aussi qui sont faites en filali rouge de bonne qualité. Le prix de ces dernières est plus élevé et elles sont généralement faites sur commande. On trouve sur le marché d'Agadez, des *iboûhegen* qui sont l'oeuvre des artisans cordonniers de cette ville. Nous n'en avons jamais vu faire chez les Touareg du Nord, qui les font aujourd'hui confectionner par des artisans de Tamanrasset et s'en procurent également à Agadez. De même, nous n'en avons jamais vu porter chez les Ioullimiden de Ménéka ou chez les Tenguéréguifs. Les gens d'In Salah et de Djanet la connaissent ainsi que les Chaamba" (Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). According to Lhote, just quoted, *abouheg* (*abuheg*) is described by Foley not as stockings, but as boots, which form part of the ceremonial equipment of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while Foureau (1894, p. 203) says that wealthy Tuareg among the *Kel Aïr* wear boots made of soft leather and manufactured at Ṛadames, Ṛat, and in Ayr. These boots according to Foureau have a separate space for the first toe in order that they may be worn with sandals, and as claimed by Lhote, they are not true boots, but skin-stockings (cf. Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). Duveyrier also speaks of the use of soft leather boots known as *ibôhadjen* sometimes worn by chiefs (Duveyrier 1864, p. 407), and in the case of the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* Nicolas mentions the use of a type of boots ("la botte de cavalier") known as *abûzag* (pl. *ibuzâgen*) (Ar. *mudg*) (Nicolas 1950a p. 174).

Foucauld speaks of *abuheg* as a type of soft leather boots, but he mentions that this same word is also used for knitted stocking. Such stocking are also known by the feminine form *tabuhek*, though the proper meaning of this latter word is "slipper". Slippers are worn by a few men and women in winter, and a woman frequently wears them during the period of isolation (4 months and ten days) after her husband's death. According to Foucauld the leather boots (*abuheg*) are never worn by women but only by a very few men (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 36). It is a great pity that the authors who refer to the use of soft leather boots or stockings have reproduced no illustration which clearly indicates their cut. But fortunately there is a pair of leather stockings in the collection of the Ethnographical Museum at Neuchâtel. There can be little doubt that this garment serves as a stocking and not as a boot, for it has a separate space for the first toe which would be meaningless if not worn with sandals. The leather stocking is made from three pieces of leather:— (1) A sole or rather a bottom piece which is bent slightly up over the foot, notably at the heel; (2) A piece of leather covering the instep and sewn to the forepart of the bottom piece; (3) A piece of leather forming the leg and sewn to the instep and bottom pieces. It is interesting that all three pieces are of the same type of leather and that the bottom piece resembles that of moccasins.

The sort of slipper termed *tabuhek* by Foucauld and worn by both sexes, is identical with leather slippers or shoes provided with a distinct sole. These shoes seem to be of Arab origin, and I have

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Arab bedouins is given by Finbert:— "Dans les jours de disette, on pulvérise les ossements de la carcasse, et bien que l'Islam interdise l'usage du sang, on l'y mêle en le recueillant d'une veine que l'on ouvre à un chameau. De ce mélange on fait une pâtée que l'on dévore. En cas de famine prolongée, on mange de la corne moulue avec des trayons macérés dans du sang. Le sang lui-même, toujours pris sur l'animal vivant, est versé dans des boyaux qui sont ensuite grillés comme du boudin" (Finbert 1938, p. 39). It is very possible that the custom of bleeding live animals for food has once been widely known among many people of the area now dominated by Islam; thus Ibn Batutah mentions a Turanian people among whom blood of live horses is used for food (Ibn Batutah III, p. 24). 261 171

Among the Tuareg a certain medical value is attached to camel's urine (p. 127), but they do not wash in it as do many Arab bedouins of the Peninsula. A conception of camel's urine as something clean seems to exist among many camel-breeders, and Thesiger mentions that bedouins of Southern Arabia wash their hands in camel's urine before milking (Thesiger 1959, p. 145). 237 171

It is evident that some traits of camel-breeding resemble customs known also to African cattle-breeders, and it seems as if these customs are widely found among people who breed one-humped camels. – Certain traits of camel-breeding are peculiar to the Tuareg and a few adjacent peoples. 233 171

In contrast to all other camel breeding peoples the Tuareg and some adjacent peoples have riding saddles that they place in front of the camel's hump (p. 78 ff.). The common saddles are those known as *térik*, comprising the two main types named *tamzak* and *tekokeyt*, the most developed riding saddles among the Tuareg. These saddles are also used by some of the Northern Arabs, notably the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba* who import them from Southern Tuareg country – particularly from Agadez where the best saddles are made. The *térik* saddles with a cruciformed pommel are quite peculiar to the Tuareg. 492 171

The Tuareg saddle known as *ahyas* or *tahyast* (Fig. 63) resembles the *térik* type in that it is also placed in front of the camel's hump, so that camels are ridden in exactly the same manner as with *térik*-saddles. The *ahyas* type is not mentioned from the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg. But it is extremely common among the *Western Iwillemmeden* and is said to have originated in Aḍraṛ-n-Foṛas. Further west among the Moors, a riding saddle somewhat resembling the *ahyas* type seems to form the common type. It differs from the *ahyas* mainly in that it has a very low pommel and a very broad and deep seat. Several specimens of this Moorish saddle type are found in the Musée de l'homme in Paris (e.g., nos. D. 33.24.14 & 34.76.15). These Moorish saddles are placed in front of the hump like all Tuareg riding saddles, but I have been told that owing to their peculiar structure the riders cannot generally reach the camel's neck with their feet, so that they ride more bumpily and less steadily than the Tuareg, who secure their position by stemming their naked feet against the camel's neck. This is also seen from photographs of camel riders from Mauretania (cf. Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129).

The *térik* and *ahyas* saddles are always made by blacksmiths, and this is probably also the case with the Moorish riding saddles. But as mentioned above (p. 82 ff.) the Tuareg of Ayr make certain primitive riding saddles themselves, and these, called *kantarki* or *delobi*, are perhaps the prototypes of the more developed saddles made by the blacksmiths. Tuareg riding saddles for camels do not seem to have been introduced to Africa by the Arabs of the Peninsula where such saddles are unknown. The use of a single rein attached to a metal ring fixed in the right nostril of the riding camel is perhaps [564]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



182 *342 suitable natural boughs are abundant. There are advantages and disadvantages in mat tents as well as in skin tents. During the very hot season the mat tent is by far the best type of dwelling; it is comparatively high and the mat covering is not heated to any great extent by the sun. During the [132] rainy season the mat tent is less practical than the skin tent. Rain may fall so heavily and abundantly that it penetrates the mat covering, and even if it does not it will be necessary to remove all mats after a heavy shower in order to dry them in the sun. The skin tent is normally erected quicker than the mat tent, it protects efficiently against rain, but is, on the other hand, most unpleasant during the hot season. [824] It does not seem possible to explain the distribution of mat tents and skin tents on purely geographical grounds, but it seems as though the mat tent is used mainly where dum palm leaves for plaiting are available. Where the dum palm disappears, the mat tent tends to disappear also, though mat tents, as we have seen, may be provided with a covering of *éwerwer* type (p. 350 f.). Outside of the dum palm area most Tuareg have skin tents for portable dwellings. Within the dum palm area mat tents and skin tents are mixed in certain regions, and it has been seen that certain Tuareg use mat tents during the very hot season before the rains, but adopt skin tents when the rains start. This seem to [232] indicate clearly the advantage and the disadvantage of the two dwelling types. But the advantages of both dwellings can be obtained in another way, namely by placing a sheet of skin over the top of the mat tent in the rainy season. This is actually done by many Tuareg. I was told that the *Kel Faday* Tuareg around Ingal very frequently cover their mat tents with skin during the rainy season, and remove the skin again when the rains are over. It is perhaps this to which Rodd refers in a brief note on Tuareg tents in Ayr (Rodd 1926a, p. 212), and we may be sure that the usage is a very ancient one in these regions, for it is mentioned already by Ibn Batutah in reference to the *Bardamah*, who are stated to be nomads that frequently move their camps (cf. Ibn Batutah IV, p. 437). The custom of covering mat tents with a sheet of skin has also been noted in the case of the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg by Barth (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 597 f.). It is very possible that it is still more widely known in Southern Tuareg groups, as it allows in an easy way the advantages of both types of dwellings.

B.2. *Skin Tents.*

*342 184 Skin tents are used by Tuareg in all groups, though there is some doubt as to the use of skin tents among the *Kel Geres*. I have myself previously stated that they have skin tents (Nicolaisen 1959, p. 118), this statement being based on information gathered in Ayr 1955. Lhote also mention that some *Kel Geres* use skin tents, while other pastoralists in this group own mat-covered tents (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 79, phot. 51 p. 80–81). But when I visited the camp of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief in 1959 he claimed that the *Kel Geres* always live in mat tents. As to the *Kel Ayr*, skin tents are very rare among them. In all other Tuareg groups skin tents play a very important role. They constitute so to speak the only kind of portable dwellings among the Northern Tuareg and the *Kel Adray*, and they form the most common type of tent also in the two groups of *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg. Zeltner says that the dividing line between skin tents and mat tents in Southern Tuareg country follows the Paris Meridian (Zeltner 1914a, p. 364), but there is in fact no true dividing line between these dwelling types, which are sometimes used by the same people at different seasons, and the two tent types are sometimes combined into one, as mat tents may be covered with skin throughout the rainy season.

565 Unions, or more exactly concubinage, between Imrad and
[595] Negresses are very common.

Imrad have the right to possess black slaves who are employed
[567] in household work and in keeping the herds.

Schirmer has said that the Ahaggar Imrad were sedentary peoples
114 entrusted with keeping the garders; (1) he has committed an error,
241
565

1. Le Sahara, p. 298.

certainly because of erroneous information. This is all the more curious since Duveyrier had already defined exactly the position of the Imrad. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 334.

114 Duveyrier translated the word amrid by the word "serf, " which
565 corresponds exactly to the Arab expression ra'aya, and also because
566 the ra'aya are subjects liable to forced labor and taxes, whom the marabouts are not allowed to possess by Moslem law. Duveyrier believed he was confirmed in his opinion because of the fact that the Inislimen of the Ajjer did not have the right to have Imrad. This is an error of interpretation. This Arabic term cannot be suitable under the circumstances, for the social class of the Tuareg Imrad has no equivalent among the Arabs.

We have preferred the term "vassals" which is more suitable
[651] in our minds, because the Imrad are not unconditionally subject to
[643] forced labor, they pay a perfectly defined vassalage fee, their
[657] chiefs participate in the election of the aménokal, and they themselves own slaves.

/167/ Moreover, the term "vassals" has been adopted by Richer, Deniker, Verneau, etc.

565 192 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga, a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 233 423 241 563 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate themselves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote [602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general- [582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihăggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihăggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 631 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an [643 651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores [184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous [567 461] keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar, [582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

631 a very ancient tribe, the Isbeten, who were the autochthons of the Ahaggar and whom the Dăg Rali would have found in Ătakor when they came to settle there.

After the battle at Tit where they lost more than 100 fighters, the Dăg Râli still numbered 60 warriors. The 1938 census gives 1, 090 persons, 334 of them men, including the Iklan. This increase is quite rare among the Tuareg and reflects their wealth and the improvement of their living conditions since the French occupation.

[161] [177] [511]

They nomadize in the western part of the Koudia, which is their absolute fief where no other fraction is admitted.

/192/ On the east, the boundaries of the lands over which they range are fixed by the right bank of the Tamanrasset wadi and the Interkadène wadi as far as Ideles; on the south by the southern zone of the Tahalra as far as Tin Dahar; on the west by In Eker; and on the north by the line from In Eker to Hirhafok to Ideles.

631 651 The Dăg Râli pay a tribute of ten bags of dates or sorghum to the aménokal; in addition, each family which sends a caravan to the Sudan pays him a small bag of sorghum. If the pastures are good, they add several "botta" of melted butter and the milk of twenty ewes: In the case of a successful raid, they pay the nobles half of the ewes.

631 233 556 439 The Dăg Râli are now the richest people in the Ahaggar. They own more than 1, 200 goats and more than 1, 000 camels. Thanks to their beasts of burden, they can take many very remunerative caravans to the Sudan and to the Tidikelt. They hold in common escheated flocks which are called Edjeré-n-boutelma. When the pastures are insufficient to feed all their livestock, they entrust their camels to the Irréguénaten who graze them on the Saharo-Sudanese border.

631 241 423 Since they are very open-minded, they were in favor of cultivation in the centers of the Ahaggar, and at the present time they possess lands at Ilâman, Tarahanaret, Tamanrasset, Abălessa, Iglen, Tăfârit, I-n-Ămegel, and Silet, which Negroes cultivate for them. The aménokal has granted them a certain number of palm trees in the Silet oasis which formerly belonged to the Tăitok.

173 Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé means "reed people." Legend has it that they
631 were forced to eat the roots of that plant during their flight from the Aïr. Their chief was then a man of Herculean size named Assékal ag Louka; the legend says that his feet were so big that when his pursuers saw the footprints, they preferred to abandon the chase.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé claim to be originally from Mecca where their remote ancestor received a camel from the Prophet. He was supposed to drink only the milk of the camel, but he committed the sin of killing it. Therefore, they had to flee, and after long years of wandering, they settled in Aïr.

At the time when the Imrad were divided up (1750), they were part of the Issandaten. The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé went to the Kel Rela, and the other fraction, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, went to the Tăitok.

631 The land over which they range borders on that of the Dăg Râli. It goes from Tamanrasset to Ourchi wadi, then from the Koudia as far as Afrahouhine and Tamaghine.

[651] They pay a tribute to the aménokal, the same size as that of the Dăg Râli, but they do not share captured goats and sheep with him.

They are currently allied with the Dăg Râli and the Relaiddîn.

They took sides against us in the battle of Tit where they had
[648 about ten men killed. During the insurrection of 1916-1918, they rose up, and their women even seized thirty mehari /dromedaries/
669] belonging to the meharist company at Fort Motylinski. On the other hand, they did not take part in the revolt directly and were the first to ask for mercy.

[161] /195/ Totaling 60 men in 1905, the tribe numbers about 150 persons at the present time.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé own nearly a thousand camels, which they
[233] graze on the Saharo-Sudanese borders, and 1,200 to 1,400 goats. Every year they pay a tribute to the amenokal of 12 bags of dates,
[651] 6 pots of butter, and the usufruct of 10 goats. Most of the cultivated
[423] land and the foggara of Tarhaouaout and Tahifet belongs to them,
[241] and they have gardens at Ămsel, Tamanrasset, and Talan-Tédit.

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Ărokam, Serouanout, and in the Ăanahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[233] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are [241 423] their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

631 669 They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the Ihéaouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up [797] the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 The Aït Loaien form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which [181] must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[651] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokal.

The Relaiddîn. -- The Relaiddîn probably came from Aïr, like the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162 651] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tiousse to the Iboglân.

This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 [177 233] camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1, 500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

631 They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since
[669] they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaïa.

565 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tăousit, still called
644 Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they
631 made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be
[184] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion
[241] to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and
[162] they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[23] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tăhalra, and in the region of Silet-Ăbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers
[241 of Tîgeneouin, Ăbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm
423] grove at Tibeghîn, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is
563 synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and
631 Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hâda
Kel In Rhar'
Kel Tăfedest
Kel Immîdir
Kel Tăzoûlet
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Téroûrirt
Kel Ouhet

563 [162] They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elias, Oulad Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

[233] They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout, [423 241] which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and manpower. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism [795 798] /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

[669] In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Tăfedest.

[173] /200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

[162] Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Tăfedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

[233] Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head. [241 423] They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them entirely, and at I-n-Ămegal, Déhine, and Ăbézou.

[795] Like the Ihéiaouen Hâda, they are mostly affiliated with the Tijaniyyah sect.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us, which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

[224] They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

[651] The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the amenokal six bags of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Tăfedest. -- The Kel Tăfedest or Kel Tégatoufé (or ant [162] people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

563 They nomadize near the Garet ed Djenoun, the Ăseksem,
[233] Ămegid, and the Ădrar Torha; they own about 300 goats and 30 camels. (1938 census, as opposed to 600 goats and 200 camels in 1905.)

[241, 423] They are the owners of a few gardens in the Tăfedest.

[795] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah order.

[65] The Kel Tăfedest annually pay the amenokal four loads of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Immîdir. -- The Kel Immîdir, or Kel Mouydir, are still called Ihéiaouen-n-Tin-Emma. They are of the same origin as the Ihéiaouen Hâda and the Kel Tăzoulé.

[162] They are subdivided into Kel Terahart and Kel Raris and include about 50 people. They nomadize in the Immîdir massif toward Joraf and Tagmout and have areas for nomadization between Ifetessen and In Eker.

[233, 469] They are poor people who own about 20 camels and 250 goats. Very good merchants and excellent caravaneers, they hire themselves out to camel owners to provide for their needs.

[162] /201/ The Isselamaten must be added to the Kel Immidir. They are a small fraction of about 15 tents which lives with them and nomadize near Aneserfa, Ărak, Ahohor, Tagemout, and Tiredjert.

The Kel Tazoûlet. -- The Kel Tazoûlet or Dăg el Mesk camp in
[162, 233] the Tăzoûlet region and near Tăzerouk. They number about 225 people and own 285 camels and more than 2,000 goats. They dryness
[132] of the region which they inhabit forces them to take refuge in the Sudan when there are no rains in the Ahaggar.

[241, 423] They possess gardens at Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine, and at Tăzerouk.

[669] They were in contact with the Aït Loaien and followed the latter in revolt, participating with them in the battles of Tit and the Ilaman wadi.

[795, 788] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah. Four or five of their number have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

173 Let us add that the Kel Ăhnet claim to be of Beraber origin
631 through Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hînân. But the Tăitok say that it is not known where they come from, except that they must have inhabited the Ahaggar long before the arrival of Ti-n-Hînân.

631 The Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis. -- The Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis are of the same origin as the Tégéhé-n-Elîmen.

They used to nomadize in Aïr and had to leave that country as a result of the murder of the sultan who wanted to force them to pay too heavy a tax. Efis was their chief, and it is he who decided to leave. The descendants of these families thenceforth bore his name.

They formed only a single tribe with the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. When Mohamed el Kheir was aménokal, the Tégéhé-n-Elîmen came to ask protection from the Ihăggaren -- some say this was under Mohamed el Kheir's grandson, Younès.

During the war which put the Kel Rela and the Tăitok in conflict, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis took refuge on the Aïr borders. Afterwards, they returned for the most part, but some ten tents remained in the Sudan.

[162] In 1905, they numbered about 30 tents; in the 1938 census there
[233] were 164 persons, 51 of them men. They own 80 camels, and 250
[241] goats. They are the proprietors of cultivated lands at Tîgenouin,
423] Amsel, Ăbalessa, and Tahart. They also see to the cultivation of gardens at Tamanrasset, which have belonged to the Imekkeresen (an Imrad tribe of the Ajjer Tassili) for a long time. By rights they should pay the latter a due, but it is never asked for.

They nomadize in the Tahalra (southwest of Koudia) and migrate on the parallel Amsel, Tîgeneouin, Tâmaïa. The line of demarcation separating their area from /208/ that of the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé is formed by the Tamanrasset wadi.

They were bestowed upon the Tăitok at the time of the distribution of the Imrad, and they have followed their suzerains in all their affairs.

The Kel I-n-Toûnîn. -- The Kel I-n-Toûnîn are Issekkemâren.
[173] They were given to the Tăitok under Sidi's aménokalat (1755) when the Kel Rela tobol was split up, while the Kel Ouhet and the Kel Téroûrirt were given to the Tégéhé Mellet.

631 The Kel I-n-Toûnîn owe their name to the wadi near which they ordinarily nomadize in the Tăfedest massif. At the end of the last century they took advantage of the dissensions existing between the Tăitok and the Kel Rela as well as the internal strife of the
[651] Tăitok to free themselves of the latter. They moved to the Ăjjer, claiming kinship with them, but they pay them no taxes.

After their surrender to the French, the Tăitok reclaimed them, and General Laperrine agreed to their demand.

[649] They took a big part in the rebellion of 1916 and were the first to rise up, for they were under the direct influence of the Ăjjer.

Taking refuge in Fezzan at first, they set about combating us by launching raids against the fractions under our influence. Later they participated in the combat of Aïn el Hadjadj. Then they went to the Sudan, where they succeeded in taking with them a number of Tăitok, their Chief Amri among them, in spite of the efforts Moussa ag Ămastân made to keep them.

[162] They number about 20 tents which camp in the north of the Tăfedest massif and go up as high as the Ădrar Ifetessen on the foothills of Immîdir.

[582] They are allied to the Tégéhé Mellet by recent marriages.

Famous as good herders, they own about 100 camels and 300
[233 439] goats. They are also good caravaneers who trade on the markets of In Salah, Ghat, and Ghadames.

[241] They have a few gardens cultivated at Ideles and in the Tassili centers of cultivation.

[162] The Iouarouaren. -- The Iouarouaren form a little tribe of about 15 tents, which nomadizes with the Kel Ăhnet in the Adrar.

Some say they are natives of Aïr, others say of the Ăjjer.

173 /210/ When an Ăjjer (or Ifôras) woman had been taken prisoner
631 by the Aïr people, according to Sidi ag Kéradji, it was Ămastân ag Ourzig, maternal uncle of Sidi, who paid her ransom and married her to a Kel Ăhnet; from this union sprang the Iouarouaren. (1)

243 he generally carries with him in his migrations. Wheat raising
262 goes down to the Sudan as far as Timbuktu, Aïr, and a little north of Nigeria; but everywhere it has been introduced recently, due to the influence of the Arabs, who have not abandoned their traditional food.

Béchena is a food they adopted because
[412] of their exodus toward the Sudan; they are at the present time much closer to the Sudan than they are to North Africa from the point of view of material living conditions, that is, unless this plant formerly existed in a self-sown state in the Sahara, as Professor Chevalier has assumed, and was one of the principal food resources of its first inhabitants.

Fig. 29. Caravaneer's mortar and pestle.

177 By its agriculture
●241 and its production, the Sahara is completely Negro. Agricultural methods, except for irrigation, /231/ are borrowed from the Sudanese, especially work with the hoe (daba), while North Africa mainly uses the plow which is unknown in the intertropical zone.

252 Béchena is eaten as a cooked flour porridge, as raw flour, or
262 mixed with liquids, water or milk.

Dates also play a large part in the diet of the Tuareg. Every year each family head organizes a little caravan to the Touat or
[438 484 572] Tidikelt to bring back two or three loads of poor-quality dried dates which are crushed with a pestle and eaten with camel's milk.

224 The administration fortunately has decided to confiscate these
[411 weapons.
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It is very difficult to get an exact idea of the number of animals killed annually by hunters. But we believe we are close to accurate in giving the figure 300. Thus we say that hunting holds a very small place in Ahaggar Tuareg economy.

236 Fishing. -- Fishing is not done by the Tuareg for the reasons
[184] we have given. Only the Issekkemâren and the Iklan engage in it. They fish when the pond water is very low. In the Tassili they dig little ditches on the lower side at water level, leading to little reservoirs where the fish find refuge and are then surely caught.

[251] When fishing has been fruitful, the Issekkemâren dry the fish to keep them for periods of scarcity.

/244/ Chapter 5

## Agriculture

• 241 The Ahaggar Tuareg have never attached more than a very secondary importance to agriculture. Their nomadic turn of mind is at the opposite pole from land ownership and still more from exploiting it, which implies sedentary life. There are, however, a number of centers of cultivation in their country; they are of undeniable interest and could be extended more widely if improper legislation did not hinder their development.

The creation of most of these centers of cultivation does not
177 go back more than a century. It was accomplished under the in-
241 fluence of Arab groups settled in the Ahaggar. Only the Silet and Tibeghîn oases are much older and probably date from the time of the Imanan sultans who had brought into the Ahaggar some

177 marabouts from the Touat who brought with them the system of
241 irrigation by foggara. The Tuareg later grasped the advantage they could gain from multiplying these centers, and so, at the moment of the French occupation, more than forty centers were being exploited.

423 The enjoyment of land appertains to the people who first culti-
241 vated it. Land of itself appertains to the amenokal, but he leases it out and in return levies an annual tax -- mesk -- on the harvest, in
[427 the amount of four guessa of wheat, or about 10 kilograms per garden.
651] The land may thus have as proprietors Imochar or Imrad, indeed Enaden, but Iklan may not hold gardens.

Gardens are not cultivated by their proprietors but by Negro
241 tenant farmers, natives of the Touat or Tidikelt, who are called
427 harratin (singular hartani). An arrangement is worked out between them and the proprietors on the following terms: the proprietor furnishes the hartani two loads of millet a year for his sustenance,
[312] seeds, a hoe, and then pays for digging /245/ the wells of the foggara. Once the foggara has been dug, the hartani is responsible for keeping it up. He sows, waters, harvests, threshes the grain, and keeps one-fifth of the harvest. Furthermore, he has the right to sow on his own account in the irrigation canals and to cultivate several beds of vegetables.

[311] Centers of cultivation are set up on the terraces of valleys when
312 they are wide enough and have old alluvial deposits. The feggaguir
[241 /plural of foggara -- translator/ of the Ahaggar have nothing in common with those of the Tidikelt or those in the Saoura oasis, which pipe water to the gardens from great distances, from the geological faults where it is retained. In the Ahaggar rain water collects in the wadi beds and is stored under the sand. The feggaguir are therefore dug in the wadi bed and seek water at distances varying from one to seven kilometers. The wadi presents a certain slope, and it is necessary to bring the water gradually to the same level or to a level slightly higher than that of the gardens. The feggaguir

312 include a first subterranean part made of numerous wells of depths varying from two to four meters, linked together by a small canal serving as a water conductor; then comes a part on top of the ground in the form of a canal, first at the same level as the wadi, then at a slightly higher level. They empty into the distribution reservoirs (majem), which by secondary canals (seguia) carry water to the gardens to be irrigated.

311 361 [342] These agricultural centers therefore extend along the wadi on both sides of its banks. The cultivators settle near their gardens and live in straw or reed huts or little clay houses.

There are five centers in the high mountains between 1, 500 and 1, 800 meters in altitude, but the majority are located between 1, 200 and 1, 500 meters. Some of them can be lower, such as Silet (730 meters) and I-n-Amegel (1, 030 meters).

245 Some are small date groves such as Silet and Tibeghîn, which have 10, 000 palm trees, Ideles, Tâhârt, and Ăbalessa, but because of its altitude, the Ahaggar does not seem to be very suitable for date growing. The instability of the harratin is also an obstacle to the development of arboriculture which demands continual care. Cultivators who can be here today and gone tomorrow would not be capable of interesting themselves in work from which they could not draw immediate profit. The country would lend itself, however, to rather large-scale cultivation of peaches, /246/ apricots, figs, and grapes. The little center of Tăzerouk has many peach trees, and the center at Tit produces a famous raisin.

134 The Ahaggar soil is of a high quality, owing part of its richness to elements of volcanic origin which make up a large proportion of the alluvial deposits. Furthermore, the climate favors 132 agriculture so much that the natives obtain two or even three harvests 241 a year.

241 In the medium altitude centers, they sow wheat and barley in December and harvest it in May. Barely finished with this, they sow millet which is harvested at the beginning of October. In between the natives also engage in kitchen gardening: carrots,

241 turnips, onions, garlic, pimento, beans, pumpkins, native melons, watermelons, various gourds of local origin, and sometimes lentils. [422] These vegetables belong properly to the cultivator and not to the [262] proprietor of the garden. They are consumed by him, for the Tuareg generally disdain them and eat them only when they are staying in the agricultural centers.

But these centers may be handicapped by numerous climatic 132 factors.

241 Rains are obviously beneficial when they come at the right 312 time; unfortunately, they most often fall in winter or in summer, seasons which do not correspond to the largest growth of vegetation. The plants benefit from them only when the rains are very abundant and the ground can store up water for several months. But still, rainfall must not be too strong, or else it can cause the wadies to overflow and immediately destroy the feggaguir. It then requires several months to reconstruct them and in the meantime the crops which cannot be irrigated dry up on the spot and are completely lost.

Cold can also have a disastrous effect. Winter wheat does not 132 suffer from it but its development is slowed up. It is much worse 241 for arboriculture, for if it is late and comes after the trees have blossomed, which sometimes occurs in January, it is likely to stop pollination completely. Fortunately, trees in arboricultural centers like Tazerouk bloom much later and there are only sudden frosts to fear.

/247/ The wind which blows violently in the spring may also hinder arboriculture by knocking down flowers or young fruits, indeed even fruits which are almost ripe. The great hot summer winds endanger the harvest by the intense drying they cause, unless this difficulty is overcome by abundant watering. Now, it is precisely at this time that the flow of the feggaguir decreases as a result of the heating of the soil and the intense evaporation.

It may thus be seen that agriculture in the Ahaggar is subject to many risks and that the harvests may be very variable. The abundance or scarcity of water causes the seeded areas to vary in

the proportion of one to four. After several dry years some agricultural centers must be completely abandoned. This was the case of Tit, Attoklane, Tahart, Dar-Mouli, etc., in the last few years.

In 1940, 555 hectares of land were seeded. This is the figure for a good year, which can occasionally be surpassed but can also be reduced by more than half.

The population of the agricultural centers, which was 1, 310 people in 1916, was 2, 280 in 1938, which denotes a great effort made in favor of agriculture. This could be realized thanks only to the state of peace due to the French occupation.

Here are the figures for each of the principal centers, according to the archives of the Tamanrasset post (1):

1. Florimond report, 1938.

| | 1911 | 1938 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tamanrasset | 150 | 686 | |
| Abalessa | 272 | 250 | |
| I-n-Amgel | 180 | 206 | |
| Iglen | | 168 | |
| Ideles | 70 | 160 | |
| Tazerouk | 150 | 148 | |
| Tit | 75 | 98 | had to leave for other centers after the summer of 1938. |
| Tarhaouhaout | 140 | 91 | |
| Amsel | 90 | 66 | |
| Tahifet | | 39 | |
| /248/ Tigeneouin | 25 | 23 | |
| Mertoutek | | 60 | |
| Hirhafok | | 80 | |
| Ilaman | 10 | | |

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| | 1911 | 1938 |
|---|---|---|
| T-i-n-Ămenser . . . . . | 36 | temporarily abandoned |
| Tifert . . . . . | 50 | " " |
| Essélésékin . . . . . | 30 | |
| T-i-n-Târâbin . . . . . | 15 | abandoned |

166 These figures bring out the weakening of some centers to the
621 advantage of others. Thus, a number of cultivators from
[648] Tarahouhaout (where the French post was formerly located) came to settle at Tamanrasset, and the group of little centers in the outskirts of Ăbalessa, Iglen, Tăfarit, etc., has absorbed the groups from other abandoned centers like Tifert, Essélésékin, Ilâman, Tarahananet, etc.

[241 Together these centers number about 400 gardens and 80
312] feggaguir.

The wheat harvested is partly consumed by the cultivators and
262 chiefly intended for export; it is exchanged at the Touat for dates.
439 The total harvests in the Ahaggar corresponds to only one -fifth of
433 the needs of its inhabitants, even in good years.

621 There are fifteen agricultural centers exploited in the Ahaggar:
433 Tamanrasset, Tărhaouahout, Tahifet, Tăzerouk, Ideles, Ăbalessa, Hirhafok, Iglen, I-n-Amegel, T-i-n-Ămenser, Amsel, Tigeneouin, Talan-Tedit, Mertoûtek, and Esselésékine.

[166] In addition there are twenty-two other centers which have been abandoned for some years as a result of dryness or lack of manpower: Aïtoklane, Ădenek, Ămrah, Ăbezou, Ăglil, Bloûmet, Déhine, Dar Mouli, Ennedid, Innezal, Ilâman, In Ămertek, Ilafok, Outoul, Ouhet, Souaïka, T-i-n-Târabin, Touakin, Teberbert, Tarahananet, Tahart, and Joraf.

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 229]



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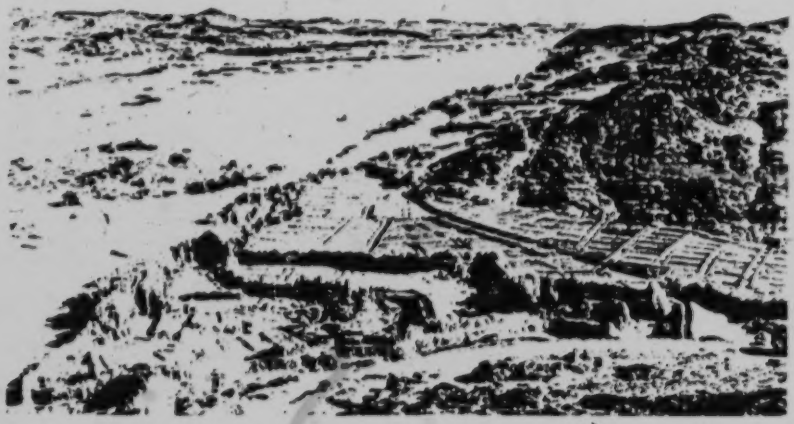

Fig. 14. Gardens at In Amguel, in the Ahaggar (80 odd miles north of Tamanrasset). Here we see the typical disposition of gardens in the agricultural centers of the central Sahara. A checkerboard of square garden plots, separated and at the same time connected by little irrigation ditches, is located just above the dry bed of an occasionally torrential stream, and just below the village, which is perched high enough above it to be safe from freshets and flash floods. (Photograph by Chasseloup-Laubat, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

[361]

Many legends circulate about blacksmiths. They say that 326
because they work with iron and fire, they will go into the fire 565
of hell. They are scorned, first because they devote themselves
to a manual craft, a disgrace in the eyes of a Tuareg, and
secondly because it is said that they are of Negro origin. It is
also claimed that they were pagans and that their conversion
to Islamism is not sincere. They are also taken for sorcerers. [754]
The sheik Ben Djellas (see the Appendix /not translated/) says
of them: "Blacksmiths hate God and his Prophet, and they
betray God and his Prophet." Their ancestor was called
Tamamenet.

The blacksmith does not belong to any tribe. He goes
where he pleases, wherever he finds work. Sometimes he goes
to war, and he is said to fight well, but a noble Tuareg will not
cross swords with him.

In the Ahaggar a blacksmith is called "mr'allem," variation 326
of the Arab "maalem." However, there is a word in Tamashek [192]
for him, "inedh," plural "inedhane," but it is not used. /73/

At Tamanrasset I was shown many ancient graves (of the [764]
"chouchat" shape) which, it seems, were the burial places of
a tribe of blacksmiths said to have been massacred and died of
starvation a very long time ago.

The gardens of the Ahaggar "ar'erems" are worked by the 241
Harratine of the Touat and the Tidilkelt, who bring their tools 312
with them. It is they also who dig the "foggaras," or covered 565
wells, and all the tools that they use come from the Saharan Oases.

## Chapter XII

## Agriculture. Ar'erems

While in all of the Ahnet no trace of agriculture is to be 241
found, however small, because of the scarcity of wells, whose 361
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output is only enough to water the flocks, in the Ahaggar, on the contrary, a mountainous country where there is some water everywhere, a number of small villages called "ar'erem" ⵄⵔⵔⵉⵎ, plural "ir'ermane" ⵉⵄⵔⵔⵉⵎⵏ, have been built.

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Since the Tuareg, nobles or imr'ad, dislike all manual work, these villages could not have been built without the indispensible help of the Harratine of the Touat and the Tidikelt, whom the Tuareg call "Izeggar'en" ⵉⵣⵖⵄⵔⵏ, meaning "mulattoes." Everything was made by the latter: the wells, /74/ "tounine," which are used for irrigation, as at Tazerouk; the "foggaras," or covered wells, "ifelane," and their irrigation canals as at Abalessa, Tit, and Tamanrasset; the fitting up of springs, as at Tadjemout. The Harratine made the gardens and became khammes of the Tuareg, landowners. They settled in these villages and there built huts of "diss" (Imperata cylindrica) or of "berdi" (Typha angustifolia) and little houses of baked earth.

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The Harratine grow wheat, barley, and bechna in these gardens. These are the three essential crops, to which they add some vegetables: onions, kabouyas, or gourds, watermelons, and "guerroum" (a kind of long melon which is eaten green, like a cucumber, before it is ripe). Finally, at Tit they /75/ have planted some fine fig trees and a vine which yields a grape that seems delicious at this latitude. Similarly, at Abalessa, there are some vine slips and a fine palm.

Ideles (Koudia)

The gardens, or rather the fields, are enclosed by a hedge to prevent the depredations of the camels that graze free at night. But there are some that do not have this protective barrier, and the Harratine are forced to stand guard at night, turn, and turn about, lighting fires to drive the camels away from the crops.

241 Usually, there are six khammès per field, and each of
312 them has a right to water for one night and one day. The water, brought from the foggara, spreads into the "madjens," or reservoirs, as on the oases, there to be divided among the gardens by means of saguias, or irrigation canals.

[764]

Herhafok Region

In the Left Foreground an Ancient
Grave in the Chouchat Form
(Koudia)

241 The khammès receives as his pay:

1. A fifth of the crop
2. The barley which he sowed in the irrigation canals
3. A load of wheat in winter and a half load in summer, for his personal consumption.

245 In the Ahaggar there are also small oases of palms which were planted by no one knows whom, for example, at Tibedjehine and at Silet (Ahaggar), at Djor'raf, Tafarakrak,
[423] and Teguift (Immidir). The Tuareg who own them leave them untended and are satisfied to go and gather the dates when they choose. These palms, which get no care, also have a great mass of dry djerids hanging to the ground, which makes it very difficult to climb them. Perhaps this is to prevent theft of the dates? /76/

From the fact that these palms, even though not cared for, produce dates which, if not of good quality, are still quite

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



262 Even when grazing is good stock-breeding products are less important for food
[222] In Ahaggar than in Air as is illustrated in fig. 3 depicting the relative importance of milk food and vegetable food. A small part of the vegetable food is provided by collecting seeds of grasses and herbs, while roots, stems, and berries of wild plants are less significant. The bulk of Tuareg plant food consists of millet, barley, wheat,
[241] and dates. In Ahaggar many Tuareg have gardens with wheat and barley cultivated
[563] for them by black-skinned agriculturists generally known by the Arab word
438 *Haratin* (*Izzegaren* to the Tuareg). But most Ahaggar Tuareg acquire the bulk of
262 their plant food from caravan trading with the oases of Tidikelt (dates) and with Sudanese villages as far south as Zinder (millet). Even in years of drought they can obtain millet from the Sudan in exchange for rock-salt broken at Amadror north-east of Ahaggar. In Air caravan trading with salt seems less necessary to Tuareg subsistence, although there are also in this country Tuareg who trade with salt from Amadror or Bilma. Most pastoral households however have a fairly regular
[234] surplus of livestock, butter, and cheese which can provide for the necessary amount
[563] of millet bought in Agadez or south of the massif in Damergou. There are also
241 in Air a great many negroid agriculturists from whom pastoral Tuareg can buy
262 vegetable products. But millet, which forms the prominent part of Tuareg plant
[438] food, is grown to a very slight extent by the agriculturists of Air. Dates are important in particular to the Ahaggar Tuareg who acquire large quantities from the oases of Tidikelt. There are also a few Ahaggar clans the members of which own half-wild palms with dates of an inferior quality, as there are Tuareg who have a few palms growing in their garden plots. In Air dates are not so important for food but even there pastoral Tuareg may have some palms. Among the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer it is very common for pastoralists to sow wheat and barley in the river valleys when these have been heavily flooded (Nicolaisen 1954, p. 83, 88), and this primitive agricultural method was apparently known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg in the past (Duveyrier 1864, p. 372). More recently many pastoral Tuareg
[312] of Ahaggar and Air have taken up agriculture by means of irrigation. There seems
[221] to be a tendency towards semi-nomadism among the Tuareg who are very dependent on vegetable food derived from agriculture.

### *The Negroes Of The Sahara.*

136 In the above section on Tuareg ecology it is stated that Air climatically and botanically is closely linked with the Sudan. This is true also zoologically as the Air fauna contains a great many species of birds and mammals characteristic of tropical Africa. The bird life of Air seems very akin to that of the Sudanese savannah, and, for instance, guinea fowls are extremely common even in valleys of the northernmost parts of the massif. As examples of tropical mammal life in Air we may here mention that the wart-hog lives in Central Air, and that oryx antelopes

[Text continues on p. 76]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



563 601 akin to the system in use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (fig. 8 9).

563 342 The material culture of the Air negroes is marked by both northern and southern traits. The most common type of dwelling is a beehive hut *(tatramt)*, which I have also seen south of Air in the savannah, while similar huts are unknown to the north in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. The huts are often placed within round enclosures which are possibly of Sudanese origin (cf. fig. 15). There are however other types of dwellings in the Air villages. Very common is a square straw hut *(techira)* with a slightly elevated saddle-roof. It is built by the men while the beehive hut is made by women, and both types are frequently used by one and the same household. This square hut differs constructionally from the straw huts used among settled agriculturists in the north. Also rather common is a barrel-vaulted hut *(ehen)* covered with mats (fig. 14). It has the same name and is of much the same construction as the movable huts or tents used by most pastoral Air Tuareg (fig. 5 & 13). It is built by women and seems to have been introduced by pastoral [462] women married to settled agriculturists. Finally there is in some villages a rectangular house *(tarachamt)* with a flat roof. It has very solid walls generally built from stones inserted in and covered with mud. It has various sub-types more elaborately described by Rodd, who considers these houses to be of northern origin (Rodd 1926a, p. 240ff.). They have most probably been introduced from Tassili-n-Ajjer 177 312 or the Fezzan from which regions came also the irrigation system now forming the basis of agriculture all over Air, namely the drawing of water from shallow wells *(anou)* by means of zebus. This system is extremely common in the Fezzan and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where, as mentioned, it was introduced also to Ahaggar. It is not known when it came to Air, but in many villages it has been adopted only very recently. Not so many years ago water for irrigation in most villages was apparently raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight *(aroudit)* (cf. Capot-Rey 1933, p. 322), but this method has now disappeared. It can be considered the oldest irrigation machine and it is no doubt [174] of very great age in Northern Africa including the Sudan. The method however 241 involves much strenuous work and in view of this it may seem quite natural that agriculture in Air was in the past also practised as shifting cultivation without any irrigation. Rodd states that in certain areas of Air rain-grown crops could be raised most years and that in the past a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I think this is correct. Certain crops as for instance millet has a very short period of growth; in Ahaggar (Abelessa) millet is sown in June-July and harvested in September, and it is said that it is not watered very much and never to the same extent as wheat grown in winter. It would no doubt be possible to grow millet in many parts of Air without artificial irrigation during the rains, and in fact millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation. But now alayesagri-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



241 culture is never practised without irrigation. Rodd thinks that the Air agriculturists
[114] gave up shifting cultivation because they are too poor to-day to risk losing their
[174] seed in the event of inadequate or irregular rainfall (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I rather think the reasons are that the agriculturists of the massif nowadays grow very little millet and have a better irrigation system than in the past. In summer maize forms by far the most important crop, and it needs irrigation which is comparatively easy when using zebus for drawing water. However this may be we can assume that a type of agriculture related to Sudanese shifting cultivation was formerly important to the Air agriculturists, and although irrigation is nowadays used everywhere agriculture in certain places of Air is still a kind of shifting cultivation. Many agriculturists do not resort to manuring nor do they carry fresh soil to the gardens as in Ahaggar. With crop rotation they utilize one and the same plot for a few years but then have to cut trees and brush-wood somewhere else to make a new
[312] garden. A new well must then also be dug, but as irrigation wells are rather shallow this work is comparatively easy.

171 There are in Air certain agricultural implements related to those of Sudanese
412 farming cultures. We must mention in particular a small hoe hafted by means of a thong *(tagoumit)*. It is unknown both in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer as well as further north in the desert while extremely common among Sudanese shifting cultivators. Feilberg has classed it with the so-called Old Sudanese Culture es-
[114] tablished by Baumann (Feilberg 1934, p. 260ff. – Baumann 1940, p. 50ff.; 1944, p. 213ff.). Baumann claims that this culture did not know the sickle, considered by him an implement of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 56ff.; 1944, p. 283ff.). The sickle (Air: *elegesouar*, Ahaggar: *amreh*) is in fact unknown in many Air villages, and is according to my investigations not generally used for the harvesting of crops but for cutting annual grasses to be stored for
241 fodder. In Air the harvesting methods are as follows:– millet is cut with a knife,
171 maize is cut at the root by means of the above-mentioned hoe, while wheat and barley are pulled up with the hands. Similar harvesting methods seem to be known in the Sudan (Baumann 1944, p. 295ff.). As a Sudanese trait we can
[415] perhaps also recognize the large clay amphoræ used for the storage of cereals (Rodd 1926, p. 317. – Nicolas 1950a, p. 146).

174 We can conclude this section as follows:– While the negroes of Ahaggar ap-
144 parently have arrived in that country later than the fair-skinned Berbers the oldest
563 known population in Air were Hausa-speaking negroes subsisting predominantly as agriculturists. Their original culture apparently was closely related to that of Sudanese shifting cultivators. Contacts with the north and in particular invasions of fair-skinned Tuareg have changed their cultural position. Mixing with the Tuareg they have also changed their physical type, but they are still predominantly negroid. They have adopted a Tuareg dialect but have retained part of their old vocabulary.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1955, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigationagriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Rali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent *(share-n-amerdal)* paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:-

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. – Foley 1930, p. 43f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Rali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatos.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.

565 /58 cont./ These freed men are no happier for their rise in the caste system, for this liberty is often synonymous with complete destitution.

The economic difficulties resulting from the prohibition of raiding have done more to suppress slavery than law and reason.

174 565 What is to be said on the historic origins of the harratin as an ethnic type? We have already seen that there are two types of harratin.

The former Tuareg slaves are probably originally from the Sudan and the Niger, where they were bought or captured in raids.

The harratin from the Touat and the Tidikelt may have the same origin as the others, but one cannot dismiss the theory that they are descendants, more or less pure, /59/ of an ancient negroid people of the Sahara (1).

1. In this connection, it is useful to read the articles published in the Bulletins de liaison saharienne at Algiers. These were prepared by professors of the University of Algiers and by all the important persons who, in different capacities, have worked in the Sahara. (Editor: Commander Ferry. Administration of the Territories of the South: Government General of Algeria).

565 241 The harratin constitute a most interesting social element in the Ahaggar, because it is they who cultivate the rare productive plots and who furnish the workmen: masons, carpenters, and manual laborers. If they appear at first sight

565 /59 cont./ to possess few intellectual or moral qualities, they
241 are perhaps nonetheless readily adaptable.

## The Language

197 The Tuareg speak a Berber language. This language is certainly the strongest link which unites the scattered populations from the regs of the Tidikelt to the banks of the Niger; it is, more than the ethnic type, the element characteristic of these peoples. It is through the language that is maintained what may still be called "Tuareg culture," which survives in the traditions, mores, and superstitions.

This language, which is called "Tamahaq" in the Ahaggar and "Tamacheq" in the Sudan, has several dialects: that spoken by the Kel Ahaggar is called "Tahaggart," thus designated by the Kel Ajjers and the Taïtoks; in the Aïr it is called "Taïrt"; in the Adrar des Iforas, "Tadrak," and the dialect of the Aoullimiden is called "Taoullemmet."

These dialects are very similar to each other; a few local differences in pronunciation distinguish them, as well as certain idioms.

Tahaggart, the language of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, has been studied the most, chiefly in the noble tribes because, Father de Foucauld said, "the language is pure only as spoken by the nobles."

114 It is a complex language, rich and full of nuances, with a precise and difficult syntax. General Hanoteau succeeded, with the help of Tuareg captured during a battle, in writing a /60/ Tuareg grammar; this was the first formal study of Tamashek.

Dictionaries were compiled by Cid Kaoui and M. Masqueray, but the most remarkable work, which constitutes a summary, is the dictionary of Father de Foucauld. Father de Foucauld's grammar and the texts he has collected afford the best material for studying Tamashek.

191 /62 cont./ In spite of this difficulty in transcription, the Tuareg amuse themselves by transposing the letters in a word, making it utterly incomprehensible for the uninitiated.

[177] At the present time Tamashek is borrowing many words from Arabic and French. Father de Foucauld had already noticed during his time this invasion of Arabic and the way the Tuareg adapted numerous words to their own speech habits.

[212] In the noble tribes, each individual knows how to read and write, but that is not the case with the imrads, for many of the vassals barely know how to write their names.

The richness of the spoken language is greatly declining due to bilingualism and doubtless also because poetry, formerly inspired by the exploits of the warriors, tends to disappear. One may thus realize the importance of Father de Foucauld's work, which permanently recorded a language of oral tradition.

There will certainly come a day when the Tuareg will have to use French to perfect themselves in their own language.

NOTE: Some compound characters.:

[212] = bt = cht = rt = st`

/63/

## II
## Economy

### Generalizations on the Economy of the Ahaggar

241 A country such as the one we have seen in the study of the physical characteristics of the Ahaggar, possessing very limited resources because of the scarcity of water and the poverty of the soil, can only have an agriculture of small and uncertain productivity.

648 /68 cont./ of the underground water level, which often results in the abandonment of a site, does not permit a costly installation. About ten years ago, a former sergeant-major of the Sahara corps settled at Tiguenouine, a small center 70 kilometers south of Tamanrasset: he quickly gave up his idea of farming and became a nomad. Another Frenchman, a retired soldier, nomadizes in the Tin-Zaouaten region; he leads a life like the Tuareg, and his herds prosper.

Officials reside at Tamanrasset, lodged in administration quarters which sometimes have a small garden for family use. The community maintains a large garden where experiments in farming and arboriculture are carried out.

The Tuareg, as we said, are the only landowners; let us
241 now see how they utilize their lands. As in all countries under Moslem influence, the method of agriculture is the "khamassa," with certain local variations. The khammès usually is a hartani,/69/ a Negro originally from the Tidikelt or a freed slave.

The agricultural system in the Ahaggar is supported by the foggara, which should water six to eight gardens. The proprietor of the foggara, generally a Targui, engages one khammes per garden. He will look among the harratin of the village for gardeners who will come to terms with him. An
241 oral contract is made between the proprietor and the khammès,
675 before witnesses. This contract may be summarized thus:

The proprietor agrees, first of all, to provide the land, which he has rented from the amenokal. He must also provide his gardener with water from the foggara he has had dug, with a "mesaha" (hoe), and with the necessary seed. In addition, the proprietor must clear the land at his own expense and must see to the improvement of the soil. He must advance the hartani food in the amount of 60 guessa of millet per year.

In exchange, the khammès undertakes the work in the fields, the threshing, and the upkeep of the foggara.

As "salary" he collects a fifth of the harvest. He also receives the fallen and gleaned ears, the harvest from ten

241 675 /69 cont./ "guemouns" /plots/ situated near the majen (clay basins), and the wheat and barley sown in the séguias /irrigation ditches/ which belong to him.

In addition, the wheat found mixed with the dust of the threshing ground belongs to him by right, as well as the staw and several vegetables that are grown. Lastly, if the flow of the foggara slackens and new wells must be dug upstream, the khammès is paid three guessa of wheat per well dug.

In case of disputes between the proprietors and the khammès, [692] the palavers are held in the presence of the chief of the tribe (on the Tuareg side) and the chief of the village (on the harratin side). The amenokal intervenes upon appeal, but rarely, for these contracts fixed by custom are, in general, scrupulously observed.

The Targui has limited confidence in the honesty of his khammès, an opinion often justified, for the hartani deliberately pushes over ears of grain so he may have them by his gleaning rights. The proprietor does not have the magnanimity of Boaz. Therefore, when harvest time comes, he installs himself /70/ and all his family near his garden in order to make sure that the operations are properly carried out. The khammès must furnish food for the Targui, a heavy burden for the former. That is the custom, which also holds that in case the Targui is prevented from coming, the hartani pays a due of 25 kilograms of wheat to guarantee this right of sojourn.

Another type of contract exists called "aril" in Tamashek and "nous" (half) in Arabic. The net harvest is divided into two equal parts, taking into account the following provisions:

The proprietor Targui must furnish the land rented from the amenokal, a foggara, and a hoe. He provides half of the seed and advances 25 kilograms of wheat, which will be paid back at harvest time; he pays for enriching the land (tiksal= virgin land). The gardener hartani, for his part, agrees to furnish half of the seed and one year of work.

241 675 /70 cont./ This /second/ contract system would appeal very much to the Tuareg, carefree by nature, improvident, and rarely possessing the necessary grain for the loans to the khammès. However, it is very little favored by the harratin, who prefer to have the advance of millet furnished by the proprietor under the first contract system, the right to the personal guemouns and to the gleanings, not counting the little daily thefts.

It is quite evident that these are Draconian contracts for the cultivators, who merely exist and are at the mercy of a bad harvest. The Targui may, thanks to his herds and to barter, survive several lean years, but the hartani cannot. It it not unusual to see the latter get through the period between the depletion of the winter reserves and the new wheat harvest by eating crushed date pits, young shoots of tahli, and sometimes even barley and wheat in the blade.

241 311 Land is seeded according to the amount of water available. When the output of the foggara is low, the cultivated area is restricted. It even happens, after several dry years, that the water table in the wadi shrinks to the point of disappearing. The gardens are then abandoned, the agricultural center deserted. The /71/ cultivators withdraw to a more favored village. When the rains bring up the water levels again, the dead centers may be worked once more.

241 The land is almost never manured in the Ahaggar. A system of preparing the land called "tiksal" in Tamashek is preferred. Each year the hartani gathers a clayey soil from a slope near the gardens. He carries this back, basket by basket, and spreads a thin layer on each guemoun. This virgin soil reinvigorates the cultivated land, which is quickly exhausted because of the irrigation; it contains almost no humus or limestone.

Sometimes, when the distance is not too great, the gardener brings the soil from an old root system of a dead fersig /tamarisk/ or tahla, the only humus to be found.

3|2 /73 cont./ The water flowing constantly from the foggara is accumulated in a basin 8 meters by 4 meters by .40 meters large; these dimensions give the approximate size. From this basin, walled in by earth levees and made watertight by clay, the gardener runs the water into the séguias, which channel it to the guemouns under cultivation, which are inundated.

This irrigation system rapidly exhausts the soil.

The crops are watered every six or eight days, with each of the six or eight gardens dependent on the foggara having its regular turn at the water.

When the irrigation is made from a well (tanout) instead of from a foggara, the water is drawn from the well manually or with the help of a zebu. When the majen is full, the gardener proceeds with the inundation of the guemouns.

•241 The cultivable land, which is quickly impoverished, needs rest. The harratin let land lie fallow, but involuntarily, for fairly large areas remain uncultivated because of the lack of water or of seed. It even happens that, the land being exhausted, a center is abandoned for a certain time.

The plants cultivated in the Ahaggar are few: wheat and barley in the winter, millet and tomatoes in the summer in fact constitute most of the production and cover nearly all of the cultivated land. Kitchen gardening is negligible, and in many centers nonexistent.

In the Ahaggar there are five varieties of soft wheat, probably imported from the Touat.

The wheat is sown in October and harvested at the beginning of May. /74/ It is grown on small guemouna about 1.50 meters by 3.0 meters large. It is irrigated every six or eight days. Along the séguias, two parallel lines of wheat are planted. The yield varies from ten to 15 for one. It is about 300 to 400 kilograms per hectare. The total production of the Ahaggar is about 200 metric tons of wheat per year.

Barley is cultivated in the same way as wheat, but only 50 metric tons a year are produced.

241 /74 cont. / Millet is sown after the wheat harvest is finished. Two species are found, one called Ahaggar millet and the other Sudanese.

The yield varies from eight to ten for one. The annual production is about 60 metric tons. The ears are rather thick but are looted by birds, above all the Bengalis, called "mange-mil, " which originate in the Sudan.

The tomato is the chief vegetable of the region. Several varieties are sown; there may be a native one, but the harratin have long used the seeds given by the commune. They harvest the seeds themselves indiscriminately; there may be some degenerate ones among them. There is usually a surplus production of tomatoes. They are sliced in two, then dried in the sun in order to preserve them for sale and for sending to the Ajjers, the Tidikelt, El-Golea and, above all, to Ghardaïa. The method of cultivating them is most simple: The young plants are thinned out, haphazardly, at distances varying from 30 to 60 centimeters, depending on where the hoe happens to fall. When the tomato plants are grown, the guemoun is an indescribable tangle. It is a very rare gardener who puts up props for the plants.

Nearly all the native gardens have several pumpkins. There are two types, one called the Ahaggar pumpkin, which grows to an enormous size, is yellow, not very sweet, and is less esteemed than the variety called the Métlili pumpkin, which is smaller, greenish, and very wrinkled, and whose meat is much sweeter. The pumpkin constitutes the essential food during the month of October and even during November. [262]

Beans grow marvelously well, but only a few gardeners plant several guemouns of them.

/75/ Agricultural Centers

The Ahaggar has numerous agricultural centers, veritable oases, of unequal importance. The location of these gardens

241 /75 cont./ is always the same: in a living wadi, between two rock shelves. They are to be found, then, within a radius of about 100 kilometers from the upper summits of the Atakor.

The gardens string out along the wadi, using to the best advantage the cultivable and irrigable land. An impressive checkerboard of guemouns served by lines of foggaras and séguias testifies to the industry of the harratin. The green patches of early wheat among the grayish natural vegetation make a curious sight; this verdure seems unreal. The agricultural centers are always found in picturesque surroundings. The villages have rare houses of toubs or of dried bricks, [342] but more common are tahli zéribas /reed shelters/. Misery there is endemic, and the word "destitution" takes on its [511] most absolute sense here.

I have personally known families, one of them with [262 nine children, who knew upon getting up in the morning, 511] at certain times of the year, that they had nothing to eat during the coming day and that it would be the same the next day and the days after that. Only the charity of one of their fellows, scarcely any better off, would save them from starvation.

It is true that lack of foresight is a determining factor in bringing about this destitution, but it is not the only factor; one must also cite the low fertility of the soil, the frequent lack of sufficient water, above all after a long dry period, the conditions of the agricultural contract which in effect prevent the hartani from developing a passionate interest in his land, and, lastly, the limited views and complete lack of initiative that characterize the harratin. It must be noted that the Tuareg are hostile to the development of agriculture; this hostility is scarcely a reasoned one; it is a matter of a kind of nomadic atavism, augmented by a desire to keep the traditional practices intact, and also by a fear of seeing the Ahaggar penetrated by foreigners who, undoubtedly, could make the land produce and, in particular, develop the /76/ palm groves, but who would not be hereditarily subordinate to their authority.

●241 /76 cont./ In connection with the conditions of life in the agricultural centers, I shall reproduce here an extract from notes taken in 1949 during a tour I made in the company of the doctor at Tamanrasset. This year of 1949 was particularly dry and came on the heels of four long dry years.

"After having walked five hours since leaving the Tilokatine wadi, where we spent the night, we came in view of a charming little oasis situated in the Outoul wadi, which
241 has cut a bed through basalt rocks, columns of which are
621 seen along the banks. This was the agricultural center of Tahart.

[162 "There are 63 inhabitants, of whom 17 are children --
164] suffering from trachoma and conjunctivitis. Two foggaras serve to irrigate the gardens, as well as two wells with water drawn by oxen. The output of the foggaras is diminishing; the harratin have tried digging other wells at the head of the foggara, but they found large blocks of stone at a depth of three meters which prevented them from reaching the water table. A long and wearying work, with primitive means.

"There are about 100 palm trees, which give small, meager dates. Nearly all of the trees are encumbered with djebars; these harratin have no idea whatsoever of how to cultivate palm trees. Those trees that now produce grew from pits haphazardly cast in a garden.

"The only winter crops are wheat and barley; no turnips, no carrots, no beans, no other vegetables that could tide them over in the period between the millet and the wheat crops and that would permit them to let the cereal ripen.

"At this time nearly all the harratin are eating green barley and young tahli shoots.

"A brief calculation will show how insufficiently these cultivators are fed, although they do very hard work in a hard climate:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Year 1948. | Yield of wheat for Tahart | 1, 500 kilograms |
| | Yield of millet for Tahart | 300 kilograms |
| | | 1, 800 kilograms |

241 /77/ or 1, 800 kilograms of grain to divide 63 times during
621 365 days, giving scarcely 100 grams a day per person, to which we may add three or four meals of meat per year.

"This year a green louse menaces the grain harvest; in summer a sort of 'mosquito' attacks the millet."

To complete these observations, one must add to the food listed for the harratin the very sweet tea they drink whenever they can, and it must be noted that this year 1949 was particularly bad.

If the wheat, set amid the arid mountains, gives an air of opulence to the village, the cultivator well knows that the production will be insufficient and that the fifth part of it coming to him is already pledged to Mozabite merchants to pay for the different purchases of the year. What to do? Go on farming, for such is life. This stubborn work to coax a little wheat from a hostile soil is most touching and merits a better success; but it would be necessary to educate these Negroes, and that is another story.

[361] Certain of these centers are temporary; the harratin abandon them when the soil is exhausted or when the water is no longer sufficient for irrigation; others are always occupied and under cultivation. The harratin merely cultivate smaller areas during dry years. In the permanent centers, the gardens have fruit trees.

In the appendix is the list of the principal agricultural centers of the Ahaggar.

## Animal Raising

233 A land of nomads, the Ahaggar is a region of extensive animal raising. The pastures grow according to the chance of rainfall, and the Tuareg use them with due regard to the growth of the grass. The irregularity of the annual rains obliges the Kel Ahaggar to drive the majority of their camel herd to Sudanese territory, so that about 7, 500 camels graze

787 /117 cont./ She goes to a "debni," a pre-Islamic tomb, lies down on the stones, and says the following words: "Imeguedda enkerguedda," the meaning of which is not known. Putting her ear to the stones, she may hear the news, certainly transmitted by the Kel es Souf. The debni speaks briefly, three times only, and it is not permitted to ask it questions.

The other process requires the sacrifice of a goat. The grass in its stomach is taken out and is made into one or several balls. When night falls the woman goes to a flat place away from all human presence; she throws the balls as far as possible, then lies on the ground and puts her ear against it. If the Kel es Souf are favorably disposed, the news arrives as briefly, but as precisely, as in the preceding method. This process is called "tizomitin." Methods exist to question Fate. They are called "idjehan" and consist of making dots on the sand whose exact number one does not know. The technique differs according to the manner of making the dots. It is something like the card game of patience, for the responses are either "yes" or "no." Some Tuareg know another method to obtain more varied answers, but the apprenticeship for this is long.

241 There are other superstitions, such as that which calls for putting old cooking pots, or else the jaw of an ass, on view in a wheat field in order to have a good harvest. Let us also [262] mention the Negresses' custom of eating cat's thighs in the month of March in order to gain weight.

All of these beliefs should be collected, but that would require long, patient work, which could not be carried out except in a climate of confidence.

771 /118/ One may say that the Ahaggar still lives in a world of magic despite the presence of Islam. This fear of spirits, which seems childish to an Occidental, is very real. "Imagination," Fraser says, "knows how to act on man with as much effect as does gravity, and may kill him with the same certitude as would a dose of prussic acid." The

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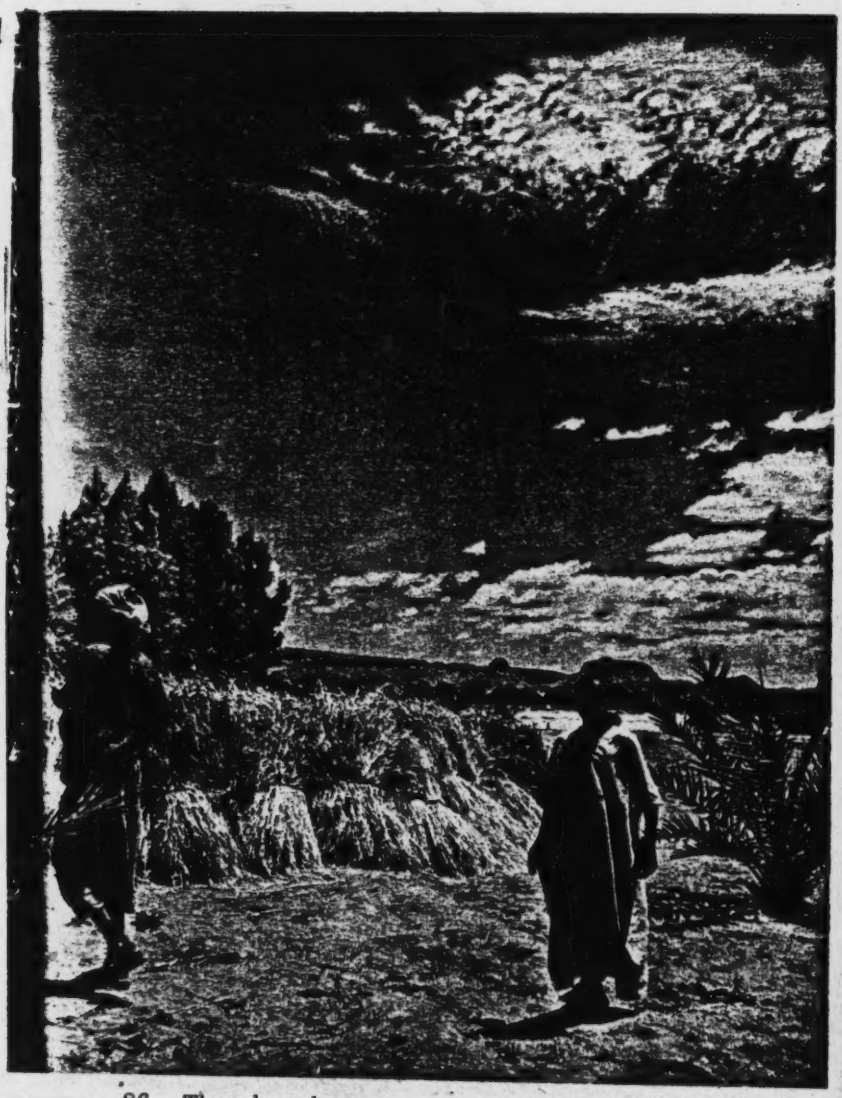

26. The wheat harvest at Tamanrasset.

[p. 213]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



221 many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading. [241] Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess [423] irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Ḫarratin* (*Izeggaren*). Some goat-camps may move their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date [565] palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikechchemaden*) will also visit the oases [245] of Silet and Tibeghin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are * [233] harvested mainly by black-skinned *Ḫarratin* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar – mainly in Tamesna – and the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

423 The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in 311 individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds, or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied 614 the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aǧuh-en-tehlé*. 613 In the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondance between sections and sub-areas in the 423 way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-areas, and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants (cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use [428] these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are [643] frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148-149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Ṛali* and *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the *Amenukal*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group.

423 For the land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) paid to the *Amenukal* the tenants obtain the following rights 422 over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

[224] (3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikebraw*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhet* tribe (*Isekkemaren*).

423
422 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different
224 rules (cf. list p. 148).

423
241 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Ṛali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

685 Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity
643 falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the
423 violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant
[428] dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally
[613] the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary
[114] sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

## AYR

422 The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property
* 233 marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark.
[428] However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *éjwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and
[113] Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 128. Harvested wheat-plot grown without artificial irrigation along a river valley. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

PRIMITIVE CORN GROWING

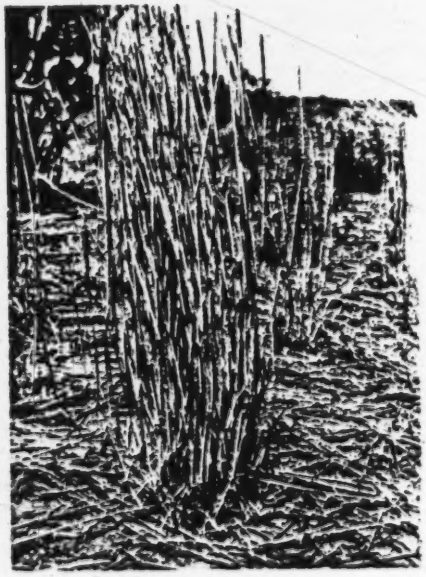

Fig. 129. A close-up of a tuft of harvested wheat from the plot illustrated above (Fig. 128). Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

# Agriculture

In the present chapter are described the agricultural techniques as I know them from Ahaggar (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and from Ayr, and the economic role of agriculture to the subsistence of pastoral Tuareg is discussed. 241

## CULTIVATION WITHOUT ARTIFICIAL IRRIGATION

In the Sahara farming is almost exclusively based on artificial irrigation, and agriculture and stock-breeding are largely separated industries. Large-scale stock-breeding necessitates migrations, while irrigation agriculture must be practised by people who live on the same spot almost continuously. But nomadic stock-breeding and shifting cultivation are occupations which go well together at the borderland of steppe and desert in the north where nomads or semi-nomads sow wheat and barley. Lyon says that the bedouins of Tripolitania use a rude plough but more generally a hoe (Lyon 1821, p. 44). However, plough cultivation seems to predominate among the northern nomads nowadays. Shifting plough cultivation is an important subsidiary occupation for most northern nomads in an almost unbroken area between the Atlantic and the Nile or the Red Sea, but it does not penetrate very far into the true desert country. In Algeria I have not seen shifting cultivation practised further south than the oasis of Ghardaya, where nomads under favourable conditions of rainfall sow wheat and barley by means of a simple plough made of a forked piece of wood (Nicolaisen 1950, Fig. 9, p. 70; Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, pl. II,5 p. 47, Fig. 6 p. 54). West of Ghardaya the plough is known as far south as Tinduf and Beni Abbes, while it is known at Brak of Central Libya towards the east (cf. Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, map p. 40). Feilberg in one of his early works stated that the plough in Northern Africa is particularly attached to shifting cultivation as a sowing implement (Feilberg 1931, p. 199 ff.). This is in agrement with my own investigations in the Northern Sahara, and it is confirmed by the very remarkable study of Capot-Rey & Marçais, who state that the plough is not fitted irrigation agriculture of the Sahara because of the many fruit trees, notably date palm trees, and because of the whole complicated irrigation system (Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, p. 51; Feilberg 1931, p. 199). But there seems also to be another reason why the plough is found only in the Northern Sahara: It is particularly fitted for the sowing of wheat and barley, but less suitable for the sowing of millet and sorghum which are the most important cereals grown in the south (cf. Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, p. 51; Feilberg 1931, p. 201). Barth records that he saw a kind of plough at Auderas in Ayr. It was drawn by three slaves who were driven like oxen by their master (Barth 1857, I, p. 424). 433 241 171 [567]

[p. 183]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



241 171 I, p. 424). Rodd thinks the implement seen by Barth was clearly an importation from the north (Rodd 1926a, p. 133), and Feilberg assumes that if the plough was once known in this southern area it might perhaps have disappeared together with shifting cultivation (Feilberg 1931, p. 200). All this may be so, for there has been much contact between Ayr and the regions of Fezzan and Tripolitania in the past. But Barth does not say that he saw a plough but "a kind of plough", which may perhaps point to a type of large hoe drawn by men like that described from Senegambia by Feilberg (cf. Feilberg 1931, p. 169 f.).

243 The plough is unknown in the extensive area inhabited by pastoral Tuareg but this is not so with a kind of shifting cultivation. Pastoral Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer sow wheat and barley along the river valleys when these have been heavily flooded. Sowing is then done in a very simple way:— Holes are dug into the sandy soil, usually merely with the hand, and a few seeds are put into these holes. Wheat and barley thus sown grow in tufts with a space of 0.30 to 0.50 metres between each, and there seem to be about fifty straws in a normal tuft – the largest tuft I have seen contained about 130 straws (cf. Figs. 128–129). The plots cultivated in this way are generally very small, and the scattered wild plants growing in the plot are not always removed before sowing. The corn plots are left completely to themselves until harvesting, which is done with a sickle (Fig. 143). Primitive corn growing of this type cannot be practised continuously from one year to another in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the Tuareg of that region say that a household never grows enough corn in this way to meet its annual needs.

[178] The primitive method of corn growing without artificial irrigation is unknown in Ahaggar nowadays, but it seems as if it was known in the past (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 372), and the Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular term (*tawgest*) for a field cultivated without artificial irrigation (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1466).

Rodd states that rain-grown crops could be raised most years in certain parts of Ayr and that in earlier days a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way in Ayr (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). There is little doubt that this statement is correct, and I think that even in parts of Ahaggar millet could be raised without irrigation in most years, for millet has a very short period of growth.

[221] In Ahaggar (at Abalessa) it is sown in June-July and is harvested in September. Though millet plots are irrigated they are never watered much, and never to the same extent as wheat and barley which are grown in winter. In regard to Ayr, millet in southern villages of the Massif very frequently ripens in two months, and late in summer, at the end of the rains (*akasa*) or in the early dry season (*rarat*).

[262] I have frequently seen well-developed small plots of millet and sorghum around deserted Tuareg camps where a great many seeds are always lost on the ground during the pounding and winnowing of millet for porridge. These self-grown plots, however, are not utilized by the Tuareg as the comparatively

[136] small yield is quickly eaten by the numerous millet-eating birds. Owing to these birds it would be difficult for pastoral Tuareg to grow cereals in flooded valleys like the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and it is partly for this very reason that the sedentary agriculturists of Ayr grow very little millet. Millet could easily be raised without artificial irrigation during the rains, and, in fact, millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation of Ayr.

245 In addition to the species of grain mentioned above there is one very important plant which can be grown without artificial irrigation, namely the date palm. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are river valleys

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 131. A *foggara* canal (*dfell*) dug into the sandy river bed from where it is led into the gardens of the valley terrace. Southern Ahaggar, *Tafnut*.

245 [423] In Ayr there are also a few pastoral Tuareg who own date palms growing in river valleys, e.g., people of the *Imezzureg* tribe of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These date palms, like those growing half wild in Northern Tuareg countries, yield very small dates of a quality inferior to those grown in the oases under constant supervision by agriculturists. Such dates are used only for local consumption.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AHAGGAR

●241 175 Irrigation agriculture has been practised since ancient times within certain territories now inhabited by the Northern Tuareg. As early as in Roman times there is reference to *Radames*, *Rat*, and certain oases of the Fezzan, which were visited by Roman Expeditions (Lhote 1955a, p. 113 f.; Duveyrier 1864, p. 249 ff., 266 ff., 275 ff., 455 ff.). Lhote thinks that the oasis of Abalessa in the lowland west of the Ahaggar Massif was also visited by the Roman general Cornelius Balbus (Lhote 1955a, p. 88 f., 113 f., 286), but this, perhaps, is to be doubted. In the writings of Medieval Arab authors there is apparently no reference to oases within the Ahaggar country, though oases in neighbouring parts of the Sahara are mentioned.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



In literature there seems to be no reliable information about the existence of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar until Duveyrier, who states that agriculture did not obtain a fixed position in the economic life of the Ahaggar Tuareg until the reign of the *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830-1877) (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 369). This statement is confirmed by most agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg in Ahaggar, who claim that prior to *Elkhaj Akhmed* irrigation agriculture was not practised in Ahaggar. During the reign of this *Amenukal* irrigation agriculture by means of the subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs as *foggara* (*éfeli*, pl. *ifelan*) was introduced by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs and negroid *Ḥarratin* from the Tidikelt oases. Some people of Ahaggar claim that another irrigation system was introduced about the same time, namely irrigation wells from which water is drawn by oxen and donkeys. This system, known as *tanut*, is said to have been introduced by agriculturists from Ġanet (Djanet) (the *Kel Ġanet*). It should be noted that there are certain traditions which claim irrigation agriculture to be older in Ahaggar. One tradition says that it was practised at Silet-Tibeghin by Arabs who immigrated from Tawat to cultivate by means of the *foggara* system even during the reign of the *Imenan* (Lhote 1955, p. 286 f.). Another tradition, recorded by Foucauld, states that irrigation farming was known at a very remote date by the *Isebeten* – a pagan people said to be the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes of Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 535 f.). Traditions of the age of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar are conflicting. If it was practised long before the reign of *Elkhaj Akhmed* by the ancient vassals, I believe that water was raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight. For this system, which is known as *aṛudid*, is said to have been very common in the past. It is extremely rare nowadys, and I have only seen it once at Terhenanet. There can be no doubt that this simple irrigation method is a very old one in North Africa, where it is more widely distributed than all other types of irrigation methods (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, map VII p. 320). The very wide distribution of this system elsewhere in the Old World points to its great age, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest true irrigation machine.

A few Tuareg in the northern groups practise irrigation agriculture, which does not seem to be one of their traditional occupations. Tuareg irrigation farmers are found mainly in the Fezzan, but mention should also be made of the people of three noble tribes, namely the *Ilemteyen* (living at Ṛat), the *Ikadeyen* (at Ṭit in Ahaggar), and the *Kel-ahem-niellen* (roaming pastoralists north of Ahaggar or settled farmers at the oasis of Inṛer in Tidikelt). These sedentary or semi-sedentary noble Tuareg were originally true pastoralists, though but little is known of the original mode of livelihood of the *Ikadeyen*. A few individuals or families among the Ahaggar vassals have more recently taken up irrigation agriculture in addition to stock-breeding. There seems to be a growing tendency towards semi-nomadism in Ahaggar nowadays. There may be several reasons for this. Thus one can point to the decline of caravan trading and to the fact that pastoral Tuareg cannot so easily get the true agriculturists to cultivate for them. The true agriculturists of Ahaggar comprise the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*) of Tidikelt, who have mixed with the manumitted slaves now also known as *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*), a few fair-skinned *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, and the *Kel Ġanet* who are predominantly black-skinned. All these agricultural people tend to mix with each other and also with tribes of pastoral Tuareg.

There are at present about 25 agricultural settlements in the river valleys of Ahaggar. Apart from the administration centre of Tamanṛaset (1600) and the oasis of Abalessa (547) these agricultural

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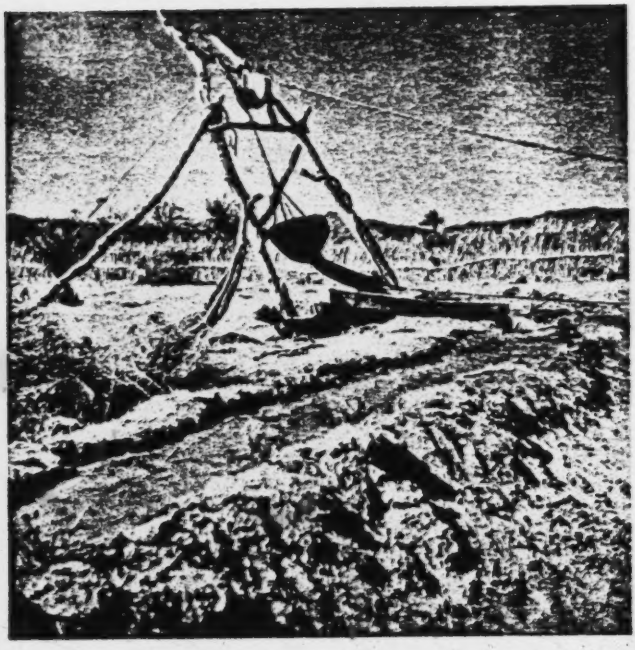

Fig. 132a. The irrigation system known as *tanur*. Ahaggar, Amscl.

361 settlements contain less than 300 individuals, the majority not even a hundred (cf. Lhote 1955a;
[162] p. 292). Most agricultural settlements comprise only a few houses built of stone or mud, or a few
[342] straw-huts (cf. p. 327 ff.). The agriculturists of these small settlements generally keep some goats
[231] and sheep, have donkeys, which are important beasts of burden to all farmers of the Sahara oases,
and in certain families there are one or two zebus to raise water from irrigation wells. A few agri-
433 culturists may be characterized as semi-nomads. This is the case of some inhabitants of Abalessa
who guard their flocks at some distance from the village. Some of these agriculturists, who were
formerly Tuareg slaves, even make skin-tents like pastoral Tuareg.

312 The subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs of the Sahara as *foggara*, to the Tuareg as *ifelan*
241 (sing. *éfeli*), constitute by far the most important irrigation system used in Ahaggar. However, these
[166] *foggara* canals cannot be compared with the large extensive aqueducts of Tidikelt though their intro-
duction to Ahaggar is due to the immigration of agriculturists from that area. The Tidikelt *foggara*
are very large aqueducts which are dug into water-bearing strata which can be situated at a consid-
erable distance from the oasis (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 324 ff., Lô 1953 & 1954; Chaintron 1958).
The Ahaggar foggara are generally very short (about one to two kilometres, or shorter), they are not

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 132b. Cf. text Fig. 132a.

deep, and are dug into the sandy river bed to lead its water to the gardens of the valley terrace. A map of the foggara aqueducts placed in the river valley of Taṛhawhawt is reproduced by Capot-Rey [114] (Capot-Rey 1953a, Fig. 18 p. 328). There are many advantages attached to the use of foggara systems of the Ahaggar type, for once the aqueducts are dug water automatically flows to the garden. But there are also disadvantages. If a foggara valley is heavily flooded after rains and changed into a roaring stream, the aqueducts are destroyed and the crops also. In general it will be necessary to abandon a foggara system after some years, as it must be cleaned at intervals and in time it becomes too dangerous to work in them as subsidences may occur and kill workers. It may also happen that a river valley is not flooded at all for a period of years when it becomes essential to move to another valley, rich in water under the sandy river bed, to make a new foggara there. For all these reasons deserted foggara systems are common in the river valleys of Ahaggar.

The *foggara* system is unknown south of Ahaggar and has on the whole a rather limited distribution in the Sahara. One reason for this is perhaps that the construction and maintenance of the aqueduct [184] [476] imply the agricultural co-operation of several households. This is not the case with the other common system in Ahaggar, the use of wells (*tunin*, sing. *tanut*) from which water is raised by animal traction. The wells are usually shallow and not very difficult to dig out, and the maintenance of the whole system is usually limited to occasional mendings of the zebu's harness and of the large waterbag. While a foggara canal is always used for the irrigation of several gardens (6–12), the wells are used for single gardens. The irrigation wells are dug into the valley terrace so that they are not destroyed by a flood, and in dry years watering from wells is considered the better system. But in the period when crops need much water irrigation by means of wells is hard work for the garden owner who must drive his ox all day long.

Irrespective of the system resorted to irrigation of a garden is done in the same manner. Water from the *foggara* aqueduct or water raised from well flows into a large basin (*tihemt*) through a canal

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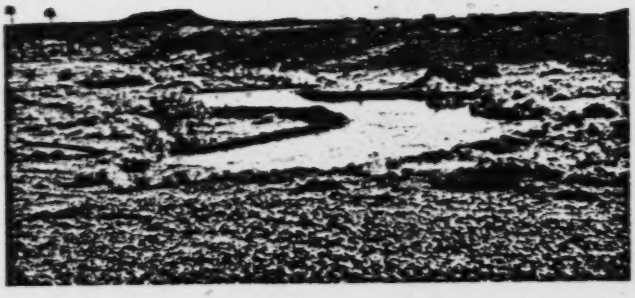

Fig. 133. The large water basin (*tiheni*) from which water is led into the gardens. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

(*teguhamt*, or *tahaft*) from which another canal (*tahaft*, or *teguhamt*) leads water out into the garden, which is always divided into a large number of garden beds (*igemmunen*, sing. *agemmun*) surrounded by low ridges and separated by narrow irrigation canals. The large water basin serves to regulate watering, which outside of the very cold season is done during the night. A flat stone with a hole in its middle and known as *anefif* is placed between the basin and the canal leading water into the garden; water for irrigating the garden flows through this hole when irrigation is needed at night, while the hole is closed by means of a cotton stopper during the day. The basin is thus filled with water during the day and its water runs into the garden at night (cf. Figs. 131–136).

The irrigation systems described are most important for the cultivation of the winter crops of wheat and barley. The Tuareg word in Ahaggar for wheat is *éred* which is a collective name for several types of wheat known as *elkhamra*, *elmansuri*, *amekkawi*, *rati*, and *menga*. These special names seem to be derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1058, 1211 & IV, p. 1789; Maire 1933, I, p. 246). According to Maire these types of wheat belong to the species *Triticum aestivum*. I have never myself seen fully-grown wheat in Ahaggar and was thus unable to collect ears for identification by botanists, but seeds brought home from Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have been identified by Dr. Hans Helbaek as belonging to common bread wheat. Barley is known to the Tuareg as *timzin*. Threshed seeds brought home from Ahaggar have been identified by Dr. Helbaek as belonging to the six-rowed type (*Hordeum vulgare*, though some, he thinks are perhaps of the two-rowed type (*H. distichum*). Barley, like wheat, is a winter crop though less common. At Abalessa I was told that two thirds of the seed-crops grown in winter were wheat, while only one third was barley.

Wheat and barley are grown in the same way. Sowing is done in the autumn (*tober*), and the seeds are put into the garden beds with the fingers. Harvesting takes place in the month of April (*ibri*) and is performed with a sickle (Fig. 143). The growing of wheat and barley is a very strenuous task for irrigation agriculturists. Watering is done for the first time immediately after sowing. When I stayed at Abalessa, in the month of January 1955, the tender plants of wheat and barley were watered two days in succession, and the 10–12 gardens belonging to the same *foggara* were irrigated in succession in this way. At that time of the year the plots are not generally watered at night because of the cold temperature which may be below zero.

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temperatures which may be below zero. At a later date the plants of wheat and barley are watered less frequently, and watering ceases completely some time before harvesting in order that the plant may ripen more easily. 243

The agriculturists of Ahaggar do not manure the garden plots used for wheat and barley. Only a new garden plot never previously cultivated is manured, and when such a garden is made the wild vegetation of grasses, herbs, bushes, and trees is often set on fire. Wheat and barley can be grown in the same garden plot for three or four years in succession, and the soil then needs at least one year's rest. In this way, the same garden plot can be kept under cultivation for many years without manuring: this continuous cultivation on the same spot with a one year's rest for each three or four years cultivation is possible partly because there is a certain crop rotation with other plants grown in summer, but mainly because the agriculturists during the period wheat and barley are grown carry fresh soil to their gardens. This is done not only before sowing but also throughout a long period of the winter when the plants are tender and green. When I stayed in the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel in the [101] months of January and February (1955), all agricultural households worked strenuously from morning to night carrying soil to the green garden plots of wheat and barley. The soil was carried in plaited baskets [492] (cf. Fig. 135) on the head, or in bigger baskets carried by donkeys. The soil was left in small heaps [492] (one in every garden bed) to be spread over and between the green plants (cf. Fig. 137). This extremely [461] strenuous work, I was told, would continue until the month of March.

In spite of the fact that cultivation in Ahaggar is done intensively and much work is connected with it, the yield of winter crops is not a very considerable one. In Abalessa it is said that seed-corn of wheat and barley will normally amount to about 50 kgs, and about 500 kgs is to be considered a normal yield, though certain gardens which are extremely well cultivated may yield more and in rare cases up to one thousand kilogrammes. The gardens I saw at Amsel and Taṛhawhawt were smaller than those seen in Abalessa. At Taṛhawhawt the quantity of wheat and barley sown, was said to amount to about 35 kilogrammes.

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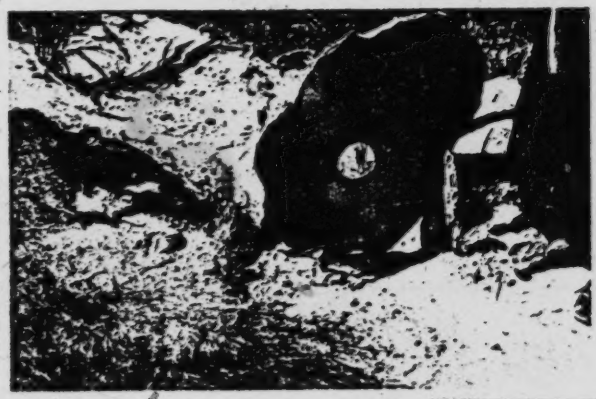

Fig. 134. The flat stone (*awṛâf*) inserted between the water basin (*tikemt*) and the canal (*teḥahant*) which leads water towards the gardens. Irrigation stops and the basin runs full of water when a cotton stopper is put into the round hole in the middle of the flat stone. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

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Fig. 136. Irrigation of a young wheat-plot. The canal ridges are opened with a hoe in order to let water penetrate into the garden beds. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 282). Maize (*Zea mays*) is also grown as a summer crop in some of the cultivation centres; it is called *engafulé*, or *engafulé masri* (masri = Egyptian) because it is said to have been introduced from Egypt.

Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum*) are grown mainly in summer and constitute a very 241 important crop. The ripe fruit is sliced and left to dry on a layer of straw in the garden. They are [252] crushed and pounded and are added to various dishes, e.g., the so-called kuskus (*keskesu*, cf. p. 247). Various types of melons and gourds are also grown in summer, e.g., the water melon (*talegezt*; *Colocynthis Citrullus*), a type of ordinary melon known as *tétakelt* or *tazenut* (*Cucurbita* sp.) which is frequently sliced and dried in the same way as tomatoes, and a kind of large gourd (*kabuya*; *Cucurbita maxima*). Certain other vegetables are grown in most gardens, notably various kinds of onions (*téskert*, *Allium sativum*; *éfeleli*, *Allium cepa*) and a kind of beans known as *tadellak*. A few plants [263] are grown as spices, e.g., saffron (*tanermit*, *Crocus sativus*), red pebber (*chitta*, *Capsicum anuum*), or for tea-admixture, e.g., the mint (*émerner*, *Mentha piperita* var.) and a plant known as *lahabok* which is said to have been introduced from the Sudan. Two very poisonous plants are also grown in certain [224] gardens of Ahaggar, namely *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*), which also grows wild in the lower country (cf. p. 178), and *burzig* (*Datura Stramonium*) (cf. Maire 1933, I, p. 191 f.). Foucauld mentions two other plants grown for their medicinal value (*ibedliwen*, *Trigonella foenumgraecum*; *tikannin*) (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 33 & II, p. 812). A kind of wild salad (*tamaghé*) is also grown in the gardens according to Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1170). Potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum*) [439] are now grown in some of the mountain oases – mainly for selling to Europeans at Tamanraset. Among other cultivated plants found in the gardens of Ahaggar mention can be made of the following species after Maire:—

*Lepidium salicum*, *Brassica Rapa* & *B. oleracea* (*aharet*), *Linum usitatissimum* (*ilatelé*, or *anarka*), *Medicago sativa*, *Pisum arvense* (*demchi*), *Vicia Faba*, *Lens culinaris* (*elredes*), *Vigna catjang*, *Cori-*

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Fig. 137. The fresh soil carried to old gardens is placed in small heaps to be spread out between the tender plants of wheat and barley. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

241 *andrum sativum*, *Cuminum Cyminum* (*azkar*), *Daucus Carota* (*azzeruget*), *Cucumis melo*, *Lagenaria vulgaris* (cf. Maire 1933, and particularly Maire 1940, p. 401).

245 [262] In addition to the above-mentioned plants there are various types of fruit trees which do not play any considerable rôle for food. The gardens contain very few date palm trees (*tazzayt*, *Phoenix dactylifera*) and there are no palm trees of any value in the gardens situated in the upper mountain zones where the fig tree (*tahart*, *Ficus carica*) thrives much better than in the lower country; the figs are consumed fresh, or they are put on strings for drying, common practise elsewhere in North Africa. The pomegranate (*terrummant*, *Punica Granatum*) is grown in some gardens; its fruits are eaten, and they are also used for dyeing skins (cf. p. 282). Grapes (*tezzebibt*, *Vitis vinifera*) are also grown in some gardens.

[251] [386]

Maire mentions the cultivation of the peach (*Prunus Persica*) and the apricot (*Prunus Armeniaca*) (cf. Maire 1940, p. 401). These fruit trees have undoubtedly been quite recently introduced for Foucauld states that they are not grown in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 79 f.).

243 423 There are nowadays many agriculturists who have their private gardens so that they cultivate their winter crops and their summer crops entirely for their own use. But most agriculturists grow winter crops of wheat and barley on behalf of the Tuareg who are then the true garden owners.

[312] [476] Agriculturists who cultivate their gardens on their own behalf frequently irrigate crops by means of draught animals (zebus) which raise water from wells, but there are also some farmers who cultivate independently without any contract with pastoral Tuareg and nevertheless belong to a *foggara* team.

243 It can be estimated that an independently working agriculturist obtains a total yield of about 700 kilos of wheat and barley grown in winter. Of this yield he gives 10 kilos to the *Amenukal*, or to the

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Of this yield he gives 10 kilos to the Amenukal, or to the 243
Tuareg who has territorial rights (cf. p. 151), while the yield of one garden bed – that is about other [65] ten kilos – is given to a blacksmith who in return mends hoes and other agricultural implements. The [62] necessary amount of seed-corn, comprising about 50 kilos, should also be withdrawn from the winter crop yield so that his total net profit is about 630 kilos of wheat and barley. To this amount of cereals 241 can be added the yield of summer crops (millet, sorghum, maize, tomatoes, and other vegetables) for

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Fig. 138a–c. Grown cereals from Aheggar.
a. Millet (*dodhi*) (*Pennisetum typhoideum*). b. Two types of sorghum (*ahawa*, *tafsat*).
c. Maize (*angafidi*) (*Zea mays*).

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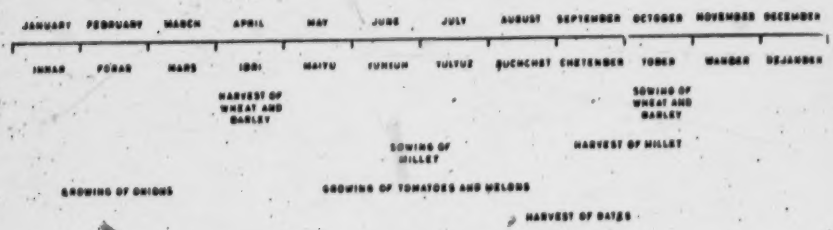


Fig. 139. Horticultural calendar from Ahaggar.

The Tuareg and the negroid agriculturists have a lunar calendar of twelve months corresponding to the Arab calendar, but a lunar calendar has no practical value for the indication of seasonal agricultural activities. The Julian Calendar is known to some people of Ahaggar as well as to other Berbers of the Sahara and the Atlas. Tuareg names of Julian months are given above. Very few people in Ahaggar know the exact beginning and the end of the twelve Julian months, but a few names are used as seasonal terms: *innar* "midwinter", *mars* = "beginning of spring", *ibri* "early harvest" (of wheat and barley), *maiyu* "beginning of summer", *tober* = "late harvest" (millet).

241 which no definite figures can be given, while the yield of fruit trees growing in the garden plot does
[423] not necessarily belong to the agriculturist. These trees frequently belong to pastoral Tuareg.

433 I think it can be estimated that an agricultural household with its own garden produce about a
242 thousand kilos of vegetables food products annually for its private use. We can add that though the members of an agricultural household live mainly on vegetable food products they also acquire a certain amount of food from livestock, which normally comprises a few goats and sheep, and perhaps one or two zebus. Conditions of stock-breeding are not always favourable to people who live continuously on the same spot, but it is advantageous to the agriculturists of Ahaggar, who live close to valleys with some pasture, that they are able to feed their animals on green garden products when pasture is badly developed and thus avoid the disaster of a drought. It is also an advantage to most agriculturists that they do not have to water their animals which can drink freely from the irrigation canals. The agriculturists can kill a few goats or sheep annually, they obtain milk and a little butter
[234] to be used mainly as a sauce for bread and porridge, and they make cheese of the *awles* type (cf. p. 224), but they never make cheese from fresh milk as do many pastoral Tuareg when milk is abundant. The agriculturists also breed fowls and pigeons, and some of them have an important meat supply from hunting with steel-traps (hares, jackals, fennecs, and ravens). Collecting, on the other hand, is of little or no value to irrigation farmers of Ahaggar.

241 The economic position of agriculturists who work without any particular obligations towards
466 pastoral Tuareg is tolerably good. It is less favourable to those who grow winter crops also on behalf
[423] of the Tuareg, as do most cultivators. Some of them irrigate the garden plot with water raised from
[511] wells by oxen which may belong to the cultivator or to the Tuareg. But most agriculturists who work
241 for the pastoral Tuareg irrigate by means of *foggara*. It is very strenuous work to dig a *foggara* canal,
312 and co-operation is needed not only for this but also for the maintenance of the whole irrigation system.
466 The gardens are individually tended by the agriculturists, who co-operate in the *foggara* work under
476 the leadership of a headman known as *amrar n efeli*, that is "chief of the *foggara*". This headman is

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241 appointed by the Tuareg garden owners and is rewarded by a garden of his own for his responsibility
312 in supervising all co-operative work. The unit of agriculturists co-operating at the same *foggara* may
466 or may not correspond to an extended family. The agriculturists co-operating on any large *foggara*
476 irrigating ten or twelve gardens frequently represent two or three distinct families which are not linked to each other by kinship bonds. The cultivators of a *foggara* comprising nine gardens at Taḥawhawt
[675] belong to three distinct, unrelated families. This is quite natural in view of the fact that contracts between the Tuareg and the cultivators are made individually.

423 There may also be no kinship bonds between the pastoral Tuareg who have gardens at the same foggara, and there are even Tuareg who own two or three gardens situated in widely separated river
[614] valleys of Ahaggar. But Tuareg garden owners of the same foggara frequently belong to the same tribe
[428] or even to the same tribal section. When a garden-owning Tuareg dies, his garden will generally pass to somebody within his family, but there seems to be no fixed rules governing the transference of gardens.

466 The individual contract between a Tuareg garden owner and his cultivator is made for a period of
675 six months – the period of growth for wheat and barley. The agriculturist is responsible for all garden
423 work, and the Tuareg garden owner has the following obligations:—
241 (1) To supply his cultivator with a hoe every year, or every two years in case a very good hoe is given.

(2) To pay for repairs of the *foggara* system, or for the digging of a new *foggara*. This payment is known as *almarsor* and consists of two kilos of cereals or dates every working day until water reaches the garden.

(3) To pay for the making of garden beds. This payment is known as *éhéré n egalab*, and is made only once as long as the garden remains on the same spot. When a garden is moved after a period of three or four years the payment must be made again. It varies with the size of the garden and the quality of its soil; in general it consists of 15–25 kilos of cereals.

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Fig. 140. Millet (*índil*) of very high growth. It is said that this particular millet type was introduced to Ahaggar from the south – possibly from Ayr. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

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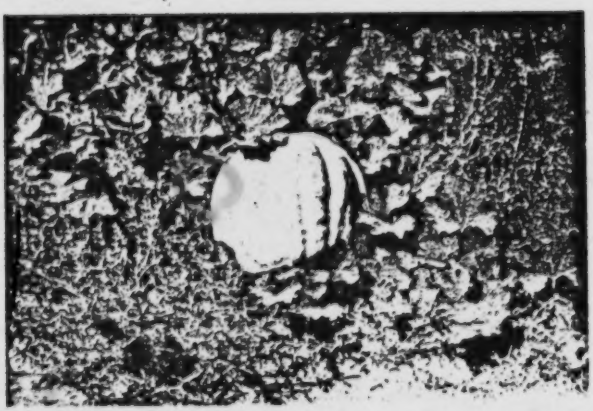

Fig. 141. The large gourd known as *kabuya* (*Cucurbita maxima*) growing close to the thorny fence (*aforaẓ*) which term is also generally used to designate a garden. Ahaggar, *Akl Azzi* Araba.

466 625 423 241 [17] [578]

Tuareg garden owners have other obligations besides those listed under these three items, but these obligations vary with the systems of contract of which there are three. One system is known as *khamast* according to which the agriculturists gets only one fifth of the crops. This system is widely found in North Africa but has disappeared in Ahaggar some years ago. It is said that it was abolished by the *Amenukal* because it very frequently gave rise to disputes between Tuareg garden owners and their cultivators. It is now replaced by two other systems, the *tilt* system allowing one third of the crops to the cultivator, and the *aṛil* system according to which crops are divided equally between the owner and the cultivator. This last system is that almost exclusively used in Ahaggar nowadays.

To revert to Tuareg obligations towards their cultivators, these obligations, in addition to those mentioned above, are as follows:—

(4) To hand over an amount of seed-corn (*téfest*) of wheat and barley according to the size of the garden plot and the system of contract. With a *khamast* agreement the Tuareg garden owner gives all seed-corn. With a *tilt* agreement half of the seed-corn is supplied by the owner, the other half by the cultivator who is then also allowed to cultivate a private garden. With an *aṛil* agreement half of the seed-corn is given by the garden owner, the other half by the cultivator who does not possess a private garden unless he is headman of a *foggara* (p. 196).

(5) To give an amount of food to the agriculturist during the cultivation period of six months. This payment is known as *tenafok*, and is fixed at 75 kilos of millet, barley, or dates when cultivation is done according to the *aṛil* system, while 150 kilos are given for cultivation according to agreements of the two systems *tilt* and *khamast*.

[434]

The net profit to an agriculturist who cultivates for a Tuareg garden owner is lower than that gained by an agriculturist cultivating exclusively for his own private use. This will be seen more clearly from the calculations below where a garden with an annual yield of 700 kilos wheat and barley is considered:—

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| | *Cultivator* | | *Tuareg Garden Owner* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The khamast system* | Receipts | Expenditure | Receipts | Expenditure |
| The *khamast* division | 140 kg | | 560 kg | |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg |
| Seed-corn | | | | 50 kg |
| Food given to the cultivator | 150 kg | | | 150 kg |
| | 290 kg | 10 kg | 560 kg | 210 kg |
| Net profit | 280 kg | | 350 kg | |
| *The tilt system* | | | | |
| The tilt division | 233 kg | | 466 kg | |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg |
| Seed-corn | | 25 kg | | 25 kg |
| Food given to the cultivator | 150 kg | | | 150 kg |
| | 383 kg | 35 kg | 466 kg | 185 kg |
| Net profit | 348 kg | | 281 kg | |
| *The aril system* | | | | |
| The *aril* division | 350 kg | | 350 kg | |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg |
| Seed-corn | | 25 kg | | 25 kg |
| Food given to the cultivator | 75 kg | | | 75 kg |
| | 425 kg | 35 kg | 350 kg | 110 kg |
| Net profit | 390 kg | | 240 kg | |

A few notes should be added to these calculations of receipts and expenditure in the three systems. Thus the profit of the cultivator in all three systems is somewhat bigger than is indicated. The hoe is given by the Tuareg garden owner, who must also make certain payments for irrigation work and for the making of new garden beds as mentioned above. The garden owner's net profit in kilogrammes is consequently somewhat lower than indicated, but it should be mentioned that payments made by a Tuareg garden owner are hardly ever made in wheat and barley, but mainly in millet and dates which are less valuable, particularly so because the pastoral Tuareg acquire millet and dates at very low prices during their caravan expeditions (cf. p. 209 ff.). Therefore, the profit made by a Tuareg garden owner cannot so easily be given in kilogrammes of agricultural food products. It is evident that all three systems are profitable to the Tuareg, and it is clear that an agriculturist who cultivates a garden entirely on his own behalf is better off than an agriculturist who works for the Tuareg. It is also evident that to the agriculturist the *khamast* system is less profitable than the *tilt* system, which again is less profitable than the *aril* system. With the abolishment of the *khamast* system the agriculturists now

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466 475 obtain a larger amount of vegetable food products and more wheat and barley. The pastoral Tuareg 423 gain less from their gardens than they did when the *khamast* system prevailed, but it is still profitable 241 for them to be garden owners. 434

The quantity of agricultural products anually consumed per person among the *Kel Ahaggar* is 511 estimated by Lhote at 187 kilos millet, 15 kilos dates, and a small amount of wheat for which no 262 figure is given. For Arabs of the Sahara the quantity of vegetable food is estimated at 180 kilos wheat, [171] and 75 kilos dates anually per person (Lhote 1955a, p. 263). I add to this that wheat is used for bread to a very large extent by the Ahaggar Tuareg, who also make much use of barley for bread and porridge. According to Malaurie the amount of agricultural food products available per person among the Ahaggar Tuareg is about 400 grammes a day, or 146 kilos anually (Malaurie 1953, p. 342). It should be noted again that the amount of agricultural food products necessary for a Tuareg household varies greatly from one year to the other. In years of drought when agricultural products form so to speak the only source of food for the nomads, they estimate that a household consisting of husband, wife, and one child will consume about two kilos of cereals (dates) every day, or 730 kilos in a year. Consequently the amount of cereals and dates consumed anually per person may in dry years rise to about 245 kilos. This seems to correspond to the amount of food considered necessary for Arabs of [171] Tidikelt and Tawat, who live almost exclusively on cereals and dates. When employed as labourers by the French Administration these sedentary Arabs are given 16 kilos of wheat and 4 kilos of rice a month, or 240 kilos of agricultural products anually per person (Information obtained from the administration 511 office of In Salah in 1954). The agricultural products obtained by a pastoral household from a single 433 garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example: During the year 1954 55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with an *aril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar [437] Tuareg depend on caravan trading for their provisions of agricultural food, and trading also helps them to create the capital of millet and dates which is invested in their gardens in Ahaggar grown on their behalf by agriculturists. I believe that most pastoral households of Ahaggar have gardens, but there are Tuareg who have none. This is true, for instance, of most Tuareg living in and around the Ahnet Massif. Tuareg of this region formerly had gardens irrigated by the *foggara* system at Abalessa, but to-day they acquire their vegetable food products mainly by caravan trading.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AYR

563 The largest aggregation of sedentary people in Ayr is found in Agadez (4,737), which is inhabited al- [361] most exclusively by negroid peoples who speak Hausa though most of them also know the Tuareg [162] language (*tamachek*). This large sedentary population mainly lives on trade and on crafts of [197] various kinds. The inhabitants are known to the Tuareg as the *Imeggedezen*. They are said to be related [433] to the Sultan (or the *Amenukal*) of Agadez. There is a tradition which claims that the Sultan came [173]

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162 tion that subsisted on agriculture. Most members of the *Kel Ewey* group are fairly negroid in appear-
144 ance, and though some of them lead a nomadic life and subsist mainly on stock-breeding, the bulk of
433 the *Kel Ewey* are sedentary agriculturists who have some livestock comprising goats, sheep, zebus, and sometimes camels also. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group there are very few sedentary agriculturists, though a few vassals have taken up irrigation agriculture in recent times. There are also agriculturists within the negroid group of the *Kel Ferwan* known as *Irawélen*.

[537] Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have gardens cultivated by their slaves, but this is not customary nowadays when slavery is of little importance in Ayr. Contracts between pastoral Tuareg and cultivators
● 241 are said to have been unknown until recent times when a few pastoralists have made contracts with
466 cultivators. There seem to be no fixed systems regulating such relationships, but it is said to be common for the cultivator and the Tuareg to divide crops equally between them.

241 Though agriculture could be practised in Ayr without artificial irrigation there are no rain-grown
312 crops within the Massif nowadays. The *foggara* system is unknown, and irrigation is done by raising water from shallow wells. The system of a pole and bucket provided with a counterweight known in Ayr as *asefian* has disappeared quite recently. It was used at many agricultural settlements of Ayr until a few years ago, and in parts of the country formed the only type of irrigation system at the time of the French occupation. One informant told me that in his boyhood about 35 years ago no other irrigation method was employed at Alarses, and this is in agreement with literature (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 322). At that time, however, the method of raising water from wells by animal traction (in Ayr *anu*, in Ahaggar *tanut*) was also practised at many settlements. It is unknown when it came to Ayr, but it is said to have been introduced from the north – probably from the regions of Fezzan and Tasilé-n-Ajjer from where the same system came to Ahaggar (cf. p. 187). It is now used at all
[492] settlements as the only type of irrigation system, and zebu-oxen are always used for traction. This was not so in the past when zebus were less common than to-day, and it is said that donkeys were then the common draught-animals. The irrigation of gardens is performed in much the same way as in Ahaggar. The water raised from the shallow well (*anu*) is led through a narrow canal (*ayelal*) to a large basin (*tisemt*) from where another canal (*dukt*) leads to the garden (*afarag*), which is divided into a number of beds (*éfenral*).

243 Cereals form the most important crops in Ayr. The common winter crop is wheat (*elkama*; *Triticum vulgare*), but also barley (*Hordeum tetrastichum* var. *pallidum*) is very widely grown. One crop of these two cereals is taken every winter, and it is said that the period of growth is about five months; sowing is done in October, harvest in March. Cereals are also important for summer crops. Both millet (*énélé*; *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and sorghum (*abora*; *Sorghum caudatum*) are grown, and millet, as we have
[262] seen, has a very short period of growth – only about two months (cf. p. 184). But though millet is most important as food for agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike, it is not widely grown because it is difficult to protect it from the numerous small birds and because, it is said, millet grown in Ayr
[439] is of a quality inferior to that of the Sudanese type. Most of the millet eaten in Ayr is therefore imported from Damergu by pastoral Tuareg. By far the most important summer crop grown in Ayr is maize (*Zea mays*), which is known to the Tuareg as *abora maser*, that is "Egyptian sorghum" (*abora* =
[286] sorghum; *maser* = Egypt) (the name *maser* is also used to designate the white cotton used for garments

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by many Tuareg, who say that they have not always known this white cotton, though indigo cotton has been introduced from the Sudan since very remote times). Maize has a normal period of growth of about three months, and two – in certain places perhaps even three – yields are taken in the hot seasons.

In addition to the above-mentioned cereals there are various kinds of vegetables grown in the Ayr gardens. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum*) are grown at most seasons with the exception of the dry and very hot summer period (*éwilen*). Also common in the Ayr gardens is the sweet potato (*dankale*; *Ipomoea Batatas*), which is sown at the beginning of the rains and harvested in winter. The true potato (*batata*; *Solanum tuberosum*) has been introduced more recently, and is grown mainly to be sold to European households in Agadez. It is grown in Eastern Ayr (Tabello). Melons (*Cucumis melo*) and water melons (*Colocynthis citrullus*) are grown all over Ayr and there are different vegetables such as onions (*Allium cepa & A. sativum*), which are harvested at most seasons. Two plants are grown mainly because they are important as admixtures to porridge sauce. One is called *ékabewwa* (*Corchorus olitorius*); it has maize-like seeds which are pounded in a mortar for sauce-making. The other plant is known as *malokhiya* (*Corchorus tridens*); its leaves are dried and pounded for sauce (cf. p. 243). The latter plant also grows wild outside the gardens. There are in Ayr also certain spice-plants, e.g., *Capsicum annuum & C. frutescens*. To all these cultivated plants can be added certain fruit trees, such as the date palm (*talesdar*; *Phoenix dactylifera*), the fig tree (*tahart*; *Ficus carica*) grown in the mountains, and the lemon tree (*lemon*; *Citrus aurantifolia*) which is grown in Southern Ayr; it yields very small fruit which remains green even when ripe. It should finally be mentioned that the cotton plant (*ebduga*; *Gossypium hirsutum*) is also grown in some gardens of Southern Ayr. According to Miré and Gillet it was introduced into Ayr by the Hausa, but the plant has also been introduced further north in the Sahara in Tawat (Miré & Gillet 1956, p. 244). As stated by Rodd, the cotton plant is rare in Ayr and has perhaps been recently introduced into this region (Rodd 1926a, p. 132). There are many other cultivated plants in Ayr, but the above mentioned constitute the most important species.

In Ayr, as in the north, irrigated cereals form the basis of agriculture. Irrigation is carried out by means of a system introduced from the north, and the agricultural techniques largely resemble those of that section of the Sahara inhabited by Northern Tuareg, though there are certain differences. A new garden in Ayr is prepared by cutting and burning away the wild vegetation of trees, bushes, herbs, and grasses. By crop rotation (wheat and barley in winter; maize, millet, and sorghum in summer) it is possible to cultivate the same garden plot for a few years in succession – up to six or seven years, it is said. After this time it becomes necessary to make a new garden, or to manure the old garden plot with camel and cow dung whilst manure (*taki*) from other animals or from human beings is said not to be used, as it would cause the crops to become inedible. A well-manured garden plot can be cultivated continuously for about fifteen years. But fertilizing is not practised by all agriculturists, and to my knowledge they do not carry fresh soil to the garden plots as is the case with the agriculturists of Ahaggar. Agriculture in Ayr therefore frequently resembles shifting cultivation, though plots are irrigated, and deserted garden land is frequently seen in the valleys where agriculture is practised.

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## AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND THE PRESERVATION OF CROPS

241/412 The hoe forms the basic agricultural implement in Ahaggar and in Ayr. The type of hoe used in Ahaggar is known as *agelhim*, and it is akin to that in general use among irrigation farmers of the northern oases. It has a very large and heavy iron head provided with a ring for the shaft. I believe that this type of hoe is particularly fitted for irrigation work, but it does not seem to be in general use in Ayr. I have seen it at Iferwan in Northern Ayr where agriculturists have much contact with Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but I have not seen it further south in the Massif where it seems to be unknown. The common type of hoe in Ayr is different; it is named *tagumit* and is hafted by means of a tongue (Fig. 143d). The same type of hoe is widely distributed in Africa south of the Sahara, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest type of iron hoe within the continent (cf. Feilberg 1934, p. 228–278). [171]

241 The hoe is used for agricultural work in general, for digging irrigation canals, making garden beds, and for the preparation of the soil. The hoe is not used for sowing cereals. Sowing in Ayr is known as *anabal* and is performed in the following way:— As many seeds as can be kept between the first and second fingers are pressed a little into the soil, and water is led into the garden beds immediately after sowing. I have myself never watched sowing, but I was told in Ayr that it was frequently done by old women. I think that this is probably connected with the belief in the mystic power known as *elbaraka* so characteristic of all North African peoples. For cereals contain this mystic power, which can be spoiled by unclean women. It is considered harmful to the *elbaraka* blessing if cereals are handled by menstruating women (cf. Westermarck 1926, I, p. 230). The hoe is used for weeding, but the agriculturists of Ayr also have a special implement for this particular task. This is known as *elgechwad* and consists of a curved semi-circular iron blade hafted to a short wooden handle by means of a tongue (Fig. 143e). The semi-circular blade is sharpened at its outer and convex side which is pushed against the roots of weeds. [278] [841] 241/412

243/412 Various methods are used for the harvesting of crops. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer wheat and barley are always harvested by means of a sickle (*amreh*) (Fig. 143a–b). The sickle in Ayr is known as *elgechwad*, like the weeding implement mentioned above. It is not used for harvesting crops, but for the cutting of annual grasses to be stored for fodder (Fig. 143f). In Ayr both wheat and barley are harvested by drawing the straws from the ground with the hands. In Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer sickles are also used for harvesting dates, while the date-growing agriculturists of Ayr use another method. They do not cut the bunches, but proceed in the following way:— When dates begin to ripen they enclose every bunch in a plaited pouch to protect the fruit from the ravens and other birds. The dates are harvested one by one when they are ripe, while those not yet fully ripe are left to be harvested later. Harvest is done in this manner about once a week until all dates have become ripe. Maize in Ayr is harvested by drawing the plant from the ground with the hand, and this work is normally facilitated by loosening the soil around the roots by means of the hoe. I do not know how maize is harvested in Ahaggar, where this plant is not so widely grown as in Ayr. Everywhere among agricultural people of Ahaggar and Ayr millet and sorghum are cut with a knife (Ahaggar, *ehnusi*; Ayr, *ezegiz*) (Figs. 171–172). 245 243

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Fig. 143a–f.
a–b. Sickles of the type used for harvesting wheat and barley in Ahaggar.
They are known as *amrek*, pl. *imrehen*.
a. From Tamanraset. Total length, 0.271 m. (N.M. G. 5256).
b. From Abalessa. Total length, 0.365 m. (N.M. G. 5828).
c–f. Agricultural implements from Ayr.
c. The short threshing stick (*aburi*). From Iferwan. Dimension: 0.49 m. (N.M. G. 6618).
d. The hoe (*tagamit*) hafted by means of a tongue. From *Kel Ewey* Tuareg near Agadez. Dimension: 0.70 m. (N.M. G. 6615).
e. The semi-circular weeding implement (*elgechwad*). From Iferwan. Dimension: 0.295 m. (N.M. G. 6617).
f. The sickle (*elgechwad*) which is used for cutting annual grasses. From Agadez. Dimension: 0.305 m. (N.M. G. 6613).

241 It seems as if millet and sorghum are always harvested by women, while dates are harvested only by
[462] men. Other crops are harvested by persons of both sexes.

243 Threshing methods are the same in Ahaggar and Ayr. Wheat and barley, which are sheaved and dried before threshing, are beaten with a stick (Ahaggar, *aburi*; Ayr, *aburi* or *asedbak*). This threshing stick is an unfashioned bough of trees or date palms, but a short and club-like implement is also frequently used in Ayr (Fig. 143c). Threshing of millet, sorghum, and maize is done by pounding in a

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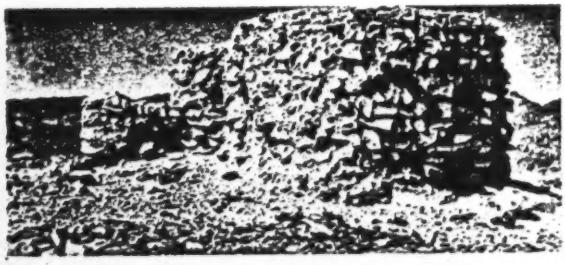
them. They are lined and covered with mats as in Ahaggar, and though they may be used for the 251
storage of wild seeds they are mainly used for grown cereals and are generally found in or close to 343
gardens. Grain silos built of stones and mud – the *tarassana* type of Ahaggar – are said to occur among the *Kel Ewey* but I have never seen such storerooms in their villages, nor have I met the typical African storeroom built of straw and resting upon poles until south of the Massif in Damergu where they are used by shifting cultivators. Large earthenware containers shaped like cooking pots are used [415]
to store vegetable products (cereals) in certain villages, particularly at Ifetwan. Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr have the underground storerooms for the preservation of surplus grain and other vegetable products. Cereals to be consumed in the camps (notably millet) are kept in large skin-bags resting [415]
upon poles that they may not be damaged by white ants. The Ahaggar Tuareg also preserve cereals in their tents in skin-bags.

Irrigation agriculture is a strenuous task, but it is less influenced by climatic conditions than all 241
other occupations practised in the Sahara. The farmers are not exposed to the same disasters of drought [461]
periods as are pastoral Tuareg in the north, though it is said that rain is a direct blessing also to irrigated crops. But cultivated plants are exposed to certain dangers, e.g., locusts, and crops do not always thrive as they should. Bad luck in agricultural activities may in the opinion of the farmers be due to [272]
some mystical power or other. It may arise from incorrect treatment of cereals and dates so that they [278]
lose their *elbaraka*. Menstruating women, as mentioned above, are dangerous to vegetable food, and [841]
this is also true of the fire, for which reason one should never throw date kernels into the flames. The farmers also fear that their crops may suffer damage from the attack of the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and partic- [754]
ularly from the attack of the malignant force attached to the "evil eye" or the "evil mouth". To protect their crops the farmers frequently use amulets such as broken pots and skulls of domestic animals [237]
(notably of donkeys), which are considered an effective means against the "evil eye" and the "evil mouth" (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 133 f., 160).



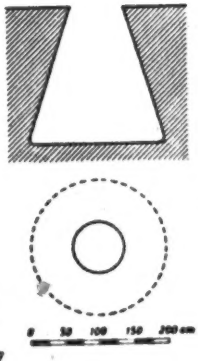



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Fig. 145. Grain silos of the *tarassana* type built of stones and mud. Ahaggar, Abalessa.
Fig. 146. Cross section of a subterranean storeroom for cereals, and the like (*ḏḫend*). Dimensions according to Foucauld: 2.00 m–2.50 m deep, 2.00 m in diameter at the bottom, 0.75 m in diameter at the surface (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 459 f.).

[Text continues on p. 209]

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there will be one entirely dry year throughout, during which stock-breeding products have little or no value as food, and in such years of dry pasture there will also be very few wild plants to collect. Hunting, which plays little part for most Tuareg nowadays, is also of little value in an entirely dry year when many game animals die or migrate to other regions with more favourable pasture. It would seem obvious for pastoral Tuareg to do the same and to take their animals to grazing grounds outside of Ahaggar – particularly to the southern plains where pasture is normally better than in their own country. We have seen that most Ahaggar Tuareg in bad years have their she-camels far from Ahaggar in the Tamesna plains or in the country north of Adraṛ-n-Foras. We have also mentioned that, under very severe conditions, camps of Ahaggar and Ahnet may move to these southern regions with their flocks, though extensive goat-migrations are not always profitable. But most Tuareg remain in Ahaggar even in very dry years with their camps and flocks. Some of the animals will die, and none of them can be mated so that the flocks may rapidly decrease. During such years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg live so to speak exclusively on agricultural food products of which they get only a part from their gardens grown by sedentary agriculturists (the *Ḥarratin*, or *Izzegaren*). It is mainly through caravan trading that the Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their vegetable food products. Their two important trading expeditions to the Tidikelt oases and to the Sudan are carried out anually for the main purpose of acquiring dates and millet.

Trading with the Tidikelt oases (Awlef and In Salah) is based mainly upon a surplus of goats, camels, butter and cheese, and on dried meat. But many Tuareg who obtain large amounts of millet from the Sudanese trading expedition also sell part of their wheat grown in their own gardens in Ahaggar, and Sudanese articles bought during their south-bound trading expedition. In a dry year some Tuareg may choose not to visit the Tidikelt area as they have too small a surplus for trading. The south-bound caravans, on the other hand, are rarely prevented from going as their main trading object is rock-salt of an excellent quality mined at Amadṛor north-east of the Ahaggar Massif. Both north-bound and south-bound caravans will set off in autumn when the hottest season has come to an end, that is at the end of September or at the beginning of October.

The caravan route from Tamanṛaset in Ahaggar to In Salah in Tidikelt is about 750 kilometres, and the route is rather difficult because pasture is normally lacking for three to four days of the journey. Most Tuareg who cross this part of the desert therefore bring with them large supplies of the dried *tullult*-grass (*Aristida pungens*), which also serves as fodder for the pack-camels during the stay in the oases around which there is little pasture. The journey takes about twenty days in each direction, and the north-bound caravans return to Ahaggar again already in December or in January. The traders return with their camels loaded with dates of which a part may be re-sold in Ahaggar (Tamanṛaset), but they also buy European cotton and other European articles, which are cheaper in the north, and woollen blankets woven by sedentary people of the northern oases.

The south-bound caravans are very extensive. The towns visited in the south are Agadez, Tawa Tanut, and Zinder. The distance from Tamanṛaset to Zinder is, as the crow flies, about 1200 kilometres, while the distance from Tamanṛaset to Amadṛor, where salt is mined, is about 300 kilometres. In total the caravan journey from Ahaggar to Zinder and back again for many Tuareg amounts to more than 3000 kilometres. The south-bound caravans are organized as follows:— Slaves take the

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desert, which they might even cross to allow their animals to graze on Sudanese pastures (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 164 f.). Three Berber tribes or tribal groups, namely the Meseta, the Hawwara, and the Zenara, which, according to Ibn Khaldun, lead a pastoral life in Cyrenaica and further east, are stated to practise agriculture in the area between Alexandria and Old Cairo where they sojourn in winter (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 9). However, it would seem as if to most nomads of the northern desert agriculture was not so much practised that it could provide the necessary amount of cereals for the nomads. For, according to Ibn Khaldun, the Arab and Berber pastoralists of these northern regions generally spent the winter in the desert, while in summer they migrated to the Tell regions where they acquired their grain provisions (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 141, II, p. 275 ff., IV, p. 28 f.). 174

We have no information about agricultural activities among the Tuareg who, throughout the Middle Ages, lived in the very extensive area between the Atlantic Ocean and the Fezzan. Ibn Khaldun says that the Tuareg have camel-breeding as their most important occupation (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 105), and this is confirmed by Edrisi in the case of both Northern and Southern Tuareg. But though Edrisi states that the Tuareg live mainly on camel's milk and meat, certain passages of his book seem to indicate that agricultural products also played a part as food (Edrisi b, p. 10, 41, 67 f.). Ibn Batutah says that the Sultan of Tacadda (Ayr) knew neither wheat nor bread (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 443), which agrees with the fact that even to-day wheat-bread is not common among the people of Ayr, and he says of the Tuareg (the *Bardamah*) who live further south that they live on cow's milk and pounded millet mixed with water (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 437). This latter dish is doubtless identical with that known as *arehara* (Ahaggar) or *arejira* (Ayr) among modern Tuareg (cf. p. 245). Information about Tuareg nourishment is also given by Leo Africanus who, like Ibn Batutah, writes about this on the basis of personal experience. Leo says that the Tuareg live exclusively on camel's milk, butter, and meat, and eat no bread (Leo Africanus I, p. 152), but later he states that a Tuareg chief he visited in the desert had provisions of grown cereals and dates (Leo Africanus I, p. 154 f.).

Thus it seems as if agricultural food-products played a certain part for pastoral Tuareg of the Middle Ages. It is very possible that these products were obtained mainly through caravan trading, but the fact that agriculture is not mentioned in connection with the Tuareg of that early time cannot of course be taken as a proof that a primitive type of agriculture was then unknown. The Arab authors do not tell us much about Tuareg economy, and most Arabs who wrote about the Tuareg had no real knowledge of them. The fact that the *Kel Aijer* practise a primitive type of agriculture in river valleys has not generally been noticed by Europeans travelling in that part of Africa. This form of agriculture, characterized by a type of primitive sowing, is perhaps to be considered very ancient in North Africa. In any event it would seem as if agriculture and stock-breeding during antiquity were closely connected subsistence activities (cf. Bates 1914, p. 30 f., 91 f.). It is also most interesting that the archaeologically known Fayum culture was based upon mixed farming as early as about 5000 B.C. (cf. Caton-Thompson & Gardner 1934), and the same holds for certain other prehistoric Egyptian cultures of about the same age (cf. Childe 1935, p. 49 ff.). One trait of the Fayum culture, namely the subterranean store-rooms for grain (cf. Caton-Thompson & Gardner 1934, p. 41 ff., pl. XXV ff.), is almost identical with the underground store-rooms used among the Tuareg. We can add that there is one other feature in Tuareg culture which perhaps point towards a connection between Tuareg culture and agriculture, [241] 172

by many Tuareg, who say that they have not always known this white cotton, though indigo cotton has been introduced from the Sudan since very remote times). Maize has a normal period of growth of about three months, and two – in certain places perhaps even three – yields are taken in the hot seasons.

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412 Each mistress of a tent has a little
356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses, and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,
492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are
[462] left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving;
[565] only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in moving only if it is a long trip.

/230/ Chapter 3

Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding
262 peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea, bechena (Sorghum cernuum Host.), a kind of millet cultivated in the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during
[252 their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in
484] the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong cultural-
[101] ly to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

243 he generally carries with him in his migrations. Wheat raising
262 goes down to the Sudan as far as Timbuktu, Aïr, and a little north of Nigeria; but everywhere it has been introduced recently, due to the influence of the Arabs, who have not abandoned their traditional food.

Béchena is a food they adopted because of their exodus toward
[412] the Sudan; they are at the present time much closer to the Sudan than they are to North Africa from the point of view of material living conditions, that is, unless this plant formerly existed in a self-sown state in the Sahara, as Professor Chevalier has assumed, and was one of the principal food resources of its first inhabitants.

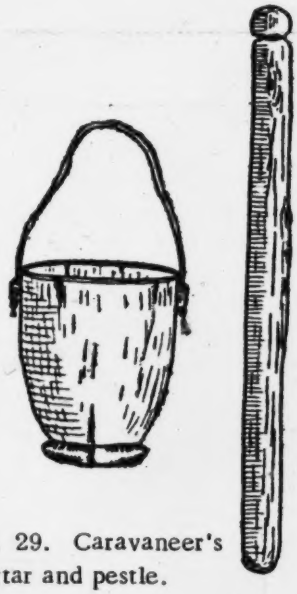


Fig. 29. Caravaneer's mortar and pestle.

By its agriculture
177 and its production, the Sahara is completely Negro. Agricultural
241 methods, except for irrigation, /231/ are borrowed from the Sudanese, especially work with the hoe (daba), while North Africa mainly uses the plow which is unknown in the intertropical zone.

252 Béchena is eaten as a cooked flour porridge, as raw flour, or
262 mixed with liquids, water or milk.

Dates also play a large part in the diet of the Tuareg. Every year each family head organizes a little caravan to the Touat or
[438 487 512] Tidikelt to bring back two or three loads of poor-quality dried dates which are crushed with a pestle and eaten with camel's milk.

tanned and sewed together. The assemblage of these hides [281]
constitutes the cover, the essential part of the tent, and is 342
called "ehakit" ⵄⵀⴰⴽⵉⵜ .

The tent is supported by a central master beam called
"tamankaït" ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵏⴽⴰⵉⵜ .

A pole, "idjem" ⵉⴷⵊⴻⵎ , is placed in the entrance
of the tent and is flanked right and left by poles called
"madar'en" ⵎⴰⴷⴰⵔⴻⵏ . /26/

Other poles are used to hold up the edges: these are the
"tissedass" ⵜⵉⵙⵙⴷⴰⵙ . The little pegs that hold the tent
to the ground are called "tisselitaï" ⵜⵉⵙⵍⵉⵜⴰⵏ . Some-
times bows are also used, called "adjedjou" ⴰⴷⵊⴻⴷⵊⵓ ,
plural "idjedjan" ⵉⴷⵊⴻⴷⵊⴰⵏ .

The tent is surrounded by mats of "afezzou" ⴰⴼⴻⵣⵣⵓ [285
(Panicum turgidum, Graminaceae), called "asabar" ⴰⵙⴰⴱⴰⵔ 824]
plural "isebran" ⵉⵙⴻⴱⵔⴰⵏ , which are pulled back in the
day and drawn close at night, to close the tent.

In the tent one finds first that which concerns water, that 352
is, waterskins, "abe'lor'" ⴰⴱⴻⵍⵍⵓⵔ , plural "ibiyar'" 415
ⵉⴱⵉⵢⴰⵔ , hung on forked sticks, "tidjettaouin" ⵜⵉⴷⵊⴻⵜⵜⴰⵓⵉⵏ .
They are filled by means of a funnel, "asegueffi" ⴰⵙⴻⴳⵓⴼⴼⵉ ,
plural "iseguéffa" ⵉⵙⴻⴳⵓⴼⴼⴰ . To water the camels, the 231
Tuareg use troughs of hide supported by hoops at the top and
called "tafaraout" ⵜⴰⴼⴰⵔⴰⵓⵜ , plural "tiferouin" ⵜⵉⴼⴻⵔⵓⵉⵏ .
They also use these troughs for the harvest of "toulloult" grain 243
(Arthraterum pungens, Graminaceae) or of "afezzou" (Panicum
turgidum, Graminaceae).

For milk and butter, they have a waterskin for milk, 415
"tanouart" ⵜⴰⵏⵓⴰⵔⵜ , plural "tinouarin" ⵜⵉⵏⵓⴰⵔⵉⵏ , and
a kind of porous water jug made of a hollowed gourd and called
"az'enou" ⴰⵣⴻⵏⵓ . To ladle the milk, serve it or pour it,
they use a wooden vessel with one handle called "asoukal"
ⴰⵙⵓⴽⴰⵍ . To store and transport melted butter, "oudi," they
have waterskins of various shapes, the most common being the
one called "tahattint" ⵜⴰⵀⴰⵜⵜⵉⵏⵜ , but they also sometimes [281]
use the tanned hide of a camel's thigh. /27/

usually satisfied with milk, "akh, " fresh ("akh oua kefa'en" 264
) or sour ("akh iezza", ), at
the hour when the camels, sheep, or goats come in from
pasture.

The basic food of the Ahaggar Tuareg consists of bechna, 262
"inelli" (white-grain sorghum, Graminaceae), dates, "te'ni, "
and milk, "akh. "

But their country provides them with many resources 22
which they are careful not to neglect, especially the poor, 556
the "tileqqiouin" , who constitute the majority.

All the "imr'ad" go to harvest the grains of "toulloult" 243
and "afezzou. " Women, children, youths, negroes and 221
negresses go into the wadis
to gather the harvest, which
takes place from May to June
for "toulloult" and from July
to the end of September for
"afezzou. " /29/

Dautheville

Idelés (Koudia)

Usually, before the
harvest several wadis are for-
bidden territory, and camels
are not led there until the
harvest is finished.

The produce is gathered
and put into hide sacks. After the grains have dried, they 252
need only to be put onto small trays of "afezzou, " called
"tissiin, " which are shaken, and the hulls fall off and remain
on top. The grains are ground to powder, and a kind of gruel
is made with water or butter.

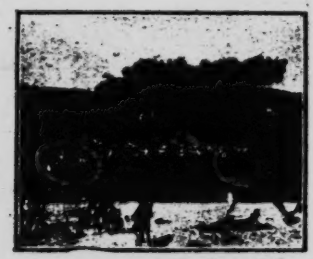
The Tuareg are also very fond of "tikamarin" 234
, cheeses as hard as wood which they get from A'ir. They 252 262 438
grind them in mortars and mix them in their food.

They very seldom eat meat, except that of game which 262
they can kill in a hunt: gazelles, mountain sheep, and 224
antelopes. But often they prefer to smoke this game in order 251
to go and sell it in the Tidikelt. 438

4: Benhazera--26 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

262
The nobles eat better, at least those who are well-to-do. 243
In the Ahaggar especially they own cultivated land in the 556
"ar'erems" (villages), where they grow wheat, "ired," barley, 565 423
"timzin," and bechna, "inelli"; but usually they sell their 438

[137]



Dautheville

Trees Called "Ahatés" (Acacia Albida) at the Tillemas of the Tessht Wadi (Koudia).

wheat and barley to the natives of the Tidikelt and are content
with bechna, of which they are very fond. They claim that [824]
bechna is less heating to the stomach than wheat or barley.

The rich allow themselves the luxury of drinking tea, but 272
tea and sugar are very expensive, and they do not misuse them. 556
On the other hand, they do not hesitate to beg for them shame- 263
lessly.

When the year is bad anything seems good to the poor to 222
assure their subsistence. In such years one sees them eating 262
/30/ "berdi," or "taheli," (Typha angustifolia, Typhaceae); 735
ground carob seeds of "talhas," or gum trees, which they call 252
"tahaha" • ⁝⁝ + ; "tanékfa'lt (Diplotaxis duveyrierana,
Cruciferae); fruit of the "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica),
which they steep to take out the bitterness; and even leaves
of the "aremmas" (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae), which they
boil.

In short, nature keeps food resources for them which prevents even the poorest from dying of hunger.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



241 171 I, p. 424). Rodd thinks the implement seen by Barth was clearly an importation from the north (Rodd 1926a, p. 133), and Feilberg assumes that if the plough was once known in this southern area it might perhaps have disappeared together with shifting cultivation (Feilberg 1931, p. 200). All this may be so, for there has been much contact between Ayr and the regions of Fezzan and Tripolitania in the past. But Barth does not say that he saw a plough but "a kind of plough", which may perhaps point to a type of large hoe drawn by men like that described from Senegambia by Feilberg (cf. Feilberg 1931, p. 169 f.).

243 The plough is unknown in the extensive area inhabited by pastoral Tuareg but this is not so with a kind of shifting cultivation. Pastoral Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer sow wheat and barley along the river valleys when these have been heavily flooded. Sowing is then done in a very simple way:— Holes are dug into the sandy soil, usually merely with the hand, and a few seeds are put into these holes. Wheat and barley thus sown grow in tufts with a space of 0.30 to 0.50 metres between each, and there seem to be about fifty straws in a normal tuft – the largest tuft I have seen contained about 130 straws (cf. Figs. 128–129). The plots cultivated in this way are generally very small, and the scattered wild plants growing in the plot are not always removed before sowing. The corn plots are left completely to themselves until harvesting, which is done with a sickle (Fig. 143). Primitive corn growing of this type cannot be practised continuously from one year to another in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the Tuareg of that region say that a household never grows enough corn in this way to meet its annual needs.

[178] The primitive method of corn growing without artificial irrigation is unknown in Ahaggar nowadays, but it seems as if it was known in the past (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 372), and the Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular term (*tawgest*) for a field cultivated without artificial irrigation (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1466).

Rodd states that rain-grown crops could be raised most years in certain parts of Ayr and that in earlier days a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way in Ayr (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). There is little doubt that this statement is correct, and I think that even in parts of Ahaggar millet could be raised without irrigation in most years, for millet has a very short period of growth.

[22] In Ahaggar (at Abalessa) it is sown in June-July and is harvested in September. Though millet plots are irrigated they are never watered much, and never to the same extent as wheat and barley which are grown in winter. In regard to Ayr, millet in southern villages of the Massif very frequently ripens in two months, and late in summer, at the end of the rains (*akasa*) or in the early dry season (*rarai*).

[265] I have frequently seen well-developed small plots of millet and sorghum around deserted Tuareg camps where a great many seeds are always lost on the ground during the pounding and winnowing of millet for porridge. These self-grown plots, however, are not utilized by the Tuareg as the comparatively

[134] small yield is quickly eaten by the numerous millet-eating birds. Owing to these birds it would be difficult for pastoral Tuareg to grow cereals in flooded valleys like the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and it is partly for this very reason that the sedentary agriculturists of Ayr grow very little millet. Millet could easily be raised without artificial irrigation during the rains, and, in fact, millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation of Ayr.

245 In addition to the species of grain mentioned above there is one very important plant which can be grown without artificial irrigation, namely the date palm. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are river valleys

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



[133]

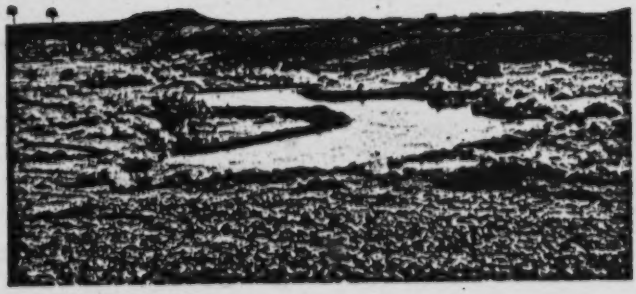


Fig. 133. The large water basin (*ilkemi*) from which water is led into the gardens. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

(*teguhami*, or *tahafi*) from which another canal (*tahafi*, or *teguhami*) leads water out into the garden, which is always divided into a large number of garden beds (*igemmunen*, sing. *agemmun*) surrounded by low ridges and separated by narrow irrigation canals. The large water basin serves to regulate watering, which outside of the very cold season is done during the night. A flat stone with a hole in its middle and known as *anefif* is placed between the basin and the canal leading water into the garden; water for irrigating the garden flows through this hole when irrigation is needed at night, while the hole is closed by means of a cotton stopper during the day. The basin is thus filled with water during the day and its water runs into the garden at night (cf. Figs. 131–136).

243 [221] The irrigation systems described are most important for the cultivation of the winter crops of wheat and barley. The Tuareg word in Ahaggar for wheat is *éred* which is a collective name for several types of wheat known as *elkhamra*, *elmansuri*, *amekkawi*, *rati*, and *menga*. These special names seem to be derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1058, 1211 & IV, p. 1789; Maire 1933, I, p. 246). According to Maire these types of wheat belong to the species *Triticum aestivum*. I have never myself seen fully-grown wheat in Ahaggar and was thus unable to collect ears for identification by botanists, but seeds brought home from Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have been identified by Dr. Hans Helbaek as belonging to common bread wheat. Barley is known to the Tuareg as *tinzin*. Threshed seeds brought home from Ahaggar have been identified by Dr. Helbaek as belonging to the six-rowed type (*Hordeum vulgare*, though some, he thinks are perhaps of the two-rowed type (*H. distichum*). Barley, like wheat, is a winter crop though less common. At Abalessa I was told that two thirds of the seed-crops grown in winter were wheat, while only one third was barley.

[221] Wheat and barley are grown in the same way. Sowing is done in the autumn (*tober*), and the seeds are put into the garden beds with the fingers. Harvesting takes place in the month of April (*ibri*) and is performed with a sickle (Fig. 143). The growing of wheat and barley is a very strenuous task for irrigation agriculturists. Watering is done for the first time immediately after sowing. When I stayed at Abalessa, in the month of January 1955, the tender plants of wheat and barley were watered two days in succession, and the 10–12 gardens belonging to the same *foggara* were irrigated in succession [132] in this way. At that time of the year the plots are not generally watered at night because of the cold temperatures which may be below zero.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



temperatures which may be below zero. At a later date the plants of wheat and barley are watered less frequently, and watering ceases completely some time before harvesting in order that the plant may ripen more easily. 243

The agriculturists of Ahaggar do not manure the garden plots used for wheat and barley. Only a new garden plot never previously cultivated is manured, and when such a garden is made the wild vegetation of grasses, herbs, bushes, and trees is often set on fire. Wheat and barley can be grown in the same garden plot for three or four years in succession, and the soil then needs at least one year's rest. In this way, the same garden plot can be kept under cultivation for many years without manuring: this continuous cultivation on the same spot with a one year's rest for each three or four years cultivation is possible partly because there is a certain crop rotation with other plants grown in summer, but mainly because the agriculturists during the period wheat and barley are grown carry fresh soil to their gardens. This is done not only before sowing but also throughout a long period of the winter when the plants are tender and green. When I stayed in the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel in the [101] months of January and February (1955), all agricultural households worked strenuously from morning to night carrying soil to the green garden plots of wheat and barley. The soil was carried in plaited baskets [482] (cf. Fig. 135) on the head, or in bigger baskets carried by donkeys. The soil was left in small heaps [492] (one in every garden bed) to be spread over and between the green plants (cf. Fig. 137). This extremely [461] strenuous work, I was told, would continue until the month of March.

In spite of the fact that cultivation in Ahaggar is done intensively and much work is connected with it, the yield of winter crops is not a very considerable one. In Abalessa it is said that seed-corn of wheat and barley will normally amount to about 50 kgs, and about 500 kgs is to be considered a normal yield, though certain gardens which are extremely well cultivated may yield more and in rare cases up to one thousand kilogrammes. The gardens I saw at Amsel and Taṛhawhawt were smaller than those seen in Abalessa. At Taṛhawhawt the quantity of wheat and barley sown, was said to amount to about 35 kilogrammes.

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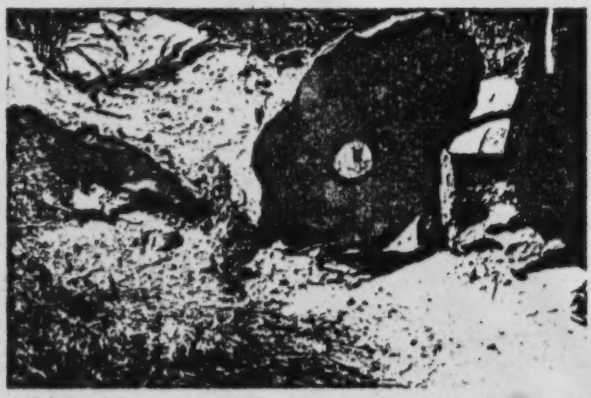

Fig. 134. The flat stone (*ewefi'*) inserted between the water basin (*tihemt*) and the canal (*teṛahamt*) which leads water towards the gardens. Irrigation stops and the basin runs full of water when a cotton stopper is put into the round hole in the middle of the flat stone. Ahaggar, *Ahi Azzi* Arabs.

243 Wheat and barley grown in winter constitute the most important crops in Ahaggar, but, as mentioned,
[262] the gardens are also cultivated at other seasons, and crops of millet and sorghum taken in summer
are most important substistence for irrigation farmers in Ahaggar. Millet is known to the Tuareg as
[171] *énélé*; it seems to be the same species as that so widely grown by African agriculturists of the savannah
[22] countries (*Pennisetum typhoideum*, or *P. Americanum*). Millet is sown in June-July and harvested in Sep-
[46] tember, or in October. Little work is involved with the cultivation of this plant which is never watered
much (cf. p. 184), and the agriculturists do not carry fresh soil to the millet plots as they do to plots of
wheat and barley. Species of sorghum are less important than millet. The common species is known as
[386] *abora* or *tafsut* (*Andropogon Sorghum*). Another species is known as *tallak*; it has smaller seeds than
the species just mentioned, and is grown mainly because of its stems, which are reduced to powder
to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 282).

415
285
482

Fig 135. Basket (*téserit*) of the type used for transportation of fresh soil to old garden land. It is plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*afaus*) and has handles of rope made from date palm bast (*asan*). Soil is also carried to gardens in larger baskets (*téferirt*, pl. *tifrar*) loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m high, 0.35 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 3285).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



243

Fig. 136. Irrigation of a young wheat-plot. The canal ridges are opened with a hoe in order to let water penetrate into the garden beds. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 282). Maize (*Zea mays*) is also grown as a summer crop in some of the cultivation centres; it is called *engafulé*, or *engafulé masri* (masri = Egyptian) because it is said to have been introduced from Egypt.

Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum*) are grown mainly in summer and constitute a very important crop. The ripe fruit is sliced and left to dry on a layer of straw in the garden. They are crushed and pounded and are added to various dishes, e.g., the so-called kuskus (*keskesu*, cf. p. 247). Various types of melons and gourds are also grown in summer, e.g., the water melon (*taleǧezt*; *Colocynthis Citrullus*), a type of ordinary melon known as *tétakelt* or *tazenut* (*Cucurbita* sp.) which is frequently sliced and dried in the same way as tomatoes, and a kind of large gourd (*kabuya*; *Cucurbita maxima*). Certain other vegetables are grown in most gardens, notably various kinds of onions (*téskert*, *Allium sativum*; *éfeleli*, *Allium cepa*) and a kind of beans known as *tadellak*. A few plants are grown as spices, e.g., saffron (*tanermit*, *Crocus sativus*), red pebber (*chiffa*, *Capsicum annum*), or for tea-admixture, e.g., the mint (*émerner*, *Mentha piperita* var.) and a plant known as *lahabok* which is said to have been introduced from the Sudan. Two very poisonous plants are also grown in certain gardens of Ahaggar, namely *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*), which also grows wild in the lower country (cf. p. 178), and *burzig* (*Datura Stramonium*) (cf. Maire 1933, I, p. 191 f.). Foucauld mentions two other plants grown for their medicinal value (*ibedliwen*, *Trigonella foenumgraecum*; *tikamnin*) (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 33 & II, p. 812). A kind of wild salad (*tamoghé*) is also grown in the gardens according to Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1170). Potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum*) are now grown in some of the mountain oases – mainly for selling to Europeans at Tamanraset. Among other cultivated plants found in the gardens of Ahaggar mention can be made of the following species after Maire:—

241 [252] [263] [264] [439]

*Lepidium sativum*, *Brassica Rapa* & *B. oleracea* (*aharet*), *Linum usitatissimum* (*ilatelé*, or *anarka*), *Medicago sativa*, *Pisum arvense* (*demchi*), *Vicia Faba*, *Lens culinaris* (*elredes*), *Vigna catjang*, *Cori-*

243

Fig. 137. The fresh soil carried to old gardens is placed in small heaps to be spread out between the tender plants of wheat and barley. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

241 *andrum sativum*, *Cuminum Cyminum* (*azkar*), *Daucus Carota* (*ezzeruget*), *Cucumis melo*, *Lagenaria vulgaris* (cf. Maire 1933, and particularly Maire 1940, p. 401).

243 In addition to the above-mentioned plants there are various types of fruit trees which do not play [262] any considerable rôle for food. The gardens contain very few date palm trees (*tazzayt*, *Phoenix dactylifera*) and there are no palm trees of any value in the gardens situated in the upper mountain [251] zones where the fig tree (*tahart*, *Ficus carica*) thrives much better than in the lower country; the figs are consumed fresh, or they are put on strings for drying, common practise elsewhere in North Africa. The [386] pomegranate (*terrummant*, *Punica Granatum*) is grown in some gardens; its fruits are eaten, and they are also used for dyeing skins (cf. p. 282). Grapes (*tezzebibt*, *Vitis vinifera*) are also grown in some gardens.

Maire mentions the cultivation of the peach (*Prunus Persica*) and the apricot (*Prunus Armeniaca*) (cf. Maire 1940, p. 401). These fruit trees have undoubtedly been quite recently introduced for Foucauld states that they are not grown in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 79 f.).

243 There are nowadays many agriculturists who have their private gardens so that they cultivate their 423 winter crops and their summer crops entirely for their own use. But most agriculturists grow winter crops of wheat and barley on behalf of the Tuareg who are then the true garden owners.

[312] Agriculturists who cultivate their gardens on their own behalf frequently irrigate crops by means [476] of draught animals (zebus) which raise water from wells, but there are also some farmers who cultivate independently without any contract with pastoral Tuareg and nevertheless belong to a *foggara* team. 243 It can be estimated that an independently working agriculturist obtains a total yield of about 700 kilos of wheat and barley grown in winter. Of this yield he gives 10 kilos to the *Amenukal*, or to the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



of this yield he gives 10 kilos to the Amenukal, or to the 243

Tuareg who has territorial rights (cf. p. 151), while the yield of one garden bed – that is about other ten kilos – is given to a blacksmith who in return mends hoes and other agricultural implements. The [65] [962] necessary amount of seed-corn, comprising about 50 kilos, should also be withdrawn from the winter crop yield so that his total net profit is about 630 kilos of wheat and barley. To this amount of cereals 241 can be added the yield of summer crops (millet, sorghum, maize, tomatoes, and other vegetables) for

243

**Fig. 138a–c. Grown cereals from Ahaggar.**
**a. Millet (*ineliḍ*) (*Pennisetum typhoideum*). b. Two types of sorghum (*ahoru*, *tafsut*).**
**c. Maize (*angafiḍ*) (*Zea mays*).**

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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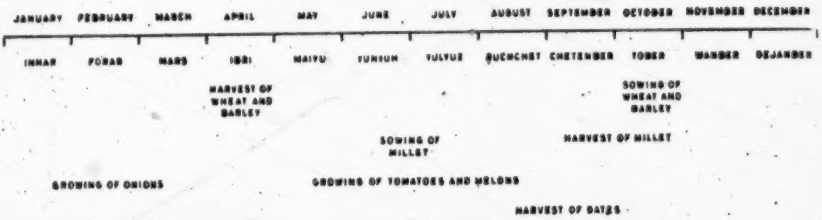


Fig. 139. Horticultural calendar from Ahaggar.

The Tuareg and the negroid agriculturists have a lunar calendar of twelve months corresponding to the Arab calendar, but a lunar calendar has no practical value for the indication of seasonal agricultural activities. The Julian Calendar is known to some people of Ahaggar as well as to other Berbers of the Sahara and the Atlas. Tuareg names of Julian months are given above. Very few people in Ahaggar know the exact beginning and the end of the twelve Julian months, but a few names are used as seasonal terms: *innar* = "midwinter", *mars* = "beginning of spring", *ibri* = "early harvest" (of wheat and barley), *maiyu* = "beginning of summer", *tober* = "late harvest" (millet).

241 which no definite figures can be given, while the yield of fruit trees growing in the garden plot does
423 not necessarily belong to the agriculturist. These trees frequently belong to pastoral Tuareg.

433 I think it can be estimated that an agricultural household with its own garden produce about a
262 thousand kilos of vegetables food products annually for its private use. We can add that though the members of an agricultural household live mainly on vegetable food products they also acquire a certain amount of food from livestock, which normally comprises a few goats and sheep, and perhaps one or two zebus. Conditions of stock-breeding are not always favourable to people who live continuously on the same spot, but it is advantageous to the agriculturists of Ahaggar, who live close to valleys with some pasture, that they are able to feed their animals on green garden products when pasture is badly developed and thus avoid the disaster of a drought. It is also an advantage to most agriculturists that they do not have to water their animals which can drink freely from the irrigation canals. The agriculturists can kill a few goats or sheep annually, they obtain milk and a little butter
239 to be used mainly as a sauce for bread and porridge, and they make cheese of the *awles* type (cf. p. 224), but they never make cheese from fresh milk as do many pastoral Tuareg when milk is abundant. The agriculturists also breed fowls and pigeons, and some of them have an important meat supply from hunting with steel-traps (hares, jackals, fennecs, and ravens). Collecting, on the other hand, is of little or no value to irrigation farmers of Ahaggar.

241 The economic position of agriculturists who work without any particular obligations towards
466 pastoral Tuareg is tolerably good. It is less favourable to those who grow winter crops also on behalf
423 of the Tuareg, as do most cultivators. Some of them irrigate the garden plot with water raised from
511 wells by oxen which may belong to the cultivator or to the Tuareg. But most agriculturists who work
241 for the pastoral Tuareg irrigate by means of *foggara*. It is very strenuous work to dig a *foggara* canal,
312 and co-operation is needed not only for this but also for the maintenance of the whole irrigation system.
466 The gardens are individually tended by the agriculturists, who co-operate in the *foggara* work under
476 the leadership of a headman known as *amṛar n efeli*, that is "chief of the *foggara*". This headman is

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



241 appointed by the Tuareg garden owners and is rewarded by a garden of his own for his responsibility
312 in supervising all co-operative work. The unit of agriculturists co-operating at the same *foggara* may
466 or may not correspond to an extended family. The agriculturists co-operating on any large *foggara*
476 irrigating ten or twelve gardens frequently represent two or three distinct families which are not linked to each other by kinship bonds. The cultivators of a *foggara* comprising nine gardens at Taṛhawhawt
[675] belong to three distinct, unrelated families. This is quite natural in view of the fact that contracts between the Tuareg and the cultivators are made individually.

423 There may also be no kinship bonds between the pastoral Tuareg who have gardens at the same foggara, and there are even Tuareg who own two or three gardens situated in widely separated river
[614] valleys of Ahaggar. But Tuareg garden owners of the same foggara frequently belong to the same tribe or even to the same tribal section. When a garden-owning Tuareg dies, his garden will generally pass to
[428] somebody within his family, but there seems to be no fixed rules governing the transference of gardens.

466 The individual contract between a Tuareg garden owner and his cultivator is made for a period of
675 six months – the period of growth for wheat and barley. The agriculturist is responsible for all garden
423 work, and the Tuareg garden owner has the following obligations:—
241 (1) To supply his cultivator with a hoe every year, or every two years in case a very good hoe is given.

(2) To pay for repairs of the *foggara* system, or for the digging of a new *foggara*. This payment is known as *almarsor* and consists of two kilos of cereals or dates every working day until water reaches the garden.

(3) To pay for the making of garden beds. This payment is known as *éhéré n egalob*, and is made only once as long as the garden remains on the same spot. When a garden is moved after a period of three or four years the payment must be made again. It varies with the size of the garden and the quality of its soil; in general it consists of 15–25 kilos of cereals.

● 243

Fig. 140. Millet (*énélé*) of very high growth. It is said that this particular millet type was introduced to Ahaggar from the south – possibly from Ayr. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



162 tion that subsisted on agriculture. Most members of the *Kel Ewey* group are fairly negroid in appear-
144 ance, and though some of them lead a nomadic life and subsist mainly on stock-breeding, the bulk of
433 the *Kel Ewey* are sedentary agriculturists who have some livestock comprising goats, sheep, zebus, and sometimes camels also. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group there are very few sedentary agriculturists, though a few vassals have taken up irrigation agriculture in recent times. There are also agriculturists within the negroid group of the *Kel Ferwan* known as *Irawélen*.
[367] Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have gardens cultivated by their slaves, but this is not customary nowadays when slavery is of little importance in Ayr. Contracts between pastoral Tuareg and cultivators
241 are said to have been unknown until recent times when a few pastoralists have made contracts with
466 cultivators. There seem to be no fixed systems regulating such relationships, but it is said to be common for the cultivator and the Tuareg to divide crops equally between them.

241 Though agriculture could be practised in Ayr without artificial irrigation there are no rain-grown
312 crops within the Massif nowadays. The *foggara* system is unknown, and irrigation is done by raising water from shallow wells. The system of a pole and bucket provided with a counterweight known in Ayr as *aseftan* has disappeared quite recently. It was used at many agricultural settlements of Ayr until a few years ago, and in parts of the country formed the only type of irrigation system at the time of the French occupation. One informant told me that in his boyhood about 35 years ago no other irrigation method was employed at Alarses, and this is in agreement with literature (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 322). At that time, however, the method of raising water from wells by animal traction (in Ayr *anu*, in Ahaggar *tanut*) was also practised at many settlements. It is unknown when it came to Ayr, but it is said to have been introduced from the north – probably from the regions of Fezzan and Tasilé-n-Ajjer from where the same system came to Ahaggar (cf. p. 187). It is now used at all
[492] settlements as the only type of irrigation system, and zebu-oxen are always used for traction. This was not so in the past when zebus were less common than to-day, and it is said that donkeys were then the common draught-animals. The irrigation of gardens is performed in much the same way as in Ahaggar. The water raised from the shallow well (*anu*) is led through a narrow canal (*arelal*) to a large basin (*tisemt*) from where another canal (*duki*) leads to the garden (*afarag*), which is divided into a number of beds (*éfenral*).

● 243 Cereals form the most important crops in Ayr. The common winter crop is wheat (*elkama*; *Triticum vulgare*), but also barley (*Hordeum tetrastichum* var. *pallidum*) is very widely grown. One crop of these two cereals is taken every winter, and it is said that the period of growth is about five months; sowing is done in October, harvest in March. Cereals are also important for summer crops. Both millet (*énélé*; *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and sorghum (*abora*; *Sorghum caudatum*) are grown, and millet, as we have
[262] seen, has a very short period of growth – only about two months (cf. p. 184). But though millet is most important as food for agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike, it is not widely grown because it is difficult to protect it from the numerous small birds and because, it is said, millet grown in Ayr
[439] is of a quality inferior to that of the Sudanese type. Most of the millet eaten in Ayr is therefore imported from Damergu by pastoral Tuareg. By far the most important summer crop grown in Ayr is maize (*Zea mays*), which is known to the Tuareg as *abora maser*, that is "Egyptian sorghum" (*abora* = sorghum; *maser* = Egypt) (the name *maser* is also used to designate the white cotton used for garments
[288]

by many Tuareg, who say that they have not always known this white cotton, though indigo cotton has been introduced from the Sudan since very remote times). Maize has a normal period of growth of about three months, and two – in certain places perhaps even three – yields are taken in the hot seasons.

In addition to the above-mentioned cereals there are various kinds of vegetables grown in the Ayr gardens. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum*) are grown at most seasons with the exception of the dry and very hot summer period (*éwilen*). Also common in the Ayr gardens is the sweet potato (*dankale*; *Ipomoea Batatas*), which is sown at the beginning of the rains and harvested in winter. The true potato (*batata*; *Solanum tuberosum*) has been introduced more recently, and is grown mainly to be sold to European households in Agadez. It is grown in Eastern Ayr (Tabello). Melons (*Cucumis melo*) and water melons (*Colocynthis citrullus*) are grown all over Ayr and there are different vegetables such as onions (*Allium cepa* & *A. sativum*), which are harvested at most seasons. Two plants are grown mainly because they are important as admixtures to porridge sauce. One is called *ékabewwa* (*Corchorus olitorius*); it has maize-like seeds which are pounded in a mortar for sauce-making. The other plant is known as *malokhiya* (*Corchorus tridens*); its leaves are dried and pounded for sauce (cf. p. 243). The latter plant also grows wild outside the gardens. There are in Ayr also certain spice-plants, e.g., *Capsicum annuum* & *C. frutescens*. To all these cultivated plants can be added certain fruit trees, such as the date palm (*talesdar*; *Phoenix dactylifera*), the fig tree (*tahart*; *Ficus carica*) grown in the mountains, and the lemon tree (*lemon*; *Citrus aurantifolia*) which is grown in Southern Ayr; it yields very small fruit which remains green even when ripe. It should finally be mentioned that the cotton plant (*ebduga*; *Gossypium hirsutum*) is also grown in some gardens of Southern Ayr. According to Miré and Gillet it was introduced into Ayr by the Hausa, but the plant has also been introduced further north in the Sahara in Tawat (Miré & Gillet 1956, p. 244). As stated by Rodd, the cotton plant is rare in Ayr and has perhaps been recently introduced into this region (Rodd 1926a, p. 132). There are many other cultivated plants in Ayr, but the above mentioned constitute the most important species.

In Ayr, as in the north, irrigated cereals form the basis of agriculture. Irrigation is carried out by means of a system introduced from the north, and the agricultural techniques largely resemble those of that section of the Sahara inhabited by Northern Tuareg, though there are certain differences. A new garden in Ayr is prepared by cutting and burning away the wild vegetation of trees, bushes, herbs, and grasses. By crop rotation (wheat and barley in winter; maize, millet, and sorghum in summer) it is possible to cultivate the same garden plot for a few years in succession – up to six or seven years, it is said. After this time it becomes necessary to make a new garden, or to manure the old garden plot with camel and cow dung whilst manure (*taki*) from other animals or from human beings is said not to be used, as it would cause the crops to become inedible. A well-manured garden plot can be cultivated continuously for about fifteen years. But fertilizing is not practised by all agriculturists, and to my knowledge they do not carry fresh soil to the garden plots as is the case with the agriculturists of Ahaggar. Agriculture in Ayr therefore frequently resembles shifting cultivation, though plots are irrigated, and deserted garden land is frequently seen in the valleys where agriculture is practised.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 .MS25 Tuareg MS25



## AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND THE PRESERVATION OF CROPS

241/412 The hoe forms the basic agricultural implement in Ahaggar and in Ayr. The type of hoe used in Ahaggar is known as *agelhim*, and it is akin to that in general use among irrigation farmers of the northern oases. It has a very large and heavy iron head provided with a ring for the shaft. I believe that this type of hoe is particularly fitted for irrigation work, but it does not seem to be in general use in Ayr. I have seen it at Iferwan in Northern Ayr where agriculturists have much contact with Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but I have not seen it further south in the Massif where it seems to be unknown. The common type of hoe in Ayr is different; it is named *tagumit* and is hafted by means of a tongue (Fig. [171] 143d). The same type of hoe is widely distributed in Africa south of the Sahara, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest type of iron hoe within the continent (cf. Feilberg 1934, p. 228–278).

241 The hoe is used for agricultural work in general, for digging irrigation canals, making garden beds, and for the preparation of the soil. The hoe is not used for sowing cereals. Sowing in Ayr is known as *anabal* and is performed in the following way:— As many seeds as can be kept between the first and second fingers are pressed a little into the soil, and water is led into the garden beds immediately after sowing. I have myself never watched sowing, but I was told in Ayr that it was frequently done [278] by old women. I think that this is probably connected with the belief in the mystic power known as [841] *elbaraka* so characteristic of all North African peoples. For cereals contain this mystic power, which can be spoiled by unclean women. It is considered harmful to the *elbaraka* blessing if cereals are 241/412 handled by menstruating women (cf. Westermarck 1926, I, p. 230). The hoe is used for weeding, but the agriculturists of Ayr also have a special implement for this particular task. This is known as *elgechwad* and consists of a curved semi-circular iron blade hafted to a short wooden handle by means of a tongue (Fig. 143e). The semi-circular blade is sharpened at its outer and convex side which is pushed against the roots of weeds.

243/412 Various methods are used for the harvesting of crops. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer wheat and barley are always harvested by means of a sickle (*amreh*) (Fig. 143a–b). The sickle in Ayr is known as *elgechwad*, like the weeding implement mentioned above. It is not used for harvesting crops, but for the cutting of annual grasses to be stored for fodder (Fig. 143f). In Ayr both wheat and barley are 245 harvested by drawing the straws from the ground with the hands. In Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer sickles are also used for harvesting dates, while the date-growing agriculturists of Ayr use another method. They do not cut the bunches, but proceed in the following way:— When dates begin to ripen they enclose every bunch in a plaited pouch to protect the fruit from the ravens and other birds. The dates are harvested one by one when they are ripe, while those not yet fully ripe are left to be harvested 243 later. Harvest is done in this manner about once a week until all dates have become ripe. Maize in Ayr is harvested by drawing the plant from the ground with the hand, and this work is normally facilitated by loosening the soil around the roots by means of the hoe. I do not know how maize is harvested in Ahaggar, where this plant is not so widely grown as in Ayr. Everywhere among agricultural people of Ahaggar and Ayr millet and sorghum are cut with a knife (Ahaggar, *elmusi*; Ayr, *ezegiz*) (Figs. 171–172)

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**Fig. 143a–f.**
**a–b. Sickles of the type used for harvesting wheat and barley in Ahaggar. They are known as *amrek*, pl. *imrekn*.**
**a. From Tamaṛaset. Total length, 0.271 m. (N.M. G. 5256).**
**b. From Abalessa. Total length, 0.365 m. (N.M. G. 5828).**
**c–f. Agricultural implements from Ayr.**
**c. The short threshing stick (*aburi*). From Iferwan. Dimension: 0.49 m. (N.M. G. 6618).**
**d. The hoe (*ṛagamit*) hafted by means of a tongue. From *Kel Ewey* Tuareg near Agadez. Dimension: 0.70 m. (N.M. G. 6615).**
**e. The semi-circular weeding implement (*elgechwad*). From Iferwan. Dimension: 0.295 m. (N.M. G. 6617).**
**f. The sickle (*elgechwad*) which is used for cutting annual grasses. From Agadez. Dimension: 0.305 m. (N.M. G. 6613).**

241 It seems as if millet and sorghum are always harvested by women, while dates are harvested only by
462 men. Other crops are harvested by persons of both sexes.

243 Threshing methods are the same in Ahaggar and Ayr. Wheat and barley, which are sheaved and dried before threshing, are beaten with a stick (Ahaggar, *aburi*; Ayr, *aburi* or *asedbak*). This threshing stick is an unfashioned bough of trees or date palms/but a short and club-like implement is also frequently used in Ayr (Fig. 143c). Threshing of millet, sorghum, and maize is done by pounding in a

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Fig. 144. *Kel Ewey* woman winnowing grain by shaking it in a plaited bowl. Ayr. Ifuwan.

243 large mortar. Winnowing of cereals is performed by shaking the seeds in a plaited bowl or tray to let
[415] husks and other impurities be removed by the wind (Fig. 144).

251 The Northern Tuareg use the following means for storing of crops:— (1) *taddat*, that is a skin bag
343 containing grain, dates, and the like, hidden under stones and rocks in the mountains; (2) *égend*, or *anu*, an underground storeroom lined with mats. It is used for cereals, including wild seeds, and is found both among agriculturists and pastoralists (Fig. 146); (3) *tarassana*, a grain silo built from stones and mud (Fig. 145). Nowadays such storerooms are not only used by agriculturists but also by pastoralists. However, this type of storeroom is said to have been introduced to Ahaggar with the introduction of irrigation agriculture about a hundred years ago, and was originally unknown to pastoral Tuareg.

[136] Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg all storerooms for cereals are known as *tédengewt*. The storing of vegetable food products in skin bags covered with stones or hidden under rocks is apparently unknown – perhaps because of the numerous small rodents and the rich insect life which includes numerous white ants. Underground storerooms like those of Ahaggar are used by agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike. They are frequently excavated so deeply that they can hide a grown man standing in

237 Ayr Tuareg a piece of ram's horn may serve as an amulet case attached around the upper arm. Horns
*[415] of barbary sheep are used for butter containers among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 223; Fig. 165), who sometimes use a piece of pointed gazelle horn for daubing antimony around the eye.

281 The Ahaggar women cut skin and leather with a small knife (*telmusit*), and a piece of wood (*asettenu*)
462 and/or a stone (*taẓẓei*) are used for smoothing the skin which is then placed upon a particular wooden
[413] board (*elkeyleb*) (cf. Figs. 219a–d). The Ayr Tuareg do not make so much refined skin work. Women
*[415] among the Northern Tuareg conserve their implements for skin and leather work in a particular bag (*askagen*) which is made from leather attached to a bottom piece of horn (*isek*) (Figs. 220a–g).

[531] Northern Tuareg women take a great interest in their skin and leather artifacts, which are richly decorated with fringes and hanging tassels, and with geometric designs in different colours. I have
386 noted the following colours among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer:—
822 (1) *baba*, indigo which is introduced from the south in the form of balls.

(2) *tawnkent*, which is also known as *tafidet* and *taneẓeẓẓeft* according to Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1934. It is a yellowish mineral which yields an entirely black colour frequently seen on ornamented skin bags. The mineral according to the Ahaggar Tuareg is introduced from the south, while the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer claim that they obtain their minerals of this type from Serdeles north-east of Rat. – A black colour which is also known as *tawnkent* is said to be made by the Tuareg of Ahaggar in the following way:— Pieces of iron are put into water contained in some small receptacle, usually a tea glass. This receptacle containing water and iron pieces is covered with a bowl or a similar object in order that the sun light cannot penetrate. After a few days the water turns into a black colour to be used for skin dyeing.

(3) *semento*, a green colour derived from a mineral or a powder introduced from the south. According to some Tuareg this green colour is also made by means of a vegetable powder introduced from the north, from the region of Mzab.

(4) *khodarbas*, a powder which yields a green colour. It is said to be introduced from the south (from Tawa) and to derive from a tree known as *tafnit*.

[524] (5) *errummen*, the fruit of the pomegranate tree known as *terrummant* (*Punica Granatum*). It is used with a white mineral (alum), known as *aẓref n Tawat*, and introduced from In Salah. Parts of the pomegranate fruit and of this mineral are mixed with water to be used for a yellow or yellow-brown dye which is applied to many decorated skin bags for ground colour.

(6) *temesaruak*, a mineral introduced from the north (Mzab). It produces a yellow colour.

● [243] (7) *herki*, a reddish brown colour obtained from a particular type of sorghum known as *tullak* grown in the cultivation centres of Ahaggar.

(8) *téderse*, a white colour obtained by placing the skin for about three days in a container with fresh milk to which a little salt is added. – Among Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told that a white colour is also obtained from a kind of powder introduced from the Sudan.

386 Before use these above mentioned colours or dyeing materials are generally dissolved in water
[63] contained in a tea glass. When they are employed for the very fine geometric designs of leather bags they are daubed with a small knife known as *telmusit* (Fig. 219b).

[439] It is interesting that most dyes used by the Northern Tuareg are introduced from the north or from the south,

[Text continues on p. 284]

# 245

245 ARBORICULTURE--specialized cultivation of trees and shrubs for their fruits, nuts, berries, or other edible products (e.g., apple, breadfruit, coconut, cacao, coffee, orange, raspberry, tea, hops); special care and treatment of each (e.g., grafting, picking, drying, packing); viniculture; silviculture (e.g., raising of trees for wood pulp, soil anchor, screens, shade, decoration); organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

312 include a first subterranean part made of numerous wells of depths varying from two to four meters, linked together by a small canal serving as a water conductor; then comes a part on top of the ground in the form of a canal, first at the same level as the wadi, then at a slightly higher level. They empty into the distribution reservoirs (majem), which by secondary canals (seguia) carry water to the gardens to be irrigated.

311 These agricultural centers therefore extend along the wadi on
361 both sides of its banks. The cultivators settle near their gardens
[342] and live in straw or reed huts or little clay houses.

There are five centers in the high mountains between 1, 500 and 1, 800 meters in altitude, but the majority are located between 1, 200 and 1, 500 meters. Some of them can be lower, such as Silet (730 meters) and I-n-Amegel (1, 030 meters).

245 Some are small date groves such as Silet and Tibeghîn, which have 10, 000 palm trees, Ideles, Tâhârt, and Ăbalessa, but because of its altitude, the Ahaggar does not seem to be very suitable for date growing. The instability of the harratin is also an obstacle to the development of arboriculture which demands continual care. Cultivators who can be here today and gone tomorrow would not be capable of interesting themselves in work from which they could not draw immediate profit. The country would lend itself, however, to rather large-scale cultivation of peaches, /246/ apricots, figs, and grapes. The little center of Tăzerouk has many peach trees, and the center at Tit produces a famous raisin.

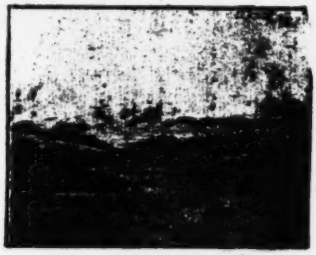
124 The Ahaggar soil is of a high quality, owing part of its richness to elements of volcanic origin which make up a large proportion of the alluvial deposits. Furthermore, the climate favors
132 agriculture so much that the natives obtain two or even three harvests
241 a year.

241 In the medium altitude centers, they sow wheat and barley in December and harvest it in May. Barely finished with this, they sow millet which is harvested at the beginning of October. In between the natives also engage in kitchen gardening: carrots,

4: Benhazera--65 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

241 Usually, there are six khammès per field, and each of
312 them has a right to water for one night and one day. The water, brought from the foggara, spreads into the "madjens," or reservoirs, as on the oases, there to be divided among the gardens by means of saguias, or irrigation canals.

[764]



Herhafok Region

In the Left Foreground an Ancient
Grave in the Chouchat Form
(Koudia)

241 The khammès receives as his pay:

1. A fifth of the crop
2. The barley which he sowed in the irrigation canals
3. A load of wheat in winter and a half load in summer, for his personal consumption.

245 In the Ahaggar there are also small oases of palms which were planted by no one knows whom, for example, at Tibedjehine and at Silet (Ahaggar), at Djor'raf, Tafarakrak, and Teguift (Immidir). The Tuareg who own them leave them
[423] untended and are satisfied to go and gather the dates when they choose. These palms, which get no care, also have a great mass of dry djerids hanging to the ground, which makes it very difficult to climb them. Perhaps this is to prevent theft of the dates? /76/

From the fact that these palms, even though not cared for, produce dates which, if not of good quality, are still quite

edible, and considering also that there is a very fine palm at 245
Abalessa (which could become a splendid oasis since there is
no lack of water), one may ask if the creation of an oasis of
palms in the Ahaggar might not be tried with success. But the [438]
Ahl Azzi and all the inhabitants of the Tidikelt, who live
entirely on the sale of their dates to the Tuareg, have persuaded

[361]

Haratine Gourbi at Ideles
(Koudia)

the latter to the contrary, that the climate of their country is
not suited to growing palms. Besides, the Ahaggar do not in [185]
the least wish to undertake plantations from which one could
expect no profit for several years, and they prefer to stay with
growing wheat, barley, and bechna, which pay at once.

The Amenokal Moussa ag Amastane, realizing that the era 643
of raids will soon be ended forever, sees that it will be necessary 185
to demand from the soil the means of subsistence which raids 176
formerly procured. So he has announced his intention of having
a foggara dug at "Endid" and of having gardens made there,
and his example will very probably be followed. This is an
undertaking which will certainly be encouraged and supported,
and which shows the slow evolution which is beginning to take
place among the Tuareg, in the best interests of peace and
civilization.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading. Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*). Some goat-camps may move their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikechchemaden*) will also visit the oases of Silet and Tibeghin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are harvested mainly by black-skinned *Ḥarratin* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar – mainly in Tamesna – and the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds, or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aǧuh-en-tehlé*. In the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondance between sections and sub-areas in the way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-areas, and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants (cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148–149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Ṛali* and *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the *Amenukal*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group.

For the land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) paid to the *Amenukal* the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

(3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

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241 171 I, p. 424). Rodd thinks the implement seen by Barth was clearly an importation from the north (Rodd 1926a, p. 133), and Feilberg assumes that if the plough was once known in this southern area it might perhaps have disappeared together with shifting cultivation (Feilberg 1931, p. 200). All this may be so, for there has been much contact between Ayr and the regions of Fezzan and Tripolitania in the past. But Barth does not say that he saw a plough but "a kind of plough", which may perhaps point to a type of large hoe drawn by men like that described from Senegambia by Feilberg (cf. Feilberg 1931, p. 169 f.).

243 The plough is unknown in the extensive area inhabited by pastoral Tuareg but this is not so with a kind of shifting cultivation. Pastoral Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer sow wheat and barley along the river valleys when these have been heavily flooded. Sowing is then done in a very simple way:— Holes are dug into the sandy soil, usually merely with the hand, and a few seeds are put into these holes. Wheat and barley thus sown grow in tufts with a space of 0.30 to 0.50 metres between each, and there seem to be about fifty straws in a normal tuft – the largest tuft I have seen contained about 130 straws (cf. Figs. 128–129). The plots cultivated in this way are generally very small, and the scattered wild plants growing in the plot are not always removed before sowing. The corn plots are left completely to themselves until harvesting, which is done with a sickle (Fig. 143). Primitive corn growing of this type cannot be practised continuously from one year to another in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the Tuareg of that region say that a household never grows enough corn in this way to meet its annual needs.

[178] The primitive method of corn growing without artificial irrigation is unknown in Ahaggar nowadays, but it seems as if it was known in the past (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 372), and the Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular term (*tawgest*) for a field cultivated without artificial irrigation (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1466).

Rodd states that rain-grown crops could be raised most years in certain parts of Ayr and that in earlier days a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way in Ayr (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). There is little doubt that this statement is correct, and I think that even in parts of Ahaggar millet could be raised without irrigation in most years, for millet has a very short period of growth.

[221] In Ahaggar (at Abalessa) it is sown in June-July and is harvested in September. Though millet plots are irrigated they are never watered much, and never to the same extent as wheat and barley which are grown in winter. In regard to Ayr, millet in southern villages of the Massif very frequently ripens in two months, and late in summer, at the end of the rains (*akasa*) or in the early dry season (*rarat*).

[252] I have frequently seen well-developed small plots of millet and sorghum around deserted Tuareg camps where a great many seeds are always lost on the ground during the pounding and winnowing of millet for porridge. These self-grown plots, however, are not utilized by the Tuareg as the comparatively

[134] small yield is quickly eaten by the numerous millet-eating birds. Owing to these birds it would be difficult for pastoral Tuareg to grow cereals in flooded valleys like the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and it is partly for this very reason that the sedentary agriculturists of Ayr grow very little millet. Millet could easily be raised without artificial irrigation during the rains, and, in fact, millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation of Ayr.

245 In addition to the species of grain mentioned above there is one very important plant which can be grown without artificial irrigation, namely the date palm. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are river valleys

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



●246
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Fig. 130. Semi-wild date palms in the canyon-like Aharhar valley of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The palms are owned and harvested by pastoral Tuareg.

245 (Aharhar and Éherir) where "semi-wild" palms are abundant. These palms are owned by pastoral
[221] Tuareg of various tribes. Their dates are harvested in the autumn when Tuareg palm owners with
[342] their slaves live in straw-huts or huts covered with palm leaves situated among the palm trees.

Similar plantations of palm trees which are left to themselves most of the year are also found in
245 Ahaggar, notably at Silet-Tibeghin. Part of these palms are owned by members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe
423 (the sections of *Kel Tamaṛanet* and *Kel Terhenanet*) and by members of the very small tribe, the
[651] *Ikechokemaden*. The palm-owners give as an annual payment to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar one bunch
of dates from all palms which have more than two bunches. The yield of another part of the palms
[565] belongs to the vassal tribe *Iklan-en-tawsit* (the sections *Kel Silet* and *Kel Tahaḥa*). For usufructs,
[651] members of these two sections make a collective annual payments to the *Amenukal* comprising four
bags of dates, twenty goats, two ropes of goat's hair, and five water bags. The dates are harvested by
245 Tuareg of the above mentioned tribes in August-September. Harvesting is done with sickles and is
[221] finished in three to four weeks when the palm-owners return to their camps with dates packed in bags
[492] and loaded on donkeys and camels. In harvesting their dates most Tuareg are assisted by black-
[564] skinned agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) of Abalessa who are given a certain amount of dates
[465] for their work. These agriculturists build the huts in which the palm-owners live during harvest (cf.
[463] p. 338 f.).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



133
312

Fig. 131. A *foggara* canal (*ifell*) dug into the sandy river bed from where it is led into the gardens of the valley terrace. Southern Ahaggar, *Tafnat*.

245 [423] In Ayr there are also a few pastoral Tuareg who own date palms growing in river valleys, e.g., people of the *Imezzureg* tribe of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These date palms, like those growing half wild in Northern Tuareg countries, yield very small dates of a quality inferior to those grown in the oases under constant supervision by agriculturists. Such dates are used only for local consumption.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AHAGGAR

241 175 Irrigation agriculture has been practised since ancient times within certain territories now inhabited by the Northern Tuareg. As early as in Roman times there is reference to *Radames*, *Rat*, and certain oases of the Fezzan, which were visited by Roman Expeditions (Lhote 1955a, p. 113 f.; Duveyrier 1864, p. 249 ff., 266 ff., 275 ff., 455 ff.). Lhote thinks that the oasis of Abalessa in the lowland west of the Ahaggar Massif was also visited by the Roman general Cornelius Balbus (Lhote 1955a, p. 88 f., 113 f., 286), but this, perhaps, is to be doubted. In the writings of Medieval Arab authors there is apparently no reference to oases within the Ahaggar country, though oases in neighbouring parts of the Sahara are mentioned.

243

Fig. 137. The fresh soil carried to old gardens is placed in small heaps to be spread out between the tender plants of wheat and barley. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

241 *andrum sativum*, *Cuminum Cyminum* (*azkar*), *Daucus Carota* (*ezzeruget*), *Cucumis melo*, *Lagenaria vulgaris* (cf. Maire 1933, and particularly Maire 1940, p. 401).

245 [262] In addition to the above-mentioned plants there are various types of fruit trees which do not play any considerable rôle for food. The gardens contain very few date palm trees (*tazzayt*, *Phoenix dactylifera*) and there are no palm trees of any value in the gardens situated in the upper mountain zones where the fig tree (*tahart*, *Ficus carica*) thrives much better than in the lower country; the figs are [251] consumed fresh, or they are put on strings for drying, common practise elsewhere in North Africa. The [386] pomegranate (*terrummant*, *Punica Granatum*) is grown in some gardens; its fruits are eaten, and they are also used for dyeing skins (cf. p. 282). Grapes (*tezzebibt*, *Vitis vinifera*) are also grown in some gardens.

Maire mentions the cultivation of the peach (*Prunus Persica*) and the apricot (*Prunus Armeniaca*) (cf. Maire 1940, p. 401). These fruit trees have undoubtedly been quite recently introduced for Foucauld states that they are not grown in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 79 f.).

243 423 There are nowadays many agriculturists who have their private gardens so that they cultivate their winter crops and their summer crops entirely for their own use. But most agriculturists grow winter crops of wheat and barley on behalf of the Tuareg who are then the true garden owners.

[312] [476] Agriculturists who cultivate their gardens on their own behalf frequently irrigate crops by means of draught animals (zebus) which raise water from wells, but there are also some farmers who cultivate independently without any contract with pastoral Tuareg and nevertheless belong to a *foggara* team.

243 It can be estimated that an independently working agriculturist obtains a total yield of about 700 kilos of wheat and barley grown in winter. Of this yield he gives 10 kilos to the *Amenukal*, or to the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



251
415

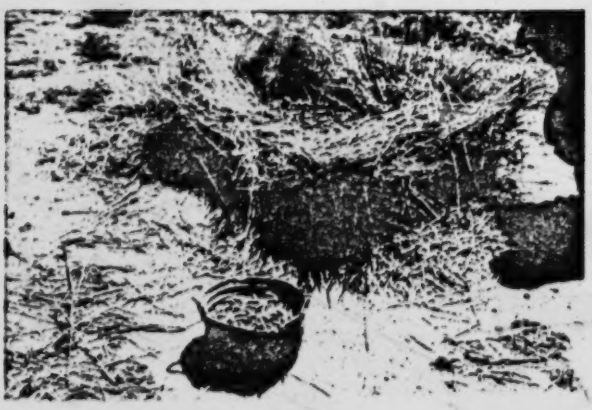

Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*dukki*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Akl Azzi* Arabs.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
173 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers
[563] though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of
162 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isaweren*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
563 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
433 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
245 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
221
463

Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
162 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula-
144 tion that subsisted on agriculture.
433
[174]

by many Tuareg, who say that they have not always known this white cotton, though indigo cotton has been introduced from the Sudan since very remote times). Maize has a normal period of growth of about three months, and two – in certain places perhaps even three – yields are taken in the hot seasons.

In addition to the above-mentioned cereals there are various kinds of vegetables grown in the Ayr gardens. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum*) are grown at most seasons with the exception of the dry and very hot summer period (*éwilen*). Also common in the Ayr gardens is the sweet potato (*dankale*; *Ipomoea Batatas*), which is sown at the beginning of the rains and harvested in winter. The true potato (*batata*; *Solanum tuberosum*) has been introduced more recently, and is grown mainly to be sold to European households in Agadez. It is grown in Eastern Ayr (Tabello). Melons (*Cucumis melo*) and water melons (*Colocynthis citrullus*) are grown all over Ayr and there are different vegetables such as onions (*Allium cepa & A. sativum*), which are harvested at most seasons. Two plants are grown mainly because they are important as admixtures to porridge sauce. One is called *ékabewwa* (*Corchorus olitorius*); it has maize-like seeds which are pounded in a mortar for sauce-making. The other plant is known as *malokhiya* (*Corchorus tridens*); its leaves are dried and pounded for sauce (cf. p. 243). The latter plant also grows wild outside the gardens. There are in Ayr also certain spice-plants, e.g., *Capsicum annuum & C. frutescens*. To all these cultivated plants can be added certain fruit trees, such as the date palm (*talesdar*; *Phoenix dactylifera*), the fig tree (*tahart*; *Ficus carica*) grown in the mountains, and the lemon tree (*lemon*; *Citrus aurantifolia*) which is grown in Southern Ayr; it yields very small fruit which remains green even when ripe. It should finally be mentioned that the cotton plant (*ebduga*; *Gossypium hirsutum*) is also grown in some gardens of Southern Ayr. According to Miré and Gillet it was introduced into Ayr by the Hausa, but the plant has also been introduced further north in the Sahara in Tawat (Miré & Gillet 1956, p. 244). As stated by Rodd, the cotton plant is rare in Ayr and has perhaps been recently introduced into this region (Rodd 1926a, p. 132). There are many other cultivated plants in Ayr, but the above mentioned constitute the most important species.

In Ayr, as in the north, irrigated cereals form the basis of agriculture. Irrigation is carried out by means of a system introduced from the north, and the agricultural techniques largely resemble those of that section of the Sahara inhabited by Northern Tuareg, though there are certain differences. A new garden in Ayr is prepared by cutting and burning away the wild vegetation of trees, bushes, herbs, and grasses. By crop rotation (wheat and barley in winter; maize, millet, and sorghum in summer) it is possible to cultivate the same garden plot for a few years in succession – up to six or seven years, it is said. After this time it becomes necessary to make a new garden, or to manure the old garden plot with camel and cow dung whilst manure (*taki*) from other animals or from human beings is said not to be used, as it would cause the crops to become inedible. A well-manured garden plot can be cultivated continuously for about fifteen years. But fertilizing is not practised by all agriculturists, and to my knowledge they do not carry fresh soil to the garden plots as is the case with the agriculturists of Ahaggar. Agriculture in Ayr therefore frequently resembles shifting cultivation, though plots are irrigated, and deserted garden land is frequently seen in the valleys where agriculture is practised.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 .MS25 Tuareg MS25



## AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND THE PRESERVATION OF CROPS

241/412 The hoe forms the basic agricultural implement in Ahaggar and in Ayr. The type of hoe used in Ahaggar is known as *agelhim*, and it is akin to that in general use among irrigation farmers of the northern oases. It has a very large and heavy iron head provided with a ring for the shaft. I believe that this type of hoe is particularly fitted for irrigation work, but it does not seem to be in general use in Ayr. I have seen it at Iferwan in Northern Ayr where agriculturists have much contact with Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but I have not seen it further south in the Massif where it seems to be unknown. The common type of hoe in Ayr is different; it is named *tagumit* and is hafted by means of a tongue (Fig. [171] 143d). The same type of hoe is widely distributed in Africa south of the Sahara, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest type of iron hoe within the continent (cf. Feilberg 1934, p. 228–278).

241 The hoe is used for agricultural work in general, for digging irrigation canals, making garden beds, and for the preparation of the soil. The hoe is not used for sowing cereals. Sowing in Ayr is known as *anabal* and is performed in the following way:— As many seeds as can be kept between the first and second fingers are pressed a little into the soil, and water is led into the garden beds immediately after sowing. I have myself never watched sowing, but I was told in Ayr that it was frequently done [278] by old women. I think that this is probably connected with the belief in the mystic power known as [841] *elbaraka* so characteristic of all North African peoples. For cereals contain this mystic power, which can be spoiled by unclean women. It is considered harmful to the *elbaraka* blessing if cereals are handled by menstruating women (cf. Westermarck 1926, I, p. 230). The hoe is used for weeding, 241/412 but the agriculturists of Ayr also have a special implement for this particular task. This is known as *elgechwad* and consists of a curved semi-circular iron blade hafted to a short wooden handle by means of a tongue (Fig. 143e). The semi-circular blade is sharpened at its outer and convex side which is pushed against the roots of weeds.

243/412 Various methods are used for the harvesting of crops. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer wheat and barley are always harvested by means of a sickle (*amreh*) (Fig. 143a-b). The sickle in Ayr is known as *elgechwad*, like the weeding implement mentioned above. It is not used for harvesting crops, but for the cutting of annual grasses to be stored for fodder (Fig. 143f). In Ayr both wheat and barley are 245 harvested by drawing the straws from the ground with the hands. In Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer sickles are also used for harvesting dates, while the date-growing agriculturists of Ayr use another method. They do not cut the bunches, but proceed in the following way:— When dates begin to ripen they enclose every bunch in a plaited pouch to protect the fruit from the ravens and other birds. The dates are harvested one by one when they are ripe, while those not yet fully ripe are left to be harvested later. Harvest is done in this manner about once a week until all dates have become ripe. Maize in Ayr 243 is harvested by drawing the plant from the ground with the hand, and this work is normally facilitated by loosening the soil around the roots by means of the hoe. I do not know how maize is harvested in Ahaggar, where this plant is not so widely grown as in Ayr. Everywhere among agricultural people of Ahaggar and Ayr millet and sorghum are cut with a knife (Ahaggar, *elmusi*; Ayr, *ezegiz*) (Figs. 171–172)

by many Tuareg, who say that they have not always known this white cotton, though indigo cotton has been introduced from the Sudan since very remote times). Maize has a normal period of growth of about three months, and two – in certain places perhaps even three – yields are taken in the hot seasons.

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7:Nicolaisen E.-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



A photograph illustrating a women making a bag from spun hair is reproduced by Lhote, who states that bags of this nature are rarely manufactured nowadays and are made exclusively by a few noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe (Lhote 1955a, p. 319 f., pl. XV p. 384). This statement does not agree with information gathered by myself in Ahaggar, where I was told that bags were made from spun hair by Tuareg women of other tribes and notably by women of the *Iseḫḫamaren* class. 286 415* 462 565 114

In Ayr spinning of cotton is performed mainly to obtain sewing thread, which is considered superior to European thread for sewing cotton clothes. To my knowledge most pastoral women do not spin their own cotton thread but buy it at the market of Agadez. However I have noted the existence of simple cotton bows in a *Kel Tédalé* camp in the northern part of the Ayr Massif. The occurrence of the simple cotton bow among the Ayr Tuareg should no doubt be viewed in connection with the use of this implement in the Western Sudan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 260 ff.) from where the cotton plant has also been introduced. 283 [432] [171] [240] [172]

Coiled basket-work plays an important part with the Tuareg, particularly the Northern Tuareg who are experts in this technique which is related to sewing. A very primitive type of coiled basketry 285

[824]

Fig. 211. Basket (*aḫaqqa'ur*) plaited from date palm leaves (*aḫam*). The handle is of date palm bast (*asan*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abelessa. Dimension: 0.38 m high. (N.M. G. 5835).

[text continues on p. 269]

The tent is occupied by only one household, and each of the married couple has his own side. The man's side is to the left as one enters the door; there he keeps his mehari saddle, his weapons, and his bags of salt. To the right is the woman's place, where she keeps her bag of personal things, her saddle if she has one, the bags containing the food supplies, and the kitchen implements which she has charge of. 592 [422]

In summer when it is very hot, the Tuareg sometimes use straw huts, as much to save hides as to be a bit more comfortable. The leather tent, in fact, is made almost useless by the heat, and nomads often seek shelter during the heat of the day under neighboring trees when there are any or else in the rocks. 342 [184]

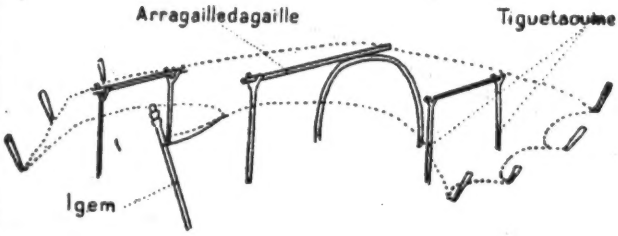



Fig. 26. Tent used by the Agouh-n-Tehlé. Sometimes the stake supporting the aragailledagaille may be replaced by a second arch. In some tribes, particularly among the Kel Ahnet, the arches were placed crosswise.

trees when there are any or else in the rocks.

Captives never have tents. They build themselves little shelters with a few branches on which are hung scraps of leather or cloth. [727]

It falls entirely to the women to put up the tents. [462]

Granaries. -- One of the most characteristic facts of nomadic life is its lack of foresight in questions of food. For the most part, the nomad lives from one day to the next, following the seasons, without accumulating anything. This is somewhat the case for the Tuareg. Still, the Sahara is not a country where one can find supplies easily. 251 343

251 Thus, they are forced to keep supplies on hand, /226/ but it is a
343 limited stock, consisting of two or three bags of sorghum or dates which are transported each time the camp is moved. It is customary, when supplies are more considerable, to leave them in the rocks of the mountains in spots known to the people of the tribe. These granaries (ekaham) allow them to travel lighter and at the same time put supplies in safe places. In case camps are raided they make a sufficient food reserve so that the people are not driven to starvation.

Some tribes which have gardens in the centers of cultivation
184 often have food deposits there; they are stored for a whole family
343 group. Thus the Dag Râli have stores in the Koudia, at Ilâman,
423 Tarahananet, Ábalessa, etc., where they entrust the care of their
251 goods to their local representatives. These centers have secret granaries; they are scarcely used these days, but they were used before the French occupation for reasons of safety in case of raids. We have seen hiding places of this kind at Tit and at Bloûmet, and there are probably some at Tazerouk and Ideles. They consist of cellars dug in the soil at ground level and hidden from the eyes of passers-by. Merchandise was thus protected from men and rodents.

While we are on the subject, let us add that granaries dug in
171 rock are common among all Berbers. Today they may still be seen in Morocco and among the Chaouia /Shawia/ of Aurès. This custom seems to have been common in Mediterranean countries, in Syria, and especially in Palestine where it was already reported in Biblical times.

The Akhamouk amenokal was the only person who had real
343 granaries. He had three or four of them constructed of stone bound
643 with clay using the Sudanese technique. They were placed at the
251 top of a rocky crest on the left bank of the Ábalessa wadi, near the place where his camp was most often established.

513 Sleeping arrangements. -- Bedding includes only one or two
[556] sheepskins sewn together, or more rarely a rug among the rich people.

234 to extract all the water, and then dry them on /235/ small screens placed in the branches of trees. It goes without saying that cheese making is very rare in the Ahaggar and that the Tuareg make it [438] particularly when they are nomadizing in the Sudan. Every year the Ihaggaren bring back large supplies of cheese from their stay in the Sudanese zone; these cheeses, dry as a bone, are either made by the Ihaggaren or bought from the southern tribes. They make 252 an important contribution to the Tuareg diet. These dry cheeses 262 are ground in a mortar and reduced to small fragments so that they have the consistency of flour. Then they are mixed with food, either in béchena gruel or in a drink of béchena flour and dates.

262 It might be supposed that meat plays a very large role in the Tuareg diet. But let us recall one of our old French proverbs which says that the shoemaker is always the worst shod. We could apply this adage to herders, who perhaps eat less meat than anyone else. A herder has animals for the use of their products, but he very seldom eats them, for each butchering is a loss of capital.

Indeed, the Tuareg kill their animals only under very unusual [233] circumstances, especially at the time of religious and family festivals. These killings recall somewhat the religious meaning of sacrifices. This does not mean that they do not like meat, for when they raid a rival camp, they hasten to make drastic inroads on the smaller livestock and eat until they are about to burst.

224 Hunting furnishes them a little additional meat. Each year 262 they kill a certain number of gazelles and wild sheep, eating part of the meat fresh and drying the rest to keep it on hand.

[251] They capture star lizards (Uromastix acanthinurus), jerboas, 222 gondi (Ctenodactylus sp.), sometimes even jackals and hares. We 262 can add to their meat diet grasshoppers (Shistocerca gregaria), [324] which they grill in the embers and then dry in order to pulverize [352] them. All Saharian nomads are very fond of grasshoppers, and since remotest antiquity some North African tribes are supposed to

224 The administration fortunately has decided to confiscate these
[411 648] weapons.

It is very difficult to get an exact idea of the number of animals killed annually by hunters. But we believe we are close to accurate in giving the figure 300. Thus we say that hunting holds a very small place in Ahaggar Tuareg economy.

226 Fishing. -- Fishing is not done by the Tuareg for the reasons
[184] we have given. Only the Issekkemâren and the Iklan engage in it. They fish when the pond water is very low. In the Tassili they dig little ditches on the lower side at water level, leading to little reservoirs where the fish find refuge and are then surely caught.

[251] When fishing has been fruitful, the Issekkemâren dry the fish to keep them for periods of scarcity.

/244/ Chapter 5

## Agriculture

241 The Ahaggar Tuareg have never attached more than a very secondary importance to agriculture. Their nomadic turn of mind is at the opposite pole from land ownership and still more from exploiting it, which implies sedentary life. There are, however, a number of centers of cultivation in their country; they are of undeniable interest and could be extended more widely if improper legislation did not hinder their development.

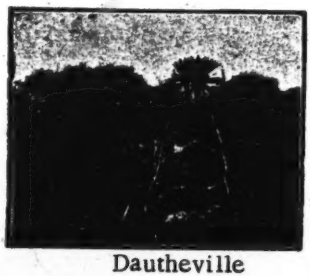
177 The creation of most of these centers of cultivation does not
241 go back more than a century. It was accomplished under the influence of Arab groups settled in the Ahaggar. Only the Silet and Tibeghîn oases are much older and probably date from the time of the Imanan sultans who had brought into the Ahaggar some

usually satisfied with milk, "akh, " fresh ("akh oua kefaïen" 264
[illegible] ) or sour ("akh iezza", [illegible] ), at
the hour when the camels, sheep, or goats come in from
pasture.

The basic food of the Ahaggar Tuareg consists of bechna, 262
"inelli" (white-grain sorghum, Graminaceae), dates, "teïni, "
and milk, "akh. " [illegible]

But their country provides them with many resources 22
which they are careful not to neglect, especially the poor, 556
the "tileqqiouin" [illegible] , who constitute the majority.

All the "imr'ad" go to harvest the grains of "toulloult" 243
and "afezzou. " Women, children, youths, negroes and 221
negresses go into the wadis
to gather the harvest, which
takes place from May to June
for "toulloult" and from July
to the end of September for
"afezzou. " /29/



[000]

Dautheville

Idelès (Koudia)

Usually, before the
harvest several wadis are for-
bidden territory, and camels
are not led there until the
harvest is finished.

The produce is gathered
and put into hide sacks. After the grains have dried, they 252
need only to be put onto small trays of "afezzou, " called
"tissiin, " which are shaken, and the hulls fall off and remain
on top. The grains are ground to powder, and a kind of gruel
is made with water or butter.

The Tuareg are also very fond of "tikamarin" [illegible] 234 252 262
, cheeses as hard as wood which they get from A'ir. They 438
grind them in mortars and mix them in their food.

They very seldom eat meat, except that of game which 262
they can kill in a hunt: gazelles, mountain sheep, and 224
antelopes. But often they prefer to smoke this game in order 251 438
to go and sell it in the Tidikelt.

262 /106 cont./gazelles and wild sheep is much esteemed, particularly since it costs nothing, but having it depends on chance. The hare is eaten only by children or Negroes. Birds, wild or domesticated, are not much liked.

Meat is eaten boiled or grilled, always well done. The
252 Tuareg mechoui /roasted sheep/ is called "abatoul" (hole). A hole is dug in rather coarse-grained sand, and a large fire is built in it. The embers are then removed from the hole, and the dismembered animal, well cut open, is placed in it, without butter or spices. The meat is then covered with sand, and a fire is maintained over it for two or three hours. The meat is then pulled out, is strongly hit with a stick to knock off the grains of sand, and is ready for sampling.

Practically speaking, the Tuareg never eat green
[262] vegetables; they keep dried onions (tarafaret), which give
• [251] some taste to their dishes; dried tomatoes, abundantly produced in the Ahaggar, are also used.

Wheat, rather seldom used, makes it possible to make couscous and flat cakes called "taguella." The Tuareg also make taguella with millet flour, but these are truly awful.

/107/ It is well to note the scruples of the Tuareg so far
262 as Islamic food taboos are concerned.

They continue, in fact, to eat their traditional food, and it happens that their custom fits in with Moslem regulations.

To amuse themselves, children eat "tilout" and those large lizards called "dobs," which they grill on glowing embers. They open the stomach and eat little pinches of the flesh cooked in the skin, somewhat as one would eat a soft-boiled egg.

Chicken eggs are not much liked; children accept them, but they prefer dob eggs.

The daman, called akaokao, a wild little rodent of the granite hills, is eaten only by the Negroes.

European food has not penetrated the tent, so to speak; only patés are liked, but the Tuareg do not yet go so far as to

to the killing of a camel for wedding guests. Otherwise the Northern Tuareg like those of Ayr only kill sick animals for food. 262

There are certain practical reasons why camels should not normally be killed for food among the Tuareg. Even very old camels fetch high prices at markets of the northern oases (Tamanrasset, Tidikelt), and the Tuareg prefer to get the money instead of eating their old camels. This is easily understood when we consider the fact that one camel contains so much meat that it cannot be eaten quickly by the members of a household, and camel's meat is rather tough and must be boiled for several hours to be eatable. Besides, camel's meat is not very well suited to be preserved for eating at a later date on journeys. However, it can be dried and when sick camels are killed part of their meat is often prepared in this way. [435] [252] [251]

A camel is killed in a very particular way quite different from the method of slaughtering other domestic animals and game. It is killed as follows:— Cords are attached very firmly around the legs of the animal which is kept to the ground by several men who sit on its back and draw its head backwards. The artery is thereupon opened at the lower part of the neck close to the chest, and the knife is thrust into the animal at this place, but not so deeply as to touch the heart or the entrails. This stab is quite sufficient to kill the camel, but some people also cut its throat close to the head in the way other domestic animals are killed. Very peculiar also is the way camels are skinned. While other animals are skinned in such a way that the hide can be removed as entire as possible (cf. Fig. 173), the carcass of a camel is cut up before skinning. The four legs with their thighs are cut loose close to the carcass, which is thereupon cut into several parts by means of a large chopping-knife or an axe (cf. Fig. 44). The hide is thus removed from the carcass after partitioning; but it is difficult to remove the hide as it sticks firmly to the meat, and only part of it is taken off for later use. In Ayr the Tuareg do not 233* 000

233* 137

Fig. 44. Skinning and partitioning of a young camel. Ayr, *Irawelen*.

[text continues on p. 67]

# Hunting

For the pastoral Tuareg hunting is not an important occupation, and nowadays it is practised mainly by those few Tuareg who possess rifles or guns. Traditional hunting methods are thus of far less consequence than in the past, but some of them are very interesting and most significant for a historical analysis of Tuareg culture.

## AHAGGAR

Northern Tuareg areas are not very rich in game. In Ahaggar the main types of game are the gazelle (*ahenkof*, fem. *tahenkof*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) and the barbary sheep (*udad; Ammotragus lervia*). The big gazelle (*énir; Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amellul; Addax nasomaculatus*) are very rare; they are occasionally seen in the plains outside of the mountains. The ostrich (*auhél*; *Struthio camelus*) was very common in the past, but is now exterminated.

The small gazelle is rare and shy within the Ahaggar Massif, while fairly abundant and comparatively easy to hunt with a rifle in the northernmost massifs and their surrounding plains. Of seven camps visited in Ahnet 1954, gazelle hunting was engaged in by the members of two households, and I estimate that they killed one or two gazelles every week. In most camps of the Northern Tuareg there are no true gazelle hunters, and when a rare gazelle is killed its meat is easily eaten in one day by the members of a single household – in addition to three or four pounds of wheat-bread or millet-porridge. Gazelle skin is of little practical value to Tuareg craft. It is not generally used for the manufacture of important domestic articles such as water bags and containers for milk and butter, but it is suitable and much esteemed for certain types of decorated leather work and for fine leather cords, e.g., necklaces for amulet cases, reins for riding camels.

Barbary sheep are extremely shy, and they live mainly in inaccessible mountains. They are still fairly common in certain isolated parts of the mountains, but they were more numerous in the past when hunting was practised without rifles.

The Tuareg estimate that the amount of meat obtained from two gazelles corresponds to the meat of one grown goat, while a big barbary sheep provides as much meat as that of four goats. Meat of barbary sheep is better suited for drying than meat of other game animals, and the thick hide of these animals is valuable for the manufacture of tents and for large bags used for the conservation on journeys of dates, grain, flour, and the like. The horns of barbary sheep are used as butter containers (Fig. 165), and some Tuareg add the powder of crushed horns to butter before heating it (cf. p. 222). Barbary sheep are of greater economic value to the Ahaggar Tuareg than other types of game, and

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Fig. 123. Digging stick (*ilaweǧ*) which serves to dig up wild edible roots and other purposes. Ahaggar, the *Daǧ Ḫali* tribe. Dimension: 0.883 m (total length). (N.M. G. 5252).

Fig. 124. The wild plant *ihahelewen* (sing. *ahahel*) (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) which yields edible roots esteemed for food (bread). Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

Fig. 125. Skin bag of the *téchchékwat* type made from the skin of a kid and containing *adaisam* berries (*Osyris alba*). The berries are normally eaten fresh, but are also conserved in skin bags to be eaten later after soaking in water. Ahaggar, the *Daǧ Ḫali* tribe. Dimension of the skin bag: 0.33 m. (N.M. G. 5244).

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Fig. 137. The fresh soil carried to old gardens is placed in small heaps to be spread out between the tender plants of wheat and barley. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

241 *andrum sativum*, *Cuminum Cyminum* (*azkar*), *Daucus Carota* (*ezzeruget*), *Cucumis melo*, *Lagenaria vulgaris* (cf. Maire 1933, and particularly Maire 1940, p. 401).

248 [262] In addition to the above-mentioned plants there are various types of fruit trees which do not play any considerable rôle for food. The gardens contain very few date palm trees (*tazzayt*, *Phoenix dactylifera*) and there are no palm trees of any value in the gardens situated in the upper mountain zones where the fig tree (*tahart*, *Ficus carica*) thrives much better than in the lower country; the figs are [251] consumed fresh, or they are put on strings for drying, common practise elsewhere in North Africa. The [386] pomegranate (*terrummant*, *Punica Granatum*) is grown in some gardens; its fruits are eaten, and they are also used for dyeing skins (cf. p. 282). Grapes (*tezzebibt*, *Vitis vinifera*) are also grown in some gardens.

Maire mentions the cultivation of the peach (*Prunus Persica*) and the apricot (*Prunus Armeniaca*) (cf. Maire 1940, p. 401). These fruit trees have undoubtedly been quite recently introduced for Foucauld states that they are not grown in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 79 f.).

243 423 There are nowadays many agriculturists who have their private gardens so that they cultivate their winter crops and their summer crops entirely for their own use. But most agriculturists grow winter crops of wheat and barley on behalf of the Tuareg who are then the true garden owners.

[312] [476] Agriculturists who cultivate their gardens on their own behalf frequently irrigate crops by means of draught animals (zebus) which raise water from wells, but there are also some farmers who cultivate independently without any contract with pastoral Tuareg and nevertheless belong to a *foggara* team. 243 It can be estimated that an independently working agriculturist obtains a total yield of about 700 kilos of wheat and barley grown in winter. Of this yield he gives 10 kilos to the *Amenukal*, or to the

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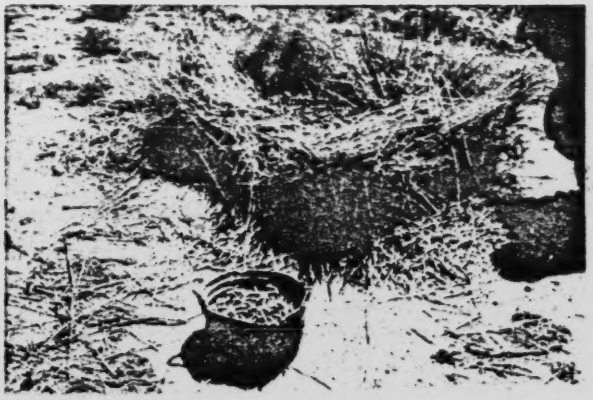

Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*éndél*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
173 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers
[563] though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of
162 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isaweyen*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
563 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
433 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
245 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
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Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
162 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula-
144 tion that subsisted on agriculture.
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Fig. 144. *Kel Ewey* woman winnowing grain by shaking it in a plaited bowl. Ayr. Iferwan.

243 large mortar. Winnowing of cereals is performed by shaking the seeds in a plaited bowl or tray to let
[415] husks and other impurities be removed by the wind (Fig. 144).

251 The Northern Tuareg use the following means for storing of crops:— (1) *taddat*, that is a skin bag
343 containing grain, dates, and the like, hidden under stones and rocks in the mountains; (2) *égend*, or *anu*, an underground storeroom lined with mats. It is used for cereals, including wild seeds, and is found both among agriculturists and pastoralists (Fig. 146); (3) *tarassana*, a grain silo built from stones and mud (Fig. 145). Nowadays such storerooms are not only used by agriculturists but also by pastoralists. However, this type of storeroom is said to have been introduced to Ahaggar with the introduction of irrigation agriculture about a hundred years ago, and was originally unknown to pastoral Tuareg.

[136] Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg all storerooms for cereals are known as *tédengewt*. The storing of vegetable food products in skin bags covered with stones or hidden under rocks is apparently unknown – perhaps because of the numerous small rodents and the rich insect life which includes numerous white ants. Underground storerooms like those of Ahaggar are used by agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike. They are frequently excavated so deeply that they can hide a grown man standing in

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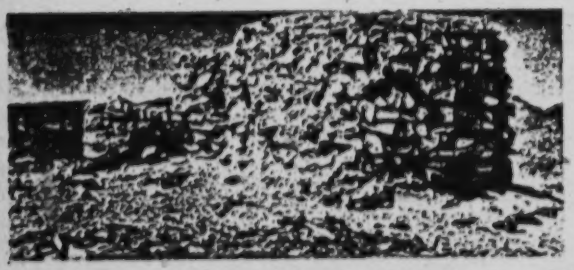
them. They are lined and covered with mats as in Ahaggar, and though they may be used for the 251 storage of wild seeds they are mainly used for grown cereals and are generally found in or close to 343 gardens. Grain silos built of stones and mud – the *tarassana* type of Ahaggar – are said to occur among the *Kel Ewey* but I have never seen such storerooms in their villages, nor have I met the typical African storeroom built of straw and resting upon poles until south of the Massif in Damergu where they are used by shifting cultivators. Large earthenware containers shaped like cooking pots are used [415] to store vegetable products (cereals) in certain villages, particularly at Iferwan. Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr have the underground storerooms for the preservation of surplus grain and other vegetable products. Cereals to be consumed in the camps (notably millet) are kept in large skin-bags resting [415] upon poles that they may not be damaged by white ants. The Ahaggar Tuareg also preserve cereals in their tents in skin-bags.

Irrigation agriculture is a strenuous task, but it is less influenced by climatic conditions than all 241 other occupations practised in the Sahara. The farmers are not exposed to the same disasters of drought [461] periods as are pastoral Tuareg in the north, though it is said that rain is a direct blessing also to irrigated crops. But cultivated plants are exposed to certain dangers, e.g., locusts, and crops do not always thrive as they should. Bad luck in agricultural activities may in the opinion of the farmers be due to [272] some mystical power or other. It may arise from incorrect treatment of cereals and dates so that they [228] lose their *elbaraka*. Menstruating women, as mentioned above, are dangerous to vegetable food, and [841] this is also true of the fire, for which reason one should never throw date kernels into the flames. The [754] farmers also fear that their crops may suffer damage from the attack of the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and particularly from the attack of the malignant force attached to the "evil eye" or the "evil mouth". To protect [237] their crops the farmers frequently use amulets such as broken pots and skulls of domestic animals (notably of donkeys), which are considered an effective means against the "evil eye" and the "evil mouth" (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 133 f., 160).



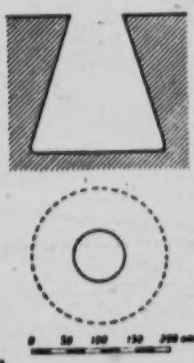



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Fig. 145. Grain silos of the *tarassana* type built of stones and mud. Ahaggar, Abalessa.
Fig. 146. Cross section of a subterranean storeroom for cereals, and the like (*ḍgwad*). Dimensions according to Foucauld: 2.00 m–2.50 m deep, 2.00 m in diameter at the bottom, 0.75 m in diameter at the surface (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 459 f.).

[text continues on p. 209]

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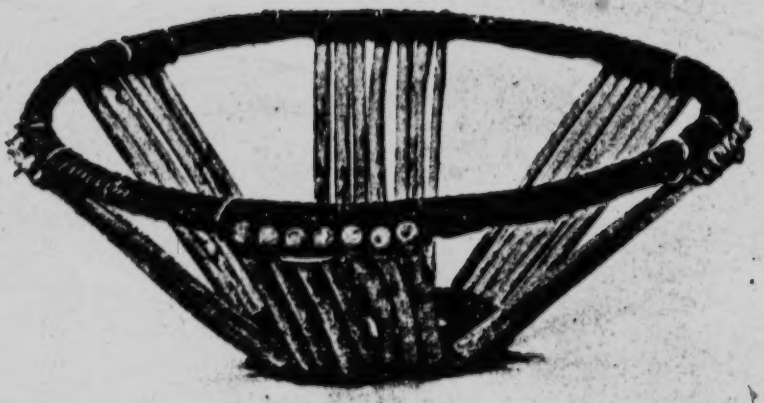

Fig. 152. Circular wooden frame to support milk-bowls and other food-containing vessels. The frame is attached to the roof of the mat tent or rests upon sticks (cf. Fig. 291). This is done in order that food and food-vessels shall not be damaged by the numerous ants. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.44 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 6463).

# Food Preparation

It is natural to open this chapter on food preparation with a description of the use of milk (*akh*) among pastoral Tuareg. The milk which serves as nourishment for the Tuareg derives from goats, sheep, cows, and camels. Milk of all these animals is frequently drunk fresh without any preparation, and this is generally the case with camel's milk, which is not fitted for churning butter or for the manufacture of cheese (cf. p. 63). Milk of goats, sheep, and cows is used for butter and cheese, and is added to various dishes to be described below. 234 262

Fresh milk, which is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *akh kefayen*, is sometimes heated by means of hot stones (*iḍayen* in Ahaggar; no particular name in Ayr). The stones heated are then put directly into the wooden milking bowl. The Tuareg practise this method mainly in winter as they do not like to drink cold milk, but milk is heated all the year round in this way with milk of animals which have just brought forth kids, lambs, or calves including camel calves. The milk taken from a mother animal until about twenty four hours after the birth of kids, lambs, or calves is known to the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr as *éderes*. It is very rich and when it is heated by means of hot stones it becomes very thick forming almost a kind of cheese which is highly esteemed by the nomads. The milk of sheep and goats is considered *éderes* for two days after the birth of kids and lambs, though this term should properly be applied only to milk taken the first day after birth. The main reason for using hot stones for milk heating is said to be that milk does not get dirty in this way as it does if heated in earthenware pots over the fire (cf. p. 126). 252

Sour milk (*selay* in Ayr) is consumed mainly by the Ayr Tuareg, who conserve it in skin bags and especially in calabashes, for which reason this sour milk is also known to the Ayr Tuareg as *akh n ezenu*, that is "calabash milk". The milk is often left about twenty four hours for souring, and it is then placed in a very cool place in order that it may not turn into junket which is not eaten by the Tuareg. 262 [251] [415]* [252]

Both in Ayr and in Ahaggar the Tuareg may add water to fresh milk (cf. p. 126), and the Northern Tuareg also add water to buttermilk (*akh n aglwir*). This mixture of water and butter-milk is in high esteem among the Northern Tuareg, and camel riders frequently carry it with them in a special skin-bag, known as *tasufra* (Fig. 155), attached to the riding saddle. Butter-milk cannot be transported in this way if water is not added, for the milk, though already once churned, will become butter during the camel's march. The Ayr Tuareg do not drink butter-milk which is given to domestic animals, but this beverage is so appreciated by the Northern Tuareg that some of them will not drink fresh milk unless butter-milk has been added, a mixture known as *agerengefa*, *akh imuayen*, or *umsey*. [484] [415]*

[p. 221]

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Fig. 153a–b. Tuareg funnels (*ésaqefi*, pl. *issaqefa*) which are used for milk, butter, and for other liquids.
a. Wooden funnel ornamented by burning. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ilali* tribe. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (F.M. 240).
b. Funnel plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) with the rim reinforced with leather. Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ilali* tribe. Dimension: 0.135 m high. (F.M. 243).

234 *4/15 In Ahaggar the method of churning butter is as follows:— Milk of the morning yield is put into a skin bag (*émesesley*) (Figs. 156–157) to remain in this bag until next morning when churning takes place. During the hot season the *émesesley*, filled with milk, is placed in the shade of the tent in daytime, while in winter it is placed in sunshine, or close to the fire. Some milk of the evening yield is sometimes added to the morning milk in the *émesesley*. Before churning the milk thus soured is poured into the proper churning bag (*aqiwir*, *tanwart*) which is inflated and shaken. Churning bags may vary in size; when there is little milk to be churned a little bag is used and shaking is done holding it in the hands (Fig. 158). When milk is very plentiful, butter is sometimes churned in larger bags (*awwar*), which at one end is attached to a pole, while shaking is done by pulling the other end of the bag with one or both hands. When the milk is shaken in this way it forms small white balls of butter which are removed from the churning bag with a wooden spoon (Fig. 191) when water has been added. This white butter (*udi wa mellen*, or *tesendat*) is occasionally used for food without further preparation, but this is not normal, for newly-churned butter is generally put into an earthen pot (*téyirt*, or *afrun*) (Figs. 186, 187a–b) together with parts of an annual plant known as *ayneznis* (*Chlamydophora pubescens*) (Fig. 160) to be heated over the fire. Some Tuareg also add meal of dried dates, or of horns of barbary sheep. After heating, butter (*udi*) assumes a dark yellow colour. It is stored in containers made of camel's hide (*tahattint*, *asagen*, *ayalha*) (Figs. 161–162), or in Sudanese calabashes (*arenu*) (Figs. 163a–b). A particular metal pail (*éyir*) (Fig. 164) manufactured by native blacksmiths is also used for butter in Ahaggar,

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[824]

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butter in Ahaggar, and butter reserved for greasing the hair is frequently kept in a large horn (*isek*) of barbary sheep (Fig. 165). 251 415* [302]

The Ayr Tuareg make butter (*wijil*) in much the same way as the Northern Tuareg. For churning they use a skin bag (*anwar*), or a calabash (*azenu*), and they say that they prefer skin bags in winter, and calabashes in the hot season. Butter is heated or boiled immediately after churning, but the Ayr Tuareg do not add parts of plants, date flour, or the like. In Ayr butter is not churned as regularly as in the north. It is used mainly for cooking meat of thin animals, for a sauce which may be used for millet porridge instead of milk (cf. p. 243 f.), and for greasing the hair. Among the Northern Tuareg butter is added to many different dishes and particularly to bread, which is eaten almost daily by many people. In years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg get their butter from Ayr (cf. p. 212, 215), and the Ayr Tuareg make much butter for export in such circumstances. They churn most butter from cow's 234 [415]* [252] [302] [262] [438]

415* 322 [283] →

Fig. 154a–c.

a. Wooden funnel. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Deg Ɣall* tribe. Dimension: 0.146 m high. (N.M. G. 5203).
b. Funnel consisting of a piece of calabash which derives from the south. Ahaggar, the *Deg Ɣall* tribe. Dimension: 0.131 m high. (N.M. G. 5202).
c. Wooden funnel with a strap of cord of goat's hair. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.175 m high. (N.M. G. 1.150).

All wooden funnels are cut from wood of the *taberekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*). [824]

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Fig. 155. Skin bag (*tasufra*) for the conservation of butter-milk on journeys. The bag is made from an entire goat-skin and has a handle of goat-hair cord tied to the skin patches of the hind legs. A leather handle is attached to the lower part of the bag which is ornamented with leather fringes. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-ahli* tribe. Dimension: 0.77 m long without the fringes. (F.M. 89).

They churn most butter from cow's

234 milk, and this butter is not considered as delicious by the Ahaggar Tuareg as their own butter, churned
[262] mainly from goat's milk. – The use of wooden churning sticks by means of which milk is stirred in
234 an open container is unknown in Ahaggar and Ayr, so far as I know. Churning sticks are used in
412 other Tuareg groups. They are common among the Tuareg of Adrar-n-Fogas (Musée d'Ethono-
184 graphie, Neuchâtel, no. 49.2.44 & Musée de l'homme, Paris, no. 38.16.48) and among the *Iwillemmedan*
171 Tuareg and the Fulani (Musée de l'homme, Paris, nos. 41.19.411 & 41.19.1326).

234 All Northern Tuareg, as well as the Northern Arab pastoralists and semi-nomadic Berbers and
[172] Arabs of the Atlas, make cheese from butter-milk, while this type of cheese is unknown among the
[184] Southern Tuareg and also among the Fulani. In Ahaggar butter-milk cheese (*awles*) is manufactured
[462] by women in the following manner:— Butter-milk is heated over the fire in an earthen pot (*tdyirt*, or *ufrun*)
*[415] (Figs. 186, 187a–b) by which process the milk is divided into two parts, namely pure water and a curdled mass of milk (*akru*). This mass of curdled milk is placed in a special basket (*arugus*) (Figs. 167a–b) hanging from a tree or a similar object to sort out the whey. Thus there remains a mass of cheese in the basket, and this mass is formed into small round pieces to be left for drying. Butter-milk cheese is manufactured in this way by all Northern Tuareg who are thus able to obtain butter and cheese from the same milk.

234 Another type of cheese is made from fresh milk and is manufactured not only by the Northern
171 [i.e. the Ayr Tuareg -- Ana/yrt]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Tuareg but also by the southern groups and by Arab pastoralists of the Sahara; it is also known in the Atlas, and is on the whole widely distributed in Northern Africa. This type of cheese is known to the Northern Tuareg as *takammart* and it is manufactured as follows:— Fresh milk is heated and then poured into a large wooden bowl (e.g., *tarehut*) (Figs. 195a–b). The milk is curdled into a mass of cheese by means of a rennet (*akammar*) consisting of the abomasum of kids that have never tasted anything but milk. The curdled mass of cheese is pressed with the hands and with a piece of straw-mat (*éseber*) in order that the liquids may separate. The mass of cheese is formed into small rectangular pieces of cheese which are left on the little straw-mat for about one day. They are then removed to be dried finally on a platform (*tahaga*, *tafalkat*) made of branches.

Cheese made from fresh milk is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tekemmart*; it is manufactured to very great extent and much in the same fashion as just described from Ahaggar. The abomasum of little kids or lambs to be used for rennet is named *tedeyant*, and the Ayr Tuareg add parts of an annual plant known as *ekochmaren* (*Caralluma Mouretii*) in order that the milk may curdle quickly. The Ayr Tuareg also use little mats plaited from stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) to press and form the rectangular pieces of cheese; the Ayr Tuareg make mats (*tésebert*) (Fig. 168) particularly for this purpose, while the Ahaggar Tuareg generally use an old piece of a tent mat (*éseber*). In Ayr the rectangular pieces of cheese are dried on bunches of hay placed in trees (acacias), or on the top of the mat-covered tents.

The *takammart* or *tekemmart* type of cheese made from fresh milk is in high esteem as food among all pastoralists of the Sahara. It is generally eaten when newly-made and soft, though it may also be stored. The Ahaggar Tuareg make this type of cheese only when milk is plentiful, while the Ayr Tuareg manufacture it most of the year though the main season of cheese-making is the season of *akasa*.

Fig. 156. Skin bag of the *éneseley* type used to sour milk before churning. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.37 m high. (F.M. 170).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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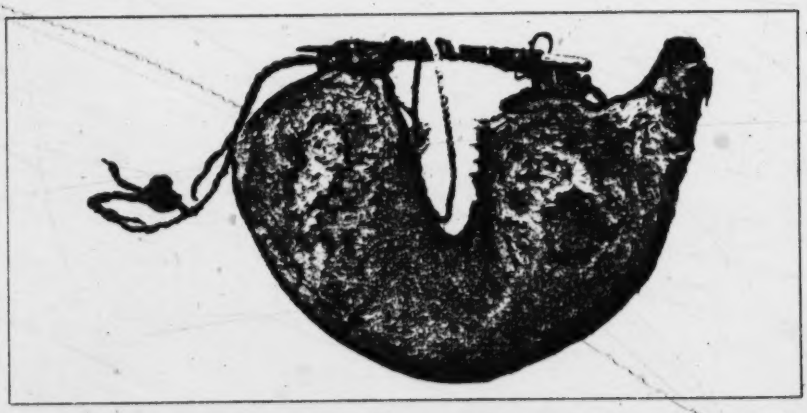

Fig. 162. Very large butter container (*ayatko*) made from the neck-hide of a camel. It is provided with a wooden handle wound with hide and with cords made from goat's hair and bast of *abser* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Similar containers are also used for the conservation of cereals. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.62 m long. (N.M. G. 5201).

Fig. 163a–b. Calabashes used for storing butter in Ahaggar but introduced from the south (Ayr).

a. Calabash (*azena*) with a wooden stopper fastened to a leather strap and provided with a handle of cord made of goat's hair. The wooden stopper is called *azhay*. Ahaggar, the *Ajah-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.620 m high. (N.M. G. 5206).

[484] b. Calabash (*azenat*) with a handle of white goat's hair. Used for transportation of butter on journeys. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.175 m high. (F.M. 252).

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**Fig. 164. Pail (*éṛir*) made from tinned brass by blacksmiths. It is used for storing butter to be used for food preparation in the tent. Pails of this type form part of the dowry in the *Dug Ḥali* tribe. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.155 m high, 0.230–0.235 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5820).**

Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food 231

they perform a sacrifice, the idea of which seems to be an identification of the man and the killed animal. 282
This idea appears most clearly at the sacrifice made on the occasion of the name-giving feast seven 825
days after the birth of a child. A marabut, that is a Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class, and the father of 553
the child stand close together with their faces towards Mecca while the animal to be sacrified is kept 282
to the ground. The marabut cuts the animal's throat and doing so cries out the name to be given to [565]
the child, and this name is thereupon repeated by the child's father. When the killing is performed in [112]
this way the knife (*elmusi* in Ahaggar; *ézegiz* in Ayr) and the cut across the throat are washed with
water before skinning is undertaken. I have dealt with certain ideas of Tuareg sacrifice elsewhere, 114
and have stated that on certain occasions they may sacrifice not to God but to the *Kel Asuf* spirits 282
(Nicolaisen 1961, p. 122 f., 147 f.). But whatever may be the ideas attached to Tuareg sacrifices all 231
animals, with the exception of the camel (cf. above p. 65), are killed by cutting their throat.

The methods of meat preparation are almost identical in Ayr and Ahaggar. The most common 252
method everywhere is cooking in an earthen pot, known in Ahaggar as *ufrun*, *téṛirt*, *alekkin*, or *talekkint* 4/15 *
according to its size and form, or in a metal pot (*éṛir*) of European origin. Such European pots are [172]
common everywhere in Tuareg camps, but earthen pots are still used though less durable, for earthen
pots are cheap. Pots made of metal or copper, which are also known as *éṛir*, were also found among

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



up with small strips of fat. The pieces of liver covered with fat are put on a slender iron or 252
wooden rod to be roasted slightly over the fire. This dish is known to all Tuareg by the Arabic word [177]
*elmefif*. It was introduced among the Northern Tuareg by the Arabs, but is not widely known among the Ayr Tuareg.

This brief description of Tuareg meat preparation can adequately be supplemented by a reference 252
to two peculiar dishes:— (1) A dish known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *talebeggat*. It consists of meat 262
which after boiling or roasting is pounded in a large mortar and frequently served with liquid butter. This dish is also known to the Ayr Tuareg. (2) A dish which is described from Ahaggar by Foucauld 252
under the name *ebangor*. It consists of untanned skin which is eaten in case of hunger after the following 261
preparation:— Untanned skin from household implements, shields, and the like is roasted under the ashes, and is thereupon pounded into small pieces. These are eaten without any further preparation, or after boiling. (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 73).

Like other North African peoples the Tuareg dry meat of domestic animals and of game. The people 251
of Ayr know three distinct drying methods, namely (1) *iwesan*, that is meat which is boiled until it is free of blood; it is dried in the shade; (2) *tikelsin*, uncooked meat cut into pieces to be dried on a string in the shade; (3) *kulex*, uncooked meat cut into strips which are dried for some time to be treated with salt and various spices. This last method is not practised among the Tuareg of Ayr, but by sedentary people of Agadez and by Negroes further south in Damergu. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally boil or roast the meat before drying; meat roasted in the ashes according to the *abanul* method and thereupon dried is known as *takasa*. I do not know whether the Ahaggar Tuareg also practise the [225]
method of drying raw meat like the Ayr Tuareg, but the dried *agezzeram* lizzards which they take to Tidikelt on trading expeditions, are dried uncooked. Furthermore, the method of drying raw meat [171]
is known elsewhere in the Northern Sahara, and I have myself seen it practised among the Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

I conclude the description of Tuareg meat preparation with a brief note on the use of blood of living 272

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Fig. 166. Wooden double-vessel (*azar*) to contain water and butter for greasing the hair. Similar containers with a third vessel for fine-grained sand are also found among the Tuareg. Made by blacksmith from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Geometrical ornaments are produced by burning with a hot iron. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.241 m long. (N.M. G. 5880).

[text continues on p. 235]

among them it is eaten in particular by women during the first seven days after the birth of a child, 262
that is during the period from birth to the name-giving ceremony known as *isnawen*. It is considered 846
dangerous for a woman to eat too much vegetable food during this period, while meat is believed to
make her recover quickly after birth. The same diet is followed by young boys after their circumcision 262
until their wounds have healed. These dietetic rules no doubt have their root in magical beliefs. 304

All Tuareg esteem liquid or semi-liquid dishes which are consumed mainly during the very hot 262
season. A very common dish of this type is that named *aṛejira* (Ayr) or *aṛehara* (Ahaggar). It is made
from flour of millet, sorghum, dates, and crushed cheese mixed with water, the main substance being
pounded millet. The dish is served in a large wooden bowl or in a calabash, and is eaten and drunk [412]
by means of a large wooden ladle called *tamulat* (Fig. 194a–b). This liquid dish is a substitute for [251]
milk during the hot season when milk is scarce, and it is frequently used for food on journeys, in which
case it is transported in the form of dough-like balls to be dissolved in water just before eating.

The terms *aṛejira* and *aṛehara* are used for various liquid or semi-liquid dishes, or beverages, for which the Tuareg have particular names according to their composition. Dates are less important for liquid dishes in Ayr than among the Northern Tuareg to whom dates form an important part of food. Very important in the north is a dish known as *talekessat*; it is made from dried dates pounded [252]

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Fig. 182. Tuareg women turning a hand-mill (*tasirt*). In the foreground a woman shaking flour into a wooden bowl. Note the ornamented patches of leather hanging down from the tent sheet. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe.

[text continues on p. 247]

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**Fig. 189.** Earthen jar (*denfu*, or *denbo*) of the particular type used for the preparation of *keskesu*. Ahaggar, *Hurrutin* of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.16 m high, 0.30 m in diameter. (F.M. 215).

**Fig. 190.** A kind of cake (*surfet*) made of onions and dates which are mixed and pressed. Such cakes are made in Tidikelt but are sold at Tamanrasset by Arab merchants. They are pounded in the mortar or are crushed between two stones before cooking. Dimension: 0.10 m. (N.M. G. 5847a).

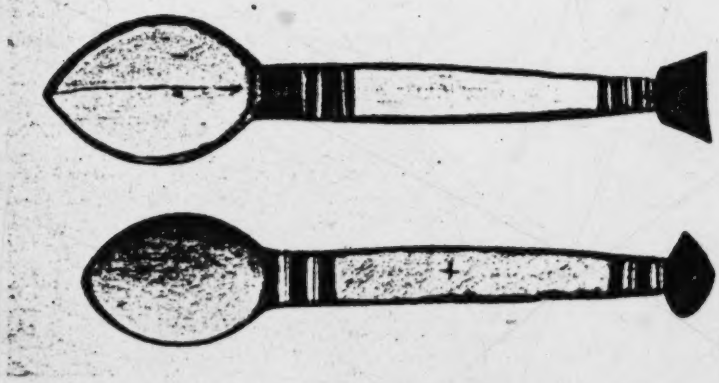

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**Fig. 191.** Wooden spoons (*tesukalt*, pl. *tisukalin*) cut by blacksmiths from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tehki* and the *Dag Ilali* tribes. Dimension: ca. 0.26–0.28 m. (F.M.).

362

furniture. These objects are not numerous and reflect the primitive life led by the Tuareg.

On the left side of the tent is generally found the goatskin water bag, hung on two wooden stakes placed in a V-shape. An old piece of cloth often covers it to protect it from the sun. The waterskin is often empty, for the Tuareg are not very farsighted. When there is water, they drink; when /229/ they are out of it, they stay there waiting a half day until the Iklan get back from the well. [415 271]

Fig. 28.
Tent shovel.

[412]

[574]

When a traveler passes by, he is most generally assailed with demands for water, while he himself often hoped to find some in the camp.

In front of the door and close to all the tents is an enormous wooden mortar and its pestle, in which the servant girl crushes millet and dates. By searching a bit in the tent or in the shelter used as a kitchen, one may find two or three hemispheric wooden dishes destined to hold food and two or three conical bowls serving as drinking vessels. Hanging on one of the outer stakes of the tent are a wooden milking vessel, an esparto winnowing basket for sifting millet flour, serving at the same time as a dish cover, one or two little esparto mats which can serve the same purpose, and finally a few wooden spoons. Each mistress of a tent has a little 412 415 [357] [252] [285]

412 Each mistress of a tent has a little
356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses, and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,
492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are
[462] left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving;
[565] only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in moving only if it is a long trip.

/230/ Chapter 3

## Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding
262 peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea, bechena (Sorghum cernuum Host.), a kind of millet cultivated in the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

[252 The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during
484] their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong cultural-
[101] ly to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

243 he generally carries with him in his migrations. Wheat raising
262 goes down to the Sudan as far as Timbuktu, Aïr, and a little north of Nigeria; but everywhere it has been introduced recently, due to the influence of the Arabs, who have not abandoned their traditional food.

Béchena is a food they adopted because of their exodus toward [412] the Sudan; they are at the present time much closer to the Sudan than they are to North Africa from the point of view of material living conditions, that is, unless this plant formerly existed in a self-sown state in the Sahara, as Professor Chevalier has assumed, and was one of the principal food resources of its first inhabitants.

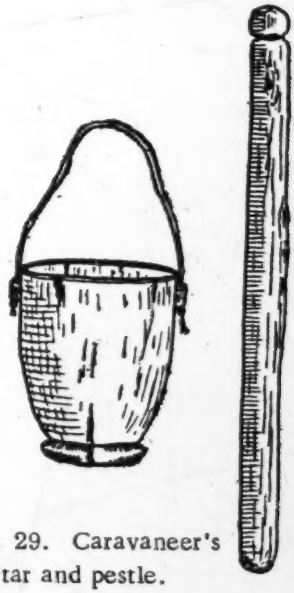

Fig. 29. Caravaneer's mortar and pestle.

By its agriculture
177 and its production, the Sahara is completely Negro. Agricultural
241 methods, except for irrigation, /231/ are borrowed from the Sudanese, especially work with the hoe (daba), while North Africa mainly uses the plow which is unknown in the intertropical zone.

252 Béchena is eaten as a cooked flour porridge, as raw flour, or
262 mixed with liquids, water or milk.

Dates also play a large part in the diet of the Tuareg. Every year each family head organizes a little caravan to the Touat or [438 487 512] Tidikelt to bring back two or three loads of poor-quality dried dates which are crushed with a pestle and eaten with camel's milk.

234 to extract all the water, and then dry them on /235/ small screens placed in the branches of trees. It goes without saying that cheese making is very rare in the Ahaggar and that the Tuareg make it [438] particularly when they are nomadizing in the Sudan. Every year the Ihaggaren bring back large supplies of cheese from their stay in the Sudanese zone; these cheeses, dry as a bone, are either made by the Ihaggaren or bought from the southern tribes. They make 252 an important contribution to the Tuareg diet. These dry cheeses 262 are ground in a mortar and reduced to small fragments so that they have the consistency of flour. Then they are mixed with food, either in béchena gruel or in a drink of béchena flour and dates.

262 It might be supposed that meat plays a very large role in the Tuareg diet. But let us recall one of our old French proverbs which says that the shoemaker is always the worst shod. We could apply this adage to herders, who perhaps eat less meat than anyone else. A herder has animals for the use of their products, but he very seldom eats them, for each butchering is a loss of capital.

Indeed, the Tuareg kill their animals only under very unusual [233] circumstances, especially at the time of religious and family festivals. These killings recall somewhat the religious meaning of sacrifices. This does not mean that they do not like meat, for when they raid a rival camp, they hasten to make drastic inroads on the smaller livestock and eat until they are about to burst.

224 Hunting furnishes them a little additional meat. Each year 262 they kill a certain number of gazelles and wild sheep, eating part [251] of the meat fresh and drying the rest to keep it on hand.

They capture star lizards (Uromastix acanthinurus), jerboas, 222 gondi (Ctenodactylus sp.), sometimes even jackals and hares. We 262 can add to their meat diet grasshoppers (Shistocerca gregaria), [324] which they grill in the embers and then dry in order to pulverize [252] them. All Saharian nomads are very fond of grasshoppers, and since remotest antiquity some North African tribes are supposed to

222 have made them the base of their diet; for this reason they were
262 nicknamed acridophages. The Nasamonians of Herodotus prepared them in the same way the Tuareg do, and the /236/ similar diets of the two peoples is perhaps not pure coincidence.

There are a few fish ponds in the Ahaggar, but the Imochar
226 and the Imrad do not eat the flesh of these animals; only the
262 Issekkemâren catch barbels and sometimes catfish, or rather they gather them up in the wadis after floods, for they do not know how to fish, properly speaking.

The sedentary peoples raise chickens, but the Tuareg do not
262 eat them either, since they consider the meat impure. The same interdict is extended to eggs. The only bird which is an exception is the ostrich. There are no longer any ostriches in the Sahara, but
[223] when the Ihaggaren go to the Sudan they capture them if they have the chance; in addition, they eat ostrich eggs cooked in the ashes.

Times of scarcity were sometimes experienced. They are rare
262 now that caravans can circulate freely, but they were much more
731 frequent when the state of war continued for a long time. The
224 Tuareg fell back on wild plants which do not generally enter into their diet: the young growths of tahlé (Typha elephantina), the
[824] leaves of the tanekfit (Eruca aurea) and the aramas (Atriplex halimus), the underground stems of the danoun (Cistanche lutea) which resembles asparagus, and many other plants of very dubious food value, which they ate to assuage their hunger. The state of famine can
[252] become so pronounced that they sometimes gather up old bones, grind them up, reduce them to flour, and make gruels of them. It
[579] goes without saying that it is during these periods that pillaging is at its height. People steal from camp to camp, from tribe to tribe, and everyone forgets his brother and his friend, thinking of only one thing -- survival by any means.

264 Before the French occupation the Tuareg as a general rule had only one meal a day, in the evening, after milking the animals. During the day they contented themselves with drinking a little milk.

252 262 The national dish of the Tuareg is asink, which is a porridge of millet cooked in water and moistened with butter or whey. This meal is especially popular in winter and during the entire cold season. During the very hot months, they prefer a beverage of water or whey in which they throw millet flour, diluted sometimes with dry cheese or powdered dates. This is alakoh. Dates are also eaten /237/ in summer, ground and mixed with water or milk.

252 When the Tuareg kill a sheep, they prepare the intestines which they enclose inside the stomach. After having tied the two extremities of the stomach, they put it on a bed of ashes to cook. This way of cooking, which is the one most commonly used by hunters, is called abatoul. Meats are prepared boiled or cooked under the ashes. Those that are boiled are particularly the ones which were previously dried (wild sheep, gazelle, sometimes sheep). In this case, they are first crushed between two stones, for they are as hard as wood; the meat is then spread in pieces on a dish of asink.

The Tuareg do not prepare roast meat over embers, but they place it under the ashes. When they want to cook a whole sheep, they open it in two and then put it under the ashes, taking care to turn it once during the roasting.

252 262 For great occasions -- religious festivals, marriages, or receptions for prominent guests -- the Tuareg butcher young camels. They serve them with a couscous of coarse-grained wheat.

The domestic animals slaughtered are goats, sheep, camels, and cattle when there are any. They do not eat horses, asses, or dogs.

[727] Cooking is done by the captives, close by the masters' tents.

264 Men take their meals by themselves and receive the food first. Women and children eat in their turn,, and the Iklan receive the rest.

252 They may not heat camel's milk which has just been milked
825 under penalty of causing sickness to the animal which gave it.

264 Insofar as personal interdicts are concerned, there are none to speak of, for although men and women must not eat together, this is a custom rather than an interdict.

[606] A married man must not eat with his parents-in-law, and the oldest son must not eat with his father. These are mainly marks of respect, perhaps traces of ancient practices of a religious nature.

/240/ Chapter 4

## Hunting and Fishing

080 We shall now say a few words on the industries allied to the problems of food, that is, on hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, and agriculture.

Hunting. -- In a country where fauna was at all dense, hunting
136 would have brought a not inconsiderable dietary supplement to the
174 Ihaggaren. In the past it was very much esteemed in the Sahara. Many rock drawings and paintings prove this, for they depict hunting scenes which interpret the state of civilization of the men, their preoccupation, and at the same time the nature of the fauna, which has changed a great deal since then.

[132] Today, with the very advanced drying out of almost all the Saharian districts, the fauna has come out into the open and the
224 species likely to be usefully hunted are reduced to a few. Only gazelles and wild sheep are still hunted. We cannot mention the addax and oryx antelopes, for the former is in the process of becoming extinct in the Sahara, while the second is confined to the steppe zone. The hare and jackal may be accessorily added.

232 of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks
[272] exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their
family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is
[438] consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes
233 excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled,
[234] and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and
[252] sometimes tents.
[262]
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The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting
[232] them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact number of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon
[422] them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them, and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used.
137 These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg, have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the
[172] rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia where they are called "onager."

The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible
233 that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihaggaren have
[174] kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had
[173] only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage,
442 and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also
[312] take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the
[357] heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

4: Benhazera--23 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

To feed young camels and lambs, they use a kind of 231
nursing bottle of wood shaped like a cup equipped with a tube. 415
This utensil is called "ar'alala" .

For dishes, one finds in the tent wooden bowls of all sizes, 415
called "akous" , plural "ikassen" ,
large wooden dishes, "tar'elalt" , and smaller dishes
used as plates and called "tar'ehout" , plural
"tireha" . To ladle milk or gruel, the Tuareg use
a large ladle, "temoulat" , plural "timoulatin"

[361]

Dautheville

Tuareg Camp at Tazerouk

, and for eating they have ordinary wooden spoons
called "tesoukalt" , plural "tsoukaline" .

To separate the grains of "toulloult" and "afezzou" from 252
their hulls, they use small trays of afezzou called "tissiit" 415
, plural "tissiin" .

They also use a great deal the wooden mortar, "akabar" 415
, with its pestle, "ihar'en" .

Finally, they have hide sacks to hold dates or grains, which 281
they call "adjera" , plural "idjerouen" 415

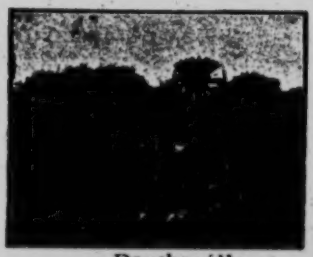
All the above utensils are made of the wood of the 415
"teborak" (Balanites aegyptiaca, Simaroubaceae) and of the 824
abser', or "tamat," (Acacia arabica).

usually satisfied with milk, "akh, " fresh ("akh oua kefaïen" 264
[illegible] ) or sour ("akh iezza", [illegible] ), at
the hour when the camels, sheep, or goats come in from
pasture.

The basic food of the Ahaggar Tuareg consists of bechna, 262
"inelli" (white-grain sorghum, Graminaceae), dates, "teïni, "
and milk, "akh. " [illegible]

But their country provides them with many resources 22
which they are careful not to neglect, especially the poor, 556
the "tileqqiouin" [illegible] , who constitute the majority.

All the "imr'ad" go to harvest the grains of "toulloult" 243
and "afezzou. " Women, children, youths, negroes and 221
negresses go into the wadis
to gather the harvest, which
takes place from May to June
for "toulloult" and from July
to the end of September for
"afezzou. " /29/



[000]

Dautheville

Idelés (Koudia)

Usually, before the
harvest several wadis are for-
bidden territory, and camels
are not led there until the
harvest is finished.

The produce is gathered
and put into hide sacks. After the grains have dried, they 252
need only to be put onto small trays of "afezzou, " called
"tissiin, " which are shaken, and the hulls fall off and remain
on top. The grains are ground to powder, and a kind of gruel
is made with water or butter.

The Tuareg are also very fond of "tikamarin" [illegible] 234 252 262 438
, cheeses as hard as wood which they get from Aïr. They
grind them in mortars and mix them in their food.

They very seldom eat meat, except that of game which 262
they can kill in a hunt: gazelles, mountain sheep, and 224
antêlopes. But often they prefer to smoke this game in order 251
to go and sell it in the Tidikelt. 438

262
The nobles eat better, at least those who are well-to-do. 243
In the Ahaggar especially they own cultivated land in the 556
"ar'erems" (villages), where they grow wheat, "ired," barley, 565 423
"timzin," and bechna, "inelli"; but usually they sell their 438

[137]

Dautheville

Trees Called "Ahatés" (Acacia Albida) at the Tillemas of the Tessht Wadi (Koudia).

wheat and barley to the natives of the Tidikelt and are content with bechna, of which they are very fond. They claim that [824]
bechna is less heating to the stomach than wheat or barley.

The rich allow themselves the luxury of drinking tea, but 272
tea and sugar are very expensive, and they do not misuse them. 556
On the other hand, they do not hesitate to beg for them shame- 263
lessly.

When the year is bad anything seems good to the poor to 222
assure their subsistence. In such years one sees them eating 262
/30/ "berdi," or "taheli," (Typha angustifolia, Typhaceae); 735
ground carob seeds of "talhas," or gum trees, which they call 252
"tahaha" • ⁝⁝ + ; "tanékfatt (Diplotaxis duveyrierana, Cruciferae); fruit of the "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica), which they steep to take out the bitterness; and even leaves of the "aremmas" (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae), which they boil.

In short, nature keeps food resources for them which prevents even the poorest from dying of hunger.

291 /103 cont./ occasions. The "ra'ki" is another veil, as large as the tabarikant and made of wool, but white; it is also very rare.

The Tuareg woman does not wear a sarroil but a kind of knee-length skirt, a simple piece of cloth tied around the waist, called "assedjebès." Young girls begin wearing assedjebès when they are nubile.

The woman wear ighatimen for footgear, carry tera, and all have a taralabt slightly different from that of the men. The iremdan is often carried without a case. In winter the tabrok (dokkali) is also a feminine garment.

[854] All of the young children are naked; later they put on the blue gandurah; the boys have a sarroil toward the age of eight or nine. At about fifteen, they begin to wear the veil.

## Food

262 The Tuareg are particularly frugal eaters, and their condition of life does not predispose them to a finely prepared cuisine. Tuareg food has nothing about it to flatter the tastes of a gourmet. The few /104/ dishes palatable for a French-
[177] man have been borrowed from the Arabs and will not be mentioned here.

The basic elements of the Tuareg diet are: millet, milk, and dates. Millet (enelé) comes from the Sudan or is harvested in the Ahaggar as a summer crop; the latter, whose grain is smaller, is better liked but is insufficient in quantity.

• 252 Millet (the "bechena" of the Arabs) is crushed with a pestle and winnowed to keep only the white flour. This flour is sometimes eaten just as it is after crushing: this is the "tibik" used on the trail by the hurrying cameleer, and it is sometimes used even in camp.

Also called tibik is a more complicated preparation: millet is crushed, winnowed, then washed and put in a tarahout. Heated pebbles are buried in the grain until it become slightly cooked or rather roasted. The progress of the

252/104 cont./ cooking is determined by the pleasing odor that comes from the dish. This grain is next ground together with dried dates. The powder thus obtained is eaten without further preparation.

The "arahara" has a more complicated recipe: crush the millet so that a very fine flour is obtained, crush some dates, and add a little water to form a paste, crush some "tikamarin" /cheese/; mix flour, date paste, and cheese powder together; add a lot of water until you have a liquid resembling milk. Drink cool in summer.

"Asink" is the Tuareg national dish: crush millet so that you have half of it in fine flour and the other half in coarse grains; separate the grains from the flour and pour the former in a pot of boiling water; cook for two hours until the bloated grains form a rather liquid gruel; pour the flour into the gruel, stirring the mixture with the "esseroui" (a wooden paddle used especially for the asink) with the pot still on the fire; obtain a rather thick consistency, dish into the tarahout, add milk if possible, and serve hot. When there is no milk, butter may be added, or the asink may be eaten as is.

[272] /105/ Milk, another basic food, is drunk whole as soon as it is drawn, or is mixed with sour milk, or blended with whey. To make butter, milk is poured into an "adjiouer" (the "chekoua" of the Arabs) and sits for a day, preferably in the sun, causing it to sour rapidly. The sour milk is then poured into another chekoua, which is stirred until a ball of butter is obtained. The sour whey left in the chekoua is drunk during the day.

[262] Fresh butter ("zebda" in Arabic) is called "white butter" (in Tamashek: "oudi oua amellen"); it is soon eaten, but only a small amount. Most of the product is transformed into "dahan" (Arabic -- in Tamashek: "oudi"), which can be kept a long time. White butter, with a small quantity of dates added, together with a few grains of wheat or millet and

252 /105 cont./ several stalks of a plant called "a'nessis," is cooked for a very long time. When it is ready, it is poured into the "tahatiat" or the "arra'an" for keeping. The tahatiat is a kind of guerba /waterskin/ made with skin from a camel's neck and still has the original curved shape. The arra'an is shaped like a demijohn; it consists of a piece of camelskin molded in a hole dug in the ground, filled with camel dung and gravel, tied securely at the mouth by a cord, and thus dried and hardened.

[415]

"Tikamarin" is a cheese made from whole milk in the following way: a young goat is killed and its stomach, still full of milk, is carefully kept; the milk is allowed to harden in the stomach pouch, then is carefully preserved. A piece of this "seed" cheese, about the size of a gaming die, is plunged into a tarahout containing five to eight liters of milk. After a day the milk has completely curdled. A lump of this cheese, still damp, is crushed in the hands, previously washed, and made into slabs about 15 by 5 centimeters. These slabs are arranged for drying on a bed of afazzou stalks. Tikamarin is eaten dry; it is kept over a year, and it is said to be still edible after four years.

/106/ "Ioulsan" ("qlila" in Arabic) is a cheese made from the sour milk left over from kaing butter. This sour milk is poured into a pot and is heated for a long time. The contents of the pot are then poured in a special filter, a kind of afazzou basket; the water drains off and the remaining cheese is then fashioned into small circular cakes, six centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick. Ioulsan is quickly eaten, but it can be kept dry and is used, above all, in making the argira which is eaten in the summer.

262 The Tuareg like meat very much; but they eat it relatively infrequently; yet some Tuareg say that one should not let ten days go by without eating meat.

The most used meat is goat; mutton is eaten less often, and camel in exceptional circumstances. The meat of

262 /106 cont./gazelles and wild sheep is much esteemed, particularly since it costs nothing, but having it depends on chance. The hare is eaten only by children or Negroes. Birds, wild or domesticated, are not much liked.

Meat is eaten boiled or grilled, always well done. The
• 252 Tuareg mechoui /roasted sheep/ is called "abatoul" (hole). A hole is dug in rather coarse-grained sand, and a large fire is built in it. The embers are then removed from the hole, and the dismembered animal, well cut open, is placed in it, without butter or spices. The meat is then covered with sand, and a fire is maintained over it for two or three hours. The meat is then pulled out, is strongly hit with a stick to knock off the grains of sand, and is ready for sampling.

[262] Practically speaking, the Tuareg never eat green vegetables; they keep dried onions (tarafaret), which give
[251] some taste to their dishes; dried tomatoes, abundantly produced in the Ahaggar, are also used.

Wheat, rather seldom used, makes it possible to make couscous and flat cakes called "taguella." The Tuareg also make taguella with millet flour, but these are truly awful.

262 /107/ It is well to note the scruples of the Tuareg so far as Islamic food taboos are concerned.

They continue, in fact, to eat their traditional food, and it happens that their custom fits in with Moslem regulations.

To amuse themselves, children eat "tilout" and those large lizards called "dobs," which they grill on glowing embers. They open the stomach and eat little pinches of the flesh cooked in the skin, somewhat as one would eat a soft-boiled egg.

Chicken eggs are not much liked; children accept them, but they prefer dob eggs.

The daman, called akaokao, a wild little rodent of the granite hills, is eaten only by the Negroes.

European food has not penetrated the tent, so to speak; only patés are liked, but the Tuareg do not yet go so far as to

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

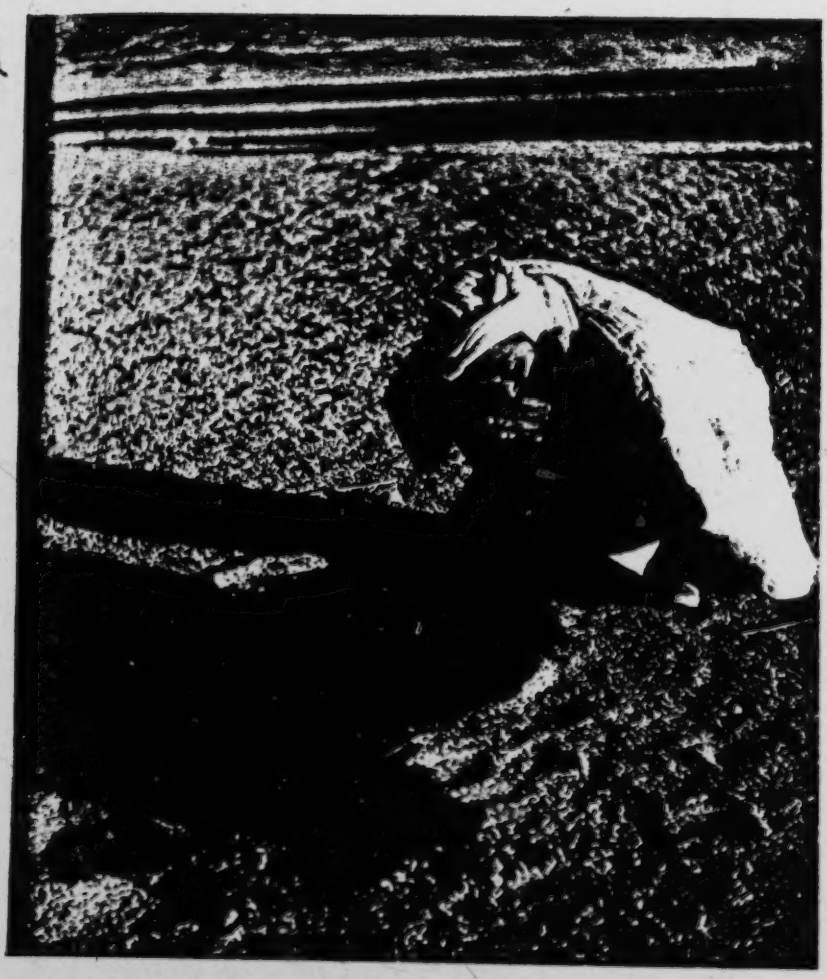
252
516
991

35. During a stop a Targui grinds his millet in a sheep's skin.

[p. 223]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

231
252



51. After killing a goat, one blows in the skin to looseh it.

[p.239]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



to the killing of a camel for wedding guests. Otherwise the Northern Tuareg like those of Ayr only 262
kill sick animals for food.

There are certain practical reasons why camels should not normally be killed for food among the Tuareg. Even very old camels fetch high prices at markets of the northern oases (Tamanṛaset, Tidikelt), [435]
and the Tuareg prefer to get the money instead of eating their old camels. This is easily understood [252]
when we consider the fact that one camel contains so much meat that it cannot be eaten quickly by the members of a household, and camel's meat is rather tough and must be boiled for several hours to be eatable. Besides, camel's meat is not very well suited to be preserved for eating at a later date [251]
on journeys. However, it can be dried and when sick camels are killed part of their meat is often prepared in this way.

A camel is killed in a very particular way quite different from the method of slaughtering other 233*
domestic animals and game. It is killed as follows:— Cords are attached very firmly around the legs of the animal which is kept to the ground by several men who sit on its back and draw its head backwards. The artery is thereupon opened at the lower part of the neck close to the chest, and the knife is thrust into the animal at this place, but not so deeply as to touch the heart or the entrails. This stab is quite sufficient to kill the camel, but some people also cut its throat close to the head in the way other domestic animals are killed. Very peculiar also is the way camels are skinned. While other animals are skinned in such a way that the hide can be removed as entire as possible (cf. Fig. 173), the carcass of a camel is cut up before skinning. The four legs with their thighs are cut loose close to the carcass, which is thereupon cut into several parts by means of a large chopping-knife or an axe (cf. Fig. 44). The hide is thus removed from the carcass after partitioning; but it is difficult to remove the hide as it sticks firmly to the meat, and only part of it is taken off for later use. In Ayr the Tuareg do not 000

233*
137

Fig. 44. Skinning and partitioning of a young camel. Ayr, *Irawélen*.

[text continues on p. 67]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525
Fulani M511



The most dangerous African cattle disease is the rinderpest. It is known to have entered Egypt in the year 1884 from the regions around the Black Sea, and about 1890, or somewhat later, it came to Eastern Africa and to the Sudan. Rinderpest is nowadays widely found in Africa but it is rare or unknown in Northern Tuareg countries. Rinderpest is apparently very rare in the Ayr Massif and it occurs mainly south of the Massif in savannah country. The Tuareg have no remedy against this disease. It is stated by St. Croix that the Fulani of Northern Nigeria once deliberately exposed their cattle to mild rinderpest to make them immune from this disease in its more severe and dangerous form. However, this method did not work and the Fulani gave up further experiments of this kind. It is also mentioned by St. Croix that the Fulani practise a kind of vaccination against cattle pleuro-pneumonia and that this is done as follows:— A piece of infected lung is put into milk for two to three days and thereupon placed into a small opening cut under the nose-skin of the animal. The method is claimed to be effective (St. Croix 1944, p. 24 f.). Vaccination methods are also known to some of the Southern Tuareg, e.g. the *Iwillemmeder*. These people vaccinate human beings against small-pox by inserting the pus of this disease into wounds cut with a knife (Aymard 1911, p. 108), and they also vaccinate their cattle against cattle pleuro-pneumonia ("peripneumonie bovine"). They do this in much the same way as described above for the Fulani:— An infected piece of lung is placed in sour milk or in the soil for a few days, and is thereupon inserted under the skin of the forehead. Nicolas describes the method as dangerous because the infection attacks the whole forehead and also the nose-bone (Nicolas 1950a, p. 133), but two veterinary surgeons who practised among the *Iwillemmeden* of Tawa told me that they considered this kind of vaccination effective. The method is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg of the Massif where this contagious lung-disease is unknown or very rare.

I have no great knowledge of the contagious diseases in the Tuareg groups I have studied, but such diseases seem to occur comparatively rarely, and there is no veterinary surgeon attached to the French administration of Northern Tuareg countries. There is one veterinary surgeon in Agadez, but his most important field of work lies outside of the mountain massif to the south.

Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr I have been told about two contagious diseases which, when they occur, may give rise to very heavy losses. One of these diseases is known to the Tuareg as *changa*. It attacks only cows, which die very quickly, but if cattle suffering from the disease are ritually killed their meat is nevertheless considered edible. One Tuareg told me that some years ago about thirty cattle of his camp died in one day from an attack of *changa*.

The other contagious disease I have recorded from Southern Ayr is called *tandert*. It attacks sheep and goats, and I collected the following notes about it:— The blood penetrates the animal's flesh which becomes quite red. If sheep or goats suffer from *tandert* and are ritually killed for eating, very great care must be taken in the preparation of the meat. It must be boiled until it contains no blood, and must not be eaten until it is cold and dry. It is said that if these precautions are not taken the people who eat meat from animals suffering from *tandert* will themselves become attacked by the disease, with the result that blood and pus may penetrate the skin at any part of the body. They say that a man who has eaten unboiled meat of an animal suffering from this disease with consequent infection is treated in the following way:— A species of ant more venomous than the normal small

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



catching wild donkeys in the mountains around the valley of Anu Mekkeren. The method is not used for proper game animals. 224

(7) A pulling and a throwing snare are both known as *tuṛunt*. They are said not to be used for hunting, though commonly employed to catch wild donkeys and domestic animals which have gone astray; cf. p. 108 f.

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*tawchit*) provided with a noosed rope (*tuṛunt*) attached to a stick. This is used for gazelle and bigger game animals in isolated places rarely visited by representatives of the administration. According to Buchanan, the spiked wheel-trap is used for ostriches in the plains south of Ayr (Buchanan 1921, p. 117 ff.). Large traps of this type are also used for giraffe by certain hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 453).

(9) The torsion trap (*tenderbat*) akin to that of Ahaggar. It is used for big game animals, notably for barbary sheep.

(10) Snares (*tazek*, pl. *t'izagin*) made from strips of dum palm leaves are used for guinea fowl and other edible birds. They are generally set near water where birds come to drink. Little boys of the negroid *Imeggedezen* of Agadez also make snares of hair to catch small birds (Fig. 118). [223] [857]

These are the hunting methods known to the Ayr Tuareg, who do not engage much in hunting with the exception of the *Kel Tamgak* mentioned above. Most Ayr Tuareg refuse the small types of game and beasts of prey, and reject not only the *aṛata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.), but also the smaller lizzard known in Ahaggar as *aggezzeram*, in Ayr as *emekkechchu* (*Uromastix acanthinurus*), though it is claimed that the latter is eaten among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The two lizzards do not play any part in Tuareg mythology – the *aṛata* lizzard is greatly detested by the Ayr Tuareg who kill it with stones or sticks whenever possible. The Ayr Tuareg, including those of noble descent, have no taboos about birds and eggs, and many pastoral Tuareg collect guinea fowl eggs late in summer after the rains. There are a few animals not mentioned above which are considered edible among the Ayr Tuareg, e.g., the tortoise (*afaras*) which is found in the plains south of the Massif. With the exception of the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg the people of Ayr do not collect locusts (*tahwalt* in Ahaggar, *achwal* in Ayr). Locusts are eaten by all people of the two Northern Tuareg groups. The animals are roasted in the ashes or are boiled in a cooking pot to be pounded in the large mortar together with dried dates. This dish is very esteemed by the women who say that it is fattening and in this way adds to their beauty. 262 [852] [832]

Certain weapons have not been mentioned above because they either cannot be considered proper hunting weapons, or because it is doubtful whether they exist among the Tuareg or not. 411 [114]

Traditional Tuareg arms comprise an iron lance (*allaṛ*), a sword (*takuba*), and a dagger (*iélek*) carried in a sheath fastened to the left arm. The iron lance may serve as a hunting weapon, and this is true also of the sword. Thus the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group said that wild animals were occasionally killed with the sword, and they claimed that two Tuareg of the past had killed lions with this weapon.

The bow (Ahaggar, *taṛayyé* or *tagähhé*; Ayr, *taganzé*) and arrows (Ahaggar, *imurren*, sing. *amor*, or *tinassabin*, sing. *tanassabt*; Ayr, *imeran*, sing. *amer*) are not traditional Tuareg weapons. Nowadays very ineffective bows and arrows are used as toys by little Tuareg boys, but they are never used by [524]

[text continues on p. 169]

# Collecting

In this chapter on collecting such edible plants are mentioned as play a part in Tuareg nourishment. 222
Wild plants are also collected for other purposes. Many species are important to craft or have a medicinal 824
value. Some of these latter species are mentioned elsewhere in this study.

## EDIBLE PLANTS OF THE AHAGGAR AREA

Wild plants which yield edible fruits, seeds, stems, or roots in Ahaggar comprise more than fifty 222
different species. But the importance of collecting should not be judged from this, as all these plants [262]
are never found within the same area, and most are eaten only occasionally as a kind of relish or when
agricultural food (wheat, barley, millet, dates) is lacking. I have supplemented my own list of edible [114]
plants with important information from Maire's study of Ahaggar botany (Maire 1933 & 1940). In
my list the letters Tr., L.M., and U.M. stand for Maire's botanical zones, namely the Tropical Zone, [137]
the Lower Mediterranean Zone, and the Upper Mediterranean Zone. The following edible plants
are collected in Ahaggar and adjacent regions:—

*tirfas* (sing. *tarfest*) (*Terfezia ovalispora*). Tr., L.M. A fungus which, according to Maire, lives on 222
the roots of *Helianthemum Lippii* & *H. ellipticum* known to the Tuareg of Ahaggar as *urruǵ* (Maire 262
1933, p. 22, 159 et suiv.). This white fungus, which is frequently termed *tirfas n urruǵ* by the Tuareg, 252
is prepared for eating together with various other dishes. It is frequently added to the so-called kus-kus.

*tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*) Tr. Roots and certain lower parts of the stem are eaten raw or boiled. When vegetable food is scarce they are also pounded or ground into flour.

*akeywod* (*Typha australis*) Tr., L.M. Roots of this plant are ground into flour.

*téseñgeli* (*Saccharum Ravennae*). Tr., L.M. "Cette plante ... laisse très souvent exsuder un liquide sucré qui se concrète en masses plus ou moins cristallisées; les Tuareg utilisent ce sucre" (Maire 1933, p. 54).

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). Tr. A perennial grass extremely common in the lower valleys of Ahaggar. Seeds are collected in receptacles (e.g., *ahaga*, Fig. 213) by beating the ears of the grass with a stick. The seeds are not suitable for bread, but are esteemed for porridge and *tébik*, that is seeds pounded in the mortar and eaten without further preparation. Ashes of this grass contain soda and are often [276]
mixed with tobacco for chewing.

[p. 175]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



222 *aṛemmud* (*Aristida plumosa & A. Adscensionis*). Tr. Seeds are edible.

262 *tullult* (*Aristida pungens*). Tr. A perennial grass found in certain parts of Ahaggar and particularly
252 common further north (Ahnet, Immidir) and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Seeds are collected by men and women in the following manner:— The ears are cut with a sickle and placed in a piece of cotton (e.g., a cotton blanket known as *abroṛ*). The ears are left for drying, and threshing is done by beating with a stick. The husks are winnowed as described for wheat and barley (cf. p. 206), and seeds are then stocked in *aḡera* (a skin-bag). According to Foucauld collecting may also be done by digging out the nests of ants as these small insects stock a great many *tullult* seeds (Foucauld 1922, p. 29 f.). – The *tullult* seeds
[412] are used for bread and porridge, and are also eaten as *tébik* after pounding in a wooden millet mortar.

*lewliwen* (*Scirpus maritimus*). An annual plant having edible fruit in its roots (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1098).

*taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*). Tr., L.M. Young shoots are edible.

*iżéyan* (*Asphodelus tenuifolius*). Tr., L.M. Eaten when vegetable food is scarce.

*telokat* (*Ficus salicifolia*). Tr. "Les fruits murs, de couleur rouge, sont tendres, un peu sucrés et comestibles" (Maire 1933, p. 76).

[574] *adamam* (*Osyris alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Its red fruits or berries are eaten as a relish. A bowl of berries is frequently offered to guests of Tuareg camps.

*tanesmimt* (*Rumex vesicarius & R. roseus*). Tr. Inedible according to Foucauld (Foucauld 1922, p. 85), while Foley states that leaves of this plant are eaten after boiling (Foley 1930, p. 42).

*tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual herb which is particularly common in the mountain of Asekrem. The small black seeds are collected in bowls or similar receptacles by rubbing the plants with the fingers. The seeds are ground into flour, which is very suitable for bread and porridge.

*aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*). Tr., L.M., U.M. Seeds and boiled leaves of this plant are eaten when vegetable food is very scarce.

*ébedébed* (*Boerhavia agglutinans & B. repens*). Tr. An annual plant with edible seeds.

*éhéyefyef* (*Aizoon canariense*). An annual plant resembling the *twuit* plant and particularly common in the upper mountain zone. Seeds are used for bread and *tébik*, but not for porridge.

*aḡar* (*Maerua crassifolia*). Tr., (L.M.). A tree yielding edible fruit.

*tadant* (*Boscia senegalensis*). A tree or bush which is extremely rare in Ahaggar where its edible fruit are consequently consumed very rarely.

*aggasit* (*Farsetia Hamiltonii*). Tr., L.M. A seed-plant.

*aheṛeṛa* (*Alyssum libycum*). An annual plant which is rare in Ahaggar, while common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Eaten after boiling in water.

*azezzeḡa* (*Diplotaxis acris*). The plant is rare in Ahaggar. Its leaves are boiled and eaten.

*tanekfayt* (*Eruca sativa*). Tr., L.M. Leaves are eaten raw or boiled.

*tamaghé* (*Moricandia arvensis*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual plant – a kind of wild cabbage.

*alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea*). Tr. An annual plant. "Les Touareg mangent la feuille cuite et essorée, sans sel. La plante jeune donne une salade assez analogue à la Roquette, quoique d'un goût moins agréable" (Maire 1933, p. 111).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*abellengad* (*Reseda villosa*). Tr., L.M., U.M. Seeds of this plant are edible, but of bad taste – 222
according to Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 65. 262

*abser* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Tr., (L.M.). Fruits are collected mainly for goat fodder, but are eaten by 252
human beings when vegetable food is scarce. The fruit is then crushed into flour. The resin of this acacia is also edible.

*tamat* (*Acacia seyal*). Tr. The resin (*taynwst*) is edible. I believe it is used mainly as a remedy against [757]
stomachache. This is perhaps also true of the resin of the *abser*-acacia mentioned above.

*ahtes* (*Acacia albida*). Tr., L.M. "La gousse est même comestible pour l'homme" (Maire 1933, p. 120).

*ténefé* (*Tephrosia leptostachya*). Tr. "Les Touareg mélangent cette plante desséchée au thé vert" [272]
(Maire 1933, p. 125).

*lagul* (*Alhagi maurorum*). Unknown in Ahaggar, but found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. "Les racines tuberisées sont mangées par les indigènes (Killian)" (Maire 1933, p. 131).

*alora* (*Peganum Harmala*). Tr., L.M., U.M. An annual seed-plant. Seeds are used for *tébik*.

*taburak* (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruits which are macerated in water to remove the bitter taste.

*tedjoq* (spelling according to Maire 1933, p. 241) (*Pistacia atlantica*). L.M. Very rare according to Maire (1933, p. 148). According to my own observations the fruit of this tree is eaten by Arab [171]
pastoralists (e.g., *Ulad Nail*) of the so-called *daya* region south of the Sahara Atlas. It is possible that it is also eaten by the Tuareg.

*tahunek* (*Rhux oxyacantha*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruit.

*téhak* (*Salvadora persica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

*tabakat* (*Ziziphus lotus* var. *Saharae*). Tr. The berries are crushed and mixed with millet flour.

*azawa* (*Tamarix gallica*). Tr., L.M. "La manne produits par ces arbres est receuillié par les indigènes qui l'emploient comme matière sucrante. (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 156).

*tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*). Tr. "Les rameaux mannifères sont employés pour sucrer l'eau" (Maire [263]
1933, p. 159).

*tafeltast* (*Myrtus Nivellii*). (Tr.), L.M. "Les rameaux de ce Myrte sont récoltés par les Touareg, [439]
desséchés et exportés par sac entiers au Soudan et au Mzab, avec *l'Artemisia judaica* ssp. *sahariensis*. [757]
Ces deux plantes sont utilisées comme médicaments et comme condiments" (Maire 1933, p. 162). [263]

*awkal* (*Cynomorium coccineum*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots which are dried and ground into flour (cf. Maire 1933, p. 163).

*aséyar* (*Anethum graveolens*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual plant. Its seeds are used as a spice and [272]
for adding to tea.

*takmezzut* (*Teucrium Polium*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant used for adding to tea.

*élel* (*Nerium Oleander*). Tr., L.M. This plant is extremely venomous particularly so for camels, which die from eating its leaves. "La cendre de bois de *Nerium* est employée par les femmes du Tidikelt [261]
pour se faire engraisser. A cet effet elles mélangent un peu de cette cendre avec des dattes pilées et du beurre, puis absorbent ce mélange dans du leben" (Maire 1933, p. 170).

*arellachchem* (*Solenostemma oleifolium*). Tr. A perennial plant. Its leaves are used as a substitute [272]
for tea.

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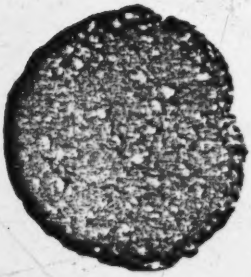

Fig. 126. A cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries (*Osyris alba*). The fresh berries are pounded in the large mortar (*tindé*) or are crushed between two stones to be formed into pieces of cheese form to be dried. This cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries is used by Tuareg women as a kind of face ointment against sun burn, pimples, and the like. They apply this ointment to the face as follows:— A little milk is poured upon a stone, the cheese-like mass of berries is rubbed against it, and the mixture of milk and berries is thereupon rubbed into the skin of the face with the fingers. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.075 m. (N.M. G. 5279a).

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262 *enag* (*Leptadenia pyrotechnica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

[272] *tañhart* (*Mentha longifolia*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

*awit*, generally known by the collective name *awihat* (*Salvia Chudaei*). Tr., (L.M.). An annual plant used as an aromatic for tea.

[824] [682] *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*). Tr. This plant is extremely venomous for human beings, though not for animals. In the past it was used by the Tuareg as a poison for enemies. Members of La Mission Flatters (1880–81) were poisoned by the Tuareg using poison of this plant inserted into dates presented to the expedition. "La plante, absorbée à petite dose, aurait la propriété de faire [261] engraisser. Les femmes du Tidikelt l'emploient dans ce but, en en faisant cuire une petite quantité dans de l'eau avec de la farine et de la graisse; elles laissent réduire et absorbent la bouillie obtenue, puis se couvrent pour transpirer (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 192).

222
262
252 *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots. After drying the roots are pounded in a large millet mortar to be used for bread which is much esteemed by the Tuareg. "Cette plante est recoltée jeune par les indigènes, puis placée dans le sable sous une couche de *drinn* (*Aristida pungens*) jusqu'à noircissement et dessication. Le produit sec est moulu et utilisé dans l'alimentation (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 196).

*éfetekchi* (*Orobanche aegyptiaca* & *O. cernua*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots.

*tamzellit* (*Orobanche sp.*). Tr. Very rare. A plant yielding edible roots.

*teĝellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). Tr. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

*alkeḋ* (*Cucumis pustulatus*). Tr. Rare. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

[263] *takkilt* (*Cotula cinerea*). Tr. "Les Touareg utilisent cette plante comme condiment, principalement pour la viande qui commence à se gâter" (Maire 1933, p. 209).

[439] *téhereĝĝelé* (*Artemisia judaica* ssp. *saharienses*). Tr., (L.M.). "Cette plante, comme le *Myrtus Nivellei*, est récoltée en grande quantité, séchée et exportée au Soudan, où elle est employée comme aromate et condiment" (Maire 1933, p. 212).

[272] *zézzeré* (*Artemisia herba alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

222 Even in good years it may happen that edible seed-plants are eaten by locusts before they become
[134] ripe for collecting. Collecting is of secondary importance to the Tuareg of Ahaggar though to most
[433] pastoralists it is more important than hunting.

## AYR

134 We have seen that Ayr has better grazing grounds and more game than Ahaggar, and it is only
137 natural that this southern area is also a more favourable one for the collecting of wild plants. Never-
222 theless, it seems as if collecting is not so important to the Ayr Tuareg who have more livestock for
[433] which millet and wheat can be obtained without much difficulty. The number of edible plants utilized in Ayr is probably a very large one. Thus it is said that certain *Kel Ewey* Tuareg collect many different plants, but my inquiries into the methods and the value of collecting were limited to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group of Southern Ayr where the following species are collected for food: —

222 *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Pods of this acacia are dried and, after pounding in a large millet mortar,
262 mixed with milk to be eaten or drunk like the Tuareg dish known as *arejira* (cf. p. 245 f.).

262 *ebezgin* (*Salvadora persica*). Fruit is eaten without any preparation.

*tadent* (*Boscia senegalensis*). Berries are pounded in the millet mortar to obtain the limpid juice which is added to porridge.

[824] *tagayt* (*Hyphaene thebaica*). The dum palm, which is of extreme importance for the handicraft of the Ayr Tuareg, is also valuable as food. The young nuts are opened with a knife and the kernels are eaten. The old nuts have an edible outer coating which is eaten by children and even by adults when they are hungry. These old nuts are also pounded in the millet mortar together with seeds of *ageruf*, cf. below.

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). This perennial grass is very abundant all over Ayr. Collecting of its seeds is done by rubbing the ears of the grass between the hands to allow the seeds to fall into a plaited bowl. Seeds are pounded in a millet mortar to be used for porridge.

*ichiben*, that is seeds of an annual grass — apparently identical with *Panicum longiflorum* and/or *P. spinosa*. The seeds are collected in two different ways: — (1) If the ripe seeds have fallen to the ground they are swept together with a bunch of straw. (2) The ears are cut with a knife to be threshed by pounding in a millet mortar. The seeds are highly esteemed, being collected to a greater extent than seeds of other wild plants. The seeds are used particularly for porridge, but also for certain other dishes such as *arejira* (cf. p. 245 f.).

*ijiit* (*Eragrostis* ssp.). A grass yielding red seeds collected in the following way: — The ears are beaten with the hands so that the seeds fall into a plaited bowl. The seeds are used only for porridge.

*wajeg* (*Cenchrus catharticus* & *C. Pricuri*). Annual seed-plants with thorny seeds. The dry plants are beaten with a stick and the fallen seeds are collected in a heap to be threshed with a stick. The seeds are pounded in a millet mortar for porridge.

*ageruf* (*Tribulus terrester*). An annual plant with thorny seeds which are collected as just described for the *wajeg* plants. The seeds are pounded in a millet mortar to be eaten without further preparation

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a dish known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tederka*. For this purpose the pounded seeds may also be mixed with pounded dum palm nuts. 222 262

*acheyor* (*Sorghum virgatum*). A tall grass the seeds of which are swept together when fallen to the ground. They are used for porridge. 252

*agazagi*. Edible seeds of a grass. They are swept together when they have fallen to the ground, and are used for porridge.

*agedagedu*. Seeds of an annual plant. When they have fallen to the ground they are swept together by means of a straw bundle. They are pounded in a millet mortar to be eaten as *tederka* without any further preparation.

*malokhiya* (*Corchorus tridens*). A plant growing in the bush though also grown in gardens. The leaves of this plant are dried and thereupon pounded in a millet mortar to be used as an admixture to porridge-sauce.

*abezey* (*Cassia tora*). Leaves of this plant are plucked with the hand, or, if the plant is dry, shaken into a plaited bowl. They are pounded and used as an admixture to porridge-sauce.

*kat'aket'i* (*Cistanche* sp.). It is said to be known as *achellewen* among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The edible roots of this plant are dug out with a stick. They are pounded and boiled for a kind of porridge.

*acheku* (*Glossonema Boveanum*). An annual plant with small facteal fruit which is eaten as a relish without any preparation.

These are the plant species collected by the *Kel Ferwan* of Southern Ayr. It may happen that some of these plants are destroyed by locusts, but in most years there are excellent possibilities of collecting wild seeds. Most plants are collected late in summer after the rains (at the season of *rarat*), or in winter (*tigrest*). It is said that in good years more than a thousand kilos of wild seeds can be collected by the members of a single household, but even this amount of wild seeds does not answer the need for vegetable products. Collecting is of secondary importance to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. Very few of the plant species mentioned are collected if there is abundant millet. The main exceptions are the plants used for sauce-admixture, and the *ichiben* seeds. The latter are collected even by Tuareg who have enough millet, because porridge made from these seeds is considered a very delicious dish. 222 [221] [433]

The two groups of Northern Tuareg and also the Tuareg of Ayr acquire their vegetable food products mainly from agriculture, which occupation will now briefly be described. 433

[text continues on p. 183]

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241 I, p. 424). Rodd thinks the implement seen by Barth was clearly an importation from the north (Rodd
171 1926a, p. 133), and Feilberg assumes that if the plough was once known in this southern area it might perhaps have disappeared together with shifting cultivation (Feilberg 1931, p. 200). All this may be so, for there has been much contact between Ayr and the regions of Fezzan and Tripolitania in the past. But Barth does not say that he saw a plough but "a kind of plough", which may perhaps point to a type of large hoe drawn by men like that described from Senegambia by Feilberg (cf. Feilberg 1931, p. 169 f.).

243 The plough is unknown in the extensive area inhabited by pastoral Tuareg but this is not so with a kind of shifting cultivation. Pastoral Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer sow wheat and barley along the river valleys when these have been heavily flooded. Sowing is then done in a very simple way:— Holes are dug into the sandy soil, usually merely with the hand, and a few seeds are put into these holes. Wheat and barley thus sown grow in tufts with a space of 0.30 to 0.50 metres between each, and there seem to be about fifty straws in a normal tuft – the largest tuft I have seen contained about 130 straws (cf. Figs. 128–129). The plots cultivated in this way are generally very small, and the scattered wild plants growing in the plot are not always removed before sowing. The corn plots are left completely to themselves until harvesting, which is done with a sickle (Fig. 143). Primitive corn growing of this type cannot be practised continuously from one year to another in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the Tuareg of that region say that a household never grows enough corn in this way to meet its annual needs.

[178] The primitive method of corn growing without artificial irrigation is unknown in Ahaggar nowadays, but it seems as if it was known in the past (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 372), and the Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular term (*tawgest*) for a field cultivated without artificial irrigation (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1466).

Rodd states that rain-grown crops could be raised most years in certain parts of Ayr and that in earlier days a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way in Ayr (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). There is little doubt that this statement is correct, and I think that even in parts of Ahaggar millet could be raised without irrigation in most years, for millet has a very short period of growth.

[221] In Ahaggar (at Abalessa) it is sown in June-July and is harvested in September. Though millet plots are irrigated they are never watered much, and never to the same extent as wheat and barley which are grown in winter. In regard to Ayr, millet in southern villages of the Massif very frequently ripens in two months, and late in summer, at the end of the rains (*akasa*) or in the early dry season (*rarat*).

[252] I have frequently seen well-developed small plots of millet and sorghum around deserted Tuareg camps where a great many seeds are always lost on the ground during the pounding and winnowing of millet for porridge. These self-grown plots, however, are not utilized by the Tuareg as the comparatively

[131] small yield is quickly eaten by the numerous millet-eating birds. Owing to these birds it would be difficult for pastoral Tuareg to grow cereals in flooded valleys like the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and it is partly for this very reason that the sedentary agriculturists of Ayr grow very little millet. Millet could easily be raised without artificial irrigation during the rains, and, in fact, millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation of Ayr.

245 In addition to the species of grain mentioned above there is one very important plant which can be grown without artificial irrigation, namely the date palm. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are river valleys

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Fig. 136. Irrigation of a young wheat-plot. The canal ridges are opened with a hoe in order to let water penetrate into the garden beds. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 282). Maize (*Zea mays*) is also grown as a summer crop in some of the cultivation centres; it is called *engafulé*, or *engafulé masri* (masri = Egyptian) because it is said to have been introduced from Egypt.

Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum*) are grown mainly in summer and constitute a very 241 important crop. The ripe fruit is sliced and left to dry on a layer of straw in the garden. They are [252] crushed and pounded and are added to various dishes, e.g., the so-called kuskus (*keskesu*, cf. p. 247). Various types of melons and gourds are also grown in summer, e.g., the water melon (*taleǧezt*; *Colocynthis Citrullus*), a type of ordinary melon known as *tétakelt* or *tazenut* (*Cucurbita* sp.) which is frequently sliced and dried in the same way as tomatoes, and a kind of large gourd (*kabuya*; *Cucurbita maxima*). Certain other vegetables are grown in most gardens, notably various kinds of onions (*téskert*, *Allium sativum*; *éfeleli*, *Allium cepa*) and a kind of beans known as *tadellak*. A few plants [263] are grown as spices, e.g., saffron (*tanermit*, *Crocus sativus*), red pepper (*chitta*, *Capsicum annum*), or for tea-admixture, e.g., the mint (*émerner*, *Mentha piperita* var.) and a plant known as *lahabok* which is said to have been introduced from the Sudan. Two very poisonous plants are also grown in certain [824] gardens of Ahaggar, namely *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*), which also grows wild in the lower country (cf. p. 178), and *burzig* (*Datura Stramonium*) (cf. Maire 1933, I, p. 191 f.). Foucauld mentions two other plants grown for their medicinal value (*ibedliwen*, *Trigonella foenumgraecum*; *tikamnin*) (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 33 & II, p. 812). A kind of wild salad (*tamaghé*) is also grown in the gardens according to Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1170). Potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum*) [439] are now grown in some of the mountain oases – mainly for selling to Europeans at Tamanrasset. Among other cultivated plants found in the gardens of Ahaggar mention can be made of the following species after Maire:—

*Lepidium sativum*, *Brassica Rapa* & *B. oleracea* (*aharet*), *Linum usitatissimum* (*ilatelé*, or *anarka*), *Medicago sativa*, *Pisum arvense* (*demchi*), *Vicia Faba*, *Lens culinaris* (*elredes*), *Vigna catjang*, *Cori-*

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by many Tuareg, who say that they have not always known this white cotton, though indigo cotton 243
has been introduced from the Sudan since very remote times). Maize has a normal period of growth 286
of about three months, and two – in certain places perhaps even three – yields are taken in the hot seasons.

In addition to the above-mentioned cereals there are various kinds of vegetables grown in the Ayr 241
gardens. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum*) are grown at most seasons with the exception of the dry and very hot summer period (*éwilen*). Also common in the Ayr gardens is the sweet potato (*dankale*; *Ipomoea Batatas*), which is sown at the beginning of the rains and harvested in winter. The true potato (*batata*; *Solanum tuberosum*) has been introduced more recently, and is grown mainly to [439] be sold to European households in Agadez. It is grown in Eastern Ayr (Tabello). Melons (*Cucumis melo*) and water melons (*Colocynthis citrullus*) are grown all over Ayr and there are different vegetables such as onions (*Allium cepa & A. sativum*), which are harvested at most seasons. Two plants are grown 241
mainly because they are important as admixtures to porridge sauce. One is called *ékabewwa* (*Corchorus* 252
*olitorius*); it has maize-like seeds which are pounded in a mortar for sauce-making. The other plant is known as *malokhiya* (*Corchorus tridens*); its leaves are dried and pounded for sauce (cf. p. 243). The latter plant also grows wild outside the gardens. There are in Ayr also certain spice-plants, e.g., *Capsicum annuum & C. frutescens*. To all these cultivated plants can be added certain fruit trees, such as 245
the date palm (*talesdar*; *Phoenix dactylifera*), the fig tree (*tahart*; *Ficus carica*) grown in the mountains, and the lemon tree (*lemon*; *Citrus aurantifolia*) which is grown in Southern Ayr; it yields very small fruit which remains green even when ripe. It should finally be mentioned that the cotton plant (*ebduga*; 248
*Gossypium hirsutum*) is also grown in some gardens of Southern Ayr. According to Miré and Gillet it was introduced into Ayr by the Hausa, but the plant has also been introduced further north in the Sahara in Tawat (Miré & Gillet 1956, p. 244). As stated by Rodd, the cotton plant is rare in Ayr and has perhaps been recently introduced into this region (Rodd 1926a, p. 132). There are many other 241
cultivated plants in Ayr, but the above mentioned constitute the most important species.

In Ayr, as in the north, irrigated cereals form the basis of agriculture. Irrigation is carried out by means of a system introduced from the north, and the agricultural techniques largely resemble those of that section of the Sahara inhabited by Northern Tuareg, though there are certain differences. A new garden in Ayr is prepared by cutting and burning away the wild vegetation of trees, bushes, herbs, and grasses. By crop rotation (wheat and barley in winter; maize, millet, and sorghum in summer) [242] it is possible to cultivate the same garden plot for a few years in succession – up to six or seven years, it is said. After this time it becomes necessary to make a new garden, or to manure the old garden plot with camel and cow dung whilst manure (*taki*) from other animals or from human beings is said not to be used, as it would cause the crops to become inedible. A well-manured garden plot can be cultivated continuously for about fifteen years. But fertilizing is not practised by all agriculturists, and to my knowledge they do not carry fresh soil to the garden plots as is the case with the agriculturists of Ahaggar. Agriculture in Ayr therefore frequently resembles shifting cultivation, though plots are [311] irrigated, and deserted garden land is frequently seen in the valleys where agriculture is practised.

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Fig. 149. The market place of Agadez. In the front negroid Hausa men roasting small pieces of meat on a spit; in the background Tuareg camels offered for sale.

484 pack-camels to the salt pit of Amadror to mine salt in the hot season. They load the camels with salt
487 and bring them to the camp where further preparations for the journey are made. When the caravans
[317] have started southwards they stop in the Tamesna plains and rest there for at least one month to allow
[437] the pack-camels to feed on annual pasture, and, if necessary, to exchange the pack-camels with others kept by the Ahaggar Tuareg in Tamesna. Thereupon the caravan will continue towards the millet-
[22] growing towns and villages of the Sudan to bargain with the Hausa. The caravan returns to Ahaggar again at the end of March or at the beginning of April, so that the total duration of a south-bound caravan is up to six or seven months.

438 The Sudanese millet trade is of extreme value to the subsistence of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is pa-
439 ularly important to their economy that they obtain millet for non-nomadic products transported by camels, which are mainly bred outside of Ahaggar. The millet trade is consequently not much influ-enced by Ahaggar's changeable climate. According to official statistics, the Ahaggar caravans in 1946 exported 375 tons salt, and imported 720 tons millet, while the cereals grown in Ahaggar amounted to 197 tons (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). According to Galan vegetable food grown in the gardens of Ahaggar in 1950 (a bad year) amounted to 121 tons wheat, 5 tons millet and barley, and 4 tons of tomatoes – about 10 kg of wheat and 0.5 kg of millet, barley, and tomatoes per person (Galan 1951, p. 233). We see from this that the amount of cereals acquired in the Sudan far exceeds the amount
[416] grown in Ahaggar, and as we have mentioned, the millet trade is also important for the establishment of Tuareg agriculture in their own country where this cereal is used for payments to cultivators. It can also be added that the Sudanese caravan trade is more important to the Tuareg than appears from
[435] the figures above. For salt is much more valuable than millet, and for one load of salt the Tuareg receive from four to fifteen loads of millet – in 1946 the price was fifteen to one (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). It is evident that the Tuareg could not take all this millet back to Ahaggar. Most of it is re-sold

# Food Preparation

It is natural to open this chapter on food preparation with a description of the use of milk (*akh*) among pastoral Tuareg. The milk which serves as nourishment for the Tuareg derives from goats, sheep, cows, and camels. Milk of all these animals is frequently drunk fresh without any preparation, and this is generally the case with camel's milk, which is not fitted for churning butter or for the manufacture of cheese (cf. p. 63). Milk of goats, sheep, and cows is used for butter and cheese, and is added to various dishes to be described below. 234 262

Fresh milk, which is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *akh kefayen*, is sometimes heated by means of hot stones (*iḥaren* in Ahaggar; no particular name in Ayr). The stones heated are then put directly into the wooden milking bowl. The Tuareg practise this method mainly in winter as they do not like to drink cold milk, but milk is heated all the year round in this way with milk of animals which have just brought forth kids, lambs, or calves including camel calves. The milk taken from a mother animal until about twenty four hours after the birth of kids, lambs, or calves is known to the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr as *éderes*. It is very rich and when it is heated by means of hot stones it becomes very thick forming almost a kind of cheese which is highly esteemed by the nomads. The milk of sheep and goats is considered *éderes* for two days after the birth of kids and lambs, though this term should properly be applied only to milk taken the first day after birth. The main reason for using hot stones for milk heating is said to be that milk does not get dirty in this way as it does if heated in earthenware pots over the fire (cf. p. 126). 252

Sour milk (*selay* in Ayr) is consumed mainly by the Ayr Tuareg, who conserve it in skin bags and especially in calabashes, for which reason this sour milk is also known to the Ayr Tuareg as *akh n ezenu*, that is "calabash milk". The milk is often left about twenty four hours for souring, and it is then placed in a very cool place in order that it may not turn into junket which is not eaten by the Tuareg. 262 [251] [415]* [252]

Both in Ayr and in Ahaggar the Tuareg may add water to fresh milk (cf. p. 126), and the Northern Tuareg also add water to buttermilk (*akh n agiwir*). This mixture of water and butter-milk is in high esteem among the Northern Tuareg, and camel riders frequently carry it with them in a special skin-bag, known as *tasufra* (Fig. 155), attached to the riding saddle. Butter-milk cannot be transported in this way if water is not added, for the milk, though already once churned, will become butter during the camel's march. The Ayr Tuareg do not drink butter-milk which is given to domestic animals, but this beverage is so appreciated by the Northern Tuareg that some of them will not drink fresh milk unless butter-milk has been added, a mixture known as *agerengefa*, *akh imsayen*, or *amsey*. [484] [415]*

[p. 221]

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butter in Ahaggar, and butter reserved for greasing the hair is frequently kept in a large horn (*isek*) of barbary sheep (Fig. 165).

The Ayr Tuareg make butter (*wijl*) in much the same way as the Northern Tuareg. For churning they use a skin bag (*awwar*), or a calabash (*azemu*), and they say that they prefer skin bags in winter, and calabashes in the hot season. Butter is heated or boiled immediately after churning, but the Ayr Tuareg do not add parts of plants, date flour, or the like. In Ayr butter is not churned as regularly as in the north. It is used mainly for cooking meat of thin animals, for a sauce which may be used for millet porridge instead of milk (cf. p. 243 f.), and for greasing the hair. Among the Northern Tuareg butter is added to many different dishes and particularly to bread, which is eaten almost daily by many people. In years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg get their butter from Ayr (cf. p. 212, 215), and the Ayr Tuareg make much butter for export in such circumstances. They churn most butter from cow's

Fig. 154a-c.

a. Wooden funnel. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ralf* tribe. Dimension: 0.146 m high. (N.M. G. 5203).
b. Funnel consisting of a piece of calabash which derives from the south. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ralf* tribe. Dimension: 0.131 m high. (N.M. G. 5202).
c. Wooden funnel with a strap of cord of goat's hair. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.175 m high. (N.M. G. 1.150).

All wooden funnels are cut from wood of the *tahawkkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*).

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Fig. 166. Pail (*áyr*) made from tinned brass by blacksmiths. It is used for storing butter to be used for food preparation in the tent. Pails of this type form part of the dowry in the *Dag Rali* tribe. Ahaggar, *Akl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasst. Dimension: 0.155 m high, 0.230–0.235 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5820).

Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food 231
they perform a sacrifice, the idea of which seems to be an identification of the man and the killed animal. 282
This idea appears most clearly at the sacrifice made on the occasion of the name-giving feast seven 825
days after the birth of a child. A marabut, that is a Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class, and the father of 553
the child stand close together with their faces towards Mecca while the animal to be sacrified is kept 282
to the ground. The marabut cuts the animal's throat and doing so cries out the name to be given to [565]
the child, and this name is thereupon repeated by the child's father. When the killing is performed in [142]
this way the knife (*elmusi* in Ahaggar; *ázegiz* in Ayr) and the cut across the throat are washed with
water before skinning is undertaken. I have dealt with certain ideas of Tuareg sacrifice elsewhere, 114
and have stated that on certain occasions they may sacrifice not to God but to the *Kel Asuf* spirits 282
(Nicolaisen 1961, p. 122 f., 147 f.). But whatever may be the ideas attached to Tuareg sacrifices all 231
animals, with the exception of the camel (cf. above p. 65), are killed by cutting their throat.

The methods of meat preparation are almost identical in Ayr and Ahaggar. The most common 252
method everywhere is cooking in an earthen pot, known in Ahaggar as *ufrun*, *téfirt*, *alekkin*, or *talekkint* 415 *
according to its size and form, or in a metal pot (*áyir*) of European origin. Such European pots are [72]
common everywhere in Tuareg camps, but earthen pots are still used though less durable, for earthen
pots are cheap. Pots made of metal or copper, which are also known as *áyir*, were also found among

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Fig. 165. Horn (*iark*) of barbary sheep used for storing butter for greasing the hair. The opening is closed with a piece of date palm bast (*asan*), and the edge is pierced with a glowing awl (*dadel*) for the insertion of a cord of goat's hair by means of which the horn is attached to the tent ceiling. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.30 m long. (F.M. 236).

●252 the Tuareg in the past. I believe that they were made by blacksmiths or imported from the north.
*415 Pastoral Tuareg do not manufacture earthen pots which are obtained from sedentary people. The
[322] cooking of meat is perhaps not a traditional method of food preparation to the Tuareg, though they seem to have used cooking pots for centuries.

252 A method of meat preparation undoubtedly introduced recently among the Tuareg, is that of spit
177 roasting. Meat roasted in this way is known as *mechwi*, a word of Arab origin, and the Northern Tuareg have taken over the method from the Arabs. The *mechwi* method is also known in Ayr, where it has perhaps been introduced by French administrators who had learned to appreciate meat thus
252 prepared during their visits among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Pieces of sheep and goats and entire animals are prepared in this way (Fig. 174), and the meat should preferably be prepared with butter and red pepper before roasting.

The traditional Tuareg roasting method is to place entire animals (goats, sheep), or parts of them, under the hot ashes of the fire. This method is known to the Northern Tuareg as *abatul*, to the Tuareg of Ayr as *ébewil* (Fig. 175). This method of roasting meat is practised everywhere among the Tuareg, and it is on the whole similar to the method used for bread-baking described below (p. 238 f.).

Meat-roasting in the ashes is no doubt an ancient Tuareg method of food-preparation, and this also holds good for another method described in connection with the preparation of milk, namely food preparation by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221). The Ahaggar Tuareg prepare the stomachs of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep in this way, putting hot stones into the stomachs, while camel stomachs are boiled in a cooking pot and gazelle stomachs roasted in the ashes according to the *abatul* method mentioned above. These rules of food preparation seem also to be practised by the Ayr Tuareg, who put hot stones into stomachs of sheep and goats together with small pieces of meat. A stomach of goats or sheep prepared in this way, however, is given a final treatment in hot sand or in ashes close to the fire. The stomach of sheep or goats cooked with hot stones is known as *tarafa*, and a related word seems to be known also in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1583).

[262] The Tuareg eat most entrails of their slaughtered animals. Entrails of camels are normally boiled, and kidneys of all animals are prepared in this way. Most entrails of goats and sheep (liver, heart, and lungs) are roasted on the embers or in the ashes, and in Ayr the Tuareg roast fat put into the abomasum (*tederant*). The Northern Tuareg generally prepare liver and fat together in the following manner:— The liver is roasted upon the embers, is thereupon cut into small pieces which are wrapped

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up with small strips of fat. The pieces of liver covered with fat are put on a slender iron or 252
wooden rod to be roasted slightly over the fire. This dish is known to all Tuareg by the Arabic word [177]
*ehmefuf*. It was introduced among the Northern Tuareg by the Arabs, but is not widely known among the Ayr Tuareg.

This brief description of Tuareg meat preparation can adequately be supplemented by a reference 252
to two peculiar dishes:— (1) A dish known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *taleberggat*. It consists of meat 262
which after boiling or roasting is pounded in a large mortar and frequently served with liquid butter. This dish is also known to the Ayr Tuareg. (2) A dish which is described from Ahaggar by Foucauld 252
under the name *abangor*. It consists of untanned skin which is eaten in case of hunger after the following 261
preparation:— Untanned skin from household implements, shields, and the like is roasted under the ashes, and is thereupon pounded into small pieces. These are eaten without any further preparation, or after boiling. (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 73).

Like other North African peoples the Tuareg dry meat of domestic animals and of game. The people 251
of Ayr know three distinct drying methods, namely (1) *iweson*, that is meat which is boiled until it is free of blood; it is dried in the shade; (2) *tikelsin*, uncooked meat cut into pieces to be dried on a string in the shade; (3) *kules*, uncooked meat cut into strips which are dried for some time to be treated with salt and various spices. This last method is not practised among the Tuareg of Ayr, but by sedentary people of Agadez and by Negroes further south in Damergu. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally boil or roast the meat before drying; meat roasted in the ashes according to the *abanul* method and thereupon dried is known as *takase*. I do not know whether the Ahaggar Tuareg also practise the [225]
method of drying raw meat like the Ayr Tuareg, but the dried *agezzeram* lizzards which they take to Tidikelt on trading expeditions, are dried uncooked. Furthermore, the method of drying raw meat [171]
is known elsewhere in the Northern Sahara, and I have myself seen it practised among the Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

I conclude the description of Tuareg meat preparation with a brief note on the use of blood of living 272

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Fig. 166. Wooden double-vessel (*azaw*) to contain water and butter for greasing the hair. Similar containers with a third vessel for fine-grained sand are also found among the Tuareg. Made by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Geometrical ornaments are produced by burning with a hot iron. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.241 m long. (N.M. G. 5880).

[text continues on p 225]

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camels. This blood never constitutes a proper dish to the Tuareg. They bleed camels to drink their blood only when they lack water on journeys in the desert. Bleeding is done according to the method described above, and the blood is collected in a drinking bowl. But the Ayr Tuareg say that they work up the mass of blood with the fingers with the result that the upper part of the amount of blood becomes more liquid, though it is always red in colour.

The Tuareg use the following implements to make cereals or other vegetable products into flour:—

(1) A large wooden mortar (*tindé*) with a heavy pestle (*éheren*) (Fig. 177). It is used in all camps and villages of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr, and is in fact known all over Tuareg country. It is used mainly for pounding millet and sorghum, but it is also employed for pounding other cereals, including certain wild seeds, and for dates, cheese, meat, locusts, and the like. These large wooden mortars are manufactured by the blacksmiths of Southern Tuareg country, including Ayr, where most Northern Tuareg obtain their mortars. Among the Northern Tuareg there are also other mortar types. A small mortar which like the former rests on a foot and is known by the same name (*tindé*) (Fig. 178), is used mainly by sedentary agriculturists for pounding rock-salt, dried tomatoes, tobacco for chewing, and other plants or materials to be used in small quantities. Another type of mortar without a foot and known to the Northern Tuareg as *akabar*, or *tokabart*, (Fig. 176) is found mainly among pastoralists who use it on journeys for pounding millet.

(2) A saddle quern (*tehunt*) (Fig. 179), which consists of two natural and in general unfashioned stones, is found in most camps of the Northern Tuareg. This constitutes the only grinding implement for wheat, barley, and certain wild seeds among the *Kel Ajjer*. The stones used for saddle querns are sharpened at intervals with a hard stone or some other hard object (*tasettekut*) in order that they may grind effectively. A simple saddle quern (*asar*) is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but it is less common there than in the north.

(3) The handmill (*tasirt*) (Fig. 181) is not a traditional implement of Tuareg culture. It is widely known all over Northern Africa both by Berbers and Arabs, by sedentary peoples and nomads living in black tents. It has been introduced to Ahaggar mainly by the immigration of the Arabic speaking Harratin (Izeggaren) of Tidikelt,

Fig. 169a–c. Pieces of butter-milk cheese (*awiez*, pl. *twiez*).

a. Ahaggar, *Harratin of* Abalessa. Dimension: 0.066–0.068 m in diameter, 0.022 m thick. (N.M. G. 5816).

b. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.062 × 0.022 m. (N.M. G. 5817b).

c. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.058 × 0.016 m. (N.M. G. 5817c).

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Fig. 170. Sacrificing a goat at the naming ceremony called *isnowen*. A marabut and the child's father keep the animal firmly to the ground. They stand with their faces towards Mekka and the camp of the new-born child. The marabut cuts the animal's throat simultaneously crying out loudly the child's name which is thereupon loudly repeated by the father. Ayr, the *Igendéynen* tribe.

4/2 *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*) of Tidikelt, and it is now also found in Tuareg camps (Fig. 182), where it is
252 less frequent than the above-mentioned saddle quern. The handmill was entirely unknown among the Ajjer Tuareg during my visit to Tasilé-n-Ajjer in 1952. The Tuareg who possess handmills obtain them from the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar (Tamanraset). – When saddle querns or handmills are used, a piece of cotton or skin (*asentel* in Ahaggar) is always placed under the grinding stones to catch the flour (Figs. 180, 182).

262 The Tuareg have many different vegetable dishes. The most important are bread, porridge, gruel, and various mixed beverages.

[262] Bread is a prominent dish for all Northern Tuareg who bake it mainly from wheat flour. Wheat bread has been my ordinary dish among all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Lhote states that

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Fig. 171. Ordinary meat-knife (*elmesi*) of the type used among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Its broken handle is mended with hide of barbary sheep sewn with leather thread. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m (total length). (F.M. 249).
All knives are manufactured by blacksmiths.

wheat bread is eaten particularly during migrations and on trading expeditions, or in periods when 262
butter is rare (Lhote 1955a, p. 262). This statement disagrees with my own experience. Wheat bread [114]
is an ordinary diet of many Northern Tuareg. Bread is also baked from barley and from certain wild [224]
seeds (notably *tawit*, *Chenopodium Vulvaria*; *ehéyefyef*, *Aizoon canariense*; *tullult*, *Aristida pungens*)
and wild roots (*ahakel*, *Cistanche Phelypaea*), while millet and sorghum are considered less suitable
for baking. Seeds are generally prepared for baking by grinding them into flour by saddle querns or 282
handmills. In Northern Tuareg country there are two types of bread which have been introduced as [172]
a result of contact with Arabs or the Arabic-speaking *Ḥarratin*. One type is named *elfetat* and is baked

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Fig. 172a–b. Meat knives.
a. Knife (*dzegiz*) of Tebu type to be carried in its sheath around the upper arm. These knives are sometimes used in Ayr. Agadez. Dimension: 0.370 m. (total length). (N.M. G. 6620a–b).
b. Knife (*dzegiz*) of the double-edged type normally used in Ayr. The *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.377 m (total length). N.M. G. 6665a–b).

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Fig. 173. Tuareg skinning a ram. Ayr, the *Igendéynen* tribe.

252 by placing the dough on a baking sheet. The other type of bread is generally known by the Arabic word *khubz*. This is baked from dough placed in the sand close to the fire, where it is covered with [184] hot sand, ashes, and glows. These two types of bread in Ahaggar are baked mainly by sedentary agriculturists and by Arab families. The type of bread traditionally baked by the Tuareg differs from Arab bread in that it is not made from proper dough, but from a kind of thin porridge or gruel consisting of flour mixed with water. This Tuareg type of bread is known as *tagella* and is baked as follows:— A heavy fire is lit in a shallow depression (about 25–30 cms in diameter and 8–10 cms deep) made

into fine-grained sand carried from the river bed to the fire place in front of the tent. When this heavy 252
fire has calmed down the embers and most of the ashes are moved from the shallow depression to its fringes by means of a small stick, and the thin porridge or gruel of flour and water to which also a little salt is added is poured out into the depression, a spoon being normally used to remove all the gruel out of the wooden bowl in which it has been stirred. A bunch of dry grasses, herbs, or tender twigs is thereupon fired over the gruel in order that its surface may harden, and it is then covered with hot fine-grained sand, ashes, and embers in the order mentioned. If the embers are considered insufficient for baking, a small fire may be lit on the top of the sand and ashes covering the gruel-bread, which is taken out after about twenty minutes to be turned and baked in the same way on the other side for a few minutes. Baking is then finished, the bread is finally removed to be washed in water (Fig. 183). It is broken into pieces and eaten from a large wooden bowl (Figs. 195a–b) together with 264 415* 412
liquid butter. It is eaten with wooden spoons (Figs. 191).

The type of bread just mentioned is known to people of the *Kel Ferwan* group as *tugella*. It is made 262
by very few Tuareg. Indeed, when I travelled together with Ayr Tuareg I very frequently baked my 252
own bread as I had learned to from the Tuareg of Ahaggar, because very few of the Ayr Tuareg I [122]
met were familiar with bread baking. Bread is not a staple diet of the Ayr Tuareg, and when they want to bake wheat flour they generally do so in the following way:— The flour is mixed with water to a dough which is placed upon the bottom and sides of a metal pot heated over the fire. This type of bread or bread-like dish is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *gurasa*. It can be mentioned that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg also bake a particular type of bread from millet flour mixed with certain other 252
plant materials, but a bread of this kind is not baked for ordinary food, but as a kind of medicine. 261

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Fig. 174. Roasting meat-lumps by the *mechwi* method. Ayr, *Echchikkan* Tuareg of Damergu.

[text continues on p. 241]

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Fig. 175. Meat-roasting in the ashes – the method known as *ahatui* (Ahaggar) or *dhewil* (Ayr). Ayr, the *Irawatten* tribe.

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Fig. 176. Little mortar of the type known as *akabar*, or *sakobari*. This type of mortar is used by pastoral Tuareg on their trading expeditions, and it is provided with a handle (*ayaw*) of cord (goat-hair) for suspension. Ahaggar, manufactured by a blacksmith of Tamanrasset, the *Aghah-en-sokki* tribe. Dimension: 0.23 m high, 0.16 m in diameter at the rim. (F.M. 111).

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Fig. 177. The large millet mortar (*tindé*) with its heavy wooden pestle (*ḍheyen*). It is used almost daily for pounding millet in the camps and it is used also to pound other cereals, dates, and even meat. Mortars of this type are manufactured in Southern Tuareg country by blacksmiths. The specimen depicted is made of wood from a tree growing in the Sudan and known to the Northern Tuareg as *twyla*. Introduced to Ahaggar from Zinder, the *Dag Ḡali* tribe. Dimension of the mortar: 0.445 m high, 0.299 m in diameter at the rim. Dimension of the pestle: 1.255 m long. N.M. G. 5224a–b.

Fig. 178. Little mortar (*tindé*) with a short wooden pestle (*ḍheyen*). Manufactured from wood of *abser* (*Acacia Raddiana*) by a blacksmith of Tamanrasset. Ahaggar, *Ḫarratin* of Taṛhawhawt. Dimension of the mortar: 0.230–0.235 m high, 0.170–0.180 m in diameter at the rim. Dimension of the pestle: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5838a–b).

It is called *ékanef* and is baked in the following manner:— The millet flour is mixed with juice of *tadent*-berries (i.e., berries of *Boscia senegalensis*) and also with certain medicines unknown to my informants who said they were of Sudanese origin. This mixture is made into a solid dough with a very small content of water, and is baked in the sand where it is covered with hot sand, ashes, and embers in the same way as the bread type known as *tugella* (*tagella* in the north).

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Fig. 179. Simple saddle quern (*tehunt*) of two natural stones: (a) the lower part called *tehunt*, (b) the upper part called *azzed*. It is used for grinding cereals. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the lower stone: 0.360 m long. Dimension of the upper stone: 0.115 m. (N.M. G. 5839a–b).

261 This *ékanef* bread is eaten exclusively by women who claim that it gives them a good appetite and makes them fat.

262 Millet porridge is a common dish among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it constitutes by far the most important vegetable dish to the Ayr Tuareg and the sedentary agriculturists of the south. Millet
252 porridge is known in Ahaggar as *esink*, in Ayr as *echink*. The preparation of millet porridge involves much strenous work as follows:— (1) An amount of millet seeds is poured out into the large wooden mortar (*tindé*, p. 235, fig. 177). A little water is added to the seeds which are then pounded for about
* [419] ten minutes. The seeds thus pounded are then poured out into a plaited bowl (*tabeyka*; Fig. 185) or another receptacle to be winnowed. This process is done by shaking the plaited bowl itself, and by pouring small quantities of the pounded seeds from the bowl into a plaited tray (*téseyt*; Fig. 184) which is better fitted for winnowing by shaking. The husks or pods covering the seeds are thus taken away by the wind. (2) When the pounded seeds have been cleaned or winnowed in this way they are replaced in the wooden mortar, and water is again added. The seeds are now heavily pounded for about half an hour, and most of them are turned into flour after this process, but a small amount of seeds remains unpounded. The mixture of flour and unpounded seeds are poured out into the plaited

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bowl and the plaited tray just described, and the flour is shaken into the large wooden bowl (*elkada*; Fig. 195b) while the unpounded seeds remain in the plaited receptacles. (3) The small amount of seeds which have not yet been turned into flour is put back into the mortar, a little water is again added, and pounding is resumed for five to ten minutes. Most seeds are now turned into flour which is placed in the wooden bowl by shaking the plaited receptacles. (4) The seeds which are not yet pounded after this treatment are replaced in the mortar to be pounded for two or three minutes without the addition of water. The flour produced is shaken into the wooden bowl. (5) What remains unpounded is replaced in the mortar to be pounded without water for two or three minutes, and the flour obtained is shaken into the wooden bowl. (6) The flour is put into the large cooking pot (*éṛir*) which has been boiling with water during pounding. (7) An extremely small quantity of flour derived from a final pounding is added to the pot after cooking for about five minutes. (8) During cooking the porridge is stirred with a wooden stick known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aserwi* (Fig. 188).

Millet porridge (*esink*, or *echink*) is of heavy consistency and is normally eaten with milk by means of spoons. But if milk is lacking or is scarce, the Tuareg also add various types of sauces such as the following which is made by many Ayr Tuareg:—Leaves of certain plants (*abezey*, *Cassia tora*; *malokhiya*, *Corchorus tridens*; *kuka*, a large tree growing in the Sudan) or seeds of a plant known as *ékabewa* (*Corchorus olitorius*) are put into a large mortar to be pounded together with onions, dried tomatoes,

Fig. 180. Tuareg woman grinding wheat on the simple saddle quern (*tekaut*). The saddle quern is placed upon a piece of skin (leather) called *asenzel* which receives the flour. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

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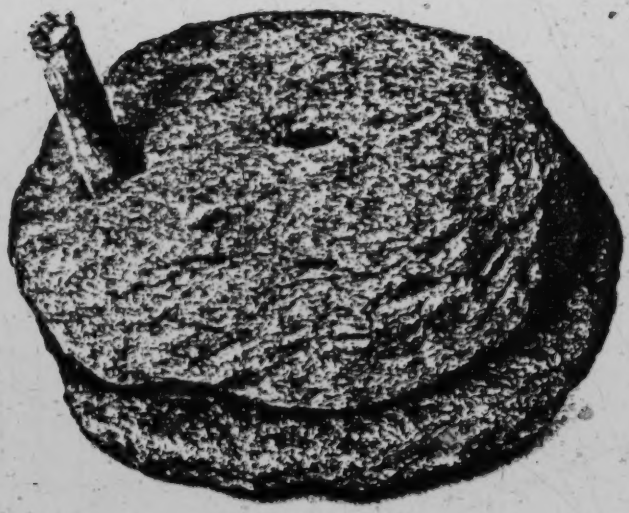

Fig. 181. A hand-mill (*tasirt*) manufactured by blacksmith of Tamanraset and used at that village by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs. Dimension: 0.52 m in diameter (upper stone), 0.32 m in diameter (lower stone). (N.M. G. 5840a–b).

262 and red pepper which is much esteemed by the Tuareg, but not always available. The pounded flour
252 of these vegetables is boiled with water and butter and thus turned into a kind of thick sauce which is poured out over the porridge to be eaten.

The porridge type known as *esink* or *ehink* can be made from other seeds besides millet. Porridge made from barley, which is then also pounded in the mortar, is highly esteemed by the Tuareg who also use various wild seeds and roots for this dish. Plants utilized for porridge are mentioned above in the description of collecting (p. 175 ff). Porridge is also made from dried dates pounded in the millet mortar; this dish is common among the Northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg have a particular type of porridge which I have never tasted. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *barela*, and is made from pounded seeds of various cultivated plants (wheat, barley, maize, or millet). The seeds are pounded in the mortar but their husks or pods are not removed by winnowing. Otherwise the preparation of this dish is similar to that of ordinary porridge.

262 The Ahaggar Tuareg distinguish between very thick porridge called *tarawayt* and very thin porridge
846 or thick gruel known as *alhwa*. The latter dish is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the same name, and

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among them it is eaten in particular by women during the first seven days after the birth of a child, that is during the period from birth to the name-giving ceremony known as *isnawen*. It is considered dangerous for a woman to eat too much vegetable food during this period, while meat is believed to make her recover quickly after birth. The same diet is followed by young boys after their circumcision until their wounds have healed. These dietetic rules no doubt have their root in magical beliefs. 262 846 262 304

All Tuareg esteem liquid or semi-liquid dishes which are consumed mainly during the very hot season. A very common dish of this type is that named *arejira* (Ayr) or *arehara* (Ahaggar). It is made from flour of millet, sorghum, dates, and crushed cheese mixed with water, the main substance being pounded millet. The dish is served in a large wooden bowl or in a calabash, and is eaten and drunk by means of a large wooden ladle called *tamulat* (Fig. 194a–b). This liquid dish is a substitute for milk during the hot season when milk is scarce, and it is frequently used for food on journeys, in which case it is transported in the form of dough-like balls to be dissolved in water just before eating. 262 [412] [251]

The terms *arejira* and *arehara* are used for various liquid or semi-liquid dishes, or beverages, for which the Tuareg have particular names according to their composition. Dates are less important for liquid dishes in Ayr than among the Northern Tuareg to whom dates form an important part of food. Very important in the north is a dish known as *talekessat*; it is made from dried dates pounded [252]

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Fig. 182. Tuareg women turning a hand-mill (*tasirt*). In the foreground a woman shaking flour into a wooden bowl. Note the ornamented patches of leather hanging down from the tent sheet. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

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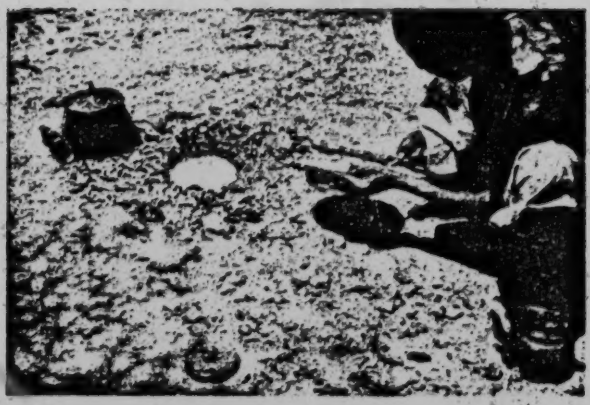

Fig. 183. Baking a *tafrilla* bread. The gruel-dough before it is covered with sand, ashes, and embers. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

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Fig. 184. Plaited tray (*tdaryt*) which serves to winnow grain and flour but is used also for a cover of milk-bowls and eating bowls. Made according to the technique of coiled basketry by Tuareg woman. The plaiting material is straw of *tuleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*). Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tekhl* tribe. Dimension: 0.333–0.343 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5824).

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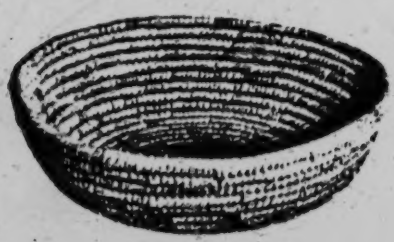

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Fig. 185. Tray or bowl *tabeyka* – perhaps not correctly spelled). It is used for winnowing, and it serves as an eating bowl and a drinking bowl as this container is watertight. Coiled basketry of date palm leaves (*afum*). Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.205 m in diameter. (F.M. 263).

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Fig. 186. Pot (*tulekkier*) with a single handle. Manufactured by *Ḥarratin* women in Ahaggar, the *Agubem-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.18 m high. (F.M. 172).

in a mortar with a little water to a soft dough to which a little cheese, butter, or milk is added before 262
eating. If a large quantity of milk is added this dish is known as *tarkit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, as men- 252
tioned (p. 167), also pound dried dates with locusts to make a dish eaten by women who wish to grow fat. [261]

The Arabs and the Arabic-speaking agriculturists of Tidikelt (the *Ḥarratin*) have introduced among 262
the Northern Tuareg the well-known North African dish generally called kuskus. The dish is known [172]
to the Tuareg as *keskesu* which is also Arabic by origin. But this dish is not the staple diet among [171]
the Northern Tuareg that it is among the Arabs and the Berbers of the Atlas. It is eaten mainly on festive occasions, and there are many Tuareg women who even to-day do not know how to prepare it. The *keskesu* dish is preferably made from wheat flour, though barley flour may also be used. The 252
cereals are ground with hand-mills or quern stones (saddle querns), and the flour is rolled into very

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Fig. 187a–b. Earthen cooking pots manufactured by *Harratin* women in Ahaggar.
a. Pot (*ishiri*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (N.M. G. 5841).
b. Pot (*alekkin*). Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Tajhawhawt. Dimension: 0.174 m high. (N.M. G. 5204).

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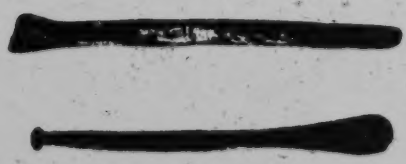

Fig. 188a–b. Simple ladles of the *asewi* type used for stirring millet porridge. Made by Tuareg women from wood of *abaw* (*Acacia Raddiana*).
a. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.382 m long. (N.M. G. 5211).
b. Ahaggar, the *Ikeyawen Hada* tribe. Dimension: 0.415 m long. (N.M. G. 5846).

252 small balls with a diameter of up to five millimetres. The balls are put into a special earthen, wooden, *[415]* or plaited bowl (*denba*, or *denfu*; Fig. 189) which has a number of small holes in the bottom. This receptacle is placed on the top of a cooking pot containing meat and/or vegetables to be boiled in water for a soup. The small flour balls are thus steamed by the boiling soup in the cooking pot. Like

[Text continues on p. 250]

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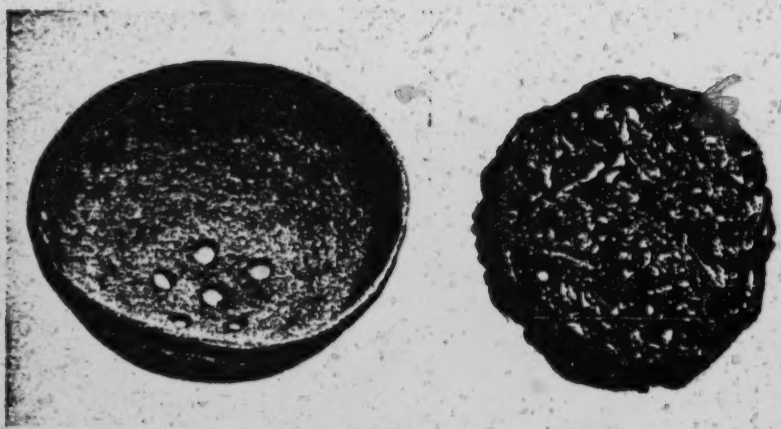

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Fig. 189. Earthen jar (*drufa*, or *dewba*) of the particular type used for the preparation of *keskesu*. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.16 m high, 0.30 m in diameter. (F.M. 213).

Fig. 190. A kind of cake (*tarfet*) made of onions and dates which are mixed and pressed. Such cakes are made in Tidikelt but are sold at Tamanrasset by Arab merchants. They are pounded in the mortar or are crushed between two stones before cooking. Dimension: 0.10 m. (N.M. G. 5847a).

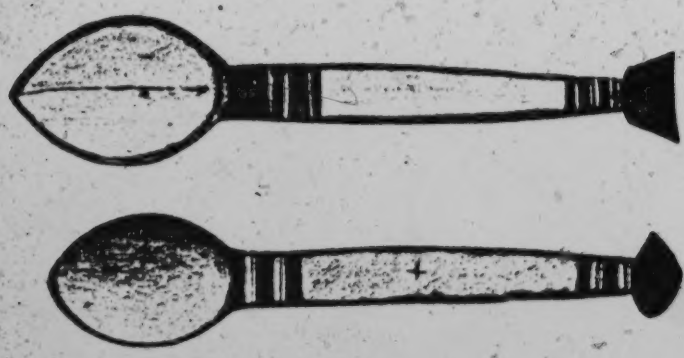

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Fig. 191. Wooden spoons (*tesukalt*, pl. *tisukalin*) cut by blacksmiths from wood of the *tabwak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tshid* and the *Dag Rali* tribes. Dimension: ca. 0.26–0.28 m. (F.M.).

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Fig. 192. Tuareg woman cooking millet porridge. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehli* tribe. The cooking pots seen on this photograph are bought in the Sudan on trading expeditions. Sudanese pots are superior to those made in Ahaggar.

Like

264 most Tuareg dishes they are eaten from a large wooden bowl. If meat is cooked with the soup it may be broken into small pieces to be eaten with the balls, but part of the meat cooked is always eaten separately. The Tuareg eat *keskesu* with spoons, but if spoons are lacking they also eat it with the
262 hand, as do the Arabs. In addition to *keskesu* with its small balls which resemble grains of rice, the Northern Tuareg have another dish prepared in the same way but with larger balls. It is termed
[189] *tikhemmezin* and is considered inferior to the *keskesu*. – Both these dishes are unknown to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group.

262 Two particular dishes are mentioned from Ahaggar by Foucauld. One of them is called *ibergan*
252 and consists of unripe barley boiled in its own juice without water. The other one is known as *abezbez*
[261] and is made from tender plants of wheat and barley which are dried and pounded or ground into powder, to be eaten, boiled or unboiled, in periods of famine (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 89, 118).

Tuareg vegetable dishes are frequently prepared in a very simple way. Thus there is a dish known as *iwes* (Ahaggar) or *iewes* (Ayr) which consists of entire seeds of millet or sorghum boiled in water. It is eaten mainly by children who frequently walk about the camp eating these boiled grains from their hands.

252 It is clear from the description of vegetable dishes that the cooking pot plays an important role for
*415 food preparation, and all dishes prepared in this way, including cooked meat, are known to the Tuareg

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as *tḥyint* (Ayr) or *talekkint* (Ahaggar). But pastoral Tuareg do not make eartenware pots themselves. 252 ●
They obtain them from sedentary people, and it is possible that vegetable dishes have been prepared 415*
with hot stones up to recent times, for Foucauld states that hot stones are occasionally used for various 323
vegetable dishes in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951-52, IV, p. 1583). However, I have not been able to
confirm this during my own investigations among the Tuareg. It should be added that certain vegetable 252
dishes are neither boiled nor baked. This is the case with seeds and roots of various wild plants which
are ground and pounded into flour to be eaten without further preparation. Such dishes are known
to the Tuareg as *tḥik* (Ahaggar) or *tḥderka* (Ayr). Seeds and roots of wild plants utilized in this way
have been mentioned in the chapter on collecting p. 175 ff.

The Tuareg have a great many different dishes, but in spite of this variety they do not always change 262
their food from one day to another. They frequently live on the same type of food for extremely long
periods. They may live almost exclusively on milk for weeks and even months, and if milk is not avail-
able they live so to speak exclusively on vegetable dishes, which may also not be changed for very
long periods.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have three meals a day:— (1) *taǧimǧimt* which is a light meal taken in the 264
morning. (2) *amokli* which is a prepared meal (e.g., bread, porridge, or *aṛehara*) eaten at midday.
(3) *amaǧin* which is the evening meal, also known as *amensi*, or *azuẓeǧ*. It is the most important meal.

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Fig. 193. Tuareg woman cooking kuskus (*keskesu*) in an European enamelled pot. Ahaggar, the *Dog Ḥali* tribe.

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Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925–30, I–II). 3) As mentioned (p. 113) camel's milk is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly also among the Kel Ajjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors (Monteil 1952, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. 4) All Tuareg and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf to deceive the mother animal during milking – for camels like cows will not generally yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or butter as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. – Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of riding camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg, and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East-Africa have the same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection with camel-breeding (Monteil 1952, p. 103).

171 234 [302] [262] 171 237 $25 [261] 171 233 [825] 171 233 422

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts like those of Air are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullemmeden, and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country – in particular those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. – Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 136f. – Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f., 597f., V, p. 801. – Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. –

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Fig. 3. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Ikkin-en-tawsit* tribe.

Fig. 4. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

142 with the French. I have myself never seen a genuine blond Tuareg, but I have met a few albinos though
144 albinism seems to be rare. These observations agree with those of Lhote (1955a, p. 163). All the Tuareg
[143] I have seen had curly or straight black hair, and dark brown or almost black eyes. Many individuals had fairly broad faces with protuding cheeks which gave them superficially a mongoloid appearance,
142 while others had features more like Mediterranean Europeans. In literature the Tuareg are generally described as very tall people. I did not myself carry out anthropological measurements, but will not hesitate to state that in my opinion a great many Tuareg are far from big. Very many adult men in the groups I have visited were considerably shorter than myself (1.73 m). Tuareg men are generally dry
[147] and meagre, bearing the stamp of their roaming life in the desert. Their most outstanding quality is
[157] that of endurance and contempt of hunger and hardship. The appearance of Tuareg women is often quite different – they tend to grow fat. This is probably to some extent due to the fact that married
826 women spend most of their life in the tents and get little physical exercise. But fatness is also a sign
832 of feminine beauty, and some women make a great effort to grow fat by drinking milk or eating
[261] certain fattening plants (cf. p. 177, 178). According to some Tuareg fat women symbolize wealth – large flocks and herds, and much milk – but many Tuareg also say that they prefer fat women because they

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



bridge of the nose of a calf, so that it hurts its mother when it tries to suck (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 359). – 233*
(3) *akimbab*, that is a plaited muzzle which allows the calf to graze, but prevents it from sucking. I have been told both in Ahaggar and Ayr that such muzzles are used for camel calves, but apparently they do not constitute a normal weaning method. – (4) *asedres* or *ameru* are said to be synonymous terms for the weaning method generally adopted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. The method is as follows:— The upper lip of the calf is pierced on both sides of the harelip so characteristic of all camels. A piece of thin root of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) is drawn through these holes so [324]
that the ends of the root protude at both sides, and a knot is made at both ends that the root will not fall out. These knots hurt the udder of a she-camel when the calf starts to suck, but this is not the real idea of the device. For the root-piece keeps the pierced holes open and the calf is therefore unable to suck at all.

A she-camel may yield about ten litres of milk at the beginning of its lactation period, but at the 234
end of this period it does not yield more than two or three litres even with good grazing. The yield is always dependent on grazing conditions. Thus during my stay in Ahnet and Ahaggar 1954–55, a Tuareg who owned about twenty she-camels acquired only two litres of milk a day in all from these animals. But conditions of camel-breeding are much better in Ayr and in the southern plains where [433]
she-camels are tolerably good milk-yielders most of the year, and camel's milk is therefore very im-
portant to some pastoralists of these regions. Camel's milk is drunk and not generally used for food [272]
in other ways. It is much esteemed by all Tuareg, who claim that it possesses a particular power and gives strength. It is never stored in the shape of butter or cheese. The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr [262]
never eat camel's butter which they consider possesses a poor taste, and, besides, it is very difficult to churn. They make butter of camel's milk only when butter of milk from other domestic animals is [302]
lacking for the greasing of the hair. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr butter is then churned by the men in a rather peculiar way:— A skin bag containing an amount of camel's milk is attached to the riding [415]
saddle of a camel which is then ridden at very fast speed for some time. But even with this method, it is said, camel's milk gives very little butter, and it is also definitely stated that the milk cannot be used for cheese-making. These Tuareg statements seem to be confirmed by analyses of veterinaries, [114]
who claim camel's milk to contain very little casein, and it has been proved difficult to separate butter from camel's milk (cf. Cauvei 1925, I, p. 707 ff.).

She-camels can mate and yield milk until an age of about 25, and their average length of life is 233*
estimated by the Tuareg at about 30 years. But pastoral Tuareg do not generally keep their camels until they die a natural death. In Ayr I was told that she-camels more than twenty years old should be sold or killed. Most Tuareg sell their old camels in the oases of the Central or Northern Sahara [432]
where a large population of sedentary farmers is constantly yearning for meat. Very few camels are [366]
killed by the butchers of Agadez, where meat from oxen, sheep, and goats is always available and [262]
fairly cheap, but a great many old camels are slaughtered at the market places of the oases further north.

Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr very rarely kill their own camels to eat them. They will slaughter a camel 262
which suffers from some severe disease as all animals dying by accident or from disease are unlawful to eat. However, there are also some Ayr Tuareg who will never eat camel's meat. They say that they [261]
would feel very sick at heart were they to do so, and some Tuareg even say that they would vomit

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Fig. 43. Riding camel with *ikember*, that is scars from cuts on the bridge of the nose and a hanging patch of skin under the chin. An ornamented leather rein (*ayrem*, or *arhem*) is fastened to the copper ring (*tiferar*, or *tigrem*) of the right nostril. The camel's colour name is *aberag*. It was my own riding camel – a precious gift from Professor Daryll Forde of the University College London. – Ayr.

262 if they had to eat the meat of camels. I have also been told that all members of certain tribes (e.g.,
261 the *Ikerkerren*) will refuse to eat any food served in a receptacle which has once contained camel's meat.
262 I have never heard about Tuareg in the two northern groups who would not eat camel's meat, though most Tuareg in the north consider meat of sheep and goats superior to camel's meat. People of all tribes in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer will eat it, and there seems to be a certain prestige attached

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When Tuareg get lost in the desert and lack water, they bleed their camels and 261
drink the blood (cf. p. 235). In situations of great distress they may also kill their camels in order to obtain the water supply conserved in the animal's stomach.

(3) Treatment by burning. Wounds are cauterized by means of a redhot iron known as *tamak* 232
(Ayr), or *taterkemt* (Ahaggar). Burning with a redhot iron is also practised for camels with swollen feet as already described (p. 121). It is also common to burn a line around wounds or other sites of disease in order that it shall not spread, and burning is even practised for internal diseases, as is the case with the *toza*-disease of camels (p. 121). Redhot irons are, on the whole, used particularly for camels. Wounds of sheep and goats, e.g., wounds from jackal bites, are cauterized by means of glowing camel dung. Certain stomach diseases, such as types of tympanites, are cured by a bunch of flaming grass swept under the animal's belly. I have seen this practised with donkeys which, like horses, may suffer from a kind of tympanites known in Ahaggar as *tahagd*.

(4) Instruments and bandages. Enema should be mentioned under this heading. It is known in 232
Ahaggar as *sebegiwen*, and is applied to humans and to animals by means of a funnel or by a special 757
apparatus made from a piece of hollow cane connected with a skin-bag. I never had the opportunity [1/3]
to see this apparatus, which is depicted by Lhote who also gives some information about the use of enemas with human beings (Lhote 1955a, p. 303, Fig. 36). He mentions that an enema is also given by a mother to her little children by blowing water into the anus with her mouth. I have seen this done to children in Ahaggar, but I do not know whether this method is practised with animals also. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the Tuareg apply wooden splints to their domestic animals with broken 232
legs. I have seen this device only in Ahaggar where wooden splints are known as *tifesasin* (sing. *tafasast*). They are used for sheep and goats (Fig. 92), and, by the sedentary agriculturists, also for cows. The wooden splints applied to goats are sometimes replaced by a leather bandage solidly tied [237]
around the broken leg. I mention under this heading that camels bred and born in stony or mountainous 492
countries cannot always stand the long journeys through plain and sandy deserts. Their feet suffer

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Fig. 93. Tuareg bleeding a camel at the place of the neck vein known as *abayor*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

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*abellengad* (*Reseda villosa*). Tr., L.M., U.M. Seeds of this plant are edible, but of bad taste – according to Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 65. 222 262

*absey* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Tr., (L.M.). Fruits are collected mainly for goat fodder, but are eaten by human beings when vegetable food is scarce. The fruit is then crushed into flour. The resin of this acacia is also edible. 252

*tamat* (*Acacia seyal*). Tr. The resin (*taymwat*) is edible. I believe it is used mainly as a remedy against stomachache. This is perhaps also true of the resin of the *absey*-acacia mentioned above. [757]

*ahtes* (*Acacia albida*). Tr., L.M. "La gousse est même comestible pour l'homme" (Maire 1933, p. 120).

*ténefé* (*Tephrosia leptostachya*). Tr. "Les Touareg mélangent cette plante desséchée au thé vert" (Maire 1933, p. 125). [272]

*lagul* (*Alhagi maurorum*). Unknown in Ahaggar, but found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. "Les racines tuberisées sont mangées par les indigènes (Killian)" (Maire 1933, p. 131).

*alora* (*Peganum Hurmala*). Tr., L.M., U.M. An annual seed-plant. Seeds are used for *tébik*.

*taburok* (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruits which are macerated in water to remove the bitter taste.

*tedjoq* (spelling according to Maire 1933, p. 241) (*Pistacia atlantica*). L.M. Very rare according to Maire (1933, p. 148). According to my own observations the fruit of this tree is eaten by Arab pastoralists (e.g., *Ulad Nail*) of the so-called *daya* region south of the Sahara Atlas. It is possible that it is also eaten by the Tuareg. [171]

*tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruit.

*téhak* (*Salvadora persica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

*tabakat* (*Ziziphus lotus* var. *Saharae*). Tr. The berries are crushed and mixed with millet flour.

*azawa* (*Tamarix gallica*). Tr., L.M. "La manne produits par ces arbres est receuillié par les indigènes qui l'emploient comme matière sucrante. (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 156).

*tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*). Tr. "Les rameaux mannifères sont employés pour sucrer l'eau" (Maire 1933, p. 159). [263]

*tafeltast* (*Myrtus Nivellii*). (Tr.), L.M. "Les rameaux de ce Myrte sont récoltés par les Touareg, desséchés et exportés par sac entiers au Soudan et au Mzab, avec *l'Artemisia judaica* ssp. *sahariensis*. Ces deux plantes sont utilisées comme médicaments et comme condiments" (Maire 1933, p. 162). [439] [757] [263]

*awkal* (*Cynomorium coccineum*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots which are dried and ground into flour (cf. Maire 1933, p. 163).

*aséyar* (*Anethum graveolens*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual plant. Its seeds are used as a spice and for adding to tea. [272]

*takmezzut* (*Teucrium Polium*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant used for adding to tea.

*élel* (*Nerium Oleander*). Tr., L.M. This plant is extremely venomous particularly so for camels, which die from eating its leaves. "La cendre de bois de *Nerium* est employée par les femmes du Tidikelt pour se faire engraisser. A cet effet elles mélangent un peu de cette cendre avec des dattes pilées et du beurre, puis absorbent ce mélange dans du leben" (Maire 1933, p. 170). [261]

*arellachchem* (*Solenostemma oleifolium*). Tr. A perennial plant. Its leaves are used as a substitute for tea. [272]

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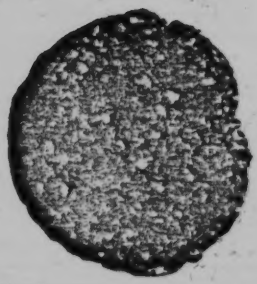

Fig. 126. A cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries (*Osyris alba*). The fresh berries are pounded in the large mortar (*tindé*) or are crushed between two stones to be formed into pieces of cheese form to be dried. This cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries is used by Tuareg women as a kind of face ointment against sun burn, pimples, and the like. They apply this ointment to the face as follows:— A little milk is poured upon a stone, the cheese-like mass of berries is rubbed against it, and the mixture of milk and berries is thereupon rubbed into the skin of the face with the fingers. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.075 m. (N.M. G. 5279a).

222
262 *enag* (*Leptadenia pyrotechnica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

[272] *tañhart* (*Mentha longifolia*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

*awit*, generally known by the collective name *awihat* (*Salvia Chudaei*). Tr., (L.M.). An annual plant used as an aromatic for tea.

[824] [482] *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*). Tr. This plant is extremely venomous for human beings, though not for animals. In the past it was used by the Tuareg as a poison for enemies. Members of La Mission Flatters (1880–81) were poisoned by the Tuareg using poison of this plant inserted into dates presented to the expedition. "La plante, absorbée à petite dose, aurait la propriété de faire [261] engraisser. Les femmes du Tidikelt l'emploient dans ce but, en en faisant cuire une petite quantité dans de l'eau avec de la farine et de la graisse; elles laissent réduire et absorbent la bouillie obtenue, puis se couvrent pour transpirer (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 192).

222 *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots. After drying the roots are
262 pounded in a large millet mortar to be used for bread which is much esteemed by the Tuareg. "Cette
252 plante est recoltée jeune par les indigènes, puis placée dans le sable sous une couche de *drinn* (*Aristida pungens*) jusqu'à noircissement et dessication. Le produit sec est moulu et utilisé dans l'alimentation (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 196).

*éfetekchi* (*Orobanche aegyptiaca & O. cernua*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots.

*tamzellit* (*Orobanche sp.*). Tr. Very rare. A plant yielding edible roots.

*teğellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). Tr. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

*alked* (*Cucumis pustulatus*). Tr. Rare. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

[263] *takkît* (*Cotula cinerea*). Tr. "Les Touareg utilisent cette plante comme condiment, principalement pour la viande qui commence à se gâter" (Maire 1933, p. 209).

[439] *téhereggelé* (*Artemisia judaica* ssp. *sahariensis*). Tr., (L.M.). "Cette plante, comme le *Myrtus Nivellei*, est récoltée en grande quantité, séchée et exportée au Soudan, où elle est employée comme aromate et condiment" (Maire 1933, p. 212).

[272] *zézzeré* (*Artemisia herba alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

# Caravan Trading

Caravan trading of the Sahara has suffered severely from the European colonisation of Northern Africa. The establishment of ports and railways in the Sudanese area and the abolition of the slave-trade have brought to an end the large caravans passing through the desert. In recent times another heavy blow has been struck against the caravans, for transportation is more and more taken over by trucks which can easily pass through the open desert country. Many pastoralists of Northern Africa suffer from the decline of their trade, which for centuries has been an important stabilizing factor for their subsistence. The decline of caravan trading is also strongly felt in the oases, which have played a very important part as trading posts or trading stations. Some of these oases have far fewer inhabitants nowadays than in the past, and it is most difficult for many sedentary people of the oases to exist. The decline of the trade has been felt also among the pastoral Tuareg. But caravan trading is still important to most of them, and many of them could not support life without it. To understand the important role of caravan trading we have once more to return to the economic values of subsistence activities.

178 437 484 [433] [366] [61]

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AHAGGAR TUAREG

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot live exclusively on stock-breeding products all the year round – not even in good years when annual pasture is well developed in autumn and early winter. Even in a good year the nomads mainly eat vegetable food throughout the hot season, and some bread or porridge is also consumed during the period of abundant milk yields. It is true that nomads can subsist entirely on milk for long periods, and that some people do so for weeks or even months. Galan says that pastoralists of of Ahaggar, when they live entirely on milk, can do with four litres a day per person (Galan 1951, p. 231). But it is estimated by the Ayr Tuareg that they need about eight or ten litres a day to live entirely on milk, and they all claim that they get weary from constant milk drinking. They say that though they do not feel hungry when they live exclusively on milk they experience a peculiar, unpleasant feeling in the stomach. The relative importance of stock-breeding products (mainly milk) and vegetable food (mainly wheat, millet, and dates) may be seen from the diagram Fig. 151.[1] In a good year there is normally some possibility of collecting wild seeds for bread and porridge, but the Tuareg claim that they cannot easily cover their need of vegetable products even in a year when milk is abundant. And milk is not always abundant. We can estimate that for two or three good years

433 262 [261] 433

[p. 209]

1 [cf. p. 216]

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The trading expedi- 437
tions have remained important to the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it is clear that they would not go on trading 484
were these expeditions not profitable, for trading expeditions are extremely strenuous. Though the 461
expeditions set off when the extreme heat is decreasing, it is still very hot in the extensive barren plains in autumn and in winter during daytime. Water and pasture are often extremely scarce in this deserted country, and the Tuareg frequently have to travel rapidly. For days or weeks they live so to say on their camels, and if camels are not too heavily loaded they may do up to 16 hours a day for several days in succession. Under such journeys the Tuareg eat only once a day. Obviously such trading [262] expeditions are also very hard on the pack-camels, and there is always a risk of loosing a camel during such journeys through barren, desert country.

In this brief outline of caravan trading I have not considered those Ahaggar Tuareg living constantly 433
in the Tamesna plains and adjacent regions. These Tuareg own more livestock than the Tuareg of the 184
Ahaggar Massif, and I do not believe that they engage so much in extensive trading expeditions. [233]
They are comparatively rich in she-camels which are tolerably good milk yielders in these regions [262]
most of the year, and milk is more important as food than it is in Ahaggar. I believe that most Ahaggar [338]
Tuareg of the Tamesna region acquire their necessary vegetable products by selling surplus livestock, [366]
butter and cheese at the markets of Ingal and Agadez.

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AYR TUAREG

Among the Ayr Tuareg stock-breeding products are far more important for food than in the north. 433
Grazing conditions are better with annual pasture as a recurrent event, and the Tuareg keep bigger 262
flocks of goats and sheep, larger camel herds, and most have a few zebus which are guarded without much difficulty. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr can live on milk for a large part of the year, though they, like those of Ahaggar, become tired of milk drinking if they get no solid food. There are Tuareg of Southern Ayr who live exclusively on milk for two or three months during the periods of *akasa* and *ṛarat* and to whom milk is important as food for at least six months. In the extremely hot season of *ewilen* when milk is very scarce most Tuareg eat millet porridge with a little milk or sauce (cf. p. 242 f.), and Tuareg who are not very wealthy eat millet porridge to a great extent all the year round, so that the necessary amount of millet for many camps is about 0.5 kilo a day per person, or about 180 kilos a year. In Ayr there are fairly good possibilities of collecting if there are not too many [222] locusts, but most Tuareg do not collect a great quantity of wild seeds, and claim that they would be very badly off without millet, as seeds of wild plants are not very nourishing in comparison. In one [261] year during the second world war (in 1943) they say that millet was very hard to get; it was then very difficult to subsist and a great many animals had to be killed for food. Millet is almost indispensable to the Tuareg; they also consume other vegetables derived from agriculture, notably wheat, maize, and dates, but millet is the most essential non-nomadic food product. Normally it can be acquired by most Ayr Tuareg without much difficulty.

The people of Ayr obtain their provisions of millet from the Sudanese area of shifting cultivation, 439
notably from Damergu (Tanut). Millet can also be bought at Agadez whereto it is brought by Tuareg 437

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up with small strips of fat. The pieces of liver covered with fat are put on a slender iron or 252
wooden rod to be roasted slightly over the fire. This dish is known to all Tuareg by the Arabic word [177]
*chwafif*. It was introduced among the Northern Tuareg by the Arabs, but is not widely known among the Ayr Tuareg.

This brief description of Tuareg meat preparation can adequately be supplemented by a reference 252
to two peculiar dishes:— (1) A dish known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *talebeggat*. It consists of meat 262
which after boiling or roasting is pounded in a large mortar and frequently served with liquid butter. This dish is also known to the Ayr Tuareg. (2) A dish which is described from Ahaggar by Foucauld 252
under the name *ahengor*. It consists of untanned skin which is eaten in case of hunger after the following 261
preparation:— Untanned skin from household implements, shields, and the like is roasted under the ashes, and is thereupon pounded into small pieces. These are eaten without any further preparation, or after boiling. (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 73).

Like other North African peoples the Tuareg dry meat of domestic animals and of game. The people 251
of Ayr know three distinct drying methods, namely (1) *iwesan*, that is meat which is boiled until it is free of blood; it is dried in the shade; (2) *tikelsin*, uncooked meat cut into pieces to be dried on a string in the shade; (3) *kulez*, uncooked meat cut into strips which are dried for some time to be treated with salt and various spices. This last method is not practised among the Tuareg of Ayr, but by sedentary people of Agadez and by Negroes further south in Damergu. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally boil or roast the meat before drying; meat roasted in the ashes according to the *abanul* method and thereupon dried is known as *takesa*. I do not know whether the Ahaggar Tuareg also practise the [125]
method of drying raw meat like the Ayr Tuareg, but the dried *agezzeram* lizzards which they take to Tidikelt on trading expeditions, are dried uncooked. Furthermore, the method of drying raw meat [171]
is known elsewhere in the Northern Sahara, and I have myself seen it practised among the Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

I conclude the description of Tuareg meat preparation with a brief note on the use of blood of living 272

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Fig. 166. Wooden double-vessel (*azur*) to contain water and butter for greasing the hair. Similar containers with a third vessel for fine-grained sand are also found among the Tuareg. Made by blacksmith from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Geometrical ornaments are produced by burning with a hot iron. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs at Tamazgaset. Dimension: 0.241 m long. (N.M. G. 5880).

[text continues on p 235]

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into fine-grained sand carried from the river bed to the fire place in front of the tent. When this heavy 252
fire has calmed down the embers and most of the ashes are moved from the shallow depression to its fringes by means of a small stick, and the thin porridge or gruel of flour and water to which also a little salt is added is poured out into the depression, a spoon being normally used to remove all the gruel out of the wooden bowl in which it has been stirred. A bunch of dry grasses, herbs, or tender twigs is thereupon fired over the gruel in order that its surface may harden, and it is then covered with hot fine-grained sand, ashes, and embers in the order mentioned. If the embers are considered insufficient for baking, a small fire may be lit on the top of the sand and ashes covering the gruel-bread, which is taken out after about twenty minutes to be turned and baked in the same way on the other side for a few minutes. Baking is then finished, the bread is finally removed to be washed in water (Fig. 183). It is broken into pieces and eaten from a large wooden bowl (Figs. 195a–b) together with 264 415* liquid butter. It is eaten with wooden spoons (Figs. 191). 412

The type of bread just mentioned is known to people of the *Kel Ferwan* group as *tugella*. It is made 262
by very few Tuareg. Indeed, when I travelled together with Ayr Tuareg I very frequently baked my 252
own bread as I had learned to from the Tuareg of Ahaggar, because very few of the Ayr Tuareg I [122]
met were familiar with bread baking. Bread is not a staple diet of the Ayr Tuareg, and when they want to bake wheat flour they generally do so in the following way:— The flour is mixed with water to a dough which is placed upon the bottom and sides of a metal pot heated over the fire. This type of bread or bread-like dish is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *gurasa*. It can be mentioned that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg also bake a particular type of bread from millet flour mixed with certain other 252
plant materials, but a bread of this kind is not baked for ordinary food, but as a kind of medicine. 261

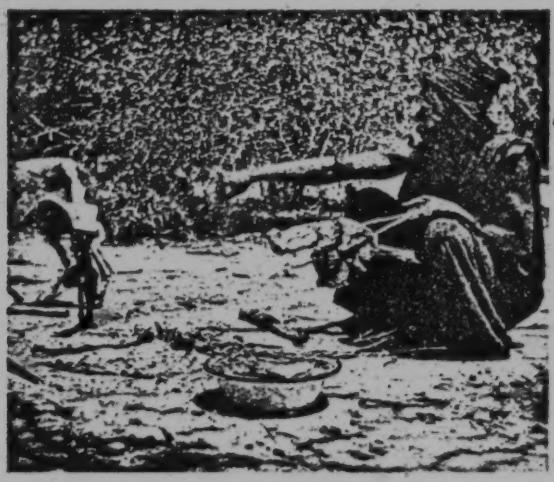

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Fig. 174. Roasting meat-lumps by the *mechwi* method. Ayr, *Echchikhen* Tuareg of Damergu.

[text continues on p. 241]

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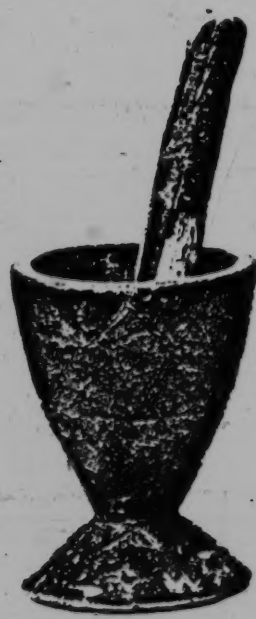

Fig. 177. The large millet mortar (*ilindi*) with its heavy wooden pestle (*iherem*). It is used almost daily for pounding millet in the camps and it is used also to pound other cereals, dates, and even meat. Mortars of this type are manufactured in Southern Tuareg country by blacksmiths. The specimen depicted is made of wood from a tree growing in the Sudan and known to the Northern Tuareg as *tuyla*. Introduced to Ahaggar from Zinder, the *Dog Rali* tribe. Dimension of the mortar: 0.445 m high, 0.299 m in diameter at the rim. Dimension of the pestle: 1.255 m long. N.M. G. 5224a–b.

Fig. 178. Little mortar (*ilindi*) with a short wooden pestle (*iherem*). Manufactured from wood of *absey* (*Acacia Raddiana*) by a blacksmith of Tamanrasset. Ahaggar, *Hurrata* of Tarhawhawt. Dimension of the mortar: 0.230–0.235 m high, 0.170–0.180 m in diameter at the rim. Dimension of the pestle: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5838a–b).

It is called *ikanef* and is baked in the following manner:— The millet flour is mixed with juice of *tadent*-berries (i.e., berries of *Boscia senegalensis*) and also with certain medicines unknown to my informants who said they were of Sudanese origin. This mixture is made into a solid dough with a very small content of water, and is baked in the sand where it is covered with hot sand, ashes, and embers in the same way as the bread type known as *tagella* (*tajella* in the north). 252 261 [824]

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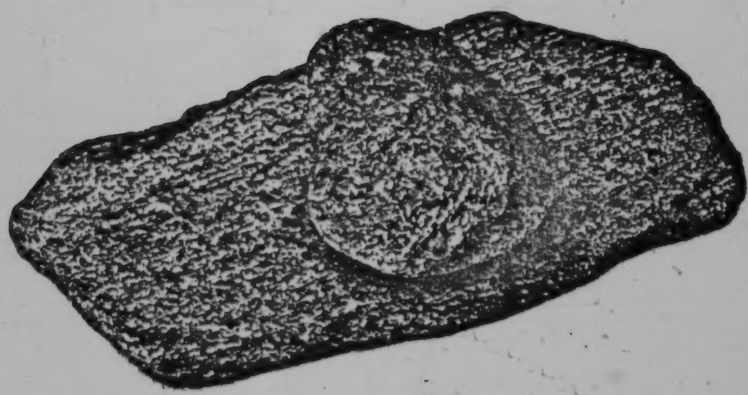

Fig. 179. Simple saddle quern (*tekunt*) of two natural stones: (a) the lower part called *tekunt*, (b) the upper part called *azzed*. It is used for grinding cereals. Ahaggar, the *Agah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the lower stone: 0.360 m long. Dimension of the upper stone: 0.115 m. (N.M. G. 5839a–b).

●261 This *ékanef* bread is eaten exclusively by women who claim that it gives them a good appetite and makes them fat.

262 Millet porridge is a common dish anong the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it constitutes by far the most important vegetable dish to the Ayr Tuareg and the sedentary agriculturists of the south. Millet
252 porridge is known in Ahaggar as *esink* in Ayr as *echink*. The preparation of millet porridge involves much strenous work as follows:— (1) An amount of millet seeds is poured out into the large wooden mortar (*tindé*, p. 235, fig. 177). A littlewater is added to the seeds which are then pounded for about
*[415] ten minutes. The seeds thus pounded are then poured out into a plaited bowl (*tabeyka*; Fig. 185) or another receptacle to be winnowed. This process is done by shaking the plaited bowl itself, and by pouring small quantities of the pounded seeds from the bowl into a plaited tray (*téseyt*; Fig. 184) which is better fitted for winnowing byshaking. The husks or pods covering the seeds are thus taken away by the wind. (2) When the pounded seeds have been cleaned or winnowed in this way they are replaced in the wooden mortar, and water is again added. The seeds are now heavily pounded for about half an hour, and most of them are turned into flour after this process, but a small amount of seeds remains unpounded. The mixtureof flour and unpounded seeds are poured out into the plaited

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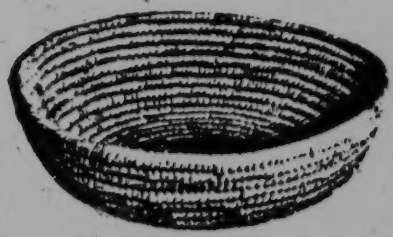

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Fig. 185. Tray or bowl *ʿakeyka* – perhaps not correctly spelled). It is used for winnowing, and it serves as an eating bowl and a drinking bowl as this container is watertight. Coiled basketry of date palm leaves (*aḥum*). Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag ʕali* tribe. Dimension: 0.205 m in diameter. (F.M. 263).

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Fig. 186. Pot (*ulekkiur*) with a single handle. Manufactured by *Ḫarratin* women in Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.18 m high. (F.M. 172).

in a mortar with a little water to a soft dough to which a little cheese, butter, or milk is added before 262
eating. If a large quantity of milk is added this dish is known as *tarkit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, as men- 252
tioned (p. 167), also pound dried dates with locusts to make a dish eaten by women who wish to grow fat. [261]

The Arabs and the Arabic-speaking agriculturists of Tidikelt (the *Ḫarratin*) have introduced among 262
the Northern Tuareg the well-known North African dish generally called kuskus. The dish is known [72]
to the Tuareg as *keskesu* which is also Arabic by origin. But this dish is not the staple diet among [71]
the Northern Tuareg that it is among the Arabs and the Berbers of the Atlas. It is eaten mainly on festive occasions, and there are many Tuareg women who even to-day do not know how to prepare it. The *keskesu* dish is preferably made from wheat flour, though barley flour may also be used. The 252
cereals are ground with hand-mills or quern stones (saddle querns), and the flour is rolled into very

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Fig. 192. Tuareg woman cooking millet porridge. Ahaggar, the *Ajjer-n-tahit* tribe. The cooking pots seen on this photograph are bought in the Sudan on trading expeditions. Sudanese pots are superior to those made in Ahaggar.

Like

264 most Tuareg dishes they are eaten from a large wooden bowl. If meat is cooked with the soup it may be broken into small pieces to be eaten with the balls, but part of the meat cooked is always eaten separately. The Tuareg eat *keskesu* with spoons, but if spoons are lacking they also eat it with the 262 hand, as do the Arabs. In addition to *keskesu* with its small balls which resemble grains of rice, the Northern Tuareg have another dish prepared in the same way but with larger balls. It is termed 289 *tikhemmezin* and is considered inferior to the *keskesu*. – Both these dishes are unknown to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group.

262 Two particular dishes are mentioned from Ahaggar by Foucauld. One of them is called *ibergan* 252 and consists of unripe barley boiled in its own juice without water. The other one is known as *aberbez* 247 and is made from tender plants of wheat and barley which are dried and pounded or ground into powder, to be eaten, boiled or unboiled, in periods of famine (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 89, 118).

Tuareg vegetable dishes are frequently prepared in a very simple way. Thus there is a dish known as *twes* (Ahaggar) or *tewes* (Ayr) which consists of entire seeds of millet or sorghum boiled in water. It is eaten mainly by children who frequently walk about the camp eating these boiled grains from their hands.

252 It is clear from the description of vegetable dishes that the cooking pot plays an important role for *415 food preparation, and all dishes prepared in this way, including cooked meat, are known to the Tuareg

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233 177 traits are found among the Northern Tuareg and partly among the *Iwllemmeden*, while they have not generally been adopted by the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. It is most interesting in this connection that when they wish to speed up their riding camels the Northern Tuareg use a sound identical with that used among the Arabs, while the Tuareg of Ayr use a very different signal (p. 136).

The Arabs only partially influenced Tuareg camel-breeding, for this was well-established in North Africa before the Arab invasions. There is no doubt that certain traits of camel-breeding are known to most pastoralists who breed the one-humped camel. Such traits may well have been introduced to North Africa with the Arabs, but they were most probably also known to North Africa camel-breeders before the Arabs arrived. Among such traits universally known to camel-breeders, the following can be mentioned:— 233 171

Milking with the dummy-calf. This seems to be practised among all Arab pastoralists of the Peninsula; it is frequently described, in modern literature about this area, and is mentioned as well in ancient Arabic poetry (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 355). The custom is known to Arabs of the Sahara and, according to Monteil, also to the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 72). I have mentioned above that the dummy-calf is used for milking camels among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, and according to Nicolas the custom is also practised among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 140).

Perhaps a milking method universally known is that of patting the udder. I have recorded this method from Ahaggar, from Ayr (p. 57), and from Arab pastoralists of the Sahara (e.g. the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba*). I have not been able to find much information about this method in literature, but it is possibly this to which Thesiger refers in his description of camel milking in Southern Arabia (cf. Thesiger 1959, p. 145).

A method of which there is also very little information is that of weaning calves by cutting them on the bridge of the nose in two or three places. I have noted it from the *Kel Ahaggar*, the *Kel Aljer*, and the *Kel Ayr* and from pastoralists of Arab tribes such as the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu*, but have not seen it among Arabs in the borderlands of the Atlas and the Sahara. I have also noted the existence of this particular method among the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Western Iwllemmeden*, but it is not mentioned by Nicolas from the *Iwllemmeden Kel Denek*, though he states that it is known among the *Kunta* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 141). In certain parts of North Africa a cut on the bridge of the nose of camel calves is given one or two thorns. These sting the mother camel when the calf tries to suck and the mother camel therefore kicks the calf away. The method is described from In Salah by Cauvet, while Nicolas mentions it from certain Arabs and *Iforas* Tuareg (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 359; Nicolas 1950a, p. 141). A related method is known to pastoralists of Arabia where a little pointed stick is tied to the head of the calf to prevent it from sucking (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 359).

261 171 A very interesting custom, perhaps also a very ancient one, is that of using the blood of living camels for food. Among the Tuareg, blood of living camels is drunk only when water is lacking during camel expeditions in the desert (cf. p. 235). The bleeding of camels to utilize their blood is also practiced among the Tebu (Huard & Charpin 1960, p. 195), and among the bedouins of Arabia it seems as though camel's blood is consumed regularly for food. Doughty describes how Arab bedouins boil camel's meat in broth and blood, as they are unaware that the Koran forbids the use of blood for food (Doughty ed. 1926, I, p. 561). A good description of the use of blood of living camels as food among

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Arab bedouins is given by Finbert:— "Dans les jours de disette, on pulvérise les ossements de la carcasse, et bien que l'Islam interdise l'usage du sang, on l'y mêle en le recueillant d'une veine que l'on ouvre à un chameau. De ce mélange on fait une pâtée que l'on dévore. En cas de famine prolongée, on mange de la corne moulue avec des trayons macérés dans du sang. Le sang lui-même, toujours pris sur l'animal vivant, est versé dans des boyaux qui sont ensuite grillés comme du boudin" (Finbert 1938, p. 39). It is very possible that the custom of bleeding live animals for food has once been widely known among many people of the area now dominated by Islam; thus Ibn Batutah mentions a Turanian people among whom blood of live horses is used for food (Ibn Batutah III, p. 24). 261 171

Among the Tuareg a certain medical value is attached to camel's urine (p. 127), but they do not wash in it as do many Arab bedouins of the Peninsula. A conception of camel's urine as something clean seems to exist among many camel-breeders, and Thesiger mentions that bedouins of Southern Arabia wash their hands in camel's urine before milking (Thesiger 1959, p. 145). 237 171

It is evident that some traits of camel-breeding resemble customs known also to African cattle-breeders, and it seems as if these customs are widely found among people who breed one-humped camels. – Certain traits of camel-breeding are peculiar to the Tuareg and a few adjacent peoples. 233 171

In contrast to all other camel breeding peoples the Tuareg and some adjacent peoples have riding saddles that they place in front of the camel's hump (p. 78 ff.). The common saddles are those known as *térik*, comprising the two main types named *tawzak* and *tekokeyt*, the most developed riding saddles among the Tuareg. These saddles are also used by some of the Northern Arabs, notably the *Ulad Bu Ḥammu* and the *Chamba* who import them from Southern Tuareg country – particularly from Agadez where the best saddles are made. The *térik* saddles with a cruciformed pommel are quite peculiar to the Tuareg. 492 171

The Tuareg saddle known as *ahyas* or *tahyast* (Fig. 63) resembles the *térik* type in that it is also placed in front of the camel's hump, so that camels are ridden in exactly the same manner as with *térik*-saddles. The *ahyas* type is not mentioned from the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg. But it is extremely common among the *Western Iwellemmeden* and is said to have originated in Aḍraṛ-n-Foṛas. Further west among the Moors, a riding saddle somewhat resembling the *ahyas* type seems to form the common type. It differs from the *ahyas* mainly in that it has a very low pommel and a very broad and deep seat. Several specimens of this Moorish saddle type are found in the Musée de l'homme in Paris (e.g., nos. D. 33.24.14 & 34.76.15). These Moorish saddles are placed in front of the hump like all Tuareg riding saddles, but I have been told that owing to their peculiar structure the riders cannot generally reach the camel's neck with their feet, so that they ride more bumpily and less steadily than the Tuareg, who secure their position by stemming their naked feet against the camel's neck. This is also seen from photographs of camel riders from Mauretania (cf. Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129).

The *térik* and *ahyas* saddles are always made by blacksmiths, and this is probably also the case with the Moorish riding saddles. But as mentioned above (p. 82 ff.) the Tuareg of Ayr make certain primitive riding saddles themselves, and these, called *kantarki* or *delobi*, are perhaps the prototypes of the more developed saddles made by the blacksmiths. Tuareg riding saddles for camels do not seem to have been introduced to Africa by the Arabs of the Peninsula where such saddles are unknown. The use of a single rein attached to a metal ring fixed in the right nostril of the riding camel is perhaps [564]

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172 namely the cylindrical house with a conical roof, which seems to have constituted the original type of dwelling of many northern vassals. This dwelling type has a world-wide distribution among primitive agriculturists (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 313), and we know that it was used in North Africa in antiquity. Hut-circles with heavy walls from predynastic cultures near Badari may perhaps be considered remains of such dwellings (cf. Brunton & Caton-Thompson 1928, p. 44 ff., 82 ff., pl. LXVI).

174 We might perhaps assume that culture as it existed among the ancestors of Tuareg vassals before the introduction of the camel was influenced by agricultural traits, and it would not be unnatural to advance the theory that it derives from a mixed farming culture. However, there can also be little doubt that we find in Tuareg culture features that are extremely old and probably date back to a hunting culture. It is of particular interest that the Tuareg have preserved very primitive methods of food preparation which are not generally known to true agriculturists (e.g., cooking with hot stones). I believe that the existence of such simple methods may be an indication that the culture is related to ancient hunting and collecting cultures. It is also very difficult to reject the possibility of a connection between hunting and the domestication of animals, for we have seen above that the Tuareg even to-day catch wild donkeys for domestication, and that, in the Middle Ages, they most possibly hunted these animals in order to utilize their meat and skin before the introduction of Islam which made 175 donkey's meat unlawful. It seems as if donkeys and asses have been important food animals throughout 171 the Near and Middle East even after the advent of Islam for we not only have Leo Africanus' state- [261] ment that the nomads of the Sahara consume the meat of donkeys caught in snares (Leo Africanus II, p. 944), but Duveyrier's statement that the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer catch donkeys in traps to utilize the skin (Duveyrier 1864, p. 231), and the fact that the Tuareg of Ahaggar even very recently have eaten donkey's meat in case of famine. There is information in literature which indicates that donkeys and asses have been commonly eaten elsewhere. Ibn Khaldun says that donkeys and horses were eaten by Algerian town-dwellers in case of need during the Middle Ages (Ibn Khaldun III, p. 377 f.), and Ibn Batutah states that Arabs of Oman consider donkey's meat lawful (Ibn Batutah II, p. 229). Ibn Batutah also says that meat of asses was eaten by the people of Suakin (Ibn Batutah II, p. 162), and we know that even up to modern times the Beja have hunted asses in order to consume their meat (Baker 1867, p. 55 f.; Murray 1935, p. 125). There is no information about the hunting of asses or donkeys for domestication among the Beja, but it is reported by several authors that members of this group leave their domesticated mares where wild asses are common in order that they shall mate with wild stallions (Heuglin 1869, p. 280; Bland-Sutton 1911, p. 188 f.; Murray 1935, p. 125).

174 We cannot discard the possibility that the domestication of donkeys originated from hunting, and it seems as though the donkey was first domesticated in Africa, where the wild ass still exists. When the domestication took place we do not know, but we are aware that domestic donkeys have been used in Egypt and in Asia (Ur) as early as 3000 B.C. (cf. Antonius 1922, p. 266; Hilzheimer 1930, p. 477). The donkey played a most important rôle in Ancient Egypt where it even had military importance (cf. Erman 1922, p. 592 f., 636, Figs. 207 & 208, pl. 36).

As to the domestication of other animals, we do not know how they were first tamed, and it has generally been overlooked that though there may perhaps be a connection between certain hunting

412 Each mistress of a tent has a little
356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses, and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,
492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are
[462] left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving;
[565] only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in moving only if it is a long trip.

/230/ Chapter 3

## Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding
262 peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea, bechena (Sorghum cernuum Host.), a kind of millet cultivated in the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during
[252 their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in
484] the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong cultural-
[101] ly to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

243 he generally carries with him in his migrations. Wheat raising
262 goes down to the Sudan as far as Timbuktu, Aïr, and a little north of Nigeria; but everywhere it has been introduced recently, due to the influence of the Arabs, who have not abandoned their traditional food.

Béchena is a food they adopted because of their exodus toward
[412] the Sudan; they are at the present time much closer to the Sudan than they are to North Africa from the point of view of material living conditions, that is, unless this plant formerly existed in a self-sown state in the Sahara, as Professor Chevalier has assumed, and was one of the principal food resources of its first inhabitants.

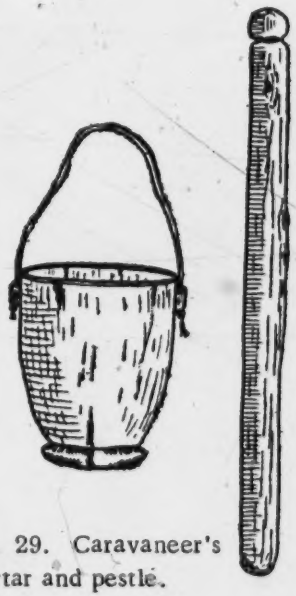

Fig. 29. Caravaneer's mortar and pestle.

By its agriculture
177 and its production, the Sahara is completely Negro. Agricultural
241 methods, except for irrigation, /231/ are borrowed from the Sudanese, especially work with the hoe (daba), while North Africa mainly uses the plow which is unknown in the intertropical zone.

252 Béchena is eaten as a cooked flour porridge, as raw flour, or
262 mixed with liquids, water or milk.

Dates also play a large part in the diet of the Tuareg. Every year each family head organizes a little caravan to the Touat or
[438 Tidikelt to bring back two or three loads of poor-quality dried
484 dates which are crushed with a pestle and eaten with camel's milk.
512]

262 433 439 According to what we know of the production of the cultivated lands of the Ahaggar itself and according to what the Tuareg are obliged to import, we may know approximately their needs. During the good years, local production is equivalent to only one quarter of the needs. It may be evaluated at 150 tons. To this must be added wheat production, but this cannot be taken in consideration insofar as consumption is concerned, since 237 415 234 it is almost entirely destined for export. It follows from this that import needs amount to 4, 000 loads of millet a year, calculated at 150 kilograms each, making 600 tons, which are for the most part bought or exchanged at Damergou or in the Tahoua region. The annual demand for dates is 400 loads.

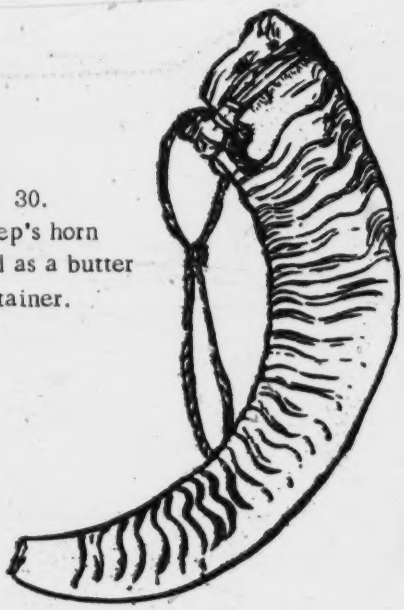

Fig. 30. Sheep's horn used as a butter container.

146 262 511 From these figures it follows that the annual needs per person are approximately one load of millet and one-tenth of a load of dates.

Individual consumption may thus be estimated at 187 kilograms of millet and 15 kilograms of dates per year, while an identical calculation /232/ for the Saharian Arabs has given us 180 kilograms of wheat and 75 kilograms of dates. But we must not deceive ourselves. These figures are drawn up for years, if not of abundance, at least of relative facility. Indeed, the annual average is very much lower, for the Ihaggaren do not always have at their disposal the means of exchange to meet their needs, and one may reduce the figures cited above by a good third, sometimes even by half.

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To make up this deficiency in graminaceae, the Tuareg have recourse to products of gathering.

After a rain the captives and the Imrad women gather the seeds of certain plants which grow in the Ahaggar valleys. They are the afasso (Panicum turgidum F.) and the oulloul (Aristida pungens D.). But the size of the yield varies with the abundance of rain, and one may say that most of the time it is quite /233/ uncertain. This is not the case in the Sudan, where the Iklan gather whole bags of wild seeds, particularly cram-cram (Cenchrus echinatus), every year.

[262]

[237 281 415 234]

Fig. 31. Little leather flask used as a butter container.

To be sure, there are a few wild berries in the Ahaggar, such as those from the jujube tree (Zizyphus lotus D.) and the téborak (Balanites aegyptiaca). In case of famine the Tuareg fall back on other seeds, such as those of the colocynth, the Acacia tortillis, etc. However, all these plants play only a secondary role in the Tuareg diet.

[231]

[262]

The Tuareg have at their disposal milk from their camels, goats, and ewes. They drink it either whole or diluted with water, either fresh or sour.

272

The luxury of drinking whole milk is reserved for young mothers and children. Adults generally drink fresh milk morning and

[264]

[264]
272 evening after the milking, and at the noon meal they drink milk which has already soured. It may accompany the dishes /234/ of
[262] béchena, serve as a sauce, and also be taken as a drink. When they make long moves, the Tuareg carry a bag full of skim milk on their camels. This turns rapidly and gives a sour-tasting whey which is very refreshing. But milk is particularly appreciated for its by-products, butter and cheese.

Butter --
234 oudi -- is obtained by churning milk in a
[415 little leather
237] bag; a woman shakes it on her knees, making it swing from right to left and from left to right. The butter col-
[237 lected is placed
415] inside a sheep's horn which serves as a receptacle. When butter production exceeds daily consumption, the butter is placed in leather containers, in the shape of a flask, where the heat usually keeps it liquid or very fluid, except in winter when it is necessary to heat it to get it out of the container.

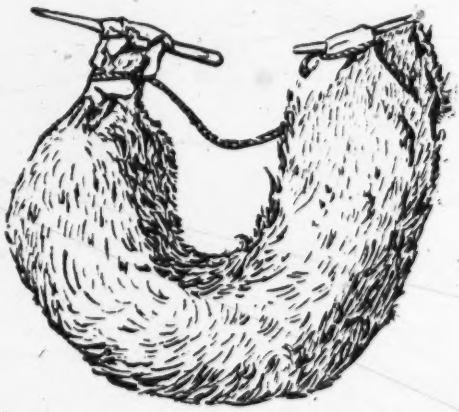

Fig. 32. Butter container made from the skin of a camel's neck.

Butter is mainly eaten as a sauce; béchena gruel or wheat
262 cakes are moistened with it. The Tuareg never cook it, as in fried foods.

In years when pasturage is particularly good, which assures an
234 abundance of milk from the animals, the Tuareg make cheese -- tikomaren. They sour the milk, squeeze the curds in little mats

234 to extract all the water, and then dry them on /235/ small screens placed in the branches of trees. It goes without saying that cheese making is very rare in the Ahaggar and that the Tuareg make it [438] particularly when they are nomadizing in the Sudan. Every year the Ihaggaren bring back large supplies of cheese from their stay in the Sudanese zone; these cheeses, dry as a bone, are either made by the Ihaggaren or bought from the southern tribes. They make 252 an important contribution to the Tuareg diet. These dry cheeses 262 are ground in a mortar and reduced to small fragments so that they have the consistency of flour. Then they are mixed with food, either in béchena gruel or in a drink of béchena flour and dates.

262 It might be supposed that meat plays a very large role in the Tuareg diet. But let us recall one of our old French proverbs which says that the shoemaker is always the worst shod. We could apply this adage to herders, who perhaps eat less meat than anyone else. A herder has animals for the use of their products, but he very seldom eats them for each butchering is a loss of capital.

Indeed, the Tuareg kill their animals only under very unusual [233] circumstances, especially at the time of religious and family festivals. These killings recall somewhat the religious meaning of sacrifices. This does not mean that they do not like meat, for when they raid a rival camp, they hasten to make drastic inroads on the smaller livestock and eat until they are about to burst.

Hunting furnishes them a little additional meat. Each year 224 they kill a certain number of gazelles and wild sheep, eating part 262 of the meat fresh and drying the rest to keep it on hand. [251]

They capture star lizards (Uromastix acanthinurus), jerboas, 222 gondi (Ctenodactylus sp.), sometimes even jackals and hares. We 262 can add to their meat diet grasshoppers (Shistocerca gregaria), [324] which they grill in the embers and then dry in order to pulverize [252] them. All Saharian nomads are very fond of grasshoppers, and since remotest antiquity some North African tribes are supposed to

222 have made them the base of their diet; for this reason they were
262 nicknamed acridophages. The Nasamonians of Herodotus prepared them in the same way the Tuareg do, and the /236/ similar diets of the two peoples is perhaps not pure coincidence.

There are a few fish ponds in the Ahaggar, but the Imochar
226 and the Imrad do not eat the flesh of these animals; only the
262 Issekkemâren catch barbels and sometimes catfish, or rather they gather them up in the wadis after floods, for they do not know how to fish, properly speaking.

The sedentary peoples raise chickens, but the Tuareg do not
262 eat them either, since they consider the meat impure. The same interdict is extended to eggs. The only bird which is an exception is the ostrich. There are no longer any ostriches in the Sahara, but
[223] when the Ihǎggaren go to the Sudan they capture them if they have the chance; in addition, they eat ostrich eggs cooked in the ashes.

Times of scarcity were sometimes experienced. They are rare
262 now that caravans can circulate freely, but they were much more
731 frequent when the state of war continued for a long time. The
224 Tuareg fell back on wild plants which do not generally enter into their diet: the young growths of tahlé (Typha elephantina), the
[824] leaves of the tanekfit (Eruca aurea) and the aramas (Atriplex halimus), the underground stems of the danoun (Cistanche lutea) which resembles asparagus, and many other plants of very dubious food value, which they ate to assuage their hunger. The state of famine can
[252] become so pronounced that they sometimes gather up old bones, grind them up, reduce them to flour, and make gruels of them. It
[519] goes without saying that it is during these periods that pillaging is at its height. People steal from camp to camp, from tribe to tribe, and everyone forgets his brother and his friend, thinking of only one thing -- survival by any means.

264 Before the French occupation the Tuareg as a general rule had only one meal a day, in the evening, after milking the animals. During the day they contented themselves with drinking a little milk.

252 The national dish of the Tuareg is asink, which is a porridge of
262 millet cooked in water and moistened with butter or whey. This meal is especially popular in winter and during the entire cold season. During the very hot months, they prefer a beverage of water or whey in which they throw millet flour, diluted sometimes with dry cheese or powdered dates. This is alakoh. Dates are also eaten /237/ in summer, ground and mixed with water or milk.

252 When the Tuareg kill a sheep, they prepare the intestines which they enclose inside the stomach. After having tied the two extremities of the stomach, they put it on a bed of ashes to cook. This way of cooking, which is the one most commonly used by hunters, is called abatoul. Meats are prepared boiled or cooked under the ashes. Those that are boiled are particularly the ones which were previously dried (wild sheep, gazelle, sometimes sheep). In this case, they are first crushed between two stones, for they are as hard as wood; the meat is then spread in pieces on a dish of asink.

The Tuareg do not prepare roast meat over embers, but they place it under the ashes. When they want to cook a whole sheep, they open it in two and then put it under the ashes, taking care to turn it once during the roasting.

252 For great occasions -- religious festivals, marriages, or re-
262 ceptions for prominent guests -- the Tuareg butcher young camels. They serve them with a couscous of coarse-grained wheat.

The domestic animals slaughtered are goats, sheep, camels, and cattle when there are any. They do not eat horses, asses, or dogs.

[727] Cooking is done by the captives, close by the masters' tents.

Men take their meals by themselves and receive the food
264 first. Women and children eat in their turn, and the Iklan receive the rest.

[114] 276 For his part, Commander Cauvet, in describing Tuareg clothing, said that men kept their pipes and tobacco in the pocket of their big blouses.

Thus all these testimonies coming from such trustworthy travelers tried to make us believe that the Tuareg are pipe smokers. For our part, we have never seen any.

On the other hand, they are very fond of chewing tobacco, and their wives also practice this custom, so that they finally have a deformation of the lower lip caused by the craze they have of stowing the quid between the gum and lower lip.

Tobacco is not cultivated in the Ahaggar; it is imported from [439] the Touat by the Arabs. The Sudanese Tuareg get it from the sedentary peoples of the Niger or through caravaneers from Upper Dahomey. They generally add a few natron crystals to it to take away the acridity, or else the ashes of graminaceae which play the same role as natron.

177 276 Many Nigerian Tuareg have formed the habit of chewing kola nuts; this is a powerful stimulant which the Negroes use a good deal. A few Ihaggaren /239/ indulge in this practice when they go to the Sudan, but they have not introduced it into their everyday mores and never use kola when they are in their own country.

● 262 The Tuareg are subject to a rather large number of dietary interdicts. First, like Moslems, they may eat only meats from ritually butchered animals. They must abstain from eating the [273] meat of pigs and wart hogs and from drinking fermented drinks which are harīm. The meat of fowls--except the ostrich -- and fish is also forbidden and considered impure. But these are customs which go back before Islam. They also may not eat the [825] meat of the uran, because this lizard is considered to be the descendant of their maternal uncle.

241 turnips, onions, garlic, pimento, beans, pumpkins, native melons, watermelons, various gourds of local origin, and sometimes lentils. [422] These vegetables belong properly to the cultivator and not to the [262] proprietor of the garden. They are consumed by him, for the Tuareg generally disdain them and eat them only when they are staying in the agricultural centers.

But these centers may be handicapped by numerous climatic 132 factors.

Rains are obviously beneficial when they come at the right 241 312 time; unfortunately, they most often fall in winter or in summer, seasons which do not correspond to the largest growth of vegetation. The plants benefit from them only when the rains are very abundant and the ground can store up water for several months. But still, rainfall must not be too strong, or else it can cause the wadies to overflow and immediately destroy the feggaguir. It then requires several months to reconstruct them and in the meantime the crops which cannot be irrigated dry up on the spot and are completely lost.

Cold can also have a disastrous effect. Winter wheat does not 132 suffer from it but its development is slowed up. It is much worse 241 for arboriculture, for if it is late and comes after the trees have blossomed, which sometimes occurs in January, it is likely to stop pollination completely. Fortunately, trees in arboricultural centers like Tazerouk bloom much later and there are only sudden frosts to fear.

/247/ The wind which blows violently in the spring may also hinder arboriculture by knocking down flowers or young fruits, indeed even fruits which are almost ripe. The great hot summer winds endanger the harvest by the intense drying they cause, unless this difficulty is overcome by abundant watering. Now, it is precisely at this time that the flow of the feggaguir decreases as a result of the heating of the soil and the intense evaporation.

It may thus be seen that agriculture in the Ahaggar is subject to many risks and that the harvests may be very variable. The abundance or scarcity of water causes the seeded areas to vary in

162
103

| | 1911 | 1938 |
|---|---|---|
| T-i-n-Ămenser . . . . . | 36 | temporarily abandoned |
| Tifert . . . . . | 50 | " " |
| Essélésékin . . . . . | 30 | |
| T-i-n-Târàbin . . . . . | 15 | abandoned |

166 These figures bring out the weakening of some centers to the
621 advantage of others. Thus, a number of cultivators from
[648] Tarahouhaout (where the French post was formerly located) came to settle at Tamanrasset, and the group of little centers in the outskirts of Ăbalessa, Iglen, Tăfarit, etc., has absorbed the groups from other abandoned centers like Tifert, Esséléséekin, Ilâman, Tarahananet, etc.

[241 Together these centers number about 400 gardens and 80
312] feggaguir.

262 The wheat harvested is partly consumed by the cultivators and
439 chiefly intended for export; it is exchanged at the Touat for dates.
433 The total harvests in the Ahaggar corresponds to only one -fifth of the needs of its inhabitants, even in good years.

621 There are fifteen agricultural centers exploited in the Ahaggar:
433 Tamanrasset, Tărhaouahout, Tahifet, Tăzerouk, Ideles, Ăbalessa, Hirhafok, Iglen, I-n-Amegel, T-i-n-Ămenser, Amsel, Tigeneouin, Talan-Tedit, Mertoûtek, and Esseléséekine.

[166] In addition there are twenty-two other centers which have been abandoned for some years as a result of dryness or lack of manpower: Aïtoklane, Ădenek, Ămrah, Ăbezou, Ăglil, Bloûmet, Déhine, Dar Mouli, Ennedid, Innezal, Ilâman, In Ămertek, Ilafok, Outoul, Ouhet, Souaïka, T-i-n-Târàbin, Touakin, Teberbert, Tarahananet, Tahart, and Joraf.

232 these saddle camels, one may not, therefore, refer to a particular breed /race/ adapted for speed, as one may commonly hear spoken of.

436 The camel has a well determined exchange value among the Tuareg. It is one of the bases for comparison in their commercial transactions.

233 422 Each tribe marks his animals with a particular sign, and /251/ the owners who have many camels also have their own signs, marked with a hot iron on one of the parts of the animal's body -- neck, cheek, or thigh.

The sheep. -- Sheep are raised only accessorily in the Ahaggar, 233 because grass is not abundant enough. But it occupies a large place [137] in Sudanese animal husbandry.

[136] It is a very peculiar animal with short hair and a long tail. It stands tall, a characteristic which has won for it the name of Ovis [174] longipes. The Tuareg certainly introduced it into West Africa. Zoologists never refer to it except as Tuareg sheep. Its antiquity in North Africa is well known. The ram of Ammon is pictured with its characteristic form, and it is also recognizable in the splendid rock drawings of Géryville and Tiout. It seems to descend from the Corsican wild sheep rather than from the Algerian wild sheep. Today it is an animal found exclusively in Tuareg camps of the Sudan or in their area of influence.

574 262 237 Sheep is the dish served at great feasts, and its skin is used as a ground rug, a blanket, or to make harnessing articles.

The goat. -- The goat is the mountain animal par excellence, 233 as frugal an eater as can be, resisting both cold and heat, and able to be content with the meagerest pastures. It is thus quite natural to find many of these goats among the Ihaggaren.

[136] /252/ The Ahaggar species is small with long black hair. In the Sudan it is different colors -- white and black, or red -- with [232] short hair; it stands taller than the Ahaggar species and is often crossed with the dwarf female goat in the southern tribes.

The origin of the goat is less certain than that of the sheep. Very 136 widespread all over the world, it must have been domesticated at

232 of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks
[272] exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their
family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is
[438] consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes
233 excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled,
[234] and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and
[252] sometimes tents.
[262]
237 The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do
not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting
[232] them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact num-
ber of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon
[422] them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The
young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them,
and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used.
137 These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg,
have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier
cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass
hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal
had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is
nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the
[172] rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia
where they are called "onager."

The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible
233 that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihaggaren have
[174] kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had
[173] only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage,
442 and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also
[312] take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the
[357] heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

262 237 The ass is never eaten, and its skin is not used.

The horse. -- The horse is not a Saharian animal. In 1929 233 there were four horses in the Ahaggar belonging to the aménokal. [643 Today there are about twenty of them belonging to the members of 644] his family or to the notables of his camp.

This is an expensive luxury, for these animals must be fed with [184 barley, and there is not enough barley for the people themselves. 262] It tends to replace the camel for the Sudanese Tuareg.

/254/ The zebu. -- A few years ago the aménokal owned a [648] small herd of zebus which he had had sent from the Sudan. This [137] animal is not raised in the Ahaggar proper, and it could not be, for lack of appropriate pasture.

[312] The zebus serve in the agricultural centers by drawing water. They are furnished to the tenant farmer by the proprietor of the land, [427] and they are very poorly fed on hardship rations of hay and grass, or else they are put in rush pastures, which are generally plentiful in the agricultural centers.

[438] When the animal is tired, the owner exchanges him if that is at all possible. The privations which the zebus must undergo bring about their death in a relatively short span of time, and so in the Ahaggar it is a question of keeping them alive rather than raising them. In any case, they never follow the camps in their moves and never live near them.

361 136 When we talked about the camp, we told how the search for pasture directed its location.

233 361 Insofar as animal husbandry properly speaking is concerned, we observe that the small animals -- sheep, goats, and asses -- always stay in the Ahaggar and move with the camp.

As for camels, this is not the case; they are often put out to pasture far from the tents, watched only by a few shepherds. The majority are even kept in the Sudan 800 kilometers from their owners'

773 had asked God to escape a raid which was coming to pillage her
778 camp. After the raid had passed, however, God kept the women
782 in the state of stone in spite of their entreaties, and it was so that life might be returned to them that the Tuareg came to leave different objects every time they passed near the tomb. The worship
[174] of the Tibaradines is certainly a trace of pre-Islamic and perhaps Neolithic beliefs which must have been deformed through the centuries. One of the statuettes represents a cow and is clearly related to the one found at Silet.

771 The remains of totemism are still affirmed by food taboos.
262 The nobles refuse to eat fish or bird flesh, as well as birds' eggs; only the ostrich escapes this interdiction. On the other hand, a
[825 legend even reports that the uran, or great sand lizard, is the
773] maternal uncle of all the Tuareg.

Some trees are also the object of worship. The Maerua
824 crassifolia which the Tuareg call agar is supposed to be inhabited by a genie which they chase away by striking the tree with stones every time they want to get in its shade. As we have already pointed out, repudiated women who do not wish to stay in the prescribed retirement as imposed by custom and want to take up the state of free living, rely on the tree to take over this retirement which bothers them so much.

754 Sorcery. -- Divination. -- Besides these more or less religious beliefs the Tuareg practice sorcery, divination, and the interpretation of dreams.

Some men, often blacksmiths, are known as sorcerors and make potions intended to cast spells; these are generally made of animal skins /309/ and are given to people who wish to cast a spell on someone, with the intention of taking him by surprise. The
[825] uran lizard plays a large part in the making of these sorceries.

787 Divination, practiced especially by women, is done in several ways and always aims to ask news of absent ones.

We have already mentioned divination through tombs. There is also what the Tuareg call tachilet (the viper). It is done either

727 714 426 of captures, however, he had to give half of the captured animals to the lender. In case of failure and death of the camel, he did not have to reimburse him.

721 726 The men met, discussed the planned expedition, and uttered a ritual formula (narhal allar) which bound them together for the duration of the expedition, during which time they were to give mutual assistance to one another.

Then they named a chief who was not necessarily an Amajer /sing. of Imochar - Ed./ but a man renowned for his courage, his /322/ suitability, and his experience on expeditions of this kind. Then the group left, preceded by scouts.

726 All baggage was left behind. Everyone mounted on camel back, taking only the bare necessities for the road, for it was necessary to go quite fast and try to keep the animals in good condition. Before sunrise, the raid was already on its way, and the rapid pace was maintained without stopping until evening. The men ate only [262 264] a few dates at noon, did not take their siestas, and ate a meal only in the evening -- all was sacrificed to the speed of the march, which was the key to success.

Nearing their goal, the raiders forced their march even more if that were possible, and they often divided into two parties; one was entrusted with seizing the animals and bringing them to a specified point, the other created a diversion in the enemy camps to sidetrack them.

The surprised enemy was attacked with gunshots by a few men [411] deployed as riflemen, while meharists swooped down on them, hurled their javelins, and then soon came to hand-to-hand fighting. The people who were attacked, for their part, tried to find out the strength of the assailants, and depending on the case they retreated or themselves attacked.

In spite of this martial deployment and the vigor of the attack, these combats were not very deadly, in general, and did not always cause deaths.

565 this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.
642 Ancient Egyptian records tell of a Libyan chieftain, Meryey who was peacefully deposed and replaced by a younger brother following a disastrous defeat in battle (Bates, 1914, pp. 114–15, 218 and 221). It is some of the vassal clans that are the biggest numerically and also the richest on a *per capita* basis; and if vassal clansmen pay tribute to their noble "masters" it is only because they choose to do so, because they find it in their interest to keep the nobles on their payroll so to speak. Thus the Tuareg government of the Ahaggar is in fact a kind of republic and not a real monarchy or true military aristocratic autocracy at all.

233 **Livestock.** Herds of camels and flocks of hairy sheep and goats constitute the bulk of the capital investment and so form the primary basis of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar. The quantity and composition of the total livestock investment has been variously estimated, but the following rough approximations are probably not far from the true figures: camels—12,000, sheep—2,000, goats—20,000, donkeys—5,000 and cattle (zebus)—300 or thereabouts.
[231] Donkeys, as we have seen, are unproductive except as beasts of burden, and the cattle are so few as to be of negligible importance. Only some 4,500 camels are actually kept in the Ahaggar while the rest are put out to pasture in the Tamesna region on the northern edge of the Sudan, roughly half way between the Aïr and the Niger Bend. Most of the sheep too are pastured outside the Ahaggar proper, mainly in the country around Tin Zaouaten, southwest of the Ahaggar and northwest of the Tamesna.

235 The Haratin of the Ahaggar keep chickens,
262 but only the eggs are eaten as a rule. The Tuareg eat neither eggs, fowl nor fish, but we will discuss this further in the section on *Nomad Diet* in the following chapter.

232 It has been said that the Tuareg have no special breed of riding camels but that likely looking animals are picked out early and given special training for use as mounts. The fact remains, however, that the young of famous stud camels are always the preferred choice, and these animals are specially marked shortly after birth. The method of marking consists of pinching up three small folds of skin in a row, about 2 to 3 inches apart, along

usually satisfied with milk, "akh, " fresh ("akh oua kefaïen" 264
[illegible] ) or sour ("akh iezza", [illegible] ), at
the hour when the camels, sheep, or goats come in from
pasture.

The basic food of the Ahaggar Tuareg consists of bechna, 262
"inelli" (white-grain sorghum, Graminaceae), dates, "teïni, "
and milk, "akh." [illegible]

But their country provides them with many resources 22
which they are careful not to neglect, especially the poor, 556
the "tileqqiouin" [illegible] , who constitute the majority.

All the "imr'ad" go to harvest the grains of "toulloult" 243
and "afezzou." Women, children, youths, negroes and 221
negresses go into the wadis
to gather the harvest, which
takes place from May to June
for "toulloult" and from July
to the end of September for
"afezzou." /29/

[000]
Dautheville
Idelés (Koudia)

Usually, before the
harvest several wadis are for-
bidden territory, and camels
are not led there until the
harvest is finished.

The produce is gathered
and put into hide sacks. After the grains have dried, they 252
need only to be put onto small trays of "afezzou," called
"tissiin," which are shaken, and the hulls fall off and remain
on top. The grains are ground to powder, and a kind of gruel
is made with water or butter.

The Tuareg are also very fond of "tikamarin" [illegible] 234
, cheeses as hard as wood which they get from Aïr. They 252 262 438
grind them in mortars and mix them in their food.

They very seldom eat meat, except that of game which 262
they can kill in a hunt: gazelles, mountain sheep, and 224
antelopes. But often they prefer to smoke this game in order 251
to go and sell it in the Tidikelt. 438

262
The nobles eat better, at least those who are well-to-do. 243
In the Ahaggar especially they own cultivated land in the 556
"ar'erems" (villages), where they grow wheat, "ired," barley, 565 423
"timzin," and bechna, "inelli"; but usually they sell their 438

[137]

Dautheville

Trees Called "Ahatés" (Acacia Albida) at the Tillemas of the Tessht Wadi (Koudia).

wheat and barley to the natives of the Tidikelt and are content with bechna, of which they are very fond. They claim that [824]
bechna is less heating to the stomach than wheat or barley.

The rich allow themselves the luxury of drinking tea, but 272
tea and sugar are very expensive, and they do not misuse them. 556
On the other hand, they do not hesitate to beg for them shame- 263
lessly.

When the year is bad anything seems good to the poor to 222
assure their subsistence. In such years one sees them eating 262
/30/ "berdi," or "taheli," (Typha angustifolia, Typhaceae); 735
ground carob seeds of "talhas," or gum trees, which they call 252
"tahaha" • ⁝⁝ + ; "tanékfa'lt (Diplotaxis duveyrierana, Cruciferae); fruit of the "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica), which they steep to take out the bitterness; and even leaves of the "aremmas" (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae), which they boil.

In short, nature keeps food resources for them which prevents even the poorest from dying of hunger.

Should one see here some agreement with what we have 114
read in Dozy, or might the uran have been a "totem" among 825
the Tuareg, as among the Redskins of America?

Nobles do not eat the "dobb" (star lizard) either, which 262
is called "aguezzeram" in Tamashek. As a reason for this 565
abstinence, they quoted me these two lines of nine syllables: 825

Our ekcher' aguezzeram idit [539]
Iladhou ichchaden ilir'it.

This means:

"I do not eat the aguezzeram because it smells bad and has a rough skin" (1).

1. Iladhou is put instead of "ili adhou." Similarly, ilir'it is put for "ili ir'it." Ir'it, plural ir'ten, means hide (of beef, camel, etc.).

Finally, they firmly refuse to eat chickens and eggs, and chickens are found nowhere among the Tuareg, except among [231]
some "harratine" /Haratin/ Arabs of the Ahaggar villages. They claim that this abstinence dates back for a long time. Azioueel ag Ser'ada when pressed ended by telling me that it was because chickens seek their food in manure. In the Niger, according to a study by officer-interpreter Merle, the French are called egg eaters. But I believe that the following is the 262
real reason for this abstention: The Tuareg, like all the 565
Berbers, had embraced Kharijism. Among the chiefs who took 825
part in the insurrection of the Kharwarij /plural of Kharijite. 773
Ed./ was Tarif, who made the first invasion into Spain (the city of Tarifa still bears his name). His son Salih, or Salah, claimed to be a prophet and composed a new Koran. Elijah, or Elias, son of /62/ the latter, openly remained Moslem, and it was only Salih's grandson, Jonah, or Younes, (end of the eighth century), who spread the new doctrine, which was a much modified Islamism. According to one of the precepts of

this doctrine, the scholar Dozy tells us: "There was no muezzin, 262
or crier, to call to prayer; people were governed by the crow 565
of the rooster; so no one, except in case of dire necessity, 825
might kill roosters or hens or eat eggs" (1). 773

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme,
by R. Dozy, pages 348 and 349.
Neither mosques nor muezzins are [171]
found in Tuareg country. See also
l'Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale
/History of North Africa/, by E.
Mercier, pages 228 and 255. Volume 1.

Legends and stories are also known on the subject of 773
Ahmamellen and his nephew Elias. Hanoteau told them to us. 823
At Tamanrasset (Ahaggar) the Tuareg showed us a curious
breech in a large "gara" that bounds the horizon to the east.
They call it "Tiouit-n-Elias" (Elias' cut), and they say that
Elias made this breech with one stroke of the "takouba." The
piece removed, an enormous rock, lodged in a wadi three kilo-
meters from there, and we were shown it in passing. The
breech has also been named "Elias' Breech."

Elias is the Arabic translation of Elijah, and Younes that of [551]
Jonah. These two proper names are still used among the Tuareg. [174]
Might there not be a relationship between this Elias and Elijah,
son of Salih?

The Tuareg say that Ahmamellen was a man of extraordinary 174
size and strength, and that he was the equal of an army. Might 773
it have been Salih himself who claimed to be a prophet, then
disappeared in the east after having told his followers that he
was the Mahdi and that he would come back to fill the world
with justice when the seventh king should be mounted on the
throne?

They use camel hair to make rope. They are fond of 237 283 camel meat, and it is they who supply the markets of the 262 439 Tidikelt with it.

There are very few cattle in the Ahaggar, barely thirty, 233 and almost all these belong to Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane, 492 of Tazerouk. They are used to draw water from the wells [312] into the ar'erems. The pasture is scanty, and besides the cattle easily wear out their hooves on the rocks and stones.

In the Koudia, because of the cold which prevails there 233 and the high altitude, there are many small turrets of dry 343 stones, /65/ empty inside, in which the Tuareg confine lambs and kids at night to shelter them from the cold.

The Ahaggar do not have a large number of meharis, and 233 they do not like to sell them, especially the good ones. Among [435] themselves, to set the value of a mehari, they say, "Such a mehari is worth two, three, or four camels." All their meharis are trained to start at a gallop. The Tuareg has great patience with the training of his mehari and never mistreats it. He confines himself to persuading it by voice and foot, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Tuareg mehari is much more silent than the Arab mehari.

The foundation of the pastures of the Ahaggar is aremmas 137 (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae). This plant is quite laxative. 233 So when the year is bad and drought prevails, the Ahaggar are found emigrating toward the Adhar'. There are fine pastures of "had" (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolaceae) in the south of Tin R'arhou, but there is no water. Moussa ag Amastane /66/ [312 intends to have wells dug there and has requested our help and 648] advice for this purpose.

As a rule the Tuareg let their camels out to pasture with- 233 out herders, and they find them again at the well or by track- ing, unless they entrust the herding to children or negroes.

/67/ A young camel is called "abal" without designating 192 its age. A camel in general is called "amadjour," plural 233 "imoudjar," or else "amiss," plural "imnass." A female is

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



During drought periods the uttermost poverty is the lot of the Ahaggar Tuareg, 132 who must then rely almost exclusively on agricultural products for their nourish- •262 ment. But in years of abundant rainfall they have much milk during the winter, [234] and they make butter and cheese to be used during the hot season when milk even in good years is scarce. They then also have meat for their sustenance but this is less important than milk-food.

In good years the perennial plants do not form the most important fodder of the 137 domestic animals. For heavy rainfall will as if by magic change the barren country 233 outside the valleys. An extremely rich vegetation of annual grasses and herbs springs up, and these tender plants constitute the very best fodder. But as, owing to the irregularity of the rainfall, annual pastures will not appear every year, it is difficult to breed other animals than goats and camels to which can be added donkeys used exclusively as beasts of burden and for riding. It is true that most Ahaggar Tuareg have a few sheep but none of them have cows (zebus). Cow-breeding and also effective sheep-breeding cannot be practised in a country like Ahaggar where for a period of years there may be no pastures of annual plants. In dry years the thorny acacias form the most important fodder of camels and goats, but the leaves of these trees cannot be eaten by cows and only with great difficulty by sheep.

In Ahaggar rain may fall at most seasons as the country is situated on the 132 frontier of two different rainfall belts, namely that of the Mediterranean where rain occurs mainly in winter, and that of the Sudan where rain will fall late in summer. For a long period of years rain has fallen most abundantly late in summer, but according to Dubiéf this has not always been so. Not many years ago rainfall was almost equally common at all seasons (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23), and Ahaggar 137 still has the characteristics of two distinct climatic zones, likewise as botanically it belongs both to the Mediterranean and to the Sudan.

On my camel journey from Ahaggar to Air via the wells of In Ebeggi and In [132] Azaoua in April 1955 I experienced a rapid change of climatical and botanical conditions. At the outskirts of the southern slopes of the Ahaggar Mountains a persistent vegetation is very scarce in the valleys, and between the two above-mentioned wells there are practically no permanent plants. Broadly speaking the [133] desert region between Ahaggar and Air is nothing but plains of gravel and stone interspersed with rocks and hills. But a little scattered rain will occur even in these [132] regions and gives rise to annual pastures which are utilized by passing caravans. Otherwise the country is uninhabitable.

In the northernmost part of the Air massif acacias and tufts of perennial grasses grow in most valleys as in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Mountains. But compared with Ahaggar permanent vegetation is very rich and in places forms almost impenetrable jungles of trees and brushwood. Further south in Air perenniel plants including trees are very common also outside the valleys, and the country south of the massif very rapidly changes into a kind of steppe or open savannah. The com-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



262 Even when grazing is good stock-breeding products are less important for food
[222] in Ahaggar than in Air as is illustrated in fig. 3 depicting the relative importance of milk food and vegetable food. A small part of the vegetable food is provided by collecting seeds of grasses and herbs, while roots, stems, and berries of wild plants are less significant. The bulk of Tuareg plant food consists of millet, barley, wheat,
[241] and dates. In Ahaggar many Tuareg have gardens with wheat and barley cultivated
[563] for them by black-skinned agriculturists generally known by the Arab word
438 *Haratin* (*Izzegaren* to the Tuareg). But most Ahaggar Tuareg acquire the bulk of their plant food from caravan trading with the oases of Tidikelt (dates) and with
262 Sudanese villages as far south as Zinder (millet). Even in years of drought they can obtain millet from the Sudan in exchange for rock-salt broken at Amadror north-east of Ahaggar. In Air caravan trading with salt seems less necessary to Tuareg subsistence, although there are also in this country Tuareg who trade with salt from Amadror or Bilma. Most pastoral households however have a fairly regular
[234] surplus of livestock, butter, and cheese which can provide for the necessary amount
[563] of millet bought in Agadez or south of the massif in Damergou. There are also
241 in Air a great many negroid agriculturists from whom pastoral Tuareg can buy
262 vegetable products. But millet, which forms the prominent part of Tuareg plant
[438] food, is grown to a very slight extent by the agriculturists of Air. Dates are important in particular to the Ahaggar Tuareg who acquire large quantities from the oases of Tidikelt. There are also a few Ahaggar clans the members of which own half-wild palms with dates of an inferior quality, as there are Tuareg who have a few palms growing in their garden plots. In Air dates are not so important for food but even there pastoral Tuareg may have some palms. Among the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer it is very common for pastoralists to sow wheat and barley in the river valleys when these have been heavily flooded (Nicolaisen 1954, p. 83, 88), and this primitive agricultural method was apparently known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg in the past (Duveyrier 1864, p. 372). More recently many pastoral Tuareg
[312] of Ahaggar and Air have taken up agriculture by means of irrigation. There seems
[221] to be a tendency towards semi-nomadism among the Tuareg who are very dependent on vegetable food derived from agriculture.

### *The Negroes Of The Sahara.*

136 In the above section on Tuareg ecology it is stated that Air climatically and botanically is closely linked with the Sudan. This is true also zoologically as the Air fauna contains a great many species of birds and mammals characteristic of tropical Africa. The bird life of Air seems very akin to that of the Sudanese savannah, and, for instance, guinea fowls are extremely common even in valleys of the northernmost parts of the massif. As examples of tropical mammal life in Air we may here mention that the wart-hog lives in Central Air, and that oryx antelopes

[Text continues on p. 76]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



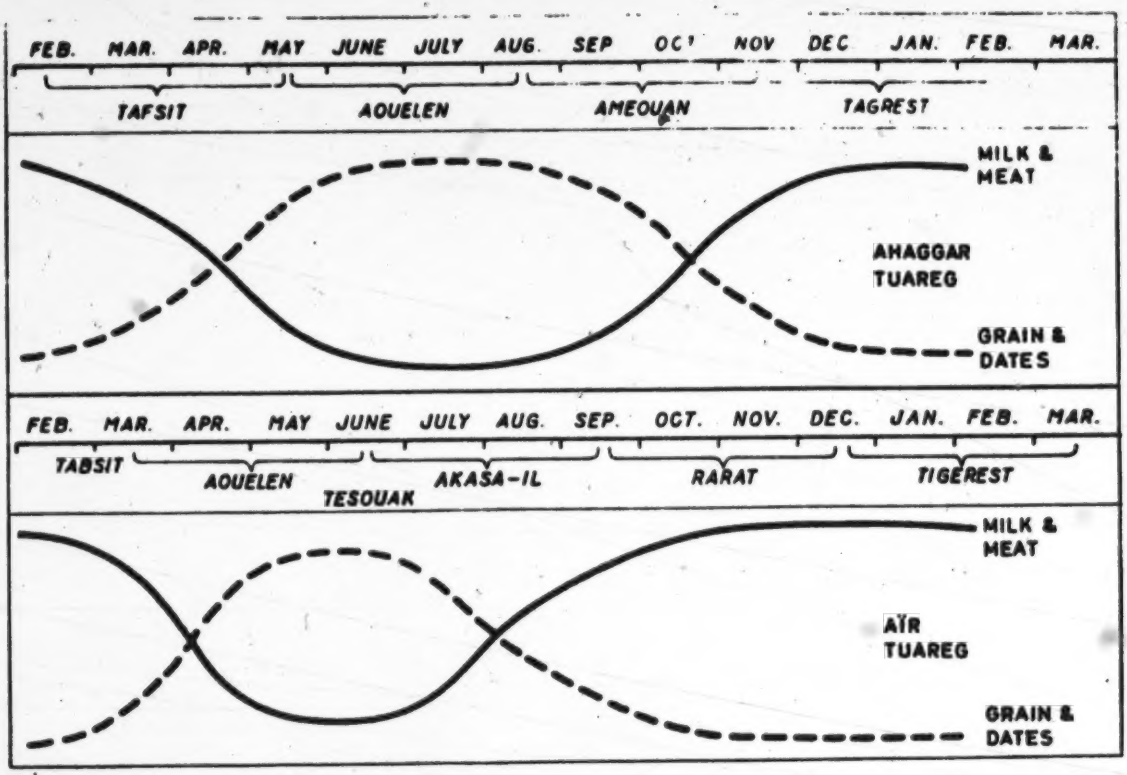


Fig. 3.-The relative importance throughout the year of food derived from stock-breeding and vegetable food mainly comprising agricultural products. The curves describe conditions in good years.

262

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



565 Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Ṛela clan, but as he now lives outside of
614 Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

643 In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to
651 noble Kel Ṛela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Isekkemaren class, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Ṛela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139ff.).

Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known
643 as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order
651 to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adṛar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the
579 Kel Adṛar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *ennehet*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347f.).

The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was
565 also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg.
614 But the relation (*temaẓlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals
651 and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another.
233 The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And
511 the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little
[234] when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food,
[262] but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar
[574] Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together,
[281] as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft,
[237] as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food. 233 511 [492] [439]

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like. [234] [262] [281] [291] [283]

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temażlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. [422] [565] [114] 565 651 [421] [431]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925–30, I–II). 3) As mentioned (p. 113) camel's milk is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly also among the Kel Ajjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors (Monteil 1952, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. 4) All Tuareg and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf to deceive the mother animal during milking – for camels like cows will not generally yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or butter as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. – Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of riding camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg, and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East Africa have the same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection with camel-breeding (Monteil 1952, p. 103).

171 234 [302] [262] 171 237 525 [261] 171 233 [825] 171 233 422

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts like those of Air are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullemmeden, and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country – in particular those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. – Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156f. – Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f., 597f., V, p. 201. – Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. –

171 174 233 342 184 342

136 /33/ Near the water points, numerous insect-eating birds seek nourishment. Let us mention in particular a gray swallow which lives the year round in the Ahaggar, and a charming black and white bird, the moula-moula, which is considered [825] a messenger by the Tuareg and which accompanies travelers, rapidly becoming very tame.

At Tamanrasset, Bengalis (mange-mil /literally: "eat-millet"/), imported from Agadez, breed rapidly and populate the gardens, which they ornament with their red plumage.

Crows are seen almost everywhere. Vultures soar very high, so high, say the Tuareg, that the sun burns their head feathers, and when an animal dies in the desert, the rapacious birds arrive mysteriously from "nowhere."

Falcons and buzzards circle over the pasturelands in search of food.

Reptiles abound in the Ahaggar. Snakes and vipers live in and around the wadis, burrowing among the clumps of thorny vegetation and tree roots. The Tuareg fear everything that crawls. Several types of vipers (tachilt) live in the Ahaggar; some are gray, others tawny (horned) or spotted. One may encounter, but rather rarely, a sort of cobra called hench-lefet. Some snakes grow to be more than a meter long.

Lizards of all sizes live in the most desolate places. One kind, small, sand-colored, flees terrified at the approach of man in the wadis and on the regs.

The dob prefers rocky places. With its large, spiked tail, this animal has an antediluvian aspect. It plays a very important part in Tuareg stories. Children play with it as with [262] a toy. Its flesh, considered edible, is far from tasty.

The uran, a large gray lizard, possesses a redoubtable weapon in its long, flexible tail. The Tuareg call it their [825] maternal uncle and ascribe to it dauntless courage. It is said that the uran attacks nobles but /34/ refuses to fight Negroes; [262] the latter eat the flesh of the uran, having no kinship tie with it.

241 /74 cont. / Millet is sown after the wheat harvest is finished. Two species are found, one called Ahaggar millet and the other Sudanese.

The yield varies from eight to ten for one. The annual production is about 60 metric tons. The ears are rather thick but are looted by birds, above all the Bengalis, called "mange-mil, " which originate in the Sudan.

The tomato is the chief vegetable of the region. Several varieties are sown; there may be a native one, but the harratin have long used the seeds given by the commune. They harvest the seeds themselves indiscriminately; there may be some degenerate ones among them. There is usually a surplus production of tomatoes. They are sliced in two, then dried in the sun in order to preserve them for sale and for sending to the Ajjers, the Tidikelt, El-Golea and, above all, to Ghardaïa. The method of cultivating them is most simple: The young plants are thinned out, haphazardly, at distances varying from 30 to 60 centimeters, depending on where the hoe happens to fall. When the tomato plants are grown, the guemoun is an indescribable tangle. It is a very rare gardener who puts up props for the plants.

Nearly all the native gardens have several pumpkins. There are two types, one called the Ahaggar pumpkin, which grows to an enormous size, is yellow, not very sweet, and is less esteemed than the variety called the Métlili pumpkin, which is smaller, greenish, and very wrinkled, and whose meat is much sweeter. The pumpkin constitutes the essential [262] food during the month of October and even during November.

Beans grow marvelously well, but only a few gardeners plant several guemouns of them.

/75/ Agricultural Centers

The Ahaggar has numerous agricultural centers, veritable oases, of unequal importance. The location of these gardens

241 /75 cont./ is always the same: in a living wadi, between two rock shelves. They are to be found, then, within a radius of about 100 kilometers from the upper summits of the Atakor.

The gardens string out along the wadi, using to the best advantage the cultivable and irrigable land. An impressive checkerboard of guemouns served by lines of foggaras and séguias testifies to the industry of the harratin. The green patches of early wheat among the grayish natural vegetation make a curious sight; this verdure seems unreal. The agricultural centers are always found in picturesque surroundings. The villages have rare houses of toubs or of dried bricks, [342] but more common are tahli zéribas /reed shelters/. Misery there is endemic, and the word "destitution" takes on its [511] most absolute sense here.

I have personally known families, one of them with [262 511] nine children, who knew upon getting up in the morning, at certain times of the year, that they had nothing to eat during the coming day and that it would be the same the next day and the days after that. Only the charity of one of their fellows, scarcely any better off, would save them from starvation.

It is true that lack of foresight is a determining factor in bringing about this destitution, but it is not the only factor; one must also cite the low fertility of the soil, the frequent lack of sufficient water, above all after a long dry period, the conditions of the agricultural contract which in effect prevent the hartani from developing a passionate interest in his land, and, lastly, the limited views and complete lack of initiative that characterize the harratin. It must be noted that the Tuareg are hostile to the development of agriculture; this hostility is scarcely a reasoned one; it is a matter of a kind of nomadic atavism, augmented by a desire to keep the traditional practices intact, and also by a fear of seeing the Ahaggar penetrated by foreigners who, undoubtedly, could make the land produce and, in particular, develop the /76/ palm groves, but who would not be hereditarily subordinate to their authority.

233 /83 cont./ The Ahaggar goat (a goat: "tirsi"; plural: "oulli") is small, lively, a good walker. It has long black hair, but crossing it with Sudanese goats gives offspring with black and white coats. Milk production is very variable according to the seasons and the abundance and quality of the pastures. A very good milch goat may produce nearly two liters of milk per day, a month after having given birth. The average production is about one liter a day for the two milkings. Goat's milk furnishes butter, "oudi amellen," which is cooked to preserve it: "oudi"; it also is made into the different cheeses (let us recall that camel's milk is used only for drinking).

It is estimated that there are about 20, 000 goats in the Ahaggar, although there may be more. The Tuareg keep one male for about 50 females. The Ahaggar goat bears one [262] kid, sometime two, but very rarely. The male kids are always eaten young; they constitute the bulk of meat consumption by the Tuareg.

[283] Goat hair is used to make ropes of all sorts, and we shall see how the hide is used in making all of the Tuareg furniture.

Sheep raising is very limited; the number of head would hardly come to a tenth of the caprine livestock, and most of the sheep are found in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

The sheep raised in the Ahaggar is a native of the Sudan; long legged, it has no wool but long stiff hairs, generally fawn colored. Its meat is excellent. It is a robust animal, a good walker, but according to the Tuareg does not bear up well during the dry years in the Ahaggar, the pastures not being sufficiently nourishing. This sheep /84/ accomplishes considerable feats; the Tuareg drive flocks from the Adrar des Iforas to the markets of the Tidikelt and the A'ir in the Ahaggar. These migrations are carried out, of course, in the winter, but the regs crossed are truly poor in water points, and the pastures are sufficiently rare to make these journeys a remarkable exploit.

233 /84 cont. /Ewe's milk is mixed with goat's milk; the hides are also used in all sorts of leatherwork. Mutton is considered [262] choice meat and is the preference for serving to an important guest.

The ox is imported from the Sudan; it is a zebu with the characteristic hump. It is used for drawing water in the agricultural centers. However, it can live in freedom in the wadis of the Ahaggar. The amenokal owns a herd which has gone wild: when he wants a beast, he must have it shot. The oxen eat the tahlis which grow abundantly on the rocky shelves of the wadis; they drink from the numerous gueltas. This ox is a sturdy animal capable of going from the Tamesna region to the Ahaggar across desolate regs.

Milk production is practically negligible, since there are at most 300 bovids /sic/ in the Ahaggar.

The hide is used to make the large dellous /skin sacks/ for drawing water and the bottas for keeping butter in.

The bull is called: "essou" (plural: "issouan"); the cow: "tessout" (plural: "tissita").

The donkey ("eïed"; plural: "ieïdan") is, perhaps, the animal best adapted to the Ahaggar. The Tuareg say: "It eats everything, green or dry." It is of average size, with a rather light coat and a large darker cross on the back. The donkey [492] is used for camp chores; it goes to fetch water and wood. It carries nearly the whole load when moving; it is the mount of the women, children, and Negroes. Some travelers claim to have seen onagers in the Ahaggar; these were actually donkeys reverted to the wild state: the Tuareg, not being able to keep them near their camps because of the paucity of pastures, /85/ let them run free. Thus it is that herds of donkeys are seen in silhouette on the mountains or fleeing in the wadis as men approach. The donkeys drink at the permanent water points, and their habitual approaches to them are marked by narrow, well-trodden paths.

233 /85 cont./ When the Tuareg want to recapture some of these animals, they organize veritable battues and must use a great deal of cleverness and energy to succeed. It is necessary to break these donkeys in order to fit them for domestic use, for many of them are born wild.

It is estimated that there are 5, 000 donkeys in the Ahaggar, but this figure is certainly too conservative.

[262] The flesh of the donkey is not eaten, nor is the milk of the female drunk.

A few horses, most of them originating in the Sudan, are to be found in certain agricultural centers. A "luxury" animal, the horse (aïs) cannot live off the Ahaggar pastures. When well nourished with barley, it bears the climate perfectly well and can be used as a mount in the mountains of the Ahaggar where water points are numerous.

Lastly, chickens are raised by the harratin in all the
231 agricultural centers; they are lean fowl which find practically all of their own food. The harratin chiefly eat the eggs,
[439] rather rarely the meat, which is sold to the Europeans.

/87/

## IV
## Material Life

### Dwelling

342 The Tuareg, as true nomads, use the tent for habitation,
281 and sometimes, in exceptional circumstances, the zériba.

The Tuareg tent is made of skins sown together and specially prepared. Its red tint, which harmonizes with the dominant tones of the Ahaggar landscape, is agreeable to the eye. For making the tent (éhakit), goat, sheep, wild sheep, and, very rarely, cattle skins are used; the skins of wild sheep are considered the best. After being stripped of its hair, the

291 /103 cont./ occasions. The "ra'ki" is another veil, as large as the tabarikant and made of wool, but white; it is also very rare.

The Tuareg woman does not wear a sarroil but a kind of knee-length skirt, a simple piece of cloth tied around the waist, called "assedjebès." Young girls begin wearing assedjebès when they are nubile.

The woman wear ighatimen for footgear, carry tera, and all have a taralabt slightly different from that of the men. The iremdan is often carried without a case. In winter the tabrok (dokkali) is also a feminine garment.

[854] All of the young children are naked; later they put on the blue gandurah; the boys have a sarroil toward the age of eight or nine. At about fifteen, they begin to wear the veil.

## Food

262 The Tuareg are particularly frugal eaters, and their condition of life does not predispose them to a finely prepared cuisine. Tuareg food has nothing about it to flatter the tastes of a gourmet. The few /104/ dishes palatable for a Frenchman have been borrowed from the Arabs and will not be mentioned here. [177]

The basic elements of the Tuareg diet are: millet, milk, and dates. Millet (enelé) comes from the Sudan or is harvested in the Ahaggar as a summer crop; the latter, whose grain is smaller, is better liked but is insufficient in quantity.

252 Millet (the "bechena" of the Arabs) is crushed with a pestle and winnowed to keep only the white flour. This flour is sometimes eaten just as it is after crushing: this is the "tibik" used on the trail by the hurrying cameleer, and it is sometimes used even in camp.

Also called tibik is a more complicated preparation: millet is crushed, winnowed, then washed and put in a tarahout. Heated pebbles are buried in the grain until it become slightly cooked or rather roasted. The progress of the

252/104 cont./ cooking is determined by the pleasing odor that comes from the dish. This grain is next ground together with dried dates. The powder thus obtained is eaten without further preparation.

The "arahara" has a more complicated recipe: crush the millet so that a very fine flour is obtained, crush some dates, and add a little water to form a paste, crush some "tikamarin" /cheese/; mix flour, date paste, and cheese powder together; add a lot of water until you have a liquid resembling milk. Drink cool in summer.

"Asink" is the Tuareg national dish: crush millet so that you have half of it in fine flour and the other half in coarse grains; separate the grains from the flour and pour the former in a pot of boiling water; cook for two hours until the bloated grains form a rather liquid gruel; pour the flour into the gruel, stirring the mixture with the "esseroui" (a wooden paddle used especially for the asink) with the pot still on the fire; obtain a rather thick consistency, dish into the tarahout, add milk if possible, and serve hot. When there is no milk, butter may be added, or the asink may be eaten as is.

[272] /105/ Milk, another basic food, is drunk whole as soon as it is drawn, or is mixed with sour milk, or blended with whey. To make butter, milk is poured into an "adjiouer" (the "chekoua" of the Arabs) and sits for a day, preferably in the sun, causing it to sour rapidly. The sour milk is then poured into another chekoua, which is stirred until a ball of butter is obtained. The sour whey left in the chekoua is drunk during the day.

[262] Fresh butter ("zebda" in Arabic) is called "white butter" (in Tamashek: "oudi oua amellen"); it is soon eaten, but only a small amount. Most of the product is transformed into "dahan" (Arabic -- in Tamashek: "oudi"), which can be kept a long time. White butter, with a small quantity of dates added, together with a few grains of wheat or millet and

252 /105 cont./ several stalks of a plant called "aïnessis," is cooked for a very long time. When it is ready, it is poured into the "tahatiat" or the "arraïan" for keeping. The tahatiat is a kind of guerba /waterskin/ made with skin from a camel's neck and still has the original curved shape. The arraïan is [415] shaped like a demijohn; it consists of a piece of camelskin molded in a hole dug in the ground, filled with camel dung and gravel, tied securely at the mouth by a cord, and thus dried and hardened.

"Tikamarin" is a cheese made from whole milk in the following way: a young goat is killed and its stomach, still full of milk, is carefully kept; the milk is allowed to harden in the stomach pouch, then is carefully preserved. A piece of this "seed" cheese, about the size of a gaming die, is plunged into a tarahout containing five to eight liters of milk. After a day the milk has completely curdled. A lump of this cheese, still damp, is crushed in the hands, previously washed, and made into slabs about 15 by 5 centimeters. These slabs are arranged for drying on a bed of afazzou stalks. Tikamarin is eaten dry; it is kept over a year, and it is said to be still edible after four years.

/106/ "Ioulsan" ("qlila" in Arabic) is a cheese made from the sour milk left over from kaing butter. This sour milk is poured into a pot and is heated for a long time. The contents of the pot are then poured in a special filter, a kind of afazzou basket; the water drains off and the remaining cheese is then fashioned into small circular cakes, six centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick. Ioulsan is quickly eaten, but it can be kept dry and is used, above all, in making the argira which is eaten in the summer.

262 The Tuareg like meat very much, but they eat it relatively infrequently; yet some Tuareg say that one should not let ten days go by without eating meat.

The most used meat is goat; mutton is eaten less often, and camel in exceptional circumstances. The meat of

262 /106 cont./gazelles and wild sheep is much esteemed, particularly since it costs nothing, but having it depends on chance. The hare is eaten only by children or Negroes. Birds, wild or domesticated, are not much liked.

Meat is eaten boiled or grilled, always well done. The
252 Tuareg mechoui /roasted sheep/ is called "abatoul" (hole). A hole is dug in rather coarse-grained sand, and a large fire is built in it. The embers are then removed from the hole, and the dismembered animal, well cut open, is placed in it, without butter or spices. The meat is then covered with sand, and a fire is maintained over it for two or three hours. The meat is then pulled out, is strongly hit with a stick to knock off the grains of sand, and is ready for sampling.

[262] Practically speaking, the Tuareg never eat green vegetables; they keep dried onions (tarafaret), which give
[251] some taste to their dishes; dried tomatoes, abundantly produced in the Ahaggar, are also used.

Wheat, rather seldom used, makes it possible to make couscous and flat cakes called "taguella." The Tuareg also make taguella with millet flour, but these are truly awful.

/107/ It is well to note the scruples of the Tuareg so far
262 as Islamic food taboos are concerned.

They continue, in fact, to eat their traditional food, and it happens that their custom fits in with Moslem regulations.

To amuse themselves, children eat "tilout" and those large lizards called "dobs," which they grill on glowing embers. They open the stomach and eat little pinches of the flesh cooked in the skin, somewhat as one would eat a soft-boiled egg.

Chicken eggs are not much liked; children accept them, but they prefer dob eggs.

The daman, called akaokao, a wild little rodent of the granite hills, is eaten only by the Negroes.

European food has not penetrated the tent, so to speak; only patés are liked, but the Tuareg do not yet go so far as to

•262 /107 cont./ buy them. Rice is considered to be a remedy. In the way of preserved foods, one may see the Tuareg eat sardines in oil and jam and use canned milk. All of these foods are not accepted with enthusiasm; they are too expensive, [181] and the Tuareg seem to be truly conservative in food matters, as well as in the whole of their customs.

They drink water, milk, and tea, the latter being of 272 relatively recent importation but in the way of becoming a necessity. There is no need to mention again the ritual that surrounds the making and drinking of tea.

Coffee is scarcely drunk except with the French; when it [273] is taken in the tent, it is as a remedy. Need I say that the Tuareg drink no alcohol and that at the present time there is no exception ot this rule?

## Public Health

It appears to be practically impossible to construct a 161 demographic table for the Ahaggar: figures for the years /108/ before 1947 are rare and suspect; they give an acceptable approximation but do not give an exact picture of population movements.

In this field one must then use figures from recent censuses and observations of the tribes that may be easily visited in trying prudently to project these observations to the whole of the population.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1948 the count was: | 6, 048 | nomads |
| | 4, 240 | harratin |
| | 10, 288 | |
| 1949 | 6, 013 | nomads |
| | 4, 285 | harratin |
| | 10, 298 | |

The population figure for the Ahaggar seems to be fairly stationary (even if one does not rely exclusively on the figures

787 /117 cont./ She goes to a "debni," a pre-Islamic tomb, lies down on the stones, and says the following words: "Imeguedda enkerguedda," the meaning of which is not known. Putting her ear to the stones, she may hear the news, certainly transmitted by the Kel es Souf. The debni speaks briefly, three times only, and it is not permitted to ask it questions.

The other process requires the sacrifice of a goat. The grass in its stomach is taken out and is made into one or several balls. When night falls the woman goes to a flat place away from all human presence; she throws the balls as far as possible, then lies on the ground and puts her ear against it. If the Kel es Souf are favorably disposed, the news arrives as briefly, but as precisely, as in the preceding method. This process is called "tizomitin." Methods exist to question Fate. They are called "idjehan" and consist of making dots on the sand whose exact number one does not know. The technique differs according to the manner of making the dots. It is something like the card game of patience, for the responses are either "yes" or "no." Some Tuareg know another method to obtain more varied answers, but the apprenticeship for this is long.

There are other superstitions, such as that which calls for
241 putting old cooking pots, or else the jaw of an ass, on view in a wheat field in order to have a good harvest. Let us also
● [262] mention the Negresses' custom of eating cat's thighs in the month of March in order to gain weight.

All of these beliefs should be collected, but that would require long, patient work, which could not be carried out except in a climate of confidence.

/118/ One may say that the Ahaggar still lives in a world
771 of magic despite the presence of Islam. This fear of spirits, which seems childish to an Occidental, is very real. "Imagination," Fraser says, "knows how to act on man with as much effect as does gravity, and may kill him with the same certitude as would a dose of prussic acid." The

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Fig. 19. Photograph illustrating how the stick (*akara, azedres*) is attached to the head of a kid. This photograph shows the semi-nomadic Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

234 squatting, she puts the left hind leg of the goat between her right thigh and calf. Goat-milk is drunk,
● [242] added to food, or made into butter and cheese as described in detail p. 221 ff. Both in Ayr and in Ahaggar it is claimed that goats under favourable conditions yield about two litres of milk a day. But this is to be considered the maximum yield obtained only from goats with young kids when fresh-green annual pasture is available.

*233 Meat is not a staple food among the Tuareg. Most of them are reluctant to kill their animals except
[242] at certain feasts. But most meat eaten by the Tuareg is goat's meat. In Ayr I was told that some pastoralists keep their goats as well as other domestic animals as long as possible, that is until the animals die a natural death. However, the Tuareg are generally not so irrational. They say that goats may live for about twenty years, and that they are capable of bringing forth kids and yield milk until 15 years old. When goats have reached that age they are sold or killed, but many Tuareg prefer for obvious reasons to keep their milk-goats only to an age of eight or ten years. There is a limit to the number of goats that can be bred by the members of a small camp, because it is not possible to have more than a certain number of goats in one and the same flock, and there will not always be sufficient labour to tend several flocks. Therefore it is evidently preferable to substitute old milk-goats with

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



younger animals which yield more milk. Again, the meat of very old goats is of inferior quality. Much goat-meat derives from he-goats of which a very limited number is needed for mating. Some Tuareg claim that one he-goat is able to cover about a hundred goats, but as a rule I doubt whether it would be called upon to do so. In any event, too many he-goats are brought forth, and even very young male kids are frequently killed and eaten as there will be more milk for the nomads when such animals do not have to be suckled. It is considered ideal that male kids which are not needed for reproduction, and which are not killed at very early age, should be castrated at the time when weaning takes place, but even old he-goats may be castrated to make them fat for slaughtering.

Though meat is not a stable dish of the Tuareg they have to kill a certain number of goats every year to obtain skin for the manufacture of various domestic utensils. The roaming life in the desert necessitates a great many containers for water, butter, milk, grain, dates, and the like, and bags made from goat-skin are appropriate for this purpose. Indeed, goat-skin is so important to Tuareg craft that in speaking of the manufacture of most domestic articles one can hardly avoid mentioning the word "goat". Thus, my fairly large collection of ethnographic specimens from the Ahaggar Tuareg contains about fifty different objects made entirely or mainly of goat-skin, which is also used for the manufacture of tents among the Northern Tuareg. Even nowadays, a few articles of dress are made from goat-skin, and goat-skin was in general use for this purpose in the past (cf. p. 287 ff.).

Goat-hair is extremely useful to the Northern Tuareg. The hair is cut once a year in the hot season when the animals do not suffer from cold (cf. Fig. 98). It is spun into strong cords used for tethering animals, for tying up caravan loads, for reins, and the like. In certain tribes of Ahaggar it is also used for a very primitive kind of weaving (cf. p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

To understand the economic role of goat-breeding one must briefly touch on the question of size of flocks. Statistics concerning the ownership of livestock must always be regarded with much suspicion, as it is extremely difficult to obtain data. It is not only most impolite to ask Tuareg about the size of

Fig. 20. A kid with the stick (*akara, asefrei*) pierced through the mouth as described in the text. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terwit* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



to be considered rich in goats (and sheep) should own about 300 animals. They also say that in the 233*
past the Tuareg of their group owned more goats (and sheep) than nowadays. A household at that time might even possess up to a thousand animals, but it would not have many camels and very few zebus, or none. In Southern Ayr, according to the Tuareg, there has been no severe period of drought [132]
within the memory of man, and goat-breeding is consequently a much more stable industry than in the desert proper.

## SHEEP

Sheep are very important domestic animals to most North African pastoralists. In the Atlas and on [171]
the outskirts of the Northern Sahara sheep belong to various woolly breeds. Woolly sheep are also known in isolated parts of the Western Sudan around Macina south-west of Timbuktu (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 191 ff.). I have myself seen many woolly sheep along the Niger between Niamey and Ayoru – among the Zerma-Sonray and other semi-sedentary peoples – but I have not seen them in the camps of pastoral Tuareg and *Bella*. These sheep belong to the so-called "Goundoum" breed (Zerma) and according to Doutressoulle they constitute a degenerate type of the Macina breed (cf. Doutressoulle 1947, p. 195). It is recorded by Aymard that there are some woolly sheep among the south-western Tuareg (Aymard 1911, p. 118). However, Tuareg sheep in all other groups belong exclusively to the hairy breed which is known as *Ovis longipes*.

It is admitted by zoologists that *Ovis longipes* characterized by a short cover of hair, high stature, and a long thin tail, is the oldest known type of domesticated sheep (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 59 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 213 ff.; Hilzheimer 1936, p. 199; Doutressoulle 1947, p. 196). In North-western Africa this hairy sheep falls into two types:— (1) The rams have large circular or snailshell-formed horns. This is the breed known to all Northern Tuareg, the Ayr Tuareg, and the *Kel Geres*, and apparently also to other Southern Tuareg. (2) The rams have very long horns of corkscrew form which protrude horizontally. This type is found among some Southern Tuareg, and it is occasionally seen in Tuareg camps immediately south of the Ayr Massif. The Ayr Tuareg say that this breed is typical of the Fulani, and this is in agreement with Doutressoulle's statement (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 200). This latter type of *Ovis longipes* sheep is also known among Nilotic peoples of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and it seems to have been known in Ancient Egypt. It is perhaps the oldest type of *Ovis longipes* sheep (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 59 ff.).

In Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer sheep are of relatively little importance to pastoral Tuareg. I believe that very few Tuareg of these regions have more than one sheep to ten goats. The reason for this lies in climatic conditions, for effective sheep-breeding is not possible where pastures do not regenerate regularly, as sheep cannot feed properly on the thorny acacias as can goats. Conditions of sheep-breeding are much more favourable in Ayr than in the north, and certain pastoral Tuareg of Southern Ayr have more sheep than goats, though sheep in Ayr suffer from lack of fodder in the dry hot season when they are extremely thin and meagre. With good grazing sheep yield more milk than goats, but [262]
otherwise goats are better milch animals. The meat of sheep is considered superior to goat meat, and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



p. 93 ff.), and this seems to be true partly also of the so-called Watusi-cattle and related breeds, which have been mixed with zebu-cattle and therefore frequently have well developed humps (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 10 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 148 ff.; Johsi, McLaughlin & Phillips 1957, p. 146, 178, 259). 233* 171

Adametz believes that zebus were introduced into Africa from Northern India about 2000 B.C. (Adametz 1920, p. 10 ff.). Nowadays Zebus no doubt form the most important types of cattle in Africa, and Tuareg cattle are of the zebu type. The West African zebus fall into a number of sub-breeds described in detail by Doutressoulle. The zebu type found in Ayr and adjacent regions and also introduced into Northern Tuareg country is known as the *Azawaq* breed (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 102 ff.). In Southern Ayr, which nowadays has a fairly large population of pastoral Fulani, a particular type of zebu is also very common. This zebu is characterized by very high stature and extremely long horns often resembling the form of a lyre (Fig. 27). This breed is named Borodji, Bororo, or M'Bororo. The Fulani zebu is esteemed by certain Ayr Tuareg because of its fatter milk, but it is claimed that its meat is not so delicious as that of their own cattle. 233* 174 262

Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer do not breed cattle (zebus), which do not thrive in their barren countries where pastures of annual plants do not regenerate annually. An attempt to breed zebus among the pastoral Ahaggar Tuareg some years ago failed, and zebus are nowadays found only among settled agriculturists who use these animals as draught-animals at irrigation wells (p. 189; Fig. 132 a–b). A few agriculturists also have cows to raise calves, and to utilize their milk. It is comparatively easy for settled agriculturists of Ahaggar to keep cattle. In dry years, and when pasture is scarce and dry in the hot season, cattle can be fed on vegetables and the straw of certain plants grown in the garden. It can also be mentioned that many agriculturists live in the very broad river valleys of lower Ahaggar where water is not very deep under the sand, and at some agricultural settlements there are even permanent springs. In such places (e.g., the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel) there are even in dry years fresh grazing of a few permanent plants suited to cattle, notably the four following species:— *tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*), *tésengelt* (*Saccharum Ravennae*), *ilegga* (sing. *aleggi*) (*Scirpus Holoschoenus*), and *taysest* (*Eragrostis bipinnata*). The regeneration of these plants is not dependent upon annual rainfall, for the soil is always sufficiently humid for their annual regeneration. Therefore it is very common in Ahaggar (e.g., at Abalessa and at Amsel) to burn down the old dry plants late in winter so that new fresh plants can germinate in spring. This method of renewing pasture by the burning down of old dry plants is not generally possible in desert countries. In Ahaggar it is practised only for the four above mentioned species within very limited humid areas, and the method is said to be entirely unknown in Ayr. 361 137 124

The Ahaggar agriculturists who possess oxen very frequently use these animals for riding, sitting on the hind part of the animals which are kept under control by means of a rein (*taẓerkit*) placed through their nostrils, or by means of a halter. No saddle is used apart from a casual piece of cotton, or a blanket (Fig. 28). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer, it is said, the settled farmers have no cows but only bulls and oxen to be used at irrigation wells, and these animals are not used for riding as in Ahaggar. 492

The zebus found in the settlements of northern agriculturists are all introduced from the south where conditions for ox-breeding are much more favourable. Many, and perhaps most, northern zebus have come from Ayr from which region they are still introduced to Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

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Fig. 30. Young zebu ox with *ikembar*, that is cuts made with a knife on the bridge of the animal's nose, and with a cord (*asabar*) placed through the nostrils. Ayr, sedentary *Kel Ewey* Tuareg near Agadez.

(2) *tabellut*, that is a small pronged stick about 40 centimetres long placed through the nostrils of the calf which is thus prevented from reaching its mother's udder (Fig. 31). (3) *ikemban*, that is two small pointed sticks crossing each other and attached over the calf's nosebridge. When the calf tries to suck it hurts the udder of the mother cow which will kick the calf away. I have only seen this device once in Southern Ayr, and I am not quite sure that the term mentioned is correctly spelled, as I did not take it down in *tifinar*. (4) *akimbab*, that is a muzzle. It is not in general use among the Ayr Tuareg
[184] though they know of it. It is in current use among the Tuareg of the plains west of the Massif (Tamesna)
[631] where I have seen it among the *Iregenaten* Tuareg, who politically belong to the *Kel Rela* drum-group of Ahaggar (Fig. 32). I have seen the same device also known as *akimbab* among the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Western Iwllemmeden*. Similar muzzles are used among the *Iwllemmeden* around Meneka (Musée de l'homme, nos. 36.44.50 & 41.19. 1111–1114) and also among the Tuareg of Adrar-n-Foras (Musée de Neuchâtel, no. 49.2.39). – These are the weaning devices used in Ayr, the method most commonly applied being that known as *tabellut*, the small pronged stick passed through the calf's nostrils.

234 Cow's milk is drunk fresh, added to food, or made into butter and cheese according to methods
[262] described in a later chapter. The Tuareg say that an extremely good milch-cow yields up to seven litres of milk a day. This agrees with Doutressoulle's statement that cows of the *Azawar* breed yield six to eight litres daily at the beginning of their lactation period, while at the end of this period the daily

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bridge of the nose of a calf, so that it hurts its mother when it tries to suck (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 359). – 233*
(3) *akimbab*, that is a plaited muzzle which allows the calf to graze, but prevents it from sucking. I have been told both in Ahaggar and Ayr that such muzzles are used for camel calves, but apparently they do not constitute a normal weaning method. – (4) *asedrez* or *ameru* are said to be synonymous terms for the weaning method generally adopted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. The method is as follows:— The upper lip of the calf is pierced on both sides of the harelip so characteristic of all camels. A piece of thin root of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) is drawn through these holes so [824]
that the ends of the root protude at both sides, and a knot is made at both ends that the root will not fall out. These knots hurt the udder of a she-camel when the calf starts to suck, but this is not the real idea of the device. For the root-piece keeps the pierced holes open and the calf is therefore unable to suck at all.

A she-camel may yield about ten litres of milk at the beginning of its lactation period, but at the 234
end of this period it does not yield more than two or three litres even with good grazing. The yield is always dependent on grazing conditions. Thus during my stay in Ahnet and Ahaggar 1954–55, a Tuareg who owned about twenty she-camels acquired only two litres of milk a day in all from these animals. But conditions of camel-breeding are much better in Ayr and in the southern plains where [433]
she-camels are tolerably good milk-yielders most of the year, and camel's milk is therefore very important to some pastoralists of these regions. Camel's milk is drunk and not generally used for food [272]
in other ways. It is much esteemed by all Tuareg, who claim that it possesses a particular power and gives strength. It is never stored in the shape of butter or cheese. The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr [262]
never eat camel's butter which they consider possesses a poor taste, and, besides, it is very difficult to churn. They make butter of camel's milk only when butter of milk from other domestic animals is [302]
lacking for the greasing of the hair. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr butter is then churned by the men in a rather peculiar way:— A skin bag containing an amount of camel's milk is attached to the riding [415]
saddle of a camel which is then ridden at very fast speed for some time. But even with this method, it is said, camel's milk gives very little butter, and it is also definitely stated that the milk cannot be used for cheese-making. These Tuareg statements seem to be confirmed by analyses of veterinaries, [114]
who claim camel's milk to contain very little casein, and it has been proved difficult to separate butter from camel's milk (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 707 ff.).

She-camels can mate and yield milk until an age of about 25, and their average length of life is 233*
estimated by the Tuareg at about 30 years. But pastoral Tuareg do not generally keep their camels until they die a natural death. In Ayr I was told that she-camels more than twenty years old should be sold or killed. Most Tuareg sell their old camels in the oases of the Central or Northern Sahara [432]
where a large population of sedentary farmers is constantly yearning for meat. Very few camels are [366]
killed by the butchers of Agadez, where meat from oxen, sheep, and goats is always available and [262]
fairly cheap, but a great many old camels are slaughtered at the market places of the oases further north.

Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr very rarely kill their own camels to eat them. They will slaughter a camel 262
which suffers from some severe disease as all animals dying by accident or from disease are unlawful to eat. However, there are also some Ayr Tuareg who will never eat camel's meat. They say that they [261]
would feel very sick at heart were they to do so, and some Tuareg even say that they would vomit

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to the killing of a camel for wedding guests. Otherwise the Northern Tuareg like those of Ayr only 262
kill sick animals for food.

There are certain practical reasons why camels should not normally be killed for food among the Tuareg. Even very old camels fetch high prices at markets of the northern oases (Tamanrasset, Tidikelt), [435]
and the Tuareg prefer to get the money instead of eating their old camels. This is easily understood [252]
when we consider the fact that one camel contains so much meat that it cannot be eaten quickly by the members of a household, and camel's meat is rather tough and must be boiled for several hours to be eatable. Besides, camel's meat is not very well suited to be preserved for eating at a later date [251]
on journeys. However, it can be dried and when sick camels are killed part of their meat is often prepared in this way.

A camel is killed in a very particular way quite different from the method of slaughtering other 233*
domestic animals and game. It is killed as follows:— Cords are attached very firmly around the legs of the animal which is kept to the ground by several men who sit on its back and draw its head backwards. The artery is thereupon opened at the lower part of the neck close to the chest, and the knife is thrust into the animal at this place, but not so deeply as to touch the heart or the entrails. This stab is quite sufficient to kill the camel, but some people also cut its throat close to the head in the way other domestic animals are killed. Very peculiar also is the way camels are skinned. While other animals are skinned in such a way that the hide can be removed as entire as possible (cf. Fig. 173), the carcass of a camel is cut up before skinning. The four legs with their thighs are cut loose close to the carcass, which is thereupon cut into several parts by means of a large chopping-knife or an axe (cf. Fig. 44). The hide is thus removed from the carcass after partitioning; but it is difficult to remove the hide as it sticks firmly to the meat, and only part of it is taken off for later use. In Ayr the Tuareg do not 000

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**Fig. 44. Skinning and partitioning of a young camel. Ayr, *Irawelen*.**

[text continues on p. 67]

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492*
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Fig. 82b. Cf. text Fig. 82a.

qualities as strength and speed, but rather on elegance and sublimity. The riders sit straight in the saddles without watching the crowd of women, and the camels are ridden at a gentle trot (generally that known as *senat-senat*; cf. p. 99) with their heads drawn back. In this way the men may also ride their animals round the women in a circle as I have seen in Ayr (cf. Fig. 82). 526 492* 585

Camels have important social functions among the Tuareg who take an interest in these animals far beyond their practical value. It may perhaps be useful to compare Tuareg interest in camels with Nuer interest in cattle so brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard. Nuer caress their animals, and there is a tendency for human beings and cattle to form, so to speak, a single community (Evans-Pritchard 1940, p. 16–50). This is not exactly true of Tuareg and camels. The Tuareg do not pat their camels which will not respond to caressing, and they do not live in very close contact with their animals, most of which frequently graze far away from the camp under the supervision of one or two herdsmen. But the Tuareg nevertheless have much the same feeling towards camels as Nuer have towards their cattle. They are very fond of their animals. They may abstain from camel's flesh because they are fond of camels and would feel very sick at heart when eating them. But though the Tuareg are fond of camels as such, they are delighted particularly at the sight of a very fine camel (*akemhur*; Ahaggar) and may even speak disparagingly of a badly built animal (*amugey*; Ahaggar). Fine camels add to the prestige of a man, while too many animals of poor build may even harm his reputation. When girls and young women praise camel-riders in their songs they praise those mounted on fine and richly-decorated animals. When camels are mentioned in poetry this may also be done as praise to their owners, as in a poem composed in honour of noble Tuareg of the *Uraren* (*Kel Ajjer*) of whom it is said that "their pack-camels have feet as large as a drum, and the loads they carry are like the crests of mountains" (Hanoteau 1896, p. 218). Such reference to pack-camels, however, seems to be rare in Tuareg poetry, while riding camels are frequently mentioned in connection with warfare and love. Riding camels have much the same esteemed position as had horses in Medieval Europe. Tuareg interest in camels is particularly focused on riding camels and there is a tendency towards identification 233 181 171 262 554 533 538 492* 171 492* 181

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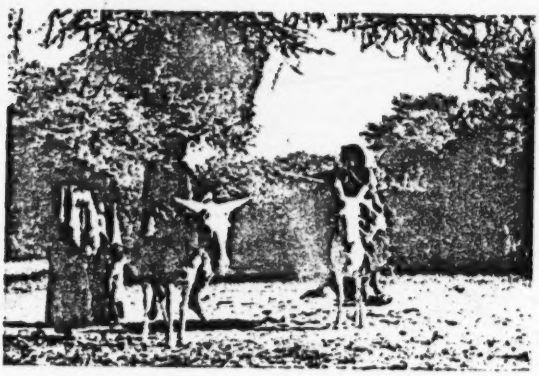

Fig. 84. Boy and woman mounted on donkeys. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

But the wild animals are bigger, which the Tuareg ascribe to the fact that they roam freely in the desert 231
and always can find the very best fodder – an explanation which seems reasonable as the Tuareg 136
camp where fodder is reserved to their milk-yielding animals (cf. p. 491 ff.). It can be added that 231
domestic donkeys are frequently tightly hobbled by means of a narrow rope (*téffart*) around their forelegs (Fig. 45) and sometimes also with another rope (*amahus* in Ahaggar) running from one foreleg to a hind leg.

If donkeys are not hobbled, there is always a great risk that they will disappear in the mountains and join the herds of wild animals. Unhobbled donkeys are often caught with great difficulty. They are sometimes driven together by the inhabitants of a camp, and when mares have foals it may even become necessary to run down the foals on riding camels in order to get hold of their mothers. In [312]
some regions where donkeys depend on water from deep wells it is customary not to give them too much water to drink, in which case unhobbled animals can always be caught at the well, where they will wait for water. But donkeys are very well fitted for desert life. They can do without water for several days even when weather is extremely hot, and where water is very near the surface so that the sandy soil is humid donkeys dig small holes with their hoofs to drink the water which quickly gathers in these depressions. I have myself witnessed this in Ahaggar where the Tuareg say that among domestic animals only donkeys are able to make such water-holes.

The Tuareg distinguish between the domestic donkey (*éyhed* in the north, *éyjed* among the Ayr Tuareg) and the wild donkey or ass (*ahulil* in the north, *émedrer* in Ayr), but they are well aware that there is no important distinction between them for many Tuareg even nowadays obtain domestic donkeys by catching wild animals. Wild donkeys or asses were hunted for domestication still more eagerly in the past, and there may perhaps be some connection between donkey-breeding and true hunting – that is hunting for meat. Nowadays the Tuareg never eat donkey's meat, nor do they utilize 231
the skin of these animals. But it is known that the Ahaggar Tuareg have eaten donkey's meat in periods 262
of hunger even fairly recently, and Duveyrier states that old animals caught in traps are killed for their 237

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Fig. 85. Tuareg breaking in a young newly-caught donkey. The donkey is prevented from escaping by means of hobble-ropes (*téffart* and *amahus*) and is also tethered to an acacia tree. Ahaggar, the *Aĝuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

231 262 237 [175] skin (Duveyrier 1864, p. 231). It is most possible that the taboo on donkey's meat and skin is due to Islam – meat of donkeys and horses is considered unlawful by the Ḳoran. Leo Africanus states that the nomads of the Sahara eat meat of donkeys which they catch in snares (Leo Africanus II, p. 944).

136 224 The wild donkeys, or asses, of Tuareg countries are very shy, and it is most impressive to watch a herd of some twenty animals galloping over the desert plains. Because of their shyness they are often hunted much in the same way as game animals. Among the Northern Tuareg they are caught in the spiked wheel-trap, are run down by men mounted on camels, or are driven into closed river valleys surrounded by steep rocky walls. In certain parts of Ayr wild donkeys can be caught in the same way – notably in valleys of Mount Tamgak (Northern Ayr) and around Anu Meḳḳeren (Central Ayr) – while the method of running down wild donkeys with riding camels is said not to be practised. Whether the so-called spiked wheel-trap is used for catching donkeys or not, I do not know, as the Ayr country is very extensive and inhabited by Tuareg of different origins. The Tuareg belonging to the *Kel Ferwan* group claimed that it was not used for donkeys or asses for which they have a kind of snare called *turunt*, which is also the name used among them for the noosed rope connected with the spiked wheel-trap. The snare used for donkeys is said to consist of a rope some twenty or thirty metres long and [283] plaited from dum palm leaves. The rope is noosed at one end to be used as follows:— The loop is laid out where donkeys come to drink, the whole rope being covered with sand. The hunter lies hidden behind some natural object, a rock or tree, and when a donkey puts one of its legs within the loop he pulls the rope. It is said that this method is also sometimes used for other domestic animals [231] which have gone wild, as happens frequently with oxen. But it is never used for hunting proper game animals such as gazelle, antelope, and barbary sheep. To catch domestic animals which have gone 231 224

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*492 household goods during nomadic migrations, and are employed daily in all camps to carry water in skin-
445 bags from wells and waterholes to the tents. They are very strong animals considering their low stature,
312 and good pack-donkeys can carry up to one hundred kilograms even for very long trips. Donkeys
262 are occasionally used for long journeys by the Northern Tuareg, and many Ayr Tuareg use them to
484 fetch provisions of millet around Tanut in Damergu. Caravans of donkeys are frequently observed
in these regions, and one even sees mixed caravans of donkeys and camels. There can be no doubt
174 that before the introduction of the camel the donkey was still more important for riding and transportation than is the case nowadays. This is clearly demonstrated by historical material from Egypt and adjacent regions (cf. Erman 1922, p. 518 f., 529, 592 f., 636).

231 It has already been mentioned that donkey's meat and skin are not utilized nowadays by the Tuareg.
262 The same is true of mare's milk which, however, is used as a remedy against a kind of cough known
257 to the Ayr Tuareg as *khamkham*. There is no regulation of mating for donkeys which in many ways are semi-domesticated animals. In Ayr male donkeys are never castrated, while the Ahaggar Tuareg say they castrate such stallions as constantly run after the mares and in this way cause too much trouble. The Tuareg also have no methods to prevent foals from sucking, while a method of this kind is sometimes applied by sedentary people in and around Agadez. This method known as *éfinjar* consists in the cutting of the nostrils of half-grown foals so that they cannot suck pregnant mares. Both stallions
*492 and mares are used for riding and transportation, but female animals are much preferred for these purposes. Mares are used almost exclusively for the transportation of water-bags hanging under the animals, as the bags might be squirted by stallions' urine.

The Northern Tuareg saddle their donkeys, using the same saddle type for riding and for transpor-
462 tation (Fig. 86). This is known as *aruku* and is manufactured by the women in the following way:—
824 Two fresh boughs of the *tahunek*-tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) are heated, or slightly burned, over the fire.
322 The boughs are thereupon barked and bent into the curved form wanted, and are then kept in this position by cords. After drying for a few days the boughs will retain their curved form, and the cords
237 are untied. The boughs are then cut up and their ends are connected by two pieces of camel's hide
412 soaked in water, and sewn together by means of a large iron needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (cf. Fig. 220b) and a thread which is also cut from camel's hide. The wooden saddle frame is attached to three
237 cushions. These cushions are generally made of goat-skin or sheep-skin stuffed with hay or with date
412 palm bast, but may also be plaited from leaves of the date palm tree. Cushions made from goat-skin are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of the little awl known as *tistent* (cf. Fig. 218a). The two long cushions resting lengthwise upon the animals back are known as *tastek*, and the small cushion resting over the animal's back close to its shoulders is called *tafelledut*. The saddle is fixed to the donkey by two girths consisting of cords made of goat-hair. One of these cords (*tidmechart*) passes under the tail, the other (*ahayif*) is tied around the chest of the animal. This saddle type is well fitted for the transportation of burdens and in particular of water-bags, the cords of which are attached to the pommels. When the saddle is used for riding it is frequently covered with a blanket or a piece of cloth. Saddles of this type are found in all camps of the Northern Tuareg, and Lhote states that they are also found in Adrar-n-Foras and in Ayr (Lhote 1947a, p. 120). This may be so but I have myself never seen them in the latter region where they are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan*

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## DOMESTIC BIRDS

235 Many sedentary people within Tuareg countries breed fowls of which a few may also be found in pastoral camps of the Ayr Tuareg, though fowls seem to be of very little use to them. For the hens kept by pastoralists do not hatch out their eggs, and these are not always found by the Tuareg. I think that most pastoralists of Ayr keep fowls mainly because they like to have them walking around the camp, and I believe that their owners in general are children. Domestic guinea fowls are bred by some sedentary people of Agadez, and young Tuareg who find a guinea fowl chicken in the bush may even take it to the camp to keep it as a pet. In Ahaggar there are no fowls among pastoralists, many of whom will refuse to eat fowls and their eggs (cf. p. 162). [262]

Domestic pigeons are bred by some sedentary people living within Tuareg countries. I believe that they have been introduced by the Arabs – in accordance with the theory advanced by Stuhlmann and Lagercrantz (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 74). [174]

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Fulani M511



The most dangerous African cattle disease is the rinderpest. It is known to have entered Egypt in the year 1884 from the regions around the Black Sea, and about 1890, or somewhat later, it came to Eastern Africa and to the Sudan. Rinderpest is nowadays widely found in Africa but it is rare or unknown in Northern Tuareg countries. Rinderpest is apparently very rare in the Ayr Massif and it occurs mainly south of the Massif in savannah country. The Tuareg have no remedy against this disease. It is stated by St. Croix that the Fulani of Northern Nigeria once deliberately exposed their cattle to mild rinderpest to make them immune from this disease in its more severe and dangerous form. However, this method did not work and the Fulani gave up further experiments of this kind. It is also mentioned by St. Croix that the Fulani practise a kind of vaccination against cattle pleuro-pneumonia and that this is done as follows:— A piece of infected lung is put into milk for two to three days and thereupon placed into a small opening cut under the nose-skin of the animal. The method is claimed to be effective (St. Croix 1944, p. 24 f.). Vaccination methods are also known to some of the Southern Tuareg, e.g. the *Iwillemmeden*. These people vaccinate human beings against small-pox by inserting the pus of this disease into wounds cut with a knife (Aymard 1911, p. 108), and they also vaccinate their cattle against cattle pleuro-pneumonia ("peripneumonie bovine"). They do this in much the same way as described above for the Fulani:— An infected piece of lung is placed in sour milk or in the soil for a few days, and is thereupon inserted under the skin of the forehead. Nicolas describes the method as dangerous because the infection attacks the whole forehead and also the nose-bone (Nicolas 1950a, p. 133), but two veterinary surgeons who practised among the *Iwillemmeden* of Tawa told me that they considered this kind of vaccination effective. The method is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg of the Massif where this contagious lung-disease is unknown or very rare.

I have no great knowledge of the contagious diseases in the Tuareg groups I have studied, but such diseases seem to occur comparatively rarely, and there is no veterinary surgeon attached to the French administration of Northern Tuareg countries. There is one veterinary surgeon in Agadez, but his most important field of work lies outside of the mountain massif to the south.

Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr I have been told about two contagious diseases which, when they occur, may give rise to very heavy losses. One of these diseases is known to the Tuareg as *chonga*. It attacks only cows, which die very quickly, but if cattle suffering from the disease are ritually killed their meat is nevertheless considered edible. One Tuareg told me that some years ago about thirty cattle of his camp died in one day from an attack of *chonga*.

The other contagious disease I have recorded from Southern Ayr is called *tandert*. It attacks sheep and goats, and I collected the following notes about it:— The blood penetrates the animal's flesh which becomes quite red. If sheep or goats suffer from *tandert* and are ritually killed for eating, very great care must be taken in the preparation of the meat. It must be boiled until it contains no blood, and must not be eaten until it is cold and dry. It is said that if these precautions are not taken the people who eat meat from animals suffering from *tandert* will themselves become attacked by the disease, with the result that blood and pus may penetrate the skin at any part of the body. They say that a man who has eaten unboiled meat of an animal suffering from this disease with consequent infection is treated in the following way:— A species of ant more venomous than the normal small

Religious beliefs also interfere with Tuareg stock-breeding and create usages of an irrational kind. Thus the Tuareg, like other North African peoples, firmly believe in the mystic benevolent power, or benediction, known as *elbaraka*. This is a power that emenates from God. It is given by God to man and it cannot act unless certain taboos, or rather religious prescriptions, are followed. The benediction *elbaraka* is more than anything else hurt by impurity. Cleanness is an absolute necessity for this good force to be sustained in the same way that a man cannot approach God through prayer if he be unclean. Women are considered unclean during their periods of menstruation and cannot, therefore, then pray to God. They are also forbidden to drink the milk of domestic animals which have very young kids, lambs, or calves, and they must not drink water which has been conserved in newly-made skin-bags. These taboos are maintained in order not to hurt the benediction given the animals by bringing it into contact with impurity. For the same reason milk taken from animals which have recently brought forth young should not be given to strangers – they might be unclean and harm the *elbaraka*. It is also believed that soil is an impurity dangerous to *elbaraka*, and milk must never be spilt on the ground. Even when milk-bowls are cleaned with water, this liquid should be poured out upon plants or stones, and never be spilt on the ground. Should this be done, God will withdraw his *elbaraka* and the result will be severe periods of drought without milk. I have frequently heard Tuareg ascribe the lack of rain and the dry pasture – the lack of *elbaraka* – to the fact that somebody had spilt milk upon the ground. This had caused God to be angry and to withdraw his benediction. Some Tuareg have also said that *elbaraka* is harmed by a person who blows upon milk. When a man drinks milk he must not blow away impurities before drinking but must remove them by means of a piece of straw.

In the two groups of Northern Tuareg and also in Ayr it is considered very disgraceful for a person who watches the animals away from camp to drink milk directly from an animal's udder. Some Tuareg say that a man when staying alone among milk-yielding animals should not utilize their milk even if he performs milking in the usual way. A person who breaks these rules is called *émenkes* or *émelded* among the Ahaggar Tuareg, *émelded* in Ayr. The Tuareg say that there are some people, and in particular many slaves, who do not follow this rule, and that they are despised if known to have broken it. When two or more people are alone with a herd or flock away from the camp they can freely utilize the animals' milk. And it is very normal for camel herdsmen to live with a herd of she-camels in isolated places for long periods. They then live almost exclusively on camel's milk taken from the herd they guard.

Certain usages connected with stock-breeding are rationally explained by the Tuareg. Thus when they heat milk by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221) put into the milking bowl, they claim that this is done in order that the milk shall not get dirty as would happen were it heated in an ordinary cooking pot. Another custom which by other stock-breeders has been explained as being based upon magic, namely the usage not to drink milk and eat meat at the same time, is also rationally explained by the Tuareg. They say that there is no taboo on taking these kinds of food together, but it is very unwise to do so because the mixture will act as a laxative and upset the stomach. Therefore, if a Tuareg has drunk much milk he will not eat meat shortly afterwards, and if he has eaten meat he will not take milk for some hours, though he may do so should ample water have been added to the milk. The Tuareg to my knowledge have no other special customs in connection with stock-breeding and milk

than there mentioned

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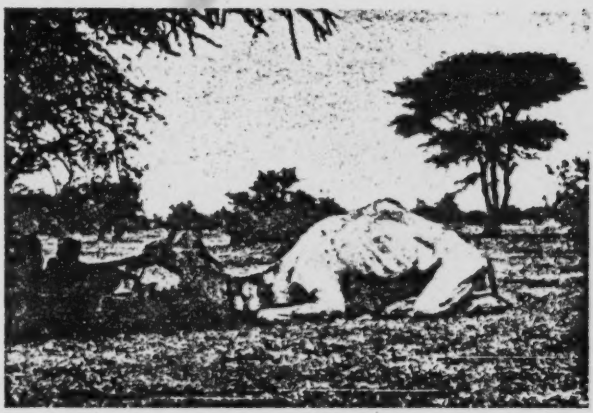

Fig. 95. A Tuareg feeding his riding camel with *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Many Tuareg feed their riding animals with stems of this perennial grass – partly to obtain a docile camel for riding, partly to change its fodder which consists largely of acacias and annual plants. The photograph is taken near Agadez at the *akasa* season. Annual plants grow between trees and bushes (*afagag*, *Acacia Raddiana*; *ebezgin*, *Salvadora persica*; *tadent*, *Boscia senegalensis*). Ayr, the *Isakaranan* tribe.

234 than those mentioned. Thus they can use any kind of receptacle for milk and milking, and they do
415 not clean their milk-bowls with urine as is normal among certain East African stock-breeders, and,
237 perhaps, also among certain of the Fulani living south of Ayr. The taste of urine is detested by the
262 Tuareg, who know this taste all too well as the water drawn from pools and wells is frequently flavoured
237 with urine and the excrement of domestic animals. Nor is camel urine used by Tuareg women for
302 hairdressing as is done among the Arabs, but it is said that it may have a medical value in curing
752 wounds. The custom of drinking blood has been mentioned above (p. 122 f.) and will be described later (p. 235).

*233 The Tuareg apparently have comparatively few superstitious usages in stock-breeding, which is
232 mainly to be considered rational. We have seen that stock-breeding is adapted to environment, and we have also mentioned that there are veterinary methods which doubtless have their origin in considerable knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of domestic animals. This knowledge forms one corner-stone of rational stock-breeding, and another is the very detailed knowledge of botany. In
*233 Ahaggar there are more than 600 different plant species for which the Tuareg have particular names,
824 though a few related species are sometimes known by one and the same name. Every Tuareg know about the ecological conditions of these plants, and he knows exactly their fodder value for domestic animals. He knows that certain plants form excellent fodder for all domestic animals, but he is also well aware that the different types of stock have different needs, so that certain plant species are valuable for camels, other species for other domestic animals.

231 The Tuareg are occasionally cruel to donkeys, and to dogs, but they take the greatest care of all other domestic animals to ensure their wellbeing and reproduction. Women bring acacia pods or tender annual plants to kids, lambs, and calves, and to sick animals which remain in the camp. On
484 long trading expeditions, when the camels have little time for grazing, some Tuareg will walk along
*233

*233 824 137 132 133 Each of the three vegetational zones of Ahaggar has its advantages and disadvantages. If we consider a good year when rain has fallen abundantly with a resultant regeneration of all fodder plants, the *Atakor* zone has very excellent pasture. For the plains and the stony mountain slopes are then entirely covered with annual plants which by the Tuareg are considered the very best fodder. The Tuareg also claim that the upper mountain zone is preferable because of its cooler climate, which has a beneficial influence on the lactation of domestic animals. The disadvantage of the *Atakor* zone is the lack of acacias to which can be added the scarcity of fuel. The *Tarayin* zone possess characteristics of the *Atakor* zone and of the *Abada* zone. The *Abada* country is botanically very different from *Atakor*. It has annual pastures of great value when abundant rainfall has been experimented and it also has valuable pastures of perennial plants. With heavy rain the *Abada* country is excellent for stock-breeding, and fuel can be found everywhere. But the Abada country is hotter than are the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

If rain falls abundantly all over Ahaggar there is good pasture in all three zones. But rainfall is more frequent and heavier at high altitudes than in the *Abada* zone, so that *Atakor* normally has by far the best pasture of annual plants which spring up late in summer or in autumn. The *Abada* zone on the other hand has the very best pasture of perennial plants, notably acacias that grow around the lower parts of the valleys which are always flooded when it rains in the high mountains.

221 *233 824 [132] [342] The fluctuations of plant development determine the nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg. A few tribes have their normal grazing grounds in *Atakor* (e.g., the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Kel Tazulet*). They camp in this zone at most seasons to let their goats and sheep feed on fresh and dry annual pasture. In dry years and during the hot summer season they may move to the *Tarayin* zone where there are perennial fodder plants, but they rarely camp in the *Abada* country. Many tribes have their normal grazing grounds in the *Abada* zone (e.g., the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, the *Ayt Lowayen*, the *Iheyawen Hada*, and the *Kel Ṛela*), but move to the *Atakor* when annual pasture is good in this region. They live in *Atakor* with tents and flocks when annual plants are green, while the rest of the year they camp in the *Abada* country to let their animals feed on acacias and other perennial species. Finally there are two tribes (*Tegehé-n-Efis* and *Iklan-en-tawsit*), the members of which camp in the *Abada* country all the year round even when rich annual pasture is found in *Atakor*. However, members of these tribes may send their camel herds to the *Atakor* zone, accompanied by herdsmen, while tents and flocks remain in the lower country.

221 *233 [565] 262 [567] With the exception of a few noble households which keep up their old tradition to subsist largely on camel's milk, the Ahaggar Tuareg do not keep their she-camels in Ahaggar unless there are excellent pastures of annual plants in this area. They take their camels to pastures far away from Ahaggar, notably to the Tamesna region where they have their animals guarded by herdsmen who are frequently slaves. In very dry years there are very few camels in Ahaggar – just the animals needed for riding and transportation. It is in fact very easy to take camels to distant pastures, and it is most necessary to give these animals the utmost care as they are most valuable and their breeding is a very slow process (cf. p. 56). Goats do not need such excellent fodder as do camels. They can eat almost everything, but in dry years goats may also suffer severely from lack of suitable fodder. This was the case in the year 1954/55 when I stayed in Ahnet and in Ahaggar. In the small camps of three to four tents each it was

*233 731 [361]

# Hunting

For the pastoral Tuareg hunting is not an important occupation, and nowadays it is practised mainly by those few Tuareg who possess rifles or guns. Traditional hunting methods are thus of far less consequence than in the past, but some of them are very interesting and most significant for a historical analysis of Tuareg culture.

## AHAGGAR

Northern Tuareg areas are not very rich in game. In Ahaggar the main types of game are the gazelle (*ahenkof*, fem. *tahenkof*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) and the barbary sheep (*udad; Ammotragus lervia*). The big gazelle (*énir; Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amellul; Addax nasomaculatus*) are very rare; they are occasionally seen in the plains outside of the mountains. The ostrich (*anhél*; *Struthio camelus*) was very common in the past, but is now exterminated.

The small gazelle is rare and shy within the Ahaggar Massif, while fairly abundant and comparatively easy to hunt with a rifle in the northernmost massifs and their surrounding plains. Of seven camps visited in Ahnet 1954, gazelle hunting was engaged in by the members of two households, and I estimate that they killed one or two gazelles every week. In most camps of the Northern Tuareg there are no true gazelle hunters, and when a rare gazelle is killed its meat is easily eaten in one day by the members of a single household – in addition to three or four pounds of wheat-bread or millet-porridge. Gazelle skin is of little practical value to Tuareg craft. It is not generally used for the manufacture of important domestic articles such as water bags and containers for milk and butter, but it is suitable and much esteemed for certain types of decorated leather work and for fine leather cords, e.g., necklaces for amulet cases, reins for riding camels.

Barbary sheep are extremely shy, and they live mainly in inaccessible mountains. They are still fairly common in certain isolated parts of the mountains, but they were more numerous in the past when hunting was practised without rifles.

The Tuareg estimate that the amount of meat obtained from two gazelles corresponds to the meat of one grown goat, while a big barbary sheep provides as much meat as that of four goats. Meat of barbary sheep is better suited for drying than meat of other game animals, and the thick hide of these animals is valuable for the manufacture of tents and for large bags used for the conservation on journeys of dates, grain, flour, and the like. The horns of barbary sheep are used as butter containers (Fig. 165), and some Tuareg add the powder of crushed horns to butter before heating it (cf. p. 222). Barbary sheep are of greater economic value to the Ahaggar Tuareg than other types of game, and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



224 on sandy ground. This same method is also used to catch asses or wild donkeys for domestication (cf. p. 108).

(7) It has been mentioned above (p. 108) that wild donkeys are also caught by driving them into closed valleys from which they cannot escape. As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not hunt proper game animals in this way, but the driving method is used in fishing as described below (cf. p. 164).

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*éfetaw*) (Fig. 113) connected with a noosed rope (*taram*) attached to a piece of wood (*aguła*) is used to catch gazelle, barbary sheep, and donkeys. Such traps are easily and quickly manufactured by the Tuareg, and when they want to trap gazelle in this way they make a great many traps which are placed in the sand around young acacias upon which the animals feed. [43] The arrangement of the spiked wheel-trap is brilliantly illustrated in literature (cf. Lhote 1951a, photos p. 112-113; Brouin 1950, p. 454).

(9) A torsion trap (*tendrbat*) provided with a noosed rope is used particularly for barbary sheep. This trap is also depicted in literature (Lhote 1951a, p. 113; Mérite 1942, p. 185). The trap is rare in Ahaggar nowadays. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that the trap was introduced from Adrar-n-Foras. It is said to be unknown to the Tuareg of Tassilé-n-Ajjer (cf. Fig. 114a).

[586] [177] The Ahaggar Tuareg nowadays engage little in trapping in contrast to the negroid agriculturists (the *Ḥarratin*), most of whom have steel traps (*elkhenlyet*) manufactured in Europe, or made by native blacksmiths on the European pattern. A few agriculturists have large steel traps to be used for gazelle, barbary sheep, and even for the big gazelle and antelope, but the common steel traps are small and are used mainly for hares (*émerwel*, fem. *témerweli*; *abekni*; *Lepus harterti*), jackals (*éberggi*, *aggur*; *Thos aureus* sp.), and fennecs (*akhurhi*, *éyechter*; *Fennecus zerda*). Still smaller traps are used for minor rodents (*éjewi*; *Gerbillus gerbillus?*) (*akundar*; *Masouriera* sp.) and for certain birds such as ravens (*aralet*, *taslaft*; *Corvus ruficollis ruficollis*), pigeons (*akekkemaz*; *Columbia livia targia*), turtle-doves [223] (*téderbirt*; *Streptopelia turtur haggara*), and sand grouse (*tékadewt*, *téderbirt*; *Pterocles* sp.).

Steel traps are now widely used, and traditional trapping methods for small animals and birds are therefore rarely resorted to. Among the *Kel Ajjer* small rodents are caught in snares (*asendi*) made of leather. Snares of this kind are known both to pastoral Tuareg and to sedentary agriculturists of Ganet and Rat. Among the latter there are also two different trap-systems used for small rodents, which in both systems are killed by a flat, heavy stone falling upon them. One of these traps is named *téelbeh*. I do not know whether these traps exist in Ahaggar.

223 Small birds, including pigeons and turtle-doves, are caught in torsion traps by sedentary agri-
564 culturists of the oases. Traps of this kind, which are normally provided with a net (cf. Fig. 114b), are found in most oases of the Northern and Central Sahara, but I have never seen them in use among pastoral Tuareg. Pigeon, turtle-dove, sand grouse, and also partridge (*Alectoris barbara duprezi*) are caught in snares made of hair. Ten or twenty of these snares (*éfefey*) are attached to a string so that several birds can be taken at the same time. Bird-snaring is practised mainly by sedentary agriculturists.

242 Sedentary agriculturists, slaves, and some vassal Tuareg are not squeamish. Even meat of beasts
565 and birds of prey is eaten by certain vassals, though such animals are unclean and inedible according to Islamic rules. The meat of fennecs, jackals, and a large eagle-like bird known as *tamakkla* is eaten

[text continues on p. 162]

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Fig. 115. Negroid agriculturist (*Harṭani*) with a hare caught in a steel-trap (*sikhenîyet*) of European type. Ahaggar.

262 by many people in vassal tribes, and jackal's meat is popular as it is considered an excellent remedy
565 against fever (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 146). But there are also many Tuareg who refuse all types of game
[767] with the exception of such animals as gazelle, barbary sheep, and antelope. Some Tuareg consider hare's meat unlawful, but this, perhaps, is a conception introduced with Islam, for many people of the religious *Ineslemen* class claim that hare should not be eaten because their blood resembles that of menstruating women. The food taboos strictly followed by all noble Tuareg are older than Islam: they never eat birds, eggs, reptiles, and fish.

These rules are not traditional for vassal Tuareg, though some of them have adopted the taboos of the noble Tuareg.

224 In Northern Tuareg areas two big lizzard types are found. One of them is called *aggezzeram* (*dobb*
564 in Arabic; *Uromastix acanthinurus*). This is caught and eaten by slaves, agriculturists, and by many
565 vassals. It is frequently taken by hand, but there is also a special implement (*teskumt*, *takoḍa*) consisting
262 of a stick provided with an iron crook for catching lizzards hiding in holes and under rocks. When
[432] vassal Tuareg are able to catch a great many *agezzeram*-lizzards they cut them up and dry them for
[1064] sale on their regular trading expeditions in autumn to the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. p. 210). The *agezzeram*-lizzard is said to be the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the negroid blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*), because the lizzard's tail resembles a file. I do not know whether the few blacksmiths found in Northern Tuareg country eat this lizzard, but do not think they do. The lizzard is not considered very delicious, and blacksmiths have emigrated from the south where it is not generally eaten.

The other edible lizzard is named *arata* (*Varanus* sp.). It is much bigger than the *agezzeram*-lizzard just mentioned, and its meat is excellent according to the taste of most Europeans. But this big lizzard

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



is refused by noble Tuareg and in general also by vassals. One reason for this is that the Tuareg have a myth saying that the *ayata*-lizzard is the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the noble Tuareg. Some vassals claim that it is the ancestor of all true Tuareg, but this statement does not agree with mythology (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 61). However, this lizzard is eaten mainly by slaves and by certain agriculturists, though its meat is considered a remedy against snake-bite and scorpion stings (cf. Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.). The head of an *ayata* is considered an excellent amulet against these poisonous animals (Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.), and the skin of this lizzard is not only utilized for the manufacture of amulet cases but also for small bags of various types (Fig. 116a).

Small animals are not necessarily killed with any particular hunting implement. The animals may be taken with the hand or killed with sticks and stones, as is the case with the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, *tékenisit*), which is eaten by some people, and with small rodents. Even hares can be taken with the hand when they hide in the grass or under rocks. The hunter may then approach the hare swinging one of his sandals over his head. This, it is said, makes the animals believe that it is hunted by a hawk or an eagle, and it will therefore remain stubbornly in its hiding place. Even gazelle are sometimes taken without any proper hunting weapon. Some Tuareg say that on journeys through the barren desert country in the summer they have met gazelle so exhausted from thirst that they could take these animals with their hands. Although this is rarely possible, I know Tuareg who have crept up to gazelle hiding from the sun in daytime and killed them with a stone. Finally it can be mentioned that the

Fig. 116a–b. Two small skin bags.

a. Skin bag (*abelbaf a ayata*) made from the skin of the big *ayata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.). Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Tarhawhawt. Dimension: 0.325 m long. (N.M. G. 5834).

b. Skin bag (*abelbaf a témerwelt*) made from hare-skin. Ahaggar, bought from *Harratin* at Tarhawhawt, manufactured in the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5833).

224 Tuareg are also aware of the use of poison. I have gathered no information about this myself, but
[824] Lhote states that certain poisonous grain is used for the destruction of jackals and small rodents (Lhote 1951a, p. 43 f. & 132).

226 It is obvious that fishing cannot be an important industry to people of the Sahara, but fishing is practised in certain areas. One species of fish (*Clarias Lazera*) is found in a few permanent pools of Central Ahaggar, but it is particularly common in the numerous permanent ponds of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where there is also another, perch-like species. I have myself caught and eaten both species. Duveyrier states that there are three distinct species in Tasilé-n-Ajjer:— (1) *asoulmeh* (*asulmey*) (*Clarias Lazera*); (2) *isattafen* (*i-settefen*); (3) *imanan* (pl. *imenan*) (Duveyrier 1864, p. 227, 238). Fishing is described
[262] by Duveyrier as follows: "Les poissons des lacs de Mihero donnent lieu à une pêche qui contribue
[565] à l'alimentation des serfs riverains. A cet effet, ils creusent sur les bords des lacs de petits canaux étroits, aboutissant à des réservoirs dans lesquels les poissons viennent pour y chercher une nourriture qu'ils ne trouvent pas dans les profondeurs des lacs. Quand ils y sont entrés on renferme les conduits et on les prend" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 238 f.). Another fishing method is described by Lhote: "Ils construisent des espèces de fascines avec des tiges de mrokba ou des branches de tamarix, puis, entrant à plusieurs dans l'eau ils forment une espèce de barrage au moyen de ces fascines en les mettant bout à bout et les poussent ensuite doucement devant eux. Ils prennent bien soin de drainer le fond de sorte que le poisson soit systématiquement chassé. Lorsqu'ils arrivent près de la rive opposée à celle d'où ils sont partis, ils poussent rapidement par un dernier effort et éjectent le poison sur le sable ou ils le ramassent. Ils recommencent ce manège plusieurs fois jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient capturé la majorité des poissons" (Lhote 1951a, p. 53). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told about a third fishing method, namely the use of a piece of cotton (e.g., an old cotton shirt) attached to two poles. The cotton piece serves as a net over which the fish are fed. There seem to be no other fishing methods, as both the fish-hook and the harpoon are unknown.

## AYR

136 The Ayr Massif with adjacent plains is very rich in game in comparison with the true desert country inhabited by the Northern Tuareg. Barbary sheep (*éfital*; *Ammotragus lervia Angusi*) are common in the mountains and also south of the Massif around the cliff known as *Falaise de Tigedili*. Gazelle (*achenkod*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) (*énir*; *Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amellul*; *Addax nasomaculatus*), which are found in Northern Tuareg countries, are more abundant in Ayr where there are also bigger types of game, notably the oryx antelope (*ézem*; *Aegoryx algazel algazel*), and the giraffe (*amder*; *Giraffa camelopardalis*) which is found south and southwest of the Massif (e.g., around Ingal and Aderbissinat). The ostrich (*énhal*; *Struthio camelus*) is still very common in isolated regions of Ayr including the northern outskirts of the mountains, where I have seen flocks of more than twenty birds. There are in Ayr as mentioned above (p. 31) many bird species which are unknown or rare further north in the desert, e.g., the guinea fowl (*taylali*; *Numida clappertoni clappertoni*) and a bustard species (*agayis*; *Chorlotis arabs stieberi*). Game birds are extremely abundant in certain parts of Ayr. The birds come in amazing numbers to waterholes and open wells to drink in the evening at

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catching wild donkeys in the mountains around the valley of Anu Mekkeren. The method is not used for proper game animals. 224

(7) A pulling and a throwing snare are both known as *tuṛuni*. They are said not to be used for hunting, though commonly employed to catch wild donkeys and domestic animals which have gone astray; cf. p. 108 f.

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*tawchit*) provided with a noosed rope (*tuṛuni*) attached to a stick. This is used for gazelle and bigger game animals in isolated places rarely visited by representatives of the administration. According to Buchanan, the spiked wheel-trap is used for ostriches in the plains south of Ayr (Buchanan 1921, p. 117 ff.). Large traps of this type are also used for giraffe by certain hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 453).

(9) The torsion trap (*tenderbat*) akin to that of Ahaggar. It is used for big game animals, notably for barbary sheep.

(10) Snares (*tazek*, pl. *t'izagin*) made from strips of dum palm leaves are used for guinea fowl and other edible birds. They are generally set near water where birds come to drink. Little boys of the negroid *Imeggedezen* of Agadez also make snares of hair to catch small birds (Fig. 118). [223] [257]

These are the hunting methods known to the Ayr Tuareg, who do not engage much in hunting with the exception of the *Kel Tamgak* mentioned above. Most Ayr Tuareg refuse the small types of game and beasts of prey, and reject not only the *aṛata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.), but also the smaller lizzard known in Ahaggar as *aggezzeram*, in Ayr as *emekkechchu* (*Uromastix acanthinurus*), though it is claimed that the latter is eaten among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The two lizzards do not play any part in Tuareg mythology – the *aṛata* lizzard is greatly detested by the Ayr Tuareg who kill it with stones or sticks, whenever possible. The Ayr Tuareg, including those of noble descent, have no taboos about birds and eggs, and many pastoral Tuareg collect guinea fowl eggs late in summer after the rains. There are a few animals not mentioned above which are considered edible among the Ayr Tuareg, e.g., the tortoise (*aṛaras*) which is found in the plains south of the Massif. With the exception of the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg the people of Ayr do not collect locusts (*tahwalt* in Ahaggar, *achwal* in Ayr). Locusts are eaten by all people of the two Northern Tuareg groups. The animals are roasted in the ashes or are boiled in a cooking pot to be pounded in the large mortar together with dried dates. This dish is very esteemed by the women who say that it is fattening and in this way adds to their beauty. 262 [262] [132]

Certain weapons have not been mentioned above because they either cannot be considered proper hunting weapons, or because it is doubtful whether they exist among the Tuareg or not. 411 [114]

Traditional Tuareg arms comprise an iron lance (*allaṛ*), a sword (*takuba*), and a dagger (*télek*) carried in a sheath fastened to the left arm. The iron lance may serve as a hunting weapon, and this is true also of the sword. Thus the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group said that wild animals were occasionally killed with the sword, and they claimed that two Tuareg of the past had killed lions with this weapon.

The bow (Ahaggar, *taṛayyé* or *taḡahhé*; Ayr, *taganzé*) and arrows (Ahaggar, *imurren*, sing. *amor*, or *tinassabin*, sing. *tanassabt*; Ayr, *imeran*, sing. *amer*) are not traditional Tuareg weapons. Nowadays very ineffective bows and arrows are used as toys by little Tuareg boys, but they are never used by [524]

[text continues on p. 169]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



224 the number of holes in each row and makes a special sign in the sand for even and uneven numbers.
787 There are four possibilities of different signs:— (1) A sign called *tezli* if there is an uneven number of holes in both rows; (2) A sign known as *élélli* if there is an even number of holes in both rows; (3) A sign, *eggur*, if the number of holes is uneven in the right row, but even in the left row; (4) A sign, *tamayit*, if the number of holes is even in the right row, but uneven in the left. The diviner makes two rows of holes six times successively. Each time he makes one of the mentioned signs according to the distribution of holes, and the result of his divination depends upon the character of the signs and their relative position to each other (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 151 f.). – The Tuareg have other methods of divination which are perhaps also used to predict the result of planned hunting trips. They also know to take omens from the shoulder-blades of wild and domestic animals. When a hunter has killed
[262] a gazelle he will often keep the shoulder-blades for himself, and having eaten the meat he will take omens of future happenings from the structure of these bones. Such shoulder-blades will not be thrown to the dogs – they are hidden under rocks and stones (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 150 f.).

224 Some of the above mentioned usages and beliefs have been mentioned also by Lhote (Lhote 1951a, p. 180 f.), who has noted a few other customs connected with hunting:—

[825] (8) If a hunter kills a snake he will get nothing. (A particular snake species known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *émegel* is never killed, as it is considered "sacred" and is referred to as a "marabut").

(9) If two men hunt together, but separate to meet later, the man who comes upon the other must not receive food from him.

(10) Handling the skin of game animals one must not put fingers into a bullet hole. This would cause bad shooting or accidents on future hunting trips, and the rule is observed even with tanned skin.

A few other superstitious usages have been recorded from Ahaggar by Captain Florimond (Rapport Annuel. Ouargla 1940). They are here quoted from Lhote 1951a, p. 181 f.:—

(11) Hunters of the *Dag Rali* take omens from the breaking of sandal straps in the pursuit of barbary sheep. If the straps passing between the toes break the hunter will kill a male, while he will get a female animal if the side-straps break.

[776] (12) When Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* (*Dag Rali*) leave for a hunting trip they put a stone or pebble on their heads and utter an invocation to hunting spirits which is rapidly repeated ten times.

(13) When *Dag Rali* Tuareg set out hunting they take with them a stone from a pre-Islamic tomb. When game is seen they throw this stone far away crying at their dogs: "Go! What you kill shall be *hallal* and lawful!"

[777] (14) When a barbary sheep has been killed by people hunting with dogs, the head of the animal is cut off and thrown on the fire while the following words are uttered:— "The smell from the burned skin of the head of the barbary sheep shall forever flatter the hunter's nostrils so that he may have good luck in future hunting also!" Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* will add:— "I have taken you from the *Kel Asuf* and I have taken only the blessing they have sold you that you may soon be followed by your peer!"

(15) At the partition of killed game the meat must be handled with slow motions. If not, the dogs will lose their fierceness.

(16) It is believed that a hunter should fix a burning piece of wood in the soil by the fire in which

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 123. Digging stick (*dawej*) which serves to dig up wild edible roots and other purposes. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.883 m (total length). (N.M. G. 5252).

Fig. 124. The wild plant *ihahelewen* (sing. *ahahel*) (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) which yields edible roots esteemed for food (bread). Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

Fig. 125. Skin bag of the *téchchékwat* type made from the skin of a kid and containing *adamum* berries (*Osyris alba*). The berries are normally eaten fresh, but are also conserved in skin bags to be eaten later after soaking in water. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension of the skin bag: 0.33 m. (N.M. G. 5244).

# Collecting

In this chapter on collecting such edible plants are mentioned as play a part in Tuareg nourishment. 222
Wild plants are also collected for other purposes. Many species are important to craft or have a medicinal 824
value. Some of these latter species are mentioned elsewhere in this study.

## EDIBLE PLANTS OF THE AHAGGAR AREA

Wild plants which yield edible fruits, seeds, stems, or roots in Ahaggar comprise more than fifty 222
different species. But the importance of collecting should not be judged from this, as all these plants [262]
are never found within the same area, and most are eaten only occasionally as a kind of relish or when
agricultural food (wheat, barley, millet, dates) is lacking. I have supplemented my own list of edible [114]
plants with important information from Maire's study of Ahaggar botany (Maire 1933 & 1940). In
my list the letters Tr., L.M., and U.M. stand for Maire's botanical zones, namely the Tropical Zone, [137]
the Lower Mediterranean Zone, and the Upper Mediterranean Zone. The following edible plants
are collected in Ahaggar and adjacent regions:—

*tirfas* (sing. *tarfest*) (*Terfezia ovalispora*). Tr., L.M. A fungus which, according to Maire, lives on 222
the roots of *Helianthemum Lippii* & *H. ellipticum* known to the Tuareg of Ahaggar as *urrug* (Maire 262
1933, p. 22, 159 et suiv.). This white fungus, which is frequently termed *tirfas n urrug* by the Tuareg, 252
is prepared for eating together with various other dishes. It is frequently added to the so-called kus-kus.

*tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*) Tr. Roots and certain lower parts of the stem are eaten raw or boiled. When vegetable food is scarce they are also pounded or ground into flour.

*akeywoḍ* (*Typha australis*) Tr., L.M. Roots of this plant are ground into flour.

*téseñgelt* (*Saccharum Ravennae*). Tr., L.M. "Cette plante ... laisse très souvent exsuder un liquide sucré qui se concrète en masses plus ou moins cristallisées; les Tuareg utilisent ce sucre" (Maire 1933, p. 54).

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). Tr. A perennial grass extremely common in the lower valleys of Ahaggar. Seeds are collected in receptacles (e.g., *ahaga*, Fig. 213) by beating the ears of the grass with a stick. The seeds are not suitable for bread, but are esteemed for porridge and *tébik*, that is seeds pounded in the mortar and eaten without further preparation. Ashes of this grass contain soda and are often [276]
mixed with tobacco for chewing.

[p. 175]

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222 *aremmud* (*Aristida plumosa & A. Adscensionis*). Tr. Seeds are edible.

262 *tullult* (*Aristida pungens*). Tr. A perennial grass found in certain parts of Ahaggar and particularly common further north (Ahnet, Immidir) and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Seeds are collected by men and women in the following manner:— The ears are cut with a sickle and placed in a piece of cotton (e.g., a cotton blanket known as *abroŋ*). The ears are left for drying, and threshing is done by beating with a stick. The husks are winnowed as described for wheat and barley (cf. p. 206), and seeds are then stocked in *aǥera* (a skin-bag). According to Foucauld collecting may also be done by digging out the nests of ants as these small insects stock a great many *tullult* seeds (Foucauld 1922, p. 29 f.). – The *tullult* seeds are used for bread and porridge, and are also eaten as *tébik* after pounding in a wooden millet mortar.

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[412]

*lewliwen* (*Scirpus maritimus*). An annual plant having edible fruit in its roots (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1098).

*taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*). Tr., L.M. Young shoots are edible.

*izéyan* (*Asphodelus tenuifolius*). Tr., L.M. Eaten when vegetable food is scarce.

*telokat* (*Ficus salicifolia*). Tr. "Les fruits murs, de couleur rouge, sont tendres, un peu sucrés et comestibles" (Maire 1933, p. 76).

[574] *adamam* (*Osyris alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Its red fruits or berries are eaten as a relish. A bowl of berries is frequently offered to guests of Tuareg camps.

*tanezmimi* (*Rumex vesicarius & R. roseus*). Tr. Inedible according to Foucauld (Foucauld 1922, p. 85), while Foley states that leaves of this plant are eaten after boiling (Foley 1930, p. 42).

*tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual herb which is particularly common in the mountain of Asekrem. The small black seeds are collected in bowls or similar receptacles by rubbing the plants with the fingers. The seeds are ground into flour, which is very suitable for bread and porridge.

*aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*). Tr., L.M., U.M. Seeds and boiled leaves of this plant are eaten when vegetable food is very scarce.

*ébedébed* (*Boerhavia agglutinans & B. repens*). Tr. An annual plant with edible seeds.

*éhéyefyef* (*Aizoon canariense*). An annual plant resembling the *twuit* plant and particularly common in the upper mountain zone. Seeds are used for bread and *tébik*, but not for porridge.

*aǥar* (*Maerua crassifolia*). Tr., (L.M.). A tree yielding edible fruit.

*tadant* (*Boscia senegalensis*). A tree or bush which is extremely rare in Ahaggar where its edible fruit are consequently consumed very rarely.

*aggasit* (*Farsetia Hamiltonii*). Tr., L.M. A seed-plant.

*aherera* (*Alyssum libycum*). An annual plant which is rare in Ahaggar, while common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Eaten after boiling in water.

*azezzeǥa* (*Diplotaxis acris*). The plant is rare in Ahaggar. Its leaves are boiled and eaten.

*tanekfayt* (*Eruca sativa*). Tr., L.M. Leaves are eaten raw or boiled.

*tamaghd* (*Moricandia arvensis*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual plant – a kind of wild cabbage.

*ahwat* (*Schouwia purpurea*). Tr. An annual plant. "Les Touareg mangent la feuille cuite et essorée, sans sel. La plante jeune donne une salade assez analogue à la Roquette, quoique d'un goût moins agréable" (Maire 1933, p. 111).

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*abellengad* (*Reseda villosa*). Tr., L.M., U.M. Seeds of this plant are edible, but of bad taste – according to Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 65. 222 262

*absey* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Tr., (L.M.). Fruits are collected mainly for goat fodder, but are eaten by human beings when vegetable food is scarce. The fruit is then crushed into flour. The resin of this acacia is also edible. 252

*tamat* (*Acacia seyal*). Tr. The resin (*taymwst*) is edible. I believe it is used mainly as a remedy against stomachache. This is perhaps also true of the resin of the *absey*-acacia mentioned above. [757]

*ahtes* (*Acacia albida*). Tr., L.M. "La gousse est même comestible pour l'homme" (Maire 1933, p. 120).

*ténefé* (*Tephrosia leptostachya*). Tr. "Les Touareg mélangent cette plante desséchée au thé vert" (Maire 1933, p. 125). [272]

*lagul* (*Alhagi maurorum*). Unknown in Ahaggar, but found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. "Les racines tuberisées sont mangées par les indigènes (Killian)" (Maire 1933, p. 131).

*alora* (*Peganum Harmala*). Tr., L.M., U.M. An annual seed-plant. Seeds are used for *tébik*.

*taburak* (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruits which are macerated in water to remove the bitter taste.

*tedjoq* (spelling according to Maire 1933, p. 241) (*Pistacia atlantica*). L.M. Very rare according to Maire (1933, p. 148). According to my own observations the fruit of this tree is eaten by Arab pastoralists (e.g., *Ulad Nail*) of the so-called *daya* region south of the Sahara Atlas. It is possible that it is also eaten by the Tuareg. [171]

*tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruit.

*téhak* (*Salvadora persica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

*tabakat* (*Ziziphus lotus* var. *Saharae*). Tr. The berries are crushed and mixed with millet flour.

*azawa* (*Tamarix gallica*). Tr., L.M. "La manne produits par ces arbres est receuillié par les indigènes qui l'emploient comme matière sucrante. (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 156).

*tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*). Tr. "Les rameaux mannifères sont employés pour sucrer l'eau" (Maire 1933, p. 159). [263]

*tafeltast* (*Myrtus Nivellii*). (Tr.), L.M. "Les rameaux de ce Myrte sont récoltés par les Touareg, desséchés et exportés par sac entiers au Soudan et au Mzab, avec *l'Artemisia judaica* ssp. *sahariensis*. Ces deux plantes sont utilisées comme médicaments et comme condiments" (Maire 1933, p. 162). [439] [752] [263]

*awkal* (*Cynomorium coccineum*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots which are dried and ground into flour (cf. Maire 1933, p. 163).

*aséyar* (*Anethum graveolens*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual plant. Its seeds are used as a spice and for adding to tea. [272]

*takmezzut* (*Teucrium Polium*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant used for adding to tea.

*dlel* (*Nerium Oleander*). Tr., L.M. This plant is extremely venomous particularly so for camels, which die from eating its leaves. "La cendre de bois de *Nerium* est employée par les femmes du Tidikelt pour se faire engraisser. A cet effet elles mélangent un peu de cette cendre avec des dattes pilées et du beurre, puis absorbent ce mélange dans du leben" (Maire 1933, p. 170). [261]

*arellachchem* (*Solenostemma oleifolium*). Tr. A perennial plant. Its leaves are used as a substitute for tea. [272]

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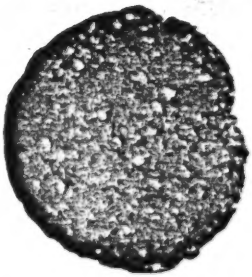

Fig. 126. A cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries (*Osyris alba*). The fresh berries are pounded in the large mortar (*tindé*) or are crushed between two stones to be formed into pieces of cheese form to be dried. This cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries is used by Tuareg women as a kind of face ointment against sun burn, pimples, and the like. They apply this ointment to the face as follows:— A little milk is poured upon a stone, the cheese-like mass of berries is rubbed against it, and the mixture of milk and berries is thereupon rubbed into the skin of the face with the fingers. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.075 m. (N.M. G. 5279a).

222
262 *enag* (*Leptadenia pyrotechnica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

[272] *tañhart* (*Mentha longifolia*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

*awit*, generally known by the collective name *awihat* (*Salvia Chudaei*). Tr., (L.M.). An annual plant used as an aromatic for tea.

[824] [682] *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*). Tr. This plant is extremely venomous for human beings, though not for animals. In the past it was used by the Tuareg as a poison for enemies. Members of La Mission Flatters (1880–81) were poisoned by the Tuareg using poison of this plant inserted into dates presented to the expedition. "La plante, absorbée à petite dose, aurait la propriété de faire [261] engraisser. Les femmes du Tidikelt l'emploient dans ce but, en en faisant cuire une petite quantité dans de l'eau avec de la farine et de la graisse; elles laissent réduire et absorbent la bouillie obtenue, puis se couvrent pour transpirer (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 192).

222 *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots. After drying the roots are
262 pounded in a large millet mortar to be used for bread which is much esteemed by the Tuareg. "Cette
252 plante est recoltée jeune par les indigènes, puis placée dans le sable sous une couche de *drinn* (*Aristida pungens*) jusqu'à noircissement et dessication. Le produit sec est moulu et utilisé dans l'alimentation (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 196).

*éfetekchi* (*Orobanche aegyptiaca* & *O. cernua*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots.

*tamzellit* (*Orobanche sp.*). Tr. Very rare. A plant yielding edible roots.

*tegellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). Tr. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

*alked* (*Cucumis pustulatus*). Tr. Rare. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

[263] *takkilt* (*Cotula cinerea*). Tr. "Les Touareg utilisent cette plante comme condiment, principalement pour la viande qui commence à se gâter" (Maire 1933, p. 209).

[439] *téheréggelé* (*Artemisia judaica* ssp. *sahariensis*). Tr., (L.M.). "Cette plante, comme le *Myrtus Nivellei*, est récoltée en grande quantité, séchée et exportée au Soudan, où elle est employée comme aromate et condiment" (Maire 1933, p. 212).

[272] *zézzeré* (*Artemisia herba alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

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*ajako*. According to Foucauld a small annual edible plant growing in the Ahaggar Mountains at an altitude above 2000 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 712). Maire mentions this plant as unindentified (Maire 1933, p. 263).

Collecting is mainly the task of women, but males – particularly uninitiated boys and slaves – also participate. Seed-plants are generally harvested by rubbing the ears of the plants between the fingers, but the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle (*amreh*; Fig. 143 a–b) to be thrashed and winnowed like wheat and barley. Edible roots are frequently collected merely by hand. However, a digging stick (*élaweg*; Fig. 123) provided with an iron point is also used to dig up certain wild plants such as *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) and similar root plants. This digging stick is characteristic of vassal women who use it for many different purposes, e.g., to make holes for tent poles.

The very best among the above mentioned seed-plants is the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*). Its seeds are collected or harvested by certain Tuareg inhabiting the lower parts of Ahaggar, but are important particularly to the Tuareg living in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Within the Ahaggar Massif the most important seeds are those of *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). The right to collect these seeds is free to everybody, and Tuareg of the *Abada* zone may send their slaves to the *Atakor* zone to collect *tawit*-seeds in the mountain plateau of Asekrem. The species of *afezu* and *tawit* are sometimes protected by an ban on grazing for three and two months respectively in order that their seeds may grow ripe for collecting. The right to put a ban on grazing of the two species belongs to the Tuareg in whom territorial rights of a sub-area are vested (cf. p. 150). It is said that under very favourable conditions a single household may collect some hundred kilos of seeds of the two plants mentioned. This may seem rather impressive, but even in good years when milk is abundant collecting will not provide pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar with sufficient vegetable food, for seeds of wild plants are far less nourishing than are grains of wheat, barley, and millet. The collecting of wild plants important for food is as dependent on climatic conditions as is stock-breeding. In dry years, when domestic animals yield little or no milk at all, there will also be no wild seeds for collecting.

Fig. 127. Very small bag known as *élem* ("skin") made from a kid's scrotum (*igassaté*). The bag contains a piece of resin of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). This resin is eaten by the Tuareg as a remedy against stomachache. Ahaggar, the *Aĝub-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the piece of resin: 0.07 m long. (F.M. 149a–b).

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222 Even in good years it may happen that edible seed-plants are eaten by locusts before they become
[134] ripe for collecting. Collecting is of secondary importance to the Tuareg of Ahaggar though to most
[433] pastoralists it is more important than hunting.

## AYR

134 We have seen that Ayr has better grazing grounds and more game than Ahaggar, and it is only
137 natural that this southern area is also a more favourable one for the collecting of wild plants. Never-
222 theless, it seems as if collecting is not so important to the Ayr Tuareg who have more livestock for
[433] which millet and wheat can be obtained without much difficulty. The number of edible plants utilized in Ayr is probably a very large one. Thus it is said that certain *Kel Ewey* Tuareg collect many different plants, but my inquiries into the methods and the value of collecting were limited to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group of Southern Ayr where the following species are collected for food: —

222 *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Pods of this acacia are dried and, after pounding in a large millet mortar,
242 mixed with milk to be eaten or drunk like the Tuareg dish known as *arejira* (cf. p. 245 f.).

252 *ebezgin* (*Salvadora persica*). Fruit is eaten without any preparation.

*tadent* (*Boscia senegalensis*). Berries are pounded in the millet mortar to obtain the limpid juice which is added to porridge.

[824] *tagayt* (*Hyphaene thebaica*). The dum palm, which is of extreme importance for the handicraft of the Ayr Tuareg, is also valuable as food. The young nuts are opened with a knife and the kernels are eaten. The old nuts have an edible outer coating which is eaten by children and even by adults when they are hungry. These old nuts are also pounded in the millet mortar together with seeds of *agerauf*, cf. below.

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). This perennial grass is very abundant all over Ayr. Collecting of its seeds is done by rubbing the ears of the grass between the hands to allow the seeds to fall into a plaited bowl. Seeds are pounded in a millet mortar to be used for porridge.

*ichiben*, that is seeds of an annual grass – apparently identical with *Panicum longiflorum* and/or *P. spinosa*. The seeds are collected in two different ways: — (1) If the ripe seeds have fallen to the ground they are swept together with a bunch of straw. (2) The ears are cut with a knife to be threshed by pounding in a millet mortar. The seeds are highly esteemed, being collected to a greater extent than seeds of other wild plants. The seeds are used particularly for porridge, but also for certain other dishes such as *arejira* (cf. p. 245 f.).

*iejit* (*Eragrostis* ssp.). A grass yielding red seeds collected in the following way: — The ears are beaten with the hands so that the seeds fall into a plaited bowl. The seeds are used only for porridge.

*wajeg* (*Cenchrus catharticus* & *C. Pricuri*). Annual seed-plants with thorny seeds. The dry plants are beaten with a stick and the fallen seeds are collected in a heap to be threshed with a stick. The seeds are pounded in a millet mortar for porridge.

*agerauf* (*Tribulus terrester*). An annual plant with thorny seeds which are collected as just described for the *wajeg* plants. The seeds are pounded in a millet mortar to be eaten without further preparation

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a dish known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tiderka*. For this purpose the pounded seeds may also be mixed with pounded dum palm nuts. 222 262 252

*ucheror* (*Sorghum virgatum*). A tall grass the seeds of which are swept together when fallen to the ground. They are used for porridge.

*agazagi*. Edible seeds of a grass. They are swept together when they have fallen to the ground, and are used for porridge.

*agedagedu*. Seeds of an annual plant. When they have fallen to the ground they are swept together by means of a straw bundle. They are pounded in a millet mortar to be eaten as *tiderka* without any further preparation.

*malokhiya* (*Corchorus tridens*). A plant growing in the bush though also grown in gardens. The leaves of this plant are dried and thereupon pounded in a millet mortar to be used as an admixture to porridge-sauce.

*abezey* (*Cassia tora*). Leaves of this plant are plucked with the hand, or, if the plant is dry, shaken into a plaited bowl. They are pounded and used as an admixture to porridge-sauce.

*kat'aket'i* (*Cistanche* sp.). It is said to be known as *achelleweu* among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The edible roots of this plant are dug out with a stick. They are pounded and boiled for a kind of porridge.

*ucheku* (*Glossonema Boveanum*). An annual plant with small lacteal fruit which is eaten as a relish without any preparation.

These are the plant species collected by the *Kel Ferwan* of Southern Ayr. It may happen that some of 222
these plants are destroyed by locusts, but in most years there are excellent possibilities of collecting wild seeds. Most plants are collected late in summer after the rains (at the season of *rarat*), or in [221]
winter (*tigrest*). It is said that in good years more than a thousand kilos of wild seeds can be collected by the members of a single household, but even this amount of wild seeds does not answer the need for vegetable products. Collecting is of secondary importance to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. [433]
Very few of the plant species mentioned are collected if there is abundant millet. The main exceptions are the plants used for sauce-admixture, and the *ichiben* seeds. The latter are collected even by Tuareg who have enough millet, because porridge made from these seeds is considered a very delicious dish.

The two groups of Northern Tuareg and also the Tuareg of Ayr acquire their vegetable food 433
products mainly from agriculture, which occupation will now briefly be described.

[text continues on p. 183]

243 Wheat and barley grown in winter constitute the most important crops in Ahaggar, but, as mentioned, [262] the gardens are also cultivated at other seasons, and crops of millet and sorghum taken in summer are most important substistence for irrigation farmers in Ahaggar. Millet is known to the Tuareg as [171] *énélé*; it seems to be the same species as that so widely grown by African agriculturists of the savannah countries (*Pennisetum typhoideum*, or *P. Americanum*). Millet is sown in June-July and harvested in Sep- [221] tember, or in October. Little work is involved with the cultivation of this plant which is never watered [461] much (cf. p. 184), and the agriculturists do not carry fresh soil to the millet plots as they do to plots of wheat and barley. Species of sorghum are less important than millet. The common species is known as [386] *abora* or *tafsut* (*Andropogon Sorghum*). Another species is known as *tallak*; it has smaller seeds than the species just mentioned, and is grown mainly because of its stems, which are reduced to powder to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 184).

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Fig 135. Basket (*tésenit*) of the type used for transportation of fresh soil to old garden land. It is plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*aḡum*) and has handles of rope made from date palm bast (*asan*). Soil is also carried to gardens in larger baskets (*téyerirt*, pl. *tiyrar*) loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m high, 0.35 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5285).

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Fig. 137. The fresh soil carried to old gardens is placed in small heaps to be spread out between the tender plants of wheat and barley. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

241 *andrum sativum*, *Cuminum Cyminum* (*azkar*), *Daucus Carota* (*ezzeruget*), *Cucumis melo*, *Lagenaria vulgaris* (cf. Maire 1933, and particularly Maire 1940, p. 401).

245 In addition to the above-mentioned plants there are various types of fruit trees which do not play [262] any considerable rôle for food. The gardens contain very few date palm trees (*tazzayt*, *Phoenix dactylifera*) and there are no palm trees of any value in the gardens situated in the upper mountain [251] zones where the fig tree (*tahart*, *Ficus carica*) thrives much better than in the lower country; the figs are consumed fresh, or they are put on strings for drying, common practise elsewhere in North Africa. The [386] pomegranate (*terrummant*, *Punica Granatum*) is grown in some gardens; its fruits are eaten, and they are also used for dyeing skins (cf. p. 282). Grapes (*tezzebibt*, *Vitis vinifera*) are also grown in some gardens.

Maire mentions the cultivation of the peach (*Prunus Persica*) and the apricot (*Prunus Armeniaca*) (cf. Maire 1940, p. 401). These fruit trees have undoubtedly been quite recently introduced for Foucauld states that they are not grown in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 79 f.).

243 There are nowadays many agriculturists who have their private gardens so that they cultivate their 423 winter crops and their summer crops entirely for their own use. But most agriculturists grow winter crops of wheat and barley on behalf of the Tuareg who are then the true garden owners.

[312] Agriculturists who cultivate their gardens on their own behalf frequently irrigate crops by means [476] of draught animals (zebus) which raise water from wells, but there are also some farmers who cultivate independently without any contract with pastoral Tuareg and nevertheless belong to a *foggara* team.

243 It can be estimated that an independently working agriculturist obtains a total yield of about 700 kilos of wheat and barley grown in winter. Of this yield he gives 10 kilos to the *Amenukal*, or to the

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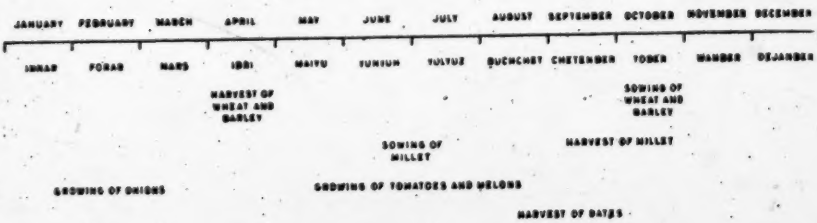


Fig. 139. Horticultural calendar from Ahaggar.

The Tuareg and the negroid agriculturists have a lunar calendar of twelve months corresponding to the Arab calendar, but a lunar calendar has no practical value for the indication of seasonal agricultural activities. The Julian Calendar is known to some people of Ahaggar as well as to other Berbers of the Sahara and the Atlas. Tuareg names of Julian months are given above. Very few people in Ahaggar know the exact beginning and the end of the twelve Julian months, but a few names are used as seasonal terms: *innar* "midwinter", *mars* = "beginning of spring", *ibri* "early harvest" (of wheat and barley), *maiyu* "beginning of summer", *tober* = "late harvest" (millet).

241 which no definite figures can be given, while the yield of fruit trees growing in the garden plot does
[423] not necessarily belong to the agriculturist. These trees frequently belong to pastoral Tuareg.
433 I think it can be estimated that an agricultural household with its own garden produce about a
262 thousand kilos of vegetables food products annually for its private use. We can add that though the members of an agricultural household live mainly on vegetable food products they also acquire a certain amount of food from livestock, which normally comprises a few goats and sheep, and perhaps one or two zebus. Conditions of stock-breeding are not always favourable to people who live continuously on the same spot, but it is advantageous to the agriculturists of Ahaggar, who live close to valleys with some pasture, that they are able to feed their animals on green garden products when pasture is badly developed and thus avoid the disaster of a drought. It is also an advantage to most agriculturists that they do not have to water their animals which can drink freely from the irrigation canals. The agriculturists can kill a few goats or sheep annually, they obtain milk and a little butter
[234] to be used mainly as a sauce for bread and porridge, and they make cheese of the *awles* type (cf. p. 224), but they never make cheese from fresh milk as do many pastoral Tuareg when milk is abundant. The agriculturists also breed fowls and pigeons, and some of them have an important meat supply from hunting with steel-traps (hares, jackals, fennecs, and ravens). Collecting, on the other hand, is of little or no value to irrigation farmers of Ahaggar.

241 The economic position of agriculturists who work without any particular obligations towards
466 pastoral Tuareg is tolerably good. It is less favourable to those who grow winter crops also on behalf
[423] of the Tuareg, as do most cultivators. Some of them irrigate the garden plot with water raised from
[511] wells by oxen which may belong to the cultivator or to the Tuareg. But most agriculturists who work
241 for the pastoral Tuareg irrigate by means of *foggara*. It is very strenuous work to dig a *foggara* canal.
312 and co-operation is needed not only for this but also for the maintenance of the whole irrigation system.
466 The gardens are individually tended by the agriculturists, who co-operate in the *foggara* work under
476 the leadership of a headman known as *amṛar n efeli*, that is "chief of the *foggara*". This headman is

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466 475 obtain a larger amount of vegetable food products and more wheat and barley. The pastoral Tuareg
423 gain less from their gardens than they did when the *khamast* system prevailed, but it is still profitable
241 for them to be garden owners.
434 The quantity of agricultural products anually consumed per person among the *Kel Ahaggar* is
511 estimated by Lhote at 187 kilos millet, 15 kilos dates, and a small amount of wheat for which no
262 figure is given. For Arabs of the Sahara the quantity of vegetable food is estimated at 180 kilos wheat,
[171] and 75 kilos dates anually per person (Lhote 1955a, p. 263). I add to this that wheat is used for bread to a very large extent by the Ahaggar Tuareg, who also make much use of barley for bread and porridge. According to Malaurie the amount of agricultural food products available per person among the Ahaggar Tuareg is about 400 grammes a day, or 146 kilos anually (Malaurie 1953, p. 342). It should be noted again that the amount of agricultural food products necessary for a Tuareg household varies greatly from one year to the other. In years of drought when agricultural products form so to speak the only source of food for the nomads, they estimate that a household consisting of husband, wife, and one child will consume about two kilos of cereals (dates) every day, or 730 kilos in a year. Consequently the amount of cereals and dates consumed anually per person may in dry years rise to about 245 kilos. This seems to correspond to the amount of food considered necessary for Arabs of
[171] Tidikelt and Tuwat, who live almost exclusively on cereals and dates. When employed as labourers by the French Administration these sedentary Arabs are given 16 kilos of wheat and 4 kilos of rice a month, or 240 kilos of agricultural products anually per person (Information obtained from the administration office of In Salah in 1954). The agricultural products obtained by a pastoral household from a single
511 garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less
433 so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example: During the year 1954 55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with an *aril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar
[437] Tuareg depend on caravan trading for their provisions of agricultural food, and trading also helps them to create the capital of millet and dates which is invested in their gardens in Ahaggar grown on their behalf by agriculturists. I believe that most pastoral households of Ahaggar have gardens, but there are Tuareg who have none. This is true, for instance, of most Tuareg living in and around the Ahnet Massif. Tuareg of this region formerly had gardens irrigated by the *foggara* system at Abalessa, but to-day they acquire their vegetable food products mainly by caravan trading.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AYR

563 The largest aggregation of sedentary people in Ayr is found in Agadez (4.737), which is inhabited al-
[361] most exclusively by negroid peoples who speak Hausa though most of them also know the Tuareg
162 language (*tamachek*). This large sedentary population mainly lives on trade and on crafts of
[197] various kinds. The inhabitants are known to the Tuareg as the *Imeggedezen*. They are said to be related
[433] to the Sultan (or the *Amenukal*) of Agadez. There is a tradition which claims that the Sultan came
[173]

162 tion that subsisted on agriculture. Most members of the *Kel Ewey* group are fairly negroid in appear-
144 ance, and though some of them lead a nomadic life and subsist mainly on stock-breeding, the bulk of
433 the *Kel Ewey* are sedentary agriculturists who have some livestock comprising goats, sheep, zebus, and sometimes camels also. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group there are very few sedentary agriculturists, though a few vassals have taken up irrigation agriculture in recent times. There are also agriculturists within the negroid group of the *Kel Ferwan* known as *Iṛawélen*.
[587] Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have gardens cultivated by their slaves, but this is not customary nowadays when slavery is of little importance in Ayr. Contracts between pastoral Tuareg and cultivators
241 are said to have been unknown until recent times when a few pastoralists have made contracts with
466 cultivators. There seem to be no fixed systems regulating such relationships, but it is said to be common for the cultivator and the Tuareg to divide crops equally between them.

241 Though agriculture could be practised in Ayr without artificial irrigation there are no rain-grown
312 crops within the Massif nowadays. The *foggara* system is unknown, and irrigation is done by raising water from shallow wells. The system of a pole and bucket provided with a counterweight known in Ayr as *aseftan* has disappeared quite recently. It was used at many agricultural settlements of Ayr until a few years ago, and in parts of the country formed the only type of irrigation system at the time of the French occupation. One informant told me that in his boyhood about 35 years ago no other irrigation method was employed at Alarses, and this is in agreement with literature (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 322). At that time, however, the method of raising water from wells by animal traction (in Ayr *anu*, in Ahaggar *tanut*) was also practised at many settle[illegible] It is unknown when it came to Ayr, but it is said to have been introduced from the north – probably from the regions of Fezzan and Tasilé-n-Ajjer from where the same system came to Ahaggar (cf. p. 187). It is now used at all
[492] settlements as the only type of irrigation system, and zebu-oxen are always used for traction. This was not so in the past when zebus were less common than to-day, and it is said that donkeys were then the common draught-animals. The irrigation of gardens is performed in much the same way as in Ahaggar. The water raised from the shallow well (*anu*) is led through a narrow canal (*aṛelal*) to a large basin (*tisemt*) from where another canal (*duki*) leads to the garden (*afarag*), which is divided into a number of beds (*éfenṛal*).

243 Cereals form the most important crops in Ayr. The common winter crop is wheat (*elkama*; *Triticum vulgare*), but also barley (*Hordeum tetrastichum* var. *pallidum*) is very widely grown. One crop of these two cereals is taken every winter, and it is said that the period of growth is about five months; sowing is done in October, harvest in March. Cereals are also important for summer crops. Both millet (*énélé*; *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and sorghum (*abora*; *Sorghum caudatum*) are grown, and millet, as we have seen, has a very short period of growth – only about two months (cf. p. 184). But though millet is
[262] most important as food for agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike, it is not widely grown because it is difficult to protect it from the numerous small birds and because, it is said, millet grown in Ayr
[439] is of a quality inferior to that of the Sudanese type. Most of the millet eaten in Ayr is therefore imported from Damergu by pastoral Tuareg. By far the most important summer crop grown in Ayr is maize (*Zea mays*), which is known to the Tuareg as *abora maser*, that is "Egyptian sorghum" (*abora* =
[288] sorghum; *maser* = Egypt) (the name *maser* is also used to designate the white cotton used for garments

# Caravan Trading

Caravan trading of the Sahara has suffered severely from the European colonisation of Northern 178
Africa. The establishment of ports and railways in the Sudanese area and the abolition of the slave- 437
trade have brought to an end the large caravans passing through the desert. In recent times another 484
heavy blow has been struck against the caravans, for transportation is more and more taken over
by trucks which can easily pass through the open desert country. Many pastoralists of Northern [433]
Africa suffer from the decline of their trade, which for centuries has been an important stabilizing
factor for their subsistence. The decline of caravan trading is also strongly felt in the oases, which [366]
have played a very important part as trading posts or trading stations. Some of these oases have far [16]
fewer inhabitants nowadays than in the past, and it is most difficult for many sedentary people of the
oases to exist. The decline of the trade has been felt also among the pastoral Tuareg. But caravan
trading is still important to most of them, and many of them could not support life without it. To
understand the important role of caravan trading we have once more to return to the economic values
of subsistence activities.

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AHAGGAR TUAREG

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot live exclusively on stock-breeding products all the year round – not even 433
in good years when annual pasture is well developed in autumn and early winter. Even in a good 262
year the nomads mainly eat vegetable food throughout the hot season, and some bread or porridge
is also consumed during the period of abundant milk yields. It is true that nomads can subsist entirely
on milk for long periods, and that some people do so for weeks or even months. Galan says that
pastoralists of of Ahaggar, when they live entirely on milk, can do with four litres a day per person
(Galan 1951, p. 231). But it is estimated by the Ayr Tuareg that they need about eight or ten litres a
day to live entirely on milk, and they all claim that they get weary from constant milk drinking. They [261]
say that though they do not feel hungry when they live exclusively on milk they experience a peculiar,
unpleasant feeling in the stomach. The relative importance of stock-breeding products (mainly milk)
and vegetable food (mainly wheat, millet, and dates) may be seen from the diagram Fig. 151.* In a
good year there is normally some possibility of collecting wild seeds for bread and porridge, but the
Tuareg claim that they cannot easily cover their need of vegetable products even in a year when milk
is abundant. And milk is not always abundant. We can estimate that for two or three good years 433

[p. 209]

* [cf. p. 216]

there will be one entirely dry year throughout, during which stock-breeding products have little or no value as food, and in such years of dry pasture there will also be very few wild plants to collect. Hunting, which plays little part for most Tuareg nowadays, is also of little value in an entirely dry year when many game animals die or migrate to other regions with more favourable pasture. It would seem obvious for pastoral Tuareg to do the same and to take their animals to grazing grounds outside of Ahaggar – particularly to the southern plains where pasture is normally better than in their own country. We have seen that most Ahaggar Tuareg in bad years have their she-camels far from Ahaggar in the Tamesna plains or in the country north of Adrar-n-Foras. We have also mentioned that, under very severe conditions, camps of Ahaggar and Ahnet may move to these southern regions with their flocks, though extensive goat-migrations are not always profitable. But most Tuareg remain in Ahaggar even in very dry years with their camps and flocks. Some of the animals will die, and none of them can be mated so that the flocks may rapidly decrease. During such years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg live so to speak exclusively on agricultural food products of which they get only a part from their gardens grown by sedentary agriculturists (the *Harratin*, or *Izzegaren*). It is mainly through caravan trading that the Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their vegetable food products. Their two important trading expeditions to the Tidikelt oases and to the Sudan are carried out anually for the main purpose of acquiring dates and millet.

Trading with the Tidikelt oases (Awlef and In Salah) is based mainly upon a surplus of goats, camels, butter and cheese, and on dried meat. But many Tuareg who obtain large amounts of millet from the Sudanese trading expedition also sell part of their wheat grown in their own gardens in Ahaggar, and Sudanese articles bought during their south-bound trading expedition. In a dry year some Tuareg may choose not to visit the Tidikelt area as they have too small a surplus for trading. The south-bound caravans, on the other hand, are rarely prevented from going as their main trading object is rock-salt of an excellent quality mined at Amadror north-east of the Ahaggar Massif. Both north-bound and south-bound caravans will set off in autumn when the hottest season has come to an end, that is at the end of September or at the beginning of October.

The caravan route from Tamanrasset in Ahaggar to In Salah in Tidikelt is about 750 kilometres, and the route is rather difficult because pasture is normally lacking for three to four days of the journey. Most Tuareg who cross this part of the desert therefore bring with them large supplies of the dried *tullult*-grass (*Aristida pungens*), which also serves as fodder for the pack-camels during the stay in the oases around which there is little pasture. The journey takes about twenty days in each direction, and the north-bound caravans return to Ahaggar again already in December or in January. The traders return with their camels loaded with dates of which a part may be re-sold in Ahaggar (Tamanrasset), but they also buy European cotton and other European articles, which are cheaper in the north, and woollen blankets woven by sedentary people of the northern oases.

The south-bound caravans are very extensive. The towns visited in the south are Agadez, Tawa Tanut, and Zinder. The distance from Tamanrasset to Zinder is, as the crow flies, about 1200 kilometres, while the distance from Tamanrasset to Amadror, where salt is mined, is about 305 kilometres. In total the caravan journey from Ahaggar to Zinder and back again for many Tuareg amounts to more than 3000 kilometres. The south-bound caravans are organized as follows:— Slaves take the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



433 439 in the Sudan for such articles as camel saddles, sandals, swords, millet mortars, indigo cotton, earthenware pots, and the like. The Tuareg may also buy quantities of butter and cheese for sale to the sedentary people of Tidikelt and for their own use in dry years.

The Sudanese trade constitutes the great stabilizing factor in the economy of pastoral Tuareg of [262] Ahaggar. In return for the valuable rock-salt, pastoral Tuareg obtain the bulk of their agricultural food products (millet), butter and cheese for their own consumption in dry years, many important artefacts and notably their camel saddles and their millet mortars. They also get a surplus of millet and goods for investment in their Ahaggar gardens and for selling to the sedentary people of the Tidikelt oases.

There are certain Tuareg who do not engage in the Sudanese salt trade, notably those living in Ahnet; and these Tuareg nowadays have no irrigated gardens either. They acquire their necessary vegetable food products from Tidikelt (dates) and from Abalessa and Tamanrasset (wheat). They buy these vegetable products with their surplus of goats, sheep, camels, butter and cheese, and an occasional [511] barbary sheep. In a good year they can meet their needs of food in this way, but it is most difficult for them to subsist in dry years; and it may happen that two dry years come in succession. When I [114] stayed among the Ahnet Tuareg in 1954–55, all camps visited were very short of food, while the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif who engage much in the salt trade (the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé*) possessed what they needed of wheat, barley, dates, and millet.

[364] To-day there is a rather important market at Tamanrasset where many Tuareg sell surplus livestock, [435] and where they can also buy cereals and dates. But it is always profitable to sell livestock and meat in the Tidikelt oases where meat, butter and cheese are very expensive articles. Dates are cheap in these 000 oases, European goods and woven blankets are also cheaper than at Tamanrasset. The trading expedi-

804 322 177

Fig. 150. Wooden measure (*mada*) which contains one kilo of cereals, or the like. The Tuareg have adopted the kilogramme into their own weight system. The proper Tuareg unit is the *tasiwa* which, according to Foucauld, corresponds to three kilogrammes (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1160), but nowadays the Ahaggar Tuareg count one *tasiwa* as equal to two kilogrammes and a half. The Tuareg have wooden or metal measures of *tasiwa* size, and there are also larger measures to be used for grain, dates, and the like. For units smaller than *mada* the Tuareg sometimes use a wooden measure called *tanaksi* which holds half a kilogramme. Smaller quantities are measured with the hand held half open, and it is recognized in Ahaggar that one *tasiwa* corresponds to 99 handfuls. In Ayr it is very common to use a little plaited bowl (*téfakemi*) as the smallest unit of measurement. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.125 m in diameter at the rim. (F.M. 168).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The trading expedi-
tions have remained important to the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it is clear that they would not go on trading were these expeditions not profitable, for trading expeditions are extremely strenuous. Though the expeditions set off when the extreme heat is decreasing, it is still very hot in the extensive barren plains in autumn and in winter during daytime. Water and pasture are often extremely scarce in this deserted country, and the Tuareg frequently have to travel rapidly. For days or weeks they live so to say on their camels, and if camels are not too heavily loaded they may do up to 16 hours a day for several days in succession. Under such journeys the Tuareg eat only once a day. Obviously such trading expeditions are also very hard on the pack-camels, and there is always a risk of loosing a camel during such journeys through barren, desert country.

In this brief outline of caravan trading I have not considered those Ahaggar Tuareg living constantly in the Tamesna plains and adjacent regions. These Tuareg own more livestock than the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif, and I do not believe that they engage so much in extensive trading expeditions. They are comparatively rich in she-camels which are tolerably good milk yielders in these regions most of the year, and milk is more important as food than it is in Ahaggar. I believe that most Ahaggar Tuareg of the Tamesna region acquire their necessary vegetable products by selling surplus livestock, butter and cheese at the markets of Ingal and Agadez.

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AYR TUAREG

Among the Ayr Tuareg stock-breeding products are far more important for food than in the north. Grazing conditions are better with annual pasture as a recurrent event, and the Tuareg keep bigger flocks of goats and sheep, larger camel herds, and most have a few zebus which are guarded without much difficulty. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr can live on milk for a large part of the year, though they, like those of Ahaggar, become tired of milk drinking if they get no solid food. There are Tuareg of Southern Ayr who live exclusively on milk for two or three months during the periods of *akasa* and *rarat* and to whom milk is important as food for at least six months. In the extremely hot season of *ewilen* when milk is very scarce most Tuareg eat millet porridge with a little milk or sauce (cf. p. 242 f.), and Tuareg who are not very wealthy eat millet porridge to a great extent all the year round, so that the necessary amount of millet for many camps is about 0.5 kilo a day per person, or about 180 kilos a year. In Ayr there are fairly good possibilities of collecting if there are not too many locusts, but most Tuareg do not collect a great quantity of wild seeds, and claim that they would be very badly off without millet, as seeds of wild plants are not very nourishing in comparison. In one year during the second world war (in 1943) they say that millet was very hard to get; it was then very difficult to subsist and a great many animals had to be killed for food. Millet is almost indispensable to the Tuareg; they also consume other vegetables derived from agriculture, notably wheat, maize, and dates, but millet is the most essential non-nomadic food product. Normally it can be acquired by most Ayr Tuareg without much difficulty.

The people of Ayr obtain their provisions of millet from the Sudanese area of shifting cultivation, notably from Damergu (Tanut). Millet can also be bought at Agadez whereto it is brought by Tuareg

439 caravans of the south or by Ayr Tuareg who import more millet than they need for their own use.
437 But millet is cheaper in Damergu than at the Agadez market, and most Tuareg prefer to organize
[435] their own millet caravans with camels and donkeys as pack-animals. In Damergu most Ayr Tuareg
[492] get millet in exchange for livestock or they buy it for money. Their caravans are not always very large,
[476] for the Southern Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not organize their caravans co-operatively
[484] on the basis of kinship. Many individual households fetch their own millet with a few animals, and it
[592] is comparatively easy to do so as the millet growing country of Damergu is not very far away – the distance from Agadez to Tanut is only about 300 kilometres. The Ayr Tuareg do not have to engage in extensive trading expeditions to procure millet, and can buy millet very cheaply. A household, it
437 is said, does not have to sell a great many animals to secure the necessary supply of millet. Three or
439 four camel loads will cover the needs of most households, and this amount of millet can be acquired
435 for comparatively few animals – particularly if the animals vended are sheep, which have become
592 very expensive in recent times owing to the rapid increase of Europeans at Agadez. An extremely good
162 sheep or ram for slaughtering can bring in 2000 to 3000 West African francs, and a Tuareg household which buys millet in Damergu will need less than 10,000 francs to acquire the quantity necessary for a year. Thus the Ayr Tuareg can obtain their millet for a few sheep, and there are very few, if any, who do not posses this surplus, and it should be repeated that the increment of livestock is never stopped by drought periods as in the north. The extremely high price for sheep for butchering is a recent phenomena due to the increase of the French population. Fully-grown sheep or rams are expensive, and this is also the case with fowls, while goats are cheap. I believe we can estimate that a household would have to sell about 15 goats anually to obtain the amount of millet necessary for one year's consumption. However, there is little doubt that it has always been quite easy for the Tuareg of Southern Ayr to obtain the requisite amount of millet in exchange for livestock.

262 Millet and milk constitute the basic nourishment of the Ayr Tuareg, but they are very fond of an
[222] occasional change of food. And I believe that this is one important reason why the Ayr Tuareg, like those of Ahaggar, collect wild seeds even in years when grown cereals are abundant. For a change, the Ayr Tuareg are also extremely fond of dates which are not grown to any great extent in their own country. A few Ayr Tuareg own palms yielding dates of poor quality, and I think that a few house-
[439] holds also obtain some dates from Ingal. However, most dates eaten in Ayr are imported from the oasis of Bilma, situated in the very barren desert country between Ayr and Tibesti, about 700 kilometres north-east of Agadez.

437 The trade with Bilma is apparently an ancient one, and its foundation is salt which is of a very bad
439 quality compared with that mined at Amadror in the north. The rock-salt of Amadror is excellent
[317] for food, and though there is one good quality of Bilma salt that is used for food by the Tuareg of
[263] Ayr, most salt from Bilma contains much soil and other impurities. This impure salt is excellent for
[233] domestic animals which, in Ayr and further south where salt pastures do not exist, need a lot of salt. The Ayr Tuareg, and particularly those who do not visit the country of Azaouar at the end of the rains, need salt not only for their own food but also for their domestic animals. They obtain this from Bilma, which is visited by caravans in autumn or in the early winter. The inhabitants of Bilma, like other oases-dwellers, are in constant need of cereals and meat, and these products are imported

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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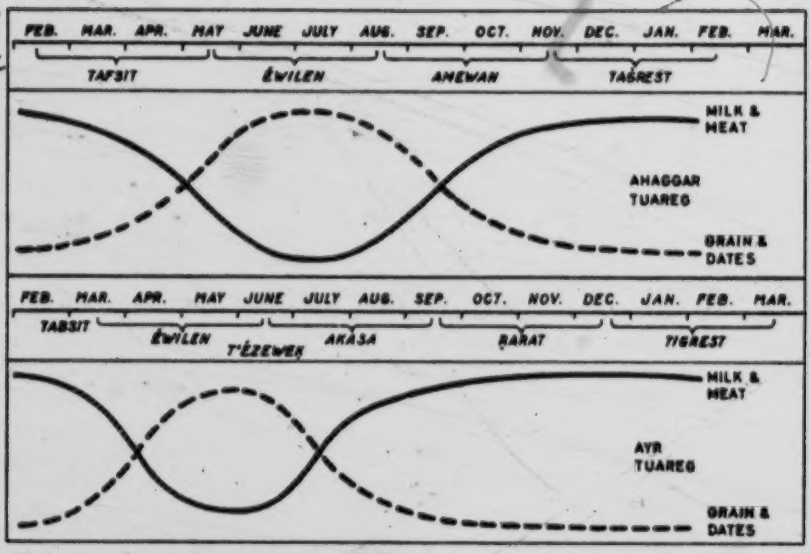


[511] [824] Fig. 151. The relative importance throughout the year of food derived from stock-breeding and vegetable products mainly comprising agricultural products. The curves describe conditions in good years for wealthy families. However, milk (and meat) is less important to most Ayr families than indicated in the diagram which covers a household making use of the particular type of annual pasture which remains green throughout winter, notably *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*) *adrylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tagellat* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). – This diagram should be compared with Fig. 14 where climatic and botanical changes throughout the year are outlined.

433 it is remunerative to buy an extra supply of millet in Damergu and to exchange it for dates and salt
439 at Bilma. Caravan trading is a source of profit to the Ayr Tuareg, but most of them ultimately acquire their agricultural food products in exchange for stock and stock-breeding products. Very few of them mine salt at Amadror, and most of them obtain salt in return for millet bought for domestic animals in Damergu, or for meat of domestic animals butchered in Ayr. The Tuareg cannot easily subsist without agricultural products but they can obtain them in exchange for their livestock.

233 We see again that conditions of stock-breeding are very favourable in Ayr in comparison with those
166 of Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where frequent drought periods make it difficult for the Tuareg to
[184] exist. It is easily understandable that the favourable grazing conditions of Ayr have caused many Tuareg of the north to migrate southwards. These migrations take place even to-day and have gone
433 on for centuries (cf. p. 411 ff.). However, even in Ayr it is most difficult to subsist without cultivated
262 cereals (millet), and we must do away with the myth that pastoralists of North Africa live entirely on milk and meat from their animals – they do not. This is true for all Tuareg I have visited, including

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



those of Tasilé-n-Ajjer and the *Kel Geres*. I have been informed by *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg of the *Kel Dennek* group, whom I met in Ayr, that they live on millet to much the same extent as the Ayr Tuareg, and that some of them have gardens cultivated by negroid agriculturists. For the *Kel Dennek* it is expressively stated by Nicolas that they cannot live on milk, that they kill comparatively few of their animals, and that they largely live on cereals obtained not only by collecting. Some of the Tuareg mentioned by Nicolas are described as semi-nomads (Nicolas 1950a, p. 145 ff.). Among the Southern Tuareg living further west in the Sudanese savannahs (the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram*), agricultural products are very important to the pastoralists who may possess gardens along the banks of the Niger, these gardens being cultivated by the *Bélla* (Aymard 1911, p. 117; Miner 1953, p. 60 ff.).

Nowadays there are no Tuareg who subsist without agricultural products, a few of them (the *Kel Ajjer*) practise a primitive type of agriculture in the river valleys, and within all groups there seem to be Tuareg who have turned to irrigation farming as their most important occupation. In the following section I discuss briefly the subject of Tuareg economy in the past.

## TUAREG ECONOMY IN THE PAST

Tuareg culture was not profoundly altered by the advent of European military administration around the beginning of the present century. Their traditional material culture has persisted largely unchanged up to the present day. The major change has been the abolition of warfare and consequently the breakdown of the traditional political system, but the abolition of warfare also led to important changes in the organization of caravan trading.

Raiding expeditions were carried out in some Tuareg groups even after the arrival of the Europeans, who established small garrisons in the oases and had camel patrols roaming the country as they have nowadays. Buchanan thus describes a raid carried out by Ahaggar Tuareg against the Ayr village of Timia in the year 1920 (Buchanan 1921, p. 207 ff.), and raids have not been entirely unknown in Ayr even later, though the raiders have then been severely handicapped by the establishment of the French wireless stations which enabled the camel patrols of different areas to communicate with each other (Rodd 1926a, p. 188). Raiding have nowadays stopped, but before the European penetration and conquest it was so to speak an industry to be mentioned with other subsistence activities.

The Ahaggar Tuareg were known as prominent raiders and warriors in the past. The two dominent chiefdoms within the group of Ahaggar Tuareg, the *Kel Ḑela* and the *Taytoḳ*, frequently raided the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg and the Arabs living north of Timbuktu, as these southern pastoralists were very rich in livestock and in slaves. Some of these Tuareg and Arabs even paid fixed dues to chiefs of the *Kel Ḑela* and the *Taytoḳ* in order that they should not be raided by Tuareg of these groups. However, these annual payments did not safeguard against raiding (cf. p. 401 f.). It seems as if the south-bound raiding expeditions were mainly profitable to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who could not so easily be raided in return by the Southern Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg also raided other neighbouring pastoralists such as the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the powerful Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* with whom they had frequent and very serious quarrels; these people raided the Ahaggar Tuareg in return. It can be

# Food Preparation

It is natural to open this chapter on food preparation with a description of the use of milk (*akh*) among pastoral Tuareg. The milk which serves as nourishment for the Tuareg derives from goats, sheep, cows, and camels. Milk of all these animals is frequently drunk fresh without any preparation, and this is generally the case with camel's milk, which is not fitted for churning butter or for the manufacture of cheese (cf. p. 63). Milk of goats, sheep, and cows is used for butter and cheese, and is added to various dishes to be described below. 234 262

Fresh milk, which is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *akh kefayen*, is sometimes heated by means of hot stones (*iḍaṛen* in Ahaggar; no particular name in Ayr). The stones heated are then put directly into the wooden milking bowl. The Tuareg practise this method mainly in winter as they do not like to drink cold milk, but milk is heated all the year round in this way with milk of animals which have just brought forth kids, lambs, or calves including camel calves. The milk taken from a mother animal until about twenty four hours after the birth of kids, lambs, or calves is known to the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr as *éḍeṛes*. It is very rich and when it is heated by means of hot stones it becomes very thick forming almost a kind of cheese which is highly esteemed by the nomads. The milk of sheep and goats is considered *éḍeṛes* for two days after the birth of kids and lambs, though this term should properly be applied only to milk taken the first day after birth. The main reason for using hot stones for milk heating is said to be that milk does not get dirty in this way as it does if heated in earthenware pots over the fire (cf. p. 126). 252

Sour milk (*selay* in Ayr) is consumed mainly by the Ayr Tuareg, who conserve it in skin bags and especially in calabashes, for which reason this sour milk is also known to the Ayr Tuareg as *akh n ezenu*, that is "calabash milk". The milk is often left about twenty four hours for souring, and it is then placed in a very cool place in order that it may not turn into junket which is not eaten by the Tuareg. 262 [251] [415] * [252]

Both in Ayr and in Ahaggar the Tuareg may add water to fresh milk (cf. p. 126), and the Northern Tuareg also add water to buttermilk (*akh n agiwir*). This mixture of water and butter-milk is in high esteem among the Northern Tuareg, and camel riders frequently carry it with them in a special skin-bag, known as *tasufra* (Fig. 155), attached to the riding saddle. Butter-milk cannot be transported in this way if water is not added, for the milk, though already once churned, will become butter during the camel's march. The Ayr Tuareg do not drink butter-milk which is given to domestic animals, but this beverage is so appreciated by the Northern Tuareg that some of them will not drink fresh milk unless butter-milk has been added, a mixture known as *agerengefa*, *akh imsayen*, or *umsey*. [484] [415] *

[p. 221]

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[531]

[285]

Fig. 153a–b. Tuareg funnels (*ässegefi*, pl. *issegefa*) which are used for milk, butter, and for other liquids.
a. Wooden funnel ornamented by burning. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (F.M. 240).
b. Funnel plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) with the rim reinforced with leather. Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.135 m high. (F.M. 243).

234 In Ahaggar the method of churning butter is as follows:— Milk of the morning yield is put into a
*4/5 skin bag (*émesesley*) (Figs. 156–157) to remain in this bag until next morning when churning takes place. During the hot season the *émesesley*, filled with milk, is placed in the shade of the tent in daytime, while in winter it is placed in sunshine, or close to the fire. Some milk of the evening yield is sometimes added to the morning milk in the *émesesley*. Before churning the milk thus soured is poured into the proper churning bag (*aḡiwir*, *tanwart*) which is inflated and shaken. Churning bags may vary in size; when there is little milk to be churned a little bag is used and shaking is done holding it in the hands (Fig. 158). When milk is very plentiful, butter is sometimes churned in larger bags (*anwar*), which at one end is attached to a pole, while shaking is done by pulling the other end of the bag with one or both hands. When the milk is shaken in this way it forms small white balls of butter which
[412] are removed from the churning bag with a wooden spoon (Fig. 191) when water has been added. This
[262] white butter (*udi wa mellen*, or *tezendut*) is occasionally used for food without further preparation,
[824] but this is not normal, for newly-churned butter is generally put into an earthen pot (*téṛirt*, or *ufrun*) (Figs. 186, 187a–b) together with parts of an annual plant known as *aynesnis* (*Chlamydophora pubescens*) (Fig. 160) to be heated over the fire. Some Tuareg also add meal of dried dates, or of horns of barbary sheep. After heating, butter (*udi*) assumes a dark yellow colour. It is stored in containers made of
251 *4/5 camel's hide (*tahattint*, *azagen*, *aṛaḥha*) (Figs. 161–162), or in Sudanese calabashes (*azem*) (Figs.
[326] 163a–b). A particular metal pail (*éṛir*) (Fig. 164) manufactured by native blacksmiths is also used for
butter in Ahaggar,

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butter in Ahaggar, and butter reserved for greasing the hair is frequently kept in a large horn (*isek*) of barbary sheep (Fig. 165). 251 415* [302]

The Ayr Tuareg make butter (*wiji*) in much the same way as the Northern Tuareg. For churning they use a skin bag (*anwar*), or a calabash (*azemu*), and they say that they prefer skin bags in winter, and calabashes in the hot season. Butter is heated or boiled immediately after churning, but the Ayr Tuareg do not add parts of plants, date flour, or the like. In Ayr butter is not churned as regularly as in the north. It is used mainly for cooking meat of thin animals, for a sauce which may be used for millet porridge instead of milk (cf. p. 243 f.), and for greasing the hair. Among the Northern Tuareg butter is added to many different dishes and particularly to bread, which is eaten almost daily by many people. In years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg get their butter from Ayr (cf. p. 212, 215), and the Ayr Tuareg make much butter for export in such circumstances. They churn most butter from cow's 234 [415]* [252] [302] [262] [438]

415* 322 [283] →

Fig. 154a–c.

a. Wooden funnel. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Deg Ɛall* tribe. Dimension: 0.146 m high. (N.M. G. 5203).
b. Funnel consisting of a piece of calabash which derives from the south. Ahaggar, the *Deg Ɛall* tribe. Dimension: 0.131 m high. (N.M. G. 5202).
c. Wooden funnel with a strap of cord of goat's hair. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.175 m high. (N.M. G. 1.150).

All wooden funnels are cut from wood of the *tabarakkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*). [824]

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Fig. 135. Skin bag (*azaqfu*) for the conservation of butter-milk on journeys. The bag is made from an entire goat-skin and has a handle of goat-hair cord tied to the skin patches of the hind legs. A leather handle is attached to the lower part of the bag which is ornamented with leather fringes. Ahaggar, the *Aḡab-es-sahl* tribe. Dimension: 0.77 m long without the fringes. (F.M. 89).

They churn most butter from cows

234 milk, and this butter is not considered as delicious by the Ahaggar Tuareg as their own butter, churned
262 mainly from goat's milk. – The use of wooden churning sticks by means of which milk is stirred in
234 an open container is unknown in Ahaggar and Ayr, so far as I know. Churning sticks are used in
412 other Tuareg groups. They are common among the Tuareg of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas (Musée d'Ethono-
184 graphie, Neuchâtel, no. 49.2.44 & Musée de l'homme, Paris, no. 38.16.48) and among the *Iwillemmeden*
171 Tuareg and the Fulani (Musée de l'homme, Paris, nos. 41.19.411 & 41.19.1326).

234 All Northern Tuareg, as well as the Northern Arab pastoralists and semi-nomadic Berbers and
[177] Arabs of the Atlas, make cheese from butter-milk, while this type of cheese is unknown among the
[184] Southern Tuareg and also among the Fulani. In Ahaggar butter-milk cheese (*awlez*) is manufactured
[462] by women in the following manner:— Butter-milk is heated over the fire in an earthen pot (*sḡirt*, or *ufrun*)
*[415] (Figs. 186, 187a–b) by which process the milk is divided into two parts, namely pure water and a curdled mass of milk (*akru*). This mass of curdled milk is placed in a special basket (*aragus*) (Figs. 167a–b) hanging from a tree or a similar object to sort out the whey. Thus there remains a mass of cheese in the basket, and this mass is formed into small round pieces to be left for drying. Butter-milk cheese is manufactured in this way by all Northern Tuareg who are thus able to obtain butter and cheese from the same milk.

234 Another type of cheese is made from fresh milk and is manufactured not only by the Northern
171 [ie. the Ayr Tuareg -- Analyst]

Tuareg but also by the southern groups and by Arab pastoralists of the Sahara; it is also known in 234
the Atlas, and is on the whole widely distributed in Northern Africa. This type of cheese is known to [171]
the Northern Tuareg as *takammart* and it is manufactured as follows:— Fresh milk is heated and [415]*
then poured into a large wooden bowl (e.g., *tarehat*) (Figs. 195a–b). The milk is curdled into a mass
of cheese by means of a rennet (*akammar*) consisting of the abomasum of kids that have never tasted
anything but milk. The curdled mass of cheese is pressed with the hands and with a piece of straw- [285]
mat (*éseber*) in order that the liquids may separate. The mass of cheese is formed into small rectangular
pieces of cheese which are left on the little straw-mat for about one day. They are then removed to [417]
be dried finally on a platform (*tahaga*, *tafalkat*) made of branches.

Cheese made from fresh milk is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tekemmart*; it is manufactured to very
great extent and much in the same fashion as just described from Ahaggar. The abomasum of little [824]
kids or lambs to be used for rennet is named *tederant*, and the Ayr Tuareg add parts of an annual
plant known as *ekochmaren* (*Caralluma Mouretii*) in order that the milk may curdle quickly. The [285]
Ayr Tuareg also use little mats plaited from stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) to press and
form the rectangular pieces of cheese; the Ayr Tuareg make mats (*tésebert*) (Fig. 168) particularly
for this purpose, while the Ahaggar Tuareg generally use an old piece of a tent mat (*éseber*). In Ayr
the rectangular pieces of cheese are dried on bunches of hay placed in trees (acacias), or on the top
of the mat-covered tents.

The *takammart* or *tekemmart* type of cheese made from fresh milk is in high esteem as food among 262
all pastoralists of the Sahara. It is generally eaten when newly-made and soft, though it may also be 251
stored. The Ahaggar Tuareg make this type of cheese only when milk is plentiful, while the Ayr Tuareg 234
manufacture it most of the year though the main season of cheese-making is the season of *akasa*. 221

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Fig. 156. Skin bag of the *ámesesley* type used to sour milk before churning. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tahlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.37 m high. (F.M. 170).

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Fig. 158. Woman churning butter by shaking the inflated churning-bag (*agiwir*) between her hands. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

Meat (*isan*) is not a staple diet of the Tuareg. The Tuareg of Ayr consume more meat than the Northern Tuareg, but even in the south it is not eaten daily. There are Ayr Tuareg who are reluctant to kill their animals, and people who have much milk have very little need of meat. Meat is eaten by all Tuareg on certain festive occasions, whether social or (and) religious, and when camps are visited by friends, certain relatives, and important guests. He-goats and rams, or barren goats and sheep, are the animals most commonly killed. The meat of sheep and rams is considered better than goat meat, and sheep are also highly esteemed for sacrifice. Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food 262 [874] [231] [202] 880



[text continues on p. 231]

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Fig. 165. Horn (*isek*) of barbary sheep used for storing butter for greasing the hair. The opening is closed with a piece of date palm bast (*asan*), and the edge is pierced with a glowing awl (*ɛadel*) for the insertion of a cord of goat's hair by means of which the horn is attached to the tent ceiling. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.30 m long. (F.M. 236).

252 the Tuareg in the past. I believe that they were made by blacksmiths or imported from the north.
*415 Pastoral Tuareg do not manufacture earthen pots which are obtained from sedentary people. The
[322] cooking of meat is perhaps not a traditional method of food preparation to the Tuareg, though they seem to have used cooking pots for centuries.

252 A method of meat preparation undoubtedly introduced recently among the Tuareg, is that of spit
177 roasting. Meat roasted in this way is known as *mechwi*, a word of Arab origin, and the Northern Tuareg have taken over the method from the Arabs. The *mechwi* method is also known in Ayr, where it has perhaps been introduced by French administrators who had learned to appreciate meat thus
252 prepared during their visits among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Pieces of sheep and goats and entire animals are prepared in this way (Fig. 174), and the meat should preferably be prepared with butter and red pepper before roasting.

The traditional Tuareg roasting method is to place entire animals (goats, sheep), or parts of them, under the hot ashes of the fire. This method is known to the Northern Tuareg as *abatul*, to the Tuareg of Ayr as *ɛbewil* (Fig. 175). This method of roasting meat is practised everywhere among the Tuareg, and it is on the whole similar to the method used for bread-baking described below (p. 238 f.).

Meat-roasting in the ashes is no doubt an ancient Tuareg method of food-preparation, and this also holds good for another method described in connection with the preparation of milk, namely food preparation by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221). The Ahaggar Tuareg prepare the stomachs of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep in this way, putting hot stones into the stomachs, while camel stomachs are boiled in a cooking pot and gazelle stomachs roasted in the ashes according to the *abatul* method mentioned above. These rules of food preparation seem also to be practised by the Ayr Tuareg, who put hot stones into stomachs of sheep and goats together with small pieces of meat. A stomach of goats or sheep prepared in this way, however, is given a final treatment in hot sand or in ashes close to the fire. The stomach of sheep or goats cooked with hot stones is known as *tarafa*, and a related word seems to be known also in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1583).

[262] The Tuareg eat most entrails of their slaughtered animals. Entrails of camels are normally boiled, and kidneys of all animals are prepared in this way. Most entrails of goats and sheep (liver, heart, and lungs) are roasted on the embers or in the ashes, and in Ayr the Tuareg roast fat put into the abomasum (*tedeɣant*). The Northern Tuareg generally prepare liver and fat together in the following manner:— The liver is roasted upon the embers, is thereupon cut into small pieces which are wrapped

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up with small strips of fat. The pieces of liver covered with fat are put on a slender iron or 252
wooden rod to be roasted slightly over the fire. This dish is known to all Tuareg by the Arabic word [177]
*elmefsif*. It was introduced among the Northern Tuareg by the Arabs, but is not widely known among the Ayr Tuareg.

This brief description of Tuareg meat preparation can adequately be supplemented by a reference 252
to two peculiar dishes:— (1) A dish known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *talebeggat*. It consists of meat 262
which after boiling or roasting is pounded in a large mortar and frequently served with liquid butter. This dish is also known to the Ayr Tuareg. (2) A dish which is described from Ahaggar by Foucauld 252
under the name *ebangor*. It consists of untanned skin which is eaten in case of hunger after the following 261
preparation:— Untanned skin from household implements, shields, and the like is roasted under the ashes, and is thereupon pounded into small pieces. These are eaten without any further preparation, or after boiling. (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 73).

Like other North African peoples the Tuareg dry meat of domestic animals and of game. The people 251
of Ayr know three distinct drying methods, namely (1) *iwesan*, that is meat which is boiled until it is free of blood; it is dried in the shade; (2) *tikelsin*, uncooked meat cut into pieces to be dried on a string in the shade; (3) *kules*, uncooked meat cut into strips which are dried for some time to be treated with salt and various spices. This last method is not practised among the Tuareg of Ayr, but by sedentary people of Agadez and by Negroes further south in Damergu. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally boil or roast the meat before drying; meat roasted in the ashes according to the *abetul* method and thereupon dried is known as *takasa*. I do not know whether the Ahaggar Tuareg also practise the [825]
method of drying raw meat like the Ayr Tuareg, but the dried *agezzerom* lizzards which they take to Tidikelt on trading expeditions, are dried uncooked. Furthermore, the method of drying raw meat [171]
is known elsewhere in the Northern Sahara, and I have myself seen it practised among the Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

I conclude the description of Tuareg meat preparation with a brief note on the use of blood of living 272

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Fig. 166. Wooden double-vessel (*azar*) to contain water and butter for greasing the hair. Similar containers with a third vessel for fine-grained sand are also found among the Tuareg. Made by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Geometrical ornaments are produced by burning with a hot iron. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.241 m long. (N.M. G. 5880).

[text continues on p. 235]

camels. This blood never constitutes a proper dish to the Tuareg. They bleed camels to drink their 272
blood only when they lack water on journeys in the desert. Bleeding is done according to the method [271]
described above, and the blood is collected in a drinking bowl. But the Ayr Tuareg say that they work up the mass of blood with the fingers with the result that the upper part of the amount of blood becomes more liquid, though it is always red in colour.

The Tuareg use the following implements to make cereals or other vegetable products into flour:— 412

(1) A large wooden mortar (*tindé*) with a heavy pestle (*éheṛen*) (Fig. 177). It is used in all camps 252
and villages of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr, and is in fact known all over Tuareg country. It is used mainly for pounding millet and sorghum, but it is also employed for pounding other cereals, including certain wild seeds, and for dates, cheese, meat, locusts, and the like. These large wooden [264]
mortars are manufactured by the blacksmiths of Southern Tuareg country, including Ayr, where [238]
most Northern Tuareg obtain their mortars. Among the Northern Tuareg there are also other mortar types. A small mortar which like the former rests on a foot and is known by the same name (*tindé*) (Fig. 178), is used mainly by sedentary agriculturists for pounding rock-salt, dried tomatoes, tobacco for chewing, and other plants or materials to be used in small quantities. Another type of mortar without a foot and known to the Northern Tuareg as *akabar*, or *takabart*, (Fig. 176) is found mainly among pastoralists who use it on journeys for pounding millet.

(2) A saddle quern (*tehunt*) (Fig. 179), which consists of two natural and in general unfashioned stones, is found in most camps of the Northern Tuareg. This constitutes the only grinding implement for wheat, barley, and certain wild seeds among the *Kel Aïjer*. The stones used for saddle querns are [324]
sharpened at intervals with a hard stone or some other hard object (*tasettekut*) in order that they may grind effectively. A simple saddle quern (*asar*) is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but it is less common there than in the north.

(3) The handmill (*tasirt*) (Fig. 181) is not a traditional implement of Tuareg culture. It is widely [171]
known all over Northern Africa both by Berbers and Arabs, by sedentary peoples and nomads living in black tents. It has been introduced to Ahaggar mainly by the immigration of the Arabic speaking [167]
Harratin (Izeggaren) of Tidikelt,

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Fig. 169a–c. Pieces of butter-milk cheese (*awles*, pl. *iwlan*).
a. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.066–0.068 m in diameter, 0.022 m thick. (N.M. G. 5816).
b. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.062 × 0.022 m. (N.M. G. 5817b).
c. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.058 × 0.016 m. (N.M. G. 5817c).

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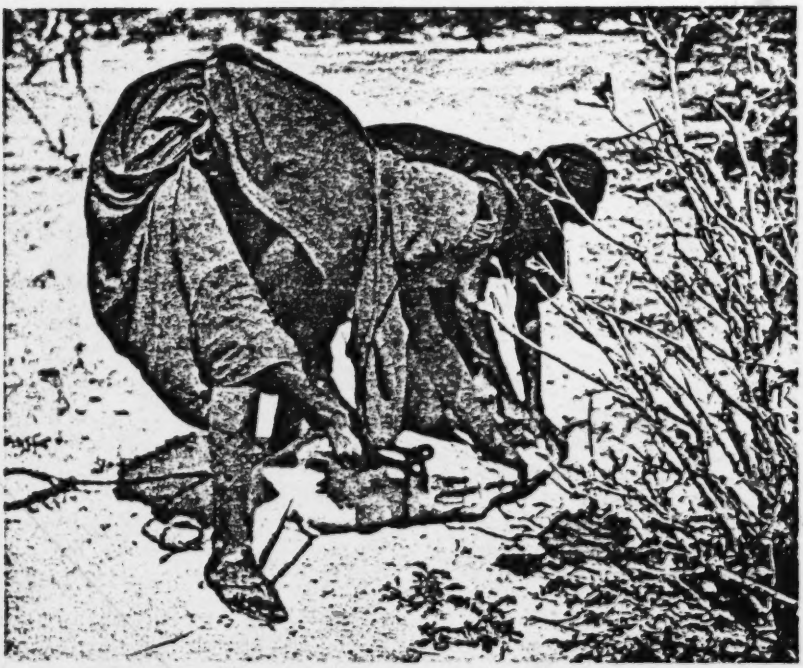

Fig. 170. Sacrificing a goat at the naming ceremony called *isnowen*. A marabut and the child's father keep the animal firmly to the ground. They stand with their faces towards Mekka and the camp of the new-born child. The marabut cuts the animal's throat simultaneously crying out loudly the child's name which is thereupon loudly repeated by the father. Ayr, the *Igendéynen* tribe.

4/2 *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*) of Tidikelt, and it is now also found in Tuareg camps (Fig. 182), where it is
252 less frequent than the above-mentioned saddle quern. The handmill was entirely unknown among the Ajjer Tuareg during my visit to Tasilé-n-Ajjer in 1952. The Tuareg who possess handmills obtain them from the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar (Tamanṛaset). – When saddle querns or handmills are used, a piece of cotton or skin (*asentel* in Ahaggar) is always placed under the grinding stones to catch the flour (Figs. 180, 182).

262 The Tuareg have many different vegetable dishes. The most important are bread, porridge, gruel, and various mixed beverages.

[252] Bread is a prominent dish for all Northern Tuareg who bake it mainly from wheat flour. Wheat bread has been my ordinary dish among all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Lhote states that

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Fig. 171. Ordinary meat-knife (*elmuzi*) of the type used among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Its broken handle is mended with hide of barbary sheep sewn with leather thread. Ahaggar, the *Dog Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m (total length). (F.M. 249).
All knives are manufactured by blacksmiths.

wheat bread is eaten particularly during migrations and on trading expeditions, or in periods when 262
butter is rare (Lhote 1955a, p. 262). This statement disagrees with my own experience. Wheat bread [114]
is an ordinary diet of many Northern Tuareg. Bread is also baked from barley and from certain wild [324]
seeds (notably *tawit*, *Chenopodium Vulvaria*; *ihéyefyef*, *Aizoon canariense*; *tullult*, *Aristida pungens*)
and wild roots (*ahahel*, *Cistanche Phelypaea*), while millet and sorghum are considered less suitable
for baking. Seeds are generally prepared for baking by grinding them into flour by saddle querns or 282
handmills. In Northern Tuareg country there are two types of bread which have been introduced as [172]
a result of contact with Arabs or the Arabic-speaking *Harratin*. One type is named *elfetat* and is baked

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Fig. 172a–b. Meat knives.
a. Knife (*dzegiz*) of Tebu type to be carried in its sheath around the upper arm. These knives are sometimes used in Ayr. Agadez. Dimension: 0.370 m. (total length). (N.M. G. 6620a–b).
b. Knife (*dzegiz*) of the double-edged type normally used in Ayr. The *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.377 m (total length). N.M. G. 6665a–b).

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into fine-grained sand carried from the river bed to the fire place in front of the tent. When this heavy 252
fire has calmed down the embers and most of the ashes are moved from the shallow depression to its fringes by means of a small stick, and the thin porridge or gruel of flour and water to which also a little salt is added is poured out into the depression, a spoon being normally used to remove all the gruel out of the wooden bowl in which it has been stirred. A bunch of dry grasses, herbs, or tender twigs is thereupon fired over the gruel in order that its surface may harden, and it is then covered with hot fine-grained sand, ashes, and embers in the order mentioned. If the embers are considered insufficient for baking, a small fire may be lit on the top of the sand and ashes covering the gruel-bread, which is taken out after about twenty minutes to be turned and baked in the same way on the other side for a few minutes. Baking is then finished, the bread is finally removed to be washed in water (Fig. 183). It is broken into pieces and eaten from a large wooden bowl (Figs. 195a–b) together with 264 415* 412
liquid butter. It is eaten with wooden spoons (Figs. 191).

The type of bread just mentioned is known to people of the *Kel Ferwan* group as *tugella*. It is made 262
by very few Tuareg. Indeed, when I travelled together with Ayr Tuareg I very frequently baked my 252
own bread as I had learned to from the Tuareg of Ahaggar, because very few of the Ayr Tuareg I [[22]]
met were familiar with bread baking. Bread is not a staple diet of the Ayr Tuareg, and when they want to bake wheat flour they generally do so in the following way:— The flour is mixed with water to a dough which is placed upon the bottom and sides of a metal pot heated over the fire. This type of bread or bread-like dish is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *gurasa*. It can be mentioned that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg also bake a particular type of bread from millet flour mixed with certain other 252
plant materials, but a bread of this kind is not baked for ordinary food, but as a kind of medicine. 261

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Fig. 174. Roasting meat-lumps by the *mechwi* method. Ayr, *Echchikhen* Tuareg of Damergu.

[text continues on p. 241]

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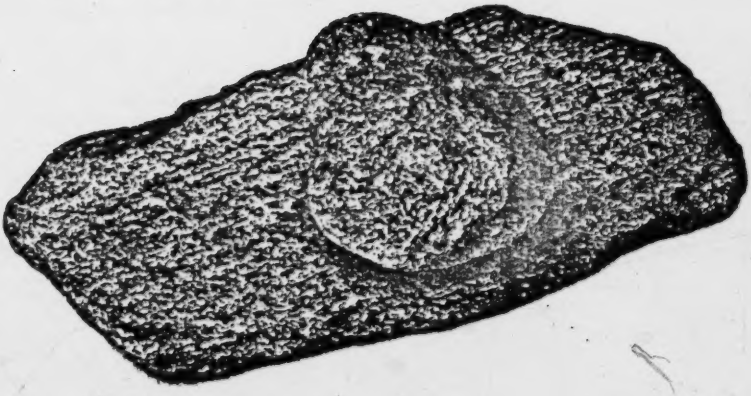

Fig. 179. Simple saddle quern (*tehunt*) of two natural stones: (a) the lower part called *tehunt*, (b) the upper part called *azzed*. It is used for grinding cereals. Ahaggar, the *Aḡah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the lower stone: 0.360 m long. Dimension of the upper stone: 0.115 m. (N.M. G. 5839a–b).

261 This *ékanef* bread is eaten exclusively by women who claim that it gives them a good appetite and makes them fat.

262 Millet porridge is a common dish among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it constitutes by far the most important vegetable dish to the Ayr Tuareg and the sedentary agriculturists of the south. Millet 252 porridge is known in Ahaggar as *esink*, in Ayr as *echink*. The preparation of millet porridge involves much strenous work as follows:— (1) An amount of millet seeds is poured out into the large wooden mortar (*tindé*, p. 235, fig. 177). A little water is added to the seeds which are then pounded for about * [419] ten minutes. The seeds thus pounded are then poured out into a plaited bowl (*tabeyka*; Fig. 185) or another receptacle to be winnowed. This process is done by shaking the plaited bowl itself, and by pouring small quantities of the pounded seeds from the bowl into a plaited tray (*téseyt*; Fig. 184) which is better fitted for winnowing by shaking. The husks or pods covering the seeds are thus taken away by the wind. (2) When the pounded seeds have been cleaned or winnowed in this way they are replaced in the wooden mortar, and water is again added. The seeds are now heavily pounded for about half an hour, and most of them are turned into flour after this process, but a small amount of seeds remains unpounded. The mixture of flour and unpounded seeds are poured out into the plaited

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bowl and the plaited tray just described, and the flour is shaken into the large wooden bowl (*elkada*; Fig. 195b) while the unpounded seeds remain in the plaited receptacles. (3) The small amount of seeds which have not yet been turned into flour is put back into the mortar, a little water is again added, and pounding is resumed for five to ten minutes. Most seeds are now turned into flour which is placed in the wooden bowl by shaking the plaited receptacles. (4) The seeds which are not yet pounded after this treatment are replaced in the mortar to be pounded for two or three minutes without the addition of water. The flour produced is shaken into the wooden bowl. (5) What remains unpounded is replaced in the mortar to be pounded without water for two or three minutes, and the flour obtained is shaken into the wooden bowl. (6) The flour is put into the large cooking pot (*ḗṛir*) which has been boiling with water during pounding. (7) An extremely small quantity of flour derived from a final pounding is added to the pot after cooking for about five minutes. (8) During cooking the porridge is stirred with a wooden stick known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aserwi* (Fig. 188).

Millet porridge (*esink*, or *echink*) is of heavy consistency and is normally eaten with milk by means of spoons. But if milk is lacking or is scarce, the Tuareg also add various types of sauces such as the following which is made by many Ayr Tuareg:— Leaves of certain plants (*abezey*, *Cassia tora*; *malokhiya*, *Corchorus tridens*; *kuka*, a large tree growing in the Sudan) or seeds of a plant known as *ékabewa* (*Corchorus olitorius*) are put into a large mortar to be pounded together with onions, dried tomatoes,

Fig. 180. Tuareg woman grinding wheat on the simple saddle quern (*tehaut*). The saddle quern is placed upon a piece of skin (leather) called *asentel* which receives the flour. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

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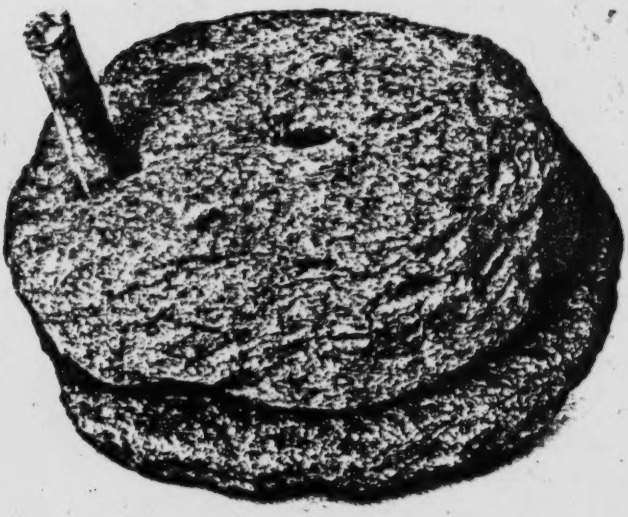

Fig. 181. A hand-mill (*tazirt*) manufactured by blacksmith of Tamanraset and used at that village by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs. Dimension: 0.52 m in diameter (upper stone), 0.32 m in diameter (lower stone). (N.M. G. 5840a–b).

262 and red pepper which is much esteemed by the Tuareg, but not always available. The pounded flour
252 of these vegetables is boiled with water and butter and thus turned into a kind of thick sauce which is poured out over the porridge to be eaten.

The porridge type known as *esink* or *echink* can be made from other seeds besides millet. Porridge made from barley, which is then also pounded in the mortar, is highly esteemed by the Tuareg who also use various wild seeds and roots for this dish. Plants utilized for porridge are mentioned above in the description of collecting (p. 175 ff.). Porridge is also made from dried dates pounded in the millet mortar; this dish is common among the Northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg have a particular type of porridge which I have never tasted. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *baṛela*, and is made from pounded seeds of various cultivated plants (wheat, barley, maize, or millet). The seeds are pounded in the mortar but their husks or pods are not removed by winnowing. Otherwise the preparation of this dish is similar to that of ordinary porridge.

262 The Ahaggar Tuareg distinguish between very thick porridge called *tarawayt* and very thin porridge
846 or thick gruel known as *aliwa*. The latter dish is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the same name, and

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among them it is eaten in particular by women during the first seven days after the birth of a child, 262 that is during the period from birth to the name-giving ceremony known as *isnawen*. It is considered 846 dangerous for a woman to eat too much vegetable food during this period, while meat is believed to make her recover quickly after birth. The same diet is followed by young boys after their circumcision 262 until their wounds have healed. These dietetic rules no doubt have their root in magical beliefs. 304

All Tuareg esteem liquid or semi-liquid dishes which are consumed mainly during the very hot 262 season. A very common dish of this type is that named *aṛejira* (Ayr) or *aṛehara* (Ahaggar). It is made from flour of millet, sorghum, dates, and crushed cheese mixed with water, the main substance being pounded millet. The dish is served in a large wooden bowl or in a calabash, and is eaten and drunk [412] by means of a large wooden ladle called *tamulat* (Fig. 194a–b). This liquid dish is a substitute for [251] milk during the hot season when milk is scarce, and it is frequently used for food on journeys, in which case it is transported in the form of dough-like balls to be dissolved in water just before eating.

The terms *aṛejira* and *aṛehara* are used for various liquid or semi-liquid dishes, or beverages, for which the Tuareg have particular names according to their composition. Dates are less important for liquid dishes in Ayr than among the Northern Tuareg to whom dates form an important part of food. Very important in the north is a dish known as *talekessat*; it is made from dried dates pounded [252]

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Fig. 182. Tuareg women turning a hand-mill (*tasirt*). In the foreground a woman shaking flour into a wooden bowl. Note the ornamented patches of leather hanging down from the tent sheet. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

[text continues on p. 247]

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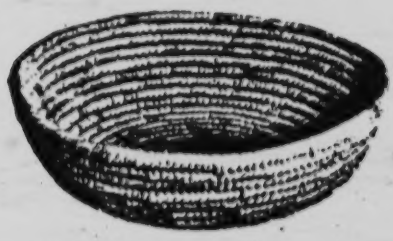

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Fig. 185. Tray or bowl *,ubeyka* – perhaps not correctly spelled). It is used for winnowing, and it serves as an eating bowl and a drinking bowl as this container is watertight. Coiled basketry of date palm leaves (*afum*). Made by Tuareg women. Ahaggar, the *Dag ffali* tribe. Dimension: 0.285 m in diameter. (F.M. 263).

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Fig. 186. Pot (*tabekkier*) with a single handle. Manufactured by *Harratin* women in Ahaggar, the *Afuhes-ahhi* tribe. Dimension: 0.18 m high. (F.M. 172).

in a mortar with a little water to a soft dough to which a little cheese, butter, or milk is added before 262
eating. If a large quantity of milk is added this dish is known as *tarkit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, as men- 252
tioned (p. 167), also pound dried dates with locusts to make a dish eaten by women who wish to grow fat. [261]

The Arabs and the Arabic-speaking agriculturists of Tidikelt (the *Harratin*) have introduced among 262
the Northern Tuareg the well-known North African dish generally called kuskus. The dish is known [72]
to the Tuareg as *keskesu* which is also Arabic by origin. But this dish is not the staple diet among [71]
the Northern Tuareg that it is among the Arabs and the Berbers of the Atlas. It is eaten mainly on festive occasions, and there are many Tuareg women who even to-day do not know how to prepare it. The *keskesu* dish is preferably made from wheat flour, though barley flour may also be used. The 252
cereals are ground with hand-mills or quern stones (saddle querns), and the flour is rolled into very

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Fig. 192. Tuareg woman cooking millet porridge. Ahaggar, the *Aghal-en-tehli* tribe. The cooking pots seen on this photograph are bought in the Sudan on trading expeditions. Sudanese pots are superior to those made in Ahaggar.

Like

264 most Tuareg dishes they are eaten from a large wooden bowl. If meat is cooked with the soup it may be broken into small pieces to be eaten with the balls, but part of the meat cooked is always eaten separately. The Tuareg eat *keskesu* with spoons, but if spoons are lacking they also eat it with the
● 262 hand, as do the Arabs. In addition to *keskesu* with its small balls which resemble grains of rice, the Northern Tuareg have another dish prepared in the same way but with larger balls. It is termed
[189] *tikhemmezin* and is considered inferior to the *keskesu*. – Both these dishes are unknown to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group.

262 Two particular dishes are mentioned from Ahaggar by Foucauld. One of them is called *iberjan*
252 and consists of unripe barley boiled in its own juice without water. The other one is known as *aberbez*
[261] and is made from tender plants of wheat and barley which are dried and pounded or ground into powder, to be eaten, boiled or unboiled, in periods of famine (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 89, 118).

Tuareg vegetable dishes are frequently prepared in a very simple way. Thus there is a dish known as *tuwes* (Ahaggar) or *tewes* (Ayr) which consists of entire seeds of millet or sorghum boiled in water. It is eaten mainly by children who frequently walk about the camp eating these boiled grains from their hands.

252 It is clear from the description of vegetable dishes that the cooking pot plays an important role for
*415 food preparation, and all dishes prepared in this way, including cooked meat, are known to the Tuareg

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as *tḥyint* (Ayr) or *talekkint* (Ahaggar). But pastoral Tuareg do not make earthenware pots themselves. They obtain them from sedentary people, and it is possible that vegetable dishes have been prepared with hot stones up to recent times, for Foucauld states that hot stones are occasionally used for various vegetable dishes in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951-52, IV, p. 1583). However, I have not been able to confirm this during my own investigations among the Tuareg. It should be added that certain vegetable dishes are neither boiled nor baked. This is the case with seeds and roots of various wild plants which are ground and pounded into flour to be eaten without further preparation. Such dishes are known to the Tuareg as *tébik* (Ahaggar) or *téderka* (Ayr). Seeds and roots of wild plants utilized in this way have been mentioned in the chapter on collecting p. 175 ff.

The Tuareg have a great many different dishes, but in spite of this variety they do not always change their food from one day to another. They frequently live on the same type of food for extremely long periods. They may live almost exclusively on milk for weeks and even months, and if milk is not available they live so to speak exclusively on vegetable dishes, which may also not be changed for very long periods.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have three meals a day:— (1) *taǧimǧint* which is a light meal taken in the morning. (2) *amekli* which is a prepared meal (e.g., bread, porridge, or *arehara*) eaten at midday. (3) *amaǧin* which is the evening meal, also known as *amensi*, or *azuzeǧ*. It is the most important meal.

Fig. 193. Tuareg woman cooking kuskus (*keskesu*) in an European enamelled pot. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṣali* tribe.

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634 vassals was given to the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) and not to the *temaẓlayt* master. However, should
565 a vassal Tuareg have borrowed for raiding a riding camel from his *temaẓlayt* master or another noble
571 Tuareg, they received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty remaining when
613 one half had been given to the *Amenukal*.
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565 The noble Tuareg possessed many advantages over their individual vassals. They could apparently
571 claim almost what they wanted for their subsistence, and frequently camped close to their vassals who then were obliged to feed them, and when in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take such animals from their vassals (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). Similar information is given by Benhazera, but he states that the vassals in the past would not necessarily supply everything demanded by their noble lords (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The vassals were under a particular obligation to provide the noble Tuareg with goat-breeding products, and if they had milk yielding she-camels the noble Tuareg could claim these animals until milk-yielding stopped. But the vassals had also many advantages from the *temaẓlayt* relationships. They were not only protected by their lords. The noble Tuareg would leave behind the animals they could not take with them when roaming in the desert, and noble Tuareg never had much livestock with them in their camps. It was also of great importance to the vassals that they could use their masters camels for caravan trading. On the whole the system was not exclusively the exploitation of vassals by the noble Tuareg, and it can be added that the vassal Tuareg were always more numerous than the noble Tuareg, that the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) was elected by the vassals, and that he alone had judicial rights. The system was one of give and take to both classes involved, and there can be little doubt that it was well adapted to practical ecological conditions.

233 In Ahaggar, camels and goats are very complementary to each other. The camel supplies the Tuareg
433 with milk, but with very few other products, and the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-
[234] camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important
[262] as food, but it is not well-fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg kill camels to
[281] utilize their meat only when many people congregate, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, for tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the
[437] camels have little direct economic value. But for raiding in the past, camels were very valuable riding animals, and were then, as now, extremely important for caravan trading which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic rôle of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive
[234] part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese
[262] which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore, goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

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Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without 233
camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to 433
the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays, as in the past, base their economy mainly on camels and goats.
I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats and their [262]
vegetable food from caravan trading with the aid of camels.

Formerly, the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned 565
exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but 233
he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). It is, however, confirmed 422
by many Tuareg that the vassals originally had no camels, and that throughout the 19th century they 571
had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals, and even to-day goats and butter form part of the *tiwsé*-payments. The noble Tuareg, on the other hand, allowed their particular vassals to trade with their camels against the payment of a certain amount of vegetable food products which to-day also form part of most *tiwsé*-payments. They allowed their vassals also to have usufructs of such animals as could not be taken with them on their migrations. Noble Tuareg of to-day continue to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts of the vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they obtain part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops; this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. The noble Tuareg of to-day may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals, who can refuse any gift or [178]
service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are even noble Tuareg who wear amulets which are [789]
believed to induce vassals to donate the things required.

It would seem that the economic relationships forming the basis of the Tuareg political system in 174
the north would arise so to speak automatically from two distinct cultures which met each other in 565
the desert: a camel-breeding culture of a Berber-speaking people now known as the noble Tuareg, and a goat-breeding culture of an ancient Berber-speaking population which now constitutes the vassals.

Some Tuareg traditions seem to indicate that political systems based on class-division arose in this 173
way in the north, but we have to admit that other traditions contradict this. Below I attempt to 565
elucidate Tuareg history in Ahaggar by means of native traditions to which, for practical reasons, I allot definite numbers.

*Tradition A.* All Tuareg have a common origin as they descend from a woman named *Lemtuna*, who is also the ancestress of certain Berbers living around Ṛadamas in Tripolitania. Most Berbers of Morocco descend from *Lemtuna*'s sister who became the ancestress of the *Beraber*. This tradition is widely known in Ahaggar.

*Tradition B.I.* This tradition is a very common explanation of the origin of the class-division in Ahaggar: Long ago two Islamic women of the *Beraber* immigrated to the oasis of Silet from Tafilelt in Morocco. One of these women named *Ti-n-Hinan* was noble while the other woman named *Takama*

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judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief, whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division, which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imrad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imrad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, donkeys are marked in both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirzemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found particularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

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583 drum-chief *Agg-Elkhir*'s son, *Kheiji*, gave twenty camels for his wife. In certain tribes living around Agadez bride-wealth is nowadays also paid in cash. At a man's first marriage bride-wealth is paid by his father and is given to the bride's father who can dispose of the camels at his discretion. In the *Kel Ferwan* group all bride-wealth must be handed over to the bride's father before marriage takes place.

(2) *tisrar*, that is a gift to the bride and a gift of food to her parents who arrange the wedding-feast. These gifts are given by the husband or his parents and comprise the following:—

[291] 15 metres of cotton for two outer skirts (sing. *téri*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for one under-skirt (*tesegbes*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for a woman's shirt (*aftek*) (cf. p. 293, Fig. 239a).
3 *ilechchan* (sing. *alechchu*), indigo-dyed pieces of cotton which serve as the headcloth (*adalil*) of a married woman (cf. p. 14, 293).
1–2 pairs of *iratimen* (sing. *ératem*), sandals of the *takalmi*-type (cf. p. 298, Fig. 242b).

[212] The amount of food to be given for the entertainment of wedding guests varies, but in general is estimated at 100–200 kgs millet (*énélé*), 10–15 litres of butter (*wiji*), and 5 litres of Sudanese honey (*tariwat*), plus an ox.

The gifts of cotton and food should be brought to the bride's father before marriage with the bride-wealth. The bride should not see the bride-wealth animals, nor should she see the gift of cotton until it has been made into her wedding clothes.

585 (3) The groom and his family have no obligations towards the bride and her family other than those mentioned above, but the groom is expected to give certain gifts to his wife after marriage:—

One gift is known as *timigint*. Before the bride is led into the wedding tent where the groom awaits her (cf. p. 474), the women who lead the veiled bride will claim a promise of *timigint* for the bride. On behalf of the groom one of his friends will promise to give the bride a gift – perhaps a camel – though there is no rule for the size of this gift. When the promise is given the women lead the bride into the tent. It is said that the groom is never forced later to give the *timigint* gift promised.

Some time after marriage the groom is expected to give his wife certain silver ornaments, notably the following:—

[301] *t'izabatin*, a pair of large ear-rings.
*ténélét*, a ring-formed pendant.
*zakkat*, the so-called Cross of Agadez, and the so-called Cross of Iferwan.
*tadnet* (perhaps not correctly spelled), a necklace.
*térewt* (pl. *téra*) *ta n tejekkot*, a silver ornament attached to the hair braid at the back of the head.

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585 the broad side turning westwards. Inside the tent there is nothing beyond the large bed (*tédabut*) covered with mats and blankets.

(2) The wedding guests perform the ceremonial camel-ride (*ilugan*) in the afternoon and continue to sing, make music, and dance throughout the night.

[262] (3) The wedding feast continues the next day with the killing of an ox for the guests. On this day, early in the night (about nine o'clock), the groom comes to the wedding tent. He is closely veiled and walks in the middle of a large procession of men and some women. The procession walks slowly, the [533] women accompanying it shrilling and cheering. If the camp is situated close to Agadez the procession is led by professional musicians who on this occasion are on horseback. When the procession has arrived at the wedding tent the groom enters into it directly and without much formality, but does [564] so through the narrow end turning southwards. Some of his friends squat around him in the tent while a few blacksmiths drum and praise the groom in songs which also refer to the fact that the blacksmiths have arrived in order to transform the wedding into a great feast. When the groom has entered the tent most guests continue to dance and make music until about eleven o'clock, when the bride arrives.

(4) The bride is led towards the wedding tent by a procession of singing women who are not accompanied by musicians mounted on horses even if the camp is close to Agadez. The procession proceeds extremely slowly, and sometimes almost marks time. The women sing the praise of the veiled bride who walks in the middle of the procession behind a tall woman. The bride's hands are around the tall woman's waist, and she is hidden under a large piece of white cotton placed over the tall woman's shoulders and back. When the procession is close to the tent it is joined by many men and by the drumming blacksmiths who lead the procession to the wedding tent. Here the procession walks three times around the tent, stopping in front of the narrow entrance facing southwards. The women now claim the promise of a gift from the groom to his bride (cf. p. 462). When a gift has been promised the tall woman creeps into the tent with the bride clinging to her back. The bride is placed upon the bed together with the groom who is already sitting there, the mat at the southern end is drawn to and closed, and the bride and the groom are left alone. The wedding is now over, and the guests leave for their tents and camps.

(5) The bride and the groom now remain seven days in the tent. They leave it only to releave nature [591] and preferably after darkness. When this stay of seven days in the wedding tent is over, the newly-married couple immediately take up residence in the camp of the husband's father.

From the description of Tuareg wedding ceremonies above we see that they develop very slowly. This is particular so in Ahaggar, where the bride and the groom are brought together to be separated again before being finally united in the correctly erected tent. In Ayr the bride and the groom are brought together more directly, but do not meet until the second day of the wedding feast. They then have to enter the tent in an abnormal way – through the narrow southern end. The fact that the ceremony develops slowly and that the tent is not correctly erected are traits typical both of the Ahaggar and the Ayr Tuareg.

585 121 It is clear that the groom and the bride during the ceremony live so to speak outside the community. Tuareg wedding ceremonies are characteristic rites of passage and contain traits common to many

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Hahn, who was the first to write in detail on the historical origin of subsistence activities, stated as his view that cultures based exclusively on stock-breeding were recent and were preceded by mixed farming cultures (Hahn 1896, p. 31 f.; 1905, p. 131; 1908, p. 19). Though some of Hahn's arguments in favour of this theoretical conception are difficult to accept, his general view that pure stock-breeding did not form a general stage in the evolution of culture is recognized by many scholars who hold that cultivation is everywhere older than stock-breeding. Forde long ago pointed out the great instability of pastoralism and its dependence upon grown cereals (Forde 1950 (1. ed. 1934), p. 403 f.), and in a very recent study, published in collaboration with Mary Douglas, it is stated that "Pastoral nomadism which is popularly believed to have preceded the development of agriculture actually appeared at a later stage in the Old World on the fringes of settled populations used to cultivation with the rearing of livestock" (Forde 1960, p. 330). Important contributions to the solution of the problem of the origin of stock-breeding have also been made by Childe, who says that in practically all the oldest food-producing settlements examined by archaeologists in Europe, Hither Asia, and North Africa, the basic industry is mixed farming (Childe 1936, p. 85). Childe does not explicitly claim that pastoral stock-breeding derived from a mixed farming culture, because pastoralists are not likely to leave many vestiges by which the archaeologists can recognize their presence (Childe 1936, p. 91). But Childe's general view seems to be in favour of origin of pastoral stock-breeding from a culture which knew farming, and he points out "that ancestors of our farmyard animals lived wild in most of the regions that seem likely to have comprised the cradle of grain-growing" (Childe 1936, p. 86).

In my description of Tuareg ecology I have indicated the great importance of agricultural products for food among true pastoralists, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. I believe that the latter Tuareg and the Tuareg of the Sudanese savannah could perhaps subsists without cereals grown by agriculturists, though it would not be so easy for them. The Ayr Tuareg around Agadez admit this and refer to their great difficulties in subsisting during one year of the second world war when millet was scarce. Most African pastoralists acquire provisions of cultivated grain for their food during periods when milk is scarce, and the general conception that African nomads live mainly on milk and meat is not valid. However, we cannot state that all pastoralists are dependent on agriculture for food, for a few people seem to subsist on stock-breeding products and on wild seeds. Thus Seligman describes from the Beja a tribe named Bedawib which differs from other Beja groups in that its members have no camels and do not eat agricultural food:— "The Bedawib do not cultivate at all and it is said that they would not touch grain even if it were given to them so that they live almost entirely on milk and meat". (Seligman 1913, p. 599 f.). Other pastoralists of the so-called East African Cattle Complex eat cereals grown by themselves or by neighbouring agriculturists, but agricultural food-products play a very little part to some of these people (cf. Lowie 1938, p. 314), and the Hottentots live by cattle-breeding supplemented by hunting and collecting (cf. Schapera 1930, p. 235). The argument that stock-breeding cultures cannot exists except in a kind of symbiosis with agriculture is not valid, but agricultural food-products make life easier for pastoralists who cannot subsist on milk all the year round. For we must bear in mind that in an arid or semi-arid country conditions of collecting are changeable, and it is also important to note that wild seeds are generally far less nourishing than are grown cereals. Even in the savannah country it is a great advantage for pastoralists to have access to grown cereals, and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



433 pastoralists who live in the true desert country could hardly live without agricultural food-products.
262 In dry years the Ahaggar Tuareg subsist almost exclusively on wheat, millet, and dates. They cannot
171 in such years live on milk and meat, and collecting is of no importance, as the plants suitable for collecting do not germinate with the exception of a few species which are of very little value. In very arid countries agriculture seems to be necessary for the subsistence of pastoralists, and it is of great value also to pastoralists who live under more favourable conditions.

433 Partly owing to the decline of caravan trading, there are pastoralists who have recently taken up
178 agriculture in connection with irrigation. We have also mentioned that the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer
171 engage in a kind of primitive agriculture in the river valleys after heavy rain, and we know from literature that this method was also practised in Ahaggar before the introduction of developed irrigation systems. We have seen that throughout the northern parts of the Sahara a connection between shifting cultivation and pastoralism is the rule rather than the exception. Primitive corn growing is, in fact, practised among many other pastoralists besides the Northern Tuareg, and the bedouins who sow wheat and barley by means of the plough or the hoe further north on the outskirts of the desert. In Southern Mauretania certain nomads grow millet and water melons in the river valleys which are annually flooded. Sowing is done mainly where the valleys broaden, small dams being constructed to detain water. This cultivation method is also applied by certain pastoral *Zenaga* (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 277), who are, perhaps, descendants of the ancient *Ṣanhaja* Tuareg who lived in this country before the Arab conquest. There are also pastoralists of the Beja people who engage in agriculture when living close to rivers. The Bisharin who camp around the Atbara River grow melons in the wet sand (Baker 1867, p. 38), the Hadendoa pastoralists, when camping close to the Gash River in the dry season, grow millet and other cereals (Seligman 1913, p. 599), and agriculture is also practised in the same region by pastoral Beni Amer (Munzinger 1864, p. 332).

A journey from the Mediterranean coast takes us from people who live mainly by agriculture (e.g., the Kabyle) to people who live by mixed farming as semi-nomads (e.g., the Chawiya), to people who are roaming pastoralists but practise shifting cultivation when possible and fairly regularly (e.g., the Ulad Nail, the Larba, and other Arab pastoralists on the outskirts of the desert), and, finally to the true desert nomads where agriculture is practised on a very small scale (e.g., the *Kel Ajjer*) or not at all (e.g., the *Kel Ahaggar* and the Chamba). It would thus be natural to explain the development of true pastoralism in Northern Africa as an adaption of a mixed farming culture to environment, and this view seems to have been adopted by several authors (Frobenius 1904, p. 154 f.; Steensby 1908–09, p. 285; Wölfel 1941, p. 89–140; Herzog 1956, p. 210–223).

174 The question of the origin of North African pastoralism can only be answered by a deeper knowledge of history, and the answer is not easy to find. Historical sources do not reach far back in North Africa. We know that throughout the Middle Ages the people who lived on the borderland of the Northern Sahara south of the Atlas and along the Mediterranean coast possessed an economic system much like that prevailing nowadays. Ibn Khaldun describes the economic life of the *Sanhaja* Berbers, who lived in the country between Tunis and Cairuan, saying that they are cow and sheep breeders who also engage in agriculture (Ibn Khaldun III, p. 225). Of an Arab tribe called Azza of Cyrenaica, he says that though its members are plough cultivators they also lead their domestic animals into the

262
The nobles eat better, at least those who are well-to-do. 243
In the Ahaggar especially they own cultivated land in the 556
"ar'erems" (villages), where they grow wheat, "ired," barley, 565 423
"timzin," and bechna, "inelli"; but usually they sell their 438

[137]

Dautheville

Trees Called "Ahatés" (Acacia Albida) at the Tillemas of the Tessht Wadi (Koudia).

wheat and barley to the natives of the Tidikelt and are content
with bechna, of which they are very fond. They claim that [824]
bechna is less heating to the stomach than wheat or barley.

The rich allow themselves the luxury of drinking tea, but 272
tea and sugar are very expensive, and they do not misuse them. 556
On the other hand, they do not hesitate to beg for them shame- 263
lessly.

When the year is bad anything seems good to the poor to 222
assure their subsistence. In such years one sees them eating 262
/30/ "berdi," or "taheli," (Typha angustifolia, Typhaceae); 735
ground carob seeds of "talhas," or gum trees, which they call 252
"tahaha" • ⁝⁝ + ; "tanékfa'it (Diplotaxis duveyrierana, Cruciferae); fruit of the "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica), which they steep to take out the bitterness; and even leaves of the "aremmas" (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae), which they boil.

In short, nature keeps food resources for them which prevents even the poorest from dying of hunger.

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*abellengad* (*Reseda villosa*). Tr., L.M., U.M. Seeds of this plant are edible, but of bad taste according to Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 65. 222 262

*abseŋ* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Tr., (L.M.). Fruits are collected mainly for goat fodder, but are eaten by human beings when vegetable food is scarce. The fruit is then crushed into flour. The resin of this acacia is also edible. 252

*tamat* (*Acacia seyal*). Tr. The resin (*taynwst*) is edible. I believe it is used mainly as a remedy against stomachache. This is perhaps also true of the resin of the *abseŋ*-acacia mentioned above. [757]

*ahtes* (*Acacia albida*). Tr., L.M. "La gousse est même comestible pour l'homme" (Maire 1933, p. 120).

*ténefé* (*Tephrosia leptostachya*). Tr. "Les Touareg mélangent cette plante desséchée au thé vert" (Maire 1933, p. 125). [272]

*lagul* (*Alhagi maurorum*). Unknown in Ahaggar, but found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. "Les racines tuberisées sont mangées par les indigènes (Killian)" (Maire 1933, p. 131).

*alora* (*Peganum Harmala*). Tr., L.M., U.M. An annual seed-plant. Seeds are used for *tébik*.

*taburak* (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruits which are macerated in water to remove the bitter taste.

*tedjoq* (spelling according to Maire 1933, p. 241) (*Pistacia atlantica*). L.M. Very rare according to Maire (1933, p. 148). According to my own observations the fruit of this tree is eaten by Arab pastoralists (e.g., *Ulad Nail*) of the so-called *daya* region south of the Sahara Atlas. It is possible that it is also eaten by the Tuareg. [171]

*tahunek* (*Rhux oxyacantha*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruit.

*téhak* (*Salvadora persica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

*tabakat* (*Ziziphus lotus* var. *Saharae*). Tr. The berries are crushed and mixed with millet flour.

*azawa* (*Tamarix gallica*). Tr., L.M. "La manne produits par ces arbres est receuillié par les indigènes qui l'emploient comme matière sucrante. (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 156).

*tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*). Tr. "Les rameaux mannifères sont employés pour sucrer l'eau" (Maire 1933, p. 159). [263]

*tafeltast* (*Myrtus Nivellii*). (Tr.), L.M. "Les rameaux de ce Myrte sont récoltés par les Touareg, desséchés et exportés par sac entiers au Soudan et au Mzab, avec *l'Artemisia judaica* ssp. *sahariensis*. Ces deux plantes sont utilisées comme médicaments et comme condiments" (Maire 1933, p. 162). [439] [752]

*awkal* (*Cynomorium coccineum*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots which are dried and ground into flour (cf. Maire 1933, p. 163). [263]

*aséyar* (*Anethum graveolens*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual plant. Its seeds are used as a spice and for adding to tea. [272]

*takmezzut* (*Teucrium Polium*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant used for adding to tea.

*élel* (*Nerium Oleander*). Tr., L.M. This plant is extremely venomous particularly so for camels, which die from eating its leaves. "La cendre de bois de *Nerium* est employée par les femmes du Tidikelt pour se faire engraisser. A cet effet elles mélangent un peu de cette cendre avec des dattes pilées et du beurre, puis absorbent ce mélange dans du leben" (Maire 1933, p. 170). [261]

*afellachchem* (*Solenostemma oleifoleum*). Tr. A perennial plant. Its leaves are used as a substitute for tea. [272]

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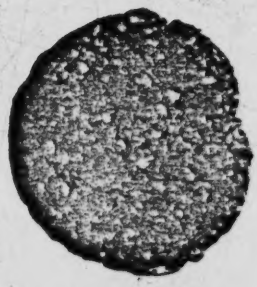

Fig. 126. A cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries (*Osyris alba*). The fresh berries are pounded in the large mortar (*tindé*) or are crushed between two stones to be formed into pieces of cheese form to be dried. This cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries is used by Tuareg women as a kind of face ointment against sun burn, pimples, and the like. They apply this ointment to the face as follows:— A little milk is poured upon a stone, the cheese-like mass of berries is rubbed against it, and the mixture of milk and berries is thereupon rubbed into the skin of the face with the fingers. Ahaggar, the *Dag Bali* tribe. Dimension: 0.075 m. (N.M. G. 5279 a).

222
262 *enag* (*Leptadenia pyrotechnica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

[272] *tañhart* (*Mentha longifolia*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

*awit*, generally known by the collective name *awihat* (*Salvia Chudaei*). Tr., (L.M.). An annual plant used as an aromatic for tea.

[824] [682] *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*). Tr. This plant is extremely venomous for human beings, though not for animals. In the past it was used by the Tuareg as a poison for enemies. Members of La Mission Flatters (1880–81) were poisoned by the Tuareg using poison of this plant inserted into dates presented to the expedition. "La plante, absorbée à petite dose, aurait la propriété de faire [261] engraisser. Les femmes du Tidikelt l'emploient dans ce but, en en faisant cuire une petite quantité dans de l'eau avec de la farine et de la graisse; elles laissent réduire et absorbent la bouillie obtenue, puis se couvrent pour transpirer (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 192).

222 *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots. After drying the roots are
262 pounded in a large millet mortar to be used for bread which is much esteemed by the Tuareg. "Cette
252 plante est recoltée jeune par les indigènes, puis placée dans le sable sous une couche de *drinn* (*Aristida pungens*) jusqu'à noircissement et dessication. Le produit sec est moulu et utilisé dans l'alimentation (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 196).

*éfetekchi* (*Orobanche aegyptiaca* & *O. cernua*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots.

*tamzellit* (*Orobanche sp.*). Tr. Very rare. A plant yielding edible roots.

*tegellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). Tr. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

*olked* (*Cucumis pustulatus*). Tr. Rare. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

[263] *takkilt* (*Cotula cinerea*). Tr. "Les Touareg utilisent cette plante comme condiment, principalement pour la viande qui commence à se gâter" (Maire 1933, p. 209).

[439] *téhereggelé* (*Artemisia judaica* ssp. *sahariensis*). Tr., (L.M.). "Cette plante, comme le *Myrtus Nivellei*, est récoltée en grande quantité, séchée et exportée au Soudan, où elle est employée comme aromate et condiment" (Maire 1933, p. 212).

[272] *zézzeré* (*Artemisia herba alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

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243

Fig. 136. Irrigation of a young wheat-plot. The canal ridges are opened with a hoe in order to let water penetrate into the garden beds. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 282). Maize (*Zea mays*) is also grown as a summer crop in some of the cultivation centres; it is called *engafulé*, or *engafulé masri* (masri = Egyptian) because it is said to have been introduced from Egypt.

Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum*) are grown mainly in summer and constitute a very 241 important crop. The ripe fruit is sliced and left to dry on a layer of straw in the garden. They are [252] crushed and pounded and are added to various dishes, e.g., the so-called kuskus (*keskesu*, cf. p. 247). Various types of melons and gourds are also grown in summer, e.g., the water melon (*taleǧeẓt*; *Colocynthis Citrullus*), a type of ordinary melon known as *tétakelt* or *tazenut* (*Cucurbita* sp.) which is frequently sliced and dried in the same way as tomatoes, and a kind of large gourd (*kabuya*; *Cucurbita maxima*). Certain other vegetables are grown in most gardens, notably various kinds of onions (*téskert*, *Allium sativum*; *éfeleli*, *Allium cepa*) and a kind of beans known as *tadellaḳ*. A few plants [263] are grown as spices, e.g., saffron (*tanermit*, *Crocus sativus*), red pebber (*chiṭṭa*, *Capsicum annum*), or for tea-admixture, e.g., the mint (*émerner*, *Mentha piperita* var.) and a plant known as *lahabok* which is said to have been introduced from the Sudan. Two very poisonous plants are also grown in certain [424] gardens of Ahaggar, namely *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*), which also grows wild in the lower country (cf. p. 178), and *burzig* (*Datura Stramonium*) (cf. Maire 1933, I, p. 191 f.). Foucauld mentions two other plants grown for their medicinal value (*ibeḍliwen*, *Trigonella foenumgraecum*; *tikamnin*) (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 33 & II, p. 812). A kind of wild salad (*tamaghé*) is also grown in the gardens according to Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1170). Potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum*) [439] are now grown in some of the mountain oases – mainly for selling to Europeans at Tamanraset. Among other cultivated plants found in the gardens of Ahaggar mention can be made of the following species after Maire:—

*Lepidium salicum*, *Brassica Rapa* & *B. oleracea* (*aharet*), *Linum usitatissimum* (*ilatelé*, or *anarka*), *Medicago sativa*, *Pisum arvense* (*demchi*), *Vicia Faba*, *Lens culinaris* (*elredes*), *Vigna catjang*, *Cori-*

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439 caravans of the south or by Ayr Tuareg who import more millet than they need for their own use.
437 But millet is cheaper in Damergu than at the Agadez market, and most Tuareg prefer to organize
[435] their own millet caravans with camels and donkeys as pack-animals. In Damergu most Ayr Tuareg
[492] get millet in exchange for livestock or they buy it for money. Their caravans are not always very large,
[476] for the Southern Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not organize their caravans co-operatively
[484] on the basis of kinship. Many individual households fetch their own millet with a few animals, and it
[592] is comparatively easy to do so as the millet growing country of Damergu is not very far away – the distance from Agadez to Tanut is only about 300 kilometres. The Ayr Tuareg do not have to engage in extensive trading expeditions to procure millet, and can buy millet very cheaply. A household, it
437 is said, does not have to sell a great many animals to secure the necessary supply of millet. Three or
439 four camel loads will cover the needs of most households, and this amount of millet can be acquired
435 for comparatively few animals – particularly if the animals vended are sheep, which have become
592 very expensive in recent times owing to the rapid increase of Europeans at Agadez. An extremely good
162 sheep or ram for slaughtering can bring in 2000 to 3000 West African francs, and a Tuareg household which buys millet in Damergu will need less than 10,000 francs to acquire the quantity necessary for a year. Thus the Ayr Tuareg can obtain their millet for a few sheep, and there are very few, if any, who do not posses this surplus, and it should be repeated that the increment of livestock is never stopped by drought periods as in the north. The extremely high price for sheep for butchering is a recent phenomena due to the increase of the French population. Fully-grown sheep or rams are expensive, and this is also the case with fowls, while goats are cheap. I believe we can estimate that a household would have to sell about 15 goats anually to obtain the amount of millet necessary for one year's consumption. However, there is little doubt that it has always been quite easy for the Tuareg of Southern Ayr to obtain the requisite amount of millet in exchange for livestock.

262 Millet and milk constitute the basic nourishment of the Ayr Tuareg, but they are very fond of an
[222] occasional change of food. And I believe that this is one important reason why the Ayr Tuareg, like those of Ahaggar, collect wild seeds even in years when grown cereals are abundant. For a change, the Ayr Tuareg are also extremely fond of dates which are not grown to any great extent in their own country. A few Ayr Tuareg own palms yielding dates of poor quality, and I think that a few house-
[439] holds also obtain some dates from Ingal. However, most dates eaten in Ayr are imported from the oasis of Bilma, situated in the very barren desert country between Ayr and Tibesti, about 700 kilometres north-east of Agadez.

437 The trade with Bilma is apparently an ancient one, and its foundation is salt which is of a very bad
439 quality compared with that mined at Amadror in the north. The rock-salt of Amadror is excellent
[317] for food, and though there is one good quality of Bilma salt that is used for food by the Tuareg of
[263] Ayr, most salt from Bilma contains much soil and other impurities. This impure salt is excellent for
[233] domestic animals which, in Ayr and further south where salt pastures do not exist, need a lot of salt. The Ayr Tuareg, and particularly those who do not visit the country of Azaouar at the end of the rains, need salt not only for their own food but also for their domestic animals. They obtain this from Bilma, which is visited by caravans in autumn or in the early winter. The inhabitants of Bilma, like other oases-dwellers, are in constant need of cereals and meat, and these products are imported

824
222

To make up this deficiency in graminaceae, the Tuareg have recourse to products of gathering.

After a rain the captives and the Imrad women gather the seeds of certain plants which grow in the Ahaggar valleys. They are the afasso (Panicum turgidum F.) and the oulloul (Aristida pungens D.). [262]

Fig. 31. Little leather flask used as a butter container.

But the size of the yield varies with the abundance of rain, and one may say that most of the time it is quite /233/ uncertain. This is not the case in the Sudan, where the Iklan gather whole bags of wild seeds, particularly cram-cram (Cenchrus echinatus), every year. [237 281 415 234]

To be sure, there are a few wild berries in the Ahaggar, such as those from the jujube tree (Zizyphus lotus D.) and the téborak (Balanites aegyptiaca). In case of famine the Tuareg fall back on other seeds, such as those of the colocynth, the Acacia tortillis, etc. However, all these plants play only a secondary role in the Tuareg diet. [731] [262]

The Tuareg have at their disposal milk from their camels, goats, and ewes. They drink it either whole or diluted with water, either fresh or sour. 272

The luxury of drinking whole milk is reserved for young mothers and children. Adults generally drink fresh milk morning and [264]

[264]
272 evening after the milking, and at the noon meal they drink milk which has already soured. It may accompany the dishes /234/ of
[262] béchena, serve as a sauce, and also be taken as a drink. When they make long moves, the Tuareg carry a bag full of skim milk on their camels. This turns rapidly and gives a sour-tasting whey which is very refreshing. But milk is particularly appreciated for its by-products, butter and cheese.

Butter --
234 oudi --is obtained by churning milk in a
[415 little leather
237] bag; a woman shakes it on her knees, making it swing from right to left and from left to right.
The butter col-
[237 lected is placed
415] inside a sheep's horn which serves as a receptacle. When butter production exceeds daily consumption, the butter is placed in leather containers, in the shape of a flask, where the heat usually keeps it liquid or very fluid, except in winter when it is necessary to heat it to get it out of the container.

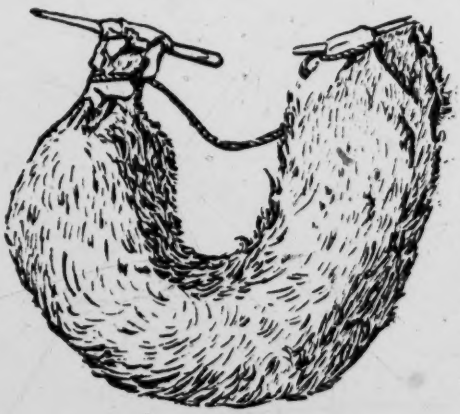

Fig. 32. Butter container made from the skin of a camel's neck.

Butter is mainly eaten as a sauce; béchena gruel or wheat
262 cakes are moistened with it. The Tuareg never cook it, as in fried foods.

In years when pasturage is particularly good, which assures an
234 abundance of milk from the animals, the Tuareg make cheese -- tikomaren. They sour the milk, squeeze the curds in little mats

264 Before the French occupation the Tuareg as a general rule had only one meal a day, in the evening, after milking the animals. During the day they contented themselves with drinking a little milk.

252 262 The national dish of the Tuareg is asink, which is a porridge of millet cooked in water and moistened with butter or whey. This meal is especially popular in winter and during the entire cold season. During the very hot months, they prefer a beverage of water or whey in which they throw millet flour, diluted sometimes with dry cheese or powdered dates. This is alakoh. Dates are also eaten /237/ in summer, ground and mixed with water or milk.

252 When the Tuareg kill a sheep, they prepare the intestines which they enclose inside the stomach. After having tied the two extremities of the stomach, they put it on a bed of ashes to cook. This way of cooking, which is the one most commonly used by hunters, is called abatoul. Meats are prepared boiled or cooked under the ashes. Those that are boiled are particularly the ones which were previously dried (wild sheep, gazelle, sometimes sheep). In this case, they are first crushed between two stones, for they are as hard as wood; the meat is then spread in pieces on a dish of asink.

The Tuareg do not prepare roast meat over embers, but they place it under the ashes. When they want to cook a whole sheep, they open it in two and then put it under the ashes, taking care to turn it once during the roasting.

252 262 For great occasions -- religious festivals, marriages, or receptions for prominent guests -- the Tuareg butcher young camels. They serve them with a couscous of coarse-grained wheat.

The domestic animals slaughtered are goats, sheep, camels, and cattle when there are any. They do not eat horses, asses, or dogs.

[727] Cooking is done by the captives, close by the masters' tents.

264 Men take their meals by themselves and receive the food first. Women and children eat in their turn, and the Iklan receive the rest.

264 The Tuareg use spoons. The use of this implement is peculiar
[415] to them, for their Arab or Negro neighbors eat with their hands.
The custom must be related to the wearing of the veil, which they
[182 291] do not take off to eat and which prevents them from putting their
hands full of food to their mouths. They carry food to their mouths
while slightly holding up the ends of their veils.

[271] For beverages they drink only water, whether it is clean or
272 polluted, and milk.

For half a century they have had the habit of drinking green tea in the Arab manner; they aromatize it with mint or some perfumed plants of the Ahaggar, /238/ chih (Artemisia herba alba) in particular. Coffee, which was formerly much used by them, is now
[757 78] taken mainly as a medication to calm violent coughs or stomach aches.

276 If we now seek consumer goods taken as stimulants or narcotics, we see that the Tuareg know only tobacco, which they chew or take as snuff.

Smoking is not one of their customs. The young men who are
[177] in contact with the French like to beg a cigarette, but it is simply in the spirit of imitation.

Duveyrier, however, has said that the Tuareg smoke. Was this,
114 perhaps, the fashion among the Tuareg who visited Ghat? Before
276 him Barth wrote that all riverain people living along the Niger loved to smoke. "It is very seldom that they leave their pretty little clay pipes, and all the Rouma, like the Tuareg, cover their mouths when smoking, so that all one sees is a pipe bowl coming out of the shawl which covers the face. (1)

1. Voyage en Afrique, vol. IV, p. 137.

252 They may not heat camel's milk which has just been milked
825 under penalty of causing sickness to the animal which gave it.

264 Insofar as personal interdicts are concerned, there are none to speak of, for although men and women must not eat together, this is a custom rather than an interdict.

[606] A married man must not eat with his parents-in-law, and the oldest son must not eat with his father. These are mainly marks of respect, perhaps traces of ancient practices of a religious nature.

/240/ Chapter 4

## Hunting and Fishing

We shall now say a few words on the industries allied to the problems of food, that is, on hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, and agriculture.

Hunting. -- In a country where fauna was at all dense, hunting
136 would have brought a not inconsiderable dietary supplement to the
174 Ihaggaren. In the past it was very much esteemed in the Sahara. Many rock drawings and paintings prove this, for they depict hunting scenes which interpret the state of civilization of the men, their preoccupation, and at the same time the nature of the fauna, which has changed a great deal since then.

[192] Today, with the very advanced drying out of almost all the Saharian districts, the fauna has come out into the open and the
224 species likely to be usefully hunted are reduced to a few. Only gazelles and wild sheep are still hunted. We cannot mention the addax and oryx antelopes, for the former is in the process of becoming extinct in the Sahara, while the second is confined to the steppe zone. The hare and jackal may be accessorily added.

764 A marabout or a literate man reads the Moslem prayer, and the men, standing behind him with their hands coupled and open at chest height, repeat it with him. Women do not participate in the burial.

Modern Tuareg tombs have stone markers (chouabed), one at the feet and one at the head for men, one at the head and two at the feet for women. They are oval in shape and the mound is slightly dome-shaped. They usually have stones around them, forming a gully with a forward part open to the east. One often finds wooden stakes or tent stakes stuck into the two ends of the grave, as well as large balls of hyaline quartz which, /297/ according to the Tuareg, were used to rub the body of the dead man before burying him. In many places where there are hyenas, as in the Sudan, the tomb is generally covered over with thorny branches to prevent them from digging up the dead man.

After the burial the persons who came for the occasion present their condolences to the family. The family has a meal served for them in memory of the deceased.

768 The dead man's clothing are given to the marabout or to the person who washed him.

Then camp is immediately broken, and the people never return to camp at that place.

Mourning does exist among the Tuareg. It lasts only a short time for the man who has lost his wife. For three days he stays shut up in his tent. During this time the ahal and all rejoicings are forbidden in the camp. For the wife who has lost her husband, mourning is a real retreat which lasts four months and ten days, during which time she must not appear in public. The end of the retreat is marked by a little ceremony: the women of the camp take the widow to see the sunrise, present her with an open book of piety, and show her some salt.

761 The Tuareg never bewail the death of a person, and condolences often have the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you loved is now in the paradise of God."

727 of captures, however, he had to give half of the captured animals
714 to the lender. In case of failure and death of the camel, he did
426 not have to reimburse him.

721 The men met, discussed the planned expedition, and uttered
726 a ritual formula (narhaī allar) which bound them together for the duration of the expedition, during which time they were to give mutual assistance to one another.

Then they named a chief who was not necessarily an Amajer /sing. of Imochar - Ed. / but a man renowned for his courage, his /322/ suitability, and his experience on expeditions of this kind. Then the group left, preceded by scouts.

726 All baggage was left behind. Everyone mounted on camel back, taking only the bare necessities for the road, for it was necessary to go quite fast and try to keep the animals in good condition. Before sunrise, the raid was already on its way, and the rapid pace was maintained without stopping until evening. The men ate only
[262 a few dates at noon, did not take their siestas, and ate a meal
264] only in the evening -- all was sacrificed to the speed of the march, which was the key to success.

Nearing their goal, the raiders forced their march even more if that were possible, and they often divided into two parties; one was entrusted with seizing the animals and bringing them to a specified point, the other created a diversion in the enemy camps to sidetrack them.

The surprised enemy was attacked with gunshots by a few men
[911] deployed as riflemen, while meharists swooped down on them, hurled their javelins, and then soon came to hand-to-hand fighting. The people who were attacked, for their part, tried to find out the strength of the assailants, and depending on the case they retreated or themselves attacked.

In spite of this martial deployment and the vigor of the attack, these combats were not very deadly, in general, and did not always cause deaths.

The donkey carries the waterskins from the well to the [312]
tent, and on its back is placed a packsaddle made of curved 492
pieces of wood bound together, which is called "eroukou."

Let us not forget the Tuareg's saddle, "terik," and if the master of the tent is well-to-do, his wife's saddle, "tekhaouit." /28/

The tent is divided in two: one side for the man and 342
the other for the woman. On the man's side are his saddle, 592
his arms, and the things used for eating. On the woman's side are her saddle, her "amz'ad," and the cooking utensils.

Custom decrees that the man choose the east part for his side, and the woman the west part.

A group of tents is called "amezar'" [illegible] , and [192]
a single tent "ehan" [illegible] , plural "ehanan" [illegible] .

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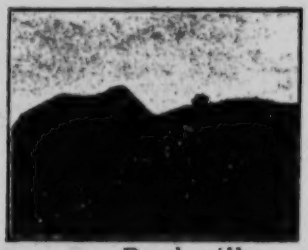

Dautheville

Tent of a Tedjehe-Mellet
at Amra (Black Tifedest)

## Chapter XV

## Food

The main meal takes place at noon and is called 264
"tarout" [illegible] . In the evening the Tuareg is

usually satisfied with milk, "akh, " fresh ("akh oua kefaïen" 264 ●
[illegible] ) or sour ("akh iezza", [illegible] ), at
the hour when the camels, sheep, or goats come in from
pasture.

The basic food of the Ahaggar Tuareg consists of bechna, 262
"inelli" (white-grain sorghum, Graminaceae), dates, "teïni, "
and milk, "akh. " [illegible]

But their country provides them with many resources 22
which they are careful not to neglect, especially the poor, 556
the "tileqqiouin" [illegible] , who constitute the majority.

All the "imr'ad" go to harvest the grains of "toulloult" 243
and "afezzou. " Women, children, youths, negroes and 221
negresses go into the wadis
to gather the harvest, which
takes place from May to June
for "toulloult" and from July
to the end of September for
"afezzou. " /29/

Dautheville.

Idelés (Koudia)

Usually, before the
harvest several wadis are for-
bidden territory, and camels
are not led there until the
harvest is finished.

The produce is gathered
and put into hide sacks. After the grains have dried, they 252
need only to be put onto small trays of "afezzou, " called
"tissiin, " which are shaken, and the hulls fall off and remain
on top. The grains are ground to powder, and a kind of gruel
is made with water or butter.

The Tuareg are also very fond of "tikamarin" [illegible] 234 252 262
, cheeses as hard as wood which they get from A'ir. They 438
grind them in mortars and mix them in their food.

They very seldom eat meat, except that of game which 262
they can kill in a hunt: gazelles, mountain sheep, and 224
antelopes. But often they prefer to smoke this game in order 251
to go and sell it in the Tidikelt. 438

857 /123 cont./ uran made the camel run until it fell completely
868 exhausted and refused to budge. The man almost died of
825 thirst while following the tracks of his animal. When he found it the first thing he did, even before drinking, was to let the uran go."

855 Upon re-entering the tent at night, tired from running about during the day, his imagination full of his discoveries, the child settles down in front of the fire, whose flames execute a marvelous dance for him. His eyes close as Venus, "she who sold her father to have beauty," sinks on the horizon. [264] This does not please the mother; the child must eat, and one eats late in the tent, for the slaves must milk the camels and goats before making supper. She awakens her son, draws him to her, covering him with a dokkali to protect him from the cool of the night, and then begins to tell tales of the past.

539 /124/ These stories, which make up Tuareg folklore, tend to disappear. Many young people do not know them; one must ask the old Tuareg men, those who miss the days of the raids, or, preferably, the women, who in all ages have been the keepers of tradition.

Some of these stories are fables peopled by the animals of the Ahaggar or the Sudan; sometimes they express a moral, but that is rare. Others are amazing tales in which monsters and genii harass men; often a hero succeeds in vanquishing them. These stories are very long; they contain instruction in the customs, and I think they bear a message from distant ancestors. This message, sometimes stylized, truncated, or embellished by the oral transmission, deserves to be studied; in order to do this, as many as possible of these tales should be collected before they are forgotten.

Here is the story of the jackal and the dob, as it was told to me by one of my pupils, a Targui of noble stock.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



into fine-grained sand carried from the river bed to the fire place in front of the tent. When this heavy 252
fire has calmed down the embers and most of the ashes are moved from the shallow depression to its fringes by means of a small stick, and the thin porridge or gruel of flour and water to which also a little salt is added is poured out into the depression, a spoon being normally used to remove all the gruel out of the wooden bowl in which it has been stirred. A bunch of dry grasses, herbs, or tender twigs is thereupon fired over the gruel in order that its surface may harden, and it is then covered with hot fine-grained sand, ashes, and embers in the order mentioned. If the embers are considered insufficient for baking, a small fire may be lit on the top of the sand and ashes covering the gruel-bread, which is taken out after about twenty minutes to be turned and baked in the same way on the other side for a few minutes. Baking is then finished, the bread is finally removed to be washed in water (Fig. 183). It is broken into pieces and eaten from a large wooden bowl (Figs. 195a–b) together with 264 415* 412
liquid butter. It is eaten with wooden spoons (Figs. 191).

The type of bread just mentioned is known to people of the *Kel Ferwan* group as *tagella*. It is made 262
by very few Tuareg. Indeed, when I travelled together with Ayr Tuareg I very frequently baked my 252
own bread as I had learned to from the Tuareg of Ahaggar, because very few of the Ayr Tuareg I [22]
met were familiar with bread baking. Bread is not a staple diet of the Ayr Tuareg, and when they want to bake wheat flour they generally do so in the following way:— The flour is mixed with water to a dough which is placed upon the bottom and sides of a metal pot heated over the fire. This type of bread or bread-like dish is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *gwasa*. It can be mentioned that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg also bake a particular type of bread from millet flour mixed with certain other 252
plant materials, but a bread of this kind is not baked for ordinary food, but as a kind of medicine. 261

252 415* 516

Fig. 174. Roasting meat-lumps by the *mechwi* method. Ayr, *Kel-chikkan* Tuareg of Damergu.

[text continues on p. 241]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 192. Tuareg woman cooking millet porridge. Ahaggar, the *Aɣah-en-tehlé* tribe. The cooking pots seen on this photograph are bought in the Sudan on trading expeditions. Sudanese pots are superior to those made in Ahaggar.

Like

264 most Tuareg dishes they are eaten from a large wooden bowl. If meat is cooked with the soup it may be broken into small pieces to be eaten with the balls, but part of the meat cooked is always eaten separately. The Tuareg eat *keskesu* with spoons, but if spoons are lacking they also eat it with the
262 hand, as do the Arabs. In addition to *keskesu* with its small balls which resemble grains of rice, the Northern Tuareg have another dish prepared in the same way but with larger balls. It is termed
[189] *tikhemmezin* and is considered inferior to the *keskesu*. – Both these dishes are unknown to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group.

262 Two particular dishes are mentioned from Ahaggar by Foucauld. One of them is called *ibergan*
252 and consists of unripe barley boiled in its own juice without water. The other one is known as *aberbes*
[267] and is made from tender plants of wheat and barley which are dried and pounded or ground into powder, to be eaten, boiled or unboiled, in periods of famine (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 89, 118).

Tuareg vegetable dishes are frequently prepared in a very simple way. Thus there is a dish known as *twes* (Ahaggar) or *tewes* (Ayr) which consists of entire seeds of millet or sorghum boiled in water. It is eaten mainly by children who frequently walk about the camp eating these boiled grains from their hands.

252 It is clear from the description of vegetable dishes that the cooking pot plays an important role for
*415 food preparation, and all dishes prepared in this way, including cooked meat, are known to the Tuareg

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



as *téyint* (Ayr) or *talekkint* (Ahaggar). But pastoral Tuareg do not make eartenware pots themselves. They obtain them from sedentary people, and it is possible that vegetable dishes have been prepared with hot stones up to recent times, for Foucauld states that hot stones are occasionally used for various vegetable dishes in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951-52, IV, p. 1583). However, I have not been able to confirm this during my own investigations among the Tuareg. It should be added that certain vegetable dishes are neither boiled nor baked. This is the case with seeds and roots of various wild plants which are ground and pounded into flour to be eaten without further preparation. Such dishes are known to the Tuareg as *tébik* (Ahaggar) or *téderka* (Ayr). Seeds and roots of wild plants utilized in this way have been mentioned in the chapter on collecting p. 175 ff. 252 415* 323 252

The Tuareg have a great many different dishes, but in spite of this variety they do not always change their food from one day to another. They frequently live on the same type of food for extremely long periods. They may live almost exclusively on milk for weeks and even months, and if milk is not available they live so to speak exclusively on vegetable dishes, which may also not be changed for very long periods. 262

The Ahaggar Tuareg have three meals a day:— (1) *tagimgimt* which is a light meal taken in the morning. (2) *amekli* which is a prepared meal (e.g., bread, porridge, or *arehara*) eaten at midday. (3) *amagin* which is the evening meal, also known as *amensi*, or *azuzeg*. It is the most important meal. 264

252 415* 177 342 291 516

Fig. 193. Tuareg woman cooking kuskus (*keskesu*) in an European enamelled pot. Ahaggar, the *Dag Bali* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 194a–c. Bowl-like ladles from Ahaggar and Ayr. They are used mainly for eating liquid dishes – in particular for the dish known as *ayekera* (Ahaggar) or *ayeiira* (Ayr).

a. Ladle (*tamalat*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.285 m long, 0.110–0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5845).

b. Ladle (*tamalat*). Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.330 m long. (N.M. G. 6631).

c. Ladle-like bowl (*azzar*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. This ladle-like bowl was not used for food but for conservation of fine-grained sand used for hair-dressing together with water and butter. Dimension: 0.330 m long, 0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5879).

[302]

264 frequently consisting of bread or porridge eaten rather late at night. The Ayr Tuareg have related terms for their meals:— (1) *tegimgimt* which is a prepared meal eaten late in the morning. (2) *témekkelewt* which is the prepared meal taken at midday. (3) *temegint*, late evening meal which is the main meal in Ayr, as in Ahaggar. In addition to these meals there is a very light meal taken with tea immidiately after rising. It is known as *elfetur*.

[272]

[511] Incidentally there are Tuareg who do not have food enough to eat three times a day.

During times when Tuareg subsist exclusively on milk they have no regular meals. The amount of milk needed to support life is very great, and it is drunk slowly during the day. On extensive journeys when the camels cross the barren deserts, the Tuareg also do not have regular meals as they do in their camps.

[484]

[text continues on p. 255]

352

furniture. These objects are not numerous and reflect the primitive life led by the Tuareg.

On the left side of the tent is generally found the goatskin water bag, hung on two wooden stakes placed in a V-shape. An old piece of cloth often covers it to protect it from the sun. The waterskin is often empty, for the Tuareg are not very farsighted. When there is water, they drink; when /229/ they are out of it, they stay there waiting a half day until the Iklan get back from the well. [415 271]

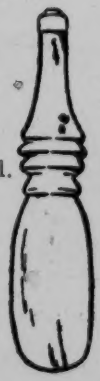

Fig. 28.
Tent shovel.

[412]

[574]

When a traveler passes by, he is most generally assailed with demands for water, while he himself often hoped to find some in the camp.

In front of the door and close to all the tents is an enormous wooden mortar and its pestle, in which the servant girl crushes millet and dates. By searching a bit in the tent or in the shelter used as a kitchen, one may find two or three hemispheric wooden dishes destined to hold food and two or three conical bowls serving as drinking vessels. Hanging on one of the outer stakes of the tent are a wooden milking vessel, an esparto winnowing basket for sifting millet flour, serving at the same time as a dish cover, one or two little esparto mats which can serve the same purpose, and finally a few wooden spoons. Each mistress of a tent has a little 412 415 [357] [252] [285]

264 The Tuareg use spoons. The use of this implement is peculiar
[415] to them, for their Arab or Negro neighbors eat with their hands.
The custom must be related to the wearing of the veil, which they
do not take off to eat and which prevents them from putting their
[182 291] hands full of food to their mouths. They carry food to their mouths
while slightly holding up the ends of their veils.

[271] For beverages they drink only water, whether it is clean or
272 polluted, and milk.

For half a century they have had the habit of drinking green tea in the Arab manner; they aromatize it with mint or some perfumed plants of the Ahaggar, /238/ chih (Artemisia herba alba) in particular. Coffee, which was formerly much used by them, is now
[757 778] taken mainly as a medication to calm violent coughs or stomach aches.

276 If we now seek consumer goods taken as stimulants or narcotics, we see that the Tuareg know only tobacco, which they chew or take as snuff.

Smoking is not one of their customs. The young men who are
[177] in contact with the French like to beg a cigarette, but it is simply in the spirit of imitation.

Duveyrier, however, has said that the Tuareg smoke. Was this,
114 perhaps, the fashion among the Tuareg who visited Ghat? Before
276 him Barth wrote that all riverain people living along the Niger loved to smoke. "It is very seldom that they leave their pretty little clay pipes, and all the Rouma, like the Tuareg, cover their mouths when smoking, so that all one sees is a pipe bowl coming out of the shawl which covers the face." (1)

1. Voyage en Afrique, vol. IV, p. 137.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



133 Massif resembles Ahaggar, but it is on the whole much more level with broader valleys and in between
[131] the lower mountains there are clayey plains. Immediately east of the Massif is the very extended sandy desert which is uninhabited. Further south than Adraf-n-Foras and Ayr there are no considerable mountains. Between the two massifs are the plains of Tamesna and Talak which continue into the plains of the Sudanese savannah.

Tuareg country consists predominantly of rocky mountains and flat, extensive plains of gravel and stone. This configuration is basic to our understanding of Tuareg economy as will become clear when we have outlined the characteristic features of climate.

132 Tuareg country is very hot in summer – so hot that even the nomads born and bred in the country suffer much from the heat at that season. The hottest months are May, June (farthest south) and July (farthest north). During these months temperature may exceed 50° centigrade, and is on average 30°–35°, or higher. In the uppermost mountain zone of Ahaggar nights are comparatively cool even in summer, while in the lower country there is often little difference between day and night temperatures. This is true in particular when, as often happens in summer, the sky is overcast during the night and consequently there is little radiation of the heat absorbed by rocks and sand in daytime. The day temperature in summer is normally higher than the temperature of the human body, and the
[484] temperature of sand and rocks will rise to 60°–70°. Travelling is extremely hard under such conditions,
[271] and most people spend the day in the shade of rocks and trees, sleeping and drinking water of which an adult person consumes 8–10 litres a day. Violent winds are common in the Sahara most of the year and in particular in the daytime; in summer these winds are usually very hot and add considerably to the discomfort of the climate, as do the numerous flies.

The country of the Northern Tuareg has a rather continental climate characterized by great fluctuations of temperature during the year. Although Tuareg suffer from heat in summer, they do not generally complain much about it, and they consider the comparatively cold winter much worse than the hot summer. In winter, temperature in the country of the Northern Tuareg averages about 10°. The absolute minimum temperature however is very much below this. Thus in Ahaggar the village of Tamanraset (1400 m) has in January an average temperature of 11,7 , but an absolute minimum of -6,6°. Frost is very common during winter nights, and even snow may fall in the higher parts of Ahaggar at that time of the year. In the country of the Southern Tuareg frost may also occur, but in Southern Ayr around Agadez frost is said to be very rare and snow is unknown; the winter period
[511] in the south is on the whole milder than in the north, where the changes between relatively cold and
[164] very hot temperatures, allied with inadequate dwellings and clothes, are responsible for pneumonia and similar diseases, which give rise to frequent deaths – especially among children.

The most important climatic distinction between the countries of Northern and Southern Tuareg is due to differences in the annual precipitation as will be seen from the following figures (in m/m) for the annual rainfall 1931–1945 in the territories of seven Tuareg groups:—

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*233
415
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567

Fig. 98. A slave watering goats by means of the leather bucket called *aga*. Water is drawn from a well and poured out into a hole dug in the clayey ground. The goat standing to the left is sheared – a token of the summer season. Tasilit-n-Ajjer.

*233 conditions, and herdsmen, who live with camelherds far away from camps and wells subsisting on
[272] camel's milk, do not consider water necessary. Should domestic animals have eaten salt or salty plants
[271] they are very eager for water even in winter. When I lived in Ahaggar with my camels during the winter 1954/55 they had rightly to be watered every ten days, but in regions where they fed mainly on saliferous plants they had to be watered more frequently. However, domestic animals must not be watered too often as this would make them slow and emaciated, and a camel must not be worked too hard the day after it has been watered.

312 Tuareg camps are always found around wells, pools, or other types of water places for which there
[361] is a large vocabulary. But the Tuareg never camp too close to water places where there is little pasture, many foreigners and consequently little peace. The distance from camp to water place varies, but is
[132] very frequently 1–3 kilometres. During the rainy season (*akasa*) water is very aundant all over Ayr, but outside this period conditions of water supply for human beings and livestock are more favourable
[415] in the north than in Ayr, where water most of the year must be drawn from wells. To raise water the Tuareg use a leather bucket known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aga* (Fig. 97–98). The water drawn for
[237] the animals is poured out into a hole dug in clayey soil, or into a hole covered with a piece of skin or leather known in Ahaggar as *tafarawt*. This skin is nowadays frequently substituted by canvas (cf. Fig. 99). Where water is scarce and must be drawn from narrow wells, as in Ayr during the summer
312 578 season, the watering of flocks and herds gives rise to frequent quarrels between pastoralists. For
[423] though the right to the use of wells is free to all there are many disputes and fights frequently

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



camels. This blood never constitutes a proper dish to the Tuareg. They bleed camels to drink their 272
blood only when they lack water on journeys in the desert. Bleeding is done according to the method [271]
described above, and the blood is collected in a drinking bowl. But the Ayr Tuareg say that they work up the mass of blood with the fingers with the result that the upper part of the amount of blood becomes more liquid, though it is always red in colour.

The Tuareg use the following implements to make cereals or other vegetable products into flour:— 4/2

(1) A large wooden mortar (*tindé*) with a heavy pestle (*ɛheren*) (Fig. 177). It is used in all camps 252
and villages of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr, and is in fact known all over Tuareg country. It is used mainly for pounding millet and sorghum, but it is also employed for pounding other cereals, including certain wild seeds, and for dates, cheese, meat, locusts, and the like. These large wooden [564]
mortars are manufactured by the blacksmiths of Southern Tuareg country, including Ayr, where [38]
most Northern Tuareg obtain their mortars. Among the Northern Tuareg there are also other mortar types. A small mortar which like the former rests on a foot and is known by the same name (*tindé*) (Fig. 178), is used mainly by sedentary agriculturists for pounding rock-salt, dried tomatoes, tobacco for chewing, and other plants or materials to be used in small quantities. Another type of mortar without a foot and known to the Northern Tuareg as *akabar*, or *takabart*, (Fig. 176) is found mainly among pastoralists who use it on journeys for pounding millet.

(2) A saddle quern (*tehunt*) (Fig. 179), which consists of two natural and in general unfashioned stones, is found in most camps of the Northern Tuareg. This constitutes the only grinding implement for wheat, barley, and certain wild seeds among the *Kel Ajjer*. The stones used for saddle querns are [324]
sharpened at intervals with a hard stone or some other hard object (*tasettekut*) in order that they may grind effectively. A simple saddle quern (*asar*) is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but it is less common there than in the north.

(3) The handmill (*tasirt*) (Fig. 181) is not a traditional implement of Tuareg culture. It is widely [171]
known all over Northern Africa both by Berbers and Arabs, by sedentary peoples and nomads living in black tents. It has been introduced to Ahaggar mainly by the immigration of the Arabic speaking [167]
Harratin (Zeggarzu) of Tidikelt,

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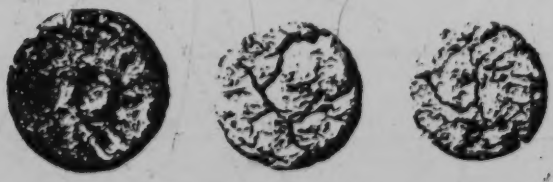

Fig. 169a–c. Pieces of butter-milk cheese (*awles*, pl. *twlsen*).
a. Ahaggar, *Harratin of* Abalessa. Dimension: 0.066–0.068 m in diameter, 0.022 m thick. (N.M. G. 5816).
b. Ahaggar, the *Afuk-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.062 × 0.022 m. (N.M. G. 5817b).
c. Ahaggar, the *Afuk-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.058 × 0.016 m. (N.M. G. 5817c).

565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
567 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are
not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as
[428] his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can
inherit from their father.

565 /171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with
833 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
558 not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that
[842] the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

867 The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
[838 other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found
679] for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed
[272] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any
304 milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves
234] first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not
hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their
lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar
who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have
deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former amenokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa
ag Amastan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and
the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object
of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

567 A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or
when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally
685 does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense,
the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear
of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes
henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the
same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the
slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice,
according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

513 No one has a bed except the aménokal, who owns one of the Hausa
[352 177 643] type; this model has also been adopted in a certain number /227/ of Kel Oui /Owey/ camps. (1) The man and woman each sleep on

1. Contrary to what has been said, the bed is not Tuareg but Hausa. Its use is spread among the sedentary people of Aïr, Damergou, and Sokoto, and it is made by Hausa smiths.

his or her own side of the tent, the boys with their father and the girls with their mother.

354 There are no cradles for babies among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and young children are placed on a skin or on blankets. Sometimes a hemispheric wicker frame is put over them and covered with a cloth to cut off the light or protect them from sandstorms.

The Kel Aïr and the Tenguéréguif have little cradles which are suspended from the top of the tent.

354 Fire. -- In front of each tent there is a hearth, generally made of three stones. It is not intended for cooking purposes, but rather for warmth in the evening after the sun has gone down when all the people gather in the shelter of the asaber, which is unrolled in an arc in front of the tent. The flame warms up hearts and bodies and synthesizes family and friendship. Sometimes a con-
[272] tainer of water is placed on the three stones to heat in order to make tea.

343 The cooking fire is set apart, generally some three or four
354 meters from the tent, in the shelter of a little stone wall in order to protect it from the wind.

372 We have not been able to find any myth on the origin of fire
773 among the Tuareg. According to them it was created by God, who gave it to man to cook food. Iblis (Satan) wanted to seize the secret of how it was made, and God punished him by creating

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To make up this deficiency in graminaceae, the Tuareg have recourse to products of gathering.

After a rain the captives and the Imrad women gather the seeds of certain plants which grow in the Ahaggar valleys. They are the afasso (Panicum turgidum F.) and the oulloul (Aristida pungens D.). But the size of the yield varies with the abundance of rain, and one may say that most of the time it is quite /233/ uncertain. This is not the case in the Sudan, where the Iklan gather whole bags of wild seeds, particularly cram-cram (Cenchrus echinatus), every year.

[262]

[233 281 415 234]

Fig. 31. Little leather flask used as a butter container.

To be sure, there are a few wild berries in the Ahaggar, such as those from the jujube tree (Zizyphus lotus D.) and the téborak (Balanites aegyptiaca). In case of famine the Tuareg fall back on other seeds, such as those of the colocynth, the Acacia tortillis, etc. However, all these plants play only a secondary role in the Tuareg diet.

[731]

[262]

The Tuareg have at their disposal milk from their camels, goats, and ewes. They drink it either whole or diluted with water, either fresh or sour. 272

The luxury of drinking whole milk is reserved for young mothers and children. Adults generally drink fresh milk morning and [264]

[264]

272 evening after the milking, and at the noon meal they drink milk which has already soured. It may accompany the dishes /234/ of [262] béchena, serve as a sauce, and also be taken as a drink. When they make long moves, the Tuareg carry a bag full of skim milk on their camels. This turns rapidly and gives a sour-tasting whey which is very refreshing. But milk is particularly appreciated for its by-products, butter and cheese.

234 Butter -- oudi -- is obtained by churning milk in a [415 237] little leather bag; a woman shakes it on her knees, making it swing from right to left and from left to right. The butter collected is placed [237 415] inside a sheep's horn which serves as a receptacle. When butter production exceeds daily consumption, the butter is placed in leather containers, in the shape of a flask, where the heat usually keeps it liquid or very fluid, except in winter when it is necessary to heat it to get it out of the container.

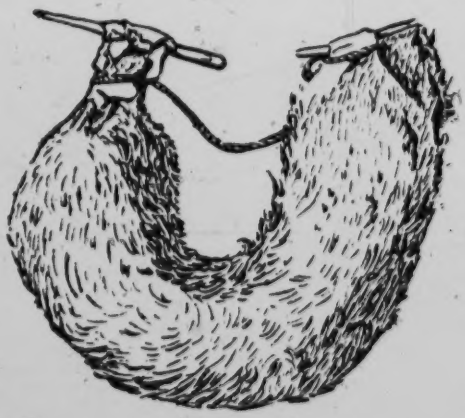

Fig. 32. Butter container made from the skin of a camel's neck.

Butter is mainly eaten as a sauce; béchena gruel or wheat 262 cakes are moistened with it. The Tuareg never cook it, as in fried foods.

In years when pasturage is particularly good, which assures an 236 abundance of milk from the animals, the Tuareg make cheese -- tikomaren. They sour the milk, squeeze the curds in little mats

264 The Tuareg use spoons. The use of this implement is peculiar
[415] to them, for their Arab or Negro neighbors eat with their hands. The custom must be related to the wearing of the veil, which they
[182 291] do not take off to eat and which prevents them from putting their hands full of food to their mouths. They carry food to their mouths while slightly holding up the ends of their veils.

[271] For beverages they drink only water, whether it is clean or
272 polluted, and milk.

For half a century they have had the habit of drinking green tea in the Arab manner; they aromatize it with mint or some perfumed plants of the Ahaggar, /238/ chih (Artemisia herba alba) in particular. Coffee, which was formerly much used by them, is now
[757 78] taken mainly as a medication to calm violent coughs or stomach aches.

276 If we now seek consumer goods taken as stimulants or narcotics, we see that the Tuareg know only tobacco, which they chew or take as snuff.

Smoking is not one of their customs. The young men who are
[177] in contact with the French like to beg a cigarette, but it is simply in the spirit of imitation.

Duveyrier, however, has said that the Tuareg smoke. Was this,
114 perhaps, the fashion among the Tuareg who visited Ghat? Before
276 him Barth wrote that all riverain people living along the Niger loved to smoke. "It is very seldom that they leave their pretty little clay pipes, and all the Rouma, like the Tuareg, cover their mouths when smoking, so that all one sees is a pipe bowl coming out of the shawl which covers the face." (1)

1. Voyage en Afrique, vol. IV, p. 137.

136 several different spots, and it is not impossible that the species
[172] bred today in the Ahaggar is of African origin. Bones of the species are found in the Neolithic layers of the Sahara.

137 At the present time there is a death struggle between the goats
233 and trees in the Ahaggar. The goat itself is capable of browsing
185 the lower branches and destroying them, thanks to its agility. The Tuareg do the rest when pasture is scarce, by felling the main branches to put them within the reach of the animals. And so, in a relatively short time, trees, and the tahla (Acacia sp.) in par-particular, will be only a memory in the Ahaggar. Nothing has

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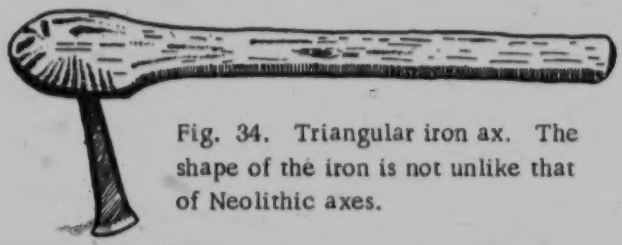

Fig. 34. Triangular iron ax. The shape of the iron is not unlike that of Neolithic axes.

been done by the French administration in the Ahaggar to protect the trees, when it would be sufficient to close some valleys for several years, while taking into account the needs of the shepherds. Measures of this kind have been taken in the environs of Goundam and have given very good results.

132 Prolonged dryness which causes a lack of pasture often puts
233 goat raising in difficulties. The birth rate is stopped short, and mortality may result to such a great extent that the number of animals sometimes falls to one fifth. Then many years are needed to build up the flocks, granting, of course, the arrival of favorable rains.

232 The careless and fatalistic Ihaggaren do not even try to step up breeding by buying sires in Adrar or in A'ir. They let their weak flocks reconstitute themselves by their own means, which
[272] sometimes requires many years. In case of an overabundance of births, they limit the number of animals, for they are well aware

of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled, and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and sometimes tents.

The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact number of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them, and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used. These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg, have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia where they are called "onager."

The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihaggaren have kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage, and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

484 This was observed by Duveyrier, Captain de Bonnemain, and
674 Bou Derba on the Ouargla-Ghat itinerary. We have witnessed similar actions ourselves, but the goods stored in this way belonged to some Ihaggaren, and no one would have dared lay a hand on
[608] them. The thing is less safe in the case of a stranger's property.

When a camel dies en route, the load that it was carrying is left on the spot and put under public protection. The caravaneer is always certain to find his property, even six or eight months later. In this regard, it is well to say that the Tuareg, raiders though they must be, are not thieves. When a theft has been committed in their /316/ country, the guilty party is generally a Negro, but rarely a Tuareg of the white race.

439 What were the products transported? Manufactured goods, for the most part, generally made in Europe. There were fabrics and silks which the Tuareg and the Sudanese eagerly sought, and there were knickknacks, unmounted sword blades, sugar, and coffee
[177 272] (tea only recently made its appearance in the Sahara).

All these goods were resold or exchanged for ten times their value. On the return trip the caravaneers brought back ostrich plumes, gold dust, ivory, and little Negro girls and boys bought as slaves and resold for very high prices in the cities of Algeria. Leather was also the object of an intensive traffic, as well as medications of plant or animal (ostrich fat) origin which were part of the Sudanese pharmacopoeia and much appreciated by the Arabs.

177 Today, except for gold and ivory, which have become rare
439 and whose traffic is in the hands of Europeans, and except for the sale of slaves, which has been forbidden since the French
[486] occupation, trade has remained the same. But the routes have become free and the Tuareg can no longer count on their former profits. There was one resort left, that of making themselves caravaneers in their turn and using their many camels in that way. This is what they have done.

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[539]

"Tamott tekness
"Ehere iouof
"Tathett ter'tess
"Tir'irt touoss"

which means:

The woman who argues.
Flocks that scatter.
The she-ass that breaks her tether.
The pot that tips over.

In a joking way, to be a real wit, the man could answer: "If I should find myself in this situation, I would first gather the flock, I would re-tether the ass, I would put the pot back on the fire, and only then would I pay attention to the woman, " and there would be a chorus of indignant protests.

The woman makes it a point of honor to have as many admirers as possible. This is a proof that she is pretty and will not have trouble in getting married. 584 832

The ahal, begun after sunset, lasts quite late into the night, and the pale light that is shed by the stars allows shamelessness to have free rein. Although the married women joke and take part in the games, they behave themselves comparatively well. The others, however, may sit on the knees of their admirers. They kiss, but in a special way. Since the man must never uncover his mouth, he lowers his veil under his nose, and he piously smells the nose! of his loved one, who herself may kiss him. Even intimate handling (proh pudor! /oh, shame/) is allowed, which is never seen among the Arabs. 533 584 832

During these gatherings, when the amz'ad is played, it is listened to with great pleasure. This instrument has a way of exciting /10/ the Tuareg, who utter "Ouh! ouh!" as a sign of pleasure. They have even made a verb of it: isouhouh. [201]

But now is the time when the camels come from the pasture. They must be milked: that is the az'ouz'edj 'l' ## (from ez'edj 'l' # , to milk). The women get up, and those present are given milk to drink. They will have to disperse. [272]

262
The nobles eat better, at least those who are well-to-do. 243
In the Ahaggar especially they own cultivated land in the 556
"ar'erems" (villages), where they grow wheat, "ired," barley, 565 423
"timzin," and bechna, "inelli"; but usually they sell their 438

[137]

Dautheville

Trees Called "Ahatés" (Acacia Albida) at the Tillemas of the Tessht Wadi (Koudia).

wheat and barley to the natives of the Tidikelt and are content
with bechna, of which they are very fond. They claim that [824]
bechna is less heating to the stomach than wheat or barley.

The rich allow themselves the luxury of drinking tea, but 272
tea and sugar are very expensive, and they do not misuse them. 556
On the other hand, they do not hesitate to beg for them shame- 263
lessly.

When the year is bad anything seems good to the poor to 222
assure their subsistence. In such years one sees them eating 262
/30/ "berdi," or "taheli," (Typha angustifolia, Typhaceae); 735
ground carob seeds of "talhas," or gum trees, which they call 252
"tahaha" • ⁝⁝ + ; "tanékfa'lt (Diplotaxis duveyrierana, Cruciferae); fruit of the "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica), which they steep to take out the bitterness; and even leaves of the "aremmas" (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae), which they boil.

In short, nature keeps food resources for them which prevents even the poorest from dying of hunger.

252/104 cont. / cooking is determined by the pleasing odor that comes from the dish. This grain is next ground together with dried dates. The powder thus obtained is eaten without further preparation.

The "arahara" has a more complicated recipe: crush the millet so that a very fine flour is obtained, crush some dates, and add a little water to form a paste, crush some "tikamarin" /cheese/; mix flour, date paste, and cheese powder together; add a lot of water until you have a liquid resembling milk. Drink cool in summer.

"Asink" is the Tuareg national dish: crush millet so that you have half of it in fine flour and the other half in coarse grains; separate the grains from the flour and pour the former in a pot of boiling water; cook for two hours until the bloated grains form a rather liquid gruel; pour the flour into the gruel, stirring the mixture with the "esseroui" (a wooden paddle used especially for the asink) with the pot still on the fire; obtain a rather thick consistency, dish into the tarahout, add milk if possible, and serve hot. When there is no milk, butter may be added, or the asink may be eaten as is.

[272] /105/ Milk, another basic food, is drunk whole as soon as it is drawn, or is mixed with sour milk, or blended with whey. To make butter, milk is poured into an "adjiouer" (the "chekoua" of the Arabs) and sits for a day, preferably in the sun, causing it to sour rapidly. The sour milk is then poured into another chekoua, which is stirred until a ball of butter is obtained. The sour whey left in the chekoua is drunk during the day.

[262] Fresh butter ("zebda" in Arabic) is called "white butter" (in Tamashek: "oudi oua amellen"); it is soon eaten, but only a small amount. Most of the product is transformed into "dahan" (Arabic -- in Tamashek: "oudi"), which can be kept a long time. White butter, with a small quantity of dates added, together with a few grains of wheat or millet and

262 /107 cont./ buy them. Rice is considered to be a remedy. In the way of preserved foods, one may see the Tuareg eat sardines in oil and jam and use canned milk. All of these foods are not accepted with enthusiasm; they are too expensive, [181] and the Tuareg seem to be truly conservative in food matters, as well as in the whole of their customs.

They drink water, milk, and tea, the latter being of •272 relatively recent importation but in the way of becoming a necessity. There is no need to mention again the ritual that surrounds the making and drinking of tea.

Coffee is scarcely drunk except with the French; when it [273] is taken in the tent, it is as a remedy. Need I say that the Tuareg drink no alcohol and that at the present time there is no exception ot this rule?

## Public Health

It appears to be practically impossible to construct a 161 demographic table for the Ahaggar: figures for the years /108/ before 1947 are rare and suspect; they give an acceptable approximation but do not give an exact picture of population movements.

In this field one must then use figures from recent censuses and observations of the tribes that may be easily visited in trying prudently to project these observations to the whole of the population.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1948 the count was: | 6, 048 | nomads |
| | 4, 240 | harratin |
| | 10, 288 | |
| 1949 | 6, 013 | nomads |
| | 4, 285 | harratin |
| | 10, 298 | |

The population figure for the Ahaggar seems to be fairly stationary (even if one does not rely exclusively on the figures

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*233 their flocks, but it is, on the whole, inproper to show any interest in their animals. Some nomads will
128 even claim that although they know all their goats by sight, they do not know, or never mention, the
[172] total number of their animals, as this is believed to bring bad luck. This belief is probably explained by the idea of the evil eye. To this may be added that it is difficult to judge the ownership of goats by merely watching the flock of a household which may also have animals grazing on other pastures.

*233 According to official statistics for 1948, the average number of goats per household among the *Kel Ahaggar* is fifteen (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). This figure is probably derived from the tax lists, and it seems to be much too low – even when households of slaves and sedentary agriculturists are included. Lhote has stated that the number of goats per person, under ideal conditions, is 35–40. If they increase above this, the surplus is slaughtered or sold to the sedentary peoples of the oases (Lhote 1951a, p. 9). This latter figure for ownership of goats under ideal conditions is probably true for the
*233 more wealthy Tuareg of Ahaggar. Thus among the vassal Tuareg of the *Dag Rali* tribe many house-
565 hold are said to possess 100–200 goats, but this tribe is considered extremely rich in goats, and households of other tribes will not generally own so many animals. From rough calculations made in a great many camps of vassal Tuareg, and Tuareg of the *Isekkemaren* class, I estimate that households on an average possess 60–70 goats when pastures are not too badly developed, for it must be emphasized that the size of flocks changes with climatic conditions. For the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar I estimate, on the basis of calculations made at Amsel, Abalessa, and Tarhawhawt, that a household possesses on average 15–20 goats.

234 In good years the amount of milk products supplied by a flock of 60 goats is rather considerable. This is clear when we consider the fact that a goat, during the period of three to four months in autumn and early winter when pasture of annual plants is green, will yield up to two litres of milk every day. When annual pasture gets dry the milk yield decreases but milk is still comparatively plentiful
[272] and important for food all the winter. In summer, however, there is little milk for reasons already
*233 referred to, and in dry years goats, even in the cold season, yield little or no milk. The flocks decrease during such periods of drought and some nomads may even lose most of their animals. During my stay among the Tuareg of Ahnet and Ahaggar from November 1954 to April 1955, goats suffered much from lack of fodder. In many camps one or two goats died of hunger every day.

*233 The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot subsist entirely on goat-breeding because severe droughts occur
731 frequently in their country. During drought-periods the goats are so to speak valueless as subsistence for the nomads. But it is remarkable that goats emaciated in consequence of severe drought quickly grow fat and start to yield milk once rain has fallen abundantly enough for the regeneration of pastures. In connection with this we shall point to another characteristic of goat-breeding: The animals have a very short gestation period, and the kids are fully grown for mating in one year. And as one goat may have four kids annually with free mating, a household, which has lost most animals during a drought, will be able very quickly to re-establish a flock large enough for its needs.

*233 Goats are also highly important for the subsistence of the pastoral Tuareg of Ayr. I do not know of any statistic material about the size of flocks in this area, but for Tuareg of Kidal (Adrar-n-Foras) flocks are officially estimated at 74 goats and sheep per household (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 269), and this region is environmentally related to Southern Ayr. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that a household

[Text continues on p. 45]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 36. Two Ayr Tuareg milking a she-camel with the colour name *tawinak*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

They draw out the placenta (in Ayr known as *t'imidin*) by the attachment of a heavy stone to the membrane (*abayor*). It is also common a few hours after birth to draw a little milk from the mother camel and pour this milk into the calf's mouth in order that the new-born animal may be able to stand upright and suck its mother quickly. When this has been done it is normal to bleed the mother-camel. Some milk drawn on the day a she-camel has borne a calf is frequently consumed by the Tuareg (cf. *éderes*, p. 221), but with this exception the new-born calf is allowed to drink all its mother's milk for the first days after birth. The period during which the calf sucks freely varies. It depends on the yield of the mother-camel and is also determined by the amount of milk available to the owners from other animals. Milking may exceptionally start already four or five days after birth, but this is not normal. The calf is frequently allowed all milk for a fortnight, or even for a whole month. In Ahaggar when pastures are very dry it is quite normal not to milk a mother-camel at all for a still longer period. 233* [272] [234]

The entire suckling period, that is the period in which the calf is allowed to drink part of its mother's milk, including the short period when it sucks freely, also varies. But here there is one main rule: a calf is allowed to suck as long as its mother-camel is milked, for she-camels, like cows, do not generally yield milk unless they have their calves close to them. It is normal to mate a she-camel about one year after the birth of a calf. She will then yield milk for about six months after mating, so that the total suckling period is about 18 months, at the end of which period the calf will be allowed very little milk. If a she-camel is not mated so soon it may yield milk for a longer period, and the suckling period may even be up to about two years when the calf is a grown animal almost as big as its mother. 233* 234

There are various methods to secure milking in case a camel has lost its calf. The dead calf may be substituted by another calf, but the dummy-calf is also used with she-camels. This device is known as *ahayoy* (Ahaggar), or *azeyuz* (Ayr). Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr it is claimed that some she-camels can be milked without their calves if their udder is patted in a particular way with the hands – which treatment is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the name *ewlewl*. The method of blowing into the vagina described above for cows (p. 51) is never employed with she-camels. But there is another method for 234

[text continues on p. 59]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



bridge of the nose of a calf, so that it hurts its mother when it tries to suck (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 359). – 233*
(3) *akimbab*, that is a plaited muzzle which allows the calf to graze, but prevents it from sucking. I have been told both in Ahaggar and Ayr that such muzzles are used for camel calves, but apparently they do not constitute a normal weaning method. – (4) *aiedrez* or *ameru* are said to be synonymous terms for the weaning method generally adopted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. The method is as follows:— The upper lip of the calf is pierced on both sides of the harelip so characteristic of all camels. A piece of thin root of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) is drawn through these holes so [324]
that the ends of the root protude at both sides, and a knot is made at both ends that the root will not fall out. These knots hurt the udder of a she-camel when the calf starts to suck, but this is not the real idea of the device. For the root-piece keeps the pierced holes open and the calf is therefore unable to suck at all.

A she-camel may yield about ten litres of milk at the beginning of its lactation period, but at the 234
end of this period it does not yield more than two or three litres even with good grazing. The yield is always dependent on grazing conditions. Thus during my stay in Ahnet and Ahaggar 1954–55, a Tuareg who owned about twenty she-camels acquired only two litres of milk a day in all from these animals. But conditions of camel-breeding are much better in Ayr and in the southern plains where [433]
she-camels are tolerably good milk-yielders most of the year, and camel's milk is therefore very important to some pastoralists of these regions. Camel's milk is drunk and not generally used for food [272]
in other ways. It is much esteemed by all Tuareg, who claim that it possesses a particular power and gives strength. It is never stored in the shape of butter or cheese. The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr [262]
never eat camel's butter which they consider possesses a poor taste, and, besides, it is very difficult to churn. They make butter of camel's milk only when butter of milk from other domestic animals is [302]
lacking for the greasing of the hair. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr butter is then churned by the men in a rather peculiar way:— A skin bag containing an amount of camel's milk is attached to the riding [415]
saddle of a camel which is then ridden at very fast speed for some time. But even with this method, it is said, camel's milk gives very little butter, and it is also definitely stated that the milk cannot be used for cheese-making. These Tuareg statements seem to be confirmed by analyses of veterinaries, [114]
who claim camel's milk to contain very little casein, and it has been proved difficult to separate butter from camel's milk (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 707 ff.).

She-camels can mate and yield milk until an age of about 25, and their average length of life is 233*
estimated by the Tuareg at about 30 years. But pastoral Tuareg do not generally keep their camels until they die a natural death. In Ayr I was told that she-camels more than twenty years old should be sold or killed. Most Tuareg sell their old camels in the oases of the Central or Northern Sahara [432]
where a large population of sedentary farmers is constantly yearning for meat. Very few camels are [366]
killed by the butchers of Agadez, where meat from oxen, sheep, and goats is always available and [262]
fairly cheap, but a great many old camels are slaughtered at the market places of the oases further north.

Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr very rarely kill their own camels to eat them. They will slaughter a camel 262
which suffers from some severe disease as all animals dying by accident or from disease are unlawful to eat. However, there are also some Ayr Tuareg who will never eat camel's meat. They say that they [261]
would feel very sick at heart were they to do so, and some Tuareg even say that they would vomit

778 Religious beliefs also interfere with Tuareg stock-breeding and create usages of an irrational kind.
[23] Thus the Tuareg, like other North African peoples, firmly believe in the mystic benevolent power,
[171] or benediction, known as *elbaraka*. This is a power that emenates from God. It is given by God to
[784] man and it cannot act unless certain taboos, or rather religious prescriptions, are followed. The bene-
[783] diction *elbaraka* is more than anything else hurt by impurity. Cleanness is an absolute necessity for this good force to be sustained in the same way that a man cannot approach God through prayer if
[841] he be unclean. Women are considered unclean during their periods of menstruation and cannot, there-
[262] fore, then pray to God. They are also forbidden to drink the milk of domestic animals which have very young kids, lambs, or calves, and they must not drink water which has been conserved in newly-made skin-bags. These taboos are maintained in order not to hurt the benediction given the animals
778 by bringing it into contact with impurity. For the same reason milk taken from animals which have
784 recently brought forth young should not be given to strangers – they might be unclean and harm the
234 *elbaraka*. It is also believed that soil is an impurity dangerous to *elbaraka*, and milk must never be spilt on the ground. Even when milk-bowls are cleaned with water, this liquid should be poured out upon plants or stones, and never be spilt on the ground. Should this be done, God will withdraw his *elbaraka* and the result will be severe periods of drought without milk. I have frequently heard Tuareg ascribe the lack of rain and the dry pasture – the lack of *elbaraka* – to the fact that somebody had spilt milk upon the ground. This had caused God to be angry and to withdraw his benediction. Some Tuareg have also said that *elbaraka* is harmed by a person who blows upon milk. When a man drinks milk he must not blow away impurities before drinking but must remove them by means of a piece of straw.
*233 In the two groups of Northern Tuareg and also in Ayr it is considered very disgraceful for a person
577 who watches the animals away from camp to drink milk directly from an animal's udder. Some Tuareg
● 272 say that a man when staying alone among milk-yielding animals should not utilize their milk even if he performs milking in the usual way. A person who breaks these rules is called *émenkes* or *émelded* among the Ahaggar Tuareg, *émelded* in Ayr. The Tuareg say that there are some people, and in particular many slaves, who do not follow this rule, and that they are despised if known to have broken it. When two or more people are alone with a herd or flock away from the camp they can freely utilize the animals' milk. And it is very normal for camel herdsmen to live with a herd of she-camels in isolated places for long periods. They then live almost exclusively on camel's milk taken from the herd they guard.

272 Certain usages connected with stock-breeding are rationally explained by the Tuareg. Thus when they heat milk by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221) put into the milking bowl, they claim that this is done in order that the milk shall not get dirty as would happen were it heated in an ordinary cooking
272 pot. Another custom which by other stock-breeders has been explained as being based upon magic,
262 namely the usage not to drink milk and eat meat at the same time, is also rationally explained by the Tuareg. They say that there is no taboo on taking these kinds of food together, but it is very unwise to do so because the mixture will act as a laxative and upset the stomach. Therefore, if a Tuareg has drunk much milk he will not eat meat shortly afterwards, and if he has eaten meat he will not take milk for some hours, though he may do so should ample water have been added to the milk. The
*233 Tuareg to my knowledge have no other special customs in connection with stock-breeding and milk
234 than there mentioned

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Fig. 98. A slave watering goats by means of the leather bucket called *aǵa*. Water is drawn from a well and poured out into a hole dug in the clayey ground. The goat standing to the left is sheared – a token of the summer season. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*233 conditions, and herdsmen, who live with camelherds far away from camps and wells subsisting on [272] camel's milk, do not consider water necessary. Should domestic animals have eaten salt or salty plants [271] they are very eager for water even in winter. When I lived in Ahaggar with my camels during the winter 1954/55 they had rightly to be watered every ten days, but in regions where they fed mainly on saliferous plants they had to be watered more frequently. However, domestic animals must not be watered too often as this would make them slow and emaciated, and a camel must not be worked too hard the day after it has been watered.

312 Tuareg camps are always found around wells, pools, or other types of water places for which there [361] is a large vocabulary. But the Tuareg never camp too close to water places where there is little pasture, many foreigners and consequently little peace. The distance from camp to water place varies, but is [132] very frequently 1–3 kilometres. During the rainy season (*akasa*) water is very aundant all over Ayr, but outside this period conditions of water supply for human beings and livestock are more favourable [415] in the north than in Ayr, where water most of the year must be drawn from wells. To raise water the Tuareg use a leather bucket known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aǵa* (Fig. 97–98). The water drawn for [237] the animals is poured out into a hole dug in clayey soil, or into a hole covered with a piece of skin or leather known in Ahaggar as *tafarawt*. This skin is nowadays frequently substituted by canvas (cf. 312 Fig. 99). Where water is scarce and must be drawn from narrow wells, as in Ayr during the summer 578 season, the watering of flocks and herds gives rise to frequent quarrels between pastoralists. For [423] though the right to the use of wells is free to all there are many disputes and fights frequently

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*abellengal* (*Reseda villosa*). Tr., L.M., U.M. Seeds of this plant are edible, but of bad taste – 222
according to Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 65. 262

*abser* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Tr., (L.M.). Fruits are collected mainly for goat fodder, but are eaten by 252
human beings when vegetable food is scarce. The fruit is then crushed into flour. The resin of this acacia is also edible.

*tamat* (*Acacia seyal*). Tr. The resin (*taynwst*) is edible. I believe it is used mainly as a remedy against [757]
stomachache. This is perhaps also true of the resin of the *abser*-acacia mentioned above.

*ahtes* (*Acacia albida*). Tr., L.M. "La gousse est même comestible pour l'homme" (Maire 1933, p. 120).

*ténefé* (*Tephrosia leptostachya*). Tr. "Les Touareg mélangent cette plante desséchée au thé vert" [272]
(Maire 1933, p. 125).

*laḡul* (*Alhagi maurorum*). Unknown in Ahaggar, but found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. "Les racines tuberisées sont mangées par les indigènes (Killian)" (Maire 1933, p. 131).

*alora* (*Peganum Harmala*). Tr., L.M., U.M. An annual seed-plant. Seeds are used for *tébik*.

*taburak* (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruits which are macerated in water to remove the bitter taste.

*tedjoq* (spelling according to Maire 1933, p. 241) (*Pistacia atlantica*). L.M. Very rare according to Maire (1933, p. 148). According to my own observations the fruit of this tree is eaten by Arab [171]
pastoralists (e.g., *Ulad Nail*) of the so-called *daya* region south of the Sahara Atlas. It is possible that it is also eaten by the Tuareg.

*tahunek* (*Rhux oxyacantha*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruit.

*téhak* (*Salvadora persica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

*tabakat* (*Ziziphus lotus* var. *Saharae*). Tr. The berries are crushed and mixed with millet flour.

*azawa* (*Tamarix gallica*). Tr., L.M. "La manne produits par ces arbres est receuillié par les indigènes qui l'emploient comme matière sucrante. (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 156).

*tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*). Tr. "Les rameaux mannifères sont employés pour sucrer l'eau" (Maire [263]
1933, p. 159).

*tafeltast* (*Myrtus Nivellii*). (Tr.), L.M. "Les rameaux de ce Myrte sont récoltés par les Touareg, [439]
desséchés et exportés par sac entiers au Soudan et au Mzab, avec *l'Artemisia judaica* ssp. *sahariensis*. [752]
Ces deux plantes sont utilisées comme médicaments et comme condiments" (Maire 1933, p. 162). [263]

*awkal* (*Cynomorium coccineum*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots which are dried and ground into flour (cf. Maire 1933, p. 163).

*aséyar* (*Anethum graveolens*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual plant. Its seeds are used as a spice and [272]
for adding to tea.

*takmezzut* (*Teucrium Polium*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant used for adding to tea.

*élel* (*Nerium Oleander*). Tr., L.M. This plant is extremely venomous particularly so for camels, which die from eating its leaves. "La cendre de bois de *Nerium* est employée par les femmes du Tidikelt [261]
pour se faire engraisser. A cet effet elles mélangent un peu de cette cendre avec des dattes pilées et du beurre, puis absorbent ce mélange dans du leben" (Maire 1933, p. 170).

*arellachchem* (*Solenostemma oleifoleum*). Tr. A perennial plant. Its leaves are used as a substitute [272]
for tea.

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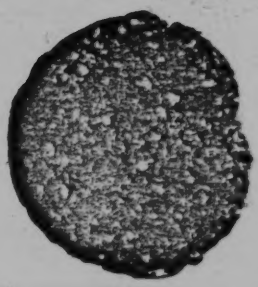

Fig. 126. A cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries (*Osyris alba*). The fresh berries are pounded in the large mortar (*tindé*) or are crushed between two stones to be formed into pieces of cheese form to be dried. This cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries is used by Tuareg women as a kind of face ointment against sun burn, pimples, and the like. They apply this ointment to the face as follows:— A little milk is poured upon a stone, the cheese-like mass of berries is rubbed against it, and the mixture of milk and berries is thereupon rubbed into the skin of the face with the fingers. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.075 m. (N.M. G. 5279a).

222
262 *enag* (*Leptadenia pyrotechnica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

[272] *tañhart* (*Mentha longifolia*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

*awit*, generally known by the collective name *awihat* (*Salvia Chudaei*). Tr., (L.M.). An annual plant used as an aromatic for tea.

[824] [682] *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*). Tr. This plant is extremely venomous for human beings, though not for animals. In the past it was used by the Tuareg as a poison for enemies. Members of La Mission Flatters (1880–81) were poisoned by the Tuareg using poison of this plant inserted into dates presented to the expedition. "La plante, absorbée à petite dose, aurait la propriété de faire [261] engraisser. Les femmes du Tidikelt l'emploient dans ce but, en en faisant cuire une petite quantité dans de l'eau avec de la farine et de la graisse; elles laissent réduire et absorbent la bouillie obtenue, puis se couvrent pour transpirer (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 192).

222 *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots. After drying the roots are
262 pounded in a large millet mortar to be used for bread which is much esteemed by the Tuareg. "Cette
252 plante est recoltée jeune par les indigènes, puis placée dans le sable sous une couche de *drinn* (*Aristida pungens*) jusqu'à noircissement et dessication. Le produit sec est moulu et utilisé dans l'alimentation (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 196).

*éfetekchi* (*Orobanche aegyptiaca* & *O. cernua*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots.

*tamzellit* (*Orobanche sp.*). Tr. Very rare. A plant yielding edible roots.

*tegellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). Tr. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

*alkeḍ* (*Cucumis pustulatus*). Tr. Rare. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

[263] *takkili* (*Cotula cinerea*). Tr. "Les Touareg utilisent cette plante comme condiment, principalement pour la viande qui commence à se gâter" (Maire 1933, p. 209).

[439] *téhéréggelé* (*Artemisia judaica* ssp. *saharienses*). Tr., (L.M.). "Cette plante, comme le *Myrtus Nivellei*, est récoltée en grande quantité, séchée et exportée au Soudan, où elle est employée comme aromate et condiment" (Maire 1933, p. 212).

[272] *zézzeré* (*Artemisia herba alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

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up with small strips of fat. The pieces of liver covered with fat are put on a slender iron or 252
wooden rod to be roasted slightly over the fire. This dish is known to all Tuareg by the Arabic word [177]
*elmefsif*. It was introduced among the Northern Tuareg by the Arabs, but is not widely known among the Ayr Tuareg.

This brief description of Tuareg meat preparation can adequately be supplemented by a reference 252
to two peculiar dishes:— (1) A dish known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *talebeggat*. It consists of meat 262
which after boiling or roasting is pounded in a large mortar and frequently served with liquid butter. This dish is also known to the Ayr Tuareg. (2) A dish which is described from Ahaggar by Foucauld 252
under the name *abengor*. It consists of untanned skin which is eaten in case of hunger after the following 261
preparation:— Untanned skin from household implements, shields, and the like is roasted under the ashes, and is thereupon pounded into small pieces. These are eaten without any further preparation, or after boiling. (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 73).

Like other North African peoples the Tuareg dry meat of domestic animals and of game. The people 251
of Ayr know three distinct drying methods, namely (1) *iwesan*, that is meat which is boiled until it is free of blood; it is dried in the shade; (2) *tikelsin*, uncooked meat cut into pieces to be dried on a string in the shade; (3) *kules*, uncooked meat cut into strips which are dried for some time to be treated with salt and various spices. This last method is not practised among the Tuareg of Ayr, but by sedentary people of Agadez and by Negroes further south in Damergu. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally boil or roast the meat before drying; meat roasted in the ashes according to the *abatul* method and thereupon dried is known as *takasa*. I do not know whether the Ahaggar Tuareg also practise the [825]
method of drying raw meat like the Ayr Tuareg, but the dried *agezzeram* lizzards which they take to Tidikelt on trading expeditions, are dried uncooked. Furthermore, the method of drying raw meat [171]
is known elsewhere in the Northern Sahara, and I have myself seen it practised among the Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

I conclude the description of Tuareg meat preparation with a brief note on the use of blood of living 272

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Fig. 166. Wooden double-vessel (*azar*) to contain water and butter for greasing the hair. Similar containers with a third vessel for fine-grained sand are also found among the Tuareg. Made by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Geometrical ornaments are produced by burning with a hot iron. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.241 m long. (N.M. G. 5880).

[text continues on p. 235]

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camels. This blood never constitutes a proper dish to the Tuareg. They bleed camels to drink their blood only when they lack water on journeys in the desert. Bleeding is done according to the method described above, and the blood is collected in a drinking bowl. But the Ayr Tuareg say that they work up the mass of blood with the fingers with the result that the upper part of the amount of blood becomes more liquid, though it is always red in colour.

The Tuareg use the following implements to make cereals or other vegetable products into flour:—

(1) A large wooden mortar (*tindé*) with a heavy pestle (*éheren*) (Fig. 177). It is used in all camps and villages of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr, and is in fact known all over Tuareg country. It is used mainly for pounding millet and sorghum, but it is also employed for pounding other cereals, including certain wild seeds, and for dates, cheese, meat, locusts, and the like. These large wooden mortars are manufactured by the blacksmiths of Southern Tuareg country, including Ayr, where most Northern Tuareg obtain their mortars. Among the Northern Tuareg there are also other mortar types. A small mortar which like the former rests on a foot and is known by the same name (*tindé*) (Fig. 178), is used mainly by sedentary agriculturists for pounding rock-salt, dried tomatoes, tobacco for chewing, and other plants or materials to be used in small quantities. Another type of mortar without a foot and known to the Northern Tuareg as *akabar*, or *takabart*, (Fig. 176) is found mainly among pastoralists who use it on journeys for pounding millet.

(2) A saddle quern (*tehunt*) (Fig. 179), which consists of two natural and in general unfashioned stones, is found in most camps of the Northern Tuareg. This constitutes the only grinding implement for wheat, barley, and certain wild seeds among the *Kel Ajjer*. The stones used for saddle querns are sharpened at intervals with a hard stone or some other hard object (*tasettekut*) in order that they may grind effectively. A simple saddle quern (*asar*) is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but it is less common there than in the north.

(3) The handmill (*tasirt*) (Fig. 181) is not a traditional implement of Tuareg culture. It is widely known all over Northern Africa both by Berbers and Arabs, by sedentary peoples and nomads living in black tents. It has been introduced to Ahaggar mainly by the immigration of the Arabic speaking Harratin (Zuggarzen) of Tidikelt,

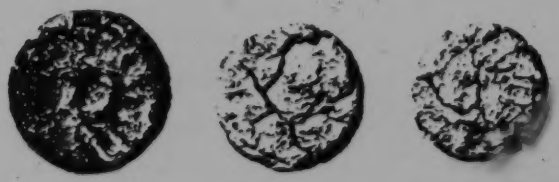

Fig. 169a–c. Pieces of butter-milk cheese (*awiss*, pl. *iwhen*).
a. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.066–0.068 m in diameter, 0.022 m thick. (N.M. G. 5816).
b. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.062 × 0.022 m. (N.M. G. 5817b).
c. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.058 × 0.016 m. (N.M. G. 5817c).

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Fig. 194a–c. Bowl-like ladles from Ahaggar and Ayr. They are used mainly for eating liquid dishes – in particular for the dish known as *ayokora* (Ahaggar) or *ayolec* (Ayr).

a. Ladle (*tamulat*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.285 m long, 0.110–0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5045).

b. Ladle (*tamulat*). Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.330 m long. (N.M. G. 6631).

c. Ladle-like bowl (*assar*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasst. This ladle-like bowl was not used for food but for conservation of fine-grained sand used for hair-dressing together with water and butter. Dimension: 0.330 m long, 0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5879).

[302]

264 frequently consisting of bread or porridge eaten rather late at night. The Ayr Tuareg have related terms for their meals: (1) *tegingout* which is a prepared meal eaten late in the morning. (2) *tème-ikkelewt* which is the prepared meal taken at midday. (3) *temegint*, late evening meal which is the main meal in Ayr, as in Ahaggar. In addition to these meals there is a very light meal taken with tea immediately after rising. It is known as *ellaw*.

[277]

[E11] Incidentally there are Tuareg who do not have food enough to eat three times a day.

During times when Tuareg subsist exclusively on milk they have no regular meals. The amount of milk needed to support life is very great, and it is drunk slowly during the day. On extensive journeys when the camels cross the barren deserts, the Tuareg also do not have regular meals as they do in their camps.

[484]

[text continues on p. 255]

● 272

[The use of milk as food has been marked for category 262; this is a major staple in the pastoral Tuareg diet.]

[114] 276 For his part, Commander Cauvet, in describing Tuareg clothing, said that men kept their pipes and tobacco in the pocket of their big blouses.

Thus all these testimonies coming from such trustworthy travelers tried to make us believe that the Tuareg are pipe smokers. For our part, we have never seen any.

On the other hand, they are very fond of chewing tobacco, and their wives also practice this custom, so that they finally have a deformation of the lower lip caused by the craze they have of stowing the quid between the gum and lower lip.

Tobacco is not cultivated in the Ahaggar; it is imported from [439] the Touat by the Arabs. The Sudanese Tuareg get it from the sedentary peoples of the Niger or through caravaneers from Upper Dahomey. They generally add a few natron crystals to it to take away the acridity, or else the ashes of graminaceae which play the same role as natron.

177 276 Many Nigerian Tuareg have formed the habit of chewing kola nuts; this is a powerful stimulant which the Negroes use a good deal. A few Ihaggaren /239/ indulge in this practice when they go to the Sudan, but they have not introduced it into their everyday mores and never use kola when they are in their own country.

262 The Tuareg are subject to a rather large number of dietary interdicts. First, like Moslems, they may eat only meats from ritually butchered animals. They must abstain from eating the [273] meat of pigs and wart hogs and from drinking fermented drinks which are <u>harīm</u>. The meat of fowls--except the ostrich -- and fish is also forbidden and considered impure. But these are customs which go back before Islam. They also may not eat the [825] meat of the uran, because this lizard is considered to be the descendant of their maternal uncle.

262 /107 cont./ buy them. Rice is considered to be a remedy. In the way of preserved foods, one may see the Tuareg eat sardines in oil and jam and use canned milk. All of these foods are not accepted with enthusiasm; they are too expensive, [181] and the Tuareg seem to be truly conservative in food matters, as well as in the whole of their customs.

They drink water, milk, and tea, the latter being of 272 relatively recent importation but in the way of becoming a necessity. There is no need to mention again the ritual that surrounds the making and drinking of tea.

Coffee is scarcely drunk except with the French; when it [273] is taken in the tent, it is as a remedy. Need I say that the Tuareg drink no alcohol and that at the present time there is no exception ot this rule?

## Public Health

It appears to be practically impossible to construct a 161 demographic table for the Ahaggar: figures for the years /108/ before 1947 are rare and suspect; they give an acceptable approximation but do not give an exact picture of population movements.

In this field one must then use figures from recent censuses and observations of the tribes that may be easily visited in trying prudently to project these observations to the whole of the population.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1948 the count was: | 6, 048 | nomads |
| | 4, 240 | harratin |
| | 10, 288 | |
| 1949 | 6, 013 | nomads |
| | 4, 285 | harratin |
| | 10, 298 | |

The population figure for the Ahaggar seems to be fairly stationary (even if one does not rely exclusively on the figures

264 [415] The Tuareg use spoons. The use of this implement is peculiar to them, for their Arab or Negro neighbors eat with their hands. The custom must be related to the wearing of the veil, which they do not take off to eat and which prevents them from putting their [182 291] hands full of food to their mouths. They carry food to their mouths while slightly holding up the ends of their veils.

[271] 272 For beverages they drink only water, whether it is clean or polluted, and milk.

For half a century they have had the habit of drinking green tea in the Arab manner; they aromatize it with mint or some perfumed plants of the Ahaggar, /238/ chih (Artemisia herba alba) in particular. Coffee, which was formerly much used by them, is now [757 178] taken mainly as a medication to calm violent coughs or stomach aches.

• 276 If we now seek consumer goods taken as stimulants or narcotics, we see that the Tuareg know only tobacco, which they chew or take as snuff.

Smoking is not one of their custom. The young men who are [177] in contact with the French like to beg a cigarette, but it is simply in the spirit of imitation.

Duveyrier, however, has said that the Tuareg smoke. Was this, 114 perhaps, the fashion among the Tuareg who visited Ghat? Before 276 him Barth wrote that all riverain people living along the Niger loved to smoke. "It is very seldom that they leave their pretty little clay pipes, and all the Rouma, like the Tuareg, cover their mouths when smoking, so that all one sees is a pipe bowl coming out of the shawl which covers the face." (1)

1. Voyage en Afrique, vol. IV, p. 137.

[114] 276 For his part, Commander Cauvet, in describing Tuareg clothing, said that men kept their pipes and tobacco in the pocket of their big blouses.

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On the other hand, they are very fond of chewing tobacco, and their wives also practice this custom, so that they finally have a deformation of the lower lip caused by the craze they have of stowing the quid between the gum and lower lip.

[439] Tobacco is not cultivated in the Ahaggar; it is imported from the Touat by the Arabs. The Sudanese Tuareg get it from the sedentary peoples of the Niger or through caravaneers from Upper Dahomey. They generally add a few natron crystals to it to take away the acridity, or else the ashes of graminaceae which play the same role as natron.

177 276 Many Nigerian Tuareg have formed the habit of chewing kola nuts; this is a powerful stimulant which the Negroes use a good deal. A few Ihaggaren /239/ indulge in this practice when they go to the Sudan, but they have not introduced it into their everyday mores and never use kola when they are in their own country.

262 The Tuareg are subject to a rather large number of dietary interdicts. First, like Moslems, they may eat only meats from ritually butchered animals. They must abstain from eating the [273] meat of pigs and wart hogs and from drinking fermented drinks which are harīm. The meat of fowls--except the ostrich -- and fish is also forbidden and considered impure. But these are customs which go back before Islam. They also may not eat the [825] meat of the uran, because this lizard is considered to be the descendant of their maternal uncle.

515 care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed [826] every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

751 For them the main question is protecting the different parts of the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the body is to that end.

291 302 They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired color.

302 [171] To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

515 [412] [824] The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth. They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed to form a brush. For this purpose they use irak branches (Salvadora persica) or palm jereed.

302 /258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring for the hair.

Young boys have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed [593] by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer 276 them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region. [184] They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a [882] certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have themselves shaved completely.

# Collecting

In this chapter on collecting such edible plants are mentioned as play a part in Tuareg nourishment. 222
Wild plants are also collected for other purposes. Many species are important to craft or have a medicinal 824
value. Some of these latter species are mentioned elsewhere in this study.

## EDIBLE PLANTS OF THE AHAGGAR AREA

Wild plants which yield edible fruits, seeds, stems, or roots in Ahaggar comprise more than fifty 222
different species. But the importance of collecting should not be judged from this, as all these plants [262]
are never found within the same area, and most are eaten only occasionally as a kind of relish or when agricultural food (wheat, barley, millet, dates) is lacking. I have supplemented my own list of edible [114]
plants with important information from Maire's study of Ahaggar botany (Maire 1933 & 1940). In [137]
my list the letters Tr., L.M., and U.M. stand for Maire's botanical zones, namely the Tropical Zone, the Lower Mediterranean Zone, and the Upper Mediterranean Zone. The following edible plants are collected in Ahaggar and adjacent regions:—

*tirfas* (sing. *tarfest*) (*Terfezia ovalispora*). Tr., L.M. A fungus which, according to Maire, lives on 222
the roots of *Helianthemum Lippii* & *H. ellipticum* known to the Tuareg of Ahaggar as *urrug* (Maire 262
1933, p. 22, 159 et suiv.). This white fungus, which is frequently termed *tirfas n urrug* by the Tuareg, 252
is prepared for eating together with various other dishes. It is frequently added to the so-called kus-kus.

*tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*) Tr. Roots and certain lower parts of the stem are eaten raw or boiled. When vegetable food is scarce they are also pounded or ground into flour.

*akeywod* (*Typha australis*) Tr., L.M. Roots of this plant are ground into flour.

*téseñgeli* (*Saccharum Ravennae*). Tr., L.M. "Cette plante ... laisse très souvent exsuder un liquide sucré qui se concrète en masses plus ou moins cristallisées; les Tuareg utilisent ce sucre" (Maire 1933, p. 54).

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). Tr. A perennial grass extremely common in the lower valleys of Ahaggar. Seeds are collected in receptacles (e.g., *ahaga*, Fig. 213) by beating the ears of the grass with a stick. The seeds are not suitable for bread, but are esteemed for porridge and *tébik*, that is seeds pounded in the mortar and eaten without further preparation. Ashes of this grass contain soda and are often [276]
mixed with tobacco for chewing.

[p. 175]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 228a–c.

a. A cylindrical hollowed piece of wood covered with leather. It is known as *tafendit* and serves to contain antimony (*tazult*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m long. (N.M. G. 5875).

b. Cylindrical brass tube covered with ornamented leather. It is known as *faralu wa tuka* and serves for the conservation of *tuka*, that is ashes of burned *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ashes of these grasses are used by some Tuareg for chewing tobacco. It is said in Ahaggar that containers of this type are made exclusively by noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe, and that the containers should be worn only by noble Tuareg and not by vassals. The brass tube is always made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.265 m long (total length). (N.M. G. 5888).

[824] [276] [463] [565]

c. A piece of cane covered with coloured leather and fringes of the same material. It is called *tafendit* and serves for the conservation of *tazult* (antimony). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.116 m. (N.M. G. 5267).

386 the south, or are obtained from plants grown by sedentary agriculturists. The technique of skin dyeing [281] as practised by the Tuareg nowadays cannot be considered an ancient one in Tuareg culture. Its [174] origin is probably to be looked for in the more developed civilizations of Northern Africa, and not in a nomadic culture like that of the Tuareg. Other dyeing methods known to the Tuareg may well be very ancient. I believe this to be true of the red ochre known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tameghoyt*,

[text continues on p. 286]

302 For festive occasions, some women bear paintings on their faces, white or ocher dots above the bridge of the nose, under the [517] cheeks, and on their chins. These paintings have only an aesthetic nature, or so it seems.

304 All Tuareg, men and women, have two or three small linear 75 scars on their foreheads and temples, and the indigo from their clothing which is often inlaid there gives them the appearance of tattoos. They are incisions made for medico-magic reasons when [855] the children are very young to protect them from headaches and convulsions.

[856] It also seems that this custom contributes to make them strong and making them walk very early. (1)

1. De Foucauld, Textes en prose /Prose Texts/, p. 64.

757 Medicine and surgery. -- If we now turn our attention to medicine and surgery among the Tuareg, we shall observe that their knowledge is not very extensive and has nothing singular about it.

753 In their minds the Tuareg classify sickness in two categories: those which are the result of an external action, visible and determinable, and those whose origin cannot be explained by any causal link. The former are treated with appropriate medical treatments, the latter by magic procedures.

757 The medical procedures, which belong rather to surgery, are clearly empirical. A few of them serve for a quantity of ills. They chiefly include bleeding and applying heat. In bleeding, the operator relieves congestion in the diseased part; in applying heat, he limits the pain, at the same time relieving congestion.

278 The Ihaggaren have a whole stock of drugs which they [977] borrowed from the Sudanese. These are roots, plants, and seeds which grow in the Sudan and in which the Tuareg have a great deal

278 of trust. Every time they take a caravan down south, they purchase
[439] many drugs, either for their personal use or to resell in their country or at In-Salah.

164 There are not many diseases in the Ahaggar. The country is relatively healthy because of its very dry climate /261/ and the bracing action of the sun, which at the same time destroys microbic germs. Moreover, this is very fortunate, for with the small amount of hygiene practiced by the Tuareg it would be impossible to fight disease. It may also be true that this absence of hygiene stems from the fact that the Tuareg have not had to see the necessity of it.

[165 The Ahaggar people die of old age or of war wounds. Of course,
731] there are sometimes epidemics capable of doing damage, but they are rare because of the isolation of the camps. The great distances which separate one from the other are a natural defense against mass contagions. These epidemics always come through the medium
[361] of the caravaneers or the people who return from the Sudan, where they have stayed among sedentary people. We may mention small-pox, very common in the Sudan, which sometimes works great ravages in the tribes. Typhus, spread by lice, may decimate a whole tribe in a few days, and it is not uncommon among the Tuareg. But these two diseases are the exception when they are reported in
[751] the Ahaggar. When a man returning from the Sudan is stricken with one of them, his case is reported by messengers long before his arrival, and the sick man is systematically isolated.

753 The Tuareg under the circumstances recognize the state of contagion, but they do not see the causes of disease. According to
[771] them, it is caused by the action of bad genii. As good Moslems, they pretend not to believe in these genii, but in reality most of the talismans they wear on their persons are intended to protect them from these. To obtain them, they go to the marabouts or to men
[756] with a reputation for their knowledge of the occult sciences; these sorcerers are known as amekelléou.

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1. Dr. Foley, Moeurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar /Mores and Medicine among the Ahaggar Tuareg/, p. 85.

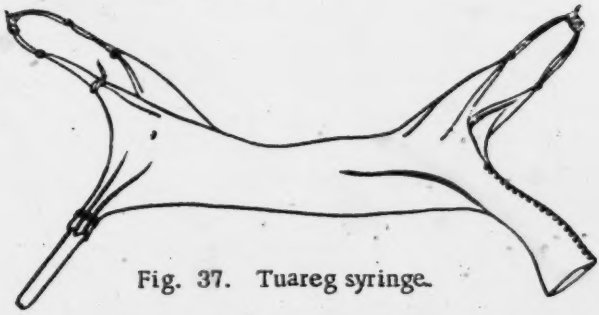

Fig. 37. Tuareg syringe.

752 The warlike and eventful life of the Tuareg exposes them to
[278] many wounds or accidents. They care for war wounds by sprinkling the wound with sugar or smearing it with plasters of vegetable origin, chopped leaves of the Zizyptus lotus, or ground resin of the Balsamodron africanum. Sometimes they pour butter on it, and if the wound is infected they apply plasters of butter and ashes of aferegak (Chrozophora brocchiana).

But we have been able to observe that the use of this ash was of no great efficacy, that the wounds took a very long time to heal, and that in many cases they preferred to call on a European doctor.

Fractures are cared for with absolutely the same methods as those used by our European doctors. The fractured member, after being set, is coated with a flour plaster, furnished with a little cushion of goat hair, and braced by means of splints made of wooden boards attached to a sheepskin and kept in place by leather cords.

/263/ We have never seen any amputation among the Tuareg, and we do not know whether or not they know how to do it.

757 The Tuareg also know the use of enemas. The apparatus is
413 made of a sheep's bone, one end of which has been rounded and
287

757 polished and whose other end is inserted in a small goatskin water
[413 bottle which holds the liquid to be injected. During the operation
237] one presses on the bag so as to make the liquid penetrate, while
the patient has his head down and his feet attached to a tree. The
[278] enema is generally composed of water, butter, and ground afasso
roots. When it is a question of giving an enema to a young child,
[855] the mother fills her mouth with water and, putting her lips against
the anus, blows the liquid with all her might.

/264/ Chapter 8

Dress. Adornment.

291 Clothing. -- The portrait of the Tuareg is now well known. Draped in a long, dark-colored blouse, belted at the waist, and with his head surrounded by a black veil placed in the shape of a haumier /?/, he makes a silhouette as majestic as it is mysterious
[492] when he is mounted on his slender mehari. Hanging from the saddle, as well known as the man, is the broad antelopeskin buckler.

The Tuareg, even though they are poor, are very natty. Although they have only sordid rags, they always are able to wear them with good taste and to keep a proud and dignified attitude under all circumstances.

The costume for men is the same in all confederations. It is made up of: 1) a very full pair of trousers, drawn in at the waist by a cord of braided leather; the leg is nipped in at the instep /sic/ and blouses over it so that it sometimes drags the ground; 2) a big, very full blouse, formed of a rectangular-shaped piece of cloth, sewn by a stitch at the four corners, and provided with an opening in the middle to let the head go through; it descends to the knees

847 under these circumstances, she usually goes to visit a relative and tries to hide her pregnancy. No one is taken in, but nobody says [756] anything. She goes to see a marabout who, for a rather high price, makes a few mysterious signs before the sinner, writes a few words in Arabic on a small board, washes the writing, and gathers the water in a gourd for the woman to drink. In case these practices are successful (?), a second sum identical to the first one is paid. [278] If not, the woman tries several mixtures, generally with a base of adjerdjir (Cassia abavata), and in case the results are still negative, the baby is simply strangled when it comes into the world. Although these mores are still more or less in force, they seem some- [797] what reduced by Islamization, and unnatural mothers are some- 848 times punished severely.

The ahal seems to have existed in ancient North African 174 Libyan tribes. Herodotus mentioned the community of women among the Nasamonians, and the ahal is, in fact, only a derived and evolved form of it, if one could call it evolved.

Marriage. -- With the existence of such easy mores, it is 582 understandable that young men and women do not care to marry early. Women rarely marry before the age of twenty, and men, before thirty.

Although the girl is free with her body, as we have seen, she 584 still needs her father's authorization to marry. On the other hand, [593] however, it is rare for a husband to be imposed on her or for her to be married before puberty, as is the custom among the Arabs.

/291/ Mates are chosen in the lovers' meetings which form a sort of trial marriage. The suitor must ask the young girl's father through one of his parents or through a religious person if there is one in the region.

Among the Ihaggaren everyone is informed of the suit, but [184] in Aïr this is not the case; there the mother and the family of the girl are informed only when everything is arranged. If the [587] woman has already been married, her father's permission is no longer necessary.

4: Benhazera--3 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter II

## Circumcision

In Tamashek, "azemhoud-n-baradhen" (circumcision of children) from the verb "ezmâhad" , to circumcise. 304 852

There is no set age for circumcision; generally it is carried out after the age of five.

The operator is summoned to the amazar' (douar), and all the people present take part in the operation, carried out as follows:

The operator holds the foreskin with a bit of "saâf" (djerid or palm leaf) and cuts it with a well-sharpened knife. To cicatrize the wound, it is dusted with leaves of atle (Tamarix articulata) and skins of dried pomegranates ground to powder. Then it is washed with camel urine, and all painful contact is avoided by means of splints held by strings fastened behind the back. [278] [237]

Then there is a feast: a sheep's throat is cut, and it is eaten by the guests.

## Chapter III

## Puberty

In Tamashek, "tamendjott" . As soon as he is of an age to fast, that is to say, as soon as he has reached puberty, the boy begins to wear the "tidjelmoust" veil which he will never leave off thereafter. 882 291

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga." 291 302 386 515

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" plural "isefran" , and believe in their efficacy. This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing. 177 278 [432 556]

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly be very well received by the Tuareg. [648 757]

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" , gonorrhea, "talaoa't;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" . 164

## Chapter XVII

## Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have. 563 567 [721]

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense. [439]

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished. 178 567

164 /110 cont. / The country then is sufficiently free of serious
114 diseases; one scourge, however, must be noted: malnutrition, described and well studied by the doctor, Captain Galan, in a publication of the Pasteur Institute of Algeria: Contribution à l'étude du problème alimentaire au Hoggar /Contribution to the Study of the Nutrition Problem in the Ahaggar/.

757 The Tuareg and the Negroes are beginning to like European medication and are coming more frequently to the
278 infirmary; they value above all aspirin, quinine (which is becoming a generic term for all pills), and penicillin. They remain faithful to their pharmacopoeia, chiefly based on plants, of which here are several examples:

Pulmonary diseases: strong pimento and rellachem /see Appendix, Flora/ are specifics; for pleurisy, one must melt camel fat with the ta'noust (fruit of the acacia), eat it as hot as possible, and constrict one's chest with a rope.

For the stomach, butter mixed with tahist.

In cases of diarrhea, takamezout is the sovereign remedy, taken in tea or eaten in leaf form. This takamezout has a great reputation among the Tuareg: it comprises, they say, 40 remedies, but will not heal broken legs.

Constipation is vanquished by adjardjar and taharadjelle. Headaches have no remedy, yet tea is /111/ to be taken in preference to anything else. The liver is treated with ihemhad taken in milk. The victim of ganglions at the groin or under the armpit may easily make them disappear by rubbing them lightly with saliva very early in the morning; another method, more efficient, consists of heating goat dung and placing it on the nails of the affected member.

[752] For an open wound, make a plaster with milk and powdered tassa.

Rheumatism is easily treated; a sort of well is dug, one meter in diameter and 1.50 meters deep, the patient gets in it, a cover is put on the well, and the patient is given an infusion of o'laq to make him sleep. A spring called In-Ahadja exists which is supposed to be equally as good in treating rheumatism.

757 /111 cont./ Jackal meat, eaten with decoctions of
●278 rellachem for three days, is the best remedy for gonorrhea; cloves will aid in the healing.

Jackal meat is also used to cure syphilis, but in addition in the morning one must drink milk in which colocynth has been soaked; while this milk is being drunk, skewers of fat to be eaten afterward are cooked; clear soup is drunk during the entire day. After three days small, white granulations are seen in the stools, indicating the success of the treatment.

Smallpox formerly was treated in a sufficiently efficacious manner by digging a hole in the sand and heating it as if to make méchoui /roasted sheep/, although not so hot; the patient then lay in the hole and was covered with sand. After that there was nothing to do but wait.

The treatment for measles requires the patient to be kept warm, while eating hare, gazelle, or wild sheep meat.

Toothaches cannot last when treated as follows: fill the mouth with onion seeds, ouzouaz, wheat, and salt; keep these medicaments in the closed mouth for half an hour. When adolescents break out in pimples, which disfigure them, it is essential that /112/ onion seeds be burned and the smoke inhaled, which, it is said, makes all the worms leave immediately. Around a boil, apply a paste made of milk and powdered tanzet (a kind of Sudanese bean).

## Magic Rites

789 This is a very difficult subject to treat, for the secrets
754 are jealously guarded by those who possess them and want to profit from them, or are carefully hidden by those who know them in a disinterested fashion but who lack confidence in their questioner or fear reprisals.

The Ahaggar, situated at the frontiers of Islam and the black world, is without doubt impregnated with magic customs; the superficial Islamism of the population, which retains an

563 [651] Every year they pay the amenokal three loads of dates and three young goats.

The Irréguénaten. -- The Irréguénaten, like the Issekkemâren, [554] are assimilated vassals of a social rank superior to that of the Imrad.

They are of Tuareg mothers from the Ibettenâten tribe and Arab fathers from the Kounta tribe.

They are divided into two groups: 1) the Adrar Irréguénaten or Issettafénine Irréguénaten, who descended from a sherif of Gourara named Abdelmoumen, whose two sons Mouima and Inchelane married Ibettenâten women; 2) the Ahaggar Irréguénaten or Ihaggarénine Irréguénaten, who descended from the Dermachaka, an incorporated tribe of Kounta and Ibettenâten.

All of them nomadize in the northern Ădrar des Ifôras and the Timétrine and even push as far as Erg Chech. They also visit the Ăhnet and Tamasna.

This is a very rich tribe engaged in raising camels. The [233] Irréguénaten own more than 2, 300 camels, 350 cows, and more than 2, 350 goats and sheep.

[162] In 1908 they numbered 50 to 60 men, according to Benhazéra. The 1938 census raises the figure to 358 persons, 100 of them fighters.

[651] /202/ They pay the tioussé to the descendants of the Inemba and to the descendants of Si Mohamed ag Othman.

Although they associated with the Adrar Kounta, they main- [669] tained relations with the rebellious marabout Abidine, who took refuge among the Kel Ahnet. They probably even served him as spies, and the people of Ădrar des Ifôras held them in suspicion for a long time.

[28] 462 Their camel raising is very well known, and their wives are quite expert in leatherwork.

There are also Irréguénaten in the Niger loop, but they have [600] no bonds of kinship with the Ahaggar Irréguénaten.

312 and from all the subterranean flows; thus it is richer in watering places. There are rédir, or wells, varying from 5 to 10 meters in depth.

342 The tent. -- This kind of habitation is found from the western Asian steppes to the Atlantic, where nomads have generally adopted the camel's-hair tent. Tuareg, who do not own any camels with long hair, use skins.

The tent is composed of a large awning formed by assembling [281] 30 to 40 wild-sheep or goat hides, with the hair removed and tanned. Because of the scarcity of wild-sheep skins, goatskin and even cow-[184] hide are gradually being substituted for them. Cowhide is used exclusively by the Ioullimmiden Tuareg. The awning is held up by a frame of arches or poles. The Kel Ahaggar, moreover, have two kinds of tents: one with vertical supports and one with arches. The former is more widespread at the present time. It includes a central pole with a wooden ridge tile and six secondary poles placed in a circle. The highest part of the awning is about 1.5 meters from the ground. The edges of the skin hang down almost level with the ground where they are attached by small pegs in order to keep out the sandstorms which are very common in spring and summer, and keep out the winter cold.

The ridge tile on a central pole is especially used in summer when rains are feared, for it gives the proper slope to the awning so that water can flow off. In other seasons this ridge tile is replaced by two poles supporting a crosspiece.

Although one cannot stand inside, the Tuareg tent is spacious 323 enough. The poles are in tamarisk wood, with coarse sculpture, 531 pyrography, and paintings on the upper part. /224/ This type of tent is used by the Kel Rela, the Dag Râli, and most of the Kel Ahaggar.

[184] The other model is now used only among the Agouh-en-Tehlé. It appears that the Kel Ahnet and the Kel In Rhar may still use it, too. The center stake of the type described above is replaced by one or two arches made of éthel /atle? Ed./ roots joined by a

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To make up this deficiency in graminaceae, the Tuareg have recourse to products of gathering.

After a rain the captives and the Imrad women gather the seeds of certain plants which grow in the Ahaggar valleys. They are the afasso (Panicum turgidum F.) and the oulloul (Aristida pungens D.). But the size of the yield varies with the abundance of rain, and one may say that most of the time it is quite /233/ uncertain. This is not the case in the Sudan, where the Iklan gather whole bags of wild seeds, particularly cram-cram (Cenchrus echinatus), every year.

[262]

[237 281 415 234]

Fig. 31. Little leather flask used as a butter container.

To be sure, there are a few wild berries in the Ahaggar, such as those from the jujube tree (Zizyphus lotus D.) and the téborak (Balanites aegyptiaca). In case of famine the Tuareg fall back on other seeds, such as those of the colocynth, the Acacia tortillis, etc. However, all these plants play only a secondary role in the Tuareg diet.

[731]

[262]

The Tuareg have at their disposal milk from their camels, goats, and ewes. They drink it either whole or diluted with water, either fresh or sour.

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The luxury of drinking whole milk is reserved for young mothers and children. Adults generally drink fresh milk morning and

[264]

Wood furnishes containers for food, drinking vessels, milking vessels, mortars, pestles, tent stakes, crosspieces and boards for making saddles. The Ahaggar does not have more than five or six species of woods which can be worked, and the articles, very simply shaped, are much less varied than in the Sudanese tribes. 322

All Ahaggar women, noble or vassal, know how to tan, remove hair from, sew, decorate, and embroider leather. They are able to make a waterskin needed to carry water, prepare skins to make tents, and manufacture bags for transporting food and personal objects. They have all become so expert in these labors that it is 281 462

Fig. 47. Amoula, a little wooden "bottle" for young children to drink from. [415 862]

difficult to find any other peoples in the world who possess such a developed leather craft.

The scarcity of vegetable materials in the Ahaggar is one of the reasons why the use of esparto is relatively restricted. Only the stems of a graminacea common in the wadies (Panicum turgidum) are used to make mats -- large enclosing mats which surround the tent, sleeping mats, mats for covering plates. [137] 285 [824]

/278/ The stems are bound by little leather thongs, and the combination of graminacea and leather is extremely effective; it allows very regular geometric decorations at the same time as a very solid work. [283] [531]

There are no esparto vans among the Tuareg. The women use palm-leaf vans and hats, but these articles are the work of the Harratin from the little palm groves of Silet, Ideles, and Abalessa. 291 415 438

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Plate XV

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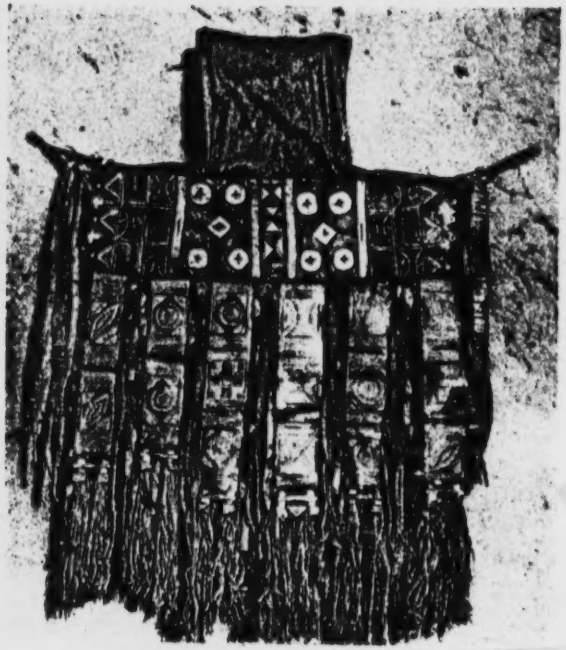
Old noblewoman from the Kel Rela tribe weaving a bag with goat's hair thread.



Goatskin bag used by women to transport their personal clothing. The very delicate decoration is obtained by cutting out the skin and applying embroidered leather.

439 These transactions are chiefly centered around tea, sugar, cloth, perfumes, hardware, carbide, and blankets from the Touat. They cause quite an appreciable movement of camels from which the Ihaggaren benefit, along with the Arabs from In-Salah who rent their camels to traders.

Transport. -- We need not repeat that without the camel the 492 Sahara would be uninhabited today. Indeed, it plays a capital role in transport between oases; it is the mount used by warriors and people who are moving and the vehicle for baggage. People would not be able to do without its services the moment it is a question of crossing a hundred or so kilometers in a region not supplied with watering places.

The ass also plays a big role, but its use is more localized. [312] It is confined to the edges of the massif, where it is rare not to find water during a day's march. The ass really assures all internal transport -- that necessitated by moving camps, transport of water [565] and even of persons -- for although the Imochar never travel except on camels, the Imrad /318/ commonly make use of the ass, and their wives know no other mounts. Its role is even more appreciated because it saves camels which, in the Ahaggar, must be submitted /only/ to moderate labor. In addition, it is always handy, for it lives near the camps while camels are often several days' march away because of pasture needs.

Meharists have a special harness: light saddles which are placed on the animal's withers and which are designed to receive the different bags of salt and waterskins.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have several kinds of saddles: 1) the tarik, with the pommel in the shape of a cross and covered with [281] red leather; 2) the tamzak, shaped the same way, but much more [531] luxurious, with the outside of the pommel and the back decorated with little perforated metal plates and copper studs; 3) the tahiast, [531] a coarse saddle with a palette-shaped pommel, either in bare wood or covered with leather decorated with geometric designs. [322]

721 When raids were led against Sudanese camps, they were as in-
727 terested in the Negroes and Negresses as they were in the camels.
567 The kidnappers kept some of them to serve as servants and sold the others on the markets of In-Salah and the Touat.

726 Once the booty was stolen, the raiders went by forced march to the point agreed upon in advance, where they rejoined the other group of meharists.

The raided people, on the other hand, organized themselves, but they did not try to overtake the raiders immediately and did not wear themselves out in vain pursuit. As the return route of the raiders was known, they tried to reach a well where they had to pass; if they were successful in arriving before them and cutting them off from water, the real combat began, this time fierce and often quite deadly.

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531
326
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Fig. 55. Tuareg lance. The iron blade is decorated with copper inlays. The part where the hand is put is covered with leather, and a little leather loop placed behind is intended to hold the index finger which gives greater propulsion to the lance when it is thrown.

Hard pressed, the Tuareg formed in a square behind their camels and defended themselves under cover of their bucklers; /323/ when they saw it was impossible to take possession of the well, they abandoned their loot. The battle came to an end, and the raiders were rarely pursued. In the opposite camp, a certain number of men were left as sentries to guard against return offensives, and the others tried to gather up their animals and lead them back to the douar /encampment/.

727 When the raiding party was safe, the men divided up the booty in more or less equal parts, depending on each person's merits during the fight. But in some tribes, customs related to the tiousse demanded

411 and, if it is of good quality, it is liable to split a buckler in two.
714 The hand is protected by a little rectangular iron guard which gives the shape of a cross to the upper part of the sword.

114 Duveyrier, the explorer, noted that the Tuareg used the bow.
411 We have not found this weapon among them, nor any evidence as to what it used to be used for.

[714
•281]

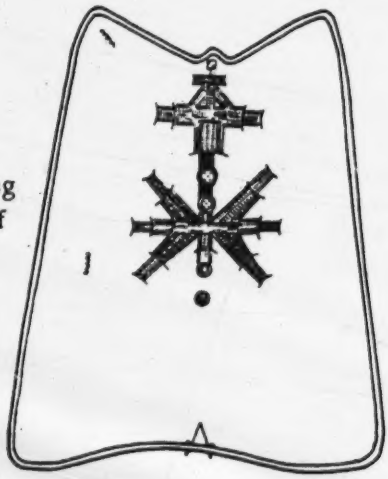

Fig. 58. Tuareg buckler made of oryx.antelope skin.

411 All of these weapons have become very archaic in view of the arrival of rapid-firing weapons. The Ahaggar Imochar still
[554] hold to their sword, which they always wear over their shoulders, and which seems to be used more to indicate their social rank than for warring action. In the Sudan almost all the Tuareg still carry lances, and some of them carry forearm daggers. In Aïr one may still see a buckler hung from the saddle of a mehari. But in a few years all these objects will be good for filling trophy cases.

182 and the Tuareg of the Ahaggar as a nation, too stubborn to adapt themselves to any way of life other than their own, have at last signed their name to the ever-lengthening list of vanishing peoples.

Shelter. The typical dwelling of the Ahaggar
342 Tuareg is a leather tent, made preferably of the skins of goats although sometimes those of sheep or even calves are used (fig. 36). A tent of mouflon skins is considered the height of luxury and elegance, but it is almost impossible to come by enough of them to make such a tent nowadays. The prepared skins are
281 very soft and have a pleasing dull red brick
342 color which is produced by rubbing them on both sides with a mixture of red ocherous clay and dried camel dung. After being prepared and cut down to rectangular form, they are sewed together with fine strips of leather. Anywhere from 30 to as many as 150 may be used to make a single tent, but the first number is not far below the average. A finished tent of ordinary size weighs about 50 pounds more or less.

Tents are mounted on wooden frames of
342 various closely similar types, the most common of which consists of three elements, each composed of two uprights with a horizontal member laid across their tops. The highest element is set in the middle with one upright in front and the other in the back, and the two remaining elements are set up parallel to it, one on either side. The tent covering is then stretched over this framework, with its back and sides pegged down and the front left open, usually facing south. In good weather the overhanging front of the roof is stretched out horizontally to form an awning held in place by three supplementary posts, one in the middle and another at each end. The average tent is 6 to 10 feet deep from front to back, 10 to 15 feet wide and 4 to 5 feet high in the middle, with the roof sloping away very gently on both sides and toward the back wall. The structure is completed by
[285] long strips of stiff, yellow matting made of
351 thin reeds, roughly 3 feet wide and up to 20 feet long more or less, with simple geometric designs in black or reddish brown leather ribbon woven into them. These strips are set on edge around the inside of the tent so as to make an inner wall at the back and sides,

At the end of mourning, the women of the camp lead the 765
widow out to see the sunrise; the Koran is held open before
her and she is made to look at salt. Upon her return, she may
dress as before and make herself pretty. A collection is taken [768]
up for her. /25/

## Chapter XIII

### Inheritance. Succession

Inheritance, "takasit" +⊡ ⁚ + , (from the verb 428
"ekkous," to inherit) is of two kinds: political inheritance,
if I may so express it, and private inheritance.

The first is the right to command and to the collection of
the "tioussé," or tribute from the "imr'ad." This is handed
down according to the laws of inheritance of which we will
speak later.

As to private inheritance, it is collected by the natural
heirs according to Moslem laws of rights, which means that the
son has a right to an amount double that of the daughter. The
animals left as inheritance are assessed and are divided ac-
cording to this assessment. These shares are then chosen by
lot.

## Chapter XIV

### The Home. The Tent

All the tents of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar confederation 281
are made of the hides, "ilmaouen" ⁚ ⊐ ‖ , of goats or sheep, 342

tanned and sewed together. The assemblage of these hides [281] constitutes the cover, the essential part of the tent, and is 342 called "ehakit" .

The tent is supported by a central master beam called "tamankaït" .

A pole, "idjem" , is placed at the entrance of the tent and is flanked right and left by poles called "madar'en" . /26/

Other poles are used to hold up the edges: these are the "tissedass" . The little pegs that hold the tent to the ground are called "tisselitaï" . Sometimes bows are also used, called "adjedjou" , plural "idjedjan" .

The tent is surrounded by mats of "afezzou" [285 (Panicum turgidum, Graminaceae), called "asabar" 824] plural "isebran" , which are pulled back in the day and drawn close at night, to close the tent.

In the tent one finds first that which concerns water, that 352 is, waterskins, "abe'lor'" , plural "ibiyar'" 415 , hung on forked sticks, "tidjettaouin" . They are filled by means of a funnel, "asegueffi" , plural "isegueffa" . To water the camels, the 231 Tuareg use troughs of hide supported by hoops at the top and called "tafaraout" , plural "tiferouin" . They also use these troughs for the harvest of "toulloult" grain 243 (Arthraterum pungens, Graminaceae) or of "afezzou" (Panicum turgidum, Graminaceae).

For milk and butter, they have a waterskin for milk, 415 "tanouart" , plural "tinouarin" , and a kind of porous water jug made of a hollowed gourd and called "az'enou" . To ladle the milk, serve it or pour it, they use a wooden vessel with one handle called "asoukal" . To store and transport melted butter, "oudi," they have waterskins of various shapes, the most common being the one called "tahattint" , but they also sometimes [281] use the tanned hide of a camel's thigh. /27/

To feed young camels and lambs, they use a kind of 231
nursing bottle of wood shaped like a cup equipped with a tube. 415
This utensil is called "ar'alala" ⵄⵍⵍⵍⵉ

For dishes, one finds in the tent wooden bowls of all sizes, 415
called "akous" ⵅⵓⵙ , plural "ikassen" ⵉⵅⵓⵙⵏ ,
large wooden dishes, "tar'elalt" ⵜⵄⵍⵍⵜ , and smaller dishes
used as plates and called "tar'ehout" ⵜⵄⵀⵓⵜ , plural ⵜⵉⵄⵀⵓⵜⵉⵏ
"tireha" ⵜⵉⵄⵀⵓⵜⵉⵏ . To ladle milk or gruel, the Tuareg use
a large ladle, "temoulat" ⵜⵎⵓⵍⵜ , plural "timoulatin"

[361]

Dautheville

Tuareg Camp at Tazerouk

ⵉⵜⵎⵓⵍⵜⵉⵏ , and for eating they have ordinary wooden spoons
called "tesoukalt" ⵜⵙⵓⵅⵍⵜ , plural "tsoukaline" ⵜⵙⵓⵅⵍⵉⵏ .

To separate the grains of "toulloult" and "afezzou" from 252
their hulls, they use small trays of afezzou called "tissiit" 415
ⵜⵉⵙⵉⵜ , plural "tissiin" ⵜⵉⵙⵉⵏ .

They also use a great deal the wooden mortar, "akabar" 415
ⴰⴽⴰⴱⴰⵔ , with its pestle, "ihar'en" ⵉⵀⴰⵔⵏ .

Finally, they have hide sacks to hold dates or grains, which 281
they call "adjera" ⴰⴷⵊⵉⵔⴰ , plural "idjerouen" ⵉⴷⵊⵉⵔⵓⵏ 415

All the above utensils are made of the wood of the 415
"teborak" (Balanites aegyptiaca, Simaroubaceae) and of the 824
abser', or "tamat," (Acacia arabica).

There are also lucky or unlucky days. The lucky days, 777
those which are recommended for starting on a journey, are [484]
Friday after prayer, Saturday morning, and Monday. /63/
For the lucky day of the month one first counts 2 from the
index finger and, coming back to the index finger, 7, 12,
17, 22, 27.

The unlucky days are Sunday and Wednesday.

The Tuareg also believe in the evil eye, "tahott." 754

An eclipse is the sun's raid on the moon, and vice versa. 821

Finally, there is a very curious custom of which Duveyrier 769
has spoken, which is that of consulting old graves. Usually 787
it is the women who go to consult them. They dress well
and must avoid having on themselves anything of iron or steel,
even a needle. They lie down near the grave, and the
"zabbar" (ogre) inhabiting the grave appears to them in the
form of a giant with eyes as large as a camel's, and gives
them the answers they want. They are consulted especially
in order to get news of absent ones, people gone on a raid
or in a caravan, from whom there has been no news.

## Chapter IX

### Stock Raising. Flocks

Camels, sheep, and goats constitute the chief resource 233
of the Tuareg, as of all nomads. Camels especially are the
object of all their care, since these give them the greatest
service. They rely greatly on camels, ewes, and goats be- [234]
cause of the milk, of which they drink a great deal, and melted
butter, "oudi," which they make.

They use all the hides: those of camels for sandals, 237
containers for butter, watering troughs, etc.; those of sheep 281
or goats for waterskins and the manufacture of tents, leather
clothes, etc. /64/

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



565 Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Ṛela clan, but as he now lives outside of
614 Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

643 In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to
651 noble Kel Ṛela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Iskkemaren class, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Ṛela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139ff.).

Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known
643 as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order
651 to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the
579 Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *ennehet*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347f.).

The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was
565 also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg.
614 But the relation (*temaẓlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals
651 and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another.
233 The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And
511 the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little
[234] when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food,
[262] but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar
[574] Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together,
[281] as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft,
[237] as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food. 233 511 [492] [439]

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like. [234] [262] [291] [291] [283]

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temażlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. [422] [565] [114] 565 651 [421] [431]

233 /85 cont./ When the Tuareg want to recapture some of these animals, they organize veritable battues and must use a great deal of cleverness and energy to succeed. It is necessary to break these donkeys in order to fit them for domestic use, for many of them are born wild.

It is estimated that there are 5,000 donkeys in the Ahaggar, but this figure is certainly too conservative.

[262] The flesh of the donkey is not eaten, nor is the milk of the female drunk.

A few horses, most of them originating in the Sudan, are to be found in certain agricultural centers. A "luxury" animal, the horse (aïs) cannot live off the Ahaggar pastures. When well nourished with barley, it bears the climate perfectly well and can be used as a mount in the mountains of the Ahaggar where water points are numerous.

Lastly, chickens are raised by the harratin in all the
231 agricultural centers; they are lean fowl which find practically all of their own food. The harratin chiefly eat the eggs,
[439] rather rarely the meat, which is sold to the Europeans.

/87/

## IV
## Material Life

### Dwelling

342 The Tuareg, as true nomads, use the tent for habitation,
● 281 and sometimes, in exceptional circumstances, the zériba.

The Tuareg tent is made of skins sown together and specially prepared. Its red tint, which harmonizes with the dominant tones of the Ahaggar landscape, is agreeable to the eye. For making the tent (éhakit), goat, sheep, wild sheep, and, very rarely, cattle skins are used; the skins of wild sheep are considered the best. After being stripped of its hair, the

/87 cont. / skin is lightly tanned with tamat or adjar leaves,
342 then smeared with butter to make it supple. After these
281 operations, the red tint is added in the following way:
"tamadjouhit," a sort of red clay, is mashed up with camel dung; with the powder thus obtained, the still greasy skin is rubbed until the desired color is obtained. The skin is then soaked in water for two days so that it may be stretched, smoothed out, flattened, cut, and sewed. The women of the camp undertake this last task; they all pitch in to work, joking, talking, and the work gets done at a good rate. One tent may have from 30 to 120, or even 150, skins. Strands of fine leather thongs, artistically cut, called "balenkassen," hang from the top, giving the inside /88/ of the tent a novel
342 effect. The tent is supported by six vertical wooden stakes, 1.50 meters high, sticking about 20 centimeters into the ground. These vertical stakes are joined in pairs by three horizontal bars; the stakes are attached to each other with cords made from plaited goat hair. The tent rests on these stakes and is anchored at the edges by smaller stakes or large stones. The front of the tent, facing south, is generally open, and the sides are attached to tall, vertical stakes, the tops of which are often carved. On the inside the tent wall is lined with an "asaber," a kind of long mat made with stalks of "afazzou" (a grass). Making an asaber is a job requiring a great deal of patience; first the afazzou must be gathered with care taken to choose the longest stalks; then the stalks are assembled in pairs, being tied with previously prepared narrow leather thongs, with one thong around the top and another around the bottom of the stalks. The asaber is about 80 centimeters wide, with thongs wrapped around the stalks every three or four centimeters. The length varies from seven to eight meters, or exactly four times the height of a man with
[531] his arms upraised. The top border of the asaber is decorated with a band of leather interwoven with geometric designs. Two women take about a year to do this work.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 46. A resting she-camel with the colour name *tawinak*. The colour term of the young she-camel standing in the back-ground is *ténilt*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

In Ayr the Tuareg do not 237
use camel's hide in their crafts, but give it to the blacksmiths who use it for lashing, or to people [564]
who manufacture beds from ribs of palm leaves (cf. Fig. 257). The Northern Tuareg use camel-skin [352]
for the manufacture of a few household implements and also use it for lashing (cf. p. 84, 110, 222, [824]
270 f. & Figs. 70, 86, 132a–b, 161a–d, 162, 213). But even in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer the skin of camels is little used compared with the skin of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep.

When employed in craft, camel's hide is normally used raw and unprepared after soaking in water, 281
but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that for certain purposes the hide is treated with salt. In literature there 114
are many statements about the tanning of camel's hide. Thus it is stated by Cauvet that the hide is tanned with plant material in Algeria, and Cauvet also quotes Duveyrier's statement that the Northern Tuareg tan camel's hide to use it for tents and various other implements (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 714 ff.). I very much doubt the correctness of this, as all Tuareg asked about it have stated that the hide of camels is not fitted for proper tanning. Camel's hide is therefore of very limited use to the Tuareg, and the same is the case with camel's hair or wool. Tuareg camels in Ayr have very little wool, and 237
among the Northern Tuareg most animals have less wool than Arab camels of the Northern Sahara. The Northern Tuareg pluck a little wool with the hands or cut it off with a knife. It is spun into cords 283
to be used for certain minor objects, notably for the manufacture of the plaited pouch (*abegu*) to prevent the suckling of calves (p. 62, Fig. 41) and for the particular cord (*asapun*) tied around the foreleg of camels to keep them in a reclining position (p. 72, Fig. 45a). Mixed with goat's hair the wool is 286
also used for a kind of primitive weaving (p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

Camels are very important to the Tuareg as pack-animals for the caravan expeditions which will 492*
be mentioned in a later chapter when other means of subsistence have been described. 484

In the past camels were also extremely valuable as riding animals on raiding expeditions which 492*
721

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*492
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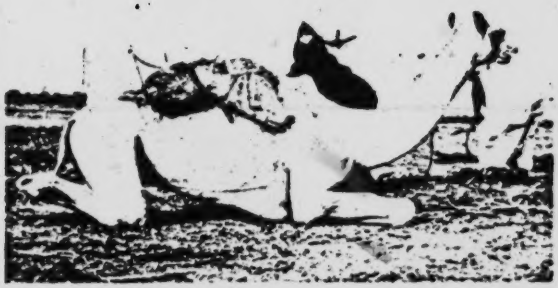

Fig. 53. Pack camel with the saddle consisting of two skin-bags (*imaytalen*) stuffed with hay. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.
Fig. 54. A skin bag (*amaytal*, pl. *imaytalen*) of the type used for pack-saddle. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: ca. 0.80 m. (N.M. G. 6658).

*492 leather fringes (cf. Fig. 52). Some very elaborate halters are found in the Musée de l'homme (Nos.
531 5.66.5; 30.61.228; 95.46.3; D $\frac{34}{1}$ 42; D $\frac{34}{1}$ 25).

*492 Foucauld describes a peculiar method for leading camels, as follows:— A little wooden stick (*aǧula*) is stuck into the skin between the chin and the lower jaw of the animal, and the lead is attached to this stick. The method is practised with camels which have no nostril ring and cannot be led by means of a rope attached around their lower jaw (Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 426). I have seen this peculiar method practised once in Ahaggar.

Pack-camels are rarely used without some type of saddle, but it happens that camels are used for water-transportation from the well to the camp without a saddle. The waterbags are then hung over the animal's back, their cords resting upon a layer of straw or sprays. In Ahaggar, and more so in Ayr, it is also common instead of a proper saddle to use two skin-bags filled with grain, straw, or the like to form cushions. One of these is placed before, the other behind the hump so that the cords of luggage bags can rest upon them (cf. Fig. 53-54). These cushions are known as *imaytalen* (sing. *amaytal*), and they may serve as a pack-saddle even on long journeys, though the Tuareg in general use proper saddles on trading expeditions.

[17] Pack-saddles of the Northern Tuareg correspond to saddles found among the Arabs of the Sahara.
The common type is that known to the Arabs as *ḥawiyya* or *ḥidāǧe*, and called *élaki* by the Northern
[824] Tuareg. It consists of a wooden frame (*élaki*) generally made from pieces of palm leaf ribs (Fig. 55).
It is made up of two crossbars placed close to each other, each of them being composed of two short
[284] and slightly curved pieces of palm leaves' ribs lashed together at the top with raw camel-hide. The

may be seen in Fig. 167a–b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*tisteni*) (Fig. 218a). 285 [413]

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a–c, 210a–b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*éstan*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices. [184] [432] [366]

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among the *Kel Ayr*. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*agum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*aleguiguten*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig 220b). This basket type (*tésenit*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals. [824] [413] [171] [415] *

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éseber* or *tésebert* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents, and they are manufactured by many women among the *Kel Ahaggar* (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers, and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*téklabut*) (Fig. 212a–b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Igdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south. [824] [351] [462] [352] [563] [462] [342] [438]

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitues the most important craft in the 281

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Fig. 213. Tanning receptacle (*ahaǵa*) of camel-hide lashed to a ring consisting of a bough bent into a circular position. Ahaggar, the *Dag ǦAli* tribe. Dimension: 0.55 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5229).

281 [462] north where tents and a great many domestic implements and containers are made from skin. Skin work plays a certain role also for the Ayr Tuareg, but pastoral women in Ayr do not engage in this craft to the same extent as do women among the Ahaggar Tuareg.

281 192 The Tuareg have several terms for skin and leather. In Ahaggar I have noted the following:— (1) *élem*, the common word for the skin of most animals whether tanned or untanned; (2) *akker*, that is the common word for an untanned hide of all animals with the exception of camels, oxen, giraffe, and certain antelope; (3) *éṛit*, the skin of camels, oxen, giraffe, and certain antelope whether tanned or untanned. The terms noted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr are largely different:— (1) *awreṛeṛ*, an untanned hide; (2) *égachik*, tanned or untanned skin of all animals with the exception of oxen, camels, giraffe, and certain antelope; (3) *éṛit*, tanned or untanned skin of oxen, camels, giraffe, and certain antelope; (4) *esarku*, tanned skin of oxen.

281 I have already mentioned that camels are killed in a peculiar way and partitioned before skinning so that the hide is never removed entire. I have stated in the same connection that pastoral Ayr Tuareg do not use camel's hide in their crafts, and I have mentioned that though camel's hide plays a certain part in Northern Tuareg crafts they never tan it, while they tan skin of all other domestic animals and game animals such as gazelle and barbary sheep. The Northern Tuareg use camel's hide for lashing wood (cf. Fig. 86), and they also employ it for camel whips (cf. p. 84) and for certain other artifacts which are now to be described.

*[415] The Northern Tuareg use camel's hide for the manufacturing of a large tanning receptacle known as ahaǵa (Fig. 213).

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as *ahaga* (Fig. 213). Such tanning receptacles are made in the following way among the Ahaggar Tuareg:— A slender bough of the *tahamek* tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) is bent and fixed into a circular form, and a piece of camel's hide soaked in water is attached to this frame. Sand and pebbles are thereupon placed upon the hide within the frame, which is lifted upwards by means of cords fastened to it and to the bough of a tree. This is done to produce the bowl-like form of the receptacle which is left filled with sand and pebbles and attached to the tree for a few days. Thus it is dried by the sun, and thereafter it will become very hard and keep the desired bowl-like form. Certain butter-containers made from raw camel hide are manufactured on the same principle, the entrance to such containers being made by the insertion of a piece of wood around which the upper part of the piece of hide is firmly attached. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar also use camel's hide for the manufacture of a long rope (*akhamil*), which is used for drawing water from wells by means of oxen when the *tamd* system of irrigation (Fig. 132a–b) is employed. A rope of this kind is made from strips of soaked hide twisted together and hammered between stones to be left for drying in the sun. It is also said that camel's hide in the north is used for sandals of a particular type, while the Ayr Tuareg may use raw oxe-hide for sandals (cf. p. 301). The Ayr Tuareg may also employ raw oxe-hide for the manufacture of ropes and cords, and for camel whips. The hides of camels and oxen are known to the Tuareg by the common term *drit* and they seem to possess certain qualities in common.

281 [824] [46]* [283] [294]

The hide of such animals as goats, sheep, gazelle, barbary sheep is never used untanned among the Tuareg, and they may tan the hide of oxen and various other animals.

The Tuareg use a particular method for tanning goat-skin to be used for water-bags (*abayor*) (Figs. 215–217). I have watched this, particularly in Ahaggar, where a water-bag is prepared in the following way:— The animal is killed in the normal way of cutting its throat, and is then so skinned that the hide comes off almost entire. This is done by making the following openings with the knife: the head is cut off, cuts are made around the lower part of all four feet, and on the inner side of the

[45]* [231]

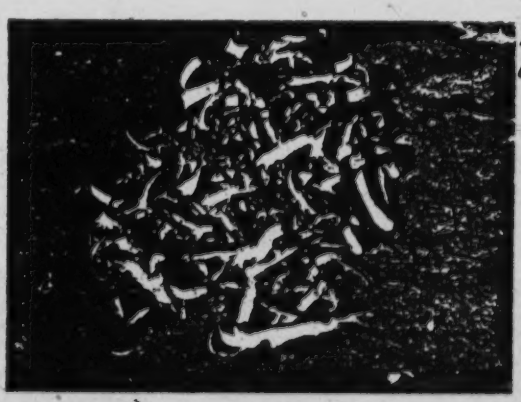

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Fig. 214. Tannin consisting of bark (*ithri*) of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*) which is used for tanning water bags. The bark is left upon a piece of rock for drying. Ahaggar, the *Afuk-en-ahkil* tribe.

[Text continues on p. 273]

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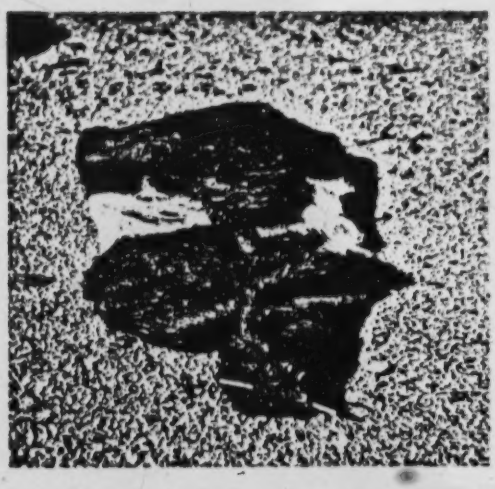

Fig. 215a. The bag to be prepared is filled with a mixture of water and *tâbet* (bark) and is placed in the sun. The openings are provisionally closed by sewing with straw.

Preparation of a water bag (*abeyor*).

*[133] [415] [417]

Fig. 215b. The tanned water bag is suspended for drying. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ilali* tribe.

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Fig. 216. Water bag (*abayor*). Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. (N.M.).

hind thighs over the animal's anus. This latter opening is made big enough for the skin to be drawn 281
off the body forwards over the neck. When the hide is removed and has been cleaned by scraping with
a knife, it is ready for tanning, which is done as follows:— The openings made on all four legs are [413]
closed simply by tieing the leg skin into knots, while the opening made on the inner side of the hind
thighs is sewn together with straw by means of the awl (*tistent*) (Fig. 218a), the anus opening being
closed with a cord tied around it. The hide is now closed except at the neck opening. It is filled with [824]
a mixture of water and bark (*tiñet*) of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*), and the neck-opening is there-
upon closed with a cord tied around it. The hide, which now forms a closed bag filled with bark and
water, is placed in the shade of the tent for seven to ten days to be turned and shaken every day. The
mixture of bark and water is thereupon poured out, the cuts sewn together or tied with knots are
reopened, the inner side of the hide is cleaned and treated with butter, and the openings are closed
again in a more solid fashion, the large hind opening being closed with strips of cotton placed over
the incision and sewn together with leather thread by means of the awl. A water bag prepared in
this way will very often contain reddish water, as the *tamat* bark yields a red colour, but nevertheless
all Tuareg consider bark of the *tamat* acacia as the very best tannin for water bags. Bark of *abser* [824]
(*afagag* in Ayr) (*Acacia Raddiana*) and also bark of *tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) may be used for tanning
water bags. Water bags are, with very rare exceptions, made from hairy skin because they keep the
water cool and fresh. The large open irrigation pail (*aga*) is made from skin tanned with bark like [415] *
water bags, but to my knowledge bark tanning among the Tuareg is not employed for other articles.



[text continues on p. 276]

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Fig. 217. A rolled-up water bag (*abayor*). When out of use the Tuareg preserve their water bags in this way in order that they shall not crack. The skin of a dry water bag is extremely hard. It is soaked in water for some time before it becomes ready for use.

[413]

Fig. 218a–b. Sewing awls.

a. Awl (*tistent*) of the type used for sewing in Ahaggar. Made by blacksmith at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.115 m long. (F.M. 288).

b. Awl (*dadel*) of the type used for sewing sandals. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.170 m long. (F.M. 99).

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Fig. 219a–d. Implements used for skin and leather work in Ahaggar.

a. Wooden cutting board (*elkeylab*). It is made from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). 0.480 m long. (N.M. G. 5867). [824]

b. Wooden implement (*asertesu*) for smoothing leather. Wood of the *taburak* tree. Dimension: 0.248 m long. (N.M. G. 5868).

c. Heavy black stone (*tazzar*) with level under side. Used for smoothing leather. Dimension: 0.079 × 0.061 m. (N.M. G. 5873).

d. Knife (*telmunit*). Dimension: 0.163 m long. (N.M. G. 5869).
Manufactured and used by blacksmiths in Ahaggar, Abalessa.

The vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar use hairy skin for the manufacture of certain receptacles other than water bags (cf. Figs. 111, 125). I have never seen hairy skin bags of this type in Ayr, and even in Ahaggar most skin bags are made from depilated skins. In Ahaggar the hair is removed from the hide by means of a plant known as *tachkat* (*Pergularia tomentosa*). A bundle of this plant is dipped into hot water and is rubbed against the inner side of the hide which is spread out over a large stone or a similar object. Even after one day the hair can then be removed by one or two women who pluck it with their fingers. In Ahaggar I have also been told by sedentary agriculturists that the hair can be removed by means of salt. The salt is placed upon the inner side of the hide and this treatment makes it possible to scrape away the hair by means of a knife or a stone. The Ayr Tuareg questioned about their methods of depilation place ashes from the fireplace on the inner side of the hide which after this treatment is covered with moistened sand for one day. After this treatment the hair is removed with a knife or simply with the fingers. 281 [545] [413] * [824]

The tannin generally used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr for articles other than water bags 281 824

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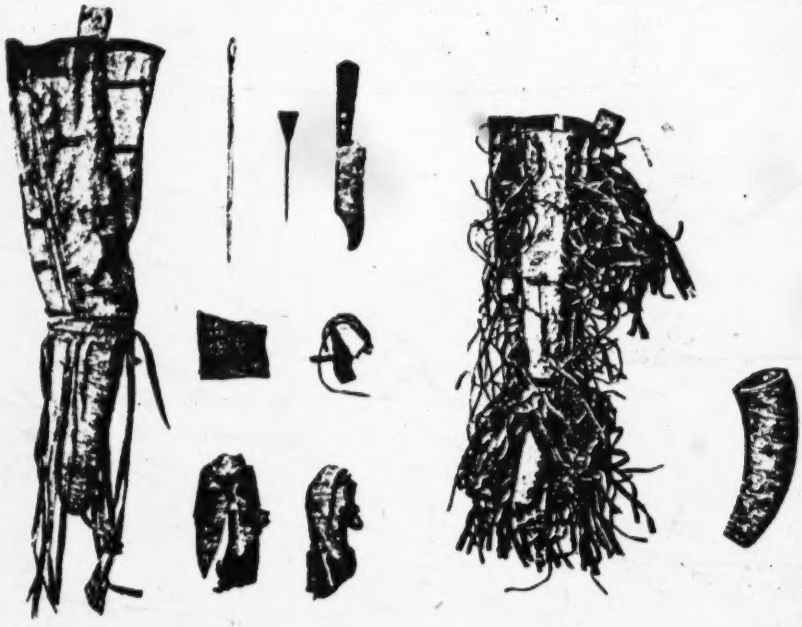

Fig. 220a–g. Sewing bags and their contents.

a. Sewing bag (*askagen*) made of decorated leather sewn to a piece of hollow ox-horn which constitutes the bottom of the bag. Dimension: 0.415 m long. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ǧali* tribe. – In the bag were the objects b–e.
b. Large sewing needle (*tazugla*, or *tazubla*).
c. Sewing awl (*tistent*).
d. Leather knife (*tehmusit*).
e. Four pieces of leather (*izzeman*) for repairs. (N.M. G. 5225a–e).
f. Sewing bag (*askagen*) of the above-mentioned type but richly decorated with leather fringes. Ahaggar, *Ḫarratin* of I-n-dalaǧ. Dimension: 0.335 m long. (N.M. G. 5241).
g. Ox horn (*isek*) cut for bottom of sewing bag (*askagen*). Ahaggar, *Ḫarratin*. Dimension: 0.136 m long. (N.M. G. 5228).

281 824 is fruit of the *taggart* acacia (*Acacia scorpioides*) which is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tiggart*. The fruit is pounded into a kind of flour or powder which is mixed with water in the large tanning receptacle made from camel hide (Ahaggar) or in a large wooden or enameled receptacle (Ayr). For tannin the Ahaggar Tuareg also use leaves of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). These are collected as follows: a large bough is cut off the acacia, and is left to dry in a clean, sandy place. When the bough and its leaves have been dried by the sun for some time, the bough is beaten with a stick so that the leaves

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fall to the ground where they are collected. They are conserved dry until tanning takes place when they are pounded in the large mortar and mixed with water in the tanning receptacle. The Ahaggar Tuareg may also use galls of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*) (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 885 & Maire 1933, p. 159) and fruit of the *tedjoq* tree (*Pistacia atlantica*) (Maire 1933, p. 149). 281 824

In addition to treatment with these vegetable tannins the skin is also treated with butter or rubbed with fatty substances, such as a piece of the brain of a slaughtered animal. These are the main features of skin tanning which in Ahaggar takes place in the following way:— (1) The hairy or depilated hide is placed in the tannin receptacle which contains one of the above-mentioned vegetable tannins mixed with water. The hide remains in this receptacle for one or two days if fruit of the *taggart* acacia is used, while three or four days will be necessary using *tamat* leaves known as *ala*. The hide in the receptacle is daily rubbed between the hands in order that the tannin may penetrate well into it. (2) When the hide is removed from the receptacle it is washed with cold water and thereupon dried in the shade. 281

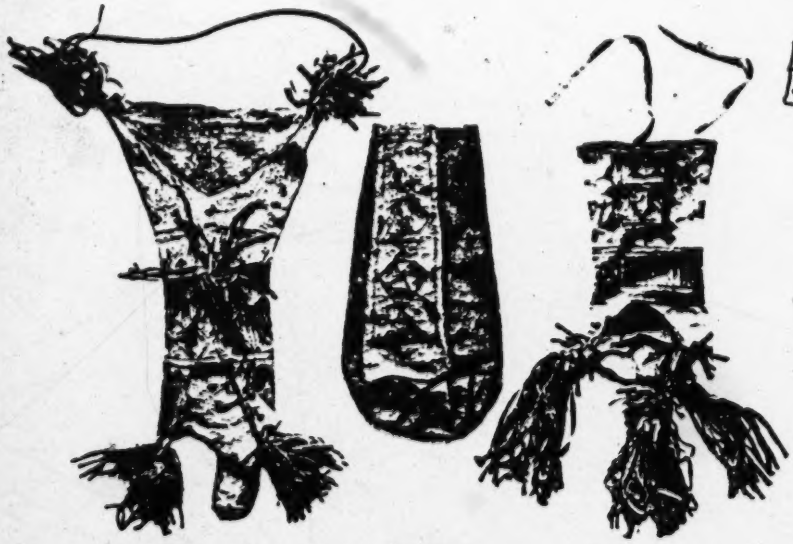

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**Fig. 221 a–c. Skin bags.**

a. Bag of *tichchikwat* type. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.45 m long. (N.M. G. 1.134).
b. Bag known as *akelbaf*. Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.36 m long. (N.M. G. 5239).
c. Bag of *tichchikwat* type. Ahaggar, probably manufactured by Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna. Dimension: 0.30 m long – without fringes. (N.M. G. 5219).

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Fig. 222. Large bag of *téchchékwat* type. The *téchchékwat* bags (pl. *téchchékwatin*) are normally made of entire skins of kids or goats while this large bag is made from several pieces of leather sewn together. Ahaggar, probably manufactured in Ayr. Dimension: 0.92 m long – not counting the leather tassels. (N.M. G. 5216).

281 (3) Butter or fatty substances are rubbed into the inner side of the skin, after which the skin is covered with wet sand for a while. (4) The skin is dried and thereupon softened by rubbing it between the hands – a task sometimes performed by men, though tanning is the task of women.

281 The implements used by the Tuareg for the manufacture of skin articles are few and simple. Sewing
4/3 of skin is rarely done with a needle, though the large iron neddle known as *tazubla*, and in Ahaggar also as *tasugla* (Fig. 220b), is used for sewing among the Ahaggar Tuareg in the manufacture of donkey saddles (cf. Fig. 86, p. 110). But with such rare exceptions the Tuareg sew their skin articles by means of the little awl known as *tistent* in Ahaggar (Fig. 218a), as *éstan* in Ayr. With this implement the women pierce holes close to each other and through them draw thin leather thread
[283] (*azzemi* in Ahaggar). Sinew thread is not in general use among the Tuareg, but I knew a gazelle hunter in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, who took out the sinews of the hind leg of a killed gazelle to use them for mending his leather belt. With this exception I have never seen sinew thread employed for sewing among pastoral Tuareg and my fairly large ethnographical collection containing all types of Tuareg skin and leather articles contains no specimen sewn with sinew thread. For sewing sandals the Ahaggar
4/3 Tuareg use a large awl which is known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b). This word is also used for iron implements

[text continues on p. 280]

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Fig. 223. Skin bag (*adabun*) for transportation of personal objects on journeys. Dimension: 0.515 × 0.425 m. (N.M. G. 5238). Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

237 Ayr Tuareg a piece of ram's horn may serve as an amulet case attached around the upper arm. Horns
*[445] of barbary sheep are used for butter containers among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 223; Fig. 165),
who sometimes use a piece of pointed gazelle horn for daubing antimony around the eye.

● 281 The Ahaggar women cut skin and leather with a small knife (*telmusit*), and a piece of wood (*asettenu*)
462 and/or a stone (*taẓẓet*) are used for smoothing the skin which is then placed upon a particular wooden
[443] board (*elkeyleb*) (cf. Figs. 219a–d). The Ayr Tuareg do not make so much refined skin work. Women
*[445] among the Northern Tuareg conserve their implements for skin and leather work in a particular bag
(*askagen*) which is made from leather attached to a bottom piece of horn (*isek*) (Figs. 220a–g).

[531] Northern Tuareg women take a great interest in their skin and leather artifacts, which are richly
decorated with fringes and hanging tassels, and with geometric designs in different colours. I have
386 noted the following colours among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer:—
822 (1) *baba*, indigo which is introduced from the south in the form of balls.

(2) *tawnkent*, which is also known as *tafidet* and *tanezezzeft* according to Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1934. It is a yellowish mineral which yields an entirely black colour frequently seen on ornamented skin bags. The mineral according to the Ahaggar Tuareg is introduced from the south, while the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer claim that they obtain their minerals of this type from Serdeles north-east of Rat. – A black colour which is also known as *tawnkent* is said to be made by the Tuareg of Ahaggar in the following way:— Pieces of iron are put into water contained in some small receptacle, usually a tea glass. This receptacle containing water and iron pieces is covered with a bowl or a similar object in order that the sun light cannot penetrate. After a few days the water turns into a black colour to be used for skin dyeing.

(3) *semento*, a green colour derived from a mineral or a powder introduced from the south. According to some Tuareg this green colour is also made by means of a vegetable powder introduced from the north, from the region of Mzab.

(4) *khodarbas*, a powder which yields a green colour. It is said to be introduced from the south (from Tawa) and to derive from a tree known as *tafnit*.

[824] (5) *errummen*, the fruit of the pomegranate tree known as *terrummant* (*Punica Granatum*). It is used with a white mineral (alum), known as *azref n Tawat*, and introduced from In Salah. Parts of the pomegranate fruit and of this mineral are mixed with water to be used for a yellow or yellow-brown dye which is applied to many decorated skin bags for ground colour.

(6) *temesaruak*, a mineral introduced from the north (Mzab). It produces a yellow colour.

[243] (7) *herki*, a reddish brown colour obtained from a particular type of sorghum known as *tallak* grown in the cultivation centres of Ahaggar.

(8) *tédersé*, a white colour obtained by placing the skin for about three days in a container with fresh milk to which a little salt is added. – Among Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told that a white colour is also obtained from a kind of powder introduced from the Sudan.

386 Before use these above mentioned colours or dyeing materials are generally dissolved in water
[531] contained in a tea glass. When they are employed for the very fine geometric designs of leather bags
they are daubed with a small knife known as *telmusit* (Fig. 219b).

[439] It is interesting that most dyes used by the Northern Tuareg are introduced from the north or from the south,

[Text continues on p. 284]

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Fig. 228a–c.

a. A cylindrical hollowed piece of wood covered with leather. It is known as *tafendit* and serves to contain antimony (*tazult*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m long. (N.M. G. 5875).

[824] [276] [462] [565] b. Cylindrical brass tube covered with ornamented leather. It is known as *faralu wa n tuka* and serves for the conservation of *tuka*, that is ashes of burned *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ashes of this grass are used by some Tuareg for chewing tobacco. It is said in Ahaggar that containers of this type are made exclusively by noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe, and that the containers should be worn only by noble Tuareg and not by vassals. The brass tube is always made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.265 m long (total length). (N.M. G. 5888).

c. A piece of cane covered with coloured leather and fringes of the same material. It is called *tafendit* and serves for the conservation of *tazult* (antimony). Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.116 m. (N.M. G. 5267).

386 the south, or are obtained from plants grown by sedentary agriculturists. The technique of skin dyeing [281] as practised by the Tuareg nowadays cannot be considered an ancient one in Tuareg culture. Its [174] origin is probably to be looked for in the more developed civilizations of Northern Africa, and not in a nomadic culture like that of the Tuareg. Other dyeing methods known to the Tuareg may well be very ancient. I believe this to be true of the red ochre known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tamegheyt*,

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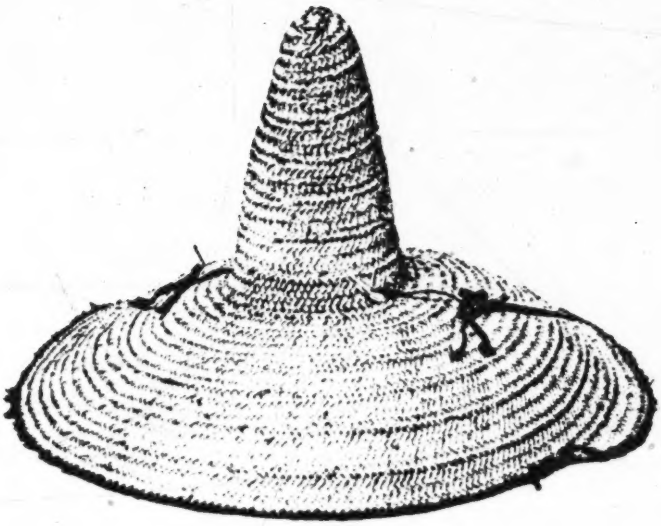

Fig. 231. Woman's straw-hat (*téłé*) plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*aǵum*). Ahaggar, the *Dag Ǵali* tribe; manufactured at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.565 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5276).

386 to the Ayr Tuareg as *tamezgoyt*. It is found both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, and is used for dyeing tent-skins (cf. p. 361).

● 281 A number of the most common skin bags and similar objects of decorated leather work made by
462 Tuareg women in Ahaggar are reproduced in Figs. 220–229.

* [415] Though the pastoral Tuareg women in the north are excellent leather workers they find their superiors
[564] in the blacksmiths women and those of the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Women of these sedentary negroid groups provide pastoral Tuareg with leather objects like sword-sheaths, amulet cases, leather purses, large saddle bags, cushions, and the like (cf. Figs. 72a, 76, 121a–b, 172a–b, 198).

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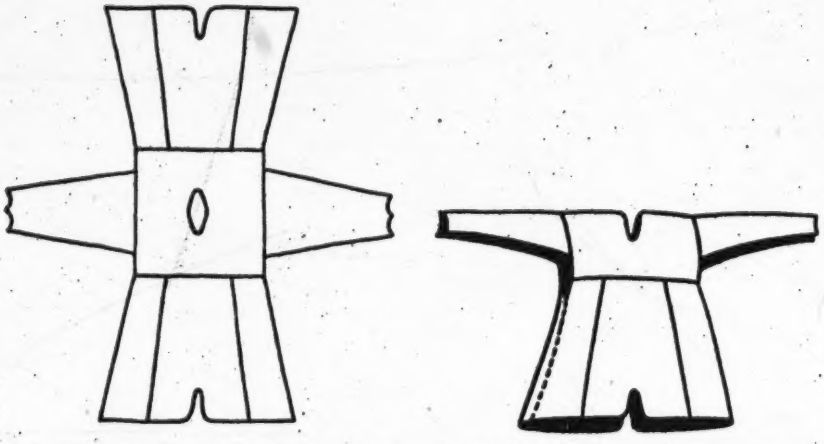

Fig. 232. The cut of a leather shirt (*tébetiḳ*) from Ahaggar. The shirt is ornamented with leather fringes along the seams and at the ends of the open sleeves. The shirt is made from sheepskin dyed with indigo. Ahaggar, the *Kel Inṛer* tribe. Dimension: 1.15 m long, 0.60 m wide at the waist. (Musée de l'homme, No. 41-19-1645).

291 I have never seen a skin shirt among the Tuareg, but it seems as if skin shirts are worn in certain
[237] parts of Ahaggar even at the present time. They are described from the regions north and east of the Kudia, and are made by certain tribes of the *Isekkemaren* who use skin of barbary sheep or goats for the lower part of the shirt, fine goatskin for the upper part covering the shoulders, and gazelle skin or the skin of kids for the sleeves (Mounier 1942, p. 158). A skin shirt is found in the "Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistorie du Bardo" in Algiers. It is called *tébetiḳ*, and is described as follows:—

291 "Le corps de la tunique figurée est fait de trois pièces de cuir: une pour les épaules et la poitrine,
294 avec un trou pour passer la tête, deux autres pour le devant et le dos. Ces deux dernières pièces sont reliées sur le côté par deux bandes de cuir verticales; le tout formant une sorte de robe évasée à la base. Les manches sont ouvertes dans le sens de la longeur, donnont ainsi liberté complète aux bras. De petites franges de cuir très fines décorent l'ensemble à l'emplacement des coutures. – Dimensions: hauteur totale 1.20 m; taille 45 cm; manche 55 cm. Inventaire du Musée: F 9". (Balout 1959, pl. VI).

291 The above-described shirt is clearly of the poncho type, and this is also the case with three leather shirts preserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. The shirts seem to be identical in cut and size,
[238] and are here briefly described by reference to one of them. It is made from tanned and depilated sheep skin, dyed with indigo. Its total length is 1.15 m and width at waist 0.60 m. Its museum number is 41.19.1625 and it is said to have been manufactured by a woman of the *Kel-Inṛer* tribe (*Isekkemaren*).
[239] It is also stated in the museum's card-index that such shirts are worn by poor people in Téfedest and by *Dag Ṛali* slaves.

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Fig. 238. Loin-cloth consisting of a piece of tanned and depilated goat-skin. It is known as *arguf* and is worn mainly by boys and young slaves. Dimension: 0.715 × 0.575 m. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-ishlî* tribe. (N.M. G. 5258).

291 *liga* or *tagua* for this garment piece; (2) *téri*, a large piece of cotton worn as a skirt wound around the waist in the same way as in the north; (3) *tesegbes*, a large piece of cotton used as a petticoat.

[IN] Lhote has published some very interesting information on the dress of Tuareg women. Thus he mentions that certain women among Sudanese Tuareg wear a kind of shawl over the shoulders instead of a poncho shirt. I have myself seen this garment among pastoral Arabs south of Ayr and close to [587] Aderbissinat, but I have never seen it among the Tuareg. Still more interesting is Lhote's description of a skin skirt worn by slave women among the *Iwllemmeden* (Lhote 1955a, p. 308). This leather skirt, which is laced around the waist by means of a leather cord, is also recorded from the *Bélla* of Timbuktu by Dupuis-Yakouba (cf. Seabrook 1934, p. 251), and some skirts of the same type are conserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. One skirt among those found in the Paris museum (no. 33.78.9) comes from the Sudanese *Bélla*, and was collected in the region of Arawan by the "Expedition du [294] Hall" in 1945. It is made from several pieces of decorated leather sewn together with leather thread; its total length is about 0.70 m. Another skirt of the same type, but without a museum number, is perhaps of the same origin. In addition to these two skirts the Paris museum possesses three other leather skirts of the same type. They were collected by Lhote in 1939 among Tuareg living in the south-west. One of these skirts is from the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (mus. no. 41.19.845) while the two others [587] come from the *Kel Inteser* (mus. no. 41.19.846 & 847). The skirts are known as *elaraite* according [585] to the museum's card-index, where it is stated that they are worn by slave women, and it is added that similar leather skirts were worn by slave women and poor women of the vassal class among the

Ayr Tuareg up to the French occupation of Ayr

[Text continues on p. 296]

291 l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

292 In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the [232] Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen [177] blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aghim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-[294] skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl (*iistent*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather [184] cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

178 Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like 291 many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

291 The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *tratimen* (sing. *tratim*) which [237] word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south. [438] The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where the type is also known by the Hausa word *takelmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in 298 detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following 281 way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig. [114] 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manu-291 facture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takalmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The [137] very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal [288] is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *sliisleplatine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

[text continues on p.300]

Tent skins derive from domestic animals or from game animals. In older literature one can find a reference to Tuareg tents made of a sheet of camel skin (cf. Denham & Clapperton 1826, p. L). However, we have already seen that the Tuareg do not tan camel hides and they are not used for tent sheets. The Northern Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, zebu-calves, barbary sheep, antelope, and gazelle. Goat skin is most commonly used, skin of barbary sheep is considered the very best type of tent skin, while gazelle skin is rarely employed as it is very thin. According to Lhote, the *Kel Adrar* Tuareg generally use the skin of barbary sheep (Lhote 1947a, p. 108). The Ayr Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, and zebus. It is most possible that some Tuareg also use skin of game animals, but most Ayr Tuareg engage very little in hunting, though barbary sheep are very common in certain parts of the Massif. In the southern plains of the *Iwllemmeden* there are no barbary sheep. According to Nicolas, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* use for their tents the skin of sheep, goats, gazelle, and sometimes even the skin of ostriches, but they do not use zebu skin which becomes very hard and shrinks when heavily moistened during the rainy season (Nicolas 1938, p. 54 & 1950a, p. 155). The *Iwllemmeden* and their *Bélla* of the Ayoru region use the skin of goats and sheep for tent-sheets.

Tent skins are prepared in the same way as skins used for transportation bags, dress articles, and the like. They are depilated and tanned according to the methods described on p. 275 ff. After tanning they are treated with butter, and are thereupon soaked to be rubbed and coloured with red ochre, these treatments making the skins impervious to water. A tent sheet is always made of several pieces of skin which are sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl known as *tistent* (Ahaggar), or *éstan* (Ayr). The edges where the skins have to be sewn are made even with a knife, while the outer edges of the sheet are left largely unfashioned so that the circumference of the sheet is of very irregular shape with protruding patches of leg or neck skin. These patches of skin frequently serve for the attachment of the cords by means of which the sheet is suspended. When two pieces of skin are sewn together a narrow leather strip is inserted between their edges before sewing. Loose ends of leather thread hang down from the inner side of the sheet to serve as a kind of decoration, and in Ahaggar the tents are also frequently ornamented with hanging patches of leather with a carved decoration (cf. Fig. 182). On the whole the Tuareg of Ahaggar take a great interest in their tents. They like to have richly-decorated dwellings, and when a tent is made for a newly-married couple, the women do their outmost to make the sheet very beautiful. These aestethic feelings seem to be unknown in regard to other types of dwelling used among the Tuareg, including the mat tent, and I think that they are responsible for some Tuareg using skin tents even when other dwelling types would be more suitable. I believe this to be true, the more so as the skin tent among the Northern Tuareg plays a great part in the wedding ceremony, which is called *éhen*, that is "a tent".

It is evident that the number of skins to be used for a sheet greatly varies; if a sheet is made from goat skins it may be estimated that a tent of normal size in Ahaggar comprises about 35–40 skins, but very large tents with sheets of 60–80 skins are found among rich noble Tuareg and also in the *Dag Rali* tribe. A tent from Ahaggar now in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen has a sheet sewn together from a great many skin patches, and it measures 4.00 × 3.85 metres (N.M., no. G.1; cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 139). This is perhaps to be considered a normal size of skin tents among the Ahaggar Tuareg, though the sheet is generally somewhat more rectangular in

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 281 shape. In Southern Tuareg groups the skin tents also vary much in size, but they tend to be larger. Thus it is stated by Nicolas that skin tents among the *Kel Dennek* measure up to one hundred square metres (Nicolas 1938, p. 54), and Lhote says that 80–150 skins are used for sheets of the very large tents of the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (Lhote 1947a, p. 100).

[804] The Tuareg themselves do not refer to the size of a tent by counting the number of skins, or by measuring. The size of a tent is indicated by reference to the number of skin rows in the longitudinal direction of the sheet, and these rows of skin are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *taṛda* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). I have myself seen extremely small tents having a sheet of only three *taṛda*, but a tent of normal size will generally have four or five such skin rows, and some even have six or [462] seven *taṛda*. Among the Northern Tuareg the sheet is manufactured in Tuareg camps by pastoral [562] women and their female slaves. Among the *Kel Dennek*, tent sheets are manufactured by women of [564] the blacksmith caste (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 155).

*342 285 A mat to be drawn around the lower part of the dwelling constitutes a very essential part of Tuareg skin tents. This mat is generally made from the stems of *afezu* (*afeẓu*) grass (*Panicum turgidum*) tied together with leather strips as already described. A tent mat at times is divided into two halves which are rolled up and placed at each of the narrow ends of the tent during hot weather so that currents [351] of air may pass through. When weather is cold and also when storms are raging, the Tuareg close their tents with these mats, which may also be drawn out to form a kind of low courtyard in front of the tent (cf. Figs. 267–269). The straw mat made from *afezu* stems tied to one another is known as *éseber* (pl. *isebran*) both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, while the name of a tent mat among the *Kel Dennek* is *šitek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154), or *chtiek* according to our transcription system. Among the Northern Tuareg, tent mats are generally about one metre high, while varying much as to length. These mats very frequently serve as a kind of wind-screen leaning against poles,

*342 281 133

Fig. 267. Skin tent seen from the back. The shape of the sheet is most irregular. Ahaggar, the *Aǵah-en-tehlé* tribe.

[text continues on p. 364]

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*342 285 and a mat-screen of this nature is known as *aṛnes* (pl. *iṛnesen*). It seems as if mats made from *afezu* stems tied to one another with leather thread occur everywhere among the Tuareg who possess skin tents (cf. illustrations of Lhote 1947a). These mats form part of the tent as they constitute its walls. I have only once seen true plaited mats used with a skin tent, and this was not inhabited by ordinary [351] pastoralists, but by blacksmiths (cf. Fig. 272). In addition to tent mats the Ahaggar Tuareg frequently use stone walls (*amutey*, pl. *imuteyen*) in front of their skin tent during the cold winter season (cf. Fig. 269b).

*342 [281] Among all Northern Tuareg a skin tent is known as *éhen*, and the sheet is called *éhakit*. The *Kel Dennek* Tuareg appear to use the same words for a tent and its sheet (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 153) while the Ayr Tuareg reserve the word *éhen* for a mat tent and employ the term *akum* for a skin tent. The Tuareg who use the word *éhen* to designate a skin tent will refer to mat tents as *asala* or *éwerwer* according to the type of mats used for a covering. We see that the word *éhen* is that generally used for a tent among the Tuareg. It is used for skin tents and mat tents alike. The Tuareg who live predominantly or mainly in skin tents use it for these dwellings, while Tuareg who live almost exclusively in mat tents reserve it as a term for their dwelling type.

Mat tents and skin tents may resemble each other in their structures but can also be very different. The mat tent is always an arched tent while this is true only of some skin tents. The main distinction between a mat tent and a true skin tent is that the mat covering is attached to the tent structure, while the sheet of skin is fastened to poles, pegs, stones, or other objects outside the structure supporting the sheet. Among most Tuareg who have skin tents there is a traditional system of poles or pegs for the fastening of the sheet.

In Ahaggar the tent sheet is traditionally fastened to twelve poles which are buried in 0.40–0.50 m deep holes dug by means of the digging stick (*élaweg*; Fig. 123, p. 179), with the broad end of an iron lance, with a wooden stick, and/or the hand. There are three poles in front of the tent, three at the back, and three at each of the narrow ends. These poles have their particular names. The poles placed at the narrow ends are known as *tisdas* (sing. *tasdest*), the poles placed at the back are called *unnusen* (sing. *unnus*), while the three poles placed in front of the tent have different names as follows:— the middle pole, which is higher than the two other poles of this row, is called *igem*, and the two other poles are known as *madaṛen* (sing. *madaṛ*). The use of these twelve poles is considered the correct method for tent erection, and they are always used in wedding tents; some Tuareg have poles beautifully carved by the blacksmiths, but for ordinary use the Tuareg do not always attach their skin tent to these twelve poles, but frequently use a few poles and attach the sheet to heavy luggage and the like, and at the back they may even place heavy stones upon the skin sheet. The poles placed at the narrow ends of the tent, known as *tisdas*, are also frequently substituted by small wooden pegs termed *tisettitay* (sing. *tasettitit*), and the sheet is then very close to the ground at the narrow ends. This same system of poles and pegs for fastening the skin sheet outside of the proper structure of the dwelling is also known to the Ahaggar Tuareg who live towards the south in the Tamesna plains, to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and also, I believe, to the *Kel Adṛaṛ*. Among the *Kel Dennek* there is a related system apparently comprising a few additional poles. The terms mentioned for these poles by Nicolas differ in his studies from 1938 and 1950. According to his last study the poles placed at the narrow end of the tent are termed *ṭidel* (or *chidel*), while all poles placed in front and at the back of

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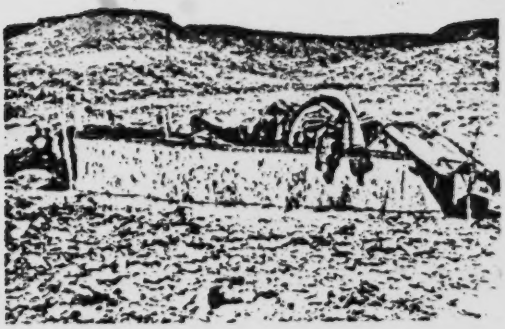

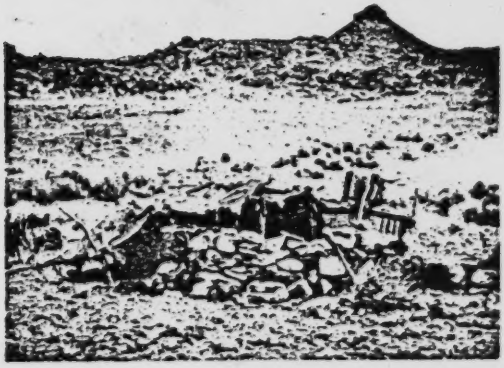

Fig. 269a–b. Skin tent of the B.2.f.3 type. The tent is surrounded by an *afezu* mat (*ɛseber*) and a stone wall (*amutey*) to protect the inmates against the cold winter winds. Ahaggar (the *Asakor* zone), the *Aɣuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

*342 the tent are called *igemawen*; but the frontal poles are also known by more particular names according to their position (*madaɣ*, *igam*, *aserriri*). The terms mentioned by Nicolas in his 1938-study are largely those used in Ahaggar for similar poles (cf. Nicolas 1938, p. 54 ff. & 1950a, p. 153 ff., pl. VIII). It would appear that a somewhat related pole-system is used for suspension of the skin sheet among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* where very elaborately carved poles are found (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 82 ff.), while among the *Tengerregif* Tuareg further west a large number of high unfashioned boughs or sticks are used to suspend the tent (cf. Lhote 1947, illustrations p. 128 f.). As to the Ayr Tuareg, I have never seen properly suspended skin sheets among them, and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg did not know any names for such pole systems. It would seem as if most Tuareg who live in skin tents use an almost identical system of poles to which they fasten the sheet. The sheet is never fastened to the

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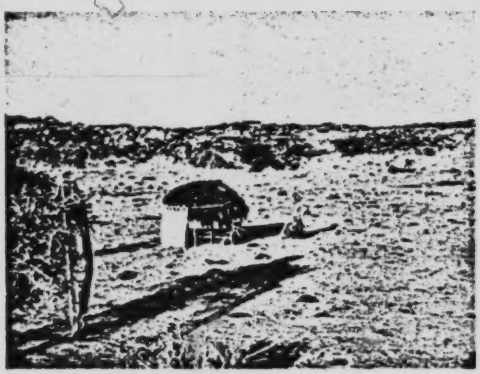

Fig. 270. An arched barrel-vaulted tent covered with a sheet of skin. In the background two arched mat tents. In the foreground to the left two cotton bows. Ayr, the *Kel Tédalé* tribe.

*342 true structure, and structurally there is a great diversity of tent types. It seems as if these tent structures can be divided into a few main groups which I shall describe in detail.

B.2.a. *Skin tents of arch construction.*

Tents which have one or more arches, generally placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction are widely found in Tuareg country. They are in fact more common than appears from the literature which has been so far published on Tuareg culture. The wide distribution of this particular structure in skin tents is interesting, the more so as it is related to the structure of mat tents. There are the following types of arch structures:—

B.2.a.1. This tent was seen in a camp of the *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg of North-western Ayr. It is known that skin tents are found among them (cf. Joubert 1939, p. 252 f.), but they have never been described. The Ayr Tuareg say that in the past many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* lived in skin tents which, however, [114] are less common among them nowadays. This agrees with my own experience. I have visited several *Kel Tédalé* camps, but I have only seen the skin tent here mentioned. This was found in a camp of [361] three tents, the two others being ordinary mat tents. The skin tent I saw in this camp was also of the normal structure used for mat tents in Ayr, though shorter. The lower part was partly covered, not by a mat plaited from dum palm leaves, but by an *afezu* mat.

[221] B.2.a.2. Under this heading I describe two identical tents seen in a camp of *Ireḡenaten* Tuareg who belong to the Ahaggar federation but have their traditional grazing grounds west of the Ayr [361] Massif in the Tamesna Plains. The camp was actually situated in the region between Tegidda-n-tésemt [137] and I-n-abanṛerit, where perennial vegetation is extremely scarce and mainly comprises scattered *tamat* acacias (*Acacia flava*). The camp visited had eight skin tents among which were the two of arch construction as follows:—

[824] Both tents were very small, and their wooden structure was made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*). In the middle of the tent and at right angles to its longitudinal direction there was an

arch about 1.50 m high. It consisted of two boughs fixed in the ground and lashed together at their tops; this was termed *aǧeǧu* (pl. *iǧeǧan*). At both sides of this arch there was a horizontal cross-bar known as *areǧaraǧa* (pl. *ireǧeraǧaten*) which rested upon two forked sticks (*téǧeǧǧewt*, pl. *tiǧeǧǧewin*). The arch and the two pairs of horizontal cross-bars were parallel to one another, connected by means of two semi-arches termed *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*) each of them made from two slender rods attached to each other over the arch. These semi-arches were fastened to the middle arch and to the outer edges of the two cross-bars by means of cords. Around this structure, which supported the sheet, there was a number of wooden poles or posts some of which were higher than the tent. These poles and posts were used for the attachment of the sheet, which, however, during my visit rested over the structure without any attachment. A narrow mat of the ordinary *afezu*-type belonged to this tent (Fig. 271). 342*

Tents structurally akin to the B.2.a.2. type but without semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the dwelling are found south and north of the Tamesna region:—

B.2.a.3. This tent was seen in a camp inhabited by blacksmiths of the *Kel Dennek* country around Tawa. They had temporarily settled not far from Agadez to work among pastoral *Kel Ayr*. The camp comprised only three tents which were very small – about 4.00 × 2.00 m with a height of about 1.20 m. The tents were structurally identical and had sheets sewn together from many small pieces of skin resting upon the following structure:— A central arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction. It was called *teḳḳeḳḳewat* (pl. *teḳḳeḳḳewatin*) like the central arch of the ordinary mat tent among the Ayr Tuareg. At both sides of this arch and parallel to it there was a somewhat lower horizontal cross-bar resting upon two forked sticks (*tigettewin*, sing. *tégettewt*). The sheet rested upon this structure and was fastened to a few upright poles fixed in the ground around it. There were three such sticks at the front and at the back, and one at each of the narrow ends. A mat about one metre high belonged to the tent; this mat was not a normal *afezu* mat, but plaited – apparently of dum palm material (cf. Fig. 272). A wooden bed (*tédabut*) was placed in the middle of the tent, occupying most of its ground area. 351 352

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Fig. 271. Skin tent of the B.2.a.2. type. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Ireǧenaten* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen B-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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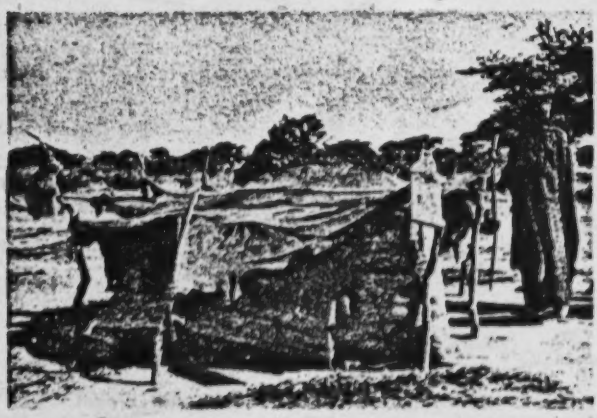


Fig. 272. Skin tent of the B.2.a.3. type belonging to *Kel Dennek* blacksmiths camping in Ayr near Agadez.

*342 of its ground area. The blacksmiths said that in their homeland at Twa only very small tents had central arches, while large tents had central T-shaped posts, but this latter structure could not be used in small tents because of the very large wooden bed. Tents of this type have not been described by Nicolas from the *Kel Dennek*, and various people who know this area have told me that they have never seen there tents of arch construction.

B.2.a.4. The tent type to be described is of arch construction. It was formerly very common in Ahaggar, but is extremely rare nowadays. The sheet of skin rests upon two arches placed parallel to each other at right angles to the longitudinal direction, and upon two horizontal cross-bars each lying on a pair of forked sticks. These wooden elements are normally made of the *tobarekkat* tree [824] [335] (*Tamarix aphylla*), the arches being manufactured from its roots which are heated over the fire and attached with cords in their bent position, as has already been described from the Ayr Tuareg, who make arches of acacia roots for mat tents in this way (cf. p. 351). But the arches used in Ahaggar are made from one piece of root each, and not from two pieces lashed together as in Ayr. The arches thus made are known as *iǧeǧan* (sing. *aǧeǧu*), but the term *tiheknin* (sing. *tihakent*) is generally used by vassals of the tribes *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* and *Dag Ṛali*. Though the arches are made from a single piece of root they may be fairly large, and two arches which are now in the Musée de l'homme in Paris have, according to Lhote, a diameter of 1.70 metres (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 43; Musée de l'homme, Coll. H. Lhote 1941). The cross-bars horizontally placed at both sides of the arches are called *ireǧeraǧaten* (sing. *areǧaraǧa*), and the forked sticks which support them *tiǧeǧǧewin* (*tiǧeǧǧewt*). Foucauld states that the two horizontal cross-bars resting upon forked poles do not properly belong to the tent structure, so that the sheet is supported only by the two arches which are placed parallel to each other at a distance of about 1.50 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 f.). These two arches are also mentioned by Benhazera without any reference to horizontal cross-bars (Benhazera 1908, p. 26). However, my

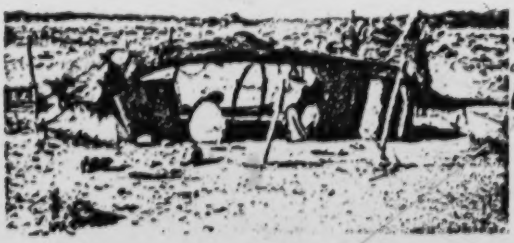
7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



investigations seem to prove that the cross-bars with their upright forked poles form part of the structure, but the sheet may not always be supported by the cross-bars, as the suspension of the sheet in hot weather may be so elevated that the sheet rests only upon the arches which are somewhat higher than the cross-bars. Traditionally, the sheet is attached to the system of twelve poles mentioned above (cf. p. 364). 342*

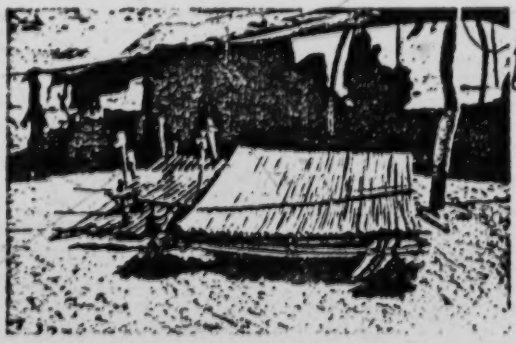
B.2.a.5. This tent, used in Ahaggar, is made up of the same structural elements as the above mentioned type, but the two arches are placed parallel to the longitudinal direction and at right angles to the two outer cross-bars. The Tuareg claim that this type is not a traditional structure. The arches, they say, should traditionally be placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction and not parallel to it. I have only seen one tent of this type, namely in the *Amenukal's* camp close to Abalessa. The two arches in this case were not made of tamarix roots but of slender palm-fronds lashed together with cords. The arches were about 1.10 m high and 0.90 m in width (cf. Fig. 273).

The following two tents used by the Ahaggar Tuareg are hybrid types which seem to be used mainly in the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe where I have seen a few:



342* 281 [51]

Fig. 273. Skin tent of the B.2.a.5. type. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ḫeis* tribe.



[352] [524]

Fig. 274. A close-up of the above tent (Fig. 273). In the foreground are beds for a married couple and a child. Such beds made of palm leaves' ribs are rare among pastoral Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ḫeis* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 B.2.a.6. The tent has one arch made of tamarix root, and this arch is placed parallel to the longitudinal direction at the back of the tent. A horizontal cross-bar (*aregaraga*) rests with one end upon the top of the arch, while its other end is supported by a vertical forked pole at the front of the tent. At both sides of this cross-bar there is a cross-bar (*aregaraga*) resting upon two forked sticks (*tiget-jewin*). This type is excellently depicted by Lhote (cf. Lhote 1947a, photos 24–26 p. 49 & 64; 1955, Fig. 23 p. 256).

B.2.a.7. The tent is identical with B.2.a.6 with the exception that there are two central horizontal cross-bars resting upon the top of the hind arch and upon two upright forked poles placed very close to each other in the front.

[361] B.2.a.8. This is a tent described and depicted by Barth from a Tuareg camp south of the Niger between the Hombori Mountains and the city of Bambara:— The sheet is suspended over three pairs of sticks of which the middle pair is much higher than the outer pairs. The middle pair of sticks is not of the same type in all tents, for the two high sticks in some tents are bent against each other and kept together by means of a very short piece of wood ("Querholz"). Judging from Barth's illustration of this tent it would seem as if the two middle sticks, united by a small piece of wood at their bent tops, form a high central arch. The skin tent, which contains two beds made from date palm-fronds, is apparently a very large one. It is provided with a mat of the type generally used for skin tents (Barth 1857–58, IV, p. 345 f.).

We conclude this description of arched skin tents by saying that these dwellings seem to be found within most Tuareg groups. Such tents are not so common nowadays as they were earlier. This is true of Ahaggar, where most Tuareg had arched skin tents until quite recently. Thus several informants about 50 or 60 years old told me that in their childhood most Ahaggar Tuareg lived in skin tents of this type.

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Fig. 275. Skin tent of the B.2.b.1 type. In the foreground a bed (*ɛédabat*) resting upon four forked sticks. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Ireganaten* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 will quickly run down the sheet, and it is preferable in very hot weather not to sit just under the leather sheet which becomes extremely hot. A straw mat of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) belongs traditionally to this type of tent as well as to other tents of T-shaped structure to be mentioned below.

B.2.g.2. This type is the most common one among the Northern Tuareg. It has two pairs of uprights (*iğeḍḍewin*) with horizontal cross-bars (*iregerağaten*), between which is placed the T-shaped post with its short cross-bar at right angles to the longitudinal direction of the tent. The sheet in this case may be suspended very high up at the surrounding poles, in which case it may be supported solely by the T-shaped post. But the forked poles (*iğeḍḍewin*) with their cross-bars normally serve as a support for the sheet which may be attached to small wooden pegs at the narrow ends (cf. Figs. 280-281). That the forked poles carrying cross-bars at both sides of the central post belong to the tent structure seems to be indicated by the Tuareg when they speak of *iğeḍḍewin n ehokit*, that is "the forked poles of the tent sheet".

B.2.g.3. A tent of the B.2.g.2. type with the exception that the short cross-bar of the central post follows the longitudinal direction and consequently is placed at right angles to the two cross-bars resting in forked poles at the narrow ends. I have once seen a tent like this in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but it was made from boughs cut from a tamarisk just before the tent was erected. These boughs were unfashioned, and the tent was on the whole put up in a rather haphazard fashion. The short cross-bar of the central T-shaped pole among the Northern Tuareg is traditionally placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction.

B.2.g.4. This type is a tent with a T-shaped post placed between two pairs of forked sticks with cross-bars as described above, but the very short cross-bar of the central post is attached to the outer cross-bars, resting on forked poles, by means of cords. The short cross-bar of the central pole is pierced with two or four holes for the attachment of these cords. I have not seen this type of structure, but have been told that it is occasionally used among the Ahaggar Tuareg.

B.2.g.5. An example of this tent is found in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum

[281]

Fig. 280. A large skin tent supported by a central T-shaped post (the B.2.g.2 type). The curved form of the cross-bar resting upon the central post is clearly seen. The sheet of skin has five longitudinal skin rows (*seyda*). From a camp of Ahaggar Tuareg near Ingal.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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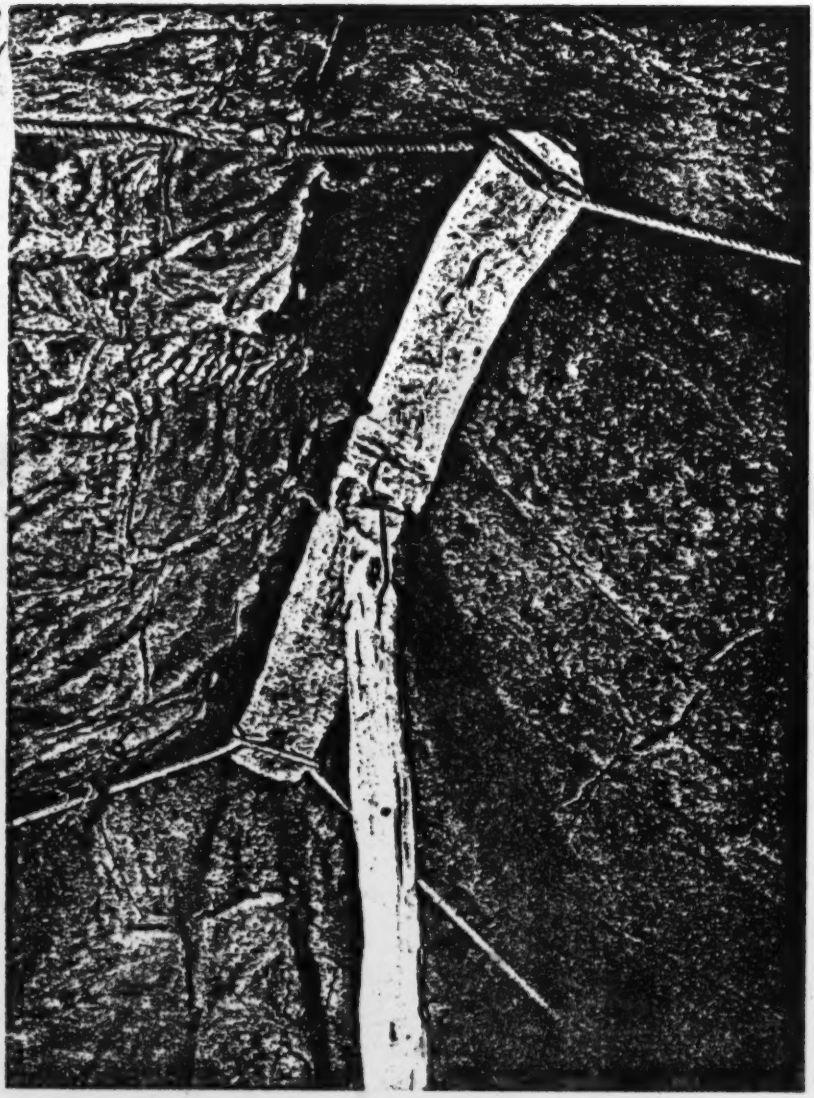

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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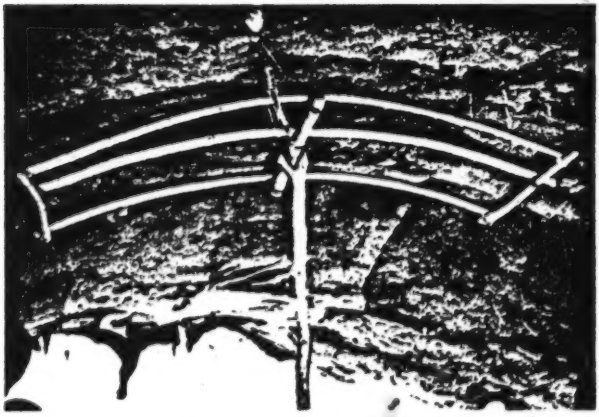

Fig. 283. Cross-bar (*tamankayt*) of the B.2.g.7 type. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Iregenaten* tribe.

in case of very extreme heat in the summer make a kind of primitive T-shaped post from a simple bough of tamarisk, to the top of which they attach a short stick of the same material. They then wrap pieces of old cotton around the place of attachment in order that the post shall not gall the sheet. [114] But though I have lived among vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar over extremely long periods of the hot season I have seen such primitive T-shaped posts only once. As already stated T-shaped posts seem to be advantageous also during heavy showers of rain as the water quickly runs off the sheet. However, I have never seen vassal Tuareg use simple T-shaped posts in case of heavy rainfall, for they content themselves with holding a stick or pole against the sheet as long as rain falls. Primitive T-shaped posts like those just described from Ahaggar and consisting of a simple post at the top of which a short horizontal stick is attached, seem to be a mere imitation of the true T-shaped posts. However, there is another and very interesting type of T-shaped post, which I describe below under the two headings:—

[361] B.2.g.7. This tent I saw in a camp of *Iregenaten* Tuareg not far from I-n-abanrerit in the Tamesna Plains. The tent had two pairs of forked sticks (*tigeffewin*) each pair carrying a horizontal cross-bar (*aregâraga*). These forked sticks with their cross-bars were about 0.70 m high. While these sticks were buried in the ground there was between their two cross-bars a central forked post (*aget*) about 1.20 metres high. In its prong it carried a most unusual cross-bar called *tamankayt*. This consisted of a wooden frame 1.44 m long and 0.72 m broad made from three long sticks attached to three short ones the middle one of which was particularly heavy and rested in the prong of the central post (cf. Fig. 283). The short sticks were parallel to the two outer cross-bars and at right angles to the longitudinal direction. In other words, the length of this cross-bar frame followed the longitudinal direction of the tent, but in spite of this we can speak of a cross-bar placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction, as one of the short sticks of the frame rests upon the central post. The frame-like cross-bar was not fastened to the outer cross-bars with cords, and the central post was not buried in the ground.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



634 vassals was given to the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) and not to the *temaẓlayt* master. However, should
565 a vassal Tuareg have borrowed for raiding a riding camel from his *temaẓlayt* master or another noble
571 Tuareg, they received a tribute also known as *abellaḡ*, comprising half of the booty remaining when
613 one half had been given to the *Amenukal*.
721

The noble Tuareg possessed many advantages over their individual vassals. They could apparently
565 claim almost what they wanted for their subsistence, and frequently camped close to their vassals
571 who then were obliged to feed them, and when in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take such animals from their vassals (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). Similar information is given by Benhazera, but he states that the vassals in the past would not necessarily supply everything demanded by their noble lords (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The vassals were under a particular obligation to provide the noble Tuareg with goat-breeding products, and if they had milk yielding she-camels the noble Tuareg could claim these animals until milk-yielding stopped. But the vassals had also many advantages from the *temaẓlayt* relationships. They were not only protected by their lords. The noble Tuareg would leave behind the animals they could not take with them when roaming in the desert, and noble Tuareg never had much livestock with them in their camps. It was also of great importance to the vassals that they could use their masters camels for caravan trading. On the whole the system was not exclusively the exploitation of vassals by the noble Tuareg, and it can be added that the vassal Tuareg were always more numerous than the noble Tuareg, that the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) was elected by the vassals, and that he alone had judicial rights. The system was one of give and take to both classes involved, and there can be little doubt that it was well adapted to practical ecological conditions.

233 In Ahaggar, camels and goats are very complementary to each other. The camel supplies the Tuareg
433 with milk, but with very few other products, and the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-
[234] camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important
[262] as food, but it is not well-fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg kill camels to
[281] utilize their meat only when many people congregate, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, for tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the
[437] camels have little direct economic value. But for raiding in the past, camels were very valuable riding animals, and were then, as now, extremely important for caravan trading which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic rôle of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive
[234] part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese
[262] which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore, goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

Wood furnishes containers for food, drinking vessels, milking vessels, mortars, pestles, tent stakes, crosspieces and boards for making saddles. The Ahaggar does not have more than five or six species of woods which can be worked, and the articles, very simply shaped, are much less varied than in the Sudanese tribes. 322

All Ahaggar women, noble or vassal, know how to tan, remove hair from, sew, decorate, and embroider leather. They are able to make a waterskin needed to carry water, prepare skins to make tents, and manufacture bags for transporting food and personal objects. They have all become so expert in these labors that it is 281 462

Fig. 47. Amoula, a little wooden "bottle" for young children to drink from. [415 862]

difficult to find any other peoples in the world who possess such a developed leather craft.

The scarcity of vegetable materials in the Ahaggar is one of the reasons why the use of esparto is relatively restricted. Only the stems of a graminacea common in the wadies (Panicum turgidum) are used to make mats -- large enclosing mats which surround the tent, sleeping mats, mats for covering plates. [137] 285 [824]

/278/ The stems are bound by little leather thongs, and the combination of graminacea and leather is extremely effective; it allows very regular geometric decorations at the same time as a very solid work. [283] [531]

There are no esparto vans among the Tuareg. The women use palm-leaf vans and hats, but these articles are the work of the Harratin from the little palm groves of Silet, Ideles, and Abalessa. 291 416 438

283 Spinning is done by all Tuareg women. They spin the hair of the
462 goat, the camel, and the wild sheep, making very solid cords and saddle girths.

286 Weaving is limited to the making of goat's-hair, or more rarely camel's-hair, bags. This is a very primitive technique which does not require any loom and which is, furthermore, in the process of disappearing from the Ahaggar, where only a few noblewomen still practice it. It is completely extinct in Sudanese tribes.

324 Stonework, a relic of Neolithism, was still carried on in the Ahaggar
438 a few years ago to make arm rings. Layers of granitoid schists were formerly worked
[415 at Aseksem and Terahart in the Tăfedest. We also found
322] an ancient workshop south of Silet on the banks of the Tamanrasset wadi. Today all stone bracelets come from Aïr and a few from Hombori, where they are manufactured by Tuareg or Hausa artisans.

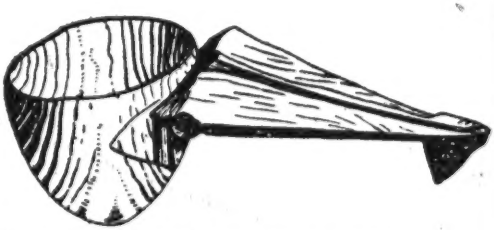

Fig. 48. Tabarekkat wooden ladle, also serving as a drinking vessel.

326 Metalworking is exclusively in the hands of the Enaden, who transform
[564 silver, copper, and iron. These materials, with the exception of iron, do not exist in a native, workable state in the Ahaggar. But although iron
[135 ore is common /279/ in some volcanic rocks of their country, the Tuareg do not have it exploited, for it is found in such small particles that it necessitates a disproportionate amount of forge work for the quantity likely to be recovered. Nevertheless, the memory of casting ore still remains among the Enaden. They use several forges at once, but do not know
[439 the blast furnace. The caravaneers coming from the north or from the Sudan used to bring metals.

117 At the present time silver comes from coins which are melted. For
326 years the Tuareg have had Maria Theresa dollars at their disposal; these

They use camel hair to make rope. They are fond of 237 283 camel meat, and it is they who supply the markets of the 262 439 Tidikelt with it.

There are very few cattle in the Ahaggar, barely thirty, 233 and almost all these belong to Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane, 492 of Tazerouk. They are used to draw water from the wells [312] into the ar'erems. The pasture is scanty, and besides the cattle easily wear out their hooves on the rocks and stones.

In the Koudia, because of the cold which prevails there 233 and the high altitude, there are many small turrets of dry 343 stones, /65/ empty inside, in which the Tuareg confine lambs and kids at night to shelter them from the cold.

The Ahaggar do not have a large number of meharis, and 233 they do not like to sell them, especially the good ones. Among [435] themselves, to set the value of a mehari, they say, "Such a mehari is worth two, three, or four camels." All their meharis are trained to start at a gallop. The Tuareg has great patience with the training of his mehari and never mistreats it. He confines himself to persuading it by voice and foot, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Tuareg mehari is much more silent than the Arab mehari.

The foundation of the pastures of the Ahaggar is aremmas 137 (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae). This plant is quite laxative. 233 So when the year is bad and drought prevails, the Ahaggar are found emigrating toward the Adhar'. There are fine pastures of "had" (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolaceae) in the south of Tin R'arhou, but there is no water. Moussa ag Amastane /66/ [312 intends to have wells dug there and has requested our help and 648] advice for this purpose.

As a rule the Tuareg let their camels out to pasture with- 233 out herders, and they find them again at the well or by track- ing, unless they entrust the herding to children or negroes.

/67/ A young camel is called "abal" without designating 192 its age. A camel in general is called "amadjour," plural 233 "imoudjar," or else "amiss," plural "imnass." A female is

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food. 233 511 [492] [439]

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like. [234] [262] [281] [291] [283]

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temażlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. [422] [565] [114] 565 651 [421] [431]

233 /83 cont. / The Ahaggar goat (a goat: "tirsi"; plural: "oulli") is small, lively, a good walker. It has long black hair, but crossing it with Sudanese goats gives offspring with black and white coats. Milk production is very variable according to the seasons and the abundance and quality of the pastures. A very good milch goat may produce nearly two liters of milk per day, a month after having given birth. The average production is about one liter a day for the two milkings. Goat's milk furnishes butter, "oudi amellen," which is cooked to preserve it: "oudi"; it also is made into the different cheeses (let us recall that camel's milk is used only for drinking).

It is estimated that there are about 20, 000 goats in the Ahaggar, although there may be more. The Tuareg keep one male for about 50 females. The Ahaggar goat bears one [262] kid, sometime two, but very rarely. The male kids are always eaten young; they constitute the bulk of meat consumption by the Tuareg.

[283] Goat hair is used to make ropes of all sorts, and we shall see how the hide is used in making all of the Tuareg furniture.

Sheep raising is very limited; the number of head would hardly come to a tenth of the caprine livestock, and most of the sheep are found in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

The sheep raised in the Ahaggar is a native of the Sudan; long legged, it has no wool but long stiff hairs, generally fawn colored. Its meat is excellent. It is a robust animal, a good walker, but according to the Tuareg does not bear up well during the dry years in the Ahaggar, the pastures not being sufficiently nourishing. This sheep /84/ accomplishes considerable feats; the Tuareg drive flocks from the Adrar des Iforas to the markets of the Tidikelt and the A'ir in the Ahaggar. These migrations are carried out, of course, in the winter, but the regs crossed are truly poor in water points, and the pastures are sufficiently rare to make these journeys a remarkable exploit.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



younger animals which yield more milk. Again, the meat of very old goats is of inferior quality. Much goat-meat derives from he-goats of which a very limited number is needed for mating. Some Tuareg claim that one he-goat is able to cover about a hundred goats, but as a rule I doubt whether it would be called upon to do so. In any event, too many he-goats are brought forth, and even very young male kids are frequently killed and eaten as there will be more milk for the nomads when such animals do not have to be suckled. It is considered ideal that male kids which are not needed for reproduction, and which are not killed at very early age, should be castrated at the time when weaning takes place, but even old he-goats may be castrated to make them fat for slaughtering. 233* [262]

Though meat is not a stable dish of the Tuareg they have to kill a certain number of goats every year to obtain skin for the manufacture of various domestic utensils. The roaming life in the desert necessitates a great many containers for water, butter, milk, grain, dates, and the like, and bags made from goat-skin are appropriate for this purpose. Indeed, goat-skin is so important to Tuareg craft that in speaking of the manufacture of most domestic articles one can hardly avoid mentioning the word "goat". Thus, my fairly large collection of ethnographic specimens from the Ahaggar Tuareg contains about fifty different objects made entirely or mainly of goat-skin, which is also used for the manufacture of tents among the Northern Tuareg. Even nowadays, a few articles of dress are made from goat-skin, and goat-skin was in general use for this purpose in the past (cf. p. 287 ff.). 237 [415] [126] [342] [291]

Goat-hair is extremely useful to the Northern Tuareg. The hair is cut once a year in the hot season when the animals do not suffer from cold (cf. Fig. 98). It is spun into strong cords used for tethering animals, for tying up caravan loads, for reins, and the like. In certain tribes of Ahaggar it is also used for a very primitive kind of weaving (cf. p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b). [283] [286]

To understand the economic role of goat-breeding one must briefly touch on the question of size of flocks. Statistics concerning the ownership of livestock must always be regarded with much suspicion, as it is extremely difficult to obtain data. It is not only most impolite to ask Tuareg about the size of 233* 128

233*

Fig. 20. A kid with the stick (*akara, asefres*) pierced through the mouth as described in the text. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terwit* tribe.

yield decreases to about two litres (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 104). It should be added that, as for other domestic animals, the daily yield of milk depends very much on the conditions of pastures, and cows always yield little milk when pastures are dry – even at the beginning of their lactation period. 234

Bulls are frequently castrated two or three years old to be used for riding and transportation. Oxen are used for this purpose particularly among the Tuareg of the plains towards the south and west, while most pastoralists of the Massif almost exclusively use donkeys and camels. Oxen are ridden without a saddle. The rider sits on the back of the animal which is covered with a blanket or a piece of cotton as in Ahaggar. The animals have a cord (*asabar*) placed through their nostrils, but plaited halters (*amerar*) are also used for riding oxen. 492 [232] [184]

The Tuareg have terms to cover the age and sex of their cattle, and they also have a certain number of colour terms; but they say that there are very few colour terms for cattle (about ten terms according to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group). They explain this lack of colour terms by the fact that cattle did not play any important rôle to their subsistence in the past. Cattle do not respond to their names, but some of them will come to the camp on the utterance of a certain cry (cf. p. 135). 233* 192 [433] 178

233* [283]

Fig. 31. Zebu calf with a pronged stick (*tabellat*) put through its nostrils to prevent sucking. Ayr, the *Isakaronan* tribe.
Fig. 32. Muzzle (*akimbab*) to wean zebu calves. The muzzle is made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*) which form a frame covered with cords of *tamat* bast and with cotton strips. It is fastened to the head of a calf with a piece of cord plaited of goat's hair, and the attachment is done in such a way that the calf can graze without difficulty though it cannot suck. Tamesna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Ireğenaten* tribe. Dimension: 0.17–0.19 m high. (N. M. G. 6661). [824]

233*
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Fig. 39. A very young camel calf tethered in the camp by means of the *témdit* rope depicted below (Fig. 40). Tamesna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Ireqnaten* tribe.

she-camels which are difficult to milk because they will not allow the calf to suck. The method has been described to me by Tuareg of Ayr. It is named *arazak* and is as follows:— Fresh camel-dung is put into the nostrils of the mother-camel, and its nose is thereupon pierced at three places with an awl a hole being made in each nostril and one hole between them. A cord of dum palm leaf is thereupon drawn through these three holes so that the nostrils are firmly closed, and the animal can consequently breathe only through the mouth. It is said that a she-camel which has carried this bandage for one day will be fond of its calf and will allow it to suck so that milking can be done. 234 [412]

Milking of she-camels is usually done twice a day, early in the morning and very late in the evening. In Ayr certain Tuareg milk their she-camels several times during the day, as the animals generally graze close to the camp and frequently come to the tents to see their calves. Milking between the two proper milking times may also be done with other domestic animals in Ayr if milk is needed for some purpose or other during the day, but it is practised particularly with she-camels, as milk gathers in the udder of these animals very quickly after milking.

Milking of she-camels is done by two men standing at the sides of the she-camel and leaning their heads against the animal (Fig. 36). One of the men holds the large wooden milk-bowl *akabar* (Figs. 37-38) [462] [415]

[text continues on p. 61]

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Fig. 40. The *témdit* rope for tethering small camel calves. The rope is plaited from leaves of the dum palm *sagayt* (*Hyphaene thebaica*) and falls into two parts: The short rope to be noosed around the calf's one foreleg and known as *teserrefut* is fastened to the long rope (*témdit*) which has a loop for the tethering peg. The whole system is known as *témdit*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: ca. 1.09 m long. (N. M. G. 6660).

37–38) and milks only with one hand, but the milk-bowl may also be held by a woman or a boy so that both milkers have two hands free. If men are absent from the camp, milking may be done by women though properly this is the task of grown men. Certain she-camels are very difficult to milk so that milking should be done as quickly as possible. If a she-camel is very restless and therefore difficult to milk it is customary to bend up its right foreleg and attach it in this bent position to its left foreleg before milking is done. This method is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the term *ésemmetil* (cf. Fig. 35). 234 [462]

The Tuareg have various devices to prevent camel calves from drinking more than their proper share of milk. In Ayr and also among the Ahaggar Tuareg of the Tamesna region it is common to keep the young calves tethered by means of a particular cord (*témdit*) fastened to the calf's forelegs (Fig. 39–40). The calf is not allowed to follow its mother during grazing, and in the night when all she-camels rest in the camp they are kept lying on the ground so that the calves cannot suck them. When young calves are tethered in the camp they are fed on fresh annual plants collected for them by the Tuareg. When calves grow older and plant food constitutes their most important nourishment, 233* [224]

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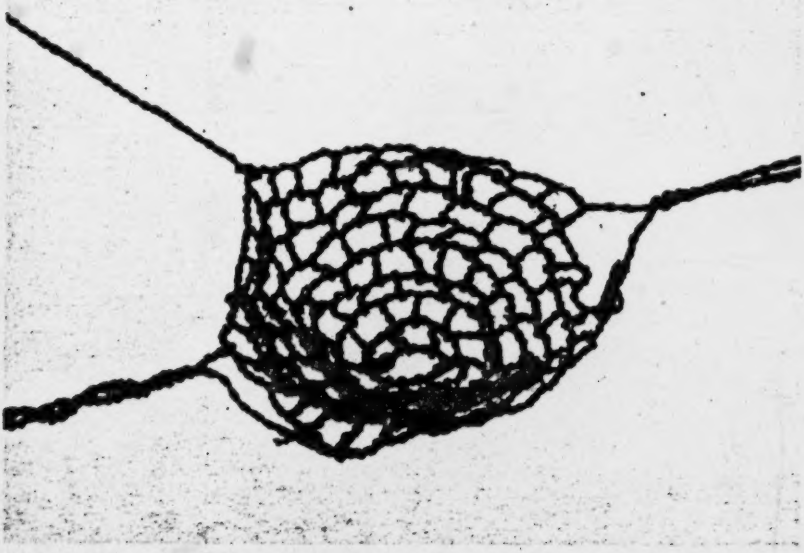

Fig. 41. Plaited pouch (*abegu*) to prevent the sucking of camel calves. It is made of goat's hair, and it has three cords for attachment to the hind part of the she-camel so that the pouch covers the udder. Ahaggar, the *Agub-en-tehld* tribe. Dimension of the three cords: 1.19, 1.05, and 0.97 m. (N.M. G. 5198).

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Fig. 42. She-camel provided with the plaited pouch (*abegu*) which covers its udder. The pouch is attached as follows:— A cord is tied around the body in front of the animal's hump while another cord runs along the back at both sides of the hump to pass under the tail. The three cords which form part of the po[illegible] tied to the tail cord in front of the hind thighs and at the tail. To mil[illegible] camel carrying a pouch around its udder the hind pouch-cord fastened at the [illegible]mal's tail is untied. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

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*233 they are hobbled by means of a cord (*téffart*) attached around their forelegs (p. 72, Fig. 45b–e) and
[284] are kept away from the mother animals during grazing in day-time. In Ahaggar as well as elsewhere in Northern Tuareg country suckling of calves are normally regulated by another method, namely a plaited pouch (*abegu*) which covers the udder of the mother camel, and the calf can thus be allowed to graze freely together with its mother (Fig. 41–42). This device is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr as *ébeyembey*, but though they know it by name they do not use it. They say, however, that it is in use among the *Kel Ewey* of the Ayr Massif.

The plaited pouch just described also serves as a means of weaning half-grown calves, but there are other weaning methods, namely the following:— (1) *ikembar*, that is cuttings on the bridge of the nose as described above for cow calves (p. 51). In addition to these cuttings, the scars of which form small bumps, it is common to cut the calf also under the chin, the visible result of such a cut being a hanging patch of skin. This method is known both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, and it is, I believe, nowadays carried out mainly for aesthetic reasons as the bumps and the hanging patch of skin adds, in Tuareg opinion, to the beauty of riding camels (Fig. 43). In fact, the cut made under the chin does not seem to hurt a sucking calf, and this cut is not made on cow calves (cf. Fig. 30). – (2) A method
[114] which is described by Cauvet from the oasis of In Salah may perhaps also be known to the Northern Tuareg though I have not recorded it. It consists of a thorn put into a patch of skin cut loose on the

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Fig. 45a–e. Hobble-ropes for camels.

a. The *aayun* rope to be tied around the foreleg of a camel to keep it lying down. This rope is made of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the stick 0.128 m (N.M. G. 5195).

b. Hobble-rope (*téffart*) made of dum palm leaves. Ayr, *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. Dimension: 0.43 m. (doubled). (N.M. G. 6609).

c. Hobble-rope (*téffart*) made of raw ox-hide. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 1.03 m. (N.M. G. 5196).

d. Hobble-rope (*téffart*) newly-made of date palm bast. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.60 m. (doubled). (N. M. G. 5197).

e. Hobble-rope (*téffart*) made of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 1.16 m. (N.M. G. 5194).

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Fig. 46. A resting she-camel with the colour name *tawinaḳ*. The colour term of the young she-camel standing in the back-ground is *ténilt*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

In Ayr the Tuareg do not 237
use camel's hide in their crafts, but give it to the blacksmiths who use it for lashing, or to people 564
who manufacture beds from ribs of palm leaves (cf. Fig. 257). The Northern Tuareg use camel-skin 352
for the manufacture of a few household implements and also use it for lashing (cf. p. 84, 110, 222, 824
270 f. & Figs. 70, 86, 132a–b, 161a–d, 162, 213). But even in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer the skin of camels is little used compared with the skin of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep.

When employed in craft, camel's hide is normally used raw and unprepared after soaking in water, 281
but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that for certain purposes the hide is treated with salt. In literature there 114
are many statements about the tanning of camel's hide. Thus it is stated by Cauvet that the hide is tanned with plant material in Algeria, and Cauvet also quotes Duveyrier's statement that the Northern Tuareg tan camel's hide to use it for tents and various other implements (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 714 ff.). I very much doubt the correctness of this, as all Tuareg asked about it have stated that the hide of camels is not fitted for proper tanning. Camel's hide is therefore of very limited use to the Tuareg, and the same is the case with camel's hair or wool. Tuareg camels in Ayr have very little wool, and 237
among the Northern Tuareg most animals have less wool than Arab camels of the Northern Sahara. The Northern Tuareg pluck a little wool with the hands or cut it off with a knife. It is spun into cords 283
to be used for certain minor objects, notably for the manufacture of the plaited pouch (*abegu*) to prevent the suckling of calves (p. 62, Fig. 41) and for the particular cord (*asaṛun*) tied around the foreleg of camels to keep them in a reclining position (p. 72, Fig. 45a). Mixed with goat's hair the wool is 286
also used for a kind of primitive weaving (p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

Camels are very important to the Tuareg as pack-animals for the caravan expeditions which will 492*
be mentioned in a later chapter when other means of subsistence have been described. 484

In the past camels were also extremely valuable as riding animals on raiding expeditions which 492*
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Fig. 47. The *akala* rope noosed around the lower jaw of a pack-camel and prevented from loosening by the insertion of a small stick. Ayr, *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg.

*492 721 played an important part for all Tuareg. Raiding expeditions were carried out to gain all kinds of booty, but camels were the main objective, and it was difficult to carry off other kinds of domestic animals over long distances. Thus camels were the main cause of raiding and also the means by which 721 raiding expeditions were carried out. In Ahaggar large scale raiding stopped long ago with the advent 175 of the French at the beginning of our century, though it recovered again during the revolt of 1916–17. This was also true of Ayr, but it seems as if raiding in and around this Massif continued still later (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 187 ff. & Buchanan 1921, p. 209 ff.). Nowadays raiding has ceased everywhere 685 among the Tuareg, but theft of camels has been on the increase in the south. There are many camel thieves among the Ayr Tuareg, for it is very easy to steal grazing camels during the night and to lead them to some distant market and sell them. The Tuareg claim that in pre-European times there were [640] hardly any camel thieves in Ayr as such persons were punished very severely. They say that the theft of camels became normal with the French who have great difficulty in proving the guilt of thieves.

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Fig. 48. Young camel with a halter (*amerrar*) made from a rope of goat's hair. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terwit* tribe.

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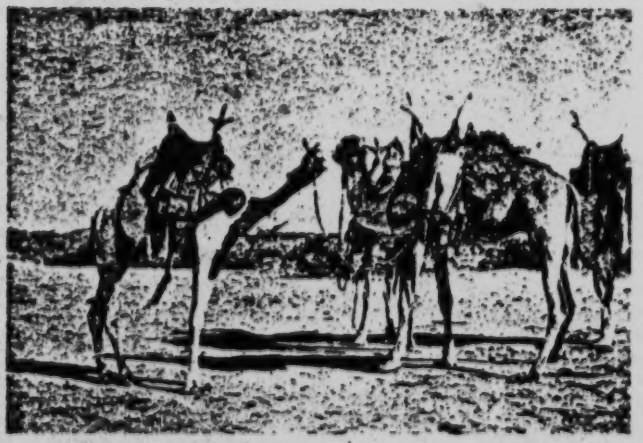

Fig. 49. Riding camels in Ahaggar.

*233 *492 should be remembered that she-camels possess less endurance than bull-camels and geldings on very long journeys.

*233 She-camels and the few bull-camels which are reserved for breeding graze free and unhobbled; pack and riding animals are hobbled with a short rope between their forelegs during grazing. Both in Ayr and among the Northern Tuareg this hobble-rope is known as *teffart* (Fig. 45b–e). In Ayr it is generally [137] rather short because pasture is rich in the valleys where camels are also difficult to find because of the dense vegetation and because the animals frequently leave no trace. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg, vegetation is on the whole more scattered and camels have to wander more freely to find suitable fodder. The Northern Tuareg therefore in general use a somewhat longer hobble-rope, and they find their animals again without much difficulty because of the open country and because the camels leave foot-prints which differ from one animal to the other. When the camels are out of sight they are easily traced by the Tuareg who know their foot-prints. The Ayr Tuareg make their hobble- [283] ropes from dum palm leaves twisted together, while Northern Tuareg use bast of the date palm trees, which latter material is considered the better for hobble-ropes. If hobbled camels are left to themselves for longer periods the Northern Tuareg also use ropes made of goat's hair or ox hide as such ropes do not so easily break (cf. Fig. 45c, e).

[171] Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara do not always let their camels graze during night but frequently keep them lying in front of the tent after darkness; the animals are then tied around one of their forelegs by means of a short rope provided with a small stick. The same device (*asarun*) is also known to the Northern Tuareg (p. 67, Fig. 45a), but it is unknown to the Ayr Tuareg who use for this purpose a short rope (*arenfud*) without a stick and made from twisted dum palm leaves. The Tuareg may keep camels in the camp during night and then tie one of their forelegs with the ropes mentioned. This is done with she-camels which rest close to their calves at night time, and in Ayr also with most camels during the short period of the year (*akasa* and the beginning of *rarat*) when dew falls heavily upon annual pasture, for camels may contract stomach diseases from eating wet annual plants. In Ahaggar I have noted that camels are attached in the way mentioned and kept in camp during the night in order that they might not eat noxious plants growing close to the tents (cf. p. 124). However, camels normally graze during the night and do not sleep much. On the very long trading expeditions they eat almost exclusively through a few hours of the night. When a camel sleeps it stretches out its long neck in a slightly curved position and its head rests upon the chin (cf. Fig. 46). It sleeps very lightly, and the Ahaggar Tuareg say that a boy who is able to creep under the neck of a sleeping camel and not awake it will never loose his way in the desert.

*492 Pack-camels of a Tuareg caravan walk one behind the other in a long line. Every pack-camel is provided with a rope noosed around its lower jaw, the loop being prevented from loosening by the insertion of a small stick (Fig. 47). This rope is known as *akalu* to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who use ropes [283] made from twisted pieces of date palm bast, while the Ayr Tuareg make similar ropes from dum palm leaves. The loose end of the *akalu* rope is attached to the pack-camel walking in front, fastened either to its luggage or, more frequently, to its neck around which camels of a caravan carry their hobble ropes.

*233 *492 True halters made from goat's hair or from palm material are used mainly for young untrained

*492 fixed with a rope running under the tail and/or a rope around the camel's chest. The *elaki*-saddle is
[164] unknown to the Ayr Tuareg, but I have seen it in use among Arab traders living at Iferwan of Northern
171 Ayr. It is by far the most common type of pack-saddle in both groups of Northern Tuareg.

Another type of pack-saddle named *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* corresponds to the *berej* saddle of the Arabs. It is used occasionally by the Northern Tuareg, but I have only seen it among the *Kel Aijer*. The saddle-frame is made from date palm ribs and consists of two cross-bars connected with each other by two crossed sticks at both sides. One of the cross-bars rests in front of the animal's hump, the other behind. The frame is lashed together by means of strips of raw camel-hide and is fastened to
[283] two pads of palm bast as can be seen from the photograph Fig. 57. As far as I know this saddle-type,
[563] like the type above-mentioned, is manufactured by palm-growing agriculturists of the oases. This saddle type seems to be unknown among the Ayr Tuareg.

The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is known to them as *aruki*. It consists of one
[285] wooden arch lashed to two flat boards (Fig. 58). These two sideboards are attached to two pads made from hay stuffed into tubular pieces of dum palm matting. The two pads or mat cylinders are fitted on each side of the camel so that the wooden arch rests in front of the hump. But there is also a rear pad consisting of a stuffed-skin-bag laid over the camel's back behind the hump and attached to the wooden arch by means of cords. The loading cords bear on this stuffed skin-bag and on the mat-
[564] cylinders in front of the wooden arch. The wooden arch is manufactured by blacksmiths, while the side pads and rear pad are made by the Tuareg. The saddle is not generally fixed to the camel by means of girths or cords. The place of origin for this saddle-type seems to be Ayr. It is used also among the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, and it seems as if related saddle-types occur elsewhere in the south (cf. p. 311).

*492 Transportation bags of various types are used for camel loads, but the very large bags woven from
415 a mixture of goat's hair and camel's wool so typical of northern Arab pastoralists are not in current use among the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Aijer*, and are entirely unknown to the Tuareg of Ayr. The
[563] Northern Tuareg generally use bags made from the skin of barbary sheep, or bags made from date palm bast by the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. Fig. 59). In Ayr the Tuareg normally use transportation bags of plaited dum palm leaves.

The ideal load of a camel consists of two bags forming a total weight of up to 200 kgs for a very strong animal. The two bags, which together form one load, are each provided with two short loading loops. They are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *elrerwet* when bags are woven, as *tadekmert* when the bags are of skin. The loading is done as follows:— The two bags are lifted up and supported against the sides of the recumbent pack-camel by two men who put the loops of one bag into those of the other and insert between them two little sticks, known in the north as *tihdad* (sing. *tehedit*). To unload the camel all one has to do is to pull out the two small sticks inserted between the loops,
[171] and the two bags fall to the ground. This same system is also used in Ayr, and, I believe, among all camel-breeders of North Africa. - To secure the load in a fixed position it is very common to surround its two halves with a rope (*akhawit* in Ahaggar), which is laid over the saddle-frame before loading and another rope around the luggage and the belly of the pack-camel is also used if considered necessary.

*492 When camels are taken to the camp from pasture, they are sometimes mounted without a saddle

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*492 that it is manufactured by pastoral Tuareg of these regions and not by blacksmiths, though the latter
[564] may also make such saddles for their own use. The wooden structure is made of two cross-bars, which
[412] are natural prongs fashioned with knife and axe, and these two cross-bars are lashed to each other
at their lower ends, or are connected with each other by means of two sticks crossing each other at
[824] the two sides. A wreath of slender roots of *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) covered with a network of dum
● [283] palm rope may serve as a saddle seat, which can also be covered with a piece of matting plaited from
[285] the leaves of the dum palm tree. This very simple saddle may perhaps be considered the prototype of
the more developed riding saddles of the *térik* and *tahyast* types.

All the above-mentioned types of riding saddles are placed in front of the camel's hump and rest upon two to four saddle cloths, the number depending upon their quality and also upon the nutritional condition of the animal. Two saddle-cloths are considered enough for a fat camel while four should be applied to a very thin one. Saddle cloths are frequently called *ésatfar* (Ayr) or *asetfer* (Ahaggar), but this name is in fact used for everything placed upon the back of an animal to protect it against galling from [redacted]/or the saddle. Saddle cloths for camels are properly termed *éselis* (Ayr) and *ameslak* (Ahaggar). Both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr saddle cloths are generally
[286] made of cotton, but they are also made from dum palm matting and a piece of leather among the Ayr Tuareg (Figs. 66–67). The riding saddles are fixed to the camel by a single girth known as *ahayif*
[237] (Ahaggar) or *azaw* (Ayr). In the north such girths are normally made from goat-hair while the Ayr Tuareg use plaited leather (goat-skin). Girths in both regions are frequently furnished with a very
[541] large tassel hanging down from the right side of the camel (Fig. 69). On rare occasions when the Tuareg
[648] ride their camels with all possible speed, e.g., at the annual camel races organized by the French administration, the riders often secure the position of their saddles by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren* among the Northern Tuareg) tied around the hind part of the camel as shown by the photograph Fig. 68.

The camel rider sits in the saddle cross-leged with his feet resting upon the camel's neck. To accelerate the speed of his riding animal he pushes one of his feet against its neck in step with the rocking gait
*492 peculiar to camels. A whip (*alekkaf*) also belongs to the equipment of the rider. Most whips have a
237 single lash made from a twisted strip of hide, but whips provided with two lashes of hide attached to a wooden handle are also found and are common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Figs. 70a–b). The whips used in the north are said to be made from camel's hide soaked in water; the raw hide is twisted and kept in this position until it is dry. The Ayr Tuareg say that camel's hide is not well fitted for whips, which among them are manufactured from the raw hide of a newly-killed ox. A piece of this hide is twisted and left to dry as in the north. The handle of the one-lash whip is made of cotton wrapped around the upper part of the lash and covered with coloured goat-skin.

*492 The Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular implement to hasten the speed of riding camels. It is described in literature notably by Foucauld. It consists of a slender iron rod 0.35–0.50 metres long, fixed into a wooden handle. It has a small crook much like that of a staple and is used for scratching the animal and thus to incite it to greater speed. It is called *azulu*, or *asekref* (Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 856 & IV, p. 1960). I have never seen this peculiar implement among the Tuareg.

*492 A camel rider's equipment comprises various types of skin bags of which the most common is a
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Fig. 63b. cf. Fig. 63a.

*492 4/5 huge saddle bag known as *eljebira*, manufactured exclusively by the sedentary people of Agadez, the *Imeggedezen* (Fig. 72a). Other bags are often used by riders and some of them will be mentioned in the description of skin and leather work.

[283] An important part of the rider's equipment is the drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from metal and attached to the saddle pommel with a plaited leather cord (*témeirek*); it is particularly common *492 among the Northern Tuareg (Fig. 71). The Tuareg also possess a great many objects which serve [531] exclusively as ornaments for riding camels. The Northern Tuareg adorn their animals with a collar (*tahawt*) made from fine cords of goat's hair, while the Ayr Tuareg use another type of collar called

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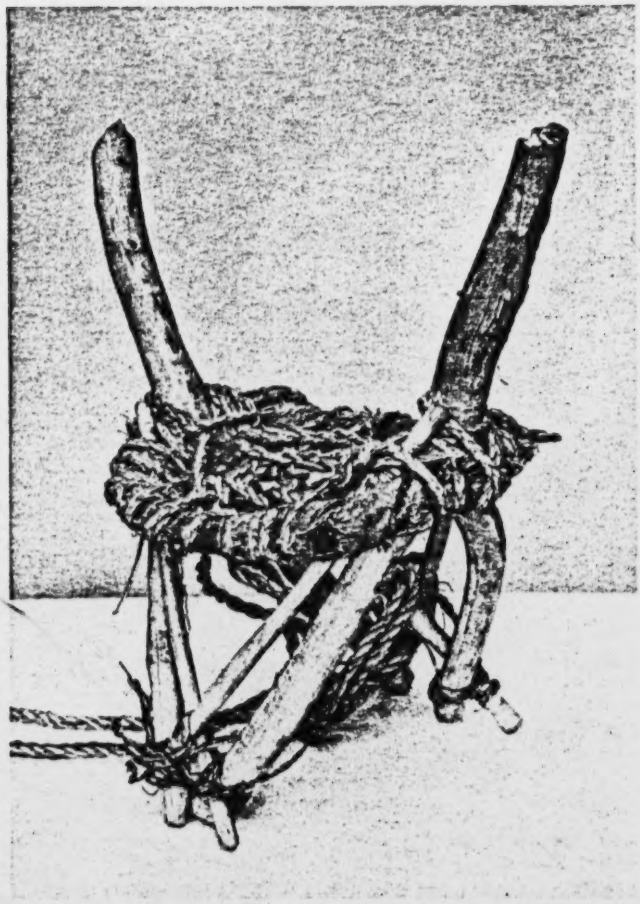

Fig. 64. Riding saddle of the type known as *kontorki* or *delobi*. It is made of two forked boughs of *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*) connected with sticks and the seat. The latter is made of slender roots (sing. *idkéwi*) of the afagag *acacia* (*Acacia Raddiana*). These slender roots are bent into a circle, are covered with cotton or similar material, and a kind of net is made of dum palm rope within the circle. Ayr, *Imeggedezen*. Dimension: 0.49 m high. (N.M. G. 6656).

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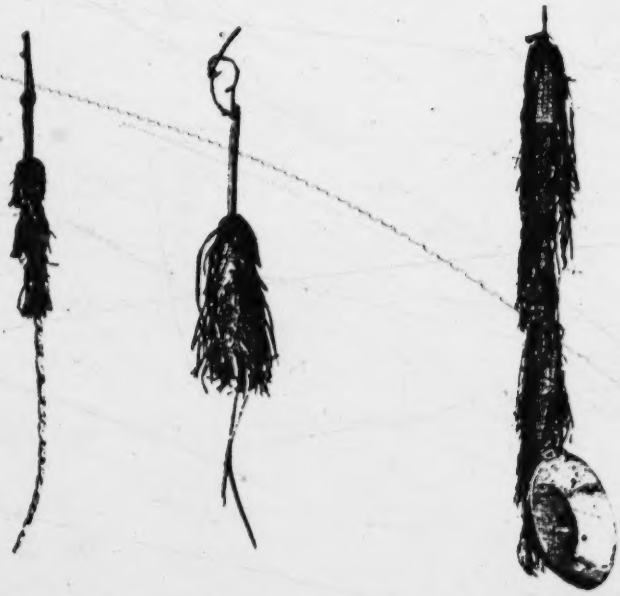

Fig. 70a–b. Tuareg camel whips (*alekkoḍ*, pl. *ilekkoḍ*).

a. Whip with a single lash. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.08 m long. (M.N. G. 1.138).

b. Whip with two lashes. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Urayen* tribe. Dimension: 0.845 m long. (Author's collection).

Fig. 71. The drinking bowl (*tamennust*) made from tinned brass and fixed to its ornamented leather cord (*témetrek*) by means of which it is attached to the saddle pommel (cf. Fig. 49). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the bowl: 0.258 m in diameter (upper part). Dimension of the leather cord: 0.685 m long. (N. M. G. 5287).

*492 562 donkeys, but, as in the North, they sometimes mount the riding camels of men sitting across the animal behind the saddle.

*492 531 233 192 The Tuareg take a keen interest in the adornment of all objects used for riding camels. The richly decorated saddles and the ornaments of the riding gear express the particular value attached to the animals used for riding. But Tuareg interest in camels is perhaps more clearly understood, when we consider their rich camel vocabulary.

The Tuareg have one word which can be used for any camel regardless of its sex and age, its colour, and all other particular qualities. This word (*amaǧur*, pl. *imuǧar* in the northern dialect) does not seem to have its equivalents in vocabularies of other domestic animals which collectively are referred to by means of a sex term of adult animals (e.g., *ulli* = "goats"). The word *amaǧur* (pl. *imuǧar*) is used in conversation, but it is heard less frequently than camel terms which have a very definite meaning.

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Fig. 85. Tuareg breaking in a young newly-caught donkey. The donkey is prevented from escaping by means of hobble-ropes (*téffart* and *amahus*) and is also tethered to an acacia tree. Ahaggar, the *Aĝuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

231 262 237 [175] skin (Duveyrier 1864, p. 231). It is most possible that the taboo on donkey's meat and skin is due to Islam – meat of donkeys and horses is considered unlawful by the Ḳoran. Leo Africanus states that the nomads of the Sahara eat meat of donkeys which they catch in snares (Leo Africanus II, p. 944).

136 224 The wild donkeys, or asses, of Tuareg countries are very shy, and it is most impressive to watch a herd of some twenty animals galloping over the desert plains. Because of their shyness they are often hunted much in the same way as game animals. Among the Northern Tuareg they are caught in the spiked wheel-trap, are run down by men mounted on camels, or are driven into closed river valleys surrounded by steep rocky walls. In certain parts of Ayr wild donkeys can be caught in the same way – notably in valleys of Mount Tamgak (Northern Ayr) and around Anu Mekkeren (Central Ayr) – while the method of running down wild donkeys with riding camels is said not to be practised. Whether the so-called spiked wheel-trap is used for catching donkeys or not, I do not know, as the Ayr country is very extensive and inhabited by Tuareg of different origins. The Tuareg belonging to the *Kel Ferwan* group claimed that it was not used for donkeys or asses for which they have a kind of snare called *tuṛunt*, which is also the name used among them for the noosed rope connected with the spiked wheel-trap. [283] The snare used for donkeys is said to consist of a rope some twenty or thirty metres long and plaited from dum palm leaves. The rope is noosed at one end to be used as follows:— The loop is laid out where donkeys come to drink, the whole rope being covered with sand. The hunter lies hidden behind some natural object, a rock or tree, and when a donkey puts one of its legs within the loop he pulls the rope. [231] It is said that this method is also sometimes used for other domestic animals which have gone wild, as happens frequently with oxen. But it is never used for hunting proper game animals such as gazelle, antelope, and barbary sheep. To catch domestic animals which have gone 231 224

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wild the Ayr Tuareg also know another type of snare, or rather lasso, which is also known as *turam*. 231
It consists of a long rope noosed at one end, but the loop in this case is thrown against the animal 224
by means of a short forked stick. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that this type of lasso is not widely found [171]
among them, and claim it is typical of and traditional for the pastoral Fulani, who use it to catch cows which are difficult to approach.

The wild donkeys caught for domestication are young animals, for very old ones cannot be tamed. 231
When an animal is caught by one of the above mentioned methods it is beaten a heavy blow between the ears so that it falls unconscious to the ground. It is thereupon given a rope around its mouth, for wild donkeys are fierce and have a dangerous bite, and is also tied with ropes around its legs so that it cannot run. When the animal comes to after the blow it is led to the camp where it is tethered. It remains tethered and fitted with hobble-ropes in the camp for one or two months during which period it gets a very brutal treatment. It is trained for riding by the men who mount it daily during [492]* this period of training (cf. Fig. 85) until it can be ridden as freely as domestic donkeys. The Tuareg say that not all donkeys survive the heavy blow on the head but that most of them do.

Donkeys constitute the important riding animal of all vassal women, and there are also some men 492* of the true vassal class who ride donkeys though most of them have riding camels. Donkeys are also [562] extremely important pack-animals. They are used by most Tuareg for the transportation of tents and [565]

[283] ●

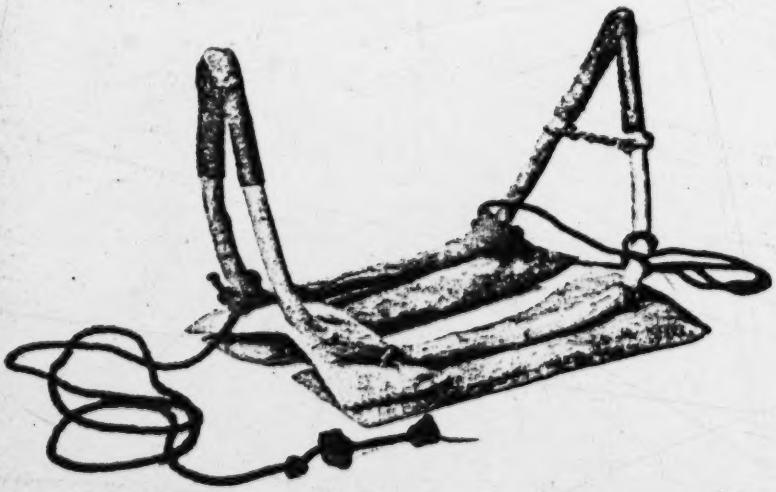

Fig. 86. Donkey saddle (*arwku*) of the type described in detail in the text (cf. p. 110). It is fixed to the animal by two cords of goat's hair: the girth (left), the cord passing under the tail (right). Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.585 m long, 0.360 broad. (N.M. G. 5246).

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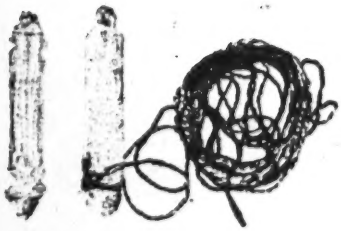

Fig. 92. Wooden splints (*tafasast*, pl. *tifesasin*) applied to broken legs of sheep and goats by means of a long thin cord of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Dog Rali* tribe. Dimensions of wooden splints: about 0.12 m. (F.M. 282).

232 (2) Operation with a knife. Such operations are often very simple. Thus I have once seen sheep with swollen throats and ears which were scratched with a knife to let out some water-like pus, but I do not know the name of this disease. The knife is used for many different operations some of which have been mentioned above. It is also used for bleeding which plays a great part in Tuareg veterinary [257] practise. Bleeding is applied to humans and to domestic animals as a treatment for various diseases. [253] The Tuareg may bleed individuals and animals bitten by snakes or stung by scorpions, but bleeding is used for many different diseases, as the Tuareg believe that these can be removed away with bad blood which is considered their cause. Bleeding is practised with camels. Thus in summer camels are frequently bled because they get slow and tired owing to *azni* (*ahni*), that is congestion due to heat-apoplexy, and a she-camel will normally be bled two or three hours after it has brought forth a calf. I frequently attended the bleeding of camels among the Ayr Tuareg where the method is as follows:— The camel is forced to stand upright while its head is turned downwards by a man (or a woman) who grasps the head firmly at the upper lip with one hand and pulls at a rope fixed to the animal's lower jaw with the other. A rope is tied around the camel's neck close to its chest so that the neck vein can contain as much blood as possible. The neck vein in this way will swell with blood particularly close to the animal's head at a place known to the Tuareg as *abayor*. A slice about two centimetres long is cut in this place with a small sharp knife, and immediately blood will flow from the neck vein in a thin but powerful squirt. Shortly after bleeding has started the rope tied around the animal's neck is loosened, but blood is allowed to flow for several minutes, and I believe that at least two or three litres of blood is tapped. When the operation is to end the animal's head is raised, the skin around the wound is pressed together with two fingers, and bleeding immediately ceases. Once blood has started to flow from the camel it does not protest at the operation which is illustrated by the photograph Fig. 93. When a camel has been bled it will normally rest for a few hours before it starts eating again. When Tuareg get lost in the desert and lack water, they bleed their camels and

# Hunting

For the pastoral Tuareg hunting is not an important occupation, and nowadays it is practised mainly by those few Tuareg who possess rifles or guns. Traditional hunting methods are thus of far less consequence than in the past, but some of them are very interesting and most significant for a historical analysis of Tuareg culture.

## AHAGGAR

Northern Tuareg areas are not very rich in game. In Ahaggar the main types of game are the gazelle (*ahenkof*, fem. *tahenkof*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) and the barbary sheep (*udad; Ammotragus lervia*). The big gazelle (*énir; Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amellul; Addax nasomaculatus*) are very rare; they are occasionally seen in the plains outside of the mountains. The ostrich (*anhél*; *Struthio camelus*) was very common in the past, but is now exterminated.

The small gazelle is rare and shy within the Ahaggar Massif, while fairly abundant and comparatively easy to hunt with a rifle in the northernmost massifs and their surrounding plains. Of seven camps visited in Ahnet 1954, gazelle hunting was engaged in by the members of two households, and I estimate that they killed one or two gazelles every week. In most camps of the Northern Tuareg there are no true gazelle hunters, and when a rare gazelle is killed its meat is easily eaten in one day by the members of a single household – in addition to three or four pounds of wheat-bread or millet-porridge. Gazelle skin is of little practical value to Tuareg craft. It is not generally used for the manufacture of important domestic articles such as water bags and containers for milk and butter, but it is suitable and much esteemed for certain types of decorated leather work and for fine leather cords, e.g., necklaces for amulet cases, reins for riding camels.

Barbary sheep are extremely shy, and they live mainly in inaccessible mountains. They are still fairly common in certain isolated parts of the mountains, but they were more numerous in the past when hunting was practised without rifles.

The Tuareg estimate that the amount of meat obtained from two gazelles corresponds to the meat of one grown goat, while a big barbary sheep provides as much meat as that of four goats. Meat of barbary sheep is better suited for drying than meat of other game animals, and the thick hide of these animals is valuable for the manufacture of tents and for large bags used for the conservation on journeys of dates, grain, flour, and the like. The horns of barbary sheep are used as butter containers (Fig. 165), and some Tuareg add the powder of crushed horns to butter before heating it (cf. p. 222). Barbary sheep are of greater economic value to the Ahaggar Tuareg than other types of game, and

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butter in Ahaggar, and butter reserved for greasing the hair is frequently kept in a large horn (*isek*) of barbary sheep (Fig. 165).

The Ayr Tuareg make butter (*wiji*) in much the same way as the Northern Tuareg. For churning they use a skin bag (*anwar*), or a calabash (*azenu*), and they say that they prefer skin bags in winter, and calabashes in the hot season. Butter is heated or boiled immediately after churning, but the Ayr Tuareg do not add parts of plants, date flour, or the like. In Ayr butter is not churned as regularly as in the north. It is used mainly for cooking meat of thin animals, for a sauce which may be used for millet porridge instead of milk (cf. p. 243 f.), and for greasing the hair. Among the Northern Tuareg butter is added to many different dishes and particularly to bread, which is eaten almost daily by many people. In years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg get their butter from Ayr (cf. p. 212, 215), and the Ayr Tuareg make much butter for export in such circumstances. They churn most butter from cow's

Fig. 154a–c.

a. Wooden funnel. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.146 m high. (N.M. G. 5203).
b. Funnel consisting of a piece of calabash which derives from the south. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.131 m high. (N.M. G. 5202).
c. Wooden funnel with a strap of cord of goat's hair. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, Olafsen's collection. Dimension: 0.175 m high. (N.M. G. 1.150).

All wooden funnels are cut from wood of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*).

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Fig. 161 a–d. Butter containers of the *tahattint* type made from camel's hide.

a. Provided with a leather stopper and a cord of goat's hair. Dimension: about 0.24 m high. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. (F.M. 113).

b. Made from camel's hide covered with goat-skin leather. The leather stopper is seen to the right. The handle consists of cords made from goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: about 0.30 m high. (F.M. 91).

c. Large container with four sticks inserted around the opening and a handle of rope made from goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ralt* tribe. Dimension: about 0.36 m high. (F.M. 253).

d. Large container with a wooden stopper. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.60 m high the stopper included. (N.M. G. 1.45).

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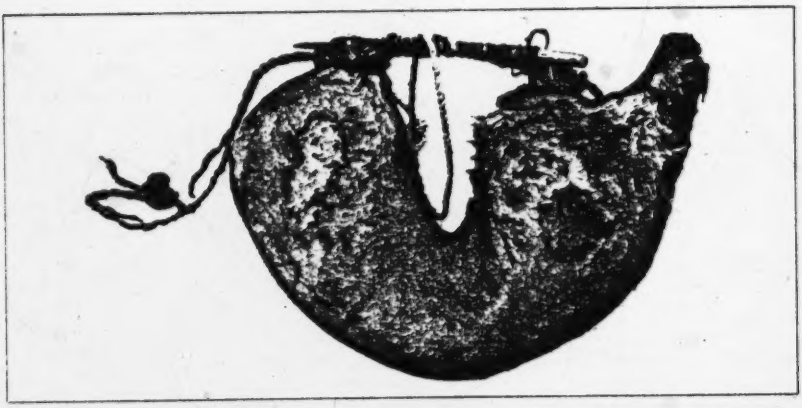

Fig. 162. Very large butter container (*arakko*) made from the neck-hide of a camel. It is provided with a wooden handle wound with hide and with cords made from goat's hair and bast of *abarg* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Similar containers are also used for the conservation of cereals. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.62 m long. (N.M. G. 5201).

Fig. 163a–b. Calabashes used for storing butter in Ahaggar but introduced from the south (Ayr).

a. Calabash (*azenu*) with a wooden stopper fastened to a leather strap and provided with a handle of cord made of goat's hair. The wooden stopper is called *azhay*. Ahaggar, the *Agab-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.620 m high. (N.M. G. 5206).

[484] b. Calabash (*azenur*) with a handle of white goat's hair. Used for transportation of butter on journeys. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.175 m high. (F.M. 252).

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Fig. 165. Horn (*isek*) of barbary sheep used for storing butter for greasing the hair. The opening is closed with a piece of date palm bast (*asan*), and the edge is pierced with a glowing awl (*ɛudel*) for the insertion of a cord of goat's hair by means of which the horn is attached to the tent ceiling. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.30 m long. (F.M. 236).

252 *415 the Tuareg in the past. I believe that they were made by blacksmiths or imported from the north. Pastoral Tuareg do not manufacture earthen pots which are obtained from sedentary people. The [322] cooking of meat is perhaps not a traditional method of food preparation to the Tuareg, though they seem to have used cooking pots for centuries.

252 A method of meat preparation undoubtedly introduced recently among the Tuareg, is that of spit 177 roasting. Meat roasted in this way is known as *mechwi*, a word of Arab origin, and the Northern Tuareg have taken over the method from the Arabs. The *mechwi* method is also known in Ayr, where it has perhaps been introduced by French administrators who had learned to appreciate meat thus 252 prepared during their visits among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Pieces of sheep and goats and entire animals are prepared in this way (Fig. 174), and the meat should preferably be prepared with butter and red pepper before roasting.

The traditional Tuareg roasting method is to place entire animals (goats, sheep), or parts of them, under the hot ashes of the fire. This method is known to the Northern Tuareg as *abatul*, to the Tuareg of Ayr as *ɛbewil* (Fig. 175). This method of roasting meat is practised everywhere among the Tuareg, and it is on the whole similar to the method used for bread-baking described below (p. 238 f.).

Meat-roasting in the ashes is no doubt an ancient Tuareg method of food-preparation, and this also holds good for another method described in connection with the preparation of milk, namely food preparation by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221). The Ahaggar Tuareg prepare the stomachs of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep in this way, putting hot stones into the stomachs, while camel stomachs are boiled in a cooking pot and gazelle stomachs roasted in the ashes according to the *abatul* method mentioned above. These rules of food preparation seem also to be practised by the Ayr Tuareg, who put hot stones into stomachs of sheep and goats together with small pieces of meat. A stomach of goats or sheep prepared in this way, however, is given a final treatment in hot sand or in ashes close to the fire. The stomach of sheep or goats cooked with hot stones is known as *tarafu*, and a related word seems to be known also in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1583).

[262] The Tuareg eat most entrails of their slaughtered animals. Entrails of camels are normally boiled, and kidneys of all animals are prepared in this way. Most entrails of goats and sheep (liver, heart, and lungs) are roasted on the embers or in the ashes, and in Ayr the Tuareg roast fat put into the abomasum (*tedeɣant*). The Northern Tuareg generally prepare liver and fat together in the following manner:— The liver is roasted upon the embers, is thereupon cut into small pieces which are wrapped

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Fig. 171. Ordinary meat-knife (*elmusi*) of the type used among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Its broken handle is mended with hide of barbary sheep sewn with leather thread. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m (total length). (F.M. 249).
All knives are manufactured by blacksmiths.

wheat bread is eaten particularly during migrations and on trading expeditions, or in periods when 262
butter is rare (Lhote 1955a, p. 262). This statement disagrees with my own experience. Wheat bread [114]
is an ordinary diet of many Northern Tuareg. Bread is also baked from barley and from certain wild [224]
seeds (notably *tawit*, *Chenopodium Vulvaria*; *éhéyefyef*, *Aizoon canariense*; *tullult*, *Aristida pungens*)
and wild roots (*ahahel*, *Cistanche Phelypaea*), while millet and sorghum are considered less suitable
for baking. Seeds are generally prepared for baking by grinding them into flour by saddle querns or 282
handmills. In Northern Tuareg country there are two types of bread which have been introduced as [172]
a result of contact with Arabs or the Arabic-speaking *Ḥarratin*. One type is named *elfetat* and is baked

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Fig. 172a–b. Meat knives.
a. Knife (*ézegiz*) of Tebu type to be carried in its sheath around the upper arm. These knives are sometimes used in Ayr. Agadez. Dimension: 0.370 m. (total length). (N.M. G. 6620a–b).
b. Knife (*ézegiz*) of the double-edged type normally used in Ayr. The *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.377 m (total length). N.M. G. 6665a–b).

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Fig. 175. Meat-roasting in the ashes – the method known as *abatal* (Ahaggar) or *dbewil* (Ayr). Ayr, the *Irawatten* tribe.

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Fig. 176. Little mortar of the type known as *akabar*, or *takabart*. This type of mortar is used by pastoral Tuareg on their trading expeditions, and it is provided with a handle (*ayaw*) of cord (goat-hair) for suspension. Ahaggar, manufactured by a blacksmith of Tamanrasset, the *Afuh-en-tahit* tribe. Dimension: 0.23 m high, 0.16 m in diameter at the rim. (F.M. 111).

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206a–d). The ordinary axe (*taḍeft*) is used by all Tuareg who may also possess small adzes (*tat-* 322
*tawt*), used mainly by women for the manufacturing of domestic implements such as spoons and 412
milking bowls. These implements manufactured by Tuareg women are generally inferior in quality 462
to those made by the blacksmiths, though certain noble women of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe make wooden milking bowls that are said to be superior to those of the blacksmiths. In Ayr, Tuareg women engage very little in wood-working, and the Ayr Tuareg are on the whole less skilled in crafts than are the Tuareg of Ahaggar.

Pastoral Tuareg are experts in rope making. Ropes made from various materials play an important 283
part for the Tuareg for hobbling domestic animals, for fastening burdens transported on camels, as reins, for the erection of tents, and for a great many other purposes. Incidentally the Tuareg make substitutes for ropes in a very simple way. Thus if a man comes upon a camel which he wishes to take [824]
back to camp and has no rope or rein to lead it by he makes a lead from three or four pieces of palm leaf, or the like, attached to each other. It is stated by Maire that the Ahaggar Tuareg make simple

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Fig. 204a–b. Earthen pots made by the sedentary *Imeggedezen* of Agadez.

a. A water jar with two spouts. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* as *gelgelesi*. It is used by the latter people but never by pastoral Tuareg. Dimension: 0.30 m high. (N.M. G. 6635).

b. Earthen jar used for water and also for cooking. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tiyint* or *tiskin*, to the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* as *tekuniya* or *tulu*. Dimension: 0.285 m high. (N.M. G. 6634).

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Fig. 205. Painted earthen pot (*ukanawt*) manufactured by the professional potmakers called *Ikenawen*. Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.32 m high. (N.M. G. 6636).

283 824 hobble ropes from straws of the *tulluli* grass (*Aristida pungens*) (Maire 1933, p. 62). For the manufacture of proper ropes the Tuareg may employ the bark of trees. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr they use the bark of *Acacia Raddiana* (*abser* in Ahaggar, *afagag* in Ayr) for this purpose (Fig. 113). These ropes are made after much the same method as that used for the Ahaggar ropes of date palm bast (*asun*) and those of dum palm leaves made in Ayr. Ropes of this kind are always made by men, who, when 283 462 making ropes from date palm bast, proceed in the following way:— Pieces of bast are soaked in water contained in a receptacle. They are thereupon torn into small strips about 20-30 cms long. These strips are rolled and twisted between the hands, and are kept in this rolled position under the foot until sufficient numbers of strips are available for the rope to be made. The ends of two rolled strips are then placed between the first and the second toes, and the strips are twisted together between the hands. New strips are added and twisted in this fashion until a suitable length of two twisted rows of strips has been made. This length is thereupon stretched over one of the feet, doubled, and twisted between the hands. It is finally hammered with a stone while resting on another stone or upon the bottom of a large mortar which is frequently used for support. The Ahaggar Tuareg make their hobble ropes in this way (Fig. 207), and the Ayr Tuareg apply the same technique to ropes made from strips of dum palm leaves which are also soaked in water before twisting. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr this method may also be used for the manufacture of leather cords (Figs. 43, 73a).

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Fig. 206a–d. Axe and adzes of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

a. The ordinary axe (*taḍefi*) which is found in all Tuareg camps. Ahaggar, the *Aḡuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.572 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.157 m long, 0.053 m broad. (N.M. G. 5233).

b. *tatawt*, a small socket-shafted adze with knee-shaft. Adzes of this type are common in Tuareg camps. They are used mainly by women for wood-carving. Ahaggar, the *Aḡuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.301 m long. (N.M. G. 5232). [322]

c. *tikadiwt*, adze shafted by means of a piece of sheet-iron and nails. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalesta. Dimension: 0.440 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.150 m long, 0.058 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5864).

d. *tikadiwt*, slot-shafted adze. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.430 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.222 m long, 0.065 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5865). [564]

The axe and the adzes are all made by blacksmiths.

The very best ropes or cords manufactured by the Ahaggar Tuareg are those made from goat's 283 hair which is sheared with a knife by the women once a year in the hot season. These ropes are known 237 to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ihellumen* (sing. *ahellum*), while the proper term for a rope of goat's hair 233 in Ayr is *arew*. But the Ayr Tuareg do not make such ropes as they have goats of the short-haired breed (p. 33). They obtain their ropes from the Ahaggar Tuareg. Ropes of goat hair are manufactured 438 by women by the following method:— The mass of hair, known as *ehafilen*, is placed upon a piece 462 of skin and is prevented from blowing away by means of a stone. The hair is then taken out in small quantities with the first and second fingers of the left hand to be spun upon a stick 30–40 cms long.

[text continues on p. 266]

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Fig. 207. Tuareg making a hobble-rope (*idffart*) of date palm bast (*azan*). Ahaggar, the *Kel Rezi*.

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Fig. 208. The manufacture of a cord of goat's hair: (1) the hair (*ihaflen*) is spun around a little stick (*aseggelem*). (2) The spun hair is trebled and twisted into a thread known as *tassarkit*, or *tassagit*, between two sticks (*iseggelem*, sing. *aseggelem*). (3) The finished cord (*ahellem*) which is made by trebling the *tassagit* thread. Ahaggar, the *Aghal-ostehid* tribe. Dimension of the *aseggelem* stick to the left: 0.41 m long. (F.M. 74, 120, 122).

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Fig. 210a–b. Two coiled baskets provided with lids.

[462] a. *takhalit*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*afum*) and reinforced with coloured leather (goat-skin). Manufactured by women of the sedentary *Kel Ğat* in Tassilé-n-Ajjer, bought from blacksmiths at Tamanrasset in Ahaggar. Dimension: 0.13 m high. (F.M. 227).

b. *adabun*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*afum*). It is ornamented with coloured leather thread and with woollen yarn. Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.205 m high. (N.M. G. 5837a–b).

● 283 This stick, which is held in the right hand, is turned around its own axes while the hair taken out from the mass with the left hand is occasionally moistened with water or with spittle. The stick upon which the hair is spun is known as *aseggelem*. I have noted in Ahaggar that a length of 50–60 metres of spun hair can be made in about twenty minutes. Such a lenght of spun hair is trebled and attached to two sticks also known as *aseggelem* (pl. *iseggelam*). It is twisted together by two women each holding one of the sticks, and may be conserved for some time before it is finally made into a rope by further trebling and twisting (cf. Fig. 208). Certain cords to be used in connection with riding camels (e.g., reins) are not twisted in the above manner, but are plaited (cf. Fig. 51). The spun hair is used for the manufacture of certain objects without twisting (cf. Fig. 167a–b). Lhote states that the hair growing on the knees and neck of barbary sheep is also used for spinning (Lhote 1955a, p. 319).

[237] The Northern Tuareg spin camel's hair or wool (*tedufi*) which is used for very few purposes (cf.
[286] p. 67). But camel's hair is sometimes mixed with goat's hair to be spun for thread used for a primitive type of weaving; true weaving is an unknown craft among the Tuareg while important to Arab pastor-
286 alists of the Northern Sahara. The Tuareg type of primitive weaving with spun hair is carried out
* [415] with no other implement but the hand; it is used for small transportation bags known as *tirrar* (sing.
[114] *tirrirt*), a word, according to Foucauld, derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776) (cf. Fig. 209a–b). I have myself never had the opportunity to see how weaving of this type is done.

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A photograph illustrating a women making a bag from spun hair is reproduced by Lhote, who states that bags of this nature are rarely manufactured nowadays and are made exclusively by a few noble women of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe (Lhote 1955a, p. 319 f., pl. XV p. 384). This statement does not agree with information gathered by myself in Ahaggar, where I was told that bags were made from spun hair by Tuareg women of other tribes and notably by women of the *Isekkemaren* class.

In Ayr spinning of cotton is performed mainly to obtain sewing thread, which is considered superior to European thread for sewing cotton clothes. To my knowledge most pastoral women do not spin their own cotton thread but buy it at the market of Agadez. However I have noted the existence of simple cotton bows in a *Kel Tédalé* camp in the northern part of the Ayr Massif. The occurrence of the simple cotton bow among the Ayr Tuareg should no doubt be viewed in connection with the use of this implement in the Western Sudan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 260 ff.) from where the cotton plant has also been introduced.

Coiled basket-work plays an important part with the Tuareg, particularly the Northern Tuareg who are experts in this technique which is related to sewing. A very primitive type of coiled basketry

Fig. 211. Basket (*ahegwgar*) plaited from date palm leaves (*aḡum*). The handle is of date palm bast (*asou*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abelessa. Dimension: 0.38 m high. (N.M. G. 5839).

[text continues on p. 269]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



as *ahaja* (Fig. 213). Such tanning receptacles are made in the following way among the Ahaggar Tuareg:— A slender bough of the *tahanek* tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) is bent and fixed into a circular form, and a piece of camel's hide soaked in water is attached to this frame. Sand and pebbles are thereupon placed upon the hide within the frame, which is lifted upwards by means of cords fastened to it and to the bough of a tree. This is done to produce the bowl-like form of the receptacle which is left filled with sand and pebbles and attached to the tree for a few days. Thus it is dried by the sun, and thereafter it will become very hard and keep the desired bowl-like form. Certain butter-containers made from raw camel hide are manufactured on the same principle, the entrance to such containers being made by the insertion of a piece of wood around which the upper part of the piece of hide is firmly attached. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar also use camel's hide for the manufacture of a long rope (*akhamil*), which is used for drawing water from wells by means of oxen when the *tanut* system of irrigation (Fig. 132a–b) is employed. A rope of this kind is made from strips of soaked hide twisted together and hammered between stones to be left for drying in the sun. It is also said that camel's hide in the north is used for sandals of a particular type, while the Ayr Tuareg may use raw oxe-hide for sandals (cf. p. 301). The Ayr Tuareg may also employ raw oxe-hide for the manufacture of ropes and cords, and for camel whips. The hides of camels and oxen are known to the Tuareg by the common term *éyit* and they seem to possess certain qualities in common.

281 [224] [485]* [283] ● [294]

The hide of such animals as goats, sheep, gazelle, barbary sheep is never used unfanned among the Tuareg, and they may tan the hide of oxen and various other animals.

The Tuareg use a particular method for tanning goat-skin to be used for water-bags (*abayor*) (Figs. 215–217). I have watched this, particularly in Ahaggar, where a water-bag is prepared in the following way:— The animal is killed in the normal way of cutting its throat, and is then so skinned that the hide comes off almost entire. This is done by making the following openings with the knife: the head is cut off, cuts are made around the lower part of all four feet, and on the inner side of the

[485]* [231]

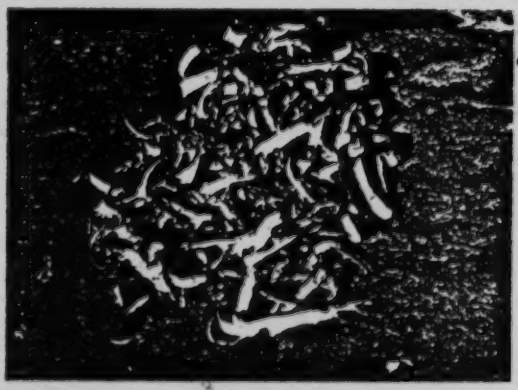

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Fig. 214. Tannin consisting of bark (*nkor*) of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*) which is used for tanning water bags. The bark is left upon a piece of rock for drying. Ahaggar, the *Ajab-en-tehit* tribe.

[Text continues on p. 273]

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Fig. 222. Large bag of *téchchékwat* type. The *téchchékwat* bags (pl. *téchchékwatin*) are normally made of entire skins of kids or goats while this large bag is made from several pieces of leather sewn together. Ahaggar, probably manufactured in Ayr. Dimension: 0.92 m long – not counting the leather tassels. (N.M. G. 5216).

281 (3) Butter or fatty substances are rubbed into the inner side of the skin, after which the skin is covered with wet sand for a while. (4) The skin is dried and thereupon softened by rubbing it between the hands – a task sometimes performed by men, though tanning is the task of women.

281 The implements used by the Tuareg for the manufacture of skin articles are few and simple. Sewing
413 of skin is rarely done with a needle, though the large iron neddle known as *tasubla*, and in Ahaggar also as *tasuglo* (Fig. 220b), is used for sewing among the Ahaggar Tuareg in the manufacture of donkey saddles (cf. Fig. 86, p. 110). But with such rare exceptions the Tuareg sew their skin articles by means of the little awl known as *tistent* in Ahaggar (Fig. 218a), as *éston* in Ayr. With this implement the women pierce holes close to each other and through them draw thin leather thread
●[283] (*azzemi* in Ahaggar). Sinew thread is not in general use among the Tuareg, but I knew a gazelle hunter in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, who took out the sinews of the hind leg of a killed gazelle to use them for mending his leather belt. With this exception I have never seen sinew thread employed for sewing among pastoral Tuareg and my fairly large ethnographical collection containing all types of Tuareg skin and leather articles contains no specimen sewn with sinew thread. For sewing sandals the Ahaggar
413 Tuareg use a large awl which is known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b). This word is also used for iron implements

[text continues on p. 280]

Tent skins derive from domestic animals or from game animals. In older literature one can find 342*
a reference to Tuareg tents made of a sheet of camel skin (cf. Denham & Clapperton 1826, p. L). 281
However, we have already seen that the Tuareg do not tan camel hides and they are not used for tent sheets. The Northern Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, zebu-calves, barbary sheep, antelope, and gazelle. Goat skin is most commonly used, skin of barbary sheep is considered the very best type of tent skin, while gazelle skin is rarely employed as it is very thin. According to Lhote, the *Kel Adrar* Tuareg generally use the skin of barbary sheep (Lhote 1947a, p. 108). The Ayr Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, and zebus. It is most possible that some Tuareg also use skin of game animals, but [224]
most Ayr Tuareg engage very little in hunting, though barbary sheep are very common in certain parts of the Massif. In the southern plains of the *Iwillemmeden* there are no barbary sheep. According to Nicolas, the *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek* use for their tents the skin of sheep, goats, gazelle, and sometimes even the skin of ostriches, but they do not use zebu skin which becomes very hard and shrinks when heavily moistened during the rainy season (Nicolas 1938, p. 54 & 1950a, p. 155). The *Iwillemmeden* and their *Bélla* of the Ayoru region use the skin of goats and sheep for tent-sheets.

Tent skins are prepared in the same way as skins used for transportation bags, dress articles, and the like. They are depilated and tanned according to the methods described on p. 275 ff. After tanning they are treated with butter, and are thereupon soaked to be rubbed and coloured with red ochre, these treatments making the skins impervious to water. A tent sheet is always made of several pieces [283] ●
of skin which are sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl known as *tistent* (Ahaggar), [413]
or *éstan* (Ayr). The edges where the skins have to be sewn are made even with a knife, while the outer edges of the sheet are left largely unfashioned so that the circumference of the sheet is of very irregular shape with protruding patches of leg or neck skin. These patches of skin frequently serve for the attachment of the cords by means of which the sheet is suspended. When two pieces of skin are sewn together a narrow leather strip is inserted between their edges before sewing. Loose ends of leather [531]
thread hang down from the inner side of the sheet to serve as a kind of decoration, and in Ahaggar the tents are also frequently ornamented with hanging patches of leather with a carved decoration (cf. Fig. 182). On the whole the Tuareg of Ahaggar take a great interest in their tents. They like to 342*
have richly-decorated dwellings, and when a tent is made for a newly-married couple, the women 281
do their outmost to make the sheet very beautiful. These aestethic feelings seem to be unknown in 517
regard to other types of dwelling used among the Tuareg, including the mat tent, and I think that they are responsible for some Tuareg using skin tents even when other dwelling types would be more suitable. I believe this to be true, the more so as the skin tent among the Northern Tuareg plays a [585]
great part in the wedding ceremony, which is called *éhen*, that is "a tent".

It is evident that the number of skins to be used for a sheet greatly varies; if a sheet is made from 342*
goat skins it may be estimated that a tent of normal size in Ahaggar comprises about 35–40 skins, 281
but very large tents with sheets of 60–80 skins are found among rich noble Tuareg and also in the *Dag Rali* tribe. A tent from Ahaggar now in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen has a sheet sewn together from a great many skin patches, and it measures 4.00 × 3.85 metres (N.M., no. G.1; cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 139). This is perhaps to be considered a normal size of skin tents among the Ahaggar Tuareg, though the sheet is generally somewhat more rectangular in

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 270. An arched barrel-vaulted tent covered with a sheet of skin. In the background two arched mat tents. In the foreground to the left two cotton bows. Ayr, the *Kel Tédalé* tribe.

*342 true structure, and structurally there is a great diversity of tent types. It seems as if these tent structures can be divided into a few main groups which I shall describe in detail.

B.2.a. *Skin tents of arch construction.*

Tents which have one or more arches, generally placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction are widely found in Tuareg country. They are in fact more common than appears from the literature which has been so far published on Tuareg culture. The wide distribution of this particular structure in skin tents is interesting, the more so as it is related to the structure of mat tents. There are the following types of arch structures:—

B.2.a.1. This tent was seen in a camp of the *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg of North-western Ayr. It is known that skin tents are found among them (cf. Joubert 1939, p. 252 f.), but they have never been described. The Ayr Tuareg say that in the past many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* lived in skin tents which, however, are less common among them nowadays. This agrees with my own experience. I have visited several *Kel Tédalé* camps, but I have only seen the skin tent here mentioned. This was found in a camp of three tents, the two others being ordinary mat tents. The skin tent I saw in this camp was also of the normal structure used for mat tents in Ayr, though shorter. The lower part was partly covered, not by a mat plaited from dum palm leaves, but by an *afezu* mat.

[114] [361]

B.2.a.2. Under this heading I describe two identical tents seen in a camp of *Iregenaten* Tuareg who belong to the Ahaggar federation but have their traditional grazing grounds west of the Ayr Massif in the Tamesna Plains. The camp was actually situated in the region between Tegidda-n-tésemt and I-n-abanţerit, where perennial vegetation is extremely scarce and mainly comprises scattered *tamat* acacias (*Acacia flava*). The camp visited had eight skin tents among which were the two of arch construction as follows:—

[221] [361] [137]

Both tents were very small, and their wooden structure was made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*). In the middle of the tent and at right angles to its longitudinal direction there was an

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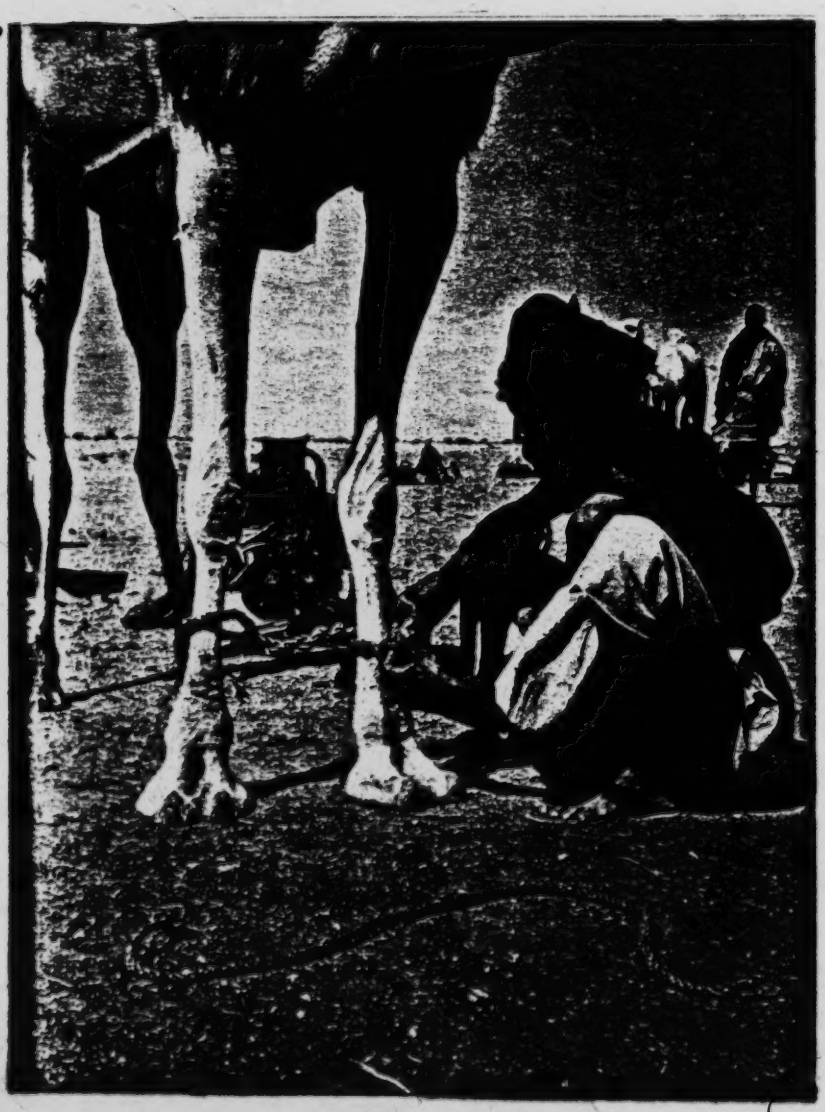

30. On a stopover the animals are hobbled for the night.

[p. 217]

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Fig. 42. She-camel provided with the plaited pouch (*abegu*) which covers its udder. The pouch is attached as follows:— A cord is tied around the body in front of the animal's hump while another cord runs along the back at both sides of the hump to pass under the tail. The three cords which form part of the pouch are tied to the tail cord in front of the hind thighs and at the tail. To milk a she-camel carrying a pouch around its udder the hind pouch-cord fastened at the animal's tail is untied. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

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*233 they are hobbled by means of a cord (*téffart*) attached around their forelegs (p. 72, Fig. 45b–e) and
[286] are kept away from the mother animals during grazing in day-time. In Ahaggar as well as elsewhere in Northern Tuareg country suckling of calves are normally regulated by another method, namely a plaited pouch (*abegu*) which covers the udder of the mother camel, and the calf can thus be allowed to graze freely together with its mother (Fig. 41–42). This device is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr as *ébeyembey*, but though they know it by name they do not use it. They say, however, that it is in use among the *Kel Ewey* of the Ayr Massif.

The plaited pouch just described also serves as a means of weaning half-grown calves, but there are other weaning methods, namely the following:— (1) *ikembar*, that is cuttings on the bridge of the nose as described above for cow calves (p. 51). In addition to these cuttings, the scars of which form small bumps, it is common to cut the calf also under the chin, the visible result of such a cut being a hanging patch of skin. This method is known both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, and it is, I believe, nowadays carried out mainly for aesthetic reasons as the bumps and the hanging patch of skin adds, in Tuareg opinion, to the beauty of riding camels (Fig. 43). In fact, the cut made under the chin does not seem to hurt a sucking calf, and this cut is not made on cow calves (cf. Fig. 30). – (2) A method
[114] which is described by Cauvet from the oasis of In Salah may perhaps also be known to the Northern Tuareg though I have not recorded it. It consists of a thorn put into a patch of skin cut loose on the

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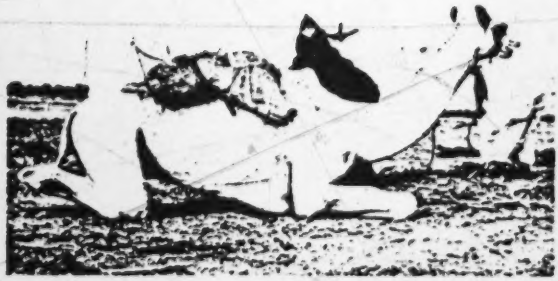

Fig. 53. Pack camel with the saddle consisting of two skin-bags (*imaytalen*) stuffed with hay. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.
Fig. 54. A skin bag (*amaytal*, pl. *imaytalen*) of the type used for pack-saddle. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: ca. 0.80 m. (N.M. G. 6658).

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531 leather fringes (cf. Fig. 52). Some very elaborate halters are found in the Musée de l'homme (Nos. 5.66.5; 30.61.228; 95.46.3; D $\frac{24}{1}$ 42; D $\frac{24}{1}$ 25).

*492 Foucauld describes a peculiar method for leading camels, as follows:— A little wooden stick (*aǧula*) is stuck into the skin between the chin and the lower jaw of the animal, and the lead is attached to this stick. The method is practised with camels which have no nostril ring and cannot be led by means of a rope attached around their lower jaw (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 426). I have seen this peculiar method practised once in Ahaggar.

Pack-camels are rarely used without some type of saddle, but it happens that camels are used for water-transportation from the well to the camp without a saddle. The waterbags are then hung over the animal's back, their cords resting upon a layer of straw or sprays. In Ahaggar, and more so in Ayr, it is also common instead of a proper saddle to use two skin-bags filled with grain, straw, or the like to form cushions. One of these is placed before, the other behind the hump so that the cords of luggage bags can rest upon them (cf. Fig. 53–54). These cushions are known as *imaytalen* (sing. *amaytal*), and they may serve as a pack-saddle even on long journeys, though the Tuareg in general use proper saddles on trading expeditions.

[171] Pack-saddles of the Northern Tuareg correspond to saddles found among the Arabs of the Sahara. The common type is that known to the Arabs as *ḥawiyya* or *ḥiddǧe*, and called *élakí* by the Northern
[824] Tuareg. It consists of a wooden frame (*élakí*) generally made from pieces of palm leaf ribs (Fig. 55).
[284] It is made up of two crossbars placed close to each other, each of them being composed of two short and slightly curved pieces of palm leaves' ribs lashed together at the top with raw camel-hide. The

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pair of cross-bars is connected with four short sticks of the same material, each being lashed with hide horizontally to the crossbars. This frame is generally manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt, who also make the large cushion (*tihekam*) of date palm bast to which the saddle-frame is attached with cords. On rare occasions the Tuareg also have saddle-frames of wood (*tabarekkat*, that is *Tamarix aphylla*) made by the blacksmiths on the same pattern, and they may also use cushions of hay stuffed into a piece of matting. The *élaki*-saddle is used in the following way:— The short, looped cords of the loading bags rest upon the wooden frame in front of the camel's hump and on the rear part of the saddle-cushion. A bunch of grass or date palm bast (*aselki*) is placed under the loading cords that they may not gall the back of the camel. In addition to the proper camel-load divided into two halves (e.g., two large bags) there are frequently many smaller objects to be transported, and these are then attached to the wooden saddle-frame. The *élaki*-saddle normally rests loosely upon the camel's back, but it may be fixed to the animal's back by a girth (*ahayif*). It is also occasionally

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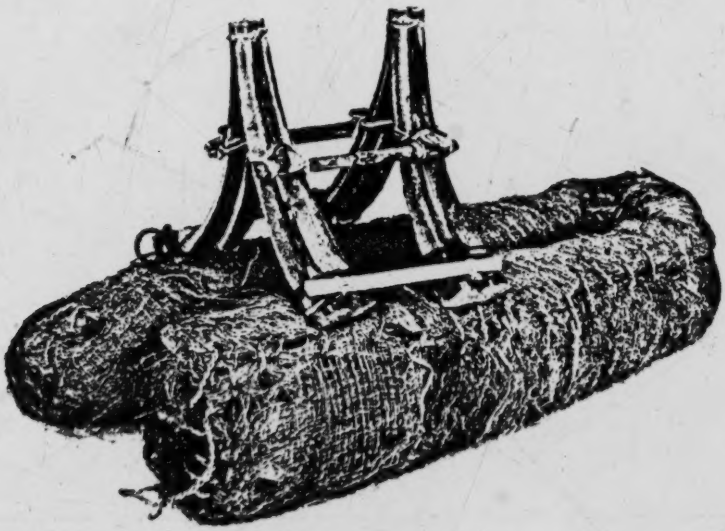

Fig. 55. The *élaki* pack saddle consisting of a saddle frame attached to a U-formed cushion made of date palm bast: The saddle frame made of palm fronds lashed with raw hide. It is called *élaki*, or *erras en eloki*. Ahaggar, Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.34 m high. (F.M. 191).
The saddle cushion of date palm bast. It is called *tihekam*. Ahaggar, Tamanraset. Dimension: 1.50 m long. (F.M. 192).

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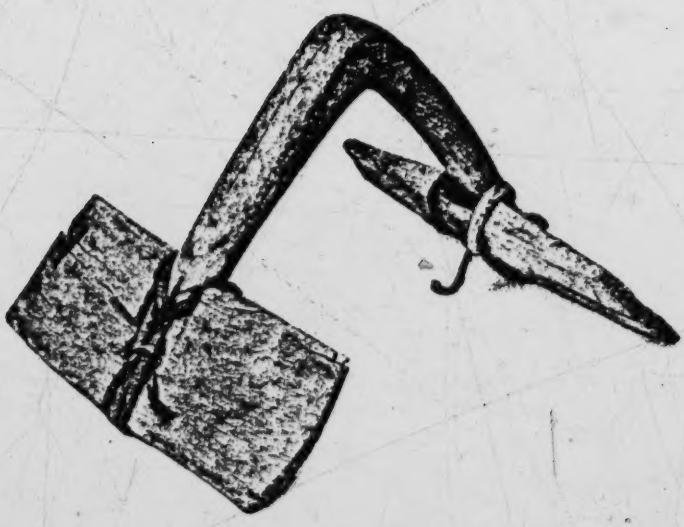

Fig. 58. Wooden saddle frame of the *aruki* type. The curved piece of wood is fastened to two boards with strips of raw hide. The frame is manufactured by an Ayr blacksmith. Bought at Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.337 m long, 0.275 m high. (N.M. G. 5247).

*492 by men and boys, who sit sideways in front of the hump resting their feet upon the animal's neck, or,
[171] more rarely, behind the hump with their feet hanging down, as is the custom of Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. It should be added that on long trading expeditions the Tuareg frequently content themselves with sitting on the top of their loaded pack-camels. But riding in these ways is not very pleasant, and whenever possible the Tuareg use proper riding saddles placed in front of the camel's hump so that the rider sits cross-legged in the saddle with his feet resting upon the lower part of the animal's neck.

Most Tuareg have saddles of the well-known type with a cruciformed pommel. This saddle is known
[531] as *térik* which term is used for three distinct sub-types. One is known as *tekokeyt* (Fig. 60); it differs from the type known as *tamzak* mainly therein that the latter is provided with peculiar ornaments and designs (Fig. 61). These two saddles are those normally used by the Tuareg, while the third sub-type known as *bertekes* is extremely rare; it resembles the *tamzak*-saddle, but is provided with many
[564] small bells fastened to be back (Fig. 62). Such saddles are hardly ever manufactured by the black-
[432] smiths of Northern Tuareg countries, but are made in Ayr, notably in Agadez, where the Northern Tuareg also buy their riding saddles. Even the Arab pastoralists of the tribes *Chamba* and *Ulad Ba*

[text continues on p. 80]

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Fig. 60. Riding saddle of *tekakeyt* type (*térik*). Bought in Ahaggar by Olufsen, manufactured in Ayr. Dimension: 0.70 m high, 0.50 m long, 0.35 m broad. (N.M. G. 1.126).

[284] [237] [143] *Hammu* obtain their riding saddles from Ayr. All three sub-types of the *térik*-saddle are constructionally identical, being made from pieces of wood lashed together with raw hide and then covered with coloured leather. The structure of this *térik*-saddle is described and depicted in literature (cf. notably Gabus 1949, pl. XII; 1957, p. 176 & Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 48, p. 179).

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Fig. 63b. cf. Fig. 63a.

*492 415 huge saddle bag known as *eijebira*, manufactured exclusively by the sedentary people of Agadez, the *Imeggedezen* (Fig. 72a). Other bags are often used by riders and some of them will be mentioned in the description of skin and leather work.

[283] An important part of the rider's equipment is the drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from metal and attached to the saddle pommel with a plaited leather cord (*témetrek*); it is particularly common *492 among the Northern Tuareg (Fig. 71). The Tuareg also possess a great many objects which serve [531] exclusively as ornaments for riding camels. The Northern Tuareg adorn their animals with a collar (*tahawt*) made from fine cords of goat's hair, while the Ayr Tuareg use another type of collar called

[text continues on p. 88]

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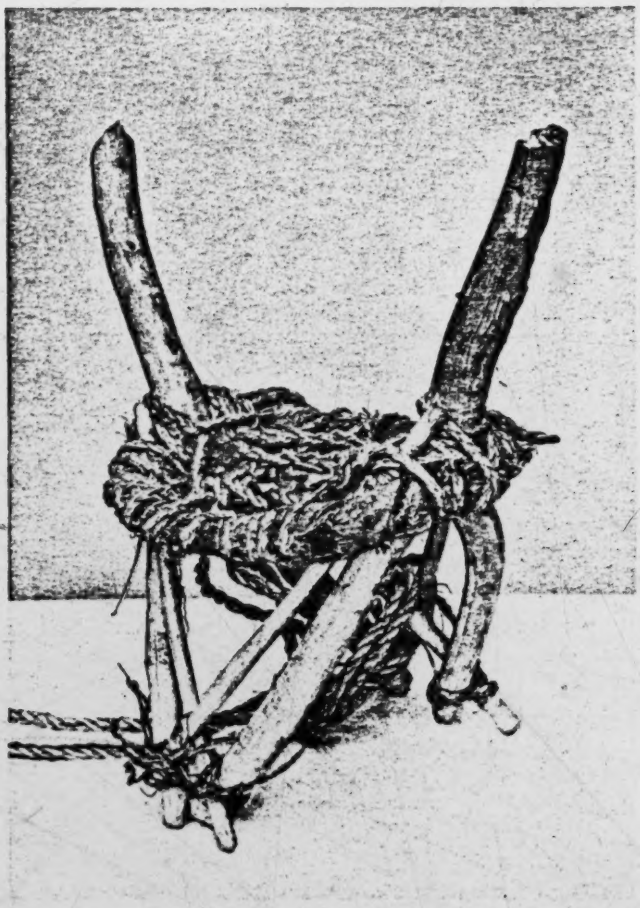

Fig. 64. Riding saddle of the type known as *kanarki* or *delobi*. It is made of two forked boughs of *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*) connected with sticks and the seat. The latter is made of slender roots (sing. *tékéwt*) of the afagag *acacia* (*Acacia Raddiana*). These slender roots are bent into a circle, are covered with cotton or similar material, and a kind of net is made of dum palm rope within the circle. Ayr, *Imeggedezen*. Dimension: 0.49 m high. (N.M. G. 6656).

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Fig. 70a–b. Tuareg camel whips (*alekkoḍ*, pl. *ilekkaḍ*).

a. Whip with a single lash. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.08 m long. (M.N. G. 1.138).

b. Whip with two lashes. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Urayen* tribe. Dimension: 0.845 m long. (Author's collection).

Fig. 71. The drinking bowl (*tamennust*) made from tinned brass and fixed to its ornamented leather cord (*témetrek*) by means of which it is attached to the saddle pommel (cf. Fig. 49). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the bowl: 0.258 m in diameter (upper part). Dimension of the leather cord: 0.685 m long. (N. M. G. 5287).

*492 562 donkeys, but, as in the North, they sometimes mount the riding camels of men sitting across the animal behind the saddle.

*492 531 The Tuareg take a keen interest in the adornment of all objects used for riding camels. The richly decorated saddles and the ornaments of the riding gear express the particular value attached to the animals used for riding. But Tuareg interest in camels is perhaps more clearly understood, when we 233 consider their rich camel vocabulary.

192 The Tuareg have one word which can be used for any camel regardless of its sex and age, its colour, and all other particular qualities. This word (*amaḡur*, pl. *imuḡar* in the northern dialect) does not seem to have its equivalents in vocabularies of other domestic animals which collectively are referred to by means of a sex term of adult animals (e.g., *ulli* = "goats"). The word *amaḡur* (pl. *imuḡar*) is used in conversation, but it is heard less frequently than camel terms which have a very definite meaning.

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Fig. 90. Tuareg [illegible] of the breed which is comm[illegible]mong the Ayr Tuareg. Dogs suffer much from heat in summer when they hide under water-bags. Ayr, the *Imezureg* tribe.

## DOGS

231 The Northern Tuareg distinguish between three types of dogs (sing. *eydi*) as follows:— (1) a long-haired breed (*aberhoh*); (2) a short-haired slender breed (*akhami*); (3) a very slender and elegantly
[173] built greyhound (*oska*) (Fig. 91). The Ahaggar Tuareg speak of a tradition, according to which the greyhound (*oska*) was introduced fairly recently through contacts with the Northern Arabs. The Ayr Tuareg do not make similar distinctions between dog breeds. They have only one breed which is known as *ijji* (Fig. 90). It is short-haired and slenderly built though less so than the true Arab greyhound.

[136] Dogs are kept to guard the camp and in particular to protect the animals from the attack of jackals or hyenas during night. If the Tuareg had no dogs it would be most difficult for them to breed goats and sheep. Dogs may also follow the flocks in daytime to protect the animals against beasts of prey, though this is not generally considered necessary. Dogs are not trained as "sheep-dogs", but it is said that a few "intelligent" dogs will assist the herdsman in keeping the flock together during grazing,
[224] and many dogs will drive away domestic animals which belong to foreign flocks. Some Tuareg use dogs in hunting barbary sheep, gazelle, antelope, and hare (cf. hunting, p. 159, 166).

[171] It is well-known that the Arabs consider the dog an unclean animal. This is also so among Arab nomads of the Sahara, but they do not consider their greyhounds unclean in this sense. Thus pastoralists of the Chamba group told me that among them a fine greyhound is esteemed in much the same way as are noble riding horses and camels. The Tuareg have very few true greyhounds and
[521] I do not believe that they have this same feeling of interest in them. But many children and young
[541] people are fond of all types of dogs, and one can hear them discuss the qualities of their animals and the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 167a–b. Baskets of the *aragus* type used for making butter-milk cheese (*awlas*). They are made from straw bent into circular bundles and kept together with thin cords (*dhafikn*) of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tahlé* tribe.
a. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.240 in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5818).
b. Dimension: 0.100–0.105 m high, 0.205–0.215 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5819).

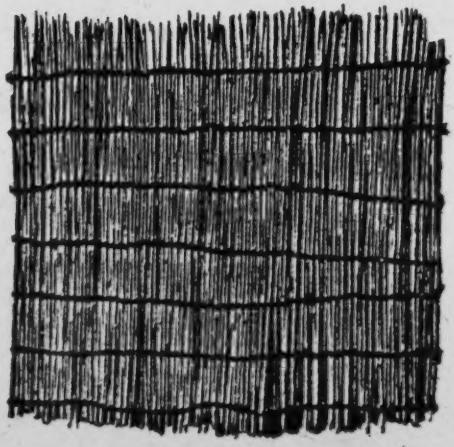

Fig. 168. The straw-mat (*tizerhert*) used for the manufacture of *tokommert*-cheese known as *tokommert* in Ayr, that is cheese made from fresh milk. The mat is made of stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) united with narrow leather strips. Ayr, the *Kel Akerra* tribe. Dimension: 0.46 × 0.44 m high. (N.M. G. 6612).

or a large chopping knife of European origin; (4) Holes are dug with one of the implements mentioned in front of the bed and behind it, and the curved wooden pieces forming the arches are placed in these holes and are lashed together at their upper ends. These holes are 0.30–0.35 m deep; (5) Holes of the same depth are dug for the vertical sticks which support the cross-bars at both sides of the arches, the cross-bars being attached to the vertical sticks by means of cords; (6) A long cord is wound around the high middle arch so that the cord forms tight loops along the upper part of the arch; (7) The slender semi-arches, each consisting of two rods, are placed in the loops of the middle arch from both ends; (8) The thick ends of these rods are attached to the cross-bars with cords; (9) The upper ends of these rods are attached to each other to form semi-arches, and the wooden structure is now finished; (10) Two mats of the *éwerwer* type, which form the inner layer of the roof, are laid over the semi-arches; (11) Dum palm mats of oval shape are placed upon these mats; (12) A long and narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent following its longitudinal direction; (13) The mats are fastened to the wooden structure by means of a cord running over the high central arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction of the dwelling; (14) An oval dum palm mat is placed on each side of the high central arch, and these two mats are fastened to the wooden structure with cords attached to the two lower middle arches; (15) A long narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent along the high middle arch at a right angle to the longitudinal direction; (16) All mats covering the upper structure of the tent are finally fastened by means of a cord system running all over the roof and attached to the horizontal cross-bars and the lower parts of the arches; (17) The long narrow dum palm mat is drawn around the lower part of the tent if considered necessary. 342* [284] [285]

The mat tent is normally erected as here described, but all women do not erect their tents exactly in the order mentioned. The work seems to be very easy to the women who measure no distances. They seem to carry out their work automatically. I have not been able to control the amount of time needed for one or two women to erect a mat tent of the type mentioned, for the women are frequently interrupted in their work by many other household duties, by their crying babies, or by visitors from other camps, but I believe that one woman can erect this elaborate tent structure in about half an hour. 342* 461

There are some mat tents which are slightly different in structure from the above-mentioned tent. These are mentioned below:— 342*

B.1.b. Tents which are larger and have a more elaborate structure. Such tents are rare and are found mainly in the camps of chiefs. They may have four or five arches and a larger number of semi-arches than other tents. I have seen very large tents in the camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and the largest tent I have seen was that of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief. It contained two large beds and measured about 6.00 × 3.50 m; it was over two metres high at the middle arch. [134]

Mat tents of a less elaborate structure are not so rare. The following types can be mentioned:—

B.1.c. A tent structurally identical with B.1.a with the exception that it has only two arches which are of equal height. These arches are then both known by the term *tekkekkewatin* (sing. *tekkekkewat*). Tents of this type with only two arches seem to be common among the *Iforas* tribes of Southern Ayr.

B.1.d. A tent with two slender arches of equal height, secured in an erect position by means of cords from the middle of the arches to the middle of the horizontal cross-bars. This is not a common type, and I have seen only one such dwelling in a vassal camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. [184]

[text continues on p. 356]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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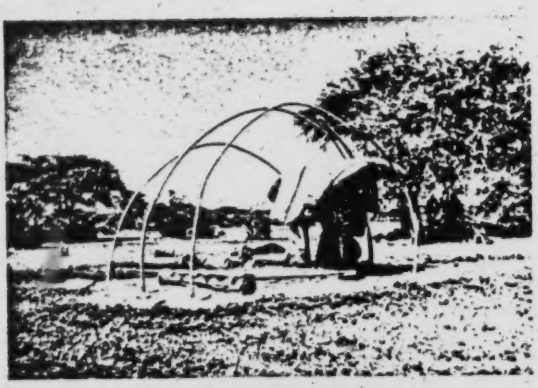

## The Erection of a Mat Tent in Ayr.

Fig. 265a. The wooden bed (*tédebus*) is placed upon the cleared ground. The pronged posts carrying riding cushions, skin bags, etc., and the curved wooden pieces constituting the three arches known as *tekkekewat* and *t'ilissawin* are buried in the ground. The cushions and decorated skin bags resting in the heavy wooden prongs are temporarily covered with tent mats that their colours may not be damaged by sunshine.

Fig. 265b. The arch pieces are lashed together and the two horizontal cross-bars (*isgar*) are fixed to vertical sticks (*tigettewin*) buried in the ground at the narrow ends of the tent. A little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of each cross-bar is seen on this photograph.

● [284]

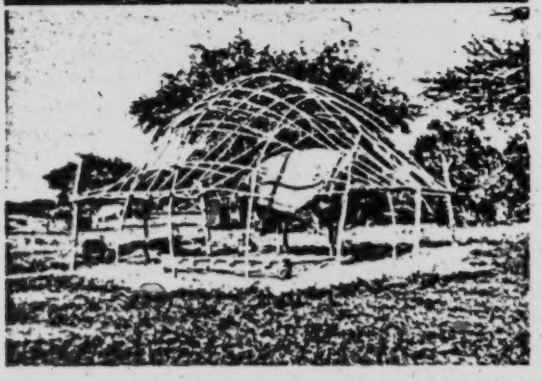

Fig. 265c. A long cord is wound around the high middle arch to form loops for the insertion of the slender rods forming semi-arches in the longitudinal direction. The thick ends of these rods are fastened to the cross-bars but are not yet lashed together at their upper, narrow ends.

**The Erection of a Mat Tent in Ayr.**

342*
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[352]

Fig. 265d. The narrow ends of the pieces of longitudinal semiarches are lashed together. The tent structure is now finished to be covered with mats. The interior cover consisting of two rectangular mats made from plant stems and known as *iwerwern* (sing. *ówrwer*) is seen on this photograph.

[284]

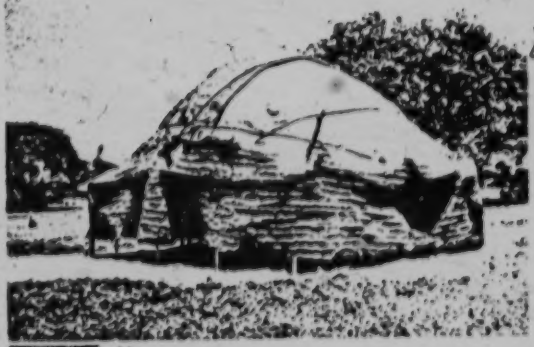

Fig. 265e. The dum palm mats of oval shape (*iyfel*) and the long narrow dum palm mats (*asalamamer*) are placed over the *iwerwern* mats and are tied to the dome-shaped structure with cords. The narrow dum palm mat (*dyell*) surrounding the lower part of the tent is fixed to the structure.

[133]

Fig. 265f. The mat tent is taken down for erection in a new place. The woman standing within the structure is loosening the looped cord which keeps the semi-arches to the high middle arch. It is not the same tent as that depicted Fig. 265a–e but the two tents belong to the same camp of the *Iwarawrag* tribe near Agadez in Southern Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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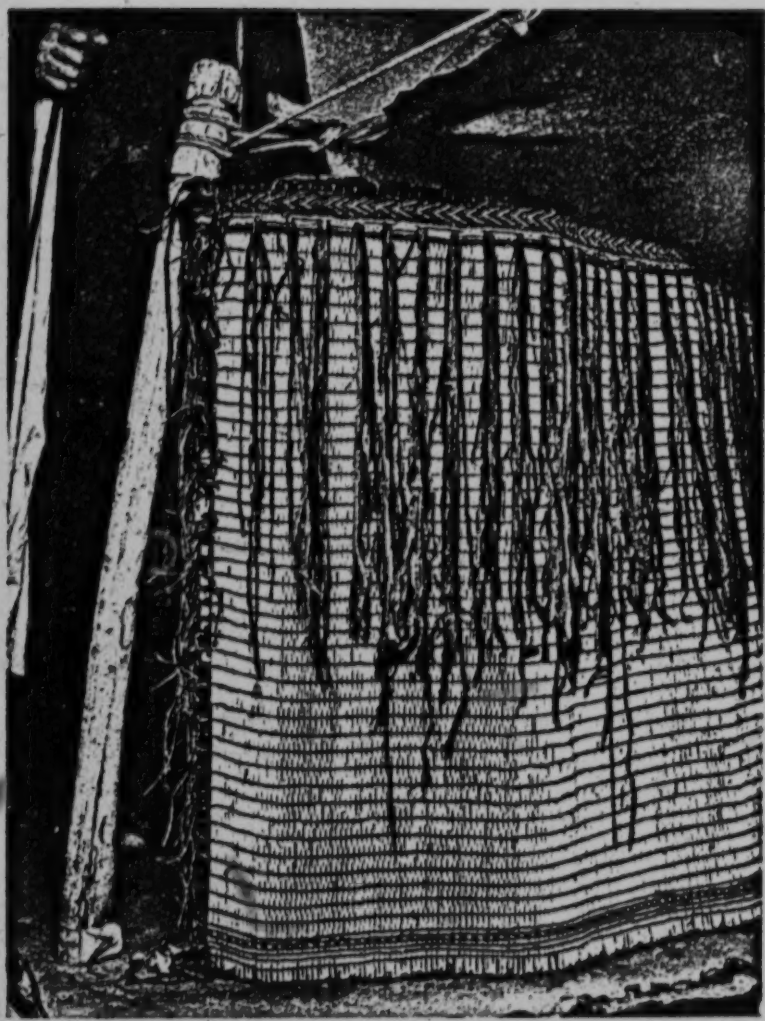

Fig. 268. Mat of *efeye* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) ornamented with coloured leather fringes. The mat belongs to Olufsen's collection from Ahaggar, and the photograph was taken in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen. Dimension: 8,87×0.85 m. (N.M. G. 1.4).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 a similar cross-bar is placed at some distance from its first-mentioned counterpart, and these two pairs of poles, with their cross-bars, are connected with one another by means of horizontal sticks or rods lashed to the cross-bars and the vertical poles around their prongs. It is not known whether this system constitutes the whole structure, and it is also unknown whether the long horizontal sticks or rods follow the longitudinal direction or are placed at right angles to it.

B.2.d. *Skin tents supported by two pairs of forked sticks with cross-bars and a system of cords in the longitudinal direction*

This type is described by Urvoy from "French West Africa", and is perhaps common among certain south-western Tuareg though this is not explicitly stated by the author. The structure is claimed to be in ordinary use, and is briefly as follows:— The two pairs of two forked sticks with their cross-bars are placed parallel to each other. Two cords, made from goat's hair or leather, cross this structure in a longitudinal direction running over the forked sticks and the ends of their cross-bars, and are attached to small wooden pegs driven into the ground at the narrow ends. The idea of this cord system is not quite clear. The sheet is attached to poles outside the structure. The cords running over the wooden skeleton may serve as a support for the sheet, but it may also serve to create a more solid position for the wooden structure (cf. Urvoy 1942, p. 33 ff.). [284]

B.2.e. *Skin tents with longitudinal cross-bars connected with horizontal sticks*

A tent apparently of this structure is depicted by Lhote. The whole edifice is not seen on his photograph, but it is suggested that it is as follows:— Two rows of three forked sticks parallel to each other. Each row has a horizontal cross-bar resting in the prongs, and these two parallel cross-bars are connected with each other by means of three or four horizontal sticks at right angles to the longer cross-bars. The photograph of this tent, which seems to be a very small one, is taken among *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg in the region of Gao (cf. Lhote 1947a, photograph No. 80 p. 113).

B.2.f. *Skin tents with pairs of forked poles carrying horizontal cross-bars*

Such tents are widely found in Tuareg country. They are recorded from the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram*, the *Iforas* Tuareg of Adrar-n-Foras, and from the Ahaggar Tuareg. The sub-types described below are closely related to each other.

B.2.f.1. This type is described in detail by Lhote from *Iwellemmeden Kel Ataram*. It consists of three pairs of forked poles or sticks which carry horizontal cross-bars at right angles to the longitudinal direction. The forked uprights are known as *tigettewin* (sing. *tagettiwt*), and the cross-bars are called *chiburgin*. The distance between the middle pair and the two outer pairs of uprights with their cross-bars is about 1.50 metres, and the middle pair is generally somewhat higher than the two outer pairs. Nine uprights depicted by Lhote vary in height from 1.20 to 1.44 metres and have a diameter of about 0.03 m. The three pairs of uprights and cross-bars are connected with a leather cord. This ties the cross-bars to their forked uprights and connects the latter poles with each other in the longitudinal direction. The leather cords adds to the solidity and flexibility of the structure. The sheet which rests

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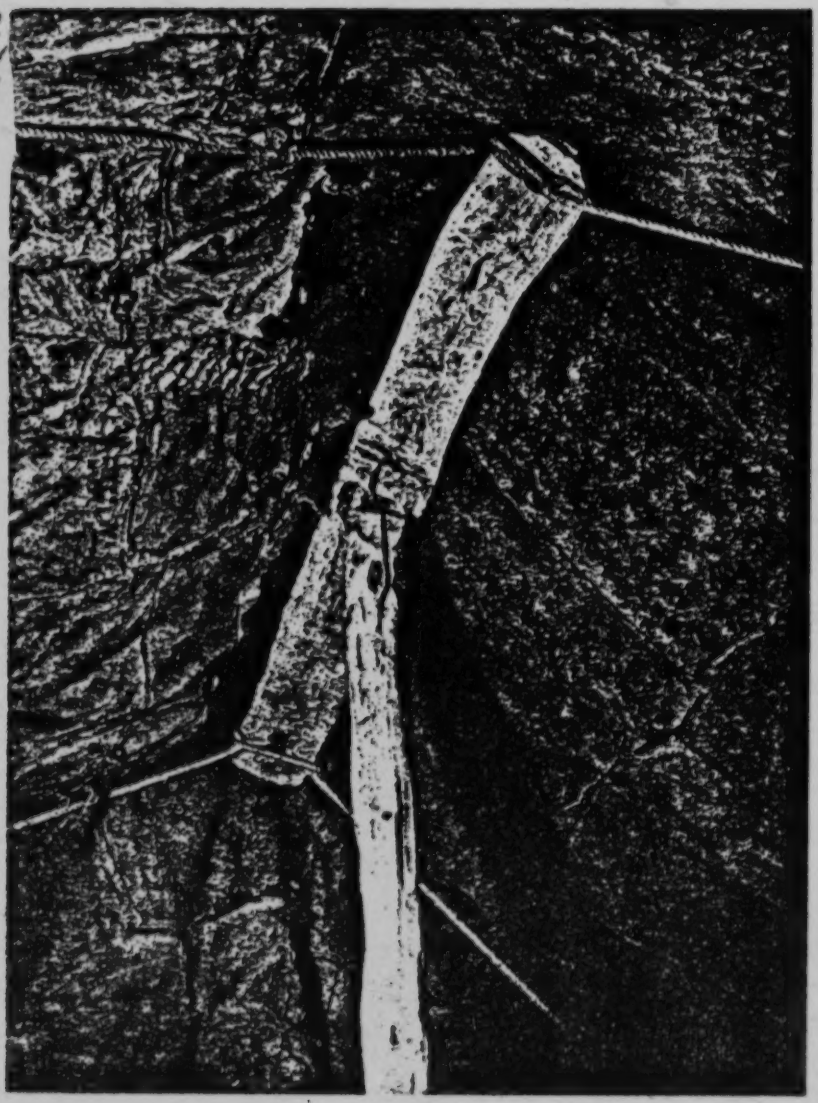

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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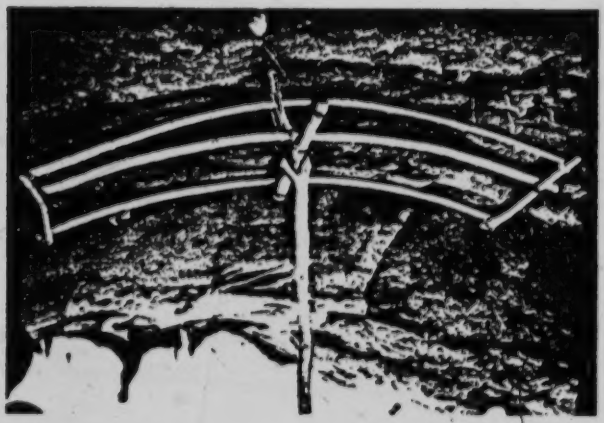

Fig. 283. Cross-bar (*tamankayt*) of the B.2.g.7 type. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Ireḡenaten* tribe.

in case of very extreme heat in the summer make a kind of primitive T-shaped post from a simple bough of tamarisk, to the top of which they attach a short stick of the same material. They then wrap pieces of old cotton around the place of attachment in order that the post shall not gall the sheet. [114] But though I have lived among vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar over extremely long periods of the hot season I have seen such primitive T-shaped posts only once. As already stated T-shaped posts seem to be advantageous also during heavy showers of rain as the water quickly runs off the sheet. However, I have never seen vassal Tuareg use simple T-shaped posts in case of heavy rainfall, for they content themselves with holding a stick or pole against the sheet as long as rain falls. Primitive T-shaped posts like those just described from Ahaggar and consisting of a simple post at the top of which a short horizontal stick is attached, seem to be a mere imitation of the true T-shaped posts. However, there is another and very interesting type of T-shaped post, which I describe below under the two headings:—

[361] B.2.g.7. This tent I saw in a camp of *Ireḡenaten* Tuareg not far from I-n-abanṛerit in the Tamesna Plains. The tent had two pairs of forked sticks (*tiḡeṛṛewin*) each pair carrying a horizontal cross-bar (*areḡaraḡa*). These forked sticks with their cross-bars were about 0.70 m high. While these sticks were buried in the ground there was between their two cross-bars a central forked post (*aḡet*) about 1.20 metres high. In its prong it carried a most unusual cross-bar called *tamankayt*. This consisted of a wooden frame 1.44 m long and 0.72 m broad made from three long sticks attached to three short ones the middle one of which was particularly heavy and rested in the prong of the central post (cf. Fig. 283). The short sticks were parallel to the two outer cross-bars and at right angles to the longitudinal direction. In other words, the length of this cross-bar frame followed the longitudinal direction of the tent, but in spite of this we can speak of a cross-bar placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction, as one of the short sticks of the frame rests upon the central post. The frame-like cross-bar was not fastened to the outer cross-bars with cords, and the central post was not buried in the ground.

Plate IX

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Young Tuareg woman of noble class brushing her teeth with an irak stem. Notice behind her the mat called asaber used to surround the tent.

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Young Tuareg couple seated in the shelter of the asaber. Behind them is a household servant, a taklit of Sudanese origin.

342 crosspiece forming the central frame; four vertical stakes are placed two by two on each side of the tent.

[171] This model used to be much more widespread in the Ahaggar, and it seems to be an older form, for the model presently used must have been taken from the Ioullimmiden. All the old people recall having seen it used in their youth in all camps on an equal basis with the vertical stake form.

The tent with arches, the upper part of which forms a kind of dome, is better able to withstand the rains than the other. If [182] that was its raison d' [132] être, we may understand why it disappeared with the gradual drying out of the Sahara. This disappearance may also have been caused by the difficulty of procuring large roots to make the arches.

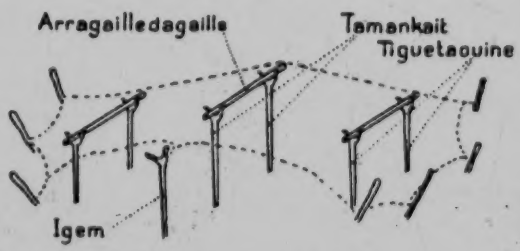


Fig. 25. Tent used by the Kel Rela. During the rainy season, the two central stakes are replaced by a single stake holding up a ridge tile.

[386] The awning is always covered with a coat of red ocher which protects it from the heat of the sun and from the rain.

[285] In both models, the tent always includes a sort of detachable closing made of a long mat (asaber) woven from the stems of graminaceae. It is unrolled inside around the stakes to close the tent completely. High up in the mountains the Tuareg reduce the inside area of the tent in order to keep warmer, and provide the part opposite /225/ the opening with a little stone wall which effectively protects them from the cold. The door is always opened toward the south.

352

furniture. These objects are not numerous and reflect the primitive life led by the Tuareg.

On the left side of the tent is generally found the goatskin water bag, hung on two wooden stakes placed in a V-shape. An old piece of cloth often covers it to protect it from the sun. The waterskin is often empty, for the Tuareg are not very farsighted. When there is water, they drink; when /229/ they are out of it, they stay there waiting a half day until the Iklan get back from the well. [415 271]

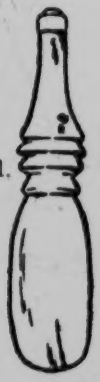

Fig. 28.
Tent shovel.

[412]

[574]

When a traveler passes by, he is most generally assailed with demands for water, while he himself often hoped to find some in the camp.

In front of the door and close to all the tents is an enormous wooden mortar and its pestle, in which the servant girl crushes millet and dates. By searching a bit in the tent or in the shelter used as a kitchen, one may find two or three hemispheric wooden dishes destined to hold food and two or three conical bowls serving as drinking vessels. Hanging on one of the outer stakes of the tent are a wooden milking vessel, an esparto winnowing basket for sifting millet flour, serving at the same time as a dish cover, one or two little esparto mats which can serve the same purpose, and finally a few wooden spoons. Each mistress of a tent has a little 412 415 [357] [252] [285]

Wood furnishes containers for food, drinking vessels, milking 322
vessels, mortars, pestles, tent stakes, crosspieces and boards for making saddles. The Ahaggar does not have more than five or six species of woods which can be worked, and the articles, very simply shaped, are much less varied than in the Sudanese tribes.

All Ahaggar women, noble or vassal, know how to tan, re- 281
move hair from, sew, decorate, and embroider leather. They are 462
able to make a waterskin needed to carry water, prepare skins to make tents, and manufacture bags for transporting food and personal objects. They have all become so expert in these labors that it is

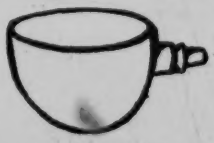

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Fig. 47. Amoula, a little wooden "bottle" for young children to drink from.

difficult to find any other peoples in the world who possess such a developed leather craft.

The scarcity of vegetable materials in the Ahaggar is one of [137]
the reasons why the use of esparto is relatively restricted. Only the 285
stems of a graminacea common in the wadies (Panicum turgidum) [824]
are used to make mats -- large enclosing mats which surround the tent, sleeping mats, mats for covering plates.

/278/ The stems are bound by little leather thongs, and the [283]
combination of graminacea and leather is extremely effective; it [531]
allows very regular geometric decorations at the same time as a very solid work.

There are no esparto vans among the Tuareg. The women 291
use palm-leaf vans and hats, but these articles are the work of the 415
Harratin from the little palm groves of Silet, Ideles, and Abalessa. 438

182 and the Tuareg of the Ahaggar as a nation, too stubborn to adapt themselves to any way of life other than their own, have at last signed their name to the ever-lengthening list of vanishing peoples.

Shelter. The typical dwelling of the Ahaggar
342 Tuareg is a leather tent, made preferably of the skins of goats although sometimes those of sheep or even calves are used (fig. 36). A tent of mouflon skins is considered the height of luxury and elegance, but it is almost impossible to come by enough of them to make such a tent nowadays. The prepared skins are
281 very soft and have a pleasing dull red brick
342 color which is produced by rubbing them on both sides with a mixture of red ocherous clay and dried camel dung. After being prepared and cut down to rectangular form, they are sewed together with fine strips of leather. Anywhere from 30 to as many as 150 may be used to make a single tent, but the first number is not far below the average. A finished tent of ordinary size weighs about 50 pounds more or less.

342 Tents are mounted on wooden frames of various closely similar types, the most common of which consists of three elements, each composed of two uprights with a horizontal member laid across their tops. The highest element is set in the middle with one upright in front and the other in the back, and the two remaining elements are set up parallel to it, one on either side. The tent covering is then stretched over this framework, with its back and sides pegged down and the front left open, usually facing south. In good weather the overhanging front of the roof is stretched out horizontally to form an awning held in place by three supplementary posts, one in the middle and another at each end. The average tent is 6 to 10 feet deep from front to back, 10 to 15 feet wide and 4 to 5 feet high in the middle, with the roof sloping away very gently on both sides and toward the back wall. The structure is completed by
[285] long strips of stiff, yellow matting made of
351 thin reeds, roughly 3 feet wide and up to 20 feet long more or less, with simple geometric designs in black or reddish brown leather ribbon woven into them. These strips are set on edge around the inside of the tent so as to make an inner wall at the back and sides,

tanned and sewed together. The assemblage of these hides [281]
constitutes the cover, the essential part of the tent, and is 342
called "ehakit" ⵅⴰⴽⵉⵜ .

The tent is supported by a central master beam called
"tamankaït" ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵏⴽⴰⵉⵜ .

A pole, "idjem" ⵉⴷⵊⴻⵎ , is placed at the entrance
of the tent and is flanked right and left by poles called
"madar'en" ⵎⴰⴷⴰⵔⴻⵏ . /26/

Other poles are used to hold up the edges: these are the
"tissedass" ⵜⵉⵙⵙⴷⴰⵙ . The little pegs that hold the tent
to the ground are called "tisselitaï" ⵜⵉⵙⵍⵉⵜⴰⵏ . Some-
times bows are also used, called "adjedjou" ⴰⴷⵊⴻⵊⵓ ,
plural "idjedjan" ⵉⴷⵊⴻⵊⴰⵏ .

The tent is surrounded by mats of "afezzou" ⴰⴼⴻⵣⵣⵓ [285
(Panicum turgidum, Graminaceae), called "asabar" ⴰⵙⴰⴱⴰⵔ 824]
plural "isebran" ⵉⵙⴻⴱⵔⴰⵏ , which are pulled back in the
day and drawn close at night, to close the tent.

In the tent one finds first that which concerns water, that 352
is, waterskins, "abe'or'" ⴰⴱⴻⵔⵔⴰⵔ , plural "ibiyar'" 415
ⵉⴱⵉⵢⴰⵔⵔⴰⵏ , hung on forked sticks, "tidjettaouin" ⵜⵉⴷⵊⴻⵜⵜⴰⵓⵉⵏ .
They are filled by means of a funnel, "asegueffi" ⴰⵙⴻⴳⴻⴼⴼⵉ ,
plural "isegueffa" ⵉⵙⴻⴳⴻⴼⴼⴰ . To water the camels, the 231
Tuareg use troughs of hide supported by hoops at the top and
called "tafaraout" ⵜⴰⴼⴰⵔⴰⵓⵜ , plural "tiferouin" ⵜⵉⴼⴻⵔⵓⵉⵏ .
They also use these troughs for the harvest of "toulloult" grain 243
(Arthraterum pungens, Graminaceae) or of "afezzou" (Panicum
turgidum, Graminaceae).

For milk and butter, they have a waterskin for milk, 415
"tanouart" ⵜⴰⵏⵓⴰⵔⵜ , plural "tinouarin" ⵜⵉⵏⵓⴰⵔⵉⵏ , and
a kind of porous water jug made of a hollowed gourd and called
"az'enou" ⴰⵣⴻⵏⵓ . To ladle the milk, serve it or pour it,
they use a wooden vessel with one handle called "asoukal"
ⴰⵙⵓⴽⴰⵍ . To store and transport melted butter, "oudi," they
have waterskins of various shapes, the most common being the
one called "tahattint" ⵜⴰⵀⴰⵜⵜⵉⵏⵜ , but they also sometimes [281]
use the tanned hide of a camel's thigh. /27/

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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53. An Ag Adar basket maker.

[p.242]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*492 fixed with a rope running under the tail and/or a rope around the camel's chest. The *ɛlaki*-saddle is [184] unknown to the Ayr Tuareg, but I have seen it in use among Arab traders living at Iferwan of Northern [171] Ayr. It is by far the most common type of pack-saddle in both groups of Northern Tuareg.

Another type of pack-saddle named *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* corresponds to the *ḥerej* saddle of the Arabs. It is used occasionally by the Northern Tuareg, but I have only seen it among the *Kel Aïjer*. The saddle-frame is made from date palm ribs and consists of two cross-bars connected with each other by two crossed sticks at both sides. One of the cross-bars rests in front of the animal's hump, the [283] other behind. The frame is lashed together by means of strips of raw camel-hide and is fastened to two pads of palm bast as can be seen from the photograph Fig. 57. As far as I know this saddle-type, [563] like the type above-mentioned, is manufactured by palm-growing agriculturists of the oases. This saddle type seems to be unknown among the Ayr Tuareg.

The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is known to them as *aruki*. It consists of one ● [28] wooden arch lashed to two flat boards (Fig. 58). These two sideboards are attached to two pads made from hay stuffed into tubular pieces of dum palm matting. The two pads or mat cylinders are fitted on each side of the camel so that the wooden arch rests in front of the hump. But there is also a rear pad consisting of a stuffed skin-bag laid over the camel's back behind the hump and attached to the wooden arch by means of cords. The loading cords bear on this stuffed skin-bag and on the mat-[564] cylinders in front of the wooden arch. The wooden arch is manufactured by blacksmiths, while the side pads and rear pad are made by the Tuareg. The saddle is not generally fixed to the camel by means of girths or cords. The place of origin for this saddle-type seems to be Ayr. It is used also among the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, and it seems as if related saddle-types occur elsewhere in the south (cf. p. 311).

*492 Transportation bags of various types are used for camel loads, but the very large bags woven from 415 a mixture of goat's hair and camel's wool so typical of northern Arab pastoralists are not in current use among the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Aïjer*, and are entirely unknown to the Tuareg of Ayr. The [563] Northern Tuareg generally use bags made from the skin of barbary sheep, or bags made from date palm bast by the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. Fig. 59). In Ayr the Tuareg normally use transportation bags of plaited dum palm leaves.

The ideal load of a camel consists of two bags forming a total weight of up to 200 kgs for a very strong animal. The two bags, which together form one load, are each provided with two short loading loops. They are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *elrerwet* when bags are woven, as *tadekmert* when the bags are of skin. The loading is done as follows:— The two bags are lifted up and supported against the sides of the recumbent pack-camel by two men who put the loops of one bag into those of the other and insert between them two little sticks, known in the north as *tihdad* (sing. *tehedit*). To unload the camel all one has to do is to pull out the two small sticks inserted between the loops, [171] and the two bags fall to the ground. This same system is also used in Ayr, and, I believe, among all camel-breeders of North Africa. - To secure the load in a fixed position it is very common to surround its two halves with a rope (*akhamil* in Ahaggar), which is laid over the saddle-frame before loading and another rope around the luggage and the belly of the pack-camel is also used if considered necessary.

*492 When camels are taken to the camp from pasture, they are sometimes mounted without a saddle

[text continues on p. 78]

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Fig. 59. Transportation bag (*achchebker*) plaited from cords of date palm bast. Made by *Hurrarin* of Tidikelt, bought at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 1.18 m long, 0.58 m broad. (N.M. G. 5217).

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that it is manufactured by pastoral Tuareg of these regions and not by blacksmiths, though the latter may also make such saddles for their own use. The wooden structure is made of two cross-bars, which are natural prongs fashioned with knife and axe, and these two cross-bars are lashed to each other at their lower ends, or are connected with each other by means of two sticks crossing each other at the two sides. A wreath of slender roots of *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) covered with a network of dum palm rope may serve as a saddle seat, which can also be covered with a piece of matting plaited from the leaves of the dum palm tree. This very simple saddle may perhaps be considered the prototype of the more developed riding saddles of the *térik* and *tahyast* types.

All the above-mentioned types of riding saddles are placed in front of the camel's hump and rest upon two to four saddle cloths, the number depending upon their quality and also upon the nutritional condition of the animal. Two saddle-cloths are considered enough for a fat camel while four should be applied to a very thin one. Saddle cloths are frequently called *ésatfar* (Ayr) or *asetfer* (Ahaggar), but this name is in fact used for everything placed upon the back of an animal to protect it against galling from the luggage and/or the saddle. Saddle cloths for camels are properly termed *éselis* (Ayr) and *ameslak* (Ahaggar). Both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr saddle cloths are generally made of cotton, but they are also made from dum palm matting and a piece of leather among the Ayr Tuareg (Figs. 66-67). The riding saddles are fixed to the camel by a single girth known as *ahayif* (Ahaggar) or *azuw* (Ayr). In the north such girths are normally made from goat-hair while the Ayr Tuareg use plaited leather (goat-skin). Girths in both regions are frequently furnished with a very large tassel hanging down from the right side of the camel (Fig. 69). On rare occasions when the Tuareg ride their camels with all possible speed, e.g., at the annual camel races organized by the French administration, the riders often secure the position of their saddles by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren* among the Northern Tuareg) tied around the hind part of the camel as shown by the photograph Fig. 68.

The camel rider sits in the saddle cross-leged with his feet resting upon the camel's neck. To accelerate the speed of his riding animal he pushes one of his feet against its neck in step with the rocking gait peculiar to camels. A whip (*alekkad*) also belongs to the equipment of the rider. Most whips have a single lash made from a twisted strip of hide, but whips provided with two lashes of hide attached to a wooden handle are also found and are common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Figs. 70a–b). The whips used in the north are said to be made from camel's hide soaked in water; the raw hide is twisted and kept in this position until it is dry. The Ayr Tuareg say that camel's hide is not well fitted for whips, which among them are manufactured from the raw hide of a newly-killed ox. A piece of this hide is twisted and left to dry as in the north. The handle of the one-lash whip is made of cotton wrapped around the upper part of the lash and covered with coloured goat-skin.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular implement to hasten the speed of riding camels. It is described in literature notably by Foucauld. It consists of a slender iron rod 0.35–0.50 metres long, fixed into a wooden handle. It has a small crook much like that of a staple and is used for scratching the animal and thus to incite it to greater speed. It is called *azalla*, or *asekred* (Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 856 & IV, p. 1960). I have never seen this peculiar implement among the Tuareg.

A camel rider's equipment comprises various types of skin bags of which the most common is a

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Fig. 65. Riding saddle of the type known as *kantarki* or *delobi*. It is structurally related to the saddle depicted Fig. 64, but is covered with matting plaited of dum palm leaves. Ayr, the *Igendiynen* tribe. Dimension: 0.53 m high. (N.M. G. 6611).

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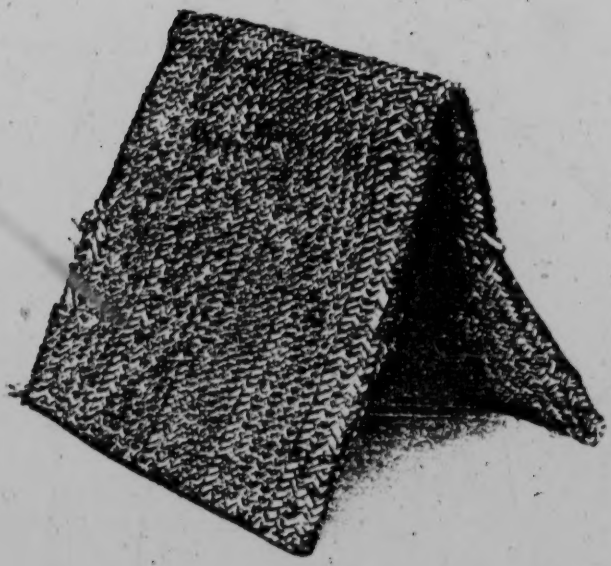

Fig. 66. Saddle cloth (*ésalis*) made of dum palm matting. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m high in bent position (N.M. G. 6657).

*492 *ilgam* (Fig. 73–74) made of leather by the *Imeggedezen*. Camels may also be provided with a bell (*anayna*) attached to a neck-collar (Fig. 74b). The Ayr Tuareg also use bells for roaming bull-camels, as I have myself seen, and for rams and he-goats, but never for oxen.

*492 562 565 The camel is used for riding by Tuareg men, while many women never mount camels. Among the Northern Tuareg most women of the true vassal class (*Imrad*, or *Kel Ulli*) only mount camels very occasionally, when they sit behind the saddle of their husbands or close male relatives. Their proper riding animal is the donkey. Women of the *Isekkemaren* class more frequently mount camels which are the correct riding animals for women of the nobility (*Ihaggaren*). Noble women never ride donkeys.

In Ahaggar proper riding saddles for women are found only in noble tribes, in the *Iregenaten* tribe, *492 and in tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. Such saddles are constructionally related to the transportation 562

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Fig. 68. Tuareg camel riders prepared for a camel-race. The fixed position of the saddles is secured by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren*) tied around the hind part of the camel. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*492 The saddle types just mentioned are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg and apparently also to
[562] other Tuareg of Ayr. Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group refer to these women's saddles as "Arab saddles", and when their women mount camels on festive occasions they do not use proper saddles but a kind of chair built up upon two very large cushions manufactured by the *Imeggedezen*, and stuffed with hay. The arrangement of this saddle-chair is complicated and it takes some hours to finish it. It is built as follows:— The two large cushions (*éstigen*, sing. *ésteg*) are placed on the camel's back in front and behind the hump. They support a superstructure known as *tésagaley* and made from various objects belonging to the tent in the following way:— (1) Two large and oblong skin-bags are stuffed with hay or old cotton pieces and each of them is wrapped with a coloured blanket to form an oblong parcel. (2) To stay these parcels a rolled bed mat (Fig. 212b) is tied horizontally to each of
[285] them, and they are laid parallel with each other on the ground. (3) A very long mat plaited from dum palm leaves is rolled up and wrapped into a coloured blanket or a coloured piece of cotton. It is bent into a U-form and thereupon attached to the two oblong parcels by means of cords. This superstructure is further covered with coloured blankets and pieces of cotton. It is placed upon the two large cushions and tied to them and fastened to the camel by means of cords and girths. When a woman rides in such a saddle-chair she sits behind the animal's hump so that she cannot reach the camel's neck with her feet. The back of the U-formed mat prevents her from falling backwards. The structure
*492 of the saddle-chair may be seen from the photographs (Figs. 76–77). It should be understood that a
562 saddle made in so difficult a manner is not used by the women except on festive occasions, such as
[489] travelling to attend a marriage or an Islamic feast. Apart from the very few noble women belonging
[560] to the two noble tribes within the *Kel Ferwan* group all women of this drum-group normally ride

[text continues on p.92]

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243 Wheat and barley grown in winter constitute the most important crops in Ahaggar, but, as mentioned,
[262] the gardens are also cultivated at other seasons, and crops of millet and sorghum taken in summer
are most important substistence for irrigation farmers in Ahaggar. Millet is known to the Tuareg as
[171] *énélé*; it seems to be the same species as that so widely grown by African agriculturists of the savannah
countries (*Pennisetum typhoideum*, or *P. Americanum*). Millet is sown in June-July and harvested in Sep-
[221] tember, or in October. Little work is involved with the cultivation of this plant which is never watered
[46] much (cf. p. 184), and the agriculturists do not carry fresh soil to the millet plots as they do to plots of
wheat and barley. Species of sorghum are less important than millet. The common species is known as
[386] *abora* or *tafsut* (*Andropogon Sorghum*). Another species is known as *tallak*; it has smaller seeds than
the species just mentioned, and is grown mainly because of its stems, which are reduced to powder
to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 282).

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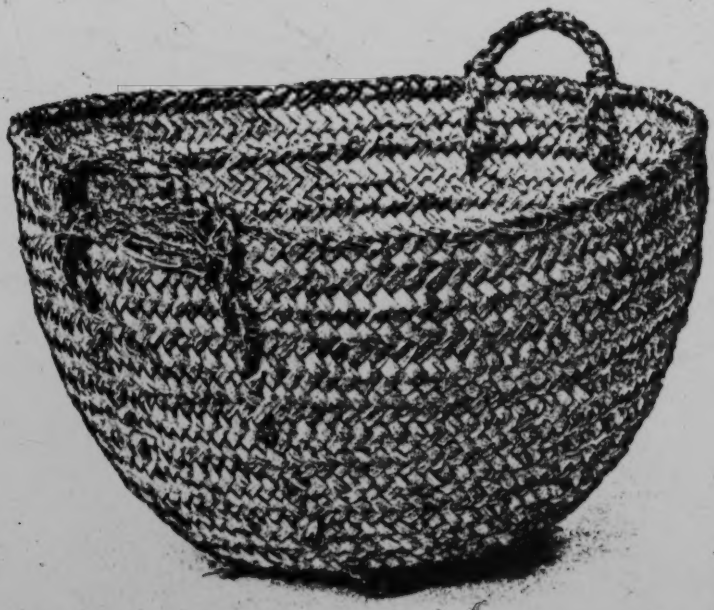

Fig 135. Basket (*ésenit*) of the type used for transportation of fresh soil to old garden land. It is plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*aḡum*) and has handles of rope made from date palm bast (*asen*). Soil is also carried to gardens in larger baskets (*téyerirt*, pl. *tiyrar*) loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, Abelessa. Dimension: 0.22 m high, 0.35 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5285).

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Fig. 153a–b. Tuareg funnels (*assegefi*, pl. *issegefa*) which are used for milk, butter, and for other liquids.
a. Wooden funnel ornamented by burning. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (F.M. 240).
b. Funnel plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) with the rim reinforced with leather. Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.135 m high. (F.M. 243).

234 In Ahaggar the method of churning butter is as follows:— Milk of the morning yield is put into a
*4/5 skin bag (*émesesley*) (Figs. 156–157) to remain in this bag until next morning when churning takes place. During the hot season the *émesesley*, filled with milk, is placed in the shade of the tent in daytime, while in winter it is placed in sunshine, or close to the fire. Some milk of the evening yield is sometimes added to the morning milk in the *émesesley*. Before churning the milk thus soured is poured into the proper churning bag (*aḡiwir*, *tanwart*) which is inflated and shaken. Churning bags may vary in size; when there is little milk to be churned a little bag is used and shaking is done holding it in the hands (Fig. 158). When milk is very pientiful, butter is sometimes churned in larger bags (*amwar*), which at one end is attached to a pole, while shaking is done by pulling the other end of the bag with one or both hands. When the milk is shaken in this way it forms small white balls of butter which
[412] are removed from the churning bag with a wooden spoon (Fig. 191) when water has been added. This
[262] white butter (*udi wa mellen*, or *tesendut*) is occasionally used for food without further preparation,
[824] but this is not normal, for newly-churned butter is generally put into an earthen pot (*téṛṛit*, or *ufrun*) (Figs. 186, 187a–b) together with parts of an annual plant known as *aymesnis* (*Chlamydophora pubescens*) (Fig. 160) to be heated over the fire. Some Tuareg also add meal of dried dates, or of horns of barbary sheep. After heating, butter (*udi*) assumes a dark yellow colour. It is stored in containers made of
251 *4/5 camel's hide (*tahattint*, *asaḡen*, *aṛañha*) (Figs. 161–162), or in Sudanese calabashes (*azenu*) (Figs.
[324] 163a–b). A particular metal pail (*éṛir*) (Fig. 164) manufactured by native blacksmiths is also used for butter in Ahaggar,

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Tuareg but also by the southern groups and by Arab pastoralists of the Sahara; it is also known in 234
the Atlas, and is on the whole widely distributed in Northern Africa. This type of cheese is known to [171]
the Northern Tuareg as *takammart* and it is manufactured as follows:— Fresh milk is heated and [415]*
then poured into a large wooden bowl (e.g., *tayekat*) (Figs. 195a–b). The milk is curdled into a mass
of cheese by means of a rennet (*akammar*) consisting of the abomasum of kids that have never tasted
anything but milk. The curdled mass of cheese is pressed with the hands and with a piece of straw- [215] ●
mat (*éseber*) in order that the liquids may separate. The mass of cheese is formed into small rectangular
pieces of cheese which are left on the little straw-mat for about one day. They are then removed to [417]
be dried finally on a platform (*takaqa*, *tafalkat*) made of branches.

Cheese made from fresh milk is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tekemmart*; it is manufactured to very
great extent and much in the same fashion as just described from Ahaggar. The abomasum of little [224]
kids or lambs to be used for rennet is named *tedayant*, and the Ayr Tuareg add parts of an annual
plant known as *ekochmaran* (*Carulluma Mauretii*) in order that the milk may curdle quickly. The [285]
Ayr Tuareg also use little mats plaited from stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) to press and
form the rectangular pieces of cheese; the Ayr Tuareg make mats (*ésebert*) (Fig. 168) particularly
for this purpose, while the Ahaggar Tuareg generally use an old piece of a tent mat (*éseber*). In Ayr
the rectangular pieces of cheese are dried on bunches of hay placed in trees (acacias), or on the top
of the mat-covered tents.

The *takammart* or *takammart* type of cheese made from fresh milk is in high esteem as food among 262
all pastoralists of the Sahara. It is generally eaten when newly-made and soft, though it may also be 251
stored. The Ahaggar Tuareg make this type of cheese only when milk is plentiful, while the Ayr Tuareg 234
manufacture it most of the year though the main season of cheese-making is the season of *akasa*. 221

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Fig. 156. Skin bag of the *dawaday* type used to sour milk before churning. Ahaggar, the *Ajjab-en-ahki* tribe. Dimension: 0.37 m high. (P.M. 170).

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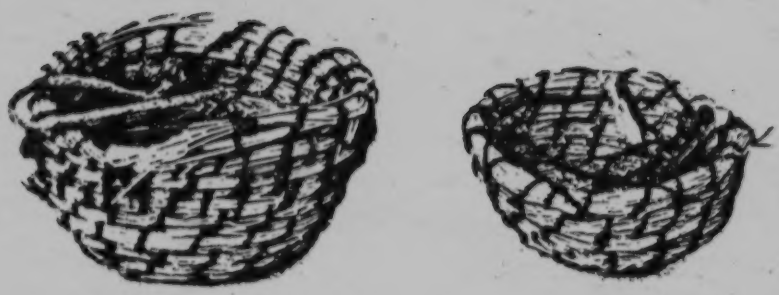

Fig. 167a–b. Baskets of the *aregas* type used for making butter-milk cheese (*awlez*). They are made from straw bent into circular bundles and kept together with thin cords (*ihafilen*) of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-sehid* tribe.
a. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.240 in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5818).
b. Dimension: 0.100–0.105 m high, 0.205–0.215 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5819).

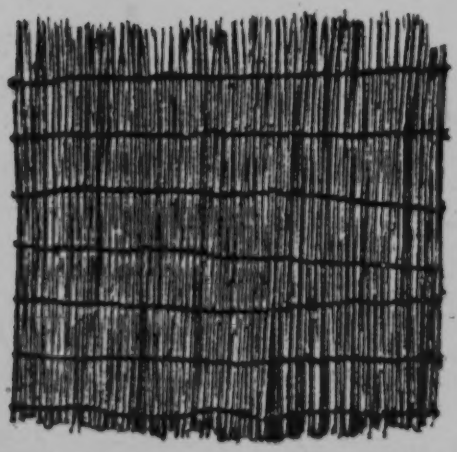

Fig. 168. The straw-mat (*tizebert*) used for the manufacture of *tokommart*-cheese known as *tokommart* in Ayr, that is cheese made from fresh milk. The mat is made of stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) united with narrow leather strips. Ayr, the *Kel Akerre* tribe. Dimension: 0.46 × 0.44 m high. (N.M. G. 6612).

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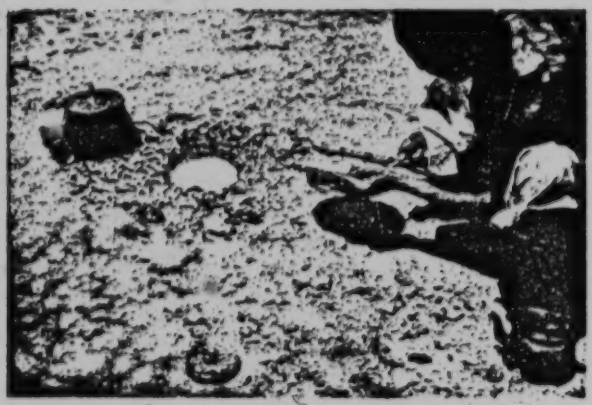

Fig. 183. Baking a *taferlis* bread. The gruel-dough before it is covered with sand, ashes, and embers. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

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Fig. 184. Plaited tray (*tiseyt*) which serves to winnow grain and flour but is used also for a cover of milk-bowls and eating bowls. Made according to the technique of coiled basketry by Tuareg woman. The plaiting material is straw of *taloggit* (*Juncus maritimus*). Ahaggar, the *Afuk-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.333–0.343 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5824).

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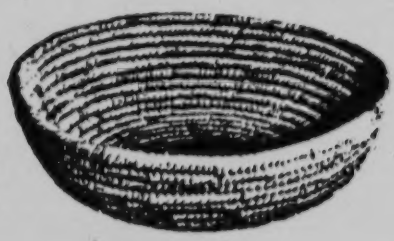

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Fig. 183. Tray or bowl (*tabeyka* – perhaps not correctly spelled). It is used for winnowing, and it serves as an eating bowl and a drinking bowl as this container is watertight. Coiled basketry of date palm leaves (*afum*). Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.285 m in diameter. (F.M. 263).

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Fig. 184. Pot (*tolekkint*) with a single handle. Manufactured by *Ḥarratin* women in Ahaggar, the *Afuk-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.18 m high. (F.M. 172).

in a mortar with a little water to a soft dough to which a little cheese, butter, or milk is added before 262
eating. If a large quantity of milk is added this dish is known as *tarkit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, as men- 252
tioned (p. 167), also pound dried dates with locusts to make a dish eaten by women who wish to grow fat. [261]

The Arabs and the Arabic-speaking agriculturists of Tidikelt (the *Ḥarratin*) have introduced among 262
the Northern Tuareg the well-known North African dish generally called kuskus. The dish is known [172]
to the Tuareg as *keskesu* which is also Arabic by origin. But this dish is not the staple diet among [171]
the Northern Tuareg that it is among the Arabs and the Berbers of the Atlas. It is eaten mainly on festive occasions, and there are many Tuareg women who even to-day do not know how to prepare it. The *keskesu* dish is preferably made from wheat flour, though barley flour may also be used. The 252
cereals are ground with hand-mills or quern stones (saddle querns), and the flour is rolled into very

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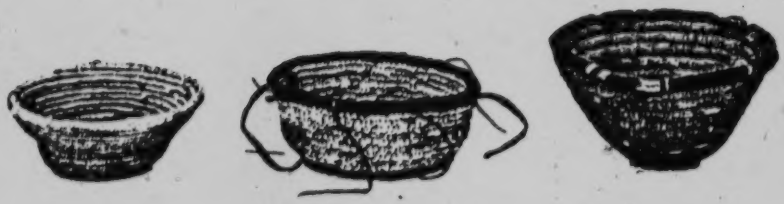

Fig. 196a–c. Plaited bowls in coiled technique. They serve as eating bowls for little children and are known as *tafakemi* (pl. *tifakem*).

a. Plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.036 m high, 0.100 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5213).

b. Plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.043 m high, 0.102 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5214).

c. Plaited from straw by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.105 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5844).

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Fig. 197. Small calabash (*tafakemi*) which serves as eating bowl for little children. Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.055 m high, 0.095 m in diameter. (F.M. 145).

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Fig. 210a–b. Two coiled baskets provided with lids.

[462] a. *takhlit*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*afum*) and reinforced with coloured leather (goat-skin). Manufactured by women of the sedentary *Kel Rat* in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, bought from blacksmiths at Tamanrasset in Ahaggar. Dimension: 0.13 m high. (F.M. 227).

b. *adobun*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*afum*). It is ornamented with coloured leather thread and with woollen yarn. Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.205 m high. (N.M. G. 5837a–b).

283 This stick, which is held in the right hand, is turned around its own axes while the hair taken out from the mass with the left hand is occasionally moistened with water or with spittle. The stick upon which the hair is spun is known as *aseggelem*. I have noted in Ahaggar that a length of 50–60 metres of spun hair can be made in about twenty minutes. Such a lenght of spun hair is trebled and attached to two sticks also known as *aseggelem* (pl. *iseggelam*). It is twisted together by two women each holding one of the sticks, and may be conserved for some time before it is finally made into a rope by further trebling and twisting (cf. Fig. 208). Certain cords to be used in connection with riding camels (e.g., reins) are not twisted in the above manner, but are plaited (cf. Fig. 51). The spun hair is used for the manufacture of certain objects without twisting (cf. Fig. 167a–b). Lhote states that the hair growing on the knees and neck of barbary sheep is also used for spinning (Lhote 1955a, p. 319).

[237] The Northern Tuareg spin camel's hair or wool (*tedufi*) which is used for very few purposes (cf.
[284] p. 67). But camel's hair is sometimes mixed with goat's hair to be spun for thread used for a primitive type of weaving; true weaving is an unknown craft among the Tuareg while important to Arab pastor-
284 alists of the Northern Sahara. The Tuareg type of primitive weaving with spun hair is carried out
* [415] with no other implement but the hand; it is used for small transportation bags known as *tirrar* (sing.
*itrerirt*), a word, according to Foucauld, derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776)
[114] (cf. Fig. 209a–b). I have myself never had the opportunity to see how weaving of this type is done.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



A photograph illustrating a women making a bag from spun hair is reproduced by Lhote, who states that bags of this nature are rarely manufactured nowadays and are made exclusively by a few noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe (Lhote 1955a, p. 319 f., pl. XV p. 384). This statement does not agree with information gathered by myself in Ahaggar, where I was told that bags were made from spun hair by Tuareg women of other tribes and notably by women of the *Isekkemaren* class.

In Ayr spinning of cotton is performed mainly to obtain sewing thread, which is considered superior to European thread for sewing cotton clothes. To my knowledge most pastoral women do not spin their own cotton thread but buy it at the market of Agadez. However I have noted the existence of simple cotton bows in a *Kel Tédalé* camp in the northern part of the Ayr Massif. The occurrence of the simple cotton bow among the Ayr Tuareg should no doubt be viewed in connection with the use of this implement in the Western Sudan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 260 ff.) from where the cotton plant has also been introduced.

Coiled basket-work plays an important part with the Tuareg, particularly the Northern Tuareg who are experts in this technique which is related to sewing. A very primitive type of coiled basketry

Fig. 211. Basket (*alegurgur*) plaited from date palm leaves (*afuss*). The handle is of date palm bast (*azza*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.38 m high. (N.M. G. 5835).

[Text continues on p. 268]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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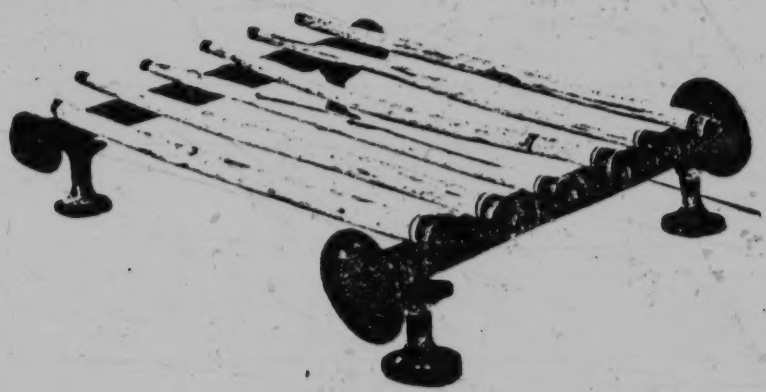

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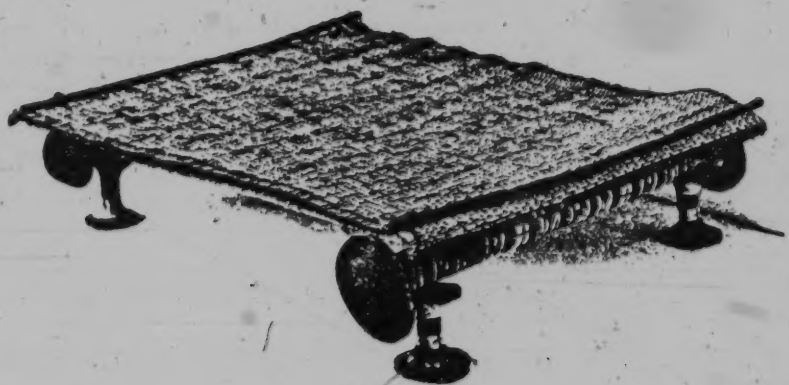

Fig. 212a–b. The large wooden bed (*tédabat*) which is used by all pastoral Ayr Tuareg.

a. The wooden skeleton consisting of the following parts:— (1) Four wooden legs (*tésetkeli*, pl. *tisetkal*). (2) Two horizontal cross-beams (*tabatukat*, pl. *tibatukatin*) carved into the shape of a disc at their ends. (3) Six horizontal poles (*afasas*, pl. *ifesasen*) resting in shallow grooves of the horizontal cross-beams. These poles are made from wood of a tree called *koriyo*; this type of wood is also used for the heavy cross-beam seen in the front, while the hindmost cross-beam is made of wood called *sereza*.

b. The wooden skeleton covered with two mats (*tésbert*, pl. *tisebrin*) of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). The stems of this grass are tied together with leather strips. Beds are frequently covered with three mats. Dimension of the bed: ca. 1.70×1.36×0.21 m. (N.M. G. 6640a–o).

may be seen in Fig. 167a–b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*tistent*) (Fig. 218a). 285 [413]

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a–c, 210a–b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*éstan*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices. [184] [432] [366]

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among the *Kel Ayr*. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*aḡum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*aleguiguten*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig 220b). This basket type (*tésenit*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals. [824] [413] [462] [184] [171] [415] *

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éseber* or *téserbert* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents, and they are manufactured by many women among the *Kel Ahaggar* (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers, and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*tédabut*) (Fig. 212a–b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Igdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south. [824] [351] [462] [352] [563] [462] [342] [438]

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitues the most important craft in the 281

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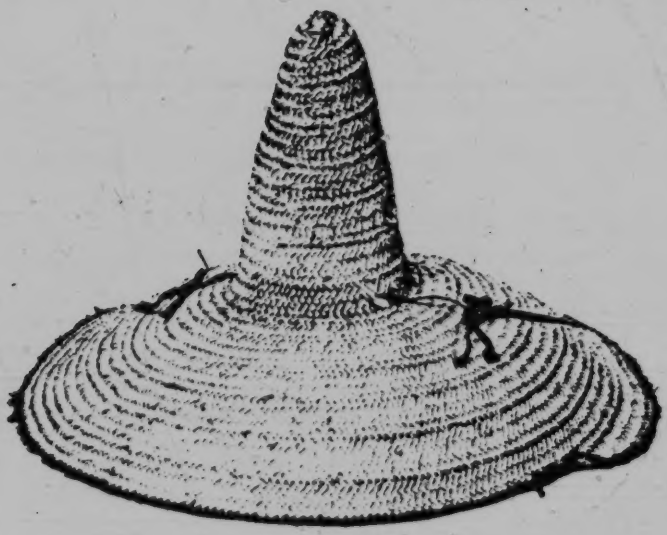

Fig. 231. Woman's straw-hat (*téléʿ*) plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*aḡum*). Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe; manufactured at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.565 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5276).

386 to the Ayr Tuareg as *tamezgoyt*. It is found both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, and is used for dyeing tent-skins (cf. p. 361).

281 A number of the most common skin bags and similar objects of decorated leather work made by
462 Tuareg women in Ahaggar are reproduced in Figs. 220–229.

* [415] Though the pastoral Tuareg women in the north are excellent leather workers they find their superiors
[564] in the blacksmiths women and those of the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Women of these sedentary negroid groups provide pastoral Tuareg with leather objects like sword-sheaths, amulet cases, leather purses, large saddle bags, cushions, and the like (cf. Figs. 72a, 76, 121a–b, 172a–b, 198).

# Dress

In this chapter on Tuareg dress I do neither describe all types of Tuareg garments nor dress ornamentation, but content myself with a brief description of the prominent articles of dress and of certain peculiar garments which are interesting and important for our understanding of the cultural position of the Tuareg.

In Northern Tuareg country pastoral women sometimes wear a large hat plaited from date palm leaves and known as *telé*, which literally means "shade" (cf. Fig. 231). However, hats of this kind are never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg who obtain them from sedentary agriculturists. Hats of the same type are very common further north in Africa where they are worn not only by women but also by men, and I believe that hats of this sort were introduced to the Tuareg by the Arabs and the Arabic speaking *Harratin*, who came to Ahaggar about a hundred years ago. In Ayr I have seen plaited hats worn by one or two black-skinned men of the *Kel Ewey* group. These hats are also used among the Hausa. True pastoral Tuareg like those of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not wear hats.

It seems as if the hat is a foreign element in Tuareg culture, and that as traditional head garments the Tuareg have nothing beyond the veil and the headcloth described in some detail in the general chapter about the Tuareg (cf. p. 14 f.). We have seen that both the veil and the headcloth are sometimes referred to as *alechchu*, "a piece of Sudanese indigo cotton sewn together from narrow strips or bands", for the traditional veil and headcloth are made from this type of cotton which is highly esteemed for many other garments. It seems to be the oldest type of cotton used for dress among the Tuareg, while white cotton of an ordinary type has been introduced more recently among them. The Ayr Tuareg use the word *maser* for white cotton woven in one piece, and they say that this word refers to *Misr* (Egypt) wherefrom cotton of this particular type was first introduced. It came much later than indigo cotton of Sudanese type, which has been known in Ayr from very ancient times.

Indigo coloured cotton introduced from the Sudan is very expensive and is nowadays used mainly for festive occasions, while daily dress, including the veil, is made of European cotton, which is indigo or white in colour. There can be no doubt that the comparatively cheap European cotton has displaced the use of skin or leather for daily dress. For we know that skin shirts were extremely common in Ahaggar at the beginning of the present century (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 112), and Duveyrier says that "le pardessus en peau" is held in esteem (Duveyrier 1864, p. 406). Before Duveyrier we have Lyon's statement that Tuareg of the Fezzan area use skin (leather) for dress:— "A leather kaftan is also much worn, of their own manufacture, as are leather shirts of the skins of antelopes, very neatly sewed, and well prepared". In addition Lyon depicts a Tuareg wearing a leather shirt with ample sleeves (Lyon 1821, p. 110).

[p. 287]

291 l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwilemmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

292 In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the [232] Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen [177] blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aglim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-[294] skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl (*ilstemi*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather [184] cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

178 Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like 291 many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

291 The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *iratimen* (sing. *iratim*) which [237] word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south. [438] The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where the type is also known by the Hausa word *takelmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in 294 detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following 281 way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig. [114] 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manu-291 facture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takelmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The [137] very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal [285] is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *ahisleplatine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

[text continues on p. 300]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 e(1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342

[351]

Fig. 261. The wooden skeleton of a large and very high *éhen* hut. The stone-ring serves to keep pebbles and impurities away from the dwelling. Ayr, Azzal.

[285]

Fig. 262. An *éhen* hut covered with mats like those used for barrel-vaulted dwellings among pastoral Tuareg of Ayr (right). To the left a *séjira* hut. Behind the *éhen* hut a glimpse of a beehive hut (*tanamt*). Many dwelling types are often found within a single village in the Sahara. Ayr, Awderas.

(3) To the three arches are now added two crossbars (*Isgar*, sing. *éseger*), resting horizontally in slender forked sticks (*isekan*, sing. *asekru*) which are fixed vertically in the ground. The two systems of crossbars are placed parallel to the three arches to constitute the narrow sides of the hut structure. The number of vertical sticks supporting a horizontal cross-bar vary.

(4) A number of slender rods (*ileliewan*, sing. *alellewa*), which, as a rule, are made from midribs of date palm leaves, are fastened to the horizontal crossbars and to the arches which they cross at a right angle. These rods, or semi-arches, are fastened in the same way as described below for barrel-vaulted dwellings of pastoral Tuareg.

The main structure of a not too large barrel-vaulted hut as that just described is very akin to that of the portable barrel-vaulted dwelling of Ayr pastoralists, but very large huts of the Ayr villages

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Songhai MS20



have a more elaborate structure as will be seen from the illustrations Figs. 260 & 261. A large hut may have even five or seven arches of different height, there may be up to ten sticks to support the rather long horizontal cross-bars, and the slender rods or semi-arches fastened to the cross-bars and to the arches may be as many as about 40, each rod being actually made from two pieces fastened to each other at the middle arch. In such very large huts there will always be a central post (*tégettewt*), which is forked at its upper end to support the middle of the central arch and thus the whole structure. The central post is the last structural element to be inserted. It is pressed against the middle of the central arch and is thereupon buried in the ground. T 342*

Barrel-vaulted huts of the *éhen* type are normally covered with mats plaited from dum palm leaves similar to the mats used for portable dwellings of the same type (cf. Figs. 262). But the lower parts of the hut may be covered with a simple mat plaited of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) identical with the mat which covers the lower part of a beehive hut. To fasten a grass mat of this kind it is necessary to attach a number of horizontal rods (*ilegwan*, sing. *élaweg*) to the vertical sticks supporting the horizontal cross-bars, and to the lower parts of the arches at the two long sides. T 342* 285

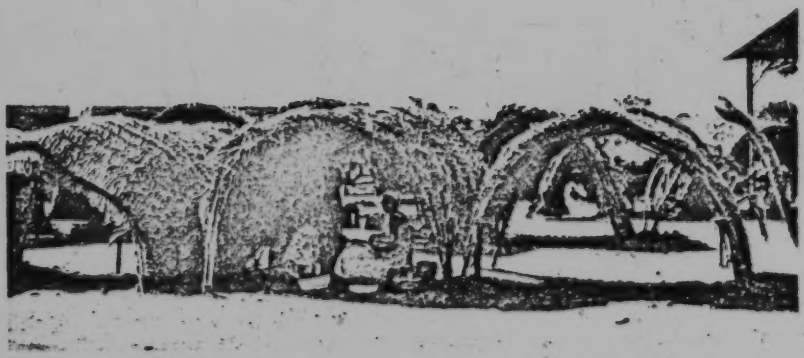

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Fig. 263. True barrel-vaulted structures covered with plaited mats and used for market-stalls by the Sonray of Ayoru on the Niger.

## B. PORTABLE DWELLINGS

*342 Portable dwellings represent a great diversity of types among pastoral Tuareg. I speak of all these dwellings as "tents". For practical reasons I distinguish between "mat tents" and "skin tents", and to make it easy to refer to definite types I give them particular numbers. I believe that most portable [12] dwellings of the Tuareg *are* historically related to each other and the problem of historical development is considered later in this chapter.

### B.1. *Mat Tents*

285 *342 Mat coverings are nowadays used only in Southern Tuareg groups, but they were formerly known also to the Northern Tuareg, for Duveyrier states that the Northern Tuareg may use for their tents a covering *éhen* "en tissu de chaume" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403).

Tent mats are of two different types, the more common one being that made from dum palm leaves plaited into long narrow bands which are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of a large needle (cf. Fig. 220b). Mats of this type are collectively known as *asala* (pl. *isalan*). The innermost mats which cover the upper part of the tent among the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*, among whom dum palm mats always form the main covering, are made from pieces of straw or similar material which are not plaited, but are attached horizontally to one another by means of thread in much the same way as the mats described p. 269, that is like mats of the *éseber* type. Where dum palm material is not available the tents may be covered exclusively with mats manufactured in this way, and a tent of this kind may then be referred to as *éwerwer* (pl. *iwerweren*), the word used for tent mats of this type. The *éwerwer* type of mat tents is described from the *Kel Dennek* country (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f., Fig. 31a–d), and it seems as if tents exclusively covered with mats of *éwerwer* type also occur among the *Béla* along the Niger (cf. Chudeau 1909, pl. XXXII & XXXIII p. 218).

*342 My knowledge of Tuareg mat tents derives from my studies among the Ayr Tuareg, the Ahaggar [14] Tuareg living in or close to the Ayr Massif, and the *Kel Geres*. Mat tents used among these Tuareg are largely identical, and the material I have collected in these Tuareg groups will now be presented:—

B.1.a. This is a mat tent like that generally used among the *Kel Ayr*. It has an elaborate structure:—

(1) Three wooden arches each consisting of two curved pieces of wood, lashed together when the tent is erected. These three arches are placed in the middle of the tent at right angles to its longitudinal direction. The two curved wooden pieces which together constitute an arch are not of equal length. The arch piece which is fixed in the soil at the frontal side is very long, while the other curved piece attached to it and buried in the ground at the back is shorter. The short curved arch-pieces of all three arches are known as *ineggebela* (sing. *aneggebalu*), while the three long wooden arch-pieces to which they are attached have different names. The curved frontal piece of the middle arch, higher than the two outer arches, is called *tekkekkewat* (pl. *tekkekkewatin*). The frontal arch-pieces of the two outer and lower arches are known as *t'ilisawin* (sing. *t'ilisawt*). These latter names are also used to designate the erected arches made from the arched pieces lashed together, so that the central arch is referred to as *tekkekkewat*, while the two lower arches are called *t'ilisawin*. – The curved pieces

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



– The curved pieces 342*

lashed together to form arches are manufactured by the Ayr women, or are imported from the south [462] by the *Kel Geres* Tuareg when they visit Ayr at the end of the rains. The arches manufactured by the Ayr women are made from the very long horizontal roots (*iékéwi*) of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*). [824] Pieces of root of suitable size are placed over an open fire for a while, and are thereupon bent [335] into the desired curve which is secured by cords. When the root pieces thus treated become dry they will retain their curved form; the cords are then untied and the root pieces fashioned with a knife. However, wooden arches imported by the *Kel Geres* are used by many Ayr Tuareg who claim that these arches are superior to their own. They are said to be manufactured from boughs (or roots?) of a tree known as *tarmumiya*, which does not grow in Ayr but in the *Kel Geres* country.

(2) Parallel to the three arches there are two pairs of cross-bars supported by vertical sticks, a pair being placed at both sides of the arches to form the narrow sides of the dwelling. These cross-bars are termed *isgar* (sing. *éseger*). They are sometimes made by blacksmiths, and are then provided with [531] various ornaments including a little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of the bar. In fairly large tents each cross-bar is supported by four vertical sticks, the two middle ones of which are generally forked, while the two outer sticks are somewhat higher and attached to the cross-bar with cords. All these vertical sticks, including the outer ones which have no prongs, are termed *tigettewîn* (sing. *tégettewi*). In smaller tents there are only two or three sticks supporting the cross-bar. The vertical sticks used to support the cross-bars are normally very simple. Sticks of the very light *turza* tree (*Calotropis procera*) are preferred.

(3) Over this skeleton of arches and cross-bars supported by vertical sticks are placed a number of slender curved rods which are termed *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*). These rods are made from acacia roots, as described above, or are rods of the *tarmumiya* tree imported from the south. These rods form semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the tent. Each of these semi-arches consists of two identical rods fastened to the horizontal cross-bars at their thick end, while at their thin ends they are lashed together and fastened to the true arches. There is always a considerable number of these slender semi-arches, normally about ten.

The Ayr Tuareg use the following types of mats to cover the upper part of the dome-shaped 342* structure:— *iwerweren* (sing. *éwerwer*), the mats made from plant stems tied to each other with leather 285 thread (cf. p. 350); *isfal* (sing. *ésefel*), mats of an oval shape plaited from dum palm leaves; *asalemamas*, a long narrow piece of mat made from dum palm leaves. In addition there is the term *érell* which designates the long narrow mat plaited from dum palm leaves surrounding the lower part of the tent structure. In very hot weather this mat is omitted so that currents of air may pass through the dwelling, while the tent is closed when it is cold, or during storms. A tent as that described has 342* a dome-shaped or barrel-vaulted superstructure, the ground-plan being almost rectangular. A tent of normal size will measure about 3.00 × 4.50 m with a height of 1.80 to 1.90 m.

The mat tent is erected by one or two Tuareg women in the following way:— [462]

(1) The ground is cleared; (2) The large wooden bed (*tédabut*), which is used everywhere in the [352] south, is placed upon the ground to facilitate measuring; (3) Two large pronged posts, which serve [353] to carry woman's riding cushions and various large skin bags, are placed behind the bed and fixed into holes dug by means of some iron implement, e.g., the cooking tripod, the broad end of a lance,

[text continues on p. 353]

or a large chopping knife of European origin; (4) Holes are dug with one of the implements mentioned in front of the bed and behind it, and the curved wooden pieces forming the arches are placed in these holes and are lashed together at their upper ends. These holes are 0.30–0.35 m deep; (5) Holes of the same depth are dug for the vertical sticks which support the cross-bars at both sides of the arches, the cross-bars being attached to the vertical sticks by means of cords; (6) A long cord is wound around the high middle arch so that the cord forms tight loops along the upper part of the arch; (7) The slender semi-arches, each consisting of two rods, are placed in the loops of the middle arch from both ends; (8) The thick ends of these rods are attached to the cross-bars with cords; (9) The upper ends of these rods are attached to each other to form semi-arches, and the wooden structure is now finished; (10) Two mats of the *ewerwer* type, which form the inner layer of the roof, are laid over the semi-arches; (11) Dum palm mats of oval shape are placed upon these mats; (12) A long and narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent following its longitudinal direction; (13) The mats are fastened to the wooden structure by means of a cord running over the high central arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction of the dwelling; (14) An oval dum palm mat is placed on each side of the high central arch, and these two mats are fastened to the wooden structure with cords attached to the two lower middle arches; (15) A long narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent along the high middle arch at a right angle to the longitudinal direction; (16) All mats covering the upper structure of the tent are finally fastened by means of a cord system running all over the roof and attached to the horizontal cross-bars and the lower parts of the arches; (17) The long narrow dum palm mat is drawn around the lower part of the tent if considered necessary. 342* [284] [285]

The mat tent is normally erected as here described, but all women do not erect their tents exactly in the order mentioned. The work seems to be very easy to the women who measure no distances. They seem to carry out their work automatically. I have not been able to control the amount of time needed for one or two women to erect a mat tent of the type mentioned, for the women are frequently interrupted in their work by many other household duties, by their crying babies, or by visitors from other camps, but I believe that one woman can erect this elaborate tent structure in about half an hour. 342* 461

There are some mat tents which are slightly different in structure from the above-mentioned tent. These are mentioned below:— 342*

B.1.b. Tents which are larger and have a more elaborate structure. Such tents are rare and are found mainly in the camps of chiefs. They may have four or five arches and a larger number of semi-arches than other tents. I have seen very large tents in the camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and the largest tent I have seen was that of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief. It contained two large beds and measured about 6.00 × 3.50 m; it was over two metres high at the middle arch. [634]

Mat tents of a less elaborate structure are not so rare. The following types can be mentioned:—

B.1.c. A tent structurally identical with B.1.a with the exception that it has only two arches which are of equal height. These arches are then both known by the term *tekkekkewin* (sing. *tekkekkewat*). Tents of this type with only two arches seem to be common among the *Ijoras* tribes of Southern Ayr.

B.1.d. A tent with two slender arches of equal height, secured in an erect position by means of cords from the middle of the arches to the middle of the horizontal cross-bars. This is not a common type, and I have seen only one such dwelling in a vassal camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. [184]

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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## The Erection of a Mat Tent in Ayr.

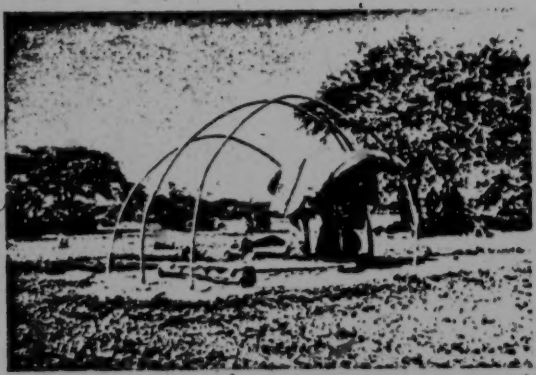

Fig. 265a. The wooden bed (*iddabar*) is placed upon the cleared ground. The pronged posts carrying riding cushions, skin bags, etc., and the curved wooden pieces constituting the three arches known as *tokkokkewar* and *t'illawin* are buried in the ground. The cushions and decorated skin bags resting in the heavy wooden prongs are temporarily covered with tent mats that their colours may not be damaged by sunshine.

Fig. 265b. The arch pieces are lashed together and the two horizontal cross-bars (*iqar*) are fixed to vertical sticks (*tigettewin*) buried in the ground at the narrow ends of the tent. A little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of each cross-bar is seen on this photograph.

[284]

Fig. 265c. A long cord is wound around the high middle arch to form loops for the insertion of the slender rods forming semi-arches in the longitudinal direction. The thick ends of these rods are fastened to the cross-bars but are not yet lashed together at their upper, narrow ends.

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**The Erection of a Mat Tent in Ayr.**

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Fig. 265d. The narrow ends of the pieces of longitudinal semiarches are lashed together. The tent structure is now finished to be covered with mats. The interior cover consisting of two rectangular mats made from plant stems and known as *Iwerweren* (sing. *Awerner*) is seen on this photograph.

[284]

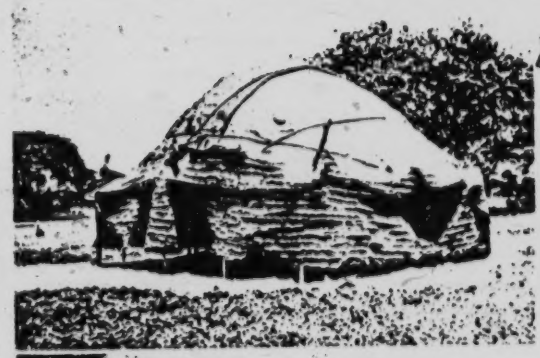

Fig. 265e. The dum palm mats of oval shape (*iafal*) and the long narrow dum palm mats (*asakemamar*) are placed over the *Iwerweren* mats and are tied to the dome-shaped structure with cords. The narrow dum palm mat (*dyell*) surrounding the lower part of the tent is fixed to the structure.

[133]

Fig. 265f. The mat tent is taken down for erection in a new place. The woman standing within the structure is loosening the looped cord which keeps the semi-arches to the high middle arch. It is not the same tent as that depicted Fig. 265a–e but the two tents belong to the same camp of the *Imezzureg* tribe near Agadez in Southern Ayr.

*342 281 shape. In Southern Tuareg groups the skin tents also vary much in size, but they tend to be larger. Thus it is stated by Nicolas that skin tents among the *Kel Denmek* measure up to one hundred square metres (Nicolas 1938, p. 54), and Lhote says that 80–150 skins are used for sheets of the very large tents of the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (Lhote 1947a, p. 100).

[807] The Tuareg themselves do not refer to the size of a tent by counting the number of skins, or by measuring. The size of a tent is indicated by reference to the number of skin rows in the longitudinal direction of the sheet, and these rows of skin are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tayda* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). I have myself seen extremely small tents having a sheet of only three *tayda*, but a tent of normal size will generally have four or five such skin rows, and some even have six or seven *tayda*. Among the Northern Tuareg the sheet is manufactured in Tuareg camps by pastoral women and their female slaves. Among the *Kel Denmek*, tent sheets are manufactured by women of the blacksmith caste (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 155).

[342 287 364]

*342 285 A mat to be drawn around the lower part of the dwelling constitutes a very essential part of Tuareg skin tents. This mat is generally made from the stems of *afezu* (*afezu*) grass (*Panicum turgidum*) tied together with leather strips as already described. A tent mat at times is divided into two halves which are rolled up and placed at each of the narrow ends of the tent during hot weather so that currents of air may pass through. When weather is cold and also when storms are raging, the Tuareg close their tents with these mats, which may also be drawn out to form a kind of low courtyard in front of the tent (cf. Figs. 267–269). The straw mat made from *afezu* stems tied to one another is known as *ćeber* (pl. *ćebrau*) both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, while the name of a tent mat among the *Kel Denmek* is *ßiteḳ* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154), or *ćhiteḳ* according to our transcription system. Among the Northern Tuareg, tent mats are generally about one metre high, while varying much as to length. These mats very frequently serve as a kind of wind-screen leaning against poles,

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Fig. 267. Skin tent seen from the back. The shape of the sheet is most irregular. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-ahlf* tribe.

[text continues on p. 364]

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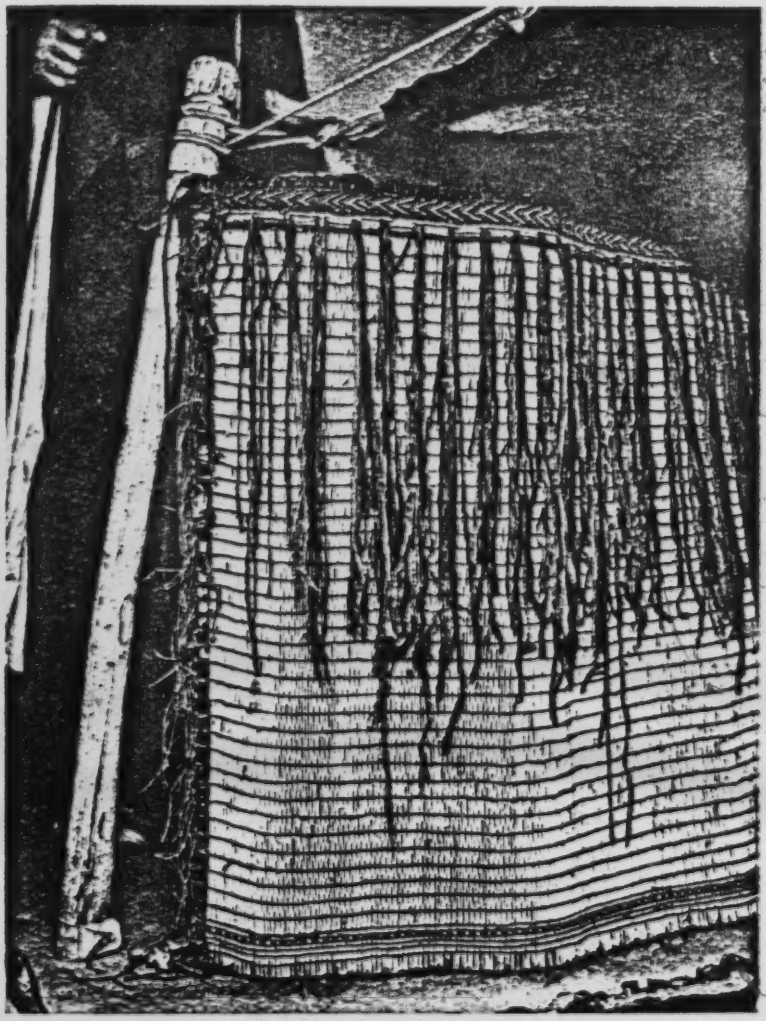

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Fig. 268. Mat of *afaye* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) ornamented with coloured leather fringes. The mat belongs to Olufsen's collection from Ahaggar, and the photograph was taken in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen. Dimension: 8,87 × 0.85 m. (N.M. G. 1.4).

*342 ● 285 and a mat-screen of this nature is known as *aṛnes* (pl. *iṛnesen*). It seems as if mats made from *afezu* stems tied to one another with leather thread occur everywhere among the Tuareg who possess skin tents (cf. illustrations of Lhote 1947a). These mats form part of the tent as they constitute its walls. I have only once seen true plaited mats used with a skin tent, and this was not inhabited by ordinary [351] pastoralists, but by blacksmiths (cf. Fig. 272). In addition to tent mats the Ahaggar Tuareg frequently use stone walls (*amutey*, pl. *imuteyen*) in front of their skin tent during the cold winter season (cf. Fig. 269b).

*342 Among all Northern Tuareg a skin tent is known as *éhen*, and the sheet is called *éhakit*. The *Kel* [281] *Dennek* Tuareg appear to use the same words for a tent and its sheet (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 153) while the Ayr Tuareg reserve the word *éhen* for a mat tent and employ the term *akum* for a skin tent. The Tuareg who use the word *éhen* to designate a skin tent will refer to mat tents as *asala* or *éwerwer* according to the type of mats used for a covering. We see that the word *éhen* is that generally used for a tent among the Tuareg. It is used for skin tents and mat tents alike. The Tuareg who live predominantly or mainly in skin tents use it for these dwellings, while Tuareg who live almost exclusively in mat tents reserve it as a term for their dwelling type.

Mat tents and skin tents may resemble each other in their structures but can also be very different. The mat tent is always an arched tent while this is true only of some skin tents. The main distinction between a mat tent and a true skin tent is that the mat covering is attached to the tent structure, while the sheet of skin is fastened to poles, pegs, stones, or other objects outside the structure supporting the sheet. Among most Tuareg who have skin tents there is a traditional system of poles or pegs for the fastening of the sheet.

In Ahaggar the tent sheet is traditionally fastened to twelve poles which are buried in 0.40–0.50 m deep holes dug by means of the digging stick (*élaweg*; Fig. 123, p. 179), with the broad end of an iron lance, with a wooden stick, and/or the hand. There are three poles in front of the tent, three at the back, and three at each of the narrow ends. These poles have their particular names. The poles placed at the narrow ends are known as *tisdas* (sing. *tasdest*), the poles placed at the back are called *unnusen* (sing. *unnus*), while the three poles placed in front of the tent have different names as follows:— the middle pole, which is higher than the two other poles of this row, is called *igem*, and the two other poles are known as *madaṛen* (sing. *madaṛ*). The use of these twelve poles is considered the correct method for tent erection, and they are always used in wedding tents; some Tuareg have poles beautifully carved by the blacksmiths, but for ordinary use the Tuareg do not always attach their skin tent to these twelve poles, but frequently use a few poles and attach the sheet to heavy luggage and the like, and at the back they may even place heavy stones upon the skin sheet. The poles placed at the narrow ends of the tent, known as *tisdas*, are also frequently substituted by small wooden pegs termed *tisettitay* (sing. *tasettiit*), and the sheet is then very close to the ground at the narrow ends. This same system of poles and pegs for fastening the skin sheet outside of the proper structure of the dwelling is also known to the Ahaggar Tuareg who live towards the south in the Tamesna plains, to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and also, I believe, to the *Kel Adṛaṛ*. Among the *Kel Dennek* there is a related system apparently comprising a few additional poles. The terms mentioned for these poles by Nicolas differ in his studies from 1938 and 1950. According to his last study the poles placed at the narrow end of the tent are termed *Ildel* (or *chidel*), while all poles placed in front and at the back of

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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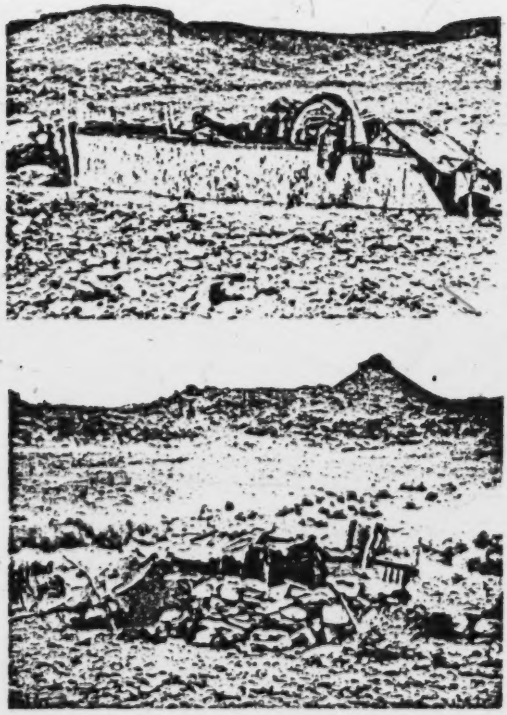

Fig. 269a–b. Skin tent of the B.2.f.3 type. The tent is surrounded by an *afezu* mat (*ɛseber*) and a stone wall (*amastey*) to protect the inmates against the cold winter winds. Ahaggar (the *Atakor* zone), the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

*342 the tent are called *igemawen*; but the frontal poles are also known by more particular names according to their position (*madaɣ*, *igam*, *aserriri*). The terms mentioned by Nicolas in his 1938-study are largely those used in Ahaggar for similar poles (cf. Nicolas 1938, p. 54 ff. & 1950a, p. 153 ff., pl. VIII). It would appear that a somewhat related pole-system is used for suspension of the skin sheet among the *Iwellemmeden Kel Ataram* where very elaborately carved poles are found (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 82 ff.), while among the *Tengerregif* Tuareg further west a large number of high unfashioned boughs or sticks are used to suspend the tent (cf. Lhote 1947, illustrations p. 128 f.). As to the Ayr Tuareg, I have never seen properly suspended skin sheets among them, and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg did not know any names for such pole systems. It would seem as if most Tuareg who live in skin tents use an almost identical system of poles to which they fasten the sheet. The sheet is never fastened to the

283 Spinning is done by all Tuareg women. They spin the hair of the
462 goat, the camel, and the wild sheep, making very solid cords and saddle girths.

286 Weaving is limited to the making of goat's-hair, or more rarely camel's-hair, bags. This is a very primitive technique which does not require any loom and which is, furthermore, in the process of disappearing from the Ahaggar, where only a few noblewomen still practice it. It is completely extinct in Sudanese tribes.

324 Stonework, a relic of Neolithism, was still carried on in the Ahaggar
438 a few years ago to make arm rings. Layers of granitoid schists were formerly worked
[415 at Aseksem and Terahart in the Tafedest. We also found
322] an ancient workshop south of Silet on the banks of the Tamanrasset wadi. Today all stone bracelets come from Aïr and a few from Hombori, where they are manufactured by Tuareg or Hausa artisans.

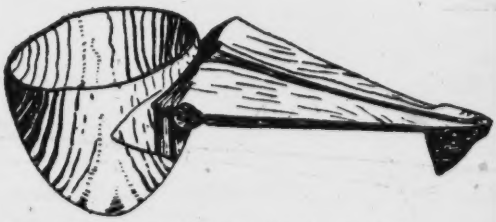

Fig. 48. Tabarekkat wooden ladle, also serving as a drinking vessel.

326 Metalworking is exclusively in the hands of the Enaden, who transform
[56] silver, copper, and iron. These materials, with the exception of iron,
do not exist in a native, workable state in the Ahaggar. But although iron
[135] ore is common /279/ in some volcanic rocks of their country, the Tuareg do not have it exploited, for it is found in such small particles that it necessitates a disproportionate amount of forge work for the quantity likely to be recovered. Nevertheless, the memory of casting ore still remains among the Enaden. They use several forges at once, but do not know
[439] the blast furnace. The caravaneers coming from the north or from the Sudan used to bring metals.

177 At the present time silver comes from coins which are melted. For
326 years the Tuareg have had Maria Theresa dollars at their disposal; these

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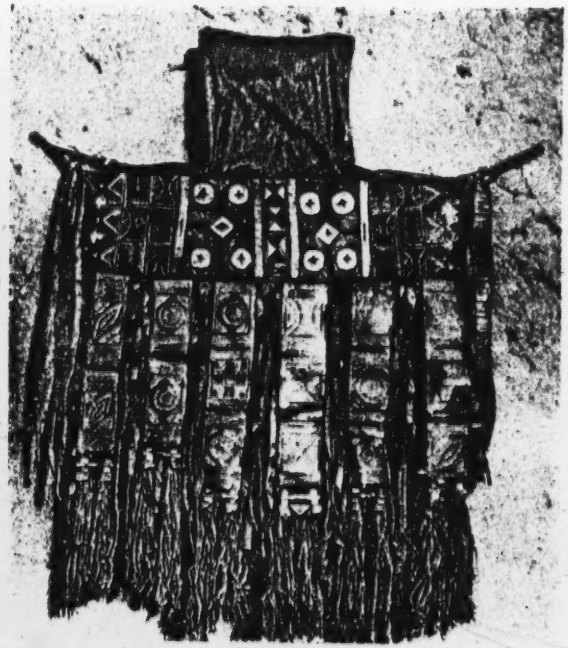
Plate XV



Goatskin bag used by women to transport their personal clothing. The very delicate decoration is obtained by cutting out the skin and applying embroidered leather.

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Old noblewoman from the Kel Rela tribe weaving a bag with goat's hair thread.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



younger animals which yield more milk. Again, the meat of very old goats is of inferior quality. Much goat-meat derives from he-goats of which a very limited number is needed for mating. Some Tuareg claim that one he-goat is able to cover about a hundred goats, but as a rule I doubt whether it would be called upon to do so. In any event, too many he-goats are brought forth, and even very young male kids are frequently killed and eaten as there will be more milk for the nomads when such animals do not have to be suckled. It is considered ideal that male kids which are not needed for reproduction, and which are not killed at very early age, should be castrated at the time when weaning takes place, but even old he-goats may be castrated to make them fat for slaughtering. 233* [262]

Though meat is not a stable dish of the Tuareg they have to kill a certain number of goats every year to obtain skin for the manufacture of various domestic utensils. The roaming life in the desert necessitates a great many containers for water, butter, milk, grain, dates, and the like, and bags made from goat-skin are appropriate for this purpose. Indeed, goat-skin is so important to Tuareg craft that in speaking of the manufacture of most domestic articles one can hardly avoid mentioning the word "goat". Thus, my fairly large collection of ethnographic specimens from the Ahaggar Tuareg contains about fifty different objects made entirely or mainly of goat-skin, which is also used for the manufacture of tents among the Northern Tuareg. Even nowadays, a few articles of dress are made from goat-skin, and goat-skin was in general use for this purpose in the past (cf. p. 287 ff.). 237 [415] [126] [342] [291]

Goat-hair is extremely useful to the Northern Tuareg. The hair is cut once a year in the hot season when the animals do not suffer from cold (cf. Fig. 98). It is spun into strong cords used for tethering animals, for tying up caravan loads, for reins, and the like. In certain tribes of Ahaggar it is also used for a very primitive kind of weaving (cf. p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b). [283] [286]

To understand the economic role of goat-breeding one must briefly touch on the question of size of flocks. Statistics concerning the ownership of livestock must always be regarded with much suspicion, as it is extremely difficult to obtain data. It is not only most impolite to ask Tuareg about the size of 233* 128

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Fig. 20. A kid with the stick (*akaru, azeghres*) pierced through the mouth as described in the text. Tassilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Tawrit* tribe.

37–38) and milks only with one hand, but the milk-bowl may also be held by a woman or a boy so that both milkers have two hands free. If men are absent from the camp, milking may be done by women though properly this is the task of grown men. Certain she-camels are very difficult to milk so that milking should be done as quickly as possible. If a she-camel is very restless and therefore difficult to milk it is customary to bend up its right foreleg and attach it in this bent position to its left foreleg before milking is done. This method is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the term *ésemmetil* (cf. Fig. 35). 234 [462]

The Tuareg have various devices to prevent camel calves from drinking more than their proper share of milk. In Ayr and also among the Ahaggar Tuareg of the Tamesna region it is common to keep the young calves tethered by means of a particular cord (*témdit*) fastened to the calf's forelegs (Fig. 39–40). The calf is not allowed to follow its mother during grazing, and in the night when all she-camels rest in the camp they are kept lying on the ground so that the calves cannot suck them. When young calves are tethered in the camp they are fed on fresh annual plants collected for them by the Tuareg. When calves grow older and plant food constitutes their most important nourishment, 233* [824]

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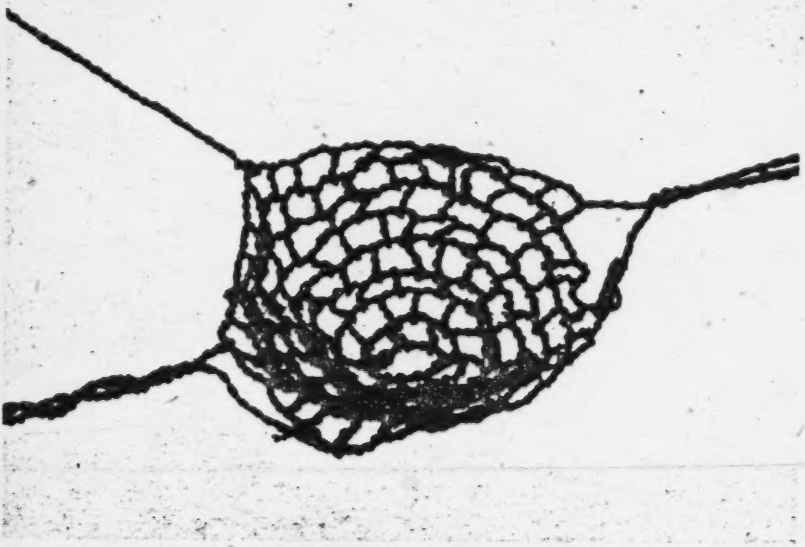

Fig. 41. Plaited pouch (*abegu*) to prevent the sucking of camel calves. It is made of goat's hair, and it has three cords for attachment to the hind part of the she-camel so that the pouch covers the udder. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehld* tribe. Dimension of the three cords: 1.19, 1.05, and 0.97 m. (N.M. G. 5198).

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Fig. 42. She-camel provided with the plaited pouch (*abeǵu*) which covers its udder. The pouch is attached as follows:— A cord is tied around the body in front of the animal's hump while another cord runs along the back at both sides of the hump to pass under the tail. The three cords which form part of the pouch are tied to the tail cord in front of the hind thighs and at the tail. To milk a she-camel carrying a pouch around its udder the hind pouch-cord fastened at the animal's tail is untied. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

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*233 they are hobbled by means of a cord (*téffart*) attached around their forelegs (p. 72, Fig. 45b–e) and
[284] are kept away from the mother animals during grazing in day-time. In Ahaggar as well as elsewhere in Northern Tuareg country suckling of calves are normally regulated by another method, namely a plaited pouch (*abeǵu*) which covers the udder of the mother camel, and the calf can thus be allowed to graze freely together with its mother (Fig. 41–42). This device is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr as *ébeyembey*, but though they know it by name they do not use it. They say, however, that it is in use among the *Kel Ewey* of the Ayr Massif.

The plaited pouch just described also serves as a means of weaning half-grown calves, but there are other weaning methods, namely the following:— (1) *ikembar*, that is cuttings on the bridge of the nose as described above for cow calves (p. 51). In addition to these cuttings, the scars of which form small bumps, it is common to cut the calf also under the chin, the visible result of such a cut being a hanging patch of skin. This method is known both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, and it is, I believe, nowadays carried out mainly for aesthetic reasons as the bumps and the hanging patch of skin adds, in Tuareg opinion, to the beauty of riding camels (Fig. 43). In fact, the cut made under the chin does not seem to hurt a sucking calf, and this cut is not made on cow calves (cf. Fig. 30). – (2) A method
[114] which is described by Cauvet from the oasis of In Salah may perhaps also be known to the Northern Tuareg though I have not recorded it. It consists of a thorn put into a patch of skin cut loose on the

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Fig. 46. A resting she-camel with the colour name *tawinak*. The colour term of the young she-camel standing in the back-ground is *ténilt*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

In Ayr the Tuareg do not 237
use camel's hide in their crafts, but give it to the blacksmiths who use it for lashing, or to people 564
who manufacture beds from ribs of palm leaves (cf. Fig. 257). The Northern Tuareg use camel-skin 352
for the manufacture of a few household implements and also use it for lashing (cf. p. 84, 110, 222, 824
270 f. & Figs. 70, 86, 132a–b, 161a–d, 162, 213). But even in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer the skin of camels is little used compared with the skin of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep.

When employed in craft, camel's hide is normally used raw and unprepared after soaking in water, 281
but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that for certain purposes the hide is treated with salt. In literature there 114
are many statements about the tanning of camel's hide. Thus it is stated by Cauvet that the hide is tanned with plant material in Algeria, and Cauvet also quotes Duveyrier's statement that the Northern Tuareg tan camel's hide to use it for tents and various other implements (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 714 ff.). I very much doubt the correctness of this, as all Tuareg asked about it have stated that the hide of camels is not fitted for proper tanning. Camel's hide is therefore of very limited use to the Tuareg, and the same is the case with camel's hair or wool. Tuareg camels in Ayr have very little wool, and 237
among the Northern Tuareg most animals have less wool than Arab camels of the Northern Sahara. The Northern Tuareg pluck a little wool with the hands or cut it off with a knife. It is spun into cords 283
to be used for certain minor objects, notably for the manufacture of the plaited pouch (*abegu*) to prevent the suckling of calves (p. 62, Fig. 41) and for the particular cord (*asorun*) tied around the foreleg of camels to keep them in a reclining position (p. 72, Fig. 45a). Mixed with goat's hair the wool is 286
also used for a kind of primitive weaving (p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

Camels are very important to the Tuareg as pack-animals for the caravan expeditions which will 492*
be mentioned in a later chapter when other means of subsistence have been described. 404

In the past camels were also extremely valuable as riding animals on raiding expeditions which 492*
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*492 that it is manufactured by pastoral Tuareg of these regions and not by blacksmiths, though the latter [564] may also make such saddles for their own use. The wooden structure is made of two cross-bars, which [412] are natural prongs fashioned with knife and axe, and these two cross-bars are lashed to each other at their lower ends, or are connected with each other by means of two sticks crossing each other at [824] the two sides. A wreath of slender roots of *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) covered with a network of dum [283] palm rope may serve as a saddle seat, which can also be covered with a piece of matting plaited from [285] the leaves of the dum palm tree. This very simple saddle may perhaps be considered the prototype of the more developed riding saddles of the *térik* and *tahyast* types.

All the above-mentioned types of riding saddles are placed in front of the camel's hump and rest upon two to four saddle cloths, the number depending upon their quality and also upon the nutritional condition of the animal. Two saddle-cloths are considered enough for a fat camel while four should be applied to a very thin one. Saddle cloths are frequently called *ésatfar* (Ayr) or *asetfer* (Ahaggar), but this name is in fact used for everything placed upon the back of an animal to protect it against galling from the luggage and/or the saddle. Saddle cloths for camels are properly termed *éselis* (Ayr) [286] and *ameslak* (Ahaggar). Both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr saddle cloths are generally made of cotton, but they are also made from dum palm matting and a piece of leather among the Ayr Tuareg (Figs. 66–67). The riding saddles are fixed to the camel by a single girth known as *ahayif* [237] (Ahaggar) or *azaw* (Ayr). In the north such girths are normally made from goat-hair while the Ayr Tuareg use plaited leather (goat-skin). Girths in both regions are frequently furnished with a very [541] large tassel hanging down from the right side of the camel (Fig. 69). On rare occasions when the Tuareg [148] ride their camels with all possible speed, e.g., at the annual camel races organized by the French administration, the riders often secure the position of their saddles by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren* among the Northern Tuareg) tied around the hind part of the camel as shown by the photograph Fig. 68.

The camel rider sits in the saddle cross-leged with his feet resting upon the camel's neck. To accelerate the speed of his riding animal he pushes one of his feet against its neck in step with the rocking gait *492 peculiar to camels. A whip (*alekkod*) also belongs to the equipment of the rider. Most whips have a 237 single lash made from a twisted strip of hide, but whips provided with two lashes of hide attached to a wooden handle are also found and are common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Figs. 70a–b). The whips used in the north are said to be made from camel's hide soaked in water; the raw hide is twisted and kept in this position until it is dry. The Ayr Tuareg say that camel's hide is not well fitted for whips, which among them are manufactured from the raw hide of a newly-killed ox. A piece of this hide is twisted and left to dry as in the north. The handle of the one-lash whip is made of cotton wrapped around the upper part of the lash and covered with coloured goat-skin.

*492 The Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular implement to hasten the speed of riding camels. It is described in literature notably by Foucauld. It consists of a slender iron rod 0.35–0.50 metres long, fixed into a wooden handle. It has a small crook much like that of a staple and is used for scratching the animal and thus to incite it to greater speed. It is called *azalla*, or *asekred* (Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 856 & IV, p. 1960). I have never seen this peculiar implement among the Tuareg.

*492 415 A camel rider's equipment comprises various types of skin bags of which the most common is a

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



saddle known as *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* and described above p. 76 (Fig. 57). The Ahaggar Tuareg have 492* four sub-types of women's saddles:— (1) *akhawi*, that is a very large saddle at each side provided with 562 a wooden arch; (2) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tkéwin*), a lighter saddle provided with similar wooden arches; (3) *aragen*, a large and heavy saddle without side-arches; (4) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tehdad*), a light saddle without side-arches. These saddle types, particularly the former type known as *akhawi*, are exhaustively [113] described by Foucauld in his dictionary (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 723), and a very beautiful specimen is here depicted from the collection of the Musée de l'homme (Fig. 75). Very elaborate saddles as [564] that depicted are always made by the blacksmiths, but light saddles of the *tkhawit* types may also be [462] manufactured by Tuareg women. Thus women of the *Iregenaten* tribe south of the Ahaggar Massif make saddles of the lighter type themselves. Women's saddles may sometimes be provided with a roof made from curved and bent boughs covered with cotton or blankets. This peculiar construction is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ahennaka*.

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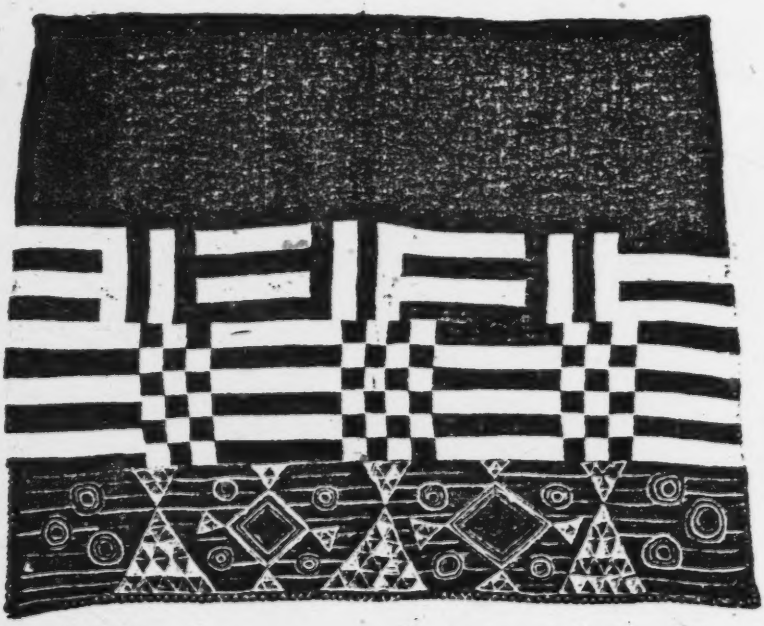

Fig. 67. Saddle cloth (*ameslak*) of cotton and embroidered with coloured thread. Ahaggar, the *Agah-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension: 0.771 × 0.620 m. (N. M. G. 5190).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



162 tion that subsisted on agriculture. Most members of the *Kel Ewey* group are fairly negroid in appear-
144 ance, and though some of them lead a nomadic life and subsist mainly on stock-breeding, the bulk of
433 the *Kel Ewey* are sedentary agriculturists who have some livestock comprising goats, sheep, zebus, and sometimes camels also. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group there are very few sedentary agriculturists, though a few vassals have taken up irrigation agriculture in recent times. There are also agriculturists within the negroid group of the *Kel Ferwan* known as *Iṛawélen*. [587] Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have gardens cultivated by their slaves, but this is not customary nowadays when slavery is of little importance in Ayr. Contracts between pastoral Tuareg and cultivators
241 are said to have been unknown until recent times when a few pastoralists have made contracts with
466 cultivators. There seem to be no fixed systems regulating such relationships, but it is said to be common for the cultivator and the Tuareg to divide crops equally between them.

241 Though agriculture could be practised in Ayr without artificial irrigation there are no rain-grown
312 crops within the Massif nowadays. The *foggara* system is unknown, and irrigation is done by raising water from shallow wells. The system of a pole and bucket provided with a counterweight known in Ayr as *asefian* has disappeared quite recently. It was used at many agricultural settlements of Ayr until a few years ago, and in parts of the country formed the only type of irrigation system at the time of the French occupation. One informant told me that in his boyhood about 35 years ago no other irrigation method was employed at Alarses, and this is in agreement with literature (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 322). At that time, however, the method of raising water from wells by animal traction (in Ayr *anu*, in Ahaggar *tanut*) was also practised at many settlements. It is unknown when it came to Ayr, but it is said to have been introduced from the north – probably from the regions of Fezzan and Tasilé-n-Ajjer from where the same system came to Ahaggar (cf. p. 187). It is now used at all [492] settlements as the only type of irrigation system, and zebu-oxen are always used for traction. This was not so in the past when zebus were less common than to-day, and it is said that donkeys were then the common draught-animals. The irrigation of gardens is performed in much the same way as in Ahaggar. The water raised from the shallow well (*anu*) is led through a narrow canal (*ạrelal*) to a large basin (*tisemt*) from where another canal (*ẓuki*) leads to the garden (*afarag*), which is divided into a number of beds (*éfenạl*).

243 Cereals form the most important crops in Ayr. The common winter crop is wheat (*elkamu*; *Triticum vulgare*), but also barley (*Hordeum tetrastichum* var. *pallidum*) is very widely grown. One crop of these two cereals is taken every winter, and it is said that the period of growth is about five months; sowing is done in October, harvest in March. Cereals are also important for summer crops. Both millet (*énélé*; *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and sorghum (*abora*; *Sorghum caudatum*) are grown, and millet, as we have seen, has a very short period of growth – only about two months (cf. p. 184). But though millet is [262] most important as food for agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike, it is not widely grown because it is difficult to protect it from the numerous small birds and because, it is said, millet grown in Ayr [439] is of a quality inferior to that of the Sudanese type. Most of the millet eaten in Ayr is therefore imported from Damergu by pastoral Tuareg. By far the most important summer crop grown in Ayr is maize (*Zea mays*), which is known to the Tuareg as *abora maser*, that is "Egyptian sorghum" (*abora* = [286] sorghum; *maser* = Egypt) (the name *maser* is also used to designate the white cotton used for garments

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



by many Tuareg, who say that they have not always known this white cotton, though indigo cotton has been introduced from the Sudan since very remote times). Maize has a normal period of growth of about three months, and two – in certain places perhaps even three – yields are taken in the hot seasons.

In addition to the above-mentioned cereals there are various kinds of vegetables grown in the Ayr gardens. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum*) are grown at most seasons with the exception of the dry and very hot summer period (*éwilen*). Also common in the Ayr gardens is the sweet potato (*dankale*; *Ipomoea Batatas*), which is sown at the beginning of the rains and harvested in winter. The true potato (*batata*; *Solanum tuberosum*) has been introduced more recently, and is grown mainly to be sold to European households in Agadez. It is grown in Eastern Ayr (Tabello). Melons (*Cucumis melo*) and water melons (*Colocynthis citrullus*) are grown all over Ayr and there are different vegetables such as onions (*Allium cepa & A. sativum*), which are harvested at most seasons. Two plants are grown mainly because they are important as admixtures to porridge sauce. One is called *ékabewwa* (*Corchorus olitorius*); it has maize-like seeds which are pounded in a mortar for sauce-making. The other plant is known as *malokhiya* (*Corchorus tridens*); its leaves are dried and pounded for sauce (cf. p. 243). The latter plant also grows wild outside the gardens. There are in Ayr also certain spice-plants, e.g., *Capsicum annuum & C. frutescens*. To all these cultivated plants can be added certain fruit trees, such as the date palm (*talesdar*; *Phoenix dactylifera*), the fig tree (*tahart*; *Ficus carica*) grown in the mountains, and the lemon tree (*lemon*; *Citrus aurantifolia*) which is grown in Southern Ayr; it yields very small fruit which remains green even when ripe. It should finally be mentioned that the cotton plant (*ebduga*; *Gossypium hirsutum*) is also grown in some gardens of Southern Ayr. According to Miré and Gillet it was introduced into Ayr by the Hausa, but the plant has also been introduced further north in the Sahara in Tawat (Miré & Gillet 1956, p. 244). As stated by Rodd, the cotton plant is rare in Ayr and has perhaps been recently introduced into this region (Rodd 1926a, p. 132). There are many other cultivated plants in Ayr, but the above mentioned constitute the most important species.

In Ayr, as in the north, irrigated cereals form the basis of agriculture. Irrigation is carried out by means of a system introduced from the north, and the agricultural techniques largely resemble those of that section of the Sahara inhabited by Northern Tuareg, though there are certain differences. A new garden in Ayr is prepared by cutting and burning away the wild vegetation of trees, bushes, herbs, and grasses. By crop rotation (wheat and barley in winter; maize, millet, and sorghum in summer) it is possible to cultivate the same garden plot for a few years in succession – up to six or seven years, it is said. After this time it becomes necessary to make a new garden, or to manure the old garden plot with camel and cow dung whilst manure (*taki*) from other animals or from human beings is said not to be used, as it would cause the crops to become inedible. A well-manured garden plot can be cultivated continuously for about fifteen years. But fertilizing is not practised by all agriculturists, and to my knowledge they do not carry fresh soil to the garden plots as is the case with the agriculturists of Ahaggar. Agriculture in Ayr therefore frequently resembles shifting cultivation, though plots are irrigated, and deserted garden land is frequently seen in the valleys where agriculture is practised.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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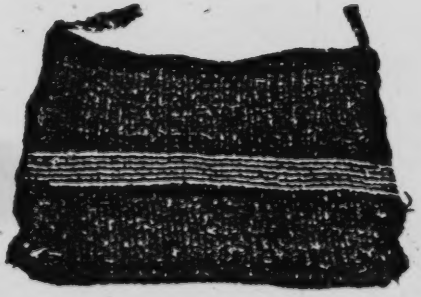
Fig. 209 a–b. Two bags (*téreirt*, pl. *tiṛrar*) plaited from hair of goat and camel.

a. Bag woven from hair of goat and camel and reinforced with leather around the opening. It is made into two halves which are sewn together. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.405 × 0.480 m. (N.M. G. 5245).



b. Bag woven exclusively of goat-hair. It has two leather straps for suspension. Dimension: 0.34 m long. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. (F.M. 259).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 210a–b. Two coiled baskets provided with lids.

[462] a. *taklulit*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*aḡum*) and reinforced with coloured leather (goat-skin). Manufactured by women of the sedentary *Kel Ras* in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, bought from blacksmiths at Tamanrasset in Ahaggar. Dimension: 0.13 m high. (F.M. 227).

b. *adobun*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*aḡum*). It is ornamented with coloured leather thread and with woollen yarn. Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.205 m high. (N.M. G. 5837a–b).

283 This stick, which is held in the right hand, is turned around its own axes while the hair taken out from the mass with the left hand is occasionally moistened with water or with spittle. The stick upon which the hair is spun is known as *aseggelem*. I have noted in Ahaggar that a length of 50–60 metres of spun hair can be made in about twenty minutes. Such a lenght of spun hair is trebled and attached to two sticks also known as *aseggelem* (pl. *iseggelam*). It is twisted together by two women each holding one of the sticks, and may be conserved for some time before it is finally made into a rope by further trebling and twisting (cf. Fig. 208). Certain cords to be used in connection with riding camels (e.g., reins) are not twisted in the above manner, but are plaited (cf. Fig. 51). The spun hair is used for the manufacture of certain objects without twisting (cf. Fig. 167a–b). Lhote states that the hair growing on the knees and neck of barbary sheep is also used for spinning (Lhote 1955a, p. 319).

[237] The Northern Tuareg spin camel's hair or wool (*teduft*) which is used for very few purposes (cf. [288] p. 67). But camel's hair is sometimes mixed with goat's hair to be spun for thread used for a primitive type of weaving; true weaving is an unknown craft among the Tuareg while important to Arab pastor-
288 alists of the Northern Sahara. The Tuareg type of primitive weaving with spun hair is carried out
* [415] with no other implement but the hand; it is used for small transportation bags known as *tirrar* (sing.
[114] *téṛerirt*), a word, according to Foucauld, derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776) (cf. Fig. 209a–b). I have myself never had the opportunity to see how weaving of this type is done.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



A photograph illustrating a women making a bag from spun hair is reproduced by Lhote, who states 286
that bags of this nature are rarely manufactured nowadays and are made exclusively by a few noble 415
women of the *Kel Rela* tribe (Lhote 1955a, p. 319 f., pl. XV p. 384). This statement does not agree 462
with information gathered by myself in Ahaggar, where I was told that bags were made from spun 565
hair by Tuareg women of other tribes and notably by women of the *Isekkamaren* class. 114

In Ayr spinning of cotton is performed mainly to obtain sewing thread, which is considered superior 283
to European thread for sewing cotton clothes. To my knowledge most pastoral women do not spin [432]
their own cotton thread but buy it at the market of Agadez. However I have noted the existence of
simple cotton bows in a *Kel Tedalé* camp in the northern part of the Ayr Massif. The occurrence of [171]
the simple cotton bow among the Ayr Tuareg should no doubt be viewed in connection with the use [242]
of this implement in the Western Sudan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 260 ff.) from where the cotton plant [172]
has also been introduced.

Coiled basket-work plays an important part with the Tuareg, particularly the Northern Tuareg 285
who are experts in this technique which is related to sewing. A very primitive type of coiled basketry

[824]

Fig. 211. Basket (*ahgargar*) plaited from date palm leaves (*ajam*). The handle is of date palm bast (*asan*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abelessa. Dimension: 0.38 m high. (N.M. G. 3877).

[Text continues on p. 269]

# Dress

In this chapter on Tuareg dress I do neither describe all types of Tuareg garments nor dress ornamentation, but content myself with a brief description of the prominent articles of dress and of certain peculiar garments which are interesting and important for our understanding of the cultural position of the Tuareg. 29 128

In Northern Tuareg country pastoral women sometimes wear a large hat plaited from date palm leaves and known as *téllé*, which literally means "shade" (cf. Fig. 231). However, hats of this kind are never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg who obtain them from sedentary agriculturists. Hats of the same type are very common further north in Africa where they are worn not only by women but also by men, and I believe that hats of this sort were introduced to the Tuareg by the Arabs and the Arabic speaking *Harratin*, who came to Ahaggar about a hundred years ago. In Ayr I have seen plaited hats worn by one or two black-skinned men of the *Kel Ewey* group. These hats are also used among the Hausa. True pastoral Tuareg like those of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not wear hats. 292 [285] [171] [172] [184]

It seems as if the hat is a foreign element in Tuareg culture, and that as traditional head garments the Tuareg have nothing beyond the veil and the headcloth described in some detail in the general chapter about the Tuareg (cf. p. 14 f.). We have seen that both the veil and the headcloth are sometimes referred to as *alechchu*, "a piece of Sudanese indigo cotton sewn together from narrow strips or bands", for the traditional veil and headcloth are made from this type of cotton which is highly esteemed for many other garments. It seems to be the oldest type of cotton used for dress among the Tuareg, while white cotton of an ordinary type has been introduced more recently among them. The Ayr Tuareg use the word *maier* for white cotton woven in one piece, and they say that this word refers to *Misr* (Egypt) wherefrom cotton of this particular type was first introduced. It came much later than indigo cotton of Sudanese type, which has been known in Ayr from very ancient times. 291 294

Indigo coloured cotton introduced from the Sudan is very expensive and is nowadays used mainly for festive occasions, while daily dress, including the veil, is made of European cotton, which is indigo or white in colour. There can be no doubt that the comparatively cheap European cotton has displaced the use of skin or leather for daily dress. For we know that skin shirts were extremely common in Ahaggar at the beginning of the present century (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 112), and Duveyrier says that "le pardessus en peau" is held in esteem (Duveyrier 1864, p. 406). Before Duveyrier we have Lyon's statement that Tuareg of the Fezzan area use skin (leather) for dress:— "A leather kaftan is also much worn, of their own manufacture, as are leather shirts of the skins of antelopes, very neatly sewed, and well prepared". In addition Lyon depicts a Tuareg wearing a leather shirt with ample sleeves (Lyon 1821, p. 110). 291 [292] [128]

[p. 287]

1: Lhote E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

/frontispiece/

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565 In exchange for the rights of suzerainty which the Imochar exer-
631 cise over the Imrad, they owe the latter absolute protection, defend their interests each time that they are threatened, and endeavor to obtain reparation if they are pillaged by an opposing tribe.

The Imochar spend lavishly as great lords and have kept this
177 mania in spite of the change in regime brought by the French peace.
631 Their way of living like parasites has taken away any idea of fore-
565 sight, and because of this they are more often in want than well off.
511 In fact, the first consequence of the French occupation was to stop the state of war and the pillaging, which deprived the Imochar of their principal resources. They became poor people, while the Imrad, as herd owners, saw their wealth increase and become stabilized. This social disturbance could have had serious consequences, but the Imrad did not totally abandon the Imochar, despite the opportunity which was offered them to emancipate themselves from their ancestral guardianship. Perhaps we can be glad of this, for one might wonder what the material situation of the Imochar would have been and, consequently, their state of mind with regard to us.

●291 The terms "black Tuareg" and "white Tuareg" have often been
565 used to designate the Imochar and the Imrad. "In the north, "
178 Seligman says, "the nobles have black veils and the subjects white ones." (1) This distinction in dress does not exist today, when the

1. Les races de l'Afrique, p. 129.

Tuareg indiscriminately wear black or white veils according to their taste and wealth. /161/ It is possible that the Imrad formerly could not obtain indigo veils, always considered a luxury item, and had to be content with ordinary cotton veils; that would explain the division into black and white Tuareg.

According to Duveyrier, the white Tuareg, "Touareg-el-biodh, " were probably the Oulad Ba Hamou, Arabs of the region of In-Salah. They took from the Tuareg the habit of wearing veils, but in white instead of dark indigo.

Plate IX

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Young Tuareg woman of noble class brushing her teeth with an irak stem. Notice behind her the mat called asaber used to surround the tent.

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Young Tuareg couple seated in the shelter of the asaber. Behind them is a household servant, a taklit of Sudanese origin.

Plate X

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Tent belonging to the amenokal of the Kel Ahaggar. It has eight poles inside, and the awning is made of 60 skins sewn together. The separate poles in the foreground are used to hold up the asaber in the evening.

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The tent is always set up by the women, mainly by servants. They make holes in the ground to put the pole in, then pile sand around it. When the pole is in place, the skin is attached by a thong.

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Plate XI

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The inside of a tent. The baggage is hung from the tent poles. Very young children play on the ground, where a thick layer of fine sand has been placed.

Kel Ahaggar women, especially the Imrad women, often ride on the backs of asses. One of them has just met two friends, with whom she is exchanging news on the maharists who have gone far away.

Plate XII

Hunting with dogs is common among the Tuareg, who use saluki something like Arabian greyhounds for the purpose. Their eklan /Iklan? Ed. / are often famous hunters. In this photograph we see one of them holding two dogs on a leash and getting ready to go track wild sheep.

Besides hunting with dogs, the Tuareg engage in trapping. Here we see a trap with radial points being set. The lasso is being tied to a big tree branch sunk in the ground and hidden by a layer of sand.

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season which generally ends with the month of September. 439
When the caravaneers arrive earlier, they wait in the Tamasna 484
region and protect their salt by hiding it in the crags of the rocks.

At any rate they always stay at least two months in that region so that their camels may regain their strength. Then, they go in small groups toward the Damergou where they know people in some villages with whom they exchange their salt for millet. These exchanges are made on variable bases, depending on whether or not the millet harvest has been abundant, or whether the salt has arrived in greater or lesser quantity. Most generally they are made on the basis of one load of salt for three loads of millet, but sometimes in the proportion of one load of salt for ten loads of millet, which is much to the advantage of the Ihaggaren.

[291 177]

Fig. 24. Irratimen sandal of Hausa make, such as the Ihaggaren wear.

[435]

Since they do not have enough camels to carry all this grain back, and since they do not need that much grain in the Ahaggar, they sell or exchange a good part of it for manufactured objects, which are easy to transport and /220/ easy to dispose of -- sandals, saddle bags, camel saddles, leather boxes,

264 The Tuareg use spoons. The use of this implement is peculiar
[415] to them, for their Arab or Negro neighbors eat with their hands.
The custom must be related to the wearing of the veil, which they
do not take off to eat and which prevents them from putting their
[182 291] hands full of food to their mouths. They carry food to their mouths
while slightly holding up the ends of their veils.

[271] For beverages they drink only water, whether it is clean or
272 polluted, and milk.

For half a century they have had the habit of drinking green tea in the Arab manner; they aromatize it with mint or some perfumed plants of the Ahaggar, /238/ chih (Artemisia herba alba) in particular. Coffee, which was formerly much used by them, is now
[757 78] taken mainly as a medication to calm violent coughs or stomach aches.

276 If we now seek consumer goods taken as stimulants or narcotics, we see that the Tuareg know only tobacco, which they chew or take as snuff.

Smoking is not one of their customs. The young men who are
[177] in contact with the French like to beg a cigarette, but it is simply in the spirit of imitation.

Duveyrier, however, has said that the Tuareg smoke. Was this,
114 perhaps, the fashion among the Tuareg who visited Ghat? Before
276 him Barth wrote that all riverain people living along the Niger loved to smoke. "It is very seldom that they leave their pretty little clay pipes, and all the Rouma, like the Tuareg, cover their mouths when smoking, so that all one sees is a pipe bowl coming out of the shawl which covers the face." (1)

1. Voyage en Afrique,
vol. IV, p. 137.

515 care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed [826] every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

751 For them the main question is protecting the different parts of the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the body is to that end.

291 They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue 302 color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired color.

302 To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their [171] limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

515 The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth. They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal [412] and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed to form a brush. For this purpose they use irak branches (Salvadora [824] persica) or palm jereed.

/258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring 302 for the hair.

Young boys have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed [593 by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer 276 them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region. [184] They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a [882] certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have themselves shaved completely.

757 polished and whose other end is inserted in a small goatskin water
[413 bottle which holds the liquid to be injected. During the operation
237] one presses on the bag so as to make the liquid penetrate, while
the patient has his head down and his feet attached to a tree. The
[278] enema is generally composed of water, butter, and ground afasso
roots. When it is a question of giving an enema to a young child,
[855] the mother fills her mouth with water and, putting her lips against
the anus, blows the liquid with all her might.

/264/ Chapter 8

Dress. Adornment.

291 Clothing. -- The portrait of the Tuareg is now well known.
Draped in a long, dark-colored blouse, belted at the waist, and with
his head surrounded by a black veil placed in the shape of a
haumier /?/, he makes a silhouette as majestic as it is mysterious
[492] when he is mounted on his slender mehari. Hanging from the
saddle, as well known as the man, is the broad antelopeskin buckler.

The Tuareg, even though they are poor, are very natty. Although they have only sordid rags, they always are able to wear them with good taste and to keep a proud and dignified attitude under all circumstances.

The costume for men is the same in all confederations. It is made up of: 1) a very full pair of trousers, drawn in at the waist by a cord of braided leather; the leg is nipped in at the instep /sic/ and blouses over it so that it sometimes drags the ground; 2) a big, very full blouse, formed of a rectangular-shaped piece of cloth, sewn by a stitch at the four corners, and provided with an opening in the middle to let the head go through; it descends to the knees

•291 and is worn loose or, more often, drawn in at the waist by a belt; 3) a veil covering the face, letting only the top of the head and the eyes show.

This is the simplest dress of the Tuareg.

292 The holiday garb includes several blouses placed one on top of the other -- a white blouse underneath, an indigo-blue blouse on [556] top of that, and finally, for rich people, a third blouse made of bands of cotton, worked in the Sudan. This last blouse, usually with a

[291]

Fig. 38. Ahaggar men's costume.

1) Amrid with his gandurah pulled up over his shoulders.
2) Akli wearing a leather gandurah.
3) Amajer in ceremonial costume with a takoumbout on his head.

[531] purplish background color and large and small embroidery over the chest and the shoulders, includes a wide, deep pocket on the left side of the chest. Broad bands of white and red material gird the loins by forming a belt and cross over the chest to form a shoulder belt. Large silk cords with red or green tassels finish off the costume which gives the Tuareg such an impressive air.

291 489 /265/ Clothes, except for the gandurah made of cotton bands, are made of material imported from Europe. This material, called chêga, is heavily dyed with indigo, giving it a very dark gloss; it [556] is the favorite material of Tuareg men and women, but it is replaced by ordinary cloth among less well-off people.

Veils are manufactured in English Nigeria, in the village of Koura near the large city of Kano. They are made by assembling [435] a multitude of little cloth bands. They are very expensive and can cost from three to five goats, depending on the quality. In [177] Hausa language they bear the name toukourdi, which has been adopted by the Tuareg. For a long time they have served as ex- [436] change currency for commercial transactions.

291 174 It has been asked many times why the Tuareg were led to veil their faces. Hygiene, which has often been mentioned, and the need to protect their respiratory tracts against sandstorms, are not sufficient reasons to explain this practice. There is something else, a /266/ very ancient enigmatic custom whose origin is lost in the night of time and which is kept up without their really knowing why. It is so deep rooted among the Tuareg, however, that they cannot conceive of a self-respecting man who can forego wearing the veil.

The headless men and acephalous people of ancient authors certainly owed their cognomen only to this very peculiar custom of hiding their faces, a custom which must have already existed in this remote epoch. One can only construct hypotheses on the origin of this veil.

We know through Ibn Khaldoun that the wearing of the veil was in general use among the peoples who inhabited the Atlantic coast and adjacent countries in the fourth century. This establishes that the custom is very ancient.

In the rock paintings from prehistoric or protohistoric times which have been discovered in the central Sahara in the last few years, we have noted the very peculiar method of representing the

174 heads of human figures. It seems, under the circumstances, that
291 there was a taboo against representing facial characteristics.

Can the substitution of zoomorphic heads in the human figures drawn at a very early epoch on the Tassili-n-Ajjer rocks, springing from totemic beliefs, also contribute to explaining the origin of the veil? This is a permissible hypothesis.

291 What is certain is that, at the present time, it is shameful for
826 a Tuareg to show his mouth and that the veil is the principal part of his dress. When he goes to draw water from a well, he will take off his gandurah and rull up the bottom of his trousers to be more comfortable, but he will take care that his veil is always in place.

291 Wearing the litham /veil/ -- or tiguelmoust -- includes an entire ritual which implies the existence of beliefs whose details have escaped us, because the Tuareg themselves no longer elucidate its meaning.

184 The style of wearing the veil and of placing the different parts
291 on the head may differ from one tribe to another, and there are local modes which some prefer by personal taste. And so, in recent years, the young men of the Ahaggar adopted the style of wearing the veil used by the Kel Férouan from the Aïr. This, moreover, earned them harsh criticism from the elders of their tribe.

156 /267/ But apart from these different ways of placing the veil
291 according to local or personal modes, the shape and knack make it more or less elegant. There is also a veil psychology, and when one knows a man, the way his veil is fixed may indicate his state of mind -- the reserved, modest way used when he presents himself in a camp where there are women; the elegant, studied manner for going to lover's meetings; the haughty manner of a warrior conscious of his importance; and the whimsical air of the Imrad or the swaggering slave. There is also the jovial, good-natured fellow's style of wearing the veil loosely and sloppily, and the disorderly style of the unstable, easily irritated man.

156 The veil can express a fleeting sentiment. Thus, it is pulled
291 down over the eyes before respectable people or women, while it is raised over the forehead, on the contrary, as a sign of familiarity. To laugh freely at a joke, a Tuareg will raise the lower part of his veil very high over his nose. When he is irritated, he will tighten it like a chin strap to mask his anger.

292 In the festive garb worn on the occasion of religious or family festivals, the veil is complicated with many turbans made of white muslin and bands of colored silk. The upper part receives a sort of frame which lets them arrange many cotton bands, interlacing them to form a kind of crest. The top part of the cranium is never covered, and the veil lets tufts of braided hair stick out. At marriages, it was formerly the custom to wear the takoumbout, a sort of big chéchia made of wool fortified with enormous flosses of cotton and covered with silvery appliqués. This headdress is on its way to disappearing completely, and there are no more than one or two in the whole Ahaggar today.

291 The Ihaggaren use two kinds of sandals: the broad cowhide sandal called irratimen with simple red leather straps crossing over the instep, and a sandal called imerkéden made of a number of scraps of goatskin sewed together, with a strap going around the heel and tying with a knot on the instep.

[184 556] The irratimen are particularly worn by well-to-do men and especially appreciated in sandy regions where their large carrying area keeps one from sinking too deep. /268/ This sandal, which [177 439] is manufactured by Hausa artisans from Agadez or Damergou, was borrowed from these peoples by the Tuareg. Its origin must not be attributed to the Tuareg.

The true sandals of the Ahaggar people are the imerkéden, [184 556] which they still wear and which the mountain people always prefer, since they are especially well adapted to walking on rocks. They are worn by the common people and by the Iklan who have no money to buy Sudanese sandals, while they all know how to make very comfortable imerkéden with a few old pieces of goatskin.

184 Although men's costume does not vary at all, or very little,
291 this is not the case for women's clothing. That worn by Ahaggar women is peculiar to that region, while Aïr or Ioullimmiden women dress in their own way.

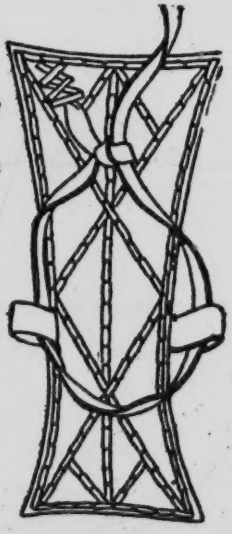

Fig. 39. An imerkéden, sandal made of skins sewed together and worn by Ahaggar mountaineers.

291 Tuareg women do not wear trousers but have a white cloth skirt wound around the loins. Ahaggar women wear over it a large white cloth blouse, similar in shape to that of the men, but closed
[55] on the sides. Well-to-do women wear a second blouse on top, made of indigo-dyed cloth.

184 In Aïr the blouse is replaced by a little bolero, and in
291 Ioullimmiden tribes women usually go bare chested or content themselves with a rectangular piece of material which they casually throw over their shoulders.

291 They do not veil their faces like the men. A little mantilla made of one or two toukourdi is worn wrapped around the head and

face to hide their features in front of strangers. During their moves, Ahaggar women use a big, broad-brimmed straw hat -- the téléé -- to protect themselves from the sun. 291 [484]

/269/ They wear irratimen on their feet like the men, but more often they go barefoot. In the Sudan, during the rainy season, they replace the leather irratimen by very light wooden irratimen, which fulfill the same function there as wooden shoes do for us.

[184]

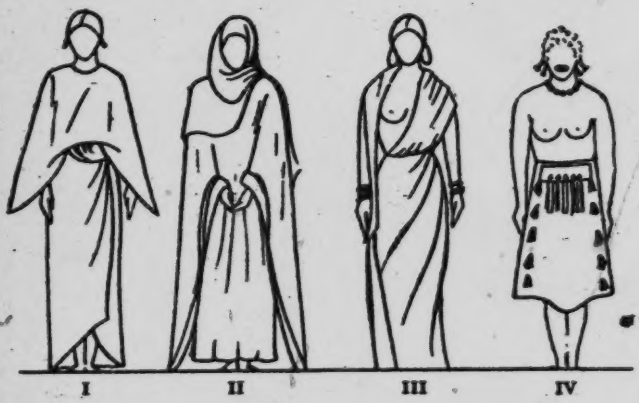


Fig. 40. Costume of Tuareg women.

1) Costume of Aïr Tuareg women, which includes a skirt and a little bolero.
2) Ahaggar Tuareg women's costume, including a skirt and a big gandurah reaching to the feet.
3) Sudanese Tuareg women's costume, including a skirt and a shawl around the shoulders.
4) Leather skirts for servant girls, in use in Ioullimmiden tribes.

In the Ahaggar and the Tassili, men and women wear a large white wool haik to wrap up the head and shoulders. During the cold period of winter they wrap up in a long woolen blanket (dokkali) made by the Arabs in Touat. The latter exchange them with the Ihaggaren for sheep. [439]

[177] Cloth garments have certainly been used only recently among
●291 the Tuareg; they used to wear leather clothing. A few Ahaggar
174 Iklan still wear these knee-length blouses with fringes over the chest, sides, and sleeves. Evidences of these leather clothes are still to be found among captives from the Sudan and the Timbuktu region. They wear skirts tight at the waist, dyed half red and half yellow, and decorated with multicolored fringes. In Aïr little girls still wear /270/ a kind of small leather apron, and little boys, little leather trousers.

These seem to be the ancestral clothes of the Tuareg. The description of the dress of Libyan women which Herodotus has given us corresponds in all details to the leather dress used in the Timbuktu region, and some rock drawings of the Tassili are the very image of the small leather tunic of the Koudia Iklan.

832 Ornaments. Jewelry. -- The coquetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg is a most remarkable thing and quite unexpected among people who live under such primitive conditions and whose natural instincts must lead them first of all toward the spirit of self-preservation and material preoccupations. However, it reflects their rather superficial
[181] life, their light mores, and that pleasurable existence which the nobles intend to lead.

And so the Tuareg sacrifice everything to their coquetry, depriving themselves of food and parting with some of their goods in order to procure lustrous clothes, multicolored ribbons to set off the brilliancy of their coiffure, and amulet boxes which are carried more for aesthetic than religious reasons.

301 Women conform to the same faults and know no rest until they
832 have a certain number of jewels with which to adorn themselves.

For men, adornment consists of a few jewels, especially cases for amulets. As regards jewelry, they wear only one or two silver rings on their fingers, a heavy and coarse kind of ring, either plain or slightly twisted. In addition they wear a stone ring above the elbow.

Wood furnishes containers for food, drinking vessels, milking vessels, mortars, pestles, tent stakes, crosspieces and boards for making saddles. The Ahaggar does not have more than five or six species of woods which can be worked, and the articles, very simply shaped, are much less varied than in the Sudanese tribes. 322

All Ahaggar women, noble or vassal, know how to tan, remove hair from, sew, decorate, and embroider leather. They are able to make a waterskin needed to carry water, prepare skins to make tents, and manufacture bags for transporting food and personal objects. They have all become so expert in these labors that it is 281 462

[415 862]

Fig. 47. Amoula, a little wooden "bottle" for young children to drink from.

difficult to find any other peoples in the world who possess such a developed leather craft.

The scarcity of vegetable materials in the Ahaggar is one of the reasons why the use of esparto is relatively restricted. Only the stems of a graminacea common in the wadies (Panicum turgidum) are used to make mats -- large enclosing mats which surround the tent, sleeping mats, mats for covering plates. [137] 285 [824]

/278/ The stems are bound by little leather thongs, and the combination of graminacea and leather is extremely effective; it allows very regular geometric decorations at the same time as a very solid work. [283] [531]

There are no esparto vans among the Tuareg. The women use palm-leaf vans and hats, but these articles are the work of the Harratin from the little palm groves of Silet, Ideles, and Abalessa. 291 416 438

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
[412 collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
302] an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of
Tagant and Hodh.

291 Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
855 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
[556] girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear
trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From
that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while
the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated for either the boy or girl.

The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
868 the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
857 which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
[162] milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of
this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then
fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games
between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet
stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly
speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a
camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
[212] Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they
are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
[145] when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
291 ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good ad-
[431] vice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

1: Lhote--148b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Plate XIV

Typical men's hair styles. The hair is braided and taken around to the back. The veil encircles the forehead, leaving the top of the head uncovered.

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1: Lhote--166a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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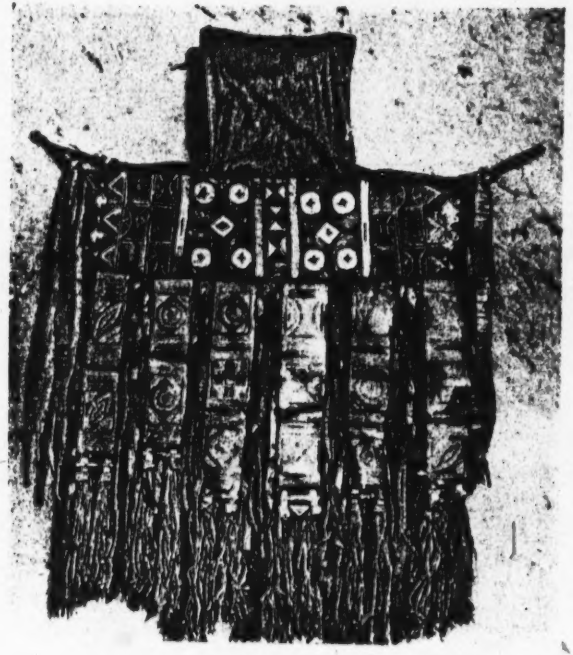
Plate XV



Goatskin bag used by women to transport their personal clothing. The very delicate decoration is obtained by cutting out the skin and applying embroidered leather.

286
516
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515

Old noblewoman from the Kel Rela tribe weaving a bag with goat's hair thread.

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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492

A Targui noble of the Ahaggar, beside his tent. (Photograph by L. C. Briggs.)

[Frontispiece]

361 less and there is no immediate fear of a sudden downpour that might produce flash floods. Each tent is occupied by a single family unit
592 and there are almost never more than 5 or 6
361 tents at the most in any normal camp. In the camp of the Amenokal there are usually 15
644 to 20 tents or even more, and one sees no flocks nearby, but this is a wholly artificial situation made possible only by the fact that the Amenokal and his personal retinue receive most of their supplies by truck from the nearest French Army post, and so can live in a way that would be impossible in the Ahaggar under anything approaching normal conditions.

**Clothing, Cosmetics and Cleanliness.** In the old
● 291 days the Tuareg used to wear leather shirts that reached below the knee and were sometimes elaborately decorated with fringe. Monod (1947, p. 47) recalls that Herodotus (IV, 189) described Libyan women as wearing fringed garments of red leather some 2,500 years ago, and he adds that some Tuareg women of the Niger Bend country still do so. Lyon (1821, p. 110 and plates facing pp. 110 and 113) tells us that leather shirts were worn by many of the Tuareg who visited Mourzouk while he was there in 1819, but Duveyrier (1864, p. 406) found that they were already becoming scarce only 40 years later. The present writer has seen no leather clothing worn by anyone in the Ahaggar, although Benhazera (1908, p. 37) says that poor folk wore leather clothes there 50 years ago while Reygasse (1950, p. 97) states that leather shirts are still worn by some of the slaves and Capot-Rey (1953, p. 226) adds that they are often worn by smiths.

Another once characteristic article of Tuareg dress that has now gone largely out of use was the high, conical fezlike cap, made of soft red felt and worn sticking up through the middle of the turban, that Lyon (1821) saw at Mourzouk. Barth (1857a, vol. 1, p. 424, footnote) says that caps of this kind were "obnoxious to the" Tuareg "tribes of pure blood" in 1850 but this is probably either an error or a matter of local eccentricity, for they were still standard equipment in Duveyrier's time. They disappeared almost completely from the Ahaggar, however, in the course of the next 50 years or less although

29 some Moroccan Arab tribes wear them even now. This type of headdress seems to have been exactly or almost exactly like the tall, fezlike tasseled cap that we see worn, though without a turban, by Chusor Phtah in portraits that occur on coins struck probably during the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. at the provincial Berber capital of Lixus, the modern Tchemmich, an old Phoenician settlement on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, roughly half way between Rabat and Tangier (Mazard, 1955, pp. 60, 64, 125 and 153; figs. 630–35, 640–42). Chusor Phtah has been identified as the diety who was supposed by the Phoenicians to have brought order out of primeval chaos. And so we are left wondering if the high-crowned floppy fez of the Tuareg was originally a northwestern African Berber invention or a Phoenician import from the Near
[177] East. In any case it suggests the possibility of a very early relationship of some sort between the Tuareg and the northwestern coastal fringe of Barbary.

Tuareg men today wear very loose, baggy trousers made of dark indigo blue or black cotton cloth,[10] which are held in place in the same way as our pajama trousers are but with a braided leather cord by way of drawstring. The seat is baggy and hangs down below the knees, the ends of the legs are sewed up so as to fit closely around the ankles, and there are no pockets and no fly. A loose, white cotton shirt, rather like a nightgown with very wide sleeves of medium length, used to be the standard undergarment, but the gandoura
[177] of the Arabs finally replaced it and is now being replaced in turn by the European type of shirt. The Tuareg gandoura is made of a huge rectangle of cloth, roughly 7 to 8 feet wide by 8 to 9 feet long. This is folded over on itself and the free corners are sewn together so as to leave the bottom and most of both sides open, a V-shaped opening for the head and neck is cut out of the fold at the top, and a large patch is sewed on inside so as to make a roomy pocket placed just below the left breast. The gandoura worn next to the skin, or directly over the undershirt, is usually made of white cotton, and a second

[10] Frequent reference to the plates will make the following descriptions easier to understand.

● 291 one, of dark indigo blue cotton cloth this time, is customarily worn over it. On gala occasions some of the Tuareg wear a third gandoura, made of very narrow vertical strips of Sudanese cotton cloth dyed a lurid pinkish violet or of alternate strips of violet and white or dark blue, often with two large spiral patterns embroidered in coarse white thread, one over the left breast and the other on the back between the shoulders. This third type of gandoura has gone almost completely out of use within the last few years, but, like the white tie and tails of our own formal dress, it is still worn occasionally and is considered very elegant. A Tuareg gandoura should be wide enough so that when the upper corners hang down freely they cover the hands, but they are usually rolled up over the forearms so as to leave the hands free and sometimes are folded over the shoulders, thus freeing the whole arm.

A woolen outer garment is occasionally worn in cold weather. Lightweight blankets from the Gourara and the Touat used to be worn like giant shawls, but these have been replaced to a great extent by the "burnous" (Arabic = *bernoos*) of the Arabs, a long hooded cloak made of wool or of camel's hair mixed with wool.

The Tuareg have two types of footgear. The older type, a sandal with the end folded back over the toes, is held in place by a narrow strip of leather which passes around the heel below the level of the ankle, and is attached to the sole directly between the great and second toes and indirectly by a loop on either side of the foot halfway between the instep and the heel. The second type, [439] usually imported from the Sudan, is a large flat sandal which extends out about an inch beyond the foot in all directions. It is held in place by a V-shaped pair of broad strips of leather with the arms of the V attached directly to the sole on either side of the foot and the point attached to a thin roll of leather which passes between the great and second toes. The older type is rarely seen today, but still survives in some of the more mountainous regions.

And so we come at last to the mysterious "teguelmoust," the men's veil that has done so much to make the Tuareg so famous. The

●291 teguelmoust is actually a combination veil and turban made of a band of lightweight cotton cloth some 10 feet long by a foot or so wide, preferably dark indigo blue in color but often white or black nowadays. This band is wound around and around the head and face so as to leave exposed only the eyes and a small patch on the crown of the head. The lower edge of the eye opening is often doubled over in the middle so as to draw the cloth tighter across the bridge of the nose, thus preventing the veil from slipping down. The slit left open for the eyes is made as narrow as possible on formal occasions, and is then strikingly reminiscent of the snow goggles of the Eskimos.

Self-respecting Tuareg still think it shockingly indecent for a man to let his mouth be seen by anyone to whom he owes the least formal respect, so much so in fact that Lhote (1955, p. 307) was able to write of Tuareg women married for over 20 years who claimed never to have seen the mouths of their own husbands. When a man is eating or drinking, the left hand is slid up underneath the fold of cloth that covers the face so as to hold it out away from the mouth without raising it above chin level, and the spoon, bowl or glass containing food or drink is then passed up under the veil with the right hand in such a way that the mouth and even the chin remain concealed during the entire process. A Targui about to enter a camp other than his own must stop first and arrange his veil so that the eye slit is very narrow, for to do otherwise would place him in a position similar to that of a stranger ostentatiously whistling at the girls in a small American town. It may be taken as a general rule that a Targui will never show his face to anyone whose social standing he considers superior to his own.

But when, where and from whom did the Tuareg get the curious idea that men must all wear veils while women go without? All that Lyon, Barth, Duveyrier, Benhazera, Reygasse, Rodd, Bovill, Lhote, Blanguernon and your humble servant, among others, have been able to elicit from the Tuareg themselves over a period of a century and a quarter of patient effort is that self-respecting men wear veils and always have, simply because it is the proper thing to do. Duveyrier (1864, p. 391), followed more recently by Rodd (1926, p.

●291 288) and Lhote (1955, p. 305), held that the teguelmoust cannot have had a utilitarian origin because it is worn by men whose womenfolk habitually go unveiled in spite of the fact that both sexes are exposed to the same rigorous environment. Benhazera (1908, p. 39) agreed with this theory, and cited as evidence the fact that Tuareg men questioned by him all denied flatly that the veil was intended to serve any useful purpose. Other equally serious investigators have gone to extremes of both fantasy and caution. Barth 1857a, vol. 1, p. 424), for example, suggested that the veil, turban and floppy fez "combine to imitate the shape of the helmet" of a mediæval knight, although the supposed resemblance is about as farfetched as any that one can think of, while Blanguernon (1955, p. 99), after noting that the veil is in fact very useful whatever its chief purpose may now be, prudently declined to speculate as to its origin on the very reasonable grounds that there is no factual evidence at all to go on. It has been suggested too that Tuareg men hide their mouths only because they think it shameful to expose either end of the alimentary canal, just as we think it shameful to expose the lower extremity thereof (Foley, 1930, p. 25, among others); but if this is so, then why are women's mouths not considered just as shameful as those of men?

The arguments advanced in favor of the theory that the teguelmoust cannot have had a utilitarian origin fail to convince the present writer, for several reasons. In the first place we must remember that the men of all Saharan nomad tribes often veil their faces with a fold of the turban when out in the sun and wind or in a sandstorm, although being veiled or not seems to have no ceremonial implications for any of them except the Tuareg. Everyone who has traveled at all extensively in hot deserts knows that it is often advantageous to the point of being almost essential when on the trail to cover the head, nose and mouth with light, loosely woven cloth, for such a covering protects the wearer from the sun and wind and also maintains a pocket of relatively moist air, kept humid by the breath, around the mouth and nostrils. This last function is of great practical importance in that it protects the mucous membranes of the respiratory

291 tract which otherwise suffer severely in an arid climate, even when the ambiant temperature is only moderately high. Thus it is clear that the teguelmoust does have a very real practical value, regardless of what the Tuareg may say; and it is clear also that the men who wear it need it far more than do their womenfolk who go without.

291 It is not true that Tuareg women of the
512 Ahaggar (fig. 48) are exposed to the rigors of their environment either as much or in the same way as are their menfolk. The men are
462 out and about a good deal of the time, riding here and there across the countryside on errands of one sort or another or on long journeys far away, while the women sit quietly in the shelter of their tents, gossiping, telling folk tales, doing fancy leatherwork, and teaching tribal lore and sometimes Tifinagh[11] to the children. Every family that is
[567] not miserably poor has at least two or three slaves to fetch and carry water, prepare the meals and do the other daily chores, so that the mistress of a normal Tuareg household in the Ahaggar has no need to take a single step outside her tent except when camp is moved, or to visit with her neighbors and to answer calls of nature.

291 Although it is true that Tuareg women
171 do not wear veils, it is also true that women of the other Saharan nomad tribes, Arabs included, seldom if ever wear veils either, except on the very rare occasions when they visit a sedentary settlement or town, and even then not always by any means. But Tuareg and other Saharan nomad women alike all draw a corner of the head shawl (or turban cloth) across the nose and mouth occasionally as a simple matter of physical protection, and this has the same practical effect as putting on a veil does.

291 All this data on the wearing of veils and going without them proves nothing, to be sure, but it does go to show that the Tuareg teguelmoust itself can have had a strictly utilitarian origin after all, as Blanguernon (1955, p. 99) implied, quite apart from the origin of the elaborate and rigid ceremonial
291 quality with which its use has become imbued.
177 As for the date at which the teguelmoust

[11] The Tuareg alphabetic script.

291 177 was introduced among or developed by the Tuareg, we have as yet only negative evidence to go on and precious little of that. All we can say with any assurance is that it cannot very well be older than the introduction of cotton cloth, which is self-evident, and that it could easily have been derived from some quite ordinary type of turban, like that of the Arab Chaamba for example. Cotton cloth must have been introduced into the Sahara on a commercial scale very soon after the introduction of camel domestication had led to the establishment of a regular caravan trade with Egypt, if not before. There are indications 291 that it may have been known in the Ahaggar 175 as early as the 5th century A.D. (Reygasse, 1950, p. 98) and perhaps even in late Neolithic times, and yet there is no evidence in the literature that the Tuareg were wearing veils before the 10th or early 11th century. As Rodd (1926, p. 328) has said: "It seems very strange that none of the classical and post-classical authors should have recorded a feature which so distinguishes this people from other races. There is no reference to the Veil until we come to the first Arab authors. . . ." Desert raiders remarkably like the Tuareg are known to have been in increasingly frequent and violent contact with Romans, Vandals and finally with Byzantines from probably as early as the dawn of the Christian era until the first wave of Arab invaders arrived some 600 years later, and after that they were in contact with the Arabs for another 350 years or so before we begin to hear talk of veiled men in the Sahara.

El Bekri (Lhote, 1955, p. 128) describing the city of Tademekka (in the Adrar n Ifoghas country) as it was early in the 11th century, wrote of the inhabitants that ". . . they veil their faces as do all Berbers of the desert . . . ," while Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338), writing 300 years later, said: " . . . we came to the country of the Haggar, who are a tribe of Berbers; they wear face veils and are a rascally lot." But these statements too are very strange, for the matter-of-fact language in which they are couched seems to suggest that even El Bekri may have taken it for granted that his readers were already familiar with veiled men of Saharan Berber tribes, presumably the northern

Tuareg.

291 Tuareg. It is all very puzzling and mysterious indeed.

Tuareg women wear either a short cotton skirt that reaches just below the knees or a pair of baggy trousers, like those of the men but shorter. Like the men they usually wear a white gandoura with a blue one over it, but the under one at least is sewed farther up the sides leaving open arm slits only 1½ to 2 feet long. The costume is topped off with a shawl and a head scarf of indigo blue cotton cloth, the first measuring roughly 9 feet by 6 and the second about 4 by 2 feet as a rule. Lightweight woolen shawls, measuring as much as 10 feet by 6½ and white or darkish pink in color, used to be worn on festive occasions but have practically disappeared in recent years. Lhote (1955, p. 107) says that Tuareg women sometimes wrap goatskins around their shoulders in wintertime. Straw hats with very high conical crowns and enormously wide, floppy brims, made of narrow interwoven strips of palm fronds, were always worn in summertime by women of rank, especially when on a journey, but these too have almost completely disappeared. We have already seen that Tuareg women never wear a veil, which is just as well since many of them are extremely good-looking, but they often drape a fold of the head shawl loosely across the nose and mouth when sitting out in the open or riding on the trail, simply as a matter of physical protection. Young unmarried Tuareg women and girls are inclined to be overcome with giggles when strange foreigners arrive in the camp, and then they hide their faces with a corner of the shawl or whatever piece of clothing is most handy, just as little girls do everywhere in the world.

Tuareg women sometimes plaster their fore-
302 heads and cheeks with mudpacks of red or yellow ocher, and smear their mouths with indigo and the region of the eyes with black pigment made of powdered antimony or char-
[751] coal mixed with grease. This lurid make-up gives fairly good protection against sun and wind, and the Tuareg consider it very beautiful as well although to our eyes it makes the wearer look absolutely frightful. Men also use black pigment around the eye openings,
291 especially on gala occasions.

439 The reader will have noticed that the

291 Tuareg attach considerable importance to
[439] indigo blue cotton cloth, a product which they get from the Sudan. This material is commonly known as "chegga" (pronounced *shegga*), and the most archaic and highly prized variety is made of a multitude of long strips about an inch wide sewn tightly together. The cloth itself, of very ordinary quality, is so heavily impregnated with crude indigo as to be literally stiff with it. A brand new piece looks black when seen at a distance or in a poor light, but in bright sunlight it is a dark purplish blue with a coppery sheen like that of cheap carbon paper; and the indigo dye comes off on your fingers at the slightest touch, just as the ink on carbon paper does but much more so.

302 Obviously, anyone who wears clothes made of such material is soon stained with indigo from head to foot, and the Tuareg even rub it into their skins on purpose. Women often smear it on their foreheads, cheeks and temples and around their mouths by way of make-up. The
[751] Tuareg claim that indigo not only protects human skin from the direct effects of sun and wind but also lubricates it and so prevents cracking, and they are quite right, at least up
[515] to a point. If the Tuareg wash themselves only very rarely, it is partly to preserve the accumulated protective coating of indigo, the humble practical value of which has been
[554] gradually enhanced by an ever-increasing value of prestige that has risen in proportion to the rising cost of indigo-dyed cloth. A dirty looking, bluish skin is admired by the Tuareg just as much as a rich golden tan is admired in midwinter by the business men and women of New England and New York.

515 It should be noted that in the Sahara Desert proper one can go unwashed for long periods without either feeling or looking noticeably dirty. The air is so dry that perspiration usually evaporates instantly upon reaching the surface of the skin, and so it is unusual for anyone to sweat visibly. Most of the nomadic
[147] natives are in excellent physical condition in that they are very lean and wiry, and so they sweat relatively little in any case. Thus it is extremely rare to meet one who has any perceptible body odor at all, regardless of whether he looks clean or not. White foreigners are seldom in anywhere near as good physi-

326 ward and then westward, across the North
[171] African hinterland to the shores of the Atlantic. The general description of this pattern, given above in chapter V under the sub-heading *Special Classes and Minority Groups* in the section on *Agricultural Centers*, leaves little more to add.

326 Smiths of the Ahaggar usually live in single
463 family units or small groups widely separated from each other (fig. 50). A few families follow Tuareg groups on their seasonal rounds, but the great majority remain sedentary most of the time in one agricultural center or another, and go out only now and then for a few weeks or months, to do a general repair and re-equipment job in the camps of some
[759] nomadic tribe or clan. The men work wood and metals and are also barber-surgeons, while the women specialize in fancy leatherwork and embroidery. In addition to these functions
[584] and those previously mentioned, both sexes of the smith community act as both go-betweens and spies in clandestine love affairs. They also engage in intertribal secret intelligence work. And a major Tuareg chief may sometimes have a smith as his most trusted counsellor and confidant.

326 The smiths usually dress as do the poorer
[291] Tuareg. The men all wear the teguelmoust but in a sloppy fashion, and they seem to have no qualms about exposing their mouths.
[582] They are endogamous and monogamous as a general rule, although a few have more than one wife and some of them marry Haratin or occasionally slaves. Ostensibly because of their lowly social status, but probably in fact more because of the fear of sorcery that they inspire, they come and go everywhere as they please, although always with a cringingly ingratiating manner. Even after one has come to know them fairly well they still give an impression of constant watchfulness and profoundly sycophantic tact of the delicately oiled as opposed to the heavily greased variety. The smiths are the most perspicacious and cleverly adaptable of all Saharan peoples, for they have learned to live off and so outlive flamboyant warriors with their retinues and

[217] the author was so fortunate as to obtain a copy of the genealogical table in question, thanks to the very kind co-operation of Captain Roger Bret, Commandant of the *Annexe du Hoggar*, and Claude Blanguernon, Director of Nomad Schools.

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 235]
[Pp. 230-234 not processed]



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Fig. 20. a, Bey ag Akhamouk, heir apparent (and now paramount chief) of the Ahaggar Tuareg, with one of the last horses of the central Sahara.

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 239]

[Pp. 236-238 not processed]



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Fig. 24. Tuareg warriors of the Ahaggar in single combat. (Photograph by P. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 240]



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Fig. 25. Young Tuareg nobles of the Ahaggar, come into town for a spree. (Photograph by I. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

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2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P. 241] Hoggar



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a

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b

Fig. 26. Tuareg of the Ahaggar. *a*, Camel Corps soldiers. *b*, A young noble of the Kel Rela Tribe. (Photographs: *a*, by A. J. Weber; *b*, by L. C. Briggs.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 242]



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Fig. 27. A noble woman of the Ahaggar Tuareg (Kel Rela Tribe). (Photograph by A. J. Weber.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P. 263] Hoggar



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Fig. 48. Tuareg women of the Ahaggar. (Photographs: *a*, by *Life* photographer David Douglas Duncan, © *Time*, Inc.; *b*, by A. J. Weber; *c*, by P. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

3: Holiday J-5 (ca.1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



# THE TUAREG OF THE AHAGGAR

by

GEOFFREY HOLIDAY

131 The Ahaggar region of the Sahara desert, with its administrative headquarters at Tamanrasset (Fort Laperrine) provides an almost exact geographical centre for the territory inhabited by the Tuareg; the nomadic tribes of the "blue veil". At the northernmost point is In Salah and to the south, Agadez. Eastward there is Djanet in the Tassili des Ajjer and the western boundary is formed, perhaps, by the line of the Tanezrouft. [361] Within this area the Tuareg wander from oasis to oasis or, in the case of a few, dwell peaceably in the shadow of the French towns and outposts that mainly owe their location to the existence of water tempered by administrative and strategic factors.

177 186 The Tuareg would appear, at first glance, to be one of the few remaining peoples of the world possessing a culture of their own that is entirely free of influences, direct or indirect. Some among the tribes still believe that the desert is the world, inhabited admittedly by many different kinds of people, but the world nevertheless. This is the extreme view, obviously not shared by those who have travelled on the great caravan routes as far south as Kano or to Timbucktu and the Niger. It may not be the view of [648] the younger generations who, to an increasing extent, are benefiting by the primary education facilities inaugurated by the French administrators; particularly in Algeria where the Ahaggar region lies at the foot of the Territoires du Sud: a knowledge of the French language does not necessarily bring about a lessening of superstitions or a widening of perspectives. One is always faced with the parallel of the farmer (who should have known better) and the ostrich: 'There ain't no such animal!' Nevertheless, from this aspect the influences are so few as to be negligible and are more likely to come from the varied genre of the official and semi-official indigenous population gathered together under the Tricolour at the towns and outposts of the region than from direct contact with the European. The Tuareg are almost the exception that proves the rule of man's gregariousness, though, naturally enough, they are gregarious in that they possess very strong tribal instincts.

291 751 As a tribe the Tuareg have very marked characteristics that immediately set them aside from any other social group in what may be termed loosely north Africa. To begin with, the men are seldom seen unveiled: the women, who can be very beautiful, never cover their faces although, often they will wear a head covering, presumably as protection against sun and sand. The men, however, do not wear the veil solely as protection against the elements. Discounting those few who have become soldiers under the French flag, a Tuareg man—or, more properly, a Targui—assumes the veil on approaching manhood and wears it continuously, even for eating and drinking. He unveils to no one, not even in the sanctuary of his tent alone, let alone in the presence of his wife. This veil wound low round his forehead and across the bridge of his nose covers the mouth, ears and nostrils. Since the other openings of his body are concealed by his robes he has complete protection against evil spirits entering and taking control—and this is the key to why the veil is worn. To protect his eyesight against the Evil One amulets are worn from a chain round the neck and doubtless also such amulets provide a measure of safety in battle.

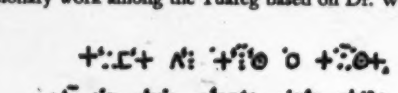
174 The origins of the Tuareg tribe are particularly interesting in that they have as yet to be definitely established. Their antecedents go back anything between 600 and a 1,000 years and it is supposed that they are an offshoot of the Berber Arabs, driven into the desert during one of the many invasions of the Tel, the fertile coastal belts of Algeria and Morocco, that continued up to the 13th century when the Moors became really established on the Barbary coast. Likewise, the Berbers with their light skins and blue

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.

174 [714] [411] 194 212 174



[539]

**The Bible in Tamahaq**

(*Ruth. Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

*"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."*

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

771 [101] [832]

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

567 611 565 567 [291]

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

177 533

4: Benhazera--3 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter II

## Circumcision

In Tamashek, "azemhoud-n-baradhen" (circumcision of children) from the verb "ezmahad" , to circumcise. 304 852

There is no set age for circumcision; generally it is carried out after the age of five.

The operator is summoned to the amazar' (douar), and all the people present take part in the operation, carried out as follows:

The operator holds the foreskin with a bit of "saâf" (djerid or palm leaf) and cuts it with a well-sharpened knife. To cicatrize the wound, it is dusted with leaves of atle (Tamarix articulata) and skins of dried pomegranates ground to powder. Then it is washed with camel urine, and all painful contact is avoided by means of splints held by strings fastened behind the back. [278] [237]

Then there is a feast: a sheep's throat is cut, and it is eaten by the guests.

## Chapter III

## Puberty

In Tamashek, "tamendjott" . As soon as he is of an age to fast, that is to say, as soon as he has reached puberty, the boy begins to wear the "tidjelmoust" veil which he will never leave off thereafter. 882 291

As to the girl, a celebration is held as soon as she reaches 881
the age of puberty, that is to say, at the start of her menses,
in Tamashek /6/ "ba-n-amoud" (literally,
"cutting of prayer, " since during her indisposition the woman [841]
is in a state of impurity and cannot pray). The young girl is [291]
dressed in her prettiest clothes, and on her head is placed a
black veil, "ikerhi" , which falls on either side of
her face without hiding it. She also never leaves it off.

If her parents are well-to-do, she will learn to play the 883
amz'ad , an instrument which has an important [556]
place in Tuareg life. It is a kind of violin with a single string 534
whose box is made of a large "kabouia, " or a dried and
scooped-out gourd, covered with a stretched hide and pierced
with two holes, which is provided with a handle. The string
is made of horsehair, "az'iou" , as are the strings
of the bow, "tadjelhé" , made of a stick bent into
an arc.

It is chiefly an instrument to accompany singing. The [533]
woman slides her fingers over the string without pressing,
while working the bow; she prolongs the final phrases, which
are drawn out.

If a young girl knows how to play, she may shine at the [832]
musical gatherings, where she will be courted.

## Chapter IV

## Musical Gatherings

A young man and a young girl often go to meet together, 533
and this occurs especially in those gatherings which, to be 584
accurate, we will if you permit call "musical gatherings, " and 832
which the Tuareg call "ahal" , plural "ihallen" /.

/7/

and gaiety, always on condition that the conversation does not take place in the presence of relatives to whom the Tuareg who is addressed owes respect. 521 562 602

The Tuareg woman intervenes effectively in quarrels between the men of her family and, in order to please her, reconciliation takes place. Thus it was thanks to Rakhma, sister of Moussa ag Amastane, that the latter became reconciled with his brother-in-law, Anaba ag Amellal. 562 [593 578]

In short, one may say that nothing is ever done or said among the Tuareg in which the influence of the woman is not found, always and everywhere, and this will be seen as the reading of this article continues. /14/

Dautheville
Tuareg Group in the Oued Ti-n-amadal Settafen (Tifedest). [291]

## Chapter VI

## Proposal of Marriage

Proposal of marriage, "ibadrahen" ⵉⴱⴰⴷⵔⴰⵀⴻⵏ, is governed by a definite rule of procedure. 584

The suitor for a woman's hand sends marabouts, if there are any, to her parents, or tolbas, or, lacking these, influential people who state his request.

The proposal must be known to all the relatives of the woman without exception; they must all be notified and

4: Benhazera--17 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter X

## Games

Children play a game with a ball, "tekerikera", O·:O·:+, which they hit with curved sticks /20/ ("iggaten tekerikera," they hit the ball). Two camps are formed and the ball must be made to go into the opposing camp. 526 857

But their greatest amusement is to make out of clay little sticks and stones, all kinds of animals and people, which they call "isounar" O|⊙ . Thus they make a mehari with its saddle, a camel with its young, a horse, etc., or they may make a mehari with a man on it, "aknar" O|·: , or a woman in her bassour, "taknart" ⊕|·:+ ; here are a bride and groom. These young sculptors, it seems, are very skillful. 524 532 857

Sometimes they hang a swing, "taoulioula", ||:||:+ , on a tree. 524 857

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Armed Conflict between Aziouel and Tacha
(Taïtoq Tuareg) (First Stage)

4: Benhazera--17a G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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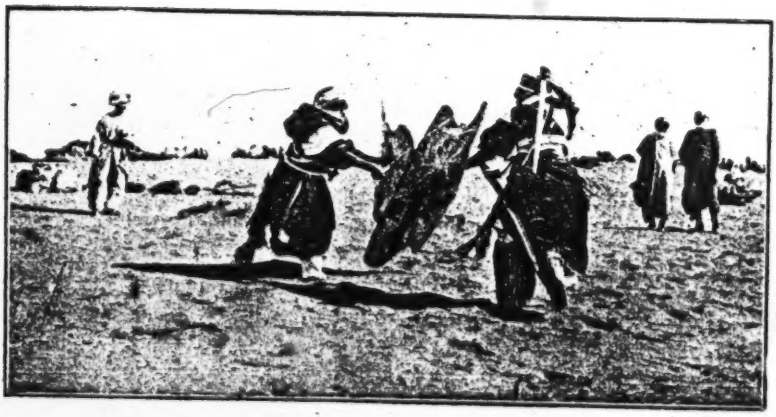

(Second Stage)

(Third Stage)

4: Benhazera--17b G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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(Fourth Stage)

4: Benhazera--18 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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(Fifth Stage)

As to the men, they practice throwing the spear as far as possible toward a certain object. They have mock battles with the "takouba" (saber) and shield, "ar'er"; or /22/ they roll up rags and try to cut them with a single stroke of their great "takouba."

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The laws of hospitality, "amedjarou," are observed as 574
among all Moslems. The guest, "amadjar," is always well
received.

## Chapter XVI

## Hygiene. Diseases

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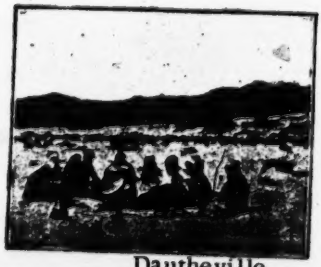

Dautheville

Dr. Dautheville in the Abezzou
Wadi (White Tifedest)

We know that the Tuareg have a horror of water. They do 515
not wash themselves on the pretext that this would make them
sick, but it is essentially because they are very sensitive to [151]
cold. To say their prayers, they do not indulge in the pre- [782
scribed ablutions, even when they are at home and have water 788]
at their disposal. They are content with "taïmoum" (an
imitation of washing with sand), which they call "ettamine."
The amenokal Moussa ag /31/ Amastane is the only Tuareg
whom I have seen making his ablutions with water.

This is also doubtless due to the fact that the Tuareg like 241
to keep the tint of indigo, "sedjeni" ⵙⵉⵏⵉ ⵊⵏⵉ, on their 302
skins, the result of wearing "chegga," or blue cotton, which 386
runs a great deal and of which they make their clothes. They 515

241 302 386 515

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga."

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵓⵙⴼⴰⵔ 177 plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⵔⴰⵏ , and believe in their efficacy. 278 This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, [432 556] for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very [648 willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly 757] be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" 164 ⵜⴰⵣⵣⴰⵇ , gonorrhea, "talaoa'lt;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ⵜⵙⵎⴷⵀⵉ ; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴽⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔⵄⴰⴼ .

## Chapter XVII

## Negroes and Negresses

563 567

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the [721] Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which [439] brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave 178 them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the 567 progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

The negroes and negresses are well treated by the Tuareg, 563
who do not impose hard labor upon them. The negroes are pri- 567
marily busy with the flocks, which they drive to pasture and water. [233]
The negresses are concerned with the kitchen; they go after [357]
water and take care of the children.

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312]

Tuareg Watering their Sheep at the Tin Zaouaten Well

Negroes and negresses also gather the harvest of "toulloult" and "afezzou" grains, but this is more fun than work, for everyone takes part in it with them, in gay groups.

Many negroes eventually become the trusted men of their masters, who put them in charge of caravans or even of responsible missions. Thus, the amenokal Moussa had a trusted negro, Chernach, whom he regarded highly, for, he said, "I know that this man would have himself killed for me." Moreover, he gave him a gun, a spear, and a saber. /33/ These negroes are very happy and can consider themselves as freed.

## Chapter XVIII

## Clothing. The Veil

The Tuareg are very clothes conscious. They love 291
beautiful clothes and do not fail to put the best they have in their wardrobes on their backs every time the occasion arises.

The more garments they can put on, one over the other, the better it is. Even in midsummer if a Tuareg has a wool burnoose, he does not hesitate to put it over his shoulders if he is to attend a palaver or present himself to a chief, though he suffer from it.

Their clothes are almost all made of dark-blue cotton, "tchoqqit" (a word which seems to be a [192]
variation of the word "chegga" used by the Arabs).

White cotton is not fashionable and is not worn except by [556]
those who do not have the means to buy dark-blue cotton, which looks black and, from a distance when they are in a group, gives them a slight resemblance to crows.

Their costume consists of:

The "takarbast" , a sleeveless gandurah slit at the sides and sewed only at the bottom, so that when they raise onto their shoulders the panels that fall to their wrists, the entire bare chest is seen through the opening.

The "karteba" , trousers à la hussarde, or full like the Arab "seroual," tight at the ankle.

The "takammist" , a gandurah with large wide sleeves and a large pocket on the left side of the chest, "el hib" . The "takammist," which is usually made of cotton with small blue /36/ and white squares or with dark-blue and mauve stripes, is decorated on the shoulders with white embroidery. This garment is expensive and is only worn [556]
by well-to-do Tuareg.

An "abrour'" , a haïk of wool bought in the Tidikelt or the Touat, and worn only in winter.

4: Benhazera--32 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The "tidjelmoust" ⊕⊐ǁ'|+ , or veil. The veil 291 ●
is made of a single strip of dark-blue or black cotton. To put it on, the end is placed on top of the head, then it is first wrapped around at the bottom to hide the lower part of the face. Then it is brought back up to hide the upper part of the face, and the head is wound with the rest of the strip to hold it in place.

The upper part of the veil is called "amaoual-oua-n-afella," the lower part "amaoual-oua-n-aris." The top of the [302]
head remains uncovered to leave free the hair, which is braided in small strands or cut in the shape of a cock's comb, or just cut short. The part of the veil which covers the nape of the neck is called "adjedellehouf."

When the veil is on the forehead is bound with white or colored material, "asaded" ΛΛ⊡ , and to be pleasing a bright-colored ribbon or cloth, "itelli" ⊂ ǁ+ , can be added.

The young people some time ago imported a fashion which 177
they borrowed from the Kel Fedé of the Aïr and which consists 291
of a kind of diadem of this shape:

It is placed on the forehead and is covered and hidden by the veil, which holds it in place.

This diadem, which is called "tadebanat" +|⊠V+ , [184]
is not liked by the "old Tuareg" party, who have not adopted it. Sidi ag /37/ Keradji told me that he preferred the old fashion which consisted of slipping under the "assaded" amulets enclosed in silver plaques, called "tira-n-azerouf." But the "young Tuareg" party is not of this opinion and considers the new fashion not lacking in elegance.

Sometimes they cross a white sash on the chest, 291
"tirezzemine" |⊐# O+ .

Finally, they wear around their necks thick cords of red 291
or green silk or braided wool, which they call "el mejdoud" 789
and which are used to suspend a Koran, a book dealing with cabalistic matter, or amulets.

Amulets (everyone has some) are worn on the back or on 789
the chest. They are enclosed in a leather or metal sheath. I saw one Tuareg who had some twenty that he wore, all gathered together, on his chest.

Finally, they are shod with large flat sandals from the Aïr, 291
"ir'atimen" ⵏⵓⵜⵉ , or with leather sandals made on [439]
the spot and called "imerkaden" ⵉⵎⵔⵇⴰⴷⵏ .

Let us not forget the arm bracelet "ahbedj" ⴰⵀⴱⴷⵊ , 301
plural "ihebdjan" ⵉⵀⴱⴷⵊⴰⵏ , like a snake, which, they 789
say, gives strength to the biceps when one strikes a blow.

At rather important meetings and palavers, the richest 292
come dressed in burnooses bought at Ghat and decorated on [556]
the shoulders with attractive silver embroidery. Sometimes it also happens that if the burnoose has no embroidery, the owner prefers to wear it inside out, so as to display the yellow and green silk lining which decorates the edge and lower corner of the burnoose. Where will vanity stop?

The burnoose is not put on, but just put over the shoulders.

Some poor Tuareg are dressed in clothes of tanned leather. 291
/38/ 556

The woman's dress consists chiefly of:

A sort of skirt, called "asedjebes"
A shirt with sleeves, "takammist"
A woolen haïk, "abrour'"
A veil placed on her head, "ikerhi"

According to her means, she wears the following jewelry: 301
556

Silver bracelets, "ihebdjan-oui-n-azerouf"
Glass bracelets, "tahouka, " plural "tahoukaouin"
Glass-bead bracelets, "denguela, " plural "denguelaten"
Blacelets of the horns of goats or gazelles, made in two halves which are encased one in the other with copper and which are called "iouakane"

Earrings in the shape of large rings, "tizabbatine" 301 [55-6]
Rings, "tisseq, " plural "tisser'ine"

Also, like the men, she wears amulets, "tira." [789]

Finally, in summer she wears a large parasol hat ("medols" 291 in Arabic), which she sometimes decorates with red wool and which is called "tili" (shade).

Concerning the veil: whence comes this use of the veil among the Tuareg? Even those involved do not know.

Sidi ag Keradji, however, gave me an explanation which 173 is quite without validity but shows the craze which the Tuareg 291 have to attribute an Arab origin to themselves. This is his story:

"At the caputre of Mecca, the Prophet Mohammed was mounted on a 'cidah' (female mehari). He had wrapped his head with his 'ihram' (a garment peculiar to the pilgrim who enters the sacred territory of Mecca). It is since this time that the Tuareg have worn the veil."

What is certain is that this is a very old custom, since Arabian writers have for several centuries called /39 Tuareg by the name of "Ahl-el-Litham, " or "people of the veil."

Did they adopt this custom for utilitarian reasons, to pro- 173 tect their sight from the brilliance of the sun's rays and to 183 insure their eyes against the dust which rises from the sand? 291 To this question they reply in the negative. It is primarily, they say, a question of modesty and dignity. A Tuareg must never show his mouth, the door through which he introduces food into his body. That is shameful. Even at night he does not take off his veil. When he enters a camp foreign to his 183 tribe, he must lower his veil completely over his eyes so as 291 not to be suspected of having come to seduce. In meetings 576 he also veils himself completely, perhaps in order better to hide his feelings.

It is probably because of this custom that the Tuareg 182 291 shaves his mustache and he finds it strange that we wear them. 302 On the other hand, he wears a full beard.

## Chapter XIX

### The Woman's Saddle

I think it well to give below the following description of 492 the very unusual mehari saddle of Tuareg women.

I had the opportunity to see one, of which I was able to get a sketch (see the accompanying illustration). /40/

It seems that many other saddles are handsomer, with painted wood, and they say that the beautiful Dassine suffered considerable distress when she learned that a beautiful saddle belonging to her had been plundered by one of the insurrectionists at the beginning of our establishment in the /Saharah? Oases.

The woman's saddle, which somewhat resembles a sedan chair, is placed over the hump of the mehari without touching it. It consists of the following essential parts: a rectangular seat of netted strands, supported by four uprights to which are fastened four cushions with holes in the center which rest, two on each side, on the flanks of the mehari. These cushions A are called "afelledoud" ⵎⵎ ⵍⵍ ⵊⵅ , plural "ifelledad" ⵎⵎ ⵍⵍ ⵊⵅ .

The uprights are fastened to each other by two transverse bars on each side.

A chain of iron links B called "imetredj" ⵉⵎⵓⵜⵔⵊ goes around the saddle and passes through the ring of the girth C, which is called "ahif"

Onto the upright with the rear cushion, which is hidden in the picture, is attached an embroidered ornament which has hanging from it strands of wool or colored leather. This ornament D is called "tegarsim"

because of the lack of vowels, the "tifinagh" are guessed rather 212
than read, and this system of writing has remained quite primitive.

However, among the Ahaggar Tuareg some know how to [177
read and write Arabic, especially the Issoqqamaren, almost all 191]

[291
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The Amenokal Sidi ag Keradji Reading the
Address of a Letter Sent to Him.

of whom understand Arabic because of their frequent relations with the Tidikelt, where they must have lived for a long time (1). It is the same for the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet, many

1. See section on history /not translated/.

of whom speak Arabic. /43/

Knowledge of the "tifinagh" is rather a diversion for the Tuareg than a useful study. They like to try to decipher inscriptions or to show you, on the sand, the exact orthography of a word.

4: Benhazera--64a G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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A Fig Tree at Abalessa

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food. 233 511 [492] [439]

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like. [234] [262] [281] [291] [283]

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Rela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temaźlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. [422] [565] [114] 565 651 [421] [431]

565 /50 cont. / Atakor and the Arechchoum are their pasture regions. It is a tribe of rich camel and goat raisers.

[162] [563] It is the most important imrad tribe under the Kel Rela; there are about 390, served by nearly 400 Negroes. The Dag Rali are stubborn mountaineers, a little narrow minded. They [147] are remarkably resistant to fatigue when they walk in their rough country. Let us also note their adaptation to the cold of December, January, and February; the camps are generally situated at an average altitude of 2,000 meters. The Tuareg [291 132] are clothed in two cotton gandurahs and are quite often wrapped in a "dokali"; they bear cold which drops as low as -12° in the tent toward five in the morning.

The tribe's amrar is Akroud ag Ama (1). The handsomest

1. Died in 1952.

tents belong to the Dag Rali, and the men are renowned as hunters of wild sheep.

[651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is about 12 mezoued /leather grain sacks/ of dates, eight bottas /bottles/ of butter, the loan of 12 ewes for milk, and ten goats for slaughtering.

Several subgroups may be seen within the Dag Rali, named mainly according to the regions they inhabit: Kel Arechchoumi, /sic/ and the Ikhechemaden, who formerly were imrads of the Ta'ttoks.

[162 563] The most numerous imrad tribe is the Adjouh n'Téhélé. It includes approximately 590 individuals and more than 750 Negro domestics. Although imrads, the Adjouh n'Téhélé are regarded as different by the nobles. Toward the eighteenth century, this tribe, which was living in the A'ir at the time, came of its own accord to incorporate itself into the Kel Ahaggar. This was done to escape the exactions /51/ of the sultan of Agadez, who each year demanded a virgin as a sign of vassalage. This tribe's territory of nomadization extends to the east and south of those of the Dag Rali.

492 /97 cont./ For he who wants a particularly well-equipped animal, there is the "cascabou," a sort of copper fitting with pendants and little bells which is fixed on the camel's nose, giving the beast a proud appearance and classifying the owner.

The things owned in common consist of, first, the "abator" used as water containers; these guerbas are made of goatskin or sheepskin. The "tamhit" ("mezoued" in Arabic) are used to carry grain. Butter is made in the "edjiouer."

415 We already know the use of the tendi /mortar/ and the pestle (iharen). Fixed or turning millstones called "tahount" are used near the agricultural centers.

The "terahout" is the hemispheric dish; there are several sizes. The "tesoukalin" are the small spoons; the large ones, often pyrograved, are called "temoulalt." The metal or baked-earth pot is called the "terrirt." Everything used for making tea has an Arabic name: the kettle (ralleye), the teapot (bered), the glasses (el kissan), and the tray (el tabla). The trivet is called "isseguida."

/98/ Clothing

291 The grand bearing of the Tuareg, which so impresses the visitor arriving in the Ahaggar for the first time, is largely due to the clothes he wears. The silhouette of the "men of the veil" becomes familiar. The fullness of the clothes and the lightness of the cloth, which favors harmonious drapings, seem to exaggerate the size of both the men and the women. European traders who give free rein to their imaginations are numerous; they speak of blue phantoms and indulge in comparisons as unreal as they are evocative. Here we must strip the Tuareg of this poetic aureole. Let us begin by the trousers, called "iqarbi" ("sarroil" in Arabic). Very full and not creased, the iqarbi has a hem at the waist which permits use of a plaited leather belt called "tamenalt"; there is no pocket. To make it, cloth 1.50 meters long by 1.40 meters wide is used. It is often made of black sateen or chegga.

291 /98 cont. / The fullness of the sarroil is indispensable for camel mounting, sitting on the ground, or sleeping.

The "éressoui" is an immense gandurah of tari (a blue cloth impregnated with indigo, which rubs off to give the Tuareg his characteristic skin tint) or of mahmoudi (white cotton fabric). The width of the gandurah must be more than the reach of the arms, or generally three lengths of cloth, about 2.40 meters. The éressoui is slit almost all the way down the sides and has an immense pocket fixed on the left-hand side of the chest. It contains eight meters of cloth 80 centimeters wide. Ordinarily, the Tuareg wear a blue eressoui over a white one; they gather on the shoulders the excess of cloth that would normally hang on the arms, giving a blue-white contrast of very striking effect. The arm is uncovered to reveal the bracelet of carved stone (serpentine) called "habidj," which is used as a defensive weapon in a fight.

A gandurah identical to the éressoui but made of cloth from the Sudan is called "takamist n'kora." /99/ This cloth is made of small bands one centimeters wide sewed together. The blue dye of the takamist is particularly prone to adhere to the skin. The Tuareg wear this article only on festive occasions, for it is very expensive.

The "tameskinout" is also a gandurah made from cloth made in the Sudan, but with bands from four to five centimeters wide. This very expensive garment is found much more rarely.

Another gandurah called "rati," which is worn only on grand occasions, has stripes of violine and beige tints; it is adorned with embroidery, forming circles on the back. The large chest pocket is also embroidered. "Taguelmoust" is the name of the brillant blue veil with carefully studied folds which hides the faces of the Tuareg and which novelists have named "litham," a word unknown in the Ahaggar. The size of the taguelmoust is generally 3.50 meters by 0.25 meters. The weaving of the Sudanese type resembles that of the

291 /99 cont./ takamist with one-centimeter bands. Judging a taguelmoust is difficult for a European; factors are the number of bands and the quality of the blue dye, which, when the cloth is new, is so brilliant that it looks like carbon paper. The taguelmoust is washed only after long wear, and can then no longer be used during a ceremony. The way he arranges his taguelmoust classifies a man, permitting initiates to distinguish between the tribes. The chèche /long scarf/, white or black, worn more and more, is an Arab importation; it has the advantage of lasting longer and costing a lot less; 4.0 or 4.50 meters are needed to obtain the desired effect. Some Tuareg get very nice effects arranging the chèche and the taguelmoust. Without going into the hypotheses which have been advanced to explain why the men started wearing the veil, let us say that it is the custom with the Tuareg and note that it is indispensable to wear a veil when traveling in the desert; every Frenchman who travels by camel or on foot quickly realizes that he must follow this custom or see his face take on the appearance of a lizard's skin. The taguelmoust /100/ has the advantage over the cheche of depositing a layer of greasy dye on the skin, which prevents chapping due to the dryness of the air.

The Targui's footgear is the nall called "ighatimen." Its rounded form is well known. A leather thong passes inside the big toe, two leather bands cover the foot and are sewn nearly as high as the heel. The sole consists of three thicknesses sewn together by one or several lines of stitches. Designs of pleasing colors decorate the different nal'ls and make it possible to tell where they come from. The ighatimen are made in the Sudan; the best known come from Zinder or Tahoua.

The mountain tribes -- Dag Rali and Adjouh n'Téhélé above all -- make nalls of a special type called "imarkaden." The tip is straight, slightly wider than the foot, and the heel is also straight, while the sides curve in toward the arch.

291 /100 cont./ The layers of leather may be a centimeter thick; the sewing of the leather with large stitches permits decoration. A long thong connects the leather buckles sewn on the sole and is tied over the instep. The elegant footwear is the "ighatimen."

293 A description of the Targui's apparel must include all of the objects he wears including weapons.

The "taralabt" is a leather wallet hung from the neck. An ingenious system of grooved closings keeps it from opening; it is always black and artistically decorated with yellow, green, or red stitching. Numerous inside pockets serve to hold the mirror, the "tazolt" (eye blacking, sometimes kept in a special case), the "chemma" (chewing tobacco), the "kelbou" (natron used to make tobacco milder), personal papers, and sometimes money.

Amulets called "tera" hang from the neck by a leather string; these are small leather rectangles containing either papers written by a taleb /public scribe/ or magic products protecting against sickness, the Kel es Souf /genii/, and misfortune in general. Each Targui is abundantly provided with tera, which make his life bearable.

293 /101/ The "iremdan" ("menguech" in Arabic) is an in-
752 dispensable instrument; it consists of a cutting blade, an awl,
296 and small pincers (something like eyebrow tweezers) These blades pivot around an axis; a ring makes it possible for the iremdan to be hung, but it is often carried in a special case. This tool is in turn a surgeon's kit for pulling tahla thorns from the soles of the feet and a cobbler's tool for repairing nalls /sandals/. A Targui never undertakes a trip without his iremdan.

301 We have already mentioned the "abidj," or polished stone bracelet. The "tissak" is a small silver ring without artistic value. The key to the Tuareg padlock, which is often suspended on the chest, is a much prized ornament.

411 No Targui undertakes an important trip without his "takouba," the sword worn at the side which gives that

411 /102 cont./ Let us mention for the record some weapons that are no longer carried: the "tilok," a magnificently decorated daggar held on the forearm by a leather bracelet; the "arrar," a shield of antelope skin, white, decorated in the middle with designs and metal trimmings; this large rectangle with rounded points gave the warriors a most impressive appearance. These shields are no longer to be found.

● 291 To finish with men's dress, let us note the "tabroq," a blanket coming from Timimoun called "dokali," worn on very cold days, which makes the Tuareg resemble certain American Indians.

The Tuareg women ("tamat" -- "tidedin" in the plural) wear clothes which in many ways resemble those of the men. They are not veiled, but when a stranger is presented to them, they hide their faces out of sheer modesty.

Like the men, they wear a long gandurah of tari called "erressoui," but the opening on the side is no longer than 30 centimeters under the arms. There is a white erressoui worn under the blue one. The woman also has a "takamist n'kora" that she puts on during a visit or for a fistive occasion.

/103/ She wraps herself in a large rectangle of tari, three meters by two, called "afar." The padlock key is tied to a corner of the material, and serves as a counterweight when the afar is thrown over the shoulder.

The "ikarat" is the shawl for the head; when it is made of taguelmoust cloth, it is called "alechou"; it measures about 1.50 by 0.50 meters. During an ilougan, which is a kind of tournament on camel back, a rider snatches the alechou from a woman and flees, chased by the other Tuareg, who attempt to recapture the veil. The victor is highly regarded.

The "tabarikant" is a very large veil, three by two meters, whose very clear rose color gives a most happy effect; imported from Tripolitania, it is of very finely woven wool. The tabarikant is becoming more and more rare; it is handed down from mother to daughter and is worn only for festive

●291 /103 cont./ occasions. The "ra'ki" is another veil, as large as the tabarikant and made of wool, but white; it is also very rare.

The Tuareg woman does not wear a sarroil but a kind of knee-length skirt, a simple piece of cloth tied around the waist, called "assedjebès." Young girls begin wearing assedjebès when they are nubile.

The woman wear ighatimen for footgear, carry tera, and all have a taralabt slightly different from that of the men. The iremdan is often carried without a case. In winter the tabrok (dokkali) is also a feminine garment.

[854] All of the young children are naked; later they put on the blue gandurah; the boys have a sarroil toward the age of eight or nine. At about fifteen, they begin to wear the veil.

## Food

262 The Tuareg are particularly frugal eaters, and their condition of life does not predispose them to a finely prepared cuisine. Tuareg food has nothing about it to flatter the tastes of a gourmet. The few /104/ dishes palatable for a French-
[177] man have been borrowed from the Arabs and will not be mentioned here.

The basic elements of the Tuareg diet are: millet, milk, and dates. Millet (enelé) comes from the Sudan or is harvested in the Ahaggar as a summer crop; the latter, whose grain is smaller, is better liked but is insufficient in quantity.

252 Millet (the "bechena" of the Arabs) is crushed with a pestle and winnowed to keep only the white flour. This flour is sometimes eaten just as it is after crushing: this is the "tibik" used on the trail by the hurrying cameleer, and it is sometimes used even in camp.

Also called tibik is a more complicated preparation: millet is crushed, winnowed, then washed and put in a tarahout. Heated pebbles are buried in the grain until it become slightly cooked or rather roasted. The progress of the

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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17. Beyh ag Sidi Moussa, nephew of the present amenokal.

[p. 202]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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18. Rhama, woman of the Iklan Taoussit tribe.

[p. 203]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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19a. Tuareg of the Taïtok tribe talking things over in their favorite position.

[p. 204] [left - see p. 205]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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19b.

[p. 205] [Right - see p. 204]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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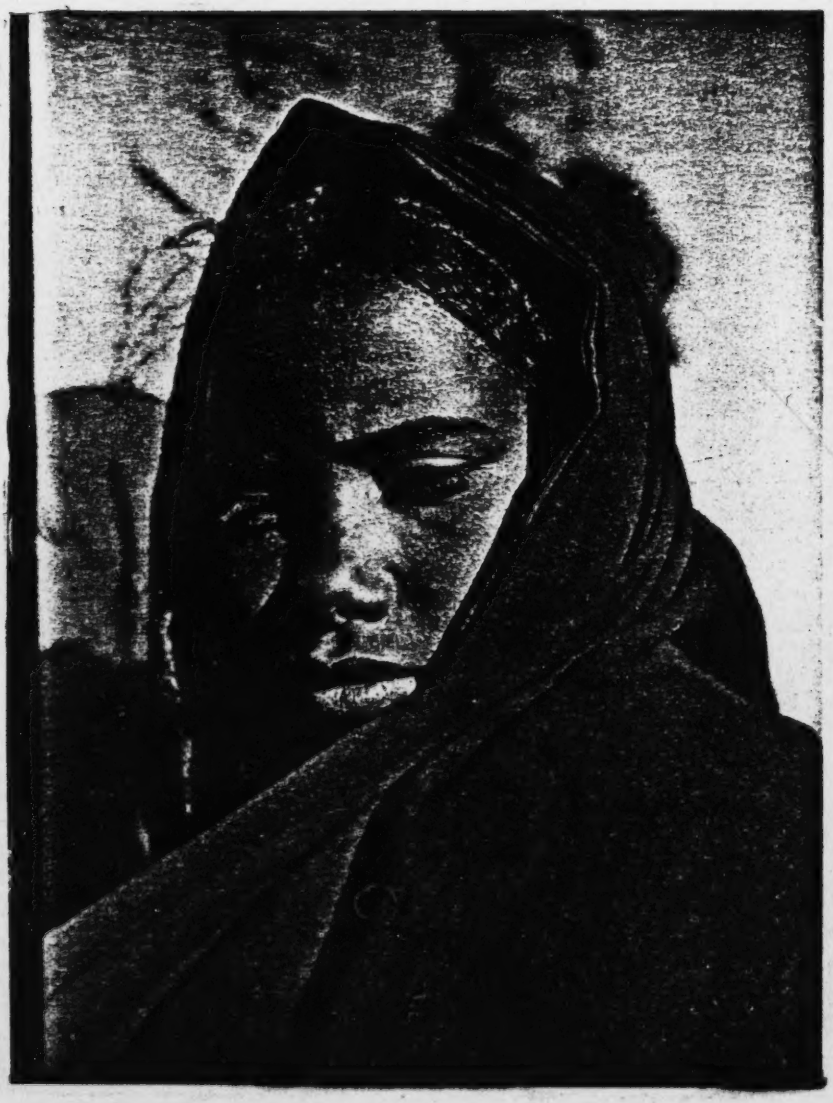

22. Young harratin of Ideles.

[p. 209]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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23. A hartani type.

[p. 210]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
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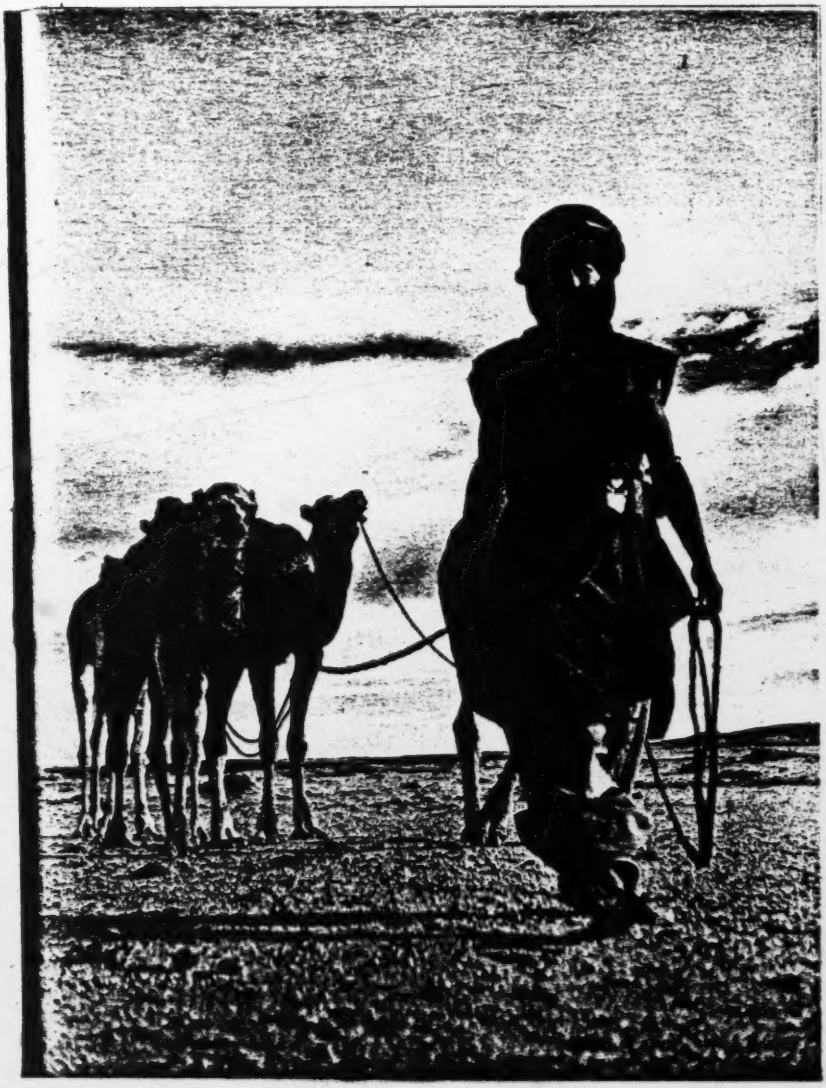

28. In the pastureland rounding up the animals.

[p. 215]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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35. During a stop a Targui grinds his millet in a sheep's skin.

[p. 223]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MA25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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38. Young Targui and his black servant at Ideles.

[p. 226]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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40. Harratin family at Tahaggart.

[p. 228]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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42. Camel trail. Boubaker gives the Issalen (the news).

[p. 230]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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45. The public scribe.

[p. 233]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg MS25

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Boy of the noble class, *Kel Tahabanat* on the Niger.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



565 619 *Imrad* (sing. *Amerid*). People of this class are sometimes called "serfs" in literature, but the word "vassals" is also used. I prefer to use the latter term, but add that the word *Imrad* is most difficult to translate into an European language. The vassal class is represented in all groups with the exception of the *Kel Geres*. Among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iullemmeden* the word *Kel Ulli* (sing. *Agg Ulli*) is used synonymously with *Imrad*. Among south-western Tuareg around Timbuktu the word *Daga* or *Dara* is also used to designate vassals. The *Imrad* class is by far the most numerous in most groups. The relationship between these vassals (*Imrad*) and the noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, *Imajeren*) forms the basis of most political systems which are described later (p. 393 ff.).

101 565 Members of the above-mentioned classes are true Tuareg, though the word *Ineslemen* is also used for marabuts of other peoples and for marabuts of various black-skinned castes found among the Tuareg. Among the Northern Tuareg all people of the above-mentioned classes with the exception of certain *Ineslemen* or marabuts are called *Imuhar* (sing. *Amahar*). The Ayr Tuareg have no such common term to designate the people known to us as *Tuareg*, but occasionally they use generically the word *Imajeren* though strictly speaking this term should be reserved for Tuareg of the supreme noble class.

101 The word *Tuareg* (sing. *Targi*) is never used by the Tuareg themselves, but by Arabs. Duveyrier claims it to be derived from an Arabic word of the root *terek* meaning "to abandon". The meaning of the word accordingly should be "those abandoned (by God)", and should refer to the fact that many Tuareg do not follow Islamic rules very strictly (Duveyrier 1864, p. 317 f.). The same explanation has also been given to me by an Arab of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe of Tidikelt. However, the origin of the word "*Tuareg*" is perhaps a different one: – It may be related to the word *Targa* (Ayr) or *Targa* (Ahaggar and Tasilê-n-Ajjer), which name is used by the Tuareg to designate the part of the Sahara generally known to us by the Arabic word *Fezzan*. This is very likely, as we know from Arab authors of the Middle Ages that the word *Targa* or *Targa* was then used as a name for a very important Tuareg group living in that area and adjacent regions (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 83 f.; Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 534; Rodd 1926a, p. 273 f.).

142 144 The Tuareg are fair-skinned people who in certain regions and particularly in the south have mixed with Negroes. The Northern Tuareg are predominantly fair-skinned, and many of them are as "white" as Europeans though perhaps a little yellowish or brownish. It is difficult to determine their exact skin colour because they are burned and tanned by the sun and the hot wind characteristic of desert climate. In addition, the Tuareg wear clothes dyed with indigo which comes off on the body, and they [291] [518] rarely wash. When I lived among them my own skin-colour and that of the Tuareg were practically identical. Among the Ayr Tuareg there are also many fair-skinned people, but the Ayr Tuareg are more mixed with Negroes than the Northern Tuareg, and most *Kel Ewey* are predominantly negroid. Very mixed also are the *Kel Geres* and the same seems to hold for other Tuareg groups of the south. A few blond individuals have been recorded from the *Kel Ajjer* living around the oases of Rat and Radames, and they may be the offspring of unions between Tuareg women and caravan traders of the north (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 162 f.). The blond individuals met in Southern Ayr are the offspring [648] of the fairly numerous marriages between Frenchmen and Tuareg women, but it is claimed that a few years ago a very blond girl was born to parents of families which had never contracted marriages

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 3. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Iklan-en-tawsit* tribe.

Fig. 4. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Tasile-n-Ajjer.

142 with the French. I have myself never seen a genuine blond Tuareg, but I have met a few albinos though
144 albinism seems to be rare. These observations agree with those of Lhote (1955a, p. 163). All the Tuareg
[143] I have seen had curly or straight black hair, and dark brown or almost black eyes. Many individuals
had fairly broad faces with protuding cheeks which gave them superficially a mongoloid appearance,
142 while others had features more like Mediterranean Europeans. In literature the Tuareg are generally
described as very tall people. I did not myself carry out anthropological measurements, but will not
hesitate to state that in my opinion a great many Tuareg are far from big. Very many adult men in the
groups I have visited were considerably shorter than myself (1.73 m). Tuareg men are generally dry
[147] and meagre, bearing the stamp of their roaming life in the desert. Their most outstanding quality is
[157] that of endurance and contempt of hunger and hardship. The appearance of Tuareg women is often
quite different – they tend to grow fat. This is probably to some extent due to the fact that married
826 women spend most of their life in the tents and get little physical exercise. But fatness is also a sign
832 of feminine beauty, and some women make a great effort to grow fat by drinking milk or eating
[261] certain fattening plants (cf. p. 177, 178). According to some Tuareg fat women symbolize wealth – large
flocks and herds, and much milk – but many Tuareg also say that they prefer fat women because they

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



826 832 get more sexual satisfaction from intercourse with them. "A fat woman is like a woman who has never known a man", they say. Some women are steatopygous though never to the same extent as women 142 among the Bushmen and the Hottentot. Very comprehensive studies of Tuareg physical anthropology 114 are lacking. Readers are referred to the chapter written by Lhote who has also published a brief bibliography of studies on this subject (Lhote 1955a, p. 158–170, 433), and to the recent and valuable publication by Briggs (Briggs 1958, p. 163 ff., 183 ff.).

291 The custom of Tuareg face veiling has attracted the curiosity of many scholars and travellers. Much has been written about the fact that Tuareg men wear a veil (*tagulmust* in Ahaggar, *tagulmust* in Ayr) while their women are unveiled in contrast to Arab custom. There have been given various explanations of the origin of the custom of Tuareg face veiling. Most authors refer it to hygienic conditions: the veil protects the face from sand and dust, and it prevents mouth, nose, and throat from drying up in hot weather. The fact is that the veil has the latter function, and Arab bedouins of the Sahara will also frequently veil their faces during journeys in the hot season. But the hygienic explanation is definitely not the reason why the Tuareg also veil themselves in many situations where face veiling is unpractical and unpleasant. Another explanation of the custom of face veiling is that the veil may perhaps have certain religious or magic functions. This explanation is apparently also insufficient. A [254] few Tuareg have claimed that the veil may yield protection from persons having an "evil eye" or an "evil mouth" – beliefs known in Ahaggar as *tehof*, in Ayr as *tagarchet*. But as I have stated elsewhere 291 (Nicolaisen 1957a, p. 112; 1961, p. 114) the proper function of face veiling seems to be a social one. 576 Many Tuareg will leave their face uncovered in family camps or on journeys, but they will always [602] cover mouth, nose, and brow in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) and in the [606] presence of their parents-in-law (particularly their mothers-in-law). Towards such persons it is also considered very indecent to show one's legs. It has been overlooked by most authors that Tuareg women wear a head-cloth (*ekerhey* in Ahaggar, *adalil* in Ayr), which is similar to the veil worn by men in form and shape. The headcloth and the veil are properly made from Sudanese indigo cotton, and both the veil and the headcloth are therefore also known as *alechchu*. It is true that Tuareg women [602] do not veil their face by means of this headcloth in the same way as do the men. But in the presence [606] of foreigners (particularly foreign men) and towards fathers-in-law the women will draw their headcloth over their mouth (cf. Fig. 297a). The man's veil and the woman's headcloth have identical social functions which is also proved by the fact that young men and women adopt veil or headcloth at initiation (Ahaggar), or at marriage (Ayr). Both the veil and the headcloth are worn by people of various black-skinned castes of Tuareg country but the custom of face veiling seems to be more strictly observed among the true Tuareg.

181 The custom of face veiling is one characteristic of all Tuareg. Another quality peculiar to all Tuareg, and particularly to those of the noble class, is their "snobbishness" as it is frequently called by many Frenchmen living at Tamanrasset and Agadez. There are a great many things a Tuareg cannot do, and there are many situations in which he will have to act in a very special way if he is to be regarded as a man worthy of respect and prestige. Tuareg attitudes to etiquette are not easily described in words. Gait, gestures, and postures are all intended to express qualities of elegance, arrogance, refinement, and strength. Vanity with regard to dress and ornaments is another characteristic of all true Tuareg.

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Fig. 5. Veiled vassal Tuareg. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

Fig. 6. Irrigation farmer of the *Iburelliten*, that is descendants of mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and Negroes. The man is patrilineally releated to the noble *Tayisek* tribe, matrilineally to slaves. Ahaggar, Amsel.

181 and there are indeed many Tuareg both in Ahaggar and in Ayr who wear Islamic amulets which are believed to make the wearers look "great and important". "Prestige" is constantly in the mind of all Tuareg who are much more sophisticated than other people living within their country.

181 Most true Tuareg are nomadic stock-breeders who will not engage in the strenuous work of irriga-
433 tion agriculture. The Tuareg will readily engage in any strenuous work connected with stock-breeding,
461 caravan trading, and in the past also in raiding expeditions, which were organized by people of the nobility, but agricultural work is generally much despised. However, there are in all groups certain families or tribes the members of which subsist predominantly by agriculture, and are nevertheless considered true Tuareg by pastoralists. These agricultural Tuareg will be mentioned in a later chapter,
564 and we shall now pass on to a brief description of various negroid castes and of other non-Tuareg
567 people living within the boundaries of Tuareg territory:—

*Ikles* (sing. *Akli*). These are the proper slaves who are very negroid. Nicolas believes that the word *Akli* (pl. *Ikles*) is in fact derived from a k-l root meaning "to be black" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189), but

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group are sedentary agriculturists (Nicolas 1950a, p. 190). In Ahaggar most freed slaves have become incorporated in the negroid caste now to be mentioned. 564 567

*Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*). This term designates the caste of agricultural Negroes known to the Arabs as *Ḥarratin* (sing. *Ḥartani*). In Ahaggar this caste has a rather mixed origin. It did not exist in this 564

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Fig. 8. Vassal woman with amulet cases and snail-shells hanging around her neck. Ahaggar, the *Afuk-en-tehli* tribe.

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Fig. 9. Vassal woman with her child straddling over the right hip. The Tuareg generally carry their children in this way though certain Ayr Tuareg have adopted the Sudanese fashion of carrying children on the back. Ahaggar, the *Aḡuh-en-tehli* tribe.

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have expressed as their opinion that the blacksmiths originally constituted a fair-skinned Tuareg population who mixed with black-skinned Sudanese people like so many true Tuareg. It is interesting

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that Tuareg blacksmiths have a peculiar language of their own known as *ténet*. This language has unfortunately never been studied. It is used by the blacksmiths mainly as a secret language spoken when they do not want other people to understand them, whereas blacksmiths use Tuareg (*tamoheḳ*) as their family language. The Ayr Tuareg consider the *ténet*-language an invention of the blacksmiths.

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Fig. 10. Young man of the sedentary *Kel Ganet* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. He is yet too young to wear the veil which is used also by these Tuareg-speaking people of Ganet.

Fig. 11. Unveiled blacksmith. His racial features are predominantly negroid though his skin colour is yellow-brown rather than black. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

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From Ayr Tuareg who had much contact with blacksmiths I collected the following words of *ténet* language:—

| *ténet* | *tamachek* | *English* |
|---|---|---|
| *wochimbogen* | *ineden* | blacksmiths |
| *wosilkum* | *echink* | porridge |
| *tikulkumin* (pl.) | *tikammarin* | cheese |
| *ohundegan* | *aman* | water |
| *ogera* | *éref* | head |
| *tokonderey* | *timezzugin* | ears |
| *tedroragen* | *tiawin* | eyes |

Prasse is of the opinion that the secret language of the blacksmiths is a kind of slang consisting of circumlocutions of everyday words, but derived from nothing but the local dialect itself. He suggests the following tentative interpretations of some of the words I have noted:— *wa chenbeyen* = "the blackheaded one"; *wa s ilkem* = "the one it follows" or: "sticks to"; *agera* = "leather bag".

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Fig. 12. Blacksmith woman. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

563 they more frequently refer to mulattoes as *Ichardanen* (sing. *Acharda*). Such mulattoes do not form any particular class or caste.

It is stated in almost all writings on the Tuareg that the offspring of mixed marriages will acquire the social status of their mothers, but though this may be theoretically true in some Tuareg groups actual conditions are more complicated. Among *Ineslemen* Tuareg and generally in southern Tuareg [564] groups there is a strong tendency to acknowledge patrilineal affiliation. In Ahaggar classes and castes [565] should ideally be matrilineal organizations. However, this is not always so. A man who descends from a vassal mother and a noble father will not become a true vassal. He will not have to perform any of the obligations characteristic of the vassal class, and to-day he is normally considered noble 563 though he cannot succed to chieftainship in his father's tribe. If a pastoral Tuareg marries a woman 591 of one of the black-skinned castes the children who grow up in the father's camp will frequently remain there as pastoralists and members of their father's tribe. Conversely children descending from a black-skinned father of an agricultural settlement and a fair-skinned pastoral woman will often remain in the settlement to practise agriculture even after their father's death. As to offspring of marriages between Tuareg men and slave women, they will continue to live in the father's tribe as pastoralists, and will frequently acquire the social position of the father as mentioned later in the description of Tuareg slavery. Mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and people of black-skinned castes constitute a minority. But it seems as if such marriages are on the increase.

101 All the above mentioned peolpe are Tuareg-speaking though part of the sedentary agriculturists of 563 Ahaggar (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) have Arabic as their mother tongue. In Ahaggar there are also many [197] true Arabs – particularly at the administration centre of Tamanṛaset. There are also Arabs at certain other villages in Ahaggar, and there are Arab pastoralists. They have largely mixed with the Tuareg, and certain Arab pastoralists such as the *Ahl Azzi* (*Kel Ṛezzi*) should be classed rather with Tuareg than with Arabs. There are also some Arabs in Ayr. There are Arab traders at Agadez, Iferwan, and Ingal, and there are a few Arab pastoralists who have mixed with pastoral Tuareg of Northern Ayr.

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But pastoralists of Arab descent are limited to a few scattered individuals or families in the Ayr area in contrast to the extended Sudanese country around the Niger, where whole pastoral tribes claim patrilineal descent from Arabs, while matrilineally most of them are Tuareg. 101 563

There are many other people within the extended country inhabited by the Tuareg. Very important in the south is a numerous population of Hausa-speaking Negroes. The so-called *Imeggedezen* (sing. *Ameggedez*) of Agadez speak Hausa which language is spoken by various other sedentary people of that region and further south. There are also a few Sonray-speaking people at Agadez, and Ingal further west is predominantly inhabited by Sonray-speakers known to the Ayr Tuareg as *Isaweren*. The Sonray, as is well known, are now found almost exclusively along the Niger, but Ayr was once conquered by the Sonray, and Barth describes Agadez as a Sonray-speaking city. [197]

In the south the pastoral Fulani are now invading the grazing grounds formerly reserved to and owned by the Tuareg. Camps of pastoral Fulani are frequently seen nowadays even as far north as the southern outskirts of the Ayr Massif around Agadez and Ingal. When grazing is good the Fulani may even move further north into the Talak plains with their herds of long-horned cattle. Many other people are frequently met in Tuareg country, e.g. the Tebu, and the Kanuri, who frequently come to Agadez. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are even a few individuals who descend from Tebu women.

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Fig. 13. Mother and son. Slaves of the Tuareg in Ayr.

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younger animals which yield more milk. Again, the meat of very old goats is of inferior quality. Much goat-meat derives from he-goats of which a very limited number is needed for mating. Some Tuareg claim that one he-goat is able to cover about a hundred goats, but as a rule I doubt whether it would be called upon to do so. In any event, too many he-goats are brought forth, and even very young male kids are frequently killed and eaten as there will be more milk for the nomads when such animals do not have to be suckled. It is considered ideal that male kids which are not needed for reproduction, and which are not killed at very early age, should be castrated at the time when weaning takes place, but even old he-goats may be castrated to make them fat for slaughtering. 233* [262]

Though meat is not a stable dish of the Tuareg they have to kill a certain number of goats every year to obtain skin for the manufacture of various domestic utensils. The roaming life in the desert necessitates a great many containers for water, butter, milk, grain, dates, and the like, and bags made from goat-skin are appropriate for this purpose. Indeed, goat-skin is so important to Tuareg craft that in speaking of the manufacture of most domestic articles one can hardly avoid mentioning the word "goat". Thus, my fairly large collection of ethnographic specimens from the Ahaggar Tuareg contains about fifty different objects made entirely or mainly of goat-skin, which is also used for the manufacture of tents among the Northern Tuareg. Even nowadays, a few articles of dress are made from goat-skin, and goat-skin was in general use for this purpose in the past (cf. p. 287 ff.). 237 [415] [126] [342] [291]

Goat-hair is extremely useful to the Northern Tuareg. The hair is cut once a year in the hot season when the animals do not suffer from cold (cf. Fig. 98). It is spun into strong cords used for tethering animals, for tying up caravan loads, for reins, and the like. In certain tribes of Ahaggar it is also used for a very primitive kind of weaving (cf. p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b). [283] [286]

To understand the economic role of goat-breeding one must briefly touch on the question of size of flocks. Statistics concerning the ownership of livestock must always be regarded with much suspicion, as it is extremely difficult to obtain data. It is not only most impolite to ask Tuareg about the size of 233* 128

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Fig. 20. A kid with the stick (*akara, aseghes*) pierced through the mouth as described in the text. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Ferwit* tribe.

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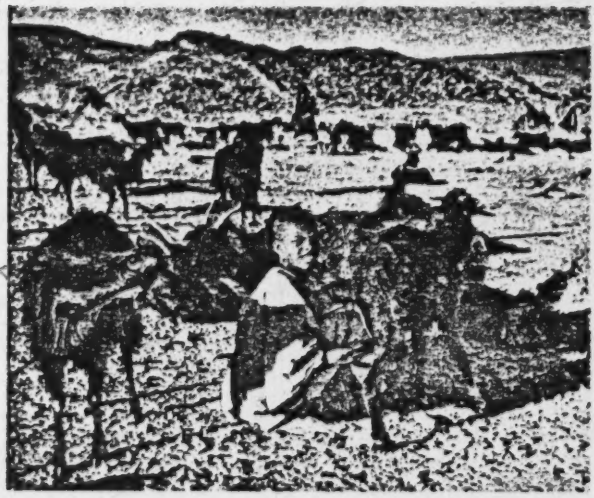

Fig. 23. Slave boy milking goats – a task which is normally performed by women. The milk-bowl is held in the left hand, and the milking is done with the right hand, while the goat's left hind leg is held fast beneath the right upper arm. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

GOAT MILKING

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Fig. 24. Tuareg milkmaid milking a goat as described Fig. 23. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

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Fig. 27. Zebu ox of the long-horned Fulani breed. Ayr, Agadez.

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Fig. 28. *Hartani* boy riding a young ox. Ahaggar, Tamanraset.

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## CAMELS

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Camels are very important domestic animals in all Tuareg groups, and they also play a great part in the subsistence of most Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. The common Arab camel breed, which is known to the Tuareg as *marroki*, is also found in Northern Tuareg country – particularly among the *Kel Ajjer*. It is heavily built and is extremely well fitted for transportation. It is a very strong breed in spite of its relatively low stature, and it has large feet which is considered an eminent quality for pack camels. This *marroki* camel has a thick cover of wool on the hump and on the fore-part of the body, while Tuareg camels, which are of higher stature and more elegantly built, in general have little or no wool, but only a short coat of hair much like that of cows and horses. Tuareg camels may have long hairs around the hump but true Tuareg camels have no proper coat of wool. Though the *marroki* breed is excellent for transportation and is considered a better milch-animal than the southern Tuareg breed, the Tuareg generally prefer their own elegantly built camels, and they look down upon the heavily built camels of the north. However, as mentioned, there are some *marroki*

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Fig. 33. Tuareg with riding camels. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tahit* tribe.

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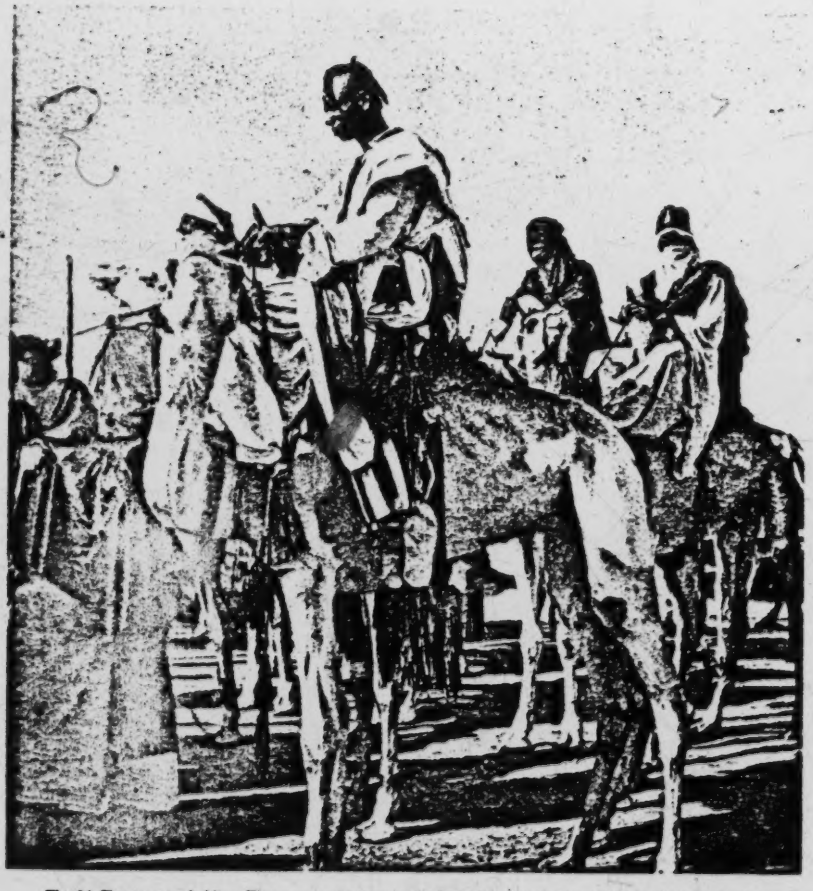

**Fig. 34. Tuareg camel riders. The young man seen in the front has not yet adopted the veil. Ayr, Agadez.**

camels among the Northern Tuareg, as there are cross-breeds between camels of this type and Tuareg camels. There are also to-day some Tuareg camels among Arab pastoralists of the Sahara, but I was told among *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* Arabs that originally all their camels were of the *marroki* type, while camels of the southern Tuareg breed were introduced among them more recently. I have not been able to prove or to refute Cauvet's theory that northern and southern camel-breeds differ in dentition

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Fig. 36. Two Ayr Tuareg milking a she-camel with the colour name *tawinak*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

They draw out the placenta (in Ayr known as *t'imidin*) by the attachment of a heavy stone to the membrane (*abayoṛ*). It is also common a few hours after birth to draw a little milk from the mother camel and pour this milk into the calf's mouth in order that the new-born animal may be able to stand upright and suck its mother quickly. When this has been done it is normal to bleed the mother-camel. Some milk drawn on the day a she-camel has borne a calf is frequently consumed by the Tuareg (cf. *édeṛes*, p. 221), but with this exception the new-born calf is allowed to drink all its mother's milk for the first days after birth. The period during which the calf sucks freely varies. It depends on the yield of the mother-camel and is also determined by the amount of milk available to the owners from other animals. Milking may exceptionally start already four or five days after birth, but this is not normal. The calf is frequently allowed all milk for a fortnight, or even for a whole month. In Ahaggar when pastures are very dry it is quite normal not to milk a mother-camel at all for a still longer period.

The entire suckling period, that is the period in which the calf is allowed to drink part of its mother's milk, including the short period when it sucks freely, also varies. But here there is one main rule: a calf is allowed to suck as long as its mother-camel is milked, for she-camels, like cows, do not generally yield milk unless they have their calves close to them. It is normal to mate a she-camel about one year after the birth of a calf. She will then yield milk for about six months after mating, so that the total suckling period is about 18 months, at the end of which period the calf will be allowed very little milk. If a she-camel is not mated so soon it may yield milk for a longer period, and the suckling period may even be up to about two years when the calf is a grown animal almost as big as its mother.

There are various methods to secure milking in case a camel has lost its calf. The dead calf may be substituted by another calf, but the dummy-calf is also used with she-camels. This device is known as *ahayoy* (Ahaggar), or *azeyuz* (Ayr). Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr it is claimed that some she-camels can be milked without their calves if their udder is patted in a particular way with the hands – which treatment is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the name *ewlewl*. The method of blowing into the vagina described above for cows (p. 51) is never employed with she-camels. But there is another method for

[text continues on p. 59]

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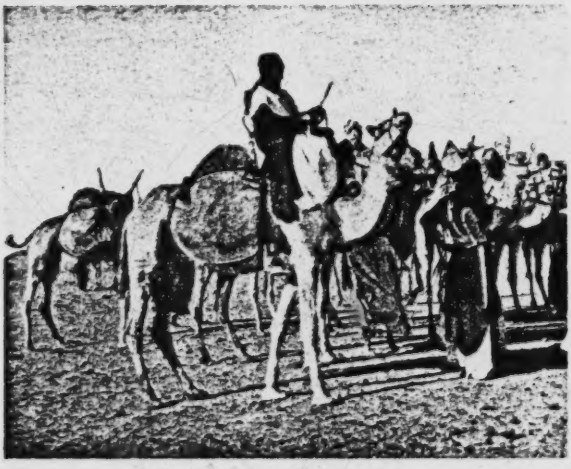

Fig. 68. Tuareg camel riders prepared for a camel-race. The fixed position of the saddles is secured by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren*) tied around the hind part of the camel. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*492 The saddle types just mentioned are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg and apparently also to
[562] other Tuareg of Ayr. Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group refer to these women's saddles as "Arab saddles", and when their women mount camels on festive occasions they do not use proper saddles but a kind of chair built up upon two very large cushions manufactured by the *Imeggedezen*, and stuffed with hay. The arrangement of this saddle-chair is complicated and it takes some hours to finish it. It is built as follows:— The two large cushions (*éstigen*, sing. *ésteg*) are placed on the camel's back in front and behind the hump. They support a superstructure known as *tésagaley* and made from various objects belonging to the tent in the following way:— (1) Two large and oblong skin-bags are stuffed with hay or old cotton pieces and each of them is wrapped with a coloured blanket to form an oblong parcel. (2) To stay these parcels a rolled bed mat (Fig. 212b) is tied horizontally to each of
[285] them, and they are laid parallel with each other on the ground. (3) A very long mat plaited from dum palm leaves is rolled up and wrapped into a coloured blanket or a coloured piece of cotton. It is bent into a U-form and thereupon attached to the two oblong parcels by means of cords. This superstructure is further covered with coloured blankets and pieces of cotton. It is placed upon the two large cushions and tied to them and fastened to the camel by means of cords and girths. When a woman rides in such a saddle-chair she sits behind the animal's hump so that she cannot reach the camel's neck with her feet. The back of the U-formed mat prevents her from falling backwards. The structure
*492 of the saddle-chair may be seen from the photographs (Figs. 76–77). It should be understood that a
562 saddle made in so difficult a manner is not used by the women except on festive occasions, such as
[489] travelling to attend a marriage or an Islamic feast. Apart from the very few noble women belonging
[565] to the two noble tribes within the *Kel Ferwan* group all women of this drum-group normally ride

[Text continues on p. 92]

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Fig. 80. Tuareg boy with his toy camels of cut stones. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

Fig. 81. Tuareg boy playing camel-riding on a rock. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

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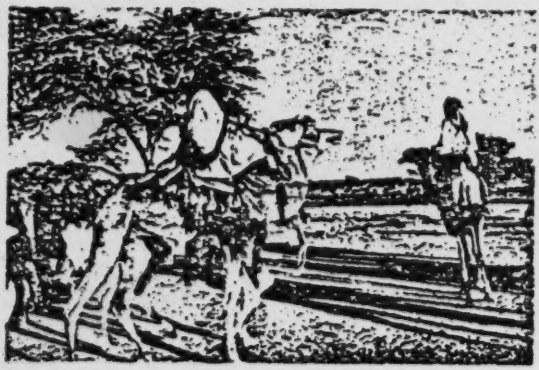

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afagay* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Iyawdien*.

Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

In a ceremonial ride termed *ihyten* (*ihgaw* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

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the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp. Colour- 231
terms are also used for dogs, and I have heard one Tuareg boy claim that he preferred dogs that were
black and white. Adult people in general treat dogs differently, and they are frequently cruel to them,
which may be due to Islamic influence which is on the increase among the Tuareg. Though the Tuareg [177]
may be cruel to their dogs they acknowledge that they are very "wise and intelligent". They say that
the dogs are much like humans with the exception that they cannot speak. Therefore they should
also be fed like humans, and they are given millet-porridge – with milk if the yield is abundant. The
Tuareg kill their old and superfluous dogs by hanging them from a tree in a noosed rope, and they
consider this method very effective.

## CATS

The domestic cat is found in many Tuareg camps. It is generally termed *muchch* which is Arabic by
origin. I believe that domestic cats have been introduced to Tuareg countries later than the Arab [174]
invasions and that they have been introduced by the Arabs. This is in agreement with Lagercrantz's
statement that domestic cats in most parts of North Africa outside of Egypt are post-Arabian (Lager-
crantz 1950, p. 65). Cats are allowed to live in tents and huts, and are well treated as among the Arabs.
The Tuareg keep cats not only for pets to their children, but they much like to have them in their [136]
camps as cats catch numerous scorpions and also attack snakes.

Among sedentary people of Ahaggar and particularly at Tamanrasset the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, or
*tékenisit*) is sometimes kept in the house or within the courtyard as it hunts beetles and scorpions
during the night. This custom of keeping tame hedgehogs is no doubt recently adopted from Europeans [172]
living at Tamanrasset.

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Fig. 91. A true greyhound (*oska*) patted by a negroid agriculturist of the *Kel Ganet*. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Drayw* tribe.

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462 231 [492] Among Northern Tuareg vassals donkeys are tended by women, who use them for riding and transportation over short distances. Tuareg men rarely ride donkeys, but the assistance of men is needed in connection with some of the tasks of donkey-breeding:—

It may become desirable to increase the stock of donkeys by catching wild animals as already described above. This is always done by men who also break-in the captured animals for riding. The assistance of men is also frequently needed for catching half-wild, though domesticated donkeys.

The marking of donkeys, castration, which is rarely performed, and the curing of diseases, which are also rare, are said to be tasks which should properly be carried out by men.

[565] Vassal women only tend camels when all men are absent from their camp.

The above rules of division of labour are in general also valid in Ayr among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. But there are in Ayr vassal Tuareg who have no camels and vassal men in Ayr frequently ride donkeys. The tending of cows in Ayr is mainly the work of women, who are also more familiar with cattle terms than are the men. – Among the *Kel Ewey* the skinning of goats and sheep, as well as the partition of the meat, are done by women.

428 In the Tuareg groups I have studied both men and women inherit camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys according to Islamic rules of inheritance.

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Fig. 110. The skinning of a gazelle placed upon straw of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ahaggar, the *Tayma* tribe.

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Fig. 113. Negroid agriculturist (*Harratin*) with a hare caught in a steel-trap (*elkhenjet*) of European type. Ahaggar.

262 by many people in vassal tribes, and jackal's meat is popular as it is considered an excellent remedy
565 against fever (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 146). But there are also many Tuareg who refuse all types of game
[757] with the exception of such animals as gazelle, barbary sheep, and antelope. Some Tuareg consider hare's meat unlawful, but this, perhaps, is a conception introduced with Islam, for many people of the religious *Inesleman* class claim that hare should not be eaten because their blood resembles that of menstruating women. The food taboos strictly followed by all noble Tuareg are older than Islam: they never eat birds, eggs, reptiles, and fish.

These rules are not traditional for vassal Tuareg, though some of them have adopted the taboos of the noble Tuareg.

224 In Northern Tuareg areas two big lizard types are found. One of them is called *aggezzeram* (*dobb*
564 in Arabic; *Uromastix acanthinurus*). This is caught and eaten by slaves, agriculturists, and by many
565 vassals. It is frequently taken by hand, but there is also a special implement (*taskunt*, *takoda*) consisting
262 of a stick provided with an iron crook for catching lizards hiding in holes and under rocks. When
[432] vassal Tuareg are able to catch a great many *agezzeram*-lizzards they cut them up and dry them for
[484] sale on their regular trading expeditions in autumn to the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. p. 210). The *agezzeram*-lizzard is said to be the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the negroid blacksmiths (*Ineden*), because the lizzard's tail resembles a file. I do not know whether the few blacksmiths found in Northern Tuareg country eat this lizzard, but do not think they do. The lizzard is not considered very delicious, and blacksmiths have emigrated from the south where it is not generally eaten.

The other edible lizzard is named *ayata* (*Varanus* sp.). It is much bigger than the *agezzeram*-lizzard just mentioned, and its meat is excellent according to the taste of most Europeans. But this big lizzard

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Fig. 149. The market place of Agadez. In the front negroid Hausa men roasting small pieces of meat on a spit; in the background Tuareg camels offered for sale.

484 487 [317] [437] [221]

pack-camels to the salt pit of Amadror to mine salt in the hot season. They load the camels with salt and bring them to the camp where further preparations for the journey are made. When the caravans have started southwards they stop in the Tamesna plains and rest there for at least one month to allow the pack-camels to feed on annual pasture, and, if necessary, to exchange the pack-camels with others kept by the Ahaggar Tuareg in Tamesna. Thereupon the caravan will continue towards the millet-growing towns and villages of the Sudan to bargain with the Hausa. The caravan returns to Ahaggar again at the end of March or at the beginning of April, so that the total duration of a south-bound caravan is up to six or seven months.

433 439 [465] [435]

The Sudanese millet trade is of extreme value to the subsistence of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is particularly important to their economy that they obtain millet for non-nomadic products transported by camels, which are mainly bred outside of Ahaggar. The millet trade is consequently not much influenced by Ahaggar's changeable climate. According to official statistics, the Ahaggar caravans in 1946 exported 375 tons salt, and imported 720 tons millet, while the cereals grown in Ahaggar amounted to 197 tons (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). According to Galan vegetable food grown in the gardens of Ahaggar in 1950 (a bad year) amounted to 121 tons wheat, 5 tons millet and barley, and 4 tons of tomatoes – about 10 kg of wheat and 0.5 kg of millet, barley, and tomatoes per person (Galan 1951, p. 233). We see from this that the amount of cereals acquired in the Sudan far exceeds the amount grown in Ahaggar, and as we have mentioned, the millet trade is also important for the establishment of Tuareg agriculture in their own country where this cereal is used for payments to cultivators. It can also be added that the Sudanese caravan trade is more important to the Tuareg than appears from the figures above. For salt is much more valuable than millet, and for one load of salt the Tuareg receive from four to fifteen loads of millet – in 1946 the price was fifteen to one (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). It is evident that the Tuareg could not take all this millet back to Ahaggar. Most of it is re-sold

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Fig. 138. Woman churning butter by shaking the inflated churning-bag (*aglwir*) between her hands. Ahaggar, the *Afuk-en-tehli* tribe.

Meat (*isan*) is not a staple diet of the Tuareg. The Tuareg of Ayr consume more meat than the Northern Tuareg, but even in the south it is not eaten daily. There are Ayr Tuareg who are reluctant to kill their animals, and people who have much milk have very little need of meat. Meat is eaten by all Tuareg on certain festive occasions, whether social or (and) religious, and when camps are visited by friends, certain relatives, and important guests. He-goats and rams, or barren goats and sheep, are the animals most commonly killed. The meat of sheep and rams is considered better than goat meat, and sheep are also highly esteemed for sacrifice. Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food 262 [874] [231] [232] ●●●

[text continues on p. 231]

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Fig. 170. Sacrificing a goat at the naming ceremony called *Isnowen*. A marabut and the child's father keep the animal firmly to the ground. They stand with their faces towards Mekka and the camp of the new-born child. The marabut cuts the animal's throat simultaneously crying out loudly the child's name which is thereupon loudly repeated by the father. Ayr, the *Igendéynen* tribe.

4/2 *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*) of Tidikelt, and it is now also found in Tuareg camps (Fig. 182), where it is
252 less frequent than the above-mentioned saddle quern. The handmill was entirely unknown among the Ajjer Tuareg during my visit to Tasilé-n-Ajjer in 1952. The Tuareg who possess handmills obtain them from the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar (Tamanraset). – When saddle querns or handmills are used, a piece of cotton or skin (*asentel* in Ahaggar) is always placed under the grinding stones to catch the flour (Figs. 180, 182).

262 The Tuareg have many different vegetable dishes. The most important are bread, porridge, gruel, and various mixed beverages.

[252] Bread is a prominent dish for all Northern Tuareg who bake it mainly from wheat flour. Wheat bread has been my ordinary dish among all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Lhote states that

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Fig. 173. Tuareg skinning a ram. Ayr, the *Iyendiyuen* tribe.

252 by placing the dough on a baking sheet. The other type of bread is generally known by the Arabic word *khubz*. This is baked from dough placed in the sand close to the fire, where it is covered with hot sand, ashes, and glows. These two types of bread in Ahaggar are baked mainly by sedentary agri-
189 culturists and by Arab families. The type of bread traditionally baked by the Tuareg differs from Arab bread in that it is not made from proper dough, but from a kind of thin porridge or gruel consisting of flour mixed with water. This Tuareg type of bread is known as *tagella* and is baked as follows:— A heavy fire is lit in a shallow depression (about 25–30 cms in diameter and 8–10 cms deep) made

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bowl and the plaited tray just described, and the flour is shaken into the large wooden bowl (*elkada*; Fig. 195b) while the unpounded seeds remain in the plaited receptacles. (3) The small amount of seeds which have not yet been turned into flour is put back into the mortar, a little water is again added, and pounding is resumed for five to ten minutes. Most seeds are now turned into flour which is placed in the wooden bowl by shaking the plaited receptacles. (4) The seeds which are not yet pounded after this treatment are replaced in the mortar to be pounded for two or three minutes without the addition of water. The flour produced is shaken into the wooden bowl. (5) What remains unpounded is replaced in the mortar to be pounded without water for two or three minutes, and the flour obtained is shaken into the wooden bowl. (6) The flour is put into the large cooking pot (*ériv*) which has been boiling with water during pounding. (7) An extremely small quantity of flour derived from a final pounding is added to the pot after cooking for about five minutes. (8) During cooking the porridge is stirred with a wooden stick known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aserwi* (Fig. 188). 252 [415]* [412]

Millet porridge (*esink*, or *echink*) is of heavy consistency and is normally eaten with milk by means of spoons. But if milk is lacking or is scarce, the Tuareg also add various types of sauces such as the following which is made by many Ayr Tuareg:—Leaves of certain plants (*abezey*, *Cassia tora*; *malokhiya*, *Corchorus tridens*; *kukā*, a large tree growing in the Sudan) or seeds of a plant known as *ékabewa* (*Corchorus olitorius*) are put into a large mortar to be pounded together with onions, dried tomatoes, 262 252 [424]

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Fig. 180. Tuareg woman grinding wheat on the simple saddle quern (*tekaut*). The saddle quern is placed upon a piece of skin (leather) called *aserwi* which receives the flour. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

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among them it is eaten in particular by women during the first seven days after the birth of a child, that is during the period from birth to the name-giving ceremony known as *isnawen*. It is considered dangerous for a woman to eat too much vegetable food during this period, while meat is believed to make her recover quickly after birth. The same diet is followed by young boys after their circumcision until their wounds have healed. These dietetic rules no doubt have their root in magical beliefs.

All Tuareg esteem liquid or semi-liquid dishes which are consumed mainly during the very hot season. A very common dish of this type is that named *ayejira* (Ayr) or *ayehara* (Ahaggar). It is made from flour of millet, sorghum, dates, and crushed cheese mixed with water, the main substance being pounded millet. The dish is served in a large wooden bowl or in a calabash, and is eaten and drunk by means of a large wooden ladle called *tamulat* (Fig. 194a–b). This liquid dish is a substitute for milk during the hot season when milk is scarce, and it is frequently used for food on journeys, in which case it is transported in the form of dough-like balls to be dissolved in water just before eating.

The terms *ayejira* and *ayehara* are used for various liquid or semi-liquid dishes, or beverages, for which the Tuareg have particular names according to their composition. Dates are less important for liquid dishes in Ayr than among the Northern Tuareg to whom dates form an important part of food. Very important in the north is a dish known as *talekessat*; it is made from dried dates pounded

Fig. 182. Tuareg women turning a hand-mill (*asirr*). In the foreground a woman shaking flour into a wooden bowl. Note the ornamented patches of leather hanging down from the tent sheet. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ali* tribe.

[text continues on p. 247]

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Fig. 192. Tuareg woman cooking millet porridge. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe. The cooking pots seen on this photograph are bought in the Sudan on trading expeditions. Sudanese pots are superior to those made in Ahaggar.

Like

264 most Tuareg dishes they are eaten from a large wooden bowl. If meat is cooked with the soup it may be broken into small pieces to be eaten with the balls, but part of the meat cooked is always eaten separately. The Tuareg eat *keskesu* with spoons, but if spoons are lacking they also eat it with the
262 hand, as do the Arabs. In addition to *keskesu* with its small balls which resemble grains of rice, the Northern Tuareg have another dish prepared in the same way but with larger balls. It is termed
[189] *tikhammezin* and is considered inferior to the *keskesu*. – Both these dishes are unknown to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group.

262 Two particular dishes are mentioned from Ahaggar by Foucauld. One of them is called *ibergan*
252 and consists of unripe barley boiled in its own juice without water. The other one is known as *abezbez*
[267] and is made from tender plants of wheat and barley which are dried and pounded or ground into powder, to be eaten, boiled or unboiled, in periods of famine (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 89, 118).

Tuareg vegetable dishes are frequently prepared in a very simple way. Thus there is a dish known as *twes* (Ahaggar) or *tewes* (Ayr) which consists of entire seeds of millet or sorghum boiled in water. It is eaten mainly by children who frequently walk about the camp eating these boiled grains from their hands.

252 It is clear from the description of vegetable dishes that the cooking pot plays an important role for
*415 food preparation, and all dishes prepared in this way, including cooked meat, are known to the Tuareg

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as *téyint* (Ayr) or *tulekkint* (Ahaggar). But pastoral Tuareg do not make eartenware pots themselves. They obtain them from sedentary people, and it is possible that vegetable dishes have been prepared with hot stones up to recent times, for Foucauld states that hot stones are occasionally used for various vegetable dishes in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1583). However, I have not been able to confirm this during my own investigations among the Tuareg. It should be added that certain vegetable dishes are neither boiled nor baked. This is the case with seeds and roots of various wild plants which are ground and pounded into flour to be eaten without further preparation. Such dishes are known to the Tuareg as *tébik* (Ahaggar) or *téderka* (Ayr). Seeds and roots of wild plants utilized in this way have been mentioned in the chapter on collecting p. 175 ff.

The Tuareg have a great many different dishes, but in spite of this variety they do not always change their food from one day to another. They frequently live on the same type of food for extremely long periods. They may live almost exclusively on milk for weeks and even months, and if milk is not available they live so to speak exclusively on vegetable dishes, which may also not be changed for very long periods.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have three meals a day:— (1) *tagimgimt* which is a light meal taken in the morning. (2) *amekli* which is a prepared meal (e.g., bread, porridge, or *ayehara*) eaten at midday. (3) *amagin* which is the evening meal, also known as *amensi*, or *azuzeg*. It is the most important meal.

Fig. 193. Tuareg woman cooking kuskus (*keskesu*) in an European enamelled pot. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ilali* tribe.

# Dress

In this chapter on Tuareg dress I do neither describe all types of Tuareg garments nor dress ornamentation, but content myself with a brief description of the prominent articles of dress and of certain peculiar garments which are interesting and important for our understanding of the cultural position of the Tuareg. 29 128

In Northern Tuareg country pastoral women sometimes wear a large hat plaited from date palm leaves and known as *iélé*, which literally means "shade" (cf. Fig. 231). However, hats of this kind are never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg who obtain them from sedentary agriculturists. Hats of the same type are very common further north in Africa where they are worn not only by women but also by men, and I believe that hats of this sort were introduced to the Tuareg by the Arabs and the Arabic speaking *Harratin*, who came to Ahaggar about a hundred years ago. In Ayr I have seen plaited hats worn by one or two black-skinned men of the *Kel Ewey* group. These hats are also used among the Hausa. True pastoral Tuareg like those of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not wear hats. 292 [285] [17] [177] [184]

It seems as if the hat is a foreign element in Tuareg culture, and that as traditional head garments the Tuareg have nothing beyond the veil and the headcloth described in some detail in the general chapter about the Tuareg (cf. p. 14 f.). We have seen that both the veil and the headcloth are sometimes referred to as *alechchu*, "a piece of Sudanese indigo cotton sewn together from narrow strips or bands", for the traditional veil and headcloth are made from this type of cotton which is highly esteemed for many other garments. It seems to be the oldest type of cotton used for dress among the Tuareg, while white cotton of an ordinary type has been introduced more recently among them. The Ayr Tuareg use the word *maser* for white cotton woven in one piece, and they say that this word refers to *Misr* (Egypt) wherefrom cotton of this particular type was first introduced. It came much later than indigo cotton of Sudanese type, which has been known in Ayr from very ancient times. 291 294

Indigo coloured cotton introduced from the Sudan is very expensive and is nowadays used mainly for festive occasions, while daily dress, including the veil, is made of European cotton, which is indigo or white in colour. There can be no doubt that the comparatively cheap European cotton has displaced the use of skin or leather for daily dress. For we know that skin shirts were extremely common in Ahaggar at the beginning of the present century (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 112), and Duveyrier says that "le pardessus en peau" is held in esteem (Duveyrier 1864, p. 406). Before Duveyrier we have Lyon's statement that Tuareg of the Fezzan area use skin (leather) for dress:— "A leather kaftan is also much worn, of their own manufacture, as are leather shirts of the skins of antelopes, very neatly sewed, and well prepared". In addition Lyon depicts a Tuareg wearing a leather shirt with ample sleeves (Lyon 1821, p. 110). 291 [292] [128]

[p. 287]

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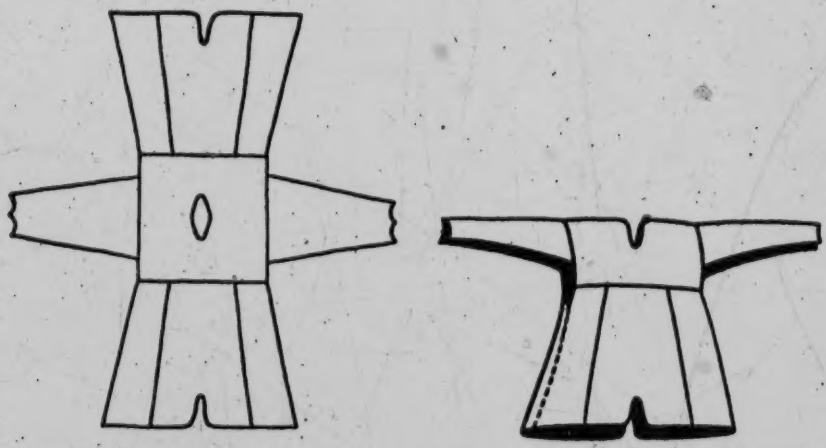

Fig. 232. The cut of a leather shirt (*tébetik*) from Ahaggar. The shirt is ornamented with leather fringes along the seams and at the ends of the open sleeves. The shirt is made from sheepskin dyed with indigo. Ahaggar, the *Kel Inṛer* tribe. Dimension: 1.15 m long, 0.60 m wide at the waist. (Musée de l'homme, No. 41-19-1645).

291 I have never seen a skin shirt among the Tuareg, but it seems as if skin shirts are worn in certain
[233] parts of Ahaggar even at the present time. They are described from the regions north and east of the Kudia, and are made by certain tribes of the *Isekkemaren* who use skin of barbary sheep or goats for the lower part of the shirt, fine goatskin for the upper part covering the shoulders, and gazelle skin or the skin of kids for the sleeves (Mounier 1942, p. 158). A skin shirt is found in the "Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistorie du Bardo" in Algiers. It is called *tébetik*, and is described as follows:—
291 "Le corps de la tunique figurée est fait de trois pièces de cuir: une pour les épaules et la poitrine,
294 avec un trou pour passer la tête, deux autres pour le devant et le dos. Ces deux dernières pièces sont reliées sur le côté par deux bandes de cuir verticales; le tout formant une sorte de robe évasée à la base. Les manches sont ouvertes dans le sens de la longeur, donnont ainsi liberté complète aux bras. De petites franges de cuir très fines décorent l'ensemble à l'emplacement des coutures. – Dimensions: hauteur totale 1.20 m; taille 45 cm; manche 55 cm. Inventaire du Musée: F 9". (Balout 1959, pl. VI).
291 The above-described shirt is clearly of the poncho type, and this is also the case with three leather shirts preserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. The shirts seem to be identical in cut and size,
[234] and are here briefly described by reference to one of them. It is made from tanned and depilated sheep skin, dyed with indigo. Its total length is 1.15 m and width at waist 0.60 m. Its museum number is 41.19.1625 and it is said to have been manufactured by a woman of the *Kel-Inṛer* tribe (*Isekkemaren*).
[235] It is also stated in the museum's card-index that such shirts are worn by poor people in Téfedest and by *Dag Rali* slaves.

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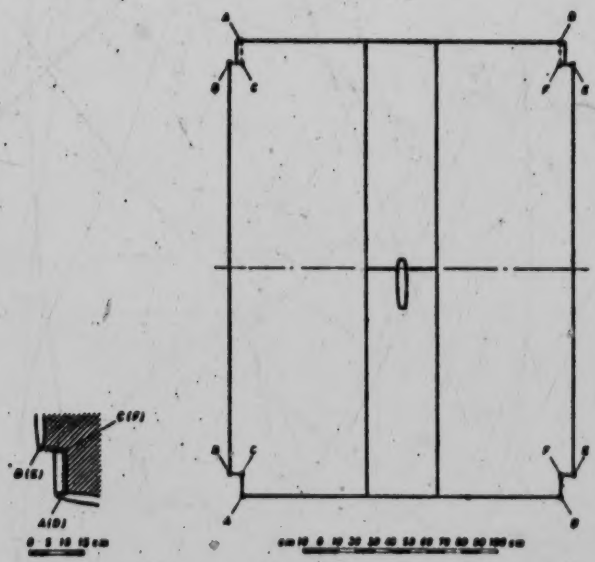


Fig. 233. Cut to illustrate a Tuareg cotton shirt of poncho type. The central part of this shirt is made from two pieces of cotton sewn together at the neck opening; most shirts have a single central cotton piece. The shirt depicted derives from Tasilé-n-Ajjer where a complete woman's dress was bought in 1952. This dress comprises the following pieces which are all made of modern European cotton:—

a. Shirt (*tékamist*) of indigo cotton. Dimension: 1.89 m wide at the top, 1.32 m long. The *Kel Tenrit* tribe (cf. illustration).
b. Shirt (*tékamist*) of similar cut but of white cotton. On festive occasions the women frequently wear a white shirt under the indigo-coloured one. Dimension: 1.89 m wide at the top, 1.34 m long. The *Kel Tenrit* tribe. [292]
c. Large piece of indigo cotton 192 × 1.15 m which serves as underskirt or petticoat (*asegbes*). Élézi (Fl. Polignac).
d. Large piece of indigo cotton 1.565 × 1.935 m which serves as a kind of shawl covering head, shoulders, and back. It is called *tikest*. Élézi (Fl. Polignac).
e. Headcloth (*ékerhey*) similar to the man's veil (*tagulmust*). It is made of Sudanese indigo cotton measuring 2.14 × 0.25 m. Élézi (Fl. Polignac). (N.M. G. 5488a–e).

It is more than likely that skin shirts of poncho type have also once been used in Ayr, where the Tuareg say that skin was widely used for dress during the 1917-revolt when cotton was scarce. 291

The cotton shirts worn by adult Tuareg men are of various types and possess individual names. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally wear a sleeve-less shirt called *takerbast*, or a shirt known as *tékamist* which has large sleeves. There are other names for shirts with or without sleeves (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 610 f.), but all shirts are of the same basic cut based on the poncho principle. The poncho cut is very obvious the more so as the shirts are frequently made from one piece of cotton provided 291 294

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Fig. 234. Photograph illustrating the Tuareg cotton shirt open (left) and closed (right). The two Tuareg are playing a sort of draughts called *keraḍ*. Ahaggar, the *Aḫuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

291 with an opening for the head, and folded and sewn together at the lower part of the sides. The folded
294 piece of cotton may also be united at its lower parts by the insertion of a trapeze-like piece of cotton known as *tébanik*. The cotton shirt worn by most Tuareg men in Ayr is known as *tekeiket*, and is of the same poncho cut as the shirts mentioned above from Ahaggar.

All Tuareg men wear large and wide cotton trousers known as *ékerbey*. The cut of these trousers is the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A pair of trousers I wore when among the Ayr Tuareg is 1.10 m wide at the waist where they have a channel for the insertion of a leather cord (*tamennalt*) by means of which the trousers are laced up. The total length of the trouser legs is 1.06 m, so that the width is a little larger than the length. The trousers are sewn from three pieces of cotton. They consist of a front and back piece identically cut and sewn together at the sides; a third piece of cotton is inserted between the legs (Fig. 236).

291 The trousers are extremely large and loose. They are well-suited not only for the hot desert climate but also for camel riding. The Tuareg sometimes pull their trousers up over the knees so that they are entirely bare-legged. They do this, for instance, when they water domestic animals from wells and in various other situations where long trousers are embarassing. But they will never pull up their
[576] trousers in presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) or in the presence of parents-in-law
[606] (particularly mothers-in-law). For it is extremely shameful for a man to show himself bare-legged to persons to whom he must also not show his mouth, and the Tuareg express this fact by saying that "the veil and the trousers are brothers". In general, young boys wear a shirt of poncho type, in addition to which many of them also wear a leather loin-cloth (*arġaġ* in Ahaggar) made of goat skin. Such loin-cloths are attached around the waist and drawn between the legs. They are worn by certain vassal boys and by young slaves almost up to the time of initiation and veil adoption, and trousers may be adopted at the same time as the veil. It seems as if the loin-cloth has also once been a traditional garment of grown men, for Rodd states that they sometimes wear a tanned skin around the loins below the trousers – more especially in bush country where burr grass is very prevalent (Rodd 1926a, p. 164).

[text continues on p. 292]

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Fig. 235. Tuareg cotton shirt (*tekamist*) of Sudanese indigo cotton. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 1.25 m long, 2.53 m wide. (N.M. G. 1.6).

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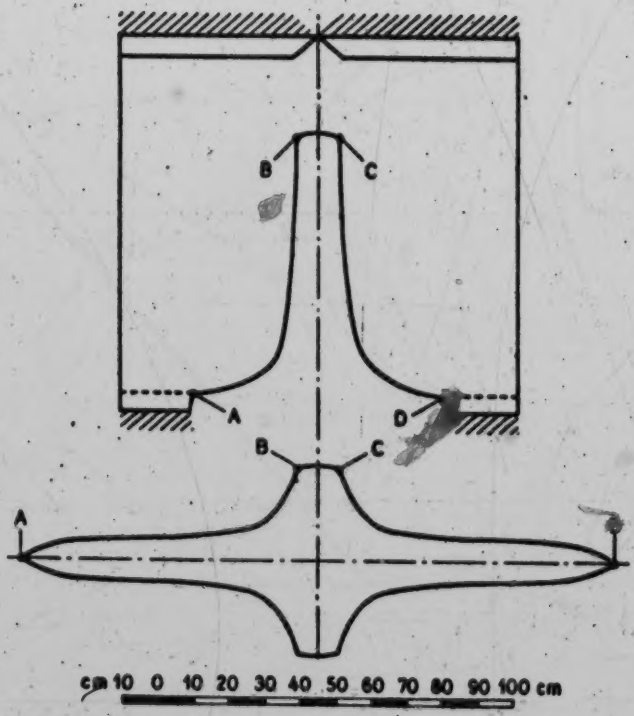


Fig. 236. Cut of Tuareg trousers (*ikerbey*). They are made from two identical pieces of cotton sewn together at the sides and united at the inside with a particular piece of cotton sewn to the legs. The trousers are very wide and are laced around the waist by means of a leather cord called *tamenaik*. Dimension: 1.06 m total length, 1.10 m wide at the waist. (Author's collection).

291 Veil, shirt, and trousers constitute the main elements of Tuareg dress. On festive occasions many
292 men also wear a particular type of shoulder belt or bandoleer. This consists of a long strip of coloured cotton (frequently red) wrapped several times around the waist and over the shoulders forming a cross over the chest and over the back. This belt or bandoleer is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tirzemin*, or *theyderen*, to the Ayr Tuareg as *técherbit*. Rodd ascribes a practical use to this belt, which, he says, the Tuareg wind tightly around their bodies as support for the abdomen on which the motion of the camel imposes great strain during long marches (Rodd 1926a, p. 194). I have myself never seen Tuareg use such belts on long journeys, and have only seen them in use on festive occasions connected with

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



292 ceremonial ridings as those described on p. 104 f. I have been informed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr that bandoleers were used exclusively for such purposes. Rodd depicts a rock-drawing from Timia in Ayr and believes that it perhaps represents a man wearing a bandoleer (Rood 1926a, p. 194, pl. 40 [172] p. 305). This may be so, but I have been told by Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group that bandoleers [648] were introduced among the Ayr Tuareg by the French when they formed the camel patrol made up of Tuareg from different Ayr tribes. However, my informants also claimed that the use of bandoleers for camel riders was an ancient custom in the north among the Ahaggar Tuareg, from where it was [565] introduced to Ayr by the French. Informants of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer told me that the custom was traditional to noble Tuareg but not to vassals, though Tuareg of the vassal class also wear bandoleers nowadays.

291 Apart from the head-cloth (*ékerhey*) the following garments are typical of Northern Tuareg women:— (1) *tékamist*, that is a large and wide shirt of cotton, in form and cut identical with the man's shirt; (2) *aseghes*, a large piece of cotton used for a skirt or a petticoat; this is fixed tightly around the waist merely by folding it at the upper edge; (3) *tikest*, a large piece of cotton worn as a shawl over the shoulders and head, covering the head-cloth.

In addition to the head-cloth (*adalil*), which they frequently wear rolled up on the top of the head, Tuareg women of the *Kel Ferwan* group wear three main garments:— (1) *aftek*, a very short shirt of poncho cut. It is very akin to the shirt worn by Hausa-speaking women of Agadez, who use the words

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Fig. 237. Slave-boy wearing the loin-cloth depicted above Fig. 238. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

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Fig. 238. Loin-cloth consisting of a piece of tanned and depilated goat-skin. It is known as *erfaf* and is worn mainly by boys and young slaves. Dimension: 0.715 × 0.575 m. Ahaggar, the *Aghh-en-tehlé* tribe. (N.M. G. 5258).

291 *liga* or *tagua* for this garment piece; (2) *téri*, a large piece of cotton worn as a skirt wound around the waist in the same way as in the north; (3) *tesegbes*, a large piece of cotton used as a petticoat.

[14] Lhote has published some very interesting information on the dress of Tuareg women. Thus he mentions that certain women among Sudanese Tuareg wear a kind of shawl over the shoulders instead of a poncho shirt. I have myself seen this garment among pastoral Arabs south of Ayr and close to [567] Aderbissinat, but I have never seen it among the Tuareg. Still more interesting is Lhote's description of a skin skirt worn by slave women among the *Iwllemmeden* (Lhote 1955a, p. 308). This leather skirt, which is laced around the waist by means of a leather cord, is also recorded from the *Bélla* of Timbuktu by Dupuis-Yakouba (cf. Seabrook 1934, p. 251), and some skirts of the same type are conserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. One skirt among those found in the Paris museum (no. 33.78.9) comes from the Sudanese *Bélla*, and was collected in the region of Arawan by the "Expedition du [294] Hall" in 1945. It is made from several pieces of decorated leather sewn together with leather thread; its total length is about 0.70 m. Another skirt of the same type, but without a museum number, is perhaps of the same origin. In addition to these two skirts the Paris museum possesses three other leather skirts of the same type. They were collected by Lhote in 1939 among Tuareg living in the south-west. One of these skirts is from the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (mus. no. 41.19.845) while the two others [567] come from the *Kel Inteser* (mus. no. 41.19.846 & 847). The skirts are known as *elaraite* according [565] to the museum's card-index, where it is stated that they are worn by slave women, and it is added that similar leather skirts were worn by slave women and poor women of the vassal class among the

Ayr Tuareg up to the French occ[illegible] of Ayr

[Text continues on p. 296]

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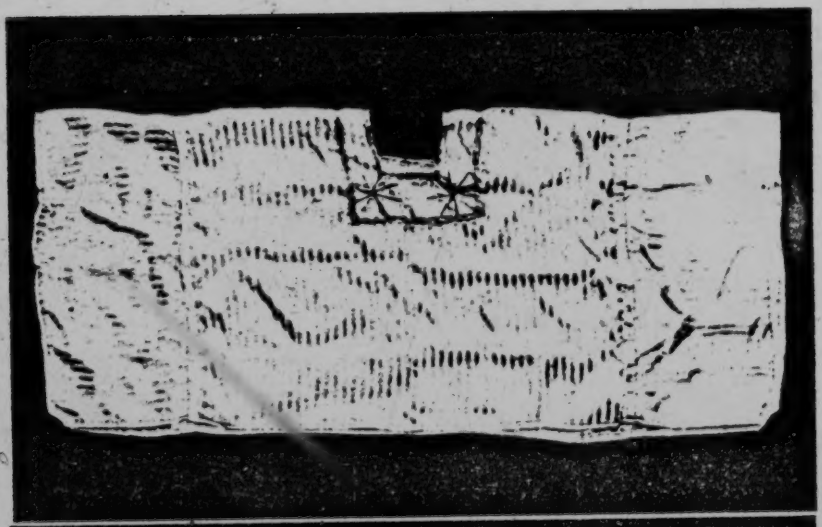

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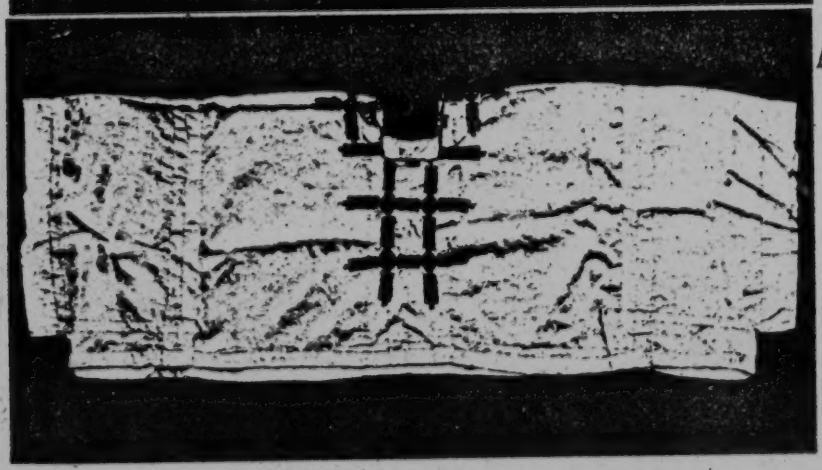

Fig. 239a–b. Two short woman's shirts from Ayr.
a. The shirt (*afisek*) worn by pastoral women. Dimension: 1.27 m. (N.M. G. 6668).
b. Shirt of similar cut but embroidered with red thread. It is called *liga* or *tagau* and is worn by the Hausa-speaking women of Agadez. Dimension: 1.38 m. (N.M. G. 6669).

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Fig. 240. Sheep-skin (*aglim*) to be worn over the back with the hairy side turning inward in cold weather. Dimension at the middle: 1.170 m long. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-sakif* tribe

291 Ayr Tuareg up to the French occupation of Ayr (cf. Musée de l'homme, card-index 41.19.847). The
[237] skirts mentioned are made from goat-skin, and this is also the case with two other skirts found in the collection of the Paris museum. These latter skirts differ from those mentioned above in that they

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Fig. 241. Skin mantle made from several pieces of hairy goat-skin sewn together with leather thread. It is known as *tiglemin* (sing. *tagliwt*). Ahaggar, the *Deg Kali* tribe. Dimension: 0.99 m without the fringes. (F. M. 281).

are somewhat longer, and provided with two shoulder-straps. The skirts were collected by Lhote in 291
1939 in the region of Ansongo at the Niger, and derive from the *Kel es Suk* Tuareg. According to the card-index similar skirts are also worn by *Bélla* women of the *Dawssahak* and *'Echcherifen* (Musée de

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291 l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwilemmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

292 In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the [237] Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen [177] blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aglim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-[294] skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little [184] (*iistent*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

178 Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like 291 many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

291 The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *iratimen* (sing. *eratim*) which [287] word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south. 438 The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where the type is also known by the Hausa word *takelmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in 294 detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following 281 way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig. [114] 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manu-291 facture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takalmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The [137] very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal [288] is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *stisleplatine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

[text continues on p.300]

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Fig. 242 a-b. Tuareg sandals from Ahaggar

a. Woman's sandals of the *Imerhadas* type. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tahit* tribe. Dimension: 0.224–0.227 m long. (N.M. G. 5277a–b).

b. Woman's sandals of the *dyaim* (*tahaini*) type. Ahaggar, manufactured at Agadez. Dimension: 0.279–0.283 long. (N.M. G. 5278a–b).

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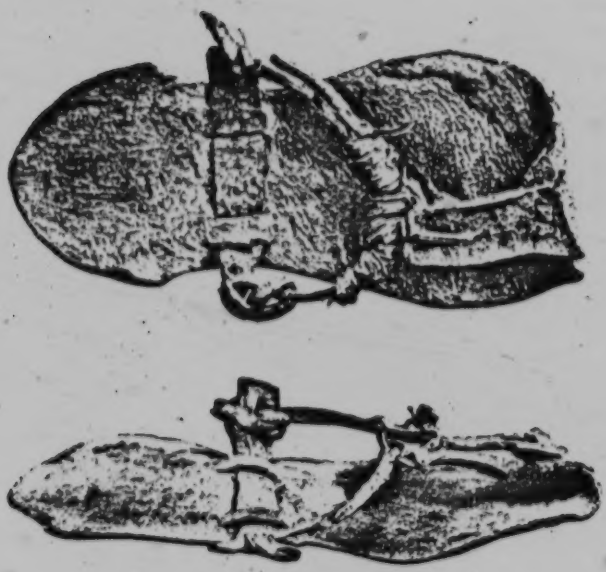

Fig. 243. Sandals resembling the *tagliezez* type but having no heel-straps. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.275–0.285 m long. (N.M. G. 1.8).

have heard being *ératim n tagayt*. It is provided with a strap of leaf passing between the first and second toes, and straps of the same material to support the instep. Thus it is kept to the foot in much the same way as the leather *takalmi* sandal, and there is possibly a historical relationship between the two types. Sandals made from plaiting dum palm leaves wear out rapidly but are quickly made. They are worn mainly by children and by very poor people.

[42] An extremely common type of sandal in Ahaggar is that known as *émerked* (pl. *imerkeden*). These are never made by professional craftsmen, but are manufactured in Tuareg camps by vassal women [232] who use the large awl (*éndel*) for sewing sandals. They are made of the tanned skin of sheep and 294 goats, or the skin of oxen if this is available. The sandals, almost rectangular in form, are made from several layers of tanned skin sewn together with leather thread. At the back of each sandal two leather loops are inserted in, and sewn to, the leather layers, while a long leather strap is inserted in and sewn 291 to, the fore part. The sandal is kept firmly to the foot by means of the leather strap which passes between the first and second toes, and through the two leather loops to be fastened over the instep (cf. Fig. 242a). This sandal type is in high esteem for walking in the mountainous parts of the Ahaggar Massif, for it is strong, keeps firmly to the foot, and does not easily slide on the rocky surface. It is

never manufactured by noble women, but noble Tuareg obtain this footwear from vassals, or have them made by their slaves. Lhote states that *imerkeden* sandals in the past were more common among the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar (Lhote 1952a, p. 605). *Imerkeden* sandals are very common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. They are said to be known among the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg under the name *tadakat*. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that they have a related type, but this I have never seen. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg almost exclusively wear sandals of *takalmi* type.

A third main type of sandals is that known to most Tuareg as *tagliezez*. Like other sandal types it is described in detail by Lhote in his study on Tuareg sandals (Lhote 1950d, p. 512–533). Sandals of this type are generally made from one piece of hide or leather which is bent up over the toes. The system of attachment consists of a leather strap attached to the bent-up flap of the sole and passing around the heel through two loops at the back of the sandal. These sandals are extremely common all over the steppes and savannahs of the south, and in Ayr they are used among the *Kel Ewey* and other Tuareg who make them from untanned hide of oxen. In Northern Tuareg country this sandal type is rare and generally not used by pastoral Tuareg who do not manufacture them. However, a pair of sandals resembling this type was brought from Ahaggar to the National Museum of Copenhagen by Olufsen (museum number G 1.8) (Fig. 243). Sandals of *tagliezez* type are nowadays used by many sedentary people of Tamanraset in Ahaggar. They are esteemed by Europeans and by Tuareg and Arabs of the camel corps in Northern Tuareg country. But the sandals worn by the last-mentioned people are manufactured by professional cruftsmen. The sandals illustrated Fig. 244 were bought at the market of Agadez, but derive from the south – from Sokoto it is said. I have noted their name as *akeroga*. – The type of sandal here called *tagliezez* is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *téfedilt* (pl. *tifedilin*) (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 304).

A fourth type of sandal is described by Lhote under the name of *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*). It is made of a single piece of untanned hide which is treated as described above for the *takalmi* type, and Lhote thinks that this type of sandal, which is common in the south among poor people, is the most primitive type. Lhote believes that the same type occurs also in Ahaggar because the word *éfekil* is mentioned by Foucauld in his dictionary (Lhote 1950d, p. 525 f., Fig. 18). This does not seem to be correct, for the word *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*), according to Foucauld, is used synonymously with *émerked* (pl. *imerkeden*) (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 313).

Lhote writes that the sandals worn by the Tuareg can be divided into three main types, namely the *ératim*, (or *takalmi*), the *émerked*, and the *éfekil*, and that these three types correspond to different types of environment, namely desert, mountain, and steppe (Lhote 1950d, p. 528 f.). Perhaps one should substitute the word *éfekil* with *tagliezez*. There seems to be a certain correspondance between footwear and environment, but it should be added that the distribution of sandal types cannot be explained solely by reference to natural conditions. The *ératim* (or *takalmi*) type of sandal, for example, is used throughout Tuareg country from the Sudan to the central and northern parts of the Sahara, an extremely large area comprising great environmental differences. Nor are they suited to all types of desert. They quickly wear out when used on stony ground, and it is very tiring to wear them when walking through deep sand as the broad soles do not bear upon the surface. The *émerked* type of sandal is doubtless the best for walking in mountains, for it is fixed firmly to the foot and its sole of

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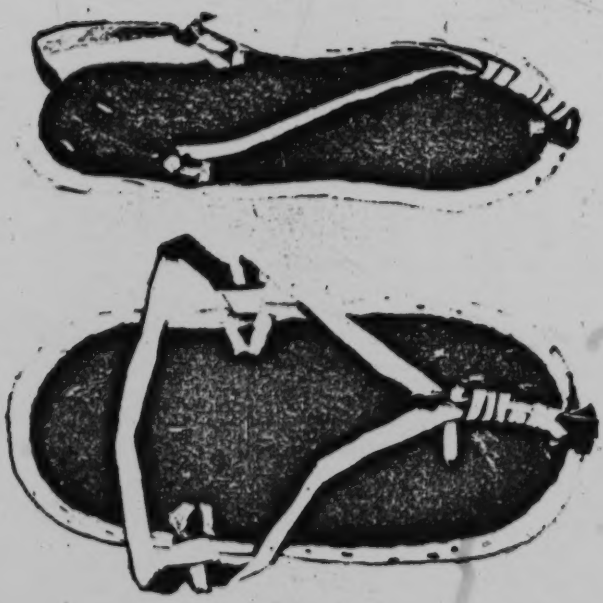

[439] Fig. 244. Sandals known to the Ayr Tuareg as *akeroga*. Bought at Agadez, said to be manufactured at Sokoto in Nigeria. Similar sandals were very common among the *Kel Aïrum* Tuareg I saw near Ayoru on the Niger. Dimension: ca. 0.29 m. (N.M. G. 6641).

291 tanned skin does not so easily slide upon the rocks. But sandals of this type are used by a great many
182 Tuareg who do not live in proper mountain areas. The distribution of cultural traits can rarely be explained by mere reference to environmental factors.

292 A most interesting type of footwear, known to the Northern Tuareg and to those of Ayr, is a kind of skin-stocking which is worn with sandals in the winter. I have never myself seen it among the Tuareg and though it has been described in literature published prior to my investigations I failed to enquire
[114] about its use and manufacture. The fact that I have not seen Tuareg skin-stockings does not prove that they are rarely used, for while I have stayed among the Tuareg throughout five summer seasons I have only been among them for one winter, when I mainly lived in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Massif. Most Tuareg I met that winter went barefooted or wore sandals, and those who wanted an extra protection against the cold wore various types of European footwear and stockings.

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*342 Tuareg groups, perhaps in all. They occur in the two groups of Northern Tuareg, but are rare in and around the Ahaggar Massif, though apparently more common among the Ahaggar Tuareg who live in Tamesna. They are also known among the *Kel Adrar* (cf. Cortier 1908, p. 327 f.), and they constitute the common tent among the *Kel Dennek*. On the other hand these tents seem to be rare in and south of the Ayr Massif, where most people have mat tents, and though certain illustrations in literature seem to point to the existence of central T-shaped posts in the tents of the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* nothing seems to have been written about the existence of T-shaped posts there. However, in the ethnographical museum of Neuchâtel there is a short cross-bar of a T-shaped post brought from Tuareg living at Gao (cf. p. 382), and I was told by the chief *Amdar* of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* tribe that T-shaped posts once existed among them but were not used nowadays.

It is most likely that all T-shaped structures are historically related, and the question is taken up later in this chapter. The sub-types to be described are the following:—

B.2.g.1. This type has no other elements to support the sheet but the T-shaped post. Such tents have been depicted by Olufsen and Moberg from Ahaggar (Olufsen 1924a, p. 132 f.; Moberg 1927, p. 212, 229, 257) from which region it is also mentioned by Benhazera (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 25) and by Foucauld (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). I have never seen a skin tent thus erected in or around the Ahaggar Massif, and I have only seen a tent of this kind once in a camp of Ahaggar Tuareg close to Ingal in the extreme south. Foucauld mentions this type of tent as a traditional one to the Ahaggar Tuareg, stating that the central post is always very high. It may attain a height of 2.50 metres and it is always possible for adult men to stand upright in the middle of the tent. It is evident that a tent erected in this way must be firmly attached to poles around it, and the twelve poles traditionally belonging to a skin tent in Ahaggar must necessarily be used in tents which are only supported by a T-shaped post under the sheet (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). A tent erected in this way has very much the shape of an umbrella or parasol, and it has the same functions. When it rains the water

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Fig. 279. Skin tent of the B.2.f.3 type. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ball* tribe.

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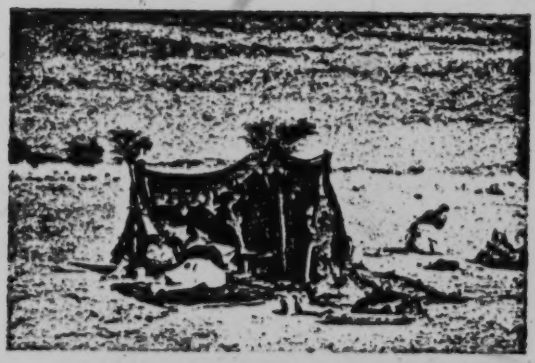

Fig. 284a. The skin sheet erected as a wind-screen for visitors. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

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Fig. 284b. The sheet erected as wind-screen in a Tuareg camp. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-entehlé* tribe.

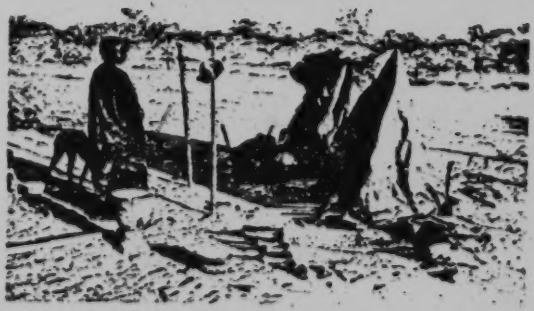

Fig. 284c. The sheet erected as wind-screen in a *Bélla* camp near Ayoru on the Niger.

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Fig. 287. Musicians of the Sultan of Ayr marching through Agadez. In the front a man blowing a clarinet-like instrument, in the background the drummers mounted on camels and beating two drums each. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

631 true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. They are nowadays without much power and prestige, whereas
634 the Sultan, owing to the French, has augmented his power greatly. Many *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg speak
643 disparagingly about the Sultan, and the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* named *Agg-Elkhir* called him
[178] openly a slave and did not take off his sandals in the Sultan's presence.

643 There can be little doubt that the man who was elected the Sultan of all Ayr people at the beginning
642 of the 15th century very quickly became a Sultan not of Ayr, but of Agadez. A state organization like that of the Ayr Sultanry could not function in a Tuareg society characterized by warlike pastoral groups, and the Sultan would have to be dismissed or else recognize the authority of the strongest pastoral group which, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century was the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

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Fig. 291. Sun-shade built by slaves in Ayr on the same principle as the mat tents previously mentioned. The standing slave girl only wears a cotton skirt which sometimes in the south forms the sole dress of women. Ayr, the *Irawetten* tribe.

It is, however, rare for a slave to be punished in this way by his own master. Throughout the time I have lived among the Tuareg I have, for example, only noted two instances of corporal punishment, and both in a very mild form. It is also very normal in vassal camps for slave children and Tuareg children to play together, and a slave owner may treat his slave children in much the same way as his own. 567

There are several reasons why the Tuareg, practically speaking, never punish their slaves, and a very interesting custom may here be adduced. For if a slave is badly treated, he has always the recourse of changing masters by means of a system which is still in operation to this day. In Ahaggar the way thereby a slave can obtain his freedom from his master and become attached to another Tuareg is as follows:— When he sees a riding camel belonging to a Tuareg whose slave he wishes to be, he runs up to it and cuts a piece from one of its ears. In consequence of this the owner of the camel is obliged to take possession of the slave, whose actual and original owner can no longer make any claim to recover him. This custom may appear remarkable, but it is in fact a symbolic action with a deeper significance: to cut a piece from the ear of another man's camel is to damage it, and a Tuareg is responsible for the actions of his slaves. The "guilty" slave therefore falls to the lot of the owner of the camel as "compensation" for the "damage" done to his beast, and the original owner of the slave is bound to agree to this. It is an extreme loss of prestige for a Tuareg to lose his slave in this way, [558] and is a great mark of honour for the new master, who will receive his slave with favour and give him

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583 drum-chief *Agg-Elkhir*'s son, *Khejji*, gave twenty camels for his wife. In certain tribes living around Agadez bride-wealth is nowadays also paid in cash. At a man's first marriage bride-wealth is paid by his father and is given to the bride's father who can dispose of the camels at his discretion. In the *Kel Ferwan* group all bride-wealth must be handed over to the bride's father before marriage takes place.

(2) *tisrar*, that is a gift to the bride and a gift of food to her parents who arrange the wedding-feast. These gifts are given by the husband or his parents and comprise the following:—

[291] 15 metres of cotton for two outer skirts (sing. *téri*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for one under-skirt (*tesegbes*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for a woman's shirt (*aftek*) (cf. p. 293, Fig. 239a).
3 *ilechchan* (sing. *alechchu*), indigo-dyed pieces of cotton which serve as the headcloth (*adalil*) of a married woman (cf. p. 14, 293).
1–2 pairs of *iṛatimen* (sing. *éṛatem*), sandals of the *takalmi*-type (cf. p. 298, Fig. 242b).

[212] The amount of food to be given for the entertainment of wedding guests varies, but in general is estimated at 100–200 kgs millet (*énélé*), 10–15 litres of butter (*wiji*), and 5 litres of Sudanese honey (*tariwat*), plus an ox.

The gifts of cotton and food should be brought to the bride's father before marriage with the bride-wealth. The bride should not see the bride-wealth animals, nor should she see the gift of cotton until it has been made into her wedding clothes.

585 (3) The groom and his family have no obligations towsrds the bride and her family other than those mentioned above, but the groom is expected to give certain gifts to his wife after marriage:—

One gift is known as *timigint*. Before the bride is led into the wedding tent where the groom awaits her (cf. p. 474), the women who lead the veiled bride will claim a promise of *timigint* for the bride. On behalf of the groom one of his friends will promise to give the bride a gift – perhaps a camel – though there is no rule for the size of this gift. When the promise is given the women lead the bride into the tent. It is said that the groom is never forced later to give the *timigint* gift promised.

Some time after marriage the groom is expectetl to give his wife certain silver ornaments, notably the following:—

[301] *t'izabatin*, a pair of large ear-rings.
*ténélét*, a ring-formed pendant.
*zakkat*, the so-called Cross of Agadez, and the so-called Cross of Iferwan.
*tadnet* (perhaps not correctly spelled), a necklace.
*térewt* (pl. *téra*) *ta n tejekkot*, a silver ornament attached to the hair braid at the back of the head.

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Fig. 296. Tuareg women dancing in front of professional musicians of Agadez. Ayr, the *Igwadéyaen* tribe.

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state the converse proposition that it underlies the extreme fission process characteristic of Arab lineage structure the one structural function of the institution promoting the segmentation process. From this point of view feud and fission are not at all dysfunctional factors, but are necessary for the continuity and viability of Bedouin society (Murphy & Kasdan 1959, p. 18). Such theories of marriage with a father's brother's daughter and its functional connection with the political system may contain an important element of truth, though Westermarck was told in Morocco that cousin marriages easily lead to quarrels between the husband's and the wife's families, both of whom want to interfere in the married life of the couple. Furthermore, Westermarck observes that this argument against cousin marriage was used by the Arab poet, Mu'allakāt (Westermarck 1914, p. 54 f.).

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All over the Near and Middle East where marriages with a father's brother's daughter constitute the traditional type of mating, it is a rule that a man should have the right to marry his paternal cousin for a reduced price or only pay the wedding expenses. This custom is richly confirmed in the literature from North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula. It has also been observed among the Kurds by F. Barth, who thinks that bride-wealth is paid should a man not marry a paternal cousin, as compensation to the bride's father because he does not secure that reinforcement of his minimal lineage which would have been acquired had his daughter married his brother's son (cf. F. Barth 1954,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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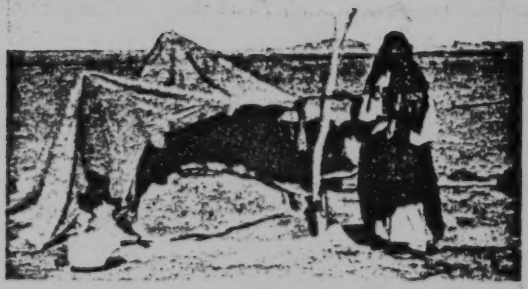

Fig. 297a–c. From a wedding ceremony.

a. A woman in front of the skin tent erected over the ceremonial sandhill (*adebel*) on which the couple to be married sit during the first wedding night.

b. The skin tent is removed from the ceremonial sandhill, which is left untouched.

c. The tent correctly erected with the married couple sitting upon the low sandhill (*tuf-adebel*). The groom sits to the left of the central tent post, the bride to the right. Both groom and bride are veiled. Ahaggar, the *Ikeyawen Hada* tribe.

291 and is worn loose or, more often, drawn in at the waist by a belt; 3) a veil covering the face, letting only the top of the head and the eyes show.

This is the simplest dress of the Tuareg.

292 The holiday garb includes several blouses placed one on top of the other -- a white blouse underneath, an indigo-blue blouse on [556] top of that, and finally, for rich people, a third blouse made of bands of cotton, worked in the Sudan. This last blouse, usually with a

[291]

Fig. 38. Ahaggar men's costume.
1) Amrid with his gandurah pulled up over his shoulders.
2) Akli wearing a leather gandurah.
3) Amajer in ceremonial costume with a takoumbout on his head.

[531] purplish background color and large and small embroidery over the chest and the shoulders, includes a wide, deep pocket on the left side of the chest. Broad bands of white and red material gird the loins by forming a belt and cross over the chest to form a shoulder belt. Large silk cords with red or green tassels finish off the costume which gives the Tuareg such an impressive air.

156 291 The veil can express a fleeting sentiment. Thus, it is pulled down over the eyes before respectable people or women, while it is raised over the forehead, on the contrary, as a sign of familiarity. To laugh freely at a joke, a Tuareg will raise the lower part of his veil very high over his nose. When he is irritated, he will tighten it like a chin strap to mask his anger.

292 In the festive garb worn on the occasion of religious or family festivals, the veil is complicated with many turbans made of white muslin and bands of colored silk. The upper part receives a sort of frame which lets them arrange many cotton bands, interlacing them to form a kind of crest. The top part of the cranium is never covered, and the veil lets tufts of braided hair stick out. At marriages, it was formerly the custom to wear the takoumbout, a sort of big chéchia made of wool fortified with enormous flosses of cotton and covered with silvery appliqués. This headdress is on its way to disappearing completely, and there are no more than one or two in the whole Ahaggar today.

291 The Ihaggaren use two kinds of sandals: the broad cowhide sandal called irratimen with simple red leather straps crossing over the instep, and a sandal called imerkéden made of a number of scraps of goatskin sewed together, with a strap going around the heel and tying with a knot on the instep.

[184 556] The irratimen are particularly worn by well-to-do men and especially appreciated in sandy regions where their large carrying area keeps one from sinking too deep. /268/ This sandal, which [177 439] is manufactured by Hausa artisans from Agadez or Damergou, was borrowed from these peoples by the Tuareg. Its origin must not be attributed to the Tuareg.

The true sandals of the Ahaggar people are the imerkéden, [184 556] which they still wear and which the mountain people always prefer, since they are especially well adapted to walking on rocks. They are worn by the common people and by the Iklan who have no money to buy Sudanese sandals, while they all know how to make very comfortable imerkéden with a few old pieces of goatskin.

Finally, they wear around their necks thick cords of red 291
or green silk or braided wool, which they call "el mejdoud" 789
and which are used to suspend a Koran, a book dealing with
cabalistic matter, or amulets.

Amulets (everyone has some) are worn on the back or on 789
the chest. They are enclosed in a leather or metal sheath.
I saw one Tuareg who had some twenty that he wore, all
gathered together, on his chest.

Finally, they are shod with large flat sandals from the Aïr, 291
"ir'atimen" ⵏⵓⵜⵉ , or with leather sandals made on [439]
the spot and called "imerkaden" ⵉⵎⴰⴷⴰⵏ .

Let us not forget the arm-bracelet "ahbedj" ⴰⵃⴱⴷⵊ , 301
plural "ihebdjan" ⵉⵃⴱⴷⵊⴰⵏ , like a snake, which, they 789
say, gives strength to the biceps when one strikes a blow.

At rather important meetings and palavers, the richest 292
come dressed in burnooses bought at Ghat and decorated on [556]
the shoulders with attractive silver embroidery. Sometimes it
also happens that if the burnoose has no embroidery, the owner
prefers to wear it inside out, so as to display the yellow and
green silk lining which decorates the edge and lower corner of
the burnoose. Where will vanity stop?

The burnoose is not put on, but just put over the shoulders.

Some poor Tuareg are dressed in clothes of tanned leather. 291
/38/ 556

The woman's dress consists chiefly of:

A sort of skirt, called "asedjebes"
A shirt with sleeves, "takammist"
A woolen haïk, "abrour'"
A veil placed on her head, "ikerhi"

According to her means, she wears the following jewelry: 301
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Silver bracelets, "ihebdjan-oui-n-azerouf"
Glass bracelets, "tahouka," plural "tahoukaouin"
Glass-bead bracelets, "denguela," plural "denguelaten"
Blacelets of the horns of goats or gazelles, made
in two halves which are encased one in the other
with copper and which are called "iouakane"

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Wan Abu (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) from the pre-historic cattle-breeding period ("periode bovine"). The picture shows a hunter armed with a bow and hiding behind an ox (?) which is provided with a lead held in the left hand. The hunter approaches an ostrich and perhaps also giraffes and gazelles which are also depicted. This rock engraving was discovered by Lhote, who believes that the stalking animal depicted is an antelope (cf. Lhote 1958, Fig. 69 p. 147, p. 264). 224 /72

(3) Hunting in disguise. True hunters do not use their ordinary dress of indigo or white colours during a hunt as it is seen by game animals at a great distance. The hunters use preferably a shirt and a head-cloth of yellow-brown colours which resemble the colours of sand and dry plants. I do not know whether other types of disguise are known. It is very likely (cf. Ayr Tuareg below p. 166). 224 [292]

(4) Hunting from artificial hiding-places. The use of artificial hiding-places consisting of walls built of stone is mentioned by Foucauld, who does not explain their use. They are known as *timuyal* (sing. *tamayilt*) (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1179).

(5) Hunting with dogs. Greyhounds and greyhound-like dogs are used in hunting barbary sheep. The dogs surround the animal and prevent it to escaping, so that it can be killed by a hunter with a spear. There are very few greyhounds among the Ahaggar Tuareg, but slender greyhound-like dogs are fairly common (cf. p. 114 f.). The true greyhounds may succeed in running down gazelle, and I was told among the *Kel Ajjer* that greyhound are trained not to kill the game but to bite its legs, and then to return to their master to lead him to the ferociously-bitten animal so that he can kill it ritually. However, most Tuareg dogs are not able to run down adult gazelle. Occasionally they catch young animals of which they are allowed to eat such entrails as are not eaten by the Tuareg. Dogs can more easily catch hares. It is said that some dogs are trained to bring caught hares alive to their masters, but most dogs are not too well fed and therefore eat on the spot the hares they catch. [231]

(6) Riding camels are sometimes used for the running down of game animals. Gazelle can be taken in this way only if they are wounded, and barbary sheep normally graze in mountains inaccessible to camels. But it happens that barbary sheep descend into sandy plains to feed on certain annual plants, and can then easily be taken by camel riders as they get very exhausted when they have to run quickly

[824]

Fig. 113. The spiked wheel-trap (*ifetaw*) connected with a noosed rope (*tapaw*) attached to a stick. The wheel is made from straw of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) bent into circular form. Small pointed sticks (*ifulan*, sing. *afula*) are inserted into the straw circle and fixed to it by means of bast of the *absey* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) which is wrapped around the straw-wheel and the pointed sticks. The noosed rope is made from date palm bast, but frequently it is also made from *absey* bast. The small pointed sticks are made from twigs of the *ayawa* tamarisk (*Tamarix gallica*). Ahaggar, the *Ajjuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension of the wheel: about 0.20 m (F.M. 141a–b).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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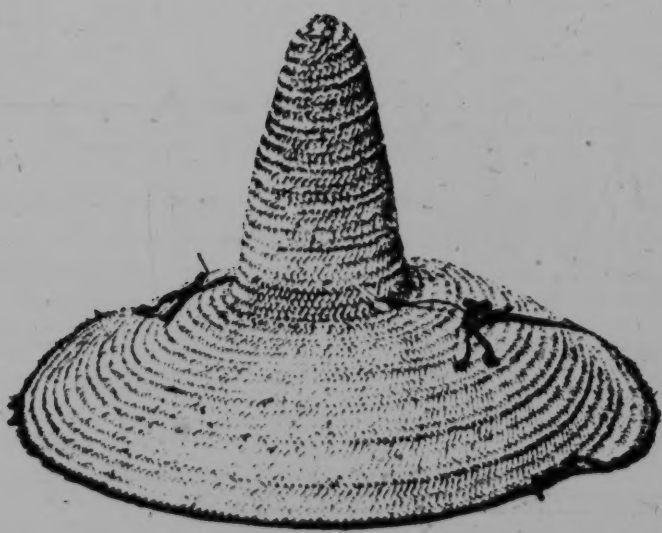

Fig. 231. Woman's straw-hat (*iélé*) plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*aḡum*). Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḡali* tribe; manufactured at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.565 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5276).

386 to the Ayr Tuareg as *tamezgoyt*. It is found both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, and is used for dyeing tent-skins (cf. p. 361).

281 A number of the most common skin bags and similar objects of decorated leather work made by
462 Tuareg women in Ahaggar are reproduced in Figs. 220–229.

*[415] Though the pastoral Tuareg women in the north are excellent leather workers they find their superiors
[564] in the blacksmiths women and those of the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Women of these sedentary negroid groups provide pastoral Tuareg with leather objects like sword-sheaths, amulet cases, leather purses, large saddle bags, cushions, and the like (cf. Figs. 72a, 76, 121a–b, 172a–b, 198).

# Dress

In this chapter on Tuareg dress I do neither describe all types of Tuareg garments nor dress ornamentation, but content myself with a brief description of the prominent articles of dress and of certain peculiar garments which are interesting and important for our understanding of the cultural position of the Tuareg.

In Northern Tuareg country pastoral women sometimes wear a large hat plaited from date palm leaves and known as *telé*, which literally means "shade" (cf. Fig. 231). However, hats of this kind are never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg who obtain them from sedentary agriculturists. Hats of the same type are very common further north in Africa where they are worn not only by women but also by men, and I believe that hats of this sort were introduced to the Tuareg by the Arabs and the Arabic speaking *Harratin*, who came to Ahaggar about a hundred years ago. In Ayr I have seen plaited hats worn by one or two black-skinned men of the *Kel Ewey* group. These hats are also used among the Hausa. True pastoral Tuareg like those of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not wear hats.

It seems as if the hat is a foreign element in Tuareg culture, and that as traditional head garments the Tuareg have nothing beyond the veil and the headcloth described in some detail in the general chapter about the Tuareg (cf. p. 14 f.). We have seen that both the veil and the headcloth are sometimes referred to as *alechchu*, "a piece of Sudanese indigo cotton sewn together from narrow strips or bands", for the traditional veil and headcloth are made from this type of cotton which is highly esteemed for many other garments. It seems to be the oldest type of cotton used for dress among the Tuareg, while white cotton of an ordinary type has been introduced more recently among them. The Ayr Tuareg use the word *maser* for white cotton woven in one piece, and they say that this word refers to *Misr* (Egypt) wherefrom cotton of this particular type was first introduced. It came much later than indigo cotton of Sudanese type, which has been known in Ayr from very ancient times.

Indigo coloured cotton introduced from the Sudan is very expensive and is nowadays used mainly for festive occasions, while daily dress, including the veil, is made of European cotton, which is indigo or white in colour. There can be no doubt that the comparatively cheap European cotton has displaced the use of skin or leather for daily dress. For we know that skin shirts were extremely common in Ahaggar at the beginning of the present century (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 112), and Duveyrier says that "le pardessus en peau" is held in esteem (Duveyrier 1864, p. 406). Before Duveyrier we have Lyon's statement that Tuareg of the Fezzan area use *tsim* (leather) for dress:— "A leather kaftan is also much worn, of their own manufacture, as are leather shirts of the skins of antelopes, very neatly sewed, and well prepared". In addition Lyon depicts a Tuareg wearing a leather shirt with ample sleeves (Lyon 1821, p. 110).

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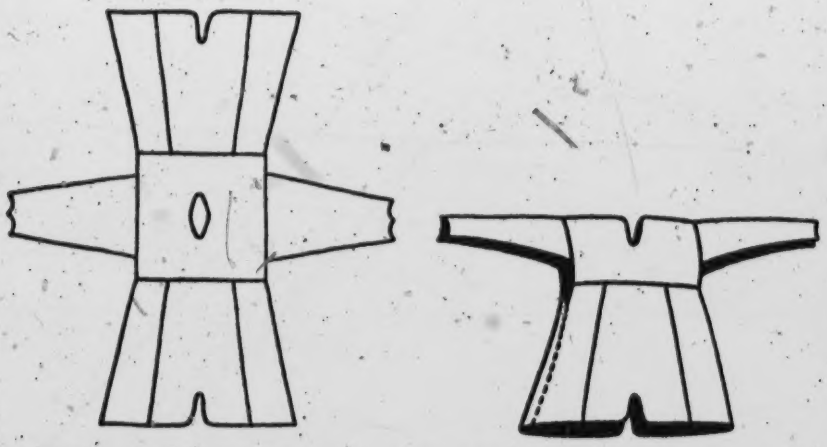

Fig. 232. The cut of a leather shirt (*tébetiḳ*) from Ahaggar. The shirt is ornamented with leather fringes along the seams and at the ends of the open sleeves. The shirt is made from sheepskin dyed with indigo. Ahaggar, the *Kel Inṛer* tribe. Dimension: 1.15 m long, 0.60 m wide at the waist. (Musée de l'homme, No. 41-19-1645).

291 I have never seen a skin shirt among the Tuareg, but it seems as if skin shirts are worn in certain
[237] parts of Ahaggar even at the present time. They are described from the regions north and east of the Kudia, and are made by certain tribes of the *Iseḳḳemaren* who use skin of barbary sheep or goats for the lower part of the shirt, fine goatskin for the upper part covering the shoulders, and gazelle skin or the skin of kids for the sleeves (Mounier 1942, p. 158). A skin shirt is found in the "Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistorie du Bardo" in Algiers. It is called *tébetiḳ*, and is described as follows:—

291 "Le corps de la tunique figurée est fait de trois pièces de cuir: une pour les épaules et la poitrine,
294 avec un trou pour passer la tête, deux autres pour le devant et le dos. Ces deux dernières pièces sont reliées sur le côté par deux bandes de cuir verticales; le tout formant une sorte de robe évasée à la base. Les manches sont ouvertes dans le sens de la longeur, donnont ainsi liberté complète aux bras. De petites franges de cuir très fines décorent l'ensemble à l'emplacement des coutures. – Dimensions: hauteur totale 1.20 m; taille 45 cm; manche 55 cm. Inventaire du Musée: F 9". (Balout 1959, pl. VI).

291 The above-described shirt is clearly of the poncho type, and this is also the case with three leather shirts preserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. The shirts seem to be identical in cut and size,
[238] and are here briefly described by reference to one of them. It is made from tanned and depilated sheep skin, dyed with indigo. Its total length is 1.15 m and width at waist 0.60 m. Its museum number is 41.19.1625 and it is said to have been manufactured by a woman of the *Kel-Inṛer* tribe (*Iseḳḳemaren*).
[239] It is also stated in the museum's card-index that such shirts are worn by poor people in Téfedest and by *Dag Rali* slaves.

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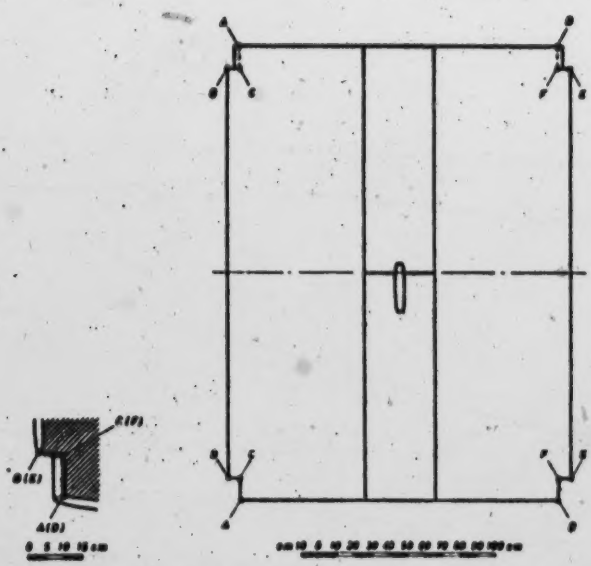


Fig. 233. Cut to illustrate a Tuareg cotton shirt of poncho type. The central part of this shirt is made from two pieces of cotton sewn together at the neck opening; most shirts have a single central cotton piece. The shirt depicted derives from Tasilé-n-Ajjer where a complete woman's dress was bought in 1952. This dress comprises the following pieces which are all made of modern European cotton:—

a. Shirt (*tékamist*) of indigo cotton. Dimension: 1.89 m wide at the top, 1.32 m long. The *Kel Terwit* tribe (cf. illustration).
b. Shirt (*tékamist*) of similar cut but of white cotton. On festive occasions the women frequently wear a white shirt under the indigo-coloured one. Dimension: 1.89 m wide at the top, 1.34 m long. The *Kel Terwit* tribe. [292]
c. Large piece of indigo cotton 192 × 1.15 m which serves as underskirt or petticoat (*aseghes*). Élézi (Ft. Polignac).
d. Large piece of indigo cotton 1.565 × 1.935 m which serves as a kind of shawl covering head, shoulders, and back. It is called *tikest*. Élézi (Ft. Polignac).
e. Headcloth (*ékerhey*) similar to the man's veil (*tagulmust*). It is made of Sudanese indigo cotton measuring 2.14 × 0.25 m. Élézi (Ft. Polignac). (N.M. G. 5488a–e).

It is more than likely that skin shirts of poncho type have also once been used in Ayr, where the Tuareg say that skin was widely used for dress during the 1917-revolt when cotton was scarce. 291

The cotton shirts worn by adult Tuareg men are of various types and possess individual names. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally wear a sleeve-less shirt called *takerbast*, or a shirt known as *tékamist* which has large sleeves. There are other names for shirts with or without sleeves (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 610 f.), but all shirts are of the same basic cut based on the poncho principle. The poncho cut is very obvious the more so as the shirts are frequently made from one piece of cotton provided 291 294

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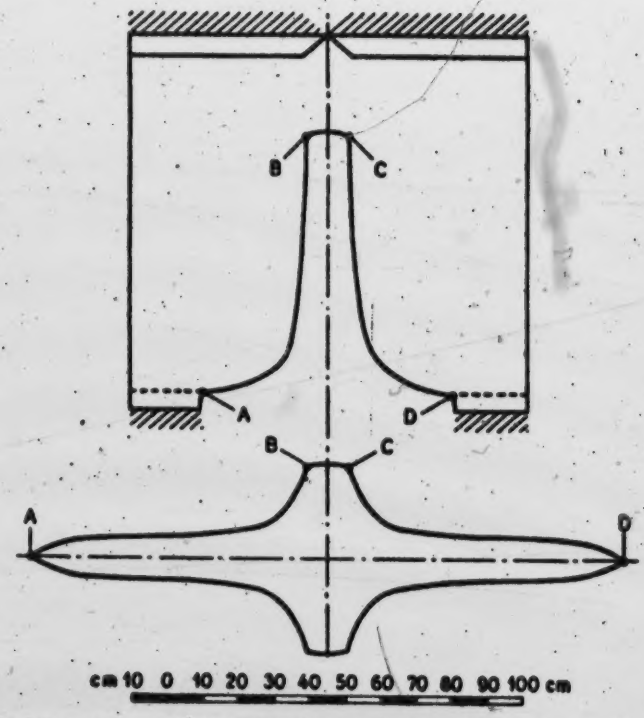


**Fig. 236.** Cut of Tuareg trousers (*ikerbey*). They are made from two identical pieces of cotton sewn together at the sides and united at the inside with a particular piece of cotton sewn to the legs. The trousers are very wide and are laced around the waist by means of a leather cord called *tamennelt*. Dimension: 1.06 m total length, 1.10 m wide at the waist. (Author's collection).

291 Veil, shirt, and trousers constitute the main elements of Tuareg dress. On festive occasions many
292 men also wear a particular type of shoulder belt or bandoleer. This consists of a long strip of coloured cotton (frequently red) wrapped several times around the waist and over the shoulders forming a cross over the chest and over the back. This belt or bandoleer is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tirzemin*, or *ibeyderen*, to the Ayr Tuareg as *techerbit*. Rodd ascribes a practical use to this belt, which, he says, the Tuareg wind tightly around their bodies as support for the abdomen on which the motion of the camel imposes great strain during long marches (Rodd 1926a, p. 194). I have myself never seen Tuareg use such belts on long journeys, and have only seen them in use on festive occasions connected with

292 ceremonial ridings as those described on p. 104 f. I have been informed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr that bandoleers were used exclusively for such purposes. Rodd depicts a rock-drawing from Timia in Ayr and believes that it perhaps represents a man wearing a bandoleer (Rood 1926a, p. 194, pl. 40 p. 305). This may be so, but I have been told by Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group that bandoleers were introduced among the Ayr Tuareg by the French when they formed the camel patrol made up of Tuareg from different Ayr tribes. However, my informants also claimed that the use of bandoleers for camel riders was an ancient custom in the north among the Ahaggar Tuareg, from where it was introduced to Ayr by the French. Informants of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer told me that the custom was traditional to noble Tuareg but not to vassals, though Tuareg of the vassal class also wear bandoleers nowadays.

291 Apart from the head-cloth (*ékerhey*) the following garments are typical of Northern Tuareg women:— (1) *tékamist*, that is a large and wide shirt of cotton, in form and cut identical with the man's shirt; (2) *asegbes*, a large piece of cotton used for a skirt or a petticoat; this is fixed tightly around the waist merely by folding it at the upper edge; (3) *tikest*, a large piece of cotton worn as a shawl over the shoulders and head, covering the head-cloth.

In addition to the head-cloth (*adalil*), which they frequently wear rolled up on the top of the head, Tuareg women of the *Kel Ferwan* group wear three main garments:— (1) *aftek*, a very short shirt of poncho cut. It is very akin to the shirt worn by Hausa-speaking women of Agadez, who use the words

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Fig. 237. Slave-boy wearing the loin-cloth depicted above Fig. 238. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe.

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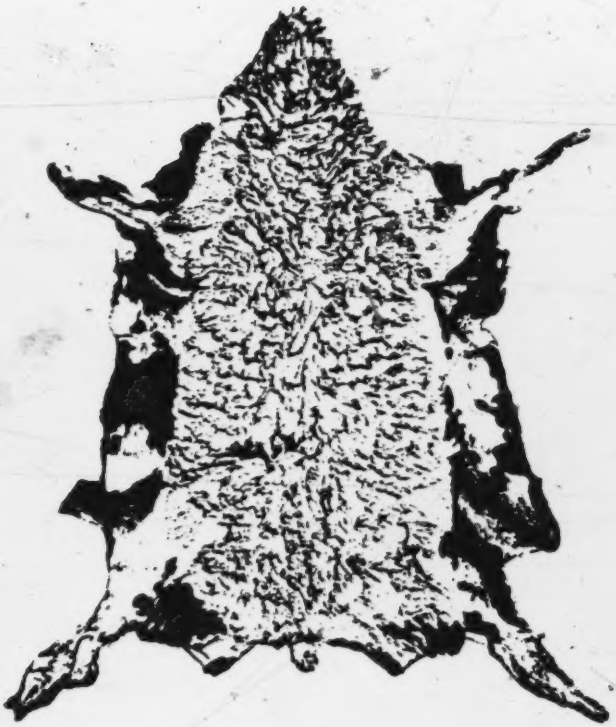

Fig. 240. Sheep-skin (*aflim*) to be worn over the back with the hairy side turning inward in cold weather. Dimension at the middle: 1.170 m long. Ahaggar, the *Afuk-en-tahli* tribe

291 Ayr Tuareg up to the French occupation of Ayr (cf. Musée de l'homme, card-index 41.19.847). The 237 skirts mentioned are made from goat-skin, and this is also the case with two other skirts found in the collection of the Paris museum. These latter skirts differ from those mentioned above in that they

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 241. Skin mantle made from several pieces of hairy goat-skin sewn together with leather thread. It is known as *tglemin* (sing. *tagilmi*). Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.99 m without the fringes. (F. M. 281).

are somewhat longer, and provided with two shoulder-straps. The skirts were collected by Lhote in 291
1939 in the region of Ansongo at the Niger, and derive from the *Kel es Suk* Tuareg. According to the card-index similar skirts are also worn by *Bélla* women of the *Dawssahak* and *Echcherifen* (Musée de

291 l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

292 In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the [233] Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen [177] blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aglim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-[294] skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl (*ilsteni*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather [184] cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

178 Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like 291 many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

291 The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *iratimen* (sing. *ératim*) which [237] word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south. [1438] The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where the type is also known by the Hausa word *takelmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in 294 detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following 281 way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig. [114] 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manu-291 facture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takalmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The [137] very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal [285] is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *slisleplatine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

[Text continues on p.300]

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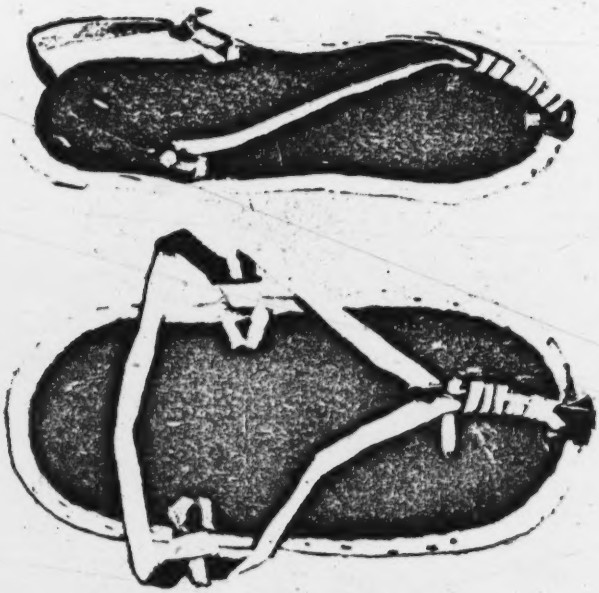

[439] Fig. 244. Sandals known to the Ayr Tuareg as *akerogo*. Bought at Agadez, said to be manufactured at Sokoto in Nigeria. Similar sandals were very common among the *Kel Ataram* Tuareg I saw near Ayoru on the Niger. Dimension: ca. 0.29 m. (N.M. G. 6641).

291 tanned skin does not so easily slide upon the rocks. But sandals of this type are used by a great many
182 Tuareg who do not live in proper mountain areas. The distribution of cultural traits can rarely be explained by mere reference to environmental factors.

292 A most interesting type of footwear, known to the Northern Tuareg and to those of Ayr, is a kind of skin-stocking which is worn with sandals in the winter. I have never myself seen it among the Tuareg and though it has been described in literature published prior to my investigations I failed to enquire
[114] about its use and manufacture. The fact that I have not seen Tuareg skin-stockings does not prove that they are rarely used, for while I have stayed among the Tuareg throughout five summer seasons I have only been among them for one winter, when I mainly lived in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Massif. Most Tuareg I met that winter went barefooted or wore sandals, and those who wanted an extra protection against the cold wore various types of European footwear and stockings.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Lhote describes the skin-stockings (*abuheg*) used among the Ahaggar Tuareg as having a very particular cut, so that the first toe is separated from the other toes in order that the stocking may be worn with sandals. The following description of Tuareg skin-stockings is additionally given:— "Cette chaussette monte un peu plus haut que les chaussures européennes à tiges et se lace de même au moyen d'un lacet de peau. Il y a une petite languette et la jonction empeignetige est renforcée par une rondelle de peau fixée par une couture. La semelle est une simple peau de filali qui serait vite usée si l'on marchait directement dessus. *L'aboûheg* est fait en peau de mouton ou en peau de gazelle tannée, et souvent avec des chutes de mauvaise qualité. Les peaux sont ordinairement teintes en noire et la rondelle de renforcement en vert. Mais il y en a aussi qui sont faites en filali rouge de bonne qualité. Le prix de ces dernières est plus élevé et elles sont généralement faites sur commande. On trouve sur le marché d'Agadez, des *iboûhegen* qui sont l'oeuvre des artisans cordonniers de cette ville. Nous n'en avons jamais vu faire chez les Touareg du Nord, qui les font aujourd'hui confectionner par des artisans de Tamanrasset et s'en procurent également à Agadez. De même, nous n'en avons jamais vu porter chez les Ioullimiden de Ménéka ou chez les Tenguéréguifs. Les gens d'In Salah et de Djanet la connaissent ainsi que les Chaamba" (Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). According to Lhote, just quoted, *abouheg* (*abuheg*) is described by Foley not as stockings, but as boots, which form part of the ceremonial equipment of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while Foureau (1894, p. 203) says that wealthy Tuareg among the *Kel Aljer* wear boots made of soft leather and manufactured at Rudames, Rat, and in Ayr. These boots according to Foureau have a separate space for the first toe in order that they may be worn with sandals, and as claimed by Lhote, they are not true boots, but skin-stockings (cf. Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). Duveyrier also speaks of the use of soft leather boots known as *ibôhadjen* sometimes worn by chiefs (Duveyrier 1864, p. 407), and in the case of the *Iwllenumeden Kel Dennek* Nicolas mentions the use of a type of bóots ("la botte de cavalier") known as *abūzag* (pl. *ibuzāgen*) (Ar. *tmāg*) (Nicolas 1950a p. 174).

Foucauld speaks of *abuheg* as a type of soft leather boots, but he mentions that this same word is also used for knitted stocking. Such stocking are also known by the feminine form *tabuhek*, though the proper meaning of this latter word is "slipper". Slippers are worn by a few men and women in winter, and a woman frequently wears them during the period of isolation (4 months and ten days) after her husband's death. According to Foucauld the leather boots (*abuheg*) are never worn by women but only by a very few men (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 36). It is a great pity that the authors who refer to the use of soft leather boots or stockings have reproduced no illustration which clearly indicates their cut. But fortunately there is a pair of leather stockings in the collection of the Ethnographical Museum at Neuchâtel. There can be little doubt that this garment serves as a stocking and not as a boot, for it has a separate space for the first toe which would be meaningless if not worn with sandals. The leather stocking is made from three pieces of leather:— (1) A sole or rather a bottom piece which is bent slightly up over the foot, notably at the heel; (2) A piece of leather covering the instep and sewn to the forepart of the bottom piece; (3) A piece of leather forming the leg and sewn to the instep and bottom pieces. It is interesting that all three pieces are of the same type of leather and that the bottom piece resembles that of moccasins.

The sort of slipper termed *tabuhek* by Foucauld and worn by both sexes, is identical with leather slippers or shoes provided with a distinct sole. These shoes seem to be of Arab origin, and I have

292 seen them worn by a few Tuareg men in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The fact that they are worn by
177 women during their period of isolation after the husband's death, a custom introduced with Islam, also indicates that these boots are connected with Islamic culture and thus with the Arabs.

[829] The Arabs possess a great religious prestige with the Tuareg, and are responsible for the introduction of many articles of dress among them. Some Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arab *gandura* of kaftan cut as a substitute for their traditional poncho shirt, and many Tuareg nowadays wear the Arab type of headcloth instead of the traditional veil. The burnus (*abernuh*) is also worn by some
[171] Northern Tuareg in winter. This garment is widely used by Berbers and Arabs further north in Northern Africa. It is not traditional to the Tuareg who may have adopted it from contact with the Arabs.

291 /100 cont./ The layers of leather may be a centimeter thick; the sewing of the leather with large stitches permits decoration. A long thong connects the leather buckles sewn on the sole and is tied over the instep. The elegant footwear is the "ighatimen."

293 A description of the Targui's apparel must include all of the objects he wears including weapons.

The "taralabt" is a leather wallet hung from the neck. An ingenious system of grooved closings keeps it from opening; it is always black and artistically decorated with yellow, green, or red stitching. Numerous inside pockets serve to hold the mirror, the "tazolt" (eye blacking, sometimes kept in a special case), the "chemma" (chewing tobacco), the "kelbou" (natron used to make tobacco milder), personal papers, and sometimes money.

Amulets called "tera" hang from the neck by a leather string; these are small leather rectangles containing either papers written by a taleb /public scribe/ or magic products protecting against sickness, the Kel es Souf /genii/, and misfortune in general. Each Targui is abundantly provided with tera, which make his life bearable.

293 752 296 /101/ The "iremdan" ("menguech" in Arabic) is an indispensable instrument; it consists of a cutting blade, an awl, and small pincers (something like eyebrow tweezers) These blades pivot around an axis; a ring makes it possible for the iremdan to be hung, but it is often carried in a special case. This tool is in turn a surgeon's kit for pulling tahla thorns from the soles of the feet and a cobbler's tool for repairing nalls /sandals/. A Targui never undertakes a trip without his iremdan.

301 We have already mentioned the "abidj," or polished stone bracelet. The "tissak" is a small silver ring without artistic value. The key to the Tuareg padlock, which is often suspended on the chest, is a much prized ornament.

411 No Targui undertakes an important trip without his "takouba," the sword worn at the side which gives that

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



634 judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief,
565 whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

[422] In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to
[171] mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

642 In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division,
565 which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral
[173] camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imṛad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imṛad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

565 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar.
[262] Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter
[492] and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinc-
[583] tions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The
[233] noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, donkeys are marked in
[422] both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be
[342] peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirẓemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps
[293] connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among
[262] vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found partic-
[224] ularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and
[174] other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but
[233] the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks
[462] of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



as *ahaga* (Fig. 213). Such tanning receptacles are made in the following way among the Ahaggar Tuareg:— A slender bough of the *tahunek* tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) is bent and fixed into a circular form, and a piece of camel's hide soaked in water is attached to this frame. Sand and pebbles are thereupon placed upon the hide within the frame, which is lifted upwards by means of cords fastened to it and to the bough of a tree. This is done to produce the bowl-like form of the receptacle which is left filled with sand and pebbles and attached to the tree for a few days. Thus it is dried by the sun, and thereafter it will become very hard and keep the desired bowl-like form. Certain butter-containers made from raw camel hide are manufactured on the same principle, the entrance to such containers being made by the insertion of a piece of wood around which the upper part of the piece of hide is firmly attached. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar also use camel's hide for the manufacture of a long rope (*akhamil*), which is used for drawing water from wells by means of oxen when the *tanut* system of irrigation (Fig. 132a–b) is employed. A rope of this kind is made from strips of soaked hide twisted together and hammered between stones to be left for drying in the sun. It is also said that camel's hide in the north is used for sandals of a particular type, while the Ayr Tuareg may use raw oxe-hide for sandals (cf. p. 301). The Ayr Tuareg may also employ raw oxe-hide for the manufacture of ropes and cords, and for camel whips. The hides of camels and oxen are known to the Tuareg by the common term *éṛit* and they seem to possess certain qualities in common.

The hide of such animals as goats, sheep, gazelle, barbary sheep is never used untanned among the Tuareg, and they may tan the hide of oxen and various other animals.

The Tuareg use a particular method for tanning goat-skin to be used for water-bags (*abayor*) (Figs. 215–217). I have watched this, particularly in Ahaggar, where a water-bag is prepared in the following way:— The animal is killed in the normal way of cutting its throat, and is then so skinned that the hide comes off almost entire. This is done by making the following openings with the knife: the head is cut off, cuts are made around the lower part of all four feet, and on the inner side of the

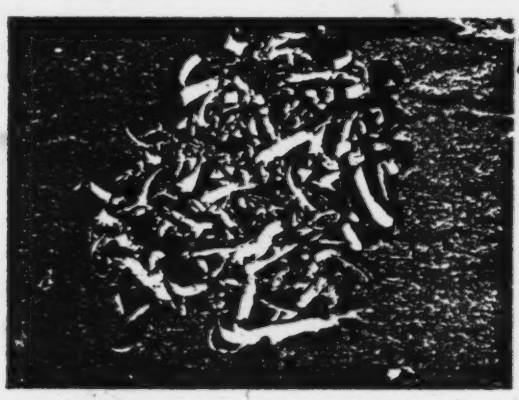

Fig. 214. Tannin consisting of bark (*tibei*) of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*) which is used for tanning water bags. The bark is left upon a piece of rock for drying. Ahaggar, the *Aḍah-en-tehlé* tribe.

[Text continues on p. 273]

# Dress

In this chapter on Tuareg dress I do neither describe all types of Tuareg garments nor dress ornamentation, but content myself with a brief description of the prominent articles of dress and of certain peculiar garments which are interesting and important for our understanding of the cultural position of the Tuareg.

In Northern Tuareg country pastoral women sometimes wear a large hat plaited from date palm leaves and known as *télé*, which literally means "shade" (cf. Fig. 231). However, hats of this kind are never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg who obtain them from sedentary agriculturists. Hats of the same type are very common further north in Africa where they are worn not only by women but also by men, and I believe that hats of this sort were introduced to the Tuareg by the Arabs and the Arabic speaking *Harratin*, who came to Ahaggar about a hundred years ago. In Ayr I have seen plaited hats worn by one or two black-skinned men of the *Kel Ewey* group. These hats are also used among the Hausa. True pastoral Tuareg like those of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not wear hats.

It seems as if the hat is a foreign element in Tuareg culture, and that as traditional head garments the Tuareg have nothing beyond the veil and the headcloth described in some detail in the general chapter about the Tuareg (cf. p. 14 f.). We have seen that both the veil and the headcloth are sometimes referred to as *alechchu*, "a piece of Sudanese indigo cotton sewn together from narrow strips or bands", for the traditional veil and headcloth are made from this type of cotton which is highly esteemed for many other garments. It seems to be the oldest type of cotton used for dress among the Tuareg, while white cotton of an ordinary type has been introduced more recently among them. The Ayr Tuareg use the word *maser* for white cotton woven in one piece, and they say that this word refers to *Misr* (Egypt) wherefrom cotton of this particular type was first introduced. It came much later than indigo cotton of Sudanese type, which has been known in Ayr from very ancient times.

Indigo coloured cotton introduced from the Sudan is very expensive and is nowadays used mainly for festive occasions, while daily dress, including the veil, is made of European cotton, which is indigo or white in colour. There can be no doubt that the comparatively cheap European cotton has displaced the use of skin or leather for daily dress. For we know that skin shirts were extremely common in Ahaggar at the beginning of the present century (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 112), and Duveyrier says that "le pardessus en peau" is held in esteem (Duveyrier 1864, p. 406). Before Duveyrier we have Lyon's statement that Tuareg of the Fezzan area use skin (leather) for dress:— "A leather kaftan is also much worn, of their own manufacture, as are leather shirts of the skins of antelopes, very neatly sewed, and well prepared". In addition Lyon depicts a Tuareg wearing a leather shirt with ample sleeves (Lyon 1821, p. 110).

[p. 287]

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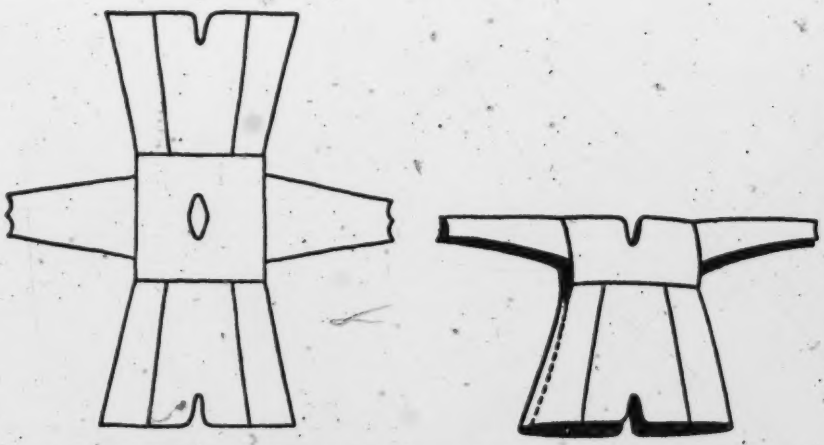

Fig. 232. The cut of a leather shirt (*tébetik*) from Ahaggar. The shirt is ornamented with leather fringes along the seams and at the ends of the open sleeves. The shirt is made from sheepskin dyed with indigo. Ahaggar, the *Kel Inṛer* tribe. Dimension: 1.15 m long, 0.60 m wide at the waist. (Musée de l'homme, No. 41-19-1645).

291 I have never seen a skin shirt among the Tuareg, but it seems as if skin shirts are worn in certain
[23] parts of Ahaggar even at the present time. They are described from the regions north and east of the Kudia, and are made by certain tribes of the *Isekkemaren* who use skin of barbary sheep or goats for the lower part of the shirt, fine goatskin for the upper part covering the shoulders, and gazelle skin or the skin of kids for the sleeves (Mounier 1942, p. 158). A skin shirt is found in the "Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistorie du Bardo" in Algiers. It is called *tébetik*, and is described as follows:—

291 "Le corps de la tunique figurée est fait de trois pièces de cuir: une pour les épaules et la poitrine,
294 avec un trou pour passer la tête, deux autres pour le devant et le dos. Ces deux dernières pièces sont reliées sur le côté par deux bandes de cuir verticales; le tout formant une sorte de robe évasée à la base. Les manches sont ouvertes dans le sens de la longeur, donnant ainsi liberté complète aux bras. De petites franges de cuir très fines décorent l'ensemble à l'emplacement des coutures. – Dimensions: hauteur totale 1.20 m; taille 45 cm; manche 55 cm. Inventaire du Musée: F 9". (Balout 1959, pl. VI).

291 The above-described shirt is clearly of the poncho type, and this is also the case with three leather shirts preserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. The shirts seem to be identical in cut and size,
[28] and are here briefly described by reference to one of them. It is made from tanned and depilated sheep skin, dyed with indigo. Its total length is 1.15 m and width at waist 0.60 m. Its museum number is 41.19.1625 and it is said to have been manufactured by a woman of the *Kel-Inṛer* tribe (*Isekkemaren*).
[29] It is also stated in the museum's card-index that such shirts are worn by poor people in Téfedest and by *Dag Ṛali* slaves.

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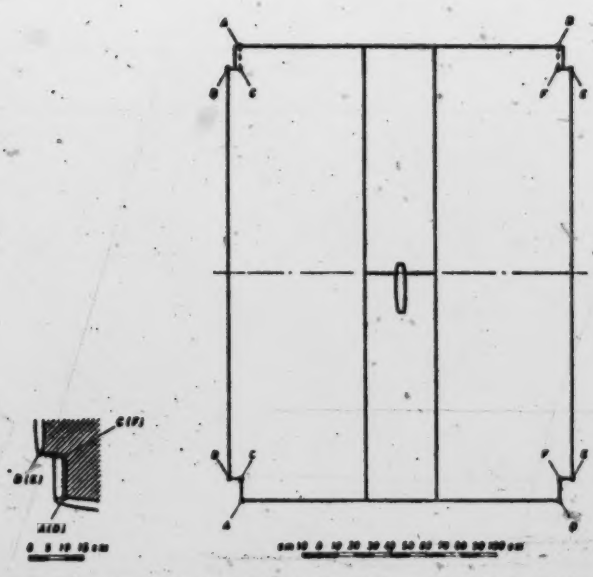

Fig. 233. Cut to illustrate a Tuareg cotton shirt of poncho type. The central part of this shirt is made from two pieces of cotton sewn together at the neck opening; most shirts have a single central cotton piece. The shirt depicted derives from Tasilé-n-Aljer where a complete woman's dress was bought in 1952. This dress comprises the following pieces which are all made of modern European cotton:—

a. Shirt (*tékamist*) of indigo cotton. Dimension: 1.89 m wide at the top, 1.32 m long. The *Kel Terwit* tribe (cf. illustration).
b. Shirt (*tékamist*) of similar cut but of white cotton. On festive occasions the women frequently wear a white shirt under the indigo-coloured one. Dimension: 1.89 m wide at the top, 1.34 m long. The *Kel Terwit* tribe. [292]
c. Large piece of indigo cotton 192 × 1.15 m which serves as underskirt or petticoat (*aserbes*). Éléẓi (Ft. Polignac).
d. Large piece of indigo cotton 1.565 × 1.935 m which serves as a kind of shawl covering head, shoulders, and back. It is called *tikest*. Éléẓi (Ft. Polignac).
e. Headcloth (*ékerhey*) similar to the man's veil (*taġulmist*). It is made of Sudanese indigo cotton measuring 2.14 × 0.25 m. Éléẓi (Ft. Polignac). (N.M. G. 5488a–e).

It is more than likely that skin shirts of poncho type have also once been used in Ayr, where the Tuareg say that skin was widely used for dress during the 1917-revolt when cotton was scarce. 291

The cotton shirts worn by adult Tuareg men are of various types and possess individual names. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally wear a sleeve-less shirt called *takerbast*, or a shirt known as *tékamist* which has large sleeves. There are other names for shirts with or without sleeves (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 610 f.), but all shirts are of the same basic cut based on the poncho principle. The poncho cut is very obvious the more so as the shirts are frequently made from one piece of cotton provided 291 294

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Fig. 234. Photograph illustrating the Tuareg cotton shirt open (left) and closed (right). The two Tuareg are playing a sort of draughts called *kerad*. Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tehle* tribe.

291 with an opening for the head, and folded and sewn together at the lower part of the sides. The folded
294 piece of cotton may also be united at its lower parts by the insertion of a trapeze-like piece of cotton known as *tébanik*. The cotton shirt worn by most Tuareg men in Ayr is known as *teketket*, and is of the same poncho cut as the shirts mentioned above from Ahaggar.

All Tuareg men wear large and wide cotton trousers known as *ékerbey*. The cut of these trousers is the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A pair of trousers I wore when among the Ayr Tuareg is 1.10 m wide at the waist where they have a channel for the insertion of a leather cord (*tamennalt*) by means of which the trousers are laced up. The total length of the trouser legs is 1.06 m, so that the width is a little larger than the length. The trousers are sewn from three pieces of cotton. They consist of a front and back piece identically cut and sewn together at the sides; a third piece of cotton is inserted between the legs (Fig. 236).

291 The trousers are extremely large and loose. They are well-suited not only for the hot desert climate but also for camel riding. The Tuareg sometimes pull their trousers up over the knees so that they are entirely bare-legged. They do this, for instance, when they water domestic animals from wells and in various other situations where long trousers are embarassing. But they will never pull up their
[576] trousers in presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) or in the presence of parents-in-law
[606] (particularly mothers-in-law). For it is extremely shameful for a man to show himself bare-legged to persons to whom he must also not show his mouth, and the Tuareg express this fact by saying that "the veil and the trousers are brothers". In general, young boys wear a shirt of poncho type, in addition to which many of them also wear a leather loin-cloth (*argag* in Ahaggar) made of goat skin. Such loin-cloths are attached around the waist and drawn between the legs. They are worn by certain vassal boys and by young slaves almost up to the time of initiation and veil adoption, and trousers may be adopted at the same time as the veil. It seems as if the loin-cloth has also once been a traditional garment of grown men, for Rodd states that they sometimes wear a tanned skin around the loins below the trousers – more especially in bush country where burr grass is very prevalent (Rodd 1926a, p. 164).

[text continues on p. 292]

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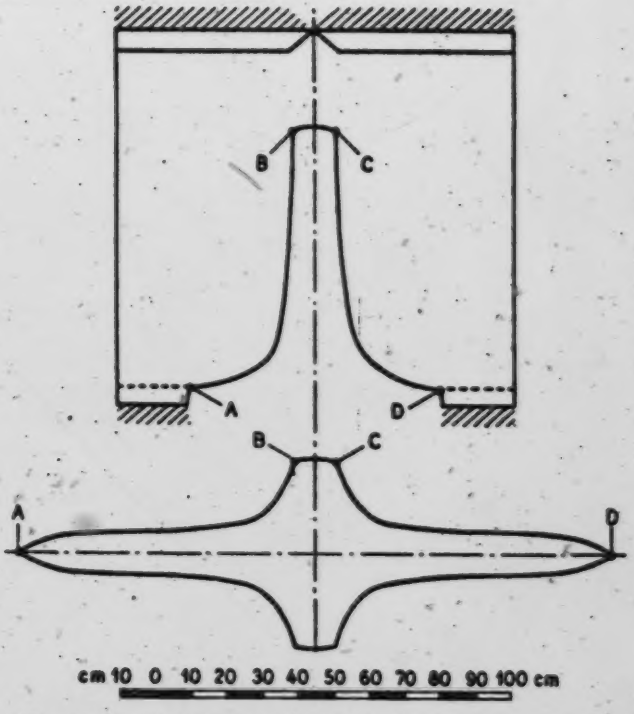


Fig. 236. Cut of Tuareg trousers (*tkerbey*). They are made from two identical pieces of cotton sewn together at the sides and united at the inside with a particular piece of cotton sewn to the legs. The trousers are very wide and are laced around the waist by means of a leather cord called *tamenouit*. Dimension: 1.06 m total length, 1.10 m wide at the waist. (Author's collection).

291 Veil, shirt, and trousers constitute the main elements of Tuareg dress. On festive occasions many
292 men also wear a particular type of shoulder belt or bandoleer. This consists of a long strip of coloured cotton (frequently red) wrapped several times around the waist and over the shoulders forming a cross over the chest and over the back. This belt or bandoleer is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tirzemin*, or *iheyderen*, to the Ayr Tuareg as *techerbit*. Rodd ascribes a practical use to this belt, which, he says, the Tuareg wind tightly around their bodies as support for the abdomen on which the motion of the camel imposes great strain during long marches (Rodd 1926a, p. 194). I have myself never seen Tuareg use such belts on long journeys, and have only seen them in use on festive occasions connected with

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 238. Loin-cloth consisting of a piece of tanned and depilated goat-skin. It is known as *erfaf* and is worn mainly by boys and young slaves. Dimension: 0.715 × 0.575 m. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-ra-tehli* tribe. (N.M. G. 5258).

291 *liga* or *tagua* for this garment piece; (2) *téri*, a large piece of cotton worn as a skirt wound around the waist in the same way as in the north; (3) *tesegbes*, a large piece of cotton used as a petticoat.

[114] Lhote has published some very interesting information on the dress of Tuareg women. Thus he mentions that certain women among Sudanese Tuareg wear a kind of shawl over the shoulders instead of a poncho shirt. I have myself seen this garment among pastoral Arabs south of Ayr and close to [567] Aderbissinat, but I have never seen it among the Tuareg. Still more interesting is Lhote's description of a skin skirt worn by slave women among the *Iwllemmeden* (Lhote 1955a, p. 308). This leather skirt, which is laced around the waist by means of a leather cord, is also recorded from the *Bélla* of Timbuktu by Dupuis-Yakouba (cf. Seabrook 1934, p. 251), and some skirts of the same type are conserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. One skirt among those found in the Paris museum (no. 33.78.9) comes from the Sudanese *Bélla*, and was collected in the region of Arawan by the "Expedition du [594] Hall" in 1945. It is made from several pieces of decorated leather sewn together with leather thread; its total length is about 0.70 m. Another skirt of the same type, but without a museum number, is perhaps of the same origin. In addition to these two skirts the Paris museum possesses three other leather skirts of the same type. They were collected by Lhote in 1939 among Tuareg living in the south-west. One of these skirts is from the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (mus. no. 41.19.845) while the two others [567] come from the *Kel Inteser* (mus. no. 41.19.846 & 847). The skirts are known as *ekwaite* according [565] to the museum's card-index, where it is stated that they are worn by slave women, and it is added that similar leather skirts were worn by slave women and poor women of the vassal class among the

Ayr Tuareg up to the French occupation of Ayr

[Text continues on p. 296]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 241. Skin mantle made from several pieces of hairy goat-skin sewn together with leather thread. It is known as *tafemis* (sing. *taflimt*). Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.99 m without the fringes. (F. M. 281).

are somewhat longer, and provided with two shoulder-straps. The skirts were collected by Lhote in 291
1939 in the region of Ansongo at the Niger, and derive from the *Kel es Suk* Tuareg. According to the card-index similar skirts are also worn by *Bélla* women of the *Dawssahak* and *Echcherifen* (Musée de

291 l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

292 In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the
[237] Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen
[177] blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agri-
culturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aglim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-
[294] skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of
several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl
(*ilstent*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather
[189] cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes
no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

178 Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like
291 many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material
for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

291 The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *iratimen* (sing. *iratim*) which
[237] word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and
sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals.
It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south.
[438] The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where
the type is also known by the Hausa word *takelmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in
294 detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following
281 way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating
with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5)
Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made
from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed
and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather
strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band
of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig.
[114] 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manu-
291 facture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takelmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are
easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently
dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The
[137] very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the
burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river
valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and
efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than
other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal
[283] is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *shialeplatine*
(Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

[text continues on p.300]

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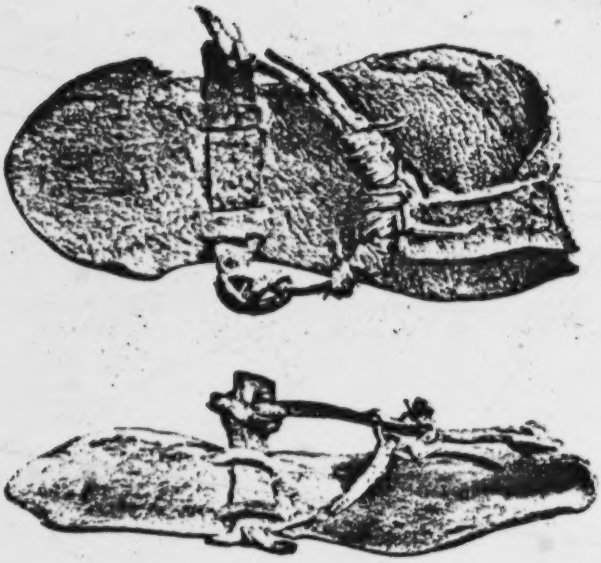

Fig. 243. Sandals resembling the *tagliezez* type but having no heel-straps. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.275–0.285 m long. (N.M. G. 1.8).

have heard being *ératim n tagayt*. It is provided with a strap of leaf passing between the first and second toes, and straps of the same material to support the instep. Thus it is kept to the foot in much the same way as the leather *takahmi* sandal, and there is possibly a historical relationship between the two types. Sandals made from plaiting dum palm leaves wear out rapidly but are quickly made. They are worn mainly by children and by very poor people.

[462] An extremely common type of sandal in Ahaggar is that known as *émerked* (pl. *imerkeden*). These are never made by professional craftsmen, but are manufactured in Tuareg camps by vassal women [237] who use the large awl (*éndel*) for sewing sandals. They are made of the tanned skin of sheep and 294 goats, or the skin of oxen if this is available. The sandals, almost rectangular in form, are made from several layers of tanned skin sewn together with leather thread. At the back of each sandal two leather loops are inserted in, and sewn to, the leather layers, while a long leather strap is inserted in and sewn 291 to, the fore part. The sandal is kept firmly to the foot by means of the leather strap which passes between the first and second toes, and through the two leather loops to be fastened over the instep (cf. Fig. 242a). This sandal type is in high esteem for walking in the mountainous parts of the Ahaggar Massif, for it is strong, keeps firmly to the foot, and does not easily slide on the rocky surface. It is

never manufactured by noble women, but noble Tuareg obtain this footwear from vassals, or have them made by their slaves. Lhote states that *imerkeden* sandals in the past were more common among the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar (Lhote 1952a, p. 605). *Imerkeden* sandals are very common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. They are said to be known among the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg under the name *tadakat*. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that they have a related type, but this I have never seen. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg almost exclusively wear sandals of *takalmi* type.

A third main type of sandals is that known to most Tuareg as *tagliezez*. Like other sandal types it is described in detail by Lhote in his study on Tuareg sandals (Lhote 1950d, p. 512–533). Sandals of this type are generally made from one piece of hide or leather which is bent up over the toes. The system of attachment consists of a leather strap attached to the bent-up flap of the sole and passing around the heel through two loops at the back of the sandal. These sandals are extremely common all over the steppes and savannahs of the south, and in Ayr they are used among the *Kel Ewey* and other Tuareg who make them from untanned hide of oxen. In Northern Tuareg country this sandal type is rare and generally not used by pastoral Tuareg who do not manufacture them. However, a pair of sandals resembling this type was brought from Ahaggar to the National Museum of Copenhagen by Olufsen (museum number G 1.8) (Fig. 243). Sandals of *tagliezez* type are nowadays used by many sedentary people of Tamanrasset in Ahaggar. They are esteemed by Europeans and by Tuareg and Arabs of the camel corps in Northern Tuareg country. But the sandals worn by the last-mentioned people are manufactured by professional craftsmen. The sandals illustrated Fig. 244 were bought at the market of Agadez, but derive from the south – from Sokoto it is said. I have noted their name as *akeroga*. – The type of sandal here called *tagliezez* is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tifedilt* (pl. *tifedilin*) (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 304).

A fourth type of sandal is described by Lhote under the name of *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*). It is made of a single piece of untanned hide which is treated as described above for the *takalmi* type, and Lhote thinks that this type of sandal, which is common in the south among poor people, is the most primitive type. Lhote believes that the same type occurs also in Ahaggar because the word *éfekil* is mentioned by Foucauld in his dictionary (Lhote 1950d, p. 525 f., Fig. 18). This does not seem to be correct, for the word *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*), according to Foucauld, is used synonymously with *émerked* (pl. *imerkeden*) (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 313).

Lhote writes that the sandals worn by the Tuareg can be divided into three main types, namely the *ératim*, (or *takalmi*), the *émerked*, and the *éfekil*, and that these three types correspond to different types of environment, namely desert, mountain, and steppe (Lhote 1950d, p. 528 f.). Perhaps one should substitute the word *éfekil* with *tagliezez*. There seems to be a certain correspondance between footwear and environment, but it should be added that the distribution of sandal types cannot be explained solely by reference to natural conditions. The *ératim* (or *takalmi*) type of sandal, for example, is used throughout Tuareg country from the Sudan to the central and northern parts of the Sahara, an extremely large area comprising great environmental differences. Nor are they suited to all types of desert. They quickly wear out when used on stony ground, and it is very tiring to wear them when walking through deep sand as the broad soles do not bear upon the surface. The *émerked* type of sandal is doubtless the best for walking in mountains, for it is fixed firmly to the foot and its sole of

174 564 were chased by Arab marabouts at the end of the fifteenth century. It is plausible that a number of Jews from Tamentit, particularly those practicing the crafts of jeweler or blacksmith, very respected professions among the Tuareg, found refuge with them. Perhaps the Tuareg received a new artistic influence through them. Their knowledge /177/ of fire and treatment of ores must have permitted the introduction of a larger scale of iron industry among the Tuareg, as well as the use of metal instruments which certainly could not have been very developed before that time; in general, the techniques of the nomadic shepherds was limited to leather and wood. There is no doubt of the artistic relationship between Tamentit jewelry and the Jewish goldsmith's work from North Africa, on the one hand, and the goldsmith's craft now in vogue among the Tuareg, on the other; this can justify the opinion that part of the Enaden are of Israelite origin. But Sudanese elements have also contributed to the physical formation of the group. We must see the peculiar Tuareg art, at the same time heavy in its forms and delicate in detail, through this heteroclite mixture.

[301] [531] [17]

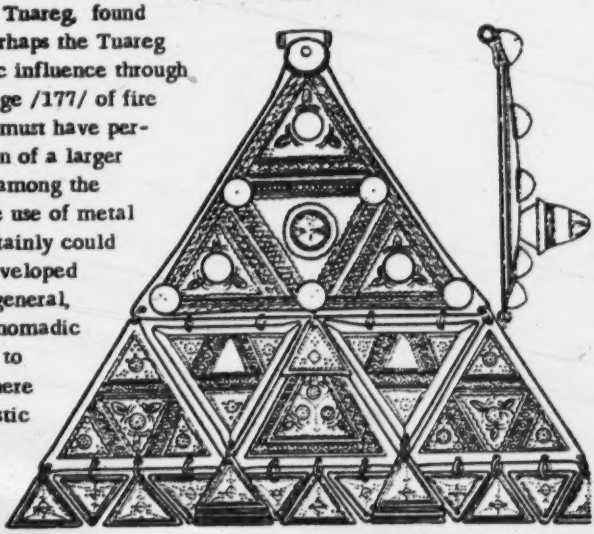

Fig. 18. Silver pendant worn around the neck by Ahaggar women. In the composition are found the triangular motifs common to Kabyle art and to some Berber tribes from Atlas.

564 [727] The Enaden of the Ahaggar are few in number. They include five or six families who recently settled in the country following raids on them by the Ihaggaren. /178/ Most of them are natives of Adrar des Iforas

and were enfeoffed to the Kounta tribe, or Dag-Ech-Cheich. The origin of the oldest known families goes back no more than two generations. They are the Ehellellou, who have left descendants, the Badahol and Mohamed /families/, today extinct, and the Rati whose descendants are now settled among the Taitok. 564

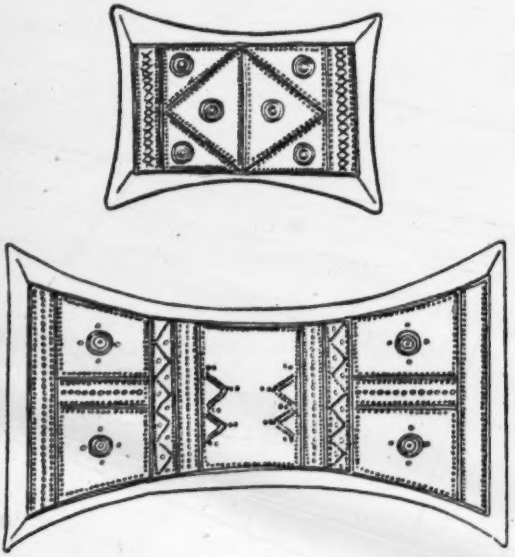

Fig. 19. Silver amulets worn by men on the crests of their hairdo.

At the time of Amenokal Attici (1899) there was a chief of the blacksmiths named Alamine whose role was to oversee and distribute the work and to reduce the newly captured blacksmiths from the Sudan to obedience. He also had judiciary power. 564 326 [301 787 531] [692]

Formerly endogamy was the general rule, but since the occupation it has been violated numerous times, and artisans often take their wives from the Harratin and the Eklan. 564 [582 177]

Their industry is limited to the fabrication of jewels, padlocks, knives, and a few wooden utensils. They are particularly occupied with repairing worn articles.

/179/ In the Sudan the Enaden are much more numerous. That is why industries there are found to be much more developed, even more so since more varied and more abundant raw materials are at their disposal. 564

Plate IX

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Young Tuareg woman of noble class brushing her teeth with an irak stem. Notice behind her the mat called asaber used to surround the tent.

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Young Tuareg couple seated in the shelter of the asaber. Behind them is a household servant, a taklit of Sudanese origin.

[177] Cloth garments have certainly been used only recently among
291 the Tuareg; they used to wear leather clothing. A few Ahaggar
174 Iklan still wear these knee-length blouses with fringes over the chest, sides, and sleeves. Evidences of these leather clothes are still to be found among captives from the Sudan and the Timbuktu region. They wear skirts tight at the waist, dyed half red and half yellow, and decorated with multicolored fringes. In Aïr little girls still wear /270/ a kind of small leather apron, and little boys, little leather trousers.

These seem to be the ancestral clothes of the Tuareg. The description of the dress of Libyan women which Herodotus has given us corresponds in all details to the leather dress used in the Timbuktu region, and some rock drawings of the Tassili are the very image of the small leather tunic of the Koudia Iklan.

832 Ornaments. Jewelry. -- The coquetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg is a most remarkable thing and quite unexpected among people who live under such primitive conditions and whose natural instincts must lead them first of all toward the spirit of self-preservation and material preoccupations. However, it reflects their rather superficial
[181] life, their light mores, and that pleasurable existence which the nobles intend to lead.

And so the Tuareg sacrifice everything to their coquetry, depriving themselves of food and parting with some of their goods in order to procure lustrous clothes, multicolored ribbons to set off the brilliancy of their coiffure, and amulet boxes which are carried more for aesthetic than religious reasons.

•301 Women conform to the same faults and know no rest until they
832 have a certain number of jewels with which to adorn themselves.

For men, adornment consists of a few jewels, especially cases for amulets. As regards jewelry, they wear only one or two silver rings on their fingers, a heavy and coarse kind of ring, either plain or slightly twisted. In addition they wear a stone ring above the elbow.

301 [114] This stone ring (ahbeg) has been described by the explorer Duveyrier as a weapon. Actually it is only ornamental in nature, for it is so fragile that it could not withstand strong pressure without shattering, which might seriously wound the man wearing it.

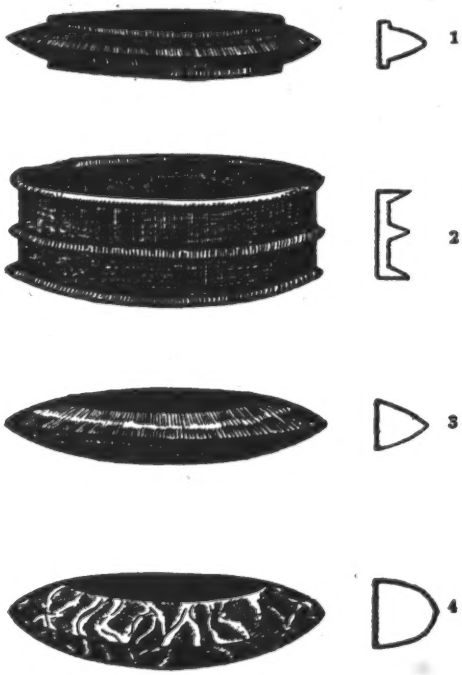


Fig. 41. Types of bracelets worn above the elbow by the Tuareg. 1, 2, and 3 are in soft schist from Aïr, and 4 is made of marble from the Hombori region.

[171] At the present time the Tuareg are the only African people who wear this stone ring, except for some groups of people who live in contact with them and have adopted it in a spirit of imitation.

172 301 It was, however, in very common use among Neolithic peoples, and it is not rare to find fragments of them in the middle of ancient

[172] 301 layers /271/ dating from that epoch. Its origin must be sought there, and it is now nothing more than a Neolithic vestige.

A number of little cases which the Tuareg wear suspended around the neck and resting on the chest may be considered ornaments. [531] They are little leather cases -- decorated, painted or embroidered, or even stamped in relief -- and they contain various little instruments. [415] Thus, there are mirror cases, needle cases, razor cases, scissor cases, toothbrush cases, etc., and little wallets in which the Tuareg put what they prize most -- money, a /strike-a-light/ steel box and its flint, or tobacco.

/272/ They also wear 301 751 quantities of amulets in leather or metal cases on their chests, their arms, or their hair. But [178] this custom, religious in origin, has evolved in the direction of ornamentation, for many of these amulet cases contain nothing.

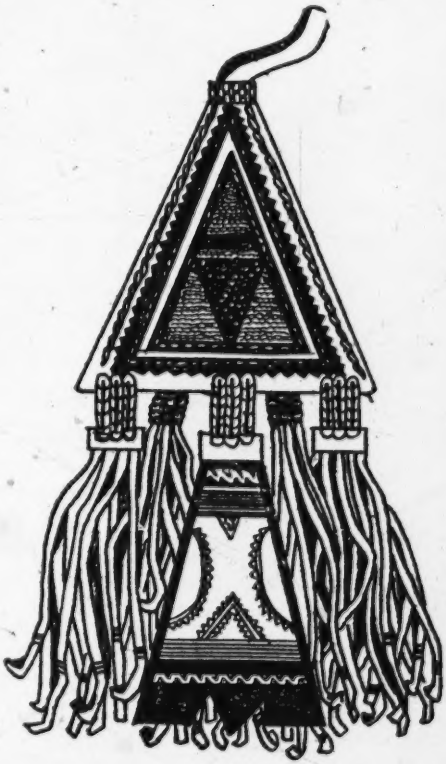

Fig. 42. Needle case of worked leather, with knife slits and embroidery. The background is red; the ornamental painting, black; the embroidery, red and green cotton.

301 Female jewelry is much richer and more varied. It is [328] all made of silver; gold jewelry is never seen among the Tuareg. They maintain [203 777] that gold is unlucky for the possessor and that this metal corrupts people.

/273/ On their fingers Ahaggar women wear big, round-shaped rings, made of small cases in which there is a little pebble which tinkles like a bell. Rich women wear two or three on each hand. 301 [556]

The wrists are adorned with hollow silver bracelets with triangular cross sections, bearing little linear drawings. There are also rather

[531]

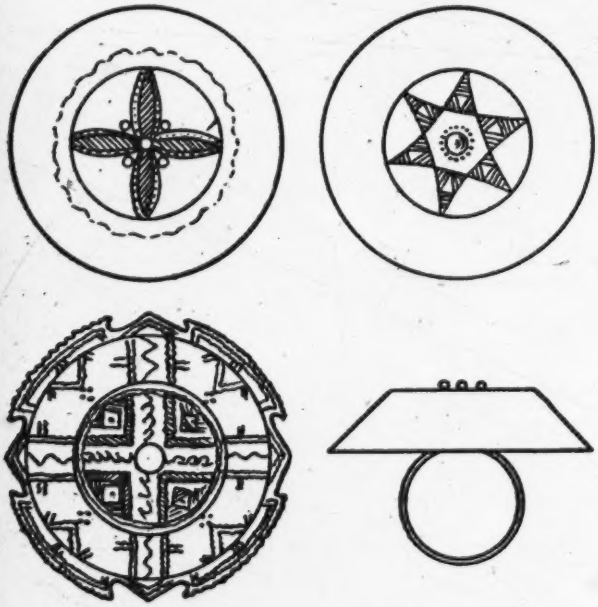

Fig. 43. Ahaggar women's rings.

broad black horn bracelets. Bracelets of Sudanese origin made of multicolored beads mounted on leather are also adopted by a few women. [177]

The neck is ornamented with a necklace bearing an oval (?) shell or a substance coming from a native Nigerian animal, which could very well be the manatee. This jewel (ameréouan) is extremely valuable and very rare in the Ahaggar. It is handed down from mother to daughter. [237] [428 556]

301 Under the necklace Tuareg women wear /274/ pectoral pendants, a small one shaped like a lozenge with a red stone set in it and embellished at the base with little triangular plaquettes, and another [531] large-sized one made of several triangles with big silver cabochons, each one decorated at the base with small triangular plaques.

The style of these jewels is simple and quite peculiar to the Tuareg. Although their triangular shape recalls somewhat that of Kabyle jewels, it is nonetheless true that they show no relationship with the [531] North African goldsmith's craft and that it is very difficult to explain their origin.

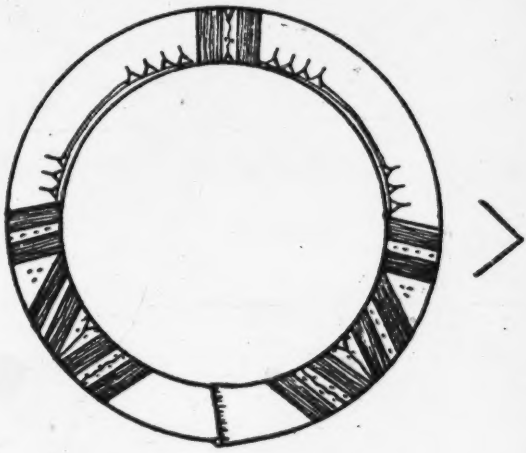

Fig. 44. Silver bracelet worn at the wrist by women.

Tuareg women of the Ahaggar do not wear earrings but great massive silver rings which are hung on each side at the height of the ears by a leather thong which passes over the top of their heads.

Very often they also wear little hair pendants which are attached to the ends of their braids of hair.

301 412 Both men and women are supplied with little tweezers to extract thorns (the irremdan), which they wear over the shoulder. That of the women, which is copper and bi-triangular shaped, /275/ takes on the nature of a jewel, for it is carefully worked and has a real artistic character. That of the men is simpler; it is completed with a little awl and a knife blade and serves as a small portable surgical kit.

1: Lhote--134 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

People adorn themselves with their jewels only during festivals; they are ordinarily kept in bags closed by a curious rectangular padlock, which is provided with one or two interior bolts; it must be undone with an enormous key which the Tuareg always have on their person. 30 [527] [414] [415]

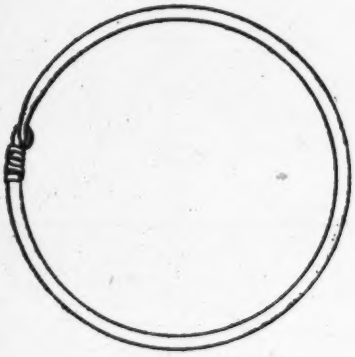

Fig. 45. Ahaggar Tuareg women's ear hoop.

/276/ Chapter 9

Arts and Crafts Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

The nomadic and pastoral life which the Tuareg lead obviously limits the development of craft techniques and that of art itself. For them, all is reduced to the immediate necessities of everyday life -- articles for the household and the house itself, harnesses, clothing, and, accessorily, adornment. 32 [532]

If we look for the raw materials used and at the disposal of the Tuareg for making the different objects which they need, we observe that wood comes first, then leather, then certain graminaceae stems, and finally metals.

326 /280/ Silver is used to make jewelry--pendants, pendants for the
[30] hair, bracelets, rings, earrings, amulet cases, etc.

Copper furnishes a number of more important and naturally more
[492] commonly used
414 articles -- saddlery
[412] articles, cavessons for camels, highly ornamented padlocks with keys, hair knives, etc. This metal is generally better worked than silver. It is often chiseled, engraved, and topped with applications of tin by a technique
[531] which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

Fig. 50. Hammer.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian Arabs and the Sudanese.

Fig. 51. Blacksmith's tongs.

438 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms;
326 they merely repair them. Sahara, daggers, and
411 lances were for the most part manufactured by blacksmiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimmiden from Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an iron mine which is located beside the village of Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the
[172] Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized in the camps.

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 263]



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301
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*a*

*b*

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*c*

Fig. 48. Tuareg women of the Ahaggar. (Photographs: *a*, by *Life* photographer David Douglas Duncan, © *Time*, Inc.; *b*, by A. J. Weber; *c*, by P. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

Finally, they wear around their necks thick cords of red 291
or green silk or braided wool, which they call "el mejdoud" 789
and which are used to suspend a Koran, a book dealing with cabalistic matter, or amulets.

Amulets (everyone has some) are worn on the back or on 789
the chest. They are enclosed in a leather or metal sheath. I saw one Tuareg who had some twenty that he wore, all gathered together, on his chest.

Finally, they are shod with large flat sandals from the Aïr, 291
"ir'atimen" [illegible] , or with leather sandals made on [439]
the spot and called "imerkaden" [illegible] .

Let us not forget the arm bracelet "ahbedj" [illegible] , 301
plural "ihebdjan" [illegible] , like a snake, which, they 789
say, gives strength to the biceps when one strikes a blow.

At rather important meetings and palavers, the richest 292
come dressed in burnooses bought at Ghat and decorated on [556]
the shoulders with attractive silver embroidery. Sometimes it also happens that if the burnoose has no embroidery, the owner prefers to wear it inside out, so as to display the yellow and green silk lining which decorates the edge and lower corner of the burnoose. Where will vanity stop?

The burnoose is not put on, but just put over the shoulders.

Some poor Tuareg are dressed in clothes of tanned leather. 291
/38/ 556

The woman's dress consists chiefly of:

A sort of skirt, called "asedjebes"
A shirt with sleeves, "takammist"
A woolen haïk, "abrour'"
A veil placed on her head, "ikerhi"

According to her means, she wears the following jewelry: 301
556

Silver bracelets, "ihebdjan-oui-n-azerouf"
Glass bracelets, "tahouka, " plural "tahoukaouin"
Glass-bead bracelets, "denguela, " plural "denguelaten"
Blacelets of the horns of goats or gazelles, made in two halves which are encased one in the other with copper and which are called "iouakane"

Earrings in the shape of large rings, "tizabbatine" 301 [55-6]
Rings, "tisseq," plural "tisser'ine"

Also, like the men, she wears amulets, "tira." [789]

Finally, in summer she wears a large parasol hat ("medols" 291 in Arabic), which she sometimes decorates with red wool and which is called "tili" (shade).

Concerning the veil: whence comes this use of the veil among the Tuareg? Even those involved do not know.

Sidi ag Keradji, however, gave me an explanation which 173 is quite without validity but shows the craze which the Tuareg 291 have to attribute an Arab origin to themselves. This is his story:

"At the caputre of Mecca, the Prophet Mohammed was mounted on a 'cidah' (female mehari). He had wrapped his head with his 'ihram' (a garment peculiar to the pilgrim who enters the sacred territory of Mecca). It is since this time that the Tuareg have worn the veil."

What is certain is that this is a very old custom, since Arabian writers have for several centuries called /39/ the Tuareg by the name of "Ahl-el-Litham," or "people of the veil."

Did they adopt this custom for utilitarian reasons, to pro- 173 tect their sight from the brilliance of the sun's rays and to 183 insure their eyes against the dust which rises from the sand? 291 To this question they reply in the negative. It is primarily, they say, a question of modesty and dignity. A Tuareg must never show his mouth, the door through which he introduces food into his body. That is shameful. Even at night he does not take off his veil. When he enters a camp foreign to his 183 tribe, he must lower his veil completely over his eyes so as 291 not to be suspected of having come to seduce. In meetings 576 he also veils himself completely, perhaps in order better to hide his feelings.

291 /100 cont./ The layers of leather may be a centimeter thick; the sewing of the leather with large stitches permits decoration. A long thong connects the leather buckles sewn on the sole and is tied over the instep. The elegant footwear is the "ighatimen."

293 A description of the Targui's apparel must include all of the objects he wears including weapons.

The "taralabt" is a leather wallet hung from the neck. An ingenious system of grooved closings keeps it from opening; it is always black and artistically decorated with yellow, green, or red stitching. Numerous inside pockets serve to hold the mirror, the "tazolt" (eye blacking, sometimes kept in a special case), the "chemma" (chewing tobacco), the "kelbou" (natron used to make tobacco milder), personal papers, and sometimes money.

Amulets called "tera" hang from the neck by a leather string; these are small leather rectangles containing either papers written by a taleb /public scribe/ or magic products protecting against sickness, the Kel es Souf /genii/, and misfortune in general. Each Targui is abundantly provided with tera, which make his life bearable.

293 /101/ The "iremdan" ("menguech" in Arabic) is an in-
752 dispensable instrument; it consists of a cutting blade, an awl,
296 and small pincers (something like eyebrow tweezers) These blades pivot around an axis; a ring makes it possible for the iremdan to be hung, but it is often carried in a special case. This tool is in turn a surgeon's kit for pulling tahla thorns from the soles of the feet and a cobbler's tool for repairing nalls /sandals/. A Targui never undertakes a trip without his iremdan.

301 We have already mentioned the "abidj," or polished stone bracelet. The "tissak" is a small silver ring without artistic value. The key to the Tuareg padlock, which is often suspended on the chest, is a much prized ornament.

411 No Targui undertakes an important trip without his "takouba," the sword worn at the side which gives that

412 /182 cont. / For the harratin, the maalmines make the hoe called aguelhim and the gheniet, which is a trap for wild sheep.

412 415 The Tuareg use wooden objects made by the maalmines; these are mainly cooking utensils.

Akous: bowl for drinking milk. It often has small ears for easier gripping.

Azzka: is a very large akous capable of holding nearly six liters.

Tarahout: large, almost hemispherical dish, carved out in one piece. The wood is three centimeters thick. It is used for family meals.

/183/ Tarelalt: large dish with a fairly flat bottom; may be as large as one meter in diameter (rare).

Tendi: the wooden mortar.

Iharen: the wooden pestle.

Akabar: small mortar, sometimes pyrographed.

Tesoukalt: pyrographed wooden spoon.

Temoulalt: large pyrographed spoon (ladle).

Asseguefi: small wooden funnel.

Redjeredjaten: stakes for holding up the tent.

Tidjetouin: stakes with ornamented heads for holding the tent open.

492 Tarik (rahla in Arabic): the camel saddle. The maalmines of the Ahaggar repair them but do not make them; the most handsome ones come from the Aïr; these are the ones called tamazak and the akoka. However, the maalmines of the Ahaggar make a wholly wooden saddle called taïst, sturdy and used mainly for training the animals.

• 301 The principal jewelry worked in the Ahaggar is the following:

Tisak: the ring, of silver. Certain models have the lower part made of iron. The height of the rings is impressive: four to five centimeters; they entirely cover the lower part of the women's fingers, setting off the length and delicacy of their hands.

301 /183 cont./ Tisabatin: The tisabatin are ear pendants, simple rings of silver whose diameter is about ten centimeters; two tisabatin weigh 120 grams.

Teraout: large silver triangle worn on the chest; the hidden side is made of iron.

Ahbedj (plural: ihebdjen): The women always wear two. They are bracelets, the most popular type of which has the form of a simple ring with an opening. The two ends are polyhedral and are decorated with geometrical designs.

Tissegouar: silver pendants for the temples.

The Tuareg do not use gold; silver alone is used to make jewelry and the amulet cases called teraout.

The men wear smaller rings than the women.

/185/ VII

## List of Agricultural Centers

103 Abalessa (altitude: 850 meters).

361 This was the largest agricultural center before our arrival in the Ahaggar; since then, Tamanrasset has surpassed Abalessa.

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Abalessa is located 100 kilometers west of Tamanrasset in the Ibarras wadi at the confluence of the Abalessa wadi, which receives the waters of the Tit, Outoul, Tiffert, and Iglène wadis.

The population consists of more than a thousand harratin.

The cultivable surface is 150 hectares during favorable years; generally, the crops cover 80 hectares.

The owners of the gardens are some Kel Rela, Ta'ltok, Dag Rali, and Iklan Taoussit.

There are 11 foggara, the longest and deepest in the Ahaggar; some reach six kilometers in length, and the head wells are eight to ten meters deep.

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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18. Rhama, woman of the Iklan Taoussit tribe.

[p. 203]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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46. The imzad.

[p. 234]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



group are sedentary agriculturists (Nicolas 1950a, p. 190). In Ahaggar most freed slaves have become incorporated in the negroid caste now to be mentioned. 564 567

*Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*). This term designates the caste of agricultural Negroes known to the Arabs as *Ḥarratin* (sing. *Ḥartani*). In Ahaggar this caste has a rather mixed origin. It did not exist in this 564

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Fig. 8. Vassal woman with amulet cases and snail-shells hanging around her neck. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tohli* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



But pastoralists of Arab descent are limited to a few scattered individuals or families in the Ayr area in contrast to the extended Sudanese country around the Niger, where whole pastoral tribes claim patrilineal descent from Arabs, while matrilineally most of them are Tuareg. 101 563

There are many other people within the extended country inhabited by the Tuareg. Very important in the south is a numerous population of Hausa-speaking Negroes. The so-called *Imeggedezen* (sing. *Ameggedez*) of Agadez speak Hausa which language is spoken by various other sedentary people of that region and further south. There are also a few Sonray-speaking people at Agadez, and Ingal further west is predominantly inhabited by Sonray-speakers known to the Ayr Tuareg as *Isaweren*. The Sonray, as is well known, are now found almost exclusively along the Niger, but Ayr was once conquered by the Sonray, and Barth describes Agadez as a Sonray-speaking city. [197]

In the south the pastoral Fulani are now invading the grazing grounds formerly reserved to and owned by the Tuareg. Camps of pastoral Fulani are frequently seen nowadays even as far north as the southern outskirts of the Ayr Massif around Agadez and Ingal. When grazing is good the Fulani may even move further north into the Talak plains with their herds of long-horned cattle. Many other people are frequently met in Tuareg country, e.g. the Tebu, and the Kanuri, who frequently come to Agadez. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are even a few individuals who descend from Tebu women.

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Fig. 13. Mother and son. Slaves of the Tuareg in Ayr.

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Fig. 198. Flint (*safarass*), steel (*énefed*), and lighting material (*tajjerí*). The lighting material, which is conserved in a leather bag (*tarallabí*), is made from wood of *teferyass* (*Echinops Bovei*). Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the steel 0.065 m long. (F.M. 154a–d).

4/2 tools, e.g., for hammering tent pegs into the ground, for rope making as described below, for separating the hide from the body when skinning a barbary sheep, and for crushing rock-salt, red pebber, dried tomatoes, tobacco, and the like. We have seen above that the Tuareg saddle querns used for grinding cereals are natural stones of a particular form and size, and that they are used for grinding without any particular fashioning, though sometimes treated with a hard stone or a piece of iron to make the [324] grinding surface more rugged and effective. The handmill is never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg (cf. p. 214 ff., Figs. 179–182).

4/2 172 Prehistoric quern stones and stone pestles are found in many regions of the Central Sahara and these ancient implements, I was told, are sometimes used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar for grinding and pounding (Fig. 200). The Tuareg also use the numerous neolithic stone axes (Fig. 199) as whetstones for iron knives. These axes are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tadeft n eganna*, that is "the axe of the rain (or the thunder)", and all Tuareg believe that they have fallen from the sky during heavy storms.

● 301 Stone material is still used for certain Tuareg ornaments, and notably for the well-known arm-ring (*ohbeg* in Ahaggar, *éweki* in Ayr) which is worn by most adult men and also by some boys. These rings are sometimes mentioned in literature as a weapon, but they are not well fitted for this owing [564] to their fragility. Most arm-rings are made from soft stone such as serpentine, and are manufactured by blacksmiths (Ineden).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



by blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*amerwan*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talak*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akralal, abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

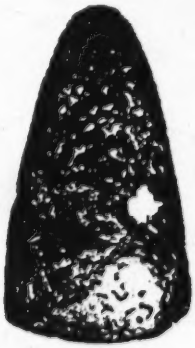

Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *tuḥoft n ejenna*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Ajjab-en-tahli* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 200. Neolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isebeten* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045–0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

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Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*amerwas*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Aghh-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

The pottery made in

323 Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from
[53] Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have
[114] been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing
[13] of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information
[437] (Lhote 1947b, p. 145–154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

[462] In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 507–512).

[text continues on p. 260]

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Fig. 224. Decorated skin bag (*abelhoḍ*) for the conservation of tea leaves. Ahaggar, the *Aḍub-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.25 m long. (F.M. 151).

Fig. 225. Skin bag known as *aleguiguī* (pl. *aleguiguīen*). The specimen depicted is an old bag which shows that the bottom consists of a bowl plaited in coiled technique and covered with leather. New bags of this type are ornamented with leather fringes. These bags are used for the transportation of tea glasses, sugar, and the like. The correct name of such bags according to some Tuareg is *eggebankob* (pl. *eggebankobben*). Ahaggar, the *Aḍub-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.33 m high. (F.M. 80).

413 used to burn marks of property into camels and donkeys. The large awl may also be employed for
[321] wood and horn work after heating in the fire. Horn or bone material, however, plays a little part to
[757] the Tuareg. A horn implement common to all Tuareg is that depicted Fig. 230; it is used for sucking
237 out blood of sick persons after bleeding and is widely known in the Sahara. Arm rings (sing. *éwekī*)
[301] made of horn are worn by many adult men among the *Kel Aïïer*, but are rare in Ahaggar. Among the

[text continues on p. 282]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



583 drum-chief *Agg-Elkhir*'s son, *Khejji*, gave twenty camels for his wife. In certain tribes living around Agadez bride-wealth is nowadays also paid in cash. At a man's first marriage bride-wealth is paid by his father and is given to the bride's father who can dispose of the camels at his discretion. In the *Kel Ferwan* group all bride-wealth must be handed over to the bride's father before marriage takes place.

(2) *tisrar*, that is a gift to the bride and a gift of food to her parents who arrange the wedding-feast. These gifts are given by the husband or his parents and comprise the following:—

[291] 15 metres of cotton for two outer skirts (sing. *téri*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for one under-skirt (*tesegbes*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for a woman's shirt (*aftek*) (cf. p. 293, Fig. 239a).
3 *ilechchan* (sing. *alechchu*), indigo-dyed pieces of cotton which serve as the headcloth (*adalil*) of a married woman (cf. p. 14, 293).
1–2 pairs of *iṛatimen* (sing. *éṛatem*), sandals of the *takalmi*-type (cf. p. 298, Fig. 242b).

[212] The amount of food to be given for the entertainment of wedding guests varies, but in general is estimated at 100–200 kgs millet (*énélé*), 10–15 litres of butter (*wiji*), and 5 litres of Sudanese honey (*tariwat*), plus an ox.

The gifts of cotton and food should be brought to the bride's father before marriage with the bride-wealth. The bride should not see the bride-wealth animals, nor should she see the gift of cotton until it has been made into her wedding clothes.

585 (3) The groom and his family have no obligations towards the bride and her family other than those mentioned above, but the groom is expected to give certain gifts to his wife after marriage:—

One gift is known as *timigint*. Before the bride is led into the wedding tent where the groom awaits her (cf. p. 474), the women who lead the veiled bride will claim a promise of *timigint* for the bride. On behalf of the groom one of his friends will promise to give the bride a gift – perhaps a camel – though there is no rule for the size of this gift. When the promise is given the women lead the bride into the tent. It is said that the groom is never forced later to give the *timigint* gift promised.

Some time after marriage the groom is expected to give his wife certain silver ornaments, notably the following:—

[301] *t'izabatin*, a pair of large ear-rings.
*ténélét*, a ring-formed pendant.
*zakkat*, the so-called Cross of Agadez, and the so-called Cross of Iferwan.
*tadnet* (perhaps not correctly spelled), a necklace.
*térewt* (pl. *téra*) *ta n tejekkot*, a silver ornament attached to the hair braid at the back of the head.

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Fig. 295. Tuareg women drumming and singing at a feast. The drum is a large mortar provided with a piece of goat-skin. Ahaggar, the *Aǵah-en-tehlé* tribe.

The same is perhaps the case with

583 bride-wealth which does not constitute a proper purchase. The payment of bride-wealth may have an economic aspect, but its main function is most probably not a purely economic one.

583 586 848 What then is the function of bride-wealth? I believe that this question can be answered if we consider Tuareg feelings towards bride-wealth in case of divorce. If a man divorces his wife because she has committed adultery, he has the right to the return of his bride-wealth animals, but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that it is improper to claim the return of bride-wealth whatever the cause of the divorce, and the Ayr Tuareg consider it most disgraceful. It would be shameful, utterly improper in fact, if a dissolved marriage has been blessed with children. For children born of a marriage dissolved by the husband taking back his bride-wealth are very much like *anibu*, that is "a child born out of wedlock". Bonds of kinship in respect of illigitimate children are not socially recognized. These children are looked down upon even by their true kinsmen. Illigitimate children therefore have great difficulty in getting married, and this is also true of their mothers. Nobody wants to marry a woman who has children born out of wedlock, while a divorced woman having one or several children can easily get re-married.

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W 301 177 [97 cont.]
the Sudan. The only place in Africa south of the Sudan where any orientation toward a display side is sometimes found is Benin. Figure 4 shows a ring made of bronze (Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Inv. No. 64,768), which is done in a "lost form" and stems from Benin. The display center is clearly indicated by [98] a horizontal double loop and two boat-shaped, very prominent forms set crosswise. Among the Jaunde [Yaunde] in the Cameroons we likewise find rings which have a certain resemblance in their construction to the two arm-circlets of the Wolof. W 301 Figure 5 (Museum für Völkerkunde, Inv. No. 88,037) is made of brass, twisted, open, the ends terminating in multi-faceted cubes -- incidentally, resembling the clasp-nail of our foot-ring. If we compare this circlet with an arm-ring of the Wolof (Fig. 1), we find the clearly projecting terminal knob (in this case circularly flattened) and the twisted rod, in this case, however, W [325] merely cut out as it were -- determined by the different technique of construction. Complete twisting is possible only if the square glowing metal rod is twisted, but not if the ring is poured into a clay mold. This is shown especially clearly in Figure 3. We therefore see here how extensively the technique of manufacture may alter stylistic expression, and one must first "translate back," if relationships are to be established. W T 301 53 171

An earring of the Tuareg from Air (Fig. 13)[2] is almost identical with the Jaunde specimen. The correspondence extends to the details, for example, the terminal knob and its ornamental decoration (central concentric circles flanked by four smaller circles).

The form of the ornamental decoration gives us a few more quite interesting hints. In this connection, it has already been mentioned that an impression made with punches is involved here. If we disregard the difference in technique, however, we find the greatest similarity in the design and composition of the ornaments in the silver work of the Tuareg (2). In a silver

[2] [For Figs. 7-13, See category 116, P. 10 -- Analyst]

W [127] 2. All of the reproductions of Tuareg ornaments were made from drawings

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[98 cont.]

by L. Zöhrer, D.D., Vienna. Dr. Zöhrer made them on his expeditions into Tuareg territory. I sincerely thank Dr. Zöhrer here for his permission to use the illustrations.

head-ornament of a Tuareg soldier from Atakar (Fig. 7) we find correspondences extending almost to details with the design of our foot-ring (Fig. 2).* The arrangement of the design on the center rhomboid (raised in both cases) is almost congruent: two small concentric circles in the center, surrounded by a smaller rhomboid, the latter bordered by small, linked, diagonal crosses; emphasis on the four corners of the background, among the Wolof by means of semicircles, among the Tuareg by means of circles. A chest ornament from Air (Fig. 8) is surprisingly similar to the center section of our foot-ring in the way the entire surface is filled out. Moreover, we again find the entire surface bordered by small diagonally-placed crosses. Figure 9, a Tuareg chest ornament of silver from Seken in Ifoghas, shows a characteristic detail of our Wolof ornament: the semicircle filled in with parallel hatching.

On the reverse side of a door latch from Hoggar (Fig. 10) we find very marked agreement with the design on the center section of the Wolof arm-ring in Figure 3: crescents with the convex sides touching, enclosed by hatched triangles along the edge. [99] [Figs. 1-6 appear here.]

[100] Certain similarities with the Wolof arm-ring (Fig. 1), the design of which deviates somewhat from the scheme and yet is in some respects reminiscent of plant motifs -- although purely geometrical -- are found in a chest ornament from Ifoghas (Fig. 11) and a door latch from Ifoghas (Fig. 12).

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The final offshoots of these decorative motifs (concentric circles, hatching, etc.) seem to reach as far as Benin, as is shown by a bronze bracelet (Inv. No. 64,708) in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (Fig. 6). Along with certain correspondences in the decorative design, it also has the display

* [For Figs. 1-6, see category 116, p. 8 -- Analyst]

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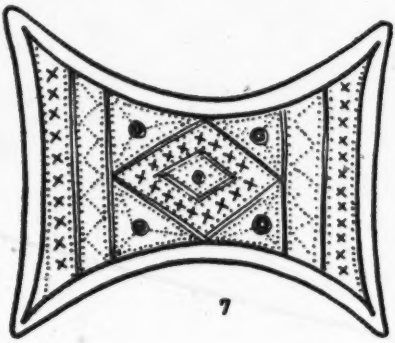

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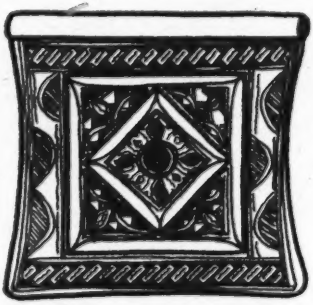

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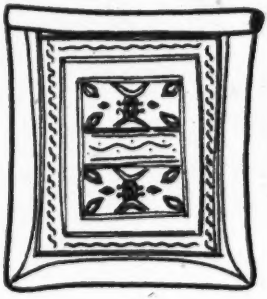

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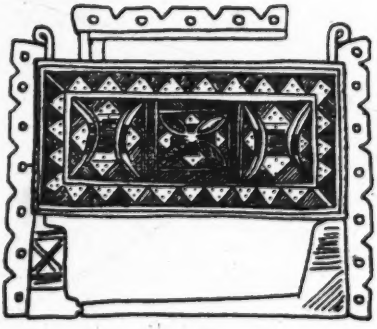

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Fig. 7. Head ornament, silver, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Inv. No. Post XX/1938, No. 8a, Tuareg.

Fig. 8. Chest ornament, silver, original in the possession of the Tuareg Neni ag Ghali near Agadez; drawing in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 75.

(captions cont.)

[Captions cont. for Figs. 7-13 p. 101.]

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Fig. 9. Chest ornament, silver; original in the possession of the Tuareg Baba ag Hamu, Tin-Reiden, Ifoghas; the drawing as for Fig. 8, Post IX/1950, No. 61.

Fig. 10. Door latch (reverse side); original in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich; drawing, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 125.

Fig. 11. Chest ornament. Original in the possession of the Tuareg Akauil, Idnan from Tinesraft. Drawing in the Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel.

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Fig. 12. Door latch. Original in the possession of the Tuareg Belcho ag Bibi, Abelessa; drawing, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 146.

Fig. 13. Earring. Original in the possession of the Tuareg Tauti, Agadez; drawing, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 30.

Figs. 7-13 are drawings from the originals by Ludwig Zöhrer, D.D., Vienna.

565 554 The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished [302] than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing [516] nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant [195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of appearance and language is even more perceptible among the 554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their 562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their 574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society. Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well [533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know- [565] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know- ing how to play the violin.

565 [83] Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part 513] of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which [842] are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the 582] other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it, [648] and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting itself to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could bring it.

565 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/ [793] and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the 871] children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite [651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

Plate IX

291
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Young Tuareg woman of noble class brushing her teeth with an irak stem. Notice behind her the mat called asaber used to surround the tent.

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Young Tuareg couple seated in the shelter of the asaber. Behind them is a household servant, a taklit of Sudanese origin.

515 care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed [826] every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

751 For them the main question is protecting the different parts of the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the body is to that end.

291 302 They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired color.

302 To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their [171] limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

515 The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth. They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal [412] and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed to form a brush. For this purpose they use irak branches (Salvadora [824] persica) or palm jereed.

302 /258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring for the hair.

Young boys have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed [593 276] by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region. [184] They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a [882] certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have themselves shaved completely.

302 The women also wear their hair braided in a number of plaits which hang beside the temples. They coif each other, and since the job requires many hours, it is done only once or twice a month. [412] They begin by untangling the hair by means of a small comb, at the same time filling the hair with sand and wood ashes. Next they [515] proceed to delouse it, for each Tuareg head of hair generally harbors a whole little world of insects. Then the hairdresser separates the hair into bunches, using a small knife, soaks it with water and butter, and braids it, either in large braids so that there are three or four hanging on each side, or in many small braids. [751] They smear their hair with butter for no other reason than to protect it against the sun and especially against the dry air which makes it brittle.

Fig. 35. Tooth brush of irak wood with its leather case.

The men let their beards grow, but they almost always shave their mustaches or cut them very short so /259/ that they do not get in the way under the veils which cover the lower part of their faces.

Men and women shave the pubis.

[754] After dressing the hair or shaving, the Tuareg always bury their hair or down, for fear that people who wish them harm might get hold of them and take them to some sorcerer who could use them to make fearful evil spells.

302 Men and women make rings around their eyes with kohl; they
751 put it not only on the eyebrows, but especially at the roots of the eyelashes. They do this for medical purposes, for they attribute
[164] to kohl the ability to protect them against eye maladies, in particular against ophthalmia which strikes many of them.

The Tuareg appre-
[326] ciate the long, narrow hands of people who do no manual labor. They do not take any particular
[412 care of them and are
531] satisfied merely to cut
212] their nails rather short. As they do for hair, they bury the scraps so that no one can take them.

Fig. 36. Hairdressing knife, bearing the name of the artisan who made it in tifinagh characters.

304 Tattooing. -- Make-
[171] up. -- Unlike the Kabyle and the Berbers, the Tuareg are not tattooed. This detail, which may seem insignificant, nevertheless indicates that the relationship of these different human groups is not nearly as close as one might believe, since there are such appreciable differences in mores.

184 Some women blue their gums and sometimes their lips by
304 tattooing them, but this custom is particularly prevalent in the Sudanese tribes of the Timbuktu region.

302 On the other hand, make-up is used on a large scale among Tuareg women. They put red ocher on their faces to protect the
[751] skin from the /260/ sun. For aesthetic reasons they also blue their
[517] lips and around their mouths with indigo.

302 For festive occasions, some women bear paintings on their faces, white or ocher dots above the bridge of the nose, under the cheeks, and on their chins. These paintings have only an aesthetic [517] nature, or so it seems.

304 All Tuareg, men and women, have two or three small linear 75 scars on their foreheads and temples, and the indigo from their clothing which is often inlaid there gives them the appearance of tattoos. They are incisions made for medico-magic reasons when [855] the children are very young to protect them from headaches and convulsions.

[856] It also seems that this custom contributes to make them strong and making them walk very early. (1)

1. De Foucauld, Textes en prose /Prose Texts/, p. 64.

757 Medicine and surgery. -- If we now turn our attention to medicine and surgery among the Tuareg, we shall observe that their knowledge is not very extensive and has nothing singular about it.

753 In their minds the Tuareg classify sickness in two categories: those which are the result of an external action, visible and determinable, and those whose origin cannot be explained by any causal link. The former are treated with appropriate medical treatments, the latter by magic procedures.

757 The medical procedures, which belong rather to surgery, are clearly empirical. A few of them serve for a quantity of ills. They chiefly include bleeding and applying heat. In bleeding, the operator relieves congestion in the diseased part; in applying heat, he limits the pain, at the same time relieving congestion.

278 The Ihaggaren have a whole stock of drugs which they [177] borrowed from the Sudanese. These are roots, plants, and seeds which grow in the Sudan and in which the Tuareg have a great deal

553 852 Naming the child. -- It is then that the child is named. A choice is made among several names by drawing straws. In the tribes of the Aïr, when there is a dispute over the choice of a name, each of the parties present brings a small goat and secretly gives it the preferred name. The mother, who does not know who has donated each goat, chooses the one she likes and has it slaughtered. [674] The child must then bear the name *which had been given the goat* for the occasion. Then a meal is served to the people of the camp [431] and to the guests, and a present is given to the marabout if one came.

[302] The same day the newborn's hair is cut for the first time, and the marabout places an amulet around his neck.

551 /284/ The names given to children are quite varied and sometimes very whimsical. They observe customs like those of the American Indians, and so the parents take into account certain fortuitous circumstances which surrounded the birth. We have seen a young girl who bore the name of Tédigrès, meaning "hail, " because there was hail at the moment she came into the world. Others bear the names of animals such as Ẋnaba, the panther; Ẋbagui, the jackal; Acotey, the jerboa; Tinirt, the antelope; Ẋhenkatt, the gazelle, etc.

[177] Because of Arab influence, the Tuareg have adopted many names taken from the Bible and Arabized, e.g., Moussa from Moses, Firhoun from Pharaoh, Younès from Jonas, etc.

They also bear very ancient names which come to them through tradition and whose meaning and origin they are ignorant of: Akhamouk (masc.), Amastane (masc.), Yklou (masc.), Chékou (fem.), Tinguelous (fem.). (1)

1. This name may come from the Latin angelus.

From then on the child has his father's name joined to his and keeps it all his life. There are no family names and marriage does

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
[412 an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
302] period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of Tagant and Hodh.

Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
291 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
855 girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear
[556] trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated for either the boy or girl.

The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
868 the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
857 which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
[162] milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
[212] Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
[145] when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
291 father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
[131] ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good advice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

1: Lhote--148b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Plate XIV

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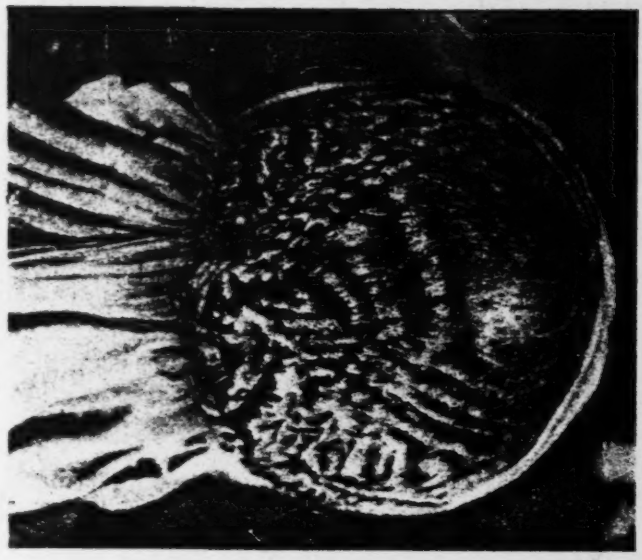

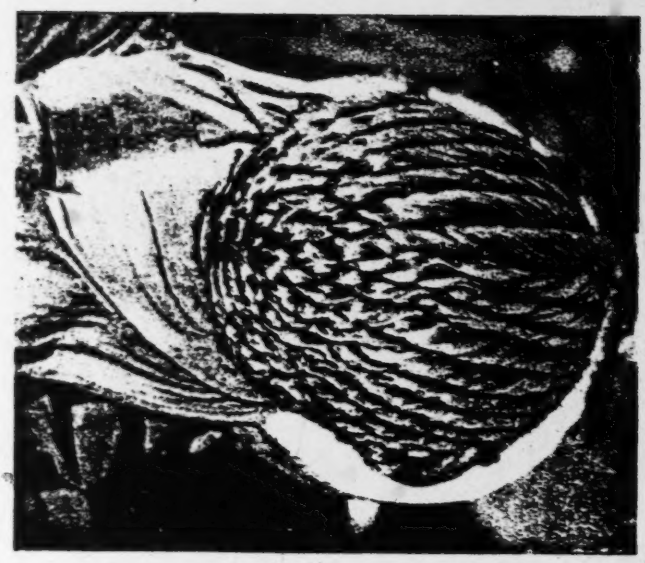

Typical men's hair styles. The hair is braided and taken around to the back. The veil encircles the forehead, leaving the top of the head uncovered.

291 Tuareg. It is all very puzzling and mysterious indeed.

Tuareg women wear either a short cotton skirt that reaches just below the knees or a pair of baggy trousers, like those of the men but shorter. Like the men they usually wear a white gandoura with a blue one over it, but the under one at least is sewed farther up the sides leaving open arm slits only 1½ to 2 feet long. The costume is topped off with a shawl and a head scarf of indigo blue cotton cloth, the first measuring roughly 9 feet by 6 and the second about 4 by 2 feet as a rule. Lightweight woolen shawls, measuring as much as 10 feet by 6½ and white or darkish pink in color, used to be worn on festive occasions but have practically disappeared in recent years. Lhote (1955, p. 107) says that Tuareg women sometimes wrap goatskins around their shoulders in wintertime. Straw hats with very high conical crowns and enormously wide, floppy brims, made of narrow interwoven strips of palm fronds, were always worn in summertime by women of rank, especially when on a journey, but these too have almost completely disappeared. We have already seen that Tuareg women never wear a veil, which is just as well since many of them are extremely good-looking, but they often drape a fold of the head shawl loosely across the nose and mouth when sitting out in the open or riding on the trail, simply as a matter of physical protection. Young unmarried Tuareg women and girls are inclined to be overcome with giggles when strange foreigners arrive in the camp, and then they hide their faces with a corner of the shawl or whatever piece of clothing is most handy, just as little girls do everywhere in the world.

Tuareg women sometimes plaster their fore-
302 heads and cheeks with mudpacks of red or yellow ocher, and smear their mouths with indigo and the region of the eyes with black pigment made of powdered antimony or char-
[751] coal mixed with grease. This lurid make-up gives fairly good protection against sun and wind, and the Tuareg consider it very beautiful as well although to our eyes it makes the wearer look absolutely frightful. Men also use black pigment around the eye openings,
291 especially on gala occasions.
439 The reader will have noticed that the

291 Tuareg attach considerable importance to
[439] indigo blue cotton cloth, a product which they get from the Sudan. This material is commonly known as "chegga" (pronounced *shegga*), and the most archaic and highly prized variety is made of a multitude of long strips about an inch wide sewn tightly together. The cloth itself, of very ordinary quality, is so heavily impregnated with crude indigo as to be literally stiff with it. A brand new piece looks black when seen at a distance or in a poor light, but in bright sunlight it is a dark purplish blue with a coppery sheen like that of cheap carbon paper; and the indigo dye comes off on your fingers at the slightest touch, just as the ink on carbon paper does but much more so.

● 302 Obviously, anyone who wears clothes made of such material is soon stained with indigo from head to foot, and the Tuareg even rub it into their skins on purpose. Women often smear it on their foreheads, cheeks and temples and around their mouths by way of make-up. The
[751] Tuareg claim that indigo not only protects human skin from the direct effects of sun and wind but also lubricates it and so prevents cracking, and they are quite right, at least up
[515] to a point. If the Tuareg wash themselves only very rarely, it is partly to preserve the accumulated protective coating of indigo, the humble practical value of which has been
[554] gradually enhanced by an ever-increasing value of prestige that has risen in proportion to the rising cost of indigo-dyed cloth. A dirty looking, bluish skin is admired by the Tuareg just as much as a rich golden tan is admired in midwinter by the business men and women of New England and New York.

515 It should be noted that in the Sahara Desert proper one can go unwashed for long periods without either feeling or looking noticeably dirty. The air is so dry that perspiration usually evaporates instantly upon reaching the surface of the skin, and so it is unusual for anyone to sweat visibly. Most of the nomadic
[147] natives are in excellent physical condition in that they are very lean and wiry, and so they sweat relatively little in any case. Thus it is extremely rare to meet one who has any perceptible body odor at all, regardless of whether he looks clean or not. White foreigners are seldom in anywhere near as good physi-

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 261]

[Pp. 252-260 not processed]



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Fig. 46. Noble Tuareg (Kel Rela) of the Ahaggar. (*After* Draper, 1931, pls. 33 and 34.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 262]



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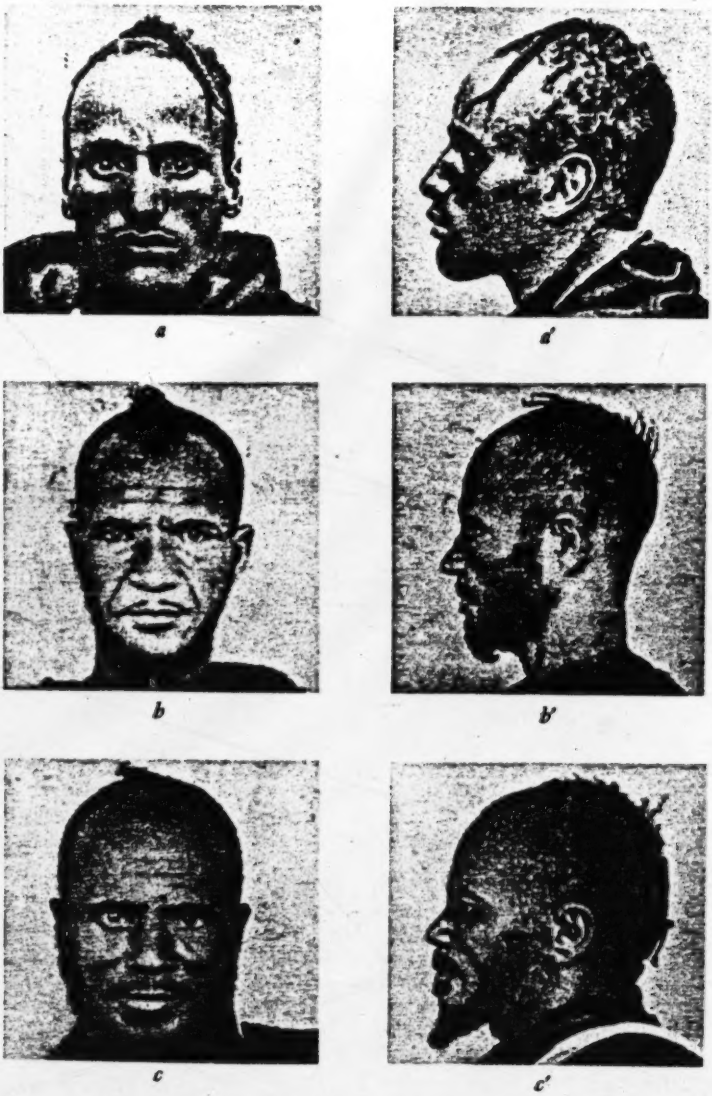



Fig. 47. Vassal Tuareg of the Ahaggar. (*After* Draper, 1931, pls. 32 and 34.)

4: Benhazera--20 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter XII

## Mourning

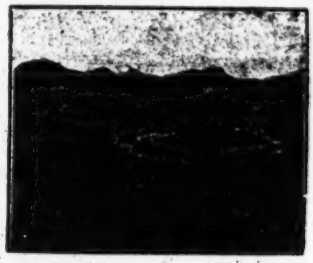
Mourning, "oudhouf" ⵓⵔⵓⵖⵓⴼ , does not have 765 any very outstanding features for a man.

In general a man must stay shut in his tent for three days.

The widow goes into mourning and remains in mourning for four months and ten days. She must hide her hair [303] with a black veil and not comb it for the duration of her mourning; enclose her feet in high footgear instead of the usual sandals; withdraw her hands from view or show only their tips. In short, as in "Miss Helyett":

Plan

[764]



Dautheville
Tuareg Grave in the
Teddeqqirt Wadi (Immidir)

To show none of those charms
Which would give arms
To the wicked liar.

4: Benhazera--27 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The laws of hospitality, "amedjarou," are observed as 574
among all Moslems. The guest, "amadjar," is always well
received.

## Chapter XVI

## Hygiene. Diseases

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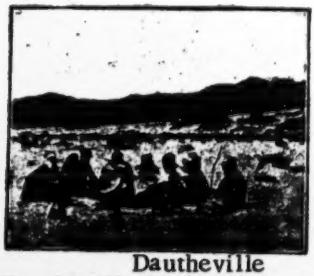

Dautheville
Dr. Dautheville in the Abezzou
Wadi (White Tifedest)

We know that the Tuareg have a horror of water. They do 515
not wash themselves on the pretext that this would make them
sick, but it is essentially because they are very sensitive to [151]
cold. To say their prayers, they do not indulge in the pre- [782
scribed ablutions, even when they are at home and have water 788]
at their disposal. They are content with "ta'moum" (an
imitation of washing with sand), which they call "ettamine."
The amenokal Moussa ag /31/ Amastane is the only Tuareg
whom I have seen making his ablutions with water.

This is also doubtless due to the fact that the Tuareg like 241
to keep the tint of indigo, "sedjeni" ⵙⵉⴷⵊⵉⵏⵉ, on their 302
skins, the result of wearing "chegga," or blue cotton, which 386 515
runs a great deal and of which they make their clothes. They

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga."

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" plural "isefran" , and believe in their efficacy. This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" , gonorrhea, "talaoa'ɪt;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" .

## Chapter XVII

## Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

4: Benhazera--32 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The "tidjelmoust" ⊕⊐ǁ'+ , or veil. The veil 291
is made of a single strip of dark-blue or black cotton. To put it on, the end is placed on top of the head, then it is first wrapped around at the bottom to hide the lower part of the face. Then it is brought back up to hide the upper part of the face, and the head is wound with the rest of the strip to hold it in place.

The upper part of the veil is called "amaoual-oua-n-afella," the lower part "amaoual-oua-n-aris." The top of the [302] head remains uncovered to leave free the hair, which is braided in small strands or cut in the shape of a cock's comb, or just cut short. The part of the veil which covers the nape of the neck is called "adjedellehouf."

When the veil is on the forehead is bound with white or colored material, "asaded" ΛΛ⊡ , and to be pleasing a bright-colored ribbon or cloth, "itelli" ⊂ǁ+ , can be added.

The young people some time ago imported a fashion which 177
they borrowed from the Kel Fedé of the Aïr and which consists 291
of a kind of diadem of this shape:

It is placed on the forehead and is covered and hidden by the veil, which holds it in place.

This diadem, which is called "tadebanat" +ǀ⊡V+ , [184]
is not liked by the "old Tuareg" party, who have not adopted it. Sidi ag /37/ Keradji told me that he preferred the old fashion which consisted of slipping under the "assaded" amulets enclosed in silver plaques, called "tira-n-azerouf." But the "young Tuareg" party is not of this opinion and considers the new fashion not lacking in elegance.

Sometimes they cross a white sash on the chest, 291
"tirezzemine" ǀ⊐# O+ .

It is probably because of this custom that the Tuareg 182 291 shaves his mustache and he finds it strange that we wear them. 302 On the other hand, he wears a full beard.

## Chapter XIX

## The Woman's Saddle

I think it well to give below the following description of 492 the very unusual mehari saddle of Tuareg women.

I had the opportunity to see one, of which I was able to get a sketch (see the accompanying illustration). /40/

It seems that many other saddles are handsomer, with painted wood, and they say that the beautiful Dassine suffered considerable distress when she learned that a beautiful saddle belonging to her had been plundered by one of the insurrectionists at the beginning of our establishment in the /Saharah? Oases.

The woman's saddle, which somewhat resembles a sedan chair, is placed over the hump of the mehari without touching it. It consists of the following essential parts: a rectangular seat of netted strands, supported by four uprights to which are fastened four cushions with holes in the center which rest, two on each side, on the flanks of the mehari. These cushions A are called "afelledoud" ⵎⵎ ⵍⵍ ⵊⵅ , plural "ifelledad" ⵎⵎ ⵍⵍ ⵊⵅ .

The uprights are fastened to each other by two transverse bars on each side.

A chain of iron links B called "imetredj" ⵉⵎⵜⵔⵉⵊ goes around the saddle and passes through the ring of the girth C, which is called "ahif"

Onto the upright with the rear cushion, which is hidden in the picture, is attached an embroidered ornament which has hanging from it strands of wool or colored leather. This ornament D is called "tegarsim"

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925–30, I–II). 3) As mentioned (p. 113) camel's milk is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly also among the Kel Ajjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors (Monteil 1952, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. 4) All Tuareg and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf to deceive the mother animal during milking – for camels like cows will not generally yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or butter as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. – Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of riding camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg, and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East Africa have the same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection with camel-breeding (Monteil 1952, p. 103).

171 234 [302] [262] 171 237 [325] [261] 171 233 [825] 171 233 422

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts like those of Air are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullemmeden, and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country – in particular those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. – Nicolas 1998, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156f. – Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f., 597f., V, p. 201. – Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. –

171 174 233 342 184 342

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

142
291
302

17. Beyh ag Sidi Moussa, nephew of the present amenokal.

[p. 202]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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18. Rhama, woman of the Iklan Taoussit tribe.

[p. 203]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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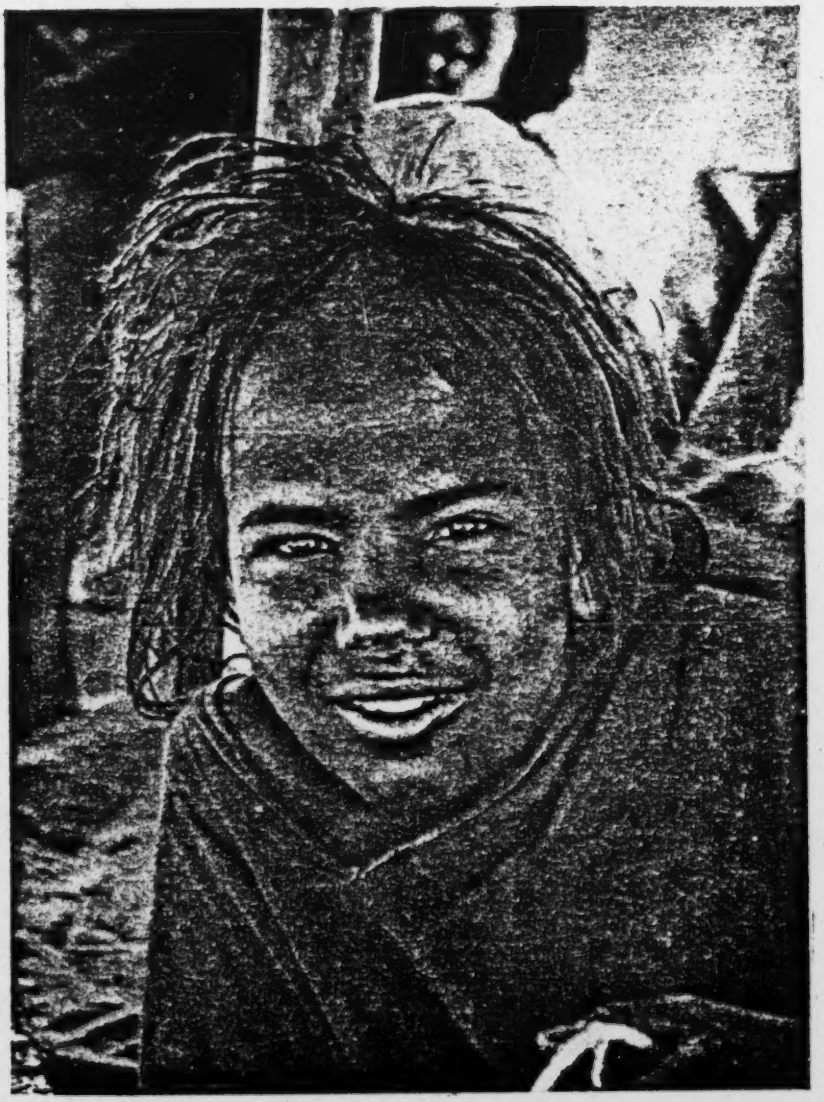

Boy of the noble class, *Kel Tahabanat* on the Niger.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 3. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Iklan-en-tawsit* tribe.

Fig. 4. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

142 with the French. I have myself never seen a genuine blond Tuareg, but I have met a few albinos though
144 albinism seems to be rare. These observations agree with those of Lhote (1955a, p. 163). All the Tuareg
[143] I have seen had curly or straight black hair, and dark brown or almost black eyes. Many individuals had fairly broad faces with protuding cheeks which gave them superficially a mongoloid appearance,
142 while others had features more like Mediterranean Europeans. In literature the Tuareg are generally described as very tall people. I did not myself carry out anthropological measurements, but will not hesitate to state that in my opinion a great many Tuareg are far from big. Very many adult men in the groups I have visited were considerably shorter than myself (1.73 m). Tuareg men are generally dry
[147] and meagre, bearing the stamp of their roaming life in the desert. Their most outstanding quality is
[157] that of endurance and contempt of hunger and hardship. The appearance of Tuareg women is often quite different – they tend to grow fat. This is probably to some extent due to the fact that married
826 women spend most of their life in the tents and get little physical exercise. But fatness is also a sign
832 of feminine beauty, and some women make a great effort to grow fat by drinking milk or eating
[261] certain fattening plants (cf. p. 177, 178). According to some Tuareg fat women symbolize wealth – large flocks and herds, and much milk – but many Tuareg also say that they prefer fat women because they

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Fig. 7. Tuareg boy of the vassal tribe *Imezzureg* in Ayr.

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Foucauld states that it does not refer to black skin-colour but only to membership of a particular caste (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 787). However, Tuareg slaves are Negroes taken during raids and warfare in the Sudan or bought from slave markets in Sudanese towns and cities. The Sudanese origin of slaves is also indicated by the Ahaggar word *Ibenheren* (sing. *Ébenher*), which term refers to a slave who speaks only a Sudanese language. It is frequently used by Northern Tuareg as an abuse of their slaves, particularly of slave children. Among the Northern Tuareg slavery is still practised with the tacit consent of the French military administration. Most Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have slaves to take care of flocks and herds and to perform various domestic tasks. These slaves live in pastoral camps of the Tuareg, and in Ahaggar they have frequently told me that they felt superior to the black-skinned agriculturists though the latter largely descend from freed slaves. In the Southern Tuareg groups slavery is officially abolished, perhaps because the Southern Tuareg are governed by civil administrators. But it seems as if the official abolition of slavery in the south was also a result of the Tuareg revolt against the French 1916–1917, and very few Ayr Tuareg have slaves nowadays. However, the manumission of slaves is not just a recent phenomenon due to European influence. Slaves have been freed long before the advent of French colonization at the beginning of our century. There are in the south whole groups of slaves who have been manumitted at an unknown date in the past, and these people are known among the Ayr Tuareg by the term *Irawélen* most of whom are nomadic stock-breeders culturally akin to true pastoral Tuareg. They are also known by the Hausa term *Buzu*, which term again corresponds to the Sonray word *Bélla*. This latter word, however, may sometimes refer also to people who are considered a kind of slaves by the Tuareg. Nicolas divides the freed slaves among the *Iwllemmeden* into three groups, viz. *Iklan-n-Egef*, *Irawelan*, and *Iderfan*. The two first groups comprise pastoralists also known as *Buzu*, or *Bélla*, while most members of the last

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 10. Young man of the sedentary *Kel Ganet* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. He is yet too young to wear the veil which is used also by these Tuareg-speaking people of Ganet.

Fig. 11. Unveiled blacksmith. His racial features are predominantly negroid though his skin colour is yellow-brown rather than black. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

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From Ayr Tuareg who had much contact with blacksmiths I collected the following words of *ténet* language:—

| *ténet* | *tamachek* | *English* |
|---|---|---|
| *wochimbagen* | *ineden* | blacksmiths |
| *wosilkum* | *echink* | porridge |
| *tikulkumin* (pl.) | *tikammarin* | cheese |
| *ohundegan* | *aman* | water |
| *ogera* | *éref* | head |
| *tokonderey* | *timezzugin* | ears |
| *tedroragen* | *titawin* | eyes |

Prasse is of the opinion that the secret language of the blacksmiths is a kind of slang consisting of circumlocutions of everyday words, but derived from nothing but the local dialect itself. He suggests the following tentative interpretations of some of the words I have noted:— *wa chenbeyen* = "the blackheaded one"; *wa s ilkem* = "the one it follows" or: "sticks to"; *ogera* = "leather bag".

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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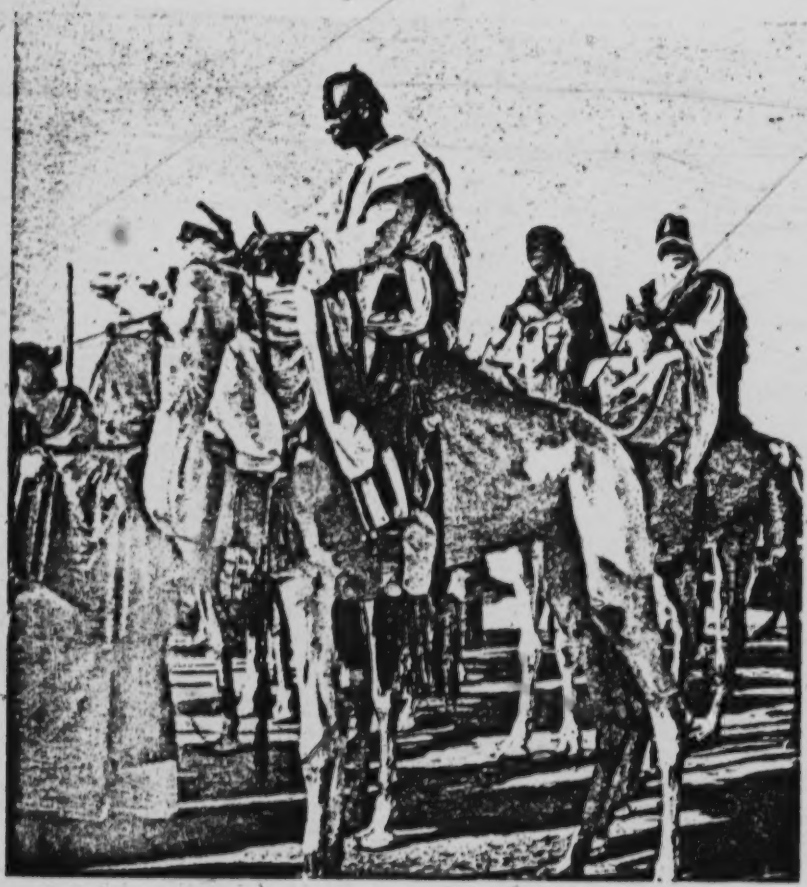

Fig. 34. Tuareg camel riders. The young man seen in the front has not yet adopted the veil. Ayr, Agadez.

camels among the Northern Tuareg, as there are cross-breeds between camels of this type and Tuareg camels. There are also to-day some Tuareg camels among Arab pastoralists of the Saliara, but I was told among *Ulad Ba Hammu* Arabs that originally all their camels were of the *marroki* type, while camels of the southern Tuareg breed were introduced among them more recently. I have not been able to prove or to refute Cauvet's theory that northern and southern camel-breeds differ in dentition

233* [17] [14]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



bridge of the nose of a calf, so that it hurts its mother when it tries to suck (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 359). – 233*
(3) *akimbab*, that is a plaited muzzle which allows the calf to graze, but prevents it from sucking. I have been told both in Ahaggar and Ayr that such muzzles are used for camel calves, but apparently they do not constitute a normal weaning method. – (4) *asedres* or *ameru* are said to be synonymous terms for the weaning method generally adopted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. The method is as follows:— The upper lip of the calf is pierced on both sides of the harelip so characteristic of all camels. A piece of thin root of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) is drawn through these holes so [324]
that the ends of the root protude at both sides, and a knot is made at both ends that the root will not fall out. These knots hurt the udder of a she-camel when the calf starts to suck, but this is not the real idea of the device. For the root-piece keeps the pierced holes open and the calf is therefore unable to suck at all.

A she-camel may yield about ten litres of milk at the beginning of its lactation period, but at the 234
end of this period it does not yield more than two or three litres even with good grazing. The yield is always dependent on grazing conditions. Thus during my stay in Ahnet and Ahaggar 1954–55, a Tuareg who owned about twenty she-camels acquired only two litres of milk a day in all from these animals. But conditions of camel-breeding are much better in Ayr and in the southern plains where [433]
she-camels are tolerably good milk-yielders most of the year, and camel's milk is therefore very important to some pastoralists of these regions. Camel's milk is drunk and not generally used for food [272]
in other ways. It is much esteemed by all Tuareg, who claim that it possesses a particular power and gives strength. It is never stored in the shape of butter or cheese. The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr [262]
never eat camel's butter which they consider possesses a poor taste, and, besides, it is very difficult to churn. They make butter of camel's milk only when butter of milk from other domestic animals is [302]
lacking for the greasing of the hair. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr butter is then churned by the men in a rather peculiar way:— A skin bag containing an amount of camel's milk is attached to the riding [415]
saddle of a camel which is then ridden at very fast speed for some time. But even with this method, it is said, camel's milk gives very little butter, and it is also definitely stated that the milk cannot be used for cheese-making. These Tuareg statements seem to be confirmed by analyses of veterinaries, [114]
who claim camel's milk to contain very little casein, and it has been proved difficult to separate butter from camel's milk (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 707 ff.).

She-camels can mate and yield milk until an age of about 25, and their average length of life is 233*
estimated by the Tuareg at about 30 years. But pastoral Tuareg do not generally keep their camels until they die a natural death. In Ayr I was told that she-camels more than twenty years old should be sold or killed. Most Tuareg sell their old camels in the oases of the Central or Northern Sahara [432]
where a large population of sedentary farmers is constantly yearning for meat. Very few camels are [366]
killed by the butchers of Agadez, where meat from oxen, sheep, and goats is always available and [262]
fairly cheap, but a great many old camels are slaughtered at the market places of the oases further north.

Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr very rarely kill their own camels to eat them. They will slaughter a camel 262
which suffers from some severe disease as all animals dying by accident or from disease are unlawful to eat. However, there are also some Ayr Tuareg who will never eat camel's meat. They say that they [261]
would feel very sick at heart were they to do so, and some Tuareg even say that they would vomit

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 80. Tuareg boy with his toy camels of cut stones. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

Fig. 81. Tuareg boy playing camel-riding on a rock. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 95. A Tuareg feeding his riding camel with *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Many Tuareg feed their riding animals with stems of this perennial grass – partly to obtain a docile camel for riding, partly to change its fodder which consists largely of acacias and annual plants. The photograph is taken near Agadez at the *akasa* season. Annual plants grow between trees and bushes (*afagag*, *Acacia Raddiana*; *ibezgin*, *Salvadora persica*; *tadent*, *Boscia senegalensis*). Ayr, the *Isakaramen* tribe.

234 than those mentioned. Thus they can use any kind of receptacle for milk and milking, and they do
485 not clean their milk-bowls with urine as is normal among certain East African stock-breeders, and,
237 perhaps, also among certain of the Fulani living south of Ayr. The taste of urine is detested by the
262 Tuareg, who know this taste all too well as the water drawn from pools and wells is frequently flavoured
237 with urine and the excrement of domestic animals. Nor is camel urine used by Tuareg women for
302 hairdressing as is done among the Arabs, but it is said that it may have a medical value in curing
752 wounds. The custom of drinking blood has been mentioned above (p. 122 f.) and will be described later (p. 235).

*233 The Tuareg apparently have comparatively few superstitious usages in stock-breeding, which is
232 mainly to be considered rational. We have seen that stock-breeding is adapted to environment, and we have also mentioned that there are veterinary methods which doubtless have their origin in considerable knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of domestic animals. This knowledge forms one corner-stone of rational stock-breeding, and another is the very detailed knowledge of botany. In
*233 Ahaggar there are more than 600 different plant species for which the Tuareg have particular names,
824 though a few related species are sometimes known by one and the same name. Every Tuareg know about the ecological conditions of these plants, and he knows exactly their fodder value for domestic animals. He knows that certain plants form excellent fodder for all domestic animals, but he is also well aware that the different types of stock have different needs, so that certain plant species are valuable for camels, other species for other domestic animals.

231 The Tuareg are occasionally cruel to donkeys, and to dogs, but they take the greatest care of all other domestic animals to ensure their wellbeing and reproduction. Women bring acacia pods or tender annual plants to kids, lambs, and calves, and to sick animals which remain in the camp. On
484 long trading expeditions, when the camels have little time for grazing, some Tuareg will walk along
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butter in Ahaggar, and butter reserved for greasing the hair is frequently kept in a large horn (*isek*) of barbary sheep (Fig. 165). 251 415* [302]

The Ayr Tuareg make butter (*wiji*) in much the same way as the Northern Tuareg. For churning they use a skin bag (*amwar*), or a calabash (*azeau*), and they say that they prefer skin bags in winter, and calabashes in the hot season. Butter is heated or boiled immediately after churning, but the Ayr Tuareg do not add parts of plants, date flour, or the like. In Ayr butter is not churned as regularly as in the north. It is used mainly for cooking meat of thin animals, for a sauce which may be used for millet porridge instead of milk (cf. p. 243 f.), and for greasing the hair. Among the Northern Tuareg butter is added to many different dishes and particularly to bread, which is eaten almost daily by many people. In years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg get their butter from Ayr (cf. p. 212, 215), and the Ayr Tuareg make much butter for export in such circumstances. They churn most butter from cow's 234 [415]* [252] [302] [262] [438]

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Fig. 154a–c.

a. Wooden funnel. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.146 m high. (N.M. G. 5203).
b. Funnel consisting of a piece of calabash which derives from the south. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.131 m high. (N.M. G. 5202).
c. Wooden funnel with a strap of cord of goat's hair. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.175 m high. (N.M. G. 1.150).

All wooden funnels are cut from wood of the *tabarakhat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*). [824]

up with small strips of fat. The pieces of liver covered with fat are put on a slender iron or 252
wooden rod to be roasted slightly over the fire. This dish is known to all Tuareg by the Arabic word [177]
*ehmefsf*. It was introduced among the Northern Tuareg by the Arabs, but is not widely known among the Ayr Tuareg.

This brief description of Tuareg meat preparation can adequately be supplemented by a reference 252
to two peculiar dishes:— (1) A dish known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *talebeggat*. It consists of meat 262
which after boiling or roasting is pounded in a large mortar and frequently served with liquid butter. This dish is also known to the Ayr Tuareg. (2) A dish which is described from Ahaggar by Foucauld 252
under the name *abangor*. It consists of untanned skin which is eaten in case of hunger after the following 261
preparation:— Untanned skin from household implements, shields, and the like is roasted under the ashes, and is thereupon pounded into small pieces. These are eaten without any further preparation, or after boiling. (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 73).

Like other North African peoples the Tuareg dry meat of domestic animals and of game. The people 251
of Ayr know three distinct drying methods, namely (1) *iweson*, that is meat which is boiled until it is free of blood; it is dried in the shade; (2) *tikelsin*, uncooked meat cut into pieces to be dried on a string in the shade; (3) *kules*, uncooked meat cut into strips which are dried for some time to be treated with salt and various spices. This last method is not practised among the Tuareg of Ayr, but by sedentary people of Agadez and by Negroes further south in Damergu. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally boil or roast the meat before drying; meat roasted in the ashes according to the *abanul* method and thereupon dried is known as *takasa*. I do not know whether the Ahaggar Tuareg also practise the [225]
method of drying raw meat like the Ayr Tuareg, but the dried *agezzeram* lizzards which they take to Tidikelt on trading expeditions, are dried uncooked. Furthermore, the method of drying raw meat [171]
is known elsewhere in the Northern Sahara, and I have myself seen it practised among the Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

I conclude the description of Tuareg meat preparation with a brief note on the use of blood of living 272

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Fig. 166. Wooden double-vessel (*azur*) to contain water and butter for greasing the hair. Similar containers with a third vessel for fine-grained sand are also found among the Tuareg. Made by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Geometrical ornaments are produced by burning with a hot iron. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.241 m long. (N.M. G. 5880).

[text continues on p. 235]

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Fig. 194a–c. Bowl-like ladles from Ahaggar and Ayr. They are used mainly for eating liquid dishes – in particular for the dish known as *ayshara* (Ahaggar) or *ayejira* (Ayr).

a. Ladle (*tamulat*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.285 m long, 0.110–0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5845).

b. Ladle (*tamulat*). Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.330 m long. (N.M. G. 6631).

c. Ladle-like bowl (*assar*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. This ladle-like bowl was not used for food but for conservation of fine-grained sand used for hair-dressing together with water and butter. Dimension: 0.330 m long, 0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5879).

[302]

264 frequently consisting of bread or porridge eaten rather late at night. The Ayr Tuareg have related terms for their meals:— (1) *tegimgimt* which is a prepared meal eaten late in the morning. (2) *tdmekkelewt* which is the prepared meal taken at midday. (3) *temegint*, late evening meal which is the main [272] meal in Ayr, as in Ahaggar. In addition to these meals there is a very light meal taken with tea immidiately after rising. It is known as *elfetur*.

[511] Incidentally there are Tuareg who do not have food enough to eat three times a day.

During times when Tuareg subsist exclusively on milk they have no regular meals. The amount [484] of milk needed to support life is very great, and it is drunk slowly during the day. On extensive journeys when the camels cross the barren deserts, the Tuareg also do not have regular meals as they do in their camps.

[text continues on p. 255]

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Fig. 207. Tuareg making a hobble-rope (*idffert*) of date palm bast (*asen*). Ahaggar, the *Kel Rezi*.

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Fig. 208. The manufacture of a cord of goat's hair: (1) the hair (*dhafilen*) is spun around a little stick (*aseggelem*). (2) The spun hair is trebled and twisted into a thread known as *tassarkit*, or *tassagit*, between two sticks (*iseggelam*, sing. *aseggelem*). (3) The finished cord (*ahellum*) which is made by trebling the *tassagit* thread. Ahaggar, the *Aghakostehlif* tribe. Dimension of the *aseggelem* stick to the left: 0.41 m long. (F.M. 74, 120, 122).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



292 ceremonial ridings as those described on p. 104 f. I have been informed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr that bandoleers were used exclusively for such purposes. Rodd depicts a rock-drawing from Timia in Ayr and believes that it perhaps represents a man wearing a bandoleer (Rood 1926a, p. 194, pl. 40 p. 305). This may be so, but I have been told by Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group that bandoleers were introduced among the Ayr Tuareg by the French when they formed the camel patrol made up of Tuareg from different Ayr tribes. However, my informants also claimed that the use of bandoleers for camel riders was an ancient custom in the north among the Ahaggar Tuareg, from where it was introduced to Ayr by the French. Informants of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer told me that the custom was traditional to noble Tuareg but not to vassals, though Tuareg of the vassal class also wear bandoleers nowadays.

291 Apart from the head-cloth (*ékerhey*) the following garments are typical of Northern Tuareg women:— (1) *tékamist*, that is a large and wide shirt of cotton, in form and cut identical with the man's shirt; (2) *aseghes*, a large piece of cotton used for a skirt or a petticoat; this is fixed tightly around the waist merely by folding it at the upper edge; (3) *tikest*, a large piece of cotton worn as a shawl over the shoulders and head, covering the head-cloth.

In addition to the head-cloth (*adalil*), which they frequently wear rolled up on the top of the head, Tuareg women of the *Kel Ferwan* group wear three main garments:— (1) *aftek*, a very short shirt of poncho cut. It is very akin to the shirt worn by Hausa-speaking women of Agadez, who use the words

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Fig. 237. Slave-boy wearing the loin-cloth depicted above Fig. 238. Ahaggar, the *Ajuh-en-tehli* tribe.

565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
567 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as
[428] his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can inherit from their father.

565 /171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with
833 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
558 not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that
[842] the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

567 The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
[838 other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found
674] for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed
[272] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves
304 first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not
234] hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former amenokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Amastan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

567 A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or
when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally
685 does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense, the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice, according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

302 751 Men and women make rings around their eyes with kohl; they put it not only on the eyebrows, but especially at the roots of the eyelashes. They do this for medical purposes, for they attribute [164] to kohl the ability to protect them against eye maladies, in particular against ophthalmia which strikes many of them.

[326] The Tuareg appreciate the long, narrow hands of people who do no manual labor. They do not take any particular [412 531 212] care of them and are satisfied merely to cut their nails rather short. As they do for hair, they bury the scraps so that no one can take them.

Fig. 36. Hairdressing knife, bearing the name of the artisan who made it in tifinagh characters.

304 [171] Tattooing. -- Make-up. -- Unlike the Kabyle and the Berbers, the Tuareg are not tattooed. This detail, which may seem insignificant, nevertheless indicates that the relationship of these different human groups is not nearly as close as one might believe, since there are such appreciable differences in mores.

184 304 Some women blue their gums and sometimes their lips by tattooing them, but this custom is particularly prevalent in the Sudanese tribes of the Timbuktu region.

302 On the other hand, make-up is used on a large scale among Tuareg women. They put red ocher on their faces to protect the [751] skin from the /260/ sun. For aesthetic reasons they also blue their [517] lips and around their mouths with indigo.

302 For festive occasions, some women bear paintings on their faces, white or ocher dots above the bridge of the nose, under the cheeks, and on their chins. These paintings have only an aesthetic [517] nature, or so it seems.

304 All Tuareg, men and women, have two or three small linear 751 scars on their foreheads and temples, and the indigo from their clothing which is often inlaid there gives them the appearance of tattoos. They are incisions made for medico-magic reasons when [855] the children are very young to protect them from headaches and convulsions.

[856] It also seems that this custom contributes to make them strong and making them walk very early. (1)

1. De Foucauld, Textes en prose /Prose Texts/, p. 64.

757 Medicine and surgery. -- If we now turn our attention to medicine and surgery among the Tuareg, we shall observe that their knowledge is not very extensive and has nothing singular about it.

753 In their minds the Tuareg classify sickness in two categories: those which are the result of an external action, visible and determinable, and those whose origin cannot be explained by any causal link. The former are treated with appropriate medical treatments, the latter by magic procedures.

757 The medical procedures, which belong rather to surgery, are clearly empirical. A few of them serve for a quantity of ills. They chiefly include bleeding and applying heat. In bleeding, the operator relieves congestion in the diseased part; in applying heat, he limits the pain, at the same time relieving congestion.

278 The Ihaggaren have a whole stock of drugs which they [177] borrowed from the Sudanese. These are roots, plants, and seeds which grow in the Sudan and in which the Tuareg have a great deal

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
[412 collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
302] an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of
Tagant and Hodh.

291 Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
855 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
[556] girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear
trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From
that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while
the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated for either the boy or girl.

The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
868 the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
857 which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
[462] milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of
this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then
fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games
between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet
stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly
speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a
camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
[212] Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they
are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
[145] when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
291 father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
[431] ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good advice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

4: Benhazera--3 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter II

## Circumcision

In Tamashek, "azemhoud-n-baradhen" (circumcision of children) ⵏ ⵓⵎⵀⵓⴷ from the verb "ezmahad" ⵣⵎⵀⴰⴷ, to circumcise. 304 852

There is no set age for circumcision; generally it is carried out after the age of five.

The operator is summoned to the amazar' (douar), and all the people present take part in the operation, carried out as follows:

The operator holds the foreskin with a bit of "saâf" (djerid or palm leaf) and cuts it with a well-sharpened knife. To cicatrize the wound, it is dusted with leaves of atle (Tamarix articulata) and skins of dried pomegranates ground to powder. [278] Then it is washed with camel urine, and all painful contact is avoided by means of splints held by strings fastened behind the back. [237]

Then there is a feast: a sheep's throat is cut, and it is eaten by the guests.

## Chapter III

## Puberty

In Tamashek, "tamendjott" ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵏⵊⵓⵜ. As soon as he is of an age to fast, that is to say, as soon as he has reached puberty, the boy begins to wear the "tidjelmoust" ⵜⵉⴷⵊⵍⵎⵓⵙⵜ veil which he will never leave off thereafter. 882 291

539 /137 cont./ under the eyes of the bandits, who regarded with stupefaction the man who, having hewn a piece out of the mountain, defied them from the vantage point of the breach.

Thus ends this story of Elias. Others concerning this hero must exist, but they are buried in men's memories.

One may still admire Elias' exploit: the breach in the [823] Adriane is a landmark of Tamanrasset, and the boulder that was hewn from the mountain rests eight kilometers from there in the In-Zaouen wadi, where it has remained planted, a reminder of the hero's valor.

852 Thus, observing nature, listening to the old stories, the young Targui grows up and forms his opinion. At the age of • 304 six or seven years, he undergoes circumcision: "agadam." The relatives gather for a big meal on this occasion.

857 From the women, the young boy learns to sew cloth and leather. He makes toys from old rags; these are usually camels 868 in stylized forms, sometimes having real artistic value. Toy in hand, he races with his comrades to see whose camel is the swiftest. Girls and boys alike make dolls dressed in the Tuareg style; they play camp, paying visits, drinking tea, and striking camp. The young boys carve greatly stylized camels on flat stones or on goat jawbones cut in two.

A favorite amusement consists in mounting an ass and making it gallop, which is not accomplished without numerous falls in the beginning. However, it is the camel which haunts the child; his father has /138/ already let him ride for a circle around the camp, but the little boy wants to be master of his own mount, to guide it across the fallen rocks of the nearby mountain, then to break into a fast trot on the plateau bordering the wadi but not beyond, for he would be seen from the camp and would risk a severe scolding for having taken a camel to amuse himself. Nevertheless, his parents know how it is, for they did the same thing themselves when they were young, but the "canoun" must be applied.

among them it is eaten in particular by women during the first seven days after the birth of a child, that is during the period from birth to the name-giving ceremony known as *isnawen*. It is considered dangerous for a woman to eat too much vegetable food during this period, while meat is believed to make her recover quickly after birth. The same diet is followed by young boys after their circumcision until their wounds have healed. These dietetic rules no doubt have their root in magical beliefs. 262 846 262 304

All Tuareg esteem liquid or semi-liquid dishes which are consumed mainly during the very hot season. A very common dish of this type is that named *aṛejira* (Ayr) or *aṛehara* (Ahaggar). It is made from flour of millet, sorghum, dates, and crushed cheese mixed with water, the main substance being pounded millet. The dish is served in a large wooden bowl or in a calabash, and is eaten and drunk by means of a large wooden ladle called *tamulat* (Fig. 194a–b). This liquid dish is a substitute for milk during the hot season when milk is scarce, and it is frequently used for food on journeys, in which case it is transported in the form of dough-like balls to be dissolved in water just before eating. 262 [412] [251]

The terms *aṛejira* and *aṛehara* are used for various liquid or semi-liquid dishes, or beverages, for which the Tuareg have particular names according to their composition. Dates are less important for liquid dishes in Ayr than among the Northern Tuareg to whom dates form an important part of food. Very important in the north is a dish known as *talekessat*; it is made from dried dates pounded [252]

252
412
415 *
291
342
531

Fig. 182. Tuareg women turning a hand-mill (*tasirt*). In the foreground a woman shaking flour into a wooden bowl. Note the ornamented patches of leather hanging down from the tent sheet. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

[text continues on p. 247]

177 marabouts from the Touat who brought with them the system of
241 irrigation by foggara. The Tuareg later grasped the advantage they could gain from multiplying these centers, and so, at the moment of the French occupation, more than forty centers were being exploited.

423 The enjoyment of land appertains to the people who first culti-
241 vated it. Land of itself appertains to the amenokal, but he leases it out and in return levies an annual tax -- mesk -- on the harvest, in
[427 the amount of four guessa of wheat, or about 10 kilograms per garden.
651] The land may thus have as proprietors Imochar or Imrad, indeed Enaden, but Iklan may not hold gardens.

Gardens are not cultivated by their proprietors but by Negro
241 tenant farmers, natives of the Touat or Tidikelt, who are called
427 harratin (singular hartani). An arrangement is worked out between them and the proprietors on the following terms: the proprietor furnishes the hartani two loads of millet a year for his sustenance,
[312] seeds, a hoe, and then pays for digging /245/ the wells of the foggara. Once the foggara has been dug, the hartani is responsible for keeping it up. He sows, waters, harvests, threshes the grain, and keeps one-fifth of the harvest. Furthermore, he has the right to sow on his own account in the irrigation canals and to cultivate several beds of vegetables.

[311] Centers of cultivation are set up on the terraces of valleys when
312 they are wide enough and have old alluvial deposits. The feggaguir
[241 /plural of foggara -- translator/ of the Ahaggar have nothing in common with those of the Tidikelt or those in the Saoura oasis, which pipe water to the gardens from great distances, from the geological faults where it is retained. In the Ahaggar rain water collects in the wadi beds and is stored under the sand. The feggaguir are therefore dug in the wadi bed and seek water at distances varying from one to seven kilometers. The wadi presents a certain slope, and it is necessary to bring the water gradually to the same level or to a level slightly higher than that of the gardens. The feggaguir

312 include a first subterranean part made of numerous wells of depths varying from two to four meters, linked together by a small canal serving as a water conductor; then comes a part on top of the ground in the form of a canal, first at the same level as the wadi, then at a slightly higher level. They empty into the distribution reservoirs (majem), which by secondary canals (seguia) carry water to the gardens to be irrigated.

311 361 [342] These agricultural centers therefore extend along the wadi on both sides of its banks. The cultivators settle near their gardens and live in straw or reed huts or little clay houses.

There are five centers in the high mountains between 1, 500 and 1, 800 meters in altitude, but the majority are located between 1, 200 and 1, 500 meters. Some of them can be lower, such as Silet (730 meters) and I-n-Amegel (1, 030 meters).

245 Some are small date groves such as Silet and Tibeghîn, which have 10, 000 palm trees, Ideles, Tâhârt, and Ăbalessa, but because of its altitude, the Ahaggar does not seem to be very suitable for date growing. The instability of the harratin is also an obstacle to the development of arboriculture which demands continual care. Cultivators who can be here today and gone tomorrow would not be capable of interesting themselves in work from which they could not draw immediate profit. The country would lend itself, however, to rather large-scale cultivation of peaches, /246/ apricots, figs, and grapes. The little center of Tăzerouk has many peach trees, and the center at Tit produces a famous raisin.

134 The Ahaggar soil is of a high quality, owing part of its richness to elements of volcanic origin which make up a large proportion of the alluvial deposits. Furthermore, the climate favors 132 241 agriculture so much that the natives obtain two or even three harvests a year.

241 In the medium altitude centers, they sow wheat and barley in December and harvest it in May. Barely finished with this, they sow millet which is harvested at the beginning of October. In between the natives also engage in kitchen gardening: carrots,

423 When pasture is scarce as the result of a long dry period, an
621 understanding is reached between the different tribal chiefs, and
311 one of them may authorize the other's tribe to come nomadize on his territory, on the condition, of course, that they not do any damage, mutilate the trees, or engage in hunting.

185 When a region has been abundantly favored by rain, the amrar
423 decrees the land forbidden -- ganent. No one can go there, in-
621 cluding the people of the tribe. This measure is designed to protect
311 young growths from the teeth of the animals and let the pasture grow to maturity. A few weeks later the interdiction is raised, the land is free, and anyone, without distinction, may profit from it, always conforming, of course, to the jurisdiction /sic/ concerning the protection of trees and to the hunting interdiction.

423 Animals straying on the land of a neighboring tribe are /256/
621 returned to their owners without the intervention of any sanction.
But when a flock is surprised on ganent land, the owner is fined one
685 head of livestock -- one goat if it is a flock of goats, one sheep if it is a flock of sheep, one camel if it is a herd of camels.

A branch cut by a member of a neighboring tribe entails a fine
[185] of one goat or one sheep. This rule is not often applied, however, for the Tuareg have little respect for the protection of trees.

/257/

## Chapter 7

## Care of the Body and Bodily Habits

515 Cleanliness and care of the body. -- In a country where water is scarce, it is natural that the people are not inclined to wash every day. The Tuareg, through living in the desert far from wells, have lost the habit of washing themselves. It is not that they despise

241 /70 cont./ This /second/ contract system would appeal
675 very much to the Tuareg, carefree by nature, improvident, and rarely possessing the necessary grain for the loans to the khammès. However, it is very little favored by the harratin, who prefer to have the advance of millet furnished by the proprietor under the first contract system, the right to the personal guemouns and to the gleanings, not counting the little daily thefts.

It is quite evident that these are Draconian contracts for the cultivators, who merely exist and are at the mercy of a bad harvest. The Targui may, thanks to his herds and to barter, survive several lean years, but the hartani cannot. It it not unusual to see the latter get through the period between the depletion of the winter reserves and the new wheat harvest by eating crushed date pits, young shoots of tahli, and sometimes even barley and wheat in the blade.

241 Land is seeded according to the amount of water available.
311 When the output of the foggara is low, the cultivated area is restricted. It even happens, after several dry years, that the water table in the wadi shrinks to the point of disappearing. The gardens are then abandoned, the agricultural center deserted. The /71/ cultivators withdraw to a more favored village. When the rains bring up the water levels again, the dead centers may be worked once more.

241 The land is almost never manured in the Ahaggar. A system of preparing the land called "tiksal" in Tamashek is preferred. Each year the hartani gathers a clayey soil from a slope near the gardens. He carries this back, basket by basket, and spreads a thin layer on each guemoun. This virgin soil reinvigorates the cultivated land, which is quickly exhausted because of the irrigation; it contains almost no humus or limestone.

Sometimes, when the distance is not too great, the gardener brings the soil from an old root system of a dead fersig /tamarisk/ or tahla, the only humus to be found.

7;Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



132 When rain is falling in Ahaggar water immediately flows down the rocky mountain slopes into the sandy river valleys, which may become flooded shortly after rain has started. Indeed, the flood will often rise so suddenly and violently that camels and other animals grazing in the valleys are caught by the strong foaming stream of water. Even humans have been killed by the sudden rise of a flood, but most people will not camp in the river bed itself late in summer when heavy rainfalls are expected to occur. A river valley will generally not be flooded for more than one or two days, but it may, after extremely heavy rain, contain water for a week or even longer. This was the case in the summer of 1953 when the valley of Abalessa in Ahaggar turned into an immense river more than a hundred metres wide. Owing to such heavy rainfalls it is possible for perennial plants with a well developed root-system to survive near the river valleys even in dry years. Outside the river valleys there is very little vegetation of perennial plants in Ahaggar. The bulk of the country has no permanent vegetation, and permanent plants are always more abundant along the broad river valleys of the lower country than along the narrow valleys higher up in the mountains.

137

Pastures of annual plants may spring up almost anywhere in the desert – even in the otherwise barren countries of *ténéré* and *tanezrúft*, where they then constitute valuable fodder for the camels of passing caravans. Rainfall in Ahaggar is most common in the highest parts of the country, where, on the other hand, little perennial vegetation is found. In periods of drought this region is so to speak nothing but rocks and boulders, while after rain in summer it becomes covered with a green curtain of annual plants. South of Ahaggar important perennial vegetation is not found until we arrive at the outskirts of the Adṛaṛ and Ayr Mountains, where it is extremely rich compared with Ahaggar. Indeed in Southern Ayr trees and bushes may form dense forests in the valleys outside of which there is also some perennial vegetation. The Ayr Mountains belong to a special zone of vegetation termed *sahel* by French geographers (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 26 ff.). From an economic point of view the main characteristic of this zone, which includes Ayr and Adṛaṛ, is that it has a fixed wet season and consequently pastures of annual plants spring up every year over large areas. South of Ayr and Adṛaṛ the zone of *sahel* gradually changes into the Sudanese savannah.

[132]

137 311 233

Tuareg country thus falls into three distinct zones of vegetation with rather different conditions for stock-breeding:—

1) *True Desert* comprising the territories of *Kel Ahaggar* and *Kel Ajjer*. Rainfall is irregular, and pastures of annual plants do not spring up every year. The main livestock are goats, while sheep are bred only to a very limited extent, and the nomads have no cattle.

2) *Sahel* comprising Adṛaṛ and Ayr and part of the plains situated between these two mountain massifs. This zone has some of the characteristics of the true desert, but it has a fixed wet season in summer and consequently pastures of annual plants develop every year. Goats are very important and so are sheep; most nomads keep a few cows (zebus).

3) *Savannah* covering mainly the territories of *Kel Geres*, *Iwllemmeden*, and *Kel Tademaket*. Perennial plants grow over extensive plains, and there is a regular spring of annual vegetation. The main kinds of livestock are cows and sheep. In the savannah Tuareg nomads frequently have horses as riding animals, whereas in the two former zones horses are normally bred only by sedentary people. – Camels and donkeys are bred by all Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



***Sub-areas of the territory of the Aguh-en-tehlé*** **tribe**

**(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named Kel *Taṛhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Aṛefsa*)**

| Tenants | Value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA ALATOKH, chief of the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, chief of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*, leader of the section *Kel Twes* | Cultivation grounds at Taṛhawhawt and I-n-dalaǧ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys for domestication | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, *khalifa* (leader) of the *Ikenkeren* section of the sub-tribe Kel *Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Collecting of wild seeds | 3 goats |
| ABERGALI, *khalifa* of the *Kel Tarayin* section of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the *Kel Tarayin* section. No position as leader | Cultivation grounds at I-n-aǧriwal and I-n-dalaǧ. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys | 2 donkeys |
| DEYNI, chief of the *Kel Aṛefsa* sub-tribe forming only one section | No particular value | No land-rent |
| AKAWALI, chief of the *Isandan* sub-tribe and leader of the *Kel Afara-he hin* section | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| HANU, *khalifa* of the *Kel Azernen* section of the *Isandan* sub-tribe | Cultivation grounds at Tamanṛaset<br>In the past wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, *khalifa* of the *Ṛelayddin* now attached to the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe | *Khoseni* is in command of the *Ṛelayddin* territory to which all members of the *Ṛelayddin* have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the *Amenukal* | |

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzaṛ*, while a small camp is called *ḍrḍwen* or *tamezzaḳ*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100–200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *heregen* (or *amezzaṛ n heregen*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *aharaǧen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



221 many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading.
[241] Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess
[423] irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*). Some goat-camps may move their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date
[565] palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikechchemaden*) will also visit the oases
[245] of Silet and Tibeghin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are
* [233] harvested mainly by black-skinned *Ḥarratin* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar – mainly in Tamesna – and the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

423 The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in
311 individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds, or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied
614 the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*.
613 In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondance between sections and sub-areas in the
423 way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-areas, and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants (cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a
[428] maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are
[643] frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148-149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Ṛali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the *Amenukal*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group.

423 For the land-rent (*ehéré-n-amaḍal*) paid to the *Amenukal* the tenants obtain the following rights
422 over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

[224] (3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

411 p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *efezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals – there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Ineslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Koran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

224 Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. To-day true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Tamgak* or *Imedleraren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Rali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals withing two hunting territories where barbary sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

| Age | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . . | *awhim* | *tawhimt* |
| Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . . | *ahyar* | *tahyart* |
| Fully grown animal . . . . . | *ahenkoḍ* | *tahenkoḍ* |

224 Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—

764 (1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

by many Tuareg, who say that they have not always known this white cotton, though indigo cotton has been introduced from the Sudan since very remote times). Maize has a normal period of growth of about three months, and two – in certain places perhaps even three – yields are taken in the hot seasons.

In addition to the above-mentioned cereals there are various kinds of vegetables grown in the Ayr gardens. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum*) are grown at most seasons with the exception of the dry and very hot summer period (*éwilen*). Also common in the Ayr gardens is the sweet potato (*dankale*; *Ipomoea Batatas*), which is sown at the beginning of the rains and harvested in winter. The true potato (*batata*; *Solanum tuberosum*) has been introduced more recently, and is grown mainly to be sold to European households in Agadez. It is grown in Eastern Ayr (Tabello). Melons (*Cucumis melo*) and water melons (*Colocynthis citrullus*) are grown all over Ayr and there are different vegetables such as onions (*Allium cepa & A. sativum*), which are harvested at most seasons. Two plants are grown mainly because they are important as admixtures to porridge sauce. One is called *ékabewwa* (*Corchorus olitorius*); it has maize-like seeds which are pounded in a mortar for sauce-making. The other plant is known as *malokhiya* (*Corchorus tridens*); its leaves are dried and pounded for sauce (cf. p. 243). The latter plant also grows wild outside the gardens. There are in Ayr also certain spice-plants, e.g., *Capsicum annuum & C. frutescens*. To all these cultivated plants can be added certain fruit trees, such as the date palm (*talesdar*; *Phoenix dactylifera*), the fig tree (*tahart*; *Ficus carica*) grown in the mountains, and the lemon tree (*lemon*; *Citrus aurantifolia*) which is grown in Southern Ayr; it yields very small fruit which remains green even when ripe. It should finally be mentioned that the cotton plant (*ebduga*; *Gossypium hirsutum*) is also grown in some gardens of Southern Ayr. According to Miré and Gillet it was introduced into Ayr by the Hausa, but the plant has also been introduced further north in the Sahara in Tawat (Miré & Gillet 1956, p. 244). As stated by Rodd, the cotton plant is rare in Ayr and has perhaps been recently introduced into this region (Rodd 1926a, p. 132). There are many other cultivated plants in Ayr, but the above mentioned constitute the most important species.

In Ayr, as in the north, irrigated cereals form the basis of agriculture. Irrigation is carried out by means of a system introduced from the north, and the agricultural techniques largely resemble those of that section of the Sahara inhabited by Northern Tuareg, though there are certain differences. A new garden in Ayr is prepared by cutting and burning away the wild vegetation of trees, bushes, herbs, and grasses. By crop rotation (wheat and barley in winter; maize, millet, and sorghum in summer) it is possible to cultivate the same garden plot for a few years in succession – up to six or seven years, it is said. After this time it becomes necessary to make a new garden, or to manure the old garden plot with camel and cow dung whilst manure (*taki*) from other animals or from human beings is said not to be used, as it would cause the crops to become inedible. A well-manured garden plot can be cultivated continuously for about fifteen years. But fertilizing is not practised by all agriculturists, and to my knowledge they do not carry fresh soil to the garden plots as is the case with the agriculturists of Ahaggar. Agriculture in Ayr therefore frequently resembles shifting cultivation, though plots are irrigated, and deserted garden land is frequently seen in the valleys where agriculture is practised.

114 forming the tobol" and, by extension, "servant of the tobol."
533 At the present time these three fractions number about 150
631 people.
[162] We call attention to them here only as a reminder.

Book V

Material Life

Chapter 1

Living Conditions Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

133 The Ahaggar, as we have already said, is a mountain refuge. We do not know why the Tuareg have continued to live there when they could have found much better countries to the south where they could have had a much easier life. Perhaps we should attribute this to attachment to the country or, quite simply, to an ancient state of things which forced them to take refuge against their will in the middle of the rocks.

13 A superficial examination shows that the Ahaggar is a very poor
[511] country with negligible resources, which imposes a living standard
[312] lower than the average. The pasture reserves are calculated, as are the water reserves. The subsoil possesses nothing, or almost nothing, which is marketable, except a little salt. Consequently, the possibilities for life there are quite limited. For the inhabitants to live, then, they must have recourse to outside resources.

312 The question of water is fundamental in the formation of the
[361 camp, both for the choice of its location and for the number of tents
182] to be included.

Water is obviously a problem for all life; it plays a role in the location of our small European villages, but this role is still greater in desert countries where water is quite rare. The existence of watering places is not only necessary for human life but also for the life of the domestic animals.

137 To this primordial condition of the existence of a watering
182 place must be added the condition of pasture for the domestic
312 animals. Therefore, we see that the establishment of a camp among
361 the Ihaggaren is conditioned by two main factors whose character may vary in time, depending on the seasons and the abundance or scarcity of rain. But in the last analysis the pasture needs take precedence, for, generally speaking, pasture is even rarer than
137 water, since it can sometimes be completely lacking. This need
182 for pasture forces tribes to split up and camps to be dispersed in
361 order to exploit it rationally. The situation is such that there are
621 rarely more than five or six tents in each group. Only the amenokal's
[643 camp may number as many as 15 or 20 tents, but this is quite exceptional, involving the question of prestige and social order at the same time. Indeed, the amenokal supports a numerous family, his caliphs, his servants, etc. But this grouping around the chief is quite artificial, and the flocks which the people own are not with them but are /222/ spread out in the mountains, kept by Imrad or servants.

361 The camp is always established rather far from the watering
312 places, for it is preferable to be closer to the pastures. It is often five or six kilometers from water. The animals go there to drink every two or three days, and the people use the occasion to get
[482 their water supply, which will be carried in waterskins on their backs
492] or under the stomach of the asses. Tuareg, moreover, do not like
361 to settle near a watering place, for it is always a stopping point for
609 transients, and they avoid making their presence known to strangers.

361 When a state of war existed, concealment was a capital necessity
609 easy to understand. By atavism, it seems that they have taken the
[72] habit of always placing themselves in spots where they escape the
investigation of indiscreet glances.

361 They set up their tents on valley terraces, and sometimes in a
[132] valley itself, if they do not have to fear the rains, which usually fall
at the end of the summer.

221 Because of the need to seek out pastures, camps are continually
361 being moved. They stay from one to two weeks, depending on
whether the grass has been revived by rains or whether it is dry. But
these moves are never of any great distance, not exceeding seven
or eight kilometers. If we take as an example the Dag Rali tribe
which nomadizes in the western part of Koudia, we find the camps
set up in the high mountain valleys, as high as 2,400 meters
altitude, in summer. In winter, on the other hand, they settle on
the slopes or in the low parts, seeking places sheltered from the wind.
This, of course, is in a normal period of average pasture. But
during the summer of 1940, following a long dry period, the Upper
Koudia saw a great number of its watering places dry up, and
vegetation was nonexistent, so to speak. Therefore, all the nomads
took refuge in the low parts of the massif, in the Outoul, Eferer,
and I-n-Amegel valleys where water was more abundant and where
a trace of pasture still remained. At the beginning of September,
the whole massif benefited from abundant rains. A week later, all
the tents moved into the mountains in order to use the alpine pastures
before winter and to save the lower valley grass for winter.

● 312 /223/ The watering places of Atakor are chiefly natural reser-
voirs (aguelmam) and springs flowing at ground level in the hollows
of the valleys. In the middle part, there are mainly rédir (abankor),
or little wells, dug less than one meter down in the soil to reach
the water layer, which is often retained by rocky sills. These
rédir are exhausted in time if rains do not come to renew the water
accumulated in the sandy wadi bed. The lower part of the Ahaggar
benefits from all the water trickling down from the high mountains

312 and from all the subterranean flows; thus it is richer in watering places. There are rédir, or wells, varying from 5 to 10 meters in depth.

342 The tent. -- This kind of habitation is found from the western Asian steppes to the Atlantic, where nomads have generally adopted the camel's-hair tent. Tuareg, who do not own any camels with long hair, use skins.

The tent is composed of a large awning formed by assembling [281] 30 to 40 wild-sheep or goat hides, with the hair removed and tanned. Because of the scarcity of wild-sheep skins, goatskin and even cow-[184] hide are gradually being substituted for them. Cowhide is used exclusively by the Ioullimmiden Tuareg. The awning is held up by a frame of arches or poles. The Kel Ahaggar, moreover, have two kinds of tents: one with vertical supports and one with arches. The former is more widespread at the present time. It includes a central pole with a wooden ridge tile and six secondary poles placed in a circle. The highest part of the awning is about 1.5 meters from the ground. The edges of the skin hang down almost level with the ground where they are attached by small pegs in order to keep out the sandstorms which are very common in spring and summer, and keep out the winter cold.

The ridge tile on a central pole is especially used in summer when rains are feared, for it gives the proper slope to the awning so that water can flow off. In other seasons this ridge tile is replaced by two poles supporting a crosspiece.

Although one cannot stand inside, the Tuareg tent is spacious 323 enough. The poles are in tamarisk wood, with coarse sculpture, 531] pyrography, and paintings on the upper part. /224/ This type of tent is used by the Kel Rela, the Dǎg Râli, and most of the Kel Ahaggar.

[184] The other model is now used only among the Ǎgouh-en-Tĕhlé. It appears that the Kel Ǎhnet and the Kel In Rhar may still use it, too. The center stake of the type described above is replaced by one or two arches made of éthel /atle? Ed./ roots joined by a

177 marabouts from the Touat who brought with them the system of
241 irrigation by foggara. The Tuareg later grasped the advantage they could gain from multiplying these centers, and so, at the moment of the French occupation, more than forty centers were being exploited.

423 The enjoyment of land appertains to the people who first culti-
241 vated it. Land of itself appertains to the amenokal, but he leases it out and in return levies an annual tax -- mesk -- on the harvest, in
[427 the amount of four guessa of wheat, or about 10 kilograms per garden.
651] The land may thus have as proprietors Imochar or Imrad, indeed Enaden, but Iklan may not hold gardens.

Gardens are not cultivated by their proprietors but by Negro
241 tenant farmers, natives of the Touat or Tidikelt, who are called
427 harratin (singular hartani). An arrangement is worked out between them and the proprietors on the following terms: the proprietor furnishes the hartani two loads of millet a year for his sustenance,
[312] seeds, a hoe, and then pays for digging /245/ the wells of the foggara. Once the foggara has been dug, the hartani is responsible for keeping it up. He sows, waters, harvests, threshes the grain, and keeps one-fifth of the harvest. Furthermore, he has the right to sow on his own account in the irrigation canals and to cultivate several beds of vegetables.

[311] Centers of cultivation are set up on the terraces of valleys when
312 they are wide enough and have old alluvial deposits. The feggaguir
[241] /plural of foggara -- translator/ of the Ahaggar have nothing in common with those of the Tidikelt or those in the Saoura oasis, which pipe water to the gardens from great distances, from the geological faults where it is retained. In the Ahaggar rain water collects in the wadi beds and is stored under the sand. The feggaguir are therefore dug in the wadi bed and seek water at distances varying from one to seven kilometers. The wadi presents a certain slope, and it is necessary to bring the water gradually to the same level or to a level slightly higher than that of the gardens. The feggaguir

include a first subterranean part made of numerous wells of depths varying from two to four meters, linked together by a small canal serving as a water conductor; then comes a part on top of the ground in the form of a canal, first at the same level as the wadi, then at a slightly higher level. They empty into the distribution reservoirs (majem), which by secondary canals (seguia) carry water to the gardens to be irrigated.

These agricultural centers therefore extend along the wadi on both sides of its banks. The cultivators settle near their gardens and live in straw or reed huts or little clay houses.

There are five centers in the high mountains between 1, 500 and 1, 800 meters in altitude, but the majority are located between 1, 200 and 1, 500 meters. Some of them can be lower, such as Silet (730 meters) and I-n-Amegel (1, 030 meters).

Some are small date groves such as Silet and Tibeghîn, which have 10, 000 palm trees, Ideles, Tâhârt, and Ăbalessa, but because of its altitude, the Ahaggar does not seem to be very suitable for date growing. The instability of the harratin is also an obstacle to the development of arboriculture which demands continual care. Cultivators who can be here today and gone tomorrow would not be capable of interesting themselves in work from which they could not draw immediate profit. The country would lend itself, however, to rather large-scale cultivation of peaches, /246/ apricots, figs, and grapes. The little center of Tăzerouk has many peach trees, and the center at Tit produces a famous raisin.

The Ahaggar soil is of a high quality, owing part of its richness to elements of volcanic origin which make up a large proportion of the alluvial deposits. Furthermore, the climate favors agriculture so much that the natives obtain two or even three harvests a year.

In the medium altitude centers, they sow wheat and barley in December and harvest it in May. Barely finished with this, they sow millet which is harvested at the beginning of October. In between the natives also engage in kitchen gardening: carrots,

241 turnips, onions, garlic, pimento, beans, pumpkins, native melons, watermelons, various gourds of local origin, and sometimes lentils. [422] These vegetables belong properly to the cultivator and not to the [262] proprietor of the garden. They are consumed by him, for the Tuareg generally disdain them and eat them only when they are staying in the agricultural centers.

But these centers may be handicapped by numerous climatic 132 factors.

Rains are obviously beneficial when they come at the right 241 312 time; unfortunately, they most often fall in winter or in summer, seasons which do not correspond to the largest growth of vegetation. The plants benefit from them only when the rains are very abundant and the ground can store up water for several months. But still, rainfall must not be too strong, or else it can cause the wadies to overflow and immediately destroy the feggaguir. It then requires several months to reconstruct them and in the meantime the crops which cannot be irrigated dry up on the spot and are completely lost.

Cold can also have a disastrous effect. Winter wheat does not 132 suffer from it but its development is slowed up. It is much worse 241 for arboriculture, for if it is late and comes after the trees have blossomed, which sometimes occurs in January, it is likely to stop pollination completely. Fortunately, trees in arboricultural centers like Tazerouk bloom much later and there are only sudden frosts to fear.

/247/ The wind which blows violently in the spring may also hinder arboriculture by knocking down flowers or young fruits, indeed even fruits which are almost ripe. The great hot summer winds endanger the harvest by the intense drying they cause, unless this difficulty is overcome by abundant watering. Now, it is precisely at this time that the flow of the feggaguir decreases as a result of the heating of the soil and the intense evaporation.

It may thus be seen that agriculture in the Ahaggar is subject to many risks and that the harvests may be very variable. The abundance or scarcity of water causes the seeded areas to vary in

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| | 1911 | 1938 |
|---|---|---|
| T-i-n-Ămenser . . . . . | 36 | temporarily abandoned |
| Tifert . . . . . | 50 | " " |
| Essélésékin . . . . . | 30 | |
| T-i-n-Târâbin . . . . . | 15 | abandoned |

166 These figures bring out the weakening of some centers to the
621 advantage of others. Thus, a number of cultivators from
[648] Tarahouhaout (where the French post was formerly located) came to settle at Tamanrasset, and the group of little centers in the outskirts of Ăbalessa, Iglen, Tăfarit, etc., has absorbed the groups from other abandoned centers like Tifert, Essélésékin, Ilâman, Tarahananet, etc.

[241 Together these centers number about 400 gardens and 80
●312] feggaguir.

262 The wheat harvested is partly consumed by the cultivators and
439 chiefly intended for export; it is exchanged at the Touat for dates.
433 The total harvests in the Ahaggar corresponds to only one -fifth of the needs of its inhabitants, even in good years.

621 There are fifteen agricultural centers exploited in the Ahaggar:
433 Tamanrasset, Tărhaouahout, Tahifet, Tăzerouk, Ideles, Ăbalessa, Hirhafok, Iglen, I-n-Amegel, T-i-n-Ămenser, Amsel, Tigeneouin, Talan-Tedit, Mertoûtek, and Esseléséкine.

[166] In addition there are twenty-two other centers which have been abandoned for some years as a result of dryness or lack of manpower: Aïtoklane, Ădenek, Ămrah, Ăbezou, Ăglil, Bloûmet, Déhine, Dar Mouli, Ennedid, Innezal, Ilâman, In Ămertek, Ilafok, Outoul, Ouhet, Souaïka, T-i-n-Târabin, Touakin, Teberbert, Tarahananet, Tahart, and Joraf.

232 of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks
[272] exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their
family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is
[438] consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes
233 excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled,
[234] and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and
[252 262] sometimes tents.

237 The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do
not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting
[232] them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact num-
ber of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon
[422] them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The
young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them,
and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used.
137 These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg,
have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier
cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass
hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal
had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is
[172] nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the
rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia
where they are called "onager."

233 The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible
[174] that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihaggaren have
kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had
[173] only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage,
442 and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also
[312] take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the
[357] heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

262 237 The ass is never eaten, and its skin is not used.

The horse. -- The horse is not a Saharian animal. In 1929 233 there were four horses in the Ahaggar belonging to the amenokal. [643 Today there are about twenty of them belonging to the members of 644] his family or to the notables of his camp.

This is an expensive luxury, for these animals must be fed with [184 barley, and there is not enough barley for the people themselves. 262] It tends to replace the camel for the Sudanese Tuareg.

/254/ The zebu. -- A few years ago the amenokal owned a [648] small herd of zebus which he had had sent from the Sudan. This [137] animal is not raised in the Ahaggar proper, and it could not be, for lack of appropriate pasture.

[312] The zebus serve in the agricultural centers by drawing water. They are furnished to the tenant farmer by the proprietor of the land, [427] and they are very poorly fed on hardship rations of hay and grass, or else they are put in rush pastures, which are generally plentiful in the agricultural centers.

[438] When the animal is tired, the owner exchanges him if that is at all possible. The privations which the zebus must undergo bring about their death in a relatively short span of time, and so in the Ahaggar it is a question of keeping them alive rather than raising them. In any case, they never follow the camps in their moves and never live near them.

361 136 When we talked about the camp, we told how the search for pasture directed its location.

233 361 Insofar as animal husbandry properly speaking is concerned, we observe that the small animals -- sheep, goats, and asses -- always stay in the Ahaggar and move with the camp.

As for camels, this is not the case; they are often put out to pasture far from the tents, watched only by a few shepherds. The majority are even kept in the Sudan 800 kilometers from their owners'

Plate XVI

326

Settled in improvised camps, blacksmiths work in the open air making weapons and utensils needed by the Tuareg.

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The Imrad women are in charge of taking the flocks to pasture and water. Every two or three days they go to the wells, drawing water for the goats, who drink out of wooden bowls or out of skins used as containers by placing them on mounds of sand in the shape of a basin. They fill the waterskins which will be transported to the camp by asses.

487 the oases of the Tidikelt and Touat which have none. Thanks to
[439] the wells of T-i-m-missao and In Ziza, the sheep succeed in crossing the Tanezrouft without too much suffering.

484 This trace movement is evidently engaged in only during
221 the coolest months of the year, that is, from October to April, and it demands great precautions from the caravaneers.

312 Here is a list of the wells, starting from Timelaouine (Ădrar
484 des Iforas), where the animals are watered, as well as the number
487 of days of march between them, according to the information furnished us by El Bak el Fassi, the Amrar of the Kel Ăhnet.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Timelaouine (well, watering place) | | |
| I-n-Gezzal | 1 day | Ădrar des Iforas |
| Efenargh | 1 " | |
| In Ouzzal | 1 1/2 days | |
| Tirek | 3 " | Tanezrouft |
| Ti-m-missao | 2 " | |
| Tin Senatet | 5 " | |
| In Torha | 1/2 day | |
| Aleg'nenou | 5 days | Ăhnet |
| Tin Khalifa | 2 " | |
| In Belret | 1 day | |
| El Khenig | 1 1/2 days | Immidir |
| In-Salah | 3 " | Tidikelt |

Or 26 1/2 days' march.

484 /313/ Depending on whether pasture is more or less abundant,
439 caravaneers suffer more or less losses in their flocks. Sometimes this loss is complete, sometimes it is none at all.

We saw a Kel Ăhnet make the trip at the end of the month of April, a period which is not favorable, with 35 sheep and not have to kill more than one of them on the way.

487 When one speaks of a caravan trail, one must banish the idea of a route more or less arranged to facilitate traffic. The Saharian trails are simply marked on the ground by the tracks which the camels make, passing there in the same place for centuries. In the Ahaggar they look like a long, light ribbon running through the middle of the black rocks. The trail may be made up of two, three, or six ribbons which run parallel to each other, depending on its importance and the lay of the land.

Trails always follow the sides of valleys, naturally linking one well to the other and passing from one valley to another through the most accessible passes. They are never marked out. Of course in some places there are a few redjem, a kind of pile of pebbles to mark the passes or the nearness of certain wells, but these are rare and on the whole recently constructed, for the Ihaggaren have always strived to hide the routes through their country from strangers.

In sandy places and in regolith terrain where the ground is always more or less transformed by the action of the wind, the trail often becomes invisible, and the caravan must then trust to the knowledge of a guide or a man who has already traveled over the road several times and knows it.

Secondary trails. -- There are within the Ahaggar numerous secondary trails which are used for local needs. They all go from one well to another. All the agricultural centers are connected by a network of well-marked trails which are easy to follow without any great knowledge of the country. There are also pasture trails, little routes marked by the repeated trampling of goats going from one valley to the other and winding around the mountains; the animals follow them every day. This network is unbelievably extensive, and one might say that every mountain and every plateau is furrowed by several of these little paths. /314/ They are to be found in the most inaccessible and barest places, which shows that the Ahaggar used to be traversed in all directions,

439 These transactions are chiefly centered around tea, sugar, cloth, perfumes, hardware, carbide, and blankets from the Touat. They cause quite an appreciable movement of camels from which the Ihaggaren benefit, along with the Arabs from In-Salah who rent their camels to traders.

Transport. -- We need not repeat that without the camel the 492 Sahara would be uninhabited today. Indeed, it plays a capital role in transport between oases; it is the mount used by warriors and people who are moving and the vehicle for baggage. People would not be able to do without its services the moment it is a question of crossing a hundred or so kilometers in a region not supplied with watering places.

The ass also plays a big role, but its use is more localized. It is confined to the edges of the massif, where it is rare not to [312] find water during a day's march. The ass really assures all internal transport -- that necessitated by moving camps, transport of water [565] and even of persons -- for although the Imochar never travel except on camels, the Imrad /318/ commonly make use of the ass, and their wives know no other mounts. Its role is even more appreciated because it saves camels which, in the Ahaggar, must be submitted /only/ to moderate labor. In addition, it is always handy, for it lives near the camps while camels are often several days' march away because of pasture needs.

Meharists have a special harness: light saddles which are placed on the animal's withers and which are designed to receive the different bags of salt and waterskins.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have several kinds of saddles: 1) the tarik, with the pommel in the shape of a cross and covered with [241] red leather; 2) the tamzak, shaped the same way, but much more [531] luxurious, with the outside of the pommel and the back decorated with little perforated metal plates and copper studs; 3) the tahiast, [531] a coarse saddle with a palette-shaped pommel, either in bare wood [322] or covered with leather decorated with geometric designs.

492 adopted by all the Tuareg of the Adrar des Iforas, which the
171 Chaamba Arabs also use, and which is derived from the saddle of the Moors of the western Sahara.

492 Ahaggar noblewomen, who travel only on meharis, have
[565] special saddles resembling the basour of the Arabs but without the arch covered in cloth. These saddles are called akhaoui; they
[322] are made /319/ of wood and ornamented with large pommels in front and small plaques trimmed with copper nailheads on the side.
[531] For long moves these saddles can be provided with a wicker cage covered with cloth, but this is not a common practice.

Saddles hold leather bags which contain either a change of
[415] clothes or food reserves as well as the waterskins constituting the necessary provision for crossing regions without wells.

For transport, camels are provided with a special packsaddle made of palm fibers which literally crowns their backbone. Most of these packsaddles are made in the Tidikelt. For caravans which last a long time the animals are loaded with about 100 kilograms, plus the waterskins that are generally added to the baggage. The servants, who accompany the animals and do not have personal mounts at their disposal, /320/ ride on top as excess weight and make the whole trip under these conditions.

[481] The Tuareg are very poor walkers and cannot conceive of a person's going on foot, even to spare the mount for a few kilometers.

Asses, which as we have said are used for transport within the massif, are provided with a little packsaddle serving as a saddle at the same time. When camp is moved, they are loaded with the tent, tent stakes, and bags containing food reserves. They also
[312] assure the carrying of water from the well to camp.

484 When an Amrid travels alone on a voyage, he takes an ass to
492 carry his water, his small baggage, and his blanket. Pushing the
[481] ass before him, he walks behind carrying his lance over his shoulders. He mounts on it only during the hot hours of the day.

233 across much of the land and concentrated along dry river bottoms, and the small patches [137] of thick, lush, emerald green grass that flourish briefly in hollows here and there following rainstorms. Pasturage is always either very sparse or very scattered in the Ahaggar and so the nomadic inhabitants of the area must move often, for the supply in the immediate neighborhood of a camp is quickly exhausted. [312] To make life still more difficult, water points are often few and far between as we already know, and it is not unusual to find good pasturage so far from any water that it cannot be used for more than a day or two, if at all. This combination of circumstances has 233 made it necessary for the Ahaggar Tuareg 221 to break up into small and highly mobile camp units composed of fractions of clans, or even single families, and each of these units must move at intervals of usually somewhere between a week and a month and often over considerable distances, although always within the territorial limits of the tribe (fig. 36).

As soon as a camp or constellation of neighboring camps is established in a new location, the head men first set up the daily grazing routine of the flocks and then set out at once to scout far and wide in search of the next pasture to be used and the next camp sites that their families will occupy. And so it goes the year around, and so the Tuareg of the Ahaggar are highly mobile nomads by force of circumstances, for they cannot survive otherwise in the region which they have made their own.

565 It is in the compelling circumstances of their environment that we find the roots of 233 the class system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, for, 463 quite apart from the question of mobility, such conditions can be met successfully only 182 by a well conceived and firmly established division of labor. In the Ahaggar it is the nobles of a tribe and the headmen of the vassal clans who ride out in search of new pastures and at the same time act as military scouts, always on the watch for enemy raiders as

[423] *The fundamental difference between the two systems lies in the fact that the basis of land tenure among the Tuareg is not that of the *beneficium* while personal allegiance is not based on the concept of the *comitatus*. The true feudal system of mediæval Europe was based on the conferring of privilege by an absolute ruler (or one of his vassals) on a less

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 228]
[Pp. 222-227 not processed]



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a

b

Fig. 13. Waterholes in the Ahaggar. (Photographs by A. J. Weber.)

The donkey carries the waterskins from the well to the [312] tent, and on its back is placed a packsaddle made of curved 492 pieces of wood bound together, which is called "eroukou."

Let us not forget the Tuareg's saddle, "terik," and if the master of the tent is well-to-do, his wife's saddle, "tekhaouit." /28/

The tent is divided in two: one side for the man and 342 the other for the woman. On the man's side are his saddle, 592 his arms, and the things used for eating. On the woman's side are her saddle, her "amz'ad," and the cooking utensils.

Custom decrees that the man choose the east part for his side, and the woman the west part.

A group of tents is called "amezar'" [illegible] , and [192] a single tent "ehan" [illegible] , plural "ehanan" [illegible] .

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Dautheville

Tent of a Tedjehe-Mellet
at Amra (Black Tifedest)

## Chapter XV

## Food

The main meal takes place at noon and is called 264 "tarout" [illegible] . In the evening the Tuareg is

4: Benhazera--29 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The negroes and negresses are well treated by the Tuareg, 563
who do not impose hard labor upon them. The negroes are pri- 567
marily busy with the flocks, which they drive to pasture and water. [233]
The negresses are concerned with the kitchen; they go after [357]
water and take care of the children.

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Tuareg Watering their Sheep at the Tin Zaouaten Well

Negroes and negresses also gather the harvest of "toulloult" and "afezzou" grains, but this is more fun than work, for everyone takes part in it with them, in gay groups.

Many negroes eventually become the trusted men of their masters, who put them in charge of caravans or even of responsible missions. Thus, the amenokal Moussa had a trusted negro, Chernach, whom he regarded highly, for, he said, "I know that this man would have himself killed for me." Moreover, he gave him a gun, a spear, and a saber. /33/ These negroes are very happy and can consider themselves as freed.

4: Benhazera--56a G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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A'in Redjem in the Botha Wadi
(Immidir)

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Tuareg Watering Their Sheep at the Tin-Zaouaten Well

They use camel hair to make rope. They are fond of 237 283 camel meat, and it is they who supply the markets of the 262 439 Tidikelt with it.

There are very few cattle in the Ahaggar, barely thirty, 233 and almost all these belong to Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane, 492 of Tazerouk. They are used to draw water from the wells [312] into the ar'erems. The pasture is scanty, and besides the cattle easily wear out their hooves on the rocks and stones.

In the Koudia, because of the cold which prevails there 233 and the high altitude, there are many small turrets of dry 343 stones, /65/ empty inside, in which the Tuareg confine lambs and kids at night to shelter them from the cold.

The Ahaggar do not have a large number of meharis, and 233 they do not like to sell them, especially the good ones. Among [435] themselves, to set the value of a mehari, they say, "Such a mehari is worth two, three, or four camels." All their meharis are trained to start at a gallop. The Tuareg has great patience with the training of his mehari and never mistreats it. He confines himself to persuading it by voice and foot, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Tuareg mehari is much more silent than the Arab mehari.

The foundation of the pastures of the Ahaggar is aremmas 137 (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae). This plant is quite laxative. 233 So when the year is bad and drought prevails, the Ahaggar are found emigrating toward the Adhar'. There are fine pastures of "had" (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolaceae) in the south of Tin R'arhou, but there is no water. Moussa ag Amastane /66/ [312 intends to have wells dug there and has requested our help and 648] advice for this purpose.

As a rule the Tuareg let their camels out to pasture with- 233 out herders, and they find them again at the well or by tracking, unless they entrust the herding to children or negroes.

/67/ A young camel is called "abal" without designating 192 its age. A camel in general is called "amadjour," plural 233 "imoudjar," or else "amiss," plural "imnass." A female is

4: Benhazera--57b G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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Tuareg Watering Their Sheep at the Tin-Zaouten Well

[192]

| Names of Camels in Tamashek (according to their age) | Names of Camels in Arabic (in the Tidikelt) |
|---|---|
| 1st year: *Aouara.* | 1 to 6 months: *H'ouar.* |
| | 6 mos. to 1 year: *Mekhloul.* |
| 2nd year: *Aledjoudh.* | 2 yrs.: *Ould ibxoun.* |
| 3rd year: *Aleggue.* | 3 yrs.: *H'eugg.* |
| 4th year: *Aqnefoud.* | 4 yrs.: *Djedad.* |
| 5th year: *H'air.* | 5 yrs.: *Teni* |
| 6th year: *Eg essine.* | 6 yrs.: *Rebaá.* |
| 7th year: *Eg okkoz.* | 7 yrs.: *Sedass.* |
| 8th year: *Amessedis.* | 8 yrs.: *Bou fettra.* |
| 9th year: *Tahellat.* | 9 yrs.: *Bou fettertine.* |

Many legends circulate about blacksmiths. They say that 326
because they work with iron and fire, they will go into the fire 565
of hell. They are scorned, first because they devote themselves to a manual craft, a disgrace in the eyes of a Tuareg, and secondly because it is said that they are of Negro origin. It is also claimed that they were pagans and that their conversion to Islamism is not sincere. They are also taken for sorcerers. [754]
The sheik Ben Djellas (see the Appendix /not translated/) says of them: "Blacksmiths hate God and his Prophet, and they betray God and his Prophet." Their ancestor was called Tamamenet.

The blacksmith does not belong to any tribe. He goes where he pleases, wherever he finds work. Sometimes he goes to war, and he is said to fight well, but a noble Tuareg will not cross swords with him.

In the Ahaggar a blacksmith is called "mr'allem," variation 326
of the Arab "maalem." However, there is a word in Tamashek [192]
for him, "inedh," plural "inedhane," but it is not used. /73/

At Tamanrasset I was shown many ancient graves (of the [764]
"chouchat" shape) which, it seems, were the burial places of a tribe of blacksmiths said to have been massacred and died of starvation a very long time ago.

The gardens of the Ahaggar "ar'erems" are worked by the 241
Harratine of the Touat and the Tidilkelt, who bring their tools 312
with them. It is they also who dig the "foggaras," or covered 565
wells, and all the tools that they use come from the Saharan Oases.

## Chapter XII

## Agriculture. Ar'erems

While in all of the Ahnet no trace of agriculture is to be 241
found, however small, because of the scarcity of wells, whose 361
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output is only enough to water the flocks, in the Ahaggar, on the contrary, a mountainous country where there is some water everywhere, a number of small villages called "ar'erem" ⵄⵔⵔⵎ, plural "ir'ermane" ⵉⵄⵔⵔⵎⵏ, have been built.

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Since the Tuareg, nobles or imr'ad, dislike all manual work, these villages could not have been built without the indispensible help of the Harratine of the Touat and the Tidikelt, whom the Tuareg call "Izeggar'en" ⵉⵣⵖⵔⵖⵏ, meaning "mulattoes." Everything was made by the latter: the wells, /74/ "tounine," which are used for irrigation, as at Tazerouk; the "foggaras," or covered wells, "ifelane," and their irrigation canals as at Abalessa, Tit, and Tamanrasset; the fitting up of springs, as at Tadjemout. The Harratine made the gardens and became khammes of the Tuareg, landowners. They settled in these villages and there built huts of "diss" (Imperata cylindrica) or of "berdi" (Typha angustifolia) and little houses of baked earth.

[342
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The Harratine grow wheat, barley, and bechna in these gardens. These are the three essential crops, to which they add some vegetables: onions, kabouyas, or gourds, watermelons, and "guerroum" (a kind of long melon which is eaten green, like a cucumber, before it is ripe). Finally, at Tit they /75/ have planted some fine fig trees and a vine which yields a grape that seems delicious at this latitude. Similarly, at Abalessa, there are some vine slips and a fine palm.

Ideles (Koudia)

The gardens, or rather the fields, are enclosed by a hedge to prevent the depredations of the camels that graze free at night. But there are some that do not have this protective barrier, and the Harratine are forced to stand guard at night, turn, and turn about, lighting fires to drive the camels away from the crops.

241 Usually, there are six khammès per field, and each of
312 them has a right to water for one night and one day. The water, brought from the foggara, spreads into the "madjens," or reservoirs, as on the oases, there to be divided among the gardens by means of saguias, or irrigation canals.

[764]

Herhafok Region

In the Left Foreground an Ancient
Grave in the Chouchat Form
(Koudia)

241 The khammès receives as his pay:

1. A fifth of the crop
2. The barley which he sowed in the irrigation canals
3. A load of wheat in winter and a half load in summer, for his personal consumption.

245 In the Ahaggar there are also small oases of palms which were planted by no one knows whom, for example, at Tibedjehine and at Silet (Ahaggar), at Djor'raf, Tafarakrak, and Teguift (Immidir). The Tuareg who own them leave them
[423] untended and are satisfied to go and gather the dates when they choose. These palms, which get no care, also have a great mass of dry djerids hanging to the ground, which makes it very difficult to climb them. Perhaps this is to prevent theft of the dates? /76/

From the fact that these palms, even though not cared for, produce dates which, if not of good quality, are still quite

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



paratively rich vegetation of Air contains species found also in Ahaggar, but Ahaggar has Mediterranean plants including several saline species which do not thrive in Air, where there are tropical or Sudanese species unknown to Ahaggar. 137

Botanically Air is very closely connected with the Sudan, and the mountain massif is within the Sudanese zone of summer rain. It is true that rain at the northern outskirts of Air occasionally falls in winter and may then give rise to scattered pasture of annual plants, but these rains are of no real importance. The important rainfalls of Air occur in the period June–September, and particularly in July and August. As may be gathered from the description of botanical conditions, Air has a much bigger annual precipitation than has Ahaggar. Thus the village of Iferouan in Northern Air has 74 mm, while Agadez at the southern slopes of the massif has 179 mm. Precipitation will of course vary from one year to the other, but rain will always fall sufficiently for the spring of annual plants. This is the reason for a type of stock-breeding different from that of Ahaggar. In Air the Tuareg are richer in camels, they do not possess so many goats but are very rich in sheep, and most of them have zebus. 132 137 [233]

The climatic and botanical differences of Air and Ahaggar can be seen more directly from the division of the year into seasons (fig. 2). Air has a summer and a winter season between which there are two seasons termed *akasa* and *farat*. These two words as seasonal terms express the fact that rain and annual pastures in Air are recurrent events, as the word *akasa* literally means "green annual plants", and the word *farat* refers to "dry annual plants". Both words are known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg but are by them not applied as seasonal terms, for in their country rain will not occur every year and may fall at most seasons. 132 805

Conditions for stock-breeding are very much better in Air than in Ahaggar, but the latter country has a few superior qualities:– 1) Part of the year Ahaggar has a comparatively cool climate which is said to have a positive influence on the lactation of domestic animals. 2) In Ahaggar all over the country there are saline pastures which play an important part in stock-breeding – not because these plants are very nourishing but the animals do not thrive without salt. In Air saline plants are very rare and found mainly to the south and south-west of the massif where water and soil also contain salt. Many pastoralists will migrate to these regions shortly after the rains, while people who do not undertake such migrations feed their domestic animals with salt. Camels and cows have a particular need for fodder with a salt content. 3) Ahaggar has richer wells and a greater number of permanent ponds than Air. This may seem rather peculiar as precipitation is much bigger in the south than in the north. In Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer some ponds may contain fish, apparently unknown in Air. In the latter country there are a great many ponds or even small lakes during the rains but they dry out very quickly when rainfall ceases. Water in Air most of the year is drawn from wells many of which go dry during the hot season; this will frequently lead to quarrels between nomads. 233 [132] [135] [137] [221] 312 [136] [578]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



262 Even when grazing is good stock-breeding products are less important for food
In Ahaggar than in Air as is illustrated in fig. 3 depicting the relative importance
[222] of milk food and vegetable food. A small part of the vegetable food is provided by collecting seeds of grasses and herbs, while roots, stems, and berries of wild plants are less significant. The bulk of Tuareg plant food consists of millet, barley, wheat,
[241] and dates. In Ahaggar many Tuareg have gardens with wheat and barley cultivated
[563] for them by black-skinned agriculturists generally known by the Arab word *Haratin* (*Izzegaren* to the Tuareg). But most Ahaggar Tuareg acquire the bulk of
438 their plant food from caravan trading with the oases of Tidikelt (dates) and with
262 Sudanese villages as far south as Zinder (millet). Even in years of drought they can obtain millet from the Sudan in exchange for rock-salt broken at Amadror north-east of Ahaggar. In Air caravan trading with salt seems less necessary to Tuareg subsistence, although there are also in this country Tuareg who trade with salt from Amadror or Bilma. Most pastoral households however have a fairly regular
[234] surplus of livestock, butter, and cheese which can provide for the necessary amount
[563] of millet bought in Agadez or south of the massif in Damergou. There are also
241 in Air a great many negroid agriculturists from whom pastoral Tuareg can buy
262 vegetable products. But millet, which forms the prominent part of Tuareg plant
[438] food, is grown to a very slight extent by the agriculturists of Air. Dates are important in particular to the Ahaggar Tuareg who acquire large quantities from the oases of Tidikelt. There are also a few Ahaggar clans the members of which own half-wild palms with dates of an inferior quality, as there are Tuareg who have a few palms growing in their garden plots. In Air dates are not so important for food but even there pastoral Tuareg may have some palms. Among the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer it is very common for pastoralists to sow wheat and barley in the river valleys when these have been heavily flooded (Nicolaisen 1954, p. 83, 88), and this primitive agricultural method was apparently known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg in the past (Duveyrier 1864, p. 372). More recently many pastoral Tuareg
[312] of Ahaggar and Air have taken up agriculture by means of irrigation. There seems
[321] to be a tendency towards semi-nomadism among the Tuareg who are very dependent on vegetable food derived from agriculture.

### *The Negroes Of The Sahara.*

136 In the above section on Tuareg ecology it is stated that Air climatically and botanically is closely linked with the Sudan. This is true also zoologically as the Air fauna contains a great many species of birds and mammals characteristic of tropical Africa. The bird life of Air seems very akin to that of the Sudanese savannah, and, for instance, guinea fowls are extremely common even in valleys of the northernmost parts of the massif. As examples of tropical mammal life in Air we may here mention that the wart-hog lives in Central Air, and that oryx antelopes

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 76]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



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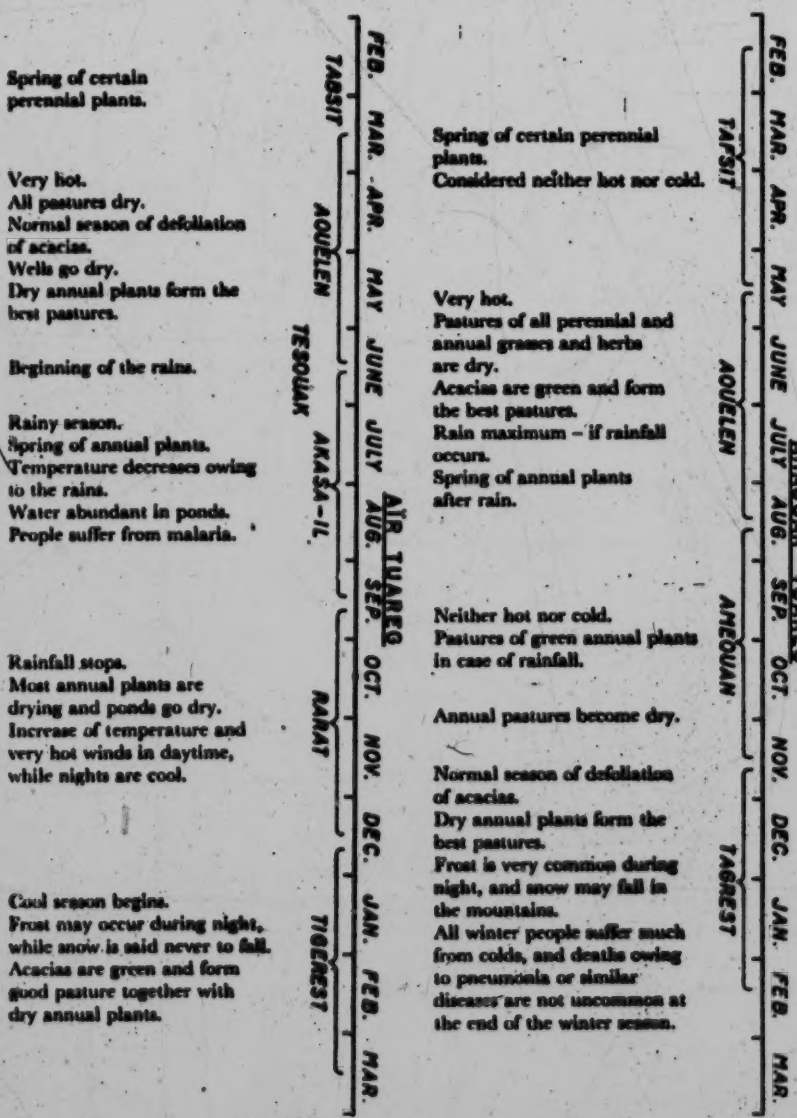


[164]
[164]

Fig. 2.–Division of the year into seasons among the Tuareg of Air and Ahaggar. Climatic and botanical characteristics are indicated. (The proper spelling of *tagrest* (tigerest) is *tagrest*, (tigerest) while *rarat* should be written *parat*).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tarahamt)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of weels *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters.

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 138ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



563 601 akin to the system in use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (fig. 8 9).

563 342 The material culture of the Air negroes is marked by both northern and southern traits. The most common type of dwelling is a beehive hut *(tatramt)*, which I have also seen south of Air in the savannah, while similar huts are unknown to the north in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. The huts are often placed within round enclosures which are possibly of Sudanese origin (cf. fig. 15). There are however other types of dwellings in the Air villages. Very common is a square straw hut *(techira)* with a slightly elevated saddle-roof. It is built by the men while the beehive hut is made by women, and both types are frequently used by one and the same household. This square hut differs constructionally from the straw huts used among settled agriculturists in the north. Also rather common is a barrel-vaulted hut *(ehen)* covered with mats (fig. 14). It has the same name and is of much the same construction as the movable huts or tents used by most pastoral Air Tuareg (fig. 5 & 13). It is built by women and seems to have been introduced by pastoral [462] women married to settled agriculturists. Finally there is in some villages a rectangular house *(tarachamt)* with a flat roof. It has very solid walls generally built from stones inserted in and covered with mud. It has various sub-types more elaborately described by Rodd, who considers these houses to be of northern origin (Rodd 1926a, p. 240ff.). They have most probably been introduced from Tassili-n-Ajjer 177 312 or the Fezzan from which regions came also the irrigation system now forming the basis of agriculture all over Air, namely the drawing of water from shallow wells *(anou)* by means of zebus. This system is extremely common in the Fezzan and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where, as mentioned, it was introduced also to Ahaggar. It is not known when it came to Air, but in many villages it has been adopted only very recently. Not so many years ago water for irrigation in most villages was apparently raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight *(aroudit)* (cf. Capot-Rey 1933, p. 322), but this method has now disappeared. It can be considered the oldest irrigation machine and it is no doubt [174] of very great age in Northern Africa including the Sudan. The method however 241 involves much strenuous work and in view of this it may seem quite natural that agriculture in Air was in the past also practised as shifting cultivation without any irrigation. Rodd states that in certain areas of Air rain-grown crops could be raised most years and that in the past a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I think this is correct. Certain crops as for instance millet has a very short period of growth; in Ahaggar (Abelessa) millet is sown in June-July and harvested in September, and it is said that it is not watered very much and never to the same extent as wheat grown in winter. It would no doubt be possible to grow millet in many parts of Air without artificial irrigation during the rains, and in fact millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation. But nowadays agri-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



241 culture is never practised without irrigation. Rodd thinks that the Air agriculturists
[114] gave up shifting cultivation because they are too poor to-day to risk losing their
[174] seed in the event of inadequate or irregular rainfall (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I rather think the reasons are that the agriculturists of the massif nowadays grow very little millet and have a better irrigation system than in the past. In summer maize forms by far the most important crop, and it needs irrigation which is comparatively easy when using zebus for drawing water. However this may be we can assume that a type of agriculture related to Sudanese shifting cultivation was formerly important to the Air agriculturists, and although irrigation is nowadays used everywhere agriculture in certain places of Air is still a kind of shifting cultivation. Many agriculturists do not resort to manuring nor do they carry fresh soil to the gardens as in Ahaggar. With crop rotation they utilize one and the same plot for a few years but then have to cut trees and brush-wood somewhere else to make a new
[312] garden. A new well must then also be dug, but as irrigation wells are rather shallow this work is comparatively easy.

171 There are in Air certain agricultural implements related to those of Sudanese
412 farming cultures. We must mention in particular a small hoe hafted by means of a thong *(tagoumit)*. It is unknown both in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer as well as further north in the desert while extremely common among Sudanese shifting cultivators. Feilberg has classed it with the so-called Old Sudanese Culture es-
[114] tablished by Baumann (Feilberg 1934, p. 260ff. – Baumann 1940, p. 50ff.; 1944, p. 213ff.). Baumann claims that this culture did not know the sickle, considered by him an implement of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 56ff.; 1944, p. 283ff.). The sickle (Air: *elegesouar*, Ahaggar: *amreh*) is in fact unknown in many Air villages, and is according to my investigations not generally used for the harvesting of crops but for cutting annual grasses to be stored for
241 fodder. In Air the harvesting methods are as follows:– millet is cut with a knife,
171 maize is cut at the root by means of the above-mentioned hoe, while wheat and barley are pulled up with the hands. Similar harvesting methods seem to be known in the Sudan (Baumann 1944, p. 295ff.). As a Sudanese trait we can
[415] perhaps also recognize the large clay amphoræ used for the storage of cereals (Rodd 1926, p. 317. – Nicolas 1950a, p. 146).

174 We can conclude this section as follows:– While the negroes of Ahaggar ap-
144 parently have arrived in that country later than the fair-skinned Berbers the oldest
563 known population in Air were Hausa-speaking negroes subsisting predominantly as agriculturists. Their original culture apparently was closely related to that of Sudanese shifting cultivators. Contacts with the north and in particular invasions of fair-skinned Tuareg have changed their cultural position. Mixing with the Tuareg they have also changed their physical type, but they are still predominantly negroid. They have adopted a Tuareg dialect but have retained part of their old vocabulary.

132 /23 cont. / The kranka reappears, a sign of less aridity; the tahlas are fairly dense in the wadis; the gueltas /pools/ rarely dry up and are bordered with berdis /Formium tenax/. The wild sheep is a permanent resident of the summits.

There is still less information about the tassilis of the south. Facts are almost nonexistent for the Tassili n'Ahaggar. There is information given by the Tuareg about the Tassili de Tin-Reroh and the Tassili de Timissao, which are situated on caravan routes coming from the Adrar des Iforas toward the Tidikelt or the Ahaggar. They chiefly report summer rains, and rains abundant enough to engender acheb /pasturage/.

These tassilis receive little water from the "tornado tails" because of their medium altitude. However, it rains in the summer nearly every year. The wells of Tin-Reroh and Timissao are never dry. The Tin-Reroh guelts /pool/ sometimes is.

Although not a tassili, the northern border of the Adrar des Iforas has the same sort of climate. This section is of vital importance to the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, who /24/ graze their she-camels there. Summer rains occur regularly; the Sudanese monsoon causes periodic floods. The gueltas in the wadis fill up in the summer and may still have water when the next floods come. Gergir provides abundant pasturage; it lasts nearly all year. Ethel and tamarisk are dense in the wadis, and tahlas begin to grow on the hillsides. The flora of the wadis is more varied. Gazelles are plentiful; one sees Robert's does, oryx and addax antelopes. This is certainly the most favored region in the territory of the Ahaggar annex, but geographically it is already the Sudan.

## Water in the Ahaggar

133 312 [132] As in every desert region, the question of water is of primary importance. The Ahaggar is relatively favored by rains. Water points are numerous in the mountainous regions of the

133 /24 cont. / central core and of the tassilis. From this point of
312 view, then, it is easy enough to travel through those regions. But it is an entirely different story for the zone between the Atakor and the tassilis.

Wherever there is water, the landscape in the Ahaggar is transformed; an intense animal life develops; around the water points grows vegetation that seems luxuriant in contrast with the rest of the country. This thin trace of life has something touching about it, something timid and intimate in comparison with the grandiose face of the desert.

As a result of the crystalline nature of the soil, there is no artesian water table. The only hope of finding water is in the wadi beds, under the alluvial deposits, at depths varying from 20 to 15 meters. Occasionally, when the water table under the wadi is abundant, it flows out freely at a rocky shelf which forms an underground dam; such an outflow is called tiggert in Tamashek. When after a tiggert water accumulates in rock basins and the "potholes" of the rapids, there are gueltas (aguelmam in Tamashek) in which live fish and an entire aquatic fauna. As far as I know, there are only rare /25/ springs in the Ahaggar: we may cite the Chapuis spring near Tamanrasset, which flows from the granites of the Adrar Haggarène. Limestone deposits in certain wadis of the Tahalra permit the supposition that thermal springs may have existed formerly.

Nearly all the wadis originate in the central Ahaggar, the zone where the water is distributed. Two very large quaternary wadis, the Igharghar wadi and the Tamanrasset wadi, drain the waters of the west and north. The Tin-Tarabin wadi and the Tin-Amzi and Zazir wadis take the waters from the south and southeast slopes toward the Tamesnar, in the Azaouak wadi, a tributary of the Niger.

The Ahaggar wadis appear as a succession of basins descending from the summits like a giant staircase whose upper steps receive the water which sustains the only permanent vegetation of the country and which permits man to exercise his ingenuity

133 /25 cont. / in creating gardens. The lower steps, which spread out enormously, are dead to all sedentary life.

312 The Tamanrasset wadi affords a typical example of the Ahaggar wadi. Its source -- or more exactly, its head -- is at the Asekrem, nearly 2, 765 meters high; its mouth, that is to say, the last drainage basin, spreads out and loses itself in the Tanezrouft, at an altitude of 400 meters. Its present length is approximately 750 kilometers; if, in the quaternary period, the Tamanrasset wadi emptied into the Taoudéni depression, it must have measured more than 1, 400 kilometers. The descent in the upper part of its course is very steep, for at Amsel, 160 kilometers from its origin, the altitude has already dropped to 900 meters.

From its source down to Amselka, or about 200 kilometers, one may say that the Tamanrasset wadi is living: it has a distinct valley, the passage of the water is clearly marked; one sees terraces with clear-cut borders, and the valley is often cut in V shape. However, certain basins, such as the one at Tamanrasset (the village) give a preview of the large drainage zones downstream, evidence of a former, more humid epoch.

/26/ The description of this part of the wadi is merely an enumeration of the transversal valleys it cuts across; each of these has a corresponding rock shelf which is at the end of each basin.

In following the descent south of the Asekrem, one goes along a drainage trough which, after a kilometer, has already cut a ravine with sharply vertical sides from four to five meters high. The course then spreads out very wide, then comes a 20-meter fall into a basalt corrie with vertical columns reposing on the alluvial deposits; the valley continues, forming a canyon 60 meters wide and 30 meters deep. At this point the wadi takes the name "Tarhoumout"; it crosses a transversal valley after Mount Oul, the rocky shelf crops out, and abankor /water holes; are dug here.

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/26 cont. / The wadi runs toward the south, then turns eastward: there is then a series of rapids in a gorge where the permanent gueltas of Lundien are found. Then there is a new bend to the south, the valley runs along the Akarakar, narrows, and there is a new rock shelf and the guelta of Ifelouen.

The wadi leaves the Atakor in cutting a passage between the Isekram and the Ahounahampt. It empties into the site of Tamanrasset, where it widens, takes its final name, and receives its first important tributary, the Irharhar Tekecherouet, in which are found the "grand gueltas."

By the Iharen peak the rock is grooved in a corridor 15 meters deep and one or two meters wide for about 200 meters distance. Afterward the wadi is 400 meters wide. Foggaras /subterranean channels dug to tap underground water/ are dug in its bed; they irrigate the gardens of Hadriane and Tamanrasset, and of Tihegouine, a small agricultural center a kilometer downstream from Tamanrasset.

The valley soon widens but remains hemmed in, then narrows again at Tagrambalt, where a garden nourished by a foggara is found a little before an outcropping of rock. The valley then widens once more and reaches 600 meters across.

From this point on the wadi is always very wide, but it is dead. It runs toward the south, then, at the slight narrowing at Timguiaouine, it turns sharply toward the northwest. This may be a case of a former capture.

/27/ The valley becomes immense, the rock shelves are no longer perceptible; former water reaches are suspected where the wadi passes between two hills, but the course has the appearance of an absolutely flat and sterile reg, except toward the middle, where the presence of a few tufts of dried afazzou /Panicum turgidum/ shows that a modest trickle of water sometimes reaches this zone. Near a gara /butte/ encircled by pre-Islamic tombs, the Adjelman wadi meets the Tamanrasset wadi, but its waters cannot pass through because a barrier of dunes blocks its mouth. The Adjelman, which is four kilometers wide

133 /27 cont./ at this place, will have a closed basin from now on.
312 One cannot imagine a flood powerful enough to sweep away the sand-dune system which plugs the confluent.

Up to the Tassili de Timissao, the wadi appears to stretch out as far as eye can reach; it may be from 20 to 30 kilometers wide. It is a magnificent reg over which vehicles drive as if on a highway.

A few tahlas dot the course toward the center of the valley; dry stalks of gergir bear witness to a more humid time of long ago.

The confluent wadi Amded is obstructed by a large dune system; here again is a case of a large tributary having an independent basin, and its waters can no longer pass the sandy barrier which blocks their access to the Tamanrasset wadi. However, the Amded has vegetation up to its mouth during a wet year, such as 1950; at the very end of its course I have seen tufts of "had" and a few green tufts of morakba.

I have not personally followed the Tamanrasset wadi beyond Timissao; I have only the information supplied by the Tuareg, chiefly by the Kel-Ahnet.

The Ilafer wadi empties into the Tamanrasset wadi. Their junction forms an outsized flat, an immense sebkha, the final outlet for waters from such a flood as would be inconceivable in the Ahaggar at this time. Up until this point the course of the Tamanrasset wadi has been unobstructed, but, a little east of one degree longitude, it comes up against the Egtelis Erg. This is the present end of the wadi.

I have not been able to obtain any information about the extreme downstream course; it would require painstaking surveys to mark /28/ the ancient quaternary course, which is thought to have gone toward Taoudéni.

The flow of the wadi depends on the rains in the central Ahaggar, which is to say that it is extremely irregular. When, by chance, its upper tributaries -- including the Ajemet wadi -- are flowing, the water may reach to the low flats as far as

133 /28 cont. / Timissao, or so the Tuareg tell me, although I have
312 never been able to determine when such a phenomenon last occurred. In 1948, I witnessed a flood; ten millimeters of rain fell in twelve minutes at Tamanrasset, but it was impossible to tell how hard and how long it rained in the mountains; four hours after the rain, the waters arrived like a rising tide, pushing the light detritus and, in effect, cleaning the wadi. At the end of a quarter of an hour, the water in the wadi measured 200 meters across; one could still cross the current with the water halfway up the thighs, leaning sharply to counteract the force of it, and a number of little pebbles could be felt pelting the legs. The flood lasted five hours. It reached only to Amsel, and only the tributaries above Tagrambalt were flowing. This flood, which, seen from Tamanrasset, appeared so considerable, resulted in only a slight infiltration of water, for the underground water level had only an insignificant rise.

Other than in the system of living and dead wadis, of which the Tamanrasset is only one example, water is found fairly deep under ground in the tassilis and close to them, due, no doubt, to the permeability of the sandstone.

312 Men may, then, obtain water for their use in several ways. The Tuareg know how to find, near the rock shelves and upstream of them, the place to dig down from 20 to 50 centimeters with a menassa /copper basin/ until the water seeps out: this type of water point is called an "abankor." The true well, the large one found along the caravan trails, is called "anou" (plural: "ounan").

The presence of these large wells is signaled from very far away by large redjems on the hills. Many paths seem to converge on a mysterious point; the nearer one approaches, the denser becomes the network of paths; then appears /29/ a vast trampled circle, strewn with camel droppings, and in the middle of this circle is the well.

The Tuareg have another name for the well used to irrigate the gardens: this is the "tanout" (plural: "tounin"). These

312 /29 cont./ shallow wells are found in agricultural centers; generally, they are upstream from the rock shelves. The water is drawn by men or, most often, by an ox, in which case a rudimentary scaffolding supports a pulley by which a goatskin full of water may be drawn up and dumped into a basin by an ingenious system.

The last method used to tap underground water is the foggara, called by the natives the "efeli" (plural: "ifelan"). The foggara is used only to irrigate gardens; we shall see how it works when we study agriculture.

## Flora and Fauna

137 [114] The flora of the Ahaggar is more varied than that of the northern Sahara. The work of M. Maire constitutes the basic study one should refer to for information on the spontaneous vegetation. The list of plants given in the appendix was established by questioning the Tuareg in order to learn the varieties most often encountered. Very incomplete as far as herbaceous vegetation is concerned, this enumeration includes the vast majority of trees growing naturally.

There is no forest in the Ahaggar. However, information from the Kel Immidir Tuareg makes it possible to suppose the existence of a wooded stretch in the Ifetessen massif, a region still not thoroughly explored in its entirety. Perhaps it may merely be a case of wadis covered with a particularly luxuriant vegetation. In the Ahaggar almost all the flora grows in wadis. A few plants also grow on the most watered high summits, and, at the time of particularly propitious rains, the regs are covered with patches of acheb /pasturage/, which resemble a thick, sprouting beard.

The distribution of the spontaneous flora in the Ahaggar obviously /30/ is related to the climatic zones we have already discussed. There are some plants which are peculiar to a specific zone, while there is an interpenetration of most of the other vegetation.

312 /71 cont./ Irrigation is the main problem here. It is solved by a foggara called "efeli" in Tamashek (plural: "ifelan"), which doesn't at all resemble the foggaguir of the Tidikelt and the Touat, which are permanent and require a great deal of work. In the Ahaggar the foggara is, in effect, nothing more than an underground séguia (irrigation canal) designed to tap the water of a wadi water table upstream from a cultivable plot; the water is channeled downhill following the most gradual incline to the gardens, which are irrigated by gravity.

The digging of a foggara involves several operations. First, a hole is bored upstream to reach the water and show its depth; then five or six wells are dug and are connected by an underground canal. This makes it possible to judge how large a flow may be expected. Three men work together: one digs, the other two stay at the surface, one on each side of the well, and lower a basket tied with two ropes on each handle. They throw the excavated soil to the right and left of the well.

Starting at the garden to be irrigated, a séguia is set up going in the direction of the wells upstream; this involves making embankments at first, and then further along digging into the ground as long as the alluvial soil will hold up without caving in.

/72/ Between the séguia downstream and the wells upstream other wells are then dug at intervals of five meters, connected by a tunnel. The work is done going in the upstream direction. A specialist arranges for the optimum grade following the usual practice, which calls for an ankle-depth difference between wells, or about two centimeters per meter.

When all these intermediate wells and tunnels are ready, the last tunnel (A), which connects the downstream system to the initial upstream wells, is opened. The foggara is then finished, and the water goes to feed the "majen," that is, the holding basin from which the irrigation séguias start.

312 /72 cont. / It takes one or two months to establish a foggara. Some of them (Abalessa) are six kilometers long, and the upsteam wells are ten to 12 meters deep.

When the flow diminishes, other wells are sunk upstream, but in certain agricultural centers, such as Ideles and Tahart, the bottom of the sand layer is reached, and the workers find themselves confronted with large rocks; the work then stops, as it is difficult to cope with rocks with a hoe and basket. There is nothing left to do but pray for rain to replenish the water table, or to emigrate to a more favored center.

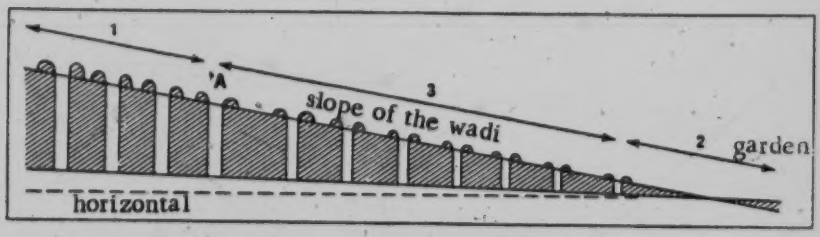


Diagram showing how a foggara is dug.

The work is dangerous in these foggaras sunk in the loose alluvial soil, and accidents often happen. The foggara requires continual maintenance work; blown sand dries up and clogs the wells, warping of land occurs which obstruct the flow, and cave-ins are frequent. In /73/ the event of a cave-in, a work party of volunteers pitches in to repair the damage rapidly in order to protect the crop.

The beneficial flood which makes the level of the water table rise also destroys the work of the harratin, by choking up a large number of wells; the foggara must then be reconstructed. At Tamanrasset recently was tried the construction of an underground drain made with small stones spread over larger ones and then covered with clay and sand, in order to permit the flood to pass without damage to the foggara. But the Negroes are not able to undertake this kind of work.

312 /73 cont./ The water flowing constantly from the foggara is accumulated in a basin 8 meters by 4 meters by .40 meters large; these dimensions give the approximate size. From this basin, walled in by earth levees and made watertight by clay, the gardener runs the water into the séguias, which channel it to the guemouns under cultivation, which are inundated.

This irrigation system rapidly exhausts the soil.

The crops are watered every six or eight days, with each of the six or eight gardens dependent on the foggara having its regular turn at the water.

When the irrigation is made from a well (tanout) instead of from a foggara, the water is drawn from the well manually or with the help of a zebu. When the majen is full, the gardener proceeds with the inundation of the guemouns.

241 The cultivable land, which is quickly impoverished, needs rest. The harratin let land lie fallow, but involuntarily, for fairly large areas remain uncultivated because of the lack of water or of seed. It even happens that, the land being exhausted, a center is abandoned for a certain time.

The plants cultivated in the Ahaggar are few: wheat and barley in the winter, millet and tomatoes in the summer in fact constitute most of the production and cover nearly all of the cultivated land. Kitchen gardening is negligible, and in many centers nonexistent.

In the Ahaggar there are five varieties of soft wheat, probably imported from the Touat.

The wheat is sown in October and harvested at the beginning of May. /74/ It is grown on small guemouna about 1.50 meters by 3.0 meters large. It is irrigated every six or eight days. Along the séguias, two parallel lines of wheat are planted. The yield varies from ten to 15 for one. It is about 300 to 400 kilograms per hectare. The total production of the Ahaggar is about 200 metric tons of wheat per year.

Barley is cultivated in the same way as wheat, but only 50 metric tons a year are produced.

/167/ Remarks on the Rainfall

132 M. Dubief of the Algiers Institut de physique du globe has made a very interesting study of the rainfall in the Ahaggar territory, using information furnished by the Tuareg and covering 80 years for the central Ahaggar and 60 years for the Ahnet and the Mouydir.

This research shows that the system of rains in the central Ahaggar is unrelated to that of the northern Sahara.

Moreover, the distribution of the rains in the central Ahaggar has some relation to the distribution in the Tefedest, little to that of the Mouydir, and none to that of the Ahnet; it is completely independent of the Tamesna.

Finally, the dry periods do not seem to exceed seven years (the term "dry" is not used here in its meteorological sense, but relatively speaking, indicating for the nomads a lack of pastures).

Some Tuareg claim to have observed a cycle of seven years in the duration of the ground-water level.

The observations made at Tamanrasset record as years of heavy precipitation: 1924, 1933, 1943, and 1951, which would give a cycle of about nine years.

/169/ IV

Wells or Water Points on the Caravan Trails

From Tamanrasset to Tin-Zaouaten

103 Amsel: Tiggert /natural outflow of water/ and tanout
312 /well for irrigating gardens/. Permanent agricultural center.

Tin-Tounatine: Tigget /sic/ and abankor /water hole/ in the Tamanrasset wadi.

103
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/169 cont./ Amselka: Permanent well in the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tinef: Permanent, plentifully filled well, 1.20 meters deep, in the Tamanrasset wadi.

In-Abalesse: Permanent abankor, 0.50 meters deep, in the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tidjenaouine: Agricultural center in the Tamanrasset wadi.

In-Amelloutine: Plentifully filled abankor, 0.60 meters deep, in the Tamanrasset wadi.

Timdjaouine: Ten kilometers south of the Tamanrasset wadi, Mount Debla, fairly plentiful water, ten meters deep.

Abankor ouan Mellouline: In the Immazarène Tin-Reroh wadi, east of the tassili. Not very plentiful.

Tin-Reroh: In the tassili, plentiful, permanent, 40 kilometers from the automobile road.

In el Tobol: In the Adrar In el Tobol, not very plentiful, 15 kilometers from the automobile road.

In-Tedeini: Six kilometers north of Tin-Zaouaten, permanent, ten meters deep, shored up with gasoline drums, three kilometers from the automobile road.

/170/ Tin-Elhaoua: In the Tin-Elhaoua wadi, ten kilometers north of Tin-Zaouaten. Lined shaft, with stone drain, never dry.

Tin-Zaouaten: Three wells, a temporary guelta /natural pool/.

## From Tamanrasset in the direction of Tessalit (Sudan)

Up to Silet, various agricultural centers.

Timissao: Well in the wadi, north of the tassili, shored up with stones. Very plentiful water, nevery dar. Depth: six meters.

Tamada: Temporary guelta, rarely dry, east of the tassili, surface about five meters square; very deep.

103 /170 cont./ In-Azaoua: Southwest edge of the tassili.
312 Well, 1.50 meters, never dry.

Tiggueurt: Copious spring, in a tassili valley, three hours' march southeast of In-Azaoua, two hours to the west of Tamada. Site unusual because of verdure.

Aguelman de l'oued En-Nefis: Temporary guelta two hours' march from In-Azaoua.

Ameg: Permanent guelta in an outlier of the tassili, south of Tirek, at the head of the In-Allarène wadi.

Tirek: Permanent guelta, plentiful water, in the northern part of the Tirek ta Settefet tassili.

In-Ouzzal: In the In-Ouzzal wadi, near the confluence of the Ighelian wadi. Plentiful. Depth: eight meters.

In-Djezzal: Plentifully filled well, never dry, 23 meters deep.

Timiaouine: Permanent lined well, never dry, eight meters deep.

## From the Adrar des Iforas (Timiaouine) toward the Tidikelt

The wells of Ilafok and Guernen are filled in; in winter the caravans go straight to In-Ziza, in summer they pass by Timissao.

In-Ziza: Very large guelta, about 20 meters square, varying from five to ten meters in depth, never dry. There are 17 others.

/171/ Aït el Kra: Very copious tiggert in the tassili sandstone near Foum-Ezgag.

Tin-Senasset: Fairly copious spring.

Tin-Eddi: Poorly filled well, sometimes dry.

Tin-Akhenfous: Permanent well.

Tikebetatine: Four or five springs, fairly copious flow.

In-Rhellal: Poorly filled well, 150 kilometers from the first wells of the Tidikelt.

/171 cont./ From Tamanrasset toward In-Salah

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By the automobile road:
Outoul: Agricultural center.
Tit: Agricultural center.
Tilok: Well.
In-Amguel: Agricultural center.
Iniker: Plentifully filled well.
Tesnou: Plentifully filled well.
Amsir: Well.
Meniet: Well.
Arak: Tiggert and guelta.
Tadjmout: Agricultural center, spring.
In-Takoula: Well.
Tiguelguemine: Guelta.
Djoraf: Hot spring.
Hassi el Khenig: Brackish water.

By the camel trail, west of the automobile road.
From Tamanrasset to Abalessa: Various agricultural centers.
Tin-Felki: Large well, never dry, in the Tekouiat wadi.
Tinn-Maroka: Very plentifully filled well in the Afesfes wadi.
Amsir or Arak.
Hassi Takoumbaret: Permanent.
Hassi Belrem: Plentiful, last well before the Tidikelt.

/172/ List of Selected Wadis

Atakor region:
Northern slope, whose waters are collected by the In-Amguel wadi, which flows toward the Tekouiat and which loses itself in the Tanezrouft to the south of In-Zize.

/172 cont./

103
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| | |
|---|---|
| Issakarassène wadi<br>Hirafok wadi<br>Ifrak wadi<br>Tidjilgaouine wadi<br>Abdassène wadi<br>Zerzoua wadi<br>In-Tehoulli wadi | toward the In-Amguel wadi |

Southern slope, whose waters are drained by the great Zazir and Tin-Amzi wadis, which flow toward the valley of the Azaouak.

| | |
|---|---|
| Tefougigine wadi<br>Ihérane wadi<br>Izerzi wadi<br>Ihoular wadi<br>Taguiemoute wadi<br>In-Tarkit wadi | toward the Tin-Amzi wadi |
| Teredjine wadi<br>Effeg wadi<br>Anfeg wadi<br>Tihararte wadi<br>Ahahabarougue wadi<br>Téguerine wadi | toward the Zazir wadi |
| In-Dalag wadi<br>Tahifet wadi<br>Tarahouaout wadi<br>Foutès wadi | toward Irharraar (southern) |

Eastern slope, whose waters flow toward the Tin-Tarabin /173/ wadi, which itself joins the valley of the Azaouak.

| | |
|---|---|
| Itakaline wadi<br>Azrou wadi<br>Tiféréfine wadi<br>Tilékine wadi<br>Sersouf wadi (of Aïtoklane) | toward Tin-Tarabin |

/173 cont./

103
312

| | |
|---|---|
| Afrahounine wadi<br>Tibelarhlarhène wadi<br>Tigoulgouline wadi | toward Tin-Tarabin |
| Telhouat wadi | toward Igharghar (northern) |

Western slope, all the waters of which join the Tamanrasset wadi, either directly or by its large affluent, the Amded wadi.

| | |
|---|---|
| Tilok wadi<br>Ilaman wadi<br>Terhenanet wadi<br>Outoul wadi<br>Tit wadi<br>Selbourak wadi<br>Tiffert wadi<br>Abalessa wadi | toward the Amded wadi |
| Tisatine ouan Tiratine wadi<br>Tinef wadi (which drains the waters of the Tahelra)<br>Imezzarene ouan Tin-Reroh wadi<br>Silet wadi<br>Aguelman wadi | toward the Tamanrasset wadi |

Region north of the Adrar des Iforas and of the southern tassili

Slope of the Tamanrasset wadi:

Inouzzal wadi
Ilafer wadi
/174/ Ilafok wadi
In-Kadiouène wadi
Temesguidda wadi
Tirek wadi
Iller wadi

Slope of the Azaouak:

Tin-Zaouaten wadi
In-Atankarer wadi

/174 cont./

103 Anesbaraka wadi

312 Slope of the Timersoï wadi:

Izedelazen wadi

Region of the Tefedest:

Western slope of the Tefedest: the waters flow toward the Tekouiat wadi.

Ohet wadi
In-Takoufi wadi
Idjioualène wadi
Sersouf wadi
Mertoutek wadi
Abezzou wadi
Adenek wadi
In-Ebeggi wadi

Eastern slope of the Tefedest: all of the waters empty into the great Igharghar.

Taharakit wadi
Idelès wadi
Dehine wadi
Aguelmam wadi
Ousselatine wadi
In-Berhadjane wadi
Tin-Kerkoz wadi
Amrha wadi
Ahatès wadi
} toward Igharghar

/175/ Southern slope of the Tefedest:

Takormiasse wadi
Aethès wadi
Tin-Eleft wadi
} toward the In-Amguel wadi

Region of the Immidir and the Ahnet:

The waters flow chiefly toward the north, losing themselves in the sebkha of the Tidikelt; they are mainly drained by the Botha and Djaret wadis.

/175 cont./

103 Arak wadi
312 Gourdane wadi
Tadjmout wadi
Tiratimine wadi
Tibratine wadi
Takoula wadi
Takoumbaret wadi
Asabal wadi
Amguid region, slope of the Igharghar:
et Tarara wadi
Hesses wadi
Rharis wadi
El Mahek wadi
Teghert wadi
Hamsa wadi
In-Herreki wadi

Region east of the Serkout massif:

This part of the Ahaggar is very little known; the wadis are tributaries of the Tafassasset wadi.

/177/ V

Flora

| 137 Tamahaq Name | Arabic Name | | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|---|
| 824 | | | |
| Ahtès | | Acacia albida. | Rare. |
| Aliou | | Olea laperrini. | In the high mountains. |
| Adjiar | El Iatim | Argan tree (?). | Hardwood, pasturage for camels, edible berries. |

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

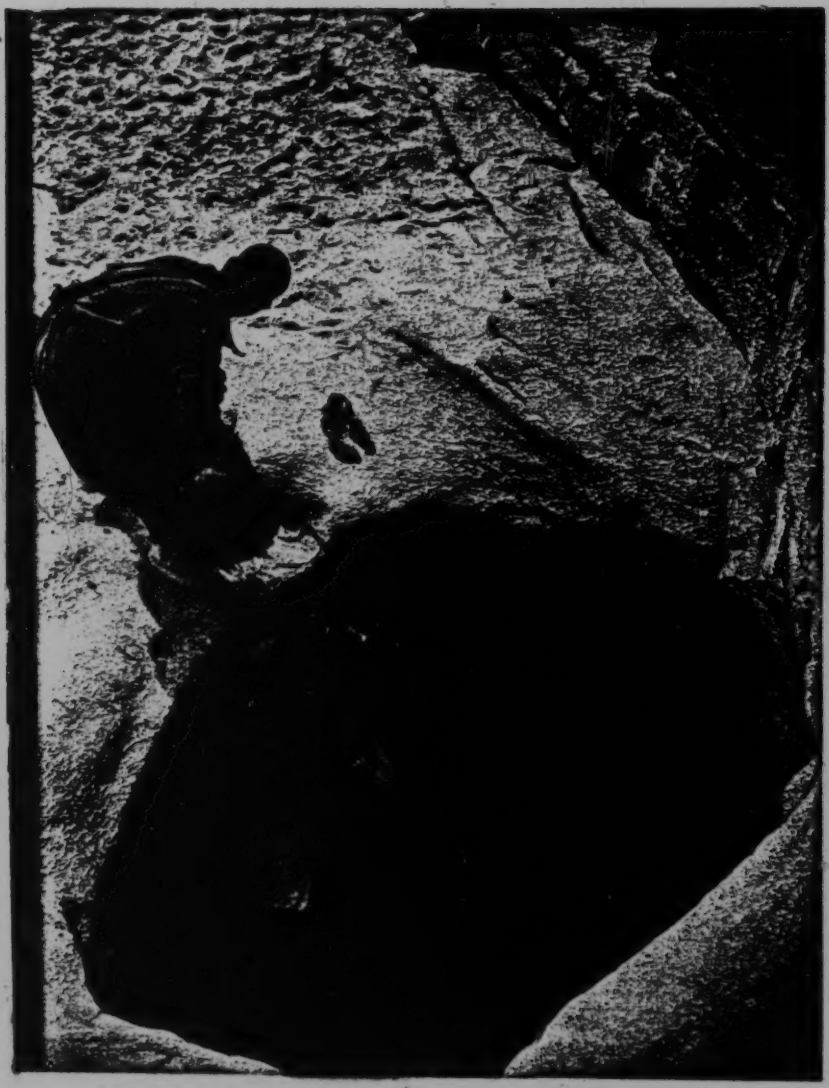
• 312

9. A tanout.

[p. 194]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

•312



10. Pothole.

[p.195]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



492*

Fig. 84. Boy and woman mounted on donkeys. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

But the wild animals are bigger, which the Tuareg ascribe to the fact that they roam freely in the desert 231
and always can find the very best fodder – an explanation which seems reasonable as the Tuareg 136
camp where fodder is reserved to their milk-yielding animals (cf. p. 491 ff.). It can be added that 231
domestic donkeys are frequently tightly hobbled by means of a narrow rope (*téffari*) around their forelegs (Fig. 45) and sometimes also with another rope (*amahur* in Ahaggar) running from one foreleg to a hind leg.

If donkeys are not hobbled, there is always a great risk that they will disappear in the mountains and join the herds of wild animals. Unhobbled donkeys are often caught with great difficulty. They are sometimes driven together by the inhabitants of a camp, and when mares have foals it may even become necessary to run down the foals on riding camels in order to get hold of their mothers. In some regions where donkeys depend on water from deep wells it is customary not to give them too much water to drink, in which case unhobbled animals can always be caught at the well, where they will wait for water. But donkeys are very well fitted for desert life. They can do without water for several days even when weather is extremely hot, and where water is very near the surface so that the sandy soil is humid donkeys dig small holes with their hoofs to drink the water which quickly gathers in these depressions. I have myself witnessed this in Ahaggar where the Tuareg say that among domestic animals only donkeys are able to make such water-holes. [312]

The Tuareg distinguish between the domestic donkey (*éyhed* in the north, *éyjed* among the Ayr Tuareg) and the wild donkey or ass (*ahulil* in the north, *émedrer* in Ayr), but they are well aware that there is no important distinction between them for many Tuareg even nowadays obtain domestic donkeys by catching wild animals. Wild donkeys or asses were hunted for domestication still more eagerly in the past, and there may perhaps be some connection between donkey-breeding and true hunting – that is hunting for meat. Nowadays the Tuareg never eat donkey's meat, nor do they utilize 231
the skin of these animals. But it is known that the Ahaggar Tuareg have eaten donkey's meat in periods 262
of hunger even fairly recently, and Duveyrier states that old animals caught in traps are killed for their 237

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



household goods during nomadic migrations, and are employed daily in all camps to carry water in skin-bags from wells and waterholes to the tents. They are very strong animals considering their low stature, and good pack-donkeys can carry up to one hundred kilograms even for very long trips. Donkeys are occasionally used for long journeys by the Northern Tuareg, and many Ayr Tuareg use them to fetch provisions of millet around Tanut in Damergu. Caravans of donkeys are frequently observed in these regions, and one even sees mixed caravans of donkeys and camels. There can be no doubt that before the introduction of the camel the donkey was still more important for riding and transportation than is the case nowadays. This is clearly demonstrated by historical material from Egypt and adjacent regions (cf. Erman 1922, p. 518 f., 529, 592 f., 636).

It has already been mentioned that donkey's meat and skin are not utilized nowadays by the Tuareg. The same is true of mare's milk which, however, is used as a remedy against a kind of cough known to the Ayr Tuareg as *khamkhaw*. There is no regulation of mating for donkeys which in many ways are semi-domesticated animals. In Ayr male donkeys are never castrated, while the Ahaggar Tuareg say they castrate such stallions as constantly run after the mares and in this way cause too much trouble. The Tuareg also have no methods to prevent foals from sucking, while a method of this kind is sometimes applied by sedentary people in and around Agadez. This method known as *éfinjar* consists in the cutting of the nostrils of half-grown foals so that they cannot suck pregnant mares. Both stallions and mares are used for riding and transportation, but female animals are much preferred for these purposes. Mares are used almost exclusively for the transportation of water-bags hanging under the animals, as the bags might be squirted by stallions' urine.

The Northern Tuareg saddle their donkeys, using the same saddle type for riding and for transportation (Fig. 86). This is known as *aruku* and is manufactured by the women in the following way:— Two fresh boughs of the *tahunek*-tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) are heated, or slightly burned, over the fire. The boughs are thereupon barked and bent into the curved form wanted, and are then kept in this position by cords. After drying for a few days the boughs will retain their curved form, and the cords are untied. The boughs are then cut up and their ends are connected by two pieces of camel's hide soaked in water, and sewn together by means of a large iron needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (cf. Fig. 220b) and a thread which is also cut from camel's hide. The wooden saddle frame is attached to three cushions. These cushions are generally made of goat-skin or sheep-skin stuffed with hay or with date palm bast, but may also be plaited from leaves of the date palm tree. Cushions made from goat-skin are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of the little awl known as *tistent* (cf. Fig. 2[illegible]). The two long cushions resting lengthwise upon the animals back are known as *tastek*, and the small cushion resting over the animal's back close to its shoulders is called *ʃafelledut*. The saddle is fixed to the donkey by two girths consisting of cords made of goat-hair. One of these cords (*tidmechart*) passes under the tail, the other (*ahayif*) is tied around the chest of the animal. This saddle type is well suited for the transportation of burdens and in particular of water-bags, the cords of which are attached to the pommels. When the saddle is used for riding it is frequently covered with a blanket or a piece of cloth. Saddles of this type are found in all camps of the Northern Tuareg, and Lhote states that they are also found in Adraʃ-n-Foras and in Ayr (Lhote 1947a, p. 120). This may be so, but I have myself never seen them in the latter region where they are unknown to the *Kel Feruan*

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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312
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Fig. 98. A slave watering goats by means of the leather bucket called *aga*. Water is drawn from a well and poured out into a hole dug in the clayey ground. The goat standing to the left is sheared – a token of the summer season. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*233 conditions, and herdsmen, who live with camelherds far away from camps and wells subsisting on
[272] camel's milk, do not consider water necessary. Should domestic animals have eaten salt or salty plants
[271] they are very eager for water even in winter. When I lived in Ahaggar with my camels during the winter 1954/55 they had rightly to be watered every ten days, but in regions where they fed mainly on saliferous plants they had to be watered more frequently. However, domestic animals must not be watered too often as this would make them slow and emaciated, and a camel must not be worked too hard the day after it has been watered.

312 Tuareg camps are always found around wells, pools, or other types of water places for which there
[361] is a large vocabulary. But the Tuareg never camp too close to water places where there is little pasture, many foreigners and consequently little peace. The distance from camp to water place varies, but is
[132] very frequently 1–3 kilometres. During the rainy season (*akasa*) water is very aundant all over Ayr, but outside this period conditions of water supply for human beings and livestock are more favourable
[415] in the north than in Ayr, where water most of the year must be drawn from wells. To raise water the Tuareg use a leather bucket known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aga* (Fig. 97–98). The water drawn for
[237] the animals is poured out into a hole dug in clayey soil, or into a hole covered with a piece of skin or leather known in Ahaggar as *tafarawt*. This skin is nowadays frequently substituted by canvas (cf. Fig. 99). Where water is scarce and must be drawn from narrow wells, as in Ayr during the summer
312 578 season, the watering of flocks and herds gives rise to frequent quarrels between pastoralists. For
[423] though the right to the use of wells is free to all there are many disputes and fights frequently

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start around wells. It may happen, for instance, that two men who draw water from the same well get the ropes of their leather buckets entangled. They will then start to quarrel and the result may be a fight with swords. 312 528 [411]

I conclude this chapter with a brief description of the signals used by the Tuareg for their domestic animals. As these animals do not have the same needs for food and water and are frequently mixed with each other in camps and around wells, it is only natural that the Tuareg have different signals to call, stop, or drive away their various types of domestic animals. I have noted these signals among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr:— 231 233* 192

Signals to call domestic animals:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| goats . . . . . | *ay, ay* | |
| sheep . . . . . | a rolling sound | the three rolling sounds are somewhat different though resembling each other |
| cows . . . . . | a rolling sound | |
| camels . . . . . | a rolling sound | |
| donkeys . . . . . | *ahay, àhay* | |

Signals to stop animals:—

| | |
|---|---|
| goats . . . . . | *aw* |
| sheep, cows, camels . . . | *ôr* |
| donkeys . . . . . | *as* |

Signals to drive away animals:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| goats . . . . . | *ây* | pronounced emphatically |
| sheep, cows, camels . . . | *hey* | |
| donkeys . . . . . | *aheyt* | |

233* 312

Fig. 99. Tuareg drawing water for camels which drink from a piece of canvas (*tafarawt*) placed over a hollow in the ground. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 131. A *foggara* canal (*éfeli*) dug into the sandy river bed from where it is led into the gardens of the valley terrace. Southern Ahaggar, *Taẓnut*.

245 [423] In Ayr there are also a few pastoral Tuareg who own date palms growing in river valleys, e.g., people of the *Imezzureg* tribe of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These date palms, like those growing half wild in Northern Tuareg countries, yield very small dates of a quality inferior to those grown in the oases under constant supervision by agriculturists. Such dates are used only for local consumption.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AHAGGAR

241 175 Irrigation agriculture has been practised since ancient times within certain territories now inhabited by the Northern Tuareg. As early as in Roman times there is reference to *Radames*, *Rat*, and certain oases of the Fezzan, which were visited by Roman Expeditions (Lhote 1955a, p. 113 f.; Duveyrier 1864, p. 249 ff., 266 ff., 275 ff., 455 ff.). Lhote thinks that the oasis of Abalessa in the lowland west of the Ahaggar Massif was also visited by the Roman general Cornelius Balbus (Lhote 1955a, p. 88 f., 113 f., 286), but this, perhaps, is to be doubted. In the writings of Medieval Arab authors there is apparently no reference to oases within the Ahaggar country, though oases in neighbouring parts of the Sahara are mentioned.

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In literature there seems to be no reliable information about the existence of irrigation agriculture 241
in Ahaggar until Duveyrier, who states that agriculture did not obtain a fixed position in the economic 175
life of the Ahaggar Tuareg until the reign of the *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) (cf. Duveyrier
1864, p. 369). This statement is confirmed by most agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg in Ahaggar, 241
who claim that prior to *Elkhaj Akhmed* irrigation agriculture was not practised in Ahaggar. During 312
the reign of this *Amenukal* irrigation agriculture by means of the subterranean aqueducts known to 173
the Arabs as *foggara* (*éfeli*, pl. *ifelan*) was introduced by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs and negroid *Ḥarratin* from 177
the Tidikelt oases. Some people of Ahaggar claim that another irrigation system was introduced about the same time, namely irrigation wells from which water is drawn by oxen and donkeys. This system, known as *tanut*, is said to have been introduced by agriculturists from Ĝanet (Djanet) (the *Kel Ĝanet*). It should be noted that there are certain traditions which claim irrigation agriculture to be older in Ahaggar. One tradition says that it was practised at Silet-Tibeghin by Arabs who immigrated from Tawat to cultivate by means of the *foggara* system even during the reign of the *Imenan* (Lhote 1955, p. 286 f.). Another tradition, recorded by Foucauld, states that irrigation farming was known at a 241
very remote date by the *Isebeten* – a pagan people said to be the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes of 312
Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535 f.). Traditions of the age of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar 173
are conflicting. If it was practised long before the reign of *Elkhaj Akhmed* by the ancient vassals, I believe that water was raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight. For this system, which is known as *aṛudid*, is said to have been very common in the past. It is extremely rare nowadys, and I have only seen it once at Terhenanet. There can be no doubt that [171]
this simple irrigation method is a very old one in North Africa, where it is more widely distributed than all other types of irrigation methods (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, map VII p. 320). The very wide distribution of this system elsewhere in the Old World points to its great age, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest true irrigation machine.

A few Tuareg in the northern groups practise irrigation agriculture, which does not seem to be one 241
of their traditional occupations. Tuareg irrigation farmers are found mainly in the Fezzan, but mention 178
should also be made of the people of three noble tribes, namely the *Ilemṭéyen* (living at Ṛat), the *Ikadeyen* (at Tit in Ahaggar), and the *Kel-ahem-mellen* (roaming pastoralists north of Ahaggar or settled farmers at the oasis of Inṛer in Tidikelt). These sedentary or semi-sedentary noble Tuareg were originally true pastoralists, though but little is known of the original mode of livelihood of the *Ikadeyen*. A few individuals or families among the Ahaggar vassals have more recently taken up irrigation agriculture in addition to stock-breeding. There seems to be a growing tendency towards semi-nomadism in Ahaggar nowadays. There may be several reasons for this. Thus one can point to the decline of [432]
caravan trading and to the fact that pastoral Tuareg cannot so easily get the true agriculturists to cultivate for them. The true agriculturists of Ahaggar comprise the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*) of Tidikelt, [564]
who have mixed with the manumitted slaves now also known as *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*), a few fair-skinned *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, and the *Kel Ĝanet* who are predominantly black-skinned. All these agricultural people tend to mix with each other and also with tribes of pastoral Tuareg.

There are at present about 25 agricultural settlements in the river valleys of Ahaggar. Apart from 361
the administration centre of Tamanṛaset (1600) and the oasis of Abalessa (547) these agricultural 162

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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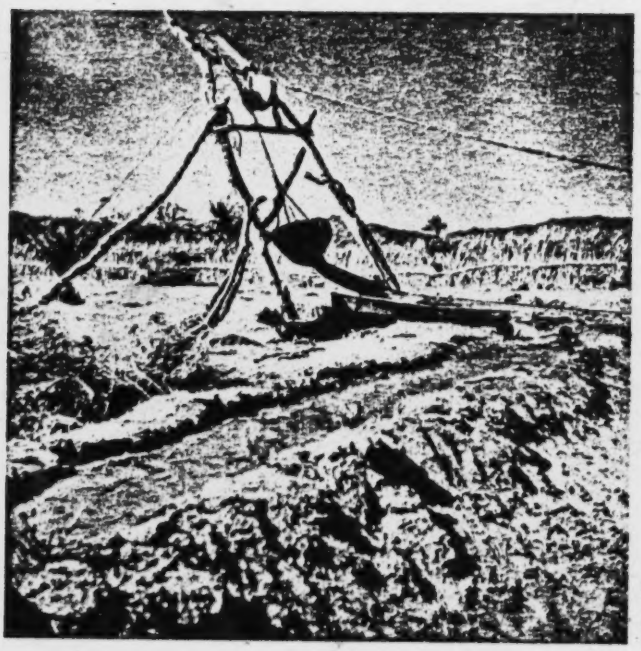

Fig. 132a. The irrigation system known as *tanut*. Ahaggar, Amsel.

361 settlements contain less than 300 individuals, the majority not even a hundred (cf. Lhote 1955a;
[162] p. 292). Most agricultural settlements comprise only a few houses built of stone or mud, or a few
[342] straw-huts (cf. p. 327 ff.). The agriculturists of these small settlements generally keep some goats
[231] and sheep, have donkeys, which are important beasts of burden to all farmers of the Sahara oases,
and in certain families there are one or two zebus to raise water from irrigation wells. A few agri-
433 culturists may be characterized as semi-nomads. This is the case of some inhabitants of Abalessa
who guard their flocks at some distance from the village. Some of these agriculturists, who were
formerly Tuareg slaves, even make skin-tents like pastoral Tuareg.

312 The subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs of the Sahara as *foggara*, to the Tuareg as *ifelan*
241 (sing. *éfeli*), constitute by far the most important irrigation system used in Ahaggar. However, these
[166] *foggara* canals cannot be compared with the large extensive aqueducts of Tidikelt though their intro-
duction to Ahaggar is due to the immigration of agriculturists from that area. The Tidikelt *foggara*
are very large aqueducts which are dug into water-bearing strata which can be situated at a consid-
erable distance from the oasis (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 324 ff., Lô 1953 & 1954; Chaintron 1958).
The Ahaggar foggara are generally very short (about one to two kilometres, or shorter), they are not

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Fig. 132b. Cf. text Fig. 132a.

deep, and are dug into the sandy river bed to lead its water to the gardens of the valley terrace. A map of the foggara aqueducts placed in the river valley of Taṛhawhawt is reproduced by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, Fig. 18 p. 328). There are many advantages attached to the use of foggara systems of the Ahaggar type, for once the aqueducts are dug water automatically flows to the garden. But there are also disadvantages. If a foggara valley is heavily flooded after rains and changed into a roaring stream, the aqueducts are destroyed and the crops also. In general it will be necessary to abandon a foggara system after some years, as it must be cleaned at intervals and in time it becomes too dangerous to work in them as subsidences may occur and kill workers. It may also happen that a river valley is not flooded at all for a period of years when it becomes essential to move to another valley, rich in water under the sandy river bed, to make a new foggara there. For all these reasons deserted foggara systems are common in the river valleys of Ahaggar. [114]

The *foggara* system is unknown south of Ahaggar and has on the whole a rather limited distribution in the Sahara. One reason for this is perhaps that the construction and maintenance of the aqueduct imply the agricultural co-operation of several households. This is not the case with the other common system in Ahaggar, the use of wells (*tunin*, sing. *tanut*) from which water is raised by animal traction. The wells are usually shallow and not very difficult to dig out, and the maintenance of the whole system is usually limited to occasional mendings of the zebu's harness and of the large waterbag. While a foggara canal is always used for the irrigation of several gardens (6–12), the wells are used for single gardens. The irrigation wells are dug into the valley terrace so that they are not destroyed by a flood, and in dry years watering from wells is considered the better system. But in the period when crops need much water irrigation by means of wells is hard work for the garden owner who must drive his ox all day long. [184] [476]

Irrespective of the system resorted to irrigation of a garden is done in the same manner. Water from the *foggara* aqueduct or water raised from well flows into a large basin (*tihemt*) through a canal

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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[133]

Fig. 133. The large water basin (*tihemi*) from which water is led into the gardens. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

(*teguhami*, or *tahaft*) from which another canal (*tahaft*, or *teguhami*) leads water out into the garden, which is always divided into a large number of garden beds (*igemmunen*, sing. *agemmun*) surrounded by low ridges and separated by narrow irrigation canals. The large water basin serves to regulate watering, which outside of the very cold season is done during the night. A flat stone with a hole in its middle and known as *anefif* is placed between the basin and the canal leading water into the garden; water for irrigating the garden flows through this hole when irrigation is needed at night, while the hole is closed by means of a cotton stopper during the day. The basin is thus filled with water during the day and its water runs into the garden at night (cf. Figs. 131–136).

243
[221]

The irrigation systems described are most important for the cultivation of the winter crops of wheat and barley. The Tuareg word in Ahaggar for wheat is *éred* which is a collective name for several types of wheat known as *elkhamra*, *elmansuri*, *amekkawi*, *ṛati*, and *menga*. These special names seem to be derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1058, 1211 & IV, p. 1789; Maire 1933, I, p. 246). According to Maire these types of wheat belong to the species *Triticum aestivum*. I have never myself seen fully-grown wheat in Ahaggar and was thus unable to collect ears for identification by botanists, but seeds brought home from Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have been identified by Dr. Hans Helbaek as belonging to common bread wheat. Barley is known to the Tuareg as *tinzin*. Threshed seeds brought home from Ahaggar have been identified by Dr. Helbaek as belonging to the six-rowed type (*Hordeum vulgare*, though some, he thinks are perhaps of the two-rowed type (*H. distichum*). Barley, like wheat, is a winter crop though less common. At Abalessa I was told that two thirds of the seed-crops grown in winter were wheat, while only one third was barley.

[221]

Wheat and barley are grown in the same way. Sowing is done in the autumn (*tober*), and the seeds are put into the garden beds with the fingers. Harvesting takes place in the month of April (*ibri*) and is performed with a sickle (Fig. 143). The growing of wheat and barley is a very strenuous task for irrigation agriculturists. Watering is done for the first time immediately after sowing. When I stayed at Abalessa, in the month of January 1955, the tender plants of wheat and barley were watered two days in succession, and the 10–12 gardens belonging to the same *foggara* were irrigated in succession in this way. At that time of the year the plots are not generally watered at night because of the cold temperatures which may be below zero.

[132]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



temperatures which may be below zero. At a later date the plants of wheat and barley are watered less frequently, and watering ceases completely some time before harvesting in order that the plant may ripen more easily. 243

The agriculturists of Ahaggar do not manure the garden plots used for wheat and barley. Only a new garden plot never previously cultivated is manured, and when such a garden is made the wild vegetation of grasses, herbs, bushes, and trees is often set on fire. Wheat and barley can be grown in the same garden plot for three or four years in succession, and the soil then needs at least one year's rest. In this way, the same garden plot can be kept under cultivation for many years without manuring: this continuous cultivation on the same spot with a one year's rest for each three or four years cultivation is possible partly because there is a certain crop rotation with other plants grown in summer, but mainly because the agriculturists during the period wheat and barley are grown carry fresh soil to their gardens. This is done not only before sowing but also throughout a long period of the winter when the plants are tender and green. When I stayed in the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel in the [101] months of January and February (1955), all agricultural households worked strenuously from morning to night carrying soil to the green garden plots of wheat and barley. The soil was carried in plaited baskets [482] (cf. Fig. 135) on the head, or in bigger baskets carried by donkeys. The soil was left in small heaps [492] (one in every garden bed) to be spread over and between the green plants (cf. Fig. 137). This extremely [461] strenuous work, I was told, would continue until the month of March.

In spite of the fact that cultivation in Ahaggar is done intensively and much work is connected with it, the yield of winter crops is not a very considerable one. In Abalessa it is said that seed-corn of wheat and barley will normally amount to about 50 kgs, and about 500 kgs is to be considered a normal yield, though certain gardens which are extremely well cultivated may yield more and in rare cases up to one thousand kilogrammes. The gardens I saw at Amsel and Taṛhawhawt were smaller than those seen in Abalessa. At Taṛhawhawt the quantity of wheat and barley sown, was said to amount to about 35 kilogrammes.

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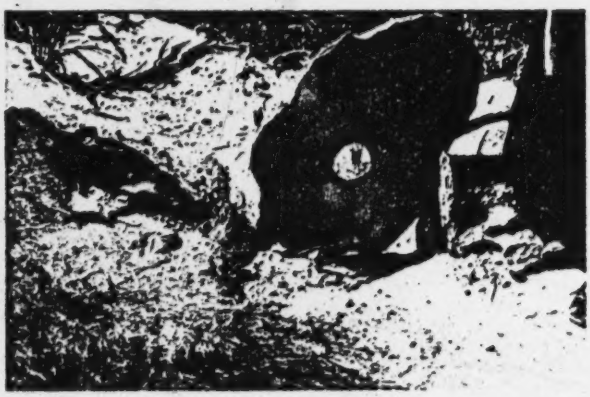

Fig. 134. The flat stone (*aneffi*) inserted between the water basin (*tihemt*) and the canal (*tafukant*) which leads water towards the gardens. Irrigation stops and the basin runs full of water when a cotton stopper is put into the round hole in the middle of the flat stone. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

243

Fig. 137. The fresh soil carried to old gardens is placed in small heaps to be spread out between the tender plants of wheat and barley. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

241 *andrum sativum, Cuminum Cyminum* (*azkar*), *Daucus Carota* (*ezzeruget*), *Cucumis melo, Lagenaria vulgaris* (cf. Maire 1933, and particularly Maire 1940, p. 401).

245 [262] In addition to the above-mentioned plants there are various types of fruit trees which do not play any considerable rôle for food. The gardens contain very few date palm trees (*tazzayt, Phoenix dactylifera*) and there are no palm trees of any value in the gardens situated in the upper mountain zones where the fig tree (*tahart, Ficus carica*) thrives much better than in the lower country; the figs are [251] consumed fresh, or they are put on strings for drying, common practise elsewhere in North Africa. The [386] pomegranate (*terrummant, Punica Granatum*) is grown in some gardens; its fruits are eaten, and they are also used for dyeing skins (cf. p. 282). Grapes (*tezzebibt, Vitis vinifera*) are also grown in some gardens.

Maire mentions the cultivation of the peach (*Prunus Persica*) and the apricot (*Prunus Armeniaca*) (cf. Maire 1940, p. 401). These fruit trees have undoubtedly been quite recently introduced for Foucauld states that they are not grown in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 79 f.).

243 There are nowadays many agriculturists who have their private gardens so that they cultivate their 423 winter crops and their summer crops entirely for their own use. But most agriculturists grow winter crops of wheat and barley on behalf of the Tuareg who are then the true garden owners.

[312] Agriculturists who cultivate their gardens on their own behalf frequently irrigate crops by means [476] of draught animals (zebus) which raise water from wells, but there are also some farmers who cultivate independently without any contract with pastoral Tuareg and nevertheless belong to a *foggara* team. 243 It can be estimated that an independently working agriculturist obtains a total yield of about 700 kilos of wheat and barley grown in winter. Of this yield he gives 10 kilos to the *Amenukal*, or to the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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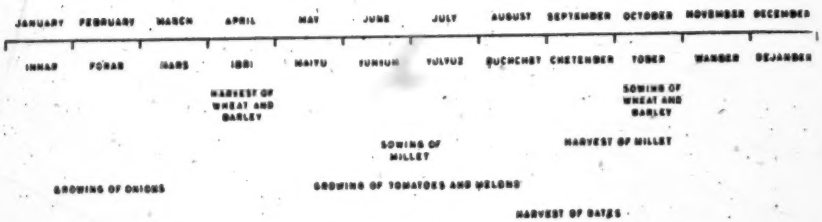


Fig. 139. Horticultural calendar from Ahaggar.

The Tuareg and the negroid agriculturists have a lunar calendar of twelve months corresponding to the Arab calendar, but a lunar calendar has no practical value for the indication of seasonal agricultural activities. The Julian Calendar is known to some people of Ahaggar as well as to other Berbers of the Sahara and the Atlas. Tuareg names of Julian months are given above. Very few people in Ahaggar know the exact beginning and the end of the twelve Julian months, but a few names are used as seasonal terms: *innar* "midwinter", *mars* = "beginning of spring", *ibri* "early harvest" (of wheat and barley), *maiyu* "beginning of summer", *tober* = "late harvest" (millet).

241 which no definite figures can be given, while the yield of fruit trees growing in the garden plot does
[423] not necessarily belong to the agriculturist. These trees frequently belong to pastoral Tuareg.

433 I think it can be estimated that an agricultural household with its own garden produce about a
262 thousand kilos of vegetables food products annually for its private use. We can add that though the members of an agricultural household live mainly on vegetable food products they also acquire a certain amount of food from livestock, which normally comprises a few goats and sheep, and perhaps one or two zebus. Conditions of stock-breeding are not always favourable to people who live continuously on the same spot, but it is advantageous to the agriculturists of Ahaggar, who live close to valleys with some pasture, that they are able to feed their animals on green garden products when pasture is badly developed and thus avoid the disaster of a drought. It is also an advantage to most agriculturists that they do not have to water their animals which can drink freely from the irrigation canals. The agriculturists can kill a few goats or sheep annually, they obtain milk and a little butter
[234] to be used mainly as a sauce for bread and porridge, and they make cheese of the *awles* type (cf. p. 224), but they never make cheese from fresh milk as do many pastoral Tuareg when milk is abundant. The agriculturists also breed fowls and pigeons, and some of them have an important meat supply from hunting with steel-traps (hares, jackals, fennecs, and ravens). Collecting, on the other hand, is of little or no value to irrigation farmers of Ahaggar.

241 The economic position of agriculturists who work without any particular obligations towards
466 pastoral Tuareg is tolerably good. It is less favourable to those who grow winter crops also on behalf
[423] of the Tuareg, as do most cultivators. Some of them irrigate the garden plot with water raised from
[511] wells by oxen which may belong to the cultivator or to the Tuareg. But most agriculturists who work
241 for the pastoral Tuareg irrigate by means of *foggara*. It is very strenuous work to dig a *foggara* canal,
312 and co-operation is needed not only for this but also for the maintenance of the whole irrigation system.
466 The gardens are individually tended by the agriculturists, who co-operate in the *foggara* work under
476 the leadership of a headman known as *amṛar n efeli*, that is "chief of the *foggara*". This headman is

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



241 appointed by the Tuareg garden owners and is rewarded by a garden of his own for his responsibility
312 in supervising all co-operative work. The unit of agriculturists co-operating at the same *foggara* may
466 or may not correspond to an extended family. The agriculturists co-operating on any large *foggara*
476 irrigating ten or twelve gardens frequently represent two or three distinct families which are not linked to each other by kinship bonds. The cultivators of a *foggara* comprising nine gardens at Tarhawhawt
[675] belong to three distinct, unrelated families. This is quite natural in view of the fact that contracts between the Tuareg and the cultivators are made individually.

423 There may also be no kinship bonds between the pastoral Tuareg who have gardens at the same foggara, and there are even Tuareg who own two or three gardens situated in widely separated river
[614] valleys of Ahaggar. But Tuareg garden owners of the same foggara frequently belong to the same tribe
[428] or even to the same tribal section. When a garden-owning Tuareg dies, his garden will generally pass to somebody within his family, but there seems to be no fixed rules governing the transference of gardens.

466 The individual contract between a Tuareg garden owner and his cultivator is made for a period of
675 six months – the period of growth for wheat and barley. The agriculturist is responsible for all garden
423 work, and the Tuareg garden owner has the following obligations:—
241 (1) To supply his cultivator with a hoe every year, or every two years in case a very good hoe is given.

(2) To pay for repairs of the *foggara* system, or for the digging of a new *foggara*. This payment is known as *almarsor* and consists of two kilos of cereals or dates every working day until water reaches the garden.

(3) To pay for the making of garden beds. This payment is known as *éhéré n egalab*, and is made only once as long as the garden remains on the same spot. When a garden is moved after a period of three or four years the payment must be made again. It varies with the size of the garden and the quality of its soil; in general it consists of 15–25 kilos of cereals.

243

Fig. 140. Millet (*énélé*) of very high growth. It is said that this particular millet type was introduced to Ahaggar from the south – possibly from Ayr. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

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Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*énélé*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
173 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers
[563] though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of
162 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isaweren*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
563 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
433 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
245 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
221
463

Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
162 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula-
144 tion that subsisted on agriculture.
433
[174]

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162 tion that subsisted on agriculture. Most members of the *Kel Ewey* group are fairly negroid in appear-
144 ance, and though some of them lead a nomadic life and subsist mainly on stock-breeding, the bulk of
433 the *Kel Ewey* are sedentary agriculturists who have some livestock comprising goats, sheep, zebus, and sometimes camels also. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group there are very few sedentary agriculturists, though a few vassals have taken up irrigation agriculture in recent times. There are also agriculturists within the negroid group of the *Kel Ferwan* known as *Iṛawélen*.
[587] Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have gardens cultivated by their slaves, but this is not customary nowadays when slavery is of little importance in Ayr. Contracts between pastoral Tuareg and cultivators
241 are said to have been unknown until recent times when a few pastoralists have made contracts with
466 cultivators. There seem to be no fixed systems regulating such relationships, but it is said to be common for the cultivator and the Tuareg to divide crops equally between them.

241 Though agriculture could be practised in Ayr without artificial irrigation there are no rain-grown
● 312 crops within the Massif nowadays. The *foggara* system is unknown, and irrigation is done by raising water from shallow wells. The system of a pole and bucket provided with a counterweight known in Ayr as *aseftan* has disappeared quite recently. It was used at many agricultural settlements of Ayr until a few years ago, and in parts of the country formed the only type of irrigation system at the time of the French occupation. One informant told me that in his boyhood about 35 years ago no other irrigation method was employed at Alarses, and this is in agreement with literature (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 322). At that time, however, the method of raising water from wells by animal traction (in Ayr *anu*, in Ahaggar *tanut*) was also practised at many settlements. It is unknown when it came to Ayr, but it is said to have been introduced from the north – probably from the regions of Fezzan and Tasilé-n-Ajjer from where the same system came to Ahaggar (cf. p. 187). It is now used at all
[492] settlements as the only type of irrigation system, and zebu-oxen are always used for traction. This was not so in the past when zebus were less common than to-day, and it is said that donkeys were then the common draught-animals. The irrigation of gardens is performed in much the same way as in Ahaggar. The water raised from the shallow well (*anu*) is led through a narrow canal (*aṛelal*) to a large basin (*tisemt*) from where another canal (*duki*) leads to the garden (*afarag*), which is divided into a number of beds (*éfemṛal*).

243 Cereals form the most important crops in Ayr. The common winter crop is wheat (*elkama*; *Triticum vulgare*), but also barley (*Hordeum tetrastichum* var. *pallidum*) is very widely grown. One crop of these two cereals is taken every winter, and it is said that the period of growth is about five months; sowing is done in October, harvest in March. Cereals are also important for summer crops. Both millet (*énélé*; *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and sorghum (*abora*; *Sorghum caudatum*) are grown, and millet, as we have seen, has a very short period of growth – only about two months (cf. p. 184). But though millet is
[262] most important as food for agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike, it is not widely grown because it is difficult to protect it from the numerous small birds and because, it is said, millet grown in Ayr
[439] is of a quality inferior to that of the Sudanese type. Most of the millet eaten in Ayr is therefore imported from Damergu by pastoral Tuareg. By far the most important summer crop grown in Ayr is maize (*Zea mays*), which is known to the Tuareg as *aborù maser*, that is "Egyptian sorghum" (*abora* = sorghum; *maser* = Egypt) (the name *maser* is also used to designate the white cotton used for garments
[286]

534 horsehair attached to the ends. During the music the player from
[23] time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum
[314] tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The amzad skins are often
decorated with painted motifs in very vivid colors, or else they
[532] are covered with tifinagh inscriptions indicating the name of the
owner and bearing love verses for the use of admirers.

Among the Ihaggaren violins are usually large, reaching as
much as 40 centimeters in diameter. In Sudanese tribes, on the
[171] other hand, they are much smaller, rarely exceeding 25 to 30
centimeters.

533 The amzad plays an important role among the Tuareg, who
really make a true cult of it. Young men go to listen to the girls
play it. After they are married, they love to hear their wives, who
533 charm in this way the empty hours of summer evenings. Not play-
626 ing the amzad is a punishment that the women inflict on the men,
and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives
593 or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no amzad,"
they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This
prospect was often sufficient to restore their courage and incite
them to go efface their defeat.

The ahal. -- At about the age of sixteen, boys and girls have
882 access to adult society and begin to participate in the ahal.
571 The word ahal means "meeting, conversation, interview," A
521 synonym for it is édéouenné. These musical and literary meetings
have a more or less peculiar nature, depending on whether or not
they are mixed with asri.

517 Asri, literally "to run with the bridle loose," means the practice
521 of some very free mores. To live in a state of asri is to exist under
571 conditions which permit one to practice loose mores. Those who
533 can be in a state of asri are pubescent boys and girls, widowers,
and divorced people of either sex.

These meetings take place near the camps in the shelter of
a wadi, but always out of the sight of old people and respectable
people of the tribe. They usually take place before the evening

436 The ideal medium of exchange is the [492] salt which abounds in the Sahara and which is totally lacking in the Sudan. 439 Thus we see a caravan cycle spread out over a whole year and thousands of kilometers. This is all the more viable /sic/ for the Ihaggaren since it makes use of their many camels which otherwise might remain unused in part.

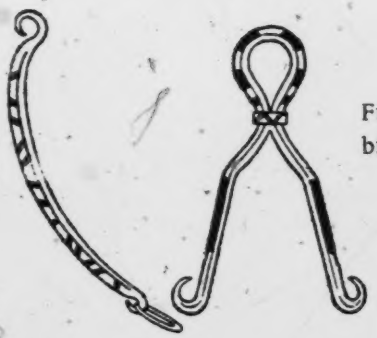

Fig. 22. Camel bit (detail).

317 The starting point is naturally the salt [415] deposit. The mine /219/ is open; one need only detach the salt in pieces and place it in leather bags to transport it. This labor is kept for the Iklan, who arrive at the salt deposits during the summer and [492] stay there from three weeks to a month. Each camel owner operates at will, and transports the salt to his camp after extracting it.

Fig. 23. Device for attaching the camel's bridle.

439 484 Toward mid-September, all the caravaneers gather together by tribes. Soon they leave their families in the Ahaggar and take the long route [487] for the Sudan, crossing the Tanezrouft. Thus one may see caravans of 100 to 150 camels, but rarely more, for the pasture grounds would not allow it. The arrival in the Sudan must occur after the rainy

232 the ridge of the nose, and then tying a very thin leather thong very tightly around the base of each fold much as a string is tied around the opening of a toy balloon to keep the air in. After a while the thongs are cut away and three little round knobs, about the size of the end of your index finger, remain for the rest of the camel's life as a kind of hallmark of outstanding quality (fig. 26, *a*). Riding camels are very carefully and patiently trained from the age of about 2 years on, and the males are castrated when about 5 years old.

**Trading.** We have now seen that pastoralism 439 is the central column and garden rent a corner post of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar. Trade is the second corner post, and salt is, as we have seen, the chief article of export. In April or May some of the Ahaggar Tuareg [317] send their slaves to the salt mines of the Amadror for two or three weeks. In July they go south with their cargoes of salt, through the rich pastures of the Tamesna region where [487] they rest their animals for a while or exchange them for fresh ones, and then on to the commercial centers of the country just north of the Nigerian frontier. Here trading begins in earnest, late in October as a rule, and endless discussions and bargaining go on for a couple of months or so. Salt, and also camels, donkeys, and dates obtained from the North, are exchanged chiefly for millet but also for a variety of manufactured articles such as cotton cloth and clothing, leather goods, sandals, saddles and bridles, wooden household utensils and tools and weapons of iron and steel. In January the Ahaggar Tuareg turn north again, pause once more for a while in the Tamesna, and finally reach their homes in March or early April.

Camels, hairy sheep, goats, donkeys and congealed melted butter used to be traded in the oases of the Tidikelt and the Touat mainly for dates, and also for cotton cloth, thin woolen blankets from the Gourara, tea, sugar and tobacco. Caravans engaged in this trade used to leave the Ahaggar in January or early February and return in April. Over the last 30 years or so, however, this commercial current has been reduced to a mere trickle by middlemen with trucks who have gradually taken over delivery of the goods that caravans used to fetch from the North. The trade still exists in a sense, but it has become indirect

439 /63 cont./ Tuareg society, nomadic through geographical necessity and warlike by need, in order to feed the soldier nobles, the herdsmen imrads, and the domestic slaves, had to find a way to balance the risks attendant to the cultivation of the valleys of the Ahaggar by the harratin. The method found is, on the one hand, to exchange salt extracted from the Amadror for millet from the Sudan, and, on the other hand, to exchange wheat harvested in the Ahaggar for dates from the Tidikelt. This double movement constitutes the essence of the Tuareg economy; it brings to light:

1) Barter, still used as system of exchange.

2) The curious fact that the Targui feeds himself with foods which are not produced in the Ahaggar, dates and millet.

3) The fact that if the Targui needs Negro domestics and harratin cultivators, he is equally necessary to them in order for them to live. It is estimated that millet makes up two-thirds of /64/ the food of the population of the Ahaggar, the other third consisting of dates.

4) The existence, as a result of this organization, of a large camel herd to maintain the caravans.

## Barter

317 439 This country, disinherited by nature, nevertheless gives its inhabitants one rich resource: salt. This salt, which is lacking in the Sudan, lies in great quantities on the Amadror plain, an interior basin situated to the northeast of the Ahaggar, bounded to the north by the Tassili des Adjjer, to the west by the Edjéré, and to the east by the hills which separate it from the basin of the Taffassasset.

The Amadror region, an old dried-up sebkha, is particularly desertlike. The salt is at the surface, so it is mined in the open air, in blocks weighing 50 or 60 kilograms; the small pieces cut from the blocks are put in sacks and carried off. It is evident that such a barren, desolate, frightful,

317 439 /64 cont./ waterless country would inspire legends; stories are told of genii which haunt the salt mines all night long, and this invisible and baneful world may be heard thumping the ground and ceaselessly breaking the salt blocks with diabolical energy. When day returns, the work site seems to be in the same state as on the evening before, and nothing seems to have happened during the night, ...and yet, "They were there." Some Tuareg claim to have seen horse tracks stamped in the ground and to have ascertained the existence of equipment for extracting salt predating those now in use -- which would tend to prove the antiquity of this mining work.

The desert contains other saltworks which supply the Sudan; to the west, Idjil and above all Taoudéni are the best known; to the east are the mines of Bilma and the Acedjerad, but among the latter the Amadror salt is the most esteemed at the markets of the savanna.

Toward the month of April or May; the Tuareg send their /65/ Negro domestics to extract the salt. Caravans of about a hundred camels advance by small stages toward the salt mines, following well-beaten tracks which lead by the wells of Dehine and In-Tarass (the latter is 40 kilometers from the salt).

The work is done as rapidly as possible, for the sojourn in those parts has nothing pleasant about it because of the heat, the lack of water and wood, and the nocturnal presence of the Kel es Souf (genii). The method of extraction is clearly disorderly, but what does it matter, there is so much salt! [492] The blocks are hewn with a kind of ax; two blocks, after having been tied with a chebka (coarse net), make a load for a camel. The small pieces are put in sacks (made from palm fibers) in 50-kilogram loads. In ten days, two men can load 50 camels, or about three metric tons of salt.

Then comes the return to the camps in the Ahaggar. Until time to be sent to the Sudan, the salt is stored near the tents or the villages. The custom is for the Negro returning

317 /65 cont./ from the Amadror to offer bits of salt to the camps
439 he encounters on his way; in exchange he is given lodging and entertained.

439 When the moment comes to leave for the Sudan, at the end of June, a Targui takes command of the caravan, in which every fifth camel carries salt. Toward the end of July the caravan arrives in the Tamesna, the region of In-Abangarit, where the Ahaggar camels live permanently. This is still almost home, it is good to rest here, and the camels, which have just covered about 1,000 kilometers, take advantage of the abundant pastures of the Sahel region. Toward the month of September or the beginning of October, the caravan gets under way again with the camels rested or exchanged for fresh ones. The Damergou region, whose largest center is Tahoua, is reached toward the end of October. This region is well known to the Kel Ahaggar. Their customers are there. Then the bartering begins; it is a long operation involving protracted discussions and laborious bargaining, during which /66/ the Tuareg exchange the salt for millet at a rate varying from year to year (the rate depends on the size of the millet harvest and how much salt is brought from elsewhere than the Ahaggar). Consignments of marine salt arriving by river routes threaten to upset the balance of the Ahaggar economy and to starve the Tuareg.

Times are cited during which a load of salt was exchanged for 15 loads of millet; on the average, the barter is carried out on the basis of five to eight loads of millet for one load of salt. The quantities exchanged are very small; they vary from a handful to two kilograms. Sometimes, but rather rarely, salt is sold to traders. With the money thus obtained, the Targui buys cloth, leather, a saddle, and several objects of domestic use, then starts back for the Ahaggar. It is now January; it will take three months before seeing the koudia again, for the caravan is laden and always stops at Tamesna, where there are celebrations, tendi, ilougan, and welcoming

*132 233 abundantly in one year than another there has always been rain enough to allow the annual pastures to spring up.

*233 824 In Ayr there are three species of trees or bushes which remain green all the year round, viz. *ébezgin* (*Salvadora persica*), *tadent* (*Boscia senegalensis*), and *turza* (*Calotropis procera*). They are extremely common, and the two first species play a certain role for fodder during the hot and dry summer season (*éwilen*), but dry annual plants then constitute the best fodder for all domestic animals. The annual plants comprise various species; around Agadez they are mainly grasses, but the small thorny seed-plant *ageruf* (*Tribulus terrester*) is also very important. These tender plants spring up shortly after the rains but they wither even before rainfall stops at the beginning of the *ɣarat* season. The perennial fodder plants are of little value in the hot season. The *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*), which is extremely common everywhere, germinates at the beginning of the rains and is dry and contains little nourishment in summer. Acacias form very important fodder plants for camels and goats, but they are also of little value at this season when they defoliate. The two most important acacias are *afagag* (*abser* in Ahaggar) (*Acacia Raddiana*) and *tamat* (*Acacia flava*). The *afagag* acacia germinates shortly after the first rains (*akasa*) and has its highest fodder value in the season of *ɣarat* when the fruit pods fall to the ground providing excellent fodder for all domestic animals. The *tamat*-acacia starts germinating somewhat later and its fruit pods, which are equally important for fodder, do not fall until the beginning of the season known as *tabsit*, at which period the fruit pods of the *agar* tree (*Maerua crassifolia*) also fall. For southern Ayr it can be said that grazing conditions are tolerably good most of the year. They are extremely good when annual plants are green during the period of *akasa*, and they are bad in summer (*éwilen*) when the lactation of domestic animals is low.

Grazing conditions within the Ayr Massif are much more favourable than in Ahaggar, but one thing is lacking:— There are very few saliferous plants. Thus, for instance, there are very few tamarisks (*temeyut* = *Tamarix aphylla*; *azawa* = *Tamarix gallica*), which are found only within limited areas of the Massif; species of *Salsola* are very rare, and the very important saliferous plant, known to the Northern Tuareg as *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*), is not found within the Massif. The Ayr Tuareg therefore have to feed their animals with salty earth which can be dug in certain parts of Ayr, or with Bilma salt, which plays an enormous part for most stock-breeders of Ayr and adjacent regions. The Ayr Tuareg cannot so easily take their flocks and herds to salt pastures as can the Northern Tuareg. But there is south and southwest of the Ayr Massif a narrow belt of salt-containing soil and water. This region is known to the Tuareg as *Azawaɣ* because of its particular reddish soil. With this particular type of soil, well water and pools will contain some salt, as do most plants, and many Tuareg of the Ayr Massif migrate to the *Azawaɣ* country at the end of the rains to allow their animals to benefit from the salt-content of the water and plants there. There is another reason why some Ayr Tuareg, who have their normal grazing areas within the Massif, migrate south and westwards into the plains, namely the appearance in these regions of a small annual plant known as *emchiken* (*Ipomoea verticillata*). The Ayr Tuareg consider it one of the very best fodder plants for camels, goats, and sheep, but claim it to be less valuable for cattle and donkeys. – At the end of the rains the Ayr Tuareg who migrate to the *Azawaɣ* country camp among pastoralists of different and distant regions. At this season most *Kel Geres* Tuareg migrate northwards to camp around Tegidda-n-edrar and Tegidda-n-

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there will be one entirely dry year throughout, during which stock-breeding products have little or no value as food, and in such years of dry pasture there will also be very few wild plants to collect. Hunting, which plays little part for most Tuareg nowadays, is also of little value in an entirely dry year when many game animals die or migrate to other regions with more favourable pasture. It would seem obvious for pastoral Tuareg to do the same and to take their animals to grazing grounds outside of Ahaggar – particularly to the southern plains where pasture is normally better than in their own country. We have seen that most Ahaggar Tuareg in bad years have their she-camels far from Ahaggar in the Tamesna plains or in the country north of Adrar-n-Foras. We have also mentioned that, under very severe conditions, camps of Ahaggar and Ahnet may move to these southern regions with their flocks, though extensive goat-migrations are not always profitable. But most Tuareg remain in Ahaggar even in very dry years with their camps and flocks. Some of the animals will die, and none of them can be mated so that the flocks may rapidly decrease. During such years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg live so to speak exclusively on agricultural food products of which they get only a part from their gardens grown by sedentary agriculturists (the *Harratin*, or *Izzegaren*). It is mainly through caravan trading that the Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their vegetable food products. Their two important trading expeditions to the Tidikelt oases and to the Sudan are carried out anually for the main purpose of acquiring dates and millet.

Trading with the Tidikelt oases (Awlef and In Salah) is based mainly upon a surplus of goats, camels, butter and cheese, and on dried meat. But many Tuareg who obtain large amounts of millet from the Sudanese trading expedition also sell part of their wheat grown in their own gardens in Ahaggar, and Sudanese articles bought during their south-bound trading expedition. In a dry year some Tuareg may choose not to visit the Tidikelt area as they have too small a surplus for trading. The south-bound caravans, on the other hand, are rarely prevented from going as their main trading object is rock-salt of an excellent quality mined at Amadror north-east of the Ahaggar Massif. Both north-bound and south-bound caravans will set off in autumn when the hottest season has come to an end, that is at the end of September or at the beginning of October.

The caravan route from Tamanrasset in Ahaggar to In Salah in Tidikelt is about 750 kilometres, and the route is rather difficult because pasture is normally lacking for three to four days of the journey. Most Tuareg who cross this part of the desert therefore bring with them large supplies of the dried *tullult*-grass (*Aristida pungens*), which also serves as fodder for the pack-camels during the stay in the oases around which there is little pasture. The journey takes about twenty days in each direction, and the north-bound caravans return to Ahaggar again already in December or in January. The traders return with their camels loaded with dates of which a part may be re-sold in Ahaggar (Tamanrasset), but they also buy European cotton and other European articles, which are cheaper in the north, and woollen blankets woven by sedentary people of the northern oases.

The south-bound caravans are very extensive. The towns visited in the south are Agadez, Tawa Tanut, and Zinder. The distance from Tamanrasset to Zinder is, as the crow flies, about 1200 kilometres, while the distance from Tamanrasset to Amadror, where salt is mined, is about 300 kilometres. In total the caravan journey from Ahaggar to Zinder and back again for many Tuareg amounts to more than 3000 kilometres. The south-bound caravans are organized as follows:— Slaves take the

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Fig. 149. The market place of Agadez. In the front negroid Hausa men roasting small pieces of meat on a spit; in the background Tuareg camels offered for sale.

484 pack-camels to the salt pit of Amadror to mine salt in the hot season. They load the camels with salt
487 and bring them to the camp where further preparations for the journey are made. When the caravans
[317] have started southwards they stop in the Tamesna plains and rest there for at least one month to allow
[437] the pack-camels to feed on annual pasture, and, if necessary, to exchange the pack-camels with others kept by the Ahaggar Tuareg in Tamesna. Thereupon the caravan will continue towards the millet-
[221] growing towns and villages of the Sudan to bargain with the Hausa. The caravan returns to Ahaggar again at the end of March or at the beginning of April, so that the total duration of a south-bound caravan is up to six or seven months.

433 The Sudanese millet trade is of extreme value to the subsistence of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is partic-
439 ularly important to their economy that they obtain millet for non-nomadic products transported by camels, which are mainly bred outside of Ahaggar. The millet trade is consequently not much influenced by Ahaggar's changeable climate. According to official statistics, the Ahaggar caravans in 1946 exported 375 tons salt, and imported 720 tons millet, while the cereals grown in Ahaggar amounted to 197 tons (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). According to Galan vegetable food grown in the gardens of Ahaggar in 1950 (a bad year) amounted to 121 tons wheat, 5 tons millet and barley, and 4 tons of tomatoes – about 10 kg of wheat and 0.5 kg of millet, barley, and tomatoes per person (Galan 1951,
[468] p. 233). We see from this that the amount of cereals acquired in the Sudan far exceeds the amount grown in Ahaggar, and as we have mentioned, the millet trade is also important for the establishment of Tuareg agriculture in their own country where this cereal is used for payments to cultivators. It can also be added that the Sudanese caravan trade is more important to the Tuareg than appears from
[435] the figures above. For salt is much more valuable than millet, and for one load of salt the Tuareg receive from four to fifteen loads of millet – in 1946 the price was fifteen to one (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). It is evident that the Tuareg could not take all this millet back to Ahaggar. Most of it is re-sold

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439 caravans of the south or by Ayr Tuareg who import more millet than they need for their own use.
437 But millet is cheaper in Damergu than at the Agadez market, and most Tuareg prefer to organize
[435] their own millet caravans with camels and donkeys as pack-animals. In Damergu most Ayr Tuareg
[492] get millet in exchange for livestock or they buy it for money. Their caravans are not always very large,
[476] for the Southern Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not organize their caravans co-operatively
[484] on the basis of kinship. Many individual households fetch their own millet with a few animals, and it
[592] is comparatively easy to do so as the millet growing country of Damergu is not very far away – the distance from Agadez to Tanut is only about 300 kilometres. The Ayr Tuareg do not have to engage in extensive trading expeditions to procure millet, and can buy millet very cheaply. A household, it
437 is said, does not have to sell a great many animals to secure the necessary supply of millet. Three or
439 four camel loads will cover the needs of most households, and this amount of millet can be acquired
435 for comparatively few animals – particularly if the animals vended are sheep, which have become
592 very expensive in recent times owing to the rapid increase of Europeans at Agadez. An extremely good
162 sheep or ram for slaughtering can bring in 2000 to 3000 West African francs, and a Tuareg household which buys millet in Damergu will need less than 10,000 francs to acquire the quantity necessary for a year. Thus the Ayr Tuareg can obtain their millet for a few sheep, and there are very few, if any, who do not posses this surplus, and it should be repeated that the increment of livestock is never stopped by drought periods as in the north. The extremely high price for sheep for butchering is a recent phenomena due to the increase of the French population. Fully-grown sheep or rams are expensive, and this is also the case with fowls, while goats are cheap. I believe we can estimate that a household would have to sell about 15 goats anually to obtain the amount of millet necessary for one year's consumption. However, there is little doubt that it has always been quite easy for the Tuareg of Southern Ayr to obtain the requisite amount of millet in exchange for livestock.

262 Millet and milk constitute the basic nourishment of the Ayr Tuareg, but they are very fond of an
[222] occasional change of food. And I believe that this is one important reason why the Ayr Tuareg, like those of Ahaggar, collect wild seeds even in years when grown cereals are abundant. For a change, the Ayr Tuareg are also extremely fond of dates which are not grown to any great extent in their own country. A few Ayr Tuareg own palms yielding dates of poor quality, and I think that a few house-
[439] holds also obtain some dates from Ingal. However, most dates eaten in Ayr are imported from the oasis of Bilma, situated in the very barren desert country between Ayr and Tibesti, about 700 kilometres north-east of Agadez.

437 The trade with Bilma is apparently an ancient one, and its foundation is salt which is of a very bad
439 quality compared with that mined at Amadror in the north. The rock-salt of Amadror is excellent
[317] for food, and though there is one good quality of Bilma salt that is used for food by the Tuareg of
[263] Ayr, most salt from Bilma contains much soil and other impurities. This impure salt is excellent for
[233] domestic animals which, in Ayr and further south where salt pastures do not exist, need a lot of salt. The Ayr Tuareg, and particularly those who do not visit the country of Azaouar at the end of the rains, need salt not only for their own food but also for their domestic animals. They obtain this from Bilma, which is visited by caravans in autumn or in the early winter. The inhabitants of Bilma, like other oases-dwellers, are in constant need of cereals and meat, and these products are imported

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



by the Tuareg of Ayr, the *Kel Geres*, and other Tuareg. The Tuareg obtain salt generally in exchange for millet, but they also bring with them dried meat, and meat from animals newly slaughtered; and although this meat is largely rotten when it arrives at Bilma it is easily sold to the oases dwellers who are yearning for meat. The oases dwellers have little to subsist upon but dates of which they have a surplus. This is purchased by the Tuareg, who get two loads of dates for one load of millet. The Bilma trade is less important nowadays than it was at the beginning of the century. In 1922 the Bilma caravans comprised about 7000 camels (Buchanan 1926, p. 83), while in 1908, when the trade was already decreasing, caravans numbered about 20,000 camels (Abadie 1927, p. 292). Caravans still go to Bilma to fetch salt and dates, but the salt trade is not so profitable to-day when Bilma salt can be bought fairly cheaply at Agadez, as the trucks bringing provisions from Agadez to the French administration and to the merchants of Bilma, take salt back with them when they return. The Ayr Tuareg do not organize their trading expeditions within family groups or sections as in Ahaggar. A Tuareg who does not want himself to go to Bilma may let a kinsman or a friend trade for him with his camels. The payment for this is a large loaf of salt which constitute one sixth or one seventh of a camel load.

The Ayr Tuareg do not generally obtain salt from the pits of Tegidda-n-tésemt though this place is not very far from the Massif to the west. They say that the Tegidda salt is not as good as Bilma's. The salt of Tegidda-n-tésemt is purchased mainly by the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* when visiting the regions around Ingal after the rains. Some of the *Kel Ayr* who live in the extreme north (the *Kel Tédalé*, and others) occasionally go to Amadṛor in the north to fetch salt which is taken down to the Sudanese towns and villages. In years when drought prevails in Ahaggar these Tuareg take their surplus of livestock to the market at Tamanṛaset, for in dry years the provision of meat, butter, and cheese consumed in Ahaggar come mainly from Ayr and adjacent regions. When I stayed in Ahaggar in 1954–55 a great many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* came to Tamanṛaset to sell camels, donkeys, sheep, goats, and zebus, and also brought with them large quantities of cow's butter and cheese. The route followed from Northern Ayr to Ahaggar runs via I-n-aẓawa and I-n-abeggi which are the only wells between the two mountain massifs. Water is very scarce and so is pasture, which is mainly limited to a scattered vegetation of annual plants; over very large areas there is no vegetation at all. It is easy to drive camels and donkeys through these regions, while more difficult for sheep, goats, and cattle. The zebus easily get cut hooves from walking on stony ground, while sheep and goats suffer much from thirst. In spite of this, all kinds of livestock can be driven through the barren desert from Ayr to Ahaggar, even as late as the month of March which is extremely hot in the barren desert country. The Tuareg frequently lose animals which die from thirst and hunger during the journey, but the trade is nevertheless extremely profitable as prices of livestock are high in Ahaggar in dry years, while prices of European goods such as tea, sugar, cotton, metal vessels, and the like are extremenly low compared with the prices asked for these goods in Ayr.

The Ayr Tuareg, though owning more livestock than the Tuareg of Ahaggar, have a certain demand of agricultural food products. These products are mainly grown outside of the Massif, for the farmers of Ayr grow little millet, very few dates, and part of the wheat grown in Ayr is exported to the oases of Ganet and Ṛat in the north. Though these vegetable products can be purchased at Agadez, it is profitable to fetch them where they are cheap, namely in the Sudan (millet) and in Bilma (dates). And

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175 added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was
721 also fighting within these groups at intervals.

[640] The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwllemmeden* and the Arab pastor-
[578] alists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg frequently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

[437] Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite of these latent conditions of hostility.

175 Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the
437 Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays. They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter, cheese, and the like.

175 The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day
437 the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times,
484 but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* who dominated the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays.

[439] They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also
[438] say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All
[317] this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadror were not utilized in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to
[361] the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then
[162] travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could not defend itself against raiders.

175 It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts
567 of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading
[640] until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in
[171] this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

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People adorn themselves with their jewels only during festivals; they are ordinarily kept in bags closed by a curious rectangular padlock, which is provided with one or two interior bolts; it must be undone with an enormous key which the Tuareg always have on their person. 30 [527] [414] [415]

Fig. 45. Ahaggar Tuareg women's ear hoop.

/276/ Chapter 9

Arts and Crafts Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

The nomadic and pastoral life which the Tuareg lead obviously limits the development of craft techniques and that of art itself. For them, all is reduced to the immediate necessities of everyday life -- articles for the household and the house itself, harnesses, clothing, and, accessorily, adornment. 32 [532]

If we look for the raw materials used and at the disposal of the Tuareg for making the different objects which they need, we observe that wood comes first, then leather, then certain graminaceae stems, and finally metals.

32 If, secondly, we look for the aptitudes which the Tuareg have for working these different raw materials, we notice that their enumeration follows the same order as above, with the reservation 325 that none of them know how to work metals. The latter occupations 463 are the prerogative of the Enaden, that is to say, the artisans, and 564 it is evident from this that without the artisans' help Tuareg industry would be limited to work in wood, leather, and esparto. In short, it is the cultural cycle of the pastoral peoples of the steppe.

It is only much later, when the Tuareg had integrated the [174] Enaden with their social organization, that they used metals. Therefore, [415 531] we perceive the considerable role which artisans must have played in technical evolution and that of art itself.

Fig. 46. Wooden funnel.

/277/ The presence of Enaden in the camps has reduced the manual labor [322] of the Tuareg, but the latter are still able to make wooden articles -- milking vessels, bowls, tent stakes, etc.

565 One of their most curious customs is that women from the high 462 nobility work wooden vessels and funnels with their hands by means 322 of a little adze. They usually give them to the wives of their Imrad, 431 who are very appreciative of these gifts. In the Ahaggar camps we found many little utensils which were the work of famous noble-women, of tamenokalin whose names are piously kept; these objects were saved with much veneration. This custom is even more re- [174] markable since we know the scorn that the Tuareg have for manual labor; we must see in it a relic of woodworking which must formerly have been everyone's work, without distinction, before the creation of the artisan class.

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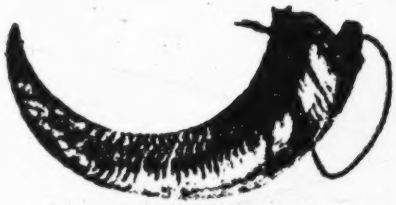

Fig. 165. Horn (*isek*) of barbary sheep used for storing butter for greasing the hair. The opening is closed with a piece of date palm bast (*asen*), and the edge is pierced with a glowing awl (*éudel*) for the insertion of a cord of goat's hair by means of which the horn is attached to the tent ceiling. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.30 m long. (F.M. 236).

252 *415 the Tuareg in the past. I believe that they were made by blacksmiths or imported from the north. Pastoral Tuareg do not manufacture earthen pots which are obtained from sedentary people. The [322] cooking of meat is perhaps not a traditional method of food preparation to the Tuareg, though they seem to have used cooking pots for centuries.

252 A method of meat preparation undoubtedly introduced recently among the Tuareg, is that of spit 177 roasting. Meat roasted in this way is known as *mechwi*, a word of Arab origin, and the Northern Tuareg have taken over the method from the Arabs. The *mechwi* method is also known in Ayr, where it has perhaps been introduced by French administrators who had learned to appreciate meat thus 252 prepared during their visits among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Pieces of sheep and goats and entire animals are prepared in this way (Fig. 174), and the meat should preferably be prepared with butter and red pepper before roasting.

The traditional Tuareg roasting method is to place entire animals (goats, sheep), or parts of them, under the hot ashes of the fire. This method is known to the Northern Tuareg as *abatul*, to the Tuareg of Ayr as *ébewil* (Fig. 175). This method of roasting meat is practised everywhere among the Tuareg, and it is on the whole similar to the method used for bread-baking described below (p. 238 f.).

Meat-roasting in the ashes is no doubt an ancient Tuareg method of food-preparation, and this also holds good for another method described in connection with the preparation of milk, namely food preparation by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221). The Ahaggar Tuareg prepare the stomachs of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep in this way, putting hot stones into the stomachs, while camel stomachs are boiled in a cooking pot and gazelle stomachs roasted in the ashes according to the *abatul* method mentioned above. These rules of food preparation seem also to be practised by the Ayr Tuareg, who put hot stones into stomachs of sheep and goats together with small pieces of meat. A stomach of goats or sheep prepared in this way, however, is given a final treatment in hot sand or in ashes close to the fire. The stomach of sheep or goats cooked with hot stones is known as *tarafa*, and a related word seems to be known also in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1583).

[262] The Tuareg eat most entrails of their slaughtered animals. Entrails of camels are normally boiled, and kidneys of all animals are prepared in this way. Most entrails of goats and sheep (liver, heart, and lungs) are roasted on the embers or in the ashes, and in Ayr the Tuareg roast fat put into the abomasum (*tederant*). The Northern Tuareg generally prepare liver and fat together in the following manner:— The liver is roasted upon the embers, is thereupon cut into small pieces which are wrapped

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Fig. 224. Decorated skin bag (*abelhoḍ*) for the conservation of tea leaves. Ahaggar, the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.25 m long. (F.M. 151).

Fig. 225. Skin bag known as *alegutgut* (pl. *alegutguten*). The specimen depicted is an old bag which shows that the bottom consists of a bowl plaited in coiled technique and covered with leather. New bags of this type are ornamented with leather fringes. These bags are used for the transportation of tea glasses, sugar, and the like. The correct name of such bags according to some Tuareg is *eggebankob* (pl. *eggebankobben*). Ahaggar, the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.33 m high. (F.M. 80).

413 used to burn marks of property into camels and donkeys. The large awl may also be employed for
[321] wood and horn work after heating in the fire. Horn or bone material, however, plays a little part to
[757] the Tuareg. A horn implement common to all Tuareg is that depicted Fig. 230; it is used for sucking
237 out blood of sick persons after bleeding and is widely known in the Sahara. Arm rings (sing. *éweki*)
[301] made of horn are worn by many adult men among the *Kel Aïïer*, but are rare in Ahaggar. Among the

[text continues on p. 282]

312 and from all the subterranean flows; thus it is richer in watering places. There are rédir, or wells, varying from 5 to 10 meters in depth.

342 The tent. -- This kind of habitation is found from the western Asian steppes to the Atlantic, where nomads have generally adopted the camel's-hair tent. Tuareg, who do not own any camels with long hair, use skins.

The tent is composed of a large awning formed by assembling [281] 30 to 40 wild-sheep or goat hides, with the hair removed and tanned. Because of the scarcity of wild-sheep skins, goatskin and even cow- [184] hide are gradually being substituted for them. Cowhide is used exclusively by the Ioullimmiden Tuareg. The awning is held up by a frame of arches or poles. The Kel Ahaggar, moreover, have two kinds of tents: one with vertical supports and one with arches. The former is more widespread at the present time. It includes a central pole with a wooden ridge tile and six secondary poles placed in a circle. The highest part of the awning is about 1.5 meters from the ground. The edges of the skin hang down almost level with the ground where they are attached by small pegs in order to keep out the sandstorms which are very common in spring and summer, and keep out the winter cold.

The ridge tile on a central pole is especially used in summer when rains are feared, for it gives the proper slope to the awning so that water can flow off. In other seasons this ridge tile is replaced by two poles supporting a crosspiece.

Although one cannot stand inside, the Tuareg tent is spacious 323 enough. The poles are in tamarisk wood, with coarse sculpture, 531] pyrography, and paintings on the upper part. /224/ This type of tent is used by the Kel Rela, the Dǎg Rǎli, and most of the Kel Ahaggar.

The other model is now used only among the Ǎgouh-en-Tĕhlé. [184] It appears that the Kel Ǎhnet and the Kel In Rhar may still use it, too. The center stake of the type described above is replaced by one or two arches made of éthel /atle? Ed./ roots joined by a

32 If, secondly, we look for the aptitudes which the Tuareg have for working these different raw materials, we notice that their enumeration follows the same order as above, with the reservation 325 that none of them know how to work metals. The latter occupations 463 are the prerogative of the Enaden, that is to say, the artisans, and 564 it is evident from this that without the artisans' help Tuareg industry would be limited to work in wood, leather, and esparto. In short, it is the cultural cycle of the pastoral peoples of the steppe.

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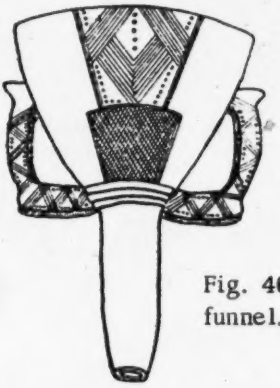

Fig. 46. Wooden funnel.

/277/ The presence of Enaden in the camps has reduced the manual labor [322] of the Tuareg, but the latter are still able to make wooden articles -- milking vessels, bowls, tent stakes, etc.

565 One of their most curious customs is that women from the high 462 nobility work wooden vessels and funnels with their hands by means 322 of a little adze. They usually give them to the wives of their Imrad, 431 who are very appreciative of these gifts. In the Ahaggar camps we found many little utensils which were the work of famous noblewomen, of taménokalin whose names are piously kept; these objects were saved with much veneration. This custom is even more re- [174] markable since we know the scorn that the Tuareg have for manual labor; we must see in it a relic of woodworking which must formerly have been everyone's work, without distinction, before the creation of the artisan class.

Wood furnishes containers for food, drinking vessels, milking 322
vessels, mortars, pestles, tent stakes, crosspieces and boards for making saddles. The Ahaggar does not have more than five or six species of woods which can be worked, and the articles, very simply shaped, are much less varied than in the Sudanese tribes.

All Ahaggar women, noble or vassal, know how to tan, re- 281
move hair from, sew, decorate, and embroider leather. They are 462
able to make a waterskin needed to carry water, prepare skins to make tents, and manufacture bags for transporting food and personal objects. They have all become so expert in these labors that it is

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Fig. 47. Amoula, a little wooden "bottle" for young children to drink from.

difficult to find any other peoples in the world who possess such a developed leather craft. [137]

The scarcity of vegetable materials in the Ahaggar is one of 285
the reasons why the use of esparto is relatively restricted. Only the stems of a graminacea common in the wadies (Panicum turgidum) [824]
are used to make mats -- large enclosing mats which surround the tent, sleeping mats, mats for covering plates.

/278/ The stems are bound by little leather thongs, and the [283]
combination of graminacea and leather is extremely effective; it [531]
allows very regular geometric decorations at the same time as a very solid work.

There are no esparto vans among the Tuareg. The women 291
use palm-leaf vans and hats, but these articles are the work of the 416
Harratin from the little palm groves of Silet, Ideles, and Abalessa. 438

283 Spinning is done by all Tuareg women. They spin the hair of the
462 goat, the camel, and the wild sheep, making very solid cords and saddle girths.

286 Weaving is limited to the making of goat's-hair, or more rarely camel's-hair, bags. This is a very primitive technique which does not require any loom and which is, furthermore, in the process of disappearing from the Ahaggar, where only a few noblewomen still practice it. It is completely extinct in Sudanese tribes.

324 Stonework, a relic of Neolithism, was still carried on in the Ahaggar
438 a few years ago to make arm rings. Layers of granitoid schists were formerly worked at Aseksem and Terahart in the Tăfedest. We also found an ancient workshop south of Silet on the banks of the Tamanrasset wadi. Today all stone bracelets come from Aïr and a few from Hombori, where they are manufactured by Tuareg or Hausa artisans.

[415] [322]

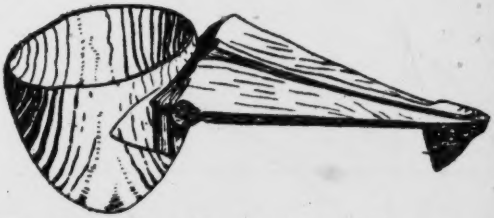

Fig. 48. Tabarekkat wooden ladle, also serving as a drinking vessel.

326 Metalworking is exclusively in the hands of the Enaden, who transform
[564] silver, copper, and iron. These materials, with the exception of iron, do not exist in a native, workable state in the Ahaggar. But although iron
[135] ore is common /279/ in some volcanic rocks of their country, the Tuareg do not have it exploited, for it is found in such small particles that it necessitates a disproportionate amount of forge work for the quantity likely to be recovered. Nevertheless, the memory of casting ore still remains among the Enaden. They use several forges at once, but do not know
[439] the blast furnace. The caravaneers coming from the north or from the Sudan used to bring metals.

177 At the present time silver comes from coins which are melted. For
326 years the Tuareg have had Maria Theresa dollars at their disposal; these

439 These transactions are chiefly centered around tea, sugar, cloth, perfumes, hardware, carbide, and blankets from the Touat. They cause quite an appreciable movement of camels from which the Ihaggaren benefit, along with the Arabs from In-Salah who rent their camels to traders.

Transport. -- We need not repeat that without the camel the 492 Sahara would be uninhabited today. Indeed, it plays a capital role in transport between oases; it is the mount used by warriors and people who are moving and the vehicle for baggage. People would not be able to do without its services the moment it is a question of crossing a hundred or so kilometers in a region not supplied with watering places.

The ass also plays a big role, but its use is more localized. [312] It is confined to the edges of the massif, where it is rare not to find water during a day's march. The ass really assures all internal transport -- that necessitated by moving camps, transport of water [565] and even of persons -- for although the Imochar never travel except on camels, the Imrad /318/ commonly make use of the ass, and their wives know no other mounts. Its role is even more appreciated because it saves camels which, in the Ahaggar, must be submitted /only/ to moderate labor. In addition, it is always handy, for it lives near the camps while camels are often several days' march away because of pasture needs.

Meharists have a special harness: light saddles which are placed on the animal's withers and which are designed to receive the different bags of salt and waterskins.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have several kinds of saddles: 1) the tarik, with the pommel in the shape of a cross and covered with [281] red leather; 2) the tamzak, shaped the same way, but much more [531] luxurious, with the outside of the pommel and the back decorated with little perforated metal plates and copper studs; 3) the tahiast, [531] a coarse saddle with a palette-shaped pommel, either in bare wood or covered with leather decorated with geometric designs. [322]

492 adopted by all the Tuareg of the Ádrar des Iforas, which the
171 Chaamba Arabs also use, and which is derived from the saddle of the Moors of the western Sahara.

492 Ahaggar noblewomen, who travel only on meharis, have
[565] special saddles resembling the basour of the Arabs but without the arch covered in cloth. These saddles are called akhaoui; they
[322] are made /319/ of wood and ornamented with large pommels in front and small plaques trimmed with copper nailheads on the side.
[531] For long moves these saddles can be provided with a wicker cage covered with cloth, but this is not a common practice.

Saddles hold leather bags which contain either a change of
[415] clothes or food reserves as well as the waterskins constituting the necessary provision for crossing regions without wells.

For transport, camels are provided with a special packsaddle made of palm fibers which literally crowns their backbone. Most of these packsaddles are made in the Tidikelt. For caravans which last a long time the animals are loaded with about 100 kilograms, plus the waterskins that are generally added to the baggage. The servants, who accompany the animals and do not have personal mounts at their disposal, /320/ ride on top as excess weight and make the whole trip under these conditions.

[481] The Tuareg are very poor walkers and cannot conceive of a person's going on foot, even to spare the mount for a few kilometers.

Asses, which as we have said are used for transport within the massif, are provided with a little packsaddle serving as a saddle at the same time. When camp is moved, they are loaded with the tent, tent stakes, and bags containing food reserves. They also
[312] assure the carrying of water from the well to camp.

484 When an Amrid travels alone on a voyage, he takes an ass to
492 carry his water, his small baggage, and his blanket. Pushing the
[481] ass before him, he walks behind carrying his lance over his shoulders. He mounts on it only during the hot hours of the day.

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Fig. 21 a–b. Milk-bowls (*akas*, pl. *ikassen*) which are used for milking and for milk drinking.

[184] a. A bowl made of burned clay like an ordinary earthen pot. These bowls are never used by pastoral Tuareg but by a few sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar who also manufacture them. Ahaggar, Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.120 m high with an upper diameter of 0.187 m. (N.M. G. 5821).

[824] [463] [184] b. A bowl cut of the wood of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*). It is made by a blacksmith, but certain Tuareg women cut similar bowls which are common in all camps of pastoral Northern Tuareg. Such milk-bowls are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.102 m high with an upper diameter of 0.199 m. (N.M. G. 5199).

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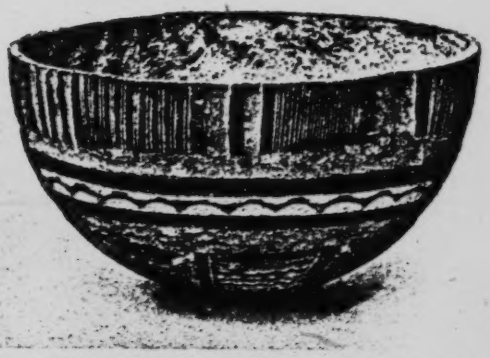

Fig. 22. Calabash of a type which is used occasionally for milking in Ahaggar. It is called *ateklas* (*wa n akh*) or *ateklas* (*wa n tazek*), that is "calabash for milk, or "calabash for milking". Introduced to Ahaggar from the south and bought at Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.110 m high with an upper diameter of 0.195–0.203 m. (N.M. G. 5823).

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Fig. 37. Wooden milk-bowl (*akabar*) of the type used in Ayr not only for she-camels but also for cows, sheep, and goats. It is carved out of wood of the *turza* tree (*turha* in Ahaggar) (*Calotropis procera*) by a blacksmith. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.285 m high. (N.M. G. 6662).

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Fig. 38. Wooden milk-bowl (*akabar*) of the type used for she-camels in Ahaggar. It was introduced to Ahaggar from the south where it was made by an Ayr blacksmith from wood of the *turha* tree (*Calotropis procera*). The cracked brim is mended with a piece of raw camel hide. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.240 m high. (N.M. G. 5822).

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*492 household goods during nomadic migrations, and are employed daily in all camps to carry water in skin-
[415] bags from wells and waterholes to the tents. They are very strong animals considering their low stature,
[512] and good pack-donkeys can carry up to one hundred kilograms even for very long trips. Donkeys
[262] are occasionally used for long journeys by the Northern Tuareg, and many Ayr Tuareg use them to
[484] fetch provisions of millet around Tanut in Dumergu. Caravans of donkeys are frequently observed
in these regions, and one even sees mixed caravans of donkeys and camels. There can be no doubt
[174] that before the introduction of the camel the donkey was still more important for riding and transportation than is the case nowadays. This is clearly demonstrated by historical material from Egypt and adjacent regions (cf. Erman 1922, p. 518 f., 529, 592 f., 636).

23 It has already been mentioned that donkey's meat and skin are not utilized nowadays by the Tuareg.
[262] The same is true of mare's milk which, however, is used as a remedy against a kind of cough known
[257] to the Ayr Tuareg as *khamkham*. There is no regulation of mating for donkeys which in many ways are semi-domesticated animals. In Ayr male donkeys are never castrated, while the Ahaggar Tuareg say they castrate such stallions as constantly run after the mares and in this way cause too much trouble. The Tuareg also have no methods to prevent foals from sucking, while a method of this kind is sometimes applied by sedentary people in and around Agadez. This method known as *éfinjar* consists in the cutting of the nostrils of half-grown foals so that they cannot suck pregnant mares. Both stallions
*492 and mares are used for riding and transportation, but female animals are much preferred for these purposes. Mares are used almost exclusively for the transportation of water-bags hanging under the animals, as the bags might be squirted by stallions' urine.

The Northern Tuareg saddle their donkeys, using the same saddle type for riding and for transpor-
[462] tation (Fig. 86). This is known as *aruku* and is manufactured by the women in the following way:—
[824] Two fresh boughs of the *tahunek*-tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) are heated, or slightly burned, over the fire.
[322] The boughs are thereupon barked and bent into the curved form wanted, and are then kept in this position by cords. After drying for a few days the boughs will retain their curved form, and the cords are untied. The boughs are then cut up and their ends are connected by two pieces of camel's hide
[237] soaked in water, and sewn together by means of a large iron needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (cf. Fig. 220b)
[412] and a thread which is also cut from camel's hide. The wooden saddle frame is attached to three cushions. These cushions are generally made of goat-skin or sheep-skin stuffed with hay or with date
[237] palm bast, but may also be plaited from leaves of the date palm tree. Cushions made from goat-skin
[412] are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of the little awl known as *tistent* (cf. Fig. 218a). The two long cushions resting lengthwise upon the animals back are known as *tastek*, and the small cushion resting over the animal's back close to its shoulders is called *tafelledut*. The saddle is fixed to the donkey by two girths consisting of cords made of goat-hair. One of these cords (*tidmechart*) passes under the tail, the other (*ahayif*) is tied around the chest of the animal. This saddle type is well fitted for the transportation of burdens and in particular of water-bags, the cords of which are attached to the pommels. When the saddle is used for riding it is frequently covered with a blanket or a piece of cloth. Saddles of this type are found in all camps of the Northern Tuareg, and Lhote states that they are also found in Adrar-n-Foras and in Ayr (Lhote 1947a, p. 120). This may be so but I have myself never seen them in the latter region where they are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan*

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433 in the Sudan for such articles as camel saddles, sandals, swords, millet mortars, indigo cotton, earthen-
439 ware pots, and the like. The Tuareg may also buy quantities of butter and cheese for sale to the sedentary people of Tidikelt and for their own use in dry years.

The Sudanese trade constitutes the great stabilizing factor in the economy of pastoral Tuareg of
[262] Ahaggar. In return for the valuable rock-salt, pastoral Tuareg obtain the bulk of their agricultural food products (millet), butter and cheese for their own consumption in dry years, many important artefacts and notably their camel saddles and their millet mortars. They also get a surplus of millet and goods for investment in their Ahaggar gardens and for selling to the sedentary people of the Tidikelt oases.

There are certain Tuareg who do not engage in the Sudanese salt trade, notably those living in Ahnet; and these Tuareg nowadays have no irrigated gardens either. They acquire their necessary vegetable food products from Tidikelt (dates) and from Abalessa and Tamanrasset (wheat). They buy these vegetable products with their surplus of goats, sheep, camels, butter and cheese, and an occasional
[511] barbary sheep. In a good year they can meet their needs of food in this way, but it is most difficult for them to subsist in dry years; and it may happen that two dry years come in succession. When I
[114] stayed among the Ahnet Tuareg in 1954–55, all camps visited were very short of food, while the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif who engage much in the salt trade (the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé*) possessed what they needed of wheat, barley, dates, and millet.

[364] To-day there is a rather important market at Tamanrasset where many Tuareg sell surplus livestock,
[435] and where they can also buy cereals and dates. But it is always profitable to sell livestock and meat in the Tidikelt oases where meat, butter and cheese are very expensive articles. Dates are cheap in these
000 oases, European goods and woven blankets are also cheaper than at Tamanrasset. The trading expedi-

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Fig. 150. Wooden measure (*muda*) which contains one kilo of cereals, or the like. The Tuareg have adopted the kilogramme into their own weight system. The proper Tuareg unit is the *tazîwa* which, according to Foucauld, corresponds to three kilogrammes (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1160), but nowadays the Ahaggar Tuareg count one *tazîwa* as equal to two kilogrammes and a half. The Tuareg have wooden or metal measures of *tazîwa* size, and there are also larger measures to be used for grain, dates, and the like. For units smaller than *muda* the Tuareg sometimes use a wooden measure called *tanakast* which holds half a kilogramme. Smaller quantities are measured with the hand held half open, and it is recognized in Ahaggar that one *tazîwa* corresponds to 99 handfuls. In Ayr it is very common to use a little plaited bowl (*téfakemt*) as the smallest unit of measurement. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.125 m in diameter at the rim. (F.M. 168).

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Fig. 153a–b. Tuareg funnels (*éssegefi*, pl. *issegefa*) which are used for milk, butter, and for other liquids.

a. Wooden funnel ornamented by burning. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (F.M. 240).

b. Funnel plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) with the rim reinforced with leather. Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.135 m high. (F.M. 243).

234 In Ahaggar the method of churning butter is as follows:— Milk of the morning yield is put into a
*4/15 skin bag (*émesesley*) (Figs. 156–157) to remain in this bag until next morning when churning takes place. During the hot season the *émesesley*, filled with milk, is placed in the shade of the tent in daytime, while in winter it is placed in sunshine, or close to the fire. Some milk of the evening yield is sometimes added to the morning milk in the *émesesley*. Before churning the milk thus soured is poured into the proper churning bag (*aǵiwir*, *tanwart*) which is inflated and shaken. Churning bags may vary in size; when there is little milk to be churned a little bag is used and shaking is done holding it in the hands (Fig. 158). When milk is very plentiful, butter is sometimes churned in larger bags (*anwar*), which at one end is attached to a pole, while shaking is done by pulling the other end of the bag with one or both hands. When the milk is shaken in this way it forms small white balls of butter which
[412] are removed from the churning bag with a wooden spoon (Fig. 191) when water has been added. This
[262] white butter (*udi wa mellen*, or *tesendut*) is occasionally used for food without further preparation,
[824] but this is not normal, for newly-churned butter is generally put into an earthen pot (*téṛirt*, or *ufrun*) (Figs. 186, 187a–b) together with parts of an annual plant known as *aymesnis* (*Chlamydophora pubescens*) (Fig. 160) to be heated over the fire. Some Tuareg also add meal of dried dates, or of horns of barbary sheep. After heating, butter (*udi*) assumes a dark yellow colour. It is stored in containers made of
251 *4/15 camel's hide (*tahattint*, *asagen*, *aṛaḥha*) (Figs. 161–162), or in Sudanese calabashes (*azemu*) (Figs.
[324] 163a–b). A particular metal pail (*éṛir*) (Fig. 164) manufactured by native blacksmiths is also used for butter in Ahaggar,

butter in Ahaggar, and butter reserved for greasing the hair is frequently kept in a large horn (*lsek*) of barbary sheep (Fig. 165). 251 415* [302]

The Ayr Tuareg make butter (*wlji*) in much the same way as the Northern Tuareg. For churning they use a skin bag (*anwar*), or a calabash (*azenu*), and they say that they prefer skin bags in winter, and calabashes in the hot season. Butter is heated or boiled immediately after churning, but the Ayr Tuareg do not add parts of plants, date flour, or the like. In Ayr butter is not churned as regularly as in the north. It is used mainly for cooking meat of thin animals, for a sauce which may be used for millet porridge instead of milk (cf. p. 243 f.), and for greasing the hair. Among the Northern Tuareg butter is added to many different dishes and particularly to bread, which is eaten almost daily by many people. In years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg get their butter from Ayr (cf. p. 212, 215), and the Ayr Tuareg make much butter for export in such circumstances. They churn most butter from cow's 234 415* [252] [302] [262] [438]

415* 322 [283]

Fig. 154a–c.

a. Wooden funnel. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.146 m high. (N.M. G. 5203).
b. Funnel consisting of a piece of calabash which derives from the south. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.131 m high. (N.M. G. 5202).
c. Wooden funnel with a strap of cord of goat's hair. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.175 m high. (N.M. G. 1.150).

All wooden funnels are cut from wood of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*). [824]

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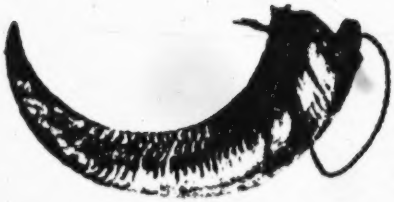

Fig. 165. Horn (*isrk*) of barbary sheep used for storing butter for greasing the hair. The opening is closed with a piece of date palm bast (*asan*), and the edge is pierced with a glowing awl (*éndel*) for the insertion of a cord of goat's hair by means of which the horn is attached to the tent ceiling. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ali* tribe. Dimension: 0.30 m long. (F.M. 236).

252 the Tuareg in the past. I believe that they were made by blacksmiths or imported from the north.
*415 Pastoral Tuareg do not manufacture earthen pots which are obtained from sedentary people. The
322 cooking of meat is perhaps not a traditional method of food preparation to the Tuareg, though they seem to have used cooking pots for centuries.

252 A method of meat preparation undoubtedly introduced recently among the Tuareg, is that of spit
177 roasting. Meat roasted in this way is known as *mechwi*, a word of Arab origin, and the Northern Tuareg have taken over the method from the Arabs. The *mechwi* method is also known in Ayr, where it has perhaps been introduced by French administrators who had learned to appreciate meat thus
252 prepared during their visits among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Pieces of sheep and goats and entire animals are prepared in this way (Fig. 174), and the meat should preferably be prepared with butter and red pepper before roasting.

The traditional Tuareg roasting method is to place entire animals (goats, sheep), or parts of them, under the hot ashes of the fire. This method is known to the Northern Tuareg as *abatul*, to the Tuareg of Ayr as *ébewil* (Fig. 175). This method of roasting meat is practised everywhere among the Tuareg, and it is on the whole similar to the method used for bread-baking described below (p. 238 f.).

Meat-roasting in the ashes is no doubt an ancient Tuareg method of food-preparation, and this also holds good for another method described in connection with the preparation of milk, namely food preparation by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221). The Ahaggar Tuareg prepare the stomachs of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep in this way, putting hot stones into the stomachs, while camel stomachs are boiled in a cooking pot and gazelle stomachs roasted in the ashes according to the *abatul* method mentioned above. These rules of food preparation seem also to be practised by the Ayr Tuareg, who put hot stones into stomachs of sheep and goats together with small pieces of meat. A stomach of goats or sheep prepared in this way, however, is given a final treatment in hot sand or in ashes close to the fire. The stomach of sheep or goats cooked with hot stones is known as *tarafa*, and a related word seems to be known also in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1583).

[262] The Tuareg eat most entrails of their slaughtered animals. Entrails of camels are normally boiled, and kidneys of all animals are prepared in this way. Most entrails of goats and sheep (liver, heart, and lungs) are roasted on the embers or in the ashes, and in Ayr the Tuareg roast fat put into the abomasum (*tedeṛant*). The Northern Tuareg generally prepare liver and fat together in the following manner:— The liver is roasted upon the embers, is thereupon cut into small pieces which are wrapped

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up with small strips of fat. The pieces of liver covered with fat are put on a slender iron or 252
wooden rod to be roasted slightly over the fire. This dish is known to all Tuareg by the Arabic word [177]
*elmefsif*. It was introduced among the Northern Tuareg by the Arabs, but is not widely known among the Ayr Tuareg.

This brief description of Tuareg meat preparation can adequately be supplemented by a reference 252
to two peculiar dishes:— (1) A dish known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *talebeggat*. It consists of meat 262
which after boiling or roasting is pounded in a large mortar and frequently served with liquid butter. This dish is also known to the Ayr Tuareg. (2) A dish which is described from Ahaggar by Foucauld 252
under the name *abangor*. It consists of untanned skin which is eaten in case of hunger after the following 261
preparation:— Untanned skin from household implements, shields, and the like is roasted under the ashes, and is thereupon pounded into small pieces. These are eaten without any further preparation, or after boiling. (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 73).

Like other North African peoples the Tuareg dry meat of domestic animals and of game. The people 251
of Ayr know three distinct drying methods, namely (1) *iwesan*, that is meat which is boiled until it is free of blood; it is dried in the shade; (2) *tikelsin*, uncooked meat cut into pieces to be dried on a string in the shade; (3) *kules*, uncooked meat cut into strips which are dried for some time to be treated with salt and various spices. This last method is not practised among the Tuareg of Ayr, but by sedentary people of Agadez and by Negroes further south in Damergu. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally boil or roast the meat before drying; meat roasted in the ashes according to the *abaṭul* method and thereupon dried is known as *takase*. I do not know whether the Ahaggar Tuareg also practise the [825]
method of drying raw meat like the Ayr Tuareg, but the dried *agezzeram* lizzards which they take to Tidikelt on trading expeditions, are dried uncooked. Furthermore, the method of drying raw meat [171]
is known elsewhere in the Northern Sahara, and I have myself seen it practised among the Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

I conclude the description of Tuareg meat preparation with a brief note on the use of blood of living 272

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Fig. 166. Wooden double-vessel (*azur*) to contain water and butter for greasing the hair. Similar containers with a third vessel for fine-grained sand are also found among the Tuareg. Made by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Geometrical ornaments are produced by burning with a hot iron. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.241 m long. (N.M. G. 5880).

[text continues on p. 235]

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Fig. 203. Earthen incense jar (*elbokhkhar*). Ahaggar, *Ḫarratin* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.179 m high. (N.M. G. 5889).

323 512). Most pastoral Tuareg of Ayr get their pots from Agadez, but pots are also imported from the
[437] south where they are of superior quality. These pots are said to be manufactured by black-skinned
323 *Igdalen* Tuareg (cf. p. 432) of the southlands, notably by people of the *Ikenawen* class which comprises
563 professional pot-makers. These people are not found among the *Kel Ayr* but are common in camps
[197] of the *Kel Geres* where I have met them. They speak *tamachek* but also have their own language
323 which is said to be related to *Sonray*. The pots made by these southern people are painted and decorated
531 (cf. Fig. 205) in contrast to those of Agadez which are plain and of very simple forms (Figs. 204a–b). So far as I am aware painted and decorated pottery is rarely manufactured in Ayr nowadays. But Rodd states that such pottery in the form of pitchers with a blue design is made near Agadez (Rodd 1926a, p. 160 f., pl. 22 p. 209), and when I investigated ruins of stone houses at Iferwan I found a great many sherds of finely-decorated painted pots which must have been used up to the end of the
[178] great Tuareg revolt in 1917 when these houses were destroyed by the French. Lhote has also mentioned the decline of pottery techniques in Ayr, and he states that, apart from little incense jars, no painted and decorated pots are manufactured at Agadez nowadays (Lhote 1950c, p. 511).

*415 Certain metal receptacles were known to the Tuareg long before the European occupation, notably
[439] a cooking pot (*éṛir*) made from copper, and the flat drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned
[326] copper or brass in Tripolitania, or in Tunisia. Metal receptacles are also manufactured by native blacksmiths in Tuareg country, e.g., the pail (*éṛir*) to be used for liquid butter (Fig. 164).

322 The blacksmiths are excellent wood-workers and make most wooden domestic utensils used by
[564] pastoral Tuareg (Figs. 21b, 37, 38, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63a–b, 75, 150, 153–154, 166, 176, 177, 178, 191,
[412] 194, 195, 212a, 219a–b, 285). The main implements for wood working are axes and adzes (Figs. 206a–d).

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206a–d). The ordinary axe (*taḍeft*) is used by all Tuareg who may also possess small adzes (*tat-tawt*), used mainly by women for the manufacturing of domestic implements such as spoons and milking bowls. These implements manufactured by Tuareg women are generally inferior in quality to those made by the blacksmiths, though certain noble women of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe make wooden milking bowls that are said to be superior to those of the blacksmiths. In Ayr, Tuareg women engage very little in wood-working, and the Aỵr Tuareg are on the whole less skilled in crafts than are the Tuareg of Ahaggar. 322 412 462

Pastoral Tuareg are experts in rope making. Ropes made from various materials play an important part for the Tuareg for hobbling domestic animals, for fastening burdens transported on camels, as reins, for the erection of tents, and for a great many other purposes. Incidentally the Tuareg make substitutes for ropes in a very simple way. Thus if a man comes upon a camel which he wishes to take back to camp and has no rope or rein to lead it by he makes a lead from three or four pieces of palm leaf, or the like, attached to each other. It is stated by Maire that the Ahaggar Tuareg make simple 283 [824]

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Fig. 204a–b. Earthen pots made by the sedentary *Imeggedezen* of Agadez.

a. A water jar with two spouts. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* as *geigeleti*. It is used by the latter people but never by pastoral Tuareg. Dimension: 0.30 m high. (N.M. G. 6635).

b. Earthen jar used for water and also for cooking. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *téyint* or *ésekin*, to the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* as *tekwaiya* or *tulu*. Dimension: 0.285 m high. (N.M. G. 6634).

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**Fig. 206a–d. Axe and adzes of the Ahaggar Tuareg.**

a. The ordinary axe (*taḍeft*) which is found in all Tuareg camps. Ahaggar, the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.572 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.157 m long, 0.053 m broad. (N.M. G. 5233).

b. *tattawt*, a small socket-shafted adze with knee-shaft. Adzes of this type are common in Tuareg camps. They are used mainly by women for wood-carving. Ahaggar, the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.301 m long. (N.M. G. 5232). [322]

c. *téḥadimt*, adze shafted by means of a piece of sheet-iron and nails. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.440 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.150 m long, 0.058 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5864).

d. *téḥadimt*, slot-shafted adze. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Tamanṛaset. Dimension: 0.430 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.222 m long, 0.065 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5865).

The axe and the adzes are all made by blacksmiths. [564]

The very best ropes or cords manufactured by the Ahaggar Tuareg are those made from goat's 283 hair which is sheared with a knife by the women once a year in the hot season. These ropes are known [237] to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ihellumen* (sing. *ahellum*), while the proper term for a rope of goat's hair [233] in Ayr is *azaw*. But the Ayr Tuareg do not make such ropes as they have goats of the short-haired breed (p. 33). They obtain their ropes from the Ahaggar Tuareg. Ropes of goat hair are manufactured [432] by women by the following method:— The mass of hair, known as *éhafilen*, is placed upon a piece [462] of skin and is prevented from blowing away by means of a stone. The hair is then taken out in small quantities with the first and second fingers of the left hand to be spun upon a stick 30–40 cms long.

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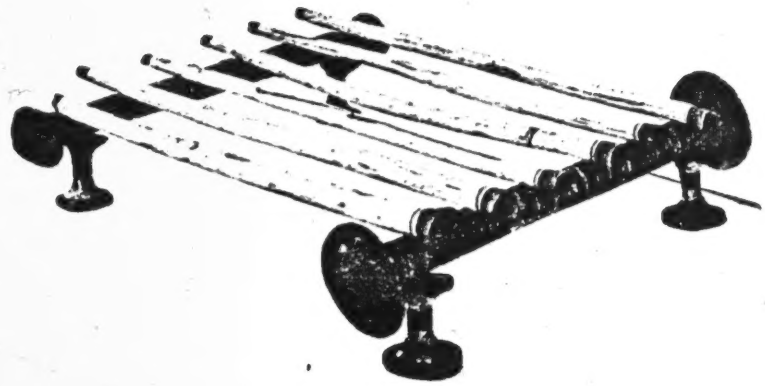

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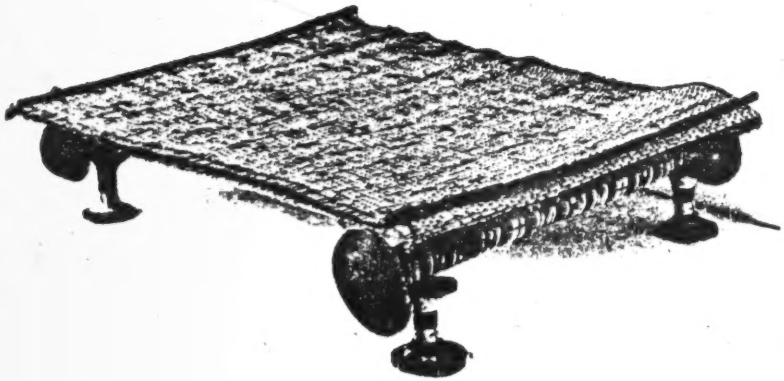

Fig. 212a–b. The large wooden bed (*iédabar*) which is used by all pastoral Ayr Tuareg.

a. The wooden skeleton consisting of the following parts:— (1) Four wooden legs (*iéseikeli*, pl. *iiseikal*). (2) Two horizontal cross-beams (*iabatukai*, pl. *iibatukatin*) carved into the shape of a disc at their ends. (3) Six horizontal poles (*afasas*, pl. *ifesasen*) resting in shallow grooves of the horizontal cross-beams. These poles are made from wood of a tree called *koriya*, this type of wood is also used for the heavy cross-beam seen in the front, while the hindmost cross-beam is made of wood called *tereza*.

b. The wooden skeleton covered with two mats (*iésbert*, pl. *iisebrin*) of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). The stems of this grass are tied together with leather strips. Beds are frequently covered with three mats. Dimension of the bed: ca. 1.70×1.36×0.21 m. (N.M. G. 6640a–o).

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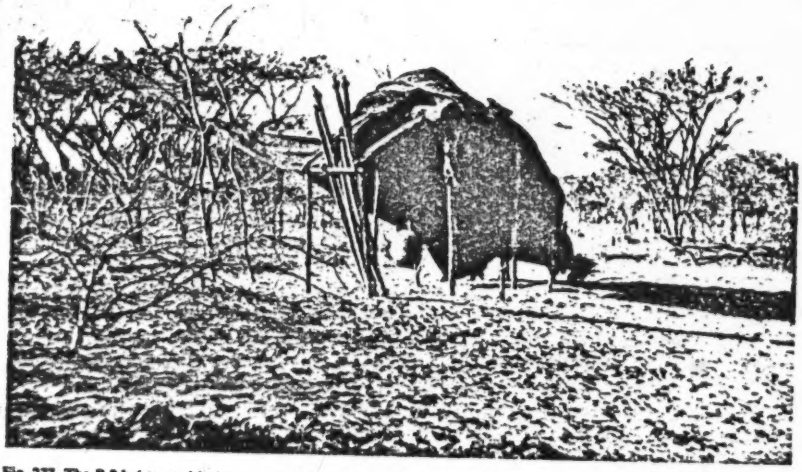

Fig. 277. The B.2.b.4 tent with three pairs of vertical forked sticks carrying three horizontal cross-bars in their prongs. Three semi-arches each of them being made of two slender rods are placed over the cross-bars at right angles. The carved poles leaning against one of the cross-bars constitute the main elements of a narrow wooden bed (*tédabut*). From a *Bélla* camp near Ayoru on the Niger.

I saw a few tents which had two or four longitudinal semi-arches, but three semi-arches were normal. The structure of the tent inhabited by the chief *Amdeŋ* had the following dimensions:— 342*

The central pair of vertical forked sticks with their cross-bar was about 1.30 m high, and the two outer pairs 0.20 m lower. The distance between the two sticks of the central pair was about 1.00 m, between the sticks of the two outer pairs about 0.70 m. The distance from the central pair of sticks to each of the two outer pairs was 1.50 to 2.00 m.

B.2.c. *Skin tents supported by cross-bars connected with horizontal sticks.*

B.2.c.1. It is uncertain whether the structure to be described forms a regular type, as I know it only from a photograph which is in the photographic collection of the Musée de l'homme in Paris (Collection Photographique, 42.811.301). However, this photograph, which is taken north-east of Kidal in Adraŋ of the Ifoɣas, has also been reproduced by Gjessing in his work on general ethnography (Gjessing 1953, II, p. 176–177). The photograph shows three Tuareg women erecting a tent structure as follows:— Two comparatively high forked poles carry a relatively short horizontal cross-bar which, judging from the photograph, measures less than a metre. A pair of exactly similar poles with

*342 lection of the National Museum in Copenhagen. It belongs to the tent referred to under B.2.g.5 (p. 378 f.) (National Museum, G.1.1; cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 140) (cf. Fig. 282).

*From Ayr*:—

(5) A rather curved and heavy cross-bar 0.51 m long, and 0.12 m broad. At its middle there is a funnel-shaped thickening with a round hollow to support the central post. There are four rectangular holes at the corners for cord-attachment. This cross-bar comes from the *Kel Takriza* tribe which belongs to the *Ineslemen* class (Musée de l'homme, No. 41.19.333; cf. Lhote 1947a, Fig. 4 (2) p. 39, p. 118, photograph 50 p. 81).

*From the Kel Dennek*:—

(6) A rectangular slightly curved cross-bar having geometrical ornamentation on the inner side. At the middle of this there is a funnel-shaped thickening with a round hollow to support the central post, and four round holes for cord attachment at the corners. It is 0.55 m long, and bears geometrical ornamentation on the inner side (cf. Nicolas 1950a, pl. VIIIa p. 155).

(7) A slightly curved cross-bar with a square hollow at the middle to support the central post. The inner side has geometrical decoration, and there are four triangular holes for cord-attachment. It is 0.35 m long (Nicolas 1950a, pl. VIIIb p. 155).

(8) A rectangular slightly curved cross-bar with geometrical ornamentation on the inner side. It is 0.61 m long, 0.15 m wide, and 0.02 m thick. It has a funnel-shaped thickening of 0.08 m with a round hollow to support the central post. There are four triangular holes at the corners of the cross-bar for cord-attachment. The cross-bar is in the IFAN Museum at Niamey and belongs to the tent described under B.2.g.6.

*From the Kel Ataram*:—

(9) A slightly curved cross-bar with a funnel-shaped thickening in which is carved a hollow to support the central post. There are four triangular holes for cord-attachment (Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel, No. 48.6.18).

It appears from the description of these specimens that the cross-bar of T-shaped posts are more or less curved and comparatively thin except at the middle where a hollow is carved for the post. The bulk of the cross-bars mentioned have holes for cord-attachment, and this seems to hold for all cross-bars used in Southern Tuareg groups. In Ahaggar cord-attachment is not always employed, but it is said to be extremely useful, as the tent may collapse owing to the very heavy winds so characteristic of desert climate. Thus it may seem as if the main function of the cords fastened to the cross-bar of the T-shaped post is to keep the latter upright.

[322] [531] I believe that cross-bars, and particularly those that are richly ornamented, are manufactured by blacksmiths and not by pastoral Tuareg, though they may perhaps also be made by noble women who among the Northern Tuareg are skilled in wood-work. In fact, it is claimed by Tuareg of the north that skin tents with T-shaped posts are the traditional type of dwelling of noble Tuareg and Tuareg of the *Iregenaten* tribe, which latter is said to descend partly from noble Tuareg (matrilineally) and from Arabs (patrilineally). The vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar say that T-shaped tents are not traditional to them. They use tents of B.2.f. type with pairs of forked poles carrying horizontal cross-bar, and this type seems to have supplanted skin tents of arch construction. It may happen that vassal Tuareg

326 /280/ Silver is used to make jewelry--pendants, pendants for the
[301] hair, bracelets, rings, earrings, amulet cases, etc.

Copper furnishes a number of more important and naturally more
[492] commonly used
414 articles -- saddlery
articles, cavessons for
[412] camels, highly
ornamented padlocks
with keys, hair knives,
etc. This metal is generally better worked than silver. It is often
chiseled, engraved, and topped with applications of tin by a technique
[531] which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little
knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

Fig. 50. Hammer.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta
crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them
is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or
with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian
Arabs and the Sudanese.

Fig. 51. Blacksmith's tongs.

438 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms;
326 they merely repair them. Sahara, daggers, and
411 lances were for the most part manufactured by black-
smiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimmiden from
Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and
mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel
Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an
iron mine which is located beside the village of
Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally
not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the
[172] Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments
are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic
period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized
in the camps.

323

Pottery is made by Negresses, the wives /281/ of Harratin, or freed former captives who live in the agricultural centers.

This outline of the techniques and industries of the Kel Ahaggar Tuareg brings out their poverty.

Can we speak of art among the Ihăggaren? That seems difficult, for aside from a few rare objects, all those that they use are more or less in use in the Ahaggar are imported from Aïr or Ădrar des Ifôras, and that is explained all the better by the fact that the artisans are more or less originally from these regions. 438 531 517

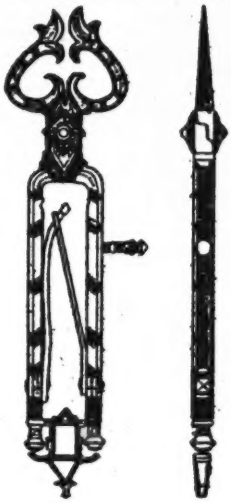

Fig. 52. Sugar tongs.

[415]

It is difficult to determine the origins of Tuareg art in general. It is in reality a composite art taken from all their neighbors, which, is not, for the most part, the achievement of the Tuareg themselves but of their artisans. It is among the latter that the distant origins /of Tuareg art/ must be sought. 177 517

The tastes of the Tuareg appear to be unchangeable. They have been fixed for centuries; therefore, in ancient documents some hundred years old one finds the same shape, the same dimensions, the same coloring as today. In this regard we shall say that the Enad is not an artist. He is a worker who may have taste, but who is, on the whole, incapable of creating. He faithfully reproduces the model which has been handed down to him. He 517 [178 172]

415

[323]

[322]

Fig. 21 a–b. Milk-bowls (*akus*, pl. *ikassen*) which are used for milking and for milk drinking.

[184] a. A bowl made of burned clay like an ordinary earthen pot. These bowls are never used by pastoral Tuareg but by a few sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar who also manufacture them. Ahaggar, Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.120 m high with an upper diameter of 0.187 m. (N.M. G. 5821).

[822] [463] [184] b. A bowl cut of the wood of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*). It is made by a blacksmith, but certain Tuareg women cut similar bowls which are common in all camps of pastoral Northern Tuareg. Such milk-bowls are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.102 m high with an upper diameter of 0.199 m. (N.M. G. 5199).

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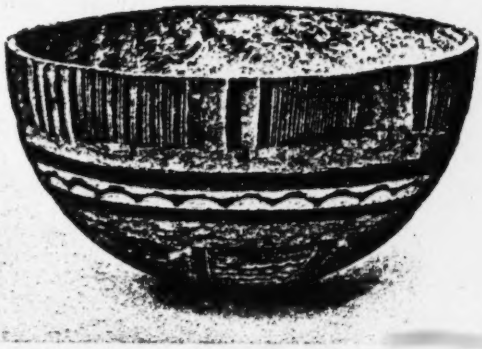

Fig. 22. Calabash of a type which is used occasionally for milking in Ahaggar. It is called *asekkas* (*wa n akh*) or *asekkas* (*wa n tazek*), that is "calabash for milk, or "calabash for milking". Introduced to Ahaggar from the south and bought at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.110 m high with an upper diameter of 0.195–0.203 m. (N.M. G. 5823).

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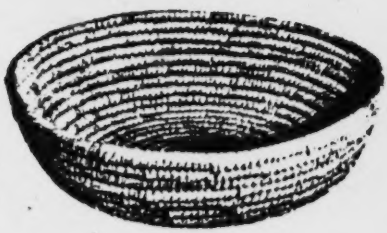

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Fig. 185. Tray or bowl (*tabeyka* – perhaps not correctly spelled). It is used for winnowing, and it serves as an eating bowl and a drinking bowl as this container is watertight. Coiled basketry of date palm leaves (*aḡum*). Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḡali* tribe. Dimension: 0.205 m in diameter. (F.M. 263).

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Fig. 186. Pot (*talekkint*) with a single handle. Manufactured by *Ḫarratin* women in Ahaggar, the *Aḡuhen-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.18 m high. (F.M. 172).

in a mortar with a little water to a soft dough to which a little cheese, butter, or milk is added before 262
eating. If a large quantity of milk is added this dish is known as *tarkit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, as men- 252
tioned (p. 167), also pound dried dates with locusts to make a dish eaten by women who wish to grow fat. [261]

The Arabs and the Arabic-speaking agriculturists of Tidikelt (the *Ḫarratin*) have introduced among 262
the Northern Tuareg the well-known North African dish generally called kuskus. The dish is known [172]
to the Tuareg as *keskesu* which is also Arabic by origin. But this dish is not the staple diet among [171]
the Northern Tuareg that it is among the Arabs and the Berbers of the Atlas. It is eaten mainly on festive occasions, and there are many Tuareg women who even to-day do not know how to prepare it. The *keskesu* dish is preferably made from wheat flour, though barley flour may also be used. The 252
cereals are ground with hand-mills or quern stones (saddle querns), and the flour is rolled into very

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Fig. 187a–b. Earthen cooking pots manufactured by *Ḫarratin* women in Ahaggar.
a. Pot (*téṛirt*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanṛaset. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (N.M. G. 5841).
b. Pot (*alekkin*). Ahaggar, *Ḫarratin* of Taṛhawhawt. Dimension: 0.174 m high. (N.M. G. 5204).

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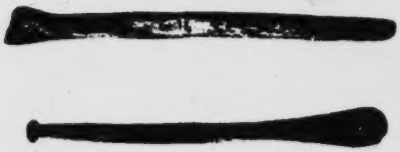

Fig. 188a–b. Simple ladles of the *aserwi* type used for stirring millet porridge. Made by Tuareg women from wood of *abser* (*Acacia Raddiana*).
a. Ahaggar, the *Aḳab-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.382 m long. (N.M. G. 5211).
b. Ahaggar, the *Ihepawen Hada* tribe. Dimension: 0.415 m long. (N.M. G. 5846).

*252 [415] small balls with a diameter of up to five milimetres. The balls are put into a special earthen, wooden, or plaited bowl (*denba*, or *denfu*; Fig. 189) which has a number of small holes in the bottom. This receptacle is placed on the top of a cooking pot containing meat and/or vegetables to be boiled in water for a soup. The small flour balls are thus steamed by the boiling soup in the cooking pot. Like

[Text continues on p. 250]

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as *téyint* (Ayr) or *talekkint* (Ahaggar). But pastoral Tuareg do not make eartenware pots themselves. They obtain them from sedentary people, and it is possible that vegetable dishes have been prepared with hot stones up to recent times, for Foucauld states that hot stones are occasionally used for various vegetable dishes in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951-52, IV, p. 1583). However, I have not been able to confirm this during my own investigations among the Tuareg. It should be added that certain vegetable dishes are neither boiled nor baked. This is the case with seeds and roots of various wild plants which are ground and pounded into flour to be eaten without further preparation. Such dishes are known to the Tuareg as *tébik* (Ahaggar) or *téderka* (Ayr). Seeds and roots of wild plants utilized in this way have been mentioned in the chapter on collecting p. 175 ff.

The Tuareg have a great many different dishes, but in spite of this variety they do not always change their food from one day to another. They frequently live on the same type of food for extremely long periods. They may live almost exclusively on milk for weeks and even months, and if milk is not available they live so to speak exclusively on vegetable dishes, which may also not be changed for very long periods.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have three meals a day:— (1) *taǧimǧimt* which is a light meal taken in the morning. (2) *amekli* which is a prepared meal (e.g., bread, porridge, or *arehara*) eaten at midday. (3) *amaǧin* which is the evening meal, also known as *amensi*, or *azuçeǧ*. It is the most important meal.

Fig. 193. Tuareg woman cooking kuskus (*keskesu*) in an European enamelled pot. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ǧali* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



by blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*ameywas*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talaḳ*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akrulal, abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

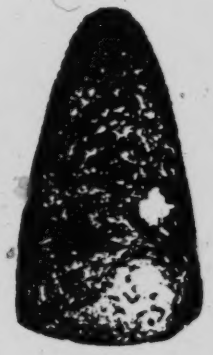

Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *taḥaḳt n ajrum*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Ajjeh-en-tahlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

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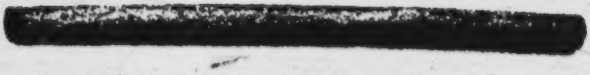

Fig. 200. Neolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isebeten* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045–0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

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Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*amrywan*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

The pottery made in

323 Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from
[53] Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have
[114] been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing
[13] of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information
[437] (Lhote 1947b, p. 145–154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

[462] In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 507–512).

[Text continues on p. 260]

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Fig. 202a–b. Two ceramic drums of a type used by sedentary agriculturists in Ahaggar.

a. Large drum (*akrabal*). Made by woman of the *Ifarrasis* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.450 m high, 0.310–0.325 m in diameter at the top. (N.M. G. 5907).

b. Little drum (*abekar*). Made by woman of the *Ifarrasis* at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.25 m high, 0.25 m in diameter at the top. (F.M. 286).

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Fig. 203. Earthen incense jar (*elhokkhar*). Ahaggar, *Ilarratin* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.179 m high. (N.M. G. 5889).

323 [432] 512). Most pastoral Tuareg of Ayr get their pots from Agadez, but pots are also imported from the south where they are of superior quality. These pots are said to be manufactured by black-skinned 323 563 *Igdalen* Tuareg (cf. p. 432) of the southlands, notably by people of the *Ikenawen* class which comprises professional pot-makers. These people are not found among the *Kel Ayr* but are common in camps [177] of the *Kel Geres* where I have met them. They speak *tamachek* but also have their own language which is said to be related to *Sonray*. The pots made by these southern people are painted and decorated 323 531 (cf. Fig. 205) in contrast to those of Agadez which are plain and of very simple forms (Figs. 204a–b). So far as I am aware painted and decorated pottery is rarely manufactured in Ayr nowadays. But Rodd states that such pottery in the form of pitchers with a blue design is made near Agadez (Rodd 1926a, p. 160 f., pl. 22 p. 209), and when I investigated ruins of stone houses at Iferwan I found a great many sherds of finely-decorated painted pots which must have been used up to the end of the great Tuareg revolt in 1917 when these houses were destroyed by the French. Lhote has also mentioned [178] the decline of pottery techniques in Ayr, and he states that, apart from little incense jars, no painted and decorated pots are manufactured at Agadez nowadays (Lhote 1950c, p. 511).

*415 Certain metal receptacles were known to the Tuareg long before the European occupation, notably [437] a cooking pot (*ḍṛir*) made from copper, and the flat drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned copper or brass in Tripolitania, or in Tunisia. Metal receptacles are also manufactured by native [326] blacksmiths in Tuareg country, e.g., the pail (*ḍṛir*) to be used for liquid butter (Fig. 164).

322 The blacksmiths are excellent wood-workers and make most wooden domestic utensils used by [564] pastoral Tuareg (Figs. 21b, 37, 38, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63a–b, 75, 150, 153–154, 166, 176, 177, 178, 191, [412] 194, 195, 212a, 219a–b, 285). The main implements for wood working are axes and adzes (Figs. 2062-d).

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Fig. 205. Painted earthen pot (*ikanawi*) manufactured by the professional potmakers called *Ikenawen*. Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.32 m high. (N.M. G. 6636).

283 824 hobble ropes from straws of the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) (Maire 1933, p. 62). For the manufacture of proper ropes the Tuareg may employ the bark of trees. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr they use the bark of *Acacia Raddiana* (*abser* in Ahaggar, *afagag* in Ayr) for this purpose (Fig. 113). These ropes are made after much the same method as that used for the Ahaggar ropes of date palm bast (*asus*) and those of dum palm leaves made in Ayr. Ropes of this kind are always made by men, who, when 283 462 making ropes from date palm bast, proceed in the following way:— Pieces of bast are soaked in water contained in a receptacle. They are thereupon torn into small strips about 20–30 cms long. These strips are rolled and twisted between the hands, and are kept in this rolled position under the foot until sufficient numbers of strips are available for the rope to be made. The ends of two rolled strips are then placed between the first and the second toes, and the strips are twisted together between the hands. New strips are added and twisted in this fashion until a suitable length of two twisted rows of strips has been made. This length is thereupon stretched over one of the feet, doubled, and twisted between the hands. It is finally hammered with a stone while resting on another stone or upon the bottom of a large mortar which is frequently used for support. The Ahaggar Tuareg make their hobble ropes in this way (Fig. 207), and the Ayr Tuareg apply the same technique to ropes made from strips of dum palm leaves which are also soaked in water before twisting. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr this method may also be used for the manufacture of leather cords (Figs. 43, 73a).

283 Spinning is done by all Tuareg women. They spin the hair of the
462 goat, the camel, and the wild sheep, making very solid cords and saddle girths.

286 Weaving is limited to the making of goat's-hair, or more rarely camel's-hair, bags. This is a very primitive technique which does not require any loom and which is, furthermore, in the process of disappearing from the Ahaggar, where only a few noblewomen still practice it. It is completely extinct in Sudanese tribes.

324 Stonework, a relic of Neolithism, was still carried on in the Ahaggar
438 a few years ago to make arm rings. Layers of granitoid schists were formerly worked
[415 at Aseksem and Terahart in the Tăfedest. We also found
322] an ancient workshop south of Silet on the banks of the Tamanrasset wadi. Today all stone bracelets come from Aïr and a few from Hombori, where they are manufactured by Tuareg or Hausa artisans.

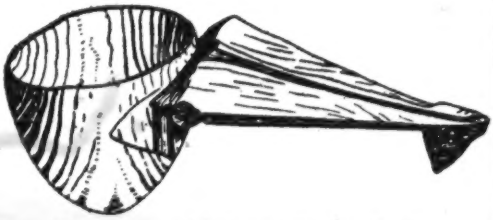

Fig. 48. Tabarekkat wooden ladle, also serving as a drinking vessel.

326 Metalworking is exclusively in the hands of the Enaden, who transform
[56] silver, copper, and iron. These materials, with the exception of iron, do not exist in a native, workable state in the Ahaggar. But although iron
[135 ore is common /279/ in some volcanic rocks of their country, the Tuareg do not have it exploited, for it is found in such small particles that it necessitates a disproportionate amount of forge work for the quantity likely to be recovered. Nevertheless, the memory of casting ore still remains among the Enaden. They use several forges at once, but do not know
[439] the blast furnace. The caravaneers coming from the north or from the Sudan used to bring metals.

177 At the present time silver comes from coins which are melted. For
326 years the Tuareg have had Maria Theresa dollars at their disposal; these

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Fig. 79a–d. Children's toy camels. a. Jaw-bone of goat provided with saddle and rider. It is known as *aknar n amis*. Ahaggar, *Ḥarratin* of Abalessa. (N.M. G. 5914).

b–d. Three roughly-cut stones used as toy camels by Tuareg children. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe. Dimensions: 0.067, 0.063, and 0.073 m. (N.M. G. 6604 b, d, a).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 683 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

233 436 682

| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *tilgad*, or *chét awétay* | (one year old) | 10 | *tibeydegin* | (white) |
| 10 | *tilusin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *titlarin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *tekkenifadden* | (3 years old) | 10 | *tizeggerin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiruyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *tibhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chét essin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *tilemlarin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chét okkoz* | (6 years old) | 10 | *tizerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *timesseḍas* | (7 years old) | 10 | *timengelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chét tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 | *tikewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tiregganin* | (more than eight years old: she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *tizerrafin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *tiwinarin* | (white cornea) |

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 565 524 237 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[text continues on p. 104]

camels. This blood never constitutes a proper dish to the Tuareg. They bleed camels to drink their blood only when they lack water on journeys in the desert. Bleeding is done according to the method described above, and the blood is collected in a drinking bowl. But the Ayr Tuareg say that they work up the mass of blood with the fingers with the result that the upper part of the amount of blood becomes more liquid, though it is always red in colour.

The Tuareg use the following implements to make cereals or other vegetable products into flour:—

(1) A large wooden mortar (*tindé*) with a heavy pestle (*ĕheren*) (Fig. 177). It is used in all camps and villages of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr, and is in fact known all over Tuareg country. It is used mainly for pounding millet and sorghum, but it is also employed for pounding other cereals, including certain wild seeds, and for dates, cheese, meat, locusts, and the like. These large wooden mortars are manufactured by the blacksmiths of Southern Tuareg country, including Ayr, where most Northern Tuareg obtain their mortars. Among the Northern Tuareg there are also other mortar types. A small mortar which like the former rests on a foot and is known by the same name (*tindé*) (Fig. 178), is used mainly by sedentary agriculturists for pounding rock-salt, dried tomatoes, tobacco for chewing, and other plants or materials to be used in small quantities. Another type of mortar without a foot and known to the Northern Tuareg as *akabar*, or *takabart*, (Fig. 176) is found mainly among pastoralists who use it on journeys for pounding millet.

(2) A saddle quern (*tehust*) (Fig. 179), which consists of two natural and in general unfashioned stones, is found in most camps of the Northern Tuareg. This constitutes the only grinding implement for wheat, barley, and certain wild seeds among the *Kel Ajjer*. The stones used for saddle querns are sharpened at intervals with a hard stone or some other hard object (*tusettekat*) in order that they may grind effectively. A simple saddle quern (*asar*) is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but it is less common there than in the north.

(3) The handmill (*tasirt*) (Fig. 181) is not a traditional implement of Tuareg culture. It is widely known all over Northern Africa both by Berbers and Arabs, by sedentary peoples and nomads living in black tents. It has been introduced to Ahaggar mainly by the immigration of the Arabic speaking Harratin (Izeggaren) of Tidikelt,

Fig. 180a–c. Pieces of butter-milk cheese (*awles*, pl. *iwlan*).

a. Ahaggar, *Ijerratin* of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.066–0.068 m in diameter, 0.022 m thick. (N.M. G. 5816).

b. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-an-ahhi* tribe. Dimension: 0.062 × 0.022 m. (N.M. G. 5817b).

c. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-an-ahhi* tribe. Dimension: 0.058 × 0.016 m. (N.M. G. 5817c).

# Crafts

Tuareg crafts clearly disclose traits belonging to distinct cultural levels. This may be seen from a brief description of the methods of fire-making. 372 [174]

Matches are in ordinary use nowadays, but they are used economically not only because they cost money but also because many Tuareg live far away from towns or trading posts where matches can be obtained. The embers of a fire smoulder for a very long time, and when the Tuareg want to light a fire they normally find embers under the ashes where their fire has been. Glowing wood is carried from one tent to another on a fragment of calabashes or earthen pots, and some Tuareg even take fire with them in this way during nomadic migrations. If a new fire has to be lit and matches are not available, most Tuareg use the well-known method of fire-making by means of flint and steel. This method is widely resorted to in Northern Africa even to-day, and is practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar as follows:— The curved piece of steel (*énefed*) is placed over the three middle fingers of the right hand. It is struck against a small piece of flint (*tafarast*) held between the first and second fingers of the left hand together with a small piece of lighting material which may be a small piece of cotton cloth. However, the best lighting material (*tajjert*) is a piece of wood of *tefé'ryast* (*Echinops Bovei*), which has been boiled and thereupon beaten into a fibrous mass with a stone. The Tuareg keep this lighting material in a particular leather bag (*tarallaht*) together with the steel and one or two pieces of flint (Fig. 198). Lighting material according to Maire is also made from a plant named *térahit* (*Traganum nudatum*) (Maire 1933, p. 82). The spark produced by striking the steel against the flint causes the lighting material to glow, and after blowing on it or swinging it in the air, it is placed under a small bunch of hay which burst into flame after further heavy blowing. The use of flint and steel is not a very difficult method of fire-making, and I have used it myself on journeys when matches had come to an end. [171] [324] [415] [324]

The Tuareg do not generally use more primitive methods of fire-making nowadays. But they know an ancient method of making fire by rubbing a piece of hard wood (*agar* in Ahaggar, *agar* in Ayr; *Maerua crassifolia*) against a piece of soft wood (*turha* in Ahaggar, *turza* in Ayr; *Calotropis procera*). By this process they produce by hand rubbing a glowing dust which is brought into flame by means of lighting material and hay as described above. One of my informants among the Ayr Tuareg had produced fire according to this method. Lhote states that the method is at times used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar, where the hard ribs of date palm leaves are also used for starting a fire by rubbing (Lhote 1955a, p. 258). [324]

Stone materials play a very little part in Tuareg crafts. Natural stones are used occasionally as 412 [324]

[p. 255]

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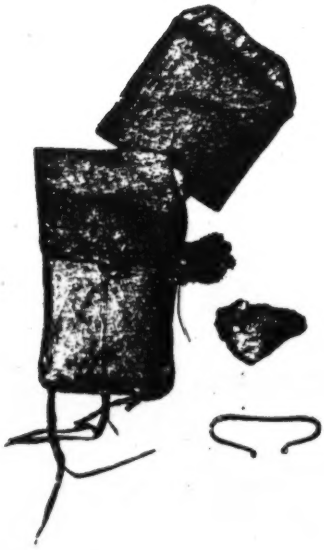

Fig. 198. Flint (*tafarast*), steel (*énefed*), and lighting material (*tajjerí*). The lighting material, which is conserved in a leather bag (*taṛaliobí*), is made from wood of *teféryast* (*Echinops Bovei*). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the steel 0.065 m long. (F.M. 154a–d).

412 tools, e.g., for hammering tent pegs into the ground, for rope making as described below, for separating the hide from the body when skinning a barbary sheep, and for crushing rock-salt, red pebber, dried tomatoes, tobacco, and the like. We have seen above that the Tuareg saddle querns used for grinding cereals are natural stones of a particular form and size, and that they are used for grinding without any particular fashioning, though sometimes treated with a hard stone or a piece of iron to make the [324] grinding surface more rugged and effective. The handmill is never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg (cf. p. 214 ff., Figs. 179–182).

412 172 Prehistoric quern stones and stone pestles are found in many regions of the Central Sahara and these ancient implements, I was told, are sometimes used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar for grinding and pounding (Fig. 200). The Tuareg also use the numerous neolithic stone axes (Fig. 199) as whetstones for iron knives. These axes are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *toḍeft n egenna*, that is "the axe of the rain (or the thunder)", and all Tuareg believe that they have fallen from the sky during heavy storms.

301 Stone material is still used for certain Tuareg ornaments, and notably for the well-known arm-ring (*ahbeǵ* in Ahaggar, *éweki* in Ayr) which is worn by most adult men and also by some boys. These rings are sometimes mentioned in literature as a weapon, but they are not well fitted for this owing [564] to their fragility. Most arm-rings are made from soft stone such as serpentine, and are manufactured by blacksmiths (Ineden).

32 If, secondly, we look for the aptitudes which the Tuareg have for working these different raw materials, we notice that their enumeration follows the same order as above, with the reservation 325 that none of them know how to work metals. The latter occupations 463 are the prerogative of the Enaden, that is to say, the artisans, and 564 it is evident from this that without the artisans' help Tuareg industry would be limited to work in wood, leather, and esparto. In short, it is the cultural cycle of the pastoral peoples of the steppe.

It is only much later, when the Tuareg had integrated the [174] Enaden with their social organization, that they used metals. Therefore, [415 531] we perceive the considerable role which artisans must have played in technical evolution and that of art itself.

Fig. 46. Wooden funnel.

/277/ The presence of Enaden in the camps has reduced the manual labor [322] of the Tuareg, but the latter are still able to make wooden articles -- milking vessels, bowls, tent stakes, etc.

565 One of their most curious customs is that women from the high 462 nobility work wooden vessels and funnels with their hands by means 322 of a little adze. They usually give them to the wives of their Imrad, 431 who are very appreciative of these gifts. In the Ahaggar camps we found many little utensils which were the work of famous noble-women, of tamenokalin whose names are piously kept; these objects were saved with much veneration. This custom is even more re- [174] markable since we know the scorn that the Tuareg have for manual labor; we must see in it a relic of woodworking which must formerly have been everyone's work, without distinction, before the creation of the artisan class.

coins were for a long time the money standard in all of Central Africa. 177 326
(1) Copper is chiefly furnished by cartridge cases, and iron by abandoned

1. The Maria Theresa dollar was introduced into Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century by navigators [177 436]

[325]

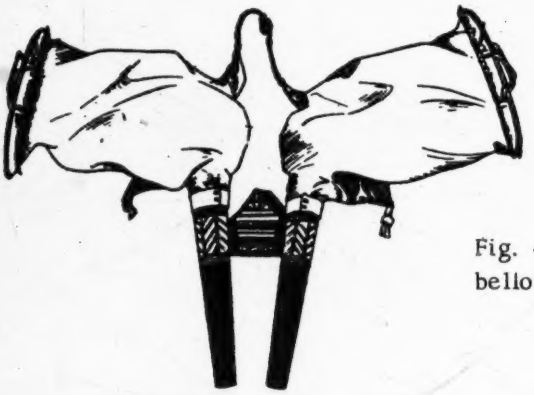

Fig. 49. Double forge bellows.

and traders who visited the Gulf of Guinea. With the iron bar, it became the basis of commercial exchange, and it was circulated in the interior of West Africa as well as in Abyssinia.

scraps of old carriages, auto springs, sheet metal, tin cans, etc.

Aluminum, which is beginning to penetrate into the Niger region, 177 328
is not yet utilized in the Ahaggar. So far the pipes and guys left to the four corners of the desert by wrecked airplanes have served only to make tent poles.

326 /280/ Silver is used to make jewelry--pendants, pendants for the
[301] hair, bracelets, rings, earrings, amulet cases, etc.

Copper furnishes a number of more important and naturally more
[493] commonly used
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ornamented padlocks
with keys, hair knives,
etc. This metal is generally better worked than silver. It is often
chiseled, engraved, and topped with applications of tin by a technique
[531] which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little
knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

Fig. 50. Hammer.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta
crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them
is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or
with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian
Arabs and the Sudanese.

Fig. 51. Blacksmith's tongs.

438 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms;
326 they merely repair them. Sahara, daggers, and
411 lances were for the most part manufactured by black-
smiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimmiden from
Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and
mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel
Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an
iron mine which is located beside the village of
Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally
not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the
[172] Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments
are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic
period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized
in the camps.

and were enfeoffed to the Kounta tribe, or Dag-Ech-Cheich. The origin of the oldest known families goes back no more than two generations. They are the Ehellellou, who have left descendants, the Badahol and Mohamed /families/, today extinct, and the Rati whose descendants are now settled among the Taitok. 564

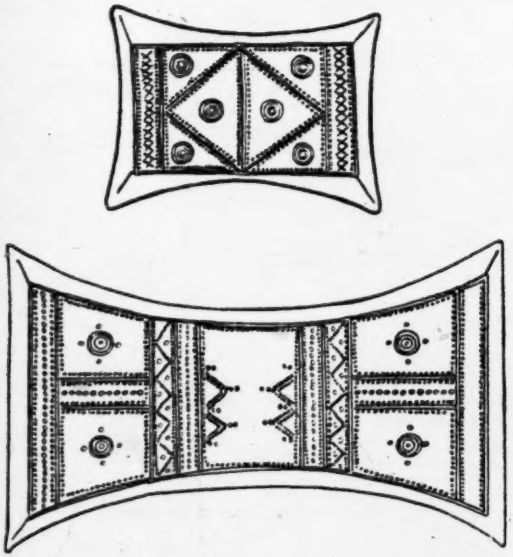

Fig. 19. Silver amulets worn by men on the crests of their hairdo.

At the time of Amenokal Attici (1899) there was a chief of the blacksmiths named Alamine whose role was to oversee and distribute the work and to reduce the newly captured blacksmiths from the Sudan to obedience. He also had judiciary power. 564 326 [301 789 531] [692]

Formerly endogamy was the general rule, but since the occupation it has been violated numerous times, and artisans often take their wives from the Harratin and the Eklan. 564 [582 177]

Their industry is limited to the fabrication of jewels, padlocks, knives, and a few wooden utensils. They are particularly occupied with repairing worn articles.

/179/ In the Sudan the Enaden are much more numerous. That is why industries there are found to be much more developed, even more so since more varied and more abundant raw materials are at their disposal. 564

564 The Enaden do not pay any vassalage dues. Socially, they [651] occupy a place halfway between the Imrad and the Iklan. In certain cases they can even possess captives, and many of them have [567] at their command an affluence unknown among the Imrad, and

[414 531 326]

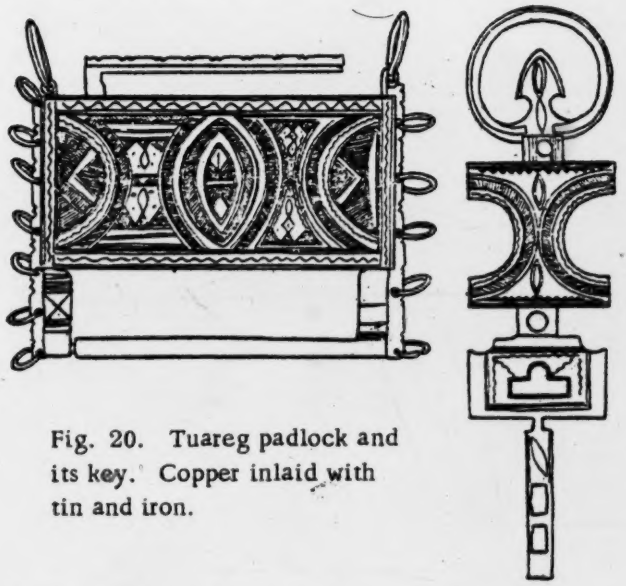

Fig. 20. Tuareg padlock and its key. Copper inlaid with tin and iron.

even among some Imochar.

/180/ Chapter 2

Confederation of the Ahaggar

173 Oral traditions handed down among the northern Tuareg maintain that they originally came from the city of Es-Souq in Adrar des Iforas, known as Tademeka in ancient times, and equidistant from Timbuktu and In-Salah.

224 which is rolled up on a stick, one end of which is cut in a point. A
[23] second apparatus consists in a little wooden disk covered with hide, the whole mounted on another stick a little longer than that of the first apparatus which is embedded between the layer and the arc, while the pointed stick is fastened in the hole of a bead or on a little leather ring fixed on the leather disk. A lasso is placed on this disk, and its end is fastened on the main part of the pointed stick.

This trap is generally placed on the paths frequented by gazelles and lightly covered with sand. If the animal puts its foot on the leather disk, the pressure that it causes unhooks the pointed stick; the shock of this can break a paw and in any case it tightens the lasso around the paw.

More recently the Tuareg have used the metallic spring trap
[17] of the English type, which their blacksmiths now know how to make.
324 They have replaced the balanced bait pan by a taut skin on which they have attached a large glass bead. The bait is fixed to the bead and is more sensitive to the touch. This trap may accidentally catch gazelles, but the most common catches are hares and jackals.

224 The Tuareg hunt on the lands over which they range and have
423 no right to hunt on the lands of the neighboring tribes. If such a case occurred, they would be obliged to give the game to the owners of the area. The latter may at least grant back part of the meat, but they keep the skin, especially when it is a wild sheep.

/243/ Some regions are the hunting fief of a single man. So, in the Koudia, no one has the right to hunt on Tahat Peak without the permission of its owner, who is a descendant of the old Isebeten tribe. At any rate, the skin, head, and half of the animal must be handed over to him.

224 The Ahaggar Tuareg have had rapid-firing guns at their
411 disposal for a few years. They are not good shots, but they know admirably well how to approach game, so that they have made massive massacres which will take a long time to repair.

136 several different spots, and it is not impossible that the species
[172] bred today in the Ahaggar is of African origin. Bones of the species are found in the Neolithic layers of the Sahara.

137 At the present time there is a death struggle between the goats
233 and trees in the Ahaggar. The goat itself is capable of browsing
185 the lower branches and destroying them, thanks to its agility. The Tuareg do the rest when pasture is scarce, by felling the main branches to put them within the reach of the animals. And so, in a relatively short time, trees, and the tahla (Acacia sp.) in par-particular, will be only a memory in the Ahaggar. Nothing has

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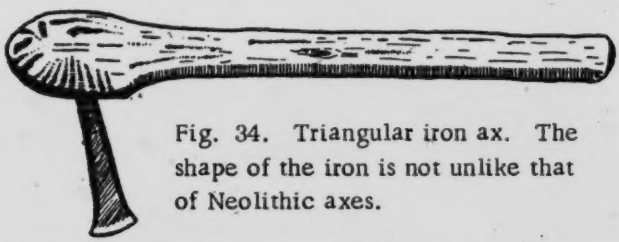

Fig. 34. Triangular iron ax. The shape of the iron is not unlike that of Neolithic axes.

been done by the French administration in the Ahaggar to protect the trees, when it would be sufficient to close some valleys for several years, while taking into account the needs of the shepherds. Measures of this kind have been taken in the environs of Goundam and have given very good results.

132 Prolonged dryness which causes a lack of pasture often puts
233 goat raising in difficulties. The birth rate is stopped short, and mortality may result to such a great extent that the number of animals sometimes falls to one fifth. Then many years are needed to build up the flocks, granting, of course, the arrival of favorable rains.

232 The careless and fatalistic Ihággaren do not even try to step up breeding by buying sires in Adrar or in A'ir. They let their weak flocks reconstitute themselves by their own means, which
[272] sometimes requires many years. In case of an overabundance of births, they limit the number of animals, for they are well aware

283 Spinning is done by all Tuareg women. They spin the hair of the
462 goat, the camel, and the wild sheep, making very solid cords and saddle girths.

286 Weaving is limited to the making of goat's-hair, or more rarely camel's-hair, bags. This is a very primitive technique which does not require any loom and which is, furthermore, in the process of disappearing from the Ahaggar, where only a few noblewomen still practice it. It is completely extinct in Sudanese tribes.

324 Stonework, a relic of Neolithism, was still carried on in the Ahaggar
438 a few years ago to make arm rings. Layers of granitoid schists were formerly worked
[415 at Aseksem and Terahart in the Tăfedest. We also found
322] an ancient workshop south of Silet on the banks of the Tamanrasset wadi. Today all stone bracelets come from Aïr and a few from Hombori, where they are manufactured by Tuareg or Hausa artisans.

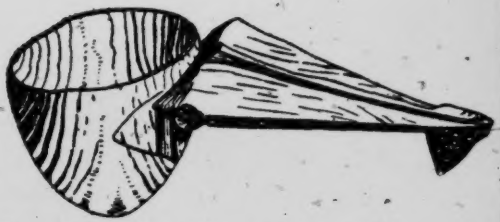

Fig. 48. Tabarekkat wooden ladle, also serving as a drinking vessel.

326 Metalworking is exclusively in the hands of the Enaden, who transform
[564 silver, copper, and iron. These materials, with the exception of iron,
do not exist in a native, workable state in the Ahaggar. But although iron
[135 ore is common /279/ in some volcanic rocks of their country, the Tuareg do not have it exploited, for it is found in such small particles that it necessitates a disproportionate amount of forge work for the quantity likely to be recovered. Nevertheless, the memory of casting ore still remains among the Enaden. They use several forges at once, but do not know
[439 the blast furnace. The caravaneers coming from the north or from the Sudan used to bring metals.

177 At the present time silver comes from coins which are melted. For
326 years the Tuareg have had Maria Theresa dollars at their disposal; these

coins were for a long time the money standard in all of Central Africa. 177 326
(1) Copper is chiefly furnished by cartridge cases, and iron by abandoned

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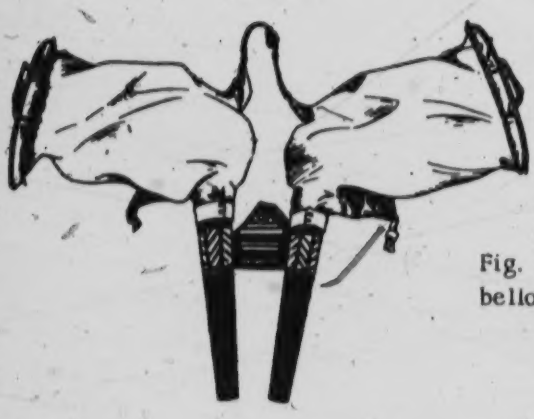

[325]

Fig. 49. Double forge bellows.

and traders who visited the Gulf of Guinea. With the iron bar, it became the basis of commercial exchange, and it was circulated in the interior of West Africa as well as in Abyssinia.

scraps of old carriages, auto springs, sheet metal, tin cans, etc.

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[531] which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

Fig. 50. Hammer.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian Arabs and the Sudanese.

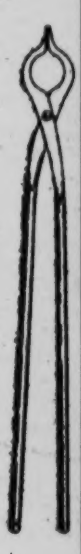

Fig. 51. Blacksmith's tongs.

438 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms;
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411 lances were for the most part manufactured by blacksmiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimmiden from Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an iron mine which is located beside the village of Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the
[172] Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized in the camps.

1: Lhote--166b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Plate XVI

•326

Settled in improvised camps, blacksmiths work in the open air making weapons and utensils needed by the Tuareg.

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The Imrad women are in charge of taking the flocks to pasture and water. Every two or three days they go to the wells, drawing water for the goats, who drink out of wooden bowls or out of skins used as containers by placing them on mounds of sand in the shape of a basin. They fill the waterskins which will be transported to the camp by asses.

492 The tarik is the saddle commonly used by the Ahaggar Tuareg, the one which is peculiar to them and which they must have known from time immemorial. The tamzak, which is a decorated variant [177] of the tarik, owes the origin of its decoration to Hausa influence. [171] In fact, the peculiar technique of applying perforated metal bands enhanced by colored leather fabrics is found in horses' saddles of the

[531]

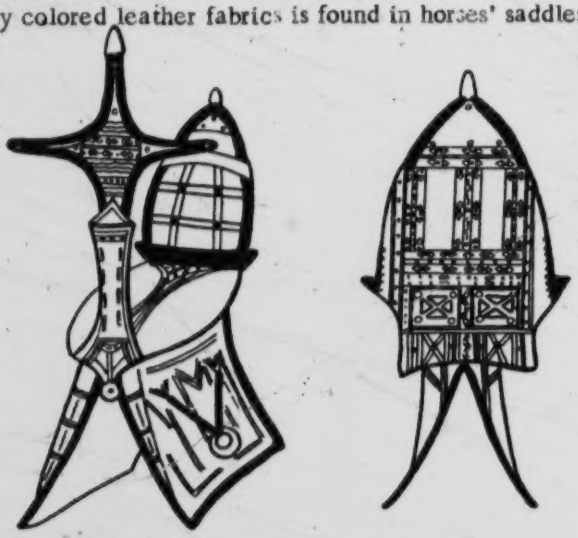

Fig. 54. 1 The camel saddle called tamzack. 2 Detail of the back of the saddle.

Hausa from the Damergou, Sokoto, etc., and there is no doubt that that art, which is unrelated to that of the Tuareg, is much more developed among those peoples.

438 The two saddles are usually made in Aïr, indeed even at Agadez, but the old Tuareg blacksmiths manufacture only the ● 326 tarik. The tamzak is the work of artisans, who are usually settled 492 at Agadez and more or less crossed with artisans of Hausa origin. 492 Ahaggar blacksmiths make only the tahiast, which is the saddle 171

721 When raids were led against Sudanese camps, they were as in-
727 terested in the Negroes and Negresses as they were in the camels.
567 The kidnappers kept some of them to serve as servants and sold the others on the markets of In-Salah and the Touat.

726 Once the booty was stolen, the raiders went by forced march to the point agreed upon in advance, where they rejoined the other group of meharists.

The raided people, on the other hand, organized themselves, but they did not try to overtake the raiders immediately and did not wear themselves out in vain pursuit. As the return route of the raiders was known, they tried to reach a well where they had to pass; if they were successful in arriving before them and cutting them off from water, the real combat began, this time fierce and often quite deadly.

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Fig. 55. Tuareg lance. The iron blade is decorated with copper inlays. The part where the hand is put is covered with leather, and a little leather loop placed behind is intended to hold the index finger which gives greater propulsion to the lance when it is thrown.

Hard pressed, the Tuareg formed in a square behind their camels and defended themselves under cover of their bucklers; /323/ when they saw it was impossible to take possession of the well, they abandoned their loot. The battle came to an end, and the raiders were rarely pursued. In the opposite camp, a certain number of men were left as sentries to guard against return offensives, and the others tried to gather up their animals and lead them back to the douar /encampment/.

727 When the raiding party was safe, the men divided up the booty in more or less equal parts, depending on each person's merits during the fight. But in some tribes, customs related to the tioussé demanded

567 dowry. But slaves are well fed and cared for as a rule; they get two or three days off each week to look after their own affairs, their children are brought up with the children of their masters, and custom forbids the freeing of a slave who is either too old or too young to fend for himself. A slave may even have a few goats of his own, although when he dies they are not inherited by his family but revert to his master instead. Barth (1857a, vol. 1, p. 387) notes as a striking exception that he saw slaves hitched to a plow and driven with whips in the Auderas Valley, some 60 miles northwest of Agadès.

567 Female slaves are often taken as concubines by Tuareg men of the Ahaggar, who prize
595 them because they are less capricious and overbearing than Tuareg women are and "be-
[827] cause they have cool skins," a point which would bear further investigation with a skin temperature machine. The children of such unions are often recognized by their fathers but do not inherit from them, and, although free, they have a debased social standing little better than that of their slave forebears. Moussa ag Amastan, who was Amenokal of the Ahaggar from 1905 to 1921,[12] remained unmarried for over 50 years, during most of which time he lived with a bevy of Negro concubines and a young Tuareg girl, named Harendou, whom he had captured on a raid into the Niger Bend country (Benhazera, 1908, p. 142; Lhote, 1955, pp. 221–23). Although this case was exceptional, it was by no means unique.

567 The slaves of the nomadic Tuareg, like those of sedentary communities in the Sahara, seem to have no tribal or clan organizations, but they too have a strong feeling of corporate solidarity that finds expression now and then in nocturnal jamborees which are Sudanese in character.

326 The smiths of the Ahaggar present a fa-
171 miliar culture pattern that characterizes groups of smiths and tinkers which, as we have seen, are to be found living among a whole series of nomadic peoples scattered all the way from Baluchistan through Arabia and on, southwest-

[217] [12] Lhote (1955, p. 220) gives the date of Moussa's death as 1920, the official genealogical table of the Ahaggar nobility, which is kept in the archives of the French Army post at Tamanrasset, gives it as 1921, and Foley (1930, p. 9) gives it as 1922. In 1956

326 ward and then westward, across the North
[171] African hinterland to the shores of the Atlantic. The general description of this pattern, given above in chapter V under the sub-heading *Special Classes and Minority Groups* in the section on *Agricultural Centers*, leaves little more to add.

326 Smiths of the Ahaggar usually live in single family units or small groups widely separated
463 from each other (fig. 50). A few families follow Tuareg groups on their seasonal rounds, but the great majority remain sedentary most of the time in one agricultural center or another, and go out only now and then for a few weeks or months, to do a general repair and re-equipment job in the camps of some nomadic tribe or clan. The men work wood
[759] and metals and are also barber-surgeons, while the women specialize in fancy leatherwork and embroidery. In addition to these functions
[584] and those previously mentioned, both sexes of the smith community act as both go-betweens and spies in clandestine love affairs. They also engage in intertribal secret intelligence work. And a major Tuareg chief may sometimes have a smith as his most trusted counsellor and confidant.

326 The smiths usually dress as do the poorer Tuareg. The men all wear the teguelmoust
[291] but in a sloppy fashion, and they seem to have no qualms about exposing their mouths.
[582] They are endogamous and monogamous as a general rule, although a few have more than one wife and some of them marry Haratin or occasionally slaves. Ostensibly because of their lowly social status, but probably in fact more because of the fear of sorcery that they inspire, they come and go everywhere as they please, although always with a cringingly ingratiating manner. Even after one has come to know them fairly well they still give an impression of constant watchfulness and profoundly sycophantic tact of the delicately oiled as opposed to the heavily greased variety. The smiths are the most perspicacious and cleverly adaptable of all Saharan peoples, for they have learned to live off and so outlive flamboyant warriors with their retinues and

[217] the author was so fortunate as to obtain a copy of the genealogical table in question, thanks to the very kind co-operation of Captain Roger Bret, Commandant of the *Affaires du Hoggar*, and Claude Blanguernon, Director of Nomad Schools.

● 326 grubbing gardeners alike. They have turned their status as "untouchables" to their own advantage and so remain untouched.

326 Physically the smiths of the Ahaggar cover
142 the whole range of human variation between the Bush Negro type on the one hand and the Berber variety of Mediterranean on the other, but they seem to fall mostly within a highly variable category characterized in general by "European" features combined with a yellowish brown or occasionally coppery skin, thickish lips, and curly or frizzled hair. They are lean in build as a rule, but seem softer and less wiry than the more active Tuareg (fig. 57, *a*).

326 And this brings us to another exasperating
174 blank in our picture of Saharan peoples. The smiths of the Ahaggar claim to have come from the Adrar n Ifoghas and to be related to the families of smiths who live there now, and Benhazera (1908, pp. 221 and 223) reproduced an old Arabic text which states that "the smiths and the Fulani have the same mother." Cline (1937, p. 141) maintained that the art of smelting iron was introduced into the western Sudan by "camel-riding Berbers" from the North, across the Sahara. But no one really has any idea where the smiths of the Ahaggar actually did come from or when, where and from whom they first learned their trade. No one, so far as the present writer knows, has ever published measurements or blood group classifications of a single one of them, and no one seems to have found out anything to speak of about their social organization or even their kinship terminology. Not a dozen photographs of their faces are available to students. Why? Simply because the Tuareg are spectacularly romantic while the smiths are not.[13] The smiths of the Ahaggar and of the Sahara as a whole have suffered the same fate that the Spanish gypsies might have suffered had George Borrow not been born, and, like the Spanish gypsies, they are
614 disappearing fast.

565 A number of vassal clans of the Ahaggar
173 confederation are said to be of Arab or mixed

[13] Here the author has laid himself wide open to
[114] a very embarrassing question. "Why," he seems to hear the frustrated reader ask, "haven't you done something to fill this aching void yourself since you find it so distressing?" The author's time in the field has been severely limited by the exigencies of writing this preliminary survey, and recently by political

4: Benhazera--62 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter XI

### Industry. Blacksmiths

There is no industry in the Ahaggar. They do not exist. 433
One cannot describe as an industry the minor arms repair that 326
a few blacksmiths make, nor the little wooden implements that the Tuareg make for their personal use.

We have seen above that the Ahaggar Tuareg buy all 326
their arms in the Aïr. They are not made at home. [439]

In the Ahnet I watched a blacksmith, Eg Ahnet, work. He was mending spears, sabers, and daggers, and he told me that he also made some jewelry when they were ordered from him. He asked for preserve cans to make his settings. His tools were quite primitive. He had:

A bellows, "tissedhi" , made of two iron tubes set into a hollowed piece of wood onto which were fitted two waterskins open at the ends. These openings were held by rings and furnished with handles. The iron tubes blew the air into a clay furnace, "anefif" , set before the fire. /72/

An anvil, "tahount"
Files, "azezoua"
Pliers, "ir'emdane"
A large hammer, "afadhis"
A small hammer, "tafadhist"
Tin-snips, "timouda"
A small hatchet, "tetaout" , which he had made from a bent branch.

Finally, a rake, "asekredh" , which he hafted with two wooden handles each time he wished to use it.

He also made locks and keys of copper. He complained [414]
of hard times and how the craft no longer prospered. Where [178]
was the age of the great raids, the expeditions from which arms were brought back to him to repair and sharpen! Where are we going? Times have really changed!

Many legends circulate about blacksmiths. They say that 326
because they work with iron and fire, they will go into the fire 565
of hell. They are scorned, first because they devote themselves to a manual craft, a disgrace in the eyes of a Tuareg, and secondly because it is said that they are of Negro origin. It is also claimed that they were pagans and that their conversion to Islamism is not sincere. They are also taken for sorcerers. [754]
The sheik Ben Djellas (see the Appendix /not translated/) says of them: "Blacksmiths hate God and his Prophet, and they betray God and his Prophet." Their ancestor was called Tamamenet.

The blacksmith does not belong to any tribe. He goes where he pleases, wherever he finds work. Sometimes he goes to war, and he is said to fight well, but a noble Tuareg will not cross swords with him.

In the Ahaggar a blacksmith is called "mr'allem," variation 326
of the Arab "maâlem." However, there is a word in Tamashek [192]
for him, "inedh," plural "inedhane," but it is not used. /73/

At Tamanrasset I was shown many ancient graves (of the [764]
"chouchat" shape) which, it seems, were the burial places of a tribe of blacksmiths said to have been massacred and died of starvation a very long time ago.

The gardens of the Ahaggar "ar'erems" are worked by the 241
Harratine of the Touat and the Tidilkelt, who bring their tools 312
with them. It is they also who dig the "foggaras," or covered 565
wells, and all the tools that they use come from the Saharan Oases.

## Chapter XII

### Agriculture. Ar'erems

While in all of the Ahnet no trace of agriculture is to be 241
found, however small, because of the scarcity of wells, whose 361
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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



564 region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed*
[463] (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Ahaggar to cultivate
[567] gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaren*, or *Ḥarratin*, like the
[191] immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual, speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahaq*). The *Izeggaren* (*Ḥarratin*) are generally less
[144] negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features.
[142] Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*) refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaren* does not seem to exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Ṛat oasis known as *Ikewweren* apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

[361] *Kel Ĝanet* (sing. *W Ĝanet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ĝanet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-
[144] n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned
[565] europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ĝanet* have much the same position as Tuareg vassals (Imṛad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ĝanet* immigrants, their status is rather
[567] like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ĝanet* may possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

564 *Ineden* (*Ineden* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Ened*). These are the blacksmiths, who are found in all Tuareg
326 groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one. People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only
[162] a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the
564 blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna*
173 *Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963). A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Tementiṭ in Tawat. At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.). 2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and
564 Adraṛ-n-Foṛas. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of
144 them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

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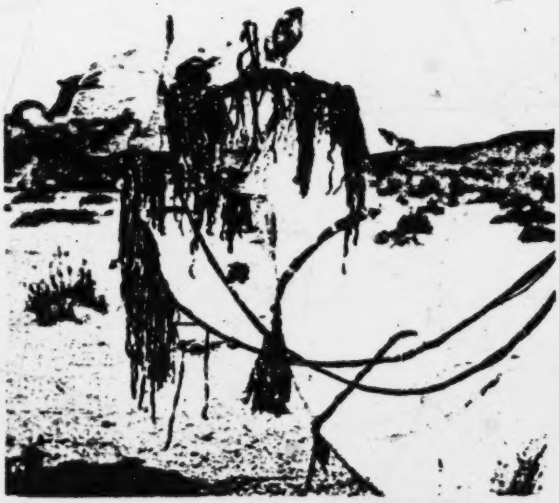

Fig. 52. The *akeskabbu* shakles connected with a leather rein richly decorated with fringes of the same material. This headgear is now in the National Museum (N.M. G. 5192). Hanging around the camel's neck is also a neck collar (*takawt*) with a brass bell (*amayna*) which is also now in the National Museum (N.M. G. 5191) (cf. Fig. 74b). Below the brass bell is an amulet case fixed to a piece of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

*233 camels and for other animals which are difficult to control (Fig. 48). Such halters are known by the
*492 term *amerar* among the Ayr Tuareg. Certain camels which are difficult to catch even when hobbled during grazing constantly wear a halter provided with a short rope hanging down from the head – a device applied to many fierce bull-camels (Fig. 56).

*492 To break-in young riding camels the Tuareg frequently use a double rein one end of which is tied around the animal's head to serve as a halter while the other end is noosed around the lower jaw according to the method generally used for pack-camels and described above. But for trained riding [237] camels the nomads normally content themselves with the use of a single rein (generally known as *tarant* in Ahaggar, in Ayr as *trézem*) plaited of goatskin or goat's hair and attached to a copper ring [564] (*tigemt* in Ahaggar) inserted in the right nostril of the camel (cf. Fig. 43). This is done by the blacksmiths who also manufacture a very special headgear (*akeskabbu*, or *taryet* in Ahaggar) for riding camels which are difficult to control. The rider when using such a head-gear has a double rein one end of which is attached to a nostril ring (*tigemt*) while the other end is connected with two iron shackles known as *akeskabbu* (*taryet*) and *amadel*. When the rider pulls the right rein the camel is pulled at the nostril ring, but when he pulls the left rein the two iron shackles are tightened around the bridge of the nose and the lower jaw of the animal. The system is illustrated Figs. 50–52. Black-
●[326] smiths also make very elaborate halters of this type to be used mainly as an ornament of riding camels
[531] on festive occasions. In such cases the halter as well as the rein are richly decorated with coloured

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



221 *233 824 tagayt, while the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* at this period will camp around Ingal. Many Southern Tuareg leave the savannah country to avoid its heavy rainfalls and stock-diseases to let their animals benefit from the salty water and plants in the *Azawaq* country.

133 162 137 In the country west of the Ayr Massif, the Tamesna Plains, there is in addition to the Ayr Tuareg a numerous population of Ahaggar Tuareg who live constantly in these regions. These plains are botanically different from the mountains. Perennial vegetation is scarce though there are some *tamat*-acacias (*Acacia flava*), but there is a very rich vegetation of annual plants of great importance to *233 824 domestic animals. Among these plants can be mentioned *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*), which is very valuable for camels and also good for sheep, *adreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tagellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). The two latter plants are valuable as fodder for all domestic animals. It is noteworthy that these three species of annual plants last longer than other annual species. They do not wither at the beginning of the *ṛarat*-season, but remain fresh and green all through the winter until about *tabsit*.

It is evident that Tuareg knowledge of botany is extremely comprehensive, and that they use this knowledge to make stock-breeding as rational as possible. They may perhaps not be so rational in protecting pastures, for they cut acacias' boughs to feed the kids resting in the camps, and it is most possible that they also overgraze certain pastures. However, the grazing grounds are very vast in comparison with the number of pastoralists, and I believe that overgrazing and arboreal devastation take place mainly around villages and towns where the flocks of sedentary people graze continuously in the same area. In Ahaggar the valuable fodder plants and plants which are important for collecting are often protected for two or three months in order that they may become fully developed (cf. p. 150, 179).

*233 The Tuareg take great care that their animals do not lack water. It is true that camels and also donkeys can do without water for many days even in summer, but at this season camels should preferably be watered every two or three days, and goats are always watered every two days when the weather is hot. In winter the animals are not watered so often, and this is true particularly if the animals feed on fresh annual plants. Camels can do without water even for weeks and months under such favourable

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Fig. 97. The leather bucket known as *aje* to the Northern Tuareg. The leather is tied to an iron ring made by blacksmiths. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension of the iron ring: 0.275 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.51).

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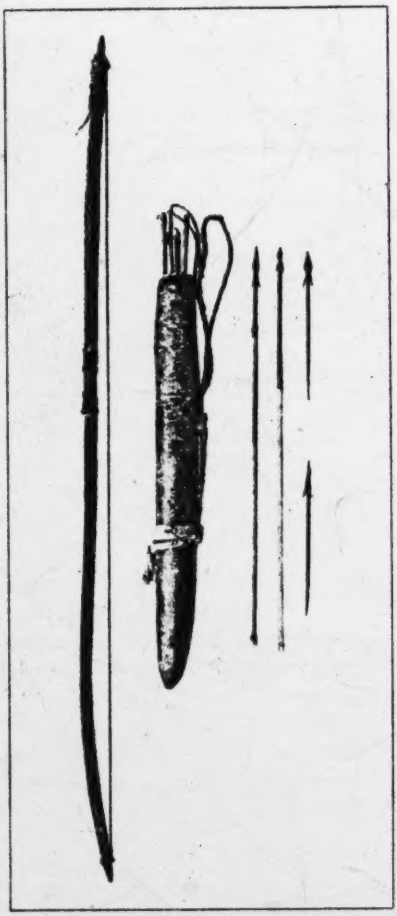

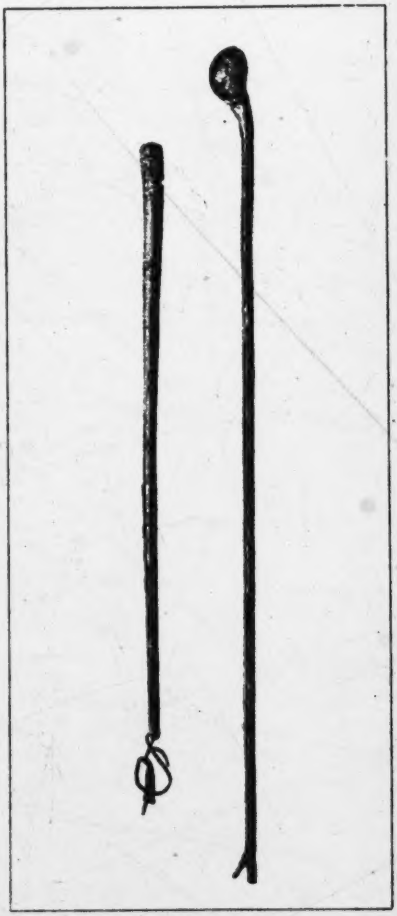

Fig. 119. Bow (*taganzi*), arrows (*imeran*), and quiver (*ehomaren*) from the Hausa-speaking population living south of Ayr around Aderbissinat. The bow is made from wood of a tree called *ddinew* and has a string of ox-hide. The arrows have shafts of wood or reed; their iron points are made by blacksmiths. The quiver is made from ox-hide with a plaster of cow's excreta applied to the inner side. Dimension of the bow: 1.20 m. (N.M. G. 6621).

[567]

Fig. 120. Tuareg clubs.

a. Wooden club (*aburi*). Dimension: 0.995 m long. (N.M. G. 1.159). Ahaggar, Olufsen's Collection.

b. Wooden club. Used for weapon and for cattle-driving by Tuareg around Timbuktu. Made from a bough of *Combretum aculeatum*. Collected by O. Hagerup. Dimension: 1.39 m long. (N.M. G. 3086). All slaves I saw among the *Iwilemmeden* near Ayoru carried this weapon.

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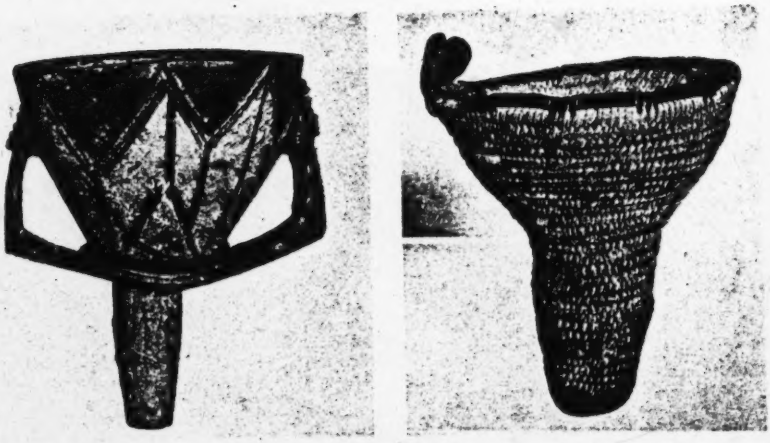

Fig. 153a–b. Tuareg funnels (*éssegefi*, pl. *issegefa*) which are used for milk, butter, and for other liquids.
a. Wooden funnel ornamented by burning. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (F.M. 240).
b. Funnel plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) with the rim reinforced with leather. Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.135 m high. (F.M. 243).

234 *4/5 In Ahaggar the method of churning butter is as follows:— Milk of the morning yield is put into a skin bag (*émezesley*) (Figs. 156–157) to remain in this bag until next morning when churning takes place. During the hot season the *émezesley*, filled with milk, is placed in the shade of the tent in daytime, while in winter it is placed in sunshine, or close to the fire. Some milk of the evening yield is sometimes added to the morning milk in the *émezesley*. Before churning the milk thus soured is poured into the proper churning bag (*aḡiwir*, *tanwart*) which is inflated and shaken. Churning bags may vary in size; when there is little milk to be churned a little bag is used and shaking is done holding it in the hands (Fig. 158). When milk is very plentiful, butter is sometimes churned in larger bags (*anwar*), which at one end is attached to a pole, while shaking is done by pulling the other end of the bag with one or both hands. When the milk is shaken in this way it forms small white balls of butter which [412] are removed from the churning bag with a wooden spoon (Fig. 191) when water has been added. This [262] white butter (*udi wa mellen*, or *tesendat*) is occasionally used for food without further preparation, [824] but this is not normal, for newly-churned butter is generally put into an earthen pot (*téṛirt*, or *ufrun*) (Figs. 186, 187a–b) together with parts of an annual plant known as *aynesnis* (*Chlamydophora pubescens*) (Fig. 160) to be heated over the fire. Some Tuareg also add meal of dried dates, or of horns of barbary sheep. After heating, butter (*udi*) assumes a dark yellow colour. It is stored in containers made of 231 *4/5 camel's hide (*tahattint*, *asoḡen*, *aṛaṅha*) (Figs. 161–162), or in Sudanese calabashes (*azenu*) (Figs. [824] 163a–b). A particular metal pail (*éṛir*) (Fig. 164) manufactured by native blacksmiths is also used for butter in Ahaggar,

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**Fig. 164. Pail (*éṛir*) made from tinned brass by blacksmiths. It is used for storing butter to be used for food preparation in the tent. Pails of this type form part of the dowry in the *Dug Rali* tribe. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.155 m high, 0.230–0.235 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5820).**

Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food 231
they perform a sacrifice, the idea of which seems to be an identification of the man and the killed animal. 782
This idea appears most clearly at the sacrifice made on the occasion of the name-giving feast seven 825
days after the birth of a child. A marabut, that is a Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class, and the father of 553
the child stand close together with their faces towards Mecca while the animal to be sacrified is kept 782
to the ground. The marabut cuts the animal's throat and doing so cries out the name to be given to [565]
the child, and this name is thereupon repeated by the child's father. When the killing is performed in [442]
this way the knife (*elmusi* in Ahaggar; *ézegiz* in Ayr) and the cut across the throat are washed with
water before skinning is undertaken. I have dealt with certain ideas of Tuareg sacrifice elsewhere, 114
and have stated that on certain occasions they may sacrifice not to God but to the *Kel Asuf* spirits 782
(Nicolaisen 1961, p. 122 f., 147 f.). But whatever may be the ideas attached to Tuareg sacrifices all 231
animals, with the exception of the camel (cf. above p. 65), are killed by cutting their throat.

The methods of meat preparation are almost identical in Ayr and Ahaggar. The most common 252
method everywhere is cooking in an earthen pot, known in Ahaggar as *ufrun*, *téṛirt*, *alekkin*, or *talekkint* 415 *
according to its size and form, or in a metal pot (*éṛir*) of European origin. Such European pots are [77]
common everywhere in Tuareg camps, but earthen pots are still used though less durable, for earthen
pots are cheap. Pots made of metal or copper, which are also known as *éṛir*, were also found among

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Fig. 171. Ordinary meat-knife (*elmusi*) of the type used among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Its broken handle is mended with hide of barbary sheep sewn with leather thread. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m (total length). (F.M. 249).
All knives are manufactured by blacksmiths.

wheat bread is eaten particularly during migrations and on trading expeditions, or in periods when 282
butter is rare (Lhote 1955a, p. 262). This statement disagrees with my own experience. Wheat bread [114]
is an ordinary diet of many Northern Tuareg. Bread is also baked from barley and from certain wild [124]
seeds (notably *tawit*, *Chenopodium Vulvaria*; *ehéyefyef*, *Aizoon canariense*; *tullult*, *Aristida pungens*)
and wild roots (*ahahel*, *Cistanche Phelypaea*), while millet and sorghum are considered less suitable
for baking. Seeds are generally prepared for baking by grinding them into flour by saddle querns or 282
handmills. In Northern Tuareg country there are two types of bread which have been introduced as [172]
a result of contact with Arabs or the Arabic-speaking *Ḥarratin*. One type is named *elfetat* and is baked

412

Fig. 172a–b. Meat knives.
a. Knife (*ezegiz*) of Tebu type to be carried in its sheath around the upper arm. These knives are sometimes used in Ayr. Agadez. Dimension: 0.370 m. (total length). (N.M. G. 6620a–b).
b. Knife (*ezegiz*) of the double-edged type normally used in Ayr. The *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.377 m (total length). N.M. G. 6665a–b).

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Fig. 203. Earthen incense jar (*elbakhkhar*). Ahaggar, *Harratin* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.179 m high. (N.M. G. 5889).

323 [437] 512). Most pastoral Tuareg of Ayr get their pots from Agadez, but pots are also imported from the south where they are of superior quality. These pots are said to be manufactured by black-skinned 323 563 *Igdalen* Tuareg (cf. p. 432) of the southlands, notably by people of the *Ikenawen* class which comprises professional pot-makers. These people are not found among the *Kel Ayr* but are common in camps [197] of the *Kel Geres* where I have met them. They speak *tamachek* but also have their own language 323 531 which is said to be related to *Sonray*. The pots made by these southern people are painted and decorated (cf. Fig. 205) in contrast to those of Agadez which are plain and of very simple forms (Figs. 204a–b). So far as I am aware painted and decorated pottery is rarely manufactured in Ayr nowadays. But Rodd states that such pottery in the form of pitchers with a blue design is made near Agadez (Rodd 1926a, p. 160 f., pl. 22 p. 209), and when I investigated ruins of stone houses at Iferwan I found a great many sherds of finely-decorated painted pots which must have been used up to the end of the great Tuareg revolt in 1917 when these houses were destroyed by the French. Lhote has also mentioned [178] the decline of pottery techniques in Ayr, and he states that, apart from little incense jars, no painted and decorated pots are manufactured at Agadez nowadays (Lhote 1950c, p. 511).

*415 Certain metal receptacles were known to the Tuareg long before the European occupation, notably [437] a cooking pot (*éṛir*) made from copper, and the flat drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned copper or brass in Tripolitania, or in Tunisia. Metal receptacles are also manufactured by native [326] blacksmiths in Tuareg country, e.g., the pail (*éṛir*) to be used for liquid butter (Fig. 164).

322 The blacksmiths are excellent wood-workers and make most wooden domestic utensils used by [564] pastoral Tuareg (Figs. 21b, 37, 38, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63a–b, 75, 150, 153–154, 166, 176, 177, 178, 191, [412] 194, 195, 212a, 219a–b, 285). The main implements for wood working are axes and adzes (Figs. 206a–d).

[172] 301 layers /271/ dating from that epoch. Its origin must be sought there, and it is now nothing more than a Neolithic vestige.

A number of little cases which the Tuareg wear suspended around the neck and resting on the chest may be considered ornaments. [531] They are little leather cases -- decorated, painted or embroidered, or even stamped in relief -- and they contain various little instruments. [415] Thus, there are mirror cases, needle cases, razor cases, scissor cases, toothbrush cases, etc., and little wallets in which the Tuareg put what they prize most -- money, a /strike-a-light/ steel box and its flint, or tobacco.

/272/ They also wear 301 751 quantities of amulets in leather or metal cases on their chests, their arms, or their hair. But [178] this custom, religious in origin, has evolved in the direction of ornamentation, for many of these amulet cases contain nothing.

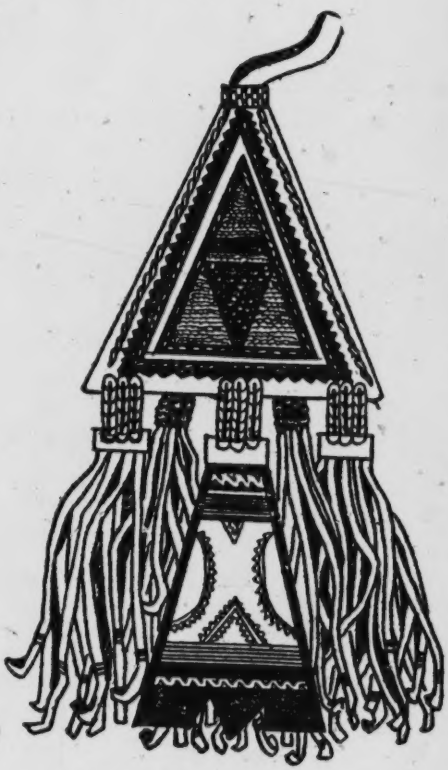
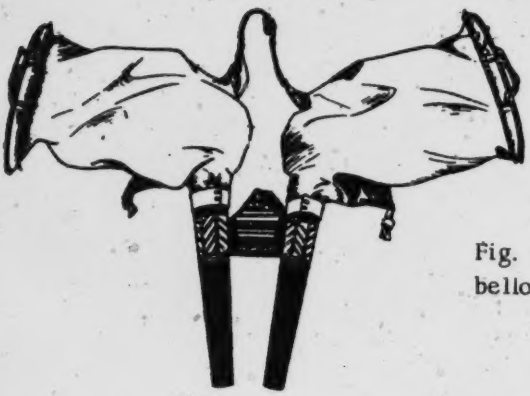


Fig. 42. Needle case of worked leather, with knife slits and embroidery. The background is red; the ornamental painting, black; the embroidery, red and green cotton.

301 Female jewelry is much richer and more varied. It is [328] all made of silver; gold jewelry is never seen among the Tuareg. They maintain [228 777] that gold is unlucky for the possessor and that this metal corrupts people.

coins were for a long time the money standard in all of Central Africa. 177 326
(1) Copper is chiefly furnished by cartridge cases, and iron by abandoned

1. The Maria Theresa dollar was introduced into Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century by navigators [177 436]



[325]

Fig. 49. Double forge bellows.

and traders who visited the Gulf of Guinea. With the iron bar, it became the basis of commercial exchange, and it was circulated in the interior of West Africa as well as in Abyssinia.

scraps of old carriages, auto springs, sheet metal, tin cans, etc.

Aluminum, which is beginning to penetrate into the Niger region, 177 is not yet utilized in the Ahaggar. So far the pipes and guys left to the 328 four corners of the desert by wrecked airplanes have served only to make tent poles.

7: Nicolaisen MS25 Tuareg MS25

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[See category 342 for information about techniques of joining and structural devices used in dwellings.]

– The curved pieces 342*

lashed together to form arches are manufactured by the Ayr women, or are imported from the south [462] by the *Kel Geres* Tuareg when they visit Ayr at the end of the rains. The arches manufactured by the Ayr women are made from the very long horizontal roots (*tékéwt*) of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*). [824] Pieces of root of suitable size are placed over an open fire for a while, and are thereupon bent [335] into the desired curve which is secured by cords. When the root pieces thus treated become dry they will retain their curved form; the cords are then untied and the root pieces fashioned with a knife. However, wooden arches imported by the *Kel Geres* are used by many Ayr Tuareg who claim that these arches are superior to their own. They are said to be manufactured from boughs (or roots?) of a tree known as *tarmumiya*, which does not grow in Ayr but in the *Kel Geres* country.

(2) Parallel to the three arches there are two pairs of cross-bars supported by vertical sticks, a pair being placed at both sides of the arches to form the narrow sides of the dwelling. These cross-bars are termed *izgar* (sing. *éseger*). They are sometimes made by blacksmiths, and are then provided with [531] various ornaments including a little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of the bar. In fairly large tents each cross-bar is supported by four vertical sticks, the two middle ones of which are generally forked, while the two outer sticks are somewhat higher and attached to the cross-bar with cords. All these vertical sticks, including the outer ones which have no prongs, are termed *tigettewin* (sing. *tégettewt*). In smaller tents there are only two or three sticks supporting the cross-bar. The vertical sticks used to support the cross-bars are normally very simple. Sticks of the very light *turza* tree (*Calotropis procera*) are preferred.

(3) Over this skeleton of arches and cross-bars supported by vertical sticks are placed a number of slender curved rods which are termed *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*). These rods are made from acacia roots, as described above, or are rods of the *tarmumiya* tree imported from the south. These rods form semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the tent. Each of these semi-arches consists of two identical rods fastened to the horizontal cross-bars at their thick end, while at their thin ends they are lashed together and fastened to the true arches. There is always a considerable number of these slender semi-arches, normally about ten.

The Ayr Tuareg use the following types of mats to cover the upper part of the dome-shaped 342* structure:— *iwerweren* (sing. *éwerwer*), the mats made from plant stems tied to each other with leather 285 thread (cf. p. 350); *iafal* (sing. *éafel*), mats of an oval shape plaited from dum palm leaves; *asalemmas*, a long narrow piece of mat made from dum palm leaves. In addition there is the term *éreli* which designates the long narrow mat plaited from dum palm leaves surrounding the lower part of the tent structure. In very hot weather this mat is omitted so that currents of air may pass through the dwelling, while the tent is closed when it is cold, or during storms. A tent as that described has 342* a dome-shaped or barrel-vaulted superstructure, the ground-plan being almost rectangular. A tent of normal size will measure about 3.00 × 4.50 m with a height of 1.80 to 1.90 m.

The mat tent is erected by one or two Tuareg women in the following way:— [462]

(1) The ground is cleared; (2) The large wooden bed (*tédabut*), which is used everywhere in the [352] south, is placed upon the ground to facilitate measuring; (3) Two large pronged posts, which serve [353] to carry woman's riding cushions and various large skin bags, are placed behind the bed and fixed into holes dug by means of some iron implement, e.g., the cooking tripod, the broad end of a lance,

[text continues on p. 353]

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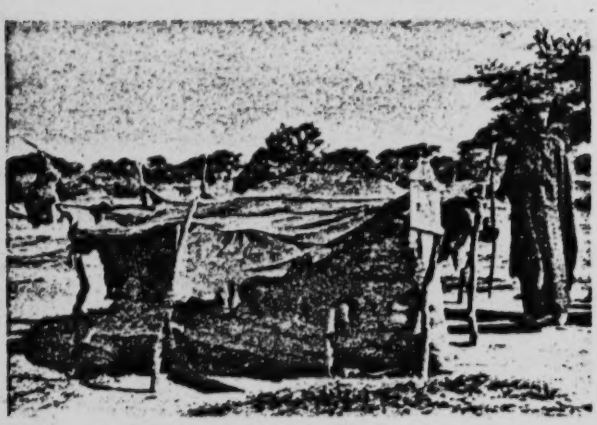

Fig. 272. Skin tent of the B.2.a.3. type belonging to *Kel Dennek* blacksmiths camping in Ayr near Agadez.

*342 of its ground area. The blacksmiths said that in their homeland at Twa only very small tents had central arches, while large tents had central T-shaped posts, but this latter structure could not be used in small tents because of the very large wooden bed. Tents of this type have not been described by Nicolas from the *Kel Dennek*, and various people who know this area have told me that they have never seen there tents of arch construction.

B.2.a.4. The tent type to be described is of arch construction. It was formerly very common in Ahaggar, but is extremely rare nowadays. The sheet of skin rests upon two arches placed parallel to each other at right angles to the longitudinal direction, and upon two horizontal cross-bars each lying on a pair of forked sticks. These wooden elements are normally made of the *tabarekkat* tree [824] (*Tamarix aphylla*), the arches being manufactured from its roots which are heated over the fire and [335] attached with cords in their bent position, as has already been described from the Ayr Tuareg, who make arches of acacia roots for mat tents in this way (cf. p. 351). But the arches used in Ahaggar are made from one piece of root each, and not from two pieces lashed together as in Ayr. The arches thus made are known as *iǧeǧan* (sing. *aǧeǧu*), but the term *tiheknin* (sing. *téhakent*) is generally used by vassals of the tribes *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* and *Dag Ṛali*. Though the arches are made from a single piece of root they may be fairly large, and two arches which are now in the Musée de l'homme in Paris have, according to Lhote, a diameter of 1.70 metres (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 43; Musée de l'homme, Coll. H. Lhote 1941). The cross-bars horizontally placed at both sides of the arches are called *ireǧéraǧaten* (sing. *areǧaraǧa*), and the forked sticks which support them *tiǧeffewin* (*tiǧeffewi*). Foucauld states that the two horizontal cross-bars resting upon forked poles do not properly belong to the tent structure, so that the sheet is supported only by the two arches which are placed parallel to each other at a distance of about 1.50 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 f.). These two arches are also mentioned by Benhazera without any reference to horizontal cross-bars (Benhazera 1908, p. 26). However, my

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



● 34 The hut I saw at Ingal was situated close to the market place, and was apparently not used as an ordinary dwelling. It had a low cylindrical mud wall and a high, conical roof covered with straw.

*342 171 It is curious that cylindrical houses with conical roofs are so extremely rare in Ayr and its adjacent regions, for they have a very wide distribution among sedentary shifting cultivators of Damergu, and I have seen them almost everywhere in the region between Zinder and Dakar. There can thus be little doubt that they play a part for many sedentary agriculturists living in the regions dominated by such Sudanese Tuareg as the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwllemmeden*, and the group of *Kel Tademaket*. Among sedentary farmers of the Ader area in the *Kel Dennek* territory, Nicolas mentions and depicts a typical Sudanese cylindrical house with a conical roof (Nicolas 1938, p. III p. 63 & 1950a, p. 156 f.), but it does not appear that this type of dwelling is used by the Tuareg or by negroid castes of Tuareg society. Nicolas also mentions a straw hut of the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg, but this is so unsatisfactorily described that it is impossible to gain any clear idea of its form and construction – despite illustrations. In an early study this hut (*akaber*) is described as a cylindrical hut with a flat roof (Nicolas 1938, p. 61, pl. I p. 55), while in the later book on the *Kel Dennek* he mentions a hut called *akarben* (*ekarben*) which seems to be of cylindrical form. It has a central post named *tamākait* (*tamankayt*) and, perhaps, a slightly elevated roof (cf. Nicolas 1950a, pl. VIII, p. 155). In both studies Nicolas says that straw-huts of this type are used mainly by slaves or manumitted slaves who are semi-sedentary, but he adds that in the very hot season certain Tuareg make their slaves build for them huts of this kind.

*342 174 It is possible that cylindrical houses, including barns like those used in the Sudan, were introduced to certain oases of Adrar-Timimoun from the south (cf. Stuart 1936, p. 299, ill. p. 256, 294). Sudanese Negroes may in fact have been responsible for the distribution of these dwellings even as far north as Morocco. This is stated by Despois, who is of the opinion that the cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs (called *nwala* while the proper name is *ḳabbusa*) were introduced with black-skinned troops coming to Morocco from the Niger Bend during the 17th century A.D. The relations between the Sudan and Morocco initiated at the end of the 16th century by Sultan *Aḥmed al-Manṣur*, gave rise to the immigration of negroid peoples who took dwellings of the *nwala* type with them (Despois 1949, p. 308 f., 529, pl. VI B.).

*342 171 I think we may conclude our analysis of cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs as follows:— (1) It is most probable that they are very ancient and traditional to many vassal tribes of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. To-day they constitute their prominent type of dwelling, which should probably be viewed in connection with the occurrence of related dwelling forms in the Fezzan, and in Tripolitania – the more so as it seems as if many cultural traits and migrations of peoples have followed the route from the Mediterranean via Tripolitania and the Fezzan to Tasilé-n-Ajjer. We know that the type was used among the Eastern Libyans of Antiquity. I believe cylindrical dwellings of Ahaggar like those used among certain Tuareg of the *Amenukal*'s camp and those found at Silet, are probably historically related to the cylindrical dwellings of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. (2) It seems as if cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs are rarely used by Sudanese Tuareg, though they are common among sedentary agriculturists within the territory dominated by Southern Tuareg groups. These Sudanese dwellings have spread northwards in the Western Sahara via Tawat to Morocco. – We see that distributional studies of cultural traits are extremely difficult and liable to give very wrong results. It might have been natural

4: Benhazera--57a G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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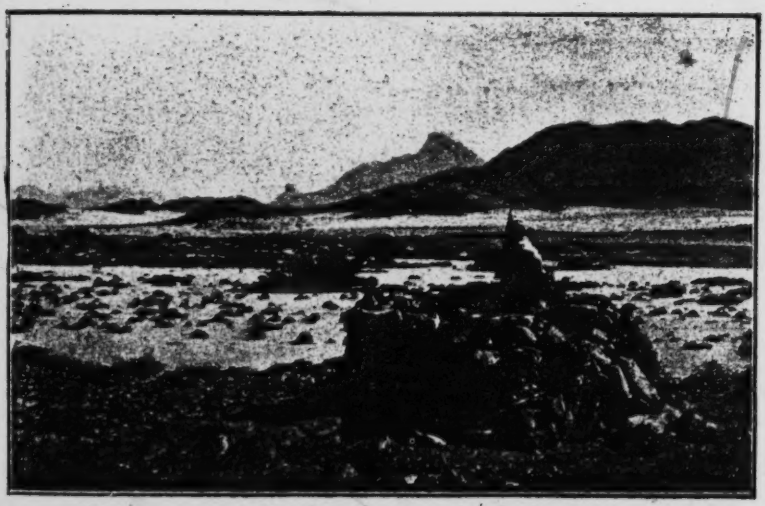

In-Tekoufi Wadi (Tifedest)

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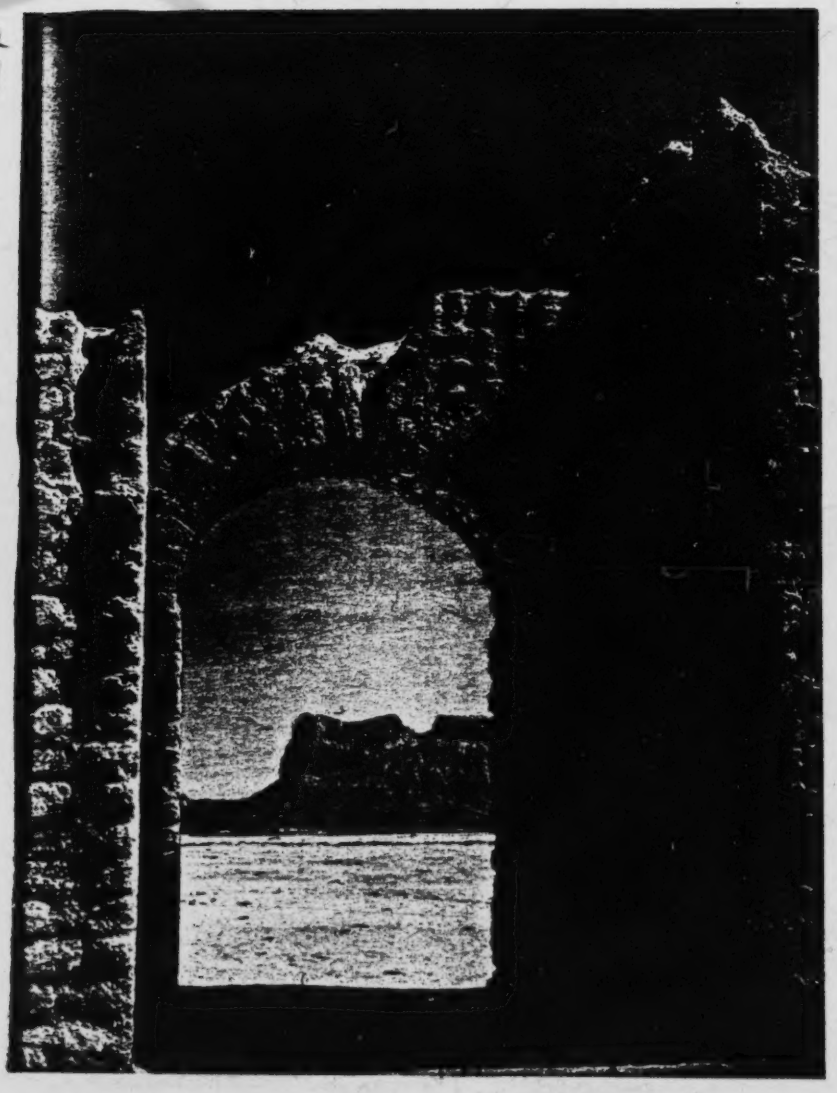

54. Door of Moussa ag Amastane's house (present abode of the Inaden).

[p. 243]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 245. Decorated house of Sudanese type at the market place of Agadez.

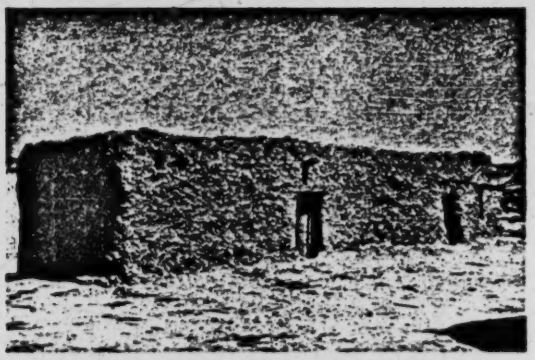

Fig. 246. House (*tayajami*) built of mud and stones which are covered by a mud plaster. Ayr, Awderas.

[356]

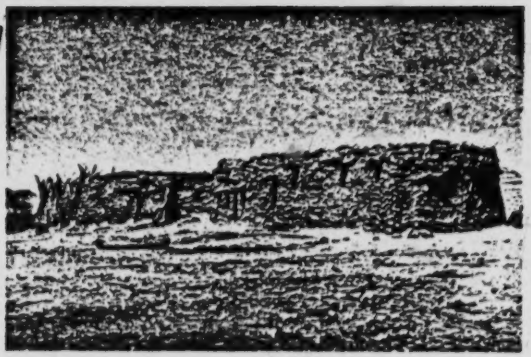

Fig. 247. House (*tayajami*) of the type depicted Fig. 246. The mud plaster is decaying and the stones are visible. Ayr, Awderas.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 287. Musicians of the Sultan of Ayr marching through Agadez. In the front a man blowing a clarinet-like instrument, in the background the drummers mounted on camels and beating two drums each. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

631 true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. They are nowadays without much power and prestige, whereas
634 the Sultan, owing to the French, has augmented his power greatly. Many *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg speak
643 disparagingly about the Sultan, and the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* named *Agg-Elkhir* called him
[178] openly a slave and did not take off his sandals in the Sultan's presence.

643 There can be little doubt that the man who was elected the Sultan of all Ayr people at the beginning
642 of the 15th century very quickly became a Sultan not of Ayr, but of Agadez. A state organization like that of the Ayr Sultanry could not function in a Tuareg society characterized by warlike pastoral groups, and the Sultan would have to be dismissed or else recognize the authority of the strongest pastoral group which, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century was the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

1: Lhote--48b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Plate X

342

Tent belonging to the amenokal of the Kel Ahaggar. It has eight poles inside, and the awning is made of 60 skins sewn together. The separate poles in the foreground are used to hold up the asaber in the evening.

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The tent is always set up by the women, mainly by servants. They make holes in the ground to put the pole in, then pile sand around it. When the pole is in place, the skin is attached by a thong.

312 and from all the subterranean flows; thus it is richer in watering places. There are rédir, or wells, varying from 5 to 10 meters in depth.

342 The tent. -- This kind of habitation is found from the western Asian steppes to the Atlantic, where nomads have generally adopted the camel's-hair tent. Tuareg, who do not own any camels with long hair, use skins.

[281] The tent is composed of a large awning formed by assembling 30 to 40 wild-sheep or goat hides, with the hair removed and tanned. Because of the scarcity of wild-sheep skins, goatskin and even cow-
[184] hide are gradually being substituted for them. Cowhide is used exclusively by the Ioullimmiden Tuareg. The awning is held up by a frame of arches or poles. The Kel Ahaggar, moreover, have two kinds of tents: one with vertical supports and one with arches. The former is more widespread at the present time. It includes a central pole with a wooden ridge tile and six secondary poles placed in a circle. The highest part of the awning is about 1.5 meters from the ground. The edges of the skin hang down almost level with the ground where they are attached by small pegs in order to keep out the sandstorms which are very common in spring and summer, and keep out the winter cold.

The ridge tile on a central pole is especially used in summer when rains are feared, for it gives the proper slope to the awning so that water can flow off. In other seasons this ridge tile is replaced by two poles supporting a crosspiece.

Although one cannot stand inside, the Tuareg tent is spacious
323 enough. The poles are in tamarisk wood, with coarse sculpture,
531] pyrography, and paintings on the upper part. /224/ This type of tent is used by the Kel Rela, the Dǎg Râli, and most of the Kel Ahaggar.

[184] The other model is now used only among the Ǎgouh-en-Tĕhlé. It appears that the Kel Ǎhnet and the Kel In Rhar may still use it, too. The center stake of the type described above is replaced by one or two arches made of éthel /atle? Ed./ roots joined by a

342 crosspiece forming the central frame; four vertical stakes are placed two by two on each side of the tent.

[171] This model used to be much more widespread in the Ahaggar, and it seems to be an older form, for the model presently used must have been taken from the Ioullimmiden. All the old people recall having seen it used in their youth in all camps on an equal basis with the vertical stake form.

The tent with arches, the upper part of which forms a kind of dome, is better able to withstand the rains than the other. If [182] that was its raison d' [132] être, we may understand why it disappeared with the gradual drying out of the Sahara. This disappearance may also have been caused by the difficulty of procuring large roots to make the arches.

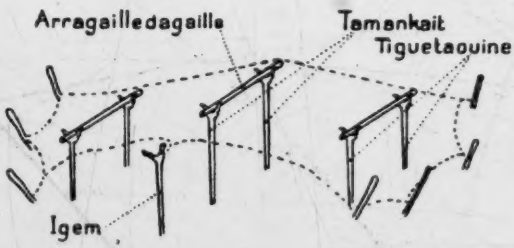


Fig. 25. Tent used by the Kel Rela. During the rainy season, the two central stakes are replaced by a single stake holding up a ridge tile.

[386] The awning is always covered with a coat of red ocher which protects it from the heat of the sun and from the rain.

In both models, the tent always includes a sort of detachable [285] closing made of a long mat (asaber) woven from the stems of graminaceae. It is unrolled inside around the stakes to close the tent completely. High up in the mountains the Tuareg reduce the inside area of the tent in order to keep warmer, and provide the part opposite /225/ the opening with a little stone wall which effectively protects them from the cold. The door is always opened toward the south.

The tent is occupied by only one household, and each of the married couple has his own side. The man's side is to the left as one enters the door; there he keeps his mehari saddle, his weapons, and his bags of salt. To the right is the woman's place, where she keeps her bag of personal things, her saddle if she has one, the bags containing the food supplies, and the kitchen implements which she has charge of. 592 [422]

In summer when it is very hot, the Tuareg sometimes use straw huts, as much to save hides as to be a bit more comfortable. The leather tent, in fact, is made almost useless by the heat, and nomads often seek shelter during the heat of the day under neighboring trees when there are any or else in the rocks. 342 [184]

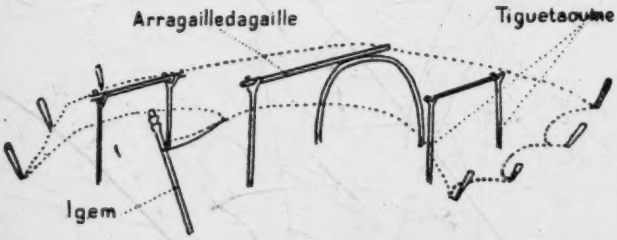


Fig. 26. Tent used by the Agouh-n-Tehlé. Sometimes the stake supporting the aragailledagaille may be replaced by a second arch. In some tribes, particularly among the Kel Ahnet, the arches were placed crosswise.

Captives never have tents. They build themselves little shelters with a few branches on which are hung scraps of leather or cloth. [727]

It falls entirely to the women to put up the tents. [462]

Granaries. -- One of the most characteristic facts of nomadic life is its lack of foresight in questions of food. For the most part, the nomad lives from one day to the next, following the seasons, without accumulating anything. This is somewhat the case for the Tuareg. Still, the Sahara is not a country where one can find supplies easily. 251 343

412 Each mistress of a tent has a little
356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses, and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,
492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are
[462] left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving;
[565] only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in moving only if it is a long trip.

/230/ Chapter 3

Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding
262 peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea, bechena (Sorghum cernuum Host.), a kind of millet cultivated in the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during
[252 their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in
484] the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong cultural-
[101] ly to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

312 include a first subterranean part made of numerous wells of depths varying from two to four meters, linked together by a small canal serving as a water conductor; then comes a part on top of the ground in the form of a canal, first at the same level as the wadi, then at a slightly higher level. They empty into the distribution reservoirs (majem), which by secondary canals (seguia) carry water to the gardens to be irrigated.

311 361 These agricultural centers therefore extend along the wadi on both sides of its banks. The cultivators settle near their gardens and live in straw or reed huts or little clay houses.

[342] There are five centers in the high mountains between 1, 500 and 1, 800 meters in altitude, but the majority are located between 1, 200 and 1, 500 meters. Some of them can be lower, such as Silet (730 meters) and I-n-Amegel (1, 030 meters).

245 Some are small date groves such as Silet and Tibeghîn, which have 10, 000 palm trees, Ideles, Tâhârt, and Ăbalessa, but because of its altitude, the Ahaggar does not seem to be very suitable for date growing. The instability of the harratin is also an obstacle to the development of arboriculture which demands continual care. Cultivators who can be here today and gone tomorrow would not be capable of interesting themselves in work from which they could not draw immediate profit. The country would lend itself, however, to rather large-scale cultivation of peaches, /246/ apricots, figs, and grapes. The little center of Tăzerouk has many peach trees, and the center at Tit produces a famous raisin.

134 The Ahaggar soil is of a high quality, owing part of its richness to elements of volcanic origin which make up a large proportion of the alluvial deposits. Furthermore, the climate favors 132 241 agriculture so much that the natives obtain two or even three harvests a year.

24 In the medium altitude centers, they sow wheat and barley in December and harvest it in May. Barely finished with this, they sow millet which is harvested at the beginning of October. In between the natives also engage in kitchen gardening: carrots,

585 A new tent is prepared with all the accessories -- mats, cords,
342 tent stakes -- also new. Inside on the left side is built a little sand mound, oval in shape, on which the consummation is to take place. Afterward, when the camp is forced to move, this edifice is respected and stays in place for several months.

585 On the seventh day, the girl's father has the marriage confirmed by a marabout. Then, in the evening the fiancée, who
[533] has stayed hidden all day at the home of a relative, is led amidst a procession of women playing tambourines to the nuptial tent, where the young man has preceded her.

The next day the young people gather in the tent of the newlyweds, as they do during the days of festivity which follow the marriage. This meeting is called tigedelsatin.

591 The newlyweds live in the camp of the girl's parents for a year. This institution of "service time" /temps de service/ is
[171] mentioned on several occasions in the Old Testament and was practiced by the Hebrews. It means that the fiancé must live with his future family, or quite near it, for a temporary or permanent period of time. This custom results in temporarily restricting the
[593] husband's authority and assuring that they become acquainted and that the young wife is well treated.

587 If the bride has already been married, she leaves for her
591 husband's camp on the seventh day, mounted on a camel and accompanied by her friends and her servants.

585 In the first case, new festivities are held a year later. The
591 men and women belonging to the husband's camp go one evening to the bride's camp and simulate an armed abduction. The meharists who have stealthily approached then rush into the midst of the tents and utter war cries, answered by the cries of terror of the camp women. They surround the tent of the young wife and claim her as belonging henceforth to their family.

[492] /293/ This is the occasion for new gastronomic flights, and the next evening the young woman, wrapped in a big white shawl,

182 and the Tuareg of the Ahaggar as a nation, too stubborn to adapt themselves to any way of life other than their own, have at last signed their name to the ever-lengthening list of vanishing peoples.

Shelter. The typical dwelling of the Ahaggar
●342 Tuareg is a leather tent, made preferably of the skins of goats although sometimes those of sheep or even calves are used (fig. 36). A tent of mouflon skins is considered the height of luxury and elegance, but it is almost impossible to come by enough of them to make such a tent nowadays. The prepared skins are
281 very soft and have a pleasing dull red brick
342 color which is produced by rubbing them on both sides with a mixture of red ocherous clay and dried camel dung. After being prepared and cut down to rectangular form, they are sewed together with fine strips of leather. Anywhere from 30 to as many as 150 may be used to make a single tent, but the first number is not far below the average. A finished tent of ordinary size weighs about 50 pounds more or less.

Tents are mounted on wooden frames of
342 various closely similar types, the most common of which consists of three elements, each composed of two uprights with a horizontal member laid across their tops. The highest element is set in the middle with one upright in front and the other in the back, and the two remaining elements are set up parallel to it, one on either side. The tent covering is then stretched over this framework, with its back and sides pegged down and the front left open, usually facing south. In good weather the overhanging front of the roof is stretched out horizontally to form an awning held in place by three supplementary posts, one in the middle and another at each end. The average tent is 6 to 10 feet deep from front to back, 10 to 15 feet wide and 4 to 5 feet high in the middle, with the roof sloping away very gently on both sides and toward the back wall. The structure is completed by
[285] long strips of stiff, yellow matting made of
351 thin reeds, roughly 3 feet wide and up to 20 feet long more or less, with simple geometric designs in black or reddish brown leather ribbon woven into them. These strips are set on edge around the inside of the tent so as to make an inner wall at the back and sides,

351 and are extended out in front to form a sheltered enclosure which is usually semicircular with the entrance opening in the middle. The little forecourt and the ground inside the tent as well are covered with clean sand or very fine gravel from the bed of a nearby stream. Tuareg camps are always very tidy and astonishingly clean.

Both in the forecourt and in the tent itself
562 the men's place is on the right as you enter
342 and the women's and children's on the left, which is the reverse of the arrangement customary among Arabs. It has often been said that the men's place is on the East, but this is simply because tents are almost always pitched facing south.

Household furniture and effects include
352 sheepskins, or rugs obtained from the North
[439] by trade, leather bags of food and personal belongings, saddles, bridles and weapons,
[415] wooden bowls, funnels and spoons and maybe an earthenware cooking pot or two, a wooden
[412] mortar and pestle or perhaps two sets of different sizes, and a stone quern which may be either of the Neolithic saddle type or the small rotary model of the Roman Legions. Arms and food are stored in the men's half of the tent and equipment connected with food preparation in the women's half. A guerba full of water is hung from two long stakes just outside the forecourt. A brush
[343] windbreak built nearby shelters the outdoor kitchen, and another windbreak, some 50 to 100 yards away, shelters the family slaves.

Sometimes in the hottest months, and particularly when a camp remains stationary for a considerable length of time as it does in periods so dry that it is dangerous to move far from a permanent water supply, the tents may be stowed away and zeribas set up in their place. We recall that these are cubical or cylindrical structures made of reeds, long grass or palm fronds laid over a wooden framework measuring roughly 10 to 15 feet across and 8 to 10 feet high (fig. 37, *a*). The Amenokal's camp was installed in zeribas when the writer visited it in November, 1955, near the end of an unusually long period of drought.

361 Camps are always pitched in an inconspicuous spot and always on high ground except on very rare occasions when the sky is cloud-

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 251]

[Pp. 243-250 not processed]



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*a*

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*b*

Fig. 36. *a*, A typical camp site and tent of the Ahaggar Tuareg. *b*, A chief of the Ahaggar Tuareg sits before his tent, camel whip in hand and surrounded by his family. (Photographs by Chaumeau-Lanher, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

At the end of mourning, the women of the camp lead the 765
widow out to see the sunrise; the Koran is held open before
her and she is made to look at salt. Upon her return, she may
dress as before and make herself pretty. A collection is taken [768]
up for her. /25/

## Chapter XIII

## Inheritance. Succession

Inheritance, "takasit" +⊡ ⁝ + , (from the verb 428
"ekkous," to inherit) is of two kinds: political inheritance,
if I may so express it, and private inheritance.

The first is the right to command and to the collection of
the "tioussé," or tribute from the "imr'ad." This is handed
down according to the laws of inheritance of which we will
speak later.

As to private inheritance, it is collected by the natural
heirs according to Moslem laws of rights, which means that the
son has a right to an amount double that of the daughter. The
animals left as inheritance are assessed and are divided ac-
cording to this assessment. These shares are then chosen by
lot.

## Chapter XIV

## The Home. The Tent

All the tents of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar confederation 281
are made of the hides, "ilmaouen" ⁝⊐ ‖ , of goats or sheep, 342

tanned and sewed together. The assemblage of these hides [281]
constitutes the cover, the essential part of the tent, and is 342
called "ehakit" ⵜⵃⴰⴽⵉⵜ .

The tent is supported by a central master beam called "tamankaït" ⵜⵎⴰⵏⴽⴰⵢⵜ .

A pole, "idjem" ⵉⴷⵊⵉⵎ , is placed at the entrance of the tent and is flanked right and left by poles called "madar'en" ⵎⴰⴷⴰⵔⵉⵏ . /26/

Other poles are used to hold up the edges: these are the "tissedass" ⵜⵉⵙⵙⴷⴰⵙ . The little pegs that hold the tent to the ground are called "tisselitaï" ⵜⵉⵙⵍⵉⵜⴰⵢ . Sometimes bows are also used, called "adjedjou" ⴰⴷⵊⴷⵊⵓ , plural "idjedjan" ⵉⴷⵊⴷⵊⴰⵏ .

The tent is surrounded by mats of "afezzou" ⴰⴼⵣⵣⵓ [285
(Panicum turgidum, Graminaceae), called "asabar" ⴰⵙⴰⴱⴰⵔ 824]
plural "isebran" ⵉⵙⴱⴰⵏ , which are pulled back in the day and drawn close at night, to close the tent.

In the tent one finds first that which concerns water, that 352
is, waterskins, "abeïor'" ⴰⴱⵉⵢⵓⵔ , plural "ibiyar'" 415
ⵉⴱⵉⵢⵓⵔ , hung on forked sticks, "tidjettaouin" ⵜⵉⴷⵊⵉⵜⵜⴰⵓⵉⵏ .
They are filled by means of a funnel, "asegueffi" ⴰⵙⵉⴳⵎⵎⵉ ,
plural "iseguéffa" ⵉⵙⵉⴳⵎⵎⴰ . To water the camels, the 231
Tuareg use troughs of hide supported by hoops at the top and called "tafaraout" ⵜⴰⴼⴰⵔⴰⵓⵜ , plural "tiferouin" ⵜⵉⴼⵉⵔⵓⵉⵏ .
They also use these troughs for the harvest of "toulloult" grain 243
(Arthraterum pungens, Graminaceae) or of "afezzou" (Panicum turgidum, Graminaceae).

For milk and butter, they have a waterskin for milk, 415
"tanouart" ⵜⴰⵏⵓⴰⵔⵜ , plural "tinouarin" ⵜⵉⵏⵓⴰⵔⵉⵏ , and a kind of porous water jug made of a hollowed gourd and called "az'enou" ⴰⵣⵉⵏⵓ . To ladle the milk, serve it or pour it, they use a wooden vessel with one handle called "asoukal" ⴰⵙⵓⴽⴰⵍ . To store and transport melted butter, "oudi," they have waterskins of various shapes, the most common being the one called "tahattint" ⵜⴰⵀⴰⵜⵜⵉⵏⵜ , but they also sometimes [281]
use the tanned hide of a camel's thigh. /27/

The donkey carries the waterskins from the well to the [312]
tent, and on its back is placed a packsaddle made of curved 492
pieces of wood bound together, which is called "eroukou."

Let us not forget the Tuareg's saddle, "terik," and if the master of the tent is well-to-do, his wife's saddle, "tekhaouit." /28/

The tent is divided in two: one side for the man and 342
the other for the woman. On the man's side are his saddle, 592
his arms, and the things used for eating. On the woman's side are her saddle, her "amz'ad," and the cooking utensils.

Custom decrees that the man choose the east part for his side, and the woman the west part.

A group of tents is called "amezar'" [192]
, and a single tent "ehan" , plural "ehanan" .

Dautheville

Tent of a Tedjehe-Mellet
at Amra (Black Tifedest)

## Chapter XV

## Food

The main meal takes place at noon and is called 264
"tarout" . In the evening the Tuareg is

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output is only enough to water the flocks, in the Ahaggar, on the contrary, a mountainous country where there is some water everywhere, a number of small villages called "ar'erem" ⵄⵔⵔⵎ, plural "ir'ermane" ⵉⵄⵔⵔⵎⵏ, have been built.

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Since the Tuareg, nobles or imr'ad, dislike all manual work, these villages could not have been built without the indispensible help of the Harratine of the Touat and the Tidikelt, whom the Tuareg call "Izeggar'en" ⵉⵣⵖⵄⵔⵏ, meaning "mulattoes." Everything was made by the latter: the wells, /74/ "tounine," which are used for irrigation, as at Tazerouk; the "foggaras," or covered wells, "ifelane," and their irrigation canals as at Abalessa, Tit, and Tamanrasset; the fitting up of springs, as at Tadjemout. The Harratine made the gardens and became khammes of the Tuareg, landowners. They settled in these villages and there built huts of "diss" (Imperata cylindrica) or of "berdi" (Typha angustifolia) and little houses of baked earth.

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The Harratine grow wheat, barley, and bechna in these gardens. These are the three essential crops, to which they add some vegetables: onions, kabouyas, or gourds, watermelons, and "guerroum" (a kind of long melon which is eaten green, like a cucumber, before it is ripe). Finally, at Tit they /75/ have planted some fine fig trees and a vine which yields a grape that seems delicious at this latitude. Similarly, at Abalessa, there are some vine slips and a fine palm.

Ideles (Koudia)

The gardens, or rather the fields, are enclosed by a hedge to prevent the depredations of the camels that graze free at night. But there are some that do not have this protective barrier, and the Harratine are forced to stand guard at night, turn, and turn about, lighting fires to drive the camels away from the crops.

and the Abalessa wadi. Now, this grave has the shape of an 172
enormous circular wall and is surrounded by other graves of the 173
"chouchat" shape which are those of Tin Hinane's servants. 764
Beside her grave is that of Takamat, the woman whom the Kel Ahnet claim as their ancestress. All these graves resemble those of the "izabbaren" so closely as to be confusing. Why do the Tuareg disclaim these while they acknowledge those of Tin Hinane, Takamat, and their servants?

We saw in the chapter "Superstitions, Beliefs" that the 769
Tuareg go to consult the Izzabaren graves to obtain news of 787
those absent.

In the Tafidjiq wadi (about four hours' walk from Ideles) there is a grave which is the object of great veneration on the

[342]

Harratine Huts at Ideles
(Koudia)

part of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is that of Adjadj Alemine [797
(probably the missionary who converted them to Islamism; see 174]
the chapter on the origin of the Tuareg /not translated/). The Ahaggar say that this Adjadj Alemine was a marabout, a saint, and they call on him in their prayers when they are in trouble or grief, as the Arabs, under the same circumstances, call on Sidi Abdelkader el Djillali. I have not seen his grave, but I was told that it has "chouahed" like all Moslem graves.

Upright stones. Following the directions of the guide 172
Deguemma ag Chikat of the Adjouh-n-Taheli, I found, in the Koudia of the Ahaggar, a place where there was a collection of some ten upright stones of which only one remained /79/

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tarahamt)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of wells *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters.

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 138ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



563 601 akin to the system in use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (fig. 8 a).

563 ●342 The material culture of the Air negroes is marked by both northern and southern traits. The most common type of dwelling is a beehive hut *(tatrami)*, which I have also seen south of Air in the savannah, while similar huts are unknown to the north in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. The huts are often placed within round enclosures which are possibly of Sudanese origin (cf. fig. 15). There are however other types of dwellings in the Air villages. Very common is a square straw hut *(techira)* with a slightly elevated saddle-roof. It is built by the men while the beehive hut is made by women, and both types are frequently used by one and the same household. This square hut differs constructionally from the straw huts used among settled agriculturists in the north. Also rather common is a barrel-vaulted hut *(ehen)* covered with mats (fig. 14). It has the same name and is of much the same construction as the movable huts or tents used by most pastoral Air Tuareg (fig. 5 & 13). It is built by women and seems to have been introduced by pastoral [462] women married to settled agriculturists. Finally there is in some villages a rectangular house *(tarachamt)* with a flat roof. It has very solid walls generally built from stones inserted in and covered with mud. It has various sub-types more elaborately described by Rodd, who considers these houses to be of northern origin (Rodd 1926a, p. 240ff.). They have most probably been introduced from Tassili-n-Ajjer 177 312 or the Fezzan from which regions came also the irrigation system now forming the basis of agriculture all over Air, namely the drawing of water from shallow wells *(anou)* by means of zebus. This system is extremely common in the Fezzan and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where, as mentioned, it was introduced also to Ahaggar. It is not known when it came to Air, but in many villages it has been adopted only very recently. Not so many years ago water for irrigation in most villages was apparently raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight *(aroudit)* (cf. Capot-Rey 1933, p. 322), but this method has now disappeared. It can be considered the oldest irrigation machine and it is no doubt [174] of very great age in Northern Africa including the Sudan. The method however 241 involves much strenuous work and in view of this it may seem quite natural that agriculture in Air was in the past also practised as shifting cultivation without any irrigation. Rodd states that in certain areas of Air rain-grown crops could be raised most years and that in the past a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I think this is correct. Certain crops as for instance millet has a very short period of growth; in Ahaggar (Abelessa) millet is sown in June-July and harvested in September, and it is said that it is not watered very much and never to the same extent as wheat grown in winter. It would no doubt be possible to grow millet in many parts of Air without artificial irrigation during the rains, and in fact millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation. But nowadays agri-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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Fig. 5.–Mat-covered tent typical of the pastoral Air Tuareg. The tent in this photograph is inhabited by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the Kel Ferouan drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of the rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered trees and bushes of thorny acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats. [643] [137]

Kel Ooui formed the important political units of Air. The Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan at the establishment of the Sultanry had not yet arrived or lived at the northern outskirts of the massif. 175 643

In the 19th century the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan paid very little respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation the Kel Fadei even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of In Gall (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was afraid that the Kel Fadei would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the Ioullemmeden (Barth 1857, I, p. 478). As for the Kel Ferouan their chief was the most prominent leader of all Air. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103f.) and it is told over and over again by all Air Tuareg to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, and he thinks that the Kel Ferouan originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or Amenokal was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This agrees with informations I have gathered among the noble Kel Ferouan, who will also claim that their clan came to Air before all other Tuareg. The truth however seems to be that they had originally nothing to do with the Sultanry. They took up grazing [114]

175 642 643

[text continues on p. 87]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
M825 Tuareg M825
Air



given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 250. 614 [127] [162]

A clan is generally termed *tassit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan-membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg. [196] [611]

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 19). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g., 621 596 [342]

1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season *(akasa)* and in the beginning of the following dry season *(ranat)* several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups. 221 361 621 [173]

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occured also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin – ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:– 582 614 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 13 |
| No blood-relationship between husband and wife | 8 |
| Marriages total | 38 |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Aggar



173 is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to
565 be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Ṛali and the Ait Loaien). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain
[114] an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and
184 vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's
565 milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much import-
492 ance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble
[234] Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

184 Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects,
565 and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:– 1) In noble
[583] clans bride-wealth is seven camels; in vassal clans one to three camels which may be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas
[422] true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Ṛali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble
[342] Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post – that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-
[614] breeding clan Ireġenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed
[173] marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. – Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Ireġenaten Tuareg met in Air.

342 Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently
184 referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. – Lhote

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air



1947, p. 38f., phot. 15, p. 33, p. 117. – Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247ff. – Moberg 1927, photographs p. 229 & 257). Among the Southern Tuareg T-shaped posts are used in Air, where, according to my inquiries, they are found notably among the Kel Tedale, the Ikaskazan, and the Kel Fadei – Tuareg who have immigrated fairly recently from the North and are noble or predominantly noble by origin. Air tents with T-shaped posts are published by Lhote and Chudeau (Lhote 1947, fig. 4 p. 39, photo 50 p. 81. – Chudeau 1909, pl. VIII p. 62). T-shaped posts are also said to occur among the Kel Geres, and they are common in skin tents of the Kel Dinnik (Eastern Ioullemmeden) from where detailed descriptions are given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1938, p. 54ff.; 1950a, p. 153ff., p. VIII.). For other Southern Tuareg there seem to be no reliable information on the use of T-shaped posts in skin tents.

The central T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin tents may probably be considered as related to similar posts in certain black tents (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143). This is interesting particularly when viewed in connection with Feilberg's theory that there may perhaps be a certain connection between the black tent and the one-humped camel or dromedary because of approximately similar distributions, and because camels and black tents seem to have arrived in North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Feilberg 1944, p. 117, 225ff.) – a view which has also been accepted by Hatt (Hatt 1944–45, p. 260). Obviously a theory connecting camels and black tents in Northern Africa fits very well with our assumption that the camel was introduced to Ahaggar by noble Tuareg among whom we also find the use of central T-shaped posts characteristic of certain black tents. Accordingly we have to test two theories:– 1) The theory that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin-tents are in fact derived from similar constructions of black tents, and 2) the theory that camels and black tents are historically connected in Northern Africa.

I think it can be proved that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are derived from similar elements in black tents, and my arguments are the following:–

1) The Tuareg live in contact with Arab pastoralists who have black tents. It is stated in literature that black tents are common among the Northern Tuareg (Zeltner 1914, p. 364. – Campbell 1928, p. 247), but this is not correct. It is true, however, as already mentioned by Duveyrier, that black tents are used by some Northern Tuareg (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403f.). But as far as my knowledge goes they occur only among the northernmost Kel Ajjer, the Iforas clans, who belong to the religious Ineslemen class and by some Tuareg are claimed to be noble. Black tents seem to be used occasionally in the south by Tuareg who live in close contact with Arabs. But these Tuareg apparently use black tents only when travelling, and not in ordinary camps (Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). Black tents are thus adopted by a few Tuareg, and many Tuareg of the north and the south-west have contact with Arab and Moorish black tent dwellers.

2) The Iforas Tuareg just mentioned use T-shaped posts both in black tents

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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171 342 and in skin tents, and according to my investigations this is, or was, also the case of the Arab pastoral tribe Ouled Ba Hamou in Tidikelt.

3) In Northern Africa T-shaped posts are frequently found in permanent dwellings, but they are then solidly embedded in the ground, whereas in Tuareg skin tents and also in black tents they stand on the surface.

4) The use of skin for tents or other movable dwellings is no doubt of very great age (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144), while the T-shaped posts can be considered as belonging to a highly developed tent construction. To my mind there is a certain contrast in this, the more so as the posts or poles of other Tuareg skin tents are fixed in the ground.

5) Arab pastoralists now living in Tuareg countries frequently use Tuareg mat-covered huts and skin tents. Of particular interest is the type of skin tent used by the Deremchaka Arabs living among the Eastern Ioullemmeden (the Kel Dinnik). To support the sheet of skin sewn together these Arabs use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two oblique poles (Nicolas 1950a, p. 154). A similar or related construction is found in black tents of the Brakna Arabs (Caillié 1830, I, p. 130), and is common in black tents of Algeria including the northern parts of Algerian Sahara (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff.). And according to tradition the Deremchaka Arabs immigrated from these regions (Nicolas 1950a, p. 67ff.). There seems to be little doubt that the Deremchaka Arabs have adopted a mode of construction typical of certain black tents to the Tuareg skin tent, and there may perhaps be another example of this among the Southern Tuareg: – The Tuareg known as Kel Antassar in the region of Timbuktu frequently use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two central oblique posts to support their skin tents (Lhote 1947, p. 39, 101, 117). The Kel Antassar Tuareg are of religious status; [174] their presumed Arab origin (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 195. – Mohammed Said 1903, p. 210ff. – Richer 1924, p. 14) gives rise to the supposition that they formerly had black tents.

I think these five arguments support the theory that T-shaped posts are foreign to Tuareg skin tents while customary for black tents in use among certain Arabs of Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and Eastern Libya (cf. Laoust 1930, p. 209ff. – Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff., 146).

171 233 342 I shall now turn to the other theory to be tested, namely that there is a certain relation between the camel and the black tent. This theory is not easy to prove. The statement that camels and black tents have approximately the same distributions is far from convincing even if we keep to their westernmost areas. In Northern Africa camel-breeders over large areas use other types of dwelling, and black tents are very common among settled and semi-nomadic people of the Atlas, where there are no camels. The distribution of the black tent in Africa (cf. Feilberg 171 1944, map. II) comes indeed very close to the distribution of Arabic-speaking 342 people, with the main exception that black tents in the Atlas and elsewhere in the 192 north are also used by Berbers. Laoust has proved that some of these northern

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Berbers and particularly those of Central Morocco use for their black tents and for important parts of their tents terms derived from Arabic (Laoust 1930, p. 168f., 227f.). 171 342 [192]

We cannot disregard the possibility that black tents were known in Northern Africa before the first Arab invasion. But there can be little doubt that outside of the Atlas black tents are characteristic of Arabic-speaking people, and we seem to be on safe ground if we state that the Arabs are responsible for the present fairly large distribution of black tents in the desert regions between the Red Sea and the Atlantic. And the black tent may have been unknown to the Berbers before the Arab invasion. In connection with this I wish to quote the very eminent scholar Stéphane Gsell who states his opinion on the age of the black tent in Northern Africa as follows:– "Cependant elle s'est répandue tardivement chez les Berbères. Ce fut surtout après la conquête musulmane qu'ils l'adoptèrent, à l'exemple de leurs noveaux maîtres: au VIII[e] siècle, un grand nombre d'entre eux avaient des tentes, semblables à celles des Arabes" (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 216. – cf. El Bekri p. 139). [174]

In discussing the theory of a connection between camels and black tents, our next task is concerned with the history of the camel. For although camels and black tents have different distributions they may nevertheless be historically connected and introduced together. 171 233 342

Much has already been written on the history of the camel. René Basset's theory that the camel was introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1905) is contrary to all historical information. For we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived, though it does not seem to be of very great age, contrary to Cauvet's statement (Cauvet 1925–26). Already Barth suggested that the camel came to North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3ff.), and this theory seems to be valid (cf. Gautier 1942, p. 190ff. – Walz 1951). 114 174 233

Gautier claims that there is a certain connection between the introduction of the camel and the immigration to North-Western Africa of Berber tribes known as the Zenata, who lived in the northern steppes and desert regions from Tripolitania to Western Algeria. According to Ibn Khaldoun quoted by Gautier the Zenata had many traits in common with the Arabs: they lived in tents, they were camel-breeders, and they rode on horseback (Gautier 1942, p. 217 ff., 227. – cf. Ibn Khaldoun III, p. 179). The theory that the camel was introduced by the Zenata is accepted by Feilberg, who thinks that these people may have introduced the black tent together with the camel (Feilberg 1944, p. 119f., 226).

A connection between the Zenata and the camel is extremely difficult to prove. Gautier's theories on North African history are frequently very hazardous and very contradictory. Thus in his book *Le Passé de l'Afrique du Nord* we find the following statements about the introduction of the camel:– 1) "A tant de bienfaits Rome en a ajouté un dernier: elle a introduit le chameau, permettant ainsi la mise en

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114 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc
174 légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale
233 qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau apparaissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe, il semble qu'au VII[e] siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227).

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chameliers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui foit leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the
175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the
101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions:
233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 168ff.).

It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature
175 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding
233 (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. – Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. – Leo Africanus p. 940f.). To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly
171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is
233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds apparently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415f. – Murray 1935, p. 92ff. – Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the
[177] true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black
[342] tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. – Herskovits 1926. – Kroll 1928). The common
[462] traits seem to be the following:– 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is
[825] done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both
[538] camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently characterised by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925-30, I-II).

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Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925–30, I–II). 3) As mentioned (p. 113) camel's milk is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly also among the Kel Aïjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors (Monteil 1952, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. All Tuareg and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf to deceive the mother animal during milking – for camels like cows will not generally yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or butter as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. – Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of riding camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg, and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East Africa have the same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection with camel-breeding (Monteil 1952, p. 103).

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts like those of Air are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullemmeden, and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country – in particular those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. – Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156f. – Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f., 597f., V, p. 201. – Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. –

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air
Ahaggar



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Fig. 12.–Tuareg skin tent in a river valley of the Ahaggar Mountains. The sheet of skin sewn together is placed over three parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a horizontal crossbar. The middle pair is higher than the outer pairs. It may be substituted with two equally high pairs of posts with crossbars, or with two arches. Tuareg skin tents have mats to be drawn round the tent under the sheet of skin, and in winter the Ahaggar Tuareg frequently erect stone walls for protection against cold winds, as shown on this photograph.

184 Hourst 1898, p. 105ff., 133. – Gabus 1945, p. 361. – Chudeau 1909, pl. XXXII–
342 XXXIII p. 218. – Le Coeur 1937, p. 42f. – Urvoy 1942, p. 33f., pl. I).

Mat-covered arched huts or tents are found only among the Southern Tuareg,
[171] and as such dwellings are found among many of their Sudanese neighbours it might
342 seem natural to consider them foreign to traditional Tuareg culture. However, the arched mat-covered tent of the Tuareg seems to be constructionally distinct from other barrel-vaulted dwellings. It consists of one to three wooden arches placed parallel to and between a pair of two or three short sticks supporting a horizontal crossbar. A number of very slender curved sticks cover the upper part of this construction. They are fastened to the arches and to the horizontal crossbars (cf. fig. 13). An arched hut of the same type, although more elaborate and solid, is found in certain Kel Owi villages (fig. 13) as already mentioned p. 77, while the use of crossbars is apparently unknown to other peoples who have barrel-vaulted
171 huts (*The Songai:* – Barth 1857–58, V, p. 160, 163, 165f. – Dubois 1897, p. 232f.;
342 1911, p. 33. – Gabus 1948, p. 10. – Olufsen 1928, p. 137. – Prost 1954, p. 184ff. – Urvoy 1942, pl. II, 3. – Aymard 1911, p. 144 pl. 25; 1908, p. 183. – *The Fulani and*

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Fig. 13.–Tuareg women of Air erecting the skeleton of a mat-covered arched tent. It consists of three wooden arches placed parallel to and between a pair of three short sticks supporting a horizontal crossbar. Curved sticks cover the upper part of this construction. They are fastened to the arches and at their ends to the horizontal crossbars. Tuareg skin tents with the exception of those provided with T-shaped posts have possibly developed from similar constructions. – The erection of tents among the Tuareg is done by women.

171 342 *the Toucouleurs:* Urvoy 1952, pl. II, 4. – Desplagnes 1907, pl. CVI p. 396. – *The Teda or Tebu:*– Le Coeur 1937, p. 39; 1950, p. 192, pl. XXVI, 99. – Despois 1946, pl. XXII. – Kronenberg 1959, pl. III).

342 Tuareg arched tents may also be covered with skin as they are among the Tengueregui f Tuareg around Timbuktu. These Tuareg have a very peculiar arch construction which also contains crossbars resting on sticks (Lhote 1947, p. 100, photographs 85–93). In Ahaggar arched tents were formerly extremely common, and may occasionally be seen even nowadays. Their construction consists of two arches which may be placed between and parallel to a pair of crossbars each resting on the tops of two sticks (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247. – Benhazera 1908, p. 26. – Lhote 1947, p. 42f.; 1955, p. 256. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 89, 103f.). In Ahaggar I [565] have been told that arched skin tents were formerly used by all vassals, who did not have T-shaped posts to support their tents. But arched tents were also used by some noble Tuareg. The mat-covered arched tents among certain Ioullemmeden Tuareg are apparently used particularly by vassals (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f. – Gabus 1948, p. 361), but they are also in frequent use among noble Tuareg. In Air the most common type of dwelling to all Tuareg whatever their social class is the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Fig. 14.–The skeleton of an arched mat-covered hut constructionally related to that shown fig. 13 but more elaborately and solidly built. The arches are made from lashed bundles of very slender sticks fastened to short poles embedded in the ground as is the heavy central post supporting the whole construction. – This type of hut is used among settled agriculturists of the Air villages, and is due to influence from pastoral Tuareg.

arched mat-covered tent, and the noble Kel Ferouan claim that they have never used any other type. The Western Ioullemmeden (Kel Ataram) use a skin tent consisting of three or four parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a horizontal crossbar (Lhote 1947, p. 85f., photographs 59–64). Gabus claims this dwelling as typical of the noble Tuareg (Gabus 1945, p. 15). I think that most probably it developed from a dwelling constructionally related to the arched mat-covered tent like that of Air. The common type of skin tent nowadays used in Ahaggar and Adrar-n-Iforas is of a somewhat related type (Lhote 1947, p. 42f., photographs 7–8, 11–13, 20–21.; 1955, p. 254ff. – Foley 1930, p. 12f., pl. IV, 6–7. – Briggs 1958, p. 92, fig. 36. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 103). It is apparently not possible to refer Tuareg arched tents exclusively to vassals, and it should be noted that in Tassili-n-Ajjer the dwelling typical of the vassal class is a straw hut constructionally related to a round house with conical roof (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 89, 104).

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Finally I shall now return to our main problem, namely the history of Tuareg political systems. We have explained their origin from the meeting of two distinct cultures, and we have seen that in the past the noble class was connected with

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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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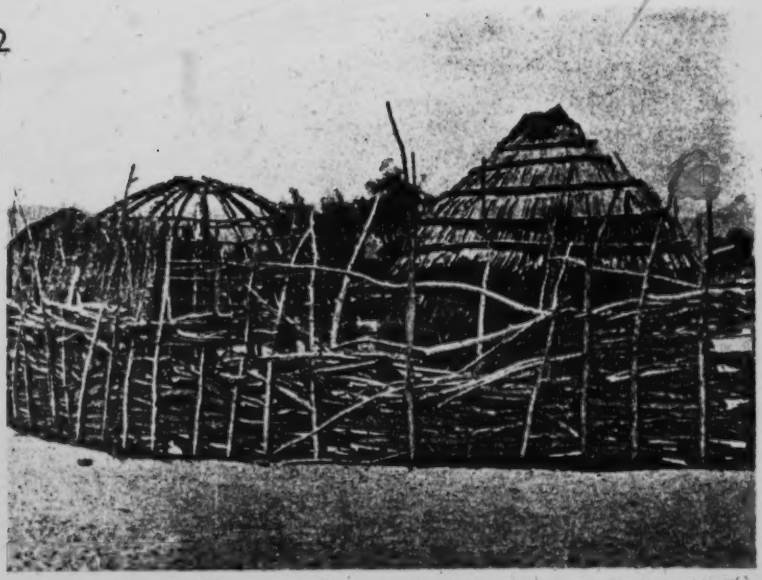

Fig. 15.–Beehive huts within a round enclosure at the village of Iferouan in Northern Air. The construction seen on this photograph consists of arches made from lashed bundles of slender sticks fastened to poles embedded in the ground. Horizontal sticks are fastened to the arches which are supported by a central forked post with a short crossbar placed on its top. For a detailed description of this construction see Foureau 1905, III, p. 885 f. Beehive huts in Air are also made from boughs embedded in the ground and tied together at the top without a central post.

174 camel-breeding. The camel is known to have been very common in Tripolitania
233 in the 4th century A.D. It was introduced to this region a few centuries before that time, and it was known in Egypt about the year 500 B.C. It is therefore probable that the camel was introduced into the Central Sahara even prior to the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. Camel-breeding seems to have certain traits in common with pastoral cow-breeding, and the oldest camel-breeders of Northern Africa may have lived in tents or huts of arch construction – most possibly in so-called barrel-vaulted dwellings, which appear to have been extremely common in Northern Africa throughout Antiquity (cf. Le Coeur 1937. – Feilberg 1944, p. 202 f.).

174 The T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are apparently historically related to similar posts of Arab black tents in Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and
[342] Eastern Libya. Considering the fact that T-shaped posts among the Northern
[565] Tuareg are claimed to be characteristic of the noble class, there may be a certain connection between noble Tuareg of the North and Arabs. I have mentioned above
[184] that in the North the term for noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, sing. *Ahaggar*) is different
[792] from the term used in other Tuareg groups (*Imacheren*, sing. *Amacher*). I have also

241 /75 cont./ is always the same: in a living wadi, between two rock shelves. They are to be found, then, within a radius of about 100 kilometers from the upper summits of the Atakor.

The gardens string out along the wadi, using to the best advantage the cultivable and irrigable land. An impressive checkerboard of guemouns served by lines of foggaras and séguias testifies to the industry of the harratin. The green patches of early wheat among the grayish natural vegetation make a curious sight; this verdure seems unreal. The agricultural centers are always found in picturesque surroundings. The villages have rare houses of toubs or of dried bricks, [342] but more common are tahli zéribas /reed shelters/. Misery there is endemic, and the word "destitution" takes on its [511] most absolute sense here.

I have personally known families, one of them with [262 nine children, who knew upon getting up in the morning, 511] at certain times of the year, that they had nothing to eat during the coming day and that it would be the same the next day and the days after that. Only the charity of one of their fellows, scarcely any better off, would save them from starvation.

It is true that lack of foresight is a determining factor in bringing about this destitution, but it is not the only factor; one must also cite the low fertility of the soil, the frequent lack of sufficient water, above all after a long dry period, the conditions of the agricultural contract which in effect prevent the hartani from developing a passionate interest in his land, and, lastly, the limited views and complete lack of initiative that characterize the harratin. It must be noted that the Tuareg are hostile to the development of agriculture; this hostility is scarcely a reasoned one; it is a matter of a kind of nomadic atavism, augmented by a desire to keep the traditional practices intact, and also by a fear of seeing the Ahaggar penetrated by foreigners who, undoubtedly, could make the land produce and, in particular, develop the /76/ palm groves, but who would not be hereditarily subordinate to their authority.

233 /85 cont./ When the Tuareg want to recapture some of these animals, they organize veritable battues and must use a great deal of cleverness and energy to succeed. It is necessary to break these donkeys in order to fit them for domestic use, for many of them are born wild.

It is estimated that there are 5, 000 donkeys in the Ahaggar, but this figure is certainly too conservative.

[262] The flesh of the donkey is not eaten, nor is the milk of the female drunk.

A few horses, most of them originating in the Sudan, are to be found in certain agricultural centers. A "luxury" animal, the horse (aïs) cannot live off the Ahaggar pastures. When well nourished with barley, it bears the climate perfectly well and can be used as a mount in the mountains of the Ahaggar where water points are numerous.

Lastly, chickens are raised by the harratin in all the
231 agricultural centers; they are lean fowl which find practically all of their own food. The harratin chiefly eat the eggs,
[439] rather rarely the meat, which is sold to the Europeans.

/87/

## IV
## Material Life

### Dwelling

342 The Tuareg, as true nomads, use the tent for habitation,
281 and sometimes, in exceptional circumstances, the zériba.

The Tuareg tent is made of skins sown together and specially prepared. Its red tint, which harmonizes with the dominant tones of the Ahaggar landscape, is agreeable to the eye. For making the tent (éhakit), goat, sheep, wild sheep, and, very rarely, cattle skins are used; the skins of wild sheep are considered the best. After being stripped of its hair, the

342 /87 cont. / skin is lightly tanned with tamat or adjar leaves,
281 then smeared with butter to make it supple. After these operations, the red tint is added in the following way: "tamadjouhit, " a sort of red clay, is mashed up with camel dung; with the powder thus obtained, the still greasy skin is rubbed until the desired color is obtained. The skin is then soaked in water for two days so that it may be stretched, smoothed out, flattened, cut, and sewed. The women of the camp undertake this last task; they all pitch in to work, joking, talking, and the work gets done at a good rate. One tent may have from 30 to 120, or even 150, skins. Strands of fine leather thongs, artistically cut, called "balenkassen, " hang from the top, giving the inside /88/ of the tent a novel
342 effect. The tent is supported by six vertical wooden stakes, 1.50 meters high, sticking about 20 centimeters into the ground. These vertical stakes are joined in pairs by three horizontal bars; the stakes are attached to each other with cords made from plaited goat hair. The tent rests on these stakes and is anchored at the edges by smaller stakes or large stones. The front of the tent, facing south, is generally open, and the sides are attached to tall, vertical stakes, the tops of which are often carved. On the inside the tent wall is lined with an "asaber, " a kind of long mat made with stalks of "afazzou" (a grass). Making an asaber is a job requiring a great deal of patience; first the afazzou must be gathered with care taken to choose the longest stalks; then the stalks are assembled in pairs, being tied with previously prepared narrow leather thongs, with one thong around the top and another around the bottom of the stalks. The asaber is about 80 centimeters wide, with thongs wrapped around the stalks every three or four centimeters. The length varies from seven to eight meters, or exactly four times the height of a man with
[531] his arms upraised. The top border of the asaber is decorated with a band of leather interwoven with geometric designs. Two women take about a year to do this work.

342 /88 cont./ It takes three or four asabers to furnish a tent, two on the inside filter the wind, two others encircle the space in front of the tent, forming a small court, assuring privacy and a space sheltered from the wind, where someone is always to be found.

When one enters a tent, one sees that the right side is always the man's domain and the left side the woman's; each arranges his personal effects in an orderly fashion that is always surprising to the European.

342 About 50 meters away or more, but always within hailing distance, live the Negroes in an enclosure of dry branches
361 called "afarra"; another enclosure next to it constitutes the kitchen.

A camp is made up of a number of tents of this type, /89/ with some distance between tents to preserve privacy.

During the dry season, when the search for pastures becomes compelling, the Tuareg are obliged to stop at a place near water, where the goats may find some meager pasturage. The black domestics then construct zéribas. They make a framework of forked branches, from two to 2.50 meters high, circular or almost so, with a diameter varying from three to five meters. Around and on this frame are attached tahlis (tiphas); the zériba then has an elegant appearance. If there are not enough tahlis, one gets along with other dry grasses, morakba, guettaf, etc.; the zériba then has a shabby appearance, but its merits as a dwelling are not lessened. In summer the zériba is much to be preferred to a tent, for it is much cooler.

The ground under the tent ~~or~~ zériba is always covered with
342 coarse sand from the wadi, which is frequently changed. A
356 hearth, consisting of four stones arranged in a square and imbedded in the ground, is used either to heat tea or to provide a little heat during winter evenings. Near the tents stakes
354 support the guerbas /waterskins/; one may also see the wood-
356 pile kept up by the Negroes and the big wooden mortar which
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356
342 /89 cont. / awaits its ration of millet, but one never sees any
[354] disorder or rubbish. A camp may have been at a site for a few hours or for several months, but on the day of its departure there is never the least broken object left at the place; the Tuareg leave behind them neither domestic refuse nor any other mark of their presence.

● 342 The tent is occupied by the family in the most limited sense of the term. When a man marries he takes a tent and
[592] lives in it with his wife; children up to nine years of age stay with their parents, but after that they have their own tent.

In the agricultural centers the harratin lodge either in a zériba of tahli, made like that of the Tuareg, or in a house constructed with toubs or with stones held together with tin (clay). The house is covered with a coat of tin spread on a foundation of tahli supported by a framework of fersig or /90/ éthel branches; the roof is flat. The door generally opens toward the west, and there is a small opening to the east; this system protects the houses from the heat of the midday sun. Such a structure would be unhealthy in other climates; here it doesn't matter, the family lives outdoors. In winter everyone huddles together at night around a fire in the single room in order to keep as warm as possible, but all leave the house at sunrise. The floor of these houses is covered with fine gravel from the wadi, and this is changed fairly often. The vicinity of the hartani dwelling is much less clean than that of the Tuareg tent; ashes are scattered about and refuse dries in the sun.

000 Only Tamanrasset has houses used by Europeans. Toubs are always used to construct them, although recently atone plastered with tin has been tried for certain administration buildings. Up to now the lack of lime has hindered "hard" construction; attempts have been made to make lime from cipolin, but the cost per kilogram is nearly as high as for lime imported from Algiers.

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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20a. Tuareg camp. [left - see p. 207]

[p. 206]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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20b.

[p. 207] [Right - see p.206]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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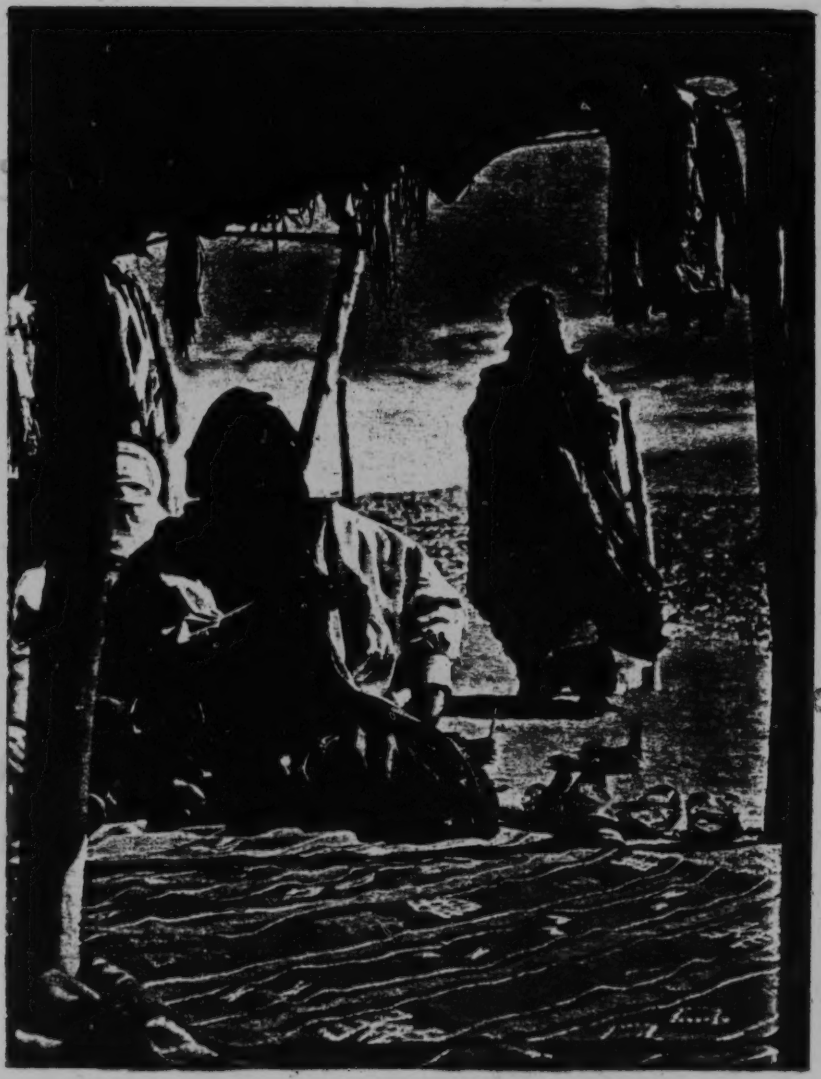

21. Tent of the amenokal.

[p. 208]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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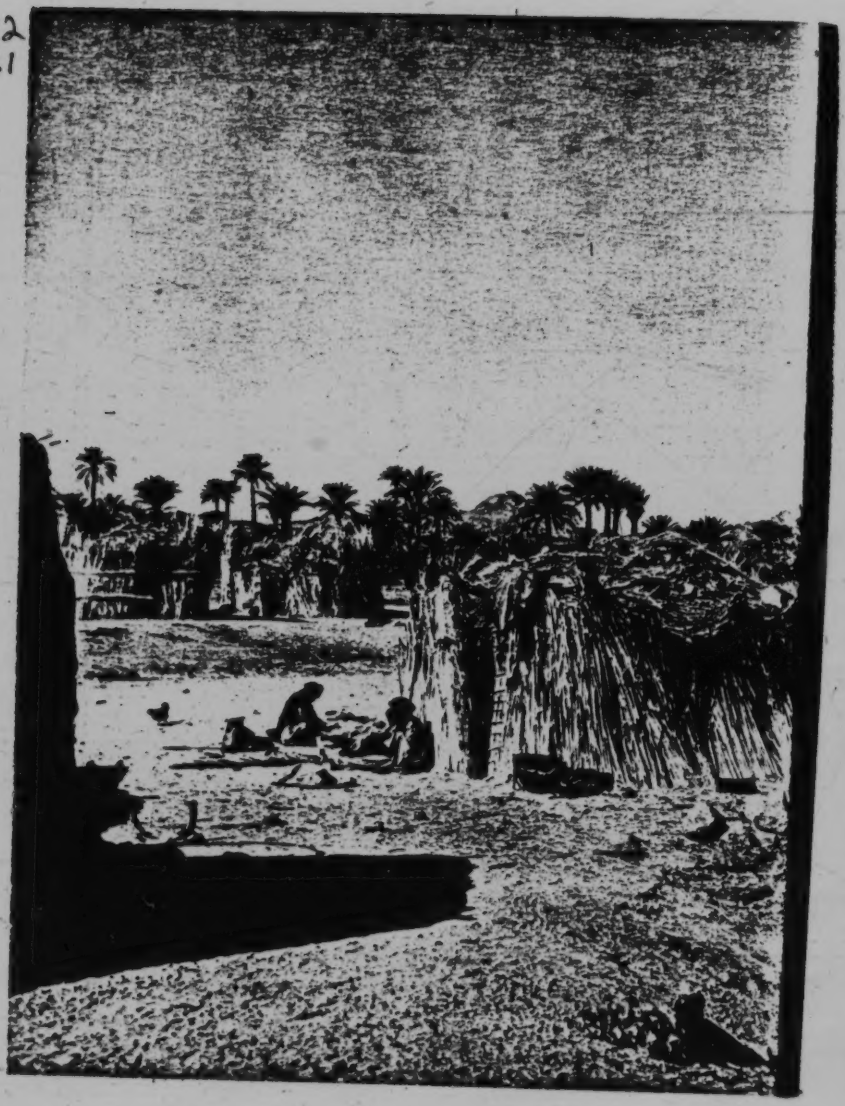

31. Zériba in the Ideles oasis.

[p. 218]

6: Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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32. Tuareg tent.

[p. 219]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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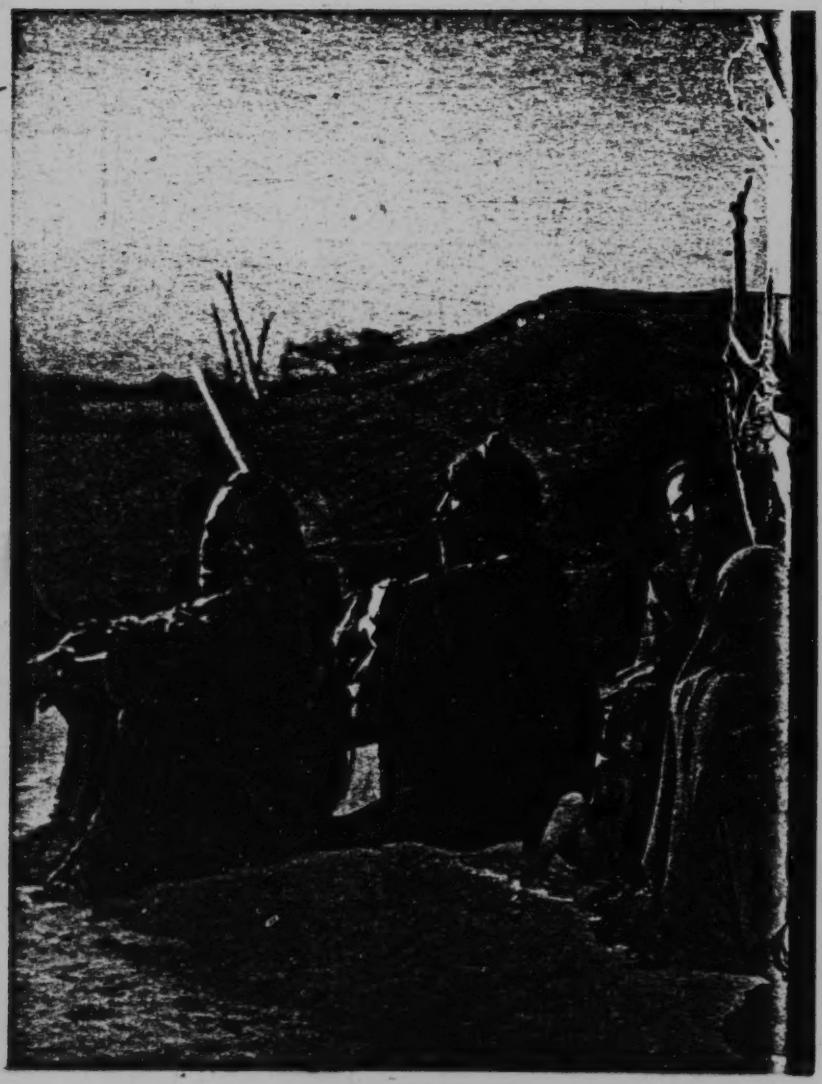

52a. Camp in the morning.
[p. 240] [left - see p. 241]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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[415]

52b.

[p. 24]

[Right - see p. 240]

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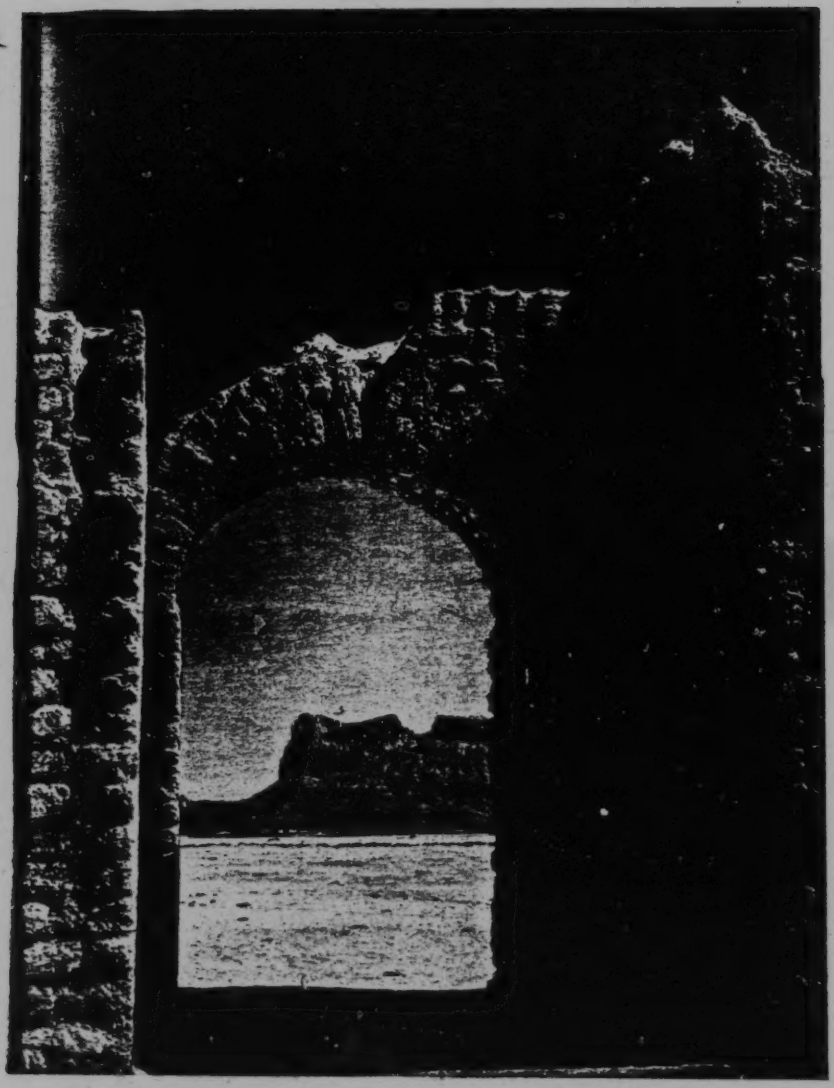

54. Door of Moussa ag Amastane's house (present abode of the Inaden).

[p. 243]

7: Nicolaisen

MS25 Tuareg MS25

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[For additional detailed information concerning Tuareg dwellings and dwelling types, see category 116, pp. 327-391.]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



These terms are used frequently in discussions of prices. Thus a blacksmith will claim that the price of an axe is *abuleg* (*adewal*) while for the manufacture of smaller objects or for certain repairs he will only claim *azzif* or *ḍreyd*. 233* 192 436

By the combination of age and colour terms, if necessary with the addition of a covering to certain other characteristics, the Tuareg are able to describe the exact appearance of any animal. Goat-terms have a practical value in enabling the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. A few of the terms indicating colour and other characteristics in Ahaggar are mentioned below:—

| *Characteristics* | *Female* | *Male* |
|---|---|---|
| Black animal | *taxeffefut* | *axeffefu* |
| Red animal | *tézeggek* | *ézegger* |
| Black animal with a red belly | *takahamit* | *akahami* |
| Animal white on the hind part, and black on the fore-part of the body | *téggehé* | (No term for males which never have this combination of colours) |
| Black animal with white colour on the lower part of the legs | *tazeburt* | *azbur* |
| Black animal with a white blaze (Foucauld, 1951–52, III p. 1194 f., states that this term is used for horses, donkeys, camels, and oxen, but he does not mention goats and sheep) | *tamulast* | *amulas* |
| Black animal with white colour on the ears | *tahreyt* | *ahrey* |
| Animal of any colour having very small ears | *tadermak* | *adermag* |
| Animal of any colour having no horns | *tabiyawit* | *abiyawi* |

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Fig. 16. A flock of southern, short-haired goats during migration. The woman seen in the middle of the picture rides an ox loaded with arches of a barrel-vaulted mat tent. From Demerga south of Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



younger animals which yield more milk. Again, the meat of very old goats is of inferior quality. Much goat-meat derives from he-goats of which a very limited number is needed for mating. Some Tuareg claim that one he-goat is able to cover about a hundred goats, but as a rule I doubt whether it would be called upon to do so. In any event, too many he-goats are brought forth, and even very young male kids are frequently killed and eaten as there will be more milk for the nomads when such animals do not have to be suckled. It is considered ideal that male kids which are not needed for reproduction, and which are not killed at very early age, should be castrated at the time when weaning takes place, but even old he-goats may be castrated to make them fat for slaughtering.

Though meat is not a stable dish of the Tuareg they have to kill a certain number of goats every year to obtain skin for the manufacture of various domestic utensils. The roaming life in the desert necessitates a great many containers for water, butter, milk, grain, dates, and the like, and bags made from goat-skin are appropriate for this purpose. Indeed, goat-skin is so important to Tuareg craft that in speaking of the manufacture of most domestic articles one can hardly avoid mentioning the word "goat". Thus, my fairly large collection of ethnographic specimens from the Ahaggar Tuareg contains about fifty different objects made entirely or mainly of goat-skin, which is also used for the manufacture of tents among the Northern Tuareg. Even nowadays, a few articles of dress are made from goat-skin, and goat-skin was in general use for this purpose in the past (cf. p. 287 ff.).

Goat-hair is extremely useful to the Northern Tuareg. The hair is cut once a year in the hot season when the animals do not suffer from cold (cf. Fig. 98). It is spun into strong cords used for tethering animals, for tying up caravan loads, for reins, and the like. In certain tribes of Ahaggar it is also used for a very primitive kind of weaving (cf. p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

To understand the economic role of goat-breeding one must briefly touch on the question of size of flocks. Statistics concerning the ownership of livestock must always be regarded with much suspicion, as it is extremely difficult to obtain data. It is not only most impolite to ask Tuareg about the size of

Fig. 20. A kid with the stick (*akera, azeghes*) pierced through the mouth as described in the text. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terwit* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*233 824 137 132 133 Each of the three vegetational zones of Ahaggar has its advantages and disadvantages. If we consider a good year when rain has fallen abundantly with a resultant regeneration of all fodder plants, the *Atakor* zone has very excellent pasture. For the plains and the stony mountain slopes are then entirely covered with annual plants which by the Tuareg are considered the very best fodder. The Tuareg also claim that the upper mountain zone is preferable because of its cooler climate, which has a beneficial influence on the lactation of domestic animals. The disadvantage of the *Atakor* zone is the lack of acacias to which can be added the scarcity of fuel. The *Tarayin* zone possess characteristics of the *Atakor* zone and of the *Abada* zone. The *Abada* country is botanically very different from *Atakor*. It has annual pastures of great value when abundant rainfall has been experimented and it also has valuable pastures of perennial plants. With heavy rain the *Abada* country is excellent for stock-breeding, and fuel can be found everywhere. But the Abada country is hotter than are the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

If rain falls abundantly all over Ahaggar there is good pasture in all three zones. But rainfall is more frequent and heavier at high altitudes than in the *Abada* zone, so that *Atakor* normally has by far the best pasture of annual plants which spring up late in summer or in autumn. The *Abada* zone on the other hand has the very best pasture of perennial plants, notably acacias that grow around the lower parts of the valleys which are always flooded when it rains in the high mountains.

221 The fluctuations of plant development determine the nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg.
*233 824 [132] A few tribes have their normal grazing grounds in *Atakor* (e.g., the *Dag Rali* and the *Kel Tazulet*). They camp in this zone at most seasons to let their goats and sheep feed on fresh and dry annual pasture. In dry years and during the hot summer season they may move to the *Tarayin* zone where there are perennial fodder plants, but they rarely camp in the *Abada* country. Many tribes have their normal grazing grounds in the *Abada* zone (e.g., the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, the *Ayt Lowayen*, the *Iheyawen Huda*, [342] and the *Kel Rela*), but move to the *Atakor* when annual pasture is good in this region. They live in *Atakor* with tents and flocks when annual plants are green, while the rest of the year they camp in the *Abada* country to let their animals feed on acacias and other perennial species. Finally there are two tribes (*Tégehé-n-Ejis* and *Iklan-en-tawsit*), the members of which camp in the *Abada* country all the year round even when rich annual pasture is found in *Atakor*. However, members of these tribes may send their camel herds to the *Atakor* zone, accompanied by herdsmen, while tents and flocks remain in the lower country.

221 With the exception of a few noble households which keep up their old tradition to subsist largely
*233 on camel's milk, the Ahaggar Tuareg do not keep their she-camels in Ahaggar unless there are excellent [56] pastures of annual plants in this area. They take their camels to pastures far away from Ahaggar, [262] notably to the Tamesna region where they have their animals guarded by herdsmen who are frequently [567] slaves. In very dry years there are very few camels in Ahaggar – just the animals needed for riding and transportation. It is in fact very easy to take camels to distant pastures, and it is most necessary to give these animals the utmost care as they are most valuable and their breeding is a very slow process
*233 (cf. p. 56). Goats do not need such excellent fodder as do camels. They can eat almost everything, but 731 in dry years goats may also suffer severely from lack of suitable fodder. This was the case in the year [361] 1954/55 when I stayed in Ahnet and in Ahaggar. In the small camps of three to four tents each it was

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 106. A small goat-herding camp of three related households. The inmates have not erected their skin tents, but have their luggage and their household utensils hanging upon posts (left). In the hot daytime the people live in the shade of the rock (right). Ahaggar (the *Atakor* zone), the *Dag Ṛali* tribe (the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section).

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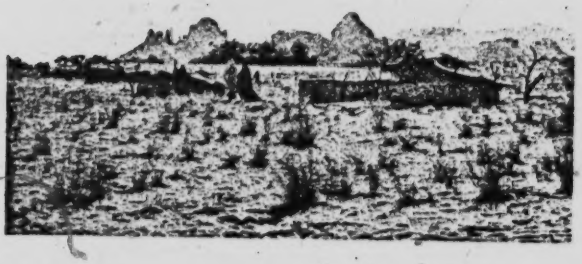

Fig. 107. A camp of four skin tents. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Urepen* tribe.

361 *Atakor* zone. In this area kin groups of five or six generations, comprising about twenty tents, may
621 form a section camp for long periods. Thus I was told that all members of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section
*233 camped together in the same place for eight months of the year 1952. Among the Tuareg, who have their grazing grounds mainly in the *Aboda* country, section camps are not so easily formed as annual pasture springs up less frequently. People of such tribes as the *Iklan-en-tawsit*, the *Tégehé-n-Efis*, and part of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe, generally live in goat-camps, which are often smaller than those of the
[824] *Dag Ṛali* tribe of the *Atakor* region. Where goats feed mainly on acacias it is not possible to keep such large flocks together as when grazing consists of fresh or dry annual plants. Acacia leaves are very important for fodder and their fruit-pods are still more valuable, but the trees grow scattered and consequently fodder is not so concentrated. We see again how stock-breeding among the Ahaggar Tuareg is an industry adapted to environment. The size of camps is determined by natural conditions.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikebron*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhet* tribe (*Isekkemaren*).

423 422 224 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 148).

423 241 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dag Rali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Rali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

685 643 423 [428] [613] Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas. [114]

## AYR

* 422 233 [428] The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark. However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *éjwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and [118]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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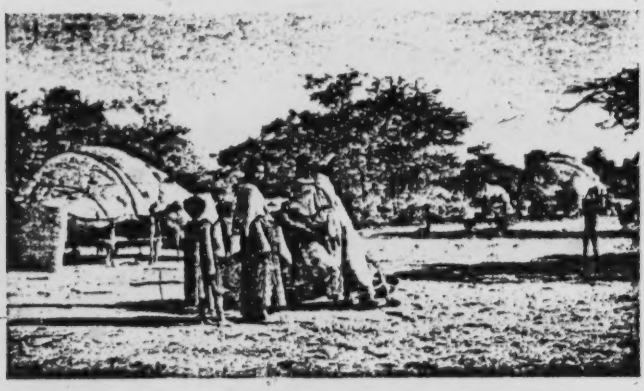

Fig. 109. A family camp of four mat-covered barrel-vaulted tents. Ayr, the *Igendéynen* tribe.

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233 donkeys by certain Ayr Tuareg are most interesting. Though such marks are used by many tribes there does not seem to be a great variety of them, and I have noted only the following marks:—

[565] (1) *tallayt*, that is the tip of right ear cut off while a slit is cut into the left ear. This mark is said to be used by all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the members of the two tribes *Kel Akerra* and *Imezzureg*, who claim to be noble by origin, have an additional brand burned into the left hind thigh close to the animal's anus. This brand is called *ekomed*.

(2) two slits in the animal's left ear. Though different from the mark just mentioned it is said also [565] to be called *tallayt*. It is used by the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg (the *Irawatten*), and also by the negroid *Irawélen* who in the past were once slaves of the nobility.

(3) *tabelechchat*, that is one slit in the left ear. This mark is used by the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

[428] Though all property marks are patrilineally inherited it may happen in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, that a Tuareg use two marks. For certain Tuareg will use the mother's father's mark for animals given them [77] by their mother's family, other Tuareg have been brought up among matrilineal kinsmen whose mark they have adopted, and there are also people who have adopted their mother's family mark because they believed that their father's mark brought them bad luck in camel-breeding.

614 The Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group fall into a number of units which are known by the word *tawchit*. It seems to have much the same meaning as the word *tawsit* of Northern Tuareg dialect, but is also used to designate the so-called spiked wheel-trap. I call these units for tribes as they do not seem to correspond to unilateral descent groups. Many tribes have a tradition of their descent from a common ancestress, but though tribal members may know her name they are never able to connect her with their genealogies which are very badly known. To my knowledge there are no tribes of true Ayr Tuareg that are named after an ancestress or have avuncular names. The Ayr tribes have geographical names or are called after an ancestor to whom they are also unable to connect their [59] genealogies. It is possible that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in the past have followed the rules of residence

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



361 *akasa* period when there is green annual pasture, but the large camps have no co-operative functions
621 and no particular leader. The small camps join together to form big camps because their members are linked to each other by bonds of kinship, and consequently like to come together.

361 Most of the year the Ayr Tuareg live in very small camps around wells, and certain camps remain
221 on almost the same spot throughout the year. However, most camps move about in the *akasa* period, and later, at the end of the rains, many camps move southwards and westwards to the salt plains of Azawaq.

## DIVISION OF LABOUR IN STOCK-BREEDING

462 Before we consider other activities, we shall briefly describe the division of labour in stock-breeding according to sex.

462 In all Tuareg groups noble women do very little work. They engage in a few very esteemed crafts
565 such as embroidery, neat decoration of leather work, and in the north they cut ornamented milk-
[567] bowls from wood. The true domestic duties of a noble household are performed by slaves. This to some extent is also true of other social classes among the Northern Tuareg, while the Ayr Tuareg vassals have very few slaves nowadays. But even in vassal camps among the Northern Tuareg women have their duties and engage in all kinds of domestic work, also in stock-breeding. In the two groups
462 of Northern Tuareg the division of work in stock-breeding can be seen when one enters a tent of a
*233 vassal camp:—
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One half of the tent (the left part) is occupied by the woman and contains such implements as are connected with tanning, leather-work, cooking, butter- and cheese-making, and generally all implements connected with the breeding of goats, sheep, and donkeys. The other half of the tent (the right part), occupied by the husband, contains saddles and all other objects connected with camels. The tending of goats, sheep, and donkeys is the task of women, while camel-breeding is the business of men.

462 Before initiation Tuareg boys may be occupied with herding goats, sheep, and donkeys, but when
*233 they have adopted the veil they should preferably take care of camels only. There are, however, a
[857] few occasions where men engage in tasks connected with goats and donkeys:—

Goats like any other animal can be killed only by adult men, who also undertake the skinning and partition of the meat.

Castration of he-goats and rams may be done by men, but it is said that it is also performed by women.

When goats suffer from certain diseases they may in a few very special cases be taken care of by men. Thus when a goat has broken a leg and wooden splints are applied to the fracture this is generally performed by the husband of the household to which the animal belongs.

When goats and sheep are lost in the desert they may be searched for by men mounted on camels.

On the whole there are not many situations where the assistance of men is needed in tending goats and sheep, and most men have so little to do with goat-breeding that they do not know the exact meaning of many colour terms for goats.

# Hunting

For the pastoral Tuareg hunting is not an important occupation, and nowadays it is practised mainly by those few Tuareg who possess rifles or guns. Traditional hunting methods are thus of far less consequence than in the past, but some of them are very interesting and most significant for a historical analysis of Tuareg culture.

## AHAGGAR

Northern Tuareg areas are not very rich in game. In Ahaggar the main types of game are the gazelle (*ahenkof*, fem. *tahenkof*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) and the barbary sheep (*udad; Ammotragus lervia*). The big gazelle (*énir; Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amelhul; Addax nasomaculatus*) are very rare; they are occasionally seen in the plains outside of the mountains. The ostrich (*awhél*; *Struthio camelus*) was very common in the past, but is now exterminated.

The small gazelle is rare and shy within the Ahaggar Massif, while fairly abundant and comparatively easy to hunt with a rifle in the northernmost massifs and their surrounding plains. Of seven camps visited in Ahnet 1954, gazelle hunting was engaged in by the members of two households, and I estimate that they killed one or two gazelles every week. In most camps of the Northern Tuareg there are no true gazelle hunters, and when a rare gazelle is killed its meat is easily eaten in one day by the members of a single household – in addition to three or four pounds of wheat-bread or millet-porridge. Gazelle skin is of little practical value to Tuareg craft. It is not generally used for the manufacture of important domestic articles such as water bags and containers for milk and butter, but it is suitable and much esteemed for certain types of decorated leather work and for fine leather cords, e.g., necklaces for amulet cases, reins for riding camels.

Barbary sheep are extremely shy, and they live mainly in inaccessible mountains. They are still fairly common in certain isolated parts of the mountains, but they were more numerous in the past when hunting was practised without rifles.

The Tuareg estimate that the amount of meat obtained from two gazelles corresponds to the meat of one grown goat, while a big barbary sheep provides as much meat as that of four goats. Meat of barbary sheep is better suited for drying than meat of other game animals, and the thick hide of these animals is valuable for the manufacture of tents and for large bags used for the conservation on journeys of dates, grain, flour, and the like. The horns of barbary sheep are used as butter containers (Fig. 165), and some Tuareg add the powder of crushed horns to butter before heating it (cf. p. 222). Barbary sheep are of greater economic value to the Ahaggar Tuareg than other types of game, and

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Fig. 130. Semi-wild date palms in the canyon-like Aharhar valley of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The palms are owned and harvested by pastoral Tuareg.

245 (Aharhar and Êherir) where "semi-wild" palms are abundant. These palms are owned by pastoral
[221] Tuareg of various tribes. Their dates are harvested in the autumn when Tuareg palm owners with
[342] their slaves live in straw-huts or huts covered with palm leaves situated among the palm trees.

Similar plantations of palm trees which are left to themselves most of the year are also found in
245 Ahaggar, notably at Silet-Tibeghin. Part of these palms are owned by members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe
423 (the sections of *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*) and by members of the very small tribe, the
[651] *Ikechchemaden*. The palm-owners give as an annual payment to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar one bunch
of dates from all palms which have more than two bunches. The yield of another part of the palms
[565] belongs to the vassal tribe *Iklan-en-tawsit* (the sections *Kel Silet* and *Kel Tahalṛa*). For usufructs,
[651] members of these two sections make a collective annual payments to the *Amenukal* comprising four
245 bags of dates, twenty goats, two ropes of goat's hair, and five water bags. The dates are harvested by
[221] Tuareg of the above mentioned tribes in August-September. Harvesting is done with sickles and is
finished in three to four weeks when the palm-owners return to their camps with dates packed in bags
[492] and loaded on donkeys and camels. In harvesting their dates most Tuareg are assisted by black-
[564] skinned agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaṛen*) of Abalessa who are given a certain amount of dates
[465] for their work. These agriculturists build the huts in which the palm-owners live during harvest (cf.
[463] p. 338 f.).

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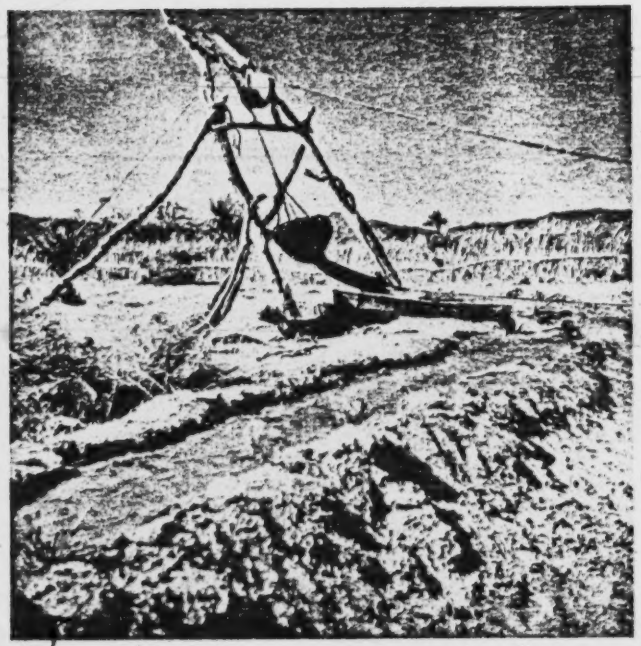

Fig. 132a. The irrigation system known as *tanut*. Ahaggar, Amsel.

settlements contain less than 300 individuals, the majority not even a hundred (cf. Lhote 1955a; p. 292). Most agricultural settlements comprise only a few houses built of stone or mud, or a few straw-huts (cf. p. 327 ff.). The agriculturists of these small settlements generally keep some goats and sheep, have donkeys, which are important beasts of burden to all farmers of the Sahara oases, and in certain families there are one or two zebus to raise water from irrigation wells. A few agriculturists may be characterized as semi-nomads. This is the case of some inhabitants of Abalessa who guard their flocks at some distance from the village. Some of these agriculturists, who were formerly Tuareg slaves, even make skin-tents like pastoral Tuareg.

The subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs of the Sahara as *foggara*, to the Tuareg as *ifelan* (sing. *éfeli*), constitute by far the most important irrigation system used in Ahaggar. However, these *foggara* canals cannot be compared with the large extensive aqueducts of Tidikelt though their introduction to Ahaggar is due to the immigration of agriculturists from that area. The Tidikelt *foggara* are very large aqueducts which are dug into water-bearing strata which can be situated at a considerable distance from the oasis (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 324 ff., Lô 1953 & 1954; Chaintron 1958). The Ahaggar foggara are generally very short (about one to two kilometres, or shorter), they are not

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Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*énélé*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
173 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers
[563] though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of
162 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isawerren*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
563 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
433 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
245 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
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Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
162 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula-
144 tion that subsisted on agriculture.
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among them it is eaten in particular by women during the first seven days after the birth of a child, that is during the period from birth to the name-giving ceremony known as *isnawen*. It is considered dangerous for a woman to eat too much vegetable food during this period, while meat is believed to make her recover quickly after birth. The same diet is followed by young boys after their circumcision until their wounds have healed. These dietetic rules no doubt have their root in magical beliefs. 262 846 262 304

All Tuareg esteem liquid or semi-liquid dishes which are consumed mainly during the very hot season. A very common dish of this type is that named *arejira* (Ayr) or *arehara* (Ahaggar). It is made from flour of millet, sorghum, dates, and crushed cheese mixed with water, the main substance being pounded millet. The dish is served in a large wooden bowl or in a calabash, and is eaten and drunk by means of a large wooden ladle called *tamulat* (Fig. 194a–b). This liquid dish is a substitute for milk during the hot season when milk is scarce, and it is frequently used for food on journeys, in which case it is transported in the form of dough-like balls to be dissolved in water just before eating. 262 [412] [251]

The terms *arejira* and *arehara* are used for various liquid or semi-liquid dishes, or beverages, for which the Tuareg have particular names according to their composition. Dates are less important for liquid dishes in Ayr than among the Northern Tuareg to whom dates form an important part of food. Very important in the north is a dish known as *talekessat*; it is made from dried dates pounded [252]

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Fig. 182. Tuareg women turning a hand-mill (*tasirt*). In the foreground a woman shaking flour into a wooden bowl. Note the ornamented patches of leather hanging down from the tent sheet. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

[text continues on p. 247]

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as *téyint* (Ayr) or *talekkint* (Ahaggar). But pastoral Tuareg do not make eartenware pots themselves. They obtain them from sedentary people, and it is possible that vegetable dishes have been prepared with hot stones up to recent times, for Foucauld states that hot stones are occasionally used for various vegetable dishes in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1583). However, I have not been able to confirm this during my own investigations among the Tuareg. It should be added that certain vegetable dishes are neither boiled nor baked. This is the case with seeds and roots of various wild plants which are ground and pounded into flour to be eaten without further preparation. Such dishes are known to the Tuareg as *tébik* (Ahaggar) or *téderka* (Ayr). Seeds and roots of wild plants utilized in this way have been mentioned in the chapter on collecting p. 175 ff.

The Tuareg have a great many different dishes, but in spite of this variety they do not always change their food from one day to another. They frequently live on the same type of food for extremely long periods. They may live almost exclusively on milk for weeks and even months, and if milk is not available they live so to speak exclusively on vegetable dishes, which may also not be changed for very long periods.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have three meals a day:— (1) *taġimġint* which is a light meal taken in the morning. (2) *amekli* which is a prepared meal (e.g., bread, porridge, or *arehara*) eaten at midday. (3) *amaġin* which is the evening meal, also known as *amensi*, or *azuzeg*. It is the most important meal.

Fig. 193. Tuareg woman cooking kuskus (*kesksu*) in an European enamelled pot. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

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may be seen in Fig. 167a–b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*tistent*) (Fig. 218a). 285 [413]

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a–c, 210a–b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*éstan*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices. [184] [432] [366]

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among the *Kel Ayr*. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*agum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*aleguiguten*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tazugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig 220b). This basket type (*tésenit*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals. [824] [413] [462] [184] [413] [171] [415] *

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éseber* or *tésebert* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents, and they are manufactured by many women among the *Kel Ahaggar* (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers, and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*tédabut*) (Fig. 212a–b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Igdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south. [824] [351] [462] [352] [563] [462] [342] [438]

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitues the most important craft in the 281

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## THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has
614 fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie
[114] 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore
[162] quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared,
634 and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when
648 the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to
121 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr,
634 where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were
115 most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

173 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*,
614 and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above
634 (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

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Fig. 283. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

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according to which the ancestresses of the two noble tribes came from *Awjila* together with a third sister, who became the ancestress of the *Iberdyanen*. This story runs as follows:— 173 614

The three sisters left their original homeland of Awjila riding on bull-camels. One night when the girls were not very far from Iferwan and the three sisters had gone to sleep, the eldest, named *Sabenas*, awoke before her two sisters and removed the hobble-ropes from their riding camels which disappeared in the desert. Thus the only riding camel left was *Sabenas*', and when the sisters arrived at Iferwan she alone rode on a bull-camel while her two younger sisters were walking. At Iferwan there was then a mighty chief named *Azeṛezzer*. When the girls arrived there he asked them who they were, and *Sabenas* said that one of the two girls who travelled on foot was her sister, but not her true sister, while the other girl was her *tamerit* or vassal. The supreme chief *Azeṛezzer* was very eager to marry *Sabenas* as she rode on a bull-camel and consequently was of noble birth. *Sabenas* agreed to marry him on the condition that bride-wealth should be paid in land. And it was agreed that she should have for bride-wealth as much land as she could ride through on her camel at a stretch. She rode off from Iferwan and her camel did not get tired until she was close to Tagedufat south of the Massif. Here *Sabenas* dismounted and threw her stick towards the south. The stick fell down at the well of Tagedufat, and *Sabenas* now had the right to all country ranging from Iferwan in the north to the well of Tagedufat situated in the southern plains. This vast territory has since then been owned by the descendants of *Sabenas* who are the true noble *Kel Ferwan* or *Irawatten*. But the Tuareg of this tribe claim that they have since then greatly augmented their territory so that they are the true owners also of the land south of the Massif as far as Tessawa, which is very close to the frontier of Northern Nigeria.

The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past all Tuareg groups within the *Kel Ferwan* territory and a few other groups of Tuareg and negroid sedentary people paid an annual tribute known as *tewsé* to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. This annual tribute was calculated as follows:— 173 631 634 651

137 342 634

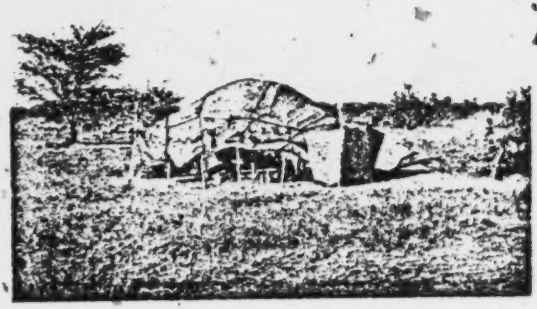

**Fig. 289.** Mat tent of the B.1.b type inhabited by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace, containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats.

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634 judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief,
565 whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

[422] In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to
[171] mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

642 In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division,
565 which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral
[173] camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imṛad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imṛad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

565 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar.
[262] Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter
[492] and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinc-
[583] tions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The
[233] noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, donkeys are marked in
[422] both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be
[342] peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirẓemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps
[293] connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among
[262] vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found partic-
[224] ularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and
[174] other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but
[233] the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks
[462] of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

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and the manufacture of decorated leather-bags, camel-reins, etc., and decorated wooden milk-bowls, the noble women do extremely little work. 565 462

Among the *Kel Ajjer* we find some of the above-mentioned distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals. The traditional dwelling of many vassal Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer is the cylindrical hut (house) with a conical roof, though vassals in winter use skin-tents during nomadic migrations. Nowadays noble and vassal Tuareg alike live in straw-huts throughout the hot season. Barth, in his description of the *Kel Ajjer*, mentions that the vassals have no right to possess iron spears and swords (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257), but it is stated explicitly by Duveyrier that noble Tuareg and vassals have the same weapons – the shield included (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). There can be little doubt that Duveyrier's statement is true, and I have been told among all Tuareg that in the past noble and vassal Tuareg did not differ in regard to weapons. A distinction would also seem rather strange in view of the fact that Tuareg of both classes fought together. Barth says that noble Tuareg and vassals differ in dress, but he does not give details (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257). 565 342 565 411

As to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, both noble and vassal Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any cultural distinctions between them. Bride-wealth in both classes was paid in camels. We know that the Ayr vassals in the past were predominantly goat-breeders, like many Ayr vassals to-day, and it seems as if camel-breeding was once a privilege of the nobility in the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 431; cf. tradition on the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan*, p. 421). I have not been able to find differences between the two classes in regard to material culture and social organization. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group say that they never have had types of portable dwellings other than the barrel-vaulted mat tent, which traditionally belongs to the woman. 565

There is very little information about cultural distinctions between noble and vassal Tuareg in other groups. Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* the vassals apparently use the arched mat tent more frequently than do noble Tuareg, but this and the skin tent supported by vertical sticks carrying cross-bars are found in both classes (cf. Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372 f.; Gabus 1945, p. 361 & 1948a, p. 15 & 1948b, p. 16). Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* the mat tent is used by certain noble Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f.). According to the chief *Amder* women's riding saddles for camels (*akhawi*) among the *Kel Ataram* are found only in noble tribes. Vassal tribes of the *Kel Ataram* living close to the Niger even to-day practise matrilineal rules of inheritance and succession in contrast to noble tribes with rules of patrilineal succession and Koranic inheritance (cf. p. 457). [428]

Cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals are particularly prevalent in the two groups of Northern Tuareg, and it is significant that the traits characteristic of the noble class are also common among the *Iregenaten* who live in Tamesna. This tribe is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the *Ibettenaten* tribe, which claims noble descent, and Arab men. This explanation is found in literature (cf. Lhote 1955, p. 238 f.; Briggs 1958, p. 100) and has been confirmed to me by Tuareg of this tribe. It is interesting that some traits characteristic of the noble tribes among the Northern Tuareg are also found in tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The tribes of this latter class are said to be related to Arabs among whom we also find some of these traits. [171]

We do not know when the noble Tuareg in the northern groups adopted traits that are also found among Arab bedouins. One might perhaps venture the theory that some of them were introduced 177

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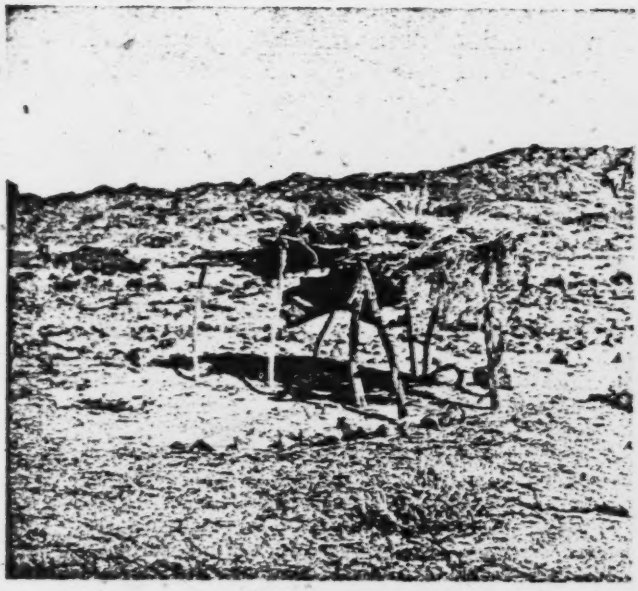

Fig. 290. Sun-shade built of branches and grass. It is the normal living quarters for slaves in Ahaggar and for a great part of the year it is more suitable to the climate than Tuareg skin tents. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

567 military administrators have tacitly admitted that slavery continues as an established institution.
648 According to a census of 1949, there are in Ahaggar 1552 slaves owned by 3960 pastoral Tuareg (cf.
[162] Lhote 1955a, p. 224 ff.), and in two tribes the number of slaves exceeds that of fair-skinned Tuareg, namely in the *Dag Rali* and in the *Kel Rela*. Most Ahaggar Tuareg have a few slaves in their camps, while in Ayr very few fair-skinned pastoralists have slaves nowadays. The civil administration of Ayr has done much to secure the abolishment of slavery, and it seems as if many slaves were manumitted
567 after the 1917 revolt. Slavery is actually almost devoid of economic importance in Ayr, while in Ahaggar
[184] it plays a great part in the maintenance of the economic system based upon camel-breeding outside Ahaggar and on caravan-trading.

The structural position of slavery is apparently very much the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. Slaves are their owners' property; they can no longer be traded, but even in pre-European days it was never usual to sell slaves from one's own camp. The slaves are still inherited within one and the same family, and until a few years ago it was the custom for a slave girl to form part of the bride-wealth. Despite everything this may perhaps be taken as an indication that slaves are not conspicuously well treated, and there are also examples of the corporal punishment of slaves. This may occur even to-day, the rule being that certain misdemeanours, for which the light-skinned Tuareg atone by paying a fine of domestic animals, may be punished in the case of slaves by a flogging on the order of senior chiefs.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 291. Sun-shade built by slaves in Ayr on the same principle as the mat tents previously mentioned. The standing slave girl only wears a cotton skirt which sometimes in the south forms the sole dress of women. Ayr, the *Irawatten* tribe.

It is, however, rare for a slave to be punished in this way by his own master. Throughout the time I have lived among the Tuareg I have, for example, only noted two instances of corporal punishment, and both in a very mild form. It is also very normal in vassal camps for slave children and Tuareg children to play together, and a slave owner may treat his slave children in much the same way as his own. 567

There are several reasons why the Tuareg, practically speaking, never punish their slaves, and a very interesting custom may here be adduced. For if a slave is badly treated, he has always the recourse of changing masters by means of a system which is still in operation to this day. In Ahaggar the way thereby a slave can obtain his freedom from his master and become attached to another Tuareg is as follows:— When he sees a riding camel belonging to a Tuareg whose slave he wishes to be, he runs up to it and cuts a piece from one of its ears. In consequence of this the owner of the camel is obliged to take possession of the slave, whose actual and original owner can no longer make any claim to recover him. This custom may appear remarkable, but it is in fact a symbolic action with a deeper significance: to cut a piece from the ear of another man's camel is to damage it, and a Tuareg is responsible for the actions of his slaves. The "guilty" slave therefore falls to the lot of the owner of the camel as "compensation" for the "damage" done to his beast, and the original owner of the slave is bound to agree to this. It is an extreme loss of prestige for a Tuareg to lose his slave in this way, [558] and is a great mark of honour for the new master, who will receive his slave with favour and give him

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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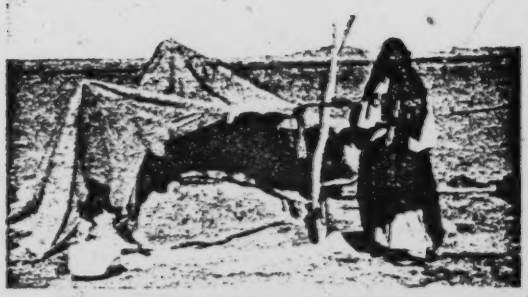

Fig. 297a–c. From a wedding ceremony.

a. A woman in front of the skin tent erected over the ceremonial sandhill (*adebel*) on which the couple to be married sit during the first wedding night.

b. The skin tent is removed from the ceremonial sandhill, which is left untouched.

c. The tent correctly erected with the married couple sitting upon the low sandhill (*tef-adebel*). The groom sits to the left of the central tent post, the bride to the right. Both groom and bride are veiled. Ahaggar, the *Ihryawen Hada* tribe.

The tent is occupied by only one household, and each of the married couple has his own side. The man's side is to the left as one enters the door; there he keeps his mehari saddle, his weapons, and his bags of salt. To the right is the woman's place, where she keeps her bag of personal things, her saddle if she has one, the bags containing the food supplies, and the kitchen implements which she has charge of. 592 [422]

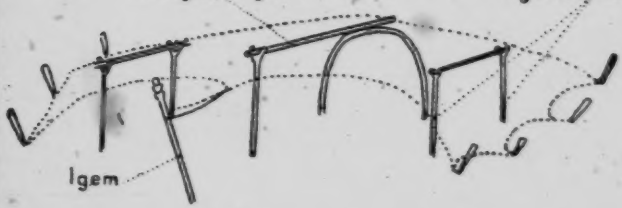


Fig. 26. Tent used by the Agouh-n-Tehlé. Sometimes the stake supporting the aragailledagaille may be replaced by a second arch. In some tribes, particularly among the Kel Ahnet, the arches were placed crosswise.

In summer when it is very hot, the Tuareg sometimes use straw huts, as much to save hides as to be a bit more comfortable. The leather tent, in fact, is made almost useless by the heat, and nomads often seek shelter during the heat of the day under neighboring trees when there are any or else in the rocks. 342 [184]

Captives never have tents. They build themselves little shelters with a few branches on which are hung scraps of leather or cloth. [727]

It falls entirely to the women to put up the tents. [462]

Granaries. -- One of the most characteristic facts of nomadic life is its lack of foresight in questions of food. For the most part, the nomad lives from one day to the next, following the seasons, without accumulating anything. This is somewhat the case for the Tuareg. Still, the Sahara is not a country where one can find supplies easily. 251 343

251 Thus, they are forced to keep supplies on hand, /226/ but it is a
343 limited stock, consisting of two or three bags of sorghum or dates which are transported each time the camp is moved. It is customary, when supplies are more considerable, to leave them in the rocks of the mountains in spots known to the people of the tribe. These granaries (ekaham) allow them to travel lighter and at the same time put supplies in safe places. In case camps are raided they make a sufficient food reserve so that the people are not driven to starvation.

184 Some tribes which have gardens in the centers of cultivation
343 often have food deposits there; they are stored for a whole family
423 group. Thus the Dag Rali have stores in the Koudia, at Ilaman,
251 Tarahananet, Abalessa, etc., where they entrust the care of their goods to their local representatives. These centers have secret granaries; they are scarcely used these days, but they were used before the French occupation for reasons of safety in case of raids. We have seen hiding places of this kind at Tit and at Bloumet, and there are probably some at Tazerouk and Ideles. They consist of cellars dug in the soil at ground level and hidden from the eyes of passers-by. Merchandise was thus protected from men and rodents.

171 While we are on the subject, let us add that granaries dug in rock are common among all Berbers. Today they may still be seen in Morocco and among the Chaouia /Shawia/ of Aurès. This custom seems to have been common in Mediterranean countries, in Syria, and especially in Palestine where it was already reported in Biblical times.

343 The Akhamouk amenokal was the only person who had real
643 granaries. He had three or four of them constructed of stone bound
251 with clay using the Sudanese technique. They were placed at the top of a rocky crest on the left bank of the Abalessa wadi, near the place where his camp was most often established.

513 Sleeping arrangements. -- Bedding includes only one or two
[566] sheepskins sewn together, or more rarely a rug among the rich people.

513 No one has a bed except the aménokal, who owns one of the Hausa
[352 type; this model has also been adopted in a certain number /227/
177 of Kel Oui /Owey/ camps. (1) The man and woman each sleep on
643]

1. Contrary to what has been said, the bed is not Tuareg but Hausa. Its use is spread among the sedentary people of Aïr, Damergou, and Sokoto, and it is made by Hausa smiths.

his or her own side of the tent, the boys with their father and the girls with their mother.

654 There are no cradles for babies among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and young children are placed on a skin or on blankets. Sometimes a hemispheric wicker frame is put over them and covered with a cloth to cut off the light or protect them from sandstorms.

The Kel Aïr and the Tenguéréguif have little cradles which are suspended from the top of the tent.

354 Fire. -- In front of each tent there is a hearth, generally made of three stones. It is not intended for cooking purposes, but rather for warmth in the evening after the sun has gone down when all the people gather in the shelter of the asaber, which is unrolled in an arc in front of the tent. The flame warms up hearts and
[272 bodies and synthesizes family and friendship. Sometimes a container of water is placed on the three stones to heat in order to make tea.

●343 The cooking fire is set apart, generally some three or four
354 meters from the tent, in the shelter of a little stone wall in order to protect it from the wind.

We have not been able to find any myth on the origin of fire
372 among the Tuareg. According to them it was created by God,
773 who gave it to man to cook food. Iblis (Satan) wanted to seize the secret of how it was made, and God punished him by creating

351 and are extended out in front to form a sheltered enclosure which is usually semicircular with the entrance opening in the middle. The little forecourt and the ground inside the tent as well are covered with clean sand or very fine gravel from the bed of a nearby stream. Tuareg camps are always very tidy and astonishingly clean.

Both in the forecourt and in the tent itself
562 the men's place is on the right as you enter
342 and the women's and children's on the left, which is the reverse of the arrangement customary among Arabs. It has often been said that the men's place is on the East, but this is simply because tents are almost always pitched facing south.

352 Household furniture and effects include sheepskins, or rugs obtained from the North
[439] by trade, leather bags of food and personal belongings, saddles, bridles and weapons,
[415] wooden bowls, funnels and spoons and maybe an earthenware cooking pot or two, a wooden
[412] mortar and pestle or perhaps two sets of different sizes, and a stone quern which may be either of the Neolithic saddle type or the small rotary model of the Roman Legions. Arms and food are stored in the men's half of the tent and equipment connected with food preparation in the women's half. A guerba full of water is hung from two long stakes just outside the forecourt. A brush
[343] windbreak built nearby shelters the outdoor kitchen, and another windbreak, some 50 to 100 yards away, shelters the family slaves.

Sometimes in the hottest months, and particularly when a camp remains stationary for a considerable length of time as it does in periods so dry that it is dangerous to move far from a permanent water supply, the tents may be stowed away and zeribas set up in their place. We recall that these are cubical or cylindrical structures made of reeds, long grass or palm fronds laid over a wooden framework measuring roughly 10 to 15 feet across and 8 to 10 feet high (fig. 37, *a*). The Amenokal's camp was installed in zeribas when the writer visited it in November, 1955, near the end of an unusually long period of drought.

361 Camps are always pitched in an inconspicuous spot and always on high ground except on very rare occasions when the sky is cloud-

They use camel hair to make rope. They are fond of 237 283 camel meat, and it is they who supply the markets of the 262 Tidikelt with it. 439

There are very few cattle in the Ahaggar, barely thirty, 233 and almost all these belong to Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane, 492 of Tazerouk. They are used to draw water from the wells [312] into the ar'erems. The pasture is scanty, and besides the cattle easily wear out their hooves on the rocks and stones.

In the Koudia, because of the cold which prevails there 233 and the high altitude, there are many small turrets of dry 343 stones, /65/ empty inside, in which the Tuareg confine lambs and kids at night to shelter them from the cold.

The Ahaggar do not have a large number of meharis, and 233 they do not like to sell them, especially the good ones. Among [435] themselves, to set the value of a mehari, they say, "Such a mehari is worth two, three, or four camels." All their meharis are trained to start at a gallop. The Tuareg has great patience with the training of his mehari and never mistreats it. He confines himself to persuading it by voice and foot, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Tuareg mehari is much more silent than the Arab mehari.

The foundation of the pastures of the Ahaggar is aremmas 137 (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae). This plant is quite laxative. 233 So when the year is bad and drought prevails, the Ahaggar are found emigrating toward the Adhar'. There are fine pastures of "had" (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolaceae) in the south of Tin R'arhou, but there is no water. Moussa ag Amastane /66/ [312 intends to have wells dug there and has requested our help and 648] advice for this purpose.

As a rule the Tuareg let their camels out to pasture with- 233 out herders, and they find them again at the well or by track- ing, unless they entrust the herding to children or negroes.

/67/ A young camel is called "abal" without designating 192 its age. A camel in general is called "amadjour," plural 233 "imoudjar," or else "amiss," plural "imnass." A female is

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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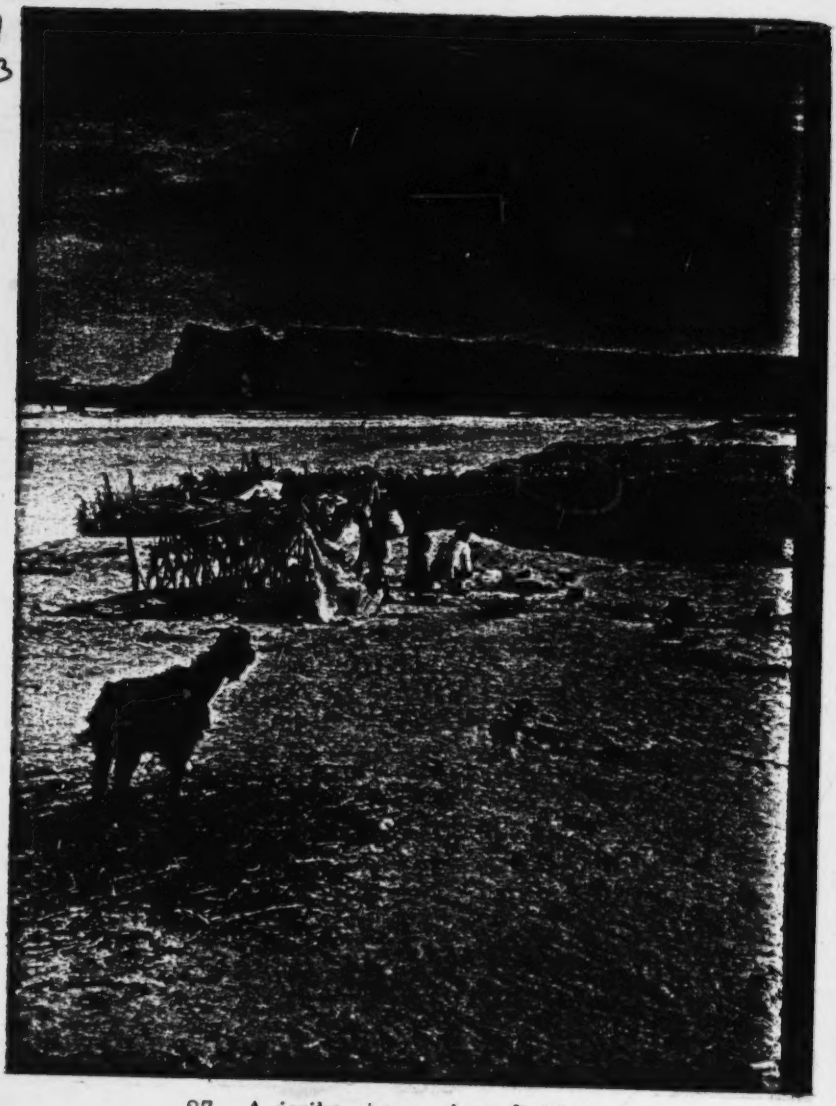

27. A jeriba near a wheat field.

[p. 214]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 144. *Kel Ewey* woman winnowing grain by shaking it in a plaited bowl. Ayr. Iferwan.

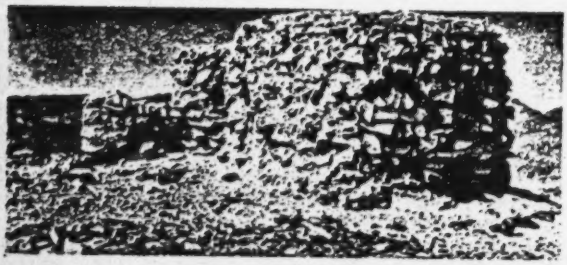
243 large mortar. Winnowing of cereals is performed by shaking the seeds in a plaited bowl or tray to let
[415] husks and other impurities be removed by the wind (Fig. 144).

251 The Northern Tuareg use the following means for storing of crops:— (1) *taddat*, that is a skin bag
343 containing grain, dates, and the like, hidden under stones and rocks in the mountains; (2) *égend*, or *anu*, an underground storeroom lined with mats. It is used for cereals, including wild seeds, and is found both among agriculturists and pastoralists (Fig. 146); (3) *torassana*, a grain silo built from stones and mud (Fig. 145). Nowadays such storerooms are not only used by agriculturists but also by pastoralists. However, this type of storeroom is said to have been introduced to Ahaggar with the introduction of irrigation agriculture about a hundred years ago, and was originally unknown to pastoral Tuareg.

[136] Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg all storerooms for cereals are known as *tédengewi*. The storing of vegetable food products in skin bags covered with stones or hidden under rocks is apparently unknown – perhaps because of the numerous small rodents and the rich insect life which includes numerous white ants. Underground storerooms like those of Ahaggar are used by agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike. They are frequently excavated so deeply that they can hide a grown man standing in

them. They are lined and covered with mats as in Ahaggar, and though they may be used for the 251
storage of wild seeds they are mainly used for grown cereals and are generally found in or close to 343
gardens. Grain silos built of stones and mud – the *tarassana* type of Ahaggar – are said to occur among the *Kel Ewey* but I have never seen such storerooms in their villages, nor have I met the typical African storeroom built of straw and resting upon poles until south of the Massif in Damergu where they are used by shifting cultivators. Large earthenware containers shaped like cooking pots are used [415] to store vegetable products (cereals) in certain villages, particularly at Iferwan. Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr have the underground storerooms for the preservation of surplus grain and other vegetable products. Cereals to be consumed in the camps (notably millet) are kept in large skin-bags resting [415] upon poles that they may not be damaged by white ants. The Ahaggar Tuareg also preserve cereals in their tents in skin-bags.

Irrigation agriculture is a strenuous task, but it is less influenced by climatic conditions than all 241
other occupations practised in the Sahara. The farmers are not exposed to the same disasters of drought [461] periods as are pastoral Tuareg in the north, though it is said that rain is a direct blessing also to irrigated crops. But cultivated plants are exposed to certain dangers, e.g., locusts, and crops do not always thrive as they should. Bad luck in agricultural activities may in the opinion of the farmers be due to [277] some mystical power or other. It may arise from incorrect treatment of cereals and dates so that they [228] lose their *elbaraka*. Menstruating women, as mentioned above, are dangerous to vegetable food, and [841] this is also true of the fire, for which reason one should never throw date kernels into the flames. The farmers also fear that their crops may suffer damage from the attack of the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and partic- [754] ularly from the attack of the malignant force attached to the "evil eye" or the "evil mouth". To protect [237] their crops the farmers frequently use amulets such as broken pots and skulls of domestic animals (notably of donkeys), which are considered an effective means against the "evil eye" and the "evil mouth" (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 133 f., 160).



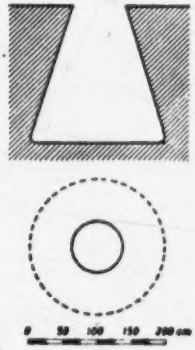



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Fig. 145. Grain silos of the *tarassana* type built of stones and mud. Ahaggar, Abalessa.
Fig. 146. Cross section of a subterranean storeroom for cereals, and the like (*dgend*). Dimensions according to Foucauld: 2.00 m–2.50 m deep, 2.00 m in diameter at the bottom, 0.75 m in diameter at the surface (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 459 f.).

[text continues on p. 209]

771 They are little versed in the religion and are incapable of reading the Koran, with the exception of a few men among the Tăitok, [743 for example, or in the Sudanese tribe of the Kel es Souq. There 212] are very few marabouts among them, and those who are there, with a few exceptions, live there in a spirit more mercenary than anything else. Among the Tuareg there are no imam or mufti, and [346] /305/ mosques are reduced to simple prayer places formed of an alignment of stones.

[781] Many Tuareg do not follow the prescriptions of the Koran, and a few years ago some chiefs relied on the marabouts "to make their prayers for them!" Those who practice do it ostentatiously. 795 A great number are affiliated with religious orders, but they are 175 usually ignorant of the meaning of the rites. Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the brotherhood of the Tijaniyyah was powerful among them. The majority of the people that the explorer Foureau met during his voyages in the Tassili were members, but he points out that there were also a few Qādiriyyah. Chief In Guéddassen and a certain number of nobles of the Ghat region were Senusi /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. So long as the Oulad Sidi Cheikh, who were the most important groups of the Tijaniyyah, fought France, the majority of the Tuareg remained attached to that brotherhood, but afterwards many of them adopted Senusism. The principal representatives of the Tijaniyyah in Tuareg country were the Tassili Ifôra, whose zāwiyah of Témaçinine had been founded by one of them, El Hadj el Foki. His son Moussa acquired very great renown as a holy man, and so his tomb, located near the little palm grove, is honored by all the northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg of the Ădrar des Ifôras are affiliated with the Qādiriyyah and received the ouerd from Cheikh Bay, a former Kounta marabout from Teleya; he died a few years ago, and his renown extends over the whole Sahara. Among the Ioullimmiden, some tribes are Qādiriyyah (Kel es Souq) and others Tijaniyyah (Daoussahak).

Plate IX

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Young Tuareg woman of noble class brushing her teeth with an irak stem. Notice behind her the mat called asaber used to surround the tent.

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Young Tuareg couple seated in the shelter of the asaber. Behind them is a household servant, a taklit of Sudanese origin.

182 and the Tuareg of the Ahaggar as a nation, too stubborn to adapt themselves to any way of life other than their own, have at last signed their name to the ever-lengthening list of vanishing peoples.

Shelter. The typical dwelling of the Ahaggar
342 Tuareg is a leather tent, made preferably of the skins of goats although sometimes those of sheep or even calves are used (fig. 36). A tent of mouflon skins is considered the height of luxury and elegance, but it is almost impossible to come by enough of them to make such a tent nowadays. The prepared skins are
281 very soft and have a pleasing dull red brick
342 color which is produced by rubbing them on both sides with a mixture of red ocherous clay and dried camel dung. After being prepared and cut down to rectangular form, they are sewed together with fine strips of leather. Anywhere from 30 to as many as 150 may be used to make a single tent, but the first number is not far below the average. A finished tent of ordinary size weighs about 50 pounds more or less.

Tents are mounted on wooden frames of
342 various closely similar types, the most common of which consists of three elements, each composed of two uprights with a horizontal member laid across their tops. The highest element is set in the middle with one upright in front and the other in the back, and the two remaining elements are set up parallel to it, one on either side. The tent covering is then stretched over this framework, with its back and sides pegged down and the front left open, usually facing south. In good weather the overhanging front of the roof is stretched out horizontally to form an awning held in place by three supplementary posts, one in the middle and another at each end. The average tent is 6 to 10 feet deep from front to back, 10 to 15 feet wide and 4 to 5 feet high in the middle, with the roof sloping away very gently on both sides and toward the back wall. The structure is completed by
[285] long strips of stiff, yellow matting made of
● 351 thin reeds, roughly 3 feet wide and up to 20 feet long more or less, with simple geometric designs in black or reddish brown leather ribbon woven into them. These strips are set on edge around the inside of the tent so as to make an inner wall at the back and sides,

351 and are extended out in front to form a sheltered enclosure which is usually semicircular with the entrance opening in the middle. The little forecourt and the ground inside the tent as well are covered with clean sand or very fine gravel from the bed of a nearby stream. Tuareg camps are always very tidy and astonishingly clean.

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Camps are always pitched in an inconspicu-
361 ous spot and always on high ground except on very rare occasions when the sky is cloud-

may be seen in Fig. 167a–b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*ilstent*) (Fig. 218a). 285 [413]

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a–c, 210a–b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*éstan*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices. [184] [432] [366]

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among the *Kel Ayr*. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*agum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*alegutguten*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig 220b). This basket type (*tésenit*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals. [224] [413] [462] [184] [413] [171] [415] *

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éseber* or *tésebert* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents, and they are manufactured by many women among the *Kel Ahaggar* (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers, and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*tédabut*) (Fig. 212a–b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Igdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south. [224] [351] [462] [352] [563] [462] [342] [438]

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitues the most important craft in the 281

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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[351]

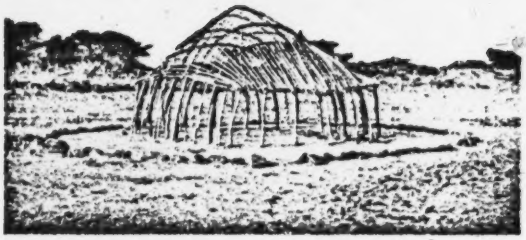

Fig. 261. The wooden skeleton of a large and very high *éhen* hut. The stone-ring serves to keep pebbles and impurities away from the dwelling. Ayr, Azzal.

[285]

Fig. 262. An *éhen* hut covered with mats like those used for barrel-vaulted dwellings among pastoral Tuareg of Ayr (right). To the left a *téjira* hut. Behind the *éhen* hut a glimpse of a beehive hut (*tanṛami*). Many dwelling types are often found within a single village in the Sahara. Ayr, Awderas.

(3) To the three arches are now added two crossbars (*isgar*, sing. *éseger*), resting horizontally in slender forked sticks (*isekṭan*, sing. *asekṭu*) which are fixed vertically in the ground. The two systems of crossbars are placed parallel to the three arches to constitute the narrow sides of the hut structure. The number of vertical sticks supporting a horizontal cross-bar vary.

(4) A number of slender rods (*ilellewan*, sing. *alellewa*), which, as a rule, are made from midribs of date palm leaves, are fastened to the horizontal crossbars and to the arches which they cross at a right angle. These rods, or semi-arches, are fastened in the same way as described below for barrel-vaulted dwellings of pastoral Tuareg.

The main structure of a not too large barrel-vaulted hut as that just described is very akin to that of the portable barrel-vaulted dwelling of Ayr pastoralists, but very large huts of the Ayr villages

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 281 shape. In Southern Tuareg groups the skin tents also vary much in size, but they tend to be larger. Thus it is stated by Nicolas that skin tents among the *Kel Dennek* measure up to one hundred square metres (Nicolas 1938, p. 54), and Lhote says that 80–150 skins are used for sheets of the very large tents of the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (Lhote 1947a, p. 100).

[804] The Tuareg themselves do not refer to the size of a tent by counting the number of skins, or by measuring. The size of a tent is indicated by reference to the number of skin rows in the longitudinal direction of the sheet, and these rows of skin are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *taṛda* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). I have myself seen extremely small tents having a sheet of only three *taṛda*, but a tent of normal size will generally have four or five such skin rows, and some even have six or seven *taṛda*. Among the Northern Tuareg the sheet is manufactured in Tuareg camps by pastoral women and their female slaves. Among the *Kel Dennek*, tent sheets are manufactured by women of the blacksmith caste (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 155).

[462] [562] [564]

*342 285 A mat to be drawn around the lower part of the dwelling constitutes a very essential part of Tuareg skin tents. This mat is generally made from the stems of *afezu* (*afeẓu*) grass (*Panicum turgidum*) tied together with leather strips as already described. A tent mat at times is divided into two halves which are rolled up and placed at each of the narrow ends of the tent during hot weather so that currents of air may pass through. When weather is cold and also when storms are raging, the Tuareg close their tents with these mats, which may also be drawn out to form a kind of low courtyard in front of the tent (cf. Figs. 267–269). The straw mat made from *afezu* stems tied to one another is known as *éseber* (pl. *isebran*) both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, while the name of a tent mat among the *Kel Dennek* is *šitek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154), or *chitek* according to our transcription system. Among the Northern Tuareg, tent mats are generally about one metre high, while varying much as to length. These mats very frequently serve as a kind of wind-screen leaning against poles,

[351]

*342 281 133

Fig. 267. Skin tent seen from the back. The shape of the sheet is most irregular. Ahaggar, the *Aǵub-en-tehlé* tribe.

[text continues on p. 364]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 and a mat-screen of this nature is known as *aṛnes* (pl. *iṛnesen*). It seems as if mats made from *afezu* 285 stems tied to one another with leather thread occur everywhere among the Tuareg who possess skin tents (cf. illustrations of Lhote 1947a). These mats form part of the tent as they constitute its walls. I have only once seen true plaited mats used with a skin tent, and this was not inhabited by ordinary [351] pastoralists, but by blacksmiths (cf. Fig. 272). In addition to tent mats the Ahaggar Tuareg frequently use stone walls (*amutey*, pl. *imuteyen*) in front of their skin tent during the cold winter season (cf. Fig. 269b).

*342 Among all Northern Tuareg a skin tent is known as *éhen*, and the sheet is called *éhakit*. The *Kel* [281] *Dennek* Tuareg appear to use the same words for a tent and its sheet (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 153) while the Ayr Tuareg reserve the word *éhen* for a mat tent and employ the term *akum* for a skin tent. The Tuareg who use the word *éhen* to designate a skin tent will refer to mat tents as *asala* or *éwerwer* according to the type of mats used for a covering. We see that the word *éhen* is that generally used for a tent among the Tuareg. It is used for skin tents and mat tents alike. The Tuareg who live predominantly or mainly in skin tents use it for these dwellings, while Tuareg who live almost exclusively in mat tents reserve it as a term for their dwelling type.

Mat tents and skin tents may resemble each other in their structures but can also be very different. The mat tent is always an arched tent while this is true only of some skin tents. The main distinction between a mat tent and a true skin tent is that the mat covering is attached to the tent structure, while the sheet of skin is fastened to poles, pegs, stones, or other objects outside the structure supporting the sheet. Among most Tuareg who have skin tents there is a traditional system of poles or pegs for the fastening of the sheet.

In Ahaggar the tent sheet is traditionally fastened to twelve poles which are buried in 0.40–0.50 m deep holes dug by means of the digging stick (*élaweg*; Fig. 123, p. 179), with the broad end of an iron lance, with a wooden stick, and/or the hand. There are three poles in front of the tent, three at the back, and three at each of the narrow ends. These poles have their particular names. The poles placed at the narrow ends are known as *tisdas* (sing. *tasdest*), the poles placed at the back are called *unnusen* (sing. *unnus*), while the three poles placed in front of the tent have different names as follows:— the middle pole, which is higher than the two other poles of this row, is called *igem*, and the two other poles are known as *madaṛen* (sing. *madaṛ*). The use of these twelve poles is considered the correct method for tent erection, and they are always used in wedding tents; some Tuareg have poles beautifully carved by the blacksmiths, but for ordinary use the Tuareg do not always attach their skin tent to these twelve poles, but frequently use a few poles and attach the sheet to heavy luggage and the like, and at the back they may even place heavy stones upon the skin sheet. The poles placed at the narrow ends of the tent, known as *tisdas*, are also frequently substituted by small wooden pegs termed *tisettitay* (sing. *tasettitit*), and the sheet is then very close to the ground at the narrow ends. This same system of poles and pegs for fastening the skin sheet outside of the proper structure of the dwelling is also known to the Ahaggar Tuareg who live towards the south in the Tamesna plains, to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and also, I believe, to the *Kel Adraṛ*. Among the *Kel Dennek* there is a related system apparently comprising a few additional poles. The terms mentioned for these poles by Nicolas differ in his studies from 1938 and 1950. According to his last study the poles placed at the narrow end of the tent are termed *ṣidel* (or *chidel*), while all poles placed in front and at the back of

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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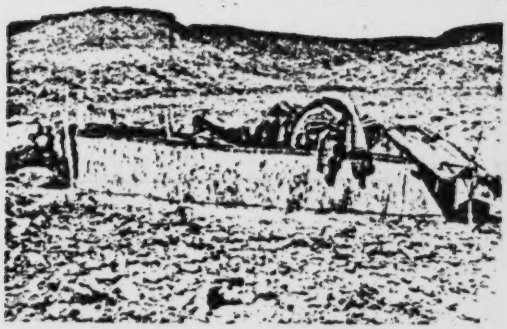

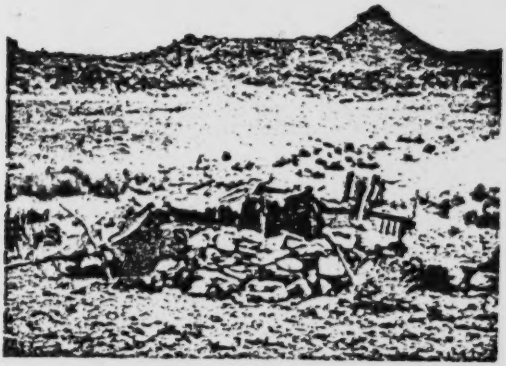

Fig. 269a–b. Skin tent of the B.2.f.3 type. The tent is surrounded by an *afezu* mat (*iseber*) and a stone wall (*amuley*) to protect the inmates against the cold winter winds. Ahaggar (the *Atakor* zone), the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

*342 the tent are called *igemawen*; but the frontal poles are also known by more particular names according to their position (*madar*, *igam*, *aserriri*). The terms mentioned by Nicolas in his 1938-study are largely those used in Ahaggar for similar poles (cf. Nicolas 1938, p. 54 ff. & 1950a, p. 153 ff., pl. VIII). It would appear that a somewhat related pole-system is used for suspension of the skin sheet among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* where very elaborately carved poles are found (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 82 ff.), while among the *Tengerregif* Tuareg further west a large number of high unfashioned boughs or sticks are used to suspend the tent (cf. Lhote 1947, illustrations p. 128 f.). As to the Ayr Tuareg, I have never seen properly suspended skin sheets among them, and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg did not know any names for such pole systems. It would seem as if most Tuareg who live in skin tents use an almost identical system of poles to which they fasten the sheet. The sheet is never fastened to the

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Plate XI

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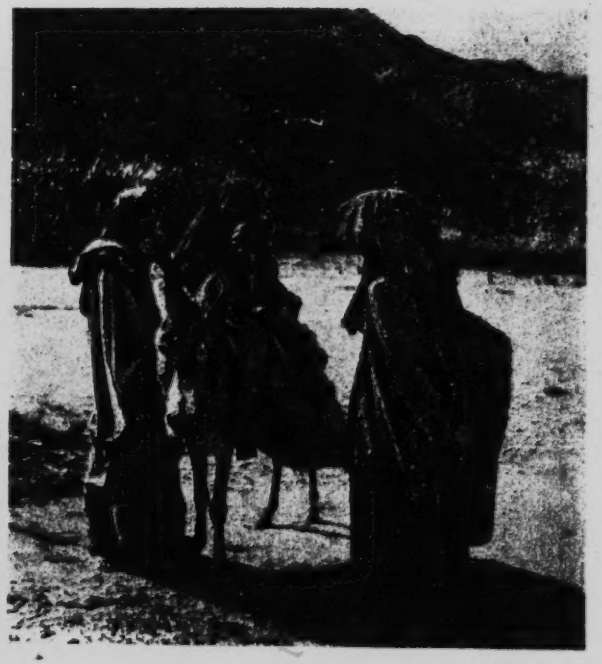
The inside of a tent. The baggage is hung from the tent poles. Very young children play on the ground, where a thick layer of fine sand has been placed.



Kel Ahaggar women, especially the Imrad women, often ride on the backs of asses. One of them has just met two friends, with whom she is exchanging news on the maharists who have gone far away.

513 No one has a bed except the aménokal, who owns one of the Hausa
[352 type; this model has also been adopted in a certain number /227/
177 of Kel Oui /Owey/ camps. (1) The man and woman each sleep on
643]

1. Contrary to what has been said, the bed is not Tuareg but Hausa. Its use is spread among the sedentary people of Aïr, Damergou, and Sokoto, and it is made by Hausa smiths.

his or her own side of the tent, the boys with their father and the girls with their mother.

854 There are no cradles for babies among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and young children are placed on a skin or on blankets. Sometimes a hemispheric wicker frame is put over them and covered with a cloth to cut off the light or protect them from sandstorms.

The Kel Aïr and the Tenguéréguif have little cradles which are suspended from the top of the tent.

354 Fire. -- In front of each tent there is a hearth, generally made of three stones. It is not intended for cooking purposes, but rather for warmth in the evening after the sun has gone down when all the people gather in the shelter of the asaber, which is unrolled in an arc in front of the tent. The flame warms up hearts and
[272 bodies and synthesizes family and friendship. Sometimes a container of water is placed on the three stones to heat in order to make tea.

343 The cooking fire is set apart, generally some three or four
354 meters from the tent, in the shelter of a little stone wall in order to protect it from the wind.

We have not been able to find any myth on the origin of fire
372 among the Tuareg. According to them it was created by God,
773 who gave it to man to cook food. Iblis (Satan) wanted to seize the secret of how it was made, and God punished him by creating

773 372 the tortures of hell. Iblis, however, communicated his secret to the blacksmiths, who since that time have known how to use it for metalworking.

372 The Tuareg used to obtain fire by friction, using a board of torha (callotropis procera) and a branch of hardwood; they caught [824] the spark on a tuft of silk from the fruit of the callotropis and blew on it until they got a flame, which required about a minute. They have kept this practice and still use it occasionally.

[439 177] Today they find matches sold by /228/ Tamanrasset merchants, but they all have tinderboxes with flint and a bent piece of iron.

Fig. 27. Ahaggar Tuareg dish, imported from Hausa country.

[415 439] They do not keep up the fire. They carry it from one tent to the other in a fragment of an old gourd or sometimes hold a glowing ember in their hands without burning themselves.

[237 484] When they want to transport it long distances, they use camel-dung embers.

[237] The Tuareg commonly use the excrement of camels and goats as fuel. In the high [137] mountains, wood is quite rare, but in the lower parts of the Koudia old acacia or éthel /atle? Ed. / stumps are to be found. They never [824] use the wood of the callotropis, which is the devil's tree and makes muffled noises when it is burned.

[823] Basalt blocks are never used to make the hearth, since they believe that basalt is possessed by genii and will explode violently when heated.

● 352 Furniture. -- We have briefly described the objects furnishing the parts of the tent reserved for the husband and wife. To these must be added a certain number of objects which make up the

352

furniture. These objects are not numerous and reflect the primitive life led by the Tuareg.

On the left side of the tent is generally found the goatskin water bag, hung on two wooden stakes placed in a V-shape. An old piece of cloth often covers it to protect it from the sun. The waterskin is often empty, for the Tuareg are not very farsighted. When there is water, they drink; when /229/ they are out of it, they stay there waiting a half day until the Iklan get back from the well. [415 271]

Fig. 28.
Tent shovel.

[412]

When a traveler passes by, he is most generally assailed with demands for water, while he himself often hoped to find some in the camp. [574]

In front of the door and close to all the tents is an enormous wooden mortar and its pestle, in which the servant girl crushes millet and dates. By searching a bit in the tent or in the shelter used as a kitchen, one may find two or three hemispheric wooden dishes destined to hold food and two or three conical bowls serving as drinking vessels. Hanging on one of the outer stakes of the tent are a wooden milking vessel, an esparto winnowing basket for sifting millet flour, serving at the same time as a dish cover, one or two little esparto mats which can serve the same purpose, and finally a few wooden spoons. Each mistress of a tent has a little 412 415 [357] [252] [285]

351 and are extended out in front to form a sheltered enclosure which is usually semicircular with the entrance opening in the middle. The little forecourt and the ground inside the tent as well are covered with clean sand or very fine gravel from the bed of a nearby stream. Tuareg camps are always very tidy and astonishingly clean.

Both in the forecourt and in the tent itself
562 the men's place is on the right as you enter
342 and the women's and children's on the left, which is the reverse of the arrangement customary among Arabs. It has often been said that the men's place is on the East, but this is simply because tents are almost always pitched facing south.

● 352 Household furniture and effects include
[439] sheepskins, or rugs obtained from the North by trade, leather bags of food and personal belongings, saddles, bridles and weapons,
[415] wooden bowls, funnels and spoons and maybe an earthenware cooking pot or two, a wooden
[412] mortar and pestle or perhaps two sets of different sizes, and a stone quern which may be either of the Neolithic saddle type or the small rotary model of the Roman Legions. Arms and food are stored in the men's half of the tent and equipment connected with food preparation in the women's half. A guerba full of water is hung from two long stakes just outside the forecourt. A brush
[343] windbreak built nearby shelters the outdoor kitchen, and another windbreak, some 50 to 100 yards away, shelters the family slaves.

Sometimes in the hottest months, and particularly when a camp remains stationary for a considerable length of time as it does in periods so dry that it is dangerous to move far from a permanent water supply, the tents may be stowed away and zeribas set up in their place. We recall that these are cubical or cylindrical structures made of reeds, long grass or palm fronds laid over a wooden framework measuring roughly 10 to 15 feet across and 8 to 10 feet high (fig. 37, *a*). The Amenokal's camp was installed in zeribas when the writer visited it in November, 1955, near the end of an unusually long period of drought.

361 Camps are always pitched in an inconspicuous spot and always on high ground except on very rare occasions when the sky is cloud-

tanned and sewed together. The assemblage of these hides [281]
constitutes the cover, the essential part of the tent, and is 342
called "ehakit" .

The tent is supported by a central master beam called
"tamankaït" .

A pole, "idjem" , is placed at the entrance
of the tent and is flanked right and left by poles called
"madar'en" . /26/

Other poles are used to hold up the edges: these are the
"tissedass" . The little pegs that hold the tent
to the ground are called "tisselitaï" . Some-
times bows are also used, called "adjedjou" ,
plural "idjedjan" .

The tent is surrounded by mats of "afezzou" [285
(Panicum turgidum, Graminaceae), called "asabar" 824]
plural "isebran" , which are pulled back in the
day and drawn close at night, to close the tent.

In the tent one finds first that which concerns water, that 352
is, waterskins, "abeïor'" , plural "ibiyar'" 415
, hung on forked sticks, "tidjettaouin" .
They are filled by means of a funnel, "asegueffi" ,
plural "isegueffa" . To water the camels, the 231
Tuareg use troughs of hide supported by hoops at the top and
called "tafaraout" , plural "tiferouin" .
They also use these troughs for the harvest of "toulloult" grain 243
(Arthraterum pungens, Graminaceae) or of "afezzou" (Panicum
turgidum, Graminaceae).

For milk and butter, they have a waterskin for milk, 415
"tanouart" , plural "tinouarin" , and
a kind of porous water jug made of a hollowed gourd and called
"az'enou" . To ladle the milk, serve ~~it or pour~~ it,
they use a wooden vessel with one handle called "asoukal"
. To store and transport melted butter, "oudi," they
have waterskins of various shapes, the most common being the
one called "tahattint" , but they also sometimes [281]
use the tanned hide of a camel's thigh. /27/

261 /93 cont./ To sum up the migrations of the Kel Ahaggar,
166 let us say that they extend in a radius of about 100 kilometers,
221 within the tribal lands, but that the men may lead the herds, according to the times, toward pastures 1, 000 kilometers from the family camp, and that an annual series of caravans sees them cover 15° of latitude.

The harratin cultivators are only sedentary on occasion; each year there is a large human movement from one agricultural center to another. There are three reasons for this: the Tuareg, owners of the soil, are no longer able to furnish the hartani with enough seed or to fulfill the agricultural contract; water bwgins to be lacking in a center, or digging foggaras becomes impossible; lastly, the exhausted land needs rest. It is thus that, from one year to the next, an important, well-cultivated center may become /94/ insignificant and even deserted. It appears to be impossible to establish a cycle for these agricultural migrations.

## Tuareg Furnishings

352 Lightness and flexibility are the two essential qualities of
492 Tuareg furnishings. All of these objects must be transported on the backs of animals; weight, therefore, is the principal enemy; moreover, it is easier for the animals to carry loads capable of molding themselves against the animals' bodies.
415 Thus we find a whole assortment of sacks, chiefly leather ones, in the Tuareg equipment.

These sacks are tanned in such a way as to keep the leather very flexible; but the process employed is suitable only for extremely dry climates: transported to France, the Tuareg leathers seem to come alive again, they swell with humidity, then give off a disagreeable odor, and finally become unusable.

415 All of these sacks are decorated. Some are colored and
531 bear designs put on with dye or are decorated with tinted

415 /94 cont. / leather, and sometimes they are even embellished
531 with motifs on cloth, accentuated with needlework in silk; others are made of natural leather, adorned with frayed leather thongs, for the main principle of decoration for everything carried on a camel's back seems to be to lengthen the lines in order to make them harmonize with the silhouette of this amazing animal. The decorative motifs are many but always linear; the circle, as well as the arc, is used, but the straight line dominates; there are no arabesques, no complicated curves; triangles, squares, rectangles, even trapeziums and diamond shapes are used. Red is the chief color for leather, but a wide range of other colors, artistically used, makes possible some pleasing effects; delicate greens characterize the work coming from the Sudan, pure whites are set in blacks, dark greens, and browns, different tones of yellow cover large surfaces. Then, slight grooves in the dyed leather produce interesting effects.

[442] /95/ The sacks are secured on the animals by numerous cords. These are plaited with goat's hair. Making all these fittings takes unimaginable time and patience. Such a task cannot be thought of except in relation to a nomadic tribe.

An interesting study could be made on Tuareg decoration, comparing it to that of certain Indian tribes of America; one thinks in this connection of the hypotheses advanced by Commandant Cauvet in Les Berbères en Amérique /Berbers In America/.

•352 Here is a list of the various objects to be found in a Tuareg tent, undoubtedly an incomplete list, for the most familiar objects are the easiest to forget.

The woman, mistress of the hearth, owns her personal effects. The wardrobe bag, a large rectangle 80 by 60 centimeters at the top of which is an opening 30 centimeters high by 50 centimeters wide, is called "agherredj"; clothes are kept in it. Some of these agherredj are magnificent works of art.

352 /95 cont./ The other sacks belonging to the women all have the same shape. The "guerfa" is smaller than the agherredj; the "tarerrat" plaited in goat's hair is not seen as often.

The "adhaboun" consist of a whole series of small sacks of the most varied forms with a solid frame of plaited palm or sometimes of wood; small objects are put away in them: jewels, perfumes, remedies, etc. All of these sacks are generally closed with the famous Tuareg padlock, only a token lock, but always respected.

422 414

492 Rich women possess a special saddle called "akhaoui" or "takhaouit" according to its size, kept in a corner of the tent. It is an extremely curious assemblage of three types of wood (tehounek, rose laurel, tabrakat), each piece of which is chosen according to its use, shaped, cut, and decorated. The different pieces of the takhaouit are bound together with leather; it takes years to bring together branches that can be used, this work being almost always done by the women. The "haïf" is a strap /96/ that secures the saddle to the back of the camel; plaited in goat's hair, it measures five centimeters wide and three meters long; one end is adorned with an enormous pompon 50 centimeters wide and sometimes weighing more than three kilograms; embroidery in red and green wool gives a sumptuous air to the pendant, which reaches nearly to the ground when the haïf secures the saddle.

A richly decorated takhaouit has other pompons symmetrical to the haïf; these are the "tidarsiouin."

352 The feminine rug par excellence, which covers the tarraouit during a trip, comes from Timmimoun and is called "tagamdafest"; it has large black, red, and green bands, and, in the middle of it, tufts of yellow, black, and green wool.

Let us add to the objects belonging to the woman the "sendouq," a kind of small box in which sugar and tea are kept; the name, of Arabic origin, seems to indicate that it is of relatively recent importation. The "tesenit" is a palm-fiber basket in which kitchen utensils are kept.

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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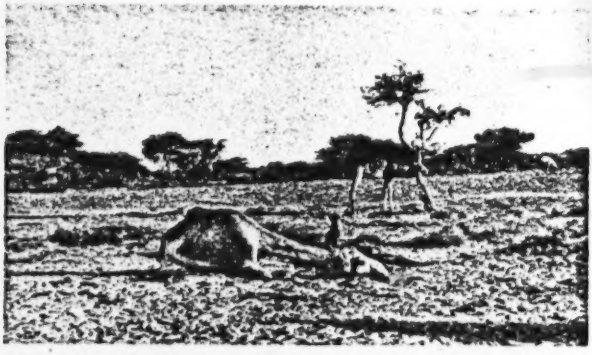

Fig. 46. A resting she-camel with the colour name *tawinok*. The colour term of the young she-camel standing in the back-ground is *ténilt*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

In Ayr the Tuareg do not use camel's hide in their crafts, but give it to the blacksmiths who use it for lashing, or to people who manufacture beds from ribs of palm leaves (cf. Fig. 257). The Northern Tuareg use camel-skin for the manufacture of a few household implements and also use it for lashing (cf. p. 84, 110, 222, 270 f. & Figs. 70, 86, 132a–b, 161a–d, 162, 213). But even in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer the skin of camels is little used compared with the skin of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep. 237 [564] [352] [824]

When employed in craft, camel's hide is normally used raw and unprepared after soaking in water, but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that for certain purposes the hide is treated with salt. In literature there are many statements about the tanning of camel's hide. Thus it is stated by Cauvet that the hide is tanned with plant material in Algeria, and Cauvet also quotes Duveyrier's statement that the Northern Tuareg tan camel's hide to use it for tents and various other implements (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 714 ff.). I very much doubt the correctness of this, as all Tuareg asked about it have stated that the hide of camels is not fitted for proper tanning. Camel's hide is therefore of very limited use to the Tuareg, and the same is the case with camel's hair or wool. Tuareg camels in Ayr have very little wool, and among the Northern Tuareg most animals have less wool than Arab camels of the Northern Sahara. The Northern Tuareg pluck a little wool with the hands or cut it off with a knife. It is spun into cords to be used for certain minor objects, notably for the manufacture of the plaited pouch (*abegu*) to prevent the suckling of calves (p. 62, Fig. 41) and for the particular cord (*asaṛun*) tied around the foreleg of camels to keep them in a reclining position (p. 72, Fig. 45a). Mixed with goat's hair the wool is also used for a kind of primitive weaving (p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b). 281 114 237 283 286

Camels are very important to the Tuareg as pack-animals for the caravan expeditions which will be mentioned in a later chapter when other means of subsistence have been described. 492* 484

In the past camels were also extremely valuable as riding animals on raiding expeditions which 492* 721

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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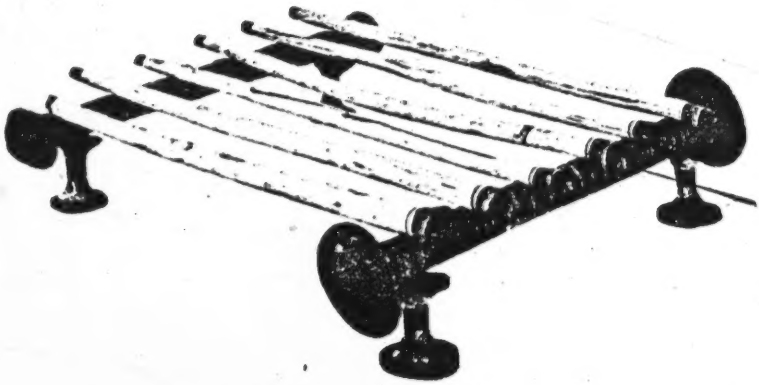

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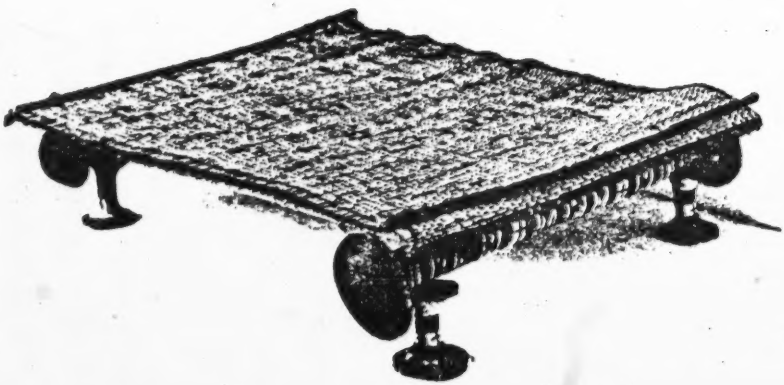

Fig. 212a-b. The large wooden bed (*tédabut*) which is used by all pastoral Ayr Tuareg.

a. The wooden skeleton consisting of the following parts:— (1) Four wooden legs (*tésetkelt*, pl. *tisetkal*). (2) Two horizontal cross-beams (*tabatukat*, pl. *tibatukatin*) carved into the shape of a disc at their ends. (3) Six horizontal poles (*afasas*, pl. *ifesasen*) resting in shallow grooves of the horizontal cross-beams. These poles are made from wood of a tree called *koriya*; this type of wood is also used for the heavy cross-beam seen in the front, while the hindmost cross-beam is made of wood called *tereza*.

b. The wooden skeleton covered with two mats (*tésbert*, pl. *tisebrin*) of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). The stems of this grass are tied together with leather strips. Beds are frequently covered with three mats. Dimension of the bed: ca. 1.70×1.36×0.21 m. (N.M. G. 6640a–o).

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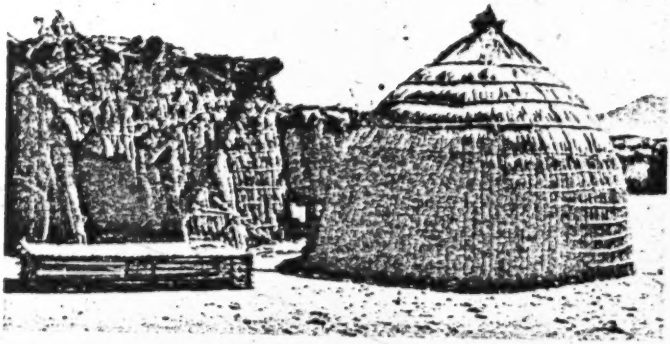

[352]

Fig. 257. A square *téjira* hut (left) and a beehive hut of the *tatramt* type (right). To the left is also seen a bed of palm fronds lashed together with hide. These beds are used by sedentary agriculturists. Ayr, Awderas.

palm leaves. The upper part of the hut is generally covered with palm leaves kept together by means of outer circular rods, but, before the roof is laid on, a small plaited mat attached to a wooden frame and known as *tégelengelt* (pl. *tigelengelin*) is placed over the top of the structure as a protection against rain. Seen from the outside beehive huts of this type bear a resemblance to cylindrical huts with conical roofs. Beehive huts of the structure just described vary much in size. A normal hut is about 1.75–2.00 metres high with a diameter of about 2.50–3.00 metres.

Beehive huts possibly different from those mentioned above are described by Rodd. They are said to have a frame made of palm-frond ribs planted in the ground and tied together at the top, and according to illustrations they are covered exclusively with straw. Rodd's illustrations of beehive huts are taken from the villages of Towar and Timia (Rodd 1926a, p. 184, pl. 20). Huts akin to those mentioned by Rodd have also been depicted by Buchanan (Buchanan 1926, p. 140).

[103]

Beehive huts are extremely common in Southern Tuareg countries and adjacent regions. In Ayr I have seen beehive huts of the *tatramt* type in all villages visited from Iferwan to Agadez, and they also occur in Damergu together with cylindrical huts with conical roofs. I have not seen beehive huts at Zinder, but they are found among the sedentary Hausa of the Birni – N'Koni region – according to the excellent exhibition of the IFAN Museum at Niamey. Hausa beehive huts differ as to construction. Some huts have a cylindrical wall built of mud and supporting the roof, which may also be plastered with mud at the inner side, while other huts have a cylindrical mud wall inside the lower part of the structure and a pronged central post to support the roof. There are also very simple beehive huts which serve for sleeping huts; they are sometimes placed upon high platforms where mosquitoes are less embarrassing. Beehive huts are extremely common along the Niger where I have seen them

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– The curved pieces 342*

lashed together to form arches are manufactured by the Ayr women, or are imported from the south [462] by the *Kel Geres* Tuareg when they visit Ayr at the end of the rains. The arches manufactured by the Ayr women are made from the very long horizontal roots (*tékéwt*) of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*). [824] Pieces of root of suitable size are placed over an open fire for a while, and are thereupon bent [335] into the desired curve which is secured by cords. When the root pieces thus treated become dry they will retain their curved form; the cords are then untied and the root pieces fashioned with a knife. However, wooden arches imported by the *Kel Geres* are used by many Ayr Tuareg who claim that these arches are superior to their own. They are said to be manufactured from boughs (or roots?) of a tree known as *tarmumiya*, which does not grow in Ayr but in the *Kel Geres* country.

(2) Parallel to the three arches there are two pairs of cross-bars supported by vertical sticks, a pair being placed at both sides of the arches to form the narrow sides of the dwelling. These cross-bars are termed *ízgar* (sing. *éseger*). They are sometimes made by blacksmiths, and are then provided with [531] various ornaments including a little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of the bar. In fairly large tents each cross-bar is supported by four vertical sticks, the two middle ones of which are generally forked, while the two outer sticks are somewhat higher and attached to the cross-bar with cords. All these vertical sticks, including the outer ones which have no prongs, are termed *tigettewin* (sing. *tégettewt*). In smaller tents there are only two or three sticks supporting the cross-bar. The vertical sticks used to support the cross-bars are normally very simple. Sticks of the very light *turza* tree (*Calotropis procera*) are preferred.

(3) Over this skeleton of arches and cross-bars supported by vertical sticks are placed a number of slender curved rods which are termed *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*). These rods are made from acacia roots, as described above, or are rods of the *tarmumiya* tree imported from the south. These rods form semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the tent. Each of these semi-arches consists of two identical rods fastened to the horizontal cross-bars at their thick end, while at their thin ends they are lashed together and fastened to the true arches. There is always a considerable number of these slender semi-arches, normally about ten.

The Ayr Tuareg use the following types of mats to cover the upper part of the dome-shaped 342* structure:— *íwerweren* (sing. *éwerwer*), the mats made from plant stems tied to each other with leather 285 thread (cf. p. 350); *ízfal* (sing. *ésefel*), mats of an oval shape plaited from dum palm leaves; *asalemamas*, a long narrow piece of mat made from dum palm leaves. In addition there is the term *éṛeli* which designates the long narrow mat plaited from dum palm leaves surrounding the lower part of the tent structure. In very hot weather this mat is omitted so that currents of air may pass through the dwelling, while the tent is closed when it is cold, or during storms. A tent as that described has 342* a dome-shaped or barrel-vaulted superstructure, the ground-plan being almost rectangular. A tent of normal size will measure about 3.00 × 4.50 m with a height of 1.80 to 1.90 m.

The mat tent is erected by one or two Tuareg women in the following way:— [462]

(1) The ground is cleared; (2) The large wooden bed (*tédabut*), which is used everywhere in the [352] south, is placed upon the ground to facilitate measuring; (3) Two large pronged posts, which serve [353] to carry woman's riding cushions and various large skin bags, are placed behind the bed and fixed into holes dug by means of some iron implement, e.g., the cooking tripod, the broad end of a lance,

[text continues on p. 353]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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The Erection of a Mat Tent in Ayr.

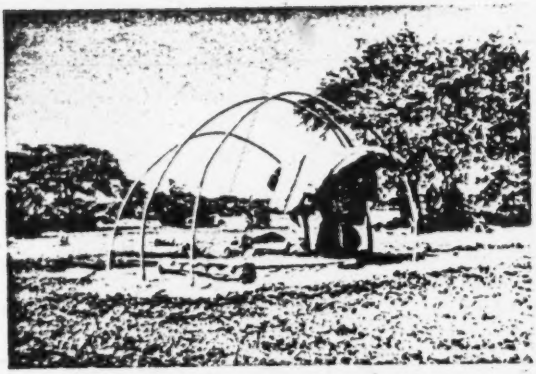

Fig. 265a. The wooden bed (*tédabat*) is placed upon the cleared ground. The pronged posts carrying riding cushions, skin bags, etc., and the curved wooden pieces constituting the three arches known as *tekkakkewat* and *t'illisawin* are buried in the ground. The cushions and decorated skin bags resting in the heavy wooden prongs are temporarily covered with tent mats that their colours may not be damaged by sunshine.

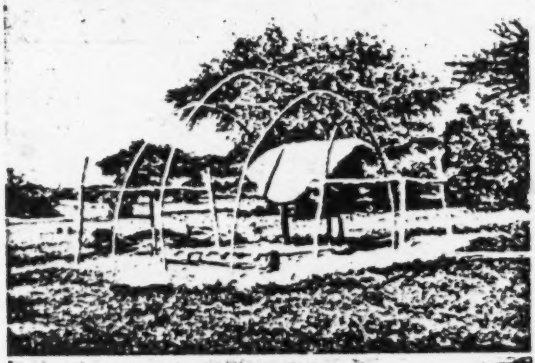

Fig. 265b. The arch pieces are lashed together and the two horizontal cross-bars (*isgar*) are fixed to vertical sticks (*tigettewin*) buried in the ground at the narrow ends of the tent. A little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of each cross-bar is seen on this photograph.

[284]

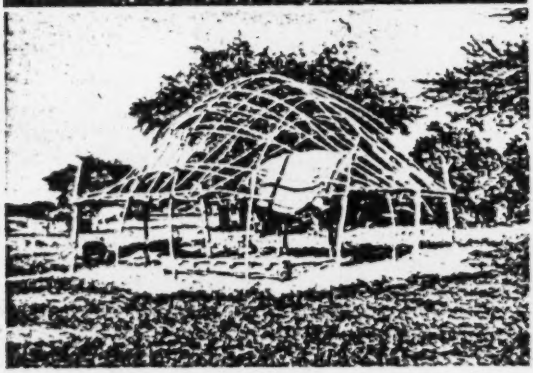

Fig. 265c. A long cord is wound around the high middle arch to form loops for the insertion of the slender rods forming semi-arches in the longitudinal direction. The thick ends of these rods are fastened to the cross-bars but are not yet lashed together at their upper, narrow ends.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



**The Erection of a Mat Tent in Ayr.**

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[352]

Fig. 265d. The narrow ends of the pieces of longitudinal semiarches are linked together. The tent structure is now finished to be covered with mats. The interior cover consisting of two rectangular mats made from plant stems and known as *iwerwerw* (sing. *ówerwer*) is seen on this photograph.

[284]

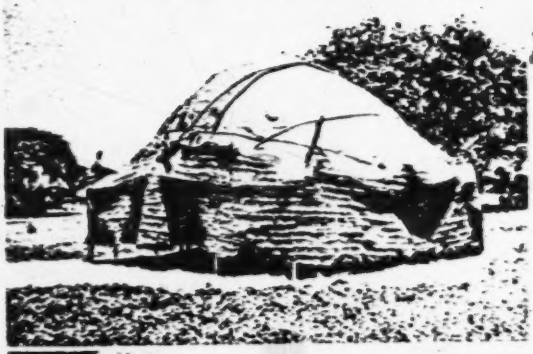

Fig. 265e. The dum palm mats of oval shape (*iafal*) and the long narrow dum palm mats (*asakwanan*) are placed over the *iwerwerw* mats and are tied to the dome-shaped structure with cords. The narrow dum palm mat (*ayell*) surrounding the lower part of the tent is fixed to the structure.

[133]

Fig. 265f. The mat tent is taken down for erection in a new place. The woman standing within the structure is loosening the looped cord which keeps the semi-arches to the high middle arch. It is not the same tent as that depicted Fig. 265a-e but the two tents belong to the same camp of the *Inaccawg* tribe near Agadez in Southern Ayr.

arch about 1.50 m high. It consisted of two boughs fixed in the ground and lashed together at their tops; this was termed *aḡeḡu* (pl. *iḡeḡan*). At both sides of this arch there was a horizontal cross-bar known as *areḡaraḡa* (pl. *ireḡeraḡaten*) which rested upon two forked sticks (*téḡeṭṭewt*, pl. *tiḡeṭṭewin*). The arch and the two pairs of horizontal cross-bars were parallel to one another, connected by means of two semi-arches termed *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*) each of them made from two slender rods attached to each other over the arch. These semi-arches were fastened to the middle arch and to the outer edges of the two cross-bars by means of cords. Around this structure, which supported the sheet, there was a number of wooden poles or posts some of which were higher than the tent. These poles and posts were used for the attachment of the sheet, which, however, during my visit rested over the structure without any attachment. A narrow mat of the ordinary *afeẓu*-type belonged to this tent (Fig. 271). 342*

Tents structurally akin to the B.2.a.2. type but without semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the dwelling are found south and north of the Tamesna region:—

B.2.a.3. This tent was seen in a camp inhabited by blacksmiths of the *Kel Dennek* country around Tawa. They had temporarily settled not far from Agadez to work among pastoral *Kel Ayr*. The camp comprised only three tents which were very small – about 4.00 × 2.00 m with a height of about 1.20 m. The tents were structurally identical and had sheets sewn together from many small pieces of skin resting upon the following structure:— A central arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction. It was called *teḳḳeḳḳewat* (pl. *teḳḳeḳḳewatin*) like the central arch of the ordinary mat tent among the Ayr Tuareg. At both sides of this arch and parallel to it there was a somewhat lower horizontal cross-bar resting upon two forked sticks (*tiḡettewin*, sing. *téḡettewt*). The sheet rested upon this structure and was fastened to a few upright poles fixed in the ground around it. There were three such sticks at the front and at the back, and one at each of the narrow ends. A mat about one metre high belonged to the tent; this mat was not a normal *afeẓu* mat, but plaited – apparently of dum palm material (cf. Fig. 272). A wooden bed (*tédabut*) was placed in the middle of the tent, occupying most of its ground area. [361] [162] [352]

342*
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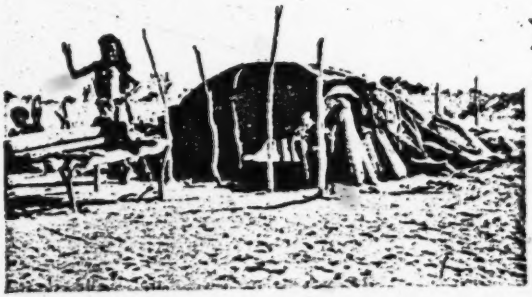
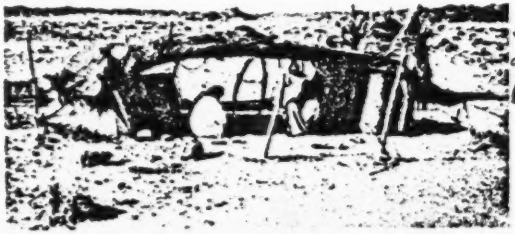


Fig. 271. Skin tent of the B.2.a.2. type. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Ireḡenaten* tribe.

investigations seem to prove that the cross-bars with their upright forked poles form part of the structure, but the sheet may not always be supported by the cross-bars, as the suspension of the sheet in hot weather may be so elevated that the sheet rests only upon the arches which are somewhat higher than the cross-bars. Traditionally, the sheet is attached to the system of twelve poles mentioned above (cf. p. 364). 342*

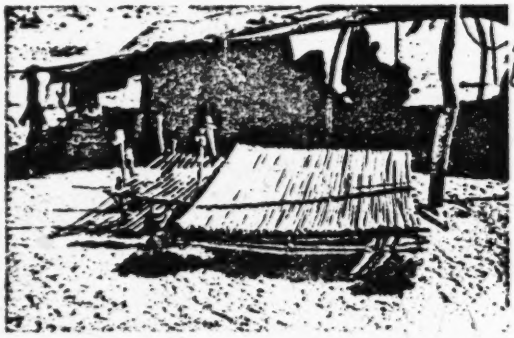
B.2.a.5. This tent, used in Ahaggar, is made up of the same structural elements as the above mentioned type, but the two arches are placed parallel to the longitudinal direction and at right angles to the two outer cross-bars. The Tuareg claim that this type is not a traditional structure. The arches, they say, should traditionally be placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction and not parallel to it. I have only seen one tent of this type, namely in the *Amenukal's* camp close to Abalessa. The two arches in this case were not made of tamarix roots but of slender palm-fronds lashed together with cords. The arches were about 1.10 m high and 0.90 m in width (cf. Fig. 273).

The following two tents used by the Ahaggar Tuareg are hybrid types which seem to be used mainly in the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe where I have seen a few:



342* 281 [516]

Fig. 273. Skin tent of the B.2.a.5. type. Ahaggar, the *Kel Rela* tribe.



[352] [824]

Fig. 274. A close-up of the above tent (Fig. 273). In the foreground are beds for a married couple and a child. Such beds made of palm leaves' ribs are rare among pastoral Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Kel Rela* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 B.2.a.6. The tent has one arch made of tamarix root, and this arch is placed parallel to the longitudinal direction at the back of the tent. A horizontal cross-bar (*areǧaraǧa*) rests with one end upon the top of the arch, while its other end is supported by a vertical forked pole at the front of the tent. At both sides of this cross-bar there is a cross-bar (*areǧaraǧa*) resting upon two forked sticks (*tiǧeǧewin*). This type is excellently depicted by Lhote (cf. Lhote 1947a, photos 24–26 p. 49 & 64; 1955, Fig. 23 p. 256).

B.2.a.7. The tent is identical with B.2.a.6 with the exception that there are two central horizontal cross-bars resting upon the top of the hind arch and upon two upright forked poles placed very close to each other in the front.

[361] B.2.a.8. This is a tent described and depicted by Barth from a Tuareg camp south of the Niger between the Hombori Mountains and the city of Bambara:— The sheet is suspended over three pairs of sticks of which the middle pair is much higher than the outer pairs. The middle pair of sticks is not of the same type in all tents, for the two high sticks in some tents are bent against each other and kept together by means of a very short piece of wood ("Querholz"). Judging from Barth's illustration of this tent it would seem as if the two middle sticks, united by a small piece of wood at their bent tops, form a high central arch. The skin tent, which contains two beds made from date palm-fronds, is apparently a very large one. It is provided with a mat of the type generally used for skin tents (Barth 1857–58, IV, p. 345 f.).

We conclude this description of arched skin tents by saying that these dwellings seem to be found within most Tuareg groups. Such tents are not so common nowadays as they were earlier. This is true of Ahaggar, where most Tuareg had arched skin tents until quite recently. Thus several informants about 50 or 60 years old told me that in their childhood most Ahaggar Tuareg lived in skin tents of this type.

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281
●352

Fig. 275. Skin tent of the B.2.b.1 type. In the foreground a bed (*ɛddabat*) resting upon four forked sticks. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Ireǧenaten* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



In literature there are tent descriptions which I have omitted in my survey of Tuareg tent structures, partly because the descriptions are unclear, and partly because they clearly indicate tents which are not erected according to any definite method (cf. Demoulin 1928, p. 159; Campbell 1928, p. 205; Bernard quoted by Laoust 1930, p. 225). 342*

Finally, I add that the sheet of skin is very commonly used for a kind of wind-screen among the Tuareg. Such wind-screens are of two types:— (1) The sheet is attached to three or four sticks buried in the ground. A wind-screen of this kind is depicted in Fig. 284a. It serves as a temporary shelter for visitors in a camp. (2) The sheet is supported by three or four sticks placed in one row with a long stick resting horizontally in their prongs. Such wind-screens are seen in Figs. 284 b-c. They are used by the members of a household in ordinary camps, and it is quite common to erect tents in this manner during seasons when rainfall is not expected. Indeed, many Ahaggar Tuareg use their skin tents only for a part of the year, for skin tents are not too well adapted to the burning hot desert climate. If possible, many Tuareg prefer to live in the shade of rocks and trees, and if efficient shade of this type is found the skin tents are generally not erected. But the Tuareg will then erect part of the wooden structure, namely the forked sticks carrying cross-bars, as these elements serve not only as supports of the sheet, but also for the suspension of skin bags and various domestic implements (cf. Fig. 106). [574] [182] [352]

Capot-Rey writes that the Tuareg skin tents are also less waterproof than mat tents (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 225), but this is not correct. During the rains, as we have seen, skin tents are preferred by many Tuareg who at other seasons live in mat tents, and we have also seen that many Ayr Tuareg will then cover their mat tents with skin. If skin tents were not well fitted for rain they would indeed be very badly adapted also to the Sudanese zone where they are widely found among the Tuareg. [114] [182]

There can be little doubt that the use of skin sheets is very old, for all over the world we find them used for portable dwellings among people at primitive subsistence levels. It is also substantiated by Feilberg that we have throughout the Near and Middle Easts isolated occurrences of skin tents, and that these seem to have been more common in these regions in the past. Feilberg mentions in particular the use of skin for tents among the Tuareg and among the Sluba of Central Arabia (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144). When Feilberg wrote his book on tent development in the Near and Middle East, a description of the structure of Sluba tents was not available. But later investigations have intimated that some skin tents of the Sluba do not seem to be structurally related to ordinary Tuareg skin tents, but rather constitute a kind of wind-screen (cf. Lundbæk 1962). I have mentioned above that the Ahaggar Tuareg also use their tent skins as wind-screens, but it is evident that structurally the normal skin tents in all Tuareg groups have nothing to do with wind-screens. 342* 171

It is possible that the use of skin for wind-screens is extremely old among the Tuareg, but there seem to be some evidence that plaited grass mats for covering the true tents are older. We have seen that among Tuareg who use mat tents (the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*), the inner layer of mats covering the dome-shaped top consists of *éwerwer* mats made of plant stems tied together, and it has also been mentioned that certain arched tents among the *Kel Dennek* and the Sudanese *Bélla* are covered exclusively with mats produced on this principle. According to Duveyrier mats of straw were formerly used for tent covering among the Northern Tuareg, and it is possible that the *afezu* mats, which seem to constitute the walls of all Tuareg skin tents, may be considered a survival from tents 342* 174

1: Lhote--66a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Plate XI

281
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855

The inside of a tent. The baggage is hung from the tent poles. Very young children play on the ground, where a thick layer of fine sand has been placed.

Kel Ahaggar women, especially the Imrad women, often ride on the backs of asses. One of them has just met two friends, with whom she is exchanging news on the maharists who have gone far away.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



– The curved pieces 342*

lashed together to form arches are manufactured by the Ayr women, or are imported from the south [462]
by the *Kel Geres* Tuareg when they visit Ayr at the end of the rains. The arches manufactured by the [824]
Ayr women are made from the very long horizontal roots (*iékéwt*) of the *afagay* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*). Pieces of root of suitable size are placed over an open fire for a while, and are thereupon bent [335]
into the desired curve which is secured by cords. When the root pieces thus treated become dry they will retain their curved form; the cords are then untied and the root pieces fashioned with a knife. However, wooden arches imported by the *Kel Geres* are used by many Ayr Tuareg who claim that these arches are superior to their own. They are said to be manufactured from boughs (or roots?) of a tree known as *tarmumiya*, which does not grow in Ayr but in the *Kel Geres* country.

(2) Parallel to the three arches there are two pairs of cross-bars supported by vertical sticks, a pair being placed at both sides of the arches to form the narrow sides of the dwelling. These cross-bars are termed *ingar* (sing. *éneger*). They are sometimes made by blacksmiths, and are then provided with [331]
various ornaments including a little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of the bar. In fairly large tents each cross-bar is supported by four vertical sticks, the two middle ones of which are generally forked, while the two outer sticks are somewhat higher and attached to the cross-bar with cords. All these vertical sticks, including the outer ones which have no prongs, are termed *tigettewin* (sing. *tégettewt*). In smaller tents there are only two or three sticks supporting the cross-bar. The vertical sticks used to support the cross-bars are normally very simple. Sticks of the very light *turza* tree (*Calotropis procera*) are preferred.

(3) Over this skeleton of arches and cross-bars supported by vertical sticks are placed a number of slender curved rods which are termed *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*). These rods are made from acacia roots, as described above, or are rods of the *tarmumiya* tree imported from the south. These rods form semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the tent. Each of these semi-arches consists of two identical rods fastened to the horizontal cross-bars at their thick end, while at their thin ends they are lashed together and fastened to the true arches. There is always a considerable number of these slender semi-arches, normally about ten.

The Ayr Tuareg use the following types of mats to cover the upper part of the dome-shaped 342*
structure:— *iwerweren* (sing. *éwerwer*), the mats made from plant stems tied to each other with leather 285
thread (cf. p. 350); *iafal* (sing. *éafel*), mats of an oval shape plaited from dum palm leaves; *asalemmas*, a long narrow piece of mat made from dum palm leaves. In addition there is the term *éreli* which designates the long narrow mat plaited from dum palm leaves surrounding the lower part of the tent structure. In very hot weather this mat is omitted so that currents of air may pass through the dwelling, while the tent is closed when it is cold, or during storms. A tent as that described has 342*
a dome-shaped or barrel-vaulted superstructure, the ground-plan being almost rectangular. A tent of normal size will measure about 3.00×4.50 m with a height of 1.80 to 1.90 m.

The mat tent is erected by one or two Tuareg women in the following way:— [462]

(1) The ground is cleared; (2) The large wooden bed (*tédabut*), which is used everywhere in the [352]
south, is placed upon the ground to facilitate measuring; (3) Two large pronged posts, which serve [353]
to carry woman's riding cushions and various large skin bags, are placed behind the bed and fixed into holes dug by means of some iron implement, e.g., the cooking tripod, the broad end of a lance,

[text continues on p. 353]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342
353

Fig. 276. The B.2.b.4 tent described in the text below. The central pair of vertical forked sticks with their cross-bar is seen to the right. Attached to the central cross-bar is a sword (*takuba*). At the bottom of the photograph to the right the upper parts of three elaborately carved wooden posts (*ihelan*, sing. *ehela*). The tent structure is similar to that depicted Fig. 277. From the *Kel Tahabanat* tribe, *Kel Ataram*, near Ayoru on the Niger.

*342 B.2.b.4. This is a type of tent which I saw among the *Western Iwillemmeden* west of Ayoru on the Niger. I had the opportunity to study its structure in the camp of the noble chief *Amder* of the *Kel Tahabanat* tribe, and I saw similar tents among *Bélla* and slaves of the same region. The tent was said to be in use among all pastoralists including the vassal tribes, and I saw no other type of portable dwellings. The structure of this tent is the following:—

(1) Three pairs of vertical forked sticks (sing. *tagettiwt*) are placed parallel to one another and at right angles to the longitudinal direction. The two outer pairs of sticks are somewhat lower than the middle pair.

(2) Three horizontal cross-bars (sing. *aragaragay*) rest in the prongs of the three pairs of vertical sticks at right angles to the longitudinal direction.

(3) Three semi-arches (sing. *ázeger*), each of them being made of two slender rods, are placed over the horizontal cross-bars at right angles.

(4) A long cord (*tayant*) running along the upper structure fastenes the horizontal cross-bars to the prongs of the vertical sticks and the semi-arches to the cross-bars.

(5) A number of poles placed in the ground outside the structure serve the attachment of the skin sheet, or a sheet of green canvas which is sometimes used as a substitute for skin.

513 No one has a bed except the aménokal, who owns one of the Hausa
[352 type; this model has also been adopted in a certain number /227/
177 of Kel Oui /Owey/ camps. (1) The man and woman each sleep on
643]

1. Contrary to what has been said, the bed is not Tuareg but Hausa. Its use is spread among the sedentary people of Aïr, Damergou, and Sokoto, and it is made by Hausa smiths.

his or her own side of the tent, the boys with their father and the girls with their mother.

854 There are no cradles for babies among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and young children are placed on a skin or on blankets. Sometimes a hemispheric wicker frame is put over them and covered with a cloth to cut off the light or protect them from sandstorms.

The Kel Aïr and the Tenguéréguif have little cradles which are suspended from the top of the tent.

• 354 Fire. -- In front of each tent there is a hearth, generally made of three stones. It is not intended for cooking purposes, but rather for warmth in the evening after the sun has gone down when all the people gather in the shelter of the asaber, which is unrolled in an arc in front of the tent. The flame warms up hearts and
[272 bodies and synthesizes family and friendship. Sometimes a container of water is placed on the three stones to heat in order to make tea.

343 The cooking fire is set apart, generally some three or four
354 meters from the tent, in the shelter of a little stone wall in order to protect it from the wind.

We have not been able to find any myth on the origin of fire
372 among the Tuareg. According to them it was created by God,
773 who gave it to man to cook food. Iblis (Satan) wanted to seize the secret of how it was made, and God punished him by creating

342 /88 cont./ It takes three or four asabers to furnish a tent, two on the inside filter the wind, two others encircle the space in front of the tent, forming a small court, assuring privacy and a space sheltered from the wind, where someone is always to be found.

When one enters a tent, one sees that the right side is always the man's domain and the left side the woman's; each arranges his personal effects in an orderly fashion that is always surprising to the European.

342 About 50 meters away or more, but always within hailing
361 distance, live the Negroes in an enclosure of dry branches called "afarra"; another enclosure next to it constitutes the kitchen.

A camp is made up of a number of tents of this type, /89/ with some distance between tents to preserve privacy.

During the dry season, when the search for pastures becomes compelling, the Tuareg are obliged to stop at a place near water, where the goats may find some meager pasturage. The black domestics then construct zéribas. They make a framework of forked branches, from two to 2.50 meters high, circular or almost so, with a diameter varying from three to five meters. Around and on this frame are attached tahlis (tiphas); the zériba then has an elegant appearance. If there are not enough tahlis, one gets along with other dry grasses, morakba, guettaf, etc.; the zériba then has a shabby appearance, but its merits as a dwelling are not lessened. In summer the zériba is much to be preferred to a tent, for it is much cooler.

The ground under the tent or zériba is always covered with
342 coarse sand from the wadi, which is frequently changed. A
356 hearth, consisting of four stones arranged in a square and imbedded in the ground, is used either to heat tea or to provide a little heat during winter evenings. Near the tents stakes
● 344 support the guerbas /waterskins/; one may also see the wood-
356 pile kept up by the Negroes and the big wooden mortar which
342

356
342 /89 cont. / awaits its ration of millet, but one never sees any
[391] disorder or rubbish. A camp may have been at a site for a few hours or for several months, but on the day of its departure there is never the least broken object left at the place; the Tuareg leave behind them neither domestic refuse nor any other mark of their presence.

342 The tent is occupied by the family in the most limited sense of the term. When a man marries he takes a tent and
[592] lives in it with his wife; children up to nine years of age stay with their parents, but after that they have their own tent.

In the agricultural centers the harratin lodge either in a zériba of tahli, made like that of the Tuareg, or in a house constructed with toubs or with stones held together with tin (clay). The house is covered with a coat of tin spread on a foundation of tahli supported by a framework of fersig or /90/ éthel branches; the roof is flat. The door generally opens toward the west, and there is a small opening to the east; this system protects the houses from the heat of the midday sun. Such a structure would be unhealthy in other climates; here it doesn't matter, the family lives outdoors. In winter everyone huddles together at night around a fire in the single room in order to keep as warm as possible, but all leave the house at sunrise. The floor of these houses is covered with fine gravel from the wadi, and this is changed fairly often. The vicinity of the hartani dwelling is much less clean than that of the Tuareg tent; ashes are scattered about and refuse dries in the sun.

000 Only Tamanrasset has houses used by Europeans. Toubs are always used to construct them, although recently atone plastered with tin has been tried for certain administration buildings. Up to now the lack of lime has hindered "hard" construction; attempts have been made to make lime from cipolin, but the cost per kilogram is nearly as high as for lime imported from Algiers.

412 Each mistress of a tent has a little
● 356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses, and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,
492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are
[462] left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving;
[565] only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in moving only if it is a long trip.

/230/

## Chapter 3

## Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding
262 peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea, bechena (Sorghum cernuum Host.), a kind of millet cultivated in the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during
[252 their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in
484] the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong cultural-
[101] ly to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

342 /88 cont./ It takes three or four asabers to furnish a tent, two on the inside filter the wind, two others encircle the space in front of the tent, forming a small court, assuring privacy and a space sheltered from the wind, where someone is always to be found.

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342 /89 cont. / awaits its ration of millet, but one never sees any
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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 245. Decorated house of Sudanese type at the market place of Agadez.

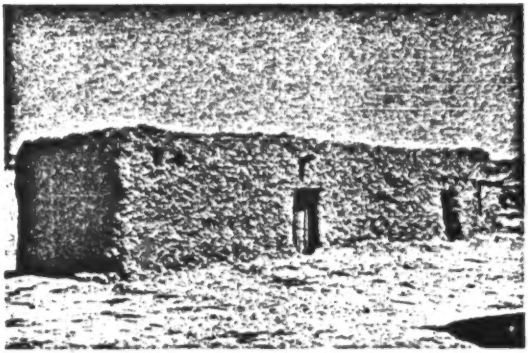

Fig. 246. House (*sayajami*) built of mud and stones which are covered by a mud plaster. Ayr, Awderas.

[356]

Fig. 247. House (*sayajami*) of the type depicted Fig. 246. The mud plaster is decaying and the stones are visible. Ayr, Awderas.

Plate IX

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Young Tuareg woman of noble class brushing her teeth with an irak stem. Notice behind her the mat called asaber used to surround the tent.

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Young Tuareg couple seated in the shelter of the asaber. Behind them is a household servant, a taklit of Sudanese origin.

362

furniture. These objects are not numerous and reflect the primitive life led by the Tuareg.

On the left side of the tent is generally found the goatskin water bag, hung on two wooden stakes placed in a V-shape. An old piece of cloth often covers it to protect it from the sun. The waterskin is often empty, for the Tuareg are not very farsighted. When there is water, they drink; when /229/ they are out of it, they stay there waiting a half day until the Ikłan get back from the well. [415 271]

Fig. 28.
Tent shovel.

[412]

[574]

When a traveler passes by, he is most generally assailed with demands for water, while he himself often hoped to find some in the camp.

In front of the door and close to all the tents is an enormous wooden mortar and its pestle, in which the servant girl crushes millet and dates. By searching a bit in the tent or in the shelter used as a kitchen, one may find two or three hemispheric wooden dishes destined to hold food and two or three conical bowls serving as drinking vessels. Hanging on one of the outer stakes of the tent are a wooden milking vessel, an esparto winnowing basket for sifting millet flour, serving at the same time as a dish cover, one or two little esparto mats which can serve the same purpose, and finally a few wooden spoons. Each mistress of a tent has a little 412 415 [357] [252] [285]

of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled, and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and sometimes tents.

The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact number of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them, and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used. These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg, have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia where they are called "onager."

The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihaggaren have kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage, and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

4: Benhazera--10 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

The negroes and negresses are well treated by the Tuareg, 563
who do not impose hard labor upon them. The negroes are pri- 567
marily busy with the flocks, which they drive to pasture and water. [233]
The negresses are concerned with the kitchen; they go after [357]
water and take care of the children.

[231
291
312]

Tuareg Watering their Sheep at the Tin Zaouaten Well

Negroes and negresses also gather the harvest of "toulloult" and "afezzou" grains, but this is more fun than work, for everyone takes part in it with them, in gay groups.

Many negroes eventually become the trusted men of their masters, who put them in charge of caravans or even of responsible missions. Thus, the amenokal Moussa had a trusted negro, Chernach, whom he regarded highly, for, he said, "I know that this man would have himself killed for me." Moreover, he gave him a gun, a spear, and a saber. /33/ These negroes are very happy and can consider themselves as freed.

564 We must acknowledge that the
[153] Enaden often have very open minds and are gifted with an intelligence higher than the average of the ma-
564 jority of the Tuareg. That is why
644 they have sometimes filled trusted posts with the principal chiefs, who have used them as emissaries or interpreters, indeed even as
[152] counselors.

Thus, at the time of the Hourst mission in 1896, Madidou, amenokal of the Ioullimmiden, officially delegated one of them to Gao to deal with the French officer.

564 The Enaden live either in camp
361 groups or in isolated tents or even individually; they are attached to a chief or a tribe.

564 Although they are foreign to the Tuareg race, they still enter into the components of the great family of veiled men, for the lives /176/ of the two groups are often intermingled. They speak Tamashek,
[198] more specifically a special dialect, tenet, which they alone understand and which is a bit secret in nature. This dialect is unknown in the Ahaggar.

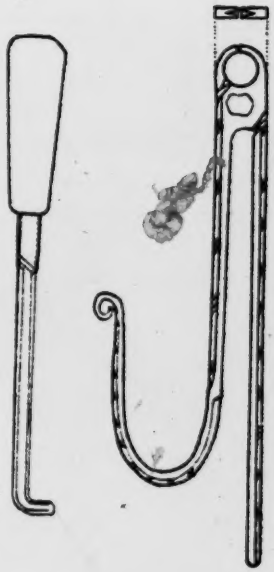

Fig. 17. Forceps for extracting teeth and instrument used for laying bare the roots.

[173] Legend attributes to them a common ancester named Tamamenet, and all of their fractions are supposed to have originated in Adrar des Iforas. Their true origin is as obscure as
[174] can be; we are apt to say that they are descendants of the Jews who formerly lived at the Touat, in the Tamentit oasis, from which they

439 cotton clothes, and Sudanese-made lithams /veils/. Then after
484 two months of rest spent in the Sudan, during which time the camels revel in the rich pasture, they all set out again for the Ahaggar, where they arrive from January on. February and March see them leave again for the Tidikelt or Touat. At that time they take only a few camels and exchange the excess manufactured articles which they collected in the Sudan and trade dried mutton for dates. This trip lasts an average of two months, and toward the end of April everyone is back in the Ahaggar, as a rule. There is a rest of a few weeks, and everyone thinks about the next salt campaign he is going to have to prepare.

Thus we see a complete caravan cycle which, by itself, could allow the Tuareg a normal life. But as we have said, it implies a
[461] state of peace which was previously the exception, as well as an amount of work to be furnished which is not always in harmony with the warlike tastes of the Imochar.

224 Hunting supplies some employment for the Tuareg, as does gathering. But both of them are only uncertain pastimes, without
221 much profit. The life of the Tuareg may thus be summed up in a few lines: basic animal husbandry doubled by brigandage raised to the state of an institution, and accessorily by some caravaneering. Now we shall see the domestic life of the Tuareg.

/221/

## Chapter 2

## Dwellings

361 The camp. -- The camp is the traditional Tuareg form of
621 habitation; it is connected with nomadism which always implies animal husbandry. It includes a certain number of people gathered together under a patriarchal authority by very close bonds of kinship.

312 The question of water is fundamental in the formation of the
361 camp, both for the choice of its location and for the number of tents
182 to be included.

Water is obviously a problem for all life; it plays a role in the location of our small European villages, but this role is still greater in desert countries where water is quite rare. The existence of watering places is not only necessary for human life but also for the life of the domestic animals.

137 To this primordial condition of the existence of a watering
182 place must be added the condition of pasture for the domestic
312 animals. Therefore, we see that the establishment of a camp among
361 the Ihaggaren is conditioned by two main factors whose character may vary in time, depending on the seasons and the abundance or scarcity of rain. But in the last analysis the pasture needs take precedence, for, generally speaking, pasture is even rarer than
137 water, since it can sometimes be completely lacking. This need
182 for pasture forces tribes to split up and camps to be dispersed in
361 order to exploit it rationally. The situation is such that there are
621 rarely more than five or six tents in each group. Only the amenokal's
643 camp may number as many as 15 or 20 tents, but this is quite exceptional, involving the question of prestige and social order at the same time. Indeed, the amenokal supports a numerous family, his caliphs, his servants, etc. But this grouping around the chief is quite artificial, and the flocks which the people own are not with them but are /222/ spread out in the mountains, kept by Imrad or servants.

361 The camp is always established rather far from the watering
312 places, for it is preferable to be closer to the pastures. It is often five or six kilometers from water. The animals go there to drink every two or three days, and the people use the occasion to get
482 their water supply, which will be carried in waterskins on their backs
492 or under the stomach of the asses. Tuareg, moreover, do not like
361 to settle near a watering place, for it is always a stopping point for
609 transients, and they avoid making their presence known to strangers.

361 When a state of war existed, concealment was a capital necessity
609 easy to understand. By atavism, it seems that they have taken the
[721] habit of always placing themselves in spots where they escape the investigation of indiscreet glances.

361 They set up their tents on valley terraces, and sometimes in a
[132] valley itself, if they do not have to fear the rains, which usually fall at the end of the summer.

221 Because of the need to seek out pastures, camps are continually
361 being moved. They stay from one to two weeks, depending on whether the grass has been revived by rains or whether it is dry. But these moves are never of any great distance, not exceeding seven or eight kilometers. If we take as an example the Dag Rali tribe which nomadizes in the western part of Koudia, we find the camps set up in the high mountain valleys, as high as 2,400 meters altitude, in summer. In winter, on the other hand, they settle on the slopes or in the low parts, seeking places sheltered from the wind. This, of course, is in a normal period of average pasture. But during the summer of 1940, following a long dry period, the Upper Koudia saw a great number of its watering places dry up, and vegetation was nonexistent, so to speak. Therefore, all the nomads took refuge in the low parts of the massif, in the Outoul, Eferer, and I-n-Amegel valleys where water was more abundant and where a trace of pasture still remained. At the beginning of September, the whole massif benefited from abundant rains. A week later, all the tents moved into the mountains in order to use the alpine pastures before winter and to save the lower valley grass for winter.

312 /223/ The watering places of Atakor are chiefly natural reservoirs (aguelmam) and springs flowing at ground level in the hollows of the valleys. In the middle part, there are mainly rédir (abankor), or little wells, dug less than one meter down in the soil to reach the water layer, which is often retained by rocky sills. These rédir are exhausted in time if rains do not come to renew the water accumulated in the sandy wadi bed. The lower part of the Ahaggar benefits from all the water trickling down from the high mountains

include a first subterranean part made of numerous wells of depths varying from two to four meters, linked together by a small canal serving as a water conductor; then comes a part on top of the ground in the form of a canal, first at the same level as the wadi, then at a slightly higher level. They empty into the distribution reservoirs (majem), which by secondary canals (seguia) carry water to the gardens to be irrigated.

These agricultural centers therefore extend along the wadi on both sides of its banks. The cultivators settle near their gardens and live in straw or reed huts or little clay houses.

There are five centers in the high mountains between 1, 500 and 1, 800 meters in altitude, but the majority are located between 1, 200 and 1, 500 meters. Some of them can be lower, such as Silet (730 meters) and I-n-Amegel (1, 030 meters).

Some are small date groves such as Silet and Tibeghîn, which have 10, 000 palm trees, Ideles, Tâhârt, and Ăbalessa, but because of its altitude, the Ahaggar does not seem to be very suitable for date growing. The instability of the harratin is also an obstacle to the development of arboriculture which demands continual care. Cultivators who can be here today and gone tomorrow would not be capable of interesting themselves in work from which they could not draw immediate profit. The country would lend itself, however, to rather large-scale cultivation of peaches, /246/ apricots, figs, and grapes. The little center of Tăzerouk has many peach trees, and the center at Tit produces a famous raisin.

The Ahaggar soil is of a high quality, owing part of its richness to elements of volcanic origin which make up a large proportion of the alluvial deposits. Furthermore, the climate favors agriculture so much that the natives obtain two or even three harvests a year.

In the medium altitude centers, they sow wheat and barley in December and harvest it in May. Barely finished with this, they sow millet which is harvested at the beginning of October. In between the natives also engage in kitchen gardening: carrots,

174 /250/ introduced before or after the Christian era, it is nonetheless true that the ancestors of the Tuareg must have introduced it.

182 At the present time, human life in the Sahara, which is already of little consequence, would be reduced to zero without
233 the camel. This is a fundamental fact which has been amply demonstrated and which it is useless to dwell on. Th. Monod, who dedicated one of his works "To the camel and the goat, the vehicle and the container, the two sole conquerors of the Sahara, " (1)

1. Méharées/ Meharis/.

has not only been literary and witty, he has put the truth in a few words. Without the camel, no relation would be possible between the oases, no relation between North Africa and intertropical Africa.

233 One may therefore easily understand that the animal plays a large part in the life of the Saharian Tuareg, and that the latter make a great effort to raise camels. They have always endeavored to own many camels, and at the present time their livestock has increased to more than 10, 000 head.

[132] Although the camel has adapted perfectly to the Saharian pastures and terrain, it is nonetheless true that the aridity is such
[492] that he has difficulty keeping in good condition, and that a slightly prolonged march has to be compensated for by a rest period lasting twice as long as the period during which he was tired out. That is
[361] why the Ihaggaren nomadize with their camels on the borders of the Sahara in the steppe where there are acacias and graminaceae.

Ahaggar breeding is very famous. It furnishes animals which
232 are resistant, very frugal eaters, capable of braving mountain rocks or marching for weeks on end over the granite regoliths of the Tanezrouft, something the Sudanese -bred camels could not do.

The Tuareg select the animals when they are very young, destining them either for saddle camels or for pack camels. The meharis are castrated and undergo special training. In speaking of

262 237 The ass is never eaten, and its skin is not used.

233 The horse. -- The horse is not a Saharian animal. In 1929 there were four horses in the Ahaggar belonging to the aménokal. [643 644] Today there are about twenty of them belonging to the members of his family or to the notables of his camp.

This is an expensive luxury, for these animals must be fed with [184 262] barley, and there is not enough barley for the people themselves. It tends to replace the camel for the Sudanese Tuareg.

/254/ The zebu. -- A few years ago the aménokal owned a [648 137] small herd of zebus which he had had sent from the Sudan. This animal is not raised in the Ahaggar proper, and it could not be, for lack of appropriate pasture.

[312 427] The zebus serve in the agricultural centers by drawing water. They are furnished to the tenant farmer by the proprietor of the land, and they are very poorly fed on hardship rations of hay and grass, or else they are put in rush pastures, which are generally plentiful in the agricultural centers.

[438] When the animal is tired, the owner exchanges him if that is at all possible. The privations which the zebus must undergo bring about their death in a relatively short span of time, and so in the Ahaggar it is a question of keeping them alive rather than raising them. In any case, they never follow the camps in their moves and never live near them.

361 136 When we talked about the camp, we told how the search for pasture directed its location.

233 361 Insofar as animal husbandry properly speaking is concerned, we observe that the small animals -- sheep, goats, and asses -- always stay in the Ahaggar and move with the camp.

As for camels, this is not the case; they are often put out to pasture far from the tents, watched only by a few shepherds. The majority are even kept in the Sudan 800 kilometers from their owners'

233 tents, where a few camps live permanently, filling the function of
361 shepherds for the people remaining in the Ahaggar.

At the same time, then, there is nomadism and transhumance. Definitions of the two kinds of life are as follows: there is nomadism when the tribe accompanies the moving livestock, and transhumance when the flocks are accompanied only by shepherds. And so we see that it is not possible to link the Tuareg to one category or the other, but that they engage in the two kinds of life, even in a mixed system in some instances. Quite often, in fact, the goats are pastured in the Ahaggar with a few shepherds, while the women stay in the mountains, and all the men are in the Sudan with the camels.

/255/ The migrations of these little herds of goats recall the moving of flocks which Vidal de la Blache has described as "mountain transhumance," that is, the camps move regularly from the summer pastures located on the peaks to the winter pastures in the
[132] plain. These moves cannot be as regular as they are in our country, in view of the irregularity of the rains.

It may thus be said that the Ahaggar Tuareg are small nomads by the short range of the moves of their camps, but that they are, on the other hand, great transhumants.

## Rules Concerning Passage and Nomadization With Flocks

423 The lands over which the tribes range are fixed by the amenokal
643 to whom the land appertains. The origin of the tioussé comes
651 partly from the pasture rights which he grants.

Each tribe is proprietor of its land, with full and exclusive
423 enjoyment of it. Others can come settle among the tribe only with
621 the authorization of the tribe's amrar, but the right of way, including the right to water flocks, is secured for everyone.

These rules may be modified in periods of great dryness or in periods following plentiful rains.

278 of trust. Every time they take a caravan down south, they purchase
[439] many drugs, either for their personal use or to resell in their country or at In-Salah.

164 There are not many diseases in the Ahaggar. The country is relatively healthy because of its very dry climate /261/ and the bracing action of the sun, which at the same time destroys microbic germs. Moreover, this is very fortunate, for with the small amount of hygiene practiced by the Tuareg it would be impossible to fight disease. It may also be true that this absence of hygiene stems from the fact that the Tuareg have not had to see the necessity of it.

[165 The Ahaggar people die of old age or of war wounds. Of course,
731] there are sometimes epidemics capable of doing damage, but they are rare because of the isolation of the camps. The great distances which separate one from the other are a natural defense against mass contagions. These epidemics always come through the medium
[361] of the caravaneers or the people who return from the Sudan, where they have stayed among sedentary people. We may mention small-pox, very common in the Sudan, which sometimes works great ravages in the tribes. Typhus, spread by lice, may decimate a whole tribe in a few days, and it is not uncommon among the Tuareg. But these two diseases are the exception when they are reported in
[751] the Ahaggar. When a man returning from the Sudan is stricken with one of them, his case is reported by messengers long before his arrival, and the sick man is systematically isolated.

753 The Tuareg under the circumstances recognize the state of contagion, but they do not see the causes of disease. According to
[771] them, it is caused by the action of bad genii. As good Moslems, they pretend not to believe in these genii, but in reality most of the talismans they wear on their persons are intended to protect them from these. To obtain them, they go to the marabouts or to men
[756] with a reputation for their knowledge of the occult sciences; these sorcerers are known as amekelléou.

177 In the last few years a number of notables, including the
492 aménokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the
643 Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them
133 to avoid rocks.

101 The Ihaggaren never travel on zebus and never use them for
492 transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

/321/

## Chapter 2

## War and Raiding

721 The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

182 When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those
221 present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were
● 361 most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to
721 spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

727 Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not
426 own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case
714

351 and are extended out in front to form a sheltered enclosure which is usually semicircular with the entrance opening in the middle. The little forecourt and the ground inside the tent as well are covered with clean sand or very fine gravel from the bed of a nearby stream. Tuareg camps are always very tidy and astonishingly clean.

Both in the forecourt and in the tent itself
562 the men's place is on the right as you enter
342 and the women's and children's on the left, which is the reverse of the arrangement customary among Arabs. It has often been said that the men's place is on the East, but this is simply because tents are almost always pitched facing south.

352 Household furniture and effects include sheepskins, or rugs obtained from the North
[439] by trade, leather bags of food and personal belongings, saddles, bridles and weapons,
[415] wooden bowls, funnels and spoons and maybe an earthenware cooking pot or two, a wooden
[412] mortar and pestle or perhaps two sets of different sizes, and a stone quern which may be either of the Neolithic saddle type or the small rotary model of the Roman Legions. Arms and food are stored in the men's half of the tent and equipment connected with food preparation in the women's half. A guerba full of water is hung from two long stakes just outside the forecourt. A brush
[343] windbreak built nearby shelters the outdoor kitchen, and another windbreak, some 50 to 100 yards away, shelters the family slaves.

Sometimes in the hottest months, and particularly when a camp remains stationary for a considerable length of time as it does in periods so dry that it is dangerous to move far from a permanent water supply, the tents may be stowed away and zeribas set up in their place. We recall that these are cubical or cylindrical structures made of reeds, long grass or palm fronds laid over a wooden framework measuring roughly 10 to 15 feet across and 8 to 10 feet high (fig. 37, *a*). The Amenokal's camp was installed in zeribas when the writer visited it in November, 1955, near the end of an unusually long period of drought.

● 361 Camps are always pitched in an inconspicuous spot and always on high ground except on very rare occasions when the sky is cloud-

361 less and there is no immediate fear of a sudden downpour that might produce flash floods. Each tent is occupied by a single family unit
592 and there are almost never more than 5 or 6
361 tents at the most in any normal camp. In the camp of the Amenokal there are usually 15
644 to 20 tents or even more, and one sees no flocks nearby, but this is a wholly artificial situation made possible only by the fact that the Amenokal and his personal retinue receive most of their supplies by truck from the nearest French Army post, and so can live in a way that would be impossible in the Ahaggar under anything approaching normal conditions.

**Clothing, Cosmetics and Cleanliness.** In the old
291 days the Tuareg used to wear leather shirts that reached below the knee and were sometimes elaborately decorated with fringe. Monod (1947, p. 47) recalls that Herodotus (IV, 189) described Libyan women as wearing fringed garments of red leather some 2,500 years ago, and he adds that some Tuareg women of the Niger Bend country still do so. Lyon (1821, p. 110 and plates facing pp. 110 and 113) tells us that leather shirts were worn by many of the Tuareg who visited Mourzouk while he was there in 1819, but Duveyrier (1864, p. 406) found that they were already becoming scarce only 40 years later. The present writer has seen no leather clothing worn by anyone in the Ahaggar, although Benhazera (1908, p. 37) says that poor folk wore leather clothes there 50 years ago while Reygasse (1950, p. 97) states that leather shirts are still worn by some of the slaves and Capot-Rey (1953, p. 226) adds that they are often worn by smiths.

Another once characteristic article of Tuareg dress that has now gone largely out of use was the high, conical fezlike cap, made of soft red felt and worn sticking up through the middle of the turban, that Lyon (1821) saw at Mourzouk. Barth (1857a, vol. 1, p. 424, footnote) says that caps of this kind were "obnoxious to the" Tuareg "tribes of pure blood" in 1850 but this is probably either an error or a matter of local eccentricity, for they were still standard equipment in Duveyrier's time. They disappeared almost completely from the Ahaggar, however, in the course of the next 50 years or less although

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 229]



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133

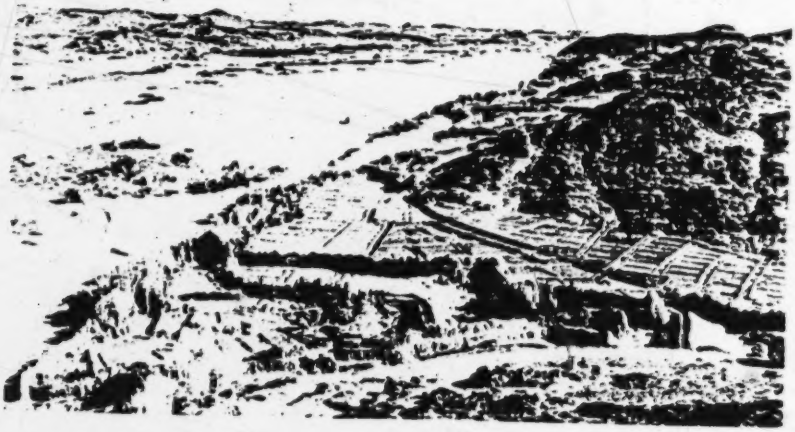

Fig. 14. Gardens at In Amguel, in the Ahaggar (80 odd miles north of Tamanrasset). Here we see the typical disposition of gardens in the agricultural centers of the central Sahara. A checkerboard of square garden plots, separated and at the same time connected by little irrigation ditches, is located just above the dry bed of an occasionally torrential stream, and just below the village, which is perched high enough above it to be safe from freshets and flash floods. (Photograph by Chasseloup-Laubat, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

[361]

3: Holiday J-5 (ca.1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



# THE TUAREG OF THE AHAGGAR

*by*

GEOFFREY HOLIDAY

131 The Ahaggar region of the Sahara desert, with its administrative headquarters at Tamanrasset (Fort Laperrine) provides an almost exact geographical centre for the territory inhabited by the Tuareg; the nomadic tribes of the "blue veil". At the northernmost point is In Salah and to the south, Agadez. Eastward there is Djanet in the Tassili des Ajjer and the western boundary is formed, perhaps, by the line of the Tanezrouft. [361] Within this area the Tuareg wander from oasis to oasis or, in the case of a few, dwell peaceably in the shadow of the French towns and outposts that mainly owe their location to the existence of water tempered by administrative and strategic factors.

177 186 The Tuareg would appear, at first glance, to be one of the few remaining peoples of the world possessing a culture of their own that is entirely free of influences, direct or indirect. Some among the tribes still believe that the desert is the world, inhabited admittedly by many different kinds of people, but the world nevertheless. This is the extreme view, obviously not shared by those who have travelled on the great caravan routes as far south as Kano or to Timbucktu and the Niger. It may not be the view of [648] the younger generations who, to an increasing extent, are benefiting by the primary education facilities inaugurated by the French administrators; particularly in Algeria where the Ahaggar region lies at the foot of the Territoires du Sud: a knowledge of the French language does not necessarily bring about a lessening of superstitions or a widening of perspectives. One is always faced with the parallel of the farmer (who should have known better) and the ostrich: 'There ain't no such animal!' Nevertheless, from this aspect the influences are so few as to be negligible and are more likely to come from the varied genre of the official and semi-official indigenous population gathered together under the Tricolour at the towns and outposts of the region than from direct contact with the European. The Tuareg are almost the exception that proves the rule of man's gregariousness, though, naturally enough, they are gregarious in that they possess very strong tribal instincts.

291 751 As a tribe the Tuareg have very marked characteristics that immediately set them aside from any other social group in what may be termed loosely north Africa. To begin with, the men are seldom seen unveiled: the women, who can be very beautiful, never cover their faces although, often they will wear a head covering, presumably as protection against sun and sand. The men, however, do not wear the veil solely as protection against the elements. Discounting those few who have become soldiers under the French flag, a Tuareg man—or, more properly, a Targui—assumes the veil on approaching manhood and wears it continuously, even for eating and drinking. He unveils to no one, not even in the sanctuary of his tent alone, let alone in the presence of his wife. This veil wound low round his forehead and across the bridge of his nose covers the mouth, ears and nostrils. Since the other openings of his body are concealed by his robes he has complete protection against evil spirits entering and taking control—and this is the key to why the veil is worn. To protect his eyesight against the Evil One amulets are worn from a chain round the neck and doubtless also such amulets provide a measure of safety in battle.

174 The origins of the Tuareg tribe are particularly interesting in that they have as yet to be definitely established. Their antecedents go back anything between 600 and a 1,000 years and it is supposed that they are an offshoot of the Berber Arabs, driven into the desert during one of the many invasions of the Tel, the fertile coastal belts of Algeria and Morocco, that continued up to the 13th century when the Moors became really established on the Barbary coast. Likewise, the Berbers with their light skins and blue

4: Benhazera--5 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The ahal takes place very often. All that is needed is for 533
a group of men and women to be gathered together in a camp. 584
Often a man comes from a considerable distance to court the 832
girl of his choice. When the year is good, that is to say, when [361]
the rains have brought the pastures to life and the camels are
giving much milk, several camps are set up close to each other,
and the ahal begins right after sunset.

The men of the camps gather with those who have come
especially because some woman attracts them. The women
bring their "imz'aden" violins. All those attend the ahal who [602]
are not afraid to be in the presence of one of their relatives
to whom they owe respect, such as a father, uncle, older
brother, etc. Young girls, married women, divorcées or widows,
all attend the ahal.

[361]

Dautheville

Tuareg Troup at Amr'a (Black Tifedest)

Gallantry, "asri" ⵙⵔⵉ , is required, and jealousy [577]
strictly prohibited. Besides, this latter feeling is unknown [626]
among the Tuareg, and if one of them should think of show-
ing it, he would be booed and everyone would make fun of
him.

When a Tuareg arrives at the ahal near a woman whom
he wishes to court, he approaches her with his veil carefully
lowered and does not greet her with the usual "essalamou r'

4: Benhazera--23 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

To feed young camels and lambs, they use a kind of 231
nursing bottle of wood shaped like a cup equipped with a tube. 415
This utensil is called "ar'alala" .

For dishes, one finds in the tent wooden bowls of all sizes, 415
called "akous" , plural "ikassen" ,
large wooden dishes, "tar'elalt" , and smaller dishes
used as plates and called "tar'ehout" , plural
"tireha" . To ladle milk or gruel, the Tuareg use
a large ladle, "temoulat" , plural "timoulatin"

[361]

Dautheville

Tuareg Camp at Tazerouk

, and for eating they have ordinary wooden spoons
called "tesoukalt" , plural "tsoukaline" .

To separate the grains of "toulloult" and "afezzou" from 252
their hulls, they use small trays of afezzou called "tissiit" 415
, plural "tissiin" .

They also use a great deal the wooden mortar, "akabar" 415
, with its pestle, "ihar'en" .

Finally, they have hide sacks to hold dates or grains, which 281
they call "adjera" , plural "idjerouen" 415

All the above utensils are made of the wood of the 415
"teborak" (Balanites aegyptiaca, Simaroubaceae) and of the 824
abser', or "tamat, " (Acacia arabica).

Many legends circulate about blacksmiths. They say that 326
because they work with iron and fire, they will go into the fire 565
of hell. They are scorned, first because they devote themselves
to a manual craft, a disgrace in the eyes of a Tuareg, and
secondly because it is said that they are of Negro origin. It is
also claimed that they were pagans and that their conversion
to Islamism is not sincere. They are also taken for sorcerers. [754]
The sheik Ben Djellas (see the Appendix /not translated/) says
of them: "Blacksmiths hate God and his Prophet, and they
betray God and his Prophet." Their ancestor was called
Tamamenet.

The blacksmith does not belong to any tribe. He goes
where he pleases, wherever he finds work. Sometimes he goes
to war, and he is said to fight well, but a noble Tuareg will not
cross swords with him.

In the Ahaggar a blacksmith is called "mr'allem," variation 326
of the Arab "maâlem." However, there is a word in Tamashek [192]
for him, "inedh," plural "inedhane," but it is not used. /73/

At Tamanrasset I was shown many ancient graves (of the [764]
"chouchat" shape) which, it seems, were the burial places of
a tribe of blacksmiths said to have been massacred and died of
starvation a very long time ago.

The gardens of the Ahaggar "ar'erems" are worked by the 241
Harratine of the Touat and the Tidilkelt, who bring their tools 312
with them. It is they also who dig the "foggaras," or covered 565
wells, and all the tools that they use come from the Saharan Oases.

## Chapter XII

## Agriculture. Ar'erems

While in all of the Ahnet no trace of agriculture is to be 241
found, however small, because of the scarcity of wells, whose 361
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361

output is only enough to water the flocks, in the Ahaggar, on the contrary, a mountainous country where there is some water everywhere, a number of small villages called "ar'erem" ⵄⵔⵉⵎ, plural "ir'ermane" ⵉⵄⵔⵉⵎⴰⵏ, have been built.

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Since the Tuareg, nobles or imr'ad, dislike all manual work, these villages could not have been built without the indispensible help of the Harratine of the Touat and the Tidikelt, whom the Tuareg call "Izeggar'en" ⵉⵣⵖⵔⵄⵉⵏ, meaning "mulattoes." Everything was made by the latter: the wells, /74/ "tounine," which are used for irrigation, as at Tazerouk; the "foggaras," or covered wells, "ifelane," and their irrigation canals as at Abalessa, Tit, and Tamanrasset; the fitting up of springs, as at Tadjemout. The Harratine made the gardens and became khammes of the Tuareg, landowners. They settled in these villages and there built huts of "diss" (Imperata cylindrica) or of "berdi" (Typha angustifolia) and little houses of baked earth.

[342
824]

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The Harratine grow wheat, barley, and bechna in these gardens. These are the three essential crops, to which they add some vegetables: onions, kabouyas, or gourds, watermelons, and "guerroum" (a kind of long melon which is eaten green, like a cucumber, before it is ripe). Finally, at Tit they /75/ have planted some fine fig trees and a vine which yields a grape that seems delicious at this latitude. Similarly, at Abalessa, there are some vine slips and a fine palm.

Ideles (Koudia)

The gardens, or rather the fields, are enclosed by a hedge to prevent the depredations of the camels that graze free at night. But there are some that do not have this protective barrier, and the Harratine are forced to stand guard at night, turn, and turn about, lighting fires to drive the camels away from the crops.

edible, and considering also that there is a very fine palm at 245
Abalessa (which could become a splendid oasis since there is
no lack of water), one may ask if the creation of an oasis of
palms in the Ahaggar might not be tried with success. But the [438]
Ahl Azzi and all the inhabitants of the Tidikelt, who live
entirely on the sale of their dates to the Tuareg, have persuaded

[361]

Haratine Gourbi at Ideles
(Koudia)

the latter to the contrary, that the climate of their country is
not suited to growing palms. Besides, the Ahaggar do not in [185]
the least wish to undertake plantations from which one could
expect no profit for several years, and they prefer to stay with
growing wheat, barley, and bechna, which pay at once.

The Amenokal Moussa ag Amastane, realizing that the era 643
of raids will soon be ended forever, sees that it will be necessary 185
to demand from the soil the means of subsistence which raids 176
formerly procured. So he has announced his intention of having
a foggara dug at "Endid" and of having gardens made there,
and his example will very probably be followed. This is an
undertaking which will certainly be encouraged and supported,
and which shows the slow evolution which is beginning to take
place among the Tuareg, in the best interests of peace and
civilization.

5:Nicolaisen E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



104 212

| Tuareg Letters (*Tifinagh*) | Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters | | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| ⋮ | r | غ | Prononcunced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in literature. |
| ⊙ | s | س | |
| + | t | ت | |
| ⋿ | ṭ | ط | Emphatic |
| ⋇ | z | ز | |
| # | ẓ | | Emphatic |

128 For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that of the maps edited by Institut Géographique National. The pronunciation of vowels is not indicated. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels [212] with a dot, which may stand for any vowel.

*Pastoral Ecology in Ahaggar and Air.*

[361] The Tuareg of the true desert country have their camps in or close to mountain [131] massifs of which the more important are Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. Geographically these two regions have many traits in common. In Ahaggar, which rises to 132 3000 metres above sea level, the annual precipitation according to official statistics is between 20 mm and 40 mm. These figures are extremely low, but more characteristic of the desert country is the irregularity of the rainfalls. In some years there may fall no rain at all, while in others precipitation is much bigger than appears from the figures above. Several dry years may follow each other alternating with periods of abundant rainfall. According to investigations by Dubiéf four years out of ten are so dry that rainfall is of no importance for the regeneration of pastures (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23). Owing to the scarcity and the fluctuations of precipitation 137 in Ahaggar a persistent vegetation cannot generally exist outside river valleys and depressions which are flooded during heavy rain. In the valleys perennial plants comprise not only grasses and herbs but also tall trees among which tamarisk and acacia are prominent. In dry years the perennial plants have little value as fodder 233 for the domestic animals of the Tuareg. A great many goats may then die from 221 hunger, and to avoid such a disaster some Tuareg take their flocks to the plains of Tamesna or to the Adrar-n-Iforas Mountains where rain is normally more plentiful and grazing better than in Ahaggar. However, even in dry years the majority of Ahaggar Tuareg will remain in their native country with their goat-flocks. For although they run the risk of losing a great many goats during a drought in Ahaggar

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 250. 614 [127]

A clan is generally termed *taousit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan-membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg. [162] [196] [611]

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 13). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g., 621 596 [342]

1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season *(akasa)* and in the beginning of the following dry season *(rarat)* several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups. 221 361 621 [173]

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occured also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin – ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:– 582 614 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 13 |
| No blood-relationship between husband and wife | 8 |
| Marriages total | 38 |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:– 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 8 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan 614
and eight in the three sub-clans of the Agouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the
sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up in [361]
minor camps of 2–7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family 621
which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals 476
are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big [596]
camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps [422]
consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never [613]
correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or 622
section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative
of the section in relation to the clan chief *(Amyar)*. These khalifas are not neces- [614]
sarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilineal as it is for clan chiefs.

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8–9), but the [184]
rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between [601]
cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in 602
Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most clans.

[Text continues on p. 108]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



621
476
361
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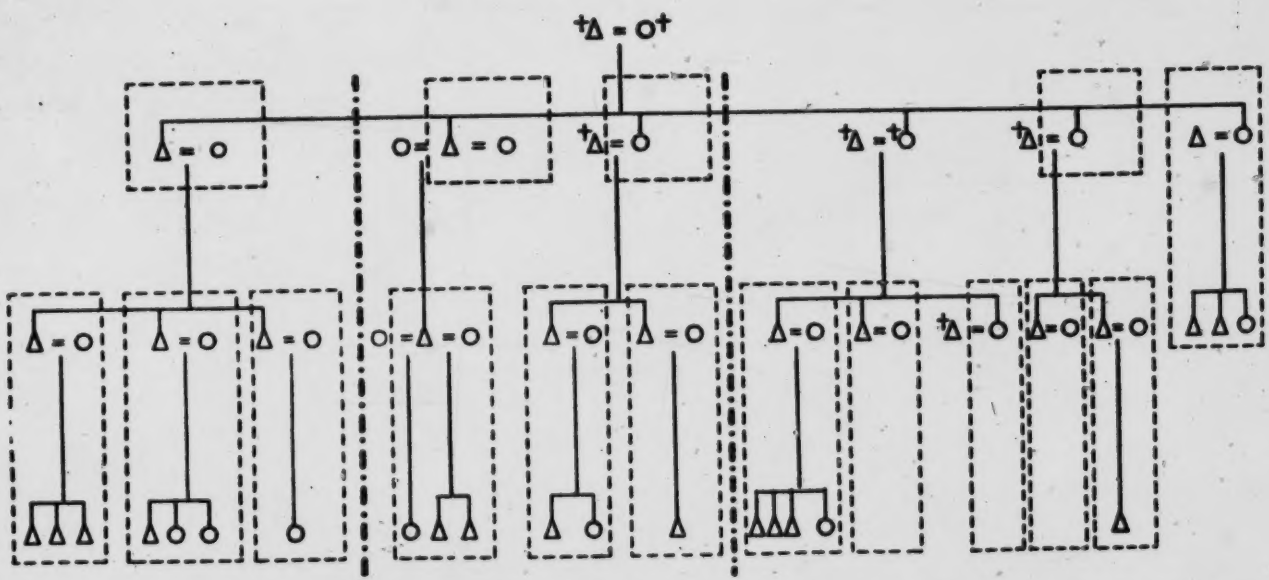

Fig. 11.–The section camp of the Kel Azernan (the Isandan sub-clan of the Agouh-en-Tebele clan). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. – The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated fig. 10. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Air whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

241 /77/ or 1, 800 kilograms of grain to divide 63 times during
621 365 days, giving scarcely 100 grams a day per person, to which we may add three or four meals of meat per year.

"This year a green louse menaces the grain harvest; in summer a sort of 'mosquito' attacks the millet."

To complete these observations, one must add to the food listed for the harratin the very sweet tea they drink whenever they can, and it must be noted that this year 1949 was particularly bad.

If the wheat, set amid the arid mountains, gives an air of opulence to the village, the cultivator well knows that the production will be insufficient and that the fifth part of it coming to him is already pledged to Mozabite merchants to pay for the different purchases of the year. What to do? Go on farming, for such is life. This stubborn work to coax a little wheat from a hostile soil is most touching and merits a better success; but it would be necessary to educate these Negroes, and that is another story.

[361] Certain of these centers are temporary; the harratin abandon them when the soil is exhausted or when the water is no longer sufficient for irrigation; others are always occupied and under cultivation. The harratin merely cultivate smaller areas during dry years. In the permanent centers, the gardens have fruit trees.

In the appendix is the list of the principal agricultural centers of the Ahaggar.

## Animal Raising

233 A land of nomads, the Ahaggar is a region of extensive animal raising. The pastures grow according to the chance of rainfall, and the Tuareg use them with due regard to the growth of the grass. The irregularity of the annual rains obliges the Kel Ahaggar to drive the majority of their camel herd to Sudanese territory, so that about 7, 500 camels graze

342 /88 cont./ It takes three or four asabers to furnish a tent, two on the inside filter the wind, two others encircle the space in front of the tent, forming a small court, assuring privacy and a space sheltered from the wind, where someone is always to be found.

When one enters a tent, one sees that the right side is always the man's domain and the left side the woman's; each arranges his personal effects in an orderly fashion that is always surprising to the European.

342 About 50 meters away or more, but always within hailing distance, live the Negroes in an enclosure of dry branches
●361 called "afarra"; another enclosure next to it constitutes the kitchen.

A camp is made up of a number of tents of this type, /89/ with some distance between tents to preserve privacy.

During the dry season, when the search for pastures becomes compelling, the Tuareg are obliged to stop at a place near water, where the goats may find some meager pasturage. The black domestics then construct zéribas. They make a framework of forked branches, from two to 2.50 meters high, circular or almost so, with a diameter varying from three to five meters. Around and on this frame are attached tahlis (tiphas); the zériba then has an elegant appearance. If there are not enough tahlis, one gets along with other dry grasses, morakba, guettaf, etc.; the zériba then has a shabby appearance, but its merits as a dwelling are not lessened. In summer the zériba is much to be preferred to a tent, for it is much cooler.

The ground under the tent or zériba is always covered with
342 coarse sand from the wadi, which is frequently changed. A
356 hearth, consisting of four stones arranged in a square and imbedded in the ground, is used either to heat tea or to provide a little heat during winter evenings. Near the tents stakes
354 support the guerbas /waterskins/; one may also see the wood-
356 pile kept up by the Negroes and the big wooden mortar which
342

/90 cont./ The thickness of the walls varies from one to three toubs, or from 30 to 90 centimeters. The grave problem is that of the roof, which is made in the local style with a coat of tin over a bed of tahlis or reeds; the framework is made from fersig and éthel branches, with an average length of from two to 2.50 meters. In order to obtain a big enough room, the ends of these branches must be rested on a large log or on a semicircular arch made with toub. It is not possible, therefore, to make rooms more than four meters wide because of the length limitations of the logs or of the vault's span; the room may be made as long as desired by stringing together the units from two to 2.50 meters wide.

Some administration houses have iron beams, which permits the construction of wider rooms and avoids a grave annoyance, that of finding that a beam has been attacked by termites. In order to discourage termites, the frame is covered with drainage oil.

/91/ The inside plastering consists of black tin covered with a layer of white tin or, preferably, with lime, which sticks better. The outside plaster is red tin smoothed with the trowel or grooved vertically by the mason's fingers, which gives a pleasing effect. This red color gives Tamanrasset its particular look. Very often a small flowering garden brightens a house. The houses of Europeans have several rooms, a kitchen, a court, and often a small vegetable garden; they are in general smartly kept up.

## Migrations

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166

The Tuareg only change their camps to find other pastures for the herds; when food for the animals becomes scarce within a radius of two to three hours' from camp, the head of the tent or subgroup, in agreement with the other members of the family, chooses a new site with good pasturage and, if possible, relatively near a water point. The imrad tribes make these

361
166

/91 cont./ changes only within the bounds of their territory. In order to use pastures on the lands of a neighboring tribe, permission must be obtained from that tribe's amrar, and in addition a fee must be paid, which may be as much as two or three goats. Only the nobles move at will in the whole country.

We have already seen that the female camels are sent to Tamesna in a dry year, and that they stay there until a rainy year gives the Ahaggar desirable pastures. There then remain in the Ahaggar only a few male camels and all the goats, which accentuates the region's desert character. In these dry years the men go back and forth between the Ahaggar and the camel herds, sometimes taking Negroes with them, sometimes young adolescents. The women stay in the camps. A change of tent site is carefully planned, because of the scarcity of water points. /92/ It is not unusual to see a camp remain nearly a year at a site which is not too unfavorable.

During wet years, there are abundant pastures practically everywhere in the Ahaggar, water flows in the wadis, the female camels produce a lot of milk; one would think that the Tuareg then would sojourn long in the same place -- but no, quite the contrary, the camps are constantly moving.

Tuareg custom holds that when the pastures are just beginning to grow, the camp must not remain too long in the same place; this is a wise measure which permits plants to flower and bear seed, but putting that reason aside, there is no rational explanation of that continual shifting of tents in a country covered with the best pastures. Is there here a manifestation of the nomadic spirit? A careful psychological study would have to be made in order to understand the reasons behind these moves, which have no apparent practical purpose and which the Tuareg themselves are unable to justify.

Yet moving a camp is no joke. Dismantling the tents is easily and rapidly enough done by the women, but looking for the donkeys, the loading, the packing of the objects constitutes a job which to a European seems enough to drive one crazy; thought must also be given to milking the animals,

361 /92 cont./ to the departure of the herds, to the means of
166 moving the old people and babies. The camp is hardly ready to move before nine in the morning, although the work has been in progress since sunrise. About three in the afternoon the caravan halts for the night; the animals must then be unloaded, the asabers must be put up, the meals prepared, the animals milked; and the next day everything begins over again.

There is one regular annual migration; when the wheat
166 and barley ripen in the gardens, it is April, and all the caravans
221 returned from the Sudan have stored their millet in silos --
361 then nearly all camps head for the agricultural centers. The goats are left in the desert in the care of the Negroes. Each little agricultural center /93/ then sees a gathering of the Tuareg, who come to supervise the harvest and live at the expense of the khammès, according to the provisions of the agricultural contract. This is a joyous period, and tendi and ilougan are held every day.

In connection with these migrations, it must be noted that the Tuareg do not act exactly according to the necessities of the climate: a dry period should logically lead to an exodus by the tribes toward Sudanese territory, where the herds would be better fed in virtually permanent pastures, and yet the tents and goats stay in the Ahaggar. Political reasons do not suffice to explain this contradiction between custom and the obligations of the climate. Perhaps this custom may be seen as the effect of long habit reinforced by sentimental factors. It is certain that away from the Ahaggar and their own territories of nomadization, the Tuareg are ill at ease; they show their delight on returning to their mountains. There is a saying that the Tuareg are great travelers but not great nomads; the essential reason for this remark is certainly the profound attachment they manifest for their soil, which seems incompatible with the nomad mentality.

361 /93 cont./ To sum up the migrations of the Kel Ahaggar,
166 let us say that they extend in a radius of about 100 kilometers,
221 within the tribal lands, but that the men may lead the herds, according to the times, toward pastures 1, 000 kilometers from the family camp, and that an annual series of caravans sees them cover 15° of latitude.

The harratin cultivators are only sedentary on occasion; each year there is a large human movement from one agricultural center to another. There are three reasons for this: the Tuareg, owners of the soil, are no longer able to furnish the hartani with enough seed or to fulfill the agricultural contract; water bwgins to be lacking in a center, or digging foggaras becomes impossible; lastly, the exhausted land needs rest. It is thus that, from one year to the next, an important, well-cultivated center may become /94/ insignificant and even deserted. It appears to be impossible to establish a cycle for these agricultural migrations.

## Tuareg Furnishings

352 Lightness and flexibility are the two essential qualities of
492 Tuareg furnishings. All of these objects must be transported on the backs of animals; weight, therefore, is the principal enemy; moreover, it is easier for the animals to carry loads capable of molding themselves against the animals' bodies.
415 Thus we find a whole assortment of sacks, chiefly leather ones, in the Tuareg equipment.

These sacks are tanned in such a way as to keep the leather very flexible; but the process employed is suitable only for extremely dry climates: transported to France, the Tuareg leathers seem to come alive again, they swell with humidity, then give off a disagreeable odor, and finally become unusable.

415 All of these sacks are decorated. Some are colored and
531 bear designs put on with dye or are decorated with tinted

301 /183 cont./ Tisabatin: The tisabatin are ear pendants, simple rings of silver whose diameter is about ten centimeters; two tisabatin weigh 120 grams.

Teraout: large silver triangle worn on the chest; the hidden side is made of iron.

Ahbedj (plural: ihebdjen): The women always wear two. They are bracelets, the most popular type of which has the form of a simple ring with an opening. The two ends are polyhedral and are decorated with geometrical designs.

Tissegouar: silver pendants for the temples.

The Tuareg do not use gold; silver alone is used to make jewelry and the amulet cases called teraout.

The men wear smaller rings than the women.

/185/ VII

## List of Agricultural Centers

103 Abalessa (altitude: 850 meters).

361 This was the largest agricultural center before our arrival in the Ahaggar; since then, Tamanrasset has surpassed Abalessa..

621

Abalessa is located 100 kilometers west of Tamanrasset in the Ibarras wadi at the confluence of the Abalessa wadi, which receives the waters of the Tit, Outoul, Tiffert, and Iglène wadis.

The population consists of more than a thousand harratin.

The cultivable surface is 150 hectares during favorable years; generally, the crops cover 80 hectares.

The owners of the gardens are some Kel Rela, Taïtok, Dag Rali, and Iklan Taoussit.

There are 11 foggara, the longest and deepest in the Ahaggar; some reach six kilometers in length, and the head wells are eight to ten meters deep.

103 /185 cont./ Approximately 300 palms grow freely or
361 nearly so; almost all have grown from nuts, and half are
621 dokkar (males)

Abalessa has a bordj /a small fort or solidly constructed house/ and an infirmary.

The tumulus of Tin-Hinan is located two kilometers from the bordj in the Tiffert wadi.

Centers of the Tiffert wadi.

Tounin Akourin.

A small center seven kilometers upstream from Abalessa. Two foggara and a tanout.

/186/ The amenokal has his permanent camp near gardens that he owns.

Tiffert Foulani.

Five kilometers upstream from Abalessa. Three foggara. There are about 30 palms. An active center, it is owned by the local harratin. Here is the residence of Si Ahmed Foulani, a well-known taleb /scribe/, who plays the role of cadi for the Tuareg.

Tiffert Tahtani.

Three kilometers upstream from Abalessa. Three foggara. Active and permanent center. Small village constructed of toub, overlooking some 40 palms.

Tin-Tazarouk.

One kilometer from Abalessa on the trail to Silet. One foggara. Zériba. Large quantity of diss (a large grass).

Centers of the Outoul wadi.

Outoul.

A long-abandoned center which is being revived; located between the old and new trails to In-Salah, 20 kilometers from Tamanrasset. Five foggara, two of them upstream. Several fruit trees.

Tahart.

Eighteen kilometers downstream from Outoul. Three foggara and one tanout. Owners: Taïtok and Tédjéhé n'Néfi.

103 /186 cont. / About 100 palms, numerous fig trees and
361 vines. A tiggert with abundant tahli. Very picturesque site.
621 Assileskine (altitude: 960 meters).

Center located six kilometers downstream from Tahart. Often abandoned. Owners: Ta'ltok. Three foggara, about 30 residents. Vines and several young palms. Rock drawings near the zéribas.

Ennedid (altitude: 914 meters).

Four kilometers downstream from Assileskine in a gorge at the confluence of the Outoul wadi. About 60 residents, nearly 100 palsm. Owners: Kel Rela, Dag Rali, and Iklan Taoussit. Very pretty site.

/187/ Centers of the Tit wadi.

Tit (altitude: 1, 127 meters).

Located in the Tit wadi, 50 kilometers from Tamanrasset. Fairly important center, more than 100 residents, houses of toub and zeribas. About 30 palms, numerous fig trees, and enormous vines. At this time, four foggara. Very important site for rock drawings.

Tin-Emensar.

Ten kilometers downstream from Tit. Abandoned center.

Dar Mouli.

Three kilometers downstream from Tin-Emensar, a small garden is cultivated. Site of an annual celebration where the Tuareg gather for the ziara of Moulay Abderrahmane.

Centers of the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tamanrasset (altitude: 1, 470 meters).

Fort Laperrine, administrative headquarters of the Ahaggar.

The military bordj was constructed in 1919 and used in 1920 after the abandoning of Tarahouaout.

In 1920, Tamanrasset had 40 residents. It was a small, unimportant center with three foggara; a few rare éthel and fersig lined the wadi.

103 /187 cont. / The French occupation created out of nothing
●361 the built-up area which became a road center after the
621 creation of automobile roads from Tamanrasset toward In-Salah and Algiers;

from Tamanrasset toward Agadès and Fort Lamy;

from Tamanrasset toward Tin-Zaouaten and Gao.

Secondary roads of local or tourist interest were later opened:

from Tamanrasset to Djanet by way of Idelès and Serouanout;

from Tamanrasset to Idelès by way of Tarahouaout, Tahifet;

from Tamanrasset to In-Azaoua (not completed);

from Tamanrasset to the Asekrem massif by way of the Illamane peak (tourist);

from Tamanrasset to the Asekrem massif by way of the
[491] Imalaoulaouen guelta and the Akarakar. This road, finished in 1952, makes it possible to circle around the high peaks of the Atakor; it /188/ completes the one mentioned just before. Its route, laid out by the head of the Tamanrasset annex, provides maximum protection against the rains; it discloses a succession of splendid panoramas and ends at the foot of the Asekrem plateau after having crossed the strangest assortment of peaks imaginable. This road is prolonged in the direction of the Issakarassen guelta, then will continue toward the Hirafok agricultural center to end in the Tefedest.

[439] Arab and Mozabite merchants very quickly installed themselves at Tamanrasset, offering merchandise coming from Tell and buying wheat, millet, and butter from the Tuareg, making usurious loans, in a word, draining away the Tuareg's small supply of cash to direct it toward the Mzab.

The houses are built for the most part on the right bank of the wadi in the nonirrigable areas. Tamanrasset has no local color whatsoever, but the red tint of the exterior plastering, the cleanliness and charm of the streets shaded by éthel and adorned by geraniums, produce a pleasing over-all

103 /188 cont./ effect. An admirable and almost unique thing
361 in the Ahaggar is the circle of mountains which surrounds the
621 village; from the south bank of the wadi the view at sunrise or sunset is sensational.

At the present time Tamanrasset has some 20 foggara and a dozen tanout. The owners of the foggara are: the commune, some Adjouh n'Téhélé, some Tédjéhé n'Néfis, some harratin, and some merchants. The foggara are from four to five kilometers long. The gardens extend nearly six kilometers from the ksar /former fortified village/ of the Adriane to the ksar of Teggert. The cultivated area is about 70 hectares, counting the gardens of the small center of Tihegouine three kilometers downstream, watered by a foggara.

The commune owns a magnificent garden where all sorts of fruit trees are tried; it sets an example for the local gardeners. Many European houses have a small garden irrigated by foggara or by well.

The present population is about 2, 000 residents. This enormous growth in population presents a terrible /189/ water problem. It appears that an agricultural center in the Ahaggar cannot grow indefinitely without considering hydraulic works.

103 Tamanrasset, although favored from the point of view of
361 water resources, is a proof of what could be attempted in the
621 other agricultural centers if the French could advise the
648 harratin and furnish them examples.

The French population is divided in the following way:

A captain, annex head, administrator of the commune.

Two or three officer assistants.

Secretaries.

A school. Seven teachers, three of them nomads.

An observatory of global physics. Three physicists.

A telecommunications service. Four radio operators, two weather men.

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361
621
648

/189 cont. / A branch of the Company of Tropical Transportation.

An auxiliary postal receipts office.

A hotel.

A few retired persons at Tamanrasset without occupation.

From the military point of view, Tamanrasset is generally the base for a company of the camel corps. Units of the Saharan Engineer corps maintain the road from In-Salah to Tamanrasset and Agadez.

The French population totals about 120 persons; this number is subject to frequent fluctuations.

The number of Mozabite and Arab merchants, including their families, comes to about 100 individuals.

There are about 1, 900 harratin, an approximate figure, for many gardeners come and go from one agricultural center to another.

It is impossible to speak of Tamanrasset without thinking of General Laperrine and Father de Foucauld. The body of the general rests at Tamanrasset near the tomb where the priest was buried after his tragic death. The bordj where Father de Foucauld lived during the last years of his life is a tourist attraction; it is also possible to visit the hermitage built by the Father on the wadi's left bank.

/190/ Near the village of Adriane are found the tombs of Moussa ag Amastane, the Laperrine's amenokal friend, and of Dassine, the famous poetess.

In the house which was Moussa ag Amastane's, the maalmines, artisans of the Tuareg tribes, work.

Tamanrasset, administrative center, a necessary stop on the road from French West Africa and from French East Africa, is also an airplane stop destined to become more and more important.

Tourism tends to conquer the Ahaggar; the Touring Club of France has organized excursion caravans for several years. Scientists from all fields, enlightened travelers,

163 /190 cont./ mountain climbers in quest of virgin peaks, are
361 attracted to the still little-known country. For all of them
62 Tamanrasset is a departure base but not a place to linger.
[648]

Tissenaouine

In the Tissenaouine wadi at its confluence with the Tamanrasset wadi. One foggara belonging to a hartani. Very well-cultivated garden.

Tagrambalt

In the Tamanrasset wadi, 15 kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Three foggara, well-cultivated gardens. Little possibility for growth.

Amsel (altitude: 1, 180 meters)

Located in the Amsel wadi a little before its confluence with the Tamanrasset wadi, about 30 kilometers south of Tamanrasset.

The owners of the gardens are the Adjouh n'Téhélé and the Tédjéhé n'Néfis. The gardens are located upstream and downstream from the tiggert, a veritable stream of running water where abundant tahli grow. Six foggara and three tanout. There are about 60 residents. The cultivable surface totals 30 hectares; there would be possibilities for extending the center downstream. Several fruit trees.

Intnérin

In the Tamanrasset wadi seven kilometers south of Amsel. Tiggert and numerous tahli. Two foggara. Unimportant /191/ center, with no possibility for growth. Boxed-in, very hot valley.

Idikel

In the Tamanrasset wadi 15 kilometers south of Amsel. Difficult to reach by auto. Three foggara and two tanout. Large amount of cultivable land but endangered by the big floods of the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tiguenouine

In the Tamanrasset wadi seven kilometers south of Tamanrasset. A large amount of tahli at the Amelalouline tiggert. Three foggara, abundant water.

103 /191 cont. / Centers located on the In-Azaoua road
361 Izerzi
621 Fifteen kilometers south of Tamanrasset in the Izerzi wadi. A long-abandoned center revived in 1952.

Talan Téhédit

A long-abandoned center 20 kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Cultivated since 1951. Abundant water. Tiggert, tahli. Garden owners: Adjouh n'Téhéle and Tédjéhé n'Néfis. Three foggara and two tanout. Possibility for growth.

Ifok

Thirty kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Running water, tiggert, tahli. The gardens are upstream and downstream from the tiggert. Two foggara and three tanout. A frequently abandoned center.

Region of the Atakor

Ilaman (altitude: 2, 000 meters).

Highest center in the Ahaggar. Abandoned for a long time, traces of nine former foggara.

At the present time the village of Ilaman has a dozen residents. One foggara and two tanout are in operation. The Dag Rali own the gardens; their millet silos give the village a curious appearance.

Terhénanet (altitude: 1, 950 meters)

Located in the Terhénanet wadi on the edge of the Taessa massif. /192/ Like the village of Ilaman the village of Terhenanet is at the side of the road leading to the Asekrem. A small guelta is found downstream from the gardens. An unimportant center: about ten residents, two living foggara, four dead ones.

Centers of the southeastern Atakor

Tarahouaout (altitude: 1, 317 meters) -- (Fort Motylinski)

Located in the Tarahouaout wadi 80 kilometers from Tamanrasset by the automobile road. It was the administrative

103 /192 cont. / capital of the Ahaggar from 1908 to 1921. One
361 may see the old bordj overlooking the wadi, as well as old
621 houses at the foot of the cliff.

An important center, it is the fief of the Adjouh n'Téhélé tribe. Fifty-two hectares are cultivable, irrigated by ten foggara. There are numerous tanout. Fruit trees are in decline but there are still fig trees, apricot trees, and vines.

[172] Numerous pre-Islamic tombs are evidence of a very ancient occupation of this water point. Three rock-drawing sites exist on ridges downstream from the bordj.

Six kilometers downstream from the gardens, an enormous stand of tahli announces the entrance to very narrow gorges, in which one may follow over a distance of ten kilometers a veritable stream connecting a string of guelta. This is perhaps the most important permanent flow of water in the Ahaggar.

In-Dalag (altitude: 1,450 meters)

Located in the In-Dalag wadi, this very important center extends over a length of 15 kilometers. The water table is fed by waters running from the southeast of the Atakor and from the Ahéléheg djebel. The Adjouh n'Téhélé own the gardens. In dry periods this center is partly abandoned, as well as the small villages downstream: Tehi n'Oudi, Tin-Tsoumar, Tabarakaten, In-Tinsi, In-Tolouline.

There are five foggara at In-Dalag. Downstream from the cultivated centers gorges are found where great numbers of tahli grow.

/193/ Tahifet

An important center located in the wadi of the same name 50 kilometers north of Tarhaouaout. The Adjouh n'Téhélé are owners of the gardens. The cultivable surface comes to 22 hectares; there are eight foggara. Six kilometers downstream from the gardens is a tiggert surrounded by a large amount of spontaneous vegetation. The site is very picturesque.

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/193 cont. / Centers of the northern Atakor

Ideles

Very important center in the Tarouda wadi, overlooked by the Adrar Tadéraz. The village is located on the automobile road from Tamanrasset to Djanet 265 kilometers from Tamanrasset. The village consists of a bordj and an infirmary, as well as numerous stone houses. The residents, who number about 300, were originally from the Tidikelt. The ruins of an old ksar may be seen.

The gardens belong to the Kel Rela, the Dag Rali, the Kel Tazolé, and the Kel Amguid. The cultivable area amounts to about 40 hectares, irrigated by eight foggara and about ten tanout. About 300 palm trees are fairly well cared for; there are also numerous fig trees and vines.

Amenselane

Very small center six kilometers from Ideles. One foggara. Numerous tahli near the tiggert.

Tazerouk

A center which used to be very important but whose cultivable land is often carried off in pieces during big floods. Located 188 kilometers from Tamanrasset by the Ideles automobile road. The population is made up of freed Negroes who own the gardens but whose laziness has jeopardized this favored oasis. The altitude is 1, 896 meters; two wheat harvests per year are possible. The cultivable area amounts to 45 hectares, with hardly half of it sown. Enormous, untended fig trees grow, /194/ as well as very many peach trees and apricot trees. The summer climate at Tazerouk is the most pleasant in the Ahaggar.

In the wadis which end at Tazerouk, agricultural centers are established during the rainy years; these are: Sellemal, Ihebert, Teberbert, Taouakim, Tin-Ezzar.

Tizzeit

Unimportant center, long abandoned, now cultivated, located on the camel trail from Ideles to Tazerouk. Land

103 /194 cont./ belongs to the Ibardjien, an ancient tribe on the
361 way to extinction, redoubtable mountaineers and clever hunters
621 of wild sheep. Alkaline spring, tanout. Vines, fig trees, and numerous palms.

Tin-Founès

Abandoned center located on the Amadror road; numerous untended palms.

Hirafok (altitude: 1, 510 meters)

Located in the Hirafok wadi, on the automobile road from Tamanrasset to Ideles. The gardens run lengthwise and are well tended. Twenty-four hectares of cultivable land irrigated by five foggara and five tanout. A few fig trees. A bordj is constructed by the side of the road. The wadi valley is fairly well wooded; there is a tiggert downstream.

Im-Amguel (altitude: 1, 037 meters)

Large agricultural center located in the In-Amguel wadi on the road from Tamanrasset to In-Salah, 144 kilometers from Tamanrasset. A bordj and an infirmary. Four hundred residents. Ten foggara water well-tended gardens. There are some 100 palm trees, half of which are dokkar. Vines, fig trees, apricot trees, peach trees. Poultry.

Ifrok

Upstream from In-Amguel on the automobile road from Ideles. A center long abandoned, now cultivated. One foggara. The wadi is very well wooded.

Tasakimt

An abandoned center located between Ideles and Tazerouk. One tiggert upstream from which existed a foggara and four /195/ tanout. Abundant vegetation consisting of fersig and oleander.

Centers of the Tefedest

Mertoutek

A center in decline. There now exist two living foggara compared to ten before. Altitude: 1, 450 meters. Located in

103 /195 cont./ the Mertoutek wadi, to the east of the Tefedest,
361 260 kilometers from Tamanrasset. A few fruit trees. Im-
621 portant rock-drawing sites (Coche-Chasseloup-Laubat, Lelubre and M. Cousin sites).

In-Amertek

Abandoned center downstream from Mertoutek.

Ohet

Abandoned center to the northwest of the Tefedest. Two dead foggara. Land belonging to the Tédjéhé Mellet.

Adenek

Abandoned center in the Adenek wadi at the confluence of the Dehine wadi. Land belonging to the Kel Tefedest. There still remain a few fig trees and vines.

Abezzou

Abandoned center, land belonging to the Kel In-Rhar and Eouen n'Hada. Only a few zéribas and traces of guemoun are evidence of former cultivation.

Dehine

Center located six kilometers north of Mertoutek. Abandoned. There remain a few palms and fig trees as reminders of a former prosperity.

Other agricultural centers

Silet (altitude: 775 meters)

Located 151 kilometers from Tamanrasset on the road to Tin-Zaouaten. The Silet wadi forms a large basin which receives the waters of the Tahelra. There is a very shallow water table, which makes it possible for palms to grow without irrigation. There are about 6,000 palms which receive practically /196/ no care. Artificial fecundation is rarely practiced. This palm grove was created about 200 years ago by Arabs from the Tidikelt. The owners of the palms are some Kel Rela, Iklan Taoussit, and Dag Rali. An attempt to establish a palm grove has been made by the Annex with djebars of Téguezza.

103 /196 cont. / Some ten residents live at Silet and cultivate
361 small gardens irrigated by three foggara. A bordj. Ruins of
621 an old Arab fort. Numerous pre-Islamic tombs.

Tibeghim

Five kilometers from Silet. Small palm grove in a semi-wild state, which gives it a very picturesque appearance. The palms belong to the Kel Rela and the Iklan Taoussit.

Aïtoklane

Center located in the Sersouf wadi 40 kilometers south of Tazerouk. Long abandoned, now cultivated. Far from the automobile roads, this center is rarely visited. The cultivable area is great.

Tin-Tarabin

In the Tin-Tarabin wadi, away from the automobile roads, this center is rarely visited. Abandoned, then revived a short time ago. This center could prosper, for the cultivable area is large.

Tadjmout

Located on the road from Tamanrasset to In-Salah in the intra-tassili depression of the Mouydir tassili. A few gardens belonging to the Kel Immidir. Palm trees (about 100 grow freely in the gorge one kilometer from the road).

Izghan -- Izeghaf -- Djoraf

Abaondoned centers in the interior of the tassili massif. Numerous palms belonging to the Kel Immidir and the Kel Ahnet. These sites are never visited and remain unknown to all.

Tin-Teredjine

Upstream in the Teredjine wadi (In-Guezzam road). Tiggert, abundant water, abandoned garden. Tomatoes /197/ grow without being cared for. An Adjouh n'Téhélé family gathers them from time to time.

Inroudiden

In the Tahelra massif (south of Tiffert), in the Inozzorou wadi, a tributary of the Tinef. Owners: Iklan Taoussit. Unimportant.

Isernan and Sédéouen

During rainy years, gardens are established upstream from the tiggert in these two wadis, tributaries of the In-Dalag wadi.

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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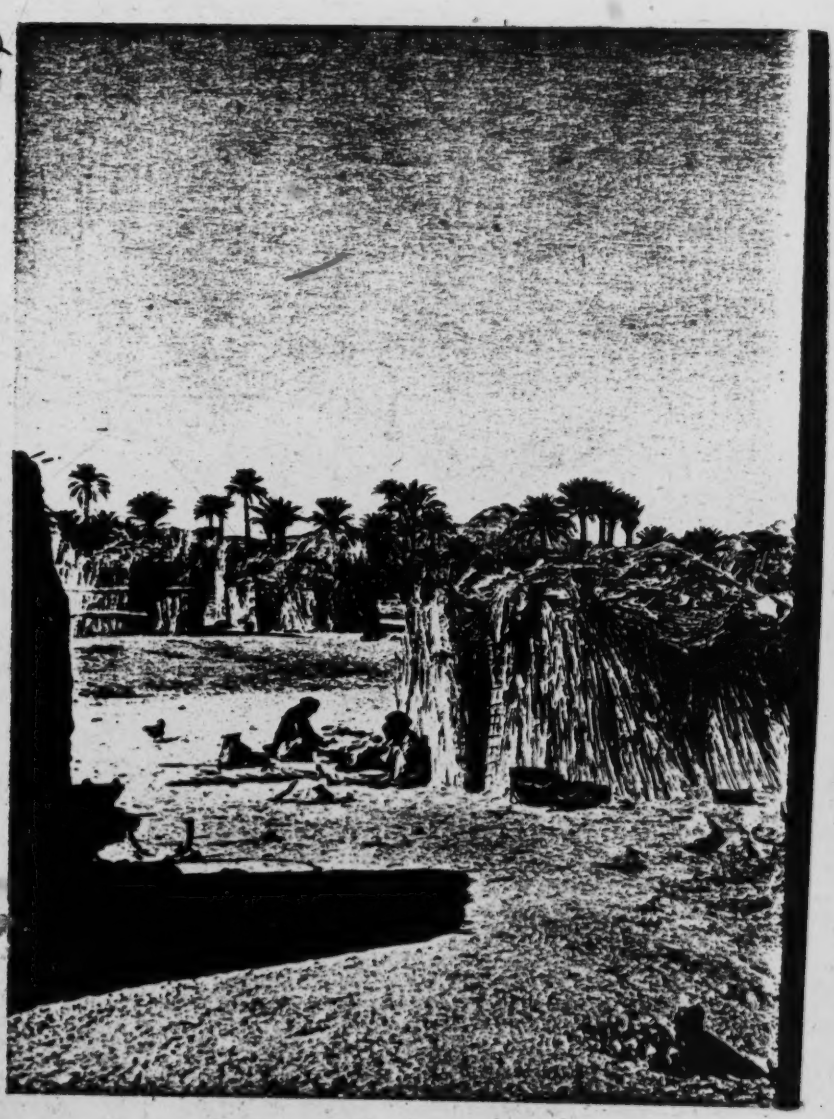

31. Zériba in the Ideles oasis.

[p. 218]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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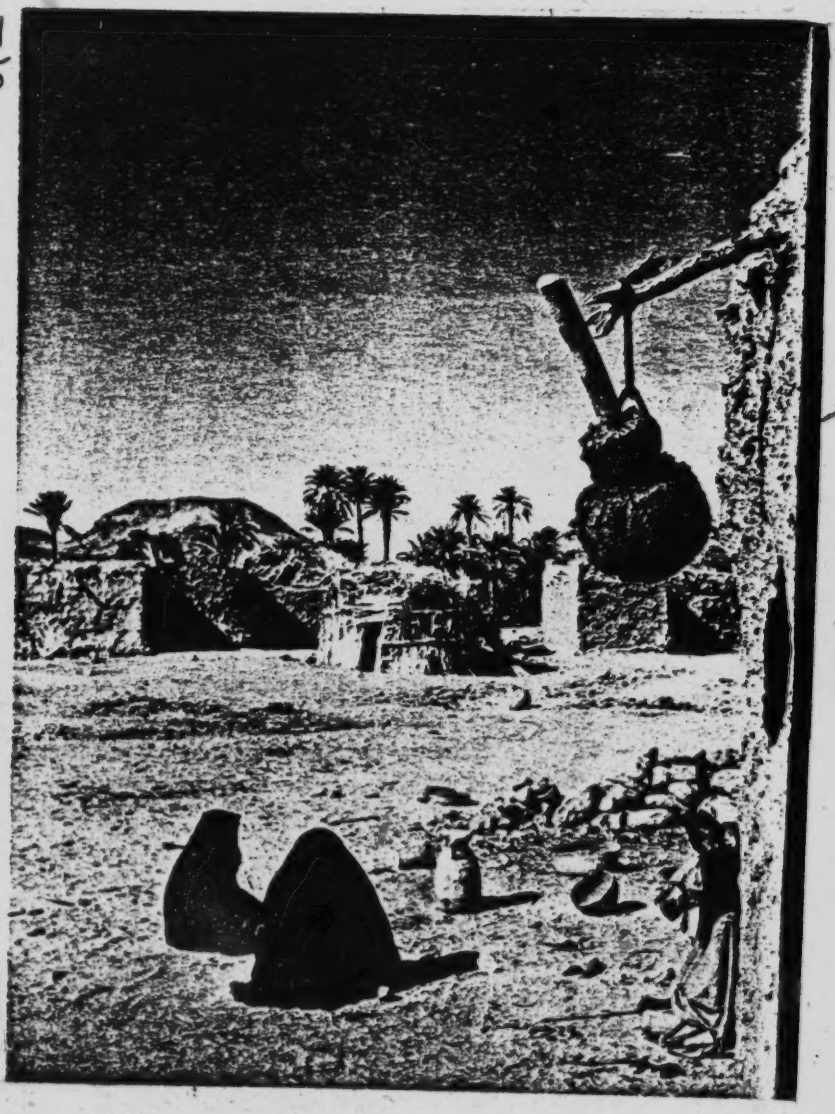

36. At the Ideles oasis. At right a butter container (tahtint).

[p. 224]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



564 region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed*
[463] (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Ahaggar to cultivate
[567] gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were
joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaren*, or *Ḫarratin*, like the
[191] immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual,
speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahaq*). The *Izeggaren* (*Ḫarratin*) are generally less
[144] negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features.
[142] Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*)
refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaren* does not seem to
exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Ṛat oasis known as *Ikewweren*
apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar
claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

[361] *Kel Ĝanet* (sing. *W Ĝanet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ĝanet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-
[144] n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned
europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ĝanet* have much the same position as
[565] Tuareg vassals (Imṛad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ĝanet* immigrants, their status is rather
[567] like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ĝanet* may
possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

564 *Ineden* (*Ineden* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Ened*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg
326 groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their
weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg
women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one.
People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make
hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only
[162] a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very
numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the
564 blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna*
173 *Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This
myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths
in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963).
A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told
about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected
by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Temenṭiṭ in Tawat.
At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.).
2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed
Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Fou-
cauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that
most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and
564 Adṛar-n-Foṛas. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of
144 them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 27. *Zebu* ox of the long-horned Fulani breed. Ayr, Agadez.

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Fig. 28. *Hartani* boy riding a young ox. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



p. 93 ff.), and this seems to be true partly also of the so-called Watusi-cattle and related breeds, which have been mixed with zebu-cattle and therefore frequently have well developed humps (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 10 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 148 ff.; Johsi, McLaughlin & Phillips 1957, p. 146, 178, 259). 233* 171

Adametz believes that zebus were introduced into Africa from Northern India about 2000 B.C. (Adametz 1920, p. 10 ff.). Nowadays Zebus no doubt form the most important types of cattle in Africa, and Tuareg cattle are of the zebu type. The West African zebus fall into a number of sub-breeds described in detail by Doutressoulle. The zebu type found in Ayr and adjacent regions and also introduced into Northern Tuareg country is known as the *Azawaq* breed (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 102 ff.). In Southern Ayr, which nowadays has a fairly large population of pastoral Fulani, a particular type of zebu is also very common. This zebu is characterized by very high stature and extremely long horns often resembling the form of a lyre (Fig. 27). This breed is named Borodji, Bororo, or M'Bororo. The Fulani zebu is esteemed by certain Ayr Tuareg because of its fatter milk, but it is claimed that its meat is not so delicious as that of their own cattle. 233* [174] [262]

Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer do not breed cattle (zebus), which do not thrive in their barren countries where pastures of annual plants do not regenerate annually. An attempt to breed zebus among the pastoral Ahaggar Tuareg some years ago failed, and zebus are nowadays found only among settled agriculturists who use these animals as draught-animals at irrigation wells (p. 189; Fig. 132 a–b). A few agriculturists also have cows to raise calves, and to utilize their milk. It is comparatively easy for settled agriculturists of Ahaggar to keep cattle. In dry years, and when pasture is scarce and dry in the hot season, cattle can be fed on vegetables and the straw of certain plants grown in the garden. It can also be mentioned that many agriculturists live in the very broad river valleys of lower Ahaggar where water is not very deep under the sand, and at some agricultural settlements there are even permanent springs. In such places (e.g., the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel) there are even in dry years fresh grazing of a few permanent plants suited to cattle, notably the four following species:— *tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*), *tésengelt* (*Saccharum Ravennae*), *ilegga* (sing. *aleggi*) (*Scirpus Holoschoenus*), and *taysest* (*Eragrostis bipinnata*). The regeneration of these plants is not dependent upon annual rainfall, for the soil is always sufficiently humid for their annual regeneration. Therefore it is very common in Ahaggar (e.g., at Abalessa and at Amsel) to burn down the old dry plants late in winter so that new fresh plants can germinate in spring. This method of renewing pasture by the burning down of old dry plants is not generally possible in desert countries. In Ahaggar it is practised only for the four above mentioned species within very limited humid areas, and the method is said to be entirely unknown in Ayr. [361] [127] [124]

The Ahaggar agriculturists who possess oxen very frequently use these animals for riding, sitting on the hind part of the animals which are kept under control by means of a rein (*taẓerkit*) placed through their nostrils, or by means of a halter. No saddle is used apart from a casual piece of cotton, or a blanket (Fig. 28). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer, it is said, the settled farmers have no cows but only bulls and oxen to be used at irrigation wells, and these animals are not used for riding as in Ahaggar. [492]

The zebus found in the settlements of northern agriculturists are all introduced from the south where conditions for ox-breeding are much more favourable. Many, and perhaps most, northern zebus have come from Ayr from which region they are still introduced to Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*233 824 137 132 133 Each of the three vegetational zones of Ahaggar has its advantages and disadvantages. If we consider a good year when rain has fallen abundantly with a resultant regeneration of all fodder plants, the *Atakor* zone has very excellent pasture. For the plains and the stony mountain slopes are then entirely covered with annual plants which by the Tuareg are considered the very best fodder. The Tuareg also claim that the upper mountain zone is preferable because of its cooler climate, which has a beneficial influence on the lactation of domestic animals. The disadvantage of the *Atakor* zone is the lack of acacias to which can be added the scarcity of fuel. The *Tarayin* zone possess characteristics of the *Atakor* zone and of the *Abada* zone. The *Abada* country is botanically very different from *Atakor*. It has annual pastures of great value when abundant rainfall has been experimented and it also has valuable pastures of perennial plants. With heavy rain the *Abada* country is excellent for stock-breeding, and fuel can be found everywhere. But the Abada country is hotter than are the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

If rain falls abundantly all over Ahaggar there is good pasture in all three zones. But rainfall is more frequent and heavier at high altitudes than in the *Abada* zone, so that *Atakor* normally has by far the best pasture of annual plants which spring up late in summer or in autumn. The *Abada* zone on the other hand has the very best pasture of perennial plants, notably acacias that grow around the lower parts of the valleys which are always flooded when it rains in the high mountains.

221 *233 824 132 The fluctuations of plant development determine the nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg. A few tribes have their normal grazing grounds in *Atakor* (e.g., the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Kel Tazulet*). They camp in this zone at most seasons to let their goats and sheep feed on fresh and dry annual pasture. In dry years and during the hot summer season they may move to the *Tarayin* zone where there are perennial fodder plants, but they rarely camp in the *Abada* country. Many tribes have their normal grazing grounds in the *Abada* zone (e.g., the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, the *Ayt Lowayen*, the *Iheyawen Hada*, and the *Kel Ṛela*), but move to the *Atakor* when annual pasture is good in this region. They live in 342 *Atakor* with tents and flocks when annual plants are green, while the rest of the year they camp in the *Abada* country to let their animals feed on acacias and other perennial species. Finally there are two tribes (*Tégehé-n-Efis* and *Iklan-en-tawsit*), the members of which camp in the *Abada* country all the year round even when rich annual pasture is found in *Atakor*. However, members of these tribes may send their camel herds to the *Atakor* zone, accompanied by herdsmen, while tents and flocks remain in the lower country.

221 *233 565 262 567 With the exception of a few noble households which keep up their old tradition to subsist largely on camel's milk, the Ahaggar Tuareg do not keep their she-camels in Ahaggar unless there are excellent pastures of annual plants in this area. They take their camels to pastures far away from Ahaggar, notably to the Tamesna region where they have their animals guarded by herdsmen who are frequently slaves. In very dry years there are very few camels in Ahaggar – just the animals needed for riding and transportation. It is in fact very easy to take camels to distant pastures, and it is most necessary to give these animals the utmost care as they are most valuable and their breeding is a very slow process (cf. p. 56). Goats do not need such excellent fodder as do camels. They can eat almost everything, but in dry years goats may also suffer severely from lack of suitable fodder. This was the case in the year 1954/55 when I stayed in Ahnet and in Ahaggar. In the small camps of three to four tents each it was

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 98. A slave watering goats by means of the leather bucket called *aga*. Water is drawn from a well and poured out into a hole dug in the clayey ground. The goat standing to the left is sheared – a token of the summer season. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*233 conditions, and herdsmen, who live with camelherds far away from camps and wells subsisting on
[272] camel's milk, do not consider water necessary. Should domestic animals have eaten salt or salty plants
[271] they are very eager for water even in winter. When I lived in Ahaggar with my camels during the winter 1954/55 they had rightly to be watered every ten days, but in regions where they fed mainly on saliferous plants they had to be watered more frequently. However, domestic animals must not be watered too often as this would make them slow and emaciated, and a camel must not be worked too hard the day after it has been watered.

312 Tuareg camps are always found around wells, pools, or other types of water places for which there
[361] is a large vocabulary. But the Tuareg never camp too close to water places where there is little pasture, many foreigners and consequently little peace. The distance from camp to water place varies, but is
[132] very frequently 1–3 kilometres. During the rainy season (*akasa*) water is very aundant all over Ayr, but outside this period conditions of water supply for human beings and livestock are more favourable
[415] in the north than in Ayr, where water most of the year must be drawn from wells. To raise water the Tuareg use a leather bucket known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aga* (Fig. 97–98). The water drawn for
[237] the animals is poured out into a hole dug in clayey soil, or into a hole covered with a piece of skin or leather known in Ahaggar as *tafarawt*. This skin is nowadays frequently substituted by canvas (cf. Fig. 99). Where water is scarce and must be drawn from narrow wells, as in Ayr during the summer
312 578 season, the watering of flocks and herds gives rise to frequent quarrels between pastoralists. For
[423] though the right to the use of wells is free to all there are many disputes and fights frequently

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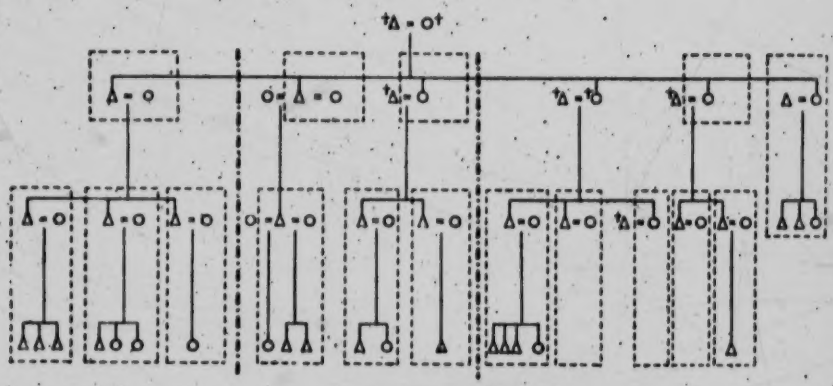

Fig. 105. The section camp of the *Kel Ayrraen* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aguh-en-tehli*). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated Fig. 103. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Ayr whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

[591]

614 also the representative of the section towards the tribal chief, should preferably be elected. The members
613 of one section will frequently intermarry with members of another particular section, but members
621 of a section will generally marry into more than one particular section and sometimes into sections
[592] of foreign tribes.

613 When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are
621 split up into minor camps of 2–7 tents. These minor camps generally consist of an extended family
596 which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually
*233 owned and every tent or household is self-supporting – "it has its own churning bag and its own millet
[592] bag", as the Tuareg put it. The section camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small goat-herding camps which constitute extended families, but the small camps within the section camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres
[476] between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small goat-herding camps of a section
[484] join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp of a section is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which tasks a goat-herding camp cannot spare the labour. Should the small goat-herding camps of a section be unable to remain together, they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A section camp is illustrated in
361 the diagram below (Fig. 105). The formation of such camps is not generally possible without annual
621 pasture, and section camps are particularly common in the *Dag Rali* tribe resident mainly in the
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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 106. A small goat-herding camp of three related households. The inmates have not erected their skin tents, but have their luggage and their household utensils hanging upon posts (left). In the hot daytime the people live in the shade of the rock (right). Ahaggar (the *Atakor* zone), the *Dag Rali* tribe (the *Kel Tamanraset* section).

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Fig. 107. A camp of four skin tents. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Urapen* tribe.

361 *Atakor* zone. In this area kin groups of five or six generations, comprising about twenty tents, may
621 form a section camp for long periods. Thus I was told that all members of the *Kel Tamanraset* section
*233 camped together in the same place for eight months of the year 1952. Among the Tuareg, who have their grazing grounds mainly in the *Abada* country, section camps are not so easily formed as annual pasture springs up less frequently. People of such tribes as the *Iklan-en-tawsit*, the *Tégehé-n-Efis*, and part of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe, generally live in goat-camps, which are often smaller than those of the *Dag Rali* tribe of the *Atakor* region. Where goats feed mainly on acacias it is not possible to keep [824] such large flocks together as when grazing consists of fresh or dry annual plants. Acacia leaves are very important for fodder and their fruit-pods are still more valuable, but the trees grow scattered and consequently fodder is not so concentrated. We see again how stock-breeding among the Ahaggar Tuareg is an industry adapted to environment. The size of camps is determined by natural conditions.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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*Sub-areas of the territory of the Dag Ṛali* tribe

(The tribe is divided into two halves:— (1) the *Dag Ṛali* proper comprising the sections named *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*, (2) the *Imessiliten* comprising the two sections named *Kel Hérhafek* and *Kel Teñhart*)

| Tenants | Name and value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe and leader of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section | ISEKRAM<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant | 2 goats |
| YEḲI of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section | TAĠMART<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| AMMA of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | AṚECHCHUM<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| KHABTÉ of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section<br>&<br>AKHASEN of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | I-N-DALAĠ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br><br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| AFAREḲ of the *Kel Hérhafek* section | AKAL-EREṚEN<br>Hunting of barbary sheep | Unknown |
| BUSKEYAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the *Kel Teñhart* section | TAHAT<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown) |
| [361] DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet* | ABALESSA<br>A very extended area comprising the village of Abalessa and other agricultural settlements | No land-rent as the *Amenukal* receives dues for every garden in this area |
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections of *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet* Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections | ṬEẒẒA<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | 1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep). (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) are also given to Danguchi as tribal chief) |

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***Sub-areas of the territory of the Aguh-en-tehlé*** **tribe**

**(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named Kel *Taṛhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Aṛefsa*)**

| Tenants | Value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA ALATOKH, chief of the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, chief of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*, leader of the section *Kel Twes* | Cultivation grounds at Taṛhawhawt and I-n-dalaǧ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys for domestication | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, *khalifa* (leader) of the *Ikenkeren* section of the sub-tribe Kel *Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Collecting of wild seeds | 3 goats |
| ABERĠALI, *khalifa* of the *Kel Tarayin* section of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the *Kel Tarayin* section. No position as leader | Cultivation grounds at I-n-aǧriwal and I-n-dalaǧ. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys | 2 donkeys |
| DEYNI, chief of the *Kel Aṛefsa* sub-tribe forming only one section | No particular value | No land-rent |
| AKAWALI, chief of the *Isandan* sub-tribe and leader of the *Kel Afara-ke hin* section | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| HANU, *khalifa* of the *Kel Azerwan* section of the *Isandan* sub-tribe | Cultivation grounds at Tamanṛaset<br>In the past wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, *khalifa* of the *Ṛelayddin* now attached to the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe | *Khoseni* is in command of the *Ṛelayddin* territory to which all members of the *Ṛelayddin* have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the *Amenukal* | |

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzaṛ*, while a small camp is called *éṛéwen* or *tamezzaḳ*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100–200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *heregen* (or *amezzaṛ n heregen*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *aharagen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

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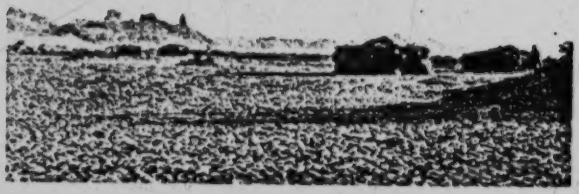

Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikebran*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhet* tribe (*Iwkkemaren*).

423 422 224 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 148).

423 241 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dag Rali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Rali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

685 643 Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant 423 [428] dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally 613 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary [114] sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

## AYR

422 * 233 The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property [428] marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark. However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *éjwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and [113] Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

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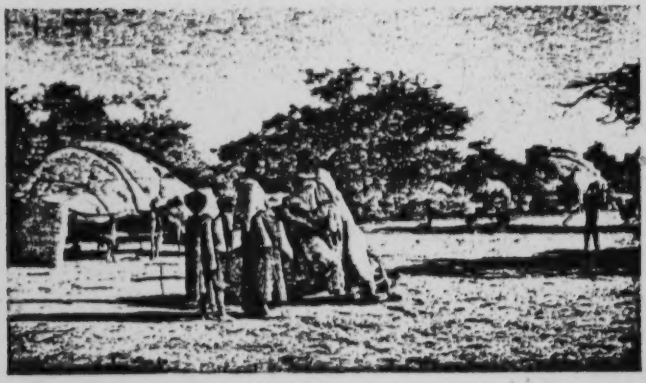

Fig. 109. A family camp of four mat-covered barrel-vaulted tents. Ayr, the *Igendéynen* tribe.

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* 233 donkeys by certain Ayr Tuareg are most interesting. Though such marks are used by many tribes there does not seem to be a great variety of them, and I have noted only the following marks:—

[565] (1) *tallayt*, that is the tip of right ear cut off while a slit is cut into the left ear. This mark is said to be used by all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the members of the two tribes *Kel Akerra* and *Imezzureg*, who claim to be noble by origin, have an additional brand burned into the left hind thigh close to the animal's anus. This brand is called *ekomed*.

(2) two slits in the animal's left ear. Though different from the mark just mentioned it is said also [565] to be called *tallayt*. It is used by the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg (the *Irawatten*), and also by the negroid *Irawélen* who in the past were once slaves of the nobility.

(3) *tabelechchat*, that is one slit in the left ear. This mark is used by the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

[428] Though all property marks are patrilineally inherited it may happen in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, that a Tuareg use two marks. For certain Tuareg will use the mother's father's mark for animals given them [777] by their mother's family, other Tuareg have been brought up among matrilineal kinsmen whose mark they have adopted, and there are also people who have adopted their mother's family mark because they believed that their father's mark brought them bad luck in camel-breeding.

614 The Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group fall into a number of units which are known by the word *tawchit*. It seems to have much the same meaning as the word *tawsit* of Northern Tuareg dialect, but is also used to designate the so-called spiked wheel-trap. I call these units for tribes as they do not seem to correspond to unilateral descent groups. Many tribes have a tradition of their descent from a common ancestress, but though tribal members may know her name they are never able to connect her with their genealogies which are very badly known. To my knowledge there are no tribes of true Ayr Tuareg that are named after an ancestress or have avuncular names. The Ayr tribes have geographical names or are called after an ancestor to whom they are also unable to connect their [591] genealogies. It is possible that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in the past have followed the rules of residence

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outlined above from Ahaggar, with the exception that the Ayr Tuareg have never practised the one year's stay in the bride's family camp after marriage. To-day the *Kel Ferwan* tribes of Southern Ayr do not follow very strictly any particular rule of residence. There is a strong tendency to patrilocal residence, but a man will usually continue to live with kinsmen of the camp where he was brought up as a child. If a man has grown up with maternal relatives owing to the loss of his father as a boy, or because his mother and father have divorced, he may remain with matrilineal relatives. I believe that all tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group of Southern Ayr are bilateral kin groups. And if in the past these Tuareg practised the rules of residence outlined above from Ahaggar, the tribes have been bilateral units as there have always been many marriages contracted between people of different tribes. Two tribes of Ayr, namely the *Imezzureg* and the *Kel Akerra*, claim that they have intermarried regularly from very ancient times, because the father of the *Kel Akerra* tribe was the brother of the mother of the *Imezzureg* tribe, while the father of the *Imezzureg* was a cross-cousin of *Kel Akerra*'s mother. These two tribes possess their individual chiefs, but have always been very mixed. It seems as if chiefs were elected according to matrilineal rules in the past, but to-day it is claimed that a son of a deceased chief should be the first in line of succession (cf. p. 456 ff.).

In Southern Ayr camps of all possible tribes to-day live among each other. There are no grazing grounds or particular territories nowadays when everybody is free to go where he likes with flocks and herds. No Tuareg have particular rights over land, and ban on grazing within certain areas, as in Ahaggar, is unknown. This is said also to have been the case in the past. But in the times preceding the French occupation of Ayr, all vassal tribes had their particular territories which, according to Capot-Rey, were formerly marked by walls (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). I have not been able to confirm this, but the Tuareg told me that in the past tribal territories had frontiers marked out by river valleys or by natural objects such as large trees. The vassal tribes did not own these territories, which were allotted them by the drum-chief of the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe, the *Irawatten*. The traditional territories or grazing grounds of most *Kel Ferwan* tribes are indicated in the list on p. 423 ff.

At present there seem to be no sectional division of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes corresponding to the division into sections in Ahaggar. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg generally live in small camps comprising a few tents. These camps, which co-operate in stock-herding, do not generally exceed four or five tents inhabited by kinsmen who generally constitute an extended family, e.g., (1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children; (2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children; (3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children; (4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband. These small camps, as may be seen, are not based upon any particular rule of residence in agreement with what has been said of residence rules above. The households of a little camp of this kind will remain constantly together to co-operate not only in goat-herding, but generally in camel-breeding also. The labour for camel-herding and caravan trading is more easily provided for in Ayr than in Ahaggar. For camels are rarely taken to very distant grazing grounds, and caravan trading is often limited to expeditions to Damergu where the Tuareg fetch their millet. The Tuareg tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group living around Agadez have no true co-operative units apart from the small camps of up to four or five tents. Such small camps of extended families may temporarily join each other in a bigger camp during the

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361 *akasa* period when there is green annual pasture, but the large camps have no co-operative functions
621 and no particular leader. The small camps join together to form big camps because their members are linked to each other by bonds of kinship, and consequently like to come together.

361 Most of the year the Ayr Tuareg live in very small camps around wells, and certain camps remain
221 on almost the same spot throughout the year. However, most camps move about in the *akasa* period, and later, at the end of the rains, many camps move southwards and westwards to the salt plains of Azawaq.

## DIVISION OF LABOUR IN STOCK-BREEDING

462 Before we consider other activities, we shall briefly describe the division of labour in stock-breeding according to sex.

462 In all Tuareg groups noble women do very little work. They engage in a few very esteemed crafts
565 such as embroidery, neat decoration of leather work, and in the north they cut ornamented milk-
[567] bowls from wood. The true domestic duties of a noble household are performed by slaves. This to some extent is also true of other social classes among the Northern Tuareg, while the Ayr Tuareg vassals have very few slaves nowadays. But even in vassal camps among the Northern Tuareg women
462 have their duties and engage in all kinds of domestic work, also in stock-breeding. In the two groups
*233 of Northern Tuareg the division of work in stock-breeding can be seen when one enters a tent of a
342 vassal camp:—
[565] One half of the tent (the left part) is occupied by the woman and contains such implements as are connected with tanning, leather-work, cooking, butter- and cheese-making, and generally all implements connected with the breeding of goats, sheep, and donkeys. The other half of the tent (the right part), occupied by the husband, contains saddles and all other objects connected with camels. The tending of goats, sheep, and donkeys is the task of women, while camel-breeding is the business of men.

462 Before initiation Tuareg boys may be occupied with herding goats, sheep, and donkeys, but when
*233 they have adopted the veil they should preferably take care of camels only. There are, however, a
[857] few occasions where men engage in tasks connected with goats and donkeys:—

Goats like any other animal can be killed only by adult men, who also undertake the skinning and partition of the meat.

Castration of he-goats and rams may be done by men, but it is said that it is also performed by women.

When goats suffer from certain diseases they may in a few very special cases be taken care of by men. Thus when a goat has broken a leg and wooden splints are applied to the fracture this is generally performed by the husband of the household to which the animal belongs.

When goats and sheep are lost in the desert they may be searched for by men mounted on camels.

On the whole there are not many situations where the assistance of men is needed in tending goats and sheep, and most men have so little to do with goat-breeding that they do not know the exact meaning of many colour terms for goats.

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In literature there seems to be no reliable information about the existence of irrigation agriculture 241
in Ahaggar until Duveyrier, who states that agriculture did not obtain a fixed position in the economic 175
life of the Ahaggar Tuareg until the reign of the *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) (cf. Duveyrier
1864, p. 369). This statement is confirmed by most agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg in Ahaggar, 241
who claim that prior to *Elkhaj Akhmed* irrigation agriculture was not practised in Ahaggar. During 312
the reign of this *Amenukal* irrigation agriculture by means of the subterranean aqueducts known to 173
the Arabs as *foggara* (*éfeli*, pl. *ifelan*) was introduced by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs and negroid *Ḫarratin* from 177
the Tidikelt oases. Some people of Ahaggar claim that another irrigation system was introduced about the same time, namely irrigation wells from which water is drawn by oxen and donkeys. This system, known as *tanut*, is said to have been introduced by agriculturists from Ĝanet (Djanet) (the *Kel Ĝanet*). It should be noted that there are certain traditions which claim irrigation agriculture to be older in Ahaggar. One tradition says that it was practised at Silet-Tibeghin by Arabs who immigrated from Tawat to cultivate by means of the *foggara* system even during the reign of the *Imenan* (Lhote 1955, p. 286 f.). Another tradition, recorded by Foucauld, states that irrigation farming was known at a 241
very remote date by the *Isebeten* – a pagan people said to be the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes of 312
Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535 f.). Traditions of the age of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar 173
are conflicting. If it was practised long before the reign of *Elkhaj Akhmed* by the ancient vassals, I believe that water was raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight. For this system, which is known as *arudid*, is said to have been very common in the past. It is extremely rare nowadys, and I have only seen it once at Terhenanet. There can be no doubt that [171]
this simple irrigation method is a very old one in North Africa, where it is more widely distributed than all other types of irrigation methods (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, map VII p. 320). The very wide distribution of this system elsewhere in the Old World points to its great age, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest true irrigation machine.

A few Tuareg in the northern groups practise irrigation agriculture, which does not seem to be one 241
of their traditional occupations. Tuareg irrigation farmers are found mainly in the Fezzan, but mention 178
should also be made of the people of three noble tribes, namely the *Ilemṭéyen* (living at Ṛat), the *Ikadeyen* (at Tit in Ahaggar), and the *Kel-ahem-mellen* (roaming pastoralists north of Ahaggar or settled farmers at the oasis of Inṛer in Tidikelt). These sedentary or semi-sedentary noble Tuareg were originally true pastoralists, though but little is known of the original mode of livelihood of the *Ikadeyen*. A few individuals or families among the Ahaggar vassals have more recently taken up irrigation agriculture in addition to stock-breeding. There seems to be a growing tendency towards semi-nomadism in Ahaggar nowadays. There may be several reasons for this. Thus one can point to the decline of caravan trading and to the fact that pastoral Tuareg cannot so easily get the true agriculturists to cul- [432]
tivate for them. The true agriculturists of Ahaggar comprise the *Ḫarratin* (*Izeggaren*) of Tidikelt, [564]
who have mixed with the manumitted slaves now also known as *Ḫarratin* (*Izeggaren*), a few fair-skinned *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, and the *Kel Ĝanet* who are predominantly black-skinned. All these agricultural people tend to mix with each other and also with tribes of pastoral Tuareg.

There are at present about 25 agricultural settlements in the river valleys of Ahaggar. Apart from 361
the administration centre of Tamanṛaset (1600) and the oasis of Abalessa (547) these agricultural 162

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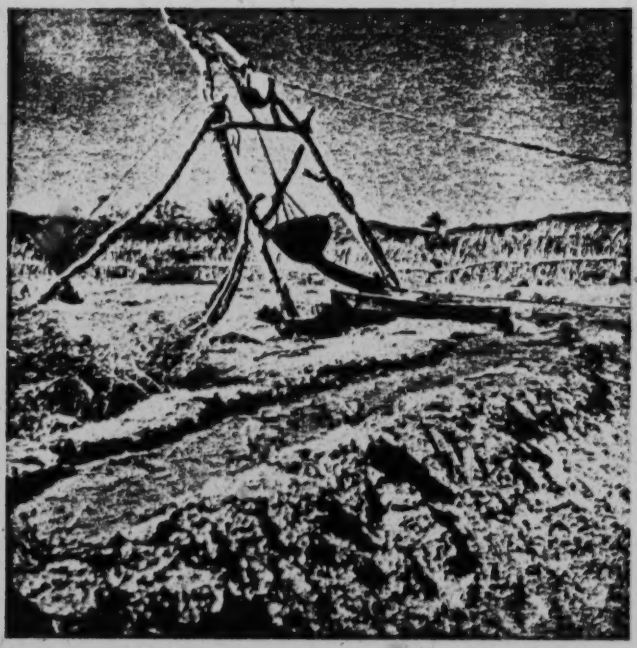

Fig. 132a. The irrigation system known as *sunar*. Ahaggar, Amsel.

361 settlements contain less than 300 individuals, the majority not even a hundred (cf. Lhote 1955a;
[162] p. 292). Most agricultural settlements comprise only a few houses built of stone or mud, or a few
[342] straw-huts (cf. p. 327 ff.). The agriculturists of these small settlements generally keep some goats
[231] and sheep, have donkeys, which are important beasts of burden to all farmers of the Sahara oases,
and in certain families there are one or two zebus to raise water from irrigation wells. A few agri-
433 culturists may be characterized as semi-nomads. This is the case of some inhabitants of Abalessa
who guard their flocks at some distance from the village. Some of these agriculturists, who were
formerly Tuareg slaves, even make skin-tents like pastoral Tuareg.

312 The subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs of the Sahara as *foggara*, to the Tuareg as *ifelan*
241 (sing. *éfeli*), constitute by far the most important irrigation system used in Ahaggar. However, these
*foggara* canals cannot be compared with the large extensive aqueducts of Tidikelt though their intro-
[166] duction to Ahaggar is due to the immigration of agriculturists from that area. The Tidikelt *foggara*
are very large aqueducts which are dug into water-bearing strata which can be situated at a consid-
erable distance from the oasis (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 324 ff., Lô 1953 & 1954; Chaintron 1958).
The Ahaggar foggara are generally very short (about one to two kilometres, or shorter), they are not

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466 475 obtain a larger amount of vegetable food products and more wheat and barley. The pastoral Tuareg
423 gain less from their gardens than they did when the *khamast* system prevailed, but it is still profitable
241 for them to be garden owners.
434

The quantity of agricultural products anually consumed per person among the *Kel Ahaggar* is
511 estimated by Lhote at 187 kilos millet, 15 kilos dates, and a small amount of wheat for which no
262 figure is given. For Arabs of the Sahara the quantity of vegetable food is estimated at 180 kilos wheat,
[171] and 75 kilos dates anually per person (Lhote 1955a, p. 263). I add to this that wheat is used for bread to a very large extent by the Ahaggar Tuareg, who also make much use of barley for bread and porridge. According to Malaurie the amount of agricultural food products available per person among the Ahaggar Tuareg is about 400 grammes a day, or 146 kilos anually (Malaurie 1953, p. 342). It should be noted again that the amount of agricultural food products necessary for a Tuareg household varies greatly from one year to the other. In years of drought when agricultural products form so to speak the only source of food for the nomads, they estimate that a household consisting of husband, wife, and one child will consume about two kilos of cereals (dates) every day, or 730 kilos in a year. Consequently the amount of cereals and dates consumed anually per person may in dry years rise to about 245 kilos. This seems to correspond to the amount of food considered necessary for Arabs of
[171] Tiglikelt and Tawat, who live almost exclusively on cereals and dates. When employed as labourers by the French Administration these sedentary Arabs are given 16 kilos of wheat and 4 kilos of rice a month, or 240 kilos of agricultural products anually per person (Information obtained from the administration office of In Salah in 1954). The agricultural products obtained by a pastoral household from a single
511 garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less
433 so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example: During the year 1954 55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with an *aril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar
[437] Tuareg depend on caravan trading for their provisions of agricultural food, and trading also helps them to create the capital of millet and dates which is invested in their gardens in Ahaggar grown on their behalf by agriculturists. I believe that most pastoral households of Ahaggar have gardens, but there are Tuareg who have none. This is true, for instance, of most Tuareg living in and around the Ahnet Massif. Tuareg of this region formerly had gardens irrigated by the *foggara* system at Abalessa, but to-day they acquire their vegetable food products mainly by caravan trading.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AYR

563 The largest aggregation of sedentary people in Ayr is found in Agadez (4.737), which is inhabited al-
[361] most exclusively by negroid peoples who speak Hausa though most of them also know the Tuareg
162 language (*tamachek*). This large sedentary population mainly lives on trade and on crafts of
197 various kinds. The inhabitants are known to the Tuareg as the *Imeggedezen*. They are said to be related
433 to the Sultan (or the *Amenukal*) of Agadez. There is a tradition which claims that the Sultan came
173

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Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*énéllé*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Akl Azzi* Arabs.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
173 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers
[563] though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361
162 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of
563 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isaweren*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
433 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
245 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
221 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
463

Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342
162 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
144 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula-
433 tion that subsisted on agriculture.
[174]

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175 721 added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was also fighting within these groups at intervals.

[648] The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwillemmeden* and the Arab pastor-
[378] alists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg frequently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

[437] Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite of these latent conditions of hostility.

175 437 Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays. They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter, cheese, and the like.

175 437 484 The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times, but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Hammu* who dominated the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays.

[439] They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also
[438] say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All
[317] this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadror were not utilized in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to
[361] the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then
162 travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could not defend itself against raiders.

175 567 It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading
[648] until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in
[17] this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

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*342 174 ago when the *Ḥarratin* agriculturists immigrated from Tidikelt. Most people even aver that there were hardly any houses in Ahaggar until the arrival of the French at the beginning of the century. This is confirmed by Foucauld (1951–52, II, p. 609), and Bissuel was told by the Tuareg captives at 361 125 Algiers that Abalessa had no solid houses but only straw-huts (cf. Bissuel 1888, p. 53). It is true that Hornemann mentions a village comprising 25–30 houses built of stone and situated in the country *[342] of Hhagarâ (Hornemann 1803, I, p. 154 f.). But Hornemann travelled further east and never visited Ahaggar or Tasilé-n-Ajjer. His information may perhaps refer to a village in the latter region also inhabited by noble *Ihaggaren* Tuareg. Permanent settlements of Ahaggar are apparently never mentioned in the writings of Medieval Arab authors. We know that Ahaggar was visited by Ibn Batutah. He does not mention any settlements in this country, of which and its inhabitants "there is little good to say" (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 446).

*342 A.4. *Subterranean or semi-subterranean dwellings.*

[17] Subterranean or semi-subterranean dwellings seem to be unknown in Ayr and also in the regions inhabited by most other Southern Tuareg though found among sedentary people along the Niger [563] Bend (cf. Hefel 1946, p. 190 ff.). They are known also in Ahaggar where they are used exclusively by black-skinned agriculturists who claim that this type of dwelling named *eddamus* was introduced into Ahaggar with the *Kel Ĝanet*. This agrees with the fact that these dwellings are particularly common in the region of Taṛhawhawt where many of the *Kel Ĝanet* live. However, subterranean dwellings nowadays are also used by certain other sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The dwellings are not very deep, and frequently they are only semi-subterranean, the upper part then consisting of walls built of rectangular pieces of sundried mud or of stones kept together by mud. The subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling normally has a rectangular site, and is not very spacious. Introduced by the *Kel Ĝanet*, this type of dwelling is comparatively recent in Ahaggar. I have not seen subterranean

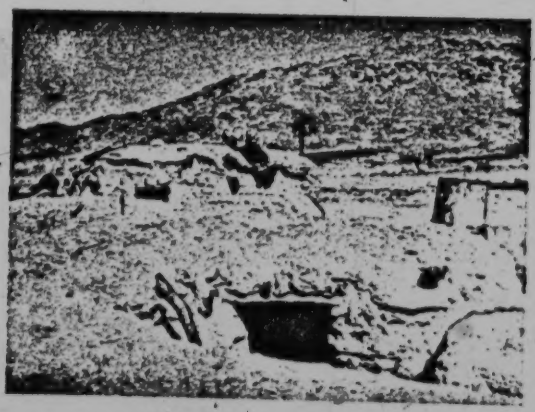

Fig. 248. Semi-subterranean house with two rooms (*eddamus*). Ahaggar, I-n-gawen.

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*342 A Tuareg hut of this type from the *Kel Terurit* (*Isekkemaren*) belonged to the chief of that tribe. It lay not far from Ft. Polignac (Éléẓi) and I lived in it for several days. It was constructed as follows:—

A heavy central forked post with a diameter of about 0.15 m at its thick end was buried solidly in the ground. Nine smaller forked sticks about 1.50 m high and with a diameter of about 0.07–0.08 m were fixed in the ground in a circle around the central post with a distance of 1.50–2.00 m between each. Nine laths with a diameter of about 0.07–0.08 m rested in the prongs of the nine forked sticks and were united in the large prong of the high central post. Sticks of the same diameter were placed horizontally over the prongs of the nine vertical sticks surrounding the central post. The nine laths formed the basis of the conical roof construction, and smaller boughs were laid over them to support the thick layer of *tulhult* grass covering the roof. The wall was also covered with large bunches of *tulhult* grass which were supported by small boughs put in the ground and leaning against the vertical forked sticks and their horizontal laths. This grass or hay covering the wall was kept to the wooden construction by means of a long rope made of goat's hair running round the hut. Cords of the same material and also pieces of bast were used to tie the various elements together. The hut had two entrances about 1.50 m wide and 1.00 m high. These were placed opposite each other (N-S) to permit a current of air to circulate through the hut. Other huts seen among the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer were very similar to that described, but most of them were smaller and had a less elevated central post. Some of the huts did not have an entirely round ground-plan and were not easily distinguishable from the square straw-hut mentioned above. However, there was no doubt that most huts used among the pastoral Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer were round or cylindrical in form and had a conical roof. Most Tuareg of this area live in round strawhuts nowadays, and I saw this type even among true noble *342 361 Tuareg of the *Uraṛen* tribe. The huts are used mainly in the hot summer season when pastoralists camp around wells and water-holes, while most people in winter use skin-tents. The huts are built by the women and they are not transported if the camp moves to another place as building material is easily found. Moreover, it seems as if many pastoralists during the hot season always return to the same place at a definite well or waterhole. Duveyrier states that in such fixed camps ("campements

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Fig. 252. A small cylindrical *ikeber* hut covered with *tulhult* grass (*Aristida pungens*). Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

[text continues on p. 338]

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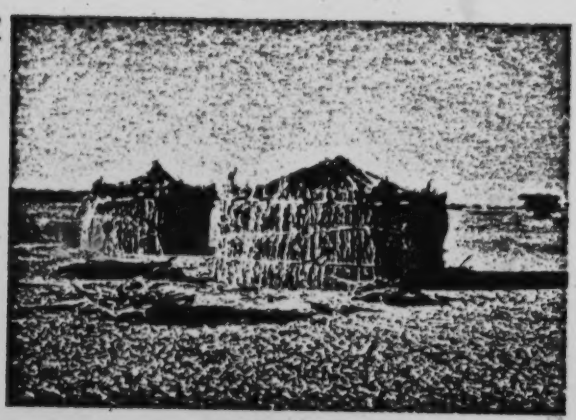

Fig. 254. Cylindrical huts with conical roofs. The Fezzan area. Photograph by Dr. Erik Smidt, Copenhagen.

*342 Duveyrier states that in such fixed camps ("campements
54 de station") the noble Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer live in tents, while the vassals use straw-huts (Duveyrier
[34] 1864, p. 403). The Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer agreed that this was so in the past, but nowadays noble Tuareg and vassals alike prefer the straw-hut in summer because the leather tent is extremely hot at that season. Barth also states that many vassal Tuareg of the *Kel Ajjer* do not live in leather tents like the noble Tuareg, but in round, conical huts akin to those of Central Africa, and he says that many Tuareg of the *Ajjer* group have an intermediate position between sedentary and nomadic people (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257). Everything seems to indicate that the straw-huts (*ikebran*) used among the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer form the traditional dwelling of most vassal Tuareg, and it seems as if the round and conical *ékeber* type is of more ancient date with them than the square or rectangular type A.5.b.

*342 Cylindrical huts with a conical roof are used by the Tuareg who live in the Fezzan area, and they are also here somewhat mixed with the square or rectangular straw hut. This is stated by Despois who describes these dwellings in some detail (Despois 1946, p. 83 f.). A round hut with conical roof similar to the hut mentioned above from the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but having 16 forked sticks around the central post instead of 9, is described in detail by Scarin from the Tuareg of the Ṛadames region ([illegible] in 1934, I, p. 112 f., Fig. 90–94 & phot. 42).

In Ahaggar cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs are less common than in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. I have seen very few of them, and they seem to be of different origins as follows:—

[22] Huts akin to the round *ékeber* type described above from Tasilé-n-Ajjer were seen in the *Amenukal*'s camp close to the village of Abalessa, and the same type occurred at Silet where it was used by Tuareg pastoralists of the tribes *Iklan-en-tawsit*, *Ikechchemaḍen*, and *Dag Ṛali* during their stay at Silet to harvest dates. These latter huts were made from very thick poles of palm trunk and their construction was identical to that described from Tasilé-n-Ajjer above (cf. Fig. 253 a-b). The palm trunk poles were

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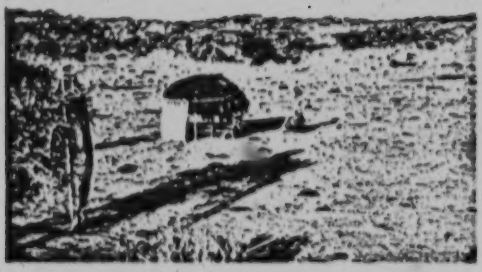

Fig. 270. An arched barrel-vaulted tent covered with a sheet of skin. In the background two arched mat tents. In the foreground to the left two cotton bows. Ayr, the *Kel Tédalé* tribe.

*342 true structure, and structurally there is a great diversity of tent types. It seems as if these tent structures can be divided into a few main groups which I shall describe in detail.

B.2.a. *Skin tents of arch construction.*

Tents which have one or more arches, generally placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction are widely found in Tuareg country. They are in fact more common than appears from the literature which has been so far published on Tuareg culture. The wide distribution of this particular structure in skin tents is interesting, the more so as it is related to the structure of mat tents. There are the following types of arch structures:—

B.2.a.1. This tent was seen in a camp of the *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg of north-western Ayr. It is known that skin tents are found among them (cf. Joubert 1939, p. 252 f.), but they have never been described. The Ayr Tuareg say that in the past many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* lived in skin tents which, however, are less common among them nowadays. This agrees with my own experience. I have visited several [114] *Kel Tédalé* camps, but I have only seen the skin tent here mentioned. This was found in a camp of [361] three tents, the two others being ordinary mat tents. The skin tent I saw in this camp was also of the normal structure used for mat tents in Ayr, though shorter. The lower part was partly covered, not by a mat plaited from dum palm leaves, but by an *afezu* mat.

[221] B.2.a.2. Under this heading I describe two identical tents seen in a camp of *Iregenaten* Tuareg who belong to the Ahaggar federation but have their traditional grazing grounds west of the Ayr [361] Massif in the Tamesna Plains. The camp was actually situated in the region between Tegidda-n-tésemt [137] and I-n-abanţerit, where perennial vegetation is extremely scarce and mainly comprises scattered *tamat* acacias (*Acacia flava*). The camp visited had eight skin tents among which were the two of arch construction as follows:—

[824] Both tents were very small, and their wooden structure was made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*). In the middle of the tent and at right angles to its longitudinal direction there was an

arch about 1.50 m high. It consisted of two boughs fixed in the ground and lashed together at their tops; this was termed *aḥeḡu* (pl. *iḡeḡan*). At both sides of this arch there was a horizontal cross-bar known as *areḡaraḡa* (pl. *ireḡeraḡaten*) which rested upon two forked sticks (*téḡettewt*, pl. *tiḡettewin*). The arch and the two pairs of horizontal cross-bars were parallel to one another, connected by means of two semi-arches termed *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*) each of them made from two slender rods attached to each other over the arch. These semi-arches were fastened to the middle arch and to the outer edges of the two cross-bars by means of cords. Around this structure, which supported the sheet, there was a number of wooden poles or posts some of which were higher than the tent. These poles and posts were used for the attachment of the sheet, which, however, during my visit rested over the structure without any attachment. A narrow mat of the ordinary *afezu*-type belonged to this tent (Fig. 271). 342*

Tents structurally akin to the B.2.a.2. type but without semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the dwelling are found south and north of the Tamesna region:—

B.2.a.3. This tent was seen in a camp inhabited by blacksmiths of the *Kel Dennek* country around Tawa. They had temporarily settled not far from Agadez to work among pastoral *Kel Ayr*. The camp comprised only three tents which were very small – about 4.00 × 2.00 m with a height of about 1.20 m. The tents were structurally identical and had sheets sewn together from many small pieces of skin resting upon the following structure:— A central arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction. It was called *teḳḳeḳḳewat* (pl. *teḳḳeḳḳewatin*) like the central arch of the ordinary mat tent among the Ayr Tuareg. At both sides of this arch and parallel to it there was a somewhat lower horizontal cross-bar resting upon two forked sticks (*tiḡettewin*, sing. *téḡettewt*). The sheet rested upon this structure and was fastened to a few upright poles fixed in the ground around it. There were three such sticks at the front and at the back, and one at each of the narrow ends. A mat about one metre high belonged to the tent; this mat was not a normal *afezu* mat, but plaited – apparently of dum palm material (cf. Fig. 272). A wooden bed (*téḍabat*) was placed in the middle of the tent, occupying most of its ground area. [361] [162] [352]

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Fig. 271. Skin tent of the B.2.a.2. type. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Ireḡenaten* tribe.

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*342 B.2.a.6. The tent has one arch made of tamarix root, and this arch is placed parallel to the longitudinal direction at the back of the tent. A horizontal cross-bar (*aregaraga*) rests with one end upon the top of the arch, while its other end is supported by a vertical forked pole at the front of the tent. At both sides of this cross-bar there is a cross-bar (*aregaraga*) resting upon two forked sticks (*tiget-tewin*). This type is excellently depicted by Lhote (cf. Lhote 1947a, photos 24–26 p. 49 & 64; 1955, Fig. 23 p. 256).

B.2.a.7. The tent is identical with B.2.a.6 with the exception that there are two central horizontal cross-bars resting upon the top of the hind arch and upon two upright forked poles placed very close to each other in the front.

[381] B.2.a.8. This is a tent described and depicted by Barth from a Tuareg camp south of the Niger between the Hombori Mountains and the city of Bambara:— The sheet is suspended over three pairs of sticks of which the middle pair is much higher than the outer pairs. The middle pair of sticks is not of the same type in all tents, for the two high sticks in some tents are bent against each other and kept together by means of a very short piece of wood ("Querholz"). Judging from Barth's illustration of this tent it would seem as if the two middle sticks, united by a small piece of wood at their bent tops, form a high central arch. The skin tent, which contains two beds made from date palm-fronds, is apparently a very large one. It is provided with a mat of the type generally used for skin tents (Barth 1857–58, IV, p. 345 f.).

We conclude this description of arched skin tents by saying that these dwellings seem to be found within most Tuareg groups. Such tents are not so common nowadays as they were earlier. This is true of Ahaggar, where most Tuareg had arched skin tents until quite recently. Thus several informants about 50 or 60 years old told me that in their childhood most Ahaggar Tuareg lived in skin tents of this type.

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Fig. 275. Skin tent of the B.2.b.1 type. In the foreground a bed (*ráhabu*) resting upon four forked sticks. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Irejenaten* tribe.

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B.2.b. *Skin tents with semi-arches over horizontal cross-bars* 342*

I have seen such tents among Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, and it is from this area that I describe the following structure:—

B.2.b.1. Three tents of this type were seen in the *Iregenaten* camp which comprised eight tents south of *I-n-abanṛerit*. One of the tents was very large with a sheet measuring about 7.00×7.00 m, while the two others were comparatively small. The two small tents had a maximum height of about 1.50 m, while the large tent was about 1.70 m high. Structurally the three tents were identical, as follows:— [361]

Three pairs of forked sticks with horizontal cross-bars were placed parallel to one another at right angles to the longitudinal direction. The middle pair of sticks was a good deal higher than the two outer pairs; the two central poles or sticks were called *igetten* (sing. *aget*) and the sticks of the two outer pairs *iigeṭṭewin* (sing. *iégeṭṭewi*). The three horizontal cross-bars were all known as *iregeragaten* (sing. *aregaraga*). The skeleton of these three cross-bars resting upon pairs of sticks had in addition two semi-arches known as *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*). Each of these semi-arches consisted of two slender rods, tied together at their thin ends resting upon the central cross-bars to which they were also fastened with cords, while the thick ends of the semi-arches were tied to the two outer cross-bars close to their edges. This structure, we see, is not very different from the B.2.a.2 type. The sole distinction between these two types is that the latter has a central arch instead of a central cross-bar resting upon upright poles. Actually, the types B.2.b.1 and B.2.a.2 were seen in the same camp and constituted five out of the total eight tents found in it. The wooden structure of the B.2.b.1. tents was also made from boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*). The sheet was attached to a number of poles, both in the front and at the back, while the narrow ends were kept close to the grounds by means of short wooden pegs. The ordinary *afeẓu* mats belonged to all three tents (Fig. 275).

B.2.b.2. This is a very small tent depicted by Lhote from the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg around Gao. Its structure appears to be related to that just described (cf. Lhote 1947a, photo 79 p. 113). [13]

B.2.b.3. This is a most interesting type of skin tent which is described by Lhote from the south-western Tuareg – the *Tengerregif* and the *Kel Inteser*. The type is illustrated by excellent photographs which clearly indicate the structure, namely:— There are two long semi-arches each of which is made from two curved sticks lashed together. The semi-arches are attached at their thick ends to two horizontal cross-bars, each of which rests upon a pair of forked sticks. The horizontal cross-bars are very short so that the distance between the two parallel semi-arches which follow the longitudinal direction of the structure is also very short. The semi-arches are further supported by two other short cross-bars each resting upon two sticks. These sticks with their cross-bars are not always erected in the same way. In summer, the sticks are upright, while in winter they are placed obliquely towards the inside. All poles and sticks which make up the structure are buried solidly in the ground, and this is also the case with the very large number of poles placed along the sides for fastening the sheet. According to Lhote, some of these poles are termed *igem* and *ounousen* (*unnusen*), which words are also used in Ahaggar for certain poles. Though the structure is a very narrow one, these tents may nevertheless be very large as the sheet is fastened to many poles placed at some distance from the narrow structure (Lhote 1947a, p. 100, 160 f., photographs nos. 85–93 p. 128–129). [101]

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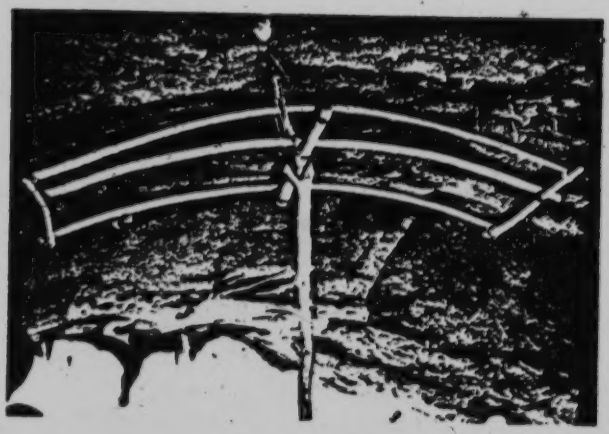

Fig. 283. Cross-bar (*tamankayt*) of the B.2.g.7 type. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Ireḡenaten* tribe.

in case of very extreme heat in the summer make a kind of primitive T-shaped post from a simple bough of tamarisk, to the top of which they attach a short stick of the same material. They then wrap pieces of old cotton around the place of attachment in order that the post shall not gall the sheet. [114] But though I have lived among vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar over extremely long periods of the hot season I have seen such primitive T-shaped posts only once. As already stated T-shaped posts seem to be advantageous also during heavy showers of rain as the water quickly runs off the sheet. However, I have never seen vassal Tuareg use simple T-shaped posts in case of heavy rainfall, for they content themselves with holding a stick or pole against the sheet as long as rain falls. Primitive T-shaped posts like those just described from Ahaggar and consisting of a simple post at the top of which a short horizontal stick is attached, seem to be a mere imitation of the true T-shaped posts. However, there is another and very interesting type of T-shaped post, which I describe below under the two headings:—

● [361] B.2.g.7. This tent I saw in a camp of *Ireḡenaten* Tuareg not far from I-n-abanṭerit in the Tamesna Plains. The tent had two pairs of forked sticks (*tiḡeṭṭewin*) each pair carrying a horizontal cross-bar (*areḡiraḡa*). These forked sticks with their cross-bars were about 0.70 m high. While these sticks were buried in the ground there was between their two cross-bars a central forked post (*aḡet*) about 1.20 metres high. In its prong it carried a most unusual cross-bar called *tamankayt*. This consisted of a wooden frame 1.44 m long and 0.72 m broad made from three long sticks attached to three short ones the middle one of which was particularly heavy and rested in the prong of the central post (cf. Fig. 283). The short sticks were parallel to the two outer cross-bars and at right angles to the longitudinal direction. In other words, the length of this cross-bar frame followed the longitudinal direction of the tent, but in spite of this we can speak of a cross-bar placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction, as one of the short sticks of the frame rests upon the central post. The frame-like cross-bar was not fastened to the outer cross-bars with cords, and the central post was not buried in the ground.

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Of this yield he gives 10 kilos to the Amenukal, or to the 243

Tuareg who has territorial rights (cf. p. 151), while the yield of one garden bed – that is about other [651] ten kilos – is given to a blacksmith who in return mends hoes and other agricultural implements. The [362] necessary amount of seed-corn, comprising about 50 kilos, should also be withdrawn from the winter crop yield so that his total net profit is about 630 kilos of wheat and barley. To this amount of cereals 241 can be added the yield of summer crops (millet, sorghum, maize, tomatoes, and other vegetables) for

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Fig. 138a–c. Grown cereals from Ahaggar.
a. Millet (*dedhi*) (*Pennisetum typhoideum*). b. Two types of sorghum (*ahora*, *tafsut*).
c. Maize (*sagafaid*) (*Zea mays*).

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Fig. 29. Milking a cow. The calf is attached to a tree by means of a cord (*témetrek*) around its neck, the mother cow being attached to the same tree with a cord (*aɣan*) around its horns.
Ayr, Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group.

*233 Zebus are able to cross the barren desert country of the Sahara in winter, and even with so hot a temperature, as that prevailing at the end of April, I have met Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* tribe leading zebus from Northern Ayr to Tamanraset in Ahaggar.

The Ayr Tuareg seem to admit that they have always had zebus, but they say that in the past they had very few cattle. Nowadays there are zebus in so to speak all camps and villages of the Massif and in the plains to the west of it. At the village of Iferwan sedentary farmers possess three to four animals per household, and figures are much bigger for households of true pastoralists. It is quite normal for a nomadic household to possess a dozen zebus, and this is true even of pastoral Tuareg roaming in the northern outskirts of Ayr where precipitation is lower than in the south.

In fact zebu-breeding is a very profitable industry to the nomads, the more so as very little work is connected with it. The animals leave the camp early in the morning to return again entirely by themselves in the evening before darkness. They are never accompanied by herdsmen as there are no beasts of prey strong enough to attack them nowadays. I have met Tuareg who were evidently very fond of [171] their zebus, but they never showed the same interest towards their cattle as do the Fulani, who always accompany their herds. During grazing Tuareg zebus normally roam freely, but certain animals which are difficult to get hold of are provided with a cord (*aɣan*) around their horns to which cord is attached [366] a long piece of wood trailing on the ground. When oxen are driven to the market place (at Agadez or Ingal) for selling,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



bridge of the nose of a calf, so that it hurts its mother when it tries to suck (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 359). – 233*
(3) *akimbab*, that is a plaited muzzle which allows the calf to graze, but prevents it from sucking. I have been told both in Ahaggar and Ayr that such muzzles are used for camel calves, but apparently they do not constitute a normal weaning method. – (4) *asedres* or *ameru* are said to be synonymous terms for the weaning method generally adopted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. The method is as follows:— The upper lip of the calf is pierced on both sides of the harelip so characteristic of all camels. A piece of thin root of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) is drawn through these holes so [824] that the ends of the root protude at both sides, and a knot is made at both ends that the root will not fall out. These knots hurt the udder of a she-camel when the calf starts to suck, but this is not the real idea of the device. For the root-piece keeps the pierced holes open and the calf is therefore unable to suck at all.

A she-camel may yield about ten litres of milk at the beginning of its lactation period, but at the 234
end of this period it does not yield more than two or three litres even with good grazing. The yield is always dependent on grazing conditions. Thus during my stay in Ahnet and Ahaggar 1954–55, a Tuareg who owned about twenty she-camels acquired only two litres of milk a day in all from these animals. But conditions of camel-breeding are much better in Ayr and in the southern plains where [433] she-camels are tolerably good milk-yielders most of the year, and camel's milk is therefore very important to some pastoralists of these regions. Camel's milk is drunk and not generally used for food [272] in other ways. It is much esteemed by all Tuareg, who claim that it possesses a particular power and gives strength. It is never stored in the shape of butter or cheese. The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr [262] never eat camel's butter which they consider possesses a poor taste, and, besides, it is very difficult to churn. They make butter of camel's milk only when butter of milk from other domestic animals is [302] lacking for the greasing of the hair. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr butter is then churned by the men in a rather peculiar way:— A skin bag containing an amount of camel's milk is attached to the riding [415] saddle of a camel which is then ridden at very fast speed for some time. But even with this method, it is said, camel's milk gives very little butter, and it is also definitely stated that the milk cannot be used for cheese-making. These Tuareg statements seem to be confirmed by analyses of veterinaries, [114] who claim camel's milk to contain very little casein, and it has been proved difficult to separate butter from camel's milk (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 707 ff.).

She-camels can mate and yield milk until an age of about 25, and their average length of life is 233*
estimated by the Tuareg at about 30 years. But pastoral Tuareg do not generally keep their camels until they die a natural death. In Ayr I was told that she-camels more than twenty years old should be sold or killed. Most Tuareg sell their old camels in the oases of the Central or Northern Sahara [432] where a large population of sedentary farmers is constantly yearning for meat. Very few camels are [366] killed by the butchers of Agadez, where meat from oxen, sheep, and goats is always available and [262] fairly cheap, but a great many old camels are slaughtered at the market places of the oases further north.

Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr very rarely kill their own camels to eat them. They will slaughter a camel 262
which suffers from some severe disease as all animals dying by accident or from disease are unlawful to eat. However, there are also some Ayr Tuareg who will never eat camel's meat. They say that they [261] would feel very sick at heart were they to do so, and some Tuareg even say that they would vomit

# Caravan Trading

Caravan trading of the Sahara has suffered severely from the European colonisation of Northern 178
Africa. The establishment of ports and railways in the Sudanese area and the abolition of the slave- 437
trade have brought to an end the large caravans passing through the desert. In recent times another 484
heavy blow has been struck against the caravans, for transportation is more and more taken over
by trucks which can easily pass through the open desert country. Many pastoralists of Northern [433]
Africa suffer from the decline of their trade, which for centuries has been an important stabilizing
factor for their subsistence. The decline of caravan trading is also strongly felt in the oases, which [366]
have played a very important part as trading posts or trading stations. Some of these oases have far [161]
fewer inhabitants nowadays than in the past, and it is most difficult for many sedentary people of the
oases to exist. The decline of the trade has been felt also among the pastoral Tuareg. But caravan
trading is still important to most of them, and many of then could not support life without it. To
understand the important role of caravan trading we have once more to return to the economic values
of subsistence activities.

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AHAGGAR TUAREG

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot live exclusively on stock-breeding products all the year round – not even 433
in good years when annual pasture is well developed in autumn and early winter. Even in a good 262
year the nomads mainly eat vegetable food throughout the hot season, and some bread or porridge
is also consumed during the period of abundant milk yields. It is true that nomads can subsist entirely
on milk for long periods, and that some people do so for weeks or even months. Galan says that
pastoralists of of Ahaggar, when they live entirely on milk, can do with four litres a day per person
(Galan 1951, p. 231). But it is estimated by the Ayr Tuareg that they need about eight or ten litres a
day to live entirely on milk, and they all claim that they get veary from constant milk drinking. They [261]
say that though they do not feel hungry when they live exclusively on milk they experience a peculiar,
unpleasant feeling in the stomach. The relative importance of stock-breeding products (mainly milk)
and vegetable food (mainly wheat, millet, and dates) may be seen from the diagram Fig. 151.[1] In a
good year there is normally some possibility of collecting wild seeds for bread and porridge, but the
Tuareg claim that they cannot easily cover their need of vegetable products even in a year when milk
is abundant. And milk is not always abundant. We can estimate that for two or three good years 433

[p. 209]

[1] [cf. p. 216]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



366
563
291
252
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Fig. 149. The market place of Agadez. In the front negroid Hausa men roasting small pieces of meat on a spit; in the background Tuareg camels offered for sale.

484 pack-camels to the salt pit of Amadror to mine salt in the hot season. They load the camels with salt
487 and bring them to the camp where further preparations for the journey are made. When the caravans
[317] have started southwards they stop in the Tamesna plains and rest there for at least one month to allow
the pack-camels to feed on annual pasture, and, if necessary, to exchange the pack-camels with others
[437] kept by the Ahaggar Tuareg in Tamesna. Thereupon the caravan will continue towards the millet-
growing towns and villages of the Sudan to bargain with the Hausa. The caravan returns to Ahaggar
[22] again at the end of March or at the beginning of April, so that the total duration of a south-bound
caravan is up to six or seven months.

433 The Sudanese millet trade is of extreme value to the subsistence of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is partic-
439 ularly important to their economy that they obtain millet for non-nomadic products transported by
camels, which are mainly bred outside of Ahaggar. The millet trade is consequently not much influ-
enced by Ahaggar's changeable climate. According to official statistics, the Ahaggar caravans in 1946
exported 375 tons salt, and imported 720 tons millet, while the cereals grown in Ahaggar amounted
to 197 tons (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). According to Galan vegetable food grown in the gardens of
Ahaggar in 1950 (a bad year) amounted to 121 tons wheat, 5 tons millet and barley, and 4 tons of
tomatoes – about 10 kg of wheat and 0.5 kg of millet, barley, and tomatoes per person (Galan 1951,
[465] p. 233). We see from this that the amount of cereals acquired in the Sudan far exceeds the amount
grown in Ahaggar, and as we have mentioned, the millet trade is also important for the establishment
of Tuareg agriculture in their own country where this cereal is used for payments to cultivators. It can
also be added that the Sudanese caravan trade is more important to the Tuareg than appears from
[435] the figures above. For salt is much more valuable than millet, and for one load of salt the Tuareg
receive from four to fifteen loads of millet – in 1946 the price was fifteen to one (cf. Malaurie 1953,
p. 344). It is evident that the Tuareg could not take all this millet back to Ahaggar. Most of it is re-sold

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



433 439 in the Sudan for such articles as camel saddles, sandals, swords, millet mortars, indigo cotton, earthenware pots, and the like. The Tuareg may also buy quantities of butter and cheese for sale to the sedentary people of Tidikelt and for their own use in dry years.

The Sudanese trade constitutes the great stabilizing factor in the economy of pastoral Tuareg of [262] Ahaggar. In return for the valuable rock-salt, pastoral Tuareg obtain the bulk of their agricultural food products (millet), butter and cheese for their own consumption in dry years, many important artefacts and notably their camel saddles and their millet mortars. They also get a surplus of millet and goods for investment in their Ahaggar gardens and for selling to the sedentary people of the Tidikelt oases.

There are certain Tuareg who do not engage in the Sudanese salt trade, notably those living in Ahnet; and these Tuareg nowadays have no irrigated gardens either. They acquire their necessary vegetable food products from Tidikelt (dates) and from Abalessa and Tamanṛaset (wheat). They buy these vegetable products with their surplus of goats, sheep, camels, butter and cheese, and an occasional [511] barbary sheep. In a good year they can meet their needs of food in this way, but it is most difficult for them to subsist in dry years; and it may happen that two dry years come in succession. When I [114] stayed among the Ahnet Tuareg in 1954–55, all camps visited were very short of food, while the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif who engage much in the salt trade (the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé*) possessed what they needed of wheat, barley, dates, and millet.

[366] To-day there is a rather important market at Tamanṛaset where many Tuareg sell surplus livestock, and where they can also buy cereals and dates. But it is always profitable to sell livestock and meat [435] in the Tidikelt oases where meat, butter and cheese are very expensive articles. Dates are cheap in these 000 oases, European goods and woven blankets are also cheaper than at Tamanṛaset. The trading expedi-

804 322 177

Fig. 150. Wooden measure (*muda*) which contains one kilo of cereals, or the like. The Tuareg have adopted the kilogramme into their own weight system. The proper Tuareg unit is the *taǵiwa* which, according to Foucauld, corresponds to three kilogrammes (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1160), but nowadays the Ahaggar Tuareg count one *taǵiwa* as equal to two kilogrammes and a half. The Tuareg have wooden or metal measures of *taǵiwa* size, and there are also larger measures to be used for grain, dates, and the like. For units smaller than *muda* the Tuareg sometimes use a wooden measure called *tamaḳast* which holds half a kilogramme. Smaller quantities are measured with the hand held half open, and it is recognized in Ahaggar that one *taǵiwa* corresponds to 99 handfuls. In Ayr it is very common to use a little plaited bowl (*téfakemt*) as the smallest unit of measurement. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.125 m in diameter at the rim. (F.M. 168).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The trading expedi-
tions have remained important to the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it is clear that they would not go on trading were these expeditions not profitable, for trading expeditions are extremely strenuous. Though the expeditions set off when the extreme heat is decreasing, it is still very hot in the extensive barren plains in autumn and in winter during daytime. Water and pasture are often extremely scarce in this deserted country, and the Tuareg frequently have to travel rapidly. For days or weeks they live so to say on their camels, and if camels are not too heavily loaded they may do up to 16 hours a day for several days in succession. Under such journeys the Tuareg eat only once a day. Obviously such trading expeditions are also very hard on the pack-camels, and there is always a risk of loosing a camel during such journeys through barren, desert country.

In this brief outline of caravan trading I have not considered those Ahaggar Tuareg living constantly in the Tamesna plains and adjacent regions. These Tuareg own more livestock than the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif, and I do not believe that they engage so much in extensive trading expeditions. They are comparatively rich in she-camels which are tolerably good milk yielders in these regions most of the year, and milk is more important as food than it is in Ahaggar. I believe that most Ahaggar Tuareg of the Tamesna region acquire their necessary vegetable products by selling surplus livestock, butter and cheese at the markets of Ingal and Agadez.

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AYR TUAREG

Among the Ayr Tuareg stock-breeding products are far more important for food than in the north. Grazing conditions are better with annual pasture as a recurrent event, and the Tuareg keep bigger flocks of goats and sheep, larger camel herds, and most have a few zebus which are guarded without much difficulty. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr can live on milk for a large part of the year, though they, like those of Ahaggar, become tired of milk drinking if they get no solid food. There are Tuareg of Southern Ayr who live exclusively on milk for two or three months during the periods of *akasa* and *ṛarat* and to whom milk is important as food for at least six months. In the extremely hot season of *ewilen* when milk is very scarce most Tuareg eat millet porridge with a little milk or sauce (cf. p. 242 f.), and Tuareg who are not very wealthy eat millet porridge to a great extent all the year round, so that the necessary amount of millet for many camps is about 0.5 kilo a day per person, or about 180 kilos a year. In Ayr there are fairly good possibilities of collecting if there are not too many locusts, but most Tuareg do not collect a great quantity of wild seeds, and claim that they would be very badly off without millet, as seeds of wild plants are not very nourishing in comparison. In one year during the second world war (in 1943) they say that millet was very hard to get; it was then very difficult to subsist and a great many animals had to be killed for food. Millet is almost indispensable to the Tuareg; they also consume other vegetables derived from agriculture, notably wheat, maize, and dates, but millet is the most essential non-nomadic food product. Normally it can be acquired by most Ayr Tuareg without much difficulty.

The people of Ayr obtain their provisions of millet from the Sudanese area of shifting cultivation, notably from Damergu (Tanut). Millet can also be bought at Agadez whereto it is brought by Tuareg

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



may be seen in Fig. 167a–b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*tistent*) (Fig. 218a).

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a–c, 210a–b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*éstan*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices.

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among the *Kel Ayr*. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*aḡum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*alegutguten*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig 220b). This basket type (*tésenit*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals.

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éseber* or *tésebert* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents; and they are manufactured by many women among the *Kel Ahaggar* (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers, and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*téldabut*) (Fig. 212a–b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Igdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south.

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitues the most important craft in the

513 No one has a bed except the amenokal, who owns one of the Hausa
[352 type; this model has also been adopted in a certain number /227/
177 of Kel Oui /Owey/ camps. (1) The man and woman each sleep on
643]

1. Contrary to what has been said, the bed is not Tuareg but Hausa. Its use is spread among the sedentary people of Aïr, Damergou, and Sokoto, and it is made by Hausa smiths.

his or her own side of the tent, the boys with their father and the girls with their mother.

654 There are no cradles for babies among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and young children are placed on a skin or on blankets. Sometimes a hemispheric wicker frame is put over them and covered with a cloth to cut off the light or protect them from sandstorms.

The Kel Aïr and the Tenguéréguif have little cradles which are suspended from the top of the tent.

354 Fire. -- In front of each tent there is a hearth, generally made of three stones. It is not intended for cooking purposes, but rather for warmth in the evening after the sun has gone down when all the people gather in the shelter of the asaber, which is unrolled in an arc in front of the tent. The flame warms up hearts and
[272 bodies and synthesizes family and friendship. Sometimes a container of water is placed on the three stones to heat in order to make tea.

343 The cooking fire is set apart, generally some three or four
354 meters from the tent, in the shelter of a little stone wall in order to protect it from the wind.

372 We have not been able to find any myth on the origin of fire
773 among the Tuareg. According to them it was created by God, who gave it to man to cook food. Iblis (Satan) wanted to seize the secret of how it was made, and God punished him by creating

773 the tortures of hell. Iblis, however, communicated his secret to
372 the blacksmiths, who since that time have known how to use it for metalworking.

372 The Tuareg used to obtain fire by friction, using a board of
[824] torha (callotropis procera) and a branch of hardwood; they caught the spark on a tuft of silk from the fruit of the callotropis and blew on it until they got a flame, which required about a minute. They have kept this practice and still use it occasionally.

[439 Today they find matches sold by /228/ Tamanrasset merchants,
177] but they all have tinderboxes with flint and a bent piece of iron.

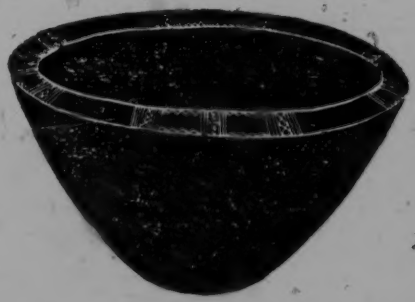


Fig. 27. Ahaggar Tuareg dish, imported from Hausa country.

[415 They do not keep up the
439] fire. They carry it from one tent to the other in a fragment of an old gourd or sometimes hold a glowing ember in their hands without burning themselves.

[237 When they want to transport
484] it long distances, they use camel-dung embers.

[237] The Tuareg commonly use the excrement of camels and goats as fuel. In the high
[137] mountains, wood is quite rare, but in the lower parts of the Koudia old acacia or éthel /ath? Ed. / stumps are to be found. They never
[824] use the wood of the callotropis, which is the devil's tree and makes muffled noises when it is burned.

[823] Basalt blocks are never used to make the hearth, since they believe that basalt is possessed by genii and will explode violently when heated.

352 Furniture. -- We have briefly described the objects furnishing the parts of the tent reserved for the husband and wife. To these must be added a certain number of objects which make up the

# Crafts

Tuareg crafts clearly disclose traits belonging to distinct cultural levels. This may be seen from a brief description of the methods of fire-making. 372 [174]

Matches are in ordinary use nowadays, but they are used economically not only because they cost money but also because many Tuareg live far away from towns or trading posts where matches can be obtained. The embers of a fire smoulder for a very long time, and when the Tuareg want to light a fire they normally find embers under the ashes where their fire has been. Glowing wood is carried from one tent to another on a fragment of calabashes or earthen pots, and some Tuareg even take fire with them in this way during nomadic migrations. If a new fire has to be lit and matches are not available, most Tuareg use the well-known method of fire-making by means of flint and steel. This method is widely resorted to in Northern Africa even to-day, and is practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar as follows:— The curved piece of steel (*énefed*) is placed over the three middle fingers of the right hand. It is struck against a small piece of flint (*taſarast*) held between the first and second fingers of the left hand together with a small piece of lighting material which may be a small piece of cotton cloth. However, the best lighting material (*taſjert*) is a piece of wood of *teſérysst* (*Echinops Bovei*), which has been boiled and thereupon beaten into a fibrous mass with a stone. The Tuareg keep this lighting material in a particular leather bag (*taralkabt*) together with the steel and one or two pieces of flint (Fig. 198). Lighting material according to Maire is also made from a plant named *térahit* (*Traganum nudatum*) (Maire 1933, p. 82). The spark produced by striking the steel against the flint causes the lighting material to glow, and after blowing on it or swinging it in the air it is placed under a small bunch of hay which burst into flame after further heavy blowing. The use of flint and steel is not a very difficult method of fire-making, and I have used it myself on journeys when matches had come to an end. [124] [445] [824]

The Tuareg do not generally use more primitive methods of fire-making nowadays. But they know an ancient method of making fire by rubbing a piece of hard wood (*agar* in Ahaggar, *agar* in Ayr; *Maerua crassifolia*) against a piece of soft wood (*turha* in Ahaggar, *turza* in Ayr; *Calotropis procera*). By this process they produce by hand rubbing a glowing dust which is brought into flame by means of lighting material and hay as described above. One of my informants among the Ayr Tuareg had produced fire according to this method. Lhote states that the method is at times used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar, where the hard ribs of date palm leaves are also used for starting a fire by rubbing (Lhote 1955a, p. 258). [824]

Stone materials play a very little part in Tuareg crafts. Natural stones are used occasionally as 412 [324]

[p. 255]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



372
824

Fig. 198. Flint (*tafarasi*), steel (*ćnefad*), and lighting material (*tajfert*). The lighting material, which is conserved in a leather bag (*tayalloht*), is made from wood of *tafèrpast* (*Echinops Bovei*). Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the steel 0.065 m long. (F.M. 154a–d).

412 tools, e.g., for hammering tent pegs into the ground, for rope making as described below, for separating the hide from the body when skinning a barbary sheep, and for crushing rock-salt, red pebber, dried tomatoes, tobacco, and the like. We have seen above that the Tuareg saddle querns used for grinding cereals are natural stones of a particular form and size, and that they are used for grinding without any particular fashioning, though sometimes treated with a hard stone or a piece of iron to make the [324] grinding surface more rugged and effective. The handmill is never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg (cf. p. 214 ff., Figs. 179–182).

412 172 Prehistoric quern stones and stone pestles are found in many regions of the Central Sahara and these ancient implements, I was told, are sometimes used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar for grinding and pounding (Fig. 200). The Tuareg also use the numerous neolithic stone axes (Fig. 199) as whetstones for iron knives. These axes are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tadefit n eğenna*, that is "the axe of the rain (or the thunder)", and all Tuareg believe that they have fallen from the sky during heavy storms.

301 Stone material is still used for certain Tuareg ornaments, and notably for the well-known arm-ring (*ahbeg* in Ahaggar, *ćweki* in Ayr) which is worn by most adult men and also by some boys. These rings are sometimes mentioned in literature as a weapon, but they are not well fitted for this owing [564] to their fragility. Most arm-rings are made from soft stone such as serpentine, and are manufactured by blacksmiths (Ineden).

342 crosspiece forming the central frame; four vertical stakes are placed two by two on each side of the tent.

[71] This model used to be much more widespread in the Ahaggar, and it seems to be an older form, for the model presently used must have been taken from the Ioullimmiden. All the old people recall having seen it used in their youth in all camps on an equal basis with the vertical stake form.

The tent with arches, the upper part of which forms a kind of dome, is better able to withstand the rains than the other. If [182] that was its raison d' [132] être, we may understand why it disappeared with the gradual drying out of the Sahara. This disappearance may also have been caused by the difficulty of procuring large roots to make the arches.

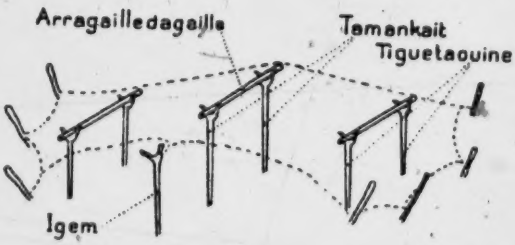



Fig. 25. Tent used by the Kel Rela. During the rainy season, the two central stakes are replaced by a single stake holding up a ridge tile.

[386] The awning is always covered with a coat of red ocher which protects it from the heat of the sun and from the rain.

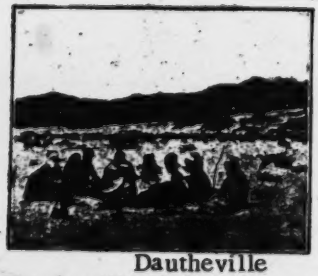
[285] In both models, the tent always includes a sort of detachable closing made of a long mat (asaber) woven from the stems of graminaceae. It is unrolled inside around the stakes to close the tent completely. High up in the mountains the Tuareg reduce the inside area of the tent in order to keep warmer, and provide the part opposite /225/ the opening with a little stone wall which effectively protects them from the cold. The door is always opened toward the south.

The laws of hospitality, "amedjarou," are observed as 574
among all Moslems. The guest, "amadjar," is always well
received.

## Chapter XVI

## Hygiene. Diseases

133
516



Dautheville
Dr. Dautheville in the Abèzzou
Wadi (White Tifedest)

We know that the Tuareg have a horror of water. They do 515
not wash themselves on the pretext that this would make them
sick, but it is essentially because they are very sensitive to [151]
cold. To say their prayers, they do not indulge in the pre- [782
scribed ablutions, even when they are at home and have water 788]
at their disposal. They are content with "taïmoum" (an
imitation of washing with sand), which they call "ettamine."
The amenokal Moussa ag /31/ Amastane is the only Tuareg
whom I have seen making his ablutions with water.

This is also doubtless due to the fact that the Tuareg like 291
to keep the tint of indigo, "sedjeni" ⵙⵉⵏⵉ , on their 302
skins, the result of wearing "chegga," or blue cotton, which 386 ●
runs a great deal and of which they make their clothes. They 515

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the 291 302 386 515
Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been
sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga."

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵓⵙⴼⴰⵔ 177
plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⵔⴰⵏ , and believe in their efficacy. 278
This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, [432 556]
for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his
purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees.
that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very [648
willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly 757]
be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" 164
ⵜⴰⵣⵣⴰⵇ , gonorrhea, "talaoalt;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi"
ⵜⵙⵎⴷⵀⵉ : and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴽⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔⵄⴼ .

## Chapter XVII

## Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro 563 567
and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the [721]
Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which [439]
brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes
without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave 178
them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the 567
progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce
all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade,
if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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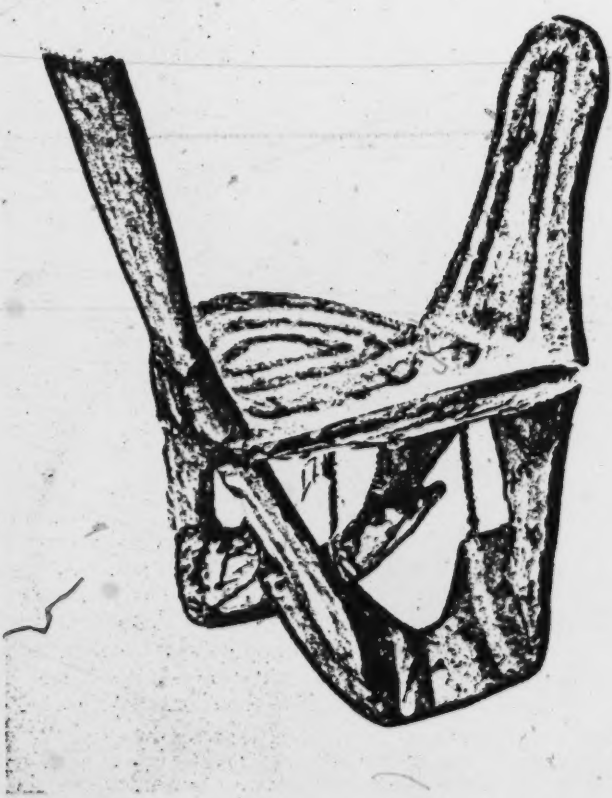

**Fig. 63a. Riding saddle of the *tahyast* type. The saddle is made of wood of the *tarha* tree (*Calotropis procera*) which is often used for riding saddles. The wooden frame is lashed with strips of raw hide and covered with depilated ox-hide which is coloured with the dyes known as *berki*, *temesarnak*, and *tawnkent* (cf. p. 282). Bought in Ahaggar, manufactured in Adrar-n-Foras, or in Ayr. Dimension: 0.55 m high, 0.51 m broad. (N.M. G. 5189).**

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



243 Wheat and barley grown in winter constitute the most important crops in Ahaggar, but, as mentioned,
[262] the gardens are also cultivated at other seasons, and crops of millet and sorghum taken in summer
are most important substistence for irrigation farmers in Ahaggar. Millet is known to the Tuareg as
[171] *énélé*; it seems to be the same species as that so widely grown by African agriculturists of the savannah
[221] countries (*Pennisetum typhoideum*, or *P. Americanum*). Millet is sown in June-July and harvested in Sep-
[461] tember, or in October. Little work is involved with the cultivation of this plant which is never watered
much (cf. p. 184), and the agriculturists do not carry fresh soil to the millet plots as they do to plots of
wheat and barley. Species of sorghum are less important than millet. The common species is known as
[386] *abora* or *tafsut* (*Andropogon Sorghum*). Another species is known as *tallak*; it has smaller seeds than
the species just mentioned, and is grown mainly because of its stems, which are reduced to powder
to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 282).

415
285
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Fig 135. Basket (*téwait*) of the type used for transportation of fresh soil to old garden land. It is plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*afum*) and has handles of rope made from date palm bast (*asan*). Soil is also carried to gardens in larger baskets (*téfarirt*, pl. *tifrar*) loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m high, 0.35 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5285).

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Fig. 137. The fresh soil carried to old gardens is placed in small heaps to be spread out between the tender plants of wheat and barley. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

241 *andrum sativum*, *Cuminum Cyminum* (*azkar*), *Daucus Carota* (*ezzeruget*), *Cucumis melo*, *Lagenaria vulgaris* (cf. Maire 1933, and particularly Maire 1940, p. 401).

245 In addition to the above-mentioned plants there are various types of fruit trees which do not play [262] any considerable rôle for food. The gardens contain very few date palm trees (*tazzayt*, *Phoenix dactylifera*) and there are no palm trees of any value in the gardens situated in the upper mountain zones where the fig tree (*tahart*, *Ficus carica*) thrives much better than in the lower country; the figs are [251] consumed fresh, or they are put on strings for drying, common practise elsewhere in North Africa. The [386] pomegranate (*terrummant*, *Punica Granatum*) is grown in some gardens; its fruits are eaten, and they are also used for dyeing skins (cf. p. 282). Grapes (*tezzebibt*, *Vitis vinifera*) are also grown in some gardens.

Maire mentions the cultivation of the peach (*Prunus Persica*) and the apricot (*Prunus Armeniaca*) (cf. Maire 1940, p. 401). These fruit trees have undoubtedly been quite recently introduced for Foucauld states that they are not grown in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 79 f.).

243 There are nowadays many agriculturists who have their private gardens so that they cultivate their 423 winter crops and their summer crops entirely for their own use. But most agriculturists grow winter crops of wheat and barley on behalf of the Tuareg who are then the true garden owners.

[312] Agriculturists who cultivate their gardens on their own behalf frequently irrigate crops by means [476] of draught animals (zebus) which raise water from wells, but there are also some farmers who cultivate independently without any contract with pastoral Tuareg and nevertheless belong to a *foggara* team. 243 It can be estimated that an independently working agriculturist obtains a total yield of about 700 kilos of wheat and barley grown in winter. Of this yield he gives 10 kilos to the *Amenukal*, or to the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



237 Ayr Tuareg a piece of ram's horn may serve as an amulet case attached around the upper arm. Horns
*[415] of barbary sheep are used for butter containers among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 223; Fig. 165), who sometimes use a piece of pointed gazelle horn for daubing antimony around the eye.

281 The Ahaggar women cut skin and leather with a small knife (*telmusit*), and a piece of wood (*asettenu*)
462 and/or a stone (*taẓẓet*) are used for smoothing the skin which is then placed upon a particular wooden
[443] board (*elkeyleb*) (cf. Figs. 219a–d). The Ayr Tuareg do not make so much refined skin work. Women
*[445] among the Northern Tuareg conserve their implements for skin and leather work in a particular bag (*askagen*) which is made from leather attached to a bottom piece of horn (*isek*) (Figs. 220a–g).

[531] Northern Tuareg women take a great interest in their skin and leather artifacts, which are richly decorated with fringes and hanging tassels, and with geometric designs in different colours. I have
● 386 noted the following colours among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer:—
822 (1) *baba*, indigo which is introduced from the south in the form of balls.

(2) *tawnkent*, which is also known as *tafidet* and *taneẓẓeft* according to Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1934. It is a yellowish mineral which yields an entirely black colour frequently seen on ornamented skin bags. The mineral according to the Ahaggar Tuareg is introduced from the south, while the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer claim that they obtain their minerals of this type from Serdeles north-east of Rat. – A black colour which is also known as *tawnkent* is said to be made by the Tuareg of Ahaggar in the following way:— Pieces of iron are put into water contained in some small receptacle, usually a tea glass. This receptacle containing water and iron pieces is covered with a bowl or a similar object in order that the sun light cannot penetrate. After a few days the water turns into a black colour to be used for skin dyeing.

(3) *semento*, a green colour derived from a mineral or a powder introduced from the south. According to some Tuareg this green colour is also made by means of a vegetable powder introduced from the north, from the region of Mzab.

(4) *khodarbas*, a powder which yields a green colour. It is said to be introduced from the south (from Tawa) and to derive from a tree known as *tafnit*.

[824] (5) *errummun*, the fruit of the pomegranate tree known as *terrummant* (*Punica Granatum*). It is used with a white mineral (alum), known as *aẓref n Tawat*, and introduced from In Salah. Parts of the pomegranate fruit and of this mineral are mixed with water to be used for a yellow or yellow-brown dye which is applied to many decorated skin bags for ground colour.

(6) *temesaruak*, a mineral introduced from the north (Mzab). It produces a yellow colour.

[243] (7) *herki*, a reddish brown colour obtained from a particular type of sorghum known as *tallak* grown in the cultivation centres of Ahaggar.

(8) *téderse*, a white colour obtained by placing the skin for about three days in a container with fresh milk to which a little salt is added. – Among Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told that a white colour is also obtained from a kind of powder introduced from the Sudan.

386 Before use these above mentioned colours or dyeing materials are generally dissolved in water
[531] contained in a tea glass. When they are employed for the very fine geometric designs of leather bags they are daubed with a small knife known as *telmusit* (Fig. 219b).

[439] It is interesting that most dyes used by the Northern Tuareg are introduced from the north or from the south,

[text continues on p. 284]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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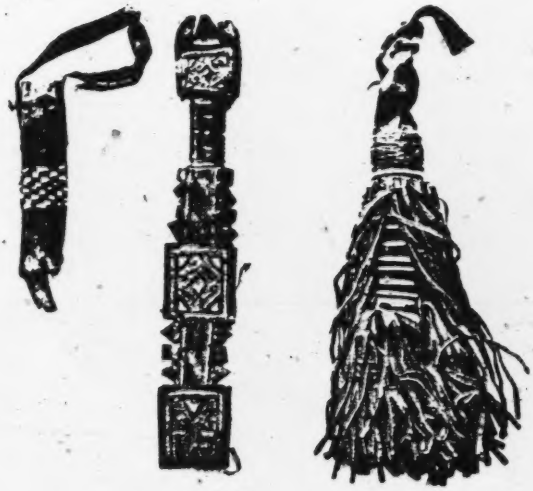

Fig. 228a–c.

a. A cylindrical hollowed piece of wood covered with leather. It is known as *tafendit* and serves to contain antimony (*tazuli*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m long. (N.M. G. 5875).

[824] [276] [462] [565] b. Cylindrical brass tube covered with ornamented leather. It is known as *faralu wa n tuka* and serves for the conservation of *tuka*, that is ashes of burned *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ashes of this grass are used by some Tuareg for chewing tobacco. It is said in Ahaggar that containers of this type are made exclusively by noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe, and that the containers should be worn only by noble Tuareg and not by vassals. The brass tube is always made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.265 m long (total length). (N.M. G. 5888).

c. A piece of cane covered with coloured leather and fringes of the same material. It is called *tafendit* and serves for the conservation of *tazuli* (antimony). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.116 m. (N.M. G. 5267).

386 the south, or are obtained from plants grown by sedentary agriculturists. The technique of skin dyeing [281] as practised by the Tuareg nowadays cannot be considered an ancient one in Tuareg culture. Its [174] origin is probably to be looked for in the more developed civilizations of Northern Africa, and not in a nomadic culture like that of the Tuareg. Other dyeing methods known to the Tuareg may well be very ancient. I believe this to be true of the red ochre known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tameghoyt*,

[text continues on p. 288]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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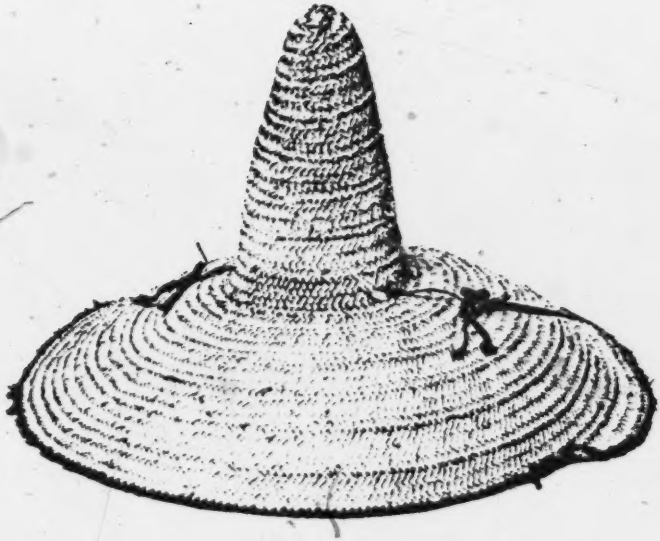

Fig. 231. Woman's straw-hat (*téléi*) plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*agum*). Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe; manufactured at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.565 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5276).

386 to the Ayr Tuareg as *tamezgoyt*. It is found both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, and is used for dyeing tent-skins (cf. p. 361).

281 A number of the most common skin bags and similar objects of decorated leather work made by
462 Tuareg women in Ahaggar are reproduced in Figs. 220–229.

* [415] Though the pastoral Tuareg women in the north are excellent leather workers they find their superiors
[564] in the blacksmiths women and those of the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Women of these sedentary negroid groups provide pastoral Tuareg with leather objects like sword-sheaths, amulet cases, leather purses, large saddle bags, cushions, and the like (cf. Figs. 72a, 76, 121a–b, 172a–b, 198).

1: Lhote E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

/frontispiece/

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Plate XII

Hunting with dogs is common among the Tuareg, who use saluki something like Arabian greyhounds for the purpose. Their eklan /Iklan? Ed./ are often famous hunters. In this photograph we see one of them holding two dogs on a leash and getting ready to go track wild sheep.

Besides hunting with dogs, the Tuareg engage in trapping. Here we see a trap with radial points being set. The lasso is being tied to a big tree branch sunk in the ground and hidden by a layer of sand.

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224 Among the Tuareg hunting is the business of a few men, a few
[463] specialists who have made it their profession; however, we see a
large proportion of Iklân who seem to have more aptitude and more
[567] taste for hunting than their masters. There is certainly an atavistic character in this, a vestige of ancestral mores influenced by the original forest environment, where hunting was most often the basis of human activity. But it is nonetheless true that many Tuareg are very good hunters. The most renowned seem to be among the Issekkemâren and the Dăg Râli.

Hunting with hounds is the most popular. They hunt wild sheep
224 and gazelles with saluki-type greyhounds, who serve at the same
231 time as camp dogs /241/ for the Tuareg. These animals, who stand tall, belong to a race halfway between the Kabyle dog and the Berber saluki and must also possess jackal blood. They are particularly suited for running and have innate talent for hunting.

The hunter's job is to track down the animal, to succeed in
224 discovering him, either grazing or in his lair, and to set the dogs on him at the propitious moment when he does not expect it and at a suitable distance. An epic battle between the animal and the dogs sometimes results from this; often the battle necessitates the man's intervention, for example when there is a wild sheep which does not hesitate to confront its assailants. The hunter, who is
[411] usually armed with a long javeline with a wooden shaft, then tries to stick his weapon in the animal's body and kill it. When it is a question of gazelles, he only needs let the dogs alone. If they can catch it, the animal will be quickly neutralized by the powerful jaws of the saluki.

Beside the common hunting with hounds, the Tuareg engage in trapping, which is a lazy method of hunting. It is all the more appreciated in the Sahara because game is rare and wary, and a certain amount of luck is always involved in capturing it.

The Ihăggaren use two types of traps: traps with radial points and torsion traps in the shape of an arc.

224 which is rolled up on a stick, one end of which is cut in a point. A
[23] second apparatus consists in a little wooden disk covered with hide, the whole mounted on another stick a little longer than that of the first apparatus which is embedded between the layer and the arc, while the pointed stick is fastened in the hole of a bead or on a little leather ring fixed on the leather disk. A lasso is placed on this disk, and its end is fastened on the main part of the pointed stick.

This trap is generally placed on the paths frequented by gazelles and lightly covered with sand. If the animal puts its foot on the leather disk, the pressure that it causes unhooks the pointed stick; the shock of this can break a paw and in any case it tightens the lasso around the paw.

More recently the Tuareg have used the metallic spring trap
[177 of the English type, which their blacksmiths now know how to make.
324] They have replaced the balanced bait pan by a taut skin on which they have attached a large glass bead. The bait is fixed to the bead and is more sensitive to the touch. This trap may accidentally catch gazelles, but the most common catches are hares and jackals.

224 The Tuareg hunt on the lands over which they range and have
423 no right to hunt on the lands of the neighboring tribes. If such a case occurred, they would be obliged to give the game to the owners of the area. The latter may at least grant back part of the meat, but they keep the skin, especially when it is a wild sheep.

/243/ Some regions are the hunting fief of a single man. So, in the Koudia, no one has the right to hunt on Tahat Peak without the permission of its owner, who is a descendant of the old Isebeten tribe. At any rate, the skin, head, and half of the animal must be handed over to him.

224 The Ahaggar Tuareg have had rapid-firing guns at their
411 disposal for a few years. They are not good shots, but they know admirably well how to approach game, so that they have made massive massacres which will take a long time to repair.

224 The administration fortunately has decided to confiscate these
[411 648] weapons.

It is very difficult to get an exact idea of the number of animals killed annually by hunters. But we believe we are close to accurate in giving the figure 300. Thus we say that hunting holds a very small place in Ahaggar Tuareg economy.

226 Fishing. -- Fishing is not done by the Tuareg for the reasons
[184] we have given. Only the Issekkemâren and the Iklan engage in it. They fish when the pond water is very low. In the Tassili they dig little ditches on the lower side at water level, leading to little reservoirs where the fish find refuge and are then surely caught.

[251] When fishing has been fruitful, the Issekkemâren dry the fish to keep them for periods of scarcity.

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## Chapter 5

## Agriculture

241 The Ahaggar Tuareg have never attached more than a very secondary importance to agriculture. Their nomadic turn of mind is at the opposite pole from land ownership and still more from exploiting it, which implies sedentary life. There are, however, a number of centers of cultivation in their country; they are of undeniable interest and could be extended more widely if improper legislation did not hinder their development.

177 The creation of most of these centers of cultivation does not
241 go back more than a century. It was accomplished under the influence of Arab groups settled in the Ahaggar. Only the Silet and Tibeghîn oases are much older and probably date from the time of the Imanan sultans who had brought into the Ahaggar some

326 /280/ Silver is used to make jewelry--pendants, pendants for the
[301] hair, bracelets, rings, earrings, amulet cases, etc.

Copper furnishes a number of more important and naturally more
[492] commonly used
414] articles -- saddlery
articles, cavessons for
[412] camels, highly
ornamented padlocks
with keys, hair knives,
etc. This metal is generally better worked than silver. It is often
chiseled, engraved, and topped with applications of tin by a technique
[531] which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little
knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

Fig. 50. Hammer.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta
crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them
is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or
with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian
Arabs and the Sudanese.

Fig. 51. Blacksmith's tongs.

438 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms;
326 they merely repair them. Sahara, daggers, and
411 lances were for the most part manufactured by black-
smiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimmiden from
Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and
mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel
Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an
iron mine which is located beside the village of
Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally
not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the
[172] Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments
are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic
period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized
in the camps.

727 of captures, however, he had to give half of the captured animals
714 to the lender. In case of failure and death of the camel, he did
426 not have to reimburse him.

721 The men met, discussed the planned expedition, and uttered
726 a ritual formula (narhal allar) which bound them together for the duration of the expedition, during which time they were to give mutual assistance to one another.

Then they named a chief who was not necessarily an Amajer /sing. of Imochar - Ed / but a man renowned for his courage, his /322/ suitability, and his experience on expeditions of this kind. Then the group left, preceded by scouts.

726 All baggage was left behind. Everyone mounted on camel back, taking only the bare necessities for the road, for it was necessary to go quite fast and try to keep the animals in good condition. Before sunrise, the raid was already on its way, and the rapid pace was maintained without stopping until evening. The men ate only
[262 a few dates at noon, did not take their siestas, and ate a meal
264] only in the evening -- all was sacrificed to the speed of the march, which was the key to success.

Nearing their goal, the raiders forced their march even more if that were possible, and they often divided into two parties; one was entrusted with seizing the animals and bringing them to a specified point, the other created a diversion in the enemy camps to sidetrack them.

[411] The surprised enemy was attacked with gunshots by a few men deployed as riflemen, while meharists swooped down on them, hurled their javelins, and then soon came to hand-to-hand fighting. The people who were attacked, for their part, tried to find out the strength of the assailants, and depending on the case they retreated or themselves attacked.

In spite of this martial deployment and the vigor of the attack, these combats were not very deadly, in general, and did not always cause deaths.

721 When raids were led against Sudanese camps, they were as in-
727 terested in the Negroes and Negresses as they were in the camels.
567 The kidnappers kept some of them to serve as servants and sold the others on the markets of In-Salah and the Touat.

726 Once the booty was stolen, the raiders went by forced march to the point agreed upon in advance, where they rejoined the other group of meharists.

The raided people, on the other hand, organized themselves, but they did not try to overtake the raiders immediately and did not wear themselves out in vain pursuit. As the return route of the raiders was known, they tried to reach a well where they had to pass; if they were successful in arriving before them and cutting them off from water, the real combat began, this time fierce and often quite deadly.

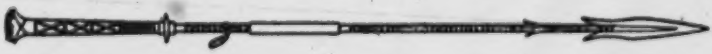

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Fig. 55. Tuareg lance. The iron blade is decorated with copper inlays. The part where the hand is put is covered with leather, and a little leather loop placed behind is intended to hold the index finger which gives greater propulsion to the lance when it is thrown.

Hard pressed, the Tuareg formed in a square behind their camels and defended themselves under cover of their bucklers; /323/ when they saw it was impossible to take possession of the well, they abandoned their loot. The battle came to an end, and the raiders were rarely pursued. In the opposite camp, a certain number of men were left as sentries to guard against return offensives, and the others tried to gather up their animals and lead them back to the douar /encampment/.

727 When the raiding party was safe, the men divided up the booty in more or less equal parts, depending on each person's merits during the fight. But in some tribes, customs related to the tioussé demanded

more chivalrous Imochar and a few rare Imrad try to oppose this, but in warlike escapades the Iklan and people with few morals are often more numerous than the others.

Abuses of women always called for vengeance, which the adversaries usually received before long. Acts of this kind were enough to raise up entire tribes against one another. And so, in the Sudan, the exactions of Marabout Abidine's people on the Kel Adrar Tuareg, at the time of the murder of their amenokal Safikroum in 1912, made irreconcilable enemies of these two fractions.

At the beginning of the French occupation, when lieutenants Cottenest and Guilho-Lohan carried out their reconnaissance missions in the Ahaggar, they found women abandoned in the camps by their husbands. The good care which was taken of them made it easier to make peaceful contact later with the Ihaggaren.

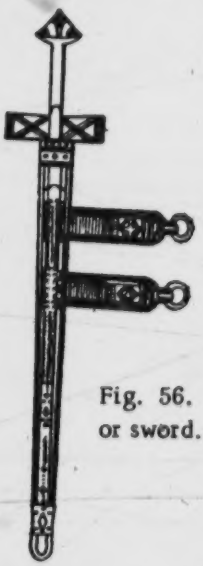

Fig. 56. The tacouba, or sword.

Tuareg weapons include iron lances, javelins with wooden staff, swords, daggers, and a buckler.

/325/ Even before the French occupation the Tuareg knew how to use firearms and possessed a certain number of guns. They were for the most part projectile weapons or archaic models of the

Lefaucheux type. But their prices were high for Tuareg pocket- 411
books, and it was difficult to procure powder and bullets, which 439
made firearms uncommon and often the prerogative of the chiefs. 554

Tuareg weapons vary according to the circumstances. The Imochar carries the arms he likes: they include the sword 184
(tacouba), which is the 411
weapon par excellence 565
of the nobles; the iron lance (allar') carried by nobles and vassals; [531]
javelins with iron shoulder and point and wooden staff (tarda), which are set aside for vassals and slaves; and the forearm dagger (télak) provided with a leather ring so that it may be hung from the wrist. In the Sudan slaves also carry wooden clubs (tabouri), heavy branches with a knot at one end.

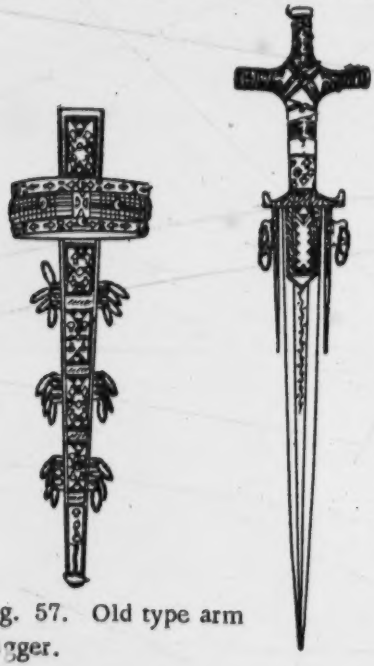

Fig. 57. Old type arm dagger.

The Tuareg have only one defensive weapon, the buckler (ahrer) which is made of oryx antelope skin. It was generally the prerogative of the nobles, and only they had the right to carry it. It recalls the coat of arms by its [531]
shape and the ideology which surrounds it; the decorative motifs which it bears have a magic character.

The Tuareg are adroit fencers, fighting hand /326/ to hand 411
with their swords while protecting themselves with their bucklers 714
which cover their bodies and which they handle with a great deal of dexterity in spite of the volume and weight. The sword cuts

411 714 and, if it is of good quality, it is liable to split a buckler in two. The hand is protected by a little rectangular iron guard which gives the shape of a cross to the upper part of the sword.

114 411 Duveyrier, the explorer, noted that the Tuareg used the bow. We have not found this weapon among them, nor any evidence as to what it used to be used for.

[714 281]

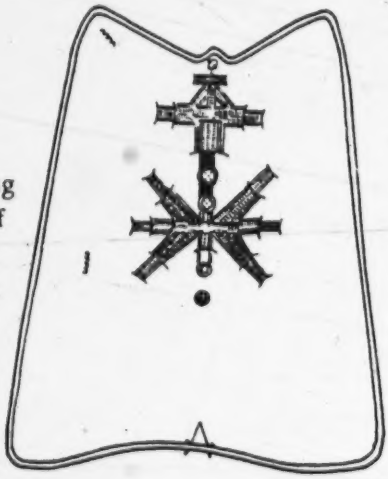

Fig. 58. Tuareg buckler made of oryx antelope skin.

411 [554] All of these weapons have become very archaic in view of the arrival of rapid-firing weapons. The Ahaggar Imochar still hold to their sword, which they always wear over their shoulders, and which seems to be used more to indicate their social rank than for warring action. In the Sudan almost all the Tuareg still carry lances, and some of them carry forearm daggers. In Aïr one may still see a buckler hung from the saddle of a mehari. But in a few years all these objects will be good for filling trophy cases.

2: Briggs E-4,5 (ca.1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P.239]

[Pp. 236-238 not processed]



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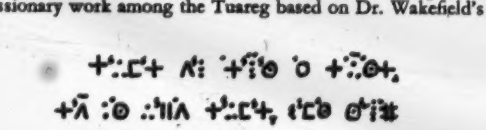
Fig. 24. Tuareg warriors of the Ahaggar in single combat. (Photograph by P. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.



The Bible in Tamahaq

(*Ruth Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

*"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."*

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

4: Benhazera--17G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter X

## Games

Children play a game with a ball, "tekerikera", O·:O·:+, 526 857
which they hit with curved sticks /20/ ("iggaten tekerikera, "
they hit the ball). Two camps are formed and the ball must be
made to go into the opposing camp.

But their greatest amusement is to make out of clay little 524
sticks and stones, all kinds of animals and people, which they call 532
"isounar" O|⊙ . Thus they make a mehari with its saddle, 857
a camel with its young, a horse, etc., or they may make a mehari
with a man on it, "aknar" O|·: , or a woman in her bassour,
"taknart" ⊕|·:+ ; here are a bride and groom. These young
sculptors, it seems, are very skillful.

Sometimes they hang a swing, "taoulioula", ||:||:+ , on a 524 857
tree.

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Armed Conflict between Aziouel and Tacha
(Ta'ltoq Tuareg) (First Stage)

4: Benhazera--17a G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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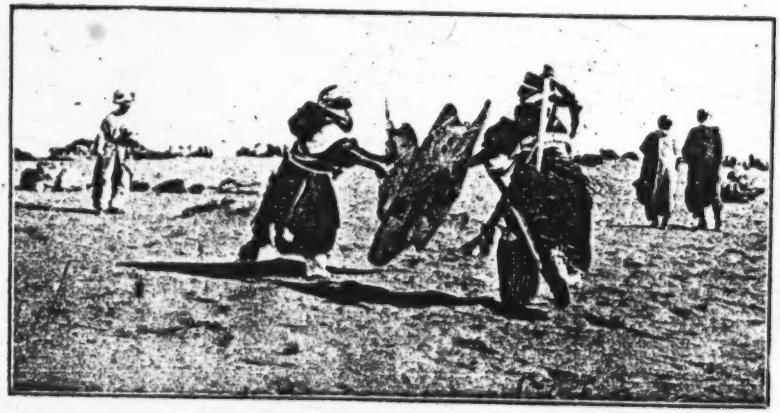

(Second Stage)

(Third Stage)

4: Benhazera--17b G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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(Fourth Stage)

4: Benhazera--18 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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(Fifth Stage)

As to the men, they practice throwing the spear as far as possible toward a certain object. They have mock battles with the "takouba" (saber) and shield, "ar'er"; or /22/ they roll up rags and try to cut them with a single stroke of their great "takouba."

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Besides, there are few negroes who are not armed by their 411
masters with a "tar'da" (spear with a wooden shaft) and with a 563
"takouba" (saber), of which they are very proud. The best are 567
sent on raids, and it seems that they acquit themselves very 726
well in combat.

As to the negresses, there are some who confine themselves 563
to attending to the care of the household and the tent, but there 567
are quite a few others who are raised to the dignity of con- 595
cubines. A noble Tuareg prefers to share his bed with a negress rather than to marry a "tamr'idt" (serf). He marries late, and when he decides to, he looks especially for a woman who, by her /34/ birth, will give his children future rights to command. The negress profits from this.

The negroes and negresses are not, as a rule, mistreated 563
by the Tuareg. Besides, if the case should arise, they know 567
how to use the following curious custom in use among the 685
Tuareg.

When a slave, negro or negress, becomes too unhappy with his master and wishes to become the slave of another master, he splits the ear of a child or a horse or hamstrings a mehari; in short, damages anything valuable that belongs to the master he wishes to have; then he stays beside his deed. Naturally, in reparation for the harm done, the negro is given in full possession to the injured master. There may be protest, if there was connivance between the slave and the master he wishes to have, and, in this case, the oath is deferred and the case [692]
brought before a marabout or a cadi.

Thus the negress Tenoufek, who belonged to Semana, sister of Bika ag Moumou of the Kel Ahnet, slit the ear of a mare belonging to Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet. In reparation the negress was given to Sidi, with whom she still remains.

Another example: the negro of El Biodh ould Settafi of the Settaf, hamstrung two camels belonging to Ibedi ag Bassi of the Ir'echoumen. In reparation El Biodh had to give Ibedi the negro and a camel besides. /35/

291 /100 cont./ The layers of leather may be a centimeter thick; the sewing of the leather with large stitches permits decoration. A long thong connects the leather buckles sewn on the sole and is tied over the instep. The elegant footwear is the "ighatimen."

293 A description of the Targui's apparel must include all of the objects he wears including weapons.

The "taralabt" is a leather wallet hung from the neck. An ingenious system of grooved closings keeps it from opening; it is always black and artistically decorated with yellow, green, or red stitching. Numerous inside pockets serve to hold the mirror, the "tazolt" (eye blacking, sometimes kept in a special case), the "chemma" (chewing tobacco), the "kelbou" (natron used to make tobacco milder), personal papers, and sometimes money.

Amulets called "tera" hang from the neck by a leather string; these are small leather rectangles containing either papers written by a taleb /public scribe/ or magic products protecting against sickness, the Kel es Souf /genii/, and misfortune in general. Each Targui is abundantly provided with tera, which make his life bearable.

293 /101/ The "iremdan" ("menguech" in Arabic) is an in-
752 dispensable instrument; it consists of a cutting blade, an awl,
296 and small pincers (something like eyebrow tweezers) These blades pivot around an axis; a ring makes it possible for the iremdan to be hung, but it is often carried in a special case. This tool is in turn a surgeon's kit for pulling tahla thorns from the soles of the feet and a cobbler's tool for repairing nalls /sandals/. A Targui never undertakes a trip without his iremdan.

301 We have already mentioned the "abidj," or polished stone bracelet. The "tissak" is a small silver ring without artistic value. The key to the Tuareg padlock, which is often suspended on the chest, is a much prized ornament.

●411 No Targui undertakes an important trip without his "takouba," the sword worn at the side which gives that

411 /101 cont./ medieval look to the Tuareg, making them look as if they have emerged from a picture book. There are takouba and takouba; some are worth two young camels and are recognized by the grooves on the blade and the mark made by the maalem /craftsman/. The first-rate takouba is called "tazra'lt"; it has five grooves on the blade and a disk whose vertical diameter is topped by a cross; a tazra'lt should sever a camel hobble buried in the sand so that only five centimeters are showing. The "arlal" type has no groove but bears the same mark as the tazra'lt and is an excellent takouba, just as highly regarded as the latter. The "talit," worth substantially the same, does not have a groove but has the same mark as the tazra'lt, supplemented by a stylized lion. An "inaseri" costs half as much; it has three grooves and bears a crescent-shaped design with three points directed toward the center. The "tabloq" has a long central groove and is decorated with the silhouette of a lion; it costs the same as an inaseri. The "adadiglen" has never been carried by a coward; it is worth the same as a tabloq, has a long central groove flanked by two small ones; on each side of the large groove are two K's back to back. The "elghenihe" is a much rarer sword, although worth only half as much as an adadiglen; /102/ it has a single cutting edge, three large grooves, and a crescent with a point directed toward the center. The "tama," much more common, is worth scarcely half as much as the elghenihé; it can be recognized by its central groove, two small parallel grooves, and two crescents with only one point directed toward the center. There are other types of takouba of recent make; they are sometimes copies of the old blades but are easily recognized. Some old takouba do not hear distinctive marks, and one must be a true connoisseur in order to appreciate them.

One still sees Tuareg who carry the iron spear, the "allar," which was a throwing weapon for short distances. It is about 1.90 meters long. The spear is carried less and less. For hunting the wild sheep, a sort of javelin is used, the point and heel of which have the same shape as those of the spear; this weapon is called "tarrada."

411 /102 cont. / Let us mention for the record some weapons that are no longer carried: the "tilok," a magnificently decorated daggar held on the forearm by a leather bracelet; the "arrar," a shield of antelope skin, white, decorated in the middle with designs and metal trimmings; this large rectangle with rounded points gave the warriors a most impressive appearance. These shields are no longer to be found.

291 To finish with men's dress, let us note the "tabroq," a blanket coming from Timimoun called "dokali," worn on very cold days, which makes the Tuareg resemble certain American Indians.

The Tuareg women ("tamat" -- "tidedin" in the plural) wear clothes which in many ways resemble those of the men. They are not veiled, but when a stranger is presented to them, they hide their faces out of sheer modesty.

Like the men, they wear a long gandurah of tari called "erressoui," but the opening on the side is no longer than 30 centimeters under the arms. There is a white erressoui worn under the blue one. The woman also has a "takamist n'kora" that she puts on during a visit or for a fistive occasion.

/103/ She wraps herself in a large rectangle of tari, three meters by two, called "afar." The padlock key is tied to a corner of the material, and serves as a counterweight when the afar is thrown over the shoulder.

The "ikaral" is the shawl for the head; when it is made of taguelmoust cloth, it is called "alechou"; it measures about 1.50 by 0.50 meters. During an ilougan, which is a kind of tournament on camel back, a rider snatches the alechou from a woman and flees, chased by the other Tuareg, who attempt to recapture the veil. The victor is highly regarded.

The "tabarikant" is a very large veil, three by two meters, whose very clear rose color gives a most happy effect; imported from Tripolitania, it is of very finely woven wool. The tabarikant is becoming more and more rare; it is handed down from mother to daughter and is worn only for festive

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



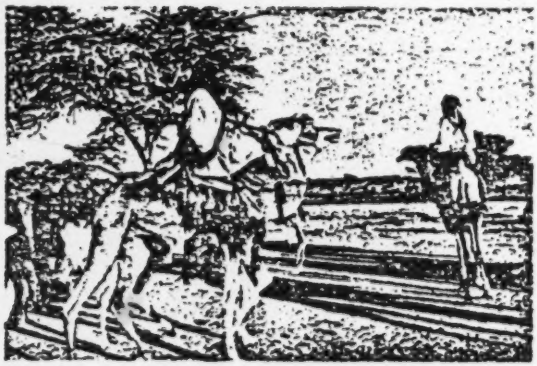

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afegeg* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Irawelen*.

Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

In a ceremonial ride termed *shgton* (*shgaw* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



start around wells. It may happen, for instance, that two men who draw water from the same well get the ropes of their leather buckets entangled. They will then start to quarrel and the result may be a fight with swords. 312 52 [411]

I conclude this chapter with a brief description of the signals used by the Tuareg for their domestic animals. As these animals do not have the same needs for food and water and are frequently mixed with each other in camps and around wells, it is only natural that the Tuareg have different signals to call, stop, or drive away their various types of domestic animals. I have noted these signals among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr:— 231 233* 192

Signals to call domestic animals:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| goats . . . . . | *ay, ay* | |
| sheep . . . . . | a rolling sound | the three rolling sounds are somewhat different though resembling each other |
| cows . . . . . | a rolling sound | |
| camels . . . . . | a rolling sound | |
| donkeys . . . . . | *ahay, ahay* | |

Signals to stop animals:—

| | |
|---|---|
| goats . . . . . | *aw* |
| sheep, cows, camels . . . | *ôr* |
| donkeys . . . . . | *as* |

Signals to drive away animals:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| goats . . . . . | *ây* | pronounced emphatically |
| sheep, cows, camels . . . | *hey* | |
| donkeys . . . . . | *aheyt* | |

233* 312

Fig. 99. Tuareg drawing water for camels which drink from a piece of canvas (*taforawt*) placed over a hollow in the ground. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

# Hunting

For the pastoral Tuareg hunting is not an important occupation, and nowadays it is practised mainly by those few Tuareg who possess rifles or guns. Traditional hunting methods are thus of far less consequence than in the past, but some of them are very interesting and most significant for a historical analysis of Tuareg culture.

## AHAGGAR

Northern Tuareg areas are not very rich in game. In Ahaggar the main types of game are the gazelle (*ahenkof*, fem. *tahenkof*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) and the barbary sheep (*udad; Ammotragus lervia*). The big gazelle (*énir; Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amellul; Addax nasomaculatus*) are very rare; they are occasionally seen in the plains outside of the mountains. The ostrich (*anhél*; *Struthio camelus*) was very common in the past, but is now exterminated.

The small gazelle is rare and shy within the Ahaggar Massif, while fairly abundant and comparatively easy to hunt with a rifle in the northernmost massifs and their surrounding plains. Of seven camps visited in Ahnet 1954, gazelle hunting was engaged in by the members of two households, and I estimate that they killed one or two gazelles every week. In most camps of the Northern Tuareg there are no true gazelle hunters, and when a rare gazelle is killed its meat is easily eaten in one day by the members of a single household – in addition to three or four pounds of wheat-bread or millet-porridge. Gazelle skin is of little practical value to Tuareg craft. It is not generally used for the manufacture of important domestic articles such as water bags and containers for milk and butter, but it is suitable and much esteemed for certain types of decorated leather work and for fine leather cords, e.g., necklaces for amulet cases, reins for riding camels.

Barbary sheep are extremely shy, and they live mainly in inaccessible mountains. They are still fairly common in certain isolated parts of the mountains, but they were more numerous in the past when hunting was practised without rifles.

The Tuareg estimate that the amount of meat obtained from two gazelles corresponds to the meat of one grown goat, while a big barbary sheep provides as much meat as that of four goats. Meat of barbary sheep is better suited for drying than meat of other game animals, and the thick hide of these animals is valuable for the manufacture of tents and for large bags used for the conservation on journeys of dates, grain, flour, and the like. The horns of barbary sheep are used as butter containers (Fig. 165), and some Tuareg add the powder of crushed horns to butter before heating it (cf. p. 222). Barbary sheep are of greater economic value to the Ahaggar Tuareg than other types of game, and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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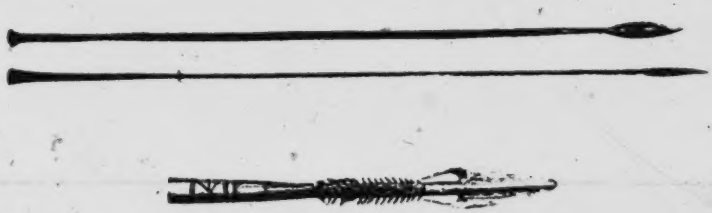

Fig. 112a–c. Tuareg spears.

a. Spear of the *taṛda* type used for hunting. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 1.80 m (N.M. G. 1.156).
b. Iron spear of the *allaṛ* type which is mainly a war weapon. Ahaggar, Collected by Olufsen. Dimension 1.82 m (N.M. G. 1.155).
c. Iron point of the barbed Tebu lance (*taṛda*) occasionally used by the Ayr Tuareg. Dimension: 0.265 m (N.M. G. 6619).

224 they are eagerly pursued by many rifle-owning nomads. Lhote estimates that in the year 1939 the Ahaggar Tuareg killed 300 barbary sheep by means of their traditional hunting methods, while in the winter season 1949–50 more than 200 animals were killed with rifles in the central parts of Ahaggar [432] (Lhote 1955a, p. 284). In 1954 the meat of one barbary sheep was sold for 4000 French francs, the [640] hide for 2000 francs. Though hunting of these animals is officially prohibited by the French, it *is* tacitly permitted and meat is frequently sold at the market place of Tamanṛaset.

The traditional methods used mainly in hunting gazelle and barbary sheep are as follows:—

[411] (1) The spear (*taṛda;* Fig. 112a) is nowadays used mainly by slaves, who never possess rifles. Before [562] rifles became common it was the typical hunting weapon of all vassal Tuareg. Hunting with the spear [565] takes place during the hottest time of the day, when the animals hide under rocks and trees to seek protection from the burning sun and the flies. It is then possible to creep very close to the game, and even the otherwise very shy barbary sheep can be taken in this way. When the hunter is close to the hiding place of a barbary sheep he claps his hand, and the animal rises, bewildered, and is then speared. In the past many barbary sheep were killed in this way, and it is said that a skilled and lucky hunter may even secure four or five animals in one day.

[171] (2) The use of stalking animals. Hunting by this method is used by some African stock-breeders (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 97 ff.). There is a detailed description of the use of camels trained for this purpose among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara (Harding King 1903, p. 171 ff.). As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not train their camels for stalking, but on journeys they frequently hide behind their animals to approach and kill gazelle. In this case the hunting weapon is normally a rifle. But the method is perhaps an ancient one and used also for other hunting weapons in the past, as game animals do not fear domestic animals among which they frequently graze in the desert. In fact, [172] the ancient use of stalking animals in Northern Africa is clearly substantiated by a rock engraving at

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 117. Fishing pool (*afelmam*) in Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

136 sunset. There are wild pigeons by the thousand and innumerable flocks of guinea fowls and partridges (*Alectoris* sp.). Two species of turtle-dove are almost as common in Ayr as is the sparrow in Europe.
224 Possibilities of hunting are much more favourable in Ayr than in Northern Tuareg countries, yet, nevertheless, the Ayr Tuareg engage even less in hunting than do the Ahaggar Tuareg. One reason for this is perhaps that very few Ayr Tuareg possess guns. It is extremely rare to meet hunters in Ayr.
224 They are found mainly within one tribe, namely that of *Imedderaren* (or *Kel Tamgak*) living in the
433 Tamgak Mountains of Northern Ayr. I have myself never visited camps of these people, but all Tuareg agree that they live largely as hunters and possess few domestic animals. Unfortunately, these people have never been studied in detail. Buchanan, who met a hunting band of these Tuareg in 1920, says that they have neither goats nor grain, but live by hunting and the collection of wild edible plants (Buchanan 1921, p. 191), while Campbell, who met them at Iferwan in 1926, describes them as hunters who also breed goats and sheep (Campbell 1928, p. 204 f.). Rodd also states that the *Kel Tamgak* have goats and sheep, but that they do not possess camels (Rodd 1926a, p. 307). This is in agreement with information gathered by myself at Iferwan where I met a few Tuareg of this group. There are
224 no Ayr Tuareg who live exclusively by hunting and collecting. The number of game animals killed

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



224 annually among the Ayr Tuareg is apparently also a low one. Brouin estimates that about 200 oryx antelopes, 3–10 of the protected giraffes, and 100–1000 gazelles are killed annually by native hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 435).

Traditional hunting methods in Ayr are as follows:—

[411] [177] (1) Hunting by means of the spear (*tarda*). This weapon is fitted with a wooden shaft like the hunting spear used in Ahaggar, but the slender barbed spear of the Tebu is also used by many Ayr Tuareg.

(2) The use of stalking animals. Cf. the Ahaggar Tuareg above (p. 158 f.).

(3) Hunting in disguise. The Ayr hunters employ a disguise of straw. Bundles of straw are attached to the hunter's body, and the hunter furthermore carries a big straw-bundle in each hand. Walking in a bent position he is able to approach the game (gazelle and antelope) in this way. It is very probable that skin-clothing has also been used as a disguise (cf. Brouin 1950, p. 447 f.).

(4) The running down of game animals by men mounted on camels or horses is a method rarely employed within the Ayr Massif, though practised by certain Tuareg inhabiting the southern plains.

(5) Hunting with dogs. This is practised in the mountains. Barbary sheep are attacked and surrounded by the dogs, and normally killed by means of the spear. – It is said that a hunter having no dogs at his disposal can make a barbary sheep stop if he barks like a dog.

(6) Hunting by driving the animals into closed river valleys. The method is said to be used for

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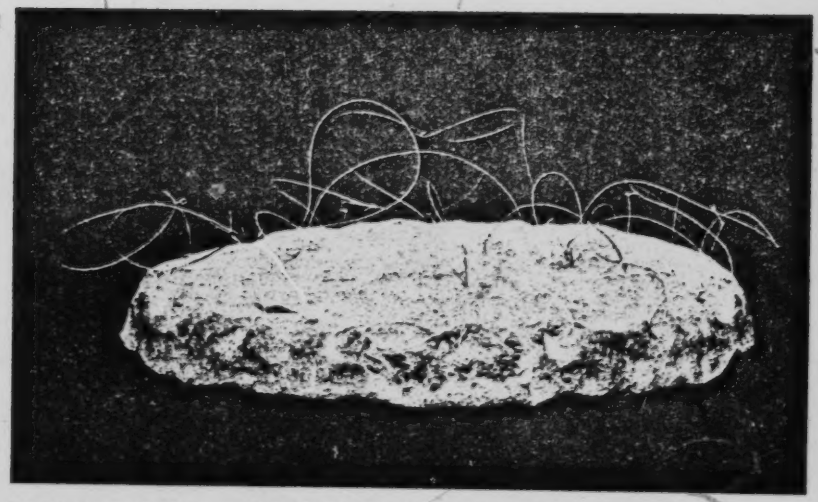

Fig. 118. Snares (*i'izagia*, sing. *tazek*) made from hair and inserted into a piece of sun-dried clay. Used for little birds which are fed with millet placed upon the piece of clay. Ayr, boys of the *Imeggedrzen*. Dimension: 0.15 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 6622).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



catching wild donkeys in the mountains around the valley of Anu Mekkeren. The method is not used for proper game animals. 224

(7) A pulling and a throwing snare are both known as *tuṛunt*. They are said not to be used for hunting, though commonly employed to catch wild donkeys and domestic animals which have gone astray; cf. p. 108 f.

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*tawchit*) provided with a noosed rope (*tuṛunt*) attached to a stick. This is used for gazelle and bigger game animals in isolated places rarely visited by representatives of the administration. According to Buchanan, the spiked wheel-trap is used for ostriches in the plains south of Ayr (Buchanan 1921, p. 117 ff.). Large traps of this type are also used for giraffe by certain hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 453).

(9) The torsion trap (*tenderbai*) akin to that of Ahaggar. It is used for big game animals, notably for barbary sheep.

(10) Snares (*tazek*, pl. *t'izagin*) made from strips of dum palm leaves are used for guinea fowl and other edible birds. They are generally set near water where birds come to drink. Little boys of the negroid *Imeggedezen* of Agadez also make snares of hair to catch small birds (Fig. 118). [223] [257]

These are the hunting methods known to the Ayr Tuareg, who do not engage much in hunting with the exception of the *Kel Tamgak* mentioned above. Most Ayr Tuareg refuse the small types of game and beasts of prey, and reject not only the *aṛata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.), but also the smaller lizzard known in Ahaggar as *aggezzeram*, in Ayr as *emekkechchu* (*Uromastix acanthinurus*), though it is claimed that the latter is eaten among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The two lizzards do not play any part to Tuareg mythology – the *aṛata* lizzard is greatly detested by the Ayr Tuareg who kill it with stones or sticks whenever possible. The Ayr Tuareg, including those of noble descent, have no taboos about birds and eggs, and many pastoral Tuareg collect guinea fowl eggs late in summer after the rains. There are a few animals not mentioned above which are considered edible among the Ayr Tuareg, e.g., the tortoise (*afaras*) which is found in the plains south of the Massif. With the exception of the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg the people of Ayr do not collect locusts (*tahwalt* in Ahaggar, *achwal* in Ayr). Locusts are eaten by all people of the two Northern Tuareg groups. The animals are roasted in the ashes or are boiled in a cooking pot to be pounded in the large mortar together with dried dates. This dish is very esteemed by the women who say that it is fattening and in this way adds to their beauty. 262 [252] [832]

Certain weapons have not been mentioned above because they either cannot be considered proper hunting weapons, or because it is doubtful whether they exist among the Tuareg or not. 411 [114]

Traditional Tuareg arms comprise an iron lance (*allaṛ*), a sword (*takuba*), and a dagger (*téleḳ*) carried in a sheath fastened to the left arm. The iron lance may serve as a hunting weapon, and this is true also of the sword. Thus the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group said that wild animals were occasionally killed with the sword, and they claimed that two Tuareg of the past had killed lions with this weapon.

The bow (Ahaggar, *taṛayyé* or *tagalhé*; Ayr, *taganzé*) and arrows (Ahaggar, *imurren*, sing. *amor*, *or tinassabin*, sing. *tanassabi*; Ayr, *imeran*, sing. *amer*) are not traditional Tuareg weapons. Nowadays very ineffective bows and arrows are used as toys by little Tuareg boys, but they are never used by [524]

[Text continues on p. 169]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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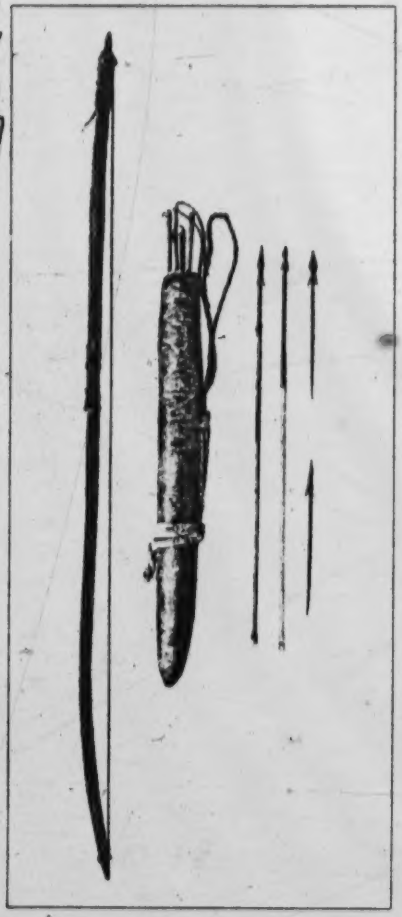

Fig. 119. Bow (*sagunzé*), arrows (*imeran*), and quiver (*ekamaren*) from the Hausa-speaking population living south of Ayr around Aderbissinat. The bow is made from wood of a tree called *ddinew* and has a string of ox-hide. The arrows have shafts of wood or reed; their iron points are made by blacksmiths. The quiver is made from ox-hide with a plaster of cow's excreta applied to the inner side. Dimension of the bow: 1.20 m. (N.M. G. 6621).

567

Fig. 120. Tuareg clubs.

a. Wooden club (*aburi*). Dimension: 0.995 m long. (N.M. G. 1.159). Ahaggar, Olufsen's Collection.

b. Wooden club. Used for weapon and for cattle-driving by Tuareg around Timbuktu. Made from a bough of *Combretum aculeatum*. Collected by O. Hagerup. Dimension: 1.39 m long. (N.M. G. 3086). All slaves I saw among the *Iwillemmeden* near Ayoru carried this weapon.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 121 a–b. Tuareg sword and dagger from Ahaggar.
a. Sword (*takaba*). Dimension: 0.925 m. (N.M. G. 1.141).
b. The so-called arm-dagger (*téléḳ*). Dimension: 0.475 m. (N.M. G. 1.145).
Olufsen's Collection.

adult people, though bow and arrows like those depicted Fig. 119 are in general use among the Hausa 411
and the Fulani within the territory inhabited by the Ayr Tuareg. It is very possible that bow and arrows
were used as weapons among the Tuareg in the past when fire-arms were uncommon. This is claimed [174]
by certain older authorities, but it seems as if the weapons were manufactured in Damergu south of
Ayr where the bow is traditionally used by negroid peoples (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 445, pl. XXV,

411 p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *éfezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals – there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Imeslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Koran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

224 Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. To-day true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Tamgak* or *Imeddeqaren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Rali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals withing two hunting territories where barbary sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting 224 825 that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

| Age | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . . | *awhim* | *tawhimt* |
| Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . . | *ahyar* | *tahyart* |
| Fully grown animal . . . . . | *ahenkoḍ* | *tahenkoṭ* |

224 Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—

764 (1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's 777 nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



from an ancient cow-breeding culture. This we know formerly existed in the Sahara where cows are very frequently represented in rock-engravings. There can be little doubt that hump-less long-horned cattle of the *Bos primigenius* type, which are still found in isolated parts of the Western Sudan, once existed in the Sahara, and it is extremely remarkable that Huard has been able to show that horn-deformation like those practised in Ancient Egypt on *Bos primigenius* cattle, and those still practised on oxen among the Nilotes, can be proved to have been in use over most of the Sahara, where such deformation is frequently seen on ancient cattle-pictures. It may be that one or two of his examples are doubtful, but on the whole they seem to be reliably interpreted, and I think with Huard that we should take the rock-engravings of the Sahara as a proof that the so-called East Hamitic Culture was formerly represented all over North-west Africa (cf. Huard 1953, p. 75–106, and notably 1959, p. 109–131). Long-horned cattle seem to have been found among the Ancient Libyans (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96), who according to Baumann also possessed traits in common with the East Hamitic Culture. We do not know when the nomads of the Sahara stopped to breed long-horned and humpless cattle, but the Ayr Tuareg, who are now zebu-breeders, claim that cattle-breeding is not an ancient occupation among them. They seem to hold that cattle were rare in Ayr even as recently as up to the beginning of the French penetration, and they claim that they know less about cattle than about other domestic animals. They also have rather few cattle terms compared with the extensive glossary for other domestic animals. It might be contended that the milking customs of modern Tuareg are derived from an ancient cattle-breeding culture of the Sahara but in general this is not the whole explanation, for it seems as if some of these traits have been introduced or re-introduced into the Sahara with camel-breeding, which originated in the same area from which the East Hamitic Complex must have come to Africa.

Our last problem is to consider Tuareg culture in the light of the so-called *Eurafrican Steppe-Hunting Culture*, which Baumann believes to have existed over most of Africa. He finds remains of this culture among the Ancient Libyans, and he thinks that certain rock-engravings of the Sahara prove that this primitive hunting culture was once widely distributed in the desert, while at present the steppe-hunting culture is mainly preserved on the outskirts of the Sahara. It seems as if the Tuareg have very few elements which can be placed within this culture. They lack the bow and arrow and also the true throwing stick or throwing club, they do not use parts of animals for disguise, and they do not poison water places to kill game, though in pre-European times they killed their enemies in this way. They know the spiked wheel-trap stated by Baumann to be an Eurafrican trait, but I believe with Lindblom and Lagercrantz that this hunting device is not so ancient (Lindblom 1928; Lagercrantz 1950, p. 98), and it can be mentioned in this connection that the torsion traps are also comparatively late arrivals (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 103 ff.; Lips 1927, p. 271). This may be the case also with dog hunting as practised to-day, for greyhound-like dogs are probably not the oldest hunting dog. Hunting barbary sheep with dogs and spears is depicted in a rock-engraving near Rat (cf. Frobenius 1933, pl. 28 a), but, as generally the case with rock-engravings, it cannot be dated. A type of greyhound was known already in prehistoric Egypt (cf. Adametz 1920, ~~p. 86 ff.; Antonius~~ 1922, p. 124 ff.) which may perhaps also be considered the cradle of Tuareg greyhound-like dogs, while the true greyhound, or *sluki*, was introduced to North Africa by the Arabs. The use of stalking animals is most

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



and the manufacture of decorated leather-bags, camel-reins, etc., and decorated wooden milk-bowls, the noble women do extremely little work.

Among the *Kel Ajjer* we find some of the above-mentioned distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals. The traditional dwelling of many vassal Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer is the cylindrical hut (house) with a conical roof, though vassals in winter use skin-tents during nomadic migrations. Nowadays noble and vassal Tuareg alike live in straw-huts throughout the hot season. Barth, in his description of the *Kel Ajjer*, mentions that the vassals have no right to possess iron spears and swords (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257), but it is stated explicitly by Duveyrier that noble Tuareg and vassals have the same weapons – the shield included (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). There can be little doubt that Duveyrier's statement is true, and I have been told among all Tuareg that in the past noble and vassal Tuareg did not differ in regard to weapons. A distinction would also seem rather strange in view of the fact that Tuareg of both classes fought together. Barth says that noble Tuareg and vassals differ in dress, but he does not give details (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257).

As to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, both noble and vassal Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any cultural distinctions between them. Bride-wealth in both classes was paid in camels. We know that the Ayr vassals in the past were predominantly goat-breeders, like many Ayr vassals to-day, and it seems as if camel-breeding was once a privilege of the nobility in the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 431; cf. tradition on the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan*, p. 421). I have not been able to find differences between the two classes in regard to material culture and social organization. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group say that they never have had types of portable dwellings other than the barrel-vaulted mat tent, which traditionally belongs to the woman.

There is very little information about cultural distinctions between noble and vassal Tuareg in other groups. Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* the vassals apparently use the arched mat tent more frequently than do noble Tuareg, but this and the skin tent supported by vertical sticks carrying cross-bars are found in both classes (cf. Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372 f.; Gabus 1945, p. 361 & 1948a, p. 15 & 1948b, p. 16). Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* the mat tent is used by certain noble Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f.). According to the chief *Amder* women's riding saddles for camels (*akhawi*) among the *Kel Ataram* are found only in noble tribes. Vassal tribes of the *Kel Ataram* living close to the Niger even to-day practise matrilineal rules of inheritance and succession in contrast to noble tribes with rules of patrilineal succession and Koranic inheritance (cf. p. 457).

Cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals are particularly prevalent in the two groups of Northern Tuareg, and it is significant that the traits characteristic of the noble class are also common among the *Iregenaten* who live in Tamesna. This tribe is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the *Ibettenaten* tribe, which claims noble descent, and Arab men. This explanation is found in literature (cf. Lhote 1955, p. 238 f.; Briggs 1958, p. 100) and has been confirmed to me by Tuareg of this tribe. It is interesting that some traits characteristic of the noble tribes among the Northern Tuareg are also found in tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The tribes of this latter class are said to be related to Arabs among whom we also find some of these traits.

We do not know when the noble Tuareg in the northern groups adopted traits that are also found among Arab bedouins. One might perhaps venture the theory that some of them were introduced

# 412

412 GENERAL TOOLS--cutting tools (e.g., knife, ax, adze, chisel, wedge, plane, scissors, saw, sickle); boring tools (e.g., awl, needle, drill, augur, bit, reamer); abrading tools (e.g., scraper, file, grindstone); striking tools (e.g., maul, hammer, pestle); eating utensils (e.g., knife, fork, spoon); digging tools (e.g., digging stick, spade, pick, hoe, shovel); gripping tools (e.g., tongs, tweezers, pincers, vise, grapnel, wrench); miscellaneous tools of general utility (e.g., broom, brush, fan, comb, rake, fork); parts and their assembly (e.g., blades, handles); See also:

Lashings . . . . . 284 Hardware manufacture . . . . . 391

362

furniture. These objects are not numerous and reflect the primitive life led by the Tuareg.

On the left side of the tent is generally found the goatskin water bag, hung on two wooden stakes placed in a V-shape. An old piece of cloth often covers it to protect it from the sun. The waterskin is often empty, for the Tuareg are not very farsighted. When there is water, they drink; when /229/ they are out of it, they stay there waiting a half day until the Iklan get back from the well. [415 271]

Fig. 28.
Tent shovel.

[412]

[574]

When a traveler passes by, he is most generally assailed with demands for water, while he himself often hoped to find some in the camp.

In front of the door and close to all the tents is an enormous wooden mortar and its pestle, in which the servant girl crushes millet and dates. By searching a bit in the tent or in the shelter used as a kitchen, one may find two or three hemispheric wooden dishes destined to hold food and two or three conical bowls serving as drinking vessels. Hanging on one of the outer stakes of the tent are a wooden milking vessel, an esparto winnowing basket for sifting millet flour, serving at the same time as a dish cover, one or two little esparto mats which can serve the same purpose, and finally a few wooden spoons. Each mistress of a tent has a little 412 415 [357] [252] [285]

412 Each mistress of a tent has a little
356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses, and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,
492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are
[462] left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving;
[565] only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in moving only if it is a long trip.

/230/ Chapter 3

## Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding
262 peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea, bechena (Sorghum cernuum Host.), a kind of millet cultivated in the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

[252 The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during
484] their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong cultural-
[101] ly to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

243 he generally carries with him in his migrations. Wheat raising
262 goes down to the Sudan as far as Timbuktu, Aïr, and a little north of Nigeria; but everywhere it has been introduced recently, due to the influence of the Arabs, who have not abandoned their traditional food.

Béchena is a food they adopted because of their exodus toward [412] the Sudan; they are at the present time much closer to the Sudan than they are to North Africa from the point of view of material living conditions, that is, unless this plant formerly existed in a self-sown state in the Sahara, as Professor Chevalier has assumed, and was one of the principal food resources of its first inhabitants.

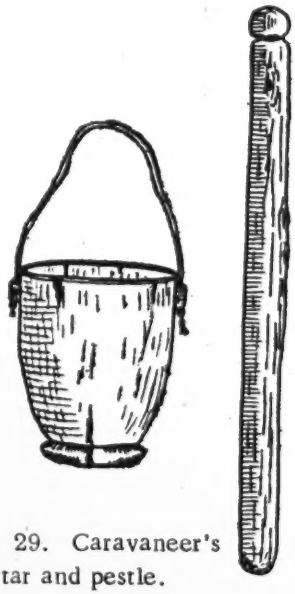

Fig. 29. Caravaneer's mortar and pestle.

177 By its agriculture
241 and its production, the Sahara is completely Negro. Agricultural methods, except for irrigation, /231/ are borrowed from the Sudanese, especially work with the hoe (daba), while North Africa mainly uses the plow which is unknown in the intertropical zone.

252 Béchena is eaten as a cooked flour porridge, as raw flour, or
262 mixed with liquids, water or milk.

Dates also play a large part in the diet of the Tuareg. Every year each family head organizes a little caravan to the Touat or [438 484 592] Tidikelt to bring back two or three loads of poor-quality dried dates which are crushed with a pestle and eaten with camel's milk.

136 several different spots, and it is not impossible that the species
[172] bred today in the Ahaggar is of African origin. Bones of the species are found in the Neolithic layers of the Sahara.

137 At the present time there is a death struggle between the goats
233 and trees in the Ahaggar. The goat itself is capable of browsing
185 the lower branches and destroying them, thanks to its agility. The Tuareg do the rest when pasture is scarce, by felling the main branches to put them within the reach of the animals. And so, in a relatively short time, trees, and the tahla (Acacia sp.) in par-particular, will be only a memory in the Ahaggar. Nothing has

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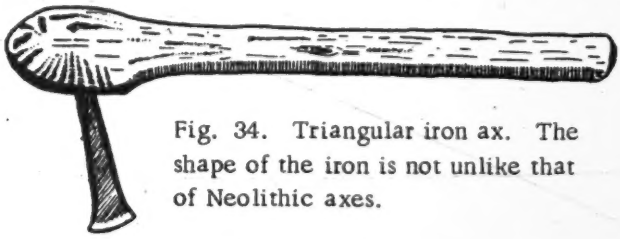

Fig. 34. Triangular iron ax. The shape of the iron is not unlike that of Neolithic axes.

been done by the French administration in the Ahaggar to protect the trees, when it would be sufficient to close some valleys for several years, while taking into account the needs of the shepherds. Measures of this kind have been taken in the environs of Goundam and have given very good results.

132 Prolonged dryness which causes a lack of pasture often puts
233 goat raising in difficulties. The birth rate is stopped short, and mortality may result to such a great extent that the number of animals sometimes falls to one fifth. Then many years are needed to build up the flocks, granting, of course, the arrival of favorable rains.

232 The careless and fatalistic Ihaggaren do not even try to step up breeding by buying sires in Adrar or in Aïr. They let their weak flocks reconstitute themselves by their own means, which
[272] sometimes requires many years. In case of an overabundance of births, they limit the number of animals, for they are well aware

care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

For them the main question is protecting the different parts of the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the body is to that end.

They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired color.

To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth. They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed to form a brush. For this purpose they use irak branches (Salvadora persica) or palm jereed.

/258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring for the hair.

Young boys have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region. They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have themselves shaved completely.

302 The women also wear their hair braided in a number of plaits which hang beside the temples. They coif each other, and since the job requires many hours, it is done only once or twice a month. [412] They begin by untangling the hair by means of a small comb, at the same time filling the hair with sand and wood ashes. Next they [515] proceed to delouse it, for each Tuareg head of hair generally harbors a whole little world of insects. Then the hairdresser separates the hair into bunches, using a small knife, soaks it with water and butter, and braids it, either in large braids so that there are three or four hanging on each side, or in many small braids. [751] They smear their hair with butter for no other reason than to protect it against the sun and especially against the dry air which makes it brittle.

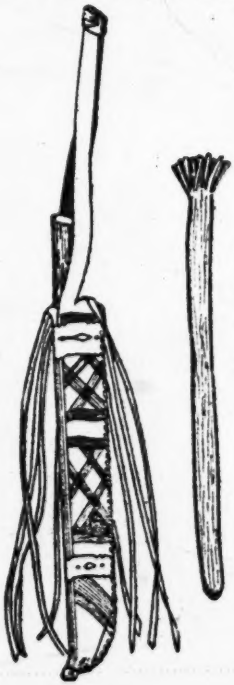

Fig. 35. Tooth brush of irak wood with its leather case.

The men let their beards grow, but they almost always shave their mustaches or cut them very short so /259/ that they do not get in the way under the veils which cover the lower part of their faces.

Men and women shave the pubis.

[754] After dressing the hair or shaving, the Tuareg always bury their hair or down, for fear that people who wish them harm might get hold of them and take them to some sorcerer who could use them to make fearful evil spells.

302 751 Men and women make rings around their eyes with kohl; they put it not only on the eyebrows, but especially at the roots of the eyelashes. They do this for medical purposes, for they attribute [164] to kohl the ability to protect them against eye maladies, in particular against ophthalmia which strikes many of them.

[326] The Tuareg appreciate the long, narrow hands of people who do no manual labor. They do not take any particular [412 53] care of them and are satisfied merely to cut 212 their nails rather short. As they do for hair, they bury the scraps so that no one can take them.

Fig. 36. Hairdressing knife, bearing the name of the artisan who made it in tifinagh characters.

304 [171] Tattooing. -- Make-up. -- Unlike the Kabyle and the Berbers, the Tuareg are not tattooed. This detail, which may seem insignificant, nevertheless indicates that the relationship of these different human groups is not nearly as close as one might believe, since there are such appreciable differences in mores.

184 304 Some women blue their gums and sometimes their lips by tattooing them, but this custom is particularly prevalent in the Sudanese tribes of the Timbuktu region.

302 [751] [517] On the other hand, make-up is used on a large scale among Tuareg women. They put red ocher on their faces to protect the skin from the /260/ sun. For aesthetic reasons they also blue their lips and around their mouths with indigo.

301 Under the necklace Tuareg women wear /274/ pectoral pendants, a small one shaped like a lozenge with a red stone set in it and embellished at the base with little triangular plaquettes, and another [531] large-sized one made of several triangles with big silver cabochons, each one decorated at the base with small triangular plaques.

The style of these jewels is simple and quite peculiar to the Tuareg. Although their triangular shape recalls somewhat that of Kabyle jewels, it is nonetheless true that they show no relationship with the [531] North African goldsmith's craft and that it is very difficult to explain their origin.

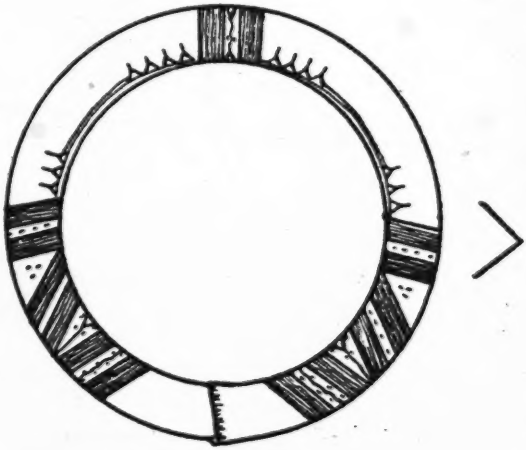

Fig. 44. Silver bracelet worn at the wrist by women.

Tuareg women of the Ahaggar do not wear earrings but great massive silver rings which are hung on each side at the height of the ears by a leather thong which passes over the top of their heads.

Very often they also wear little hair pendants which are attached to the ends of their braids of hair.

301 Both men and women are supplied with little tweezers to extract
●412 thorns (the irremdan), which they wear over the shoulder. That of the women, which is copper and bi-triangular shaped, /275/ takes on the nature of a jewel, for it is carefully worked and has a real artistic character. That of the men is simpler; it is completed with a little awl and a knife blade and serves as a small portable surgical kit.

326 /280/ Silver is used to make jewelry--pendants, pendants for the
[301] hair, bracelets, rings, earrings, amulet cases, etc.

Copper furnishes a number of more important and naturally more
[492] commonly used
414 articles -- saddlery
articles, cavessons for
[412] camels, highly
ornamented padlocks
with keys, hair knives,
etc. This metal is generally better worked than silver. It is often
chiseled, engraved, and topped with applications of tin by a technique
[531] which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little
knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

Fig. 50. Hammer.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta
crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them
is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or
with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian
Arabs and the Sudanese.

Fig. 51. Blacksmith's tongs.

438 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms;
326 they merely repair them. Sahara, daggers, and
411 lances were for the most part manufactured by black-
smiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimmiden from
Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and
mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel
Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an
iron mine which is located beside the village of
Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally
not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the
[172] Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments
are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic
period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized
in the camps.

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
[412 collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
302] an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of
Tagant and Hodh.

Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
291 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
855 girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear
[556] trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From
that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while
the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated for either the boy or girl.

The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
868 the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
857 which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
[462] milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of
this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then
fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games
between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet
stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly
speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a
camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
[212] Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they
are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
[145] when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
291 father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
[431] ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good advice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

351 and are extended out in front to form a sheltered enclosure which is usually semicircular with the entrance opening in the middle. The little forecourt and the ground inside the tent as well are covered with clean sand or very fine gravel from the bed of a nearby stream. Tuareg camps are always very tidy and astonishingly clean.

Both in the forecourt and in the tent itself
562 the men's place is on the right as you enter
342 and the women's and children's on the left, which is the reverse of the arrangement customary among Arabs. It has often been said that the men's place is on the East, but this is simply because tents are almost always pitched facing south.

Household furniture and effects include
352 sheepskins, or rugs obtained from the North
[439] by trade, leather bags of food and personal belongings, saddles, bridles and weapons,
[415] wooden bowls, funnels and spoons and maybe an earthenware cooking pot or two, a wooden
[412] mortar and pestle or perhaps two sets of different sizes, and a stone quern which may be either of the Neolithic saddle type or the small rotary model of the Roman Legions. Arms and food are stored in the men's half of the tent and equipment connected with food preparation in the women's half. A guerba full of water is hung from two long stakes just outside the forecourt. A brush
[343] windbreak built nearby shelters the outdoor kitchen; and another windbreak, some 50 to 100 yards away, shelters the family slaves.

Sometimes in the hottest months, and particularly when a camp remains stationary for a considerable length of time as it does in periods so dry that it is dangerous to move far from a permanent water supply, the tents may be stowed away and zeribas set up in their place. We recall that these are cubical or cylindrical structures made of reeds, long grass or palm fronds laid over a wooden framework measuring roughly 10 to 15 feet across and 8 to 10 feet high (fig. 37, *a*). The Amenokal's camp was installed in zeribas when the writer visited it in November, 1955, near the end of an unusually long period of drought.

Camps are always pitched in an inconspicu-
361 ous spot and always on high ground except on very rare occasions when the sky is cloud-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar
Air



241 culture is never practised without irrigation. Rodd thinks that the Air agriculturists
[114] gave up shifting cultivation because they are too poor to-day to risk losing their
[174] seed in the event of inadequate or irregular rainfall (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I rather think the reasons are that the agriculturists of the massif nowadays grow very little millet and have a better irrigation system than in the past. In summer maize forms by far the most important crop, and it needs irrigation which is comparatively easy when using zebus for drawing water. However this may be we can assume that a type of agriculture related to Sudanese shifting cultivation was formerly important to the Air agriculturists, and although irrigation is nowadays used everywhere agriculture in certain places of Air is still a kind of shifting cultivation. Many agriculturists do not resort to manuring nor do they carry fresh soil to the gardens as in Ahaggar. With crop rotation they utilize one and the same plot for a few years but then have to cut trees and brush-wood somewhere else to make a new
[312] garden. A new well must then also be dug, but as irrigation wells are rather shallow this work is comparatively easy.

171 There are in Air certain agricultural implements related to those of Sudanese
● 412 farming cultures. We must mention in particular a small hoe hafted by means of a thong *(tagoumit)*. It is unknown both in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer as well as further north in the desert while extremely common among Sudanese shifting cultivators. Feilberg has classed it with the so-called Old Sudanese Culture es-
[114] tablished by Baumann (Feilberg 1934, p. 260ff. – Baumann 1940, p. 50ff.; 1944, p. 213ff.). Baumann claims that this culture did not know the sickle, considered by him an implement of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 56ff.; 1944, p. 283ff.). The sickle (Air: *elegesouar*, Ahaggar: *amreh*) is in fact unknown in many Air villages, and is according to my investigations not generally used for the harvesting of crops but for cutting annual grasses to be stored for
241 fodder. In Air the harvesting methods are as follows:– millet is cut with a knife,
171 maize is cut at the root by means of the above-mentioned hoe, while wheat and barley are pulled up with the hands. Similar harvesting methods seem to be known in the Sudan (Baumann 1944, p. 295ff.). As a Sudanese trait we can
[415] perhaps also recognize the large clay amphoræ used for the storage of cereals (Rodd 1926, p. 317. – Nicolas 1950a, p. 146).

174 We can conclude this section as follows:– While the negroes of Ahaggar ap-
144 parently have arrived in that country later than the fair-skinned Berbers the oldest
563 known population in Air were Hausa-speaking negroes subsisting predominantly as agriculturists. Their original culture apparently was closely related to that of Sudanese shifting cultivators. Contacts with the north and in particular invasions of fair-skinned Tuareg have changed their cultural position. Mixing with the Tuareg they have also changed their physical type, but they are still predominantly negroid. They have adopted a Tuareg dialect but have retained part of their old vocabulary.

/179 cont./

| 137 824 Tamashek Name | Arabic Name | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|
| 46. Zezeri | Zahta | Atakor. Is put in tea. |
| 47. Tihéréguéli | Chih' | Perfumes tea, remedy for colic. |
| 48. Amiou | N'gouth | Good pasturage. |
| 49. Tamadjéhi | Kroumt | Very good pasturage. |
| 50. Tatalt | Elgouzah | Good pasturage. |
| 51. Otaq | Mrenza | Mixed with crushed dates, fattens women. Bad odor. |
| 52. Tedjourt | Hallala | Remedy for gastric troubles. |
| 53. Terfes | Terfes | A sort of truffle. |
| 54. Aliouen | Denoun | A sort of large asparagus. |

/181/ VI

## Tools

412 Here is a list of tools used by the maalmine; many of them are made by the users:

Tisadh: double-pocketed bellows.

Abaracha: piece of wood 50 x 20 x 6 centimeters, serving as support for an iron mass used as an anvil.

Tehount: iron mass 6 x 6 x 15 centimeters used as an anvil.

Afadis: hammer.

Tafadist: small hammer.

Irendan: tongs.

Takadimt: adz.
Tataout: chisel for wood.
Tadouft: ax.
} Neolithic-type hafting.

412

/181 cont. / Azazaoua: file.
Tazazaouat: small file.
Tasarest: burin.
Asfed: punch.
Timouda: shears.
Azazaoua ouan aserer: file for wood.
Anefif: ferrule for bellows.
Tibin: crucible.

Following is a list of objects made by the maalmines for the Tuareg; this list is certainly not complete.

/182/ Tanast: special Tuareg padlock, well known to tourists; the keys are artistically cut out and are not one of the least of the women's ornaments. Iron, brass, and copper combine to give a pleasing effect. There are padlocks with one, two, and three keys, work complicated for its own sake, as these tanast lock leather sacks which can be opened with a slit of the knife or by loosening a seam!

Tadeft: small ax.
Moussi: knife with sheath, worn at the waist.
Indel: punch for leather work.
Iremdan (menguech in Arabic): an accessory consisting of a cutting blade, an awl, and small pincers.
Tazozlet: a kind of paper knife with a triangular blade of artistically worked brass. In Tuareg society it is not used as a paper knife but as a hair-dressing tool used to separate strands of hair before braiding.
Tistent: awl.
Tesougla: large sewing needle.
Allar: the Tuareg spear.
Takouba: the saber.
Tarada: the javelin.
Tilok: arm dagger.
Tamenast (menassa in Arabic): brass basin, indispensable accessory for every meharist, used for drinking, washing, making bread, digging abankor /water hole/.

412 /182 cont. / For the harratin, the maalmines make the hoe called aguelhim and the gheniet, which is a trap for wild sheep.

412 The Tuareg use wooden objects made by the maalmines;
415 these are mainly cooking utensils.

Akous: bowl for drinking milk. It often has small ears for easier gripping.

Azzka: is a very large akous capable of holding nearly six liters.

Tarahout: large, almost hemispherical dish, carved out in one piece. The wood is three centimeters thick. It is used for family meals.

/183/ Tarelalt: large dish with a fairly flat bottom; may be as large as one meter in diameter (rare).

Tendi: the wooden mortar.

Iharen: the wooden pestle.

Akabar: small mortar, sometimes pyrographed.

Tesoukalt: pyrographed wooden spoon.

Temoulalt: large pyrographed spoon (ladle).

Asseguefi: small wooden funnel.

Redjeredjaten: stakes for holding up the tent.

Tidjetouin: stakes with ornamented heads for holding the tent open.

492 Tarik (rahla in Arabic): the camel saddle. The maalmines of the Ahaggar repair them but do not make them; the most handsome ones come from the Aïr; these are the ones called tamazak and the akoka. However, the maalmines of the Ahaggar make a wholly wooden saddle called taïst, sturdy and used mainly for training the animals.

301 The principal jewelry worked in the Ahaggar is the following:

Tisak: the ring, of silver. Certain models have the lower part made of iron. The height of the rings is impressive: four to five centimeters; they entirely cover the lower part of the women's fingers, setting off the length and delicacy of their hands.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 · MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 39. A very young camel calf tethered in the camp by means of the *témdit* rope depicted below (Fig. 40). Tamesna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Ireqnoten* tribe.

she-camels which are difficult to milk because they will not allow the calf to suck. The method has been described to me by Tuareg of Ayr. It is named *arazak* and is as follows:— Fresh camel-dung is put into the nostrils of the mother-camel, and its nose is thereupon pierced at three places with an awl a hole being made in each nostril and one hole between them. A cord of dum palm leaf is thereupon drawn through these three holes so that the nostrils are firmly closed, and the animal can consequently breathe only through the mouth. It is said that a she-camel which has carried this bandage for one day will be fond of its calf and will allow it to suck so that milking can be done. 234 [412]

Milking of she-camels is usually done twice a day, early in the morning and very late in the evening. In Ayr certain Tuareg milk their she-camels several times during the day, as the animals generally graze close to the camp and frequently come to the tents to see their calves. Milking between the two proper milking times may also be done with other domestic animals in Ayr if milk is needed for some purpose or other during the day, but it is practised particularly with she-camels, as milk gathers in the udder of these animals very quickly after milking.

Milking of she-camels is done by two men standing at the sides of the she-camel and leaning their heads against the animal (Fig. 36). One of the men holds the large wooden milk-bowl *akabar* (Figs. 37–38) [462] [415]

[text continues on pa. 61]

*492 that it is manufactured by pastoral Tuareg of these regions and not by blacksmiths, though the latter [564] may also make such saddles for their own use. The wooden structure is made of two cross-bars, which [412] are natural prongs fashioned with knife and axe, and these two cross-bars are lashed to each other at their lower ends, or are connected with each other by means of two sticks crossing each other at the two sides. A wreath of slender roots of *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) covered with a network of dum [824] palm rope may serve as a saddle seat, which can also be covered with a piece of matting plaited from [283] the leaves of the dum palm tree. This very simple saddle may perhaps be considered the prototype of [285] the more developed riding saddles of the *térik* and *tahyast* types.

All the above-mentioned types of riding saddles are placed in front of the camel's hump and rest upon two to four saddle cloths, the number depending upon their quality and also upon the nutritional condition of the animal. Two saddle-cloths are considered enough for a fat camel while four should be applied to a very thin one. Saddle cloths are frequently called *ésatfar* (Ayr) or *asetfer* (Ahaggar), but this name is in fact used for everything placed upon the back of an animal to protect it against galling from the luggage and/or the saddle. Saddle cloths for camels are properly termed *éselis* (Ayr) and *ameslaḳ* (Ahaggar). Both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr saddle cloths are generally [286] made of cotton, but they are also made from dum palm matting and a piece of leather among the Ayr Tuareg (Figs. 66–67). The riding saddles are fixed to the camel by a single girth known as *ahayif* (Ahaggar) or *azuw* (Ayr). In the north such girths are normally made from goat-hair while the Ayr [237] Tuareg use plaited leather (goat-skin). Girths in both regions are frequently furnished with a very large tassel hanging down from the right side of the camel (Fig. 69). On rare occasions when the Tuareg [541] ride their camels with all possible speed, e.g., at the annual camel races organized by the French [648] administration, the riders often secure the position of their saddles by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren* among the Northern Tuareg) tied around the hind part of the camel as shown by the photograph Fig. 68.

The camel rider sits in the saddle cross-leged with his feet resting upon the camel's neck. To accelerate the speed of his riding animal he pushes one of his feet against its neck in step with the rocking gait *492 peculiar to camels. A whip (*alekkoḳ*) also belongs to the equipment of the rider. Most whips have a 237 single lash made from a twisted strip of hide, but whips provided with two lashes of hide attached to a wooden handle are also found and are common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Figs. 70a–b). The whips used in the north are said to be made from camel's hide soaked in water; the raw hide is twisted and kept in this position until it is dry. The Ayr Tuareg say that camel's hide is not well fitted for whips, which among them are manufactured from the raw hide of a newly-killed ox. A piece of this hide is twisted and left to dry as in the north. The handle of the one-lash whip is made of cotton wrapped around the upper part of the lash and covered with coloured goat-skin.

*492 The Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular implement to hasten the speed of riding camels. It is described in literature notably by Foucauld. It consists of a slender iron rod 0.35–0.50 metres long, fixed into a wooden handle. It has a small crook much like that of a staple and is used for scratching the animal and thus to incite it to greater speed. It is called *azulla*, or *aakreḳ* (Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 856 & IV, p. 1960). I have never seen this peculiar implement among the Tuareg.

*492 A camel rider's equipment comprises various types of skin bags of which the most common is a
415

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*492 household goods during nomadic migrations, and are employed daily in all camps to carry water in skin-
415 bags from wells and waterholes to the tents. They are very strong animals considering their low stature,
512 and good pack-donkeys can carry up to one hundred kilograms even for very long trips. Donkeys
262 are occasionally used for long journeys by the Northern Tuareg, and many Ayr Tuareg use them to
484 fetch provisions of millet around Tanut in Damergu. Caravans of donkeys are frequently observed
in these regions, and one even sees mixed caravans of donkeys and camels. There can be no doubt
174 that before the introduction of the camel the donkey was still more important for riding and transportation than is the case nowadays. This is clearly demonstrated by historical material from Egypt and adjacent regions (cf. Erman 1922, p. 518 f., 529, 592 f., 636).

231 It has already been mentioned that donkey's meat and skin are not utilized nowadays by the Tuareg.
262 The same is true of mare's milk which, however, is used as a remedy against a kind of cough known
257 to the Ayr Tuareg as *khamkham*. There is no regulation of mating for donkeys which in many ways are semi-domesticated animals. In Ayr male donkeys are never castrated, while the Ahaggar Tuareg say they castrate such stallions as constantly run after the mares and in this way cause too much trouble. The Tuareg also have no methods to prevent foals from sucking, while a method of this kind is sometimes applied by sedentary people in and around Agadez. This method known as *éfinjar* consists in the cutting of the nostrils of half-grown foals so that they cannot suck pregnant mares. Both stallions
*492 and mares are used for riding and transportation, but female animals are much preferred for these purposes. Mares are used almost exclusively for the transportation of water-bags hanging under the animals, as the bags might be squirted by stallions' urine.

The Northern Tuareg saddle their donkeys, using the same saddle type for riding and for transpor-
462 tation (Fig. 86). This is known as *aruku* and is manufactured by the women in the following way:—
824 Two fresh boughs of the *tahunek*-tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) are heated, or slightly burned, over the fire.
322 The boughs are thereupon barked and bent into the curved form wanted, and are then kept in this position by cords. After drying for a few days the boughs will retain their curved form, and the cords
237 are untied. The boughs are then cut up and their ends are connected by two pieces of camel's hide
412 soaked in water, and sewn together by means of a large iron needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (cf. Fig. 220b) and a thread which is also cut from camel's hide. The wooden saddle frame is attached to three
237 cushions. These cushions are generally made of goat-skin or sheep-skin stuffed with hay or with date
442 palm bast, but may also be plaited from leaves of the date palm tree. Cushions made from goat-skin are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of the little awl known as *tistent* (cf. Fig. 218a). The two long cushions resting lengthwise upon the animals back are known as *tastek*, and the small cushion resting over the animal's back close to its shoulders is called *tafelledut*. The saddle is fixed to the donkey by two girths consisting of cords made of goat-hair. One of these cords (*tahnechart*) passes under the tail, the other (*ahayif*) is tied around the chest of the animal. This saddle type is well fitted for the transportation of burdens and in particular of water-bags, the cords of which are attached to the pommels. When the saddle is used for riding it is frequently covered with a blanket or a piece of cloth. Saddles of this type are found in all camps of the Northern Tuareg, and Lhote states that they are also found in Adrar-n-Foras and in Ayr (Lhote 1947a, p. 120). This may be so but I have myself never seen them in the latter region where they are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan*

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232 [114] killed. This does not agree with Nicolas' statement that selective breeding is unknown among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* for all types of domestic animals (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 133).

Superfluous bull-camels are generally castrated very late – rarely before they are six or seven years old, and frequently much later. But this is not to say that all bull-camels are used in breeding, as those used for riding and transportation are generally hobled during grazing and copulation is thus effectively prevented. Bull-camels used in breeding are not always used for riding and pack animals, as they may be very savage and dangerous. In the rutting season they are left unhobled among the she-camels.

The Tuareg consider it best to castrate bull-camels late, and say that bull-camels if castrated at a very early age will not develop fully, or become such good riding and pack animals. Bull-camels which have not been allowed to mate are not so difficult to control during the periods when she-camels are on heat. Nevertheless, when bull-camels are castrated they become more docile. But to the Tuareg it is more important that gelded animals easily grow fat and thus acquire the strengh and endurance to enable them to perform the long and arduous expeditions connected with caravan trading and, in the past, also with raiding. In brief, castration of bull-camels is done as follows:— The legs of the animal to be operated are tied tightly with strong cords, and it is kept firmly to the ground by the weight of people sitting upon it. The operator thereupon cuts two slices in the animals scrotum and pulls out the testicles together with the spermatic cords. This must be done with great care because, it is said, the animal may die if one of the spermatic cords breaks. This method of castration by extraction is the only method used for camels, and it may also be applied to other domestic animals such as bulls, rams, he-goats, and in Ahaggar also to donkey stallions. In the north this extraction method is known as *aselbi* while the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr use the word *azam*. The latter people claim that castration by means of cutting and extraction should be performed in spring (*tabsit*) or during the early rains (*akasa*), as the wounds will heal properly at these seasons. The other important castration method used among the Tuareg is that of chrushing the spermatic cords, it is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *éddaz*, and is never used for camels but is frequently applied to he-goats, rams, and bulls. Chrushing of the spermatic cords is done by means of stones or pieces of wood – frequently by [412] beating with the heavy wooden pestle of the large millet mortar (cf. Fig. 177). I believe that this method is that most commonly applied to he-goats and rams, and Tuareg of Ayr claim that they can use this method all the year round as it leaves no wounds to be healed. Rams and he-goats may be castrated at any age and even very old animals are castrated to make them fat for slaughtering. It is claimed that it is best to castrate superfluous lambs and kids very early, preferably as soon as they are weaned.

I believe that the examples given above confirm my statement that the Tuareg are mainly rationalists in their stock-breeding methods. To elucidate this in more detail I shall now present my material on Tuareg veterinary knowledge. This material is unfortunately not very precise because the Tuareg distinguish between very many stock-diseases, and the treatments applied can be studied scientifically only by a veterinary surgeon. A description of stock-diseases is available for the northern parts of the [113] Sahara ("Notice sur l'Institut Pasteur d'Algérie", I–II, 1934–1949), but there seems to be no particular study of Tuareg stock-diseases, which I know only by their Tuareg names. As I have not studied this [114] rather special subject in great detail, I supplement my own material with informations gathered from literature.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



462 Among Northern Tuareg vassals donkeys are tended by women, who use them for riding and
231 transportation over short distances. Tuareg men rarely ride donkeys, but the assistance of men is
[492] needed in connection with some of the tasks of donkey-breeding:—

It may become desirable to increase the stock of donkeys by catching wild animals as already described above. This is always done by men who also break-in the captured animals for riding. The assistance of men is also frequently needed for catching half-wild, though domesticated donkeys.

The marking of donkeys, castration, which is rarely performed, and the curing of diseases, which are also rare, are said to be tasks which should properly be carried out by men.

[565] Vassal women only tend camels when all men are absent from their camp.

The above rules of division of labour are in general also valid in Ayr among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. But there are in Ayr vassal Tuareg who have no camels and vassal men in Ayr frequently ride donkeys. The tending of cows in Ayr is mainly the work of women, who are also more familiar with cattle terms than are the men. – Among the *Kel Ewey* the skinning of goats and sheep, as well as the partition of the meat, are done by women.

428 In the Tuareg groups I have studied both men and women inherit camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys according to Islamic rules of inheritance.

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Fig. 110. The skinning of a gazelle placed upon straw of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ahaggar, the *Taytok* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 123. Digging stick (*diawej*) which serves to dig up wild edible roots and other purposes. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.883 m (total length). (N.M. G. 5252).

Fig. 124. The wild plant *ihahelewen* (sing. *ahahel*) (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) which yields edible roots esteemed for food (bread). Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

Fig. 125. Skin bag of the *téchchékwat* type made from the skin of a kid and containing *adamam* berries (*Osyris alba*). The berries are normally eaten fresh, but are also conserved in skin bags to be eaten later after soaking in water. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension of the skin bag: 0.33 m. (N.M. G. 5244).

222 *aremmud* (*Aristida plumosa & A. Adscensionis*). Tr. Seeds are edible.

262 *tullult* (*Aristida pungens*). Tr. A perennial grass found in certain parts of Ahaggar and particularly
252 common further north (Ahnet, Immidir) and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Seeds are collected by men and women in the following manner:— The ears are cut with a sickle and placed in a piece of cotton (e.g., a cotton blanket known as *abror*). The ears are left for drying, and threshing is done by beating with a stick. The husks are winnowed as described for wheat and barley (cf. p. 206), and seeds are then stocked in *agera* (a skin-bag). According to Foucauld collecting may also be done by digging out the nests of ants as these small insects stock a great many *tullult* seeds (Foucauld 1922, p. 29 f.). – The *tullult* seeds [412] are used for bread and porridge, and are also eaten as *tébik* after pounding in a wooden millet mortar.

*lewliwen* (*Scirpus maritimus*). An annual plant having edible fruit in its roots (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1098).

*taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*). Tr., L.M. Young shoots are edible.

*izéyan* (*Asphodelus tenuifolius*). Tr., L.M. Eaten when vegetable food is scarce.

*telokat* (*Ficus salicifolia*). Tr. "Les fruits murs, de couleur rouge, sont tendres, un peu sucrés et comestibles" (Maire 1933, p. 76).

[574] *adamam* (*Osyris alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Its red fruits or berries are eaten as a relish. A bowl of berries is frequently offered to guests of Tuareg camps.

*tanezmimt* (*Rumex vesicarius & R. roseus*). Tr. Inedible according to Foucauld (Foucauld 1922, p. 85), while Foley states that leaves of this plant are eaten after boiling (Foley 1930, p. 42).

*tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual herb which is particularly common in the mountain of Asekrem. The small black seeds are collected in bowls or similar receptacles by rubbing the plants with the fingers. The seeds are ground into flour, which is very suitable for bread and porridge.

*aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*). Tr., L.M., U.M. Seeds and boiled leaves of this plant are eaten when vegetable food is very scarce.

*ébedébed* (*Boerhavia agglutinans & B. repens*). Tr. An annual plant with edible seeds.

*éhéyefyef* (*Aizoon canariense*). An annual plant resembling the *twuit* plant and particularly common in the upper mountain zone. Seeds are used for bread and *tébik*, but not for porridge.

*agar* (*Maerua crassifolia*). Tr., (L.M.). A tree yielding edible fruit.

*tadant* (*Boscia senegalensis*). A tree or bush which is extremely rare in Ahaggar where its edible fruit are consequently consumed very rarely.

*aggasit* (*Farsetia Hamiltonii*). Tr., L.M. A seed-plant.

*aherera* (*Alyssum libycum*). An annual plant which is rare in Ahaggar, while common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Eaten after boiling in water.

*azezzeya* (*Diplotaxis acris*). The plant is rare in Ahaggar. Its leaves are boiled and eaten.

*tanekfayt* (*Eruca sativa*). Tr., L.M. Leaves are eaten raw or boiled.

*tamaghé* (*Moricandia arvensis*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual plant – a kind of wild cabbage.

*alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea*). Tr. An annual plant. "Les Touareg mangent la feuille cuite et essorée, sans sel. La plante jeune donne une salade assez analogue à la Roquette, quoique d'un goût moins agréable" (Maire 1933, p. 111).

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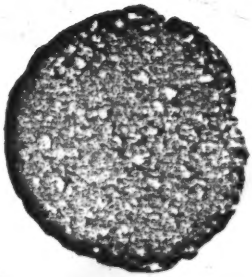

Fig. 126. A cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries (*Osyris alba*). The fresh berries are pounded in the large mortar (*tindé*) or are crushed between two stones to be formed into pieces of cheese form to be dried. This cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries is used by Tuareg women as a kind of face ointment against sun burn, pimples, and the like. They apply this ointment to the face as follows:— A little milk is poured upon a stone, the cheese-like mass of berries is rubbed against it, and the mixture of milk and berries is thereupon rubbed into the skin of the face with the fingers. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.075 m. (N.M. G. 5279a).

222
262 *enag* (*Leptadenia pyrotechnica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

[272] *tañhart* (*Mentha longifolia*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

*awit*, generally known by the collective name *awihat* (*Salvia Chudaei*). Tr., (L.M.). An annual plant used as an aromatic for tea.

[824] [682] *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*). Tr. This plant is extremely venomous for human beings, though not for animals. In the past it was used by the Tuareg as a poison for enemies. Members of La Mission Flatters (1880–81) were poisoned by the Tuareg using poison of this plant inserted into [261] dates presented to the expedition. "La plante, absorbée à petite dose, aurait la propriété de faire engraisser. Les femmes du Tidikelt l'emploient dans ce but, en en faisant cuire une petite quantité dans de l'eau avec de la farine et de la graisse; elles laissent réduire et absorbent la bouillie obtenue, puis se couvrent pour transpirer (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 192).

222 *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots. After drying the roots are
262 pounded in a large millet mortar to be used for bread which is much esteemed by the Tuareg. "Cette
252 plante est recoltée jeune par les indigènes, puis placée dans le sable sous une couche de *drinn* (*Aristida pungens*) jusqu'à noircissement et dessication. Le produit sec est moulu et utilisé dans l'alimentation (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 196).

*éfetekchi* (*Orobanche aegyptiaca* & *O. cernua*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots.

*tamzellit* (*Orobanche sp.*). Tr. Very rare. A plant yielding edible roots.

*tegellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). Tr. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

*alked* (*Cucumis pustulatus*). Tr. Rare. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

[263] *takkilt* (*Cotula cinerea*). Tr. "Les Touareg utilisent cette plante comme condiment, principalement pour la viande qui commence à se gâter" (Maire 1933, p. 209).

[439] *téhéréggelé* (*Artemisia judaica* ssp. *sahariensis*). Tr., (L.M.). "Cette plante, comme le *Myrtus Nivellei*, est récoltée en grande quantité, séchée et exportée au Soudan, où elle est employée comme aromate et condiment" (Maire 1933, p. 212).

[272] *zézzeré* (*Artemisia herba alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

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***ajako***. According to Foucauld a small annual edible plant growing in the Ahaggar Mountains at an altitude above 2000 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 712). Maire mentions this plant as unindentified (Maire 1933, p. 263).

Collecting is mainly the task of women, but males – particularly uninitiated boys and slaves – also participate. Seed-plants are generally harvested by rubbing the ears of the plants between the fingers, but the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle (*amreh*; Fig. 143 a–b) to be thrashed and winnowed like wheat and barley. Edible roots are frequently collected merely by hand. However, a digging stick (*élaweg*; Fig. 123) provided with an iron point is also used to dig up certain wild plants such as *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) and similar root plants. This digging stick is characteristic of vassal women who use it for many different purposes, e.g., to make holes for tent poles.

The very best among the above mentioned seed-plants is the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*). Its seeds are collected or harvested by certain Tuareg inhabiting the lower parts of Ahaggar, but are important particularly to the Tuareg living in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Within the Ahaggar Massif the most important seeds are those of *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). The right to collect these seeds is free to everybody, and Tuareg of the *Abada* zone may send their slaves to the *Atakor* zone to collect *tawit*-seeds in the mountain plateau of Asekrem. The species of *afezu* and *tawit* are sometimes protected by an ban on grazing for three and two months respectively in order that their seeds may grow ripe for collecting. The right to put a ban on grazing of the two species belongs to the Tuareg in whom territorial rights of a sub-area are vested (cf. p. 150). It is said that under very favourable conditions a single household may collect some hundred kilos of seeds of the two plants mentioned. This may seem rather impressive, but even in good years when milk is abundant collecting will not provide pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar with sufficient vegetable food, for seeds of wild plants are far less nourishing than are grains of wheat, barley, and millet. The collecting of wild plants important for food is as dependent on climatic conditions as is stock-breeding. In dry years, when domestic animals yield little or no milk at all, there will also be no wild seeds for collecting.

Fig. 127. Very small bag known as *élem* ("skin") made from a kid's scrotum (*tigassaté*). The bag contains a piece of resin of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). This resin is eaten by the Tuareg as a remedy against stomachache. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the piece of resin: 0.07 m long. (F.M. 149a–b).

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## AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND THE PRESERVATION OF CROPS

The hoe forms the basic agricultural implement in Ahaggar and in Ayr. The type of hoe used in Ahaggar is known as *agelhim*, and it is akin to that in general use among irrigation farmers of the northern oases. It has a very large and heavy iron head provided with a ring for the shaft. I believe that this type of hoe is particularly fitted for irrigation work, but it does not seem to be in general use in Ayr. I have seen it at Iferwan in Northern Ayr where agriculturists have much contact with Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but I have not seen it further south in the Massif where it seems to be unknown. The common type of hoe in Ayr is different; it is named *tagumit* and is hafted by means of a tongue (Fig. 143d). The same type of hoe is widely distributed in Africa south of the Sahara, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest type of iron hoe within the continent (cf. Feilberg 1934, p. 228–278).

The hoe is used for agricultural work in general, for digging irrigation canals, making garden beds, and for the preparation of the soil. The hoe is not used for sowing cereals. Sowing in Ayr is known as *anabal* and is performed in the following way:— As many seeds as can be kept between the first and second fingers are pressed a little into the soil, and water is led into the garden beds immediately after sowing. I have myself never watched sowing, but I was told in Ayr that it was frequently done by old women. I think that this is probably connected with the belief in the mystic power known as *elbaraka* so characteristic of all North African peoples. For cereals contain this mystic power, which can be spoiled by unclean women. It is considered harmful to the *elbaraka* blessing if cereals are handled by menstruating women (cf. Westermarck 1926, I, p. 230). The hoe is used for weeding, but the agriculturists of Ayr also have a special implement for this particular task. This is known as *elgechwad* and consists of a curved semi-circular iron blade hafted to a short wooden handle by means of a tongue (Fig. 143e). The semi-circular blade is sharpened at its outer and convex side which is pushed against the roots of weeds.

Various methods are used for the harvesting of crops. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer wheat and barley are always harvested by means of a sickle (*amreh*) (Fig. 143a–b). The sickle in Ayr is known as *elgechwad*, like the weeding implement mentioned above. It is not used for harvesting crops, but for the cutting of annual grasses to be stored for fodder (Fig. 143f). In Ayr both wheat and barley are harvested by drawing the straws from the ground with the hands. In Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer sickles are also used for harvesting dates, while the date-growing agriculturists of Ayr use another method. They do not cut the bunches, but proceed in the following way: When dates begin to ripen they enclose every bunch in a plaited pouch to protect the fruit from the ravens and other birds. The dates are harvested one by one when they are ripe, while those not yet fully ripe are left to be harvested later. Harvest is done in this manner about once a week until all dates have become ripe. Maize in Ayr is harvested by drawing the plant from the ground with the hand, and this work is normally facilitated by loosening the soil around the roots by means of the hoe. I do not know how maize is harvested in Ahaggar, where this plant is not so widely grown as in Ayr. Everywhere among agricultural people of Ahaggar and Ayr millet and sorghum are cut with a knife (Ahaggar, *elmusi*; Ayr, *ezegiz*) (Figs. 171–172)

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Fig. 143a–f.
a–b. Sickles of the type used for harvesting wheat and barley in Ahaggar.
They are known as *amrek*, pl. *imrekn*.
a. From Tamanrasset. Total length, 0.271 m. (N.M. G. 5256).
b. From Abalessa. Total length, 0.365 m. (N.M. G. 5828).
c–f. Agricultural implements from Ayr.
c. The short threshing stick (*aburi*). From Iferwan. Dimension: 0.49 m. (N.M. G. 6618).
d. The hoe (*tagumit*) hafted by means of a tongue. From *Kel Ewey* Tuareg near Agadez. Dimension: 0.70 m. (N.M. G. 6615).
e. The semi-circular weeding implement (*elgechwad*). From Iferwan. Dimension: 0.295 m. (N.M. G. 6617).
f. The sickle (*elgechwad*) which is used for cutting annual grasses. From Agadez. Dimension: 0.305 m. (N.M. G. 6613).

241 It seems as if millet and sorghum are always harvested by women, while dates are harvested only by
[462] men. Other crops are harvested by persons of both sexes.

243 Threshing methods are the same in Ahaggar and Ayr. Wheat and barley, which are sheaved and dried before threshing, are beaten with a stick (Ahaggar, *aburi*; Ayr, *aburi* or *asedbak*). This threshing stick is an unfashioned bough of trees or date palms, but a short and club-like implement is also frequently used in Ayr (Fig. 143c). Threshing of millet, sorghum, and maize is done by pounding in a

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Fig. 153a–b. Tuareg funnels (*ásagefi*, pl. *ísagefa*) which are used for milk, butter, and for other liquids.
a. Wooden funnel ornamented by burning. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ilali* tribe. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (F.M. 240).
b. Funnel plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) with the rim reinforced with leather. Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ilali* tribe. Dimension: 0.135 m high. (F.M. 243).

234 In Ahaggar the method of churning butter is as follows:— Milk of the morning yield is put into a
*4/5 skin bag (*émezezley*) (Figs. 156–157) to remain in this bag until next morning when churning takes place. During the hot season the *émezezley*, filled with milk, is placed in the shade of the tent in daytime, while in winter it is placed in sunshine, or close to the fire. Some milk of the evening yield is sometimes added to the morning milk in the *émezezley*. Before churning the milk thus soured is poured into the proper churning bag (*aghwir*, *tanwart*) which is inflated and shaken. Churning bags may vary in size; when there is little milk to be churned a little bag is used and shaking is done holding it in the hands (Fig. 158). When milk is very plentiful, butter is sometimes churned in larger bags (*anwar*), which at one end is attached to a pole, while shaking is done by pulling the other end of the bag with one or both hands. When the milk is shaken in this way it forms small white balls of butter which
[412] are removed from the churning bag with a wooden spoon (Fig. 191) when water has been added. This
[262] white butter (*udi wa mellen*, or *tesendut*) is occasionally used for food without further preparation,
[824] but this is not normal, for newly-churned butter is generally put into an earthen pot (*téṛirt*, or *afrun*) (Figs. 186, 187a–b) together with parts of an annual plant known as *aymenis* (*Chlamydophora pubescens*) (Fig. 160) to be heated over the fire. Some Tuareg also add meal of dried dates, or of horns of barbary
251 sheep. After heating, butter (*udi*) assumes a dark yellow colour. It is stored in containers made of
*4/5 camel's hide (*tahattint*, *anagen*, *ayaṭiha*) (Figs. 161–162), or in Sudanese calabashes (*arzeu*) (Figs.
[824] 163a–b). A particular metal pail (*éṛir*) (Fig. 164) manufactured by native blacksmiths is also used for butter in Ahaggar,

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Fig. 155. Skin bag (*asasfru*) for the conservation of butter-milk on journeys. The bag is made from an entire goat-skin and has a handle of goat-hair cord tied to the skin patches of the hind legs. A leather handle is attached to the lower part of the bag which is ornamented with leather fringes, Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.77 m long without the fringes. (F.M. 89).

They churn most butter from cow's

234 milk, and this butter is not considered as delicious by the Ahaggar Tuareg as their own butter, churned
[262] mainly from goat's milk. – The use of wooden churning sticks by means of which milk is stirred in
234 an open container is unknown in Ahaggar and Ayr, so far as I know. Churning sticks are used in
412 other Tuareg groups. They are common among the Tuareg of Adrar-n-Foras (Musée d'Ethono-
184 graphie, Neuchâtel, no. 49.2.44 & Musée de l'homme, Paris, no. 38.16.48) and among the *Iwillemmeden*
171 Tuareg and the Fulani (Musée de l'homme, Paris, nos. 41.19.411 & 41.19.1326).

234 All Northern Tuareg, as well as the Northern Arab pastoralists and semi-nomadic Berbers and
[117] Arabs of the Atlas, make cheese from butter-milk, while this type of cheese is unknown among the
[184] Southern Tuareg and also among the Fulani. In Ahaggar butter-milk cheese (*awles*) is manufactured
[462] by women in the following manner:— Butter-milk is heated over the fire in an earthen pot (*téṛirt*, or *ufrun*)
*[415] (Figs. 186, 187a–b) by which process the milk is divided into two parts, namely pure water and a curdled mass of milk (*akru*). This mass of curdled milk is placed in a special basket (*arugus*) (Figs. 167a–b) hanging from a tree or a similar object to sort out the whey. Thus there remains a mass of cheese in the basket, and this mass is formed into small round pieces to be left for drying. Butter-milk cheese is manufactured in this way by all Northern Tuareg who are thus able to obtain butter and cheese from the same milk.

234 Another type of cheese is made from fresh milk and is manufactured not only by the Northern
171 [i.e. the Ayr Tuareg -- Ana/yrt]

Fig. 164. Pail (*éṛir*) made from tinned brass by blacksmiths. It is used for storing butter to be used for food preparation in the tent. Pails of this type form part of the dowry in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanṛaset. Dimension: 0.155 m high, 0.230–0.235 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5820).

they perform a sacrifice, the idea of which seems to be an identification of the man and the killed animal. This idea appears most clearly at the sacrifice made on the occasion of the name-giving feast seven days after the birth of a child. A marabut, that is a Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class, and the father of the child stand close together with their faces towards Mecca while the animal to be sacrified is kept to the ground. The marabut cuts the animal's throat and doing so cries out the name to be given to the child, and this name is thereupon repeated by the child's father. When the killing is performed in this way the knife (*elmusi* in Ahaggar; *ézegiz* in Ayr) and the cut across the throat are washed with water before skinning is undertaken. I have dealt with certain ideas of Tuareg sacrifice elsewhere, and have stated that on certain occasions they may sacrifice not to God but to the *Kel Asuf* spirits (Nicolaisen 1961, p. 122 f., 147 f.). But whatever may be the ideas attached to Tuareg sacrifices all animals, with the exception of the camel (cf. above p. 65), are killed by cutting their throat.

The methods of meat preparation are almost identical in Ayr and Ahaggar. The most common method everywhere is cooking in an earthen pot, known in Ahaggar as *ufrun*, *téṛirt*, *alekkin*, or *talekkint* according to its size and form, or in a metal pot (*éṛir*) of European origin. Such European pots are common everywhere in Tuareg camps, but earthen pots are still used though less durable, for earthen pots are cheap. Pots made of metal or copper, which are also known as *éṛir*, were also found among

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camels. This blood never constitutes a proper dish to the Tuareg. They bleed camels to drink their blood only when they lack water on journeys in the desert. Bleeding is done according to the method described above, and the blood is collected in a drinking bowl. But the Ayr Tuareg say that they work up the mass of blood with the fingers with the result that the upper part of the amount of blood becomes more liquid, though it is always red in colour.

The Tuareg use the following implements to make cereals or other vegetable products into flour:—

(1) A large wooden mortar (*tindé*) with a heavy pestle (*éheren*) (Fig. 177). It is used in all camps and villages of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr, and is in fact known all over Tuareg country. It is used mainly for pounding millet and sorghum, but it is also employed for pounding other cereals, including certain wild seeds, and for dates, cheese, meat, locusts, and the like. These large wooden mortars are manufactured by the blacksmiths of Southern Tuareg country, including Ayr, where most Northern Tuareg obtain their mortars. Among the Northern Tuareg there are also other mortar types. A small mortar which like the former rests on a foot and is known by the same name (*tindé*) (Fig. 178), is used mainly by sedentary agriculturists for pounding rock-salt, dried tomatoes, tobacco for chewing, and other plants or materials to be used in small quantities. Another type of mortar without a foot and known to the Northern Tuareg as *akabar*, or *takabart*, (Fig. 176) is found mainly among pastoralists who use it on journeys for pounding millet.

(2) A saddle quern (*tehunt*) (Fig. 179), which consists of two natural and in general unfashioned stones, is found in most camps of the Northern Tuareg. This constitutes the only grinding implement for wheat, barley, and certain wild seeds among the *Kel Ajjer*. The stones used for saddle querns are sharpened at intervals with a hard stone or some other hard object (*tasettekut*) in order that they may grind effectively. A simple saddle quern (*asar*) is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but it is less common there than in the north.

(3) The handmill (*tasirt*) (Fig. 181) is not a traditional implement of Tuareg culture. It is widely known all over Northern Africa both by Berbers and Arabs, by sedentary peoples and nomads living in black tents. It has been introduced to Ahaggar mainly by the immigration of the Arabic speaking Harratin (Iggaren) of Tidikelt,

Fig. 169a–c. Pieces of butter-milk cheese (*awlex*, pl. *iwlan*).
a. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.066–0.068 m in diameter, 0.022 m thick. (N.M. G. 5816).
b. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.062 × 0.022 m. (N.M. G. 5817b).
c. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.058 × 0.016 m. (N.M. G. 5817c).

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Fig. 170. Sacrificing a goat at the naming ceremony called *isnowen*. A marabut and the child's father keep the animal firmly to the ground. They stand with their faces towards Mekka and the camp of the new-born child. The marabut cuts the animal's throat simultaneously crying out loudly the child's name which is thereupon loudly repeated by the father. Ayr, the *Igendiynen* tribe.

4/2 *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*) of Tidikelt, and it is now also found in Tuareg camps (Fig. 182), where it is
252 less frequent than the above-mentioned saddle quern. The handmill was entirely unknown among the Ajjer Tuareg during my visit to Tasilé-n-Ajjer in 1952. The Tuareg who possess handmills obtain them from the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar (Tamanraset). – When saddle querns or handmills are used, a piece of cotton or skin (*asentel* in Ahaggar) is always placed under the grinding stones to catch the flour (Figs. 180, 182).

262 The Tuareg have many different vegetable dishes. The most important are bread, porridge, gruel, and various mixed beverages.

[262] Bread is a prominent dish for all Northern Tuareg who bake it mainly from wheat flour. Wheat bread has been my ordinary dish among all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Lhote states that

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Fig. 171. Ordinary meat-knife (*elmusi*) of the type used among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Its broken handle is mended with hide of barbary sheep sewn with leather thread. Ahaggar, the *Dog Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m (total length). (F.M. 249).
All knives are manufactured by blacksmiths.

wheat bread is eaten particularly during migrations and on trading expeditions, or in periods when 262
butter is rare (Lhote 1955a, p. 262). This statement disagrees with my own experience. Wheat bread [114]
is an ordinary diet of many Northern Tuareg. Bread is also baked from barley and from certain wild [224]
seeds (notably *tawit, Chenopodium Vulvaria*; *ehéyefyef, Aizoon canariense*; *tullult, Aristida pungens*)
and wild roots (*ahahel, Cistanche Phelypaea*), while millet and sorghum are considered less suitable
for baking. Seeds are generally prepared for baking by grinding them into flour by saddle querns or 252
handmills. In Northern Tuareg country there are two types of bread which have been introduced as [172]
a result of contact with Arabs or the Arabic-speaking *Ḥarratin*. One type is named *elfetat* and is baked

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Fig. 172a–b. Meat knives.
a. Knife (*ézegiz*) of Tebu type to be carried in its sheath around the upper arm. These knives are sometimes used in Ayr. Agadez. Dimension: 0.370 m. (total length). (N.M. G. 6620a–b).
b. Knife (*ézegiz*) of the double-edged type normally used in Ayr. The *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.377 m (total length). N.M. G. 6665a–b).

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into fine-grained sand carried from the river bed to the fire place in front of the tent. When this heavy 252
fire has calmed down the embers and most of the ashes are moved from the shallow depression to its fringes by means of a small stick, and the thin porridge or gruel of flour and water to which also a little salt is added is poured out into the depression, a spoon being normally used to remove all the gruel out of the wooden bowl in which it has been stirred. A bunch of dry grasses, herbs, or tender twigs is thereupon fired over the gruel in order that its surface may harden, and it is then covered with hot fine-grained sand, ashes, and embers in the order mentioned. If the embers are considered insufficient for baking, a small fire may be lit on the top of the sand and ashes covering the gruel-bread, which is taken out after about twenty minutes to be turned and baked in the same way on the other side for a few minutes. Baking is then finished, the bread is finally removed to be washed in water (Fig. 183). It is broken into pieces and eaten from a large wooden bowl (Figs. 195a–b) together with 24
liquid butter. It is eaten with wooden spoons (Figs. 191).

The type of bread just mentioned is known to people of the *Kel Ferwan* group as *tugella*. It is made 262
by very few Tuareg. Indeed, when I travelled together with Ayr Tuareg I very frequently baked my 252
own bread as I had learned to from the Tuareg of Ahaggar, because very few of the Ayr Tuareg I [122]
met were familiar with bread baking. Bread is not a staple diet of the Ayr Tuareg, and when they want to bake wheat flour they generally do so in the following way:— The flour is mixed with water to a dough which is placed upon the bottom and sides of a metal pot heated over the fire. This type of bread or bread-like dish is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *gurasa*. It can be mentioned that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg also bake a particular type of bread from millet flour mixed with certain other 252
plant materials, but a bread of this kind is not baked for ordinary food, but as a kind of medicine. 261

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Fig. 174. Roasting meat-lumps by the *mechwi* method. Ayr, *Echikhen* Tuareg of Damergu.

[text continues on p. 241]

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Fig. 175. Meat-roasting in the ashes – the method known as *abatul* (Ahaggar) or *dbewil* (Ayr). Ayr, the *Irawatten* tribe.

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Fig. 176. Little mortar of the type known as *akabar*, or *takabart*. This type of mortar is used by pastoral Tuareg on their trading expeditions, and it is provided with a handle (*ajaw*) of cord (goat-hair) for suspension. Ahaggar, manufactured by a blacksmith of Tamanrasset, the *Ajuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.23 m high, 0.16 m in diameter at the rim. (F.M. 111).

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Fig. 177. The large millet mortar (*tindi'*) with its heavy wooden pestle (*ɛheyen*). It is used almost daily for pounding millet in the camps and it is used also to pound other cereals, dates, and even meat. Mortars of this type are manufactured in Southern Tuareg country by blacksmiths. The specimen depicted is made of wood from a tree growing in the Sudan and known to the Northern Tuareg as *twyla*. Introduced to Ahaggar from Zinder, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension of the mortar: 0.445 m high, 0.299 m in diameter at the rim. Dimension of the pestle: 1.255 m long. N.M. G. 5224a–b.

Fig. 178. Little mortar (*tindi'*) with a short wooden pestle (*ɛheyen*). Manufactured from wood of *abser* (*Acacia Raddiana*) by a blacksmith of Tamanrasset. Ahaggar, *Ɣarrata* of Taṛhawhawt. Dimension of the mortar: 0.230–0.235 m high, 0.170–0.180 m in diameter at the rim. Dimension of the pestle: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5838a–b).

It is called *ɛkauɛf* and is baked in the following manner:— The millet flour is mixed with juice of *tadent*-berries (i.e., berries of *Boscia senegalensis*) and also with certain medicines unknown to my informants who said they were of Sudanese origin. This mixture is made into a solid dough with a very small content of water, and is baked in the sand where it is covered with hot sand, ashes, and embers in the same way as the bread type known as *tugella* (*taɣella* in the north).

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Fig. 179. Simple saddle quern (*tekwat*) of two natural stones: (a) the lower part called *tekwat*, (b) the upper part called *azzed*. It is used for grinding cereals. Ahaggar, the *Agub-ew-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the lower stone: 0.360 m long. Dimension of the upper stone: 0.115 m. (N.M. G. 5839a-b).

261 This *ékanef* bread is eaten exclusively by women who claim that it gives them a good appetite and makes them fat.

262 Millet porridge is a common dish among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it constitutes by far the most important vegetable dish to the Ayr Tuareg and the sedentary agriculturists of the south. Millet
252 porridge is known in Ahaggar as *esink*, in Ayr as *echink*. The preparation of millet porridge involves much strenous work as follows:— (1) An amount of millet seeds is poured out into the large wooden mortar (*tindé*, p. 235, fig. 177). A little water is added to the seeds which are then pounded for about
*[4/13] ten minutes. The seeds thus pounded are then poured out into a plaited bowl (*tabeyka*; Fig. 185) or another receptacle to be winnowed. This process is done by shaking the plaited bowl itself, and by pouring small quantities of the pounded seeds from the bowl into a plaited tray (*téseyt*; Fig. 184) which is better fitted for winnowing by shaking. The husks or pods covering the seeds are thus taken away by the wind. (2) When the pounded seeds have been cleaned or winnowed in this way they are replaced in the wooden mortar, and water is again added. The seeds are now heavily pounded for about half an hour, and most of them are turned into flour after this process, but a small amount of seeds remains unpounded. The mixture of flour and unpounded seeds are poured out into the plaited

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bowl and the plaited tray just described, and the flour is shaken into the large wooden bowl (*elkada*; Fig. 195b) while the unpounded seeds remain in the plaited receptacles. (3) The small amount of seeds which have not yet been turned into flour is put back into the mortar, a little water is again added, and pounding is resumed for five to ten minutes. Most seeds are now turned into flour which is placed in the wooden bowl by shaking the plaited receptacles. (4) The seeds which are not yet pounded after this treatment are replaced in the mortar to be pounded for two or three minutes without the addition of water. The flour produced is shaken into the wooden bowl. (5) What remains unpounded is replaced in the mortar to be pounded without water for two or three minutes, and the flour obtained is shaken into the wooden bowl. (6) The flour is put into the large cooking pot (*éṛir*) which has been boiling with water during pounding. (7) An extremely small quantity of flour derived from a final pounding is added to the pot after cooking for about five minutes. (8) During cooking the porridge is stirred with a wooden stick known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aserwi* (Fig. 188). 252 [415]* [412]

Millet porridge (*asink*, or *echink*) is of heavy consistency and is normally eaten with milk by means of spoons. But if milk is lacking or is scarce, the Tuareg also add various types of sauces such as the following which is made by many Ayr Tuareg:—Leaves of certain plants (*abezey*, *Cassia tora*; *malokhiya*, *Corchorus tridens*; *kuka*, a large tree growing in the Sudan) or seeds of a plant known as *ékabewa* (*Corchorus olitorius*) are put into a large mortar to be pounded together with onions, dried tomatoes, 262 252 [424]

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Fig. 180. Tuareg woman grinding wheat on the simple saddle quern (*ishaw*). The saddle quern is placed upon a piece of skin (leather) called *asraiel* which receives the flour. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

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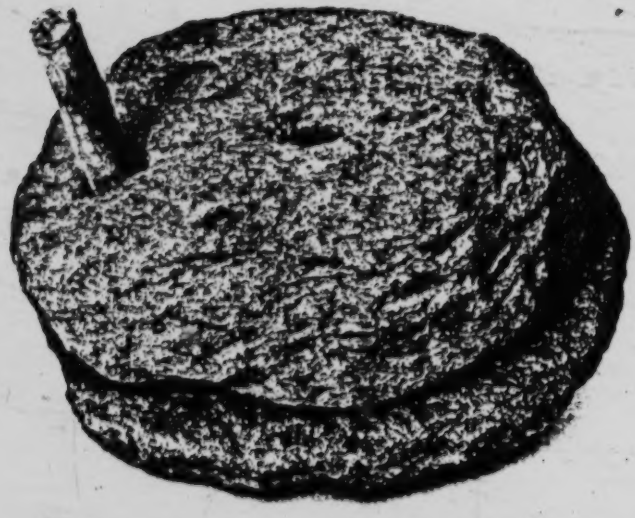

Fig. 181. A hand-mill (*tasirt*) manufactured by blacksmith of Tamanrasset and used at that village by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs. Dimension: 0.52 m in diameter (upper stone), 0.32 m in diameter (lower stone). (N.M. G. 5840a–b).

262 and red pepper which is much esteemed by the Tuareg, but not always available. The pounded flour
252 of these vegetables is boiled with water and butter and thus turned into a kind of thick sauce which is poured out over the porridge to be eaten.

The porridge type known as *esink* or *echink* can be made from other seeds besides millet. Porridge made from barley, which is then also pounded in the mortar, is highly esteemed by the Tuareg who also use various wild seeds and roots for this dish. Plants utilized for porridge are mentioned above in the description of collecting (p. 175 ff.). Porridge is also made from dried dates pounded in the millet mortar; this dish is common among the Northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg have a particular type of porridge which I have never tasted. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *barela*, and is made from pounded seeds of various cultivated plants (wheat, barley, maize, or millet). The seeds are pounded in the mortar but their husks or pods are not removed by winnowing. Otherwise the preparation of this dish is similar to that of ordinary porridge.

262 The Ahaggar Tuareg distinguish between very thick porridge called *tarawayt* and very thin porridge
846 or thick gruel known as *aliwa*. The latter dish is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the same name, and

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among them it is eaten in particular by women during the first seven days after the birth of a child, that is during the period from birth to the name-giving ceremony known as *ismawen*. It is considered dangerous for a woman to eat too much vegetable food during this period, while meat is believed to make her recover quickly after birth. The same diet is followed by young boys after their circumcision until their wounds have healed. These dietetic rules no doubt have their root in magical beliefs.

All Tuareg esteem liquid or semi-liquid dishes which are consumed mainly during the very hot season. A very common dish of this type is that named *arejira* (Ayr) or *arehara* (Ahaggar). It is made from flour of millet, sorghum, dates, and crushed cheese mixed with water, the main substance being pounded millet. The dish is served in a large wooden bowl or in a calabash, and is eaten and drunk by means of a large wooden ladle called *tamulat* (Fig. 194a–b). This liquid dish is a substitute for milk during the hot season when milk is scarce, and it is frequently used for food on journeys, in which case it is transported in the form of dough-like balls to be dissolved in water just before eating.

The terms *arejira* and *arehara* are used for various liquid or semi-liquid dishes, or beverages, for which the Tuareg have particular names according to their composition. Dates are less important for liquid dishes in Ayr than among the Northern Tuareg to whom dates form an important part of food. Very important in the north is a dish known as *tolekessat*; it is made from dried dates pounded

Fig. 182. Tuareg women turning a hand-mill (*tasirt*). In the foreground a woman shaking flour into a wooden bowl. Note the ornamented patches of leather hanging down from the tent sheet. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ralt* tribe.

[text continues on p. 247]

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Fig. 187a–b. Earthen cooking pots manufactured by *Harratin* women in Ahaggar.
a. Pot (*idjiri*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (N.M. G. 5841).
b. Pot (*alekkin*). Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Tarhawhawt. Dimension: 0.174 m high. (N.M. G. 5204).

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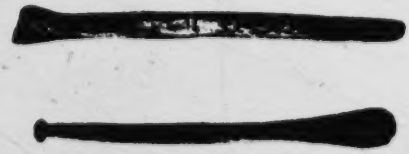

Fig. 188a–b. Simple ladles of the *aserwi* type used for stirring millet porridge. Made by Tuareg women from wood of *abaqr* (*Acacia Raddiana*).
a. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehit* tribe. Dimension: 0.382 m long. (N.M. G. 5211).
b. Ahaggar, the *Iheyawen Hada* tribe. Dimension: 0.415 m long. (N.M. G. 5846).

252 small balls with a diameter of up to five milimetres. The balls are put into a special earthen, wooden,
*[415] or plaited bowl (*denba*, or *denfu*; Fig. 189) which has a number of small holes in the bottom. This receptacle is placed on the top of a cooking pot containing meat and/or vegetables to be boiled in water for a soup. The small flour balls are thus steamed by the boiling soup in the cooking pot. Like

[Text continues on p. 250]

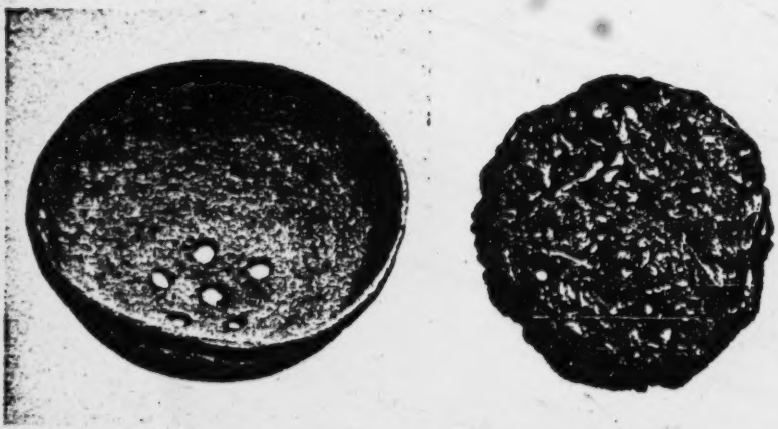

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**Fig. 189.** Earthen jar (*derfu*, or *derbe*) of the particular type used for the preparation of *keskesu*. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.16 m high, 0.30 m in diameter. (F.M. 215).

**Fig. 190.** A kind of cake (*tarfat*) made of onions and dates which are mixed and pressed. Such cakes are made in Tidikelt but are sold at Tamanrasset by Arab merchants. They are pounded in the mortar or are crushed between two stones before cooking. Dimension: 0.10 m. (N.M. G. 5847a).

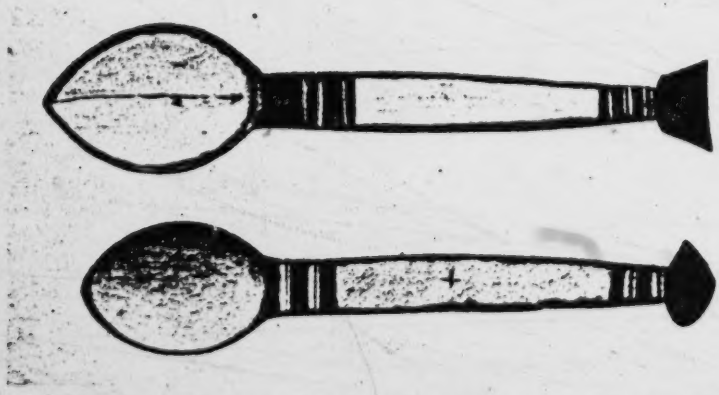

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**Fig. 191.** Wooden spoons (*tenukalt*, pl. *tinukalin*) cut by blacksmiths from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tekid* and the *Dag Ban* tribes. Dimension: ca. 0.26–0.28 m. (F.M.).

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Fig. 192. Tuareg woman cooking millet porridge. Ahaggar, the *Aghh-en-tehlé* tribe. The cooking pots seen on this photograph are bought in the Sudan on trading expeditions. Sudanese pots are superior to those made in Ahaggar.

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264 most Tuareg dishes they are eaten from a large wooden bowl. If meat is cooked with the soup it may be broken into small pieces to be eaten with the balls, but part of the meat cooked is always eaten separately. The Tuareg eat *keskesu* with spoons, but if spoons are lacking they also eat it with the
262 hand, as do the Arabs. In addition to *keskesu* with its small balls which resemble grains of rice, the Northern Tuareg have another dish prepared in the same way but with larger balls. It is termed
[189] *tikhemmezin* and is considered inferior to the *keskesu*. – Both these dishes are unknown to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group.

262 Two particular dishes are mentioned from Ahaggar by Foucauld. One of them is called *ibergan*
252 and consists of unripe barley boiled in its own juice without water. The other one is known as *abezbez*
[261] and is made from tender plants of wheat and barley which are dried and pounded or ground into powder, to be eaten, boiled or unboiled, in periods of famine (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 89, 118).

Tuareg vegetable dishes are frequently prepared in a very simple way. Thus there is a dish known as *twes* (Ahaggar) or *tewes* (Ayr) which consists of entire seeds of millet or sorghum boiled in water. It is eaten mainly by children who frequently walk about the camp eating these boiled grains from their hands.

252 It is clear from the description of vegetable dishes that the cooking pot plays an important role for
*415 food preparation, and all dishes prepared in this way, including cooked meat, are known to the Tuareg

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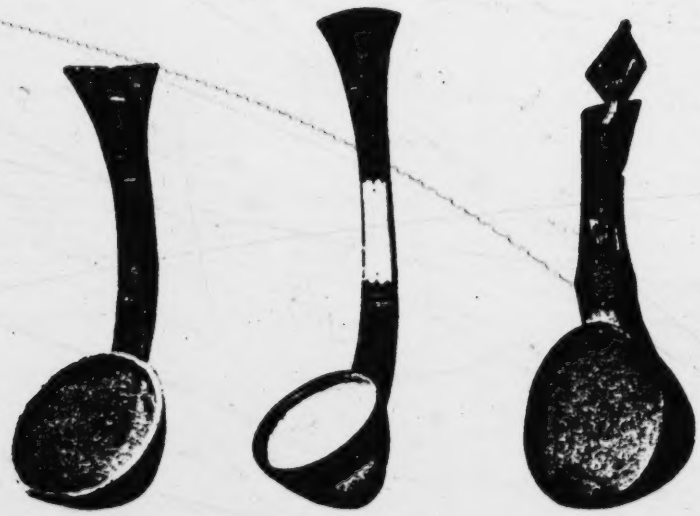

Fig. 194a–c. Bowl-like ladles from Ahaggar and Ayr. They are used mainly for eating liquid dishes – in particular for the dish known as *ayshara* (Ahaggar) or *ayelira* (Ayr).

a. Ladle (*tamular*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.285 m long, 0.110–0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5845).

b. Ladle (*tamular*). Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.330 m long. (N.M. G. 6631).

c. Ladle-like bowl (*assay*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. This ladle-like bowl was not used for food but for conservation of fine-grained sand used for hair-dressing together with water and butter. Dimension: 0.330 m long, 0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5879).

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264 frequently consisting of bread or porridge eaten rather late at night. The Ayr Tuareg have related terms for their meals:— (1) *tegingimi* which is a prepared meal eaten late in the morning. (2) *timekkelewt* which is the prepared meal taken at midday. (3) *temegint*, late evening meal which is the main [272] meal in Ayr, as in Ahaggar. In addition to these meals there is a very light meal taken with tea immidiately after rising. It is known as *elfetur*.

[511] Incidentally there are Tuareg who do not have food enough to eat three times a day.

During times when Tuareg subsist exclusively on milk they have no regular meals. The amount [484] of milk needed to support life is very great, and it is drunk slowly during the day. On extensive journeys when the camels cross the barren deserts, the Tuareg also do not have regular meals as they do in their camps.

[text continues on p. 255]

# Crafts

Tuareg crafts clearly disclose traits belonging to distinct cuhural levels. This may be seen from a brief description of the methods of fire-making. 372 [174]

Matches are in ordinary use nowadays, but they are used economically not only because they cost money but also because many Tuareg live far away from towns or trading posts where matches can be obtained. The embers of a fire smoulder for a very long time, and when the Tuareg want to light a fire they normally find embers under the ashes where their fire has been. Glowing wood is carried from one tent to another on a fragment of calabashes or earthen pots, and some Tuareg even take fire with them in this way during nomadic migrations. If a new fire has to be lit and matches are not available, most Tuareg use the well-known method of fire-making by means of flint and steel. This method is widely resorted to in Northern Africa even to-day, and is practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar as follows:— The curved piece of steel (*énefed*) is placed over the three middle fingers of the right hand. It is struck against a small piece of flint (*taforast*) held between the first and second fingers of the left hand together with a small piece of lighting material which may be a small piece of cotton cloth. However, the best lighting material (*tajjert*) is a piece of wood of *teféryast* (*Echinops Bovei*), which has been boiled and thereupon beaten into a fibrous mass with a stone. The Tuareg keep this lighting material in a particular leather bag (*taralkabi*) together with the steel and one or two pieces of flint (Fig. 198). Lighting material according to Maire is also made from a plant named *térahit* (*Traganum nudatum*) (Maire 1933, p. 82). The spark produced by striking the steel against the flint causes the lighting material to glow, and after blowing on it or swinging it in the air, it is placed under a small bunch of hay which burst into flame after further heavy blowing. The use of flint and steel is not a very difficult method of fire-making, and I have used it myself on journeys when matches had come to an end. [171] [324] [145] [324]

The Tuareg do not generally use more primitive methods of fire-making nowadays. But they know an ancient method of making fire by rubbing a piece of hard wood (*agar* in Ahaggar, *agar* in Ayr; *Maerua crassifolia*) against a piece of soft wood (*turha* in Ahaggar, *turza* in Ayr; *Calotropis procera*). By this process they produce by hand rubbing a glowing dust which is brought into flame by means of lighting material and hay as described above. One of my informants among the Ayr Tuareg had produced fire according to this method. Lhote states that the method is at times used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar, where the hard ribs of date palm leaves are also used for starting a fire by rubbing (Lhote 1955a, p. 258). [324]

Stone materials play a very little part in Tuareg crafts. Natural stones are used occasionally as 412 [324]

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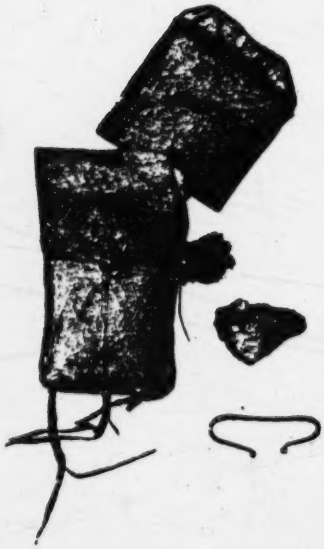

Fig. 198. Flint (*taſarast*), steel (*ćnefed*), and lighting material (*taſjert*). The lighting material, which is conserved in a leather bag (*taraliobt*), is made from wood of *teſéryast* (*Echinops Bovei*). Ahaggar, the *Aǵah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the steel 0.065 m long. (F.M. 154a–d).

● 412 tools, e.g., for hammering tent pegs into the ground, for rope making as described below, for separating the hide from the body when skinning a barbary sheep, and for crushing rock-salt, red pebber, dried tomatoes, tobacco, and the like. We have seen above that the Tuareg saddle querns used for grinding cereals are natural stones of a particular form and size, and that they are used for grinding without any particular fashioning, though sometimes treated with a hard stone or a piece of iron to make the [324] grinding surface more rugged and effective. The handmill is never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg (cf. p. 214 ff., Figs. 179–182).

412 172 Prehistoric quern stones and stone pestles are found in many regions of the Central Sahara and these ancient implements, I was told, are sometimes used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar for grinding and pounding (Fig. 200). The Tuareg also use the numerous neolithic stone axes (Fig. 199) as whetstones for iron knives. These axes are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *taḍeft n eǵenna*, that is "the axe of the rain (or the thunder)", and all Tuareg believe that they have fallen from the sky during heavy storms.

301 Stone material is still used for certain Tuareg ornaments, and notably for the well-known arm-ring (*ahbeǵ* in Ahaggar, *ćweki* in Ayr) which is worn by most adult men and also by some boys. These rings are sometimes mentioned in literature as a weapon, but they are not well fitted for this owing [564] to their fragility. Most arm-rings are made from soft stone such as serpentine, and are manufactured by blacksmiths (Iueden)

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by blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*ameywan*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talak*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akrulal, abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

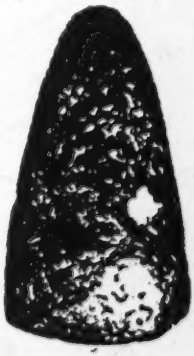

Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *teḍeft n ajenna*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Afuk-en-tekki* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

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Fig. 200. Neolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isebeten* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045–0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

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Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*amerwas*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

The pottery made in

323 Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from
[53] Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have
[114] been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing
[113] of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information
[437] (Lhote 1947b, p. 145–154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

[462] In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 507–512).

[Text continues on p. 260]

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Fig. 203. Earthen incense jar (*elbokkhar*). Ahaggar, *Ḫarratin* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.179 m high. (N.M. G. 5889).

323 512). Most pastoral Tuareg of Ayr get their pots from Agadez, but pots are also imported from the
[437] south where they are of superior quality. These pots are said to be manufactured by black-skinned
323 *Igdalen* Tuareg (cf. p. 432) of the southlands, notably by people of the *Ikenawen* class which comprises
563 professional pot-makers. These people are not found among the *Kel Ayr* but are common in camps
[197] of the *Kel Geres* where I have met them. They speak *tamachek* but also have their own language
323 which is said to be related to *Sonray*. The pots made by these southern people are painted and decorated
531 (cf. Fig. 205) in contrast to those of Agadez which are plain and of very simple forms (Figs. 204a–b). So far as I am aware painted and decorated pottery is rarely manufactured in Ayr nowadays. But Rodd states that such pottery in the form of pitchers with a blue design is made near Agadez (Rodd 1926a, p. 160 f., pl. 22 p. 209), and when I investigated ruins of stone houses at Iferwan I found a great many sherds of finely-decorated painted pots which must have been used up to the end of the
[178] great Tuareg revolt in 1917 when these houses were destroyed by the French. Lhote has also mentioned the decline of pottery techniques in Ayr, and he states that, apart from little incense jars, no painted and decorated pots are manufactured at Agadez nowadays (Lhote 1950c, p. 511).

*415 Certain metal receptacles were known to the Tuareg long before the European occupation, notably
[439] a cooking pot (*éṛir*) made from copper, and the flat drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned
[326] copper or brass in Tripolitania, or in Tunisia. Metal receptacles are also manufactured by native blacksmiths in Tuareg country, e.g., the pail (*éṛir*) to be used for liquid butter (Fig. 164).

322 The blacksmiths are excellent wood-workers and make most wooden domestic utensils used by
[564] pastoral Tuareg (Figs. 21b, 37, 38, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63a–b, 75, 150, 153–154, 166, 176, 177, 178, 191,
[412] 194, 195, 212a, 219a–b, 285). The main implements for wood working are axes and adzes (Figs. 206a–d).

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206a–d). The ordinary axe (*taḍeft*) is used by all Tuareg who may also possess small adzes (*tat-tawt*), used mainly by women for the manufacturing of domestic implements such as spoons and milking bowls. These implements manufactured by Tuareg women are generally inferior in quality to those made by the blacksmiths, though certain noble women of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe make wooden milking bowls that are said to be superior to those of the blacksmiths. In Ayr, Tuareg women engage very little in wood-working, and the Ayr Tuareg are on the whole less skilled in crafts than are the Tuareg of Ahaggar.

Pastoral Tuareg are experts in rope making. Ropes made from various materials play an important part for the Tuareg for hobbling domestic animals, for fastening burdens transported on camels, as reins, for the erection of tents, and for a great many other purposes. Incidentally the Tuareg make substitutes for ropes in a very simple way. Thus if a man comes upon a camel which he wishes to take back to camp and has no rope or rein to lead it by he makes a lead from three or four pieces of palm leaf, or the like, attached to each other. It is stated by Maire that the Ahaggar Tuareg make simple

Fig. 204a–b. Earthen pots made by the sedentary *Imeggedezen* of Agadez.

a. A water jar with two spouts. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* as *gelgeleti*. It is used by the latter people but never by pastoral Tuareg. Dimension: 0.30 m high. (N.M. G. 6635).

b. Earthen jar used for water and also for cooking. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *téyint* or *diekin*, to the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* as *tokunya* or *tula*. Dimension: 0.285 m high. (N.M. G. 6634).

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Fig. 206a–d. Axe and adzes of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

a. The ordinary axe (*taḥefi*) which is found in all Tuareg camps. Ahaggar, the *Aṭṭah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.572 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.157 m long, 0.053 m broad. (N.M. G. 5233).

b. *tattawt*, a small socket-shafted adze with knee-shaft. Adzes of this type are common in Tuareg camps. They are used mainly by women for wood-carving. Ahaggar, the *Aṭṭah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.301 m long. (N.M. G. 5232). [322]

c. *tikadimt*, adze shafted by means of a piece of sheet-iron and nails. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.440 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.150 m long, 0.058 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5864).

d. *tikadimt*, slot-shafted adze. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.430 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.222 m long, 0.065 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5865). [564]

The axe and the adzes are all made by blacksmiths.

The very best ropes or cords manufactured by the Ahaggar Tuareg are those made from goat's 283
hair which is sheared with a knife by the women once a year in the hot season. These ropes are known [237]
to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ihellumen* (sing. *ahellum*), while the proper term for a rope of goat's hair [233]
in Ayr is *azaw*. But the Ayr Tuareg do not make such ropes as they have goats of the short-haired
breed (p. 33). They obtain their ropes from the Ahaggar Tuareg. Ropes of goat hair are manufactured [438]
by women by the following method:— The mass of hair, known as *éhafilen*, is placed upon a piece [462]
of skin and is prevented from blowing away by means of a stone. The hair is then taken out in small
quantities with the first and second fingers of the left hand to be spun upon a stick 30–40 cms long.

[text continues on p. 266]

755 When a bad genie is supposed to inhabit a person's body, people gather together and make a frightful uproar around him, accompanied by the tom-tom. The object of this is to put him in a trance so that the genie finally becomes frightened and decides to go away. [233] They use the same method for camels who are sometimes stricken with nervous difficulties.

A few years ago, a noble Ahaggar woman was subject to epileptic seizures. She had hallucinations and said she was possessed by an evil genie which she saw and felt in her. And so, each time the seizure occured, the people of her camp engaged in their /262/ habitual demonstrations. One day she got it into her head to get rid of her guest and slit her throat to allow him to leave. She wounded herself so badly that her life was in great danger for a long time afterwards. Scarcely had she recovered, however, when she had another attack and slit her throat a second time.

759 752 The surgery of the Kel Ahaggar is as elementary as their medicine. First let us say that there are no surgeons among them, no more than there are persons known for their medical knowledge. Medicine and surgery are everybody's business; the knowledge that they possess is everybody's domain, and each Tuareg is able to care for himself or for the people in his camp. For surgical operations, nevertheless, the Enaden are called upon by preference, 752 since they are generally more adroit than the others. They usually 413 have small instruments that they make themselves -- forceps, instruments for baring the neck of teeth, scarificator, cupping glasses, tonsil cutters, etc. -- and with which they operate quite skillfully.

They have been very aptly compared to our barber-surgeons of days gone by. (1)

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1. Dr. Foley, Moeurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar /Mores and Medicine among the Ahaggar Tuareg/, p. 85.

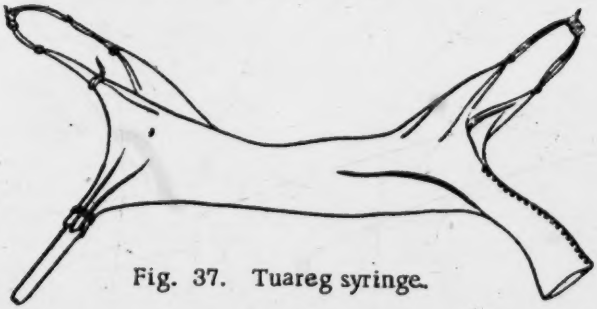

Fig. 37. Tuareg syringe.

752 The warlike and eventful life of the Tuareg exposes them to
[278] many wounds or accidents. They care for war wounds by sprinkling the wound with sugar or smearing it with plasters of vegetable origin, chopped leaves of the Zizyptus lotus, or ground resin of the Balsamodron africanum. Sometimes they pour butter on it, and if the wound is infected they apply plasters of butter and ashes of aferegak (Chrozophora brocchiana).

But we have been able to observe that the use of this ash was of no great efficacy, that the wounds took a very long time to heal, and that in many cases they preferred to call on a European doctor.

Fractures are cared for with absolutely the same methods as those used by our European doctors. The fractured member, after being set, is coated with a flour plaster, furnished with a little cushion of goat hair, and braced by means of splints made of wooden boards attached to a sheepskin and kept in place by leather cords.

/263/ We have never seen any amputation among the Tuareg, and we do not know whether or not they know how to do it.

757 The Tuareg also know the use of enemas. The apparatus is
413 made of a sheep's bone, one end of which has been rounded and
237

757 polished and whose other end is inserted in a small goatskin water
[413 bottle which holds the liquid to be injected. During the operation
237] one presses on the bag so as to make the liquid penetrate, while
the patient has his head down and his feet attached to a tree. The
[278] enema is generally composed of water, butter, and ground afasso
roots. When it is a question of giving an enema to a young child,
[855] the mother fills her mouth with water and, putting her lips against
the anus, blows the liquid with all her might.

/264/ Chapter 8

Dress. Adornment.

291 Clothing. -- The portrait of the Tuareg is now well known. Draped in a long, dark-colored blouse, belted at the waist, and with his head surrounded by a black veil placed in the shape of a haumier /?/, he makes a silhouette as majestic as it is mysterious
[492] when he is mounted on his slender mehari. Hanging from the saddle, as well known as the man, is the broad antelopeskin buckler.

The Tuareg, even though they are poor, are very natty. Although they have only sordid rags, they always are able to wear them with good taste and to keep a proud and dignified attitude under all circumstances.

The costume for men is the same in all confederations. It is made up of: 1) a very full pair of trousers, drawn in at the waist by a cord of braided leather; the leg is nipped in at the instep /sic/ and blouses over it so that it sometimes drags the ground; 2) a big, very full blouse, formed of a rectangular-shaped piece of cloth, sewn by a stitch at the four corners, and provided with an opening in the middle to let the head go through; it descends to the knees

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Fig. 100. Earmarks of the types used for goats and sheep among the Northern Tuareg. Ahaggar, the tribes *Dag Rali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*.

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565 never use earmarks for donkeys which are branded like their camels, and I believe that this rule also holds for the *Isekkemaren* Tuareg, though I do not know this to be true for tribes other than those of
422 *Kel Terurit* and *Kel-I-n-tunin*.
*233 The property brands of the Northern Tuareg are burned into the skin of the camel (donkey) by
● [413] means of a redhot iron known as *éndel* (Figs. 102a–b), but if this implement is not available another piece of iron is used, e.g., the iron tripod for suspension of kettles and cooking pots. The brands are known as *ahwalen* (sing. *éhwel*), and there are a great many different ones which have their particular
422 names. These brands are frequently depicted in literature (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 629 f.; Lhote
*233 1955a, p. 235), and spoken of as "tribal brands". However, as property marks are patrilineally
614 inherited while tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, the members of the same
[582] tribe will possess more than one camel-brand. For marriages are contracted between different tribes, though some of these units are predominantly endogamous. Furthermore there are a few Tuareg who
[277] use different camel-brands for camels inherited from the father and the mother, as there are some who have adopted the mother's father's brand because their father's brand was believed to have brought
[613] bad luck in camel-breeding. For these reasons there are frequently more than one brand within a tribe, and individuals or small patrilineages generally add to their main brand (*éhwel*) a supplementary
brand known as azezlu.

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614 582 Many Tuareg claim that their tribe is an endogamous unit, but to-day there is no tribe that is exclusively endogamous. All tribes intermarry more or less with people of other tribes. The most endogamous tribe is perhaps the *Dag Ṛali* of which the half known as the *Dag Ṛali* proper has contracted a few marriages with people of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe) while the other tribal half known as the *Imessiliten* has intermarried with the *Ikechchemaḍen* tribe.

591 The rules of residence are based upon both patrilineal and matrilineal principles as follows:—

(1) When the wedding ceremony is over the newly-married couple will stay one year in the camp of the wife's parents. This one year's stay in the camp of the wife's family has nothing to do with bridal service. Very frequently the husband does not live continuously with his wife throughout this period, but lives in his parents' camp and pays occasional visits to his wife. Some Tuareg say that the main reason for this one year's stay in the camp of the wife's family is due to the fact that about one year is needed to prepare tent, household implements, and the like for the newly-married couple (cf. p. 460 f., 472). The stay in the wife's family camp is not always strictly one year, but may be [944] longer or shorter. But if the wife is pregnant she must leave her parents' camp to bear her child in the camp of the husband's family.

(2) After the one year's stay the couple will settle with the husband's father to remain with him as long as he is alive.

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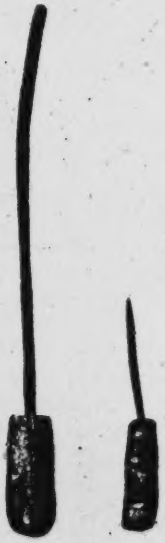

Fig. 102a–b. Hafted irons (*ándel*, pl. *ándelen*) to burn property marks into the skin of camels and donkeys.

a. Camel iron. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. Dimension: 0.466 m. (N.M. G. 5251).

b Donkey iron. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. Dimension: 0.202 m. (N.M. G. 5250).

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may be seen in Fig. 167a–b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*tistent*) (Fig. 218a).

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a–c, 210a–b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*éstan*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices.

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among the *Kel Ayr*. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*aḡum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*aleguiguien*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig 220b). This basket type (*tésenit*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals.

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éseber* or *téserbert* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents, and they are manufactured by many women among the *Kel Ahaggar* (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers, and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*téidabut*) (Fig. 212a–b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Igdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south.

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitues the most important craft in the

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Fig. 216. Water bag (*abayor*). Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. (N.M.).

hind thighs over the animal's anus. This latter opening is made big enough for the skin to be drawn 281
off the body forwards over the neck. When the hide is removed and has been cleaned by scraping with
a knife, it is ready for tanning, which is done as follows:— The openings made on all four legs are [413]
closed simply by tieing the leg skin into knots, while the opening made on the inner side of the hind
thighs is sewn together with straw by means of the awl (*tistent*) (Fig. 218a), the anus opening being
closed with a cord tied around it. The hide is now closed except at the neck opening. It is filled with [824]
a mixture of water and bark (*tiñet*) of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*), and the neck-opening is there-
upon closed with a cord tied around it. The hide, which now forms a closed bag filled with bark and
water, is placed in the shade of the tent for seven to ten days to be turned and shaken every day. The
mixture of bark and water is thereupon poured out, the cuts sewn together or tied with knots are
reopened, the inner side of the hide is cleaned and treated with butter, and the openings are closed
again in a more solid fashion, the large hind opening being closed with strips of cotton placed over
the incision and sewn together with leather thread by means of the awl. A water bag prepared in
this way will very often contain reddish water, as the *tamat* bark yields a red colour, but nevertheless
all Tuareg consider bark of the *tamat* acacia as the very best tannin for water bags. Bark of *abser* [824]
(*afagag* in Ayr) (*Acacia Raddiana*) and also bark of *tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) may be used for tanning
water bags. Water bags are, with very rare exceptions, made from hairy skin because they keep the
water cool and fresh. The large open irrigation pail (*aja*) is made from skin tanned with bark like [415] *
water bags, but to my knowledge bark tanning among the Tuareg is not employed for other articles.



[Text continues on p. 276]

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Fig. 217. A rolled-up water bag (*ebayor*). When out of use the Tuareg preserve their water bags in this way in order that they shall not crack. The skin of a dry water bag is extremely hard. It is soaked in water for some time before it becomes ready for use.

• [413]

Fig. 218a–b. Sewing awls.

a. Awl (*tissem*) of the type used for sewing in Ahaggar. Made by blacksmith at Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.115 m long. (F.M. 288).

b. Awl (*indel*) of the type used for sewing sandals. Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tehld* tribe. Dimension: 0.170 m long. (F.M. 99).

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Fig. 219a–d. Implements used for skin and leather work in Ahaggar.

a. Wooden cutting board (*elkeylob*). It is made from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). 0.480 m long. (N.M. G. 5867). [824]

b. Wooden implement (*asertesa*) for smoothing leather. Wood of the *taburak* tree. Dimension: 0.248 m long. (N.M. G. 5868).

c. Heavy black stone (*tazzet*) with level under side. Used for smoothing leather. Dimension: 0.079 × 0.061 m. (N.M. G. 5873).

d. Knife (*telmamt*). Dimension: 0.163 m long. (N.M. G. 5869). Manufactured and used by blacksmiths in Ahaggar, Abalessa.

The vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar use hairy skin for the manufacture of certain receptacles other than water bags (cf. Figs. 111, 125). I have never seen hairy skin bags of this type in Ayr, and even in Ahaggar most skin bags are made from depilated skins. In Ahaggar the hair is removed from the hide by means of a plant known as *tachkat* (*Pergularia tomentosa*). A bundle of this plant is dipped into hot water and is rubbed against the inner side of the hide which is spread out over a large stone or a similar object. Even after one day the hair can then be removed by one or two women who pluck it with their fingers. In Ahaggar I have also been told by sedentary agriculturists that the hair can be removed by means of salt. The salt is placed upon the inner side of the hide and this treatment makes it possible to scrape away the hair by means of a knife or a stone. The Ayr Tuareg questioned about their methods of depilation place ashes from the fireplace on the inner side of the hide which after this treatment is covered with moistened sand for one day. After this treatment the hair is removed with a knife or simply with the fingers. 281 [565] [413]* [824]

The tannin generally used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr for articles other than water bags 281 824

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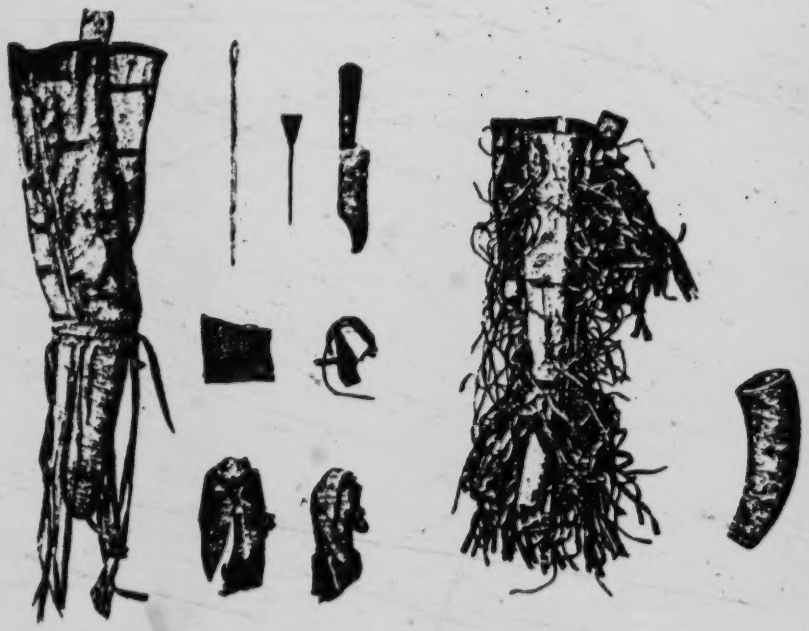

Fig. 220a–g. Sewing bags and their contents.

a. Sewing bag (*askagen*) made of decorated leather sewn to a piece of hollow ox-horn which constitutes the bottom of the bag. Dimension: 0.415 m long. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. – In the bag were the objects b–e.
b. Large sewing needle (*tazugla*, or *tazubla*).
c. Sewing awl (*tisteni*).
d. Leather knife (*telmusit*).
e. Four pieces of leather (*izzemen*) for repairs. (N.M. G. 5225a–e).
f. Sewing bag (*askagen*) of the above-mentioned type but richly decorated with leather fringes. Ahaggar, *Ḥarratin* of I-n-dalag. Dimension: 0.335 m long. (N.M. G. 5241).
g. Ox horn (*isek*) cut for bottom of sewing bag (*askagen*). Ahaggar, *Ḥarratin*. Dimension: 0.136 m long. (N.M. G. 5228).

281 824 is fruit of the *taggart* acacia (*Acacia scorpioides*) which is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tiggart*. The fruit is pounded into a kind of flour or powder which is mixed with water in the large tanning receptacle made from camel hide (Ahaggar) or in a large wooden or enameled receptacle (Ayr). For tannin the Ahaggar Tuareg also use leaves of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). These are collected as follows: a large bough is cut off the acacia, and is left to dry in a clean, sandy place. When the bough and its leaves have been dried by the sun for some time, the bough is beaten with a stick so that the leaves

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Fig. 222. Large bag of *téchchékwat* type. The *téchchékwat* bags (pl. *téchchékwatin*) are normally made of entire skins of kids or goats while this large bag is made from several pieces of leather sewn together. Ahaggar, probably manufactured in Ayr. Dimension: 0.92 m long – not counting the leather tassels. (N.M. G. 5216).

281 (3) Butter or fatty substances are rubbed into the inner side of the skin, after which the skin is covered with wet sand for a while. (4) The skin is dried and thereupon softened by rubbing it between the hands – a task sometimes performed by men, though tanning is the task of women.

281 The implements used by the Tuareg for the manufacture of skin articles are few and simple. Sewing
● 413 of skin is rarely done with a needle, though the large iron neddle known as *tasubla*, and in Ahaggar also as *tasugla* (Fig. 220b), is used for sewing among the Ahaggar Tuareg in the manufacture of donkey saddles (cf. Fig. 86, p. 110). But with such rare exceptions the Tuareg sew their skin articles by means of the little awl known as *tistent* in Ahaggar (Fig. 218a), as *éstan* in Ayr. With this implement the women pierce holes close to each other and through them draw thin leather thread
[283] (*azzemi* in Ahaggar). Sinew thread is not in general use among the Tuareg, but I knew a gazelle hunter in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, who took out the sinews of the hind leg of a killed gazelle to use them for mending his leather belt. With this exception I have never seen sinew thread employed for sewing among pastoral Tuareg and my fairly large ethnographical collection containing all types of Tuareg skin and leather articles contains no specimen sewn with sinew thread. For sewing sandals the Ahaggar
413 Tuareg use a large awl which is known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b). This word is also used for iron implements

[Text continues on p. 280]

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Fig. 224. Decorated skin bag (*abelbod*) for the conservation of tea leaves. Ahaggar, the *Agub-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.25 m long. (F.M. 151).

Fig. 225. Skin bag known as *alegutgut* (pl. *alegutguten*). The specimen depicted is an old bag which shows that the bottom consists of a bowl plaited in coiled technique and covered with leather. New bags of this type are ornamented with leather fringes. These bags are used for the transportation of tea glasses, sugar, and the like. The correct name of such bags according to some Tuareg is *eggebankob* (pl. *eggebankobben*). Ahaggar, the *Agub-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.33 m high. (F.M. 80).

413 used to burn marks of property into camels and donkeys. The large awl may also be employed for
[321] wood and horn work after heating in the fire. Horn or bone material, however, plays a little part to
[257] the Tuareg. A horn implement common to all Tuareg is that depicted Fig. 230; it is used for sucking
237 out blood of sick persons after bleeding and is widely known in the Sahara. Arm rings (sing. *éweki*)
[301] made of horn are worn by many adult men among the *Kel Aïr*, but are rare in Ahaggar. Among the

[Text continues on p. 282]

237 Ayr Tuareg a piece of ram's horn may serve as an amulet case attached around the upper arm. Horns
*[415] of barbary sheep are used for butter containers among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 223; Fig. 165), who sometimes use a piece of pointed gazelle horn for daubing antimony around the eye.

281 The Ahaggar women cut skin and leather with a small knife (*telmusit*), and a piece of wood (*asettenu*)
462 and/or a stone (*tazzet*) are used for smoothing the skin which is then placed upon a particular wooden
● [443] board (*elkeyleb*) (cf. Figs. 219a–d). The Ayr Tuareg do not make so much refined skin work. Women
*[445] among the Northern Tuareg conserve their implements for skin and leather work in a particular bag (*askagen*) which is made from leather attached to a bottom piece of horn (*isek*) (Figs. 220a–g).

[531] Northern Tuareg women take a great interest in their skin and leather artifacts, which are richly decorated with fringes and hanging tassels, and with geometric designs in different colours. I have
386 noted the following colours among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer:—
822 (1) *baba*, indigo which is introduced from the south in the form of balls.

(2) *tawnkent*, which is also known as *tafidet* and *tamezezzeft* according to Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1934. It is a yellowish mineral which yields an entirely black colour frequently seen on ornamented skin bags. The mineral according to the Ahaggar Tuareg is introduced from the south, while the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer claim that they obtain their minerals of this type from Serdeles north-east of Rat. – A black colour which is also known as *tawnkent* is said to be made by the Tuareg of Ahaggar in the following way:— Pieces of iron are put into water contained in some small receptacle, usually a tea glass. This receptacle containing water and iron pieces is covered with a bowl or a similar object in order that the sun light cannot penetrate. After a few days the water turns into a black colour to be used for skin dyeing.

(3) *semento*, a green colour derived from a mineral or a powder introduced from the south. According to some Tuareg this green colour is also made by means of a vegetable powder introduced from the north, from the region of Mzab.

(4) *khodarbas*, a powder which yields a green colour. It is said to be introduced from the south (from Tawa) and to derive from a tree known as *tafoit*.

[524] (5) *errumman*, the fruit of the pomegranate tree known as *terrumman* (*Punica Granatum*). It is used with a white mineral (alum), known as *azref n Tawat*, and introduced from In Salah. Parts of the pomegranate fruit and of this mineral are mixed with water to be used for a yellow or yellow-brown dye which is applied to many decorated skin bags for ground colour.

(6) *temesaruak*, a mineral introduced from the north (Mzab). It produces a yellow colour.

[243] (7) *herki*, a reddish brown colour obtained from a particular type of sorghum known as *talhak* grown in the cultivation centres of Ahaggar.

(8) *tédersé*, a white colour obtained by placing the skin for about three days in a container with fresh milk to which a little salt is added. – Among Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told that a white colour is also obtained from a kind of powder introduced from the Sudan.

386 Before use these above mentioned colours or dyeing materials are generally dissolved in water
[53] contained in a tea glass. When they are employed for the very fine geometric designs of leather bags they are daubed with a small knife known as *telmusit* (Fig. 219b).

[439] It is interesting that most dyes used by the Northern Tuareg are introduced from the north or from the south,

[Text continues on p. 284]

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Fig. 229. Tobacco bag (*abelbaf*) with the bottom made from the scrotum of a goat. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tahlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.22 m deep. (F.M. 94).

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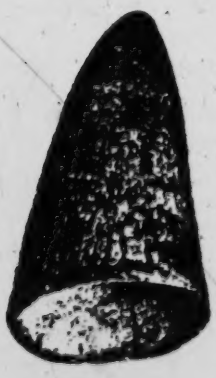

Fig. 230. Piece of ox-horn (*ínafi*) to suck out blood of bled persons. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tahlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.09 m. (F.M. 148).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Tent skins derive from domestic animals or from game animals. In older literature one can find a reference to Tuareg tents made of a sheet of camel skin (cf. Denham & Clapperton 1826, p. L). However, we have already seen that the Tuareg do not tan camel hides and they are not used for tent sheets. The Northern Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, zebu-calves, barbary sheep, antelope, and gazelle. Goat skin is most commonly used, skin of barbary sheep is considered the very best type of tent skin, while gazelle skin is rarely employed as it is very thin. According to Lhote, the *Kel Adrar* Tuareg generally use the skin of barbary sheep (Lhote 1947a, p. 108). The Ayr Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, and zebus. It is most possible that some Tuareg also use skin of game animals, but most Ayr Tuareg engage very little in hunting, though barbary sheep are very common in certain parts of the Massif. In the southern plains of the *Iwllemmeden* there are no barbary sheep. According to Nicolas, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Demek* use for their tents the skin of sheep, goats, gazelle, and sometimes even the skin of ostriches, but they do not use zebu skin which becomes very hard and shrinks when heavily moistened during the rainy season (Nicolas 1938, p. 54 & 1950a, p. 155). The *Iwllemmeden* and their *Bélla* of the Ayoru region use the skin of goats and sheep for tent-sheets.

342* 281 [224]

Tent skins are prepared in the same way as skins used for transportation bags, dress articles, and the like. They are depilated and tanned according to the methods described on p. 275 ff. After tanning they are treated with butter, and are thereupon soaked to be rubbed and coloured with red ochre, these treatments making the skins impervious to water. A tent sheet is always made of several pieces of skin which are sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl known as *tistent* (Ahaggar), or *éstan* (Ayr). The edges where the skins have to be sewn are made even with a knife, while the outer edges of the sheet are left largely unfashioned so that the circumference of the sheet is of very irregular shape with protruding patches of leg or neck skin. These patches of skin frequently serve for the attachment of the cords by means of which the sheet is suspended. When two pieces of skin are sewn together a narrow leather strip is inserted between their edges before sewing. Loose ends of leather thread hang down from the inner side of the sheet to serve as a kind of decoration, and in Ahaggar the tents are also frequently ornamented with hanging patches of leather with a carved decoration (cf. Fig. 182). On the whole the Tuareg of Ahaggar take a great interest in their tents. They like to have richly-decorated dwellings, and when a tent is made for a newly-married couple, the women do their outmost to make the sheet very beautiful. These aestethic feelings seem to be unknown in regard to other types of dwelling used among the Tuareg, including the mat tent, and I think that they are responsible for some Tuareg using skin tents even when other dwelling types would be more suitable. I believe this to be true, the more so as the skin tent among the Northern Tuareg plays a great part in the wedding ceremony, which is called *éhen*, that is "a tent".

[283] [413] [531] 342* 281 517 [585]

It is evident that the number of skins to be used for a sheet greatly varies; if a sheet is made from goat skins it may be estimated that a tent of normal size in Ahaggar comprises about 35–40 skins, but very large tents with sheets of 60–80 skins are found among rich noble Tuareg and also in the *Dag Rali* tribe. A tent from Ahaggar now in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen has a sheet sewn together from a great many skin patches, and it measures 4.00 × 3.85 metres (N.M., no. G.1; cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 139). This is perhaps to be considered a normal size of skin tents among the Ahaggar Tuareg, though the sheet is generally somewhat more rectangular in

342* 281

564 The Enaden do not pay any vassalage dues. Socially, they [651] occupy a place halfway between the Imrad and the Iklan. In certain cases they can even possess captives, and many of them have [567] at their command an affluence unknown among the Imrad, and

[414 531 326]

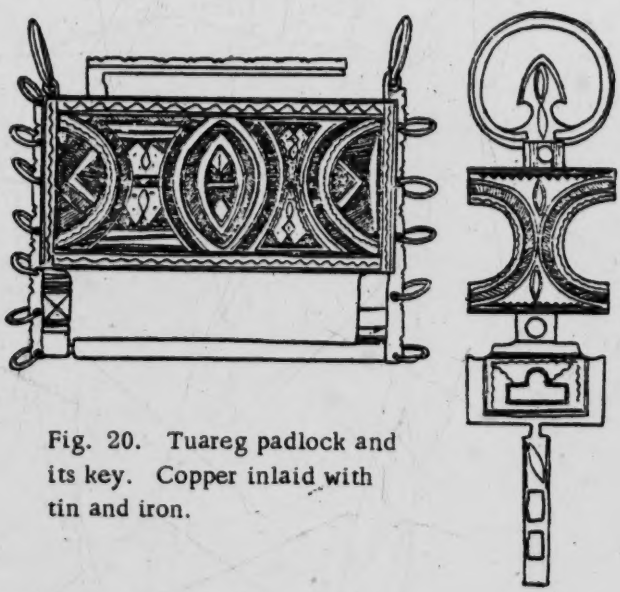

Fig. 20. Tuareg padlock and its key. Copper inlaid with tin and iron.

even among some Imochar.

/180/ Chapter 2

Confederation of the Ahaggar

173 Oral traditions handed down among the northern Tuareg maintain that they originally came from the city of Es-Souq in Ăḍrar des Iforas, known as Tăḍemeka in ancient times, and equidistant from Timbuktu and In-Salah.

1: Lhote--134 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

People adorn themselves with their jewels only during festivals; they are ordinarily kept in bags closed by a curious rectangular padlock, which is provided with one or two interior bolts; it must be undone with an enormous key which the Tuareg always have on their person. 30 [527] [414] [415]

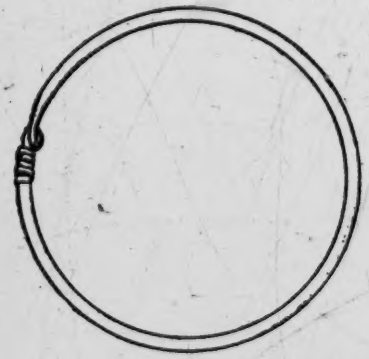

Fig. 45. Ahaggar Tuareg women's ear hoop.

/276/ Chapter 9

## Arts and Crafts Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

The nomadic and pastoral life which the Tuareg lead obviously limits the development of craft techniques and that of art itself. For them, all is reduced to the immediate necessities of everyday life -- articles for the household and the house itself, harnesses, clothing, and, accessorily, adornment. 32 [532]

If we look for the raw materials used and at the disposal of the Tuareg for making the different objects which they need, we observe that wood comes first, then leather, then certain graminaceae stems, and finally metals.

326 /280/ Silver is used to make jewelry--pendants, pendants for the
[301] hair, bracelets, rings, earrings, amulet cases, etc.

Copper furnishes a number of more important and naturally more
[492] commonly used
414 articles -- saddlery
[412] articles, cavessons for camels, highly ornamented padlocks with keys, hair knives, etc. This metal is generally better worked than silver. It is often chiseled, engraved, and topped with applications of tin by a technique
[531] which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

Fig. 50. Hammer.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian Arabs and the Sudanese.

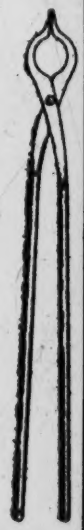

Fig. 51. Blacksmith's tongs.

438 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms;
326 they merely repair them. Sahara, daggers, and
411 lances were for the most part manufactured by blacksmiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimmiden from Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an iron mine which is located beside the village of Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the
[172] Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized in the camps.

## Chapter XI

### Industry. Blacksmiths

There is no industry in the Ahaggar. They do not exist. 433
One cannot describe as an industry the minor arms repair that 326
a few blacksmiths make, nor the little wooden implements that the Tuareg make for their personal use.

We have seen above that the Ahaggar Tuareg buy all 326
their arms in the Aïr. They are not made at home. [439]

In the Ahnet I watched a blacksmith, Eg Ahnet, work. He was mending spears, sabers, and daggers, and he told me that he also made some jewelry when they were ordered from him. He asked for preserve cans to make his settings. His tools were quite primitive. He had:

A bellows, "tissedhi" , made of two iron tubes set into a hollowed piece of wood onto which were fitted two waterskins open at the ends. These openings were held by rings and furnished with handles. The iron tubes blew the air into a clay furnace, "anefif" , set before the fire. /72/

An anvil, "tahount"
Files, "azezoua"
Pliers, "ir'emdane"
A large hammer, "afadhis"
A small hammer, "tafadhist"
Tin-snips, "timouda"
A small hatchet, "tetaout" , which he had made from a bent branch.

Finally, a rake, "asekredh" , which he hafted with two wooden handles each time he wished to use it.

He also made locks and keys of copper. He complained [414]
of hard times and how the craft no longer prospered. Where [178]
was the age of the great raids, the expeditions from which arms were brought back to him to repair and sharpen! Where are we going? Times have really changed!

352 /95 cont./ The other sacks belonging to the women all have the same shape. The "guerfa" is smaller than the agherredj; the "tarerrat" plaited in goat's hair is not seen as often.

The "adhaboun" consist of a whole series of small sacks of the most varied forms with a solid frame of plaited palm or sometimes of wood; small objects are put away in them: jewels, perfumes, remedies, etc. All of these sacks are 422 generally closed with the famous Tuareg padlock, only a token 414 lock, but always respected.

492 Rich women possess a special saddle called "akhaoui" or "takhaouit" according to its size, kept in a corner of the tent. It is an extremely curious assemblage of three types of wood (tehounek, rose laurel, tabrakat), each piece of which is chosen according to its use, shaped, cut, and decorated. The different pieces of the takhaouit are bound together with leather; it takes years to bring together branches that can be used, this work being almost always done by the women. The "haïf" is a strap /96/ that secures the saddle to the back of the camel; plaited in goat's hair, it measures five centimeters wide and three meters long; one end is adorned with an enormous pompon 50 centimeters wide and sometimes weighing more than three kilograms; embroidery in red and green wool gives a sumptuous air to the pendant, which reaches nearly to the ground when the haïf secures the saddle.

A richly decorated takhaouit has other pompons symmetrical to the haïf; these are the "tidarsiouin."

352 The feminine rug par excellence, which covers the tarraouit during a trip, comes from Timmimoun and is called "tagamdafest"; it has large black, red, and green bands, and, in the middle of it, tufts of yellow, black, and green wool.

Let us add to the objects belonging to the woman the 415 "sendouq," a kind of small box in which sugar and tea are kept; the name, of Arabic origin, seems to indicate that it is of relatively recent importation. The "tesenit" is a palm-fiber basket in which kitchen utensils are kept.

17: Schweeger-Hefel--10 E-4 (no date) 1954 MS30 Wolof MS30
Tuareg MS25

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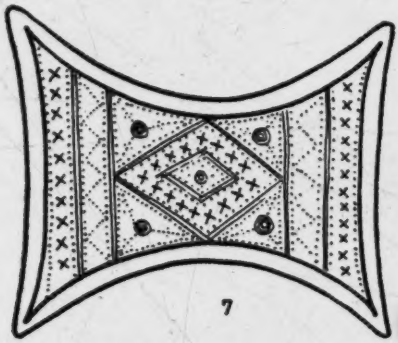

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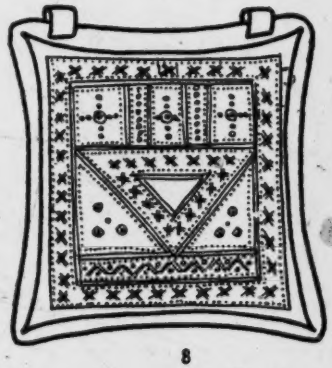

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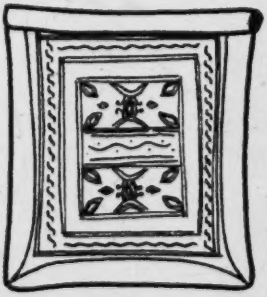

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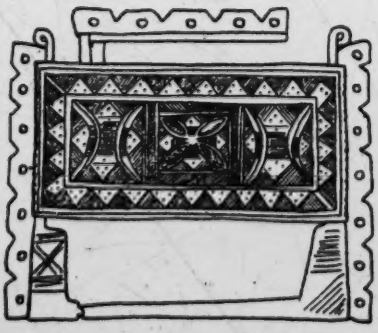

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Fig. 7. Head ornament, silver, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Inv. No. Post XX/1938, No. 8a, Tuareg.

Fig. 8. Chest ornament, silver, original in the possession of the Tuareg Neni ag Ghali near Agadez; drawing in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 75.

(captions cont.)

17: Schweeger-Hefel--11 E-4 (no date) 1954 MS30 Wolof MS30
Tuareg MS25

[Captions cont. for Figs. 7-13 p. 101.]

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Fig. 9. Chest ornament, silver; original in the possession of the Tuareg Baba ag Hamu, Tin-Reiden, Ifoghas; the drawing as for Fig. 8, Post IX/1950, No. 61.

Fig. 10. Door latch (reverse side); original in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich; drawing, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 125.

Fig. 11. Chest ornament. Original in the possession of the Tuareg Akauil, Idnan from Tinesraft. Drawing in the Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel.

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Fig. 12. Door latch. Original in the possession of the Tuareg Belcho ag Bibi, Abelessa; drawing, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 146.

Fig. 13. Earring. Original in the possession of the Tuareg Tauti, Agadez; drawing, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 30.

Figs. 7-13 are drawings from the originals by Ludwig Zöhrer, D.D., Vienna.

436 The ideal medium of exchange is the salt which [492] abounds in the Sahara and which is totally lacking in the Sudan. 439 Thus we see a caravan cycle spread out over a whole year and thousands of kilometers. This is all the more viable /sic/ for the Ihaggaren since it makes use of their many camels which otherwise might remain unused in part.

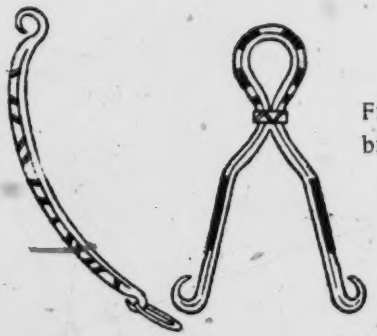

Fig. 22. Camel bit (detail).

317 The starting point is naturally the salt deposit. The mine /219/ is open; one [415] need only detach the salt in pieces and place it in leather bags to transport it. This labor is kept for the Iklan, who arrive at the salt deposits during the summer and [492] stay there from three weeks to a month. Each camel owner operates at will, and transports the salt to his camp after extracting it.

Fig. 23. Device for attaching the camel's bridle.

439 Toward mid-September, all the 484 caravaneers gather together by tribes. Soon they leave their families in the Ahaggar and take the long route [487] for the Sudan, crossing the Tanezrouft. Thus one may see caravans of 100 to 150 camels, but rarely more, for the pasture grounds would not allow it. The arrival in the Sudan must occur after the rainy

773 the tortures of hell. Iblis, however, communicated his secret to
372 the blacksmiths, who since that time have known how to use it for metalworking.

372 The Tuareg used to obtain fire by friction, using a board of
[824] torha (callotropis procera) and a branch of hardwood; they caught the spark on a tuft of silk from the fruit of the callotropis and blew on it until they got a flame, which required about a minute. They have kept this practice and still use it occasionally.

[439 Today they find matches sold by /228/ Tamanrasset merchants,
177] but they all have tinderboxes with flint and a bent piece of iron.

[415 They do not keep up the fire. They carry it from
439] one tent to the other in a fragment of an old gourd or sometimes hold a glowing ember in their hands without burning themselves.

[237 When they want to transport
484] it long distances, they use camel-dung embers.

Fig. 27. Ahaggar Tuareg dish, imported from Hausa country.

[237] The Tuareg commonly use the excrement of camels and goats as fuel. In the high
[137] mountains, wood is quite rare, but in the lower parts of the Koudia old acacia or éthel /atle? Ed. / stumps are to be found. They never
[824] use the wood of the callotropis, which is the devil's tree and makes muffled noises when it is burned.

[823] Basalt blocks are never used to make the hearth, since they believe that basalt is possessed by genii and will explode violently when heated.

352 Furniture. -- We have briefly described the objects furnishing the parts of the tent reserved for the husband and wife. To these must be added a certain number of objects which make up the

362

furniture. These objects are not numerous and reflect the primitive life led by the Tuareg.

On the left side of the tent is generally found the goatskin water bag, hung on two wooden stakes placed in a V-shape. An old piece of cloth often covers it to protect it from the sun. The waterskin is often empty, for the Tuareg are not very farsighted. When there is water, they drink; when /229/ they are out of it, they stay there waiting a half day until the Iklan get back from the well. [415 271]

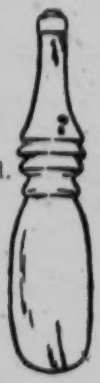

Fig. 28.
Tent shovel.

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When a traveler passes by, he is most generally assailed with demands for water, while he himself often hoped to find some in the camp.

In front of the door and close to all the tents is an enormous wooden mortar and its pestle, in which the servant girl crushes millet and dates. By searching a bit in the tent or in the shelter used as a kitchen, one may find two or three hemispheric wooden dishes destined to hold food and two or three conical bowls serving as drinking vessels. Hanging on one of the outer stakes of the tent are a wooden milking vessel, an esparto winnowing basket for sifting millet flour, serving at the same time as a dish cover, one or two little esparto mats which can serve the same purpose, and finally a few wooden spoons. Each mistress of a tent has a little 412 415 [357] [252] [285]

412 Each mistress of a tent has a little
356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses, and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,
492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are
[462] left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving;
[565] only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in moving only if it is a long trip.

/230/ Chapter 3

## Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding
[illegible] peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea, bechena (Sorghum cernuum Host.), a kind of millet cultivated in the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during
[252] their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in
484] the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong cultural-
[101] ly to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

262 433 439 According to what we know of the production of the cultivated lands of the Ahaggar itself and according to what the Tuareg are obliged to import, we may know approximately their needs. During the good years, local production is equivalent to only one quarter of the needs. It may be evaluated at 150 tons. To this must be added wheat production, but this cannot be taken in consideration insofar as consumption is concerned, since 237 415 234 it is almost entirely destined for export. It follows from this that import needs amount to 4, 000 loads of millet a year, calculated at 150 kilograms each, making 600 tons, which are for the most part bought or exchanged at Damergou or in the Tahoua region. The annual demand for dates is 400 loads.

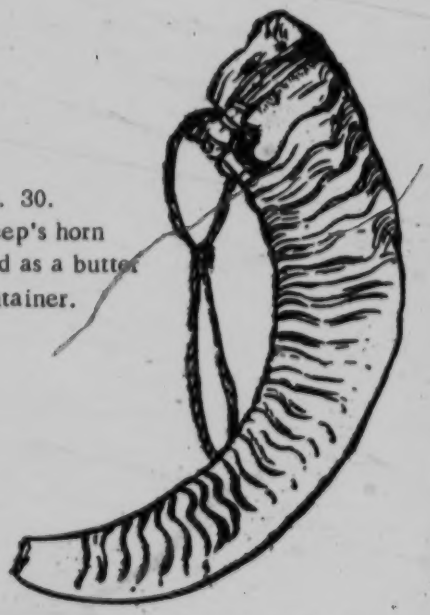

Fig. 30. Sheep's horn used as a butter container.

From these figures it 146 follows that the annual needs per person are approximately one load of 262 millet and one-tenth of a load of dates. 511

Individual consumption may thus be estimated at 187 kilograms of millet and 15 kilograms of dates per year, while an identical calculation /232/ for the Saharian Arabs has given us 180 kilograms of wheat and 75 kilograms of dates. But we must not deceive ourselves. These figures are drawn up for years, if not of abundance, at least of relative facility. Indeed, the annual average is very much lower, for the Ihaggaren do not always have at their disposal the means of exchange to meet their needs, and one may reduce the figures cited above by a good third, sometimes even by half.

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To make up this deficiency in graminaceae, the Tuareg have recourse to products of gathering.

After a rain the captives and the Imrad women gather the seeds [262] of certain plants which grow in the Ahaggar valleys. They are the afasso (Panicum turgidum F.) and the oulloul (Aristida pungens D.). But the size of the yield varies with the abundance of rain, and one may say that most of the time it is quite /233/ uncertain. This is not the case in the Sudan, where the Iklan gather whole bags of wild seeds, particularly cram-cram (Cenchrus echinatus), every year. [237] [281] [415] [234]

Fig. 31. Little leather flask used as a butter container.

To be sure, there are a few wild berries in the Ahaggar, such as those from the jujube tree (Zizyphus lotus D.) and the téborak (Balanites aegyptiaca). In case of famine the Tuareg fall back on other seeds, such as those of the colocynth, the Acacia tortillis, etc. However, all these plants play only a secondary role in the Tuareg diet. [73] [262]

The Tuareg have at their disposal milk from their camels, goats, and ewes. They drink it either whole or diluted with water, either fresh or sour. 272

The luxury of drinking whole milk is reserved for young mothers and children. Adults generally drink fresh milk morning and [264]

[264]
272 evening after the milking, and at the noon meal they drink milk which has already soured. It may accompany the dishes /234/ of
[262] béchena, serve as a sauce, and also be taken as a drink. When they make long moves, the Tuareg carry a bag full of skim milk on their camels. This turns rapidly and gives a sour-tasting whey which is very refreshing. But milk is particularly appreciated for its by-products, butter and cheese.

Butter --
234 oudi -- is obtained by churning milk in a
[415 237] little leather bag; a woman shakes it on her knees, making it swing from right to left and from left to right. The butter col-
[237 415] lected is placed inside a sheep's horn which serves as a receptacle. When butter production exceeds daily consumption, the butter is placed in leather containers, in the shape of a flask, where the heat usually keeps it liquid or very fluid, except in winter when it is necessary to heat it to get it out of the container.

Fig. 32. Butter container made from the skin of a camel's neck.

Butter is mainly eaten as a sauce; béchena gruel or wheat
262 cakes are moistened with it. The Tuareg never cook it, as in fried foods.

In years when pasturage is particularly good, which assures an
234 abundance of milk from the animals, the Tuareg make cheese -- tikomaren. They sour the milk, squeeze the curds in little mats

264 The Tuareg use spoons. The use of this implement is peculiar
[415] to them, for their Arab or Negro neighbors eat with their hands.
The custom must be related to the wearing of the veil, which they
[182 291] do not take off to eat and which prevents them from putting their
hands full of food to their mouths. They carry food to their mouths
while slightly holding up the ends of their veils.

[271] For beverages they drink only water, whether it is clean or
272 polluted, and milk.

For half a century they have had the habit of drinking green tea in the Arab manner; they aromatize it with mint or some perfumed plants of the Ahaggar, /238/ chih (Artemisia herba alba) in par-
[757 178] ticular. Coffee, which was formerly much used by them, is now taken mainly as a medication to calm violent coughs or stomach aches.

276 If we now seek consumer goods taken as stimulants or narcotics, we see that the Tuareg know only tobacco, which they chew or take as snuff.

Smoking is not one of their customs. The young men who are
[177] in contact with the French like to beg a cigarette, but it is simply in the spirit of imitation.

Duveyrier, however, has said that the Tuareg smoke. Was this,
114 perhaps, the fashion among the Tuareg who visited Ghat? Before
276 him Barth wrote that all riverain people living along the Niger loved to smoke. "It is very seldom that they leave their pretty little clay pipes, and all the Rouma, like the Tuareg, cover their mouths when smoking, so that all one sees is a pipe bowl coming out of the shawl which covers the face." (1)

1. Voyage en Afrique, vol. IV, p. 137.

[172] 301 layers /271/ dating from that epoch. Its origin must be sought there, and it is now nothing more than a Neolithic vestige.

A number of little cases which the Tuareg wear suspended around the neck and resting on the chest may be considered ornaments. [531] They are little leather cases -- decorated, painted or embroidered, or even stamped in relief -- and they contain various little instruments. [415] Thus, there are mirror cases, needle cases, razor cases, scissor cases, toothbrush cases, etc., and little wallets in which the Tuareg put what they prize most -- money, a /strike-a-light/ steel box and its flint, or tobacco.

/272/ They also wear 301 751 quantities of amulets in leather or metal cases on their chests, their arms, or their hair. But [178] this custom, religious in origin, has evolved in the direction of ornamentation, for many of these amulet cases contain nothing.

301 Female jewelry is much richer and more varied. It is [328] all made of silver; gold jewelry is never seen among [203 777] the Tuareg. They maintain that gold is unlucky for the possessor and that this metal corrupts people.

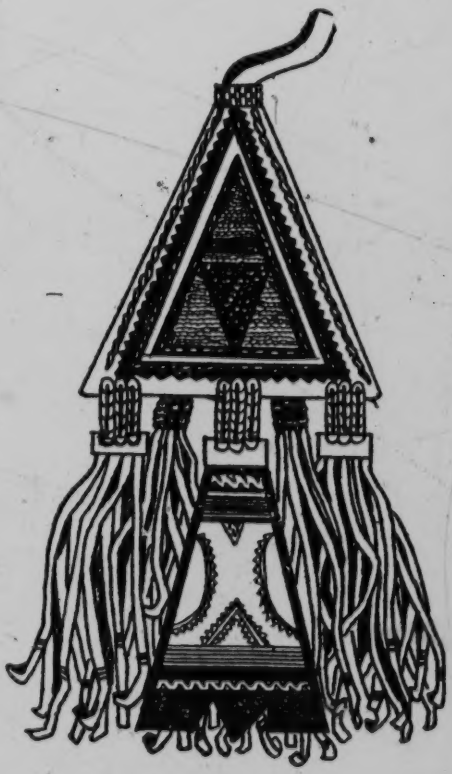

Fig. 42. Needle case of worked leather, with knife slits and embroidery. The background is red; the ornamental painting, black; the embroidery, red and green cotton.

People adorn themselves with their jewels only during festivals; they are ordinarily kept in bags closed by a curious rectangular padlock, which is provided with one or two interior bolts; it must be undone with an enormous key which the Tuareg always have on their person. 30 [527] [414] [415]

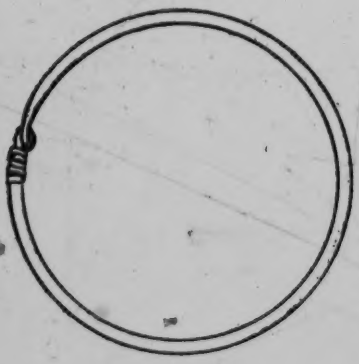

Fig. 45. Ahaggar Tuareg women's ear hoop.

/276/ Chapter 9

## Arts and Crafts Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

The nomadic and pastoral life which the Tuareg lead obviously limits the development of craft techniques and that of art itself. For them, all is reduced to the immediate necessities of everyday life -- articles for the household and the house itself, harnesses, clothing, and, accessorily, adornment. 32 [532]

If we look for the raw materials used and at the disposal of the Tuareg for making the different objects which they need, we observe that wood comes first, then leather, then certain graminaceae stems, and finally metals.

32 If, secondly, we look for the aptitudes which the Tuareg have for working these different raw materials, we notice that their enumeration follows the same order as above, with the reservation 325 that none of them know how to work metals. The latter occupations 463 are the prerogative of the Enaden, that is to say, the artisans, and 564 it is evident from this that without the artisans' help Tuareg industry would be limited to work in wood, leather, and esparto. In short, it is the cultural cycle of the pastoral peoples of the steppe.

It is only much later, when the Tuareg had integrated the [174] Enaden with their social organization, that they used metals. Therefore, [415 531] we perceive the considerable role which artisans must have played in technical evolution and that of art itself.

Fig. 46. Wooden funnel.

/277/ The presence of Enaden in the camps has reduced the manual labor [322] of the Tuareg, but the latter are still able to make wooden articles -- milking vessels, bowls, tent stakes, etc.

565 One of their most curious customs is that women from the high 462 nobility work wooden vessels and funnels with their hands by means 322 of a little adze. They usually give them to the wives of their Imrad, 431 who are very appreciative of these gifts. In the Ahaggar camps we found many little utensils which were the work of famous noble-women, of taménokalin whose names are piously kept; these objects were saved with much veneration. This custom is even more re- [174] markable since we know the scorn that the Tuareg have for manual labor; we must see in it a relic of woodworking which must formerly have been everyone's work, without distinction, before the creation of the artisan class.

Wood furnishes containers for food, drinking vessels, milking vessels, mortars, pestles, tent stakes, crosspieces and boards for making saddles. The Ahaggar does not have more than five or six species of woods which can be worked, and the articles, very simply shaped, are much less varied than in the Sudanese tribes. 322

All Ahaggar women, noble or vassal, know how to tan, remove hair from, sew, decorate, and embroider leather. They are able to make a waterskin needed to carry water, prepare skins to make tents, and manufacture bags for transporting food and personal objects. They have all become so expert in these labors that it is 281 462

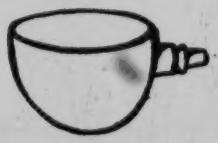

Fig. 47. Amoula, a little wooden "bottle" for young children to drink from. [415 862]

difficult to find any other peoples in the world who possess such a developed leather craft.

The scarcity of vegetable materials in the Ahaggar is one of the reasons why the use of esparto is relatively restricted. Only the stems of a graminacea common in the wadies (Panicum turgidum) are used to make mats -- large enclosing mats which surround the tent, sleeping mats, mats for covering plates. [137] 285 [824]

/278/ The stems are bound by little leather thongs, and the combination of graminacea and leather is extremely effective; it allows very regular geometric decorations at the same time as a very solid work. [283] [531]

There are no esparto vans among the Tuareg. The women use palm-leaf vans and hats, but these articles are the work of the Harratin from the little palm groves of Silet, Ideles, and Abalessa. 291 416 438

283 Spinning is done by all Tuareg women. They spin the hair of the
462 goat, the camel, and the wild sheep, making very solid cords and saddle girths.

286 Weaving is limited to the making of goat's-hair, or more rarely camel's-hair, bags. This is a very primitive technique which does not require any loom and which is, furthermore, in the process of disappearing from the Ahaggar, where only a few noblewomen still practice it. It is completely extinct in Sudanese tribes.

324 Stonework, a relic of Neolithism, was still carried on in the Ahaggar
438 a few years ago to make arm rings. Layers of granitoid schists were formerly worked
[415 at Aseksem and Terahart in the Tafedest. We also found
322] an ancient workshop south of Silet on the banks of the Tamanrasset wadi. Today all stone bracelets come from Air and a few from Hombori, where they are manufactured by Tuareg or Hausa artisans.

Fig. 48. Tabarekkat wooden ladle, also serving as a drinking vessel.

326 Metalworking is exclusively in the hands of the Enaden, who transform
[564 silver, copper, and iron. These materials, with the exception of iron, do not exist in a native, workable state in the Ahaggar. But although iron
[135 ore is common /279/ in some volcanic rocks of their country, the Tuareg do not have it exploited, for it is found in such small particles that it necessitates a disproportionate amount of forge work for the quantity likely to be recovered. Nevertheless, the memory of casting ore still remains among the Enaden. They use several forges at once, but do not know
[439 the blast furnace. The caravaneers coming from the north or from the Sudan used to bring metals.

177 At the present time silver comes from coins which are melted. For
326 years the Tuareg have had Maria Theresa dollars at their disposal; these

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Pottery is made by Negresses, the wives /281/ of Harratin, or freed former captives who live in the agricultural centers.

This outline of the techniques and industries of the Kel Ahaggar Tuareg brings out their poverty.

Can we speak of art among the Ihaggaren? That seems difficult, for aside from a few rare objects, all those that they use are more or less in use in the Ahaggar are imported from Aïr or Ádrar des Ifôras, and that is explained all the better by the fact that the artisans are more or less originally from these regions. 438 531 517 [415]

Fig. 52. Sugar tongs.

It is difficult to determine the origins of Tuareg art in general. It is in reality a composite art taken from all their neighbors, which, is not, for the most part, the achievement of the Tuareg themselves but of their artisans. It is among the latter that the distant origins /of Tuareg art/ must be sought. 177 517

The tastes of the Tuareg appear to be unchangeable. They have been fixed for centuries; therefore, in ancient documents some hundred years old one finds the same shape, the same dimensions, the same coloring as today. In this regard we shall say that the Enad is not an artist. He is a worker who may have taste, but who is, on the whole, incapable of creating. He faithfully reproduces the model which has been handed down to him. He 517 [178 172]

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Plate XV

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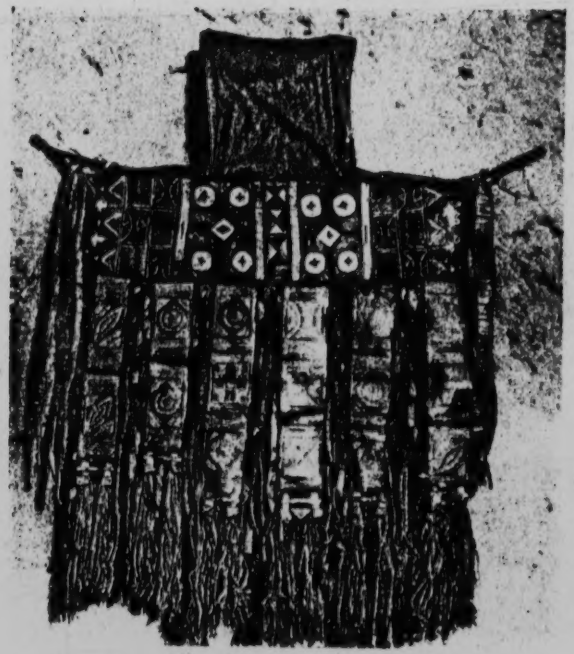
Old noblewoman from the Kel Rela tribe weaving a bag with goat's hair thread.



Goatskin bag used by women to transport their personal clothing. The very delicate decoration is obtained by cutting out the skin and applying embroidered leather.

Plate XVI

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Settled in improvised camps, blacksmiths work in the open air making weapons and utensils needed by the Tuareg.

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The Imrad women are in charge of taking the flocks to pasture and water. Every two or three days they go to the wells, drawing water for the goats, who drink out of wooden bowls or out of skins used as containers by placing them on mounds of sand in the shape of a basin. They fill the waterskins which will be transported to the camp by asses.

492 adopted by all the Tuareg of the Ádrar des Ifóras, which the
171 Chaamba Arabs also use, and which is derived from the saddle of the Moors of the western Sahara.

492 Ahaggar noblewomen, who travel only on meharis, have
[565] special saddles resembling the basour of the Arabs but without the arch covered in cloth. These saddles are called akhaoui; they
[322] are made /319/ of wood and ornamented with large pommels in front and small plaques trimmed with copper nailheads on the side.
[531] For long moves these saddles can be provided with a wicker cage covered with cloth, but this is not a common practice.

Saddles hold leather bags which contain either a change of
[415] clothes or food reserves as well as the waterskins constituting the necessary provision for crossing regions without wells.

For transport, camels are provided with a special packsaddle made of palm fibers which literally crowns their backbone. Most of these packsaddles are made in the Tidikelt. For caravans which last a long time the animals are loaded with about 100 kilograms, plus the waterskins that are generally added to the baggage. The servants, who accompany the animals and do not have personal mounts at their disposal, /320/ ride on top as excess weight and make the whole trip under these conditions.

[481] The Tuareg are very poor walkers and cannot conceive of a person's going on foot, even to spare the mount for a few kilometers.

Asses, which as we have said are used for transport within the massif, are provided with a little packsaddle serving as a saddle at the same time. When camp is moved, they are loaded with the tent, tent stakes, and bags containing food reserves. They also
[312] assure the carrying of water from the well to camp.

484 When an Amrid travels alone on a voyage, he takes an ass to
492 carry his water, his small baggage, and his blanket. Pushing the ass before him, he walks behind carrying his lance over his shoulders.
[481] He mounts on it only during the hot hours of the day.

351 and are extended out in front to form a sheltered enclosure which is usually semicircular with the entrance opening in the middle. The little forecourt and the ground inside the tent as well are covered with clean sand or very fine gravel from the bed of a nearby stream. Tuareg camps are always very tidy and astonishingly clean.

Both in the forecourt and in the tent itself
562 the men's place is on the right as you enter
342 and the women's and children's on the left, which is the reverse of the arrangement customary among Arabs. It has often been said that the men's place is on the East, but this is simply because tents are almost always pitched facing south.

Household furniture and effects include
352 sheepskins, or rugs obtained from the North
[439] by trade, leather bags of food and personal belongings, saddles, bridles and weapons,
[415] wooden bowls, funnels and spoons and maybe an earthenware cooking pot or two, a wooden
[412] mortar and pestle or perhaps two sets of different sizes, and a stone quern which may be either of the Neolithic saddle type or the small rotary model of the Roman Legions. Arms and food are stored in the men's half of the tent and equipment connected with food preparation in the women's half. A guerba full of water is hung from two long stakes just outside the forecourt. A brush
[343] windbreak built nearby shelters the outdoor kitchen, and another windbreak, some 50 to 100 yards away, shelters the family slaves.

Sometimes in the hottest months, and particularly when a camp remains stationary for a considerable length of time as it does in periods so dry that it is dangerous to move far from a permanent water supply, the tents may be stowed away and zeribas set up in their place. We recall that these are cubical or cylindrical structures made of reeds, long grass or palm fronds laid over a wooden framework measuring roughly 10 to 15 feet across and 8 to 10 feet high (fig. 37, *a*). The Amenokal's camp was installed in zeribas when the writer visited it in November, 1955, near the end of an unusually long period of drought.

Camps are always pitched in an inconspicu-
361 ous spot and always on high ground except on very rare occasions when the sky is cloud-

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P. 251] Hoggar
[Pp. 243-250 not processed]



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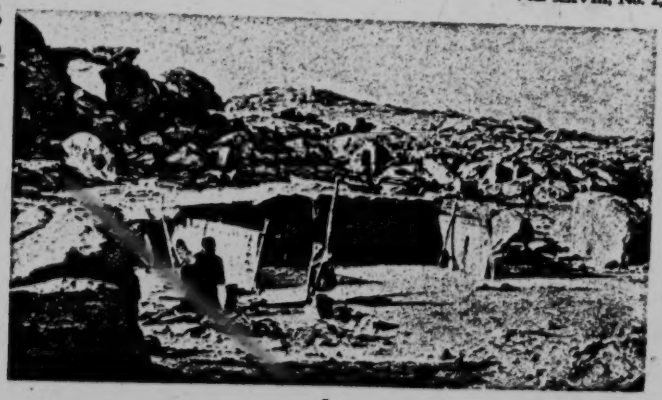

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*b*

Fig. 36. *a*, A typical camp site and tent of the Ahaggar Tuareg. *b*, A chief of the Ahaggar Tuareg sits before his tent, camel whip in hand and surrounded by his family. (Photographs by Chaseloup-Laubat, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

tanned and sewed together. The assemblage of these hides [281]
constitutes the cover, the essential part of the tent, and is 342
called "ehakit" ⵜⴰⵅⴰⴽⵉⵜ .

The tent is supported by a central master beam called
"tamankaït" ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵏⴽⴰⵢⵜ .

A pole, "idjem" ⵉⵊⵉⵎ , is placed in the entrance
of the tent and is flanked right and left by poles called
"madar'en" ⵎⴰⴷⴰⵔⴰⵏ . /26/

Other poles are used to hold up the edges: these are the
"tissedass" ⵜⵉⵙⵙⴰⴷⴰⵙ . The little pegs that hold the tent
to the ground are called "tisselitaï" ⵜⵉⵙⵍⵉⵜⴰⵢ . Some-
times bows are also used, called "adjedjou" ⴰⵊⵊⴰⵊⵓ ,
plural "idjedjan" ⵉⵊⵊⴰⵊⴰⵏ .

The tent is surrounded by mats of "afezzou" ⴰⴼⴰⵣⵣⵓ [285
(Panicum turgidum, Graminaceae), called "asabar" ⴰⵙⴰⴱⴰⵔ 824]
plural "isebran" ⵉⵙⴱⴰⵏ , which are pulled back in the
day and drawn close at night, to close the tent.

In the tent one finds first that which concerns water, that 352
is, waterskins, "abeïor'" ⴰⴱⵉⵢⵓⵔ , plural "ibiyar'" 415
ⵉⴱⵉⵢⴰⵔ , hung on forked sticks, "tidjettaouin" ⵜⵉⵊⵉⵜⵜⴰⵓⵉⵏ .
They are filled by means of a funnel, "asegueffi" ⴰⵙⴳⵓⴼⴼⵉ ,
plural "iseguéffa" ⵉⵙⴳⵓⴼⴼⴰ . To water the camels, the 231
Tuareg use troughs of hide supported by hoops at the top and
called "tafaraout" ⵜⴰⴼⴰⵔⴰⵓⵜ , plural "tiferouin" ⵜⵉⴼⴰⵔⴰⵓⵉⵏ .
They also use these troughs for the harvest of "toulloult" grain 243
(Arthraterum pungens, Graminaceae) or of "afezzou" (Panicum
turgidum, Graminaceae).

For milk and butter, they have a waterskin for milk, 415
"tanouart" ⵜⴰⵏⵓⴰⵔⵜ , plural "tinouarin" ⵜⵉⵏⵓⴰⵔⵉⵏ , and
a kind of porous water jug made of a hollowed gourd and called
"az'enou" ⴰⵣⴰⵏⵓ . To ladle the milk, serve it or pour it,
they use a wooden vessel with one handle called "asoukal"
ⴰⵙⵓⴽⴰⵍ . To store and transport melted butter, "oudi," they
have waterskins of various shapes, the most common being the
one called "tahattint" ⵜⴰⵀⴰⵜⵜⵉⵏⵜ , but they also sometimes [281]
use the tanned hide of a camel's thigh. /27/

4: Benhazera--23 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

To feed young camels and lambs, they use a kind of 231
nursing bottle of wood shaped like a cup equipped with a tube. 415
This utensil is called "ar'alala" .

For dishes, one finds in the tent wooden bowls of all sizes, 415
called "akous" , plural "ikassen" ,
large wooden dishes, "tar'elalt" , and smaller dishes
used as plates and called "tar'ehout" , plural
"tireha" . To ladle milk or gruel, the Tuareg use
a large ladle, "temoulat" , plural "timoulatin"

[361]

Dautheville

Tuareg Camp at Tazerouk

, and for eating they have ordinary wooden spoons
called "tesoukalt" , plural "tsoukaline" .

To separate the grains of "toulloult" and "afezzou" from 257
their hulls, they use small trays of afezzou called "tissiit" 415
, plural "tissiin" .

They also use a great deal the wooden mortar, "akabar" 415
, with its pestle, "ihar'en" .

Finally, they have hide sacks to hold dates or grains, which 281
they call "adjera" , plural "idjerouen" 415

All the above utensils are made of the wood of the 415
"teborak" (Balanites aegyptiaca, Simaroubaceae) and of the 824
abser', or "tamat, " (Acacia arabica).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



241 culture is never practised without irrigation. Rodd thinks that the Air agriculturists
[114] gave up shifting cultivation because they are too poor to-day to risk losing their
[174] seed in the event of inadequate or irregular rainfall (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I rather think the reasons are that the agriculturists of the massif nowadays grow very little millet and have a better irrigation system than in the past. In summer maize forms by far the most important crop, and it needs irrigation which is comparatively easy when using zebus for drawing water. However this may be we can assume that a type of agriculture related to Sudanese shifting cultivation was formerly important to the Air agriculturists, and although irrigation is nowadays used everywhere agriculture in certain places of Air is still a kind of shifting cultivation. Many agriculturists do not resort to manuring nor do they carry fresh soil to the gardens as in Ahaggar. With crop rotation they utilize one and the same plot for a few years but then have to cut trees and brush-wood somewhere else to make a new
[312] garden. A new well must then also be dug, but as irrigation wells are rather shallow this work is comparatively easy.

171 There are in Air certain agricultural implements related to those of Sudanese
412 farming cultures. We must mention in particular a small hoe hafted by means of a thong *(tagoumit)*. It is unknown both in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer as well as further north in the desert while extremely common among Sudanese shifting cultivators. Feilberg has classed it with the so-called Old Sudanese Culture es-
[114] tablished by Baumann (Feilberg 1934, p. 260ff. – Baumann 1940, p. 50ff.; 1944, p. 213ff.). Baumann claims that this culture did not know the sickle, considered by him an implement of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 56ff.; 1944, p. 283ff.). The sickle (Air: *elegesouar*, Ahaggar: *amreh*) is in fact unknown in many Air villages, and is according to my investigations not generally used for the harvesting of crops but for cutting annual grasses to be stored for
241 fodder. In Air the harvesting methods are as follows:– millet is cut with a knife,
171 maize is cut at the root by means of the above-mentioned hoe, while wheat and barley are pulled up with the hands. Similar harvesting methods seem to be known in the Sudan (Baumann 1944, p. 295ff.). As a Sudanese trait we can
[415] perhaps also recognize the large clay amphoræ used for the storage of cereals (Rodd 1926, p. 317. – Nicolas 1950a, p. 146).

We can conclude this section as follows:– While the negroes of Ahaggar ap-
174 parently have arrived in that country later than the fair-skinned Berbers the oldest
144 known population in Air were Hausa-speaking negroes subsisting predominantly
563 as agriculturists. Their original culture apparently was closely related to that of Sudanese shifting cultivators. Contacts with the north and in particular invasions of fair-skinned Tuareg have changed their cultural position. Mixing with the Tuareg they have also changed their physical type, but they are still predominantly negroid. They have adopted a Tuareg dialect but have retained part of their old vocabulary.

261 /93 cont./ To sum up the migrations of the Kel Ahaggar,
166 let us say that they extend in a radius of about 100 kilometers,
within the tribal lands, but that the men may lead the herds,
221 according to the times, toward pastures 1, 000 kilometers
from the family camp, and that an annual series of caravans
sees them cover 15° of latitude.

The harratin cultivators are only sedentary on occasion; each year there is a large human movement from one agricultural center to another. There are three reasons for this: the Tuareg, owners of the soil, are no longer able to furnish the hartani with enough seed or to fulfill the agricultural contract; water bwgins to be lacking in a center, or digging foggaras becomes impossible; lastly, the exhausted land needs rest. It is thus that, from one year to the next, an important, well-cultivated center may become /94/ insignificant and even deserted. It appears to be impossible to establish a cycle for these agricultural migrations.

## Tuareg Furnishings

352 Lightness and flexibility are the two essential qualities of
492 Tuareg furnishings. All of these objects must be transported
on the backs of animals; weight, therefore, is the principal
enemy; moreover, it is easier for the animals to carry loads
capable of molding themselves against the animals' bodies.
● 415 Thus we find a whole assortment of sacks, chiefly leather ones,
in the Tuareg equipment.

These sacks are tanned in such a way as to keep the leather very flexible; but the process employed is suitable only for extremely dry climates: transported to France, the Tuareg leathers seem to come alive again, they swell with humidity, then give off a disagreeable odor, and finally become unusable.

415 All of these sacks are decorated. Some are colored and
531 bear designs put on with dye or are decorated with tinted

415 /94 cont. / leather, and sometimes they are even embellished
531 with motifs on cloth, accentuated with needlework in silk; others are made of natural leather, adorned with frayed leather thongs, for the main principle of decoration for everything carried on a camel's back seems to be to lengthen the lines in order to make them harmonize with the silhouette of this amazing animal. The decorative motifs are many but always linear; the circle, as well as the arc, is used, but the straight line dominates; there are no arabesques, no complicated curves; triangles, squares, rectangles, even trapeziums and diamond shapes are used. Red is the chief color for leather, but a wide range of other colors, artistically used, makes possible some pleasing effects; delicate greens characterize the work coming from the Sudan, pure whites are set in blacks, dark greens, and browns, different tones of yellow cover large surfaces. Then, slight grooves in the dyed leather produce interesting effects.

[492] /95/ The sacks are secured on the animals by numerous cords. These are plaited with goat's hair. Making all these fittings takes unimaginable time and patience. Such a task cannot be thought of except in relation to a nomadic tribe.

An interesting study could be made on Tuareg decoration, comparing it to that of certain Indian tribes of America; one thinks in this connection of the hypotheses advanced by Commandant Cauvet in Les Berbères en Amérique /Berbers In America/.

352 Here is a list of the various objects to be found in a Tuareg tent, undoubtedly an incomplete list, for the most familiar objects are the easiest to forget.

The woman, mistress of the hearth, owns her personal effects. The wardrobe bag, a large rectangle 80 by 60 centimeters at the top of which is an opening 30 centimeters high by 50 centimeters wide, is called "agherredj"; clothes are kept in it. Some of these agherredj are magnificent works of art.

352 /95 cont./ The other sacks belonging to the women all have the same shape. The "guerfa" is smaller than the agherredj; the "tarerrat" plaited in goat's hair is not seen as often.

The "adhaboun" consist of a whole series of small sacks of the most varied forms with a solid frame of plaited palm or sometimes of wood; small objects are put away in them: jewels, perfumes, remedies, etc. All of these sacks are generally closed with the famous Tuareg padlock, only a token lock, but always respected.

422 414

492 Rich women possess a special saddle called "akhaoui" or "takhaouit" according to its size, kept in a corner of the tent. It is an extremely curious assemblage of three types of wood (tehounek, rose laurel, tabrakat), each piece of which is chosen according to its use, shaped, cut, and decorated. The different pieces of the takhaouit are bound together with leather; it takes years to bring together branches that can be used, this work being almost always done by the women. The "haïf" is a strap /96/ that secures the saddle to the back of the camel; plaited in goat's hair, it measures five centimeters wide and three meters long; one end is adorned with an enormous pompon 50 centimeters wide and sometimes weighing more than three kilograms; embroidery in red and green wool gives a sumptuous air to the pendant, which reaches nearly to the ground when the haïf secures the saddle.

A richly decorated takhaouit has other pompons symmetrical to the haïf; these are the "tidarsiouin."

352 The feminine rug par excellence, which covers the tarraouit during a trip, comes from Timmimoun and is called "tagamdafest"; it has large black, red, and green bands, and, in the middle of it, tufts of yellow, black, and green wool.

Let us add to the objects belonging to the woman the "sendouq," a kind of small box in which sugar and tea are kept; the name, of Arabic origin, seems to indicate that it is of relatively recent importation. The "tesenit" is a palm-fiber basket in which kitchen utensils are kept.

415

492 /97 cont./ For he who wants a particularly well-equipped animal, there is the "cascabou," a sort of copper fitting with pendants and little bells which is fixed on the camel's nose, giving the beast a proud appearance and classifying the owner.

The things owned in common consist of, first, the "abator" used as water containers; these guerbas are made of goatskin or sheepskin. The "tamhit" ("mezoued" in Arabic) are used to carry grain. Butter is made in the "edjiouer."

415 We already know the use of the tendi /mortar/ and the pestle (iharen). Fixed or turning millstones called "tahount" are used near the agricultural centers.

The "terahout" is the hemispheric dish; there are several sizes. The "tesoukalin" are the small spoons; the large ones, often pyrograved, are called "temoulalt." The metal or baked-earth pot is called the "terrirt." Everything used for making tea has an Arabic name: the kettle (ralleye), the teapot (bered), the glasses (el kissan), and the tray (el tabla). The trivet is called "isseguida."

/98/ Clothing

291 The grand bearing of the Tuareg, which so impresses the visitor arriving in the Ahaggar for the first time, is largely due to the clothes he wears. The silhouette of the "men of the veil" becomes familiar. The fullness of the clothes and the lightness of the cloth, which favors harmonious drapings, seem to exaggerate the size of both the men and the women. European traders who give free rein to their imaginations are numerous; they speak of blue phantoms and indulge in comparisons as unreal as they are evocative. Here we must strip the Tuareg of this poetic aureole. Let us begin by the trousers, called "iqarbi" ("sarroil" in Arabic). Very full and not creased, the iqarbi has a hem at the waist which permits use of a plaited leather belt called "tamenalt"; there is no pocket. To make it, cloth 1.50 meters long by 1.40 meters wide is used. It is often made of black sateen or chegga.

252 /105 cont./ several stalks of a plant called "a'nessis," is cooked for a very long time. When it is ready, it is poured into the "tahatiat" or the "arra'an" for keeping. The tahatiat is a kind of guerba /waterskin/ made with skin from a camel's neck and still has the original curved shape. The arra'an is [415] shaped like a demijohn; it consists of a piece of camelskin molded in a hole dug in the ground, filled with camel dung and gravel, tied securely at the mouth by a cord, and thus dried and hardened.

"Tikamarin" is a cheese made from whole milk in the following way: a young goat is killed and its stomach, still full of milk, is carefully kept; the milk is allowed to harden in the stomach pouch, then is carefully preserved. A piece of this "seed" cheese, about the size of a gaming die, is plunged into a tarahout containing five to eight liters of milk. After a day the milk has completely curdled. A lump of this cheese, still damp, is crushed in the hands, previously washed, and made into slabs about 15 by 5 centimeters. These slabs are arranged for drying on a bed of afazzou stalks. Tikamarin is eaten dry; it is kept over a year, and it is said to be still edible after four years.

/106/ "Ioulsan" ("qlila" in Arabic) is a cheese made from the sour milk left over from kaing butter. This sour milk is poured into a pot and is heated for a long time. The contents of the pot are then poured in a special filter, a kind of afazzou basket; the water drains off and the remaining cheese is then fashioned into small circular cakes, six centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick. Ioulsan is quickly eaten, but it can be kept dry and is used, above all, in making the argira which is eaten in the summer.

262 The Tuareg like meat very much, but they eat it relatively infrequently; yet some Tuareg say that one should not let ten days go by without eating meat.

The most used meat is goat; mutton is eaten less often, and camel in exceptional circumstances. The meat of

412 /182 cont./ For the harratin, the maalmines make the hoe called aguelhim and the gheniet, which is a trap for wild sheep.

412 The Tuareg use wooden objects made by the maalmines;
415 these are mainly cooking utensils.

Akous: bowl for drinking milk. It often has small ears for easier gripping.

Azzka: is a very large akous capable of holding nearly six liters.

Tarahout: large, almost hemispherical dish, carved out in one piece. The wood is three centimeters thick. It is used for family meals.

/183/ Tarelalt: large dish with a fairly flat bottom; may be as large as one meter in diameter (rare).

Tendi: the wooden mortar.

Iharen: the wooden pestle.

Akabar: small mortar, sometimes pyrographed.

Tesoukalt: pyrographed wooden spoon.

Temoulalt: large pyrographed spoon (ladle).

Asseguefi: small wooden funnel.

Redjeredjaten: stakes for holding up the tent.

Tidjetouin: stakes with ornamented heads for holding the tent open.

492 Tarik (rahla in Arabic): the camel saddle. The maalmines of the Ahaggar repair them but do not make them; the most handsome ones come from the Aïr; these are the ones called tamazak and the akoka. However, the maalmines of the Ahaggar make a wholly wooden saddle called taïst, sturdy and used mainly for training the animals.

301 The principal jewelry worked in the Ahaggar is the following:

Tisak: the ring, of silver. Certain models have the lower part made of iron. The height of the rings is impressive: four to five centimeters; they entirely cover the lower part of the women's fingers, setting off the length and delicacy of their hands.

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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36. At the Ideles oasis. At right a butter container (tahtint).

[p. 224]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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37. Delou used to keep water fresh.

[p. 225]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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39. Filling a guerba using a wooden funnel.

[p. 227]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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40. Harratin family at Tahaggart.

[p. 228]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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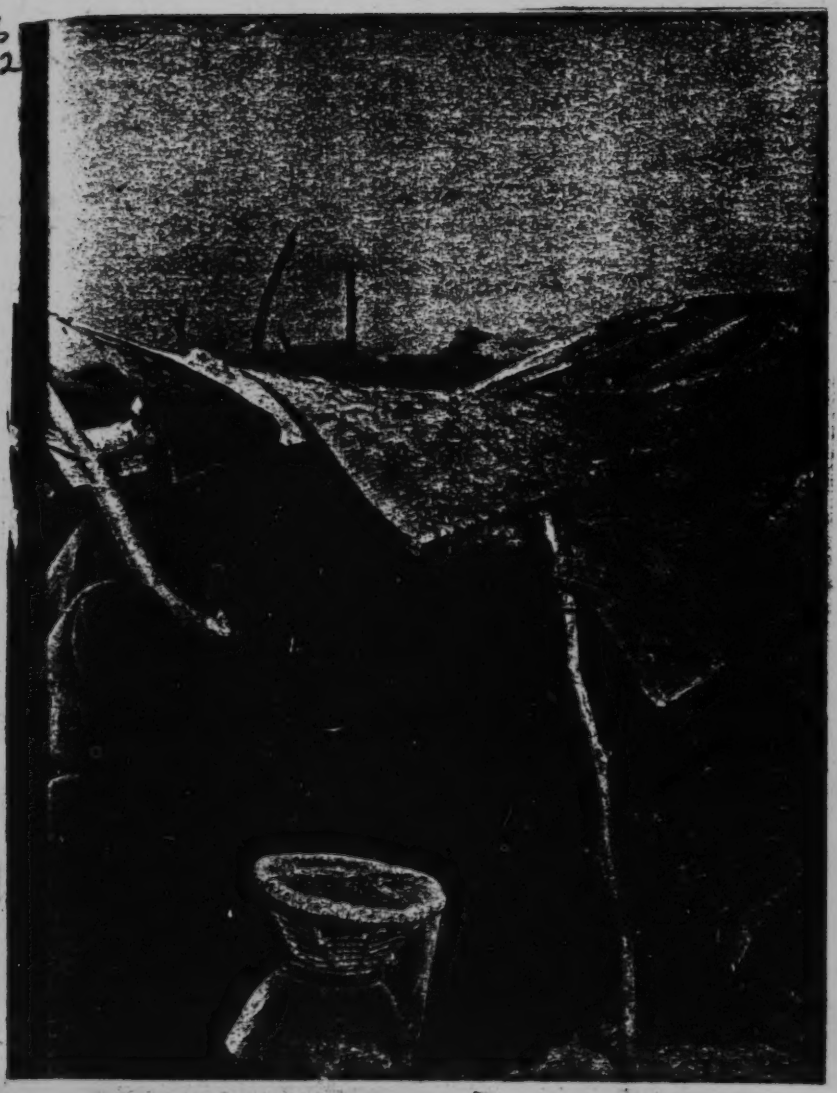

[415]

52b.

[p. 24] [right - see p. 240]

● 415

[For additional information about utensils, especially various kinds of containers, see category 116, pp. 221-33; 239; 242-43; 245-51; 253-54; 257; 260-61; 265-67; 269-86.]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



end of the *akaza* season. In other words:— When the inhabitants of a camp have their collectively guarded goats divided into two parts, one of these brings forth kids at the time when the other is mated. 233* 132

This method of mating-regulation is that ideally used by prosperous goat-breeders both in Ayr and among the Northern Tuareg. If in the north a flock is divided into two parts the kids are born in autumn (*amerwas*), and in spring (*tafsit*) the former season being the better. Kids brought forth between these two seasons are known as *amesakar*. But as climatic conditions and consequently also the quality of pastures change from one year to another in the true desert country, the mating-system of division into halves cannot always be practised in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. In severe periods of drought goats may be too meagre for mating for a whole year or even longer, during which time the he-goats will have their penis bound. Thus during the dry year 1954/55 no goats were mated in Ahaggar. – It should be noted that the best season for the birth of kids is the late summer or the autumn (*akaza*, *amerwas*) when the tender annual plants spring up. Kids borne at this season will be fully grown for mating after one year so that they bring forth kids at the season of spring (*tafsit*, or *tahait*), while kids born in spring will be mated after a year to bring forth kids late in summer or in autumn (*akaza*, or *amerwas*).

Milking takes place twice daily – early in the morning before the flock leaves for grazing, and late in the evening one or two hours after the return of the animals to the camp. Milking is done by women, or occasionally by male slaves. The individual animals to be milked are frequently called by their names and a special sucking sound is made to calm the animals, which are milked differently in Ayr and Ahaggar. In Ahaggar the milk-maid holds the wooden milk-bowl (*akus*; Fig. 21 b) in her left hand, presses the left hind leg of the goat firmly under the upper part of her right arm, while she milks with her right hand (Fig. 23–24). In Ayr milking of goats is frequently performed in a standing position the milk-maid then holding the milk-bowl (*takabart*; Fig. 37) in her left hand, keeping the left hind leg of the animal firmly between her knees, and milking with her right hand. If the milk-maid milks 234 462 192 184 415

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Fig. 18. The little stick (*akara*, *amdrra*) used by the Northern Tuareg to prevent half-grown kids from sucking. Ahaggar, the *Afuk-en-tahli* tribe. Dimension: the stick 0.056 m; the cords 0.330–0.380 m. (N.M. G. 5825).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



younger animals which yield more milk. Again, the meat of very old goats is of inferior quality. Much goat-meat derives from he-goats of which a very limited number is needed for mating. Some Tuareg claim that one he-goat is able to cover about a hundred goats, but as a rule I doubt whether it would be called upon to do so. In any event, too many he-goats are brought forth, and even very young male kids are frequently killed and eaten as there will be more milk for the nomads when such animals do not have to be suckled. It is considered ideal that male kids which are not needed for reproduction, and which are not killed at very early age, should be castrated at the time when weaning takes place, but even old he-goats may be castrated to make them fat for slaughtering.

Though meat is not a stable dish of the Tuareg they have to kill a certain number of goats every year to obtain skin for the manufacture of various domestic utensils. The roaming life in the desert necessitates a great many containers for water, butter, milk, grain, dates, and the like, and bags made from goat-skin are appropriate for this purpose. Indeed, goat-skin is so important to Tuareg craft that in speaking of the manufacture of most domestic articles one can hardly avoid mentioning the word "goat". Thus, my fairly large collection of ethnographic specimens from the Ahaggar Tuareg contains about fifty different objects made entirely or mainly of goat-skin, which is also used for the manufacture of tents among the Northern Tuareg. Even nowadays, a few articles of dress are made from goat-skin, and goat-skin was in general use for this purpose in the past (cf. p. 287 ff.).

Goat-hair is extremely useful to the Northern Tuareg. The hair is cut once a year in the hot season when the animals do not suffer from cold (cf. Fig. 98). It is spun into strong cords used for tethering animals, for tying up caravan loads, for reins, and the like. In certain tribes of Ahaggar it is also used for a very primitive kind of weaving (cf. p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

To understand the economic role of goat-breeding one must briefly touch on the question of size of flocks. Statistics concerning the ownership of livestock must always be regarded with much suspicion, as it is extremely difficult to obtain data. It is not only most impolite to ask Tuareg about the size of

Fig. 20. A kid with the stick (*akara, asefres*) pierced through the mouth as described in the text. Tesilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Tawrit* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 21 a–b. Milk-bowls (*akas*, pl. *ikassen*) which are used for milking and for milk drinking.

[184] a. A bowl made of burned clay like an ordinary earthen pot. These bowls are never used by pastoral Tuareg but by a few sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar who also manufacture them. Ahaggar, Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.120 m high with an upper diameter of 0.187 m. (N.M. G. 5821).

[824] [463] [704] b. A bowl cut of the wood of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*). It is made by a blacksmith, but certain Tuareg women cut similar bowls which are common in all camps of pastoral Northern Tuareg. Such milk-bowls are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension: 0.102 m high with an upper diameter of 0.199 m. (N.M. G. 5199).

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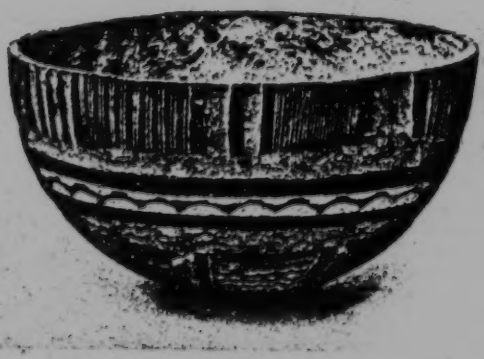

Fig. 22. Calabash of a type which is used occasionally for milking in Ahaggar. It is called *ateklas* (*wa n akh*) or *ateklas* (*wa n tapek*), that is "calabash for milk, or "calabash for milking". Introduced to Ahaggar from the south and bought at Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.110 m high with an upper diameter of 0.195–0.203 m. (N.M. G. 5823).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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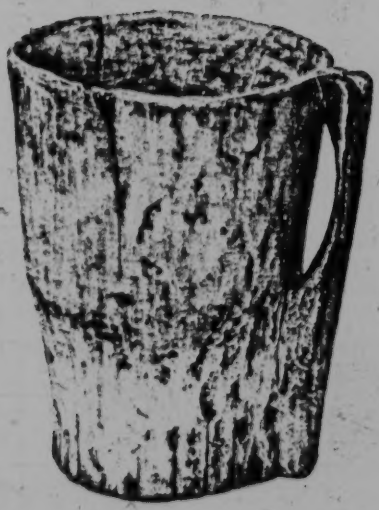

Fig. 37. Wooden milk-bowl (*akabar*) of the type used in Ayr not only for she-camels but also for cows, sheep and goats. It is carved out of wood of the *turza* tree (*turha* in Ahaggar) (*Calotropis procera*) by a blacksmith. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.285 m high. (N.M. G. 6662).

[237]

Fig. 38. Wooden milk-bowl (*akabar*) of the type used for she-camels in Ahaggar. It was introduced to Ahaggar from the south where it was made by an Ayr blacksmith from wood of the *turha* tree (*Calotropis procera*). The cracked brim is mended with a piece of raw camel hide. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension: 0.240 m high. (N.M. G. 5822).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 39. A very young camel calf tethered in the camp by means of the *témdit* rope depicted below (Fig. 40). Tamesna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Ineqnoten* tribe.

she-camels which are difficult to milk because they will not allow the calf to suck. The method has been described to me by Tuareg of Ayr. It is named *arazak* and is as follows:— Fresh camel-dung is put into the nostrils of the mother-camel, and its nose is thereupon pierced at three places with an awl a hole being made in each nostril and one hole between them. A cord of dum palm leaf is thereupon drawn through these three holes so that the nostrils are firmly closed, and the animal can consequently breathe only through the mouth. It is said that a she-camel which has carried this bandage for one day will be fond of its calf and will allow it to suck so that milking can be done. 234 [412]

Milking of she-camels is usually done twice a day, early in the morning and very late in the evening. In Ayr certain Tuareg milk their she-camels several times during the day, as the animals generally graze close to the camp and frequently come to the tents to see their calves. Milking between the two proper milking times may also be done with other domestic animals in Ayr if milk is needed for some purpose or other during the day, but it is practised particularly with she-camels, as milk gathers in the udder of these animals very quickly after milking.

Milking of she-camels is done by two men standing at the sides of the she-camel and leaning their heads against the animal (Fig. 36). One of the men holds the large wooden milk-bowl *akabar* (Figs. 37-38) [462] [415]

[text continues on p. 61]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



bridge of the nose of a calf, so that it hurts its mother when it tries to suck (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 359). – 233*
(3) *akinubab*, that is a plaited muzzle which allows the calf to graze, but prevents it from sucking. I have been told both in Ahaggar and Ayr that such muzzles are used for camel calves, but apparently they do not constitute a normal weaning method. – (4) *asedres* or *ameru* are said to be synonymous terms for the weaning method generally adopted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. The method is as follows:— The upper lip of the calf is pierced on both sides of the harelip so characteristic of all camels. A piece of thin root of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) is drawn through these holes so [824]
that the ends of the root protude at both sides, and a knot is made at both ends that the root will not fall out. These knots hurt the udder of a she-camel when the calf starts to suck, but this is not the real idea of the device. For the root-piece keeps the pierced holes open and the calf is therefore unable to suck at all.

A she-camel may yield about ten litres of milk at the beginning of its lactation period, but at the 234
end of this period it does not yield more than two or three litres even with good grazing. The yield is always dependent on grazing conditions. Thus during my stay in Ahnet and Ahaggar 1954–55, a Tuareg who owned about twenty she-camels acquired only two litres of milk a day in all from these animals. But conditions of camel-breeding are much better in Ayr and in the southern plains where [433]
she-camels are tolerably good milk-yielders most of the year, and camel's milk is therefore very important to some pastoralists of these regions. Camel's milk is drunk and not generally used for food [272]
in other ways. It is much esteemed by all Tuareg, who claim that it possesses a particular power and gives strength. It is never stored in the shape of butter or cheese. The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr [262]
never eat camel's butter which they consider possesses a poor taste, and, besides, it is very difficult to churn. They make butter of camel's milk only when butter of milk from other domestic animals is [302]
lacking for the greasing of the hair. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr butter is then churned by the men in a rather peculiar way:— A skin bag containing an amount of camel's milk is attached to the riding [415]
saddle of a camel which is then ridden at very fast speed for some time. But even with this method, it is said, camel's milk gives very little butter, and it is also definitely stated that the milk cannot be used for cheese-making. These Tuareg statements seem to be confirmed by analyses of veterinaries, [114]
who claim camel's milk to contain very little casein, and it has been proved difficult to separate butter from camel's milk (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 707 ff.).

She-camels can mate and yield milk until an age of about 25, and their average length of life is 233*
estimated by the Tuareg at about 30 years. But pastoral Tuareg do not generally keep their camels until they die a natural death. In Ayr I was told that she-camels more than twenty years old should be sold or killed. Most Tuareg sell their old camels in the oases of the Central or Northern Sahara [432]
where a large population of sedentary farmers is constantly yearning for meat. Very few camels are [366]
killed by the butchers of Agadez, where meat from oxen, sheep, and goats is always available and [262]
fairly cheap, but a great many old camels are slaughtered at the market places of the oases further north.

Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr very rarely kill their own camels to eat them. They will slaughter a camel 262
which suffers from some severe disease as all animals dying by accident or from disease are unlawful to eat. However, there are also some Ayr Tuareg who will never eat camel's meat. They say that they [261]
would feel very sick at heart were they to do so, and some Tuareg even say that they would vomit

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*492 fixed with a rope running under the tail and/or a rope around the camel's chest. The *elaki*-saddle is [184] unknown to the Ayr Tuareg, but I have seen it in use among Arab traders living at Iferwan of Northern [171] Ayr. It is by far the most common type of pack-saddle in both groups of Northern Tuareg.

Another type of pack-saddle named *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* corresponds to the *herej* saddle of the Arabs. It is used occasionally by the Northern Tuareg, but I have only seen it among the *Kel Ajjer*. The saddle-frame is made from date palm ribs and consists of two cross-bars connected with each other by two crossed sticks at both sides. One of the cross-bars rests in front of the animal's hump, the other behind. The frame is lashed together by means of strips of raw camel-hide and is fastened to [283] two pads of palm bast as can be seen from the photograph Fig. 57. As far as I know this saddle-type, [563] like the type above-mentioned, is manufactured by palm-growing agriculturists of the oases. This saddle type seems to be unknown among the Ayr Tuareg.

The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is known to them as *aruki*. It consists of one [28] wooden arch lashed to two flat boards (Fig. 58). These two sideboards are attached to two pads made from hay stuffed into tubular pieces of dum palm matting. The two pads or mat cylinders are fitted on each side of the camel so that the wooden arch rests in front of the hump. But there is also a rear pad consisting of a stuffed skin-bag laid over the camel's back behind the hump and attached to the wooden arch by means of cords. The loading cords bear on this stuffed skin-bag and on the mat-cylinders in front of the wooden arch. The wooden arch is manufactured by blacksmiths, while the [564] side pads and rear pad are made by the Tuareg. The saddle is not generally fixed to the camel by means of girths or cords. The place of origin for this saddle-type seems to be Ayr. It is used also among the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, and it seems as if related saddle-types occur elsewhere in the south (cf. ~~p. 311~~).

*492 Transportation bags of various types are used for camel loads, but the very large bags woven from ● 415 a mixture of goat's hair and camel's wool so typical of northern Arab pastoralists are not in current use among the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*, and are entirely unknown to the Tuareg of Ayr. The [563] Northern Tuareg generally use bags made from the skin of barbary sheep, or bags made from date palm bast by the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. Fig. 59). In Ayr the Tuareg normally use transportation bags of plaited dum palm leaves.

The ideal load of a camel consists of two bags forming a total weight of up to 200 kgs for a very strong animal. The two bags, which together form one load, are each provided with two short loading loops. They are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *elrerwet* when bags are woven, as *tadekmert* when the bags are of skin. The loading is done as follows:— The two bags are lifted up and supported against the sides of the recumbent pack-camel by two men who put the loops of one bag into those of the other and insert between them two little sticks, known in the north as *tihdad* (sing. *tehedit*). To unload the camel all one has to do is to pull out the two small sticks inserted between the loops, [17] and the two bags fall to the ground. This same system is also used in Ayr, and, I believe, among all camel-breeders of North Africa. - To secure the load in a fixed position it is very common to surround its two halves with a rope (*akhamil* in Ahaggar), which is laid over the saddle-frame before loading and another rope around the luggage and the belly of the pack-camel is also used if considered necessary.

*492 When camels are taken to the camp from pasture, they are sometimes mounted without a saddle

[text continues on p. 78]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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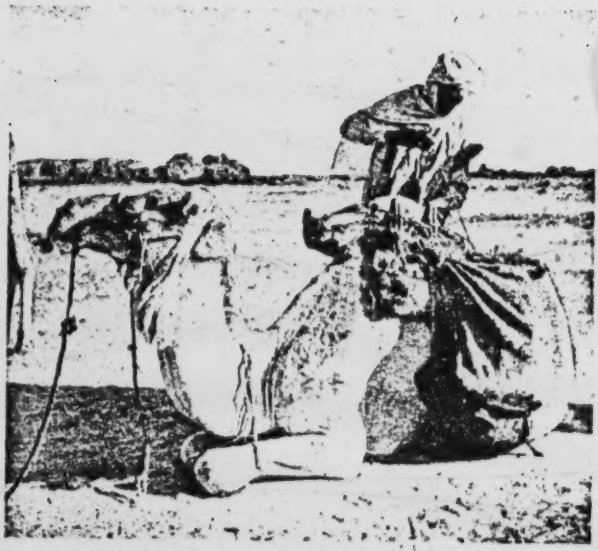

Fig. 56. The loading of a camel bull carrying the *élaki* saddle. This bull was very fierce. It is provided with an *akala* rope around the lower jaw, and a halter (*amerar*) with a short rope hanging down to facilitate capture. The recumbent position of the bull is secured by a rope passing around the neck and a foreleg. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

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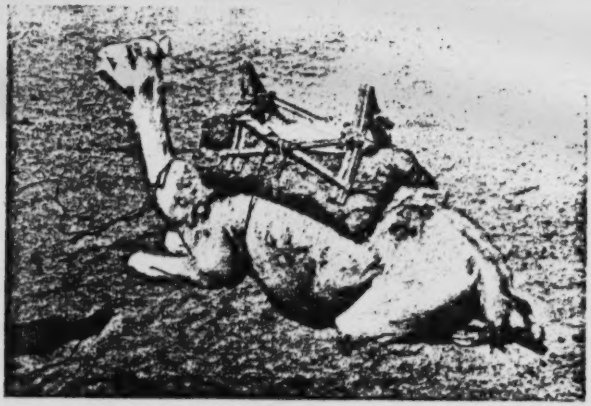

Fig. 57. Camel with a pack-saddle of the *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type consisting of a frame made of palm fronds attached to two cushions of date palm bast. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, *Kel Ganet*.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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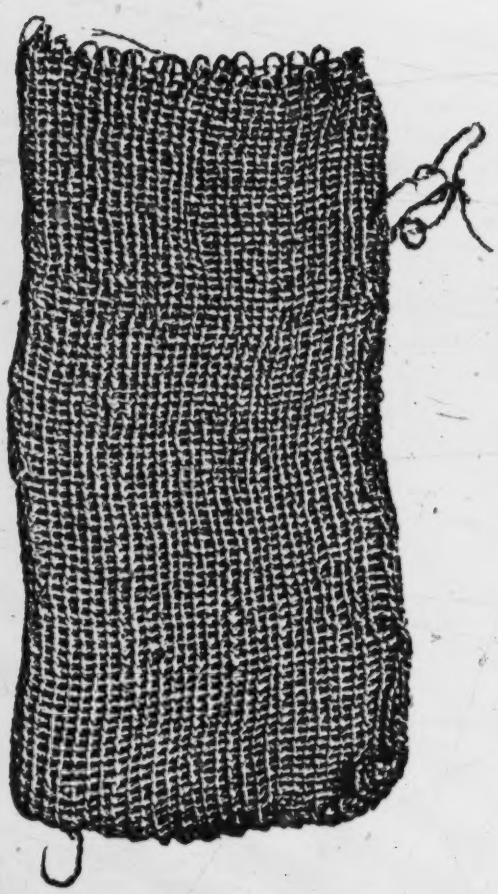

Fig. 59. Transportation bag (*achchebker*) plaited from cords of date palm bast. Made by *Harraria* of Tidikelt, bought at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 1.18 m long, 0.58 m broad. (N.M. G. 5217).

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*492 that it is manufactured by pastoral Tuareg of these regions and not by blacksmiths, though the latter
[564] may also make such saddles for their own use. The wooden structure is made of two cross-bars, which
[412] are natural prongs fashioned with knife and axe, and these two cross-bars are lashed to each other at their lower ends, or are connected with each other by means of two sticks crossing each other at
[824] the two sides. A wreath of slender roots of *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) covered with a network of dum
[283] palm rope may serve as a saddle seat, which can also be covered with a piece of matting plaited from
[285] the leaves of the dum palm tree. This very simple saddle may perhaps be considered the prototype of the more developed riding saddles of the *térik* and *tahyast* types.

All the above-mentioned types of riding saddles are placed in front of the camel's hump and rest upon two to four saddle cloths, the number depending upon their quality and also upon the nutritional condition of the animal. Two saddle-cloths are considered enough for a fat camel while four should be applied to a very thin one. Saddle cloths are frequently called *ésatfar* (Ayr) or *asetfer* (Ahaggar), but this name is in fact used for everything placed upon the back of an animal to protect it against galling from the luggage and/or the saddle. Saddle cloths for camels are properly termed *éselis* (Ayr) and *ameslak* (Ahaggar). Both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr saddle cloths are generally
[286] made of cotton, but they are also made from dum palm matting and a piece of leather among the Ayr Tuareg (Figs. 66–67). The riding saddles are fixed to the camel by a single girth known as *ahayif* (Ahaggar) or *azaw* (Ayr). In the north such girths are normally made from goat-hair while the Ayr
[237] Tuareg use plaited leather (goat-skin). Girths in both regions are frequently furnished with a very large tassel hanging down from the right side of the camel (Fig. 69). On rare occasions when the Tuareg
[541] ride their camels with all possible speed, e.g., at the annual camel races organized by the French
[648] administration, the riders often secure the position of their saddles by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren* among the Northern Tuareg) tied around the hind part of the camel as shown by the photograph Fig. 68.

The camel rider sits in the saddle cross-leged with his feet resting upon the camel's neck. To accelerate the speed of his riding animal he pushes one of his feet against its neck in step with the rocking gait
*492 peculiar to camels. A whip (*alekkod*) also belongs to the equipment of the rider. Most whips have a
237 single lash made from a twisted strip of hide, but whips provided with two lashes of hide attached to a wooden handle are also found and are common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Figs. 70a–b). The whips used in the north are said to be made from camel's hide soaked in water; the raw hide is twisted and kept in this position until it is dry. The Ayr Tuareg say that camel's hide is not well fitted for whips, which among them are manufactured from the raw hide of a newly-killed ox. A piece of this hide is twisted and left to dry as in the north. The handle of the one-lash whip is made of cotton wrapped around the upper part of the lash and covered with coloured goat-skin.

*492 The Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular implement to hasten the speed of riding camels. It is described in literature notably by Foucauld. It consists of a slender iron rod 0.35–0.50 metres long, fixed into a wooden handle. It has a small crook much like that of a staple and is used for scratching the animal and thus to incite it to greater speed. It is called *azalla*, or *asekred* (Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 856 & IV, p. 1960). I have never seen this peculiar implement among the Tuareg.

*492 A camel rider's equipment comprises various types of skin bags of which the most common is a
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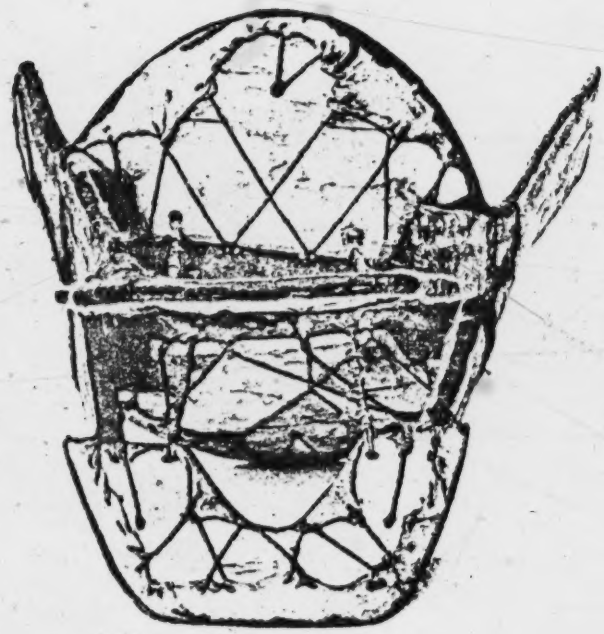

Fig. 63b. cf. Fig. 63a.

*492 huge saddle bag known as *ejjebira*, manufactured exclusively by the sedentary people of Agadez, the
415 *lmeggedezen* (Fig. 72a). Other bags are often used by riders and some of them will be mentioned in the description of skin and leather work.

[283] An important part of the rider's equipment is the drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from metal and attached to the saddle pommel with a plaited leather cord (*témetrek*); it is particularly common
*492 among the Northern Tuareg (Fig. 71). The Tuareg also possess a great many objects which serve
[331] exclusively as ornaments for riding camels. The Northern Tuareg adorn their animals with a collar (*tahawt*) made from fine cords of goat's hair, while the Ayr Tuareg use another type of collar called

[Text continues on p.88]

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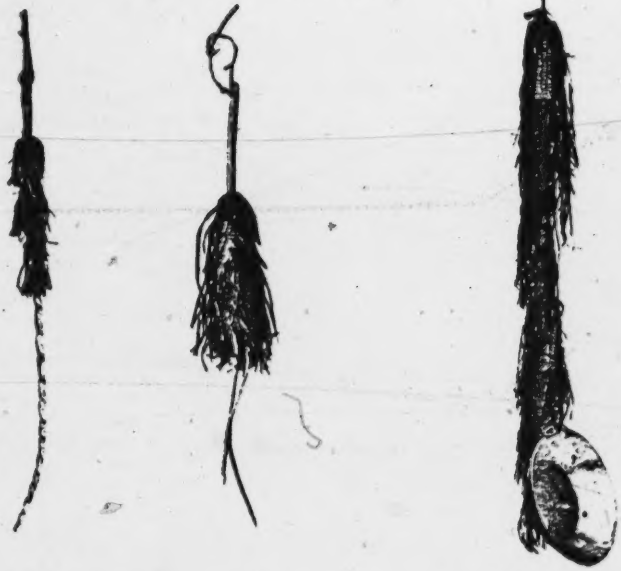

Fig. 70a–b. Tuareg camel whips (*alekkoḍ*, pl. *ilekkaḍ*).

a. Whip with a single lash. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.08 m long. (M.N. G. 1.138).

b. Whip with two lashes. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Urayen* tribe. Dimension: 0.845 m long. (Author's collection).

Fig. 71. The drinking bowl (*tamennust*) made from tinned brass and fixed to its ornamented leather cord (*iémetrek*) by means of which it is attached to the saddle pommel (cf. Fig. 49). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the bowl: 0.258 m in diameter (upper part). Dimension of the leather cord: 0.685 m long. (N. M. G. 5287).

*492 562 donkeys, but, as in the North, they sometimes mount the riding camels of men sitting across the animal behind the saddle.

*492 531 The Tuareg take a keen interest in the adornment of all objects used for riding camels. The richly decorated saddles and the ornaments of the riding gear express the particular value attached to the animals used for riding. But Tuareg interest in camels is perhaps more clearly understood, when we 233 consider their rich camel vocabulary.

192 The Tuareg have one word which can be used for any camel regardless of its sex and age, its colour, and all other particular qualities. This word (*amaḡur*, pl. *imuḡar* in the northern dialect) does not seem to have its equivalents in vocabularies of other domestic animals which collectively are referred to by means of a sex term of adult animals (e.g., *ulli* = "goats"). The word *amaḡur* (pl. *imuḡar*) is used in conversation, but it is heard less frequently than camel terms which have a very definite meaning.

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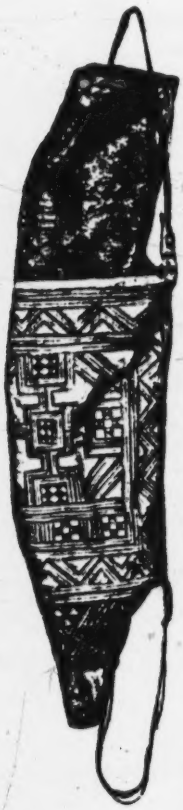

Fig. 72a–b. Leather bags for camel riders.

a. Large saddle bag known as *ejjebira* (*eljebira*) and used by all riders. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen, manufactured by the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez (Ayr). Dimension: 0.70 × 0.70 m. (N.M. G. 1.108).

b. Large luggage bag (*abaun*). Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.20 m long. (N.M. G. 1.136).

In a few words camel vocabulary has the characteristics mentioned under the following items:— 233
(1) Sex terms; (2) Age terms which, like most camel terms, also refer to the sex; (3) Colour terms; 192
(4) Terms for very special qualities; (5) Terms for camels according to their training and use; (6) Terms for camels in very definite situations; (7) Terms for the number of camels in a herd; (8) Many entirely synonymous terms.

The Northern Tuareg use the term *amis* (pl. *imnas*) for all male camels including geldings, and the term *talemt* (pl. *tellemin*) for all she-camels. In Ayr a male camel is known as *alem* (pl. *imnas*) and a

[text continues on p. 95]

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* 492 181 [114] of riders and their camels. This is intimated by the following poem quoted from Foucauld's excellent books on the poetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg:—

[539]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ébeydeg, é ti n ami mellen* | My white camel, O woman with white teeth |
| *W-allahi! ıdeg ul ıfel kem* | I swear by God, it shall not go raiding, shall not leave you |
| *Ula daṛ ikk am akal ien* | It shall not go away from you to another country |
| *U t ḍineṛ ar y arabuh ennem* | I lead it to the pastures only to visit you with love again |
| *Ula taharġit d asemmeḍren* | Neither in dreams nor in thought |
| *Innin é ham yekk akai ien* | Shall it go away from you to another country |

(cf. Foucauld 1925-30, I, p. 210 f. for a literal translation).

## DONKEYS

231 [192] Donkeys are very important domestic animals in the Tuareg groups I have studied. Most animals are grey or greyish but there are other colours for which the Tuareg have special terms. From Ahaggar the following colour-terms can be mentioned:— *adebara* (greyish), *afawa* (greyish with a white stomach), *ewriṛ* (yellow-brown), *éhenbey*, or *takenbawt* (donkey with a black head), *ékawél* (black). Black donkeys seem to be more common among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara than among the Tuareg.

231 136 Donkeys vary less in colour than other domestic animals among the Tuareg. It is interesting to note in this connection that there are fairly big herds of wild donkeys, or asses, in the mountainous massifs of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr. These animals are generally greyish like most domestic donkeys.

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Fig. 83. Women carrying cereals in skin bags loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe.

*492 household goods during nomadic migrations, and are employed daily in all camps to carry water in skin-
415 bags from wells and waterholes to the tents. They are very strong animals considering their low stature,
312 and good pack-donkeys can carry up to one hundred kilograms even for very long trips. Donkeys
262 are occasionally used for long journeys by the Northern Tuareg, and many Ayr Tuareg use them to
484 fetch provisions of millet around Tanut in Damergu. Caravans of donkeys are frequently observed in these regions, and one even sees mixed caravans of donkeys and camels. There can be no doubt
174 that before the introduction of the camel the donkey was still more important for riding and transportation than is the case nowadays. This is clearly demonstrated by historical material from Egypt and adjacent regions (cf. Erman 1922, p. 518 f., 529, 592 f., 636).

231 It has already been mentioned that donkey's meat and skin are not utilized nowadays by the Tuareg.
262 The same is true of mare's milk which, however, is used as a remedy against a kind of cough known
757 to the Ayr Tuareg as *khamkham*. There is no regulation of mating for donkeys which in many ways are semi-domesticated animals. In Ayr male donkeys are never castrated, while the Ahaggar Tuareg say they castrate such stallions as constantly run after the mares and in this way cause too much trouble. The Tuareg also have no methods to prevent foals from sucking, while a method of this kind is sometimes applied by sedentary people in and around Agadez. This method known as *éfinjar* consists in the cutting of the nostrils of half-grown foals so that they cannot suck pregnant mares. Both stallions
*492 and mares are used for riding and transportation, but female animals are much preferred for these purposes. Mares are used almost exclusively for the transportation of water-bags hanging under the animals, as the bags might be squirted by stallions' urine.

The Northern Tuareg saddle their donkeys, using the same saddle type for riding and for transpor-
462 tation (Fig. 86). This is known as *aruku* and is manufactured by the women in the following way:—
824 Two fresh boughs of the *tahunek*-tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) are heated, or slightly burned, over the fire.
322 The boughs are thereupon barked and bent into the curved form wanted, and are then kept in this position by cords. After drying for a few days the boughs will retain their curved form, and the cords
237 are untied. The boughs are then cut up and their ends are connected by two pieces of camel's hide
412 soaked in water, and sewn together by means of a large iron needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (cf. Fig. 220b) and a thread which is also cut from camel's hide. The wooden saddle frame is attached to three
237 cushions. These cushions are generally made of goat-skin or sheep-skin stuffed with hay or with date palm bast, but may also be plaited from leaves of the date palm tree. Cushions made from goat-skin
412 are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of the little awl known as *tistent* (cf. Fig. 218a). The two long cushions resting lengthwise upon the animals back are known as *tastek*, and the small cushion resting over the animal's back close to its shoulders is called *tafelledut*. The saddle is fixed to the donkey by two girths consisting of cords made of goat-hair. One of these cords (*tidmechart*) passes under the tail, the other (*ahayif*) is tied around the chest of the animal. This saddle type is well fitted for the transportation of burdens and in particular of water-bags, the cords of which are attached to the pommels. When the saddle is used for riding it is frequently covered with a blanket or a piece of cloth. Saddles of this type are found in all camps of the Northern Tuareg, and Lhote states that they are also found in Adrar-n-Foras and in Ayr (Lhote 1947a, p. 120). This may be so but I have myself never seen them in the latter region where they are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan*

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Fig. 90. Tuareg dogs of the breed which is common among the Ayr Tuareg. Dogs suffer much from heat in summer when they hide under water-bags. Ayr, the *Imezureg* tribe.

## DOGS

231 The Northern Tuareg distinguish between three types of dogs (sing. *eydi*) as follows:— (1) a long-haired breed (*aberhoh*); (2) a short-haired slender breed (*akhami*); (3) a very slender and elegantly
[173] built greyhound (*ozka*) (Fig. 91). The Ahaggar Tuareg speak of a tradition, according to which the greyhound (*ozka*) was introduced fairly recently through contacts with the Northern Arabs. The Ayr Tuareg do not make similar distinctions between dog breeds. They have only one breed which is known as *ijji* (Fig. 90). It is short-haired and slenderly built though less so than the true Arab greyhound.

[136] Dogs are kept to guard the camp and in particular to protect the animals from the attack of jackals or hyenas during night. If the Tuareg had no dogs it would be most difficult for them to breed goats and sheep. Dogs may also follow the flocks in daytime to protect the animals against beasts of prey, though this is not generally considered necessary. Dogs are not trained as "sheep-dogs", but it is said that a few "intelligent" dogs will assist the herdsman in keeping the flock together during grazing,
[224] and many dogs will drive away domestic animals which belong to foreign flocks. Some Tuareg use dogs in hunting barbary sheep, gazelle, antelope, and hare (cf. hunting, p. 159, 166).

[17] It is well-known that the Arabs consider the dog an unclean animal. This is also so among Arab nomads of the Sahara, but they do not consider their greyhounds unclean in this sense. Thus pastoralists of the Chamba group told me that among them a fine greyhound is esteemed in much the same way as are noble riding horses and camels. The Tuareg have very few true greyhounds and
[521] I do not believe that they have this same feeling of interest in them. But many children and young
[541] people are fond of all types of dogs, and one can hear them discuss the qualities of their animals and the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp.

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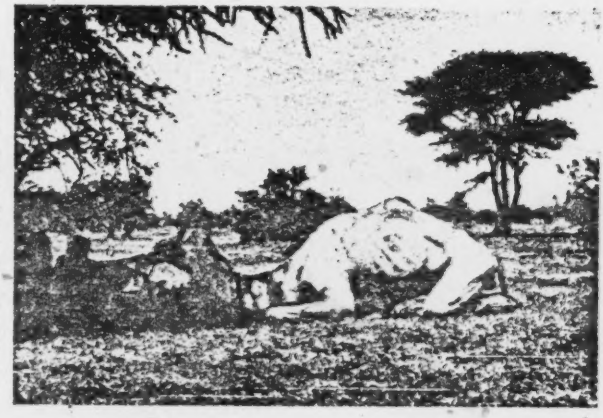

Fig. 95. A Tuareg feeding his riding camel with *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Many Tuareg feed their riding animals with stems of this perennial grass – partly to obtain a docile camel for riding, partly to change its fodder which consists largely of acacias and annual plants. The photograph is taken near Agadez at the *akasa* season. Annual plants grow between trees and bushes (*afagag*, *Acacia Raddiana*; *ebezgin*, *Salvadora persica*; *tadent*, *Boscia senegalensis*). Ayr, the *Isakaranan* tribe.

234 than those mentioned. Thus they can use any kind of receptacle for milk and milking, and they do
415 not clean their milk-bowls with urine as is normal among certain East African stock-breeders, and,
237 perhaps, also among certain of the Fulani living south of Ayr. The taste of urine is detested by the
262 Tuareg, who know this taste all too well as the water drawn from pools and wells is frequently flavoured
237 with urine and the excrement of domestic animals. Nor is camel urine used by Tuareg women for
302 hairdressing as is done among the Arabs, but it is said that it may have a medical value in curing
752 wounds. The custom of drinking blood has been mentioned above (p. 122 f.) and will be described later (p. 235).

*233 The Tuareg apparently have comparatively few superstitious usages in stock-breeding, which is
232 mainly to be considered rational. We have seen that stock-breeding is adapted to environment, and we have also mentioned that there are veterinary methods which doubtless have their origin in considerable knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of domestic animals. This knowledge forms one corner-stone of rational stock-breeding, and another is the very detailed knowledge of botany. In
*233 824 Ahaggar there are more than 600 different plant species for which the Tuareg have particular names, though a few related species are sometimes known by one and the same name. Every Tuareg know about the ecological conditions of these plants, and he knows exactly their fodder value for domestic animals. He knows that certain plants form excellent fodder for all domestic animals, but he is also well aware that the different types of stock have different needs, so that certain plant species are valuable for camels, other species for other domestic animals.

231 The Tuareg are occasionally cruel to donkeys, and to dogs, but they take the greatest care of all other domestic animals to ensure their wellbeing and reproduction. Women bring acacia pods or tender annual plants to kids, lambs, and calves, and to sick animals which remain in the camp. On
484 *233 long trading expeditions, when the camels have little time for grazing, some Tuareg will walk along

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221 *233 824 tagayt, while the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* at this period will camp around Ingal. Many Southern Tuareg leave the savannah country to avoid its heavy rainfalls and stock-diseases to let their animals benefit from the salty water and plants in the *Azawaq* country.

133 162 137 In the country west of the Ayr Massif, the Tamesna Plains, there is in addition to the Ayr Tuareg a numerous population of Ahaggar Tuareg who live constantly in these regions. These plains are botanically different from the mountains. Perennial vegetation is scarce though there are some *tamat*-acacias (*Acacia flava*), but there is a very rich vegetation of annual plants of great importance to *233 824 domestic animals. Among these plants can be mentioned *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*), which is very valuable for camels and also good for sheep, *adreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tagellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). The two latter plants are valuable as fodder for all domestic animals. It is noteworthy that these three species of annual plants last longer than other annual species. They do not wither at the beginning of the *ṛarat*-season, but remain fresh and green all through the winter until about *tabsit*.

It is evident that Tuareg knowledge of botany is extremely comprehensive, and that they use this knowledge to make stock-breeding as rational as possible. They may perhaps not be so rational in protecting pastures, for they cut acacias' boughs to feed the kids resting in the camps, and it is most possible that they also overgraze certain pastures. However, the grazing grounds are very vast in comparison with the number of pastoralists, and I believe that overgrazing and arboreal devastation take place mainly around villages and towns where the flocks of sedentary people graze continuously in the same area. In Ahaggar the valuable fodder plants and plants which are important for collecting are often protected for two or three months in order that they may become fully developed (cf. p. 150, 179).

*233 The Tuareg take great care that their animals do not lack water. It is true that camels and also donkeys can do without water for many days even in summer, but at this season camels should preferably be watered every two or three days, and goats are always watered every two days when the weather is hot. In winter the animals are not watered so often, and this is true particularly if the animals feed on fresh annual plants. Camels can do without water even for weeks and months under such favourable

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Fig. 97. The leather bucket known as *ajo* to the Northern Tuareg. The leather is tied to an iron ring made by blacksmiths. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension of the iron ring: 0.275 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.51).

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Fig. 98. A slave watering goats by means of the leather bucket called *aga*. Water is drawn from a well and poured out into a hole dug in the clayey ground. The goat standing to the left is sheared – a token of the summer season. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*233 conditions, and herdsmen, who live with camelherds far away from camps and wells subsisting on
[272] camel's milk, do not consider water necessary. Should domestic animals have eaten salt or salty plants
[271] they are very eager for water even in winter. When I lived in Ahaggar with my camels during the winter 1954/55 they had rightly to be watered every ten days, but in regions where they fed mainly on saliferous plants they had to be watered more frequently. However, domestic animals must not be watered too often as this would make them slow and emaciated, and a camel must not be worked too hard the day after it has been watered.

312 Tuareg camps are always found around wells, pools, or other types of water places for which there
[361] is a large vocabulary. But the Tuareg never camp too close to water places where there is little pasture, many foreigners and consequently little peace. The distance from camp to water place varies, but is
[132] very frequently 1–3 kilometres. During the rainy season (*akasa*) water is very aundant all over Ayr, but outside this period conditions of water supply for human beings and livestock are more favourable
[415] in the north than in Ayr, where water most of the year must be drawn from wells. To raise water the Tuareg use a leather bucket known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aga* (Fig. 97–98). The water drawn for
[237] the animals is poured out into a hole dug in clayey soil, or into a hole covered with a piece of skin or leather known in Ahaggar as *tafarawt*. This skin is nowadays frequently substituted by canvas (cf. Fig. 99). Where water is scarce and must be drawn from narrow wells, as in Ayr during the summer
312 season, the watering of flocks and herds gives rise to frequent quarrels between pastoralists. For
567 [423] though the right to the use of wells is free to all there are many disputes and fights frequently

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Fig. 111. Skin bag of *séchchékwat* type made from a jackal's skin. The Ahaggar Tuareg believe that people who conserve their money in a skin bag of this kind will have good luck in trading. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.63 m (F.M. 283).

# Hunting

For the pastoral Tuareg hunting is not an important occupation, and nowadays it is practised mainly 224
by those few Tuareg who possess rifles or guns. Traditional hunting methods are thus of far less con- [411]
sequence than in the past, but some of them are very interesting and most significant for a historical [121]
analysis of Tuareg culture.

## AHAGGAR

Northern Tuareg areas are not very rich in game. In Ahaggar the main types of game are the gazelle 136
(*ahenkof*, fem. *tahenkof*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) and the barbary sheep (*iakad; Ammotragus lervia*). The 224
big gazelle (*énir; Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amellul; Addax nasomaculatus*) are very rare; they are occasionally seen in the plains outside of the mountains. The ostrich (*anhél*; *Struthio camelus*) was very common in the past, but is now exterminated.

The small gazelle is rare and shy within the Ahaggar Massif, while fairly abundant and comparatively 224
easy to hunt with a rifle in the northernmost massifs and their surrounding plains. Of seven camps visited in Ahnet 1954, gazelle hunting was engaged in by the members of two households, and I estimate that they killed one or two gazelles every week. In most camps of the Northern Tuareg there are no [262]
true gazelle hunters, and when a rare gazelle is killed its meat is easily eaten in one day by the members of a single household – in addition to three or four pounds of wheat-bread or millet-porridge. Gazelle 237
skin is of little practical value to Tuareg craft. It is not generally used for the manufacture of important [283]
domestic articles such as water bags and containers for milk and butter, but it is suitable and much esteemed for certain types of decorated leather work and for fine leather cords, e.g., necklaces for amulet cases, reins for riding camels.

Barbary sheep are extremely shy, and they live mainly in inaccessible mountains. They are still fairly common in certain isolated parts of the mountains, but they were more numerous in the past when hunting was practised without rifles.

The Tuareg estimate that the amount of meat obtained from two gazelles corresponds to the meat of one grown goat, while a big barbary sheep provides as much meat as that of four goats. Meat of [251]
barbary sheep is better suited for drying than meat of other game animals, and the thick hide of these [237]
animals is valuable for the manufacture of tents and for large bags used for the conservation on [374]
journeys of dates, grain, flour, and the like. The horns of barbary sheep are used as butter containers [413]
(Fig. 165), and some Tuareg add the powder of crushed horns to butter before heating it (cf. p. 222). Barbary sheep are of greater economic value to the Ahaggar Tuareg than other types of game, and

[A157]

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is refused by noble Tuareg and in general also by vassals. One reason for this is that the Tuareg have a myth saying that the *aṛata*-lizzard is the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the noble Tuareg. Some vassals claim that it is the ancestor of all true Tuareg, but this statement does not agree with mythology (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 61). However, this lizzard is eaten mainly by slaves and by certain agriculturists, though its meat is considered a remedy against snake-bite and scorpion stings (cf. Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.). The head of an *aṛata* is considered an excellent amulet against these poisonous animals (Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.), and the skin of this lizzard is not only utilized for the manufacture of amulet cases but also for small bags of various types (Fig. 116a).

Small animals are not necessarily killed with any particular hunting implement. The animals may be taken with the hand or killed with sticks and stones, as is the case with the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, *tékenisit*), which is eaten by some people, and with small rodents. Even hares can be taken with the hand when they hide in the grass or under rocks. The hunter may then approach the hare swinging one of his sandals over his head. This, it is said, makes the animals believe that it is hunted by a hawk or an eagle, and it will therefore remain stubbornly in its hiding place. Even gazelle are sometimes taken without any proper hunting weapon. Some Tuareg say that on journeys through the barren desert country in the summer they have met gazelle so exhausted from thirst that they could take these animals with their hands. Although this is rarely possible, I know Tuareg who have crept up to gazelle hiding from the sun in daytime and killed them with a stone. Finally it can be mentioned that the

Fig. 116a–b. Two small skin bags.

a. Skin bag (*abelbeḍ n aṛata*) made from the skin of the big *aṛata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.). Ahaggar, *Ḫarratin* of Taṛhawhawt. Dimension: 0.325 m long. (N.M. G. 5834).

b. Skin bag (*abelbeḍ n témerwelt*) made from hare-skin. Ahaggar, bought from *Ḫarratin* at Taṛhawhawt, manufactured in the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5833).

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Fig. 123. Digging stick (*ilaweǵ*) which serves to dig up wild edible roots and other purposes. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ǧali* tribe. Dimension: 0.883 m (total length). (N.M. G. 5252).

Fig. 124. The wild plant *ihahelewen* (sing. *ahahel*) (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) which yields edible roots esteemed for food (bread). Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

Fig. 125. Skin bag of the *téchchékwat* type made from the skin of a kid and containing *adamam* berries (*Osyris alba*). The berries are normally eaten fresh, but are also conserved in skin bags to be eaten later after soaking in water. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ǧali* tribe. Dimension of the skin bag: 0.33 m. (N.M. G. 5244).

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*ajako*. According to Foucauld a small annual edible plant growing in the Ahaggar Mountains at an altitude above 2000 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 712). Maire mentions this plant as unindentified (Maire 1933, p. 263).

Collecting is mainly the task of women, but males – particularly uninitiated boys and slaves – also participate. Seed-plants are generally harvested by rubbing the ears of the plants between the fingers, but the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle (*amreh*; Fig. 143 a–b) to be thrashed and winnowed like wheat and barley. Edible roots are frequently collected merely by hand. However, a digging stick (*élaweg*; Fig. 123) provided with an iron point is also used to dig up certain wild plants such as *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) and similar root plants. This digging stick is characteristic of vassal women who use it for many different purposes, e.g., to make holes for tent poles.

The very best among the above mentioned seed-plants is the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*). Its seeds are collected or harvested by certain Tuareg inhabiting the lower parts of Ahaggar, but are important particularly to the Tuareg living in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Within the Ahaggar Massif the most important seeds are those of *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). The right to collect these seeds is free to everybody, and Tuareg of the *Abada* zone may send their slaves to the *Atakor* zone to collect *tawit*-seeds in the mountain plateau of Asekrem. The species of *afezu* and *tawit* are sometimes protected by an ban on grazing for three and two months respectively in order that their seeds may grow ripe for collecting. The right to put a ban on grazing of the two species belongs to the Tuareg in whom territorial rights of a sub-area are vested (cf. p. 150). It is said that under very favourable conditions a single household may collect some hundred kilos of seeds of the two plants mentioned. This may seem rather impressive, but even in good years when milk is abundant collecting will not provide pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar with sufficient vegetable food, for seeds of wild plants are far less nourishing than are grains of wheat, barley, and millet. The collecting of wild plants important for food is as dependent on climatic conditions as is stock-breeding. In dry years, when domestic animals yield little or no milk at all, there will also be no wild seeds for collecting.

Fig. 127. Very small bag known as *élem* ("skin") made from a kid's scrotum (*tigassatef*). The bag contains a piece of resin of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). This resin is eaten by the Tuareg as a remedy against stomachache. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the piece of resin: 0.07 m long. (F.M. 149a–b).

243 Wheat and barley grown in winter constitute the most important crops in Ahaggar, but, as mentioned,
[262] the gardens are also cultivated at other seasons, and crops of millet and sorghum taken in summer are most important substistence for irrigation farmers in Ahaggar. Millet is known to the Tuareg as
[171] *énélé*; it seems to be the same species as that so widely grown by African agriculturists of the savannah
[221] countries (*Pennisetum typhoideum*, or *P. Americonum*). Millet is sown in June-July and harvested in Sep-
[461] tember, or in October. Little work is involved with the cultivation of this plant which is never watered much (cf. p. 184), and the agriculturists do not carry fresh soil to the millet plots as they do to plots of wheat and barley. Species of sorghum are less important than millet. The common species is known as
[386] *abora* or *tafsut* (*Andropogon Sorghum*). Another species is known as *tallak*; it has smaller seeds than the species just mentioned, and is grown mainly because of its stems, which are reduced to powder to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 282).

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Fig 135. Basket (*tésenit*) of the type used for transportation of fresh soil to old garden land. It is plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*afam*) and has handles of rope made from date palm bast (*asan*). Soil is also carried to gardens in larger baskets (*taherirt*, pl. *tiyrar*) loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m high, 0.35 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5285).

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Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*énéld*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
173 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers
[563] though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of
162 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isawerren*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
563 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
433 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
245 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
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Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
162 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula-
144 tion that subsisted on agriculture.
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Fig. 144. *Kel Ewey* woman winnowing grain by shaking it in a plaited bowl. Ayr. Ifarwan.

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large mortar. Winnowing of cereals is performed by shaking the seeds in a plaited bowl or tray to let husks and other impurities be removed by the wind (Fig. 144).

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The Northern Tuareg use the following means for storing of crops:— (1) *taddat*, that is a skin bag containing grain, dates, and the like, hidden under stones and rocks in the mountains; (2) *égend*, or *anu*, an underground storeroom lined with mats. It is used for cereals, including wild seeds, and is found both among agriculturists and pastoralists (Fig. 146); (3) *tarassana*, a grain silo built from stones and mud (Fig. 145). Nowadays such storerooms are not only used by agriculturists but also by pastoralists. However, this type of storeroom is said to have been introduced to Ahaggar with the introduction of irrigation agriculture about a hundred years ago, and was originally unknown to pastoral Tuareg.

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Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg all storerooms for cereals are known as *tédengewt*. The storing of vegetable food products in skin bags covered with stones or hidden under rocks is apparently unknown – perhaps because of the numerous small rodents and the rich insect life which includes numerous white ants. Underground storerooms like those of Ahaggar are used by agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike. They are frequently excavated so deeply that they can hide a grown man standing in

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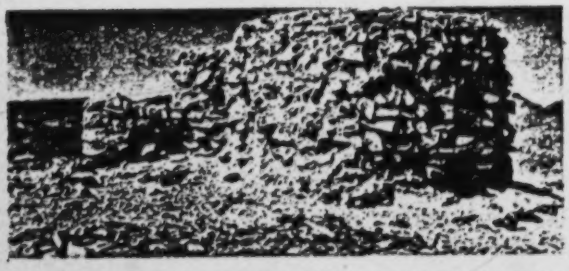
them. They are lined and covered with mats as in Ahaggar, and though they may be used for the 251
storage of wild seeds they are mainly used for grown cereals and are generally found in or close to 343
gardens. Grain silos built of stones and mud – the *tarassana* type of Ahaggar – are said to occur among the *Kel Ewey* but I have never seen such storerooms in their villages, nor have I met the typical African storeroom built of straw and resting upon poles until south of the Massif in Damergu where they are used by shifting cultivators. Large earthenware containers shaped like cooking pots are used [415] to store vegetable products (cereals) in certain villages, particularly at Iferwan. Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr have the underground storerooms for the preservation of surplus grain and other vegetable products. Cereals to be consumed in the camps (notably millet) are kept in large skin-bags resting [415] upon poles that they may not be damaged by white ants. The Ahaggar Tuareg also preserve cereals in their tents in skin-bags.

Irrigation agriculture is a strenuous task, but it is less influenced by climatic conditions than all 241
other occupations practised in the Sahara. The farmers are not exposed to the same disasters of drought [461]
periods as are pastoral Tuareg in the north, though it is said that rain is a direct blessing also to irrigated crops. But cultivated plants are exposed to certain dangers, e.g., locusts, and crops do not always thrive as they should. Bad luck in agricultural activities may in the opinion of the farmers be due to [272]
some mystical power or other. It may arise from incorrect treatment of cereals and dates so that they [278]
lose their *elbaraka*. Menstruating women, as mentioned above, are dangerous to vegetable food, and [841]
this is also true of the fire, for which reason one should never throw date kernels into the flames. The [754]
farmers also fear that their crops may suffer damage from the attack of the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and particularly from the attack of the malignant force attached to the "evil eye" or the "evil mouth". To protect [237]
their crops the farmers frequently use amulets such as broken pots and skulls of domestic animals (notably of donkeys), which are considered an effective means against the "evil eye" and the "evil mouth" (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 133 f., 160).



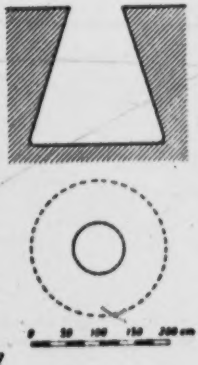



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Fig. 145. Grain silos of the *tarassana* type built of stones and mud. Ahaggar, Abalessa.
Fig. 146. Cross section of a subterranean storeroom for cereals, and the like (*dfend*). Dimensions according to Foucauld: 2.00 m–2.50 m deep, 2.00 m in diameter at the bottom, 0.75 m in diameter at the surface (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 459 f.).

[text continues on p. 209]

# Crafts

Tuareg crafts clearly disclose traits belonging to distinct cultural levels. This may be seen from a brief description of the methods of fire-making. 372 [174]

Matches are in ordinary use nowadays, but they are used economically not only because they cost money but also because many Tuareg live far away from towns or trading posts where matches can be obtained. The embers of a fire smoulder for a very long time, and when the Tuareg want to light a fire they normally find embers under the ashes where their fire has been. Glowing wood is carried from one tent to another on a fragment of calabashes or earthen pots, and some Tuareg even take fire with them in this way during nomadic migrations. If a new fire has to be lit and matches are not available, most Tuareg use the well-known method of fire-making by means of flint and steel. This method is widely resorted to in Northern Africa even to-day, and is practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar as follows:— The curved piece of steel (*énefed*) is placed over the three middle fingers of the right hand. It is struck against a small piece of flint (*tafarast*) held between the first and second fingers of the left hand together with a small piece of lighting material which may be a small piece of cotton cloth. However, the best lighting material (*tajjert*) is a piece of wood of *teféryast* (*Echinops Bovei*), which has been boiled and thereupon beaten into a fibrous mass with a stone. The Tuareg keep this lighting material in a particular leather bag (*tarallabt*) together with the steel and one or two pieces of flint (Fig. 198). Lighting material according to Maire is also made from a plant named *térahit* (*Traganum nudatum*) (Maire 1933, p. 82). The spark produced by striking the steel against the flint causes the lighting material to glow, and after blowing on it or swinging it in the air, it is placed under a small bunch of hay which burst into flame after further heavy blowing. The use of flint and steel is not a very difficult method of fire-making, and I have used it myself on journeys when matches had come to an end. [171] [324] [415] [324]

The Tuareg do not generally use more primitive methods of fire-making nowadays. But they know an ancient method of making fire by rubbing a piece of hard wood (*agar* in Ahaggar, *agar* in Ayr; *Maerua crassifolia*) against a piece of soft wood (*turha* in Ahaggar, *turza* in Ayr; *Calotropis procera*). By this process they produce by hand rubbing a glowing dust which is brought into flame by means of lighting material and hay as described above. One of my informants among the Ayr Tuareg had produced fire according to this method. Lhote states that the method is at times used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar, where the hard ribs of date palm leaves are also used for starting a fire by rubbing (Lhote 1955a, p. 258). [324]

Stone materials play a very little part in Tuareg crafts. Natural stones are used occasionally as 412 [324]

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Tuareg where influence from Arab material culture is particular strong, and it is structurally identical with the Arab pack-saddle known as *ḫawiyya* or *ḫedâǧe*. The origin of the pack-saddle called *aruki* among the Southern Tuareg is not easily determined. It may perhaps constitute a late type which developed from a pack-saddle with two curved or angular trees in front of the camel's hump. This may be true of some *aruki*-like saddles. But certain pack-saddles of *aruki* type may perhaps have originated from a kind of split wood similar to that used for camels by the Somali of Tana River (cf. Ahlefeldt 1948, ill. p. 137). 492 [177] [171]

There are other traits of camel breeding that have apparently been introduced among the Tuareg through contact with the Arabs. This may be true of the looped rope (*asaṛun*) connected with a little stick for attachment around the camel's foreleg (p. 72 ff., Fig. 45a). This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg though common among the Northern Tuareg who often make it of camel's wool. It seems to be known among most, perhaps all, Arabs, who manufacture it from the same material. Among the Ababde and the Bisharin it is plaited from dum palm material (cf. Sleesen-Dolk 1957, p. 12, Figs. 28–30). It is most probably an Arab trait which also seems to be Cauvet's opinion (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 554 & pl. LXII, p. 555). 233 177 [171]

We may perhaps also mention the large woven transportation bags which are extremely common among all North African Arab pastoralists, while unknown among the Tuareg. But small plaited or woven bags of goat hair mixed with camel's wool are manufactured in Ahaggar by women of certain tribes (p. 266 f, Fig. 209a–b) .These bags are known as *tiṛṛar* (sing. *téṛeriṛt*) which seems to be derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711). The small loading sticks *tihḍaḍ* (sing. *téhedíṭ*) (p. 76) used to unite the two halves of a camel load are perhaps also Arab in origin for this particular word is apparently also derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 520 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711). 415 177 462

The origin of other traits of camel-breeding is not so easy to determine, but it is very possible that the plaited pouch which among the Northern Tuareg constitutes the normal method to prevent camel calves from sucking (p. 62, Figs. 41–42) was also introduced by the Arabs. This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg and apparently also among the *Kel Geres*. It is found among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* (*abegu*) and is recorded in literature from the *Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 141), and from the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 71). It is widely found among all pastoral Arabs of Northern Africa and of the Arabian Peninsula. 233 177 [171]

As to the use of camel brands produced by burning with a redhot iron it seems difficult to judge from distributions the origin of this method. These brands are known among most Tuareg with the exception of the *Kel Ferwan* and other Tuareg of Ayr, who use earmarks cut with a knife. Earmarks seem to be used for camels also among the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 103) and were apparently used in ancient Arabia (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 298). One might perhaps assume that earmarks constitute an older type of proprietry marks, while brands came later. But information about marks and brands is scarce. 233 422 [171]

The origin of many traits of camel-breeding cannot be determined, but it is not be doubted that the Arabs have introduced into North Africa a particular breed of camel together with certain saddles and objects connected with the use of the camel as a pack animal. There is also no doubt that these 233 177

682 assassin be returned to the victim's family. If he was not known,
628 however, the djema, or assembly of notables, designated a man
from the tribe to go make himself prisoner in his place. There is
[682] no example of the hostage's having been put to death in such a
[643] case. Serious cases were usually judged by the amenokal, who was
aided by four assessors, two taken from each side.

762 /296/ Suicide. -- Suicide is as rare as murder among the
Tuareg. When one occurs, the person who committed suicide is
[766] abandoned on the ground unburied, and the camp is moved and
abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the
Tuareg regard the suicide as if he had never existed and must
never speak of him again.

Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with
oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his
life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

[775] The soul of a suicide cannot find refuge and wanders forever.
It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and
people claim that they can hear it nearby in the evening and that
it makes so much noise that it is impossible to sleep.

[761] Death. -- The Tuareg do not fear death. When one of them
sees that he is dying, he gathers his relatives around him and gives
763 his last instructions. Then, according to the religious principles
which he may have neglected during his life but which he recalls
at the final moment, he pronounces the "Fatika /fatiha? Ed. /" or
[29] if he does not have the strength for that, he raises the index finger
of his right hand and breathes his last.

764 The body is immediately washed in lukewarm water and
wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the
[567] slaves go to dig the grave on a neighboring high spot. The grave
is made of a little trench with two stages such as the Arabs use.
[483] The body is carried on a kind of stretcher ans taken to the burial
● 417 place, head first, by four men. It is then placed on its right side
with the face turned in the direction of Mecca,

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air



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Fig. 15.–Beehive huts within a round enclosure at the village of Iferouan in Northern Air. The construction seen on this photograph consists of arches made from lashed bundles of slender sticks fastened to poles embedded in the ground. Horizontal sticks are fastened to the arches which are supported by a central forked post with a short crossbar placed on its top. For a detailed description of this construction see Foureau 1905, III, p. 885 f. Beehive huts in Air are also made from boughs embedded in the ground and tied together at the top without a central post.

174 camel-breeding. The camel is known to have been very common in Tripolitania
233 in the 4th century A.D. It was introduced to this region a few centuries before that time, and it was known in Egypt about the year 500 B.C. It is therefore probable that the camel was introduced into the Central Sahara even prior to the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. Camel-breeding seems to have certain traits in common with pastoral cow-breeding, and the oldest camel-breeders of Northern Africa may have lived in tents or huts of arch construction – most possibly in so-called barrel-vaulted dwellings, which appear to have been extremely common in Northern Africa throughout Antiquity (cf. Le Coeur 1937. – Feilberg 1944, p. 202 f.).

174 The T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are apparently historically related to
[342] similar posts of Arab black tents in Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and
[565] Eastern Libya. Considering the fact that T-shaped posts among the Northern Tuareg are claimed to be characteristic of the noble class, there may be a certain connection between noble Tuareg of the North and Arabs. I have mentioned above
[184] that in the North the term for noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, sing. *Ahaggar*) is different
[192] from the term used in other Tuareg groups (*Imacheren*, sing. *Amacher*). I have also

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*233 The actual number of such terms is not known to me, and the Tuareg say they are almost innumerable.
192 A colour term connected with an age term will, as mentioned above, generally be sufficient to describe the appearance of any animal, but colour terms have practical value also in another sense. They are, as the Tuareg put it, like names of men and dogs, and are used by the women to call individual animals to be milked. The names are then followed by a special sound (cf. p. 39, 135).

It is remarkable how intimately goats are attached to their masters. If the flock, as often happens, is grazing alone at some distance from the camp in the evening after darkness, it will immediately gather round the tents, when a special cry is uttered, or if the dogs bark. On the utterance of another cry by the goatherd the whole flock of goats will follow her quickly. On the whole goat herding is easy, and even very big flocks can be guarded by a single boy, or a girl. Kids still too young to follow the flock during grazing normally browse around the camp all day. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer these kids will not, as a rule, be let out of the sight of the camp, but this is not so in Ayr where vegetation is very dense in the river valleys. Kids in the latter area easily get lost and eaten by the numerous jackals. In order to know where the kids are a woman, while occupied with her domestic task in the tent, utters at short intervals a sharp, shrill cry to which the kids respond by bleating loudly.

*233 Goats are chiefly useful for the milk they provide. In general, goat-breeding is organized in such
[234] a way that the maximum possible milk is obtained by the nomads, and kids are allowed to suck freely only for a short period after birth. At this period a kid is known as *asarwas*, which term is used for all sucklings without restriction. The duration of the entire period of suckling is dependent on the pasture. If grazing is good, the kids will suck for two to four weeks, while under severe conditions the period of suckling may be up to two months.

To prevent kids from drinking more than their proper share of milk the Tuareg use various devices.
*233 In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer small kids are frequently placed in stone enclosures (*agror*). Such
● 417 enclosures are also used to prevent kids from following the mother animals when the flock leaves the camp for grazing in the morning, and they serve as a protection against beasts of prey during the night. They are about one metre high, and have a diametre of about one metre (cf. Fig. 17). Similar stone enclosures are said to exist among the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg but not elsewhere in Ayr, where the Tuareg generally make larger round enclosures from boughs of thorny acacias, so that one enclosure is big enough for all kids of a household. These enclosures are often known as *zeriba* (Ar.), but the proper Tuareg name is *afarag* (in the north *afarag*). They are said to be used also by certain Northern
*233 Tuareg who camp in the lowland where acacias are common. To prevent small kids from running away, get lost or eaten by jackals, the Tuareg may attach them to a tree or to one of the tent-posts by one of their hind legs, which attachment is known as *témdit* among the Ayr Tuareg. Kids are also sometimes tied with a cord around their necks to prevent suckling when the mother animals are resting in the camp. If there are very few kids they are frequently attached to individual cords (sing. *témetrek*), but several kids are also frequently tied to one and the same cord, which is then known as *éseddi* or *aseddi*. Such a cord has several loops into which the heads of the kids are put, while the other end
[171] of the cord or rope is fastened to pegs or trees. These methods are not only practised by the Tuareg. I have frequently seen them in use also among pastoral Arabs of the Sahara and of the Algerian High Plateau.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 17. A slave-boy takes kids out of the stone-enclosure (*agror*) to let them suck. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

*233 yielding decreases after mating. It is said that some goats yield milk in the whole period of gestation, while others have no milk whatever during most of that period.

The advantage of free mating is further reduced because goats, if mated too often, become emaciated, and for the northern breed their coat of long hair, so important to craft (cf. p. 263 ff.), will not develop fully. Added to this, kids born in the hot summer season will often be of inferior quality, as they suffer from heat and the lack of fresh annual plants during their period of growth. Again, the mother animals may yield so little milk in summer that it is not even sufficient for the nourishment of their kids.

The free mating of goats is not generally desirable, and therefore most Tuareg practise a system of regulation which varies with the qualities of pastures. If reproduction of the flock is badly needed it may happen that all goats are mated twice a year, but it is considered an ideal in good years to divide the animals into two parts which bring forth kids and yield milk at different seasons.

*233 In Ayr when the flock is divided into two parts to bring forth kids and yield milk at different seasons,
132 one part brings forth kids during the season of *akasa* when the pastures of annual plants are very
[137] rich, the other at the end of the winter season during the period known as *tabsit* at which time certain other plants germinate, and fruit-pods of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*), which are extremely good for fodder, fall to the ground. If kids are wanted for a flock during the season of *akasa*, which is the best season for the birth of kids, the goats are mated in winter. When all the she-goats have been covered, the penis of the he-goat is bound around the foreskin by means of a cord – a method which is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ékkan*, to the Northern Tuareg as *urun* (cf. Fig. 25). If kids are wanted for a flock in spring at the season of *tabsit*, mating stops with the binding of he-goats at the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



or Ingal) for selling, they are also frequently provided with a wooden prong (*aburi*) loosely attached around one foreleg to prevent them running away. I have never seen this practised among the Fulani who have much more control over their cattle than have the Ayr Tuareg. 233* [171]

Cows continue to bring forth calves and yield milk until they are about 15 years old, and the duration of their life is estimated at about 20 years. But it is considered appropriate to keep milch-cows until they are ten or twelve years old when they should be sold or killed. The period of gestation for cows is about ten months, and there is no regulation of mating. The Tuareg say that cows will be on heat and mate again shortly after the birth of a calf, and that milk-yielding does not stop until five months after mating. Free mating of the cows agrees well with Tuareg interests as prices of calves are high. [435]

Milking of cows takes place twice daily and is generally done by women – in rare cases by men. 234 Milking is performed as follows:— Just before the herd returns from grazing in the evening every calf is firmly attached to a tree by means of a cord (*témetrek*) around its neck so that it cannot reach the udder of the mother cow. When milking is to take place the mother cow is attached to the same tree by means of a cord (*aran*) around its horns. The calf's rope is now loosened and it will immediately start to suck while the milk-maid fastenes another rope or cord (*akarab*) around the hind legs of the cow. When this is done the calf is attached to its tree again, and milking begins. The milk-maid squats at one side of the cow (generally at the right side) holding the large milking bowl (*akabar*) (Fig. 37) between her legs and knees, and milks with both hands (Fig. 29). When the milk-maid has taken the milk she wants she releases the calf to let it drink what is left in the udder, but the calf is thereupon attached to its tree again in order that it may not suck during the night. Before the cows leave the camp in the morning milking is performed again as just described, but it may happen that the cows leave for grazing already during the night, and they are then not milked again until next evening. Tuareg who possess a great many calves may guard them within a so-called *zeriba* (*afarag*) made of thorny acacia boughs. [462] [417]

Most cows will not yield milk unless they have their calves close to them. If a cow loses its calf it may be replaced with the calf of another cow so that milking can be done, but it is also common to use the so-called dummy-calf (*azeyuz*) made from the dead calf's skin stuffed with hay. This puppet is then set close to the cow which is deceived by it. It feels that its calf is standing by, it licks the skin, and milking can then be done without much difficulty. [237]

The dummy-calf is not used by the zebu-owning agriculturists of Ahaggar, though I have met one of these *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*) who had once made a calfskin-puppet after he had seen the method practised among *Iforas* Tuareg at Kidal. The method of blowing into the cow's vulva is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *askuf*; it is used particularly for cows which are difficult to milk shortly after the birth of a calf. During migrations, when young calves march together with the mother cows, suckling is prevented by means of a piece of dum palm leaf attached around the calves' mouths. Such an attachment known to the Ayr Tuareg as *adabar* may be used also for other domestic animals.

Weaning of calves takes place according to one of the following methods:— (1) *ikembar*, that is cuttings made with a knife in two or three places on the bridge of the calf's nose. The wounds of these cuts hurt the calf when it tries to suck, but the method is effective only for a very short period until the wounds have healed. On adult animals the scars of these wounds appear as small bumps (Fig. 30). 233*

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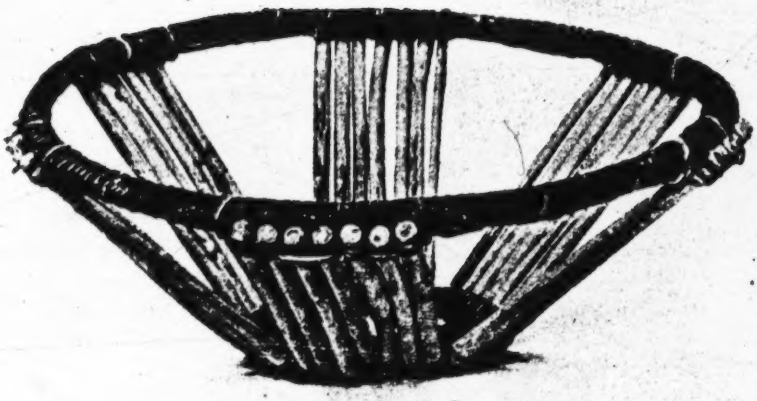

Fig. 152. Circular wooden frame to support milk-bowls and other food-containing vessels. The frame is attached to the roof of the mat tent or rests upon sticks (cf. Fig. 291). This is done in order that food and food-vessels shall not be damaged by the numerous ants. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.44 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 6663).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Tuareg but also by the southern groups and by Arab pastoralists of the Sahara; it is also known in 234
the Atlas, and is on the whole widely distributed in Northern Africa. This type of cheese is known to [171]
the Northern Tuareg as *takammart* and it is manufactured as follows:— Fresh milk is heated and [415]*
then poured into a large wooden bowl (e.g., *tarehut*) (Figs. 195a–b). The milk is curdled into a mass
of cheese by means of a rennet (*akammar*) consisting of the abomasum of kids that have never tasted
anything but milk. The curdled mass of cheese is pressed with the hands and with a piece of straw- [285]
mat (*éseber*) in order that the liquids may separate. The mass of cheese is formed into small rectangular
pieces of cheese which are left on the little straw-mat for about one day. They are then removed to [417] ●
be dried finally on a platform (*tahaga*, *tafalkat*) made of branches.

Cheese made from fresh milk is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tekemmart*; it is manufactured to very
great extent and much in the same fashion as just described from Ahaggar. The abomasum of little
kids or lambs to be used for rennet is named *tederant*, and the Ayr Tuareg add parts of an annual [224]
plant known as *ekochmaren* (*Caralluma Mouretii*) in order that the milk may curdle quickly. The [285]
Ayr Tuareg also use little mats plaited from stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) to press and
form the rectangular pieces of cheese; the Ayr Tuareg make mats (*tésebert*) (Fig. 168) particularly
for this purpose, while the Ahaggar Tuareg generally use an old piece of a tent mat (*éseber*). In Ayr
the rectangular pieces of cheese are dried on bunches of hay placed in trees (acacias), or on the top
of the mat-covered tents.

The *takammart* or *tekemmart* type of cheese made from fresh milk is in high esteem as food among 262
all pastoralists of the Sahara. It is generally eaten when newly-made and soft, though it may also be 251
stored. The Ahaggar Tuareg make this type of cheese only when milk is plentiful, while the Ayr Tuareg 234
manufacture it most of the year though the main season of cheese-making is the season of *akasa*. 221

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Fig. 156. Skin bag of the *dmesesley* type used to sour milk before churning. Ahaggar, the *Aghal-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.37 m high. (F.M. 170).

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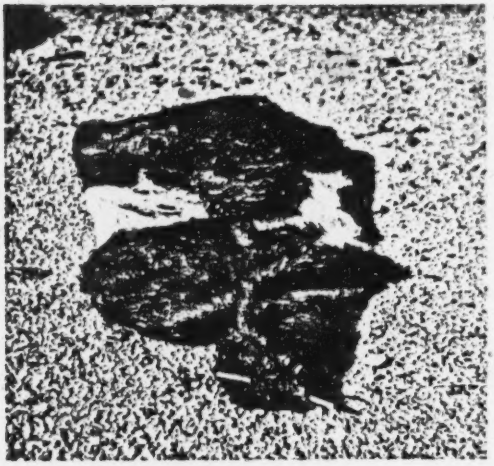

Fig. 215a. The bag to be prepared is filled with a mixture of water and *tiñet* (bark) and is placed in the sun. The openings are provisionally closed by sewing with straw.

Preparation of a water bag (*abayor*).

[133]
* [415]
● [417]

Fig. 215b. The tanned water bag is suspended for drying. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ball* tribe.

000 586 177 tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

184 614 One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation. It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live.

[174] 562 [178] [611] [554] In their case we are confronted at the present time by a matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights, her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in [584] matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has [421] free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes, and even has a greater freedom of mores.

174 It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy among the Tuareg.

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and [584 565] less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats, or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses [562] fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's [421] fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or decreases.

584 As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter [184] custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents, where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company. During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women, among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the [533] tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of "aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to [174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food. 233 511 [492] [439]

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like. [234] [262] [281] [291] [283]

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Ḃela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temaẓlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. [422] [565] [114] 565 651 [421] [431]

181 and not caused by a state of laziness, for although they would not
565 consider working the land at any price, they would not mind traveling thousands of kilometers under often difficult and quite dangerous conditions to go pillage opposing tribes. Once back in camp, they intend to lead a life free from any material cares, shifting the burden to their vassals.

422 They entrust the keeping of the captured herds to the Imrad,
565 reclaiming the beasts from them when they need them and the necessary usufruct for their food. For themselves, they keep only
[231 mounts for war and for transporting household objects and are content
234] with small herds of goats with only the number of head strictly necessary to assure their daily milk needs. In the same way, they
[567] do not own many slaves of their own, for the latter would make so many months to feed, which they are wary of.

565 Although they rely on their Imrad for everything, they do not abuse them, for, as a Tuareg proverb says, "we must not kill the camel which feeds us," and their demands always take into account the wealth and the possibilities of the moment.

565 Every year the Imochar levy a vassalage tax called a tioussé
631 on the Imrad. This tax, fixed for each tribe, includes an annual
651 contribution of a certain number of head of livestock, loads of grain, miscellaneous items /160/ waterskins, tent stakes, etc.),
[643 tanned hides, butter, etc. In principal it is invariable and paid to the amenokal who disposes of it as he wishes, making allowances for the needs of the Imochar.

643 The amenokal leaves the animals which he levies under the
651 management of the Imrad, who furnish him the usufruct from them.

Individual rights of Imochar over Imrad do not exist in principal.
565 Actually they do exist when a man is the last representative of a
631 tribe and levies for himself the rights falling to his tribe.
651

On the other hand, some undertake to make small levies on the Imrad; the latter never refuse. And we must say in defense of the nobles that they treat their Imrad quite generously when a fortunate raid makes them temporarily well off.

184 The Inislimen way of life is the same as that of the Tuareg.
565 They speak the same language and administer themselves with no
793 intervention from the Imochar. A few cases of polygamy have been
[631] observed among them. This is the result of their gradual Islamization,
[595] which favors the custom, and of patriarchy which was already in practice in some Sudanese tribes.

565 The Imrad. -- Imrad probably comes from the Tamashek root
[192] Égeid, Égeit, which means "kid," "little goat," and from the prefix am indicating possession. In short, this means "possessors of goats."
[422] In fact, the Imrad formerly could own only goats, for the Imochar reserved the possession of camels for themselves.

Their nickname is Kel Oulli, which also means "goat people," a name which they prefer to Imrad, which is probably a bit degrading for them.

[631] /165/ They make up tribes enfeoffed to the Imochar and are their vassals.

The Imochar have a certain scorn for them and consider them people of low birth, not of the pure Tuareg race; the name Taouia Settefet, meaning "of black descent," is often applied to them. (1)

1. Among the Ioullimmiden they are referred to as Idinet.

173 Nothing indicates a racial inferiority of the Imrad to the Imochar,
565 however. If we want to interpret the old legends of the Ahaggar,
144 everything leads us to believe that the Imrad were in most instances the first occupants of the country, and the Imochar, who were the invaders, were conquerers who made themselves masters of the country by force. The crossbreeding with the blacks cannot be a decisive criterion, for many Imrad tribes are not physically more "Negroid" than the Imochar. It is also true that the Imrad are
[186] less rigorous than the Imochar in maintaining the integrity of old
[184] Tuareg customs. They have less greatness of soul and sentiment, as well as less ethnic pride.

1: Lhote--66c E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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631

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| KEL RELA | or | on the right cheek. on the right front. | KEL IN-TOÛNÎNE | // | on the neck. |
| DÂB RALÎ | | crossing the neck, at the right. | TÂÎTOK | or | at the right front, on the cheek. |
| ÂJOUH-EN-TÊHLÉ | or | on the right front, on the neck, to the right. | KEL ÂHNET | | on the neck, to the right. |
| ÎKLÂN-EN-TÂOUSÎT | | at the top of the right thigh | TÉGÉHÉ-N-ÊFIS | | on the right cheek. |
| KEL TÂZOÛLET | + | on the neck, to the right. | ÎROUAROUAREN | | on the right cheek. |
| KEL ÎN RHAR' | Λ | on the right thigh. | ÎKOUTTÎSEN | or | on the neck. |
| RELAÎDÎN | IV | on the neck. | TÉGÉHÉ MELLET | | on the right cheek. |
| ÎHEAOUEN HADA | +I | on the right thigh. | ÎRECHCHOÛMEN | | |
| KEL ÎMMÎOIR | ± | on the right thigh. | KEL OHET | | on the right thigh. |
| KEL TÂFEDEST | — | on the right thigh. | ÎKERREMOÎEN | | |
| KEL AMGUÎD | λ | on the right thigh. | ÎNEMBA | | |
| ÂÎT LOAÎEN | or | on the right cheek. | TÉGÉHÉ-N-AG-ALÎ | | |
| ÎRRÉGUÉNATEN | XII-XI or | on the neck, to the right, on the right cheek. | TÉGÉHÉ-N-OUSIDI | I | |
| KEL TEROÛRÎRT | | on the neck. | ÎBOGLÂN | | |
| ÎBETTENÂTEN | ± | on the right cheek. | | | |

Table of the brands applied to camels in the different Ahaggar tribes.

The tent is occupied by only one household, and each of the married couple has his own side. The man's side is to the left as one enters the door; there he keeps his mehari saddle, his weapons, and his bags of salt. To the right is the woman's place, where she keeps her bag of personal things, her saddle if she has one, the bags containing the food supplies, and the kitchen implements which she has charge of. 592 [422]

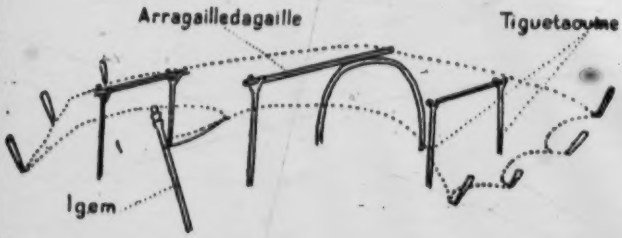


Fig. 26. Tent used by the Agouh-n-Tehlé. Sometimes the stake supporting the aragailledagaille may be replaced by a second arch. In some tribes, particularly among the Kel Ahnet, the arches were placed crosswise.

In summer when it is very hot, the Tuareg sometimes use straw huts, as much to save hides as to be a bit more comfortable. The leather tent, in fact, is made almost useless by the heat, and nomads often seek shelter during the heat of the day under neighboring trees when there are any or else in the rocks. 342 [184]

Captives never have tents. They build themselves little shelters with a few branches on which are hung scraps of leather or cloth. [727]

It falls entirely to the women to put up the tents. [462]

Granaries. -- One of the most characteristic facts of nomadic life is its lack of foresight in questions of food. For the most part, the nomad lives from one day to the next, following the seasons, without accumulating anything. This is somewhat the case for the Tuareg. Still, the Sahara is not a country where one can find supplies easily. 251 343

241 turnips, onions, garlic, pimento, beans, pumpkins, native melons, watermelons, various gourds of local origin, and sometimes lentils. These vegetables belong properly to the cultivator and not to the proprietor of the garden. They are consumed by him, for the Tuareg generally disdain them and eat them only when they are staying in the agricultural centers.

But these centers may be handicapped by numerous climatic factors.

132 241 312

Rains are obviously beneficial when they come at the right time; unfortunately, they most often fall in winter or in summer, seasons which do not correspond to the largest growth of vegetation. The plants benefit from them only when the rains are very abundant and the ground can store up water for several months. But still, rainfall must not be too strong, or else it can cause the wadies to overflow and immediately destroy the feggaguir. It then requires several months to reconstruct them and in the meantime the crops which cannot be irrigated dry up on the spot and are completely lost.

132 241

Cold can also have a disastrous effect. Winter wheat does not suffer from it but its development is slowed up. It is much worse for arboriculture, for if it is late and comes after the trees have blossomed, which sometimes occurs in January, it is likely to stop pollination completely. Fortunately, trees in arboricultural centers like Tazerouk bloom much later and there are only sudden frosts to fear.

/247/ The wind which blows violently in the spring may also hinder arboriculture by knocking down flowers or young fruits, indeed even fruits which are almost ripe. The great hot summer winds endanger the harvest by the intense drying they cause, unless this difficulty is overcome by abundant watering. Now, it is precisely at this time that the flow of the feggaguir decreases as a result of the heating of the soil and the intense evaporation.

It may thus be seen that agriculture in the Ahaggar is subject to many risks and that the harvests may be very variable. The abundance or scarcity of water causes the seeded areas to vary in

232 these saddle camels, one may not, therefore, refer to a particular breed /race/ adapted for speed, as one may commonly hear spoken of.

436 The camel has a well determined exchange value among the Tuareg. It is one of the bases for comparison in their commercial transactions.

233 Each tribe marks his animals with a particular sign, and /251/
422 the owners who have many camels also have their own signs, marked with a hot iron on one of the parts of the animal's body -- neck, cheek, or thigh.

The sheep. -- Sheep are raised only accessorily in the Ahaggar,
233 because grass is not abundant enough. But it occupies a large place
[137] in Sudanese animal husbandry.

[136] It is a very peculiar animal with short hair and a long tail. It stands tall, a characteristic which has won for it the name of Ovis
[174] longipes. The Tuareg certainly introduced it into West Africa. Zoologists never refer to it except as Tuareg sheep. Its antiquity in North Africa is well known. The ram of Ammon is pictured with its characteristic form, and it is also recognizable in the splendid rock drawings of Géryville and Tiout. It seems to descend from the Corsican wild sheep rather than from the Algerian wild sheep. Today it is an animal found exclusively in Tuareg camps of the Sudan or
574 in their area of influence.

262 Sheep is the dish served at great feasts, and its skin is used as
237 a ground rug, a blanket, or to make harnessing articles.

The goat. -- The goat is the mountain animal par excellence,
233 as frugal an eater as can be, resisting both cold and heat, and able to be content with the meagerest pastures. It is thus quite natural to find many of these goats among the Ihággaren.

[136] /252/ The Ahaggar species is small with long black hair. In the Sudan it is different colors -- white and black, or red -- with
[232] short hair; it stands taller than the Ahaggar species and is often crossed with the dwarf female goat in the southern tribes.

136 The origin of the goat is less certain than that of the sheep. Very widespread all over the world, it must have been domesticated at

232 of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks
[272] exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their
family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is
[438] consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes
233 excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled,
[234] and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and
[252] sometimes tents.
[262]
[287]

The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting
[232] them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact number of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon
[422] them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them, and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used.
137 These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg, have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the
[172] rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia where they are called "onager."

The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible
233 that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihaggaren have
[174] kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had
[173] only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage,
442 and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also
[312] take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the
[357] heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

837 There can be little doubt that the behavior patterns of the Tuareg on such occasions are often different from those which characterize them when they are among themselves.

We must not forget either that irregular sexual activities, before or after marriage, are all but impossible to conceal in the wide open spaces of a desert, whereas it is no trick at all to hide them among the blocks and skyscrapers of great cities like Paris and New York or even in such provincial capitals as Boston and Algiers. All things considered, it seems rather unlikely that sexual laxity is more common among the Ahaggar Tuareg than it is in the urban communities of western Europe and America, at least in cases where husbands and their wives are separated as often and for comparable periods of time.

593 A bride retains full title to all her personal property including livestock, while the hus-
422 band pays all the family expenses out of his own pocket although his wife may contribute if she feels so inclined. Women are treated
562 with the greatest respect and deference, but they can hold no office nor can they exercise any command beyond the very limited field of their own household affairs, nor can they appear in council or appoint speakers to represent them there. On very rare occasions a noble woman may intervene as an official peacemaker in a quarrel so serious that it might lead to a blood feud if allowed to go unchecked, and this can happen even in cases where the parties to the quarrel are not related to her by either blood or marriage, but only an older woman of very high rank and renowned for her intelligence, strength of character and diplomacy can ever play such a role.

The discerning reader will have noticed that
611 the picture we have just examined is full of gaping holes which cannot be filled in at present for lack of the necessary information. In spite of this we get a distinct impression of a double descent system as defined by Gibson (1956): "the utilization in one society of both patrilineal and matrilineal principles of affiliation resulting in two lineage systems cross-cutting each other." Among the Ahaggar Tuareg the patrilineal descent system is "conjunctive" in that it provides channels of interaction between segments of a "disjunctive" matrilineal system which "divides the society

4: Benhazera--10 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



634 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the
565 noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzouren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had con-
[463] stantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly
[701] by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers and protectors.

Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals *(Imghad)*
114 as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:– "One of the functions
565 of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for
614 long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the
[422] camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible
[672] for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen
[567] both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much about this.

Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin:
174 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air
565 from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of
614 noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a, p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg have emigrated.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *taousit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan. 614 [162] [565] 613 614

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult. 114 611 [177]

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. 611 [591] [428] [631]

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage. 428 [422] [174]

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10. 614 591 768

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:– 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 3 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan 614
and eight in the three sub-clans of the Agouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the [361]
sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up in 621
minor camps of 2–7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family 476
which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals [596]
are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big [422]
camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never [613]
correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or 622
section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative [614]
of the section in relation to the clan chief *(Amyar)*. These khalifas are not necessarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilineal as it is for clan chiefs.

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8–9), but the [184]
rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between [601]
cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in 602
Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most clans.

[Text continues on p. 108]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



scale raiding. He would discuss all important matters with vassal chiefs and with his noble deputies known as *Khalifas*. At present the Amenokal has three Khalifas two of whom live in his own camp, while the third is his representative in Tamesna, where many Tuareg of his drum-group live. 643 [645]

The Amenokal never had the right to part of the bride-wealth from marriages among his vassals, nor did he receive a camel at the death of a vassal as was customary for the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan in Air. The Amenokal still has the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief within his drum-group, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal clan, the Dag Ḃali, has the right to one of the Amenokal's riding camels on the latter's death. [583] [651] [428]

As the representative of the Kel Ḃela drum-group the Amenokal is in certain cases entitled to property owned individually by his subjects. When a person dies without children or paternal kinsmen, his fortune is divided into six parts one part of which goes to his mother (or his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts are given to the Amenokal. In case the deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, the whole fortune of livestock is taken over by the Amenokal. He, however, will not himself make any use of the animals, but will leave them in the clan to which the deceased person belonged. They will there be under the supervision of the clan chief, who also has usufructs of them. Animals taken over by the Amenokal in this way are known as *ehere oua n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group"), or *ehere oua n boutelma* ("the fortune of the public"). 428 643 [614] [422]

The vassal clans of the Kel Ḃela drum-group pay an annual tribute known as *tiouse* to the Amenokal. The size of this payment varies from one clan to another. It is normally collected by the clan chiefs who send it to the Amenokal, but the three subclans of the Agouh-en-Tehele pay their tiouse separately as follows:- 1) The Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan: 600 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kg of butter. The man who brings this payment to the Amenokal is rewarded with a gift of 15 metres of cotton. 2) The Isandan sub-clan: 300 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kg of butter. The man who brings this receives a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. 3) The Kel Rafsa sub-clan: Like the payments from the Isandan. 643 614 651

The whole Dag Ḃali clan pays its tiouse as follows:- 12 bags of millet corresponding to 6 camel-loads are given to the clan chief, who will send 10 bags to the Amenokal, and keep two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole clan gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the Amenokal.

One vassal clan, the Ait Loaien, does not make its tiouse payment to the Amenokal but to a Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Emori section of the Kel Ḃela. According to Lhote a certain family among the Dag Ḃali makes an annual payment to a noble Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Tahat section (Lhote 1955, p. 224). It is in fact possible that the Amenokal nowadays receives tiouse payments which ought to be made to other noble Tuareg. This I imply from the information from a man who told me that the Isandan sub-clan according to traditional rules should pay tiouse to a 565 614 643 651

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food. 233 511 [492] [439]

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like. [234] [262] [281] [291] [283]

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Rela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temażlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. [422] [565] [114] 565 651 [421] [431]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



565 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance,
651 to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The
[178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are
[789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals, but these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility
[721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also
[422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these animals.

The master of a temażlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids, but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the
[643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellag* or half of the booty taken by all vassals
[727] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for
[426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been given to the Amenokal. The temażlait-masters were apparently without any judicial
[692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller units within the drum-group – the temażlait-relations – were predominantly economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit, the drum-group.

### *The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.*

565 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately
192 open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheren* (sing. *Amacher*), but correctly this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohar* (sing. *Amahar*). It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb *aher* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that this latter word is identical with *Hoouara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Aggar



173 is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to
565 be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Ṛali and the Ait Loaien). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain
[114] an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

184 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and
565 vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's
492 milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much import-
[234] ance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

184 Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects,
565 and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:– 1) In noble
[583] clans bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal clans one to three camels which may be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas
[422] true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Ṛali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble
[342] Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post – that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-
[614] breeding clan Ireġenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed
[173] marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. – Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Ireġenaten Tuareg met in Air.

342 Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently
184 referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. – Lhote

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925–30, I–II). 3) As mentioned (p. 119) camel's milk is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly also among the Kel Ajjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors (Monteil 1952, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. 4) All Tuareg and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf to deceive the mother animal during milking – for camels like cows will not generally yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or butter as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. – Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of riding camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg, and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East Africa have the same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection with camel-breeding (Monteil 1952, p. 103).

171 234 [302] [262] 171 237 [325] [261] 171 233 [325] 171 233 422

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts like those of Air are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullemmeden, and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country – in particular those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. – Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156f. – Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f., 597f., V, p. 201. – Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. –

171 174 233 342 184 342

352 /95 cont./ The other sacks belonging to the women all have the same shape. The "guerfa" is smaller than the agherredj; the "tarerrat" plaited in goat's hair is not seen as often.

The "adhaboun" consist of a whole series of small sacks of the most varied forms with a solid frame of plaited palm or sometimes of wood; small objects are put away in them: 422 jewels, perfumes, remedies, etc. All of these sacks are 414 generally closed with the famous Tuareg padlock, only a token lock, but always respected.

492 Rich women possess a special saddle called "akhaoui" or "takhaouit" according to its size, kept in a corner of the tent. It is an extremely curious assemblage of three types of wood (tehounek, rose laurel, tabrakat), each piece of which is chosen according to its use, shaped, cut, and decorated. The different pieces of the takhaouit are bound together with leather; it takes years to bring together branches that can be used, this work being almost always done by the women. The "haïf" is a strap /96/ that secures the saddle to the back of the camel; plaited in goat's hair, it measures five centimeters wide and three meters long; one end is adorned with an enormous pompon 50 centimeters wide and sometimes weighing more than three kilograms; embroidery in red and green wool gives a sumptuous air to the pendant, which reaches nearly to the ground when the haïf secures the saddle.

A richly decorated takhaouit has other pompons symmetrical to the haïf; these are the "tidarsiouin."

352 The feminine rug par excellence, which covers the tarraouit during a trip, comes from Timmimoun and is called "tagamdafest"; it has large black, red, and green bands, and, in the middle of it, tufts of yellow, black, and green wool.

Let us add to the objects belonging to the woman the 415 "sendouq," a kind of small box in which sugar and tea are kept; the name, of Arabic origin, seems to indicate that it is of relatively recent importation. The "tesenit" is a palm-fiber basket in which kitchen utensils are kept.

428 sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mothers) while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states [114] that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar (and in Ayr) denied this.

428 643 Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Rela* drum-group has no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however, [632] will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *éhéré wa n eṭṭebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group)", or *éhéré wa n butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

● 422 It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually, [858] and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may [553] own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions, e.g., on the naming day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong 422 to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should 592 serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic 422 unit of closely related stock-owners.

*233 All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar [114] Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite [576] to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks [602] so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual 422 ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which *233 time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark 565 their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe (the *Dag Rali*) donkeys are also branded with a redhot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar

Fig. 100. Earmarks of the types used for goats and sheep among the Northern Tuareg. Ahaggar, the tribes *Dag Ḥali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*.

422 *233 565 never use earmarks for donkeys which are branded like their camels, and I believe that this rule also holds for the *Isekkemaren* Tuareg, though I do not know this to be true for tribes other than those of *Kel Terurit* and *Kel-I-n-tunin*.

422 *233 The property brands of the Northern Tuareg are burned into the skin of the camel (donkey) by [413] means of a redhot iron known as *éndel* (Figs. 102a–b), but if this implement is not available another piece of iron is used, e.g., the iron tripod for suspension of kettles and cooking pots. The brands are known as *ahwalen* (sing. *éhwel*), and there are a great many different ones which have their particular 422 names. These brands are frequently depicted in literature (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 629 f.; Lhote *233 1955a, p. 235), and spoken of as "tribal brands". However, as property marks are patrilineally 614 inherited while tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, the members of the same tribe will possess more than one camel-brand. For marriages are contracted between different tribes, [582] though some of these units are predominantly endogamous. Furthermore there are a few Tuareg who [272] use different camel-brands for camels inherited from the father and the mother, as there are some who have adopted the mother's father's brand because their father's brand was believed to have brought bad luck in camel-breeding. For these reasons there are frequently more than one brand within a [613] tribe, and individuals or small patrilineages generally add to their main brand (*éhwel*) a supplementary brand known as azezlu.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



422 *233 614 brand known as *azezlu*. To illustrate all this I reproduce the camel-brands used within three tribes of Ahaggar (Fig. 101 a–c).

614 192 The term *tawsit*, which is the Tuareg word generally applied to the unit here called a tribe, seems to have the meaning of "a hand-root from which fingers issue". But the word may have other meanings, e.g., "a mat (*tésebert*) plaited from *afezu*-grass" (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1533). The latter meaning intimates something kept firmly together, while the word *tawsit* in its first sense seems to indicate a lineage structure. I have sometimes heard Tuareg indicate tribal relationship between two persons saying that they belong to the same hand (*afus*), or that they are of the same root (*éké*, that is the root of a tree). There are other words which are sometimes used for "tribe". One term is *tekkebilt*, another is *arref*, but the meaning of these words seems to be the more general one of "people" or "race". An interesting word, namely *hama*, which has the definite meaning of "mother's kin", is according to Foucauld also used synonymously with "tribe" (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 603), but according to information I have gathered in Ahaggar these two words are not entirely synonymous.

614 It is most remarkable that the Ahaggar Tuareg do not follow any particular rule for the naming of tribes. Some tribes are named after an ancestress (e.g., *Kel Rela* = *Kel Kella*, that is "people descending from the woman *Kella*"), while other tribes have avuncular names (e.g., *Tégehé-n-Éfis*, that is "the man *Éfis*'s sister's children"). Both these principles intimate that the tribe is a matrilineal unit, but certain tribes have patrilineal names much like those of Arab tribes (e.g., *Dag Rali*, that is "sons of the man *Rali*"; *Ayt Lowayen*, that is "sons of the man *Lowayen*"). Reference to an ancestor is also made in another way (e.g., *Ikaderyen*, that is "those descending from the man *Kadi*"). In addition we have tribal names which seem to be a kind of nick-names (e.g., *Aguh-en-tehlé*, that is "the Achilles-tendon of *tahlé*" – the word *tahlé* being the name of a perennial plant (*Typha elephantina*), and we have geographical names (e.g., *Kel Ahnet*, that is "the people of the Ahnet country"; *Kel Tazulet*, that is "people of the Tazulet region", etc.).

614 611 565 Previously I have used the term "clan" for the Tuareg term *tawsit* in agreement with the fact that many people claim it to be a matrilineal unit (cf. Nicolaisen 1959). Thus the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* tribe say that they all descend from the woman *Kella*, who lived about seven generations ago and had a maternal female cousin *Sakina* (or *Skina*) who became the ancestress of the other prominent noble tribe in Ahaggar named *Taysok*.

The very numerous vassal tribe the *Aguh-en-tehlé* is also said by its members to constitute a matrilineal unit. They claim descent from a common ancestress and occasionally use the name *Tégehé-n-Elimen* for their tribe. Actually the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe falls into three sub-tribes known as *Kel Taghawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Arefsa*. They are said to be matrilineally related, but nobody is able to prove this genealogically, and among the *Isandan* there is a matrilineage of four generations which is matrilineally related to people of the *Ibettenaten* tribe and not to their fellow tribesmen. [613]

Members of the important vassal tribe the *Dag Rali* will also frequently claim common matrilineal descent. However, they do not know the name of their proper ancestress. They say that they descend from a woman named *Takama* who was also the ancestress of the vassal tribes known as *Ayt Lowayen* and *Kel Ahnet*. The *Dag Rali* tribe was founded by the man *Rali* who lived about seven generations ago. It falls into two halves known as the *Dag Rali* proper and the *Imezziliten*. Some Tuareg of the [613]

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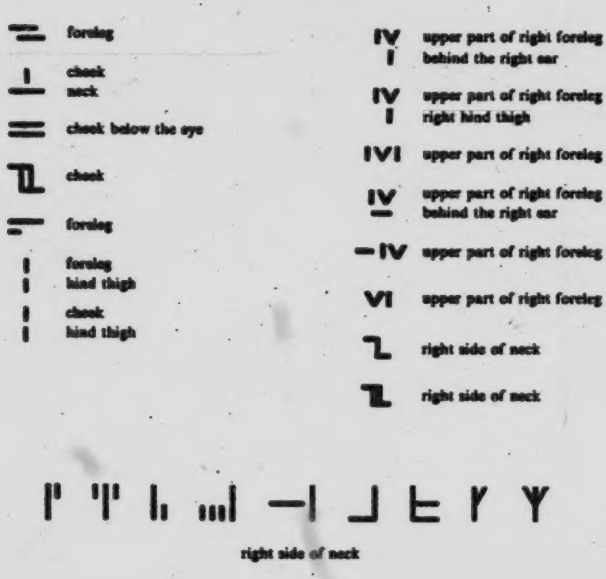


Fig. 101 a–c. Camel-brands of three Ahaggar tribes.

a. Brands of the *Kel Ḫeis* tribe.

b. Brands of the *Aḫab-en-tahlé* tribe. The main brand of this tribe is V called *tamesort*. The brands ⌉ & ⌉ are due to intermarriage with the *Iklan-en-tawalt* tribe where the principal brand is ⌉ called *ameslag*.

c. Brands of the *Dag Ḫali* tribe. The main brand characteristic of this tribe is | placed on the right side of the camel's neck. This brand was that used by the founder of the tribe named *Ḫali* and to-day it forms part of most *Dag Ḫali* brands which are always placed on the right side of the camel's neck. The *Dag Ḫali* brands have individual names. The last one is known as *tikkilt n ayalag*, that is "the raven's foot".

*Dag Ḫali* tribe may claim that these two halves are matrilineally related to one another, but also that they do not descend from sisters. It seems in fact as if these two halves stand in a cross-cousin relationship to one another, and it is in agreement with this that the *Dag Ḫali* proper speak of the *Imessilliten* as "children of their mother's brother". The two halves in the past intermarried much though marriages between them are very rare nowadays. Thus in 1951 there were only two marriages between people of the two tribal halves.

I believe that other tribes of Ahaggar have a structure similar to that of the *Dag Ḫali*, but the structure of Tuareg tribes is extremely difficult to grasp because very few Tuareg know their genealogies more than three or four generations back.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



614 582 Many Tuareg claim that their tribe is an endogamous unit, but to-day there is no tribe that is exclusively endogamous. All tribes intermarry more or less with people of other tribes. The most endogamous tribe is perhaps the *Dag Ṛali* of which the half known as the *Dag Ṛali* proper has contracted a few marriages with people of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe) while the other tribal half known as the *Imessiliten* has intermarried with the *Ikechchemoden* tribe.

591 The rules of residence are based upon both patrilineal and matrilineal principles as follows:—

(1) When the wedding ceremony is over the newly-married couple will stay one year in the camp of the wife's parents. This one year's stay in the camp of the wife's family has nothing to do with bridal service. Very frequently the husband does not live continuously with his wife throughout this period, but lives in his parents' camp and pays occasional visits to his wife. Some Tuareg say that the main reason for this one year's stay in the camp of the wife's family is due to the fact that about one year is needed to prepare tent, household implements, and the like for the newly-married couple (cf. p. 460 f., 472). The stay in the wife's family camp is not always strictly one year, but may be [844] longer or shorter. But if the wife is pregnant she must leave her parents' camp to bear her child in the camp of the husband's family.

(2) After the one year's stay the couple will settle with the husband's father to remain with him as long as he is alive.

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Fig. 102a–b. Hafted irons (*ɛndel*, pl. *ɛndelen*) to burn property marks into the skin of camels and donkeys.

a. Camel iron. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. Dimension: 0.466 m. (N.M. G. 5251).

b Donkey iron. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. Dimension: 0.202 m. (N.M. G. 5250).

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many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading. Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*). Some goat-camps may move their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikechchemaden*) will also visit the oases of Silet and Tibeghin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are harvested mainly by black-skinned *Ḥarratin* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar – mainly in Tamesna – and the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds, or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondance between sections and sub-areas in the way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-areas, and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants (cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148–149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Ṛali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the *Amenukal*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group.

For the land-rent (*ehéré-n-amaḍal*) paid to the *Amenukal* the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

(3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

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Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikebraw*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhet* tribe (*Iseḥḥemaren*).

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224 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 148).

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241 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Ṛali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

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643 Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the
423 violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant
[428] dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally
[613] the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary
[114] sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

## AYR

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* 233 The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property
[342] marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark. However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *djwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the
[113] *Iwilimmeden Kel Dennek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

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Fig. 109. A family camp of four mat-covered barrel-vaulted tents. Ayr, the *Igendiymen* tribe.

422 *233 donkeys by certain Ayr Tuareg are most interesting. Though such marks are used by many tribes there does not seem to be a great variety of them, and I have noted only the following marks:—

[565] (1) *tallayt*, that is the tip of right ear cut off while a slit is cut into the left ear. This mark is said to be used by all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the members of the two tribes *Kel Akerra* and *Imezzureg*, who claim to be noble by origin, have an additional brand burned into the left hind thigh close to the animal's anus. This brand is called *ekomed*.

(2) two slits in the animal's left ear. Though different from the mark just mentioned it is said also [565] to be called *tallayt*. It is used by the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg (the *Irawatten*), and also by the negroid *Irawélen* who in the past were once slaves of the nobility.

(3) *tabelechchat*, that is one slit in the left ear. This mark is used by the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

[428] Though all property marks are patrilineally inherited it may happen in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, that a [77] Tuareg use two marks. For certain Tuareg will use the mother's father's mark for animals given them by their mother's family, other Tuareg have been brought up among matrilineal kinsmen whose mark they have adopted, and there are also people who have adopted their mother's family mark because they believed that their father's mark brought them bad luck in camel-breeding.

614 The Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group fall into a number of units which are known by the word *tawchit*. It seems to have much the same meaning as the word *tawzit* of Northern Tuareg dialect, but is also used to designate the so-called spiked wheel-trap. I call these units for tribes as they do not seem to correspond to unilateral descent groups. Many tribes have a tradition of their descent from a common ancestress, but though tribal members may know her name they are never able to connect her with their genealogies which are very badly known. To my knowledge there are no tribes of true Ayr Tuareg that are named after an ancestress or have avuncular names. The Ayr tribes have geographical names or are called after an ancestor to whom they are also unable to connect their [591] genealogies. It is possible that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in the past have followed the rules of residence

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Tuareg where influence from Arab material culture is particular strong, and it is structurally identical with the Arab pack-saddle known as *ḫawiyya* or *ḫedâǧe*. The origin of the pack-saddle called *aruki* among the Southern Tuareg is not easily determined. It may perhaps constitute a late type which developed from a pack-saddle with two curved or angular trees in front of the camel's hump. This may be true of some *aruki*-like saddles. But certain pack-saddles of *aruki* type may perhaps have originated from a kind of split wood similar to that used for camels by the Somali of Tana River (cf. Ahlefeldt 1948, ill. p. 137). 492 [177] [171]

There are other traits of camel breeding that have apparently been introduced among the Tuareg through contact with the Arabs. This may be true of the looped rope (*asaṛun*) connected with a little stick for attachment around the camel's foreleg (p. 72 ff., Fig. 45a). This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg though common among the Northern Tuareg who often make it of camel's wool. It seems to be known among most, perhaps all, Arabs, who manufacture it from the same material. Among the Ababde and the Bisharin it is plaited from dum palm material (cf. Sleesen-Dolk 1957, p. 12, Figs. 28–30). It is most probably an Arab trait which also seems to be Cauvet's opinion (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 554 & pl. LXII, p. 555). 233 177 [171]

We may perhaps also mention the large woven transportation bags which are extremely common among all North African Arab pastoralists, while unknown among the Tuareg. But small plaited or woven bags of goat hair mixed with camel's wool are manufactured in Ahaggar by women of certain tribes (p. 266 f, Fig. 209a–b). These bags are known as *tiṛṛar* (sing. *téṛeriṛi*) which seems to be derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711). The small loading sticks *tihḍaḍ* (sing. *téhedḍi*) (p. 76) used to unite the two halves of a camel load are perhaps also Arab in origin for this particular word is apparently also derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 520 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711). 415 177 [462]

The origin of other traits of camel-breeding is not so easy to determine, but it is very possible that the plaited pouch which among the Northern Tuareg constitutes the normal method to prevent camel calves from sucking (p. 62, Figs. 41–42) was also introduced by the Arabs. This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg and apparently also among the *Kel Geres*. It is found among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* (*abegu*) and is recorded in literature from the *Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 141), and from the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 71). It is widely found among all pastoral Arabs of Northern Africa and of the Arabian Peninsula. 233 177 [171]

As to the use of camel brands produced by burning with a redhot iron it seems difficult to judge from distributions the origin of this method. These brands are known among most Tuareg with the exception of the *Kel Ferwan* and other Tuareg of Ayr, who use earmarks cut with a knife. Earmarks seem to be used for camels also among the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 103) and were apparently used in ancient Arabia (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 298). One might perhaps assume that earmarks constitute an older type of proprietry marks, while brands came later. But information about marks and brands is scarce. 233 422 [171]

The origin of many traits of camel-breeding cannot be determined, but it is not be doubted that the Arabs have introduced into North Africa a particular breed of camel together with certain saddles and objects connected with the use of the camel as a pack animal. There is also no doubt that these 233 177

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without 233
camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to 433
the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays, as in the past, base their economy mainly on camels and goats.
I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats and their [262]
vegetable food from caravan trading with the aid of camels.

Formerly, the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned 565
exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but 233
he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). It is, however, confirmed 422
by many Tuareg that the vassals originally had no camels, and that throughout the 19th century they 571
had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals, and even to-day goats and butter form part of the *tiwsé*-payments. The noble Tuareg, on the other hand, allowed their particular vassals to trade with their camels against the payment of a certain amount of vegetable food products which to-day also form part of most *tiwsé*-payments. They allowed their vassals also to have usufructs of such animals as could not be taken with them on their migrations. Noble Tuareg of to-day continue to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts of the vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they obtain part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops; this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. The noble Tuareg of to-day may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals, who can refuse any gift or [178]
service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are even noble Tuareg who wear amulets which are [789]
believed to induce vassals to donate the things required.

It would seem that the economic relationships forming the basis of the Tuareg political system in 174
the north would arise so to speak automatically from two distinct cultures which met each other in 565
the desert: a camel-breeding culture of a Berber-speaking people now known as the noble Tuareg, and a goat-breeding culture of an ancient Berber-speaking population which now constitutes the vassals.

Some Tuareg traditions seem to indicate that political systems based on class-division arose in this 173
way in the north, but we have to admit that other traditions contradict this. Below I attempt to 565
elucidate Tuareg history in Ahaggar by means of native traditions to which, for practical reasons, I allot definite numbers.

*Tradition A.* All Tuareg have a common origin as they descend from a woman named *Lemtuna*, who is also the ancestress of certain Berbers living around Ṛadamas in Tripolitania. Most Berbers of Morocco descend from *Lemtuna*'s sister who became the ancestress of the *Beraber*. This tradition is widely known in Ahaggar.

*Tradition B.1.* This tradition is a very common explanation of the origin of the class-division in Ahaggar: Long ago two Islamic women of the *Beraber* immigrated to the oasis of Silet from Tafilelt in Morocco. One of these women named *Ti-n-Hinan* was noble while the other woman named *Takama*

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



634 judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief,
565 whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

[422] In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to
[171] mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

642 In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division,
565 which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral
[173] camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imṛad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imṛad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

565 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar.
[262] Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter
[492] and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinc-
[583] tions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The
[233] noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, donkeys are marked in
[422] both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be
[342] peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirzemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps
[293] connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among
[262] vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found partic-
[224] ularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and
[174] other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but
[233] the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks
[462] of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

567 clothes and a camel with saddle; there will thus be an excellent relationship between master and slave. This method of cutting the ear of another man's riding camel to become his slave is also known to have been practised in Ayr. However, the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that among them a slave who wanted to become attached to another master would rather cut a slight slit in the ear of one of that man's children. The slave would thus become attached to the father of the "wounded" child.

In cases where a slave simply runs away, his master will always demand his return. But in Áhaggar, the senior chieftain, the *Amenukal*, may intervene on behalf of the slave if he learns that the runaway slave has been badly treated or is badly clothed. There are thus certain rules which serve to promote reasonably good conditions for the slaves. However, only under exceptional circumstances do they eat with their masters, and they normally live, not in tents, but in open windscreens or shades from the sun. In general, though, there is little difference between the way of life of the Tuareg and their slaves, and they wear fairly similar clothes and ornaments. The slaves also bear weapons, and in the old days, when camel-raiding and warfare formed, as it were, a part of the Tuareg economy, they often accompanied their masters on raids. If a Tuareg family owns a sufficiently large number of slaves they will often not only carry out much of the heavier household work but will also watch over the flocks and herds; and as herdsmen they often have a position of considerable influence, as they are better acquainted with the care of the various types of animals than are the Tuareg themselves. To all this may be added a custom of particular interest. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg each tribe owns [422] a particular portion of a beast so that from a slaughtered beast one tribe is entitled to a portion of the back, another to the heart, a third to the liver, and so on. The slaves have similar rights in such cases, being entitled to the neck and in some regions also to the tail and the feet. When a beast is slaughtered these portions must always be given to the slaves.

The slaves are thus not completely without rights. Nevertheless the ordinary rules of inheritance do not apply to them. If a slave is on good terms with his master, the latter will, in the course of years, give him a certain number of goats as his personal possession – which he may, for example, slaughter or sell as he wishes. But when a slave dies his children cannot inherit his flocks or any other of his possessions. Everything then will become the property of his master.

567 608 This is in agreement with the fact that slavery is organized upon a kinship pattern in the way that slaves are normally the fictive children of their master, a man being the "father" of his slaves, while a female slave-owner will be their "mother", for slaves are always owned individually by pastoral Tuareg, and though the men are perhaps more frequently slave-owners than are women, slaves may be owned by pastoralists of both sexes. This position of slaves as "children" of the slave-owner means that the owner's brothers, sisters and parents are considered a kind of "parent" by his slaves. This again results in young slaves being considered a kind of "brother and sister" to the slave-owner's children and those of relatives of the slave-owner's generation. The organization of slavery on a kinship pattern can be demonstrated by means of the following examples:—

[583] (1) When a young slave marries it is the duty of the slave-owner as his "father" to pay the necessary amount of bride-wealth which will comprise a few goats – normally three to five animals – and this bride-wealth goes to the owner of the slave girl with whom the slave marries. A Tuareg women will as a slave-owner make and receive the payments connected with the marriages of her individual slaves

[Text continues on p. 444] in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner.

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote
[602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general-
[582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihǎggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihǎggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were
[643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
651] annual indemnity called <u>rharama</u> to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores
[184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous
[567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar,
[582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

631 a very ancient tribe, the Isbeten, who were the autochthons of the Ahaggar and whom the Dăg Rali would have found in Ătakor when they came to settle there.

After the battle at Tit where they lost more than 100 fighters, the Dăg Râli still numbered 60 warriors. The 1938 census gives 1, 090 persons, 334 of them men, including the Iklan. This increase is quite rare among the Tuareg and reflects their wealth and the improvement of their living conditions since the French occupation.

[161] [177] [511]

They nomadize in the western part of the Koudia, which is their absolute fief where no other fraction is admitted.

/192/ On the east, the boundaries of the lands over which they range are fixed by the right bank of the Tamanrasset wadi and the Interkadène wadi as far as Ideles; on the south by the southern zone of the Tahalra as far as Tin Dahar; on the west by In Eker; and on the north by the line from In Eker to Hirhafok to Ideles.

631 The Dăg Râli pay a tribute of ten bags of dates or sorghum to the
651 aménokal; in addition, each family which sends a caravan to the Sudan pays him a small bag of sorghum. If the pastures are good, they add several "botta" of melted butter and the milk of twenty ewes. In the case of a successful raid, they pay the nobles half of the ewes.

631 The Dăg Râli are now the richest people in the Ahaggar. They
233 own more than 1, 200 goats and more than 1, 000 camels. Thanks to
556 their beasts of burden, they can take many very remunerative caravans
439 to the Sudan and to the Tidikelt. They hold in common escheated flocks which are called Edjeré-n-boutelma. When the pastures are insufficient to feed all their livestock, they entrust their camels to the Irréguénaten who graze them on the Saharo-Sudanese border.

631 Since they are very open-minded, they were in favor of cultivation
241 in the centers of the Ahaggar, and at the present time they possess
● 423 lands at Ilâman, Tarahananet, Tamanrasset, Abălessa, Iglen, Tăfârit, I-n-Ămegel, and Silet, which Negroes cultivate for them. The aménokal has granted them a certain number of palm trees in the Silet oasis which formerly belonged to the Tăitok.

173 Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé means "reed people." Legend has it that they
631 were forced to eat the roots of that plant during their flight from the Aïr. Their chief was then a man of Herculean size named Assékal ag Louka; the legend says that his feet were so big that when his pursuers saw the footprints, they preferred to abandon the chase.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé claim to be originally from Mecca where their remote ancestor received a camel from the Prophet. He was supposed to drink only the milk of the camel, but he committed the sin of killing it. Therefore, they had to flee, and after long years of wandering, they settled in Aïr.

At the time when the Imrad were divided up (1750), they were part of the Issandaten. The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé went to the Kel Rela, and the other fraction, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, went to the Tăîtok.

631 The land over which they range borders on that of the Dăg Râli. It goes from Tamanrasset to Ourchi wadi, then from the Koudia as far as Afrahouhine and Tamaghine.

[651] They pay a tribute to the amenokal, the same size as that of the Dăg Râli, but they do not share captured goats and sheep with him.

They are currently allied with the Dăg Râli and the Relaiddîn.

They took sides against us in the battle of Tit where they had
[648 about ten men killed. During the insurrection of 1916-1918, they rose up, and their women even seized thirty mehari /dromedaries/
669] belonging to the meharist company at Fort Motylinski. On the other hand, they did not take part in the revolt directly and were the first to ask for mercy.

[161] /195/ Totaling 60 men in 1905, the tribe numbers about 150 persons at the present time.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé own nearly a thousand camels, which they
[233] graze on the Saharo-Sudanese borders, and 1,200 to 1,400 goats.
[651] Every year they pay a tribute to the amenokal of 12 bags of dates, 6 pots of butter, and the usufruct of 10 goats. Most of the cultivated
[423] land and the foggara of Tarhaouaout and Tahifet belongs to them,
[241] and they have gardens at Ămsel, Tamanrasset, and Talan-Tédit.

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Ɣrokam, Serouanout, and in the Ɣnahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[233] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are [241 423] their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

631 669 They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the Ihéaouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up [797] the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 The Aït Loaien form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which [181] must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[651] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokal.

The Relaiddîn. -- The Relaiddîn probably came from Aïr, like the Ɣgouh-en-Tehlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162 651] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tiousse to the Iboglân.

This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 [177 233] camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1, 500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

631 /197/ They do own a few gardens at Tazerouk, Ti-n-Tarabine, Altoklane, and Sersouf, but all lie fallow.

[669] During the revolt, they left the Agouh-en-Tehlé in dissent, but they soon surrendered, for their position between the Ahaggar and the Ajjer always put them at the mercy of raids by the latter.

[651] The Relaiddin pay an annual tribute of two loads of grain, a pot of butter, and a goat to the aménokal.

[162] To the Relaiddin must be added a small fraction on its way toward disappearing; they are the Kel Bardjen, of undetermined origin.

[674] Numbering some ten warriors, they are recognized as inveterate robbers, always encroaching on the nomadic territories of others. Bardjen is located between Tazerouk, Imerera, and Ideles. The

[423] territory of the Kel Bardjen was probably marked off about 1750 and

[312] defined by monoliths, some of which bear tifinagh characters.

The Ibettenaten. -- The Ibettenaten are not "Imrad," properly speaking. According to Benhazéra, this tribe was formerly noble. They were probably subjugated by the Kel Rela following the murder of an Amacher /singular of Imochar, the aristocratic class. Ed./ committed by one of them. Since then, they pay the tioussé to the

[651] aménokal.

The Ibettenaten probably descended from Kel Afella Iforas on the maternal side and from Tidikelt Arabs on the paternal side.

631 About thirty tents are nomads in the Sudan near Bou Djbiha, but they go up as far as Taoudart and In Ouzal in the Adrar des Iforas,

162 following the pasture grounds. Fifteen other tents enfeoffed to the Kel Fadél camp in Aïr.

They number 160 persons, 62 of them men, in the 1938 census.

631 They are entirely herders, making very few caravans and owning

233 no cultivated lands. They have very fine pasture grounds at their disposal. They own about 800 camels, 1,000 sheep, and (a rare thing, but quite in keeping with their area of nomadization) nearly 100 cows.

631 They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since
[669] they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaïa.

565 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tăousit, still called
644 Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they
631 made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be
[184] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion
[241] to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and
[162] they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[231] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tăhalra, and in the region of Silet-Ăbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers
[241] of Tîgeneouin, Ăbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm
423 grove at Tibeghîn, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is
563 synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and
631 Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hâda
Kel In Rhar'
Kel Tăfedest
Kel Immîdir
Kel Tăzoûlet
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Téroûrirt
Kel Ouhet

563 [162] They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elias, Oulad Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

[233] They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout, [423 241] which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and manpower. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism [795 788] /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

[669] In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Tăfedest.

/200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by [173] Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

[162] Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Tăfedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

[233] Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head. [241 423] They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them entirely, and at I-n-Ămegal, Déhine, and Ăbézou.

[795] Like the Ihéiaouen Hâda, they are mostly affiliated with the Tijaniyyah sect.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us, which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

[224] They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

[651] The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the amenokal six bags of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Tăfedest. -- The Kel Tăfedest or Kel Tégatoufé (or ant [162] people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

563 They nomadize near the Garet ed Djenoun, the Ăseksem,
[233] Ămegid, and the Ădrar Torha; they own about 300 goats and 30 camels. (1938 census, as opposed to 600 goats and 200 camels in 1905.)

[241 423] They are the owners of a few gardens in the Tăfedest.

[795] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah order.

[65] The Kel Tăfedest annually pay the amenokal four loads of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Immîdir. -- The Kel Immîdir, or Kel Mouydir, are still called Ihéiaouen-n-Tin-Emma. They are of the same origin as the Ihéiaouen Hâda and the Kel Tazoulé.

[162] They are subdivided into Kel Terahart and Kel Raris and include about 50 people. They nomadize in the Immîdir massif toward Joraf and Tagmout and have areas for nomadization between Ifetessen and In Eker.

[233 464] They are poor people who own about 20 camels and 250 goats. Very good merchants and excellent caravaneers, they hire themselves out to camel owners to provide for their needs.

[162] /201/ The Isselamaten must be added to the Kel Immidir. They are a small fraction of about 15 tents which lives with them and nomadize near Aneserfa, Ărak, Ahohor, Tagemout, and Tiredjert.

The Kel Tazoûlet. -- The Kel Tazoûlet or Dăg el Mesk camp in
[162 233] the Tăzoûlet region and near Tăzerouk. They number about 225 people and own 285 camels and more than 2, 000 goats. They dryness of the region which they inhabit forces them to take refuge in the
[132] Sudan when there are no rains in the Ahaggar.

[241 423] They possess gardens at Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine, and at Tăzerouk.

[669] They were in contact with the Aït Loaien and followed the latter in revolt, participating with them in the battles of Tit and the Ilaman wadi.

[795 788] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah. Four or five of their number have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

175 back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of
631 the men, including Azioueł, died of thirst in the desert.
643

/204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

579 At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the
631 suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and
[648] more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

[511] Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of
631 their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the
651 nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ăadrar des Iforas, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis and Isoknâten of the Aïr.

[162 Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400
233] camels and about 1,000 goats.

During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at
175 first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave
631 us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his
648 Imrad Kel I-n-Tounin. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops, He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

[423] Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastân.

173 Let us add that the Kel Ăhnet claim to be of Beraber origin
631 through Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hînân. But the Tăitok say that it is not known where they come from, except that they must have inhabited the Ahaggar long before the arrival of Ti-n-Hînân.

The Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis. -- The Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis are of the same
631 origin as the Tégéhé-n-Elîmen.

They used to nomadize in Aïr and had to leave that country as a result of the murder of the sultan who wanted to force them to pay too heavy a tax. Efis was their chief, and it is he who decided to leave. The descendants of these families thenceforth bore his name.

They formed only a single tribe with the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. When Mohamed el Kheir was aménokal, the Tégéhé-n-Elîmen came to ask protection from the Ihăggaren -- some say this was under Mohamed el Kheir's grandson, Younès.

During the war which put the Kel Rela and the Tăitok in conflict, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis took refuge on the Aïr borders. Afterwards, they returned for the most part, but some ten tents remained in the Sudan.

[162] In 1905, they numbered about 30 tents; in the 1938 census there were 164 persons, 51 of them men. They own 80 camels, and 250
[233] goats. They are the proprietors of cultivated lands at Tîgenouin,
[241] Amsel, Ăbalessa, and Tahart. They also see to the cultivation of
•423] gardens at Tamanrasset, which have belonged to the Imekkeresen (an Imrad tribe of the Ajjer Tassili) for a long time. By rights they should pay the latter a due, but it is never asked for.

They nomadize in the Tahalra (southwest of Koudia) and migrate on the parallel Amsel, Tîgeneouin, Tâmaïa. The line of demarcation separating their area from /208/ that of the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé is formed by the Tamanrasset wadi.

They were bestowed upon the Tăitok at the time of the distribution of the Imrad, and they have followed their suzerains in all their affairs.

The Kel I-n-Toûnîn. -- The Kel I-n-Toûnîn are Issekkemâren.
[173] They were given to the Tăitok under Sidi's aménokalat (1755) when the Kel Rela tobol was split up, while the Kel Ouhet and the Kel Téroûrirt were given to the Tégéhé Mellet.

631
[173]

1. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 177.

[582] They often camp near the Dăg Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Tăitok in their peregrinations.

[423] They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghîn, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given [233] to Moussa ag Ămastan. They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The tioussé paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a [651] bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemaden live mixed in with the Dăg Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Tăitok tobol.

[192] Their name means "the very ugly ones, " from the Tamashek akechchemdh, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Ămastân.

[162] They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them [423] in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dăg Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dăg Râli.

[162] The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ăjjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

[162] The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeïen form a little tribe of some 15 tents, whose camp lies near Tit and Tigeneouin.

251 Thus, they are forced to keep supplies on hand, /226/ but it is a
343 limited stock, consisting of two or three bags of sorghum or dates which are transported each time the camp is moved. It is customary, when supplies are more considerable, to leave them in the rocks of the mountains in spots known to the people of the tribe. These granaries (ekaham) allow them to travel lighter and at the same time put supplies in safe places. In case camps are raided they make a sufficient food reserve so that the people are not driven to starvation.

Some tribes which have gardens in the centers of cultivation
184 often have food deposits there; they are stored for a whole family
343 group. Thus the Dag Rali have stores in the Koudia, at Ilaman,
423 Tarahananet, Abalessa, etc., where they entrust the care of their
251 goods to their local representatives. These centers have secret granaries; they are scarcely used these days, but they were used before the French occupation for reasons of safety in case of raids. We have seen hiding places of this kind at Tit and at Bloumet, and there are probably some at Tazerouk and Ideles. They consist of cellars dug in the soil at ground level and hidden from the eyes of passers-by. Merchandise was thus protected from men and rodents.

171 While we are on the subject, let us add that granaries dug in rock are common among all Berbers. Today they may still be seen in Morocco and among the Chaouia /Shawia/ of Aurès. This custom seems to have been common in Mediterranean countries, in Syria, and especially in Palestine where it was already reported in Biblical times.

343 The Akhamouk amenokal was the only person who had real
643 granaries. He had three or four of them constructed of stone bound
251 with clay using the Sudanese technique. They were placed at the top of a rocky crest on the left bank of the Abalessa wadi, near the place where his camp was most often established.

513 Sleeping arrangements. -- Bedding includes only one or two
[556] sheepskins sewn together, or more rarely a rug among the rich people.

224 which is rolled up on a stick, one end of which is cut in a point. A
[23] second apparatus consists in a little wooden disk covered with hide, the whole mounted on another stick a little longer than that of the first apparatus which is embedded between the layer and the arc, while the pointed stick is fastened in the hole of a bead or on a little leather ring fixed on the leather disk. A lasso is placed on this disk, and its end is fastened on the main part of the pointed stick.

This trap is generally placed on the paths frequented by gazelles and lightly covered with sand. If the animal puts its foot on the leather disk, the pressure that it causes unhooks the pointed stick; the shock of this can break a paw and in any case it tightens the lasso around the paw.

More recently the Tuareg have used the metallic spring trap
[17] of the English type, which their blacksmiths now know how to make.
324 They have replaced the balanced bait pan by a taut skin on which they have attached a large glass bead. The bait is fixed to the bead and is more sensitive to the touch. This trap may accidentally catch gazelles, but the most common catches are hares and jackals.

224 The Tuareg hunt on the lands over which they range and have
423 no right to hunt on the lands of the neighboring tribes. If such a case occurred, they would be obliged to give the game to the owners of the area. The latter may at least grant back part of the meat, but they keep the skin, especially when it is a wild sheep.

/243/ Some regions are the hunting fief of a single man. So, in the Koudia, no one has the right to hunt on Tahat Peak without the permission of its owner, who is a descendant of the old Isebeten tribe. At any rate, the skin, head, and half of the animal must be handed over to him.

224 The Ahaggar Tuareg have had rapid-firing guns at their
411 disposal for a few years. They are not good shots, but they know admirably well how to approach game, so that they have made massive massacres which will take a long time to repair.

177 marabouts from the Touat who brought with them the system of
241 irrigation by foggara. The Tuareg later grasped the advantage they could gain from multiplying these centers, and so, at the moment of the French occupation, more than forty centers were being exploited.

423 The enjoyment of land appertains to the people who first culti-
241 vated it. Land of itself appertains to the amenokal, but he leases it out and in return levies an annual tax -- mesk -- on the harvest, in
[427 the amount of four guessa of wheat, or about 10 kilograms per garden.
651] The land may thus have as proprietors Imochar or Imrad, indeed Enaden, but Iklan may not hold gardens.

Gardens are not cultivated by their proprietors but by Negro
241 tenant farmers, natives of the Touat or Tidikelt, who are called
427 harratin (singular hartani). An arrangement is worked out between them and the proprietors on the following terms: the proprietor furnishes the hartani two loads of millet a year for his sustenance,
[312] seeds, a hoe, and then pays for digging /245/ the wells of the foggara. Once the foggara has been dug, the hartani is responsible for keeping it up. He sows, waters, harvests, threshes the grain, and keeps one-fifth of the harvest. Furthermore, he has the right to sow on his own account in the irrigation canals and to cultivate several beds of vegetables.

[311] Centers of cultivation are set up on the terraces of valleys when
312 they are wide enough and have old alluvial deposits. The feggaguir
[241] /plural of foggara -- translator/ of the Ahaggar have nothing in common with those of the Tidikelt or those in the Saoura oasis, which pipe water to the gardens from great distances, from the geological faults where it is retained. In the Ahaggar rain water collects in the wadi beds and is stored under the sand. The feggaguir are therefore dug in the wadi bed and seek water at distances varying from one to seven kilometers. The wadi presents a certain slope, and it is necessary to bring the water gradually to the same level or to a level slightly higher than that of the gardens. The feggaguir

293 tents, where a few camps live permanently, filling the function of
361 shepherds for the people remaining in the Ahaggar.

At the same time, then, there is nomadism and transhumance.

Definitions of the two kinds of life are as follows: there is nomadism when the tribe accompanies the moving livestock, and transhumance when the flocks are accompanied only by shepherds. And so we see that it is not possible to link the Tuareg to one category or the other, but that they engage in the two kinds of life, even in a mixed system in some instances. Quite often, in fact, the goats are pastured in the Ahaggar with a few shepherds, while the women stay in the mountains, and all the men are in the Sudan with the camels.

/255/ The migrations of these little herds of goats recall the moving of flocks which Vidal de la Blache has described as "mountain transhumance," that is, the camps move regularly from the summer pastures located on the peaks to the winter pastures in the
[192] plain. These moves cannot be as regular as they are in our country, in view of the irregularity of the rains.

It may thus be said that the Ahaggar Tuareg are small nomads by the short range of the moves of their camps, but that they are, on the other hand, great transhumants.

## Rules Concerning Passage and Nomadization With Flocks

423 The lands over which the tribes range are fixed by the amenokal
643 to whom the land appertains. The origin of the tiousse comes
651 partly from the pasture rights which he grants.

Each tribe is proprietor of its land, with full and exclusive
423 enjoyment of it. Others can come settle among the tribe only with
621 the authorization of the tribe's amrar, but the right of way, including the right to water flocks, is secured for everyone.

These rules may be modified in periods of great dryness or in periods following plentiful rains.

423 When pasture is scarce as the result of a long dry period, an
621 understanding is reached between the different tribal chiefs, and
311 one of them may authorize the other's tribe to come nomadize on his territory, on the condition, of course, that they not do any damage, mutilate the trees, or engage in hunting.

185 When a region has been abundantly favored by rain, the amrar
423 decrees the land forbidden -- ganent. No one can go there, in-
621 cluding the people of the tribe. This measure is designed to protect
311 young growths from the teeth of the animals and let the pasture grow to maturity. A few weeks later the interdiction is raised, the land is free, and anyone, without distinction, may profit from it, always conforming, of course, to the jurisdiction /sic/ concerning the protection of trees and to the hunting interdiction.

423 Animals straying on the land of a neighboring tribe are /256/
621 returned to their owners without the intervention of any sanction.
685 But when a flock is surprised on ganent land, the owner is fined one head of livestock -- one goat if it is a flock of goats, one sheep if it is a flock of sheep, one camel if it is a herd of camels.

A branch cut by a member of a neighboring tribe entails a fine
[185] of one goat or one sheep. This rule is not often applied, however, for the Tuareg have little respect for the protection of trees.

/257/ Chapter 7

## Care of the Body and Bodily Habits

515 Cleanliness and care of the body. -- In a country where water is scarce, it is natural that the people are not inclined to wash every day. The Tuareg, through living in the desert far from wells, have lost the habit of washing themselves. It is not that they despise

61 patrilineal elements being present together in
121 a single complex from its beginning, and we have no good reason to suppose that this tentative assumption may not be equally applicable to the Tuareg. But we are hedged about with lack of information. We are faced here with yet another instance of the futility of empirical deduction unsupported by adequate field investigation of the culture concepts that lie at the root of our problem.

423 **Land Tenure and Tribute.** The Amenokal of
643 the Ahaggar is said to be "the owner of the land" by virtue of his position as paramount chief of a warrior aristocracy. We are inclined to suspect, however, that this may be an oversimplification of the case, for the land of the various tribes that make up the Ahaggar confederation is apparently treated as basically communal property, the title to which is vested in each succeeding Amenokal as an executive trustee rather than as a proprietor. This brings out the very important point that the Amenokal of the Ahaggar Tuareg seems to be essentially a chief executive and not a true king or autocratic chief in the commonly accepted sense of those terms. And, theoretically at least, he can be forced out of office by popular demand. All things considered, his position is not so very different in fact from
643 that of the President of the United States.

622 The Amenokal and the noble tribal chiefs
565 under him collect tribute from those whose
[651] destinies they control, but they are also supposed to protect these people by force of arms when necessary. When the warriors of a noble
[721] clan go raiding they often take the men of one or more of their vassal clans along, and these vassals receive a substantial share of plunder if the raid is a success, but vassals also have an obligation to fight at the side of their noble masters in intertribal wars.

423 Each vassal clan holds exclusive pasturage
[565] rights to a definite territory upon which no one else may enter, without express permission of the Amenokal, excepting noble clans who are always free to use the pastures of their own vassals as and when they please. Some men also hold exclusive hunting rights to certain specified areas. Many Tuareg own garden plots in agricultural centers, and sometimes date palms and fruit trees of other kinds as well, all of which holdings are now par-

423 celed out to Haratin sharecroppers although some of them used to be worked by slaves. Since ownership of land is never outright in
[427] any case, each leaseholder must pay rent in one form or another to someone or other at least once a year.

565 Vassal clans usually pay annual tribute to their tribal chiefs or to the Amenokal, or
651 both. This tribute includes such things as dates, millet, congealed melted butter, baby camels, sheep, goats and manufactured articles of various kinds, a share of all merchandise imported by the clan as well as a share of the profits from any caravan commerce they may have, and about half of any booty they may capture in independent raids. Each vassal family used to contribute towards the upkeep of a particular noble family, and the nobles in their turn, men and women alike, were constantly begging from their vassals who could hardly afford to refuse them. But if this begging became unbearable, the vassals would sometimes pull up stakes and move quietly out of reach of their noble parasites.

Lhote (1955, pp. 190–91) says that all adult
651 males, potential warriors that is, of the Ahaggar confederation, were supposed to pay an annual head tax of 5 francs (then worth about 4 cents) each to the Amenokal as recently as 1948. Hunters annually paid in mouflon for exclusive local hunting rights. After each harvest each Hartani would pay a third of a bushel (more or less) of grain to the Amenokal for each garden plot that he worked, in addition to a share of the produce which he paid to the local leaseholder. But much of this fiscal system has fallen into disuse in re-
651 cent years, for the Amenokal together with
178 his whole camp is now supported almost entirely by the French Government, which also contributes free grain weekly to many of the poorer Haratin. Once more it is the middle class, the vassal Tuareg and the lesser nobles in this case, who suffer most severely from the stresses of cultural change.

**Tuareg Economy and the Roots of the Class**
233 **System.** All Saharan nomads live primarily off their livestock, and livestock lives off pastur-
137 age. There are two main kinds of pasture in the Sahara, the permanent growth of wiry yellowish grass, little woody shrubs and thorny bushes that one finds scattered very thinly

233 across much of the land and concentrated
[137] along dry river bottoms, and the small patches of thick, lush, emerald green grass that flourish briefly in hollows here and there following rainstorms. Pasturage is always either very sparse or very scattered in the Ahaggar and so the nomadic inhabitants of the area must move often, for the supply in the immediate neighborhood of a camp is quickly exhausted.
[312] To make life still more difficult, water points are often few and far between as we already know, and it is not unusual to find good pasturage so far from any water that it cannot be used for more than a day or two, if at all. This combination of circumstances has
233 made it necessary for the Ahaggar Tuareg
221 to break up into small and highly mobile camp units composed of fractions of clans, or even single families, and each of these units must move at intervals of usually somewhere between a week and a month and often over considerable distances, although always within the territorial limits of the tribe (fig. 36).

As soon as a camp or constellation of neighboring camps is established in a new location, the head men first set up the daily grazing routine of the flocks and then set out at once to scout far and wide in search of the next pasture to be used and the next camp sites that their families will occupy. And so it goes the year around, and so the Tuareg of the Ahaggar are highly mobile nomads by force of circumstances, for they cannot survive otherwise in the region which they have made their own.

565 It is in the compelling circumstances of
their environment that we find the roots of
233 the class system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, for,
463 quite apart from the question of mobility,
such conditions can be met successfully only
182 by a well conceived and firmly established division of labor. In the Ahaggar it is the nobles of a tribe and the headmen of the vassal clans who ride out in search of new pastures and at the same time act as military scouts, always on the watch for enemy raiders as

[423] *The fundamental difference between the two systems lies in the fact that the basis of land tenure among the Tuareg is not that of the *beneficium* while personal allegiance is not based on the concept of the *comitatus*. The true feudal system of medieval Europe was based on the conferring of privilege by an absolute ruler (or one of his vassals) on a less

262
The nobles eat better, at least those who are well-to-do. 243
In the Ahaggar especially they own cultivated land in the 556
"ar'erems" (villages), where they grow wheat, "ired," barley, 565 423
"timzin," and bechna, "inelli"; but usually they sell their 438

[137]

Dautheville

Trees Called "Ahatés" (Acacia Albida) at the Tillemas of the Tessht Wadi (Koudia).

wheat and barley to the natives of the Tidikelt and are content with bechna, of which they are very fond. They claim that [824]
bechna is less heating to the stomach than wheat or barley.

The rich allow themselves the luxury of drinking tea, but 272
tea and sugar are very expensive, and they do not misuse them. 556
On the other hand, they do not hesitate to beg for them shame- 263
lessly.

When the year is bad anything seems good to the poor to 222
assure their subsistence. In such years one sees them eating 262
/30/ "berdi," or "taheli," (Typha angustifolia, Typhaceae); 735
ground carob seeds of "talhas," or gum trees, which they call 252
"tahaha" ⠷⠄⠄⠄

241 Usually, there are six khammès per field, and each of
312 them has a right to water for one night and one day. The water, brought from the foggara, spreads into the "madjens," or reservoirs, as on the oases, there to be divided among the gardens by means of saguias, or irrigation canals.

[764]

Herhafok Region

In the Left Foreground an Ancient
Grave in the Chouchat Form
(Koudia)

241 The khammès receives as his pay:

1. A fifth of the crop
2. The barley which he sowed in the irrigation canals
3. A load of wheat in winter and a half load in summer, for his personal consumption.

245 In the Ahaggar there are also small oases of palms which were planted by no one knows whom, for example, at Tibedjehine and at Silet (Ahaggar), at Djor'raf, Tafarakrak,
[423] and Teguift (Immidir). The Tuareg who own them leave them untended and are satisfied to go and gather the dates when they choose. These palms, which get no care, also have a great mass of dry djerids hanging to the ground, which makes it very difficult to climb them. Perhaps this is to prevent theft of the dates? /76/

From the fact that these palms, even though not cared for, produce dates which, if not of good quality, are still quite

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*Agg Elkher*, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [75] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that [643] in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals.

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little [431] authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal [178] chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. 614 634

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, [583] but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 651

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:– 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Teouit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



It is said that in the 19th century all Tuareg groups of Air and adjacent regions paid an annual tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as follows:– 634 651

| | |
|---|---|
| Kel Ooui | 50 Tuareg veils |
| Kel Fadei | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| Echchikhen | two groups each giving 3 oryx hides |
| Kel Geres | 1 horse with a saddle |
| Ioullemmeden | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| Kel Allekot | 150 kg of millet |
| Damergou<br>Katsena | An amount of millet |

The Tuareg name for these payments is *toouse* meaning "annual tribute". The present drum-chief says that this tribute was given by the groups because all land belonged to the Kel Ferouan group. I think that the correctness of this is perhaps to be doubted, and that there may be other possible explanations:– 1) The payments may at some remote date have been made to the Sultan (Amenokal), but later collected by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became more important or, more possibly 2) they may have been given to the drum-chief for protection. Thus annual duties, termed *tiouse* by the Northern Tuareg, were formerly given by foreign Tuareg groups to mighty chiefs of Ahaggar to avoid raids (cf. p. 113). [423] [174]

The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim that in the remote past the whole drum-group of Kel Fadei including its noble clan paid bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as his vassals. This vassalship of the Kel Fadei is said to have ceased in the following way:– The Kel Ferouan drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a Kel Fadei camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the Kel Fadei camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the Kel Fadei. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the Kel Fadei so that after a time he could return safely to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the Kel Fadei Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan. 173

The political system of the Kel Ferouan group may be characterized as simple, all political rights resting in the hands of the drum-chief. He had no particular ministers or deputies, but he would discuss important matters with noble Tuareg of his camp and with the chiefs of vassal clans. 634

It has been mentioned above that the Kel Akarra clan in the past had one 634 614

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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*Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Aǥouh-en-Tehele Clan.*

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafia).

| Tenants | Value of Sub-Area | Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Aǥouh-en-Tehele, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tôles. | Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Daledge. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication. | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, Khalifa of the Ikenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds. | 3 goats |
| ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader. | Cultivation grounds at Inagriouel and In Deledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 2 donkeys |
| DEINI, Chief of the Kel Rafia sub-clan. | No particular value. | No land-rent. |
| AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section. | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Azernan section of the Isandan sub-clan. | Cultivation grounds at Tamanrasset. In the past wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaiddin now attached to the Aǥouh-en-Tehele clan. | Khoseni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaiddin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal. | |

621 427 614 233 651 224 423

clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Ḥali and the Ait Loaien, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Aǥouh-en-Tehele have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Isekkemaren class. Between the Aǥouh-en-Tehele and the Isekkemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Aǥouh-en-Tehele people come to the Isekkemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Isekkemaren visiting the Aǥouh-en-Tehele. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

000 565 614 [431] [602]

[Text continues on p. 110]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1955, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Rali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent *(share-n-amerdal)* paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:–

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. – Foley 1930, p. 43f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Rali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatos.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
692 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-
643 wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer. The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
178 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
643 to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Ṛela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
Scale raiding.

439 /66 cont./ girls. The return of the millet caravans is the major event of the year. It is estimated that the millet imported from the Sudan constitutes two-thirds of the Tuareg's food. Once in the Ahaggar, the millet is stored in silos made of clay bricks, based on rock slabs so as to be protected from termites. These constructions, neither cylindrical nor conical, are a curious sight standing near the camps or the villages. The owners are sometimes absent, but no one tries to steal what could easily be taken.

## Agriculture

423 The chief characteristic of the land system in the Ahaggar
[643] is that the amenokal is, by virtue of his office, the sole owner of the land.

Whoever wants to drill a foggara must first ask permission
[651] of the amenokal and must pay him a tax of ten kilograms of wheat per garden.

The garden is the unit of cultivation. One foggara irrigates from /67/ six to ten gardens. Any other surface unit would have no meaning since the size of the cultivated plot depends on the flow of the foggara, which varies according to the year and to the different agricultural centers. At Tamanrasset a foggara waters 3.80 hectares; at Tit, 3.30 hectares; at Ideles, 4.0 hectares. A garden's area, then, varies from 40 to 60 ares. The wheat harvest may amount to 400 kilograms per hectare; the tax in that case is about one-
[651] fortieth of the harvest. Whether the owner of the garden is a Targui or a hartani, the tax (mek) is paid to the amenokal.

Trees planted in the gardens remain the property of the amenokal, for they are attached to the ground.

This inalienable possession of the land by the amenokal has enabled the Tuareg to conserve the rare cultivable lands in the Ahaggar. The force of their tribal custom saves them from their individual lack of foresight. Unfortunately, this right of the amenokal retards agricultural evolution and the maximum productive use of the lands of the Ahaggar, because the cultivator can never own the land he works. He has no

423 /67 cont. / interest in planting trees that he cannot keep. A constant effort at arboriculture cannot be hoped for since the gardener may change frequently, and the successor of a tree planter may be ignorant or unscrupulous and is free to let the planting fail.

423 631 486 Besides the cultivated land, the land through which routes pass has great importance in the Ahaggar. The whole of the territory of the Kel Ahaggar has always been divided among the different Tuareg tribes. Strictly applied oral regulations define the rights and servitudes of a tribe concerning its land.

1) Passage through and watering on the lands of a tribe is the right of other Tuareg.

2) No one may sojourn on the lands of a tribe without the consent of that tribe's chief.

3) Whoever follows travelers' routes through land belonging to a tribe is responsible for any damage caused by him or his animals to the trees, wells, foggaras, gardens, and game. Here are several penalties: one goat for a broken tree branch; [685] one sheep for damage caused /68/ by a poorly watched herd; a camel for damage caused by camels; part or all of any game killed. When a camel runs away, the owner is not responsible; he must even be told and helped. It is forbidden to put animals in a pasture where plants have not attained maximum growth.

4) The amenokal may sometimes authorize tribes to sojourn on the lands of a certain tribe, in case there is an abundance of pasturage on these lands.

The servitudes of the tribes are the normal consequence of their nomadic life, but the rights concerning the land passed through bring to light a characteristic of the Tuareg: their love of the land. These nomads, who should seek the most abundant pastures, whose every interest calls them toward the Sudan, remain attached to their soil. They observe regulations suitable for sedentary peoples.

648 Let us note that there is no agricultural exploitation directed by Europeans in the Ahaggar. The principal reason for this abstention is the meager yield to be expected; the reduction

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[For those aspects of land tenure relating specifically to the contractual agreement between landlord and tenant farmer, see category 675.]

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Fig. 98. A slave watering goats by means of the leather bucket called *aga*. Water is drawn from a well and poured out into a hole dug in the clayey ground. The goat standing to the left is sheared – a token of the summer season. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*233 conditions, and herdsmen, who live with camelherds far away from camps and wells subsisting on [272] camel's milk, do not consider water necessary. Should domestic animals have eaten salt or salty plants [271] they are very eager for water even in winter. When I lived in Ahaggar with my camels during the winter 1954/55 they had rightly to be watered every ten days, but in regions where they fed mainly on saliferous plants they had to be watered more frequently. However, domestic animals must not be watered too often as this would make them slow and emaciated, and a camel must not be worked too hard the day after it has been watered.

312 Tuareg camps are always found around wells, pools, or other types of water places for which there [361] is a large vocabulary. But the Tuareg never camp too close to water places where there is little pasture, many foreigners and consequently little peace. The distance from camp to water place varies, but is [132] very frequently 1–3 kilometres. During the rainy season (*akasa*) water is very aundant all over Ayr, but outside this period conditions of water supply for human beings and livestock are more favourable [415] in the north than in Ayr, where water most of the year must be drawn from wells. To raise water the Tuareg use a leather bucket known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aga* (Fig. 97–98). The water drawn for [237] the animals is poured out into a hole dug in clayey soil, or into a hole covered with a piece of skin or leather known in Ahaggar as *tafarawt*. This skin is nowadays frequently substituted by canvas (cf. 312 Fig. 99). Where water is scarce and must be drawn from narrow wells, as in Ayr during the summer 578 season, the watering of flocks and herds gives rise to frequent quarrels between pastoralists. For [423] though the right to the use of wells is free to all there are many disputes and fights frequently

614 591 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two [682] tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should [672] pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 611 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is [428] valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered [565] indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed 614 by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one par- 613 ticular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 555 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are 631 named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also ● 423 attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have [643] particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). [162] Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory [578] of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 613 621 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names – generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

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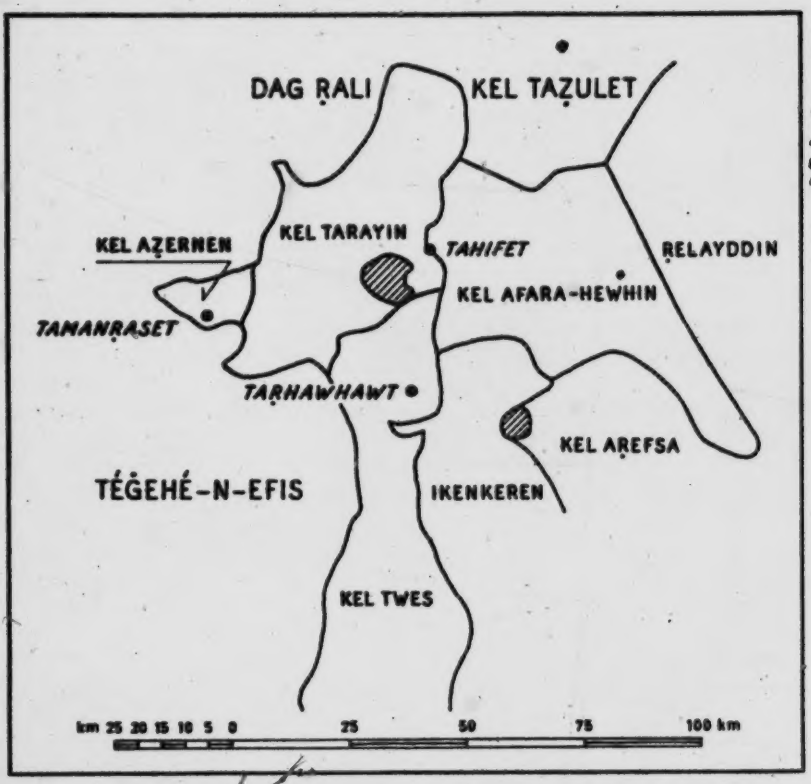


**Fig. 104.** Map showing the sub-areas of the territory of the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. The sub-areas have no proper limits towards the south where the country changes into barren and uninhabited desert. The hatched areas are mountainous regions which are not considered parts of sub-areas. West of the *Afuh-en-tehlé* territory is the territory of the *Téġehé-n-Efis* tribe where two sections of the *Afuh-en-tehlé* have their normal grazing grounds. To the north are the territories of the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Kel Taẓulet* tribes. The *Kel Aẓernen* section frequently camps in the *Dag Ṛali* territory and intermarries with the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section of that tribe. To the east is the territory of the *Ṛelayddin* who are now considered part of the *Afuh-en-tehlé*. The *Afuh-en-tehlé* territory chiefly belongs to the *Abada* zone, but the northern parts of the two northernmost sub-areas are within the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

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*Sub-areas of the territory of the Dag Ṛali* tribe

(The tribe is divided into two halves:— (1) the *Dag Ṛali* proper comprising the sections named *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*, (2) the *Imessiliten* comprising the two sections named *Kel Hérhafek* and *Kel Teñhart*)

| Tenants | Name and value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe and leader of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section | ISEKRAM<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant | 2 goats |
| YEḲI of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section | TAĠMART<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| AMMA of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | AṚECHCHUM<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| KHABTÉ of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section<br>&<br>AKHASEN of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | I-N-DALAĠ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br><br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| AFAREḲ of the *Kel Hérhafek* section | AKAL-EREṚEN<br>Hunting of barbary sheep | Unknown |
| BUSKEYAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the *Kel Teñhart* section | TAHAT<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown) |
| [361] DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet* | ABALESSA<br>A very extended area comprising the village of Abalessa and other agricultural settlements | No land-rent as the *Amenukal* receives dues for every garden in this area |
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections of *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet* Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections | TEẒẒA<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | 1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep). (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) are also given to Danguchi as tribal chief) |

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***Sub-areas of the territory of the Aguh-en-tehlé*** **tribe**

**(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named Kel *Taṛhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Aṛefsa*)**

| Tenants | Value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA ALATOKH, chief of the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, chief of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*, leader of the section *Kel Twes* | Cultivation grounds at Taṛhawhawt and I-n-dalag<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys for domestication | 2 donkeys |
| OMAṆA, *khalifa* (leader) of the *Ikenkeren* section of the sub-tribe Kel *Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Collecting of wild seeds | 3 goats |
| ABERĠALI, *khalifa* of the *Kel Tarayin* section of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the *Kel Tarayin* section. No position as leader | Cultivation grounds at I-n-agriwal and I-n-dalag. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys | 2 donkeys |
| DEYNI, chief of the *Kel Aṛefsa* sub-tribe forming only one section | No particular value | No land-rent |
| AKAWALI, chief of the *Isandan* sub-tribe and leader of the *Kel Afore-ke kin* section | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| HANU, *khalifa* of the *Kel Aṣermen* section of the *Isandan* sub-tribe | Cultivation grounds at Tamanṛaset<br>In the past wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, *khalifa* of the *Ṛelayddin* now attached to the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe | *Khoseni* is in command of the *Ṛelayddin* territory to which all members of the *Ṛelayddin* have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the *Amenukal* | |

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzaṛ*, while a small camp is called *ḍṛewen* or *tamezzaḳ*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100–200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *hereṛen* (or *amezzaṛ n hereṛen*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *aharaṛen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



221 many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading.
[241] Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess
[423] irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*). Some goat-camps may move their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date
[565] palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikechchemaden*) will also visit the oases
[245] of Silet and Tibeghin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are
* [233] harvested mainly by black-skinned *Ḥarratin* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar – mainly in Tamesna – and the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

423 The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in
311 individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds,
614 or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied
613 the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Ḥali* and *Aǧuh-en-tehlé*.
423 In the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondance between sections and sub-areas in the way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-areas, and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants (cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Ḥali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use
[428] these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are
[643] frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148-149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Ḥali* and *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the *Amenukal*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel Ḥela* drum-group.

423 For the land-rent (*ehéré-n-amaḳal*) paid to the *Amenukal* the tenants obtain the following rights
422 over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

[224] (3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

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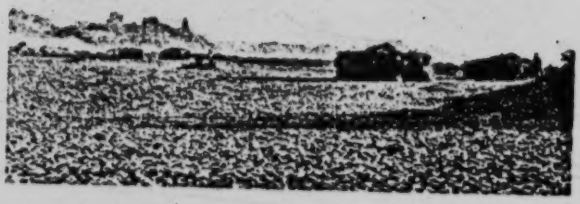

Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikebran*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhet* tribe (*Inakkemaren*).

423
422 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different
224 rules (cf. list p. 148).

423 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for
241 sub-areas of the *Dag Rali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Rali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

685 Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity
643 falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the
423 violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant
[422] dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally
[613] the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary
[114] sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

## AYR

422 The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property
* 233 marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark.
[422] However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *djwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the
[113] *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

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outlined above from Ahaggar, with the exception that the Ayr Tuareg have never practised the one year's stay in the bride's family camp after marriage. To-day the *Kel Ferwan* tribes of Southern Ayr do not follow very strictly any particular rule of residence. There is a strong tendency to patrilocal residence, but a man will usually continue to live with kinsmen of the camp where he was brought up as a child. If a man has grown up with maternal relatives owing to the loss of his father as a boy, or because his mother and father have divorced, he may remain with matrilineal relatives. I believe that all tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group of Southern Ayr are bilateral kin groups. And if in the past these Tuareg practised the rules of residence outlined above from Ahaggar, the tribes have been bilateral units as there have always been many marriages contracted between people of different tribes. Two tribes of Ayr, namely the *Imezzureg* and the *Kel Akerra*, claim that they have intermarried regularly from very ancient times, because the father of the *Kel Akerra* tribe was the brother of the mother of the *Imezzureg* tribe, while the father of the *Imezzureg* was a cross-cousin of *Kel Akerra*'s mother. These two tribes possess their individual chiefs, but have always been very mixed. It seems as if chiefs were elected according to matrilineal rules in the past, but to-day it is claimed that a son of a deceased chief should be the first in line of succession (cf. p. 456 ff.).

In Southern Ayr camps of all possible tribes to-day live among each other. There are no grazing grounds or particular territories nowadays when everybody is free to go where he likes with flocks and herds. No Tuareg have particular rights over land, and ban on grazing within certain areas, as in Ahaggar, is unknown. This is said also to have been the case in the past. But in the times preceding the French occupation of Ayr, all vassal tribes had their particular territories which, according to Capot-Rey, were formerly marked by walls (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). I have not been able to confirm this, but the Tuareg told me that in the past tribal territories had frontiers marked out by river valleys or by natural objects such as large trees. The vassal tribes did not own these territories, which were allotted them by the drum-chief of the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe, the *Irawatten*. The traditional territories or grazing grounds of most *Kel Ferwan* tribes are indicated in the list on p. 423 ff.

At present there seem to be no sectional division of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes corresponding to the division into sections in Ahaggar. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg generally live in small camps comprising a few tents. These camps, which co-operate in stock-herding, do not generally exceed four or five tents inhabited by kinsmen who generally constitute an extended family, e.g., (1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children; (2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children; (3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children; (4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband. These small camps, as may be seen, are not based upon any particular rule of residence in agreement with what has been said of residence rules above. The households of a little camp of this kind will remain constantly together to co-operate not only in goat-herding, but generally in camel-breeding also. The labour for camel-herding and caravan trading is more easily provided for in Ayr than in Ahaggar. For camels are rarely taken to very distant grazing grounds, and caravan trading is often limited to expeditions to Damergu where the Tuareg fetch their millet. The Tuareg tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group living around Agadez have no true co-operative units apart from the small camps of up to four or five tents. Such small camps of extended families may temporarily join each other in a bigger camp during the

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*ajako*. According to Foucauld a small annual edible plant growing in the Ahaggar Mountains at an altitude above 2000 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 712). Maire mentions this plant as unindentified (Maire 1933, p. 263).

Collecting is mainly the task of women, but males – particularly uninitiated boys and slaves – also participate. Seed-plants are generally harvested by rubbing the ears of the plants between the fingers, but the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle (*amreh*; Fig. 143 a–b) to be thrashed and winnowed like wheat and barley. Edible roots are frequently collected merely by hand. However, a digging stick (*élawet*; Fig. 123) provided with an iron point is also used to dig up certain wild plants such as *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) and similar root plants. This digging stick is characteristic of vassal women who use it for many different purposes, e.g., to make holes for tent poles.

The very best among the above mentioned seed-plants is the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*). Its seeds are collected or harvested by certain Tuareg inhabiting the lower parts of Ahaggar, but are important particularly to the Tuareg living in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Within the Ahaggar Massif the most important seeds are those of *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). The right to collect these seeds is free to everybody, and Tuareg of the *Abada* zone may send their slaves to the *Ajakor* zone to collect *tawit*-seeds in the mountain plateau of Asekrem. The species of *afezu* and *tawit* are sometimes protected by an ban on grazing for three and two months respectively in order that their seeds may grow ripe for collecting. The right to put a ban on grazing of the two species belongs to the Tuareg in whom territorial rights of a sub-area are vested (cf. p. 150). It is said that under very favourable conditions a single household may collect some hundred kilos of seeds of the two plants mentioned. This may seem rather impressive, but even in good years when milk is abundant collecting will not provide pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar with sufficient vegetable food, for seeds of wild plants are far less nourishing than are grains of wheat, barley, and millet. The collecting of wild plants important for food is as dependent on climatic conditions as is stock-breeding. In dry years, when domestic animals yield little or no milk at all, there will also be no wild seeds for collecting.

Fig. 127. Very small bag known as *ilem* ("skin") made from a kid's scrotum (*tigassat*). The bag contains a piece of resin of the *tamar* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). This resin is eaten by the Tuareg as a remedy against stomachache. Ahaggar, the *Aḡah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the piece of resin: 0.07 m long. (F.M. 149a–b).

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Fig. 130. Semi-wild date palms in the canyon-like Aharhar valley of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The palms are owned and harvested by pastoral Tuareg.

245 (Aharhar and Êherir) where "semi-wild" palms are abundant. These palms are owned by pastoral
[221] Tuareg of various tribes. Their dates are harvested in the autumn when Tuareg palm owners with
[342] their slaves live in straw-huts or huts covered with palm leaves situated among the palm trees.

Similar plantations of palm trees which are left to themselves most of the year are also found in
245 Ahaggar, notably at Silet-Tibeghin. Part of these palms are owned by members of the *Dag Rali* tribe
423 (the sections of *Kel Tamanrasset* and *Kel Terhenanet*) and by members of the very small tribe, the
[651] *Ikechchemaden*. The palm-owners give as an annual payment to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar one bunch
of dates from all palms which have more than two bunches. The yield of another part of the palms
[525] belongs to the vassal tribe *Iklan-en-tawsit* (the sections *Kel Silet* and *Kel Tahalra*). For usufructs,
[651] members of these two sections make a collective annual payments to the *Amenukal* comprising four
bags of dates, twenty goats, two ropes of goat's hair, and five water bags. The dates are harvested by
245 Tuareg of the above mentioned tribes in August-September. Harvesting is done with sickles and is
[221] finished in three to four weeks when the palm-owners return to their camps with dates packed in bags
[492] and loaded on donkeys and camels. In harvesting their dates most Tuareg are assisted by black-
[564] skinned agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*, or *Iseggaren*) of Abalessa who are given a certain amount of dates
[465] for their work. These agriculturists build the huts in which the palm-owners live during harvest (cf.
[463] p. 338 f.).

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Fig. 131. A *foggara* canal (*éfell*) dug into the sandy river bed, from where it is led into the gardens of the valley terrace. Southern Ahaggar, *Tafnat*.

245 [423] In Ayr there are also a few pastoral Tuareg who own date palms growing in river valleys, e.g., people of the *Imezzureg* tribe of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These date palms, like those growing half wild in Northern Tuareg countries, yield very small dates of a quality inferior to those grown in the oases under constant supervision by agriculturists. Such dates are used only for local consumption.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AHAGGAR

241 175 Irrigation agriculture has been practised since ancient times within certain territories now inhabited by the Northern Tuareg. As early as in Roman times there is reference to *Radames*, *Rat*, and certain oases of the Fezzan, which were visited by Roman Expeditions (Lhote 1955a, p. 113 f.; Duveyrier 1864, p. 249 ff., 266 ff., 275 ff., 455 ff.). Lhote thinks that the oasis of Abalessa in the lowland west of the Ahaggar Massif was also visited by the Roman general Cornelius Balbus (Lhote 1955a, p. 88 f., 113 f., 286), but this, perhaps, is to be doubted. In the writings of Medieval Arab authors there is apparently no reference to oases within the Ahaggar country, though oases in neighbouring parts of the Sahara are mentioned.

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Fig. 137. The fresh soil carried to old gardens is placed in small heaps to be spread out between the tender plants of wheat and barley. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

241 *andrum sativum*, *Cuminum Cyminum* (*azkar*), *Daucus Carota* (*ezzeruget*), *Cucumis melo*, *Lagenaria vulgaris* (cf. Maire 1933, and particularly Maire 1940, p. 401).

245 In addition to the above-mentioned plants there are various types of fruit trees which do not play
[262] any considerable rôle for food. The gardens contain very few date palm trees (*tazzayt*, *Phoenix dactylifera*) and there are no palm trees of any value in the gardens situated in the upper mountain
[251] zones where the fig tree (*tahart*, *Ficus carica*) thrives much better than in the lower country; the figs are consumed fresh, or they are put on strings for drying, common practise elsewhere in North Africa. The
[386] pomegranate (*terrummant*, *Punica Granatum*) is grown in some gardens; its fruits are eaten, and they are also used for dyeing skins (cf. p. 282). Grapes (*tezzebibt*, *Vitis vinifera*) are also grown in some gardens.

Maire mentions the cultivation of the peach (*Prunus Persica*) and the apricot (*Prunus Armeniaca*) (cf. Maire 1940, p. 401). These fruit trees have undoubtedly been quite recently introduced for Foucauld states that they are not grown in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 79 f.).

243 There are nowadays many agriculturists who have their private gardens so that they cultivate their
423 winter crops and their summer crops entirely for their own use. But most agriculturists grow winter crops of wheat and barley on behalf of the Tuareg who are then the true garden owners.

[312] Agriculturists who cultivate their gardens on their own behalf frequently irrigate crops by means
[476] of draught animals (zebus) which raise water from wells, but there are also some farmers who cultivate independently without any contract with pastoral Tuareg and nevertheless belong to a *foggara* team.
243 It can be estimated that an independently working agriculturist obtains a total yield of about 700 kilos of wheat and barley grown in winter. Of this yield he gives 10 kilos to the *Amenukal*, or to the

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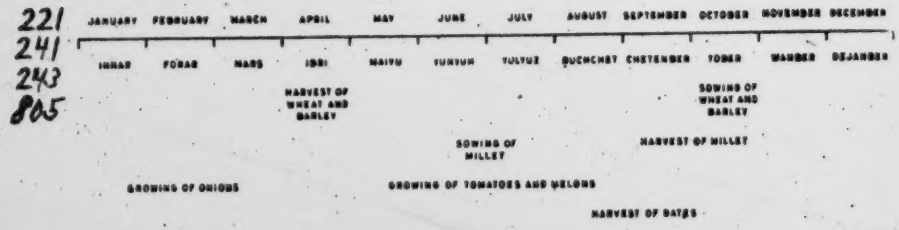


Fig. 139. Horticultural calendar from Ahaggar.

The Tuareg and the negroid agriculturists have a lunar calendar of twelve months corresponding to the Arab calendar, but a lunar calendar has no practical value for the indication of seasonal agricultural activities. The Julian Calendar is known to some people of Ahaggar as well as to other Berbers of the Sahara and the Atlas. Tuareg names of Julian months are given above. Very few people in Ahaggar know the exact beginning and the end of the twelve Julian months, but a few names are used as seasonal terms: *innar* = "midwinter", *mars* = "beginning of spring", *ibri* = "early harvest" (of wheat and barley), *maiyu* = "beginning of summer", *tober* = "late harvest" (millet).

which no definite figures can be given, while the yield of fruit trees growing in the garden plot does not necessarily belong to the agriculturist. These trees frequently belong to pastoral Tuareg.

I think it can be estimated that an agricultural household with its own garden produce about a thousand kilos of vegetables food products annually for its private use. We can add that though the members of an agricultural household live mainly on vegetable food products they also acquire a certain amount of food from livestock, which normally comprises a few goats and sheep, and perhaps one or two zebus. Conditions of stock-breeding are not always favourable to people who live continuously on the same spot, but it is advantageous to the agriculturists of Ahaggar, who live close to valleys with some pasture, that they are able to feed their animals on green garden products when pasture is badly developed and thus avoid the disaster of a drought. It is also an advantage to most agriculturists that they do not have to water their animals which can drink freely from the irrigation canals. The agriculturists can kill a few goats or sheep annually, they obtain milk and a little butter to be used mainly as a sauce for bread and porridge, and they make cheese of the *awles* type (cf. p. 224), but they never make cheese from fresh milk as do many pastoral Tuareg when milk is abundant. The agriculturists also breed fowls and pigeons, and some of them have an important meat supply from hunting with steel-traps (hares, jackals, fennecs, and ravens). Collecting, on the other hand, is of little or no value to irrigation farmers of Ahaggar.

The economic position of agriculturists who work without any particular obligations towards pastoral Tuareg is tolerably good. It is less favourable to those who grow winter crops also on behalf of the Tuareg, as do most cultivators. Some of them irrigate the garden plot with water raised from wells by oxen which may belong to the cultivator or to the Tuareg. But most agriculturists who work for the pastoral Tuareg irrigate by means of *foggara*. It is very strenuous work to dig a *foggara* canal, and co-operation is needed not only for this but also for the maintenance of the whole irrigation system. The gardens are individually tended by the agriculturists, who co-operate in the *foggara* work under the leadership of a headman known as *amgar n efeli*, that is "chief of the *foggara*". This headman is

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appointed by the Tuareg garden owners and is rewarded by a garden of his own for his responsibility in supervising all co-operative work. The unit of agriculturists co-operating at the same *foggara* may or may not correspond to an extended family. The agriculturists co-operating on any large *foggara* irrigating ten or twelve gardens frequently represent two or three distinct families which are not linked to each other by kinship bonds. The cultivators of a *foggara* comprising nine gardens at Taṛhawhawt belong to three distinct, unrelated families. This is quite natural in view of the fact that contracts between the Tuareg and the cultivators are made individually.

There may also be no kinship bonds between the pastoral Tuareg who have gardens at the same foggara, and there are even Tuareg who own two or three gardens situated in widely separated river valleys of Ahaggar. But Tuareg garden owners of the same foggara frequently belong to the same tribe or even to the same tribal section. When a garden-owning Tuareg dies, his garden will generally pass to somebody within his family, but there seems to be no fixed rules governing the transference of gardens.

The individual contract between a Tuareg garden owner and his cultivator is made for a period of six months – the period of growth for wheat and barley. The agriculturist is responsible for all garden work, and the Tuareg garden owner has the following obligations:—

(1) To supply his cultivator with a hoe every year, or every two years in case a very good hoe is given.

(2) To pay for repairs of the *foggara* system, or for the digging of a new *foggara*. This payment is known as *almarsor* and consists of two kilos of cereals or dates every working day until water reaches the garden.

(3) To pay for the making of garden beds. This payment is known as *éhéré n egalab*, and is made only once as long as the garden remains on the same spot. When a garden is moved after a period of three or four years the payment must be made again. It varies with the size of the garden and the quality of its soil; in general it consists of 15–25 kilos of cereals.

Fig. 140. Millet (*ánélé*) of very high growth. It is said that this particular millet type was introduced to Ahaggar from the south – possibly from Ayr. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azri* Arabs.

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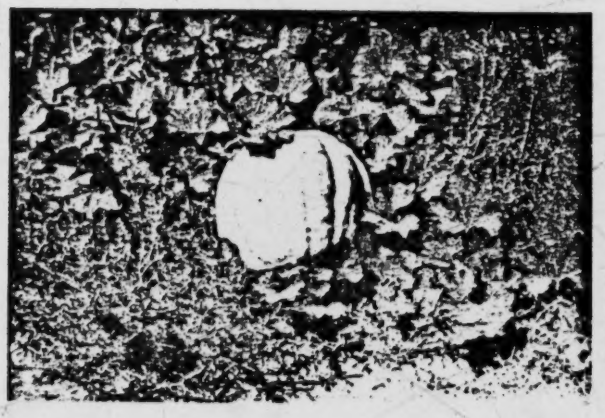

Fig. 141. The large gourd known as *kabuya* (*Cucurbita maxima*) growing close to the thorny fence (*aforag*) which term is also generally used to designate a garden. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

466 Tuareg garden owners have other obligations besides those listed under these three items, but these
625 obligations vary with the systems of contract of which there are three. One system is known as *khamast*
423 according to which the agriculturists gets only one fifth of the crops. This system is widely found in
241 North Africa but has disappeared in Ahaggar some years ago. It is said that it was abolished by the
[171] *Amenukal* because it very frequently gave rise to disputes between Tuareg garden owners and their
[578] cultivators. It is now replaced by two other systems, the *tilt* system allowing one third of the crops to the cultivator, and the *aril* system according to which crops are divided equally between the owner and the cultivator. This last system is that almost exclusively used in Ahaggar nowadays.

To revert to Tuareg obligations towards their cultivators, these obligations, in addition to those mentioned above, are as follows:—

(4) To hand over an amount of seed-corn (*téfest*) of wheat and barley according to the size of the garden plot and the system of contract. With a *khamast* agreement the Tuareg garden owner gives all seed-corn. With a *tilt* agreement half of the seed-corn is supplied by the owner, the other half by the cultivator who is then also allowed to cultivate a private garden. With an *aril* agreement half of the seed-corn is given by the garden owner, the other half by the cultivator who does not possess a private garden unless he is headman of a *foggara* (p. 196).

(5) To give an amount of food to the agriculturist during the cultivation period of six months. This payment is known as *tenafok*, and is fixed at 75 kilos of millet, barley, or dates when cultivation is done according to the *aril* system, while 150 kilos are given for cultivation according to agreements of the two systems *tilt* and *khamast*.

[434] The net profit to an agriculturist who cultivates for a Tuareg garden owner is lower than that gained by an agriculturist cultivating exclusively for his own private use. This will be seen more clearly from the calculations below where a garden with an annual yield of 700 kilos wheat and barley is considered:—

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| | *Cultivator* | | *Tuareg Garden Owner* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The khamast system* | Receipts | Expenditure | Receipts | Expenditure | |
| The *khamast* division | 140 kg | | 560 kg | | 466 |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | 625 |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | 423 |
| Seed-corn | | | | 50 kg | 241 |
| Food given to the cultivator | 150 kg | | | 150 kg | 434 |
| | 290 kg | 10 kg | 560 kg | 210 kg | |
| Net profit | 280 kg | | 350 kg | | |
| *The tilt system* | | | | | |
| The tilt division | 233 kg | | 466 kg | | |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | |
| Seed-corn | | 25 kg | | 25 kg | |
| Food given to the cultivator | 150 kg | | | 150 kg | |
| | 383 kg | 35 kg | 466 kg | 185 kg | |
| Net profit | 348 kg | | 281 kg | | |
| *The aril system* | | | | | |
| The *aril* division | 350 kg | | 350 kg | | |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | |
| Seed-corn | | 25 kg | | 25 kg | |
| Food given to the cultivator | 75 kg | | | 75 kg | |
| | 425 kg | 35 kg | 350 kg | 110 kg | |
| Net profit | 390 kg | | 240 kg | | |

A few notes should be added to these calculations of receipts and expenditure in the three systems. Thus the profit of the cultivator in all three systems is somewhat bigger than is indicated. The hoe is given by the Tuareg garden owner, who must also make certain payments for irrigation work and for the making of new garden beds as mentioned above. The garden owner's net profit in kilogrammes is consequently somewhat lower than indicated, but it should be mentioned that payments made by a Tuareg garden owner are hardly ever made in wheat and barley, but mainly in millet and dates which are less valuable, particularly so because the pastoral Tuareg acquire millet and dates at very low prices during their caravan expeditions (cf. p. 209 ff.). Therefore, the profit made by a Tuareg garden owner cannot so easily be given in kilogrammes of agricultural food products. It is evident that all three systems are profitable to the Tuareg, and it is clear that an agriculturist who cultivates a garden entirely on his own behalf is better off than an agriculturist who works for the Tuareg. It is also evident that to the agriculturist the *khamast* system is less profitable than the *tilt* system, which again is less profitable than the *aril* system. With the abolishment of the *khamast* system the agriculturists now [435]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



obtain a larger amount of vegetable food products and more wheat and barley. The pastoral Tuareg gain less from their gardens than they did when the *khamast* system prevailed, but it is still profitable for them to be garden owners.

The quantity of agricultural products anually consumed per person among the *Kel Ahaggar* is estimated by Lhote at 187 kilos millet, 15 kilos dates, and a small amount of wheat for which no figure is given. For Arabs of the Sahara the quantity of vegetable food is estimated at 180 kilos wheat, and 75 kilos dates anually per person (Lhote 1955a, p. 263). I add to this that wheat is used for bread to a very large extent by the Ahaggar Tuareg, who also make much use of barley for bread and porridge. According to Malaurie the amount of agricultural food products available per person among the Ahaggar Tuareg is about 400 grammes a day, or 146 kilos anually (Malaurie 1953, p. 342). It should be noted again that the amount of agricultural food products necessary for a Tuareg household varies greatly from one year to the other. In years of drought when agricultural products form so to speak the only source of food for the nomads, they estimate that a household consisting of husband, wife, and one child will consume about two kilos of cereals (dates) every day, or 730 kilos in a year. Consequently the amount of cereals and dates consumed anually per person may in dry years rise to about 245 kilos. This seems to correspond to the amount of food considered necessary for Arabs of Tidikelt and Tawat, who live almost exclusively on cereals and dates. When employed as labourers by the French Administration these sedentary Arabs are given 16 kilos of wheat and 4 kilos of rice a month, or 240 kilos of agricultural products anually per person (Information obtained from the administration office of In Salah in 1954). The agricultural products obtained by a pastoral household from a single garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example: During the year 1954 55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with an *aril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar Tuareg depend on caravan trading for their provisions of agricultural food, and trading also helps them to create the capital of millet and dates which is invested in their gardens in Ahaggar grown on their behalf by agriculturists. I believe that most pastoral households of Ahaggar have gardens, but there are Tuareg who have none. This is true, for instance, of most Tuareg living in and around the Ahnet Massif. Tuareg of this region formerly had gardens irrigated by the *foggara* system at Abalessa, but to-day they acquire their vegetable food products mainly by caravan trading.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AYR

The largest aggregation of sedentary people in Ayr is found in Agadez (4.737), which is inhabited almost exclusively by negroid peoples who speak Hausa though most of them also know the Tuareg language (*tamachek*). This large sedentary population mainly lives on trade and on crafts of various kinds. The inhabitants are known to the Tuareg as the *Imeggedezen*. They are said to be related to the Sultan (or the *Amenukal*) of Agadez. There is a tradition which claims that the Sultan came

643 *amenu* + (*a*)*kal*, "*amenu* of the country". The first part may be the now extinct sing. of *Imenan*, the original meaning of which is unknown ("princes"?); this agrees with Foucauld's statement that normally *Amenukal* is used as sing. of *Imenan*, meaning *iyen daṛ-Menan*" = "one of the *Imenan* tribe" (Prasse, verbal information). My own view is that though the title may perhaps refer to *akal* [423] meaning "land" it is to be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". It is evident, as pointed out recently by Briggs, that an *Amenukal* as a supreme chief does not own the land in any ordinary sense, but rather owns it as a representative of the whole community (cf. Briggs 1958, p. 88). However, many Tuareg of the south do not connect the word *Amenukal* with "*akal*", and even in the past when the supreme *Amenukal* of the *Imenan* reigned over the Northern Tuareg, he apparently did not have the supreme command of the whole country. When Duveyrier stayed among the *Kel* 173 *Ajjer*, the country of these Tuareg was divided between certain noble tribes. This division was said 631 to have taken place in the following way:— The first Tuareg who settled in Tasilé-n-Ajjer were the 614 *Imenan* and the *Ifoṛas*, while other tribes immigrated at a later date. It happened one day in the past that the supreme chief of the *Imenan* summoned the noble women who had sons with rights of succession to chieftainship, and to each of these women he alloted a particular territory as their apanage. Thus the noble woman of the *Uraṛen* tribe was given the valley of Iṛarṛaren, while the noble woman of the *Imanṛasaten* tribe gained the valley of Tekhammalt (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 323). According to this popular account the land of the *Kel Ajjer* was divided between noble tribes even at a time when 175 the supreme chief of the *Imenan*, the *Amenukal*, was the supreme ruler of the *Kel Ajjer*. In Duveyrier's 631 days the important land-holding tribes among the *Kel Ajjer* seem to have been the *Imenan* in the 614 Tasilé around Ganet, the *Uraṛen* north of the Tasilé Mountains around the valley of Iṛarṛaren, the *Imanṛasaten* east of the *Uraṛen*, and finally the *Ifoṛas* who lived in the region south and southwest [566] of Ṛadames. The *Ifoṛas* Tuareg were then, as to-day, held in high esteem because of their position as *Ineslemen*. They also claimed themselves to be noble by origin. They had no vassals attached to them, but one of the *Ifoṛas* tribes had territorial rights around Ṛadames, and it had the right to dues [651] from all foreign caravans passing through the country. Other land-holding tribes possessed the same rights for their particular territories, and their members (i.e., apparently their chiefs) at certain seasons camped around the caravan roads leading through their country to collect dues from caravan [643] traders (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff., 359 ff.). The *Kel Ajjer* country in Duveyrier's days was divided between various noble tribes, and the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Ajjer group*, the chief of the *Uraṛen*, had no rights over the whole country as such.

565 The noble Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* had rights over certain vassal tribes which did not necessarily 614 live within the territory of the noble tribe to which they were attached. Duveyrier tells us so much 642 of this vassalage that it is possible to outline the main structure of this very interesting political institution.

The noble tribes which had particular rights over vassals were the *Uraṛen*, the *Imenan*, and the *Imanṛasaten*. The last-mentioned tribe remained loyal to the ancient rulers of the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Imenan*, to whom they constituted a sort of armed guard in the past. The *Imanṛasaten* were in opposition to the *Uraṛen* but the latter tribe was very powerful because of its direct authority over most vassal tribes. In all 17 vassal tribes or tribal sections were commanded by the *Uraṛen*, while the *Imenan*,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made 634
four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his 721
part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. 565
He kept them there for about a month, when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted [227]
on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based 634
upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. 565
It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal [184]
tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were [423]
not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of 565
cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed be- 571
tween all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other 634
unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Faday*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and [564]
vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Imeggedezen* and even slaves. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the [601]
more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *abubaz* (pl. *ibubazen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This 565
statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only 582
634

177 In the last few years a number of notables, including the
492 aménokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the
643 Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them
133 to avoid rocks.

101 The Ihaggaren never travel on zebus and never use them for
492 transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

/321/ Chapter 2

## War and Raiding

721 The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

182 When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those
221 present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were
361 most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to
721 spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

727 Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not
426 own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case
714

727 of captures, however, he had to give half of the captured animals
714 to the lender. In case of failure and death of the camel, he did
426 not have to reimburse him.

721 The men met, discussed the planned expedition, and uttered
726 a ritual formula (narhal allar) which bound them together for the duration of the expedition, during which time they were to give mutual assistance to one another.

Then they named a chief who was not necessarily an Amajer /sing. of Imochar - Ed./ but a man renowned for his courage, his /322/ suitability, and his experience on expeditions of this kind. Then the group left, preceded by scouts.

726 All baggage was left behind. Everyone mounted on camel back, taking only the bare necessities for the road, for it was necessary to go quite fast and try to keep the animals in good condition. Before sunrise, the raid was already on its way, and the rapid pace was maintained without stopping until evening. The men ate only
[262 a few dates at noon, did not take their siestas, and ate a meal
264] only in the evening -- all was sacrificed to the speed of the march, which was the key to success.

Nearing their goal, the raiders forced their march even more if that were possible, and they often divided into two parties; one was entrusted with seizing the animals and bringing them to a specified point, the other created a diversion in the enemy camps to sidetrack them.

The surprised enemy was attacked with gunshots by a few men
[411] deployed as riflemen, while meharists swooped down on them, hurled their javelins, and then soon came to hand-to-hand fighting. The people who were attacked, for their part, tried to find out the strength of the assailants, and depending on the case they retreated or themselves attacked.

In spite of this martial deployment and the vigor of the attack, these combats were not very deadly, in general, and did not always cause deaths.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



565 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance,
651 to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The
[178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are
[789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals, but these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility
[721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also
[422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these animals.

The master of a temażlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids, but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the
[643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellaǵ* or half of the booty taken by all vassals
[727] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for
[426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also known as *abellaǵ*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been given to the Amenokal. The temażlait-masters were apparently without any judicial
[692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller units within the drum-group – the temażlait-relations – were predominantly economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit, the drum-group.

### *The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.*

565 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately
192 open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheren* (sing. *Amacheŋ*), but correctly this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohaŋ* (sing. *Amahaŋ*). It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb *ahaŋ* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that this latter word is identical with *Hoouara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

631 The founding of Tamanrasset is attributed to them; it is said to
427 be the work of the chief of the Issenda (Issendaten) fraction, Ilachen
[175] by name. This creation goes back some sixty years, but the irrigable lands were the property of the Ajjer. In the last few years, the Imanrassatên, who were the true proprietors of the cultivable lands at Tamanrasset, came several times to claim the rental price which was one ass or a sheep per year according to the place. But this claim was only payable if the owners presented themselves; the year not claimed was gained by the renter.

[651] They often found themselves in conflict with the aménokal, be-
631 cause they made difficulties in paying the tiousée.

They are subdivided into Kel Aguelella or Kel Ťarhaouhaout, into Kel Rapsa or Kel Ezarounfat, and into Issendaten or Kel Ťahifet.

631 The Aït Loaien. -- The Aït Loaien get their name from the verb
173 élouai, which means "to attach camels in Indian file." (1)
[192]

1. According to Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, p. 148.

Through their ancestor Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, they are said to be of the same origin as the Dăg Râli and the Kel Ăhnet: At the time of the division of the Imrad, it is said they were bestowed half upon the Inemba and half upon the Tégéhé Mellet. They are subdivided into Irayen (today extinct), Kel Torha or Dăg Houa, and Aït Loaien proper.

631 The Aït Loaien pay the tiousé to the family of the Téjéhé-n-ăgg-
[651] Ali, also called Kel Ahamellen (Kel Rela), and the Dăg Houa group pays it to the Tégéhé Mellet.

[578] Formerly allied to the Imekkérressen of the Ajjer group by numerous marriages, they separated from them following disputes and the murder of one of them, the Tuareg Reskou /196/ ag Yahia, famous in all the Ahaggar. Since then, the Imekkérressen have settled in the Ajjer.

177 marabouts from the Touat who brought with them the system of
241 irrigation by foggara. The Tuareg later grasped the advantage they could gain from multiplying these centers, and so, at the moment of the French occupation, more than forty centers were being exploited.

423 The enjoyment of land appertains to the people who first culti-
241 vated it. Land of itself appertains to the amenokal, but he leases it out and in return levies an annual tax -- mesk -- on the harvest, in
[427 the amount of four guessa of wheat, or about 10 kilograms per garden.
65] The land may thus have as proprietors Imochar or Imrad, indeed Enaden, but Iklan may not hold gardens.

Gardens are not cultivated by their proprietors but by Negro
241 tenant farmers, natives of the Touat or Tidikelt, who are called
427 harratin (singular hartani). An arrangement is worked out between them and the proprietors on the following terms: the proprietor furnishes the hartani two loads of millet a year for his sustenance,
[312] seeds, a hoe, and then pays for digging /245/ the wells of the foggara. Once the foggara has been dug, the hartani is responsible for keeping it up. He sows, waters, harvests, threshes the grain, and keeps one-fifth of the harvest. Furthermore, he has the right to sow on his own account in the irrigation canals and to cultivate several beds of vegetables.

[311] Centers of cultivation are set up on the terraces of valleys when
312 they are wide enough and have old alluvial deposits. The feggaguir
[241 /plural of foggara -- translator/ of the Ahaggar have nothing in common with those of the Tidikelt or those in the Saoura oasis, which pipe water to the gardens from great distances, from the geological faults where it is retained. In the Ahaggar rain water collects in the wadi beds and is stored under the sand. The feggaguir are therefore dug in the wadi bed and seek water at distances varying from one to seven kilometers. The wadi presents a certain slope, and it is necessary to bring the water gradually to the same level or to a level slightly higher than that of the gardens. The feggaguir

202
237 The ass is never eaten, and its skin is not used.

233 The horse. -- The horse is not a Saharian animal. In 1929 there were four horses in the Ahaggar belonging to the aménokal.
[643 Today there are about twenty of them belonging to the members of
644] his family or to the notables of his camp.

This is an expensive luxury, for these animals must be fed with
[184 barley, and there is not enough barley for the people themselves.
262] It tends to replace the camel for the Sudanese Tuareg.

/254/ The zebu. -- A few years ago the aménokal owned a
[648] small herd of zebus which he had had sent from the Sudan. This
[137] animal is not raised in the Ahaggar proper, and it could not be, for lack of appropriate pasture.

[312] The zebus serve in the agricultural centers by drawing water. They are furnished to the tenant farmer by the proprietor of the land,
[427] and they are very poorly fed on hardship rations of hay and grass, or else they are put in rush pastures, which are generally plentiful in the agricultural centers.

[438] When the animal is tired, the owner exchanges him if that is at all possible. The privations which the zebus must undergo bring about their death in a relatively short span of time, and so in the Ahaggar it is a question of keeping them alive rather than raising them. In any case, they never follow the camps in their moves and never live near them.

361
136 When we talked about the camp, we told how the search for pasture directed its location.

233 Insofar as animal husbandry properly speaking is concerned, we
361 observe that the small animals -- sheep, goats, and asses -- always stay in the Ahaggar and move with the camp.

As for camels, this is not the case; they are often put out to pasture far from the tents, watched only by a few shepherds. The majority are even kept in the Sudan 800 kilometers from their owners'

492
484 the pasturing place as rapidly as possible, and so they assure a strictly disciplined march for the caravan.

From this come the two systems of proceeding used respectively by the Arabs and the Tuareg.

486
643 /315/ Caravans which used to cross the country of the Ihaggaren were obliged to place themselves under the latter's pro-
648 tection by paying a toll agreed upon in advance. The duty went to the amenokal, but protection was ensured only within the bounds of his authority, which quite often did not go beyond the limits of his own tribe. And so the caravaneer was subject to continual solicitations from the people living on the land he crossed, and it was often very difficult to escape them. A guide was sometimes placed at his disposal and received remuneration in kind.

When the boundary of the territory was reached, the pro-
[579] tection stopped there, and the greed of the Tuareg was so great that they sometimes did not hesitate to go pillage outside their territory the caravan they had just protected. This often brought on conflicts from tribe to neighboring tribe, but in the final analysis everything was settled at the expense of the caravaneer.

● 427 Sometimes the Tuareg rented out their camels. Some Tassili
492 tribes made a specialty out of transport between Ghademes and Ghat, while the Issekkemaren agreed to rent their animals between In-Salah and the Sudan. They derived considerable profits from this work.

As a result of these continual deductions in advance, the caravaneer could transport only goods whose trade was very remunerative.

484 Caravaneers have a custom of placing provisions needed for
674 their return in the rocks or in sheltered places. These provisions are left without a guard, and nobody would think of taking them.

423 celed out to Haratin sharecroppers although some of them used to be worked by slaves. Since ownership of land is never outright in
[427] any case, each leaseholder must pay rent in one form or another to someone or other at least once a year.

565 Vassal clans usually pay annual tribute to their tribal chiefs or to the Amenokal, or
651 both. This tribute includes such things as dates, millet, congealed melted butter, baby camels, sheep, goats and manufactured articles of various kinds, a share of all merchandise imported by the clan as well as a share of the profits from any caravan commerce they may have, and about half of any booty they may capture in independent raids. Each vassal family used to contribute towards the upkeep of a particular noble family, and the nobles in their turn, men and women alike, were constantly begging from their vassals who could hardly afford to refuse them. But if this begging became unbearable, the vassals would sometimes pull up stakes and move quietly out of reach of their noble parasites.

Lhote (1955, pp. 190–91) says that all adult
651 males, potential warriors that is, of the Ahaggar confederation, were supposed to pay an annual head tax of 5 francs (then worth about 4 cents) each to the Amenokal as recently as 1948. Hunters annually paid in mouflon for exclusive local hunting rights. After each harvest each Hartani would pay a third of a bushel (more or less) of grain to the Amenokal for each garden plot that he worked, in addition to a share of the produce which he paid to the local leaseholder. But much of this fiscal system has fallen into disuse in re-
651 cent years, for the Amenokal together with
178 his whole camp is now supported almost entirely by the French Government, which also contributes free grain weekly to many of the poorer Haratin. Once more it is the middle class, the vassal Tuareg and the lesser nobles in this case, who suffer most severely from the stresses of cultural change.

**Tuareg Economy and the Roots of the Class**
233 **System.** All Saharan nomads live primarily off their livestock, and livestock lives off pastur-
137 age. There are two main kinds of pasture in the Sahara, the permanent growth of wiry yellowish grass, little woody shrubs and thorny bushes that one finds scattered very thinly

and shields; mehari saddles, saddlebags in all shapes of carved 439
and colored leather, little leather boxes, glossy blue cloth, "ilechchane," gandurahs with sleeves, black cloth ("kehal") for veils, and finally "tikamarine," or dry cheeses. In the Aïr saddles for horses are made, shaped like Mexican saddles and having round stirrups of heavy copper covered with leopard-skin (the Amenokal Moussa ag Amastane has one).

To the Aïr, and sometimes to the Damergou, they bring salt taken from the sebka of Amadr'or, "chegga bought in the Tidikelt, camels, donkeys, dates bought in the Tidikelt, "teheredjlé" (Hartemisia herbalba, Composeae), etc.

[133]

Crater of the
Ouksem Volcano

3. Adhar and Niger, from which they get bechna, rice, sheep, and camels. They bring in salt, "chegga," and dates.

4. Ghat and Ghadames, but seldom. There they buy extra fine burnooses, sabers, sugar, tea, and "chegga." They bring in camels, waterskins, camel-hair ropes, and sheep. /69/

In addition, the people of the Tidikelt, especially the Ahl-Azzi, come to buy wheat and barley on the spot, which they gather into their "ar'erems."

The Tuareg of the Ahaggar would like very much to have, 439
like the Azdjer, the protection of the big caravans which go 484
from Tripoli to Ghat, to the Aïr, and to the Sudan. Thus they 427
would hire out their camels to traders, and this would be an important source of revenue for them (the Aï-Loa'in already hire out their camels toGhat traders). They would very much like to see this current turned toward the Ahaggar, and we have the greatest interest in urging them on this course.

5; Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



*Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Aǥouh-en-Tehele Clan.*

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafia).

| Tenants | Value of Sub-Area | Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Aǥouh-en-Tehele, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tôles. | Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Daledge. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication. | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, Khalifa of the Ikenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds. | 3 goats |
| ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader. | Cultivation grounds at Inagriouel and In Deledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 2 donkeys |
| DEINI, Chief of the Kel Rafia sub-clan. | No particular value. | No land-rent. |
| AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section. | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Asernan section of the Isandan sub-clan. | Cultivation grounds at Tamanrasset. In the past wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaiddin now attached to the Aǥouh-en-Tehele clan. | Khoseni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaiddin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal. | |

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651
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423

clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Aǥouh-en-Tehele have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Isekkemaren class. Between the Aǥouh-en-Tehele and the Isekkemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Aǥouh-en-Tehele people come to the Isekkemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Isekkemaren visiting the Aǥouh-en-Tehele. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

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[431]
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[Text continues on p. 110]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



*Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Dag Rali Clan.*

(The clan is divided into two matrilineages: 1) the Dag Rali proper comprising most members of the Kel Tamanrasset and the Kel Terhananet sections, 2) the Imesiliten comprising most members of the Kel Hirhafok and the Kel Tiñhart sections.

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| Tenants | Name and Value of Sub-Area | Land-Rent to the Amenokal |
|---|---|---|
| DANGOCHI, Clan chief belonging to the Kel Tamanrasset section. Rights to this subarea is not necessarily vested in the chief. | ISEKRAM<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. – (For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant). | 2 goats |
| JERKIE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section. | TADJEMART<br>No particular value. | 2 water bags.<br>1 rope of goat's hair. |
| AMMA, of the Kel Terhananet section | ARECHCHOUM<br>No particular value. | 2 water bags.<br>1 rope of goat's hair. |
| KHABTE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section.<br>ARKASSEN, of the Kel Terhananet section. | IN DALADJ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep.<br>Wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| AFARAK, of the Kel Hirhafok section. | AKALARAREN<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. | Unknown |
| BOUSKEAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the Kel Tiñhart section. | TAHAT<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months. Domestic animals never graze in this area. | Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown). |
| DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet. | ABELESSA<br>A very extended area comprising the village of Abelessa and many other agricultural settlements. | No land-rent as the Amenokal receives dues from crops of every garden in this area. |
| DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet. Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections. | TAESSA<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep. – Domestic animals are never allowed to graze in this subarea, and barbary sheep are protected for three months every year. | 1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep) (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) is also given to Dangochi as clan chief). |

5; Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1955, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Rali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent *(ehare-n-amerdal)* paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:–

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. – Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Rali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatos.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.

174 It seems to have existed in ancient times among all the Hamites. Frobenius sees traces of it in traditional customs which leave the raising of the tent to the women and give them a monopoly on leather-work. These singular characteristics reveal the primordial nature of the sentiment of life among the Hamites. (1)

1. In Jenson, "Les orbes culturels de l'Afrique /Culture Spheres of Africa/," L'Afrique, Cahiers d'art, 1931.

428 554 622 Among the Ihaggaren, the wife wills her social and political rights to her children. These are particularly important when it is a question of the succession of a chief. Political filiation of the first degree is made to the brother; in the second degree to the eldest son of the maternal aunt; in the third degree, to the eldest son of the eldest sister, which constitutes a guarantee for blood descent in the line of chiefs.

184 622 The Ioullimmiden /Aulliminden/ do not practice political succession according to matriarchal rules. The explorer Barth has even reported that they consider this custom shameful "and show that the chief has little confidence in his wife's virtue." (2)

2. Voyages et découvertes en Afrique /Travels and Discoveries in Africa/, vol. I, p. 205.

174 Though command is now the privilege of the men, it is not impossible that in the past women were invested with power. We have evidence of it in the story of the Berber queen, Kahéna, who for a long time resisted the Arab invaders who were trying to conquer Aurès in the eighth century. The legend of Ti-n-Hinan, maternal ancestor of the Ihaggaren Tuareg, leads us to believe that the woman was their queen. In 1475, a Berber fraction settled

567 of their ancestors. Ahaggar slaves are perfectly adapted to the desert and possess physical qualities of sobriety much superior to those of their racial brothers /170/ in the Sudan, who have difficulty living there when they are transported from the Sudan.

The Akli is subject to forced labor at the will of his master. He owes all his work to his master and is his property, but he receives a few advantages and can use a few days of work a week for himself.

In the Ahaggar the Iklan are treated perfectly well by their masters, to whom they are quite attached. They share meals with them and sustain with an even temper the good or bad fortune which the camp enjoys. Their children are reared with those of the Tuareg and on the same footing.

They benefit from certain humanitarian rules which do credit to the Tuareg. Thus a slave who is too young or too old cannot be liberated and must be supported by his master.

[428] The Iklan are bequeathed as a heritage; they may be possessors of animals, whose usufruct they then have; but upon their death these animals fall to their masters and not to their own children.

The Imochar, Inislimen, and Imrad have all rights over their slaves. The latter cannot marry without their consent. Generally, 567 when there are a man slave and a woman slave in the same camp, 582 they are married to each other, and the man receives a goat which 583 he gives to his wife as a bride price. If the slave wants to seek a wife for himself and finds one in another camp, he receives nothing from his master and must find the means to pay his wife's bride price by himself; this bride price is commonly fixed at ten goats. The slaves put in charge of keeping the flocks and who are often absent from the camp because of their occupation usually do not [836] marry. "They take their pleasure where they find it," said Father de Foucauld.

565 The Tuareg often take slave women as concubines. There are 567 several advantages to this: first, they have no bride price to pay, 595

565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
567 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as
[428] his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can inherit from their father.

565 /171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with
833 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
558 not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that
[842] the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

867 The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
[838 other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found
679] for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed
[272] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves
[304 first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not
234] hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former amenokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Amastan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

567 A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or
685 when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense, the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice, according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

/273/ On their fingers Ahaggar women wear big, round-shaped rings, made of small cases in which there is a little pebble which tinkles like a bell. Rich women wear two or three on each hand. 301 [556]

The wrists are adorned with hollow silver bracelets with triangular cross sections, bearing little linear drawings. There are also rather

[531]

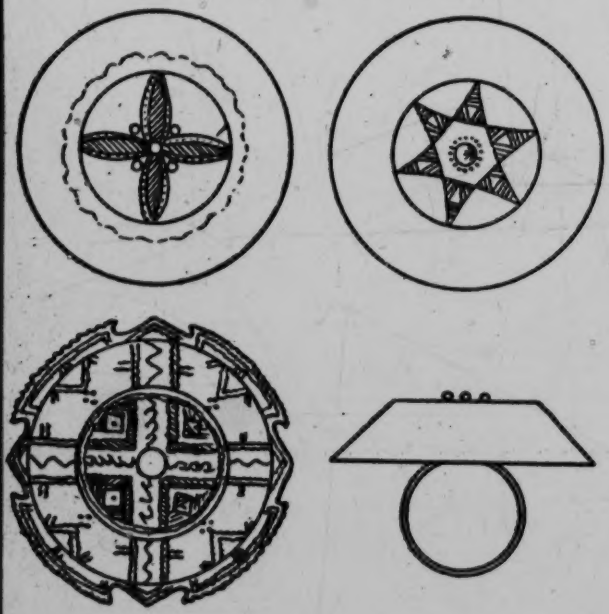

Fig. 43. Ahaggar women's rings.

broad black horn bracelets. Bracelets of Sudanese origin made of multicolored beads mounted on leather are also adopted by a few women. [177]

The neck is ornamented with a necklace bearing an oval (?) shell or a substance coming from a native Nigerian animal, which could very well be the manatee. This jewel (ameréouan) is extremely valuable and very rare in the Ahaggar. It is handed down from mother to daughter. [237] [428] [556]

622 ship, and so an undesirable heir-apparent can easily be passed over in favor of a less direct heir who is considered acceptable (Butaye, 1957).

614 The position of an Ahaggar Tuareg clan is not firmly fixed within the framework of the confederation. Component clans will sometimes break away from one tribe in times of adversity and attach themselves to another and more powerful tribe that is better able to protect them. In the old days vassal clans were sometimes swapped back and forth between noble clans, and so had their tribal allegiance changed for them more or less arbitrarily. At least one clan, the Ibotenaten, has been reduced from noble to vassal status, in this case by a crushing defeat suffered in the course of a blood feud. Thus the distribution of the various clans within the tribal framework of the confederation tends to change gradually [578] over the years, while internal tribal crises and intertribal warfare naturally accelerate the process.

[582] Marriage is usually although not always within the clan but outside the first degree of 614 cousinship and outside the camp community- 611 or fraction. A child of Tuareg parents inherits rank and privileges through the mother, re- 428 gardless of whether she is a member of the father's clan or not; but the child is known as "Such-and-such, child of So-and-so," the parent thus referred to being the father, and inheritance of property follows Moslem law (*see* the Koran, iv, 12 and 175) which provides that a male heir shall receive twice as much as a female heir who is related to the deceased in the same degree. Today a Targui, asked to give his ancestry, will recite the list of male forebears in his father's line, although Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 321) tells us that in the 14th century descent was counted through the mother's brother, and a man's heirs were his sister's children rather than his own. Bates (1914, p. 112), citing Duveyrier (1864, p. 397), says that property acquired by force of arms used to be inherited by "the eldest son of the eldest sister of the deceased."

591 A newly married couple live in the camp of the bride's parents for about a year and then usually move over to a camp of the husband's people, but they sometimes settle permanently among the clansfolk of the bride if she and her

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 562
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé, "
or tribute from the "imr'ad, " or serfs. Not only is the son [611
noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless 565]
of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child, "
but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as his
husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is 562
not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except [576]
as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi, " over
her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, [574
etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances 431]
between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives
her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is [595]
the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" 562
.V ] , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, 572
while she gives him something for his personal use. He is,
in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine
embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal
of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while
Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines
which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man [574]
who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

At the end of mourning, the women of the camp lead the 765
widow out to see the sunrise; the Koran is held open before
her and she is made to look at salt. Upon her return, she may
dress as before and make herself pretty. A collection is taken [768]
up for her. /25/

## Chapter XIII

## Inheritance. Succession

Inheritance, "takasit" ⵜⴰⴽⴰⵙⵉⵜ , (from the verb 4280
"ekkous," to inherit) is of two kinds: political inheritance,
if I may so express it, and private inheritance.

The first is the right to command and to the collection of
the "tioussé," or tribute from the "imr'ad." This is handed
down according to the laws of inheritance of which we will
speak later.

As to private inheritance, it is collected by the natural
heirs according to Moslem laws of rights, which means that the
son has a right to an amount double that of the daughter. The
animals left as inheritance are assessed and are divided ac-
cording to this assessment. These shares are then chosen by
lot.

## Chapter XIV

## The Home. The Tent

All the tents of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar confederation 281
are made of the hides, "ilmaouen" ⵍⵎⴰⵡⵏ , of goats or sheep, 342

Concerning inheritance. We have seen that private inheritance is passed on to the natural heirs, according to the rules of Mohammedan law. As for political inheritance, that is to say, the right to the title of chief of a tobol and to the collection of the "tioussé," or tribute from the imr'ad, this is handed down according to special rules. [428] 611 631

Duveyrier has told us that these rights are handed down "to the oldest son of the oldest sister." I would never have dared to go on record as disagreeing with a statement from such an authority if I did not have complete assurance that the order of inheritance is not exactly that which Duveyrier indicated, and I will furnish proofs of this assurance in the chapter entitled "Genealogy" in the second book of this study /not translated/. [114]

I would therefore say that with the Tuareg when a tobol chief dies there are to succeed him: /51/

1. His brother (the oldest of those living, if there are several)
2. The oldest son of his maternal aunt
3. The oldest son of his oldest sister

This last one is only the third in line.

It is the ancestress, it is her daughters who hand down to their children the right to the "tobol." At present the Kel R'ela trace back their laws of inheritance and of access to the tobol to Kella, their ancestress, and the Taïtoq to Sakina, a contemporary of Kella and a collateral relative. [173]

The son follows the tobol of his mother. Thus, if the father belongs to the tobol of the Kel R'ela, for example, and the mother to the tobol of the Taïtoq, the son would belong to the tobol of his mother. This is what happened to Sidi ag Keradji, the present amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet, whose father was of the tobol of the Kel R'ela and whose mother was of the tobol of the Taïtoq. The same applies to Attici ag Amellal and his brother Anaba, whose father belonged to the tobol of the Tedjehé Mellet, and who /themselves/ at present belong to the tobol of the Kel R'ela.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air
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sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullemmeden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, p. 213; 1950c, p. 492f. – Richer 1924, p. 3, 52) an interesting matrilineal custom has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhazera (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Dubiéf has further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubiéf 1956, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes. In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *taousit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan. 614 [162] [565] 613 614

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult. 114 611 [177]

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. 611 [591] [428] [631]

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage. 428 [422] [174]

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10. 614 591 768

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
692 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-
643 wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer. The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
178 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
643 to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[59] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[70] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
Scale raiding.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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scale raiding. He would discuss all important matters with vassal chiefs and with his noble deputies known as *Khalifas*. At present the Amenokal has three Khalifas two of whom live in his own camp, while the third is his representative in Tamesna, where many Tuareg of his drum-group live. 643 [645]

The Amenokal never had the right to part of the bride-wealth from marriages among his vassals, nor did he receive a camel at the death of a vassal as was customary for the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan in Air. The Amenokal still has the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief within his drum-group, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal clan, the Dag Ṛali, has the right to one of the Amenokal's riding camels on the latter's death. [583] [651] [428]

As the representative of the Kel Ṛela drum-group the Amenokal is in certain cases entitled to property owned individually by his subjects. When a person dies without children or paternal kinsmen, his fortune is divided into six parts one part of which goes to his mother (or his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts are given to the Amenokal. In case the deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, the whole fortune of livestock is taken over by the Amenokal. He, however, will not himself make any use of the animals, but will leave them in the clan to which the deceased person belonged. They will there be under the supervision of the clan chief, who also has usufructs of them. Animals taken over by the Amenokal in this way are known as *ehere oua n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group"), or *ehere oua n boutelma* ("the fortune of the public"). 428 643 [614] [422]

The vassal clans of the Kel Ṛela drum-group pay an annual tribute known as *tiouse* to the Amenokal. The size of this payment varies from one clan to another. It is normally collected by the clan chiefs who send it to the Amenokal, but the three subclans of the Agouh-en-Tehele pay their tiouse separately as follows:– 643 614 651
1) The Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan: 600 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kg of butter. The man who brings this payment to the Amenokal is rewarded with a gift of 15 metres of cotton. 2) The Isandan sub-clan: 300 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kg of butter. The man who brings this receives a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. 3) The Kel Rafsa sub-clan: Like the payments from the Isandan.

The whole Dag Ṛali clan pays its tiouse as follows:– 12 bags of millet corresponding to 6 camel-loads are given to the clan chief, who will send 10 bags to the Amenokal, and keep two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole clan gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the Amenokal.

One vassal clan, the Ait Loaien, does not make its tiouse payment to the Amenokal but to a Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Emori section of the Kel Ṛela. According to Lhote a certain family among the Dag Ṛali makes an annual payment to a noble Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Tahat section (Lhote 1955, p. 224). It is in fact possible that the Amenokal nowadays receives tiouse payments which ought to be made to other noble Tuareg. This I imply from the information from a man who told me that the Isandan sub-clan according to traditional rules should pay tiouse to a 565 614 643 651

764 /147 cont./ A meal is served to those present at the expense of the deceased according to the instructions he has given before his death. If his wishes were not carried out, the livestock earmarked for the occasion would perish.

763 It is said that he who dies in a position of rest, his arms relaxed, his face serene, was a good man and has every chance of being rewarded. On the other hand, he who expires all curled up and with his fists clenched against his face was a bad man; even if he hid his faults during his lifetime, he is doomed to future woes.

428 The rules of inheritance are poorly known by the Tuareg; only the old know the customs, for to a greater and greater degree the tolbas introduce Moslem law.

When a man dies, one eighth of his property goes to his wife, the rest to his children. If there are no children, a /148/ third is for his wife, with the rest going to his family, part to his parents, part to his brothers and sisters. When the wife dies first, all of her property goes to her children if she has any; if she has none, half goes to her family and the other half to her husband. The property of a deceased person without heirs, a rare condition, are administered by the tribe's amrar for the benefit of the collectivity.

By an oral will made before two witnesses, a man may leave no more than a third of his fortune to an heir not designated by custom.

000 This description of a Targui's life from infancy to death provides merely a glimpse of the customs of a part of the population of the Ahaggar, the part that commands, the part that seems most attractive to the traveler, to the tourist; but one must think of the humble ones, of the harratin cultivators of the agricultural centers, of the Tuareg's black servants, their former slaves. The collecting of their traditions, which are grafted on the framework of Tuareg customs, should be a work apart, for a serious study of the Blacks cannot be

# Social Aspects of Stock-Breeding

Pastoral Tuareg have (or had) important matrilineal traits of social organization and also patrilineal traits which have been adopted partly through contact with the Arabs from whom they have taken over the Islamic rules of inheritance. Koranic inheritance rules are followed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, but some social aspects of Tuareg stock-breeding differ in these two areas. 611 428 177

## AHAGGAR

I shall briefly describe the Koranic rules valid for inheritance of all kinds of individually owned property, e.g., livestock, material goods, and money, though most Tuareg do not regard money as something to be conserved. It is a main rule that children inherit their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as large as that allotted to a daughter. Important details of these rules can appropriately be illustrated with a few examples which I took down in Ahaggar:— 428

(1) A married couple having a son and a daughter. When the husband dies all his property is divided into eight parts of equal value. One of these parts is given to the widow, and the remaining seven parts are thereupon re-divided into three parts, two of which are allotted the son while one part is given to the daughter. When the widow dies her property is divided into three parts – two parts for her son, one part for her daughter.

(2) A married couple having a son and a daughter. The wife dies and her property is divided into four parts – one for the widower, another for the daughter, and two parts for the son. When the widower dies his property is divided into three parts – two parts for the son, one part for the daughter.

(3) A married couple having no children. At the death of the husband his property is divided into four parts. Only one of these parts is allotted to the widow, while the remaining three parts are taken over by individuals of the husband's family according to the rules mentioned below for inheritance from an unmarried man.

(4) A married couple having no children. At the wife's death her property is divided into two parts. One part is given to the widower, the other to the deceased wife's family.

(5) At the death of an unmarried man one sixth of his property is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), while the remainder is taken over by his father.

(6) An unmarried man who has lost his father, but has alive his father's father, a brother and a

[p. 137]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



428 sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states [114] that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar (and in Ayr) denied this.

428 643 Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Rela* drum-group has no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however, [632] will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *éhéré wa n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group)", or *éhéré wa n butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

422 It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually, [858] and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may [553] own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions, e.g., on the naming-day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong 422 to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should 592 serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic 422 unit of closely related stock-owners.

* 233 All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar [114] Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite [576] to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks [602] so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual 422 ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which * 233 time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark 565 their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe (the *Dag Rali*) donkeys are also branded with a redhot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



614 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member
591 of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with
[682] the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two
[672] tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a
611 tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is
[428] valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered
[565] indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed
614 by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one par-
613 ticular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area
505 which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are
631 named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also
423 attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have
[643] particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339).
[162] Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory
[578] of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names –
613 generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections
621 within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



221 many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading.
[241] Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess
[423] irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*). Some goat-camps may move their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date
[565] palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikechchemaden*) will also visit the oases
[245] of Silet and Tibeghin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are
* [233] harvested mainly by black-skinned *Ḥarratin* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar – mainly in Tamesna – and the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

423 The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in
311 individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds, or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied
614 the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*.
613 In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondance between sections and sub-areas in the
423 way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-areas, and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants (cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use
● [428] these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are
[643] frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148-149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Ṛali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the *Amenukal*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group.

423 For the land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) paid to the *Amenukal* the tenants obtain the following rights
422 over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

[224] (3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikebran*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhet* tribe (*Isekkemaren*).

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224 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 148).

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241 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dag Rali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Rali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

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643 Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant
423
[428] dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally
[613] the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary
[114] sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

## AYR

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*233 The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark.
[428] However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *éjwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the
[113] *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 109. A family camp of four mat-covered barrel-vaulted tents. Ayr, the *Igendéynen* tribe.

422 * 233 donkeys by certain Ayr Tuareg are most interesting. Though such marks are used by many tribes there does not seem to be a great variety of them, and I have noted only the following marks:—

[565] (1) *tallayt*, that is the tip of right ear cut off while a slit is cut into the left ear. This mark is said to be used by all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the members of the two tribes *Kel Akerra* and *Imezzureg*, who claim to be noble by origin, have an additional brand burned into the left hind thigh close to the animal's anus. This brand is called *ekomed*.

(2) two slits in the animal's left ear. Though different from the mark just mentioned it is said also [565] to be called *tallayt*. It is used by the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg (the *Irawatten*), and also by the negroid *Irawélen* who in the past were once slaves of the nobility.

(3) *tabelechchat*, that is one slit in the left ear. This mark is used by the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

[428] Though all property marks are patrilineally inherited it may happen in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, that a Tuareg use two marks. For certain Tuareg will use the mother's father's mark for animals given them [77] by their mother's family, other Tuareg have been brought up among matrilineal kinsmen whose mark they have adopted, and there are also people who have adopted their mother's family mark because they believed that their father's mark brought them bad luck in camel-breeding.

614 The Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group fall into a number of units which are known by the word *tawchit*. It seems to have much the same meaning as the word *tawsit* of Northern Tuareg dialect, but is also used to designate the so-called spiked wheel-trap. I call these units for tribes as they do not seem to correspond to unilateral descent groups. Many tribes have a tradition of their descent from a common ancestress, but though tribal members may know her name they are never able to connect her with their genealogies which are very badly known. To my knowledge there are no tribes of true Ayr Tuareg that are named after an ancestress or have avuncular names. The Ayr tribes have geographical names or are called after an ancestor to whom they are also unable to connect their [591] genealogies. It is possible that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in the past have followed the rules of residence

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



462 231 [492] Among Northern Tuareg vassals donkeys are tended by women, who use them for riding and transportation over short distances. Tuareg men rarely ride donkeys, but the assistance of men is needed in connection with some of the tasks of donkey-breeding:—

It may become desirable to increase the stock of donkeys by catching wild animals as already described above. This is always done by men who also break-in the captured animals for riding. The assistance of men is also frequently needed for catching half-wild, though domesticated donkeys.

The marking of donkeys, castration, which is rarely performed, and the curing of diseases, which are also rare, are said to be tasks which should properly be carried out by men.

[565] Vassal women only tend camels when all men are absent from their camp.

The above rules of division of labour are in general also valid in Ayr among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. But there are in Ayr vassal Tuareg who have no camels and vassal men in Ayr frequently ride donkeys. The tending of cows in Ayr is mainly the work of women, who are also more familiar with cattle terms than are the men. – Among the *Kel Ewey* the skinning of goats and sheep, as well as the partition of the meat, are done by women.

●428 In the Tuareg groups I have studied both men and women inherit camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys according to Islamic rules of inheritance.

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Fig. 110. The skinning of a gazelle placed upon straw of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ahaggar, the *Tayssit* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



241 appointed by the Tuareg garden owners and is rewarded by a garden of his own for his responsibility
312 in supervising all co-operative work. The unit of agriculturists co-operating at the same *foggara* may
461 or may not correspond to an extended family. The agriculturists co-operating on any large *foggara*
476 irrigating ten or twelve gardens frequently represent two or three distinct families which are not linked to each other by kinship bonds. The cultivators of a *foggara* comprising nine gardens at Tarhawhawt
[675] belong to three distinct, unrelated families. This is quite natural in view of the fact that contracts between the Tuareg and the cultivators are made individually.

423 There may also be no kinship bonds between the pastoral Tuareg who have gardens at the same foggara, and there are even Tuareg who own two or three gardens situated in widely separated river
[614] valleys of Ahaggar. But Tuareg garden owners of the same foggara frequently belong to the same tribe
[423] or even to the same tribal section. When a garden-owning Tuareg dies, his garden will generally pass to somebody within his family, but there seems to be no fixed rules governing the transference of gardens.

466 The individual contract between a Tuareg garden owner and his cultivator is made for a period of
675 six months – the period of growth for wheat and barley. The agriculturist is responsible for all garden
423 work, and the Tuareg garden owner has the following obligations:—
241 (1) To supply his cultivator with a hoe every year, or every two years in case a very good hoe is given.

(2) To pay for repairs of the *foggara* system, or for the digging of a new *foggara*. This payment is known as *almarsor* and consists of two kilos of cereals or dates every working day until water reaches the garden.

(3) To pay for the making of garden beds. This payment is known as *éhéré n egalab*, and is made only once as long as the garden remains on the same spot. When a garden is moved after a period of three or four years the payment must be made again. It varies with the size of the garden and the quality of its soil; in general it consists of 15–25 kilos of cereals.

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Fig. 140. Millet (*ináli*) of very high growth. It is said that this particular millet type was introduced to Ahaggar from the south – possibly from Ayr. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

173 565 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day.

[172] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten* people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides, two men known as *Mokhammed ag-Kerku* and *Émenni ag-Khedidda*, both members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* claim that their tribe descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten* formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Ṛali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten* were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and introduced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient *Isebeten* contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much [651] difficulty. For the word *Ésebet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending from the woman *Ésebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Ṛali* [114] [428] tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a, p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 614 565 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are known by the name *Kel Ulli*, that is "the goat people", or by the name *Imṛad* which perhaps also refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *eṛeyd* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas [433] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly [224] important to the *Dag Ṛali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this ancient people.

173 565 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytok*, said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Beraber*, and that they were Islamic. The claim that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyound doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Isamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



and the manufacture of decorated leather-bags, camel-reins, etc., and decorated wooden milk-bowls, the noble women do extremely little work. 565 462

Among the *Kel Ajjer* we find some of the above-mentioned distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals. The traditional dwelling of many vassal Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer is the cylindrical hut (house) with a conical roof, though vassals in winter use skin-tents during nomadic migrations. Nowadays noble and vassal Tuareg alike live in straw-huts throughout the hot season. Barth, in his description of the *Kel Ajjer*, mentions that the vassals have no right to possess iron spears and swords (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257), but it is stated explicitly by Duveyrier that noble Tuareg and vassals have the same weapons – the shield included (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 f.). There can be little doubt that Duveyrier's statement is true, and I have been told among all Tuareg that in the past noble and vassal Tuareg did not differ in regard to weapons. A distinction would also seem rather strange in view of the fact that Tuareg of both classes fought together. Barth says that noble Tuareg and vassals differ in dress, but he does not give details (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257). 565 342 565 411

As to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, both noble and vassal Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any cultural distinctions between them. Bride-wealth in both classes was paid in camels. We know that the Ayr vassals in the past were predominantly goat-breeders, like many Ayr vassals to-day, and it seems as if camel-breeding was once a privilege of the nobility in the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 431; cf. tradition on the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan*, p. 421). I have not been able to find differences between the two classes in regard to material culture and social organization. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group say that they never have had types of portable dwellings other than the barrel-vaulted mat tent, which traditionally belongs to the woman. 565

There is very little information about cultural distinctions between noble and vassal Tuareg in other groups. Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* the vassals apparently use the arched mat tent more frequently than do noble Tuareg, but this and the skin tent supported by vertical sticks carrying cross-bars are found in both classes (cf. Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372 f.; Gabus 1945, p. 361 & 1948a, p. 15 & 1948b, p. 16). Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* the mat tent is used by certain noble Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f.). According to the chief *Amder* women's riding saddles for camels (*akhawi*) among the *Kel Ataram* are found only in noble tribes. Vassal tribes of the *Kel Ataram* living close to the Niger even to-day practise matrilineal rules of inheritance and succession in contrast to noble tribes with rules of patrilineal succession and Koranic inheritance (cf. p. 457). [428]

Cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals are particularly prevalent in the two groups of Northern Tuareg, and it is significant that the traits characteristic of the noble class are also common among the *Ireqenaten* who live in Tamesna. This tribe is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the *Ibettenaten* tribe, which claims noble descent, and Arab men. This explanation is found in literature (cf. Lhote 1955, p. 238 f.; Briggs 1958, p. 100) and has been confirmed to me by Tuareg of this tribe. It is interesting that some traits characteristic of the noble tribes among the Northern Tuareg are also found in tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The tribes of this latter class are said to be related to Arabs among whom we also find some of these traits. [171]

We do not know when the noble Tuareg in the northern groups adopted traits that are also found among Arab bedouins. One might perhaps venture the theory that some of them were introduced 177

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



602 However, the Tuareg say, a man can complain in very extreme cases when sons or sister's sons constantly take animals from him. I have met several Tuareg who have lost many animals taken by sons and sister's sons. One Tuareg had lost seven camels, taken by his oldest son, who had sold them. The Tuareg was very annoyed about this but he had not complained about it directly to his son. The old drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group was constantly complaining to me about his sisters' sons, who took his animals so that he could not leave so large a fortune to his son. He openly called his sisters' sons "thieves", but as far as I know he did not complain about it to them. I was also told in Ayr that the fact that a man could take animals from herds and flocks of his true mother's brothers would not normally lead to conflict between them. Some Ayr Tuareg said that they were as fond of their sisters' sons as they were of their own children. It can be added that if a man has taken many animals from a mother's brother the latter's son may perhaps be able to retaliate as he has the right to take belongings from this man, who is his cross-cousins.

(6) As the last characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour it may be mentioned that, among certain Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, it is normal for a man to inherit the kinship status of his parents on their death, in the way that he adopts their joking relationships with their classificatory cross-cousins, but he will never inherit a joking relationship with the true cross-cousins of his deceased father and mother.

The above-mentioned rules of kinship behaviour seem traditional to Tuareg social organization and very different from those considered valid among the Arabs. The social systems of Tuareg and 177 428 Arabs are on the whole most disssimilar, but nevertheless the Arabs and the Tuareg of to-day have exactly the same rules of inheritance which follow Koranic law. It is evident that these rules have been introduced among the Tuareg owing to contact with the Arabs who brought Islam to North Africa. It is very difficult to determine when the Tuareg adopted Islamic inheritance rules, and also to learn about their pre-Islamic inheritance system.

634 643 In regard to Tuareg rules of succession there can be no doubt that the matrilineal principle was originally recognized in all groups, but the patrilineal principle has been introduced into certain groups owing to Arab influence. The Tuareg who have adopted patrilineal succession are notably the two groups of *Iwllemmeden*, the *Kel Adrar*, and Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class in various groups (cf. Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.; 1950a, p. 213). In fact we know that the *Iwllemmeden* adopted patrilineal succession as early as in the 17th century (cf. Richer 1924, p. 3, 52; Nicolas 1950a, p. 54 f.), and patrilineal succession is undoubtedly also of great age among the *Kel Adrar*, where the dominant tribes belong to the *Ineslemen* class. As to the two important groups of Southern Tuareg, the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, Nicolas states that succession among them is matrilineal, as it is in Ahaggar (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.), and matrilineal succession is also mentioned as traditional to the Ayr Tuareg by Rodd (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). I have not been able to confirm these statements [119] during my investigations among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. All people questioned in these two groups claimed that the proper successor to chieftainship would be the deceased chief's son, though it was admitted among the Ayr Tuareg that a sister's son might be elected chief if considered better fitted for this position than a son. It would be correct to state that both the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* to-day acknowledge the patrilineal principle of succession, but it is not quite certain when they

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



adopted this rule. There can be little doubt that it was introduced among them owing to contact with other people, perhaps with the *Ineslemen* Tuareg. The *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, like other Tuareg, once in the past followed matrilineal rules of succession, for this is proved by history and tradition.

It is frequently stated in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the sister's son is the first in the line of succession. As early as Ibn Batutah it is mentioned that among a Southern Tuareg people known as *Mesufa* a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegidda-n-edrar immediately south of the Ayr Massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). Rodd states concerning Ayr that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and refers to the fact that this rule has often been followed at the election of sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). According to Barth, a sister's son was preferred as chief in Ayr and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 374 f.). In the case of the Tuareg of Ghat (Ṛat) (Tasilé-n-Ajjer), Richardson states that the chiefs and sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65 f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have Duveyrier's statement that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship, but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397 ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg), a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). Most *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg have long ago adopted patrilineal succession and Ḳoranic rules of inheritance, but matrilineal traits are found in certain tribes of the *Kel Ataram* group. Gaalon states that the Tuareg of the Cercle de Dori (within the Niger Bend) even follow matrilineal rules of inheritance in the way that a deceased man's sister's son comes first in the line of inheritors. A woman will not generally possess any big fortune – apart from the dowry which on her death goes back to her parents or their family (Gaalon 1939, p. 232). An interesting matrilineal custom is also mentioned from the *Kel Ataram* by Feral. He states that property considered indivisible is still inherited by a sister's son in certain vassal tribes around Gao (Feral 1955, p. 21 f.). During my visit to camps of *Bélla* and noble Tuareg near Ayoru on the Niger I was also able to collect evidence to the existence of matrilineal traits in the *Kel Ataram* group. *Bélla* men informed me that a powerful sister's son among the *Imṛad* or vassal tribes would be able to inherit his mother's brother, and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Tahabanat* tribe claimed that vassals even to-day practise matrilineal inheritance the sister's son being the intestate successor. But all other pastoralists in the region of Ayoru but the vassals follow patrilineal rules of succession and Ḳoranic rules of inheritance.

We see that a sister's son even to-day may have inheritance rights among the South-western Tuareg, and the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors for several Tuareg groups. However, there are also in literature statements that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed in the case of the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhaẓera 1908, p. 51, 97 f.), by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152 f., II, p. 916 f.), and by Lhote, who refers to Benhazera's statement (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Furthermore, Dubief has explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Dubief 1956, p. 89), and

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224 on sandy ground. This same method is also used to catch asses or wild donkeys for domestication (cf. p. 108).

(7) It has been mentioned above (p. 108) that wild donkeys are also caught by driving them into closed valleys from which they cannot escape. As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not hunt proper game animals in this way, but the driving method is used in fishing as described below (cf. p. 164).

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*éfeław*) (Fig. 113) connected with a noosed rope (*taṛant*) attached to a piece of wood (*aḡula*) is used to catch gazelle, barbary sheep, and donkeys. Such traps are easily and quickly manufactured by the Tuareg, and when they want to trap gazelle in this way they make a great many traps which are placed in the sand around young acacias upon which the animals feed. [43] The arrangement of the spiked wheel-trap is brilliantly illustrated in literature (cf. Lhote 1951a, photos p. 112-113; Brouin 1950, p. 454).

(9) A torsion trap (*tenḍerbat*) provided with a noosed rope is used particularly for barbary sheep. This trap is also depicted in literature (Lhote 1951a, p. 113; Mérite 1942, p. 185). The trap is rare in Ahaggar nowadays. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that the trap was introduced from Adṛaṛ-n-Foras. It is said to be unknown to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (cf. Fig. 114a).

[564] [177] The Ahaggar Tuareg nowadays engage little in trapping in contrast to the negroid agriculturists (the *Ḥarratin*), most of whom have steel traps (*elkhenlyet*) manufactured in Europe, or made by native blacksmiths on the European pattern. A few agriculturists have large steel traps to be used for gazelle, barbary sheep, and even for the big gazelle and antelope, but the common steel traps are small and are used mainly for hares (*émerwel*, fem. *témerwelt*; *abeknl*; *Lepus harterti*), jackals (*ébeggl*, *aggwr*; *Thos aureus* sp.), and fennecs (*akhorhl*, *éṛechter*; *Fennecus zerda*). Still smaller traps are used for minor [223] rodents (*éḍewl*; *Gerbillus gerbillus*?) (*akundar*; *Masoutiera* sp.) and for certain birds such as ravens (*aṛaleḳ*, *taslaft*; *Corvus ruficollis ruficollis*), pigeons (*akekkemaẓ*; *Columbia livia targia*), turtle-doves (*tédebirt*; *Streptopelia turtur hoggara*), and sand grouse (*tékaḍewt*, *tédebirt*; *Pterocles* sp.).

Steel traps are now widely used, and traditional trapping methods for small animals and birds are therefore rarely resorted to. Among the *Kel Ajjer* small rodents are caught in snares (*asendi*) made of leather. Snares of this kind are known both to pastoral Tuareg and to sedentary agriculturists of Ganet and Ṛat. Among the latter there are also two different trap-systems used for small rodents, which in both systems are killed by a flat, heavy stone falling upon them. One of these traps is named *téselselt*. I do not know whether these traps exist in Ahaggar.

223 Small birds, including pigeons and turtle-doves, are caught in torsion traps by sedentary agri-
564 culturists of the oases. Traps of this kind, which are normally provided with a net (cf. Fig. 114b), are found in most oases of the Northern and Central Sahara, but I have never seen them in use among pastoral Tuareg. Pigeon, turtle-dove, sand grouse, and also partridge (*Alectoris barbara duprezi*) are caught in snares made of hair. Ten or twenty of these snares (*éḡefey*) are attached to a string so that several birds can be taken at the same time. Bird-snaring is practised mainly by sedentary agriculturists.

262 Sedentary agriculturists, slaves, and some vassal Tuareg are not squeamish. Even meat of beasts
565 and birds of prey is eaten by certain vassals, though such animals are unclean and inedible according to Islamic rules. The meat of fennecs, jackals, and a large eagle-like bird known as *tamikkla* is eaten

[text continues on p. 162]

32 If, secondly, we look for the aptitudes which the Tuareg have for working these different raw materials, we notice that their enumeration follows the same order as above, with the reservation 325 that none of them know how to work metals. The latter occupations 463 are the prerogative of the Enaden, that is to say, the artisans, and 564 it is evident from this that without the artisans' help Tuareg industry would be limited to work in wood, leather, and esparto. In short, it is the cultural cycle of the pastoral peoples of the steppe.

It is only much later, when the Tuareg had integrated the [174] Enaden with their social organization, that they used metals. Therefore, 415 we perceive the considerable 531 role which artisans must have played in technical evolution and that of art itself.

Fig. 46. Wooden funnel.

/277/ The presence of Enaden in the camps has reduced the manual labor [322] of the Tuareg, but the latter are still able to make wooden articles -- milking vessels, bowls, tent stakes, etc.

565 One of their most curious customs is that women from the high 462 nobility work wooden vessels and funnels with their hands by means 322 of a little adze. They usually give them to the wives of their Imrad, who are very appreciative of these gifts. In the Ahaggar camps we 431 found many little utensils which were the work of famous noble-women, of tamenokalin whose names are piously kept; these objects were saved with much veneration. This custom is even more re- [174] markable since we know the scorn that the Tuareg have for manual labor; we must see in it a relic of woodworking which must formerly have been everyone's work, without distinction before the creation of the artisan class.

553 852 Naming the child. -- It is then that the child is named. A choice is made among several names by drawing straws. In the tribes of the Aïr, when there is a dispute over the choice of a name, each of the parties present brings a small goat and secretly gives it the preferred name. The mother, who does not know who has donated each goat, chooses the one she likes and has it slaughtered. [674] The child must then bear the name which had been given the goat for the occasion. Then a meal is served to the people of the camp [431] and to the guests, and a present is given to the marabout if one came.

[302] The same day the newborn's hair is cut for the first time, and the marabout places an amulet around his neck.

551 /284/ The names given to children are quite varied and sometimes very whimsical. They observe customs like those of the American Indians, and so the parents take into account certain fortuitous circumstances which surrounded the birth. We have seen a young girl who bore the name of Tédigrès, meaning "hail," because there was hail at the moment she came into the world. Others bear the names of animals such as Ẋnaba, the panther; Ẋbagui, the jackal; Acotey, the jerboa; Tinirt, the antelope; Ẋhenkatt, the gazelle, etc.

[177] Because of Arab influence, the Tuareg have adopted many names taken from the Bible and Arabized, e.g., Moussa from Moses, Firhoun from Pharaoh, Younès from Jonas, etc.

They also bear very ancient names which come to them through tradition and whose meaning and origin they are ignorant of: Akhamouk (masc.), Amastane (masc.), Yklou (masc.), Chékou (fem.), Tinguelous (fem.) (1)

1. This name may come from the Latin angelus.

From then on the child has his father's name joined to his and keeps it all his life. There are no family names and marriage does

841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
842 a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[788] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old
[782] tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
769 pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout
[431] an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
846 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.
431

Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
862 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his
854 stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
[184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimmiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This
[171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are some-
[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
85 Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517 ennobles the woman.

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
[412 302] an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of
Tagant and Hodh.

Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
291 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
855 girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear
[556] trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From
that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while
the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated for either the boy or girl.

The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
868 the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
857 which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
[462] milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of
this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then
fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games
between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet
stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly
speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a
camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
[212] Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they
are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
[145] when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
291 father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
[431] ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good advice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 562
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé, "
or tribute from the "imr'ad, " or serfs. Not only is the son [611
noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless 565]
of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child, "
but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her
husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is 562
not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except [576]
as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi, " over
her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, [574
etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances 431]
between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives
her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is [595]
the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" 562
.V] , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, 572
while she gives him something for his personal use. He is,
in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine
embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal
of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while
Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines
which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man [574]
who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

The women get up and make a sort of mattress of sand or earth, 585
which is called "adebel" ⵍⵍ ⵓⵓⵎ and which is covered with
a haïk. Over it will be set the skin tent on two wooden arches,
"idjedjan" ⵉⵉⵉⵉ , and the usual pegs.

But at this point the men intervene and seize the tent
cover. Two on one side and two on the other, they throw it [777]
back and forth three times, calling "Saoula iaoulit (throw and
send back)." This brings good fortune.

Then the tent is finally set up. The men lead the groom
to the tent. He is made to go around it three times; then he [777]
enters, taking care to put his right foot in first, again because
this brings good fortune.

The groom is in the tent with his friends. The women 585
then accompany the bride while singing: 533
539

"Bismillaten ar essa ⵓⵓⵓ

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MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*Agg Elkher*, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [175] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals. [643]

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. 614 634 [431] [178]

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 656 [583]

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:– 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Teouit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar



*Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Aǵouh-en-Tehele Clan.*

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafia).

| Tenants | Value of Sub-Area | Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Aǵouh-en-Tehele, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tôles. | Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Deledge. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication. | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, Khalifa of the Ihenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds. | 3 goats |
| ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader. | Cultivation grounds at Inagriouel and In Deledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 2 donkeys |
| DRINI, Chief of the Kel Rafia sub-clan. | No particular value. | No land-rent. |
| AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section. | Cultivation grounds at Tahilet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Asrenan section of the Isandan sub-clan. | Cultivation grounds at Tamanrasert. In the past wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaiddin now attached to the Aǵouh-en-Tehele clan. | Khoseni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaiddin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal. | |

621 427 614 233 651 224 423

clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Bali and the Ait Loaien, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Aǵouh-en-Tehele have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Isekkemaren class. Between the Aǵouh-en-Tehele and the Isekkemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Aǵouh-en-Tehele people come to the Isekkemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Isekkemaren visiting the Aǵouh-en-Tehele. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

000 565 614 [431] [602]

[Text continues on p. 110]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar



for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food. 233 511 [492] [439]

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like. [234] [262] [291] [291] [283]

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Rela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temaĭlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. [422] [565] [114] 565 651 [421] [431]

868 /139 cont./ horses; no one may touch her ribs." As a matter
[211] of fact, many of the letters are not found in this phrase, but it is a good enough reminder.

Among the imrads the young boy, from the age of ten, accompanies his father to the Sudan or to the Amadror saltworks. In this way, little by little, he acquires knowledge of the trail. The noble remains at camp longer; by listening to the discussions of his elders he becomes acquainted with the art of command.

884 Gradually, the young Targui begins to wear the veil, at first using an old chèche /scarf/, which he tries to arrange in the proper fashion. At the age of fifteen he will put on the taguelmoust /blue veil/ for good during a celebration; he
[431] will take part in an ilougan /tournament/ mounted on his own camel, the gift of his godfather, or on a borrowed animal.

On this occasion he receives gifts, a takouba /sword/, a taguelmoust, or a takamist /a kind of gandurah worn on festive occasions/. He is now a young man. The girl officially takes
[881] her alechou /shawl/ at the time of puberty; she also receives gifts: the alechou, clothes. She is made much of. Now she is considered to be a woman. Until now she did not speak before the men, maintaining a shy attitude; now there is an end to that, everyone obliges her to talk and to conduct herself as a lady of the house.

Boys and girls who have assumed the taguelmoust and the alechou may thenceforth attend meetings of the adults, but they do not speak except when asked a question.

The occupations of the young people are practically the same as those of the adults. The girls help with cleaning the tent, mend clothes, and make leather bags; among the imrads, they milk the cows.

/140/ The young man begins to travel alone and tends the camels. If he still amuses himself by fighting with his friends, he no longer fences with the takouba, a practice in former times.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The Ayr Tuareg say that the blacksmiths do not have *ténet* words for everything, but always use Tuareg words for certain objects and animals. It is in fact possible that the *ténet* language has been created by the blacksmiths to be used as a secret language. This explanation agrees excellently with the social position of blacksmiths. They make weapons, ornaments, household implements, and the like for the Tuareg. The Tuareg therefore consider them indispensable, and admire them for their skill. But this is only one aspect of the Tuareg attitude towards blacksmiths who are also looked down upon because of their obscure origin and their predominantly negroid appearance. Furthermore, blacksmiths are frequently wearisome to the Tuareg. They claim gifts from the Tuareg on every possible occasion, and if they are given nothing when they ask it is believed that they can do severe harm to the persons from whom a gift is claimed. For the blacksmiths possess a mystic power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama* or *tezma*. This mystic power has nothing to do with black magic. It comes into action automatically without any physical performance by the blacksmith if his demand is ignored. The *ettama* power is dangerous to children and to animals but not so much to adults. Children frequently fall ill with a swollen belly, while the effect on domestic animals is more severe and often causes their death. Though blacksmiths do not perform any physical act to put their mystic power into operation, they are nevertheless held responsible for damage ascribed to it by the Tuareg. This can be illustrated by the following example from Southern Ayr: – An Ayr Tuareg was on his way from Damergu to Ayr with a caravan of camels loaded with millet. One evening at dusk, when he was just about to lead his camels out for grazing at night, a blacksmith came to him to ask for a gift of millet. The Tuareg said that the blacksmith had better wait until next morning as it was already getting dark. The blacksmith went away, and shortly after his departure one of the Tuareg's camels fell ill and died. The Tuareg was convinced that the death of his camel was due to the blacksmith's *ettama* power, and therefore wanted revenge. He mounted a camel, pursued the blacksmith and killed him with an axe. This event happened only a few years ago. It illustrates how firmly many Tuareg believe in the evil *ettama* power of blacksmiths. In fact many Tuareg openly declare that they dislike and fear all blacksmiths. They do not like to associate with them except on festive occasions when blacksmiths frequently act as singers and musicians. The Tuareg never intermarry with people of the blacksmith caste, and even people of other negroid castes are reluctant to intermarry with blacksmiths. In Ahaggar a marriage may be contracted between blacksmiths and *Ḥarratin*, and in Ayr there are said to be a few marriages between blacksmiths and people of other negroid classes or castes. But on the whole the caste of blacksmiths (*Ineden*) can be characterized as endogamous. This is quite natural in view of the fact that blacksmiths possess the evil mystic power (*ettama*, or *tezma*), which I have described in more detail elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1961, pp. 134 f., 146).

Between fair-skinned, true Tuareg and other black-skinned castes but that of the blacksmiths, marriages are contracted now and then, and it seems as if mixed marriages of this type are becoming more and more numerous. In Ahaggar there are some marriages between Tuareg and women belonging to the castes of slaves (*Iklan*) or sedentary agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) and there are even marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg women and negroid men though such marriages are less frequent. Mixed marriages are even more frequent in Ayr. The offspring of such unions are known in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer as *Iburelliten* (*Aburelli*). This word is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 683 233 436 682 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *tilḡal*, or *chét awétay* | (one year old) | 10 | *tibeydeḡin* | (white) |
| 10 | *tihusin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *titlaṛin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *iekkenifaklen* | (3 years old) | 10 | *tizeggeṛin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiṛuyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *tibhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chét eszin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *tilemlaṛin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chét okkoz* | (6 years old) | 10 | *tizeṛifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *timesseḡas* | (7 years old) | 10 | *timengelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chét tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 | *tikewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tireḡḡanin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *tizerrafin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *tiwinaṛin* | (white cornea) |

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 565 524 237 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[text continues on p. 104]

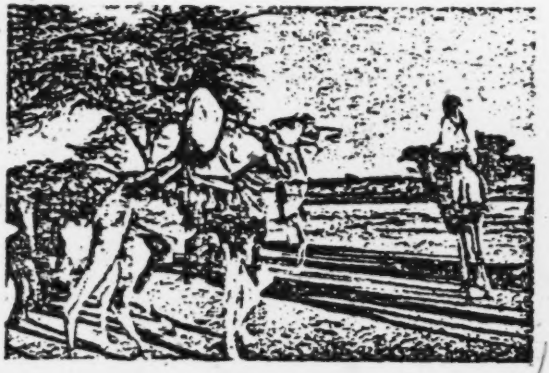

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afagag* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two Southern Ayr, *Iewedlen*.

Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

In a ceremonial ride termed *ihefon* (*ihegan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal* were raided by people of his drum-group, the *Amenukal* had the right to a tribute named *ennehet* which according to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amenukal*'s drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the *Amenukal* to whom they paid *tiwsé* for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347 f.).

The drum-group (*eṭṭebel*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The federation (*iégehé*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship (*tehandezzit*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is true notably of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar. People of the *Dag Ṛali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group joke with the tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The word "*Isekkemaren*" means literally "people who lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg and true vassals, who say that the *Isekkemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals will joke with the *Isekkemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Isekkemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed between *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Isekkemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg come to the *Isekkemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the *Isekkemaren* visiting the *Aguh-en-tehlé*. The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relationship to the noble *Kel Ṛela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Ṛela* engage in sham-fights (*tebbillant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between the *Kel Ṛela* and the vassal *Aguh-en-telhé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between *Isekkemaren* and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Isekkemaren* tribes (*Iheyawen Hada, Kel Taẓulet*) and the *Aguh-en-tehlé tribe*. Wedding feasts in these *Isekkemaren* tribes are most popular with young men of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Isekkemaren* girls. Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages, if any, while this was not so in the *Taytok* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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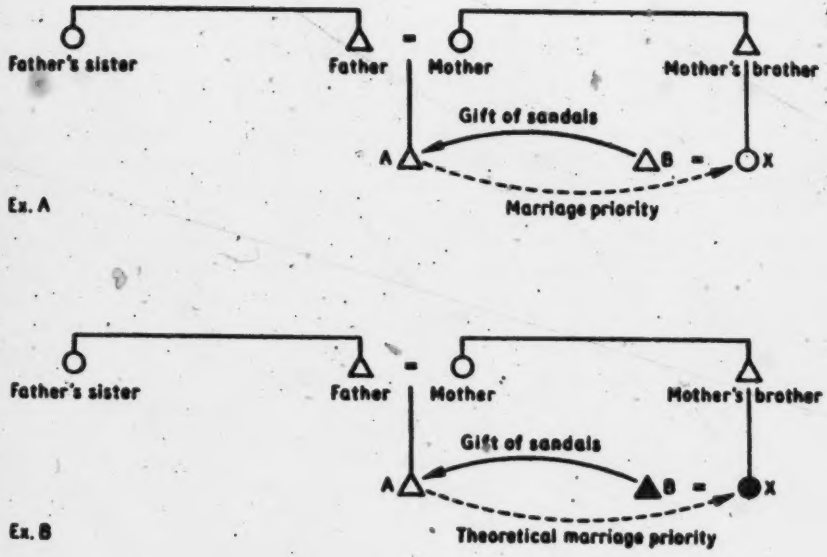


Fig. 292. Diagram illustrating how Tuareg slavery in Ahaggar is based upon kinship structure.

Ex. A. The Tuareg A has a sort of first-priority to marriage with his mother's brother's daughter X, who, however, marries B, who has no especial right to marry X. During the marriage ceremony B or one of his brothers must thus give a pair of sandals to A.

Ex. B. The slave-girl X belongs to A's mother's brother and is the latter's fictive daughter; she is therefore regarded as A's mother's brother's daughter, and A accordingly has first-priority to marriage with X. As a slave-girl, however, X will marry the slave B, but A will receive the gift of sandals, just as though X were his actual mother's brother's daughter.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



567 608 in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner. When a slave marries a slave girl the latter becomes the daughter-in-law of her husband's owner, and there will consequently be a kind of avoidance between these persons as between other relatives-in-law of different generations. In connection with slave-marriages it is of some interest to mention the following custom practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar:—

[582] [43] Among the Tuareg of Ahaggar a man has a certain marriage priority to his mother's brother's daughter according to rules which are outlined in the next chapter (p. 458 ff.). Therefore when a Tuareg's mother's brother's daughter marries somebody else the first man vill be entitled to a pair of sandals from the groom. In agreement with this custom a slave when marrying a slave-girl must give a pair of sandals to his wife's owner's ("father's") sister's son as explained in the diagram above (Fig. 292).

(2) The husband in a Tuareg pastoral family stands in the relationship of "father-in-law" (*adeggal*) to all slaves owned by his wife, while the wife is the "mother-in-law" (*tadeggalt*) of all slaves owned by her husband. Between these fictive relatives-in-law there is institutional avoidance which, however, is far less strictly observed than for true relatives by marriage of different generations. Owing to these rules a man must not or should not marry a slave girl owned by his divorced or deceased wife, just as it would be improper to marry a daughter-in-law.

(3) It is not forbidden for a man to marry a slave-girl whom he owns, even though she is considered his "daughter". This does not disagree with ordinary kinship-rules for a man is permitted to marry some of his classificatory daughters. If a man marries his own slave girl his children, among the Ayr Tuareg, would not be considered *Ichardanen* or *Iburelliten*, that is "mulattoes". They have the right to be considered true Tuareg or *Imajeren*, but in case of disagreements between a Tuareg of this type, and other people, they will call him by one of the terms used for "mulattoes", and may even call him "slave". If a man marries a slave girl who does not belong to him, his children of that marriage will [583] not become true Tuareg. But a Tuareg who wishes to marry a woman of slave status or a mulatto will attempt to secure the acknowledgment of his wife and her children as true Tuareg by the payment of a high bride-price. Thus a Tuareg of Ahaggar who married a mulatto girl gave for bride-wealth seven camels as is customary for noble Tuareg in the two northern groups, though the price according 554 to traditional rules should not exceed the value of one camel. It must be added that the position in Tuareg society of people who are not true Tuareg by origin depends greatly upon personal qualities. If a man is wise, rich, and generous, or if he is a marabut, all Tuareg will be ready to associate with him on equal terms even though he be predominantly negroid. I have noted several examples of this, and once met a very negroid nomad who was greatly respected by all Tuareg because he had once [564] killed seven goats in one day to entertain foreign guests. There are certain classes and castes in Tuareg [567] society. Formally it seems comparatively easy for children of mixed marriages of Tuareg and slaves to be considered Tuareg as slaves have a social position different from that of true black-skinned castes.

567 608 (4) If a slave woman has suckled a Tuareg girl or has taken a little fair-skinned Tuareg girl to her as her own, she will be recognized as the girl's true mother. And if the slave woman has children of her own they will be recognized as brothers and sisters of the little Tuareg girl. When the Tuareg girl later marries, her husband will be considered the true son-inlaw of her slave-mother and there will

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



634 Nicolas says that a maternal cousin is the first in line of succession, not only among the Northern Tuareg,
643 but also among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). This, however, is not correct.
[114] I have been told by many Tuareg in Ahaggar that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies seem to intimate that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Ahaggar Tuareg, whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom, claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statement this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

591 The rules of residence have been outlined in a previous chapter (cf. p. 142 ff.), and I have mentioned
768 that in Ahaggar residence is based upon both the patrilocal and the matrilocal principle as follows:—
586 A man remains with his father after marriage, but after his father's death he joins the camp of his mother and her brothers to live with his matrilineal relatives. A woman after marriage moves to her husband's camp. At her husband's death she will return to her father's camp, and if her father be dead she will join the camp of her mother and her mother's brothers. In case of a divorced woman the same rule is observed, but the children of a divorced couple belong to the father, and stay in his camp as long as he is alive. After his death they belong to the camp where their mother lives. However, the Ahaggar Tuareg sometimes dispense with this rule in case husband and wife belong to different classes or castes (cf. p. 22). It may even happen that children of a dissolved marriage, where husband and wife come from the same class or caste, grow up with their mother – particularly if, when the divorce takes place, the children are so small that they need their mother's care. On the whole, however, the Ahaggar Tuareg follow the rules of residence indicated above, and we have already seen that these particular rules are strongly supported by the authority of the *Amenukal*. The same practise
[178] was perhaps once also followed by the Ayr Tuareg, but, as we have seen (p. 152 f.), in the *Kel Ferwan* group there is nowadays a strong tendency for a man to remain with his patrilineal kinsmen after his father's death. The rules of residence do not play a very important part to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg nowadays. The political unit of the drum-group has very little practical value, economic and political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals have disappeared, and there are no land rights to which certain individuals succeed.

582 In the light of what has been said so far about Tuareg social organization, we shall now consider their traditional rules of marriage. Preferential marriage is that with a cross-cousin; the very best is to marry a mother's brother's daughter, but father's sister's daughter is also considered a suitable choice. An exchange of spouse between two family groups is considered most excellent. It is thus considered ideal for brothers of family A to marry sisters of family B, for brothers of family B to marry sisters of family A.

If Ego marries a classificatory cross-cousin it seems preferably for him to marry one of his mother's
[43] family. This is intimated by a custom connected with marriage in Ahaggar:— At the beginning of the wedding ceremony a pair of sandals should be given to the man who does not marry the bride though traditionally possessing a sort of prior entitlement to do so. Such men are:— (1) the bride's father's sister's son; (2) the bride's father's mother's sister's daughter's son; (3) the bride's father's father's brother's daughter's son.

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the 291 302 386 515
Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been
sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga."

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵓⵙⴼⴰⵔ 177
plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⵔⴰⵏ , and believe in their efficacy. 278
This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, [432 556]
for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his
purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees
that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very [648
willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly 757]
be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" 164
ⵜⴰⵣⵣⴰⵇ , gonorrhea, "talaoaît;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi"
ⵜⵙⵎⴷⵀⵉ ; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴽⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔⵄⴼ .

## Chapter XVII

## Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro 563 567
and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the [721]
Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which [439]
brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes
without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave 178
them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the 567
progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

bridge of the nose of a calf, so that it hurts its mother when it tries to suck (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 359). – 233*
(3) *akimbab*, that is a plaited muzzle which allows the calf to graze, but prevents it from sucking. I have been told both in Ahaggar and Ayr that such muzzles are used for camel calves, but apparently they do not constitute a normal weaning method. – (4) *asedres* or *ameru* are said to be synonymous terms for the weaning method generally adopted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. The method is as follows:— The upper lip of the calf is pierced on both sides of the harelip so characteristic of all camels. A piece of thin root of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) is drawn through these holes so [324]
that the ends of the root protude at both sides, and a knot is made at both ends that the root will not fall out. These knots hurt the udder of a she-camel when the calf starts to suck, but this is not the real idea of the device. For the root-piece keeps the pierced holes open and the calf is therefore unable to suck at all.

A she-camel may yield about ten litres of milk at the beginning of its lactation period, but at the 234
end of this period it does not yield more than two or three litres even with good grazing. The yield is always dependent on grazing conditions. Thus during my stay in Ahnet and Ahaggar 1954–55, a Tuareg who owned about twenty she-camels acquired only two litres of milk a day in all from these animals. But conditions of camel-breeding are much better in Ayr and in the southern plains where [433]
she-camels are tolerably good milk-yielders most of the year, and camel's milk is therefore very important to some pastoralists of these regions. Camel's milk is drunk and not generally used for food [272]
in other ways. It is much esteemed by all Tuareg, who claim that it possesses a particular power and gives strength. It is never stored in the shape of butter or cheese. The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr [262]
never eat camel's butter which they consider possesses a poor taste, and, besides, it is very difficult to churn. They make butter of camel's milk only when butter of milk from other domestic animals is [302]
lacking for the greasing of the hair. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr butter is then churned by the men in a rather peculiar way:— A skin bag containing an amount of camel's milk is attached to the riding [415]
saddle of a camel which is then ridden at very fast speed for some time. But even with this method, it is said, camel's milk gives very little butter, and it is also definitely stated that the milk cannot be used for cheese-making. These Tuareg statements seem to be confirmed by analyses of veterinaries, [114]
who claim camel's milk to contain very little casein, and it has been proved difficult to separate butter from camel's milk (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 707 ff.).

She-camels can mate and yield milk until an age of about 25, and their average length of life is 233*
estimated by the Tuareg at about 30 years. But pastoral Tuareg do not generally keep their camels until they die a natural death. In Ayr I was told that she-camels more than twenty years old should be sold or killed. Most Tuareg sell their old camels in the oases of the Central or Northern Sahara [432]
where a large population of sedentary farmers is constantly yearning for meat. Very few camels are [366]
killed by the butchers of Agadez, where meat from oxen, sheep, and goats is always available and [262]
fairly cheap, but a great many old camels are slaughtered at the market places of the oases further north.

Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr very rarely kill their own camels to eat them. They will slaughter a camel 262
which suffers from some severe disease as all animals dying by accident or from disease are unlawful to eat. However, there are also some Ayr Tuareg who will never eat camel's meat. They say that they [261]
would feel very sick at heart were they to do so, and some Tuareg even say that they would vomit

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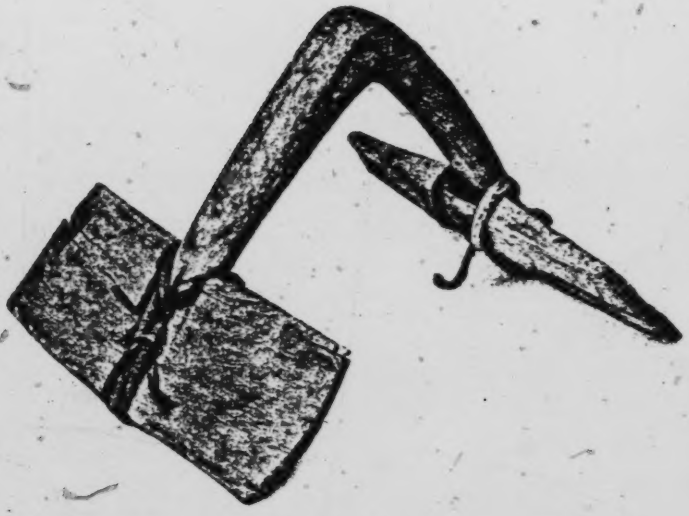

Fig. 58. Wooden saddle frame of the *aruki* type. The curved piece of wood is fastened to two boards with strips of raw hide. The frame is manufactured by an Ayr blacksmith. Bought at Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.337 m long, 0.275 m high. (N.M. G. 5247).

*492 [171] by men and boys, who sit sideways in front of the hump resting their feet upon the animal's neck, or, more rarely, behind the hump with their feet hanging down, as is the custom of Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. It should be added that on long trading expeditions the Tuareg frequently content themselves with sitting on the top of their loaded pack-camels. But riding in these ways is not very pleasant, and whenever possible the Tuareg use proper riding saddles placed in front of the camel's hump so that the rider sits cross-legged in the saddle with his feet resting upon the lower part of the animal's neck.

Most Tuareg have saddles of the well-known type with a cruciformed pommel. This saddle is known [531] as *térik* which term is used for three distinct sub-types. One is known as *tekokeyt* (Fig. 60); it differs from the type known as *tamzak* mainly therein that the latter is provided with peculiar ornaments and designs (Fig. 61). These two saddles are those normally used by the Tuareg, while the third sub-type known as *bertekes* is extremely rare; it resembles the *tamzak*-saddle, but is provided with many [564] small bells fastened to be back (Fig. 62). Such saddles are hardly ever manufactured by the black- [432] smiths of Northern Tuareg countries, but are made in Ayr, notably in Agadez, where the Northern Tuareg also buy their riding saddles. Even the Arab pastoralists of the tribes *Chamba* and *Ulad Ba*

[text continues on p. 80]

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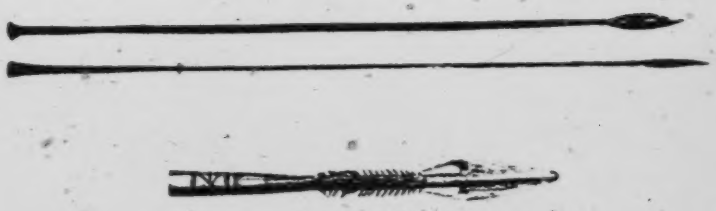

Fig. 112a–c. Tuareg spears.

a. Spear of the *taṛda* type used for hunting. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 1.88 m (N.M. G. 1.156).
b. Iron spear of the *allaṛ* type which is mainly a war weapon. Ahaggar, Collected by Olufsen. Dimension 1.82 m (N.M. G. 1.155).
c. Iron point of the barbed Tebu lance (*taṛda*) occasionally used by the Ayr Tuareg. Dimension: 0.265 m (N.M. G. 6619).

224 they are eagerly pursued by many rifle-owning nomads. Lhote estimates that in the year 1939 the Ahaggar Tuareg killed 300 barbary sheep by means of their traditional hunting methods, while in the winter season 1949–50 more than 200 animals were killed with rifles in the central parts of Ahaggar [432] (Lhote 1955a, p. 284). In 1954 the meat of one barbary sheep was sold for 4000 French francs, the [648] hide for 2000 francs. Though hunting of these animals is officially prohibited by the French, it is tacitly permitted and meat is frequently sold at the market place of Tamanṛaset.

The traditional methods used mainly in hunting gazelle and barbary sheep are as follows:—

[411] (1) The spear (*taṛda;* Fig. 112a) is nowadays used mainly by slaves, who never possess rifles. Before [562] rifles became common it was the typical hunting weapon of all vassal Tuareg. Hunting with the spear [565] takes place during the hottest time of the day, when the animals hide under rocks and trees to seek protection from the burning sun and the flies. It is then possible to creep very close to the game, and even the otherwise very shy barbary sheep can be taken in this way. When the hunter is close to the hiding place of a barbary sheep he claps his hand, and the animal rises, bewildered, and is then speared. In the past many barbary sheep were killed in this way, and it is said that a skilled and lucky hunter may even secure four or five animals in one day.

[171] (2) The use of stalking animals. Hunting by this method is used by some African stock-breeders (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 97 ff.). There is a detailed description of the use of camels trained for this purpose among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara (Harding King 1903, p. 171 ff.). As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not train their camels for stalking, but on journeys they frequently hide behind their animals to approach and kill gazelle. In this case the hunting weapon is normally a rifle. But the method is perhaps an ancient one and used also for other hunting weapons in the past, as game animals do not fear domestic animals among which they frequently graze in the desert. In fact, [172] the ancient use of stalking animals in Northern Africa is clearly substantiated by a rock engraving at

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 115. Negroid agriculturist (*Ḥartani*) with a hare caught in a steel-trap (*elkheniyet*) of European type. Ahaggar.

262 by many people in vassal tribes, and jackal's meat is popular as it is considered an excellent remedy
565 against fever (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 146). But there are also many Tuareg who refuse all types of game,
[767] with the exception of such animals as gazelle, barbary sheep, and antelope. Some Tuareg consider hare's meat unlawful, but this, perhaps, is a conception introduced with Islam, for many people of the religious *Ineslemen* class claim that hare should not be eaten because their blood resembles that of menstruating women. The food taboos strictly followed by all noble Tuareg are older than Islam: they never eat birds, eggs, reptiles, and fish.

These rules are not traditional for vassal Tuareg, though some of them have adopted the taboos of the noble Tuareg.

224 In Northern Tuareg areas two big lizard types are found. One of them is called *aggezzeram* (*dobb*
564 in Arabic; *Uromastix acanthinurus*). This is caught and eaten by slaves, agriculturists, and by many
565 vassals. It is frequently taken by hand, but there is also a special implement (*taskumt*, *takoḍa*) consisting
262 of a stick provided with an iron crook for catching lizards hiding in holes and under rocks. When
[432] vassal Tuareg are able to catch a great many *agezzeram*-lizards they cut them up and dry them for
[464] sale on their regular trading expeditions in autumn to the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. p. 210). The *agezzeram*-lizard is said to be the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the negroid blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*), because the lizard's tail resembles a file. I do not know whether the few blacksmiths found in Northern Tuareg country eat this lizard, but do not think they do. The lizard is not considered very delicious, and blacksmiths have emigrated from the south where it is not generally eaten.

The other edible lizard is named *aṛata* (*Varanus* sp.). It is much bigger than the *agezzeram*-lizard just mentioned, and its meat is excellent according to the taste of most Europeans. But this big lizard

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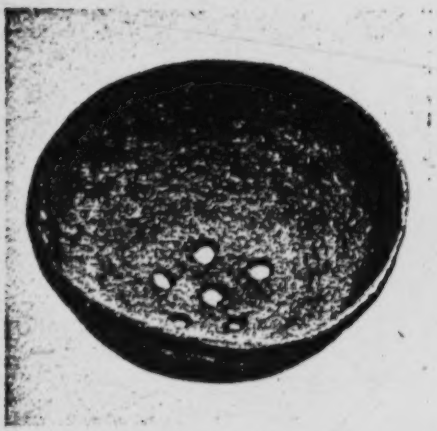

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415*
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432

**Fig. 189.** Earthen jar (*drufu*, or *dendu*) of the particular type used for the preparation of *keskesu*. Ahaggar, *Hurrutin* of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.16 m high, 0.30 m in diameter. (F.M. 215).

**Fig. 190.** A kind of cake (*tarfat*) made of onions and dates which are mixed and pressed. Such cakes are made in Tidikelt but are sold at Tamanrasset by Arab merchants. They are pounded in the mortar or are crushed between two stones before cooking. Dimension: 0.10 m. (N.M. G. 5847a).

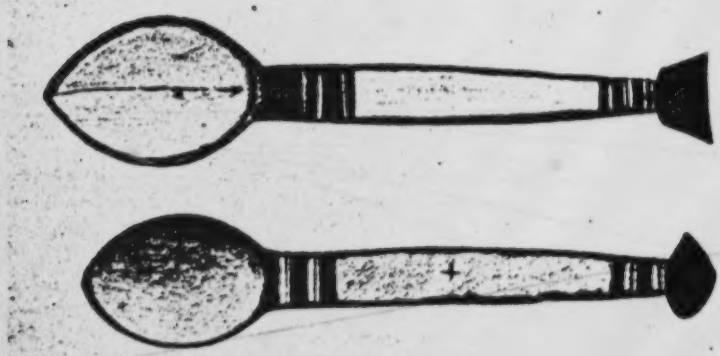

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**Fig. 191.** Wooden spoons (*tesukait*, pl. *tisukatin*) cut by blacksmiths from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tekki* and the *Dag Bali* tribes. Dimension: ca. 0.26–0.28 m. (F.M.).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



A photograph illustrating a women making a bag from spun hair is reproduced by Lhote, who states that bags of this nature are rarely manufactured nowadays and are made exclusively by a few noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe (Lhote 1955a, p. 319 f., pl. XV p. 384). This statement does not agree with information gathered by myself in Ahaggar, where I was told that bags were made from spun hair by Tuareg women of other tribes and notably by women of the *Isekkemaren* class. 286 415* 462 565 114

In Ayr spinning of cotton is performed mainly to obtain sewing thread, which is considered superior to European thread for sewing cotton clothes. To my knowledge most pastoral women do not spin their own cotton thread but buy it at the market of Agadez. However I have noted the existence of simple cotton bows in a *Kel Tédalé* camp in the northern part of the Ayr Massif. The occurrence of the simple cotton bow among the Ayr Tuareg should no doubt be viewed in connection with the use of this implement in the Western Sudan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 260 ff.) from where the cotton plant has also been introduced. 283 [132] [171] [148] [172]

Coiled basket-work plays an important part with the Tuareg, particularly the Northern Tuareg who are experts in this technique which is related to sewing. A very primitive type of coiled basketry 285

[824]

Fig. 211. Basket (*ahegurgur*) plaited from date palm leaves (*aghum*). The handle is of date palm bast (*asan*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abelessa. Dimension: 0.38 m high. (N.M. G. 5835).

[text continues on p. 269]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



may be seen in Fig. 167a–b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*ilstent*) (Fig. 218a).

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a–c, 210a–b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*éstan*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices.

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among the *Kel Ayr*. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*agum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*aleguiguten*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig 220b). This basket type (*tésenit*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals.

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éseber* or *tésebert* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents, and they are manufactured by many women among the *Kel Ahaggar* (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers, and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*tédabut*) (Fig. 212a–b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Igdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south.

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitues the most important craft in the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



634 livestock of a murderer in reality was the property of the drum-chief. Apparently there has never
682 been any fixed size of blood-wealth among the *Kel Ferwan* in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara.

634 The token of vassalage among the *Kel Ferwan* was the payment of half of the bride-wealth to the
565 noble lords so that the drum-chief received bride-wealth from his particular group of vassals, the chief of the *Kel Azel* from his group. The two noble lords received other payments from their vassals.
651 They would inherit a camel on the death of an individual vassal, and they received certain annual payments known as *sadakat* or *tamesodek*. This fee in its origin was a religious one, and certain tribes such as the *Imezzureg*, the *Kel Akerra*, and the *Isakaraman* claim that in the past, as nowadays, they made this payment to the *Ineslemen* Tuareg and not to the noble chiefs. But true vassal tribes gave their *sadakat* or *tamesodek* to the two noble lords. The fees were collected on behalf of the lords by people of the *Echchikhen* and by negroid blacksmiths, who are very numerous in Ayr. There were definite rules for the payment of the *sadakat* fees which were computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example the payments for camel herds can here be mentioned:—

| Size of herd | *Sadakat* or *tamesodek* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels . . . . . | 2 goats |
| 15 camels . . . . . | 3 goats |
| 25 camels . . . . . | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels . . . . . | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels . . . . . | 2 full-grown camels |

The *Echchikhen* and the blacksmiths took the *sadakat* animals to the two noble lords, who gave some
[732] of them to the collectors, themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at
[735] the market of Agadez and most of the proceeds given to poor people by the noble lords, who would keep a small part for themselves.

634 The two noble lords, the drum-chief and the chief of the *Kel Azel*, had the right to parts of war-
721 booty taken by their vassals according to the following rules:—
565 (1) *témaggedaz*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the noble lords, the drum-chief or the chief of the *Kel Azel*. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g., riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the noble lords, while the other half should be given to their vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that only one seventh of the booty should go to the noble lord. The word *téfudes* is said to have been used synonymously with *témaggedaz*.

(2) *téwit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the *Kel Ferwan* group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the noble lord would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A particular case is related of a group of *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg attacking a camp of *Kel Ferwan* vassals

262 According to what we know of the production of the cultivated
433 lands of the Ahaggar itself and according to what the Tuareg are obliged
439 to import, we may know approximately their needs. During the good years, local production is equivalent to only one quarter of the needs. It may be evaluated at 150 tons. To this must be added wheat production, but this cannot be taken in con-
237 sideration insofar as con-
415 sumption is concerned, since
234 it is almost entirely destined for export. It follows from this that import needs amount to 4, 000 loads of millet a year, calculated at 150 kilograms each, making 600 tons, which are for the most part bought or exchanged at Damergou or in the Tahoua region. The annual demand for dates is 400 loads.

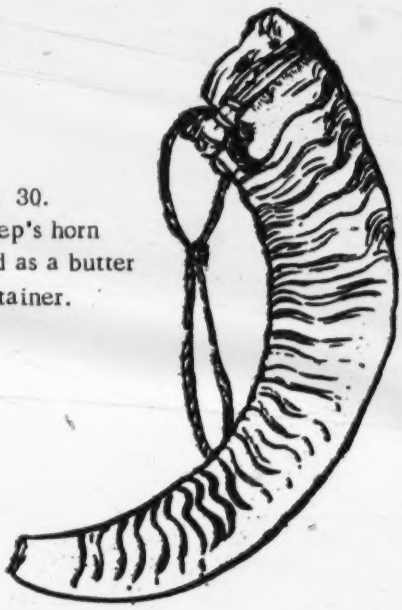

Fig. 30. Sheep's horn used as a butter container.

From these figures it
146 follows that the annual needs per person are approximately one load of
262 millet and one-tenth of a load of dates.
511

Individual consumption may thus be estimated at 187 kilograms of millet and 15 kilograms of dates per year, while an identical calculation /232/ for the Saharian Arabs has given us 180 kilograms of wheat and 75 kilograms of dates. But we must not deceive ourselves. These figures are drawn up for years, if not of abundance, at least of relative facility. Indeed, the annual average is very much lower, for the Ihaggaren do not always have at their disposal the means of exchange to meet their needs, and one may reduce the figures cited above by a good third, sometimes even by half.

162
103

| | 1911 | 1938 |
|---|---|---|
| T-i-n-Ămenser . . . . . | 36 | temporarily abandoned |
| Tifert . . . . . | 50 | " " |
| Essélésékin . . . . . | 30 | |
| T-i-n-Târâbin . . . . . | 15 | abandoned |

166 These figures bring out the weakening of some centers to the
621 advantage of others. Thus, a number of cultivators from
[648] Tarahouhaout (where the French post was formerly located) came to settle at Tamanrasset, and the group of little centers in the outskirts of Ăbalessa, Iglen, Tăfarit, etc., has absorbed the groups from other abandoned centers like Tifert, Esséléséкin, Ilâman, Tarahananet, etc.

[241 Together these centers number about 400 gardens and 80
312] feggaguir.

262 The wheat harvested is partly consumed by the cultivators and
439 chiefly intended for export; it is exchanged at the Touat for dates.
433 The total harvests in the Ahaggar corresponds to only one -fifth of the needs of its inhabitants, even in good years.

621 There are fifteen agricultural centers exploited in the Ahaggar:
433 Tamanrasset, Tărhaouahout, Tahifet, Tăzerouk, Ideles, Ăbalessa, Hirhafok, Iglen, I-n-Amegel, T-i-n-Ămenser, Amsel, Tigeneouin, Talan-Tedit, Mertoûtek, and Esselésékine.

[166] In addition there are twenty-two other centers which have been abandoned for some years as a result of dryness or lack of manpower: Aïtoklane, Ădenek, Ămrah, Ăbezou, Ăglil, Bloûmet, Déhine, Dar Mouli, Ennedid, Innezal, Ilâman, In Ămertek, Ilafok, Outoul, Ouhet, Souaïka, T-i-n-Târabin, Touakin, Teberbert, Tarahananet, Tahart, and Joraf.

## Chapter XI

### Industry. Blacksmiths

There is no industry in the Ahaggar. They do not exist. 433
One cannot describe as an industry the minor arms repair that 326
a few blacksmiths make, nor the little wooden implements that the Tuareg make for their personal use.

We have seen above that the Ahaggar Tuareg buy all 326
their arms in the Aïr. They are not made at home. [439]

In the Ahnet I watched a blacksmith, Eg Ahnet, work. He was mending spears, sabers, and daggers, and he told me that he also made some jewelry when they were ordered from him. He asked for preserve cans to make his settings. His tools were quite primitive. He had:

A bellows, "tissedhi" , made of two iron tubes set into a hollowed piece of wood onto which were fitted two waterskins open at the ends. These openings were held by rings and furnished with handles. The iron tubes blew the air into a clay furnace, "anefif" , set before the fire. /72/

An anvil, "tahount"
Files, "azezoua"
Pliers, "ir'emdane"
A large hammer, "afadhis"
A small hammer, "tafadhist"
Tin-snips, "timouda"
A small hatchet, "tetaout" , which he had made from a bent branch.

Finally, a rake, "asekredh" , which he hafted with two wooden handles each time he wished to use it.

He also made locks and keys of copper. He complained [414]
of hard times and how the craft no longer prospered. Where [178]
was the age of the great raids, the expeditions from which arms were brought back to him to repair and sharpen! Where are we going? Times have really changed!

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



291
565

[144]

Fig. 5. Veiled vassal Tuareg. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

Fig. 6. Irrigation farmer of the *Ibureliiten*, that is descendants of mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and Negroes. The man is patrilineally releated to the noble *Tuytok* tribe, matrilineally to slaves. Ahaggar, Amvel.

181 and there are indeed many Tuareg both in Ahaggar and in Ayr who wear Islamic amulets which are believed to make the wearers look "great and important". "Prestige" is constantly in the mind of all Tuareg who are much more sophisticated than other people living within their country.

181 Most true Tuareg are nomadic stock-breeders who will not engage in the strenuous work of irriga-
433 tion agriculture. The Tuareg will readily engage in any strenuous work connected with stock-breeding,
461 caravan trading, and in the past also in raiding expeditions, which were organized by people of the nobility, but agricultural work is generally much despised. However, there are in all groups certain families or tribes the members of which subsist predominantly by agriculture, and are nevertheless considered true Tuareg by pastoralists. These agricultural Tuareg will be mentioned in a later chapter,
564 and we shall now pass on to a brief description of various negroid castes and of other non-Tuareg
567 people living within the boundaries of Tuareg territory:—

*Iklan* (sing. *Akli*). These are the proper slaves who are very negroid. Nicolas believes that the word *Akli* (pl. *Iklan*) is in fact derived from a k-l root meaning "to be black" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189), but

yield decreases to about two litres (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 104). It should be added that, as for other domestic animals, the daily yield of milk depends very much on the conditions of pastures, and cows always yield little milk when pastures are dry – even at the beginning of their lactation period. 234

Bulls are frequently castrated two or three years old to be used for riding and transportation. Oxen are used for this purpose particularly among the Tuareg of the plains towards the south and west, while most pastoralists of the Massif almost exclusively use donkeys and camels. Oxen are ridden without a saddle. The rider sits on the back of the animal which is covered with a blanket or a piece of cotton as in Ahaggar. The animals have a cord (*asabar*) placed through their nostrils, but plaited halters (*amerar*) are also used for riding oxen. 492 [232] [184]

The Tuareg have terms to cover the age and sex of their cattle, and they also have a certain number of colour terms; but they say that there are very few colour terms for cattle (about ten terms according to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group). They explain this lack of colour terms by the fact that cattle did not play any important rôle to their subsistence in the past. Cattle do not respond to their names, but some of them will come to the camp on the utterance of a certain cry (cf. p. 135). 233* 192 [433] [178]

233* [283] →

Fig. 31. Zebu calf with a pronged stick (*tabellut*) put through its nostrils to prevent sucking. Ayr, the *Isakaraman* tribe.
Fig. 32. Muzzle (*akimbab*) to wean zebu calves. The muzzle is made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*) which form a frame covered with cords of *tamat* bast and with cotton strips. It is fastened to the head of a calf with a piece of cord plaited of goat's hair, and the attachment is done in such a way that the calf can graze without difficulty though it cannot suck. Tamesna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Ireḡenaten* tribe. Dimension: 0.17–0.19 m high. (N. M. G. 6661). [824]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



## CAMELS

*233 [433] [171]

Camels are very important domestic animals in all Tuareg groups, and they also play a great part in the subsistence of most Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. The common Arab camel breed, which is known to the Tuareg as *marroki*, is also found in Northern Tuareg country – particularly among the *Kel Ajjer*. It is heavily built and is extremely well fitted for transportation. It is a very strong breed in spite of its relatively low stature, and it has large feet which is considered an eminent quality for pack camels. This *marroki* camel has a thick cover of wool on the hump and on the fore-part of the body, while Tuareg camels, which are of higher stature and more elegantly built, in general have little or no wool, but only a short coat of hair much like that of cows and horses. Tuareg camels may have long hairs around the hump but true Tuareg camels have no proper coat of wool. Though the *marroki* breed is excellent for transportation and is considered a better milch-animal than the southern Tuareg breed, the Tuareg generally prefer their own elegantly built camels, and they look down upon the heavily built camels of the north. However, as mentioned, there are some *marroki*

*233 492 291 133

**Fig. 33. Tuareg with riding camels. Ahaggar, the *Agub-en-tehli* tribe.**

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



bridge of the nose of a calf, so that it hurts its mother when it tries to suck (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 359). – 233*
(3) *akimbab*, that is a plaited muzzle which allows the calf to graze, but prevents it from sucking. I have been told both in Ahaggar and Ayr that such muzzles are used for camel calves, but apparently they do not constitute a normal weaning method. – (4) *asedres* or *ameru* are said to be synonymous terms for the weaning method generally adopted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. The method is as follows:— The upper lip of the calf is pierced on both sides of the harelip so characteristic of all camels. A piece of thin root of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) is drawn through these holes so [824]
that the ends of the root protude at both sides, and a knot is made at both ends that the root will not fall out. These knots hurt the udder of a she-camel when the calf starts to suck, but this is not the real idea of the device. For the root-piece keeps the pierced holes open and the calf is therefore unable to suck at all.

A she-camel may yield about ten litres of milk at the beginning of its lactation period, but at the 234
end of this period it does not yield more than two or three litres even with good grazing. The yield is always dependent on grazing conditions. Thus during my stay in Ahnet and Ahaggar 1954–55, a Tuareg who owned about twenty she-camels acquired only two litres of milk a day in all from these animals. But conditions of camel-breeding are much better in Ayr and in the southern plains where [433]
she-camels are tolerably good milk-yielders most of the year, and camel's milk is therefore very important to some pastoralists of these regions. Camel's milk is drunk and not generally used for food [272]
in other ways. It is much esteemed by all Tuareg, who claim that it possesses a particular power and gives strength. It is never stored in the shape of butter or cheese. The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr [262]
never eat camel's butter which they consider possesses a poor taste, and, besides, it is very difficult to churn. They make butter of camel's milk only when butter of milk from other domestic animals is [302]
lacking for the greasing of the hair. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr butter is then churned by the men in a rather peculiar way:— A skin bag containing an amount of camel's milk is attached to the riding [415]
saddle of a camel which is then ridden at very fast speed for some time. But even with this method, it is said, camel's milk gives very little butter, and it is also definitely stated that the milk cannot be used for cheese-making. These Tuareg statements seem to be confirmed by analyses of veterinaries, [114]
who claim camel's milk to contain very little casein, and it has been proved difficult to separate butter from camel's milk (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 707 ff.).

She-camels can mate and yield milk until an age of about 25, and their average length of life is 233*
estimated by the Tuareg at about 30 years. But pastoral Tuareg do not generally keep their camels until they die a natural death. In Ayr I was told that she-camels more than twenty years old should be sold or killed. Most Tuareg sell their old camels in the oases of the Central or Northern Sahara [432]
where a large population of sedentary farmers is constantly yearning for meat. Very few camels are [366]
killed by the butchers of Agadez, where meat from oxen, sheep, and goats is always available and [262]
fairly cheap, but a great many old camels are slaughtered at the market places of the oases further north.

Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr very rarely kill their own camels to eat them. They will slaughter a camel 262
which suffers from some severe disease as all animals dying by accident or from disease are unlawful to eat. However, there are also some Ayr Tuareg who will never eat camel's meat. They say that they [261]
would feel very sick at heart were they to do so, and some Tuareg even say that they would vomit

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 117. Fishing pool (*agelmam*) in Tasilé-n-Aijer.

136 sunset. There are wild pigeons by the thousand and innumerable flocks of guinea fowls and partridges (*Alectoris* sp.). Two species of turtle-dove are almost as common in Ayr as is the sparrow in Europe.

224 Possibilities of hunting are much more favourable in Ayr than in Northern Tuareg countries, yet, [410] nevertheless, the Ayr Tuareg engage even less in hunting than do the Ahaggar Tuareg. One reason for this is perhaps that very few Ayr Tuareg possess guns. It is extremely rare to meet hunters in Ayr.

224 They are found mainly within one tribe, namely that of *Imedderaren* (or *Kel Tamgak*) living in the 133 Tamgak Mountains of Northern Ayr. I have myself never visited camps of these people, but all Tuareg [119] agree that they live largely as hunters and possess few domestic animals. Unfortunately, these people [222] have never been studied in detail. Buchanan, who met a hunting band of these Tuareg in 1920, says that they have neither goats nor grain, but live by hunting and the collection of wild edible plants (Buchanan 1921, p. 191), while Campbell, who met them at Iferwan in 1926, describes them as hunters who also breed goats and sheep (Campbell 1928, p. 204 f.). Rodd also states that the *Kel Tamgak* have goats and sheep, but that they do not possess camels (Rodd 1926a, p. 307). This is in agreement with information gathered by myself at Iferwan where I met a few Tuareg of this group. There are 224 no Ayr Tuareg who live exclusively by hunting and collecting. The number of game animals killed

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



222 Even in good years it may happen that edible seed-plants are eaten by locusts before they become
[134] ripe for collecting. Collecting is of secondary importance to the Tuareg of Ahaggar though to most
[433] pastoralists it is more important than hunting.

## AYR

134 We have seen that Ayr has better grazing grounds and more game than Ahaggar, and it is only
137 natural that this southern area is also a more favourable one for the collecting of wild plants. Never-
222 theless, it seems as if collecting is not so important to the Ayr Tuareg who have more livestock for
[433] which millet and wheat can be obtained without much difficulty. The number of edible plants utilized in Ayr is probably a very large one. Thus it is said that certain *Kel Ewey* Tuareg collect many different plants, but my inquiries into the methods and the value of collecting were limited to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group of Southern Ayr where the following species are collected for food: —

222 *afagag* (*Acacia Radkiana*). Pods of this acacia are dried and, after pounding in a large millet mortar,
262 mixed with milk to be eaten or drunk like the Tuareg dish known as *arejira* (cf. p. 245 f.).

252 *ebezgin* (*Salvadora persica*). Fruit is eaten without any preparation.

*tadent* (*Boscia senegalensis*). Berries are pounded in the millet mortar to obtain the limpid juice which is added to porridge.

[824] *tagayt* (*Hyphaene thebaica*). The dum palm, which is of extreme importance for the handicraft of the Ayr Tuareg, is also valuable as food. The young nuts are opened with a knife and the kernels are eaten. The old nuts have an edible outer coating which is eaten by children and even by adults when they are hungry. These old nuts are also pounded in the millet mortar together with seeds of *ageruf*, cf. below.

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). This perennial grass is very abundant all over Ayr. Collecting of its seeds is done by rubbing the ears of the grass between the hands to allow the seeds to fall into a plaited bowl. Seeds are pounded in a millet mortar to be used for porridge.

*ichiben*, that is seeds of an annual grass – apparently identical with *Panicum longiflorum* and/or *P. spinosa*. The seeds are collected in two different ways: — (1) If the ripe seeds have fallen to the ground they are swept together with a bunch of straw. (2) The ears are cut with a knife to be threshed by pounding in a millet mortar. — The seeds are highly esteemed, being collected to a greater extent than seeds of other wild plants. The seeds are used particularly for porridge, but also for certain other dishes such as *arejira* (cf. p. 245 f.).

*ichit* (*Eragrostis* ssp.). A grass yielding red seeds collected in the following way: — The ears are beaten with the hands so that the seeds fall into a plaited bowl. The seeds are used only for porridge.

*wajeg* (*Cenchrus catharticus* & *C. Priouri*). Annual seed-plants with thorny seeds. The dry plants are beaten with a stick and the fallen seeds are collected in a heap to be threshed with a stick. The seeds are pounded in a millet mortar for porridge.

*ageruf* (*Tribulus terrester*). An annual plant with thorny seeds which are collected as just described for the *wajeg* plants. The seeds are pounded in a millet mortar to be eaten without further preparation

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



a dish known to the Ayr Tuareg as *iéderka*. For this purpose the pounded seeds may also be mixed with pounded dum palm nuts. 222 262

*acheror* (*Sorghum virgatum*). A tall grass the seeds of which are swept together when fallen to the ground. They are used for porridge. 262

*agazagi*. Edible seeds of a grass. They are swept together when they have fallen to the ground, and are used for porridge.

*agedageidu*. Seeds of an annual plant. When they have fallen to the ground they are swept together by means of a straw bundle. They are pounded in a millet mortar to be eaten as *iéderka* without any further preparation.

*malokhiya* (*Corchorus tridens*). A plant growing in the bush though also grown in gardens. The leaves of this plant are dried and thereupon pounded in a millet mortar to be used as an admixture to porridge-sauce.

*abezey* (*Cassia tora*). Leaves of this plant are plucked with the hand, or, if the plant is dry, shaken into a plaited bowl. They are pounded and used as an admixture to porridge-sauce.

*kat'akei'i* (*Cistanche* sp.). It is said to be known as *achellewen* among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The edible roots of this plant are dug out with a stick. They are pounded and boiled for a kind of porridge.

*acheku* (*Glossonema Boveanum*). An annual plant with small lacteal fruit which is eaten as a relish without any preparation.

These are the plant species collected by the *Kel Ferwan* of Southern Ayr. It may happen that some of these plants are destroyed by locusts, but in most years there are excellent possibilities of collecting wild seeds. Most plants are collected late in summer after the rains (at the season of *rarat*), or in winter (*tigresi*). It is said that in good years more than a thousand kilos of wild seeds can be collected by the members of a single household, but even this amount of wild seeds does not answer the need for vegetable products. Collecting is of secondary importance to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. Very few of the plant species mentioned are collected if there is abundant millet. The main exceptions are the plants used for sauce-admixture, and the *ichiben* seeds. The latter are collected even by Tuareg who have enough millet, because porridge made from these seeds is considered a very delicious dish. 222 [221] [433]

The two groups of Northern Tuareg and also the Tuareg of Ayr acquire their vegetable food products mainly from agriculture, which occupation will now briefly be described. 433

[text continues on p. 183]

# Agriculture

In the present chapter are described the agricultural techniques as I know them from Ahaggar (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and from Ayr, and the economic role of agriculture to the subsistence of pastoral Tuareg is discussed. 241

## CULTIVATION WITHOUT ARTIFICIAL IRRIGATION

In the Sahara farming is almost exclusively based on artificial irrigation, and agriculture and stock-breeding are largely separated industries. Large-scale stock-breeding necessitates migrations, while irrigation agriculture must be practised by people who live on the same spot almost continuously. But nomadic stock-breeding and shifting cultivation are occupations which go well together at the borderland of steppe and desert in the north where nomads or semi-nomads sow wheat and barley. Lyon says that the bedouins of Tripolitania use a rude plough but more generally a hoe (Lyon 1821, p. 44). However, plough cultivation seems to predominate among the northern nomads nowadays. Shifting plough cultivation is an important subsidiary occupation for most northern nomads in an almost unbroken area between the Atlantic and the Nile or the Red Sea, but it does not penetrate very far into the true desert country. In Algeria I have not seen shifting cultivation practised further south than the oasis of Ghardaya, where nomads under favourable conditions of rainfall sow wheat and barley by means of a simple plough made of a forked piece of wood (Nicolaisen 1950, Fig. 9, p. 70; Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, pl. II,5 p. 47, Fig. 6 p. 54). West of Ghardaya the plough is known as far south as Tinduf and Beni Abbes, while it is known at Brak of Central Libya towards the east (cf. Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, map p. 40). Feilberg in one of his early works stated that the plough in Northern Africa is particularly attached to shifting cultivation as a sowing implement (Feilberg 1931, p. 199 ff.). This is in agrement with my own investigations in the Northern Sahara, and it is confirmed by the very remarkable study of Capot-Rey & Marçais, who state that the plough is not fitted irrigation agriculture of the Sahara because of the many fruit trees, notably date palm trees, and because of the whole complicated irrigation system (Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, p. 51; Feilberg 1931, p. 199). But there seems also to be another reason why the plough is found only in the Northern Sahara: It is particularly fitted for the sowing of wheat and barley, but less suitable for the sowing of millet and sorghum which are the most important cereals grown in the south (cf. Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, p. 51; Feilberg 1931, p. 201). Barth records that he saw a kind of plough at Auderas in Ayr. It was drawn by three slaves who were driven like oxen by their master (Barth 1857, I, p. 424). 433 241 171 [567]

[p. 183]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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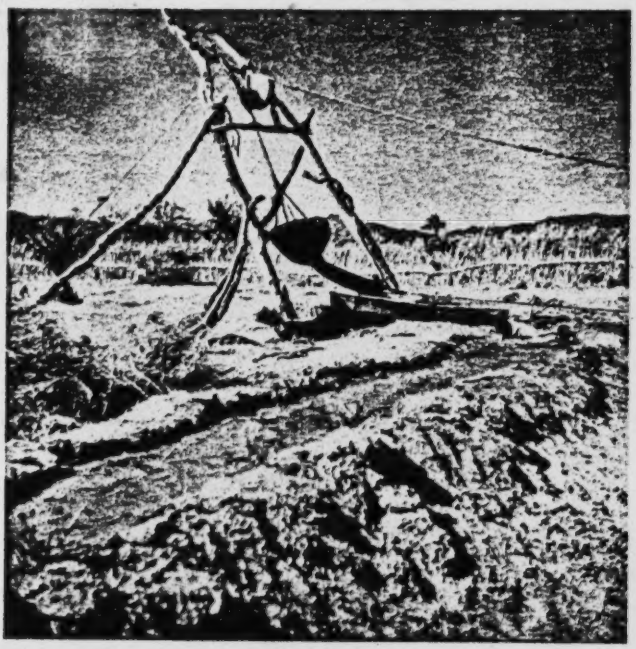

Fig. 132a. The irrigation system known as *sonat*. Ahaggar, Amsel.

361 settlements contain less than 300 individuals, the majority not even a hundred (cf. Lhote 1955a;
[162] p. 292). Most agricultural settlements comprise only a few houses built of stone or mud, or a few
[342] straw-huts (cf. p. 327 ff.). The agriculturists of these small settlements generally keep some goats
[231] and sheep, have donkeys, which are important beasts of burden to all farmers of the Sahara oases,
and in certain families there are one or two zebus to raise water from irrigation wells. A few agri-
● 433 culturists may be characterized as semi-nomads. This is the case of some inhabitants of Abalessa who guard their flocks at some distance from the village. Some of these agriculturists, who were formerly Tuareg slaves, even make skin-tents like pastoral Tuareg.

312 The subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs of the Sahara as *foggara*, to the Tuareg as *ifelan*
241 (sing. *éfeli*), constitute by far the most important irrigation system used in Ahaggar. However, these
[166] *foggara* canals cannot be compared with the large extensive aqueducts of Tidikelt though their introduction to Ahaggar is due to the immigration of agriculturists from that area. The Tidikelt *foggara* are very large aqueducts which are dug into water-bearing strata which can be situated at a considerable distance from the oasis (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 324 ff., Lô 1953 & 1954; Chaintron 1958). The Ahaggar foggara are generally very short (about one to two kilometres, or shorter), they are not

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



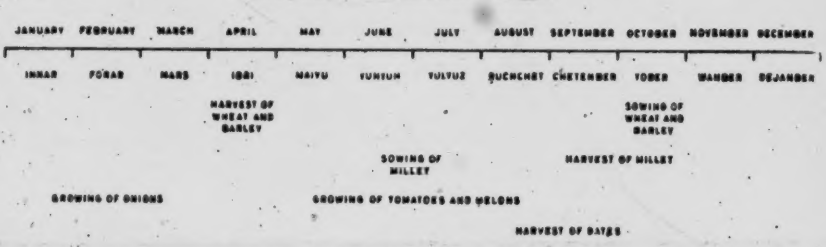


Fig. 139. Horticultural calendar from Ahaggar.

The Tuareg and the negroid agriculturists have a lunar calendar of twelve months corresponding to the Arab calendar, but a lunar calendar has no practical value for the indication of seasonal agricultural activities. The Julian Calendar is known to some people of Ahaggar as well as to other Berbers of the Sahara and the Atlas. Tuareg names of Julian months are given above. Very few people in Ahaggar know the exact beginning and the end of the twelve Julian months, but a few names are used as seasonal terms: *innar* = "midwinter", *mars* = "beginning of spring", *ibri* = "early harvest" (of wheat and barley), *maiyu* = "beginning of summer", *tober* = "late harvest" (millet).

which no definite figures can be given, while the yield of fruit trees growing in the garden plot does not necessarily belong to the agriculturist. These trees frequently belong to pastoral Tuareg.

I think it can be estimated that an agricultural household with its own garden produce about a thousand kilos of vegetables food products annually for its private use. We can add that though the members of an agricultural household live mainly on vegetable food products they also acquire a certain amount of food from livestock, which normally comprises a few goats and sheep, and perhaps one or two zebus. Conditions of stock-breeding are not always favourable to people who live continuously on the same spot, but it is advantageous to the agriculturists of Ahaggar, who live close to valleys with some pasture, that they are able to feed their animals on green garden products when pasture is badly developed and thus avoid the disaster of a drought. It is also an advantage to most agriculturists that they do not have to water their animals which can drink freely from the irrigation canals. The agriculturists can kill a few goats or sheep annually, they obtain milk and a little butter to be used mainly as a sauce for bread and porridge, and they make cheese of the *awles* type (cf. p. 224), but they never make cheese from fresh milk as do many pastoral Tuareg when milk is abundant. The agriculturists also breed fowls and pigeons, and some of them have an important meat supply from hunting with steel-traps (hares, jackals, fennecs, and ravens). Collecting, on the other hand, is of little or no value to irrigation farmers of Ahaggar.

The economic position of agriculturists who work without any particular obligations towards pastoral Tuareg is tolerably good. It is less favourable to those who grow winter crops also on behalf of the Tuareg, as do most cultivators. Some of them irrigate the garden plot with water raised from wells by oxen which may belong to the cultivator or to the Tuareg. But most agriculturists who work for the pastoral Tuareg irrigate by means of *foggara*. It is very strenuous work to dig a *foggara* canal, and co-operation is needed not only for this but also for the maintenance of the whole irrigation system. The gardens are individually tended by the agriculturists, who co-operate in the *foggara* work under the leadership of a headman known as *amrar n efeli*, that is "chief of the *foggara*". This headman is

466 475 obtain a larger amount of vegetable food products and more wheat and barley. The pastoral Tuareg 423 gain less from their gardens than they did when the *khamast* system prevailed, but it is still profitable 241 for them to be garden owners.

434 The quantity of agricultural products anually consumed per person among the *Kel Ahaggar* is 511 estimated by Lhote at 187 kilos millet, 15 kilos dates, and a small amount of wheat for which no 262 figure is given. For Arabs of the Sahara the quantity of vegetable food is estimated at 180 kilos wheat, [171] and 75 kilos dates anually per person (Lhote 1955a, p. 263). I add to this that wheat is used for bread to a very large extent by the Ahaggar Tuareg, who also make much use of barley for bread and porridge. According to Malaurie the amount of agricultural food products available per person among the Ahaggar Tuareg is about 400 grammes a day, or 146 kilos anually (Malaurie 1953, p. 342). It should be noted again that the amount of agricultural food products necessary for a Tuareg household varies greatly from one year to the other. In years of drought when agricultural products form so to speak the only source of food for the nomads, they estimate that a household consisting of husband, wife, and one child will consume about two kilos of cereals (dates) every day, or 730 kilos in a year. Consequently the amount of cereals and dates consumed anually per person may in dry years rise to [171] about 245 kilos. This seems to correspond to the amount of food considered necessary for Arabs of Tidikelt and Tawat, who live almost exclusively on cereals and dates. When employed as labourers by the French Administration these sedentary Arabs are given 16 kilos of wheat and 4 kilos of rice a month, or 240 kilos of agricultural products anually per person (Information obtained from the administration 511 office of In Salah in 1954). The agricultural products obtained by a pastoral household from a single 433 garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example: During the year 1954 55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with an *aril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar [437] Tuareg depend on caravan trading for their provisions of agricultural food, and trading also helps them to create the capital of millet and dates which is invested in their gardens in Ahaggar grown on their behalf by agriculturists. I believe that most pastoral households of Ahaggar have gardens, but there are Tuareg who have none. This is true, for instance, of most Tuareg living in and around the Ahnet Massif. Tuareg of this region formerly had gardens irrigated by the *foggara* system at Abalessa, but to-day they acquire their vegetable food products mainly by caravan trading.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AYR

563 The largest aggregation of sedentary people in Ayr is found in Agadez (4.737), which is inhabited al- [361] most exclusively by negroid peoples who speak Hausa though most of them also know the Tuareg 162 language (*tamachek*). This large sedentary population mainly lives on trade and on crafts of 197 various kinds. The inhabitants are known to the Tuareg as the *Imeggedezen*. They are said to be related 433 to the Sultan (or the *Amenukal*) of Agadez. There is a tradition which claims that the Sultan came [173]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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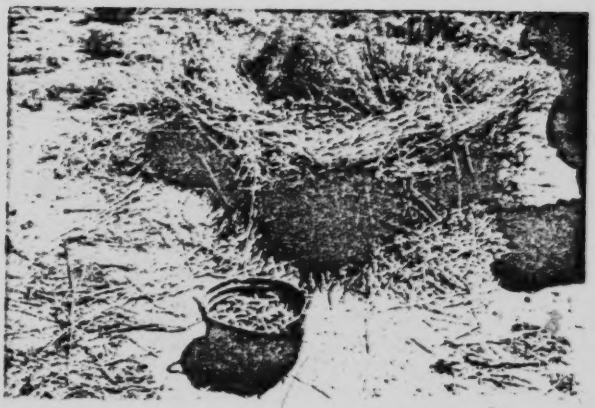

Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*énélé*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
173 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers
[563] though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of
162 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isaweren*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
563 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
433 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
245 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
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Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
162 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula-
144 tion that subsisted on agriculture.
433
[174]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



162 tion that subsisted on agriculture. Most members of the *Kel Ewey* group are fairly negroid in appear-
144 ance, and though some of them lead a nomadic life and subsist mainly on stock-breeding, the bulk of
433 the *Kel Ewey* are sedentary agriculturists who have some livestock comprising goats, sheep, zebus, and sometimes camels also. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group there are very few sedentary agriculturists, though a few vassals have taken up irrigation agriculture in recent times. There are also agriculturists within the negroid group of the *Kel Ferwan* known as *Irawélen*.
[387] Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have gardens cultivated by their slaves, but this is not customary nowadays when slavery is of little importance in Ayr. Contracts between pastoral Tuareg and cultivators
241 are said to have been unknown until recent times when a few pastoralists have made contracts with
466 cultivators. There seem to be no fixed systems regulating such relationships, but it is said to be common for the cultivator and the Tuareg to divide crops equally between them.

241 Though agriculture could be practised in Ayr without artificial irrigation there are no rain-grown
312 crops within the Massif nowadays. The *foggara* system is unknown, and irrigation is done by raising water from shallow wells. The system of a pole and bucket provided with a counterweight known in Ayr as *aseftan* has disappeared quite recently. It was used at many agricultural settlements of Ayr until a few years ago, and in parts of the country formed the only type of irrigation system at the time of the French occupation. One informant told me that in his boyhood about 35 years ago no other irrigation method was employed at Alarses, and this is in agreement with literature (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 322). At that time, however, the method of raising water from wells by animal traction (in Ayr *anu*, in Ahaggar *tanut*) was also practised at many settlements. It is unknown when it came to Ayr, but it is said to have been introduced from the north – probably from the regions of Fezzan
[492] and Tasilé-n-Ajjer from where the same system came to Ahaggar (cf. p. 187). It is now used at all settlements as the only type of irrigation system, and zebu-oxen are always used for traction. This was not so in the past when zebus were less common than to-day, and it is said that donkeys were then the common draught-animals. The irrigation of gardens is performed in much the same way as in Ahaggar. The water raised from the shallow well (*anu*) is led through a narrow canal (*aṛelal*) to a large basin (*tisemt*) from where another canal (*dakl*) leads to the garden (*afarag*), which is divided into a number of beds (*éfemral*).

243 Cereals form the most important crops in Ayr. The common winter crop is wheat (*elkamu*; *Triticum vulgare*), but also barley (*Hordeum tetrastichum* var. *pallidum*) is very widely grown. One crop of these two cereals is taken every winter, and it is said that the period of growth is about five months; sowing is done in October, harvest in March. Cereals are also important for summer crops. Both millet (*énélé*; *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and sorghum (*abora*; *Sorghum caudatum*) are grown, and millet, as we have
[262] seen, has a very short period of growth – only about two months (cf. p. 184). But though millet is most important as food for agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike, it is not widely grown because it is difficult to protect it from the numerous small birds and because, it is said, millet grown in Ayr
[439] is of a quality inferior to that of the Sudanese type. Most of the millet eaten in Ayr is therefore imported from Damergu by pastoral Tuareg. By far the most important summer crop grown in Ayr is maize (*Zea mays*), which is known to the Tuareg as *abora maser*, that is "Egyptian sorghum" (*abora* =
[268] sorghum; *maser* = Egypt) (the name *maser* is also used to designate the white cotton used for garments

# Caravan Trading

Caravan trading of the Sahara has suffered severely from the European colonisation of Northern Africa. The establishment of ports and railways in the Sudanese area and the abolition of the slave-trade have brought to an end the large caravans passing through the desert. In recent times another heavy blow has been struck against the caravans, for transportation is more and more taken over by trucks which can easily pass through the open desert country. Many pastoralists of Northern Africa suffer from the decline of their trade, which for centuries has been an important stabilizing factor for their subsistence. The decline of caravan trading is also strongly felt in the oases, which have played a very important part as trading posts or trading stations. Some of these oases have far fewer inhabitants nowadays than in the past, and it is most difficult for many sedentary people of the oases to exist. The decline of the trade has been felt also among the pastoral Tuareg. But caravan trading is still important to most of them, and many of them could not support life without it. To understand the important role of caravan trading we have once more to return to the economic values of subsistence activities.

178 437 484 [433] [364] [167]

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AHAGGAR TUAREG

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot live exclusively on stock-breeding products all the year round – not even in good years when annual pasture is well developed in autumn and early winter. Even in a good year the nomads mainly eat vegetable food throughout the hot season, and some bread or porridge is also consumed during the period of abundant milk yields. It is true that nomads can subsist entirely on milk for long periods, and that some people do so for weeks or even months. Galan says that pastoralists of of Ahaggar, when they live entirely on milk, can do with four litres a day per person (Galan 1951, p. 231). But it is estimated by the Ayr Tuareg that they need about eight or ten litres a day to live entirely on milk, and they all claim that they get weary from constant milk drinking. They say that though they do not feel hungry when they live exclusively on milk they experience a peculiar, unpleasant feeling in the stomach. The relative importance of stock-breeding products (mainly milk) and vegetable food (mainly wheat, millet, and dates) may be seen from the diagram Fig. 151.[1] In a good year there is normally some possibility of collecting wild seeds for bread and porridge, but the Tuareg claim that they cannot easily cover their need of vegetable products even in a year when milk is abundant. And milk is not always abundant. We can estimate that for two or three good years

433 262 [261] 433

[p. 209]

[1] [cf. p. 216]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



there will be one entirely dry year throughout, during which stock-breeding products have little or no value as food, and in such years of dry pasture there will also be very few wild plants to collect. Hunting, which plays little part for most Tuareg nowadays, is also of little value in an entirely dry year when many game animals die or migrate to other regions with more favourable pasture. It would seem obvious for pastoral Tuareg to do the same and to take their animals to grazing grounds outside of Ahaggar – particularly to the southern plains where pasture is normally better than in their own country. We have seen that most Ahaggar Tuareg in bad years have their she-camels far from Ahaggar in the Tamesna plains or in the country north of Adraṛ-n-Foras. We have also mentioned that, under very severe conditions, camps of Ahaggar and Ahnet may move to these southern regions with their flocks, though extensive goat-migrations are not always profitable. But most Tuareg remain in Ahaggar even in very dry years with their camps and flocks. Some of the animals will die, and none of them can be mated so that the flocks may rapidly decrease. During such years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg live so to speak exclusively on agricultural food products of which they get only a part from their gardens grown by sedentary agriculturists (the *Ḥarratin*, or *Izzegaren*). It is mainly through caravan trading that the Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their vegetable food products. Their two important trading expeditions to the Tidikelt oases and to the Sudan are carried out anually for the main purpose of acquiring dates and millet.

Trading with the Tidikelt oases (Awlef and In Salah) is based mainly upon a surplus of goats, camels, butter and cheese, and on dried meat. But many Tuareg who obtain large amounts of millet from the Sudanese trading expedition also sell part of their wheat grown in their own gardens in Ahaggar, and Sudanese articles bought during their south-bound trading-expedition. In a dry year some Tuareg may choose not to visit the Tidikelt area as they have too small a surplus for trading. The south-bound caravans, on the other hand, are rarely prevented from going as their main trading object is rock-salt of an excellent quality mined at Amadṛor north-east of the Ahaggar Massif. Both north-bound and south-bound caravans will set off in autumn when the hottest season has come to an end, that is at the end of September or at the beginning of October.

The caravan route from Tamanṛaset in Ahaggar to In Salah in Tidikelt is about 750 kilometres, and the route is rather difficult because pasture is normally lacking for three to four days of the journey. Most Tuareg who cross this part of the desert therefore bring with them large supplies of the dried *tulluli*-grass (*Aristida pungens*), which also serves as fodder for the pack-camels during the stay in the oases around which there is little pasture. The journey takes about twenty days in each direction, and the north-bound caravans return to Ahaggar again already in December or in January. The traders return with their camels loaded with dates of which a part may be re-sold in Ahaggar (Tamanṛaset), but they also buy European cotton and other European articles, which are cheaper in the north, and woollen blankets woven by sedentary people of the northern oases.

The south-bound caravans are very extensive. The towns visited in the south are Agadez, Tawa Tanut, and Zinder. The distance from Tamanṛaset to Zinder is, as the crow flies, about 1200 kilometres, while the distance from Tamanṛaset to Amadṛor, where salt is mined, is about 300 kilometres. In total the caravan journey from Ahaggar to Zinder and back again for many Tuareg amounts to more than 3000 kilometres. The south-bound caravans are organized as follows:— Slaves take the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 149. The market place of Agadez. In the front negroid Hausa men roasting small pieces of meat on a spit; in the background Tuareg camels offered for sale.

484 pack-camels to the salt pit of Amadror to mine salt in the hot season. They load the camels with salt
487 and bring them to the camp where further preparations for the journey are made. When the caravans
[317] have started southwards they stop in the Tamesna plains and rest there for at least one month to allow
[437] the pack-camels to feed on annual pasture, and, if necessary, to exchange the pack-camels with others kept by the Ahaggar Tuareg in Tamesna. Thereupon the caravan will continue towards the millet-
[22] growing towns and villages of the Sudan to bargain with the Hausa. The caravan returns to Ahaggar again at the end of March or at the beginning of April, so that the total duration of a south-bound caravan is up to six or seven months.

433 The Sudanese millet trade is of extreme value to the subsistence of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is partic-
439 ularly important to their economy that they obtain millet for non-nomadic products transported by camels, which are mainly bred outside of Ahaggar. The millet trade is consequently not much influenced by Ahaggar's changeable climate. According to official statistics, the Ahaggar caravans in 1946 exported 375 tons salt, and imported 720 tons millet, while the cereals grown in Ahaggar amounted to 197 tons (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). According to Galan vegetable food grown in the gardens of Ahaggar in 1950 (a bad year) amounted to 121 tons wheat, 5 tons millet and barley, and 4 tons of tomatoes – about 10 kg of wheat and 0.5 kg of millet, barley, and tomatoes per person (Galan 1951,
[415] p. 233). We see from this that the amount of cereals acquired in the Sudan far exceeds the amount grown in Ahaggar, and as we have mentioned, the millet trade is also important for the establishment of Tuareg agriculture in their own country where this cereal is used for payments to cultivators. It can also be added that the Sudanese caravan trade is more important to the Tuareg than appears from
[435] the figures above. For salt is much more valuable than millet, and for one load of salt the Tuareg receive from four to fifteen loads of millet – in 1946 the price was fifteen to one (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). It is evident that the Tuareg could not take all this millet back to Ahaggar. Most of it is re-sold

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



433 439 in the Sudan for such articles as camel saddles, sandals, swords, millet mortars, indigo cotton, earthenware pots, and the like. The Tuareg may also buy quantities of butter and cheese for sale to the sedentary people of Tidikelt and for their own use in dry years.

The Sudanese trade constitutes the great stabilizing factor in the economy of pastoral Tuareg of [262] Ahaggar. In return for the valuable rock-salt, pastoral Tuareg obtain the bulk of their agricultural food products (millet), butter and cheese for their own consumption in dry years, many important artefacts and notably their camel saddles and their millet mortars. They also get a surplus of millet and goods for investment in their Ahaggar gardens and for selling to the sedentary people of the Tidikelt oases.

There are certain Tuareg who do not engage in the Sudanese salt trade, notably those living in Ahnet; and these Tuareg nowadays have no irrigated gardens either. They acquire their necessary vegetable food products from Tidikelt (dates) and from Abalessa and Tamanṛaset (wheat). They buy these vegetable products with their surplus of goats, sheep, camels, butter and cheese, and an occasional [511] barbary sheep. In a good year they can meet their needs of food in this way, but it is most difficult for them to subsist in dry years; and it may happen that two dry years come in succession. When I [114] stayed among the Ahnet Tuareg in 1954–55, all camps visited were very short of food, while the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif who engage much in the salt trade (the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé*) possessed what they needed of wheat, barley, dates, and millet.

[366] To-day there is a rather important market at Tamanṛaset where many Tuareg sell surplus livestock, and where they can also buy cereals and dates. But it is always profitable to sell livestock and meat [435] in the Tidikelt oases where meat, butter and cheese are very expensive articles. Dates are cheap in these 000 oases, European goods and woven blankets are also cheaper than at Tamanṛaset. The trading expedi-

804 322 177

Fig. 150. Wooden measure (*muda*) which contains one kilo of cereals, or the like. The Tuareg have adopted the kilogramme into their own weight system. The proper Tuareg unit is the *taẓiwa* which, according to Foucauld, corresponds to three kilogrammes (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1160), but nowadays the Ahaggar Tuareg count one *taẓiwa* as equal to two kilogrammes and a half. The Tuareg have wooden or metal measures of *taẓiwa* size, and there are also larger measures to be used for grain, dates, and the like. For units smaller than *muda* the Tuareg sometimes use a wooden measure called *tanaḳast* which holds half a kilogramme. Smaller quantities are measured with the hand held half open, and it is recognized in Ahaggar that one *taẓiwa* corresponds to 99 handfuls. In Ayr it is very common to use a little plaited bowl (*iéfakemi*) as the smallest unit of measurement. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.125 m in diameter at the rim. (F.M. 168).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



tions have remained important to the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it is clear that they would not go on trading were these expeditions not profitable, for trading expeditions are extremely strenuous. Though the expeditions set off when the extreme heat is decreasing, it is still very hot in the extensive barren plains in autumn and in winter during daytime. Water and pasture are often extremely scarce in this deserted country, and the Tuareg frequently have to travel rapidly. For days or weeks they live so to say on their camels, and if camels are not too heavily loaded they may do up to 16 hours a day for several days in succession. Under such journeys the Tuareg eat only once a day. Obviously such trading expeditions are also very hard on the pack-camels, and there is always a risk of loosing a camel during such journeys through barren, desert country.

In this brief outline of caravan trading I have not considered those Ahaggar Tuareg living constantly in the Tamesna plains and adjacent regions. These Tuareg own more livestock than the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif, and I do not believe that they engage so much in extensive trading expeditions. They are comparatively rich in she-camels which are tolerably good milk yielders in these regions most of the year, and milk is more important as food than it is in Ahaggar. I believe that most Ahaggar Tuareg of the Tamesna region acquire their necessary vegetable products by selling surplus livestock, butter and cheese at the markets of Ingal and Agadez.

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AYR TUAREG

Among the Ayr Tuareg stock-breeding products are far more important for food than in the north. Grazing conditions are better with annual pasture as a recurrent event, and the Tuareg keep bigger flocks of goats and sheep, larger camel herds, and most have a few zebus which are guarded without much difficulty. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr can live on milk for a large part of the year, though they, like those of Ahaggar, become tired of milk drinking if they get no solid food. There are Tuareg of Southern Ayr who live exclusively on milk for two or three months during the periods of *akasa* and *rarat* and to whom milk is important as food for at least six mon hs. In the extremely hot season of *ewilen* when milk is very scarce most Tuareg eat millet porridge with a little milk or sauce (cf. p. 242 f.), and Tuareg who are not very wealthy eat millet porridge to a great extent all the year round, so that the necessary amount of millet for many camps is about 0.5 kilo a day per person, or about 180 kilos a year. In Ayr there are fairly good possibilities of collecting if there are not too many locusts, but most Tuareg do not collect a great quantity of wild seeds, and claim that they would be very badly off without millet, as seeds of wild plants are not very nourishing in comparison. In one year during the second world war (in 1943) they say that millet was very hard to get; it was then very difficult to subsist and a great many animals had to be killed for food. Millet is almost indispensable to the Tuareg; they also consume other vegetables derived from agriculture, notably wheat, maize, and dates, but millet is the most essential non-nomadic food product. Normally it can be acquired by most Ayr Tuareg without much difficulty.

The people of Ayr obtain their provisions of millet from the Sudanese area of shifting cultivation, notably from Damergu (Tanut). Millet can also be bought at Agadez whereto it is brought by Tuareg

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



by the Tuareg of Ayr, the *Kel Gerez*, and other Tuareg. The Tuareg obtain salt generally in exchange 437
for millet, but they also bring with them dried meat, and meat from animals newly slaughtered; and 439
although this meat is largely rotten when it arrives at Bilma it is easily sold to the oases dwellers who are yearning for meat. The oases dwellers have little to subsist upon but dates of which they have a surplus. This is purchased by the Tuareg, who get two loads of dates for one load of millet. The [178]
Bilma trade is less important nowadays than it was at the beginning of the century. In 1922 the Bilma [484]
caravans comprised about 7000 camels (Buchanan 1926, p. 83), while in 1908, when the trade was already decreasing, caravans numbered about 20,000 camels (Abadie 1927, p. 292). Caravans still go [435]
to Bilma to fetch salt and dates, but the salt trade is not so profitable to-day when Bilma salt can be [494]
bought fairly cheaply at Agadez, as the trucks bringing provisions from Agadez to the French administration and to the merchants of Bilma, take salt back with them when they return. The Ayr Tuareg 437
do not organize their trading expeditions within family groups or sections as in Ahaggar. A Tuareg [602]
who does not want himself to go to Bilma may let a kinsman or a friend trade for him with his camels. The payment for this is a large loaf of salt which constitute one sixth or one seventh of a camel load.

The Ayr Tuareg do not generally obtain salt from the pits of Tegidda-n-tésemt though this place 317
is not very far from the Massif to the west. They say that the Tegidda salt is not as good as 439
Bilma's. The salt of Tegidda-n-tésemt is purchased mainly by the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* when visiting the regions around Ingal after the rains. Some of the *Kel Ayr* who live in the extreme north [437]
(the *Kel Tédalé*, and others) occasionally go to Amadror in the north to fetch salt which is taken down to the Sudanese towns and villages. In years when drought prevails in Ahaggar these Tuareg take their 437
surplus of livestock to the market at Tamanraset, for in dry years the provision of meat, butter, and 438
cheese consumed in Ahaggar come mainly from Ayr and adjacent regions. When I stayed in Ahaggar [114]
in 1954–55 a great many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* came to Tamanraset to sell camels, donkeys, sheep, goats, and zebus, and also brought with them large quantities of cow's butter and cheese. The route 437
followed from Northern Ayr to Ahaggar runs via I-n-azawa and I-n-abeggi which are the only wells 487
between the two mountain massifs. Water is very scarce and so is pasture, which is mainly limited to a scattered vegetation of annual plants; over very large areas there is no vegetation at all. It is easy to drive camels and donkeys through these regions, while more difficult for sheep, goats, and cattle. The zebus easily get cut hooves from walking on stony ground, while sheep and goats suffer much from thirst. In spite of this, all kinds of livestock can be driven through the barren desert from Ayr to Ahaggar, even as late as the month of March which is extremely hot in the barren desert country. The Tuareg frequently lose animals which die from thirst and hunger during the journey, but the trade [435]
is nevertheless extremely profitable as prices of livestock are high in Ahaggar in dry years, while prices of European goods such as tea, sugar, cotton, metal vessels, and the like are extremely low compared with the prices asked for these goods in Ayr.

The Ayr Tuareg, though owning more livestock than the Tuareg of Ahaggar, have a certain demand 433
of agricultural food products. These products are mainly grown outside of the Massif, for the farmers 439
of Ayr grow little millet, very few dates, and part of the wheat grown in Ayr is exported to the oases of Ganet and Rat in the north. Though these vegetable products can be purchased at Agadez, it is profitable to fetch them where they are cheap, namely in the Sudan (millet) and in Bilma (dates). And

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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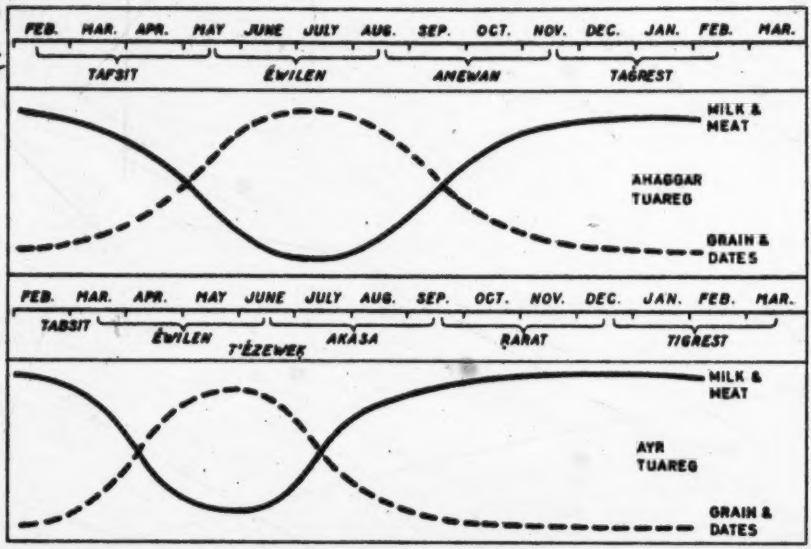


[511] [824] Fig. 151. The relative importance throughout the year of food derived from stock-breeding and vegetable products mainly comprising agricultural products. The curves describe conditions in good years for wealthy families. However, milk (and meat) is less important to most Ayr families than indicated in the diagram which covers a household making use of the particular type of annual pasture which remains green throughout winter, notably *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea ssp. Schimperi*) *adreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tagellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). – This diagram should be compared with Fig. 14 where climatic and botanical changes throughout the year are outlined.

433 it is remunerative to buy an extra supply of millet in Damergu and to exchange it for dates and salt
439 at Bilma. Caravan trading is a source of profit to the Ayr Tuareg, but most of them ultimately acquire their agricultural food products in exchange for stock and stock-breeding products. Very few of them mine salt at Amadṛor, and most of them obtain salt in return for millet bought for domestic animals in Damergu, or for meat of domestic animals butchered in Ayr. The Tuareg cannot easily subsist without agricultural products but they can obtain them in exchange for their livestock.

233 We see again that conditions of stock-breeding are very favourable in Ayr in comparison with those
166 of Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where frequent drought periods make it difficult for the Tuareg to
[184] exist. It is easily understandable that the favourable grazing conditions of Ayr have caused many Tuareg of the north to migrate southwards. These migrations take place even to-day and have gone
433 on for centuries (cf. p. 411 ff.). However, even in Ayr it is most difficult to subsist without cultivated
262 cereals (millet), and we must do away with the myth that pastoralists of North Africa live entirely on milk and meat from their animals – they do not. This is true for all Tuareg I have visited, including

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



those of Tasilé-n-Ajjer and the *Kel Geres*. I have been informed by *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg of the *Kel Dennek* group, whom I met in Ayr, that they live on millet to much the same extent as the Ayr Tuareg, and that some of them have gardens cultivated by negroid agriculturists. For the *Kel Dennek* it is expressively stated by Nicolas that they cannot live on milk, that they kill comparatively few of their animals, and that they largely live on cereals obtained not only by collecting. Some of the Tuareg mentioned by Nicolas are described as semi-nomads (Nicolas 1950a, p. 145 ff.). Among the Southern Tuareg living further west in the Sudanese savannahs (the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*), agricultural products are very important to the pastoralists who may possess gardens along the banks of the Niger, these gardens being cultivated by the *Bélla* (Aymard 1911, p. 117; Miner 1953, p. 60 ff.).

Nowadays there are no Tuareg who subsist without agricultural products, a few of them (the *Kel Aljer*) practise a primitive type of agriculture in the river valleys, and within all groups there seem to be Tuareg who have turned to irrigation farming as their most important occupation. In the following section I discuss briefly the subject of Tuareg economy in the past.

## TUAREG ECONOMY IN THE PAST

Tuareg culture was not profoundly altered by the advent of European military administration around the beginning of the present century. Their traditional material culture has persisted largely unchanged up to the present day. The major change has been the abolition of warfare and consequently the breakdown of the traditional political system, but the abolition of warfare also led to important changes in the organization of caravan trading.

Raiding expeditions were carried out in some Tuareg groups even after the arrival of the Europeans, who established small garrisons in the oases and had camel patrols roaming the country as they have nowadays. Buchanan thus describes a raid carried out by Ahaggar Tuareg against the Ayr village of Timia in the year 1920 (Buchanan 1921, p. 207 ff.), and raids have not been entirely unknown in Ayr even later, though the raiders have then been severely handicapped by the establishment of the French wireless stations which enabled the camel patrols of different areas to communicate with each other (Rodd 1926a, p. 188). Raiding have nowadays stopped, but before the European penetration and conquest it was so to speak an industry to be mentioned with other subsistence activities.

The Ahaggar Tuareg were known as prominent raiders and warriors in the past. The two dominent chiefdoms within the group of Ahaggar Tuareg, the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ*, frequently raided the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg and the Arabs living north of Timbuktu, as these southern pastoralists were very rich in livestock and in slaves. Some of these Tuareg and Arabs even paid fixed dues to chiefs of the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ* in order that they should not be raided by Tuareg of these groups. However, these annual payments did not safeguard against raiding (cf. p. 401 f.). It seems as if the south-bound raiding expeditions were mainly profitable to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who could not so easily be raided in return by the Southern Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg also raided other neighbouring pastoralists such as the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the powerful Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* with whom they had frequent and very serious quarrels; these people raided the Ahaggar Tuareg in return. It can be

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



1888, p. 21 f.). Duveyrier says that among the *Kel Ajjer* all noble Tuareg had slaves, while only some 175
of the vassals were slave owners. He says that slaves were bought and sold in towns (Duveyrier 1864, 567
p. 339). Information about the Tuareg slave trade is given by Richardson, who undertook his journeys [114]
mainly to collect material on slavery which is described throughout his journals. According to Richardson's descriptions there can be little doubt that the Tuareg engaged in the slave trade, but I think that perhaps his statements are tinged by his deep antiphathy to slavery (cf. Richardson 1848, I–II & 1853, I–II). It is most possible that the Tuareg slave caravans he mentions were organized by Arab merchants of Ṛat and Ṛadames. The former engagement of pastoral Tuareg in the slave trade has also been mentioned by Lyon (Lyon 1821).

As to Tuareg caravan trade throughout the 19th century, we can add that all Tuareg tribes did not 175
trade to the same extent. Within most groups there were certain tribes of particular classes which 437
did not go in so much for warfare and raiding, but were keen traders. This was true of tribes of the 184
*Isekkemaren* class in Ahaggar, and in Ahnet there were two Arab tribes allied with the drum-group of *Taytok*, namely the *Sekakna* and the *Mazil* who were responsible for the very important trade with Timbuktu (Bissuel 1888, p. 24). Among the *Kel Ajjer* the *Iforas* tribes traded on a much larger scale than other tribes (Duveyrier 1864, p. 359 ff.). In Ayr the same was true of certain tribes of the *Kel Ewey* group.

However, throughout the 19th century all Tuareg, with the exception of those of the nobility, engaged 175
in caravan trading which played a great part for the pastoralists, providing them with cereals and dates 437
necessary for their subsistence. Already in this century certain pastoralists had taken up irrigation 433
agriculture, and some of them practised a very primitive type of agriculture, but vegetable products were acquired mainly through caravan trading.

[text continues on p. 22]

634 vassals was given to the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) and not to the *temazlayt* master. However, should
565 a vassal Tuareg have borrowed for raiding a riding camel from his *temazlayt* master or another noble
571 Tuareg, they received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty remaining when
613 one half had been given to the *Amenukal*.
721

565 The noble Tuareg possessed many advantages over their individual vassals. They could apparently
571 claim almost what they wanted for their subsistence, and frequently camped close to their vassals who then were obliged to feed them, and when in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take such animals from their vassals (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). Similar information is given by Benhazera, but he states that the vassals in the past would not necessarily supply everything demanded by their noble lords (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The vassals were under a particular obligation to provide the noble Tuareg with goat-breeding products, and if they had milk yielding she-camels the noble Tuareg could claim these animals until milk-yielding stopped. But the vassals had also many advantages from the *temazlayt* relationships. They were not only protected by their lords. The noble Tuareg would leave behind the animals they could not take with them when roaming in the desert, and noble Tuareg never had much livestock with them in their camps. It was also of great importance to the vassals that they could use their masters camels for caravan trading. On the whole the system was not exclusively the exploitation of vassals by the noble Tuareg, and it can be added that the vassal Tuareg were always more numerous than the noble Tuareg, that the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) was elected by the vassals, and that he alone had judicial rights. The system was one of give and take to both classes involved, and there can be little doubt that it was well adapted to practical ecological conditions.

233 In Ahaggar, camels and goats are very complementary to each other. The camel supplies the Tuareg
●433 with milk, but with very few other products, and the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-
[234] camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important
[262] as food, but it is not well-fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg kill camels to
[281] utilize their meat only when many people congregate, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, for tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the
[437] camels have little direct economic value. But for raiding in the past, camels were very valuable riding animals, and were then, as now, extremely important for caravan trading which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic rôle of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive
[234] part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese
[262] which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore, goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without 233
camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to 433
the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays, as in the past, base their economy mainly on camels and goats.
I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats and their [262]
vegetable food from caravan trading with the aid of camels.

Formerly, the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned 565
exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but 233
he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). It is, however, confirmed 422
by many Tuareg that the vassals originally had no camels, and that throughout the 19th century they 571
had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals, and even to-day goats and butter form part of the *tiwsé*-payments. The noble Tuareg, on the other hand, allowed their particular vassals to trade with their camels against the payment of a certain amount of vegetable food products which to-day also form part of most *tiwsé*-payments. They allowed their vassals also to have usufructs of such animals as could not be taken with them on their migrations. Noble Tuareg of to-day continue to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts of the vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they obtain part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops; this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. The noble Tuareg of to-day may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals, who can refuse any gift or [178]
service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are even noble Tuareg who wear amulets which are [289]
believed to induce vassals to donate the things required.

It would seem that the economic relationships forming the basis of the Tuareg political system in 174
the north would arise so to speak automatically from two distinct cultures which met each other in 565
the desert: a camel-breeding culture of a Berber-speaking people now known as the noble Tuareg, and a goat-breeding culture of an ancient Berber-speaking population which now constitutes the vassals.

Some Tuareg traditions seem to indicate that political systems based on class-division arose in this 173
way in the north, but we have to admit that other traditions contradict this. Below I attempt to 565
elucidate Tuareg history in Ahaggar by means of native traditions to which, for practical reasons, I allot definite numbers.

*Tradition A.* All Tuareg have a common origin as they descend from a woman named *Lemtuna*, who is also the ancestress of certain Berbers living around Radamas in Tripolitania. Most Berbers of Morocco descend from *Lemtuna*'s sister who became the ancestress of the *Beraber*. This tradition is widely known in Ahaggar.

*Tradition B.I.* This tradition is a very common explanation of the origin of the class-division in Ahaggar: Long ago two Islamic women of the *Beraber* immigrated to the oasis of Silet from Tafilelt in Morocco. One of these women named *Ti-n-Hinan* was noble while the other woman named *Takama*

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



173 565 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day. [172] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten* people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides, two men known as *Mokhammed ag-Kerku* and *Êmenni ag-Khedidda*, both members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* claim that their tribe descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten* formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Ṛali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten* were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and introduced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient *Isebeten* contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much [551] difficulty. For the word *Ésebet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending from the woman *Ésebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had [114] a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Ṛali* [428] tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a, p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 614 565 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are known by the name *Kel Ulli*, that is "the goat people", or by the name *Imṛad* which perhaps also refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *eṛeyd* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas [433] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly [224] important to the *Dag Ṛali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this ancient people.

173 565 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ*, said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Beraber*, and that they were Islamic. The claim that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyound doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Isamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Hahn, who was the first to write in detail on the historical origin of subsistence activities, stated as his view that cultures based exclusively on stock-breeding were recent and were preceded by mixed farming cultures (Hahn 1896, p. 31 f.; 1905, p. 131; 1908, p. 19). Though some of Hahn's arguments in favour of this theoretical conception are difficult to accept, his general view that pure stock-breeding did not form a general stage in the evolution of culture is recognized by many scholars who hold that cultivation is everywhere older than stock-breeding. Forde long ago pointed out the great instability of pastoralism and its dependence upon grown cereals (Forde 1950 (1. ed. 1934), p. 403 f.), and in a very recent study, published in collaboration with Mary Douglas, it is stated that "Pastoral nomadism which is popularly believed to have preceded the development of agriculture actually appeared at a later stage in the Old World on the fringes of settled populations used to cultivation with the rearing of livestock" (Forde 1960, p. 330). Important contributions to the solution of the problem of the origin of stock-breeding have also been made by Childe, who says that in practically all the oldest food-producing settlements examined by archaeologists in Europe, Hither Asia, and North Africa, the basic industry is mixed farming (Childe 1936, p. 85). Childe does not explicitly claim that pastoral stock-breeding derived from a mixed farming culture, because pastoralists are not likely to leave many vestiges by which the archaeologists can recognize their presence (Childe 1936, p. 91). But Childe's general view seems to be in favour of origin of pastoral stock-breeding from a culture which knew farming, and he points out "that ancestors of our farmyard animals lived wild in most of the regions that seem likely to have comprised the cradle of grain-growing" (Childe 1936, p. 86).

In my description of Tuareg ecology I have indicated the great importance of agricultural products for food among true pastoralists, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. I believe that the latter Tuareg and the Tuareg of the Sudanese savannah could perhaps subsists without cereals grown by agriculturists, though it would not be so easy for them. The Ayr Tuareg around Agadez admit this and refer to their great difficulties in subsisting during one year of the second world war when millet was scarce. Most African pastoralists acquire provisions of cultivated grain for their food during periods when milk is scarce, and the general conception that African nomads live mainly on milk and meat is not valid. However, we cannot state that all pastoralists are dependent on agriculture for food, for a few people seem to subsist on stock-breeding products and on wild seeds. Thus Seligman describes from the Beja a tribe named Bedawib which differs from other Beja groups in that its members have no camels and do not eat agricultural food:— "The Bedawib do not cultivate at all and it is said that they would not touch grain even if it were given to them so that they live almost entirely on milk and meat". (Seligman 1913, p. 599 f.). Other pastoralists of the so-called East African Cattle Complex eat cereals grown by themselves or by neighbouring agriculturists, but agricultural food-products play a very little part to some of these people (cf. Lowie 1938, p. 314), and the Hottentots live by cattle-breeding supplemented by hunting and collecting (cf. Schapera 1930, p. 235). The argument that stock-breeding cultures cannot exists except in a kind of symbiosis with agriculture is not valid, but agricultural food-products make life easier for pastoralists who cannot subsist on milk all the year round. For we must bear in mind that in an arid or semi-arid country conditions of collecting are changeable, and it is also important to note that wild seeds are generally far less nourishing than are grown cereals. Even in the savannah country it is a great advantage for pastoralists to have access to grown cereals, and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



433 pastoralists who live in the true desert country could hardly live without agricultural food-products.
262 In dry years the Ahaggar Tuareg subsist almost exclusively on wheat, millet, and dates. They cannot
171 in such years live on milk and meat, and collecting is of no importance, as the plants suitable for collecting do not germinate with the exception of a few species which are of very little value. In very arid countries agriculture seems to be necessary for the subsistence of pastoralists, and it is of great value also to pastoralists who live under more favourable conditions.

433 Partly owing to the decline of caravan trading, there are pastoralists who have recently taken up
178 agriculture in connection with irrigation. We have also mentioned that the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer
171 engage in a kind of primitive agriculture in the river valleys after heavy rain, and we know from literature that this method was also practised in Ahaggar before the introduction of developed irrigation systems. We have seen that throughout the northern parts of the Sahara a connection between shifting cultivation and pastoralism is the rule rather than the exception. Primitive corn growing is, in fact, practised among many other pastoralists besides the Northern Tuareg, and the bedouins who sow wheat and barley by means of the plough or the hoe further north on the outskirts of the desert. In Southern Mauretania certain nomads grow millet and water melons in the river valleys which are annually flooded. Sowing is done mainly where the valleys broaden, small dams being constructed to detain water. This cultivation method is also applied by certain pastoral *Zenaga* (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 277), who are, perhaps, descendants of the ancient *Sanhaja* Tuareg who lived in this country before the Arab conquest. There are also pastoralists of the Beja people who engage in agriculture when living close to rivers. The Bisharin who camp around the Atbara River grow melons in the wet sand (Baker 1867, p. 38), the Hadendoa pastoralists, when camping close to the Gash River in the dry season, grow millet and other cereals (Seligman 1913, p. 599), and agriculture is also practised in the same region by pastoral Beni Amer (Munzinger 1864, p. 332).

A journey from the Mediterranean coast takes us from people who live mainly by agriculture (e.g., the Kabyle) to people who live by mixed farming as semi-nomads (e.g., the Chawiya), to people who are roaming pastoralists but practise shifting cultivation when possible and fairly regularly (e.g., the Ulad Nail, the Larba, and other Arab pastoralists on the outskirts of the desert), and, finally to the true desert nomads where agriculture is practised on a very small scale (e.g., the *Kel Ajjer*) or not at all (e.g., the *Kel Ahaggar* and the Chamba). It would thus be natural to explain the development of true pastoralism in Northern Africa as an adaption of a mixed farming culture to environment, and this view seems to have been adopted by several authors (Frobenius 1904, p. 154 f.; Steensby 1908–09, p. 285; Wölfel 1941, p. 89–140; Herzog 1956, p. 210–223).

174 The question of the origin of North African pastoralism can only be answered by a deeper knowledge of history, and the answer is not easy to find. Historical sources do not reach far back in North Africa. We know that throughout the Middle Ages the people who lived on the borderland of the Northern Sahara south of the Atlas and along the Mediterranean coast possessed an economic system much like that prevailing nowadays. Ibn Khaldun describes the economic life of the *Sanhaja* Berbers, who lived in the country between Tunis and Cairuan, saying that they are cow and sheep breeders who also engage in agriculture (Ibn Khaldun III, p. 225). Of an Arab tribe called Azza of Cyrenaica, he says that though its members are plough cultivators they also lead their domestic animals into the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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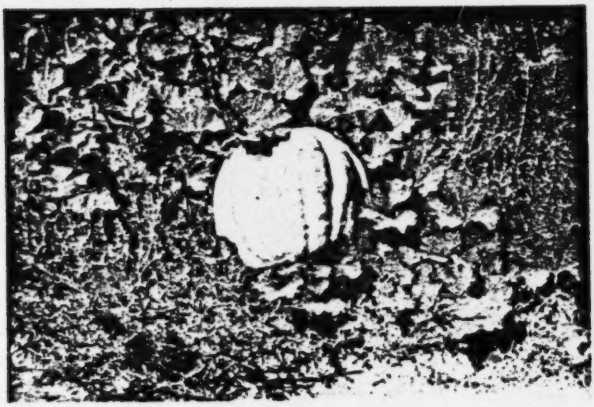

Fig. 141. The large gourd known as *kabaya* (*Cucurbita maxima*) growing close to the thorny fence (*aferaq*) which term is also generally used to designate a garden. Ahaggar, *Akl Azzi* Arabs.

466 625 423 241 [17] [578] Tuareg garden owners have other obligations besides those listed under these three items, but these obligations vary with the systems of contract of which there are three. One system is known as *khamast* according to which the agriculturists gets only one fifth of the crops. This system is widely found in North Africa but has disappeared in Ahaggar some years ago. It is said that it was abolished by the *Amenukal* because it very frequently gave rise to disputes between Tuareg garden owners and their cultivators. It is now replaced by two other systems, the *tilt* system allowing one third of the crops to the cultivator, and the *aril* system according to which crops are divided equally between the owner and the cultivator. This last system is that almost exclusively used in Ahaggar nowadays.

To revert to Tuareg obligations towards their cultivators, these obligations, in addition to those mentioned above, are as follows:—

(4) To hand over an amount of seed-corn (*téfest*) of wheat and barley according to the size of the garden plot and the system of contract. With a *khamast* agreement the Tuareg garden owner gives all seed-corn. With a *tilt* agreement half of the seed-corn is supplied by the owner, the other half by the cultivator who is then also allowed to cultivate a private garden. With an *aril* agreement half of the seed-corn is given by the garden owner, the other half by the cultivator who does not possess a private garden unless he is headman of a *foggara* (p. 196).

(5) To give an amount of food to the agriculturist during the cultivation period of six months. This payment is known as *tenafok*, and is fixed at 75 kilos of millet, barley, or dates when cultivation is done according to the *aril* system, while 150 kilos are given for cultivation according to agreements of the two systems *tilt* and *khamast*.

[434] The net profit to an agriculturist who cultivates for a Tuareg garden owner is lower than that gained by an agriculturist cultivating exclusively for his own private use. This will be seen more clearly from the calculations below where a garden with an annual yield of 700 kilos wheat and barley is considered:—

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| | *Cultivator* | | *Tuareg Garden Owner* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The khamast system* | Receipts | Expenditure | Receipts | Expenditure | |
| The *khamast* division | 140 kg | | 560 kg | | 466 |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | 675 |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | 423 |
| Seed-corn | | | | 50 kg | 241 |
| Food given to the cultivator | 150 kg | | | 150 kg | 434 |
| | 290 kg | 10 kg | 560 kg. | 210 kg | |
| Net profit | 280 kg | | 350 kg | | |
| *The tilt system* | | | | | |
| The tilt division | 233 kg | | 466 kg | | |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | |
| Seed-corn | | 25 kg | | 25 kg | |
| Food given to the cultivator | 150 kg | | | 150 kg | |
| | 383 kg | 35 kg | 466 kg | 185 kg | |
| Net profit | 348 kg | | 281 kg | | |
| *The aril system* | | | | | |
| The *aril* division | 350 kg | | 350 kg | | |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | |
| Seed-corn | | 25 kg | | 25 kg | |
| Food given to the cultivator | 75 kg | | | 75 kg | |
| | 425 kg | 35 kg | 350 kg | 110 kg | |
| Net profit | 390 kg | | 240 kg | | |

A few notes should be added to these calculations of receipts and expenditure in the three systems. Thus the profit of the cultivator in all three systems is somewhat bigger than is indicated. The hoe is given by the Tuareg garden owner, who must also make certain payments for irrigation work and for the making of new garden beds as mentioned above. The garden owner's net profit in kilogrammes is consequently somewhat lower than indicated, but it should be mentioned that payments made by a Tuareg garden owner are hardly ever made in wheat and barley, but mainly in millet and dates which are less valuable, particularly so because the pastoral Tuareg acquire millet and dates at very low prices during their caravan expeditions (cf. p. 209 ff.). Therefore, the profit made by a Tuareg garden owner cannot so easily be given in kilogrammes of agricultural food products. It is evident that all three systems are profitable to the Tuareg, and it is clear that an agriculturist who cultivates a garden entirely on his own behalf is better off than an agriculturist who works for the Tuareg. It is also evident that to the agriculturist the *khamast* system is less profitable than the *tilt* system, which again is less profitable than the *aril* system. With the abolishment of the *khamast* system the agriculturists now [435]

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466 475 obtain a larger amount of vegetable food products and more wheat and barley. The pastoral Tuareg
423 gain less from their gardens than they did when the *khamast* system prevailed, but it is still profitable
241 for them to be garden owners.
434

The quantity of agricultural products anually consumed per person among the *Kel Ahaggar* is
511 estimated by Lhote at 187 kilos millet, 15 kilos dates, and a small amount of wheat for which no
262 figure is given. For Arabs of the Sahara the quantity of vegetable food is estimated at 180 kilos wheat,
[171] and 75 kilos dates anually per person (Lhote 1955a, p. 263). I add to this that wheat is used for bread to a very large extent by the Ahaggar Tuareg, who also make much use of barley for bread and porridge. According to Malaurie the amount of agricultural food products available per person among the Ahaggar Tuareg is about 400 grammes a day, or 146 kilos anually (Malaurie 1953, p. 342). It should be noted again that the amount of agricultural food products necessary for a Tuareg household varies greatly from one year to the other. In years of drought when agricultural products form so to speak the only source of food for the nomads, they estimate that a household consisting of husband, wife, and one child will consume about two kilos of cereals (dates) every day, or 730 kilos in a year. Consequently the amount of cereals and dates consumed anually per person may in dry years rise to about 245 kilos. This seems to correspond to the amount of food considered necessary for Arabs of
[171] Tidikelt and Tawat, who live almost exclusively on cereals and dates. When employed as labourers by the French Administration these sedentary Arabs are given 16 kilos of wheat and 4 kilos of rice a month, or 240 kilos of agricultural products anually per person (Information obtained from the administration office of In Salah in 1954). The agricultural products obtained by a pastoral household from a single
511 garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less
433 so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example: During the year 1954 55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with an *aril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar
[437] Tuareg depend on caravan trading for their provisions of agricultural food, and trading also helps them to create the capital of millet and dates which is invested in their gardens in Ahaggar grown on their behalf by agriculturists. I believe that most pastoral households of Ahaggar have gardens, but there are Tuareg who have none. This is true, for instance, of most Tuareg living in and around the Ahnet Massif. Tuareg of this region formerly had gardens irrigated by the *foggara* system at Abalessa, but to-day they acquire their vegetable food products mainly by caravan trading.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AYR

563 The largest aggregation of sedentary people in Ayr is found in Agadez (4.737), which is inhabited al-
[361] most exclusively by negroid peoples who speak Hausa though most of them also know the Tuareg
162 language (*tamachek*). This large sedentary population mainly lives on trade and on crafts of
197 various kinds. The inhabitants are known to the Tuareg as the *Imeggedezen*. They are said to be related
433 to the Sultan (or the *Amenukal*) of Agadez. There is a tradition which claims that the Sultan came
173

season which generally ends with the month of September. 439
When the caravaneers arrive earlier, they wait in the Tamasna 484
region and protect their salt by hiding it in the crags of the rocks.

At any rate they always stay at least two months in that region so that their camels may regain their strength. Then, they go in small groups toward the Damergou where they know people in some villages with whom they exchange their salt for millet. These exchanges are made on variable bases, depending on whether or not the millet harvest has been abundant, or whether the salt has arrived in greater or lesser quantity. Most generally they are made on the basis of one load of salt for three loads of millet, but sometimes in the proportion of one load of salt for ten loads of millet, which is much to the advantage of the Ihaggaren.

[291]
[177]

Fig. 24. Irratimen sandal of Hausa make, such as the Ihaggaren wear.

[435]

Since they do not have enough camels to carry all this grain back, and since they do not need that much grain in the Ahaggar, they sell or exchange a good part of it for manufactured objects, which are easy to transport and /220/ easy to dispose of -- sandals, saddle bags, camel saddles, leather boxes,

291 /265/ Clothes, except for the gandurah made of cotton bands,
489 are made of material imported from Europe. This material, called chêga, is heavily dyed with indigo, giving it a very dark gloss; it
[556] is the favorite material of Tuareg men and women, but it is replaced by ordinary cloth among less well-off people.

Veils are manufactured in English Nigeria, in the village of Koura near the large city of Kano. They are made by assembling
[435] a multitude of little cloth bands. They are very expensive and can cost from three to five goats, depending on the quality. In
[177] Hausa language they bear the name toukourdi, which has been adopted by the Tuareg. For a long time they have served as ex-
[436] change currency for commercial transactions.

291 It has been asked many times why the Tuareg were led to veil
174 their faces. Hygiene, which has often been mentioned, and the need to protect their respiratory tracts against sandstorms, are not sufficient reasons to explain this practice. There is something else, a /266/ very ancient enigmatic custom whose origin is lost in the night of time and which is kept up without their really knowing why. It is so deep rooted among the Tuareg, however, that they cannot conceive of a self-respecting man who can forego wearing the veil.

The headless men and acephalous people of ancient authors certainly owed their cognomen only to this very peculiar custom of hiding their faces, a custom which must have already existed in this remote epoch. One can only construct hypotheses on the origin of this veil.

We know through Ibn Khaldoun that the wearing of the veil was in general use among the peoples who inhabited the Atlantic coast and adjacent countries in the fourth century. This establishes that the custom is very ancient.

In the rock paintings from prehistoric or protohistoric times which have been discovered in the central Sahara in the last few years, we have noted the very peculiar method of representing the

439 [437] Sheep trading, which has grown greatly in these last few years, is largely carried on by barter. It is especially done by Arab caravaneers from the Touat who go to the Sudan with dates, tobacco, fabrics, and blankets, which they exchange not in the markets but in the camps. Tuareg from the Adrar des Iforas and Kounta Arabs also do the opposite and take their sheep to the Tidikelt and Touat.

439 435 In 1939 the sale price of sheep on the market at In-Salah was from 75 to 100 francs. The purchase price in the Sudan varied from 35 to 45 francs, but as we said, barter was most often the basis for all transactions.

And so for a camel that they received the Adrar Tuareg gave 120 sheep. One sheep alone was exchanged for 12 or 15 cubits of cloth or /317/ 10 guecaa of dates. A dokkali, a large blanket from the Touat which the Tuareg hold in high esteem, was worth 10 sheep in the Sudan and 7 in the Adrar.

436 [177] The camel served as a basis of exchange. The Tuareg have never used money, although they did accept the Maria Theresa dollar which circulated in the Sudan and the Turkish livre which was widespread in Tripolitania. Sudanese tribes negotiated with toukourdi, the band of material serving as a veil, and with kori [825] (Cypraea moneta), a little seashell native to the Indian Ocean.

648 439 Since the French occupation we have seen a certain number of native merchants settle at Tamanrasset, the administrative capital of the Ahaggar. They are for the most part Mozabites and a few Arabs from Metlili who have constructed shops and have merchandise sent them by their correspondents in the Algerian Tell.

This recent state of affairs tends to grow more and more [305] extensive, and the postal agency at Tamanrasset records several million transactions every year.

They use camel hair to make rope. They are fond of 237 283 camel meat, and it is they who supply the markets of the 262 439 Tidikelt with it.

There are very few cattle in the Ahaggar, barely thirty, 233 and almost all these belong to Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane, 492 of Tazerouk. They are used to draw water from the wells [312] into the ar'erems. The pasture is scanty, and besides the cattle easily wear out their hooves on the rocks and stones.

In the Koudia, because of the cold which prevails there 233 and the high altitude, there are many small turrets of dry 343 stones, /65/ empty inside, in which the Tuareg confine lambs and kids at night to shelter them from the cold.

The Ahaggar do not have a large number of meharis, and 233 they do not like to sell them, especially the good ones. Among [435] themselves, to set the value of a mehari, they say, "Such a mehari is worth two, three, or four camels." All their meharis are trained to start at a gallop. The Tuareg has great patience with the training of his mehari and never mistreats it. He confines himself to persuading it by voice and foot, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Tuareg mehari is much more silent than the Arab mehari.

The foundation of the pastures of the Ahaggar is aremmas 137 (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae). This plant is quite laxative. 233 So when the year is bad and drought prevails, the Ahaggar are found emigrating toward the Adhar'. There are fine pastures of "had" (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolaceae) in the south of Tin R'arhou, but there is no water. Moussa ag Amastane /66/ [312 intends to have wells dug there and has requested our help and 648] advice for this purpose.

As a rule the Tuareg let their camels out to pasture with- 233 out herders, and they find them again at the well or by tracking, unless they entrust the herding to children or negroes.

/67/ A young camel is called "abal" without designating 192 its age. A camel in general is called "amadjour," plural 233 "imoudjar," or else "amiss," plural "imnass." A female is

All the transactions that they make take place by means 437
of barter. The most important profits that they realize result 439
from barter carried on in the Aïr and the Niger with the salt, "chegga," and dates that they take there.

## Market Prices in the Ahaggar

There are no set prices for meharis, or male or female 435
camels. However, the prices for young camels are fixed and known. Thus:

A four-year-old camel, "aqnefoud," is worth 100 francs
" three-year-old " , "aleggues," " " 75 "
" two-year-old " , "aledjoudh," " " 50 "

For sheep and goats, the price basis is the goat, which is worth 3 mitqals, or 7.50 francs. A ewe is worth a goat and a half, or 11.25 francs, and a ram, two goats, or 15 francs.

A load of dates sells in the Ahaggar for 75 francs.

Barley sells for 1 franc per "guessaâ" or 60 francs for a load of 60 "guessaâs." Wheat is 1.25 francs per "guessaâ," or 75 francs per load.

"Chegga" sells for 1.25 per meter. /70/

Melted butter is sold at 7 "mouddas" (a small wooden measure) for a goat, or 7.50 francs.

## Market Prices in the Ahnet

One female camel, 50 to 60 mitqals (125 to 150 francs)
One load of dates, 30 mitqals (75 francs)
One sheep, 7.50 francs
One goat, 10 francs
Melted butter, 7 "mouddas" for 7.50 francs
One donkey, 25 francs

565 /56 cont. / and who over a period of time have adopted
463 Tuareg ways (their specialization and their character lend
174 credence to this theory). Some maalmines say that they came to the Ahaggar in the time of the sultan Goma, having been separated from the Idenan tribe of which they were members. Others claim to have always belonged to the Tuareg confederation.

565 In the Ahaggar the maalmines include 17 men, about 20
463 women, and about 40 children. They have ten iklan.

[162] The men are many-sided craftsmen, often clever and fairly artistic; in view of the material they have to work with and the tools at their disposal, one may say that they are remarkable. The women work leather with skill and art. The maalmines are not grouped in tribes but form small families scattered in every corner of the Ahaggar. When a tribe, noble or imrad, needs some work done, it sends for a craftsman and provides him with animals for transporting himself and his equipment. He lives with the tribe during the time necessary for his task and is provided for by the tribe. When the work is done he is paid, according to how satisfactory it is considered, in goats, millet, milk, butter, even camels, but there is no fixed rate paid to the maalmines by the Tuareg. There is a different arrangement when they work for the harratin, who, not being so noble as the Tuareg, would not know how to reward good work with the proper generosity. They are therefore charged the following rate: for one new
[435] hoe (made from an old oil drum): five guessa /dishes/ of wheat or millet; for four rivets put in an old hoe, one guessa of grain; for a new axe the price used to be a goat or five guessa, but since the advent of the black market there is no accurate quotation.

435 For making jewelry, there is a special price fixed by
565 custom, even for the Tuareg; thus for bracelets and earrings
463 the Targui furnishes, for example, ten pieces of silver necessary for making two bracelets; the maalem keeps five

435 /56 cont./ for himself, or else the Targui pays him in actual
463 money the value of the five pieces.
565 /57/ The same price applies for rings and pendants. The
463 inaden have an ill-defined position in Tuareg society; some
565 consider them inferior to the imrads, others place them between the nobles and the imrads. It is certain that the maalmines are proud and are far from suffering from an inferiority complex. They are very well acquainted with Tuareg customs, the country, and the people, and are, in brief, the custodians of certain traditions of art, or, it could be said, of culture.

The tinadin, women of the maalmines, work leather as do all Tuareg women, but with them it takes on the character of a profession. They are very skillful and artistic, and their specialty is making cases for the iremdan /a tool/, sheaths for knives, and saber scabbards called "tittar n'takouba."

## The Harratin

565 The harratin of the Ahaggar represent, as they do elsewhere in the Sahara, the sedentary element, chiefly agricultural.

The term designates, in the thought of the region, a caste in Tuareg society. When one questions a Kel Ahaggar about the ranking of the different castes, he places the nobles, ihaggarènes, first; then the vassals, imrads, making a distinction among them of the issakamaren, who are the lowest in the caste; then come the iklan (slaves, let us say, domestic ones) -- these iklan are Blacks, and their difference from the Tuareg is evident from their ethnic type.(1).

1. A parallel Moslem religious and maraboutic hierarchy exists: (Chorfa -- Zaoui -- Arabs -- Mozabites).

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Fig. 25. Ram prevented from mating by means of a cord (*uɣun*) tied around the foreskin of the penis and also around the scrotum. A longitudinal hobble-rope (*amakus*) also serves to prevent copulation.
Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terwit* tribe.

[435] the price of sheep for slaughtering is very high compared with the price of goats. Sheep are also con-
[282] sidered the proper animals for Islamic sacrifices, and it should be added that sheepskin is considered
[237] very suitable for the manufacture of certain articles (cf. p. 288 & p. 298; Figs. 232, 240).
[225] The Tuareg say that sheep are more "stupid" or less "intelligent" than goats. Sheep do not respond to their names, they get more easily lost during grazing, and they do not return to the camp by themselves. It is difficult to herd sheep if there are no goats in the flock. Among the Tuareg, as elsewhere in North Africa, sheep and goats are normally mixed in one flock. The goats then always march at the head of the flock, obeying the orders of the herdsman, while the sheep follow behind. It may happen, however, that goats and sheep become divided during grazing, as goats march too quickly for sheep to follow them, while on long journeys sheep show more endurance than goats.

The techniques of sheep-breeding are largely identical with those of goat-breeding mentioned above.
234 It should be observed, however, that goats can be milked without any difficulty whether they have kids or not, while this is not always so with sheep. It is said that they are more easily milked when they have lambs. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr I have noted more than once that a good milch-sheep which had lost its lamb was given another lamb belonging to a sheep yielding less milk.
*233 Sheep can lamb until an age of seven or eight years, but it is considered appropriate to kill them for

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or Ingal) for selling, they are also frequently provided with a wooden prong (*aburi*) loosely attached around one foreleg to prevent them running away. I have never seen this practised among the Fulani who have much more control over their cattle than have the Ayr Tuareg. 233* [171]

Cows continue to bring forth calves and yield milk until they are about 15 years old, and the duration of their life is estimated at about 20 years. But it is considered appropriate to keep milch-cows until they are ten or twelve years old when they should be sold or killed. The period of gestation for cows is about ten months, and there is no regulation of mating. The Tuareg say that cows will be on heat and mate again shortly after the birth of a calf, and that milk-yielding does not stop until five months after mating. Free mating of the cows agrees well with Tuareg interests as prices of calves are high. [435]

Milking of cows takes place twice daily and is generally done by women – in rare cases by men. Milking is performed as follows:— Just before the herd returns from grazing in the evening every calf is firmly attached to a tree by means of a cord (*témetrek*) around its neck so that it cannot reach the udder of the mother cow. When milking is to take place the mother cow is attached to the same tree by means of a cord (*aran*) around its horns. The calf's rope is now loosened and it will immediately start to suck while the milk-maid fastenes another rope or cord (*akarab*) around the hind legs of the cow. When this is done the calf is attached to its tree again, and milking begins. The milk-maid squats at one side of the cow (generally at the right side) holding the large milking bowl (*akabar*) (Fig. 37) between her legs and knees, and milks with both hands (Fig. 29). When the milk-maid has taken the milk she wants she releases the calf to let it drink what is left in the udder, but the calf is thereupon attached to its tree again in order that it may not suck during the night. Before the cows leave the camp in the morning milking is performed again as just described, but it may happen that the cows leave for grazing already during the night, and they are then not milked again until next evening. Tuareg who possess a great many calves may guard them within a so-called *zeriba* (*afurag*) made of thorny acacia boughs. 234 [462] [417]

Most cows will not yield milk unless they have their calves close to them. If a cow loses its calf it may be replaced with the calf of another cow so that milking can be done, but it is also common to use the so-called dummy-calf (*azeyuz*) made from the dead calf's skin stuffed with hay. This puppet is then set close to the cow which is deceived by it. It feels that its calf is standing by, it licks the skin, and milking can then be done without much difficulty. [237]

The dummy-calf is not used by the zebu-owning agriculturists of Ahaggar, though I have met one of these *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*) who had once made a calfskin-puppet after he had seen the method practised among *Iforas* Tuareg at Kidal. The method of blowing into the cow's vulva is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *askuf*; it is used particularly for cows which are difficult to milk shortly after the birth of a calf. During migrations, when young calves march together with the mother cows, suckling is prevented by means of a piece of dum palm leaf attached around the calves' mouths. Such an attachment known to the Ayr Tuareg as *adabar* may be used also for other domestic animals.

Weaning of calves takes place according to one of the following methods:— (1) *ikembar*, that is cuttings made with a knife in two or three places on the bridge of the calf's nose. The wounds of these cuts hurt the calf when it tries to suck, but the method is effective only for a very short period until the wounds have healed. On adult animals the scars of these wounds appear as small bumps (Fig. 30). 233*

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Fig. 35. A young camel (about 14 months old) sucks its mother before milking. The Tuareg boy bends up the right foreleg of the she-camel and ties it in this bent position to the left foreleg – a method known as *ẓemmetil*; it is applied to she-camels that are restless during milking. The she-camel has the colour name *tézerît*, its big calf that of *atlay*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

*233 (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 15, 76 ff.). I have inquired about this, and the Tuareg seem to hold that
[114] all camels have an identical number of teeth.

She-camels should ideally be reserved for breeding which is a very slow process. A severe loss of goats during a drought can be restored quickly once rainfalls start again, but this is not so with a loss of camels. She-camels are not generally mated until they are about three years old, and their gestation period is about one year. In addition, she-camels get only one calf which has a long period of sucking so that a she-camel is frequently not mated until one year after the birth of a calf. In other words:—
[435] One she-camel has only one calf every two years. For this reason, and because a grown camel has about the same value as 25–30 goats, the Tuareg pay much more attention to camel-breeding than to the breeding of goats and sheep.

Most she-camels are mated during the cold season in Ahaggar, while the proper season of mating in Ayr is *akasa* with the beginning of *ṛarat*, though some she-camels are also mated in the spring period known as *tabsit*. As the gestation period is about one year most camel calves are born during the cold season in the north, in the rainy season when annual plants are well developed in the south. The rutting male camels roam freely in search of she-camels on heat, and a Tuareg may own several she-camels and not even possess a bull-camel for breeding. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr there are Tuareg who try to keep their very excellent bull-camels away from herds other than their own, but this is considered very bad conduct. In fact, there are Tuareg who do not know with which bull-camels their she-camels mate though the act of mating is normally seen and heard by somebody. Mating is also very frequently arranged by the Tuareg who then assist the bull-camel in introducing its penis into the she-camel's vagina. The act of mating may be connected with some difficulty for the bull-camel because the she-camel has to lie down on the ground during copulation.

A she-camel is well looked after during the period it is expected to have a calf. She stands upright while bearing the calf, and the umbilical cord breaks when the calf falls to the ground. The birth of a calf is not always seen by the owners but they will generally be present at least a few hours after birth.

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to the killing of a camel for wedding guests. Otherwise the Northern Tuareg like those of Ayr only 262
kill sick animals for food.

There are certain practical reasons why camels should not normally be killed for food among the Tuareg. Even very old camels fetch high prices at markets of the northern oases (Tamanrasset, Tidikelt), [435] ● and the Tuareg prefer to get the money instead of eating their old camels. This is easily understood [252] when we consider the fact that one camel contains so much meat that it cannot be eaten quickly by the members of a household, and camel's meat is rather tough and must be boiled for several hours to be eatable. Besides, camel's meat is not very well suited to be preserved for eating at a later date [251] on journeys. However, it can be dried and when sick camels are killed part of their meat is often prepared in this way.

A camel is killed in a very particular way quite different from the method of slaughtering other 233* domestic animals and game. It is killed as follows:— Cords are attached very firmly around the legs of the animal which is kept to the ground by several men who sit on its back and draw its head backwards. The artery is thereupon opened at the lower part of the neck close to the chest, and the knife is thrust into the animal at this place, but not so deeply as to touch the heart or the entrails. This stab is quite sufficient to kill the camel, but some people also cut its throat close to the head in the way other domestic animals are killed. Very peculiar also is the way camels are skinned. While other animals are skinned in such a way that the hide can be removed as entire as possible (cf. Fig. 173), the carcass of a camel is cut up before skinning. The four legs with their thighs are cut loose close to the carcass, which is thereupon cut into several parts by means of a large chopping-knife or an axe (cf. Fig. 44). The hide is thus removed from the carcass after partitioning; but it is difficult to remove the hide as it sticks firmly to the meat, and only part of it is taken off for later use. In Ayr the Tuareg do not 000

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Fig. 44. Skinning and partitioning of a young camel. Ayr, *Irawelen*.

[text continues on p. 67]

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685 648 One of the principal tasks of the Ayr camel patrol consists in hunting down camel thieves to take them to Agadez and prove their guilt. Most Tuareg sympathize with this judicial work of the French but claim that it is too ineffective.

232 * 492 [435] The Tuareg still take a very great interest in the breeding of riding camels, and extremely good riding animals are occasionally sold for a price equal to that paid for five or six normal camels. When a calf is born they at once recognize whether it will be well fitted for riding or not, for there are certain basic characteristics of riding camels. Ideally they should have a relatively short body, be deep-chested, and of high stature with small feet and slender limbs. For pack-camels they prefer heavy and strong animals with very large feet. Both for riding and for transportation they prefer bulls or castrated animals. Geldings are calmer than bull-camels which are often very fierce and dangerous when she-camels are on heat. Rutting bull-camels may even attack people, and they will fight each other – sometimes with the result that one of them is bitten to death. But there is another reason for castration. For bull-camels which have not been allowed to mate freely with she-camels are generally not very difficult to handle. Castration makes bull-camels stronger and more enduring as they more easily grow fat and get larger humps than non-castrated animals. Castration is never carried out until the bull-camel is fully grown, and both in Ahaggar and in Ayr castration is performed comparatively late when the animals are about five or six years old, or later. Many bull-camels are castrated at an age of ten or eleven years.

* 233 * 492 She-camels are not generally used for riding and transportation, but are reserved for breeding. But some Tuareg may use their she-camels even for extensive trading expeditions, and there are Tuareg who prefer to ride she-camels because of their smoother walk. If a Tuareg has a very good she-camel as a riding animal he may even desire to prevent it from mating by the insertion of a very small pebble into the uterus of the she-camel which will then not be able to mate until the pebble is removed. However,

Fig. 50. The headgear known as *akeskobbu*. The upper iron shackle resting upon the bridge of the nose is called *akeskobbu*, the lower shackle to be tightened against the chin is known as *amadel*. The two shackles are connected with a rein of ornamented leather, the other end of which is fastened to the nostril ring (*tiğemt*). Ahaggar, the *Ikkan-en-tawsit* tribe.

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| | *Cultivator* | | *Tuareg Garden Owner* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The khamast system* | Receipts | Expenditure | Receipts | Expenditure | |
| The *khamast* division | 140 kg | | 560 kg | | 466 |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | 675 |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | 423 |
| Seed-corn | | | | 50 kg | 241 |
| Food given to the cultivator | 150 kg | | | 150 kg | 434 |
| | 290 kg | 10 kg | 560 kg | 210 kg | |
| Net profit | 280 kg | | 350 kg | | |
| *The tilt system* | | | | | |
| The tilt division | 233 kg | | 466 kg | | |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | |
| Seed-corn | | 25 kg | | 25 kg | |
| Food given to the cultivator | 150 kg | | | 150 kg | |
| | 383 kg | 35 kg | 466 kg | 185 kg | |
| Net profit | 348 kg | | 281 kg | | |
| *The aril system* | | | | | |
| The *aril* division | 350 kg | | 350 kg | | |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | |
| Seed-corn | | 25 kg | | 25 kg | |
| Food given to the cultivator | 75 kg | | | 75 kg | |
| | 425 kg | 35 kg | 350 kg | 110 kg | |
| Net profit | 390 kg | | 240 kg | | |

A few notes should be added to these calculations of receipts and expenditure in the three systems. Thus the profit of the cultivator in all three systems is somewhat bigger than is indicated. The hoe is given by the Tuareg garden owner, who must also make certain payments for irrigation work and for the making of new garden beds as mentioned above. The garden owner's net profit in kilogrammes is consequently somewhat lower than indicated, but it should be mentioned that payments made by a Tuareg garden owner are hardly ever made in wheat and barley, but mainly in millet and dates which are less valuable, particularly so because the pastoral Tuareg acquire millet and dates at very low prices during their caravan expeditions (cf. p. 209 ff.). Therefore, the profit made by a Tuareg garden owner cannot so easily be given in kilogrammes of agricultural food products. It is evident that all three systems are profitable to the Tuareg, and it is clear that an agriculturist who cultivates a garden entirely on his own behalf is better off than an agriculturist who works for the Tuareg. It is also evident that to the agriculturist the *khamast* system is less profitable than the *tilt* system, which again is less profitable than the *aril* system. With the abolishment of the *khamast* system the agriculturists now [435]

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Fig. 149. The market place of Agadez. In the front negroid Hausa men roasting small pieces of meat on a spit; in the background Tuareg camels offered for sale.

484 pack-camels to the salt pit of Amadror to mine salt in the hot season. They load the camels with salt
487 and bring them to the camp where further preparations for the journey are made. When the caravans
[317] have started southwards they stop in the Tamesna plains and rest there for at least one month to allow
the pack-camels to feed on annual pasture, and, if necessary, to exchange the pack-camels with others
[437] kept by the Ahaggar Tuareg in Tamesna. Thereupon the caravan will continue towards the millet-
growing towns and villages of the Sudan to bargain with the Hausa. The caravan returns to Ahaggar
[221] again at the end of March or at the beginning of April, so that the total duration of a south-bound
caravan is up to six or seven months.

433 The Sudanese millet trade is of extreme value to the subsistence of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is partic-
439 ularly important to their economy that they obtain millet for non-nomadic products transported by
camels, which are mainly bred outside of Ahaggar. The millet trade is consequently not much influ-
enced by Ahaggar's changeable climate. According to official statistics, the Ahaggar caravans in 1946
exported 375 tons salt, and imported 720 tons millet, while the cereals grown in Ahaggar amounted
to 197 tons (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). According to Galan vegetable food grown in the gardens of
Ahaggar in 1950 (a bad year) amounted to 121 tons wheat, 5 tons millet and barley, and 4 tons of
tomatoes – about 10 kg of wheat and 0.5 kg of millet, barley, and tomatoes per person (Galan 1951,
[465] p. 233). We see from this that the amount of cereals acquired in the Sudan far exceeds the amount
grown in Ahaggar, and as we have mentioned, the millet trade is also important for the establishment
of Tuareg agriculture in their own country where this cereal is used for payments to cultivators. It can
also be added that the Sudanese caravan trade is more important to the Tuareg than appears from
[435] the figures above. For salt is much more valuable than millet, and for one load of salt the Tuareg
receive from four to fifteen loads of millet – in 1946 the price was fifteen to one (cf. Malaurie 1953,
p. 344). It is evident that the Tuareg could not take all this millet back to Ahaggar. Most of it is re-sold

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433 439 in the Sudan for such articles as camel saddles, sandals, swords, millet mortars, indigo cotton, earthenware pots, and the like. The Tuareg may also buy quantities of butter and cheese for sale to the sedentary people of Tidikelt and for their own use in dry years.

The Sudanese trade constitutes the great stabilizing factor in the economy of pastoral Tuareg of [262] Ahaggar. In return for the valuable rock-salt, pastoral Tuareg obtain the bulk of their agricultural food products (millet), butter and cheese for their own consumption in dry years, many important artefacts and notably their camel saddles and their millet mortars. They also get a surplus of millet and goods for investment in their Ahaggar gardens and for selling to the sedentary people of the Tidikelt oases.

There are certain Tuareg who do not engage in the Sudanese salt trade, notably those living in Ahnet; and these Tuareg nowadays have no irrigated gardens either. They acquire their necessary vegetable food products from Tidikelt (dates) and from Abalessa and Tamanṛaset (wheat). They buy these vegetable products with their surplus of goats, sheep, camels, butter and cheese, and an occasional [511] barbary sheep. In a good year they can meet their needs of food in this way, but it is most difficult for them to subsist in dry years; and it may happen that two dry years come in succession. When I [114] stayed among the Ahnet Tuareg in 1954–55, all camps visited were very short of food, while the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif who engage much in the salt trade (the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé*) possessed what they needed of wheat, barley, dates, and millet.

[316] To-day there is a rather important market at Tamanṛaset where many Tuareg sell surplus livestock, and where they can also buy cereals and dates. But it is always profitable to sell livestock and meat [435] in the Tidikelt oases where meat, butter and cheese are very expensive articles. Dates are cheap in these 000 oases, European goods and woven blankets are also cheaper than at Tamanṛaset. The trading expedi-

804 322 177

Fig. 150. Wooden measure (*muda*) which contains one kilo of cereals, or the like. The Tuareg have adopted the kilogramme into their own weight system. The proper Tuareg unit is the *taẓiwa* which, according to Foucauld, corresponds to three kilogrammes (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1160), but nowadays the Ahaggar Tuareg count one *taẓiwa* as equal to two kilogrammes and a half. The Tuareg have wooden or metal measures of *taẓiwa* size, and there are also larger measures to be used for grain, dates, and the like. For units smaller than *muda* the Tuareg sometimes use a wooden measure called *tanakast* which holds half a kilogramme. Smaller quantities are measured with the hand held half open, and it is recognized in Ahaggar that one *taẓiwa* corresponds to 99 handfuls. In Ayr it is very common to use a little plaited bowl (*téfakemt*) as the smallest unit of measurement. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.125 m in diameter at the rim. (F.M. 168).

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439 caravans of the south or by Ayr Tuareg who import more millet than they need for their own use.
437 But millet is cheaper in Damergu than at the Agadez market, and most Tuareg prefer to organize
[435] their own millet caravans with camels and donkeys as pack-animals. In Damergu most Ayr Tuareg
[492] get millet in exchange for livestock or they buy it for money. Their caravans are not always very large,
[476] for the Southern Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not organize their caravans co-operatively
[484] on the basis of kinship. Many individual households fetch their own millet with a few animals, and it
[592] is comparatively easy to do so as the millet growing country of Damergu is not very far away – the distance from Agadez to Tanut is only about 300 kilometres. The Ayr Tuareg do not have to engage in extensive trading expeditions to procure millet, and can buy millet very cheaply. A household, it
437 is said, does not have to sell a great many animals to secure the necessary supply of millet. Three or
439 four camel loads will cover the needs of most households, and this amount of millet can be acquired
435 for comparatively few animals – particularly if the animals vended are sheep, which have become
592 very expensive in recent times owing to the rapid increase of Europeans at Agadez. An extremely good
162 sheep or ram for slaughtering can bring in 2000 to 3000 West African francs, and a Tuareg household which buys millet in Damergu will need less than 10,000 francs to acquire the quantity necessary for a year. Thus the Ayr Tuareg can obtain their millet for a few sheep, and there are very few, if any, who do not posses this surplus, and it should be repeated that the increment of livestock is never stopped by drought periods as in the north. The extremely high price for sheep for butchering is a recent phenomena due to the increase of the French population. Fully-grown sheep or rams are expensive, and this is also the case with fowls, while goats are cheap. I believe we can estimate that a household would have to sell about 15 goats anually to obtain the amount of millet necessary for one year's consumption. However, there is little doubt that it has always been quite easy for the Tuareg of Southern Ayr to obtain the requisite amount of millet in exchange for livestock.

262 Millet and milk constitute the basic nourishment of the Ayr Tuareg, but they are very fond of an
[222] occasional change of food. And I believe that this is one important reason why the Ayr Tuareg, like those of Ahaggar, collect wild seeds even in years when grown cereals are abundant. For a change, the Ayr Tuareg are also extremely fond of dates which are not grown to any great extent in their own country. A few Ayr Tuareg own palms yielding dates of poor quality, and I think that a few house-
[439] holds also obtain some dates from Ingal. However, most dates eaten in Ayr are imported from the oasis of Bilma, situated in the very barren desert country between Ayr and Tibesti, about 700 kilometres north-east of Agadez.

437 The trade with Bilma is apparently an ancient one, and its foundation is salt which is of a very bad
439 quality compared with that mined at Amadror in the north. The rock-salt of Amadror is excellent
[317] for food, and though there is one good quality of Bilma salt that is used for food by the Tuareg of
[263] Ayr, most salt from Bilma contains much soil and other impurities. This impure salt is excellent for
[233] domestic animals which, in Ayr and further south where salt pastures do not exist, need a lot of salt. The Ayr Tuareg, and particularly those who do not visit the country of Azaouar at the end of the rains, need salt not only for their own food but also for their domestic animals. They obtain this from Bilma, which is visited by caravans in autumn or in the early winter. The inhabitants of Bilma, like other oases-dwellers, are in constant need of cereals and meat, and these products are imported

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by the Tuareg of Ayr, the *Kel Geres*, and other Tuareg. The Tuareg obtain salt generally in exchange 437
for millet, but they also bring with them dried meat, and meat from animals newly slaughtered; and 439
although this meat is largely rotten when it arrives at Bilma it is easily sold to the oases dwellers who
are yearning for meat. The oases dwellers have little to subsist upon but dates of which they have a
surplus. This is purchased by the Tuareg, who get two loads of dates for one load of millet. The [178]
Bilma trade is less important nowadays than it was at the beginning of the century. In 1922 the Bilma 484
caravans comprised about 7000 camels (Buchanan 1926, p. 83), while in 1908, when the trade was
already decreasing, caravans numbered about 20,000 camels (Abadie 1927, p. 292). Caravans still go [435]
to Bilma to fetch salt and dates, but the salt trade is not so profitable to-day when Bilma salt can be 494
bought fairly cheaply at Agadez, as the trucks bringing provisions from Agadez to the French admin-
istration and to the merchants of Bilma, take salt back with them when they return. The Ayr Tuareg 437
do not organize their trading expeditions within family groups or sections as in Ahaggar. A Tuareg [602]
who does not want himself to go to Bilma may let a kinsman or a friend trade for him with his camels.
The payment for this is a large loaf of salt which constitute one sixth or one seventh of a camel load.

The Ayr Tuareg do not generally obtain salt from the pits of Tegidda-n-tésemt though this place 317
is not very far from the Massif to the west. They say that the Tegidda salt is not as good as 439
Bilma's. The salt of Tegidda-n-tésemt is purchased mainly by the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* when
visiting the regions around Ingal after the rains. Some of the *Kel Ayr* who live in the extreme north [437]
(the *Kel Tédalé*, and others) occasionally go to Amadror in the north to fetch salt which is taken down
to the Sudanese towns and villages. In years when drought prevails in Ahaggar these Tuareg take their 437
surplus of livestock to the market at Tamanraset, for in dry years the provision of meat, butter, and 438
cheese consumed in Ahaggar come mainly from Ayr and adjacent regions. When I stayed in Ahaggar
in 1954–55 a great many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* came to Tamanraset to sell camels, donkeys, sheep, [114]
goats, and zebus, and also brought with them large quantities of cow's butter and cheese. The route 437
followed from Northern Ayr to Ahaggar runs via I-n-azawa and I-n-abeggi which are the only wells 487
between the two mountain massifs. Water is very scarce and so is pasture, which is mainly limited to
a scattered vegetation of annual plants; over very large areas there is no vegetation at all. It is easy
to drive camels and donkeys through these regions, while more difficult for sheep, goats, and cattle.
The zebus easily get cut hooves from walking on stony ground, while sheep and goats suffer much
from thirst. In spite of this, all kinds of livestock can be driven through the barren desert from Ayr
to Ahaggar, even as late as the month of March which is extremely hot in the barren desert country.
The Tuareg frequently lose animals which die from thirst and hunger during the journey, but the trade [435]
is nevertheless extremely profitable as prices of livestock are high in Ahaggar in dry years, while prices
of European goods such as tea, sugar, cotton, metal vessels, and the like are extremenly low compared
with the prices asked for these goods in Ayr.

The Ayr Tuareg, though owning more livestock than the Tuareg of Ahaggar, have a certain demand 433
of agricultural food products. These products are mainly grown outside of the Massif, for the farmers 439
of Ayr grow little millet, very few dates, and part of the wheat grown in Ayr is exported to the oases
of Ġanet and Ṛat in the north. Though these vegetable products can be purchased at Agadez, it is
profitable to fetch them where they are cheap, namely in the Sudan (millet) and in Bilma (dates). And

564 The Tuareg, who heartily scorn them because of their obscure origin and servile profession, recognize their good qualities and are happy to profit from them. They also fear them a good deal, for [754] they credit them with supernatural powers of sorcery and magic. Possessors of fire, mistreating the earth and the minerals by beating them, they are placed in a world apart, inhabited by the genii with whom they are likely to enter into relations. Although the Moslem [751] marabouts willingly sell amulets, which the Tuareg prize, the latter do not hesitate, in case of need, to ask the Enaden for amulets in preference.

The Enaden are still more despised because they have no moral principles and willingly serve as spies and traitors; they spy on the Iklan and the wives of their masters and also act as go-between for [837] lovers. Like the jesters in our Middle Ages, they have the right to go anywhere, including among the women. Everyone finds this natural, for this is a right which is all but acknowledged.

Sometimes they take part in raids, and they are reputed to fight [726] bravely, although no one wants to stay beside them during combat, since they seem to possess talismans so powerful that javelins directed toward them deviate /175/ from their route and are apt to strike those [626] nearby. The Tuareg never kill an Enad, for this brings misfortune and the Enad might take revenge from beyond the tomb.

In Sudanese tribes they are called ag'gou (plural, ag'gouten) and 184 sometimes play the part of jesters (griot). Some are musicians and 564 storytellers. This role is not widespread, but it happens that the amenokal of the Tenguéréguif, Chéboun, has several griots attached to his person. They avenge themselves on people who are not [626] generous enough to them by making satirical songs against them to which the Tuareg are often very sensitive.

564 They are willing to do anything to earn a bit of money, which 436 they spend as fast as they get it. A blacksmith always has his debts, 454 but people give him credit for they know that he will be shrewd enough to repay them one day.

436 The ideal medium of exchange is the salt which [492] abounds in the Sahara and which is totally lacking in the Sudan. 439 Thus we see a caravan cycle spread out over a whole year and thousands of kilometers. This is all the more viable /sic/ for the Ihaggaren since it makes use of their many camels which otherwise might remain unused in part.

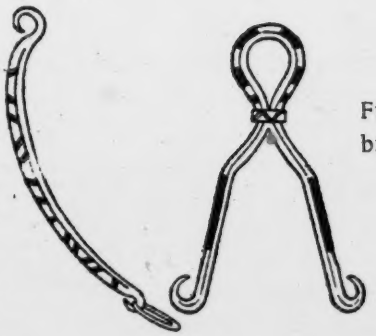

Fig. 22. Camel bit (detail).

317 The starting point is naturally the salt [415] deposit. The mine /219/ is open; one need only detach the salt in pieces and place it in leather bags to transport it. This labor is kept for the Iklan, who arrive at the salt deposits during the summer and [492] stay there from three weeks to a month. Each camel owner operates at will, and transports the salt to his camp after extracting it.

Fig. 23. Device for attaching the camel's bridle.

439 Toward mid-September, all the 484 caravaneers gather together by tribes. Soon they leave their families in the Ahaggar and take the long route [487] for the Sudan, crossing the Tanezrouft. Thus one may see caravans of 100 to 150 camels, but rarely more, for the pasture grounds would not allow it. The arrival in the Sudan must occur after the rainy

232 these saddle camels, one may not, therefore, refer to a particular breed /race/ adapted for speed, as one may commonly hear spoken of.

436 The camel has a well determined exchange value among the Tuareg. It is one of the bases for comparison in their commercial transactions.

233 Each tribe marks his animals with a particular sign, and /251/
422 the owners who have many camels also have their own signs, marked with a hot iron on one of the parts of the animal's body -- neck, cheek, or thigh.

The sheep. -- Sheep are raised only accessorily in the Ahaggar,
233 because grass is not abundant enough. But it occupies a large place
[137] in Sudanese animal husbandry.

[136] It is a very peculiar animal with short hair and a long tail. It stands tall, a characteristic which has won for it the name of Ovis
[174] longipes. The Tuareg certainly introduced it into West Africa. Zoologists never refer to it except as Tuareg sheep. Its antiquity in North Africa is well known. The ram of Ammon is pictured with its characteristic form, and it is also recognizable in the splendid rock drawings of Géryville and Tiout. It seems to descend from the Corsican wild sheep rather than from the Algerian wild sheep. Today it is an animal found exclusively in Tuareg camps of the Sudan or
574 in their area of influence.
262 Sheep is the dish served at great feasts, and its skin is used as
237 a ground rug, a blanket, or to make harnessing articles.

The goat. -- The goat is the mountain animal par excellence,
233 as frugal an eater as can be, resisting both cold and heat, and able to be content with the meagerest pastures. It is thus quite natural to find many of these goats among the Ihaggaren.

[136] /252/ The Ahaggar species is small with long black hair. In the Sudan it is different colors -- white and black, or red -- with
[232] short hair; it stands taller than the Ahaggar species and is often crossed with the dwarf female goat in the southern tribes.

136 The origin of the goat is less certain than that of the sheep. Very widespread all over the world, it must have been domesticated at

291 /265/ Clothes, except for the gandurah made of cotton bands,
489 are made of material imported from Europe. This material, called
chêga, is heavily dyed with indigo, giving it a very dark gloss; it
[556] is the favorite material of Tuareg men and women, but it is replaced by ordinary cloth among less well-off people.

Veils are manufactured in English Nigeria, in the village of Koura near the large city of Kano. They are made by assembling
[435] a multitude of little cloth bands. They are very expensive and can cost from three to five goats, depending on the quality. In
[177] Hausa language they bear the name toukourdi, which has been
[436] adopted by the Tuareg. For a long time they have served as exchange currency for commercial transactions.

It has been asked many times why the Tuareg were led to veil
291 their faces. Hygiene, which has often been mentioned, and the
174 need to protect their respiratory tracts against sandstorms, are not sufficient reasons to explain this practice. There is something else, a /266/ very ancient enigmatic custom whose origin is lost in the night of time and which is kept up without their really knowing why. It is so deep rooted among the Tuareg, however, that they cannot conceive of a self-respecting man who can forego wearing the veil.

The headless men and acephalous people of ancient authors certainly owed their cognomen only to this very peculiar custom of hiding their faces, a custom which must have already existed in this remote epoch. One can only construct hypotheses on the origin of this veil.

We know through Ibn Khaldoun that the wearing of the veil was in general use among the peoples who inhabited the Atlantic coast and adjacent countries in the fourth century. This establishes that the custom is very ancient.

In the rock paintings from prehistoric or protohistoric times which have been discovered in the central Sahara in the last few years, we have noted the very peculiar method of representing the

coins were for a long time the money standard in all of Central Africa. 177 326
(1) Copper is chiefly furnished by cartridge cases, and iron by abandoned

1. The Maria Theresa dollar was introduced into Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century by navigators [177 436]

[325]

Fig. 49. Double forge bellows.

and traders who visited the Gulf of Guinea. With the iron bar, it became the basis of commercial exchange, and it was circulated in the interior of West Africa as well as in Abyssinia.

scraps of old carriages, auto springs, sheet metal, tin cans, etc.

Aluminum, which is beginning to penetrate into the Niger region, is not yet utilized in the Ahaggar. So far the pipes and guys left to the four corners of the desert by wrecked airplanes have served only to make tent poles. 177 328

439 [439] Sheep trading, which has grown greatly in these last few years, is largely carried on by barter. It is especially done by Arab caravaneers from the Touat who go to the Sudan with dates, tobacco, fabrics, and blankets, which they exchange not in the markets but in the camps. Tuareg from the Adrar des Iforas and Kounta Arabs also do the opposite and take their sheep to the Tidikelt and Touat.

439 435 In 1939 the sale price of sheep on the market at In-Salah was from 75 to 100 francs. The purchase price in the Sudan varied from 35 to 45 francs, but as we said, barter was most often the basis for all transactions.

And so for a camel that they received the Adrar Tuareg gave 120 sheep. One sheep alone was exchanged for 12 or 15 cubits of cloth or /317/ 10 guecaa of dates. A dokkali, a large blanket from the Touat which the Tuareg hold in high esteem, was worth 10 sheep in the Sudan and 7 in the Adrar.

436 [177] The camel served as a basis of exchange. The Tuareg have never used money, although they did accept the Maria Theresa dollar which circulated in the Sudan and the Turkish livre which was widespread in Tripolitania. Sudanese tribes negotiated with toukourdi, the band of material serving as a veil, and with kori [825] (Cypraea moneta), a little seashell native to the Indian Ocean.

648 439 Since the French occupation we have seen a certain number of native merchants settle at Tamanrasset, the administrative capital of the Ahaggar. They are for the most part Mozabites and a few Arabs from Metlili who have constructed shops and have merchandise sent them by their correspondents in the Algerian Tell.

This recent state of affairs tends to grow more and more [305] extensive, and the postal agency at Tamanrasset records several million transactions every year.

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*233 [137]

Fig. 15. Goats of the long-haired northern breed. The animals are emaciated and feed on acacias which are almost leafless owing to severe drought. Ahaggar 1955, the *Tayiok* tribe.

points of which turn slightly inward and forward. He-goats of both breeds generally have strong oblique horns of screw-form. Both in Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and in Ayr there are in most flocks one or two goats which are born hornless.

*233 436

Although goats are bred intensively by the Tuareg they take little interest in these animals. Before the arrival of the French, goats formed the most important currency and, though money has now come into general use, they are still used in payment as for example, to the blacksmiths for the making of bracelets, weapons, and various implements. In Ahaggar goats are also used for certain payments to the *Amenukal* from his vassals, such payments being known as *dhéré*. This word, which is also common in Ayr, means literally "a big flock of goats" (or sheep), but it may equally well be translated as "fortune" or "money".

*233 192

Owing to the practical importance of goat-breeding there are a great many terms to designate the animals according to sex, age, and various characteristics. In Ahaggar there are the following age-terms:—

| *Age* | *Female* | *Male* |
|---|---|---|
| New-born kid | *amaywa* | |
| Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns | *tireydet* | *ireyd* |
| Weaned kid with horns, and of bigger growth than above | *nazzift* | *azzif* |
| Weaned kid | *tabunkelat* | *abunkelu* |
| Animal not yet fully grown | *tabulek* | *abulag* |
| Animal not yet fully grown | *tadawalt* | *adawal* |
| Fully grown animal | *tiyse* (pl. *ulli*) | *abulay* |
| Fully grown animal | *tayat* | |

(The common term for a fully grown goat in Ayr; it is used occasionally also in Ahaggar).

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These terms are used frequently in discussions of prices. Thus a blacksmith will claim that the price of an axe is *abuleg* (*aduwal*) while for the manufacture of smaller objects or for certain repairs he will only claim *uzzif* or *dreyd*. 233* 192 [436]

By the combination of age and colour terms, if necessary with the addition of a covering to certain other characteristics, the Tuareg are able to describe the exact appearance of any animal. Goat-terms have a practical value in enabling the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. A few of the terms indicating colour and other characteristics in Ahaggar are mentioned below:—

| *Characteristics* | *Female* | *Male* |
|---|---|---|
| Black animal | *taseffefut* | *aseffefu* |
| Red animal | *tézeggeḳ* | *ézeggeṛ* |
| Black animal with a red belly | *takahamit* | *akahami* |
| Animal white on the hind part, and black on the fore-part of the body | *téġehé* | (No term for males which never have this combination of colours) |
| Black animal with white colour on the lower part of the legs | *tazeburt* | *azbur* |
| Black animal with a white blaze (Foucauld, 1951–52, III p. 1194 f., states that this term is used for horses, donkeys, camels, and oxen, but he does not mention goats and sheep) | *tamulast* | *amulas* |
| Black animal with white colour on the ears | *tahreyt* | *ahrey* |
| Animal of any colour having very small ears | *tadeṛmak* | *adeṛmag* |
| Animal of any colour having no horns | *tabiyawit* | *abiyawi* |

342 492

Fig. 16. A flock of southern, short-haired goats during migration. The woman seen in the middle of the picture rides an ox loaded with arches of a barrel-vaulted mat tent. From Demerga south of Ayr.

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233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman 233 436 permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to 593 431 her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children 584 to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery 684 is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, 643 these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the 683 payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at 233 a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred 436 camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels 682 to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *ilgad*, or *chét awétay* | (one year old) | 10 | *ibeydegin* | (white) |
| 10 | *ilusin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *ililarin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *teḳḳenifaklen* | (3 years old) | 10 | *tizeggerin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiruyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *tibhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chét exsin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *ilemlarin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chét okkuz* | (6 years old) | 10 | *tizerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *timessedas* | (7 years old) | 10 | *timengelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chét tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 | *tikewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tirezgunin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *tizerrafin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *thwinarin* | (white cornea) |

233 822 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. * 492 This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty 643 camels trained for riding.

233 857 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic 565 animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats 524 (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-233 camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or 324 four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and 868 all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate 181 knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[text continues on p. 104]

489 Sheep trading, which has grown greatly in these last few years,
[437] is largely carried on by barter. It is especially done by Arab caravaneers from the Touat who go to the Sudan with dates, tobacco, fabrics, and blankets, which they exchange not in the markets but in the camps. Tuareg from the Adrar des Iforas and Kounta Arabs also do the opposite and take their sheep to the Tidikelt and Touat.

439 In 1939 the sale price of sheep on the market at In-Salah
435 was from 75 to 100 francs. The purchase price in the Sudan varied from 35 to 45 francs, but as we said, barter was most often the basis for all transactions.

And so for a camel that they received the Adrar Tuareg gave 120 sheep. One sheep alone was exchanged for 12 or 15 cubits of cloth or /317/ 10 guecâa of dates. A dokkali, a large blanket from the Touat which the Tuareg hold in high esteem, was worth 10 sheep in the Sudan and 7 in the Adrar.

436 The camel served as a basis of exchange. The Tuareg have
[178] never used money, although they did accept the Maria Theresa dollar which circulated in the Sudan and the Turkish livre which was widespread in Tripolitania. Sudanese tribes negotiated with toukourdi, the band of material serving as a veil, and with kori
[825] (Cypraea moneta), a little seashell native to the Indian Ocean.

648 Since the French occupation we have seen a certain number
439 of native merchants settle at Tamanrasset, the administrative capital of the Ahaggar. They are for the most part Mozabites and a few Arabs from Metlili who have constructed shops and have merchandise sent them by their correspondents in the Algerian Tell.

This recent state of affairs tends to grow more and more
[305] extensive, and the postal agency at Tamanrasset records several million transactions every year.

All the transactions that they make take place by means 437
of barter. The most important profits that they realize result 439
from barter carried on in the Aïr and the Niger with the salt, "chegga," and dates that they take there.

## Market Prices in the Ahaggar

There are no set prices for meharis, or male or female 435
camels. However, the prices for young camels are fixed and known. Thus:

A four-year-old camel, "aqnefoud," is worth 100 francs
" three-year-old " , "aleggues," " " 75 "
" two-year-old " , "aledjoudh," " " 50 "

For sheep and goats, the price basis is the goat, which is worth 3 mitqals, or 7.50 francs. A ewe is worth a goat and a half, or 11.25 francs, and a ram, two goats, or 15 francs.

A load of dates sells in the Ahaggar for 75 francs.

Barley sells for 1 franc per "guessaâ" or 60 francs for a load of 60 "guessaâs." Wheat is 1.25 francs per "guessaâ," or 75 francs per load.

"Chegga" sells for 1.25 per meter. /70/

Melted butter is sold at 7 "mouddas" (a small wooden measure) for a goat, or 7.50 francs.

## Market Prices in the Ahnet

One female camel, 50 to 60 mitqals (125 to 150 francs)
One load of dates, 30 mitqals (75 francs)
One sheep, 7.50 francs
One goat, 10 francs
Melted butter, 7 "mouddas" for 7.50 francs
One donkey, 25 francs

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In literature there seems to be no reliable information about the existence of irrigation agriculture 241
in Ahaggar until Duveyrier, who states that agriculture did not obtain a fixed position in the economic 175
life of the Ahaggar Tuareg until the reign of the *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) (cf. Duveyrier
1864, p. 369). This statement is confirmed by most agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg in Ahaggar, 241
who claim that prior to *Elkhaj Akhmed* irrigation agriculture was not practised in Ahaggar. During 312
the reign of this *Amenukal* irrigation agriculture by means of the subterranean aqueducts known to 173
the Arabs as *foggara* (*éfeli*, pl. *ifelan*) was introduced by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs and negroid *Ḥarratin* from 177
the Tidikelt oases. Some people of Ahaggar claim that another irrigation system was introduced about
the same time, namely irrigation wells from which water is drawn by oxen and donkeys. This system,
known as *tanut*, is said to have been introduced by agriculturists from Ĝanet (Djanet) (the *Kel Ĝanet*).
It should be noted that there are certain traditions which claim irrigation agriculture to be older in
Ahaggar. One tradition says that it was practised at Silet-Tibeghin by Arabs who immigrated from
Tawat to cultivate by means of the *foggara* system even during the reign of the *Imenan* (Lhote 1955,
p. 286 f.). Another tradition, recorded by Foucauld, states that irrigation farming was known at a 241
very remote date by the *Isebeten* – a pagan people said to be the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes of 312
Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535 f.). Traditions of the age of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar 173
are conflicting. If it was practised long before the reign of *Elkhaj Akhmed* by the ancient vassals, I
believe that water was raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counter-
weight. For this system, which is known as *aṛudid*, is said to have been very common in the past. It
is extremely rare nowadys, and I have only seen it once at Terhenanet. There can be no doubt that [171]
this simple irrigation method is a very old one in North Africa, where it is more widely distributed
than all other types of irrigation methods (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, map VII p. 320). The very wide
distribution of this system elsewhere in the Old World points to its great age, and it is perhaps to be
considered the oldest true irrigation machine.

A few Tuareg in the northern groups practise irrigation agriculture, which does not seem to be one 241
of their traditional occupations. Tuareg irrigation farmers are found mainly in the Fezzan, but mention 178
should also be made of the people of three noble tribes, namely the *Ilemtéyen* (living at Ṛat), the
*Ikadeyen* (at Tit in Ahaggar), and the *Kel-ahem-niellen* (roaming pastoralists north of Ahaggar or settled
farmers at the oasis of Inṛer in Tidikelt). These sedentary or semi-sedentary noble Tuareg were originally
true pastoralists, though but little is known of the original mode of livelihood of the *Ikadeyen*. A few
individuals or families among the Ahaggar vassals have more recently taken up irrigation agriculture
in addition to stock-breeding. There seems to be a growing tendency towards semi-nomadism in
Ahaggar nowadays. There may be several reasons for this. Thus one can point to the decline of [432]
caravan trading and to the fact that pastoral Tuareg cannot so easily get the true agriculturists to cul-
tivate for them. The true agriculturists of Ahaggar comprise the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*) of Tidikelt, [564]
who have mixed with the manumitted slaves now also known as *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaṛen*), a few fair-
skinned *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, and the *Kel Ĝanet* who are predominantly black-skinned. All these agricultural
people tend to mix with each other and also with tribes of pastoral Tuareg.

There are at present about 25 agricultural settlements in the river valleys of Ahaggar. Apart from 361
the administration centre of Tamanṛaset (1600) and the oasis of Abalessa (547) these agricultural 162

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466 475 obtain a larger amount of vegetable food products and more wheat and barley. The pastoral Tuareg 423 gain less from their gardens than they did when the *khamast* system prevailed, but it is still profitable 241 for them to be garden owners. 434

The quantity of agricultural products anually consumed per person among the *Kel Ahaggar* is 511 estimated by Lhote at 187 kilos millet, 15 kilos dates, and a small amount of wheat for which no 262 figure is given. For Arabs of the Sahara the quantity of vegetable food is estimated at 180 kilos wheat, [171] and 75 kilos dates anually per person (Lhote 1955a, p. 263). I add to this that wheat is used for bread to a very large extent by the Ahaggar Tuareg, who also make much use of barley for bread and porridge. According to Malaurie the amount of agricultural food products available per person among the Ahaggar Tuareg is about 400 grammes a day, or 146 kilos anually (Malaurie 1953, p. 342). It should be noted again that the amount of agricultural food products necessary for a Tuareg household varies greatly from one year to the other. In years of drought when agricultural products form so to speak the only source of food for the nomads, they estimate that a household consisting of husband, wife, and one child will consume about two kilos of cereals (dates) every day, or 730 kilos in a year. Consequently the amount of cereals and dates consumed anually per person may in dry years rise to about 245 kilos. This seems to correspond to the amount of food considered necessary for Arabs of [171] Tidikelt and Tawat, who live almost exclusively on cereals and dates. When employed as labourers by the French Administration these sedentary Arabs are given 16 kilos of wheat and 4 kilos of rice a month, or 240 kilos of agricultural products anually per person (Information obtained from the administration 511 office of In Salah in 1954). The agricultural products obtained by a pastoral household from a single 433 garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example: During the year 1954-55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with an *aril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar [437] Tuareg depend on caravan trading for their provisions of agricultural food, and trading also helps them to create the capital of millet and dates which is invested in their gardens in Ahaggar grown on their behalf by agriculturists. I believe that most pastoral households of Ahaggar have gardens, but there are Tuareg who have none. This is true, for instance, of most Tuareg living in and around the Ahnet Massif. Tuareg of this region formerly had gardens irrigated by the *foggara* system at Abalessa, but to-day they acquire their vegetable food products mainly by caravan trading.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AYR

563 The largest aggregation of sedentary people in Ayr is found in Agadez (4.737), which is inhabited al- [361] most exclusively by negroid peoples who speak Hausa though most of them also know the Tuareg 162 language (*tamachek*). This large sedentary population mainly lives on trade and on crafts of 197 various kinds. The inhabitants are known to the Tuareg as the *Imeggedezen*. They are said to be related 433 to the Sultan (or the *Amenukal*) of Agadez. There is a tradition which claims that the Sultan came [173]

# Caravan Trading

Caravan trading of the Sahara has suffered severely from the European colonisation of Northern Africa. The establishment of ports and railways in the Sudanese area and the abolition of the slave-trade have brought to an end the large caravans passing through the desert. In recent times another heavy blow has been struck against the caravans, for transportation is more and more taken over by trucks which can easily pass through the open desert country. Many pastoralists of Northern Africa suffer from the decline of their trade, which for centuries has been an important stabilizing factor for their subsistence. The decline of caravan trading is also strongly felt in the oases, which have played a very important part as trading posts or trading stations. Some of these oases have far fewer inhabitants nowadays than in the past, and it is most difficult for many sedentary people of the oases to exist. The decline of the trade has been felt also among the pastoral Tuareg. But caravan trading is still important to most of them, and many of them could not support life without it. To understand the important role of caravan trading we have once more to return to the economic values of subsistence activities.

178 437 484 [433] [361] [16]

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AHAGGAR TUAREG

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot live exclusively on stock-breeding products all the year round – not even in good years when annual pasture is well developed in autumn and early winter. Even in a good year the nomads mainly eat vegetable food throughout the hot season, and some bread or porridge is also consumed during the period of abundant milk yields. It is true that nomads can subsist entirely on milk for long periods, and that some people do so for weeks or even months. Galan says that pastoralists of of Ahaggar, when they live entirely on milk, can do with four litres a day per person (Galan 1951, p. 231). But it is estimated by the Ayr Tuareg that they need about eight or ten litres a day to live entirely on milk, and they all claim that they get weary from constant milk drinking. They say that though they do not feel hungry when they live exclusively on milk they experience a peculiar, unpleasant feeling in the stomach. The relative importance of stock-breeding products (mainly milk) and vegetable food (mainly wheat, millet, and dates) may be seen from the diagram Fig. 151.[1] In a good year there is normally some possibility of collecting wild seeds for bread and porridge, but the Tuareg claim that they cannot easily cover their need of vegetable products even in a year when milk is abundant. And milk is not always abundant. We can estimate that for two or three good years

433 262 [261] 433

[p. 209]

[1] [cf. p. 216]

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there will be one entirely dry year throughout, during which stock-breeding products have little or no value as food, and in such years of dry pasture there will also be very few wild plants to collect. Hunting, which plays little part for most Tuareg nowadays, is also of little value in an entirely dry year when many game animals die or migrate to other regions with more favourable pasture. It would seem obvious for pastoral Tuareg to do the same and to take their animals to grazing grounds outside of Ahaggar – particularly to the southern plains where pasture is normally better than in their own country. We have seen that most Ahaggar Tuareg in bad years have their she-camels far from Ahaggar in the Tamesna plains or in the country north of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas. We have also mentioned that, under very severe conditions, camps of Ahaggar and Ahnet may move to these southern regions with their flocks, though extensive goat-migrations are not always profitable. But most Tuareg remain in Ahaggar even in very dry years with their camps and flocks. Some of the animals will die, and none of them can be mated so that the flocks may rapidly decrease. During such years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg live so to speak exclusively on agricultural food products of which they get only a part from their gardens grown by sedentary agriculturists (the *Ḥarratin*, or *Izzegaṛen*). It is mainly through caravan trading that the Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their vegetable food products. Their two important trading expeditions to the Tidikelt oases and to the Sudan are carried out anually for the main purpose of acquiring dates and millet.

Trading with the Tidikelt oases (Awlef and In Salah) is based mainly upon a surplus of goats, camels, butter and cheese, and on dried meat. But many Tuareg who obtain large amounts of millet from the Sudanese trading expedition also sell part of their wheat grown in their own gardens in Ahaggar, and Sudanese articles bought during their south-bound trading expedition. In a dry year some Tuareg may choose not to visit the Tidikelt area as they have too small a surplus for trading. The south-bound caravans, on the other hand, are rarely prevented from going as their main trading object is rock-salt of an excellent quality mined at Amadṛor north-east of the Ahaggar Massif. Both north-bound and south-bound caravans will set off in autumn when the hottest season has come to an end, that is at the end of September or at the beginning of October.

The caravan route from Tamanṛaset in Ahaggar to In Salah in Tidikelt is about 750 kilometres, and the route is rather difficult because pasture is normally lacking for three to four days of the journey. Most Tuareg who cross this part of the desert therefore bring with them large supplies of the dried *tulluli*-grass (*Aristida pungens*), which also serves as fodder for the pack-camels during the stay in the oases around which there is little pasture. The journey takes about twenty days in each direction, and the north-bound caravans return to Ahaggar again already in December or in January. The traders return with their camels loaded with dates of which a part may be re-sold in Ahaggar (Tamanṛaset), but they also buy European cotton and other European articles, which are cheaper in the north, and woollen blankets woven by sedentary people of the northern oases.

The south-bound caravans are very extensive. The towns visited in the south are Agadez, Tawa Tanut, and Zinder. The distance from Tamanṛaset to Zinder is, as the crow flies, about 1200 kilometres, while the distance from Tamanṛaset to Amadṛor, where salt is mined, is about 300 kilometres. In total the caravan journey from Ahaggar to Zinder and back again for many Tuareg amounts to more than 3000 kilometres. The south-bound caravans are organized as follows:— Slaves take the

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366
563
291
252
443

Fig. 149. The market place of Agadez. In the front negroid Hausa men roasting small pieces of meat on a spit; in the background Tuareg camels offered for sale.

484 pack-camels to the salt pit of Amadror to mine salt in the hot season. They load the camels with salt
487 and bring them to the camp where further preparations for the journey are made. When the caravans
[317] have started southwards they stop in the Tamesna plains and rest there for at least one month to allow
[437] the pack-camels to feed on annual pasture, and, if necessary, to exchange the pack-camels with others kept by the Ahaggar Tuareg in Tamesna. Thereupon the caravan will continue towards the millet-
[221] growing towns and villages of the Sudan to bargain with the Hausa. The caravan returns to Ahaggar again at the end of March or at the beginning of April, so that the total duration of a south-bound caravan is up to six or seven months.

433 The Sudanese millet trade is of extreme value to the subsistence of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is partic-
439 ularly important to their economy that they obtain millet for non-nomadic products transported by camels, which are mainly bred outside of Ahaggar. The millet trade is consequently not much influenced by Ahaggar's changeable climate. According to official statistics, the Ahaggar caravans in 1946 exported 375 tons salt, and imported 720 tons millet, while the cereals grown in Ahaggar amounted to 197 tons (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). According to Galan vegetable food grown in the gardens of Ahaggar in 1950 (a bad year) amounted to 121 tons wheat, 5 tons millet and barley, and 4 tons of tomatoes – about 10 kg of wheat and 0.5 kg of millet, barley, and tomatoes per person (Galan 1951,
[465] p. 233). We see from this that the amount of cereals acquired in the Sudan far exceeds the amount grown in Ahaggar, and as we have mentioned, the millet trade is also important for the establishment of Tuareg agriculture in their own country where this cereal is used for payments to cultivators. It can also be added that the Sudanese caravan trade is more important to the Tuareg than appears from
[435] the figures above. For salt is much more valuable than millet, and for one load of salt the Tuareg receive from four to fifteen loads of millet – in 1946 the price was fifteen to one (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). It is evident that the Tuareg could not take all this millet back to Ahaggar. Most of it is re-sold

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The trading expedi- 437
tions have remained important to the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it is clear that they would not go on trading 484
were these expeditions not profitable, for trading expeditions are extremely strenuous. Though the 461
expeditions set off when the extreme heat is decreasing, it is still very hot in the extensive barren plains in autumn and in winter during daytime. Water and pasture are often extremely scarce in this deserted country, and the Tuareg frequently have to travel rapidly. For days or weeks they live so to say on their camels, and if camels are not too heavily loaded they may do up to 16 hours a day for several days in succession. Under such journeys the Tuareg eat only once a day. Obviously such trading [262] expeditions are also very hard on the pack-camels, and there is always a risk of loosing a camel during such journeys through barren, desert country.

In this brief outline of caravan trading I have not considered those Ahaggar Tuareg living constantly 433
in the Tamesna plains and adjacent regions. These Tuareg own more livestock than the Tuareg of the 184
Ahaggar Massif, and I do not believe that they engage so much in extensive trading expeditions. [133]
They are comparatively rich in she-camels which are tolerably good milk yielders in these regions [262]
most of the year, and milk is more important as food than it is in Ahaggar. I believe that most Ahaggar [438]
Tuareg of the Tamesna region acquire their necessary vegetable products by selling surplus livestock [366]
butter and cheese at the markets of Ingal and Agadez.

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AYR TUAREG

Among the Ayr Tuareg stock-breeding products are far more important for food than in the north. 433
Grazing conditions are better with annual pasture as a recurrent event, and the Tuareg keep bigger 262
flocks of goats and sheep, larger camel herds, and most have a few zebus which are guarded without much difficulty. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr can live on milk for a large part of the year, though they, like those of Ahaggar, become tired of milk drinking if they get no solid food. There are Tuareg of Southern Ayr who live exclusively on milk for two or three months during the periods of *akasa* and *ṛarat* and to whom milk is important as food for at least six months. In the extremely hot season of *ewilen* when milk is very scarce most Tuareg eat millet porridge with a little milk or sauce (cf. p. 242 f.), and Tuareg who are not very wealthy eat millet porridge to a great extent all the year round, so that the necessary amount of millet for many camps is about 0.5 kilo a day per person, or about 180 kilos a year. In Ayr there are fairly good possibilities of collecting if there are not too many [222] locusts, but most Tuareg do not collect a great quantity of wild seeds, and claim that they would be very badly off without millet, as seeds of wild plants are not very nourishing in comparison. In one [261] year during the second world war (in 1943) they say that millet was very hard to get; it was then very difficult to subsist and a great many animals had to be killed for food. Millet is almost indispensable to the Tuareg; they also consume other vegetables derived from agriculture, notably wheat, maize, and dates, but millet is the most essential non-nomadic food product. Normally it can be acquired by most Ayr Tuareg without much difficulty.

The people of Ayr obtain their provisions of millet from the Sudanese area of shifting cultivation, 439
notably from Damergu (Tanut). Millet can also be bought at Agadez whereto it is brought by Tuareg 437

439 caravans of the south or by Ayr Tuareg who import more millet than they need for their own use.
437 But millet is cheaper in Damergu than at the Agadez market, and most Tuareg prefer to organize
[435] their own millet caravans with camels and donkeys as pack-animals. In Damergu most Ayr Tuareg
[492] get millet in exchange for livestock or they buy it for money. Their caravans are not always very large,
[476] for the Southern Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not organize their caravans co-operatively
[484] on the basis of kinship. Many individual households fetch their own millet with a few animals, and it
[592] is comparatively easy to do so as the millet growing country of Damergu is not very far away – the distance from Agadez to Tanut is only about 300 kilometres. The Ayr Tuareg do not have to engage in extensive trading expeditions to procure millet, and can buy millet very cheaply. A household, it
437 is said, does not have to sell a great many animals to secure the necessary supply of millet. Three or
439 four camel loads will cover the needs of most households, and this amount of millet can be acquired
435 for comparatively few animals – particularly if the animals vended are sheep, which have become
592 very expensive in recent times owing to the rapid increase of Europeans at Agadez. An extremely good
162 sheep or ram for slaughtering can bring in 2000 to 3000 West African francs, and a Tuareg household which buys millet in Damergu will need less than 10,000 francs to acquire the quantity necessary for a year. Thus the Ayr Tuareg can obtain their millet for a few sheep, and there are very few, if any, who do not posses this surplus, and it should be repeated that the increment of livestock is never stopped by drought periods as in the north. The extremely high price for sheep for butchering is a recent phenomena due to the increase of the French population. Fully-grown sheep or rams are expensive, and this is also the case with fowls, while goats are cheap. I believe we can estimate that a household would have to sell about 15 goats anually to obtain the amount of millet necessary for one year's consumption. However, there is little doubt that it has always been quite easy for the Tuareg of Southern Ayr to obtain the requisite amount of millet in exchange for livestock.

262 Millet and milk constitute the basic nourishment of the Ayr Tuareg, but they are very fond of an
[222] occasional change of food. And I believe that this is one important reason why the Ayr Tuareg, like those of Ahaggar, collect wild seeds even in years when grown cereals are abundant. For a change, the Ayr Tuareg are also extremely fond of dates which are not grown to any great extent in their own country. A few Ayr Tuareg own palms yielding dates of poor quality, and I think that a few house-
[439] holds also obtain some dates from Ingal. However, most dates eaten in Ayr are imported from the oasis of Bilma, situated in the very barren desert country between Ayr and Tibesti, about 700 kilometres north-east of Agadez.

437 The trade with Bilma is apparently an ancient one, and its foundation is salt which is of a very bad
439 quality compared with that mined at Amadror in the north. The rock-salt of Amadror is excellent
[317] for food, and though there is one good quality of Bilma salt that is used for food by the Tuareg of
[263] Ayr, most salt from Bilma contains much soil and other impurities. This impure salt is excellent for
[233] domestic animals which, in Ayr and further south where salt pastures do not exist, need a lot of salt. The Ayr Tuareg, and particularly those who do not visit the country of Azaouag at the end of the rains, need salt not only for their own food but also for their domestic animals. They obtain this from Bilma, which is visited by caravans in autumn or in the early winter. The inhabitants of Bilma, like other oases-dwellers, are in constant need of cereals and meat, and these products are imported

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



by the Tuareg of Ayr, the *Kel Geres*, and other Tuareg. The Tuareg obtain salt generally in exchange 437
for millet, but they also bring with them dried meat, and meat from animals newly slaughtered; and 439
although this meat is largely rotten when it arrives at Bilma it is easily sold to the oases dwellers who are yearning for meat. The oases dwellers have little to subsist upon but dates of which they have a surplus. This is purchased by the Tuareg, who get two loads of dates for one load of millet. The [178]
Bilma trade is less important nowadays than it was at the beginning of the century. In 1922 the Bilma [484]
caravans comprised about 7000 camels (Buchanan 1926, p. 83), while in 1908, when the trade was already decreasing, caravans numbered about 20,000 camels (Abadie 1927, p. 292). Caravans still go [435]
to Bilma to fetch salt and dates, but the salt trade is not so profitable to-day when Bilma salt can be [494]
bought fairly cheaply at Agadez, as the trucks bringing provisions from Agadez to the French administration and to the merchants of Bilma, take salt back with them when they return. The Ayr Tuareg 437
do not organize their trading expeditions within family groups or sections as in Ahaggar. A Tuareg [602]
who does not want himself to go to Bilma may let a kinsman or a friend trade for him with his camels. The payment for this is a large loaf of salt which constitute one sixth or one seventh of a camel load.

The Ayr Tuareg do not generally obtain salt from the pits of Tegidda-n-tésemt though this place 317
is not very far from the Massif to the west. They say that the Tegidda salt is not as good as 439
Bilma's. The salt of Tegidda-n-tésemt is purchased mainly by the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* when visiting the regions around Ingal after the rains. Some of the *Kel Ayr* who live in the extreme north [437]
(the *Kel Tédalé*, and others) occasionally go to Amadror in the north to fetch salt which is taken down to the Sudanese towns and villages. In years when drought prevails in Ahaggar these Tuareg take their 437
surplus of livestock to the market at Tamanraset, for in dry years the provision of meat, butter, and 438
cheese consumed in Ahaggar come mainly from Ayr and adjacent regions. When I stayed in Ahaggar [114]
in 1954–55 a great many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* came to Tamanraset to sell camels, donkeys, sheep, goats, and zebus, and also brought with them large quantities of cow's butter and cheese. The route 437
followed from Northern Ayr to Ahaggar runs via I-n-azawa and I-n-abeggi which are the only wells 487
between the two mountain massifs. Water is very scarce and so is pasture, which is mainly limited to a scattered vegetation of annual plants; over very large areas there is no vegetation at all. It is easy to drive camels and donkeys through these regions, while more difficult for sheep, goats, and cattle. The zebus easily get cut hooves from walking on stony ground, while sheep and goats suffer much from thirst. In spite of this, all kinds of livestock can be driven through the barren desert from Ayr to Ahaggar, even as late as the month of March which is extremely hot in the barren desert country. The Tuareg frequently lose animals which die from thirst and hunger during the journey, but the trade [435]
is nevertheless extremely profitable as prices of livestock are high in Ahaggar in dry years, while prices of European goods such as tea, sugar, cotton, metal vessels, and the like are extremenly low compared with the prices asked for these goods in Ayr.

The Ayr Tuareg, though owning more livestock than the Tuareg of Ahaggar, have a certain demand 433
of agricultural food products. These products are mainly grown outside of the Massif, for the farmers 439
of Ayr grow little millet, very few dates, and part of the wheat grown in Ayr is exported to the oases of Ganet and Rat in the north. Though these vegetable products can be purchased at Agadez, it is profitable to fetch them where they are cheap, namely in the Sudan (millet) and in Bilma (dates). And

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175 added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was
721 also fighting within these groups at intervals.

[648] The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwllemmeden* and the Arab pastor-
[578] alists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg frequently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

[437] Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite of these latent conditions of hostility.

175 Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the
437 Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays. They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter, cheese, and the like.

175 The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day
437 the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times,
404 but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* who dominated the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays.

[439] They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also

[438] say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All

[317] this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadror were not utilized in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to

[361] the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then
162 travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could not defend itself against raiders.

175 It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts
567 of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading

[648] until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in

[171] this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

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1888, p. 21 f.). Duveyrier says that among the *Kel Aïjer* all noble Tuareg had slaves, while only some of the vassals were slave owners. He says that slaves were bought and sold in towns (Duveyrier 1864, p. 339). Information about the Tuareg slave trade is given by Richardson, who undertook his journeys mainly to collect material on slavery which is described throughout his journals. According to Richardson's descriptions there can be little doubt that the Tuareg engaged in the slave trade, but I think that perhaps his statements are tinged by his deep antiphathy to slavery (cf. Richardson 1848, I–II & 1853, I–II). It is most possible that the Tuareg slave caravans he mentions were organized by Arab merchants of Ṛat and Ṛadames. The former engagement of pastoral Tuareg in the slave trade has also been mentioned by Lyon (Lyon 1821). 175 567 [114]

As to Tuareg caravan trade throughout the 19th century, we can add that all Tuareg tribes did not trade to the same extent. Within most groups there were certain tribes of particular classes which did not go in so much for warfare and raiding, but were keen traders. This was true of tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class in Ahaggar, and in Ahnet there were two Arab tribes allied with the drum-group of *Taytok*, namely the *Sekakna* and the *Mazil* who were responsible for the very important trade with Timbuktu (Bissuel 1888, p. 24). Among the *Kel Aïjer* the *Iforas* tribes traded on a much larger scale than other tribes (Duveyrier 1864, p. 359 ff.). In Ayr the same was true of certain tribes of the *Kel Ewey* group. 175 437 184

However, throughout the 19th century all Tuareg, with the exception of those of the nobility, engaged in caravan trading which played a great part for the pastoralists, providing them with cereals and dates necessary for their subsistence. Already in this century certain pastoralists had taken up irrigation agriculture, and some of them practised a very primitive type of agriculture, but vegetable products were acquired mainly through caravan trading. 175 437 433

[text continues on p. 221]

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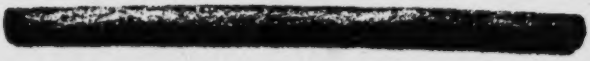

Fig. 200. Neolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isebrten* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045–0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

301
751

Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*ameywas*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-an-sehlé* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

The pottery made in

323 Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from
[53] Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have
[114] been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing
[113] of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information
[437] (Lhote 1947b, p. 145–154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

[462] In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 507–512).

[Text continues on p. 260]

*415
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Fig. 203. Earthen incense jar (*elbakkhar*). Abagger, *Herrata* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.179 m high. (N.M. G. 5889).

323 512). Most pastoral Tuareg of Ayr get their pots from Agadez, but pots are also imported from the
[437] south where they are of superior quality. These pots are said to be manufactured by black-skinned
323 *Igdalen* Tuareg (cf. p. 432) of the southlands, notably by people of the *Ikenawen* class which comprises
563 professional pot-makers. These people are not found among the *Kel Ayr* but are common in camps
[197] of the *Kel Geres* where I have met them. They speak *tamachek* but also have their own language
323 which is said to be related to *Sonray*. The pots made by these southern people are painted and decorated
531 (cf. Fig. 205) in contrast to those of Agadez which are plain and of very simple forms (Figs. 204a–b). So far as I am aware painted and decorated pottery is rarely manufactured in Ayr nowadays. But Rodd states that such pottery in the form of pitchers with a blue design is made near Agadez (Rodd 1926a, p. 160 f., pl. 22 p. 209), and when I investigated ruins of stone houses at Iferwan I found a great many sherds of finely-decorated painted pots which must have been used up to the end of the
[178] great Tuareg revolt in 1917 when these houses were destroyed by the French. Lhote has also mentioned the decline of pottery techniques in Ayr, and he states that, apart from little incense jars, no painted and decorated pots are manufactured at Agadez nowadays (Lhote 1950c, p. 511).

*415 Certain metal receptacles were known to the Tuareg long before the European occupation, notably
[163] a cooking pot (*ɛrir*) made from copper, and the flat drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned
[326] copper or brass in Tripolitania, or in Tunisia. Metal receptacles are also manufactured by native blacksmiths in Tuareg country, e.g., the pail (*ɛrir*) to be used for liquid butter (Fig. 164).

322 The blacksmiths are excellent wood-workers and make most wooden domestic utensils used by
[564] pastoral Tuareg (Figs. 21b, 37, 38, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63a–b, 75, 150, 153–154, 166, 176, 177, 178, 191,
[412] 194, 195, 212a, 219a–b, 285). The main implements for wood working are axes and adzes (Figs. 206a–d).

634 vassals was given to the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) and not to the *temaẓlayt* master. However, should
565 a vassal Tuareg have borrowed for raiding a riding camel from his *temaẓlayt* master or another noble
571 Tuareg, they received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty remaining when
613 one half had been given to the *Amenukal*.
721

565 The noble Tuareg possessed many advantages over their individual vassals. They could apparently
571 claim almost what they wanted for their subsistence, and frequently camped close to their vassals who then were obliged to feed them, and when in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take such animals from their vassals (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). Similar information is given by Benhazera, but he states that the vassals in the past would not necessarily supply everything demanded by their noble lords (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The vassals were under a particular obligation to provide the noble Tuareg with goat-breeding products, and if they had milk yielding she-camels the noble Tuareg could claim these animals until milk-yielding stopped. But the vassals had also many advantages from the *temaẓlayt* relationships. They were not only protected by their lords. The noble Tuareg would leave behind the animals they could not take with them when roaming in the desert, and noble Tuareg never had much livestock with them in their camps. It was also of great importance to the vassals that they could use their masters camels for caravan trading. On the whole the system was not exclusively the exploitation of vassals by the noble Tuareg, and it can be added that the vassal Tuareg were always more numerous than the noble Tuareg, that the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) was elected by the vassals, and that he alone had judicial rights. The system was one of give and take to both classes involved, and there can be little doubt that it was well adapted to practical ecological conditions.

233 In Ahaggar, camels and goats are very complementary to each other. The camel supplies the Tuareg
433 with milk, but with very few other products, and the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-
[234] camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important
[262] as food, but it is not well-fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg kill camels to
[281] utilize their meat only when many people congregate, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, for tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the
[437] camels have little direct economic value. But for raiding in the past, camels were very valuable riding animals, and were then, as now, extremely important for caravan trading which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic rôle of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive
[234] part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese
[262] which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore, goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

243 he generally carries with him in his migrations. Wheat raising
262 goes down to the Sudan as far as Timbuktu, Aïr, and a little north of Nigeria; but everywhere it has been introduced recently, due to the influence of the Arabs, who have not abandoned their traditional food.

Béchena is a food they adopted because of their exodus toward [412] the Sudan; they are at the present time much closer to the Sudan than they are to North Africa from the point of view of material living conditions, that is, unless this plant formerly existed in a self-sown state in the Sahara, as Professor Chevalier has assumed, and was one of the principal food resources of its first inhabitants.

Fig. 29. Caravaneer's mortar and pestle.

By its agriculture
177 and its production, the Sahara is completely Negro. Agricultural
241 methods, except for irrigation, /231/ are borrowed from the Sudanese, especially work with the hoe (daba), while North Africa mainly uses the plow which is unknown in the intertropical zone.

252 Béchena is eaten as a cooked flour porridge, as raw flour, or
262 mixed with liquids, water or milk.

Dates also play a large part in the diet of the Tuareg. Every year each family head organizes a little caravan to the Touat or [438 487 512] Tidikelt to bring back two or three loads of poor-quality dried dates which are crushed with a pestle and eaten with camel's milk.

234 to extract all the water, and then dry them on /235/ small screens placed in the branches of trees. It goes without saying that cheese making is very rare in the Ahaggar and that the Tuareg make it [438] particularly when they are nomadizing in the Sudan. Every year the Ihaggaren bring back large supplies of cheese from their stay in the Sudanese zone; these cheeses, dry as a bone, are either made by the Ihaggaren or bought from the southern tribes. They make 252 an important contribution to the Tuareg diet. These dry cheeses 262 are ground in a mortar and reduced to small fragments so that they have the consistency of flour. Then they are mixed with food, either in béchena gruel or in a drink of béchena flour and dates.

262 It might be supposed that meat plays a very large role in the Tuareg diet. But let us recall one of our old French proverbs which says that the shoemaker is always the worst shod. We could apply this adage to herders, who perhaps eat less meat than anyone else. A herder has animals for the use of their products, but he very seldom eats them, for each butchering is a loss of capital.

Indeed, the Tuareg kill their animals only under very unusual [233] circumstances, especially at the time of religious and family festivals. These killings recall somewhat the religious meaning of sacrifices. This does not mean that they do not like meat, for when they raid a rival camp, they hasten to make drastic inroads on the smaller livestock and eat until they are about to burst.

224 Hunting furnishes them a little additional meat. Each year 262 they kill a certain number of gazelles and wild sheep, eating part [251] of the meat fresh and drying the rest to keep it on hand.

They capture star lizards (Uromastix acanthinurus), jerboas, 222 gondi (Ctenodactylus sp.), sometimes even jackals and hares. We 262 can add to their meat diet grasshoppers (Shistocerca gregaria), [324] which they grill in the embers and then dry in order to pulverize [252] them. All Saharian nomads are very fond of grasshoppers, and since remotest antiquity some North African tribes are supposed to

232 of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks
[272] exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their
family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is
[438] consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes
233 excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled,
[234] and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and
[252 262] sometimes tents.

287 The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do
not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting
[232] them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact num-
ber of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon
[422] them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The
young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them,
and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used.
137 These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg,
have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier
cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass
hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal
had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is
[172] nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the
rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia
where they are called "onager."

233 The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible
[174] that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihaggaren have
[173] kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had
only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage,
442 and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also
[312] take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the
[357] heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

262 237 The ass is never eaten, and its skin is not used.

233 The horse. -- The horse is not a Saharian animal. In 1929 there were four horses in the Ahaggar belonging to the aménokal. [643 Today there are about twenty of them belonging to the members of 644] his family or to the notables of his camp.

This is an expensive luxury, for these animals must be fed with [184 barley, and there is not enough barley for the people themselves. 262] It tends to replace the camel for the Sudanese Tuareg.

/254/ The zebu. -- A few years ago the aménokal owned a [649] small herd of zebus which he had had sent from the Sudan. This [137] animal is not raised in the Ahaggar proper, and it could not be, for lack of appropriate pasture.

[312] The zebus serve in the agricultural centers by drawing water. They are furnished to the tenant farmer by the proprietor of the land, [427] and they are very poorly fed on hardship rations of hay and grass, or else they are put in rush pastures, which are generally plentiful in the agricultural centers.

[438] When the animal is tired, the owner exchanges him if that is at all possible. The privations which the zebus must undergo bring about their death in a relatively short span of time, and so in the Ahaggar it is a question of keeping them alive rather than raising them. In any case, they never follow the camps in their moves and never live near them.

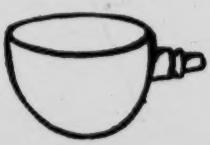
361 136 When we talked about the camp, we told how the search for pasture directed its location.

233 361 Insofar as animal husbandry properly speaking is concerned, we observe that the small animals -- sheep, goats, and asses -- always stay in the Ahaggar and move with the camp.

As for camels, this is not the case; they are often put out to pasture far from the tents, watched only by a few shepherds. The majority are even kept in the Sudan 800 kilometers from their owners'

Wood furnishes containers for food, drinking vessels, milking 322
vessels, mortars, pestles, tent stakes, crosspieces and boards for making saddles. The Ahaggar does not have more than five or six species of woods which can be worked, and the articles, very simply shaped, are much less varied than in the Sudanese tribes.

All Ahaggar women, noble or vassal, know how to tan, re- 281
move hair from, sew, decorate, and embroider leather. They are 462
able to make a waterskin needed to carry water, prepare skins to make tents, and manufacture bags for transporting food and personal objects. They have all become so expert in these labors that it is



[415 662]

Fig. 47. Amoula, a little wooden "bottle" for young children to drink from.

difficult to find any other peoples in the world who possess such a developed leather craft. [137]

The scarcity of vegetable materials in the Ahaggar is one of the reasons why the use of esparto is relatively restricted. Only the 285
stems of a graminacea common in the wadies (Panicum turgidum) [824]
are used to make mats -- large enclosing mats which surround the tent, sleeping mats, mats for covering plates.

/278/ The stems are bound by little leather thongs, and the [283]
combination of graminacea and leather is extremely effective; it [531]
allows very regular geometric decorations at the same time as a very solid work.

There are no esparto vans among the Tuareg. The women 291
use palm-leaf vans and hats, but these articles are the work of the 416
Harratin from the little palm groves of Silet, Ideles, and Abalessa. 438

283 Spinning is done by all Tuareg women. They spin the hair of the
462 goat, the camel, and the wild sheep, making very solid cords and saddle girths.

286 Weaving is limited to the making of goat's-hair, or more rarely camel's-hair, bags. This is a very primitive technique which does not require any loom and which is, furthermore, in the process of disappearing from the Ahaggar, where only a few noblewomen still practice it. It is completely extinct in Sudanese tribes.

324 Stonework, a relic of Neolithism, was still carried on in the Ahaggar
438 a few years ago to make arm rings. Layers of granitoid schists were formerly worked
[415 at Aseksem and Terahart in the Tăfedest. We also found
322] an ancient workshop south of Silet on the banks of the Tamanrasset wadi. Today all stone bracelets come from Aïr and a few from Hombori, where they are manufactured by Tuareg or Hausa artisans.

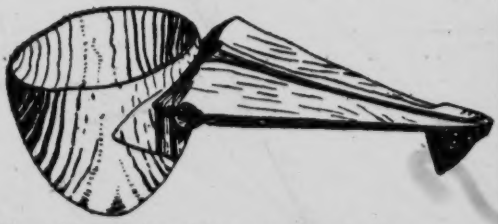


Fig. 48. Tabarekkat wooden ladle, also serving as a drinking vessel.

326 Metalworking is exclusively in the hands of the Enaden, who transform
[564 silver, copper, and iron. These materials, with the exception of iron, do not exist in a native, workable state in the Ahaggar. But although iron
[135 ore is common /279/ in some volcanic rocks of their country, the Tuareg do not have it exploited, for it is found in such small particles that it necessitates a disproportionate amount of forge work for the quantity likely to be recovered. Nevertheless, the memory of casting ore still remains among the Enaden. They use several forges at once, but do not know
[439 the blast furnace. The caravaneers coming from the north or from the Sudan used to bring metals.

177 At the present time silver comes from coins which are melted. For
326 years the Tuareg have had Maria Theresa dollars at their disposal; these

326 /280/ Silver is used to make jewelry--pendants, pendants for the
[30] hair, bracelets, rings, earrings, amulet cases, etc.

Copper furnishes a number of more important and naturally more
[492] commonly used
414 articles -- saddlery
articles, cavessons for
[412] camels, highly
ornamented padlocks
with keys, hair knives,
etc. This metal is generally better worked than silver. It is often
chiseled, engraved, and topped with applications of tin by a technique
[531] which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little
knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

Fig. 50. Hammer.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta
crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them
is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or
with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian
Arabs and the Sudanese.

Fig. 51. Blacksmith's tongs.

●438 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms;
326 they merely repair them. Sahara, daggers, and
411 lances were for the most part manufactured by black-
smiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimmiden from
Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and
mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel
Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an
iron mine which is located beside the village of
Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally
not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the
[72] Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments
are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic
period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized
in the camps.

323

Pottery is made by Negresses, the wives /281/ of Harratiñ, or freed former captives who live in the agricultural centers.

This outline of the techniques and industries of the Kel Ahaggar Tuareg brings out their poverty.

Can we speak of art among the Ihăggaren? That seems difficult, for aside from a few rare objects, all those that they use are more or less in use in the Ahaggar are imported from Aïr or Ădrar des Ifôras, and that is explained all the better by the fact that the artisans are more or less originally from these regions. 438 531 517

Fig. 52. Sugar tongs.

[415]

It is difficult to determine the origins of Tuareg art in general. It is in reality a composite art taken from all their neighbors, which, is not, for the most part, the achievement of the Tuareg themselves but of their artisans. It is among the latter that the distant origins /of Tuareg art/ must be sought. 177 517

The tastes of the Tuareg appear to be unchangeable. They have been fixed for centuries; therefore, in ancient documents some hundred years old one finds the same shape, the same dimensions, the same coloring as today. In this regard we shall say that the Enad is not an artist. He is a worker who may have taste, but who is, on the whole, incapable of creating. He faithfully reproduces the model which has been handed down to him. He 517 [178 172]

492 The tarik is the saddle commonly used by the Ahaggar Tuareg, the one which is peculiar to them and which they must have known from time immemorial. The tamzak, which is a decorated variant [177] of the tarik, owes the origin of its decoration to Hausa influence. [171] In fact, the peculiar technique of applying perforated metal bands enhanced by colored leather fabrics is found in horses' saddles of the

[531]

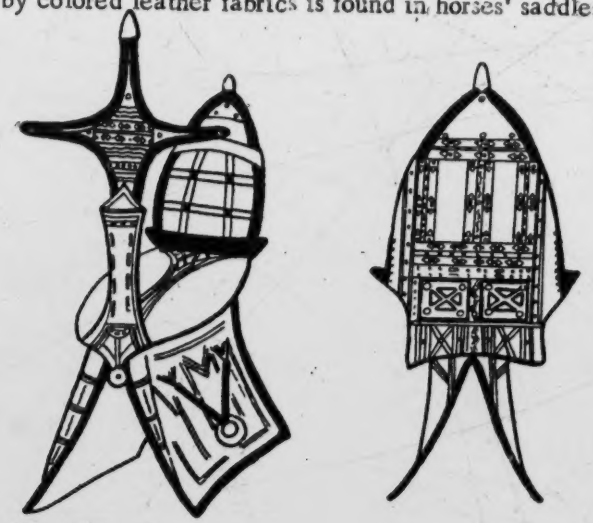


Fig. 54.. 1 2

The camel saddle called tamzack. Detail of the back of the saddle.

Hausa from the Damergou, Sokoto, etc., and there is no doubt that that art, which is unrelated to that of the Tuareg, is much more developed among those peoples.

438 The two saddles are usually made in Aïr, indeed even at Agadez, but the old Tuareg blacksmiths manufacture only the 326 tarik. The tamzak is the work of artisans, who are usually settled 492 at Agadez and more or less crossed with artisans of Hausa origin. 492 Ahaggar blacksmiths make only the tahiast, which is the saddle 171

usually satisfied with milk, "akh, " fresh ("akh oua kefaïen" 264
[illegible] ) or sour ("akh iezza", [illegible] ), at
the hour when the camels, sheep, or goats come in from
pasture.

The basic food of the Ahaggar Tuareg consists of bechna, 262
"inelli" (white-grain sorghum, Graminaceae), dates, "teïni, "
and milk, "akh. " [illegible]

But their country provides them with many resources 22
which they are careful not to neglect, especially the poor, 556
the "tileqqiouin" [illegible] , who constitute the majority.

All the "imr'ad" go to harvest the grains of "toulloult" 243
and "afezzou. " Women, children, youths, negroes and 221
negresses go into the wadis
to gather the harvest, which
takes place from May to June
for "toulloult" and from July
to the end of September for
"afezzou. " /29/

[000]

Dautheville

Idelès (Koudia)

Usually, before the
harvest several wadis are for-
bidden territory, and camels
are not led there until the
harvest is finished.

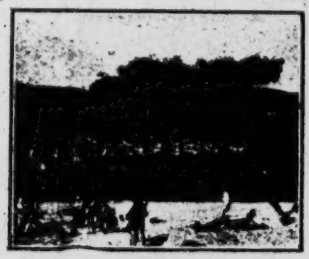
The produce is gathered
and put into hide sacks. After the grains have dried, they 252
need only to be put onto small trays of "afezzou, " called
"tissiin, " which are shaken, and the hulls fall off and remain
on top. The grains are ground to powder, and a kind of gruel
is made with water or butter.

The Tuareg are also very fond of "tikamarin" [illegible] 234 252 262
, cheeses as hard as wood which they get from A'ir. They 438
grind them in mortars and mix them in their food.

They very seldom eat meat, except that of game which 262
they can kill in a hunt: gazelles, mountain sheep, and 224
antelopes. But often they prefer to smoke this game in order 251
to go and sell it in the Tidikelt. 438

262
The nobles eat better, at least those who are well-to-do. 243
In the Ahaggar especially they own cultivated land in the 556
"ar'erems" (villages), where they grow wheat, "ired," barley, 565 423
"timzin," and bechna, "inelli"; but usually they sell their 438

[137]



Dautheville

Trees Called "Ahatés" (Acacia Albida) at the Tillemas of the Tessht Wadi (Koudia).

wheat and barley to the natives of the Tidikelt and are content with bechna, of which they are very fond. They claim that [824]
bechna is less heating to the stomach than wheat or barley.

The rich allow themselves the luxury of drinking tea, but 272
tea and sugar are very expensive, and they do not misuse them. 556
On the other hand, they do not hesitate to beg for them shame- 263
lessly.

When the year is bad anything seems good to the poor to 222
assure their subsistence. In such years one sees them eating 262
/30/ "berdi," or "taheli," (Typha angustifolia, Typhaceae); 735
ground carob seeds of "talhas," or gum trees, which they call 252
"tahaha" • ⁝⁝⁝ + ; "tanékfa'lt (Diplotaxis duveyrierana, Cruciferae); fruit of the "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica), which they steep to take out the bitterness; and even leaves of the "aremmas" (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae), which they boil.

In short, nature keeps food resources for them which prevents even the poorest from dying of hunger.

edible, and considering also that there is a very fine palm at 245
Abalessa (which could become a splendid oasis since there is
no lack of water), one may ask if the creation of an oasis of
palms in the Ahaggar might not be tried with success. But the [438]
Ahl Azzi and all the inhabitants of the Tidikelt, who live
entirely on the sale of their dates to the Tuareg, have persuaded

[361]

Haratine Gourbi at Ideles
(Koudia)

the latter to the contrary, that the climate of their country is
not suited to growing palms. Besides, the Ahaggar do not in [185]
the least wish to undertake plantations from which one could
expect no profit for several years, and they prefer to stay with
growing wheat, barley, and bechna, which pay at once.

The Amenokal Moussa ag Amastane, realizing that the era 643
of raids will soon be ended forever, sees that it will be necessary 185
to demand from the soil the means of subsistence which raids 176
formerly procured. So he has announced his intention of having
a foggara dug at "Endid" and of having gardens made there,
and his example will very probably be followed. This is an
undertaking which will certainly be encouraged and supported,
and which shows the slow evolution which is beginning to take
place among the Tuareg, in the best interests of peace and
civilization.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



262 Even when grazing is good stock-breeding products are less important for food
[222] in Ahaggar than in Air as is illustrated in fig. 3 depicting the relative importance of milk food and vegetable food. A small part of the vegetable food is provided by collecting seeds of grasses and herbs, while roots, stems, and berries of wild plants are less significant. The bulk of Tuareg plant food consists of millet, barley, wheat,
[241] and dates. In Ahaggar many Tuareg have gardens with wheat and barley cultivated
[563] for them by black-skinned agriculturists generally known by the Arab word *Haratin* (*Izzegaren* to the Tuareg). But most Ahaggar Tuareg acquire the bulk of
438 their plant food from caravan trading with the oases of Tidikelt (dates) and with
262 Sudanese villages as far south as Zinder (millet). Even in years of drought they can obtain millet from the Sudan in exchange for rock-salt broken at Amadror, north-east of Ahaggar. In Air caravan trading with salt seems less necessary to Tuareg subsistence, although there are also in this country Tuareg who trade with salt from Amadror or Bilma. Most pastoral households however have a fairly regular
[234] surplus of livestock, butter, and cheese which can provide for the necessary amount
[563] of millet bought in Agadez or south of the massif in Damergou. There are also
241 in Air a great many negroid agriculturists from whom pastoral Tuareg can buy
262 vegetable products. But millet, which forms the prominent part of Tuareg plant
[438] food, is grown to a very slight extent by the agriculturists of Air. Dates are important in particular to the Ahaggar Tuareg who acquire large quantities from the oases of Tidikelt. There are also a few Ahaggar clans the members of which own half-wild palms with dates of an inferior quality, as there are Tuareg who have a few palms growing in their garden plots. In Air dates are not so important for food but even there pastoral Tuareg may have some palms. Among the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer it is very common for pastoralists to sow wheat and barley in the river valleys when these have been heavily flooded (Nicolaisen 1954, p. 83, 88), and this primitive agricultural method was apparently known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg in the past (Duveyrier 1864, p. 372). More recently many pastoral Tuareg
[312] of Ahaggar and Air have taken up agriculture by means of irrigation. There seems
[221] to be a tendency towards semi-nomadism among the Tuareg who are very dependent on vegetable food derived from agriculture.

### *The Negroes Of The Sahara.*

136 In the above section on Tuareg ecology it is stated that Air climatically and botanically is closely linked with the Sudan. This is true also zoologically as the Air fauna contains a great many species of birds and mammals characteristic of tropical Africa. The bird life of Air seems very akin to that of the Sudanese savannah, and, for instance, guinea fowls are extremely common even in valleys of the northernmost parts of the massif. As examples of tropical mammal life in Air we may here mention that the wart-hog lives in Central Air, and that oryx antelopes

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 76]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



tions have remained important to the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it is clear that they would not go on trading were these expeditions not profitable, for trading expeditions are extremely strenuous. Though the expeditions set off when the extreme heat is decreasing, it is still very hot in the extensive barren plains in autumn and in winter during daytime. Water and pasture are often extremely scarce in this deserted country, and the Tuareg frequently have to travel rapidly. For days or weeks they live so to say on their camels, and if camels are not too heavily loaded they may do up to 16 hours a day for several days in succession. Under such journeys the Tuareg eat only once a day. Obviously such trading expeditions are also very hard on the pack-camels, and there is always a risk of loosing a camel during such journeys through barren, desert country.

In this brief outline of caravan trading I have not considered those Ahaggar Tuareg living constantly in the Tamesna plains and adjacent regions. These Tuareg own more livestock than the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif, and I do not believe that they engage so much in extensive trading expeditions. They are comparatively rich in she-camels which are tolerably good milk yielders in these regions most of the year, and milk is more important as food than it is in Ahaggar. I believe that most Ahaggar Tuareg of the Tamesna region acquire their necessary vegetable products by selling surplus livestock, butter and cheese at the markets of Ingal and Agadez.

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AYR TUAREG

Among the Ayr Tuareg stock-breeding products are far more important for food than in the north. Grazing conditions are better with annual pasture as a recurrent event, and the Tuareg keep bigger flocks of goats and sheep, larger camel herds, and most have a few zebus which are guarded without much difficulty. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr can live on milk for a large part of the year, though they, like those of Ahaggar, become tired of milk drinking if they get no solid food. There are Tuareg of Southern Ayr who live exclusively on milk for two or three months during the periods of *akasa* and *ṛarat* and to whom milk is important as food for at least six months. In the extremely hot season of *ewilen* when milk is very scarce most Tuareg eat millet porridge with a little milk or sauce (cf. p. 242 f.), and Tuareg who are not very wealthy eat millet porridge to a great extent all the year round, so that the necessary amount of millet for many camps is about 0.5 kilo a day per person, or about 180 kilos a year. In Ayr there are fairly good possibilities of collecting if there are not too many locusts, but most Tuareg do not collect a great quantity of wild seeds, and claim that they would be very badly off without millet, as seeds of wild plants are not very nourishing in comparison. In one year during the second world war (in 1943) they say that millet was very hard to get; it was then very difficult to subsist and a great many animals had to be killed for food. Millet is almost indispensable to the Tuareg; they also consume other vegetables derived from agriculture, notably wheat, maize, and dates, but millet is the most essential non-nomadic food product. Normally it can be acquired by most Ayr Tuareg without much difficulty.

The people of Ayr obtain their provisions of millet from the Sudanese area of shifting cultivation, notably from Damergu (Tanut). Millet can also be bought at Agadez whereto it is brought by Tuareg

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



by the Tuareg of Ayr, the *Kel Geres*, and other Tuareg. The Tuareg obtain salt generally in exchange 437
for millet, but they also bring with them dried meat, and meat from animals newly slaughtered; and 439
although this meat is largely rotten when it arrives at Bilma it is easily sold to the oases dwellers who are yearning for meat. The oases dwellers have little to subsist upon but dates of which they have a surplus. This is purchased by the Tuareg, who get two loads of dates for one load of millet. The [178]
Bilma trade is less important nowadays than it was at the beginning of the century. In 1922 the Bilma [484]
caravans comprised about 7000 camels (Buchanan 1926, p. 83), while in 1908, when the trade was already decreasing, caravans numbered about 20,000 camels (Abadie 1927, p. 292). Caravans still go [435]
to Bilma to fetch salt and dates, but the salt trade is not so profitable to-day when Bilma salt can be [494]
bought fairly cheaply at Agadez, as the trucks bringing provisions from Agadez to the French admin-
istration and to the merchants of Bilma, take salt back with them when they return. The Ayr Tuareg 437
do not organize their trading expeditions within family groups or sections as in Ahaggar. A Tuareg [602]
who does not want himself to go to Bilma may let a kinsman or a friend trade for him with his camels. The payment for this is a large loaf of salt which constitute one sixth or one seventh of a camel load.

The Ayr Tuareg do not generally obtain salt from the pits of Tegidda-n-tésemt though this place 317
is not very far from the Massif to the west. They say that the Tegidda salt is not as good as 439
Bilma's. The salt of Tegidda-n-tésemt is purchased mainly by the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* when
visiting the regions around Ingal after the rains. Some of the *Kel Ayr* who live in the extreme north [437]
(the *Kel Tédalé*, and others) occasionally go to Amadror in the north to fetch salt which is taken down
to the Sudanese towns and villages. In years when drought prevails in Ahaggar these Tuareg take their 437
surplus of livestock to the market at Tamanrasset, for in dry years the provision of meat, butter, and 438
cheese consumed in Ahaggar come mainly from Ayr and adjacent regions. When I stayed in Ahaggar
in 1954–55 a great many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* came to Tamanrasset to sell camels, donkeys, sheep, [114]
goats, and zebus, and also brought with them large quantities of cow's butter and cheese. The route 437
followed from Northern Ayr to Ahaggar runs via I-n-azawa and I-n-abeggi which are the only wells 487
between the two mountain massifs. Water is very scarce and so is pasture, which is mainly limited to
a scattered vegetation of annual plants; over very large areas there is no vegetation at all. It is easy
to drive camels and donkeys through these regions, while more difficult for sheep, goats, and cattle.
The zebus easily get cut hooves from walking on stony ground, while sheep and goats suffer much
from thirst. In spite of this, all kinds of livestock can be driven through the barren desert from Ayr
to Ahaggar, even as late as the month of March which is extremely hot in the barren desert country.
The Tuareg frequently lose animals which die from thirst and hunger during the journey, but the trade [435]
is nevertheless extremely profitable as prices of livestock are high in Ahaggar in dry years, while prices
of European goods such as tea, sugar, cotton, metal vessels, and the like are extremenly low compared
with the prices asked for these goods in Ayr.

The Ayr Tuareg, though owning more livestock than the Tuareg of Ahaggar, have a certain demand 433
of agricultural food products. These products are mainly grown outside of the Massif, for the farmers 439
of Ayr grow little millet, very few dates, and part of the wheat grown in Ayr is exported to the oases
of Ganet and Rat in the north. Though these vegetable products can be purchased at Agadez, it is
profitable to fetch them where they are cheap, namely in the Sudan (millet) and in Bilma (dates). And

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



175 added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was
721 also fighting within these groups at intervals.

[648] The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwllemmeden* and the Arab pastor-
alists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of
[578] the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg fre-
quently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

[437] Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with
adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite
of these latent conditions of hostility.

175 Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the
437 Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European
goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with
their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays.
They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter,
cheese, and the like.

175 The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day
437 the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times,
484 but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same
drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their
chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* who dominated
the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays.
[439] They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and
Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further
south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also
[438] say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the
important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All
[317] this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadror were not utilized
in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from
Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of
the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to
[361] the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then
162 travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in
the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could
not defend itself against raiders.

175 It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts
567 of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading
[648] until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in
[17] this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet
who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their
own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



butter in Ahaggar, and butter reserved for greasing the hair is frequently kept in a large horn (*isek*) of barbary sheep (Fig. 165). 251 415* [302]

The Ayr Tuareg make butter (*wiji*) in much the same way as the Northern Tuareg. For churning they use a skin bag (*anwar*), or a calabash (*azenu*), and they say that they prefer skin bags in winter, and calabashes in the hot season. Butter is heated or boiled immediately after churning, but the Ayr Tuareg do not add parts of plants, date flour, or the like. In Ayr butter is not churned as regularly as in the north. It is used mainly for cooking meat of thin animals, for a sauce which may be used for millet porridge instead of milk (cf. p. 243 f.), and for greasing the hair. Among the Northern Tuareg butter is added to many different dishes and particularly to bread, which is eaten almost daily by many people. In years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg get their butter from Ayr (cf. p. 212, 215), and the Ayr Tuareg make much butter for export in such circumstances. They churn most butter from cow's 234 [415]* [252] [302] [262] [438]

415* 322 [283] →

Fig. 154a–c.

a. Wooden funnel. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.146 m high. (N.M. G. 5203).
b. Funnel consisting of a piece of calabash which derives from the south. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.131 m high. (N.M. G. 5202).
c. Wooden funnel with a strap of cord of goat's hair. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, Olafsen's collection. Dimension: 0.175 m high. (N.M. G. 1.150).

All wooden funnels are cut from wood of the *taharakkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*). [824]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



camels. This blood never constitutes a proper dish to the Tuareg. They bleed camels to drink their blood only when they lack water on journeys in the desert. Bleeding is done according to the method described above, and the blood is collected in a drinking bowl. But the Ayr Tuareg say that they work up the mass of blood with the fingers with the result that the upper part of the amount of blood becomes more liquid, though it is always red in colour.

The Tuareg use the following implements to make cereals or other vegetable products into flour:—

(1) A large wooden mortar (*tindé*) with a heavy pestle (*éheren*) (Fig. 177). It is used in all camps and villages of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr, and is in fact known all over Tuareg country. It is used mainly for pounding millet and sorghum, but it is also employed for pounding other cereals, including certain wild seeds, and for dates, cheese, meat, locusts, and the like. These large wooden mortars are manufactured by the blacksmiths of Southern Tuareg country, including Ayr, where most Northern Tuareg obtain their mortars. Among the Northern Tuareg there are also other mortar types. A small mortar which like the former rests on a foot and is known by the same name (*tindé*) (Fig. 178), is used mainly by sedentary agriculturists for pounding rock-salt, dried tomatoes, tobacco for chewing, and other plants or materials to be used in small quantities. Another type of mortar without a foot and known to the Northern Tuareg as *akabar*, or *takabart*, (Fig. 176) is found mainly among pastoralists who use it on journeys for pounding millet.

(2) A saddle quern (*telusi*) (Fig. 179), which consists of two natural and in general unfashioned stones, is found in most camps of the Northern Tuareg. This constitutes the only grinding implement for wheat, barley, and certain wild seeds among the *Kel Ajjer*. The stones used for saddle querns are sharpened at intervals with a hard stone or some other hard object (*tasettekut*) in order that they may grind effectively. A simple saddle quern (*asar*) is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but it is less common there than in the north.

(3) The handmill (*tasirt*) (Fig. 181) is not a traditional implement of Tuareg culture. It is widely known all over Northern Africa both by Berbers and Arabs, by sedentary peoples and nomads living in black tents. It has been introduced to Ahaggar mainly by the immigration of the Arabic speaking Harratin (Izeggaren) of Tidikelt,

Fig. 169a–c. Pieces of butter-milk cheese (*awles*, pl. *iwlasi*).
a. Ahaggar, *Harratin of* Abalessa. Dimension: 0.066–0.068 m in diameter, 0.022 m thick. (N.M. G. 5816).
b. Ahaggar, the *Ajah-n-ahkl* tribe. Dimension: 0.062 × 0.022 m. (N.M. G. 5817b).
c. Ahaggar, the *Ajah-n-ahkl* tribe. Dimension: 0.058 × 0.016 m. (N.M. G. 5817c).

412

Fig. 206a–d. Axe and adzes of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

a. The ordinary axe (*tedeft*) which is found in all Tuareg camps. Ahaggar, the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.572 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.157 m long, 0.053 m broad. (N.M. G. 5233).

b. *tatawt*, a small socket-shafted adze with knee-shaft. Adzes of this type are common in Tuareg camps. They are used mainly by women for wood-carving. Ahaggar, the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.301 m long. (N.M. G. 5232). [322]

c. *tikadimt*, adze shafted by means of a piece of sheet-iron and nails. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.440 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.150 m long, 0.058 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5864).

d. *tikadimt*, slot-shafted adze. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.430 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.222 m long, 0.065 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5865).

The axe and the adzes are all made by blacksmiths. [564]

The very best ropes or cords manufactured by the Ahaggar Tuareg are those made from goat's 283
hair which is sheared with a knife by the women once a year in the hot season. These ropes are known [237]
to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ihellumen* (sing. *ahellum*), while the proper term for a rope of goat's hair [233]
in Ayr is *ázaw*. But the Ayr Tuareg do not make such ropes as they have goats of the short-haired
breed (p. 33). They obtain their ropes from the Ahaggar Tuareg. Ropes of goat hair are manufactured [438]
by women by the following method:— The mass of hair, known as *éhafilen*, is placed upon a piece [462]
of skin and is prevented from blowing away by means of a stone. The hair is then taken out in small
quantities with the first and second fingers of the left hand to be spun upon a stick 30–40 cms long.

[text continues on p. 266]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



may be seen in Fig. 167a–b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*ilsteni*) (Fig. 218a). 285 [413]

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a–c, 210a–b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*éstan*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices. [184] [432] [366]

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among the *Kel Ayr*. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*agum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*alegutguten*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig 220b). This basket type (*tésenit*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals. [824] [413] [462] [184] [413] [171] [415] *

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éseber* or *tésebert* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents, and they are manufactured by many women among the *Kel Ahaggar* (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers, and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*tédabut*) (Fig. 212a–b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Igdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south. [824] [351] [462] [352] [563] [462] [342] [438]

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitues the most important craft in the 281

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M825 Tuareg M825



291 l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwilemmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

292 In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the [232] Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen [177] blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aglim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-[294] skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl (*tistemi*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather [184] cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

178 Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like 291 many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

291 The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *tratimen* (sing. *tratim*) which [237] word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south. [138] The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where 294 the type is also known by the Hausa word *takelmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in 289 detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig. [114] 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manufacture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takelmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are 291 easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The [132] very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal [288] is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *alisleplaim* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

[text continues on p.300]

631 a very ancient tribe, the Isbeten, who were the autochthons of the Ahaggar and whom the Dăg Rali would have found in Ătakor when they came to settle there.

After the battle at Tit where they lost more than 100 fighters, the Dăg Râli still numbered 60 warriors. The 1938 census gives 1,090 persons, 334 of them men, including the Iklan. This increase is quite rare among the Tuareg and reflects their wealth and the improvement of their living conditions since the French occupation.

[161] [177] [511]

They nomadize in the western part of the Koudia, which is their absolute fief where no other fraction is admitted.

/192/ On the east, the boundaries of the lands over which they range are fixed by the right bank of the Tamanrasset wadi and the Interkadène wadi as far as Ideles; on the south by the southern zone of the Tahalra as far as Tin Dahar; on the west by In Eker; and on the north by the line from In Eker to Hirhafok to Ideles.

631 The Dăg Râli pay a tribute of ten bags of dates or sorghum to the
651 amenokal; in addition, each family which sends a caravan to the Sudan pays him a small bag of sorghum. If the pastures are good, they add several "botta" of melted butter and the milk of twenty ewes. In the case of a successful raid, they pay the nobles half of the ewes.

631 The Dăg Râli are now the richest people in the Ahaggar. They
233 own more than 1,200 goats and more than 1,000 camels. Thanks to
556 their beasts of burden, they can take many very remunerative caravans
439 to the Sudan and to the Tidikelt. They hold in common escheated flocks which are called Edjeré-n-boutelma. When the pastures are insufficient to feed all their livestock, they entrust their camels to the Irréguénaten who graze them on the Saharo-Sudanese border.

631 Since they are very open-minded, they were in favor of cultivation
241 in the centers of the Ahaggar, and at the present time they possess
423 lands at Ilâman, Tarahananet, Tamanrasset, Abălessa, Iglen, Tăfârit, I-n-Ămegel, and Silet, which Negroes cultivate for them. The amenokal has granted them a certain number of palm trees in the Silet oasis which formerly belonged to the Tăitok.

563 They are not vassals like the Irréguénaten and the Ibettenâten,
631 but are incorporated.

563 According to a tradition reported by Dr. Richer, (1) the
173

1. Les Oulliminden, p. 71.

Issekkemâren are the descendants of the family of the Sagmara, pointed out in the Ădrar des Iforas and in the region of Gao by El Bekri. They were driven back by the Sonrhai invasion and came to take refuge among the northern Tuareg while a small fraction remained in the south in the environs /199/ of Timbuktu and today has a marabout character.

Although they are more Islamized than the other tribes, they are
[797] nonetheless Tuaregized in the sense that they follow Tuareg customs
197] and speak Tamashek. Many of them speak Arabic fluently, either
[648] because of their origin or because of their constant relations with the Tidikelt.

173 At the time of the division of the Imrad, some tribes were be-
563 stowed upon the Kel Rela, others on the Tăitok and the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet. The tribes attached to the Kel Rela are the Ihéiaouen Hâda, the Kel Immîdir, the Kel Tăzoûlet, the Kel Tăfedest, and the Kel In Rhar'.

563 They are all great caravaneers who trade a great deal on the
439 Tidikelt markets. They own a large number of camels and their
484 camel raising is particularly renowned.
233

The Iheiaouen Hada. -- The Iheiaouen Hada, also called Oulad
563 Elias or Ihéiaouen-n-Temounent, are said to be descended from an
[173] Arab woman who was seized at Touat. The word Iheiaouen means in Tamashek "the grandsons of . . . ," so that we must conclude that the people of this tribe are the descendants of a woman named Ada.

They nomadize in the Tăfedest massif near Ădenek, Abezou, In Takoufi, Eguelougal, and Tidessi. During dry periods they lead
[221] their camels to the Saharo-Sudanese borders in the neighborhood of the Tamaïa well.

631 The Kel I-n-Toûnîn owe their name to the wadi near which they ordinarily nomadize in the Tăfedest massif. At the end of the last century they took advantage of the dissensions existing between the Tăitok and the Kel Rela as well as the internal strife of the [651] Tăitok to free themselves of the latter. They moved to the Ăjjer, claiming kinship with them, but they pay them no taxes.

After their surrender to the French, the Tăitok reclaimed them, and General Laperrine agreed to their demand.

[648] They took a big part in the rebellion of 1916 and were the first to rise up, for they were under the direct influence of the Ăjjer.

Taking refuge in Fezzan at first, they set about combating us by launching raids against the fractions under our influence. Later they participated in the combat of Aïn el Hadjadj. Then they went to the Sudan, where they succeeded in taking with them a number of Tăitok, their Chief Amri among them, in spite of the efforts Moussa ag Ămastân made to keep them.

[162] They number about 20 tents which camp in the north of the Tăfedest massif and go up as high as the Ădrar Ifetessen on the foothills of Immîdir.

[582] They are allied to the Tégéhé Mellet by recent marriages.

Famous as good herders, they own about 100 camels and 300 [233] goats. They are also good caravaneers who trade on the markets of [431] In Salah, Ghat, and Ghadames.

[241] They have a few gardens cultivated at Ideles and in the Tassili centers of cultivation.

[162] The Iouarouaren. -- The Iouarouaren form a little tribe of about 15 tents, which nomadizes with the Kel Ăhnet in the Adrar.

Some say they are natives of Aïr, others say of the Ăjjer.

173 /210/ When an Ăjjer (or Ifôras) woman had been taken prisoner by the Aïr people, according to Sidi ag Kéràdji, it was Ămastân 631 ag Ourzig, maternal uncle of Sidi, who paid her ransom and married her to a Kel Ăhnet; from this union sprang the Iouarouaren. (1)

619 Kel-I-n-Toûnîn Imrad rather than accept the supremacy of Moussa
648 ag Ămastân and the Kel Rela. For a long time they kept up the agitation, encouraged by the former Amenokal Attici ag Ămellal, and they were one of the causes of our difficulties with the Ăjjer.

619 It is now a small tribe of about 15 tents nomadizing near
[162] Ămegid, the Ounane, the Eguéré, and /212/ Tiramar. Its strength comes especially from its vassals, who could not be more turbulent.
[669] They probably participated in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and Attici and Ănaba ag Ămellal, the leaders of the drama, belonged to that fraction.

The Tégéhé-Mellet have no Imrad properly speaking, but several Issekkemâren fractions are enfeoffed to them.

The Kel Terourirt. -- The Kel Terourirt are Issekkemâren and nomadize northeast of the Ahaggar near Tiramar, Tahihaout,
[162] Ounane, the Eguéré, and the Garet ed Djenoun. They number 25 tents at the moment.

[669] During the 1916 events, they followed the Kel Ouhet and the Kel I-n-Toûnîn in rebelling.

[651] They pay the amrar of the Tégéhé Mellet a tioussé which annually adds up to four bags of dates and four goats.

The Kel Ouhet. -- Like the Kel Térourirt, the Kel Ouhet are Issekkemâren. They are subdivided into several small fractions: the Kel Raris, the Dăg-Khamaya, and the Dăg Iknân. In all there are
[162] about 40 tents (51 persons in the 1938 census, 23 of them men).

They camp in the northern part of the Tăfedest massif and go as far as Amegid and into the Igharghar Valley.

[233] They own a number of camels and frequently visit the markets
[439] of the Tidikelt and Ghat.

Some of them have left the Ahaggar and now live in the Ăjjer.

The Kel Torha. -- The Kel Torha, or Dăg Houa, are Aït Loaien and their small fraction is in the process of disappearing. Although they live with the Aït Loaien who belong to the Kel Rela tobol,
[651] they pay the annual tioussé of a mézoued of dates to the Tégéhé-Mellet.

579 In addition, they robbed caravans who happened into their country, hatefully ransoming the voyagers. Sometimes they 721 727 went to empty the granaries of the sedentary people of the oases or the Sudanese villages, capturing Negroes and Negresses to [492] sett as slaves.

439 When peace reigned in their country, they willingly organized /218/ caravans to go to the Tidikelt or Touat oases and bring back dates, or else to the Sudan to get supplies of millet. They also made themselves the protectors of caravans crossing their country, naturally [486] making the caravaneer pay a consistently high duty in merchandise.

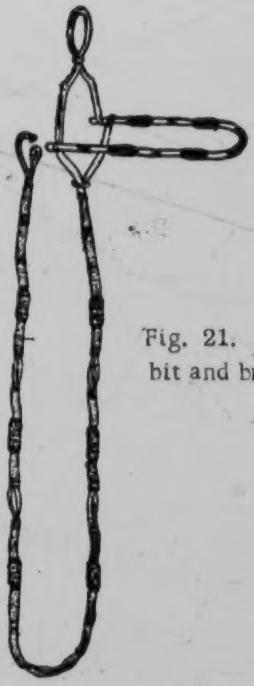


Fig. 21. Camel bit and bridle.

135 The Ahaggar has famous salt mines in the region called 182 Amadror which lies to the east of 439 the Tafedest massif in a large depression. They are an appreciable resource for the Ihaggaren, but manpower is needed to exploit them. Then, transportation and circulation demand a general state of peace in which the numerous herds of pack camels can be protected from possible surprise attacks [721] and raids. That is why the Amadror salt deposits remained unexploited for a long time before the French occupation, because of the state of perpetual war existing between Ahaggar Tuareg and Tassili Tuareg.

1: Lhote--74a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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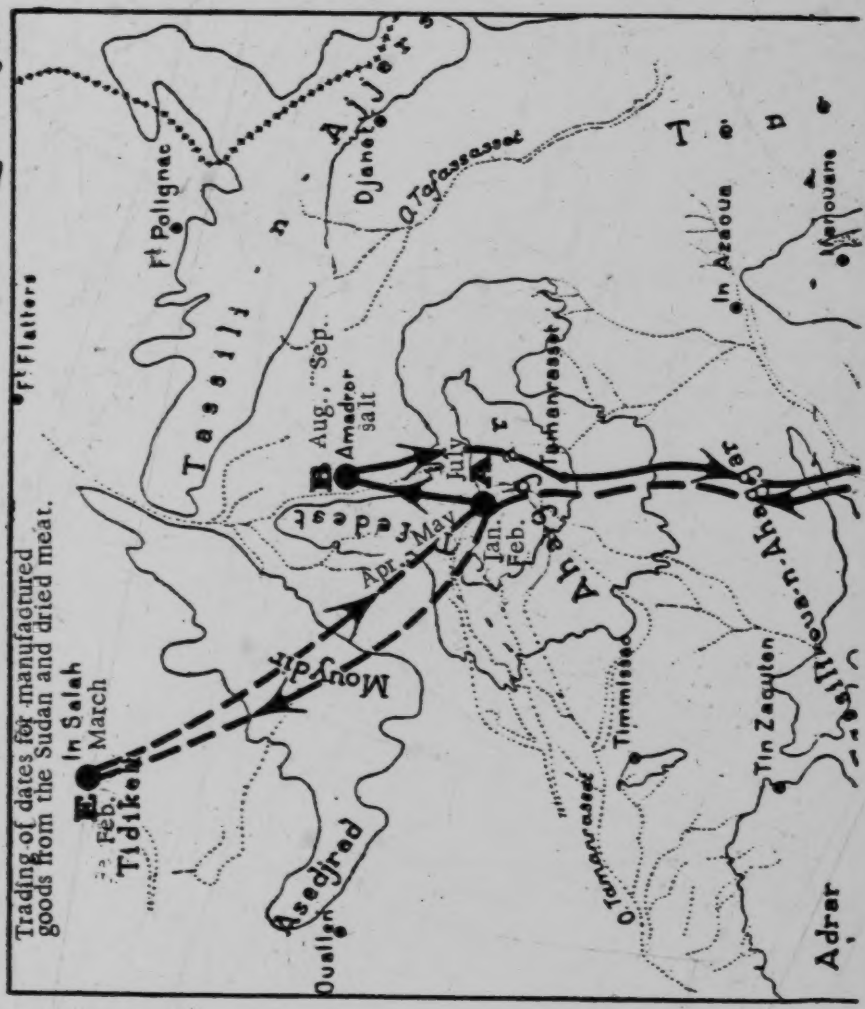


**Map V. Diagram of the caravan cycle of the Ahaggar Tuareg.**

A. Center of transhumance and point of departure of the caravan cycle. B. Center of salt extraction. C. Region of stocking of salt and of temporary nomadization. $D^1$ $D^2$ $D^3$. Center of trade of salt for grain.

1: Lhote--74b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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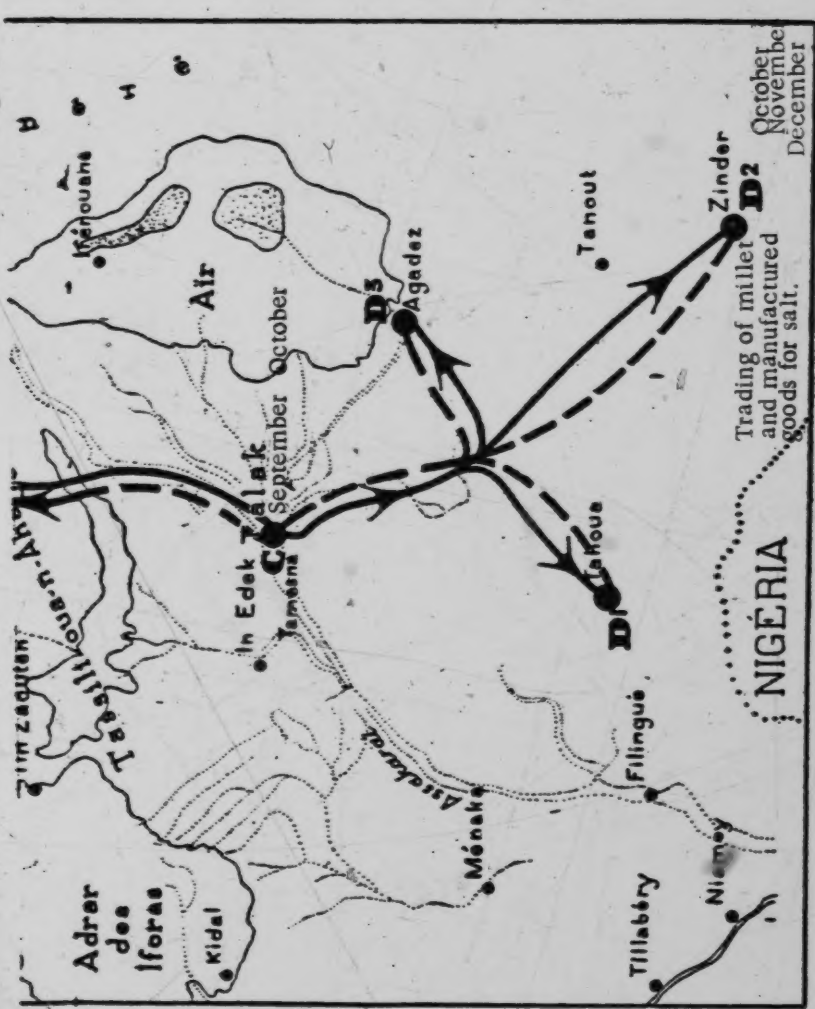


E. Center of trade of manufactured goods and dried meat for dates after return from A.

436 The ideal medium of exchange is the salt which [492] abounds in the Sahara and which is totally lacking in the Sudan. 439 Thus we see a caravan cycle spread out over a whole year and thousands of kilometers. This is all the more viable /sic/ for the Ihaggaren since it makes use of their many camels which otherwise might remain unused in part.

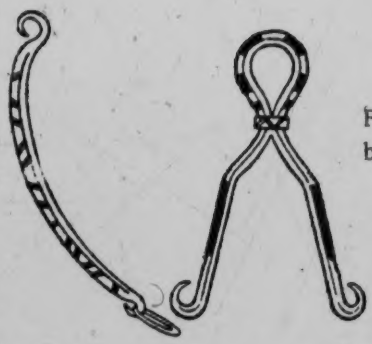

Fig. 22. Camel bit (detail).

317 The starting point is naturally the salt deposit. The mine /219/ is open; one [415] need only detach the salt in pieces and place it in leather bags to transport it. This labor is kept for the Iklan, who arrive at the salt deposits during the summer and [492] stay there from three weeks to a month. Each camel owner operates at will, and transports the salt to his camp after extracting it.

Fig. 23. Device for attaching the camel's bridle.

439 Toward mid-September, all the 481 caravaneers gather together by tribes. Soon they leave their families in the Ahaggar and take the long route [487] for the Sudan, crossing the Tanezrouft. Thus one may see caravans of 100 to 150 camels, but rarely more, for the pasture grounds would not allow it. The arrival in the Sudan must occur after the rainy

season which generally ends with the month of September. 439
When the caravaneers arrive earlier, they wait in the Tamasna 484
region and protect their salt by hiding it in the crags of the rocks.

At any rate they always stay at least two months in that region so that their camels may regain their strength. Then, they go in small groups toward the Damergou where they know people in some villages with whom they exchange their salt for millet. These exchanges are made on variable bases, depending on whether or not the millet harvest has been abundant, or whether the salt has arrived in greater or lesser quantity. Most generally they are made on the basis of one load of salt for three loads of millet, but sometimes in the proportion of one load of salt for ten loads of millet, which is much to the advantage of the Ihaggaren.

[291]
[177]

Fig. 24. Irratimen sandal of Hausa make, such as the Ihaggaren wear.

[435]

Since they do not have enough camels to carry all this grain back, and since they do not need that much grain in the Ahaggar, they sell or exchange a good part of it for manufactured objects, which are easy to transport and /220/ easy to dispose of -- sandals, saddle bags, camel saddles, leather boxes,

439 cotton clothes, and Sudanese-made lithams /veils/. Then after
484 two months of rest spent in the Sudan, during which time the camels revel in the rich pasture, they all set out again for the Ahaggar, where they arrive from January on. February and March see them leave again for the Tidikelt or Touat. At that time they take only a few camels and exchange the excess manufactured articles which they collected in the Sudan and trade dried mutton for dates. This trip lasts an average of two months, and toward the end of April everyone is back in the Ahaggar, as a rule. There is a rest of a few weeks, and everyone thinks about the next salt campaign he is going to have to prepare.

Thus we see a complete caravan cycle which, by itself, could allow the Tuareg a normal life. But as we have said, it implies a [461] state of peace which was previously the exception, as well as an amount of work to be furnished which is not always in harmony with the warlike tastes of the Imochar.

224 Hunting supplies some employment for the Tuareg, as does gathering. But both of them are only uncertain pastimes, without 221 much profit. The life of the Tuareg may thus be summed up in a few lines: basic animal husbandry doubled by brigandage raised to the state of an institution, and accessorily by some caravaneering. Now we shall see the domestic life of the Tuareg.

/221/

## Chapter 2

## Dwellings

361 The camp. -- The camp is the traditional Tuareg form of 621 habitation; it is connected with nomadism which always implies animal husbandry. It includes a certain number of people gathered together under a patriarchal authority by very close bonds of kinship.

773 the tortures of hell. Iblis, however, communicated his secret to
372 the blacksmiths, who since that time have known how to use it for metalworking.

372 The Tuareg used to obtain fire by friction, using a board of
[824] torha (callotropis procera) and a branch of hardwood; they caught the spark on a tuft of silk from the fruit of the callotropis and blew on it until they got a flame, which required about a minute. They have kept this practice and still use it occasionally.

[439 Today they find matches sold by /228/ Tamanrasset merchants,
177] but they all have tinderboxes with flint and a bent piece of iron.

[415 They do not keep up the fire. They carry it from
439] one tent to the other in a fragment of an old gourd or sometimes hold a glowing ember in their hands without burning themselves.

[237 When they want to transport
484] it long distances, they use camel-dung embers.

Fig. 27. Ahaggar Tuareg dish, imported from Hausa country.

[237] The Tuareg commonly use the excrement of camels and goats as fuel. In the high
[137] mountains, wood is quite rare, but in the lower parts of the Koudia old acacia or éthel /atle? Ed. / stumps are to be found. They never
[824] use the wood of the callotropis, which is the devil's tree and makes muffled noises when it is burned.

[823] Basalt blocks are never used to make the hearth, since they believe that basalt is possessed by genii and will explode violently when heated.

352 Furniture. -- We have briefly described the objects furnishing the parts of the tent reserved for the husband and wife. To these must be added a certain number of objects which make up the

262 According to what we know of the production of the cultivated
433 lands of the Ahaggar itself and according to what the Tuareg are obliged
439 to import, we may know approximately their needs. During the good years, local production is equivalent to only one quarter of the needs. It may be evaluated at 150 tons. To this must be added wheat production, but this cannot be taken in con-
237 sideration insofar as con-
415 sumption is concerned, since
234 it is almost entirely destined for export. It follows from this that import needs amount to 4, 000 loads of millet a year, calculated at 150 kilograms each, making 600 tons, which are for the most part bought or exchanged at Damergou or in the Tahoua region. The annual demand for dates is 400 loads.

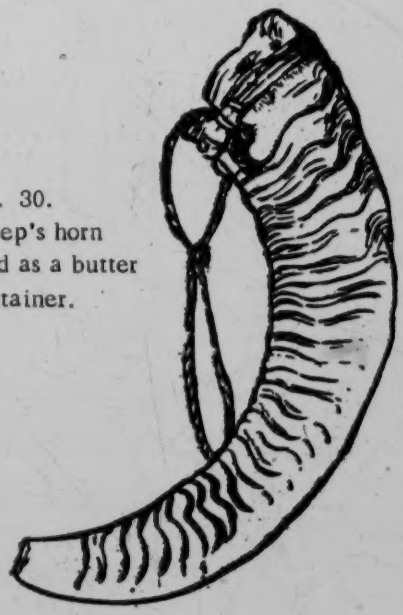

Fig. 30. Sheep's horn used as a butter container.

From these figures it
146 follows that the annual needs per person are approximately one load of
262 millet and one-tenth of a load of dates.
511

Individual consumption may thus be estimated at 187 kilograms of millet and 15 kilograms of dates per year, while an identical calculation /232/ for the Saharian Arabs has given us 180 kilograms of wheat and 75 kilograms of dates. But we must not deceive ourselves. These figures are drawn up for years, if not of abundance, at least of relative facility. Indeed, the annual average is very much lower, for the Ihaggaren do not always have at their disposal the means of exchange to meet their needs, and one may reduce the figures cited above by a good third, sometimes even by half.

[114] 276 For his part, Commander Cauvet, in describing Tuareg clothing, said that men kept their pipes and tobacco in the pocket of their big blouses.

Thus all these testimonies coming from such trustworthy travelers tried to make us believe that the Tuareg are pipe smokers. For our part, we have never seen any.

On the other hand, they are very fond of chewing tobacco, and their wives also practice this custom, so that they finally have a deformation of the lower lip caused by the craze they have of stowing the quid between the gum and lower lip.

[439] Tobacco is not cultivated in the Ahaggar; it is imported from the Touat by the Arabs. The Sudanese Tuareg get it from the sedentary peoples of the Niger or through caravaneers from Upper Dahomey. They generally add a few natron crystals to it to take away the acridity, or else the ashes of graminaceae which play the same role as natron.

177 276 Many Nigerian Tuareg have formed the habit of chewing kola nuts; this is a powerful stimulant which the Negroes use a good deal. A few Ihaggaren /239/ indulge in this practice when they go to the Sudan, but they have not introduced it into their everyday mores and never use kola when they are in their own country.

262 The Tuareg are subject to a rather large number of dietary interdicts. First, like Moslems, they may eat only meats from ritually butchered animals. They must abstain from eating the [273] meat of pigs and wart hogs and from drinking fermented drinks which are harīm. The meat of fowls--except the ostrich -- and fish is also forbidden and considered impure. But these are customs which go back before Islam. They also may not eat the [825] meat of the uran, because this lizard is considered to be the descendant of their maternal uncle.

162
103

| | 1911 | 1938 |
|---|---|---|
| T-i-n-Ămenser . . . . . | 36 | temporarily abandoned |
| Tifert . . . . . | 50 | " " |
| Essélésékin . . . . . | 30 | |
| T-i-n-Târâbin . . . . . | 15 | abandoned |

166 These figures bring out the weakening of some centers to the
621 advantage of others. Thus, a number of cultivators from
[648] Tarahouhaout (where the French post was formerly located) came to settle at Tamanrasset, and the group of little centers in the outskirts of Ăbalessa, Iglen, Tăfarit, etc., has absorbed the groups from other abandoned centers like Tifert, Esséléséкin, Ilâman, Tarahananet, etc.

[241 Together these centers number about 400 gardens and 80
312] feggaguir.

The wheat harvested is partly consumed by the cultivators and
262 chiefly intended for export; it is exchanged at the Touat for dates.
●439 The total harvests in the Ahaggar corresponds to only one -fifth of
433 the needs of its inhabitants, even in good years.

621 There are fifteen agricultural centers exploited in the Ahaggar:
433 Tamanrasset, Tărhaouahout, Tahifet, Tăzerouk, Ideles, Ăbalessa, Hirhafok, Iglen, I-n-Amegel, T-i-n-Ămenser, Amsel, Tigeneouin, Talan-Tedit, Mertoûtek, and Esseléséкine.

[166] In addition there are twenty-two other centers which have been abandoned for some years as a result of dryness or lack of manpower: Attoklane, Ădenek, Ăinrah, Ăbezou, Ăglil, Bloûmet, Déhine, Dar Mouli, Ennedid, Inneza!, Ilâman, In Ămertek, Ilafok, Outoul, Ouhet, Souaïka, T-i-n-Târabin, Touakin, Teberbert, Tarahananet, Tahart, and Joraf.

278 of trust. Every time they take a caravan down south, they purchase
[439] many drugs, either for their personal use or to resell in their country or at In-Salah.

164 There are not many diseases in the Ahaggar. The country is relatively healthy because of its very dry climate /261/ and the bracing action of the sun, which at the same time destroys microbic germs. Moreover, this is very fortunate, for with the small amount of hygiene practiced by the Tuareg it would be impossible to fight disease. It may also be true that this absence of hygiene stems from the fact that the Tuareg have not had to see the necessity of it.

[165 The Ahaggar people die of old age or of war wounds. Of course,
731] there are sometimes epidemics capable of doing damage, but they are rare because of the isolation of the camps. The great distances which separate one from the other are a natural defense against mass contagions. These epidemics always come through the medium
[361] of the caravaneers or the people who return from the Sudan, where they have stayed among sedentary people. We may mention small-pox, very common in the Sudan, which sometimes works great ravages in the tribes. Typhus, spread by lice, may decimate a whole tribe in a few days, and it is not uncommon among the Tuareg. But these two diseases are the exception when they are reported in
[751] the Ahaggar. When a man returning from the Sudan is stricken with one of them, his case is reported by messengers long before his arrival, and the sick man is systematically isolated.

753 The Tuareg under the circumstances recognize the state of contagion, but they do not see the causes of disease. According to
[771] them, it is caused by the action of bad genii. As good Moslems, they pretend not to believe in these genii, but in reality most of the talismans they wear on their persons are intended to protect them from these. To obtain them, they go to the marabouts or to men
[756] with a reputation for their knowledge of the occult sciences; these sorcerers are known as amekelléou.

291 /265/ Clothes, except for the gandurah made of cotton bands,
489 are made of material imported from Europe. This material, called
chêga, is heavily dyed with indigo, giving it a very dark gloss; it
[556] is the favorite material of Tuareg men and women, but it is replaced by ordinary cloth among less well-off people.

Veils are manufactured in English Nigeria, in the village of Koura near the large city of Kano. They are made by assembling
[435] a multitude of little cloth bands. They are very expensive and can cost from three to five goats, depending on the quality. In
[177] Hausa language they bear the name toukourdi, which has been adopted by the Tuareg. For a long time they have served as ex-
[436] change currency for commercial transactions.

291 It has been asked many times why the Tuareg were led to veil
174 their faces. Hygiene, which has often been mentioned, and the need to protect their respiratory tracts against sandstorms, are not sufficient reasons to explain this practice. There is something else, a /266/ very ancient enigmatic custom whose origin is lost in the night of time and which is kept up without their really knowing why. It is so deep rooted among the Tuareg, however, that they cannot conceive of a self-respecting man who can forego wearing the veil.

The headless men and acephalous people of ancient authors certainly owed their cognomen only to this very peculiar custom of hiding their faces, a custom which must have already existed in this remote epoch. One can only construct hypotheses on the origin of this veil.

We know through Ibn Khaldoun that the wearing of the veil was in general use among the peoples who inhabited the Atlantic coast and adjacent countries in the fourth century. This establishes that the custom is very ancient.

In the rock paintings from prehistoric or protohistoric times which have been discovered in the central Sahara in the last few years, we have noted the very peculiar method of representing the

156 291 The veil can express a fleeting sentiment. Thus, it is pulled down over the eyes before respectable people or women, while it is raised over the forehead, on the contrary, as a sign of familiarity. To laugh freely at a joke, a Tuareg will raise the lower part of his veil very high over his nose. When he is irritated, he will tighten it like a chin strap to mask his anger.

292 In the festive garb worn on the occasion of religious or family festivals, the veil is complicated with many turbans made of white muslin and bands of colored silk. The upper part receives a sort of frame which lets them arrange many cotton bands, interlacing them to form a kind of crest. The top part of the cranium is never covered, and the veil lets tufts of braided hair stick out. At marriages, it was formerly the custom to wear the takoumbout, a sort of big chéchia made of wool fortified with enormous flosses of cotton and covered with silvery appliqués. This headdress is on its way to disappearing completely, and there are no more than one or two in the whole Ahaggar today.

291 The Ihaggaren use two kinds of sandals: the broad cowhide sandal called irratimen with simple red leather straps crossing over the instep, and a sandal called imerkéden made of a number of scraps of goatskin sewed together, with a strap going around the heel and tying with a knot on the instep.

[184 556] The irratimen are particularly worn by well-to-do men and especially appreciated in sandy regions where their large carrying area keeps one from sinking too deep. /268/ This sandal, which [177 439] is manufactured by Hausa artisans from Agadez or Damergou, was borrowed from these peoples by the Tuareg. Its origin must not be attributed to the Tuareg.

The true sandals of the Ahaggar people are the imerkéden, [184 556] which they still wear and which the mountain people always prefer, since they are especially well adapted to walking on rocks. They are worn by the common people and by the Iklan who have no money to buy Sudanese sandals, while they all know how to make very comfortable imerkéden with a few old pieces of goatskin.

face to hide their features in front of strangers. During their moves, Ahaggar women use a big, broad-brimmed straw hat -- the téléé -- to protect themselves from the sun. 291 [484]

/269/ They wear irratimen on their feet like the men, but more often they go barefoot. In the Sudan, during the rainy season, they replace the leather irratimen by very light wooden irratimen, which fulfill the same function there as wooden shoes do for us.

[484]

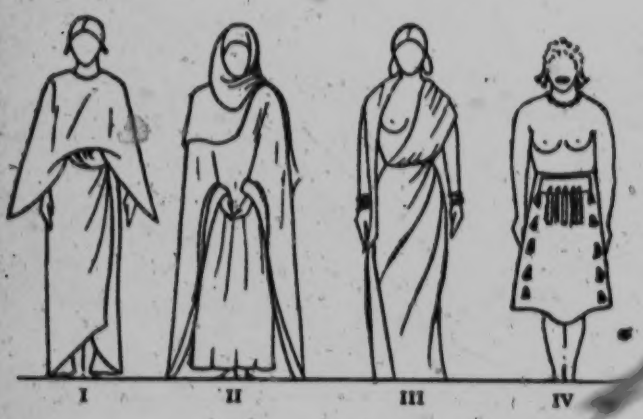


Fig. 40. Costume of Tuareg women.

1) Costume of Aïr Tuareg women, which includes a skirt and a little bolero.
2) Ahaggar Tuareg women's costume, including a skirt and a big gandurah reaching to the feet.
3) Sudanese Tuareg women's costume, including a skirt and a shawl around the shoulders.
4) Leather skirts for servant girls, in use in Ioullimmiden tribes.

In the Ahaggar and the Tassili, men and women wear a large white wool haik to wrap up the head and shoulders. During the cold period of winter they wrap up in a long woolen blanket (dokkali) made by the Arabs in Touat. The latter exchange them with the Ihaggaren for sheep. [439]

283 Spinning is done by all Tuareg women. They spin the hair of the
462 goat, the camel, and the wild sheep, making very solid cords and saddle girths.

286 Weaving is limited to the making of goat's-hair, or more rarely camel's-hair, bags. This is a very primitive technique which does not require any loom and which is, furthermore, in the process of disappearing from the Ahaggar, where only a few noblewomen still practice it. It is completely extinct in Sudanese tribes.

324 Stonework, a relic of Neolithism, was still carried on in the Ahaggar
438 a few years ago to make arm rings. Layers of granitoid schists were formerly worked at Aseksem and Terahart in [415 the Tafedest. We also found 322] an ancient workshop south of Silet on the banks of the Tamanrasset wadi. Today all stone bracelets come from Aïr and a few from Hombori, where they are manufactured by Tuareg or Hausa artisans.

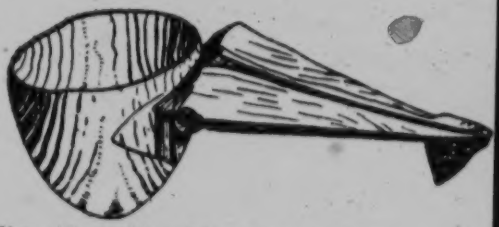

Fig. 48. Tabarekkat wooden ladle, also serving as a drinking vessel.

326 Metalworking is exclusively in the hands of the Enaden, who transform
[56] silver, copper, and iron. These materials, with the exception of iron, do not exist in a native, workable state in the Ahaggar. But although iron
[135] ore is common /279/ in some volcanic rocks of their country, the Tuareg do not have it exploited, for it is found in such small particles that it necessitates a disproportionate amount of forge work for the quantity likely to be recovered. Nevertheless, the memory of casting ore still remains among the Enaden. They use several forges at once, but do not know
[439] the blast furnace. The caravaneers coming from the north or from the Sudan used to bring metals.

177 At the present time silver comes from coins which are melted. For
326 years the Tuareg have had Maria Theresa dollars at their disposal; these

Plate XIII

136

Long-haired Ahaggar goat. This species is localized in the mountain massifs of the Central Sahara (Ahaggar, Aïr, Adrar des Iforas, Tibesti).

Daman sheep, or Tuareg sheep, very widespread in the Sahelian steppe, is also rather common in the Ahaggar, but it is raised there only accessorily. It is a very sturdy beast, and many caravaneers import them from Adrar des Iforas by making them cross the Tanezrouft. It is characterized by its long legs and long tail.

[439]

660 The subtropical zone is Negro country. The Egyptians were well aware of that, and they drew much profit from this distant neighbor. Their Pharaohs did not hesitate to send military expeditions to bring back gold, ivory, ostrich plumes, and human livestock! The North African inhabitants were not ignorant of it either, and soon the riches of the Sudan were a fact known by all. Great caravan routes grooved the whole Sahara from north to south.

174 487 Their trail seems to have bypassed the Ahaggar. We do not know the real reasons for this, but we can guess them. The mountain must have been avoided because of the obstacles it presented, its altitude and the rocky nature of the ground. The shortest trail which follows a north-south direction therefore cannot pass through the Ahaggar but can run along beside it. That is what happened. The reputation as brigands and highway robbers which the Tuareg enjoyed is perhaps not irrelevant to this turning away of the caravan trails either.

487 /311/ The great arteries which furrow the immediate approaches of the Ahaggar tie important oases together. They were able to [438] prosper because of the fact that these oases participate directly in the life of the Tuareg and because the Tuareg need them to ensure their food supplies.

The largest and most frequented trail is the one connecting the oases of the Touat and Tidikelt to the city of Agadez. For the Ihaggaren this is the granary route: dates at the Tidikelt, millet in the Sudan. It takes 40 days to go from Akabli to Agadez, and the Ahaggar is halfway between. There is a mountain near the guelta /well? Ed. / of Outoul located 18 kilometers west of Tamanrasset which the Arabs call Ounous and which marks exactly half the way. This trail is, in fact, used by the Arabs, for whom the Sudan is an attraction. They gain very great benefits from these transactions, and everyone's dream is to be able to take a caravan to the Sudan, whence he hopes to return a rich man.

After leaving In-Salah the trail crosses the Ahaggar through the Arak gorges, reaches Lower Koudia at I-n-Amegel, passes to

487 Tamanrasset, crosses the Tanezrouft through In Guezzam, and reaches the Sudanese zone either by the well of In Abangarit or by the well of Taket-n-koutat.

From Agadez the caravaneers usually go toward Zinder, Kano, or Sokoto.

Another trail, less frequented today but which formerly played a very important role, is the one connecting the oases of Ghadame and Ghat to Timbuktu or Gao. This is the route which the Sonrhai pilgrims used to take to go to Egypt. It was then much more a religious route than a trade route, for transactions between Fezzan and Timbuktu were very little developed and centered around the gold which came from Bambouk.

The trail, leaving Ghat crossed the plain of Ădmer, cut across Ădrar Ănahef, reached Altoklane, Ăbalessa, and Silet, and crossed the Tanezrouft either by Tin Rerhoh or T-i-m-missao to end up at Tin Zaouaten. Then, crossing Ădrar des Iforas it arrived either at Gao by following the hollow of the Tilemsi, or at Timbuktu.

It is by this trail that the Arab traveler Ibn Batouta returned home from Gao. He left the trail after having crossed the Tanezrouft and entered the Ahnet to reach Touat.

There used to be another trail, Ghadames-Ghat-Timbuktu, /312/ which completely avoided the Ahaggar and went from Ghat to In-Salah by crossing Tassili-n-Ăjjer. This detour obviously made the route longer, but it was much safer for the caravaneers than the Ahaggar route, for it was entirely under the control of the Tassili Tuareg, who were on good terms with the people of the oases of Ghat and the Touat. It takes 25 days to go from Ghat to In-Salah by this itinerary, and one months from In-Salah to Gao.

The road from In-Salah to Gao is still very much frequented at the present time, not only by Arabs from the Touat, but also by [439] the Ahaggar Tuareg and the Tuareg from the Ădrar des Iforas. This is the "sheep" trail, the one used by the caravaneers who are engaged in trading in livestock on the hoof and who supply meat to

487 the oases of the Tidikelt and Touat which have none. Thanks to
[439] the wells of T-i-m-missao and In Ziza, the sheep succeed in crossing the Tanezrouft without too much suffering.

484 This trace movement is evidently engaged in only during
221 the coolest months of the year, that is, from October to April, and it demands great precautions from the caravaneers.

312 Here is a list of the wells, starting from Timetaouine (Ăḍrar
484 des Iforas), where the animals are watered, as well as the number
487 of days of march between them, according to the information furnished us by El Bak el Fassi, the Amrar of the Kel Ăhnet.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Timetaouine (well, watering place) | | |
| I-n-Gezzal | 1 day | Ăḍrar des Iforas |
| Efenargh | 1 " | |
| In Ouzzal | 1 1/2 days | |
| Tirek | 3 " | Tanezrouft |
| Ti-m-missao | 2 " | |
| Tin Senatet | 5 " | |
| In Torha | 1/2 day | |
| Aleg'nenou | 5 days | Ăhnet |
| Tin Khalifa | 2 " | |
| In Belret | 1 day | |
| El Khenig | 1 1/2 days | Immidir |
| In-Salah | 3 " | Tidikelt |

Or 26 1/2 days' march.

484 /313/ Depending on whether pasture is more or less abundant,
439 caravaneers suffer more or less losses in their flocks. Sometimes this loss is complete, sometimes it is none at all.

We saw a Kel Ăhnet make the trip at the end of the month of April, a period which is not favorable, with 35 sheep and not have to kill more than one of them on the way.

484 This was observed by Duveyrier, Captain de Bonnemain, and
674 Bou Derba on the Ouargla-Ghat itinerary. We have witnessed similar actions ourselves, but the goods stored in this way belonged to some Ihaggaren, and no one would have dared lay a hand on
[609] them. The thing is less safe in the case of a stranger's property.

When a camel dies en route, the load that it was carrying is left on the spot and put under public protection. The caravaneer is always certain to find his property, even six or eight months later. In this regard, it is well to say that the Tuareg, raiders though they must be, are not thieves. When a theft has been committed in their /316/ country, the guilty party is generally a Negro, but rarely a Tuareg of the white race.

439 What were the products transported? Manufactured goods, for the most part, generally made in Europe. There were fabrics and silks which the Tuareg and the Sudanese eagerly sought, and there were knickknacks, unmounted sword blades, sugar, and coffee
[177 272] (tea only recently made its appearance in the Sahara).

All these goods were resold or exchanged for ten times their value. On the return trip the caravaneers brought back ostrich plumes, gold dust, ivory, and little Negro girls and boys bought as slaves and resold for very high prices in the cities of Algeria. Leather was also the object of an intensive traffic, as well as medications of plant or animal (ostrich fat) origin which were part of the Sudanese pharmacopoeia and much appreciated by the Arabs.

177 Today, except for gold and ivory, which have become rare
439 and whose traffic is in the hands of Europeans, and except for the sale of slaves, which has been forbidden since the French
[486] occupation, trade has remained the same. But the routes have become free and the Tuareg can no longer count on their former profits. There was one resort left, that of making themselves caravaneers in their turn and using their many camels in that way. This is what they have done.

439 [437] Sheep trading, which has grown greatly in these last few years, is largely carried on by barter. It is especially done by Arab caravaneers from the Touat who go to the Sudan with dates, tobacco, fabrics, and blankets, which they exchange not in the markets but in the camps. Tuareg from the Ădrar des Ifôras and Kounta Arabs also do the opposite and take their sheep to the Tidikelt and Touat.

439 435 In 1939 the sale price of sheep on the market at In-Salah was from 75 to 100 francs. The purchase price in the Sudan varied from 35 to 45 francs, but as we said, barter was most often the basis for all transactions.

And so for a camel that they received the Adrar Tuareg gave 120 sheep. One sheep alone was exchanged for 12 or 15 cubits of cloth or /317/ 10 guêcâa of dates. A dokkali, a large blanket from the Touat which the Tuareg hold in high esteem, was worth 10 sheep in the Sudan and 7 in the Adrar.

436 [172] The camel served as a basis of exchange. The Tuareg have never used money, although they did accept the Maria Theresa dollar which circulated in the Sudan and the Turkish livre which was widespread in Tripolitania. Sudanese tribes negotiated with toukourdi, the band of material serving as a veil, and with kori [825] (Cypraea moneta), a little seashell native to the Indian Ocean.

648 439 Since the French occupation we have seen a certain number of native merchants settle at Tamanrasset, the administrative capital of the Ahaggar. They are for the most part Mozabites and a few Arabs from Metlili who have constructed shops and have merchandise sent them by their correspondents in the Algerian Tell.

This recent state of affairs tends to grow more and more [305] extensive, and the postal agency at Tamanrasset records several million transactions every year.

439 These transactions are chiefly centered around tea, sugar, cloth, perfumes, hardware, carbide, and blankets from the Touat. They cause quite an appreciable movement of camels from which the Ihaggaren benefit, along with the Arabs from In-Salah who rent their camels to traders.

492 Transport. -- We need not repeat that without the camel the Sahara would be uninhabited today. Indeed, it plays a capital role in transport between oases; it is the mount used by warriors and people who are moving and the vehicle for baggage. People would not be able to do without its services the moment it is a question of crossing a hundred or so kilometers in a region not supplied with watering places.

The ass also plays a big role, but its use is more localized. [312] It is confined to the edges of the massif, where it is rare not to find water during a day's march. The ass really assures all internal transport -- that necessitated by moving camps, transport of water [565] and even of persons -- for although the Imochar never travel except on camels, the Imrad /318/ commonly make use of the ass, and their wives know no other mounts. Its role is even more appreciated because it saves camels which, in the Ahaggar, must be submitted /only/ to moderate labor. In addition, it is always handy, for it lives near the camps while camels are often several days' march away because of pasture needs.

Meharists have a special harness: light saddles which are placed on the animal's withers and which are designed to receive the different bags of salt and waterskins.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have several kinds of saddles: 1) the tarik, with the pommel in the shape of a cross and covered with [261] red leather; 2) the tamzak, shaped the same way, but much more [531] luxurious, with the outside of the pommel and the back decorated with little perforated metal plates and copper studs; 3) the tahiast, [531] a coarse saddle with a palette-shaped pommel, either in bare wood [322] or covered with leather decorated with geometric designs.

more chivalrous Imochar and a few rare Imrad try to oppose this, but in warlike escapades the Iklan and people with few morals are often more numerous than the others.

Abuses of women always called for vengeance, which the adversaries usually received before long. Acts of this kind were enough to raise up entire tribes against one another. And so, in the Sudan, the exactions of Marabout Abidine's people on the Kel Ádrar Tuareg, at the time of the murder of their amenokal Safikroum in 1912, made irreconcilable enemies of these two fractions.

At the beginning of the French occupation, when lieutenants Cottenest and Guilho-Lohan carried out their reconnaissance missions in the Ahaggar, they found women abandoned in the camps by their husbands. The good care which was taken of them made it easier to make peaceful contact later with the Ihaggaren.

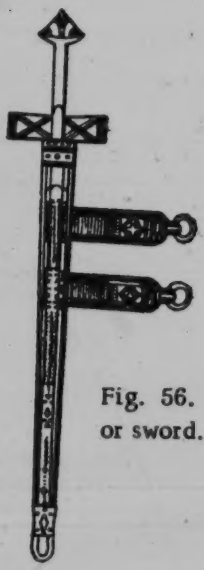

Fig. 56. The tacouba, or sword.

Tuareg weapons include iron lances, javelins with wooden staff, swords, daggers, and a buckler.

/325/ Even before the French occupation the Tuareg knew how to use firearms and possessed a certain number of guns. They were for the most part projectile weapons or archaic models of the

Lefaucheux type. But their prices were high for Tuareg pocket- 411
books, and it was difficult to procure powder and bullets, which 439
made firearms uncommon and often the prerogative of the chiefs. 554

Tuareg weapons vary according to the circumstances. The
Imochar carries the arms he likes: they include the sword 184
(tacouba), which is the 411
weapon par excellence 565
of the nobles; the iron
lance (allar') carried by
nobles and vassals;
javelins with iron shoulder [531]
and point and wooden
staff (tarda), which are
set aside for vassals and
slaves; and the forearm
dagger (télak) provided
with a leather ring so that
it may be hung from the
wrist. In the Sudan slaves
also carry wooden clubs
(tabouri), heavy branches
with a knot at one end.

Fig. 57. Old type arm dagger.

The Tuareg have only
one defensive weapon,
the buckler (ahrer) which
is made of oryx antelope
skin. It was generally the prerogative of the nobles, and only
they had the right to carry it. It recalls the coat of arms by its [531]
shape and the ideology which surrounds it; the decorative motifs
which it bears have a magic character.

The Tuareg are adroit fencers, fighting hand /326/ to hand 411
with their swords while protecting themselves with their bucklers, 714
which cover their bodies and which they handle with a great deal
of dexterity in spite of the volume and weight. The sword cuts

232 the ridge of the nose, and then tying a very thin leather thong very tightly around the base of each fold much as a string is tied around the opening of a toy balloon to keep the air in. After a while the thongs are cut away and three little round knobs, about the size of the end of your index finger, remain for the rest of the camel's life as a kind of hallmark of outstanding quality (fig. 26, *a*). Riding camels are very carefully and patiently trained from the age of about 2 years on, and the males are castrated when about 5 years old.

Trading. We have now seen that pastoralism
●439 is the central column and garden rent a corner post of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar. Trade is the second corner post, and salt is, as we have seen, the chief article of export.
[317] In April or May some of the Ahaggar Tuareg send their slaves to the salt mines of the Amadror for two or three weeks. In July they go south with their cargoes of salt, through the
[487] rich pastures of the Tamesna region where they rest their animals for a while or exchange them for fresh ones, and then on to the commercial centers of the country just north of the Nigerian frontier. Here trading begins in earnest, late in October as a rule, and endless discussions and bargaining go on for a couple of months or so. Salt, and also camels, donkeys, and dates obtained from the North, are exchanged chiefly for millet but also for a variety of manufactured articles such as cotton cloth and clothing, leather goods, sandals, saddles and bridles, wooden household utensils and tools and weapons of iron and steel. In January the Ahaggar Tuareg turn north again, pause once more for a while in the Tamesna, and finally reach their homes in March or early April.

Camels, hairy sheep, goats, donkeys and congealed melted butter used to be traded in the oases of the Tidikelt and the Touat mainly for dates, and also for cotton cloth, thin woolen blankets from the Gourara, tea, sugar and tobacco. Caravans engaged in this trade used to leave the Ahaggar in January or early February and return in April. Over the last 30 years or so, however, this commercial current has been reduced to a mere trickle by middlemen with trucks who have gradually taken over delivery of the goods that caravans used to fetch from the North. The trade still exists in a sense, but it has become indirect

439 and its focus is now strictly local as far as the Tuareg are concerned.

Salt and dates were once traded in the Niger Bend country for camels, sheep, millet and rice, and camels, sheep and goatskins used to be traded to Ghadamès in exchange for swords, richly embroidered cloaks, dates, tea and sugar. Ghadamès is still an important center for the production of metal utensils and occasionally weapons.

439 **Protection.** Aside from their own trading activities, the Tuareg used to control caravan
486 trade in general over a very wide area, and this was the third corner post of their economy. Barth (1857, vol. 1, p. 238), writing a century ago, tells us that in his day the Amenokal of the Ahaggar, Guémama, controlled all trade routes between Mourzouk and Timbuctoo, and it seems likely that this situation already dated back over a considerable period. The Ahaggar Tuareg used to control all trade in the southwestern Sahara as far west as Ouadane and southward into northern Nigeria at least as early as the beginning of the 15th century, but their grip on much of this area, and notably on the salt trade of the southwestern Desert, was broken by the Moroccans at the end of the 16th century, and the Tuareg never seem to have extended it again much beyond Aoulef in the Northwest or southwestward beyond Timbuctoo.

The mechanism of control was based on the furnishing of guides and armed escorts to caravans passing through areas under Tuareg domination, and for these services there was a fairly uniform customary scale of charges based on the estimated value of a caravan's cargo and the reputed wealth of the owners. Caravan leaders sometimes failed to agree on the figure to be paid and proceeded on their own, while big caravans occasionally brought guides and guards along with them and small ones now and then tried to slip through unobserved. The Tuareg, however, succeeded in making such expedients unprofitable in most cases by themselves raiding reluctant customers along the road. Thus a highly profitable protection racket was maintained for several centuries before the period of European domination.

721 **Raiding.** The fourth economic corner post of the Ahaggar Tuareg was raiding pure and

351 and are extended out in front to form a sheltered enclosure which is usually semicircular with the entrance opening in the middle. The little forecourt and the ground inside the tent as well are covered with clean sand or very fine gravel from the bed of a nearby stream. Tuareg camps are always very tidy and astonishingly clean.

Both in the forecourt and in the tent itself
562 the men's place is on the right as you enter
342 and the women's and children's on the left, which is the reverse of the arrangement customary among Arabs. It has often been said that the men's place is on the East, but this is simply because tents are almost always pitched facing south.

352 Household furniture and effects include sheepskins, or rugs obtained from the North
[439] by trade, leather bags of food and personal belongings, saddles, bridles and weapons,
[415] wooden bowls, funnels and spoons and maybe an earthenware cooking pot or two, a wooden
[412] mortar and pestle or perhaps two sets of different sizes, and a stone quern which may be either of the Neolithic saddle type or the small rotary model of the Roman Legions. Arms and food are stored in the men's half of the tent and equipment connected with food preparation in the women's half. A guerba full of water is hung from two long stakes just outside the forecourt. A brush
[343] windbreak built nearby shelters the outdoor kitchen, and another windbreak, some 50 to 100 yards away, shelters the family slaves.

Sometimes in the hottest months, and particularly when a camp remains stationary for a considerable length of time as it does in periods so dry that it is dangerous to move far from a permanent water supply, the tents may be stowed away and zeribas set up in their place. We recall that these are cubical or cylindrical structures made of reeds, long grass or palm fronds laid over a wooden framework measuring roughly 10 to 15 feet across and 8 to 10 feet high (fig. 37, *a*). The Amenokal's camp was installed in zeribas when the writer visited it in November, 1955, near the end of an unusually long period of drought.

361 Camps are always pitched in an inconspicuous spot and always on high ground except on very rare occasions when the sky is cloud-

291 one, of dark indigo blue cotton cloth this time, is customarily worn over it. On gala occasions some of the Tuareg wear a third gandoura, made of very narrow vertical strips of Sudanese cotton cloth dyed a lurid pinkish violet or of alternate strips of violet and white or dark blue, often with two large spiral patterns embroidered in coarse white thread, one over the left breast and the other on the back between the shoulders. This third type of gandoura has gone almost completely out of use within the last few years, but, like the white tie and tails of our own formal dress, it is still worn occasionally and is considered very elegant. A Tuareg gandoura should be wide enough so that when the upper corners hang down freely they cover the hands, but they are usually rolled up over the forearms so as to leave the hands free and sometimes are folded over the shoulders, thus freeing the whole arm.

A woolen outer garment is occasionally worn in cold weather. Lightweight blankets from the Gourara and the Touat used to be worn like giant shawls, but these have been replaced to a great extent by the "burnous" (Arabic = *bernoos*) of the Arabs, a long hooded cloak made of wool or of camel's hair mixed with wool.

The Tuareg have two types of footgear. The older type, a sandal with the end folded back over the toes, is held in place by a narrow strip of leather which passes around the heel below the level of the ankle, and is attached to the sole directly between the great and second toes and indirectly by a loop on either side of the foot halfway between the instep and the heel. The second type, [439] usually imported from the Sudan, is a large flat sandal which extends out about an inch beyond the foot in all directions. It is held in place by a V-shaped pair of broad strips of leather with the arms of the V attached directly to the sole on either side of the foot and the point attached to a thin roll of leather which passes between the great and second toes. The older type is rarely seen today, but still survives in some of the more mountainous regions.

And so we come at last to the mysterious "teguelmoust," the men's veil that has done so much to make the Tuareg so famous. The

291 Tuareg. It is all very puzzling and mysterious indeed.

Tuareg women wear either a short cotton skirt that reaches just below the knees or a pair of baggy trousers, like those of the men but shorter. Like the men they usually wear a white gandoura with a blue one over it, but the under one at least is sewed farther up the sides leaving open arm slits only 1½ to 2 feet long. The costume is topped off with a shawl and a head scarf of indigo blue cotton cloth, the first measuring roughly 9 feet by 6 and the second about 4 by 2 feet as a rule. Lightweight woolen shawls, measuring as much as 10 feet by 6½ and white or darkish pink in color, used to be worn on festive occasions but have practically disappeared in recent years. Lhote (1955, p. 107) says that Tuareg women sometimes wrap goatskins around their shoulders in wintertime. Straw hats with very high conical crowns and enormously wide, floppy brims, made of narrow interwoven strips of palm fronds, were always worn in summertime by women of rank, especially when on a journey, but these too have almost completely disappeared. We have already seen that Tuareg women never wear a veil, which is just as well since many of them are extremely good-looking, but they often drape a fold of the head shawl loosely across the nose and mouth when sitting out in the open or riding on the trail, simply as a matter of physical protection. Young unmarried Tuareg women and girls are inclined to be overcome with giggles when strange foreigners arrive in the camp, and then they hide their faces with a corner of the shawl or whatever piece of clothing is most handy, just as little girls do everywhere in the world.

Tuareg women sometimes plaster their fore-
302 heads and cheeks with mudpacks of red or yellow ocher, and smear their mouths with indigo and the region of the eyes with black pigment made of powdered antimony or char-
[751] coal mixed with grease. This lurid make-up gives fairly good protection against sun and wind, and the Tuareg consider it very beautiful as well although to our eyes it makes the wearer look absolutely frightful. Men also use black pigment around the eye openings,
291 especially on gala occasions.

●439 The reader will have noticed that the

291 Tuareg attach considerable importance to
[439] indigo blue cotton cloth, a product which they get from the Sudan. This material is commonly known as "chegga" (pronounced *shegga*), and the most archaic and highly prized variety is made of a multitude of long strips about an inch wide sewn tightly together. The cloth itself, of very ordinary quality, is so heavily impregnated with crude indigo as to be literally stiff with it. A brand new piece looks black when seen at a distance or in a poor light, but in bright sunlight it is a dark purplish blue with a coppery sheen like that of cheap carbon paper; and the indigo dye comes off on your fingers at the slightest touch, just as the ink on carbon paper does but much more so.

302 Obviously, anyone who wears clothes made of such material is soon stained with indigo from head to foot, and the Tuareg even rub it into their skins on purpose. Women often smear it on their foreheads, cheeks and temples and around their mouths by way of make-up. The
[751] Tuareg claim that indigo not only protects human skin from the direct effects of sun and wind but also lubricates it and so prevents cracking, and they are quite right, at least up to a point. If the Tuareg wash themselves only
[515] very rarely, it is partly to preserve the accumulated protective coating of indigo, the humble practical value of which has been
[554] gradually enhanced by an ever-increasing value of prestige that has risen in proportion to the rising cost of indigo-dyed cloth. A dirty looking, bluish skin is admired by the Tuareg just as much as a rich golden tan is admired in midwinter by the business men and women of New England and New York.

515 It should be noted that in the Sahara Desert proper one can go unwashed for long periods without either feeling or looking noticeably dirty. The air is so dry that perspiration usually evaporates instantly upon reaching the surface of the skin, and so it is unusual for anyone to sweat visibly. Most of the nomadic
[147] natives are in excellent physical condition in that they are very lean and wiry, and so they sweat relatively little in any case. Thus it is extremely rare to meet one who has any perceptible body odor at all, regardless of whether he looks clean or not. White foreigners are seldom in anywhere near as good physi-

3: Holiday J-5 (ca.1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



533 [177] For example, a rough division can be made straight away between the songs that seem to suggest a negro origin and those whose flavour is indisputably, let us say Moorish, rather than Arabic. First of all it would be as well to deal with the few instruments used by the Tuareg in relation to the type of song they accompany; for, here again, the same division occurs.

534 The nearest that the Tuareg possess to an instrument capable of producing a melodic line is the "amzhad" (or "imzad". The plural of the word, "imzaden" meaning "hair"). This is a single stringed instrument of the lute variety comprising a sound box usually made from a gourd and covered with stretched membrane, a rough neck of stick being fixed across the diameter and projecting about 12 inches. The string is passed over a rudimentary bridge made of two short pieces of stick lashed together so as to form a shallow "V" and tied to the end of the curved neck. The pitch of the string is determined first of all by a sliding loop further down the neck and controlled during performance by the musician's left hand. A bow is used and it is from this that the instrument derives its name, since the bowstring is made from the hair of the women. The instrument is pitched on the open string usually at an approximate middle "C", though this can vary since an "E" above middle "C" frequently becomes the tonic note. Its range is roughly an octave and a third, accompaniments often being played in the top part of the register. Intervals approximating to perfect intervals predominate during performance.

Two kinds of percussion are used by the Tuareg, not counting group handclapping that features with many of the songs: a tom-tom with a wooden shell and single head, and a more hybrid contraption involving a gourd and a bowl of water. The tom-tom, which is played with the flat of the hand, has a head of stretched gazelle skin fastened by a cord made of goat hair and can be tuned by damping with water. Dry, the tom-tom produces a "treble" note, and wet, a bass one. The shape of the shell resembles an eggcup, and although tom-toms vary in size they are roughly a foot in diameter and eighteen [434] inches high. The wood comes from the French Sudan, but the tom-tom is to be found wherever the Tuareg go. The gourd and bowl of water suggest that it is a recent innovation, since bowls are not readily obtainable in the Sahara except through foreign manufacture and trade, i.e., foreign to the Tuareg. Indeed, the bowl largely favoured is an ordinary enamelled affair about six inches deep and perhaps eighteen inches across such as is found in the kitchen of any European home. Filled with water and this surface struck rhythmically with an inverted half gourd it produces a deep, damped note comparable to a well-tuned bass drum.

Wind instruments are unknown among the Tuareg and the "amzhad" and the two percussion instruments mentioned above are the only musical devices used. Certain distinctions prevent the use of these three instruments that have their roots in tradition. 462 All of them are played by the women who, particularly with the "amzhad" display con- 533 siderable virtuosity: for a Targui to play an instrument would be *infra dig*. Consequently, much of the propagation of folk-culture is in the hands of the women, though the men- [177] folk do not consider the heroic beneath their dignity. However, the war songs, recounting the deeds of great warriors, are practically extinct since the Tuareg have passed from being a fighting force, levying protective tolls upon the caravans, to become a quiet, almost passive people, anxious for survival in the face of encroaching modern civilisation that has already dissipated the often considerable wealth amassed before the French gained control in the Sahara.

533 [177] The music of the Tuareg falls into the two types mentioned earlier: songs that seem to owe their origin to negro influences, and those that have certain Moorish characteristics. It is curious to note that none of the songs of the women feature the use of mordents or shakes, whereas those of the men invariably do so. Secondly, percussion other than handclapping is never used to accompany the men, while the "amzhad" is never used to accompany the songs of the women. When the "amzhad" is used, perhaps because

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga." 291 302 386 515

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵓⵙⴼⴰⵔ 177 plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⵔⴰⵏ, and believe in their efficacy. 278 This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, [432 556] for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very [648 willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly 757] be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" 164 ⵜⴰⵣⵣⴰⵇ, gonorrhea, "talaoa'lt;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ⵜⵙⵎⴷⵀⵉ and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴽⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔⴼ.

## Chapter XVII

## Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro 563 567 and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the [721] Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which [439] brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave 178 them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the 567 progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

Finally, they wear around their necks thick cords of red 291
or green silk or braided wool, which they call "el mejdoud" 789
and which are used to suspend a Koran, a book dealing with cabalistic matter, or amulets.

Amulets (everyone has some) are worn on the back or on 789
the chest. They are enclosed in a leather or metal sheath. I saw one Tuareg who had some twenty that he wore, all gathered together, on his chest.

Finally, they are shod with large flat sandals from the Aïr, 291
"ir'atimen" ⵏⵅⵜⵉ , or with leather sandals made on [439]
the spot and called "imerkaden" ⵉⵎⵔⵇⴰⴷⵏ .

Let us not forget the arm bracelet "ahbedj" ⴰⵀⴱⵓⵊ , 301
plural "ihebdjan" ⵉⵀⴱⵓⵊⵏ , like a snake, which, they 789
say, gives strength to the biceps when one strikes a blow.

At rather important meetings and palavers, the richest 292
come dressed in burnooses bought at Ghat and decorated on [556]
the shoulders with attractive silver embroidery. Sometimes it also happens that if the burnoose has no embroidery, the owner prefers to wear it inside out, so as to display the yellow and green silk lining which decorates the edge and lower corner of the burnoose. Where will vanity stop?

The burnoose is not put on, but just put over the shoulders.

Some poor Tuareg are dressed in clothes of tanned leather. 291
/38/ 556

The woman's dress consists chiefly of:

A sort of skirt, called "asedjebes"
A shirt with sleeves, "takamisit"
A woolen haïk, "abrour'"
A veil placed on her head, "ikerhi"

According to her means, she wears the following jewelry: 301
556

Silver bracelets, "ihebdjan-oui-n-azerouf"
Glass bracelets, "tahouka, " plural "tahoukaouin"
Glass-bead bracelets, "denguela, " plural "denguelaten"
Blacelets of the horns of goats or gazelles, made in two halves which are encased one in the other with copper and which are called "iouakane"

They use camel hair to make rope. They are fond of 237 283 camel meat, and it is they who supply the markets of the 262 Tidikelt with it. 439

There are very few cattle in the Ahaggar, barely thirty, 233 and almost all these belong to Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane, 492 of Tazerouk. They are used to draw water from the wells [312] into the ar'erems. The pasture is scanty, and besides the cattle easily wear out their hooves on the rocks and stones.

In the Koudia, because of the cold which prevails there 233 and the high altitude, there are many small turrets of dry 343 stones, /65/ empty inside, in which the Tuareg confine lambs and kids at night to shelter them from the cold.

The Ahaggar do not have a large number of meharis, and 233 they do not like to sell them, especially the good ones. Among [435] themselves, to set the value of a mehari, they say, "Such a mehari is worth two, three, or four camels." All their meharis are trained to start at a gallop. The Tuareg has great patience with the training of his mehari and never mistreats it. He confines himself to persuading it by voice and foot, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Tuareg mehari is much more silent than the Arab mehari.

The foundation of the pastures of the Ahaggar is aremmas 137 (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae). This plant is quite laxative. 233 So when the year is bad and drought prevails, the Ahaggar are found emigrating toward the Adhar'. There are fine pastures of "had" (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolaceae) in the south of Tin R'arhou, but there is no water. Moussa ag Amastane /66/ [312 intends to have wells dug there and has requested our help and 648] advice for this purpose.

As a rule the Tuareg let their camels out to pasture with- 233 out herders, and they find them again at the well or by track- ing, unless they entrust the herding to children or negroes.

/67/ A young camel is called "abal" without designating 192 its age. A camel in general is called "amadjour," plural 233 "imoudjar," or else "amiss," plural "imnass." A female is

called "talemt, " plural "tillemine"; one that has calved within [192] 233
in a year is "t-n-aouara"; one that is heavy with calf is "timettirout." A stud camel is called "amali, " plural "imoulal."

The wool-bearing sheep does not exist in the Ahaggar. There is only the hairy sheep which the Tuareg call "ekrer, " plural "ikraren." This sheep is covered with a pelt of long, rough hair, and its legs are longer than those of wool-bearing sheep. This is why it got the name ovis longipes, or sheep with long legs. The meat of this sheep is good and does not have the smell characteristic of the wool-bearing sheep of Algeria.

On the oases of the Tidikelt and Touat, only this kind of sheep is found.

As to the goats, they are of two kinds: those with long hair and those with short hair. They have no characteristics which distinguish them noticeably from the goats of Algeria.

## Chapter X

### Trade. Caravans. Market Prices

The Ahaggar Tuareg have trade relations with: 1. the 439
Saharan Oases (Tidikelt and Touat) for dates, "chegga" (blue cotton), "malti" and "mahmoudi" (white cotton), "chach" (white muslin), haïks, smoking tobacco, "taba, " and snuff, "chemma, " tea, and sugar. /68/

They bring in male and female camels, hairy sheep, goats, donkeys, melted butter, and sometimes products that they have brought back from the Aïr.

2. Aïr and Damergou. Having no industry, they buy all manufactured goods from the Aïr. Thus, by means of barter (aside from bechna) they acquire arms: spears, daggers, sabers,

and shields; mehari saddles, saddlebags in all shapes of carved 439
and colored leather, little leather boxes, glossy blue cloth, "ilechchane," gandurahs with sleeves, black cloth ("kehal") for veils, and finally "tikamarine," or dry cheeses. In the Aïr saddles for horses are made, shaped like Mexican saddles and having round stirrups of heavy copper covered with leopard-skin (the Amenokal Moussa ag Amastane has one).

To the Aïr, and sometimes to the Damergou, they bring salt taken from the sebka of Amadr'or, "chegga bought in the Tidikelt, camels, donkeys, dates bought in the Tidikelt, "teheredjlé" (Hartemisia herbalba, Composeae), etc.

[133]

Crater of the
Ouksem Volcano

3. Adhar and Niger, from which they get bechna, rice, sheep, and camels. They bring in salt, "chegga," and dates.

4. Ghat and Ghadames, but seldom. There they buy extra fine burnooses, sabers, sugar, tea, and "chegga." They bring in camels, waterskins, camel-hair ropes, and sheep. 69/

In addition, the people of the Tidikelt, especially the Ahl-Azzi, come to buy wheat and barley on the spot, which they gather into their "ar'erems."

The Tuareg of the Ahaggar would like very much to have, 439
like the Azdjer, the protection of the big caravans which go 484
from Tripoli to Ghat, to the Aïr, and to the Sudan. Thus they 427
would hire out their camels to traders, and this would be an important source of revenue for them (the Aï-Loa'in already hire out their camels toGhat traders). They would very much like to see this current turned toward the Ahaggar, and we have the greatest interest in urging them on this course.

4: Benhazera--60 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

All the transactions that they make take place by means 437
of barter. The most important profits that they realize result 439
from barter carried on in the Aïr and the Niger with the salt, "chegga," and dates that they take there.

## Market Prices in the Ahaggar

There are no set prices for meharis, or male or female 435
camels. However, the prices for young camels are fixed and known. Thus:

A four-year-old camel, "aqnefoud," is worth 100 francs
" three-year-old " , "aleggues," " " 75 "
" two-year-old " , "aledjoudh," " " 50 "

For sheep and goats, the price basis is the goat, which is worth 3 mitqals, or 7.50 francs. A ewe is worth a goat and a half, or 11.25 francs, and a ram, two goats, or 15 francs.

A load of dates sells in the Ahaggar for 75 francs.

Barley sells for 1 franc per "guessaâ" or 60 francs for a load of 60 "guessaâs." Wheat is 1.25 francs per "guessaâ," or 75 francs per load.

"Chegga" sells for 1.25 per meter. /70/

Melted butter is sold at 7 "mouddas" (a small wooden measure) for a goat, or 7.50 francs.

## Market Prices in the Ahnet

One female camel, 50 to 60 mitqals (125 to 150 francs)
One load of dates, 30 mitqals (75 francs)
One sheep, 7.50 francs
One goat, 10 francs
Melted butter, 7 "mouddas" for 7.50 francs
One donkey, 25 francs

4: Benhazera--62 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter XI

### Industry. Blacksmiths

There is no industry in the Ahaggar. They do not exist. 433
One cannot describe as an industry the minor arms repair that 326
a few blacksmiths make, nor the little wooden implements that the Tuareg make for their personal use.

We have seen above that the Ahaggar Tuareg buy all 326
their arms in the Aïr. They are not made at home. [439]

In the Ahnet I watched a blacksmith, Eg Ahnet, work. He was mending spears, sabers, and daggers, and he told me that he also made some jewelry when they were ordered from him. He asked for preserve cans to make his settings. His tools were quite primitive. He had:

A bellows, "tissedhi" , made of two iron tubes set into a hollowed piece of wood onto which were fitted two waterskins open at the ends. These openings were held by rings and furnished with handles. The iron tubes blew the air into a clay furnace, "anefif" , set before the fire. /72/

An anvil, "tahount"
Files, "azezoua"
Pliers, "ir'emdane"
A large hammer, "afadhis"
A small hammer, "tafadhist"
Tin-snips, "timouda"
A small hatchet, "tetaout" , which he had made from a bent branch.

Finally, a rake, "asekredh" , which he hafted with two wooden handles each time he wished to use it.

He also made locks and keys of copper. He complained [414]
of hard times and how the craft no longer prospered. Where [178]
was the age of the great raids, the expeditions from which arms were brought back to him to repair and sharpen! Where are we going? Times have really changed!

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food. 233 511 [492] [439]

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like. [234] [262] [281] [291] [283]

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Rela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temażlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. [422] [565] [114] 565 651 [421] [431]

439 /63 cont./ Tuareg society, nomadic through geographical necessity and warlike by need, in order to feed the soldier nobles, the herdsmen imrads, and the domestic slaves, had to find a way to balance the risks attendant to the cultivation of the valleys of the Ahaggar by the harratin. The method found is, on the one hand, to exchange salt extracted from the Amadror for millet from the Sudan, and, on the other hand, to exchange wheat harvested in the Ahaggar for dates from the Tidikelt. This double movement constitutes the essence of the Tuareg economy; it brings to light:

1) Barter, still used as system of exchange.

2) The curious fact that the Targui feeds himself with foods which are not produced in the Ahaggar, dates and millet.

3) The fact that if the Targui needs Negro domestics and harratin cultivators, he is equally necessary to them in order for them to live. It is estimated that millet makes up two-thirds of /64/ the food of the population of the Ahaggar, the other third consisting of dates.

4) The existence, as a result of this organization, of a large camel herd to maintain the caravans.

## Barter

This country, disinherited by nature, nevertheless gives
317 its inhabitants one rich resource: salt. This salt, which is
439 lacking in the Sudan, lies in great quantities on the Amadror plain, an interior basin situated to the northeast of the Ahaggar, bounded to the north by the Tassili des Adjjer, to the west by the Edjéré, and to the east by the hills which separate it from the basin of the Taffassasset.

The Amadror region, an old dried-up sebkha, is particularly desertlike. The salt is at the surface, so it is mined in the open air, in blocks weighing 50 or 60 kilograms; the small pieces cut from the blocks are put in sacks and carried off. It is evident that such a barren, desolate, frightful,

317 /64 cont./ waterless country would inspire legends; stories
439 are told of genii which haunt the salt mines all night long, and this invisible and baneful world may be heard thumping the ground and ceaselessly breaking the salt blocks with diabolical energy. When day returns, the work site seems to be in the same state as on the evening before, and nothing seems to have happened during the night, ...and yet, "They were there." Some Tuareg claim to have seen horse tracks stamped in the ground and to have ascertained the existence of equipment for extracting salt predating those now in use -- which would tend to prove the antiquity of this mining work.

The desert contains other saltworks which supply the Sudan; to the west, Idjil and above all Taoudéni are the best known; to the east are the mines of Bilma and the Acedjerad, but among the latter the Amadror salt is the most esteemed at the markets of the savanna.

Toward the month of April or May, the Tuareg send their /65/ Negro domestics to extract the salt. Caravans of about a hundred camels advance by small stages toward the salt mines, following well-beaten tracks which lead by the wells of Dehine and In-Tarass (the latter is 40 kilometers from the salt).

The work is done as rapidly as possible, for the sojourn in those parts has nothing pleasant about it because of the heat, the lack of water and wood, and the nocturnal presence of the Kel es Souf (genii). The method of extraction is clearly disorderly, but what does it matter, there is so much salt!
[492] The blocks are hewn with a kind of ax; two blocks, after having been tied with a chebka (coarse net), make a load for a camel. The small pieces are put in sacks (made from palm fibers) in 50-kilogram loads. In ten days, two men can load 50 camels, or about three metric tons of salt.

Then comes the return to the camps in the Ahaggar. Until time to be sent to the Sudan, the salt is stored near the tents or the villages. The custom is for the Negro returning

317 /65 cont./ from the Amadror to offer bits of salt to the camps
439 he encounters on his way; in exchange he is given lodging and entertained.

439 When the moment comes to leave for the Sudan, at the end of June, a Targui takes command of the caravan, in which every fifth camel carries salt. Toward the end of July the caravan arrives in the Tamesna, the region of In-Abangarit, where the Ahaggar camels live permanently. This is still almost home, it is good to rest here, and the camels, which have just covered about 1,000 kilometers, take advantage of the abundant pastures of the Sahel region. Toward the month of September or the beginning of October, the caravan gets under way again with the camels rested or exchanged for fresh ones. The Damergou region, whose largest center is Tahoua, is reached toward the end of October. This region is well known to the Kel Ahaggar. Their customers are there. Then the bartering begins; it is a long operation involving protracted discussions and laborious bargaining, during which /66/ the Tuareg exchange the salt for millet at a rate varying from year to year (the rate depends on the size of the millet harvest and how much salt is brought from elsewhere than the Ahaggar). Consignments of marine salt arriving by river routes threaten to upset the balance of the Ahaggar economy and to starve the Tuareg.

Times are cited during which a load of salt was exchanged for 15 loads of millet; on the average, the barter is carried out on the basis of five to eight loads of millet for one load of salt. The quantities exchanged are very small; they vary from a handful to two kilograms. Sometimes, but rather rarely, salt is sold to traders. With the money thus obtained, the Targui buys cloth, leather, a saddle, and several objects of domestic use, then starts back for the Ahaggar. It is now January; it will take three months before seeing the koudia again, for the caravan is laden and always stops at Tamesna, where there are celebrations, tendi, ilougan, and welcoming

439 /66 cont./ girls. The return of the millet caravans is the major event of the year. It is estimated that the millet imported from the Sudan constitutes two-thirds of the Tuareg's food. Once in the Ahaggar, the millet is stored in silos made of clay bricks, based on rock slabs so as to be protected from termites. These constructions, neither cylindrical nor conical, are a curious sight standing near the camps or the villages. The owners are sometimes absent, but no one tries to steal what could easily be taken.

## Agriculture

423 The chief characteristic of the land system in the Ahaggar
[643] is that the amenokal is, by virtue of his office, the sole owner of the land.

Whoever wants to drill a foggara must first ask permission
[651] of the amenokal and must pay him a tax of ten kilograms of wheat per garden.

The garden is the unit of cultivation. One foggara irrigates from /67/ six to ten gardens. Any other surface unit would have no meaning since the size of the cultivated plot depends on the flow of the foggara, which varies according to the year and to the different agricultural centers. At Tamanrasset a foggara waters 3.80 hectares; at Tit, 3.30 hectares; at Ideles, 4.0 hectares. A garden's area, then, varies from 40 to 60 ares. The wheat harvest may amount to 400 kilograms per hectare; the tax in that case is about one-
[651] fortieth of the harvest. Whether the owner of the garden is a Targui or a hartani, the tax (mek) is paid to the amenokal.

Trees planted in the gardens remain the property of the amenokal, for they are attached to the ground.

This inalienable possession of the land by the amenokal has enabled the Tuareg to conserve the rare cultivable lands in the Ahaggar. The force of their tribal custom saves them from their individual lack of foresight. Unfortunately, this right of the amenokal retards agricultural evolution and the maximum productive use of the lands of the Ahaggar, because the cultivator can never own the land he works. He has no

233 /85 cont. / When the Tuareg want to recapture some of these animals, they organize veritable battues and must use a great deal of cleverness and energy to succeed. It is necessary to break these donkeys in order to fit them for domestic use, for many of them are born wild.

It is estimated that there are 5, 000 donkeys in the Ahaggar, but this figure is certainly too conservative.

[262] The flesh of the donkey is not eaten, nor is the milk of the female drunk.

A few horses, most of them originating in the Sudan, are to be found in certain agricultural centers. A "luxury" animal, the horse (aïs) cannot live off the Ahaggar pastures. When well nourished with barley, it bears the climate perfectly well and can be used as a mount in the mountains of the Ahaggar where water points are numerous.

Lastly, chickens are raised by the harratin in all the
231 agricultural centers; they are lean fowl which find practically all of their own food. The harratin chiefly eat the eggs,
[439] rather rarely the meat, which is sold to the Europeans.

/87/

## IV
## Material Life

### Dwelling

342 The Tuareg, as true nomads, use the tent for habitation,
281 and sometimes, in exceptional circumstances, the zériba.

The Tuareg tent is made of skins sown together and specially prepared. Its red tint, which harmonizes with the dominant tones of the Ahaggar landscape, is agreeable to the eye. For making the tent (éhakit), goat, sheep, wild sheep, and, very rarely, cattle skins are used; the skins of wild sheep are considered the best. After being stripped of its hair, the

103 /187 cont. / The French occupation created out of nothing
361 the built-up area which became a road center after the
621 creation of automobile roads from Tamanrasset toward In-Salah and Algiers;

from Tamanrasset toward Agadès and Fort Lamy;

from Tamanrasset toward Tin-Zaouaten and Gao.

Secondary roads of local or tourist interest were later opened:

from Tamanrasset to Djanet by way of Idelès and Serouanout;

from Tamanrasset to Idelès by way of Tarahouaout, Tahifet;

from Tamanrasset to In-Azaoua (not completed);

from Tamanrasset to the Asekrem massif by way of the Illamane peak (tourist);

from Tamanrasset to the Asekrem massif by way of the
[491] Imalaoulaouen guelta and the Akarakar. This road, finished in 1952, makes it possible to circle around the high peaks of the Atakor; it /188/ completes the one mentioned just before. Its route, laid out by the head of the Tamanrasset annex, provides maximum protection against the rains; it discloses a succession of splendid panoramas and ends at the foot of the Asekrem plateau after having crossed the strangest assortment of peaks imaginable. This road is prolonged in the direction of the Issakarassen guelta, then will continue toward the Hirafok agricultural center to end in the Tefedest.

[439] Arab and Mozabite merchants very quickly installed themselves at Tamanrasset, offering merchandise coming from Tell and buying wheat, millet, and butter from the Tuareg, making usurious loans, in a word, draining away the Tuareg's small supply of cash to direct it toward the Mzab.

The houses are built for the most part on the right bank of the wadi in the nonirrigable areas. Tamanrasset has no local color whatsoever, but the red tint of the exterior plastering, the cleanliness and charm of the streets shaded by éthel and adorned by geraniums, produce a pleasing over-all

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*abellengad* (*Reseda villosa*). Tr., L.M., U.M. Seeds of this plant are edible, but of bad taste according to Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 65. 222 262

*absey* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Tr., (L.M.). Fruits are collected mainly for goat fodder, but are eaten by human beings when vegetable food is scarce. The fruit is then crushed into flour. The resin of this acacia is also edible. 252

*tamat* (*Acacia seyal*). Tr. The resin (*taymwst*) is edible. I believe it is used mainly as a remedy against stomachache. This is perhaps also true of the resin of the *absey*-acacia mentioned above. [757]

*ahtes* (*Acacia albida*). Tr., L.M. "La gousse est même comestible pour l'homme" (Maire 1933, p. 120).

*ténefé* (*Tephrosia leptostachya*). Tr. "Les Touareg mélangent cette plante desséchée au thé vert" (Maire 1933, p. 125). [272]

*lagul* (*Alhagi maurorum*). Unknown in Ahaggar, but found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. "Les racines tuberisées sont mangées par les indigènes (Killian)" (Maire 1933, p. 131).

*alora* (*Peganum Harmala*). Tr., L.M., U.M. An annual seed-plant. Seeds are used for *tébik*.

*taburak* (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruits which are macerated in water to remove the bitter taste.

*tedjoq* (spelling according to Maire 1933, p. 241) (*Pistacia atlantica*). L.M. Very rare according to Maire (1933, p. 148). According to my own observations the fruit of this tree is eaten by Arab pastoralists (e.g., *Ulad Nail*) of the so-called *daya* region south of the Sahara Atlas. It is possible that it is also eaten by the Tuareg. [171]

*tahunek* (*Rhux oxyacantha*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruit.

*téhak* (*Salvadora persica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

*tabakat* (*Ziziphus lotus* var. *Saharae*). Tr. The berries are crushed and mixed with millet flour.

*azawa* (*Tamarix gallica*). Tr., L.M. "La manne produits par ces arbres est receuillié par les indigènes qui l'emploient comme matière sucrante. (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 156).

*tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*). Tr. "Les rameaux mannifères sont employés pour sucrer l'eau" (Maire 1933, p. 159). [263]

*tafeltast* (*Myrtus Nivellii*). (Tr.), L.M. "Les rameaux de ce Myrte sont récoltés par les Touareg, desséchés et exportés par sac entiers au Soudan et au Mzab, avec *l'Artemisia judaica* ssp. *sahariensis*. Ces deux plantes sont utilisées comme médicaments et comme condiments" (Maire 1933, p. 162). [439] [757] [263]

*awkal* (*Cynomorium coccineum*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots which are dried and ground into flour (cf. Maire 1933, p. 163).

*aséyar* (*Anethum graveolens*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual plant. Its seeds are used as a spice and for adding to tea. [272]

*takmézzut* (*Teucrium Polium*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant used for adding to tea.

*élel* (*Nerium Oleander*). Tr., L.M. This plant is extremely venomous particularly so for camels, which die from eating its leaves. "La cendre de bois de *Nerium* est employée par les femmes du Tidikelt pour se faire engraisser. A cet effet elles mélangent un peu de cette cendre avec des dattes pilées et du beurre, puis absorbent ce mélange dans du leben" (Maire 1933, p. 170). [261]

*arellachchem* (*Solenostemma oleifolium*). Tr. A perennial plant. Its leaves are used as a substitute for tea. [272]

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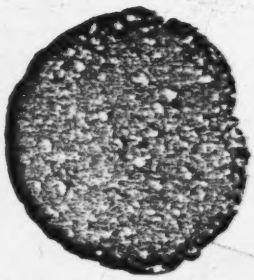

Fig. 126. A cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries (*Osyris alba*). The fresh berries are pounded in the large mortar (*tindé*) or are crushed between two stones to be formed into pieces of cheese form to be dried. This cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries is used by Tuareg women as a kind of face ointment against sun burn, pimples, and the like. They apply this ointment to the face as follows:— A little milk is poured upon a stone, the cheese-like mass of berries is rubbed against it, and the mixture of milk and berries is thereupon rubbed into the skin of the face with the fingers. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.075 m. (N.M. G. 5279a).

222
262 *enag* (*Leptadenia pyrotechnica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

[272] *tañhart* (*Mentha longifolia*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

*awit*, generally known by the collective name *awihat* (*Salvia Chudaei*). Tr., (L.M.). An annual plant used as an aromatic for tea.

[824] [682] *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*). Tr. This plant is extremely venomous for human beings, though not for animals. In the past it was used by the Tuareg as a poison for enemies. Members of La Mission Flatters (1880–81) were poisoned by the Tuareg using poison of this plant inserted into dates presented to the expedition. "La plante, absorbée à petite dose, aurait la propriété de faire [261] engraisser. Les femmes du Tidikelt l'emploient dans ce but, en en faisant cuire une petite quantité dans de l'eau avec de la farine et de la graisse; elles laissent réduire et absorbent la bouillie obtenue, puis se couvrent pour transpirer (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 192).

222
262 *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots. After drying the roots are pounded in a large millet mortar to be used for bread which is much esteemed by the Tuareg. "Cette
252 plante est recoltée jeune par les indigènes, puis placée dans le sable sous une couche de *drinn* (*Aristida pungens*) jusqu'à noircissement et dessication. Le produit sec est moulu et utilisé dans l'alimentation (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 196).

*éfetekchi* (*Orobanche aegyptiaca* & *O. cernua*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots.

*tamẓellit* (*Orobanche sp.*). Tr. Very rare. A plant yielding edible roots.

*teḡellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). Tr. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

*alkeḍ* (*Cucumis pustulatus*). Tr. Rare. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

[263] *takkilt* (*Cotula cinerea*). Tr. "Les Touareg utilisent cette plante comme condiment, principalement pour la viande qui commence à se gâter" (Maire 1933, p. 209).

[439] *téhereggelé* (*Artemisia judaica* ssp. *saharienses*). Tr., (L.M.). "Cette plante, comme le *Myrtus Nivellei*, est récoltée en grande quantité, séchée et exportée au Soudan, où elle est employée comme aromate et condiment" (Maire 1933, p. 212).

[272] *zézzeré* (*Artemisia herba alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

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Fig. 136. Irrigation of a young wheat-plot. The canal ridges are opened with a hoe in order to let water penetrate into the garden beds. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 282). Maize (*Zea mays*) is also grown as a summer crop in some of the cultivation centres; it is called *engafulé*, or *engafulé masri* (masri = Egyptian) because it is said to have been introduced from Egypt.

Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum*) are grown mainly in summer and constitute a very 241 important crop. The ripe fruit is sliced and left to dry on a layer of straw in the garden. They are [252] crushed and pounded and are added to various dishes, e.g., the so-called kuskus (*keskesu*, cf. p. 247). Various types of melons and gourds are also grown in summer, e.g., the water melon (*taleǧezt*; *Colocynthis Citrullus*), a type of ordinary melon known as *tétakelt* or *tazemt* (*Cucurbita* sp.) which is frequently sliced and dried in the same way as tomatoes, and a kind of large gourd (*kabuya*; *Cucurbita maxima*). Certain other vegetables are grown in most gardens, notably various kinds of onions (*téskert*, *Allium sativum*; *éfeleli*, *Allium cepa*) and a kind of beans known as *tadellak*. A few plants [263] are grown as spices, e.g., saffron (*tanermit*, *Crocus sativus*), red pebber (*chitta*, *Capsicum annum*), or for tea-admixture, e.g., the mint (*émerner*, *Mentha piperita* var.) and a plant known as *lahabok* which is said to have been introduced from the Sudan. Two very poisonous plants are also grown in certain [824] gardens of Ahaggar, namely *éfelehlek* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*), which also grows wild in the lower country (cf. p. 178), and *burzig* (*Datura Stramonium*) (cf. Maire 1933, I, p. 191 f.). Foucauld mentions two other plants grown for their medicinal value (*ibeḍliwen*, *Trigonella foenumgraecum*; *tikamnin*) (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 33 & II, p. 812). A kind of wild salad (*tamoghé*) is also grown in the gardens according to Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1170). Potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum*) [439] are now grown in some of the mountain oases – mainly for selling to Europeans at Tamanraset. Among other cultivated plants found in the gardens of Ahaggar mention can be made of the following species after Maire:—

*Lepidium salicum*, *Brassica Rapa* & *B. oleracea* (*aharet*), *Linum usitatissimum* (*ilatelé*, or *anarka*), *Medicago sativa*, *Pisum arvense* (*demchi*), *Vicia Faba*, *Lens culinaris* (*elredes*), *Vigna catjang*, *Cori-*

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162 tion that subsisted on agriculture. Most members of the *Kel Ewey* group are fairly negroid in appear-
144 ance, and though some of them lead a nomadic life and subsist mainly on stock-breeding, the bulk of
433 the *Kel Ewey* are sedentary agriculturists who have some livestock comprising goats, sheep, zebus, and sometimes camels also. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group there are very few sedentary agriculturists, though a few vassals have taken up irrigation agriculture in recent times. There are also agriculturists within the negroid group of the *Kel Ferwan* known as *Iṛawélen*.
[587] Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have gardens cultivated by their slaves, but this is not customary nowadays when slavery is of little importance in Ayr. Contracts between pastoral Tuareg and cultivators
241 are said to have been unknown until recent times when a few pastoralists have made contracts with
466 cultivators. There seem to be no fixed systems regulating such relationships, but it is said to be common for the cultivator and the Tuareg to divide crops equally between them.

241 Though agriculture could be practised in Ayr without artificial irrigation there are no rain-grown
312 crops within the Massif nowadays. The *foggara* system is unknown, and irrigation is done by raising water from shallow wells. The system of a pole and bucket provided with a counterweight known in Ayr as *asefian* has disappeared quite recently. It was used at many agricultural settlements of Ayr until a few years ago, and in parts of the country formed the only type of irrigation system at the time of the French occupation. One informant told me that in his boyhood about 35 years ago no other irrigation method was employed at Alarses, and this is in agreement with literature (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 322). At that time, however, the method of raising water from wells by animal traction (in Ayr *anu*, in Ahaggar *tanut*) was also practised at many settlements. It is unknown when it came to Ayr, but it is said to have been introduced from the north – probably from the regions of Fezzan and Tasilé-n-Ajjer from where the same system came to Ahaggar (cf. p. 187). It is now used at all
[492] settlements as the only type of irrigation system, and zebu-oxen are always used for traction. This was not so in the past when zebus were less common than to-day, and it is said that donkeys were then the common draught-animals. The irrigation of gardens is performed in much the same way as in Ahaggar. The water raised from the shallow well (*anu*) is led through a narrow canal (*aṛelal*) to a large basin (*tisemt*) from where another canal (*ahki*) leads to the garden (*afaraǵ*), which is divided into a number of beds (*éfenṛal*).

243 Cereals form the most important crops in Ayr. The common winter crop is wheat (*elkama*; *Triticum vulgare*), but also barley (*Hordeum tetrastichum* var. *pallidum*) is very widely grown. One crop of these two cereals is taken every winter, and it is said that the period of growth is about five months; sowing is done in October, harvest in March. Cereals are also important for summer crops. Both millet (*énélé*; *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and sorghum (*abora*; *Sorghum caudatum*) are grown, and millet, as we have seen, has a very short period of growth – only about two months (cf. p. 184). But though millet is
[262] most important as food for agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike, it is not widely grown because it is difficult to protect it from the numerous small birds and because, it is said, millet grown in Ayr
[439] is of a quality inferior to that of the Sudanese type. Most of the millet eaten in Ayr is therefore imported from Damergu by pastoral Tuareg. By far the most important summer crop grown in Ayr is maize (*Zea mays*), which is known to the Tuareg as *abora maser*, that is "Egyptian sorghum" (*abora* =
[288] sorghum; *maser* = Egypt) (the name *maser* is also used to designate the white cotton used for garments

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by many Tuareg, who say that they have not always known this white cotton, though indigo cotton has been introduced from the Sudan since very remote times). Maize has a normal period of growth of about three months, and two – in certain places perhaps even three – yields are taken in the hot seasons.

In addition to the above-mentioned cereals there are various kinds of vegetables grown in the Ayr gardens. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum*) are grown at most seasons with the exception of the dry and very hot summer period (*éwilen*). Also common in the Ayr gardens is the sweet potato (*dankale*; *Ipomoea Batatas*), which is sown at the beginning of the rains and harvested in winter. The true potato (*batata*; *Solanum tuberosum*) has been introduced more recently, and is grown mainly to be sold to European households in Agadez. It is grown in Eastern Ayr (Tabello). Melons (*Cucumis melo*) and water melons (*Colocynthis citrullus*) are grown all over Ayr and there are different vegetables such as onions (*Allium cepa* & *A. sativum*), which are harvested at most seasons. Two plants are grown mainly because they are important as admixtures to porridge sauce. One is called *ékabewwa* (*Corchorus olitorius*); it has maize-like seeds which are pounded in a mortar for sauce-making. The other plant is known as *malokhiya* (*Corchorus tridens*); its leaves are dried and pounded for sauce (cf. p. 243). The latter plant also grows wild outside the gardens. There are in Ayr also certain spice-plants, e.g., *Capsicum annuum* & *C. frutescens*. To all these cultivated plants can be added certain fruit trees, such as the date palm (*talesdar*; *Phoenix dactylifera*), the fig tree (*tahart*; *Ficus carica*) grown in the mountains, and the lemon tree (*lemon*; *Citrus aurantifolia*) which is grown in Southern Ayr; it yields very small fruit which remains green even when ripe. It should finally be mentioned that the cotton plant (*ebduga*; *Gossypium hirsutum*) is also grown in some gardens of Southern Ayr. According to Miré and Gillet it was introduced into Ayr by the Hausa, but the plant has also been introduced further north in the Sahara in Tawat (Miré & Gillet 1956, p. 244). As stated by Rodd, the cotton plant is rare in Ayr and has perhaps been recently introduced into this region (Rodd 1926a, p. 132). There are many other cultivated plants in Ayr, but the above mentioned constitute the most important species.

In Ayr, as in the north, irrigated cereals form the basis of agriculture. Irrigation is carried out by means of a system introduced from the north, and the agricultural techniques largely resemble those of that section of the Sahara inhabited by Northern Tuareg, though there are certain differences. A new garden in Ayr is prepared by cutting and burning away the wild vegetation of trees, bushes, herbs, and grasses. By crop rotation (wheat and barley in winter; maize, millet, and sorghum in summer) it is possible to cultivate the same garden plot for a few years in succession – up to six or seven years, it is said. After this time it becomes necessary to make a new garden, or to manure the old garden plot with camel and cow dung whilst manure (*taki*) from other animals or from human beings is said not to be used, as it would cause the crops to become inedible. A well-manured garden plot can be cultivated continuously for about fifteen years. But fertilizing is not practised by all agriculturists, and to my knowledge they do not carry fresh soil to the garden plots as is the case with the agriculturists of Ahaggar. Agriculture in Ayr therefore frequently resembles shifting cultivation, though plots are irrigated, and deserted garden land is frequently seen in the valleys where agriculture is practised.

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there will be one entirely dry year throughout, during which stock-breeding products have little or no value as food, and in such years of dry pasture there will also be very few wild plants to collect. Hunting, which plays little part for most Tuareg nowadays, is also of little value in an entirely dry year when many game animals die or migrate to other regions with more favourable pasture. It would seem obvious for pastoral Tuareg to do the same and to take their animals to grazing grounds outside of Ahaggar – particularly to the southern plains where pasture is normally better than in their own country. We have seen that most Ahaggar Tuareg in bad years have their she-camels far from Ahaggar in the Tamesna plains or in the country north of Adrar-n-Foras. We have also mentioned that, under very severe conditions, camps of Ahaggar and Ahnet may move to these southern regions with their flocks, though extensive goat-migrations are not always profitable. But most Tuareg remain in Ahaggar even in very dry years with their camps and flocks. Some of the animals will die, and none of them can be mated so that the flocks may rapidly decrease. During such years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg live so to speak exclusively on agricultural food products of which they get only a part from their gardens grown by sedentary agriculturists (the *Harratin*, or *Izzegaren*). It is mainly through caravan trading that the Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their vegetable food products. Their two important trading expeditions to the Tidikelt oases and to the Sudan are carried out anually for the main purpose of acquiring dates and millet.

Trading with the Tidikelt oases (Awlef and In Salah) is based mainly upon a surplus of goats, camels, butter and cheese, and on dried meat. But many Tuareg who obtain large amounts of millet from the Sudanese trading expedition also sell part of their wheat grown in their own gardens in Ahaggar, and Sudanese articles bought during their south-bound trading expedition. In a dry year some Tuareg may choose not to visit the Tidikelt area as they have too small a surplus for trading. The south-bound caravans, on the other hand, are rarely prevented from going as their main trading object is rock-salt of an excellent quality mined at Amadror north-east of the Ahaggar Massif. Both north-bound and south-bound caravans will set off in autumn when the hottest season has come to an end, that is at the end of September or at the beginning of October.

The caravan route from Tamanraset in Ahaggar to In Salah in Tidikelt is about 750 kilometres, and the route is rather difficult because pasture is normally lacking for three to four days of the journey. Most Tuareg who cross this part of the desert therefore bring with them large supplies of the dried *tullult*-grass (*Aristida pungens*), which also serves as fodder for the pack-camels during the stay in the oases around which there is little pasture. The journey takes about twenty days in each direction, and the north-bound caravans return to Ahaggar again already in December or in January. The traders return with their camels loaded with dates of which a part may be re-sold in Ahaggar (Tamanraset), but they also buy European cotton and other European articles, which are cheaper in the north, and woollen blankets woven by sedentary people of the northern oases.

The south-bound caravans are very extensive. The towns visited in the south are Agadez, Tawa Tanut, and Zinder. The distance from Tamanraset to Zinder is, as the crow flies, about 1200 kilometres, while the distance from Tamanraset to Amadror, where salt is mined, is about 300 kilometres. In total the caravan journey from Ahaggar to Zinder and back again for many Tuareg amounts to more than 3000 kilometres. The south-bound caravans are organized as follows:— Slaves take the

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Fig. 149. The market place of Agadez. In the front negroid Hausa men roasting small pieces of meat on a spit; in the background Tuareg camels offered for sale.

484 pack-camels to the salt pit of Amadror to mine salt in the hot season. They load the camels with salt
487 and bring them to the camp where further preparations for the journey are made. When the caravans
[317] have started southwards they stop in the Tamesna plains and rest there for at least one month to allow
[437] the pack-camels to feed on annual pasture, and, if necessary, to exchange the pack-camels with others kept by the Ahaggar Tuareg in Tamesna. Thereupon the caravan will continue towards the millet-
[221] growing towns and villages of the Sudan to bargain with the Hausa. The caravan returns to Ahaggar again at the end of March or at the beginning of April, so that the total duration of a south-bound caravan is up to six or seven months.

433 The Sudanese millet trade is of extreme value to the subsistence of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is partic-
439 ularly important to their economy that they obtain millet for non-nomadic products transported by camels, which are mainly bred outside of Ahaggar. The millet trade is consequently not much influenced by Ahaggar's changeable climate. According to official statistics, the Ahaggar caravans in 1946 exported 375 tons salt, and imported 720 tons millet, while the cereals grown in Ahaggar amounted to 197 tons (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). According to Galan vegetable food grown in the gardens of Ahaggar in 1950 (a bad year) amounted to 121 tons wheat, 5 tons millet and barley, and 4 tons of tomatoes – about 10 kg of wheat and 0.5 kg of millet, barley, and tomatoes per person (Galan 1951,
[468] p. 233). We see from this that the amount of cereals acquired in the Sudan far exceeds the amount grown in Ahaggar, and as we have mentioned, the millet trade is also important for the establishment of Tuareg agriculture in their own country where this cereal is used for payments to cultivators. It can also be added that the Sudanese caravan trade is more important to the Tuareg than appears from
[435] the figures above. For salt is much more valuable than millet, and for one load of salt the Tuareg receive from four to fifteen loads of millet – in 1946 the price was fifteen to one (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). It is evident that the Tuareg could not take all this millet back to Ahaggar. Most of it is re-sold

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433 in the Sudan for such articles as camel saddles, sandals, swords, millet mortars, indigo cotton, earthen-
439 ware pots, and the like. The Tuareg may also buy quantities of butter and cheese for sale to the sedentary people of Tidikelt and for their own use in dry years.

The Sudanese trade constitutes the great stabilizing factor in the economy of pastoral Tuareg of
[262] Ahaggar. In return for the valuable rock-salt, pastoral Tuareg obtain the bulk of their agricultural food products (millet), butter and cheese for their own consumption in dry years, many important artefacts and notably their camel saddles and their millet mortars. They also get a surplus of millet and goods for investment in their Ahaggar gardens and for selling to the sedentary people of the Tidikelt oases.

There are certain Tuareg who do not engage in the Sudanese salt trade, notably those living in Ahnet; and these Tuareg nowadays have no irrigated gardens either. They acquire their necessary vegetable food products from Tidikelt (dates) and from Abalessa and Tamanrasset (wheat). They buy these vegetable products with their surplus of goats, sheep, camels, butter and cheese, and an occasional
[611] barbary sheep. In a good year they can meet their needs of food in this way, but it is most difficult for them to subsist in dry years; and it may happen that two dry years come in succession. When I
[114] stayed among the Ahnet Tuareg in 1954–55, all camps visited were very short of food, while the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif who engage much in the salt trade (the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé*) possessed what they needed of wheat, barley, dates, and millet.

[314] To-day there is a rather important market at Tamanrasset where many Tuareg sell surplus livestock, and where they can also buy cereals and dates. But it is always profitable to sell livestock and meat
[435] in the Tidikelt oases where meat, butter and cheese are very expensive articles. Dates are cheap in these
000 oases, European goods and woven blankets are also cheaper than at Tamanrasset. The trading expedi-

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Fig. 150. Wooden measure (*mada*) which contains one kilo of cereals, or the like. The Tuareg have adopted the kilogramme into their own weight system. The proper Tuareg unit is the *tasiwa* which, according to Foucauld, corresponds to three kilogrammes (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1160), but nowadays the Ahaggar Tuareg count one *tasiwa* as equal to two kilogrammes and a half. The Tuareg have wooden or metal measures of *tasiwa* size, and there are also larger measures to be used for grain, dates, and the like. For units smaller than *mada* the Tuareg sometimes use a wooden measure called *tamakast* which holds half a kilogramme. Smaller quantities are measured with the hand held half open, and it is recognized in Ahaggar that one *tasiwa* corresponds to 99 handfuls. In Ayr it is very common to use a little plaited bowl (*tifakemi*) as the smallest unit of measurement. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.125 m in diameter at the rim. (F.M. 168).

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tions have remained important to the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it is clear that they would not go on trading were these expeditions not profitable, for trading expeditions are extremely strenuous. Though the expeditions set off when the extreme heat is decreasing, it is still very hot in the extensive barren plains in autumn and in winter during daytime. Water and pasture are often extremely scarce in this deserted country, and the Tuareg frequently have to travel rapidly. For days or weeks they live so to say on their camels, and if camels are not too heavily loaded they may do up to 16 hours a day for several days in succession. Under such journeys the Tuareg eat only once a day. Obviously such trading expeditions are also very hard on the pack-camels, and there is always a risk of loosing a camel during such journeys through barren, desert country.

In this brief outline of caravan trading I have not considered those Ahaggar Tuareg living constantly in the Tamesna plains and adjacent regions. These Tuareg own more livestock than the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif, and I do not believe that they engage so much in extensive trading expeditions. They are comparatively rich in she-camels which are tolerably good milk yielders in these regions most of the year, and milk is more important as food than it is in Ahaggar. I believe that most Ahaggar Tuareg of the Tamesna region acquire their necessary vegetable products by selling surplus livestock butter and cheese at the markets of Ingal and Agadez.

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AYR TUAREG

Among the Ayr Tuareg stock-breeding products are far more important for food than in the north. Grazing conditions are better with annual pasture as a recurrent event, and the Tuareg keep bigger flocks of goats and sheep, larger camel herds, and most have a few zebus which are guarded without much difficulty. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr can live on milk for a large part of the year, though they, like those of Ahaggar, become tired of milk drinking if they get no solid food. There are Tuareg of Southern Ayr who live exclusively on milk for two or three months during the periods of *akasa* and *ررات* and to whom milk is important as food for at least six months. In the extremely hot season of *ewilen* when milk is very scarce most Tuareg eat millet porridge with a little milk or sauce (cf. p. 242 f.), and Tuareg who are not very wealthy eat millet porridge to a great extent all the year round, so that the necessary amount of millet for many camps is about 0.5 kilo a day per person, or about 180 kilos a year. In Ayr there are fairly good possibilities of collecting if there are not too many locusts, but most Tuareg do not collect a great quantity of wild seeds, and claim that they would be very badly off without millet, as seeds of wild plants are not very nourishing in comparison. In one year during the second world war (in 1943) they say that millet was very hard to get; it was then very difficult to subsist and a great many animals had to be killed for food. Millet is almost indispensable to the Tuareg; they also consume other vegetables derived from agriculture, notably wheat, maize, and dates, but millet is the most essential non-nomadic food product. Normally it can be acquired by most Ayr Tuareg without much difficulty.

The people of Ayr obtain their provisions of millet from the Sudanese area of shifting cultivation, notably from Damergu (Tanut). Millet can also be bought at Agadez whereto it is brought by Tuareg

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439 caravans of the south or by Ayr Tuareg who import more millet than they need for their own use.
437 But millet is cheaper in Damergu than at the Agadez market, and most Tuareg prefer to organize
[435] their own millet caravans with camels and donkeys as pack-animals. In Damergu most Ayr Tuareg
[492] get millet in exchange for livestock or they buy it for money. Their caravans are not always very large,
[476] for the Southern Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not organize their caravans co-operatively
[484] on the basis of kinship. Many individual households fetch their own millet with a few animals, and it
[592] is comparatively easy to do so as the millet growing country of Damergu is not very far away – the distance from Agadez to Tanut is only about 300 kilometres. The Ayr Tuareg do not have to engage in extensive trading expeditions to procure millet, and can buy millet very cheaply. A household, it
437 is said, does not have to sell a great many animals to secure the necessary supply of millet. Three or
439 four camel loads will cover the needs of most households, and this amount of millet can be acquired
435 for comparatively few animals – particularly if the animals vended are sheep, which have become
592 very expensive in recent times owing to the rapid increase of Europeans at Agadez. An extremely good
162 sheep or ram for slaughtering can bring in 2000 to 3000 West African francs, and a Tuareg household which buys millet in Damergu will need less than 10,000 francs to acquire the quantity necessary for a year. Thus the Ayr Tuareg can obtain their millet for a few sheep, and there are very few, if any, who do not posses this surplus, and it should be repeated that the increment of livestock is never stopped by drought periods as in the north. The extremely high price for sheep for butchering is a recent phenomena due to the increase of the French population. Fully-grown sheep or rams are expensive, and this is also the case with fowls, while goats are cheap. I believe we can estimate that a household would have to sell about 15 goats anually to obtain the amount of millet necessary for one year's consumption. However, there is little doubt that it has always been quite easy for the Tuareg of Southern Ayr to obtain the requisite amount of millet in exchange for livestock.

262 Millet and milk constitute the basic nourishment of the Ayr Tuareg, but they are very fond of an
[222] occasional change of food. And I believe that this is one important reason why the Ayr Tuareg, like those of Ahaggar, collect wild seeds even in years when grown cereals are abundant. For a change, the Ayr Tuareg are also extremely fond of dates which are not grown to any great extent in their own country. A few Ayr Tuareg own palms yielding dates of poor quality, and I think that a few house-
[439] holds also obtain some dates from Ingal. However, most dates eaten in Ayr are imported from the oasis of Bilma, situated in the very barren desert country between Ayr and Tibesti, about 700 kilometres north-east of Agadez.

437 The trade with Bilma is apparently an ancient one, and its foundation is salt which is of a very bad
439 quality compared with that mined at Amadror in the north. The rock-salt of Amadror is excellent
[317] for food, and though there is one good quality of Bilma salt that is used for food by the Tuareg of
[263] Ayr, most salt from Bilma contains much soil and other impurities. This impure salt is excellent for
[233] domestic animals which, in Ayr and further south where salt pastures do not exist, need a lot of salt. The Ayr Tuareg, and particularly those who do not visit the country of Azaouar at the end of the rains, need salt not only for their own food but also for their domestic animals. They obtain this from Bilma, which is visited by caravans in autumn or in the early winter. The inhabitants of Bilma, like other oases-dwellers, are in constant need of cereals and meat, and these products are imported

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by the Tuareg of Ayr, the *Kel Geres*, and other Tuareg. The Tuareg obtain salt generally in exchange 437
for millet, but they also bring with them dried meat, and meat from animals newly slaughtered; and 439
although this meat is largely rotten when it arrives at Bilma it is easily sold to the oases dwellers who are yearning for meat. The oases dwellers have little to subsist upon but dates of which they have a surplus. This is purchased by the Tuareg, who get two loads of dates for one load of millet. The [178]
Bilma trade is less important nowadays than it was at the beginning of the century. In 1922 the Bilma 484
caravans comprised about 7000 camels (Buchanan 1926, p. 83), while in 1908, when the trade was already decreasing, caravans numbered about 20,000 camels (Abadie 1927, p. 292). Caravans still go [435]
to Bilma to fetch salt and dates, but the salt trade is not so profitable to-day when Bilma salt can be 494
bought fairly cheaply at Agadez, as the trucks bringing provisions from Agadez to the French administration and to the merchants of Bilma, take salt back with them when they return. The Ayr Tuareg 437
do not organize their trading expeditions within family groups or sections as in Ahaggar. A Tuareg [602]
who does not want himself to go to Bilma may let a kinsman or a friend trade for him with his camels. The payment for this is a large loaf of salt which constitute one sixth or one seventh of a camel load.

The Ayr Tuareg do not generally obtain salt from the pits of Tegidda-n-tésemt though this place 317
is not very far from the Massif to the west. They say that the Tegidda salt is not as good as 439
Bilma's. The salt of Tegidda-n-tésemt is purchased mainly by the *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek* when visiting the regions around Ingal after the rains. Some of the *Kel Ayr* who live in the extreme north [437]
(the *Kel Tédalé*, and others) occasionally go to Amadror in the north to fetch salt which is taken down to the Sudanese towns and villages. In years when drought prevails in Ahaggar these Tuareg take their 437
surplus of livestock to the market at Tamanraset, for in dry years the provision of meat, butter, and 438
cheese consumed in Ahaggar come mainly from Ayr and adjacent regions. When I stayed in Ahaggar [114]
in 1954–55 a great many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* came to Tamanraset to sell camels, donkeys, sheep, goats, and zebus, and also brought with them large quantities of cow's butter and cheese. The route 437
followed from Northern Ayr to Ahaggar runs via I-n-azawa and I-n-abeggi which are the only wells 487
between the two mountain massifs. Water is very scarce and so is pasture, which is mainly limited to a scattered vegetation of annual plants; over very large areas there is no vegetation at all. It is easy to drive camels and donkeys through these regions, while more difficult for sheep, goats, and cattle. The zebus easily get cut hooves from walking on stony ground, while sheep and goats suffer much from thirst. In spite of this, all kinds of livestock can be driven through the barren desert from Ayr to Ahaggar, even as late as the month of March which is extremely hot in the barren desert country. The Tuareg frequently lose animals which die from thirst and hunger during the journey, but the trade [435]
is nevertheless extremely profitable as prices of livestock are high in Ahaggar in dry years, while prices of European goods such as tea, sugar, cotton, metal vessels, and the like are extremenly low compared with the prices asked for these goods in Ayr.

The Ayr Tuareg, though owning more livestock than the Tuareg of Ahaggar, have a certain demand 433
of agricultural food products. These products are mainly grown outside of the Massif, for the farmers 439
of Ayr grow little millet, very few dates, and part of the wheat grown in Ayr is exported to the oases of Ganet and Rat in the north. Though these vegetable products can be purchased at Agadez, it is profitable to fetch them where they are cheap, namely in the Sudan (millet) and in Bilma (dates). And

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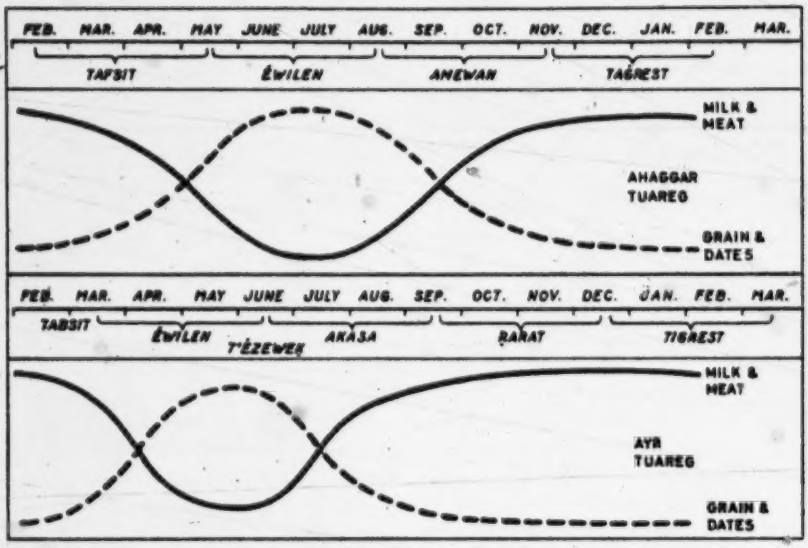


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Fig. 151. The relative importance throughout the year of food derived from stock-breeding and vegetable products mainly comprising agricultural products. The curves describe conditions in good years for wealthy families. However, milk (and meat) is less important to most Ayr families than indicated in the diagram which covers a household making use of the particular type of annual pasture which remains green throughout winter, notably *ahwat* (*Schouwia purpurea ssp. Schimperi*) *adreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tagellat* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). – This diagram should be compared with Fig. 14 where climatic and botanical changes throughout the year are outlined.

433 it is remunerative to buy an extra supply of millet in Damergu and to exchange it for dates and salt
439 at Bilma. Caravan trading is a source of profit to the Ayr Tuareg, but most of them ultimately acquire their agricultural food products in exchange for stock and stock-breeding products. Very few of them mine salt at Amadror, and most of them obtain salt in return for millet bought for domestic animals in Damergu, or for meat of domestic animals butchered in Ayr. The Tuareg cannot easily subsist without agricultural products but they can obtain them in exchange for their livestock.

233 We see again that conditions of stock-breeding are very favourable in Ayr in comparison with those
166 of Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where frequent drought periods make it difficult for the Tuareg to
[184] exist. It is easily understandable that the favourable grazing conditions of Ayr have caused many Tuareg of the north to migrate southwards. These migrations take place even to-day and have gone
433 on for centuries (cf. p. 411 ff.). However, even in Ayr it is most difficult to subsist without cultivated
262 cereals (millet), and we must do away with the myth that pastoralists of North Africa live entirely on milk and meat from their animals – they do not. This is true for all Tuareg I have visited, including

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175 added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was
721 also fighting within these groups at intervals.

[648] The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwllemmeden* and the Arab pastor-
[578] alists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg frequently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

[437] Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite of these latent conditions of hostility.

175 Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the
437 Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays. They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter, cheese, and the like.

175 The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day
437 the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times,
404 but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* who dominated the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays.

[439] They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also

[438] say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All

[317] this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadṛor were not utilized in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to

[361] the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then
[162] travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could not defend itself against raiders.

175 It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts
587 of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading
[648] until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in
[171] this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

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Fig. 192. Tuareg woman cooking millet porridge. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. The cooking pots seen on this photograph are bought in the Sudan on trading expeditions. Sudanese pots are superior to those made in Ahaggar.

Like

264 most Tuareg dishes they are eaten from a large wooden bowl. If meat is cooked with the soup it may be broken into small pieces to be eaten with the balls, but part of the meat cooked is always eaten separately. The Tuareg eat *keskesu* with spoons, but if spoons are lacking they also eat it with the 262 hand, as do the Arabs. In addition to *keskesu* with its small balls which resemble grains of rice, the Northern Tuareg have another dish prepared in the same way but with larger balls. It is termed [189] *tikhemmezin* and is considered inferior to the *keskesu*. – Both these dishes are unknown to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group.

262 Two particular dishes are mentioned from Ahaggar by Foucauld. One of them is called *ibergan* 252 and consists of unripe barley boiled in its own juice without water. The other one is known as *abezbez* [261] and is made from tender plants of wheat and barley which are dried and pounded or ground into powder, to be eaten, boiled or unboiled, in periods of famine (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 89, 118).

Tuareg vegetable dishes are frequently prepared in a very simple way. Thus there is a dish known as *twes* (Ahaggar) or *tewes* (Ayr) which consists of entire seeds of millet or sorghum boiled in water. It is eaten mainly by children who frequently walk about the camp eating these boiled grains from their hands.

252 It is clear from the description of vegetable dishes that the cooking pot plays an important role for *415 food preparation, and all dishes prepared in this way, including cooked meat, are known to the Tuareg

# Crafts

Tuareg crafts clearly disclose traits belonging to distinct cuhural levels. This may be seen from a brief description of the methods of fire-making. 372 [174]

Matches are in ordinary use nowadays, but they are used economically not only because they cost money but also because many Tuareg live far away from towns or trading posts where matches can be obtained. The embers of a fire smoulder for a very long time, and when the Tuareg want to light a fire they normally find embers under the ashes where their fire has been. Glowing wood is carried from one tent to another on a fragment of calabashes or earthen pots, and some Tuareg even take fire with them in this way during nomadic migrations. If a new fire has to be lit and matches are not available, most Tuareg use the well-known method of fire-making by means of flint and steel. This method is widely resorted to in Northern Africa even to-day, and is practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar as follows:— The curved piece of steel (*énefed*) is placed over the three middle fingers of the right hand. It is struck against a small piece of flint (*tafarast*) held between the first and second fingers of the left hand together with a small piece of lighting material which may be a small piece of cotton cloth. However, the best lighting material (*tajjert*) is a piece of wood of *tefé'ryast* (*Echinops Bovei*), which has been boiled and thereupon beaten into a fibrous mass with a stone. The Tuareg keep this lighting material in a particular leather bag (*tarallabt*) together with the steel and one or two pieces of flint (Fig. 198). Lighting material according to Maire is also made from a plant named *térahit* (*Traganum nudatum*) (Maire 1933, p. 82). The spark produced by striking the steel against the flint causes the lighting material to glow, and after blowing on it or swinging it in the air, it is placed under a small bunch of hay which burst into flame after further heavy blowing. The use of flint and steel is not a very difficult method of fire-making, and I have used it myself on journeys when matches had come to an end. [171] [324] [415] [324]

The Tuareg do not generally use more primitive methods of fire-making nowadays. But they know an ancient method of making fire by rubbing a piece of hard wood (*agar* in Ahaggar, *agar* in Ayr; *Maerua crassifolia*) against a piece of soft wood (*turha* in Ahaggar, *turza* in Ayr; *Calotropis procera*). By this process they produce by hand rubbing a glowing dust which is brought into flame by means of lighting material and hay as described above. One of my informants among the Ayr Tuareg had produced fire according to this method. Lhote states that the method is at times used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar, where the hard ribs of date palm leaves are also used for starting a fire by rubbing (Lhote 1955a, p. 258). [324]

Stone materials play a very little part in Tuareg crafts. Natural stones are used occasionally as 412 [324]

[p. 255]

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Fig. 203. Earthen incense jar (*elbakkhar*). Ahaggar, *Harratin* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.179 m high. (N.M. G. 5889).

323 512). Most pastoral Tuareg of Ayr get their pots from Agadez, but pots are also imported from the
[457] south where they are of superior quality. These pots are said to be manufactured by black-skinned
323 *Igdalen* Tuareg (cf. p. 432) of the southlands, notably by people of the *Ikenawen* class which comprises
563 professional pot-makers. These people are not found among the *Kel Ayr* but are common in camps
[197] of the *Kel Geres* where I have met them. They speak *tamachek* but also have their own language
323 which is said to be related to *Sonray*. The pots made by these southern people are painted and decorated
531 (cf. Fig. 205) in contrast to those of Agadez which are plain and of very simple forms (Figs. 204a–b). So far as I am aware painted and decorated pottery is rarely manufactured in Ayr nowadays. But Rodd states that such pottery in the form of pitchers with a blue design is made near Agadez (Rodd 1926a, p. 160 f., pl. 22 p. 209), and when I investigated ruins of stone houses at Iferwan I found a great many sherds of finely-decorated painted pots which must have been used up to the end of the
[178] great Tuareg revolt in 1917 when these houses were destroyed by the French. Lhote has also mentioned the decline of pottery techniques in Ayr, and he states that, apart from little incense jars, no painted and decorated pots are manufactured at Agadez nowadays (Lhote 1950c, p. 511).

*415 Certain metal receptacles were known to the Tuareg long before the European occupation, notably
[463] a cooking pot (*éṛir*) made from copper, and the flat drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned
[326] copper or brass in Tripolitania, or in Tunisia. Metal receptacles are also manufactured by native blacksmiths in Tuareg country, e.g., the pail (*éṛir*) to be used for liquid butter (Fig. 164).

322 The blacksmiths are excellent wood-workers and make most wooden domestic utensils used by
[564] pastoral Tuareg (Figs. 21b, 37, 38, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63a–b, 75, 150, 153–154, 166, 176, 177, 178, 191,
[412] 194, 195, 212a, 219a–b, 285). The main implements for wood working are axes and adzes (Figs. 206a–d).

237 Ayr Tuareg a piece of ram's horn may serve as an amulet case attached around the upper arm. Horns
*[415] of barbary sheep are used for butter containers among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 223; Fig. 165), who sometimes use a piece of pointed gazelle horn for daubing antimony around the eye.

281 The Ahaggar women cut skin and leather with a small knife (*telmusit*), and a piece of wood (*asettenu*)
462 and/or a stone (*taẓẓet*) are used for smoothing the skin which is then placed upon a particular wooden
[413] board (*elkeyleb*) (cf. Figs. 219a–d). The Ayr Tuareg do not make so much refined skin work. Women
*[415] among the Northern Tuareg conserve their implements for skin and leather work in a particular bag (*askagen*) which is made from leather attached to a bottom piece of horn (*isek*) (Figs. 220a–g).

[531] Northern Tuareg women take a great interest in their skin and leather artifacts, which are richly decorated with fringes and hanging tassels, and with geometric designs in different colours. I have
386 noted the following colours among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer:—
822 (1) *baba*, indigo which is introduced from the south in the form of balls.

(2) *tawnkent*, which is also known as *tafidet* and *tanezzeft* according to Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1934. It is a yellowish mineral which yields an entirely black colour frequently seen on ornamented skin bags. The mineral according to the Ahaggar Tuareg is introduced from the south, while the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer claim that they obtain their minerals of this type from Serdeles north-east of Rat. – A black colour which is also known as *tawnkent* is said to be made by the Tuareg of Ahaggar in the following way:— Pieces of iron are put into water contained in some small receptacle, usually a tea glass. This receptacle containing water and iron pieces is covered with a bowl or a similar object in order that the sun light cannot penetrate. After a few days the water turns into a black colour to be used for skin dyeing.

(3) *semento*, a green colour derived from a mineral or a powder introduced from the south. According to some Tuareg this green colour is also made by means of a vegetable powder introduced from the north, from the region of Mzab.

(4) *khodarbas*, a powder which yields a green colour. It is said to be introduced from the south (from Tawa) and to derive from a tree known as *tafnit*.

[824] (5) *errumman*, the fruit of the pomegranate tree known as *terrummant* (*Punica Granatum*). It is used with a white mineral (alum), known as *azref n Tawat*, and introduced from In Salah. Parts of the pomegranate fruit and of this mineral are mixed with water to be used for a yellow or yellow-brown dye which is applied to many decorated skin bags for ground colour.

(6) *temesaruak*, a mineral introduced from the north (Mzab). It produces a yellow colour.

[243] (7) *herki*, a reddish brown colour obtained from a particular type of sorghum known as *tallak* grown in the cultivation centres of Ahaggar.

(8) *tédersé*, a white colour obtained by placing the skin for about three days in a container with fresh milk to which a little salt is added. – Among Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told that a white colour is also obtained from a kind of powder introduced from the Sudan.

386 Before use these above mentioned colours or dyeing materials are generally dissolved in water
[531] contained in a tea glass. When they are employed for the very fine geometric designs of leather bags they are daubed with a small knife known as *telmusit* (Fig. 219b).

●[439] It is interesting that most dyes used by the Northern Tuareg are introduced from the north or from the south,

[text continues on p. 284]

It is 291 never manufactured by noble women, but noble Tuareg obtain this footwear from vassals, or have [294] them made by their slaves. Lhote states that *imerkeden* sandals in the past were more common among the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar (Lhote 1952a, p. 605). *Imerkeden* sandals are very common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. They are said to be known among the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg under the name *tadakat*. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that they have a related type, but this I have never seen. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg almost exclusively wear sandals of *takalmi* type.

A third main type of sandals is that known to most Tuareg as *tagliezez*. Like other sandal types it [114] is described in detail by Lhote in his study on Tuareg sandals (Lhote 1950d, p. 512–533). Sandals [294] of this type are generally made from one piece of hide or leather which is bent up over the toes. The system of attachment consists of a leather strap attached to the bent-up flap of the sole and passing around the heel through two loops at the back of the sandal. These sandals are extremely common all over the steppes and savannahs of the south, and in Ayr they are used among the *Kel Ewey* and other Tuareg who make them from untanned hide of oxen. In Northern Tuareg country this sandal [184] type is rare and generally not used by pastoral Tuareg who do not manufacture them. However, a pair of sandals resembling this type was brought from Ahaggar to the National Museum of Copenhagen by Olufsen (museum number G 1.8) (Fig. 243). Sandals of *tagliezez* type are nowadays used by many sedentary people of Tamanraset in Ahaggar. They are esteemed by Europeans and by Tuareg and Arabs of the camel corps in Northern Tuareg country. But the sandals worn by the last-mentioned people are manufactured by professional-craftsmen. The sandals illustrated Fig. 244 were bought at [439] the market of Agadez, but derive from the south – from Sokoto it is said. I have noted their name as *akeroga*. – The type of sandal here called *tagliezez* is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *téfedili* (pl. *tifedilin*) (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 304).

A fourth type of sandal is described by Lhote under the name of *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*). It is made of a single piece of untanned hide which is treated as described above for the *takalmi* type, and Lhote thinks that this type of sandal, which is common in the south among poor people, is the most primitive type. Lhote believes that the same type occurs also in Ahaggar because the word *éfekil* is mentioned by Foucauld in his dictionary (Lhote 1950d, p. 525 f., Fig. 18). This does not seem to be correct, for [114] the word *éfekil* (pl. *ifekilen*), according to Foucauld, is used synonymously with *émerked* (pl. *imerkeden*) (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 313).

Lhote writes that the sandals worn by the Tuareg can be divided into three main types, namely the 291 *ératim*, (or *takalmi*), the *émerked*, and the *éfekil*, and that these three types correspond to different 182 types of environment, namely desert, mountain, and steppe (Lhote 1950d, p. 528 f.). Perhaps one should substitute the word *éfekil* with *tagliezez*. There seems to be a certain correspondance between footwear and environment, but it should be added that the distribution of sandal types cannot be explained solely by reference to natural conditions. The *ératim* (or *takalmi*) type of sandal, for example, is used throughout Tuareg country from the Sudan to the central and northern parts of the Sahara, an extremely large area comprising great environmental differences. Nor are they suited to all types of desert. They quickly wear out when used on stony ground, and it is very tiring to wear them when walking through deep sand as the broad soles do not bear upon the surface. The *émerked* type of sandal is doubtless the best for walking in mountains, for it is fixed firmly to the foot and its sole of

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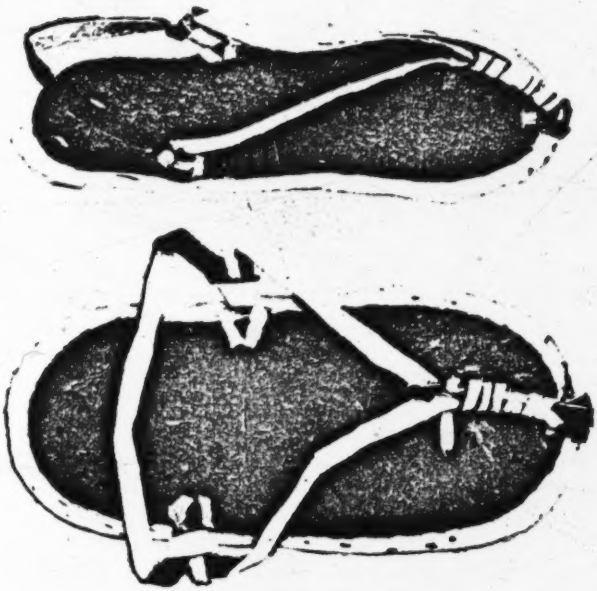

[439] Fig. 244. Sandals known to the Ayr Tuareg as *akeroga*. Bought at Agadez, said to be manufactured at Sokoto in Nigeria. Similar sandals were very common among the *Kel Ataram* Tuareg I saw near Ayoru on the Niger. Dimension: ca. 0.29 m. (N.M. G. 6641).

291 tanned skin does not so easily slide upon the rocks. But sandals of this type are used by a great many
182 Tuareg who do not live in proper mountain areas. The distribution of cultural traits can rarely be explained by mere reference to environmental factors.

292 A most interesting type of footwear, known to the Northern Tuareg and to those of Ayr, is a kind of skin-stocking which is worn with sandals in the winter. I have never myself seen it among the Tuareg and though it has been described in literature published prior to my investigations I failed to enquire
[119] about its use and manufacture. The fact that I have not seen Tuareg skin-stockings does not prove that they are rarely used, for while I have stayed among the Tuareg throughout five summer seasons I have only been among them for one winter, when I mainly lived in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Massif. Most Tuareg I met that winter went barefooted or wore sandals, and those who wanted an extra protection against the cold wore various types of European footwear and stockings.

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Fig. 149. The market place of Agadez. In the front negroid Hausa men roasting small pieces of meat on a spit; in the background Tuareg camels offered for sale.

484 pack-camels to the salt pit of Amadror to mine salt in the hot season. They load the camels with salt
487 and bring them to the camp where further preparations for the journey are made. When the caravans
[317] have started southwards they stop in the Tamesna plains and rest there for at least one month to allow
[437] the pack-camels to feed on annual pasture, and, if necessary, to exchange the pack-camels with others kept by the Ahaggar Tuareg in Tamesna. Thereupon the caravan will continue towards the millet-
[22] growing towns and villages of the Sudan to bargain with the Hausa. The caravan returns to Ahaggar again at the end of March or at the beginning of April, so that the total duration of a south-bound caravan is up to six or seven months.

433 The Sudanese millet trade is of extreme value to the subsistence of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is partic-
439 ularly important to their economy that they obtain millet for non-nomadic products transported by camels, which are mainly bred outside of Ahaggar. The millet trade is consequently not much influenced by Ahaggar's changeable climate. According to official statistics, the Ahaggar caravans in 1946 exported 375 tons salt, and imported 720 tons millet, while the cereals grown in Ahaggar amounted to 197 tons (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). According to Galan vegetable food grown in the gardens of Ahaggar in 1950 (a bad year) amounted to 121 tons wheat, 5 tons millet and barley, and 4 tons of tomatoes – about 10 kg of wheat and 0.5 kg of millet, barley, and tomatoes per person (Galan 1951, p. 233). We see from this that the amount of cereals acquired in the Sudan far exceeds the amount
[465] grown in Ahaggar, and as we have mentioned, the millet trade is also important for the establishment of Tuareg agriculture in their own country where this cereal is used for payments to cultivators. It can also be added that the Sudanese caravan trade is more important to the Tuareg than appears from
[435] the figures above. For salt is much more valuable than millet, and for one load of salt the Tuareg receive from four to fifteen loads of millet – in 1946 the price was fifteen to one (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). It is evident that the Tuareg could not take all this millet back to Ahaggar. Most of it is re-sold

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Fig. 245. Decorated house of Sudanese type at the market place of Agadez.

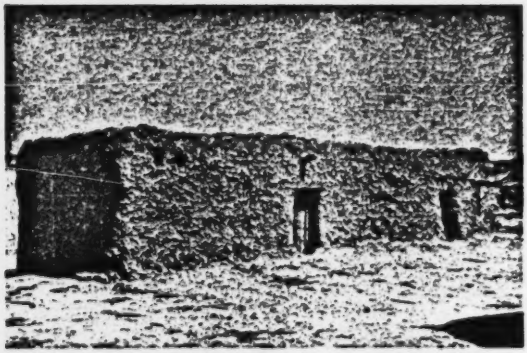

Fig. 246. House (*tayajant*) built of mud and stones which are covered by a mud plaster. Ayr, Awderas.

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Fig. 247. House (*tayajant*) of the type depicted Fig. 246. The mud plaster is decaying and the stones are visible. Ayr, Awderas.

564 The Tuareg, who heartily scorn them because of their obscure origin and servile profession, recognize their good qualities and are happy to profit from them. They also fear them a good deal, for [754] they credit them with supernatural powers of sorcery and magic. Possessors of fire, mistreating the earth and the minerals by beating them, they are placed in a world apart, inhabited by the genii with whom they are likely to enter into relations. Although the Moslem [751] marabouts willingly sell amulets, which the Tuareg prize, the latter do not hesitate, in case of need, to ask the Enaden for amulets in preference.

The Enaden are still more despised because they have no moral principles and willingly serve as spies and traitors; they spy on the Iklan and the wives of their masters and also act as go-between for [837] lovers. Like the jesters in our Middle Ages, they have the right to go anywhere, including among the women. Everyone finds this natural, for this is a right which is all but acknowledged.

Sometimes they take part in raids, and they are reputed to fight [726] bravely, although no one wants to stay beside them during combat, since they seem to possess talismans so powerful that javelins directed toward them deviate /175/ from their route and are apt to strike those [626] nearby. The Tuareg never kill an Enad, for this brings misfortune and the Enad might take revenge from beyond the tomb.

In Sudanese tribes they are called ag'gou (plural, ag'gouten) and 184 sometimes play the part of jesters (griot). Some are musicians and 564 storytellers. This role is not widespread, but it happens that the amenokal of the Tenguéréguif, Chéboun, has several griots attached to his person. They avenge themselves on people who are not [626] generous enough to them by making satirical songs against them to which the Tuareg are often very sensitive.

They are willing to do anything to earn a bit of money, which 564 they spend as fast as they get it. A blacksmith always has his debts, 436 but people give him credit for they know that he will be shrewd ●454 enough to repay them one day.

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Fig. 111. Skin bag of *téchékwat* type made from a jackal's skin. The Ahaggar Tuareg believe that people who conserve their money in a skin bag of this kind will have good luck in trading. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.63 m (F.M. 283).

565 /Fr. race/, " "aristocrat, " and not "noble" as some have written.
[192] This would be said elli (plural, illellan) in Tamashek. (1)

1. Cf. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik, " Bulletin de l'Institut Français, Afrique Noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, pp. 579-586.

In Sudanese dialects, amacher, by transposition into local
192 phonetics, becomes amajer (plural, imajeuren). As we have already
197 said, it is easy to find in these names the old Berber root amazir, which formerly referred to certain Libyan peoples and which still exists in the name of a considerable Berber fraction in Morocco.

The Imochar, who hold the political rights, are the real masters
565 of the country. All of them claim to be of sherif origin, more or
[173] less descendants of the Prophet; however, this claim has no solid foundation, except the desire to assume a high birth affiliating them to Islamism and its founder a long time back, but this is not true.

/159/ Among themselves, the Tuareg refer to men of old nobility and old stock /Fr. race/ as loumet.

All the Imochar are essentially warriors. They owe their high
565 social position to the saber, and they know no other occupation than
701 war and raiding. Their role as suzerain makes them parasites of the
631 vassal classes, and they used to constitute a scourge to caravans crossing their country. Their way of life has always been pillage,
[181 and in their eyes manual labor is a disgrace which only slaves can
461] accept.

Covering the desert on their camels, fighting, risking death in
181 faraway escapades -- that is what the life of a man of noble blood,
565 who intends to remain one, must be. They take their vassals on their escapades and save part of the booty for them, by right of participation. Scorn for manual labor is a class prejudice with them

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote
[602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general-
[582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihǎggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihǎggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were
[643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores
[184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous
[567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
●461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar,
[582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

439 cotton clothes, and Sudanese-made lithams /veils/. Then after
484 two months of rest spent in the Sudan, during which time the camels revel in the rich pasture, they all set out again for the Ahaggar, where they arrive from January on. February and March see them leave again for the Tidikelt or Touat. At that time they take only a few camels and exchange the excess manufactured articles which they collected in the Sudan and trade dried mutton for dates. This trip lasts an average of two months, and toward the end of April everyone is back in the Ahaggar, as a rule. There is a rest of a few weeks, and everyone thinks about the next salt campaign he is going to have to prepare.

Thus we see a complete caravan cycle which, by itself, could allow the Tuareg a normal life. But as we have said, it implies a [461] state of peace which was previously the exception, as well as an amount of work to be furnished which is not always in harmony with the warlike tastes of the Imochar.

224 Hunting supplies some employment for the Tuareg, as does gathering. But both of them are only uncertain pastimes, without
221 much profit. The life of the Tuareg may thus be summed up in a few lines: basic animal husbandry doubled by brigandage raised to the state of an institution, and accessorily by some caravaneering. Now we shall see the domestic life of the Tuareg.

/221/

## Chapter 2

## Dwellings

361 The camp. -- The camp is the traditional Tuareg form of
621 habitation; it is connected with nomadism which always implies animal husbandry. It includes a certain number of people gathered together under a patriarchal authority by very close bonds of kinship.

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Fig. 5. Veiled vassal Tuareg. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

Fig. 6. Irrigation-farmer of the *Ibureliten*, that is descendants of mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and Negroes. The man is patrilineally releated to the noble *Tayisek* tribe, matrilineally to slaves. Ahaggar, Amsel.

181 and there are indeed many Tuareg both in Ahaggar and in Ayr who wear Islamic amulets which are believed to make the wearers look "great and important". "Prestige" is constantly in the mind of all Tuareg who are much more sophisticated than other people living within their country.

181 Most true Tuareg are nomadic stock-breeders who will not engage in the strenuous work of irriga-
433 tion agriculture. The Tuareg will readily engage in any strenuous work connected with stock-breeding,
461 caravan trading, and in the past also in raiding expeditions, which were organized by people of the nobility, but agricultural work is generally much despised. However, there are in all groups certain families or tribes the members of which subsist predominantly by agriculture, and are nevertheless considered true Tuareg by pastoralists. These agricultural Tuareg will be mentioned in a later chapter,
564 and we shall now pass on to a brief description of various negroid castes and of other non-Tuareg
567 people living within the boundaries of Tuareg territory:—

*Iklan* (sing. *Akli*). These are the proper slaves who are very negroid. Nicolas believes that the word *Akli* (pl. *Iklan*) is in fact derived from a k-l root meaning "to be black" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189), but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



temperatures which may be below zero. At a later date the plants of wheat and barley are watered less frequently, and watering ceases completely some time before harvesting in order that the plant may ripen more easily. 243

The agriculturists of Ahaggar do not manure the garden plots used for wheat and barley. Only a new garden plot never previously cultivated is manured, and when such a garden is made the wild vegetation of grasses, herbs, bushes, and trees is often set on fire. Wheat and barley can be grown in the same garden plot for three or four years in succession, and the soil then needs at least one year's rest. In this way, the same garden plot can be kept under cultivation for many years without manuring: this continuous cultivation on the same spot with a one year's rest for each three or four years cultivation is possible partly because there is a certain crop rotation with other plants grown in summer, but mainly because the agriculturists during the period wheat and barley are grown carry fresh soil to their gardens. This is done not only before sowing but also throughout a long period of the winter when the plants are tender and green. When I stayed in the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel in the [101] months of January and February (1955), all agricultural households worked strenuously from morning to night carrying soil to the green garden plots of wheat and barley. The soil was carried in plaited baskets [482] (cf. Fig. 135) on the head, or in bigger baskets carried by donkeys. The soil was left in small heaps [492] (one in every garden bed) to be spread over and between the green plants (cf. Fig. 137). This extremely [461] strenuous work, I was told, would continue until the month of March.

In spite of the fact that cultivation in Ahaggar is done intensively and much work is connected with it, the yield of winter crops is not a very considerable one. In Abalessa it is said that seed-corn of wheat and barley will normally amount to about 50 kgs, and about 500 kgs is to be considered a normal yield, though certain gardens which are extremely well cultivated may yield more and in rare cases up to one thousand kilogrammes. The gardens I saw at Amsel and Taṛhawhawt were smaller than those seen in Abalessa. At Taṛhawhawt the quantity of wheat and barley sown, was said to amount to about 35 kilogrammes.

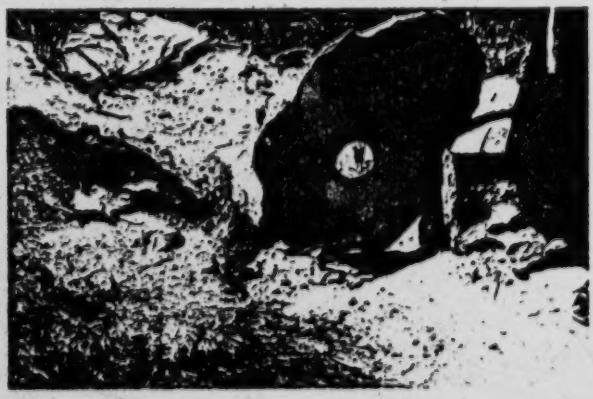

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Fig. 134. The flat stone (*amṛfi*) inserted between the water basin (*tikemt*) and the canal (*teḥakant*) which leads water towards the gardens. Irrigation stops and the basin runs full of water when a cotton stopper is put into the round hole in the middle of the flat stone. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi Arabe*.

243 Wheat and barley grown in winter constitute the most important crops in Ahaggar, but, as mentioned,
[262] the gardens are also cultivated at other seasons, and crops of millet and sorghum taken in summer
are most important substistence for irrigation farmers in Ahaggar. Millet is known to the Tuareg as
[171] *énélé*; it seems to be the same species as that so widely grown by African agriculturists of the savannah
[221] countries (*Pennisetum typhoideum*, or *P. Americanum*). Millet is sown in June-July and harvested in September, or in October. Little work is involved with the cultivation of this plant which is never watered
[461] much (cf. p. 184), and the agriculturists do not carry fresh soil to the millet plots as they do to plots of wheat and barley. Species of sorghum are less important than millet. The common species is known as
[386] *abora* or *tafsut* (*Andropogon Sorghum*). Another species is known as *tallak*; it has smaller seeds than the species just mentioned, and is grown mainly because of its stems, which are reduced to powder to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 282).

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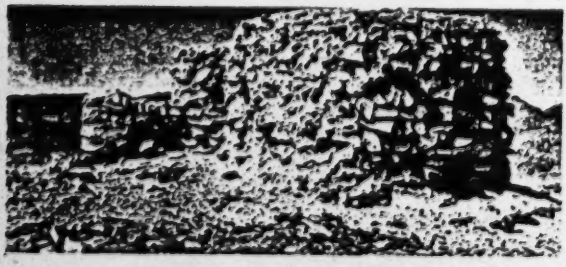
Fig 135. Basket (*téseuit*) of the type used for transportation of fresh soil to old garden land. It is plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*afum*) and has handles of rope made from date palm bast (*asan*). Soil is also carried to gardens in larger baskets (*téyerirt*, pl. *tiyrar*) loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m high, 0.35 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5285).

them. They are lined and covered with mats as in Ahaggar, and though they may be used for the 251
storage of wild seeds they are mainly used for grown cereals and are generally found in or close to 343
gardens. Grain silos built of stones and mud – the *tarassana* type of Ahaggar – are said to occur among the *Kel Ewey* but I have never seen such storerooms in their villages, nor have I met the typical African storeroom built of straw and resting upon poles until south of the Massif in Damergu where they are used by shifting cultivators. Large earthenware containers shaped like cooking pots are used [415]
to store vegetable products (cereals) in certain villages, particularly at Iferwan. Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr have the underground storerooms for the preservation of surplus grain and other vegetable products. Cereals to be consumed in the camps (notably millet) are kept in large skin-bags resting [415]
upon poles that they may not be damaged by white ants. The Ahaggar Tuareg also preserve cereals in their tents in skin-bags.

Irrigation agriculture is a strenuous task, but it is less influenced by climatic conditions than all 241
other occupations practised in the Sahara. The farmers are not exposed to the same disasters of drought [461]
periods as are pastoral Tuareg in the north, though it is said that rain is a direct blessing also to irrigated crops. But cultivated plants are exposed to certain dangers, e.g., locusts, and crops do not always thrive as they should. Bad luck in agricultural activities may in the opinion of the farmers be due to [272]
some mystical power or other. It may arise from incorrect treatment of cereals and dates so that they [278]
lose their *elbaraka*. Menstruating women, as mentioned above, are dangerous to vegetable food, and [841]
this is also true of the fire, for which reason one should never throw date kernels into the flames. The farmers also fear that their crops may suffer damage from the attack of the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and partic- [754]
ularly from the attack of the malignant force attached to the "evil eye" or the "evil mouth". To protect their crops the farmers frequently use amulets such as broken pots and skulls of domestic animals [237]
(notably of donkeys), which are considered an effective means against the "evil eye" and the "evil mouth" (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 133 f., 160).



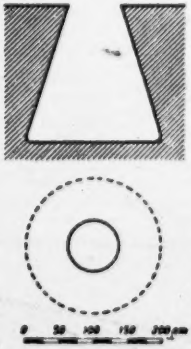



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Fig. 145. Grain silos of the *tarassana* type built of stones and mud. Ahaggar, Abalessa.
Fig. 146. Cross section of a subterranean storeroom for cereals, and the like (*ifend*). Dimensions according to Foucauld: 2.00 m–2.50 m deep, 2.00 m in diameter at the bottom, 0.75 m in diameter at the surface (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 459 f.).

[text continues on p. 209]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The trading expedi-
tions have remained important to the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it is clear that they would not go on trading 437
were these expeditions not profitable, for trading expeditions are extremely strenuous. Though the 484
expeditions set off when the extreme heat is decreasing, it is still very hot in the extensive barren plains 461
in autumn and in winter during daytime. Water and pasture are often extremely scarce in this deserted country, and the Tuareg frequently have to travel rapidly. For days or weeks they live so to say on their camels, and if camels are not too heavily loaded they may do up to 16 hours a day for several days in succession. Under such journeys the Tuareg eat only once a day. Obviously such trading [262]
expeditions are also very hard on the pack-camels, and there is always a risk of loosing a camel during such journeys through barren, desert country.

In this brief outline of caravan trading I have not considered those Ahaggar Tuareg living constantly 433
in the Tamesna plains and adjacent regions. These Tuareg own more livestock than the Tuareg of the 184
Ahaggar Massif, and I do not believe that they engage so much in extensive trading expeditions. [433]
They are comparatively rich in she-camels which are tolerably good milk yielders in these regions [262]
most of the year, and milk is more important as food than it is in Ahaggar. I believe that most Ahaggar [438]
Tuareg of the Tamesna region acquire their necessary vegetable products by selling surplus livestock [366]
butter and cheese at the markets of Ingal and Agadez.

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AYR TUAREG

Among the Ayr Tuareg stock-breeding products are far more important for food than in the north. 433
Grazing conditions are better with annual pasture as a recurrent event, and the Tuareg keep bigger 262
flocks of goats and sheep, larger camel herds, and most have a few zebus which are guarded without much difficulty. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr can live on milk for a large part of the year, though they, like those of Ahaggar, become tired of milk drinking if they get no solid food. There are Tuareg of Southern Ayr who live exclusively on milk for two or three months during the periods of *akasa* and *ṛarat* and to whom milk is important as food for at least six months. In the extremely hot season of *ewilen* when milk is very scarce most Tuareg eat millet porridge with a little milk or sauce (cf. p. 242 f.), and Tuareg who are not very wealthy eat millet porridge to a great extent all the year round, so that the necessary amount of millet for many camps is about 0.5 kilo a day per person, or about 180 kilos a year. In Ayr there are fairly good possibilities of collecting if there are not too many [222]
locusts, but most Tuareg do not collect a great quantity of wild seeds, and claim that they would be very badly off without millet, as seeds of wild plants are not very nourishing in comparison. In one year during the second world war (in 1943) they say that millet was very hard to get; it was then very [261]
difficult to subsist and a great many animals had to be killed for food. Millet is almost indispensable to the Tuareg; they also consume other vegetables derived from agriculture, notably wheat, maize, and dates, but millet is the most essential non-nomadic food product. Normally it can be acquired by most Ayr Tuareg without much difficulty.

The people of Ayr obtain their provisions of millet from the Sudanese area of shifting cultivation, 439
notably from Damergu (Tanut). Millet can also be bought at Agadez whereto it is brought by Tuareg 437

or a large chopping knife of European origin; (4) Holes are dug with one of the implements mentioned in front of the bed and behind it, and the curved wooden pieces forming the arches are placed in these holes and are lashed together at their upper ends. These holes are 0.30–0.35 m deep; (5) Holes of the same depth are dug for the vertical sticks which support the cross-bars at both sides of the arches, the cross-bars being attached to the vertical sticks by means of cords; (6) A long cord is wound around the high middle arch so that the cord forms tight loops along the upper part of the arch; (7) The slender semi-arches, each consisting of two rods, are placed in the loops of the middle arch from both ends; (8) The thick ends of these rods are attached to the cross-bars with cords; (9) The upper ends of these rods are attached to each other to form semi-arches, and the wooden structure is now finished; (10) Two mats of the *ewerwer* type, which form the inner layer of the roof, are laid over the semi-arches; (11) Dum palm mats of oval shape are placed upon these mats; (12) A long and narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent following its longitudinal direction; (13) The mats are fastened to the wooden structure by means of a cord running over the high central arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction of the dwelling; (14) An oval dum palm mat is placed on each side of the high central arch, and these two mats are fastened to the wooden structure with cords attached to the two lower middle arches; (15) A long narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent along the high middle arch at a right angle to the longitudinal direction; (16) All mats covering the upper structure of the tent are finally fastened by means of a cord system running all over the roof and attached to the horizontal cross-bars and the lower parts of the arches; (17) The long narrow dum palm mat is drawn around the lower part of the tent if considered necessary. 342* [284] [285]

The mat tent is normally erected as here described, but all women do not erect their tents exactly in the order mentioned. The work seems to be very easy to the women who measure no distances. They seem to carry out their work automatically. I have not been able to control the amount of time needed for one or two women to erect a mat tent of the type mentioned, for the women are frequently interrupted in their work by many other household duties, by their crying babies, or by visitors from other camps, but I believe that one woman can erect this elaborate tent structure in about half an hour. 342* 461

There are some mat tents which are slightly different in structure from the above-mentioned tent. These are mentioned below:— 342*

B.1.b. Tents which are larger and have a more elaborate structure. Such tents are rare and are found mainly in the camps of chiefs. They may have four or five arches and a larger number of semi-arches than other tents. I have seen very large tents in the camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and the largest tent I have seen was that of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief. It contained two large beds and measured about 6.00 × 3.50 m; it was over two metres high at the middle arch. [134]

Mat tents of a less elaborate structure are not so rare. The following types can be mentioned:—

B.1.c. A tent structurally identical with B.1.a with the exception that it has only two arches which are of equal height. These arches are then both known by the term *tekkekkewatin* (sing. *tekkekkewat*). Tents of this type with only two arches seem to be common among the *Iforas* tribes of Southern Ayr.

B.1.d. A tent with two slender arches of equal height, secured in an erect position by means of cords from the middle of the arches to the middle of the horizontal cross-bars. This is not a common type, and I have seen only one such dwelling in a vassal camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. [184]

[text continues on p. 356]

563 [651] Every year they pay the aménokal three loads of dates and three young goats.

[554] The Irréguénaten. -- The Irréguénaten, like the Issekkemâren, are assimilated vassals of a social rank superior to that of the Imrad.

They are of Tuareg mothers from the Ibettenâten tribe and Arab fathers from the Kounta tribe.

They are divided into two groups: 1) the Adrar Irréguénaten or Issettafénine Irréguénaten, who descended from a sherif of Gourara named Abdelmoumen, whose two sons Mouima and Inchelane married Ibettenâten women; 2) the Ahaggar Irréguénaten or Ihággarénine Irréguénaten, who descended from the Dermachaka, an incorporated tribe of Kounta and Ibettenâten.

All of them nomadize in the northern Ǎdrar des Ifôras and the Timétrine and even push as far as Erg Chech. They also visit the Ǎhnet and Tǎmasna.

[233] This is a very rich tribe engaged in raising camels. The Irréguénaten own more than 2, 300 camels, 350 cows, and more than 2, 350 goats and sheep.

[162] In 1908 they numbered 50 to 60 men, according to Benhazéra. The 1938 census raises the figure to 358 persons, 100 of them fighters.

[651] /202/ They pay the tioussé to the descendants of the Inemba and to the descendants of Si Mohamed ag Othman.

[669] Although they associated with the Adrar Kounta, they maintained relations with the rebellious marabout Abidine, who took refuge among the Kel Ahnet. They probably even served him as spies, and the people of Ǎdrar des Ifôras held them in suspicion for a long time.

[28] [462] Their camel raising is very well known, and their wives are quite expert in leatherwork.

[602] There are also Irréguénaten in the Niger loop, but they have no bonds of kinship with the Ahaggar Irréguénaten.

The tent is occupied by only one household, and each of the married couple has his own side. The man's side is to the left as one enters the door; there he keeps his mehari saddle, his weapons, and his bags of salt. To the right is the woman's place, where she keeps her bag of personal things, her saddle if she has one, the bags containing the food supplies, and the kitchen implements which she has charge of. 592 [422]

In summer when it is very hot, the Tuareg sometimes use straw huts, as much to save hides as to be a bit more comfortable. The leather tent, in fact, is made almost useless by the heat, and nomads often seek shelter during the heat of the day under neighboring trees when there are any or else in the rocks. 342 [184]

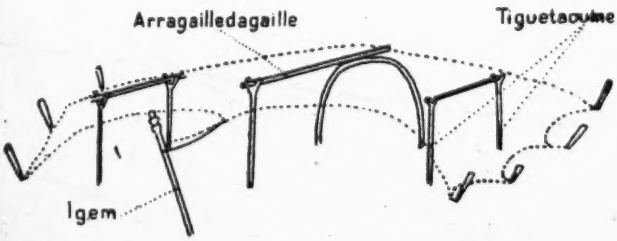


Fig. 26. Tent used by the Agouh-n-Tehlé. Sometimes the stake supporting the aragailledagaille may be replaced by a second arch. In some tribes, particularly among the Kel Ahnet, the arches were placed crosswise.

trees when there are any or else in the rocks.

Captives never have tents. They build themselves little shelters with a few branches on which are hung scraps of leather or cloth. [727]

It falls entirely to the women to put up the tents. [462]

Granaries. -- One of the most characteristic facts of nomadic life is its lack of foresight in questions of food. For the most part, the nomad lives from one day to the next, following the seasons, without accumulating anything. This is somewhat the case for the Tuareg. Still, the Sahara is not a country where one can find supplies easily. 251 343

412 Each mistress of a tent has a little
356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses, and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,
492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are
[462] left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving;
[565] only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in moving only if it is a long trip.

/230/ Chapter 3

Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding
262 peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea, bechena (Sorghum cernuum Host.), a kind of millet cultivated in the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during
[252 their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in
484] the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong cultural-
[101] ly to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

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To make up this deficiency in graminaceae, the Tuareg have recourse to products of gathering.

After a rain the captives and the Imrad women gather the seeds of certain plants which grow in the Ahaggar valleys. They are the afasso (Panicum turgidum F.) and the oulloul (Aristida pungens D.). But the size of the yield varies with the abundance of rain, and one may say that most of the time it is quite /233/ uncertain. This is not the case in the Sudan, where the Iklan gather whole bags of wild seeds, particularly cram-cram (Cenchrus echinatus), every year.

[262]

[233 281 415 234]

Fig. 31. Little leather flask used as a butter container.

To be sure, there are a few wild berries in the Ahaggar, such as those from the jujube tree (Zizyphus lotus D.) and the téborak (Balanites aegyptiaca). In case of famine the Tuareg fall back on other seeds, such as those of the colocynth, the Acacia tortillis, etc. However, all these plants play only a secondary role in the Tuareg diet.

[731]

[262]

The Tuareg have at their disposal milk from their camels, goats, and ewes. They drink it either whole or diluted with water, either fresh or sour.

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The luxury of drinking whole milk is reserved for young mothers and children. Adults generally drink fresh milk morning and

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32 If, secondly, we look for the aptitudes which the Tuareg have for working these different raw materials, we notice that their enumeration follows the same order as above, with the reservation 325 that none of them know how to work metals. The latter occupations 463 are the prerogative of the Enaden, that is to say, the artisans, and 564 it is evident from this that without the artisans' help Tuareg industry would be limited to work in wood, leather, and esparto. In short, it is the cultural cycle of the pastoral peoples of the steppe.

[174] It is only much later, when the Tuareg had integrated the Enaden with their social organization, that they used metals. Therefore, [415 531] we perceive the considerable role which artisans must have played in technical evolution and that of art itself.

Fig. 46. Wooden funnel.

/277/ The presence of Enaden in the camps has reduced the manual labor [322] of the Tuareg, but the latter are still able to make wooden articles -- milking vessels, bowls, tent stakes, etc.

565 One of their most curious customs is that women from the high 462 nobility work wooden vessels and funnels with their hands by means 322 of a little adze. They usually give them to the wives of their Imrad, 431 who are very appreciative of these gifts. In the Ahaggar camps we found many little utensils which were the work of famous noble-women, of tamenokalin whose names are piously kept; these objects were saved with much veneration. This custom is even more re- [174] markable since we know the scorn that the Tuareg have for manual labor; we must see in it a relic of woodworking which must formerly have been everyone's work, without distinction, before the creation of the artisan class.

Wood furnishes containers for food, drinking vessels, milking vessels, mortars, pestles, tent stakes, crosspieces and boards for making saddles. The Ahaggar does not have more than five or six species of woods which can be worked, and the articles, very simply shaped, are much less varied than in the Sudanese tribes. 322

All Ahaggar women, noble or vassal, know how to tan, remove hair from, sew, decorate, and embroider leather. They are able to make a waterskin needed to carry water, prepare skins to make tents, and manufacture bags for transporting food and personal objects. They have all become so expert in these labors that it is 281 462

[415 862]

Fig. 47. Amoula, a little wooden "bottle" for young children to drink from.

difficult to find any other peoples in the world who possess such a developed leather craft.

The scarcity of vegetable materials in the Ahaggar is one of the reasons why the use of esparto is relatively restricted. Only the stems of a graminacea common in the wadies (Panicum turgidum) are used to make mats -- large enclosing mats which surround the tent, sleeping mats, mats for covering plates. [137] 285 [824]

/278/ The stems are bound by little leather thongs, and the combination of graminacea and leather is extremely effective; it allows very regular geometric decorations at the same time as a very solid work. [283] [531]

There are no esparto vans among the Tuareg. The women use palm-leaf vans and hats, but these articles are the work of the Harratin from the little palm groves of Silet, Ideles, and Abalessa. 291 415 438

283 Spinning is done by all Tuareg women. They spin the hair of the
462 goat, the camel, and the wild sheep, making very solid cords and saddle girths.

286 Weaving is limited to the making of goat's-hair, or more rarely camel's-hair, bags. This is a very primitive technique which does not require any loom and which is, furthermore, in the process of disappearing from the Ahaggar, where only a few noblewomen still practice it. It is completely extinct in Sudanese tribes.

324 Stonework, a relic of Neolithism, was still carried on in the Ahaggar
438 a few years ago to make arm rings. Layers of granitoid schists were formerly worked
[415 at Aseksem and Terahart in the Tăfedest. We also found
322] an ancient workshop south of Silet on the banks of the Tamanrasset wadi. Today all stone bracelets come from Aïr and a few from Hombori, where they are manufactured by Tuareg or Hausa artisans.

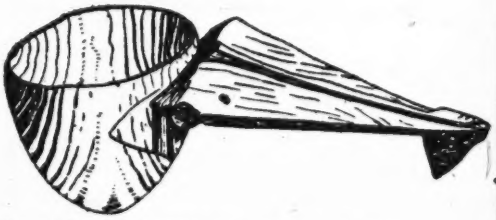

Fig. 48. Tabarekkat wooden ladle, also serving as a drinking vessel.

326 Metalworking is exclusively in the hands of the Enaden, who transform
[56] silver, copper, and iron. These materials, with the exception of iron, do not exist in a native, workable state in the Ahaggar. But although iron
[135] ore is common /279/ in some volcanic rocks of their country, the Tuareg do not have it exploited, for it is found in such small particles that it necessitates a disproportionate amount of forge work for the quantity likely to be recovered. Nevertheless, the memory of casting ore still remains among the Enaden. They use several forges at once, but do not know
[439] the blast furnace. The caravaneers coming from the north or from the Sudan used to bring metals.

177 At the present time silver comes from coins which are melted. For
326 years the Tuareg have had Maria Theresa dollars at their disposal; these

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
[412 collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
302] an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of
Tagant and Hodh.

291 Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
855 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
[556] girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear
trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From
that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while
the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated for either the boy or girl.

868 The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
857 which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
[762] milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of
this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then
fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games
between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet
stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly
speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a
camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
[212] Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they
are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
[145] when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
291 ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good ad-
[131] vice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

Plate XVI

326

Settled in improvised camps, blacksmiths work in the open air making weapons and utensils needed by the Tuareg.

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The Imrad women are in charge of taking the flocks to pasture and water. Every two or three days they go to the wells, drawing water for the goats, who drink out of wooden bowls or out of skins used as containers by placing them on mounds of sand in the shape of a basin. They fill the waterskins which will be transported to the camp by asses.

291 tract which otherwise suffer severely in an arid climate, even when the ambiant temperature is only moderately high. Thus it is clear that the teguelmoust does have a very real practical value, regardless of what the Tuareg may say; and it is clear also that the men who wear it need it far more than do their womenfolk who go without.

291 It is not true that Tuareg women of the Ahaggar (fig. 48) are exposed to the rigors
512 of their environment either as much or in the same way as are their menfolk. The men are
462 out and about a good deal of the time, riding here and there across the countryside on errands of one sort or another or on long journeys far away, while the women sit quietly in the shelter of their tents, gossiping, telling folk tales, doing fancy leatherwork, and teaching tribal lore and sometimes Tifinagh [11] to the children. Every family that is
[567] not miserably poor has at least two or three slaves to fetch and carry water, prepare the meals and do the other daily chores, so that the mistress of a normal Tuareg household in the Ahaggar has no need to take a single step outside her tent except when camp is moved, or to visit with her neighbors and to answer calls of nature.

291 Although it is true that Tuareg women do not wear veils, it is also true that women
171 of the other Saharan nomad tribes, Arabs included, seldom if ever wear veils either, except on the very rare occasions when they visit a sedentary settlement or town, and even then not always by any means. But Tuareg and other Saharan nomad women alike all draw a corner of the head shawl (or turban cloth) across the nose and mouth occasionally as a simple matter of physical protection, and this has the same practical effect as putting on a veil does.

291 All this data on the wearing of veils and going without them proves nothing, to be sure, but it does go to show that the Tuareg teguelmoust itself can have had a strictly utilitarian origin after all, as Blanguernon (1955, p. 99) implied, quite apart from the origin of the elaborate and rigid ceremonial
291 quality with which its use has become imbued.
177 As for the date at which the teguelmoust

[11] The Tuareg alphabetic script.

3: Holiday J-5 (ca.1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



533 For example, a rough division can be made straight away between the songs that seem
[177] to suggest a negro origin and those whose flavour is indisputably, let us say Moorish, rather than Arabic. First of all it would be as well to deal with the few instruments used by the Tuareg in relation to the type of song they accompany; for, here again, the same division occurs.

534 The nearest that the Tuareg possess to an instrument capable of producing a melodic line is the "amzhad" (or "imzad". The plural of the word, "imzaden" meaning "hair"). This is a single stringed instrument of the lute variety comprising a sound box usually made from a gourd and covered with stretched membrane, a rough neck of stick being fixed across the diameter and projecting about 12 inches. The string is passed over a rudimentary bridge made of two short pieces of stick lashed together so as to form a shallow "V" and tied to the end of the curved neck. The pitch of the string is determined first of all by a sliding loop further down the neck and controlled during performance by the musician's left hand. A bow is used and it is from this that the instrument derives its name, since the bowstring is made from the hair of the women. The instrument is pitched on the open string usually at an approximate middle "C", though this can vary since an "E" above middle "C" frequently becomes the tonic note. Its range is roughly an octave and a third, accompaniments often being played in the top part of the register. Intervals approximating to perfect intervals predominate during performance.

Two kinds of percussion are used by the Tuareg, not counting group handclapping that features with many of the songs: a tom-tom with a wooden shell and single head, and a more hybrid contraption involving a gourd and a bowl of water. The tom-tom, which is played with the flat of the hand, has a head of stretched gazelle skin fastened by a cord made of goat hair and can be tuned by damping with water. Dry, the tom-tom produces a "treble" note, and wet, a bass one. The shape of the shell resembles an eggcup, and although tom-toms vary in size they are roughly a foot in diameter and eighteen
[434] inches high. The wood comes from the French Sudan, but the tom-tom is to be found wherever the Tuareg go. The gourd and bowl of water suggest that it is a recent innovation, since bowls are not readily obtainable in the Sahara except through foreign manufacture and trade, i.e., foreign to the Tuareg. Indeed, the bowl largely favoured is an ordinary enamelled affair about six inches deep and perhaps eighteen inches across such as is found in the kitchen of any European home. Filled with water and this surface struck rhythmically with an inverted half gourd it produces a deep, damped note comparable to a well-tuned bass drum.

Wind instruments are unknown among the Tuareg and the "amzhad" and the two percussion instruments mentioned above are the only musical devices used. Certain distinctions govern the use of these three instruments that have their roots in tradition.
462 All of them are played by the women who, particularly with the "amzhad" display con-
533 siderable virtuosity: for a Targui to play an instrument would be *infra dig*. Consequently, much of the propagation of folk-culture is in the hands of the women, though the men-
[177] folk do not consider the heroic beneath their dignity. However, the war songs, recounting the deeds of great warriors, are practically extinct since the Tuareg have passed from being a fighting race, levying protective tolls upon the caravans, to become a quiet, almost passive people, anxious for survival in the face of encroaching modern civilisation that has already dissipated the often considerable wealth amassed before the French gained control in the Sahara.

533 The music of the Tuareg falls into the two types mentioned earlier: songs that seem
[177] to owe their origin to negro influences, and those that have certain Moorish characteristics. It is curious to note that none of the songs of the women feature the use of mordents or shakes, whereas those of the men invariably do so. Secondly, percussion other than handclapping is never used to accompany the men, while the "amzhad" is never used to accompany the songs of the women. When the "amzhad" is used, perhaps because

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



563 akin to the system in use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These peopl
601 draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (fig. 8 9).

563 The material culture of the Air negroes is marked by both northern and
342 southern traits. The most common type of dwelling is a beehive hut *(tatrami)*, which I have also seen south of Air in the savannah, while similar huts are unknown to the north in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. The huts are often placed within round enclosures which are possibly of Sudanese origin (cf. fig. 15). There are however other types of dwellings in the Air villages. Very common is a square straw hut *(techira)* with a slightly elevated saddle-roof. It is built by the men while the beehive hut is made by women, and both types are frequently used by one and the same household. This square hut differs constructionally from the straw huts used among settled agriculturists in the north. Also rather common is a barrel-vaulted hut *(ehen)* covered with mats (fig. 14). It has the same name and is of much the same construction as the movable huts or tents used by most pastoral Air Tuareg (fig. 5 & 13). It is built by women and seems to have been introduced by pastoral [462] women married to settled agriculturists. Finally there is in some villages a rectangular house *(tagarhant)* with a flat roof. It has very solid walls generally built from stones inserted in and covered with mud. It has various sub-types more elaborately described by Rodd, who considers these houses to be of northern origin (Rodd 1926a, p. 240ff.). They have most probably been introduced from Tassili-n-Ajjer
177 or the Fezzan from which regions came also the irrigation system now forming the
312 basis of agriculture all over Air, namely the drawing of water from shallow wells *(anou)* by means of zebus. This system is extremely common in the Fezzan and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where, as mentioned, it was introduced also to Ahaggar. It is not known when it came to Air, but in many villages it has been adopted only very recently. Not so many years ago water for irrigation in most villages was apparently raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight *(agoudit)* (cf. Capot-Rey 1933, p. 322), but this method has now disappeared. It can be considered the oldest irrigation machine and it is no doubt [174] of very great age in Northern Africa including the Sudan. The method however
241 involves much strenuous work and in view of this it may seem quite natural that agriculture in Air was in the past also practised as shifting cultivation without any irrigation. Rodd states that in certain areas of Air rain-grown crops could be raised most years and that in the past a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I think this is correct. Certain crops as for instance millet has a very short period of growth; in Ahaggar (Abelessa) millet is sown in June-July and harvested in September, and it is said that it is not watered very much and never to the same extent as wheat grown in winter. It would no doubt be possible to grow millet in many parts of Air without artificial irrigation during the rains, and in fact millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation. But nowadays agri-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



114 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc
174 légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale
233 qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau apparaissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe, il semble qu'au VII[e] siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227).

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chameliers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui foit leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the
175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the
101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions:
233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 168ff.).

It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature
175 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding
233 (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. – Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. – Leo Africanus p. 940f.). To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly
171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is
233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds apparently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415f. – Murray 1935, p. 92ff. – Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the
[177] true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black
[342] tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. – Herskovits 1926. – Kroll 1928). The common
[462] traits seem to be the following:– 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is
[825] done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both
[538] camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently characterised by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925-30, I-II).

end of the *akaw* season. In other words:— When the inhabitants of a camp have their collectively guarded goats divided into two parts, one of these brings forth kids at the time when the other is mated. 233* 132

This method of mating-regulation is that ideally used by prosperous goat-breeders both in Ayr and among the Northern Tuareg. If in the north a flock is divided into two parts the kids are born in autumn (*amerwan*), and in spring (*tafsit*) the former season being the better. Kids brought forth between these two seasons are known as *amezahar*. But as climatic conditions and consequently also the quality of pastures change from one year to another in the true desert country, the mating-system of division into halves cannot always be practised in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. In severe periods of drought goats may be too meagre for mating for a whole year or even longer, during which time the he-goats will have their penis bound. Thus during the dry year 1954/55 no goats were mated in Ahaggar. – It should be noted that the best season for the birth of kids is the late summer or the autumn (*akaw, amerwan*) when the tender annual plants spring up. Kids borne at this season will be fully grown for mating after one year so that they bring forth kids at the season of spring (*tafsit*, or *tabat*), while kids born in spring will be mated after a year to bring forth kids late in summer or in autumn (*akaw, or amerwan*).

Milking takes place twice daily – early in the morning before the flock leaves for grazing, and late in the evening one or two hours after the return of the animals to the camp. Milking is done by women, or occasionally by male slaves. The individual animals to be milked are frequently called by their names and a special sucking sound is made to calm the animals, which are milked differently in Ayr and Ahaggar. In Ahaggar the milk-maid holds the wooden milk-bowl (*akur*; Fig. 21 b) in her left hand, presses the left hind leg of the goat firmly under the upper part of her right arm, while she milks with her right hand (Fig. 23–24). In Ayr milking of goats is frequently performed in a standing position the milk-maid then holding the milk-bowl (*takabart*; Fig. 37) in her left hand, keeping the left hind leg of the animal firmly between her knees, and milking with her right hand. If the milk-maid milks 234 [462] [192] [184] [415]

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Fig. 18. The little stick (*akaw, aughes*) used by the Northern Tuareg to prevent half-grown kids from sucking. Ahaggar, the *Ajjeh-en-ashi* tribe. Dimension: the stick 0.056 m; the cords 0.330–0.380 m. (N.M. G. 5825).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 23. Slave boy milking goats – a task which is normally performed by women. The milk-bowl is held in the left hand, and the milking is done with the right hand, while the goat's left hind leg is held fast beneath the right upper arm. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe.

GOAT MILKING

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Fig. 24. Tuareg milkmaid milking a goat as described Fig. 23. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



or ingal) for selling, they are also frequently provided with a wooden prong (*aburi*) loosely attached around one foreleg to prevent them running away. I have never seen this practised among the Fulani who have much more control over their cattle than have the Ayr Tuareg. 233* [17]

Cows continue to bring forth calves and yield milk until they are about 15 years old, and the duration of their life is estimated at about 20 years. But it is considered appropriate to keep milch-cows until they are ten or twelve years old when they should be sold or killed. The period of gestation for cows is about ten months, and there is no regulation of mating. The Tuareg say that cows will be on heat and mate again shortly after the birth of a calf, and that milk-yielding does not stop until five months after mating. Free mating of the cows agrees well with Tuareg interests as prices of calves are high. [435]

Milking of cows takes place twice daily and is generally done by women – in rare cases by men. 234 Milking is performed as follows:— Just before the herd returns from grazing in the evening every calf is firmly attached to a tree by means of a cord (*iémetrek*) around its neck so that it cannot reach the udder of the mother cow. When milking is to take place the mother cow is attached to the same tree by means of a cord (*aran*) around its horns. The calf's rope is now loosened and it will immediately start to suck while the milk-maid fastenes another rope or cord (*akarab*) around the hind legs of the cow. When this is done the calf is attached to its tree again, and milking begins. The milk-maid squats at one side of the cow (generally at the right side) holding the large milking bowl (*akabar*) (Fig. 37) between her legs and knees, and milks with both hands (Fig. 29). When the milk-maid has taken the milk she wants she releases the calf to let it drink what is left in the udder, but the calf is thereupon attached to its tree again in order that it may not suck during the night. Before the cows leave the camp in the morning milking is performed again as just described, but it may happen that the cows leave for grazing already during the night, and they are then not milked again until next evening. Tuareg who possess a great many calves may guard them within a so-called *zeriba* (*afarag*) made of thorny acacia boughs. [462] [417]

Most cows will not yield milk unless they have their calves close to them. If a cow loses its calf it may be replaced with the calf of another cow so that milking can be done, but it is also common to use the so-called dummy-calf (*azeyuz*) made from the dead calf's skin stuffed with hay. This puppet is then set close to the cow which is deceived by it. It feels that its calf is standing by, it licks the skin, and milking can then be done without much difficulty. [237]

The dummy-calf is not used by the zebu-owning agriculturists of Ahaggar, though I have met one of these *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*) who had once made a calfskin-puppet after he had seen the method practised among *Iforas* Tuareg at Kidal. The method of blowing into the cow's vulva is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *askuf*; it is used particularly for cows which are difficult to milk shortly after the birth of a calf. During migrations, when young calves march together with the mother cows, suckling is prevented by means of a piece of dum palm leaf attached around the calves' mouths. Such an attachment known to the Ayr Tuareg as *akabar* may be used also for other domestic animals.

Weaning of calves takes place according to one of the following methods:— (1) *ikenbar*, that is cuttings made with a knife in two or three places on the bridge of the calf's nose. The wounds of these cuts hurt the calf when it tries to suck, but the method is effective only for a very short period until the wounds have healed. On adult animals the scars of these wounds appear as small bumps (Fig. 30). 233*

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 39. A very young camel calf tethered in the camp by means of the *témdit* rope depicted below (Fig. 40). Tamesna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Ireqnaten* tribe.

she-camels which are difficult to milk because they will not allow the calf to suck. The method has been described to me by Tuareg of Ayr. It is named *arazak* and is as follows:— Fresh camel-dung is put into the nostrils of the mother-camel, and its nose is thereupon pierced at three places with an awl a hole being made in each nostril and one hole between them. A cord of dum palm leaf is thereupon drawn through these three holes so that the nostrils are firmly closed, and the animal can consequently breathe only through the mouth. It is said that a she-camel which has carried this bandage for one day will be fond of its calf and will allow it to suck so that milking can be done. 234 [412]

Milking of she-camels is usually done twice a day, early in the morning and very late in the evening. In Ayr certain Tuareg milk their she-camels several times during the day, as the animals generally graze close to the camp and frequently come to the tents to see their calves. Milking between the two proper milking times may also be done with other domestic animals in Ayr if milk is needed for some purpose or other during the day, but it is practised particularly with she-camels, as milk gathers in the udder of these animals very quickly after milking.

Milking of she-camels is done by two men standing at the sides of the she-camel and leaning their heads against the animal (Fig. 36). One of the men holds the large wooden milk-bowl *akabar* (Figs. 37-38) [462] [415]

[text continues on p. 61]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



37–38) and milks only with one hand, but the milk-bowl may also be held by a woman or a boy so that both milkers have two hands free. If men are absent from the camp, milking may be done by women though properly this is the task of grown men. Certain she-camels are very difficult to milk so that milking should be done as quickly as possible. If a she-camel is very restless and therefore difficult to milk it is customary to bend up its right foreleg and attach it in this bent position to its left foreleg before milking is done. This method is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the term *ésemmetil* (cf. Fig. 35). 234 [462]

The Tuareg have various devices to prevent camel calves from drinking more than their proper share of milk. In Ayr and also among the Ahaggar Tuareg of the Tamesna region it is common to keep the young calves tethered by means of a particular cord (*téimdit*) fastened to the calf's forelegs (Fig. 39–40). The calf is not allowed to follow its mother during grazing, and in the night when all she-camels rest in the camp they are kept lying on the ground so that the calves cannot suck them. When young calves are tethered in the camp they are fed on fresh annual plants collected for them by the Tuareg. When calves grow older and plant food constitutes their most important nourishment, 233* [824]

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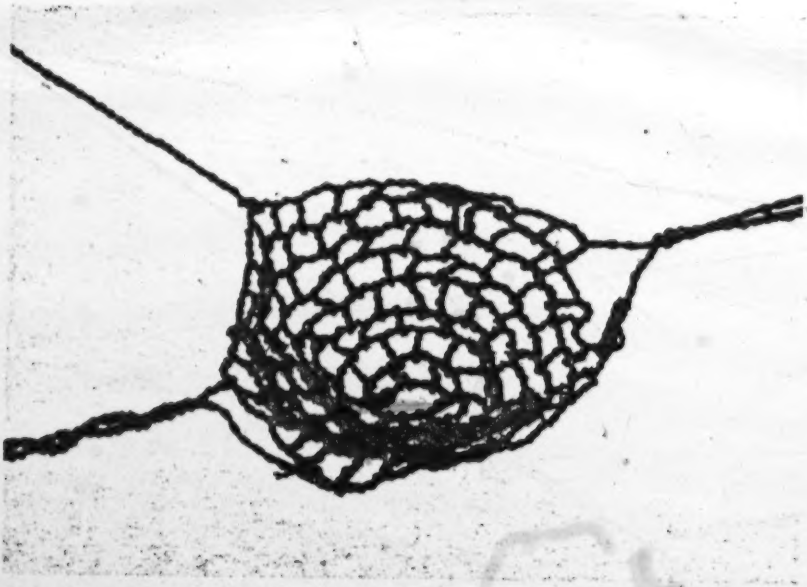

Fig. 41. Plaited pouch (*abejw*) to prevent the sucking of camel calves. It is made of goat's hair, and it has three cords for attachment to the hind part of the she-camel so that the pouch covers the udder. Ahaggar, the *Águb-en-tahld* tribe. Dimension of the three cords: 1.19, 1.05, and 0.97 m. (N.M. G. 5198).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



saddle known as *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* and described above p. 76 (Fig. 57). The Ahaggar Tuareg have four sub-types of women's saddles:— (1) *akhawi*, that is a very large saddle at each side provided with a wooden arch; (2) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tkéwin*), a lighter saddle provided with similar wooden arches; (3) *aragen*, a large and heavy saddle without side-arches; (4) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tehdad*), a light saddle without side-arches. These saddle types, particularly the former type known as *akhawi*, are exhaustively described by Foucauld in his dictionary (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 723), and a very beautiful specimen is here depicted from the collection of the Musée de l'homme (Fig. 75). Very elaborate saddles as that depicted are always made by the blacksmiths, but light saddles of the *tkhawit* types may also be manufactured by Tuareg women. Thus women of the *Iregenaten* tribe south of the Ahaggar Massif make saddles of the lighter type themselves. Women's saddles may sometimes be provided with a roof made from curved and bent boughs covered with cotton or blankets. This peculiar construction is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ahennaka*.

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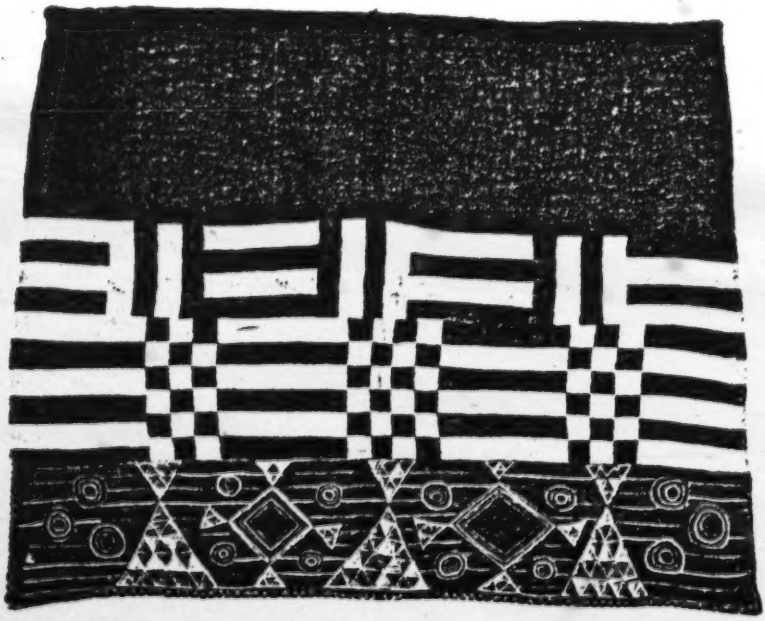

492* 286 531

Fig. 67. Saddle cloth (*ameslak*) of cotton and embroidered with coloured thread. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.771 × 0.620 m. (N. M. G. 5190).

*492 household goods during nomadic migrations, and are employed daily in all camps to carry water in skin-
[445] bags from wells and waterholes to the tents. They are very strong animals considering their low stature,
[512] and good pack-donkeys can carry up to one hundred kilograms even for very long trips. Donkeys
[262] are occasionally used for long journeys by the Northern Tuareg, and many Ayr Tuareg use them to
[484] fetch provisions of millet around Tanut in Damergu. Caravans of donkeys are frequently observed
in these regions, and one even sees mixed caravans of donkeys and camels. There can be no doubt
[174] that before the introduction of the camel the donkey was still more important for riding and transportation than is the case nowadays. This is clearly demonstrated by historical material from Egypt and adjacent regions (cf. Erman 1922, p. 518 f., 529, 592 f., 636).

231 It has already been mentioned that donkey's meat and skin are not utilized nowadays by the Tuareg.
[262] The same is true of mare's milk which, however, is used as a remedy against a kind of cough known
[257] to the Ayr Tuareg as *khamkham*. There is no regulation of mating for donkeys which in many ways are semi-domesticated animals. In Ayr male donkeys are never castrated, while the Ahaggar Tuareg say they castrate such stallions as constantly run after the mares and in this way cause too much trouble. The Tuareg also have no methods to prevent foals from sucking, while a method of this kind is sometimes applied by sedentary people in and around Agadez. This method known as *éfinjar* consists in the cutting of the nostrils of half-grown foals so that they cannot suck pregnant mares. Both stallions
*492 and mares are used for riding and transportation, but female animals are much preferred for these purposes. Mares are used almost exclusively for the transportation of water-bags hanging under the animals, as the bags might be squirted by stallions' urine.

The Northern Tuareg saddle their donkeys, using the same saddle type for riding and for transpor-
[462] tation (Fig. 86). This is known as *aruku* and is manufactured by the women in the following way:—
[824] Two fresh boughs of the *tahunek*-tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) are heated, or slightly burned, over the fire.
[322] The boughs are thereupon barked and bent into the curved form wanted, and are then kept in this position by cords. After drying for a few days the boughs will retain their curved form, and the cords are untied. The boughs are then cut up and their ends are connected by two pieces of camel's hide
[237] soaked in water, and sewn together by means of a large iron needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (cf. Fig. 220b)
[412] and a thread which is also cut from camel's hide. The wooden saddle frame is attached to three cushions. These cushions are generally made of goat-skin or sheep-skin stuffed with hay or with date
[237] palm bast, but may also be plaited from leaves of the date palm tree. Cushions made from goat-skin
[412] are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of the little awl known as *tistent* (cf. Fig. 218a). The two long cushions resting lengthwise upon the animals back are known as *tastek*, and the small cushion resting over the animal's back close to its shoulders is called *tafelledut*. The saddle is fixed to the donkey by two girths consisting of cords made of goat-hair. One of these cords (*tidmechart*) passes under the tail, the other (*ahayif*) is tied around the chest of the animal. This saddle type is well fitted for the transportation of burdens and in particular of water-bags, the cords of which are attached to the pommels. When the saddle is used for riding it is frequently covered with a blanket or a piece of cloth. Saddles of this type are found in all camps of the Northern Tuareg, and Lhote states that they are also found in Adrar-n-Foras and in Ayr (Lhote 1947a, p. 120). This may be so but I have myself never seen them in the latter region where they are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan*

361 *akasa* period when there is green annual pasture, but the large camps have no co-operative functions
621 and no particular leader. The small camps join together to form big camps because their members are linked to each other by bonds of kinship, and consequently like to come together.

361 Most of the year the Ayr Tuareg live in very small camps around wells, and certain camps remain
221 on almost the same spot throughout the year. However, most camps move about in the *akasa* period, and later, at the end of the rains, many camps move southwards and westwards to the salt plains of Azawaq.

## DIVISION OF LABOUR IN STOCK-BREEDING

462 Before we consider other activities, we shall briefly describe the division of labour in stock-breeding according to sex.

462 In all Tuareg groups noble women do very little work. They engage in a few very esteemed crafts
565 such as embroidery, neat decoration of leather work, and in the north they cut ornamented milk-
[567] bowls from wood. The true domestic duties of a noble household are performed by slaves. This to some extent is also true of other social classes among the Northern Tuareg, while the Ayr Tuareg vassals have very few slaves nowadays. But even in vassal camps among the Northern Tuareg women have their duties and engage in all kinds of domestic work, also in stock-breeding. In the two groups
462 of Northern Tuareg the division of work in stock-breeding can be seen when one enters a tent of a
*233 vassal camp:—
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[566] One half of the tent (the left part) is occupied by the woman and contains such implements as are connected with tanning, leather-work, cooking, butter- and cheese-making, and generally all implements connected with the breeding of goats, sheep, and donkeys. The other half of the tent (the right part), occupied by the husband, contains saddles and all other objects connected with camels. The tending of goats, sheep, and donkeys is the task of women, while camel-breeding is the business of men.

462 Before initiation Tuareg boys may be occupied with herding goats, sheep, and donkeys, but when
*233 they have adopted the veil they should preferably take care of camels only. There are, however, a
[857] few occasions where men engage in tasks connected with goats and donkeys:—

Goats like any other animal can be killed only by adult men, who also undertake the skinning and partition of the meat.

Castration of he-goats and rams may be done by men, but it is said that it is also performed by women.

When goats suffer from certain diseases they may in a few very special cases be taken care of by men. Thus when a goat has broken a leg and wooden splints are applied to the fracture this is generally performed by the husband of the household to which the animal belongs.

When goats and sheep are lost in the desert they may be searched for by men mounted on camels.

On the whole there are not many situations where the assistance of men is needed in tending goats and sheep, and most men have so little to do with goat-breeding that they do not know the exact meaning of many colour terms for goats.

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462 231 [492] Among Northern Tuareg vassals donkeys are tended by women, who use them for riding and transportation over short distances. Tuareg men rarely ride donkeys, but the assistance of men is needed in connection with some of the tasks of donkey-breeding:—

It may become desirable to increase the stock of donkeys by catching wild animals as already described above. This is always done by men who also break-in the captured animals for riding. The assistance of men is also frequently needed for catching half-wild, though domesticated donkeys.

The marking of donkeys, castration, which is rarely performed, and the curing of diseases, which are also rare, are said to be tasks which should properly be carried out by men.

[565] Vassal women only tend camels when all men are absent from their camp.

The above rules of division of labour are in general also valid in Ayr among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. But there are in Ayr vassal Tuareg who have no camels and vassal men in Ayr frequently ride donkeys. The tending of cows in Ayr is mainly the work of women, who are also more familiar with cattle terms than are the men. – Among the *Kel Ewey* the skinning of goats and sheep, as well as the partition of the meat, are done by women.

428 In the Tuareg groups I have studied both men and women inherit camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys according to Islamic rules of inheritance.

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Fig. 110. The skinning of a gazelle placed upon straw of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ahaggar, the *Taytoq* tribe.

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***ajako.*** According to Foucauld a small annual edible plant growing in the Ahaggar Mountains at an altitude above 2000 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 712). Maire mentions this plant as unindentified (Maire 1933, p. 263). 222 262

Collecting is mainly the task of women, but males – particularly uninitiated boys and slaves – also participate. Seed-plants are generally harvested by rubbing the ears of the plants between the fingers, but the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle (*amreh*; Fig. 143 a–b) to be thrashed and winnowed like wheat and barley. Edible roots are frequently collected merely by hand. However, a digging stick (*élaweg*; Fig. 123) provided with an iron point is also used to dig up certain wild plants such as *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) and similar root plants. This digging stick is characteristic of vassal women who use it for many different purposes, e.g., to make holes for tent poles. 222 [462] [412] [565]

The very best among the above mentioned seed-plants is the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*). Its seeds are collected or harvested by certain Tuareg inhabiting the lower parts of Ahaggar, but are important particularly to the Tuareg living in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Within the Ahaggar Massif the most important seeds are those of *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). The right to collect these seeds is free to everybody, and Tuareg of the *Abada* zone may send their slaves to the *Atakor* zone to collect *tawit*-seeds in the mountain plateau of Asekrem. The species of *afezu* and *tawit* are sometimes protected by an ban on grazing for three and two months respectively in order that their seeds may grow ripe for collecting. The right to put a ban on grazing of the two species belongs to the Tuareg in whom territorial rights of a sub-area are vested (cf. p. 150). It is said that under very favourable conditions a single household may collect some hundred kilos of seeds of the two plants mentioned. This may seem rather impressive, but even in good years when milk is abundant collecting will not provide pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar with sufficient vegetable food, for seeds of wild plants are far less nourishing than are grains of wheat, barley, and millet. The collecting of wild plants important for food is as dependent on climatic conditions as is stock-breeding. In dry years, when domestic animals yield little or no milk at all, there will also be no wild seeds for collecting. [567] [221] [423] [262]

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Fig. 127. Very small bag known as *élem* ("skin") made from a kid's scrotum (*tigassate*). The bag contains a piece of resin of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). This resin is eaten by the Tuareg as a remedy against stomachache. Ahaggar, the *Aḡuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the piece of resin: 0.07 m long. (F.M. 149a–b).

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Fig. 143a–f.
a–b. Sickles of the type used for harvesting wheat and barley in Ahaggar.
They are known as *aurek*, pl. *imrekn*.
a. From Tamanraset. Total length, 0.271 m. (N.M. G. 5256).
b. From Abalessa. Total length, 0.365 m. (N.M. G. 5828).
c–f. Agricultural implements from Ayr.
c. The short threshing stick (*aburi*). From Iferwan. Dimension: 0.49 m. (N.M. G. 6618).
d. The hoe (*tagumit*) hafted by means of a tongue. From *Kel Ewey* Tuareg near Agadez. Dimension: 0.70 m. (N.M. G. 6615).
e. The semi-circular weeding implement (*elgechwad*). From Iferwan. Dimension: 0.295 m. (N.M. G. 6617).
f. The sickle (*elgechwad*) which is used for cutting annual grasses. From Agadez. Dimension: 0.305 m. (N.M. G. 6613).

241 It seems as if millet and sorghum are always harvested by women, while dates are harvested only by
462 men. Other crops are harvested by persons of both sexes.

243 Threshing methods are the same in Ahaggar and Ayr. Wheat and barley, which are sheaved and dried before threshing, are beaten with a stick (Ahaggar, *aburi*; Ayr, *aburi* or *asedbak*). This threshing stick is an unfashioned bough of trees or date palms, but a short and club-like implement is also frequently used in Ayr (Fig. 143c). Threshing of millet, sorghum, and maize is done by pounding in a

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Fig. 155. Skin bag (*sazafra*) for the conservation of butter-milk on journeys. The bag is made from an entire goat-skin and has a handle of goat-hair cord tied to the skin patches of the hind legs. A leather handle is attached to the lower part of the bag which is ornamented with leather fringes, Ahaggar, the *Ajjab-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.77 m long without the fringes. (F.M. 89).

They churn most butter from cow's

234 milk, and this butter is not considered as delicious by the Ahaggar Tuareg as their own butter, churned
[262] mainly from goat's milk. – The use of wooden churning sticks by means of which milk is stirred in
234 an open container is unknown in Ahaggar and Ayr, so far as I know. Churning sticks are used in
412 other Tuareg groups. They are common among the Tuareg of Adrar-n-Foras (Musée d'Ethono-
184 graphie, Neuchâtel, no. 49.2.44 & Musée de l'homme, Paris, no. 38.16.48) and among the *Iwillemmeden*
171 Tuareg and the Fulani (Musée de l'homme, Paris, nos. 41.19.411 & 41.19.1326).

234 All Northern Tuareg, as well as the Northern Arab pastoralists and semi-nomadic Berbers and
[17.1] Arabs of the Atlas, make cheese from butter-milk, while this type of cheese is unknown among the
[184] Southern Tuareg and also among the Fulani. In Ahaggar butter-milk cheese (*awles*) is manufactured
[462] by women in the following manner:— Butter-milk is heated over the fire in an earthen pot (*téṛirt*, or *ufrun*)
* [415] (Figs. 186, 187a–b) by which process the milk is divided into two parts, namely pure water and a curdled mass of milk (*akru*). This mass of curdled milk is placed in a special basket (*arugu*) (Figs. 167a–b) hanging from a tree or a similar object to sort out the whey. Thus there remains a mass of cheese in the basket, and this mass is formed into small round pieces to be left for drying. Butter-milk cheese is manufactured in this way by all Northern Tuareg who are thus able to obtain butter and cheese from the same milk.

234 Another type of cheese is made from fresh milk and is manufactured not only by the Northern
171 [i.e. the Ayr Tuareg -- Aralyrt]

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Fig. 183. Baking a *taferlis* bread. The gruel-dough before it is covered with sand, ashes, and embers. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

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Fig. 184. Plaited tray (*téseyt*) which serves to winnow grain and flour but is used also for a cover of milk-bowls and eating bowls. Made according to the technique of coiled basketry by Tuareg woman. The plaiting material is straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*). Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.333–0.343 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5824).

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Fig. 185. Tray or bowl (*tabeyka* – perhaps not correctly spelled). It is used for winnowing, and it serves as an eating bowl and a drinking bowl as this container is watertight. Coiled basketry of date palm leaves (*aḡum*). Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḡali* tribe. Dimension: 0.205 m in diameter. (F.M. 263).

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Fig. 186. Pot (*talekkint*) with a single handle. Manufactured by *Ḫarratin* women in Ahaggar, the *Aḡuh-en-tekké* tribe. Dimension: 0.18 m high. (F.M. 172).

in a mortar with a little water to a soft dough to which a little cheese, butter, or milk is added before 262
eating. If a large quantity of milk is added this dish is known as *tarkit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, as men- 252
tioned (p. 167), also pound dried dates with locusts to make a dish eaten by women who wish to grow fat. [261]

The Arabs and the Arabic-speaking agriculturists of Tidikelt (the *Ḫarratin*) have introduced among 262
the Northern Tuareg the well-known North African dish generally called kuskus. The dish is known [172]
to the Tuareg as *keskesu* which is also Arabic by origin. But this dish is not the staple diet among [171]
the Northern Tuareg that it is among the Arabs and the Berbers of the Atlas. It is eaten mainly on
festive occasions, and there are many Tuareg women who even to-day do not know how to prepare it.
The *keskesu* dish is preferably made from wheat flour, though barley flour may also be used. The 252
cereals are ground with hand-mills or quern stones (saddle querns), and the flour is rolled into very

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Fig. 187a–b. Earthen cooking pots manufactured by *Ḫarratin* women in Ahaggar.
a. Pot (*téṛiri*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanṛaset. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (N.M. G. 5841).
b. Pot (*alekkin*). Ahaggar, *Ḫarratin* of Taṛhawhawt. Dimension: 0.174 m high. (N.M. G. 5204).

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Fig. 188a–b. Simple ladles of the *aserwi* type used for stirring millet porridge. Made by Tuareg women from wood of *absep* (*Acacia Raddiana*).
a. Ahaggar, the *Aḳub-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.382 m long. (N.M. G. 5211).
b. Ahaggar, the *Ihepawen Hada* tribe. Dimension: 0.415 m long. (N.M. G. 5846).

*252 [415] small balls with a diameter of up to five milimetres. The balls are put into a special earthen, wooden, or plaited bowl (*denba*, or *denfu*; Fig. 189) which has a number of small holes in the bottom. This receptacle is placed on the top of a cooking pot containing meat and/or vegetables to be boiled in water for a soup. The small flour balls are thus steamed by the boiling soup in the cooking pot. Like

[text continues on p. 250]

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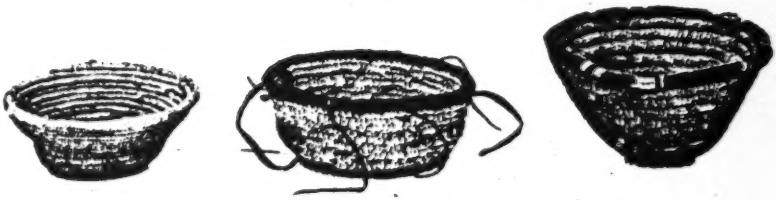

Fig. 196a–c. Plaited bowls in coiled technique. They serve as eating bowls for little children and are known as *tafakemi* (pl. *tifokam*).

a. Plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.036 m high, 0.100 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5215).

b. Plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.043 m high, 0.102 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5214).

c. Plaited from straw by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.105 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5844).

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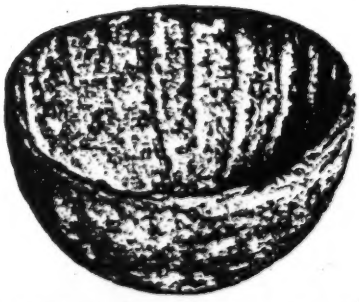

Fig. 197. Small calabash (*tafakemi*) which serves as eating bowl for little children. Ahaggar, the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.055 m high, 0.095 m in diameter. (F.M. 145).

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by blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*ameṛwan*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talaḳ*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akralal, abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *taḳeft a eḳerma*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Aḳah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

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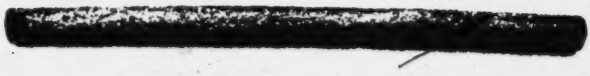

Fig. 200. Neolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isebeten* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045–0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

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Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*amerwan*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

The pottery made in

323 Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from
[531] Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have
[114] been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing
[113] of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information
[437] (Lhote 1947b, p. 145–154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

[462] In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 507–512).

[text continues on p. 260]

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Fig. 202a–b. Two ceramic drums of a type used by sedentary agriculturists in Ahaggar.

a. Large drum (*akwalal*). Made by woman of the *Ifoghas* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.450 m high, 0.310–0.325 m in diameter at the top. (N.M. G. 5907).

b. Little drum (*abakar*). Made by woman of the *Ifoghas* at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.25 m high, 0.25 m in diameter at the top. (F.M. 286).

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206a–d). The ordinary axe (*taḍeft*) is used by all Tuareg who may also possess small adzes (*tat-tawt*), used mainly by women for the manufacturing of domestic implements such as spoons and milking bowls. These implements manufactured by Tuareg women are generally inferior in quality to those made by the blacksmiths, though certain noble women of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe make wooden milking bowls that are said to be superior to those of the blacksmiths. In Ayr, Tuareg women engage very little in wood-working, and the Ayr Tuareg are on the whole less skilled in crafts than are the Tuareg of Ahaggar. 322 412 462

Pastoral Tuareg are experts in rope making. Ropes made from various materials play an important part for the Tuareg for hobbling domestic animals, for fastening burdens transported on camels, as reins, for the erection of tents, and for a great many other purposes. Incidentally the Tuareg make substitutes for ropes in a very simple way. Thus if a man comes upon a camel which he wishes to take back to camp and has no rope or rein to lead it by he makes a lead from three or four pieces of palm leaf, or the like, attached to each other. It is stated by Maire that the Ahaggar Tuareg make simple 283 [824]

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Fig. 204a–b. Earthen pots made by the sedentary *Imeggedezen* of Agadez.

a. A water jar with two spouts. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* as *gelgeleni*. It is used by the latter people but never by pastoral Tuareg. Dimension: 0.30 m high. (N.M. G. 6635).

b. Earthen jar used for water and also for cooking. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tdyint* or *diekin*, to the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* as *tokunya* or *tuln*. Dimension: 0.285 m high. (N.M. G. 6634).

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Fig. 205. Painted earthen pot (*idkawawi*) manufactured by the professional potmakers called *Ikawawen*. Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.32 m high. (N.M. G. 6636).

283 hobble ropes from straws of the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) (Maire 1933, p. 62). For the manufacture
824 of proper ropes the Tuareg may employ the bark of trees. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr they use the bark of *Acacia Raddiana* (*abser* in Ahaggar, *afagag* in Ayr) for this purpose (Fig. 113). These ropes are made after much the same method as that used for the Ahaggar ropes of date palm bast (*asan*)
283 and those of dum palm leaves made in Ayr. Ropes of this kind are always made by men, who, when
462 making ropes from date palm bast, proceed in the following way:— Pieces of bast are soaked in water contained in a receptacle. They are thereupon torn into small strips about 20–30 cms long. These strips are rolled and twisted between the hands, and are kept in this rolled position under the foot until sufficient numbers of strips are available for the rope to be made. The ends of two rolled strips are then placed between the first and the second toes, and the strips are twisted together between the hands. New strips are added and twisted in this fashion until a suitable length of two twisted rows of strips has been made. This length is thereupon stretched over one of the feet, doubled, and twisted between the hands. It is finally hammered with a stone while resting on another stone or upon the bottom of a large mortar which is frequently used for support. The Ahaggar Tuareg make their hobble ropes in this way (Fig. 207), and the Ayr Tuareg apply the same technique to ropes made from strips of dum palm leaves which are also soaked in water before twisting. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr this method may also be used for the manufacture of leather cords (Figs. 43, 73a).

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Fig. 206a–d. Axe and adzes of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

a. The ordinary axe (*taḥefi*) which is found in all Tuareg camps. Ahaggar, the *Aḫah-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.572 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.157 m long, 0.053 m broad. (N.M. G. 5233).

b. *taisawt*, a small socket-shafted adze with knee-shaft. Adzes of this type are common in Tuareg camps. They are used mainly by women for wood-carving. Ahaggar, the *Aḫah-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.301 m long. (N.M. G. 5232). [322]

c. *tikadimt*, adze shafted by means of a piece of sheet-iron and nails. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.440 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.150 m long, 0.038 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5864).

d. *tikadimt*, slot-shafted adze. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.430 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.222 m long, 0.065 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5865).

The axe and the adzes are all made by blacksmiths. [564]

The very best ropes or cords manufactured by the Ahaggar Tuareg are those made from goat's 283 hair which is sheared with a knife by the women once a year in the hot season. These ropes are known 232 to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ihelhamen* (sing. *ahelhum*), while the proper term for a rope of goat's hair 233 in Ayr is *azaw*. But the Ayr Tuareg do not make such ropes as they have goats of the short-haired breed (p. 33). They obtain their ropes from the Ahaggar Tuareg. Ropes of goat hair are manufactured 438 by women by the following method:— The mass of hair, known as *ehafilen*, is placed upon a piece 462 of skin and is prevented from blowing away by means of a stone. The hair is then taken out in small quantities with the first and second fingers of the left hand to be spun upon a stick 30–40 cms long.

[text continues on p. 266]

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Fig. 210a–b. Two coiled baskets provided with lids.

[462] a. *takhlit*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*aḡum*) and reinforced with coloured leather (goat-skin). Manufactured by women of the sedentary *Kel Ras* in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, bought from blacksmiths at Tamanrasset in Ahaggar. Dimension: 0.13 m high. (F.M. 227).

b. *adobun*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*aḡum*). It is ornamented with coloured leather thread and with woollen yarn. Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.205 m high. (N.M. G. 5837a–b).

283 This stick, which is held in the right hand, is turned around its own axes while the hair taken out from the mass with the left hand is occasionally moistened with water or with spittle. The stick upon which the hair is spun is known as *aseggelem*. I have noted in Ahaggar that a length of 50–60 metres of spun hair can be made in about twenty minutes. Such a lenght of spun hair is trebled and attached to two sticks also known as *aseggelem* (pl. *iseggelam*). It is twisted together by two women each holding one of the sticks, and may be conserved for some time before it is finally made into a rope by further trebling and twisting (cf. Fig. 208). Certain cords to be used in connection with riding camels (e.g., reins) are not twisted in the above manner, but are plaited (cf. Fig. 51). The spun hair is used for the manufacture of certain objects without twisting (cf. Fig. 167a–b). Lhote states that the hair growing on the knees and neck of barbary sheep is also used for spinning (Lhote 1955a, p. 319).

[237] [284] The Northern Tuareg spin camel's hair or wool (*teḍuft*) which is used for very few purposes (cf. p. 67). But camel's hair is sometimes mixed with goat's hair to be spun for thread used for a primitive type of weaving; true weaving is an unknown craft among the Tuareg while important to Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. The Tuareg type of primitive weaving with spun hair is carried out 288 * [415] with no other implement but the hand; it is used for small transportation bags known as *tirrar* (sing. *tirerirt*), a word, according to Foucauld, derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776) [114] (cf. Fig. 209a–b). I have myself never had the opportunity to see how weaving of this type is done.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



A photograph illustrating a women making a bag from spun hair is reproduced by Lhote, who states that bags of this nature are rarely manufactured nowadays and are made exclusively by a few noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe (Lhote 1955a, p. 319 f., pl. XV p. 384). This statement does not agree with information gathered by myself in Ahaggar, where I was told that bags were made from spun hair by Tuareg women of other tribes and notably by women of the *Isekkemaren* class.

In Ayr spinning of cotton is performed mainly to obtain sewing thread, which is considered superior to European thread for sewing cotton clothes. To my knowledge most pastoral women do not spin their own cotton thread but buy it at the market of Agadez. However I have noted the existence of simple cotton bows in a *Kel Tédalé* camp in the northern part of the Ayr Massif. The occurrence of the simple cotton bow among the Ayr Tuareg should no doubt be viewed in connection with the use of this implement in the Western Sudan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 260 ff.) from where the cotton plant has also been introduced.

Coiled basket-work plays an important part with the Tuareg, particularly the Northern Tuareg who are experts in this technique which is related to sewing. A very primitive type of coiled basketry

Fig. 211. Basket (*alagwgur*) plaited from date palm leaves (*ajwa*). The handle is of date palm bast (*azan*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.38 m high. (N.M. G. 5835).

[text continues on p. 269]

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may be seen in Fig. 167a–b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*ilstent*) (Fig. 218a).

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a–c, 210a–b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*éstan*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices.

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among the *Kel Ayr*. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*agum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*alegutguten*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig 220b). This basket type (*tésenit*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals.

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éseber* or *téserbert* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents, and they are manufactured by many women among the *Kel Ahaggar* (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers, and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*téidabut*) (Fig. 212a–b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Igdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south.

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitues the most important craft in the

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Fig. 213. Tanning receptacle (*ahaǵa*) of camel-hide lashed to a ring consisting of a bough bent into a circular position. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.55 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5229).

281 north where tents and a great many domestic implements and containers are made from skin. Skin
[462] work plays a certain role also for the Ayr Tuareg, but pastoral women in Ayr do not engage in this craft to the same extent as do women among the Ahaggar Tuareg.

281 The Tuareg have several terms for skin and leather. In Ahaggar I have noted the following:—
192 (1) *élem*, the common word for the skin of most animals whether tanned or untanned; (2) *aḳḳer*, that is the common word for an untanned hide of all animals with the exception of camels, oxen, giraffe, and certain antelope; (3) *éṛit*, the skin of camels, oxen, giraffe, and certain antelope whether tanned or untanned. The terms noted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr are largely different:— (1) *awreṛeṛ*, an untanned hide; (2) *éǵachik*, tanned or untanned skin of all animals with the exception of oxen, camels, giraffe, and certain antelope; (3) *éṛit*, tanned or untanned skin of oxen, camels, giraffe, and certain antelope; (4) *esarku*, tanned skin of oxen.

281 I have already mentioned that camels are killed in a peculiar way and partitioned before skinning so that the hide is never removed entire. I have stated in the same connection that pastoral Ayr Tuareg do not use camel's hide in their crafts, and I have mentioned that though camel's hide plays a certain part in Northern Tuareg crafts they never tan it, while they tan skin of all other domestic animals and game animals such as gazelle and barbary sheep. The Northern Tuareg use camel's hide for lashing wood (cf. Fig. 86), and they also employ it for camel whips (cf. p. 84) and for certain other artifacts which are now to be described.

*[415] The Northern Tuareg use camel's hide for the manufacturing of a large tanning receptacle known as ahaǵa (Fig. 213).

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237 Ayr Tuareg a piece of ram's horn may serve as an amulet case attached around the upper arm. Horns
* [415] of barbary sheep are used for butter containers among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 223; Fig. 165), who sometimes use a piece of pointed gazelle horn for daubing antimony around the eye.

281 The Ahaggar women cut skin and leather with a small knife (*telmusit*), and a piece of wood (*asettenu*)
● 462 and/or a stone (*tazzei*) are used for smoothing the skin which is then placed upon a particular wooden
[413] board (*elkeyleb*) (cf. Figs. 219a–d). The Ayr Tuareg do not make so much refined skin work. Women
* [445] among the Northern Tuareg conserve their implements for skin and leather work in a particular bag (*askagen*) which is made from leather attached to a bottom piece of horn (*isek*) (Figs. 220a–g).

[531] Northern Tuareg women take a great interest in their skin and leather artifacts, which are richly decorated with fringes and hanging tassels, and with geometric designs in different colours. I have
386 noted the following colours among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer:—
822 (1) *baba*, indigo which is introduced from the south in the form of balls.

(2) *tawnkent*, which is also known as *tafidet* and *tanezezzeft* according to Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1934. It is a yellowish mineral which yields an entirely black colour frequently seen on ornamented skin bags. The mineral according to the Ahaggar Tuareg is introduced from the south, while the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer claim that they obtain their minerals of this type from Serdeles north-east of Rat. – A black colour which is also known as *tawnkent* is said to be made by the Tuareg of Ahaggar in the following way:— Pieces of iron are put into water contained in some small receptacle, usually a tea glass. This receptacle containing water and iron pieces is covered with a bowl or a similar object in order that the sun light cannot penetrate. After a few days the water turns into a black colour to be used for skin dyeing.

(3) *semento*, a green colour derived from a mineral or a powder introduced from the south. According to some Tuareg this green colour is also made by means of a vegetable powder introduced from the north, from the region of Mzab.

(4) *khodarbas*, a powder which yields a green colour. It is said to be introduced from the south (from Tawa) and to derive from a tree known as *tafnit*.

[824] (5) *errumman*, the fruit of the pomegranate tree known as *terrummant* (*Punica Granatum*). It is used with a white mineral (alum), known as *azref n Tawat*, and introduced from In Salah. Parts of the pomegranate fruit and of this mineral are mixed with water to be used for a yellow or yellow-brown dye which is applied to many decorated skin bags for ground colour.

(6) *temesaruak*, a mineral introduced from the north (Mzab). It produces a yellow colour.

[243] (7) *herki*, a reddish brown colour obtained from a particular type of sorghum known as *tallak* grown in the cultivation centres of Ahaggar.

(8) *tédersé*, a white colour obtained by placing the skin for about three days in a container with fresh milk to which a little salt is added. – Among Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told that a white colour is also obtained from a kind of powder introduced from the Sudan.

386 Before use these above mentioned colours or dyeing materials are generally dissolved in water
[83] contained in a tea glass. When they are employed for the very fine geometric designs of leather bags they are daubed with a small knife known as *telmusit* (Fig. 219b).

[439] It is interesting that most dyes used by the Northern Tuareg are introduced from the north or from the south,

[text continues on p. 284]

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Fig. 228a–c.

a. A cylindrical hollowed piece of wood covered with leather. It is known as *tafendit* and serves to contain antimony (*tazult*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m long. (N.M. G. 5875).

[824] b. Cylindrical brass tube covered with ornamented leather. It is known as *faralu wa n tuka* and serves for the conservation of *tuka*, that is ashes of burned *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ashes of this grass are used by some Tuareg [276] for chewing tobacco. It is said in Ahaggar that containers of this type are made exclusively by noble women of [462] the *Kel Rela* tribe, and that the containers should be worn only by noble Tuareg and not by vassals. The brass [563] tube is always made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.265 m long (total length). (N.M. G. 5888).

c. A piece of cane covered with coloured leather and fringes of the same material. It is called *tafendit* and serves for the conservation of *tazult* (antimony). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension: 0.116 m. (N.M. G. 5267).

386 the south, or are obtained from plants grown by sedentary agriculturists. The technique of skin dyeing [28] as practised by the Tuareg nowadays cannot be considered an ancient one in Tuareg culture. Its [174] origin is probably to be looked for in the more developed civilizations of Northern Africa, and not in a nomadic culture like that of the Tuareg. Other dyeing methods known to the Tuareg may well be very ancient. I believe this to be true of the red ochre known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tameghoyt*,

[text continues on p. 286]

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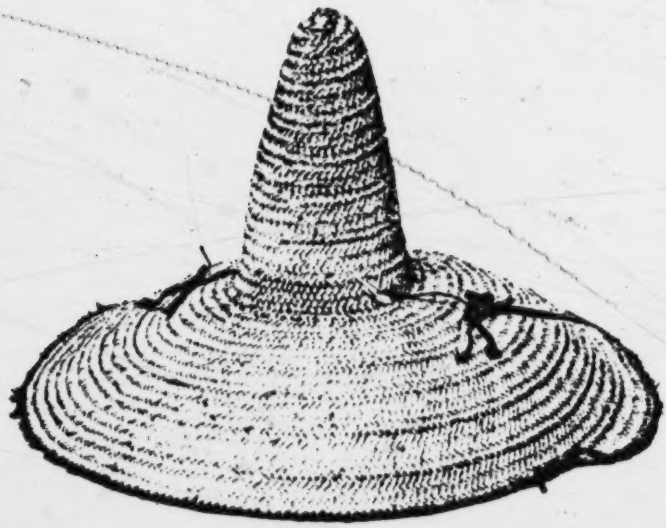

Fig. 231. Woman's straw-hat (*idié*) plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*aḡum*). Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḡali* tribe; manufactured at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.565 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5276).

386 to the Ayr Tuareg as *tamezgoyt*. It is found both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, and is used for dyeing tent-skins (cf. p. 361).

281 A number of the most common skin bags and similar objects of decorated leather work made by
● 462 Tuareg women in Ahaggar are reproduced in Figs. 220–229.
* [415] Though the pastoral Tuareg women in the north are excellent leather workers they find their superiors
[564] in the blacksmiths women and those of the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Women of these sedentary negroid groups provide pastoral Tuareg with leather objects like sword-sheaths, amulet cases, leather purses, large saddle bags, cushions, and the like (cf. Figs. 72a, 76, 121a–b, 172a–b, 198).

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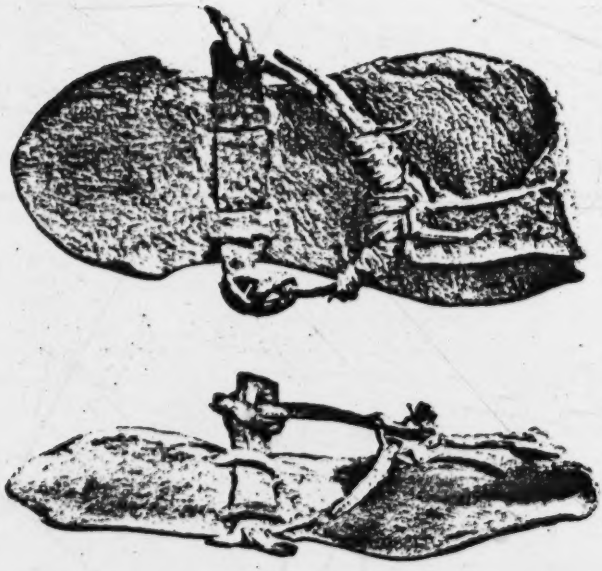

Fig. 243. Sandals resembling the *taglierez* type but having no heel-straps. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.275–0.285 m long. (N.M. G. 1.8).

have heard being *éṛatim n tagayt*. It is provided with a strap of leaf passing between the first and second toes, and straps of the same material to support the instep. Thus it is kept to the foot in much the same way as the leather *takalmi* sandal, and there is possibly a historical relationship between the two types. Sandals made from plaiting dum palm leaves wear out rapidly but are quickly made. They are worn mainly by children and by very poor people.

[42] An extremely common type of sandal in Ahaggar is that known as *émerked* (pl. *imerkeden*). These are never made by professional craftsmen, but are manufactured in Tuareg camps by vassal women [237] who use the large awl (*éndel*) for sewing sandals. They are made of the tanned skin of sheep and 291 goats, or the skin of oxen if this is available. The sandals, almost rectangular in form, are made from several layers of tanned skin sewn together with leather thread. At the back of each sandal two leather loops are inserted in, and sewn to, the leather layers, while a long leather strap is inserted in and sewn 291 to, the fore part. The sandal is kept firmly to the foot by means of the leather strap which passes between the first and second toes, and through the two leather loops to be fastened over the instep (cf. Fig. 242a). This sandal type is in high esteem for walking in the mountainous parts of the Ahaggar Massif, for it is strong, keeps firmly to the foot, and does not easily slide on the rocky surface. It is

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Tuareg where influence from Arab material culture is particular strong, and it is structurally identical 492
with the Arab pack-saddle known as *ḥawiyya* or *ḥedâğe*. The origin of the pack-saddle called *aruki* [177]
among the Southern Tuareg is not easily determined. It may perhaps constitute a late type which [171]
developed from a pack-saddle with two curved or angular trees in front of the camel's hump. This may be true of some *aruki*-like saddles. But certain pack-saddles of *aruki* type may perhaps have originated from a kind of split wood similar to that used for camels by the Somali of Tana River (cf. Ahlefeldt 1948, ill. p. 137).

There are other traits of camel breeding that have apparently been introduced among the Tuareg 233
through contact with the Arabs. This may be true of the looped rope (*asaṛun*) connected with a little 177
stick for attachment around the camel's foreleg (p. 72 ff., Fig. 45a). This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg though common among the Northern Tuareg who often make it of camel's wool. It seems to be known among most, perhaps all, Arabs, who manufacture it from the same material [171]
Among the Ababde and the Bisharin it is plaited from dum palm material (cf. Sleesen-Dolk 1957, p. 12, Figs. 28–30). It is most probably an Arab trait which also seems to be Cauvet's opinion (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 554 & pl. LXII, p. 555).

We may perhaps also mention the large woven transportation bags which are extremely common 415
among all North African Arab pastoralists, while unknown among the Tuareg. But small plaited or 177
woven bags of goat hair mixed with camel's wool are manufactured in Ahaggar by women of certain [462]
tribes (p. 266 f, Fig. 209a–b) .These bags are known as *tiṛrar* (sing. *téṛerirt*) which seems to be derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711). The small loading sticks *tihḍaḍ* (sing. *téhedit*) (p. 76) used to unite the two halves of a camel load are [illegible]aps also Arab in origin for this particular word is apparently also derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 520 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711).

The origin of other traits of camel-breeding is not so easy to determine, but it is very possible that 233
the plaited pouch which among the Northern Tuareg constitutes the normal method to prevent camel 177
calves from sucking (p. 62, Figs. 41–42) was also introduced by the Arabs. This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg and apparently also among the *Kel Geres*. It is found among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* (*abegu*) and is recorded in literature from the *Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 141), and from the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 71). It is widely found among all pastoral Arabs of Northern [171]
Africa and of the Arabian Peninsula.

As to the use of camel brands produced by burning with a redhot iron it seems difficult to judge 233
from distributions the origin of this method. These brands are known among most Tuareg with the 422
exception of the *Kel Ferwan* and other Tuareg of Ayr, who use earmarks cut with a knife. Earmarks [171]
seem to be used for camels also among the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 103) and were apparently used in ancient Arabia (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 298). One might perhaps assume that earmarks constitute an older type of proprietry marks, while brands came later. But information about marks and brands is scarce.

The origin of many traits of camel-breeding cannot be determined, but it is not be doubted that 233
the Arabs have introduced into North Africa a particular breed of camel together with certain saddles 177
and objects connected with the use of the camel as a pack animal. There is also no doubt that these

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Each row of forked poles has a lath resting horizontally in the prongs. This lath is called *éseger* (pl. *ísgar*). 342*

Two rows of boughs are fixed to the laths as a base for the roof covering. These boughs are known as *íbezaren* (no sing.). They rest with one end upon the central lath, the other end upon one of the outer laths. As the row of forked poles which carry the central lath is frequently somewhat higher than the two outer rows, the *íbezaren* boughs may be fixed in a somewhat sloping position and thus form a slightly elevated saddle roof which is covered with various kinds of plant material (e.g., palm leaves).

The walls of the hut consist of slender vertical sticks fixed in the ground and surrounded by simple mats (*atenkí*) made from the stems of the *afezu*-grass (*Panicum turgidum*). The huts have only one door-opening which is generally made at one of the narrow ends. [824]

The *téjira* hut is frequently a very spacious one, and in general it is so high that a grown man can easily stand upright in it. The poles used for the hut are rather heavy and the structure is built by the men, while most other dwellings used among the Tuareg are erected by women. [462]

A.5.b. The square or rectangular hut found among sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer is called *ékeber* (pl. *íkebran*). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer similar huts are also used by certain pastoral Tuareg, though their huts generally are round and provided with a conical roof (cf. A.6, p. 335 ff.). In Ahaggar square or rectangular straw-huts are not generally used by pastoralists, though they may be found among certain noble Tuareg when they camp in the lower country where building material is available.

Most huts are almost square and in size up to about 6 × 6 metres so that they are generally somewhat bigger than the *téjira* hut just mentioned. One hut seen in Tasilé-n-Ajjer had a structure very much like that of a *téjira* hut with a slightly elevated saddle-back roof. The *ékeber* hut of Northern Tuareg country usually has 9 forked poles buried solidly in the soil, forming three rows of poles

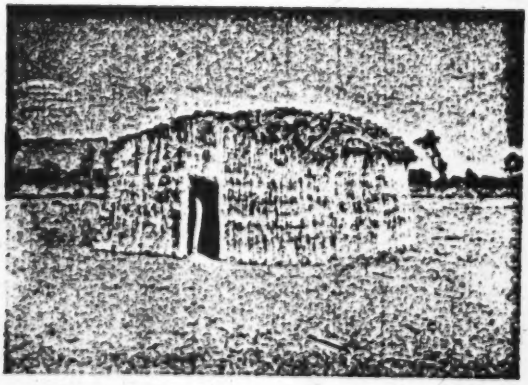

Fig. 249b. The *téjira* hut structure covered with mats a few days later. Ayr, Iferwan.

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A.9. *Barrel-vaulted huts*

A barrel-vaulted dwelling according to my difinition is "a dwelling with a certain number of parallel arches which form the main support for the rest of the structure". Non-portable dwellings of barrel-vaulted structure are far less important in North-west Africa than beehive huts. They seem to be known in the Fezzan area (cf. Scaria 1934, I, phot. 81 p. 169), and they are found along the Niger where they are not always used for dwellings but frequently serve as store-rooms, and the like. 342* 171

There are a few barrel-vaulted huts in most Ayr villages but everywhere they constitute a minority compared with other dwellings. The origin of barrel-vaulted village dwellings is not very difficult to determine. The name of such a hut is *éhen*, which is the word also used for the portable barrel-vaulted dwelling of Ayr pastoralists, and there is often very little difference between small barrel-vaulted huts and the portable dwellings of pastoralists. But barrel-vaulted huts of sedentary people have adopted some of the structural elements found in beehive huts. Most barrel-vaulted huts of the Ayr villages can be described as a hybrid type of dwelling, which seems to have been adopted as a result of contact with pastoralists, largely because village farmers have married pastoral women, for barrel-vaulted huts, like beehive huts, are built by women, and portable barrel-vaulted dwellings are also made by women among pastoral Tuareg. 342* [462]

The following is the structure of a normal barrel-vaulted hut of the Ayr villages:

(1) Three arches made of slender rods of *ébizgen* (*Salvadora persica*), or from midribs of palm leaves, which are lashed together in a bundle. These arches are similar to those used for beehive huts (cf. A.8.c.) and they are also called *igegan* (sing. *egegu*).

(2) The three arches are fastened to short heavy poles (*isekṭan*, sing. *asekṭu*) buried in the ground on the same system as that used for beehive huts, but the arches are placed parallel to one another, and the middle arch is higher than the two outer arches.

Fig. 260. The wooden skeleton of a large *éhen* hut. Ayr, Azzal.

– The curved pieces 342*
lashed together to form arches are manufactured by the Ayr women, or are imported from the south [462]
by the *Kel Geres* Tuareg when they visit Ayr at the end of the rains. The arches manufactured by the
Ayr women are made from the very long horizontal roots (*iékéwt*) of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Rad-* [824]
*diana*). Pieces of root of suitable size are placed over an open fire for a while, and are thereupon bent [335]
into the desired curve which is secured by cords. When the root pieces thus treated become dry they will retain their curved form; the cords are then untied and the root pieces fashioned with a knife. However, wooden arches imported by the *Kel Geres* are used by many Ayr Tuareg who claim that these arches are superior to their own. They are said to be manufactured from boughs (or roots?) of a tree known as *tarmumiya*, which does not grow in Ayr but in the *Kel Geres* country.

(2) Parallel to the three arches there are two pairs of cross-bars supported by vertical sticks, a pair being placed at both sides of the arches to form the narrow sides of the dwelling. These cross-bars are termed *isgar* (sing. *éseger*). They are sometimes made by blacksmiths, and are then provided with [531]
various ornaments including a little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of the bar. In fairly large tents each cross-bar is supported by four vertical sticks, the two middle ones of which are generally forked, while the two outer sticks are somewhat higher and attached to the cross-bar with cords. All these vertical sticks, including the outer ones which have no prongs, are termed *tigettewin* (sing. *tégettewt*). In smaller tents there are only two or three sticks supporting the cross-bar. The vertical sticks used to support the cross-bars are normally very simple. Sticks of the very light *turza* tree (*Calotropis procera*) are preferred.

(3) Over this skeleton of arches and cross-bars supported by vertical sticks are placed a number of slender curved rods which are termed *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*). These rods are made from acacia roots, as described above, or are rods of the *tarmumiya* tree imported from the south. These rods form semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the tent. Each of these semi-arches consists of two identical rods fastened to the horizontal cross-bars at their thick end, while at their thin ends they are lashed together and fastened to the true arches. There is always a considerable number of these slender semi-arches, normally about ten.

The Ayr Tuareg use the following types of mats to cover the upper part of the dome-shaped 342*
structure:— *iwerweren* (sing. *éwerwer*), the mats made from plant stems tied to each other with leather 285
thread (cf. p. 350); *isfal* (sing. *ésefel*), mats of an oval shape plaited from dum palm leaves; *asale-mamas*, a long narrow piece of mat made from dum palm leaves. In addition there is the term *éreli* which designates the long narrow mat plaited from dum palm leaves surrounding the lower part of the tent structure. In very hot weather this mat is omitted so that currents of air may pass through the dwelling, while the tent is closed when it is cold, or during storms. A tent as that described has 342*
a dome-shaped or barrel-vaulted superstructure, the ground-plan being almost rectangular. A tent of normal size will measure about 3.00×4.50 m with a height of 1.80 to 1.90 m.

The mat tent is erected by one or two Tuareg women in the following way:— [462]

(1) The ground is cleared; (2) The large wooden bed (*tédabut*), which is used everywhere in the [352]
south, is placed upon the ground to facilitate measuring; (3) Two large pronged posts, which serve [353]
to carry woman's riding cushions and various large skin bags, are placed behind the bed and fixed into holes dug by means of some iron implement, e.g., the cooking tripod, the broad end of a lance,

[text continues on p. 353]

*342 281 shape. In Southern Tuareg groups the skin tents also vary much in size, but they tend to be larger. Thus it is stated by Nicolas that skin tents among the *Kel Dennek* measure up to one hundred square metres (Nicolas 1938, p. 54), and Lhote says that 80–150 skins are used for sheets of the very large tents of the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (Lhote 1947a, p. 100).

[804] The Tuareg themselves do not refer to the size of a tent by counting the number of skins, or by measuring. The size of a tent is indicated by reference to the number of skin rows in the longitudinal direction of the sheet, and these rows of skin are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tarda* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). I have myself seen extremely small tents having a sheet of only three *tarda*, but a tent of normal size will generally have four or five such skin rows, and some even have six or seven *tarda*. Among the Northern Tuareg the sheet is manufactured in Tuareg camps by pastoral women and their female slaves. Among the *Kel Dennek*, tent sheets are manufactured by women of the blacksmith caste (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 155).

[462] [562] [564]

*342 285 A mat to be drawn around the lower part of the dwelling constitutes a very essential part of Tuareg skin tents. This mat is generally made from the stems of *afezu* (*afezu*) grass (*Panicum turgidum*) tied together with leather strips as already described. A tent mat at times is divided into two halves which are rolled up and placed at each of the narrow ends of the tent during hot weather so that currents of air may pass through. When weather is cold and also when storms are raging, the Tuareg close their tents with these mats, which may also be drawn out to form a kind of low courtyard in front of the tent (cf. Figs. 267–269). The straw mat made from *afezu* stems tied to one another is known as *éseber* (pl. *isebran*) both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, while the name of a tent mat among the *Kel Dennek* is *šitek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154), or *chitek* according to our transcription system. Among the Northern Tuareg, tent mats are generally about one metre high, while varying much as to length. These mats very frequently serve as a kind of wind-screen leaning against poles,

[351]

*342 281 133

Fig. 267. Skin tent seen from the back. The shape of the sheet is most irregular. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

[text continues on p. 364]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



634 judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief,
565 whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

[422] In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to
[171] mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

642 In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division,
565 which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral
[173] camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imṛad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imṛad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

565 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar.
[262] Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter
[492] and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinc-
[583] tions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The
[233] noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, donkeys are marked in
[422] both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be
[342] peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirẓemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps
[293] connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among
[262] vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found partic-
[224] ularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and
[174] other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but
[233] the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks
[462] of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



and the manufacture of decorated leather-bags, camel-reins, etc., and decorated wooden milk-bowls, the noble women do extremely little work.

Among the *Kel Ajjer* we find some of the above-mentioned distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals. The traditional dwelling of many vassal Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer is the cylindrical hut (house) with a conical roof, though vassals in winter use skin-tents during nomadic migrations. Nowadays noble and vassal Tuareg alike live in straw-huts throughout the hot season. Barth, in his description of the *Kel Ajjer*, mentions that the vassals have no right to possess iron spears and swords (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257), but it is stated explicitly by Duveyrier that noble Tuareg and vassals have the same weapons – the shield included (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). There can be little doubt that Duveyrier's statement is true, and I have been told among all Tuareg that in the past noble and vassal Tuareg did not differ in regard to weapons. A distinction would also seem rather strange in view of the fact that Tuareg of both classes fought together. Barth says that noble Tuareg and vassals differ in dress, but he does not give details (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257).

As to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, both noble and vassal Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any cultural distinctions between them. Bride-wealth in both classes was paid in camels. We know that the Ayr vassals in the past were predominantly goat-breeders, like many Ayr vassals to-day, and it seems as if camel-breeding was once a privilege of the nobility in the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 431; cf. tradition on the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan*, p. 421). I have not been able to find differences between the two classes in regard to material culture and social organization. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group say that they never have had types of portable dwellings other than the barrel-vaulted mat tent, which traditionally belongs to the woman.

There is very little information about cultural distinctions between noble and vassal Tuareg in other groups. Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* the vassals apparently use the arched mat tent more frequently than do noble Tuareg, but this and the skin tent supported by vertical sticks carrying cross-bars are found in both classes (cf. Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372 f.; Gabus 1945, p. 361 & 1948a, p. 15 & 1948b, p. 16). Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* the mat tent is used by certain noble Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f.). According to the chief *Amder* women's riding saddles for camels (*akhawi*) among the *Kel Ataram* are found only in noble tribes. Vassal tribes of the *Kel Ataram* living close to the Niger even to-day practise matrilineal rules of inheritance and succession in contrast to noble tribes with rules of patrilineal succession and Koranic inheritance (cf. p. 457).

Cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals are particularly prevalent in the two groups of Northern Tuareg, and it is significant that the traits characteristic of the noble class are also common among the *Iregenaten* who live in Tamesna. This tribe is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the *Ibettenaten* tribe, which claims noble descent, and Arab men. This explanation is found in literature (cf. Lhote 1955, p. 238 f.; Briggs 1958, p. 100) and has been confirmed to me by Tuareg of this tribe. It is interesting that some traits characteristic of the noble tribes among the Northern Tuareg are also found in tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The tribes of this latter class are said to be related to Arabs among whom we also find some of these traits.

We do not know when the noble Tuareg in the northern groups adopted traits that are also found among Arab bedouins. One might perhaps venture the theory that some of them were introduced

113, 101, 184, 565, 463 Tuareg MS25

[For information on the Tuareg see 1: Coon, M1 Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 204-210.]

567 charged with tending their flocks. These are the Iklan-n-Egef, or dune captives. In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Bella or Bouzou.

Secondly, captives may be liberated through generosity in return for services rendered; then they are called Iderfan.

The Bella, without being definitely freed, live freely, and the Tuareg let them earn their living the best they can. In addition to tending the flocks, many of them engage in small industries. They 463 gather up wood to sell in the urban centers, make charcoal /173/ for the same destination, and some women have become potters.

They are then organized in tribes and live like nomads in tents, just as the Tuareg, practicing endogamy, but remaining enfeoffed to an Imochar or Imrad tribe. In case of a conflict they side wholeheartedly with their masters and participate in combats as foot soldiers armed with javelins.

Several of these tribes are known in the region of Timbuktu, among the Igouadaren and the Tenguéréguif, in the Gao region, among the Ioullimmiden, and among the Kel Dinnik (eastern Ioullimmiden) from the Tahoua region. There are none among the Ihaggaren, however.

In the Ahaggar there are no Iklan-n-Egef except in individual cases.

Iderfan. -- The word Iderfan comes from the root sederf: "to free (by amplification) one who is no longer able to render good service." (1)

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

In principal, one cannot get rid of a slave by freeing him if he is stricken by old age or slows down in his work.

Actually the case comes up from time to time, especially among the Sudanese Tuareg. But emancipation may be the result of a pious gesture on the part of the master. At other times, some

567 have been freed as a group as a reward for some outstanding action. Nicolas mentions the present Tamjert fraction in the center of Tahoua who were freed after the battle of Izerwan where they had courageously resisted the Kel Ahaggar (1898). Many Iderfan go back to cultivation. They often live with the sedentary groups, with whom they join forces. They do small services for the latter, such as tending their flocks.

114 Nicolas likens them to the Harratines of the Kel Ahaggar. This
563 is only partially justified, for, although it is true that a few former
567 slaves work in the centers of cultivation of the Ahaggar, the majority of the Harratin are Negroes from the Tidikelt who freely came to get jobs among the Tuareg. Thus, we must not confuse the Harratin with the Iderfan.

567 As in the case of the Iklan-n-Egef, there are no Iderfan in the Ahaggar except in isolated cases.

564 The Enaden. -- The Enaden (singular, Enad) form the artisan class of the Tuareg. In the Sudan they are called /174/ garassa or gargassa, which is very probably of Sonrhaï origin.

[192] The word Enadan probably comes from enad, meaning "the other," extended to mean "those we don't talk about." (1) This is

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

because the Enaden form a closed caste, scorned and cursed by the Tuareg whose repulsion for manual labor is well known.

●463 Their role is to manufacture anything the Tuareg may have need
564 of: weapons, wooden table utensils, tent pegs, mehari saddles, and harnessing articles.

In addition, they also willingly engage in the business of barber-
[757 surgeon, and with the little instruments they make they adroitly do
752] bloodletting, cupping, scarification, and other little operations of the same order, including tooth extraction. They are remunerated
[465] for their work when they work for tribes, or, if they are attached to a master, he has them entirely at his disposal.

224 Among the Tuareg hunting is the business of a few men, a few
[463] specialists who have made it their profession; however, we see a
[567] large proportion of Iklan who seem to have more aptitude and more taste for hunting than their masters. There is certainly an atavistic character in this, a vestige of ancestral mores influenced by the original forest environment, where hunting was most often the basis of human activity. But it is nonetheless true that many Tuareg are very good hunters. The most renowned seem to be among the Issekkemâren and the Dag Râli.

Hunting with hounds is the most popular. They hunt wild sheep
224 and gazelles with saluki-type greyhounds, who serve at the same
231 time as camp dogs /241/ for the Tuareg. These animals, who stand tall, belong to a race halfway between the Kabyle dog and the Berber saluki and must also possess jackal blood. They are particularly suited for running and have innate talent for hunting.

The hunter's job is to track down the animal, to succeed in
224 discovering him, either grazing or in his lair, and to set the dogs on him at the propitious moment when he does not expect it and at a suitable distance. An epic battle between the animal and the dogs sometimes results from this; often the battle necessitates the man's intervention, for example when there is a wild sheep which does not hesitate to confront its assailants. The hunter, who is
[411] usually armed with a long javeline with a wooden shaft, then tries to stick his weapon in the animal's body and kill it. When it is a question of gazelles, he only needs let the dogs alone. If they can catch it, the animal will be quickly neutralized by the powerful jaws of the saluki.

Beside the common hunting with hounds, the Tuareg engage in trapping, which is a lazy method of hunting. It is all the more appreciated in the Sahara because game is rare and wary, and a certain amount of luck is always involved in capturing it.

The Ihaggaren use two types of traps: traps with radial points and torsion traps in the shape of an arc.

32 If, secondly, we look for the aptitudes which the Tuareg have for working these different raw materials, we notice that their enumeration follows the same order as above, with the reservation 325 that none of them know how to work metals. The latter occupations 463 are the prerogative of the Enaden, that is to say, the artisans, and 564 it is evident from this that without the artisans' help Tuareg industry would be limited to work in wood, leather, and esparto. In short, it is the cultural cycle of the pastoral peoples of the steppe.

It is only much later, when the Tuareg had integrated the [174] Enaden with their social organization, that they used metals. Therefore, [415 531] we perceive the considerable role which artisans must have played in technical evolution and that of art itself.

Fig. 46. Wooden funnel.

/277/ The presence of Enaden in the camps has reduced the manual labor [322] of the Tuareg, but the latter are still able to make wooden articles -- milking vessels, bowls, tent stakes, etc.

565 One of their most curious customs is that women from the high 462 nobility work wooden vessels and funnels with their hands by means 322 of a little adze. They usually give them to the wives of their Imrad, 431 who are very appreciative of these gifts. In the Ahaggar camps we found many little utensils which were the work of famous noble-women, of tamenokalin whose names are piously kept; these objects were saved with much veneration. This custom is even more re- [174] markable since we know the scorn that the Tuareg have for manual labor; we must see in it a relic of woodworking which must formerly have been everyone's work, without distinction, before the creation of the artisan class.

233 across much of the land and concentrated
[137] along dry river bottoms, and the small patches of thick, lush, emerald green grass that flourish briefly in hollows here and there following rainstorms. Pasturage is always either very sparse or very scattered in the Ahaggar and so the nomadic inhabitants of the area must move often, for the supply in the immediate neighborhood of a camp is quickly exhausted.
[312] To make life still more difficult, water points are often few and far between as we already know, and it is not unusual to find good pasturage so far from any water that it cannot be used for more than a day or two, if at all. This combination of circumstances has
233 made it necessary for the Ahaggar Tuareg
221 to break up into small and highly mobile camp units composed of fractions of clans, or even single families, and each of these units must move at intervals of usually somewhere between a week and a month and often over considerable distances, although always within the territorial limits of the tribe (fig. 36).

As soon as a camp or constellation of neighboring camps is established in a new location, the head men first set up the daily grazing routine of the flocks and then set out at once to scout far and wide in search of the next pasture to be used and the next camp sites that their families will occupy. And so it goes the year around, and so the Tuareg of the Ahaggar are highly mobile nomads by force of circumstances, for they cannot survive otherwise in the region which they have made their own.

565 It is in the compelling circumstances of
233 their environment that we find the roots of the class system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, for,
463 quite apart from the question of mobility, such conditions can be met successfully only
182 by a well conceived and firmly established division of labor. In the Ahaggar it is the nobles of a tribe and the headmen of the vassal clans who ride out in search of new pastures and at the same time act as military scouts, always on the watch for enemy raiders as

[423] *The fundamental difference between the two systems lies in the fact that the basis of land tenure among the Tuareg is not that of the *beneficium* while personal allegiance is not based on the concept of the *comitatus*. The true feudal system of medieval Europe was based on the conferring of privilege by an absolute ruler (or one of his vassals) on a less

565 well as for potential victims, alien camps or
233 caravans which they can raid themselves. The
463 vassals in their turn are responsible for the daily management and immediate protection of the flocks and herds, and also constitute an armed reserve that can be called up quickly in case a battle becomes imminent or the opportunity for a major raid presents itself. The
[567] slaves take care of the domestic service and household chores of the camps while their boys go out as shepherds to the flocks.

Thus it is clear that the Tuareg class system
565 is a necessity of pastoral life in the Ahaggar;
642 for no pastoral community can survive there without nomadizing, and no community of
[182] nomads can survive without a rigidly formalized division of labor and authority similar to that embodied in the class system of the Tuareg. It now becomes clear also that the seemingly paradoxical combination, within the social framework, of rigidity during the period of a single adult lifetime and a relative fluidity over slightly longer periods still so short as to span often no more than a couple of generations and sometimes less, is not in fact a paradox at all. It merely reflects in simple functional terms the fact that extreme conditions call for an extreme response, that the framework within which the allocation of authority is made at various levels in the communal structure must be very firmly established but must also allow considerable freedom periodically in the choice of those who are to occupy critical positions of decision and command so as to avoid the danger of having such positions filled automatically by persons unfit to occupy them, a danger that could well be quickly fatal to the whole community.

And finally we see that Tuareg government really has nothing essential in common with the feudal system of mediæval Europe to which it has so often been confusingly compared.[9] In the last analysis authority resides in the vassals, for they can make and at least
[643] in theory break the mightiest of all the nobles, the Amenokal himself, and they can do all this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.

powerful neighbor in exchange for some specified kind of continuing or periodic service. Among the Tuareg the relationship between "noble" and "vassal" looks much the same at first glance, but this is an optical illusion, a case of merely superficial resemblance.

326 ward and then westward, across the North
[171] African hinterland to the shores of the Atlantic. The general description of this pattern, given above in chapter V under the sub-heading *Special Classes and Minority Groups* in the section on *Agricultural Centers*, leaves little more to add.

326 Smiths of the Ahaggar usually live in single
463 family units or small groups widely separated from each other (fig. 50). A few families follow Tuareg groups on their seasonal rounds, but the great majority remain sedentary most of the time in one agricultural center or another, and go out only now and then for a few weeks or months, to do a general repair and re-equipment job in the camps of some
[759] nomadic tribe or clan. The men work wood and metals and are also barber-surgeons, while the women specialize in fancy leatherwork and embroidery. In addition to these functions
[584] and those previously mentioned, both sexes of the smith community act as both go-betweens and spies in clandestine love affairs. They also engage in intertribal secret intelligence work. And a major Tuareg chief may sometimes have a smith as his most trusted counsellor and confidant.

326 The smiths usually dress as do the poorer
[291] Tuareg. The men all wear the teguelmoust but in a sloppy fashion, and they seem to have no qualms about exposing their mouths.
[582] They are endogamous and monogamous as a general rule, although a few have more than one wife and some of them marry Haratin or occasionally slaves. Ostensibly because of their lowly social status, but probably in fact more because of the fear of sorcery that they inspire, they come and go everywhere as they please, although always with a cringingly ingratiating manner. Even after one has come to know them fairly well they still give an impression of constant watchfulness and profoundly sycophantic tact of the delicately oiled as opposed to the heavily greased variety. The smiths are the most perspicacious and cleverly adaptable of all Saharan peoples, for they have learned to live off and so outlive flamboyant warriors with their retinues and

[217] the author was so fortunate as to obtain a copy of the genealogical table in question, thanks to the very kind co-operation of Captain Roger Bret, Commandant of the *Annexe du Hoggar*, and Claude Blanguernon, Director of Nomad Schools.

output is only enough to water the flocks, in the Ahaggar, on the contrary, a mountainous country where there is some water everywhere, a number of small villages called "ar'erem" ⵄⵔⵔⵉⵎ, plural "ir'ermane" ⵉⵄⵔⵔⵉⵎⵏ, have been built. 241 312 361

Since the Tuareg, nobles or imr'ad, dislike all manual work, these villages could not have been built without the indispensible help of the Harratine of the Touat and the Tidikelt, whom the Tuareg call "Izeggar'en" ⵉⵣⵖⵔⵄⵏ, meaning "mulattoes." Everything was made by the latter: the wells, /74/ "tounine," which are used for irrigation, as at Tazerouk; the "foggaras," or covered wells, "ifelane," and their irrigation canals as at Abalessa, Tit, and Tamanrasset; the fitting up of springs, as at Tadjemout. The Harratine made the gardens and became khammes of the Tuareg, landowners. They settled in these villages and there built huts of "diss" (Imperata cylindrica) or of "berdi" (Typha angustifolia) and little houses of baked earth. 312 565 361 463 [342 824]

The Harratine grow wheat, barley, and bechna in these gardens. These are the three essential crops, to which they add some vegetables: onions, kabouyas, or gourds, watermelons, and "guerroum" (a kind of long melon which is eaten green, like a cucumber, before it is ripe). Finally, at Tit they /75/ have planted some fine fig trees and a vine which yields a grape that seems delicious at this latitude. Similarly, at Abalessa, there are some vine slips and a fine palm. 241

Ideles (Koudia)

The gardens, or rather the fields, are enclosed by a hedge to prevent the depredations of the camels that graze free at night. But there are some that do not have this protective barrier, and the Harratine are forced to stand guard at night, turn, and turn about, lighting fires to drive the camels away from the crops.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



634 565 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzouren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had constantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers and protectors.

[463] [701]

Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals *(Imghad)* as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:– "One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much about this.

114 565 614 [422] [672] [567]

Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin. 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a, p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg have emigrated.

174 565 614

/47 cont./

571 463 C. Economic Organization

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tuareg | : | Nomadic herdsmen |
| Arabs | : | Nomadic herdsmen and traders |
| Inaden | : | Artisans |
| Harratin | : | Cultivators, craftsmen, manual laborers |
| Iklan | : | Domestics of the Tuareg |
| Mozabites | : | Sedentary traders |
| Chorfa | : | Receive alms in exchange for their presence |
| Zaoui | : | id. |

571 619 643 At the beginning of the French occupation, the Tuareg people were in a stage of social evolution similar in many ways to our Middle Ages. The same system is still in force today, although cracks in it may be seen, caused by the French and Moslem presence. To speak only of the Kel Ahaggar, who are the only ones who concern us in this study, we see a confederation of tribes commanded by the "amenokal," who is elected for life. His title confers on him the ownership of the soil, amenokal meaning "owner of the land." He disposes of the territories of nomadization /terres de parcours/ and of the arable land as he wishes. In practice, this power is exercised according to custom and in a paternalistic fashion.

571 564 Among the tribes, a very rigid caste system exists. First, there are the noble tribes which formerly supplied the warriors; they undertook the protection of the confederation. They were rich with loot taken from /48/ neighboring confederations and from outside caravans, and from protection money paid by caravaneers who passed through Kel Ahaggar territory. Then, there are the imrad tribes -- we may call them vassals. More numerous and made up of camel herders and caravan guides, they could be called on to furnish reinforcements when an expedition ran into trouble or was larger than usual.

565 /55/ An imrad tribe of the Tédjéhé Mellet, the Kel Ohet
[162 includes 80 Tuareg and 20 Negroes. It is allied to the Kel
563] In Tounine and has many dealings with the Ajjers. The tribe's
amrar is Habib ag Ouhaggarène. Its members nomadize in the
eastern Tefedest and own gardens at Ohet and Dehine. The
[651] tioussé formerly was four mezoued of dates, rope, and guerbas.

The Kel Terrourrirt are imrads of the Tédjéhé Mellet.
[162 Their tribe is not numerous: 62 Tuareg and six Negroes. They
563] are very poor. They camp in the Amguid region and in the
Tassili des Adjjer and possess several gardens at In-Amguel.
[651] The amrar is Hadj Mohamed ag Salah. They were paying
four mezoued of dates, four sheep, rope, and guerbas. They
trade with the Tidikelt.

The Ibardjien are not Issakamaren. They are imrads of the
[162] Kel Rela. It is a tribe destined to die out; there are only 24
left. They reside in the Tazrouk and Ideles region. They
were remarkable hunters of wild sheep and had dogs trained for
this practice.

The presence in the Ahaggar of former soldiers, most of
them Chaamba, must be noted. They marry Tuareg women,
found families, and raise their children in the Tuareg customs.
They are fairly numerous in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

## The Maalmines. Inaden

565 Within Tuareg society are found artisans called
463 "maalmines" in Arabic, but whose Tamashek name is "inaden."
The masculine singular is "inade;" plural, "inaden." The
feminine singular is "tinat;" plural, "tinadin."

The maalmines make up a tribe whose members almost
always marry among themselves. They are related to the
maalmines of the Iforas and of the A'ir. Although very black
skinned, they do not have negroid characteristics. The origin
[174] of the maalmines is as obscure as that of the Tuareg tribes;
some think /56/ they are Jews who were captured by the Tuareg

565 /56 cont. / and who over a period of time have adopted
463 Tuareg ways (their specialization and their character lend
174 credence to this theory). Some maalmines say that they came to the Ahaggar in the time of the sultan Goma, having been separated from the Idenan tribe of which they were members. Others claim to have always belonged to the Tuareg confederation.

565 In the Ahaggar the maalmines include 17 men, about 20
463 women, and about 40 children. They have ten iklan.

[162] The men are many-sided craftsmen, often clever and fairly artistic; in view of the material they have to work with and the tools at their disposal, one may say that they are remarkable. The women work leather with skill and art. The maalmines are not grouped in tribes but form small families scattered in every corner of the Ahaggar. When a tribe, noble or imrad, needs some work done, it sends for a craftsman and provides him with animals for transporting himself and his equipment. He lives with the tribe during the time necessary for his task and is provided for by the tribe. When the work is done he is paid, according to how satisfactory it is considered, in goats, millet, milk, butter, even camels, but there is no fixed rate paid to the maalmines by the Tuareg. There is a different arrangement when they work for the harratin, who, not being so noble as the Tuareg, would not know how to reward good work with the proper generosity. They are therefore charged the following rate: for one new
[435] hoe (made from an old oil drum): five guessa /dishes/ of wheat or millet; for four rivets put in an old hoe, one guessa of grain; for a new axe the price used to be a goat or five guessa, but since the advent of the black market there is no accurate quotation.

435 For making jewelry, there is a special price fixed by
565 custom, even for the Tuareg; thus for bracelets and earrings
463 the Targui furnishes, for example, ten pieces of silver necessary for making two bracelets; the maalem keeps five

435 /56 cont./ for himself, or else the Targui pays him in actual
463 money the value of the five pieces.
565 /57/ The same price applies for rings and pendants. The
463 inaden have an ill-defined position in Tuareg society; some
565 consider them inferior to the imrads, others place them between the nobles and the imrads. It is certain that the maalmines are proud and are far from suffering from an inferiority complex. They are very well acquainted with Tuareg customs, the country, and the people, and are, in brief, the custodians of certain traditions of art, or, it could be said, of culture.

The tinadin, women of the maalmines, work leather as do all Tuareg women, but with them it takes on the character of a profession. They are very skillful and artistic, and their specialty is making cases for the iremdan /a tool/, sheaths for knives, and saber scabbards called "tittar n'takouba."

## The Harratin

565 The harratin of the Ahaggar represent, as they do elsewhere in the Sahara, the sedentary element, chiefly agricultural.

The term designates, in the thought of the region, a caste in Tuareg society. When one questions a Kel Ahaggar about the ranking of the different castes, he places the nobles, ihaggarènes, first; then the vassals, imrads, making a distinction among them of the issakamaren, who are the lowest in the caste; then come the iklan (slaves, let us say, domestic ones) -- these iklan are Blacks, and their difference from the Tuareg is evident from their ethnic type.(1).

1. A parallel Moslem religious and maraboutic hierarchy exists: (Chorfa -- Zaoui -- Arabs -- Mozabites).

564 region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed*
[463] (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Ahaggar to cultivate
[567] gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were
joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaren*, or *Ḥarratin*, like the
[191] immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual,
speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahaq*). The *Izeggaren* (*Ḥarratin*) are generally less
[144] negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features.
[142] Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*)
refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaren* does not seem to
exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Ṛat oasis known as *Ikewweren*
apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar
claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

[361] *Kel Ġanet* (sing. *W Ġanet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ġanet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-
[144] n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned
europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ġanet* have much the same position as
[565] Tuareg vassals (Imṛad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ġanet* immigrants, their status is rather
[567] like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ġanet* may
possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

564 *Ineḍen* (*Ineḍen* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Ened*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg
326 groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their
weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg
women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one.
People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make
hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only
[162] a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very
numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the
564 blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna*
173 *Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This
myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths
in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963).
A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told
about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected
by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Tementiṭ in Tawat.
At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.).
2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed
Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Fou-
cauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that
most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and
564 Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of
144 them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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[323]

[322]

Fig. 21 a–b. Milk-bowls (*akaz*, pl. *ikassen*) which are used for milking and for milk drinking.

[184] a. A bowl made of burned clay like an ordinary earthen pot. These bowls are never used by pastoral Tuareg but by a few sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar who also manufacture them. Ahaggar, Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.120 m high with an upper diameter of 0.187 m. (N.M. G. 5821).

[824] [463] [184] b. A bowl cut of the wood of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*). It is made by a blacksmith, but certain Tuareg women cut similar bowls which are common in all camps of pastoral Northern Tuareg. Such milk-bowls are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.102 m high with an upper diameter of 0.199 m. (N.M. G. 5199).

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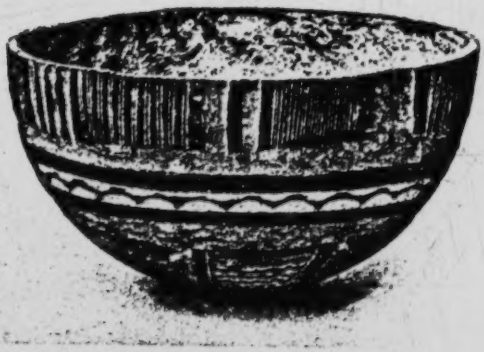

Fig. 22. Calabash of a type which is used occasionally for milking in Ahaggar. It is called *asekkaz* (*wa n akh*) or *asekkaz* (*wa n tapek*), that is "calabash for milk, or "calabash for milking". Introduced to Ahaggar from the south and bought at Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.110 m high with an upper diameter of 0.195–0.203 m. (N.M. G. 5823).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 130. Semi-wild date palms in the canyon-like Aharhar valley of Tassilé-n-Ajjer. The palms are owned and harvested by pastoral Tuareg.

245 (Aharhar and Êherir) where "semi-wild" palms are abundant. These palms are owned by pastoral
[221] Tuareg of various tribes. Their dates are harvested in the autumn when Tuareg palm owners with
[342] their slaves live in straw-huts or huts covered with palm leaves situated among the palm trees.

Similar plantations of palm trees which are left to themselves most of the year are also found in
245 Ahaggar, notably at Silet-Tihaghin. Part of these palms are owned by members of the *Dag Rali* tribe
423 (the sections of *Kel Tamesqanet* and *Kel Terhenanet*) and by members of the very small tribe, the
[661] *Ikechkemadan*. The palm-owners give as an annual payment to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar one bunch
of dates from all palms which have more than two bunches. The yield of another part of the palms
[565] belongs to the vassal tribe *Iklan-en-tawsit* (the sections *Kel Silet* and *Kel Tahalra*). For usufructs,
[651] members of these two sections make a collective annual payments to the *Amenukal* comprising four
245 bags of dates, twenty goats, two ropes of goat's hair, and five water bags. The dates are harvested by
[221] Tuareg of the above mentioned tribes in August-September. Harvesting is done with sickles and is
[492] finished in three to four weeks when the palm-owners return to their camps with dates packed in bags
[564] and loaded on donkeys and camels. In harvesting their dates most Tuareg are assisted by black-
[465] skinned agriculturists (*Harratin*, or *Iraggayen*) of Abalessa who are given a certain amount of dates
[463] for their work. These agriculturists build the huts in which the palm-owners live during harvest (cf. p. 338 f.).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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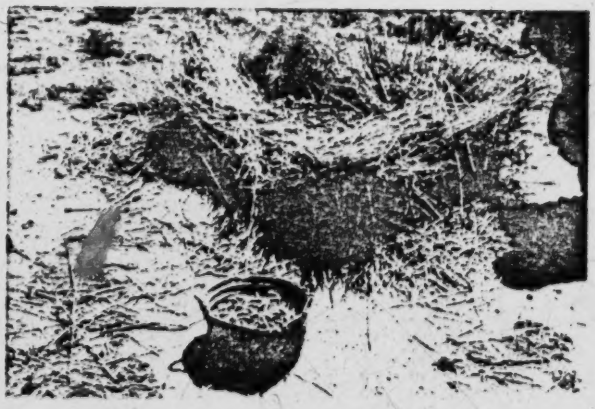

Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*énéld*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Akl Azzi* Arabs.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
193 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests of visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers
[563] though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of
162 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isaweren*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
563 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
433 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
245 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
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Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
162 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula-
144 tion that subsisted on agriculture.
433
[174]

563 They nomadize near the Garet ed Djenoun, the Ăseksem, Ămegid, and the Ădrar Torha; they own about 300 goats and 30 [233] camels. (1938 census, as opposed to 600 goats and 200 camels in 1905.)

[241 423] They are the owners of a few gardens in the Tăfedest.

They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah order.

[795] The Kel Tăfedest annually pay the amenokal four loads of dates [651] and a young camel.

The Kel Immîdir. -- The Kel Immîdir, or Kel Mouydir, are still called Ihéiaouen-n-Tin-Emma. They are of the same origin as the Ihéiaouen Hâda and the Kel Tazoulé.

[162] They are subdivided into Kel Terahart and Kel Raris and include about 50 people. They nomadize in the Immîdir massif toward Joraf and Tagmout and have areas for nomadization between Ifetessen and In Eker.

[233 464] They are poor people who own about 20 camels and 250 goats. Very good merchants and excellent caravaneers, they hire themselves out to camel owners to provide for their needs.

/201/ The Isselamaten must be added to the Kel Immidir. They [164] are a small fraction of about 15 tents which lives with them and nomadize near Aneserfa, Ărak, Ahohor, Tagemout, and Tiredjert.

The Kel Tazoûlet. -- The Kel Tazoûlet or Dăg el Mesk camp in the Tăzoûlet region and near Tăzerouk. They number about 225 [162 233] people and own 285 camels and more than 2, 000 goats. They dryness of the region which they inhabit forces them to take refuge in the [132] Sudan when there are no rains in the Ahaggar.

[241 423] They possess gardens at Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine, and at Tăzerouk.

[669] They were in contact with the Aït Loaien and followed the latter in revolt, participating with them in the battles of Tit and the Ilaman wadi.

[795 788] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah. Four or five of their number have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

567 have been freed as a group as a reward for some outstanding action. Nicolas mentions the present Tamjert fraction in the center of Tahoua who were freed after the battle of Izerwan where they had courageously resisted the Kel Ahaggar (1898). Many Iderfan go back to cultivation. They often live with the sedentary groups, with whom they join forces. They do small services for the latter, such as tending their flocks.

114 Nicolas likens them to the Harratines of the Kel Ahaggar. This
563 is only partially justified, for, although it is true that a few former
567 slaves work in the centers of cultivation of the Ahaggar, the majority of the Harratin are Negroes from the Tidikelt who freely came to get jobs among the Tuareg. Thus, we must not confuse the Harratin with the Iderfan.

567 As in the case of the Iklan-n-Egef, there are no Iderfan in the Ahaggar except in isolated cases.

564 The Enaden. -- The Enaden (singular, Enad) form the artisan class of the Tuareg. In the Sudan they are called /174/ garassa or gargassa, which is very probably of Sonrhaï origin.

[192] The word Enadan probably comes from enad, meaning "the other," extended to mean "those we don't talk about." (1) This is

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

because the Enaden form a closed caste, scorned and cursed by the Tuareg whose repulsion for manual labor is well known.

463 Their role is to manufacture anything the Tuareg may have need
564 of: weapons, wooden table utensils, tent pegs, mehari saddles, and harnessing articles.

In addition, they also willingly engage in the business of barber-
[757 surgeon, and with the little instruments they make they adroitly do
752] bloodletting, cupping, scarification, and other little operations of the same order, including tooth extraction. They are remunerated
[465] for their work when they work for tribes, or, if they are attached to a master, he has them entirely at his disposal.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



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Fig. 130. Semi-wild date palms in the canyon-like Aharher valley of Tasilt-n-Ajjer. The palms are owned and harvested by pastoral Tuareg.

245 (Aharher and Êherir) where "semi-wild" palms are abundant. These palms are owned by pastoral
[221] Tuareg of various tribes. Their dates are harvested in the autumn when Tuareg palm owners with
[342] their slaves live in straw-huts or huts covered with palm leaves situated among the palm trees.

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of dates from all palms which have more than two bunches. The yield of another part of the palms
[325] belongs to the vassal tribe *Ikkes-n-tawait* (the sections *Kel Silet* and *Kel Tahaqa*). For usufructs,
[15] members of these two sections make a collective annual payments to the *Amenukal* comprising four
245 bags of dates, twenty goats, two ropes of goat's hair, and five water bags. The dates are harvested by
[221] Tuareg of the above mentioned tribes in August-September. Harvesting is done with sickles and is
[492] finished in three to four weeks when the palm-owners return to their camps with dates packed in bags
[564] and loaded on donkeys and camels. In harvesting their dates most Tuareg are assisted by black-
[465] skinned agriculturists (*Harratin*, or *Inggayen*) of Abalessa who are given a certain amount of dates
[463] for their work. These agriculturists build the huts in which the palm-owners live during harvest (cf. p. 338 f.).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 149. The market place of Agadez. In the front negroid Hausa men roasting small pieces of meat on a spit; in the background Tuareg camels offered for sale.

484 pack-camels to the salt pit of Amadror to mine salt in the hot season. They load the camels with salt
487 and bring them to the camp where further preparations for the journey are made. When the caravans
[317] have started southwards they stop in the Tamesna plains and rest there for at least one month to allow
[437] the pack-camels to feed on annual pasture, and, if necessary, to exchange the pack-camels with others kept by the Ahaggar Tuareg in Tamesna. Thereupon the caravan will continue towards the millet-
[22] growing towns and villages of the Sudan to bargain with the Hausa. The caravan returns to Ahaggar again at the end of March or at the beginning of April, so that the total duration of a south-bound caravan is up to six or seven months.

438 The Sudanese millet trade is of extreme value to the subsistence of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is partic-
439 ularly important to their economy that they obtain millet for non-nomadic products transported by camels, which are mainly bred outside of Ahaggar. The millet trade is consequently not much influenced by Ahaggar's changeable climate. According to official statistics, the Ahaggar caravans in 1946 exported 375 tons salt, and imported 720 tons millet, while the cereals grown in Ahaggar amounted to 197 tons (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). According to Galan vegetable food grown in the gardens of Ahaggar in 1950 (a bad year) amounted to 121 tons wheat, 5 tons millet and barley, and 4 tons of tomatoes – about 10 kg of wheat and 0.5 kg of millet, barley, and tomatoes per person (Galan 1951, p. 233). We see from this that the amount of cereals acquired in the Sudan far exceeds the amount
[465] grown in Ahaggar, and as we have mentioned, the millet trade is also important for the establishment of Tuareg agriculture in their own country where this cereal is used for payments to cultivators. It can also be added that the Sudanese caravan trade is more important to the Tuareg than appears from
[435] the figures above. For salt is much more valuable than millet, and for one load of salt the Tuareg receive from four to fifteen loads of millet – in 1946 the price was fifteen to one (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). It is evident that the Tuareg could not take all this millet back to Ahaggar. Most of it is re-sold

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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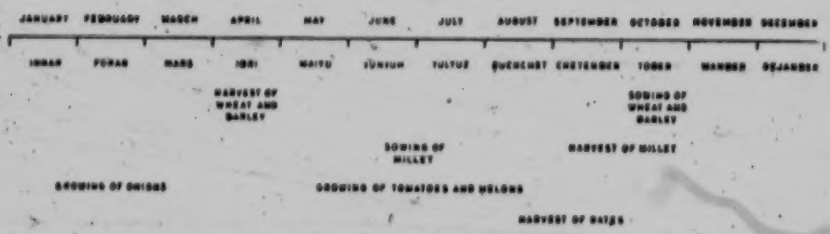


Fig. 139. Horticultural calendar from Ahaggar.

The Tuareg and the negroid agriculturists have a lunar calendar of twelve months corresponding to the Arab calendar, but a lunar calendar has no practical value for the indication of seasonal agricultural activities. The Julian Calendar is known to some people of Ahaggar as well as to other Berbers of the Sahara and the Atlas. Tuareg names of Julian months are given above. Very few people in Ahaggar know the exact beginning and the end of the twelve Julian months, but a few names are used as seasonal terms: *immar* = "midwinter", *mars* = "beginning of spring", *ibri* = "early harvest" (of wheat and barley), *maiyu* = "beginning of summer", *tober* = "late harvest" (millet).

241 which no definite figures can be given, while the yield of fruit trees growing in the garden plot does
[423] not necessarily belong to the agriculturist. These trees frequently belong to pastoral Tuareg.

433 I think it can be estimated that an agricultural household with its own garden produce about a
262 thousand kilos of vegetables food products annually for its private use. We can add that though the members of an agricultural household live mainly on vegetable food products they also acquire a certain amount of food from livestock, which normally comprises a few goats and sheep, and perhaps one or two *zebus*. Conditions of stock-breeding are not always favourable to people who live continuously on the same spot, but it is advantageous to the agriculturists of Ahaggar, who live close to valleys with some pasture, that they are able to feed their animals on green garden products when pasture is badly developed and thus avoid the disaster of a drought. It is also an advantage to most agriculturists that they do not have to water their animals which can drink freely from the irrigation canals. The agriculturists can kill a few goats or sheep annually, they obtain milk and a little butter
[254] to be used mainly as a sauce for bread and porridge, and they make cheese of the *awles* type (cf. p. 224), but they never make cheese from fresh milk as do many pastoral Tuareg when milk is abundant. The agriculturists also breed fowls and pigeons, and some of them have an important meat supply from hunting with steel-traps (hares, jackals, fennecs, and ravens). Collecting, on the other hand, is of little or no value to irrigation farmers of Ahaggar.

241 The economic position of agriculturists who work without any particular obligations towards
466 pastoral Tuareg is tolerably good. It is less favourable to those who grow winter crops also on behalf
[423] of the Tuareg, as do most cultivators. Some of them irrigate the garden plot with water raised from
[511] wells by oxen which may belong to the cultivator or to the Tuareg. But most agriculturists who work
241 for the pastoral Tuareg irrigate by means of *foggara*. It is very strenuous work to dig a *foggara* canal,
312 and co-operation is needed not only for this but also for the maintenance of the whole irrigation system.
466 The gardens are individually tended by the agriculturists, who co-operate in the *foggara* work under
476 the leadership of a headman known as *amṛur n efeli*, that is "chief of the *foggara*". This headman is

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



appointed by the Tuareg garden owners and is rewarded by a garden of his own for his responsibility in supervising all co-operative work. The unit of agriculturists co-operating at the same *foggara* may or may not correspond to an extended family. The agriculturists co-operating on any large *foggara* irrigating ten or twelve gardens frequently represent two or three distinct families which are not linked to each other by kinship bonds. The cultivators of a *foggara* comprising nine gardens at Taṛhawhawt belong to three distinct, unrelated families. This is quite natural in view of the fact that contracts between the Tuareg and the cultivators are made individually.

There may also be no kinship bonds between the pastoral Tuareg who have gardens at the same foggara, and there are even Tuareg who own two or three gardens situated in widely separated river valleys of Ahaggar. But Tuareg garden owners of the same foggara frequently belong to the same tribe or even to the same tribal section. When a garden-owning Tuareg dies, his garden will generally pass to somebody within his family, but there seems to be no fixed rules governing the transference of gardens.

The individual contract between a Tuareg garden owner and his cultivator is made for a period of six months – the period of growth for wheat and barley. The agriculturist is responsible for all garden work, and the Tuareg garden owner has the following obligations:—

(1) To supply his cultivator with a hoe every year, or every two years in case a very good hoe is given.

(2) To pay for repairs of the *foggara* system, or for the digging of a new *foggara*. This payment is known as *almarsor* and consists of two kilos of cereals or dates every working day until water reaches the garden.

(3) To pay for the making of garden beds. This payment is known as *éhéré n egalob*, and is made only once as long as the garden remains on the same spot. When a garden is moved after a period of three or four years the payment must be made again. It varies with the size of the garden and the quality of its soil; in general it consists of 15–25 kilos of cereals.

Fig. 140. Millet (*tadit*) of very high growth. It is said that this particular millet type was introduced to Ahaggar from the south – possibly from Ayr. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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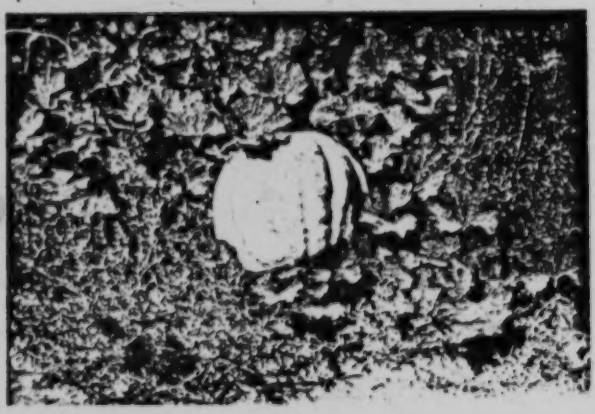

Fig. 141. The large gourd known as *kabaya* (*Cucurbita maxima*) growing close to the thorny fence (*aforaj*) which term is also generally used to designate a garden. Ahaggar, *Abl Azzi* Arabs.

466 Tuareg garden owners have other obligations besides those listed under these three items, but these
625 obligations vary with the systems of contract of which there are three. One system is known as *khamast*
423 according to which the agriculturists gets only one fifth of the crops. This system is widely found in
241 North Africa but has disappeared in Ahaggar some years ago. It is said that it was abolished by the
[171] *Amenukal* because it very frequently gave rise to disputes between Tuareg garden owners and their
[578] cultivators. It is now replaced by two other systems, the *tilt* system allowing one third of the crops to the cultivator, and the *aril* system according to which crops are divided equally between the owner and the cultivator. This last system is that almost exclusively used in Ahaggar nowadays.

To revert to Tuareg obligations towards their cultivators, these obligations, in addition to those mentioned above, are as follows:—

(4) To hand over an amount of seed-corn (*ifest*) of wheat and barley according to the size of the garden plot and the system of contract. With a *khamast* agreement the Tuareg garden owner gives all seed-corn. With a *tilt* agreement half of the seed-corn is supplied by the owner, the other half by the cultivator who is then also allowed to cultivate a private garden. With an *aril* agreement half of the seed-corn is given by the garden owner, the other half by the cultivator who does not possess a private garden unless he is headman of a *foggara* (p. 196).

(5) To give an amount of food to the agriculturist during the cultivation period of six months. This payment is known as *tenafok*, and is fixed at 75 kilos of millet, barley, or dates when cultivation is done according to the *aril* system, while 150 kilos are given for cultivation according to agreements of the two systems *tilt* and *khamast*.

[434] The net profit to an agriculturist who cultivates for a Tuareg garden owner is lower than that gained by an agriculturist cultivating exclusively for his own private use. This will be seen more clearly from the calculations below where a garden with an annual yield of 700 kilos wheat and barley is considered:—

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| | *Cultivator* | | *Tuareg Garden Owner* | | 466 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The khamast system* | Receipts | Expenditure | Receipts | Expenditure | 625 |
| The *khamast* division | 140 kg | | 560 kg | | 423 |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | 241 |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | 434 |
| Seed-corn | | | | 50 kg | |
| Food given to the cultivator | 150 kg | | | 150 kg | |
| | 290 kg | 10 kg | 560 kg | 210 kg | |
| Net profit | 280 kg | | 350 kg | | |
| *The tilt system* | | | | | |
| The tilt division | 233 kg | | 466 kg | | |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | |
| Seed-corn | | 25 kg | | 25 kg | |
| Food given to the cultivator | 150 kg | | | 150 kg | |
| | 383 kg | 35 kg | 466 kg | 185 kg | |
| Net profit | 348 kg | | 281 kg | | |
| *The aril system* | | | | | |
| The *aril* division | 350 kg | | 350 kg | | |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg | |
| Seed-corn | | 25 kg | | 25 kg | |
| Food given to the cultivator | 75 kg | | | 75 kg | |
| | 425 kg | 35 kg | 350 kg | 110 kg | |
| Net profit | 390 kg | | 240 kg | | |

A few notes should be added to these calculations of receipts and expenditure in the three systems. Thus the profit of the cultivator in all three systems is somewhat bigger than is indicated. The hoe is given by the Tuareg garden owner, who must also make certain payments for irrigation work and for the making of new garden beds as mentioned above. The garden owner's net profit in kilogrammes is consequently somewhat lower than indicated, but it should be mentioned that payments made by a Tuareg garden owner are hardly ever made in wheat and barley, but mainly in millet and dates which are less valuable, particularly so because the pastoral Tuareg acquire millet and dates at very low prices during their caravan expeditions (cf. p. 209 ff.). Therefore, the profit made by a Tuareg garden owner cannot so easily be given in kilogrammes of agricultural food products. It is evident that all three systems are profitable to the Tuareg, and it is clear that an agriculturist who cultivates a garden entirely on his own behalf is better off than an agriculturist who works for the Tuareg. It is also evident that to the agriculturist the *khamast* system is less profitable than the *tilt* system, which again is less profitable than the *aril* system. With the abolishment of the *khamast* system the agriculturists now [435]

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466 obtain a larger amount of vegetable food products and more wheat and barley. The pastoral Tuareg
475 gain less from their gardens than they did when the *khamast* system prevailed, but it is still profitable
423 for them to be garden owners.
241
434 The quantity of agricultural products anually consumed per person among the *Kel Ahaggar* is
511 estimated by Lhote at 187 kilos millet, 15 kilos dates, and a small amount of wheat for which no
262 figure is given. For Arabs of the Sahara the quantity of vegetable food is estimated at 180 kilos wheat,
[17] and 75 kilos dates anually per person (Lhote 1955a, p. 263). I add to this that wheat is used for bread to a very large extent by the Ahaggar Tuareg, who also make much use of barley for bread and porridge. According to Malaurie the amount of agricultural food products available per person among the Ahaggar Tuareg is about 400 grammes a day, or 146 kilos anually (Malaurie 1953, p. 342). It should be noted again that the amount of agricultural food products necessary for a Tuareg household varies greatly from one year to the other. In years of drought when agricultural products form so to speak the only source of food for the nomads, they estimate that a household consisting of husband, wife, and one child will consume about two kilos of cereals (dates) every day, or 730 kilos in a year. Consequently the amount of cereals and dates consumed anually per person may in dry years rise to
[17] about 245 kilos. This seems to correspond to the amount of food considered necessary for Arabs of Tidikelt and Tawat, who live almost exclusively on cereals and dates. When employed as labourers by the French Administration these sedentary Arabs are given 16 kilos of wheat and 4 kilos of rice a month, or 240 kilos of agricultural products anually per person (Information obtained from the administration office of In Salah in 1954). The agricultural products obtained by a pastoral household from a single
511 garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less
433 so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example: During the year 1954–55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with an *aril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar
[437] Tuareg depend on caravan trading for their provisions of agricultural food, and trading also helps them to create the capital of millet and dates which is invested in their gardens in Ahaggar grown on their behalf by agriculturists. I believe that most pastoral households of Ahaggar have gardens, but there are Tuareg who have none. This is true, for instance, of most Tuareg living in and around the Ahnet Massif. Tuareg of this region formerly had gardens irrigated by the *foggara* system at Abalessa, but to-day they acquire their vegetable food products mainly by caravan trading.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AYR

563 The largest aggregation of sedentary people in Ayr is found in Agadez (4.737), which is inhabited al-
[361] most exclusively by negroid peoples who speak Hausa though most of them also know the Tuareg
[162] language (*tamachek*). This large sedentary population mainly lives on trade and on crafts of
[197] various kinds. The inhabitants are known to the Tuareg as the *Imeggedezen*. They are said to be related
[433] to the Sultan (or the *Amenukal*) of Agadez. There is a tradition which claims that the Sultan came
[173]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



162 tion that subsisted on agriculture. Most members of the *Kel Ewey* group are fairly negroid in appear-
144 ance, and though some of them lead a nomadic life and subsist mainly on stock-breeding, the bulk of
433 the *Kel Ewey* are sedentary agriculturists who have some livestock comprising goats, sheep, zebus, and sometimes camels also. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group there are very few sedentary agriculturists, though a few vassals have taken up irrigation agriculture in recent times. There are also agriculturists within the negroid group of the *Kel Ferwan* known as *Irawélen*.
[587] Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have gardens cultivated by their slaves, but this is not customary nowadays when slavery is of little importance in Ayr. Contracts between pastoral Tuareg and cultivators
241 are said to have been unknown until recent times when a few pastoralists have made contracts with
466 cultivators. There seem to be no fixed systems regulating such relationships, but it is said to be common for the cultivator and the Tuareg to divide crops equally between them.

241 Though agriculture could be practised in Ayr without artificial irrigation there are no rain-grown
312 crops within the Massif nowadays. The *foggara* system is unknown, and irrigation is done by raising water from shallow wells. The system of a pole and bucket provided with a counterweight known in Ayr as *aseftan* has disappeared quite recently. It was used at many agricultural settlements of Ayr until a few years ago, and in parts of the country formed the only type of irrigation system at the time of the French occupation. One informant told me that in his boyhood about 35 years ago no other irrigation method was employed at Alarses, and this is in agreement with literature (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 322). At that time, however, the method of raising water from wells by animal traction (in Ayr *anu*, in Ahaggar *tanut*) was also practised at many settlements. It is unknown when it came to Ayr, but it is said to have been introduced from the north – probably from the regions of Fezzan
[492] and Tasilé-n-Ajjer from where the same system came to Ahaggar (cf. p. 187). It is now used at all settlements as the only type of irrigation system, and zebu-oxen are always used for traction. This was not so in the past when zebus were less common than to-day, and it is said that donkeys were then the common draught-animals. The irrigation of gardens is performed in much the same way as in Ahaggar. The water raised from the shallow well (*anu*) is led through a narrow canal (*arelal*) to a large basin (*tisemt*) from where another canal (*duki*) leads to the garden (*afarag*), which is divided into a number of beds (*éfemral*).

243 Cereals form the most important crops in Ayr. The common winter crop is wheat (*elkama*; *Triticum vulgare*), but also barley (*Hordeum tetrastichum* var. *pallidum*) is very widely grown. One crop of these two cereals is taken every winter, and it is said that the period of growth is about five months; sowing is done in October, harvest in March. Cereals are also important for summer crops. Both millet (*énélé*; *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and sorghum (*abora*; *Sorghum caudatum*) are grown, and millet, as we have
[262] seen, has a very short period of growth – only about two months (cf. p. 184). But though millet is most important as food for agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike, it is not widely grown because it is difficult to protect it from the numerous small birds and because, it is said, millet grown in Ayr
[439] is of a quality inferior to that of the Sudanese type. Most of the millet eaten in Ayr is therefore imported from Damergu by pastoral Tuareg. By far the most important summer crop grown in Ayr is maize (*Zea mays*), which is known to the Tuareg as *abora maser*, that is "Egyptian sorghum" (*abora* =
[288] sorghum; *maser* = Egypt) (the name *maser* is also used to designate the white cotton used for garments

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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433 garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example: During the year 1954 55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with an *aril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar
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[173]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar



to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:– 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 3 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan 614
and eight in the three sub-clans of the Atouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the
sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up in [361]
minor camps of 2–7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family 621
which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals 476
are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big
camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps [596]
consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within [422]
the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a
distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix.
When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable
grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company,
but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan
trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case
the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each
other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never
correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five [613]
generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands
according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or 622
section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative
of the section in relation to the clan chief *(Amgar)*. These khalifas are not neces- [614]
sarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilineal as it is for clan chiefs.

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8–9), but the [184]
rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between [601]
cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in 602
Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most
clans.

[Text continues on p. 108]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar



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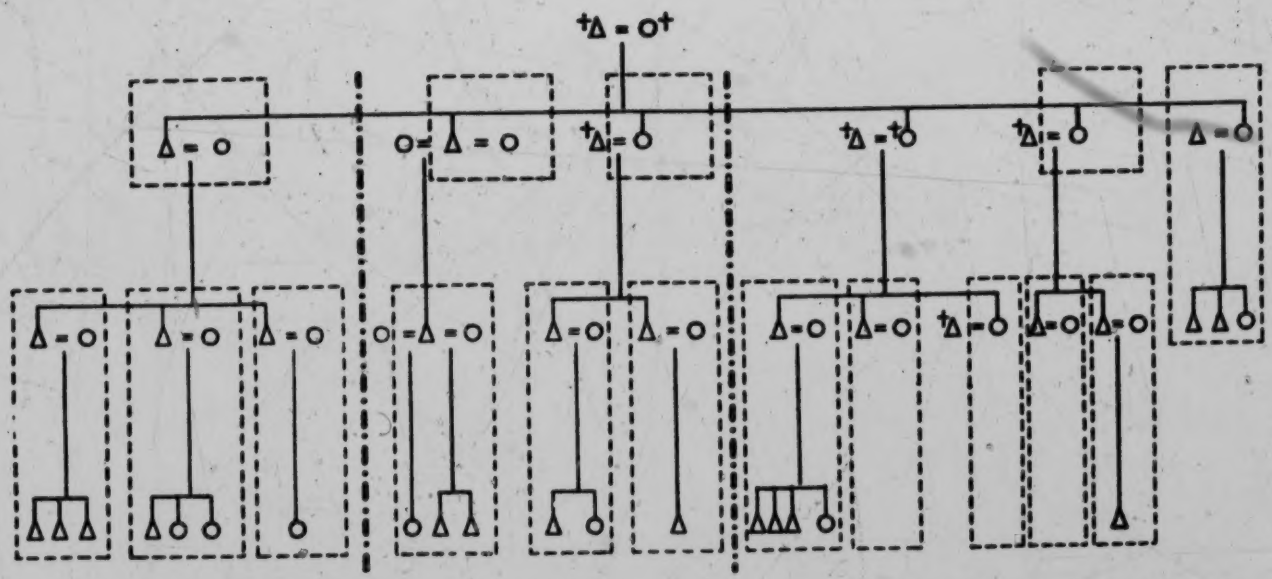

Fig. 11.–The section camp of the Kel Azernan (the Isandan sub-clan of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. – The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated fig. 10. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Air whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

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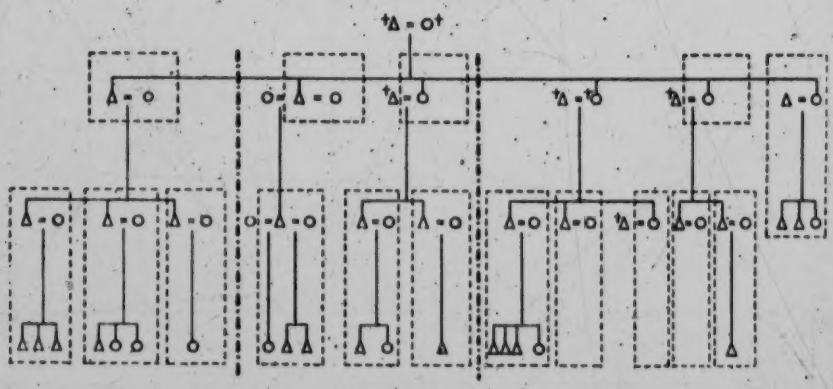

Fig. 105. The section camp of the *Kel Ayrenen* (the *Inadan* sub-tribe of the *Ajjub-en-tekki*). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. [591] The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated Fig. 103. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Ayr whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

614 also the representative of the section towards the tribal chief, should preferably be elected. The members
613 of one section will frequently intermarry with members of another particular section, but members
621 of a section will generally marry into more than one particular section and sometimes into sections
[512] of foreign tribes.

613 When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are
621 split up into minor camps of 2–7 tents. These minor camps generally consist of an extended family
596 which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually
*233 owned and every tent or household is self-supporting – "it has its own churning bag and its own millet
[592] bag", as the Tuareg put it. The section camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small goat-herding camps which constitute extended families, but the small camps within the section camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres
[476] between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small goat-herding camps of a section
[484] join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because
[702] kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp of a section is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which tasks a goat-herding camp cannot spare the labour. Should the small goat-herding camps of a section be unable to remain together, they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A section camp is illustrated in
361 the diagram below (Fig. 105). The formation of such camps is not generally possible without annual
621 pasture, and section camps are particularly common in the *Dag Rali* tribe resident mainly in the
*233

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



outlined above from Ahaggar, with the exception that the Ayr Tuareg have never practised the one year's stay in the bride's family camp after marriage. To-day the *Kel Ferwan* tribes of Southern Ayr do not follow very strictly any particular rule of residence. There is a strong tendency to patrilocal residence, but a man will usually continue to live with kinsmen of the camp where he was brought up as a child. If a man has grown up with maternal relatives owing to the loss of his father as a boy, or because his mother and father have divorced, he may remain with matrilineal relatives. I believe that all tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group of Southern Ayr are bilateral kin groups. And if in the past these Tuareg practised the rules of residence outlined above from Ahaggar, the tribes have been bilateral units as there have always been many marriages contracted between people of different tribes. Two tribes of Ayr, namely the *Imezzureg* and the *Kel Akerra*, claim that they have intermarried regularly from very ancient times, because the father of the *Kel Akerra* tribe was the brother of the mother of the *Imezzureg* tribe, while the father of the *Imezzureg* was a cross-cousin of *Kel Akerra*'s mother. These two tribes possess their individual chiefs, but have always been very mixed. It seems as if chiefs were elected according to matrilineal rules in the past, but to-day it is claimed that a son of a deceased chief should be the first in line of succession (cf. p. 456 ff.).

In Southern Ayr camps of all possible tribes to-day live among each other. There are no grazing grounds or particular territories nowadays when everybody is free to go where he likes with flocks and herds. No Tuareg have particular rights over land, and ban on grazing within certain areas, as in Ahaggar, is unknown. This is said also to have been the case in the past. But in the times preceding the French occupation of Ayr, all vassal tribes had their particular territories which, according to Capot-Rey, were formerly marked by walls (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). I have not been able to confirm this, but the Tuareg told me that in the past tribal territories had frontiers marked out by river valleys or by natural objects such as large trees. The vassal tribes did not own these territories, which were allotted them by the drum-chief of the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe, the *Irawatten*. The traditional territories or grazing grounds of most *Kel Ferwan* tribes are indicated in the list on p. 423 ff.

At present there seem to be no sectional division of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes corresponding to the division into sections in Ahaggar. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg generally live in small camps comprising a few tents. These camps, which co-operate in stock-herding, do not generally exceed four or five tents inhabited by kinsmen who generally constitute an extended family, e.g., (1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children; (2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children; (3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children; (4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband. These small camps, as may be seen, are not based upon any particular rule of residence in agreement with what has been said of residence rules above. The households of a little camp of this kind will remain constantly together to co-operate not only in goat-herding, but generally in camel-breeding also. The labour for camel-herding and caravan trading is more easily provided for in Ayr than in Ahaggar. For camels are rarely taken to very distant grazing grounds, and caravan trading is often limited to expeditions to Damergu where the Tuareg fetch their millet. The Tuareg tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group living around Agadez have no true co-operative units apart from the small camps of up to four or five tents. Such small camps of extended families may temporarily join each other in a bigger camp during the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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[231]

Fig. 132b. Cf. text Fig. 132a.

deep, and are dug into the sandy river bed to lead its water to the gardens of the valley terrace. A map of the foggara aqueducts placed in the river valley of Taṛhawhawt is reproduced by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, Fig. 18 p. 328). There are many advantages attached to the use of foggara systems of the Ahaggar type, for once the aqueducts are dug water automatically flows to the garden. But there are also disadvantages. If a foggara valley is heavily flooded after rains and changed into a roaring stream, the aqueducts are destroyed and the crops also. In general it will be necessary to abandon a foggara system after some years, as it must be cleaned at intervals and in time it becomes too dangerous to work in them as subsidences may occur and kill workers. It may also happen that a river valley is not flooded at all for a period of years when it becomes essential to move to another valley, rich in water under the sandy river bed, to make a new foggara there. For all these reasons deserted foggara systems are common in the river valleys of Ahaggar. [114]

The *foggara* system is unknown south of Ahaggar and has on the whole a rather limited distribution in the Sahara. One reason for this is perhaps that the construction and maintenance of the aqueduct imply the agricultural co-operation of several households. This is not the case with the other common system in Ahaggar, the use of wells (*tunin*, sing. *tanut*) from which water is raised by animal traction. The wells are usually shallow and not very difficult to dig out, and the maintenance of the whole system is usually limited to occasional mendings of the zebu's harness and of the large waterbag. While a foggara canal is always used for the irrigation of several gardens (6–12), the wells are used for single gardens. The irrigation wells are dug into the valley terrace so that they are not destroyed by a flood, and in dry years watering from wells is considered the better system. But in the period when crops need much water irrigation by means of wells is hard work for the garden owner who must drive his ox all day long. [184] [476]

Irrespective of the system resorted to irrigation of a garden is done in the same manner. Water from the *foggara* aqueduct or water raised from well flows into a large basin (*tihemt*) through a canal

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Fig. 137. The fresh soil carried to old gardens is placed in small heaps to be spread out between the tender plants of wheat and barley. Ahaggar, Ahalessa.

241 *andrum sativum*, *Cuminum Cyminum* (*azkar*), *Daucus Carota* (*ezzeruget*), *Cucumis melo*, *Lagenaria vulgaris* (cf. Maire 1933, and particularly Maire 1940, p. 401).

245 In addition to the above-mentioned plants there are various types of fruit trees which do not play [262] any considerable rôle for food. The gardens contain very few date palm trees (*tazzayt*, *Phoenix dactylifera*) and there are no palm trees of any value in the gardens situated in the upper mountain [251] zones where the fig tree (*tahart*, *Ficus carica*) thrives much better than in the lower country; the figs are [386] consumed fresh, or they are put on strings for drying, common practise elsewhere in North Africa. The pomegranate (*terrummant*, *Punica Granatum*) is grown in some gardens; its fruits are eaten, and they are also used for dyeing skins (cf. p. 282). Grapes (*tezzebibt*, *Vitis vinifera*) are also grown in some gardens.

Maire mentions the cultivation of the peach (*Prunus Persica*) and the apricot (*Prunus Armeniaca*) (cf. Maire 1940, p. 401). These fruit trees have undoubtedly been quite recently introduced for Foucauld states that they are not grown in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 79 f.).

243 There are nowadays many agriculturists who have their private gardens so that they cultivate their 423 winter crops and their summer crops entirely for their own use. But most agriculturists grow winter crops of wheat and barley on behalf of the Tuareg who are then the true garden owners.

[312] Agriculturists who cultivate their gardens on their own behalf frequently irrigate crops by means [476] of draught animals (zebus) which raise water from wells, but there are also some farmers who cultivate independently without any contract with pastoral Tuareg and nevertheless belong to a *foggara* team.

243 It can be estimated that an independently working agriculturist obtains a total yield of about 700 kilos of wheat and barley grown in winter. Of this yield he gives 10 kilos to the *Amenukal*, or to the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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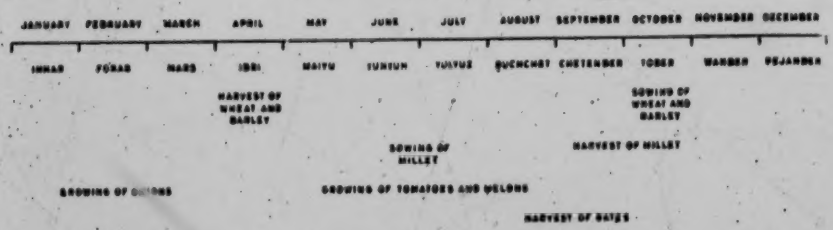


Fig. 139. Horticultural calendar from Ahaggar.

The Tuareg and the negroid agriculturists have a lunar calendar of twelve months corresponding to the Arab calendar, but a lunar calendar has no practical value for the indication of seasonal agricultural activities. The Julian Calendar is known to some people of Ahaggar as well as to other Berbers of the Sahara and the Atlas. Tuareg names of Julian months are given above. Very few people in Ahaggar know the exact beginning and the end of the twelve Julian months, but a few names are used as seasonal terms: *immar* "midwinter", *mars* = "beginning of spring", *ibri* "early harvest" (of wheat and barley), *maiyu* "beginning of summer", *tober* = "late harvest" (millet).

241 which no definite figures can be given, while the yield of fruit trees growing in the garden plot does
[423] not necessarily belong to the agriculturist. These trees frequently belong to pastoral Tuareg.

433 I think it can be estimated that an agricultural household with its own garden produce about a
262 thousand kilos of vegetables food products annually for its private use. We can add that though the members of an agricultural household live mainly on vegetable food products they also acquire a certain amount of food from livestock, which normally comprises a few goats and sheep, and perhaps one or two zebus. Conditions of stock-breeding are not always favourable to people who live continuously on the same spot, but it is advantageous to the agriculturists of Ahaggar, who live close to valleys with some pasture, that they are able to feed their animals on green garden products when pasture is badly developed and thus avoid the disaster of a drought. It is also an advantage to most agriculturists that they do not have to water their animals which can drink freely from the irrigation canals. The agriculturists can kill a few goats or sheep annually, they obtain milk and a little butter
[234] to be used mainly as a sauce for bread and porridge, and they make cheese of the *awles* type (cf. p. 224), but they never make cheese from fresh milk as do many pastoral Tuareg when milk is abundant. The agriculturists also breed fowls and pigeons, and some of them have an important meat supply from hunting with steel-traps (hares, jackals, fennecs, and ravens). Collecting, on the other hand, is of little or no value to irrigation farmers of Ahaggar.

241 The economic position of agriculturists who work without any particular obligations towards
466 pastoral Tuareg is tolerably good. It is less favourable to those who grow winter crops also on behalf
[423] of the Tuareg, as do most cultivators. Some of them irrigate the garden plot with water raised from
[511] wells by oxen which may belong to the cultivator or to the Tuareg. But most agriculturists who work
241 for the pastoral Tuareg irrigate by means of *foggara*. It is very strenuous work to dig a *foggara* canal,
312 and co-operation is needed not only for this but also for the maintenance of the whole irrigation system.
466 The gardens are individually tended by the agriculturists, who co-operate in the *foggara* work under
476 the leadership of a headman known as *amgar n efeli*, that is "chief of the *foggara*". This headman is

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



241 appointed by the Tuareg garden owners and is rewarded by a garden of his own for his responsibility
312 in supervising all co-operative work. The unit of agriculturists co-operating at the same *foggara* may
466 or may not correspond to an extended family. The agriculturists co-operating on any large *foggara*
476 irrigating ten or twelve gardens frequently represent two or three distinct families which are not linked to each other by kinship bonds. The cultivators of a *foggara* comprising nine gardens at Taṛhawhawt
[675] belong to three distinct, unrelated families. This is quite natural in view of the fact that contracts between the Tuareg and the cultivators are made individually.

423 There may also be no kinship bonds between the pastoral Tuareg who have gardens at the same foggara, and there are even Tuareg who own two or three gardens situated in widely separated river
[614] valleys of Ahaggar. But Tuareg garden owners of the same foggara frequently belong to the same tribe
[428] or even to the same tribal section. When a garden-owning Tuareg dies, his garden will generally pass to somebody within his family, but there seems to be no fixed rules governing the transference of gardens.

466 The individual contract between a Tuareg garden owner and his cultivator is made for a period of
675 six months – the period of growth for wheat and barley. The agriculturist is responsible for all garden
423 work, and the Tuareg garden owner has the following obligations:—
241

(1) To supply his cultivator with a hoe every year, or every two years in case a very good hoe is given.

(2) To pay for repairs of the *foggara* system, or for the digging of a new *foggara*. This payment is known as *almarsor* and consists of two kilos of cereals or dates every working day until water reaches the garden.

(3) To pay for the making of garden beds. This payment is known as *éhéré n egalab*, and is made only once as long as the garden remains on the same spot. When a garden is moved after a period of three or four years the payment must be made again. It varies with the size of the garden and the quality of its soil; in general it consists of 15–25 kilos of cereals.

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Fig. 140. Millet (*ánélé*) of very high growth. It is said that this particular millet type was introduced to Ahaggar from the south – possibly from Ayr. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



439 caravans of the south or by Ayr Tuareg who import more millet than they need for their own use.
437 But millet is cheaper in Damergu than at the Agadez market, and most Tuareg prefer to organize
[435] their own millet caravans with camels and donkeys as pack-animals. In Damergu most Ayr Tuareg
[492] get millet in exchange for livestock or they buy it for money. Their caravans are not always very large,
[476] for the Southern Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not organize their caravans co-operatively
[484] on the basis of kinship. Many individual households fetch their own millet with a few animals, and it
[592] is comparatively easy to do so as the millet growing country of Damergu is not very far away – the distance from Agadez to Tanut is only about 300 kilometres. The Ayr Tuareg do not have to engage in extensive trading expeditions to procure millet, and can buy millet very cheaply. A household, it
437 is said, does not have to sell a great many animals to secure the necessary supply of millet. Three or
439 four camel loads will cover the needs of most households, and this amount of millet can be acquired
435 for comparatively few animals – particularly if the animals vended are sheep, which have become
592 very expensive in recent times owing to the rapid increase of Europeans at Agadez. An extremely good
162 sheep or ram for slaughtering can bring in 2000 to 3000 West African francs, and a Tuareg household which buys millet in Damergu will need less than 10,000 francs to acquire the quantity necessary for a year. Thus the Ayr Tuareg can obtain their millet for a few sheep, and there are very few, if any, who do not posses this surplus, and it should be repeated that the increment of livestock is never stopped by drought periods as in the north. The extremely high price for sheep for butchering is a recent phenomena due to the increase of the French population. Fully-grown sheep or rams are expensive, and this is also the case with fowls, while goats are cheap. I believe we can estimate that a household would have to sell about 15 goats anually to obtain the amount of millet necessary for one year's consumption. However, there is little doubt that it has always been quite easy for the Tuareg of Southern Ayr to obtain the requisite amount of millet in exchange for livestock.

262 Millet and milk constitute the basic nourishment of the Ayr Tuareg, but they are very fond of an
[222] occasional change of food. And I believe that this is one important reason why the Ayr Tuareg, like those of Ahaggar, collect wild seeds even in years when grown cereals are abundant. For a change, the Ayr Tuareg are also extremely fond of dates which are not grown to any great extent in their own country. A few Ayr Tuareg own palms yielding dates of poor quality, and I think that a few house-
[439] holds also obtain some dates from Ingal. However, most dates eaten in Ayr are imported from the oasis of Bilma, situated in the very barren desert country between Ayr and Tibesti, about 700 kilometres north-east of Agadez.

437 The trade with Bilma is apparently an ancient one, and its foundation is salt which is of a very bad
439 quality compared with that mined at Amadror in the north. The rock-salt of Amadror is excellent
[317] for food; and though there is one good quality of Bilma salt that is used for food by the Tuareg of
[263] Ayr, most salt from Bilma contains much soil and other impurities. This impure salt is excellent for
[233] domestic animals which, in Ayr and further south where salt pastures do not exist, need a lot of salt. The Ayr Tuareg, and particularly those who do not visit the country of Azaouar at the end of the rains, need salt not only for their own food but also for their domestic animals. They obtain this from Bilma, which is visited by caravans in autumn or in the early winter. The inhabitants of Bilma, like other oases-dwellers, are in constant need of cereals and meat, and these products are imported

492 adopted by all the Tuareg of the Ádrar des Ifóras, which the
17/ Chaamba Arabs also use, and which is derived from the saddle of the Moors of the western Sahara.

492 Ahaggar noblewomen, who travel only on meharis, have
[565] special saddles resembling the basour of the Arabs but without the arch covered in cloth. These saddles are called akhaoui; they
[322] are made /319/ of wood and ornamented with large pommels in front and small plaques trimmed with copper nailheads on the side.
[531] For long moves these saddles can be provided with a wicker cage covered with cloth, but this is not a common practice.

Saddles hold leather bags which contain either a change of
[415] clothes or food reserves as well as the waterskins constituting the necessary provision for crossing regions without wells.

For transport, camels are provided with a special packsaddle made of palm fibers which literally crowns their backbone. Most of these packsaddles are made in the Tidikelt. For caravans which last a long time the animals are loaded with about 100 kilograms, plus the waterskins that are generally added to the baggage. The servants, who accompany the animals and do not have personal mounts at their disposal, /320/ ride on top as excess weight and make the whole trip under these conditions.

[48] The Tuareg are very poor walkers and cannot conceive of a person's going on foot, even to spare the mount for a few kilometers.

Asses, which as we have said are used for transport within the massif, are provided with a little packsaddle serving as a saddle at the same time. When camp is moved, they are loaded with the tent, tent stakes, and bags containing food reserves. They also
[312] assure the carrying of water from the well to camp.

484 When an Amrid travels alone on a voyage, he takes an ass to
492 carry his water, his small baggage, and his blanket. Pushing the ass before him, he walks behind carrying his lance over his shoulders.
[481] He mounts on it only during the hot hours of the day.

312 The question of water is fundamental in the formation of the
[361 camp, both for the choice of its location and for the number of tents
182] to be included.

Water is obviously a problem for all life; it plays a role in the location of our small European villages, but this role is still greater in desert countries where water is quite rare. The existence of watering places is not only necessary for human life but also for the life of the domestic animals.

137 To this primordial condition of the existence of a watering
182 place must be added the condition of pasture for the domestic
312 animals. Therefore, we see that the establishment of a camp among
361 the Iḫaggaren is conditioned by two main factors whose character may vary in time, depending on the seasons and the abundance or scarcity of rain. But in the last analysis the pasture needs take precedence, for, generally speaking, pasture is even rarer than
137 water, since it can sometimes be completely lacking. This need
182 for pasture forces tribes to split up and camps to be dispersed in
361 order to exploit it rationally. The situation is such that there are
621 rarely more than five or six tents in each group. Only the amenokal's
[643] camp may number as many as 15 or 20 tents, but this is quite exceptional, involving the question of prestige and social order at the same time. Indeed, the amenokal supports a numerous family, his caliphs, his servants, etc. But this grouping around the chief is quite artificial, and the flocks which the people own are not with them but are /222/ spread out in the mountains, kept by Imrad or servants.

361 The camp is always established rather far from the watering
312 places, for it is preferable to be closer to the pastures. It is often five or six kilometers from water. The animals go there to drink
[482 every two or three days, and the people use the occasion to get
492] their water supply, which will be carried in waterskins on their backs or under the stomach of the asses. Tuareg, moreover, do not like
361 to settle near a watering place, for it is always a stopping point for
609 transients, and they avoid making their presence known to strangers.

682 assassin be returned to the victim's family. If he was not known,
628 however, the djema, or assembly of notables, designated a man
from the tribe to go make himself prisoner in his place. There is
[692] no example of the hostage's having been put to death in such a
[643] case. Serious cases were usually judged by the amenokal, who was
aided by four assessors, two taken from each side.

762 /296/ Suicide. -- Suicide is as rare as murder among the
Tuareg. When one occurs, the person who committed suicide is
[766] abandoned on the ground unburied, and the camp is moved and
abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the
Tuareg regard the suicide as if he had never existed and must
never speak of him again.

Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with
oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his
life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

[775] The soul of a suicide cannot find refuge and wanders forever.
It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and
people claim that they can hear it nearby in the evening and that
it makes so much noise that it is impossible to sleep.

[761] Death. -- The Tuareg do not fear death. When one of them
sees that he is dying, he gathers his relatives around him and gives
763 his last instructions. Then, according to the religious principles
which he may have neglected during his life but which he recalls
at the final moment, he pronounces the "Fatika /fatiha? Ed./" or
[201] if he does not have the strength for that, he raises the index finger
of his right hand and breathes his last.

764 The body is immediately washed in lukewarm water and
wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the
[567] slaves go to dig the grave on a neighboring high spot. The grave
is made of a little trench with two stages such as the Arabs use.
[483] The body is carried on a kind of stretcher ans taken to the burial
417 place, head first, by four men. It is then placed on its right side
with the face turned in the direction of Mecca.

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

482

41. Gathering wood at Tizzolaïne.

[p. 229]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



temperatures which may be below zero. At a later date the plants of wheat and barley are watered less frequently, and watering ceases completely some time before harvesting in order that the plant may ripen more easily. 243

The agriculturists of Ahaggar do not manure the garden plots used for wheat and barley. Only a new garden plot never previously cultivated is manured, and when such a garden is made the wild vegetation of grasses, herbs, bushes, and trees is often set on fire. Wheat and barley can be grown in the same garden plot for three or four years in succession, and the soil then needs at least one year's rest. In this way, the same garden plot can be kept under cultivation for many years without manuring; this continuous cultivation on the same spot with a one year's rest for each three or four years cultivation is possible partly because there is a certain crop rotation with other plants grown in summer, but mainly because the agriculturists during the period wheat and barley are grown carry fresh soil to their gardens. This is done not only before sowing but also throughout a long period of the winter when the plants are tender and green. When I stayed in the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel in the months of January and February (1955), all agricultural households worked strenuously from morning to night carrying soil to the green garden plots of wheat and barley. The soil was carried in plaited baskets (cf. Fig. 135) on the head, or in bigger baskets carried by donkeys. The soil was left in small heaps (one in every garden bed) to be spread over and between the green plants (cf. Fig. 137). This extremely strenuous work, I was told, would continue until the month of March. [101] [482] [492] [461]

In spite of the fact that cultivation in Ahaggar is done intensively and much work is connected with it, the yield of winter crops is not a very considerable one. In Abalessa it is said that seed-corn of wheat and barley will normally amount to about 50 kgs, and about 500 kgs is to be considered a normal yield, though certain gardens which are extremely well cultivated may yield more and in rare cases up to one thousand kilogrammes. The gardens I saw at Amsel and Tarhawhawt were smaller than those seen in Abalessa. At Tarhawhawt the quantity of wheat and barley sown, was said to amount to about 35 kilogrammes.

312 241

Fig. 134. The flat stone (*aneffi*) inserted between the water basin (*tikewt*) and the canal (*tejakawt*) which leads water towards the gardens. Irrigation stops and the basin runs full of water when a cotton stopper is put into the round hole in the middle of the flat stone. Ahaggar, *Ait Azzi* Arabs.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



243 Wheat and barley grown in winter constitute the most important crops in Ahaggar, but, as mentioned,
[262] the gardens are also cultivated at other seasons, and crops of millet and sorghum taken in summer
are most important substistence for irrigation farmers in Ahaggar. Millet is known to the Tuareg as
[171] *énélé*; it seems to be the same species as that so widely grown by African agriculturists of the savannah
[221] countries (*Pennisetum typhoideum*, or *P. Americanum*). Millet is sown in June-July and harvested in Sep-
tember, or in October. Little work is involved with the cultivation of this plant which is never watered
[461] much (cf. p. 184), and the agriculturists do not carry fresh soil to the millet plots as they do to plots of
wheat and barley. Species of sorghum are less important than millet. The common species is known as
[386] *abora* or *tafsut* (*Andropogon Sorghum*). Another species is known as *tallak*; it has smaller seeds than
the species just mentioned, and is grown mainly because of its stems, which are reduced to powder
to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 282).

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Fig 135. Basket (*téwait*) of the type used for transportation of fresh soil to old garden land. It is plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*afum*) and has handles of rope made from date palm bast (*asen*). Soil is also carried to gardens in larger baskets (*téwirt*, pl. *tiwar*) loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m high, 0.35 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5285).

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Fig. 223. Skin bag (*adabas*) for transportation of personal objects on journeys. Dimension: 0.515 × 0.425 m. (N.M. G. 5238). Ahaggar, the *Ajjer-n-tahit* tribe.

563 They are not vassals like the Irréguénaten and the Ibettenâten,
631 but are incorporated.

563 According to a tradition reported by Dr. Richer, (1) the
173

1. Les Ouliminden, p. 71.

Issekkemâren are the descendants of the family of the Sagmara, pointed out in the Ádrar des Ifôras and in the region of Gao by El Bekri. They were driven back by the Sonrhai invasion and came to take refuge among the northern Tuareg while a small fraction remained in the south in the environs /199/ of Timbuktu and today has a marabout character.

Although they are more Islamized than the other tribes, they are
[797] nonetheless Tuaregized in the sense that they follow Tuareg customs
197] and speak Tamashek. Many of them speak Arabic fluently, either
[648] because of their origin or because of their constant relations with the Tidikelt.

173 At the time of the division of the Imrad, some tribes were be-
563 stowed upon the Kel Rela, others on the Tâitok and the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet. The tribes attached to the Kel Rela are the Ihéiaouen Hâda, the Kel Immîdir, the Kel Tâzoûlet, the Kel Tâfedest, and the Kel In Rhar'.

563 They are all great caravaneers who trade a great deal on the
439 Tidikelt markets. They own a large number of camels and their
484 camel raising is particularly renowned.
233

The Iheiaouen Hada. -- The Iheiaouen Hada, also called Oulad
563 Elias or Ihéiaouen-n-Temounent, are said to be descended from an
[173] Arab woman who was seized at Touat. The word Iheiaouen means in Tamashek "the grandsons of . . . ," so that we must conclude that the people of this tribe are the descendants of a woman named Ada.

They nomadize in the Tâfedest massif near Ádenek, Ábezou, In Takoufi, Eguelougal, and Tidessi. During dry periods they lead
[221] their camels to the Saharo-Sudanese borders in the neighborhood of the Tamala well.

436 The ideal medium of exchange is the salt which [492] abounds in the Sahara and which is totally lacking in the Sudan. 439 Thus we see a caravan cycle spread out over a whole year and thousands of kilometers. This is all the more viable /sic/ for the Ihaggaren since it makes use of their many camels which otherwise might remain unused in part.

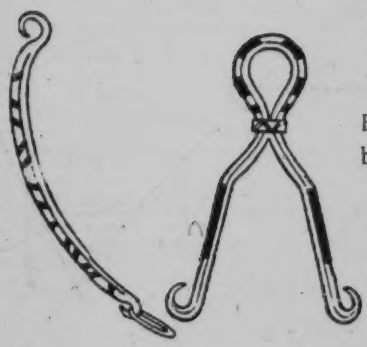


Fig. 22. Camel bit (detail).

317 The starting point is naturally the salt deposit. The mine /219/ is open; one [415] need only detach the salt in pieces and place it in leather bags to transport it. This labor is kept for the Iklan, who arrive at the salt deposits during the summer and [492] stay there from three weeks to a month. Each camel owner operates at will, and transports the salt to his camp after extracting it.

Fig. 23. Device for attaching the camel's bridle.

439 Toward mid-September, all the 484 caravaneers gather together by tribes. Soon they leave their families in the Ahaggar and take the long route [487] for the Sudan, crossing the Tanezrouft. Thus one may see caravans of 100 to 150 camels, but rarely more, for the pasture grounds would not allow it. The arrival in the Sudan must occur after the rainy

season which generally ends with the month of September. 439
When the caravaneers arrive earlier, they wait in the Tamasna 484
region and protect their salt by hiding it in the crags of the rocks.

At any rate they always stay at least two months in that region so that their camels may regain their strength. Then, they go in small groups toward the Damergou where they know people in some villages with whom they exchange their salt for millet. These exchanges are made on variable bases, depending on whether or not the millet harvest has been abundant, or whether the salt has arrived in greater or lesser quantity. Most generally they are made on the basis of one load of salt for three loads of millet, but sometimes in the proportion of one load of salt for ten loads of millet, which is much to the advantage of the Ihaggaren.

[291]
[177]

Fig. 24. Irratimen sandal of Hausa make, such as the Ihaggaren wear.

[435]

Since they do not have enough camels to carry all this grain back, and since they do not need that much grain in the Ahaggar, they sell or exchange a good part of it for manufactured objects, which are easy to transport and /220/ easy to dispose of -- sandals, saddle bags, camel saddles, leather boxes,

439 cotton clothes, and Sudanese-made lithams /veils/. Then after
484 two months of rest spent in the Sudan, during which time the camels revel in the rich pasture, they all set out again for the Ahaggar, where they arrive from January on. February and March see them leave again for the Tidikelt or Touat. At that time they take only a few camels and exchange the excess manufactured articles which they collected in the Sudan and trade dried mutton for dates. This trip lasts an average of two months, and toward the end of April everyone is back in the Ahaggar, as a rule. There is a rest of a few weeks, and everyone thinks about the next salt campaign he is going to have to prepare.

Thus we see a complete caravan cycle which, by itself, could allow the Tuareg a normal life. But as we have said, it implies a
[461] state of peace which was previously the exception, as well as an amount of work to be furnished which is not always in harmony with the warlike tastes of the Imochar.

224 Hunting supplies some employment for the Tuareg, as does gathering. But both of them are only uncertain pastimes, without
221 much profit. The life of the Tuareg may thus be summed up in a few lines: basic animal husbandry doubled by brigandage raised to the state of an institution, and accessorily by some caravaneering. Now we shall see the domestic life of the Tuareg.

/221/ Chapter 2

## Dwellings

361 The camp. -- The camp is the traditional Tuareg form of
621 habitation; it is connected with nomadism which always implies animal husbandry. It includes a certain number of people gathered together under a patriarchal authority by very close bonds of kinship.

773 the tortures of hell. Iblis, however, communicated his secret to
372 the blacksmiths, who since that time have known how to use it for metalworking.

372 The Tuareg used to obtain fire by friction, using a board of
[824] torha (callotropis procera) and a branch of hardwood; they caught the spark on a tuft of silk from the fruit of the callotropis and blew on it until they got a flame, which required about a minute. They have kept this practice and still use it occasionally.

[439 Today they find matches sold by /228/ Tamanrasset merchants,
177] but they all have tinderboxes with flint and a bent piece of iron.

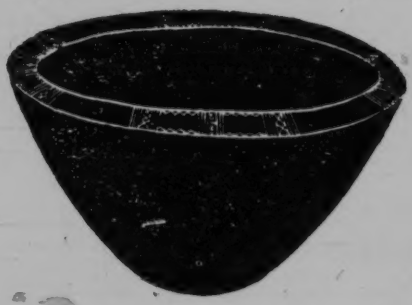


Fig. 27. Ahaggar Tuareg dish, imported from Hausa country.

[415 They do not keep up the
439] fire. They carry it from one tent to the other in a fragment of an old gourd or sometimes hold a glowing ember in their hands without burning themselves.

[237 When they want to transport
484] it long distances, they use camel-dung embers.

[237] The Tuareg commonly use the excrement of camels and goats as fuel. In the high
[137] mountains, wood is quite rare, but in the lower parts of the Koudia old acacia or éthel /atle? Ed. / stumps are to be found. They never
[824] use the wood of the callotropis, which is the devil's tree and makes muffled noises when it is burned.

[823] Basalt blocks are never used to make the hearth, since they believe that basalt is possessed by genii and will explode violently when heated.

352 Furniture. -- We have briefly described the objects furnishing the parts of the tent reserved for the husband and wife. To these must be added a certain number of objects which make up the

412 Each mistress of a tent has a little
356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses, and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

●484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,
492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are
[462] left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving;
[565] only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in moving only if it is a long trip.

/230/

## Chapter 3

## Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding
262 peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea, bechena (Sorghum cernuum Host.), a kind of millet cultivated in the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during
[252 their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in
484] the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong cultural-
[101] ly to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

243 he generally carries with him in his migrations. Wheat raising
262 goes down to the Sudan as far as Timbuktu, Aïr, and a little north of Nigeria; but everywhere it has been introduced recently, due to the influence of the Arabs, who have not abandoned their traditional food.

Béchena is a food they adopted because
[412] of their exodus toward the Sudan; they are at the present time much closer to the Sudan than they are to North Africa from the point of view of material living conditions, that is, unless this plant formerly existed in a self-sown state in the Sahara, as Professor Chevalier has assumed, and was one of the principal food resources of its first inhabitants.

Fig. 29. Caravaneer's mortar and pestle.

By its agriculture
177 and its production, the Sahara is completely Negro. Agricultural
241 methods, except for irrigation, /231/ are borrowed from the Sudanese, especially work with the hoe (daba), while North Africa mainly uses the plow which is unknown in the intertropical zone.

252 Béchena is eaten as a cooked flour porridge, as raw flour, or
262 mixed with liquids, water or milk.

Dates also play a large part in the diet of the Tuareg. Every year each family head organizes a little caravan to the Touat or
[438 Tidikelt to bring back two or three loads of poor-quality dried
484 dates which are crushed with a pestle and eaten with camel's milk.
512]

face to hide their features in front of strangers. During their moves, Ahaggar women use a big, broad-brimmed straw hat -- the téle -- to protect themselves from the sun. 291 [484]

/269/ They wear irratimen on their feet like the men, but more often they go barefoot. In the Sudan, during the rainy season, they replace the leather irratimen by very light wooden irratimen, which fulfill the same function there as wooden shoes do for us.

[187]

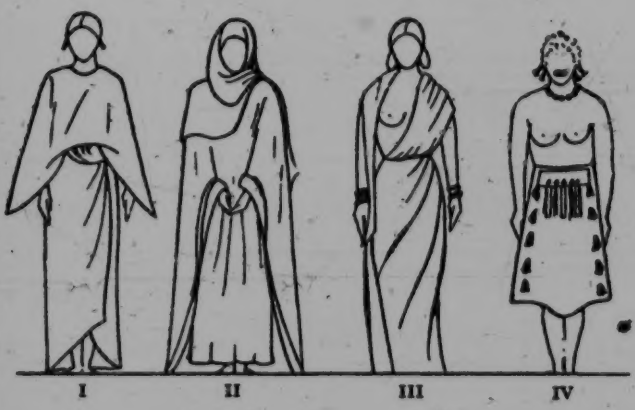



Fig. 40. Costume of Tuareg women.

1) Costume of Aïr Tuareg women, which includes a skirt and a little bolero.
2) Ahaggar Tuareg women's costume, including a skirt and a big gandurah reaching to the feet.
3) Sudanese Tuareg women's costume, including a skirt and a shawl around the shoulders.
4) Leather skirts for servant girls, in use in Ioullimmiden tribes.

In the Ahaggar and the Tassili, men and women wear a large white wool haik to wrap up the head and shoulders. During the cold period of winter they wrap up in a long woolen blanket (dokkali) made by the Arabs in Touat. The latter exchange them with the Ihaggaren for sheep. [439]

487 the oases of the Tidikelt and Touat which have none. Thanks to
[439] the wells of T-i-m-missao and In Ziza, the sheep succeed in crossing the Tanezrouft without too much suffering.

484 This trace movement is evidently engaged in only during
221 the coolest months of the year, that is, from October to April, and it demands great precautions from the caravaneers.

312 Here is a list of the wells, starting from Timelaouine (Ădrar
484 des Iforas), where the animals are watered, as well as the number
487 of days of march between them, according to the information furnished us by El Bak el Fassi, the Amrar of the Kel Ăhnet.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Timelaouine (well, watering place) | | |
| | I-n-Gezzal | 1 day | Ădrar des Iforas |
| E | Efenargh | 1 " | |
| | In Ouzzal | 1 1/2 days | |
| | Tirek | 3 " | Tanezrouft |
| | Ti-m-missao | 2 " | |
| | Tin Senatet | 5 | Ăhnet |
| | In Torha | 1/2 day | |
| | Aleg'nenou | 5 days | |
| | Tin Khalifa | 2 " | |
| | In Belret | 1 day | |
| | El Khenig | 1 1/2 days | Immidir |
| | In-Salah | 3 " | Tidikelt |
| | Or 26 1/2 days' march. | | |

484 /313/ Depending on whether pasture is more or less abundant,
439 caravaneers suffer more or less losses in their flocks. Sometimes this loss is complete, sometimes it is none at all.

We saw a Kel Ăhnet make the trip at the end of the month of April, a period which is not favorable, with 35 sheep and not have to kill more than one of them on the way.

174 in its remotest regions, the result of more intensive goat raising
487 and proof that pastures used to be more numerous than they are today.

492 There are very appreciable differences in the way Tuareg and
484 Arab caravaneers travel. The Arabs always push their camels in front of them; these camels march in a line freely, without any bridle or /head/ rope. The Tuareg, on the other hand, always advance in file, the camels attached one behind the other and guided by a man who takes the head of the convoy by holding one of the animals by the bridle, or else by riding it.

These different methods are imposed for two reasons, both connected with the structure of the terrain. The Arab Sahara is generally a flat country where it is easy to move about and where no natural obstacle opposes the animals' walking. In mountainous country, however, as in the Ahaggar, the narrowness of some trails, particularly going through certain passes, forces them to take precautions to control the camels' march, unless they want to see them crowd up on one another to the detriment of the baggage with which they are loaded. Moreover, pastureage also occurs under different conditions. In the northern Sahara, where the soil consists mainly of calcareous formations, vegetation is always diffuse, which forces the camels to move about a great deal, browsing from one tuft to another. Thus the Arabs have got in the habit of never putting their animals on a lead in order to let them gather tufts of vegetation which are within their reach, all the time they are moving.

In the Ahaggar, as we have had occasion to say, vegetation is, on the contrary, concentrated and sheltered in the valleys where water is hidden under the sandy alluvial deposits. Therefore there is no point in leaving any liberty to the camels; quite the opposite, they must not lose a minute on the trail but must reach

492
484 the pasturing place as rapidly as possible, and so they assure a strictly disciplined march for the caravan.

From this come the two systems of proceeding used respectively by the Arabs and the Tuareg.

486 /315/ Caravans which used to cross the country of the
643 Ihaggaren were obliged to place themselves under the latter's pro-
648 tection by paying a toll agreed upon in advance. The duty went to the amenokal, but protection was ensured only within the bounds of his authority, which quite often did not go beyond the limits of his own tribe. And so the caravaneer was subject to continual solicitations from the people living on the land he crossed, and it was often very difficult to escape them. A guide was sometimes placed at his disposal and received remuneration in kind.

When the boundary of the territory was reached, the pro-
[579] tection stopped there, and the greed of the Tuareg was so great that they sometimes did not hesitate to go pillage outside their territory the caravan they had just protected. This often brought on conflicts from tribe to neighboring tribe, but in the final analysis everything was settled at the expense of the caravaneer.

427 Sometimes the Tuareg rented out their camels. Some Tassili
492 tribes made a specialty out of transport between Ghademes and Ghat, while the Issekkemâren agreed to rent their animals between In-Salah and the Sudan. They derived considerable profits from this work.

As a result of these continual deductions in advance, the caravaneer could transport only goods whose trade was very remunerative.

484 Caravaneers have a custom of placing provisions needed for
674 their return in the rocks or in sheltered places. These provisions are left without a guard, and nobody would think of taking them.

484 This was observed by Duveyrier, Captain de Bonnemain, and
674 Bou Derba on the Ouargla-Ghat itinerary. We have witnessed similar actions ourselves, but the goods stored in this way belonged to some Ihaggaren, and no one would have dared lay a hand on
[609] them. The thing is less safe in the case of a stranger's property.

When a camel dies en route, the load that it was carrying is left on the spot and put under public protection. The caravaneer is always certain to find his property, even six or eight months later. In this regard, it is well to say that the Tuareg, raiders though they must be, are not thieves. When a theft has been committed in their /316/ country, the guilty party is generally a Negro, but rarely a Tuareg of the white race.

439 What were the products transported? Manufactured goods, for the most part, generally made in Europe. There were fabrics and silks which the Tuareg and the Sudanese eagerly sought, and there were knickknacks, unmounted sword blades, sugar, and coffee
[177 272] (tea only recently made its appearance in the Sahara).

All these goods were resold or exchanged for ten times their value. On the return trip the caravaneers brought back ostrich plumes, gold dust, ivory, and little Negro girls and boys bought as slaves and resold for very high prices in the cities of Algeria. Leather was also the object of an intensive traffic, as well as medications of plant or animal (ostrich fat) origin which were part of the Sudanese pharmacopoeia and much appreciated by the Arabs.

177 Today, except for gold and ivory, which have become rare
439 and whose traffic is in the hands of Europeans, and except for the sale of slaves, which has been forbidden since the French
[486] occupation, trade has remained the same. But the routes have become free and the Tuareg can no longer count on their former profits. There was one resort left, that of making themselves caravaneers in their turn and using their many camels in that way. This is what they have done.

492 adopted by all the Tuareg of the Adrar des Iforas, which the
171 Chaamba Arabs also use, and which is derived from the saddle of the Moors of the western Sahara.

492 Ahaggar noblewomen, who travel only on meharis, have
[565] special saddles resembling the basour of the Arabs but without the arch covered in cloth. These saddles are called akhaoui; they
[322] are made /319/ of wood and ornamented with large pommels in front and small plaques trimmed with copper nailheads on the side.
[531] For long moves these saddles can be provided with a wicker cage covered with cloth, but this is not a common practice.

Saddles hold leather bags which contain either a change of
[415] clothes or food reserves as well as the waterskins constituting the necessary provision for crossing regions without wells.

For transport, camels are provided with a special packsaddle made of palm fibers which literally crowns their backbone. Most of these packsaddles are made in the Tidikelt. For caravans which last a long time the animals are loaded with about 100 kilograms, plus the waterskins that are generally added to the baggage. The servants, who accompany the animals and do not have personal mounts at their disposal, /320/ ride on top as excess weight and make the whole trip under these conditions.

[481] The Tuareg are very poor walkers and cannot conceive of a person's going on foot, even to spare the mount for a few kilometers.

Asses, which as we have said are used for transport within the massif, are provided with a little packsaddle serving as a saddle at the same time. When camp is moved, they are loaded with the tent, tent stakes, and bags containing food reserves. They also
[312] assure the carrying of water from the well to camp.

484 When an Amrid travels alone on a voyage, he takes an ass to
492 carry his water, his small baggage, and his blanket. Pushing the
[481] ass before him, he walks behind carrying his lance over his shoulders. He mounts on it only during the hot hours of the day.

As a rule, an amicable solution is finally reached, but the 728
part of the loot which is returned to the deputation is always
far less than that which was taken. The Tuareg say, "Alal
ouala," that is, "the restitution is never complete."

It may also happen that the raiders refuse to return anything. 721
The raided tribe, if it [701]
considers itself too weak, 728
solicits the support of
another tribe with which
it has good relations, and
then there is fighting. /56/

[411]

Dautheville
Tuareg Shield

When caravans of 484
traders have been raided, 486
since these caravans have 721
usually placed themselves
under the protection of
noble tribes to which they
pay dues, the controversy
is settled between the pro-
tecting tribe and the
raiders' tribe.

In the Ahaggar it seems that the old amenokal, Aïtar'el, 728
established the restitution of loot taken from caravans protected
by the Azdjer in the following manner:

1. Complete restitution of the pack camels taken from the caravans

2. For each load of merchandise taken, one "amadjour" camel for each man who took part in the raid and rode a mehari of his own

3. One "aleggues" (a young camel of three years) or a half-grown camel for each man who borrowed or hired the mehari which he rode in the raid.

The arms of a Tuareg and the harness for his mount have 114
been described in detail by Duveyrier, and there is no need to
review them here. /57/

There are also lucky or unlucky days. The lucky days, 777
those which are recommended for starting on a journey, are [484]
Friday after prayer, Saturday morning, and Monday. /63/
For the lucky day of the month one first counts 2 from the index finger and, coming back to the index finger, 7, 12, 17, 22, 27.

The unlucky days are Sunday and Wednesday.

The Tuareg also believe in the evil eye, "tahott." 754

An eclipse is the sun's raid on the moon, and vice versa. 821

Finally, there is a very curious custom of which Duveyrier 769
has spoken, which is that of consulting old graves. Usually 787
it is the women who go to consult them. They dress well and must avoid having on themselves anything of iron or steel, even a needle. They lie down near the grave, and the "zabbar" (ogre) inhabiting the grave appears to them in the form of a giant with eyes as large as a camel's, and gives them the answers they want. They are consulted especially in order to get news of absent ones, people gone on a raid or in a caravan, from whom there has been no news.

## Chapter IX

### Stock Raising. Flocks

Camels, sheep, and goats constitute the chief resource 233
of the Tuareg, as of all nomads. Camels especially are the object of all their care, since these give them the greatest service. They rely greatly on camels, ewes, and goats be- [234]
cause of the milk, of which they drink a great deal, and melted butter, "oudi," which they make.

They use all the hides: those of camels for sandals, 237
containers for butter, watering troughs, etc.; those of sheep 281
or goats for waterskins and the manufacture of tents, leather clothes, etc. /64/

and shields; mehari saddles, saddlebags in all shapes of carved 439
and colored leather, little leather boxes, glossy blue cloth, "ilechchane," gandurahs with sleeves, black cloth ("kehal") for veils, and finally "tikamarine," or dry cheeses. In the Aïr saddles for horses are made, shaped like Mexican saddles and having round stirrups of heavy copper covered with leopard-skin (the Amenokal Moussa ag Amastane has one).

To the Aïr, and sometimes to the Damergou, they bring salt taken from the sebka of Amadr'or, "chegga bought in the Tidikelt, camels, donkeys, dates bought in the Tidikelt, "teheredjlé" (Hartemisia herbalba, Composeae), etc.

[133]

Crater of the
Ouksem Volcano

3. Adhar and Niger, from which they get bechna, rice, sheep, and camels. They bring in salt, "chegga," and dates.

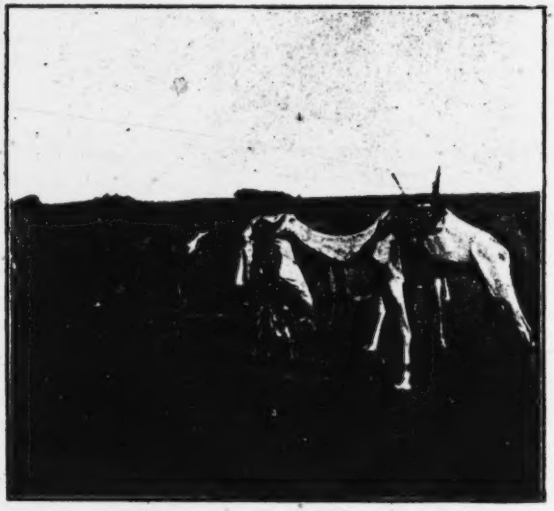
4. Ghat and Ghadames, but seldom. There they buy extra fine burnooses, sabers, sugar, tea, and "chegga." They bring in camels, waterskins, camel-hair ropes, and sheep. /69/

In addition, the people of the Tidikelt, especially the Ahl-Azzi, come to buy wheat and barley on the spot, which they gather into their "ar'erems."

The Tuareg of the Ahaggar would like very much to have, 439
like the Azdjer, the protection of the big caravans which go 484
from Tripoli to Ghat, to the Aïr, and to the Sudan. Thus they 427
would hire out their camels to traders, and this would be an important source of revenue for them (the Aï-Loaïn already hire out their camels toGhat traders). They would very much like to see this current turned toward the Ahaggar, and we have the greatest interest in urging them on this course.

4: Benhazera--61G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

It is to be noted that the Tuareg fasten their camels 233
one behind the other, Indian file, when they go on cara- 484
vans. Thus they are more orderly than /71/ Arab caravans.
In particular, fewer shouts, oaths, etc., are heard. The
Tuareg caravan passes almost silently, without disorder,
and this is all to the good.



Tuareg Caravan

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



133 Massif resembles Ahaggar, but it is on the whole much more level with broader valleys and in between the lower mountains there are clayey plains. Immediately east of the Massif is the very extended sandy [131] desert which is uninhabited. Further south than Adrar-n-Fōras and Ayr there are no considerable mountains. Between the two massifs are the plains of Tamesna and Talak which continue into the plains of the Sudanese savannah.

Tuareg country consists predominantly of rocky mountains and flat, extensive plains of gravel and stone. This configuration is basic to our understanding of Tuareg economy as will become clear when we have outlined the characteristic features of climate.

132 Tuareg country is very hot in summer – so hot that even the nomads born and bred in the country suffer much from the heat at that season. The hottest months are May, June (farthest south) and July (farthest north). During these months temperature may exceed 50° centigrade, and is on average 30°–35°, or higher. In the uppermost mountain zone of Ahaggar nights are comparatively cool even in summer, while in the lower country there is often little difference between day and night temperatures. This is true in particular when, as often happens in summer, the sky is overcast during the night and consequently there is little radiation of the heat absorbed by rocks and sand in daytime. The day temperature in summer is normally higher than the temperature of the human body, and the temperature of sand and rocks will rise to 60°–70°. Travelling is extremely hard under such conditions, [484] and most people spend the day in the shade of rocks and trees, sleeping and drinking water of which [271] an adult person consumes 8–10 litres a day. Violent winds are common in the Sahara most of the year and in particular in the daytime; in summer these winds are usually very hot and add considerably to the discomfort of the climate, as do the numerous flies.

The country of the Northern Tuareg has a rather continental climate characterized by great fluctuations of temperature during the year. Although Tuareg suffer from heat in summer, they do not generally complain much about it, and they consider the comparatively cold winter much worse than the hot summer. In winter, temperature in the country of the Northern Tuareg averages about 10°. The absolute minimum temperature however is very much below this. Thus in Ahaggar the village of Tamanrasset (1400 m) has in January an average temperature of 11,7°, but an absolute minimum of –6,6°. Frost is very common during winter nights, and even snow may fall in the higher parts of Ahaggar at that time of the year. In the country of the Southern Tuareg frost may also occur, but in Southern Ayr around Agadez frost is said to be very rare and snow is unknown; the winter period [511] in the south is on the whole milder than in the north, where the changes between relatively cold and [1164] very hot temperatures, allied with inadequate dwellings and clothes, are responsible for pneumonia and similar diseases, which give rise to frequent deaths – especially among children.

The most important climatic distinction between the countries of Northern and Southern Tuareg is due to differences in the annual precipitation as will be seen from the following figures (in m/m) for the annual rainfall 1931–1945 in the territories of seven Tuareg groups:—

137
233*
552

Fig. 46. A resting she-camel with the colour name *tawinak*. The colour term of the young she-camel standing in the back-ground is *ténilt*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

In Ayr the Tuareg do not 237
use camel's hide in their crafts, but give it to the blacksmiths who use it for lashing, or to people [564]
who manufacture beds from ribs of palm leaves (cf. Fig. 257). The Northern Tuareg use camel-skin [352]
for the manufacture of a few household implements and also use it for lashing (cf. p. 84, 110, 222, [824]
270 f. & Figs. 70, 86, 132a–b, 161a–d, 162, 213). But even in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer the skin of camels is little used compared with the skin of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep.

When employed in craft, camel's hide is normally used raw and unprepared after soaking in water. 281
but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that for certain purposes the hide is treated with salt. In literature there 114
are many statements about the tanning of camel's hide. Thus it is stated by Cauvet that the hide is tanned with plant material in Algeria, and Cauvet also quotes Duveyrier's statement that the Northern Tuareg tan camel's hide to use it for tents and various other implements (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 714 ff.). I very much doubt the correctness of this, as all Tuareg asked about it have stated that the hide of camels is not fitted for proper tanning. Camel's hide is therefore of very limited use to the Tuareg, and the same is the case with camel's hair or wool. Tuareg camels in Ayr have very little wool, and 237
among the Northern Tuareg most animals have less wool than Arab camels of the Northern Sahara. The Northern Tuareg pluck a little wool with the hands or cut it off with a knife. It is spun into cords 283
to be used for certain minor objects, notably for the manufacture of the plaited pouch (*abegu*) to prevent the suckling of calves (p. 62, Fig. 41) and for the particular cord (*asoṛun*) tied around the foreleg of camels to keep them in a reclining position (p. 72, Fig. 45a). Mixed with goat's hair the wool is 286
also used for a kind of primitive weaving (p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

Camels are very important to the Tuareg as pack-animals for the caravan expeditions which will 492*
be mentioned in a later chapter when other means of subsistence have been described. 484●

In the past camels were also extremely valuable as riding animals on raiding expeditions which 492*
721

291
x492
541

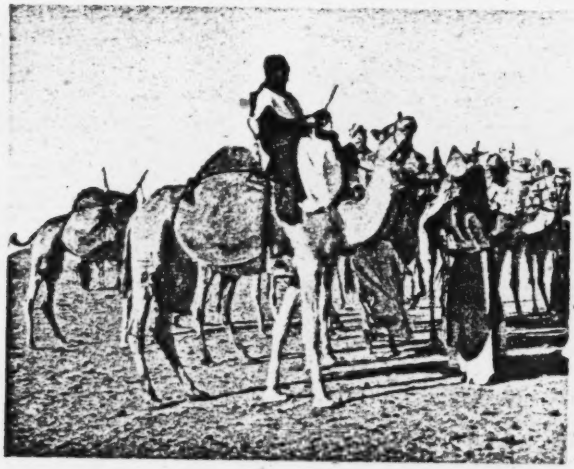


Fig. 68. Tuareg camel riders prepared for a camel-race. The fixed position of the saddles is secured by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren*) tied around the hind part of the camel. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*492 The saddle types just mentioned are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg and apparently also to
[562] other Tuareg of Ayr. Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group refer to these women's saddles as "Arab saddles", and when their women mount camels on festive occasions they do not use proper saddles but a kind of chair built up upon two very large cushions manufactured by the *Imeggedezen*, and stuffed with hay. The arrangement of this saddle-chair is complicated and it takes some hours to finish it. It is built as follows:— The two large cushions (*éstigen*, sing. *ésteg*) are placed on the camel's back in front and behind the hump. They support a superstructure known as *tésagaley* and made from various objects belonging to the tent in the following way:— (1) Two large and oblong skin-bags are stuffed with hay or old cotton pieces and each of them is wrapped with a coloured blanket to form an oblong parcel. (2) To stay these parcels a rolled bed mat (Fig. 212b) is tied horizontally to each of
[285] them, and they are laid parallel with each other on the ground. (3) A very long mat plaited from dum palm leaves is rolled up and wrapped into a coloured blanket or a coloured piece of cotton. It is bent into a U-form and thereupon attached to the two oblong parcels by means of cords. This superstructure is further covered with coloured blankets and pieces of cotton. It is placed upon the two large cushions and tied to them and fastened to the camel by means of cords and girths. When a woman rides in such a saddle-chair she sits behind the animal's hump so that she cannot reach the camel's neck with her feet. The back of the U-formed mat prevents her from falling backwards. The structure
*492 of the saddle-chair may be seen from the photographs (Figs. 76–77). It should be understood that a
562 saddle made in so difficult a manner is not used by the women except on festive occasions, such as
[569] travelling to attend a marriage or an Islamic feast. Apart from the very few noble women belonging
[565] to the two noble tribes within the *Kel Ferwan* group all women of this drum-group normally ride

[Text continues on p.92]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*492 household goods during nomadic migrations, and are employed daily in all camps to carry water in skin-
[415] [312] bags from wells and waterholes to the tents. They are very strong animals considering their low stature,
and good pack-donkeys can carry up to one hundred kilograms even for very long trips. Donkeys
[262] are occasionally used for long journeys by the Northern Tuareg, and many Ayr Tuareg use them to
[484] fetch provisions of millet around Tanut in Damergu. Caravans of donkeys are frequently observed
in these regions, and one even sees mixed caravans of donkeys and camels. There can be no doubt
[174] that before the introduction of the camel the donkey was still more important for riding and transportation than is the case nowadays. This is clearly demonstrated by historical material from Egypt and adjacent regions (cf. Erman 1922, p. 518 f., 529, 592 f., 636).

231 It has already been mentioned that donkey's meat and skin are not utilized nowadays by the Tuareg.
[262] The same is true of mare's milk which, however, is used as a remedy against a kind of cough known
[257] to the Ayr Tuareg as *khamkham*. There is no regulation of mating for donkeys which in many ways are semi-domesticated animals. In Ayr male donkeys are never castrated, while the Ahaggar Tuareg say they castrate such stallions as constantly run after the mares and in this way cause too much trouble. The Tuareg also have no methods to prevent foals from sucking, while a method of this kind is sometimes applied by sedentary people in and around Agadez. This method known as *éfinjar* consists in the cutting of the nostrils of half-grown foals so that they cannot suck pregnant mares. Both stallions
*492 and mares are used for riding and transportation, but female animals are much preferred for these purposes. Mares are used almost exclusively for the transportation of water-bags hanging under the animals, as the bags might be squirted by stallions' urine.

The Northern Tuareg saddle their donkeys, using the same saddle type for riding and for transpor-
[462] tation (Fig. 86). This is known as *aruku* and is manufactured by the women in the following way:—
[824] Two fresh boughs of the *tahunek*-tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) are heated, or slightly burned, over the fire.
[322] The boughs are thereupon barked and bent into the curved form wanted, and are then kept in this position by cords. After drying for a few days the boughs will retain their curved form, and the cords
[237] are untied. The boughs are then cut up and their ends are connected by two pieces of camel's hide
[412] soaked in water, and sewn together by means of a large iron needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (cf. Fig. 220b) and a thread which is also cut from camel's hide. The wooden saddle frame is attached to three
[237] cushions. These cushions are generally made of goat-skin or sheep-skin stuffed with hay or with date palm bast, but may also be plaited from leaves of the date palm tree. Cushions made from goat-skin
[412] are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of the little awl known as *tisiení* (cf. Fig. 218a). The two long cushions resting lengthwise upon the animals back are known as *tastek*, and the small cushion resting over the animal's back close to its shoulders is called *tafelledut*. The saddle is fixed to the donkey by two girths consisting of cords made of goat-hair. One of these cords (*tiihnechart*) passes under the tail, the other (*ahayif*) is tied around the chest of the animal. This saddle type is well fitted for the transportation of burdens and in particular of water-bags, the cords of which are attached to the pommels. When the saddle is used for riding it is frequently covered with a blanket or a piece of cloth. Saddles of this type are found in all camps of the Northern Tuareg, and Lhote states that they are also found in Adrar-n-Foras and in Ayr (Lhote 1947a, p. 120). This may be so but I have myself never seen them in the latter region where they are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan*

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hausa MS12



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*492 Tuareg. Some Ayr Tuareg use a kind of saddle for the transportation of water-bags. It consists of two pieces of wood with grooves to support the cords of the water-bags; it corresponds to the type of saddle described and depicted by Lhote from the *Iullemmeden* (Lhote 1947a, p. 114, 134) which type I have seen also among the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Kel Ataram* group. However, most Ayr Tuareg do not employ this device. They content themselves with a layer of thin green twigs placed on the donkey's back so that the cords of the water-bag, which hangs under the animal's belly, shall not hurt and gall. T
[484] This method is also sometimes used by Northern Tuareg. To transport the tent and its belongings during nomadic migrations, the Ayr Tuareg use one or two rolled-up mats of the tent-covering for saddle, while on trading expeditions to Damergu they place their skin-bags filled with millet directly on the donkey's back. Such bags (*alelu*) may also serve as a kind of saddle for luggage. When the Ayr Tuareg ride donkeys they sit on the naked back, on a blanket, or on a piece of matting. The Tuareg T
[171] never use bridle, bit, or rein for riding as do some people of the northernmost parts of the desert and the Atlas. They control their donkeys with a short stick and constantly beat them over the neck to keep up their speed. I have never seen them prick the animal's neck with a spiked stick as is frequently done in the Atlas and adjacent regions. Here many donkeys wear iron shoes which are also unknown among the Tuareg.

## HORSES

T
231 Horses play a very small rôle with the Tuareg I have studied. There are very few horses in the Northern
[171] Sahara where they are bred mainly by sedentary people who are able to feed their animals on barley,
[565] millet, and other garden products. Some years ago there were a few horses in the noble *Kel Rela* tribe of Ahaggar, but nowadays there are no horses among pastoral Tuareg of this region, and in all Ahaggar

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Fig. 87. Hausa Negroes with their richly ornamented riding horses. Ayr, the *Imeggederen* of Agadez.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 95. A Tuareg feeding his riding camel with *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Many Tuareg feed their riding animals with stems of this perennial grass – partly to obtain a docile camel for riding, partly to change its fodder which consists largely of acacias and annual plants. The photograph is taken near Agadez at the *akasa* season. Annual plants grow between trees and bushes (*afagag*, *Acacia Raddiana*; *ebezgin*, *Salvadora persica*; *tadent*, *Boscia senegalensis*). Ayr, the *Isakoranan* tribe.

234 than those mentioned. Thus they can use any kind of receptacle for milk and milking, and they do
485 not clean their milk-bowls with urine as is normal among certain East African stock-breeders, and,
237 perhaps, also among certain of the Fulani living south of Ayr. The taste of urine is detested by the
262 Tuareg, who know this taste all too well as the water drawn from pools and wells is frequently flavoured
237 with urine and the excrement of domestic animals. Nor is camel urine used by Tuareg women for
302 hairdressing as is done among the Arabs, but it is said that it may have a medical value in curing
252 wounds. The custom of drinking blood has been mentioned above (p. 122 f.) and will be described later (p. 235).

*233 The Tuareg apparently have comparatively few superstitious usages in stock-breeding, which is
232 mainly to be considered rational. We have seen that stock-breeding is adapted to environment, and we have also mentioned that there are veterinary methods which doubtless have their origin in considerable knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of domestic animals. This knowledge forms one corner-stone of rational stock-breeding, and another is the very detailed knowledge of botany. In
*233 824 Ahaggar there are more than 600 different plant species for which the Tuareg have particular names, though a few related species are sometimes known by one and the same name. Every Tuareg know about the ecological conditions of these plants, and he knows exactly their fodder value for domestic animals. He knows that certain plants form excellent fodder for all domestic animals, but he is also well aware that the different types of stock have different needs, so that certain plant species are valuable for camels, other species for other domestic animals.

231 The Tuareg are occasionally cruel to donkeys, and to dogs, but they take the greatest care of all other domestic animals to ensure their wellbeing and reproduction. Women bring acacia pods or tender annual plants to kids, lambs, and calves, and to sick animals which remain in the camp. On
● 484 *233 long trading expeditions, when the camels have little time for grazing, some Tuareg will walk along

●484 the caravan and feed the animals with annual grasses, and a camel-rider, when he meets plants con-
*233 sidered excellent for fodder, will stop for a while to let his riding camel eat them.

*233 Saliferous plants are highly important to all types of livestock, and camels and sheep in particular
824 need much salt nourishment. In Ahaggar there are certain plants of this kind almost everywhere, and the following species serve as fodder:— *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*), *issin* (*Salsola foetida*), *tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*), and *azawa* (*Tamarix gallica* and related species). *Aramas* in particular is very important. It is found almost everywhere within the Ahaggar Massif and at all altitudes. Benhazera states that *aramas* forms the most important fodder plant of Ahaggar (Benhazera 1908, p. 65), but this is not quite correct. It is most important because of its salt content as domestic animals do not thrive without salt, but the saliferous plants mentioned are very little nourishing for most domestic animals, and if the animals constantly eat such plants they become very thin. The most nourishing fodder plants of Ahaggar are tender annual species which spring up after abundant rainfalls. These plants are collectively known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *akasa*; they comprise many different species and those considered most excellent for fodder are: *tageruft* (*Tribulus terrester*), *adreylal* (*Astragalus* sp.), *taymast* (*Echium humile*), *azren* (*Monsonia heliotropioides* & *M. nivea*), *tamaghé* (*Moricandia arvensis*), and *tanesmimt* (*Rumex vesicarius* & *R. roseus*). To these annual fodder plants can be added another important annual species, namely *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*) which grows in the lower parts of Northern Tuareg countries. It is apparently not so common and important to the Northern Tuareg who live in and around the mountainous massifs, though it is a common and very valuable fodder for domestic animals of the Ahaggar Tuareg who live towards the south in the plains of Tamesna. It is one of the best fodder plants for camels and is also fairly good for sheep, while less valuable for other types of livestock. Annual plants may germinate over a large part of the
[132] year in Ahaggar, but as rainfall is most common late in summer (June, July, August) the best annual pasture will spring up at this period, and under very favourable conditions the plants may keep fresh and green for up to four months. When annual plants wither they are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ṛarat* (*ṛarat n akasa*). Such dry annual plants have lost much of their fodder value, but they are important for fodder even at this stage. The perennial species which are most important for fodder have their optimal value at particular stages of their development at particular seasons. Important are the perennial grasses known to the Tuareg as *tullult* (*Aristida pungens*) and *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). The *tullult* grass is extremely common in the Northern Sahara, and it forms perhaps the basic fodder plant among the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. It is also common in Ahnet and in the other mountain massifs surrounding Ahaggar to the north, but it is not found in the mountain massif proper of Ahaggar where most Tuareg live. The grass grows at Abalessa where cattle, goats, and sheep of the sedentary farmers feed upon it. The *tullult* grass is valuable when green in winter, and hay of this
[484] grass is used for camel fodder on caravan expeditions to Tidikelt. The Tuareg cut it with a sickle and
[137] take it with them on the journey to the northern oases, because there is normally little vegetation on the road and no pasture around the oases where the Tuareg remain to trade for several days. The *afezu* grass is extremely common in the lower parts of Ahaggar and is found in practically all river valleys. It is valuable for fodder when green after rain, but it is of little value when withered. There are other perennial herbs and grasses which are eaten by domestic animals, but herbs and grasses are

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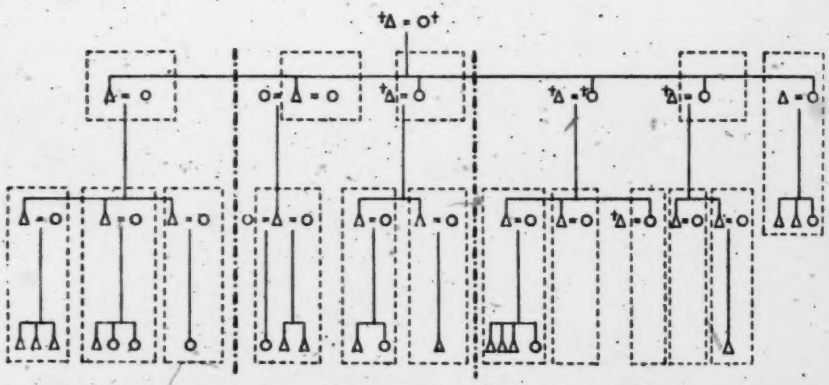

**Fig. 105. The section camp of the *Kel Azerwan* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aguh-en-tehle*). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated Fig. 103. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Ayr whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.**

[591]

614 also the representative of the section towards the tribal chief, should preferably be elected. The members
613 of one section will frequently intermarry with members of another particular section, but members
621 of a section will generally marry into more than one particular section and sometimes into sections
[512] of foreign tribes.

613 When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are
621 split up into minor camps of 2–7 tents. These minor camps generally consist of an extended family
596 which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually
*233 owned and every tent or household is self-supporting – "it has its own churning bag and its own millet
[592] bag", as the Tuareg put it. The section camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small goat-herding camps which constitute extended families, but the small camps within the section camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres
[476] between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small goat-herding camps of a section join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because
[484] kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp of a section is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which tasks a goat-herding camp cannot spare the labour. Should the small goat-herding camps of a section be unable to remain together, they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A section camp is illustrated in
361 the diagram below (Fig. 105). The formation of such camps is not generally possible without annual
621 pasture, and section camps are particularly common in the *Dag Rali* tribe resident mainly in the
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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



outlined above from Ahaggar, with the exception that the Ayr Tuareg have never practised the one year's stay in the bride's family camp after marriage. To-day the *Kel Ferwan* tribes of Southern Ayr do not follow very strictly any particular rule of residence. There is a strong tendency to patrilocal residence, but a man will usually continue to live with kinsmen of the camp where he was brought up as a child. If a man has grown up with maternal relatives owing to the loss of his father as a boy, or because his mother and father have divorced, he may remain with matrilineal relatives. I believe that all tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group of Southern Ayr are bilateral kin groups. And if in the past these Tuareg practised the rules of residence outlined above from Ahaggar, the tribes have been bilateral units as there have always been many marriages contracted between people of different tribes. Two tribes of Ayr, namely the *Imezzureg* and the *Kel Akerra*, claim that they have intermarried regularly from very ancient times, because the father of the *Kel Akerra* tribe was the brother of the mother of the *Imezzureg* tribe, while the father of the *Imezzureg* was a cross-cousin of *Kel Akerra*'s mother. These two tribes possess their individual chiefs, but have always been very mixed. It seems as if chiefs were elected according to matrilineal rules in the past, but to-day it is claimed that a son of a deceased chief should be the first in line of succession (cf. p. 456 ff.).

In Southern Ayr camps of all possible tribes to-day live among each other. There are no grazing grounds or particular territories nowadays when everybody is free to go where he likes with flocks and herds. No Tuareg have particular rights over land, and ban on grazing within certain areas, as in Ahaggar, is unknown. This is said also to have been the case in the past. But in the times preceding the French occupation of Ayr, all vassal tribes had their particular territories which, according to Capot-Rey, were formerly marked by walls (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). I have not been able to confirm this, but the Tuareg told me that in the past tribal territories had frontiers marked out by river valleys or by natural objects such as large trees. The vassal tribes did not own these territories, which were allotted them by the drum-chief of the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe, the *Irawatten*. The traditional territories or grazing grounds of most *Kel Ferwan* tribes are indicated in the list on p. 423 ff.

At present there seem to be no sectional division of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes corresponding to the division into sections in Ahaggar. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg generally live in small camps comprising a few tents. These camps, which co-operate in stock-herding, do not generally exceed four or five tents inhabited by kinsmen who generally constitute an extended family, e.g., (1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children; (2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children; (3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children; (4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband. These small camps, as may be seen, are not based upon any particular rule of residence in agreement with what has been said of residence rules above. The households of a little camp of this kind will remain constantly together to co-operate not only in goat-herding, but generally in camel-breeding also. The labour for camel-herding and caravan trading is more easily provided for in Ayr than in Ahaggar. For camels are rarely taken to very distant grazing grounds, and caravan trading is often limited to expeditions to Damergu where the Tuareg fetch their millet. The Tuareg tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group living around Agadez have no true co-operative units apart from the small camps of up to four or five tents. Such small camps of extended families may temporarily join each other in a bigger camp during the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 115. Negroid agriculturist (*Haṛṛani*) with a hare caught in a steel-trap (*elkheniyet*) of European type. Ahaggar.

262 by many people in vassal tribes, and jackal's meat is popular as it is considered an excellent remedy
565 against fever (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 146). But there are also many Tuareg who refuse all types of game
[257] with the exception of such animals as gazelle, barbary sheep, and antelope. Some Tuareg consider hare's meat unlawful, but this, perhaps, is a conception introduced with Islam, for many people of the religious *Ineslemen* class claim that hare should not be eaten because their blood resembles that of menstruating women. The food taboos strictly followed by all noble Tuareg are older than Islam: they never eat birds, eggs, reptiles, and fish.

These rules are not traditional for vassal Tuareg, though some of them have adopted the taboos of the noble Tuareg.

224 In Northern Tuareg areas two big lizzard types are found. One of them is called *aggezzeram* (*dobb*
564 in Arabic; *Uromastix acanthinurus*). This is caught and eaten by slaves, agriculturists, and by many
565 vassals. It is frequently taken by hand, but there is also a special implement (*taskumt*, *takoḍa*) consisting
262 of a stick provided with an iron crook for catching lizzards hiding in holes and under rocks. When
[432] vassal Tuareg are able to catch a great many *agezzeram*-lizzards they cut them up and dry them for
[444] sale on their regular trading expeditions in autumn to the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. p. 210). The *agezzeram*-lizzard is said to be the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the negroid blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*), because the lizzard's tail resembles a file. I do not know whether the few blacksmiths found in Northern Tuareg country eat this lizzard, but do not think they do. The lizzard is not considered very delicious, and blacksmiths have emigrated from the south where it is not generally eaten.

The other edible lizzard is named *aṛata* (*Varanus* sp.). It is much bigger than the *agezzeram*-lizzard just mentioned, and its meat is excellent according to the taste of most Europeans. But this big lizzard

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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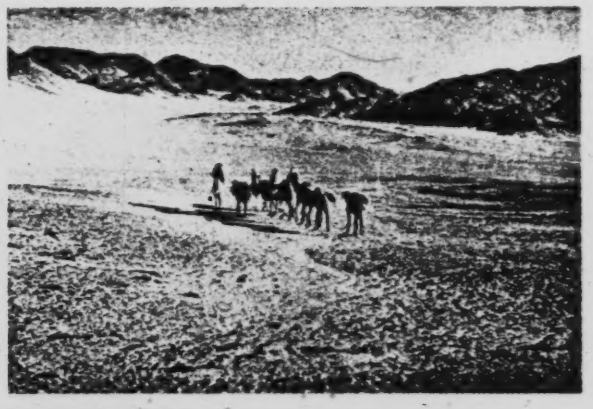

Fig. 147. Tuareg caravan in the barren desert between Ahnet and Ahaggar. The *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

## TUAREG CARAVANS

Fig. 148. Caravan crossing the flooded river bed of Oued Dabaga in Southern Ayr. *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

# Caravan Trading

Caravan trading of the Sahara has suffered severely from the European colonisation of Northern Africa. The establishment of ports and railways in the Sudanese area and the abolition of the slave-trade have brought to an end the large caravans passing through the desert. In recent times another heavy blow has been struck against the caravans, for transportation is more and more taken over by trucks which can easily pass through the open desert country. Many pastoralists of Northern Africa suffer from the decline of their trade, which for centuries has been an important stabilizing factor for their subsistence. The decline of caravan trading is also strongly felt in the oases, which have played a very important part as trading posts or trading stations. Some of these oases have far fewer inhabitants nowadays than in the past, and it is most difficult for many sedentary people of the oases to exist. The decline of the trade has been felt also among the pastoral Tuareg. But caravan trading is still important to most of them, and many of them could not support life without it. To understand the important role of caravan trading we have once more to return to the economic values of subsistence activities.

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## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AHAGGAR TUAREG

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot live exclusively on stock-breeding products all the year round – not even in good years when annual pasture is well developed in autumn and early winter. Even in a good year the nomads mainly eat vegetable food throughout the hot season, and some bread or porridge is also consumed during the period of abundant milk yields. It is true that nomads can subsist entirely on milk for long periods, and that some people do so for weeks or even months. Galan says that pastoralists of of Ahaggar, when they live entirely on milk, can do with four litres a day per person (Galan 1951, p. 231). But it is estimated by the Ayr Tuareg that they need about eight or ten litres a day to live entirely on milk, and they all claim that they get weary from constant milk drinking. They say that though they do not feel hungry when they live exclusively on milk they experience a peculiar, unpleasant feeling in the stomach. The relative importance of stock-breeding products (mainly milk) and vegetable food (mainly wheat, millet, and dates) may be seen from the diagram Fig. 151.[1] In a good year there is normally some possibility of collecting wild seeds for bread and porridge, but the Tuareg claim that they cannot easily cover their need of vegetable products even in a year when milk is abundant. And milk is not always abundant. We can estimate that for two or three good years

433 262 [261] 433

[p. 209]

[1] [cf. p. 216]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



there will be one entirely dry year throughout, during which stock-breeding products have little or no value as food, and in such years of dry pasture there will also be very few wild plants to collect. Hunting, which plays little part for most Tuareg nowadays, is also of little value in an entirely dry year when many game animals die or migrate to other regions with more favourable pasture. It would seem obvious for pastoral Tuareg to do the same and to take their animals to grazing grounds outside of Ahaggar – particularly to the southern plains where pasture is normally better than in their own country. We have seen that most Ahaggar Tuareg in bad years have their she-camels far from Ahaggar in the Tamesna plains or in the country north of Adraf-n-Foras. We have also mentioned that, under very severe conditions, camps of Ahaggar and Ahnet may move to these southern regions with their flocks, though extensive goat-migrations are not always profitable. But most Tuareg remain in Ahaggar even in very dry years with their camps and flocks. Some of the animals will die, and none of them can be mated so that the flocks may rapidly decrease. During such years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg live so to speak exclusively on agricultural food products of which they get only a part from their gardens grown by sedentary agriculturists (the *Harratin*, or *Izzegaren*). It is mainly through caravan trading that the Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their vegetable food products. Their two important trading expeditions to the Tidikelt oases and to the Sudan are carried out anually for the main purpose of acquiring dates and millet.

Trading with the Tidikelt oases (Awlef and In Salah) is based mainly upon a surplus of goats, camels, butter and cheese, and on dried meat. But many Tuareg who obtain large amounts of millet from the Sudanese trading expedition also sell part of their wheat grown in their own gardens in Ahaggar, and Sudanese articles bought during their south-bound trading expedition. In a dry year some Tuareg may choose not to visit the Tidikelt area as they have too small a surplus for trading. The south-bound caravans, on the other hand, are rarely prevented from going as their main trading object is rock-salt of an excellent quality mined at Amadror north-east of the Ahaggar Massif. Both north-bound and south-bound caravans will set off in autumn when the hottest season has come to an end, that is at the end of September or at the beginning of October.

The caravan route from Tamanraset in Ahaggar to In Salah in Tidikelt is about 750 kilometres, and the route is rather difficult because pasture is normally lacking for three to four days of the journey. Most Tuareg who cross this part of the desert therefore bring with them large supplies of the dried *tullult*-grass (*Aristida pungens*), which also serves as fodder for the pack-camels during the stay in the oases around which there is little pasture. The journey takes about twenty days in each direction, and the north-bound caravans return to Ahaggar again already in December or in January. The traders return with their camels loaded with dates of which a part may be re-sold in Ahaggar (Tamanraset), but they also buy European cotton and other European articles, which are cheaper in the north, and woollen blankets woven by sedentary people of the northern oases.

The south-bound caravans are very extensive. The towns visited in the south are Agadez, Tawa Tanut, and Zinder. The distance from Tamanraset to Zinder is, as the crow flies, about 1200 kilometres, while the distance from Tamanraset to Amadror, where salt is mined, is about 300 kilometres. In total the caravan journey from Ahaggar to Zinder and back again for many Tuareg amounts to more than 3000 kilometres. The south-bound caravans are organized as follows:— Slaves take the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 149. The market place of Agadez. In the front negroid Hausa men roasting small pieces of meat on a spit; in the background Tuareg camels offered for sale.

484 pack-camels to the salt pit of Amadror to mine salt in the hot season. They load the camels with salt
487 and bring them to the camp where further preparations for the journey are made. When the caravans
[317] have started southwards they stop in the Tamesna plains and rest there for at least one month to allow
[437] the pack-camels to feed on annual pasture, and, if necessary, to exchange the pack-camels with others kept by the Ahaggar Tuareg in Tamesna. Thereupon the caravan will continue towards the millet-
[22] growing towns and villages of the Sudan to bargain with the Hausa. The caravan returns to Ahaggar again at the end of March or at the beginning of April, so that the total duration of a south-bound caravan is up to six or seven months.

433 The Sudanese millet trade is of extreme value to the subsistence of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is partic-
439 ularly important to their economy that they obtain millet for non-nomadic products transported by camels, which are mainly bred outside of Ahaggar. The millet trade is consequently not much influenced by Ahaggar's changeable climate. According to official statistics, the Ahaggar caravans in 1946 exported 375 tons salt, and imported 720 tons millet, while the cereals grown in Ahaggar amounted to 197 tons (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). According to Galan vegetable food grown in the gardens of Ahaggar in 1950 (a bad year) amounted to 121 tons wheat, 5 tons millet and barley, and 4 tons of tomatoes – about 10 kg of wheat and 0.5 kg of millet, barley, and tomatoes per person (Galan 1951,
[465] p. 233). We see from this that the amount of cereals acquired in the Sudan far exceeds the amount grown in Ahaggar, and as we have mentioned, the millet trade is also important for the establishment of Tuareg agriculture in their own country where this cereal is used for payments to cultivators. It can also be added that the Sudanese caravan trade is more important to the Tuareg than appears from
[435] the figures above. For salt is much more valuable than millet, and for one load of salt the Tuareg receive from four to fifteen loads of millet – in 1946 the price was fifteen to one (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). It is evident that the Tuareg could not take all this millet back to Ahaggar. Most of it is re-sold

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



tions have remained important to the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it is clear that they would not go on trading were these expeditions not profitable, for trading expeditions are extremely strenuous. Though the expeditions set off when the extreme heat is decreasing, it is still very hot in the extensive barren plains in autumn and in winter during daytime. Water and pasture are often extremely scarce in this deserted country, and the Tuareg frequently have to travel rapidly. For days or weeks they live so to say on their camels, and if camels are not too heavily loaded they may do up to 16 hours a day for several days in succession. Under such journeys the Tuareg eat only once a day. Obviously such trading expeditions are also very hard on the pack-camels, and there is always a risk of loosing a camel during such journeys through barren, desert-country.

In this brief outline of caravan trading I have not considered those Ahaggar Tuareg living constantly in the Tamesna plains and adjacent regions. These Tuareg own more livestock than the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif, and I do not believe that they engage so much in extensive trading expeditions. They are comparatively rich in she-camels which are tolerably good milk yielders in these regions most of the year, and milk is more important as food than it is in Ahaggar. I believe that most Ahaggar Tuareg of the Tamesna region acquire their necessary vegetable products by selling surplus livestock, butter and cheese at the markets of Ingal and Agadez.

## CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AYR TUAREG

Among the Ayr Tuareg stock-breeding products are far more important for food than in the north. Grazing conditions are better with annual pasture as a recurrent event, and the Tuareg keep bigger flocks of goats and sheep, larger camel herds, and most have a few zebus which are guarded without much difficulty. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr can live on milk for a large part of the year, though they, like those of Ahaggar, become tired of milk drinking if they get no solid food. There are Tuareg of Southern Ayr who live exclusively on milk for two or three months during the periods of *akasa* and *rarat* and to whom milk is important as food for at least six months. In the extremely hot season of *ewilen* when milk is very scarce most Tuareg eat millet porridge with a little milk or sauce (cf. p. 242 f.), and Tuareg who are not very wealthy eat millet porridge to a great extent all the year round, so that the necessary amount of millet for many camps is about 0.5 kilo a day per person, or about 180 kilos a year. In Ayr there are fairly good possibilities of collecting if there are not too many locusts, but most Tuareg do not collect a great quantity of wild seeds, and claim that they would be very badly off without millet, as seeds of wild plants are not very nourishing in comparison. In one year during the second world war (in 1943) they say that millet was very hard to get; it was then very difficult to subsist and a great many animals had to be killed for food. Millet is almost indispensable to the Tuareg; they also consume other vegetables derived from agriculture, notably wheat, maize, and dates, but millet is the most essential non-nomadic food product. Normally it can be acquired by most Ayr Tuareg without much difficulty.

The people of Ayr obtain their provisions of millet from the Sudanese area of shifting cultivation, notably from Damergu (Tanut). Millet can also be bought at Agadez whereto it is brought by Tuareg

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



439 caravans of the south or by Ayr Tuareg who import more millet than they need for their own use.
437 But millet is cheaper in Damergu than at the Agadez market, and most Tuareg prefer to organize
[435] their own millet caravans with camels and donkeys as pack-animals. In Damergu most Ayr Tuareg
[492] get millet in exchange for livestock or they buy it for money. Their caravans are not always very large,
[476] for the Southern Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not organize their caravans co-operatively
[484] on the basis of kinship. Many individual households fetch their own millet with a few animals, and it
[592] is comparatively easy to do so as the millet growing country of Damergu is not very far away – the distance from Agadez to Tanut is only about 300 kilometres. The Ayr Tuareg do not have to engage in extensive trading expeditions to procure millet, and can buy millet very cheaply. A household, it
437 is said, does not have to sell a great many animals to secure the necessary supply of millet. Three or
439 four camel loads will cover the needs of most households, and this amount of millet can be acquired
435 for comparatively few animals – particularly if the animals vended are sheep, which have become
592 very expensive in recent times owing to the rapid increase of Europeans at Agadez. An extremely good
162 sheep or ram for slaughtering can bring in 2000 to 3000 West African francs, and a Tuareg household which buys millet in Damergu will need less than 10,000 francs to acquire the quantity necessary for a year. Thus the Ayr Tuareg can obtain their millet for a few sheep, and there are very few, if any, who do not posses this surplus, and it should be repeated that the increment of livestock is never stopped by drought periods as in the north. The extremely high price for sheep for butchering is a recent phenomena due to the increase of the French population. Fully-grown sheep or rams are expensive, and this is also the case with fowls, while goats are cheap. I believe we can estimate that a household would have to sell about 15 goats anually to obtain the amount of millet necessary for one year's consumption. However, there is little doubt that it has always been quite easy for the Tuareg of Southern Ayr to obtain the requisite amount of millet in exchange for livestock.

262 Millet and milk constitute the basic nourishment of the Ayr Tuareg, but they are very fond of an
[222] occasional change of food. And I believe that this is one important reason why the Ayr Tuareg, like those of Ahaggar, collect wild seeds even in years when grown cereals are abundant. For a change, the Ayr Tuareg are also extremely fond of dates which are not grown to any great extent in their own country. A few Ayr Tuareg own palms yielding dates of poor quality, and I think that a few house-
[439] holds also obtain some dates from Ingal. However, most dates eaten in Ayr are imported from the oasis of Bilma, situated in the very barren desert country between Ayr and Tibesti, about 700 kilometres north-east of Agadez.

437 The trade with Bilma is apparently an ancient one, and its foundation is salt which is of a very bad
439 quality compared with that mined at Amadṛor in the north. The rock-salt of Amadṛor is excellent
[317] for food, and though there is one good quality of Bilma salt that is used for food by the Tuareg of
[263] Ayr, most salt from Bilma contains much soil and other impurities. This impure salt is excellent for
[235] domestic animals which, in Ayr and further south where salt pastures do not exist, need a lot of salt. The Ayr Tuareg, and particularly those who do not visit the country of Azaouaṛ at the end of the rains, need salt not only for their own food but also for their domestic animals. They obtain this from Bilma, which is visited by caravans in autumn or in the early winter. The inhabitants of Bilma, like other oases-dwellers, are in constant need of cereals and meat, and these products are imported

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



by the Tuareg of Ayr, the *Kel Geres*, and other Tuareg. The Tuareg obtain salt generally in exchange 437
for millet, but they also bring with them dried meat, and meat from animals newly slaughtered; and 439
although this meat is largely rotten when it arrives at Bilma it is easily sold to the oases dwellers who
are yearning for meat. The oases dwellers have little to subsist upon but dates of which they have a
surplus. This is purchased by the Tuareg, who get two loads of dates for one load of millet. The [178]
Bilma trade is less important nowadays than it was at the beginning of the century. In 1922 the Bilma [484]
caravans comprised about 7000 camels (Buchanan 1926, p. 83), while in 1908, when the trade was
already decreasing, caravans numbered about 20,000 camels (Abadie 1927, p. 292). Caravans still go [435]
to Bilma to fetch salt and dates, but the salt trade is not so profitable to-day when Bilma salt can be [494]
bought fairly cheaply at Agadez, as the trucks bringing provisions from Agadez to the French admin-
istration and to the merchants of Bilma, take salt back with them when they return. The Ayr Tuareg 437
do not organize their trading expeditions within family groups or sections as in Ahaggar. A Tuareg [602]
who does not want himself to go to Bilma may let a kinsman or a friend trade for him with his camels.
The payment for this is a large loaf of salt which constitute one sixth or one seventh of a camel load.

The Ayr Tuareg do not generally obtain salt from the pits of Tegidda-n-tésemt though this place 317
is not very far from the Massif to the west. They say that the Tegidda salt is not as good as 439
Bilma's. The salt of Tegidda-n-tésemt is purchased mainly by the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* when
visiting the regions around Ingal after the rains. Some of the *Kel Ayr* who live in the extreme north [437]
(the *Kel Tédalé*, and others) occasionally go to Amadṛor in the north to fetch salt which is taken down
to the Sudanese towns and villages. In years when drought prevails in Ahaggar these Tuareg take their 437
surplus of livestock to the market at Tamanṛaset, for in dry years the provision of meat, butter, and 438
cheese consumed in Ahaggar come mainly from Ayr and adjacent regions. When I stayed in Ahaggar
in 1954–55 a great many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* came to Tamanṛaset to sell camels, donkeys, sheep, [114]
goats, and zebus, and also brought with them large quantities of cow's butter and cheese. The route 437
followed from Northern Ayr to Ahaggar runs via I-n-azawa and I-n-abeggi which are the only wells 487
between the two mountain massifs. Water is very scarce and so is pasture, which is mainly limited to
a scattered vegetation of annual plants; over very large areas there is no vegetation at all. It is easy
to drive camels and donkeys through these regions, while more difficult for sheep, goats, and cattle.
The zebus easily get cut hooves from walking on stony ground, while sheep and goats suffer much
from thirst. In spite of this, all kinds of livestock can be driven through the barren desert from Ayr
to Ahaggar, even as late as the month of March which is extremely hot in the barren desert country.
The Tuareg frequently lose animals which die from thirst and hunger during the journey, but the trade [435]
is nevertheless extremely profitable as prices of livestock are high in Ahaggar in dry years, while prices
of European goods such as tea, sugar, cotton, metal vessels, and the like are extremenly low compared
with the prices asked for these goods in Ayr.

The Ayr Tuareg, though owning more livestock than the Tuareg of Ahaggar, have a certain demand 433
of agricultural food products. These products are mainly grown outside of the Massif, for the farmers 439
of Ayr grow little millet, very few dates, and part of the wheat grown in Ayr is exported to the oases
of Ganet and Ṛat in the north. Though these vegetable products can be purchased at Agadez, it is
profitable to fetch them where they are cheap, namely in the Sudan (millet) and in Bilma (dates). And

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175 added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was
721 also fighting within these groups at intervals.

[648] The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwllemmeden* and the Arab pastor-
alists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of
[578] the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg fre-
quently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

[437] Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with
adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite
of these latent conditions of hostility.

175 Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the
437 Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European
goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with
their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays.
They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter,
cheese, and the like.

175 The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day
437 the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times,
● 484 but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same
drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their
chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* who dominated
the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays.
[439] They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and
Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further
south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also
[438] say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the
important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All
[317] this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadṛor were not utilized
in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from
Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of
the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to
[361] the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then
162 travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in
the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could
not defend itself against raiders.

175 It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts
567 of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading
[648] until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in
[171] this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet
who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their
own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

# Food Preparation

It is natural to open this chapter on food preparation with a description of the use of milk (*akh*) among 234
pastoral Tuareg. The milk which serves as nourishment for the Tuareg derives from goats, sheep, 262
cows, and camels. Milk of all these animals is frequently drunk fresh without any preparation, and this is generally the case with camel's milk, which is not fitted for churning butter or for the manufacture of cheese (cf. p. 63). Milk of goats, sheep, and cows is used for butter and cheese, and is added to various dishes to be described below.

Fresh milk, which is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *akh kefayen*, is sometimes heated by means 252
of hot stones (*iḍaṛen* in Ahaggar; no particular name in Ayr). The stones heated are then put directly into the wooden milking bowl. The Tuareg practise this method mainly in winter as they do not like to drink cold milk, but milk is heated all the year round in this way with milk of animals which have just brought forth kids, lambs, or calves including camel calves. The milk taken from a mother animal until about twenty four hours after the birth of kids, lambs, or calves is known to the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr as *éderes*. It is very rich and when it is heated by means of hot stones it becomes very thick forming almost a kind of cheese which is highly esteemed by the nomads. The milk of sheep and goats is considered *éderes* for two days after the birth of kids and lambs, though this term should properly be applied only to milk taken the first day after birth. The main reason for using hot stones for milk heating is said to be that milk does not get dirty in this way as it does if heated in earthenware pots over the fire (cf. p. 126).

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Sour milk (*selay* in Ayr) is consumed mainly by the Ayr Tuareg, who conserve it in skin bags and [252] especially in calabashes, for which reason this sour milk is also known to the Ayr Tuareg as *akh n* [415]* *ezenu*, that is "calabash milk". The milk is often left about twenty four hours for souring, and it is [252'] then placed in a very cool place in order that it may not turn into junket which is not eaten by the Tuareg.

Both in Ayr and in Ahaggar the Tuareg may add water to fresh milk (cf. p. 126), and the Northern Tuareg also add water to buttermilk (*akh n agiwir*). This mixture of water and butter-milk is in high [484] esteem among the Northern Tuareg, and camel riders frequently carry it with them in a special skin- [415]* bag, known as *tasufra* (Fig. 155), attached to the riding saddle. Butter-milk cannot be transported in this way if water is not added, for the milk, though already once churned, will become butter during the camel's march. The Ayr Tuareg do not drink butter-milk which is given to domestic animals, but this beverage is so appreciated by the Northern Tuareg that some of them will not drink fresh milk unless butter-milk has been added, a mixture known as *agerengefa*, *akh imsayen*, or *imsey*.

[p. 221]

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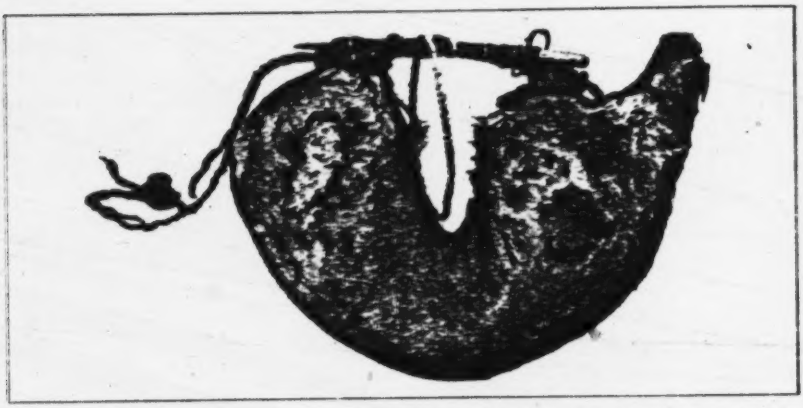

Fig. 162. Very large butter container (*aguilu*) made from the neck-hide of a camel. It is provided with a wooden handle wound with hide and with cords made from goat's hair and bast of *ahaw* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Similar containers are also used for the conservation of cereals. Aluggar, the *Dag Ball* tribe. Dimension: 0.62 m long. (N.M. G. 5201).

Fig. 163a-b. Calabashes used for storing butter in Aluggar but introduced from the south (Ayr).

a. Calabash (*ezzou*) with a wooden stopper fastened to a leather strap and provided with a handle of cord made of goat's hair. The wooden stopper is called *ashay*. Aluggar, the *Ajab-ar-ahh'* tribe. Dimension: 0.620 m high. (N.M. G. 5206).

[444] b. Calabash (*ezzou*) with a handle of white goat's hair. Used for transportation of butter on journeys. Aluggar, the *Dag Ball* tribe. Dimension: 0.175 m high. (F.M. 252).

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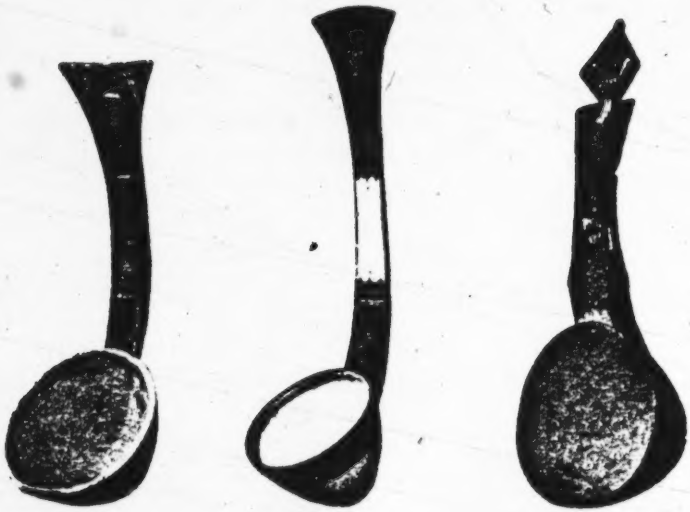

Fig. 194a–c. Bowl-like ladles from Ahaggar and Ayr. They are used mainly for eating liquid dishes – in particular for the dish known as *ərehara* (Ahaggar) or *ərəlira* (Ayr).

a. Ladle (*tamulat*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.285 m long, 0.110–0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5845).

b. Ladle (*tamulat*). Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.330 m long. (N.M. G. 6631).

c. Ladle-like bowl (*assaf*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. This ladle-like bowl was not used for food but for conservation of fine-grained sand used for hair-dressing together with water and butter. Dimension: 0.330 m long, 0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5879).

[302]

264 frequently consisting of bread or porridge eaten rather late at night. The Ayr Tuareg have related terms for their meals:— (1) *tegimgimt* which is a prepared meal eaten late in the morning. (2) *témekkelewt* which is the prepared meal taken at midday. (3) *temegint*, late evening meal which is the main [272] meal in Ayr, as in Ahaggar. In addition to these meals there is a very light meal taken with tea immidiately after rising. It is known as *elfetur*.

[511] Incidentally there are Tuareg who do not have food enough to eat three times a day.

During times when Tuareg subsist exclusively on milk they have no regular meals. The amount [484] of milk needed to support life is very great, and it is drunk slowly during the day. On extensive journeys when the camels cross the barren deserts, the Tuareg also do not have regular meals as they do in their camps.

[text continues on p. 255]

by blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*amerwan*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talaḳ*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akralal*, *abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *taḍeft n eferna*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 [166] [197] B.1.e. A tent which has only one arch. I have once seen a tent like this in a blacksmith's camp close to Agadez, and several in a camp of former Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Tégehé-n-Efis* tribe in Northern Ayr. As this less elaborate structure seems among these Tuareg to constitute a fixed type I shall describe its main elements and the terms used for them which differ slightly from those used in the *Kel Ferwan* group, because the Ahaggar Tuareg living in Ayr even to-day largely speak their old Ahaggar dialect:— (1) A wooden arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction; it is called *aǵeǵu* (pl. *iǵeǵan*). (2) Two horizontal cross-bars known as *éseger* (sing. *isgar*). (3) Forked sticks called *tiǵettewin* (sing. *téǵettewt*) to support the horizontal cross-bars. There are only two forked sticks for each of the two cross-bars. (4) Slender rods forming semi-arches along the longitudinal direction; these are known as *ilellewatin* (sing. *alellewa*). This very simple structure is covered with mats much like other mat tents, the mats being known collectively as *asala* (pl. *isalan*).

Two very particular types of mat tents differing greatly from the above remain to be mentioned:—

● [484] B.1.f. During migrations when the members of a camp remain only one or two days on the same spot, they do not always erect mat tents. But they have to do so throughout the rainy season, when the tents are sometimes erected in a very peculiar way:— The two horizontal cross-bars are placed parallel to one another, each of them resting upon two forked sticks. The distance between the two cross-bars is about one metre, and the height of the two pairs of forked sticks is about 1.50 m. The rest of the elements constituting the normal tent structure, that is the bundles of arches and semi-arches, is not untied. The parcels made up of these elements are leaned against the horizontal cross-bars, and the whole is thereupon covered with mats. The tent erected in this way is a very small one, just big enough for the large wooden bed (*tédabut*). The tent thus erected is known as *tafala*.

B.1.g. The tent to be mentioned is known as *éhen* like the normal barrel-vaulted mat tents, but it is nevertheless of beehive shape. This type of dwelling, however, is not used among the Ayr Tuareg, [184] and I have only seen it once in the camp of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief, where many slaves lived in small mat tents of beehive shape. The structure is made of slender, unfashioned boughs which are fixed in the ground and tied together at their tops. But the arrangement is not a fortuitous one. It would seem that these dwellings have a particular structure: two arches placed parallel to each other and four slender arches passing over the two first arches at a right angle. This structure is covered with mats plaited from dum palm leaves. The tents are very low with a height of about 1.50 m, and their diameter does not exceed 2.00 m. Portable tents of beehive shape are unknown to true pastoral Tuareg.

Mat tents of arch construction are known outside the regions inhabited by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*. They seem to occur throughout Southern Tuareg country, but are less common further west than among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Ǵeres*. The great majority of the pastoral Ayr Tuareg live in mat tents, and it is not correct to speak of this type of portable dwelling as typical of the *Kel Ewey* as frequently happens in literature. As to the *Kel Geres* they claim that all pastoralists of their group have mat tents. On the occurrence of mat tents outside the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* I have gathered the following information from literature:—

A mat tent of arch construction is described by Nicolas from the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg around *Tawa*. It is called *awaǵwaǵ* or *awarwár* (*éwerwer*) because it is covered with mats of this particular type (cf. p. 350 f.). A tent of this nature is 6–7 metres long and 4–5 metres broad. The tent has four, three,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Songhai MS20



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Fig. 266. Three mat tents, three heavy wooden beds, and the household utensils belonging to three households are moved by means of six donkeys. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

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*342 from the north from very ancient times (cf. p. 412), and, according to Rouch, we find that mat-covered
171 barrel-vaulted huts do not constitute the traditional type of dwelling of all Sonray, but are found
S along the Niger between Timbuktu and Asongo, while the Sonray living outside of this area have
342 other dwelling types (cf. Rouch 1954, p. 31). Thus we see that Sonray mat-covered arched dwellings
177 are found precisely within the area which has been most strongly influenced by Tuareg culture, namely
S the upper part of the Niger Bend. It can be added that such dwellings do not seem to be typical of
[462] other African peoples who lead a predominantly sedentary life. Furthermore, Sonray mat-covered barrel-vaulted dwellings are built by the women, who are also the true owners of the huts (cf. Rouch 1954, p. 31). In this we find another parallel to traditional Tuareg custom.

T
*342 We see again how wrong it is to speak of the Ayr Tuareg mat tent as a dwelling particular to the *Kel Ewey*, for such mat-covered tents are used by most Ayr Tuareg from the northern outskirts of the Massif to Damergu; it is said to be used exclusively by the *Kel Geres*; it is known among certain *Kel Dennek*, among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* and their *Bélla*, and apparently even in the southernmost parts of the *Kel Adrar* country. Arched mat tents on the southern outskirts of the very vast area inhabited by Tuareg occur in an almost unbroken line in a huge semicircle running from Northern Ayr to Timbuktu.

T
*342 This distribution may perhaps indicate that the mat tent is of very ancient standing among the
171 Tuareg. We have mentioned above that the mat-covered arched dwellings of the Sonray may have been adopted by these people through contact with the Tuareg, and it does not seem as if the latter adopted their arched mat tents as a result of contact with other Sudanese peoples who use barrel-vaulted dwellings. Barrel-vaulted dwellings are not common in the Western Sudan, but are found among certain pastoralists whose arched huts and tents are structurally very different from the barrel-vaulted Tuareg mat tent. This appears from literature about the *Fulani* and the *Toucouleurs* (cf. Urvoy

1952, pl. II, 4; Desplagnès 1907, pl. CVI p. 396). Various pastoralists within the huge area of Tibesti, Borku, and Ennedi also use barrel-vaulted mat-covered tents. These are very different from Tuareg mat tents (cf. Biasutti 1933, Fig. 2, p. 173; Despois 1946, pl. XXII; Le Coeur 1937, p. 39 & 1950, p. 192, pl. XXVI, 99; Schiffers 1957, pl. IV; Kronenberg 1959, pl. III; Fuchs 1961, p. 18 ff., pl. IV). However, a mat tent described in detail by Chapelle has a structure which includes pronged sticks and horizontal bars (Chapelle 1957, p. 227 ff.), and a Tebu tent from Bilma now in the IFAN Museum at Niamey resembles the mat-covered Ayr tent in having two horizontal cross-bars at the narrow sides – each bar resting upon seven vertical pronged sticks. 342* 171

We presume that Tuareg mat tents constitute a very ancient and traditional type of dwelling, which, perhaps, was originally covered with mats of grass-stems (cf. p. 350 f.). We venture to advance this theory, the more so as other types of Tuareg tents less elaborate in their structures show very close affinities with the arched mat tent. Our theory, however, gives rise to one important question:— Is the elaborate structure of Tuareg mat tents well fitted to pastoral life? 342* [174] 182 342*

It is evident that some of the Tuareg, who live in mat tents, and notably the *Bélla*, are semi-nomads, and Capot-Rey says that "– – les populations qui l'ont adoptée ne se deplacent presque plus; – –" (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 222). This is not correct. Mat tents like that described in B.I.a. are used by true nomads, who move much during the rainy season to find the best annual pasture for their domestic animals. At that season many pastoralists move their camps of barrel-vaulted tents about once a week, and though some of them prefer to erect their tents according to the simple *tafala* method (cf. B.I.f., p. 356), most nomads will erect the tent in the ordinary fashion. It may be added that even the *Kel Geres* who come to Southern Ayr at the end of the rains have with them their mat tents which they erect correctly. There are, it is true, many Tuareg possessing mat tents who remain almost on the same spot throughout the year, but this is equally true of many Tuareg with skin tents. The mat tent is a true pastoral dwelling type. It is not very difficult to put up though it takes more time than does the erection of most skin tents. It is also not very difficult to transport the comparatively elaborate structure of normal mat tents. With few exceptions the pastoral *Kel Ayr* who live in and around the Massif use donkeys for tent transportation. The light tent mats are simply used as a kind of pack-saddle, being rolled up and placed over the back and along both sides of the pack-animal. The curved boughs and rods which form arches and semi-arches, and the comparatively few vertical sticks with the two cross-bars are tied up into parcels which are fastened over the mats at the animal's sides. I have frequently seen a tent, together with the very heavy wooden bed (*tédabut*) and various domestic utensils, being transported by two donkeys, and a normal tent can be transported by a single donkey without much difficulty. As a further indication of this I produce a photograph showing the movement of a camp comprising three ordinary tents, three wooden beds, and the necessary household implements and provisions, and it will be seen that all this is transported by six donkeys (cf. Fig. 266). On the whole, an ordinary mat tent is neither very difficult to erect, nor difficult to transport. It is more difficult to erect the mat tent than the skin tent, but skin tents very often constitute a heavier burden. The sheet of skin, or more correctly leather, is heavier than the covering of mats, and though it is true of many skin tents that they have a less elaborate structure than the mat tents, the former need a system of pegs and poles to fasten the sheet, and these have to be transported except where [221] 182 342* 492 [444] 182 342*

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



## THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has
614 fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie
[114] 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore
[162] quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared,
634 and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when
648 the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to
121 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr,
634 where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were
115 most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

173 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*,
614 and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above
634 (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

342
643
● 484
533

Fig. 288. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

# Fodder Plants of Ahaggar

The most valuable fodder plants in Ahaggar are mentioned in the lists below where my own material has been supplemented with information collected by Maire and published in his valuable study of vegetation of the Central Sahara (Maire 1933 & 1940). The abridgements *Tr.*, *L.M.*, and *U.M.* refer to Maire's botanical zones:— the *Tropical Zone*, the *Lower Mediterranean Zone*, and the *Upper Mediterranean Zone*, while the letters *a*, *b*, and *p* stand for "annual", "biennial", and "perennial" plants. 824 [22]

## FODDER PLANTS OF CAMELS, SHEEP, AND GOATS

*tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*). Tr. p. Young shoots eaten by sheep and goats. Generally not eaten by camels. Maire gives similar information (Maire 1933, p. 52).

*ébestew* (*Imperata cylindrica*). Tr., L.M. p. Not much eaten by camels (Maire 1933, p. 54).

*ẓereg* (*Rottboellia hirsuta*). Tr. p. "Excellent pâturage en hiver, tant pour les chameaux que pour les ovins, caprins et autres herbivores (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 54).

*téberimt* (*Andropogon laniger*). Tr., L.M. p. "Cette plante est mangée par les chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 55).

*afeẓu* (*Panicum turgidum*). Tr., L.M. p. Very important fodder plant for all animals – particularly when green. The green grass is cut by the Tuareg who give it to their riding camels resting in the camp. – "La plante est un élément important de la nourriture des chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 58).

*talenfeẓut* (*Pennisetum dichotomum*). Tr. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 57). "Cette plante est mangée par tous les herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 58).

*uremmud* (*Aristida plumosa*). Tr. a. & p. According to Gram perennial (Gram 1935, p. 54), according to Maire generally annual in the Central Sahara, while perennial in the Northern Sahara (Maire 1933, p. 61). An important fodder plant for all animals. – "Elle constitue un excellent fourrage pour les chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 61).

*tullult* (*Aristida pungens*). Tr. p. Found in lower parts of the tropical zone, particularly on the northern outskirts of Ahaggar (including Ahnet) and in Tassilé-n-Ajjer. A very important fodder plant for all domestic animals. The Tuareg cut it green, or dry, to use it as fodder for their camels on caravan journeys through barren desert country (e.g., on journeys from Ahaggar to Tidikelt). – "Elle constitue, particulièrement au moment de la floraison, un excellent fourrage pour les chameaux et les autres herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 62). [484]

[p. 491]

579 In addition, they robbed caravans who happened into their country, hatefully ransoming the voyagers. Sometimes they 721 727 went to empty the granaries of the sedentary people of the oases or the Sudanese villages, capturing Negroes and Negresses to [492] sett as slaves.

439 When peace reigned in their country, they willingly organized /218/ caravans to go to the Tidikelt or Touat oases and bring back dates, or else to the Sudan to get supplies of millet. They also made themselves the protectors of caravans [486] crossing their country, naturally making the caravaneer pay a consistently high duty in merchandise.

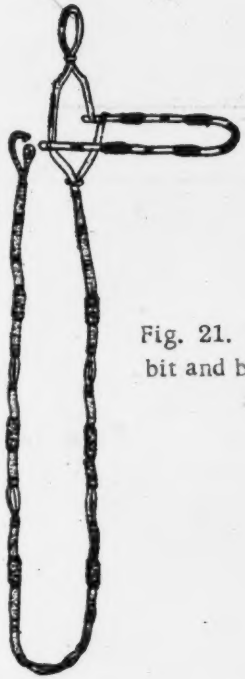

Fig. 21. Camel bit and bridle.

135 The Ahaggar has famous 182 salt mines in the region called 439 Amadror which lies to the east of the Tafedest massif in a large depression. They are an appreciable resource for the Ihaggaren, but manpower is needed to exploit them. Then, transportation and circulation demand a general state of peace in which the numerous herds of pack camels can be protected from possible surprise attacks [721] and raids. That is why the Amadror salt deposits remained unexploited for a long time before the French occupation, because of the state of perpetual war existing between Ahaggar Tuareg and Tassili Tuareg.

492 484 the pasturing place as rapidly as possible, and so they assure a strictly disciplined march for the caravan.

From this come the two systems of proceeding used respectively by the Arabs and the Tuareg.

486 643 648 /315/ Caravans which used to cross the country of the Ihaggaren were obliged to place themselves under the latter's protection by paying a toll agreed upon in advance. The duty went to the amenokal, but protection was ensured only within the bounds of his authority, which quite often did not go beyond the limits of his own tribe. And so the caravaneer was subject to continual solicitations from the people living on the land he crossed, and it was often very difficult to escape them. A guide was sometimes placed at his disposal and received remuneration in kind.

When the boundary of the territory was reached, the protection stopped there, and the greed of the Tuareg was so great [579] that they sometimes did not hesitate to go pillage outside their territory the caravan they had just protected. This often brought on conflicts from tribe to neighboring tribe, but in the final analysis everything was settled at the expense of the caravaneer.

427 492 Sometimes the Tuareg rented out their camels. Some Tassili tribes made a specialty out of transport between Ghademes and Ghat, while the Issekkemaren agreed to rent their animals between In-Salah and the Sudan. They derived considerable profits from this work.

As a result of these continual deductions in advance, the caravaneer could transport only goods whose trade was very remunerative.

484 674 Caravaneers have a custom of placing provisions needed for their return in the rocks or in sheltered places. These provisions are left without a guard, and nobody would think of taking them.

484 This was observed by Duveyrier, Captain de Bonnemain, and
674 Bou Derba on the Ouargla-Ghat itinerary. We have witnessed similar actions ourselves, but the goods stored in this way belonged to some Ihaggaren, and no one would have dared lay a hand on
[609] them. The thing is less safe in the case of a stranger's property.

When a camel dies en route, the load that it was carrying is left on the spot and put under public protection. The caravaneer is always certain to find his property, even six or eight months later. In this regard, it is well to say that the Tuareg, raiders though they must be, are not thieves. When a theft has been committed in their /316/ country, the guilty party is generally a Negro, but rarely a Tuareg of the white race.

439 What were the products transported? Manufactured goods, for the most part, generally made in Europe. There were fabrics and silks which the Tuareg and the Sudanese eagerly sought, and there were knickknacks, unmounted sword blades, sugar, and coffee
[177 272] (tea only recently made its appearance in the Sahara).

All these goods were resold or exchanged for ten times their value. On the return trip the caravaneers brought back ostrich plumes, gold dust, ivory, and little Negro girls and boys bought as slaves and resold for very high prices in the cities of Algeria. Leather was also the object of an intensive traffic, as well as medications of plant or animal (ostrich fat) origin which were part of the Sudanese pharmacopoeia and much appreciated by the Arabs.

177 Today, except for gold and ivory, which have become rare
439 and whose traffic is in the hands of Europeans, and except for the sale of slaves, which has been forbidden since the French
[486] occupation, trade has remained the same. But the routes have become free and the Tuareg can no longer count on their former profits. There was one resort left, that of making themselves caravaneers in their turn and using their many camels in that way. This is what they have done.

439 and its focus is now strictly local as far as the Tuareg are concerned.

Salt and dates were once traded in the Niger Bend country for camels, sheep, millet and rice, and camels, sheep and goatskins used to be traded to Ghadamès in exchange for swords, richly embroidered cloaks, dates, tea and sugar. Ghadamès is still an important center for the production of metal utensils and occasionally weapons.

439 **Protection.** Aside from their own trading activities, the Tuareg used to control caravan
486 trade in general over a very wide area, and this was the third corner post of their economy. Barth (1857, vol. 1, p. 238), writing a century ago, tells us that in his day the Amenokal of the Ahaggar, Guémama, controlled all trade routes between Mourzouk and Timbuctoo, and it seems likely that this situation already dated back over a considerable period. The Ahaggar Tuareg used to control all trade in the southwestern Sahara as far west as Ouadane and southward into northern Nigeria at least as early as the beginning of the 15th century, but their grip on much of this area, and notably on the salt trade of the southwestern Desert, was broken by the Moroccans at the end of the 16th century, and the Tuareg never seem to have extended it again much beyond Aoulef in the Northwest or southwestward beyond Timbuctoo.

The mechanism of control was based on the furnishing of guides and armed escorts to caravans passing through areas under Tuareg domination, and for these services there was a fairly uniform customary scale of charges based on the estimated value of a caravan's cargo and the reputed wealth of the owners. Caravan leaders sometimes failed to agree on the figure to be paid and proceeded on their own, while big caravans occasionally brought guides and guards along with them and small ones now and then tried to slip through unobserved. The Tuareg, however, succeeded in making such expedients unprofitable in most cases by themselves raiding reluctant customers along the road. Thus a highly profitable protection racket was maintained for several centuries before the period of European domination.

721 **Raiding.** The fourth economic corner post of the Ahaggar Tuareg was raiding pure and

As a rule, an amicable solution is finally reached, but the 728
part of the loot which is returned to the deputation is always
far less than that which was taken. The Tuareg say, "Alaï
ouala," that is, "the restitution is never complete."

It may also happen that the raiders refuse to return anything. 721
The raided tribe, if it [701]
considers itself too weak, 728
solicits the support of
another tribe with which
it has good relations, and
then there is fighting. /56/

[411]

Dautheville
Tuareg Shield

When caravans of 484
traders have been raided, 486
since these caravans have 721
usually placed themselves
under the protection of
noble tribes to which they
pay dues, the controversy
is settled between the pro-
tecting tribe and the
raiders' tribe.

In the Ahaggar it seems that the old amenokal, Aïtar'el, 728
established the restitution of loot taken from caravans protected
by the Azdjer in the following manner:

1. Complete restitution of the pack camels taken from
the caravans

2. For each load of merchandise taken, one "amadjour"
camel for each man who took part in the raid and rode a mehari
of his own

3. One "aleggues" (a young camel of three years) or a
half-grown camel for each man who borrowed or hired the
mehari which he rode in the raid.

The arms of a Tuareg and the harness for his mount have 114
been described in detail by Duveyrier, and there is no need to
review them here. /57/

423 /67 cont. / interest in planting trees that he cannot keep. A constant effort at arboriculture cannot be hoped for since the gardener may change frequently, and the successor of a tree planter may be ignorant or unscrupulous and is free to let the planting fail.

423 631 486 Besides the cultivated land, the land through which routes pass has great importance in the Ahaggar. The whole of the territory of the Kel Ahaggar has always been divided among the different Tuareg tribes. Strictly applied oral regulations define the rights and servitudes of a tribe concerning its land.

1) Passage through and watering on the lands of a tribe is the right of other Tuareg.

2) No one may sojourn on the lands of a tribe without the consent of that tribe's chief.

3) Whoever follows travelers' routes through land belonging to a tribe is responsible for any damage caused by him or his animals to the trees, wells, foggaras, gardens, and game. Here are several penalties: one goat for a broken tree branch; [685] one sheep for damage caused /68/ by a poorly watched herd; a camel for damage caused by camels; part or all of any game killed. When a camel runs away, the owner is not responsible; he must even be told and helped. It is forbidden to put animals in a pasture where plants have not attained maximum growth.

4) The amenokal may sometimes authorize tribes to sojourn on the lands of a certain tribe, in case there is an abundance of pasturage on these lands.

The servitudes of the tribes are the normal consequence of their nomadic life, but the rights concerning the land passed through bring to light a characteristic of the Tuareg: their love of the land. These nomads, who should seek the most abundant pastures, whose every interest calls them toward the Sudan, remain attached to their soil. They observe regulations suitable for sedentary peoples.

648 Let us note that there is no agricultural exploitation directed by Europeans in the Ahaggar. The principal reason for this abstention is the meager yield to be expected; the reduction

1: Lhote--74a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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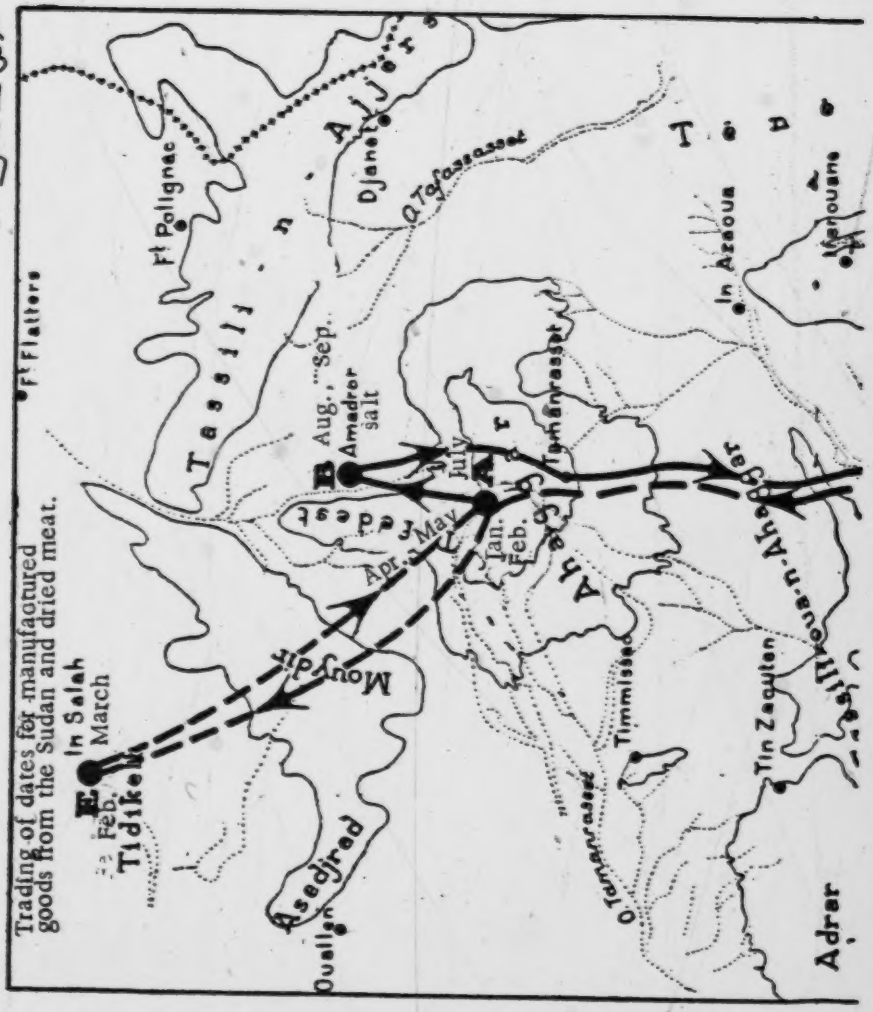


**Map V. Diagram of the caravan cycle of the Ahaggar Tuareg.**

A. Center of transhumance and point of departure of the caravan cycle. B. Center of salt extraction. C. Region of stocking of salt and of temporary nomadization. $D^1$ $D^2$ $D^3$. Center of trade of salt for grain.

1: Lhote--74b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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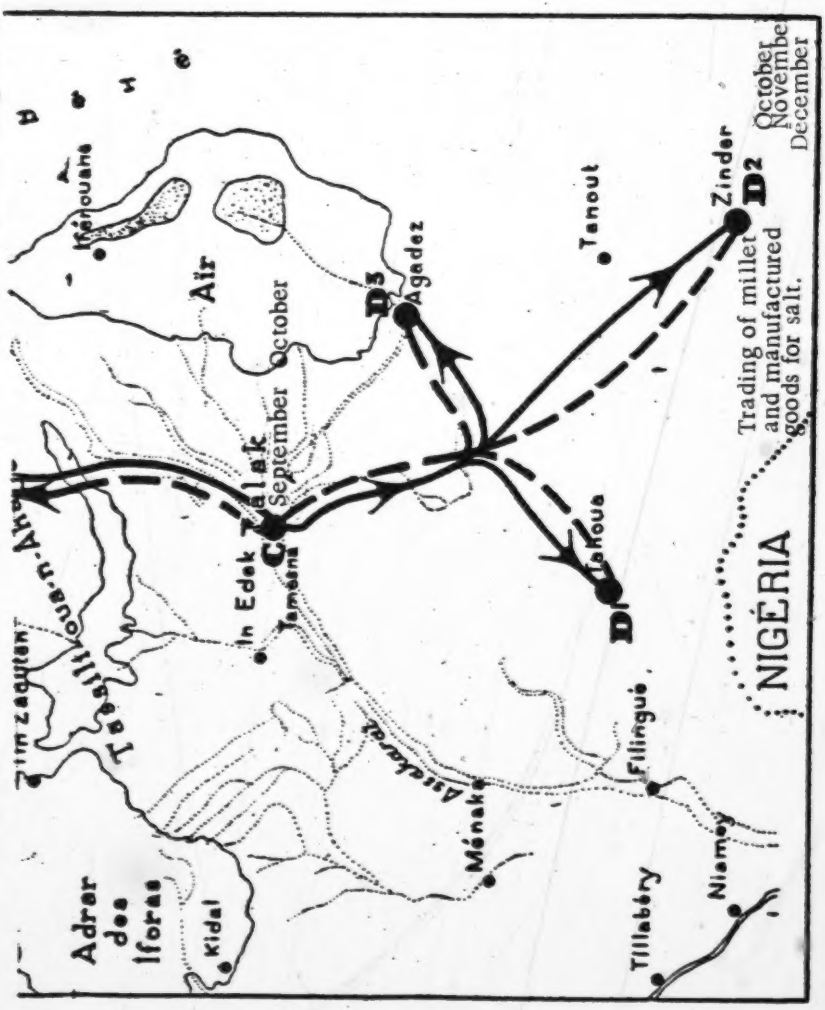


E. Center of trade of manufactured goods and dried meat for dates after return from A.

436 The ideal medium of exchange is the salt which [492] abounds in the Sahara and which is totally lacking in the Sudan. 439 Thus we see a caravan cycle spread out over a whole year and thousands of kilometers. This is all the more viable /sic/ for the Ihaggaren since it makes use of their many camels which otherwise might remain unused in part.

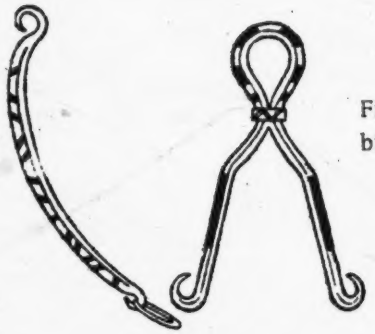

Fig. 22. Camel bit (detail).

317 The starting point is naturally the salt deposit. The mine /219/ is open; one [415] need only detach the salt in pieces and place it in leather bags to transport it. This labor is kept for the Iklan, who arrive at the salt deposits during the summer and [492] stay there from three weeks to a month. Each camel owner operates at will, and transports the salt to his camp after extracting it.

Fig. 23. Device for attaching the camel's bridle.

439 Toward mid-September, all the 484 caravaneers gather together by tribes. Soon they leave their families in the Ahaggar and take the long route [487] for the Sudan, crossing the Tanezrouft. Thus one may see caravans of 100 to 150 camels, but rarely more, for the pasture grounds would not allow it. The arrival in the Sudan must occur after the rainy

The subtropical zone is Negro country. The Egyptians were well aware of that, and they drew much profit from this distant neighbor. Their Pharaohs did not hesitate to send military expeditions to bring back gold, ivory, ostrich plumes, and human livestock! The North African inhabitants were not ignorant of it either, and soon the riches of the Sudan were a fact known by all. Great caravan routes grooved the whole Sahara from north to south.

Their trail seems to have bypassed the Ahaggar. We do not know the real reasons for this, but we can guess them. The mountain must have been avoided because of the obstacles it presented, its altitude and the rocky nature of the ground. The shortest trail which follows a north-south direction therefore cannot pass through the Ahaggar but can run along beside it. That is what happened. The reputation as brigands and highway robbers which the Tuareg enjoyed is perhaps not irrelevant to this turning away of the caravan trails either.

/311/ The great arteries which furrow the immediate approaches of the Ahaggar tie important oases together. They were able to prosper because of the fact that these oases participate directly in the life of the Tuareg and because the Tuareg need them to ensure their food supplies.

The largest and most frequented trail is the one connecting the oases of the Touat and Tidikelt to the city of Agadez. For the Ihaggaren this is the granary route: dates at the Tidikelt, millet in the Sudan. It takes 40 days to go from Akabli to Agadez, and the Ahaggar is halfway between. There is a mountain near the guelta /well? Ed. / of Outoul located 18 kilometers west of Tamanrasset which the Arabs call Ounous and which marks exactly half the way. This trail is, in fact, used by the Arabs, for whom the Sudan is an attraction. They gain very great benefits from these transactions, and everyone's dream is to be able to take a caravan to the Sudan, whence he hopes to return a rich man.

After leaving In-Salah the trail crosses the Ahaggar through the Arak gorges, reaches Lower Koudia at I-n-Amegel, passes to

487 Tamanrasset, crosses the Tanezrouft through In Guezzam, and reaches the Sudanese zone either by the well of In Abangarit or by the well of Taket-n-koutat.

From Agadez the caravaneers usually go toward Zinder, Kano, or Sokoto.

Another trail, less frequented today but which formerly played a very important role, is the one connecting the oases of Ghadame and Ghat to Timbuktu or Gao. This is the route which the Sonrhai pilgrims used to take to go to Egypt. It was then much more a religious route than a trade route, for transactions between Fezzan and Timbuktu were very little developed and centered around the gold which came from Bambouk.

The trail, leaving Ghat crossed the plain of Ădmer, cut across Ădrar Ănahef, reached Altoklane, Ăbalessa, and Silet, and crossed the Tanezrouft either by Tin Rerhoh or T-i-m-missao to end up at Tin Zaouaten. Then, crossing Ădrar des Ifôras it arrived either at Gao by following the hollow of the Tilemsi, or at Timbuktu.

It is by this trail that the Arab traveler Ibn Batouta returned home from Gao. He left the trail after having crossed the Tanezrouft and entered the Ahnet to reach Touat.

There used to be another trail, Ghadames-Ghat-Timbuktu, /312/ which completely avoided the Ahaggar and went from Ghat to In-Salah by crossing Tassili-n-Ăjjer. This detour obviously made the route longer, but it was much safer for the caravaneers than the Ahaggar route, for it was entirely under the control of the Tassili Tuareg, who were on good terms with the people of the oases of Ghat and the Touat. It takes 25 days to go from Ghat to In-Salah by this itinerary, and one months from In-Salah to Gao.

The road from In-Salah to Gao is still very much frequented at the present time, not only by Arabs from the Touat, but also by [439] the Ahaggar Tuareg and the Tuareg from the Ădrar des Ifôras. This is the "sheep" trail, the one used by the caravaneers who are engaged in trading in livestock on the hoof and who supply meat to

487 the oases of the Tidikelt and Touat which have none. Thanks to
[439] the wells of T-i-m-missao and In Ziza, the sheep succeed in crossing the Tanezrouft without too much suffering.

484 This trace movement is evidently engaged in only during
221 the coolest months of the year, that is, from October to April, and it demands great precautions from the caravaneers.

312 Here is a list of the wells, starting from Timeïaouine (Ădrar
484 des Ifôras), where the animals are watered, as well as the number
487 of days of march between them, according to the information furnished us by El Bak el Fassi, the Amrar of the Kel Ăhnet.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Timeïaouine (well, watering place) | | |
| I-n-Gezzal | 1 day | Ădrar des Ifôras |
| Efenargh | 1 " | |
| In Ouzzal | 1 1/2 days | |
| Tirek | 3 " " | Tanezrouft |
| Ti-m-missao | 2 " | |
| Tin Senatet | 5 " | |
| In Torha | 1/2 day | |
| Aleg'nenou | 5 days | Ăhnet |
| Tin Khalifa | 2 " | |
| In Belret | 1 day | |
| El Khenig | 1 1/2 days | Immidir |
| In-Salah | 3 " | Tidikelt |

Or 26 1/2 days' march.

484 /313/ Depending on whether pasture is more or less abundant,
439 caravaneers suffer more or less losses in their flocks. Sometimes this loss is complete, sometimes it is none at all.

We saw a Kel Ăhnet make the trip at the end of the month of April, a period which is not favorable, with 35 sheep and not have to kill more than one of them on the way.

487 When one speaks of a caravan trail, one must banish the idea of a route more or less arranged to facilitate traffic. The Saharian trails are simply marked on the ground by the tracks which the camels make, passing there in the same place for centuries. In the Ahaggar they look like a long, light ribbon running through the middle of the black rocks. The trail may be made up of two, three, or six ribbons which run parallel to each other, depending on its importance and the lay of the land.

Trails always follow the sides of valleys, naturally linking one well to the other and passing from one valley to another through the most accessible passes. They are never marked out. Of [648 course in some places there are a few redjem, a kind of pile of [312] pebbles to mark the passes or the nearness of certain wells, but [201] these are rare and on the whole recently constructed, for the Ihaggaren have always strived to hide the routes through their country from strangers.

In sandy places and in regolith terrain where the ground is always more or less transformed by the action of the wind, the trail often becomes invisible, and the caravan must then trust to the knowledge of a guide or a man who has already traveled over the road several times and knows it.

Secondary trails. -- There are within the Ahaggar numerous secondary trails which are used for local needs. They all go from one well to another. All the agricultural centers are connected by a network of well-marked trails which are easy to follow without any great knowledge of the country. There are also pasture trails, little routes marked by the repeated trampling of goats going from one valley to the other and winding around the mountains; the animals follow them every day. This network is unbelievably extensive, and one might say that every mountain and every [174] plateau is furrowed by several of these little paths. /314/ They are to be found in the most inaccessible and barest places, which shows that the Ahaggar used to be traversed in all directions,

174 in its remotest regions, the result of more intensive goat raising
487 and proof that pastures used to be more numerous than they are today.

492 There are very appreciable differences in the way Tuareg and
484 Arab caravaneers travel. The Arabs always push their camels in front of them; these camels march in a line freely, without any bridle or /head/ rope. The Tuareg, on the other hand, always advance in file, the camels attached one behind the other and guided by a man who takes the head of the convoy by holding one of the animals by the bridle, or else by riding it.

These different methods are imposed for two reasons, both connected with the structure of the terrain. The Arab Sahara is generally a flat country where it is easy to move about and where no natural obstacle opposes the animals' walking. In mountainous country, however, as in the Ahaggar, the narrowness of some trails, particularly going through certain passes, forces them to take precautions to control the camels' march, unless they want to see them crowd up on one another to the detriment of the baggage with which they are loaded. Moreover, pastureage also occurs under different conditions. In the northern Sahara, where the soil consists mainly of calcareous formations, vegetation is always diffuse, which forces the camels to move about a great deal, browsing from one tuft to another. Thus the Arabs have got in the habit of never putting their animals on a leash in order to let them gather tufts of vegetation which are within their reach, all the time they are moving.

In the Ahaggar, as we have had occasion to say, vegetation is, on the contrary, concentrated and sheltered in the valleys where water is hidden under the sandy alluvial deposits. Therefore there is no point in leaving any liberty to the camels; quite the opposite, they must not lose a minute on the trail but must reach

232 the ridge of the nose, and then tying a very thin leather thong very tightly around the base of each fold much as a string is tied around the opening of a toy balloon to keep the air in. After a while the thongs are cut away and three little round knobs, about the size of the end of your index finger, remain for the rest of the camel's life as a kind of hallmark of outstanding quality (fig. 26, *a*). Riding camels are very carefully and patiently trained from the age of about 2 years on, and the males are castrated when about 5 years old.

**Trading.** We have now seen that pastoralism 439 is the central column and garden rent a corner post of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar. Trade is the second corner post, and salt is, as we have seen, the chief article of export. [317] In April or May some of the Ahaggar Tuareg send their slaves to the salt mines of the Amadror for two or three weeks. In July they go south with their cargoes of salt, through the [481] rich pastures of the Tamesna region where they rest their animals for a while or exchange them for fresh ones, and then on to the commercial centers of the country just north of the Nigerian frontier. Here trading begins in earnest, late in October as a rule, and endless discussions and bargaining go on for a couple of months or so. Salt, and also camels, donkeys, and dates obtained from the North, are exchanged chiefly for millet but also for a variety of manufactured articles such as cotton cloth and clothing, leather goods, sandals, saddles and bridles, wooden household utensils and tools and weapons of iron and steel. In January the Ahaggar Tuareg turn north again, pause once more for a while in the Tamesna, and finally reach their homes in March or early April.

Camels, hairy sheep, goats, donkeys and congealed melted butter used to be traded in the oases of the Tidikelt and the Touat mainly for dates, and also for cotton cloth, thin woolen blankets from the Gourara, tea, sugar and tobacco. Caravans engaged in this trade used to leave the Ahaggar in January or early February and return in April. Over the last 30 years or so, however, this commercial current has been reduced to a mere trickle by middlemen with trucks who have gradually taken over delivery of the goods that caravans used to fetch from the North. The trade still exists in a sense, but it has become indirect

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 221]

[Pp. 167-220 not processed]

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*b*

Fig. 6. Sandy desert and stony desert. *a*, The Great Western Erg. *b*, A camel trail in the Ahaggar. (Photographs courtesy of OFALAC, Algiers.)

[photo a not processed-Analyst]

They have no numbers, and they do not use the Arabic 802
numbers. They prefer to make holes in the sand, and by this rather long process succeed in figuring just the same. A Tuareg, moreover, cannot talk for five minutes without emphasizing his recitation with dots or lines on the sand. If he is asked, "How many days' march are there between this point and that one, " he cannot answer any number without marking on the ground as many dots as there are days in his answer.

A Tuareg who has been made to sit on the ground on a [516
blanket, before he begins to talk raises the edges of the 521]
blanket /44/ so as to indulge in his favorite occupation. Certainly if he were transported to France, into a well-waxed apartment, he would be very unhappy and would quickly ask for sand or earth so as to be able to draw his dots and lines.

But this custom has its use when one wishes to have an 487
idea of the road one must travel. The Tuareg who, like all 823
nomads, has a very accurate sense of direction, will draw an over-all map of the route to be followed, with the wadis and landmarks which would be met.

The Tuareg do not have words in their language to denote 177
the days of the week. Those that they use have been borrowed 192
from the Arabic and changed. 805

On the other hand, for their months they have kept some truly Tamashek names, while others are definitely taken from the Arabic. Thus:

1. "Tamessedek, " corresponding to Muharram and which seems to be derived from the Arabic "sedeq" صدق "to give alms. " It is said that this name means "zekkat" ةكز , or "legal alms. "

2. "Talilt tassettafet" (corresponding to Safar). This 773
means "the black month. " Here is why this month is so 776
called: "Sidna Slimane (Solomon) was in command of the 805
genii and demons. One day when he was standing leaning on his cane, the "djinns" (genii) told a termite to eat out the bottom of the cane. The termite did the job so well that the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



there will be one entirely dry year throughout, during which stock-breeding products have little or no value as food, and in such years of dry pasture there will also be very few wild plants to collect. Hunting, which plays little part for most Tuareg nowadays, is also of little value in an entirely dry year when many game animals die or migrate to other regions with more favourable pasture. It would seem obvious for pastoral Tuareg to do the same and to take their animals to grazing grounds outside of Ahaggar – particularly to the southern plains where pasture is normally better than in their own country. We have seen that most Ahaggar Tuareg in bad years have their she-camels far from Ahaggar in the Tamesna plains or in the country north of Adrar-n-Foras. We have also mentioned that, under very severe conditions, camps of Ahaggar and Ahnet may move to these southern regions with their flocks, though extensive goat-migrations are not always profitable. But most Tuareg remain in Ahaggar even in very dry years with their camps and flocks. Some of the animals will die, and none of them can be mated so that the flocks may rapidly decrease. During such years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg live so to speak exclusively on agricultural food products of which they get only a part from their gardens grown by sedentary agriculturists (the *Harratin*, or *Izzegaren*). It is mainly through caravan trading that the Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their vegetable food products. Their two important trading expeditions to the Tidikelt oases and to the Sudan are carried out anually for the main purpose of acquiring dates and millet.

Trading with the Tidikelt oases (Awlef and In Salah) is based mainly upon a surplus of goats, camels, butter and cheese, and on dried meat. But many Tuareg who obtain large amounts of millet from the Sudanese trading expedition also sell part of their wheat grown in their own gardens in Ahaggar, and Sudanese articles bought during their south-bound trading expedition. In a dry year some Tuareg may choose not to visit the Tidikelt area as they have too small a surplus for trading. The south-bound caravans, on the other hand, are rarely prevented from going as their main trading object is rock-salt of an excellent quality mined at Amadror north-east of the Ahaggar Massif. Both north-bound and south-bound caravans will set off in autumn when the hottest season has come to an end, that is at the end of September or at the beginning of October.

The caravan route from Tamanrasset in Ahaggar to In Salah in Tidikelt is about 750 kilometres, and the route is rather difficult because pasture is normally lacking for three to four days of the journey. Most Tuareg who cross this part of the desert therefore bring with them large supplies of the dried *tullult*-grass (*Aristida pungens*), which also serves as fodder for the pack-camels during the stay in the oases around which there is little pasture. The journey takes about twenty days in each direction, and the north-bound caravans return to Ahaggar again already in December or in January. The traders return with their camels loaded with dates of which a part may be re-sold in Ahaggar (Tamanrasset), but they also buy European cotton and other European articles, which are cheaper in the north, and woollen blankets woven by sedentary people of the northern oases.

The south-bound caravans are very extensive. The towns visited in the south are Agadez, Tawa Tanut, and Zinder. The distance from Tamanrasset to Zinder is, as the crow flies, about 1200 kilometres, while the distance from Tamanrasset to Amadror, where salt is mined, is about 300 kilometres. In total the caravan journey from Ahaggar to Zinder and back again for many Tuareg amounts to more than 3000 kilometres. The south-bound caravans are organized as follows:— Slaves take the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 149. The market place of Agadez. In the front negroid Hausa men roasting small pieces of meat on a spit; in the background Tuareg camels offered for sale.

484 pack-camels to the salt pit of Amadror to mine salt in the hot season. They load the camels with salt
487 and bring them to the camp where further preparations for the journey are made. When the caravans
[317] have started southwards they stop in the Tamesna plains and rest there for at least one month to allow
the pack-camels to feed on annual pasture, and, if necessary, to exchange the pack-camels with others
[437] kept by the Ahaggar Tuareg in Tamesna. Thereupon the caravan will continue towards the millet-
growing towns and villages of the Sudan to bargain with the Hausa. The caravan returns to Ahaggar
[221] again at the end of March or at the beginning of April, so that the total duration of a south-bound caravan is up to six or seven months.

433 The Sudanese millet trade is of extreme value to the subsistence of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is partic-
439 ularly important to their economy that they obtain millet for non-nomadic products transported by camels, which are mainly bred outside of Ahaggar. The millet trade is consequently not much influenced by Ahaggar's changeable climate. According to official statistics, the Ahaggar caravans in 1946 exported 375 tons salt, and imported 720 tons millet, while the cereals grown in Ahaggar amounted to 197 tons (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). According to Galan vegetable food grown in the gardens of Ahaggar in 1950 (a bad year) amounted to 121 tons wheat, 5 tons millet and barley, and 4 tons of tomatoes – about 10 kg of wheat and 0.5 kg of millet, barley, and tomatoes per person (Galan 1951,
[465] p. 233). We see from this that the amount of cereals acquired in the Sudan far exceeds the amount grown in Ahaggar, and as we have mentioned, the millet trade is also important for the establishment of Tuareg agriculture in their own country where this cereal is used for payments to cultivators. It can also be added that the Sudanese caravan trade is more important to the Tuareg than appears from
[435] the figures above. For salt is much more valuable than millet, and for one load of salt the Tuareg receive from four to fifteen loads of millet – in 1946 the price was fifteen to one (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). It is evident that the Tuareg could not take all this millet back to Ahaggar. Most of it is re-sold

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



by the Tuareg of Ayr, the *Kel Geres*, and other Tuareg. The Tuareg obtain salt generally in exchange 437
for millet, but they also bring with them dried meat, and meat from animals newly slaughtered; and 439
although this meat is largely rotten when it arrives at Bilma it is easily sold to the oases dwellers who are yearning for meat. The oases dwellers have little to subsist upon but dates of which they have a surplus. This is purchased by the Tuareg, who get two loads of dates for one load of millet. The [178]
Bilma trade is less important nowadays than it was at the beginning of the century. In 1922 the Bilma [484]
caravans comprised about 7000 camels (Buchanan 1926, p. 83), while in 1908, when the trade was already decreasing, caravans numbered about 20,000 camels (Abadie 1927, p. 292). Caravans still go [435]
to Bilma to fetch salt and dates, but the salt trade is not so profitable to-day when Bilma salt can be [494]
bought fairly cheaply at Agadez, as the trucks bringing provisions from Agadez to the French administration and to the merchants of Bilma, take salt back with them when they return. The Ayr Tuareg 437
do not organize their trading expeditions within family groups or sections as in Ahaggar. A Tuareg [602]
who does not want himself to go to Bilma may let a kinsman or a friend trade for him with his camels. The payment for this is a large loaf of salt which constitute one sixth or one seventh of a camel load.

The Ayr Tuareg do not generally obtain salt from the pits of Tegidda-n-tésemt though this place 317
is not very far from the Massif to the west. They say that the Tegidda salt is not as good as 439
Bilma's. The salt of Tegidda-n-tésemt is purchased mainly by the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* when visiting the regions around Ingal after the rains. Some of the *Kel Ayr* who live in the extreme north [437]
(the *Kel Tédalé*, and others) occasionally go to Amadṛor in the north to fetch salt which is taken down to the Sudanese towns and villages. In years when drought prevails in Ahaggar these Tuareg take their 437
surplus of livestock to the market at Tamanṛaset, for in dry years the provision of meat, butter, and 438
cheese consumed in Ahaggar come mainly from Ayr and adjacent regions. When I stayed in Ahaggar [114]
in 1954–55 a great many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* came to Tamanṛaset to sell camels, donkeys, sheep, goats, and zebus, and also brought with them large quantities of cow's butter and cheese. The route 437
followed from Northern Ayr to Ahaggar runs via I-n-aẓawa and I-n-abeggi which are the only wells 487
between the two mountain massifs. Water is very scarce and so is pasture, which is mainly limited to a scattered vegetation of annual plants; over very large areas there is no vegetation at all. It is easy to drive camels and donkeys through these regions, while more difficult for sheep, goats, and cattle. The zebus easily get cut hooves from walking on stony ground, while sheep and goats suffer much from thirst. In spite of this, all kinds of livestock can be driven through the barren desert from Ayr to Ahaggar, even as late as the month of March which is extremely hot in the barren desert country. The Tuareg frequently lose animals which die from thirst and hunger during the journey, but the trade [435]
is nevertheless extremely profitable as prices of livestock are high in Ahaggar in dry years, while prices of European goods such as tea, sugar, cotton, metal vessels, and the like are extremenly low compared with the prices asked for these goods in Ayr.

The Ayr Tuareg, though owning more livestock than the Tuareg of Ahaggar, have a certain demand 433
of agricultural food products. These products are mainly grown outside of the Massif, for the farmers 439
of Ayr grow little millet, very few dates, and part of the wheat grown in Ayr is exported to the oases of Ganet and Ṛat in the north. Though these vegetable products can be purchased at Agadez, it is profitable to fetch them where they are cheap, namely in the Sudan (millet) and in Bilma (dates). And

565 /51 cont. / The most important agricultural centers belong-
621 ing to the Adjouh n'Téhélé are Tarhaouaout, In Dalag, and Tahifet. There are several subgroups: the Isanden in the Isernan region; the Kel Rafsa, Tahifet region; the Relaïdine, Tin-Tarabin region; and the Kel Hagalella to the south of Tamanrasset. The tribe's amrar is Samaalatokh ag Mansouri.
[651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is approximately the same as that paid by the Dag Rali.

565 The Adjouh n'Téhélé have an open character; they are gay
[157] and like to joke, but they have the reputation of being quick tempered and irascible.

The Aït Loen tribe is, like the preceding ones, an imrad tribe of the Kel Rela. It is descended from Takamat. These Tuareg are nomads in the eastern Atakor and sometimes penetrate into Ajjers territory. Their most important center is Tin-
[491] Tarabin. There are no roads going into the territory of this tribe, so their tents are rarely visited.

[162 There are about 500 Aït Loen; they possess 620 black
563] servants. The Kel Torha, Kel Anahef, and Kel Telerteba are the three subgroups of the tribe, whose chief is El Ralen ag
[651] Nissoran. Their tioussé is about four mezoued of dates to the Kel Rela and one mezoued of dates paid by the Kel Torha to the Tédjéhé Mellet.

The Aït Loen are experienced guides for going to the Ajjers and Ténéré regions.

[162 The Iklan Taoussit number about 600, served by 650
563] Negroes. They are nomads in the Tahelra, the Silet region, the Amded and Tekouiat wadis, and in the northern part of the Adrar des Iforas. They formerly belonged to the Imenanes, which accounts for their name, which means "servant of the tribe."
[651] Their tioussé is on the order of four mezoued of millet, two bottas of butter, and six milch goats. Dali ag Akoumaris is the tribe's amrar. The subgroup of the tribe which sojourns almost continually in the Tin-Zaouaten region has Khadida for chief.

103 /187 cont. / The French occupation created out of nothing
361 the built-up area which became a road center after the
621 creation of automobile roads from Tamanrasset toward In-Salah and Algiers;

from Tamanrasset toward Agadès and Fort Lamy;

from Tamanrasset toward Tin-Zaouaten and Gao.

Secondary roads of local or tourist interest were later opened:

from Tamanrasset to Djanet by way of Idelès and Serouanout;

from Tamanrasset to Idelès by way of Tarahouaout, Tahifet;

from Tamanrasset to In-Azaoua (not completed);

from Tamanrasset to the Asekrem massif by way of the Illamane peak (tourist);

from Tamanrasset to the Asekrem massif by way of the
[491] Imalaoulaouen guelta and the Akarakar. This road, finished in 1952, makes it possible to circle around the high peaks of the Atakor; it /188/ completes the one mentioned just before. Its route, laid out by the head of the Tamanrasset annex, provides maximum protection against the rains; it discloses a succession of splendid panoramas and ends at the foot of the Asekrem plateau after having crossed the strangest assortment of peaks imaginable. This road is prolonged in the direction of the Issakarassen guelta, then will continue toward the Hirafok agricultural center to end in the Tefedest.

[439] Arab and Mozabite merchants very quickly installed themselves at Tamanrasset, offering merchandise coming from Tell and buying wheat, millet, and butter from the Tuareg, making usurious loans, in a word, draining away the Tuareg's small supply of cash to direct it toward the Mzab.

The houses are built for the most part on the right bank of the wadi in the nonirrigable areas. Tamanrasset has no local color whatsoever, but the red tint of the exterior plastering, the cleanliness and charm of the streets shaded by éthel and adorned by geraniums, produce a pleasing over-all

578 643 692 to arrogate rights over vassals for themselves. There are internal disputes of the sort: "Who made you a count? And who made you king?"

643 It is particularly in the relations with neighboring or foreign tribes that the amenokal's role takes on a more national aspect, yet his decisions do not have full authority unless they have been approved by an assembly of notables -- the arollan -- composed of the principal chiefs of fractions and nobles.

/157/ The amenokal lives like the other Tuareg, and there is no ceremony surrounding his person. All comers present themselves [644] at his tent with no more formality than that. There is no court or court etiquette.

534 Only the tobol, generally placed at the entrance to the tent, indicates the rank of the host.

643 This drum is in the shape of a hemisphere, hollowed out of a tree trunk and covered with a cowhide with the hair still on it. The hide is held by leather thongs with the hairy side up. It may be as much as 80 centimeters in diameter. Two leather handles on the sides are used to carry it. For gatherings, two men strike it alternately with a camelskin drumstick (imîtkar). Only the amenokal has the right to have it sounded, which he does only on the most important occasions. Upon his death, his brother or his caliph is entrusted with it until it can be given to his successor. The amenokal does not go [492] far without his drum, which is carried on a camel led by a trusted man; when he gives the order to beat the drum, another meharist /man mounted on a mehari, or fast dromedary/ approaches to take the other handle, and the two men march side by side, striking alternately. Any warrior who hears it is supposed to rally to the call and at the same time inform the people he meets. In case of war, [202] the beating tells whether they are dealing with foot soldiers or meharists, depending on whether there are one or two imîtkar.

[554] When the hide of the tobol is worn out, the most renowned warrior of the tribe is entrusted to replace it.

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Plate XI

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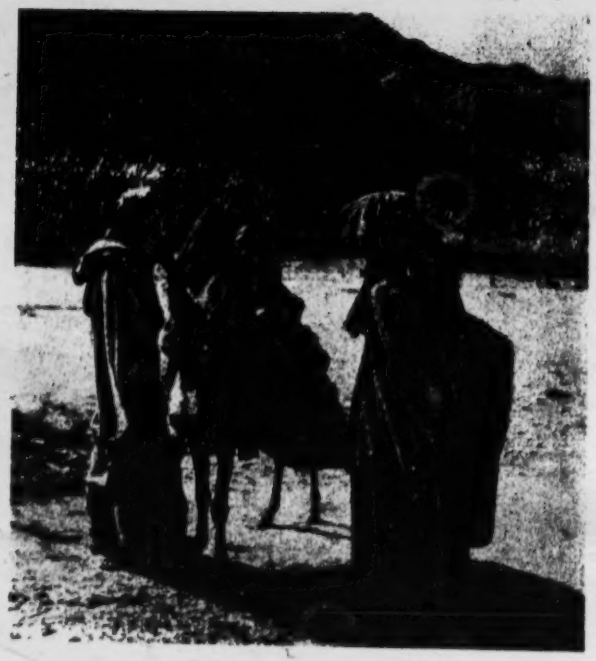
The inside of a tent. The baggage is hung from the tent poles. Very young children play on the ground, where a thick layer of fine sand has been placed.



Kel Ahaggar women, especially the Imrad women, often ride on the backs of asses. One of them has just met two friends, with whom she is exchanging news on the maharists who have gone far away.

579 In addition, they robbed caravans who happened into their country, hatefully ransoming the voyagers. Sometimes they 721 727 went to empty the granaries of the sedentary people of the oases or the Sudanese villages, capturing Negroes and Negresses to [492] sett as slaves.

439 When peace reigned in their country, they willingly organized /218/ caravans to go to the Tidikelt or Touat oases and bring back dates, or else to the Sudan to get supplies of millet. They also made themselves the protectors of caravans [486] crossing their country, naturally making the caravaneer pay a consistently high duty in merchandise.

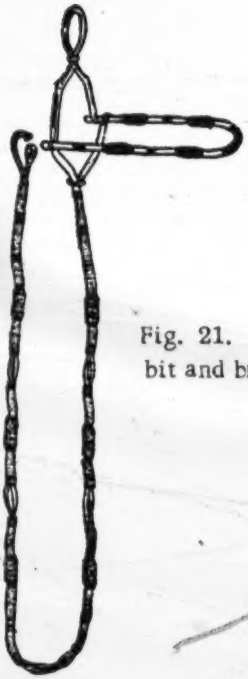


Fig. 21. Camel bit and bridle.

135 The Ahaggar has famous 182 salt mines in the region called Amadror which lies to the east of 439 the Tafedest massif in a large depression. They are an appreciable resource for the Ihaggaren, but manpower is needed to exploit them. Then, transportation and circulation demand a general state of peace in which the numerous herds of pack camels can be protected from possible surprise attacks [721] and raids. That is why the Amadror salt deposits remained unexploited for a long time before the French occupation, because of the state of perpetual war existing between Ahaggar Tuareg and Tassili Tuareg.

436 The ideal medium of exchange is the salt which [492] abounds in the Sahara and which is totally lacking in the Sudan. 439 Thus we see a caravan cycle spread out over a whole year and thousands of kilometers. This is all the more viable /sic/ for the Ihaggaren since it makes use of their many camels which otherwise might remain unused in part.

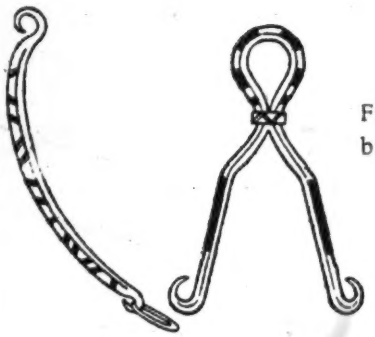


Fig. 22. Camel bit (detail).

317 The starting point is naturally the salt deposit. The mine /219/ is open; one [415] need only detach the salt in pieces and place it in leather bags to transport it. This labor is kept for the Iklan, who arrive at the salt deposits during the summer and [492] stay there from three weeks to a month. Each camel owner operates at will, and transports the salt to his camp after extracting it.

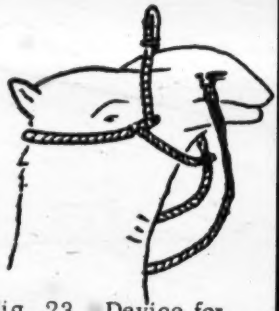


Fig. 23. Device for attaching the camel's bridle.

439 Toward mid-September, all the 484 caravaneers gather together by tribes. Soon they leave their families in the Ahaggar and take the long route [487] for the Sudan, crossing the Tanezrouft. Thus one may see caravans of 100 to 150 camels, but rarely more, for the pasture grounds would not allow it. The arrival in the Sudan must occur after the rainy

312 The question of water is fundamental in the formation of the
361 camp, both for the choice of its location and for the number of tents
182 to be included.

Water is obviously a problem for all life; it plays a role in the location of our small European villages, but this role is still greater in desert countries where water is quite rare. The existence of watering places is not only necessary for human life but also for the life of the domestic animals.

137 To this primordial condition of the existence of a watering
182 place must be added the condition of pasture for the domestic
312 animals. Therefore, we see that the establishment of a camp among
361 the Ihaggaren is conditioned by two main factors whose character may vary in time, depending on the seasons and the abundance or scarcity of rain. But in the last analysis the pasture needs take precedence, for, generally speaking, pasture is even rarer than
137 water, since it can sometimes be completely lacking. This need
182 for pasture forces tribes to split up and camps to be dispersed in
361 order to exploit it rationally. The situation is such that there are
621 rarely more than five or six tents in each group. Only the amenokal's
643 camp may number as many as 15 or 20 tents, but this is quite exceptional, involving the question of prestige and social order at the same time. Indeed, the amenokal supports a numerous family, his caliphs, his servants, etc. But this grouping around the chief is quite artificial, and the flocks which the people own are not with them but are /222/ spread out in the mountains, kept by Imrad or servants.

361 The camp is always established rather far from the watering
312 places, for it is preferable to be closer to the pastures. It is often five or six kilometers from water. The animals go there to drink
482 every two or three days, and the people use the occasion to get
492 their water supply, which will be carried in waterskins on their backs or under the stomach of the asses. Tuareg, moreover, do not like
361 to settle near a watering place, for it is always a stopping point for
609 transients, and they avoid making their presence known to strangers.

412 Each mistress of a tent has a little
356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses, and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,
492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are
[462] left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving;
[565] only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in moving only if it is a long trip.

/230/

## Chapter 3

## Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding
262 peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea, bechena (Sorghum cernuum Host.), a kind of millet cultivated in the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during
[252 their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in
484] the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong cultural-
[101] ly to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

174 /250/ introduced before or after the Christian era, it is nonetheless true that the ancestors of the Tuareg must have introduced it.

182 At the present time, human life in the Sahara, which is already of little consequence, would be reduced to zero without
233 the camel. This is a fundamental fact which has been amply demonstrated and which it is useless to dwell on. Th. Monod, who dedicated one of his works "To the camel and the goat, the vehicle and the container, the two sole conquerors of the Sahara, " (1)

1. Méharées/ Meharis/.

has not only been literary and witty, he has put the truth in a few words. Without the camel, no relation would be possible between the oases, no relation between North Africa and intertropical Africa.

233 One may therefore easily understand that the animal plays a large part in the life of the Saharian Tuareg, and that the latter make a great effort to raise camels. They have always endeavored to own many camels, and at the present time their livestock has increased to more than 10, 000 head.

[132] Although the camel has adapted perfectly to the Saharian pastures and terrain, it is nonetheless true that the aridity is such
[492] that he has difficulty keeping in good condition, and that a slightly prolonged march has to be compensated for by a rest period lasting twice as long as the period during which he was tired out. That is
[361] why the Ihaggaren nomadize with their camels on the borders of the Sahara in the steppe where there are acacias and graminaceae.

232 Ahaggar breeding is very famous. It furnishes animals which are resistant, very frugal eaters, capable of braving mountain rocks or marching for weeks on end over the granite regoliths of the Tanezrouft, something the Sudanese -bred camels could not do.

The Tuareg select the animals when they are very young, destining them either for saddle camels or for pack camels. The meharis are castrated and undergo special training. In speaking of

232 of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks
[272] exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their
family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is
[438] consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes
233 excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled,
[234] and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and
[252] sometimes tents.
[262]
[287] The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do
not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting
[232] them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact num-
ber of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon
[422] them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The
young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them,
and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used.
137 These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg,
have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier
cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass
hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal
had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is
nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the
[172] rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia
where they are called "onager."

The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible
233 that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihaggaren have
[174] kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had
[173] only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage,
• 442 and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also
[312] take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the
[357] heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

757 polished and whose other end is inserted in a small goatskin water
[413 bottle which holds the liquid to be injected. During the operation
237] one presses on the bag so as to make the liquid penetrate, while
the patient has his head down and his feet attached to a tree. The
[278] enema is generally composed of water, butter, and ground afasso
roots. When it is a question of giving an enema to a young child,
[855] the mother fills her mouth with water and, putting her lips against
the anus, blows the liquid with all her might.

/264/ Chapter 8

Dress. Adornment.

291 Clothing. -- The portrait of the Tuareg is now well known. Draped in a long, dark-colored blouse, belted at the waist, and with his head surrounded by a black veil placed in the shape of a haumier /?/, he makes a silhouette as majestic as it is mysterious
•[493] when he is mounted on his slender mehari. Hanging from the saddle, as well known as the man, is the broad antelopeskin buckler.

The Tuareg, even though they are poor, are very natty. Although they have only sordid rags, they always are able to wear them with good taste and to keep a proud and dignified attitude under all circumstances.

The costume for men is the same in all confederations. It is made up of: 1) a very full pair of trousers, drawn in at the waist by a cord of braided leather; the leg is nipped in at the instep /sic/ and blouses over it so that it sometimes drags the ground; 2) a big, very full blouse, formed of a rectangular-shaped piece of cloth, sewn by a stitch at the four corners, and provided with an opening in the middle to let the head go through; it descends to the knees

326 /280/ Silver is used to make jewelry--pendants, pendants for the
[301] hair, bracelets, rings, earrings, amulet cases, etc.

Copper furnishes a number of more important and naturally more
[492] commonly used
414 articles -- saddlery
articles, cavessons for
[412] camels, highly
ornamented padlocks
with keys, hair knives,
etc. This metal is generally better worked than silver. It is often
chiseled, engraved, and topped with applications of tin by a technique
[531] which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little
knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

Fig. 50. Hammer.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta
crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them
is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or
with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian
Arabs and the Sudanese.

Fig. 51. Blacksmith's tongs.

438 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms;
326 they merely repair them. Sahara, daggers, and
411 lances were for the most part manufactured by black-
smiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimmiden from
Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and
mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel
Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an
iron mine which is located beside the village of
Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally
not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the
[172] Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments
are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic
period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized
in the camps.

585 A new tent is prepared with all the accessories -- mats, cords,
342 tent stakes -- also new. Inside on the left side is built a little sand mound, oval in shape, on which the consummation is to take place. Afterward, when the camp is forced to move, this edifice is respected and stays in place for several months.

585 On the seventh day, the girl's father has the marriage confirmed by a marabout. Then, in the evening the fiancée, who
[533] has stayed hidden all day at the home of a relative, is led amidst a procession of women playing tambourines to the nuptial tent, where the young man has preceded her.

The next day the young people gather in the tent of the newlyweds, as they do during the days of festivity which follow the marriage. This meeting is called tigedelsatin.

591 The newlyweds live in the camp of the girl's parents for a year. This institution of "service time" /temps de service/ is
[171] mentioned on several occasions in the Old Testament and was practiced by the Hebrews. It means that the fiancé must live with his future family, or quite near it, for a temporary or permanent period of time. This custom results in temporarily restricting the
[593] husband's authority and assuring that they become acquainted and that the young wife is well treated.

587 If the bride has already been married, she leaves for her
591 husband's camp on the seventh day, mounted on a camel and accompanied by her friends and her servants.

585 In the first case, new festivities are held a year later. The
591 men and women belonging to the husband's camp go one evening to the bride's camp and simulate an armed abduction. The meharists who have stealthily approached then rush into the midst of the tents and utter war cries, answered by the cries of terror of the camp women. They surround the tent of the young wife and claim her as belonging henceforth to their family.

[492] /293/ This is the occasion for new gastronomic flights, and the next evening the young woman, wrapped in a big white shawl,

585 accompanied by her women relatives mounted on asses, leaves,
591 followed by the men on camel back, for her new home. There she
[592] is received by the chief and the old women.

While the married couple take refuge in their tent, the company carouses and dances. The festivities begin at sunset and do not end until dawn the next day, when all those present are exhausted.

593 The young women is then a member of her new family, which
[574] she will leave only in case of divorce or the death of her husband. In the meantime, she does not have the right to go visit her parents, but they may come to her camp.

562 Tuareg women keep a great deal of independence in marriage.
593 It is hard to tell whether they are faithful wives or whether they take advantage of their husbands' often prolonged absences to mis-
837 behave. According to some (Duveyrier) their conduct is exemplary; according to others (de Foucauld, Vermale) they leave much to be desired, and the wives continue to practice the light mores learned at the ahal. "Their unique preoccupation," says Dr. Vermale, "is love; having lovers is their only aim." It is certain that former lovers from the lovers' meetings continue to come visit the married women and to praise their charms in the ahal. But it must be explained that the husbands do not show jealousy, which would be in the worst taste, and that this courting seems quite Platonic. It is very difficult to ask questions on this subject, for the Tuareg are careful of their wives' reputations and maintain that they are above reproach.

As for the men, their conduct is proper in their camps, although some do not hesitate to make use of their women slaves. But when they go on caravans and arrive in the centers far from their country, they give free rein to their passion which a long abstinence has made more impetuous.

684 Adultery (aker) of women is often punished by death. The man does justice himself without anyone thinking to reproach him, killing the guilty parties by his own hand.

Plate XVI

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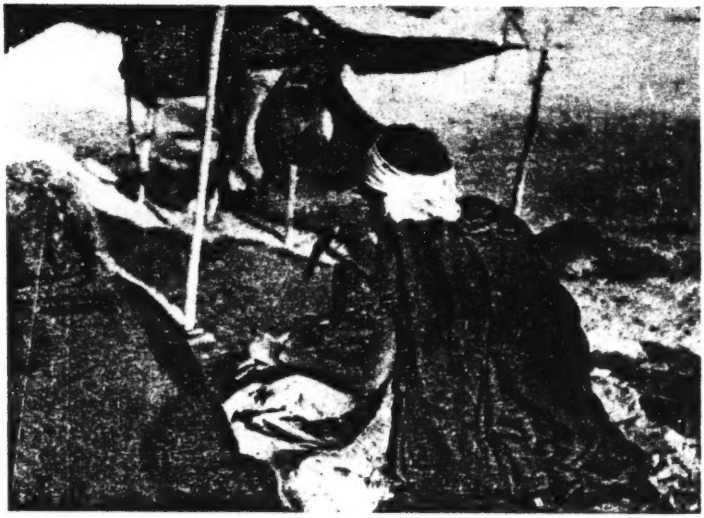

Settled in improvised camps, blacksmiths work in the open air making weapons and utensils needed by the Tuareg.

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The Imrad women are in charge of taking the flocks to pasture and water. Every two or three days they go to the wells, drawing water for the goats, who drink out of wooden bowls or out of skins used as containers by placing them on mounds of sand in the shape of a basin. They fill the waterskins which will be transported to the camp by asses.

174 in its remotest regions, the result of more intensive goat raising
487 and proof that pastures used to be more numerous than they are today.

492 There are very appreciable differences in the way Tuareg and
484 Arab caravaneers travel. The Arabs always push their camels in front of them; these camels march in a line freely, without any bridle or /head/ rope. The Tuareg, on the other hand, always advance in file, the camels attached one behind the other and guided by a man who takes the head of the convoy by holding one of the animals by the bridle, or else by riding it.

These different methods are imposed for two reasons, both connected with the structure of the terrain. The Arab Sahara is generally a flat country where it is easy to move about and where no natural obstacle opposes the animals' walking. In mountainous country, however, as in the Ahaggar, the narrowness of some trails, particularly going through certain passes, forces them to take precautions to control the camels' march, unless they want to see them crowd up on one another to the detriment of the baggage with which they are loaded. Moreover, pastureage also occurs under different conditions. In the northern Sahara, where the soil consists mainly of calcareous formations, vegetation is always diffuse, which forces the camels to move about a great deal, browsing from one tuft to another. Thus the Arabs have got in the habit of never putting their animals on a leash in order to let them gather tufts of vegetation which are within their reach, all the time they are moving.

In the Ahaggar, as we have had occasion to say, vegetation is, on the contrary, concentrated and sheltered in the valleys where water is hidden under the sandy alluvial deposits. Therefore there is no point in leaving any liberty to the camels; quite the opposite, they must not lose a minute on the trail but must reach

492 484 the pasturing place as rapidly as possible, and so they assure a strictly disciplined march for the caravan.

From this come the two systems of proceeding used respectively by the Arabs and the Tuareg.

486 643 648 /315/ Caravans which used to cross the country of the Ihaggaren were obliged to place themselves under the latter's protection by paying a toll agreed upon in advance. The duty went to the amenokal, but protection was ensured only within the bounds of his authority, which quite often did not go beyond the limits of his own tribe. And so the caravaneer was subject to continual solicitations from the people living on the land he crossed, and it was often very difficult to escape them. A guide was sometimes placed at his disposal and received remuneration in kind.

When the boundary of the territory was reached, the protection stopped there, and the greed of the Tuareg was so great that they sometimes did not hesitate to go pillage outside their territory the caravan they had just protected. This often brought on conflicts from tribe to neighboring tribe, but in the final analysis everything was settled at the expense of the caravaneer.

427 492 Sometimes the Tuareg rented out their camels. Some Tassili tribes made a specialty out of transport between Ghademes and Ghat, while the Issekkemâren agreed to rent their animals between In-Salah and the Sudan. They derived considerable profits from this work.

As a result of these continual deductions in advance, the caravaneer could transport only goods whose trade was very remunerative.

484 677 Caravaneers have a custom of placing provisions needed for their return in the rocks or in sheltered places. These provisions are left without a guard, and nobody would think of taking them.

439 These transactions are chiefly centered around tea, sugar, cloth, perfumes, hardware, carbide, and blankets from the Touat. They cause quite an appreciable movement of camels from which the Ihaggaren benefit, along with the Arabs from In-Salah who rent their camels to traders.

Transport. -- We need not repeat that without the camel the 492 Sahara would be uninhabited today. Indeed, it plays a capital role in transport between oases; it is the mount used by warriors and people who are moving and the vehicle for baggage. People would not be able to do without its services the moment it is a question of crossing a hundred or so kilometers in a region not supplied with watering places.

The ass also plays a big role, but its use is more localized. [312] It is confined to the edges of the massif, where it is rare not to find water during a day's march. The ass really assures all internal transport -- that necessitated by moving camps, transport of water [565] and even of persons -- for although the Imochar never travel except on camels, the Imrad /318/ commonly make use of the ass, and their wives know no other mounts. Its role is even more appreciated because it saves camels which, in the Ahaggar, must be submitted /only/ to moderate labor. In addition, it is always handy, for it lives near the camps while camels are often several days' march away because of pasture needs.

Meharists have a special harness: light saddles which are placed on the animal's withers and which are designed to receive the different bags of salt and waterskins.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have several kinds of saddles: 1) the tarik, with the pommel in the shape of a cross and covered with [28] red leather; 2) the tamzak, shaped the same way, but much more [531] luxurious, with the outside of the pommel and the back decorated with little perforated metal plates and copper studs; 3) the tahiast, [531] a coarse saddle with a palette-shaped pommel, either in bare wood [322] or covered with leather decorated with geometric designs.

492 The tarik is the saddle commonly used by the Ahaggar Tuareg, the one which is peculiar to them and which they must have known from time immemorial. The tamzak, which is a decorated variant [177] of the tarik, owes the origin of its decoration to Hausa influence. [171] In fact, the peculiar technique of applying perforated metal bands enhanced by colored leather fabrics is found in horses' saddles of the

[531]

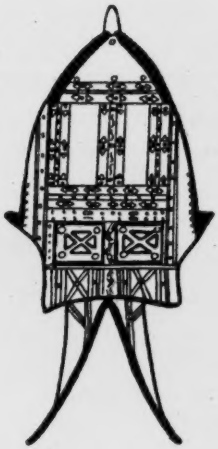

Fig. 54.. 1 The camel saddle called tamzack.

2 Detail of the back of the saddle.

Hausa from the Damergou, Sokoto, etc., and there is no doubt that that art, which is unrelated to that of the Tuareg, is much more developed among those peoples.

438 The two saddles are usually made in A'ir, indeed even at Agadez, but the old Tuareg blacksmiths manufacture only the 326 tarik. The tamzak is the work of artisans, who are usually settled 492 at Agadez and more or less crossed with artisans of Hausa origin. 492 Ahaggar blacksmiths make only the tahiast, which is the saddle 171

492 adopted by all the Tuareg of the Ádrar des Ifóras, which the
171 Chaamba Arabs also use, and which is derived from the saddle of the Moors of the western Sahara.

492 Ahaggar noblewomen, who travel only on meharis, have
[565] special saddles resembling the basour of the Arabs but without the arch covered in cloth. These saddles are called akhaoui; they
[322] are made /319/ of wood and ornamented with large pommels in front and small plaques trimmed with copper nailheads on the side.
[531] For long moves these saddles can be provided with a wicker cage covered with cloth, but this is not a common practice.

Saddles hold leather bags which contain either a change of
[415] clothes or food reserves as well as the waterskins constituting the necessary provision for crossing regions without wells.

For transport, camels are provided with a special packsaddle made of palm fibers which literally crowns their backbone. Most of these packsaddles are made in the Tidikelt. For caravans which last a long time the animals are loaded with about 100 kilograms, plus the waterskins that are generally added to the baggage. The servants, who accompany the animals and do not have personal mounts at their disposal, /320/ ride on top as excess weight and make the whole trip under these conditions.

[481] The Tuareg are very poor walkers and cannot conceive of a person's going on foot, even to spare the mount for a few kilometers.

Asses, which as we have said are used for transport within the massif, are provided with a little packsaddle serving as a saddle at the same time. When camp is moved, they are loaded with the tent, tent stakes, and bags containing food reserves. They also
[312] assure the carrying of water from the well to camp.

484 When an Amrid travels alone on a voyage, he takes an ass to
492 carry his water, his small baggage, and his blanket. Pushing the
[481] ass before him, he walks behind carrying his lance over his shoulders. He mounts on it only during the hot hours of the day.

177 In the last few years a number of notables, including the
492 aménokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the
643 Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them
133 to avoid rocks.

101 The Ihaggaren never travel on zebus and never use them for
492 transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

/321/

## Chapter 2

## War and Raiding

721 The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

182 When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those
221 present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were
361 most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to
721 spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

727 Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not
426 own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case
714

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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A Targui noble of the Ahaggar, beside his tent. (Photograph by L. C. Briggs.)

[Frontispiece]

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 235]
[Pp. 230-234 not processed]



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Fig. 20. a, Bey ag Akhamouk, heir apparent (and now paramount chief) of the Ahaggar Tuareg, with one of the last horses of the central Sahara.

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P. 241] Hoggar



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291
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a

291

b

Fig. 26. Tuareg of the Ahaggar. *a*, Camel Corps soldiers. *b*, A young noble of the Kel Rela Tribe. (Photographs: *a*, by A. J. Weber; *b*, by L. C. Briggs.)

551

Anr'eroubou, lion
Ahar, lion
Eknissi, hedgehog /4/
Akouti, rat
Amadjour, camel
Amder', giraffe, etc.

Examples of Women's Names
Tameroueit, hare
Tahenkatt, gazelle
Tinirt, mohr antelope
Tamer'ouant, cowrie shell
Tadar'ine, grains (of wheat, barley, etc.)

In the course of this study there will be found many proper names of men and women which might give rise to interesting comparisons with names used among other Berber tribes of North Africa.

The Tuareg child is brought up heedlessly, with the negresses' children. It is chiefly the negress who takes care of him. He lives out-of-doors, often quite naked or hardly dressed, and his body is toughened early. During the nursing period the negress makes a kind of hammock out of an old hatk, the two ends of which are fastened to tree branches or to the tent pegs, and this kind of cradle is called "taoulioula" (from the verb "eouilaouel" , to swing). 854

While he is still very young, barely seven years old, the child is employed as a shepherd and acquits himself very well at his task. 857

Then, as soon as possible, he is perched on a mehari (racing camel), for he must know his regular mount thoroughly. Young Harendou, an orphan of the Aoulimmiden /Aulliminden/, taken in by Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal of the Ahaggar, was already an excellent meharist at the age of ten. At his side he wore a "takouba" (saber) larger than himself of which he was very proud. /5/ [492 868]

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated; for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

their permission asked, even those who are far away. It would 584
be very bad to marry a young girl without the knowledge of one
of the members of her family.

Since a girl usually marries at twenty to twenty-five years, [582]
she is consulted. Even if she is a virgin and, as such, subject
to parental authority according to Moslem law, she is usually
not forced to marry against her will. If the case arises, she
has only to refuse herself to her husband, and he does not insist
but sends her back to her parents.

Just as among the Arabs, a woman who has already been [587]
married must give her consent.

## Chapter VII

## Marriage

Marriage, "adouben" ⵏⵓ ⵎ or "tedlout" ⵜⵍⵍⵓⵜ 585
has some quite curious features.

The proposal of marriage has been accepted. The day
of the wedding has been set. If a quite influential noble is [554]
getting married, the wedding /15/ will have many guests.
If it is an "amr'id" (serf), the celebration will be much simpler
and more private, but the ceremonies and songs will be the
same.

The men guests, mounted on their best meharis, arrayed
in their most beautiful clothes and finest arms, arrive at the
bride's camp where the wedding is to take place. The women
go to the bride's home with their "imz'aden" (violins) and
their "tobol" (drums).

If the women are poor they go there by donkey; if they [492
are rich they arrive by mehari, in their saddles which are 556
shaped like sedan chairs and of which we will find a description 562]
below.

4: Benhazera--24G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The donkey carries the waterskins from the well to the [312]
tent, and on its back is placed a packsaddle made of curved 492
pieces of wood bound together, which is called "eroukou."

Let us not forget the Tuareg's saddle, "terik," and if the master of the tent is well-to-do, his wife's saddle, "tekhaouit." /28/

The tent is divided in two: one side for the man and 342
the other for the woman. On the man's side are his saddle, 592
his arms, and the things used for eating. On the woman's side are her saddle, her "amz'ad," and the cooking utensils.

Custom decrees that the man choose the east part for his side, and the woman the west part.

A group of tents is called "amezar'" [illegible] , and [192]
a single tent "ehan" [illegible] , plural "ehanan" [illegible] .

000

Dautheville

Tent of a Tedjehe-Mellet
at Amra (Black Tifedest)

Chapter XV

Food

The main meal takes place at noon and is called 264
"tarout" [illegible] . In the evening the Tuareg is

It is probably because of this custom that the Tuareg 182 shaves his mustache and he finds it strange that we wear them. 291 302 On the other hand, he wears a full beard.

## Chapter XIX

## The Woman's Saddle

I think it well to give below the following description of 492 the very unusual mehari saddle of Tuareg women.

I had the opportunity to see one, of which I was able to get a sketch (see the accompanying illustration). /40/

It seems that many other saddles are handsomer, with painted wood, and they say that the beautiful Dassine suffered considerable distress when she learned that a beautiful saddle belonging to her had been plundered by one of the insurrectionists at the beginning of our establishment in the /Saharah? Oases.

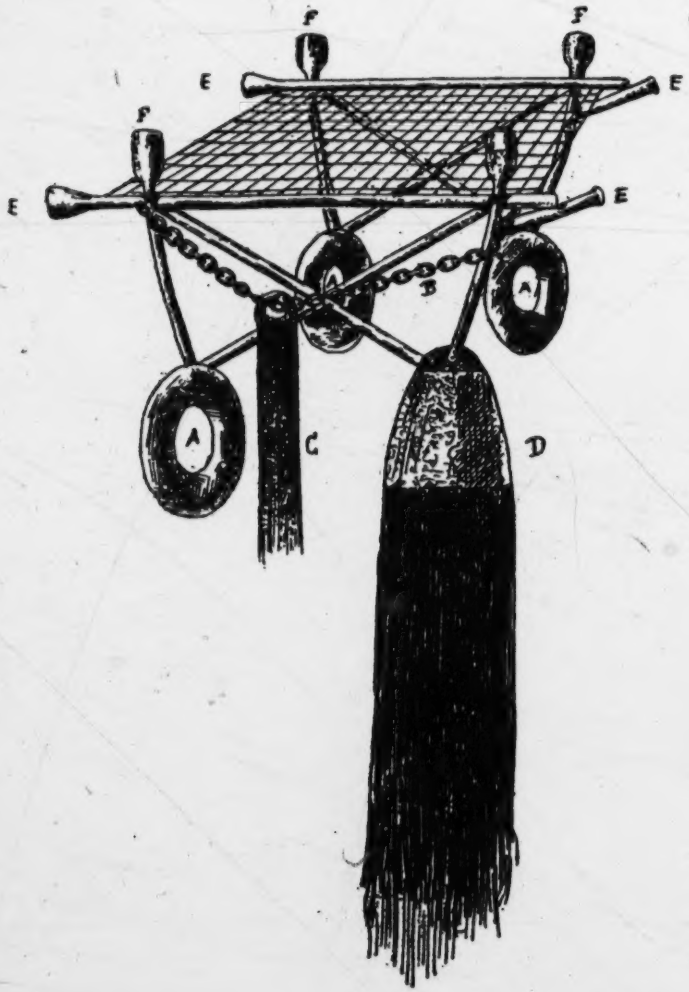
The woman's saddle, which somewhat resembles a sedan chair, is placed over the hump of the mehari without touching it. It consists of the following essential parts: a rectangular seat of netted strands, supported by four uprights to which are fastened four cushions with holes in the center which rest, two on each side, on the flanks of the mehari. These cushions A are called "afelledoud" ⵎⵎ ⵍⵍ ⵜⵜ , plural "ifelledad" ⵎⵎ ⵍⵍ ⵜⵜ .

The uprights are fastened to each other by two transverse bars on each side.

A chain of iron links B called "imetredj" ⵉⵎⵓⵜⵔⵊ goes around the saddle and passes through the ring of the girth C, which is called "ahif"

Onto the upright with the rear cushion, which is hidden in the picture, is attached an embroidered ornament which has hanging from it strands of wool or colored leather. This ornament D is called "tegarsim"

4: Benhazera--35a G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar




Tuareg Woman's Saddle (Drawn by Corporal Malroux) [41]

Extending the seat there are four small bars, E, one at each corner. Finally, there are four other small perpendicular bars F on the seat. 492

In order to mount, with the camel kneeling, the woman takes the bridle in her hands and sits on the bare withers of the camel (in the place where the man's saddle rests) and, in this position, her legs on the neck of the mehari, she makes it get up. When the animal is standing, the woman places both hands on the two small front bars, E, of the saddle, and, with a slight adjustment, she sits in the saddle, her legs hanging on the withers of the camel.

The top of the saddle is generally covered with a /42/ haïk which is fastened to the four perpendicular bars F, so that the woman is sitting in a sort of hammock.

This saddle is called "tekhaouit" ⵜⴽⵀⴰⵡⵉⵜ . The de luxe saddle, more decorated, is called "araguen" ⵏⴰⴷ .

## Chapter XX

## Education

One cannot say that the knowledge of reading and writing 212 "tifinagh, " or symbols for the Tamashek language, is a proof of education, for this knowledge does not have any practical use.

The Tuareg very seldom use the symbols for their language, and use them largely for little inscriptions of no great significance (of a kind which we will see later) on boulders or on the inside of arm bracelets.

When there are letters to be written, they have them written in Arabic, for they fear, with reason, being misunderstood if they should write them in "tifinagh. " In fact,

They use camel hair to make rope. They are fond of 237 283 camel meat, and it is they who supply the markets of the 262 439 Tidikelt with it.

There are very few cattle in the Ahaggar, barely thirty, 233 and almost all these belong to Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane, 492 of Tazerouk. They are used to draw water from the wells [312] into the ar'erems. The pasture is scanty, and besides the cattle easily wear out their hooves on the rocks and stones.

In the Koudia, because of the cold which prevails there 233 and the high altitude, there are many small turrets of dry 343 stones, /65/ empty inside, in which the Tuareg confine lambs and kids at night to shelter them from the cold.

The Ahaggar do not have a large number of meharis, and 233 they do not like to sell them, especially the good ones. Among [435] themselves, to set the value of a mehari, they say, "Such a mehari is worth two, three, or four camels." All their meharis are trained to start at a gallop. The Tuareg has great patience with the training of his mehari and never mistreats it. He confines himself to persuading it by voice and foot, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Tuareg mehari is much more silent than the Arab mehari.

The foundation of the pastures of the Ahaggar is aremmas 137 (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae). This plant is quite laxative. 233 So when the year is bad and drought prevails, the Ahaggar are found emigrating toward the Adhar'. There are fine pastures of "had" (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolaceae) in the south of Tin R'arhou, but there is no water. Moussa ag Amastane /66/ [312 intends to have wells dug there and has requested our help and 648] advice for this purpose.

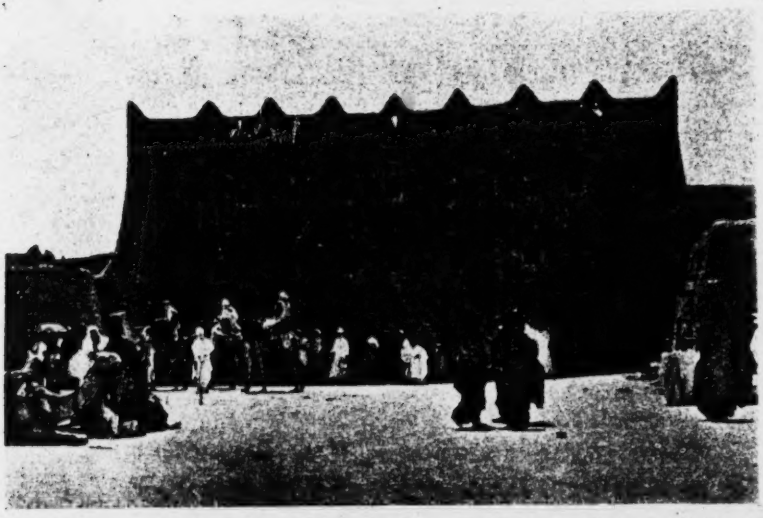
As a rule the Tuareg let their camels out to pasture with- 233 out herders, and they find them again at the well or by tracking, unless they entrust the herding to children or negroes.

/67/ A young camel is called "abal" without designating 192 its age. A camel in general is called "amadjour," plural 233 "imoudjar," or else "amiss," plural "imnass." A female is

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



492
644



[533] Fig. 4.–The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. – The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing [534] various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

175 of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief
565 had as his sole insignia a drum named *ettebel*, or *arazou*. The name of the drum
631 *ettebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is adressed by this very word, and *ettebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command. I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat, the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs. There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikhen of Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

175 The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but
643 they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:– From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission was given by the Kel Ooui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461f.). Jean who gives a more [114] detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of election (Jean 1909, p. 159ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food. 233 511 [492] [439]

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like. [234] [262] [291] [291] [283]

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temażlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. [422] [565] [114] 565 651 [421] [431]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Aggar



173 is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to
565 be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Ṛali and the Ait Loaien). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

[114] I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

184 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and
565 vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's
492 milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much import-
[234] ance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

184 Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects,
565 and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:– 1) In noble
[583] clans bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal clans one to three camels which may be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas
[422] true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Ṛali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble
[342] Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post – that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-
[614] breeding clan Ireḡenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed
[173] marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. – Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Ireḡenaten Tuareg met in Air.

342 Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently
184 referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. – Lhote

317 439 /64 cont./ waterless country would inspire legends; stories are told of genii which haunt the salt mines all night long, and this invisible and baneful world may be heard thumping the ground and ceaselessly breaking the salt blocks with diabolical energy. When day returns, the work site seems to be in the same state as on the evening before, and nothing seems to have happened during the night, ...and yet, "They were there." Some Tuareg claim to have seen horse tracks stamped in the ground and to have ascertained the existence of equipment for extracting salt predating those now in use -- which would tend to prove the antiquity of this mining work.

The desert contains other saltworks which supply the Sudan; to the west, Idjil and above all Taoudéni are the best known; to the east are the mines of Bilma and the Acedjerad, but among the latter the Amadror salt is the most esteemed at the markets of the savanna.

Toward the month of April or May, the Tuareg send their /65/ Negro domestics to extract the salt. Caravans of about a hundred camels advance by small stages toward the salt mines, following well-beaten tracks which lead by the wells of Dehine and In-Tarass (the latter is 40 kilometers from the salt).

The work is done as rapidly as possible, for the sojourn in those parts has nothing pleasant about it because of the heat, the lack of water and wood, and the nocturnal presence of the Kel es Souf (genii). The method of extraction is clearly disorderly, but what does it matter, there is so much salt! [492] The blocks are hewn with a kind of ax; two blocks, after having been tied with a chebka (coarse net), make a load for a camel. The small pieces are put in sacks (made from palm fibers) in 50-kilogram loads. In ten days, two men can load 50 camels, or about three metric tons of salt.

Then comes the return to the camps in the Ahaggar. Until time to be sent to the Sudan, the salt is stored near the tents or the villages. The custom is for the Negro returning

233 /84 cont. /Ewe's milk is mixed with goat's milk; the hides
[262] are also used in all sorts of leatherwork. Mutton is considered choice meat and is the preference for serving to an important guest.

The ox is imported from the Sudan; it is a zebu with the characteristic hump. It is used for drawing water in the agricultural centers. However, it can live in freedom in the wadis of the Ahaggar. The amenokal owns a herd which has gone wild: when he wants a beast, he must have it shot. The oxen eat the tahlis which grow abundantly on the rocky shelves of the wadis; they drink from the numerous gueltas. This ox is a sturdy animal capable of going from the Tamesna region to the Ahaggar across desolate regs.

Milk production is practically negligible, since there are at most 300 bovids /sic/ in the Ahaggar.

The hide is used to make the large dellous /skin sacks/ for drawing water and the bottas for keeping butter in.

The bull is called: "essou" (plural: "issouan"); the cow: "tessout" (plural: "tissita").

The donkey ("eted"; plural: "ietdan") is, perhaps, the animal best adapted to the Ahaggar. The Tuareg say: "It eats everything, green or dry." It is of average size, with a rather light coat and a large darker cross on the back. The donkey
[492] is used for camp chores; it goes to fetch water and wood. It carries nearly the whole load when moving; it is the mount of the women, children, and Negroes. Some travelers claim to have seen onagers in the Ahaggar; these were actually donkeys reverted to the wild state: the Tuareg, not being able to keep them near their camps because of the paucity of pastures, /85/ let them run free. Thus it is that herds of donkeys are seen in silhouette on the mountains or fleeing in the wadis as men approach. The donkeys drink at the permanent water points, and their habitual approaches to them are marked by narrow, well-trodden paths.

361 /93 cont./ To sum up the migrations of the Kel Ahaggar,
166 let us say that they extend in a radius of about 100 kilometers,
221 within the tribal lands, but that the men may lead the herds, according to the times, toward pastures 1, 000 kilometers from the family camp, and that an annual series of caravans sees them cover 15° of latitude.

The harratin cultivators are only sedentary on occasion; each year there is a large human movement from one agricultural center to another. There are three reasons for this: the Tuareg, owners of the soil, are no longer able to furnish the hartani with enough seed or to fulfill the agricultural contract; water bwgins to be lacking in a center, or digging foggaras becomes impossible; lastly, the exhausted land needs rest. It is thus that, from one year to the next, an important, well-cultivated center may become /94/ insignificant and even deserted. It appears to be impossible to establish a cycle for these agricultural migrations.

## Tuareg Furnishings

352 Lightness and flexibility are the two essential qualities of
492 Tuareg furnishings. All of these objects must be transported on the backs of animals; weight, therefore, is the principal enemy; moreover, it is easier for the animals to carry loads capable of molding themselves against the animals' bodies.
415 Thus we find a whole assortment of sacks, chiefly leather ones, in the Tuareg equipment.

These sacks are tanned in such a way as to keep the leather very flexible; but the process employed is suitable only for extremely dry climates: transported to France, the Tuareg leathers seem to come alive again, they swell with humidity, then give off a disagreeable odor, and finally become unusable.

415 All of these sacks are decorated. Some are colored and
531 bear designs put on with dye or are decorated with tinted

415 /94 cont. / leather, and sometimes they are even embellished
531 with motifs on cloth, accentuated with needlework in silk; others are made of natural leather, adorned with frayed leather thongs, for the main principle of decoration for everything carried on a camel's back seems to be to lengthen the lines in order to make them harmonize with the silhouette of this amazing animal. The decorative motifs are many but always linear; the circle, as well as the arc, is used, but the straight line dominates; there are no arabesques, no complicated curves; triangles, squares, rectangles, even trapeziums and diamond shapes are used. Red is the chief color for leather, but a wide range of other colors, artistically used, makes possible some pleasing effects; delicate greens characterize the work coming from the Sudan, pure whites are set in blacks, dark greens, and browns, different tones of yellow cover large surfaces. Then, slight grooves in the dyed leather produce interesting effects.

[492] /95/ The sacks are secured on the animals by numerous cords. These are plaited with goat's hair. Making all these fittings takes unimaginable time and patience. Such a task cannot be thought of except in relation to a nomadic tribe.

An interesting study could be made on Tuareg decoration, comparing it to that of certain Indian tribes of America; one thinks in this connection of the hypotheses advanced by Commandant Cauvet in Les Berbères en Amérique /Berbers In America/.

352 Here is a list of the various objects to be found in a Tuareg tent, undoubtedly an incomplete list, for the most familiar objects are the easiest to forget.

The woman, mistress of the hearth, owns her personal effects. The wardrobe bag, a large rectangle 80 by 60 centimeters at the top of which is an opening 30 centimeters high by 50 centimeters wide, is called "agherredj"; clothes are kept in it. Some of these agherredj are magnificent works of art.

352 /95 cont./ The other sacks belonging to the women all have the same shape. The "guerfa" is smaller than the agherredj; the "tarerrat" plaited in goat's hair is not seen as often.

The "adhaboun" consist of a whole series of small sacks of the most varied forms with a solid frame of plaited palm or sometimes of wood; small objects are put away in them: jewels, perfumes, remedies, etc. All of these sacks are generally closed with the famous Tuareg padlock, only a token lock, but always respected.

422 414

492 Rich women possess a special saddle called "akhaoui" or "takhaouit" according to its size, kept in a corner of the tent. It is an extremely curious assemblage of three types of wood (tehounek, rose laurel, tabrakat), each piece of which is chosen according to its use, shaped, cut, and decorated. The different pieces of the takhaouit are bound together with leather; it takes years to bring together branches that can be used, this work being almost always done by the women. The "haïf" is a strap /96/ that secures the saddle to the back of the camel; plaited in goat's hair, it measures five centimeters wide and three meters long; one end is adorned with an enormous pompon 50 centimeters wide and sometimes weighing more than three kilograms; embroidery in red and green wool gives a sumptuous air to the pendant, which reaches nearly to the ground when the haïf secures the saddle.

A richly decorated takhaouit has other pompons symmetrical to the haïf; these are the "tidarsiouin."

352 The feminine rug par excellence, which covers the tarraouit during a trip, comes from Timmimoun and is called "tagamdafest"; it has large black, red, and green bands, and, in the middle of it, tufts of yellow, black, and green wool.

415 Let us add to the objects belonging to the woman the "sendouq," a kind of small box in which sugar and tea are kept; the name, of Arabic origin, seems to indicate that it is of relatively recent importation. The "tesenit" is a palm-fiber basket in which kitchen utensils are kept.

492 /96 cont./ The man, when he is elegantly turned out -- and all the Tuareg want to be elegant when on camel back -- has a "djebira" (a large sack made in the Sudan) with splendid decorations in leather, dominated by whites and delicate greens. To save wear and tear on the decorations, the djebira is always carried inside out, but is turned right again upon approaching a camp.

The linen is put in a large dyed-leather bag decorated with lines: the "echchekoua," which is padlocked. The "tchekouat" ("dabia" in Arabic) is smaller, the "tesoufra" holds milk and is not decorated, for the dyes are not fast to moisture. Tea and sugar are kept in small sacks called "etfadoul."

The "tarik" ("rahla" in Arabic) adorns the corner of the tent reserved for the man. The camel saddle is well known; there are several types: the "tamzak," made in the Sudan and the most prized by the Tuareg, is ornamented with designs in green leather and has a characteristic cantle, the back of which is fixed with a whole system of metalwork. The "akoka" is also a good tarik, respectable enough to ride on; its black /97/ and red colors make it more subdued; it is also supposed to be sturdier. The "ta'ast" has no cross in front; it is made of decorated wood and is very solid; it is suitable for training the animals, but an elegant man does not use it for traveling. In order to protect the camel, the tarik is placed on two or three small square rugs, the "sadfar," measuring about 50 centimeters; they have bands of blue and white cloth forming geometric motifs; they are lightly padded with old cloth.

To adorn the camel, the Tuareg place a rug called "taouart" on the seat of the saddle; the rug comes from either Fezzan or Ghardaïa. The saddle girth (ha'if) is as heavy as possible. The "rezama" (Arabic) ("tarant" in Tamashek), which is used to guide the animal, is made of plaited leather [825] ornamented with colored thongs; it is said that a tarant made from hyena hide makes the animal go faster.

492 /97 cont./ For he who wants a particularly well-equipped animal, there is the "cascabou," a sort of copper fitting with pendants and little bells which is fixed on the camel's nose, giving the beast a proud appearance and classifying the owner.

The things owned in common consist of, first, the "abalor" used as water containers; these guerbas are made of goatskin or sheepskin. The "tamhit" ("mezoued" in Arabic) are used to carry grain. Butter is made in the "edjiouer."

415 We already know the use of the tendi /mortar/ and the pestle (iharen). Fixed or turning millstones called "tahount" are used near the agricultural centers.

The "terahout" is the hemispheric dish; there are several sizes. The "tesoukalin" are the small spoons; the large ones, often pyrograved, are called "temoulalt." The metal or baked-earth pot is called the "terrirt." Everything used for making tea has an Arabic name: the kettle (ralleye), the teapot (bered), the glasses (el kissan), and the tray (el tabla). The trivet is called "isseguida."

/98/ Clothing

291 The grand bearing of the Tuareg, which so impresses the visitor arriving in the Ahaggar for the first time, is largely due to the clothes he wears. The silhouette of the "men of the veil" becomes familiar. The fullness of the clothes and the lightness of the cloth, which favors harmonious drapings, seem to exaggerate the size of both the men and the women. European traders who give free rein to their imaginations are numerous; they speak of blue phantoms and indulge in comparisons as unreal as they are evocative. Here we must strip the Tuareg of this poetic aureole. Let us begin by the trousers, called "iqarbi" ("sarroil" in Arabic). Very full and not creased, the iqarbi has a hem at the waist which permits use of a plaited leather belt called "tamenalt"; there is no pocket. To make it, cloth 1.50 meters long by 1.40 meters wide is used. It is often made of black sateen or chegga.

412 /182 cont./ For the harratin, the maalmines make the hoe called aguelhim and the gheniet, which is a trap for wild sheep.

412 The Tuareg use wooden objects made by the maalmines;
415 these are mainly cooking utensils.

Akous: bowl for drinking milk. It often has small ears for easier gripping.

Azzka: is a very large akous capable of holding nearly six liters.

Tarahout: large, almost hemispherical dish, carved out in one piece. The wood is three centimeters thick. It is used for family meals.

/183/ Tarelalt: large dish with a fairly flat bottom; may be as large as one meter in diameter (rare).

Tendi: the wooden mortar.

Iharen: the wooden pestle.

Akabar: small mortar, sometimes pyrographed.

Tesoukalt: pyrographed wooden spoon.

Temoulalt: large pyrographed spoon (ladle).

Asseguefi: small wooden funnel.

Redjeredjaten: stakes for holding up the tent.

Tidjetouin: stakes with ornamented heads for holding the tent open.

● 412 Tarik (rahla in Arabic): the camel saddle. The maalmines of the Ahaggar repair them but do not make them; the most handsome ones come from the Aïr; these are the ones called tamazak and the akoka. However, the maalmines of the Ahaggar make a wholly wooden saddle called ta'st, sturdy and used mainly for training the animals.

301 The principal jewelry worked in the Ahaggar is the following:

Tisak: the ring, of silver. Certain models have the lower part made of iron. The height of the rings is impressive: four to five centimeters; they entirely cover the lower part of the women's fingers, setting off the length and delicacy of their hands.

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

492

3a. Position of the Tuareg meharist.

[p. 186] [left - see p. 187]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

492

3b.

[p. 187] [Right-see p. 186]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

•492

34. Type of saddle (taiast) with its girth (aïf).

[p. 222]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

291
492

42. Camel trail. Boubaker gives the Issalen (the news).
[p. 230]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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43. A stop.

[p. 231]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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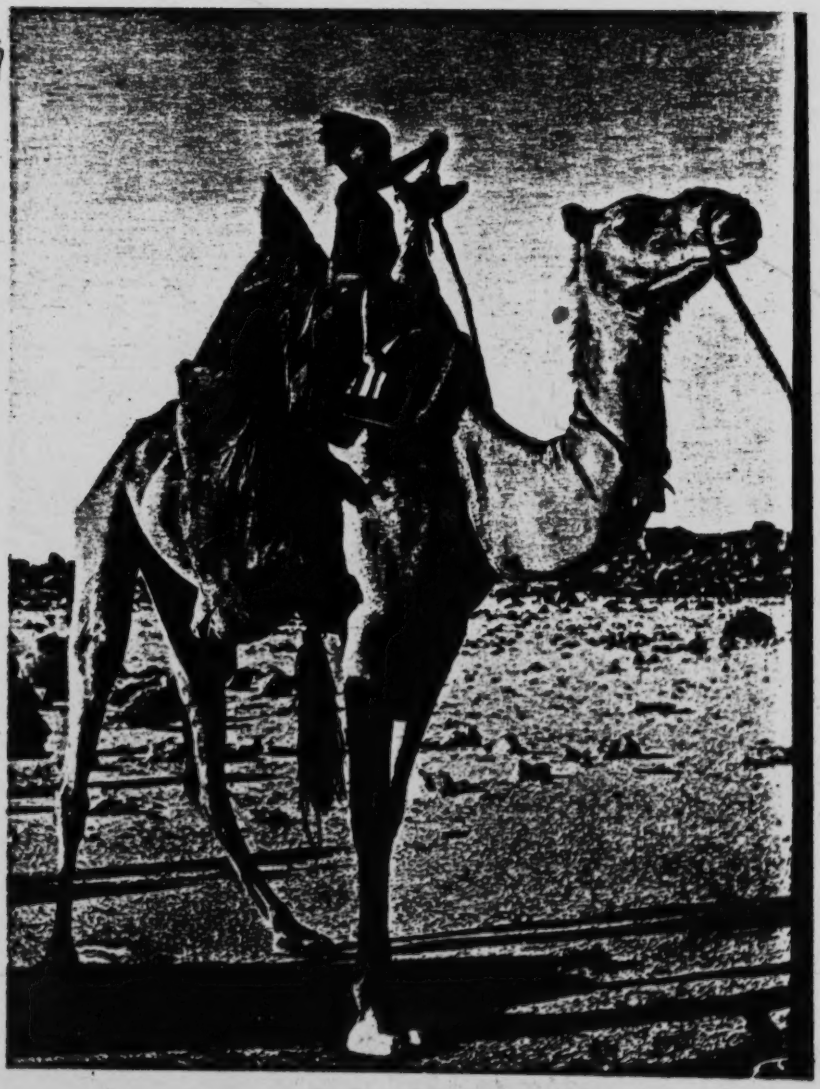

44. An infant Targui plays among the Dag Rali.

[p. 232]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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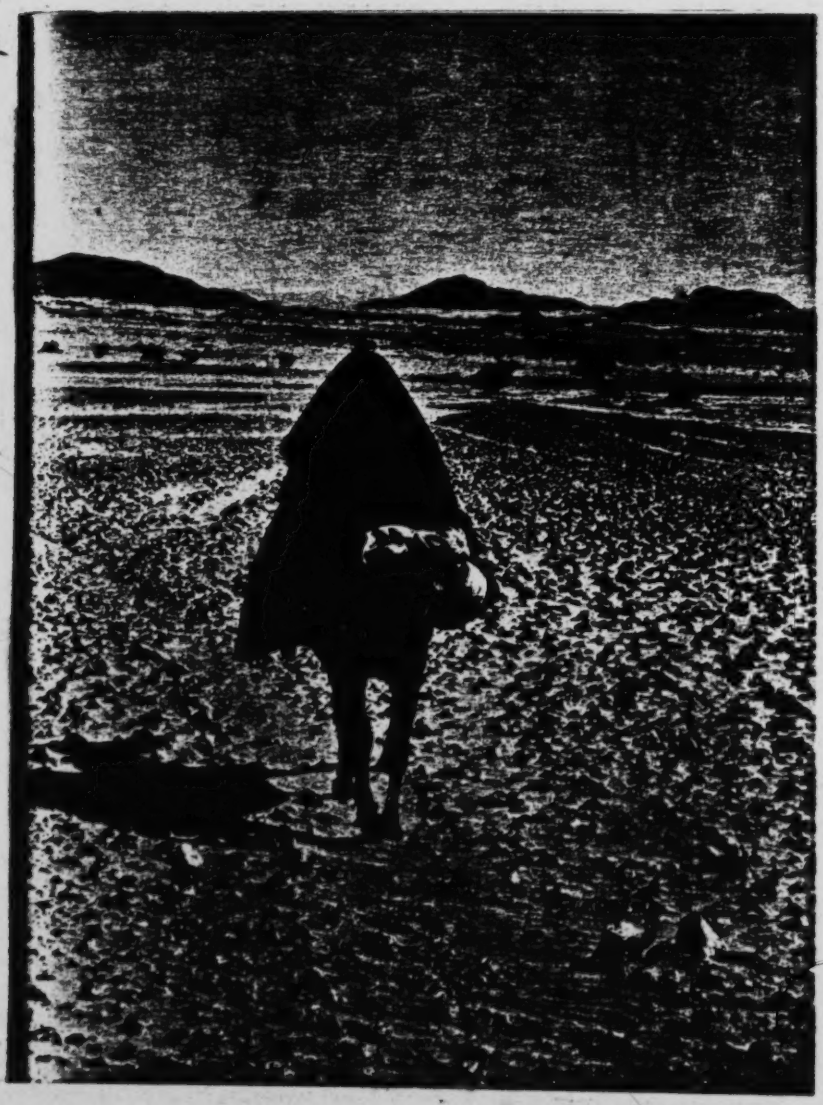

47. Woman leaving for a visit.

[p. 235]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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49. Waiting at a rendezvous.

[p. 237]

● 492

[For additional information about animal transport, especially camel-riding and riding-gear, see category 116, pp. 67-113.]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



These terms are used frequently in discussions of prices. Thus a blacksmith will claim that the price of an axe is *abuleg* (*adowal*) while for the manufacture of smaller objects or for certain repairs he will only claim *uzzif* or *éreyd*. 233* 192 [436]

By the combination of age and colour terms, if necessary with the addition of a covering to certain other characteristics, the Tuareg are able to describe the exact appearance of any animal. Goat-terms have a practical value in enabling the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. A few of the terms indicating colour and other characteristics in Ahaggar are mentioned below:—

| *Characteristics* | *Female* | *Male* |
|---|---|---|
| Black animal | *taseffefut* | *aseffefu* |
| Red animal | *tézeggek* | *ézegger* |
| Black animal with a red belly | *takahamit* | *akahami* |
| Animal white on the hind part, and black on the fore-part of the body | *tégehé* | (No term for males which never have this combination of colours) |
| Black animal with white colour on the lower part of the legs | *tazeburt* | *azbur* |
| Black animal with a white blaze (Foucauld, 1951–52, III p. 1194 f., states that this term is used for horses, donkeys, camels, and oxen, but he does not mention goats and sheep) | *tamulast* | *amulas* |
| Black animal with white colour on the ears | *tahreyi* | *ahrey* |
| Animal of any colour having very small ears | *tadermak* | *adermag* |
| Animal of any colour having no horns | *tabiyawit* | *abiyawi* |

[342 492]

Fig. 16. A flock of southern, short-haired goats during migration. The woman seen in the middle of the picture rides an ox loaded with arches of a barrel-vaulted mat tent. From Demerga south of Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



food or to sell them when they are five years old. Many rams are killed or sold at a younger age, and male lambs are frequently killed when half-grown, but the Tuareg do not kill very young lambs. 233*

It is well known from literature that pastoralists of Tibet use sheep as beasts of burden (several authorities; cf. Bell 1928, p. 116; Hermanns 1949, p. 84). Among the Tuareg sheep are not used for this purpose, but I have seen herdsmen attach their empty water bags to the belly of rams, which are very tall, strong animals. [192]

## CATTLE

The oldest African cattle is believed to have been a type of the *Bos primigenius* breed characterized by comparatively long horns. This breed was known in Ancient Egypt, and also in Prehistoric Sahara, where its former existence is documented by numerous rock engravings (cf. Monod 1932; Gautier 1908; Lhote 1955a, 1958; Erman 1922; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 142 f.). It seems as if cattle of this particular type was found in parts of North Africa even in antiquity (Bates 1914, p. 95 f.), and we can adequately quote Faulkner & Epstein on the former distribution of humpless longhorn cattle in the north: "All along the shores of the Mediterranean, from Palestine through Egypt to North West Africa, and from Asia Minor through the Balkans to the Appenine and Iberian peninsulas, an ancient stratum of longhorn cattle can be traced, extending to the north and south as far as Mediterranean man or his culture spread" (Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 143). *Bos primigenius* cattle are still found in certain parts of Africa. It is known in isolated regions of the Western Sudan – notably in Guinea and Liberia (cf. Doutressoulle 1947, p. 79 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 87 ff.; Johsi, McLaughlin & Phillips 1957, p. 118 ff.). It is perhaps this breed to which Maqrizi refers in his description of the Beja (Maqrizi, p. 561). The very special thick-horned Lake Tchad breed is probably to be considered a *Bos primigenius* type (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 88 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, 233* 174 233* 171

233*

Fig. 26. Young ram of the hairy *Ovis longipes* breed. Ahaggar.

[text continues on p. 49]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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361

Fig. 27. Zebu ox of the long-horned Fulani breed. Ayr, Agadez.

*233
291
● 492

Fig. 28. *Hartani* boy riding a young ox. Ahaggar, Tamanraset.

p. 93 ff.), and this seems to be true partly also of the so-called Watusi-cattle and related breeds, which have been mixed with zebu-cattle and therefore frequently have well developed humps (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 10 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 148 ff.; Johsi, McLaughlin & Phillips 1957, p. 146, 178, 259). 233* 171

Adametz believes that zebus were introduced into Africa from Northern India about 2000 B.C. (Adametz 1920, p. 10 ff.). Nowadays Zebus no doubt form the most important types of cattle in Africa, and Tuareg cattle are of the zebu type. The West African zebus fall into a number of sub-breeds described in detail by Doutressoulle. The zebu type found in Ayr and adjacent regions and also introduced into Northern Tuareg country is known as the *Azawaq* breed (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 102 ff.). In Southern Ayr, which nowadays has a fairly large population of pastoral Fulani, a particular type of zebu is also very common. This zebu is characterized by very high stature and extremely long horns often resembling the form of a lyre (Fig. 27). This breed is named Borodji, Bororo, or M'Bororo. The Fulani zebu is esteemed by certain Ayr Tuareg because of its fatter milk, but it is claimed that its meat is not so delicious as that of their own cattle. 233* 174 262

Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer do not breed cattle (zebus), which do not thrive in their barren countries where pastures of annual plants do not regenerate annually. An attempt to breed zebus among the pastoral Ahaggar Tuareg some years ago failed, and zebus are nowadays found only among settled agriculturists who use these animals as draught-animals at irrigation wells (p. 189; Fig. 132 a–b). A few agriculturists also have cows to raise calves, and to utilize their milk. It is comparatively easy for settled agriculturists of Ahaggar to keep cattle. In dry years, and when pasture is scarce and dry in the hot season, cattle can be fed on vegetables and the straw of certain plants grown in the garden. It can also be mentioned that many agriculturists live in the very broad river valleys of lower Ahaggar where water is not very deep under the sand, and at some agricultural settlements there are even permanent springs. In such places (e.g., the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel) there are even in dry years fresh grazing of a few permanent plants suited to cattle, notably the four following species:— *tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*), *tésengelt* (*Saccharum Ravennae*), *ilegga* (sing. *aleggi*) (*Scirpus Holoschoenus*), and *taysest* (*Eragrostis bipinnata*). The regeneration of these plants is not dependent upon annual rainfall, for the soil is always sufficiently humid for their annual regeneration. Therefore it is very common in Ahaggar (e.g., at Abalessa and at Amsel) to burn down the old dry plants late in winter so that new fresh plants can germinate in spring. This method of renewing pasture by the burning down of old dry plants is not generally possible in desert countries. In Ahaggar it is practised only for the four above mentioned species within very limited humid areas, and the method is said to be entirely unknown in Ayr. 361 137 824

The Ahaggar agriculturists who possess oxen very frequently use these animals for riding, sitting on the hind part of the animals which are kept under control by means of a rein (*tazerkit*) placed through their nostrils, or by means of a halter. No saddle is used apart from a casual piece of cotton, or a blanket (Fig. 28). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer, it is said, the settled farmers have no cows but only bulls and oxen to be used at irrigation wells, and these animals are not used for riding as in Ahaggar. 492

The zebus found in the settlements of northern agriculturists are all introduced from the south where conditions for ox-breeding are much more favourable. Many, and perhaps most, northern zebus have come from Ayr from which region they are still introduced to Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



yield decreases to about two litres (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 104). It should be added that, as for other domestic animals, the daily yield of milk depends very much on the conditions of pastures, and cows always yield little milk when pastures are dry – even at the beginning of their lactation period. 234

Bulls are frequently castrated two or three years old to be used for riding and transportation. Oxen are used for this purpose particularly among the Tuareg of the plains towards the south and west, while most pastoralists of the Massif almost exclusively use donkeys and camels. Oxen are ridden without a saddle. The rider sits on the back of the animal which is covered with a blanket or a piece of cotton as in Ahaggar. The animals have a cord (*asabar*) placed through their nostrils, but plaited halters (*amerar*) are also used for riding oxen. 492 [232] [184]

The Tuareg have terms to cover the age and sex of their cattle, and they also have a certain number of colour terms; but they say that there are very few colour terms for cattle (about ten terms according to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group). They explain this lack of colour terms by the fact that cattle did not play any important rôle to their subsistence in the past. Cattle do not respond to their names, but some of them will come to the camp on the utterance of a certain cry (cf. p. 135). 233* 192 [433] [178]

233* [283] →

Fig. 31. Zebu calf with a pronged stick (*tabellut*) put through its nostrils to prevent sucking. Ayr, the *Isakaramen* tribe.
Fig. 32. Muzzle (*akimbab*) to wean zebu calves. The muzzle is made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*) which form a frame covered with cords of *tamat* bast and with cotton strips. It is fastened to the head of a calf with a piece of cord plaited of goat's hair, and the attachment is done in such a way that the calf can graze without difficulty though it cannot suck. Tamesna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Iregenaten* tribe. Dimension: 0.17–0.19 m high. (N. M. G. 6661). [824]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



## CAMELS

*233 [433] [171] Camels are very important domestic animals in all Tuareg groups, and they also play a great part in the subsistence of most Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. The common Arab camel breed, which is known to the Tuareg as *marroki*, is also found in Northern Tuareg country – particularly among the *Kel Ajjer*. It is heavily built and is extremely well fitted for transportation. It is a very strong breed in spite of its relatively low stature, and it has large feet which is considered an eminent quality for pack camels. This *marroki* camel has a thick cover of wool on the hump and on the [illegible] part of the body, while Tuareg camels, which are of higher stature and more elegantly built, in general have little or no wool, but only a short coat of hair much like that of cows and horses. Tuareg camels may have long hairs around the hump but true Tuareg camels have no proper coat of wool. Though the *marroki* breed is excellent for transportation and is considered a better milch-animal than the southern Tuareg breed, the Tuareg generally prefer their own elegantly built camels, and they look down upon the heavily built camels of the north. However, as mentioned, there are some *marroki*

*233 ●492 291 133

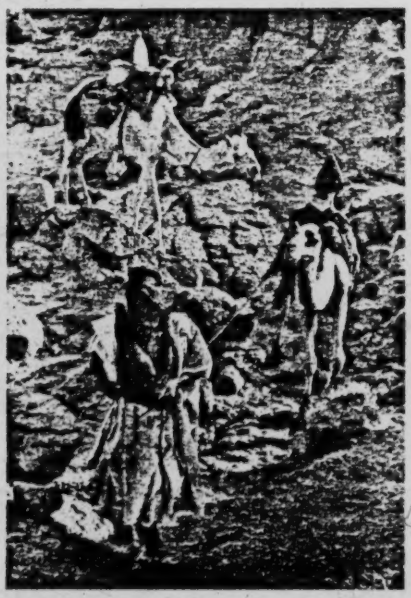

**Fig. 33. Tuareg with riding camels. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tekki* tribe.**

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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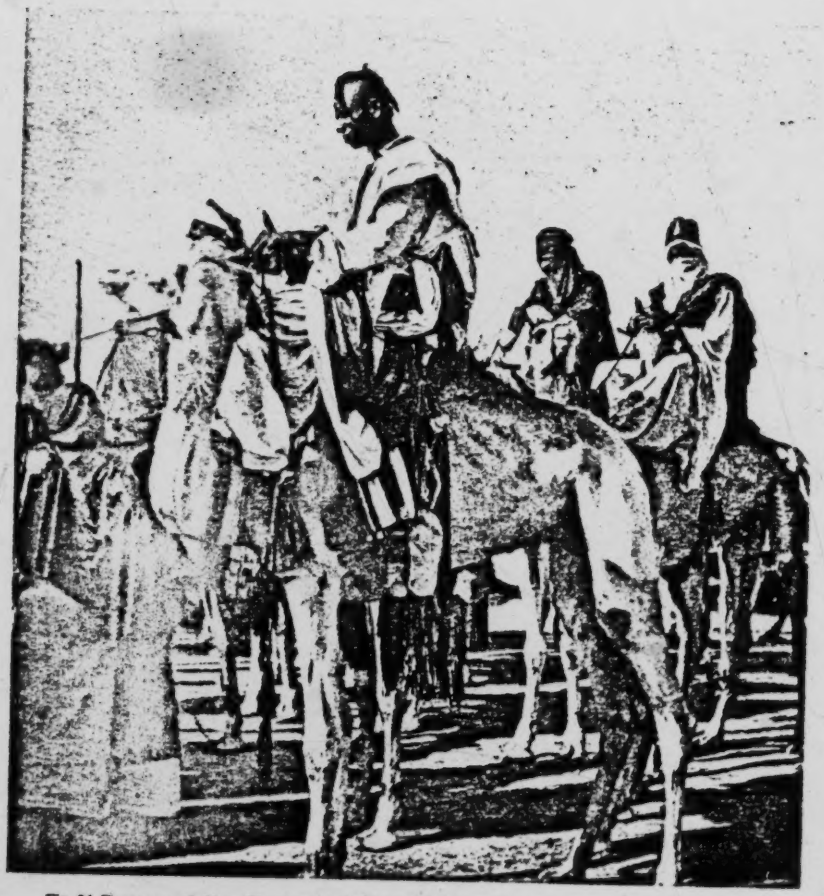

**Fig. 34. Tuareg camel riders.** The young man seen in the front has not yet adopted the veil. Ayr, Agadez.

camels among the Northern Tuareg, as there are cross-breeds between camels of this type and Tuareg 233*
camels. There are also to-day some Tuareg camels among Arab pastoralists of the Sahara, but I was [17]
told among *Ulad Ba Hammu* Arabs that originally all their camels were of the *marroki* type, while
camels of the southern Tuareg breed were introduced among them more recently. I have not been [14]
able to prove or to refute Cauvet's theory that northern and southern camel-breeds differ in dentition

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*233
●492
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Fig. 43. Riding camel with *ikembar*, that is scars from cuts on the bridge of the nose and a hanging patch of skin under the chin. An ornamented leather rein (*tarant*, or *trézem*) is fastened to the copper ring (*tigemt*, or *tigemt*) of the right nostril. The camel's colour name is *aberog*. It was my own riding camel – a precious gift from Professor Daryll Forde of the University College London. – Ayr.

262 if they had to eat the meat of camels. I have also been told that all members of certain tribes (e.g.,
261 the *Ikezkezen*) will refuse to eat any food served in a receptacle which has once contained camel's meat.

262 I have never heard about Tuareg in the two northern groups who would not eat camel's meat, though most Tuareg in the north consider meat of sheep and goats superior to camel's meat. People of all tribes in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer will eat it, and there seems to be a certain prestige attached

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



When Tuareg get lost in the desert and lack water, they bleed their camels and 261
drink the blood (cf. p. 235). In situations of great distress they may also kill their camels in order to obtain the water supply conserved in the animal's stomach.

(3) Treatment by burning. Wounds are cauterized by means of a redhot iron known as *tamak* 232
(Ayr), or *taterkemt* (Ahaggar). Burning with a redhot iron is also practised for camels with swollen feet as already described (p. 121). It is also common to burn a line around wounds or other sites of disease in order that it shall not spread, and burning is even practised for internal diseases, as is the case with the *toza*-disease of camels (p. 121). Redhot irons are, on the whole, used particularly for camels. Wounds of sheep and goats, e.g., wounds from jackal bites, are cauterized by means of glowing camel dung. Certain stomach diseases, such as types of tympanites, are cured by a bunch of flaming grass swept under the animal's belly. I have seen this practised with donkeys which, like horses, may suffer from a kind of tympanites known in Ahaggar as *tahagá*.

(4) Instruments and bandages. Enema should be mentioned under this heading. It is known in 232
Ahaggar as *sebeğiwen*, and is applied to humans and to animals by means of a funnel or by a special 757
apparatus made from a piece of hollow cane connected with a skin-bag. I never had the opportunity [213]
to see this apparatus, which is depicted by Lhote who also gives some information about the use of enemas with human beings (Lhote 1955a, p. 303, Fig. 36). He mentions that an enema is also given by a mother to her little children by blowing water into the anus with her mouth. I have seen this done to children in Ahaggar, but I do not know whether this method is practised with animals also. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the Tuareg apply wooden splints to their domestic animals with broken 232
legs. I have seen this device only in Ahaggar where wooden splints are known as *tifesasin* (sing. *tafasast*). They are used for sheep and goats (Fig. 92), and, by the sedentary agriculturists, also for cows. The wooden splints applied to goats are sometimes replaced by a leather bandage solidly tied [237]
around the broken leg. I mention under this heading that camels bred and born in stony or mountainous 492
countries cannot always stand the long journeys through plain and sandy deserts. Their feet suffer

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Fig. 93. Tuareg bleeding a camel at the place of the neck vein known as *abayoy*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 94. Tuareg operating a camel's foreleg with a knife. Northern Ayr, the *Kel Tédalé*.

492 from the constant friction against the sand, and it may become necessary to provide the animals with leather shoes, that is pieces of ox-skin sewn around the hoofs. These leather shoes are known to [163] the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tissal* (sing. *tasselt*). Their appearance is excellently depicted by Lhote (Lhote 1951b, photographs p. 224).

232 824 (5) Medical treatment which forms an important part of Tuareg veterinary knowledge. I have mentioned in the description of camel diseases the use of certain plants for the external treatment of scabies. The Tuareg also use various plants for drugs. Seeds of certain annual plants are mixed with milk and given to goats and sheep which suffer from stomach-diseases. Leaves of various plants are also considered laxatives. The Tuareg know many drugs made from wild plants, and they are aware that there are several wild plants that are dangerous to domestic animals. A very dangerous venomous plant is *élel* (*Nerium oleander*) which is extremely common in the higher parts of Ahaggar. It contains a kind of strychnine, and camels which eat *Nerium* leaves will die from this poison. The Tuareg say that camels bred and born in Ahaggar know the plant to be dangerous. These camels do not eat the *Nerium* leaves but others introduced to Ahaggar from the south may do so. To prevent camels from eating *Nerium* leaves the Tuareg put a leaf of the plant into their nostrils, or burn *Nerium* leaves so that the smoke and the scent of the plant enter the animal's nostrils. In this way camels come to loathe it. There are, according to Foucauld, other venomous plants in Ahaggar, e.g. *awrhed* (*Perralderia coronopifolia*), *arenked* (*Leptadenia heterophylla*, and/or *Cocculus pendulus*) which are fatal to goats and sheep (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1524 & IV, p. 1647; Maire 1933, p. 230, 236). The species [682] known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*) is very venomous for human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*233 192 [492] [171] I have referred to the use of such signals above in connection with goat-breeding, and I have mentioned that goats will respond to signals and also to names more willingly than other domestic animals with the exception of dogs. Some of the signals used in Ayr and Ahaggar differ, and it is interesting that the Tuareg of these regions use different sounds to accelerate the speed of riding camels. The riders in Ahaggar use the same signal as the Arabs – a gutturally pronounced *ha* – while the Ayr Tuareg use a rolling sound *ur*. The signal used by the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Western Iwllemmeden* is *ut*.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



462 231 [492] Among Northern Tuareg vassals donkeys are tended by women, who use them for riding and transportation over short distances. Tuareg men rarely ride donkeys, but the assistance of men is needed in connection with some of the tasks of donkey-breeding:—

It may become desirable to increase the stock of donkeys by catching wild animals as already described above. This is always done by men who also break-in the captured animals for riding. The assistance of men is also frequently needed for catching half-wild, though domesticated donkeys.

The marking of donkeys, castration, which is rarely performed, and the curing of diseases, which are also rare, are said to be tasks which should properly be carried out by men.

[565] Vassal women only tend camels when all men are absent from their camp.

The above rules of division of labour are in general also valid in Ayr among the *Kel Eerwan* Tuareg. But there are in Ayr vassal Tuareg who have no camels and vassal men in Ayr frequently ride donkeys. The tending of cows in Ayr is mainly the work of women, who are also more familiar with cattle terms than are the men. – Among the *Kel Ewey* the skinning of goats and sheep, as well as the partition of the meat, are done by women.

428 In the Tuareg groups I have studied both men and women inherit camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys according to Islamic rules of inheritance.

224 291 516 412

Fig. 110. The skinning of a gazelle placed upon straw of *afrzu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ahaggar, the *Toyoq* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 130. Semi-wild date palms in the canyon-like Aharhar valley of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The palms are owned and harvested by pastoral Tuareg.

245 (Aharhar and Êherir) where "semi-wild" palms are abundant. These palms are owned by pastoral
[221] Tuareg of various tribes. Their dates are harvested in the autumn when Tuareg palm owners with
[342] their slaves live in straw-huts or huts covered with palm leaves situated among the palm trees.

Similar plantations of palm trees which are left to themselves most of the year are also found in
245 Ahaggar, notably at Silet-Tibeghin. Part of these palms are owned by members of the *Dag Rali* tribe
423 (the sections of *Kel Tamanrasset* and *Kel Terhenanet*) and by members of the very small tribe, the
[651] *Ikechchemaden*. The palm-owners give as an annual payment to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar one bunch of dates from all palms which have more than two bunches. The yield of another part of the palms
[565] belongs to the vassal tribe *Iklan-en-tawsit* (the sections *Kel Silet* and *Kel Tahalra*). For usufructs,
[651] members of these two sections make a collective annual payments to the *Amenukal* comprising four bags of dates, twenty goats, two ropes of goat's hair, and five water bags. The dates are harvested by
245 Tuareg of the above mentioned tribes in August-September. Harvesting is done with sickles and is
[221] finished in three to four weeks when the palm-owners return to their camps with dates packed in bags
[492] and loaded on donkeys and camels. In harvesting their dates most Tuareg are assisted by black-
[564] skinned agriculturists (*Harratin*, or *Izeggaren*) of Abalessa who are given a certain amount of dates
[465] for their work. These agriculturists build the huts in which the palm-owners live during harvest (cf.
[463] p. 338 f.).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



temperatures which may be below zero. At a later date the plants of wheat and barley are watered less frequently, and watering ceases completely some time before harvesting in order that the plant may ripen more easily. 243

The agriculturists of Ahaggar do not manure the garden plots used for wheat and barley. Only a new garden plot never previously cultivated is manured, and when such a garden is made the wild vegetation of grasses, herbs, bushes, and trees is often set on fire. Wheat and barley can be grown in the same garden plot for three or four years in succession, and the soil then needs at least one year's rest. In this way, the same garden plot can be kept under cultivation for many years without manuring: this continuous cultivation on the same spot with a one year's rest for each three or four years cultivation is possible partly because there is a certain crop rotation with other plants grown in summer, but mainly because the agriculturists during the period wheat and barley are grown carry fresh soil to their gardens. This is done not only before sowing but also throughout a long period of the winter when the plants are tender and green. When I stayed in the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel in the [101] months of January and February (1955), all agricultural households worked strenuously from morning to night carrying soil to the green garden plots of wheat and barley. The soil was carried in plaited baskets [482] (cf. Fig. 135) on the head, or in bigger baskets carried by donkeys. The soil was left in small heaps [492] (one in every garden bed) to be spread over and between the green plants (cf. Fig. 137). This extremely [461] strenuous work, I was told, would continue until the month of March.

In spite of the fact that cultivation in Ahaggar is done intensively and much work is connected with it, the yield of winter crops is not a very considerable one. In Abalessa it is said that seed-corn of wheat and barley will normally amount to about 50 kgs, and about 500 kgs is to be considered a normal yield, though certain gardens which are extremely well cultivated may yield more and in rare cases up to one thousand kilogrammes. The gardens I saw at Amsel and Taṛhawhawt were smaller than those seen in Abalessa. At Taṛhawhawt the quantity of wheat and barley sown, was said to amount to about 35 kilogrammes.

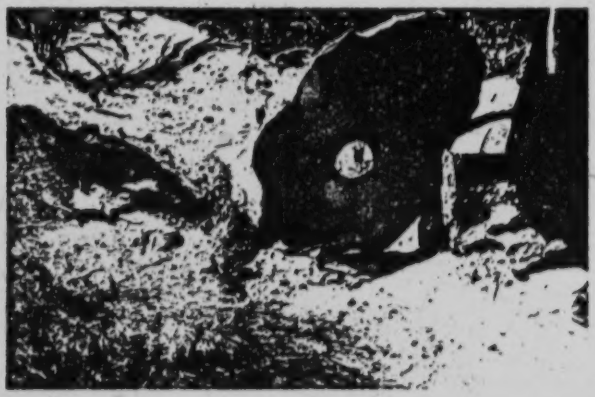

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Fig. 134. The flat stone (*anefif*) inserted between the water basin (*tihenu*) and the canal (*tefukanu*) which leads water towards the gardens. Irrigation stops and the basin runs full of water when a cotton stopper is put into the round hole in the middle of the flat stone. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



162 tion that subsisted on agriculture. Most members of the *Kel Ewey* group are fairly negroid in appear-
144 ance, and though some of them lead a nomadic life and subsist mainly on stock-breeding, the bulk of
433 the *Kel Ewey* are sedentary agriculturists who have some livestock comprising goats, sheep, zebus, and sometimes camels also. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group there are very few sedentary agriculturists, though a few vassals have taken up irrigation agriculture in recent times. There are also agriculturists within the negroid group of the *Kel Ferwan* known as *Irawélen*.
[587] Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have gardens cultivated by their slaves, but this is not customary nowadays when slavery is of little importance in Ayr. Contracts between pastoral Tuareg and cultivators
241 are said to have been unknown until recent times when a few pastoralists have made contracts with
466 cultivators. There seem to be no fixed systems regulating such relationships, but it is said to be common for the cultivator and the Tuareg to divide crops equally between them.

241 Though agriculture could be practised in Ayr without artificial irrigation there are no rain-grown
312 crops within the Massif nowadays. The *foggara* system is unknown, and irrigation is done by raising water from shallow wells. The system of a pole and bucket provided with a counterweight known in Ayr as *aseftan* has disappeared quite recently. It was used at many agricultural settlements of Ayr until a few years ago, and in parts of the country formed the only type of irrigation system at the time of the French occupation. One informant told me that in his boyhood about 35 years ago no other irrigation method was employed at Alarses, and this is in agreement with literature (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 322). At that time, however, the method of raising water from wells by animal traction (in Ayr *anu*, in Ahaggar *tanut*) was also practised at many settlements. It is unknown when it came to Ayr, but it is said to have been introduced from the north – probably from the regions of Fezzan
[492] and Tasilé-n-Ajjer from where the same system came to Ahaggar (cf. p. 187). It is now used at all settlements as the only type of irrigation system, and zebu-oxen are always used for traction. This was not so in the past when zebus were less common than to-day, and it is said that donkeys were then the common draught-animals. The irrigation of gardens is performed in much the same way as in Ahaggar. The water raised from the shallow well (*anu*) is led through a narrow canal (*arelal*) to a large basin (*tisemt*) from where another canal (*duki*) leads to the garden (*afarag*), which is divided into a number of beds (*ifenral*).

243 Cereals form the most important crops in Ayr. The common winter crop is wheat (*elkama*; *Triticum vulgare*), but also barley (*Hordeum tetrastichum* var. *pallidum*) is very widely grown. One crop of these two cereals is taken every winter, and it is said that the period of growth is about five months; sowing is done in October, harvest in March. Cereals are also important for summer crops. Both millet (*énélé*; *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and sorghum (*abora*; *Sorghum caudatum*) are grown, and millet, as we have
[262] seen, has a very short period of growth – only about two months (cf. p. 184). But though millet is most important as food for agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike, it is not widely grown because it is difficult to protect it from the numerous small birds and because, it is said, millet grown in Ayr
[439] is of a quality inferior to that of the Sudanese type. Most of the millet eaten in Ayr is therefore imported from Damergu by pastoral Tuareg. By far the most important summer crop grown in Ayr is maize (*Zea mays*), which is known to the Tuareg as *abora maser*, that is "Egyptian sorghum" (*abora* =
[288] sorghum; *maser* = Egypt) (the name *maser* is also used to designate the white cotton used for garments

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Fig. 147. Tuareg caravan in the barren desert between Ahnet and Ahaggar. The *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

## TUAREG CARAVANS

Fig. 148. Caravan crossing the flooded river bed of Oued Dabega in Southern Ayr. *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



439 caravans of the south or by Ayr Tuareg who import more millet than they need for their own use.
437 But millet is cheaper in Damergu than at the Agadez market, and most Tuareg prefer to organize
[435] their own millet caravans with camels and donkeys as pack-animals. In Damergu most Ayr Tuareg
[492] get millet in exchange for livestock or they buy it for money. Their caravans are not always very large,
[476] for the Southern Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not organize their caravans co-operatively
[484] on the basis of kinship. Many individual households fetch their own millet with a few animals, and it
[592] is comparatively easy to do so as the millet growing country of Damergu is not very far away – the distance from Agadez to Tanut is only about 300 kilometres. The Ayr Tuareg do not have to engage in extensive trading expeditions to procure millet, and can buy millet very cheaply. A household, it
437 is said, does not have to sell a great many animals to secure the necessary supply of millet. Three or
439 four camel loads will cover the needs of most households, and this amount of millet can be acquired
435 for comparatively few animals – particularly if the animals vended are sheep, which have become
592 very expensive in recent times owing to the rapid increase of Europeans at Agadez. An extremely good
162 sheep or ram for slaughtering can bring in 2000 to 3000 West African francs, and a Tuareg household which buys millet in Damergu will need less than 10,000 francs to acquire the quantity necessary for a year. Thus the Ayr Tuareg can obtain their millet for a few sheep, and there are very few, if any, who do not posses this surplus, and it should be repeated that the increment of livestock is never stopped by drought periods as in the north. The extremely high price for sheep for butchering is a recent phenomena due to the increase of the French population. Fully-grown sheep or rams are expensive, and this is also the case with fowls, while goats are cheap. I believe we can estimate that a household would have to sell about 15 goats anually to obtain the amount of millet necessary for one year's consumption. However, there is little doubt that it has always been quite easy for the Tuareg of Southern Ayr to obtain the requisite amount of millet in exchange for livestock.

262 Millet and milk constitute the basic nourishment of the Ayr Tuareg, but they are very fond of an
[222] occasional change of food. And I believe that this is one important reason why the Ayr Tuareg, like those of Ahaggar, collect wild seeds even in years when grown cereals are abundant. For a change, the Ayr Tuareg are also extremely fond of dates which are not grown to any great extent in their own country. A few Ayr Tuareg own palms yielding dates of poor quality, and I think that a few house-
[439] holds also obtain some dates from Ingal. However, most dates eaten in Ayr are imported from the oasis of Bilma, situated in the very barren desert country between Ayr and Tibesti, about 700 kilometres north-east of Agadez.

437 The trade with Bilma is apparently an ancient one, and its foundation is salt which is of a very bad
439 quality compared with that mined at Amadror in the north. The rock-salt of Amadror is excellent
[317] for food, and though there is one good quality of Bilma salt that is used for food by the Tuareg of
[263] Ayr, most salt from Bilma contains much soil and other impurities. This impure salt is excellent for
[233] domestic animals which, in Ayr and further south where salt pastures do not exist, need a lot of salt. The Ayr Tuareg, and particularly those who do not visit the country of Azaouar at the end of the rains, need salt not only for their own food but also for their domestic animals. They obtain this from Bilma, which is visited by caravans in autumn or in the early winter. The inhabitants of Bilma, like other oases-dwellers, are in constant need of cereals and meat, and these products are imported

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are also very akin to the Tuareg in culture, but have preserved some Arab traits of material culture and their traditional social organization in addition to their language, though they also know *tamachek*. We are here concerned only with traits adopted into Tuareg culture from contact with the Arabs.

In the description of Tuareg culture I have already pointed out many cultural traits due to Arab influence. I have mentioned such traits in connection with food-preparation (p. 232, 237 ff, 247 ff) and dress (p. 303 f.). I have also mentioned the introduction of cultivation methods and cultivated plants owing to contact with Arabs and the Arabic-speaking *Harratin* (p. 186 ff.), and I have stated that it seems as if new types or new breeds of domestic animals were introduced to North Africa by the invading Arabs. Cats and domestic pigeons seem to be post-Arabian in the Sahara (p. 115 f.), the true grey-hound came to Tuareg country with the Arabs, who also introduced the particular horse-breed known as the *Aryen* type (p. 113). Doutressoulle relates a native tradition to the effect that this breed came to the Begzen Mountains with Arabs of Tripolitania (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238 f., 242). Horses of this breed are introduced to Ayr from the north even to-day, but as far as I know the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* do not use the Arab type of saddle or the very broad stirrups typical of the northern horse-riding Arabs. They generally use very narrow stirrups for the insertion of one or two toes. These stirrups were possibly introduced to the Western Sudan with the Dongolawi breed. It came from Upper Egypt at the end for the 13th century A.D. when the *Djoheyna* Arabs immigrated (Mauny 1961, p. 283).

I have mentioned above (p. 54 ff.) that there are two main types of camels among the Northern Tuareg:— (1) a northern Arab breed (*marroki*) characterized by heavy stature and a thick covering of wool, and (2) a southern breed more slenderly built and with little or no wool – a breed which is typical to the Tuareg. Medieval Arab authors have stated that the Tuareg possessed camels of a particular breed well fitted for riding (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 70, 105; Edrisi, p. 11, 67 f., 144 f.; Leo Africanus p. 940 f.). The division of camels into two distinct types of the above characteristics can be traced elsewhere in Northern Africa, where the heavy woolly breed is found mainly in the north and particularly among Arabs, while the slender non-woolly breed is common among such pastoralists as the Tuareg, the Moors of Mauretania (who are largely of Tuareg stock and have a great many Berber words in their camel vocabulary, according to Monteil 1952), the Tebu, and the Beja tribes around the Nile (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 79 ff.; Doutressoulle 1947, p. 272 ff.; Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415 f.; Murray 1935, p. 92 ff.). The distinction between the two main types cannot apparently be explained by the different environmental conditions, for they frequently live within the same type of environment, and the northern *marroki* type is found particularly among Arabs, and not only among the Arabs of the northern desert. *Marroki*-like camels seem to exist among such Arab tribes as the *Kunta* and the *Berabich* north of the Niger Bend in the Azawad desert (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 273), among the camel-breeding Arabs of the Lake Tchad region, and among Arab pastoralists of the former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan – particularly among the Kababish (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 80 ff., 83 f.). There seem to be little doubt that the *marroki* camel came to North Africa with the Arabs and it is then natural to investigate whether they also introduced particular cultural traits connected with camel-breeding. It is relatively easy to take up such an investigation with reference to particular saddle types, because they are frequently described and depicted in literature.

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492 [177] The large saddles for women (*akhawi*, *tkhawit*, *araǧen*) (p. 88 f.) were most probably introduced by Arab pastoralists. These saddles are not known among all Tuareg. In the Northern Tuareg groups they are used in the noble class (*Ihaggaren*), in the *Isekkemaren* class, which seems to have relationship with Arabs (p. 10, 398 f.), and in the *Ireǧenaten* tribe which lives in Tamesna though it belongs to the group of Ahaggar Tuareg. Its members claim to descend patrilineally from Arabs, matrineally from noble Tuareg. Large women's saddles are also found among the Tuareg of Adrar-n-Foras, and there is a saddle of the *akhawi* type from this group in the ethnographical collection of the Neuchâtel Museum (no. 49.2.35). Women's saddles are also common among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*. They are described by Nicolas who mentions two types. One named *tahâwit* is perhaps constructionally different from the saddles of the north, while the other type termed *aruku* is constructionally related to riding saddles in Ahaggar, but is without the large wooden side-arches characteristic of certain northern saddles. However, saddles having arches like this are found among the *Deremchaka* Arabs who live in *Kel Dennek* territory (Nicolas 1950a, p. 178 Fig. 47a & e, pl. X p. 177). Light women's saddles resembling the Ahaggar *tkhawit* saddle without side-arches and known as *akhawi* was seen in the camp of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* Tuareg near Ayoru. Here I was told that the wooden structure is always manufactured by blacksmiths while its cover of ochre-coloured leather is made by Tuareg women who also make the little *afezu* mat placed over the structure and serving for seat. Such saddles [565] are found only in noble tribes of the *Western Iwllemmeden*, never among vassals. Women's saddles are unknown in Ayr where the Tuareg build a riding saddle upon large cushions (cf. p. 90), and they are apparently also unknown among the *Kel Geres*. The Ayr Tuareg speak of riding saddles known as *akhawi* or *tkhawit* as "Arab saddles", and these terms are also derived from Arabic. Lhote states that he has not seen the richly-decorated saddles known as *akhawi* outside of Ahaggar (Lhote 1947a, p. 142). Thus it seems that proper women's saddles have a limited distribution among the Tuareg. They occur mainly in certain classes of the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar*, and the *Iwllemmeden*. 492 In these areas they are apparently also used by Arabs. Somewhat related women's saddles are found 171 among the Tebu. These saddles are described by Le Coeur who states that they are normally bought in Kanem (Le Coeur 1950, p. 60, 126). I think that this may perhaps indicate their origin as this region and adjacent parts of the Lake Tchad plains have a population of pastoralists of Arab descent. Various types of women's saddles occur among all Arab pastoralists of North Africa and the Arab peninsula – possibly with the exception of certain bedouin tribes of South-eastern Arabia. I do not know whether these saddles occur among the Beja, the Danakil, and the Somali. They are not mentioned in the literature I have consulted.

492 The pack saddle known as *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* (p. 76, Fig. 57) is not very common among the Northern Tuareg. It is unknown among the *Kel Ayr* and so far as I know also among the *Kel Geres*. It seems to be unknown also among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* where the same structure is used as a women's saddle as mentioned above (Nicolas 1950a, p. 178 Fig. 47e). I do not know if this saddle type occurs 492 in other Tuareg groups. It is found in the Lake Tchad region and Chudeau considers it typical of the 171 sahelian zone (Chudeau 1909, p. 206; Capot-Rey 1946, p. 163). It is also mentioned by Nachtigal as the typical type of saddle of the Tebu (Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457), while the Tebu saddle described by Le Coeur and now preserved in the Musée de l'homme (no. 32.50.4) is slightly different from the

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saddle depicted by Nachtigal the fore and the aft trees being connected by two horizontal or oblique sticks instead of two crossed sticks at each side (Le Coeur 1950, p. 175). This saddle type is also depicted from the Tebu by Moberg and Fuchs (Moberg 1953, p. 192; Fuchs 1961, p. 39), and I have myself seen a saddle like this among camel-owning Fulani at Niamey on the Niger. A related saddle type with fore and aft trees at each side connected with two horizontal sticks, is depicted by Heuglin from North-east Africa (Heuglin 1877, I, p. 26). It is perhaps the common saddle type in and around the Beja country.

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The saddle corresponding to the *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type of the Northern Tuareg is known by the Arabic word *hanr* among the Tebu (Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457), while among the Arabs of North Africa the word *hanr* is generally used for women's saddles of the same fundamental construction. Pack saddles of *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type are known to the Arabs of Algeria as *herej*. However, such saddles do not seem to be common among Arabs of Algeria, where I have never seen them, though they are probably used by Arabs of Upper Egypt and in Sinai (cf. Murray 1935, p. 116).

In Arabia saddles constructionally resembling the *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type are extremely common. They are used as pack-saddles and also for riding. There seem to be three distinct Arabic names for them:—. (1) a sadle known as *sdad* (or *shadad*) and characterized by particularly high pommels; it is used mainly as a riding saddle (cf. Boucheman 1934, p. 35 ff., Fig. 9–11; Musil 1928b, p. 350 ff., Figs. 37, 44; Euting 1906, p. 394 ff., ill. p. 393, 397; Dickson 1949, p. 84 ff.) (2) a saddle known as *misame* constructionally of the same type, but having no high pommels; it is very much like the *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* type described from the Northern Tuareg (cf. Boucheman 1934, p. 61 f., Fig. 23; Musil 1928b, p. 354, Fig. 41; Dickson 1949, p. 84 ff.) (3) a saddle known as *rabit* of very much the same type as the *misame* saddle but of a somewhat heavier construction (cf. Musil 1928b, p. 354; Euting 1906, p. 398, ill. p. 394). The two last mentioned saddles are mainly pack-saddles but they are also used for riding. The distribution of the saddle types *sdad*, *misame* or *rabit* in Arabia seems to be as follows:—

*The Syrian Desert*; the tribes *Sba'a* and *Rawala* (cf. Boucheman 1934 & Musil 1928b quoted above).
*Hedjaz*; *sdad* (Musil 1926, Figs. 30, 84, 85, etc.).
*Nejd*; *sdad* (Musil 1928a, Figs. 8, 22, 28, 62, 63); *misame* or *rabit* (Musil 1928a, Fig. 15).
*Irak*; *sdad* (Musil 1927b, Figs. 1, 19, 33, etc.).
*Kuweit*; *misame* or *rabit* (Raunkiær 1913, Fig. 21; Dickson 1949 quoted above).
*South Arabia*; *sdad*; the tribes of *Murra*, *Sa'ar*, and *Harab*. Riding saddles of the *sdad* type are not found east of Dhufar (Thomas 1932, p. 268).

It would appear that a riding saddle of the *sdad* type is depicted in a 9th century B.C. relief at Tell Halaf (cf. Dostal 1958, p. 2, pl. I Fig. 2).

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The common pack-saddle among the Northern Tuareg is the *ilaki* (cf. p. 74 f., Fig. 55). This saddle type, as mentioned, is not made by the Tuareg themselves, but normally by sedentary *Harratin* of Tidikelt where palm material is abundant, more rarely by blacksmiths who make the construction of wood, and not from the ribs of date palms. The *ilaki* is the common saddle type all

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B The ɛlaki is the common saddle type all

492 over the northern desert inhabited by Arabs. It is known to Algerian Arabs as *ḥawiyya*, the word
171 also used in Tripolitania where the type is extremely common (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457). Saddles of entirely identical types occur among the Moors of Mauretania (Monteil 1952, p. 92), among Arabs of Upper Egypt (Klunzinger 1878, p. 206, Fig. 11; Murray 1935, p. 116), and in the Egyptian Sudan (Marno 1874, p. 207). Further east it seems to be in use among most, perhaps all, Arabs:— Sinai (Murray 1935, p. 116), Syrian Desert (*Sbo'a* and *Rawala*) (Boucheman 1934; Musil 1928b), Hedjas (Musil 1926, Figs. 9, 15, 30, 59, 84), Negd (Musil 1928a, Fig. 66), Irak (Musil 1927b, Fig. 40). These Arabs generally call the saddle *ḥedâǧe*. It is perhaps common to all Arabs including those of Southern Arabia. However, the *ḥedâǧe* or *ḥawiyya* is not mentioned from Kuweit by Dickson, who describes from this region a peculiar saddle of somewhat related type used mainly for riding and having Oman as its homeland. The saddle is named *al fulani*; it consists of a pair of miniature saddle arches fixed in front of the animal's hump by means of a girth, and a cylindrical straw-stuffed mattress which is placed over the back behind the hump and fastened to the little saddle-frame with cords (Dickson 1949, p. 87). The same type of riding saddle is depicted by Thesiger from Oman and adjacent parts of South Arabia (Thesiger 1959, Fig. 12 p. 33), and Mr. Klaus Ferdinand has informed me that he has seen only this type of riding saddle around Qatar. It would seem natural to derive the *al fulani* riding saddle from a pack saddle of *ḥawiyya* or *ḥedâǧe* type the more so because riding saddles for camels
B and horses seem frequently to have developed from saddles used for transportation. Dostal's theory
[114] that the riding saddle of *al fulani* type is very ancient and constitutes the proto-type of other Arabian saddles is very queer (cf. Dostal 1958, p. 2 ff.). In North-west Africa there is a peculiar type of pack-saddle which resembles the *ḥawiyya* or *ḥedâǧe* saddles. It consists of two curved pieces of wood united by broad side-boards and by two small sticks inserted into holes at the upper part of the curved arches. This saddle-frame is placed before the camel's hump and is fixed to two pieces of plaited mattresses. Saddles of this kind are found in the Musée de l'homme in Paris from the borderland of Algeria and Morocco (no. 38.180.80), from the Regeibat of Northern Mauritania (no. 38.133.6), and from the *Iâa w Aich* Moors around Tidjika of Southern Mauretania (no. 38.136.58) (cf. Monteil
T 1952, p. 92).

● 492 Saddles of the *ḥawiyya* or *ḥedâǧe* type (*ɛlaki* to the Northern Tuareg) seem to be unknown to the Southern Tuareg. The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is that called *ɛnaki*, consisting of one curved piece attached to two flat side-boards by means of which the whole structure is attached to two pads or mat cylinders fitted each side of the camel (cf. p. 76). This very simple wooden structure is found not only in Ayr but also among the *Iwellemmeden Kel Dennek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 47 f, p. 178). Nicolas also depicts two other simple wooden structures for pack-saddles. One of them consists of two pieces of wood lashed together at the upper and narrow ends, the broader lower ends being attached to pads or mats; the other one is of similar type but is made from one single piece of wood – probably from a heavy forked stick (Nicolas 1950a, Figs. 47g & h, p. 178). A saddle consisting of an angular piece of wood like that just mentioned, but attached to two flat sideboards, is in the Musée d'Ethnographie of Neuchâtel (no. 48.2.63); it is manufactured in the Sudan within the Tuareg area.

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[177] The *ɛlaki* saddle of the Northern Tuareg is probably an Arab culture trait. It occurs among the

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Tuareg where influence from Arab material culture is particular strong, and it is structurally identical 492
with the Arab pack-saddle known as *ḥawiyya* or *ḥedâǧe*. The origin of the pack-saddle called *aruki* [177]
among the Southern Tuareg is not easily determined. It may perhaps constitute a late type which [171]
developed from a pack-saddle with two curved or angular trees in front of the camel's hump. This may be true of some *aruki*-like saddles. But certain pack-saddles of *aruki* type may perhaps have originated from a kind of split wood similar to that used for camels by the Somali of Tana River (cf. Ahlefeldt 1948, ill. p. 137).

There are other traits of camel breeding that have apparently been introduced among the Tuareg 233
through contact with the Arabs. This may be true of the looped rope (*asaṛun*) connected with a little 177
stick for attachment around the camel's foreleg (p. 72 ff., Fig. 45a). This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg though common among the Northern Tuareg who often make it of camel's wool. It seems to be known among most, perhaps all, Arabs, who manufacture it from the same material. [171]
Among the Ababde and the Bisharin it is plaited from dum palm material (cf. Sleesen-Dolk 1957, p. 12, Figs. 28–30). It is most probably an Arab trait which also seems to be Cauvet's opinion (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 554 & pl. LXII, p. 555).

We may perhaps also mention the large woven transportation bags which are extremely common 415
among all North African Arab pastoralists, while unknown among the Tuareg. But small plaited or 177
woven bags of goat hair mixed with camel's wool are manufactured in Ahaggar by women of certain [462]
tribes (p. 266 f, Fig. 209a–b). These bags are known as *tiṛṛar* (sing. *téṛeṛiṛ*) which seems to be derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711). The small loading sticks *tihḍaḍ* (sing. *téhedif*) (p. 76) used to unite the two halves of a camel load are perhaps also Arab in origin for this particular word is apparently also derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 520 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711).

The origin of other traits of camel-breeding is not so easy to determine, but it is very possible that 233
the plaited pouch which among the Northern Tuareg constitutes the normal method to prevent camel 177
calves from sucking (p. 62, Figs. 41–42) was also introduced by the Arabs. This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg and apparently also among the *Kel Geres*. It is found among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* (*abegu*) and is recorded in literature from the *Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 141), and from the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 71). It is widely found among all pastoral Arabs of Northern [171]
Africa and of the Arabian Peninsula.

As to the use of camel brands produced by burning with a redhot iron it seems difficult to judge 233
from distributions the origin of this method. These brands are known among most Tuareg with the 422
exception of the *Kel Ferwan* and other Tuareg of Ayr, who use earmarks cut with a knife. Earmarks [171]
seem to be used for camels also among the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 103) and were apparently used in ancient Arabia (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 298). One might perhaps assume that earmarks constitute an older type of proprietry marks, while brands came later. But information about marks and brands is scarce.

The origin of many traits of camel-breeding cannot be determined, but it is not be doubted that 233
the Arabs have introduced into North Africa a particular breed of camel together with certain saddles 177
and objects connected with the use of the camel as a pack animal. There is also no doubt that these

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Arab bedouins is given by Finbert:— "Dans les jours de disette, on pulvérise les ossements de la carcasse, et bien que l'Islam interdise l'usage du sang, on l'y mêle en le recueillant d'une veine que l'on ouvre à un chameau. De ce mélange on fait une pâtée que l'on dévore. En cas de famine prolongée, on mange de la corne moulue avec des trayons macérés dans du sang. Le sang lui-même, toujours pris sur l'animal vivant, est versé dans des boyaux qui sont ensuite grillés comme du boudin" (Finbert 1938, p. 39). It is very possible that the custom of bleeding live animals for food has once been widely known among many people of the area now dominated by Islam; thus Ibn Batutah mentions a Turanian people among whom blood of live horses is used for food (Ibn Batutah III, p. 24). 261 171

Among the Tuareg a certain medical value is attached to camel's urine (p. 127), but they do not wash in it as do many Arab bedouins of the Peninsula. A conception of camel's urine as something clean seems to exist among many camel-breeders, and Thesiger mentions that bedouins of Southern Arabia wash their hands in camel's urine before milking (Thesiger 1959, p. 145). 237 171

It is evident that some traits of camel-breeding resemble customs known also to African cattle-breeders, and it seems as if these customs are widely found among people who breed one-humped camels. – Certain traits of camel-breeding are peculiar to the Tuareg and a few adjacent peoples. 233 171

In contrast to all other camel breeding peoples the Tuareg and some adjacent peoples have riding saddles that they place in front of the camel's hump (p. 78 ff.). The common saddles are those known as *térik*, comprising the two main types named *tamzak* and *tekokeyt*, the most developed riding saddles among the Tuareg. These saddles are also used by some of the Northern Arabs, notably the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba* who import them from Southern Tuareg country – particularly from Agadez where the best saddles are made. The *térik* saddles with a cruciformed pommel are quite peculiar to the Tuareg. 492 171

The Tuareg saddle known as *ahyas* or *tahyast* (Fig. 63) resembles the *térik* type in that it is also placed in front of the camel's hump, so that camels are ridden in exactly the same manner as with *térik*-saddles. The *ahyas* type is not mentioned from the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg. But it is extremely common among the *Western Iwllemmeden* and is said to have originated in Aḍraṛ-n-Foṛas. Further west among the Moors, a riding saddle somewhat resembling the *ahyas* type seems to form the common type. It differs from the *ahyas* mainly in that it has a very low pommel and a very broad and deep seat. Several specimens of this Moorish saddle type are found in the Musée de l'homme in Paris (e.g., nos. D. 33.24.14 & 34.76.15). These Moorish saddles are placed in front of the hump like all Tuareg riding saddles, but I have been told that owing to their peculiar structure the riders cannot generally reach the camel's neck with their feet, so that they ride more bumpily and less steadily than the Tuareg, who secure their position by stemming their naked feet against the camel's neck. This is also seen from photographs of camel riders from Mauretania (cf. Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129).

The *térik* and *ahyas* saddles are always made by blacksmiths, and this is probably also the case with the Moorish riding saddles. But as mentioned above (p. 82 ff.) the Tuareg of Ayr make certain primitive riding saddles themselves, and these, called *kantarki* or *delobi*, are perhaps the prototypes of the more developed saddles made by the blacksmiths. Tuareg riding saddles for camels do not seem to have been introduced to Africa by the Arabs of the Peninsula where such saddles are unknown. The use of a single rein attached to a metal ring fixed in the right nostril of the riding camel is perhaps [564]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



492 171 an ancient North African custom. It is the method generally applied by the Tuareg and those Northern Arabs who use saddles of the *térik* or *tahyast* types; it is also practiced among the Moors of Mauretania (cf. Monteil 1952, Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129), and is known to the Tebu (Cline 1950, p. 34). It would appear that the use of nostril rings for riding camels has much the same distribution in North Africa as have saddles of *térik* or *tahyast* types including the Moorish saddle, which is also placed in front of the animal's hump.

The Tuareg halter made of iron or metal shackles and used in connection with the nostril ring so that the camel is controlled by means of a double rein (*akeskabbu*; cf. p. 73, Fig. 50–52), is perhaps a combination of two originally different systems, for the Tebu use this peculiar halter without any attachment to a nostril ring, the camel being controlled by a single rein combined with the halter (cf. Le Coeur 1950, p. 133, pl. XXIX Figs. 111–112 & Cline 1950, p. 34).

136 174 114 Much has been written on the history of the camel in North Africa, and I do not want to take up this question in great detail as I can add very little to what is already known. René Basset's theory that the camel was first introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1907) is contrary to all historical information, for we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived. Contemporary with Basset it was pointed out by Flammand, that skeletal remains of camels from North Africa proved the exsistence of these animals as early as "les temps quaternaire moyens" (Flammand 1907). But while Flammand states that the camel disappeared with a more humid climate, Cauvet later tried to substantiate the theory that the camel did not disappear, but continued to exist further south in Africa. Thus, he claims, the southern camel-breed descends from the ancient camel found in Africa even during the mio-pliocene of the tertiary period, while the northern breed was introduced by the Arabs (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 15 ff.). I can agree with Cauvet's latter statement regarding a connection between northern camels and the Arabs, but his theory of the existence of the one-humped camel in Africa since tertiary time is most difficult to accept. The camel breed which existed in Africa prior to the Arab invasions was no doubt comparatively recently introduced from Asia. Barth pointed out that the camel came to North-western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3 ff.). This theory has later been supported by many scholars, notably by Gautier (Gautier 1928,, p. 99 f., ed. 1946, p. 129 ff.; 1942, p. 190 ff.). Quite recently the various problems connected with the history of the camel in North Africa have been re-examined by Walz. He largely accepts Barth's theory of its introduction in antiquity, but also points out that the camel, which seems to appear in Egypt about 500 B.C. or somewhat earlier, may have been introduced to southern parts of Africa via the Bab-el-Mandeb Straits at an earlier date (Walz 1951, p. 29–51; 1954, p. 45–87).

Gautier states that the Romans had a certain responsibility for the introduction of the camel into North-Africa, though he also claims that it was introduced by the Berber-speaking *Zenata* tribes (Gautier 1942, p. 209 f., 227). It is to be doubted that the Romans introduced the camel into North-Africa, and on the whole it seems as if the Romans have influenced Tuareg culture very slightly. It is difficult to point to any definite traits of material culture taken over from the Romans, though Foucauld states that certain lamps of Roman form are found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1399). A fair number of Latin words can be proved to exist in Tuareg dialects. This fact is

174 177

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Songhai MS20



T 133 484 492

Fig. 266. Three mat tents, three heavy wooden beds, and the household utensils belonging to three households are moved by means of six donkeys. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

T *342 171 S 342 177 S [462]

from the north from very ancient times (cf. p. 412), and, according to Rouch, we find that mat-covered barrel-vaulted huts do not constitute the traditional type of dwelling of all Sonray, but are found along the Niger between Timbuktu and Asongo, while the Sonray living outside of this area have other dwelling types (cf. Rouch 1954, p. 31). Thus we see that Sonray mat-covered arched dwellings are found precisely within the area which has been most strongly influenced by Tuareg culture, namely the upper part of the Niger Bend. It can be added that such dwellings do not seem to be typical of other African peoples who lead a predominantly sedentary life. Furthermore, Sonray mat-covered barrel-vaulted dwellings are built by the women, who are also the true owners of the huts (cf. Rouch 1954, p. 31). In this we find another parallel to traditional Tuareg custom.

T *342

We see again how wrong it is to speak of the Ayr Tuareg mat tent as a dwelling particular to the *Kel Ewey*, for such mat-covered tents are used by most Ayr Tuareg from the northern outskirts of the Massif to Damergu; it is said to be used exclusively by the *Kel Geres*; it is known among certain *Kel Dennek*, among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* and their *Bélla*, and apparently even in the southernmost parts of the *Kel Adrar* country. Arched mat tents on the southern outskirts of the very vast area inhabited by Tuareg occur in an almost unbroken line in a huge semicircle running from Northern Ayr to Timbuktu.

T *342 171

This distribution may perhaps indicate that the mat tent is of very ancient standing among the Tuareg. We have mentioned above that the mat-covered arched dwellings of the Sonray may have been adopted by these people through contact with the Tuareg, and it does not seem as if the latter adopted their arched mat tents as a result of contact with other Sudanese peoples who use barrel-vaulted dwellings. Barrel-vaulted dwellings are not common in the Western Sudan, but are found among certain pastoralists whose arched huts and tents are structurally very different from the barrel-vaulted Tuareg mat tent. This appears from literature about the *Fulani* and the *Toucouleurs* (cf. Urvoy

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



1952, pl. II, 4; Desplagnes 1907, pl. CVI p. 396). Various pastoralists within the huge area of Tibesti, Borku, and Ennedi also use barrel-vaulted mat-covered tents. These are very different from Tuareg mat tents (cf. Biassuti 1933, Fig. 2, p. 173; Despois 1946, pl. XXII; Le Coeur 1937, p. 39 & 1950, p. 192, pl. XXVI, 99; Schiffers 1957, pl. IV; Kronenberg 1959, pl. III; Fuchs 1961, p. 18 ff., pl. IV). However, a mat tent described in detail by Chapelle has a structure which includes pronged sticks and horizontal bars (Chapelle 1957, p. 227 ff.), and a Tebu tent from Bilma now in the IFAN Museum at Niamey resembles the mat-covered Ayr tent in having two horizontal cross-bars at the narrow sides – each bar resting upon seven vertical pronged sticks. 342* 171

We presume that Tuareg mat tents constitute a very ancient and traditional type of dwelling, which, perhaps, was originally covered with mats of grass-stems (cf. p. 350 f.). We venture to advance this theory, the more so as other types of Tuareg tents less elaborate in their structures show very close affinities with the arched mat tent. Our theory, however, gives rise to one important question:— Is the elaborate structure of Tuareg mat tents well fitted to pastoral life? 342* [174] 182 342*

It is evident that some of the Tuareg, who live in mat tents, and notably the *Bélla*, are semi-nomads, and Capot-Rey says that "– – les populations qui l'ont adoptée ne se deplacent presque plus; – –" (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 222). This is not correct. Mat tents like that described in B.I.a. are used by true nomads, who move much during the rainy season to find the best annual pasture for their domestic animals. At that season many pastoralists move their camps of barrel-vaulted tents about once a week, and though some of them prefer to erect their tents according to the simple *tafala* method (cf. B.I.f., p. 356), most nomads will erect the tent in the ordinary fashion. It may be added that even the *Kel Geres* who come to Southern Ayr at the end of the rains have with them their mat tents which they erect correctly. There are, it is true, many Tuareg possessing mat tents who remain almost on the same spot throughout the year, but this is equally true of many Tuareg with skin tents. The mat tent is a true pastoral dwelling type. It is not very difficult to put up though it takes more time than does the erection of most skin tents. It is also not very difficult to transport the comparatively elaborate structure of normal mat tents. With few exceptions the pastoral *Kel Ayr* who live in and around the Massif use donkeys for tent transportation. The light tent mats are simply used as a kind of pack-saddle, being rolled up and placed over the back and along both sides of the pack-animal. The curved boughs and rods which form arches and semi-arches, and the comparatively few vertical sticks with the two cross-bars are tied up into parcels which are fastened over the mats at the animal's sides. I have frequently seen a tent, together with the very heavy wooden bed (*tédabut*) and various domestic utensils, being transported by two donkeys, and a normal tent can be transported by a single donkey without much difficulty. As a further indication of this I produce a photograph showing the movement of a camp comprising three ordinary tents, three wooden beds, and the necessary household implements and provisions, and it will be seen that all this is transported by six donkeys (cf. Fig. 266). On the whole, an ordinary mat tent is neither very difficult to erect, nor difficult to transport. It is more difficult to erect the mat tent than the skin tent, but skin tents very often constitute a heavier burden. The sheet of skin, or more correctly leather, is heavier than the covering of mats, and though it is true of many skin tents that they have a less elaborate structure than the mat tents, the former need a system of pegs and poles to fasten the sheet, and these have to be transported except where 182 342* 492 [184] 182 342*

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 287. Musicians of the Sultan of Ayr marching through Agadez. In the front a man blowing a clarinet-like instrument, in the background the drummers mounted on camels and beating two drums each. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

631 true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. They are nowadays without much power and prestige, whereas
634 the Sultan, owing to the French, has augmented his power greatly. Many *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg speak
643 disparagingly about the Sultan, and the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* named *Agg-Elkhir* called him
[178] openly a slave and did not take off his sandals in the Sultan's presence.

643 There can be little doubt that the man who was elected the Sultan of all Ayr people at the beginning
642 of the 15th century very quickly became a Sultan not of Ayr, but of Agadez. A state organization like that of the Ayr Sultanry could not function in a Tuareg society characterized by warlike pastoral groups, and the Sultan would have to be dismissed or else recognize the authority of the strongest pastoral group which, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century was the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



634 judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief,
565 whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

[422] In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to
[171] mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

642 In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division,
565 which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral
[173] camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imrad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imrad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

565 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar.
[262] Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter
[492] and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinc-
[583] tions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The
[233] noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, donkeys are marked in
[422] both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be
[342] peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirzemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps
[293] connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among
[862] vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found partic-
[224] ularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and
[174] other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but
[233] the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks
[462] of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



by the Tuareg of Ayr, the *Kel Geres*, and other Tuareg. The Tuareg obtain salt generally in exchange 437
for millet, but they also bring with them dried meat, and meat from animals newly slaughtered; and 439
although this meat is largely rotten when it arrives at Bilma it is easily sold to the oases dwellers who
are yearning for meat. The oases dwellers have little to subsist upon but dates of which they have a
surplus. This is purchased by the Tuareg, who get two loads of dates for one load of millet. The [178]
Bilma trade is less important nowadays than it was at the beginning of the century. In 1922 the Bilma 484
caravans comprised about 7000 camels (Buchanan 1926, p. 83), while in 1908, when the trade was
already decreasing, caravans numbered about 20,000 camels (Abadie 1927, p. 292). Caravans still go [435]
to Bilma to fetch salt and dates, but the salt trade is not so profitable to-day when Bilma salt can be 494
bought fairly cheaply at Agadez, as the trucks bringing provisions from Agadez to the French admin-
istration and to the merchants of Bilma, take salt back with them when they return. The Ayr Tuareg 437
do not organize their trading expeditions within family groups or sections as in Ahaggar. A Tuareg [602]
who does not want himself to go to Bilma may let a kinsman or a friend trade for him with his camels.
The payment for this is a large loaf of salt which constitute one sixth or one seventh of a camel load.

The Ayr Tuareg do not generally obtain salt from the pits of Tegidda-n-tésemt though this place 317
is not very far from the Massif to the west. They say that the Tegidda salt is not as good as 439
Bilma's. The salt of Tegidda-n-tésemt is purchased mainly by the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* when
visiting the regions around Ingal after the rains. Some of the *Kel Ayr* who live in the extreme north [437]
(the *Kel Tédalé*, and others) occasionally go to Amadror in the north to fetch salt which is taken down
to the Sudanese towns and villages. In years when drought prevails in Ahaggar these Tuareg take their 437
surplus of livestock to the market at Tamanrraset, for in dry years the provision of meat, butter, and 438
cheese consumed in Ahaggar come mainly from Ayr and adjacent regions. When I stayed in Ahaggar [114]
in 1954–55 a great many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* came to Tamanrraset to sell camels, donkeys, sheep,
goats, and zebus, and also brought with them large quantities of cow's butter and cheese. The route 437
followed from Northern Ayr to Ahaggar runs via I-n-azawa and I-n-abeggi which are the only wells 487
between the two mountain massifs. Water is very scarce and so is pasture, which is mainly limited to
a scattered vegetation of annual plants; over very large areas there is no vegetation at all. It is easy
to drive camels and donkeys through these regions, while more difficult for sheep, goats, and cattle.
The zebus easily get cut hooves from walking on stony ground, while sheep and goats suffer much
from thirst. In spite of this, all kinds of livestock can be driven through the barren desert from Ayr
to Ahaggar, even as late as the month of March which is extremely hot in the barren desert country.
The Tuareg frequently lose animals which die from thirst and hunger during the journey, but the trade [435]
is nevertheless extremely profitable as prices of livestock are high in Ahaggar in dry years, while prices
of European goods such as tea, sugar, cotton, metal vessels, and the like are extremenly low compared
with the prices asked for these goods in Ayr.

The Ayr Tuareg, though owning more livestock than the Tuareg of Ahaggar, have a certain demand 433
of agricultural food products. These products are mainly grown outside of the Massif, for the farmers 439
of Ayr grow little millet, very few dates, and part of the wheat grown in Ayr is exported to the oases
of Ganet and Rat in the north. Though these vegetable products can be purchased at Agadez, it is
profitable to fetch them where they are cheap, namely in the Sudan (millet) and in Bilma (dates). And

565 In exchange for the rights of suzerainty which the Imochar exer-
631 cise over the Imrad, they owe the latter absolute protection, defend their interests each time that they are threatened, and endeavor to obtain reparation if they are pillaged by an opposing tribe.

177 The Imochar spend lavishly as great lords and have kept this mania in spite of the change in regime brought by the French peace.
631 Their way of living like parasites has taken away any idea of fore-
565 sight, and because of this they are more often in want than well off.
571 In fact, the first consequence of the French occupation was to stop the state of war and the pillaging, which deprived the Imochar of their principal resources. They became poor people, while the Imrad, as herd owners, saw their wealth increase and become stabilized. This social disturbance could have had serious consequences, but the Imrad did not totally abandon the Imochar, despite the opportunity which was offered them to emancipate themselves from their ancestral guardianship. Perhaps we can be glad of this, for one might wonder what the material situation of the Imochar would have been and, consequently, their state of mind with regard to us.

291 The terms "black Tuareg" and "white Tuareg" have often been
566 used to designate the Imochar and the Imrad. "In the north,"
178 Seligman says, "the nobles have black veils and the subjects white ones." (1) This distinction in dress does not exist today, when the

1. Les races de l'Afrique, p. 129.

Tuareg indiscriminately wear black or white veils according to their taste and wealth. /161/ It is possible that the Imrad formerly could not obtain indigo veils, always considered a luxury item, and had to be content with ordinary cotton veils; that would explain the division into black and white Tuareg.

According to Duveyrier, the white Tuareg, "Touareg-el-biodh," were probably the Oulad Ba Hamou, Arabs of the region of In-Salah. They took from the Tuareg the habit of wearing veils, but in white instead of dark indigo.

565 Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of
[511] the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of
[177] prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting
631 matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs
[642] internally as they see fit, without intervention of the amenokal or the Imochar in their affairs.

162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps
565 because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by
721 their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often
[727] organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some
701 Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among
[714] the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded
631 in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for
[582] their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

631 a very ancient tribe, the Isbeten, who were the autochthons of the Ahaggar and whom the Dăg Rali would have found in Ătakor when they came to settle there.

After the battle at Tit where they lost more than 100 fighters, the Dăg Râli still numbered 60 warriors. The 1938 census gives 1, 090 persons, 334 of them men, including the Iklan. This increase is quite rare among the Tuareg and reflects their wealth and the improvement of their living conditions since the French occupation.

[161] [177] [511]

They nomadize in the western part of the Koudia, which is their absolute fief where no other fraction is admitted.

/192/ On the east, the boundaries of the lands over which they range are fixed by the right bank of the Tamanrasset wadi and the Interkadène wadi as far as Ideles; on the south by the southern zone of the Tahalra as far as Tin Dahar; on the west by In Eker; and on the north by the line from In Eker to Hirhafok to Ideles.

631 The Dăg Râli pay a tribute of ten bags of dates or sorghum to the
651 amenokal; in addition, each family which sends a caravan to the Sudan pays him a small bag of sorghum. If the pastures are good, they add several "botta" of melted butter and the milk of twenty ewes. In the case of a successful raid, they pay the nobles half of the ewes.

631 The Dăg Râli are now the richest people in the Ahaggar. They
233 own more than 1, 200 goats and more than 1, 000 camels. Thanks to
556 their beasts of burden, they can take many very remunerative caravans
439 to the Sudan and to the Tidikelt. They hold in common escheated flocks which are called Edjere-n-boutelma. When the pastures are insufficient to feed all their livestock, they entrust their camels to the Irreguenaten who graze them on the Saharo-Sudanese border.

631 Since they are very open-minded, they were in favor of cultivation
241 in the centers of the Ahaggar, and at the present time they possess
423 lands at Ilâman, Tarahananet, Tamanrasset, Abălessa, Iglen, Tăfârit, I-n-Ămegel, and Silet, which Negroes cultivate for them. The amenokal has granted them a certain number of palm trees in the Silet oasis which formerly belonged to the Tăitok.

175 631 643 back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of the men, including Azioueł, died of thirst in the desert.

/204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

579 631 At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and [648] more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

[511] 631 651 Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ăadrar des Iforas, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis and Isoknâten of the Aïr.

[162 233] Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400 camels and about 1, 000 goats.

175 631 648 During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his Imrad Kel I-n-Tounîn. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops, He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

[423] Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastân.

114 forming the tobol" and, by extension, "servant of the tobol."
533 At the present time these three fractions number about 150
631 people.
[162] We call attention to them here only as a reminder.

Book V

Material Life

Chapter 1

Living Conditions Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

133 The Ahaggar, as we have already said, is a mountain refuge. We do not know why the Tuareg have continued to live there when they could have found much better countries to the south where they could have had a much easier life. Perhaps we should attribute this to attachment to the country or, quite simply, to an ancient state of things which forced them to take refuge against their will in the middle of the rocks.

13 A superficial examination shows that the Ahaggar is a very poor
[511] country with negligible resources, which imposes a living standard
[312] lower than the average. The pasture reserves are calculated, as are the water reserves. The subsoil possesses nothing, or almost nothing, which is marketable, except a little salt. Consequently, the possibilities for life there are quite limited. For the inhabitants to live, then, they must have recourse to outside resources.

262 According to what we know of the production of the cultivated lands of the Ahaggar itself and according to what the Tuareg are obliged 433 to import, we may know approximately their needs. During the good 439 years, local production is equivalent to only one quarter of the needs. It may be evaluated at 150 tons. To this must be added wheat production, but this cannot be taken in consideration insofar as consumption is concerned, since 237 415 234 it is almost entirely destined for export. It follows from this that import needs amount to 4, 000 loads of millet a year, calculated at 150 kilograms each, making 600 tons, which are for the most part bought or exchanged at Damergou or in the Tahoua region. The annual demand for dates is 400 loads.

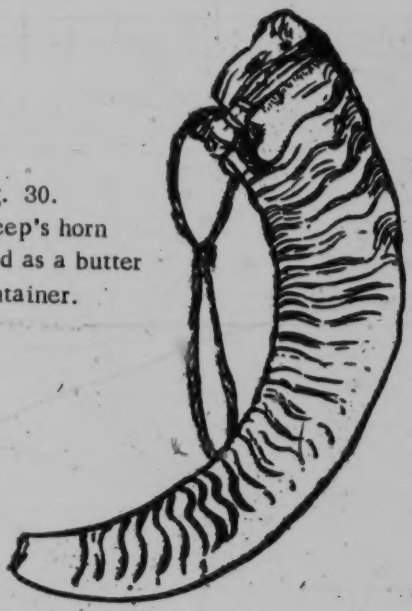

Fig. 30. Sheep's horn used as a butter container.

From these figures it 146 follows that the annual needs per person are approximately one load of 262 millet and one-tenth of a load of dates. 511

Individual consumption may thus be estimated at 187 kilograms of millet and 15 kilograms of dates per year, while an identical calculation /232/ for the Saharian Arabs has given us 180 kilograms of wheat and 75 kilograms of dates. But we must not deceive ourselves. These figures are drawn up for years, if not of abundance, at least of relative facility. Indeed, the annual average is very much lower, for the Ihaggaren do not always have at their disposal the means of exchange to meet their needs, and one may reduce the figures cited above by a good third, sometimes even by half.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



565 Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Ṛela clan, but as he now lives outside of
614 Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

643 In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to
651 noble Kel Ṛela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Iskkemaren class, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Ṛela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139ff.).

Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known
643 as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order
651 to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the
579 Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *ennehet*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347f.).

The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was
565 also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg.
614 But the relation (*temaẓlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals
651 and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another.
233 The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And
511 the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little
[234] when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food,
[262] but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar
[574] Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together,
[281] as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft,
[237] as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food. 233 511 [492] [439]

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like. [234] [262] [281] [291] [283]

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the ticuse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Rela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temażlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. [422] [565] [114] 565 651 [421] [431]

241 /75 cont./ is always the same: in a living wadi, between two rock shelves. They are to be found, then, within a radius of about 100 kilometers from the upper summits of the Atakor.

The gardens string out along the wadi, using to the best advantage the cultivable and irrigable land. An impressive checkerboard of guemouns served by lines of foggaras and séguias testifies to the industry of the harratin. The green patches of early wheat among the grayish natural vegetation make a curious sight; this verdure seems unreal. The agricultural centers are always found in picturesque surroundings. The villages have rare houses of toubs or of dried bricks, [342] but more common are tahli zéribas /reed shelters/. Misery there is endemic, and the word "destitution" takes on its [511] most absolute sense here.

I have personally known families, one of them with [262 nine children, who knew upon getting up in the morning, 511] at certain times of the year, that they had nothing to eat during the coming day and that it would be the same the next day and the days after that. Only the charity of one of their fellows, scarcely any better off, would save them from starvation.

It is true that lack of foresight is a determining factor in bringing about this destitution, but it is not the only factor; one must also cite the low fertility of the soil, the frequent lack of sufficient water, above all after a long dry period, the conditions of the agricultural contract which in effect prevent the hartani from developing a passionate interest in his land, and, lastly, the limited views and complete lack of initiative that characterize the harratin. It must be noted that the Tuareg are hostile to the development of agriculture; this hostility is scarcely a reasoned one; it is a matter of a kind of nomadic atavism, augmented by a desire to keep the traditional practices intact, and also by a fear of seeing the Ahaggar penetrated by foreigners who, undoubtedly, could make the land produce and, in particular, develop the /76/ palm groves, but who would not be hereditarily subordinate to their authority.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



133 Massif resembles Ahaggar, but it is on the whole much more level with broader valleys and in between
[131] the lower mountains there are clayey plains. Immediately east of the Massif is the very extended sandy desert which is uninhabited. Further south than Adrar-n-Foras and Ayr there are no considerable mountains. Between the two massifs are the plains of Tamesna and Talak which continue into the plains of the Sudanese savannah.

Tuareg country consists predominantly of rocky mountains and flat, extensive plains of gravel and stone. This configuration is basic to our understanding of Tuareg economy as will become clear when we have outlined the characteristic features of climate.

132 Tuareg country is very hot in summer – so hot that even the nomads born and bred in the country suffer much from the heat at that season. The hottest months are May, June (farthest south) and July (farthest north). During these months temperature may exceed 50° centigrade, and is on average 30°-35°, or higher. In the uppermost mountain zone of Ahaggar nights are comparatively cool even in summer, while in the lower country there is often little difference between day and night temperatures. This is true in particular when, as often happens in summer, the sky is overcast during the night and consequently there is little radiation of the heat absorbed by rocks and sand in daytime. The day temperature in summer is normally higher than the temperature of the human body, and the
[484] temperature of sand and rocks will rise to 60°-70°. Travelling is extremely hard under such conditions,
[271] and most people spend the day in the shade of rocks and trees, sleeping and drinking water of which an adult person consumes 8-10 litres a day. Violent winds are common in the Sahara most of the year and in particular in the daytime; in summer these winds are usually very hot and add considerably to the discomfort of the climate, as do the numerous flies.

The country of the Northern Tuareg has a rather continental climate characterized by great fluctuations of temperature during the year. Although Tuareg suffer from heat in summer, they do not generally complain much about it, and they consider the comparatively cold winter much worse than the hot summer. In winter, temperature in the country of the Northern Tuareg averages about 10°. The absolute minimum temperature however is very much below this. Thus in Ahaggar the village of Tamanrasset (1400 m) has in January an average temperature of 11,7 , but an absolute minimum of -6,6 . Frost is very common during winter nights, and even snow may fall in the higher parts of Ahaggar at that time of the year. In the country of the Southern Tuareg frost may also occur, but in Southern Ayr around Agadez frost is said to be very rare and snow is unknown; the winter period
[511] in the south is on the whole milder than in the north, where the changes between relatively cold and
[164] very hot temperatures, allied with inadequate dwellings and clothes, are responsible for pneumonia and similar diseases, which give rise to frequent deaths – especially among children.

The most important climatic distinction between the countries of Northern and Southern Tuareg is due to differences in the annual precipitation as will be seen from the following figures (in m/m) for the annual rainfall 1931-1945 in the territories of seven Tuareg groups:—

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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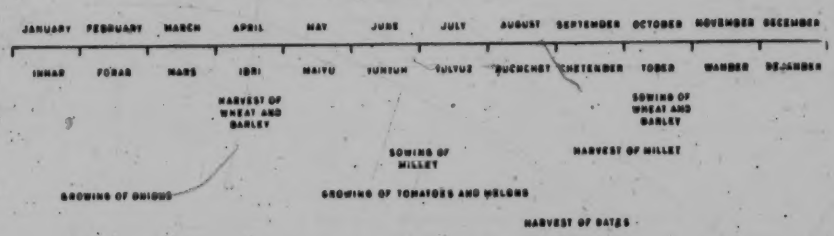


Fig. 139. Horticultural calendar from Ahaggar.

The Tuareg and the negroid agriculturists have a lunar calendar of twelve months corresponding to the Arab calendar, but a lunar calendar has no practical value for the indication of seasonal agricultural activities. The Julian Calendar is known to some people of Ahaggar as well as to other Berbers of the Sahara and the Atlas. Tuareg names of Julian months are given above. Very few people in Ahaggar know the exact beginning and the end of the twelve Julian months, but a few names are used as seasonal terms: *innar* "midwinter", *mars* = "beginning of spring", *ibri* "early harvest" (of wheat and barley), *maiyu* "beginning of summer", *tober* = "late harvest" (millet).

241 which no definite figures can be given, while the yield of fruit trees growing in the garden plot does
[423] not necessarily belong to the agriculturist. These trees frequently belong to pastoral Tuareg.

433 I think it can be estimated that an agricultural household with its own garden produce about a
262 thousand kilos of vegetables food products annually for its private use. We can add that though the members of an agricultural household live mainly on vegetable food products they also acquire a certain amount of food from livestock, which normally comprises a few goats and sheep, and perhaps one or two zebus. Conditions of stock-breeding are not always favourable to people who live continuously on the same spot, but it is advantageous to the agriculturists of Ahaggar, who live close to valleys with some pasture, that they are able to feed their animals on green garden products when pasture is badly developed and thus avoid the disaster of a drought. It is also an advantage to most agriculturists that they do not have to water their animals which can drink freely from the irrigation canals. The agriculturists can kill a few goats or sheep annually, they obtain milk and a little butter
[234] to be used mainly as a sauce for bread and porridge, and they make cheese of the *awles* type (cf. p. 224), but they never make cheese from fresh milk as do many pastoral Tuareg when milk is abundant. The agriculturists also breed fowls and pigeons, and some of them have an important meat supply from hunting with steel-traps (hares, jackals, fennecs, and ravens). Collecting, on the other hand, is of little or no value to irrigation farmers of Ahaggar.

241 The economic position of agriculturists who work without any particular obligations towards
466 pastoral Tuareg is tolerably good. It is less favourable to those who grow winter crops also on behalf
[423] of the Tuareg, as do most cultivators. Some of them irrigate the garden plot with water raised from
[511] wells by oxen which may belong to the cultivator or to the Tuareg. But most agriculturists who work
241 for the pastoral Tuareg irrigate by means of *foggara*. It is very strenuous work to dig a *foggara* canal.
312 and co-operation is needed not only for this but also for the maintenance of the whole irrigation system.
466 The gardens are individually tended by the agriculturists, who co-operate in the *foggara* work under
476 the leadership of a headman known as *amrar n efeli*, that is "chief of the *foggara*". This headman is

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



466 475 423 241 434 obtain a larger amount of vegetable food products and more wheat and barley. The pastoral Tuareg gain less from their gardens than they did when the *khamast* system prevailed, but it is still profitable for them to be garden owners.

The quantity of agricultural products anually consumed per person among the *Kel Ahaggar* is 511 estimated by Lhote at 187 kilos millet, 15 kilos dates, and a small amount of wheat for which no 262 figure is given. For Arabs of the Sahara the quantity of vegetable food is estimated at 180 kilos wheat, [171] and 75 kilos dates anually per person (Lhote 1955a, p. 263). I add to this that wheat is used for bread to a very large extent by the Ahaggar Tuareg, who also make much use of barley for bread and porridge. According to Malaurie the amount of agricultural food products available per person among the Ahaggar Tuareg is about 400 grammes a day, or 146 kilos anually (Malaurie 1953, p. 342). It should be noted again that the amount of agricultural food products necessary for a Tuareg household varies greatly from one year to the other. In years of drought when agricultural products form so to speak the only source of food for the nomads, they estimate that a household consisting of husband, wife, and one child will consume about two kilos of cereals (dates) every day, or 730 kilos in a year. Consequently the amount of cereals and dates consumed anually per person may in dry years rise to [171] about 245 kilos. This seems to correspond to the amount of food considered necessary for Arabs of Tidikelt and Tawat, who live almost exclusively on cereals and dates. When employed as labourers by the French Administration these sedentary Arabs are given 16 kilos of wheat and 4 kilos of rice a month, or 240 kilos of agricultural products anually per person (Information obtained from the administration 511 office of In Salah in 1954). The agricultural products obtained by a pastoral household from a single 433 garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example: During the year 1954 55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with an *aril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar [437] Tuareg depend on caravan trading for their provisions of agricultural food, and trading also helps them to create the capital of millet and dates which is invested in their gardens in Ahaggar grown on their behalf by agriculturists. I believe that most pastoral households of Ahaggar have gardens, but there are Tuareg who have none. This is true, for instance, of most Tuareg living in and around the Ahnet Massif. Tuareg of this region formerly had gardens irrigated by the *foggara* system at Abalessa, but to-day they acquire their vegetable food products mainly by caravan trading.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AYR

563 The largest aggregation of sedentary people in Ayr is found in Agadez (4.737), which is inhabited al- [361] most exclusively by negroid peoples who speak Hausa though most of them also know the Tuareg 162 language (*tamachek*). This large sedentary population mainly lives on trade and on crafts of [197] various kinds. The inhabitants are known to the Tuareg as the *Imeggedezen*. They are said to be related [433] to the Sultan (or the *Amenukal*) of Agadez. There is a tradition which claims that the Sultan came [173]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



433 439 in the Sudan for such articles as camel saddles, sandals, swords, millet mortars, indigo cotton, earthenware pots, and the like. The Tuareg may also buy quantities of butter and cheese for sale to the sedentary people of Tidikelt and for their own use in dry years.

The Sudanese trade constitutes the great stabilizing factor in the economy of pastoral Tuareg of [262] Ahaggar. In return for the valuable rock-salt, pastoral Tuareg obtain the bulk of their agricultural food products (millet), butter and cheese for their own consumption in dry years, many important artefacts and notably their camel saddles and their millet mortars. They also get a surplus of millet and goods for investment in their Ahaggar gardens and for selling to the sedentary people of the Tidikelt oases.

There are certain Tuareg who do not engage in the Sudanese salt trade, notably those living in Ahnet; and these Tuareg nowadays have no irrigated gardens either. They acquire their necessary vegetable food products from Tidikelt (dates) and from Abalessa and Tamanrasset (wheat). They buy these vegetable products with their surplus of goats, sheep, camels, butter and cheese, and an occasional [511] barbary sheep. In a good year they can meet their needs of food in this way, but it is most difficult for them to subsist in dry years; and it may happen that two dry years come in succession. When I [114] stayed among the Ahnet Tuareg in 1954–55, all camps visited were very short of food, while the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif who engage much in the salt trade (the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé*) possessed what they needed of wheat, barley, dates, and millet.

[366] To-day there is a rather important market at Tamanrasset where many Tuareg sell surplus livestock, and where they can also buy cereals and dates. But it is always profitable to sell livestock and meat [435] in the Tidikelt oases where meat, butter and cheese are very expensive articles. Dates are cheap in these 000 oases, European goods and woven blankets are also cheaper than at Tamanrasset. The trading expedi-

804 322 177

Fig. 150. Wooden measure (*muda*) which contains one kilo of cereals, or the like. The Tuareg have adopted the kilogramme into their own weight system. The proper Tuareg unit is the *tasiwa* which, according to Foucauld, corresponds to three kilogrammes (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1160), but nowadays the Ahaggar Tuareg count one *tasiwa* as equal to two kilogrammes and a half. The Tuareg have wooden or metal measures of *tasiwa* size, and there are also larger measures to be used for grain, dates, and the like. For units smaller than *muda* the Tuareg sometimes use a wooden measure called *tanakast* which holds half a kilogramme. Smaller quantities are measured with the hand held half open, and it is recognized in Ahaggar that one *tasiwa* corresponds to 99 handfuls. In Ayr it is very common to use a little plaited bowl (*téfakemi*) as the smallest unit of measurement. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.125 m in diameter at the rim. (F.M. 168).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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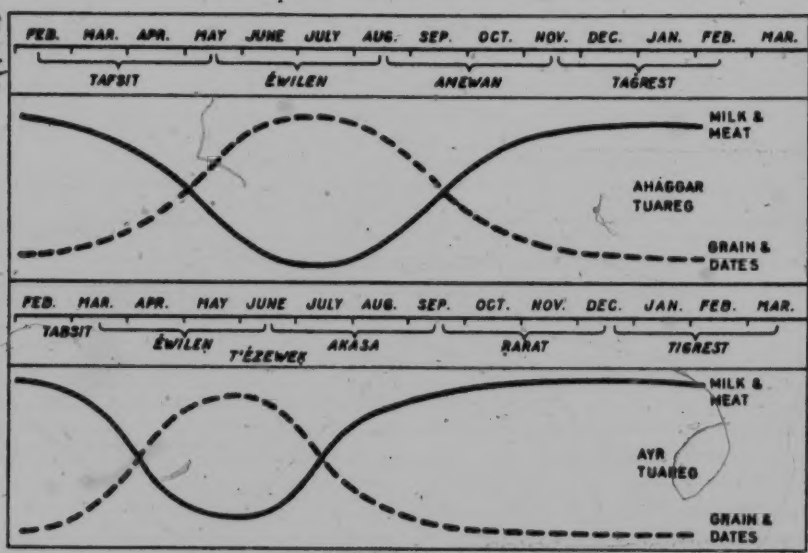


[511] [824] Fig. 151. The relative importance throughout the year of food derived from stock-breeding and vegetable products mainly comprising agricultural products. The curves describe conditions in good years for wealthy families. However, milk (and meat) is less important to most Ayr families than indicated in the diagram which covers a household making use of the particular type of annual pasture which remains green throughout winter, notably *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea ssp. Schimperi*) *adreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tagellat* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). – This diagram should be compared with Fig. 14 where climatic and botanical changes throughout the year are outlined.

433 it is remunerative to buy an extra supply of millet in Damergu and to exchange it for dates and salt
439 at Bilma. Caravan trading is a source of profit to the Ayr Tuareg, but most of them ultimately acquire their agricultural food products in exchange for stock and stock-breeding products. Very few of them mine salt at Amadror, and most of them obtain salt in return for millet bought for domestic animals in Damergu, or for meat of domestic animals butchered in Ayr. The Tuareg cannot easily subsist without agricultural products but they can obtain them in exchange for their livestock.

223 We see again that conditions of stock-breeding are very favourable in Ayr in comparison with those
166 of Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where frequent drought periods make it difficult for the Tuareg to
[184] exist. It is easily understandable that the favourable grazing conditions of Ayr have caused many Tuareg of the north to migrate southwards. These migrations take place even to-day and have gone
433 on for centuries (cf. p. 411 ff.). However, even in Ayr it is most difficult to subsist without cultivated
262 cereals (millet), and we must do away with the myth that pastoralists of North Africa live entirely on milk and meat from their animals – they do not. This is true for all Tuareg I have visited, including

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Fig. 194a–c. Bowl-like ladles from Ahaggar and Ayr. They are used mainly for eating liquid dishes – in particular for the dish known as *ayehara* (Ahaggar) or *ayelira* (Ayr).

a. Ladle (*tamulat*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.285 m long, 0.110–0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5845).

b. Ladle (*tamulat*). Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.330 m long. (N.M. G. 6631).

c. Ladle-like bowl (*assar*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. This ladle-like bowl was not used for food but for conservation of fine-grained sand used for hair-dressing together with water and butter. Dimension: 0.330 m long, 0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5879).

[302]

264 frequently consisting of bread or porridge eaten rather late at night. The Ayr Tuareg have related terms for their meals:— (1) *tegimgimt* which is a prepared meal eaten late in the morning. (2) *témekkelewt* which is the prepared meal taken at midday. (3) *temegint*, late evening meal which is the main
[272] meal in Ayr, as in Ahaggar. In addition to these meals there is a very light meal taken with tea immidiately after rising. It is known as *elfetur*.

[311] Incidentally there are Tuareg who do not have food enough to eat three times a day.

During times when Tuareg subsist exclusively on milk they have no regular meals. The amount
[484] of milk needed to support life is very great, and it is drunk slowly during the day. On extensive journeys when the camels cross the barren deserts, the Tuareg also do not have regular meals as they do in their camps.

[text continues on p. 255]

291 tract which otherwise suffer severely in an arid climate, even when the ambiant temperature is only moderately high. Thus it is clear that the teguelmoust does have a very real practical value, regardless of what the Tuareg may say; and it is clear also that the men who wear it need it far more than do their womenfolk who go without.

291 It is not true that Tuareg women of the Ahaggar (fig. 48) are exposed to the rigors
●512 of their environment either as much or in the same way as are their menfolk. The men are
462 out and about a good deal of the time, riding here and there across the countryside on errands of one sort or another or on long journeys far away, while the women sit quietly in the shelter of their tents, gossiping, telling folk tales, doing fancy leatherwork, and teaching tribal lore and sometimes Tifinagh [11] to the children. Every family that is
[567] not miserably poor has at least two or three slaves to fetch and carry water, prepare the meals and do the other daily chores, so that the mistress of a normal Tuareg household in the Ahaggar has no need to take a single step outside her tent except when camp is moved, or to visit with her neighbors and to answer calls of nature.

291 Although it is true that Tuareg women do not wear veils, it is also true that women
171 of the other Saharan nomad tribes, Arabs included, seldom if ever wear veils either, except on the very rare occasions when they visit a sedentary settlement or town, and even then not always by any means. But Tuareg and other Saharan nomad women alike all draw a corner of the head shawl (or turban cloth) across the nose and mouth occasionally as a simple matter of physical protection, and this has the same practical effect as putting on a veil does.

291 All this data on the wearing of veils and going without them proves nothing, to be sure, but it does go to show that the Tuareg teguelmoust itself can have had a strictly utilitarian origin after all, as Blanguernon (1955, p. 99) implied, quite apart from the origin of the elaborate and rigid ceremonial
291 quality with which its use has become imbued.
177 As for the date at which the teguelmoust

[11] The Tuareg alphabetic script.

565 554 [302] [516] [195] 554 562 574 [533] [566]

The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of appearance and language is even more perceptible among the women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society. Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in knowing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and knowing how to play the violin.

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Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

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The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/ and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

[651]

251 Thus, they are forced to keep supplies on hand, /226/ but it is a
343 limited stock, consisting of two or three bags of sorghum or dates which are transported each time the camp is moved. It is customary, when supplies are more considerable, to leave them in the rocks of the mountains in spots known to the people of the tribe. These granaries (ekaham) allow them to travel lighter and at the same time put supplies in safe places. In case camps are raided they make a sufficient food reserve so that the people are not driven to starvation.

Some tribes which have gardens in the centers of cultivation
184 often have food deposits there; they are stored for a whole family
343 group. Thus the Dag Rali have stores in the Koudia, at Ilaman,
423 Tarahananet, Abalessa, etc., where they entrust the care of their
251 goods to their local representatives. These centers have secret granaries; they are scarcely used these days, but they were used before the French occupation for reasons of safety in case of raids. We have seen hiding places of this kind at Tit and at Bloumet, and there are probably some at Tazerouk and Ideles. They consist of cellars dug in the soil at ground level and hidden from the eyes of passers-by. Merchandise was thus protected from men and rodents.

171 While we are on the subject, let us add that granaries dug in rock are common among all Berbers. Today they may still be seen in Morocco and among the Chaouia /Shawia/ of Aurès. This custom seems to have been common in Mediterranean countries, in Syria, and especially in Palestine where it was already reported in Biblical times.

343 The Akhamouk amenokal was the only person who had real
643 granaries. He had three or four of them constructed of stone bound
251 with clay using the Sudanese technique. They were placed at the top of a rocky crest on the left bank of the Abalessa wadi, near the place where his camp was most often established.

513 Sleeping arrangements. -- Bedding includes only one or two
[illegible] sheepskins sewn together, or more rarely a rug among the rich people.

513 No one has a bed except the aménokal, who owns one of the Hausa
[352 177 643] type; this model has also been adopted in a certain number /227/ of Kel Oui /Owey/ camps. (1) The man and woman each sleep on

1. Contrary to what has been said, the bed is not Tuareg but Hausa. Its use is spread among the sedentary people of Aïr, Damergou, and Sokoto, and it is made by Hausa smiths.

his or her own side of the tent, the boys with their father and the girls with their mother.

654 There are no cradles for babies among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and young children are placed on a skin or on blankets. Sometimes a hemispheric wicker frame is put over them and covered with a cloth to cut off the light or protect them from sandstorms.

The Kel Aïr and the Tenguéréguif have little cradles which are suspended from the top of the tent.

354 Fire. -- In front of each tent there is a hearth, generally made of three stones. It is not intended for cooking purposes, but rather for warmth in the evening after the sun has gone down when all the people gather in the shelter of the asaber, which is unrolled in an arc in front of the tent. The flame warms up hearts and
[272] bodies and synthesizes family and friendship. Sometimes a container of water is placed on the three stones to heat in order to make tea.

343 The cooking fire is set apart, generally some three or four
354 meters from the tent, in the shelter of a little stone wall in order to protect it from the wind.

372 We have not been able to find any myth on the origin of fire
773 among the Tuareg. According to them it was created by God, who gave it to man to cook food. Iblis (Satan) wanted to seize the secret of how it was made, and God punished him by creating

Plate IX

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Young Tuareg woman of noble class brushing her teeth with an irak stem. Notice behind her the mat called asaber used to surround the tent.

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Young Tuareg couple seated in the shelter of the asaber. Behind them is a household servant, a taklit of Sudanese origin.

423 When pasture is scarce as the result of a long dry period, an
621 understanding is reached between the different tribal chiefs, and
311 one of them may authorize the other's tribe to come nomadize on his territory, on the condition, of course, that they not do any damage, mutilate the trees, or engage in hunting.

185 When a region has been abundantly favored by rain, the amrar
423 decrees the land forbidden -- ganent. No one can go there, in-
621 cluding the people of the tribe. This measure is designed to protect
311 young growths from the teeth of the animals and let the pasture grow to maturity. A few weeks later the interdiction is raised, the land is free, and anyone, without distinction, may profit from it, always conforming, of course, to the jurisdiction /sic/ concerning the protection of trees and to the hunting interdiction.

423 Animals straying on the land of a neighboring tribe are /256/
621 returned to their owners without the intervention of any sanction. But when a flock is surprised on ganent land, the owner is fined one
685 head of livestock -- one goat if it is a flock of goats, one sheep if it is a flock of sheep, one camel if it is a herd of camels.

A branch cut by a member of a neighboring tribe entails a fine
[185] of one goat or one sheep. This rule is not often applied, however, for the Tuareg have little respect for the protection of trees.

/257/ Chapter 7

## Care of the Body and Bodily Habits

515 Cleanliness and care of the body. -- In a country where water is scarce, it is natural that the people are not inclined to wash every day. The Tuareg, through living in the desert far from wells, have lost the habit of washing themselves. It is not that they despise

515 care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed [826] every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

751 For them the main question is protecting the different parts of the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the body is to that end.

291 They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily 302 dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired color.

302 To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their [171] limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

515 The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth. They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal [412] and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed to form a brush. For this purpose they use irak branches (Salvadora [824] persica) or palm jereed.

/258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring 302 for the hair.

Young boys have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed [593] by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer 276 them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region. [184] They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a [882] certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have themselves shaved completely.

302 The women also wear their hair braided in a number of plaits which hang beside the temples. They coif each other, and since the job requires many hours, it is done only once or twice a month. [412] They begin by untangling the hair by means of a small comb, at the same time filling the hair with sand and wood ashes. Next they [515] proceed to delouse it, for each Tuareg head of hair generally harbors a whole little world of insects. Then the hairdresser separates the hair into bunches, using a small knife, soaks it with water and butter, and braids it, either in large braids so that there are three or four hanging on each side, or in many small braids. [751] They smear their hair with butter for no other reason than to protect it against the sun and especially against the dry air which makes it brittle.

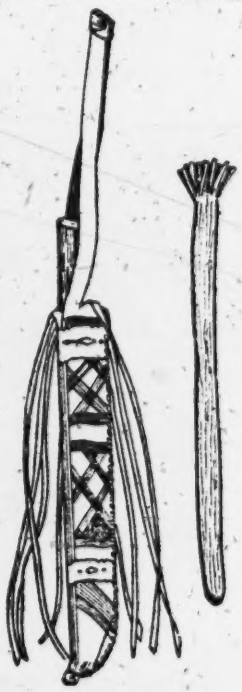

Fig. 35. Tooth brush of irak wood with its leather case.

The men let their beards grow, but they almost always shave their mustaches or cut them very short so /259/ that they do not get in the way under the veils which cover the lower part of their faces.

Men and women shave the pubis.

[754] After dressing the hair or shaving, the Tuareg always bury their hair or down, for fear that people who wish them harm might get hold of them and take them to some sorcerer who could use them to make fearful evil spells.

114 sult, and the Tuareg have been among the most spectacular victims.

The famous veil of these great desert warriors (figs. 25, 26, and 51) has cast its shadow of romantic mystery not only over the faces of its wearers but over their whole culture, and so both opportunity and temptation to romanticize have overcome to some extent many of those who have written about the Tuareg tribes. In the summer of 1956 the author heard a well-known public lecturer and traveler, who had even been to Tamanrasset for a few days, declare to his unsuspecting audience of honest New England farmers that the Tuareg are probably descended from a little band of crusaders who got cut off in the rock-walled valley of Petra (in what is now the Kingdom of Jordan), whence they finally escaped and found their way (heaven knows how) clear across Africa to the mountains of the Ahaggar. He added that Tuareg men are [141] about 7 feet tall—and he was speaking in a church—although the tallest one so far recorded measured just over 6 feet 5½ inches, while the average Targui stands only about 5 feet 8 in his sandal feet (*see* table A-2).

114 Tuareg morality and personal hygiene have been the subjects of hardly less exaggeration. 515 Several generations of frustrated readers have by now found vicarious satisfaction in titillating tales of the great ladies of the Ahaggar, beautiful of face and graceful, gracious and unclean, skilled in the arts of love, poetry and music, fascinating and refined and evil-smelling. These unattractively attractive custodians of a spuriously antique chivalrous tradition have been said to welcome to their bosoms and their beds nearly all socially presentable admirers, while their docile husbands stand modestly aside and show their good breeding by 114 concealing their emotions. Few authors seem to have been bothered by the glaring contrast between this rather pitiful picture of long-suffering patience and the very different one that they usually present only a few pages earlier, in which we see the fire-breathing knights of the Ahaggar, those seven-foot sons of the flower of Christian chivalry, busily chasing each other up and down the rocky mountain slopes when there doesn't happen to be anyone else around to kill. But this contrast bothers us—surely there must be something wrong somewhere. So let us take a

291 Tuareg attach considerable importance to
[439] indigo blue cotton cloth, a product which they get from the Sudan. This material is commonly known as "chegga" (pronounced *shegga*), and the most archaic and highly prized variety is made of a multitude of long strips about an inch wide sewn tightly together. The cloth itself, of very ordinary quality, is so heavily impregnated with crude indigo as to be literally stiff with it. A brand new piece looks black when seen at a distance or in a poor light, but in bright sunlight it is a dark purplish blue with a coppery sheen like that of cheap carbon paper; and the indigo dye comes off on your fingers at the slightest touch, just as the ink on carbon paper does but much more so.

302 Obviously, anyone who wears clothes made of such material is soon stained with indigo from head to foot, and the Tuareg even rub it into their skins on purpose. Women often smear it on their foreheads, cheeks and temples and around their mouths by way of make-up. The
[751] Tuareg claim that indigo not only protects human skin from the direct effects of sun and wind but also lubricates it and so prevents cracking, and they are quite right, at least up to a point. If the Tuareg wash themselves only
[515] very rarely, it is partly to preserve the accumulated protective coating of indigo, the humble practical value of which has been
[554] gradually enhanced by an ever-increasing value of prestige that has risen in proportion to the rising cost of indigo-dyed cloth. A dirty looking, bluish skin is admired by the Tuareg just as much as a rich golden tan is admired in midwinter by the business men and women of New England and New York.

515 It should be noted that in the Sahara Desert proper one can go unwashed for long periods without either feeling or looking noticeably dirty. The air is so dry that perspiration usually evaporates instantly upon reaching the surface of the skin, and so it is unusual for anyone to sweat visibly. Most of the nomadic
[147] natives are in excellent physical condition in that they are very lean and wiry, and so they sweat relatively little in any case. Thus it is extremely rare to meet one who has any perceptible body odor at all, regardless of whether he looks clean or not. White foreigners are seldom in anywhere near as good physi-

515 cal condition, and they appear to sweat much more, perhaps in part because nearly all of them persist in maintaining their European eating and drinking habits. There is a strong hint here that a systematic investigation of the relationship between diet and sweat loss in the Sahara might produce some very interesting and useful results.

When an Arab nomad of the northern Desert goes to town, the first thing he usually does is to head for the public baths and get himself thoroughly steamed and scrubbed all over, but the Ahaggar Tuareg almost never visit any town big enough to have public or even private baths. A few permanent waterholes and a number of seasonal ones are to be found, however, scattered thinly through most of the Ahaggar massif, and the Tuareg of the region make use of such pools occasionally, though perhaps not quite as often as do their cousins of the Aïr, of whom Rodd (1926, p. 163) wrote as follows: "In justice to my friends, I must admit that they washed their clothing, and especially their white trousers, very frequently, and when they washed their person, they did so very thoroughly from head to foot, with much rubbing and a prodigious splashing of volumes of water." The Tuareg of the Ahaggar, women as well as men, wash themselves with equal gusto when they wash at all, and this is not the kind of thing that one would expect of people who have any real dislike or fear of water as such.

And finally it should be noted that among Saharan peoples in general, including the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, bodily cleanliness seems to show a pretty uniform positive correlation with economic status, as it so often does elsewhere in the world.

567 **Racial Minorities, Parasitic Groups and Race Mixture.** We have already gone far enough into the question of slavery in the Ahaggar so that not much remains to be said about it here beyond a brief summing up of the situation. The slaves are almost all Negro captives from the Sudan, or the descendants of such captives. They are chattels which can be bought, sold and inherited, and they do all the manual labor and housework around the camp and also acts as shepherds. A slave can seldom marry without the permission of his master, who usually advances the necessary

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## Chapter XVI

## Hygiene. Diseases

133
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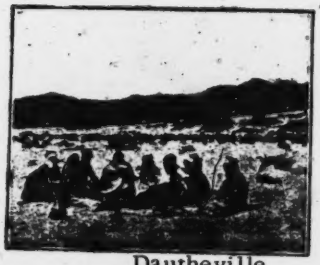

Dautheville
Dr. Dautheville in the Abezzou
Wadi (White Tifedest)

We know that the Tuareg have a horror of water. They do 515
not wash themselves on the pretext that this would make them
sick, but it is essentially because they are very sensitive to [151]
cold. To say their prayers, they do not indulge in the pre- [782
scribed ablutions, even when they are at home and have water 788]
at their disposal. They are content with "ta'moum" (an
imitation of washing with sand), which they call "ettamine."
The amenokal Moussa ag /31/ Amastane is the only Tuareg
whom I have seen making his ablutions with water.

This is also doubtless due to the fact that the Tuareg like 241
to keep the tint of indigo, "sedjeni" ⵙⵉⵏⵉ ⵊ , on their 302
skins, the result of wearing 'ichegga," or blue cotton, which 386
runs a great deal and of which they make their clothes. They 515

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga." 291 302 386 515

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" plural "isefran" , and believe in their efficacy. This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing. 177 278 [432 556]

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly be very well received by the Tuareg. [648 757]

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" , gonorrhea, "talaoa'lt;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" 164

## Chapter XVII

### Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have. 563 567 [721]

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense. [439]

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished. 178 567

565 619 *Imrad* (sing. *Amerid*). People of this class are sometimes called "serfs" in literature, but the word "vassals" is also used. I prefer to use the latter term, but add that the word *Imrad* is most difficult to translate into an European language. The vassal class is represented in all groups with the exception of the *Kel Geres*. Among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden* the word *Kel Ulli* (sing. *Agg Ulli*) is used synonymously with *Imrad*. Among south-western Tuareg around Timbuktu the word *Daga* or *Dara* is also used to designate vassals. The *Imrad* class is by far the most numerous in most groups. The relationship between these vassals (*Imrad*) and the noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, *Imajeren*) forms the basis of most political systems which are described later (p. 393 ff.).

101 565 Members of the above-mentioned classes are true Tuareg, though the word *Inesleimen* is also used for marabuts of other peoples and for marabuts of various black-skinned castes found among the Tuareg. Among the Northern Tuareg all people of the above-mentioned classes with the exception of certain *Inesleimen* or marabuts are called *Imuhar* (sing. *Amahar*). The Ayr Tuareg have no such common term to designate the people known to us as *Tuareg*, but occasionally they use generically the word *Imajeren* though strictly speaking this term should be reserved for Tuareg of the supreme noble class.

101 The word *Tuareg* (sing. *Targi*) is never used by the Tuareg themselves, but by Arabs. Duveyrier claims it to be derived from an Arabic word of the root *terek* meaning "to abandon". The meaning of the word accordingly should be "those abandoned (by God)", and should refer to the fact that many Tuareg do not follow Islamic rules very strictly (Duveyrier 1864, p. 317 f.). The same explanation has also been given to me by an Arab of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe of Tidikelt. However, the origin of the word "*Tuareg*" is perhaps a different one: – It may be related to the word *Targa* (Ayr) or *Targa* (Ahaggar and Tasile-n-Ajjer), which name is used by the Tuareg to designate the part of the Sahara generally known to us by the Arabic word *Fezzan*. This is very likely, as we know from Arab authors of the Middle Age that the word *Targa* or *Targa* was then used as a name for a very important Tuareg group living in that area and adjacent regions (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 83 f.; Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 534; Rodd 1926a, p. 273 f.).

142 144 The Tuareg are fair-skinned people who in certain regions and particularly in the south have mixed with Negroes. The Northern Tuareg are predominantly fair-skinned, and many of them are as "white" as Europeans though perhaps a little yellowish or brownish. It is difficult to determine their exact skin colour because they are burned and tanned by the sun and the hot wind characteristic of desert climate. In addition, the Tuareg wear clothes dyed with indigo which comes off on the body, and they rarely wash. When I lived among them my own skin-colour and that of the Tuareg were practically identical. Among the Ayr Tuareg there are also many fair-skinned people, but the Ayr Tuareg are more mixed with Negroes than the Northern Tuareg, and most *Kel Ewey* are predominantly negroid. Very mixed also are the *Kel Geres* and the same seems to hold for other Tuareg groups of the south. A few blond individuals have been recorded from the *Kel Ajjer* living around the oases of Rat and Radames, and they may be the offspring of unions between Tuareg women and caravan traders of the north (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 162 f.). The blond individuals met in Southern Ayr are the offspring of the fairly numerous marriages between Frenchmen and Tuareg women, but it is claimed that a few years ago a very blond girl was born to parents of families which had never contracted marriages

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565 [83] 513

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The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it, and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting itself to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could bring it.

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Plate IX

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302
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Young Tuareg woman of noble class brushing her teeth with an irak stem. Notice behind her the mat called asaber used to surround the tent.

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Young Tuareg couple seated in the shelter of the asaber. Behind them is a household servant, a taklit of Sudanese origin.

1: Lhote--48b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Plate X

342

Tent belonging to the amenokal of the Kel Ahaggar. It has eight poles inside, and the awning is made of 60 skins sewn together. The separate poles in the foreground are used to hold up the asaber in the evening.

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The tent is always set up by the women, mainly by servants. They make holes in the ground to put the pole in, then pile sand around it. When the pole is in place, the skin is attached by a thong.

Plate XII

Hunting with dogs is common among the Tuareg, who use saluki something like Arabian greyhounds for the purpose. Their eklan /Iklan? Ed. / are often famous hunters. In this photograph we see one of them holding two dogs on a leash and getting ready to go track wild sheep.

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Besides hunting with dogs, the Tuareg engage in trapping. Here we see a trap with radial points being set. The lasso is being tied to a big tree branch sunk in the ground and hidden by a layer of sand.

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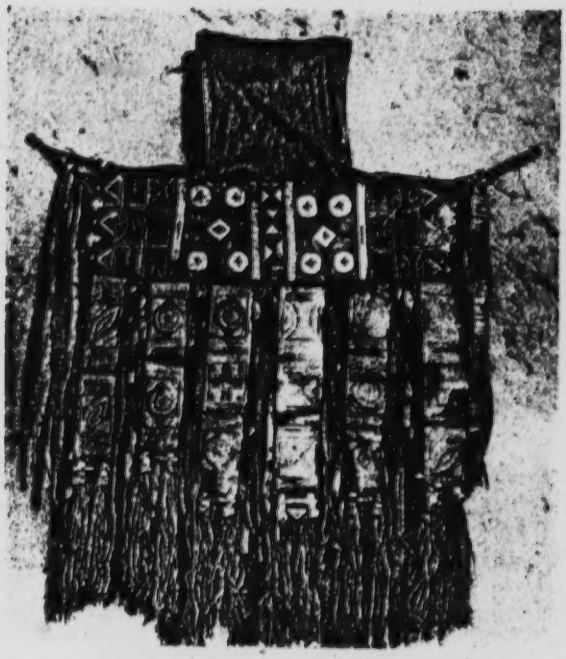
Plate XV



Goatskin bag used by women to transport their personal clothing. The very delicate decoration is obtained by cutting out the skin and applying embroidered leather.

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Old noblewoman from the Kel Rela tribe weaving a bag with goat's hair thread.

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 251]

[Pp. 243-250 not processed]



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342

*a*

516
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415

*b*

Fig. 36. *a*, A typical camp site and tent of the Ahaggar Tuareg. *b*, A chief of the Ahaggar Tuareg sits before his tent, camel whip in hand and surrounded by his family. (Photographs by Chaumeloup-Lambert, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P. 263] Hoggar



142
301
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a b

291
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142

c

Fig. 48. Tuareg women of the Ahaggar. (Photographs: *a*, by *Life* photographer David Douglas Duncan, © *Time*, Inc.; *b*, by A. J. Weber; *c*, by P. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

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## Chapter XVI

## Hygiene. Diseases

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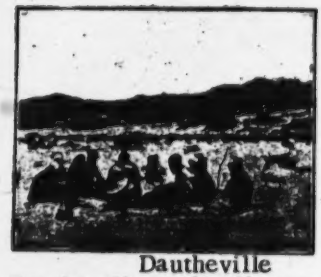

Dautheville

Dr. Dautheville in the Abezzou
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not wash themselves on the pretext that this would make them
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This is also doubtless due to the fact that the Tuareg like 241
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skins, the result of wearing "chegga," or blue cotton, which 386 515
runs a great deal and of which they make their clothes. They

4: Benhazera--38 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

They have no numbers, and they do not use the Arabic 802
numbers. They prefer to make holes in the sand, and by this rather long process succeed in figuring just the same. A Tuareg, moreover, cannot talk for five minutes without emphasizing his recitation with dots or lines on the sand. If he is asked, "How many days' march are there between this point and that one, " he cannot answer any number without marking on the ground as many dots as there are days in his answer.

A Tuareg who has been made to sit on the ground on a [516
blanket, before he begins to talk raises the edges of the 521]
blanket /44/ so as to indulge in his favorite occupation. Certainly if he were transported to France, into a well-waxed apartment, he would be very unhappy and would quickly ask for sand or earth so as to be able to draw his dots and lines.

But this custom has its use when one wishes to have an 487
idea of the road one must travel. The Tuareg who, like all 823
nomads, has a very accurate sense of direction, will draw an over-all map of the route to be followed, with the wadis and landmarks which would be met.

The Tuareg do not have words in their language to denote 177
the days of the week. Those that they use have been borrowed 192
from the Arabic and changed. 805

On the other hand, for their months they have kept some truly Tamashek names, while others are definitely taken from the Arabic. Thus:

1. "Tamessedek, " corresponding to Muharram and which seems to be derived from the Arabic "sedeq" صدق "to give alms. " It is said that this name means "zekkat" زكاة , or "legal alms. "

2. "Talilt tassettafet" (corresponding to Safar). This 773
means "the black month. " Here is why this month is so 776
called: "Sidna Slimane (Solomon) was in command of the 805
genii and demons. One day when he was standing leaning on his cane, the "djinns" (genii) told a termite to eat out the bottom of the cane. The termite did the job so well that the

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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19a. Tuareg of the Taïtok tribe talking things over in their favorite position.

[p. 204] [left - see p. 205]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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19b.

[p. 205] [Right - see p. 204]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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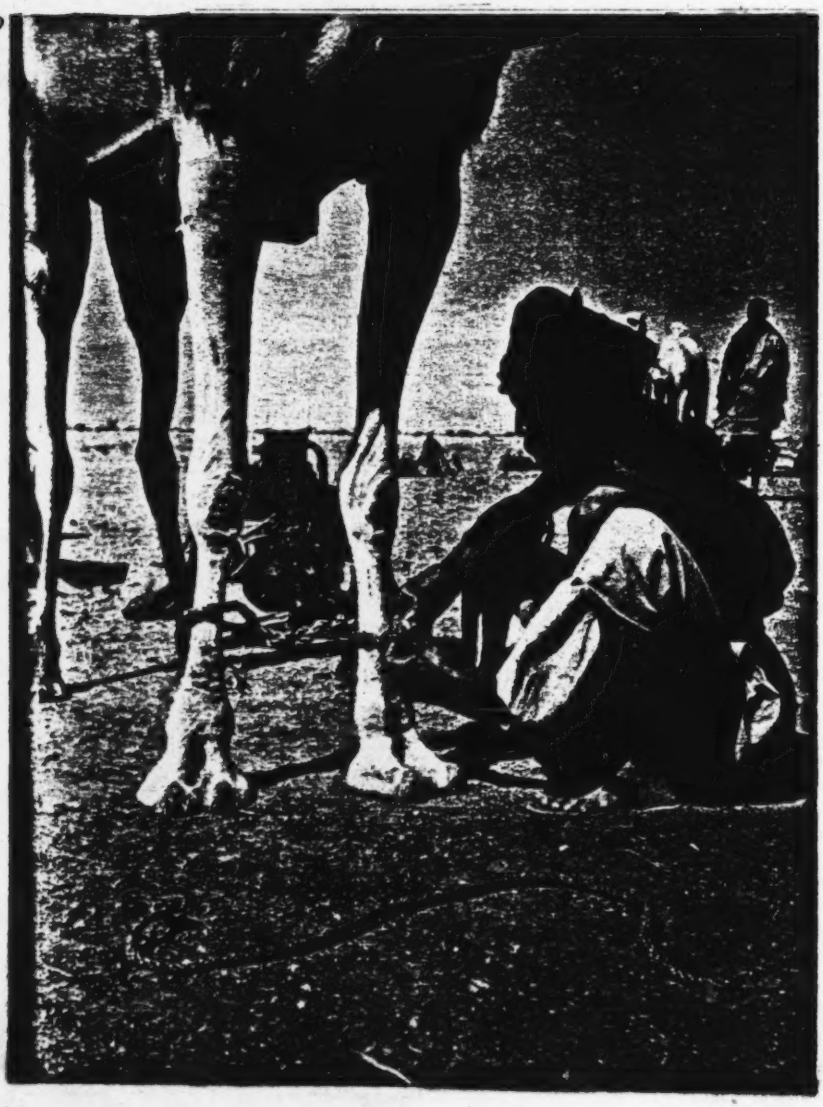

30. On a stopover the animals are hobbled for the night.

[p. 217]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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35. During a stop a Targui grinds his millet in a sheep's skin.

[p. 223]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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40. Harratin family at Tahaggart.

[p. 228]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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49. Waiting at a rendezvous.

[p. 237]

6:Blanguernon ' Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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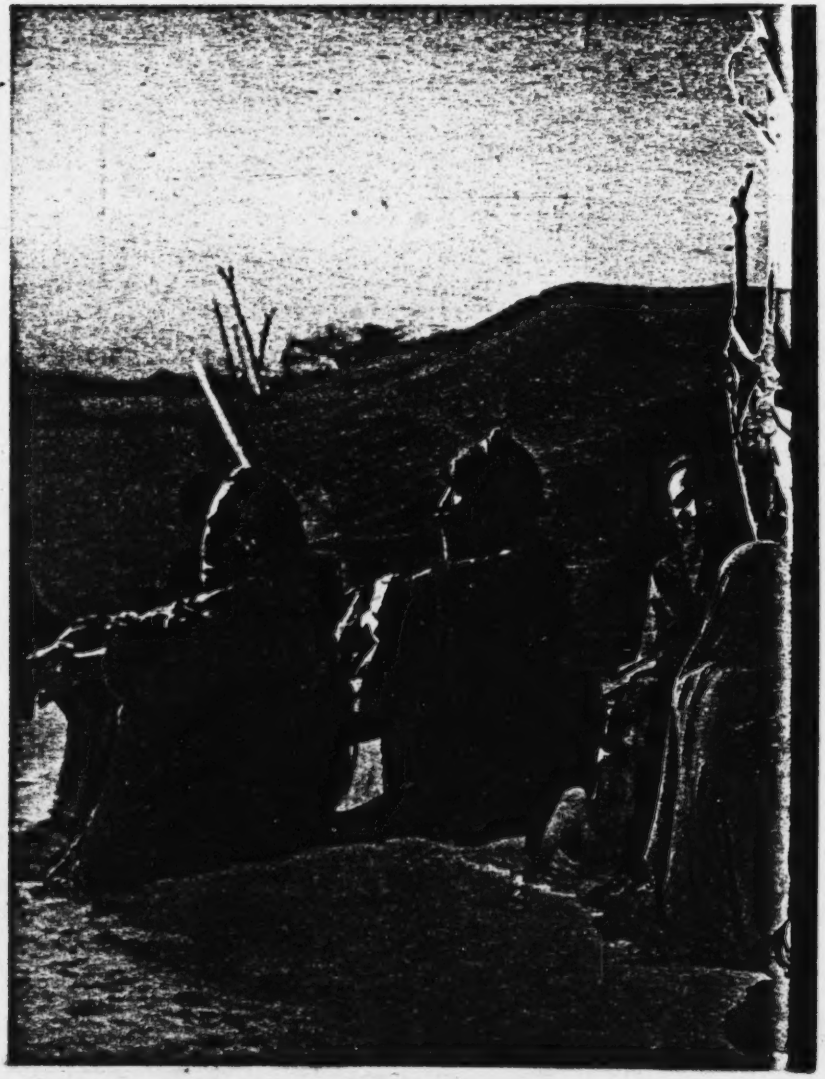

52a. Camp in the morning.

[p. 240] [left - see p. 241]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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[415]

52b.

[p. 24] [right - see p. 240]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



462 Among Northern Tuareg vassals donkeys are tended by women, who use them for riding and
231 transportation over short distances. Tuareg men rarely ride donkeys, but the assistance of men is
[492] needed in connection with some of the tasks of donkey-breeding:—

It may become desirable to increase the stock of donkeys by catching wild animals as already described above. This is always done by men who also break-in the captured animals for riding. The assistance of men is also frequently needed for catching half-wild, though domesticated donkeys.

The marking of donkeys, castration, which is rarely performed, and the curing of diseases, which are also rare, are said to be tasks which should properly be carried out by men.

[565] Vassal women only tend camels when all men are absent from their camp.

The above rules of division of labour are in general also valid in Ayr among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. But there are in Ayr vassal Tuareg who have no camels and vassal men in Ayr frequently ride donkeys. The tending of cows in Ayr is mainly the work of women, who are also more familiar with cattle terms than are the men. – Among the *Kel Ewey* the skinning of goats and sheep, as well as the partition of the meat, are done by women.

428 In the Tuareg groups I have studied both men and women inherit camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys according to Islamic rules of inheritance.

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Fig. 110. The skinning of a gazelle placed upon straw of *afeza* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ahaggar, the *Taytoq* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 115. Negroid agriculturist (*ḫariani*) with a hare caught in a steel-trap (*elkhenîyet*) of European type. Ahaggar.

262 by many people in vassal tribes, and jackal's meat is popular as it is considered an excellent remedy
565 against fever (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 146). But there are also many Tuareg who refuse all types of game
[757] with the exception of such animals as gazelle, barbary sheep, and antelope. Some Tuareg consider hare's meat unlawful, but this, perhaps, is a conception introduced with Islam, for many people of the religious *Ineslemen* class claim that hare should not be eaten because their blood resembles that of menstruating women. The food taboos strictly followed by all noble Tuareg are older than Islam: they never eat birds, eggs, reptiles, and fish.

These rules are not traditional for vassal Tuareg, though some of them have adopted the taboos of the noble Tuareg.

224 In Northern Tuareg areas two big lizzard types are found. One of them is called *aggezzeram* (*dobb*
564 in Arabic; *Uromastix acanthinurus*). This is caught and eaten by slaves, agriculturists, and by many
565 vassals. It is frequently taken by hand, but there is also a special implement (*taskumt*, *takoḍa*) consisting
262 of a stick provided with an iron crook for catching lizzards hiding in holes and under rocks. When
[432] vassal Tuareg are able to catch a great many *agezzeram*-lizzards they cut them up and dry them for
464 sale on their regular trading expeditions in autumn to the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. p. 210). The *agezzeram*-lizzard is said to be the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the negroid blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*), because the lizzard's tail resembles a file. I do not know whether the few blacksmiths found in Northern Tuareg country eat this lizzard, but do not think they do. The lizzard is not considered very delicious, and blacksmiths have emigrated from the south where it is not generally eaten.

The other edible lizzard is named *aṛata* (*Varanus* sp.). It is much bigger than the *agezzeram*-lizzard just mentioned, and its meat is excellent according to the taste of most Europeans. But this big lizzard

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



into fine-grained sand carried from the river bed to the fire place in front of the tent. When this heavy fire has calmed down the embers and most of the ashes are moved from the shallow depression to its fringes by means of a small stick, and the thin porridge or gruel of flour and water to which also a little salt is added is poured out into the depression, a spoon being normally used to remove all the gruel out of the wooden bowl in which it has been stirred. A bunch of dry grasses, herbs, or tender twigs is thereupon fired over the gruel in order that its surface may harden, and it is then covered with hot fine-grained sand, ashes, and embers in the order mentioned. If the embers are considered insufficient for baking, a small fire may be lit on the top of the sand and ashes covering the gruel-bread, which is taken out after about twenty minutes to be turned and baked in the same way on the other side for a few minutes. Baking is then finished, the bread is finally removed to be washed in water (Fig. 183). It is broken into pieces and eaten from a large wooden bowl (Figs. 195a–b) together with liquid butter. It is eaten with wooden spoons (Figs. 191). 252 264 415* 412

The type of bread just mentioned is known to people of the *Kel Ferwan* group as *tugella*. It is made by very few Tuareg. Indeed, when I travelled together with Ayr Tuareg I very frequently baked my own bread as I had learned to from the Tuareg of Ahaggar, because very few of the Ayr Tuareg I met were familiar with bread baking. Bread is not a staple diet of the Ayr Tuareg, and when they want to bake wheat flour they generally do so in the following way:— The flour is mixed with water to a dough which is placed upon the bottom and sides of a metal pot heated over the fire. This type of bread or bread-like dish is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *gurasa*. It can be mentioned that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg also bake a particular type of bread from millet flour mixed with certain other plant materials, but a bread of this kind is not baked for ordinary food, but as a kind of medicine. 262 252 [122] 252 261

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Fig. 174. Roasting meat-lumps by the *mechwi* method. Ayr, *Ech-chikhen* Tuareg of Damergu.

[text continues on p. 241]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 192. Tuareg woman cooking millet porridge. Ahaggar, the *Agah-en-tehlé* tribe. The cooking pots seen on this photograph are bought in the Sudan on trading expeditions. Sudanese pots are superior to those made in Ahaggar.

Like

264 most Tuareg dishes they are eaten from a large wooden bowl. If meat is cooked with the soup it may be broken into small pieces to be eaten with the balls, but part of the meat cooked is always eaten separately. The Tuareg eat *keskesu* with spoons, but if spoons are lacking they also eat it with the
262 hand, as do the Arabs. In addition to *keskesu* with its small balls which resemble grains of rice, the Northern Tuareg have another dish prepared in the same way but with larger balls. It is termed
[189] *tikhemmezin* and is considered inferior to the *keskesu*. – Both these dishes are unknown to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group.

262 Two particular dishes are mentioned from Ahaggar by Foucauld. One of them is called *ibergan*
252 and consists of unripe barley boiled in its own juice without water. The other one is known as *abezbez*
[261] and is made from tender plants of wheat and barley which are dried and pounded or ground into powder, to be eaten, boiled or unboiled, in periods of famine (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 89, 118).

Tuareg vegetable dishes are frequently prepared in a very simple way. Thus there is a dish known as *twes* (Ahaggar) or *tewes* (Ayr) which consists of entire seeds of millet or sorghum boiled in water. It is eaten mainly by children who frequently walk about the camp eating these boiled grains from their hands.

252 It is clear from the description of vegetable dishes that the cooking pot plays an important role for
*415 food preparation, and all dishes prepared in this way, including cooked meat, are known to the Tuareg

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



as *téyint* (Ayr) or *talekkint* (Ahaggar). But pastoral Tuareg do not make earthenware pots themselves. They obtain them from sedentary people, and it is possible that vegetable dishes have been prepared with hot stones up to recent times, for Foucauld states that hot stones are occasionally used for various vegetable dishes in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951-52, IV, p. 1583). However, I have not been able to confirm this during my own investigations among the Tuareg. It should be added that certain vegetable dishes are neither boiled nor baked. This is the case with seeds and roots of various wild plants which are ground and pounded into flour to be eaten without further preparation. Such dishes are known to the Tuareg as *tébik* (Ahaggar) or *téderka* (Ayr). Seeds and roots of wild plants utilized in this way have been mentioned in the chapter on collecting p. 175 ff.

The Tuareg have a great many different dishes, but in spite of this variety they do not always change their food from one day to another. They frequently live on the same type of food for extremely long periods. They may live almost exclusively on milk for weeks and even months, and if milk is not available they live so to speak exclusively on vegetable dishes, which may also not be changed for very long periods.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have three meals a day:— (1) *taǧimǧimt* which is a light meal taken in the morning. (2) *amekli* which is a prepared meal (e.g., bread, porridge, or *arehara*) eaten at midday. (3) *amaǧin* which is the evening meal, also known as *amensi*, or *azuzeǧ*. It is the most important meal.

Fig. 193. Tuareg woman cooking kuskus (*keskesu*) in an European enamelled pot. Ahaggar, the *Deg Ṣali* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 234. Photograph illustrating the Tuareg cotton shirt open (left) and closed (right). The two Tuareg are playing a sort of draughts called *keraḍ*. Ahaggar, the *Aǧuh-en-tehle* tribe.

291 with an opening for the head, and folded and sewn together at the lower part of the sides. The folded
294 piece of cotton may also be united at its lower parts by the insertion of a trapeze-like piece of cotton known as *tébanik*. The cotton shirt worn by most Tuareg men in Ayr is known as *teketket*, and is of the same poncho cut as the shirts mentioned above from Ahaggar.

All Tuareg men wear large and wide cotton trousers known as *ékerbey*. The cut of these trousers is the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A pair of trousers I wore when among the Ayr Tuareg is 1.10 m wide at the waist where they have a channel for the insertion of a leather cord (*tamennalt*) by means of which the trousers are laced up. The total length of the trouser legs is 1.06 m, so that the width is a little larger than the length. The trousers are sewn from three pieces of cotton. They consist of a front and back piece identically cut and sewn together at the sides; a third piece of cotton is inserted between the legs (Fig. 236).

291 The trousers are extremely large and loose. They are well-suited not only for the hot desert climate but also for camel riding. The Tuareg sometimes pull their trousers up over the knees so that they are entirely bare-legged. They do this, for instance, when they water domestic animals from wells and in various other situations where long trousers are embarassing. But they will never pull up their
[576] trousers in presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) or in the presence of parents-in-law
[606] (particularly mothers-in-law). For it is extremely shameful for a man to show himself bare-legged to persons to whom he must also not show his mouth, and the Tuareg express this fact by saying that "the veil and the trousers are brothers". In general, young boys wear a shirt of poncho type, in addition to which many of them also wear a leather loin-cloth (*arǧaǧ* in Ahaggar) made of goat skin. Such loin-cloths are attached around the waist and drawn between the legs. They are worn by certain vassal boys and by young slaves almost up to the time of initiation and veil adoption, and trousers may be adopted at the same time as the veil. It seems as if the loin-cloth has also once been a traditional garment of grown men, for Rodd states that they sometimes wear a tanned skin around the loins below the trousers – more especially in bush country where burr grass is very prevalent (Rodd 1926a, p. 164).

[text continues on p. 292]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



292 ceremonial ridings as those described on p. 104 f. I have been informed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr that bandoleers were used exclusively for such purposes. Rodd depicts a rock-drawing from Timia in Ayr and believes that it perhaps represents a man wearing a bandoleer (Rood 1926a, p. 194, pl. 40 [172] p. 305). This may be so, but I have been told by Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group that bandoleers [648] were introduced among the Ayr Tuareg by the French when they formed the camel patrol made up of Tuareg from different Ayr tribes. However, my informants also claimed that the use of bandoleers for camel riders was an ancient custom in the north among the Ahaggar Tuareg, from where it was [565] introduced to Ayr by the French. Informants of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer told me that the custom was traditional to noble Tuareg but not to vassals, though Tuareg of the vassal class also wear bandoleers nowadays.

291 Apart from the head-cloth (*ékerhey*) the following garments are typical of Northern Tuareg women:— (1) *tékamist*, that is a large and wide shirt of cotton, in form and cut identical with the man's shirt; (2) *asegbes*, a large piece of cotton used for a skirt or a petticoat; this is fixed tightly around the waist merely by folding it at the upper edge; (3) *tikest*, a large piece of cotton worn as a shawl over the shoulders and head, covering the head-cloth.

In addition to the head-cloth (*adalil*), which they frequently wear rolled up on the top of the head, Tuareg women of the *Kel Ferwan* group wear three main garments:— (1) *aftek*, a very short shirt of poncho cut. It is very akin to the shirt worn by Hausa-speaking women of Agadez, who use the words

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Fig. 237. Slave-boy wearing the loin-cloth depicted above Fig. 238. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-sehlé* tribe.

investigations seem to prove that the cross-bars with their upright forked poles form part of the structure, but the sheet may not always be supported by the cross-bars, as the suspension of the sheet in hot weather may be so elevated that the sheet rests only upon the arches which are somewhat higher than the cross-bars. Traditionally, the sheet is attached to the system of twelve poles mentioned above (cf. p. 364). 342*

B.2.a.5. This tent, used in Ahaggar, is made up of the same structural elements as the above mentioned type, but the two arches are placed parallel to the longitudinal direction and at right angles to the two outer cross-bars. The Tuareg claim that this type is not a traditional structure. The arches, they say, should traditionally be placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction and not parallel to it. I have only seen one tent of this type, namely in the *Amenukal's* camp close to Abalessa. The two arches in this case were not made of tamarix roots but of slender palm-fronds lashed together with cords. The arches were about 1.10 m high and 0.90 m in width (cf. Fig. 273).

The following two tents used by the Ahaggar Tuareg are hybrid types which seem to be used mainly in the *Agub-en-tehlé* tribe where I have seen a few:

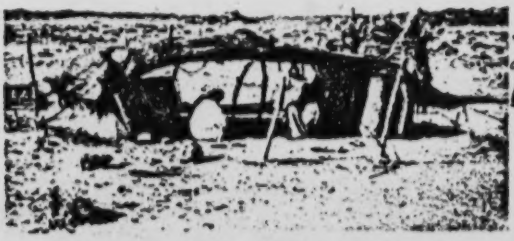

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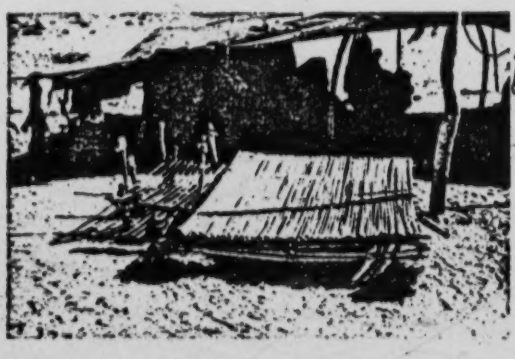
Fig. 273. Skin tent of the B.2.a.5. type. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ğela* tribe.



[352] [824]

Fig. 274. A close-up of the above tent (Fig. 273). In the foreground are beds for a married couple and a child. Such beds made of palm leaves' ribs are rare among pastoral Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ğela* tribe.

302 751 Men and women make rings around their eyes with kohl; they put it not only on the eyebrows, but especially at the roots of the eyelashes. They do this for medical purposes, for they attribute [164] to kohl the ability to protect them against eye maladies, in particular against ophthalmia which strikes many of them.

[826] The Tuareg appreciate the long, narrow hands of people who do no manual labor. They do not take any particular [412 531 212] care of them and are satisfied merely to cut their nails rather short. As they do for hair, they bury the scraps so that no one can take them.

Fig. 36. Hairdressing knife, bearing the name of the artisan who made it in tifinagh characters.

304 [171] Tattooing. -- Make-up. -- Unlike the Kabyle and the Berbers, the Tuareg are not tattooed. This detail, which may seem insignificant, nevertheless indicates that the relationship of these different human groups is not nearly as close as one might believe, since there are such appreciable differences in mores.

184 304 Some women blue their gums and sometimes their lips by tattooing them, but this custom is particularly prevalent in the Sudanese tribes of the Timbuktu region.

302 [751] [517] On the other hand, make-up is used on a large scale among Tuareg women. They put red ocher on their faces to protect the skin from the /260/ sun. For aesthetic reasons they also blue their lips and around their mouths with indigo.

302 For festive occasions, some women bear paintings on their faces, white or ocher dots above the bridge of the nose, under the cheeks, and on their chins. These paintings have only an aesthetic [517] nature, or so it seems.

304 All Tuareg, men and women, have two or three small linear 751 scars on their foreheads and temples, and the indigo from their clothing which is often inlaid there gives them the appearance of tattoos. They are incisions made for medico-magic reasons when [855] the children are very young to protect them from headaches and convulsions.

[856] It also seems that this custom contributes to make them strong and making them walk very early. (1)

1. De Foucauld, Textes en prose /Prose Texts/, p. 64.

757 Medicine and surgery. -- If we now turn our attention to medicine and surgery among the Tuareg, we shall observe that their knowledge is not very extensive and has nothing singular about it.

753 In their minds the Tuareg classify sickness in two categories: those which are the result of an external action, visible and determinable, and those whose origin cannot be explained by any causal link. The former are treated with appropriate medical treatments, the latter by magic procedures.

757 The medical procedures, which belong rather to surgery, are clearly empirical. A few of them serve for a quantity of ills. They chiefly include bleeding and applying heat. In bleeding, the operator relieves congestion in the diseased part; in applying heat, he limits the pain, at the same time relieving congestion.

278 The Ihaggaren have a whole stock of drugs which they [177] borrowed from the Sudanese. These are roots, plants, and seeds which grow in the Sudan and in which the Tuareg have a great deal

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Pottery is made by Negresses, the wives /281/ of Harratin, or freed former captives who live in the agricultural centers.

This outline of the techniques and industries of the Kel Ahaggar Tuareg brings out their poverty.

Can we speak of art among the Ihaggaren? That seems difficult, for aside from a few rare objects, all those that they use are more or less in use in the Ahaggar are imported from Aïr or Adrar des Iforas, and that is explained all the better by the fact that the artisans are more or less originally from these regions. 438 531 517 [415]

Fig. 52. Sugar tongs.

It is difficult to determine the origins of Tuareg art in general. It is in reality a composite art taken from all their neighbors, which, is not, for the most part, the achievement of the Tuareg themselves but of their artisans. It is among the latter that the distant origins /of Tuareg art/ must be sought. 177 517

The tastes of the Tuareg appear to be unchangeable. They have been fixed for centuries; therefore, in ancient documents some hundred years old one finds the same shape, the same dimensions, the same coloring as today. In this regard we shall say that the Enad is not an artist. He is a worker who may have taste, but who is, on the whole, incapable of creating. He faithfully reproduces the model which has been handed down to him. He 517 [178 172]

517 may do this with more or less finesse, but his inspiration will stop there. Only work in leather and wood are definitely the achievement of the Ihaggaren, for they derive from ancient needs and the techniques have been preserved in their hands and not in those of the Enaden.

/282/ Book VI

Social Life

Ancient Cults, Religions, and Beliefs of the Tuareg

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Chapter 1

Social Life

842 We are now going to observe the Tuareg in the details of their social life.

Birth. -- When young people are married, it is seldom that the bonds of marriage are not soon strengthened by the birth of a child. [586] It is very bad form for a young couple not to have a child, and sterility of one of the partners is often a cause for divorce.

843 The pregnant Tuareg woman continues to see to the household tasks, surrounded by the respect of her associates.

844 When the time for delivery approaches, the woman has herself taken to her parents' camp, if she is not there already, for she will give birth in her husband's camp only in case of absolute necessity.

A tent is set up where the woman is installed. She is usually assisted by a midwife who massages her belly and makes sure that

841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
842 a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[789] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old
[782] tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
769] pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout
[431] an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
846 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.
431

Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
862 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his
854 stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
[184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimmiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This
[171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are some-
[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
[826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
85] Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
● 51] ennobles the woman.

534 horsehair attached to the ends. During the music the player from
[23] time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum
[314] tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The amzad skins are often
decorated with painted motifs in very vivid colors, or else they
[532] are covered with tifinagh inscriptions indicating the name of the
owner and bearing love verses for the use of admirers.

Among the Ihaggaren violins are usually large, reaching as
much as 40 centimeters in diameter. In Sudanese tribes, on the
[171] other hand, they are much smaller, rarely exceeding 25 to 30
centimeters.

533 The amzad plays an important role among the Tuareg, who
really make a true cult of it. Young men go to listen to the girls
play it. After they are married, they love to hear their wives, who
charm in this way the empty hours of summer evenings. Not play-
533 ing the amzad is a punishment that the women inflict on the men,
626 and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives
593 or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no amzad,"
they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This
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a wadi, but always out of the sight of old people and respectable
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521 it is to entertain a stranger. Everyone sits in a circle. Each per-
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1. Dr. Vermale, Au Sahara pendant la guerre européenne /In the Sahara During the European War/, p. 172.

797 sometimes the Koran as an amulet, but that they had kept its fatalism. (1) Many authors also take pleasure in pointing out

1. Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, p. 388.

their more than superficial polish in matters of Islamism.

781 797 177 648 In spite of all this, we must not exaggerate the degree of irreligion of the Tuareg. Since the French occupation, the action of marabouts who cross the country trading is growing slowly but surely. The state of lethargy into which the suppression of their life of brigandage has thrown them is gradually pushing them toward religion, and it is becoming more and more common [517 565] to see young nobles kill time by reciting in front of a small Koran board.

771 Superstition is very strong in them. They have not succeeded in breaking away from their ancient beliefs, and they wear a [789] quantity of amulets which are often pagan in origin (jackal's foot, lizard's head, hyena skin, etc.).

[776] One observes certain noble families /307/ that, along with orthodox saints, invoke mysterious personages who can only be ancient minor gods they never got rid of. (1) In the old legends

1. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara, in Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

of the Ahaggar, Father de Foucauld has found the names of some of them: Tamâres, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Ouerdaz, Noulana, Radès. The Ihaggaren used to call on them to make their wishes come [177 782] true, but today these personages have fallen into oblivion, and only a few old people still remember their names. (2)

2. In Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

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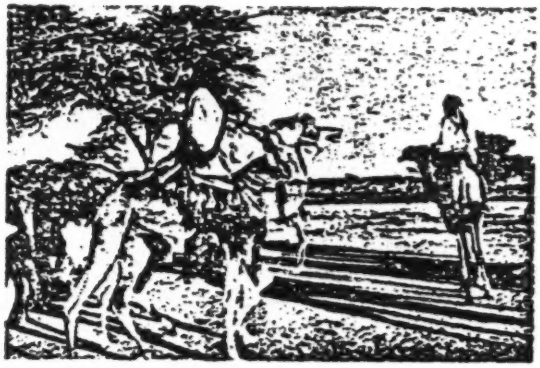

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afagag* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Iguedlen*.

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Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

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Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

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In a ceremonial ride termed *ihgion* (*ahgan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Tent skins derive from domestic animals or from game animals. In older literature one can find 342* a reference to Tuareg tents made of a sheet of camel skin (cf. Denham & Clapperton 1826, p. L). 281 However, we have already seen that the Tuareg do not tan camel hides and they are not used for tent sheets. The Northern Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, zebu-calves, barbary sheep, antelope, and gazelle. Goat skin is most commonly used, skin of barbary sheep is considered the very best type of tent skin, while gazelle skin is rarely employed as it is very thin. According to Lhote, the *Kel Adrar* Tuareg generally use the skin of barbary sheep (Lhote 1947a, p. 108). The Ayr Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, and zebus. It is most possible that some Tuareg also use skin of game animals, but [224] most Ayr Tuareg engage very little in hunting, though barbary sheep are very common in certain parts of the Massif. In the southern plains of the *Iwllemmeden* there are no barbary sheep. According to Nicolas, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* use for their tents the skin of sheep, goats, gazelle, and sometimes even the skin of ostriches, but they do not use zebu skin which becomes very hard and shrinks when heavily moistened during the rainy season (Nicolas 1938, p. 54 & 1950a, p. 155). The *Iwllemmeden* and their *Bélla* of the Ayoru region use the skin of goats and sheep for tent-sheets.

Tent skins are prepared in the same way as skins used for transportation bags, dress articles, and the like. They are depilated and tanned according to the methods described on p. 275 ff. After tanning they are treated with butter, and are thereupon soaked to be rubbed and coloured with red ochre, these treatments making the skins impervious to water. A tent sheet is always made of several pieces [283] of skin which are sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl known as *tistent* (Ahaggar), [413] or *éstan* (Ayr). The edges where the skins have to be sewn are made even with a knife, while the outer edges of the sheet are left largely unfashioned so that the circumference of the sheet is of very irregular shape with protruding patches of leg or neck skin. These patches of skin frequently serve for the attachment of the cords by means of which the sheet is suspended. When two pieces of skin are sewn together a narrow leather strip is inserted between their edges before sewing. Loose ends of leather [531] thread hang down from the inner side of the sheet to serve as a kind of decoration, and in Ahaggar the tents are also frequently ornamented with hanging patches of leather with a carved decoration (cf. Fig. 182). On the whole the Tuareg of Ahaggar take a great interest in their tents. They like to 342* have richly-decorated dwellings, and when a tent is made for a newly-married couple, the women 281 do their outmost to make the sheet very beautiful. These aestethic feelings seem to be unknown in 517 regard to other types of dwelling used among the Tuareg, including the mat tent, and I think that they are responsible for some Tuareg using skin tents even when other dwelling types would be more suitable. I believe this to be true, the more so as the skin tent among the Northern Tuareg plays a [585] great part in the wedding ceremony, which is called *éhen*, that is "a tent".

It is evident that the number of skins to be used for a sheet greatly varies; if a sheet is made from 342* goat skins it may be estimated that a tent of normal size in Ahaggar comprises about 35–40 skins, 281 but very large tents with sheets of 60–80 skins are found among rich noble Tuareg and also in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. A tent from Ahaggar now in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen has a sheet sewn together from a great many skin patches, and it measures 4.00 × 3.85 metres (N.M., no. G.1; cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 139). This is perhaps to be considered a normal size of skin tents among the Ahaggar Tuareg, though the sheet is generally somewhat more rectangular in

534 horsehair attached to the ends. During the music the player from
[237] time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum
[314] tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The amzad skins are often
decorated with painted motifs in very vivid colors, or else they
[532] are covered with tifinagh inscriptions indicating the name of the
owner and bearing love verses for the use of admirers.

Among the Ihaggaren violins are usually large, reaching as
much as 40 centimeters in diameter. In Sudanese tribes, on the
[171] other hand, they are much smaller, rarely exceeding 25 to 30
centimeters.

533 The amzad plays an important role among the Tuareg, who
really make a true cult of it. Young men go to listen to the girls
play it. After they are married, they love to hear their wives, who
charm in this way the empty hours of summer evenings. Not play-
533 ing the amzad is a punishment that the women inflict on the men,
626 and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives
593 or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no amzad,"
they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This
prospect was often sufficient to restore their courage and incite
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1. Dr. Vermale, Au Sahara pendant la guerre européenne /In the Sahara During the European War/, p. 172.

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so, 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

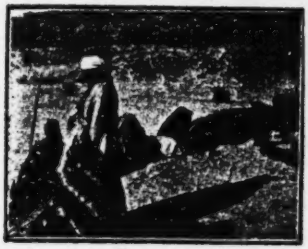
"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

and gaiety, always on condition that the conversation does not take place in the presence of relatives to whom the Tuareg who is addressed owes respect. 521 562 602

The Tuareg woman intervenes effectively in quarrels between the men of her family and, in order to please her, reconciliation takes place. Thus it was thanks to Rakhma, sister of Moussa ag Amastane, that the latter became reconciled with his brother-in-law, Anaba ag Amellal. 562 [593 578]

In short, one may say that nothing is ever done or said among the Tuareg in which the influence of the woman is not found, always and everywhere, and this will be seen as the reading of this article continues. /14/



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Dautheville
Tuareg Group in the Oued Ti-n-amadal Settafen (Tifedest).

## Chapter VI

## Proposal of Marriage

Proposal of marriage, "ibadrahen" ⵉⴱⴰⴷⵔⴰⵀⴻⵏ, is governed by a definite rule of procedure. 584

The suitor for a woman's hand sends marabouts, if there are any, to her parents, or tolbas, or, lacking these, influential people who state his request.

The proposal must be known to all the relatives of the woman without exception; they must all be notified and

They have no numbers, and they do not use the Arabic 802
numbers. They prefer to make holes in the sand, and by this rather long process succeed in figuring just the same. A Tuareg, moreover, cannot talk for five minutes without emphasizing his recitation with dots or lines on the sand. If he is asked, "How many days' march are there between this point and that one, " he cannot answer any number without marking on the ground as many dots as there are days in his answer.

A Tuareg who has been made to sit on the ground on a [516
blanket, before he begins to talk raises the edges of the 521]
blanket /44/ so as to indulge in his favorite occupation. Certainly if he were transported to France, into a well-waxed apartment, he would be very unhappy and would quickly ask for sand or earth so as to be able to draw his dots and lines.

But this custom has its use when one wishes to have an 487
idea of the road one must travel. The Tuareg who, like all 823
nomads, has a very accurate sense of direction, will draw an over-all map of the route to be followed, with the wadis and landmarks which would be met.

The Tuareg do not have words in their language to denote 177
the days of the week. Those that they use have been borrowed 192
from the Arabic and changed. 805

On the other hand, for their months they have kept some truly Tamashek names, while others are definitely taken from the Arabic. Thus:

1. "Tamessedek, " corresponding to Muharram and which seems to be derived from the Arabic "sedeq" صدق "to give alms. " It is said that this name means "zekkat" زكاة , or "legal alms. "

2. "Talilt tassettafet" (corresponding to Safar). This 773
means "the black month. " Here is why this month is so 776
called: "Sidna Slimane (Solomon) was in command of the 805
genii and demons. One day when he was standing leaning on his cane, the "djinns" (genii) told a termite to eat out the bottom of the cane. The termite did the job so well that the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 90. Tuareg dogs of the breed which is common among the Ayr Tuareg. Dogs suffer much from heat in summer when they hide under water-bags. Ayr, the *Imezureg* tribe.

## DOGS

231 The Northern Tuareg distinguish between three types of dogs (sing. *eydi*) as follows:— (1) a long-haired breed (*aberhoh*); (2) a short-haired slender breed (*akhami*); (3) a very slender and elegantly
[173] built greyhound (*oska*) (Fig. 91). The Ahaggar Tuareg speak of a tradition, according to which the greyhound (*oska*) was introduced fairly recently through contacts with the Northern Arabs. The Ayr Tuareg do not make similar distinctions between dog breeds. They have only one breed which is known as *ijji* (Fig. 90). It is short-haired and slenderly built though less so than the true Arab greyhound.

[136] Dogs are kept to guard the camp and in particular to protect the animals from the attack of jackals or hyenas during night. If the Tuareg had no dogs it would be most difficult for them to breed goats and sheep. Dogs may also follow the flocks in daytime to protect the animals against beasts of prey, though this is not generally considered necessary. Dogs are not trained as "sheep-dogs", but it is said that a few "intelligent" dogs will assist the herdsman in keeping the flock together during grazing,
[224] and many dogs will drive away domestic animals which belong to foreign flocks. Some Tuareg use dogs in hunting barbary sheep, gazelle, antelope, and hare (cf. hunting, p. 159, 166).

[171] It is well-known that the Arabs consider the dog an unclean animal. This is also so among Arab nomads of the Sahara, but they do not consider their greyhounds unclean in this sense. Thus pastoralists of the Chamba group told me that among them a fine greyhound is esteemed in much the same way as are noble riding horses and camels. The Tuareg have very few true greyhounds and
[521] I do not believe that they have this same feeling of interest in them. But many children and young
[541] people are fond of all types of dogs, and one can hear them discuss the qualities of their animals and the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp.

517 meal, which is taken very late, and more rarely after the meal if
521 it is to entertain a stranger. Everyone sits in a circle. Each per-
571 son takes a place in the order of his arrival, in such a way as to
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laïkoum" (May the greeting be on you!). Silently he holds his hand out to the woman in the Tuareg manner (that is to say, holding his hand /8/ out open flat and sliding it over the open hand of the woman), and he sits down, saying: "iselane" (What news?). If the woman answers: "elouane" (There is a lot), he begins to pay his court. The Tuareg are not very religious, and it sometimes happens that the woman asks such questions as: "Whom do you love more, God or me?"

The songs begin, and the imz'aden play the accompaniment. The men sing in snatches lines that they have composed on the charms of the ladies of their dreams, the feats that they have done, the raids in which they have taken part, or else satires on their enemies. The women extol courage. In general, a noble woman does not sing, but only plays the amz'ad.

There are three musical rhythms:

The "seyenine" rhythm, lively and quite fast, used among the Kel R'ela and the Taïtoq.

The "ahinena" rhythm, slow and drawn out like a chant, used especially among the Kel R'ela.

The "asaher'" rhythm, used among the Tuareg of the Azdjer /Azjer/ confederation.

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Then there are simple games. The women elect a "sultana," or queen; the men a "sultan," or king, who will inflict the punishments incurred and will set the fines to be paid. It is a context of wits. A man must be able to answer the questions asked. If, for example, to this question: "Whom do you like better, this one or that one?," he answers: "I prefer this one," he would be booed, would incur a punishment or pay a fine, and the woman who is preferred would be ridiculed by her companions, for one must not show preference openly but must answer, "I like them both."

Another kind of question: "What would you do if you found yourself in the following situation: /9/

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"Tamott tekness
"Ehere iouof
"Tathett ter'tess
"Tir'irt touoss"

which means:

The woman who argues.
Flocks that scatter.
The she-ass that breaks her tether.
The pot that tips over.

In a joking way, to be a real wit, the man could answer: "If I should find myself in this situation, I would first gather the flock, I would re-tether the ass, I would put the pot back on the fire, and only then would I pay attention to the woman, " and there would be a chorus of indignant protests.

The woman makes it a point of honor to have as many admirers as possible. This is a proof that she is pretty and will not have trouble in getting married. 584 832

The ahal, begun after sunset, lasts quite late into the night, and the pale light that is shed by the stars allows shamelessness to have free rein. Although the married women joke and take part in the games, they behave themselves comparatively well. The others, however, may sit on the knees of their admirers. They kiss, but in a special way. Since the man must never uncover his mouth, he lowers his veil under his nose, and he piously smells the nose! of his loved one, who herself may kiss him. Even intimate handling (proh pudor! /oh, shame/) is allowed, which is never seen among the Arabs. 533 584 832

During these gatherings, when the amz'ad is played, it is listened to with great pleasure. This instrument has a way of exciting /10/ the Tuareg, who utter "Ouh! ouh!" as a sign of pleasure. They have even made a verb of it: isouhouh. [201]

But now is the time when the camels come from the pasture. They must be milked: that is the az'ouz'edj'ı'## (from ez'edj 'ı' # , to milk). The women get up, and those present are given milk to drink. They will have to disperse. [272]

4: Benhazera--17 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter X

## Games

Children play a game with a ball, "tekerikera", O·:O·:+, which they hit with curved sticks /20/ ("iggaten tekerikera, " they hit the ball). Two camps are formed and the ball must be made to go into the opposing camp. 526 857

But their greatest amusement is to make out of clay little sticks and stones, all kinds of animals and people, which they call "isounar" O|⊙ . Thus they make a mehari with its saddle, a camel with its young, a horse, etc., or they may make a mehari with a man on it, "aknar" O|•: , or a woman in her bassour, "taknart" ⊕|•:+ ; here are a bride and groom. These young sculptors, it seems, are very skillful. 524 532 857

Sometimes they hang a swing, "taoulioula", ||:||:+ , on a tree. 524 857

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Armed Conflict between Aziouel and Tacha
(Ta'ltoq Tuareg) (First Stage)

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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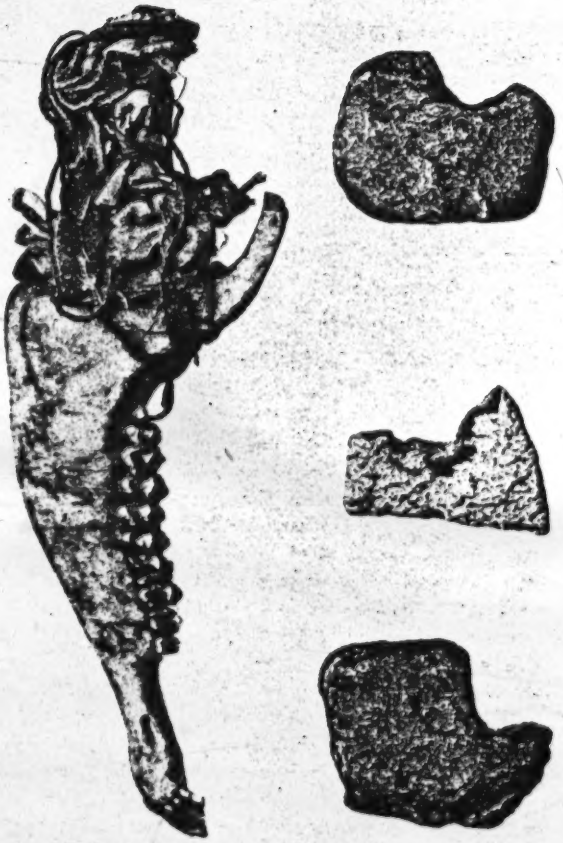

Fig. 79a–d. Children's toy camels. a. Jaw-bone of goat provided with saddle and rider. It is known as *aknar n amis*. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Abalessa. (N.M. G. 5914).

b–d. Three roughly-cut stones used as toy camels by Tuareg children. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe. Dimensions: 0.067, 0.063, and 0.073 m. (N.M. G. 6604 b, d, a).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 683 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

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| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *tilgad*, or *chét awétay* | (one year old) | 10 | *tibeydegin* | (white) |
| 10 | *tiluzin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *titlarin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *tekkenifadden* | (3 years old) | 10 | *tizeggerin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiruyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *tibhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chét essin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *tilemlarin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chét okkoz* | (6 years old) | 10 | *tizerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *timessedas* | (7 years old) | 10 | *timengelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chét tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 | *tikewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tiregganin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *tizerrafin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *tiwinarin* | (white cornea) |

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 565 524 237 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[text continues on p. 104]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 80. Tuareg boy with his toy camels of cut stones. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

Fig. 81. Tuareg boy playing camel-riding on a rock. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

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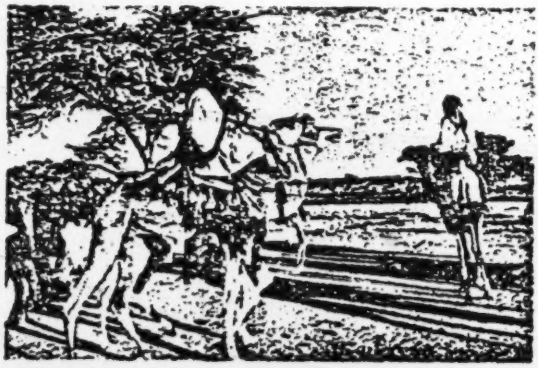

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afagag* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Iywelen*.

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Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

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Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

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In a ceremonial ride termed *ihgton* (*ilagan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



catching wild donkeys in the mountains around the valley of Anu Mekkeren. The method is not used for proper game animals. 224

(7) A pulling and a throwing snare are both known as *tuṛuni*. They are said not to be used for hunting, though commonly employed to catch wild donkeys and domestic animals which have gone astray; cf. p. 108 f.

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*tawchit*) provided with a noosed rope (*tuṛuni*) attached to a stick. This is used for gazelle and bigger game animals in isolated places rarely visited by representatives of the administration. According to Buchanan, the spiked wheel-trap is used for ostriches in the plains south of Ayr (Buchanan 1921, p. 117 ff.). Large traps of this type are also used for giraffe by certain hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 453).

(9) The torsion trap (*tenderbat*) akin to that of Ahaggar. It is used for big game animals, notably for barbary sheep.

(10) Snares (*tazek*, pl. *t'izagin*) made from strips of dum palm leaves are used for guinea fowl and other edible birds. They are generally set near water where birds come to drink. Little boys of the negroid *Imeggedezen* of Agadez also make snares of hair to catch small birds (Fig. 118). [223] [857]

These are the hunting methods known to the Ayr Tuareg, who do not engage much in hunting with the exception of the *Kel Tamgak* mentioned above. Most Ayr Tuareg refuse the small types of game and beasts of prey, and reject not only the *aṛata* lizard (*Varanus* sp.), but also the smaller lizard known in Ahaggar as *aggezzeram*, in Ayr as *emekkechchu* (*Uromastix acanthinurus*), though it is claimed that the latter is eaten among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The two lizards do not play any part in Tuareg mythology – the *aṛata* lizard is greatly detested by the Ayr Tuareg who kill it with stones or sticks whenever possible. The Ayr Tuareg, including those of noble descent, have no taboos about birds and eggs, and many pastoral Tuareg collect guinea fowl eggs late in summer after the rains. There are a few animals not mentioned above which are considered edible among the Ayr Tuareg, e.g., the tortoise (*aṛaras*) which is found in the plains south of the Massif. With the exception of the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg the people of Ayr do not collect locusts (*tahwalt* in Ahaggar, *achwal* in Ayr). Locusts are eaten by all people of the two Northern Tuareg groups. The animals are roasted in the ashes or are boiled in a cooking pot to be pounded in the large mortar together with dried dates. This dish is very esteemed by the women who say that it is fattening and in this way adds to their beauty. 262 [262] [832]

Certain weapons have not been mentioned above because they either cannot be considered proper hunting weapons, or because it is doubtful whether they exist among the Tuareg or not. 411 [114]

Traditional Tuareg arms comprise an iron lance (*allaṛ*), a sword (*takuba*), and a dagger (*iélek*) carried in a sheath fastened to the left arm. The iron lance may serve as a hunting weapon, and this is true also of the sword. Thus the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group said that wild animals were occasionally killed with the sword, and they claimed that two Tuareg of the past had killed lions with this weapon.

The bow (Ahaggar, *taṛayyé* or *taganhé*; Ayr, *taganzé*) and arrows (Ahaggar, *imurren*, sing. *amor*, or *tinassabin*, sing. *tanassabt*; Ayr, *imeran*, sing. *amer*) are not traditional Tuareg weapons. Nowadays very ineffective bows and arrows are used as toys by little Tuareg boys, but they are never used by [624]

[text continues on p. 169]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



411 p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *éfezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals – there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as [524] though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Ineslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Koran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely [171] wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing [114] poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these [177] people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

224 Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. To-[184] day true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Tamgak* or *Imedderaren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Rali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting [311] that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals withing two hunting territories where barbary sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting 224 825 that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

| Age | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . . | *awhim* | *tawhimt* |
| Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . . | *ahyar* | *tahyart* |
| Fully grown animal . . . . . | *ahenkoḍ* | *tahenkoṭ* |

224 Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—
754 (1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's
777 nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

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Fig. 234. Photograph illustrating the Tuareg cotton shirt open (left) and closed (right). The two Tuareg are playing a sort of draughts called *keraḍ*. Ahaggar, the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

291 with an opening for the head, and folded and sewn together at the lower part of the sides. The folded
294 piece of cotton may also be united at its lower parts by the insertion of a trapeze-like piece of cotton known as *tébanik*. The cotton shirt worn by most Tuareg men in Ayr is known as *teketket*, and is of the same poncho cut as the shirts mentioned above from Ahaggar.

All Tuareg men wear large and wide cotton trousers known as *ékerbey*. The cut of these trousers is the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A pair of trousers I wore when among the Ayr Tuareg is 1.10 m wide at the waist where they have a channel for the insertion of a leather cord (*tamennalt*) by means of which the trousers are laced up. The total length of the trouser legs is 1.06 m, so that the width is a little larger than the length. The trousers are sewn from three pieces of cotton. They consist of a front and back piece identically cut and sewn together at the sides; a third piece of cotton is inserted between the legs (Fig. 236).

291 The trousers are extremely large and loose. They are well-suited not only for the hot desert climate but also for camel riding. The Tuareg sometimes pull their trousers up over the knees so that they are entirely bare-legged. They do this, for instance, when they water domestic animals from wells and in various other situations where long trousers are embarassing. But they will never pull up their
[576] trousers in presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) or in the presence of parents-in-law
[606] (particularly mothers-in-law). For it is extremely shameful for a man to show himself bare-legged to persons to whom he must also not show his mouth, and the Tuareg express this fact by saying that "the veil and the trousers are brothers". In general, young boys wear a shirt of poncho type, in addition to which many of them also wear a leather loin-cloth (*arǵaǵ* in Ahaggar) made of goat skin. Such loin-cloths are attached around the waist and drawn between the legs. They are worn by certain vassal boys and by young slaves almost up to the time of initiation and veil adoption, and trousers may be adopted at the same time as the veil. It seems as if the loin-cloth has also once been a traditional garment of grown men, for Rodd states that they sometimes wear a tanned skin around the loins below the trousers – more especially in bush country where burr grass is very prevalent (Rodd 1926a, p. 164).

[text continues on p. 292]

4: Benhazera--17 G-5(1905), 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter X

## Games

Children play a game with a ball, "tekerikera", O·:O·:+, 526 857 which they hit with curved sticks /20/ ("iggaten tekerikera, " they hit the ball). Two camps are formed and the ball must be made to go into the opposing camp.

But their greatest amusement is to make out of clay little 524 sticks and stones, all kinds of animals and people, which they call 532 "isounar" O|⊙ . Thus they make a mehari with its saddle, 857 a camel with its young, a horse, etc., or they may make a mehari with a man on it, "aknar" O|·: , or a woman in her bassour, "taknart" ⊕|·:+ ; here are a bride and groom. These young sculptors, it seems, are very skillful.

Sometimes they hang a swing, "taoulioula", ||:||:+ , on a 524 tree. 857

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Armed Conflict between Azioueł and Tacha
(Taïtoq Tuareg) (First Stage)

4: Benhazera--17a G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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(Second Stage)

(Third Stage)

4: Benhazera--17b G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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(Fourth Stage)

4: Benhazera--18 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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(Fifth Stage)

As to the men, they practice throwing the spear as far as possible toward a certain object. They have mock battles with the "takouba" (saber) and shield, "ar'er"; or /22/ they roll up rags and try to cut them with a single stroke of their great "takouba." 411 526

857 /138 cont./ When, by chance, the camp is near a guelta, the child may frolic in the water, the favorite summer sport.

If two large camps are near each other, joint games very
857 soon are organized. Sometimes a kind of hockey is played
526 with a leather ball stuffed with goat's hair. The ball is hit with a cudgel taken from a tahla; sometimes, to the delight of the spectators, hand-to-hand fights break out, with the first of the two antagonists to fall to the ground being declared the loser. As the children get excited, veritable battles take place between the two camps; it is war. Sticks and stones enter the game; trickery and force are used. The battle stops at night or when the first child is hurt, but custom requires that nothing be said to the parents, above all nothing of the origin of an injury; the child who did that would lose his honor, and parents are so slow to understand!

857 The little girl prepares for her task as mistress of the house at the side of her mother. She sews in collaboration with the
868 women, who never work individually. She is taught how to cut fine leather thongs and how to plait them; while she works she is taught the traditions of which she must be the fierce guardian later on, as she often will have to recall them to the men, who, always on the move, have a tendency, through lack of use, to forget the true Tuareg "canouns."

During their play, the children learn tifinagh writing
868 from the older ones; they trace words in the sand, then phrases. But it is in the evening before bed that their mother will give more precise lessons in spelling the words they have acquired. Thus, gradually, /139/ the child learns to read and write his language; he will never have great facility in it, but that is due to the difficulty of the method of writing.

868 Every Targui knows the mnemonic aid for remembering
211 the letters of the tifinagh alphabet; it is the following phrase: "Fatimata oult Oghanis, tagueltenit mraou issen edssedis; tedjehenet ouart thouadis," which may be translated: "Fatimata, daughter of Oghanis, whose bride price (to be paid) is 16

836 /141 cont./ as are the other customs; there is one very
864 interesting one, the respect for the Tuareg girl. Contrary to a commonly held opinion, the young girl about to be married is always a virgin (physically) among the nobles and nearly always one among the imrads.

839 In their first youth, the Tuareg behave as do all the children of the world; they practice solitary masturbation, girls and boys using procedures characteristic of the country.
786 The first amorous relations between Tuareg girls and boys take place after celebrations. It is well to describe these celebrations, for accounts of the famous "courts of love" have been much exaggerated.

We have seen that the Tuareg organize a tendi on the
[534] occasion of a family ceremony. The tendi takes its name from the instrument used, the large wooden mortar over which is stretched a skin which has been dampened previously. The women gather around the tendi, and one or two beat out traditional rhythms on the skin, which resonates dully. One of the women chants an endless series of couplets while her companions mark the measure by clapping hands and take up the refrain in chorus. The songs evoke past combats as well as recent events; they vaunt the merits of a camel or those of a person; some are improvised. Widows, divorced women, and young girls take part in the tendi, but married women, with the permission of their husbands, also go. A woman leaves the tendi if one of her parents approaches it.

The songs continue, accompanied by the tom-tom; the men then come to sit behind the singers, listen, and also sing. Each hugs his female companion next to him, but hardly passes the limits of a public flirtation. The tendi continues late into the night while the old people sleep in the tents.

In the daytime the tendi is the indispensable accompani-
• 526 ment of the ilougan, which may be defined as "a tournament on camel back."

526 /141 cont./ The young Tuareg dress very carefully, /142/ each showing great fastidiousness. The camel is decked out as richly as possible. Half of the riders line up about 50 meters from the tendi, and the other half at an equal distance on the other side of the tendi. The Tuareg ride from one line to the other in pairs; each Targui watches his bearing, holding himself straight but supple, makes his mount hold its head as high as possible and keeps it abreast of its neighbor, making it trot with the gait called senat-senat or kibarat.

Quitting this back-and-forth movement, a group of riders circles the tendi as close as possible to the women; one of the Tuareg seizes one of the singers' alechou and rides off furiously, whipping his mount. His friends chase him, trying to take the veil from him. The one who succeeds in recapturing it takes it back, as victor, to its owner. He is saluted with tarallélit (the you-you of the Moors). The ilougan lasts until nightfall.

[177] It must be noted that the tendi did not originate in the Ahaggar; it was imported from the Adrar des Iforas and from Tamesna.

584 A gathering native to the Ahaggar is the assihar. A great number of men and women gather around a famous woman imzad player. They listen to the violin, which begins the first measures of a familiar song, then a man or a woman begins to sing. Between songs conversations are held, and flirtations begin in the darkness, but within the strictest bounds of propriety.

When the assihar ends late at night, young men and women go off in small groups; this is the ahal. A woman escorted by two or three young men goes to sit by a bend in a wadi. Her companions speak to her aloud when the conversation is for all ears or very softly in the ear when there are confidences to make. One of them takes the young woman's hand and holds it in his; an old Targui said: "I once held the hand of the woman I desired for three straight nights, and for three days I did not eat."

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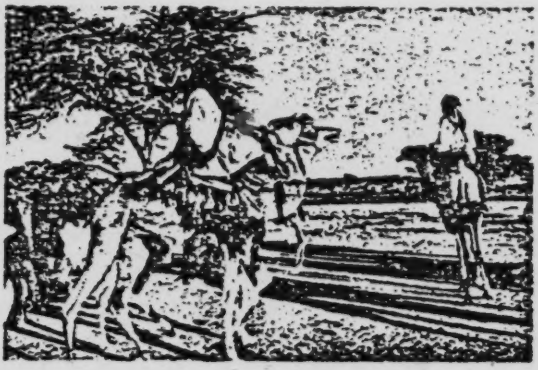

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afogey* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Iywelen*.

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In a ceremonial ride termed *ihgion* (*ihgan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

Fig. 82b. Cf. text Fig. 82a.

qualities as strength and speed, but rather on elegance and sublimity. The riders sit straight in the saddles without watching the crowd of women, and the camels are ridden at a gentle trot (generally that known as *senat-senat;* cf. p. 99) with their heads drawn back. *In this way the men may also ride* their animals round the women in a circle as I have seen in Ayr (cf. Fig. 82).

Camels have important social functions among the Tuareg who take an interest in these animals far beyond their practical value. It may perhaps be useful to compare Tuareg interest in camels with Nuer interest in cattle so brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard. Nuer caress their animals, and there is a tendency for human beings and cattle to form, so to speak, a single community (Evans-Pritchard 1940, p. 16–50). This is not exactly true of Tuareg and camels. The Tuareg do not pat their camels which will not respond to caressing, and they do not live in very close contact with their animals, most of which frequently graze far away from the camp under the supervision of one or two herdsmen. But the Tuareg nevertheless have much the same feeling towards camels as Nuer have towards their cattle. They are very fond of their animals. They may abstain from camel's flesh because they are fond of camels and would feel very sick at heart when eating them. But though the Tuareg are fond of camels as such, they are delighted particularly at the sight of a very fine camel (*akemhur*; Ahaggar) and may even speak disparagingly of a badly built animal (*amugey*; Ahaggar). Fine camels add to the prestige of a man, while too many animals of poor build may even harm his reputation. When girls and young women praise camel-riders in their songs they praise those mounted on fine and richly-decorated animals. When camels are mentioned in poetry this may also be done as praise to their owners, as in a poem composed in honour of noble Tuareg of the *Uraren* (*Kel Aijer*) of whom it is said that "their pack-camels have feet as large as a drum, and the loads they carry are like the crests of mountains" (Hanoteau 1896, p. 218). Such reference to pack-camels, however, seems to be rare in Tuareg poetry, while riding camels are frequently mentioned in connection with warfare and love. Riding camels have much the same esteemed position as had horses in Medieval Europe. Tuareg interest in camels is particularly focused on riding camels and there is a tendency towards identification

People adorn themselves with their jewels only during festivals; they are ordinarily kept in bags closed by a curious rectangular padlock, which is provided with one or two interior bolts; it must be undone with an enormous key which the Tuareg always have on their person. 30 [527] [414] [415]

Fig. 45. Ahaggar Tuareg women's ear hoop.

/276/ Chapter 9

## Arts and Crafts Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

The nomadic and pastoral life which the Tuareg lead obviously limits the development of craft techniques and that of art itself. For them, all is reduced to the immediate necessities of everyday life -- articles for the household and the house itself, harnesses, clothing, and, accessorily, adornment. 32 [532]

If we look for the raw materials used and at the disposal of the Tuareg for making the different objects which they need, we observe that wood comes first, then leather, then certain graminaceae stems, and finally metals.

174 564 were chased by Arab marabouts at the end of the fifteenth century. It is plausible that a number of Jews from Tamentit, particularly those practicing the crafts of jeweler or blacksmith, very respected professions among the Tuareg, found refuge with them. Perhaps the Tuareg received a new artistic influence through them. Their knowledge /177/ of fire [30] [531] and treatment of ores must have permitted the introduction of a larger scale of iron industry among the Tuareg, as well as the use of metal instruments which certainly could not have been very developed before that time; in general, the techniques of the nomadic shepherds was limited to leather and wood. There is no doubt of the artistic relationship between Tamentit jewelry and the Jewish goldsmith's work from North [17] Africa, on the one hand, and the goldsmith's craft now in vogue among the Tuareg, on the other; this can justify the opinion that part of the Enaden are of Israelite origin. But Sudanese elements have also contributed to the physical formation of the group. We must see the peculiar Tuareg art, at the same time heavy in its forms and delicate in detail, through this heteroclite mixture.

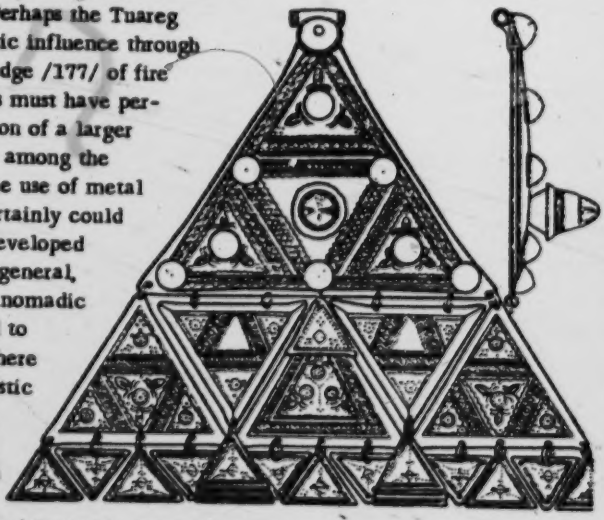

Fig. 18. Silver pendant worn around the neck by Ahaggar women. In the composition are found the triangular motifs common to Kabyle art and to some Berber tribes from Atlas.

564 [727] The Enaden of the Ahaggar are few in number. They include five or six families who recently settled in the country following raids on them by the Ihaggaren. /178/ Most of them are natives of Adrar des Iforas

and were enfeoffed to the Kounta tribe, or Dag-Ech-Cheich. The origin of the oldest known families goes back no more than two generations. They are the Ehellellou, who have left descendants, the Badahol and Mohamed /families/, today extinct, and the Rati whose descendants are now settled among the Taitok. 564

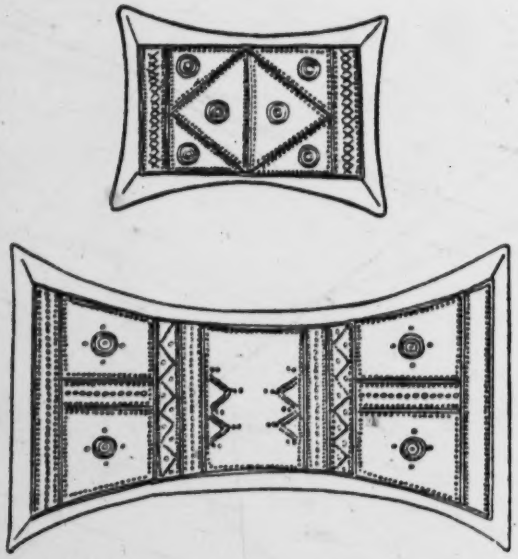

Fig. 19. Silver amulets worn by men on the crests of their hairdo.

At the time of Amenokal Attici (1899) there was a chief of the blacksmiths named Alamine whose role was to oversee and distribute the work and to reduce the newly captured blacksmiths from the Sudan to obedience. He also had judiciary power. 564 326 [301 789 531] [692]

Formerly endogamy was the general rule, but since the occupation it has been violated numerous times, and artisans often take their wives from the Harratin and the Eklan. 564 [582 177]

Their industry is limited to the fabrication of jewels, padlocks, knives, and a few wooden utensils. They are particularly occupied with repairing worn articles.

/179/ In the Sudan the Enaden are much more numerous. That is why industries there are found to be much more developed, even more so since more varied and more abundant raw materials are at their disposal. 564

564 The Enaden do not pay any vassalage dues. Socially, they
[651] occupy a place halfway between the Imrad and the Iklan. In cer-
tain cases they can even possess captives, and many of them have
[567] at their command an affluence unknown among the Imrad, and

[414
531
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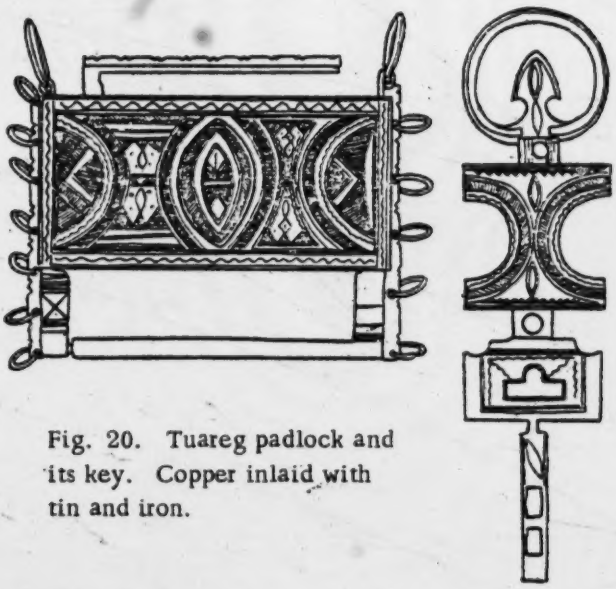

Fig. 20. Tuareg padlock and its key. Copper inlaid with tin and iron.

even among some Imochar.

/180/ Chapter 2

Confederation of the Ahaggar

173 Oral traditions handed down among the northern Tuareg maintain that they originally came from the city of Es-Souq in Ăḍrar des Iforas, known as Tăḍemeka in ancient times, and equidistant from Timbuktu and In-Salah.

312 and from all the subterranean flows; thus it is richer in watering places. There are rédir, or wells, varying from 5 to 10 meters in depth.

342 The tent. -- This kind of habitation is found from the western Asian steppes to the Atlantic, where nomads have generally adopted the camel's-hair tent. Tuareg, who do not own any camels with long hair, use skins.

The tent is composed of a large awning formed by assembling [281] 30 to 40 wild-sheep or goat hides, with the hair removed and tanned. Because of the scarcity of wild-sheep skins, goatskin and even cow-[184] hide are gradually being substituted for them. Cowhide is used exclusively by the Ioullimmiden Tuareg. The awning is held up by a frame of arches or poles. The Kel Ahaggar, moreover, have two kinds of tents: one with vertical supports and one with arches. The former is more widespread at the present time. It includes a central pole with a wooden ridge tile and six secondary poles placed in a circle. The highest part of the awning is about 1.5 meters from the ground. The edges of the skin hang down almost level with the ground where they are attached by small pegs in order to keep out the sandstorms which are very common in spring and summer, and keep out the winter cold.

The ridge tile on a central pole is especially used in summer when rains are feared, for it gives the proper slope to the awning so that water can flow off. In other seasons this ridge tile is replaced by two poles supporting a crosspiece.

Although one cannot stand inside, the Tuareg tent is spacious enough. The poles are in tamarisk wood, with coarse sculpture, 323 531 pyrography, and paintings on the upper part. /224/ This type of tent is used by the Kel Rela, the Dag Râli, and most of the Kel Ahaggar.

The other model is now used only among the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. [184] It appears that the Kel Ăhnet and the Kel In Rhar may still use it, too. The center stake of the type described above is replaced by one or two arches made of éthel /atle? Ed./ roots joined by a

302 751 Men and women make rings around their eyes with kohl; they put it not only on the eyebrows, but especially at the roots of the eyelashes. They do this for medical purposes, for they attribute [164] to kohl the ability to protect them against eye maladies, in particular against ophthalmia which strikes many of them.

[326] The Tuareg appreciate the long, narrow hands of people who do no manual labor. They do not take any particular [412 531 212] care of them and are satisfied merely to cut their nails rather short. As they do for hair, they bury the scraps so that no one can take them.

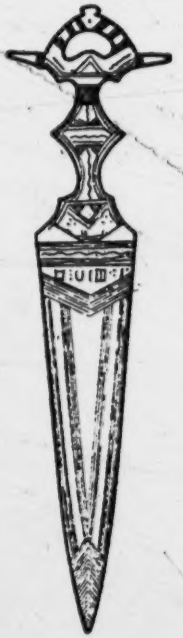

Fig. 36. Hairdressing knife, bearing the name of the artisan who made it in tifinagh characters.

304 [171] Tattooing. -- Make-up. -- Unlike the Kabyle and the Berbers, the Tuareg are not tattooed. This detail, which may seem insignificant, nevertheless indicates that the relationship of these different human groups is not nearly as close as one might believe, since there are such appreciable differences in mores.

184 304 Some women blue their gums and sometimes their lips by tattooing them, but this custom is particularly prevalent in the Sudanese tribes of the Timbuktu region.

302 [751] [517] On the other hand, make-up is used on a large scale among Tuareg women. They put red ocher on their faces to protect the skin from the /260/ sun. For aesthetic reasons they also blue their lips and around their mouths with indigo.

291 and is worn loose or, more often, drawn in at the waist by a belt; 3) a veil covering the face, letting only the top of the head and the eyes show.

This is the simplest dress of the Tuareg.

292 The holiday garb includes several blouses placed one on top of the other -- a white blouse underneath, an indigo-blue blouse on [556] top of that, and finally, for rich people, a third blouse made of bands of cotton, worked in the Sudan. This last blouse, usually with a

[291]

Fig. 38. Ahaggar men's costume.

1) Amrid with his gandurah pulled up over his shoulders.
2) Akli wearing a leather gandurah.
3) Amajer in ceremonial costume with a takoumbout on his head.

[53] purplish background color and large and small embroidery over the chest and the shoulders, includes a wide, deep pocket on the left side of the chest. Broad bands of white and red material gird the loins by forming a belt and cross over the chest to form a shoulder belt. Large silk cords with red or green tassels finish off the costume which gives the Tuareg such an impressive air.

[172] 301 layers /271/ dating from that epoch. Its origin must be sought there, and it is now nothing more than a Neolithic vestige.

A number of little cases which the Tuareg wear suspended around the neck and resting on the chest may be considered ornaments. [531] They are little leather cases -- decorated, painted or embroidered, or even stamped in relief -- and they contain various little instruments. [415] Thus, there are mirror cases, needle cases, razor cases, scissor cases, toothbrush cases, etc., and little wallets in which the Tuareg put what they prize most -- money, a /strike-a-light/ steel box and its flint, or tobacco.

/272/ They also wear 301 751 quantities of amulets in leather or metal cases on their chests, their arms, or their hair. But [178] this custom, religious in origin, has evolved in the direction of ornamentation, for many of these amulet cases contain nothing.

Fig. 42. Needle case of worked leather, with knife slits and embroidery. The background is red; the ornamental painting, black; the embroidery, red and green cotton.

301 Female jewelry is much richer and more varied. It is [328] all made of silver; gold jewelry is never seen among [228] the Tuareg. They maintain 777 that gold is unlucky for the possessor and that this metal corrupts people.

/273/ On their fingers Ahaggar women wear big, round-shaped rings, made of small cases in which there is a little pebble which tinkles like a bell. Rich women wear two or three on each hand. 301 [556]

The wrists are adorned with hollow silver bracelets with triangular cross sections, bearing little linear drawings. There are also rather

[531]

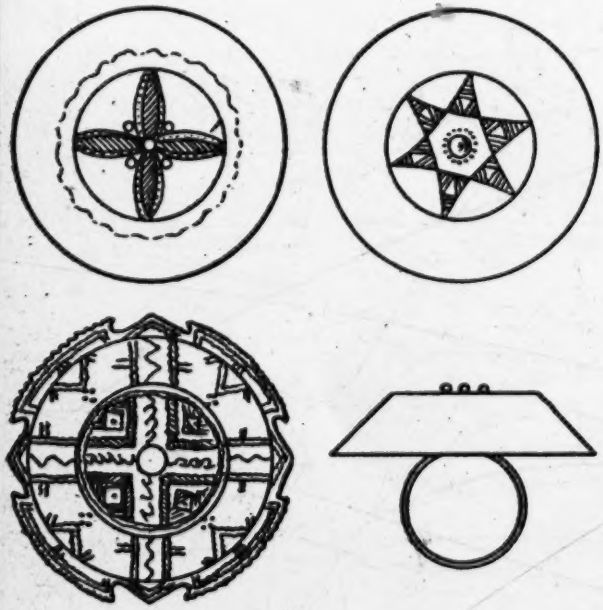

Fig. 43. Ahaggar women's rings.

broad black horn bracelets. Bracelets of Sudanese origin made of multicolored beads mounted on leather are also adopted by a few women. [177]

The neck is ornamented with a necklace bearing an oval (?) shell or a substance coming from a native Nigerian animal, which could very well be the manatee. This jewel (ameréouan) is extremely valuable and very rare in the Ahaggar. It is handed down from mother to daughter. [237] [428 556]

301 Under the necklace Tuareg women wear /274/ pectoral pendants, a small one shaped like a lozenge with a red stone set in it and embellished at the base with little triangular plaquettes, and another [531] large-sized one made of several triangles with big silver cabochons, each one decorated at the base with small triangular plaques.

The style of these jewels is simple and quite peculiar to the Tuareg. Although their triangular shape recalls somewhat that of Kabyle jewels, it is nonetheless true that they show no relationship with the [531] North African goldsmith's craft and that it is very difficult to explain their origin.

Tuareg women of the Ahaggar do not wear earrings but great massive silver rings which are hung on each side at the height of the ears by a leather thong which passes over the top of their heads.

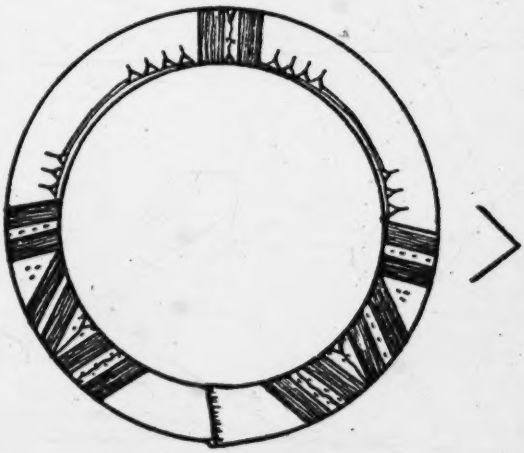

Fig. 44. Silver bracelet worn at the wrist by women.

Very often they also wear little hair pendants which are attached to the ends of their braids of hair.

301 412 Both men and women are supplied with little tweezers to extract thorns (the irremdan), which they wear over the shoulder. That of the women, which is copper and bi-triangular shaped, /275/ takes on the nature of a jewel, for it is carefully worked and has a real artistic character. That of the men is simpler; it is completed with a little awl and a knife blade and serves as a small portable surgical kit.

32 If, secondly, we look for the aptitudes which the Tuareg have for working these different raw materials, we notice that their enumeration follows the same order as above, with the reservation 325 that none of them know how to work metals. The latter occupations 463 are the prerogative of the Enaden, that is to say, the artisans, and 564 it is evident from this that without the artisans' help Tuareg industry would be limited to work in wood, leather, and esparto. In short, it is the cultural cycle of the pastoral peoples of the steppe.

It is only much later, when the Tuareg had integrated the [174] Enaden with their social organization, that they used metals. Therefore, [415 531] we perceive the considerable role which artisans must have played in technical evolution and that of art itself.

Fig. 46. Wooden funnel.

/277/ The presence of Enaden in the camps has reduced the manual labor [322] of the Tuareg, but the latter are still able to make wooden articles -- milking vessels, bowls, tent stakes, etc.

565 One of their most curious customs is that women from the high 462 nobility work wooden vessels and funnels with their hands by means 322 of a little adze. They usually give them to the wives of their Imrad, 431 who are very appreciative of these gifts. In the Ahaggar camps we found many little utensils which were the work of famous noblewomen, of tamenokalin whose names are piously kept; these objects were saved with much veneration. This custom is even more re- [174] markable since we know the scorn that the Tuareg have for manual labor; we must see in it a relic of woodworking which must formerly have been everyone's work, without distinction, before the creation of the artisan class.

Wood furnishes containers for food, drinking vessels, milking vessels, mortars, pestles, tent stakes, crosspieces and boards for making saddles. The Ahaggar does not have more than five or six species of woods which can be worked, and the articles, very simply shaped, are much less varied than in the Sudanese tribes. 322

All Ahaggar women, noble or vassal, know how to tan, remove hair from, sew, decorate, and embroider leather. They are able to make a waterskin needed to carry water, prepare skins to make tents, and manufacture bags for transporting food and personal objects. They have all become so expert in these labors that it is 281 462

Fig. 47. Amoula, a little wooden "bottle" for young children to drink from. [415 862]

difficult to find any other peoples in the world who possess such a developed leather craft.

The scarcity of vegetable materials in the Ahaggar is one of the reasons why the use of esparto is relatively restricted. Only the stems of a graminacea common in the wadies (Panicum turgidum) are used to make mats -- large enclosing mats which surround the tent, sleeping mats, mats for covering plates. [137] 285 [824]

/278/ The stems are bound by little leather thongs, and the combination of graminacea and leather is extremely effective; it allows very regular geometric decorations at the same time as a very solid work. [283] [531]

There are no esparto vans among the Tuareg. The women use palm-leaf vans and hats, but these articles are the work of the Harratin from the little palm groves of Silet, Ideles, and Abalessa. 291 415 438

326 [301] /280/ Silver is used to make jewelry--pendants, pendants for the hair, bracelets, rings, earrings, amulet cases, etc.

Copper furnishes a number of more important and naturally more commonly used [493] [414] articles -- saddlery articles, cavessons for [412] camels, highly ornamented padlocks with keys, hair knives, etc. This metal is generally better worked than silver. It is often chiseled, engraved, and topped with applications of tin by a technique [531] which is reminiscent of damascening. Various articles, little knives, or medical cases bear inlays of copper on iron.

Fig. 50. Hammer.

325 Copper and silver are cast in little terra cotta crucibles, and the high temperature needed to melt them is obtained by a forge with a double hand bellows or with a single bellows of the kind used by the Saharian Arabs and the Sudanese.

Fig. 51. Blacksmith's tongs.

438 326 411 The Ahaggar Enaden do not manufacture arms; they merely repair them. Sahara, daggers, and lances were for the most part manufactured by blacksmiths of the Kel Dinnik tribe (Ioullimmiden from Tahoua). Saber blades were imported from Rhat and mounted by the artisans. Lances came from the Kel Geres, where the Enaden of that group worked an iron mine which is located beside the village of Tassaoua.

Only a few daggers were made in the Ahaggar.

323 [172] Pottery is in common use among the Tuareg. It is generally not in use among nomads. However, it has been widespread in the Sahara for a long time, for quantities of potsherds and fragments are found on the regoliths /regs/ which are subsequent to the Neolithic period. Furthermore, its use is becoming more and more generalized in the camps.

323

Pottery is made by Negresses, the wives /281/ of Harratin, or freed former captives who live in the agricultural centers.

This outline of the techniques and industries of the Kel Ahaggar Tuareg brings out their poverty.

Can we speak of art among the Ihăggaren? That seems difficult, for aside from a few rare objects, all those that they use are more or less in use in the Ahaggar are imported from Aïr or Ădrar des Ifôras, and that is explained all the better by the fact that the artisans are more or less originally from these regions. 438 531 517

Fig. 52. Sugar tongs.

[415]

It is difficult to determine the origins of Tuareg art in general. It is in reality a composite art taken from all their neighbors, which, is not, for the most part, the achievement of the Tuareg themselves but of their artisans. It is among the latter that the distant origins /of Tuareg art/ must be sought. 177 517

The tastes of the Tuareg appear to be unchangeable. They have been fixed for centuries; therefore, in ancient documents some hundred years old one finds the same shape, the same dimensions, the same coloring as today. In this regard we shall say that the Enad is not an artist. He is a worker who may have taste, but who is, on the whole, incapable of creating. He faithfully reproduces the model which has been handed down to him. He 517 [178 172]

114 "The conversion of these new peoples spread the influence of the
175 church or the empire quite deeply into the interior of Africa. But was it solid? Religious propaganda was for a long time one of the favorite forms of Byzantine expansion. It follows from this that the conversions which it caused were especially political and were made without previous instruction in the catechism, consequently without conviction on the part of the converts. It lasted, alas, only as long as political interest remained in agreement with personal interests." (2)

2. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. II., p. 72.

The Arab author Ibn Khaldoun said in the fourteenth century, while speaking of the Islamization of the Sanhadja Berbers, that this pagan people had never adopted the Christian religion.

Thus it seems probable that the Tuareg were never Christians.
[531] Nothing in their present mores betrays the least trace of it. The cross found on the bucklers, weapons, saddle articles, and jewelry has no typically Christian character; it is a decorative motif to be found in ornamentation used among peoples who have nothing to do with Christianity. Only the Latin words introduced into the
[192 Tamashek language may indicate /303/ that the Tuareg must have
174] been in more or less distant relations with the Christian peoples, but they cannot vouch for the early Christianization of the Tuareg by themselves alone.

175 Judaism. -- Although Christianity certainly no more than
797 grazed the North African Berbers and by repercussion the Saharian nomads, it is perhaps quite different with Judaism. Indeed, the Jews settled early in North Africa, where paganism was then professed, and they made many adepts among the Berber peoples. Entire tribes were converted, and when Christianity came to take root in its turn, it found before it numerous groups, both Judaic and Judaized. The position of the followers of Israel was

175 continually strengthened by the constant arrival of new subjects
797 from Egypt. Therefore, a few years later under the Byzantine Empire, their influence was so great, in the cultural as well as in the political sphere, that it offended the established authorities, and Emperor Justinian undertook to drive them out. Many of them fled to the interior of the continent and even took refuge in the Sahara, where they formed numerous active communities. So it is that a Jewish state was formed at the Touat, as we have already pointed out.

When the Arabs appeared in their turn in North Africa, they also found many Jewish groups there. This was the occasion for violent persecutions and a new exodus, and many Israelite communities were forced to embrace Islamism.

In the fifteenth century there were still some Jews in the Sahara. They disappeared as Israelites under the pressure of the Moslem conquerors who abhorred them, and they must have merged with the peoples of the Niger loop.

[174] It seems that the tribes who gathered around Kahéna to defend the independence of the Berbers were Judaized. The very name of the heroine of Aurès -- Kahéna -- sounds Jewish, and could come from the Hebrew cohen (priest) which would mean "the priestess."

Father Mesnage has pointed out that several fractions of the Haouara /hawara/ were Judaized, particularly the Herreneha, who today live northeast of Aurès. (1)

1. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. III, pp. 95-107.

We have remarked elsewhere that the Jewish type was found
[173 /304/ in some Tuareg groups of the Niger loop, that the star of
53] Solomon often decorated articles they used, and that legend attributes a Jewish origin to their artisans.

797 Islamism. -- According to Arab tales, the Islamization of the
173 Tuareg, and of the Ahaggar Tuareg in particular, was led by

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Plate XV

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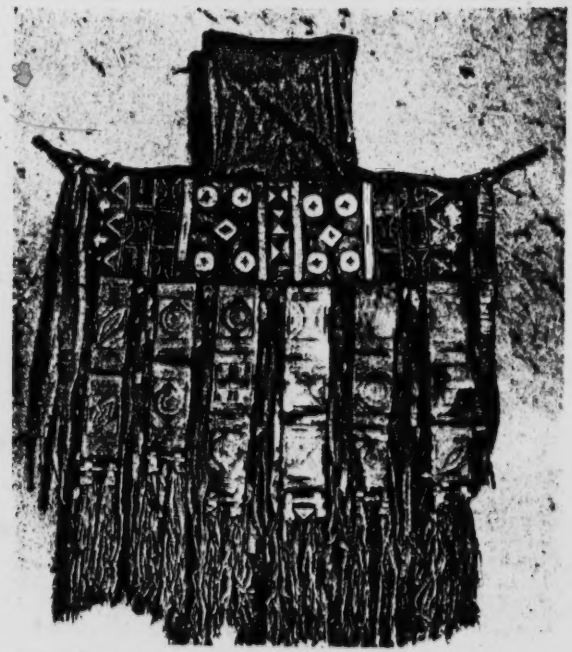
Old noblewoman from the Kel Rela tribe weaving a bag with goat's hair thread.



Goatskin bag used by women to transport their personal clothing. The very delicate decoration is obtained by cutting out the skin and applying embroidered leather.

439 These transactions are chiefly centered around tea, sugar, cloth, perfumes, hardware, carbide, and blankets from the Touat. They cause quite an appreciable movement of camels from which the Ihaggaren benefit, along with the Arabs from In-Salah who rent their camels to traders.

492 Transport. -- We need not repeat that without the camel the Sahara would be uninhabited today. Indeed, it plays a capital role in transport between oases; it is the mount used by warriors and people who are moving and the vehicle for baggage. People would not be able to do without its services the moment it is a question of crossing a hundred or so kilometers in a region not supplied with watering places.

The ass also plays a big role, but its use is more localized. [312] It is confined to the edges of the massif, where it is rare not to find water during a day's march. The ass really assures all internal transport -- that necessitated by moving camps, transport of water [565] and even of persons -- for although the Imochar never travel except on camels, the Imrad /318/ commonly make use of the ass, and their wives know no other mounts. Its role is even more appreciated because it saves camels which, in the Ahaggar, must be submitted /only/ to moderate labor. In addition, it is always handy, for it lives near the camps while camels are often several days' march away because of pasture needs.

Meharists have a special harness: light saddles which are placed on the animal's withers and which are designed to receive the different bags of salt and waterskins.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have several kinds of saddles: 1) the tarik, with the pommel in the shape of a cross and covered with [261] red leather; 2) the tamzak, shaped the same way, but much more [531] luxurious, with the outside of the pommel and the back decorated with little perforated metal plates and copper studs; 3) the tahiast, [531] a coarse saddle with a palette-shaped pommel, either in bare wood [322] or covered with leather decorated with geometric designs.

492 The tarik is the saddle commonly used by the Ahaggar Tuareg, the one which is peculiar to them and which they must have known from time immemorial. The tamzak, which is a decorated variant [177] of the tarik, owes the origin of its decoration to Hausa influence. [171] In fact, the peculiar technique of applying perforated metal bands enhanced by colored leather fabrics is found in horses' saddles of the

[531]

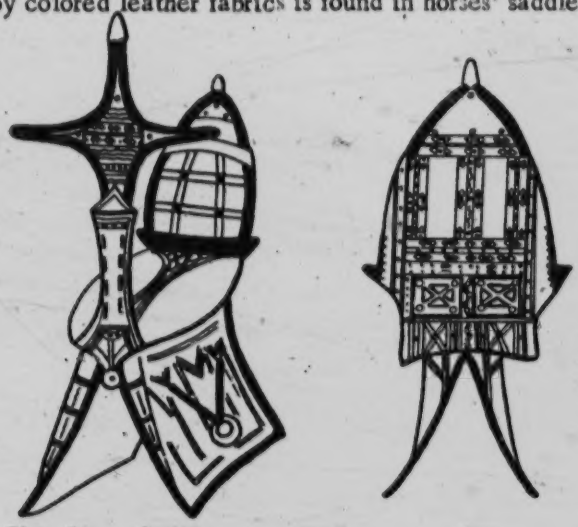


Fig. 54.. 1 2

The camel saddle called tamzack. Detail of the back of the saddle.

Hausa from the Damergou, Sokoto, etc., and there is no doubt that that art, which is unrelated to that of the Tuareg, is much more developed among those peoples.

438 The two saddles are usually made in Aïr, indeed even at Agadez, but the old Tuareg blacksmiths manufacture only the 326 tarik. The tamzak is the work of artisans, who are usually settled 492 at Agadez and more or less crossed with artisans of Hausa origin. 492 Ahaggar blacksmiths make only the tahiast, which is the saddle 171

492 adopted by all the Tuareg of the Adrar des Iforas, which the
171 Chaamba Arabs also use, and which is derived from the saddle of the Moors of the western Sahara.

492 Ahaggar noblewomen, who travel only on meharis, have
[565] special saddles resembling the basour of the Arabs but without the arch covered in cloth. These saddles are called akhaoui; they
[322] are made /319/ of wood and ornamented with large pommels in front and small plaques trimmed with copper nailheads on the side.
[531] For long moves these saddles can be provided with a wicker cage covered with cloth, but this is not a common practice.

Saddles hold leather bags which contain either a change of
[415] clothes or food reserves as well as the waterskins constituting the necessary provision for crossing regions without wells.

For transport, camels are provided with a special packsaddle made of palm fibers which literally crowns their backbone. Most of these packsaddles are made in the Tidikelt. For caravans which last a long time the animals are loaded with about 100 kilograms, plus the waterskins that are generally added to the baggage. The servants, who accompany the animals and do not have personal mounts at their disposal, /320/ ride on top as excess weight and make the whole trip under these conditions.

[481] The Tuareg are very poor walkers and cannot conceive of a person's going on foot, even to spare the mount for a few kilometers.

Asses, which as we have said are used for transport within the massif, are provided with a little packsaddle serving as a saddle at the same time. When camp is moved, they are loaded with the tent, tent stakes, and bags containing food reserves. They also
[312] assure the carrying of water from the well to camp.

484 When an Amrid travels alone on a voyage, he takes an ass to
492 carry his water, his small baggage, and his blanket. Pushing the
[481] ass before him, he walks behind carrying his lance over his shoulders. He mounts on it only during the hot hours of the day.

721 When raids were led against Sudanese camps, they were as in-
727 terested in the Negroes and Negresses as they were in the camels.
567 The kidnappers kept some of them to serve as servants and sold the others on the markets of In-Salah and the Touat.

726 Once the booty was stolen, the raiders went by forced march to the point agreed upon in advance, where they rejoined the other group of meharists.

The raided people, on the other hand, organized themselves, but they did not try to overtake the raiders immediately and did not wear themselves out in vain pursuit. As the return route of the raiders was known, they tried to reach a well where they had to pass; if they were successful in arriving before them and cutting them off from water, the real combat began, this time fierce and often quite deadly.

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Fig. 55. Tuareg lance. The iron blade is decorated with copper inlays. The part where the hand is put is covered with leather, and a little leather loop placed behind is intended to hold the index finger which gives greater propulsion to the lance when it is thrown.

Hard pressed, the Tuareg formed in a square behind their camels and defended themselves under cover of their bucklers; /323/ when they saw it was impossible to take possession of the well, they abandoned their loot. The battle came to an end, and the raiders were rarely pursued. In the opposite camp, a certain number of men were left as sentries to guard against return offensives, and the others tried to gather up their animals and lead them back to the douar /encampment/.

727 When the raiding party was safe, the men divided up the booty in more or less equal parts, depending on each person's merits during the fight. But in some tribes, customs related to the tioussé demanded

Lefaucheux type. But their prices were high for Tuareg pocket- 411
books, and it was difficult to procure powder and bullets, which 439
made firearms uncommon and often the prerogative of the chiefs. 554

Tuareg weapons vary according to the circumstances. The
Imochar carries the arms he likes: they include the sword 184
(tacouba), which is the 411
weapon par excellence 565
of the nobles; the iron
lance (allar') carried by
nobles and vassals;
javelins with iron shoulder [531]
and point and wooden
staff (tarda), which are
set aside for vassals and
slaves; and the forearm
dagger (télak) provided
with a leather ring so that
it may be hung from the
wrist. In the Sudan slaves
also carry wooden clubs
(tabouri), heavy branches
with a knot at one end.

Fig. 57. Old type arm dagger.

The Tuareg have only
one defensive weapon,
the buckler (ahrer) which
is made of oryx antelope
skin. It was generally the prerogative of the nobles, and only
they had the right to carry it. It recalls the coat of arms by its [531]
shape and the ideology which surrounds it; the decorative motifs
which it bears have a magic character.

The Tuareg are adroit fencers, fighting hand /326/ to hand 411
with their swords while protecting themselves with their bucklers 714
which cover their bodies and which they handle with a great deal
of dexterity in spite of the volume and weight. The sword cuts

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P. 251] Hoggar
[Pp. 243-250 not processed]



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*b*

Fig. 36. *a*, A typical camp site and tent of the Ahaggar Tuareg. *b*, A chief of the Ahaggar Tuareg sits before his tent, camel whip in hand and surrounded by his family. (Photographs by Chasseloup-Laubat, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

/87 cont. / skin is lightly tanned with tamat or adjar leaves,
342 then smeared with butter to make it supple. After these
281 operations, the red tint is added in the following way:
"tamadjouhit," a sort of red clay, is mashed up with camel dung; with the powder thus obtained, the still greasy skin is rubbed until the desired color is obtained. The skin is then soaked in water for two days so that it may be stretched, smoothed out, flattened, cut, and sewed. The women of the camp undertake this last task; they all pitch in to work, joking, talking, and the work gets done at a good rate. One tent may have from 30 to 120, or even 150, skins. Strands of fine leather thongs, artistically cut, called "balenkassen," hang from the top, giving the inside /88/ of the tent a novel
342 effect. The tent is supported by six vertical wooden stakes, 1.50 meters high, sticking about 20 centimeters into the ground. These vertical stakes are joined in pairs by three horizontal bars; the stakes are attached to each other with cords made from plaited goat hair. The tent rests on these stakes and is anchored at the edges by smaller stakes or large stones. The front of the tent, facing south, is generally open, and the sides are attached to tall, vertical stakes, the tops of which are often carved. On the inside the tent wall is lined with an "asaber," a kind of long mat made with stalks of "afazzou" (a grass). Making an asaber is a job requiring a great deal of patience; first the afazzou must be gathered with care taken to choose the longest stalks; then the stalks are assembled in pairs, being tied with previously prepared narrow leather thongs, with one thong around the top and another around the bottom of the stalks. The asaber is about 80 centimeters wide, with thongs wrapped around the stalks every three or four centimeters. The length varies from seven to eight meters, or exactly four times the height of a man with
[531] his arms upraised. The top border of the asaber is decorated with a band of leather interwoven with geometric designs. Two women take about a year to do this work.

361 /93 cont./ To sum up the migrations of the Kel Ahaggar,
166 let us say that they extend in a radius of about 100 kilometers,
221 within the tribal lands, but that the men may lead the herds, according to the times, toward pastures 1,000 kilometers from the family camp, and that an annual series of caravans sees them cover 15° of latitude.

The harratin cultivators are only sedentary on occasion; each year there is a large human movement from one agricultural center to another. There are three reasons for this: the Tuareg, owners of the soil, are no longer able to furnish the hartani with enough seed or to fulfill the agricultural contract; water bwgins to be lacking in a center, or digging foggaras becomes impossible; lastly, the exhausted land needs rest. It is thus that, from one year to the next, an important, well-cultivated center may become /94/ insignificant and even deserted. It appears to be impossible to establish a cycle for these agricultural migrations.

## Tuareg Furnishings

352 Lightness and flexibility are the two essential qualities of
492 Tuareg furnishings. All of these objects must be transported on the backs of animals; weight, therefore, is the principal enemy; moreover, it is easier for the animals to carry loads capable of molding themselves against the animals' bodies.
415 Thus we find a whole assortment of sacks, chiefly leather ones, in the Tuareg equipment.

These sacks are tanned in such a way as to keep the leather very flexible; but the process employed is suitable only for extremely dry climates: transported to France, the Tuareg leathers seem to come alive again, they swell with humidity, then give off a disagreeable odor, and finally become unusable.

415 All of these sacks are decorated. Some are colored and
531 bear designs put on with dye or are decorated with tinted

415 /94 cont. / leather, and sometimes they are even embellished
531 with motifs on cloth, accentuated with needlework in silk; others are made of natural leather, adorned with frayed leather thongs, for the main principle of decoration for everything carried on a camel's back seems to be to lengthen the lines in order to make them harmonize with the silhouette of this amazing animal. The decorative motifs are many but always linear; the circle, as well as the arc, is used, but the straight line dominates; there are no arabesques, no complicated curves; triangles, squares, rectangles, even trapeziums and diamond shapes are used. Red is the chief color for leather, but a wide range of other colors, artistically used, makes possible some pleasing effects; delicate greens characterize the work coming from the Sudan, pure whites are set in blacks, dark greens, and browns, different tones of yellow cover large surfaces. Then, slight grooves in the dyed leather produce interesting effects.

[492] /95/ The sacks are secured on the animals by numerous cords. These are plaited with goat's hair. Making all these fittings takes unimaginable time and patience. Such a task cannot be thought of except in relation to a nomadic tribe.

An interesting study could be made on Tuareg decoration, comparing it to that of certain Indian tribes of America; one thinks in this connection of the hypotheses advanced by Commandant Cauvet in Les Berbères en Amérique /Berbers In America/.

352 Here is a list of the various objects to be found in a Tuareg tent, undoubtedly an incomplete list, for the most familiar objects are the easiest to forget.

The woman, mistress of the hearth, owns her personal effects. The wardrobe bag, a large rectangle 80 by 60 centimeters at the top of which is an opening 30 centimeters high by 50 centimeters wide, is called "agherredj"; clothes are kept in it. Some of these agherredj are magnificent works of art.

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[322]

Fig. 21a–b. Milk-bowls (*akas*, pl. *ikassen*) which are used for milking and for milk drinking.

[184] a. A bowl made of burned clay like an ordinary earthen pot. These bowls are never used by pastoral Tuareg but by a few sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar who also manufacture them. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.120 m high with an upper diameter of 0.187 m. (N.M. G. 5821).

[824] [463] [184] b. A bowl cut of the wood of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*). It is made by a blacksmith, but certain Tuareg women cut similar bowls which are common in all camps of pastoral Northern Tuareg. Such milk-bowls are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.102 m high with an upper diameter of 0.199 m. (N.M. G. 5199).

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Fig. 22. Calabash of a type which is used occasionally for milking in Ahaggar. It is called *atekkas* (*we n akh*) or *atekkas* (*we n tazek*), that is "calabash for milk, or "calabash for milking". Introduced to Ahaggar from the south and bought at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.110 m high with an upper diameter of 0.195–0.203 m. (N.M. G. 5823).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 43. Riding camel with *ikembar*, that is scars from cuts on the bridge of the nose and a hanging patch of skin under the chin. An ornamented leather rein (*tayant*, or *trézem*) is fastened to the copper ring (*tigemt*, or *tigemt*) of the right nostril. The camel's colour name is *aberog*. It was my own riding camel – a precious gift from Professor Daryll Forde of the University College London. – Ayr.

262 if they had to eat the meat of camels. I have also been told that all members of certain tribes (e.g.,
261 the *Ikezkezen*) will refuse to eat any food served in a receptacle which has once contained camel's meat.
262 I have never heard about Tuareg in the two northern groups who would not eat camel's meat, though most Tuareg in the north consider meat of sheep and goats superior to camel's meat. People of all tribes in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer will eat it, and there seems to be a certain prestige attached

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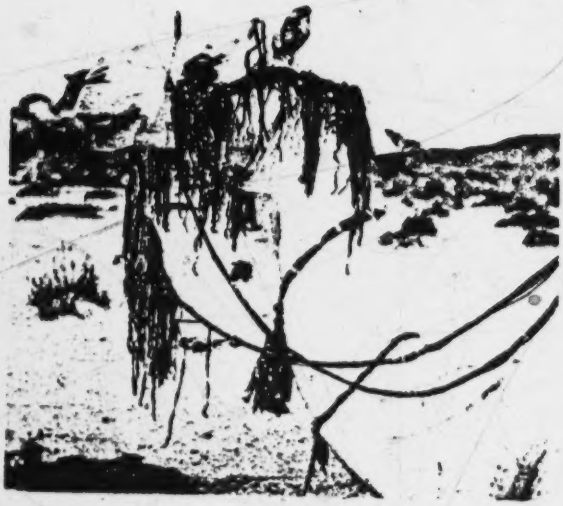

Fig. 52. The *akeskabbu* shakles connected with a leather rein richly decorated with fringes of the same material. This headgear is now in the National Museum (N.M. G. 5192). Hanging around the camel's neck is also a neck collar (*tahawt*) with a brass bell (*anayna*) which is also now in the National Museum (N.M. G. 5191) (cf. Fig. 74b). Below the brass bell is an amulet case fixed to a piece of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

*233 *492 camels and for other animals which are difficult to control (Fig. 48). Such halters are known by the term *amerar* among the Ayr Tuareg. Certain camels which are difficult to catch even when hobbled during grazing constantly wear a halter provided with a short rope hanging down from the head – a device applied to many fierce bull-camels (Fig. 56).

*492 To break-in young riding camels the Tuareg frequently use a double rein one end of which is tied around the animal's head to serve as a halter while the other end is noosed around the lower jaw according to the method generally used for pack-camels and described above. But for trained riding [237] camels the nomads normally content themselves with the use of a single rein (generally known as *tarant* in Ahaggar, in Ayr as *trézem*) plaited of goatskin or goat's hair and attached to a copper ring [564] (*tiğemt* in Ahaggar) inserted in the right nostril of the camel (cf. Fig. 43). This is done by the black-smiths who also manufacture a very special headgear (*akeskabbu*, or *taryet* in Ahaggar) for riding camels which are difficult to control. The rider when using such a head-gear has a double rein one end of which is attached to a nostril ring (*tiğemt*) while the other end is connected with two iron shackles known as *akeskabbu* (*taryet*) and *amadel*. When the rider pulls the right rein the camel is pulled at the nostril ring, but when he pulls the left rein the two iron shackles are tightened around the bridge of the nose and the lower jaw of the animal. The system is illustrated Figs. 50–52. Black-[326] smiths also make very elaborate halters of this type to be used mainly as an ornament of riding camels [531] on festive occasions. In such cases the halter as well as the rein are richly decorated with coloured

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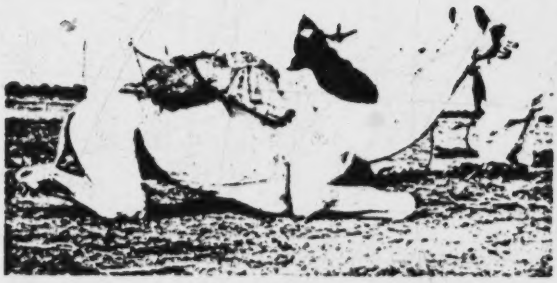

Fig. 53. Pack camel with the saddle consisting of two skin-bags (*imaytalen*) stuffed with hay. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.
Fig. 54. A skin bag (*amaytal*, pl. *imaytalen*) of the type used for pack-saddle. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: ca. 0.80 m. (N.M. G. 6658).

*492 leather fringes (cf. Fig. 52). Some very elaborate halters are found in the Musée de l'homme (Nos.
531 5.66.5; 30.61.228; 95.46.3; D $\frac{3}{1}\frac{4}{1}$ 42; D $\frac{3}{1}\frac{4}{1}$ 25).

*492 Foucauld describes a peculiar method for leading camels, as follows:— A little wooden stick (*aǧula*) is stuck into the skin between the chin and the lower jaw of the animal, and the lead is attached to this stick. The method is practised with camels which have no nostril ring and cannot be led by means of a rope attached around their lower jaw (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 426). I have seen this peculiar method practised once in Ahaggar.

Pack-camels are rarely used without some type of saddle, but it happens that camels are used for water-transportation from the well to the camp without a saddle. The waterbags are then hung over the animal's back, their cords resting upon a layer of straw or sprays. In Ahaggar, and more so in Ayr, it is also common instead of a proper saddle to use two skin-bags filled with grain, straw, or the like to form cushions. One of these is placed before, the other behind the hump so that the cords of luggage bags can rest upon them (cf. Fig. 53–54). These cushions are known as *imaytalen* (sing. *amaytal*), and they may serve as a pack-saddle even on long journeys, though the Tuareg in general use proper saddles on trading expeditions.

[171] Pack-saddles of the Northern Tuareg correspond to saddles found among the Arabs of the Sahara.
The common type is that known to the Arabs as *ḥawiyya* or *ḥidâǧe*, and called *élaki* by the Northern
[284] Tuareg. It consists of a wooden frame (*élaki*) generally made from pieces of palm leaf ribs (Fig. 55).
[284] It is made up of two crossbars placed close to each other, each of them being composed of two short and slightly curved pieces of palm leaves' ribs lashed together at the top with raw camel-hide. The

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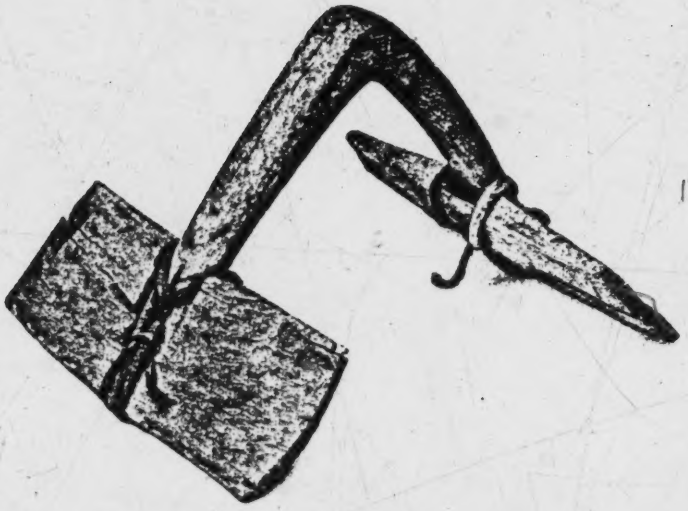

Fig. 58. Wooden saddle frame of the *aruki* type. The curved piece of wood is fastened to two boards with strips of raw hide. The frame is manufactured by an Ayr blacksmith. Bought at Tamanṛaset. Dimension: 0.337 m long, 0.275 m high. (N.M. G. 5247).

*492 by men and boys, who sit sideways in front of the hump resting their feet upon the animal's neck, or, [171] more rarely, behind the hump with their feet hanging down, as is the custom of Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. It should be added that on long trading expeditions the Tuareg frequently content themselves with sitting on the top of their loaded pack-camels. But riding in these ways is not very pleasant, and whenever possible the Tuareg use proper riding saddles placed in front of the camel's hump so that the rider sits cross-legged in the saddle with his feet resting upon the lower part of the animal's neck.

Most Tuareg have saddles of the well-known type with a cruciformed pommel. This saddle is known [531] as *térik* which term is used for three distinct sub-types. One is known as *tekokeyt* (Fig. 60); it differs from the type known as *tamzak* mainly therein that the latter is provided with peculiar ornaments and designs (Fig. 61). These two saddles are those normally used by the Tuareg, while the third sub-type known as *bertekes* is extremely rare; it resembles the *tamzak*-saddle, but is provided with many [564] small bells fastened to be back (Fig. 62). Such saddles are hardly ever manufactured by the black- [432] smiths of Northern Tuareg countries, but are made in Ayr, notably in Agadez, where the Northern Tuareg also buy their riding saddles. Even the Arab pastoralists of the tribes *Chamba* and *Ulad Ba*

[text continues on p. 80]

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Fig. 61. Riding saddle of *tamzak* type (*térik*). Manufactured in Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: ca. 0.77 m high, 0.31 m broad. (N.M. G. 6655).

A less elegant type of riding saddle known as *tahyast* (Ahaggar) or *ahyas* (Ayr) is used rather frequently among the Northern Tuareg and occasionally in Ayr. The wooden structure of this saddle (Fig. 63) does not differ much from that of the cruciformed *térik*-type. It is lighter and less solid, and the saddle is not much esteemed among the Tuareg who use it because it is cheaper. It is manufactured 492* [564]

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Fig. 62. Riding saddle of *bertekes* type (*itrik*). This saddle was brought to the Musée de l'homme by Duveyrier. From Tasilé-n-Ajjer, probably manufactured in Ayr.

*492 mainly by blacksmiths of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas, which region is considered its original homeland, but it is
564 also made at Agadez in Ayr where the wooden skeleton is often covered with hairy ox hide. The wooden
[237] structure of this saddle type is described in literature (Gabus 1949, pl. XII; 1957, p. 176).
[113] In Ayr and further south in Damergu I have often seen a very simple riding saddle which has never been mentioned in literature. It is known as *kantarki* or *delobi* (Figs. 64–65), and it is very interesting

[Text continues on p. 84]

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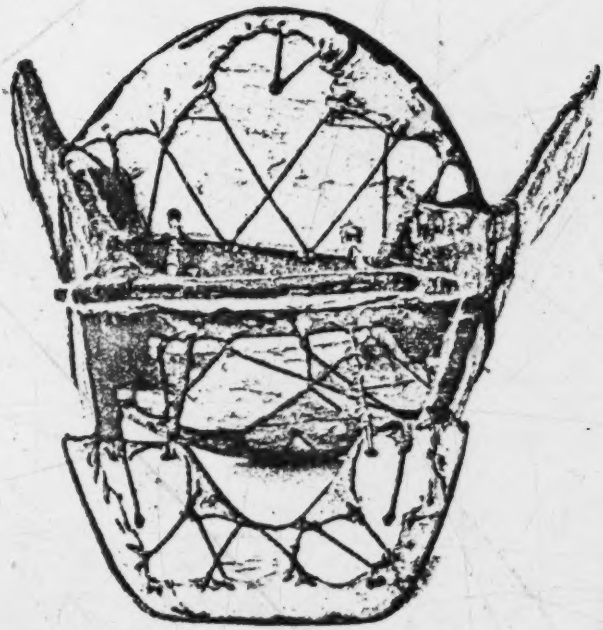

Fig. 63b. cf. Fig. 63a.

*492 huge saddle bag known as *eijebira*, manufactured exclusively by the sedentary people of Agadez, the
415 *Imeggedezen* (Fig. 72a). Other bags are often used by riders and some of them will be mentioned in the description of skin and leather work.

283 An important part of the rider's equipment is the drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from metal and attached to the saddle pommel with a plaited leather cord (*témetrek*); it is particularly common
*492 among the Northern Tuareg (Fig. 71). The Tuareg also possess a great many objects which serve
● 531 exclusively as ornaments for riding camels. The Northern Tuareg adorn their animals with a collar (*tahawt*) made from fine cords of goat's hair, while the Ayr Tuareg use another type of collar called

[Text continues on p.88]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



saddle known as *tebeyat* or *tkhawit* and described above p. 76 (Fig. 57). The Ahaggar Tuareg have 492* 562
four sub-types of women's saddles:— (1) *akhawi*, that is a very large saddle at each side provided with a wooden arch; (2) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tkéwin*), a lighter saddle provided with similar wooden arches; (3) *ergen*, a large and heavy saddle without side-arches; (4) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tehḍaḍ*), a light saddle without side-arches. These saddle types, particularly the former type known as *akhawi*, are exhaustively 113
described by Foucauld in his dictionary (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 723), and a very beautiful specimen is here depicted from the collection of the Musée de l'homme (Fig. 75). Very elaborate saddles as 564
that depicted are always made by the blacksmiths, but light saddles of the *tkhawit* types may also be 462
manufactured by Tuareg women. Thus women of the *Ireḡenaten* tribe south of the Ahaggar Massif make saddles of the lighter type themselves. Women's saddles may sometimes be provided with a roof made from curved and bent boughs covered with cotton or blankets. This peculiar construction is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ahennaka*.

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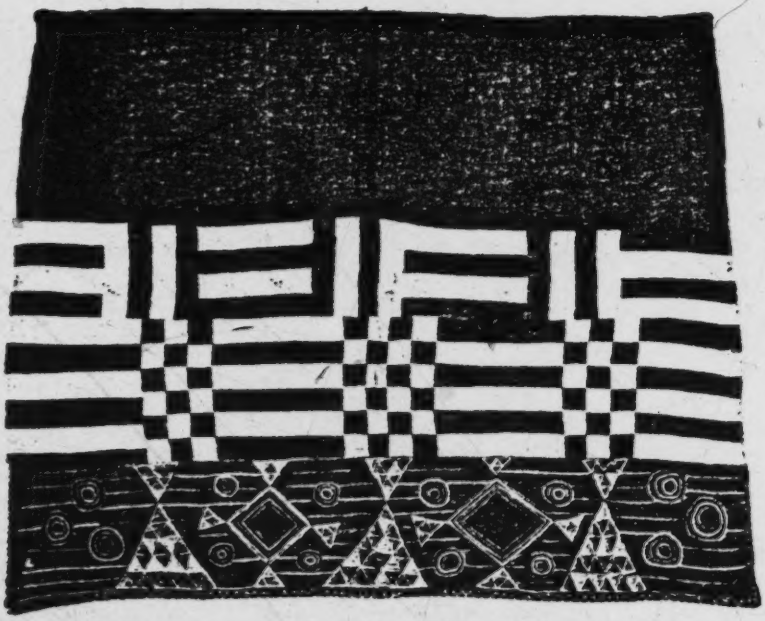

Fig. 67. Saddle cloth (*amesläḡ*) of cotton and embroidered with coloured thread. Ahaggar, the *Aḡah-en-trhlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.771 × 0.620 m. (N. M. G. 5190).

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**Fig. 69. Camel girth (*ahayif*) made of goat's hair and provided with a large tassel of the same material. Ahaggar, *Kel Rezzi*. Dimension: 3.00 m long. (N.M. G. 5826).**

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 70a–b. Tuareg camel whips (*alekkoḍ*, pl. *ilekkoḍ*).

a. Whip with a single lash. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.08 m long. (M.N. G. 1.138).

b. Whip with two lashes. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Urayen* tribe. Dimension: 0.845 m long. (Author's collection).

Fig. 71. The drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned brass and fixed to its ornamented leather cord (*témetrek*) by means of which it is attached to the saddle pommel (cf. Fig. 49). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehld* tribe. Dimension of the bowl: 0.258 m in diameter (upper part). Dimension of the leather cord: 0.685 m long. (N. M. G. 5287).

*492 donkeys, but, as in the North, they sometimes mount the riding camels of men sitting across the animal
562 behind the saddle.

*492 The Tuareg take a keen interest in the adornment of all objects used for riding camels. The richly
● 531 decorated saddles and the ornaments of the riding gear express the particular value attached to the animals used for riding. But Tuareg interest in camels is perhaps more clearly understood, when we
233 consider their rich camel vocabulary.
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The Tuareg have one word which can be used for any camel regardless of its sex and age, its colour, and all other particular qualities. This word (*amaǧur*, pl. *imuǧar* in the northern dialect) does not seem to have its equivalents in vocabularies of other domestic animals which collectively are referred to by means of a sex term of adult animals (e.g., *ulli* = "goats"). The word *amaǧur* (pl. *imuǧar*) is used in conversation, but it is heard less frequently than camel terms which have a very definite meaning.

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Fig. 72a–b. Leather bags for camel riders.

a. Large saddle bag known as *eljebira* (*eljebira*) and used by all riders. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen, manufactured by the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez (Ayr). Dimension: 0.70 × 0.70 m. (N.M. G. 1.108).

b. Large luggage bag (*ebaun*). Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.20 m long. (N.M. G. 1.136).

In a few words camel vocabulary has the characteristics mentioned under the following items:— 233
(1) Sex terms; (2) Age terms which, like most camel terms, also refer to the sex; (3) Colour terms; 192
(4) Terms for very special qualities; (5) Terms for camels according to their training and use; (6) Terms for camels in very definite situations; (7) Terms for the number of camels in a herd; (8) Many entirely synonymous terms.

The Northern Tuareg use the term *amis* (pl. *imnas*) for all male camels including geldings, and the term *talemt* (pl. *tellemin*) for all she-camels. In Ayr a male camel is known as *alem* (pl. *imnas*) and a

[text continues on p. 95]

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Fig. 73 a–b. a. Camel rein (*trézem*) plaited of leather (goat skin) and ornamented with fringes of the same material. Ayr, the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Dimension: 2.70 m long. (N.M. G. 6653).

b. Neck collar (*ilgem*) which serves as an ornament of riding camels. Made of leather (goat skin). Ayr, the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Dimension: 0.43 m. (N.M. G. 6654).

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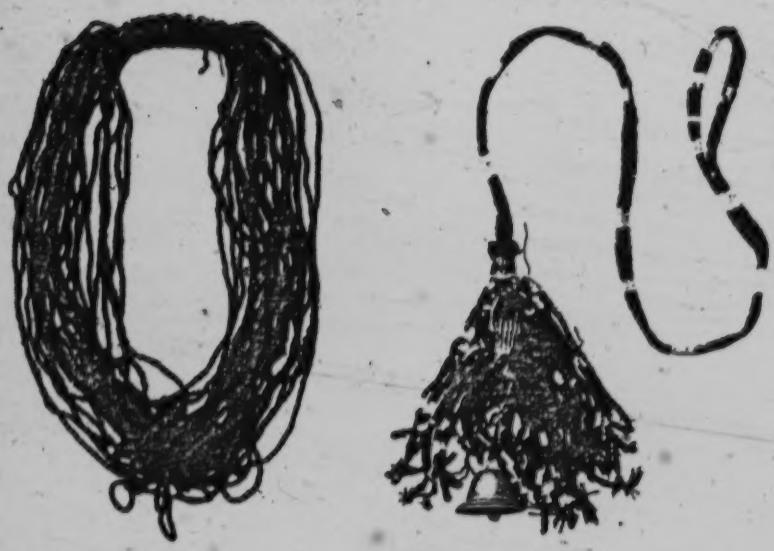

Fig. 74a–b. Neck collars for riding camels.

a. Collar made from fine cords of goat's hair. It is called *tahawt*. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension of the winding seen at the top: 0.07 m long. (N.M. G. 5193).

b. Neck collar (*tahawt*) plaited from goat's hair, ornamented with coloured thread, and provided with a small brass bell (*anayas*). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension: 0.995 m long. (N.M. G. 5191).

the-camel as *talemt* (pl. *tollemin*). In both groups a bull-camel is termed *amali* which word is generally used only for bull-camels reserved for breeding.

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The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have definite age terms for camels until they are eight years old. These terms may be seen from the list on p. 102 where they are mentioned in their feminine forms. At the age of eight years the dentition of a camel is fully developed and later it becomes more difficult to state its exact age. Camels older than eight years are therefore generally known by one and the same term as long as they are strong enough to be used for riding and transportation, or for breeding. The age terms used among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr are different from those mentioned from the north. They are used with precision for camels up to eight years old, and if the exact age of a camel is known by the owner he may continue to apply such terms for camels up to fifteen years old. Older camels are just referred to as "camels" or "old camels".

Colour terms of camels are many. I find it appropriate to list colour terms of the Northern Tuareg

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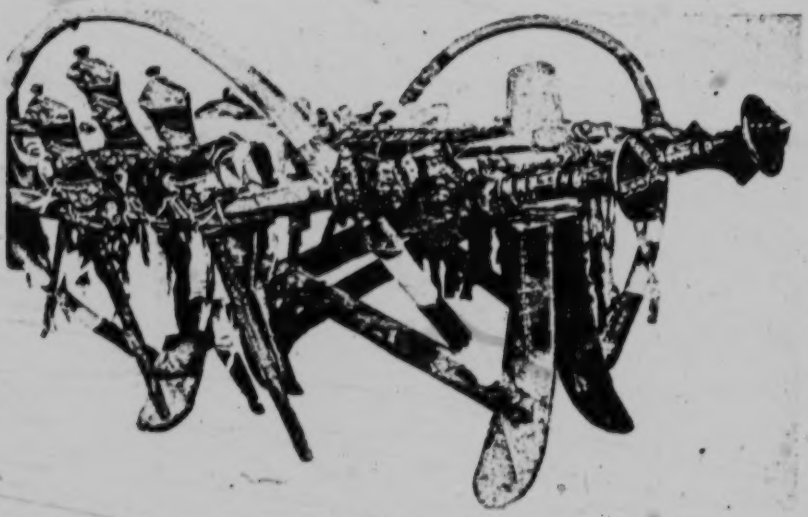

Fig. 75. Women's camel saddle (*akhawi*). Ahaggar, noble tribes. (Musée de l'homme).

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and the Ayr Tuareg separately, because they frequently use different terms for the same colours and because the Ayr Tuareg have a great many piebald animals which seem to be rare in the north. In the north most animals are of one colour, and the common terms of Ahaggar camels are the following:— *adegnas* (dirty white), *éheydeǵ* (white), *éberim* (whitish yellow), *atlaṛ* (mahogany), *abzaw* (whitish), *émengel* (dark grey), *alemlaṛ* (grey), *ézerif* (metallic grey), *ahaggar* or *ézegger* (red), *abhaw* (reddish-brown), and *ékawél* (black). There are a few other terms. I have noted the following terms of piebald camels in Ahaggar:— *éḍemḍem* (a dark or red camel being white on the nose or around the mouth), *ligen* (a camel with white legs), and *azerṛaf* which term seems to be applied to all camels of two colours, and also to other piebald domestic animals.

I have noted the following terms of camels of one colour among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr:— *adegnas* or *wa mellen* (white), *abzaw* (whitish), *atlaṛ* (mahogany), *égadé* (light brown), *awraṛ* (something between light grey and light brown), *éberhey* (something between whitish and light grey), *aberog* (greyish), *ingal* (dark grey), *ézerif* (metallic grey). Most camels of one colour belong to one of these shades, which are frequently so close to each other that a correct description and translation into European colour words is difficult. Most one-coloured camels I have seen in Ayr were *adegnas*, *abzaw*, *atlaṛ*, and *ézerif*, but piebald camels seem to be more common than the unicoloured animals. I have noted the following terms of piebald animals:— *amulas* (white blaze, white colour around the mouth, the remainder of the animal being dark), *aguzer* (the back and partly also the neck greyish

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Fig. 76. The two large cushions (*dsteg*, pl. *dstigen*) which form the basis of the woman's camel saddle in Ayr. The *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 1.90 m. (N.M. G. 6659a-b).

brown, the remainder of the animal white), *ênil* (dark grey with white colours on the belly, the hind thighs, and the four legs), *awinak* (dark grey back but with white on the sides close to the hump, on the hind thighs and legs, on the forelegs, and on the tail), *azurzum* (white on the hind thighs, the remainder plain), *ajwilal* (camel with numerous small circular spots close to each other), *azerraf* (camel of two colours, black and white, or black and red; there is no definite rule for the distribution of these

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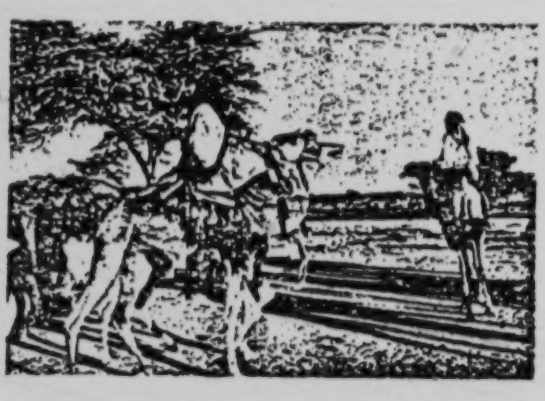

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afogay* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Iyoulen*.

Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle cloths, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

In a ceremonial ride termed *ilaghen* (*ilagaw* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

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Fig. 153a–b. Tuareg funnels (*ássegefi*, pl. *issegefa*) which are used for milk, butter, and for other liquids.

a. Wooden funnel ornamented by burning. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (F.M. 240).

b. Funnel plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) with the rim reinforced with leather. Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.135 m high. (F.M. 243).

234 *415 In Ahaggar the method of churning butter is as follows:— Milk of the morning yield is put into a skin bag (*émesesley*) (Figs. 156–157) to remain in this bag until next morning when churning takes place. During the hot season the *émesesley*, filled with milk, is placed in the shade of the tent in daytime, while in winter it is placed in sunshine, or close to the fire. Some milk of the evening yield is sometimes added to the morning milk in the *émesesley*. Before churning the milk thus soured is poured into the proper churning bag (*aɣiwir*, *iánwart*) which is inflated and shaken. Churning bags may vary in size; when there is little milk to be churned a little bag is used and shaking is done holding it in the hands (Fig. 158). When milk is very plentiful, butter is sometimes churned in larger bags (*anwar*), which at one end is attached to a pole, while shaking is done by pulling the other end of the bag with one or both hands. When the milk is shaken in this way it forms small white balls of butter which are removed from the churning bag with a wooden spoon (Fig. 191) when water has been added. This white butter (*udi wa mellen*, or *tesendut*) is occasionally used for food without further preparation, but this is not normal, for newly-churned butter is generally put into an earthen pot (*iɛ́rirt*, or *ufrun*) (Figs. 186, 187a–b) together with parts of an annual plant known as *aynesnis* (*Chlamydophora pubescens*) (Fig. 160) to be heated over the fire. Some Tuareg also add meal of dried dates, or of horns of barbary sheep. After heating, butter (*udi*) assumes a dark yellow colour. It is stored in containers made of camel's hide (*iahattint*, *asaɣen*, *aroḥha*) (Figs. 161–162), or in Sudanese calabashes (*azenu*) (Figs. 163a–b). A particular metal pail (*iɛ́rir*) (Fig. 164) manufactured by native blacksmiths is also used for

[412] [262] [824] 251 *415 [326]

butter in Ahaggar,

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up with small strips of fat. The pieces of liver covered with fat are put on a slender iron or 252
wooden rod to be roasted slightly over the fire. This dish is known to all Tuareg by the Arabic word [177]
*elmefef*. It was introduced among the Northern Tuareg by the Arabs, but is not widely known among the Ayr Tuareg.

This brief description of Tuareg meat preparation can adequately be supplemented by a reference 252
to two peculiar dishes:— (1) A dish known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *talebeggat*. It consists of meat 262
which after boiling or roasting is pounded in a large mortar and frequently served with liquid butter. This dish is also known to the Ayr Tuareg. (2) A dish which is described from Ahaggar by Foucauld 252
under the name *abangor*. It consists of untanned skin which is eaten in case of hunger after the following 261
preparation:— Untanned skin from household implements, shields, and the like is roasted under the ashes, and is thereupon pounded into small pieces. These are eaten without any further preparation, or after boiling. (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 73).

Like other North African peoples the Tuareg dry meat of domestic animals and of game. The people 251
of Ayr know three distinct drying methods, namely (1) *iwesan*, that is meat which is boiled until it is free of blood; it is dried in the shade; (2) *tikelsin*, uncooked meat cut into pieces to be dried on a string in the shade; (3) *kules*, uncooked meat cut into strips which are dried for some time to be treated with salt and various spices. This last method is not practised among the Tuareg of Ayr, but by sedentary people of Agadez and by Negroes further south in Damergu. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally boil or roast the meat before drying; meat roasted in the ashes according to the *obatul* method and thereupon dried is known as *takasa*. I do not know whether the Ahaggar Tuareg also practise the [825]
method of drying raw meat like the Ayr Tuareg, but the dried *agezzerom* lizzards which they take to Tidikelt on trading expeditions, are dried uncooked. Furthermore, the method of drying raw meat [171]
is known elsewhere in the Northern Sahara, and I have myself seen it practised among the Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

I conclude the description of Tuareg meat preparation with a brief note on the use of blood of living 272

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Fig. 166. Wooden double-vessel (*azar*) to contain water and butter for greasing the hair. Similar containers with a third vessel for fine-grained sand are also found among the Tuareg. Made by blacksmith from wood of the *taborak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Geometrical ornaments are produced by burning with a hot iron. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.241 m long. (N.M. G. 5880).

[text continues on p. 235]

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among them it is eaten in particular by women during the first seven days after the birth of a child, that is during the period from birth to the name-giving ceremony known as *isnawen*. It is considered dangerous for a woman to eat too much vegetable food during this period, while meat is believed to make her recover quickly after birth. The same diet is followed by young boys after their circumcision until their wounds have healed. These dietetic rules no doubt have their root in magical beliefs. 262 846 262 304

All Tuareg esteem liquid or semi-liquid dishes which are consumed mainly during the very hot season. A very common dish of this type is that named *aṛejira* (Ayr) or *aṛehara* (Ahaggar). It is made from flour of millet, sorghum, dates, and crushed cheese mixed with water, the main substance being pounded millet. The dish is served in a large wooden bowl or in a calabash, and is eaten and drunk by means of a large wooden ladle called *tawulat* (Fig. 194a–b). This liquid dish is a substitute for milk during the hot season when milk is scarce, and it is frequently used for food on journeys, in which case it is transported in the form of dough-like balls to be dissolved in water just before eating. 262 [412] [251]

The terms *aṛejira* and *aṛehara* are used for various liquid or semi-liquid dishes, or beverages, for which the Tuareg have particular names according to their composition. Dates are less important for liquid dishes in Ayr than among the Northern Tuareg to whom dates form an important part of food. Very important in the north is a dish known as *talekessat*; it is made from dried dates pounded [252]

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Fig. 182. Tuareg women turning a hand-mill (*tamir*). In the foreground a woman shaking flour into a wooden bowl. Note the ornamented patches of leather hanging down from the tent sheet. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ball* tribe.

[text continues on p. 247]

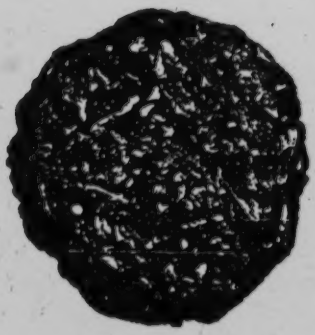

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**Fig. 189.** Earthen jar (*denfu*, or *denbe*) of the particular type used for the preparation of *keskesu*. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.16 m high, 0.30 m in diameter. (F.M. 215).

**Fig. 190.** A kind of cake (*tarfat*) made of onions and dates which are mixed and pressed. Such cakes are made in Tidikelt but are sold at Tamanrasset by Arab merchants. They are pounded in the mortar or are crushed between two stones before cooking. Dimension: 0.10 m. (N.M. G. 5847a).

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**Fig. 191.** Wooden spoons (*tesukalt*, pl. *tisukalin*) cut by blacksmiths from wood of the *taberak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, the *Afuk-en-tehlé* and the *Dag Ralf* tribes. Dimension: ca. 0.26–0.28 m. (F.M.).

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Fig. 194a–c. Bowl-like ladles from Ahaggar and Ayr. They are used mainly for eating liquid dishes – in particular for the dish known as *ayehara* (Ahaggar) or *ayelira* (Ayr).

a. Ladle (*tamalat*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.285 m long, 0.110–0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5845).

b. Ladle (*tamalat*). Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.330 m long. (N.M. G. 6631).

c. Ladle-like bowl (*assay*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. This ladle-like bowl was not used for food but for conservation of fine-grained sand used for hair-dressing together with water and butter. Dimension: 0.330 m long, 0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5879).

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264 frequently consisting of bread or porridge eaten rather late at night. The Ayr Tuareg have related terms for their meals:— (1) *tegimgimt* which is a prepared meal eaten late in the morning. (2) *timekkelewt* which is the prepared meal taken at midday. (3) *temegint*, late evening meal which is the main [272] meal in Ayr, as in Ahaggar. In addition to these meals there is a very light meal taken with tea immidiately after rising. It is known as *elfetur*.

[511] Incidentally there are Tuareg who do not have food enough to eat three times a day.

During times when Tuareg subsist exclusively on milk they have no regular meals. The amount [484] of milk needed to support life is very great, and it is drunk slowly during the day. On extensive journeys when the camels cross the barren deserts, the Tuareg also do not have regular meals as they do in their camps.

[text continues on p. 255]

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Fig. 195a. Wooden eating bowl (*tayehar*) made by Ayr blacksmith. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.095 m high, 0.253 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5212).

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Fig. 195b. Wooden eating bowl (*alkaab*) manufactured by blacksmith from wood of the *tayla* tree and provided with an iron handle. Ayr, blacksmiths of Domergu. Dimension: 0.43 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 6632).

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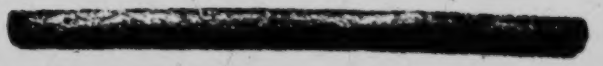

Fig. 200. Neolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isebeten* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045–0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

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Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*amerwas*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Ajjab-en-tahit* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

The pottery made in

323 [531] Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information (Lhote 1947b, p. 145–154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

[114] [113] [437]

[462] In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 507–512).

[text continues on p. 260]

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Fig. 203. Earthen incense jar (*elbakkhar*). Ahaggar, *Herrata* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.179 m high. (N.M. G. 5889).

323 [437] 512). Most pastoral Tuareg of Ayr get their pots from Agadez, but pots are also imported from the south where they are of superior quality. These pots are said to be manufactured by black-skinned 323 563 *Igdalen* Tuareg (cf. p. 432) of the southlands, notably by people of the *Ikenawen* class which comprises professional pot-makers. These people are not found among the *Kel Ayr* but are common in camps [177] of the *Kel Geres* where I have met them. They speak *tamachek* but also have their own language 323 which is said to be related to *Sonray*. The pots made by these southern people are painted and decorated 531 (cf. Fig. 205) in contrast to those of Agadez which are plain and of very simple forms (Figs. 204a–b). So far as I am aware painted and decorated pottery is rarely manufactured in Ayr nowadays. But Rodd states that such pottery in the form of pitchers with a blue design is made near Agadez (Rodd 1926a, p. 160 f., pl. 22 p. 209), and when I investigated ruins of stone houses at Iferwan I found a great many sherds of finely-decorated painted pots which must have been used up to the end of the great Tuareg revolt in 1917 when these houses were destroyed by the French. Lhote has also mentioned [178] the decline of pottery techniques in Ayr, and he states that, apart from little incense jars, no painted and decorated pots are manufactured at Agadez nowadays (Lhote 1950c, p. 511).

*415 Certain metal receptacles were known to the Tuareg long before the European occupation, notably [437] a cooking pot (*éṛir*) made from copper, and the flat drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned copper or brass in Tripolitania, or in Tunisia. Metal receptacles are also manufactured by native [326] blacksmiths in Tuareg country, e.g., the pail (*éṛir*) to be used for liquid butter (Fig. 164).

322 The blacksmiths are excellent wood-workers and make most wooden domestic utensils used by [564] pastoral Tuareg (Figs. 21b, 37, 38, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63a–b, 75, 150, 153–154, 166, 176, 177, 178, 191, [412] 194, 195, 212a, 219a–b, 285). The main implements for wood working are axes and adzes (Figs. 206a–d).

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Fig. 205. Painted earthen pot (*ifkanawi*) manufactured by the professional potmakers called *Ikenawen*. Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.32 m high. (N.M. G. 6636).

283 824 hobble ropes from straws of the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) (Maire 1933, p. 62). For the manufacture of proper ropes the Tuareg may employ the bark of trees. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr they use the bark of *Acacia Raddiana* (*abser* in Ahaggar, *afagag* in Ayr) for this purpose (Fig. 113). These ropes are made after much the same method as that used for the Ahaggar ropes of date palm bast (*asan*) and those of dum palm leaves made in Ayr. Ropes of this kind are always made by men, who, when 283 462 making ropes from date palm bast, proceed in the following way:— Pieces of bast are soaked in water contained in a receptacle. They are thereupon torn into small strips about 20–30 cms long. These strips are rolled and twisted between the hands, and are kept in this rolled position under the foot until sufficient numbers of strips are available for the rope to be made. The ends of two rolled strips are then placed between the first and the second toes, and the strips are twisted together between the hands. New strips are added and twisted in this fashion until a suitable length of two twisted rows of strips has been made. This length is thereupon stretched over one of the feet, doubled, and twisted between the hands. It is finally hammered with a stone while resting on another stone or upon the bottom of a large mortar which is frequently used for support. The Ahaggar Tuareg make their hobble ropes in this way (Fig. 207), and the Ayr Tuareg apply the same technique to ropes made from strips of dum palm leaves which are also soaked in water before twisting. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr this method may also be used for the manufacture of leather cords (Figs. 43, 73a).

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Fig. 210a–b. Two coiled baskets provided with lids.

[462] a. *takhlit*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*aḡum*) and reinforced with coloured leather (goat-skin). Manufactured by women of the sedentary *Kel Ḡat* in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, bought from blacksmiths at Tamanrasset in Ahaggar. Dimension: 0.13 m high. (F.M. 227).

b. *adabun*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*aḡum*). It is ornamented with coloured leather thread and with woollen yarn. Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.205 m high. (N.M. G. 5837a–b).

283 This stick, which is held in the right hand, is turned around its own axes while the hair taken out from the mass with the left hand is occasionally moistened with water or with spittle. The stick upon which the hair is spun is known as *aseggelem*. I have noted in Ahaggar that a length of 50–60 metres of spun hair can be made in about twenty minutes. Such a lenght of spun hair is trebled and attached to two sticks also known as *aseggelem* (pl. *iseggelam*). It is twisted together by two women each holding one of the sticks, and may be conserved for some time before it is finally made into a rope by further trebling and twisting (cf. Fig. 208). Certain cords to be used in connection with riding camels (e.g., reins) are not twisted in the above manner, but are plaited (cf. Fig. 51). The spun hair is used for the manufacture of certain objects without twisting (cf. Fig. 167a–b). Lhote states that the hair growing on the knees and neck of barbary sheep is also used for spinning (Lhote 1955a, p. 319).

[237] The Northern Tuareg spin camel's hair or wool (*teḡuft*) which is used for very few purposes (cf.
[288] p. 67). But camel's hair is sometimes mixed with goat's hair to be spun for thread used for a primitive type of weaving; true weaving is an unknown craft among the Tuareg while important to Arab pastor-
288 alists of the Northern Sahara. The Tuareg type of primitive weaving with spun hair is carried out
* [415] with no other implement but the hand; it is used for small transportation bags known as *tirrar* (sing.
[114] *téṛerirt*), a word, according to Foucauld, derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776) (cf. Fig. 209a–b). I have myself never had the opportunity to see how weaving of this type is done.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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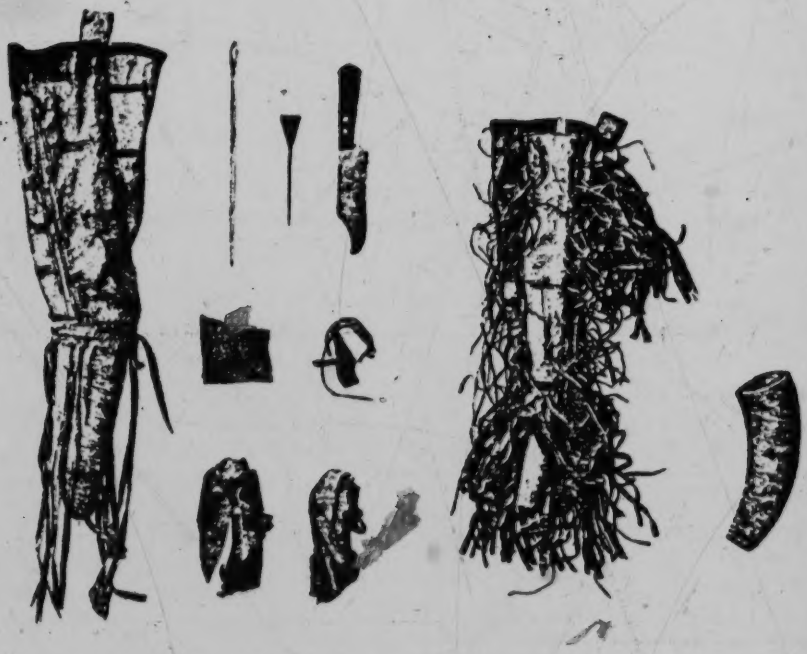

Fig. 220a–g. Sewing bags and their contents.

a. Sewing bag (*askagen*) made of decorated leather sewn to a piece of hollow ox-horn which constitutes the bottom of the bag. Dimension: 0.415 m long. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. – In the bag were the objects b–e.
b. Large sewing needle (*tasugla*, or *tassubla*).
c. Sewing awl (*tisteni*).
d. Leather knife (*telmusit*).
e. Four pieces of leather (*izzemau*) for repairs. (N.M. G. 5225a–e).
f. Sewing bag (*askagen*) of the above-mentioned type but richly decorated with leather fringes. Ahaggar, *Ḥarratin* of I-n-dalag. Dimension: 0.335 m long. (N.M. G. 5241).
g. Ox horn (*isek*) cut for bottom of sewing bag (*askagen*). Ahaggar, *Ḥarratin*. Dimension: 0.136 m long. (N.M. G. 5228).

281 824 is fruit of the *taggart* acacia (*Acacia scorpioides*) which is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tiggart*. The fruit is pounded into a kind of flour or powder which is mixed with water in the large tanning receptacle made from camel hide (Ahaggar) or in a large wooden or enameled receptacle (Ayr). For tannin the Ahaggar Tuareg also use leaves of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). These are collected as follows: a large bough is cut off the acacia, and is left to dry in a clean, sandy place. When the bough and its leaves have been dried by the sun for some time, the bough is beaten with a stick so that the leaves

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fall to the ground where they are conserved dry until tanning takes place when they are pounded in the large mortar and mixed with water in the tanning receptacle. The Ahaggar Tuareg may also use galls of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*) (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 885 & Maire 1933, p. 159) and fruit of the *tedjoq* tree (*Pistacia atlantica*) (Maire 1933, p. 149). 281 824

In addition to treatment with these vegetable tannins the skin is also treated with butter or rubbed with fatty substances, such as a piece of the brain of a slaughtered animal. These are the main features of skin tanning which in Ahaggar takes place in the following way:— (1) The hairy or depilated hide is placed in the tannin receptacle which contains one of the above-mentioned vegetable tannins mixed with water. The hide remains in this receptacle for one or two days if fruit of the *taggart* acacia is used, while three or four days will be necessary using *tamat* leaves known as *ala*. The hide in the receptacle is daily rubbed between the hands in order that the tannin may penetrate well into it. (2) When the hide is removed from the receptacle it is washed with cold water and thereupon dried in the shade. 281

Fig. 221 a-c. Skin bags.

a. Bag of *ahchchiwat* type. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.45 m long. (N.M. G. 1.134).
b. Bag known as *akelbog*. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.36 m long. (N.M. G. 5239).
c. Bag of *ahchchiwat* type. Ahaggar, probably manufactured by Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna. Dimension: 0.30 m long – without fringe. (N.M. G. 5219).

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Fig. 222. Large bag of *téchchékwat* type. The *téchchékwat* bags (pl. *téchchékwatin*) are normally made of entire skins of kids or goats while this large bag is made from several pieces of leather sewn together. Ahaggar, probably manufactured in Ayr. Dimension: 0.92 m long – not counting the leather tassels. (N.M. G. 5216).

281 (3) Butter or fatty substances are rubbed into the inner side of the skin, after which the skin is covered with wet sand for a while. (4) The skin is dried and thereupon softened by rubbing it between the hands – a task sometimes performed by men, though tanning is the task of women.

281 The implements used by the Tuareg for the manufacture of skin articles are few and simple. Sewing
4/3 of skin is rarely done with a needle, though the large iron neddle known as *tasubla*, and in Ahaggar also as *tasugla* (Fig. 220b), is used for sewing among the Ahaggar Tuareg in the manufacture of donkey saddles (cf. Fig. 86, p. 110). But with such rare exceptions the Tuareg sew their skin articles by means of the little awl known as *tistent* in Ahaggar (Fig. 218a), as *éstan* in Ayr. With this implement the women pierce holes close to each other and through them draw thin leather thread
[283] (*azzemi* in Ahaggar). Sinew thread is not in general use among the Tuareg, but I knew a gazelle hunter in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, who took out the sinews of the hind leg of a killed gazelle to use them for mending his leather belt. With this exception I have never seen sinew thread employed for sewing among pastoral Tuareg and my fairly large ethnographical collection containing all types of Tuareg skin and leather articles contains no specimen sewn with sinew thread. For sewing sandals the Ahaggar
4/3 Tuareg use a large awl which is known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b). This word is also used for iron implements

[text continues on p. 280]

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Fig. 224. Decorated skin bag (*abelbof*) for the conservation of tea leaves. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.25 m long. (F.M. 151).

Fig. 225. Skin bag known as *aleguguet* (pl. *aleguguten*). The specimen depicted is an old bag which shows that the bottom consists of a bowl plaited in coiled technique and covered with leather. New bags of this type are ornamented with leather fringes. These bags are used for the transportation of tea glasses, sugar, and the like. The correct name of such bags according to some Tuareg is *eggebankob* (pl. *eggebankobben*). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.33 m high. (F.M. 80).

413 used to burn marks of property into camels and donkeys. The large awl may also be employed for
[321] wood and horn work after heating in the fire. Horn or bone material, however, plays a little part to
[757] the Tuareg. A horn implement common to all Tuareg is that depicted Fig. 230; it is used for sucking
237 out blood of sick persons after bleeding and is widely known in the Sahara. Arm rings (sing. *éweki*)
[301] made of horn are worn by many adult men among the *Kel Aïïer*, but are rare in Ahaggar. Among the

[text continues on p. 282]

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Fig. 236. Skin bag of the type provided with a plaited boot for bottom and known as *aiguigui* or *aggrhaukab*. The specimen is a new one heavily ornamented with leather fringes. Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tekhé* tribe. Dimension: 0.312 m high – without the fringes. (N.M. G. 5243).

237 Ayr Tuareg a piece of ram's horn may serve as an amulet case attached around the upper arm. Horns
*[415] of barbary sheep are used for butter containers among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 223; Fig. 165), who sometimes use a piece of pointed gazelle horn for daubing antimony around the eye.

281 The Ahaggar women cut skin and leather with a small knife (*telmusit*), and a piece of wood (*asettenu*)
462 and/or a stone (*taẓẓet*) are used for smoothing the skin which is then placed upon a particular wooden
[443] board (*elkeyleb*) (cf. Figs. 219a–d). The Ayr Tuareg do not make so much refined skin work. Women
*[445] among the Northern Tuareg conserve their implements for skin and leather work in a particular bag (*askagen*) which is made from leather attached to a bottom piece of horn (*isek*) (Figs. 220a–g).

[531] Northern Tuareg women take a great interest in their skin and leather artifacts, which are richly decorated with fringes and hanging tassels, and with geometric designs in different colours. I have
386 noted the following colours among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer:—
822 (1) *baba*, indigo which is introduced from the south in the form of balls.

(2) *tawnkent*, which is also known as *tafiskt* and *tameẓẓeft* according to Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1934. It is a yellowish mineral which yields an entirely black colour frequently seen on ornamented skin bags. The mineral according to the Ahaggar Tuareg is introduced from the south, while the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer claim that they obtain their minerals of this type from Serdeles north-east of Rat. – A black colour which is also known as *tawnkent* is said to be made by the Tuareg of Ahaggar in the following way:— Pieces of iron are put into water contained in some small receptacle, usually a tea glass. This receptacle containing water and iron pieces is covered with a bowl or a similar object in order that the sun light cannot penetrate. After a few days the water turns into a black colour to be used for skin dyeing.

(3) *semento*, a green colour derived from a mineral or a powder introduced from the south. According to some Tuareg this green colour is also made by means of a vegetable powder introduced from the north, from the region of Mzab.

(4) *khodarbas*, a powder which yields a green colour. It is said to be introduced from the south (from Tawa) and to derive from a tree known as *tafnit*.

[524] (5) *erummen*, the fruit of the pomegranate tree known as *terrummani* (*Punica Granatum*). It is used with a white mineral (alum), known as *aẓref n Tawat*, and introduced from In Salah. Parts of the pomegranate fruit and of this mineral are mixed with water to be used for a yellow or yellow-brown dye which is applied to many decorated skin bags for ground colour.

(6) *temesaruak*, a mineral introduced from the north (Mzab). It produces a yellow colour.

[243] (7) *herki*, a reddish brown colour obtained from a particular type of sorghum known as *tallak* grown in the cultivation centres of Ahaggar.

(8) *tédersé*, a white colour obtained by placing the skin for about three days in a container with fresh milk to which a little salt is added. – Among Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told that a white colour is also obtained from a kind of powder introduced from the Sudan.

386 Before use these above mentioned colours or dyeing materials are generally dissolved in water
[531] contained in a tea glass. When they are employed for the very fine geometric designs of leather bags they are daubed with a small knife known as *telmusit* (Fig. 219b).

[439] It is interesting that most dyes used by the Northern Tuareg are introduced from the north or ~~from~~ the south,

[Text continues on p. 284]

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Fig. 227. Ornamented leather bag. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.60 × 0.38 m. (N.M. G. 1.109).

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Fig. 228a–c.

a. A cylindrical hollowed piece of wood covered with leather. It is known as *tafendit*, and serves to contain antimony (*tazult*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m long. (N.M. G. 5875).

b. Cylindrical brass tube covered with ornamented leather. It is known as *farolu wa n tuka* and serves for the conservation of *tuka*, that is ashes of burned *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ashes of this grass are used by some Tuareg for chewing tobacco. It is said in Ahaggar that containers of this type are made exclusively by noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe, and that the containers should be worn only by noble Tuareg and not by vassals. The brass tube is always made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.265 m long (total length). (N.M. G. 5888).

[824] [278] [462] [565]

c. A piece of cane covered with coloured leather and fringes of the same material. It is called *tafendit* and serves for the conservation of *tazult* (antimony). Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.116 m. (N.M. G. 5267).

386 the south, or are obtained from plants grown by sedentary agriculturists. The technique of skin dyeing as practised by the Tuareg nowadays cannot be considered an ancient one in Tuareg culture. Its origin is probably to be looked for in the more developed civilizations of Northern Africa, and not in a nomadic culture like that of the Tuareg. Other dyeing methods known to the Tuareg may well be very ancient. I believe this to be true of the red ochre known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tamesghoyt*,

[281] [174]

[text continues on p. 286]

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Fig. 233. Tuareg cotton shirt (*ukamiz*) of Sudanese indigo cotton. Ahaggar, Ohahen's collection. Dimensions: 1.25 m long, 2.53 m wide. (N.M. G. 1.6).

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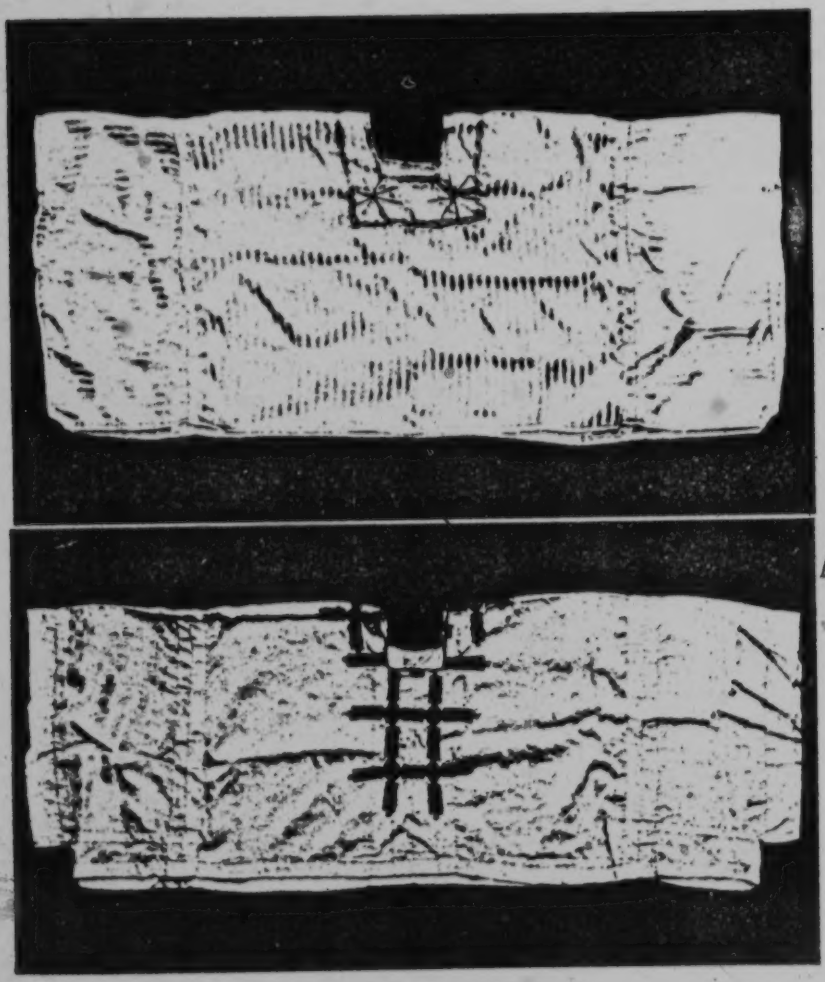

[531]

Fig. 239a–b. Two short woman's shirts from Ayr.

a. The shirt (*afisk*) worn by pastoral women. Dimension: 1.27 m. (N.M. G. 6668).

b. Shirt of similar cut but embroidered with red thread. It is called *liga* or *tagua* and is worn by the Hausa-speaking women of Aghdez. Dimension: 1.38 m. (N.M. G. 6669).

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Fig. 245. Decorated house of Sudanese type at the market place of Agadez.

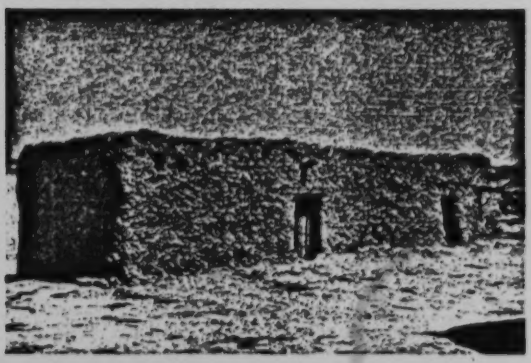

Fig. 246. House (*tayajout*) built of mud and stones which are covered by a mud plaster. Ayr, Awderas.

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Fig. 247. House (*tayajout*) of the type depicted Fig. 246. The mud plaster is decaying and the stones are visible. Ayr, Awderas.

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– The curved pieces 342*

lashed together to form arches are manufactured by the Ayr women, or are imported from the south [462]
by the *Kel Geres* Tuareg when they visit Ayr at the end of the rains. The arches manufactured by the
Ayr women are made from the very long horizontal roots (*iékéwi*) of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Rod-* [324]
*diana*). Pieces of root of suitable size are placed over an open fire for a while, and are thereupon bent [335]
into the desired curve which is secured by cords. When the root pieces thus treated become dry they will retain their curved form; the cords are then untied and the root pieces fashioned with a knife. However, wooden arches imported by the *Kel Geres* are used by many Ayr Tuareg who claim that these arches are superior to their own. They are said to be manufactured from boughs (or roots?) of a tree known as *tarmumiya*, which does not grow in Ayr but in the *Kel Geres* country.

(2) Parallel to the three arches there are two pairs of cross-bars supported by vertical sticks, a pair being placed at both sides of the arches to form the narrow sides of the dwelling. These cross-bars are termed *isgar* (sing. *éseger*). They are sometimes made by blacksmiths, and are then provided with [531]
various ornaments including a little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of the bar. In fairly large tents each cross-bar is supported by four vertical sticks, the two middle ones of which are generally forked, while the two outer sticks are somewhat higher and attached to the cross-bar with cords. All these vertical sticks, including the outer ones which have no prongs, are termed *tigettewin* (sing. *tégettewi*). In smaller tents there are only two or three sticks supporting the cross-bar. The vertical sticks used to support the cross-bars are normally very simple. Sticks of the very light *turza* tree (*Calotropis procera*) are preferred.

(3) Over this skeleton of arches and cross-bars supported by vertical sticks are placed a number of slender curved rods which are termed *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*). These rods are made from acacia roots, as described above, or are rods of the *tarmumiya* tree imported from the south. These rods form semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the tent. Each of these semi-arches consists of two identical rods fastened to the horizontal cross-bars at their thick end, while at their thin ends they are lashed together and fastened to the true arches. There is always a considerable number of these slender semi-arches, normally about ten.

The Ayr Tuareg use the following types of mats to cover the upper part of the dome-shaped 342*
structure:— *iwerweren* (sing. *éwerwer*), the mats made from plant stems tied to each other with leather 285
thread (cf. p. 350); *isfal* (sing. *ésefel*), mats of an oval shape plaited from dum palm leaves; *asale-*
*mamas*, a long narrow piece of mat made from dum palm leaves. In addition there is the term *éreli* which designates the long narrow mat plaited from dum palm leaves surrounding the lower part of the tent structure. In very hot weather this mat is omitted so that currents of air may pass through the dwelling, while the tent is closed when it is cold, or during storms. A tent as that described has 342*
a dome-shaped or barrel-vaulted superstructure, the ground-plan being almost rectangular. A tent of normal size will measure about 3.00×4.50 m with a height of 1.80 to 1.90 m.

The mat tent is erected by one or two Tuareg women in the following way:— [462]

(1) The ground is cleared; (2) The large wooden bed (*tédabut*), which is used everywhere in the [352]
south, is placed upon the ground to facilitate measuring; (3) Two large pronged posts, which serve [353]
to carry woman's riding cushions and various large skin bags, are placed behind the bed and fixed into holes dug by means of some iron implement, e.g., the cooking tripod, the broad end of a lance,

[text continues on p. 353]

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Tent skins derive from domestic animals or from game animals. In older literature one can find 342* a reference to Tuareg tents made of a sheet of camel skin (cf. Denham & Clapperton 1826, p. L). 281 However, we have already seen that the Tuareg do not tan camel hides and they are not used for tent sheets. The Northern Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, zebu-calves, barbary sheep, antelope, and gazelle. Goat skin is most commonly used, skin of barbary sheep is considered the very best type of tent skin, while gazelle skin is rarely employed as it is very thin. According to Lhote, the *Kel Adrar* Tuareg generally use the skin of barbary sheep (Lhote 1947a, p. 108). The Ayr Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, and zebus. It is most possible that some Tuareg also use skin of game animals, but [524] most Ayr Tuareg engage very little in hunting, though barbary sheep are very common in certain parts of the Massif. In the southern plains of the *Iwllemmeden* there are no barbary sheep. According to Nicolas, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* use for their tents the skin of sheep, goats, gazelle, and sometimes even the skin of ostriches, but they do not use zebu skin which becomes very hard and shrinks when heavily moistened during the rainy season (Nicolas 1938, p. 54 & 1950a, p. 155). The *Iwllemmeden* and their *Bélla* of the Ayoru region use the skin of goats and sheep for tent-sheets.

Tent skins are prepared in the same way as skins used for transportation bags, dress articles, and the like. They are depilated and tanned according to the methods described on p. 275 ff. After tanning they are treated with butter, and are thereupon soaked to be rubbed and coloured with red ochre, these treatments making the skins impervious to water. A tent sheet is always made of several pieces [283] of skin which are sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl known as *tistent* (Ahaggar), [413] or *éstan* (Ayr). The edges where the skins have to be sewn are made even with a knife, while the outer edges of the sheet are left largely unfashioned so that the circumference of the sheet is of very irregular shape with protruding patches of leg or neck skin. These patches of skin frequently serve for the attachment of the cords by means of which the sheet is suspended. When two pieces of skin are sewn together a narrow leather strip is inserted between their edges before sewing. Loose ends of leather [53] thread hang down from the inner side of the sheet to serve as a kind of decoration, and in Ahaggar the tents are also frequently ornamented with hanging patches of leather with a carved decoration (cf. Fig. 182). On the whole the Tuareg of Ahaggar take a great interest in their tents. They like to 342* have richly-decorated dwellings, and when a tent is made for a newly-married couple, the women 281 do their outmost to make the sheet very beautiful. These aestethic feelings seem to be unknown in 517 regard to other types of dwelling used among the Tuareg, including the mat tent, and I think that they are responsible for some Tuareg using skin tents even when other dwelling types would be more suitable. I believe this to be true, the more so as the skin tent among the Northern Tuareg plays a [585] great part in the wedding ceremony, which is called *ehen*, that is "a tent".

It is evident that the number of skins to be used for a sheet greatly varies; if a sheet is made from 342* goat skins it may be estimated that a tent of normal size in Ahaggar comprises about 35–40 skins, 281 but very large tents with sheets of 60–80 skins are found among rich noble Tuareg and also in the *Dag Rali* tribe. A tent from Ahaggar now in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen has a sheet sewn together from a great many skin patches, and it measures 4.00 × 3.85 metres (N.M., no. G.1; cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 139). This is perhaps to be considered a normal size of skin tents among the Ahaggar Tuareg, though the sheet is generally somewhat more rectangular in

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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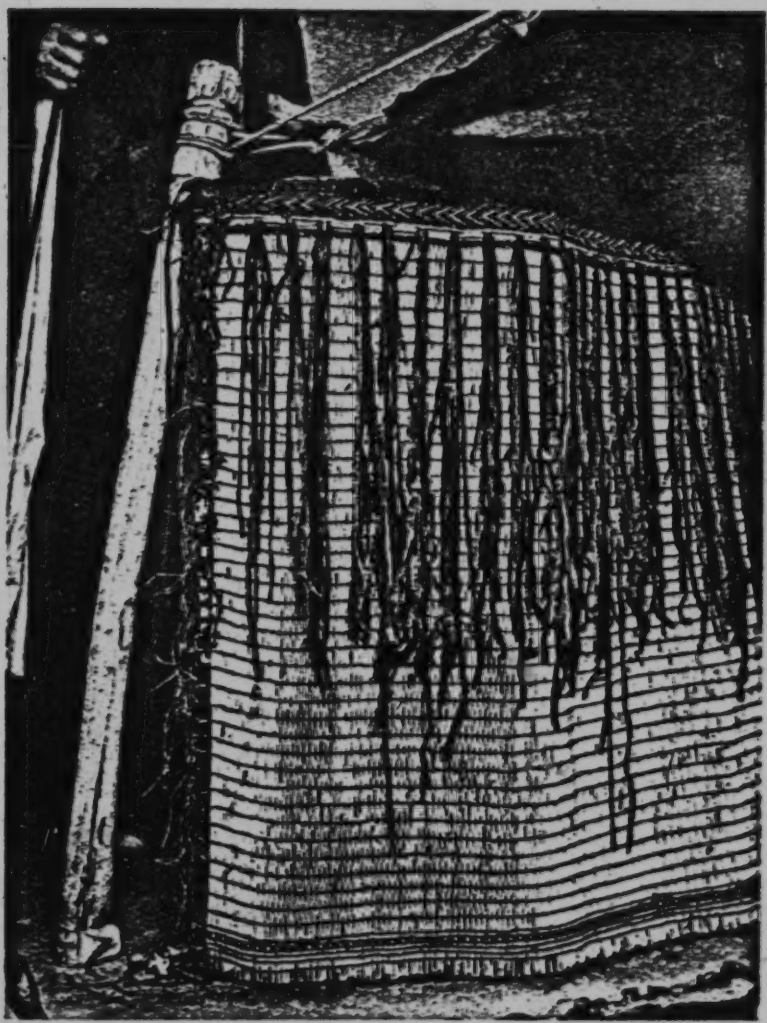

Fig. 268. Mat of *ofoye* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) ornamented with coloured leather fringes. The mat belongs to Gholem's collection from Aboggar, and the photograph was taken in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen. Dimension: 0,87 × 0,85 m. (N.M. G. 1.4).

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*342 ment to the two pairs of outer sticks which are about 1.20 m high. The distance between the sticks, which form a pair, is 0.60–0.70 m. The sheet of skin measures 5.00 by 6.00 m and consists of eight *tarda*. It is placed over the structure and fastened to 28 poles. The tent is surrounded by a 1.00 m high *afeçu* mat leaning against vertical sticks fixed in the ground under the sheet.

These are the ordinary types of skin tents provided with central T-shaped posts. In literature there seems to be some confusion as to the proper terms to be used for a T-shaped post of the type described. Most authors use the word *tamankayt* for the post, the words *asellum* (Ahaggar) or *asulan* (*Iwillemmeden*, Ayr) for the short cross-bar which rests upon its top. (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 38; 1955, p. 254 ff.; Balout 1959, pl. XXX; Nicolas 1950a, p. 154, pl. VIII). The word *asellum* (or *asulan*) may be correctly used to designate the short cross-bar resting upon the central post; its proper meaning according to Foucauld is "a board regardless of its dimensions" (Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1831), but the word *tamankayt* does not refer to the central post. Foucauld uses this word not for the post, but for the post together with its cross-bar (Foucauld 1951–52, I, 247 f., III, p. 1213). The Tuareg of Ahaggar have invariably explained to me that speaking correctly the word *tamankayt* refers to the short horizontal cross-bar alone, while the post is known as *aget* like all other upright posts. It might perhaps be tempting to connect the word *tamankayt* with the verb *enki* which according to Foucauld has the meaning "to perform the movements of the sexual act" (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1373). For it is characteristic of the *tamankayt* system that the central post is placed in a hollow carved at the middle of its cross-bar (cf. Fig. 282).

The cross-bars of *tamankayt* type vary in size and form. Several pieces are found in museums or are described in literature. The following types can be mentioned:—

*From Ahaggar*:—

(1) A flat and slightly curved piece of wood which has a thickening at the middle into which a hollow [531] to support the central post is carved. On both sides of the hollow there is geometrical ornamentation. The flat cross-bar has no holes for the attachment of cords (Musée de l'homme, no. 34.196.1; cf. Lhote 1947a, Fig. 4 (1) p. 39, 117, photograph 15 p. 33).

(2) A slightly curved cross-bar of oval shape provided with a square hollow to support the central post (Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel, no. 48.2.173).

(3) A flat and slightly curved cross-bar with a thickening at the middle in which is carved a round hollow to support the central post. The piece is 0.51 m long, about 0.17 m broad, and only about [531] 0.01 m thick at both sides of the hollow. The inner side has geometrical ornamentation, and there is one little round hole for cord-attachment at each end (Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistoire du Bardo, Alger, No. D.2.; cf. Balout 1959, pl. XXX).

(4) A flat and comparatively long cross-bar about 0.87 m long and 0.08 m broad with a square hollow to support the central post, and four round holes (one close to the four corners of the rectangular piece of wood) for cord-attachment. This cross-bar is conserved in the Ethnographical Col-

[text continues on p. 382]

Fig. 282. The central T-shaped post of the skin tent belonging to Olufsen's collection in the National Museum. Dimension of the cross-bar: 0.87 × 0.08 m. The tent is of B.2.g.5 type. (N.M. G. 1-1).

[cf. p. 381]

*342 lection of the National Museum in Copenhagen. It belongs to the tent referred to under B.2.g.5 (p. 378 f.) (National Museum, G.1.1; cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 140) (cf. Fig. 282).

*From Ayr*:—

(5) A rather curved and heavy cross-bar 0.51 m long, and 0.12 m broad. At its middle there is a funnel-shaped thickening with a round hollow to support the central post. There are four rectangular holes at the corners for cord-attachment. This cross-bar comes from the *Kel Takriza* tribe which belongs to the *Ineslemen* class (Musée de l'homme, No. 41.19.333; cf. Lhote 1947a, Fig. 4 (2) p. 39, p. 118, photograph 50 p. 81).

*From the Kel Dennek*:—

(6) A rectangular slightly curved cross-bar having geometrical ornamentation on the inner side. At the middle of this there is a funnel-shaped thickening with a round hollow to support the central post, and four round holes for cord attachment at the corners. It is 0.55 m long, and bears geometrical ornamentation on the inner side (cf. Nicolas 1950a, pl. VIIIa p. 155).

(7) A slightly curved cross-bar with a square hollow at the middle to support the central post. The inner side has geometrical decoration, and there are four triangular holes for cord-attachment. It is 0.35 m long (Nicolas 1950a, pl. VIIIb p. 155).

(8) A rectangular slightly curved cross-bar with geometrical ornamentation on the inner side. It is 0.61 m long, 0.15 m wide, and 0.02 m thick. It has a funnel-shaped thickening of 0.08 m with a round hollow to support the central post. There are four triangular holes at the corners of the cross-bar for cord-attachment. The cross-bar is in the IFAN Museum at Niamey and belongs to the tent described under B.2.g.6.

*From the Kel Ataram*:—

(9) A slightly curved cross-bar with a funnel-shaped thickening in which is carved a hollow to support the central post. There are four triangular holes for cord-attachment (Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel, No. 48.6.18).

It appears from the description of these specimens that the cross-bar of T-shaped posts are more or less curved and comparatively thin except at the middle where a hollow is carved for the post. The bulk of the cross-bars mentioned have holes for cord-attachment, and this seems to hold for all cross-bars used in Southern Tuareg groups. In Ahaggar cord-attachment is not always employed, but it is said to be extremely useful, as the tent may collapse owing to the very heavy winds so characteristic of desert climate. Thus it may seem as if the main function of the cords fastened to the cross-bar of the T-shaped post is to keep the latter upright.

322 531 I believe that cross-bars, and particularly those that are richly ornamented, are manufactured by blacksmiths and not by pastoral Tuareg, though they may perhaps also be made by noble women who among the Northern Tuareg are skilled in wood-work. In fact, it is claimed by Tuareg of the north that skin tents with T-shaped posts are the traditional type of dwelling of noble Tuareg and Tuareg of the *Iregenaten* tribe, which latter is said to descend partly from noble Tuareg (matrilineally) and from Arabs (patrilineally). The vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar say that T-shaped tents are not traditional to them. They use tents of B.2.f. type with pairs of forked poles carrying horizontal cross-bar, and this type seems to have supplanted skin tents of arch construction. It may happen that vassal Tuareg

W 301 177 [97 cont.]

the Sudan. The only place in Africa south of the Sudan where any orientation toward a display side is sometimes found is Benin. Figure 4 shows a ring made of bronze (Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Inv. No. 64,768), which is done in a "lost form" and stems from Benin. The display center is clearly indicated by [98] a horizontal double loop and two boat-shaped, very prominent forms set crosswise. Among the Jaunde [Yaunde] in the Cameroons we likewise find rings which have a certain resemblance in their construction to the two arm-circlets of the Wolof. W 301 Figure 5 (Museum für Völkerkunde, Inv. No. 88,037) is made of brass, twisted, open, the ends terminating in multi-faceted cubes -- incidentally, resembling the clasp-nail of our foot-ring. If we compare this circlet with an arm-ring of the Wolof (Fig. 1), we find the clearly projecting terminal knob (in this case circularly flattened) and the twisted rod, in this case, however, W [325] merely cut out as it were -- determined by the different technique of construction. Complete twisting is possible only if the square glowing metal rod is twisted, but not if the ring is poured into a clay mold. This is shown especially clearly in Figure 3. We therefore see here how extensively the technique of manufacture may alter stylistic expression, and one must first "translate back," if relationships are to be established.

W T 301 53 171 An earring of the Tuareg from Air (Fig. 13)[2] is almost identical with the Jaunde specimen. The correspondence extends to the details, for example, the terminal knob and its ornamental decoration (central concentric circles flanked by four smaller circles).

The form of the ornamental decoration gives us a few more quite interesting hints. In this connection, it has already been mentioned that an impression made with punches is involved here. If we disregard the difference in technique, however, we find the greatest similarity in the design and composition of the ornaments in the silver work of the Tuareg (2). In a silver

[For Figs. 7-13, See category 116, P. 10 -- Analyst]

W [127] 2. All of the reproductions of Tuareg ornaments were made from drawings

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[98 cont.]

by L. Zöhrer, D.D., Vienna. Dr. Zöhrer made them on his expeditions into Tuareg territory. I sincerely thank Dr. Zöhrer here for his permission to use the illustrations.

head-ornament of a Tuareg soldier from Atakar (Fig. 7) we find correspondences extending almost to details with the design of our foot-ring (Fig. 2).* The arrangement of the design on the center rhomboid (raised in both cases) is almost congruent: two small concentric circles in the center, surrounded by a smaller rhomboid, the latter bordered by small, linked, diagonal crosses; emphasis on the four corners of the background, among the Wolof by means of semicircles, among the Tuareg by means of circles. A chest ornament from Air (Fig. 8) is surprisingly similar to the center section of our foot-ring in the way the entire surface is filled out. Moreover, we again find the entire surface bordered by small diagonally-placed crosses. Figure 9, a Tuareg chest ornament of silver from Seken in Ifoghas, shows a characteristic detail of our Wolof ornament: the semicircle filled in with parallel hatching.

On the reverse side of a door latch from Hoggar (Fig. 10) we find very marked agreement with the design on the center section of the Wolof arm-ring in Figure 3: crescents with the convex sides touching, enclosed by hatched triangles along the edge. [99] [Figs. 1-6 appear here.]

[100] Certain similarities with the Wolof arm-ring (Fig. 1), the design of which deviates somewhat from the scheme and yet is in some respects reminiscent of plant motifs -- although purely geometrical -- are found in a chest ornament from Ifoghas (Fig. 11) and a door latch from Ifoghas (Fig. 12).

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The final offshoots of these decorative motifs (concentric circles, hatching, etc.) seem to reach as far as Benin, as is shown by a bronze bracelet (Inv. No. 64,708) in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (Fig. 6). Along with certain correspondences in the decorative design, it also has the display

* [For Figs. 1-6, See category 116, p. 8 -- Analyst]

17; Schweeger-Hefel--10 E-4 (no date) 1954 MS30 ~~Wolof~~ MS30
Tuareg MS25

[101]

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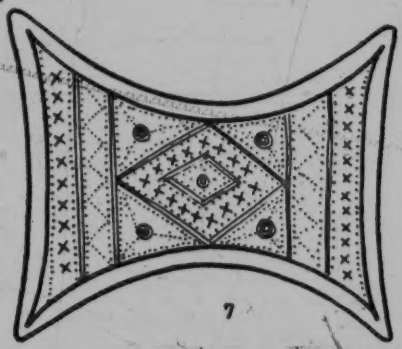

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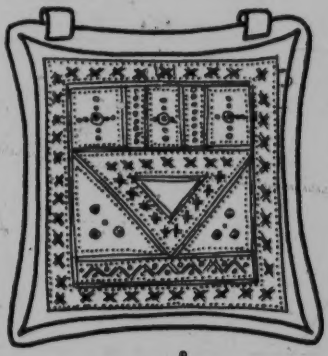

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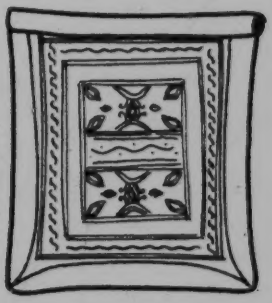

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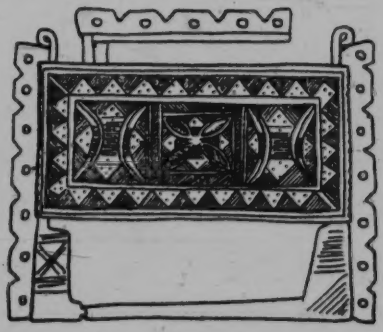

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Fig. 7. Head ornament, silver, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Inv. No. Post XX/1938, No. 8a, Tuareg.

Fig. 8. Chest ornament, silver, original in the possession of the Tuareg Neni ag Ghali near Agadez; drawing in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 75.

(captions cont.)

[Captions cont. for Figs. 7-13 p. 101.]

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Fig. 9. Chest ornament, silver; original in the possession of the Tuareg Baba ag Hamu, Tin-Reiden, Ifoghas; the drawing as for Fig. 8, Post IX/1950, No. 61.

Fig. 10. Door latch (reverse side); original in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich; drawing, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 125.

Fig. 11. Chest ornament. Original in the possession of the Tuareg Akauil, Idnan from Tinesraft. Drawing in the Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel.

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Fig. 12. Door latch. Original in the possession of the Tuareg Belcho ag Bibi, Abelessa; drawing, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 146.

Fig. 13. Earring. Original in the possession of the Tuareg Tauti, Agadez; drawing, Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Post IX/1950, No. 30.

Figs. 7-13 are drawings from the originals by Ludwig Zöhrer, D.D., Vienna.

People adorn themselves with their jewels only during festivals; they are ordinarily kept in bags closed by a curious rectangular padlock, which is provided with one or two interior bolts; it must be undone with an enormous key which the Tuareg always have on their person. 30 [527] [414] [415]

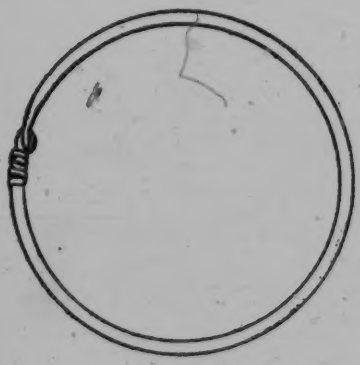

Fig. 45. Ahaggar Tuareg women's ear hoop.



## Arts and Crafts Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

The nomadic and pastoral life which the Tuareg lead obviously limits the development of craft techniques and that of art itself. For them, all is reduced to the immediate necessities of everyday life -- articles for the household and the house itself, harnesses, clothing, and, accessorily, adornment. 32 [532]

If we look for the raw materials used and at the disposal of the Tuareg for making the different objects which they need, we observe that wood comes first, then leather, then certain graminaceae stems, and finally metals.

534 horsehair attached to the ends. During the music the player from
[33] time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum
[314] tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The amzad skins are often
decorated with painted motifs in very vivid colors, or else they
[532] are covered with tifinagh inscriptions indicating the name of the
owner and bearing love verses for the use of admirers.

Among the Ihággaren violins are usually large, reaching as
much as 40 centimeters in diameter. In Sudanese tribes, on the
[171] other hand, they are much smaller, rarely exceeding 25 to 30
centimeters.

533 The amzad plays an important role among the Tuareg, who
really make a true cult of it. Young men go to listen to the girls
play it. After they are married, they love to hear their wives, who
533 charm in this way the empty hours of summer evenings. Not play-
626 ing the amzad is a punishment that the women inflict on the men,
593 and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives
or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no amzad,"
they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This
prospect was often sufficient to restore their courage and incite
them to go efface their defeat.

882 The ahal. -- At about the age of sixteen, boys and girls have
access to adult society and begin to participate in the ahal.

571 The word ahal means "meeting, conversation, interview," A
521 synonym for it is édéouenné. These musical and literary meetings
have a more or less peculiar nature, depending on whether or not
they are mixed with asri.

517 Asri, literally "to run with the bridle loose," means the practice
521 of some very free mores. To live in a state of asri is to exist under
571 conditions which permit one to practice loose mores. Those who
533 can be in a state of asri are pubescent boys and girls, widowers,
and divorced people of either sex.

These meetings take place near the camps in the shelter of
a wadi, but always out of the sight of old people and respectable
people of the tribe. They usually take place before the evening

172 for religious reasons. At any rate it may be stated positively that the fertility cult was in vogue at the same epoch, to judge from the many drawings which are erotic in character. Finally, we may add that magic was practiced with regard to some animals -- antelopes, hippopotamuses. Their reproductions are often connected with cabalistic signs, such as a double spiral or an appendage between the horns resembling the uraeus of the Egyptians. Several stone statuettes, probably from the Neolithic age, have been found at Tit, Tazerouk (Ahaggar), and Tabelbalet (Tassili). They represented animals, rams or bovids and owls, which were surely the object of idolatry.

In the so-called bovid period, identical observations may be made. Several cows wear disks between their horns or else a little ring representing a slip knot. Perhaps these drawings are related to ram worship which was very much in vogue in North Africa and especially in the oasis of Ammon; this cult seems to have been replaced in the Central Sahara by worship of the cow. This animal was still honored as a god by the Berbers, who called it Doul Korneïn. The Sudanese Peul had no mystic life except [171] their cow worship. We must explain that no similar belief has been discovered among the Tuareg.

The rock paintings, which are on the whole more recent than the oldest drawings, also give us a few indications to be remembered. Near Djanet a large painted panel represents a series of more or less steatopygic women dancing in the middle of a circle of people who are clapping their hands; then on his side, a man enters in turn into the dance, wearing a mask topped with horns (he is a sorceror or wears an ancestors' mask). This is exactly the picture of the magic scenes which we see among the Sudanese, where they periodically organize dances in which the masks of family ancestors [532 535] participate. Traces of these dances have even been maintained in the Djanet oasis; every year there, on the occasion of the festival of "zébiba," people dress in tawdry finery and masks topped with horns. At Mertoûtek one may also see a large

4: Benhazera--17 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter X

## Games

Children play a game with a ball, "tekerikera", O·:O·:+, 526 857
which they hit with curved sticks /20/ ("iggaten tekerikera, "
they hit the ball). Two camps are formed and the ball must be
made to go into the opposing camp.

But their greatest amusement is to make out of clay little 524
sticks and stones, all kinds of animals and people, which they call 532
"isounar" O|⊙ . Thus they make a mehari with its saddle, 857
a camel with its young, a horse, etc., or they may make a mehari
with a man on it, "aknar" O|·: , or a woman in her bassour,
"taknart" ⊕|·:+ ; here are a bride and groom. These young
sculptors, it seems, are very skillful.

Sometimes they hang a swing, "taoulioula", ||:||:+ , on a 524 857
tree.

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Armed Conflict between Aziouel and Tacha
(Taitoq Tuareg) (First Stage)

standing. The others had fallen, and one could definitely see 172
the marks of the holes into which they had been set, as well as
of the stones placed at the base to hold them erect.

The stone that remains erect is covered on one side with [532]
symbols cut deeply into the stone, next to others which are al-
most effaced. It is about 2.60 meters high and about 25 cm.
wide on each of its four sides, which are smoothed and polished.

The other stones that are fallen to the ground have about the
same dimensions, and one of them also has engraved inscriptions.

I took rubbings of the inscriptions cut into the stone still
standing.

Near by in the rocks of the footpath by which it is reached,
I also saw some engraved drawings of which I also took rubbings.

The location of these stones is right next to the trail from
Tiltekine, not far from the spring of the In Dalladj wadi, about
1,700 meters in altitude (in the Koudia of the Ahaggar), on
the road which leads from Tamanrasset to the sebkha of
Amadr'or, by way of Ideles.

I questioned the guide and the Tuareg who know these
stones, and of course they could give me no explanation for
them. "We call them the standing stones, 'ebdaden' ⵉⵏⴰⴷ
ⵉⴷⴷⴰⴷⴻⵏ. Those of old made them," they told me. "It is very
old. That is all we know."

172 /37 cont. / Many chipped stones have been found in the Ahaggar, indicating an early occupation of the region, but nearly all of the objects have been found on the surface, preventing the establishment of a chronology. However, Acheulian axes have been discovered by M. Arambourg in a basin of the Tihodaine erg beneath undisturbed sediments, with fossilized elephant bones. The In-Guezzam basin has also furnished paleolithic tools in association with fossilized bones. Objects of neolithic make are, in general, scattered on the ground.

/38/ Arrowheads are very rare. The most numerous tools are polished, two-edged axes; they are found in all sizes; some very small ones are made of very soft stone, and perhaps were used for money. Magnificent polished pestles, varying in length from 15 to 70 centimeters, are still sometimes used by the Negroes. Also to be found are polishing tools, fixed grindstones, scrapers, and the debris of pottery with linear decorations.

Some interesting information is furnished by the rock engravings. One may say that the Ahaggar is covered with them. At the present time, nearly 120 sites are known, and there are certainly others to be discovered; on the other hand, rock paintings are infrequent.

An examination of the engravings shows a succession of periods. The oldest are characterized by the presence of fauna found in humid steppe regions: elephants, lions, ostriches, giraffes, antelopes, bovids, horses. The most recent are identified by the presence of camels, asses, and crude line drawings of men.

[532 212] Contemporary engravings, accompanied by inscriptions in tifinagh, are easily recognizable, for the legends may be translated.

The rarity of paintings in the Ahaggar is explained by the almost total absence of caves permitting their preservation. Those that have been discovered were found in sheltered places

172 /38 cont./ in granitic regions. The tassilis, which have genuine caves, have not yet furnished us with any paintings. The most famous paintings are those in the Tefedest: at the Coche and Cousin-Lelubre sites. Another site, discovered in April, 1951, by M. Bobo in a valley of the Adrar Haggarène, adds a new element for the Ahaggar in that its figurations are different from those of the Tefedest.

The oldest engravings, which are termed "pre-cameline" for want of more precise references, have a considerable patina; the patina of some seems identical to that of the rock. We find perfectly drawn animals, /39/ sometimes in a dynamic posture; the line is precise, often deep in spite of the hardness of the base rocks (microgranites, basalts, etc.); sometimes the drawing is filled in in spots. Bovids and horses, although certainly ancient, have a less heavy patina than do the elephants, giraffes, and lions. Certain horses seem to be drawn less surely; it seems that one sees a decadence of the rock art which announces the following period. In addition to animals, there are enigmatic drawings, tracks, human figures; some animals are striped with parallel lines.

Next comes the "cameline" period. In addition to camels, there are also frequent asses and horses, as well as stylized men drawn with a maximum of three strokes. All of the drawings are summarily done and are without artistic interest; the line is often imprecise and there is almost no patina. There are also some scarcely comprehensible figures, some outlines of nails /sandals/, and a few ostrich silhouettes. The Tuareg are unable to translate the inscriptions in tifinagh characters.

[632] Contemporary engravings are rather rare. They portray asses, camels, and are of no interest whatsoever, except to illustrate the fact that men have been attracted to the same places, as these engravings and inscriptions overlap older ones.

Tombs of different forms are scattered throughout the Ahaggar. They are found practically everywhere, and no

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



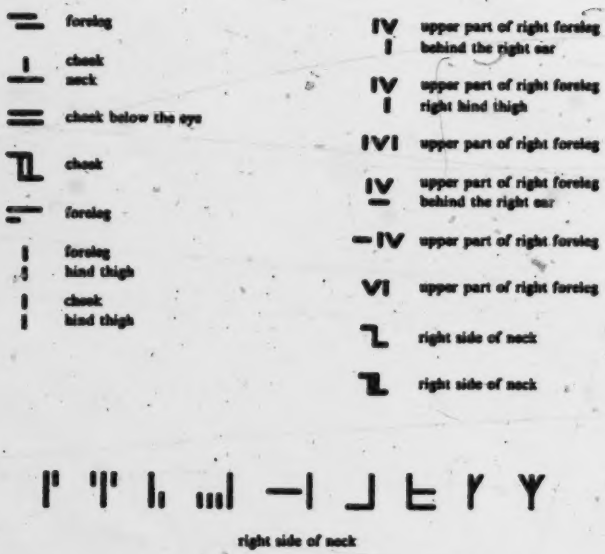


Fig. 101 a–c. Camel-brands of three Ahaggar tribes.

a. Brands of the *Kel Ġela* tribe.
b. Brands of the *Afuh-en-tahli* tribe. The main brand of this tribe is V called *temazert*. The brands ⌉ & ⌈ are due to intermarriage with the *Ikian-en-tawait* tribe where the principal brand is ⌈ called *ameslaḡ*.
c. Brands of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. The main brand characteristic of this tribe is | placed on the right side of the camel's neck. This brand was that used by the founder of the tribe named *Ṛali* and to-day it forms part of most *Dag Ṛali* brands which are always placed on the right side of the camel's neck. The *Dag Ṛali* brands have individual names. The last one is known as *tikkilt n ayalaḡ*, that is "the raven's foot".

*Dag Ṛali* tribe may claim that these two halves are matrilineally related to one another, but also they do not descend from sisters. It seems in fact as if these two halves stand in a cross-cousin relationship to one another, and it is in agreement with this that the *Dag Ṛali* proper speak of the *Imezziliten* as "children of their mother's brother". The two halves in the past intermarried much though marriages between them are very rare nowadays. Thus in 1951 there were only two marriages between people of the two tribal halves.

I believe that other tribes of Ahaggar have a structure similar to that of the *Dag Ṛali*, but the structure of Tuareg tribes is extremely difficult to grasp because very few Tuareg know their genealogies more than three or four generations back.

565 554 The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished [302] than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing [516] nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant [195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of appearance and language is even more perceptible among the 554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their 562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their 574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society. Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well [533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know- [565] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know- ing how to play the violin.

565 [83] Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part 513] of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the [842] Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which 582] are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it, [648] and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting it- self to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could bring it.

565 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class [793] among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/ 87] and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite [651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

631 It will be noted that there are no marabout tribes in the divers
793 Ahaggar tobol. The Ifôra who nomadize in the Témaçinine (Fort Flatters) region are completely independent. They maintain amicable relations with the Ihǎggaren and the Kel Ǎjjer, but these relations are very few and far between and have no political or religious character. They do not send any chaplains among the Ihǎggaren. Their chief has settled at the little zāwiyah of Témaçinine, near which his ancestors are buried, and where he enjoys great /213/
778 repute. All the Tuareg, Ihǎggaren or Ǎjjer, who pass near this
788 place never fail to stop and pay a visit to the sheik and go pray on the tomb of Si Othman, a famous saint of this marabout lineage.

This zāwiyah is affiliated with the Tijaniyyah brotherhood.

There are several marabouts who live in the midst of the Ihǎggaren camps, but all of them are of Arab origin and none of them are Ifôras.

631 The Ifôras are under the administrative control of the Ǎjjer annex, and politically they are much more a part of the Kel Ǎjjer than of the Ihǎggaren.

They are subdivided into three fractions:

Ifôras-oui-n-Oukkîren
Ifôras-oui-n-Egdad
Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel

The first two, who are of sherif descent, were in the habit of espousing the cause of the Oûraren, while the third was attached to the Imenân sultans.

114 Duveyrier said that the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel were provided with
533 drums and continued to constitute the court and the music corps
631 of the fallen sultans; he concludes by saying that their role is limited to making noise. (1) Now the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel have never been

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 361.

musicians, but their name, which can be confusing, means "those who are attached to the aménokal," just as Iklân-en-Tǎousit (of the Ahaggar) means "servant of the tribe or of the group of tribes

114 forming the tobol" and, by extension, "servant of the tobol."
533 At the present time these three fractions number about 150
631 people.
[162] We call attention to them here only as a reminder.

Book V

Material Life

Chapter 1

Living Conditions Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

133 The Ahaggar, as we have already said, is a mountain refuge. We do not know why the Tuareg have continued to live there when they could have found much better countries to the south where they could have had a much easier life. Perhaps we should attribute this to attachment to the country or, quite simply, to an ancient state of things which forced them to take refuge against their will in the middle of the rocks.

13 A superficial examination shows that the Ahaggar is a very poor
[511] country with negligible resources, which imposes a living standard lower than the average. The pasture reserves are calculated, as
[312] are the water reserves. The subsoil possesses nothing, or almost nothing, which is marketable, except a little salt. Consequently, the possibilities for life there are quite limited. For the inhabitants to live, then, they must have recourse to outside resources.

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[23] time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum
[314] tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The amzad skins are often
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626 ing the amzad is a punishment that the women inflict on the men,
593 and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives
or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no amzad,"
they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This
prospect was often sufficient to restore their courage and incite
them to go efface their defeat.

882 The ahal. -- At about the age of sixteen, boys and girls have
access to adult society and begin to participate in the ahal.
571 The word ahal means "meeting, conversation, interview." A
521 synonym for it is édéouenné. These musical and literary meetings
have a more or less peculiar nature, depending on whether or not
they are mixed with asri.

517 Asri, literally "to run with the bridle loose," means the practice
521 of some very free mores. To live in a state of asri is to exist under
571 conditions which permit one to practice loose mores. Those who
533 can be in a state of asri are pubescent boys and girls, widowers,
and divorced people of either sex.

These meetings take place near the camps in the shelter of
a wadi, but always out of the sight of old people and respectable
people of the tribe. They usually take place before the evening

517 meal, which is taken very late, and more rarely after the meal if
521 it is to entertain a stranger. Everyone sits in a circle. Each per-
571 son takes a place in the order of his arrival, in such a way as to
533 alternate men and women. When everyone has arrived, they elect a male president and a female president, whose job is to see that the usages and customs of the ahal are respected and, as a joke, /289/ to inflict forfeits on those who bring on themselves the recriminations of the others. Sometimes only a female president is elected, but never a male president alone.

The presence of several girls in a camp is often sufficient
[574] cause for organizing an ahal mixed with asri. The young men come from neighboring camps, always dressed in their dressy clothes. Some of them sometimes come hundreds of kilometers to attend a meeting where they know they will find pretty girls and pleasant distraction. Then one of those present plays the violin. The sourish, plaintive, monotonous sounds which come out of it are quite in harmony with the wild setting made by nature and man. The men accentuate the rhythm by singing "ho ho" on the beat and finally by a hummed accompaniment. And every
[538 one jokes and tells broad stories, for the poetic part is often of a
525] very doubtful quality, if not made up of more or less vulgar repartee.

Then the violin is silent, and laughter bursts out on all sides.
[832] Men and women make very free contacts and rub noses which is the peculiar form of the Tuareg kiss. These meetings end very late at night, and everyone returns to his camp, not, however, without having made an appointment by a special language of hand gestures to finish these amorous love feasts in a more intimate way.

836 The mores of the girls are indeed very licentious, so much so that Father de Foucault stated that the word "virginity" did not exit in Tamashek. (1) "There is no question of keeping the girl

1. Dr. Vermale, Au Sahara pendant la guerre européenne /In the Sahara During the European War/, p. 172.

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be
[584 is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and
565] less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats,
or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid
all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the
parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her
[562] property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses
[421] fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's
fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or
decreases.

584 As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the
marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times
a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter
[184] custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and
the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers
and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents,
where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During
the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé
does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then
takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company.
During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage
festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass
back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women,
[533] among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the
tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the
Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of
"aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to
[174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where
the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

585 A new tent is prepared with all the accessories -- mats, cords,
342 tent stakes -- also new. Inside on the left side is built a little sand mound, oval in shape, on which the consummation is to take place. Afterward, when the camp is forced to move, this edifice is respected and stays in place for several months.

585 On the seventh day, the girl's father has the marriage confirmed by a marabout. Then, in the evening the fiancée, who
[533] has stayed hidden all day at the home of a relative, is led amidst a procession of women playing tambourines to the nuptial tent, where the young man has preceded her.

The next day the young people gather in the tent of the newlyweds, as they do during the days of festivity which follow the marriage. This meeting is called tigedelsatin.

591 The newlyweds live in the camp of the girl's parents for a year. This institution of "service time" /temps de service/ is
[171] mentioned on several occasions in the Old Testament and was practiced by the Hebrews. It means that the fiancé must live with his future family, or quite near it, for a temporary or permanent period of time. This custom results in temporarily restricting the
[593] husband's authority and assuring that they become acquainted and that the young wife is well treated.

587 If the bride has already been married, she leaves for her
591 husband's camp on the seventh day, mounted on a camel and accompanied by her friends and her servants.

585 In the first case, new festivities are held a year later. The
591 men and women belonging to the husband's camp go one evening to the bride's camp and simulate an armed abduction. The meharists who have stealthily approached then rush into the midst of the tents and utter war cries, answered by the cries of terror of the camp women. They surround the tent of the young wife and claim her as belonging henceforth to their family.

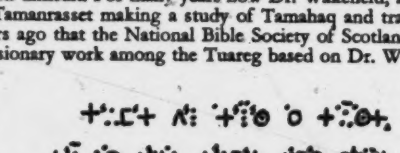
/293/ This is the occasion for new gastronomic flights, and
[492] the next evening the young woman, wrapped in a big white shawl,

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.

174 [714] [411] 194 212 174



[539]

**The Bible in Tamahaq**

(*Ruth. Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

*"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."*

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

771 [101] [832]

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

567 611 565 567 [291]

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

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3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



533 For example, a rough division can be made straight away between the songs that seem
[177] to suggest a negro origin and those whose flavour is indisputably, let us say Moorish, rather than Arabic. First of all it would be as well to deal with the few instruments used by the Tuareg in relation to the type of song they accompany; for, here again, the same division occurs.

534 The nearest that the Tuareg possess to an instrument capable of producing a melodic line is the "amzhad" (or "imzad". The plural of the word, "imzaden" meaning "hair"). This is a single stringed instrument of the lute variety comprising a sound box usually made from a gourd and covered with stretched membrane, a rough neck of stick being fixed across the diameter and projecting about 12 inches. The string is passed over a rudimentary bridge made of two short pieces of stick lashed together so as to form a shallow "V" and tied to the end of the curved neck. The pitch of the string is determined first of all by a sliding loop further down the neck and controlled during performance by the musician's left hand. A bow is used and it is from this that the instrument derives its name, since the bowstring is made from the hair of the women. The instrument is pitched on the open string usually at an approximate middle "C", though this can vary since an "E" above middle "C" frequently becomes the tonic note. Its range is roughly an octave and a third, accompaniments often being played in the top part of the register. Intervals approximating to perfect intervals predominate during performance.

Two kinds of percussion are used by the Tuareg, not counting group handclapping that features with many of the songs: a tom-tom with a wooden shell and single head, and a more hybrid contraption involving a gourd and a bowl of water. The tom-tom, which is played with the flat of the hand, has a head of stretched gazelle skin fastened by a cord made of goat hair and can be tuned by damping with water. Dry, the tom-tom produces a "treble" note, and wet, a bass one. The shape of the shell resembles an eggcup, and although tom-toms vary in size they are roughly a foot in diameter and eighteen
[43A] inches high. The wood comes from the French Sudan, but the tom-tom is to be found wherever the Tuareg go. The gourd and bowl of water suggest that it is a recent innovation, since bowls are not readily obtainable in the Sahara except through foreign manufacture and trade, i.e., foreign to the Tuareg. Indeed, the bowl largely favoured is an ordinary enamelled affair about six inches deep and perhaps eighteen inches across such as is found in the kitchen of any European home. Filled with water and this surface struck rhythmically with an inverted half gourd it produces a deep, damped note comparable to a well-tuned bass drum.

Wind instruments are unknown among the Tuareg and the "amzhad" and the two percussion instruments mentioned above are the only musical devices used. Certain distinctions govern the use of these three instruments that have their roots in tradition.
462 All of them are played by the women who, particularly with the "amzhad" display con-
533 siderable virtuosity: for a Targui to play an instrument would be *infra dig.* Consequently, much of the propagation of folk-culture is in the hands of the women, though the men-
[177] folk do not consider the heroic beneath their dignity. However, the war songs, recounting the deeds of great warriors, are practically extinct since the Tuareg have passed from being a fighting race, levying protective tolls upon the caravans, to become a quiet, almost passive people, anxious for survival in the face of encroaching modern civilisation that has already dissipated the often considerable wealth amassed before the French gained control in the Sahara.

533 The music of the Tuareg falls into the two types mentioned earlier: songs that seem
[177] to owe their origin to negro influences, and those that have certain Moorish characteristics. It is curious to note that none of the songs of the women feature the use of mordents or shakes, whereas those of the men invariably do so. Secondly, percussion other than handclapping is never used to accompany the men, while the "amzhad" is never used to accompany the songs of the women. When the "amzhad" is used, perhaps because

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



of its delicate tone and lack of volume, handclapping is always absent, though a particular song with differences in tempo and rhythmic attack is often sung either with "amzhad" accompaniment or handclapping. In the latter case the melodic embellishments tend to disappear and the tune emerges in its basic form: 533

Targui Love Song

Most of the songs of the men are love songs, such as are sung during the "ahals" and it is logical to deduce that the "amzhad", which is used exclusively for love songs, is the female voice, the necessary complement to a declaration of love and, indeed, the phrasing of the "amzhad" is more that of obbligato than of counter-melody.

It is the chant-like quality of the women's singing that suggests the negro influence; the tom-tom rhythms used in accompaniment are invariably simple and without the intricate cross-rhythms found south of the Sahara. For instance, this song, which describes the lope of the camel, has a rhythm set against it that shifts to imitate the changes in gait of the camel as it quickens its pace to the equivalent of a gallop:

Voices in Unison

Rhythm

This example is from Agadez in French West Africa. A mere hundred miles further south at Tanout the same song introduces a second melody note, observing the same intentions in its rhythmic shifts, but in total effect is very much simpler:

Voices in Unison

Rhythm

Although the cycle of this simple theme is short, variances in the stresses and inflections suggest that several cycles are woven into a larger metric pattern of which the key to them would be a knowledge of the language. In this next example, a semi-humurous song about "a father and mother camel", the length of the cycle is varied by the omission of the fourth bar or the introduction of another, similar to the preceding one, before the tune resolves itself onto the tonic. These variations do not occur at regular intervals in the cycles, but seem to be anticipated instinctively by the performers.

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



533 The melody of this attractive little song is more advanced than the two preceding examples, but the accompanying rhythm is now restricted to a straight beat that never varies:

Voices in Unison

Rhythm

535 Dancing among the Tuareg seems to be restricted to the men; a kind of war dance, nowadays no more than a remembrance of things past, in which they stamp and whoop and brandish their weapons in time to the chanting of the women. It is possible, though not likely, that Tuareg women do dance at the "ahals"; but in the absence of actual corroboration the supposition may be discounted: the role of women would appear to be predominantly passive, the initiative being the prerogative of the men. It must be 105 remembered that the Tuareg has not the settled village existence of the African tribe and as a result his life is marked less by organised ceremony, less by religious observance, however primitive. Aloof and alone the Targui remains the "last of the desert". Within two days' journey of his territory his name becomes legendary: little is known of his customs and his music is unheard. He is the Abandoned of God.

4: Benhazera--1 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Book One

The Tuareg in their Private and Public Life

Part One

The Tuareg in their Private Life

Chapter I

Birth. Childhood

In Tamashek, birth is called "tiouit" ⵜⵉⵡⵉⵜ. There is no 844
special observance to note concerning the birth of a child
among the Tuareg. However, there is greater joy if it is a [842]
boy. People come to congratulate the parents and, seven days 851
later, the latter serve a more or less lavish feast, depending
on their means, the feast being preceded by the recitation of
the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran). Those present who do [788]
not know Arabic limit themselves during this recitation to
holding their open hands together like a book. It is on this [533]
day that the child is given its name.

On this subject, I think I should note that especially 551
among the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe of the Ahaggar), many [565]
children were given the names of wild beasts or animals.

Examples of Men's Names

Amellal, addax, meha /?/
Abeggui, jackal
Amayas, cheetah
Akhou, wild animal

As to the girl, a celebration is held as soon as she reaches 881
the age of puberty, that is to say, at the start of her menses,
in Tamashek /6/ "ba-n-amoud" ⵍⵓⵎⵓⴷ (literally,
"cutting of prayer," since during her indisposition the woman [841]
is in a state of impurity and cannot pray). The young girl is [291]
dressed in her prettiest clothes, and on her head is placed a
black veil, "ikerhi" ⵉⴽⵔⵃⵉ, which falls on either side of
her face without hiding it. She also never leaves it off.

If her parents are well-to-do, she will learn to play the 883
amz'ad ⴰⵎⵣⴰⴷ, an instrument which has an important [556]
place in Tuareg life. It is a kind of violin with a single string 534
whose box is made of a large "kabouia," or a dried and
scooped-out gourd, covered with a stretched hide and pierced
with two holes, which is provided with a handle. The string
is made of horsehair, "az'iou" ⵉⵣⵣⵉⵡ, as are the strings
of the bow, "tadjethé" ⵜⴰⵊⵊⵜⵜⴰ, made of a stick bent into
an arc.

It is chiefly an instrument to accompany singing. The [533]
woman slides her fingers over the string without pressing,
while working the bow; she prolongs the final phrases, which
are drawn out.

If a young girl knows how to play, she may shine at the [832]
musical gatherings, where she will be courted.

## Chapter IV

## Musical Gatherings

A young man and a young girl often go to meet together, 533
and this occurs especially in those gatherings which, to be 584
accurate, we will if you permit call "musical gatherings," and 832
which the Tuareg call "ahal" ⵍⵃⵍ, plural "ihallen" ⵉⵃⵍⵍⵏ.

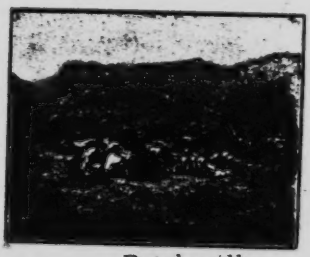
/7/

4: Benhazera--5 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The ahal takes place very often. All that is needed is for 533
a group of men and women to be gathered together in a camp. 584
Often a man comes from a considerable distance to court the 832
girl of his choice. When the year is good, that is to say, when [361]
the rains have brought the pastures to life and the camels are giving much milk, several camps are set up close to each other, and the ahal begins right after sunset.

The men of the camps gather with those who have come especially because some woman attracts them. The women bring their "imz'aden" violins. All those attend the ahal who [602]
are not afraid to be in the presence of one of their relatives to whom they owe respect, such as a father, uncle, older brother, etc. Young girls, married women, divorcées or widows, all attend the ahal.

[361]



Dautheville

Tuareg Troup at Amr'a (Black Tifedest)

Gallantry, "asri" ⵙⵔⵉ , is required, and jealousy [577]
strictly prohibited. Besides, this latter feeling is unknown [626]
among the Tuareg, and if one of them should think of showing it, he would be booed and everyone would make fun of him.

When a Tuareg arrives at the ahal near a woman whom he wishes to court, he approaches her with his veil carefully lowered and does not greet her with the usual "essalamou r'

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[576]

laïkoum" (May the greeting be on you!). Silently he holds his hand out to the woman in the Tuareg manner (that is to say, holding his hand /8/ out open flat and sliding it over the open hand of the woman), and he sits down, saying: "iselane" (What news?). If the woman answers: "elouane" (There is a lot), he begins to pay his court. The Tuareg are not very religious, and it sometimes happens that the woman asks such questions as: "Whom do you love more, God or me?"

The songs begin, and the imz'aden play the accompaniment. The men sing in snatches lines that they have composed on the charms of the ladies of their dreams, the feats that they have done, the raids in which they have taken part, or else satires on their enemies. The women extol courage. In general, a noble woman does not sing, but only plays the amz'ad.

There are three musical rhythms:

The "seyenine" /1⊂ ⊙ rhythm, lively and quite fast, used among the Kel R'ela and the Taïtoq.

The "ahinena". /1⊂ ⁝ rhythm, slow and drawn out like a chant, used especially among the Kel R'ela.

The "asaher": ⁝ ⊙ rhythm, used among the Tuareg of the Azdjer /Azjer/ confederation.

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Then there are simple games. The women elect a "sultana," or queen; the men a "sultan," or king, who will inflict the punishments incurred and will set the fines to be paid. It is a context of wits. A man must be able to answer the questions asked. If, for example, to this question: "Whom do you like better, this one or that one?," he answers: "I prefer this one," he would be booed, would incur a punishment or pay a fine, and the woman who is preferred would be ridiculed by her companions, for one must not show preference openly but must answer, "I like them both."

Another kind of question: "What would you do if you found yourself in the following situation: /9/

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[539]

"Tamott tekness
"Ehere iouof
"Tathett ter'tess
"Tir'irt touoss"

which means:

The woman who argues.
Flocks that scatter.
The she-ass that breaks her tether.
The pot that tips over.

In a joking way, to be a real wit, the man could answer: "If I should find myself in this situation, I would first gather the flock, I would re-tether the ass, I would put the pot back on the fire, and only then would I pay attention to the woman, " and there would be a chorus of indignant protests.

The woman makes it a point of honor to have as many admirers as possible. This is a proof that she is pretty and will not have trouble in getting married. 584 832

The ahal, begun after sunset, lasts quite late into the night, and the pale light that is shed by the stars allows shamelessness to have free rein. Although the married women joke and take part in the games, they behave themselves comparatively well. The others, however, may sit on the knees of their admirers. They kiss, but in a special way. Since the man must never uncover his mouth, he lowers his veil under his nose, and he piously smells the nose! of his loved one, who herself may kiss him. Even intimate handling (proh pudor! /oh, shame/) is allowed, which is never seen among the Arabs. 533 584 832.

During these gatherings, when the amz'ad is played, it is listened to with great pleasure. This instrument has a way of exciting /10/ the Tuareg, who utter "Ouh! ouh!" as a sign of pleasure. They have even made a verb of it: isouhouh. [201]

But now is the time when the camels come from the pasture. They must be milked: that is the az'ouz'edj ' ' # # (from ez'edj ' ' # , to milk). The women get up, and those present are given milk to drink. They will have to disperse. [272]

4: Benhazera--10 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

4: Benhazera--13 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The celebration begins about one o'clock in the afternoon. The men saddle their meharis and the camel-back games, "iloudjan foull imnas" ⵍⵓⵊⵊⴰⵏ ⴼⵓⵍⵍ ⵉⵎⵏⴰⵙ , will begin. The women gather, beat their tobol, sing and play the amz'ad to excite the riders. The latter, in groups of two or more, abandon themselves to a wild race on their meharis, which they throw into a gallop. 585 [541] [533]

During this time the bride, hidden at the home of her maternal aunt or a relative on the maternal side, must veil her eyes and not watch the games. If by mischance she should look at one of the riders, he would fall, and there would be an accident. [752]

As to the groom, he does not take part in the games. Mounted on a white mehari, "ebidedj" ⵉⴱⵉⴷⵉⵊ , he is present beside one of his friends, but he must remain impassive, his face carefully veiled.

The games last until sunset.

At this point two "tolbas" and two friends of the groom go to find the bride's father, if she is still a virgin, or the woman herself if she has already been married, to ask him or her to name a representative. The groom is also asked to name his representative.

These two representatives meet with the tolbas and the friends, and the marriage is contracted. It is at this time that the bride price, /16/ "tagalt" ⵜⴰⴳⴰⵍⵜ , is set. For nobles it consists, as a rule, of seven camels; for imr'ad it may consist, depending on their means, of one camel or several sheep or goats. The groom pays part of the bride price: one or two camels if he is a noble; three or four sheep if he is an amr'id and if he is not rich; the rest he owes. The animals which have been paid have their throats cut and provide the wedding feast. Then the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran) is read to call divine blessing on the newlyweds. 583 585 [554] [782]

After the contract the women meet, the amz'ad is played for a moment, but the bed of the newlyweds must be prepared. 585

The women get up and make a sort of mattress of sand or earth, 585
which is called "adebel" ⵍⵍ ⵓⵓⵎⵎ and which is covered with
a haïk. Over it will be set the skin tent on two wooden arches,
"idjedjan" ⵉⵊⵉⵊⵉⵏ , and the usual pegs.

But at this point the men intervene and seize the tent
cover. Two on one side and two on the other, they throw it [777]
back and forth three times, calling "Saoula iaoulit (throw and
send back)." This brings good fortune.

Then the tent is finally set up. The men lead the groom
to the tent. He is made to go around it three times; then he [777]
enters, taking care to put his right foot in first, again because
this brings good fortune.

The groom is in the tent with his friends. The women 585
then accompany the bride while singing: 533
539

"Bismillaten ar essa" .ⵓⵓⵏⵜⵏ ⵏ ⵙⵙⵏ ⵉⵙⵎⵉⵍⵍⵉ
"Se iz'ar isem n yalla" .ⵙⵉⵣⵄⵔ ⵉⵙⵎ ⵏ ⵢⵍⵍⵏ
"Foull ilik ner' as tedoua" .ⵎⵓⵍⵍ ⵉⵍⵉⴽ ⵏⵔⵄ ⵏ ⵜⵜⵓⵏⵏⵏ

which means:

"In the name of God on them up to seven times,
"Preceding the name of God,
"On our daughter who left in the evening (for her
husband's home)." /17/

A few meters from the tent the son of the bride's maternal 585
aunt comes forward and wants to hold the bride back, telling 431
her: "I will not let you leave before receiving my gift, my
sandals. Aouid ir'atimen (give me my sandals)." The groom
or his friends then pass him a pair of sandals which were set
aside for this purpose or, lacking these, another gift.

Then the women in chorus ask questions to which the men 585
reply in chorus: 533
539

Women's chorus:

Nellouz ⵏⵍⵍⵓⵣ We are hungry.

Men's chorus:

Atekchimet ⵜⵜⵓⵛⵉⵎⵉⵜ You will eat.

Women's chorus:

Ner'loul ⵏⵔⵄⵍⵓⵍ We are naked.

Men's chorus:

Atelsimet ⵜⵍⵙⵉⵎⵉⵜ You will be clothed. 565 533 539

Women's chorus:

Nerdjih ⵏⵔⵊⵉⵀ We are afoot.

Men's chorus

Atar'ermet ⵜⵄⵔⵎⵉⵜ You will be mounted.

Then the bride and the women, addressing the groom, sing these two lines:

Outterir' inelli n isakan ⵓⵜⵜⵉⵔⵉⵔ ⵉⵏⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⵉⵙⴰⴽⴰⵏ

Essoufeq inelli n foudan ⵉⵙⵙⵓⴼⵉⵇ ⵉⵏⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⴼⵓⴷⴰⵏ

"I do not want any bechna (carried by) young camels.

"I prefer bechna (carried by) strong and solid camels," meaning by this that she expects of her husband the deeds of a strong, brave man and not the behavior of a child. /18/

Then the bride enters the tent, and the guests withdraw 585 and go to feast.

For seven days the groom's food is provided by the bride's relatives. During this time the newlyweds do not leave their tent, but people go there to entertain and visit them.

Custom decrees that the newly weds live beside the wife's 591 parents for a year in order to give her time to get used to separation from them, which they call "az'alaï" ⴰⵣⵍⴰⵢ (from the verb "ez'li" ⴰⵣⵍⵉ, to separate).

Monogamy is the absolute rule. 595

We have said that the ahal is one of the reasons for late 582 marriages. Another reason lies in the fact that many Tuareg 595 are satisfied with Negro concubines.

## Chapter VIII

## Divorce

Divorce, in Tamashek "tellef" ⵜⵍⵍⵉⴼ or "ouloui" 586 ⵓⵍⵍⵓⵢ (from the verb "ellef" ⵍⵍⵉⴼ, to divorce).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
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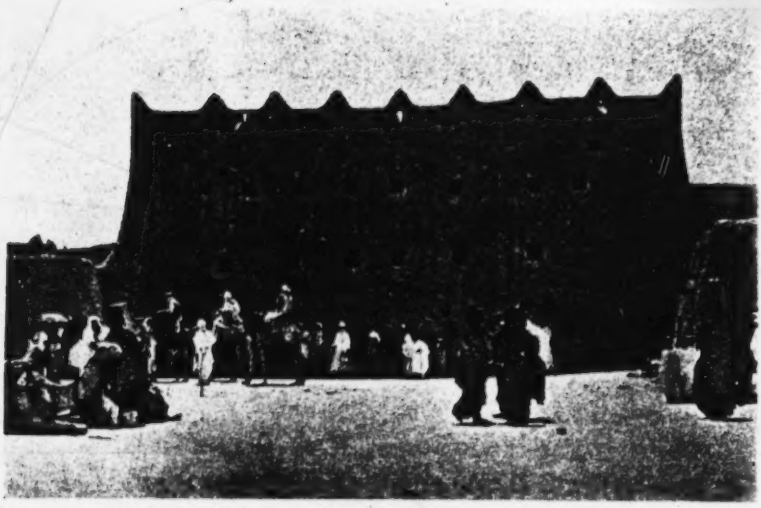

[533] Fig. 4.–The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. – The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing [534] various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

175 of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief
565 had as his sole insignia a drum named *ettebel*, or *arazou*. The name of the drum
631 *ettebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is adressed by this very word, and *ettebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command. I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat, the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs. There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikhen of Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

175 The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but
643 they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:– From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission was given by the Kel Ooui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461f.). Jean who gives a more [114] detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of election (Jean 1909, p. 159ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the

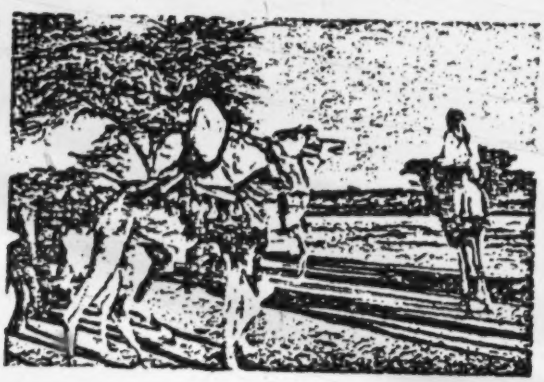

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afagag* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Iwawlen*.

Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

In a ceremonial ride termed *ihgan* (*ihgan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 82b. Cf. text Fig. 82a.

qualities as strength and speed, but rather on elegance and sublimity. The riders sit straight in the saddles without watching the crowd of women, and the camels are ridden at a gentle trot (generally that known as *senat-senat*; cf. p. 99) with their heads drawn back. In this way the men may also ride their animals round the women in a circle as I have seen in Ayr (cf. Fig. 82). 526 492* 585

Camels have important social functions among the Tuareg who take an interest in these animals far beyond their practical value. It may perhaps be useful to compare Tuareg interest in camels with Nuer interest in cattle so brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard. Nuer caress their animals, and there is a tendency for human beings and cattle to form, so to speak, a single community (Evans-Pritchard 1940, p. 16–50). This is not exactly true of Tuareg and camels. The Tuareg do not pat their camels which will not respond to caressing, and they do not live in very close contact with their animals, most of which frequently graze far away from the camp under the supervision of one or two herdsmen. But the Tuareg nevertheless have much the same feeling towards camels as Nuer have towards their cattle. They are very fond of their animals. They may abstain from camel's flesh because they are fond of camels and would feel very sick at heart when eating them. But though the Tuareg are fond of camels as such, they are delighted particularly at the sight of a very fine camel (*akemhur*; Ahaggar) and may even speak disparagingly of a badly built animal (*amugey*; Ahaggar). Fine camels add to the prestige of a man, while too many animals of poor build may even harm his reputation. When girls and young women praise camel-riders in their songs they praise those mounted on fine and richly-decorated animals. When camels are mentioned in poetry this may also be done as praise to their owners, as in a poem composed in honour of noble Tuareg of the *Urūren* (*Kel Ajjer*) of whom it is said that "their pack-camels have feet as large as a drum, and the loads they carry are like the crests of mountains" (Hanoteau 1896, p. 218). Such reference to pack-camels, however, seems to be rare in Tuareg poetry, while riding camels are frequently mentioned in connection with warfare and love. Riding camels have much the same esteemed position as had horses in Medieval Europe. Tuareg interest in camels is particularly focused on riding camels and there is a tendency towards identification

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



from the members of this village. The particular connection between the *Anestafidet* and the sedentary peoples of the Sudan is very natural in view of the fact that the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg nowadays, as in the past, engage much in caravan trading with the south. The name of *Anestafidet* is derived from the tribe *Kel Tafidet* – one of the noble *Kel Ewey* tribes which immigrated to Ayr about the 14th century A.D. The *Anestafidet* has always been a very important chief, and the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, though very mixed with the ancient sedentary population of Ayr Negroes, were for periods in the past very important politically. To-day the *Anestafidet* is the most important chief of Ayr after the Sultan, and it is said that, like a deceased Sultan, a deceased *Anestafidet* should be buried in his house. The *Anestafidet* is treated with respect by all Ayr Tuareg, who take off their sandals when greeting him, and at the beginning of the holy Friday (that is on Thursday night) the professional musicians of Agadez, when they have made music at the Sultan's palace, go to *Anestafidet*'s residence and then to the ministers of the Sultan.

The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, who live predominantly in and around the villages of the eastern and most mountainous part of the Ayr Massif, form the majority of the people placed directly under the command of the *Anestafidet*. According to figures given by Nicolas for tribes and villages of the *Kel Ewey* their total number seems now to be about 8000 (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 465 ff.). But placed under the *Anestafidet* are also the pastoral Tuareg group known as *Kel Tamat*. Formerly it had its own drum-chief (*ettebel*) who was also the supreme chief of the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg. The group of *Kel Tamat*, with the *Ikezkezen*, judged by the figures for some of the tribes (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 471 f.), comprise nowadays about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the true *Kel Ewey*.

The *Kel Tamat* do not form a drum-group nowadays. In the past their drum-chief was elected by tribes within the drum-group, but he had to be installed ceremoniously by the *Anestafidet* who presented him with a large headcloth. All people of the *Anestafidet* have to recognize him as their supreme judicial authority. But the *Anestafidet*, who is elected by people of the ancient noble *Kel Ewey* tribes, is submitted to the authority of the Sultan who also installs the *Anestafidet* ceremoniously.

Most Ayr Tuareg who are not placed under the *Anestafidet* are collectively referred to as the *Kel Amenukal*, that is "the people of the *Amenukal* (or Sultan)". Most of these people are pastoralists though some sedentary or semi-sedentary people are also placed in the Sultan's group. The important Tuareg groups placed directly under the Sultan are the following:—

The *Itesen* with the *Immikitan* most of whom left the Massif long before the arrival of the French. In the past both groups formed politically very important drum-groups, and though they were very few in number throughout the 19th century they were nevertheless politically important, as without them a Sultan could not be elected and installed.

The *Kel Faday* in the region of Ingal consist of a noble tribe and eleven tribes of vassals. The *Kel Faday* constituted throughout the 19th century a politically important drum-group though it was very small. Their total number according to Nicolas is now 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The *Kel Ferwan* comprise tribes in the western parts of the Massif including the regions of Agadez, and also south of the Massif in Dumergu. They number about 5000.

The *Kel Geres* Tuareg live in the Southlands around Madawa most of the year but visit Southern Ayr west of Agadez in the rainy season (cf. p. 7, 431 f.). Properly speaking they are not now recognized

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 287. Musicians of the Sultan of Ayr marching through Agadez. In the front a man blowing a clarinet-like instrument, in the background the drummers mounted on camels and beating two drums each. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

631 true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. They are nowadays without much power and prestige, whereas
634 the Sultan, owing to the French, has augmented his power greatly. Many *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg speak
643 disparagingly about the Sultan, and the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* named *Agg-Elkhir* called him
[178] openly a slave and did not take off his sandals in the Sultan's presence.

643 There can be little doubt that the man who was elected the Sultan of all Ayr people at the beginning
642 of the 15th century very quickly became a Sultan not of Ayr, but of Agadez. A state organization like that of the Ayr Sultanry could not function in a Tuareg society characterized by warlike pastoral groups, and the Sultan would have to be dismissed or else recognize the authority of the strongest pastoral group which, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century was the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



## THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has
614 fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie
[114] 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore
[162] quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared,
634 and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when
648 the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to
121 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr,
634 where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were
115 most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

173 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*,
614 and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above
634 (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

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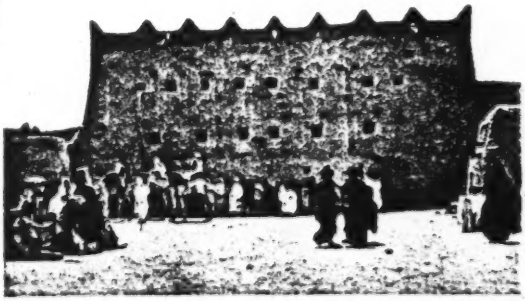

**Fig. 288. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.**

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The custom of giving sandal gifts to a cross-cousin of the bride is unknown among the *Kel Ferwan* 582
Tuareg, who also claim that cross-cousin marriage and particularly that with a true mother's brother's daughter is the best type of marriage. But though they consider such marriages ideal they admit that some cross-cousin marriages will not last long. For closely related cross-cousins have frequently grown 586
up together, and it is said that such cousins when they have married sometimes agree to dissolve their marriage on the ground that they feel like brother and sister so that there is no mutual attraction or love between them. This is only one of many reasons for divorce which is extremely common in all tribes of Ahaggar and Ayr. Briggs' statement from the Ahaggar Tuareg that divorce is both unusual [114]
and generally frowned upon is absolutely untrue (Briggs 1959, p. 86).

According to the Tuareg there are many reasons why a man should preferably marry a cross-cousin 582
and ideally a mother's brother's daughter. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg I have collected the following arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage:— (1) All people (that is, all Tuareg) descend from one and the same woman, and her sons and daughters consequently had to marry one another. Their offspring established cross-cousin marriage which has been the rule since then. (2) There are many stories told to confirm the contention that cross-cousin marriages are good, while other marriages are bad. There is, for example, the following legend:— Once upon a time the parents of a young Tuareg arranged for him to marry a cross-cousin. This Tuareg, however, was not in love with his cross-cousin but wanted to marry another woman with whom he had no kinship bonds. The result of all this was that he married both his cross-cousin and the other woman. After this it so happened that a heavy punishment was imposed on him by the Sultan. It could be atoned for in one of the following two ways: He could give all his livestock as a fine, or he could have one of his hands cut off. To make his choice he now asked his two wives whether they thought he should loose his hand or rather give away all his stock. The wife to whom he had no bonds of kinship considered that he should keep his animals and have his hand cut off, while his cross-cousin wife asked him to dispose of flock and herd to save his hand. He thus realized that it is best to marry a cross-cousin. (3) It is considered good to marry a cross-cousin because cross-cousins are always extremely good friends. (4) The institutional joking relationship between cross-cousins is considered an important institution in preventing conflicts between married partners. For though joking between two cross-cousins stops on marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between them prevents quarrels and adds to the stable relationship between husband and wife. (5) Cross-cousin marriage has an important economic function as it establishes a constant exchange of persons, goods, and livestock between two families.

The three latter arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage are also supported by the Ahaggar Tuareg. These arguments are very important and will now be discussed in some detail. There is no 605
doubt at all that cross-cousins of both sexes are extremely good friends. They do not joke just to annoy each other, and when joking they laugh and feel very pleased. Cross-cousins who have not seen each other for a considerable time are always pleased to meet. When doing so after a long separation they may make jocular remarks and gestures, but they will also be very kind to each other. They frequently address each other heartily as "cross-cousin", and male cousins will walk around hand in hand, while a woman will do her outmost to please a visiting male cousin. She will serve him the best possible [533]
food, will mend his clothes, and she will play her violin for him. Joking goes with intimate friendship. 582

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 295. Tuareg women drumming and singing at a feast. The drum is a large mortar provided with a piece of goat-skin. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehlé* tribe.

The same is perhaps the case with

583 bride-wealth which does not constitute a proper purchase. The payment of bride-wealth may have an economic aspect, but its main function is most probably not a purely economic one.

583 What then is the function of bride-wealth? I believe that this question can be answered if we consider
586 Tuareg feelings towards bride-wealth in case of divorce. If a man divorces his wife because she has
848 committed adultery, he has the right to the return of his bride-wealth animals, but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that it is improper to claim the return of bride-wealth whatever the cause of the divorce, and the Ayr Tuareg consider it most disgraceful. It would be shameful, utterly improper in fact, if a dissolved marriage has been blessed with children. For children born of a marriage dissolved by the husband taking back his bride-wealth are very much like *anibu*, that is "a child born out of wedlock". Bonds of kinship in respect of illigitimate children are not socially recognized. These children are looked down upon even by their true kinsmen. Illigitimate children therefore have great difficulty in getting married, and this is also true of their mothers. Nobody wants to marry a woman who has children born out of wedlock, while a divorced woman having one or several children can easily get re-married.

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
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Fig. 296. Tuareg women dancing in front of professional musicians of Agadez. Ayr, the *Igendéynen* tribe.

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state the converse proposition that it underlies the extreme fission process characteristic of Arab lineage structure the one structural function of the institution promoting the segmentation process. From this point of view feud and fission are not at all dysfunctional factors, but are necessary for the continuity and viability of Bedouin society (Murphy & Kasdan 1959, p. 18). Such theories of marriage with a father's brother's daughter and its functional connection with the political system may contain an important element of truth, though Westermarck was told in Morocco that cousin marriages easily lead to quarrels between the husband's and the wife's families, both of whom want to interfere in the married life of the couple. Furthermore, Westermarck observes that this argument against cousin marriage was used by the Arab poet, Mu'allakāt (Westermarck 1914, p. 54 f.).

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All over the Near and Middle East where marriages with a father's brother's daughter constitute the traditional type of mating, it is a rule that a man should have the right to marry his paternal cousin for a reduced price or only pay the wedding expenses. This custom is richly confirmed in the literature from North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula. It has also been observed among the Kurds by F. Barth, who thinks that bride-wealth is paid should a man not marry a paternal cousin, as compensation to the bride's father because he does not secure that reinforcement of his minimal lineage which would have been acquired had his daughter married his brother's son (cf. F. Barth 1954,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



(1) The wedding is held close to the camp of the bride's family. A flat sandy place is selected for the ceremony. Relatives and guests from other tribes arrive at this place on the first day of the wedding feast. They are greeted by members of the bride's family, and are offered tea and food. Early in the afternoon the ceremonial ride termed *ihugan* is performed (cf. p. 104 f.). After darkness the guests gather at the wedding place to drum and sing, to play the violin, and slaves and certain vassals dance to the accompaniment of women, who sing and clap their hands. The party will continue in this way until about midnight when all music and singing ceases. – The ceremonial camel ride and the musical gatherings here described are not attended by the bride or the groom. At this juncture they are separated from each other in tents hidden from the wedding place and pitched in opposite directions. They sit in particular tents and both have their faces closely veiled. The groom wears several veils wrapped around his head and face allowing only a very narrow slit for the eyes. The bride is still more closely veiled by a piece of cotton around her head.

(2) When the guests have stopped making music shortly before midnight, preparations are made for the first ceremonial meeting of the bride and the groom at the sandy wedding place. Digging with potsherds, wooden and metal containers, and with their hands the women make a little sand-hill about one metre high and just big enough for two people to sit upon it. When this sand-hill, known as *adebel*, is erected, the wedding tent is brought to the ceremonial place with loud cheers, shrills, and drumming. The sheet of skin is to be suspended over the sand-hill, but before this is done a woman lies down upon the ceremonial hill with a pole in each of her hands. The tops of these poles she presses firmly against each other. While the woman lies thus, two men take up position on each side of the hill with the recumbent woman. They now throw the tent skin between them three times over the sand-hill and the woman. When this is done the tent is erected over the sand-hill in a very imperfect way the sheet resting upon the two poles buried in the ground in the front and upon a shorter pole at the back. The lower part of the skin-sheet is kept to the ground by means of sand and stones. A blanket (*ahwar*) is finally placed over the sand-hill, and most people now leave the wedding tent to fetch the groom and the bride.

(3) Shortly after the erection of the wedding tent the groom leaves his camp in the company of a great many young men. They lead the closely-veiled groom towards the wedding tent, and walk slowly, singing certain Koranic passages. Arrived at the ceremonial place the procession with the groom walks three times around the tent, keeping to the right, and the groom is then led into the tent where he sits down upon the sand-hill. The men squat around the tent to await the arrival of the bride. They talk now and then to the groom who does not reply, or does so in a very low voice.

(4) The bride comes to the wedding tent about half an hour or an hour later than the groom. She is led by a procession of young women, and she walks in the middle of the procession which proceeds with extremely small steps, giving the impression that it hardly moves at all. The young women of the procession lead the bride towards the tent with singing, drumming, and loud cheers and shrills. When they have arrived at the tent they walk around it with the bride three times, keeping to the left, and then stop before the entrance. They claim a pair of sandals for one of the bride's cross-cousins (cf. p. 443, 459); when the sandals have been handed over they lead the bride into the tent where she is placed upon the sand-hill behind the groom. The bride and the groom are thereupon left to themselves, while

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



585 the broad side turning westwards. Inside the tent there is nothing beyond the large bed (*tédabut*) covered with mats and blankets.

(2) The wedding guests perform the ceremonial camel-ride (*ilugan*) in the afternoon and continue to sing, make music, and dance throughout the night.

[262] (3) The wedding feast continues the next day with the killing of an ox for the guests. On this day, early in the night (about nine o'clock), the groom comes to the wedding tent. He is closely veiled and walks in the middle of a large procession of men and some women. The procession walks slowly, the [533] women accompanying it shrilling and cheering. If the camp is situated close to Agadez the procession is led by professional musicians who on this occasion are on horseback. When the procession has arrived at the wedding tent the groom enters into it directly and without much formality, but does [564] so through the narrow end turning southwards. Some of his friends squat around him in the tent while a few blacksmiths drum and praise the groom in songs which also refer to the fact that the blacksmiths have arrived in order to transform the wedding into a great feast. When the groom has entered the tent most guests continue to dance and make music until about eleven o'clock, when the bride arrives.

(4) The bride is led towards the wedding tent by a procession of singing women who are not accompanied by musicians mounted on horses even if the camp is close to Agadez. The procession proceeds extremely slowly, and sometimes almost marks time. The women sing the praise of the veiled bride who walks in the middle of the procession behind a tall woman. The bride's hands are around the tall woman's waist, and she is hidden under a large piece of white cotton placed over the tall woman's shoulders and back. When the procession is close to the tent it is joined by many men and by the drumming blacksmiths who lead the procession to the wedding tent. Here the procession walks three times around the tent, stopping in front of the narrow entrance facing southwards. The women now claim the promise of a gift from the groom to his bride (cf. p. 462). When a gift has been promised the tall woman creeps into the tent with the bride clinging to her back. The bride is placed upon the bed together with the groom who is already sitting there, the mat at the southern end is drawn to and closed, and the bride and the groom are left alone. The wedding is now over, and the guests leave for their tents and camps.

(5) The bride and the groom now remain seven days in the tent. They leave it only to releave nature [591] and preferably after darkness. When this stay of seven days in the wedding tent is over, the newly-married couple immediately take up residence in the camp of the husband's father.

From the description of Tuareg wedding ceremonies above we see that they develop very slowly. This is particular so in Ahaggar, where the bride and the groom are brought together to be separated again before being finally united in the correctly erected tent. In Ayr the bride and the groom are brought together more directly, but do not meet until the second day of the wedding feast. They then have to enter the tent in an abnormal way – through the narrow southern end. The fact that the ceremony develops slowly and that the tent is not correctly erected are traits typical both of the Ahaggar and the Ayr Tuareg.

585 121 It is clear that the groom and the bride during the ceremony live so to speak outside the community. Tuareg wedding ceremonies are characteristic rites of passage and contain traits common to many

184 from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin.
643 The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions
[173] gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out,
611 it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except
631 among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the
651 titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll. He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his
[644] appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/
[178] today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It
[644] benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum
[534 called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum, "
177 "cylinder of a drum. "
192]

578 643 692 to arrogate rights over vassals for themselves. There are internal disputes of the sort: "Who made you a count? And who made you king?"

643 It is particularly in the relations with neighboring or foreign tribes that the amenokal's role takes on a more national aspect, yet his decisions do not have full authority unless they have been approved by an assembly of notables -- the arollan -- composed of the principal chiefs of fractions and nobles.

/157/ The amenokal lives like the other Tuareg, and there is no ceremony surrounding his person. All comers present themselves [644] at his tent with no more formality than that. There is no court or court etiquette.

• 534 643 Only the tobol, generally placed at the entrance to the tent, indicates the rank of the host.

This drum is in the shape of a hemisphere, hollowed out of a tree trunk and covered with a cowhide with the hair still on it. The hide is held by leather thongs with the hairy side up. It may be as much as 80 centimeters in diameter. Two leather handles on the sides are used to carry it. For gatherings, two men strike it alternately with a camelskin drumstick (imîtkar). Only the amenokal has the right to have it sounded, which he does only on the most important occasions. Upon his death, his brother or his caliph is entrusted with it until it can be given to his successor. The amenokal does not go [492] far without his drum, which is carried on a camel led by a trusted man; when he gives the order to beat the drum, another meharist /man mounted on a mehari, or fast dromedary/ approaches to take the other handle, and the two men march side by side, striking alternately. Any warrior who hears it is supposed to rally to the call and at the same time inform the people he meets. In case of war, [202] the beating tells whether they are dealing with foot soldiers or meharists, depending on whether there are one or two imîtkar.

[554] When the hide of the tobol is worn out, the most renowned warrior of the tribe is entrusted to replace it.

643 The aménokal generally has one or two caliphs charged with taking
644 his place or representing him with the fractions.

The amrar. -- Each tribe, called taousit, has its amrar, who,
631 like the aménokal, is chosen according to matriarchal rules.

Amrar, in Tamashek,
[192] means "the old," "the respectable," "the ancient," /158/ and by extension,
[643 "possessor of wisdom." It is
534] the equivalent of the Arab word "sheik."

Fig. 16. The tobol, symbol of the aménokal's command, with its "imîtkar."

The amrar is the intermediary between the people of his tribe and the aménokal. He transmits orders from the latter and sees that they are carried out. He collects the tioussé intended for the aménokal from the Imrad and sets the share that each is to pay. He settles minor disputes between the people of his tribe and fixes the pasturing zone to be used by each camp.

He takes part in the vote which sanctions the election of the aménokal and at the arollan, which discusses major decisions concerning the life of the confederation.

In a confederation subject to an aménokal, a grouping which the Ahaggar Tuareg also call tégéhé, there may be several tobol, that is, several suzerain tribes, each with its vassals. The name taousit, making double use of the word for tribe, is sometimes used to designate the whole whose chief also bears the name of amrar among the Ihăggaren and agoalla among the Kel Aïr /Asben/.

The amrar has no characteristic symbol of command, at least
[171] among the Ihăggaren. In certain Sudanese tribes, many formerly had a drum analogous to that of the aménokal.

565 The Imochar. -- The Imochar (singular, Amacher) form the
192 aristocratic class. This word means "man of dominant stock

881 From this day on the boy enters into the class of men. He
884 may go to war and attend the ahal.

868 Education of girls is hardly more interesting. At six or seven, the little girl begins to see to household duties, participating in cleaning the tent and making meals, etc. A little later she learns to weave mats, work little copper articles, and spin goat hair.

[534] Musical and literary education for young girls is very much esteemed among the Tuareg and [212] most particularly among the Imochar. Little girls learn to write tifinagh letters and play the amzad, a sort of small one-stringed violin which brightens up the dull evenings of the Tuareg.

Fig. 53. Amzad, or one-stringed violin of Ahaggar Tuareg women, and its bow.

534 The amzad is made
237 of half a hollowed-out and dried gourd, over which a goatskin or uran /lizard/ skin has been stretched, attached by cords (in the Ahaggar) or little acacia thorns (in the Aïr). The skin is pierced by one or two holes to increase the resonance. The handle is made of a stick which penetrates into one side of the gourd through a hole and is secured at the other side by a point, or else it may go through that side too. The string is formed of several pieces of horsehair separated from the skin by a little bridge made of two small pieces of wood tied together crosswise. The bow (taganhé) forms an arc with

534 horsehair attached to the ends. During the music the player from
[288] time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum
[314] tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The amzad skins are often
decorated with painted motifs in very vivid colors, or else they
[532] are covered with tifinagh inscriptions indicating the name of the
owner and bearing love verses for the use of admirers.

Among the Ihaggaren violins are usually large, reaching as
much as 40 centimeters in diameter. In Sudanese tribes, on the
[171] other hand, they are much smaller, rarely exceeding 25 to 30
centimeters.

533 The amzad plays an important role among the Tuareg, who
really make a true cult of it. Young men go to listen to the girls
play it. After they are married, they love to hear their wives, who
charm in this way the empty hours of summer evenings. Not play-
533 ing the amzad is a punishment that the women inflict on the men,
626 and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives
593 or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no amzad,"
they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This
prospect was often sufficient to restore their courage and incite
them to go efface their defeat.

882 The ahal. -- At about the age of sixteen, boys and girls have
access to adult society and begin to participate in the ahal.

571 The word ahal means "meeting, conversation, interview." A
521 synonym for it is édéouenné. These musical and literary meetings
have a more or less peculiar nature, depending on whether or not
they are mixed with asri.

517 Asri, literally "to run with the bridle loose," means the practice
521 of some very free mores. To live in a state of asri is to exist under
571 conditions which permit one to practice loose mores. Those who
533 can be in a state of asri are pubescent boys and girls, widowers,
and divorced people of either sex.

These meetings take place near the camps in the shelter of
a wadi, but always out of the sight of old people and respectable
people of the tribe. They usually take place before the evening

101 country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote,
166 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the
131 latest major episodes in a general southwestward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

631 The military administrative unit known as the *Amexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds fairly closely to the present normal range of
[101] the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabit-
[161] ants in 1950), and supports a total native population of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

162 Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

197 The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

619 **Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these are divided into tribes which are subdivided
565 into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] [a] A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

551 [b] Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in as many different ways as are the geographical names
104 of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

622 [c] A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



533 For example, a rough division can be made straight away between the songs that seem
[177] to suggest a negro origin and those whose flavour is indisputably, let us say Moorish, rather than Arabic. First of all it would be as well to deal with the few instruments used by the Tuareg in relation to the type of song they accompany; for, here again, the same division occurs.

534 The nearest that the Tuareg possess to an instrument capable of producing a melodic line is the "amzhad" (or "imzad"). The plural of the word, "imzaden" meaning "hair"). This is a single stringed instrument of the lute variety comprising a sound box usually made from a gourd and covered with stretched membrane, a rough neck of stick being fixed across the diameter and projecting about 12 inches. The string is passed over a rudimentary bridge made of two short pieces of stick lashed together so as to form a shallow "V" and tied to the end of the curved neck. The pitch of the string is determined first of all by a sliding loop further down the neck and controlled during performance by the musician's left hand. A bow is used and it is from this that the instrument derives its name, since the bowstring is made from the hair of the women. The instrument is pitched on the open string usually at an approximate middle "C", though this can vary since an "E" above middle "C" frequently becomes the tonic note. Its range is roughly an octave and a third, accompaniments often being played in the top part of the register. Intervals approximating to perfect intervals predominate during performance.

Two kinds of percussion are used by the Tuareg, not counting group handclapping that features with many of the songs: a tom-tom with a wooden shell and single head, and a more hybrid contraption involving a gourd and a bowl of water. The tom-tom, which is played with the flat of the hand, has a head of stretched gazelle skin fastened by a cord made of goat hair and can be tuned by damping with water. Dry, the tom-tom produces a "treble" note, and wet, a bass one. The shape of the shell resembles an eggcup, and although tom-toms vary in size they are roughly a foot in diameter and eighteen
[439] inches high. The wood comes from the French Sudan, but the tom-tom is to be found wherever the Tuareg go. The gourd and bowl of water suggest that it is a recent innovation, since bowls are not readily obtainable in the Sahara except through foreign manufacture and trade, i.e., foreign to the Tuareg. Indeed, the bowl largely favoured is an ordinary enamelled affair about six inches deep and perhaps eighteen inches across such as is found in the kitchen of any European home. Filled with water and this surface struck rhythmically with an inverted half gourd it produces a deep, damped note comparable to a well-tuned bass drum.

Wind instruments are unknown among the /Tuareg and the "amzhad" and the two percussion instruments mentioned above are the only musical devices used. Certain distinctions govern the use of these three instruments that have their roots in tradition.
462 All of them are played by the women who, particularly with the "amzhad" display con-
533 siderable virtuosity: for a Targui to play an instrument would be *infra dig*. Consequently, much of the propagation of folk-culture is in the hands of the women, though the men-
[170] folk do not consider the heroic beneath their dignity. However, the war songs, recounting the deeds of great warriors, are practically extinct since the Tuareg have passed from being a fighting race, levying protective tolls upon the caravans, to become a quiet, almost passive people, anxious for survival in the face of encroaching modern civilisation that has already dissipated the often considerable wealth amassed before the French gained control in the Sahara.

533 The music of the Tuareg falls into the two types mentioned earlier: songs that seem
[177] to owe their origin to negro influences, and those that have certain Moorish characteristics. It is curious to note that none of the songs of the women feature the use of mordents or shakes, whereas those of the men invariably do so. Secondly, percussion other than handclapping is never used to accompany the men, while the "amzhad" is never used to accompany the songs of the women. When the "amzhad" is used, perhaps because

As to the girl, a celebration is held as soon as she reaches 881
the age of puberty, that is to say, at the start of her menses,
in Tamashek /6/ "ba-n-amoud" ⵎⵓⵏⴰⵎⵓⴷ (literally,
"cutting of prayer," since during her indisposition the woman [841]
is in a state of impurity and cannot pray). The young girl is [291]
dressed in her prettiest clothes, and on her head is placed a
black veil, "ikerhi" ⵉⴽⵔⵃⵉ, which falls on either side of
her face without hiding it. She also never leaves it off.

If her parents are well-to-do, she will learn to play the 883
amz'ad ⴰⵎⵣⴰⴷ, an instrument which has an important [556]
place in Tuareg life. It is a kind of violin with a single string 534
whose box is made of a large "kabouia," or a dried and
scooped-out gourd, covered with a stretched hide and pierced
with two holes, which is provided with a handle. The string
is made of horsehair, "az'iou" ⵉⵣⵉⵡ, as are the strings
of the bow, "tadjethé" ⵜⴰⴷⵊⵉⵜⵃⵉ, made of a stick bent into
an arc.

It is chiefly an instrument to accompany singing. The [533]
woman slides her fingers over the string without pressing,
while working the bow; she prolongs the final phrases, which
are drawn out.

If a young girl knows how to play, she may shine at the [832]
musical gatherings, where she will be courted.

## Chapter IV

## Musical Gatherings

A young man and a young girl often go to meet together, 533
and this occurs especially in those gatherings which, to be 584
accurate, we will if you permit call "musical gatherings," and 832
which the Tuareg call "ahal" ⵄⵃⵍ, plural "ihallen" ⵉⵃⵍⵍⵏ.

/7/

which brings to our minds the idea of the serf attached to the 565
glebe and sold with the domain which he cultivated, but rather 631
as "client, bondsman, tributary."

In fact, if the amr'id pays the "tioussé," or tribute, to the noble, if he "lets him taste a little of what he has," according to his expression, if he is dependent on the noble, he nevertheless enjoys a freedom of action which the serf of the Middle Ages did not know. He has a right to the noble's protection if he is attacked, but he marches and fights with him [701]
armed with the same arms. In a raid he also shares with him [727]
and receives his portion of the loot, a portion which varies according to the tribe and which seems to have been fixed according to an ancient contract, in exchange for the protection granted.

And we will find the most convincing proof in the appoint- 565
ment of the amenokal. The imr'ad take part in this: it is 631
they who speak first and state whether they accept the new 643
amenokal, whether they have confidence in him, whether they promise /49/ faithfully to pay him the "tioussé." And he, on his part, promises to give them help and protection against all.

The noble makes it a point of honor to keep this promise. 558
It would be a shame, "el r'ar," according to his expression 565
(from the Arab word "el aâr" الأعار, not to avenge an insult 577
or an injury rendered to one who pays him the "tioussé." 631

## Chapter II

## The Tobol. Inheritance

Concerning the tobol. The "tobol" originally was a drum 202
made of a large gourd and covered with stretched hide, which 534
the chief of the tribe sounded to gather his clients /dependents/ 643
to tell them that pastures must be changed, etc. It was the 565
insignia of command.

Duveyrier has told us that the Imanan (Cheurfa) sultans 534
entrusted their tobols to a marabout tribe, the Ifor'as-oui-n- 565
Tobol. This practice is maintained: noble chiefs pretend to keep the tobols with them, but they do not use them any more.

It is said that the nobles have access to the tobols because 534
some day, according to the law of inheritance practiced among 565
the Tuareg, they or their descendants may have the hope of 643
obtaining the tobol, that is, the right to rule.

On the other hand, it is said that a noble has lost his rights [558]
to the tobol if, through a misalliance, his children are no longer of a pure noble line /race/. For example, the Kembiben, the Oulad El Goute, and the Oulad Ibra (among the Kel R'ela of the Ahaggar) can no longer hope to have the right to rule, to the tobol. Similarly, the son of a noble and a "tamr'idt" (feminine /50/ of "amr'id") is an amr'id and loses all right to the tobol which his father had.

From this first meaning, the word "tobol" ended by mean- 534
ing the group of nobles and imr'ad tribes who answered the call 565
of the tobol, and one might, for example, say, "The tobol 631
of the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe) includes such-and-such imr'ad tribes, " or again, "A certain proportion of imr'ad makes up the tobol of the noble Kel R'ela."

The word "tobol" is certainly not of Tamashek origin, but [192]
definitely Arabic. In fact, "tobol" طبل in literary Arabic means: 1) drum, 2) kettledrum, 3) tribute, tax; and in order to say "I do not know who that man is, " the early Arabs said, ما ادري اي الطبل هو I do not know of what tobol he is" (1).

1. Arab-French dictionary by
A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski.

Thus I believe that this usage was introduced by the early [174
Arabs who, in the first century after the hegira, pushed their 797]
conquest through the country inhabited by the Tuareg in order to convert them to Islamism.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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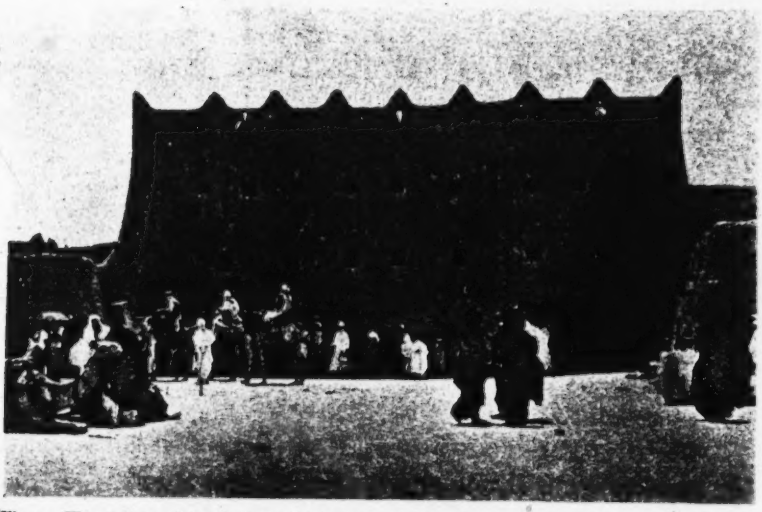

[533] Fig. 4.–The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. – The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing [534] various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

175 of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief
565 had as his sole insignia a drum named *ettebel*, or *arazou*. The name of the drum
631 *ettebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is adressed by this very word, and *ettebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command. I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat, the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs. There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikhen of Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

175 The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but
643 they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:– From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission was given by the Kel Ooui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461f.). Jean who gives a more [114] detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of election (Jean 1909, p. 159ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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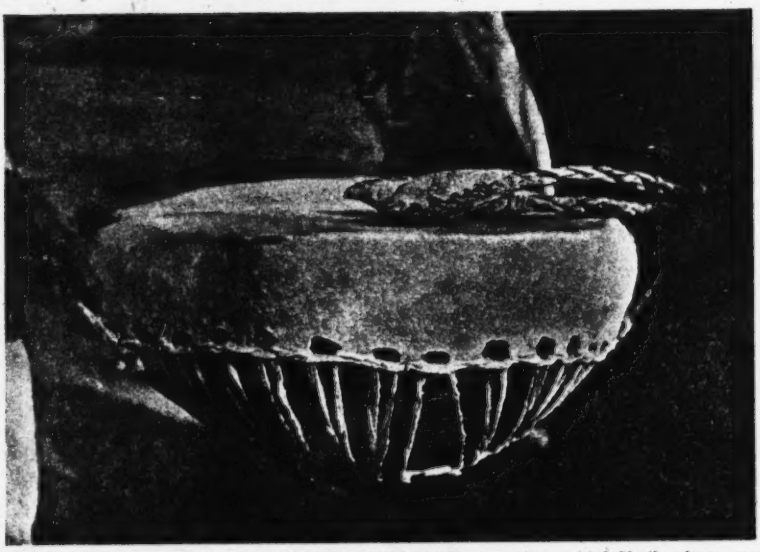

Fig. 6.–The drum which is the only insignia of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. Similar drums are found in all Tuareg groups.

614 past, as nowadays, the proper successor to chieftainship was the deceased chief's
[174] son. This rule of succession is no doubt due to Islamic influence which, as mentioned, has introduced patrilineal succession among the Ioullemmeden Tuareg and also in various clans of the religious class of *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). I think there can be no doubt that succession among the Air Tuareg was originally matrilineal and that most possibly a sister's son was considered the proper successor to chieftainship.

*The Political System of the Kel Ferouan.*

634 The important noble clans of the Kel Ferouan drum-group, namely the true Kel
[614] Ferouan (or Iraouatten) and the Kel Azel, are said to be matrilineally related, as
[173] the ancestress of the Kel Azel was a woman of the Kel Ferouan clan. She married, tradition says, an Arab who was killed at her own request.

The chief of the noble Kel Ferouan clan had the only drum of the whole group
[202] of which he was the supreme chief. The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal clans but also by the noble Kel Azel.
778 The drum, which may still be seen in the camp of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, is
534 made of wood and covered with skin (fig. 6). It is believed that it has a mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced the man charged with this task would do it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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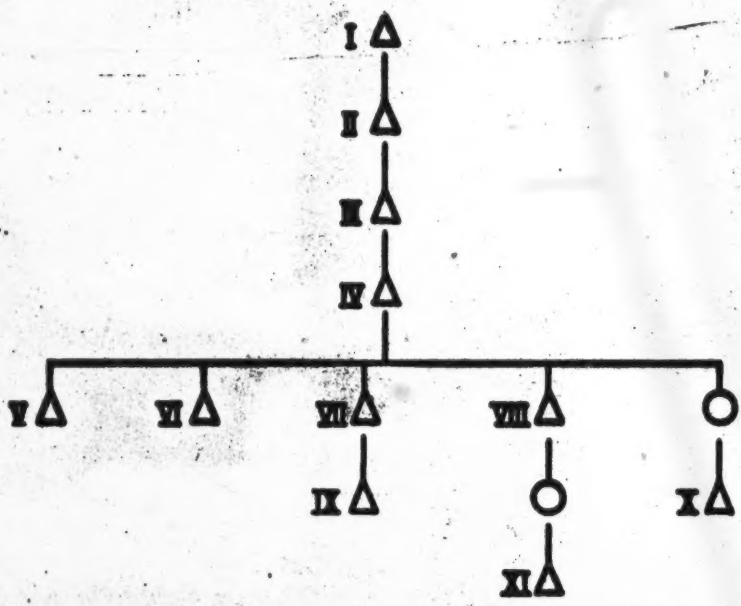


Fig. 7.–Succession of drum-chiefs in the small drum-group of Echchikhen living in Damergou south of the Air Massif.

blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, 778 and that it must never be touched by women. 534

Matrilineally related to the Kel Ferouan are also the Echchikhen clan of Damergou, as its ancestress was a noble woman from the Kel Ferouan. But patrilineally 634 the Echchikhen seem to be related to Iforas Tuareg of religious status. The chief [614] of the Echchikhen has a drum of his own as he has the right over a few vassal clans of Damergou, namely the Imasoren, Khamedan, Ekanaouen, and Iraouelen – clans said to be poor and in part subsisting as hunters. Among the Echchikhen I was able to collect a list of drumchiefs who have been chosen mainly according to the patrilineal principle (fig. 7). A new chief of the drum-group had just been elected, and he had no ties of kinship with the Echchikhen. He belonged to the Kel Geres group, and the prominent noble Echchikhen Tuareg were very sorry and infuriated about his election, as they wanted a man from their own clan to take over the leadership of the whole drum-group. But they could do nothing about it as the chief can be elected only by his vassals.

This same principle is and was valid for the election of drum-chiefs in the Kel Ferouan group – they have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, who [177] after the French occupation have also elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble Kel Ferouan clan. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, 173 but the noble Kel Ferouan unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their 634

836 /141 cont./ as are the other customs; there is one very
864 interesting one, the respect for the Tuareg girl. Contrary to a commonly held opinion, the young girl about to be married is always a virgin (physically) among the nobles and nearly always one among the imrads.

839 In their first youth, the Tuareg behave as do all the children of the world; they practice solitary masturbation, girls and boys using procedures characteristic of the country.
786 The first amorous relations between Tuareg girls and boys take place after celebrations. It is well to describe these celebrations, for accounts of the famous "courts of love" have been much exaggerated.

We have seen that the Tuareg organize a tendi on the
[534] occasion of a family ceremony. The tendi takes its name from the instrument used, the large wooden mortar over which is stretched a skin which has been dampened previously. The women gather around the tendi, and one or two beat out traditional rhythms on the skin, which resonates dully. One of the women chants an endless series of couplets while her companions mark the measure by clapping hands and take up the refrain in chorus. The songs evoke past combats as well as recent events; they vaunt the merits of a camel or those of a person; some are improvised. Widows, divorced women, and young girls take part in the tendi, but married women, with the permission of their husbands, also go. A woman leaves the tendi if one of her parents approaches it.

The songs continue, accompanied by the tom-tom; the men then come to sit behind the singers, listen, and also sing. Each hugs his female companion next to him, but hardly passes the limits of a public flirtation. The tendi continues late into the night while the old people sleep in the tents.

In the daytime the tendi is the indispensable accompani-
526 ment of the ilougan, which may be defined as "a tournament on camel back."

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
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46. The imzad.

[p. 234]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 202a–b. Two ceramic drums of a type used by sedentary agriculturists in Ahaggar.

a. Large drum (*akwalal*). Made by woman of the *Ḥarratin* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.450 m high, 0.310–0.325 m in diameter at the top. (N.M. G. 5907).

b. Little drum (*akakar*). Made by woman of the *Ḥarratin* at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.25 m high, 0.25 m in diameter at the top. (F.M. 286).

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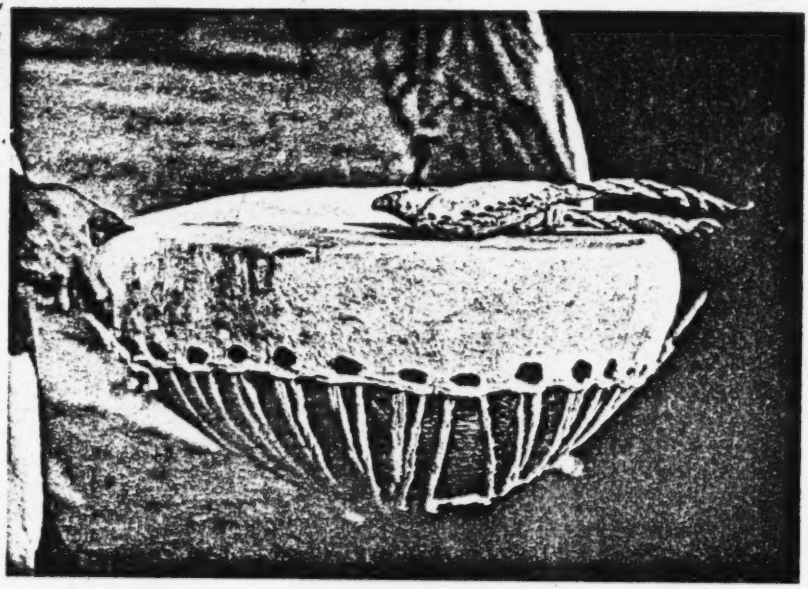

Fig. 285. The drum (*ettebel*) which is the only insignia of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. Similar drums are found in other Tuareg groups.

173 as the *Ikadeyen* had no vassals and its members had apparently then as now a rather subordinate
565 position compared with other noble Tuareg. The noble tribe named *Kel-ahem-mellen*, which to-day
614 is of little importance and not very numerous, with some of its members settled in the oasis of
642 Inṛer in Tidikelt, seems to have had certain *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes as its particular vassals, but they were later placed under the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Téġehé Mellet*. The *Iseḳḳemaren*, as we shall see below, had a political status somewhat different from that of the true vassals known to the Northern Tuareg as *Kel Ölli* or *Imṛad*. The division of the vassals of this group during the reign of *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir* between the three noble tribes of *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Téġehé Mellet* is most interesting. When the vassals were divided between the three noble units it led to a division of some of the vassal tribes. Thus the *Ayt Lowayen* was divided into two between the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Téġehé Mellet* while the tribe known as *Imessiliten* was divided into the *Dag Ṛali* for the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Kel Ahnet* for the *Taytoḳ*. It would have been easier to divide the vassals without splitting their tribes, but we may perhaps suggest that the tribes were split because they were already divided into groups of individual vassals under those who became independent noble tribes. When the division of vassals took place in the 18th century most went to the *Kel Ṛela*, but quite a number of tribes was also allotted to the *Taytoḳ*, while the *Téġehé Mellet* tribe received so few that it could never become politically important.

When the vassals were divided between the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Téġehé Mellet* these noble tribes became united into a sort of federation known as *téġehé*. The three tribes with their vassals formed
634 so-called drum-groups or *eṭṭebelen* (sing. *eṭṭebel*) with chiefs who had as their insignia a large drum
[534] known as *eṭṭebel*. It was endowed with a particular mystic power; it should not be allowed to touch
[278] the ground and when the drum skin was worn, it had to be replaced by a famed warrior. The drum must be obeyed when beaten by the drum-chief to summon his subjects. The drum-chief was the supreme political and judical authority of a drum-group, and he could organize raids and wage war upon other groups. He also collected certain annual payments from his particular vassals. This was
631 true of the chiefs of all three drum-groups in Ahaggar. But within the federation of drum-groups
634 that of the *Kel Ṛela* held a prominent position. The drum-chiefs of the two other groups, the *Taytoḳ*
643 and the *Téġehé Mellet*, only possessed the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaṛen*), which word is that generally used for a chief among the *Kel Ahaggar*, while the chief of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group had the title of *Amenukal* as the chief of the whole *téġehé* federation. Within every drum-group the drum-chief would ceremoniously install all chiefs of vassal tribes but the two drum-chiefs of *Taytoḳ* and *Téġehé Mellet* were installed by the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* group. The *Amenukal* himself was installed in his office by a Tuareg from one of the *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes of his own drum-group. When the *Amenukal*
[565] was installed, which ceremony nowadays takes place at Tamanṛaset, a Tuareg of the *Iseḳḳemaren* class provided him with a large head-cloth. The installment ceremony, which is preserved to this day, was and is the same for any chief among the Ahaggar Tuareg. When a drum-chief was to install a vassal chief, the ceremony took place in the camp of the drum-chief, and when the *Amenukal* had to install drum-chiefs of the two other groups the installation took place in the *Amenukal*'s camp.

The supreme position of the *Amenukal* appears from the rules governing the installation of chiefs, but as already mentioned, the *Amenukal* could not concern himself in all matters of the two other

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 287. Musicians of the Sultan of Ayr marching through Agadez. In the front a man blowing a clarinet-like instrument, in the background the drummers mounted on camels and beating two drums each. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

631 true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. They are nowadays without much power and prestige, whereas
634 the Sultan, owing to the French, has augmented his power greatly. Many *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg speak
643 disparagingly about the Sultan, and the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* named *Agg-Elkhir* called him
[170] openly a slave and did not take off his sandals in the Sultan's presence.

643 There can be little doubt that the man who was elected the Sultan of all Ayr people at the beginning
642 of the 15th century very quickly became a Sultan not of Ayr, but of Agadez. A state organization like that of the Ayr Sultanry could not function in a Tuareg society characterized by warlike pastoral groups, and the Sultan would have to be dismissed or else recognize the authority of the strongest pastoral group which, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century was the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

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| *Kel Ewey* . . . . . | 50 Tuareg veils of indigo cotton |
| *Kel Faday* . . . . . | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Echchikhen* . . . . . | two small drum-groups in Damergu each giving 3 oryx hides, as their vassals were mainly hunters |
| *Kel Geres* . . . . . | 1 horse with a saddle |
| *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* . . . | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Kel Allekot* . . . . . | 150 kg of millet |
| *Damergu & Katsena* . . . . . | An amount of millet |

Most of these groups, it is said, paid the annual tribute known as *tewsé* because the land belonged to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. But the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg did not pay an annual tribute for this reason but because they were subdued in wars. It is much to be doubted that these annual tributes were paid regularly to the drum-chief by such warlike groups as the *Kel Dennek* and the *Kel Faday*, who frequently joined forces against the *Kel Ferwan*. As to the *Kel Faday*, the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they were formerly the vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They say that in the remote past the whole drum-group of the *Kel Faday*, including its noble tribe, paid bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief as a token of vassalage, which is said to have ceased in the following way:— The *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a *Kel Faday* camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the *Kel Faday* camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the *Kel Faday*. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the *Kel Faday* so that after a time he could return to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the *Kel Faday* Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan*.

634 The drum-chief had as an insignia of his political power over all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg a large drum
534 known as *ettebel* (or *ǫrezu*). The word *ettebel* was, and is, used not only as a name of the drum but
778 also as a name of the drum-group and the drum-chief whose title of address is *ettebel*, or "drum". This drum had a sacred or mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced, the man charged with this task would perform it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. We see that connected with the drum were certain taboos equivalent to those which are believed to maintain the mystic power of *elbaraka*.

634 The drum-chief had the only drum of the *Kel Ferwan* group of which he was the supreme chief.
202 The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal tribes but also by the
[614] noble *Kel Azel*. The chief of the *Kel Azel* had the title of *amṛar* or *ǫrolla* like all other tribal chiefs, but he was addressed *ettebel* although he did not have the right to a drum.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



the *Al-Ḳadi*. In this respect the position of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is similar to that of drum-chiefs among the Ayr Tuareg, and though the present drum-chief says that the *Kel Geres* were never divided into noble and vassal tribes, he nevertheless claims that part of any war-booty taken by *Kel Geres* Tuareg in the past should be given to the drum-chief who had the right to *témaggedaz* and *téwit* (cf. p. 428). The drum (*ettebel*) of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is akin to drums of other Tuareg chiefs. The drum must not touch the ground, but the drum-chief did not believe that its power would be spoilt were it to be touched by women. 643 534 278

## THE KEL ADṚAṚ

The *Kel Adṛar* are very superficially described in literature, but their political system has been outlined by Cortier. They constitute only one drum-group under the leadership of an *Amenukal* who is the possessor of the drum (*ettebel*). The class-division is rather similar to that of most other Tuareg groups. There are certain vassal tribes (*Imṛad*) and certain noble tribes though the latter are not considered noble in the usual sense. They are known as proper *Iforas* Tuareg and they are to be grouped rather with the *Ineslemen* class than with the proper noble class termed *Ihaggaren* or *Imajeṛen*. However, their position within the drum-group is almost identical with that of noble Tuareg in other groups. The *Amenukal* is elected according to patrilineal rules being succeeded by his younger brothers and next by his sons, but the vassal tribes do not participate in the election. Within the drum-group there are many smaller divisions of noble families who have their individual vassals, so that from any vassal tribe there are always certain families living in the camp of a noble lord to work for him and to guard his domestic animals. A noble Tuareg can also claim what he wants from his particular vassals while on the other hand the vassals do not pay any fixed tribute to the noble chiefs, not even to the *Amenukal*. The power of the *Amenukal* is a very limited one, and his position is mainly determined by his personal qualities (cf. Cortier 1908, p. 274 ff.). 642 565 643 643

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN ḲEL DENNEK

The *Kel Dennek*, that is the *Eastern Iwllemmeden* around Tawa, have been described in detail by Nicolas who, however, is not very clear as to particulars. Apart from the class of *Ineslemen* the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg are divided into the classes of noble Tuareg (*Imazeṛen*) and vassal Tuareg (*Imṛad*, or *Kel Ulli*). These vassal Tuareg are politically attached to four drum-groups (*ettebel*) in which the drum-chief is elected from a noble tribe according to patrilineal rules. One of these drum-groups has a leading position, as its chief with the title of *Amenukal-n-akal* is the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Dennek* group known as *tégezé*. In addition to his drum this supreme chief (*Amenukal-n-akal*) has a burgee or flag to be used in case of a holy war and on certain ceremonial occasions such as the installation of an *Amenukal*. This flag is made of silk and is green, blue, and red in colour. The title *Amenukal* is 642 643 634 565 114

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



177 with the immigration of the noble *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes which were, perhaps, related to the northern *Hawwara* Berbers. These may have influenced also the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg who possess some of the traits common to Northern Tuareg and Arabs. The *Hawwara* tribes came under Arab influence at very early stage, and they may have adopted Arab traits before they migrated southwards to settle close to the veiled *Lemta* (cf. p. 409 f.).

64 It is evident that the origin of pastoral political systems dates back to pre-Islamic times, but it is
177 also very clear that political organization has been much influenced by Islam and the Arabs. With Islam and the Arabs came into political life such important classes as the *Ineslemen*, the *Echchikhen*, and the *Ichcherifen*, which has made the political organization more complex. Also introduced with Islam was the *sadakat* fee, which in its origin was a purely religious payment. It is also clear that the
[682] rules of blood-wealth payment among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 102) were introduced with Islam, for the Arabs of Northern Sahara, like the Northern Tuareg, give one hundred she-camels for a slain man, and the same payment is fixed by learned Islamic jurists (cf. Schram-Nielsen 1945, p. 58 f.). These rules of blood-wealth payment do not seem to have been accepted among the Ayr Tuareg where there was no fixed amount of camels to be paid for a homicide. Finally the title *Khalifa* given to tribal deputies was doubtless introduced with Islam and the Arabs. This title is used among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*.

634 The problems connected with the origin of the drum-group, the most important political group,
534 are very complicated. It is well known that the drum plays an important part as an insignia of kings
171 and other supreme chiefs over large parts of Africa. The distribution of the drum as an insignia of kings and chiefs has been studied in some detail by Schilde and Wieschhoff, and later by Irstam (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 117 ff.; Wieschhoff 1933, p. 119 ff., map 34; Irstam 1944; p. 28, 101 ff.). Wieschhoff points out that the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in Africa, and that it mainly has this particular function in state organizations of the so-called Erytrean Cultures.

634 The drum which constitutes the insignia of a Tuareg drum-chief is known as *ettebel* or *eṭṭebel*. In
634 all Tuareg groups this word is also used for "drum-group", and among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* it is also a title of drum-chiefs. The word *ettebel* is undoubtedly derived from the Arabic word *tobol* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1922), which is also sometimes used for Tuareg drums as it is for drums of chiefs among the Western Moors (Dubié 1947, p. 173). Formerly, the Sultan of the Fezzan also had a drum which according to Lyon was known as *tubbel*. Lyon never saw a drum of this kind but he says that they are found in all towns south of Murzuk (Lyon 1821, p. 248 f.). The drums used by Tuareg chiefs are always of a very particular form, generally known to anthropologists as "the kettle-drum", and this particular drum among the Tuareg is never used by persons other than the chiefs. For ordinary music the Tuareg have other drum types or use a wooden mortar suspended by a piece of skin. It is most interesting that the so-called kettle-drum is a very late type among the many kinds of drums found in Africa.

534 In regard to the distribution of kettle-drums in Africa, Sachs says that they are found in Islamic
171 North Africa, in the Sudan, and in North-East Africa (Sachs 1929, p. 247). According to Wieschhoff kettle-drums have a more limited distribution being found only in the Sudan and in North-East Africa including Ethiopia (Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40, map 29e). As to the distribution of kettle-drums outside

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



of Africa, Sachs says that they occur mainly in Islamic West Asia from where they were recently introduced to Europe and to India where terms for kettle-drums are derived from Arabic (Sachs 1923, p. 58 ff.; 1929, p. 247). Wieschhoff admits that the kettle-drums seem to have been introduced into India with Islam, but he concludes that the distribution of them in the Sudan and in North-east Africa indicates that this element belongs to the so-called North Erytrean Culture (cf. Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40 ff., map 29e).

I do not want to advance any theory about the introduction of kettle-drums into Africa, but it seems natural to consider the Tuareg drums known as *ettebel* as an Islamic trait. However we cannot be sure that the use of drums as insignia of chiefs is post-Islamic, for, as we have seen, the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in many parts of Africa.

The theory that the drums used by Tuareg chiefs are Islamic seems to agree with the fact that the custom of crowning chiefs among the Tuareg by means of a large turban or headcloth is no doubt also an Arab practice. The use of a turban to crown or install kings and supreme chiefs is rare in Africa south of the Sahara. The use of the turban for the kings of Dar Fur, Wadai, and Bornu is no doubt to be considered Islamic (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 68; Irstam 1944, p. 118), and there can also be little doubt that the use of a large turban at the installation of chiefs in Tibesti and Ennedi was originally introduced as a result of contact with the Arabs – particularly as this turban is known by the Arabic term *kadmul* (cf. Kronenberg 1958, p. 74 f.; Fuchs 1961, p. 52).

It is clear that Islam has greatly influenced Tuareg political organization. But we should also bear in mind that North Africa in pre-Islamic times was influenced by various high cultures which are generally known as *Old Mediterranean* (*Syrtic*) and *Young Sudanese* (*North Erytrean*). It is very possible that the first noble Tuareg who penetrated into the Sahara with their camels came from a country situated towards the East or the North-east, and we have seen that the Ayr Tuareg have traditions about their origin in these quarters (cf. p. 412 ff.). It might therefore seem natural to assume that certain traits which are grouped under the vaguely-defined *Young Sudanese Culture* have been introduced into the Sahara with the immigration of the first noble Tuareg. Lhote thinks that the sandal type known as *takalmi* was perhaps introduced from Egypt with Tuareg immigrations from that country (Lhote 1950d, p. 531). We cannot know this, but it is possible that the oldest camel-breeding nomads introduced into the Sahara certain elements of the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture*.

## TUAREG SLAVERY

It is very possible that the political system of the pastoral Tuareg has been greatly influenced by slavery in the sense that slavery made the noble Tuareg less dependent on their vassals. Throughout the 19th century slavery was important to fair-skinned pastoralists of all classes. In other respects it has had little effect on the changing political relations, for slaves do not constitute a class or a true caste; they are incorporated into Tuareg society on a kinship pattern.

Slavery is still extremely important in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer where the French military administration has done very little to abolish it. It is true that the slave-trade no longer exists, but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 295. Tuareg women drumming and singing at a feast. The drum is a large mortar provided with a piece of goat-skin. Ahaggar, the *Agsh-en-tekle* tribe.

The same is perhaps the case with

583 bride-wealth which does not constitute a proper purchase. The payment of bride-wealth may have an economic aspect, but its main function is most probably not a purely economic one.

583 What then is the function of bride-wealth? I believe that this question can be answered if we consider
586 Tuareg feelings towards bride-wealth in case of divorce. If a man divorces his wife because she has
848 committed adultery, he has the right to the return of his bride-wealth animals, but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that it is improper to claim the return of bride-wealth whatever the cause of the divorce, and the Ayr Tuareg consider it most disgraceful. It would be shameful, utterly improper in fact, if a dissolved marriage has been blessed with children. For children born of a marriage dissolved by the husband taking back his bride-wealth are very much like *anibu*, that is "a child born out of wedlock". Bonds of kinship in respect of illigitimate children are not socially recognized. These children are looked down upon even by their true kinsmen. Illigitimate children therefore have great difficulty in getting married, and this is also true of their mothers. Nobody wants to marry a woman who has children born out of wedlock, while a divorced woman having one or several children can easily get re-married.

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
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Fig. 296. Tuareg women dancing in front of professional musicians of Agadez. Ayr, the *Igendiynen* tribe.

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state the converse proposition that it underlies the extreme fission process characteristic of Arab lineage structure the one structural function of the institution promoting the segmentation process. From this point of view feud and fission are not at all dysfunctional factors, but are necessary for the continuity and viability of Bedouin society (Murphy & Kasdan 1959, p. 18). Such theories of marriage with a father's brother's daughter and its functional connection with the political system may contain an important element of truth, though Westermarck was told in Morocco that cousin marriages easily lead to quarrels between the husband's and the wife's families, both of whom want to interfere in the married life of the couple. Furthermore, Westermarck observes that this argument against cousin marriage was used by the Arab poet, Mu'allakāt (Westermarck 1914, p. 54 f.).

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All over the Near and Middle East where marriages with a father's brother's daughter constitute the traditional type of mating, it is a rule that a man should have the right to marry his paternal cousin for a reduced price or only pay the wedding expenses. This custom is richly confirmed in the literature from North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula. It has also been observed among the Kurds by F. Barth, who thinks that bride-wealth is paid should a man not marry a paternal cousin, as compensation to the bride's father because he does not secure that reinforcement of his minimal lineage which would have been acquired had his daughter married his brother's son (cf. F. Barth 1954,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



(1) The wedding is held close to the camp of the bride's family. A flat sandy place is selected for the ceremony. Relatives and guests from other tribes arrive at this place on the first day of the wedding feast. They are greeted by members of the bride's family, and are offered tea and food. Early in the afternoon the ceremonial ride termed *ilugan* is performed (cf. p. 104 f.). After darkness the guests gather at the wedding place to drum and sing, to play the violin, and slaves and certain vassals dance to the accompaniment of women, who sing and clap their hands. The party will continue in this way until about midnight when all music and singing ceases. – The ceremonial camel ride and the musical gatherings here described are not attended by the bride or the groom. At this juncture they are separated from each other in tents hidden from the wedding place and pitched in opposite directions. They sit in particular tents and both have their faces closely veiled. The groom wears several veils wrapped around his head and face allowing only a very narrow slit for the eyes. The bride is still more closely veiled by a piece of cottoff around her head.

(2) When the guests have stopped making music shortly before midnight, preparations are made for the first ceremonial meeting of the bride and the groom at the sandy wedding place. Digging with potsherds, wooden and metal containers, and with their hands the women make a little sand-hill about one metre high and just big enough for two people to sit upon it. When this sand-hill, known as *adebel*, is erected, the wedding tent is brought to the ceremonial place with loud cheers, shrills, and drumming. The sheet of skin is to be suspended over the sand-hill, but before this is done a woman lies down upon the ceremonial hill with a pole in each of her hands. The tops of these poles she presses firmly against each other. While the woman lies thus, two men take up position on each side of the hill with the recumbent woman. They now throw the tent skin between them three times over the sand-hill and the woman. When this is done the tent is erected over the sand-hill in a very imperfect way the sheet resting upon the two poles buried in the ground in the front and upon a shorter pole at the back. The lower part of the skin-sheet is kept to the ground by means of sand and stones. A blanket (*ahwar*) is finally placed over the sand-hill, and most people now leave the wedding tent to fetch the groom and the bride.

(3) Shortly after the erection of the wedding tent the groom leaves his camp in the company of a great many young men. They lead the closely-veiled groom towards the wedding tent, and walk slowly, singing certain Koranic passages. Arrived at the ceremonial place the procession with the groom walks three times around the tent, keeping to the right, and the groom is then led into the tent where he sits down upon the sand-hill. The men squat around the tent to await the arrival of the bride. They talk now and then to the groom who does not reply, or does so in a very low voice.

(4) The bride comes to the wedding tent about half an hour or an hour later than the groom. She is led by a procession of young women, and she walks in the middle of the procession which proceeds with extremely small steps, giving the impression that it hardly moves at all. The young women of the procession lead the bride towards the tent with singing, drumming, and loud cheers and shrills. When they have arrived at the tent they walk around it with the bride three times, keeping to the left, and then stop before the entrance. They claim a pair of sandals for one of the bride's cross-cousins (cf. p. 443, 459); when the sandals have been handed over they lead the bride into the tent where she is placed upon the sand-hill behind the groom. The bride and the groom are thereupon left to themselves, while

172 for religious reasons. At any rate it may be stated positively that the fertility cult was in vogue at the same epoch, to judge from the many drawings which are erotic in character. Finally, we may add that magic was practiced with regard to some animals -- antelopes, hippopotamuses. Their reproductions are often connected with cabalistic signs, such as a double spiral or an appendage between the horns resembling the uraeus of the Egyptians. Several stone statuettes, probably from the Neolithic age, have been found at Tit, Tazerouk (Ahaggar), and Tabelbalet (Tassili). They represented animals, rams or bovids and owls, which were surely the object of idolatry.

In the so-called bovid period, identical observations may be made. Several cows wear disks between their horns or else a little ring representing a slip knot. Perhaps these drawings are related to ram worship which was very much in vogue in North Africa and especially in the oasis of Ammon; this cult seems to have been replaced in the Central Sahara by worship of the cow. This animal was still honored as a god by the Berbers, who called it Doul Korneïn. The Sudanese Peul had no mystic life except [171] their cow worship. We must explain that no similar belief has been discovered among the Tuareg.

The rock paintings, which are on the whole more recent than the oldest drawings, also give us a few indications to be remembered. Near Djanet a large painted panel represents a series of more or less steatopygic women dancing in the middle of a circle of people who are clapping their hands; then on his side, a man enters in turn into the dance, wearing a mask topped with horns (he is a sorceror or wears an ancestors' mask). This is exactly the picture of the magic scenes which we see among the Sudanese, where they periodically organize dances in which the masks of family ancestors [532 participate. Traces of these dances have even been maintained ●535] in the Djanet oasis; every year there, on the occasion of the festival of "zébiba," people dress in tawdry finery and masks topped with horns. At Mertoûtek one may also see a large

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



533 The melody of this attractive little song is more advanced than the two preceding examples, but the accompanying rhythm is now restricted to a straight beat that never varies:

Voices in Unison

Rhythm

535 Dancing among the Tuareg seems to be restricted to the men; a kind of war dance, nowadays no more than a remembrance of things past, in which they stamp and whoop and brandish their weapons in time to the chanting of the women. It is possible, though not likely, that Tuareg women do dance at the "ahals"; but in the absence of actual corroboration the supposition may be discounted: the role of women would appear to be predominantly passive, the initiative being the prerogative of the men. It must be 105 remembered that the Tuareg has not the settled village existence of the African tribe and as a result his life is marked less by organised ceremony, less by religious observance, however primitive. Aloof and alone the Targui remains the "last of the desert". Within two days' journey of his territory his name becomes legendary: little is known of his customs and his music is unheard. He is the Abandoned of God.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Middle East M1



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Fig. 296. Tuareg women dancing in front of professional musicians of Agadez. Ayr, the *Igwadiynen* tribe.

M
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state the converse proposition that it underlies the extreme fission process characteristic of Arab lineage structure the one structural function of the institution promoting the segmentation process. From this point of view feud and fission are not at all dysfunctional factors, but are necessary for the continuity and viability of Bedouin society (Murphy & Kasdan 1959, p. 18). Such theories of marriage with a father's brother's daughter and its functional connection with the political system may contain an important element of truth, though Westermarck was told in Morocco that cousin marriages easily lead to quarrels between the husband's and the wife's families, both of whom want to interfere in the married life of the couple. Furthermore, Westermarck observes that this argument against cousin marriage was used by the Arab poet, Mu'allakāt (Westermarck 1914, p. 54 f.).

M
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All over the Near and Middle East where marriages with a father's brother's daughter constitute the traditional type of mating, it is a rule that a man should have the right to marry his paternal cousin for a reduced price or only pay the wedding expenses. This custom is richly confirmed in the literature from North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula. It has also been observed among the Kurds by F. Barth, who thinks that bride-wealth is paid should a man not marry a paternal cousin, as compensation to the bride's father because he does not secure that reinforcement of his minimal lineage which would have been acquired had his daughter married his brother's son (cf. F. Barth 1954,

567 his property. In cases of this nature the two parties have usually
[685] come to an agreement beforehand.

The Iklan are responsible for introducing a quantity of words
[177 and new expressions into the Tamashek language, all of them
192] naturally of Sudanese origin. They have a very vulgar language and murder the language of their masters abominably, so that they make a real argot of it.

They have kept a great many characteristics of their folklore,
[536] which we /172/ find in their dances, the pantomimed scenes that they organize among themselves at the time of public rejoicing or of events in the family life of their masters.

Social evolution due to the French occupation will in an indefinite time bring about the disappearance of bondage, which we must explain does not have the inhumane nature that one might presume.

567 It would have been a blunder to immediately impose the
648 liberation of the Iklan, and it would have been contrary to their own interests. Attempts made in this direction in the Sudan have given deplorable results. Iklan liberated from one day to the next are unsettled in class; they cannot and do not want to go back to working the land and thus find it impossible to earn a living.

The disappearance of slavery will come about gradually and individually. It will occur slowly, but inexorably, and it will bring important social transformations among the Tuareg.

One can already observe this evolution among the Ioullimmiden, in Adrar, and particularly around Timbuktu where Imrad women occupy themselves from now on with grinding millet and doing the heavy housework, which was formerly left to the captives.

567 Iklan-n-Egef. -- Liberation of captives, furthermore, has always existed among the Tuareg in more or less attenuated forms.

It may have several causes, first of which is the excess of captives, which makes a great many useless mouths to feed. The Tuareg thus gave a halfway freedom to some of them whom they

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and [584 565] less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats, or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses [562] fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's [421] fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or decreases.

584 As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter [184] custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents, where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company. During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women, [533] among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of "aliouen, " that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to [174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

517 meal, which is taken very late, and more rarely after the meal if
521 it is to entertain a stranger. Everyone sits in a circle. Each per-
571 son takes a place in the order of his arrival, in such a way as to
533 alternate men and women. When everyone has arrived, they elect a male president and a female president, whose job is to see that the usages and customs of the ahal are respected and, as a joke, /289/ to inflict forfeits on those who bring on themselves the recriminations of the others. Sometimes only a female president is elected, but never a male president alone.

The presence of several girls in a camp is often sufficient
[574] cause for organizing an ahal mixed with asri. The young men come from neighboring camps, always dressed in their dressy clothes. Some of them sometimes come hundreds of kilometers to attend a meeting where they know they will find pretty girls and pleasant distraction. Then one of those present plays the violin. The sourish, plaintive, monotonous sounds which come out of it are quite in harmony with the wild setting made by nature and man. The men accentuate the rhythm by singing "ho ho" on the beat and finally by a hummed accompaniment. And every-
[538 one jokes and tells broad stories, for the poetic part is often of a
522] very doubtful quality, if not made up of more or less vulgar repartee.

Then the violin is silent, and laughter bursts out on all sides.
[832] Men and women make very free contacts and rub noses which is the peculiar form of the Tuareg kiss. These meetings end very late at night, and everyone returns to his camp, not, however, without having made an appointment by a special language of hand gestures to finish these amorous love feasts in a more intimate way.

836 The mores of the girls are indeed very licentious, so much so that Father de Foucault stated that the word "virginity" did not exit in Tamashek. (1) "There is no question of keeping the girl

1. Dr. Vermale, Au Sahara pendant la guerre européenne /In the Sahara During the European War/, p. 172.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



114 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc
174 légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale
233 qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau apparaissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe, il semble qu'au VII[e] siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227).

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chameliers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui fait leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the
175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the
101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions:
233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 168ff.).

It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature
175 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding
233 (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. – Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. – Leo Africanus p. 940f.). To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly
171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is
233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds apparently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415f. – Murray 1935, p. 92ff. – Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the
[177] true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black
[342] tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. – Herskovits 1926. – Kroll 1928). The common
[462] traits seem to be the following:– 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is
[825] done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both
[538] camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently characterised by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans Pritchard 1940. — Foucauld 1925-30, I-II).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 82b. Cf. text Fig. 82a.

qualities as strength and speed, but rather on elegance and sublimity. The riders sit straight in the saddles without watching the crowd of women, and the camels are ridden at a gentle trot (generally that known as *senat-senat*; cf. p. 99) with their heads drawn back. In this way the men may also ride their animals round the women in a circle as I have seen in Ayr (cf. Fig. 82). 526 492* 585

Camels have important social functions among the Tuareg who take an interest in these animals far beyond their practical value. It may perhaps be useful to compare Tuareg interest in camels with Nuer interest in cattle so brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard. Nuer caress their animals, and there is a tendency for human beings and cattle to form, so to speak, a single community (Evans-Pritchard 1940, p. 16–50). This is not exactly true of Tuareg and camels. The Tuareg do not pat their camels which will not respond to caressing, and they do not live in very close contact with their animals, most of which frequently graze far away from the camp under the supervision of one or two herdsmen. But the Tuareg nevertheless have much the same feeling towards camels as Nuer have towards their cattle. They are very fond of their animals. They may abstain from camel's flesh because they are fond of camels and would feel very sick at heart when eating them. But though the Tuareg are fond of camels as such, they are delighted particularly at the sight of a very fine camel (*akemhur*; Ahaggar) and may even speak disparagingly of a badly built animal (*amugey*; Ahaggar). Fine camels add to the prestige of a man, while too many animals of poor build may even harm his reputation. When girls and young women praise camel-riders in their songs they praise those mounted on fine and richly-decorated animals. When camels are mentioned in poetry this may also be done as praise to their owners, as in a poem composed in honour of noble Tuareg of the *Uraɣen* (*Kel Aïjer*) of whom it is said that "their pack-camels have feet as large as a drum, and the loads they carry are like the crests of mountains" (Hanoteau 1896, p. 218). Such reference to pack-camels, however, seems to be rare in Tuareg poetry, while riding camels are frequently mentioned in connection with warfare and love. Riding camels have much the same esteemed position as had horses in Medieval Europe. Tuareg interest in camels is particularly focused on riding camels and there is a tendency towards identification

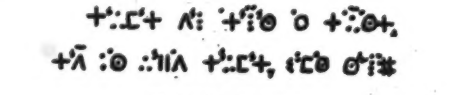
233 181 171 262 554 533 538 492* 171 492* 181

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.

174 [714] [411] 194 212 174



[539]

The Bible in Tamahaq

(*Ruth. Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

*"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."*

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

771 [101] [932]

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

567 611 565 567 [291]

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

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[539]

"Tamott tekness
"Ehere iouof
"Ta'hett ter'tess
"Tir'irt touoss"

which means:

The woman who argues.
Flocks that scatter.
The she-ass that breaks her tether.
The pot that tips over.

In a joking way, to be a real wit, the man could answer: "If I should find myself in this situation, I would first gather the flock, I would re-tether the ass, I would put the pot back on the fire, and only then would I pay attention to the woman, " and there would be a chorus of indignant protests.

The woman makes it a point of honor to have as many admirers as possible. This is a proof that she is pretty and will not have trouble in getting married. 584 832

The ahal, begun after sunset, lasts quite late into the night, and the pale light that is shed by the stars allows shamelessness to have free rein. Although the married women joke and take part in the games, they behave themselves comparatively well. The others, however, may sit on the knees of their admirers. They kiss, but in a special way. Since the man must never uncover his mouth, he lowers his veil under his nose, and he piously smells the nose! of his loved one, who herself may kiss him. Even intimate handling (proh pudor! /oh, shame/) is allowed, which is never seen among the Arabs. 533 584 832

During these gatherings, when the amz'ad is played, it is listened to with great pleasure. This instrument has a way of exciting /10/ the Tuareg, who utter "Ouh! ouh!" as a sign of pleasure. They have even made a verb of it: isouhouh. [201]

But now is the time when the camels come from the pasture. They must be milked: that is the az'ouz'edj (from ez'edj , to milk). The women get up, and those present are given milk to drink. They will have to disperse. [272]

The women get up and make a sort of mattress of sand or earth, which is called "adebel" and which is covered with a haïk. Over it will be set the skin tent on two wooden arches, "idjedjan" , and the usual pegs. 585

But at this point the men intervene and seize the tent cover. Two on one side and two on the other, they throw it back and forth three times, calling "Saoula iaoulit (throw and send back)." This brings good fortune. [777]

Then the tent is finally set up. The men lead the groom to the tent. He is made to go around it three times; then he enters, taking care to put his right foot in first, again because this brings good fortune. [777]

The groom is in the tent with his friends. The women then accompany the bride while singing: 585 533 539

"Bismillaten ar essa
"Se iz'ar isem n yalla
"Foull ilik ner' as tedoua"

which means:

"In the name of God on them up to seven times,
"Preceding the name of God,
"On our daughter who left in the evening (for her husbands's home)." /17/

A few meters from the tent the son of the bride's maternal aunt comes forward and wants to hold the bride back, telling her: "I will not let you leave before receiving my gift, my sandals. Aouid ir'atimen (give me my sandals)." The groom or his friends then pass him a pair of sandals which were set aside for this purpose or, lacking these, another gift. 585 431

Then the women in chorus ask questions to which the men reply in chorus. 585 533 539

Women's chorus:

Nellouz — We are hungry.

Men's chorus:

Atekchimet — You will eat.

Women's chorus:

Ner'loul — We are naked.

4: Benhazera--15 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Men's chorus: 565

Atelsimet ⵜⵍⵙⵉⵎⵉⵜ You will be clothed. 533 539

Women's chorus:

Nerdjih ⵏⵔⵜⵊⵉⵀ We are afoot.

Men's chorus

Atar'ermet ⵜⵄⵔⵎⵉⵜ You will be mounted.

Then the bride and the women, addressing the groom, sing these two lines:

Outterir' inelli n isakan ⵓⵜⵜⵔⵉⵔ ⵉⵏⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⵉⵙⴰⴽⴰⵏ

Essoufeq inelli n foudan ⵉⵙⵙⵓⴼⴽ ⵉⵏⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⴼⵓⴷⴰⵏ

"I do not want any bechna (carried by) young camels.

"I prefer bechna (carried by) strong and solid camels, " meaning by this that she expects of her husband the deeds of a strong, brave man and not the behavior of a child. /18/

Then the bride enters the tent, and the guests withdraw 585 and go to feast.

For seven days the groom's food is provided by the bride's relatives. During this time the newlyweds do not leave their tent, but people go there to entertain and visit them.

Custom decrees that the newly weds live beside the wife's 591 parents for a year in order to give her time to get used to separation from them, which they call "az'alaï" ⴰⵣⵍⵍⴰⵢ (from the verb "ez'li" ⴰⵣⵍⵍⵉ, to separate).

Monogamy is the absolute rule. 595

We have said that the ahal is one of the reasons for late 582 marriages. Another reason lies in the fact that many Tuareg 595 are satisfied with Negro concubines.

## Chapter VIII

## Divorce

Divorce, in Tamashek "tellef" ⵜⵍⵍⵉⴼ or "ouloui" 586 ⵍⵍⵉ (from the verb "ellef" ⵍⵍⵉⴼ, to divorce),

Should one see here some agreement with what we have 114
read in Dozy, or might the uran have been a "totem" among 825
the Tuareg, as among the Redskins of America?

Nobles do not eat the "dobb" (star lizard) either, which 262
is called "aguezzeram" in Tamashek. As a reason for this 565
abstinence, they quoted me these two lines of nine syllables: 825

Our ekcher' aguezzeram idit [539]
Iladhou ichchaden ilir'it.

This means:

"I do not eat the aguezzeram because it smells bad and has a rough skin" (1).

1. Iladhou is put instead of "ili adhou." Similarly, ilir'it is put for "ili ir'it." Ir'it, plural ir'ten, means hide (of beef, camel, etc.).

Finally, they firmly refuse to eat chickens and eggs, and chickens are found nowhere among the Tuareg, except among [231]
some "harratine" /Haratin/ Arabs of the Ahaggar villages. They claim that this abstinence dates back for a long time. Azioueel ag Ser'ada when pressed ended by telling me that it was because chickens seek their food in manure. In the Niger, according to a study by officer-interpreter Merle, the French are called egg eaters. But I believe that the following is the 262
real reason for this abstention: The Tuareg, like all the 565
Berbers, had embraced Kharijism. Among the chiefs who took 825
part in the insurrection of the Kharwarij /plural of Kharijite. 773
Ed./ was Tarif, who made the first invasion into Spain (the city of Tarifa still bears his name). His son Salih, or Salah, claimed to be a prophet and composed a new Koran. Elijah, or Elias, son of /62/ the latter, openly remained Moslem, and it was only Salih's grandson, Jonah, or Younes, (end of the eighth century), who spread the new doctrine, which was a much modified Islamism. According to one of the precepts of

857 /123 cont. / uran made the camel run until it fell completely
868 exhausted and refused to budge. The man almost died of
825 thirst while following the tracks of his animal. When he found it the first thing he did, even before drinking, was to let the uran go."

855 Upon re-entering the tent at night, tired from running about during the day, his imagination full of his discoveries, the child settles down in front of the fire, whose flames execute a marvelous dance for him. His eyes close as Venus, "she who sold her father to have beauty," sinks on the horizon.
[264] This does not please the mother; the child must eat, and one eats late in the tent, for the slaves must milk the camels and goats before making supper. She awakens her son, draws him to her, covering him with a dokkali to protect him from the cool of the night, and then begins to tell tales of the past.

/124/ These stories, which make up Tuareg folklore,
539 tend to disappear. Many young people do not know them; one must ask the old Tuareg men, those who miss the days of the raids, or, preferably, the women, who in all ages have been the keepers of tradition.

Some of these stories are fables peopled by the animals of the Ahaggar or the Sudan; sometimes they express a moral, but that is rare. Others are amazing tales in which monsters and genii harass men; often a hero succeeds in vanquishing them. These stories are very long; they contain instruction in the customs, and I think they bear a message from distant ancestors. This message, sometimes stylized, truncated, or embellished by the oral transmission, deserves to be studied; in order to do this, as many as possible of these tales should be collected before they are forgotten.

Here is the story of the jackal and the dob, as it was told to me by one of my pupils, a Targui of noble stock.

539 /124 cont./ The jackal and the dob were hunting together when chance led them to fall upon a goat, who soon departed this life. The dob made the fire while the jackal carved up the animal. The liver and the heart, grilling on the goals, gave off an enticing odor, which made the jackal regret his promise to the dob to share the hunt. Being shrewd and crafty, he sought a way to do his companion out of his share of the spoils. "Would you," he said to the dob, "take this liver and heart to my old mother, who lives in the next ravine? The poor thing can't hunt any more. While you are gone, I'll be dividing the meat." So the dob went off, trotting across the sand and rocks, carrying as best he could the gifts of the attentive son.

As soon as his partner was out of sight, the jackal jumped over the ravine, scaled the hill, and waited for the dob at the appointed place. Pretending to be feeble, he received with many thanks the gifts brought by the lizard. The latter took the path back with his rocking gait. Upon arriving back at the site of /125/ the kill, he saw the jackal stretched out near a clump of afazzou, full and sleepy, but there was no sign of the meat he expected to see.

"Where is my share?" he asked.

The jackal hardly bothered to look at him; a harsh laugh made the poor dob understand that he had been tricked.

Angry at having been so rudely cheated and vexed by the manner of the jackal, the lizard tied the bones of the goat to the tail of the sleeper. When he had finished his work, he said:

"Wake up! a man is coming toward us."

"No matter," answered the jackal without even opening his eyes.

"Careful, my friend, two dogs are with him."

Without asking any further questions, the jackal jumped up and ran off as fast as he could go. At each bound the bones hit the ground, making him believe the dogs were about to grab him. He ran and ran and ran, and, during his frantic

539 /125 cont. / flight, the bones dropped off one by one. Only one was left when, exhausted, he turned around to face his enemy. He understood then how the dob had taken his revenge. Furious, he retraced his steps, determined to make the dob pay for his impudence.

But the dob had forseen the anger of the jackal and had hidden in a hole in a boulder, barely showing the end of his nose.

"How in the world did you make that hole to hide in? I would like to have such a safe place myself, " said the jackal sweetly.

"Very easy, " the dob assured him. "Go get plenty of dry wood, stack it against the boulder, and make a great fire. When the flames are high, butt your head very hard against the rock, and it will open up. We dobs always do it that way. "

Driven by his anger, the jackal carefully followed the instructions of the dob. Knocked out by the butt he gave, he fell in the fire and was roasted.

Stories of this sort are numerous, always amusing and full of lessons, as much by the observation /126/ of the animals' characters as by the morals to be drawn.

Here is a story in which the jackal is tricked by the hedgehog. The latter enjoys a most flattering reputation for cleverness.

A hedgehog and a jackal one day found themselves before a dead camel, which offered an excellent feast for the pair. "Go look for some fire, " the jackal said to the hedgehog, hoping to play one of his tricks on him while he was gone. The hedgehog, rightly suspicious, replied: "Your legs are longer than mine, and you have an established reputation as a runner; you can find fire a lot faster than I can; you go, and I'll stay and guard our prize. "

• 539 /126 cont. / The jackal left at his little trot, which enables him to cover the longest distances without tiring. The hedgehog, having watched the departure of his partner, went back to the camel and cut it into small pieces, which he buried near a tahla /tree/. When he had hidden all of the animal, covered the holes with sand, and rubbed out the traces of his comings and goings, he stuck the camel's tail in a hole, leaving only a few tufts of hair visible. At that point he saw the jackal returning with a firebrand; he then seized the end of the tail and pretended to be trying to pull it from the ground.

"What are you doing in that ridiculous position?" the jackal asked. "Tell me what has happened to the camel, which I don't see any more."

All out of breath, the hedgehog replied: "The animal wasn't dead; it heard that we wanted to cook it, and scarcely had you gone when it dug a hole in the ground to hide itself. I'm not strong, and I couldn't keep it from digging in and burying itself, but I've got it by the tail and it can't get very far."

"Let me take your place; I won't have any trouble in pulling it out."

"Don't get excited," said the hedgehog. "We've got plenty of time."

Alas! The jackal did not listen to this counsel of moderation; /127/ he pulled violently and fell over backward, the camel's tail hanging sadly from his muzzle.

"Your haste has ruined us," the hedgehog said. "The camel has disappeared underground. At least we still have the tail, which we'll have to content ourselves with."

"You'll get nothing, stupid hedgehog," barked the jackal angrily.

He grabbed the tail and ran off with it to appease his hunger.

Let us now listen to a story, "einoukhast," as the Tuareg say, which is very well known and is often told:

/127 cont./

539 The Lion, the Hyena, and the Jackal

Game being rare, the lion invited the hyena and the jackal to hunt with him on a certain summer day.

The association proved to be fruitful; in a short while the ground was strewn with antelopes and gazelles. A lavish meal awaited the hunters. The lion, fair by nature, asked the hyena to divide the shares. The latter, with his powerful jaws, soon cut up the game into pieces, and made three obviously equal piles. "Very good," said the lion when the work was finished, "but what is the meaning of these piles?"

"This one," said the hyena, "is for you, that one for me, and the other one for the jackal."

Two powerful blows with his paws, knocking over the hyena, constituted the first reaction of the lion, who then explained: "That is no way to divide the shares; people are right to say that you are dense."

The lion calmed himself and said to the jackal: "See if you can settle this question."

The jackal restored the piles of meat, which had been scattered by the lion, and said: "This first pile is for you, the second pile is for your meal tonight, and the third pile is for your lunch tomorrow."

The lion was extremely pleased. "Who taught you to divide shares like that?"

"It was the cuff you gave to the hyena," said the jackal.

/128/ The oral tradition often passes on lifelike stories, stripped of all marvels but which are profitable lessons, such as the two anecdotes which follow:

539 /128 cont./

The Negress and the Three "Tahenchit" (1)

1. The Tuareg tahenchit designates the cynhyena -- Tycaon pictus. This is a ferocious animal which hunts in packs and will attack men and sometimes lions.

One day a Negress left her village to gather wood. She had finished gathering her fagots when she saw three ferocious and hungry tahenchit running in her direction. Dropping her wood and calling on God, the Negress scrambled up the nearest tree. Scratched by the thorns of this saving tamat, she regarded the three wild beasts which, with foaming muzzles, besieged the tree. The day passed, and night fell. The beasts seemed to be asleep, and the Negress was very sleepy herself, but each time she dozed off she nearly fell. What had to happen, happened; she went to sleep, then fell. In falling, she screamed, and then screamed louder still upon landing on the ground in the middle of the tahenchit.

"Take your shares, " she cried, hiding her head in her arms.

But the tahenchit, frightened by her cries and the noise of the fall, fled toward the desert. The Negress did the same toward the village.

825 The tahenchit is feared by the Tuareg who go to the Sudan; the animal does not inhabit the Ahaggar at present. The Augières-Draper mission of 1927-1928 found one on the border of the Tanezrouft near Timissao. The ferocity of these animals is hard to believe. The Tuareg tell of one of

825 /128 cont./ their men who was surprised by a pack of cynhyenas and who took refuge in a tree, where he feared a long siege. Knowing the voracity of the tahenchit, he cut his finger and let the blood fall on one of the beasts. In a very short time, the pack fell on the one /129/ that received the drops of blood and tried to tear him to pieces. The attacked beast fled, pursued by all the pack. The Targui got out of this difficult situation thanks to his knowledge of the habits of the desert beasts.

539 Here is another story, which proves that it is well to be armed in all circumstances.

## The Two Brothers and the Lion

It is said that there were once two brothers, still living in their parents' tent, who were united by a rare affection for each other. Nearly old enough to marry, they often went to pay court to the girls of neighboring camps. They showed themselves to be true Tuareg from the tendi to the ahal /gatherings where young people of both sexes meet/.

One evening one of them went out alone, dressed in his best finery and armed with his spear. As the camp he was to visit was quite nearby, he left on foot.

After having walked for a good hour, he realized that the camp he was looking for had moved. At the camp site, a lion wandered about in search of food.

Upon seeing the man, the beast became frightened, then roared and leaped. The Targui, quick on the defense, hurled his spear and pierced the lion's front and back left paws. Despite being hobbled by the spear, the lion struck the man with his good paw, killed him, and tore him to shreds.

The next morning the other Targui began to worry when he saw that his brother had not returned. He carefully armed himself, taking his spear, his shield, and his takouba /sword/, and set out to follow the tracks.

539 /129 cont./ Upon arriving at the scene of the drama, he soon was able to reconstruct the event and to see its fatal outcome. As he was a brave man, he could not return to camp without avenging his brother.

He tested his takouba to make sure it left the scabbard easily, held his shield close to him, and steadied his spear. When he was ready, he cried "Arr arr rrrinek" several times with all his might. (This cry, it seems, has the power to render the lion particularly furious.)

The lion soon appeared, his mane bristling, his eyes /130/ terrible. The man gave his cry again. The furious beast charged. At the first bound, the spear which still hobbled him broke. The Targui threw his spear but missed the bounding animal. Parrying the animal's terrible cuff with his shield, the Targui drew his sword and with one blow cut off the lion's head.

He returned to the tent with his trophy and with his brother's broken spear.

Even for going to the ahal, one must, in the desert, be very well armed!

In the vicinity of nearly all water points in the Ahaggar, [72] one may see engravings on the rocks. The Tuareg are very familiar with these reminders of another age; by tradition they attribute these works to two mythical characters whose names we cited in a previous chapter: Amamellen and Elias. Here is a legend concerning these two heros.

Long, long ago, long before the Tuareg came to the Ahaggar, other peoples lived on these lands. No one now is able to say who these people were. All that is known is that some among them were rich, for the land was fertile and the rains abundant. The chiefs were honored, as their tombs

539 /130 cont./ attest, and their power over the spirits was great, for they knew the language of the Kel es Souf. But all that is past, and it is not well to bring to light forgotten secrets.

At that time there lived a man called Amamellen, a noble in estate; he was rich, and he had numerous slaves to care for his flocks scattered throughout the Ahaggar. It is not known how he acquired his art, but he was extremely skilled in tracing on boulders the silhouettes of all the animals he saw around him in the desert. He also knew how to draw men. Most of the time he engraved on beautiful smooth stones, and sometimes he colored his drawings in various ways.

Amamellen had a nephew, the son of his sister, an intelligent boy, /131/ clever and courageous, who often accompanied him on his travels. By being with his uncle, Elias very soon learned to engrave and to paint.

Amamellen was satisfied and happy with the progress of his nephew.

As he grew up, Elias perfected his gifts and became even more skilled than his uncle. All the people spoke of him and praised his savoir-faire and his mastery in painting and engraving. It was also said that Elias possessed extraordinary strength. The following story was told of him. While he was practicing engraving on the rocks of the djebel /mountain/ Teferkit near the Tefedest, he saw that the kids left to wander by the slaves came to suckle their mother. Having called in vain for the goatherds to separate the animals, he became angry. With a blow of his saber he cut off the summit of the djebel Teferkit and put it down in the middle of the Adenak wadi. Having separated the goats from the kids, putting the former on one side of the summit, the latter on the other, he was able to continue his work undisturbed.

To this superhuman force, he joined such qualities of mind and heart as are seldom seen even in our time.

To hear his nephew constantly praised everywhere he went made Amamellen jealous, and this jealousy was multiplied each time he saw Elias' works.

539 /131 cont./ In those days people did not know how to control their feelings, and the time came when Amamellen wished for the death of Elias, being moved by envy and, doubtlessly, also by evil genii.

He could not openly kill his nephew, even by surprise, without being hated throughout the country, so he found a way to get rid of Elias without being suspected of the deed. Amamellen picked a slave, a strong but not very intelligent boy, who obeyed his master without trying to understand the reason for his orders. "You will go," he was told, "and lead my camel herd into that wadi we passed by some time ago, near that black mountain where I killed the antelope whose horns you saved."

/132/ "But that wadi is very far to the south, outside of the usual trails of our tribes."

"I know, but those are my orders. I also know that the wide plains are covered with excellent pastures."

"Very well, master, it shall be as you wish."

"You will not go alone; Elias will accompany you."

Lowering his voice, Amamellen told the Negro the rest of his project. He finished his instructions in a whisper, while the slave, astonished, his eyes wide, remained fixed to the spot. A rough blow brought him back to reality.

"Go," said his master, "and get everything ready by sunrise. I shall tell Elias."

The next morning a hundred camels left for the south. Elias and the slave rode in front, armed with takouba and spear. Two guerbas /waterskins/ hung from the flanks of their mounts.

When the caravan had left the last mountains of the Ahaggar and the habitual trails, the question of water began to be important. The Negro, well instructed by Amamellen, was confident of finding the well or the abankor /water hole/ before the guerbas were empty.

539 /132 cont./ Elias regretfully saw the mountains recede; he trusted the slave, who knew the way, and on his mehari he seemed to doze, as if crushed by the tedium of those immense, horizonless wastes.

One evening an isolated mountain in the reg appeared in the distance. "There is where we are going," said the slave. The next day toward noon Elias could see an immense pasture, such as his uncle had described. In the wadi's bed, immeasurably wide, a veritable sea of green stretched as far as the eye could see toward the south. Thousands of birds flew over as the camels passed.

"Let us stop here," said the Negro. "Here is where your uncle wants his animals to graze."

They established their camp at the foot of the mountain with the black rocks, which dominated the desert horizon and of which Amamellen had spoken.

/133/ It was still very early, and yet the heat became unbearable, like nothing known in the Ahaggar. Elias was thirsty, and he said to the slave: "Go look for water, for the guerbas are empty."

"Alas," said the Negro, "there is no water in this accursed country; we left the last well behind us seven days ago."

"Why didn't you fill all of the guerbas we have in reserve during our last stop at the well?"

"I didn't think of it, and you didn't tell me to."

"Go back, then, to that well and bring back water."

"How can I?" whimpered the slave. "Our animals are tired, and I could not get to the well, much less return. The beasts must eat for several days before being able to undertake this trip."

Elias realized that what the slave said was true, but he began to think that he was the victim of a trick. Instead of getting angry, he reflected and watched.

Two days passed from the time they had arrived at the pasture, two long days during which the sun of the great regs

539 /133 cont./ seemed to them to make the sand and the stones boil. The animals constantly grazed on the wet leaves which nourished them and at the same time made it possible for them to go several months without drinking. Elias was suffering from thirst, and he was astonished to see the slave carry on as usual, going from the camp to the pasture, returning under the torrid sun, in short, accomplishing all of his daily work, while he himself felt incapable of taking a few steps without falling.

Night fell; the Negro slept. Elias, who had stayed awake, took the slave's nalls /sandals/ and spread a thin layer of butter on the soles. Having returned the nalls to their place, he stretched out and pretended to sleep while continuing to watch the slave.

Well before daybreak the Negro put on his sandals, examined the sleeper a moment, then, reassured, left the camp silently. Then, jumping from rock to rock, he climbed the mountain and disappeared.

/134/ At the appearance of the first rays of the sun, Elias in his turn left for the mountain, following the prints left on the rocks by the greased nalls. There was no trace whatever of footprints on the sand, which is why Elias had not been able to follow the trail of the Negro during the first two days. This time it was different; the slave had stepped only on stones, so the trail was long and winding. Elias rested often, for he was weak with thirst, but he started off again as soon as he could, fearing to lose the small tracks which shone in the sun. After an hour of hard walking, he arrived at a hole between two boulders at the bottom of which glistened a mirror of water.

After slaking his thirst, Elias felt his strength returning rapidly and returned to the camp by the same path. He said nothing of his discovery to the Negro. Days passed. The slave was not even surprised that Elias could live without drinking. He followed his master's orders without trying to understand; he was sure he had not been followed in going to drink, and that was enough for him.

539 /134 cont./ Back in the Ahaggar, Amamellen was becoming impatient; a month had already gone by, and his slave had not yet returned. Perhaps his project had succeeded better than he had hoped; perhaps Elias was dead, and with him the compromising witness. That was what Amamellen thought, but he had to be sure. He outfitted himself and started off.

His surprise and anger were great when, upon arriving at the pasture, he saw Elias stretched out on his rug while waiting for the Negro to return from counting the herd. However, despite his disappointment, he contained himself.

"How did you find something to drink?" he asked his nephew.

"I haven't had anything to drink," replied Elias. "The Negro can swear to it."

The Negro, taken aside, did in fact confirm Elias' words.

"No matter," resumed Amamellen, "the main thing is that the herd is in good shape, and I congratulate you on that. For the time being, I intend to stay here awhile with the slave. You, Elias, will take your camel and leave for the well that is seven days from here going toward the Ahaggar. At this well, I left 100 female camels, 100 horses, and 100 asses; you will see that they drink, and you will /135/ fill the 100 guerbas that I hid near the well, after having repaired them, for many of them are ripped. Then you will return to the Ahaggar where I will rejoin you."

Elias took leave of his uncle, then left during the night. He preferred this nocturnal departure, as it allowed him to fill his guerba at the aguelman /same as guelta/ without being seen. He did not know his uncle's schemes, and he was happy to leave this place where he had almost died of thirst.

Remaining behind with his slave, Amamellen gloated over Elias' departure, for this time his nephew was sure to die despite all his cleverness. In point of fact, bandits were heading for the well in order to steal the herds, and these

539 /135 cont./ cruel raiders never left anyone alive to tell the tale of their dark deeds. Elias, who had to stay in the vicinity a long time to carry out the chores given him by his uncle, unquestionably would fall under the blows of the bandits and would perish as surely as if Amamellen himself had plunged a knife into his heart.

Elias urged his camel on, for the previous night he had seen a number of fires to the east. He knew he was not safe in these regions so far from the mountains of the Ahaggar. Such a large number of fires was suspicious. There was little doubt that it was a raiding party on the way to the Ahaggar, and it must inevitably pass near the well he was making for.

He took only three days to reach the well, having trotted every night. Without wasting any time, he assembled Amamellen's herd, drew water night and day to water them, repaired the torn guerbas, and then filled them all.

As he was getting ready to leave, an armed and menacing troop appeared and began to surround the herd with the evident intention of stealing it. Elias jumped from his camel and leaped astride the most spirited stud camel of the herd. Armed with his saber and protected by his shield, he flew at the biggest group. Striking to left and right as would some demon, he spread such terror among his assailants that they fled, swearing that they had run up against a Kel es Souf.

/136/ Without waiting any longer, Elias drove the herd before him and set out in the direction of the Ahaggar, whose steel-blue summits he perceived on the horizon.

Three days passed after he left the well, the country became wilder, the dull waste of the regs gave way to the first foothills of the Ahaggar, and the wadis wound through deep gorges. This sight overjoyed Elias, for it announced his homeland. He was attacked at a turn in a wadi by a large group of bandits. He drove his herd, the horses in the lead, into the boxed-in wadi. Shouting and bellowing, he stampeded his beasts, prodding the laggards with his spear.

•539 /136 cont./ The animals galloped ahead in a compact mass, giving the impression of a torrential flood surging down a narrow gorge. Elias, still mounted on his horse, had no trouble in routing the assailants, who were trapped against the sheer walls of the gorge by the wave of frightened animals.

However, the bandits did not want to let such a good prize get away: so many animals, and guarded by a single man, be he a devil, had to be raided, and this devil had to be punished for his boldness. They had to act before Elias could reach the high mountains of the Ahaggar, until then an inviolate lair. They waited until the herd had entered the vast Tamanrasset basin. There the wadi spreads out, goes along the Adrar Haggarène with its vertiginous peaks, and runs against the Adriane, whose vertical walls prevent all passage.

Asses, horses, camels, all advanced in close ranks in the bed of the wadi, which was bordered by verdure, when Elias saw that the raiders had formed a large arc designed to drive him against the cliffs of the Adriane. Contrary to their usual practice, the bandits advanced in silence, closing their ranks little by little. The silence was nerve wracking, and Elias felt himself lost despite his courage and his cleverness. He was going to fall before the enemy numbers, so near his native mountains, whose peaks he named to himself without thinking. There was no question of repeating his exploit at the well; the raiders would not let themselves be impressed a second time.

Elias had an inspiration. He vaulted to the slope of fallen rock at /137/ the foot of the mountain and climbed to the top of it to the beginning of the sheer wall of the cliff. He watched the movement of the bandits an instant, then unsheathed his saber and struck the cliff such a powerful blow that the mountain was nicked. The immense block thus cut away fell into a neighboring wadi. Climbing down the rocks in all haste, Elias forced his herd to climb the slope and pass through the passage he had carved out. All of the animals disappeared

539 /137 cont./ under the eyes of the bandits, who regarded with stupefaction the man who, having hewn a piece out of the mountain, defied them from the vantage point of the breach.

Thus ends this story of Elias. Others concerning this hero must exist, but they are buried in men's memories.

One may still admire Elias' exploit: the breach in the [823] Adriane is a landmark of Tamanrasset, and the boulder that was hewn from the mountain rests eight kilometers from there in the In-Zaouen wadi, where it has remained planted, a reminder of the hero's valor.

852 Thus, observing nature, listening to the old stories, the
304 young Targui grows up and forms his opinion. At the age of six or seven years, he undergoes circumcision: "agadam." The relatives gather for a big meal on this occasion.

857 From the women, the young boy learns to sew cloth and
868 leather. He makes toys from old rags; these are usually camels in stylized forms, sometimes having real artistic value. Toy in hand, he races with his comrades to see whose camel is the swiftest. Girls and boys alike make dolls dressed in the Tuareg style; they play camp, paying visits, drinking tea, and striking camp. The young boys carve greatly stylized camels on flat stones or on goat jawbones cut in two.

A favorite amusement consists in mounting an ass and making it gallop, which is not accomplished without numerous falls in the beginning. However, it is the camel which haunts the child; his father has /138/ already let him ride for a circle around the camp, but the little boy wants to be master of his own mount, to guide it across the fallen rocks of the nearby mountain, then to break into a fast trot on the plateau bordering the wadi but not beyond, for he would be seen from the camp and would risk a severe scolding for having taken a camel to amuse himself. Nevertheless, his parents know how it is, for they did the same thing themselves when they were young, but the "canoun" must be applied.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*492 181 [114] of riders and their camels. This is intimated by the following poem quoted from Foucauld's excellent books on the poetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg:—

● [539]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ébeydeg, é ti n ami mellen* | My white camel, O woman with white teeth |
| *W-allahi! iḍeg ul ifel kem* | I swear by God, it shall not go raiding, shall not leave you |
| *Ula daṛ ikk am akal ien* | It shall not go away from you to another country |
| *U t ḍineṛ ar y arabuh ennem* | I lead it to the pastures only to visit you with love again |
| *Ula tahargit d asemmeḍren* | Neither in dreams nor in thought |
| *Innin é ham yekk akal ien* | Shall it go away from you to another country |

(cf. Foucauld 1925-30, I, p. 210 f. for a literal translation).

## DONKEYS

231 [192] Donkeys are very important domestic animals in the Tuareg groups I have studied. Most animals are grey or greyish but there are other colours for which the Tuareg have special terms. From Ahaggar the following colour-terms can be mentioned:— *adebara* (greyish), *afawa* (greyish with a white stomach), *ewriṛ* (yellow-brown), *éhenbey*, or *takenbawt* (donkey with a black head), *ékawél* (black). Black donkeys seem to be more common among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara than among the Tuareg.

231 136 Donkeys vary less in colour than other domestic animals among the Tuareg. It is interesting to note in this connection that there are fairly big herds of wild donkeys, or asses, in the mountainous massifs of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr. These animals are generally greyish like most domestic donkeys.

133 *492 415

Fig. 83. Women carrying cereals in skin bags loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe.

4: Benhazera--13 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The celebration begins about one o'clock in the afternoon. The men saddle their meharis and the camel-back games, "iloudjan foull imnas" ⵍⵍⵓⴷⵊⴰⵏ ⴼⵓⵍ ⵉⵎⵏⴰⵙ , will begin. The women gather, beat their tobol, sing and play the amz'ad to excite the riders. The latter, in groups of two or more, abandon themselves to a wild race on their meharis, which they throw into a gallop. 585 [541] [533]

During this time the bride, hidden at the home of her maternal aunt or a relative on the maternal side, must veil her eyes and not watch the games. If by mischance she should look at one of the riders, he would fall, and there would be an accident. [752]

As to the groom, he does not take part in the games. Mounted on a white mehari, "ebidedj" ⵉⴱⵉⴷⵊ , he is present beside one of his friends, but he must remain impassive, his face carefully veiled.

The games last until sunset.

At this point two "tolbas" and two friends of the groom go to find the bride's father, if she is still a virgin, or the woman herself if she has already been married, to ask him or her to name a representative. The groom is also asked to name his representative.

These two representatives meet with the tolbas and the friends, and the marriage is contracted. It is at this time that the bride price, /16/ "tagalt" ⵜⴰⴳⴰⵍⵜ , is set. For nobles it consists, as a rule, of seven camels; for imr'ad it may consist, depending on their means, of one camel or several sheep or goats. The groom pays part of the bride price: one or two camels if he is a noble; three or four sheep if he is an amr'id and if he is not rich; the rest he owes. The animals which have been paid have their throats cut and provide the wedding feast. Then the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran) is read to call divine blessing on the newlyweds. 583 585 [554] [782]

After the contract the women meet, the amz'ad is played for a moment, but the bed of the newlyweds must be prepared. 585

*492 that it is manufactured by pastoral Tuareg of these regions and not by blacksmiths, though the latter [564] may also make such saddles for their own use. The wooden structure is made of two cross-bars, which [412] are natural prongs fashioned with knife and axe, and these two cross-bars are lashed to each other at their lower ends, or are connected with each other by means of two sticks crossing each other at [824] the two sides. A wreath of slender roots of *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) covered with a network of dum [283] palm rope may serve as a saddle seat, which can also be covered with a piece of matting plaited from [285] the leaves of the dum palm tree. This very simple saddle may perhaps be considered the prototype of the more developed riding saddles of the *térik* and *tahyast* types.

All the above-mentioned types of riding saddles are placed in front of the camel's hump and rest upon two to four saddle cloths, the number depending upon their quality and also upon the nutritional condition of the animal. Two saddle-cloths are considered enough for a fat camel while four should be applied to a very thin one. Saddle cloths are frequently called *ésatfar* (Ayr) or *asetfer* (Ahaggar), but this name is in fact used for everything placed upon the back of an animal to protect it against galling from the luggage and/or the saddle. Saddle cloths for camels are properly termed *éselis* (Ayr) and *ameslak* (Ahaggar). [286] Both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr saddle cloths are generally made of cotton, but they are also made from dum palm matting and a piece of leather among the Ayr Tuareg (Figs. 66–67). The riding saddles are fixed to the camel by a single girth known as *ahayif* (Ahaggar) or *azaw* (Ayr). [237] In the north such girths are normally made from goat-hair while the Ayr Tuareg use plaited leather (goat-skin). Girths in both regions are frequently furnished with a very large tassel hanging down from the right side of the camel (Fig. 69). [541] On rare occasions when the Tuareg [648] ride their camels with all possible speed, e.g., at the annual camel races organized by the French administration, the riders often secure the position of their saddles by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren* among the Northern Tuareg) tied around the hind part of the camel as shown by the photograph Fig. 68.

The camel rider sits in the saddle cross-leged with his feet resting upon the camel's neck. To accelerate the speed of his riding animal he pushes one of his feet against its neck in step with the rocking gait *492 peculiar to camels. A whip (*alekkod*) also belongs to the equipment of the rider. Most whips have a 237 single lash made from a twisted strip of hide, but whips provided with two lashes of hide attached to a wooden handle are also found and are common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Figs. 70a–b). The whips used in the north are said to be made from camel's hide soaked in water; the raw hide is twisted and kept in this position until it is dry. The Ayr Tuareg say that camel's hide is not well fitted for whips, which among them are manufactured from the raw hide of a newly-killed ox. A piece of this hide is twisted and left to dry as in the north. The handle of the one-lash whip is made of cotton wrapped around the upper part of the lash and covered with coloured goat-skin.

*492 The Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular implement to hasten the speed of riding camels. It is described in literature notably by Foucauld. It consists of a slender iron rod 0.35–0.50 metres long, fixed into a wooden handle. It has a small crook much like that of a staple and is used for scratching the animal and thus to incite it to greater speed. It is called *azallu*, or *asekred* (Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 856 & IV, p. 1960). I have never seen this peculiar implement among the Tuareg.

*492 415 A camel rider's equipment comprises various types of skin bags of which the most common is a

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 68. Tuareg camel riders prepared for a camel-race. The fixed position of the saddles is secured by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren*) tied around the hind part of the camel. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*492 The saddle types just mentioned are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg and apparently also to
[562] other Tuareg of Ayr. Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group refer to these women's saddles as "Arab saddles", and when their women mount camels on festive occasions they do not use proper saddles but a kind of chair built up upon two very large cushions manufactured by the *Imeggedezen*, and stuffed with hay. The arrangement of this saddle-chair is complicated and it takes some hours to finish it. It is built as follows:— The two large cushions (*éstigen*, sing. *ésteg*) are placed on the camel's back in front and behind the hump. They support a superstructure known as *tésogaley* and made from various objects belonging to the tent in the following way:— (1) Two large and oblong skin-bags are stuffed with hay or old cotton pieces and each of them is wrapped with a coloured blanket to form an oblong parcel. (2) To stay these parcels a rolled bed mat (Fig. 212b) is tied horizontally to each of
[285] them, and they are laid parallel with each other on the ground. (3) A very long mat plaited from dum palm leaves is rolled up and wrapped into a coloured blanket or a coloured piece of cotton. It is bent into a U-form and thereupon attached to the two oblong parcels by means of cords. This superstructure is further covered with coloured blankets and pieces of cotton. It is placed upon the two large cushions and tied to them and fastened to the camel by means of cords and girths. When a woman rides in such a saddle-chair she sits behind the animal's hump so that she cannot reach the camel's neck with her feet. The back of the U-formed mat prevents her from falling backwards. The structure
*492 of the saddle-chair may be seen from the photographs (Figs. 76–77). It should be understood that a
562 saddle made in so difficult a manner is not used by the women except on festive occasions, such as
[484] travelling to attend a marriage or an Islamic feast. Apart from the very few noble women belonging
[565] to the two noble tribes within the *Kel Ferwan* group all women of this drum-group normally ride

[Text continues on p.92]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951/1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 90. Tuareg dogs of the breed which is common among the Ayr Tuareg. Dogs suffer much from heat in summer when they hide under water-bags. Ayr, the *Imezureg* tribe.

## DOGS

231 The Northern Tuareg distinguish between three types of dogs (sing. *eydi*) as follows:— (1) a long-haired breed (*aberhoh*); (2) a short-haired slender breed (*akhami*); (3) a very slender and elegantly
[173] built greyhound (*oska*) (Fig. 91). The Ahaggar Tuareg speak of a tradition, according to which the greyhound (*oska*) was introduced fairly recently through contacts with the Northern Arabs. The Ayr Tuareg do not make similar distinctions between dog breeds. They have only one breed which is known as *ijji* (Fig. 90). It is short-haired and slenderly built though less so than the true Arab greyhound.

[136] Dogs are kept to guard the camp and in particular to protect the animals from the attack of jackals or hyenas during night. If the Tuareg had no dogs it would be most difficult for them to breed goats and sheep. Dogs may also follow the flocks in daytime to protect the animals against beasts of prey, though this is not generally considered necessary. Dogs are not trained as "sheep-dogs", but it is said that a few "intelligent" dogs will assist the herdsman in keeping the flock together during grazing,
[224] and many dogs will drive away domestic animals which belong to foreign flocks. Some Tuareg use dogs in hunting barbary sheep, gazelle, antelope, and hare (cf. hunting, p. 159, 166).

[17] It is well-known that the Arabs consider the dog an unclean animal. This is also so among Arab nomads of the Sahara, but they do not consider their greyhounds unclean in this sense. Thus pastoralists of the Chamba group told me that among them a fine greyhound is esteemed in much the same way as are noble riding horses and camels. The Tuareg have very few true greyhounds and
[521] I do not believe that they have this same feeling of interest in them. But many children and young
[541] people are fond of all types of dogs, and one can hear them discuss the qualities of their animals and the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp.

593 /149 cont./ commands." "Tuareg hospitality is characterized
562 by promiscuity, a sort of traditional prostitution." The truth is entirely different. The origin of Tuareg matriarchy is certainly lost in neolithic customs; ignorance of the process of conception may have been the cause. This familial organization led to exogamy, which tends to disappear; incest is
[835] a crime more terrible than murder. Matriarchy is the guardian of the caste system: the duty of mutual assistance bestows on the warriors (nobles) part of the fruits of others' labor and
[548] gives them ownership of the land. Prostitution does not exist; monogamy is the rule; the woman is respected. "Maternal rights," as L.-G. Richard says, "consist rather of mutual obligations than of prerogatives or advantages." There is no female liberty, for the woman owes herself to her family; in fact, she exercises no rights whatsoever; she transmits them. A custom still practiced, characteristic of matriarchy, is the requirement for the young husband to live a certain time in his wife's camp.

177 Let us repeat that Islam little by little is destroying the
593 matriarchal customs, particularly insofar as succession is con-
622 cerned, for they are increasingly regulated by Moslem practices. Today, the chiefs even desire to leave their power to their sons.

/151/

## VI

## Conclusion

000 The Ahaggar is, I believe, the most engaging part of the Sahara -- and I have conveyed neither the picturesqueness of the scenery, the attraction it has for travelers, nor the anguish it sometimes instills in certain souls, when from October to

553 852 Naming the child. -- It is then that the child is named. A choice is made among several names by drawing straws. In the tribes of the Aïr, when there is a dispute over the choice of a name, each of the parties present brings a small goat and secretly gives it the preferred name. The mother, who does not know who has donated each goat, chooses the one she likes and has it slaughtered. [674] The child must then bear the name which had been given the goat for the occasion. Then a meal is served to the people of the camp [431] and to the guests, and a present is given to the marabout if one came.

[302] The same day the newborn's hair is cut for the first time, and the marabout places an amulet around his neck.

551 /284/ The names given to children are quite varied and sometimes very whimsical. They observe customs like those of the American Indians, and so the parents take into account certain fortuitous circumstances which surrounded the birth. We have seen a young girl who bore the name of Tédigrès, meaning "hail," because there was hail at the moment she came into the world. Others bear the names of animals such as Ǎnaba, the panther; Ǎbagui, the jackal; Acotey, the jerboa; Tinirt, the antelope; Ǎhenkatt, the gazelle, etc.

[177] Because of Arab influence, the Tuareg have adopted many names taken from the Bible and Arabized, e.g., Moussa from Moses, Firhoun from Pharaoh, Younès from Jonas, etc.

They also bear very ancient names which come to them through tradition and whose meaning and origin they are ignorant of: Akhamouk (masc.), Amastane (masc.), Yklou (masc.), Chékou (fem.), Tinguelous (fem.). (1)

1. This name may come from the Latin angelus.

From then on the child has his father's name joined to his and keeps it all his life. There are no family names and marriage does

551 not bring about any substitution of names for either sex. If the father's name is Mohamed, one would say Anaba ag (son of) Mohamed, or Chékou oult (daughter of) Mohamed. Nominal filiation is therefore patrilinear.

Nicknames are numerous in the Ahaggar. Father de Foucauld tells us that "they are sometimes proper names of persons different from the one already received, sometimes names recalling a physical peculiarity or an event, sometimes meaningless names. A great many people have no nicknames. Among those who do have them, some accept them and others are insulted by them. Sometimes nicknames are temporary, known only to a few intimate friends and quickly forgotten. Sometimes they become so attached to the person that he is never referred to in any other way and his real name falls into oblivion." (2)

2. Dictionnaire abrégé Touareg-Français des noms propres /Short Tuareg-French Dictionary of Proper Names/, p. xv.

842 Conception and nursing. -- As for conception, the Tuareg see in it nothing but the will of God. However, they also establish the causal relationship of sexual intercourse and do not discuss the possibility that a woman can conceive without contact with a man. The existence and role of spermatozoa are unknown, but the Tuareg /285/ recognize the action of the seminal liquid and women practice spraying as a contraceptive measure. Professor [114] Gautier has even spoken of a primitive douche. This apparatus is not known by Tuareg women, and Gautier surely must have confused it with the enema.

841 Menstruation (iba-n-amoud) begins between the ages of thirteen [145] and fifteen years for Tuareg girls and causes them great fright. While they are indisposed they make no intimate toilet and often take no precautions to absorb the flow, which spots their clothing. [183] They also abstain from making prayers as if they were in a state of impurity.

101 country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote,
166 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the
131 latest major episodes in a general southwest-
ward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

631 The military administrative unit known as the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds fairly closely to the present normal range of
[101] the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabit-
[161] ants in 1950), and supports a total native population of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

162 Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

197 The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

619 **Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these are divided into tribes which are subdivided
565 into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] [a] A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

551 [b] Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in as many different ways as are the geographical names
104 of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

622 [c] A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

4: Benhazera--1 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

# Book One

## The Tuareg in their Private and Public Life

## Part One

## The Tuareg in their Private Life

### Chapter I

### Birth. Childhood

In Tamashek, birth is called "tiouit" ⵜⵉⵡⵉⵜ. There is no 844
special observance to note concerning the birth of a child
among the Tuareg. However, there is greater joy if it is a [842]
boy. People come to congratulate the parents and, seven days 851
later, the latter serve a more or less lavish feast, depending
on their means, the feast being preceded by the recitation of
the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran). Those present who do [788]
not know Arabic limit themselves during this recitation to
holding their open hands together like a book. It is on this [533]
day that the child is given its name.

On this subject, I think I should note that especially 551 ●
among the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe of the Ahaggar), many [565]
children were given the names of wild beasts or animals.

Examples of Men's Names

Amellal, addax, meha /?/
Abeggui, jackal
Amayas, cheetah
Akhou, wild animal

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Anr'eroubou, lion
Ahar, lion
Eknissi, hedgehog /4/
Akouti, rat
Amadjour, camel
Amder', giraffe, etc.

Examples of Women's Names
Tamerouelt, hare
Tahenkatt, gazelle
Tinirt, mohr antelope
Tamer'ouant, cowrie shell
Tadar'ine, grains (of wheat, barley, etc.)

In the course of this study there will be found many proper names of men and women which might give rise to interesting comparisons with names used among other Berber tribes of North Africa.

The Tuareg child is brought up heedlessly, with the 854
negresses' children. It is chiefly the negress who takes care of him. He lives out-of-doors, often quite naked or hardly dressed, and his body is toughened early. During the nursing period the negress makes a kind of hammock out of an old haïk, the two ends of which are fastened to tree branches or to the tent pegs, and this kind of cradle is called "taoulioula" (from the verb "eouilaouel" , to swing).

While he is still very young, barely seven years old, the 857
child is employed as a shepherd and acquits himself very well at his task.

Then, as soon as possible, he is perched on a mehari [492
(racing camel), for he must know his regular mount thoroughly. 868]
Young Harendou, an orphan of the Aoulimmiden /Aulliminden/, taken in by Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal of the Ahaggar, was already an excellent meharist at the age of ten. At his side he wore a "takouba" (saber) larger than himself of which he was very proud. /5/

this doctrine, the scholar Dozy tells us: "There was no muezzin, 262
or crier, to call to prayer; people were governed by the crow 565
of the rooster; so no one, except in case of dire necessity, 825
might kill roosters or hens or eat eggs" (1). 773

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme,
by R. Dozy, pages 348 and 349.
Neither mosques nor muezzins are [171]
found in Tuareg country. See also
l'Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale
/History of North Africa/, by E.
Mercier, pages 228 and 255. Volume 1.

Legends and stories are also known on the subject of 773
Ahmamellen and his nephew Elias. Hanoteau told them to us. 823
At Tamanrasset (Ahaggar) the Tuareg showed us a curious
breech in a large "gara" that bounds the horizon to the east.
They call it "Tiouit-n-Elias" (Elias' cut), and they say that
Elias made this breech with one stroke of the "takouba." The
piece removed, an enormous rock, lodged in a wadi three kilo-
meters from there, and we were shown it in passing. The
breech has also been named "Elias' Breech."

Elias is the Arabic translation of Elijah, and Younes that of [551]
Jonah. These two proper names are still used among the Tuareg. [174]
Might there not be a relationship between this Elias and Elijah,
son of Salih?

The Tuareg say that Ahmamellen was a man of extraordinary 174
size and strength, and that he was the equal of an army. Might 773
it have been Salih himself who claimed to be a prophet, then
disappeared in the east after having told his followers that he
was the Mahdi and that he would come back to fill the world
with justice when the seventh king should be mounted on the
throne?

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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*Sub-areas of the territory of the Dag Ṛali* tribe

(The tribe is divided into two halves:— (1) the *Dag Ṛali* proper comprising the sections named *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*, (2) the *Imessilliten* comprising the two sections named *Kel Hérhafek* and *Kel Teñhart*)

| Tenants | Name and value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe and leader of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section | ISEKRAM<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant | 2 goats |
| YEḲI of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section | TAĠMART<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| AMMA of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | AṚECHCHUM<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| KHABTÊ of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section<br>&<br>AKHASEN of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | I-N-DALAĠ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br><br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| AFAREḲ of the *Kel Hérhafek* section | AKAL-EREṚEN<br>Hunting of barbary sheep | Unknown |
| BUSKEYAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the *Kel Teñhart* section | TAHAT<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown) |
| [361] DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet* | ABALESSA<br>A very extended area comprising the village of Abalessa and other agricultural settlements | No land-rent as the *Amenukal* receives dues for every garden in this area |
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections of *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet* Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections | ṬEZZA<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | 1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep). (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) are also given to Danguchi as tribal chief) |

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*Sub-areas of the territory of the Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe
(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named Kel *Taṛhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Aṛefsa*)

| Tenants | Value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA ALATOKH, chief of the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé*, chief of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*, leader of the section *Kel Twes* | Cultivation grounds at Taṛhawhawt and I-n-dalaǧ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys for domestication | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, *khalifa* (leader) of the *Ikenkeren* section of the sub-tribe Kel *Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Collecting of wild seeds | 3 goats |
| ABERǦALI, *khalifa* of the *Kel Tarayin* section of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the *Kel Tarayin* section. No position as leader | Cultivation grounds at I-n-aǧriwal and I-n-dalaǧ. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys | 2 donkeys |
| DEYNI, chief of the *Kel Aṛefsa* sub-tribe forming only one section | No particular value | No land-rent |
| AKAWALI, chief of the *Isandan* sub-tribe and leader of the *Kel Afaru-he hin* section | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| HANU, *khalifa* of the *Kel Azernen* section of the *Isandan* sub-tribe | Cultivation grounds at Tamanṛaset<br>In the past wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, *khalifa* of the *Ṛelayddin* now attached to the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe | *Khoseni* is in command of the *Ṛelayddin* territory to which all members of the *Ṛelayddin* have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the *Amenukal* | |

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzaṛ*, while a small camp is called *ḍṛéwen* or *tamezzaḳ*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100–200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *hereǧen* (or *amezzaṛ n hereǧen*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *aharaǧen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



173 565 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day.
[172] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten* people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides, two men known as *Mokhammed ag-Kerku* and *Ĕmenni ag-Khedidda*, both members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* claim that their tribe descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten* formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Ṛali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten* were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and introduced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient *Isebeten* contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much
[551] difficulty. For the word *Ĕsebet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending from the woman *Ĕsebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Ṛali* [114] tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a, [428] p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 614 565 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are known by the name *Kel Ulli*, that is "the goat people", or by the name *Imṛad* which perhaps also refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *eṛeyd* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas [433] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly [224] important to the *Dag Ṛali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this ancient people.

173 565 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ*, said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Beraber*, and that they were Islamic. The claim that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyound doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Isamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

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Telhecham, grazing ground of Ayr Tuareg 423
Tementit, oasis of Tawat 18
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Terhenanet, cultivation centre, Ah. 2, 187
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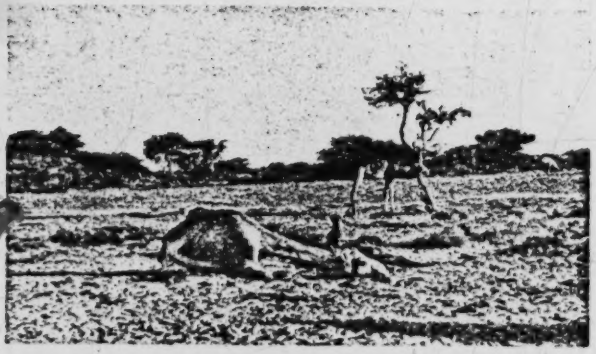

Fig. 46. A resting she-camel with the colour name *tawinok*. The colour term of the young she-camel standing in the back-ground is *ténilt*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

In Ayr the Tuareg do not 237
use camel's hide in their crafts, but give it to the blacksmiths who use it for lashing, or to people [564]
who manufacture beds from ribs of palm leaves (cf. Fig. 257). The Northern Tuareg use camel-skin [352]
for the manufacture of a few household implements and also use it for lashing (cf. p. 84, 110, 222, [624]
270 f. & Figs. 70, 86, 132a–b, 161a–d, 162, 213). But even in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer the skin of camels is little used compared with the skin of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep.

When employed in craft, camel's hide is normally used raw and unprepared after soaking in water. 281
but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that for certain purposes the hide is treated with salt. In literature there 114
are many statements about the tanning of camel's hide. Thus it is stated by Cauvet that the hide is tanned with plant material in Algeria, and Cauvet also quotes Duveyrier's statement that the Northern Tuareg tan camel's hide to use it for tents and various other implements (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 714 ff.). I very much doubt the correctness of this, as all Tuareg asked about it have stated that the hide of camels is not fitted for proper tanning. Camel's hide is therefore of very limited use to the Tuareg, and the same is the case with camel's hair or wool. Tuareg camels in Ayr have very little wool, and 237
among the Northern Tuareg most animals have less wool than Arab camels of the Northern Sahara. The Northern Tuareg pluck a little wool with the hands or cut it off with a knife. It is spun into cords 283
to be used for certain minor objects, notably for the manufacture of the plaited pouch (*abegu*) to prevent the suckling of calves (p. 62, Fig. 41) and for the particular cord (*asafun*) tied around the foreleg of camels to keep them in a reclining position (p. 72, Fig. 45a). Mixed with goat's hair the wool is 286
also used for a kind of primitive weaving (p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

Camels are very important to the Tuareg as pack-animals for the caravan expeditions which will 492*
be mentioned in a later chapter when other means of subsistence have been described. 484

In the past camels were also extremely valuable as riding animals on raiding expeditions which 492*
721

553 852 Naming the child. -- It is then that the child is named. A choice is made among several names by drawing straws. In the tribes of the Aïr, when there is a dispute over the choice of a name, each of the parties present brings a small goat and secretly gives it the preferred name. The mother, who does not know who has donated each goat, chooses the one she likes and has it slaughtered. [674] The child must then bear the name which had been given the goat for the occasion. Then a meal is served to the people of the camp [431] and to the guests, and a present is given to the marabout if one came.

[302] The same day the newborn's hair is cut for the first time, and the marabout places an amulet around his neck.

551 /284/ The names given to children are quite varied and sometimes very whimsical. They observe customs like those of the American Indians, and so the parents take into account certain fortuitous circumstances which surrounded the birth. We have seen a young girl who bore the name of Tédigrès, meaning "hail," because there was hail at the moment she came into the world. Others bear the names of animals such as Ǎnaba, the panther; Ǎbagui, the jackal; Acotey, the jerboa; Tinirt, the antelope; Ǎhenkatt, the gazelle, etc.

[177] Because of Arab influence, the Tuareg have adopted many names taken from the Bible and Arabized, e.g., Moussa from Moses, Firhoun from Pharaoh, Younès from Jonas, etc.

They also bear very ancient names which come to them through tradition and whose meaning and origin they are ignorant of: Akhamouk (masc.), Amastane (masc.), Yklou (masc.), Chékou (fem.), Tinguelous (fem.). (1)

1. This name may come from the Latin angelus.

From then on the child has his father's name joined to his and keeps it all his life. There are no family names and marriage does

846 /120 cont./ is said that a woman will never again bear children
751 if, during a delivery, she turns the foetal pouch inside out. Another cause of sterility is being hit by the tail of a uran.

845 Deliveries generally take place very well, but there are accidents, the percentage of which is not known; either the infant dies or puerperal fever is contracted. The Tuareg are completely powerless against such accidents resulting from childbirth.

852 /121/ On the seventh day of his life, the infant receives
553 his name, the occasion for a celebration to which all the close relatives are invited. A great meal is served, followed by tendi and ilougan. It is an honor to be the godfather and to give the infant its name; this honor is paid for in gifts (alouf). When several persons are candidates for the position of being the godfather, the winner is chosen by drawing straws.

854 As do all the mothers of the world, the Tuareg woman coddles her baby, covers it with caresses, is touched to hear it cry, and sings it to sleep: "O hare, bring slumber, my baby won't sleep." As soon as he can walk, the infant gets to know the camp; he wanders around the tents, plays with the black servants near the fire, learns to talk, and remains very attached to his mother, who, day after day, teaches him the customs. The daily observation of the customs makes the child very obedient and very respectful.

857 At about the age of five, the young imrad Targui beings
868 to follow his brothers or sisters as they tend the goats. The young nobles follow their Negro shepherd. The child thus learns to know his country, the paths, the plants, the animals, and their habits. An old servant will point to a track on the sand and say: "Here's your father's camel, and this track is that of the female camel that just gave birth."

During his comings and goings across the pastures, the desert life engraves itself on his memory. He notes the track of the gazelle on the sand and that of the cheetah in pursuit. "Look," says the old slave, "in spite of the slyness of the

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428 sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mothers) while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states [114] that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar (and in Ayr) denied this.

428 643 Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Rela* drum-group has no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however, [632] will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *éhéré wa n eṭṭebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group)", or *éhéré wa n butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

422 It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually, and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may [858] [553] own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions, e.g., on the naming day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong 422 to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should 592 serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic 422 unit of closely related stock-owners.

*233 All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar [114] Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite [576] to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks [602] so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual 422 ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which *233 time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark 565 their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe (the *Dag Rali*) donkeys are also branded with a redhot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar

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**Fig. 164. Pail (*éṛir*) made from tinned brass by blacksmiths. It is used for storing butter to be used for food preparation in the tent. Pails of this type form part of the dowry in the *Dog Rali* tribe. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.155 m high, 0.230–0.235 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5820).**

Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food 231
they perform a sacrifice, the idea of which seems to be an identification of the man and the killed animal. 282
This idea appears most clearly at the sacrifice made on the occasion of the name-giving feast seven 225
days after the birth of a child. A marabut, that is a Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class, and the father of 553
the child stand close together with their faces towards Mecca while the animal to be sacrified is kept 282
to the ground. The marabut cuts the animal's throat and doing so cries out the name to be given to [565]
the child, and this name is thereupon repeated by the child's father. When the killing is performed in [112]
this way the knife (*elmusi* in Ahaggar; *ézegiz* in Ayr) and the cut across the throat are washed with
water before skinning is undertaken. I have dealt with certain ideas of Tuareg sacrifice elsewhere, 114
and have stated that on certain occasions they may sacrifice not to God but to the *Kel Asuf* spirits 282
(Nicolaisen 1961, p. 122 f., 147 f.). But whatever may be the ideas attached to Tuareg sacrifices all 231
animals, with the exception of the camel (cf. above p. 65), are killed by cutting their throat.

The methods of meat preparation are almost identical in Ayr and Ahaggar. The most common 252
method everywhere is cooking in an earthen pot, known in Ahaggar as *ufrun*, *téṛirt*, *alekkin*, or *talekkint* 415 *
according to its size and form, or in a metal pot (*éṛir*) of European origin. Such European pots are [172]
common everywhere in Tuareg camps, but earthen pots are still used though less durable, for earthen
pots are cheap. Pots made of metal or copper, which are also known as *éṛir*, were also found among

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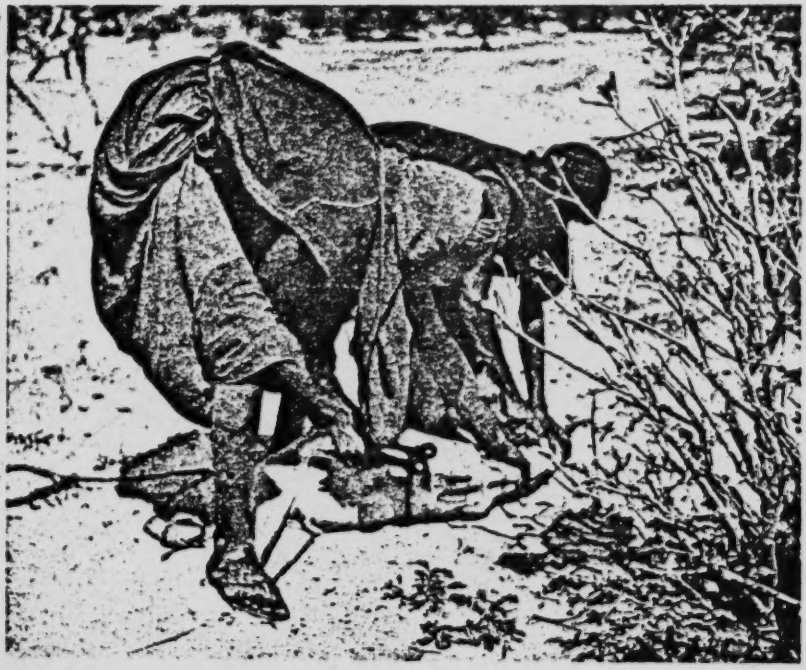

Fig. 170. Sacrificing a goat at the naming ceremony called *isnowen*. A marabut and the child's father keep the animal firmly to the ground. They stand with their faces towards Mekka and the camp of the new-born child. The marabut cuts the animal's throat simultaneously crying out loudly the child's name which is thereupon loudly repeated by the father. Ayr, the *Igendéyuen* tribe.

4/2 *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*) of Tidikelt, and it is now also found in Tuareg camps (Fig. 182), where it is
252 less frequent than the above-mentioned saddle quern. The handmill was entirely unknown among the Ajjer Tuareg during my visit to Tasilé-n-Ajjer in 1952. The Tuareg who possess handmills obtain them from the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar (Tamanraset). – When saddle querns or handmills are used, a piece of cotton or skin (*asentel* in Ahaggar) is always placed under the grinding stones to catch the flour (Figs. 180, 182).

262 The Tuareg have many different vegetable dishes. The most important are bread, porridge, gruel, and various mixed beverages.

[262] Bread is a prominent dish for all Northern Tuareg who bake it mainly from wheat flour. Wheat bread has been my ordinary dish among all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Lhote states that

174 to maintain, which others seized from them, and suzerains became
182 vassals. But in spite of these contingencies of war, the Tuareg
565 attach great importance to blood origins and always respect high-
[554 727] born people, even though they may be their vanquished /adversaries/.

Thus, at the present time, the nobles of the Ahaggar and the
554 Ajjer may be seen to seek alliances with women of the fallen fraction
565 of the Imenan Sultans. This adds to the luster of their high origin
581 a certain character of religious nobility, which is much appreciated among Moslems.

800 Monogamy and matriarchy. -- To understand Tuareg society, one must remember two important facts, facts which are, moreover, not completely independent of each other, monogamy and matriarchy.

/151/ While the Tuareg are Moslems and have polygamous
174 peoples as neighbors, it is astonishing to note that they practice
562 monogamy. This is an evident indication that women occupy an
[595] important place in their society, in no way comparable to what they occupy among the Arabs. This was very striking to the first travelers who thought they saw traces of an ancient Christianity in the persistence of monogamy. This argument might be held if we did not know, on the other hand, that the social organization of the Tuareg rests on matriarchy, an ancient custom much earlier than the Christian era, which explains monogamy and the particularly high position of women.

Gautier writes on this subject: "It may be said that the Tuareg practice chivalrous gallantry; the expression is inadequate only because of the association it evokes. Our chivalry has a Christian origin; the respect of the Tuareg for women has much deeper and more remote reasons. It goes back to matriarchy, which is earlier than the notion of the state and even that of the family. It is a living witness of completely primordial humanity, a sentiment, if I may say so, of the quaternary age." (1)

1. La conquête du Sahara /The Conquest of the Sahara/, p. 33.

000 tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has
586 177 adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

184 One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between
614 his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation. It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live.

[174] In their case we are confronted at the present time by a matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman
512 ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights,
[178] her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the
[611] man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many
[554] Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in
[584] matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has
[421] free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes, and even has a greater freedom of mores.

174 It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy among the Tuareg.

174 It seems to have existed in ancient times among all the Hamites. Frobenius sees traces of it in traditional customs which leave the raising of the tent to the women and give them a monopoly on leather-work. These singular characteristics reveal the primordial nature of the sentiment of life among the Hamites. (1)

1. In Jenson, "Les orbes culturels de l'Afrique /Culture Spheres of Africa/," L'Afrique, Cahiers d'art, 1931.

428 554 622 Among the Ihaggaren, the wife wills her social and political rights to her children. These are particularly important when it is a question of the succession of a chief. Political filiation of the first degree is made to the brother; in the second degree to the eldest son of the maternal aunt; in the third degree, to the eldest son of the eldest sister, which constitutes a guarantee for blood descent in the line of chiefs.

184 622 The Ioullimmiden /Aulliminden/ do not practice political succession according to matriarchal rules. The explorer Barth has even reported that they consider this custom shameful "and show that the chief has little confidence in his wife's virtue." (2)

2. Voyages et découvertes en Afrique /Travels and Discoveries in Africa/, vol. I, p. 205.

174 Though command is now the privilege of the men, it is not impossible that in the past women were invested with power. We have evidence of it in the story of the Berber queen, Kahéna, who for a long time resisted the Arab invaders who were trying to conquer Aurès in the eighth century. The legend of Ti-n-Hinân, maternal ancestor of the Ihaggaren Tuareg, leads us to believe that the woman was their queen. In 1475, a Berber fraction settled

578 643 692 to arrogate rights over vassals for themselves. There are internal disputes of the sort: "Who made you a count? And who made you king?"

643 It is particularly in the relations with neighboring or foreign tribes that the amenokal's role takes on a more national aspect, yet his decisions do not have full authority unless they have been approved by an assembly of notables -- the arollan -- composed of the principal chiefs of fractions and nobles.

/157/ The amenokal lives like the other Tuareg, and there is no ceremony surrounding his person. All comers present themselves [644] at his tent with no more formality than that. There is no court or court etiquette.

534 Only the tobol, generally placed at the entrance to the tent, indicates the rank of the host.

643 This drum is in the shape of a hemisphere, hollowed out of a tree trunk and covered with a cowhide with the hair still on it. The hide is held by leather thongs with the hairy side up. It may be as much as 80 centimeters in diameter. Two leather handles on the sides are used to carry it. For gatherings, two men strike it alternately with a camelskin drumstick (imîtkar). Only the amenokal has the right to have it sounded, which he does only on the most important occasions. Upon his death, his brother or his caliph is entrusted with it until it can be given to his successor. The amenokal does not go far without his drum, which is carried on a camel led by a trusted [492] man; when he gives the order to beat the drum, another meharist /man mounted on a mehari, or fast dromedary/ approaches to take the other handle, and the two men march side by side, striking alternately. Any warrior who hears it is supposed to rally to the call and at the same time inform the people he meets. In case of war, [202] the beating tells whether they are dealing with foot soldiers or meharists, depending on whether there are one or two imîtkar.

When the hide of the tobol is worn out, the most renowned [554] warrior of the tribe is entrusted to replace it.

565 554 [302] [516] [195] 554 562 574 [533] [516] 565 [83] 513]

The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of appearance and language is even more perceptible among the women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society. Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in knowing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and knowing how to play the violin.

Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

[842] 582] [648]

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it, and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting itself to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could bring it.

565 [793 87]

The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/ and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the children.

[651]

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Ihǎggaren and the Kel Ǎjjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifora were pillaged themselves upon several occasions by the Ihǎggaren and forced to seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

The influence of the Inislimen on the Ihǎggaren and the Kel
[797] Ǎjjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact, they are generally quite ignorant.

[554] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving, they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and disapproved of the belligerent action of the Ihǎggaren against us, in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tǎdemaket
565 and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.
797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable
[648] enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifora was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tǎdemeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents. They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721] Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
[181] refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
[701] other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Chériffen are divided into ordinary Chériffen and warrior Chériffen.

563 [651] Every year they pay the aménokal three loads of dates and three young goats.

[554] The Irréguénaten. -- The Irréguénaten, like the Issekkemâren, are assimilated vassals of a social rank superior to that of the Imrad.

They are of Tuareg mothers from the Ibettenâten tribe and Arab fathers from the Kounta tribe.

They are divided into two groups: 1) the Adrar Irréguénaten or Issettafénine Irréguénaten, who descended from a sherif of Gourara named Abdelmoumen, whose two sons Mouima and Inchelane married Ibettenâten women; 2) the Ahaggar Irréguénaten or Ihaggarénine Irréguénaten, who descended from the Dermachaka, an incorporated tribe of Kounta and Ibettenâten.

All of them nomadize in the northern Ădrar des Ifôras and the Timétrine and even push as far as Erg Chech. They also visit the Ăhnet and Tămasna.

[233] This is a very rich tribe engaged in raising camels. The Irréguénaten own more than 2, 300 camels, 350 cows, and more than 2, 350 goats and sheep.

[162] In 1908 they numbered 50 to 60 men, according to Benhazéra. The 1938 census raises the figure to 358 persons, 100 of them fighters.

[651] /202/ They pay the tioussé to the descendants of the Inemba and to the descendants of Si Mohamed ag Othman.

[669] Although they associated with the Adrar Kounta, they maintained relations with the rebellious marabout Abidine, who took refuge among the Kel Ahnet. They probably even served him as spies, and the people of Ădrar des Ifôras held them in suspicion for a long time.

[28] 462 Their camel raising is very well known, and their wives are quite expert in leatherwork.

[602] There are also Irréguénaten in the Niger loop, but they have no bonds of kinship with the Ahaggar Irréguénaten.

836 pure until her marriage, " said Dr. Vermale elsewhere. "Those are sentiments which the Tuareg do not understand. Thus, as soon as she is nubile, she goes to the ohal and it is not long before she is deflowered. Virginity does not exist and has no representative value in the eyes of the Tuareg. " (2) Indeed, the women are

2. Op. cit., p. 171.

more or less easy. Some give themselves to the first comer; others grant their favors to only a small group of friends. To grant them [839 577] only to a single person, however, would be judged in very bad taste and a sign of perversion.

No one finds fault with their free mores, on the condition [554] that they let themselves be courted only by men of a social condition equal to their own. Some women let themselves be courted by slaves and that is considered a shame for them.

842 /290/ One may be astonished that unwed mothers are not more numerous with such dissolute mores. Contraception is com- [833] monly used, and, as Dr. Foley said, effusio seminis inter crura is probably the frequent conclusion of the nocturnal rendezvous after the ahal. (1) These restrictive measures must not be unre-

1. Moeurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar /Ahaggar Tuareg Mores and Medicine/, p. 56.

lated to the low birth rate of the Tuareg, and it is quite possible that the married Tuareg woman continues to practice them.

847 Bearing children out of wedlock and bastardy (agama) are the [848] object of public discredit. The Tuareg rarely practice abortion, but infanticides used to be quite numerous, and no one thought of being offended by them. When a woman finds herself pregnant

771 The religious lukewarmness of the Tuareg is such that they do
781 not always profess great respect for marabouts and very few of them
[788] make the pilgrimage to Mecca. When Duveyrier made his trip to Ghat (1860) there were some thirty pilgrims among the northern Tuareg (1); at the present time there are probably only three men

1. Op. cit., p. 413.

among the Ihăggaren who can be honored with the title of El Hadj.

But this tepidity does not always exclude fanaticism. Barth already mentioned that he had to face it during his trip and that he was assailed by questions and had to discuss different religious dogmas with some Tuareg; he extricated himself from this by a perfect knowledge of the Koran and of Moslem mores. /306/ Their
[669 religious ignorance makes them, at the same time, easy instru-
773] ments in the hands of marabouts who have often profited from this to stir up hate for the Christians and to push them into a holy war, as was the case for the revolts of 1915 - 1916 - 1917. In spite of the bitter failures which resulted, their confidence in their thaumaturgy was not at all diminished.

871 At the present time there are several Koranic schools in the
773 Ahaggar conducted by Arab marabouts and set up in the agricultural centers. They are mainly attended by Harratin children, for Tuareg children, who stay in their parent's camps, cannot go to them because they are too far away. A marabout family, originally from Cheurfa d'Aoulef (Tidikelt) settled in the Ahaggar some forty years ago and enjoys a great veneration. Not long ago it was fixed in the little center of Dar-Mouli, where it enhanced the value of the place, but as a result of the dryness of the spot it was moved to Esselissekine. There each year a great alms feast takes place,
[796 and all the Ahaggar Tuareg come. Its present chief, Moulay el
[554] Ouafi ben Moulay abd Allah is an example of piety, although still quite young, and he is surrounded by great respect.

797 In speaking of the Islamization of the Tuareg, Henri Basset said that the latter had taken almost nothing from Islam, except

Lefaucheux type. But their prices were high for Tuareg pocket- 411
books, and it was difficult to procure powder and bullets, which 439
made firearms uncommon and often the prerogative of the chiefs. 554

Tuareg weapons vary according to the circumstances. The
Imochar carries the arms he likes: they include the sword 184
(tacouba), which is the 411
weapon par excellence 565
of the nobles; the iron
lance (allar') carried by
nobles and vassals; [531]
javelins with iron shoulder
and point and wooden
staff (tarda), which are
set aside for vassals and
slaves; and the forearm
dagger (télak) provided
with a leather ring so that
it may be hung from the
wrist. In the Sudan slaves
also carry wooden clubs
(tabouri), heavy branches
with a knot at one end.

Fig. 57. Old type arm dagger.

The Tuareg have only
one defensive weapon,
the buckler (ahrer) which
is made of oryx antelope
skin. It was generally the prerogative of the nobles, and only
they had the right to carry it. It recalls the coat of arms by its [531]
shape and the ideology which surrounds it; the decorative motifs
which it bears have a magic character.

The Tuareg are adroit fencers, fighting hand /326/ to hand 411
with their swords while protecting themselves with their bucklers, 714
which cover their bodies and which they handle with a great deal
of dexterity in spite of the volume and weight. The sword cuts

411 and, if it is of good quality, it is liable to split a buckler in two.
714 The hand is protected by a little rectangular iron guard which gives the shape of a cross to the upper part of the sword.

Duveyrier, the explorer, noted that the Tuareg used the bow.
114 We have not found this weapon among them, nor any evidence as
411 to what it used to be used for.

[714
281]

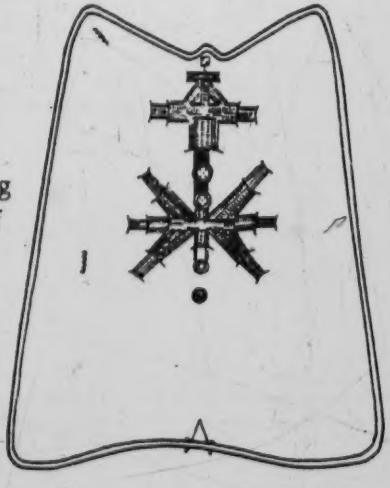

Fig. 58. Tuareg buckler made of oryx antelope skin.

411 All of these weapons have become very archaic in view of the arrival of rapid-firing weapons. The Ahaggar Imochar still
[554] hold to their sword, which they always wear over their shoulders, and which seems to be used more to indicate their social rank than for warring action. In the Sudan almost all the Tuareg still carry lances, and some of them carry forearm daggers. In Aïr one may still see a buckler hung from the saddle of a mehari. But in a few years all these objects will be good for filling trophy cases.

565 three main classes, the Tuareg nobles (fig. 46) and vassals (fig. 47) and the Negro slaves.

Rank seems to be essentially a quality of the
565 clan rather than of the individual, for the
614 Tuareg commonly speak of "noble clans" and "vassal clans," and, when one is in doubt about
[554] a person's social status, one does not ask what his rank is but what clan he belongs to. The "tobol,"[6] the symbol of precedence, is clan property and belongs to no particular family, although it is kept by the chief of the premier clan of a tribe as the symbol of his authority.

The Ahaggar confederation comprises three
619 tribes, the Kel Rela, the Tégéhé Mellet and the
614 Taïtoq, each headed by a noble clan which gives its name to the tribe as a whole[7] (figs. 25, 26, *b* and 27). Noble clans by definition outrank vassal clans, so that the chief of a noble Ahaggar clan is usually chief of his tribe as well. The noble clans and their dependent vassal clans with them are arranged in an order of precedence, and so the chief of the premier
[643] clan (the *Kel Rela*) is also chief of the Kel Rela tribe and paramount chief (*Amenokal*) of the Ahaggar confederation.

It is men who govern at all levels of Ahaggar
614 society. Among the Tuareg a tribal chief is
622 chosen from the premier clan of the tribe by
562 a clan council made up of the male heads of households, but he must be confirmed in office by a council of male representatives of all the component clans of his tribe because his tenure depends materially on the willingness of these clans to pay him tribute. For the same reason, the final confirmation of an amenokal rests with a council made up of male representatives of all the clans in the whole confederation. Tribal chiefs also act as judges, and an amenokal is the chief justice of his confederation.

Chieftainship is hereditary in the female
622 line,[8] but within fairly broad and seemingly rather indefinite limits of degree of relation-

thereabouts, but this succession may not have been thought of as brother-to-brother inheritance after all. It seems perhaps more likely that the successor in such a case is looked on as an heir of the former chief's mother rather than of the former chief himself. Ancient Egyptian records, cited by Bates (1914, p. 112), tell of at least one Libyan chief who was succeeded by his younger brother in preference to his son. It would be a waste of time for us to try to explain the few early cases of father-to-son inheritance that have been reported because the circumstances surrounding them are not at all clear.

291 Tuareg attach considerable importance to
[439] indigo blue cotton cloth, a product which they get from the Sudan. This material is commonly known as "chegga" (pronounced *shegga*), and the most archaic and highly prized variety is made of a multitude of long strips about an inch wide sewn tightly together. The cloth itself, of very ordinary quality, is so heavily impregnated with crude indigo as to be literally stiff with it. A brand new piece looks black when seen at a distance or in a poor light, but in bright sunlight it is a dark purplish blue with a coppery sheen like that of cheap carbon paper; and the indigo dye comes off on your fingers at the slightest touch, just as the ink on carbon paper does but much more so.

302 Obviously, anyone who wears clothes made of such material is soon stained with indigo from head to foot, and the Tuareg even rub it into their skins on purpose. Women often smear it on their foreheads, cheeks and temples and around their mouths by way of make-up. The
[751] Tuareg claim that indigo not only protects human skin from the direct effects of sun and wind but also lubricates it and so prevents cracking, and they are quite right, at least up to a point. If the Tuareg wash themselves only
[515] very rarely, it is partly to preserve the accumulated protective coating of indigo, the humble practical value of which has been
[554] gradually enhanced by an ever-increasing value of prestige that has risen in proportion to the rising cost of indigo-dyed cloth. A dirty looking, bluish skin is admired by the Tuareg just as much as a rich golden tan is admired in midwinter by the business men and women of New England and New York.

515 It should be noted that in the Sahara Desert proper one can go unwashed for long periods without either feeling or looking noticeably dirty. The air is so dry that perspiration usually evaporates instantly upon reaching the surface of the skin, and so it is unusual for anyone to sweat visibly. Most of the nomadic
[147] natives are in excellent physical condition in that they are very lean and wiry, and so they sweat relatively little in any case. Thus it is extremely rare to meet one who has any perceptible body odor at all, regardless of whether he looks clean or not. White foreigners are seldom in anywhere near as good physi-

their permission asked, even those who are far away. It would 584
be very bad to marry a young girl without the knowledge of one
of the members of her family.

Since a girl usually marries at twenty to twenty-five years, [582]
she is consulted. Even if she is a virgin and, as such, subject
to parental authority according to Moslem law, she is usually
not forced to marry against her will. If the case arises, she
has only to refuse herself to her husband, and he does not insist
but sends her back to her parents.

Just as among the Arabs, a woman who has already been [587]
married must give her consent.

## Chapter VII

## Marriage

Marriage, "adouben" ⵏⵓⵎ or "tedout" ⵜⵉⵎⵜ 585
has some quite curious features.

The proposal of marriage has been accepted. The day
of the wedding has been set. If a quite influential noble is [554]
getting married, the wedding /15/ will have many guests.
If it is an "amr'id" (serf), the celebration will be much simpler
and more private, but the ceremonies and songs will be the
same.

The men guests, mounted on their best meharis, arrayed
in their most beautiful clothes and finest arms, arrive at the
bride's camp where the wedding is to take place. The women
go to the bride's home with their "imz'aden" (violins) and
their "tobol" (drums).

If the women are poor they go there by donkey; if they [492
are rich they arrive by mehari, in their saddles which are 556
shaped like sedan chairs and of which we will find a description 562]
below.

4: Benhazera--13 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The celebration begins about one o'clock in the afternoon. 585 The men saddle their meharis and the camel-back games, "iloudjan foull imnas" ⵍⵓⴷⵊⴰⵏ ⴼⵓⵍⵍ ⵉⵎⵏⴰⵙ , will begin. [541] The women gather, beat their tobol, sing and play the amz'ad to excite the riders. [533] The latter, in groups of two or more, abandon themselves to a wild race on their meharis, which they throw into a gallop.

During this time the bride, hidden at the home of her maternal aunt or a relative on the maternal side, must veil her eyes and not watch the games. If by mischance she should look at one of the riders, he would fall, and there would be an accident. [[illegible]2]

As to the groom, he does not take part in the games. Mounted on a white mehari, "ebidedj" ⵉⴱⵉⴷⵊ , he is present beside one of his friends, but he must remain impassive, his face carefully veiled.

The games last until sunset.

At this point two "tolbas" and two friends of the groom go to find the bride's father, if she is still a virgin, or the woman herself if she has already been married, to ask him or her to name a representative. The groom is also asked to name his representative.

These two representatives meet with the tolbas and the friends, and the marriage is contracted. 583 585 It is at this time that the bride price, /16/ "tagalt" ⵜⴰⴳⴰⵍⵜ , is set. [554] For nobles it consists, as a rule, of seven camels; for imr'ad it may consist, depending on their means, of one camel or several sheep or goats. The groom pays part of the bride price: one or two camels if he is a noble; three or four sheep if he is an amr'id and if he is not rich; the rest he owes. The animals which have been paid have their throats cut and provide the wedding feast. Then the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran) is read to call divine blessing on the newlyweds. [782]

After the contract the women meet, the amz'ad is played for a moment, but the bed of the newlyweds must be prepared. 585

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 82b. Cf. text Fig. 82a.

qualities as strength and speed, but rather on elegance and sublimity. The riders sit straight in the 526
saddles without watching the crowd of women, and the camels are ridden at a gentle trot (generally 492*
that known as *senat-senat*; cf. p. 99) with their heads drawn back. In this way the men may also ride 585
their animals round the women in a circle as I have seen in Ayr (cf. Fig. 82).

Camels have important social functions among the Tuareg who take an interest in these animals 233
far beyond their practical value. It may perhaps be useful to compare Tuareg interest in camels with 181
Nuer interest in cattle so brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard. Nuer caress their animals, and [171]
there is a tendency for human beings and cattle to form, so to speak, a single community (Evans-Pritchard 1940, p. 16–50). This is not exactly true of Tuareg and camels. The Tuareg do not pat their camels which will not respond to caressing, and they do not live in very close contact with their animals, most of which frequently graze far away from the camp under the supervision of one or two herdsmen. But the Tuareg nevertheless have much the same feeling towards camels as Nuer have towards their cattle. They are very fond of their animals. They may abstain from camel's flesh because they [262]
are fond of camels and would feel very sick at heart when eating them. But though the Tuareg are fond of camels as such, they are delighted particularly at the sight of a very fine camel (*akemhur*; Ahaggar) and may even speak disparagingly of a badly built animal (*amugey*; Ahaggar). Fine camels [554]
add to the prestige of a man, while too many animals of poor build may even harm his reputation. When girls and young women praise camel-riders in their songs they praise those mounted on fine [533]
and richly-decorated animals. When camels are mentioned in poetry this may also be done as praise [538]
to their owners, as in a poem composed in honour of noble Tuareg of the *Urafen* (*Kel Ajjer*) of whom it is said that "their pack-camels have feet as large as a drum, and the loads they carry are like the crests of mountains" (Hanoteau 1896, p. 218). Such reference to pack-camels, however, seems to be [492]*
rare in Tuareg poetry, while riding camels are frequently mentioned in connection with warfare and [171]
love. Riding camels have much the same esteemed position as had horses in Medieval Europe. Tuareg interest in camels is particularly focused on riding camels and there is a tendency towards identification 492* 181

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



567 608 in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner. When a slave marries a slave girl the latter becomes the daughter-in-law of her husband's owner, and there will consequently be a kind of avoidance between these persons as between other relatives-in-law of different generations. In connection with slave-marriages it is of some interest to mention the following custom practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar:—

[582] [431] Among the Tuareg of Ahaggar a man has a certain marriage priority to his mother's brother's daughter according to rules which are outlined in the next chapter (p. 458 ff.). Therefore when a Tuareg's mother's brother's daughter marries somebody else the first man vill be entitled to a pair of sandals from the groom. In agreement with this custom a slave when marrying a slave-girl must give a pair of sandals to his wife's owner's ("father's") sister's son as explained in the diagram above (Fig. 292).

(2) The husband in a Tuareg pastoral family stands in the relationship of "father-in-law" (*adeggal*) to all slaves owned by his wife, while the wife is the "mother-in-law" (*tadeggalt*) of all slaves owned by her husband. Between these fictive relatives-in-law there is institutional avoidance which, however, is far less strictly observed than for true relatives by marriage of different generations. Owing to these rules a man must not or should not marry a slave girl owned by his divorced or deceased wife, just as it would be improper to marry a daughter-in-law.

(3) It is not forbidden for a man to marry a slave-girl whom he owns, even though she is considered his "daughter". This does not disagree with ordinary kinship-rules for a man is permitted to marry some of his classificatory daughters. If a man marries his own slave girl his children, among the Ayr Tuareg, would not be considered *Ichardanen* or *Iburelliten*, that is "mulattoes". They have the right to be considered true Tuareg or *Imajeren*, but in case of disagreements between a Tuareg of this type, and other people, they will call him by one of the terms used for "mulattoes", and may even call him "slave". If a man marries a slave girl who does not belong to him, his children of that marriage will [583] not become true Tuareg. But a Tuareg who wishes to marry a woman of slave status or a mulatto will attempt to secure the acknowledgment of his wife and her children as true Tuareg by the payment of a high bride-price. Thus a Tuareg of Ahaggar who married a mulatto girl gave for bride-wealth seven camels as is customary for noble Tuareg in the two northern groups, though the price according 554 to traditional rules should not exceed the value of one camel. It must be added that the position in Tuareg society of people who are not true Tuareg by origin depends greatly upon personal qualities. If a man is wise, rich, and generous, or if he is a marabut, all Tuareg will be ready to associate with him on equal terms even though he be predominantly negroid. I have noted several examples of this, and once met a very negroid nomad who was greatly respected by all Tuareg because he had once [584] [567] killed seven goats in one day to entertain foreign guests. There are certain classes and castes in Tuareg society. Formally it seems comparatively easy for children of mixed marriages of Tuareg and slaves to be considered Tuareg as slaves have a social position different from that of true black-skinned castes.

567 608 (4) If a slave woman has suckled a Tuareg girl or has taken a little fair-skinned Tuareg girl to her as her own, she will be recognized as the girl's true mother. And if the slave woman has children of her own they will be recognized as brothers and sisters of the little Tuareg girl. When the Tuareg girl later marries, her husband will be considered the true son-inlaw of her slave-mother and there will

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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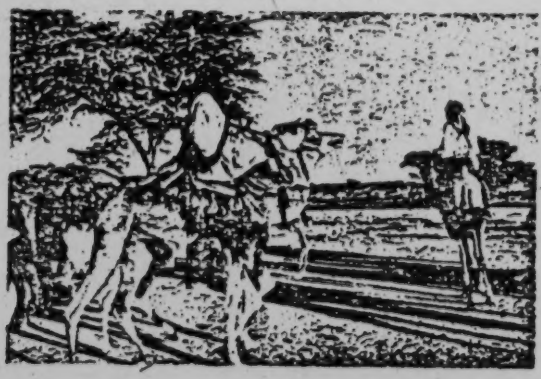

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afagag* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two Southern Ayr, *Iewdiku*.

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Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

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Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle cloths, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

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In a ceremonial ride termed *ihgan* (*ihgan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

631 a very ancient tribe, the Isbeten, who were the autochthons of the Ahaggar and whom the Dăg Rali would have found in Ătakor when they came to settle there.

After the battle at Tit where they lost more than 100 fighters, the Dăg Râli still numbered 60 warriors. The 1938 census gives 1, 090 persons, 334 of them men, including the Iklan. This increase is quite rare among the Tuareg and reflects their wealth and the improvement of their living conditions since the French occupation.

[161] [172] [511]

They nomadize in the western part of the Koudia, which is their absolute fief where no other fraction is admitted.

/192/ On the east, the boundaries of the lands over which they range are fixed by the right bank of the Tamanrasset wadi and the Interkadène wadi as far as Ideles; on the south by the southern zone of the Tahalra as far as Tin Dahar; on the west by In Eker; and on the north by the line from In Eker to Hirhafok to Ideles.

631 651 The Dăg Râli pay a tribute of ten bags of dates or sorghum to the aménokal; in addition, each family which sends a caravan to the Sudan pays him a small bag of sorghum. If the pastures are good, they add several "botta" of melted butter and the milk of twenty ewes. In the case of a successful raid, they pay the nobles half of the ewes.

631 233 556 439 The Dăg Râli are now the richest people in the Ahaggar. They own more than 1, 200 goats and more than 1, 000 camels. Thanks to their beasts of burden, they can take many very remunerative caravans to the Sudan and to the Tidikelt. They hold in common escheated flocks which are called Edjeré-n-boutelma. When the pastures are insufficient to feed all their livestock, they entrust their camels to the Irréguénaten who graze them on the Saharo-Sudanese border.

631 241 423 Since they are very open-minded, they were in favor of cultivation in the centers of the Ahaggar, and at the present time they possess lands at Ilâman, Tarahananet, Tamanrasset, Abălessa, Iglen, Tăfârit, I-n-Ămegel, and Silet, which Negroes cultivate for them. The aménokal has granted them a certain number of palm trees in the Silet oasis which formerly belonged to the Tăitok.

251 Thus, they are forced to keep supplies on hand, /226/ but it is a
343 limited stock, consisting of two or three bags of sorghum or dates which are transported each time the camp is moved. It is customary, when supplies are more considerable, to leave them in the rocks of the mountains in spots known to the people of the tribe. These granaries (ekaham) allow them to travel lighter and at the same time put supplies in safe places. In case camps are raided they make a sufficient food reserve so that the people are not driven to starvation.

Some tribes which have gardens in the centers of cultivation
184 often have food deposits there; they are stored for a whole family
343 group. Thus the Dag Rali have stores in the Koudia, at Ilaman,
423 Tarahananet, Abalessa, etc., where they entrust the care of their
251 goods to their local representatives. These centers have secret granaries; they are scarcely used these days, but they were used before the French occupation for reasons of safety in case of raids. We have seen hiding places of this kind at Tit and at Bloumet, and there are probably some at Tazerouk and Ideles. They consist of cellars dug in the soil at ground level and hidden from the eyes of passers-by. Merchandise was thus protected from men and rodents.

171 While we are on the subject, let us add that granaries dug in rock are common among all Berbers. Today they may still be seen in Morocco and among the Chaouia /Shawia/ of Aurès. This custom seems to have been common in Mediterranean countries, in Syria, and especially in Palestine where it was already reported in Biblical times.

The Akhamouk aménokal was the only person who had real
343 granaries. He had three or four of them constructed of stone bound
643 with clay using the Sudanese technique. They were placed at the
251 top of a rocky crest on the left bank of the Abalessa wadi, near the place where his camp was most often established.

513 Sleeping arrangements. -- Bedding includes only one or two
[56] sheepskins sewn together, or more rarely a rug among the rich people.

291 and is worn loose or, more often, drawn in at the waist by a belt; 3) a veil covering the face, letting only the top of the head and the eyes show.

This is the simplest dress of the Tuareg.

292 The holiday garb includes several blouses placed one on top of the other -- a white blouse underneath, an indigo-blue blouse on [556] top of that, and finally, for rich people, a third blouse made of bands of cotton, worked in the Sudan. This last blouse, usually with a

[291]

Fig. 38. Ahaggar men's costume.
1) Amrid with his gandurah pulled up over his shoulders.
2) Akli wearing a leather gandurah.
3) Amajer in ceremonial costume with a takoumbout on his head.

[531] purplish background color and large and small embroidery over the chest and the shoulders, includes a wide, deep pocket on the left side of the chest. Broad bands of white and red material gird the loins by forming a belt and cross over the chest to form a shoulder belt. Large silk cords with red or green tassels finish off the costume which gives the Tuareg such an impressive air.

291 /265/ Clothes, except for the gandurah made of cotton bands,
489 are made of material imported from Europe. This material, called
chêga, is heavily dyed with indigo, giving it a very dark gloss; it
[556] is the favorite material of Tuareg men and women, but it is replaced by ordinary cloth among less well-off people.

Veils are manufactured in English Nigeria, in the village of Koura near the large city of Kano. They are made by assembling
[435] a multitude of little cloth bands. They are very expensive and can cost from three to five goats, depending on the quality. In
[177] Hausa language they bear the name toukourdi, which has been
[436] adopted by the Tuareg. For a long time they have served as exchange currency for commercial transactions.

291 It has been asked many times why the Tuareg were led to veil
174 their faces. Hygiene, which has often been mentioned, and the need to protect their respiratory tracts against sandstorms, are not sufficient reasons to explain this practice. There is something else, a /266/ very ancient enigmatic custom whose origin is lost in the night of time and which is kept up without their really knowing why. It is so deep rooted among the Tuareg, however, that they cannot conceive of a self-respecting man who can forego wearing the veil.

The headless men and acephalous people of ancient authors certainly owed their cognomen only to this very peculiar custom of hiding their faces, a custom which must have already existed in this remote epoch. One can only construct hypotheses on the origin of this veil.

We know through Ibn Khaldoun that the wearing of the veil was in general use among the peoples who inhabited the Atlantic coast and adjacent countries in the fourth century. This establishes that the custom is very ancient.

In the rock paintings from prehistoric or protohistoric times which have been discovered in the central Sahara in the last few years, we have noted the very peculiar method of representing the

156 The veil can express a fleeting sentiment. Thus, it is pulled
291 down over the eyes before respectable people or women, while it is raised over the forehead, on the contrary, as a sign of familiarity. To laugh freely at a joke, a Tuareg will raise the lower part of his veil very high over his nose. When he is irritated, he will tighten it like a chin strap to mask his anger.

292 In the festive garb worn on the occasion of religious or family festivals, the veil is complicated with many turbans made of white muslin and bands of colored silk. The upper part receives a sort of frame which lets them arrange many cotton bands, interlacing them to form a kind of crest. The top part of the cranium is never covered, and the veil lets tufts of braided hair stick out. At marriages, it was formerly the custom to wear the takoumbout, a sort of big chéchia made of wool fortified with enormous flosses of cotton and covered with silvery appliqués. This headdress is on its way to disappearing completely, and there are no more than one or two in the whole Ahaggar today.

291 The Ihággaren use two kinds of sandals: the broad cowhide sandal called irratimen with simple red leather straps crossing over the instep, and a sandal called imerkéden made of a number of scraps of goatskin sewed together, with a strap going around the heel and tying with a knot on the instep.

[184 556] The irratimen are particularly worn by well-to-do men and especially appreciated in sandy regions where their large carrying area keeps one from sinking too deep. /268/ This sandal, which [177 439] is manufactured by Hausa artisans from Agadez or Damergou, was borrowed from these peoples by the Tuareg. Its origin must not be attributed to the Tuareg.

The true sandals of the Ahaggar people are the imerkéden, [184 556] which they still wear and which the mountain people always prefer, since they are especially well adapted to walking on rocks. They are worn by the common people and by the Iklan who have no money to buy Sudanese sandals, while they all know how to make very comfortable imerkéden with a few old pieces of goatskin.

184 Although men's costume does not vary at all, or very little,
291 this is not the case for women's clothing. That worn by Ahaggar women is peculiar to that region, while Aïr or Ioullimmiden women dress in their own way.

Fig. 39. An imerkéden, sandal made of skins sewed together and worn by Ahaggar mountaineers.

291 Tuareg women do not wear trousers but have a white cloth skirt wound around the loins. Ahaggar women wear over it a large white cloth blouse, similar in shape to that of the men, but closed
[556] on the sides. Well-to-do women wear a second blouse on top, made of indigo-dyed cloth.

184 In Aïr the blouse is replaced by a little bolero, and in
291 Ioullimmiden tribes women usually go bare chested or content themselves with a rectangular piece of material which they casually throw over their shoulders.

291 They do not veil their faces like the men. A little mantilla made of one or two toukourdi is worn wrapped around the head and

/273/ On their fingers Ahaggar women wear big, round-shaped rings, made of small cases in which there is a little pebble which tinkles like a bell. Rich women wear two or three on each hand. 301 [556]

The wrists are adorned with hollow silver bracelets with triangular cross sections, bearing little linear drawings. There are also rather

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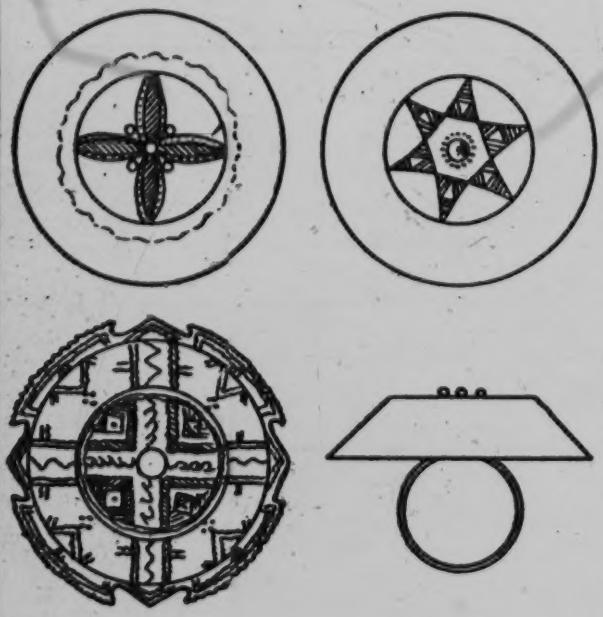


Fig. 43. Ahaggar women's rings.

broad black horn bracelets. Bracelets of Sudanese origin made of multicolored beads mounted on leather are also adopted by a few women. [177]

The neck is ornamented with a necklace bearing an oval (?) shell or a substance coming from a native Nigerian animal, which could very well be the manatee. This jewel (ameréouan) is extremely valuable and very rare in the Ahaggar. It is handed down from mother to daughter. [237] [428 556]

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
[412 collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
302] an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of
Tagant and Hodh.

291 Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
855 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
[556] girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear
trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From
that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while
the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated for either the boy or girl.

868 The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
857 which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
[162] milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of
this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then
fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games
between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet
stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly
speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a
camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
[212] Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they
are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
[145] when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
291 father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
[131] ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good advice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

As to the girl, a celebration is held as soon as she reaches 881
the age of puberty, that is to say, at the start of her menses,
in Tamashek /6/ "ba-n-amoud" ⵎⵓⵏⵍ (literally,
"cutting of prayer, " since during her indisposition the woman [841]
is in a state of impurity and cannot pray). The young girl is [291]
dressed in her prettiest clothes, and on her head is placed a
black veil, "ikerhi" ⵉⴽⵔⵃⵉ , which falls on either side of
her face without hiding it. She also never leaves it off.

If her parents are well-to-do, she will learn to play the 983
amz'ad ⴰⵎⵣⴰⴷ , an instrument which has an important [556]
place in Tuareg life. It is a kind of violin with a single string 534
whose box is made of a large "kabouia, " or a dried and
scooped-out gourd, covered with a stretched hide and pierced
with two holes, which is provided with a handle. The string
is made of horsehair, "az'iou" ⵉⵣⵉⵡ , as are the strings
of the bow, "tadjeïthé" ⵜⴰⵊⵉⵜⵜⴰ , made of a stick bent into
an arc.

It is chiefly an instrument to accompany singing. The [533]
woman slides her fingers over the string without pressing,
while working the bow; she prolongs the final phrases, which
are drawn out.

If a young girl knows how to play, she may shine at the [832]
musical gatherings, where she will be courted.

## Chapter IV

## Musical Gatherings

A young man and a young girl often go to meet together, 533
and this occurs especially in those gatherings which, to be 584
accurate, we will if you permit call "musical gatherings, " and 832
which the Tuareg call "ahal" ⵄⵃⴰⵍ , plural "ihallen" ⵉⵃⴰⵍⵍⴰⵏ.

their permission asked, even those who are far away. It would 584
be very bad to marry a young girl without the knowledge of one
of the members of her family.

Since a girl usually marries at twenty to twenty-five years, [582]
she is consulted. Even if she is a virgin and, as such, subject
to parental authority according to Moslem law, she is usually
not forced to marry against her will. If the case arises, she
has only to refuse herself to her husband, and he does not insist
but sends her back to her parents.

Just as among the Arabs, a woman who has already been [587]
married must give her consent.

## Chapter VII

## Marriage

Marriage, "adouben" 585
has some quite curious features.

The proposal of marriage has been accepted. The day
of the wedding has been set. If a quite influential noble is [554]
getting married, the wedding /15/ will have many guests.
If it is an "amr'id" (serf), the celebration will be much simpler
and more private, but the ceremonies and songs will be the
same.

The men guests, mounted on their best meharis, arrayed
in their most beautiful clothes and finest arms, arrive at the
bride's camp where the wedding is to take place. The women
go to the bride's home with their "imz'aden" (violins) and
their "tobol" (drums).

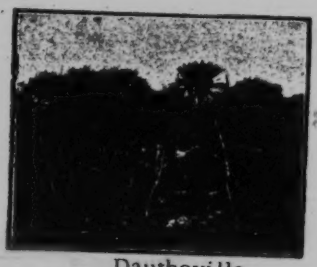
If the women are poor they go there by donkey; if they [492
are rich they arrive by mehari, in their saddles which are 556
shaped like sedan chairs and of which we will find a description 562]
below.

usually satisfied with milk, "akh, " fresh ("akh oua kefaïen" 264
[illegible] ) or sour ("akh iezza", [illegible] ), at
the hour when the camels, sheep, or goats come in from
pasture.

The basic food of the Ahaggar Tuareg consists of bechna, 262
"inelli" (white-grain sorghum, Graminaceae), dates, "teïni, "
and milk, "akh. " [illegible]

But their country provides them with many resources 22
which they are careful not to neglect, especially the poor, 556
the "tileqqiouin" [illegible] , who constitute the majority.

All the "imr'ad" go to harvest the grains of "toulloult" 243
and "afezzou. " Women, children, youths, negroes and 221
negresses go into the wadis
to gather the harvest, which
takes place from May to June
for "toulloult" and from July
to the end of September for
"afezzou. " /29/



[000]

Dautheville

Idelés (Koudia)

Usually, before the
harvest several wadis are for-
bidden territory, and camels
are not led there until the
harvest is finished.

The produce is gathered
and put into hide sacks. After the grains have dried, they 252
need only to be put onto small trays of "afezzou, " called
"tissiin, " which are shaken, and the hulls fall off and remain
on top. The grains are ground to powder, and a kind of gruel
is made with water or butter.

The Tuareg are also very fond of "tikamarin" [illegible] 234
, cheeses as hard as wood which they get from Aïr. They 252 262
grind them in mortars and mix them in their food. 438

They very seldom eat meat, except that of game which 262
they can kill in a hunt: gazelles, mountain sheep, and 224
antelopes. But often they prefer to smoke this game in order 251
to go and sell it in the Tidikelt. 438

262
The nobles eat better, at least those who are well-to-do. 243
In the Ahaggar especially they own cultivated land in the 556
"ar'erems" (villages), where they grow wheat, "ired," barley, 565 423
"timzin," and bechna, "inelli"; but usually they sell their 438

[137]

Dautheville

Trees Called "Ahatés" (Acacia Albida) at the Tillemas of the Tesght Wadi (Koudia).

wheat and barley to the natives of the Tidikelt and are content with bechna, of which they are very fond. They claim that [824]
bechna is less heating to the stomach than wheat or barley.

The rich allow themselves the luxury of drinking tea, but 272
tea and sugar are very expensive, and they do not misuse them. 556
On the other hand, they do not hesitate to beg for them shame- 263
lessly.

When the year is bad anything seems good to the poor to 222
assure their subsistence. In such years one sees them eating 267
/30/ "berdi," or "taheli," (Typha angustifolia, Typhaceae); 735
ground carob seeds of "talhas," or gum trees, which they call 252
"tahaha" • ⠿⠿ + ; "tanékfa'lt (Diplotaxis duveyrierana, Cruciferae); fruit of the "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica), which they steep to take out the bitterness; and even leaves of the "aremmas" (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae), which they boil.

In short, nature keeps food resources for them which prevents even the poorest from dying of hunger.

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the 291 302 Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been 386 515 sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga."

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵓⵙⴼⴰⵔ 177 plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⵔⴰⵏ , and believe in their efficacy. 278 This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, [432 556] for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very [648 willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly 757] be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" 164 ⵜⴰⵣⵣⴰⵇ , gonorrhea, "talaoa'lt;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ⵜⴰⵙⵙⵎⴷⵀⵉ ; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴰⴽⵎⵓ-ⵏ-ⵉⵔⴼ .

## Chapter XVII

## Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro 563 567 and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the [721] Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which [439] brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave 178 them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the 567 progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

## Chapter XVIII

## Clothing. The Veil

The Tuareg are very clothes conscious. They love 291
beautiful clothes and do not fail to put the best they have in their wardrobes on their backs every time the occasion arises.

The more garments they can put on, one over the other, the better it is. Even in midsummer if a Tuareg has a wool burnoose, he does not hesitate to put it over his shoulders if he is to attend a palaver or present himself to a chief, though he suffer from it.

Their clothes are almost all made of dark-blue cotton, "tchoqqit" (a word which seems to be a [192]
variation of the word "chegga" used by the Arabs).

White cotton is not fashionable and is not worn except by [556]
those who do not have the means to buy dark-blue cotton, which looks black and, from a distance when they are in a group, gives them a slight resemblance to crows.

Their costume consists of:

The "takarbast" , a sleeveless gandurah slit at the sides and sewed only at the bottom, so that when they raise onto their shoulders the panels that fall to their wrists, the entire bare chest is seen through the opening.

The "karteba" , trousers à la hussarde, or full like the Arab "seroual," tight at the ankle.

The "takammist" , a gandurah with large wide sleeves and a large pocket on the left side of the chest, "el hib" . The "takammist," which is usually made of cotton with small blue /36/ and white squares or with dark-blue and mauve stripes, is decorated on the shoulders with white embroidery. This garment is expensive and is only worn [556]
by well-to-do Tuareg.

An "abrour'" , a haïk of wool bought in the Tidikelt or the Touat, and worn only in winter.

Finally, they wear around their necks thick cords of red 291
or green silk or braided wool, which they call "el mejdoud" 789
and which are used to suspend a Koran, a book dealing with
cabalistic matter, or amulets.

Amulets (everyone has some) are worn on the back or on 789
the chest. They are enclosed in a leather or metal sheath.
I saw one Tuareg who had some twenty that he wore, all
gathered together, on his chest.

Finally, they are shod with large flat sandals from the Aïr, 291
"ir'atimen" ⵉⵔⵄⵜⵉⵎⵉⵏ , or with leather sandals made on [439]
the spot and called "imerkaden" ⵉⵎⵔⴽⴰⴷⵏ .

Let us not forget the arm bracelet "ahbedj" ⴰⵀⴱⵉⵊ , 301
plural "ihebdjan" ⵉⵀⴱⵉⵊⴰⵏ , like a snake, which, they 789
say, gives strength to the biceps when one strikes a blow.

At rather important meetings and palavers, the richest 292
come dressed in burnooses bought at Ghat and decorated on [556]
the shoulders with attractive silver embroidery. Sometimes it
also happens that if the burnoose has no embroidery, the owner
prefers to wear it inside out, so as to display the yellow and
green silk lining which decorates the edge and lower corner of
the burnoose. Where will vanity stop?

The burnoose is not put on, but just put over the shoulders.

Some poor Tuareg are dressed in clothes of tanned leather. 291
/38/ 556

The woman's dress consists chiefly of:

A sort of skirt, called "asedjebes"
A shirt with sleeves, "takammist"
A woolen haïk, "abrour'"
A veil placed on her head, "ikerhi"

According to her means, she wears the following jewelry: 301
556

Silver bracelets, "ihebdjan-oui-n-azerouf"
Glass bracelets, "tahouka, " plural "tahoukaouin"
Glass-bead bracelets, "denguela, " plural "denguelaten"
Blacelets of the horns of goats or gazelles, made
in two halves which are encased one in the other
with copper and which are called "iouakane"

Earrings in the shape of large rings, "tizabbatine" 301 [55-6]
Rings, "tisseq," plural "tisser'ine"

Also, like the men, she wears amulets, "tira." [789]

Finally, in summer she wears a large parasol hat ("medols" 291 in Arabic), which she sometimes decorates with red wool and which is called "tili" (shade).

Concerning the veil: whence comes this use of the veil among the Tuareg? Even those involved do not know.

Sidi ag Keradji, however, gave me an explanation which 173 is quite without validity but shows the craze which the Tuareg 291 have to attribute an Arab origin to themselves. This is his story:

"At the caputre of Mecca, the Prophet Mohammed was mounted on a 'cidah' (female mehari). He had wrapped his head with his 'ihram' (a garment peculiar to the pilgrim who enters the sacred territory of Mecca). It is since this time that the Tuareg have worn the veil."

What is certain is that this is a very old custom, since Arabian writers have for several centuries called /39/ the Tuareg by the name of "Ahl-el-Litham," or "people of the veil."

Did they adopt this custom for utilitarian reasons, to pro- 173 tect their sight from the brilliance of the sun's rays and to 183 insure their eyes against the dust which rises from the sand? 291 To this question they reply in the negative. It is primarily, they say, a question of modesty and dignity. A Tuareg must never show his mouth, the door through which he introduces food into his body. That is shameful. Even at night he does not take off his veil. When he enters a camp foreign to his 183 tribe, he must lower his veil completely over his eyes so as 291 not to be suspected of having come to seduce. In meetings 576 he also veils himself completely, perhaps in order better to hide his feelings.

# Rationality and Beliefs in Stock-Breeding

Literature on so-called primitive pastoralists often states that these peoples are irrational stock- 121
breeders. It is said that they attach an enormous value to big flocks and herds which overgraze and deteriorate pastures, that they take too little interest in selective breeding with the result that they do not castrate their superfluous male animals or perform this operation too late, and that they take an overwhelmingly large interest in the aesthetic qualities of their animals.

Tuareg stock-breeding is essentially rational and is well adopted to environment. This viewpont 233*
can be proved by reference to the description of stock-breeding given in the preceding chapter. I have 232
here described in some detail the system used in the mating of sheep and goats, and how mating is regulated in accordance with the development of pastures. From this description of mating regulations it also appears that the Tuareg are not only interested in having large flocks. They also want flocks of healthy and strong animals, and they generally kill or sell domestic animals before they grow barren. It should be added that the Tuareg very well know that there is a limit to the number of animals (goats and sheep), which can be herded in one and the same place. The Tuareg certainly want to be rich [556] ●
and to possess large flocks and herds, but they are also aware that there is a limit to size. Regarding Tuareg interest in the aesthetic qualities of their animals, I have mentioned that it is mainly focused on camels, and I have described in some detail the value attached to colours. It is clear, however, that the Tuareg interest in their animals is not confined to the aesthetic. The true value of any domestic animal is always judged rationally, and takes into consideration such qualities as age, build, statue, and the like. The Tuareg also know that qualities of domestic animals are inherited and are aware 232
that it is necessary to have good breeding animals. Cauvet states that pastoral Tuareg attach very little importance to the quality of she-camels used in breeding, while greatly interested in the build and stature of bull-camels. In this, he says, the Tuareg differ from Arab pastoralists, who think that [171]
camel calves inherit their qualities mainly from the mother-camels (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 348). This [114]
statement, I believe, is not quite correctly expressed, for the Tuareg I have asked about this have stated that a camel-calf inherits qualities from both parents and they have also stressed the necessity of having good she-camels to produce the best possible calves. But most Tuareg have so few camels that they are forced to mate all their she-camels. They cannot afford to select certain she-camels for breeding, while it is easy for them to select one or two good bull-camels. All Tuareg I have asked admitted the great value of selective breeding, and said that superflous rams and he-goats should be castrated or

565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
567 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are
not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as
[428] his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can
inherit from their father.

565 /171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with
833 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
558 not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that
[842] the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

867 The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
[838 other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found
679] for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed
[272] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any
milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves
304 first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not
234] hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their
lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar
who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have
deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former amenokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa
ag Amastan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and
the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object
of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

567 A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or
when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally
685 does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense,
the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear
of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes
henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the
same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the
slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice,
according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

which brings to our minds the idea of the serf attached to the 565
glebe and sold with the domain which he cultivated, but rather 631
as "client, bondsman, tributary."

In fact, if the amr'id pays the "tioussé," or tribute, to the noble, if he "lets him taste a little of what he has," according to his expression, if he is dependent on the noble, he nevertheless enjoys a freedom of action which the serf of the Middle Ages did not know. He has a right to the noble's protection if he is attacked, but he marches and fights with him [701]
armed with the same arms. In a raid he also shares with him [727]
and receives his portion of the loot, a portion which varies according to the tribe and which seems to have been fixed according to an ancient contract, in exchange for the protection granted.

And we will find the most convincing proof in the appoint- 565
ment of the amenokal. The imr'ad take part in this: it is 631
they who speak first and state whether they accept the new 643
amenokal, whether they have confidence in him, whether they promise /49/ faithfully to pay him the "tioussé." And he, on his part, promises to give them help and protection against all.

The noble makes it a point of honor to keep this promise. 558
It would be a shame, "el r'ar," according to his expression 565
(from the Arab word "el aâr" الوعر, not to avenge an insult 577 631
or an injury rendered to one who pays him the "tioussé."

## Chapter II

## The Tobol. Inheritance

Concerning the tobol. The "tobol" originally was a drum 202
made of a large gourd and covered with stretched hide, which 534
the chief of the tribe sounded to gather his clients /dependents/ 643
to tell them that pastures must be changed, etc. It was the 565
insignia of command.

Duveyrier has told us that the Imanan (Cheurfa) sultans 534
entrusted their tobols to a marabout tribe, the Ifor'as-oui-n- 565
Tobol. This practice is maintained: noble chiefs pretend to keep the tobols with them, but they do not use them any more.

It is said that the nobles have access to the tobols because 534
some day, according to the law of inheritance practiced among 565
the Tuareg, they or their descendants may have the hope of 643
obtaining the tobol, that is, the right to rule.

On the other hand, it is said that a noble has lost his rights [558]
to the tobol if, through a misalliance, his children are no longer of a pure noble line /race/. For example, the Kembiben, the Oulad El Goute, and the Oulad Ibra (among the Kel R'ela of the Ahaggar) can no longer hope to have the right to rule, to the tobol. Similarly, the son of a noble and a "tamr'idt" (feminine /50/ of "amr'id") is an amr'id and loses all right to the tobol which his father had.

From this first meaning, the word "tobol" ended by mean- 534
ing the group of nobles and imr'ad tribes who answered the call 565
of the tobol, and one might, for example, say, "The tobol 631
of the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe) includes such-and-such imr'ad tribes, " or again, "A certain proportion of imr'ad makes up the tobol of the noble Kel R'ela. "

The word "tobol" is certainly not of Tamashek origin, but [192]
definitely Arabic. In fact, "tobol" طبل in literary Arabic means: 1) drum, 2) kettledrum, 3) tribute, tax; and in order to say "I do not know who that man is, " the early Arabs said, ما ادري اي الطبل هو I do not know of what tobol he is" (1).

1. Arab-French dictionary by
A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski.

Thus I believe that this usage was introduced by the early [174
Arabs who, in the first century after the hegira, pushed their 797]
conquest through the country inhabited by the Tuareg in order to convert them to Islamism.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law *(alegges*, pl. *ilousan)*,
[601] or sisters-in-law *(taleggest*, pl. *tilousin)*, while the spouses of descendants of all
brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law *(aḍeggal*, pl. *iḍoulan)*, or
[606] daughters-in-law *(taḍeggalt*, pl. *teḍoulin)*. These terms are always used reciprocally, and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized
634 his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the
614 members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble
565 origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is
[687] said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the
634 Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the
614 Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other
565 drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel
114 Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427) The Kel Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related to the Ihaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from
634 the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power
614 over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the
565 Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibararochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by
[558] vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief
[669] had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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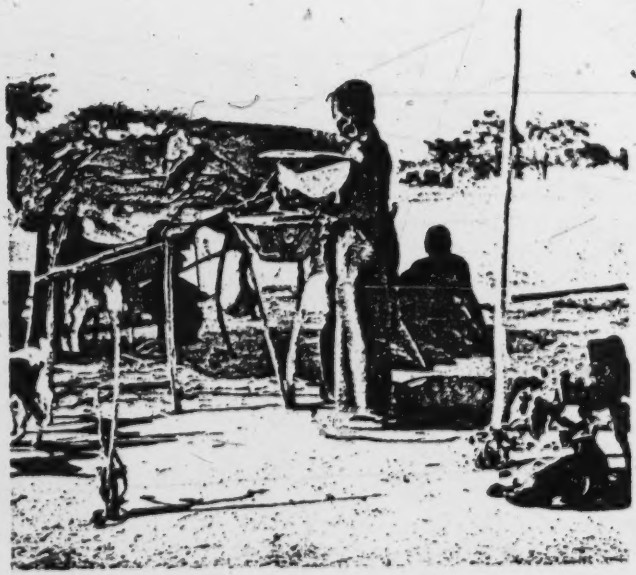

Fig. 291. Sun-shade built by slaves in Ayr on the same principle as the mat tents previously mentioned. The standing slave girl only wears a cotton skirt which sometimes in the south forms the sole dress of women. Ayr, the *Irawetten* tribe.

It is, however, rare for a slave to be punished in this way by his own master. Throughout the time I have lived among the Tuareg I have, for example, only noted two instances of corporal punishment, and both in a very mild form. It is also very normal in vassal camps for slave children and Tuareg children to play together, and a slave owner may treat his slave children in much the same way as his own. 567

There are several reasons why the Tuareg, practically speaking, never punish their slaves, and a very interesting custom may here be adduced. For if a slave is badly treated, he has always the recourse of changing masters by means of a system which is still in operation to this day. In Ahaggar the way thereby a slave can obtain his freedom from his master and become attached to another Tuareg is as follows:— When he sees a riding camel belonging to a Tuareg whose slave he wishes to be, he runs up to it and cuts a piece from one of its ears. In consequence of this the owner of the camel is obliged to take possession of the slave, whose actual and original owner can no longer make any claim to recover him. This custom may appear remarkable, but it is in fact a symbolic action with a deeper significance: to cut a piece from the ear of another man's camel is to damage it, and a Tuareg is responsible for the actions of his slaves. The "guilty" slave therefore falls to the lot of the owner of the camel as "compensation" for the "damage" done to his beast, and the original owner of the slave is bound to agree to this. It is an extreme loss of prestige for a Tuareg to lose his slave in this way, and is a great mark of honour for the new master, who will receive his slave with favour and give him [558]

7: Nicolaisen MS25 Tuareg MS25

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[For an extensive list of the names of Tuareg political and other social groups or categories, including relevant page references, see category 116, pp. 534-37.]

I was told in the Ahaggar that youths may not say their 561
prayers in the presence of women for, in the course of genu- 562
flections and prostrations, they have to show their posteriors, 782
which is very "shocking"! On the other hand, old men can 834
pray before women without being indecent.

Many, besides, in order to say their prayers place them- 782
selves behind the imam (either an Arabian taleb or a Tuareg 788
who knows a little Arabic), and they make their genuflections, 793
saying, "Allahou akber" (God is the greatest) every time they
hear it said by the imam. That is all of their prayer.

There were many who told me that they did not observe 785
the fast of Ramadan, among others Badjloud, the amr'ar of 771
the Kel Ahnet. On the other hand, the Issoqqamaren
(fractions who have long been in contact with the Arabs and
still are) are more religious, and they all observe the fast.

Among the Ahaggar Tuareg there are, nevertheless, some 792
truly religious men, but they are known and pointed out and
pass for marabouts, for example, Moussa ag Amastane, Beketa
ag Ibrahim, and the Oulad El Mir'da and Oulad Mokhammed ag
Sadik.

Although the Tuareg is not religious, he nevertheless
has great respect for the marabouts whom he naively admires,
always on condition that these marabouts do not interfere with
him. Thus the marabout Beketa ag Ibrahim stated that the
dates coming from the Tidikelt, recently occupied by the
French, were forbidden by the religion. He changed his mind
later. But now, every time that he goes to ask an amr'id for
dates, the latter comments that they came from the Tidikelt
and are therefore forbidden by the religion, and Beketa answers,
"No. All that is over now," and accepts the dates.

Religious orders are quite widespread, especially among
the Issoqqamaren. Going by caravan to the Tidikelt or the
Touat, the Ahaggar have joined the order of the Tijaniyyah,
which numbers most of its adherents among them, and that
of the Qādiriyyah. Others (usually they all are those who have

174 to maintain, which others seized from them, and suzerains became
182 vassals. But in spite of these contingencies of war, the Tuareg
565 attach great importance to blood origins and always respect high-
[554 727] born people, even though they may be their vanquished /adversaries/.

Thus, at the present time, the nobles of the Ahaggar and the
554 Ajjer may be seen to seek alliances with women of the fallen fraction
565 of the Imenan Sultans. This adds to the luster of their high origin
581 a certain character of religious nobility, which is much appreciated among Moslems.

000 Monogamy and matriarchy. -- To understand Tuareg society, one must remember two important facts, facts which are, moreover, not completely independent of each other, monogamy and matriarchy.

/151/ While the Tuareg are Moslems and have polygamous
174 peoples as neighbors, it is astonishing to note that they practice
●562 monogamy. This is an evident indication that women occupy an
[595] important place in their society, in no way comparable to what they occupy among the Arabs. This was very striking to the first travelers who thought they saw traces of an ancient Christianity in the persistence of monogamy. This argument might be held if we did not know, on the other hand, that the social organization of the Tuareg rests on matriarchy, an ancient custom much earlier than the Christian era, which explains monogamy and the particularly high position of women.

Gautier writes on this subject: "It may be said that the Tuareg practice chivalrous gallantry; the expression is inadequate only because of the association it evokes. Our chivalry has a Christian origin; the respect of the Tuareg for women has much deeper and more remote reasons. It goes back to matriarchy, which is earlier than the notion of the state and even that of the family. It is a living witness of completely primordial humanity, a sentiment, if I may say so, of the quaternary age." (1)

1. La conquête du Sahara /The Conquest of the Sahara/, p. 33.

000 586 177 tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

184 614 One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation. It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live.

[174] [562] [178] [611] [554] In their case we are confronted at the present time by a matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights, her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in [584] [421] matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes, and even has a greater freedom of mores.

174 It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy among the Tuareg.

174 in the Sudan, the Sanhadja-Nounou, was governed by a woman named Bikoun-Kabi, whom the Sonrhaï /Songhai/ emperor Sonni-Ali had to conquer in order to seize her territory. Es-Sadi, author of the Tarik-es-Soudan, reports several facts of this kind.

The Islamization of the Berber tribes certainly had a part in the elimination of the custom. Women no longer play any official [562] political role in our times. But they have made themselves the guardians of ancestral customs and folklore, and their authority is [626] so strong that one /154/ can only quote the answer of a Tuareg to an Arab who admonished him upon the subject of Tuareg mores: "No one would dare do otherwise, for then no woman would look at us any longer."

162 182 595 The persistence of monogamy among the Tuareg is also favored by the considerable excess of men found among them, an exceptinnal fact and contrary to what we observe in other human groups.

The aménokal. -- Aménokal means in Tamashek "possessor of 643 the country" (from am, possessive prefix, and akal, "country"). [192] In the Ahaggar this title is conferred only upon the supreme chief reigning over a whole of noble, vassal, or assimilated tribes. [184] In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, it may be applied to heads of fractions, indeed even to mere camp chiefs.

The aménokal is designated according to hereditary rules deriving from the matriarchal system. He is always chosen, not only in the same tribe, but in the same line which one could compare to the clan. His domination, to be effective, must be sanctioned by the approval of the nobles to whom are joined for the occasion the chiefs of vassal tribes. For the latter, approval involves an agreement to pay tribute later.

Sometimes there are several pretenders to the title; perhaps a descendant of a formerly ousted family asserts his rights, or perhaps the natural heir is recognized incapable of leadership. This brings about a competition where hereditary rules are not always respected.

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554 The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished
[302] than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing
[516] nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad
by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant
[195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words
foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of
appearance and language is even more perceptible among the
554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their
562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their
574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society.
Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well
[533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The
qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know-
[565] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather
articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know-
ing how to play the violin.

565
[83] Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part
513] of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the
[842 Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which
582] are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the
other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it,
[648] and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the
last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original
stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting it-
self to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could
bring it.

565 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class
[793 among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/
87] and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the
children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite
[651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

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Plate XI

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The inside of a tent. The baggage is hung from the tent poles. Very young children play on the ground, where a thick layer of fine sand has been placed.

Kel Ahaggar women, especially the Imrad women, often ride on the backs of asses. One of them has just met two friends, with whom she is exchanging news on the maharists who have gone far away.

844 the child is in a good position; she also rolls her on the ground to put the child in place if need be, but she never makes a vaginal exploration.

845 If the birth does not go normally, the midwife may ask the [756] marabout's help. The latter comes and stands outside the tent, giving verbal advice but never intervening personally; he cannot go near the parturient woman.

844 To give birth the woman squats down on her knees and braces herself on the center stake of the tent. Generally /283/ the baby falls on a layer of fine sand which has been prepared for that purpose. The midwife immediately cuts the umbilical cord, washes the baby in warm water, and makes him cry by pinching him to make sure he is alive. Then the mother takes him, puts a bit of her milk in [856] his nostrils, stretches his nose so that it will be long and narrow, and presses his head between her hands to give it an elongated shape. [174] This custom is certainly a vestige of cranial deformation, which is no longer practiced among the Tuareg but which was formerly common among the Egyptians.

As soon as the father learns of the birth of the baby, he has a sheep butchered and sends it to the wife's camp. The sheep is meant 846 to feed her and the people who have assisted her. The woman is made to absorb a great deal of meat bouillon. Sometimes the new mother gets up two or three days after confinement.

851 The birth of a boy is welcomed with more joy than that of a girl. [842] In the first case, all the people, men and women, come to congratulate the mother, but if it is a girl only the women come to [862] see her. During this visit the women often put yellow ocher under [751] their eyes and around their mouths to keep away the bad genii which are always supposed to prowl around in tents where a newborn baby has just arrived.

846 On the seventh day after the birth, the woman returns to her husband's camp, accompanied by the women of her family and her brothers, if she has any. The father then sees his child for the first time.

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be
[584 565] is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats, or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her
[562] property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses
[421] fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or decreases.

584 As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter
[184] custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents, where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company. During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women,
[533] among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of "aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to
[174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

585 accompanied by her women relatives mounted on asses, leaves,
591 followed by the men on camel back, for her new home. There she
[592] is received by the chief and the old women.

While the married couple take refuge in their tent, the company carouses and dances. The festivities begin at sunset and do not end until dawn the next day, when all those present are exhausted.

593 The young women is then a member of her new family, which
[574] she will leave only in case of divorce or the death of her husband. In the meantime, she does not have the right to go visit her parents, but they may come to her camp.

562 Tuareg women keep a great deal of independence in marriage.
593 It is hard to tell whether they are faithful wives or whether they take advantage of their husbands' often prolonged absences to mis-
837 behave. According to some (Duveyrier) their conduct is exemplary; according to others (de Foucauld, Vermale) they leave much to be desired, and the wives continue to practice the light mores learned at the ahal. "Their unique preoccupation," says Dr. Vermale, "is love; having lovers is their only aim." It is certain that former lovers from the lovers' meetings continue to come visit the married women and to praise their charms in the ahal. But it must be explained that the husbands do not show jealousy, which would be in the worst taste, and that this courting seems quite Platonic. It is very difficult to ask questions on this subject, for the Tuareg are careful of their wives' reputations and maintain that they are above reproach.

As for the men, their conduct is proper in their camps, although some do not hesitate to make use of their women slaves. But when they go on caravans and arrive in the centers far from their country, they give free rein to their passion which a long abstinence has made more impetuous.

684 Adultery (aker) of women is often punished by death. The man does justice himself without anyone thinking to reproach him, killing the guilty parties by his own hand.

764 A marabout or a literate man reads the Moslem prayer, and the men, standing behind him with their hands coupled and open at chest height, repeat it with him. Women do not participate in the burial.

Modern Tuareg tombs have stone markers (chouabed), one at the feet and one at the head for men, one at the head and two at the feet for women. They are oval in shape and the mound is slightly dome-shaped. They usually have stones around them, forming a gully with a forward part open to the east. One often finds wooden stakes or tent stakes stuck into the two ends of the grave, as well as large balls of hyaline quartz which, /297/ according to the Tuareg, were used to rub the body of the dead man before burying him. In many places where there are hyenas, as in the Sudan, the tomb is generally covered over with thorny branches to prevent them from digging up the dead man.

After the burial the persons who came for the occasion present their condolences to the family. The family has a meal served for them in memory of the deceased.

768 The dead man's clothing are given to the marabout or to the person who washed him.

Then camp is immediately broken, and the people never return to camp at that place.

765 Mourning does exist among the Tuareg. It lasts only a short time for the man who has lost his wife. For three days he stays shut up in his tent. During this time the ahal and all rejoicings are forbidden in the camp. For the wife who has lost her husband, mourning is a real retreat which lasts four months and ten days, during which time she must not appear in public. The end of the retreat is marked by a little ceremony: the women of the camp take the widow to see the sunrise, present her with an open book of piety, and show her some salt.

761 The Tuareg never bewail the death of a person, and condolences often have the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you loved is now in the paradise of God."

727 that the Amrid paid part of it to the Imochar. The lender of arms or meharis was compensated in his turn, and that part of the booty was called abellag.

726 The Tuareg had the reputation of acting treacherously in battle and not always following the rules of chivalry for Saharian war.

In battle a man who threw himself at the feet of his conqueror and touched his clothes placed himself under his protection and 727 had a right to live; but the Tuareg did not always value this rule and often killed their prisoners.

When a tribe had been pillaged illegally, that is, when there had been no previous acts of hostility authorizing reprisal, a delegation of warriors from that tribe came to the opposing camp to try to negotiate for the return of the captures. This is what the Arabs call the myad, a term which has been adopted by the Tuareg. There again the Tuareg did not always show themselves to be very chivalrous, and they often savagely massacred the defenseless ambassadors.

726 During wars and raids, women enjoy the rare privilege of being respected by the combatants. During the operations of the 562 French occupation, men were often seen fleeing the camps, abandoning the women /324/ and children to the conquerors. [648] This conduct has often caused the Tuareg to be accused of cowardice. This was a false intepretation of the facts, for the Tuareg acted that way prompted by the immunity which women enjoyed.

184 It is shameful during a raid to forget this rule of protection 726 and do violence to women, strip them of their clothes, or 562 penetrate into their tents. The infractions committed were often the acts of unscrupulous persons without honor. Most of the Imrad and Iklan, it appears, are in the habit of stripping women of their clothes and their jewels, going so far as to leave them completely nude, and it even happens that they rape them. The

more chivalrous Imochar and a few rare Imrad try to oppose this, but in warlike escapades the Iklan and people with few morals are often more numerous than the others.

Abuses of women always called for vengeance, which the adversaries usually received before long. Acts of this kind were enough to raise up entire tribes against one another. And so, in the Sudan, the exactions of Marabout Abidine's people on the Kel Adrar Tuareg, at the time of the murder of their amenokal Safikroum in 1912, made irreconcilable enemies of these two fractions.

At the beginning of the French occupation, when lieutenants Cottenest and Guilho-Lohan carried out their reconnaissance missions in the Ahaggar, they found women abandoned in the camps by their husbands. The good care which was taken of them made it easier to make peaceful contact later with the Ihaggaren.

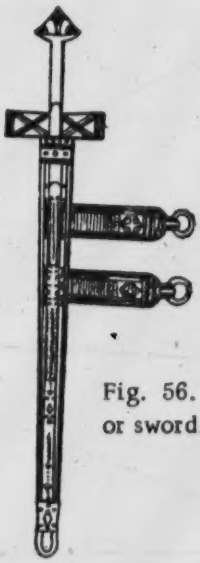


Fig. 56. The tacouba, or sword.

Tuareg weapons include iron lances, javelins with wooden staff, swords, daggers, and a buckler.

/325/ Even before the French occupation the Tuareg knew how to use firearms and possessed a certain number of guns. They were for the most part projectile weapons or archaic models of the

565 three main classes, the Tuareg nobles (fig. 46) and vassals (fig. 47) and the Negro slaves.

565 Rank seems to be essentially a quality of the clan rather than of the individual, for the 614 Tuareg commonly speak of "noble clans" and "vassal clans," and, when one is in doubt about [554] a person's social status, one does not ask what his rank is but what clan he belongs to. The "tobol," [6] the symbol of precedence, is clan property and belongs to no particular family, although it is kept by the chief of the premier clan of a tribe as the symbol of his authority.

619 The Ahaggar confederation comprises three tribes, the Kel Rela, the Tégéhé Mellet and the 614 Taïtoq, each headed by a noble clan which gives its name to the tribe as a whole [7] (figs. 25, 26, *b* and 27). Noble clans by definition outrank vassal clans, so that the chief of a noble Ahaggar clan is usually chief of his tribe as well. The noble clans and their dependent vassal clans with them are arranged in an order of precedence, and so the chief of the premier [643] clan (the *Kel Rela*) is also chief of the Kel Rela tribe and paramount chief (*Amenokal*) of the Ahaggar confederation.

614 It is men who govern at all levels of Ahaggar society. Among the Tuareg a tribal chief is 622 chosen from the premier clan of the tribe by ●562 a clan council made up of the male heads of households, but he must be confirmed in office by a council of male representatives of all the component clans of his tribe because his tenure depends materially on the willingness of these clans to pay him tribute. For the same reason, the final confirmation of an amenokal rests with a council made up of male representatives of all the clans in the whole confederation. Tribal chiefs also act as judges, and an amenokal is the chief justice of his confederation.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary in the female line,[8] but within fairly broad and seemingly rather indefinite limits of degree of relation-

thereabouts, but this succession may not have been thought of as brother-to-brother inheritance after all. It seems perhaps more likely that the successor in such a case is looked on as an heir of the former chief's mother rather than of the former chief himself. Ancient Egyptian records, cited by Bates (1914, p. 112), tell of at least one Libyan chief who was succeeded by his younger brother in preference to his son. It would be a waste of time for us to try to explain the few early cases of father-to-son inheritance that have been reported because the circumstances surrounding them are not at all clear.

837 There can be little doubt that the behavior patterns of the Tuareg on such occasions are often different from those which characterize them when they are among themselves.

We must not forget either that irregular sexual activities, before or after marriage, are all but impossible to conceal in the wide open spaces of a desert, whereas it is no trick at all to hide them among the blocks and skyscrapers of great cities like Paris and New York or even in such provincial capitals as Boston and Algiers. All things considered, it seems rather unlikely that sexual laxity is more common among the Ahaggar Tuareg than it is in the urban communities of western Europe and America, at least in cases where husbands and their wives are separated as often and for comparable periods of time.

593 A bride retains full title to all her personal
422 property including livestock, while the husband pays all the family expenses out of his own pocket although his wife may contribute if she feels so inclined. Women are treated
562 with the greatest respect and deference, but they can hold no office nor can they exercise any command beyond the very limited field of their own household affairs, nor can they appear in council or appoint speakers to represent them there. On very rare occasions a noble woman may intervene as an official peacemaker in a quarrel so serious that it might lead to a blood feud if allowed to go unchecked, and this can happen even in cases where the parties to the quarrel are not related to her by either blood or marriage, but only an older woman of very high rank and renowned for her intelligence, strength of character and diplomacy can ever play such a role.

611 The discerning reader will have noticed that the picture we have just examined is full of gaping holes which cannot be filled in at present for lack of the necessary information. In spite of this we get a distinct impression of a double descent system as defined by Gibson (1956): "the utilization in one society of both patrilineal and matrilineal principles of affiliation resulting in two lineage systems crosscutting each other." Among the Ahaggar Tuareg the patrilineal descent system is "conjunctive" in that it provides channels of interaction between segments of a "disjunctive" matrilineal system which "divides the society

351 and are extended out in front to form a sheltered enclosure which is usually semicircular with the entrance opening in the middle. The little forecourt and the ground inside the tent as well are covered with clean sand or very fine gravel from the bed of a nearby stream. Tuareg camps are always very tidy and astonishingly clean.

Both in the forecourt and in the tent itself
562 the men's place is on the right as you enter
342 and the women's and children's on the left, which is the reverse of the arrangement customary among Arabs. It has often been said that the men's place is on the East, but this is simply because tents are almost always pitched facing south.

Household furniture and effects include
352 sheepskins, or rugs obtained from the North
[439] by trade, leather bags of food and personal belongings, saddles, bridles and weapons,
[415] wooden bowls, funnels and spoons and maybe an earthenware cooking pot or two, a wooden
[412] mortar and pestle or perhaps two sets of different sizes, and a stone quern which may be either of the Neolithic saddle type or the small rotary model of the Roman Legions. Arms and food are stored in the men's half of the tent and equipment connected with food preparation in the women's half. A guerba full of water is hung from two long stakes just outside the forecourt. A brush
[343] windbreak built nearby shelters the outdoor kitchen, and another windbreak, some 50 to 100 yards away, shelters the family slaves.

Sometimes in the hottest months, and particularly when a camp remains stationary for a considerable length of time as it does in periods so dry that it is dangerous to move far from a permanent water supply, the tents may be stowed away and zeribas set up in their place. We recall that these are cubical or cylindrical structures made of reeds, long grass or palm fronds laid over a wooden framework measuring roughly 10 to 15 feet across and 8 to 10 feet high (fig. 37, *a*). The Amenokal's camp was installed in zeribas when the writer visited it in November, 1955, near the end of an unusually long period of drought.

361 Camps are always pitched in an inconspicuous spot and always on high ground except on very rare occasions when the sky is cloud-

The men leave, the women go back into the tents, but 832
the fortunate ones who have succeeded by means of assiduous 836
courtship to touch the heart of their love, will soon come back secretly or will go to the place which has been appointed for them. Let us draw a veil!...

One might wonder what can become of the virtue of 585
young girls with such customs. Almost always it has gone up 836
in the air. But a Tuareg will not pay attention to this detail when it is a matter of getting married. He knows with what to be content: he has often profited by it. It is all the same to him.

The ahal is one of the reasons for late marriages among the 582
Tuareg. Marriage requires expenditures upon which one does 836
not decide until one has been able to acquire a little means, and that is why it is not unusual among the Tuareg to see men marry at the age of forty. With all he finds to entertain him, the Tuareg does not feel the need to get married. This does not mean that many do not marry around twenty-five, but in general a man marries quite late.

Farther on, in the little collection of songs, will appear 000
the qualities which a man must have in order to succeed at the ahal, as well as the kind of songs which are sung there. /Not translated./ /11/

## Chapter V

## The Role of the Woman in Tuareg Society

At every step one sees the influence of the woman in 562
Tuareg society. In Tuareg history, the inheritance, the life, the thought, and the behavior, everywhere her influence is felt.

In the matter of history, it is from her that the Tuareg 173
says he is descended. Thus the nobles of the Ahaggar will tell 562

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 562
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé, "
or tribute from the "imr'ad, " or serfs. Not only is the son [611
noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless 565]
of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child, "
but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her
husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is 562
not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except [576]
as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi, " over
her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, [574
etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances 431]
between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives
her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is [595]
the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" 562
•V] , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, 572
while she gives him something for his personal use. He is,
in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine
embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal
of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while
Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines
which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man [574]
who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

4: Benhazera--10 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

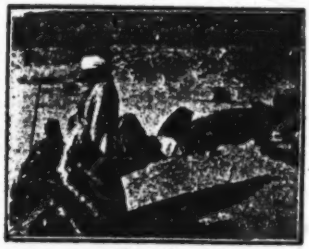
'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

and gaiety, always on condition that the conversation does not take place in the presence of relatives to whom the Tuareg who is addressed owes respect. 521 562 602

The Tuareg woman intervenes effectively in quarrels between the men of her family and, in order to please her, reconciliation takes place. Thus it was thanks to Rakhma, sister of Moussa ag Amastane, that the latter became reconciled with his brother-in-law, Anaba ag Amellal. 562 [593 578]



[291]

Dautheville
Tuareg Group in the Oued Ti-n-amadal Settafen (Tifedest).

In short, one may say that nothing is ever done or said among the Tuareg in which the influence of the woman is not found, always and everywhere, and this will be seen as the reading of this article continues. /14/

## Chapter VI

## Proposal of Marriage

Proposal of marriage, "ibadrahen" ⵉⴱⴰⴷⵔⴰⵀⴻⵏ, is governed by a definite rule of procedure. 584

The suitor for a woman's hand sends marabouts, if there are any, to her parents, or tolbas, or, lacking these, influential people who state his request.

The proposal must be known to all the relatives of the woman without exception; they must all be notified and

their permission asked, even those who are far away. It would 584
be very bad to marry a young girl without the knowledge of one
of the members of her family.

Since a girl usually marries at twenty to twenty-five years, [582]
she is consulted. Even if she is a virgin and, as such, subject
to parental authority according to Moslem law, she is usually
not forced to marry against her will. If the case arises, she
has only to refuse herself to her husband, and he does not insist
but sends her back to her parents.

Just as among the Arabs, a woman who has already been [587]
married must give her consent.

## Chapter VII

## Marriage

Marriage, "adouben" ⵏⵓ ⵎ or "tedout" ⵜⵉⵎⵜ 585
has some quite curious features.

The proposal of marriage has been accepted. The day
of the wedding has been set. If a quite influential noble is [554]
getting married, the wedding /15/ will have many guests.
If it is an "amr'id" (serf), the celebration will be much simpler
and more private, but the ceremonies and songs will be the
same.

The men guests, mounted on their best meharis, arrayed
in their most beautiful clothes and finest arms, arrive at the
bride's camp where the wedding is to take place. The women
go to the bride's home with their "imz'aden" (violins) and
their "tobol" (drums).

If the women are poor they go there by donkey; if they [492
are rich they arrive by mehari, in their saddles which are 556
shaped like sedan chairs and of which we will find a description 562
below.

I was told in the Ahaggar that youths may not say their 561
prayers in the presence of women for, in the course of genu- 562
flections and prostrations, they have to show their posteriors, 782
which is very "shocking"! On the other hand, old men can 834
pray before women without being indecent.

Many, besides, in order to say their prayers place them- 782
selves behind the imam (either an Arabian taleb or a Tuareg 788
who knows a little Arabic), and they make their genuflections, 793
saying, "Allahou akber" (God is the greatest) every time they
hear it said by the imam. That is all of their prayer.

There were many who told me that they did not observe 785
the fast of Ramadan, among others Badjloud, the amr'ar of 771
the Kel Ahnet. On the other hand, the Issoqqamaren
(fractions who have long been in contact with the Arabs and
still are) are more religious, and they all observe the fast.

Among the Ahaggar Tuareg there are, nevertheless, some 792
truly religious men, but they are known and pointed out and
pass for marabouts, for example, Moussa ag Amastane, Beketa
ag Ibrahim, and the Oulad El Mir'da and Oulad Mokhammed ag
Sadik.

Although the Tuareg is not religious, he nevertheless
has great respect for the marabouts whom he naively admires,
always on condition that these marabouts do not interfere with
him. Thus the marabout Beketa ag Ibrahim stated that the
dates coming from the Tidikelt, recently occupied by the
French, were forbidden by the religion. He changed his mind
later. But now, every time that he goes to ask an amr'id for
dates, the latter comments that they came from the Tidikelt
and are therefore forbidden by the religion, and Beketa answers,
"No. All that is over now," and accepts the dates.

Religious orders are quite widespread, especially among
the Issoqqamaren. Going by caravan to the Tidikelt or the
Touat, the Ahaggar have joined the order of the Tijaniyyah,
which numbers most of its adherents among them, and that
of the Qādiriyyah. Others (usually they all are those who have

585 /145 cont./ Some tribes, in particular the Issakamaren, having adopted many Arab customs, observe the following custom on the day after the marriage: the husband who has not found his wife to be a virgin during the meal breaks the bone of a leg of meat, eats the marrow, blows through the inside, then sticks the two broken pieces in the couscous. In this way everyone knows the affront he has suffered. Later in life, when his wife becomes disagreeable, he will put his fist before his mouth and blow between the fingers, imitating his gesture of the first day. The woman, ashamed, will stop her recriminations. Following another custom less and less /146/ in use, the woman who has found her husband lacking in virility during the wedding night will crown him with her alechou /shawl/, thus showing to the world the impotence of her husband by considering him to be like a woman.

593 The woman holds a privileged position in Tuareg society.
562 It is customary to say that the reason for this must lie in the matriarchal organization of the tribes.

Among the Tuareg today matriarchy survives only in a very attenuated form due to the presence of Islam. It must be noted that the woman is absolute mistress in the tent; she gives the orders to the children and the Negroes, and she organizes the daily life; but outside the tent the man commands; he decides on the camp moves, the departures of the caravans, the commercial transactions. The woman's opinion is always taken into consideration; she is guardian of the traditions,
[611] and, if she does not possess what we may call civil rights, it is she who transmits them: a Targui will be a noble if his mother is a noble. The right of eligibility to the amenokalat /chiefship of the confederation of tribes/ is given by the women who are directly descended in the maternal line from the ancestor Kella. This transmission of rights by the women constitutes the originality of Tuareg society.

837 Powerful in her home, lived by her husband, respected, the young wife has every chance to be happy. It is rare that

000 /148 cont. / carried out in connection with one on the Tuareg. The atavistic fear of the Negroes before the imouhar renders them mute, and gaining their confidence is a long-range undertaking; to learn of their intimate life, their joys and sorrows, would require great patience.

Still, the original character of the Ahaggar lies in just this intimate fusion of two dissimilar ways of life: one will never really know this country without understanding both the Tuareg and the Negroes and realizing what the true feelings they have about each other are, beyond what we observe superficially each day.

NOTE. Forms of religions, according to Huxley, follow a psychological determinism according to which the superior monotheistic religions are supposedly discovered by "men of thought" and polytheistic religions by "men of action." It is reasonable to ask whether the Tuareg, who formerly were, above all, "men of action," did not, for that reason, conserve survivals from neolithic religious beliefs, /149/ and whether the French peace, suppressing their essential activity, did not give rise in them to a psychological current leading to meditation and favoring Islamization. For the presence of Arab marabout, chorfa, and tolba, however active they may be, is not sufficient to explain that religious current which tends to make Tuareg customs disappear.

Note on Tuareg Matriarchy

593 562 The Ahaggar, which constitutes a sort of ethnic preserve where a system that is still feudal reigns, presents a sociological curiosity: a survival of the matriarchal family. This matriarchy, undermined by the growing influence of Islam, is tending to disappear. It is well to deny certain false ideas which circulate about the Tuareg family: "The woman

593 /149 cont./ commands." "Tuareg hospitality is characterized
562 by promiscuity, a sort of traditional prostitution." The truth is entirely different. The origin of Tuareg matriarchy is certainly lost in neolithic customs; ignorance of the process of conception may have been the cause. This familial organization led to exogamy, which tends to disappear; incest is
[835] a crime more terrible than murder. Matriarchy is the guardian of the caste system: the duty of mutual assistance bestows on the warriors (nobles) part of the fruits of others' labor and
[548] gives them ownership of the land. Prostitution does not exist; monogamy is the rule; the woman is respected. "Maternal rights," as L.-G. Richard says, "consist rather of mutual obligations than of prerogatives or advantages." There is no female liberty, for the woman owes herself to her family; in fact, she exercises no rights whatsoever; she transmits them. A custom still practiced, characteristic of matriarchy, is the requirement for the young husband to live a certain time in his wife's camp.

177 Let us repeat that Islam little by little is destroying the
593 matriarchal customs, particularly insofar as succession is con-
622 cerned, for they are increasingly regulated by Moslem practices. Today, the chiefs even desire to leave their power to their sons.

/151/ VI

## Conclusion

000 The Ahaggar is, I believe, the most engaging part of the Sahara -- and I have conveyed neither the picturesqueness of the scenery, the attraction it has for travelers, nor the anguish it sometimes instills in certain souls, when from October to

*492
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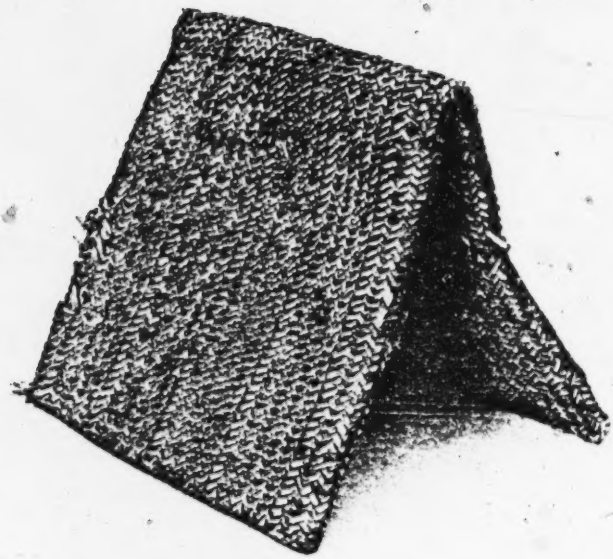

Fig. 66. Saddle cloth (*ésélis*) made of dum palm matting. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m high in bent position (N.M. G. 6657).

*492 *ilgam* (Fig. 73–74) made of leather by the *Imeggedezen*. Camels may also be provided with a bell (*anayna*) attached to a neck-collar (Fig. 74b). The Ayr Tuareg also use bells for roaming bull-camels, as I have myself seen, and for rams and he-goats, but never for oxen.

*492 The camel is used for riding by Tuareg men, while many women never mount camels. Among the
●562, Northern Tuareg most women of the true vassal class (*Imrad*, or *Kel Ulli*) only mount camels very
565 occasionally, when they sit behind the saddle of their husbands or close male relatives. Their proper riding animal is the donkey. Women of the *Isekkemaren* class more frequently mount camels which are the correct riding animals for women of the nobility (*Ihaggaren*). Noble women never ride donkeys.

In Ahaggar proper riding saddles for women are found only in noble tribes, in the *Iregenaten* tribe,
*492 and in tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. Such saddles are constructionally related to the transportation
562

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



saddle known as *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* and described above p. 76 (Fig. 57). The Ahaggar Tuareg have four sub-types of women's saddles:— (1) *akhawi*, that is a very large saddle at each side provided with a wooden arch; (2) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tkéwin*), a lighter saddle provided with similar wooden arches; (3) *arugen*, a large and heavy saddle without side-arches; (4) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tehḍaḍ*), a light saddle without side-arches. These saddle types, particularly the former type known as *akhawi*, are exhaustively described by Foucauld in his dictionary (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 723), and a very beautiful specimen is here depicted from the collection of the Musée de l'homme (Fig. 75). Very elaborate saddles as that depicted are always made by the blacksmiths, but light saddles of the *tkhawit* types may also be manufactured by Tuareg women. Thus women of the *Ireġenaten* tribe south of the Ahaggar Massif make saddles of the lighter type themselves. Women's saddles may sometimes be provided with a roof made from curved and bent boughs covered with cotton or blankets. This peculiar construction is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ghennaka*.

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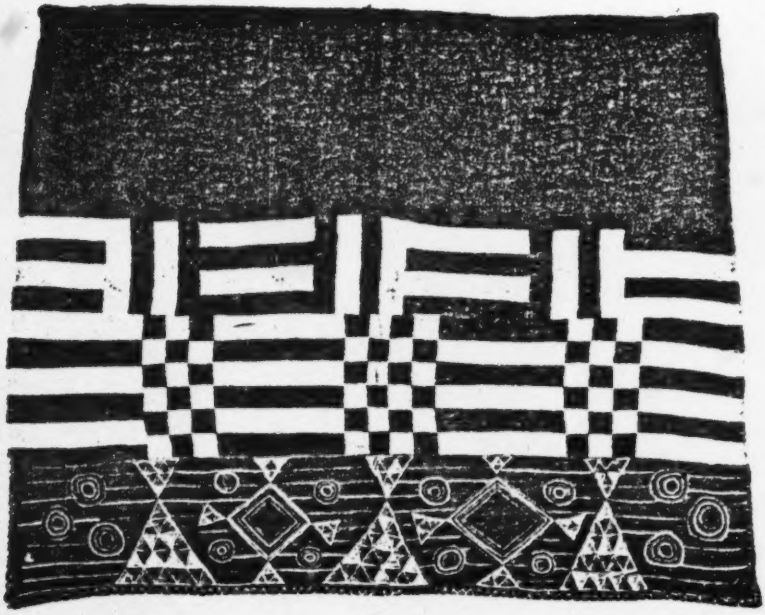

**Fig. 67. Saddle cloth (*ameslaḳ*) of cotton and embroidered with coloured thread. Ahaggar, the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.771 × 0.620 m. (N. M. G. 5190).**

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Fig. 68. Tuareg camel riders prepared for a camel-race. The fixed position of the saddles is secured by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren*) tied around the hind part of the camel. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*492 The saddle types just mentioned are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg and apparently also to other Tuareg of Ayr. Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group refer to these women's saddles as "Arab [562] saddles", and when their women mount camels on festive occasions they do not use proper saddles but a kind of chair built up upon two very large cushions manufactured by the *Imeggedezen*, and stuffed with hay. The arrangement of this saddle-chair is complicated and it takes some hours to finish it. It is built as follows:— The two large cushions (*éstigen*, sing. *ésteg*) are placed on the camel's back in front and behind the hump. They support a superstructure known as *tésagaley* and made from various objects belonging to the tent in the following way:— (1) Two large and oblong skin-bags are stuffed with hay or old cotton pieces and each of them is wrapped with a coloured blanket to form an oblong parcel. (2) To stay these parcels a rolled bed mat (Fig. 212b) is tied horizontally to each of [285] them, and they are laid parallel with each other on the ground. (3) A very long mat plaited from dum palm leaves is rolled up and wrapped into a coloured blanket or a coloured piece of cotton. It is bent into a U-form and thereupon attached to the two oblong parcels by means of cords. This superstructure is further covered with coloured blankets and pieces of cotton. It is placed upon the two large cushions and tied to them and fastened to the camel by means of cords and girths. When a woman rides in such a saddle-chair she sits behind the animal's hump so that she cannot reach the camel's neck with her feet. The back of the U-formed mat prevents her from falling backwards. The structure *492 of the saddle-chair may be seen from the photographs (Figs. 76–77). It should be understood that a 562 saddle made in so difficult a manner is not used by the women except on festive occasions, such as [409] travelling to attend a marriage or an Islamic feast. Apart from the very few noble women belonging [566] to the two noble tribes within the *Kel Ferwan* group all women of this drum-group normally ride

[text continues on p.92]

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Fig. 70a–b. Tuareg camel whips (*alekkoḍ*, pl. *ilekkoḍ*).

a. Whip with a single lash. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.08 m long. (M.N. G. 1.138).
b. Whip with two lashes. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Urayen* tribe. Dimension: 0.845 m long. (Author's collection).

Fig. 71. The drinking bowl (*tamennust*) made from tinned brass and fixed to its ornamented leather cord (*témesrek*) by means of which it is attached to the saddle pommel (cf. Fig. 49). Ahaggar, the *Aṛguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the bowl: 0.258 m in diameter (upper part). Dimension of the leather cord: 0.685 m long. (N. M. G. 5287).

*492 562 donkeys, but, as in the North, they sometimes mount the riding camels of men sitting across the animal behind the saddle.

*492 531 233 192 The Tuareg take a keen interest in the adornment of all objects used for riding camels. The richly decorated saddles and the ornaments of the riding gear express the particular value attached to the animals used for riding. But Tuareg interest in camels is perhaps more clearly understood, when we consider their rich camel vocabulary.

The Tuareg have one word which can be used for any camel regardless of its sex and age, its colour, and all other particular qualities. This word (*amaḡur*, pl. *imuḡar* in the northern dialect) does not seem to have its equivalents in vocabularies of other domestic animals which collectively are referred to by means of a sex term of adult animals (e.g., *ulli* = "goats"). The word *amaḡur* (pl. *imuḡar*) is used in conversation, but it is heard less frequently than camel terms which have a very definite meaning.

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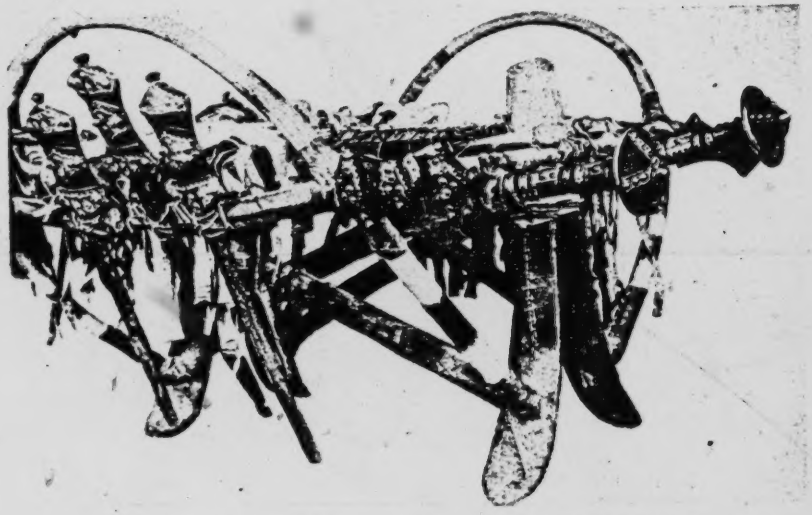

Fig. 75. Women's camel saddle (*akhawi*). Ahaggar, noble tribes. (Musée de l'homme).

233 and the Ayr Tuareg separately, because they frequently use different terms for the same colours and
192 because the Ayr Tuareg have a great many piebald animals which seem to be rare in the north. In the north most animals are of one colour, and the common terms of Ahaggar camels are the following:— *adegnas* (dirty white), *ébeydeg* (white), *éberim* (whitish yellow), *atlaṛ* (mahogany), *abzaw* (whitish), *émengel* (dark grey), *alemlaṛ* (grey), *ézerif* (metallic grey), *ahaggar* or *ézeggeṛ* (red), *abhaw* (reddish-brown), and *ékawél* (black). There are a few other terms. I have noted the following terms of piebald camels in Ahaggar:— *éḍemḍem* (a dark or red camel being white on the nose or around the mouth), *iiġen* (a camel with white legs), and *azerṛaf* which term seems to be applied to all camels of two colours, and also to other piebald domestic animals.

I have noted the following terms of camels of one colour among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr:— *adegnas* or *wa mellen* (white), *abzaw* (whitish), *atlaṛ* (mahogany), *égadé* (light brown), *awraṛ* (something between light grey and light brown), *éberhey* (something between whitish and light grey), *aberog* (greyish), *ingal* (dark grey), *ézerif* (metallic grey). Most camels of one colour belong to one of these shades, which are frequently so close to each other that a correct description and translation into European colour words is difficult. Most one-coloured camels I have seen in Ayr were *adegnas*, *abzaw*, *atlaṛ*, and *ézerif*, but piebald camels seem to be more common than the unicoloured animals. I have noted the following terms of piebald animals:— *amulas* (white blaze, white colour around the mouth, the remainder of the animal being dark), *agusrer* (the back and partly also the neck greyish

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Fig. 76. The two large cushions (*ésteg*, pl. *éstigen*) which form the basis of the woman's camel saddle in Ayr. The *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 1.90 m. (N.M. G. 6659a-b).

brown, the remainder of the animal white), *énil* (dark grey with white colours on the belly, the hind thighs, and the four legs), *awinak* (dark grey back but with white on the sides close to the hump, on the hind thighs and legs, on the forelegs, and on the tail), *azurzum* (white on the hind thighs, the remainder plain), *ajwillal* (camel with numerous small circular spots close to each other), *azerraf* (camel of two colours, black and white, or black and red; there is no definite rule for the distribution of these

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Fig. 77. The woman's riding saddle built upon large cushions (*éstigen*). Ayr, the *Imezureg* tribe.

233 two colours on the animal). There are other terms for piebald camels, but I have only mentioned the
192 colours I have seen myself, as it is extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to note down colour terms without seeing the animals. One characteristic of many piebald Ayr camels has not been mentioned above: They very frequently have red-white eyes, and such animals according to the Tuareg are always deaf. Red-white eyes and deafness seem to go together with certain forms of piebaldness, so that all camels termed *azerṛaf* and *ajmilal*, and some camels termed *agusrer*, *awinaḳ*, and *azurzum* are deaf.
*[492] This, however, does not prevent the Tuareg from using these animals for riding and transportation, and even deaf bull-camels are frequently used in breeding.

The Northern Tuareg have a great many different terms for particular qualities of their camels which are named after their way of roaring and walking. The following examples come from the Ahaggar Tuareg:— *ahenderremma* or *aṛenennas* (a camel which has the habit of neighing with joy when it sees something very agreable; e.g., a she-camel seeing its calf when it returns to the camp from grazing), *émerreḡreḡ* (camel which roars mournfully when it becomes separated from its master, or from another camel with which it normally grazes; certain camels are particularly attached to each other and never separate during grazing), *aṛewaha* (a camel which has the habit of uttering the plaintive roaring named *taṛewahit* during loading and unloading), *asekkelela* (a rutting camel uttering the sound named *teṛelelit*). The Ahaggar Tuareg have other terms for camels to denote their behaviour. Thus there is a particular term for a camel which becomes scared when walking in a caravan after sunset so that it throws off its load and gives rise to a lot of panic among the other caravan animals.

As examples of camel terms given according to the animals' way of walking, mention should be made of following examples from Ahaggar:— *aiegemtegam* (camel which takes very short steps), *aseffakas* or *alemdeyyas* (camel which takes very long steps). The Tuareg of Ahaggar have many special terms for camel-gaits. To indicate this I quote the detailed description of gaits given by Fou-

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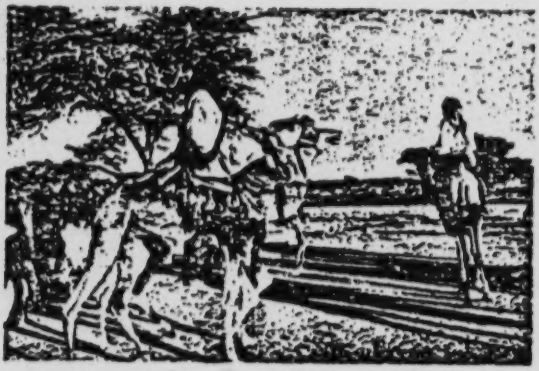

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afagay* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Iguedida*.

Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle cloths, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

In a ceremonial ride termed *ihgten* (*ihgaw* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

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wild the Ayr Tuareg also know another type of snare, or rather lasso, which is also known as *tuṛunt*. 231
It consists of a long rope noosed at one end, but the loop in this case is thrown against the animal 224
by means of a short forked stick. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that this type of lasso is not widely found among them, and claim it is typical of and traditional for the pastoral Fulani, who use it to catch [171] cows which are difficult to approach.

The wild donkeys caught for domestication are young animals, for very old ones cannot be tamed. 231
When an animal is caught by one of the above mentioned methods it is beaten a heavy blow between the ears so that it falls unconicious to the ground. It is thereupon given a rope around its mouth, for wild donkeys are fierce and have a dangerous bite, and is also tied with ropes around its legs so that it cannot run. When the animal comes to after the blow it is led to the camp where it is tethered. It remains tethered and fitted with hobble-ropes in the camp for one or two months during which period it gets a very brutal treatment. It is trained for riding by the men who mount it daily during [492]* this period of training (cf. Fig. 85) until it can be ridden as freely as domestic donkeys. The Tuareg say that not all donkeys survive the heavy blow on the head but that most of them do.

Donkeys constitute the important riding animal of all vassal women, and there are also some men 492*
of the true vassal class who ride donkeys though most of them have riding camels. Donkeys are also [562] ●
extremely important pack-animals. They are used by most Tuareg for the transportation of tents and [565]

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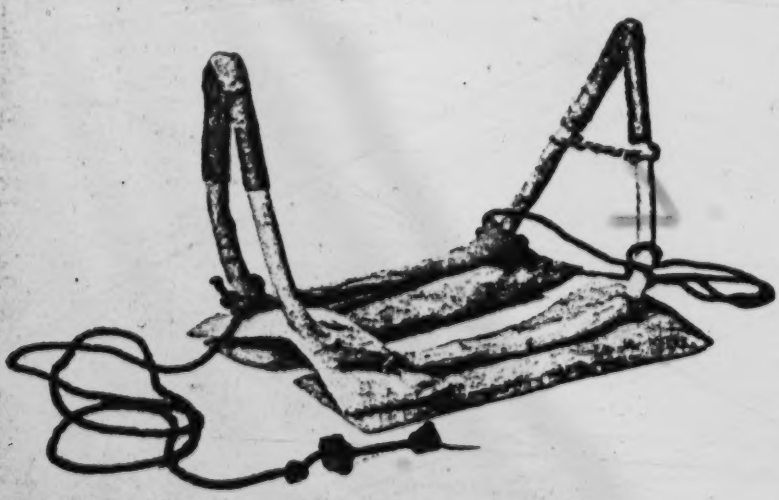

Fig. 86. Donkey saddle (*arukz*) of the type described in detail in the text (cf. p. 110). It is fixed to the animal by two cords of goat's hair: the girth (left), the cord passing under the tail (right). Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.585 m long, 0.360 broad. (N.M. G. 5246).

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
●563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote
[602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general-
[582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihǎggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihǎggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were
[643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores
[184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous
[567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar,
[582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

563 There are also important tribes in the Sudan who bear the name [174] of Daoussak. They are generally considered /168/ Imrad, but actually [701] the Daoussak were probably former Ioullimmiden shepherds who were not authorized to carry the lance and take part in combats. They [793] tend to give themselves a certain marabout air, and they multiply the Koranic schools in their camps.

Iborelliten. -- We can rank among assimilated vassals still other free tribes, quite little known until now, who bear the name of Iborelliten (singular, Aborelli).

They speak the Tamashek language and on the surface are in no way different from the Tuareg in the midst of whom they live. In some confederations they form very distinct tribes, depending in general only on the direct authority of the chief of the confederation; such tribes are those of the Aïr who are under the command of the anastafidet of the Kel-Oui. (1)

1. The Kel-Aïr are divided into Kel-Gerès and Kel-Oui, placed under the authority of the Sultan of Agadez. The Kel-Oui, probably of Oraren /Ouraren?, see below p. 37./ origin, have mixed enormously with the sedentary Hausa. Because of that they have diminished in the eyes of their racial brothers, who now consider them Negroes. They have a peculiar organization, and their chief bears the name of anastafidet.

They are more or less colored depending on the group, and some are as white as the Tuareg. They intermarry among themselves

563 and may be owners of slaves and herds. They sometimes seek
[582] matrimonial alliances with the Imrad, but the latter, who hold
them in rather great contempt, most often refuse.

According to Nicolas, the Iborelliten might be captives of a
114 higher origin. (2) For de Foucauld, (3) Aborelli (plural, Ibourelliten)
563
[192]

2. Loc. cit., pp. 579-586.

3. Dictionnaire touareg-français
/Tuareg-French Dictionary/,
vol. I, p. 79.

designates a mulatto of a white man and a Negress, or inversely.
In our opinion, it should be added that one of the parents is of
Taureg origin; and we are all the more convinced that this trait is
[192] indispensable since de Foucauld elsewhere refers to the ordinary
mulatto by the name of Achardan (plural, Ichardanen). (3)

3. Dictionnaire touareg-français
/Tuareg-French Dictionary/,
vol. I, p. 79.

We have gathered information in the regions of Tahoua and
Gao, where éborelli refers to a child born of an Amajer and a non-
captive Negress, or of a foreign woman. The Iborelliten are there-
fore mulattos born of mixed parentage, Tuareg and Negro.

563 As groups of Iborelliten we shall cite the Igdâlen of /169/ the
Aïr and the Aboghelitè spoken of by Barth, (1) who were born of

1. Op. cit., vol. I, p. 204.

Tuareg mothers (Imochar, according to Barth) and Negro fathers.
Another Iborelliten tribe, of Tuareg and Peul stock, said to have

563 become sedentary, exists in the Sudan, in the Niafunké region.

563 There seems to be a category of low-class Iborelliten who are referred to as Irraouellan. Nicolas considers them former captives 567 who have been liberated. Chudeau reported an Irraouellan tribe, [727] whose members were said to be freedmen or descendants of former captives. He adds that the children of a Tuareg man and a slave are by law Irraouellan.

We shall add to these different definitions that in the Aïr a slave woman who marries a Tuareg becomes free as does her family, and the children born of her marriage are then called Ikalalen.

[184] Among the Kel-Ahaggar, we do not find any true Iborelliten or Irraouellan tribes, although there are men belonging to these social classes.

567 The Iklan. -- The Iklan (singular, Akli; feminine singular, Taklit) are the serfs, or slaves, of the Tuareg. The name Iklan [192 144] comes from the Tamashek root Kl, meaning "black being"; (2)

2. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

and indeed these people are foreign to the Tuareg race. They are Negroes of all origins, formerly captured in the Sudan and reduced to slavery by the Tuareg. They form a separate class, which is not a tribe, except when they are freed conditionally or completely. Then they are called Iklan-n-égef or Iderfan, depending on which is the case.

[144] They have founded a family among the Tuareg and given birth to a new race with the most diverse characteristics, from which the white element is not excluded.

[181] Slaves are employed in keeping the flocks, and in the household work of the camp; they share the life of their masters and from their contact with them have acquired an independent nature which makes them love the freedom of nomadism, so much so that it would now be difficult for them to resume the sedentary life of their Ancestors.

567 have been freed as a group as a reward for some outstanding action. Nicolas mentions the present Tamjert fraction in the center of Tahoua who were freed after the battle of Izerwan where they had courageously resisted the Kel Ahaggar (1898). Many Iderfan go back to cultivation. They often live with the sedentary groups, with whom they join forces. They do small services for the latter, such as tending their flocks.

114 Nicolas likens them to the Harratines of the Kel Ahaggar. This
● 563 is only partially justified, for, although it is true that a few former
567 slaves work in the centers of cultivation of the Ahaggar, the majority of the Harratin are Negroes from the Tidikelt who freely came to get jobs among the Tuareg. Thus, we must not confuse the Harratin with the Iderfan.

567 As in the case of the Iklan-n-Egef, there are no Iderfan in the Ahaggar except in isolated cases.

564 The Enaden. -- The Enaden (singular, Enad) form the artisan class of the Tuareg. In the Sudan they are called /174/ garassa or gargassa, which is very probably of Sonrhaï origin.

[192] The word Enadan probably comes from enad, meaning "the other," extended to mean "those we don't talk about." (1) This is

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

because the Enaden form a closed caste, scorned and cursed by the Tuareg whose repulsion for manual labor is well known.

463 Their role is to manufacture anything the Tuareg may have need
564 of: weapons, wooden table utensils, tent pegs, mehari saddles, and harnessing articles.

In addition, they also willingly engage in the business of barber-
[757 surgeon, and with the little instruments they make they adroitly do
752] bloodletting, cupping, scarification, and other little operations of the same order, including tooth extraction. They are remunerated
[465] for their work when they work for tribes, or, if they are attached to a master, he has them entirely at his disposal.

631 They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since
[669] they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaïa.

565 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tăousit, still called
644 Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they
631 made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be
[184] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion
[241] to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and
[162] they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[231] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tăhalra, and in the region of Silet-Ăbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers
[241 423] of Tîgeneouin, Ăbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm grove at Tibeghîn, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is
563 synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and
631 Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hâda
Kel In Rhar'
Kel Tăfedest
Kel Immîdir
Kel Tăzoûlet
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Téroûrirt
Kel Ouhet

563 They are not vassals like the Irréguénaten and the Ibettenâten,
631 but are incorporated.

563 According to a tradition reported by Dr. Richer, (1) the
173

1. Les Oulliminden, p. 71.

Issekkemâren are the descendants of the family of the Sagmara, pointed out in the Ádrar des Iforas and in the region of Gao by El Bekri. They were driven back by the Sonrhai invasion and came to take refuge among the northern Tuareg while a small fraction remained in the south in the environs /199/ of Timbuktu and today has a marabout character.

Although they are more Islamized than the other tribes, they are
[797] nonetheless Tuaregized in the sense that they follow Tuareg customs
197 and speak Tamashek. Many of them speak Arabic fluently, either
[648] because of their origin or because of their constant relations with the Tidikelt.

173 At the time of the division of the Imrad, some tribes were be-
563 stowed upon the Kel Rela, others on the Tattok and the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet. The tribes attached to the Kel Rela are the Ihéiaouen Hâda, the Kel Immîdir, the Kel Tazoûlet, the Kel Tâfedest, and the Kel In Rhar'.

563 They are all great caravaneers who trade a great deal on the
439 Tidikelt markets. They own a large number of camels and their
484 camel raising is particularly renowned.
233

The Iheiaouen Hada. -- The Iheiaouen Hada, also called Oulad
563 Elias or Ihéiaouen-n-Temounent, are said to be descended from an
[173] Arab woman who was seized at Touat. The word Iheiaouen means in Tamashek "the grandsons of . . . ," so that we must conclude that the people of this tribe are the descendants of a woman named Ada.

They nomadize in the Tâfedest massif near Ádenek, Abezou, In Takoufi, Eguelougal, and Tidessi. During dry periods they lead
[221] their camels to the Saharo-Sudanese borders in the neighborhood of the Tamala well.

563 [162] They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elias, Oulad Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

[233] They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout, [423] which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and man- 241 power. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism [795] /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. .They have among their number two pilgrims 798 who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

[669] In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Tăfedest.

/200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by [173] Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

[162] Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Tăfedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

[233] Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head. [241] They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them 423 entirely, and at I-n-Ămegal, Déhine, and Ăbézou.

Like the Ihéiaouen Hăda, they are mostly affiliated with the [795] Tijaniyyah sect.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us, which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

[224] They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

[65] The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the aménokal six bags of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Tăfedest. -- The Kel Tăfedest or Kel Tégatoufé (or ant [162] people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

563 They nomadize near the Garet ed Djenoun, the Ăseksem, Ămegid, and the Ădrar Torha; they own about 300 goats and 30 [233] camels. (1938 census, as opposed to 600 goats and 200 camels in 1905.)

[241 423] They are the owners of a few gardens in the Tăfedest.

They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah order.

[795] The Kel Tăfedest annually pay the amenokal four loads of dates [65] and a young camel.

The Kel Immîdir. -- The Kel Immîdir, or Kel Mouydir, are still called Ihéiaouen-n-Tin-Emma. They are of the same origin as the Ihéiaouen Hâda and the Kel Tazoulé.

[162] They are subdivided into Kel Terahart and Kel Raris and include about 50 people. They nomadize in the Immîdir massif toward Joraf and Tagmout and have areas for nomadization between Ifetessen and In Eker.

[233 464] They are poor people who own about 20 camels and 250 goats. Very good merchants and excellent caravaneers, they hire themselves out to camel owners to provide for their needs.

/201/ The Isselamaten must be added to the Kel Immidir. They [162] are a small fraction of about 15 tents which lives with them and nomadize near Aneserfa, Ărak, Ahohor, Tagemout, and Tiredjert.

The Kel Tazoûlet. -- The Kel Tazoûlet or Dăg el Mesk camp in the Tăzoûlet region and near Tăzerouk. They number about 225 [162 233] people and own 285 camels and more than 2,000 goats. They dryness of the region which they inhabit forces them to take refuge in the [132] Sudan when there are no rains in the Ahaggar.

[241 423] They possess gardens at Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine, and at Tăzerouk.

They were in contact with the Aït Loaien and followed the latter [669] in revolt, participating with them in the battles of Tit and the Ilaman wadi.

[795 789] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah. Four or five of their number have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

563 [651] Every year they pay the amenokal three loads of dates and three young goats.

[554] The Irréguénaten. -- The Irréguénaten, like the Issekkemâren, are assimilated vassals of a social rank superior to that of the Imrad.

They are of Tuareg mothers from the Ibettenâten tribe and Arab fathers from the Kounta tribe.

They are divided into two groups: 1) the Adrar Irréguénaten or Issettaténine Irréguénaten, who descended from a sherif of Gourara named Abdelmoumen, whose two sons Mouima and Inchelane married Ibettenâten women; 2) the Ahaggar Irréguénaten or Ihaggarénine Irréguénaten, who descended from the Dermachaka, an incorporated tribe of Kounta and Ibettenâten.

All of them nomadize in the northern Ădrar des Ifôras and the Timétrine and even push as far as Erg Chech. They also visit the Ăhnet and Tămasna.

This is a very rich tribe engaged in raising camels. The [233] Irréguénaten own more than 2, 300 camels, 350 cows, and more than 2, 350 goats and sheep.

[162] In 1908 they numbered 50 to 60 men, according to Benhazéra. The 1938 census raises the figure to 358 persons, 100 of them fighters.

[651] /202/ They pay the tioussé to the descendants of the Inemba and to the descendants of Si Mohamed ag Othman.

Although they associated with the Adrar Kounta, they main- [669] tained relations with the rebellious marabout Abidine, who took refuge among the Kel Ahnet. They probably even served him as spies, and the people of Ădrar des Ifôras held them in suspicion for a long time.

[28] 462 Their camel raising is very well known, and their wives are quite expert in leatherwork.

There are also Irréguénaten in the Niger loop, but they have [600] no bonds of kinship with the Ahaggar Irréguénaten.

565 ference of the resulting oval is closed by the
614 Negro-Tuareg contact zone of the southern
101 Aïr. The Ahaggar massif lies at the center of
131 this oval refuge area: it is a Berber island, so to speak, whose broad beaches are continually swept by waves of the surrounding Arab sea and, along the southern and southeastern shores, by the negroid "Gulf Stream" of the Sudan.

565 There have probably never been many
174 Shorfa or Maraboutic families established in
563 the Ahaggar itself, although a few of them have lived there for a long time now. Arab
[797] Shorfa missionaries from Morocco first arrived probably in the 7th or early 8th century. They soon set up a theocratic dynasty, the Imenan, who ruled the Ahaggar and the Ajjer Tuareg as a single confederation until about 1650, when Goma, last of the Imenan "sultans," was murdered by Biska, a noble of the Oraghen tribe of Ajjer Tuareg. There followed a long period of anarchy and civil wars out of which finally arose, about the middle of the 18th century, the main framework of the Tuareg political structure which we now know. Descendants of immigrant Arab holy men are very few and scattered in the Ahaggar today, and their power has been reduced to no more than a faint shadow of what it used to be. People of this kind are much more numerous, united and powerful in the northeastern and southwestern corners of Tuareg territory, among the Ajjer and the Ifoghas of the Adrar, than they are in the region with which we are directly concerned at the moment. It is significant, however, that as recently as 1900 a Shorfa holy man exerted decisive influence in the electoral council of the Ahaggar confederation when that body found itself seriously divided over the choice of a new amenokal (Benhazera, 1908, p. 126).

We know that Arab blood has been seeping very gradually into the topmost level of the Tuareg aristocracy, for at least a century,
[591] through the occasional marriages of noble Tuareg women with Arab men. In all such cases residence is strictly matrilocal. Since
[611] rank is inherited through the mother, a son of this kind of union ranks as a Tuareg noble and can become a chief. Duveyrier (1864, pp. 22–23) describes the case of the Ajjer Tuareg governor of Ghat in 1861, whose father was

565 an Arab merchant from the Touat, Leblanc
●563 (1946, table facing p. 40) mentions an heir to
174 an Ajjer Tuareg chieftainship whose father was an Arab, and the son of a Maraboutic Arab from Ouargla is at present one of the potential heirs to the paramount chieftainship of the Ahaggar confederation.

The question of Tuareg mixture with the Teda has been discussed above, in the section dealing with the latter group.

771 Although the Tuareg of the Ahaggar still retain much of the pre-Islamic magico-religious practices and doctrine of their animistic ancestors, they are all Moslems now, at least nominally, but are not very pious as a rule. It has been said that the Tuareg once had a Berber translation of the Koran, in the 8th and 9th centuries (Benhazera, 1908, p. 57), but it was long ago destroyed or lost (if indeed such a text ever did exist) in the course of a religious reform movement. The annual
[796] Moslem fast, during the month of Ramdhan, is not very generally observed, although in the middle of the 14th century Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338) noted that the Ahaggar Tuareg suspended raiding operations during this period.

794 The religious order of the Tidjani used to count an overwhelming majority of the Ahaggar Tuareg among its followers, but the Senoussi have built up a substantial following in the region during the last 70 years or so, much aided in this by Tuareg who passed through Senoussi territory on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Very few Tuareg from the Ahag-
778 gar have been to Mecca in recent times, although Lyon (1821, pp. 101–102) saw a single group of roughly 150 of them pass through Mourzouk on their way there in May, 1819 (before the Senoussi order was founded). The
643 Amenokal, Mecca pilgrim or not, has usually been the local model of formal piety. Bey ag
771 Akhamouk, the present Amenokal of the Ahaggar, is an unusually good example of this, as was Moussa ag Amastan in the early years of the present century. There are indications that in ancient times Tuareg chieftains may have been vested with religious as well as temporal primacy (Bates, 1914, p. 117).

648 The European conquest of the Sahara Des-
797 ert has done much to stimulate the Islamization of the Tuareg in general during the last

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga."

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵓⵙⴼⴰⵔ plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⵔⴰⵏ, and believe in their efficacy. This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" ...ⵅⵜ, gonorrhea, "talaoalt;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ⵉⵣⵎⵏⵜ; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴽⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔⴼ.

## Chapter XVII

## Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

The negroes and negresses are well treated by the Tuareg, 563
who do not impose hard labor upon them. The negroes are pri- 567
marily busy with the flocks, which they drive to pasture and water. [233]
The negresses are concerned with the kitchen; they go after [357]
water and take care of the children.

[231
291
312]

Tuareg Watering their Sheep at the Tin Zaouaten Well

Negroes and negresses also gather the harvest of "toulloult" and "afezzou" grains, but this is more fun than work, for everyone takes part in it with them, in gay groups.

Many negroes eventually become the trusted men of their masters, who put them in charge of caravans or even of responsible missions. Thus, the amenokal Moussa had a trusted negro, Chernach, whom he regarded highly, for, he said, "I know that this man would have himself killed for me." Moreover, he gave him a gun, a spear, and a saber. /33/ These negroes are very happy and can consider themselves as freed.

Besides, there are few negroes who are not armed by their 411
masters with a "tar'da" (spear with a wooden shaft) and with a 563
"takouba" (saber), of which they are very proud. The best are 567
sent on raids, and it seems that they acquit themselves very 726
well in combat.

As to the negresses, there are some who confine themselves 563
to attending to the care of the household and the tent, but there 567
are quite a few others who are raised to the dignity of con- 595
cubines. A noble Tuareg prefers to share his bed with a negress rather than to marry a "tamr'idt" (serf). He marries late, and when he decides to, he looks especially for a woman who, by her /34/ birth, will give his children future rights to command. The negress profits from this.

The negroes and negresses are not, as a rule, mistreated 563
by the Tuareg. Besides, if the case should arise, they know 567
how to use the following curious custom in use among the 685
Tuareg.

When a slave, negro or negress, becomes too unhappy with his master and wishes to become the slave of another master, he splits the ear of a child or a horse or hamstrings a mehari; in short, damages anything valuable that belongs to the master he wishes to have; then he stays beside his deed. Naturally, in reparation for the harm done, the negro is given in full possession to the injured master. There may be protest, if there was connivance between the slave and the master he wishes to have, and, in this case, the oath is deferred and the case [692]
brought before a marabout or a cadi.

Thus the negress Tenoufek, who belonged to Semana, sister of Bika ag Moumou of the Kel Ahnet, slit the ear of a mare belonging to Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet. In reparation the negress was given to Sidi, with whom she still remains.

Another example: the negro of El Biodh ould Settafi of the Settaf, hamstrung two camels belonging to Ibedi ag Bassi of the Ir'echoumen. In reparation El Biodh had to give Ibedi the negro and a camel besides. /35/

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



262 Even when grazing is good stock-breeding products are less important for food in Ahaggar than in Air as is illustrated in fig. 3 depicting the relative importance [222] of milk food and vegetable food. A small part of the vegetable food is provided by collecting seeds of grasses and herbs, while roots, stems, and berries of wild plants are less significant. The bulk of Tuareg plant food consists of millet, barley, wheat, [241] and dates. In Ahaggar many Tuareg have gardens with wheat and barley cultivated [563] for them by black-skinned agriculturists generally known by the Arab word 438 *Haratin* (*Izzegaren* to the Tuareg). But most Ahaggar Tuareg acquire the bulk of their plant food from caravan trading with the oases of Tidikelt (dates) and with 262 Sudanese villages as far south as Zinder (millet). Even in years of drought they can obtain millet from the Sudan in exchange for rock-salt broken at Amadror north-east of Ahaggar. In Air caravan trading with salt seems less necessary to Tuareg subsistence, although there are also in this country Tuareg who trade with salt from Amadror or Bilma. Most pastoral households however have a fairly regular [234] surplus of livestock, butter, and cheese which can provide for the necessary amount [563] of millet bought in Agadez or south of the massif in Damergou. There are also 241 in Air a great many negroid agriculturists from whom pastoral Tuareg can buy 262 vegetable products. But millet, which forms the prominent part of Tuareg plant [438] food, is grown to a very slight extent by the agriculturists of Air. Dates are important in particular to the Ahaggar Tuareg who acquire large quantities from the oases of Tidikelt. There are also a few Ahaggar clans the members of which own half-wild palms with dates of an inferior quality, as there are Tuareg who have a few palms growing in their garden plots. In Air dates are not so important for food but even there pastoral Tuareg may have some palms. Among the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer it is very common for pastoralists to sow wheat and barley in the river valleys when these have been heavily flooded (Nicolaisen 1954, p. 83, 88), and this primitive agricultural method was apparently known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg in the past (Duveyrier 1864, p. 372). More recently many pastoral Tuareg [312] of Ahaggar and Air have taken up agriculture by means of irrigation. There seems [221] to be a tendency towards semi-nomadism among the Tuareg who are very dependent on vegetable food derived from agriculture.

### *The Negroes Of The Sahara.*

136 In the above section on Tuareg ecology it is stated that Air climatically and botanically is closely linked with the Sudan. This is true also zoologically as the Air fauna contains a great many species of birds and mammals characteristic of tropical Africa. The bird life of Air seems very akin to that of the Sudanese savannah, and, for instance, guinea fowls are extremely common even in valleys of the northernmost parts of the massif. As examples of tropical mammal life in Air we may here mention that the wart-hog lives in Central Air, and that oryx antelopes

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 76]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa. [136] [132] [137]

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tarahant)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of weels *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters. [144] [74] [567] [167] [177] [312] [342] [312] [342] [567]

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 198 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while [144] [114] [103] [192] [563] [601]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



563 akin to the system in use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These peoples
601 draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (fig. 8 9).

563 The material culture of the Air negroes is marked by both northern and
342 southern traits. The most common type of dwelling is a beehive hut *(tatromt)*, which I have also seen south of Air in the savannah, while similar huts are unknown to the north in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. The huts are often placed within round enclosures which are possibly of Sudanese origin (cf. fig. 15). There are however other types of dwellings in the Air villages. Very common is a square straw hut *(terhira)* with a slightly elevated saddle-roof. It is built by the men while the beehive hut is made by women, and both types are frequently used by one and the same household. This square hut differs constructionally from the straw huts used among settled agriculturists in the north. Also rather common is a barrel-vaulted hut *(ehen)* covered with mats (fig. 14). It has the same name and is of much the same construction as the movable huts or tents used by most pastoral Air Tuareg (fig. 5 & 13). It is built by women and seems to have been introduced by pastoral
[462] women married to settled agriculturists. Finally there is in some villages a rectangular house *(tarachant)* with a flat roof. It has very solid walls generally built from stones inserted in and covered with mud. It has various sub-types more elaborately described by Rodd, who considers these houses to be of northern origin (Rodd 1926a, p. 240ff.). They have most probably been introduced from Tassili-n-Ajjer
177 or the Fezzan from which regions came also the irrigation system now forming the
312 basis of agriculture all over Air, namely the drawing of water from shallow wells *(anou)* by means of zebus. This system is extremely common in the Fezzan and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where, as mentioned, it was introduced also to Ahaggar. It is not known when it came to Air, but in many villages it has been adopted only very recently. Not so many years ago water for irrigation in most villages was apparently raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight *(aroudit)* (cf. Capot-Rey 1933, p. 322), but this method has now disappeared. It can be considered the oldest irrigation machine and it is no doubt
[174] of very great age in Northern Africa including the Sudan. The method however
241 involves much strenuous work and in view of this it may seem quite natural that agriculture in Air was in the past also practised as shifting cultivation without any irrigation. Rodd states that in certain areas of Air rain-grown crops could be raised most years and that in the past a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I think this is correct. Certain crops as for instance millet has a very short period of growth; in Ahaggar (Abelessa) millet is sown in June-July and harvested in September, and it is said that it is not watered very much and never to the same extent as wheat grown in winter. It would no doubt be possible to grow millet in many parts of Air without artificial irrigation during the rains, and in fact millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation. But nowadays agri-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



241 culture is never practised without irrigation. Rodd thinks that the Air agriculturists
[114] gave up shifting cultivation because they are too poor to-day to risk losing their
[174] seed in the event of inadequate or irregular rainfall (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I rather think the reasons are that the agriculturists of the massif nowadays grow very little millet and have a better irrigation system than in the past. In summer maize forms by far the most important crop, and it needs irrigation which is comparatively easy when using zebus for drawing water. However this may be we can assume that a type of agriculture related to Sudanese shifting cultivation was formerly important to the Air agriculturists, and although irrigation is nowadays used everywhere agriculture in certain places of Air is still a kind of shifting cultivation. Many agriculturists do not resort to manuring nor do they carry fresh soil to the gardens as in Ahaggar. With crop rotation they utilize one and the same plot for a few years but then have to cut trees and brush-wood somewhere else to make a new
[312] garden. A new well must then also be dug, but as irrigation wells are rather shallow this work is comparatively easy.

171 There are in Air certain agricultural implements related to those of Sudanese
412 farming cultures. We must mention in particular a small hoe hafted by means of a thong *(tagoumit)*. It is unknown both in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer as well as further north in the desert while extremely common among Sudanese shifting cultivators. Feilberg has classed it with the so-called Old Sudanese Culture es-
[114] tablished by Baumann (Feilberg 1934, p. 260ff. – Baumann 1940, p. 50ff.; 1944, p. 213ff.). Baumann claims that this culture did not know the sickle, considered by him an implement of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 56ff.; 1944, p. 283ff.). The sickle (Air: *elegesouar*, Ahaggar: *amreh*) is in fact unknown in many Air villages, and is according to my investigations not generally used for the harvesting of crops but for cutting annual grasses to be stored for
241 fodder. In Air the harvesting methods are as follows:– millet is cut with a knife,
171 maize is cut at the root by means of the above-mentioned hoe, while wheat and barley are pulled up with the hands. Similar harvesting methods seem to be known in the Sudan (Baumann 1944, p. 295ff.). As a Sudanese trait we can
[415] perhaps also recognize the large clay amphoræ used for the storage of cereals (Rodd 1926, p. 317. – Nicolas 1950a, p. 146).

We can conclude this section as follows:– While the negroes of Ahaggar ap-
174 parently have arrived in that country later than the fair-skinned Berbers the oldest
144 known population in Air were Hausa-speaking negroes subsisting predominantly
● 563 as agriculturists. Their original culture apparently was closely related to that of Sudanese shifting cultivators. Contacts with the north and in particular invasions of fair-skinned Tuareg have changed their cultural position. Mixing with the Tuareg they have also changed their physical type, but they are still predominantly negroid. They have adopted a Tuareg dialect but have retained part of their old vocabulary.

/46 cont./ Man

571 In order to understand Tuareg country well, it is necessary to examine the people from the ethnic point of view, in so far as this is possible, and also from the social and economic point of view.

A concise table will show the different ethnic groups, the social classes, and the economic specializations; it will facilitate a better understanding of the human relations.

A. Ethnic /groups/

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 571 563 1. | Whites : | Berbers | : Tuareg | Nobles Imrads, except for the Issakamaren |
| | | Arabs | : Mozabites | |
| | | | : Chorfa | |
| | | | : Chaamba | |
| 2. | Blacks : | Iklan | : Sudanese | |
| | | Harratin | : Sudanese, Saharans | |
| 3. | Mixed : | Maalmines : | | |
| | | Issakamaren: Arab - Tuareg | | |
| | | Mixed Tuareg - Negro | | |

/47/

B. Social Organization

571 564 1. Tuareg

1. Nobles (Ihaggarènes)
2. Vassals (Imrads)
3. Artisans (Inaden)
4. Gardeners (Harratin)
5. Domestics (Iklan)

2. Arabs

Chorfa (holy men)
Zaoui " "
Chaamba
Miscellaneous
Mixed

3. Mozabites

565/49 cont. / been the ruling caste for a long time? One is obliged to remark their true nobility, their refined politeness, and their never failing courtesy. They are more open than the imrads, often more intelligent, and some of them even possess a sense of humor. Beyh ag Akhamouk, the present amenokal, is a very representative personage and has fine qualities as a chief. The young Kel Rela turn more and more to the French, associate with them, become their friends. This attraction will become generalized little by little, that is, the esteem that these young people have for particular individuals will be extended to include France, which is only an abstraction for them.

[162] The Kel Rela number slightly over 300 and possess about 350
[163] black servants. Their tents are scattered over the whole of Ahaggar territory. The camp of the amenokal is never very far from Tamanrasset.

Another noble tribe, the Tédjéhé Mellet, is not large;
[162] reduced to 32 individuals, it ordinarily sojourns in the Tefedest near the imrad tribes it possesses: the Kel Ohet and Kel Terrourrit. These nobles play practically no role in the Tuareg organization of the Ahaggar. The tribe's amrar is Khourou ag Salah.

Since our arrival in the Ahaggar, the Taïtok tribe has been exiled to the Sudan and has been dispossessed of its lands.
[162] There still remain, however, about 30 nomadic Taïtoks in the vicinity of Tamanrasset. Illou ag Amri is the amrar.

[162] Nearly 70 nobles from the Sudanese tribe of Iforas sojourn in Ahaggar territory. They are often allied with the Kel /50/ Rela. Among these Iforas are a few who belong to the marabout Iforas of Temassinine.

## The Imrads

According to legend, the Dag Rali are the descendants of Takamat, Tin Hinan's servant woman. The mountains of the

565 /50 cont./ Atakor and the Arechchoum are their pasture regions. It is a tribe of rich camel and goat raisers.

[162] [563] It is the most important imrad tribe under the Kel Rela; there are about 390, served by nearly 400 Negroes. The Dag Rali are stubborn mountaineers, a little narrow minded. They [147] are remarkably resistant to fatigue when they walk in their rough country. Let us also note their adaptation to the cold of December, January, and February; the camps are generally situated at an average altitude of 2, 000 meters. The Tuareg [29] [132] are clothed in two cotton gandurahs and are quite often wrapped in a "dokali"; they bear cold which drops as low as -12° in the tent toward five in the morning.

The tribe's amrar is Akroud ag Ama (1). The handsomest

1. Died in 1952.

tents belong to the Dag Rali, and the men are renowned as hunters of wild sheep.

[651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is about 12 mezoued /leather grain sacks/ of dates, eight bottas /bottles/ of butter, the loan of 12 ewes for milk, and ten goats for slaughtering.

Several subgroups may be seen within the Dag Rali, named mainly according to the regions they inhabit: Kel Arechchoumi, /sic/ and the Ikhechemaden, who formerly were imrads of the Ta'ltoks.

[162] [563] The most numerous imrad tribe is the Adjouh n'Téhélé. It includes approximately 590 individuals and more than 750 Negro domestics. Although imrads, the Adjouh n'Téhélé are regarded as different by the nobles. Toward the eighteenth century, this tribe, which was living in the A'ir at the time, came of its own accord to incorporate itself into the Kel Ahaggar. This was done to escape the exactions /51/ of the sultan of Agadez, who each year demanded a virgin as a sign of vassalage. This tribe's territory of nomadization extends to the east and south of those of the Dag Rali.

565 621 /51 cont./ The most important agricultural centers belonging to the Adjouh n'Téhélé are Tarhaouaout, In Dalag, and Tahifet. There are several subgroups: the Isanden in the Isernan region; the Kel Rafsa, Tahifet region; the Relaïdine, Tin-Tarabin region; and the Kel Hagalella to the south of Tamanrasset. The tribe's amrar is Samaalatokh ag Mansouri. [651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is approximately the same as that paid by the Dag Rali.

565 [157] The Adjouh n'Téhélé have an open character; they are gay and like to joke, but they have the reputation of being quick tempered and irascible.

The Aït Loen tribe is, like the preceding ones, an imrad tribe of the Kel Rela. It is descended from Takamat. These Tuareg are nomads in the eastern Atakor and sometimes penetrate into Ajjers territory. Their most important center is Tin-Tarabin. [491] There are no roads going into the territory of this tribe, so their tents are rarely visited.

[162 563] There are about 500 Aït Loen; they possess 620 black servants. The Kel Torha, Kel Anahef, and Kel Telerteba are the three subgroups of the tribe, whose chief is El Ralen ag Nissoran. [651] Their tioussé is about four mezoued of dates to the Kel Rela and one mezoued of dates paid by the Kel Torha to the Tédjéhé Mellet.

The Aït Loen are experienced guides for going to the Ajjers and Ténéré regions.

[162 563] The Iklan Taoussit number about 600, served by 650 Negroes. They are nomads in the Tahelra, the Silet region, the Amded and Tekouiat wadis, and in the northern part of the Adrar des Iforas. They formerly belonged to the Imenanes, which accounts for their name, which means "servant of the tribe." [651] Their tioussé is on the order of four mezoued of millet, two bottas of butter, and six milch goats. Dali ag Akoumaris is the tribe's amrar. The subgroup of the tribe which sojourns almost continually in the Tin-Zaouaten region has Khadida for chief.

565 /51 cont. / The Iklan Taoussit are /52/ the Tuareg who consume the most afazzou seeds ( Panicum turgidum).

[162 563] There are very few Tédjéhé n'Néfis: 98 Tuareg and 120 Negroes. This tribe, like the preceding one, is imrad of the Kel Rela but formerly belonged to the Taïtoks. The Tédjéhé n'Néfis are related to the Adjouh n'Téhélé and like them were originally from the Aïr. Their camps are generally in the Tamanrasset wadi, downstream from the village, mostly near the gardens of Tidjenouine. The chief of the tribe is Ad Noumen ag Khadida.

[162 563] The Ibotenaten tribe, comprising 128 individuals served by 153 Blacks, is enfeoffed to the Kel Rela without being truly imrad. It is said that an Ibotenaten once killed a noble Ahaggar. The tribe was beaten by the Kel Rela and condemned to pay a tribute.

The Ibotenaten are rich camel raisers. They live permanently in the Tamesna, benefitting from the annual rains which make this region fertile. Ould Brika is the tribe's amrar.

[162 563] The Irreguenaten number 434 and have 600 Negroes. Normally they reside in the Tamesna, but they nomadize toward the Iforas and even the Timétrine region. Their name means "mixture of Arabs and Tuareg." They are allies of the Ibotenaten. Rich camel raisers, the members of this tribe are essentially nomads; they possess no agricultural center. They are the best guides to the Tassili n'Ahaggar.

The name Issakamaren designates a group of tribes of Arabic origin which were raided in the Touat and the Tidikelt about the eighteenth century by the Kel Ahaggar. The Issakamaren speak Arabic and Tamashek, but their customs have [631] become those of the Tuareg. They are incorporated in the Tuareg confederation and are treated as imrads, although with a slight nuance of inferiority in the caste system. Their pasture regions are situated on the periphery of the central massif.

[162 563] The Kel in Khar tribe includes 176 individuals and 50 Negroes. /53/ They are nomads in the eastern part of the Tefedest and trade in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

565 /53 cont./ The Mertoutek center belongs to them, and they possess gardens at Dehine and Abezzou.

The tioussé is set at one young camel and a mezoued of [651] dates. The chief of the tribe is Ikharis ag Akcham. They are rich camel raisers and are excellent guides to the Tefedest and the Amadror.

[162 563] The Kel Amguid number about 88 and possess 9 Blacks. They are related to other subgroups of the Issakamaren. They range over the region of Amguid, the Igharghar, and the Tefedest. The Kel Amguid have gardens at Adenek, Mertoutek, and [651] Ideles. They pay a tioussé of four mezoued of dates, an assaber /mat for the tents/, and a young camel. Kelli ag Khabouba is the chief of the tribe.

[162 563] Imrads of the Kel Rela, the Kel Tazolé number 60 Tuareg and 60 Negroes. They possess an important camel herd and nomadize in the region of Tazerouk, chiefly to the east of that center.

The chief of the tribe is El Mamoun ag el Hadj Baba. Tazerouk is their center, and the small neighboring centers [651] belong to them. Their tioussé is three mezoued of dates, three lambs, and a four-year-old camel.

The Kel Tazolé conduct caravans in the directions of Ghat and the Tidikelt. They exchange millet in A'ir.

[162 563] The Eouen n'Hada number 241 individuals and 90 Negroes. They are nomads in the Tefedest, the Ifetessen, and sometimes in the Selbourak wadi. Tadjemout is their agricultural [651] center. They pay the amenokal a tioussé of three mezoued of grain, a young camel, and a rug.

The Eouen n'Hada, whose amrar is Nassamou ag Elias, are guides for the Immidir.

[162 563] The Kel Immidir are around 170 individuals; they have 45 black servants. This tribe nomadizes particularly in the tassili, region of Arak, the Ifetessen, and the Rharis.

[651] They own the palms at Tadjemout and the Djoraf. This tioussé amounts to six mezoued of dates and a rug. The amrar

565 /54/ is Sidi Rali ag el Hadj Mohamed. The Kel Immidir are caravaneers going toward Ghat and the Tidikelt.

The Kel Tefedest tribe is poor: for 61 Tuareg, it has only [162 563] 11 Negroes. Allied to the Kel Tazolé and the Kel Immidir, it nomadizes in the Tefedest and the Immidir. The Kel Tefedest formerly possessed gardens in an abandoned center near In-[651] Amguel (Adjelil). Their tioussé is four mezoued of dates and a young camel. The amrar of the tribe is Ikkan ag Magamed.

The Ikoutessen are very poor and few in number: 85 indi-[162 563] viduals and 20 Negroes. Lamari ag Moudi is the tribe's amrar. They were paying a tioussé of two mezoued of dates, a guerba [651] /waterskin/, and an empty mezoued. The Ikoutessen ordinarily sojourn in the Amguid region; they travel to the Sudan and the Tidikelt.

Formerly belonging to the Taïtoks, the Kel In Tounine now are under the Kel Rela. They are not numerous and live in the Igharghar region. The Kel In Tounine possess gardens in the Ajjers. They paid the Taïtoks, very irregularly, a [651] tioussé of six mezoued of dates and two sheep. They are guides for going in the direction of the Ajjers.

The Kel Ahnet, former imrads of the Taïtoks, at present [162 563] belong to the Kel Rela. This is a poor tribe of 125 Tuareg and 10 Negroes. They are nomads in the Ahnet, the Acedjerad, and the Adrar des Iforas. They are excellent guides for the Tanezrouft. They possess gardens at Abalessa, Tahart, Tit, and Tibeghim, and palm trees in the Ahnet.

The amrar is Daniel ag Chikkat. The Kel Ahnet trade between the Tidikelt and the Iforas.

The Iouarouaren tribe is composed of only 47 individuals [162] and have no Negroes. It nomadizes in the Acedjerad but resides mainly in the Tin-Zaouaten region. Its chief is Bahman ag Beuh. The Iouarouaren possess palm trees at Tibeghim; they have the reputation of being excellent hunters of addax antelopes. They formerly paid the Taïtoks a tioussé of a [651] mezoued of bechena /millet/ and two bottas of butter. They are guides for the Tanezrouft.

565 /55/ An imrad tribe of the Tédjéhé Mellet, the Kel Ohet
[162 includes 80 Tuareg and 20 Negroes. It is allied to the Kel
563] In Tounine and has many dealings with the Ajjers. The tribe's
amrar is Habib ag Ouhaggarène. Its members nomadize in the
eastern Tefedest and own gardens at Ohet and Dehine. The
[65] tioussé formerly was four mezoued of dates, rope, and guerbas.

The Kel Terrourrirt are imrads of the Tédjéhé Mellet.
[162 Their tribe is not numerous: 62 Tuareg and six Negroes. They
563] are very poor. They camp in the Amguid region and in the
Tassili des Adjjer and possess several gardens at In-Amguel.
[65] The amrar is Hadj Mohamed ag Salah. They were paying
four mezoued of dates, four sheep, rope, and guerbas. They
trade with the Tidikelt.

The Ibardjien are not Issakamaren. They are imrads of the
[162] Kel Rela. It is a tribe destined to die out; there are only 24
left. They reside in the Tazrouk and Ideles region. They
were remarkable hunters of wild sheep and had dogs trained for
this practice.

The presence in the Ahaggar of former soldiers, most of
them Chaamba, must be noted. They marry Tuareg women,
found families, and raise their children in the Tuareg customs.
They are fairly numerous in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

## The Maalmines. Inaden

565 Within Tuareg society are found artisans called
463 "maalmines" in Arabic, but whose Tamashek name is "inaden."
The masculine singular is "inade;" plural, "inaden." The
feminine singular is "tinat;" plural, "tinadin."

The maalmines make up a tribe whose members almost
always marry among themselves. They are related to the
maalmines of the Iforas and of the Aïr. Although very black
skinned, they do not have negroid characteristics. The origin
[174] of the maalmines is as obscure as that of the Tuareg tribes;
some think /56/ they are Jews who were captured by the Tuareg

565 /57 cont./ The harratin, who are also Negroes, are ranked as low as the iklan by the Tuareg, who have a high degree of [563] racial prejudice.

However, there is a nuance: the "akli" (plural: "iklan") belongs to his master, the Targui; he cannot leave him, and, if he is no longer bought and sold because of the presence of the French, he considers himself the property of his master. The /58/ hartani is a free man; he may live where he wants to, do what work he will where he will; he makes contracts with the Tuareg and is dependent on them only in so far as his work is. Moreover, as a resident of the Ahaggar, he must observe the customs of the country.

[622] [631] He is under the authority of the village chief, who is also a hartani, responsible to the amenokal (1).

1. This ranking and this information concern the observance of custom and have nothing to do with French law, which is administered by the head of the annex and by the judicial authorities at Batna.

The harratin of the Ahaggar apparently have two possible origins. Some come from the oases of the Touat and the Tidikelt. This population movement has, it appears, always [166] existed. The number of these harratin varies; there is, in fact, a continual coming and going between the Ahaggar and the oases of the north, according with the dry and wet years.

The other harratin are iklan who have been freed by the Tuareg. The chief cause of this emancipation is the growing [567] poverty of the nobles and vassals, who no longer have sufficient resources to feed and clothe their domestics.

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MA25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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38. Young Targui and his black servant at Ideles.

[p. 226]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The Ayr Tuareg say that the blacksmiths do not have *ténet* words for everything, but always use Tuareg words for certain objects and animals. It is in fact possible that the *ténet* language has been created by the blacksmiths to be used as a secret language. This explanation agrees excellently with the social position of blacksmiths. They make weapons, ornaments, household implements, and the like for the Tuareg. The Tuareg therefore consider them indispensable, and admire them for their skill. But this is only one aspect of the Tuareg attitude towards blacksmiths who are also looked down upon because of their obscure origin and their predominantly negroid appearance. Furthermore, blacksmiths are frequently wearisome to the Tuareg. They claim gifts from the Tuareg on every possible occasion, and if they are given nothing when they ask it is believed that they can do severe harm to the persons from whom a gift is claimed. For the blacksmiths possess a mystic power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama* or *tezma*. This mystic power has nothing to do with black magic. It comes into action automatically without any physical performance by the blacksmith if his demand is ignored. The *ettama* power is dangerous to children and to animals but not so much to adults. Children frequently fall ill with a swollen belly, while the effect on domestic animals is more severe and often causes their death. Though blacksmiths do not perform any physical act to put their mystic power into operation, they are nevertheless held responsible for damage ascribed to it by the Tuareg. This can be illustrated by the following example from Southern Ayr: — An Ayr Tuareg was on his way from Damergu to Ayr with a caravan of camels loaded with millet. One evening at dusk, when he was just about to lead his camels out for grazing at night, a blacksmith came to him to ask for a gift of millet. The Tuareg said that the blacksmith had better wait until next morning as it was already getting dark. The blacksmith went away, and shortly after his departure one of the Tuareg's camels fell ill and died. The Tuareg was convinced that the death of his camel was due to the blacksmith's *ettama* power, and therefore wanted revenge. He mounted a camel, pursued the blacksmith and killed him with an axe. This event happened only a few years ago. It illustrates how firmly many Tuareg believe in the evil *ettama* power of blacksmiths. In fact many Tuareg openly declare that they dislike and fear all blacksmiths. They do not like to associate with them except on festive occasions when blacksmiths frequently act as singers and musicians. The Tuareg never intermarry with people of the blacksmith caste, and even people of other negroid castes are reluctant to intermarry with blacksmiths. In Ahaggar a marriage may be contracted between blacksmiths and *Ḥarratin*, and in Ayr there are said to be a few marriages between blacksmiths and people of other negroid classes or castes. But on the whole the caste of blacksmiths (*Ineden*) can be characterized as endogamous. This is quite natural in view of the fact that blacksmiths possess the evil mystic power (*ettama*, or *tezma*), which I have described in more detail elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1961, pp. 134 f., 146).

Between fair-skinned, true Tuareg and other black-skinned castes but that of the blacksmiths, marriages are contracted now and then, and it seems as if mixed marriages of this type are becoming more and more numerous. In Ahaggar there are some marriages between Tuareg and women belonging to the castes of slaves (*Iklan*) or sedentary agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) and there are even marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg women and negroid men though such marriages are less frequent. Mixed marriages are even more frequent in Ayr. The offspring of such unions are known in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer as *Iburelliten* (*Aburelli*). This word is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 12. Blacksmith woman. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

563 they more frequently refer to mulattoes as *Ichardanen* (sing. *Acharda*). Such mulattoes do not form any particular class or caste.

It is stated in almost all writings on the Tuareg that the offspring of mixed marriages will acquire the social status of their mothers, but though this may be theoretically true in some Tuareg groups actual conditions are more complicated. Among *Ineslemen* Tuareg and generally in southern Tuareg [564] groups there is a strong tendency to acknowledge patrilineal affiliation. In Ahaggar classes and castes [565] should ideally be matrilineal organizations. However, this is not always so. A man who descends from a vassal mother and a noble father will not become a true vassal. He will not have to perform any of the obligations characteristic of the vassal class, and to-day he is normally considered noble 563 though he cannot succed to chieftainship in his father's tribe. If a pastoral Tuareg marries a woman 591 of one of the black-skinned castes the children who grow up in the father's camp will frequently remain there as pastoralists and members of their father's tribe. Conversely children descending from a black-skinned father of an agricultural settlement and a fair-skinned pastoral woman will often remain in the settlement to practise agriculture even after their father's death. As to offspring of marriages between Tuareg men and slave women, they will continue to live in the father's tribe as pastoralists, and will frequently acquire the social position of the father as mentioned later in the description of Tuareg slavery. Mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and people of black-skinned castes constitute a minority. But it seems as if such marriages are on the increase.

101 All the above mentioned peolpe are Tuareg-speaking though part of the sedentary agriculturists of 563 Ahaggar (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) have Arabic as their mother tongue. In Ahaggar there are also many [197] true Arabs – particularly at the administration centre of Tamanṛaset. There are also Arabs at certain other villages in Ahaggar, and there are Arab pastoralists. They have largely mixed with the Tuareg, and certain Arab pastoralists such as the *Ahl Azzi* (*Kel Ṛezzi*) should be classed rather with Tuareg than with Arabs. There are also some Arabs in Ayr. There are Arab traders at Agadez, Iferwan, and Ingal, and there are a few Arab pastoralists who have mixed with pastoral Tuareg of Northern Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



But pastoralists of Arab descent are limited to a few scattered individuals or families in the Ayr area in contrast to the extended Sudanese country around the Niger, where whole pastoral tribes claim patrilineal descent from Arabs, while matrilineally most of them are Tuareg. 101 563

There are many other people within the extended country inhabited by the Tuareg. Very important in the south is a numerous population of Hausa-speaking Negroes. The so-called *Imeggedezen* (sing. *Ameggedez*) of Agadez speak Hausa which language is spoken by various other sedentary people of that region and further south. There are also a few Sonray-speaking people at Agadez, and Ingal further west is predominantly inhabited by Sonray-speakers known to the Ayr Tuareg as *Isaweren*. The Sonray, as is well known, are now found almost exclusively along the Niger, but Ayr was once conquered by the Sonray, and Barth describes Agadez as a Sonray-speaking city. [197]

In the south the pastoral Fulani are now invading the grazing grounds formerly reserved to and owned by the Tuareg. Camps of pastoral Fulani are frequently seen nowadays even as far north as the southern outskirts of the Ayr Massif around Agadez and Ingal. When grazing is good the Fulani may even move further north into the Talak plains with their herds of long-horned cattle. Many other people are frequently met in Tuareg country, e.g. the Tebu, and the Kanuri, who frequently come to Agadez. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are even a few individuals who descend from Tebu women.

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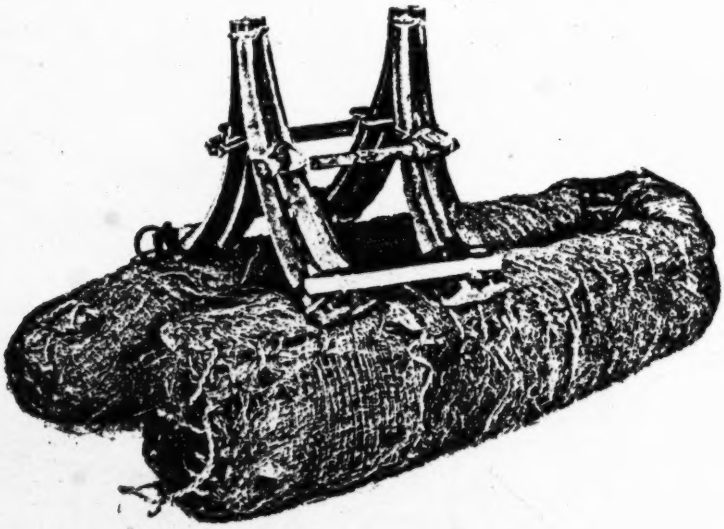
Fig. 13. Mother and son. Slaves of the Tuareg in Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



pair of cross-bars is connected with four short sticks of the same material, each being lashed with hide horizontally to the crossbars. This frame is generally manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt, who also make the large cushion (*tihekam*) of date palm bast to which the saddle-frame is attached with cords. On rare occasions the Tuareg also have saddle-frames of wood (*tabarekkat*, that is *Tamarix aphylla*) made by the blacksmiths on the same pattern, and they may also use cushions of hay stuffed into a piece of matting. The *élaki*-saddle is used in the following way:— The short, looped cords of the loading bags rest upon the wooden frame in front of the camel's hump and on the rear part of the saddle-cushion. A bunch of grass or date palm bast (*aselki*) is placed under the loading cords that they may not gall the back of the camel. In addition to the proper camel-load divided into two halves (e.g., two large bags) there are frequently many smaller objects to be transported, and these are then attached to the wooden saddle-frame. The *élaki*-saddle normally rests loosely upon the camel's back, but it may be fixed to the animal's back by a girth (*ahayif*). It is also occasionally

492* [563] 824 [864]



492* 824 284

Fig. 55. The *élaki* pack saddle consisting of a saddle frame attached to a U-formed cushion made of date palm bast: The saddle frame made of palm fronds lashed with raw hide. It is called *élaki*, or *erras en eloki*. Ahaggar, Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.34 m high. (F.M. 191).
The saddle cushion of date palm bast. It is called *tihekam*. Ahaggar, Tamanraset. Dimension: 1.50 m long. (F.M. 192).

*492 fixed with a rope running under the tail and/or a rope around the camel's chest. The *élaki*-saddle is [184] unknown to the Ayr Tuareg, but I have seen it in use among Arab traders living at Iferwan of Northern [171] Ayr. It is by far the most common type of pack-saddle in both groups of Northern Tuareg.

Another type of pack-saddle named *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* corresponds to the *berej* saddle of the Arabs. It is used occasionally by the Northern Tuareg, but I have only seen it among the *Kel Ajjer*. The saddle-frame is made from date palm ribs and consists of two cross-bars connected with each other by two crossed sticks at both sides. One of the cross-bars rests in front of the animal's hump, the other behind. The frame is lashed together by means of strips of raw camel-hide and is fastened to [283] two pads of palm bast as can be seen from the photograph Fig. 57. As far as I know this saddle-type, [563] like the type above-mentioned, is manufactured by palm-growing agriculturists of the oases. This saddle type seems to be unknown among the Ayr Tuareg.

The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is known to them as *aruki*. It consists of one [285] wooden arch lashed to two flat boards (Fig. 58). These two sideboards are attached to two pads made from hay stuffed into tubular pieces of dum palm matting. The two pads or mat cylinders are fitted on each side of the camel so that the wooden arch rests in front of the hump. But there is also a rear pad consisting of a stuffed skin-bag laid over the camel's back behind the hump and attached to the wooden arch by means of cords. The loading cords bear on this stuffed skin-bag and on the mat-cylinders in front of the wooden arch. The wooden arch is manufactured by blacksmiths, while the [564] side pads and rear pad are made by the Tuareg. The saddle is not generally fixed to the camel by means of girths or cords. The place of origin for this saddle-type seems to be Ayr. It is used also among the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, and it seems as if related saddle-types occur elsewhere in the south (cf. p. 311).

*492 Transportation bags of various types are used for camel loads, but the very large bags woven from 415 a mixture of goat's hair and camel's wool so typical of northern Arab pastoralists are not in current use among the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*, and are entirely unknown to the Tuareg of Ayr. The [563] Northern Tuareg generally use bags made from the skin of barbary sheep, or bags made from date palm bast by the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. Fig. 59). In Ayr the Tuareg normally use transportation bags of plaited dum palm leaves.

The ideal load of a camel consists of two bags forming a total weight of up to 200 kgs for a very strong animal. The two bags, which together form one load, are each provided with two short loading loops. They are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *elrerwet* when bags are woven, as *tadekmert* when the bags are of skin. The loading is done as follows:— The two bags are lifted up and supported against the sides of the recumbent pack-camel by two men who put the loops of one bag into those of the other and insert between them two little sticks, known in the north as *tihdad* (sing. *tehedit*). To unload the camel all one has to do is to pull out the two small sticks inserted between the loops, [171] and the two bags fall to the ground. This same system is also used in Ayr, and, I believe, among all camel-breeders of North Africa. - To secure the load in a fixed position it is very common to surround its two halves with a rope (*akhamil* in Ahaggar), which is laid over the saddle-frame before loading and another rope around the luggage and the belly of the pack-camel is also used if considered necessary.

*492 When camels are taken to the camp from pasture, they are sometimes mounted without a saddle

[text continues on p. 78]

*492

Fig. 88. Riding saddle of the type manufactured at Agadez and used by horse-riding Tuareg and Negroes in Ayr and further south. Note the very narrow stirrups which are often used for the insertion of only one or two toes. (Musée de l'homme, Collection Henri Lhote, 38/617).

231 there are perhaps less than ten horses which are all owned by sedentary people (blacksmiths and [563] Arabs). Conditions for horse-breeding are better in Ayr, but even there pastoral Tuareg do not generally breed horses which for a large part of the year must be fed on barley, millet, or on milk. In Ayr, [563] horses are mainly bred by sedentary Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group and by the negroid citizens of Agadez who hold horses in very great esteem. There are perhaps 100-200 horses in and around Agadez, where the animals are kept in or at the houses most of the year to be fed on cereals and on hay of annual grasses cut with a sickle (cf. Fig. 143 f). During the period of *akasa* it is common to let the *492 animals graze on annual pasture, and they are then very tightly hobbled. The Ayr peoples use a bit [171] (*arabo*) (Fig. 89) similar to the type used by Arabs in the North, but their saddles are not of the general Arab type (cf. Fig. 88). The very broad Arab stirrups also seem to be unknown to the *Kel Ayr* and to the *Kel Geres*, who have many horses. The stirrups used by horse-riding Tuareg are generally very thin and slender, and they are frequently used for the insertion of only one or two toes. [13] The riding-gear used by the *Kel Ayr* (including the *Imeggedezen*) and the *Kel Geres* is described in detail in literature (cf. Foureau 1905, III, p. 879 ff. & 921 ff.). This is very complete, and was, perhaps, [175] introduced fairly recently, for we know that the Libyans of Antiquity rode without a saddle and governed their horses mainly by means of a stick (Bates 1941, p. 96 f.), and we are informed by Ibn Batutah that in the Middles Ages the people of Ayr rode without saddles (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 442).

231 The history of the horse in Africa constitutes a very important problem. It is generally admitted
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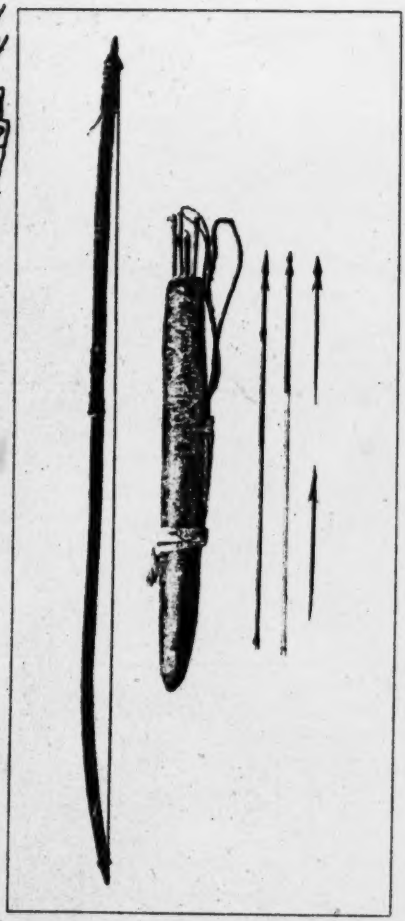

Fig. 119. Bow (*iagonzf*), arrows (*imeran*), and quiver (*éhamren*) from the Hausa-speaking population living south of Ayr around Aderbissinat. The bow is made from wood of a tree called *dâinen* and has a string of ox-hide. The arrows have shafts of wood or reed; their iron points are made by blacksmiths. The quiver is made from ox-hide with a plaster of cow's excreta applied to the inner side. Dimension of the bow: 1.20 m. (N.M. G. 6621).

[567]

Fig. 120. Tuareg clubs.

a. Wooden club (*aburi*). Dimension: 0.995 m long. (N.M. G. 1.159). Ahaggar, Olufsen's Collection.

b. Wooden club. Used for weapon and for cattle-driving by Tuareg around Timbuktu. Made from a bough of *Combretum aculeatum*. Collected by O. Hagerup. Dimension: 1.39 m long. (N.M. G. 3086). All slaves I saw among the *Iwllemmeden* near Ayoru carried this weapon.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 · MS25 Tuareg MS25



466 obtain a larger amount of vegetable food products and more wheat and barley. The pastoral Tuareg
475 gain less from their gardens than they did when the *khamast* system prevailed, but it is still profitable
423 for them to be garden owners.
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The quantity of agricultural products anually consumed per person among the *Kel Ahaggar* is
511 estimated by Lhote at 187 kilos millet, 15 kilos dates, and a small amount of wheat for which
262 figure is given. For Arabs of the Sahara the quantity of vegetable food is estimated at 180 kilos
[171] and 75 kilos dates anually per person (Lhote 1955a, p. 263). I add to this that wheat is used for bread to a very large extent by the Ahaggar Tuareg, who also make much use of barley for bread and porridge. According to Malaurie the amount of agricultural food products available per person among the Ahaggar Tuareg is about 400 grammes a day, or 146 kilos anually (Malaurie 1953, p. 342). It should be noted again that the amount of agricultural food products necessary for a Tuareg household varies greatly from one year to the other. In years of drought when agricultural products form so to speak the only source of food for the nomads, they estimate that a household consisting of husband, wife, and one child will consume about two kilos of cereals (dates) every day, or 730 kilos in a year. Consequently the amount of cereals and dates consumed anually per person may in dry years rise to about 245 kilos. This seems to correspond to the amount of food considered necessary for Arabs of
[171] Tidikelt and Tawat, who live almost exclusively on cereals and dates. When employed as labourers by the French Administration these sedentary Arabs are given 16 kilos of wheat and 4 kilos of rice a month, or 240 kilos of agricultural products anually per person (Information obtained from the administration office of In Salah in 1954). The agricultural products obtained by a pastoral household from a single
511 garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less
433 so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example: During the year 1954 55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with an *aril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar
[437] Tuareg depend on caravan trading for their provisions of agricultural food, and trading also helps them to create the capital of millet and dates which is invested in their gardens in Ahaggar grown on their behalf by agriculturists. I believe that most pastoral households of Ahaggar have gardens, but there are Tuareg who have none. This is true, for instance, of most Tuareg living in and around the Ahnet Massif. Tuareg of this region formerly had gardens irrigated by the *foggara* system at Abalessa, but to-day they acquire their vegetable food products mainly by caravan trading.

## IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AYR

563 The largest aggregation of sedentary people in Ayr is found in Agadez (4.737), which is inhabited al-
[361] most exclusively by negroid peoples who speak Hausa though most of them also know the Tuareg
162 language (*tamachek*). This large sedentary population mainly lives on trade and on crafts of
197 various kinds. The inhabitants are known to the Tuareg as the *Imeggedezen*. They are said to be related
433 to the Sultan (or the *Amenukal*) of Agadez. There is a tradition which claims that the Sultan came
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Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*énéld*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

563 173 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired [361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405 361 621 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri- [312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers [563] though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857, 563 361 162 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of 563 433 245 221 463 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isaweren*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.

Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw- 361 342 162 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg 162 144 433 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula- [174] tion that subsisted on agriculture.

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Fig. 149. The market place of Agadez. In the front negroid Hausa men roasting small pieces of meat on a spit; in the background Tuareg camels offered for sale.

484 pack-camels to the salt pit of Amadror to mine salt in the hot season. They load the camels with salt
487 and bring them to the camp where further preparations for the journey are made. When the caravans
[317] have started southwards they stop in the Tamesna plains and rest there for at least one month to allow
the pack-camels to feed on annual pasture, and, if necessary, to exchange the pack-camels with others
[437] kept by the Ahaggar Tuareg in Tamesna. Thereupon the caravan will continue towards the millet-
growing towns and villages of the Sudan to bargain with the Hausa. The caravan returns to Ahaggar
[221] again at the end of March or at the beginning of April, so that the total duration of a south-bound caravan is up to six or seven months.

433 The Sudanese millet trade is of extreme value to the subsistence of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is partic-
439 ularly important to their economy that they obtain millet for non-nomadic products transported by camels, which are mainly bred outside of Ahaggar. The millet trade is consequently not much influenced by Ahaggar's changeable climate. According to official statistics, the Ahaggar caravans in 1946 exported 375 tons salt, and imported 720 tons millet, while the cereals grown in Ahaggar amounted to 197 tons (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). According to Galan vegetable food grown in the gardens of Ahaggar in 1950 (a bad year) amounted to 121 tons wheat, 5 tons millet and barley, and 4 tons of tomatoes – about 10 kg of wheat and 0.5 kg of millet, barley, and tomatoes per person (Galan 1951,
[465] p. 233). We see from this that the amount of cereals acquired in the Sudan far exceeds the amount grown in Ahaggar, and as we have mentioned, the millet trade is also important for the establishment of Tuareg agriculture in their own country where this cereal is used for payments to cultivators. It can also be added that the Sudanese caravan trade is more important to the Tuareg than appears from
[435] the figures above. For salt is much more valuable than millet, and for one load of salt the Tuareg receive from four to fifteen loads of millet – in 1946 the price was fifteen to one (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). It is evident that the Tuareg could not take all this millet back to Ahaggar. Most of it is re-sold

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Fig. 203. Earthen incense jar (*elhakkhar*). Ahaggar, *Hawaita* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.179 m high. (N.M. G. 5889).

323 512). Most pastoral Tuareg of Ayr get their pots from Agadez, but pots are also imported from the
[432] south where they are of superior quality. These pots are said to be manufactured by black-skinned
323 *Igdalen* Tuareg (cf. p. 432) of the southlands, notably by people of the *Ikenewen* class which comprises
563 professional pot-makers. These people are not found among the *Kel Ayr* but are common in camps
[197] of the *Kel Geres* where I have met them. They speak *tamasheq* but also have their own language
323 which is said to be related to *Songay*. The pots made by these southern people are painted and decorated
531 (cf. Fig. 205) in contrast to those of Agadez which are plain and of very simple forms (Figs. 204a–b). So far as I am aware painted and decorated pottery is rarely manufactured in Ayr nowadays. But Rodd states that such pottery in the form of pitchers with a blue design is made near Agadez (Rodd 1926a, p. 160 f., pl. 22 p. 209), and when I investigated ruins of stone houses at Iferwan I found a great many sherds of finely-decorated painted pots which must have been used up to the end of the
[178] great Tuareg revolt in 1917 when these houses were destroyed by the French. Lhote has also mentioned the decline of pottery techniques in Ayr, and he states that, apart from little incense jars, no painted and decorated pots are manufactured at Agadez nowadays (Lhote 1950c, p. 511).

*415 Certain metal receptacles were known to the Tuareg long before the European occupation, notably
[169] a cooking pot (*ôrir*) made from copper, and the flat drinking bowl (*tamemaast*) made from tinned
[326] copper or brass in Tripolitania, or in Tunisia. Metal receptacles are also manufactured by native blacksmiths in Tuareg country, e.g., the pail (*ôrir*) to be used for liquid butter (Fig. 164).

322 The blacksmiths are excellent wood-workers and make most wooden domestic utensils used by
[564] pastoral Tuareg (Figs. 21b, 37, 38, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63a–b, 75, 150, 153–154, 166, 176, 177, 178, 191,
[412] 194, 195, 212a, 219a–b, 285). The main implements for wood working are axes and adzes (Figs. 206a–d).

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206a–d). The ordinary axe (*tadeft*) is used by all Tuareg who may also possess small adzes (*tat-* 322
*tawt*), used mainly by women for the manufacturing of domestic implements such as spoons and 412
milking bowls. These implements manufactured by Tuareg women are generally inferior in quality 462
to those made by the blacksmiths, though certain noble women of the *Kel Reia* tribe make wooden milking bowls that are said to be superior to those of the blacksmiths. In Ayr, Tuareg women engage very little in wood-working, and the Ayr Tuareg are on the whole less skilled in crafts than are the Tuareg of Ahaggar.

Pastoral Tuareg are experts in rope making. Ropes made from various materials play an important 283
part for the Tuareg for hobbling domestic animals, for fastening burdens transported on camels, as reins, for the erection of tents, and for a great many other purposes. Incidentally the Tuareg make substitutes for ropes in a very simple way. Thus if a man comes upon a camel which he wishes to take [824]
back to camp and has no rope or rein to lead it by he makes a lead from three or four pieces of palm leaf, or the like, attached to each other. It is stated by Maire that the Ahaggar Tuareg make simple

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Fig. 206a–b. Earthen pots made by the sedentary *Imaggedezen* of Agadez.

a. A water jar with two spouts. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imaggedezen* as *geigeleti*. It is used by the latter people but never by pastoral Tuareg. Dimension: 0.30 m high. (N.M. G. 6635).

b. Earthen jar used for water and also for cooking. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tiyint* or *tiekin*, to the Hausa-speaking *Imaggedezen* as *tukunya* or *tuke*. Dimension: 0.225 m high. (N.M. G. 6634).

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Fig. 205. Painted earthen pot (*ifkanawi*) manufactured by the professional potmakers called *Ikenawen*. Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.32 m high. (N.M. G. 6636).

283 824 hobble ropes from straws of the *tulluli* grass (*Aristida pungens*) (Maire 1933, p. 62). For the manufacture of proper ropes the Tuareg may employ the bark of trees. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr they use the bark of *Acacia Raddiana* (*abser* in Ahaggar, *afagag* in Ayr) for this purpose (Fig. 113). These ropes are made after much the same method as that used for the Ahaggar ropes of date palm bast (*anan*) and those of dum palm leaves made in Ayr. Ropes of this kind are always made by men, who, when 283 462 making ropes from date palm bast, proceed in the following way:— Pieces of bast are soaked in water contained in a receptacle. They are thereupon torn into small strips about 20–30 cms long. These strips are rolled and twisted between the hands, and are kept in this rolled position under the foot until sufficient numbers of strips are available for the rope to be made. The ends of two rolled strips are then placed between the first and the second toes, and the strips are twisted together between the hands. New strips are added and twisted in this fashion until a suitable length of two twisted rows of strips has been made. This length is thereupon stretched over one of the feet, doubled, and twisted between the hands. It is finally hammered with a stone while resting on another stone or upon the bottom of a large mortar which is frequently used for support. The Ahaggar Tuareg make their hobble ropes in this way (Fig. 207), and the Ayr Tuareg apply the same technique to ropes made from strips of dum palm leaves which are also soaked in water before twisting. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr this method may also be used for the manufacture of leather cords (Figs. 43, 73a).

may be seen in Fig. 167a–b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*ilstent*) (Fig. 218a). 285 [413]

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a–c, 210a–b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*éstan*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices. [184] [432] [266]

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among the *Kel Ayr*. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*aḡum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*aleguiguten*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig 220b). This basket type (*tésenit*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals. [824] [413] [462] [184] [413] [171] [415] *

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éseber* or *tésebert* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents, and they are manufactured by many women among the *Kel Ahaggar* (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers, and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*téidahut*) (Fig. 212a–b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Igdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south. [824] [351] [462] [352] [383] [462] [342] [438]

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitues the most important craft in the 281

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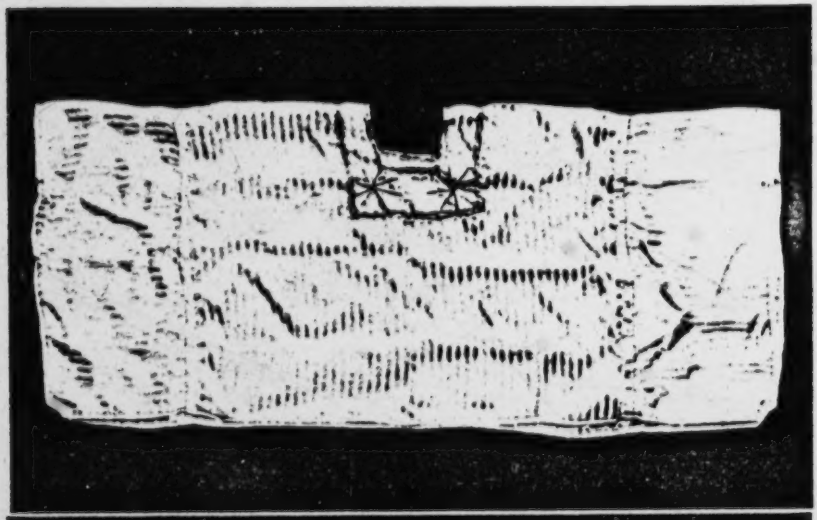

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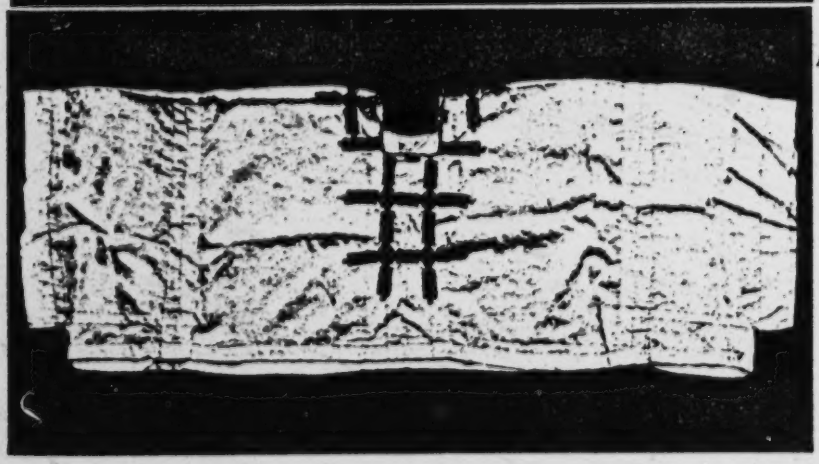

Fig. 239a–b. Two short woman's shirts from Ayr.
a. The shirt (*afisk*) worn by pastoral women. Dimension: 1.27 m. (N.M. G. 6668).
b. Shirt of similar cut but embroidered with red thread. It is called *ligu* or *tagus* and is worn by the Hausa-speaking women of Agadez. Dimension: 1.38 m. (N.M. G. 6669).

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 ago when the *Ḥarratin* agriculturists immigrated from Tidikelt. Most people even aver that there
174 were hardly any houses in Ahaggar until the arrival of the French at the beginning of the century.
This is confirmed by Foucauld (1951–52, II, p. 609), and Bissuel was told by the Tuareg captives at
361 Algiers that Ahalessa had no solid houses but only straw-huts (cf. Bissuel 1888, p. 53). It is true that
125 Hornemann mentions a village comprising 25–30 houses built of stone and situated in the country
*[342] of Hhagarâ (Hornemann 1803, I, p. 154 f.). But Hornemann travelled further east and never visited
Ahaggar or Tasilé-n-Ajjer. His information may perhaps refer to a village in the latter region also
inhabited by noble *Ihaggaren* Tuareg. Permanent settlements of Ahaggar are apparently never mentioned in the writings of Medieval Arab authors. We know that Ahaggar was visited by Ibn Batutah. He does not mention any settlements in this country, of which and its inhabitants "there is little good to say" (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 446).

*342 A.4. *Subterranean or semi-subterranean dwellings.*

[17] Subterranean or semi-subterranean dwellings seem to be unknown in Ayr and also in the regions
inhabited by most other Southern Tuareg though found among sedentary people along the Niger
[563] Bend (cf. Hefel 1946, p. 190 ff.). They are known also in Ahaggar where they are used exclusively by
black-skinned agriculturists who claim that this type of dwelling named *eddamus* was introduced
into Ahaggar with the *Kel Ĝanet*. This agrees with the fact that these dwellings are particularly common in the region of Taṛhawhawt where many of the *Kel Ĝanet* live. However, subterranean dwellings nowadays are also used by certain other sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The dwellings are not very deep, and frequently they are only semi-subterranean, the upper part then consisting of walls built of rectangular pieces of sundried mud or of stones kept together by mud. The subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling normally has a rectangular site, and is not very spacious. Introduced by the *Kel Ĝanet*, this type of dwelling is comparatively recent in Ahaggar. I have not seen subterranean

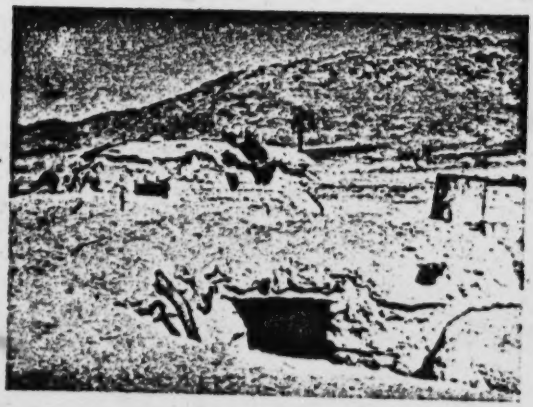

Fig. 248. Semi-subterranean house with two rooms (*eddamus*). Ahaggar, I-n-gawen.

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642 565 there are no true vassals or *Imṛad* though some *Kel Ewey* tribes are referred to in literature as vassals.

174 642 565 [144] The lack of the important structural feature of vassalage among the *Kel Geres* may perhaps be explained in the following way:— The *Kel Geres* Tuareg lived originally in Ayr within much the same area as that now occupied by the *Kel Ewey*, and it is most likely that they had mixed very much with the sedentary Negroes as there are among the *Kel Geres* very many black-skinned and negroid Tuareg. It is very probable that the *Kel Geres* when living in Ayr led a semi-sedentary life, for it is said that they had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr in the 18th century owing to the pressure of the *Kel Ewey*. We may perhaps assume that this particular mode of livelihood was the reason why vassalage ceased to exist among the *Kel Geres*. When, in the 18th century, the *Kel Geres* were driven southwards into the Sudanese steppes and savannahs, they became ardent stock-breeders and adopted a political system much related to that of an ordinary Tuareg drum-group with the exception that they had no class-division.

614 642 643 Among the *Kel Geres*, all tribes of pastoral Tuareg are known as *Imajeṛen* but though they are not divided into classes these tribes are nevertheless not politically identical. The most important tribe is that called *Ti-temeḳḳeret*. It is named after Anu-Meḳḳeren in Central Ayr where this tribe originally lived, and the *Kel Geres* drum-chief (*ettebel*) is always elected from this particular group. But the drum-chief is not elected by all adult people of his drum-group, but by members of three tribes, the *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar*. The members of these tribes alone can elect and dismiss a drum-chief entirely at their discretion. When they have elected a new drum-chief he is ceremoniously installed by a man of the *Anyegeren* tribe who wraps the large head-cloth around the chief's head. In all this the *Kel Geres* resemble the *Kel Ewey* among whom the *Anestafidet* is elected by the members of three important tribes.

The three tribes of *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar* are also politically very important in other respects for they consistute the nuclei of three sub-divisions of the *Kel Geres*. The chiefs of the three tribes have the title *Aṛolla* (pl. *Iṛollan*) and they are also the chiefs of certain other pastoral tribes which have individual chiefs with the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaren*). A certain number of people who are non-Tuareg by origin are placed under the authority of all tribal chiefs, e.g., *Iṛawélen* who are slaves manumitted in the past, *Ikenawen* who are professional potmakers, *Ineden* or blacksmiths, and *Itéfnen*, that is sedentary Hausa living in villages. [563]

614 642 645 In addition to the tribe of the drum-chief and the three *Iṛollan* tribes, there is among the Kel Geres a fifth tribe which is politically very important, namely that known as *Ezuṛmani*. It is a religious tribe of the so-called *Echchikhen* class, and its chief is known as *Echchikh* though he also bears the title of *Al-Ḳadi*. He acts as the adviser of the drum-chief in judicial and religious matters, and though he apparently possesses no direct authority over all *Kel Geres* he is very influential and greatly respected. The *Al-Ḳadi* or *Echchikh* is elected according to the traditional rules of succession acknowledged by the *Kel Geres*, a deceased chief being succeeded by his younger brother or by his son. But in contrast to all other chiefs, including the drum-chief, he cannot be dismissed when he is once elected. All religious tribes within the *Kel Geres* drum-group are placed directly under the authority of the *Al-Ḳadi* (*Echchikh*) of the *Ezuṛmani* tribe. But the *sadakat* fees are made to the drum-chief and not to the Al-Ḳadi.

/149/

# Book IV

## The Tuareg of the Ahaggar

## Social Organization

## The Ahaggar Confederation

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## Chapter 1

## Social Organization

101 Here we shall speak of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar. But since all of the Tuareg form a quite homogeneous ethnic group, what we say about their /Tuareg of the Ahaggar/ social organization will, in general, be valid for the whole, although their social organization remained more sheltered from foreign influences than that of the other groups, because of their isolation in the heart of the Sahara. [184 177]

The Ihaggaren /Ahaggaren/ may thus be considered, as a result of that isolation, the witnesses and representatives of Tuareg civilization.

565 Classes and castes. -- Social organization among them /the Tuareg/ shows strong analogies with our ancient feudal system. Indeed, there is a chief whose nominal authority holds sway over all the tribes, a class system (aserkam) which divides tribes into suzerains and vassals, religious elements and serfs, enfeoffed the ones to the others, and an artisan class.

564 565 Classes in so-called primitive societies are born out of private property, wealth, and the authority of the strong who become the protectors of the weak, and have had as a corollary war and slavery. The caste system, which is an accentuated form of the class system,

565 includes hereditary specialization, hierarchy, repulsion between the
564 different groups, and refusal to associate with people of a different caste. These principles are partly in force among the Tuareg, whose type of social organization borrows from the two systems.

/150/ Furthermore, there are great analogies between the two systems. This sort of aristocratic organization is well suited to nomadic life, in opposition to democratic organization which is more commonly found among sedentary groups.

According to some authors, the caste system is specifically
171 Hindu; it only existed in its pure state in India and to a lesser de-
564 gree in ancient Egypt. (1) Thus we are hardly surprised to find this

1. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre /The Races and Peoples of the World/, p. 489.

organization among the Tuareg who, culturally, belong to the same cycle of civilization.

182 The crystallization of that organization among this people,
564 who on the whole possess quite high intellectual qualities, as well as the material crystallization, can only be explained by the isolation in which it was confined as a result of circumstances where climate has certainly played a large role.

565 The Tuareg are divided into suzerains (Imochar) of a specifically warlike nature, vassals (Imrad) most commonly shepherds, religious men (Inislimen), and serfs (Iklân). Other elements from different origins are enfeoffed to them, such as the Issekkemâren, the Iboroliten, and the Enaden.

The present hierarchy obviously results from a series of wars
174 and civil conflicts. In the fight for life each person endeavored to
182 get his share, and as always this was at the expense of the weaker.
565 Tribes achieved a predominance which they were not always able

567 have been freed as a group as a reward for some outstanding action. Nicolas mentions the present Tamjert fraction in the center of Tahoua who were freed after the battle of Izerwan where they had courageously resisted the Kel Ahaggar (1898). Many Iderfan go back to cultivation. They often live with the sedentary groups, with whom they join forces. They do small services for the latter, such as tending their flocks.

114 Nicolas likens them to the Harratines of the Kel Ahaggar. This
563 is only partially justified, for, although it is true that a few former
567 slaves work in the centers of cultivation of the Ahaggar, the majority of the Harratin are Negroes from the Tidikelt who freely came to get jobs among the Tuareg. Thus, we must not confuse the Harratin with the Iderfan.

567 As in the case of the Iklan-n-Egef, there are no Iderfan in the Ahaggar except in isolated cases.

564 The Enaden. -- The Enaden (singular, Enad) form the artisan class of the Tuareg. In the Sudan they are called /174/ garassa or gargassa, which is very probably of Sonrhaï origin.

[192] The word Enadan probably comes from enad, meaning "the other," extended to mean "those we don't talk about." (1) This is

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

because the Enaden form a closed caste, scorned and cursed by the Tuareg whose repulsion for manual labor is well known.

463 Their role is to manufacture anything the Tuareg may have need
564 of: weapons, wooden table utensils, tent pegs, mehari saddles, and harnessing articles.

In addition, they also willingly engage in the business of barber-
[757 surgeon, and with the little instruments they make they adroitly do
752] bloodletting, cupping, scarification, and other little operations of the same order, including tooth extraction. They are remunerated
[465] for their work when they work for tribes, or, if they are attached to a master, he has them entirely at his disposal.

564 The Tuareg, who heartily scorn them because of their obscure origin and servile profession, recognize their good qualities and are happy to profit from them. They also fear them a good deal, for [754] they credit them with supernatural powers of sorcery and magic. Possessors ~~of fire~~, mistreating the earth and the minerals by beating them, they are placed in a world apart, inhabited by the genii with [751] whom they are likely to enter into relations. Although the Moslem marabouts willingly sell amulets, which the Tuareg prize, the latter do not hesitate, in case of need, to ask the Enaden for amulets in preference.

The Enaden are still more despised because they have no moral principles and willingly serve as spies and traitors; they spy on the [837] Iklan and the wives of their masters and also act as go-between for lovers. Like the jesters in our Middle Ages, they have the right to go anywhere, including among the women. Everyone finds this natural, for this is a right which is all but acknowledged.

Sometimes they take part in raids, and they are reputed to fight [726] bravely, although no one wants to stay beside them during combat, since they seem to possess talismans so powerful that javelins directed toward them deviate /175/ from their route and are apt to strike those [626] nearby. The Tuareg never kill an Enad, for this brings misfortune and the Enad might take revenge from beyond the tomb.

In Sudanese tribes they are called ag'gou (plural, ag'gouten) and 184 sometimes play the part of jesters (griot). Some are musicians and 564 storytellers. This role is not widespread, but it happens that the amenokal of the Tenguéréguif, Chéboun, has several griots attached to his person. They avenge themselves on people who are not [626] generous enough to them by making satirical songs against them to which the Tuareg are often very sensitive.

564 They are willing to do anything to earn a bit of money, which 436 they spend as fast as they get it. A blacksmith always has his debts, 454 but people give him credit for they know that he will be shrewd enough to repay them one day.

564 We must acknowledge that the
[153] Enaden often have very open minds and are gifted with an intelligence higher than the average of the ma-
564 jority of the Tuareg. That is why
644 they have sometimes filled trusted posts with the principal chiefs, who have used them as emissaries or interpreters, indeed even as
[152] counselors.

Thus, at the time of the Hourst mission in 1896, Madidou, aménokal of the Ioullimmiden, officially delegated one of them to Gao to deal with the French officer.

564 The Enaden live either in camp
361 groups or in isolated tents or even individually; they are attached to a chief or a tribe.

564 Although they are foreign to the Tuareg race, they still enter into the components of the great family of veiled men, for the lives /176/ of the two groups are often intermingled. They speak Tamashek,
[198] more specifically a special dialect, tenet, which they alone understand and which is a bit secret in nature. This dialect is unknown in the Ahaggar.

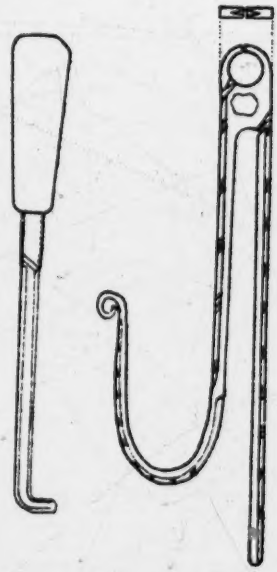

Fig. 17. Forceps for extracting teeth and instrument used for laying bare the roots.

[173] Legend attributes to them a common ancester named Tamamenet, and all of their fractions are supposed to have originated in Ádrar des Iforas. Their true origin is as obscure as
[174] can be; we are apt to say that they are descendants of the Jews who formerly lived at the Touat, in the Tamentit oasis, from which they

174 were chased by Arab marabouts at the end of the fifteenth century.
564 It is plausible that a number of Jews from Tamentit, particularly those practicing the crafts of jeweler or blacksmith, very respected professions among the Tuareg, found refuge with them. Perhaps the Tuareg received a new artistic influence through them. Their knowledge /177/ of fire
[30] and treatment of ores must have per-
[53] mitted the introduction of a larger scale of iron industry among the Tuareg, as well as the use of metal instruments which certainly could not have been very developed before that time; in general, the techniques of the nomadic shepherds was limited to leather and wood. There is no doubt of the artistic relationship between Tamentit jewelry and the Jewish goldsmith's work from North
[17] Africa, on the one hand, and the goldsmith's craft now in vogue among the Tuareg, on the other; this can justify the opinion that part of the Enaden are of Israelite origin. But Sudanese elements have also contributed to the physical formation of the group. We must see the peculiar Tuareg art, at the same time heavy in its forms and delicate in detail, through this heteroclite mixture.

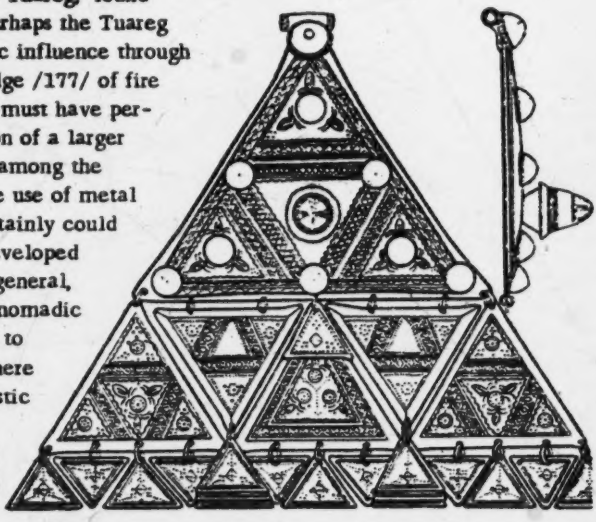

Fig. 18. Silver pendant worn around the neck by Ahaggar women. In the composition are found the triangular motifs common to Kabyle art and to some Berber tribes from Atlas.

564 The Enaden of the Ahaggar are few in number. They include five
[27] or six families who recently settled in the country following raids on them by the Ihaggaren. /178/ Most of them are natives of Adrar des Iforas

and were enfeoffed to the Kounta tribe, or Dăg-Ech-Cheich. The origin of the oldest known families goes back no more than two generations. They are the Ehellellou, who have left descendants, the Badahol and Mohamed /families/, today extinct, and the Rati whose descendants are now settled among the Tăitok. 564

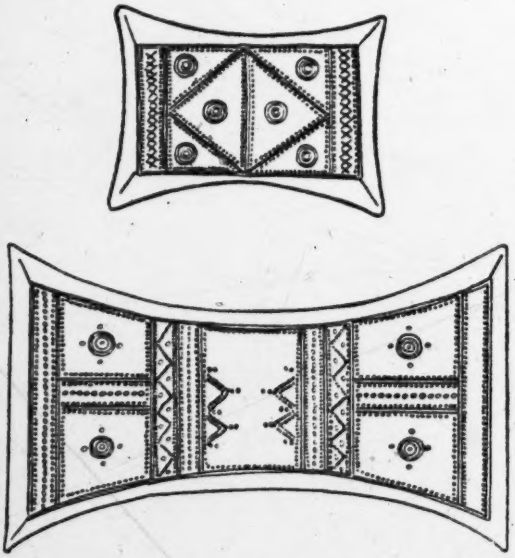

Fig. 19. Silver amulets worn by men on the crests of their hairdo.

At the time of Amenokal Attici (1899) there was a chief of the blacksmiths named Alamine whose role was to oversee and distribute the work and to reduce the newly captured blacksmiths from the Sudan to obedience. He also had judiciary power. 564 326 [301 789 531] [697]

Formerly endogamy was the general rule, but since the occupation it has been violated numerous times, and artisans often take their wives from the Harratin and the Eklan. 564 [582 177]

Their industry is limited to the fabrication of jewels, padlocks, knives, and a few wooden utensils. They are particularly occupied with repairing worn articles.

/179/ In the Sudan the Enaden are much more numerous. That is why industries there are found to be much more developed, even more so since more varied and more abundant raw materials are at their disposal. 564

564 The Enaden do not pay any vassalage dues. Socially, they [651] occupy a place halfway between the Imrad and the Iklan. In certain cases they can even possess captives, and many of them have [567] at their command an affluence unknown among the Imrad, and

[414 531 326]

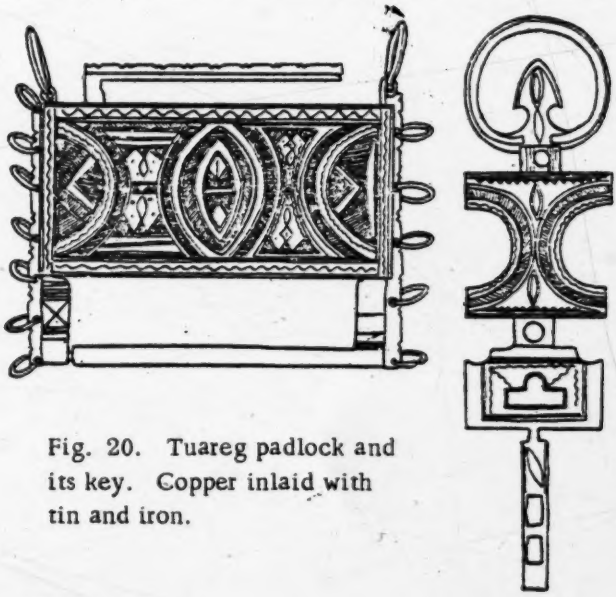

Fig. 20. Tuareg padlock and its key. Copper inlaid with tin and iron.

even among some Imochar.

/180/ Chapter 2

Confederation of the Ahaggar

173 Oral traditions handed down among the northern Tuareg maintain that they originally came from the city of Es-Souq in Ăḍrar des Iforas, known as Tăḍemeka in ancient times, and equidistant from Timbuktu and In-Salah.

32 If, secondly, we look for the aptitudes which the Tuareg have for working these different raw materials, we notice that their enumeration follows the same order as above, with the reservation 325 that none of them know how to work metals. The latter occupations 463 are the prerogative of the Enaden, that is to say, the artisans, and 564 it is évident from this that without the artisans' help Tuareg industry would be limited to work in wood, leather, and esparto. In short, it is the cultural cycle of the pastoral peoples of the steppe.

It is only much later, when the Tuareg had integrated the [174] Enaden with their social organization, that they used metals. Therefore, 415 we perceive the considerable 531 role which artisans must have played in technical evolution and that of art itself.

Fig. 46. Wooden funnel.

/277/ The presence of Enaden in the camps has reduced the manual labor [322] of the Tuareg, but the latter are still able to make wooden articles -- milking vessels, bowls, tent stakes, etc.

565 One of their most curious customs is that women from the high 462 nobility work wooden vessels and funnels with their hands by means 322 of a little adze. They usually give them to the wives of their Imrad, 431 who are very appreciative of these gifts. In the Ahaggar camps we found many little utensils which were the work of famous noble-women, of tamenokalin whose names are piously kept; these objects were saved with much veneration. This custom is even more re- [174] markable since we know the scorn that the Tuareg have for manual labor; we must see in it a relic of woodworking which must formerly have been everyone's work, without distinction, before the creation of the artisan class.

283 Spinning is done by all Tuareg women. They spin the hair of the
462 goat, the camel, and the wild sheep, making very solid cords and saddle girths.

286 Weaving is limited to the making of goat's-hair, or more rarely camel's-hair, bags. This is a very primitive technique which does not require any loom and which is, furthermore, in the process of disappearing from the Ahaggar, where only a few noblewomen still practice it. It is completely extinct in Sudanese tribes.

324 Stonework, a relic of Neolithism, was still carried on in the Ahaggar
438 a few years ago to make arm rings. Layers of granitoid schists were formerly worked at Aseksem and Terahart in [415 the Tafedest. We also found 322] an ancient workshop south of Silet on the banks of the Tamanrasset wadi. Today all stone bracelets come from Aïr and a few from Hombori, where they are manufactured by Tuareg or Hausa artisans.

Fig. 48. Tabarekkat wooden ladle, also serving as a drinking vessel.

326 Metalworking is exclusively in the hands of the Enaden, who transform
[564 silver, copper, and iron. These materials, with the exception of iron, do not exist in a native, workable state in the Ahaggar. But although iron [135 ore is common /279/ in some volcanic rocks of their country, the Tuareg do not have it exploited, for it is found in such small particles that it necessitates a disproportionate amount of forge work for the quantity likely to be recovered. Nevertheless, the memory of casting ore still remains among the Enaden. They use several forges at once, but do not know [439 the blast furnace. The caravaneers coming from the north or from the Sudan used to bring metals.

117 At the present time silver comes from coins which are melted. For
326 years the Tuareg have had Maria Theresa dollars at their disposal; these

571 /48 cont./ Each tribe possessed slaves (iklan), bought or
•564 captured in the Sudan. They lived with Tuareg families, carry-
[567] ing out domestic chores, tending goats, extracting salt, digging wells. These slave families were an integral part of the tribe and followed it in its moves.

The harratin were free or freed men, generally Negroes, often natives of the Touat, come to cultivate the arable lands of the Ahaggar. They worked under two contract systems, which are still in force and which we shall study further on.

## The Tribes

631 In the preceding chapter we saw that each noble tribe possessed imrads, or vassals. Each of these imrad tribes has a chief called "amrar," who rules the tribe according to custom. A tribe can be divided and subdivided. The tribe possesses a pasture region of its own, in which no other tribe may sojourn without a previous agreement with the amenokal, and that only in exceptional circumstances. The nobles may sojourn as they like on the lands of the vassals. The imrad tribes pay a due to the amenokal as a sign of their vassalage. This tax is called "tioussé." The payments are always in kind and in general are scrupulously discharged. This revenue enables the amenokal to uphold his rank suitably during the almost daily receptions, but it is not enough to cover the expenses of his command completely.

## /49/ The Nobles

565 The Kel Rela at present constitute the most important noble tribe of the Ahaggar. These nobles, called in Tamashek "ihaggarènes," are split into three subgroups: the iboglanes, the inembas, and the ikérémoïens. These subgroups are related and increasingly practice endogamy.

The Kel Rela are without doubt the handsomest specimens of the Tuareg type. Does this derive from the fact that they have

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 5. Veiled vassal Tuareg. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

Fig. 6. Irrigation farmer of the *Iburelliten*, that is descendants of mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and Negroes. The man is patrilineally releated to the noble *Tayiok* tribe, matrilineally to slaves. Ahaggar, Amsel.

181 and there are indeed many Tuareg both in Ahaggar and in Ayr who wear Islamic amulets which are believed to make the wearers look "great and important". "Prestige" is constantly in the mind of all Tuareg who are much more sophisticated than other people living within their country.

181 Most true Tuareg are nomadic stock-breeders who will not engage in the strenuous work of irriga-
433 tion agriculture. The Tuareg will readily engage in any strenuous work connected with stock-breeding,
461 caravan trading, and in the past also in raiding expeditions, which were organized by people of the nobility, but agricultural work is generally much despised. However, there are in all groups certain families or tribes the members of which subsist predominantly by agriculture, and are nevertheless
564 considered true Tuareg by pastoralists. These agricultural Tuareg will be mentioned in a later chapter,
567 and we shall now pass on to a brief description of various negroid castes and of other non-Tuareg people living within the boundaries of Tuareg territory:—

*Iklan* (sing. *Akli*). These are the proper slaves who are very negroid. Nicolas believes that the word *Akli* (pl. *Iklan*) is in fact derived from a k-l root meaning "to be black" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189), but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 7. Tuareg boy of the vassal tribe *Imezzureg* in Ayr.

564 Foucauld states that it does not refer to black skin-colour but only to membership of a particular
567 caste (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 787). However, Tuareg slaves are Negroes taken during raids and warfare in the Sudan or bought from slave markets in Sudanese towns and cities. The Sudanese origin of slaves is also indicated by the Ahaggar word *Ibenheren* (sing. *Ébenher*), which term refers to a slave who speaks only a Sudanese language. It is frequently used by Northern Tuareg as an abuse of their
[648] slaves, particularly of slave children. Among the Northern Tuareg slavery is still practised with the tacit consent of the French military administration. Most Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have slaves to take care of flocks and herds and to perform various domestic tasks. These slaves live in pastoral camps of the Tuareg, and in Ahaggar they have frequently told me that they felt superior to the black-skinned agriculturists though the latter largely descend from freed slaves. In the Southern
[648] Tuareg groups slavery is officially abolished, perhaps because the Southern Tuareg are governed by civil administrators. But it seems as if the official abolition of slavery in the south was also a result of the Tuareg revolt against the French 1916–1917, and very few Ayr Tuareg have slaves nowadays. However, the manumission of slaves is not just a recent phenomenon due to European influence. Slaves have been freed long before the advent of French colonization at the beginning of our century. There are in the south whole groups of slaves who have been manumitted at an unknown date in the past, and these people are known among the Ayr Tuareg by the term *Irawélen* most of whom are nomadic stock-breeders culturally akin to true pastoral Tuareg. They are also known by the Hausa term *Buzu*, which term again corresponds to the Sonray word *Bélla*. This latter word, however, may sometimes refer also to people who are considered a kind of slaves by the Tuareg. Nicolas divides the freed slaves among the *Iwllemmeden* into three groups, viz. *Iklan-n-Egef*, *Irawelan*, and *Iderfan*. The two first groups comprise pastoralists also known as *Buzu*, or *Bélla*, while most members of the last

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



group are sedentary agriculturists (Nicolas 1950a, p. 190). In Ahaggar most freed slaves have become incorporated in the negroid caste now to be mentioned. 564 567

*Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*). This term designates the caste of agricultural Negroes known to the Arabs as *Ḥarratin* (sing. *Ḥartani*). In Ahaggar this caste has a rather mixed origin. It did not exist in this 564

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Fig. 8. Vassal woman with amulet cases and snail-shells hanging around her neck. Ahaggar, the *Ajjak-en-tehli* tribe.

564 region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed*
[463] (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Ahaggar to cultivate
[567] gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaren*, or *Harratin*, like the
[191] immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual, speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahak*). The *Izeggaren* (*Harratin*) are generally less
[144] negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features.
[142] Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*) refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaren* does not seem to exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Rat oasis known as *Ikewweren* apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

[361] *Kel Ganet* (sing. *W Ganet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ganet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-
[144] n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ganet* have much the same position as
[565] Tuareg vassals (Imrad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ganet* immigrants, their status is rather
[567] like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ganet* may possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

564 *Inedan* (*Ineden* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Ened*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg
326 groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one. People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only
[162] a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the
564 blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna*
173 *Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963). A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Tementit in Tawat. At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.). 2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and
564 Adrar-n-Foras. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of
144 them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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[184] Fig. 9. Vassal woman with her child straddling over the right hip. The Tuareg generally carry their children in this way though certain Ayr Tuareg have adopted the Sudanese fashion of carrying children on the back. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe.

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have expressed as their opinion that the blacksmiths originally constituted a fair-skinned Tuareg population who mixed with black-skinned Sudanese people like so many true Tuareg. It is interesting

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that Tuareg blacksmiths have a peculiar language of their own known as *ténet*. This language has unfortunately never been studied. It is used by the blacksmiths mainly as a secret language spoken when they do not want other people to understand them, whereas blacksmiths use Tuareg (*tamachek*) as their family language. The Ayr Tuareg consider the *ténet*-language an invention of the blacksmiths.

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Fig. 10. Young man of the sedentary *Kel Ganet* of Tasité-n-Ajjer. He is yet too young to wear the veil which is used also by these Tuareg-speaking people of Ganet.

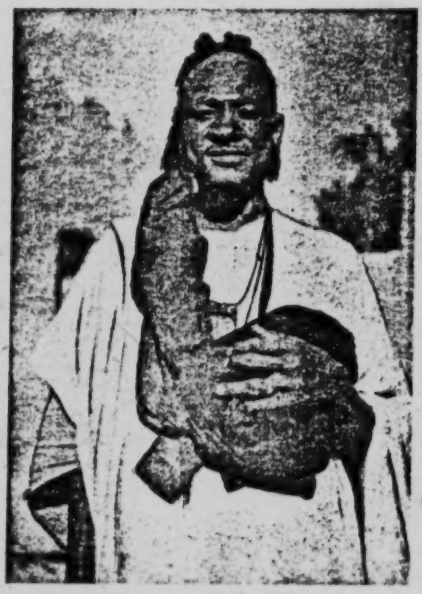

Fig. 11. Unveiled blacksmith. His racial features are predominantly negroid though his skin colour is yellow-brown rather than black. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

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From Ayr Tuareg who had much contact with blacksmiths I collected the following words of *ténet* language:—

| *ténet* | *tamachek* | *English* |
|---|---|---|
| *wochimbagen* | *ineden* | blacksmiths |
| *wozilkum* | *echink* | porridge |
| *tikulkumin* (pl.) | *tikammarin* | cheese |
| *ohundegan* | *aman* | water |
| *ogera* | *éref* | head |
| *tokonderey* | *timezzugin* | ears |
| *tedrorogen* | *tiiawin* | eyes |

Prasse is of the opinion that the secret language of the blacksmiths is a kind of slang consisting of circumlocutions of everyday words, but derived from nothing but the local dialect itself. He suggests the following tentative interpretations of some of the words I have noted:— *wa chenbeyen* = "the blackheaded one"; *wa s ilkem* = "the one it follows" or: "sticks to"; *ogera* = "leather bag".

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The Ayr Tuareg say that the blacksmiths do not have *tebet* words for everything, but always use 564
Tuareg words for certain objects and animals. It is in fact possible that the *tebet* language has been 198
created by the blacksmiths to be used as a secret language. This explanation agrees excellently with
the social position of blacksmiths. They make weapons, ornaments, household implements, and the 564
like for the Tuareg. The Tuareg therefore consider them indispensable, and admire them for their
skill. But this is only one aspect of the Tuareg attitude towards blacksmiths who are also looked down [578]
upon because of their obscure origin and their predominantly negroid appearance. Furthermore,
blacksmiths are frequently wearisome to the Tuareg. They claim gifts from the Tuareg on every [431]
possible occasion, and if they are given nothing when they ask it is believed that they can do severe
harm to the persons from whom a gift is claimed. For the blacksmiths possess a mystic power known 564
to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama* or *tezma*. This mystic power has nothing to do with black magic. It comes 754
into action automatically without any physical performance by the blacksmith if his demand is ignored.
The *ettama* power is dangerous to children and to animals but not so much to adults. Children
frequently fall ill with a swollen belly, while the effect on domestic animals is more severe and often
causes their death. Though blacksmiths do not perform any physical act to put their mystic power
into operation, they are nevertheless held responsible for damage ascribed to it by the Tuareg. This
can be illustrated by the following example from Southern Ayr: – An Ayr Tuareg was on his way
from Damergu to Ayr with a caravan of camels loaded with millet. One evening at dusk, when he was
just about to lead his camels out for grazing at night, a blacksmith came to him to ask for a gift of
millet. The Tuareg said that the blacksmith had better wait until next morning as it was already
getting dark. The blacksmith went away, and shortly after his departure one of the Tuareg's camels
fell ill and died. The Tuareg was convinced that the death of his camel was due to the blacksmith's
*ettama* power, and therefore wanted revenge. He mounted a camel, pursued the blacksmith and killed
him with an axe. This event happened only a few years ago. It illustrates how firmly many Tuareg
believe in the evil *ettama* power of blacksmiths. In fact many Tuareg openly declare that they dislike 564
and fear all blacksmiths. They do not like to associate with them except on festive occasions when [578]
blacksmiths frequently act as singers and musicians. The Tuareg never intermarry with people of the
blacksmith caste, and even people of other negroid castes are reluctant to intermarry with blacksmiths.
In Ahaggar a marriage may be contracted between blacksmiths and *Harratin*, and in Ayr there are
said to be a few marriages between blacksmiths and people of other negroid classes or castes. But on
the whole the caste of blacksmiths (*Ineden*) can be characterized as endogamous. This is quite natural [754]
in view of the fact that blacksmiths possess the evil mystic power (*ettama*, or *tezma*), which I have
described in more detail elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1961, pp. 134 f., 146).

Between fair-skinned, true Tuareg and other black-skinned castes but that of the blacksmiths, 563
marriages are contracted now and then, and it seems as if mixed marriages of this type are becoming 582
more and more numerous. In Ahaggar there are some marriages between Tuareg and women belonging
to the castes of slaves (*Iklan*) or sedentary agriculturists (*Harratin*, or *Izeggaren*) and there are even
marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg women and negroid men though such marriages are less
frequent. Mixed marriages are even more frequent in Ayr. The offspring of such unions are known in 563
Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer as *Iburelliten* (*Aburelli*). This word is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but

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Fig. 12. Blacksmith woman. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

563 they more frequently refer to mulattoes as *Ichardanen* (sing. *Acharda*). Such mulattoes do not form any particular class or caste.

It is stated in almost all writings on the Tuareg that the offspring of mixed marriages will acquire the social status of their mothers, but though this may be theoretically true in some Tuareg groups actual conditions are more complicated. Among *Ineslemen* Tuareg and generally in southern Tuareg [564] groups there is a strong tendency to acknowledge patrilineal affiliation. In Ahaggar classes and castes [565] should ideally be matrilineal organizations. However, this is not always so. A man who descends from a vassal mother and a noble father will not become a true vassal. He will not have to perform any of the obligations characteristic of the vassal class, and to-day he is normally considered noble 563 though he cannot succed to chieftainship in his father's tribe. If a pastoral Tuareg marries a woman 591 of one of the black-skinned castes the children who grow up in the father's camp will frequently remain there as pastoralists and members of their father's tribe. Conversely children descending from a black-skinned father of an agricultural settlement and a fair-skinned pastoral woman will often remain in the settlement to practise agriculture even after their father's death. As to offspring of marriages between Tuareg men and slave women, they will continue to live in the father's tribe as pastoralists, and will frequently acquire the social position of the father as mentioned later in the description of Tuareg slavery. Mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and people of black-skinned castes constitute a minority. But it seems as if such marriages are on the increase.

101 All the above mentioned peolpe are Tuareg-speaking though part of the sedentary agriculturists of 563 Ahaggar (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) have Arabic as their mother tongue. In Ahaggar there are also many [197] true Arabs – particularly at the administration centre of Tamanṛaset. There are also Arabs at certain other villages in Ahaggar, and there are Arab pastoralists. They have largely mixed with the Tuareg, and certain Arab pastoralists such as the *Ahl Azzi* (*Kel Ṛezzi*) should be classed rather with Tuareg than with Arabs. There are also some Arabs in Ayr. There are Arab traders at Agadez, Iferwan, and Ingal, and there are a few Arab pastoralists who have mixed with pastoral Tuareg of Northern Ayr.

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Fig. 37. Wooden milk-bowl (*akabar*) of the type used in Ayr not only for she-camels but also for cows, sheep, and goats. It is carved out of wood of the *turza* tree (*turha* in Ahaggar) (*Calotropis procera*) by a blacksmith. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.285 m high. (N.M. G. 6662).

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Fig. 38. Wooden milk-bowl (*akabar*) of the type used for she-camels in Ahaggar. It was introduced to Ahaggar from the south where it was made by an Ayr blacksmith from wood of the *turha* tree (*Calotropis procera*). The cracked brim is mended with a piece of raw camel hide. Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.240 m high. (N.M. G. 5822).

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Fig. 46. A resting she-camel with the colour name *tawinuǵ*. The colour term of the young she-camel standing in the back-ground is *ténilt*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

In Ayr the Tuareg do not use camel's hide in their crafts, but give it to the blacksmiths who use it for lashing, or to people who manufacture beds from ribs of palm leaves (cf. Fig. 257). The Northern Tuareg use camel-skin for the manufacture of a few household implements and also use it for lashing (cf. p. 84, 110, 222, 270 f. & Figs. 70, 86, 132a–b, 161a–d, 162, 213). But even in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer the skin of camels is little used compared with the skin of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep. 237 564 352 824

When employed in craft, camel's hide is normally used raw and unprepared after soaking in water, but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that for certain purposes the hide is treated with salt. In literature there are many statements about the tanning of camel's hide. Thus it is stated by Cauvet that the hide is tanned with plant material in Algeria, and Cauvet also quotes Duveyrier's statement that the Northern Tuareg tan camel's hide to use it for tents and various other implements (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 714 ff.). I very much doubt the correctness of this, as all Tuareg asked about it have stated that the hide of camels is not fitted for proper tanning. Camel's hide is therefore of very limited use to the Tuareg, and the same is the case with camel's hair or wool. Tuareg camels in Ayr have very little wool, and among the Northern Tuareg most animals have less wool than Arab camels of the Northern Sahara. The Northern Tuareg pluck a little wool with the hands or cut it off with a knife. It is spun into cords to be used for certain minor objects, notably for the manufacture of the plaited pouch (*abeǵu*) to prevent the suckling of calves (p. 62, Fig. 41) and for the particular cord (*asaṛun*) tied around the foreleg of camels to keep them in a reclining position (p. 72, Fig. 45a). Mixed with goat's hair the wool is also used for a kind of primitive weaving (p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b). 281 114 237 283 286

Camels are very important to the Tuareg as pack-animals for the caravan expeditions which will be mentioned in a later chapter when other means of subsistence have been described. 492* 484

In the past camels were also extremely valuable as riding animals on raiding expeditions which 492* 721

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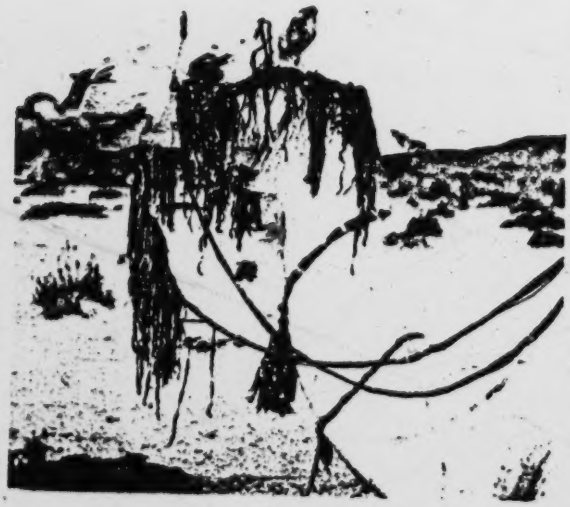

Fig. 52. The *akeskabbu* shakles connected with a leather rein richly decorated with fringes of the same material. This headgear is now in the National Museum (N.M. G. 5192). Hanging around the camel's neck is also a neck collar (*takawt*) with a brass bell (*amayna*) which is also now in the National Museum (N.M.G. 5191) (cf. Fig. 74b). Below the brass bell is an amulet case fixed to a piece of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

*233 *492 camels and for other animals which are difficult to control (Fig. 48). Such halters are known by the term *amerar* among the Ayr Tuareg. Certain camels which are difficult to catch even when hobbled during grazing constantly wear a halter provided with a short rope hanging down from the head – a device applied to many fierce bull-camels (Fig. 56).

*492 To break-in young riding camels the Tuareg frequently use a double rein one end of which is tied around the animal's head to serve as a halter while the other end is noosed around the lower jaw according to the method generally used for pack-camels and described above. But for trained riding [237] camels the nomads normally content themselves with the use of a single rein (generally known as *tarant* in Ahaggar, in Ayr as *trézem*) plaited of goatskin or goat's hair and attached to a copper ring [564] (*tigemt* in Ahaggar) inserted in the right nostril of the camel (cf. Fig. 43). This is done by the blacksmiths who also manufacture a very special headgear (*akeskabbu*, or *taryet* in Ahaggar) for riding camels which are difficult to control. The rider when using such a head-gear has a double rein one end of which is attached to a nostril ring (*tigemt*) while the other end is connected with two iron shackles known as *akeskabbu* (*taryet*) and *amadel*. When the rider pulls the right rein the camel is pulled at the nostril ring, but when he pulls the left rein the two iron shackles are tightened around the bridge of the nose and the lower jaw of the animal. The system is illustrated Figs. 50–52. Black- [326] smiths also make very elaborate halters of this type to be used mainly as an ornament of riding camels [531] on festive occasions. In such cases the halter as well as the rein are richly decorated with coloured

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pair of cross-bars is connected with four short sticks of the same material, each being lashed with hide horizontally to the crossbars. This frame is generally manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt, who also make the large cushion (*tihekam*) of date palm bast to which the saddle-frame is attached with cords. On rare occasions the Tuareg also have saddle-frames of wood (*tabarekkat*, that is *Tamarix aphylla*) made by the blacksmiths on the same pattern, and they may also use cushions of hay stuffed into a piece of matting. The *élaki*-saddle is used in the following way:— The short, looped cords of the loading bags rest upon the wooden frame in front of the camel's hump and on the rear part of the saddle-cushion. A bunch of grass or date palm bast (*aselki*) is placed under the loading cords that they may not gall the back of the camel. In addition to the proper camel-load divided into two halves (e.g., two large bags) there are frequently many smaller objects to be transported, and these are then attached to the wooden saddle-frame. The *élaki*-saddle normally rests loosely upon the camel's back, but it may be fixed to the animal's back by a girth (*ahayif*). It is also occasionally

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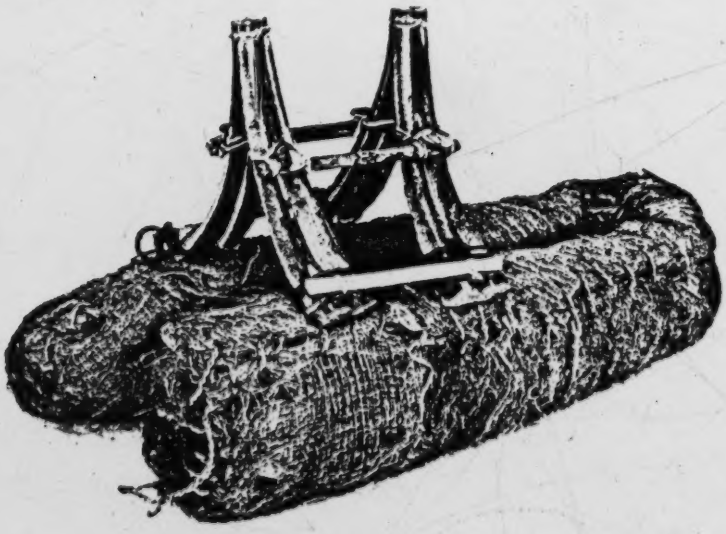

Fig. 55. The *élaki* pack saddle consisting of a saddle frame attached to a U-formed cushion made of date palm bast: The saddle frame made of palm fronds lashed with raw hide. It is called *élaki*, or *erras en eluki*. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.34 m high. (F.M. 191).
The saddle cushion of date palm bast. It is called *tihekam*. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset. Dimension: 1.50 m long. (F.M. 192).

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*492 fixed with a rope running under the tail and/or a rope around the camel's chest. The *elaki*-saddle is [184] unknown to the Ayr Tuareg, but I have seen it in use among Arab traders living at Iferwan of Northern [171] Ayr. It is by far the most common type of pack-saddle in both groups of Northern Tuareg.

Another type of pack-saddle named *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* corresponds to the *herej* saddle of the Arabs. It is used occasionally by the Northern Tuareg, but I have only seen it among the *Kel Ajjer*. The saddle-frame is made from date palm ribs and consists of two cross-bars connected with each other by two crossed sticks at both sides. One of the cross-bars rests in front of the animal's hump, the [283] other behind. The frame is lashed together by means of strips of raw camel-hide and is fastened to [563] two pads of palm bast as can be seen from the photograph Fig. 57. As far as I know this saddle-type, like the type above-mentioned, is manufactured by palm-growing agriculturists of the oases. This saddle type seems to be unknown among the Ayr Tuareg.

The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is known to them as *aruki*. It consists of one [228] wooden arch lashed to two flat boards (Fig. 58). These two sideboards are attached to two pads made from hay stuffed into tubular pieces of dum palm matting. The two pads or mat cylinders are fitted on each side of the camel so that the wooden arch rests in front of the hump. But there is also a rear pad consisting of a stuffed skin-bag laid over the camel's back behind the hump and attached to the wooden arch by means of cords. The loading cords bear on this stuffed skin-bag and on the mat-cylinders in front of the wooden arch. The wooden arch is manufactured by blacksmiths, while the ●[564] side pads and rear pad are made by the Tuareg. The saddle is not generally fixed to the camel by means of girths or cords. The place of origin for this saddle-type seems to be Ayr. It is used also among the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, and it seems as if related saddle-types occur elsewhere in the south (cf. p. 311).

*492 Transportation bags of various types are used for camel loads, but the very large bags woven from 415 a mixture of goat's hair and camel's wool so typical of northern Arab pastoralists are not in current use among the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*, and are entirely unknown to the Tuareg of Ayr. The [563] Northern Tuareg generally use bags made from the skin of barbary sheep, or bags made from date palm bast by the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. Fig. 59). In Ayr the Tuareg normally use transportation bags of plaited dum palm leaves.

The ideal load of a camel consists of two bags forming a total weight of up to 200 kgs for a very strong animal. The two bags, which together form one load, are each provided with two short loading loops. They are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *elferwet* when bags are woven, as *tadekmert* when the bags are of skin. The loading is done as follows:— The two bags are lifted up and supported against the sides of the recumbent pack-camel by two men who put the loops of one bag into those of the other and insert between them two little sticks, known in the north as *tihdad* (sing. *tehedit*). To unload the camel all one has to do is to pull out the two small sticks inserted between the loops, [171] and the two bags fall to the ground. This same system is also used in Ayr, and, I believe, among all camel-breeders of North Africa. - To secure the load in a fixed position it is very common to surround its two halves with a rope (*tkhawit* in Ahaggar), which is laid over the saddle-frame before loading and another rope around the luggage and the belly of the pack-camel is also used if considered necessary.

*492 When camels are taken to the camp from pasture, they are sometimes mounted without a saddle

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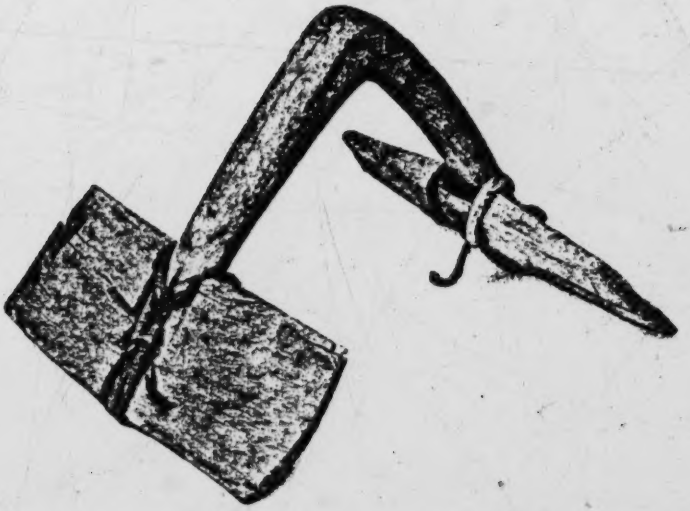

Fig. 58. Wooden saddle frame of the *aruki* type. The curved piece of wood is fastened to two boards with strips of raw hide. The frame is manufactured by an Ayr blacksmith. Bought at Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.337 m long, 0.275 m high. (N.M. G. 5247).

*492 by men and boys, who sit sideways in front of the hump resting their feet upon the animal's neck, or,
[171] more rarely, behind the hump with their feet hanging down, as is the custom of Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. It should be added that on long trading expeditions the Tuareg frequently content themselves with sitting on the top of their loaded pack-camels. But riding in these ways is not very pleasant, and whenever possible the Tuareg use proper riding saddles placed in front of the camel's hump so that the rider sits cross-legged in the saddle with his feet resting upon the lower part of the animal's neck.

Most Tuareg have saddles of the well-known type with a cruciformed pommel. This saddle is known
[531] as *térik* which term is used for three distinct sub-types. One is known as *tekokeyi* (Fig. 60); it differs from the type known as *tamzak* mainly therein that the latter is provided with peculiar ornaments and designs (Fig. 61). These two saddles are those normally used by the Tuareg, while the third sub-type known as *bertekes* is extremely rare; it resembles the *tamzak*-saddle, but is provided with many
[564] small bells fastened to be back (Fig. 62). Such saddles are hardly ever manufactured by the black-
[432] smiths of Northern Tuareg countries, but are made in Ayr, notably in Agadez, where the Northern Tuareg also buy their riding saddles. Even the Arab pastoralists of the tribes *Chamba* and *Ulad Ba*

[text continues on p. 80]

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Fig. 61. Riding saddle of *tamzak* type (*térik*). Manufactured in Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: ca. 0.77 m high, 0.31 m broad. (N.M. G. 6655).

A less elegant type of riding saddle known as *taḥyast* (Ahaggar) or *aḥyas* (Ayr) is used rather frequently among the Northern Tuareg and occasionally in Ayr. The wooden structure of this saddle (Fig. 63) does not differ much from that of the cruciformed *térik*-type. It is lighter and less solid, and the saddle is not much esteemed among the Tuareg who use it because it is cheaper. It is manufactured 492* [564]

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Fig. 62. Riding saddle of *bertekes* type (*térik*). This saddle was brought to the Musée de l'homme by Duveyrier. From Tasilé-n-Ajjer, probably manufactured in Ayr.

*492 mainly by blacksmiths of Adrar-n-Foras, which region is considered its original homeland, but it is
●564 also made at Agadez in Ayr where the wooden skeleton is often covered with hairy ox hide. The wooden
[237] structure of this saddle type is described in literature (Gabus 1949, pl. XII; 1957, p. 176).
[113] In Ayr and further south in Damergu I have often seen a very simple riding saddle which has never been mentioned in literature. It is known as *kantarki* or *delobi* (Figs. 64–65), and it is very interesting

[Text continues on p. 84]

that it is manufactured by pastoral Tuareg of these regions and not by blacksmiths, though the latter may also make such saddles for their own use. The wooden structure is made of two cross-bars, which are natural prongs fashioned with knife and axe, and these two cross-bars are lashed to each other at their lower ends, or are connected with each other by means of two sticks crossing each other at the two sides. A wreath of slender roots of *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) covered with a network of dum palm rope may serve as a saddle seat, which can also be covered with a piece of matting plaited from the leaves of the dum palm tree. This very simple saddle may perhaps be considered the prototype of the more develop[illegible]iding saddles of the *térik* and *tahyast* types.

All the above-mentioned types of riding saddles are placed in front of the camel's hump and rest upon two to four saddle cloths, the number depending upon their quality and also upon the nutritional condition of the animal. Two saddle-cloths are considered enough for a fat camel while four should be applied to a very thin one. Saddle cloths are frequently called *ésatfar* (Ayr) or *asetfer* (Ahaggar), but this name is in fact used for everything placed upon the back of an animal to protect it against galling from the luggage and/or the saddle. Saddle cloths for camels are properly termed *éselis* (Ayr) and *ameslak* (Ahaggar). Both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr saddle cloths are generally made of cotton, but they are also made from dum palm matting and a piece of leather among the Ayr Tuareg (Figs. 66–67). The riding saddles are fixed to the camel by a single girth known as *ahayif* (Ahaggar) or *azaw* (Ayr). In the north such girths are normally made from goat-hair while the Ayr Tuareg use plaited leather (goat-skin). Girths in both regions are frequently furnished with a very large tassel hanging down from the right side of the camel (Fig. 69). On rare occasions when the Tuareg ride their camels with all possible speed, e.g., at the annual camel races organized by the French administration, the riders often secure the position of their saddles by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren* among the Northern Tuareg) tied around the hind part of the camel as shown by the photograph Fig. 68.

The camel rider sits in the saddle cross-leged with his feet resting upon the camel's neck. To accelerate the speed of his riding animal he pushes one of his feet against its neck in step with the rocking gait peculiar to camels. A whip (*alekkoḍ*) also belongs to the equipment of the rider. Most whips have a single lash made from a twisted strip of hide, but whips provided with two lashes of hide attached to a wooden handle are also found and are common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Figs. 70a–b). The whips used in the north are said to be made from camel's hide soaked in water; the raw hide is twisted and kept in this position until it is dry. The Ayr Tuareg say that camel's hide is not well fitted for whips, which among them are manufactured from the raw hide of a newly-killed ox. A piece of this hide is twisted and left to dry as in the north. The handle of the one-lash whip is made of cotton wrapped around the upper part of the lash and covered with coloured goat-skin.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular implement to hasten the speed of riding camels. It is described in literature notably by Foucauld. It consists of a slender iron rod 0.35–0.50 metres long, fixed into a wooden handle. It has a small crook much like that of a staple and is used for scratching the animal and thus to incite it to greater speed. It is called *azalla*, or *asekred* (Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 856 & IV, p. 1960). I have never seen this peculiar implement among the Tuareg.

A camel rider's equipment comprises various types of skin bags of which the most common is a

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saddle known as *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* and described above p. 76 (Fig. 57). The Ahaggar Tuareg have 492* four sub-types of women's saddles:— (1) *akhawi*, that is a very large saddle at each side provided with 562 a wooden arch; (2) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tkéwin*), a lighter saddle provided with similar wooden arches; (3) *aragen*, a large and heavy saddle without side-arches; (4) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tehdad*), a light saddle without side-arches. These saddle types, particularly the former type known as *akhawi*, are exhaustively 113 described by Foucauld in his dictionary (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 723), and a very beautiful specimen is here depicted from the collection of the Musée de l'homme (Fig. 75). Very elaborate saddles as 564 that depicted are always made by the blacksmiths, but light saddles of the *tkhawit* types may also be 462 manufactured by Tuareg women. Thus women of the *Iregenaten* tribe south of the Ahaggar Massif make saddles of the lighter type themselves. Women's saddles may sometimes be provided with a roof made from curved and bent boughs covered with cotton or blankets. This peculiar construction is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ahennaka*.

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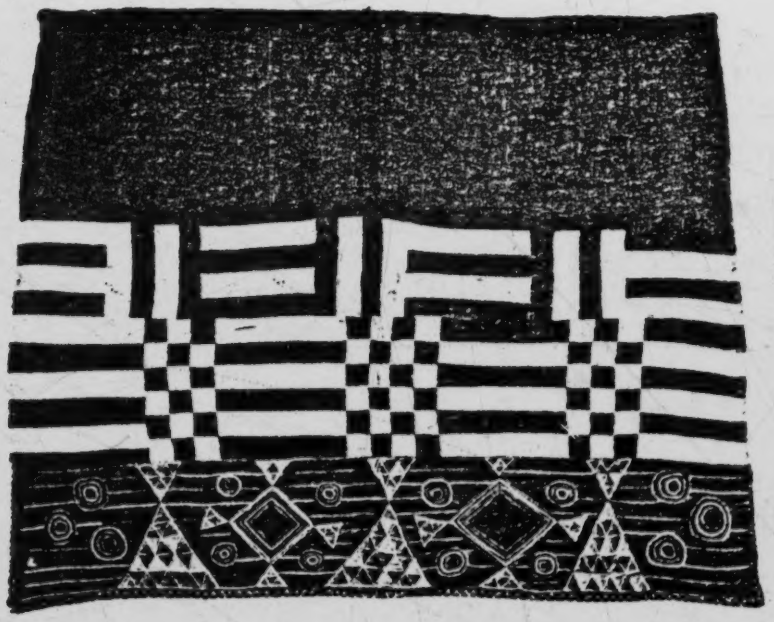

**Fig. 67. Saddle cloth (*amesloḳ*) of cotton and embroidered with coloured thread. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.771 × 0.620 m. (N. M. G. 5190).**

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224 on sandy ground. This same method is also used to catch asses or wild donkeys for domestication (cf. p. 108).

(7) It has been mentioned above (p. 108) that wild donkeys are also caught by driving them into closed valleys from which they cannot escape. As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not hunt proper game animals in this way, but the driving method is used in fishing as described below (cf. p. 164).

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*éfetaw*) (Fig. 113) connected with a noosed rope (*tarani*) attached to a piece of wood (*aṭula*) is used to catch gazelle, barbary sheep, and donkeys. Such traps are easily and quickly manufactured by the Tuareg, and when they want to trap gazelle in this way they make a great many traps which are placed in the sand around young acacias upon which the animals feed. [43] The arrangement of the spiked wheel-trap is brilliantly illustrated in literature (cf. Lhote 1951a, photos p. 112-113; Brouin 1950, p. 454).

(9) A torsion trap (*tenderbat*) provided with a noosed rope is used particularly for barbary sheep. This trap is also depicted in literature (Lhote 1951a, p. 113; Mérite 1942, p. 185). The trap is rare in Ahaggar nowadays. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that the trap was introduced from Adrar-n-Foras. It is said to be unknown to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (cf. Fig. 114a).

[569] [177] The Ahaggar Tuareg nowadays engage little in trapping in contrast to the negroid agriculturists (the *Ḥarratin*), most of whom have steel traps (*elkhenlyet*) manufactured in Europe, or made by native blacksmiths on the European pattern. A few agriculturists have large steel traps to be used for gazelle, barbary sheep, and even for the big gazelle and antelope, but the common steel traps are small and are used mainly for hares (*émerwel*, fem. *témerwelt*; *abekni*; *Lepus harteri*), jackals (*ébeggl*, *aggwr*; *Thos aureus* sp.), and fennecs (*akhorhi*, *érechter*; *Fennecus zerda*). Still smaller traps are used for minor rodents (*édewi*; *Gerbillus gerbillus*?) (*akumdar*; *Masoutiera* sp.) and for certain birds such as ravens [223] (*aralek*, *taslafi*; *Corvus ruficollis ruficollis*), pigeons (*akekkemaz*; *Columbia livia targia*), turtle-doves (*tédebirt*; *Streptopelia turtur hoggara*), and sand grouse (*tékadewt*, *tédebirt*; *Pterocles* sp.).

Steel traps are now widely used, and traditional trapping methods for small animals and birds are therefore rarely resorted to. Among the *Kel Ajjer* small rodents are caught in snares (*azendi*) made of leather. Snares of this kind are known both to pastoral Tuareg and to sedentary agriculturists of Ganet and Rat. Among the latter there are also two different trap-systems used for small rodents, which in both systems are killed by a flat, heavy stone falling upon them. One of these traps is named *téselselt*. I do not know whether these traps exist in Ahaggar.

223 Small birds, including pigeons and turtle-doves, are caught in torsion traps by sedentary agri-
564 culturists of the oases. Traps of this kind, which are normally provided with a net (cf. Fig. 114b), are found in most oases of the Northern and Central Sahara, but I have never seen them in use among pastoral Tuareg. Pigeon, turtle-dove, sand grouse, and also partridge (*Alectoris barbara duprezi*) are caught in snares made of hair. Ten or twenty of these snares (*égefey*) are attached to a string so that several birds can be taken at the same time. Bird-snaring is practised mainly by sedentary agriculturists.

262 Sedentary agriculturists, slaves, and some vassal Tuareg are not squeamish. Even meat of beasts
565 and birds of prey is eaten by certain vassals, though such animals are unclean and inedible according to Islamic rules. The meat of fennecs, jackals, and a large eagle-like bird known as *tamikka* is eaten

[text continues on p. 162]

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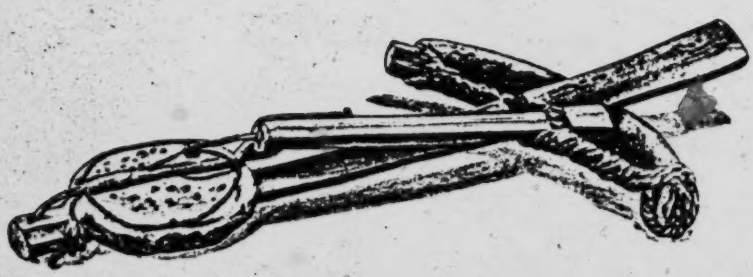

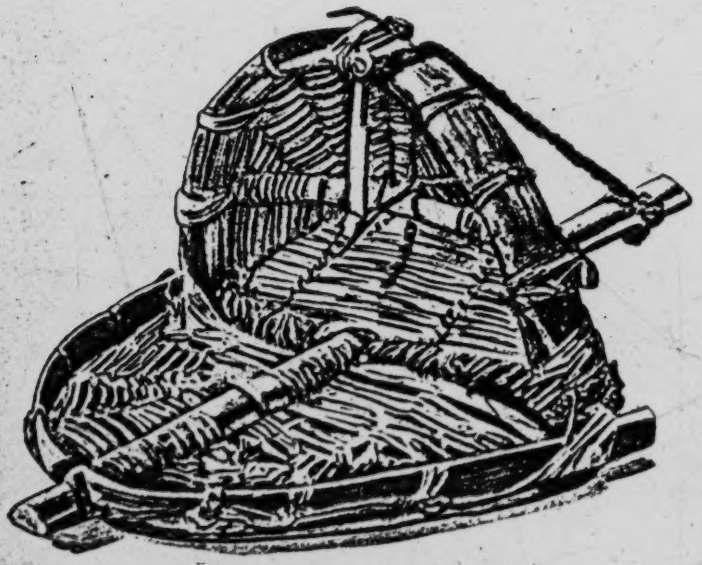

Fig. 114a–b.

a. Torsion trap of the *tenderhat* type used among the Tuareg. From the Sahara (Mériis 1942, Fig. 59).

[564] b. Torsion trap provided with a net. This trap is known to most sedentary agriculturists of the Sahara but it is not used by pastoral Tuareg (Mériis 1942, Fig. 60).

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Fig. 115. Negroid agriculturist (*Ḥartani*) with a hare caught in a steel-trap (*elkhenîyet*) of European type. Ahaggar.

262 by many people in vassal tribes, and jackal's meat is popular as it is considered an excellent remedy
565 against fever (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 146). But there are also many Tuareg who refuse all types of game
[757] with the exception of such animals as gazelle, barbary sheep, and antelope. Some Tuareg consider hare's meat unlawful, but this, perhaps, is a conception introduced with Islam, for many people of the religious *Ineslemen* class claim that hare should not be eaten because their blood resembles that of menstruating women. The food taboos strictly followed by all noble Tuareg are older than Islam: they never eat birds, eggs, reptiles, and fish.

These rules are not traditional for vassal Tuareg, though some of them have adopted the taboos of the noble Tuareg.

224 In Northern Tuareg areas two big lizzard types are found. One of them is called *aggezzeram* (*dobb*
564 in Arabic; *Uromastix acanthinurus*). This is caught and eaten by slaves, agriculturists, and by many
565 vassals. It is frequently taken by hand, but there is also a special implement (*taskawt*, *takoḍa*) consisting
262 of a stick provided with an iron crook for catching lizzards hiding in holes and under rocks. When
[432] vassal Tuareg are able to catch a great many *agezzeram*-lizzards they cut them up and dry them for
[484] sale on their regular trading expeditions in autumn to the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. p. 210). The *agezzeram*-lizzard is said to be the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the negroid blacksmiths (*Ineden*), because the lizzard's tail resembles a file. I do not know whether the few blacksmiths found in Northern Tuareg country eat this lizzard, but do not think they do. The lizzard is not considered very delicious, and blacksmiths have emigrated from the south where it is not generally eaten.

The other edible lizzard is named *arata* (*Varanus* sp.). It is much bigger than the *agezzeram*-lizzard just mentioned, and its meat is excellent according to the taste of most Europeans. But this big lizzard

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is refused by noble Tuareg and in general also by vassals. One reason for this is that the Tuareg have a myth saying that the *ərata*-lizzard is the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the noble Tuareg. Some vassals claim that it is the ancestor of all true Tuareg, but this statement does not agree with mythology (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 61). However, this lizzard is eaten mainly by slaves and by certain agriculturists, though its meat is considered a remedy against snake-bite and scorpion stings (cf. Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.). The head of an *ərata* is considered an excellent amulet against these poisonous animals (Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.), and the skin of this lizzard is not only utilized for the manufacture of amulet cases but also for small bags of various types (Fig. 116a).

Small animals are not necessarily killed with any particular hunting implement. The animals may be taken with the hand or killed with sticks and stones, as is the case with the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, *tékenisit*), which is eaten by some people, and with small rodents. Even hares can be taken with the hand when they hide in the grass or under rocks. The hunter may then approach the hare swinging one of his sandals over his head. This, it is said, makes the animals believe that it is hunted by a hawk or an eagle, and it will therefore remain stubbornly in its hiding place. Even gazelle are sometimes taken without any proper hunting weapon. Some Tuareg say that on journeys through the barren desert country in the summer they have met gazelle so exhausted from thirst that they could take these animals with their hands. Although this is rarely possible, I know Tuareg who have crept up to gazelle hiding from the sun in daytime and killed them with a stone. Finally it can be mentioned that the

Fig. 116a–b. Two small skin bags.

a. Skin bag (*abelbof a ərata*) made from the skin of the big *ərata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.). Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Tarhawhawt. Dimension: 0.325 m long. (N.M. G. 5834).

b. Skin bag (*abelbof a témerwelt*) made from hare-skin. Ahaggar, bought from *Harratin* at Tarhawhawt, manufactured in the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5833).

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Fig. 130. Semi-wild date palms in the canyon-like Aharhar valley of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The palms are owned and harvested by pastoral Tuareg.

245 (Aharhar and Éherir) where "semi-wild" palms are abundant. These palms are owned by pastoral
[221] Tuareg of various tribes. Their dates are harvested in the autumn when Tuareg palm owners with
[342] their slaves live in straw-huts or huts covered with palm leaves situated among the palm trees.

Similar plantations of palm trees which are left to themselves most of the year are also found in
245 Ahaggar, notably at Silet-Tihegnin. Part of these palms are owned by members of the *Dag Rali* tribe
423 (the sections of *Kel Tamamanet* and *Kel Terhenanet*) and by members of the very small tribe, the
[651] *Ikechokomaden*. The palm-owners give as an annual payment to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar one bunch
of dates from all palms which have more than two bunches. The yield of another part of the palms
[565] belongs to the vassal tribe *Iklan-en-tawsit* (the sections *Kel Silet* and *Kel Tahalra*). For usufructs,
[651] members of these two sections make a collective annual payments to the *Amenukal* comprising four
bags of dates, twenty goats, two ropes of goat's hair, and five water bags. The dates are harvested by
245 Tuareg of the above mentioned tribes in August-September. Harvesting is done with sickles and is
[221] finished in three to four weeks when the palm-owners return to their camps with dates packed in bags
[492] and loaded on donkeys and camels. In harvesting their dates most Tuareg are assisted by black-
[564] skinned agriculturists (*Harratin*, or *Izeggaren*) of Abalessa who are given a certain amount of dates
[465] for their work. These agriculturists build the huts in which the palm-owners live during harvest (cf.
[463] p. 338 f.).

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In literature there seems to be no reliable information about the existence of irrigation agriculture 241
in Ahaggar until Duveyrier, who states that agriculture did not obtain a fixed position in the economic 175
life of the Ahaggar Tuareg until the reign of the *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) (cf. Duveyrier
1864, p. 369). This statement is confirmed by most agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg in Ahaggar, 241
who claim that prior to *Elkhaj Akhmed* irrigation agriculture was not practised in Ahaggar. During 312
the reign of this *Amenukal* irrigation agriculture by means of the subterranean aqueducts known to 173
the Arabs as *foggara* (*éfell*, pl. *ifelan*) was introduced by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs and negroid *Harratin* from 177
the Tidikelt oases. Some people of Ahaggar claim that another irrigation system was introduced about
the same time, namely irrigation wells from which water is drawn by oxen and donkeys. This system,
known as *tanut*, is said to have been introduced by agriculturists from Ĝanet (Djanet) (the *Kel Ĝanet*).
It should be noted that there are certain traditions which claim irrigation agriculture to be older in
Ahaggar. One tradition says that it was practised at Silet-Tibeghin by Arabs who immigrated from
Tawat to cultivate by means of the *foggara* system even during the reign of the *Imenan* (Lhote 1955,
p. 286 f.). Another tradition, recorded by Foucauld, states that irrigation farming was known at a 241
very remote date by the *Isebeten* – a pagan people said to be the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes of 312
Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535 f.). Traditions of the age of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar 173
are conflicting. If it was practised long before the reign of *Elkhaj Akhmed* by the ancient vassals, I
believe that water was raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counter-
weight. For this system, which is known as *ajudid*, is said to have been very common in the past. It
is extremely rare nowadys, and I have only seen it once at Terhenanet. There can be no doubt that [171]
this simple irrigation method is a very old one in North Africa, where it is more widely distributed
than all other types of irrigation methods (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, map VII p. 320). The very wide
distribution of this system elsewhere in the Old World points to its great age, and it is perhaps to be
considered the oldest true irrigation machine.

A few Tuareg in the northern groups practise irrigation agriculture, which does not seem to be one 241
of their traditional occupations. Tuareg irrigation farmers are found mainly in the Fezzan, but mention 178
should also be made of the people of three noble tribes, namely the *Ilemteyen* (living at Rat), the
*Ikadeyen* (at Tit in Ahaggar), and the *Kel-ahem-niellen* (roaming pastoralists north of Ahaggar or settled
farmers at the oasis of Infer in Tidikelt). These sedentary or semi-sedentary noble Tuareg were originally
true pastoralists, though but little is known of the original mode of livelihood of the *Ikadeyen*. A few
individuals or families among the Ahaggar vassals have more recently taken up irrigation agriculture
in addition to stock-breeding. There seems to be a growing tendency towards semi-nomadism in
Ahaggar nowadays. There may be several reasons for this. Thus one can point to the decline of [437]
caravan trading and to the fact that pastoral Tuareg cannot so easily get the true agriculturists to cul-
tivate for them. The true agriculturists of Ahaggar comprise the *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*) of Tidikelt, [564]
who have mixed with the manumitted slaves now also known as *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*), a few fair-
skinned *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, and the *Kel Ĝanet* who are predominantly black-skinned. All these agricultural
people tend to mix with each other and also with tribes of pastoral Tuareg.

There are at present about 25 agricultural settlements in the river valleys of Ahaggar. Apart from 361
the administration centre of Tamanrasset (1600) and the oasis of Abalessa (547) these agricultural 162

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camels. This blood never constitutes a proper dish to the Tuareg. They bleed camels to drink their blood only when they lack water on journeys in the desert. Bleeding is done according to the method described above, and the blood is collected in a drinking bowl. But the Ayr Tuareg say that they work up the mass of blood with the fingers with the result that the upper part of the amount of blood becomes more liquid, though it is always red in colour.

The Tuareg use the following implements to make cereals or other vegetable products into flour:—

(1) A large wooden mortar (*tindé*) with a heavy pestle (*éherem*) (Fig. 177). It is used in all camps and villages of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr, and is in fact known all over Tuareg country. It is used mainly for pounding millet and sorghum, but it is also employed for pounding other cereals, including certain wild seeds, and for dates, cheese, meat, locusts, and the like. These large wooden mortars are manufactured by the blacksmiths of Southern Tuareg country, including Ayr, where most Northern Tuareg obtain their mortars. Among the Northern Tuareg there are also other mortar types. A small mortar which like the former rests on a foot and is known by the same name (*tindé*) (Fig. 178), is used mainly by sedentary agriculturists for pounding rock-salt, dried tomatoes, tobacco for chewing, and other plants or materials to be used in small quantities. Another type of mortar without a foot and known to the Northern Tuareg as *akabar*, or *takabart*, (Fig. 176) is found mainly among pastoralists who use it on journeys for pounding millet.

(2) A saddle quern (*tehunt*) (Fig. 179), which consists of two natural and in general unfashioned stones, is found in most camps of the Northern Tuareg. This constitutes the only grinding implement for wheat, barley, and certain wild seeds among the *Kel Ajjer*. The stones used for saddle querns are sharpened at intervals with a hard stone or some other hard object (*tasettekut*) in order that they may grind effectively. A simple saddle quern (*azar*) is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but it is less common there than in the north.

(3) The handmill (*tasirt*) (Fig. 181) is not a traditional implement of Tuareg culture. It is widely known all over Northern Africa both by Berbers and Arabs, by sedentary peoples and nomads living in black tents. It has been introduced to Ahaggar mainly by the immigration of the Arabic speaking Harratin (Izeggaren) of Tidikelt,

Fig. 169a–c. Pieces of butter-milk cheese (*awles*, pl. *iwlan*).
a. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.066–0.068 m in diameter, 0.022 m thick. (N.M. G. 5816).
b. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.062 × 0.022 m. (N.M. G. 5817b).
c. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.058 × 0.016 m. (N.M. G. 5817c).

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**Fig. 177.** The large millet mortar (*tiadi*) with its heavy wooden pestle (*dheyen*). It is used almost daily for pounding millet in the camps and it is used also to pound other cereals, dates, and even meat. Mortars of this type are manufactured in Southern Tuareg country by blacksmiths. The specimen depicted is made of wood from a tree growing in the Sudan and known to the Northern Tuareg as *tuyin*. Introduced to Ahaggar from Zinder, the *Dag Bali* tribe. Dimension of the mortar: 0.445 m high, 0.299 m in diameter at the rim. Dimension of the pestle: 1.255 m long. N.M. G. 5224a–b.

**Fig. 178.** Little mortar (*tiadi*) with a short wooden pestle (*dheyen*). Manufactured from wood of *absay* (*Acacia Raddiana*) by a blacksmith of Tamanrasset. Ahaggar, *Hawrania* of Tarhawhawt. Dimension of the mortar: 0.230–0.235 m high, 0.170–0.180 m in diameter at the rim. Dimension of the pestle: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5838a–b).

It is called *dkanef* and is baked in the following manner:— The millet flour is mixed with juice of *tadent*-berries (i.e., berries of *Boscia senegalensis*) and also with certain medicines unknown to my informants who said they were of Sudanese origin. This mixture is made into a solid dough with a very small content of water, and is baked in the sand where it is covered with hot sand, ashes, and embers in the same way as the bread type known as *tagella* (*tagella* in the north).

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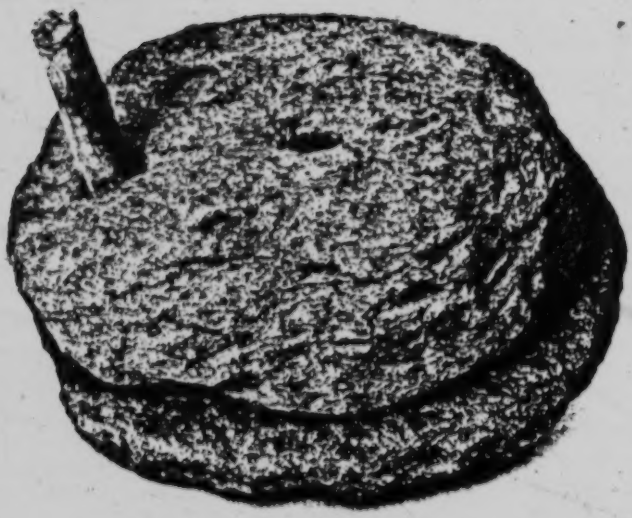

Fig. 181. A hand-mill (*tasirt*) manufactured by blacksmith of Tamanrasset and used at that village by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs. Dimension: 0.52 m in diameter (upper stone), 0.32 m in diameter (lower stone). (N.M. G. 5840a–b).

262 and red pepper which is much esteemed by the Tuareg, but not always available. The pounded flour
252 of these vegetables is boiled with water and butter and thus turned into a kind of thick sauce which is poured out over the porridge to be eaten.

The porridge type known as *esink* or *echink* can be made from other seeds besides millet. Porridge made from barley, which is then also pounded in the mortar, is highly esteemed by the Tuareg who also use various wild seeds and roots for this dish. Plants utilized for porridge are mentioned above in the description of collecting (p. 175 ff.). Porridge is also made from dried dates pounded in the millet mortar; this dish is common among the Northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg have a particular type of porridge which I have never tasted. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *bayela*, and is made from pounded seeds of various cultivated plants (wheat, barley, maize, or millet). The seeds are pounded in the mortar but their husks or pods are not removed by winnowing. Otherwise the preparation of this dish is similar to that of ordinary porridge.

262 The Ahaggar Tuareg distinguish between very thick porridge called *tarawayt* and very thin porridge
846 or thick gruel known as *aliwa*. The latter dish is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the same name, and

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Fig. 185. Tray or bowl (*tabeyka* – perhaps not correctly spelled). It is used for winnowing, and it serves as an eating bowl and a drinking bowl as this container is watertight. Coiled basketry of date palm leaves (*afum*). Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ball* tribe. Dimension: 0.205 m in diameter. (F.M. 263).

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Fig. 186. Pot (*tolekkist*) with a single handle. Manufactured by *Harratin* women in Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.18 m high. (F.M. 172).

in a mortar with a little water to a soft dough to which a little cheese, butter, or milk is added before 262
eating. If a large quantity of milk is added this dish is known as *tarkit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, as men- 252
tioned (p. 167), also pound dried dates with locusts to make a dish eaten by women who wish to grow fat. [261]

The Arabs and the Arabic-speaking agriculturists of Tidikelt (the *Harratin*) have introduced among 262
the Northern Tuareg the well-known North African dish generally called kuskus. The dish is known [72]
to the Tuareg as *keskesu* which is also Arabic by origin. But this dish is not the staple diet among [71]
the Northern Tuareg that it is among the Arabs and the Berbers of the Atlas. It is eaten mainly on festive occasions, and there are many Tuareg women who even to-day do not know how to prepare it. The *keskesu* dish is preferably made from wheat flour, though barley flour may also be used. The 252
cereals are ground with hand-mills or quern stones (saddle querns), and the flour is rolled into very

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Fig. 187a–b. Earthen cooking pots manufactured by *Harratin* women in Ahaggar.
a. Pot (*téṛirt*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanṛaset. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (N.M. G. 5841).
b. Pot (*alekkin*). Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Taṛhawhawt. Dimension: 0.174 m high. (N.M. G. 5204).

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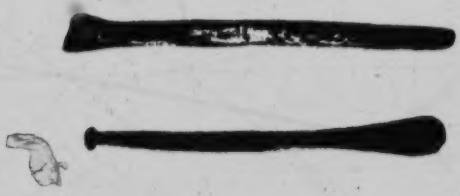

Fig. 188a–b. Simple ladles of the *aserwi* type used for stirring millet porridge. Made by Tuareg women from wood of *absey* (*Acacia Raddiana*).
a. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.382 m long. (N.M. G. 5211).
b. Ahaggar, the *Ikeyawen Hada* tribe. Dimension: 0.415 m long. (N.M. G. 5846).

252 small balls with a diameter of up to five milimetres. The balls are put into a special earthen, wooden,
*[415] or plaited bowl (*denba*, or *denfu*; Fig. 189) which has a number of small holes in the bottom. This receptacle is placed on the top of a cooking pot containing meat and/or vegetables to be boiled in water for a soup. The small flour balls are thus steamed by the boiling soup in the cooking pot. Like

[Text continues on p. 250]

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Fig. 189. Earthen jar (*drufu, or dewba*) of the particular type used for the preparation of *keskesu*. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.16 m high, 0.30 m in diameter. (F.M. 215).

Fig. 190. A kind of cake (*tarfat*) made of onions and dates which are mixed and pressed. Such cakes are made in Tidikelt but are sold at Tamanrasset by Arab merchants. They are pounded in the mortar or are crushed between two stones before cooking. Dimension: 0.10 m. (N.M. G. 5847a).

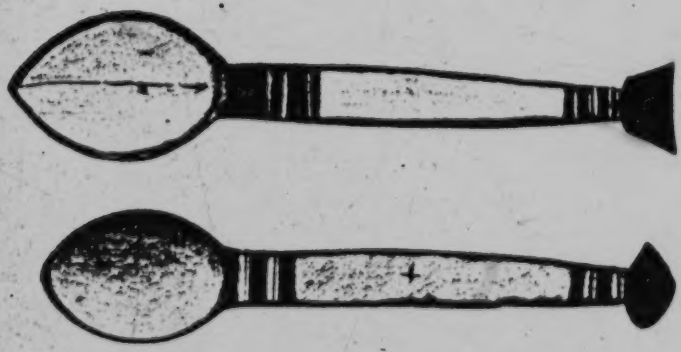

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Fig. 191. Wooden spoons (*tesukalt*, pl. *tisukalin*) cut by blacksmiths from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Dag Ball* tribes. Dimension: ca. 0.26–0.28 m. (F.M.).

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Fig. 194a–c. Bowl-like ladles from Ahaggar and Ayr. They are used mainly for eating liquid dishes – in particular for the dish known as *arekaru* (Ahaggar) or *arelira* (Ayr).

a. Ladle (*tamulat*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.285 m long, 0.110–0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5845).

b. Ladle (*tamulat*). Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.330 m long. (N.M. G. 6631).

c. Ladle-like bowl (*assar*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanraset. This ladle-like bowl was not used for food but for conservation of fine-grained sand used for hair-dressing together with water and butter. Dimension: 0.330 m long, 0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5879).

[302]

264 frequently consisting of bread or porridge eaten rather late at night. The Ayr Tuareg have related terms for their meals:— (1) *tegimgimt* which is a prepared meal eaten late in the morning. (2) *timekkelewt* which is the prepared meal taken at midday. (3) *temegint*, late evening meal which is the main meal in Ayr, as in Ahaggar. In addition to these meals there is a very light meal taken with tea immidiately after rising. It is known as *elfetur*.

[272]

[511] Incidentally there are Tuareg who do not have food enough to eat three times a day.

During times when Tuareg subsist exclusively on milk they have no regular meals. The amount of milk needed to support life is very great, and it is drunk slowly during the day. On extensive journeys when the camels cross the barren deserts, the Tuareg also do not have regular meals as they do in their camps.

[484]

[text continues on p. 255]

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Fig. 195a. Wooden eating bowl (*ayrhar*) made by Ayr blacksmith. Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.095 m high, 0.253 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5212).

[531]
[829]

Fig. 195b. Wooden eating bowl (*elkade*) manufactured by blacksmith from wood of the *rwyla* tree and provided with an iron handle. Ayr, blacksmiths of Damergu. Dimension: 0.43 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 6632).

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Fig. 198. Flint (*tafarast*), steel (*énefed*), and lighting material (*tajjeri*). The lighting material, which is conserved in a leather bag (*tarallabt*), is made from wood of *teférpast* (*Echinops Bovei*). Ahaggar, the *Aɣah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the steel 0.065 m long. (F.M. 154a–d).

4/2 tools, e.g., for hammering tent pegs into the ground, for rope making as described below, for separating the hide from the body when skinning a barbary sheep, and for crushing rock-salt, red pebber, dried tomatoes, tobacco, and the like. We have seen above that the Tuareg saddle querns used for grinding cereals are natural stones of a particular form and size, and that they are used for grinding without any particular fashioning, though sometimes treated with a hard stone or a piece of iron to make the [324] grinding surface more rugged and effective. The handmill is never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg (cf. p. 214 ff., Figs. 179–182).

4/2 172 Prehistoric quern stones and stone pestles are found in many regions of the Central Sahara and these ancient implements, I was told, are sometimes used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar for grinding and pounding (Fig. 200). The Tuareg also use the numerous neolithic stone axes (Fig. 199) as whetstones for iron knives. These axes are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *taḍeft n eɣenna*, that is "the axe of the rain (or the thunder)", and all Tuareg believe that they have fallen from the sky during heavy storms.

301 Stone material is still used for certain Tuareg ornaments, and notably for the well-known arm-ring (*ahbeg* in Ahaggar, *éweki* in Ayr) which is worn by most adult men and also by some boys. These rings are sometimes mentioned in literature as a weapon, but they are not well fitted for this owing [564] to their fragility. Most arm-rings are made from soft stone such as serpentine, and are manufactured by blacksmiths (Ineden).

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Fig. 202a–b. Two ceramic drums of a type used by sedentary agriculturists in Ahaggar.

a. Large drum (*akrelal*). Made by woman of the *Ḥarratin* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.450 m high, 0.310–0.325 m in diameter at the top. (N.M. G. 5907).

b. Little drum (*ahakar*). Made by woman of the *Ḥarratin* at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.25 m high, 0.25 m in diameter at the top. (F.M. 286).

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Fig. 203. Earthen incense jar (*elbakkhar*). Ahaggar, *Harratin* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.179 m high. (N.M. G. 5889).

323 512). Most pastoral Tuareg of Ayr get their pots from Agadez, but pots are also imported from the
[437] south where they are of superior quality. These pots are said to be manufactured by black-skinned
323 *Igdalen* Tuareg (cf. p. 432) of the southlands, notably by people of the *Ikenawen* class which comprises
563 professional pot-makers. These people are not found among the *Kel Ayr* but are common in camps
[197] of the *Kel Geres* where I have met them. They speak *tamachek* but also have their own language
323 which is said to be related to *Sonray*. The pots made by these southern people are painted and decorated
531 (cf. Fig. 205) in contrast to those of Agadez which are plain and of very simple forms (Figs. 204a–b). So far as I am aware painted and decorated pottery is rarely manufactured in Ayr nowadays. But Rodd states that such pottery in the form of pitchers with a blue design is made near Agadez (Rodd 1926a, p. 160 f., pl. 22 p. 209), and when I investigated ruins of stone houses at Iferwan I found a great many sherds of finely-decorated painted pots which must have been used up to the end of the
[178] great Tuareg revolt in 1917 when these houses were destroyed by the French. Lhote has also mentioned the decline of pottery techniques in Ayr, and he states that, apart from little incense jars, no painted and decorated pots are manufactured at Agadez nowadays (Lhote 1950c, p. 511).

*415 Certain metal receptacles were known to the Tuareg long before the European occupation, notably
[437] a cooking pot (*éṛir*) made from copper, and the flat drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned
[326] copper or brass in Tripolitania, or in Tunisia. Metal receptacles are also manufactured by native blacksmiths in Tuareg country, e.g., the pail (*éṛir*) to be used for liquid butter (Fig. 164).

322 The blacksmiths are excellent wood-workers and make most wooden domestic utensils used by
[564] pastoral Tuareg (Figs. 21b, 37, 38, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63a–b, 75, 150, 153–154, 166, 176, 177, 178, 191,
[412] 194, 195, 212a, 219a–b, 285). The main implements for wood working are axes and adzes (Figs. 206a–d).

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Fig. 206a–d. Axe and adzes of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

a. The ordinary axe (*sufuft*) which is found in all Tuareg camps. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.572 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.157 m long, 0.053 m broad. (N.M. G. 5233).

b. *Intawt*, a small socket-shafted adze with knee-shaft. Adzes of this type are common in Tuareg camps. They are used mainly by women for wood-carving. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.301 m long. (N.M. G. 5232). [322]

c. *Afkadiw*, adze shafted by means of a piece of sheet-iron and nails. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.440 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.130 m long, 0.058 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5864).

d. *Afkadiw*, slot-shafted adze. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.430 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.222 m long, 0.063 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5865).

The axe and the adzes are all made by blacksmiths. [564]

The very best ropes or cords manufactured by the Ahaggar Tuareg are those made from goat's 283 hair which is sheared with a knife by the women once a year in the hot season. These ropes are known [237] to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ihellumen* (sing. *ahellum*), while the proper term for a rope of goat's hair [233] in Ayr is *azaw*. But the Ayr Tuareg do not make such ropes as they have goats of the short-haired breed (p. 33). They obtain their ropes from the Ahaggar Tuareg. Ropes of goat hair are manufactured [438] by women by the following method:— The mass of hair, known as *éhafilen*, is placed upon a piece [462] of skin and is prevented from blowing away by means of a stone. The hair is then taken out in small quantities with the first and second fingers of the left hand to be spun upon a stick 30–40 cms long.

[Text continues on p. 266]

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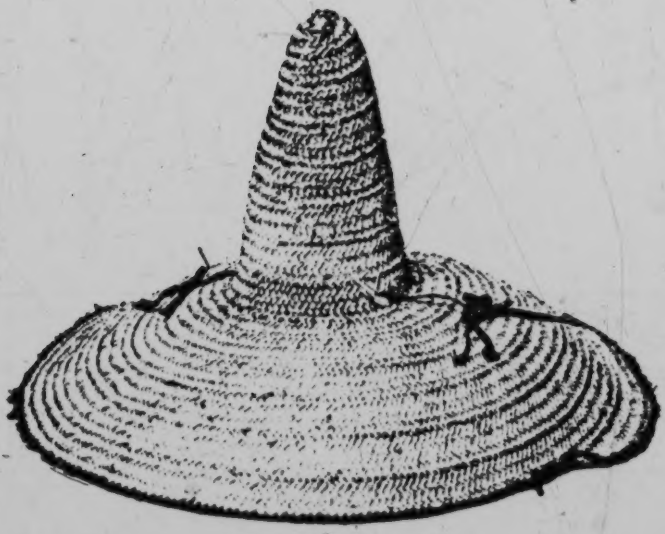

Fig. 231. Woman's straw-hat (*idié*) plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*aḡum*). Ahaggar, the *Deg Ḡali* tribe; manufactured at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.565 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5276).

386 to the Ayr Tuareg as *tamezgoyt*. It is found both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, and is used for dyeing tent-skins (cf. p. 361).

281 A number of the most common skin bags and similar objects of decorated leather work made by
462 Tuareg women in Ahaggar are reproduced in Figs. 220–229.

* [415] Though the pastoral Tuareg women in the north are excellent leather workers they find their superiors
[564] in the blacksmiths women and those of the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Women of these sedentary negroid groups provide pastoral Tuareg with leather objects like sword-sheaths, amulet cases, leather purses, large saddle bags, cushions, and the like (cf. Figs. 72a, 76, 121a–b, 172a–b, 198).

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Arab bedouins is given by Finbert:— "Dans les jours de disette, on pulvérise les ossements de la carcasse, et bien que l'Islam interdise l'usage du sang, on l'y mêle en le recueillant d'une veine que l'on ouvre à un chameau. De ce mélange on fait une pâtée que l'on dévore. En cas de famine prolongée, on mange de la corne moulue avec des trayons macérés dans du sang. Le sang lui-même, toujours pris sur l'animal vivant, est versé dans des boyaux qui sont ensuite grillés comme du boudin" (Finbert 1938, p. 39). It is very possible that the custom of bleeding live animals for food has once been widely known among many people of the area now dominated by Islam; thus Ibn Batutah mentions a Turanian people among whom blood of live horses is used for food (Ibn Batutah III, p. 24). 261 171

Among the Tuareg a certain medical value is attached to camel's urine (p. 127), but they do not wash in it as do many Arab bedouins of the Peninsula. A conception of camel's urine as something clean seems to exist among many camel-breeders, and Thesiger mentions that bedouins of Southern Arabia wash their hands in camel's urine before milking (Thesiger 1959, p. [illegible]). 237 171

It is evident that some traits of camel-breeding resemble customs known also to African cattle-breeders, and it seems as if these customs are widely found among people who breed one-humped camels. – Certain traits of camel-breeding are peculiar to the Tuareg and a few adjacent peoples. 233 171

In contrast to all other camel breeding peoples the Tuareg and some adjacent peoples have riding saddles that they place in front of the camel's hump (p. 78 ff.). The common saddles are those known as *térik*, comprising the two main types named *tamzak* and *tekokeyt*, the most developed riding saddles among the Tuareg. These saddles are also used by some of the Northern Arabs, notably the *Ulad Ba Hammu* and the *Chamba* who import them from Southern Tuareg country – particularly from Agadez where the best saddles are made. The *térik* saddles with a cruciformed pommel are quite peculiar to the Tuareg. 492 171

The Tuareg saddle known as *ahyas* or *tahyast* (Fig. 63) resembles the *térik* type in that it is also placed in front of the camel's hump, so that camels are ridden in exactly the same manner as with *térik*-saddles. The *ahyas* type is not mentioned from the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg. But it is extremely common among the *Western Iullemmeden* and is said to have originated in Aḍraṛ-n-Foṛas. Further west among the Moors, a riding saddle somewhat resembling the *ahyas* type seems to form the common type. It differs from the *ahyas* mainly in that it has a very low pommel and a very broad and deep seat. Several specimens of this Moorish saddle type are found in the Musée de l'homme in Paris (e.g., nos. D. 33.24.14 & 34.76.15). These Moorish saddles are placed in front of the hump like all Tuareg riding saddles, but I have been told that owing to their peculiar structure the riders cannot generally reach the camel's neck with their feet, so that they ride more bumpily and less steadily than the Tuareg, who secure their position by stemming their naked feet against the camel's neck. This is also seen from photographs of camel riders from Mauretania (cf. Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129).

The *térik* and *ahyas* saddles are always made by blacksmiths, and this is probably also the case with the Moorish riding saddles. But as mentioned above (p. 82 ff.) the Tuareg of Ayr make certain primitive riding saddles themselves, and these, called *kantarki* or *delobi*, are perhaps the prototypes of the more developed saddles made by the blacksmiths. Tuareg riding saddles for camels do not seem to have been introduced to Africa by the Arabs of the Peninsula where such saddles are unknown. The use of a single rein attached to a metal ring fixed in the right nostril of the riding camel is perhaps [564]

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Fig. 254. Cylindrical huts with conical roofs. The Fezzan area. Photograph by Dr. Erik Smidt, Copenhagen.

*342 Duveyrier states that in such fixed camps ("campements
564 de station") the noble Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer live in tents, while the vassals use straw-huts (Duveyrier
[361] 1864, p. 403). The Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer agreed that this was so in the past, but nowadays noble Tuareg and vassals alike prefer the straw-hut in summer because the leather tent is extremely hot at that season. Barth also states that many vassal Tuareg of the *Kel Ajjer* do not live in leather tents like the noble Tuareg, but in round, conical huts akin to those of Central Africa, and he says that many Tuareg of the *Ajjer* group have an intermediate position between sedentary and nomadic people (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257). Everything seems to indicate that the straw-huts (*ikebran*) used among the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer form the traditional dwelling of most vassal Tuareg, and it seems as if the round and conical *ékeber* type is of more ancient date with them than the square or rectangular type A.5.b.

*342 Cylindrical huts with a conical roof are used by the Tuareg who live in the Fezzan area, and they are also here somewhat mixed with the square or rectangular straw hut. This is stated by Despois who describes these dwellings in some detail (Despois 1946, p. 83 f.). A round hut with conical roof similar to the hut mentioned above from the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but having 16 forked sticks around the central post instead of 9, is described in detail by Scarin from the Tuareg of the Ṛadames region (Scarin 1934, I, p. 112 f., Fig. 90–94 & phot. 42).

In Ahaggar cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs are less common than in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. I have seen very few of them, and they seem to be of different origins as follows:—

[22] Huts akin to the round *ékeber* type described above from Tasilé-n-Ajjer were seen in the *Amenukal*'s camp close to the village of Abalessa, and the same type occurred at Silet where it was used by Tuareg pastoralists of the tribes *Iklan-en-tawsit*, *Ikechchemaḍen*, and *Dag Ṛali* during their stay at Silet to harvest dates. These latter huts were made from very thick poles of palm trunk and their construction was identical to that described from Tasilé-n-Ajjer above (cf. Fig. 253 a-b). The palm trunk poles were

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cleft at their tops to provide a sort of prong to support horizontal laths and roof laths. These dwellings were not built by the Tuareg themselves, but were erected by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa who assisted the Tuareg during harvest. It is most likely that there is a connection between these huts and those used among pastoral Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, for they are built according to the same structural principle. 342*

Three huts constructionally somewhat akin to the round *ékeber* described above from Ahaggar were seen at Abalessa. The huts were inhabited by blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*), who had immigrated from Adraṛ of the Iforas comparatively recently, and they claimed that the huts were built according to a method generally applied in their original homeland. [534]

The photograph Fig. 254 taken by Dr. Erik Smidt, Copenhagen, who has travelled in Tripolitania and in the Fezzan, shows a cylindrical hut with a conical roof of a type found in the latter region. Huts or houses of much the same type are also depicted by Barth from Éderi (cf. Barth 1857–58, I, Ill. p. 153). I believe that all these dwellings built of plant material in the regions of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and Tripolitania are related to each other, and they are perhaps also historically related to cylindrical houses with more solid walls built of stone. I have in fact seen one such dwelling in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (in Oued Aharhar close to Afara).

Cylindrical huts and houses are used for summer dwellings by the people of Medenine in Tunisia where these dwellings fall into two groups:— (1) the *kib* which is covered with mats, and (2) the *lahla* which has a wall built of stone (cf. Bernard 1924, p. 19 f.). The cylindrical mat-covered hut, the *kib*, is also described from Tunisia by Despois. It has a central post fixed in the ground and carrying a cross-bar which is further supported by two poles — one at each of the ends of the cross-bar. Certain huts, also known as *kib*, have an oblong form, but most of them are cylindrical. Certain huts are portable, but the majority is a kind of permanent or semi-permanent dwelling for poor people during the summer (cf. Despois 1955, p. 404 f., pl. XVI Fig. 1). 342* 171

Cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs seem to be of very great age in North Africa, having been known to the ancient Eastern Libyans (cf. Bates 1914, p. 169 f.). Great age must no doubt also be attached to cylindrical buildings with conical roofs used as barns among the Kabyle of Djurdjura.

Cylindrical houses or huts with conical roofs also occur within Southern Tuareg country, but they are to my knowledge nowhere built by pastoral Tuareg of this extended region. In Ayr I have noticed that such huts or houses are also extremely rarely used by sedentary agriculturists. I have only seen this dwelling form at Iferwan and at Ingal.

At Iferwan there seemed to be only two cylindrical dwellings which were built within a sort of compound together with a square *téjira* hut and a beehive hut (cf. A.5.a & A.8.). Both buildings were thatched with straw, which at the top was formed into a kind of tuft as is frequently seen with some Sudanese huts. One of them had a cylindrical wall consisting of a piece of matting, while the other had a wall plastered with mud – also very common in Sudanese villages. I believe that the forms of both dwellings were due to Sudanese influence, but I did not investigate their structure. That cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs occur at Iferwan has also been mentioned by Foureau (Foureau 1905, p. 883 ff.). [171]

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*342 281 shape. In Southern Tuareg groups the skin tents also vary much in size, but they tend to be larger. Thus it is stated by Nicolas that skin tents among the *Kel Dennek* measure up to one hundred square metres (Nicolas 1938, p. 54), and Lhote says that 80–150 skins are used for sheets of the very large tents of the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (Lhote 1947a, p. 100).

[804] The Tuareg themselves do not refer to the size of a tent by counting the number of skins, or by measuring. The size of a tent is indicated by reference to the number of skin rows in the longitudinal direction of the sheet, and these rows of skin are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *taṛda* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). I have myself seen extremely small tents having a sheet of only three *taṛda*, but a tent of normal size will generally have four or five such skin rows, and some even have six or [462] seven *taṛda*. Among the Northern Tuareg the sheet is manufactured in Tuareg camps by pastoral [562] women and their female slaves. Among the *Kel Dennek*, tent sheets are manufactured by women of [564] the blacksmith caste (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 155).

*342 285 A mat to be drawn around the lower part of the dwelling constitutes a very essential part of Tuareg skin tents. This mat is generally made from the stems of *afezu* (*afeẓu*) grass (*Panicum turgidum*) tied together with leather strips as already described. A tent mat at times is divided into two halves which are rolled up and placed at each of the narrow ends of the tent during hot weather so that currents [351] of air may pass through. When weather is cold and also when storms are raging, the Tuareg close their tents with these mats, which may also be drawn out to form a kind of low courtyard in front of the tent (cf. Figs. 267–269). The straw mat made from *afezu* stems tied to one another is known as *éseber* (pl. *isebran*) both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, while the name of a tent mat among the *Kel Dennek* is *šitek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154), or *chitek* according to our transcription system. Among the Northern Tuareg, tent mats are generally about one metre high, while varying much as to length. These mats very frequently serve as a kind of wind-screen leaning against poles,

*342 281 133

Fig. 267. Skin tent seen from the back. The shape of the sheet is most irregular. Ahaggar, the *Aġah-en-tehlé* tribe.

[text continues on p. 364]

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placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made 634
four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his 721
part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. 565
He kept them there for about a month, when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted [227]
on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based 634
upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. 565
It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal [184]
tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were [423]
not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of 565
cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed be- 571
tween all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other 634
unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Faday*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and [564]
vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Imeggedezen* and even *slaves*. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the [601]
more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *abubaz* (pl. *ibubazen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This 565
statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only 582
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567 608 in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner. When a slave marries a slave girl the latter becomes the daughter-in-law of her husband's owner, and there will consequently be a kind of avoidance between these persons as between other relatives-in-law of different generations. In connection with slave-marriages it is of some interest to mention the following custom practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar:—

[582] [431] Among the Tuareg of Ahaggar a man has a certain marriage priority to his mother's brother's daughter according to rules which are outlined in the next chapter (p. 458 ff.). Therefore when a Tuareg's mother's brother's daughter marries somebody else the first man vill be entitled to a pair of sandals from the groom. In agreement with this custom a slave when marrying a slave-girl must give a pair of sandals to his wife's owner's ("father's") sister's son as explained in the diagram above (Fig. 292).

(2) The husband in a Tuareg pastoral family stands in the relationship of "father-in-law" (*adeggal*) to all slaves owned by his wife, while the wife is the "mother-in-law" (*tadeggalt*) of all slaves owned by her husband. Between these fictive relatives-in-law there is institutional avoidance which, however, is far less strictly observed than for true relatives by marriage of different generations. Owing to these rules a man must not or should not marry a slave girl owned by his divorced or deceased wife, just as it would be improper to marry a daughter-in-law.

(3) It is not forbidden for a man to marry a slave-girl whom he owns, even though she is considered his "daughter". This does not disagree with ordinary kinship-rules for a man is permitted to marry some of his classificatory daughters. If a man marries his own slave girl his children, among the Ayr Tuareg, would not be considered *Ichardanen* or *Iburelliten*, that is "mulattoes". They have the right to be considered true Tuareg or *Imajeren*, but in case of disagreements between a Tuareg of this type, and other people, they will call him by one of the terms used for "mulattoes", and may even call him "slave". If a man marries a slave girl who does not belong to him, his children of that marriage will [583] not become true Tuareg. But a Tuareg who wishes to marry a woman of slave status or a mulatto will attempt to secure the acknowledgment of his wife and her children as true Tuareg by the payment of a high bride-price. Thus a Tuareg of Ahaggar who married a mulatto girl gave for bride-wealth seven camels as is customary for noble Tuareg in the two northern groups, though the price according 554 to traditional rules should not exceed the value of one camel. It must be added that the position in Tuareg society of people who are not true Tuareg by origin depends greatly upon personal qualities. If a man is wise, rich, and generous, or if he is a marabut, all Tuareg will be ready to associate with him on equal terms even though he be predominantly negroid. I have noted several examples of this, and once met a very negroid nomad who was greatly respected by all Tuareg because he had once [534] killed seven goats in one day to entertain foreign guests. There are certain classes and castes in Tuareg [567] society. Formally it seems comparatively easy for children of mixed marriages of Tuareg and slaves to be considered Tuareg as slaves have a social position different from that of true black-skinned castes.

567 608 (4) If a slave woman has suckled a Tuareg girl or has taken a little fair-skinned Tuareg girl to her as her own, she will be recognized as the girl's true mother. And if the slave woman has children of her own they will be recognized as brothers and sisters of the little Tuareg girl. When the Tuareg girl later marries, her husband will be considered the true son-inlaw of her slave-mother and there will

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



585 the broad side turning westwards. Inside the tent there is nothing beyond the large bed (*tédabut* covered with mats and blankets.

(2) The wedding guests perform the ceremonial camel-ride (*ilugan*) in the afternoon [illegible] continue to sing, make music, and dance throughout the night.

[262] (3) The wedding feast continues the next day with the killing of an ox for the guests. On this day early in the night (about nine o'clock), the groom comes to the wedding tent. He is closely veiled and walks in the middle of a large procession of men and some women. The procession walks slowly, the [533] women accompanying it shrilling and cheering. If the camp is situated close to Agadez the procession is led by professional musicians who on this occasion are on horseback. When the procession has arrived at the wedding tent the groom enters into it directly and without much formality, but does [564] so through the narrow end turning southwards. Some of his friends squat around him in the tent while a few blacksmiths drum and praise the groom in songs which also refer to the fact that the blacksmiths have arrived in order to transform the wedding into a great feast. When the groom has entered the tent most guests continue to dance and make music until about eleven o'clock, when the bride arrives.

(4) The bride is led towards the wedding tent by a procession of singing women who are not accompanied by musicians mounted on horses even if the camp is close to Agadez. The procession proceeds extremely slowly, and sometimes almost marks time. The women sing the praise of the veiled bride who walks in the middle of the procession behind a tall woman. The bride's hands are around the tall woman's waist, and she is hidden under a large piece of white cotton placed over the tall woman's shoulders and back. When the procession is close to the tent it is joined by many men and by the drumming blacksmiths who lead the procession to the wedding tent. Here the procession walks three times around the tent, stopping in front of the narrow entrance facing southwards. The women now claim the promise of a gift from the groom to his bride (cf. p. 462). When a gift has been promised the tall woman creeps into the tent with the bride clinging to her back. The bride is placed upon the bed together with the groom who is already sitting there, the mat at the southern end is drawn to and closed, and the bride and the groom are left alone. The wedding is now over, and the guests leave for their tents and camps.

(5) The bride and the groom now remain seven days in the tent. They leave it only to releave nature [591] and preferably after darkness. When this stay of seven days in the wedding tent is over, the newly-married couple immediately take up residence in the camp of the husband's father.

From the description of Tuareg wedding ceremonies above we see that they develop very slowly. This is particular so in Ahaggar, where the bride and the groom are brought together to be separated again before being finally united in the correctly erected tent. In Ayr the bride and the groom are brought together more directly, but do not meet until the second day of the wedding feast. They then have to enter the tent in an abnormal way – through the narrow southern end. The fact that the ceremony develops slowly and that the tent is not correctly erected are traits typical both of the Ahaggar and the Ayr Tuareg.

585 121 It is clear that the groom and the bride during the ceremony live so to speak outside the community. Tuareg wedding ceremonies are characteristic rites of passage and contain traits common to many

113, 101, 184, 565, 463 Tuareg MS25

[For information on the Tuareg see 1: Coon, M1 Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 204-210.]

/149/

Book IV

# The Tuareg of the Ahaggar

## Social Organization

## The Ahaggar Confederation

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## Chapter 1

## Social Organization

101 Here we shall speak of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar. But since all of the Tuareg form a quite homogeneous ethnic group, what we [184 177] say about their /Tuareg of the Ahaggar/ social organization will, in general, be valid for the whole, although their social organization remained more sheltered from foreign influences than that of the other groups, because of their isolation in the heart of the Sahara.

The Ihǎggaren /Ahaggaren/ may thus be considered, as a result of that isolation, the witnesses and representatives of Tuareg civilization.

565 Classes and castes. -- Social organization among them /the Tuareg/ shows strong analogies with our ancient feudal system. Indeed, there is a chief whose nominal authority holds sway over all the tribes, a class system (aserkam) which divides tribes into suzerains and vassals, religious elements and serfs, enfeoffed the ones to the others, and an artisan class.

564 565 Classes in so-called primitive societies are born out of private property, wealth, and the authority of the strong who become the protectors of the weak, and have had as a corollary war and slavery. The caste system, which is an accentuated form of the class system,

565 includes hereditary specialization, hierarchy, repulsion between the
564 different groups, and refusal to associate with people of a different caste. These principles are partly in force among the Tuareg, whose type of social organization borrows from the two systems.

/150/ Furthermore, there are great analogies between the two systems. This sort of aristocratic organization is well suited to nomadic life, in opposition to democratic organization which is more commonly found among sedentary groups.

According to some authors, the caste system is specifically
171 Hindu; it only existed in its pure state in India and to a lesser de-
564 gree in ancient Egypt. (1) Thus we are hardly surprised to find this

1. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre /The Races and Peoples of the World/, p. 489.

organization among the Tuareg who, culturally, belong to the same cycle of civilization.

182 The crystallization of that organization among this people,
564 who on the whole possess quite high intellectual qualities, as well as the material crystallization, can only be explained by the isolation in which it was confined as a result of circumstances where climate has certainly played a large role.

565 The Tuareg are divided into suzerains (Imochar) of a specifically warlike nature, vassals (Imrad) most commonly shepherds, religious men (Inislimen), and serfs (Iklan). Other elements from different origins are enfeoffed to them, such as the Issekkemâren, the Iboroliten, and the Enaden.

The present hierarchy obviously results from a series of wars
174 and civil conflicts. In the fight for life each person endeavored to
182 get his share, and as always this was at the expense of the weaker.
565 Tribes achieved a predominance which they were not always able

174 to maintain, which others seized from them, and suzerains became
182 vassals. But in spite of these contingencies of war, the Tuareg
565 attach great importance to blood origins and always respect high-
[554 727] born people, even though they may be their vanquished /adversaries/.

Thus, at the present time, the nobles of the Ahaggar and the
554 Xjjer may be seen to seek alliances with women of the fallen fraction
565 of the Imenan Sultans. This adds to the luster of their high origin
581 a certain character of religious nobility, which is much appreciated among Moslems.

000 Monogamy and matriarchy. -- To understand Tuareg society, one must remember two important facts, facts which are, moreover, not completely independent of each other, monogamy and matriarchy.

/151/ While the Tuareg are Moslems and have polygamous
174 peoples as neighbors, it is astonishing to note that they practice
562 monogamy. This is an evident indication that women occupy an
[595] important place in their society, in no way comparable to what they occupy among the Arabs. This was very striking to the first travelers who thought they saw traces of an ancient Christianity in the persistence of monogamy. This argument might be held if we did not know, on the other hand, that the social organization of the Tuareg rests on matriarchy, an ancient custom much earlier than the Christian era, which explains monogamy and the particularly high position of women.

Gautier writes on this subject: "It may be said that the Tuareg practice chivalrous gallantry; the expression is inadequate only because of the association it evokes. Our chivalry has a Christian origin; the respect of the Tuareg for women has much deeper and more remote reasons. It goes back to matriarchy, which is earlier than the notion of the state and even that of the family. It is a living witness of completely primordial humanity, a sentiment, if I may say so, of the quaternary age." (1)

1. La conquête du Sahara /The Conquest of the Sahara/, p. 33.

643 644 The aménokal generally has one or two caliphs charged with taking his place or representing him with the fractions.

The amrar. -- Each tribe, called taousit, has its amrar, who, 631 like the aménokal, is chosen according to matriarchal rules.

Amrar, in Tamashek, [192] means "the old," "the respectable," "the ancient," /158/ and by extension, [643 534] "possessor of wisdom." It is the equivalent of the Arab word "sheik."

Fig. 16. The tobol, symbol of the aménokal's command, with its "imîtkar."

The amrar is the intermediary between the people of his tribe and the aménokal. He transmits orders from the latter and sees that they are carried out. He collects the tioussé intended for the aménokal from the Imrad and sets the share that each is to pay. He settles minor disputes between the people of his tribe and fixes the pasturing zone to be used by each camp.

He takes part in the vote which sanctions the election of the aménokal and at the arollan, which discusses major decisions concerning the life of the confederation.

In a confederation subject to an aménokal, a grouping which the Ahaggar Tuareg also call tégéhé, there may be several tobol, that is, several suzerain tribes, each with its vassals. The name taousit, making double use of the word for tribe, is sometimes used to designate the whole whose chief also bears the name of amrar among the Ihaggaren and agoalla among the Kel Aïr /Asben/.

The amrar has no characteristic symbol of command, at least [171] among the Ihaggaren. In certain Sudanese tribes, many formerly had a drum analogous to that of the aménokal.

565 192 The Imochar. -- The Imochar (singular, Amacher) form the aristocratic class. This word means "man of dominant stock

565 /Fr. race/, " "aristocrat, " and not "noble" as some have written.
[192] This would be said elli (plural, illellan) in Tamashek. (1)

1. Cf. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik, " Bulletin de l'Institut Français, Afrique Noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, pp. 579-586.

192 In Sudanese dialects, amacher, by transposition into local
197 phonetics, becomes amajer (plural, imajeuren). As we have already said, it is easy to find in these names the old Berber root amazir, which formerly referred to certain Libyan peoples and which still exists in the name of a considerable Berber fraction in Morocco.

565 The Imochar, who hold the political rights, are the real masters of the country. All of them claim to be of sherif origin, more or
[173] less descendants of the Prophet; however, this claim has no solid foundation, except the desire to assume a high birth affiliating them to Islamism and its founder a long time back, but this is not true.

/159/ Among themselves, the Tuareg refer to men of old nobility and old stock /Fr. race/ as loumet.

565 All the Imochar are essentially warriors. They owe their high
701 social position to the saber, and they know no other occupation than
631 war and raiding. Their role as suzerain makes them parasites of the vassal classes, and they used to constitute a scourge to caravans
[181 crossing their country. Their way of life has always been pillage,
461] and in their eyes manual labor is a disgrace which only slaves can accept.

181 Covering the desert on their camels, fighting, risking death in
565 faraway escapades -- that is what the life of a man of noble blood, who intends to remain one, must be. They take their vassals on their escapades and save part of the booty for them, by right of participation. Scorn for manual labor is a class prejudice with them

181 and not caused by a state of laziness, for although they would not
565 consider working the land at any price, they would not mind traveling thousands of kilometers under often difficult and quite dangerous conditions to go pillage opposing tribes. Once back in camp, they intend to lead a life free from any material cares, shifting the burden to their vassals.

422 They entrust the keeping of the captured herds to the Imrad,
565 reclaiming the beasts from them when they need them and the necessary usufruct for their food. For themselves, they keep only
[231 mounts for war and for transporting household objects and are content
234] with small herds of goats with only the number of head strictly necessary to assure their daily milk needs. In the same way, they
[567] do not own many slaves of their own, for the latter would make so many months to feed, which they are wary of.

565 Although they rely on their Imrad for everything, they do not abuse them, for, as a Tuareg proverb says, "we must not kill the camel which feeds us," and their demands always take into account the wealth and the possibilities of the moment.

565 Every year the Imochar levy a vassalage tax called a tioussé
631 on the Imrad. This tax, fixed for each tribe, includes an annual
651 contribution of a certain number of head of livestock, loads of grain, miscellaneous items /160/ waterskins, tent stakes, etc.),
[643] tanned hides, butter, etc. In principal it is invariable and paid to the amenokal who disposes of it as he wishes, making allowances for the needs of the Imochar.

643 The amenokal leaves the animals which he levies under the
651 management of the Imrad, who furnish him the usufruct from them.

Individual rights of Imochar over Imrad do not exist in principal.
565 Actually they do exist when a man is the last representative of a
631 tribe and levies for himself the rights falling to his tribe.
651

On the other hand, some undertake to make small levies on the Imrad; the latter never refuse. And we must say in defense of the nobles that they treat their Imrad quite generously when a fortunate raid makes them temporarily well off.

565 In exchange for the rights of suzerainty which the Imochar exer-
631 cise over the Imrad, they owe the latter absolute protection, defend their interests each time that they are threatened, and endeavor to obtain reparation if they are pillaged by an opposing tribe.

The Imochar spend lavishly as great lords and have kept this
177 mania in spite of the change in regime brought by the French peace.
631 Their way of living like parasites has taken away any idea of fore-
565 sight, and because of this they are more often in want than well off.
571 In fact, the first consequence of the French occupation was to stop the state of war and the pillaging, which deprived the Imochar of their principal resources. They became poor people, while the Imrad, as herd owners, saw their wealth increase and become stabilized. This social disturbance could have had serious consequences, but the Imrad did not totally abandon the Imochar, despite the opportunity which was offered them to emancipate themselves from their ancestral guardianship. Perhaps we can be glad of this, for one might wonder what the material situation of the Imochar would have been and, consequently, their state of mind with regard to us.

291 The terms "black Tuareg" and "white Tuareg" have often been
565 used to designate the Imochar and the Imrad. "In the north, "
178 Seligman says, "the nobles have black veils and the subjects white ones." (1) This distinction in dress does not exist today, when the

1. Les races de l'Afrique, p. 129.

Tuareg indiscriminately wear black or white veils according to their taste and wealth. /161/ It is possible that the Imrad formerly could not obtain indigo veils, always considered a luxury item, and had to be content with ordinary cotton veils; that would explain the division into black and white Tuareg.

According to Duveyrier, the white Tuareg, "Touareg-el-biodh, " were probably the Oulad Ba Hamou, Arabs of the region of In-Salah. They took from the Tuareg the habit of wearing veils, but in white instead of dark indigo.

565
554 The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished
[302] than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing
[516] nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad
by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant
[195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words
foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of
appearance and language is even more perceptible among the
554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their
562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their
574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society.
Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well
[533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The
qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know-
[516] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather
articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know-
565 ing how to play the violin.
[83] Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part
513] of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the
[842] Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which
582] are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the
other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it,
[648] and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the
last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original
stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting it-
self to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could
bring it.

565 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class
[793 among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/
871] and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the
children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite
[651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

565 from all vassalage taxes and are often the object of much respect
[651] and consideration wherever they go. Thus, in the Ahaggar, they are treated on an equal footing with the Imochar, and the latter
[582] sometimes accept marriages with them, while at the same time re-
[641] fusing to grant political rights to the children born of these unions.
[184] On the other hand, among the Ioullimmiden, the Imochar reject any alliance with them and make them pay a vassalage due. These
[582] /Inislimen/ of the Damergou, contrary to the rule, are considered nobles; they own Imrad and may wage war. Furthermore, they have made themselves noticed as the most bellicose among the A'ir tribes. Finally, those of the Adrar succeeded in forming a confederation after the Ioullimmiden abandoned the country; they have Imrad, but the Imochar from the other confederations do not want to regard them as their equals.

They are often referred to under the name of Ichériffen, or
[192] Chériffen, which comes from the Arab word sherif, meaning "noble," or, by extension, "descendant of the Prophet." But among the Tuareg, Ichériffen has a more specialized meaning and designates persons of a religious nature, without their necessarily being descendants of Mahomet.

The marabout tribes include the Ichériffen properly so called and the Ifôra.

This religious nature has various origins and qualities.

Some elements really number sherifs among their ancestors; such is the case of the Ifôra from the Adrar and certain Kel Es-Souq fractions. But opposed to them are others who have only an accidental religious character.

174 Concerning this, Commander Cauvet says that these marabout
565 tribes often appear to be noble collectivities, who were formerly
793 strong and became too weak to continue enjoying the rights and prestige of the strong. They declared themselves withdrawn from the business of arms and devoted to pious practices for love of God and Islam. "A tribe threatened with losing its preponderance,

174 its rank, or even its class as a result of events of war or of too fre-
565 quent or too strong splits, sometimes decides to declare itself /163/
793 marabout. Piety is not indispensable for this; the tribe need only stop pillaging its neighbors and bearing arms. If some of them display the appearances of pious Moslems, learn a bit of the Koran, and wear beads, particularly if they can refer to some Arab ancestor, who formerly took refuge in the tribe, they succeed in being classed as marabouts after a certain time." (1)

1. Commander Cauvet,
Les noms des tribus Touaregs
/Names of Tuareg Tribes/,
p. 10.

565 In tribes which really practice their religion in a more serious
793 way than most of the Tuareg, he continues, there is surely an instillation of foreign blood, sometimes Semitic and often earlier
[144] than the Arab invasion. Without discussing here the reasons on which Commander Cauvet stands in speaking of the infusion of
[142] Semitic blood into the Ichériffen, we shall recall what we have already said, that we were strongly struck to find persons of a Semitic appearance, particularly marked in the old man, among the Ichériffen from the region of Gao and the Kel Es-Souq of Mohamed Ouguinat.

565 The explorer Duveyrier, who lived for a long time among the
631 northern Ifôra, considered them former nobles "who had abdicated
793 any political role in the administration of the confederation in order to conquer a greater religious authority, necessary in a society where justice is represented by no power." (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 132.

He attributed to them a great moral and religious activity. It is true that certain Ifôra chiefs, like Sheik Othman who was one of

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Ihăggaren and the Kel Ăjjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifŏra were pillaged themselves upon several occasions by the Ihăggaren and forced to seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

The influence of the Inislimen on the Ihăggaren and the Kel
[797] Ăjjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact, they are generally quite ignorant.

[554] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving, they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and disapproved of the belligerent action of the Ihăggaren against us, in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tăademaket
565 and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.
797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable
[648] enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifŏra was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tăademeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents. They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721 Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
181] refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
701 other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Chériffen are divided into ordinary Chériffen and warrior Chériffen.

184 The Inislimen way of life is the same as that of the Tuareg.
565 They speak the same language and administer themselves with no
793 intervention from the Imochar. A few cases of polygamy have been
[631] observed among them. This is the result of their gradual Islamization,
[595] which favors the custom, and of patriarchy which was already in practice in some Sudanese tribes.

565 The Imrad. -- Imrad probably comes from the Tamashek root
[192] égeid, égeit, which means "kid," "little goat," and from the prefix
[422] am indicating possession. In short, this means "possessors of goats."

In fact, the Imrad formerly could own only goats, for the Imochar reserved the possession of camels for themselves.

Their nickname is Kel Oulli, which also means "goat people," a name which they prefer to Imrad, which is probably a bit degrading for them.

[631] /165/ They make up tribes enfeoffed to the Imochar and are their vassals.

The Imochar have a certain scorn for them and consider them people of low birth, not of the pure Tuareg race; the name Taouia Settefet, meaning "of black descent," is often applied to them. (1)

1. Among the Ioullimmiden they are referred to as Idinet.

173 Nothing indicates a racial inferiority of the Imrad to the Imochar,
565 however. If we want to interpret the old legends of the Ahaggar,
144 everything leads us to believe that the Imrad were in most instances the first occupants of the country, and the Imochar, who were the invaders, were conquerers who made themselves masters of the country by force. The crossbreeding with the blacks cannot be a decisive criterion, for many Imrad tribes are not physically more "Negroid" than the Imochar. It is also true that the Imrad are
[186] less rigorous than the Imochar in maintaining the integrity of old
[184] Tuareg customs. They have less greatness of soul and sentiment, as well as less ethnic pride.

565 Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of
[511] the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of
[177] prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting
631 matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs
[642] internally as they see fit, without intervention of the amenokal or the Imochar in their affairs.

162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps
565 because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by
721 their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often
[727] organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some
701 Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among
[714] the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded
631 in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for
[582] their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

565 Unions, or more exactly concubinage, between Imrad and
[595] Negresses are very common.

[567] Imrad have the right to possess black slaves who are employed in household work and in keeping the herds.

114 Schirmer has said that the Ahaggar Imrad were sedentary peoples
241 entrusted with keeping the gardens; (1) he has committed an error,
565

1. Le Sahara, p. 298.

certainly because of erroneous information. This is all the more curious since Duveyrier had already defined exactly the position of the Imrad. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 334.

114 Duveyrier translated the word amrid by the word "serf," which
565 corresponds exactly to the Arab expression ra'aya, and also because
566 the ra'aya are subjects liable to forced labor and taxes, whom the marabouts are not allowed to possess by Moslem law. Duveyrier believed he was confirmed in his opinion because of the fact that the Inislimen of the Ajjer did not have the right to have Imrad. This is an error of interpretation. This Arabic term cannot be suitable under the circumstances, for the social class of the Tuareg Imrad has no equivalent among the Arabs.

We have preferred the term "vassals" which is more suitable
[651] in our minds, because the Imrad are not unconditionally subject to
[643] forced labor, they pay a perfectly defined vassalage fee, their
[657] chiefs participate in the election of the aménokal, and they themselves own slaves.

/167/ Moreover, the term "vassals" has been adopted by Richer, Deniker, Verneau, etc.

565 192 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga, a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 233 423 241 563 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate themselves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote [602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general- [582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihaggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihaggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 631 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an [643 651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores [184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous [567 461] keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar, [582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

567 of their ancestors. Ahaggar slaves are perfectly adapted to the desert and possess physical qualities of sobriety much superior to those of their racial brothers /170/ in the Sudan, who have difficulty living there when they are transported from the Sudan.

The Akli is subject to forced labor at the will of his master. He owes all his work to his master and is his property, but he receives a few advantages and can use a few days of work a week for himself.

In the Ahaggar the Iklan are treated perfectly well by their masters, to whom they are quite attached. They share meals with them and sustain with an even temper the good or bad fortune which the camp enjoys. Their children are reared with those of the Tuareg and on the same footing.

They benefit from certain humanitarian rules which do credit to the Tuareg. Thus a slave who is too young or too old cannot be liberated and must be supported by his master.

The Iklan are bequeathed as a heritage; they may be possessors [428] of animals, whose usufruct they then have; but upon their death these animals fall to their masters and not to their own children.

The Imochar, Inislimen, and Imrad have all rights over their slaves. The latter cannot marry without their consent. Generally, 567 when there are a man slave and a woman slave in the same camp, 582 they are married to each other, and the man receives a goat which 583 he gives to his wife as a bride price. If the slave wants to seek a wife for himself and finds one in another camp, he receives nothing from his master and must find the means to pay his wife's bride price by himself; this bride price is commonly fixed at ten goats. The slaves put in charge of keeping the flocks and who are often absent from the camp because of their occupation usually do not [836] marry. "They take their pleasure where they find it," said Father de Foucauld.

565 The Tuareg often take slave women as concubines. There are 567 several advantages to this: first, they have no bride price to pay,
595

565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
567 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as
[428] his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can inherit from their father.

565 /171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with
833 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
558 not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that
[842] the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

567 The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
[838 other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found
674] for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed
[572] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves
[304 first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not
234] hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former amenokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Amastan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

567 A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or
685 when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense, the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice, according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

175 the Taïtok chief, and Ser'ir ag Bedda, the chief of the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet, accepted this vassalage without question, but later on they
643 raised endless difficulties. This policy, which had been initiated to
648 reinforce the authority of Moussa ag Amastan, caused us several disappointments. As early as 1910, Captain Niéger, Adjutant Commander of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, interpreted the dissidence of two Imrad tribes, the Ait Loaien and the Kel-i-n-Tounin, as the beginning of serious complications.

We were able to measure his perspicacity during the revolt of 1916-1918, and the misunderstanding between the Kel Réla and Taïtok still persists today. But since the Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet participated in the revolt of 1916-1918 and their chiefs did not live up to the confidence which had been placed in them, they were placed under the direct authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, with the title of amrar.

## Tobol of the Kel Rela

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela is the most important in the Ahaggar,
643 and its chief is at the same time the aménokal of the confederation.

It is formed by a certain number of noble families, several of
•565 which have been reduced to one or two tents. They are the Inemba,
631 the Iboglan, the Ikerremlen, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the
643 Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal; all of whom are entitled to the tobol, and the Kembiden, the Oulad el Goute, the Oulad Amechaoui, and the Oulad Ibra, who lost their right to the tobol through misalliances.

173 Legend recounts that the Kel Rela nobles were descended from a woman by the name of Ti-n-Hinan, who came from the Tafilalet with her servant Takamat. Then her people bore the name of Kel Ehan Mellen (meaning "white-tent peoples") as opposed to another tribe, the Issetafenine, "black-tent peoples," who were the ancestors of the Ioullimmiden.

Later the dominant fraction was the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, /183/ which was that fraction of the former Aménokal Sidi, and which was composed of the Kel Rela, the Taïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet.

631 They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since
[669] they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaïa.

565 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tâousit, still called
644 Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they
631 made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be
[184] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion
[241] to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and
[162] they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[23] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tâhalra, and in the region of Silet-Âbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers
[241] of Tîgeneouin, Âbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm
423 grove at Tibeghîn, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is
563 synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and
631 Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hâda
Kel In Rhar'
Kel Tâfedest
Kel Immîdir
Kel Tâzoûlet
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Térourirt
Kel Ouhet

## Tobol of the Taïtok

631 The Taïtok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with
565 the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin,
[602] Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Taïtok.

According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin
[173] as the Imenân sultans, that is, descendants of Idris, and the other part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Aïr where the stock /souche/ still exists. (1)

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 322.

114 The Taïtok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Inifel in
631 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity
565 with the Ihaggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live; our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the Ajjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of

2. Les Touareg de l'Ouest
/The Western Tuareg/, p. 18
(Algiers, 1888).

any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without
579 balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela
631 and the suzerainty of the amenokal of the Ahaggar. After the
643 division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the amenokalat,
[181] which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These
175 battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/ by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Taïtok are bound by numerous marriages and are all more or less cousins.

631 The amrar of the Ťaitok is named according to matriarchal rules, and his election must be approved by the chiefs of the Imrad tribes. However, it must be pointed out that since Amrar Salah the chiefs have succeeded from father to son upon several occasions.

101 The Ťaitok sometimes give the name Ar'rerf Ăhnet to /205/ their group, from the name of the region where they range most of the time and also from their Imrad. (1)

1. "Ar'rerf" corresponds here to "tobol." According to Nicolas, op. cit., "Agref," following his orthography, means small fraction.

631 The Ťaitok live on very good terms with their vassals, and the
565 vassals, proud of being called Ťaitok, espouse all the rivalries of
[582] their lords. Marriages between different castes are not uncommon, and many nobles have married Imrad women, which causes their children to lose political rights to the tobol. But the greater and greater extension of this custom will necessarily bring about modifications in the customary law of filiation, or else patriarchy will finally replace matriarchy.

[651] The Imrad pay a lump tiousse which is divided among the different Imochar. There is no longer any individual right /droit/ like that still found among the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

631 Thieves to end all thieves, the Ťaitok have still been able to —
648 keep alliances almost everywhere outside their country in the regions
[101] they have to cross to carry out their robberies; these alliances are military or protective. Thus, in order to keep from being robbed, the Sékakna and the Mazil, Arab tribes from the environs of Ăkabli who sometimes nomadized in the Ăđrar Ăhnet, paid them a slight due. They were allied with the Fergoumoussen, an Imochar tribe from the Adrăr, with the Tarat Mellet, the Kel Boujbiha, the Kel Arouan, the Tadjakant, the Arib, and the Kel Taoudeni. These

412 Each mistress of a tent has a little
356 wooden scraper to clean the floor of the tent, which is generally
342 covered with a layer of fine sand taken from the bed of the nearby wadi.

415 Let us add one or two earthen pots, little teapots and tea glasses, and we have an idea of Tuareg furniture, which, as one may realize, is reduced to the simplest terms.

484 When a camp is moved, all these objects are loaded on asses,
492 provided for the occasion with little pack saddles. The women are
[462] left with folding the baggage, loading it, and transporting it on the asses. They themselves ride on the baggage during the moving;
[565] only noblewomen travel on camel back. Camels are used in moving only if it is a long trip.

/230/

## Chapter 3

## Food

243 People may have said that the Tuareg, like many herding
262 peoples, lived on the milk from their herds. More precisely, they live on the products of their animals, but milk and meat alone would not be enough. Indeed, the base of their diet is a graminacea, bechena (Sorghum cernuum Host.), a kind of millet cultivated in the Saharian oases and in the Sudan.

The Tuareg eat some wheat, but very rarely. Especially during
[252 their moves and in the caravans, they eat wheat cakes cooked in
484] the sand, for they are easily and quickly made.

It is rather curious to note that the Tuareg, who belong cultural-
[101] ly to the Mediterranean civilization (which may be called the wheat civilization), have not kept wheat as the basic food as other North African peoples have. And yet the question of food is one of the things which most ties man to his native milieu and which

32 If, secondly, we look for the aptitudes which the Tuareg have for working these different raw materials, we notice that their enumeration follows the same order as above, with the reservation 325 that none of them know how to work metals. The latter occupations 463 are the prerogative of the Enaden, that is to say, the artisans, and 564 it is evident from this that without the artisans' help Tuareg industry would be limited to work in wood, leather, and esparto. In short, it is the cultural cycle of the pastoral peoples of the steppe.

It is only much later, when the Tuareg had integrated the [174] Enaden with their social organization, that they used metals. Therefore, [415 531] we perceive the considerable role which artisans must have played in technical evolution and that of art itself.

Fig. 46. Wooden funnel.

/277/ The presence of Enaden in the camps has reduced the manual labor [322] of the Tuareg, but the latter are still able to make wooden articles -- milking vessels, bowls, tent stakes, etc.

565 One of their most curious customs is that women from the high 462 nobility work wooden vessels and funnels with their hands by means 322 of a little adze. They usually give them to the wives of their Imrad, 431 who are very appreciative of these gifts. In the Ahaggar camps we found many little utensils which were the work of famous noble-women, of tamenokalin whose names are piously kept; these objects were saved with much veneration. This custom is even more re- [174] markable since we know the scorn that the Tuareg have for manual labor; we must see in it a relic of woodworking which must formerly have been everyone's work, without distinction, before the creation of the artisan class.

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and [584 565] less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats, or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses [562] fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's [421] fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or decreases.

584 As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter [184] custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents, where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company. During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women, [533] among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of "aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to [174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

1: Lhote--Hoggar E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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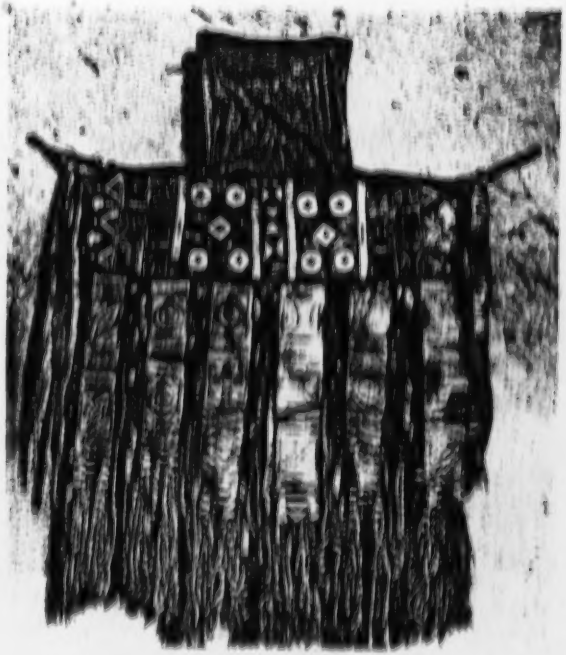
Plate XV



Goatskin bag used by women to transport their personal clothing. The very delicate decoration is obtained by cutting out the skin and applying embroidered leather.

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Old noblewoman from the Kel Rela tribe weaving a bag with goat's hair thread.

sometimes the Koran as an amulet, but that they had kept its fatalism. (1) Many authors also take pleasure in pointing out

1. Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, p. 388.

their more than superficial polish in matters of Islamism.

In spite of all this, we must not exaggerate the degree of irreligion of the Tuareg. Since the French occupation, the action of marabouts who cross the country trading is growing slowly but surely. The state of lethargy into which the suppression of their life of brigandage has thrown them is gradually pushing them toward religion, and it is becoming more and more common to see young nobles kill time by reciting in front of a small Koran board.

Superstition is very strong in them. They have not succeeded in breaking away from their ancient beliefs, and they wear a quantity of amulets which are often pagan in origin (jackal's foot, lizard's head, hyena skin, etc.).

One observes certain noble families /307/ that, along with orthodox saints, invoke mysterious personages who can only be ancient minor gods they never got rid of. (1) In the old legends

1. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara, in Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

of the Ahaggar, Father de Foucauld has found the names of some of them: Tamâres, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Ouerdaz, Noulana, Radès. The Ihaggaren used to call on them to make their wishes come true, but today these personages have fallen into oblivion, and only a few old people still remember their names. (2)

2. In Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

439 These transactions are chiefly centered around tea, sugar, cloth, perfumes, hardware, carbide, and blankets from the Touat. They cause quite an appreciable movement of camels from which the Ihaggaren benefit, along with the Arabs from In-Salah who rent their camels to traders.

492 Transport. -- We need not repeat that without the camel the Sahara would be uninhabited today. Indeed, it plays a capital role in transport between oases; it is the mount used by warriors and people who are moving and the vehicle for baggage. People would not be able to do without its services the moment it is a question of crossing a hundred or so kilometers in a region not supplied with watering places.

The ass also plays a big role, but its use is more localized. [312] It is confined to the edges of the massif, where it is rare not to find water during a day's march. The ass really assures all internal transport -- that necessitated by moving camps, transport of water [566] and even of persons -- for although the Imochar never travel except on camels, the Imrad /318/ commonly make use of the ass, and their wives know no other mounts. Its role is even more appreciated because it saves camels which, in the Ahaggar, must be submitted /only/ to moderate labor. In addition, it is always handy, for it lives near the camps while camels are often several days' march away because of pasture needs.

Meharists have a special harness: light saddles which are placed on the animal's withers and which are designed to receive the different bags of salt and waterskins.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have several kinds of saddles: 1) the tarik, with the pommel in the shape of a cross and covered with [24] red leather; 2) the tamzak, shaped the same way, but much more [531] luxurious, with the outside of the pommel and the back decorated with little perforated metal plates and copper studs; 3) the tahiast, [531] a coarse saddle with a palette-shaped pommel, either in bare wood [322] or covered with leather decorated with geometric designs.

adopted by all the Tuareg of the Adrar des Iforas, which the Chaamba Arabs also use, and which is derived from the saddle of the Moors of the western Sahara.

Ahaggar noblewomen, who travel only on meharis, have special saddles resembling the basour of the Arabs but without the arch covered in cloth. These saddles are called akhaoui; they are made /319/ of wood and ornamented with large pommels in front and small plaques trimmed with copper nailheads on the side. For long moves these saddles can be provided with a wicker cage covered with cloth, but this is not a common practice.

Saddles hold leather bags which contain either a change of clothes or food reserves as well as the waterskins constituting the necessary provision for crossing regions without wells.

For transport, camels are provided with a special packsaddle made of palm fibers which literally crowns their backbone. Most of these packsaddles are made in the Tidikelt. For caravans which last a long time the animals are loaded with about 100 kilograms, plus the waterskins that are generally added to the baggage. The servants, who accompany the animals and do not have personal mounts at their disposal, /320/ ride on top as excess weight and make the whole trip under these conditions.

The Tuareg are very poor walkers and cannot conceive of a person's going on foot, even to spare the mount for a few kilometers.

Asses, which as we have said are used for transport within the massif, are provided with a little packsaddle serving as a saddle at the same time. When camp is moved, they are loaded with the tent, tent stakes, and bags containing food reserves. They also assure the carrying of water from the well to camp.

When an Amrid travels alone on a voyage, he takes an ass to carry his water, his small baggage, and his blanket. Pushing the ass before him, he walks behind carrying his lance over his shoulders. He mounts on it only during the hot hours of the day.

Lefaucheux type. But their prices were high for Tuareg pocket-books, and it was difficult to procure powder and bullets, which made firearms uncommon and often the prerogative of the chiefs. 411 437 554

Tuareg weapons vary according to the circumstances. The Imochar carries the arms he likes: they include the sword (tacouba), which is the weapon par excellence of the nobles; the iron lance (allar') carried by nobles and vassals; javelins with iron shoulder and point and wooden staff (tarda), which are set aside for vassals and slaves; and the forearm dagger (télak) provided with a leather ring so that it may be hung from the wrist. In the Sudan slaves also carry wooden clubs (tabouri), heavy branches with a knot at one end. 184 411 565 [531]

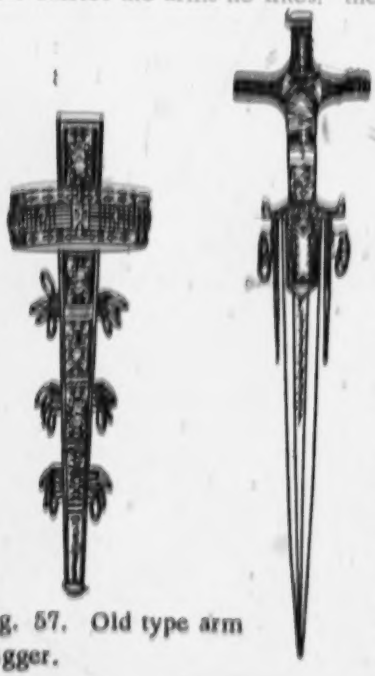


Fig. 57. Old type arm dagger.

The Tuareg have only one defensive weapon, the buckler (ahrer) which is made of oryx antelope skin. It was generally the prerogative of the nobles, and only they had the right to carry it. It recalls the coat of arms by its shape and the ideology which surrounds it; the decorative motifs which it bears have a magic character. [531]

The Tuareg are adroit fencers, fighting hand /326/ to hand with their swords while protecting themselves with their bucklers, which cover their bodies and which they handle with a great deal of dexterity in spite of the volume and weight. The sword cuts 411 714

101 country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote,
1955, p. 217). These movements were but the
166 latest major episodes in a general southwest-
131 ward drift of which we have evidence going
back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd,
1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great
Arab invasions first began to be felt.

The military administrative unit known as
631 the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the ter-
ritory that lies between Amguid and In Guez-
zam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds
fairly closely to the present normal range of
[101] the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the
size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Vir-
ginia and Maryland put together (146,300
square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabit-
[161] ants in 1950), and supports a total native popu-
lation of probably about 12,000, roughly the
same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massa-
chusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge,
Massachusetts, has more than ten times as
many permanent residents. Twice as many
people work in the Pentagon Building alone
as live in the entire Ahaggar.

Accurate population figures for nomadic
162 peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in
the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to
arrive at anything better than very rough
approximations. We are probably safe in as-
suming, however, that there are about 4,400
Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area,
plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small
families of smiths, and a very small handful of
Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who
have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

197 The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a
form of Senhadjan Berber.

**Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided
619 into confederations as we have seen, and these
are divided into tribes which are subdivided
545 into clans and the latter into fractions. The
nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] *A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

†Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in
551 as many different ways as are the geographical names
of the Sahara. The most common variations are found
104 in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*)
and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes
reflect local differences in pronunciation and some-
times the personal preferences of various translitera-
tors.

622 *A chief may be succeeded by his younger
brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by
Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

565 three main classes, the Tuareg nobles (fig. 46) and vassals (fig. 47) and the Negro slaves.

565 Rank seems to be essentially a quality of the clan rather than of the individual, for the
614 Tuareg commonly speak of "noble clans" and "vassal clans," and, when one is in doubt about
[554] a person's social status, one does not ask what his rank is but what clan he belongs to. The "tobol,"[6] the symbol of precedence, is clan property and belongs to no particular family, although it is kept by the chief of the premier clan of a tribe as the symbol of his authority.

619 The Ahaggar confederation comprises three tribes, the Kel Rela, the Tégéhé Mellet and the
614 Taïtoq, each headed by a noble clan which gives its name to the tribe as a whole[7] (figs. 25, 26, *b* and 27). Noble clans by definition outrank vassal clans, so that the chief of a noble Ahaggar clan is usually chief of his tribe as well. The noble clans and their dependent vassal clans with them are arranged in an order of precedence, and so the chief of the premier
[643] clan (the *Kel Rela*) is also chief of the Kel Rela tribe and paramount chief (*Amenokal*) of the Ahaggar confederation.

614 It is men who govern at all levels of Ahaggar society. Among the Tuareg a tribal chief is
622 chosen from the premier clan of the tribe by
562 a clan council made up of the male heads of households, but he must be confirmed in office by a council of male representatives of all the component clans of his tribe because his tenure depends materially on the willingness of these clans to pay him tribute. For the same reason, the final confirmation of an amenokal rests with a council made up of male representatives of all the clans in the whole confederation. Tribal chiefs also act as judges, and an amenokal is the chief justice of his confederation.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary in the female line,[8] but within fairly broad and seemingly rather indefinite limits of degree of relation-

thereabouts, but this succession may not have been thought of as brother-to-brother inheritance after all. It seems perhaps more likely that the successor in such a case is looked on as an heir of the former chief's mother rather than of the former chief himself. Ancient Egyptian records, cited by Bates (1914, p. 112), tell of at least one Libyan chief who was succeeded by his younger brother in preference to his son. It would be a waste of time for us to try to explain the few early cases of father-to-son inheritance that have been reported because the circumstances surrounding them are not at all clear.

611 patrilineal elements being present together in
121 a single complex from its beginning, and we have no good reason to suppose that this tentative assumption may not be equally applicable to the Tuareg. But we are hedged about with lack of information. We are faced here with yet another instance of the futility of empirical deduction unsupported by adequate field investigation of the culture concepts that lie at the root of our problem.

423 **Land Tenure and Tribute.** The Amenokal of
643 the Ahaggar is said to be "the owner of the land" by virtue of his position as paramount chief of a warrior aristocracy. We are inclined to suspect, however, that this may be an oversimplification of the case, for the land of the various tribes that make up the Ahaggar confederation is apparently treated as basically communal property, the title to which is vested in each succeeding Amenokal as an executive trustee rather than as a proprietor. This brings out the very important point that the Amenokal of the Ahaggar Tuareg seems to be essentially a chief executive and not a true king or autocratic chief in the commonly accepted sense of those terms. And, theoretically at least, he can be forced out of office by popular demand. All things considered, his position is not so very different in fact from
643 that of the President of the United States.

622 The Amenokal and the noble tribal chiefs
565 under him collect tribute from those whose
[651] destinies they control, but they are also supposed to protect these people by force of arms when necessary. When the warriors of a noble
[721] clan go raiding they often take the men of one or more of their vassal clans along, and these vassals receive a substantial share of plunder if the raid is a success, but vassals also have an obligation to fight at the side of their noble masters in intertribal wars.

423 Each vassal clan holds exclusive pasturage
[565] rights to a definite territory upon which no one else may enter, without express permission of the Amenokal, excepting noble clans who are always free to use the pastures of their own vassals as and when they please. Some men also hold exclusive hunting rights to certain specified areas. Many Tuareg own garden plots in agricultural centers, and sometimes date palms and fruit trees of other kinds as well, all of which holdings are now par-

423 celed out to Haratin sharecroppers although some of them used to be worked by slaves. Since ownership of land is never outright in [427] any case, each leaseholder must pay rent in one form or another to someone or other at least once a year.

565 Vassal clans usually pay annual tribute to their tribal chiefs or to the Amenokal, or 651 both. This tribute includes such things as dates, millet, congealed melted butter, baby camels, sheep, goats and manufactured articles of various kinds, a share of all merchandise imported by the clan as well as a share of the profits from any caravan commerce they may have, and about half of any booty they may capture in independent raids. Each vassal family used to contribute towards the upkeep of a particular noble family, and the nobles in their turn, men and women alike, were constantly begging from their vassals who could hardly afford to refuse them. But if this begging became unbearable, the vassals would sometimes pull up stakes and move quietly out of reach of their noble parasites.

Lhote (1955, pp. 190–91) says that all adult 651 males, potential warriors that is, of the Ahaggar confederation, were supposed to pay an annual head tax of 5 francs (then worth about 4 cents) each to the Amenokal as recently as 1948. Hunters annually paid in mouflon for exclusive local hunting rights. After each harvest each Hartani would pay a third of a bushel (more or less) of grain to the Amenokal for each garden plot that he worked, in addition to a share of the produce which he paid to the local leaseholder. But much of this fiscal system has fallen into disuse in re- 651 cent years, for the Amenokal together with 178 his whole camp is now supported almost entirely by the French Government, which also contributes free grain weekly to many of the poorer Haratin. Once more it is the middle class, the vassal Tuareg and the lesser nobles in this case, who suffer most severely from the stresses of cultural change.

**Tuareg Economy and the Roots of the Class** 233 **System.** All Saharan nomads live primarily off their livestock, and livestock lives off pastur- 137 age. There are two main kinds of pasture in the Sahara, the permanent growth of wiry yellowish grass, little woody shrubs and thorny bushes that one finds scattered very thinly

233 across much of the land and concentrated
along dry river bottoms, and the small patches
[137] of thick, lush, emerald green grass that flourish
briefly in hollows here and there following
rainstorms. Pasturage is always either very
sparse or very scattered in the Ahaggar and
so the nomadic inhabitants of the area must
move often, for the supply in the immediate
neighborhood of a camp is quickly exhausted.
[312] To make life still more difficult, water points
are often few and far between as we already
know, and it is not unusual to find good
pasturage so far from any water that it can-
not be used for more than a day or two, if at
all. This combination of circumstances has
233 made it necessary for the Ahaggar Tuareg
221 to break up into small and highly mobile camp
units composed of fractions of clans, or even
single families, and each of these units must
move at intervals of usually somewhere be-
tween a week and a month and often over
considerable distances, although always within
the territorial limits of the tribe (fig. 36).

As soon as a camp or constellation of neigh-
boring camps is established in a new location,
the head men first set up the daily grazing
routine of the flocks and then set out at once
to scout far and wide in search of the next
pasture to be used and the next camp sites
that their families will occupy. And so it goes
the year around, and so the Tuareg of the
Ahaggar are highly mobile nomads by force
of circumstances, for they cannot survive
otherwise in the region which they have made
their own.

565 It is in the compelling circumstances of
their environment that we find the roots of
233 the class system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, for,
463 quite apart from the question of mobility,
such conditions can be met successfully only
182 by a well conceived and firmly established
division of labor. In the Ahaggar it is the
nobles of a tribe and the headmen of the vassal
clans who ride out in search of new pastures
and at the same time act as military scouts,
always on the watch for enemy raiders as

[423] *The fundamental difference between the two systems lies in the fact that the basis of land tenure among the Tuareg is not that of the *beneficium* while personal allegiance is not based on the concept of the *comitatus*. The true feudal system of mediæval Europe was based on the conferring of privilege by an absolute ruler (or one of his vassals) on a less

565 well as for potential victims, alien camps or
233 caravans which they can raid themselves. The
463 vassals in their turn are responsible for the daily management and immediate protection of the flocks and herds, and also constitute an armed reserve that can be called up quickly in case a battle becomes imminent or the opportunity for a major raid presents itself. The
[567] slaves take care of the domestic service and household chores of the camps while their boys go out as shepherds to the flocks.

Thus it is clear that the Tuareg class system
565 is a necessity of pastoral life in the Ahaggar;
642 for no pastoral community can survive there without nomadizing, and no community of
[182] nomads can survive without a rigidly formalized division of labor and authority similar to that embodied in the class system of the Tuareg. It now becomes clear also that the seemingly paradoxical combination, within the social framework, of rigidity during the period of a single adult lifetime and a relative fluidity over slightly longer periods still so short as to span often no more than a couple of generations and sometimes less, is not in fact a paradox at all. It merely reflects in simple functional terms the fact that extreme conditions call for an extreme response, that the framework within which the allocation of authority is made at various levels in the communal structure must be very firmly established but must also allow considerable freedom periodically in the choice of those who are to occupy critical positions of decision and command so as to avoid the danger of having such positions filled automatically by persons unfit to occupy them, a danger that could well be quickly fatal to the whole community.

And finally we see that Tuareg government really has nothing essential in common with the feudal system of mediæval Europe to which it has so often been confusingly compared.[9] In the last analysis authority resides in the vassals, for they can make and at least
[643] in theory break the mightiest of all the nobles, the Amenokal himself, and they can do all this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.

powerful neighbor in exchange for some specified kind of continuing or periodic service. Among the Tuareg the relationship between "noble" and "vassal" looks much the same at first glance, but this is an optical illusion, a case of merely superficial resemblance.

565 this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.
642 Ancient Egyptian records tell of a Libyan chieftain, Meryey who was peacefully deposed and replaced by a younger brother following a disastrous defeat in battle (Bates, 1914, pp. 114–15, 218 and 221). It is some of the vassal clans that are the biggest numerically and also the richest on a *per capita* basis; and if vassal clansmen pay tribute to their noble "masters" it is only because they choose to do so, because they find it in their interest to keep the nobles on their payroll so to speak. Thus the Tuareg government of the Ahaggar is in fact a kind of republic and not a real monarchy or true military aristocratic autocracy at all.

233 **Livestock.** Herds of camels and flocks of hairy sheep and goats constitute the bulk of the capital investment and so form the primary basis of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar. The quantity and composition of the total livestock investment has been variously estimated, but the following rough approximations are probably not far from the true figures: camels—12,000, sheep—2,000, goats—20,000, donkeys—5,000 and cattle (zebus)—300 or thereabouts.
[231] Donkeys, as we have seen, are unproductive except as beasts of burden, and the cattle are so few as to be of negligible importance. Only some 4,500 camels are actually kept in the Ahaggar while the rest are put out to pasture in the Tamesna region on the northern edge of the Sudan, roughly half way between the Aïr and the Niger Bend. Most of the sheep too are pastured outside the Ahaggar proper, mainly in the country around Tin Zaouaten, southwest of the Ahaggar and northwest of the Tamesna.

235 The Haratin of the Ahaggar keep chickens,
262 but only the eggs are eaten as a rule. The Tuareg eat neither eggs, fowl nor fish, but we will discuss this further in the section on *Nomad Diet* in the following chapter.

232 It has been said that the Tuareg have no special breed of riding camels but that likely looking animals are picked out early and given special training for use as mounts. The fact remains, however, that the young of famous stud camels are always the preferred choice, and these animals are specially marked shortly after birth. The method of marking consists of pinching up three small folds of skin in a row, about 2 to 3 inches apart, along

326 grubbing gardeners alike. They have turned their status as "untouchables" to their own advantage and so remain untouched.

326 Physically the smiths of the Ahaggar cover
142 the whole range of human variation between the Bush Negro type on the one hand and the Berber variety of Mediterranean on the other, but they seem to fall mostly within a highly variable category characterized in general by "European" features combined with a yellowish brown or occasionally coppery skin, thickish lips, and curly or frizzled hair. They are lean in build as a rule, but seem softer and less wiry than the more active Tuareg (fig. 57, *a*).

326 And this brings us to another exasperating
174 blank in our picture of Saharan peoples. The smiths of the Ahaggar claim to have come from the Adrar n Ifoghas and to be related to the families of smiths who live there now, and Benhazera (1908, pp. 221 and 223) reproduced an old Arabic text which states that "the smiths and the Fulani have the same mother." Cline (1937, p. 141) maintained that the art of smelting iron was introduced into the western Sudan by "camel-riding Berbers" from the North, across the Sahara. But no one really has any idea where the smiths of the Ahaggar actually did come from or when, where and from whom they first learned their trade. No one, so far as the present writer knows, has ever published measurements or blood group classifications of a single one of them, and no one seems to have found out anything to speak of about their social organization or even their kinship terminology. Not a dozen photographs of their faces are available to students. Why? Simply because the Tuareg are spectacularly romantic while the smiths are not.[18] The smiths of the Ahaggar and of the Sahara as a whole have suffered the same fate that the Spanish gypsies might have suffered had George Borrow not been born, and, like the Spanish gypsies, they are
614 disappearing fast.

565 A number of vassal clans of the Ahaggar
173 confederation are said to be of Arab or mixed

[18] Here the author has laid himself wide open to
[114] a very embarrassing question. "Why," he seems to hear the frustrated reader ask, "haven't you done something to fill this aching void yourself since you find it so distressing?" The author's time in the field has been severely limited by the exigencies of writing this preliminary survey, and recently by political

565 173 614 Arab and Tuareg ancestry. Benhazera (1908, pp. 90, 102 and 222–23), Lhote (1955, pp. 234–36) and Blanguernon (1955, pp. 52–55) all agree in lumping most of them together in a special almost tribelike class known as the Issoquamaren, but they do not agree entirely on just which clans should be included in this group. According to Benhazera the Issoquamaren once claimed descent from a woman purchased in the Adrar n Ifoghas country by Arab invaders who came there straight from Mecca about the middle of the 7th century A.D., and he adds that they are thought to have moved northward to the Touat early in the 12th century. The first part of this tale is very characteristic of the marginal Arab schools of historical fiction, or fictional history if you prefer, which are often no more reliable than is the modern school of lecturers who tell us, for example, that the Tuareg are descendants of veteran crusaders who came to the Ahaggar from the Levant. This parallel that spans the centuries is funny, to be sure, but there is much more in it than just an amusing concidence. It is a striking illustration of the fact that uncritical minds, Moslem and Christian alike, are always deeply moved by thoughts of the past glories of their race and of "that old time religion." We must never forget the dangers of grotesque misinterpretation that result from the action of this powerful subconscious force. Most of the Saharan peoples who have been converted to Islam stubbornly insist against all sense and reason that they are of Arabian Moslem origin.

According to Lhote (1955, p. 236) the Issoquamaren are believed to be the descendants of Arab fathers and Tuareg mothers of the Tademaït region, whence they were recruited as mercenaries by the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, but Blanguernon (1955, p. 52) holds that they are descended from a group of Arab tribes of the Tidikelt and the Touat who were defeated and then assimilated by the Ahaggar Tuareg in the 18th century or possibly before. The Issoquamaren have been thought by some to enjoy a social status superior, at least in

[114] unrest as well, and so he has had to resign himself to filling in small but important gaps in relatively complete pictures rather than run a serious risk of getting bogged down for months or doing only a superficial job in attempting to reconstruct pictures whose main outlines even are as yet unknown.

565 theory, to that of ordinary vassals (Lhote,
1955, p. 236), but in fact they are looked
173 down upon as greatly inferior to Tuareg vas-
614 sal clans (Blanguernon, 1955, p. 52). Although
the Issoquamaren clans and fractions have
been parceled out among various tribes of the
Ahaggar confederation, they still seem to re-
tain some remnants of the social structure of
a single and united tribe. Since the Issoquama-
ren have become rich in camels, they have
regained in practical power and influence
most of what they once lost in hierarchical
prestige.

[131] The Irreguenaten are based on the Tamesna
region south of the Ahaggar, and nomadize
from there northwestward across the Adrar
n Ifoghas sometimes even as far as the Erg
Chech (pronounced *Shesh*). They are be-
lieved to have sprung from a series of mar-
riages between Gouraran and Kounta Arab
men and Tuareg women of the Ibotenaten
clan. The descendants of these unions became
so numerous and so very rich, in camels and
in slaves, that they were finally able to estab-
lish a separate clan of their own. Although
they are included in the vassal category, they
enjoy a nebulous but well-recognized position
of precedence in relation to most of the other
Tuareg vassal clans.

The Irreguenaten constitute a matri-clan
subdivided into two patri-clans, the Hag-
garenin and the Settafnin, which are based on
supposed descent from two ancestral Arab
groups, one of them thought to have been of
Shorfa stock. And this is very interesting as
an example of a matrilineal clan structure that
has been effectively split into two patrilineal
clans while still remaining basically a unit in
the matrilineal terms of Tuareg social and
politico-economic organization and, to a great
extent, in terms of its own internal economic
organization too.

565 It will be noted that the partly Arab clans
of the Ahaggar Tuareg confederation live for
614 the most part outside the Ahaggar proper,
and are distributed in an arc that curves
101 around its southwestern, western and north-
131 western borders. The northwestern extremity
of this arc continues curving eastward, then
southeastward and finally on southward
around the territory of the Ajjer Tuareg con-
federation. The southern gap in the circum-

565 614 101 131 ference of the resulting oval is closed by the Negro-Tuareg contact zone of the southern Aïr. The Ahaggar massif lies at the center of this oval refuge area: it is a Berber island, so to speak, whose broad beaches are continually swept by waves of the surrounding Arab sea and, along the southern and southeastern shores, by the negroid "Gulf Stream" of the Sudan.

565 174 563 [797] There have probably never been many Shorfa or Maraboutic families established in the Ahaggar itself, although a few of them have lived there for a long time now. Arab Shorfa missionaries from Morocco first arrived probably in the 7th or early 8th century. They soon set up a theocratic dynasty, the Imenan, who ruled the Ahaggar and the Ajjer Tuareg as a single confederation until about 1650, when Goma, last of the Imenan "sultans," was murdered by Biska, a noble of the Oraghen tribe of Ajjer Tuareg. There followed a long period of anarchy and civil wars out of which finally arose, about the middle of the 18th century, the main framework of the Tuareg political structure which we now know. Descendants of immigrant Arab holy men are very few and scattered in the Ahaggar today, and their power has been reduced to no more than a faint shadow of what it used to be. People of this kind are much more numerous, united and powerful in the northeastern and southwestern corners of Tuareg territory, among the Ajjer and the Ifoghas of the Adrar, than they are in the region with which we are directly concerned at the moment. It is significant, however, that as recently as 1900 a Shorfa holy man exerted decisive influence in the electoral council of the Ahaggar confederation when that body found itself seriously divided over the choice of a new amenokal (Benhazera, 1908, p. 126).

We know that Arab blood has been seeping very gradually into the topmost level of the Tuareg aristocracy, for at least a century, [591] through the occasional marriages of noble Tuareg women with Arab men. In all such cases residence is strictly matrilocal. Since [611] rank is inherited through the mother, a son of this kind of union ranks as a Tuareg noble and can become a chief. Duveyrier (1864, pp. 22–23) describes the case of the Ajjer Tuareg governor of Ghat in 1861, whose father was

565 an Arab merchant from the Touat, Leblanc
563 (1946, table facing p. 40) mentions an heir to
174 an Ajjer Tuareg chieftainship whose father was an Arab, and the son of a Maraboutic Arab from Ouargla is at present one of the potential heirs to the paramount chieftainship of the Ahaggar confederation.

The question of Tuareg mixture with the Teda has been discussed above, in the section dealing with the latter group.

771 Although the Tuareg of the Ahaggar still retain much of the pre-Islamic magico-religious practices and doctrine of their animistic ancestors, they are all Moslems now, at least nominally, but are not very pious as a rule. It has been said that the Tuareg once had a Berber translation of the Koran, in the 8th and 9th centuries (Benhazera, 1908, p. 57), but it was long ago destroyed or lost (if indeed such a text ever did exist) in the course of a religious reform movement. The annual
[796] Moslem fast, during the month of Ramdhan, is not very generally observed, although in the middle of the 14th century Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338) noted that the Ahaggar Tuareg suspended raiding operations during this period.

The religious order of the Tidjani used to
794 count an overwhelming majority of the Ahaggar Tuareg among its followers, but the Senoussi have built up a substantial following in the region during the last 70 years or so, much aided in this by Tuareg who passed through Senoussi territory on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Very few Tuareg from the Ahag-
778 gar have been to Mecca in recent times, although Lyon (1821, pp. 101–102) saw a single group of roughly 150 of them pass through Mourzouk on their way there in May, 1819 (before the Senoussi order was founded). The
643 Amenokal, Mecca pilgrim or not, has usually been the local model of formal piety. Bey ag
771 Akhamouk, the present Amenokal of the Ahaggar, is an unusually good example of this, as was Moussa ag Amastan in the early years of the present century. There are indications that in ancient times Tuareg chieftains may have been vested with religious as well as temporal primacy (Bates, 1914, p. 117).

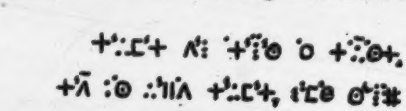
The European conquest of the Sahara Des-
648 ert has done much to stimulate the Islamiza-
791 tion of the Tuareg in general during the last

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.

174 [714] [411] 194 212 174



[539]

The Bible in Tamahaq

(*Ruth. Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

"*So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley.*"

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

771 [101] [832]

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

567 611 565 567 [291]

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

177 533

4: Benhazera--1 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Book One

# The Tuareg in their Private and Public Life

## Part One

## The Tuareg in their Private Life

### Chapter I

### Birth. Childhood

In Tamashek, birth is called "tiouit" ⵜⵉⵡⵉⵜ. There is no 844
special observance to note concerning the birth of a child
among the Tuareg. However, there is greater joy if it is a [842]
boy. People come to congratulate the parents and, seven days 851
later, the latter serve a more or less lavish feast, depending
on their means, the feast being preceded by the recitation of
the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran). Those present who do [789]
not know Arabic limit themselves during this recitation to
holding their open hands together like a book. It is on this [533]
day that the child is given its name.

On this subject, I think I should note that especially 551
among the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe of the Ahaggar), many [565]
children were given the names of wild beasts or animals.

Examples of Men's Names

Amellal, addax, meha /?/
Abeggui, jackal
Amayas, cheetah
Akhou, wild animal

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 562
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé, "
or tribute from the "imr'ad, " or serfs. Not only is the son [611
noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless 565]
of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child, "
but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her
husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is 562
not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except [576]
as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi, " over
her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, [574
etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances 431]
between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives
her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is [595]
the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" 562
•V] , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, 572
while she gives him something for his personal use. He is,
in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine
embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal
of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while
Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines
which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man [574]
who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

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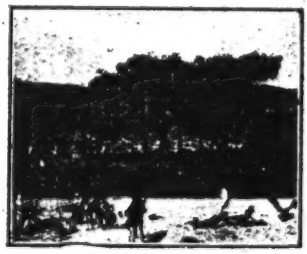
The nobles eat better, at least those who are well-to-do. In the Ahaggar especially they own cultivated land in the "ar'erems" (villages), where they grow wheat, "ired," barley, "timzin," and bechna, "inelli"; but usually they sell their

[137]



Dautheville

Trees Called "Ahatés" (Acacia Albida) at the Tillemas of the Tessht Wadi (Koudia).

wheat and barley to the natives of the Tidikelt and are content with bechna, of which they are very fond. They claim that bechna is less heating to the stomach than wheat or barley. [824]

The rich allow themselves the luxury of drinking tea, but tea and sugar are very expensive, and they do not misuse them. On the other hand, they do not hesitate to beg for them shamelessly. 272 556 263

When the year is bad anything seems good to the poor to assure their subsistence. In such years one sees them eating /30/ "berdi," or "taheli," (Typha angustifolia, Typhaceae); ground carob seeds of "talhas," or gum trees, which they call "tahaha" ; "tanékfaït (Diplotaxis duveyrierana, Cruciferae); fruit of the "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica), which they steep to take out the bitterness; and even leaves of the "aremmas" (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae), which they boil. 222 262 735 252

In short, nature keeps food resources for them which prevents even the poorest from dying of hunger.

11. "Djer mouhaden, " that is, "between prayers, " because it comes between the feasts. It corresponds to Zu'lkadah. 805

12. "Tafaski, " that is, "the sacrifice. " It corresponds to Zu'lhijjah, in which the feast called "Aïd el Kebir, " also called by the Arabs "Aïd el Adha" عيد الأضحى , or "feast of sacrifices, " takes place. [177]

There is no book in Tamashek, at least that is what was told me. However, the secretary of the amenokal Moussa /46/ ag Amastane informed me that there was, at the Ahaggar, a book written in the Tamashek language, but with Arabic characters, which was the translation of a work on law of which Ibn Achir was the author (1). 177 213

1. This book is at present in the possession of someone called Salakh ag Meguemmed of the Isoqqamaren. /47/

## Part Two

## The Tuareg in their Public Life

### Chapter I

### Nobles and Imr'ad

Duveyrier has described so well the characteristics which distinguish a noble from an amr'id (1) that I think it 114 565

1. Les Touareg du Nord /The Northern Tuareg/, pages 331 to 335.

unnecessary to review this matter after him. I want to limit [114]
myself simply to noting some observations which I was able 565
to make in the course of my stay among the Tuareg of the
Ahaggar confederation.

First of all, the striking thing is that at the end of a short period of contact, one can easily guess if one is in the presence of a noble or of an amr'id. His look, his walk, his carriage, his features (if the veil is lifted to the forehead), an indefinable something, all lead correctly to the conclusion that the Tuareg before you is really a noble. However, in the course of palavers im'rad, many of whom are rich, often come as well dressed as the nobles. But their features are less fine, their bearing less easy, their look less assured, and one thinks, "This is an amr'id."

Furthermore, the Tuareg will tell you, "An amr'id may /48/ act well, dress in fine clothes, and bear fine arms, but he is still 'iamir'ed, '" that is to say, "he lacks something," [196]
and it is from this verb that they have derived the name amr'id, plural imr'ad.

Should it be thought that the imr'ad are a less pure race 173
than the nobles because of long-ago crossings with the Negro 174
race? The sheik Ben Djellas states that the mother of the 565
Issoqqamaren (an imr'ad tribe of the Ahaggar) was bought by the first inhabitants of Es-Souk. On the other hand, we will see how the Adjouh-n-Taheli and the Tedjehé-n-Efis came from Aïr to place themselves under the protection of the noble Kel R'ela and Taïtoq.

Should the admitted differences be attributed to the state of subjection and dependence in which the imr'ad have been for a long time in relation to the nobles? I would be tempted to accept this second hypothesis as more in line with the facts of history.

And from what I have seen and ascertained, I cannot 565
bring myself to translate the word "amr'id" as "serf," a word 631

which brings to our minds the idea of the serf attached to the 565
glebe and sold with the domain which he cultivated, but rather 631
as "client, bondsman, tributary."

In fact, if the amr'id pays the "tioussé," or tribute, to the noble, if he "lets him taste a little of what he has," according to his expression, if he is dependent on the noble, he nevertheless enjoys a freedom of action which the serf of the Middle Ages did not know. He has a right to the noble's protection if he is attacked, but he marches and fights with him [701]
armed with the same arms. In a raid he also shares with him [727]
and receives his portion of the loot, a portion which varies according to the tribe and which seems to have been fixed according to an ancient contract, in exchange for the protection granted.

And we will find the most convincing proof in the appoint- 565
ment of the amenokal. The imr'ad take part in this; it is 631
they who speak first and state whether they accept the new 643
amenokal, whether they have confidence in him, whether they promise /49/ faithfully to pay him the "tioussé." And he, on his part, promises to give them help and protection against all.

The noble makes it a point of honor to keep this promise. 558
It would be a shame, "el r'ar," according to his expression 565
(from the Arab word "el aâr" الوار , not to avenge an insult 577
or an injury rendered to one who pays him the "tioussé." 631

## Chapter II

## The Tobol. Inheritance

Concerning the tobol. The "tobol" originally was a drum 202
made of a large gourd and covered with stretched hide, which 534
the chief of the tribe sounded to gather his clients /dependents/ 643
to tell them that pastures must be changed, etc. It was the 565
insignia of command.

Duveyrier has told us that the Imanan (Cheurfa) sultans 534
entrusted their tobols to a marabout tribe, the Ifor'as-oui-n- 565
Tobol. This practice is maintained: noble chiefs pretend to
keep the tobols with them, but they do not use them any more.

It is said that the nobles have access to the tobols because 534
some day, according to the law of inheritance practiced among 565
the Tuareg, they or their descendants may have the hope of 643
obtaining the tobol, that is, the right to rule.

On the other hand, it is said that a noble has lost his rights [558]
to the tobol if, through a misalliance, his children are no
longer of a pure noble line /race/. For example, the
Kembiben, the Oulad El Goute, and the Oulad Ibra (among
the Kel R'ela of the Ahaggar) can no longer hope to have the
right to rule, to the tobol. Similarly, the son of a noble and
a "tamr'idt" (feminine /50/ of "amr'id") is an amr'id and
loses all right to the tobol which his father had.

From this first meaning, the word "tobol" ended by mean- 534
ing the group of nobles and imr'ad tribes who answered the call 565
of the tobol, and one might, for example, say, "The tobol 631
of the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe) includes such-and-such imr'ad
tribes, " or again, "A certain proportion of imr'ad makes up
the tobol of the noble Kel R'ela."

The word "tobol" is certainly not of Tamashek origin, but [192]
definitely Arabic. In fact, "tobol" طبل in literary Arabic
means: 1) drum, 2) kettledrum, 3) tribute, tax; and in
order to say "I do not know who that man is, " the early Arabs
said, ما ادري اي الطبل هو I do not know of what tobol he is" (1).

1. Arab-French dictionary by
A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski.

Thus I believe that this usage was introduced by the early [174
Arabs who, in the first century after the hegira, pushed their 797]
conquest through the country inhabited by the Tuareg in order
to convert them to Islamism.

## Chapter III

### The Amenokal. The Amr'ar

The northern Tuareg, after the downfall of the Imanan 173
sultan, who held absolute rule over them, regained their inde- 631
pendence. Then two confederations were formed: that of the Azdjer and that of the Ahaggar, each including several noble tribes. /52/

We will see later ("Origin of the Tuareg" /not translated/) 631
that among the Berbers several tribes often formed a confed- 643
eration under the supreme rule of a single chief and that the right to rule belonged specifically to certain tribes who held a kind of supremacy over the others. And this is what we will find again. Among the Azdjer the tribe that held this kind of supremacy was that of the Orar'en; among the Ahaggar, it was that of the Kel R'ela. The amenokal of the Ahaggar was always chosen from the tobol of the Kel R'ela.

The title of amenokal, although subject primarily to the 643
laws of heredity which we have mentioned, had to be ratified by the delegates of the nobles of all the tribes and by those of the imr'ad of all fractions of the confederation. The inheritance must be confirmed by election, and this agrees well with the democratic spirit of all the Berbers and with all that is known of their history and of the theories introduced to them by Kharijism, of which they were adherents.

As we have said, the imr'ad had to speak first, to say if [565]
they would accept the amenokal designated by heredity, and agree to pay him the "tiousse." The nobles spoke later. The discussion was open and an agreement was reached. Sometimes it was not reached. We saw an example of this at the death of the amenokal of the Ahaggar, Altar'el ag Biska, in 1900. The law of heredity called Mokhammed ag Ourzig as amenokal, but the latter, opposed by the imr'ad and the majority of the nobles, was not elected and saw his rival, Attici ag Amellal, preferred.

When they want to stretch out at the foot of the tree called "el yatil" in Arabic and "tadjart" ⊕ⵜ+ in Tamashek (a kind of acacia), which is inhabited by jinn, they must first wound it with a stone, and stones are always to be found at the foot of these trees. One can also see the wounds made in the bark. 776 824 789

The "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica) is also a haunted tree. If one wants to rest under its shade, it is first necessary to break seven of the tree's thorns.

There are also "kel esouf" in the place where an animal has had its throat cut. 776

Mount Oudane is haunted, as are many others. [823]

These superstitions are probably survivals of their old religion, before their conversion to Islamism. Like them, "The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period worshipped jinn, or genii. The deserts and mountains where one sometimes gets lost for entire weeks are full of beings of this kind.... They can do much harm and much good.... They live in rocks, trees, or statues. Each tribe, or sometimes a group of tribes, had its special jinni; its rock, its tree, its own image, before which an appointed family carried out priestly duties" (1). 174 771 776

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 5 and 6.

The Tuareg have many other superstitions. Thus nobles would never kill a "uran" (varanus), which in Tamashek is called "ar'ata" •+⁝ , and a fortiori would not eat it. Sidi ag Keradji and Azioueł ag Ser'ada told me that the uran is the maternal uncle of the Tuareg, and Sidi told me the following legend: "Seven nobles had killed a camel belonging to Sidna Nouh (Hoah). Among them there was a noble Tuareg. To punish them God changed them, one into an uran, another into a jackal, a third into a chameleon, etc. /61/ The uran was the noble Tuareg. The camel that was killed is now in the sky: it is the Great Bear. The Polar Star, 'Bel Hadi', is its head." 565 825 773 784 [821]

Should one see here some agreement with what we have 114
read in Dozy, or might the uran have been a "totem" among 825
the Tuareg, as among the Redskins of America?

Nobles do not eat the "dobb" (star lizard) either, which 262
is called "aguezzeram" in Tamashek. As a reason for this 565
abstinence, they quoted me these two lines of nine syllables: 825

Our ekcher' aguezzeram idit [539]
Iladhou ichchaden ilir'it.

This means:

"I do not eat the aguezzeram because it smells bad and has a rough skin" (1).

1. Iladhou is put instead of "ili adhou." Similarly, ilir'it is put for "ili ir'it." Ir'it, plural ir'ten, means hide (of beef, camel, etc.).

Finally, they firmly refuse to eat chickens and eggs, and chickens are found nowhere among the Tuareg, except among [231]
some "harratine" /Haratin/ Arabs of the Ahaggar villages. They claim that this abstinence dates back for a long time. Azioueel ag Ser'ada when pressed ended by telling me that it was because chickens seek their food in manure. In the Niger, according to a study by officer-interpreter Merle, the French are called egg eaters. But I believe that the following is the 262
real reason for this abstention: The Tuareg, like all the 565
Berbers, had embraced Kharijism. Among the chiefs who took 825
part in the insurrection of the Kharwarij /plural of Kharijite. 773
Ed./ was Tarif, who made the first invasion into Spain (the city of Tarifa still bears his name). His son Salih, or Salah, claimed to be a prophet and composed a new Koran. Elijah, or Elias, son of /62/ the latter, openly remained Moslem, and it was only Salih's grandson, Jonah, or Younes, (end of the eighth century), who spread the new doctrine, which was a much modified Islamism. According to one of the precepts of

this doctrine, the scholar Dozy tells us: "There was no muezzin, 262
or crier, to call to prayer; people were governed by the crow 565
of the rooster; so no one, except in case of dire necessity, 825
might kill roosters or hens or eat eggs" (1). 773

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme,
by R. Dozy, pages 348 and 349.
Neither mosques nor muezzins are [171]
found in Tuareg country. See also
l'Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale
/History of North Africa/, by E.
Mercier, pages 228 and 255. Volume 1.

Legends and stories are also known on the subject of 773
Ahmamellen and his nephew Elias. Hanoteau told them to us. 823
At Tamanrasset (Ahaggar) the Tuareg showed us a curious
breech in a large "gara" that bounds the horizon to the east.
They call it "Tiouit-n-Elias" (Elias' cut), and they say that
Elias made this breech with one stroke of the "takouba." The
piece removed, an enormous rock, lodged in a wadi three kilo-
meters from there, and we were shown it in passing. The
breech has also been named "Elias' Breech."

Elias is the Arabic translation of Elijah, and Younes that of [551]
Jonah. These two proper names are still used among the Tuareg. [174]
Might there not be a relationship between this Elias and Elijah,
son of Salih?

The Tuareg say that Ahmamellen was a man of extraordinary 174
size and strength, and that he was the equal of an army. Might 773
it have been Salih himself who claimed to be a prophet, then
disappeared in the east after having told his followers that he
was the Mahdi and that he would come back to fill the world
with justice when the seventh king should be mounted on the
throne?

Many legends circulate about blacksmiths. They say that 326
because they work with iron and fire, they will go into the fire 565
of hell. They are scorned, first because they devote themselves to a manual craft, a disgrace in the eyes of a Tuareg, and secondly because it is said that they are of Negro origin. It is also claimed that they were pagans and that their conversion to Islamism is not sincere. They are also taken for sorcerers. [754]
The sheik Ben Djellas (see the Appendix /not translated/) says of them: "Blacksmiths hate God and his Prophet, and they betray God and his Prophet." Their ancestor was called Tamamenet.

The blacksmith does not belong to any tribe. He goes where he pleases, wherever he finds work. Sometimes he goes to war, and he is said to fight well, but a noble Tuareg will not cross swords with him.

In the Ahaggar a blacksmith is called "mr'allem," variation 326
of the Arab "maâlem." However, there is a word in Tamashek [192]
for him, "inedh," plural "inedhane," but it is not used. /73/

At Tamanrasset I was shown many ancient graves (of the [764]
"chouchat" shape) which, it seems, were the burial places of a tribe of blacksmiths said to have been massacred and died of starvation a very long time ago.

The gardens of the Ahaggar "ar'erems" are worked by the 241
Harratine of the Touat and the Tidilkelt, who bring their tools 312
with them. It is they also who dig the "foggaras," or covered 565
wells, and all the tools that they use come from the Saharan Oases.

## Chapter XII

## Agriculture. Ar'erems

While in all of the Ahnet no trace of agriculture is to be 241
found, however small, because of the scarcity of wells, whose 361
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output is only enough to water the flocks, in the Ahaggar, on the contrary, a mountainous country where there is some water everywhere, a number of small villages called "ar'erem" ⵄⵔⵔⵉⵎ, plural "ir'ermane" ⵉⵄⵔⵔⵉⵎⵏ, have been built.

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Since the Tuareg, nobles or imr'ad, dislike all manual work, these villages could not have been built without the indispensible help of the Harratine of the Touat and the Tidikelt, whom the Tuareg call "Izeggar'en" ⵉⵣⵖⵄⵔⵏ, meaning "mulattoes." Everything was made by the latter: the wells, /74/ "tounine," which are used for irrigation, as at Tazerouk; the "foggaras," or covered wells, "ifelane," and their irrigation canals as at Abalessa, Tit, and Tamanrasset; the fitting up of springs, as at Tadjemout. The Harratine made the gardens and became khammes of the Tuareg, landowners. They settled in these villages and there built huts of "diss" (Imperata cylindrica) or of "berdi" (Typha angustifolia) and little houses of baked earth.

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The Harratine grow wheat, barley, and bechna in these gardens. These are the three essential crops, to which they add some vegetables: onions, kabouyas, or gourds, watermelons, and "guerroum" (a kind of long melon which is eaten green, like a cucumber, before it is ripe). Finally, at Tit they /75/ have planted some fine fig trees and a vine which yields a grape that seems delicious at this latitude. Similarly, at Abalessa, there are some vine slips and a fine palm.

Ideles (Koudia)

The gardens, or rather the fields, are enclosed by a hedge to prevent the depredations of the camels that graze free at night. But there are some that do not have this protective barrier, and the Harratine are forced to stand guard at night, turn, and turn about, lighting fires to drive the camels away from the crops.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



175 p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have had only
643 very short periods of reign.

Although the Sultan had but little real power he had a high prestige and was very rich. He had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, as men-
[651] tioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, p. 828f.), and he was also entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade. But the Sultan had under his direct command only the negroid populations of Agadez and the villages of In Gall and Teguidda-n-Tecem. The people of Agadez, said to be members of the religious *Ineslemen* class, have never paid any tribute to the Sultan, whereas he received annual payments from the two villages mentioned. All other people of Air apparently had no fixed economic obligations to the Sultan.

The Sultan had the direct jurisdiction over the negroes under his command. He was the arbitrator and supreme judge in disagreements between the different Tuareg groups to be mentioned below. But he could not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels.

As we have seen the dominant Tuareg group at the establishment of the Sultanry was the Itesen most of whom left the massif long before the arrival of the French. We have also seen that the Kel Geres owing to wars with the Kel Ooui in the 18th century went southwards to the Nigerian borderlands where they became politically independent. In the 19th century the important political groups of the Air Sultanry were the following:–

The Kel Ooui occupying the eastern and most mountaineous parts of the
162 massif. According to figures given by Nicolas for clans and villages of the Kel Ooui
175 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 465ff.) their total number seems now to be about 8000.

631 The Kel Tamat including the Ikaskazan. The group judged by the figures for some of the clans (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471f.) has about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the Kel Ooui. Contrary to the two following groups they were placed under the authority of the supreme Kel Ooui chief, the *Anastafidet*.

The Kel Fadei in the region of In Gall. Their total number according to Nicolas is 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The Kel Ferouan comprising clans in the western parts of the massif including the region of Agadez, and also south of the massif towards Damergou. They number about 5000.

The Kel Ooui group was for periods of the past very important politically. But
175 its political system apparently differed from that of other Tuareg groups which
184 may be explained by the fact that a large number of them were settled agri-
●565 culturists. The other Tuareg groups mentioned, on the contrary, were made up exclusively of pastoralists who roamed in the lower parts of the massif and the adjacent plains. In these groups there were two important classes which seem to have been of little importance among the Kel Ooui. The two classes in literature
175 are known as "noble Tuareg" *(Imacheren* sing. *Amacher)* and "vassal Tuareg"
565 *(Imrad*, sing. *Amrid)*. The vassal class in all groups was more numerous than that
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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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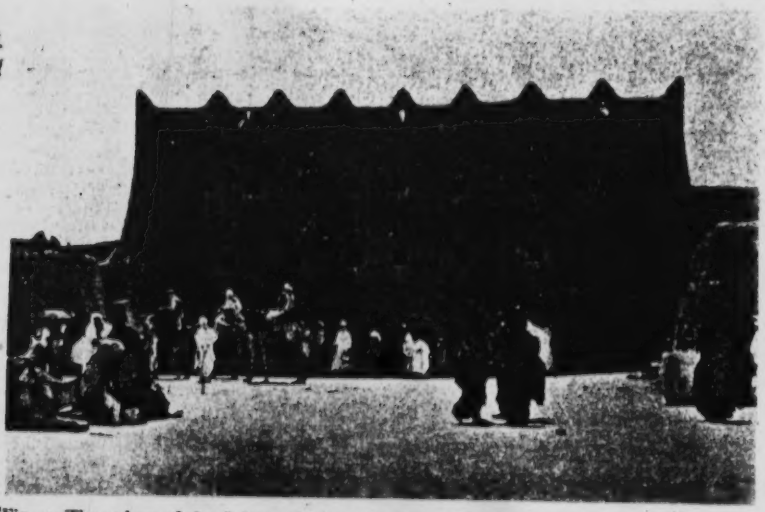

[533] Fig. 4.–The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. – The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing [534] various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

175 of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief
565 had as his sole insignia a drum named *eſſebel*, or *arazou*. The name of the drum
631 *eſſebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is adressed by this very word, and *eſſebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command. I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat, the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs. There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikhen of Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

175 The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but
643 they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:– From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission was given by the Kel Ooui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461f.). Jean who gives a more [114] detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of election (Jean 1909, p. 159ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*Agg Elkher*, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [175] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that [643] in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals.

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little [431] authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal [178] chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. 614 634

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, [583] but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 651

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:- 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Teouit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air



634 particular case is related of a group of Ioullemmeden Tuareg attacking a camp of
727 Kel Ferouan vassals who made a counterattack and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, then they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

[565] 3) *Ekachchadi*, that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without
[721] the permission of their drum-chief. In this case the drum-chief would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals who were not allowed to engage in warfare on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

The drum-chief had other income from his subjects who paid him an annual
634 fee termed *sadaḳa*. This fee, it is said, was paid not only by vassals but also by noble
651 households of the Kel Azel clan. The sadaḳa fees were collected on behalf of the
565 drum-chief by people of the Echchikhen and by negroid blacksmiths, who form a particular and rather numerous caste. There were definite rules for the payment of sadaḳa. It was computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example can here be mentioned the payments for camel herds:–

| *Size of Herd.* | *Sada a.* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels | 2 goats |
| 15 camels | 3 goats |
| 25 camels | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels | 2 full-grown camels. |

The Echchikhen and the blacksmiths took the sadaḳa animals to the drum-chief. He gave some of them to the collectors who were themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of
[735] the proceeds given to poor people by the drum-chief, who would keep a small part for himself.

The drum-chief had the supreme jurisdiction over his group. In all internal
634 matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge. In difficult
692 cases he would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez or the Echchikhen. All members of the Kel Ferouan group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities *(edziet)* were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen
682 had the right of blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection.
[696] But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man whose
184 kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Apparently there has never been any
682 fixed size of blood-wealth among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg in contrast to the two

Groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab Tribes of The Sahara.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air



groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft 000
are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put 685
into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, [697]
while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:– pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment [177]
and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were [681]
in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel [643]
Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe 634
with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should [692]
also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with 565
the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relation- 571
ship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum- [634]
chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place 582
in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that 607
one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and [565]
their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory 607
in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

5:Nicolaisen E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law *(alegges*, pl. *ilousan)*,
[601] or sisters-in-law *(taleggest*, pl. *tilousin)*, while the spouses of descendants of all
brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law *(aḍeggal*, pl. *iḍoulan)*, or
[606] daughters-in-law *(taḍeggalt*, pl. *teḍoulin)*. These terms are always used reciprocally,
and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized
634 his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the
614 members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble
565 origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged
to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is
[687] said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely
not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the
634 Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the
614 Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other
drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel
565 Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg
114 claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and
Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd
thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans
the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427) The Kel
Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation
was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg
are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems
to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related
to the Ihaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter
clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from
634 the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power
614 over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the
565 Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have
had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibararochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by
[558] vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who
however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-
chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission
and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-
wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel
Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief
[669] had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign
Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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634 565 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzouren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had con-
[463] stantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly
[701] by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers and protectors.

Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals *(Imghad)*
114 as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:– "One of the functions
565 of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for
614 long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the
[422] camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible
[672] for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen
[567] both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much about this.

Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin.
174 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air
565 from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of
614 noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a, p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg have emigrated.

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*The Federation of Ahaggar Tuareg*

(Size of clans according to Lhote 1955, p. 225ff. from statistics of 1949)

| | Noble Clans | Vassal Clans | Iseḳḳemaren Clans |
|---|---|---|---|
| *The Kel Ṛela Drum-Group* | *Kel Ṛela* 275<br>To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble clans, with the Ifoṛas group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal clans. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The Kel Ṛela women, like noble women of the Oraṛen (Tassili-n-Ajjer) and Kel Ferouan (Air), do not associate freely with people of other classes. | *Dag Ṛali* 386<br>*Ait Loaien* 400<br>*Aṛouh-en-Tehele* 585<br>*Ṛelaiddin* 40<br>*Iklan-en-Taousit* 500<br><br>*Ibettenaten* 129<br>*Iregenaten* 435<br><br>These two clans are not true vassals by origin. The Ibettenaten is said formerly to have had noble status and the Iregenaten descend matrilineally from the Ibettenaten, patrilineally from Arabs. | *Iheisouen Hada* 253<br>*Kel Inṛer* 176<br>*Kel Tafedest* 61<br>*Kel Immidir* 179<br>*Kel Tazoulet* 158<br><br>The Iseḳḳemaren clans descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble Kel Ehan Mellen clan. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the Ouled Ba Hamou, claims that they were originally their vassals. |
| *The Taitoḳ Drum-Group* | *Taitoḳ* 33<br>There are hardly any Tuareg of pure Taitoḳ stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief Mohamed ag Mohamed who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the Taitoḳ drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The Taitoḳ and their vassals will frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past. | *Kel Ahnet* 127<br>*Iouarouaren* 47<br>*Teṛehe-n-Efis* 127<br>*Ikoutisen* 84<br>*Ikechchemaden*<br>(now mixed with the Dag Ṛali clan of the Kel Ṛela drum-group).<br><br>*Ifechchoumen* – a clan patrilineally related to the noble Taitoḳ, matrilineally to the vassal clan of Kel Ahnet. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals. | *Kel I-n-Tounin*<br>(about 20 tents in 1938). |

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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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| | Noble Clans | | Vassal Clans | Iseḳḳemaren Clans | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The Tegehe-Mellet Drum-Group* | *Tegehe Mellet* | 33 | *Kel Terhu* (part of the Ait Loairn clan of the Kel Ṛela drum-group). | *Kel Tevourit*<br>*Kel Ouhet* | 69<br>70 |
| *Noble Clans Without Vassals* | *Kel Ehan Mellen* | | The Iseḳḳemaren clans are said formerly to have been vassals of this clan. | | |
| | *Ikadrien* | | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | | |

### *The Kel Ṛela Drum-Group in Ahaggar.*

[161] The Ahaggar Tuareg according to statistics from 1950 number 4,611 individuals
565 (Lhote 1955, p. 157) and comprise 26 clans. In addition to the noble class termed
614 *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), and the vassal class termed *Imṛad*, (sing. *Amṛid*) or *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), there is also a class termed *Iseḳḳemaren* (sing. *Aseḳḳemar*), who can be considered vassals of a somewhat different status. The religious class *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*) is in Ahaggar represented by a few families without clan organization.

There are five noble clans but only three of them have vassals. There are in
614 other words three drum-groups *(eṭṭebel*, pl. *eṭṭebelen)*, namely those of Kel Ṛela,
565 Taitoḳ, and Tegehe Mellet. The Kel Ṛela group is by far the most important, and
634 its chief with the title of Amenokal is the supreme head of all three groups which
643 constitute a sort of federation named *tegehe*. In rare cases when the Tuareg of Ahaggar joined forces against foreign Tuareg groups, e.g. the Tuareg of Tassili-n-
[701] Ajjer, the Amenokal was the war-leader of all three drum-groups. But in the past he had often little authority over the two other drum-groups For long periods of the 19th century he had severe troubles with the Taitoḳ, who had acquired a practically independent position, and it seems as if he had no rights over the land inhabited by the Taitoḳ drum-group. The Amenokal as well as the two other drum-chiefs *(Amṛar*, pl. *Imṛaren)* were elected by the vassals of their respective
[565] drum-groups. It is true that the members of the noble clan had a certain influence,
[614] but – contrary to former opinions on the matter – they did not have any direct voice in elections. The Amenokal was and is ceremoniously installed by a Tuareg of the Iseḳḳemaren class who provides him with a new veil or turban. The two other
634 drum-chiefs should be installed in this way by the Amenokal, who also undertook the installation of all vassal chiefs within his own drum-group. The installment of vassal chiefs within the two other drum-groups were undertaken by their respective drum-chiefs. In the present chapter I shall describe the drum-group of the Kel Ṛela in some detail.

[Text continues on p. 104]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *taousit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan. 614 [162] [565] 613 614

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult. 114 611 [177]

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. 611 [591] [428] [631]

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage. 428 [422] [174]

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10. 614 591 768

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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*Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Aɣouh-en-Tehele Clan.*

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafia).

| Tenants | Value of Sub-Area | Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Aɣouh-en-Tehele, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tôles. | Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Daledge. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication. | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, Khalifa of the Ikenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds. | 3 goats |
| ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader. | Cultivation grounds at Iangriouel and In Deledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 2 donkeys |
| DRINI, Chief of the Kel Rafia sub-clan. | No particular value. | No land-rent. |
| AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section. | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Aserran section of the Isandan sub-clan. | Cultivation grounds at Tamanrasset. In the past wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaiddin now attached to the Aɣouh-en-Tehele clan. | Khoseni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaiddin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal. | |

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clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Aɣouh-en-Tehele have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Isekkemaren class. Between the Aɣouh-en-Tehele and the Isekkemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Aɣouh-en-Tehele people come to the Isekkemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Isekkemaren visiting the Aɣouh-en-Tehele. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

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[Text continues on p. 110]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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scale raiding. He would discuss all important matters with vassal chiefs and with his noble deputies known as *Khalifas*. At present the Amenokal has three Khalifas two of whom live in his own camp, while the third is his representative in Tamesna, where many Tuareg of his drum-group live. 643 [645]

The Amenokal never had the right to part of the bride-wealth from marriages among his vassals, nor did he receive a camel at the death of a vassal as was customary for the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan in Air. The Amenokal still has the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief within his drum-group, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal clan, the Dag Ḃali, has the right to one of the Amenokal's riding camels on the latter's death. [583] [651] [428]

As the representative of the Kel Ḃela drum-group the Amenokal is in certain cases entitled to property owned individually by his subjects. When a person dies without children or paternal kinsmen, his fortune is divided into six parts one part of which goes to his mother (or his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts are given to the Amenokal. In case the deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, the whole fortune of livestock is taken over by the Amenokal. He, however, will not himself make any use of the animals, but will leave them in the clan to which the deceased person belonged. They will there be under the supervision of the clan chief, who also has usufructs of them. Animals taken over by the Amenokal in this way are known as *ehere oua n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group"), or *ehere oua n boutelma* ("the fortune of the public"). 428 643 [614] [422]

The vassal clans of the Kel Ḃela drum-group pay an annual tribute known as *tiouse* to the Amenokal. The size of this payment varies from one clan to another. It is normally collected by the clan chiefs who send it to the Amenokal, but the three subclans of the Agouh-en-Tehele pay their tiouse separately as follows:– 1) The Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan: 600 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kg of butter. The man who brings this payment to the Amenokal is rewarded with a gift of 15 metres of cotton. 2) The Isandan sub-clan: 300 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kg of butter. The man who brings this receives a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. 3) The Kel Rafia sub-clan: Like the payments from the Isandan. 643 614 651

The whole Dag Ḃali clan pays its tiouse as follows:– 12 bags of millet corresponding to 6 camel-loads are given to the clan chief, who will send 10 bags to the Amenokal, and keep two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole clan gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the Amenokal.

One vassal clan, the Ait Loaien, does not make its tiouse payment to the Amenokal but to a Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Emori section of the Kel Ḃela. According to Lhote a certain family among the Dag Ḃali makes an annual payment to a noble Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Tahat section (Lhote 1955, p. 224). It is in fact possible that the Amenokal nowadays receives tiouse payments which ought to be made to other noble Tuareg. This I imply from the information from a man who told me that the Isandan sub-clan according to traditional rules should pay tiouse to a 565 614 643 651

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar



565 Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Ṛela clan, but as he now lives outside of
614 Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

643 In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to
651 noble Kel Ṛela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Isekkemaren class, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Ṛela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139ff.).

643 Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known
651 as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the
579 Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *ennehet*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347f.).

565 The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was
614 also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg.
651 But the relation (*temaẓlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

233 In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another.
511 The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And
[234] the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food,
[262] but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar
[574] Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together,
[281] as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft,
[237] as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the 233 511 camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan [492] trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food. [439]

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is [234] also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior [262] to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in [281] Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and [291] solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also [283] employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, [422] which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years [565] ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that through- [114] out the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to 565 the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble 651 Tuareg of the Kel Rela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small [421] temażlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble [431] Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



565 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance,
651 to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The
[178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are
[789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals, but these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility
[721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also
[422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these animals.

The master of a temażlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids, but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the
[643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellag* or half of the booty taken by all vassals
[727] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for
[426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been given to the Amenokal. The temażlait-masters were apparently without any judicial
[692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller units within the drum-group – the temażlait-relations – were predominantly economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit, the drum-group.

### *The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.*

565 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately
192 open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheren* (sing. *Amacher*), but correctly this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohar* (sing. *Amahar*). It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb *aher* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that this latter word is identical with *Hoouara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



dominating an extensive area of North Africa and particularly in Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and adjacent regions before the Arab invasion of the 11th century A.D. This theory was set forth already by Ibn Khaldoun, who says that *Hoouara* has changed into *Heggar* (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory has no other foundation but mere speculation (Nicolas 1953, p. 14). This, however, is not correct as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *ou* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *ou* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

The term used in Air for vassal Tuareg is *Imrad* (sing. *Amrid*), a word which seems to be known to all Tuareg. Foucauld gives no particular explanation of its meaning (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1233f.). Nicolas claims the word related to *erid*, literally meaning "a kid" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189). If this explanation given by Nicolas is correct, *Imrad* refers to goat-breeding. So does another term for vassals used more frequently among the Northern Tuareg and the Ioullemmeden, namely *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), which means literally "the goat people". In Air this word is never used as a term for the vassal class, but only as a proper name for one particular vassal clan attached to the Ikaskazan.

One of the terms for vassals and maybe both terms are thus connected with goat-breeding, while one of the terms for noble Tuareg seems to refer to raiding, which among the Tuareg was intimately connected with camel-breeding. Camels were not only the means by which raiding was carried out, but they were also the main object of raiding expeditions as they could be abducted very quickly from foreign camps. So we may perhaps see from some of the terms used for vassal and noble Tuareg that the two classes originated from the meeting of two distinct cultures, a goat-breeding and a camel-breeding culture. And we have already seen that in the past the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar were in particular camel-breeders, the vassals breeders of goats and donkeys.

The Ahaggar Tuareg – in contrast to the Tuareg of Air – have traditions about the origin of the class system. References to these traditions are common in literature (Benhazera 1908, p. 89ff. – Reygasse 1950, p. 88. – Foucauld 1951 – 52, II, p. 533ff. – Lhote 1955, p. 213ff. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 99f.). There are in fact two conflicting traditions, but some Tuareg will nevertheless acknowledge both. It seems, however, as if one tradition had its origin among the nobility, the other among vassals. The tradition which originated in the noble class says that the dominant noble clans of Ahaggar had a woman named Ti-n-Hinan as their ancestress. She immigrated to Ahaggar from Tafilelt in Morocco together with her servant girl named Takama, who became the ancestress of the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The two women were both Islamic and belonged to the Beraber tribes. They found the country uninhabited except for the higher parts of the massif, where a pagan people named the Isebeten lived. This tradition

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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173 is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

565 The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Ṛali and the Ait Loaien). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

[114] I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

184 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and
565 vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's
492 milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much import-
[234] ance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

184 Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects,
565 and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:– 1) In noble
[583] clans bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal clans one to three camels which may be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas
[422] true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Ṛali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble
[342] Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post – that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-
[614] breeding clan Ireḡenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed
[173] marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. – Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Ireḡenaten Tuareg met in Air.

342 Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently
184 referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. – Lhote

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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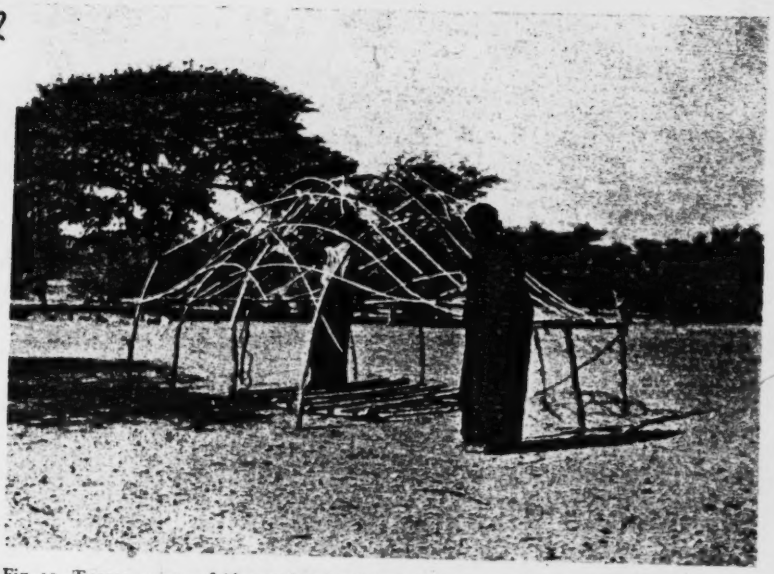

Fig. 13.–Tuareg women of Air erecting the skeleton of a mat-covered arched tent. It consists of three wooden arches placed parallel to and between a pair of three short sticks supporting a horizontal crossbar. Curved sticks cover the upper part of this construction. They are fastened to the arches and at their ends to the horizontal crossbars. Tuareg skin tents with the exception of those provided with T-shaped posts have possibly developed from similar constructions. – The erection of tents among the Tuareg is done by women.

171 *the Toucouleurs:* Urvoy 1952, pl. II, 4. – Desplagnes 1907, pl. CVI p. 396. – *The*
342 *Teda or Tebu:*– Le Coeur 1937, p. 39; 1950, p. 192, pl. XXVI, 99. – Despois 1946, pl. XXII. – Kronenberg 1959, pl. III).

342 Tuareg arched tents may also be covered with skin as they are among the Tenguereguif Tuareg around Timbuktu. These Tuareg have a very peculiar arch construction which also contains crossbars resting on sticks (Lhote 1947, p. 100, photographs 85–93). In Ahaggar arched tents were formerly extremely common, and may occasionally be seen even nowadays. Their construction consists of two arches which may be placed between and parallel to a pair of crossbars each resting on the tops of two sticks (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247. – Benhazera 1908, p. 26. – Lhote 1947, p. 42f.; 1955, p. 256. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 89, 103f.). In Ahaggar I
[565] have been told that arched skin tents were formerly used by all vassals, who did not have T-shaped posts to support their tents. But arched tents were also used by some noble Tuareg. The mat-covered arched tents among certain Ioullemmeden Tuareg are apparently used particularly by vassals (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f. – Gabus 1948, p. 361), but they are also in frequent use among noble Tuareg. In Air the most common type of dwelling to all Tuareg whatever their social class is the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar



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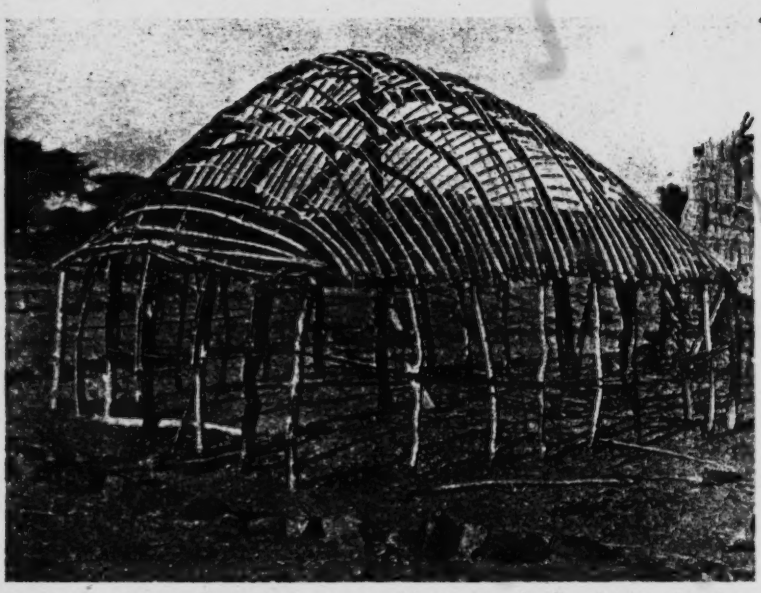

Fig. 14.–The skeleton of an arched mat-covered hut constructionally related to that shown fig. 13 but more elaborately and solidly built. The arches are made from lashed bundles of very slender sticks fastened to short poles embedded in the ground as is the heavy central post supporting the whole construction. – This type of hut is used among settled agriculturists of the Air villages, and is due to influence from pastoral Tuareg.

arched mat-covered tent, and the noble Kel Ferouan claim that they have never used any other type. The Western Ioullemmeden (Kel Ataram) use a skin tent consisting of three or four parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a horizontal crossbar (Lhote 1947, p. 85f., photographs 59–64). Gabus claims this dwelling as typical of the noble Tuareg (Gabus 1945, p. 15). I think that most probably it developed from a dwelling constructionally related to the arched mat-covered tent like that of Air. The common type of skin tent nowadays used in Ahaggar and Adrar-n-Iforas is of a somewhat related type (Lhote 1947, p. 42f., photographs 7–8, 11–13, 20–21.; 1955, p. 254ff. – Foley 1930, p. 12f., pl. IV, 6–7. – Briggs 1958, p. 92, fig. 36. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 103). It is apparently not possible to refer Tuareg arched tents exclusively to vassals, and it should be noted that in Tassili-n-Ajjer the dwelling typical of the vassal class is a straw hut constructionally related to a round house with conical roof (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 89, 94).

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Finally I shall now return to our main problem, namely the history of Tuareg political systems. We have explained their origin from the meeting of two distinct cultures, and we have seen that in the past the noble class was connected with

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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Fig. 15.–Beehive huts within a round enclosure at the village of Iferouan in Northern Air. The construction seen on this photograph consists of arches made from lashed bundles of slender sticks fastened to poles embedded in the ground. Horizontal sticks are fastened to the arches which are supported by a central forked post with a short crossbar placed on its top. For a detailed description of this construction see Foureau 1905, III, p. 885 f. Beehive huts in Air are also made from boughs embedded in the ground and tied together at the top without a central post.

174 camel-breeding. The camel is known to have been very common in Tripolitania
in the 4th century A.D. It was introduced to this region a few centuries before that
233 time, and it was known in Egypt about the year 500 B.C. It is therefore probable that the camel was introduced into the Central Sahara even prior to the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. Camel-breeding seems to have certain traits in common with pastoral cow-breeding, and the oldest camel-breeders of Northern Africa may have lived in tents or huts of arch construction – most possibly in so-called barrel-vaulted dwellings, which appear to have been extremely common in Northern Africa throughout Antiquity (cf. Le Coeur 1937. – Feilberg 1944, p. 202 f.).

174 The T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are apparently historically related to
similar posts of Arab black tents in Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and
[342] Eastern Libya. Considering the fact that T-shaped posts among the Northern
[565] Tuareg are claimed to be characteristic of the noble class, there may be a certain connection between noble Tuareg of the North and Arabs. I have mentioned above
[184] that in the North the term for noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, sing. *Ahaggar*) is different
[792] from the term used in other Tuareg groups (*Imacheren*, sing. *Amacher*). I have also

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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174 mentioned that the word *Ihaggaren (Ahaggar)* is perhaps derived from *Hoouara*, [192] which was a common term for certain Berber tribes particularly living in Tripolitania in the Middle Ages. According to Edrisi the Hoouara Berbers were originally Arabs who adopted Berber language (Edrisi p. 66ff.). This is not proved by Ibn [114] Khaldoun's important work on the history of the Berbers. But Ibn Khaldoun states that the Hoouara came under Arab influence at a very early date, and some of the pastoral Hoouara people apparently migrated southwards to the desert at a later date than the Lemta (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275ff.).

I think that the ancestors of the noble Tuareg introduced the camel into the Sahara. I think too that this may have happened before the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. But some of the dominating noble Tuareg have emigrated from Tripolitania after the Arabs have arrived. And it is probable that the political systems of the Tuareg already very early were influenced by the Arabs among whom a class system is found even nowadays as described from Cyrenaica by Evans-Pritchard. In that region there are client tribes known as *Marabtin alsaqan* 171 because they pay *sadaka*, a fee, to a free tribe for protection and for the pri- 565 vilege of using the earth and water. Some fragments of client tribes even to-day have a very inferior social position and are forced to make payments to, and to perform services for, the free tribes among whom they live (Evans-Pritchard 1949, p. 53).

The word *sadaqa*, a fee, is known to the Tuareg, and there are other Arabic 171 words connected with their political systems. Here I shall content myself with 192 reference to the word *khalifa* used among the Northern Tuareg for the deputies of a chief, and the very important word *ettebel* meaning "drum", "drum-group", and in Air also "drum-chief". Ultimately the history of Tuareg political systems should 174 probably be viewed in connection with those of Arabs. 10)

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173 /43 cont./ The Latin, Greek, and Arab texts that have come down to us give rise to very diverse interpretations and are, in any case, extremely fragmentary.

It seems acceptable to put the beginning of this period, as far as the Ahaggar is concerned, at about the time of the Punic Wars, and to end it on February 16, 1881, date of the massacre of the Flatters mission. From that date on, the Ahaggar enters into history properly speaking.

The protohistory of the Ahaggar poses the question of the origin of the Tuareg, a question which has not yet been satisfactorily resolved. They are probably Berbers coming from different tribes, who could have crossed with a white population already settled in the Ahaggar. What characterizes the Tuareg, aside from certain somatic traits such as tall stature, an arm span /envergure/ often greater than their height, smooth or wavy black hair, the rarity of hairiness, is the unity of the language, the use of tifinagh characters, and a way of life with particular customs which has succeeded in assimilating tribes of Arab origin, such as the Issakamaren.

/44/ The Tuareg pass on orally the legendary story of Tin Hinan, said to be the "mother," ancestress of the Kel Rela nobles, who know no masculine ancestor, although some say he was French (an affirmation to be regarded with suspicion and certainly of recent origin).

Tin Hinan supposedly came from Tafilalet, but no one knows why she came to the Ahaggar, accompanied by her servant woman Takamat, ancestress of the Dag Rali.

The story, which neglects the male ancestor, must be [565] regarded as the expression of the Tuareg tradition which calls for the transmission of the rights of nobility through the women.

The /early/ Tuareg must have possessed camels, for Tin Hinan rode a white female camel. Did they join, either as guides or protectors, caravans going to the north? We may think this, for the excavations of Tin Hinan's tomb by M. Reygasse uncovered funerary furniture which included objects of Roman origin.

571 /48 cont. / Each tribe possessed slaves (iklan), bought or
564 captured in the Sudan. They lived with Tuareg families, carry-
[567] ing out domestic chores, tending goats, extracting salt, digging wells. These slave families were an integral part of the tribe and followed it in its moves.

The harratin were free or freed men, generally Negroes, often natives of the Touat, come to cultivate the arable lands of the Ahaggar. They worked under two contract systems, which are still in force and which we shall study further on.

## The Tribes

631 In the preceding chapter we saw that each noble tribe possessed imrads, or vassals. Each of these imrad tribes has a chief called "amrar," who rules the tribe according to custom. A tribe can be divided and subdivided. The tribe possesses a pasture region of its own, in which no other tribe may sojourn without a previous agreement with the amenokal, and that only in exceptional circumstances. The nobles may sojourn as they like on the lands of the vassals. The imrad tribes pay a due to the amenokal as a sign of their vassalage. This tax is called "tioussé." The payments are always in kind and in general are scrupulously discharged. This revenue enables the amenokal to uphold his rank suitably during the almost daily receptions, but it is not enough to cover the expenses of his command completely.

## /49/ The Nobles

565 The Kel Rela at present constitute the most important noble tribe of the Ahaggar. These nobles, called in Tamashek "ihaggarènes," are split into three subgroups: the iboglanes, the inembas, and the ikérémoïens. These subgroups are related and increasingly practice endogamy.

The Kel Rela are without doubt the handsomest specimens of the Tuareg type. Does this derive from the fact that they have

565/49 cont. / been the ruling caste for a long time? One is obliged to remark their true nobility, their refined politeness, and their never failing courtesy. They are more open than the imrads, often more intelligent, and some of them even possess a sense of humor. Beyh ag Akhamouk, the present amenokal, is a very representative personage and has fine qualities as a chief. The young Kel Rela turn more and more to the French, associate with them, become their friends. This attraction will become generalized little by little, that is, the esteem that these young people have for particular individuals will be extended to include France, which is only an abstraction for them.

[162] [563] The Kel Rela number slightly over 300 and possess about 350 black servants. Their tents are scattered over the whole of Ahaggar territory. The camp of the amenokal is never very far from Tamanrasset.

[162] Another noble tribe, the Tédjéhé Mellet, is not large; reduced to 32 individuals, it ordinarily sojourns in the Tefedest near the imrad tribes it possesses: the Kel Ohet and Kel Terrourrit. These nobles play practically no role in the Tuareg organization of the Ahaggar. The tribe's amrar is Khourou ag Salah.

Since our arrival in the Ahaggar, the Taïtok tribe has been exiled to the Sudan and has been dispossessed of its lands.

[162] There still remain, however, about 30 nomadic Taïtoks in the vicinity of Tamanrasset. Illou ag Amri is the amrar.

[162] Nearly 70 nobles from the Sudanese tribe of Iforas sojourn in Ahaggar territory. They are often allied with the Kel /50/ Rela. Among these Iforas are a few who belong to the marabout Iforas of Temassinine.

## The Imrads

According to legend, the Dag Rali are the descendants of Takamat, Tin Hinan's servant woman. The mountains of the

565 /50 cont. / Atakor and the Arechchoum are their pasture regions. It is a tribe of rich camel and goat raisers.

[162] [563] It is the most important imrad tribe under the Kel Rela; there are about 390, served by nearly 400 Negroes. The Dag Rali are stubborn mountaineers, a little narrow minded. They [147] are remarkably resistant to fatigue when they walk in their rough country. Let us also note their adaptation to the cold of December, January, and February; the camps are generally situated at an average altitude of 2, 000 meters. The Tuareg [291] [132] are clothed in two cotton gandurahs and are quite often wrapped in a "dokali"; they bear cold which drops as low as -12° in the tent toward five in the morning.

The tribe's amrar is Akroud ag Ama (1). The handsomest

1. Died in 1952.

tents belong to the Dag Rali, and the men are renowned as hunters of wild sheep.

[651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is about 12 mezoued /leather grain sacks/ of dates, eight bottas /bottles/ of butter, the loan of 12 ewes for milk, and ten goats for slaughtering.

Several subgroups may be seen within the Dag Rali, named mainly according to the regions they inhabit: Kel Arechchoumi, /sic/ and the Ikhechemaden, who formerly were imrads of the Taïtoks.

[162] [563] The most numerous imrad tribe is the Adjouh n'Téhélé. It includes approximately 590 individuals and more than 750 Negro domestics. Although imrads, the Adjouh n'Téhélé are regarded as different by the nobles. Toward the eighteenth century, this tribe, which was living in the Aïr at the time, came of its own accord to incorporate itself into the Kel Ahaggar. This was done to escape the exactions /51/ of the sultan of Agadez, who each year demanded a virgin as a sign of vassalage. This tribe's territory of nomadization extends to the east and south of those of the Dag Rali.

565 621 /51 cont./ The most important agricultural centers belonging to the Adjouh n'Téhélé are Tarhaouaout, In Dalag, and Tahifet. There are several subgroups: the Isanden in the Isernan region; the Kel Rafsa, Tahifet region; the Relaïdine, Tin-Tarabin region; and the Kel Hagalella to the south of Tamanrasset. The tribe's amrar is Samaalatokh ag Mansouri. [651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is approximately the same as that paid by the Dag Rali.

565 [157] The Adjouh n'Téhélé have an open character; they are gay and like to joke, but they have the reputation of being quick tempered and irascible.

The Aït Loen tribe is, like the preceding ones, an imrad tribe of the Kel Rela. It is descended from Takamat. These Tuareg are nomads in the eastern Atakor and sometimes penetrate into Ajjers territory. Their most important center is Tin-[491] Tarabin. There are no roads going into the territory of this tribe, so their tents are rarely visited.

[162 563] There are about 500 Aït Loen; they possess 620 black servants. The Kel Torha, Kel Anahef, and Kel Telerteba are the three subgroups of the tribe, whose chief is El Ralen ag [651] Nissoran. Their tioussé is about four mezoued of dates to the Kel Rela and one mezoued of dates paid by the Kel Torha to the Tédjéhé Mellet.

The Aït Loen are experienced guides for going to the Ajjers and Ténéré regions.

[162 563] The Iklan Taoussit number about 600, served by 650 Negroes. They are nomads in the Tahelra, the Silet region, the Amded and Tekouiat wadis, and in the northern part of the Adrar des Iforas. They formerly belonged to the Imenanes, which accounts for their name, which means "servant of the tribe." [651] Their tioussé is on the order of four mezoued of millet, two bottas of butter, and six milch goats. Dali ag Akoumaris is the tribe's amrar. The subgroup of the tribe which sojourns almost continually in the Tin-Zaouaten region has Khadida for chief.

565 /51 cont. / The Iklan Taoussit are /52/ the Tuareg who consume the most afazzou seeds ( Panicum turgidum).

There are very few Tédjéhé n'Néfis: 98 Tuareg and 120 [162 563] Negroes. This tribe, like the preceding one, is imrad of the Kel Rela but formerly belonged to the Taïtoks. The Tédjéhé n'Néfis are related to the Adjouh n'Téhélé and like them were originally from the Aïr. Their camps are generally in the Tamanrasset wadi, downstream from the village, mostly near the gardens of Tidjenouine. The chief of the tribe is Ad Noumen ag Khadida.

The Ibotenaten tribe, comprising 128 individuals served by [162 563] 153 Blacks, is enfeoffed to the Kel Rela without being truly imrad. It is said that an Ibotenaten once killed a noble Ahaggar. The tribe was beaten by the Kel Rela and condemned to pay a tribute.

The Ibotenaten are rich camel raisers. They live permanently in the Tamesna, benefitting from the annual rains which make this region fertile. Ould Brika is the tribe's amrar.

The Irreguenaten number 434 and have 600 Negroes. [162 563] Normally they reside in the Tamesna, but they nomadize toward the Iforas and even the Timétrine region. Their name means "mixture of Arabs and Tuareg." They are allies of the Ibotenaten. Rich camel raisers, the members of this tribe are essentially nomads; they possess no agricultural center. They are the best guides to the Tassili n'Ahaggar.

The name Issakamaren designates a group of tribes of Arabic origin which were raided in the Touat and the Tidikelt about the eighteenth century by the Kel Ahaggar. The Issakamaren speak Arabic and Tamashek, but their customs have [631] become those of the Tuareg. They are incorporated in the Tuareg confederation and are treated as imrads, although with a slight nuance of inferiority in the caste system. Their pasture regions are situated on the periphery of the central massif.

The Kel in Khar tribe includes 176 individuals and 50 [162 563] Negroes. /53/ They are nomads in the eastern part of the Tefedest and trade in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

565 /53 cont./ The Mertoutek center belongs to them, and they possess gardens at Dehine and Abezzou.

[651] The tioussé is set at one young camel and a mezoued of dates. The chief of the tribe is Ikharis ag Akcham. They are rich camel raisers and are excellent guides to the Tefedest and the Amadror.

[162 563] The Kel Amguid number about 88 and possess 9 Blacks. They are related to other subgroups of the Issakamaren. They range over the region of Amguid, the Igharghar, and the Tefedest.

[651] The Kel Amguid have gardens at Adenek, Mertoutek, and Ideles. They pay a tioussé of four mezoued of dates, an assaber /mat for the tents/, and a young camel. Kelli ag Khabouba is the chief of the tribe.

[162 563] Imrads of the Kel Rela, the Kel Tazolé number 60 Tuareg and 60 Negroes. They possess an important camel herd and nomadize in the region of Tazerouk, chiefly to the east of that center.

The chief of the tribe is El Mamoun ag el Hadj Baba. Tazerouk is their center, and the small neighboring centers

[651] belong to them. Their tioussé is three mezoued of dates, three lambs, and a four-year-old camel.

The Kel Tazolé conduct caravans in the directions of Ghat and the Tidikelt. They exchange millet in Aïr.

[162 563] The Eouen n'Hada number 241 individuals and 90 Negroes. They are nomads in the Tefedest, the Ifetessen, and sometimes in the Selbourak wadi. Tadjemout is their agricultural

[651] center. They pay the amenokal a tioussé of three mezoued of grain, a young camel, and a rug.

The Eouen n'Hada, whose amrar is Nassamou ag Elias, are guides for the Immidir.

[162 563] The Kel Immidir are around 170 individuals; they have 45 black servants. This tribe nomadizes particularly in the tassili, region of Arak, the Ifetessen, and the Rharis.

[651] They own the palms at Tadjemout and the Djoraf. This tioussé amounts to six mezoued of dates and a rug. The amrar

565 /54/ is Sidi Rali ag el Hadj Mohamed. The Kel Immidir are caravaneers going toward Ghat and the Tidikelt.

The Kel Tefedest tribe is poor: for 61 Tuareg, it has only [162 563] 11 Negroes. Allied to the Kel Tazolé and the Kel Immidir, it nomadizes in the Tefedest and the Immidir. The Kel Tefedest formerly possessed gardens in an abandoned center near In-[651] Amguel (Adjelil). Their tioussé is four mezoued of dates and a young camel. The amrar of the tribe is Ikkan ag Magamed.

The Ikoutessen are very poor and few in number: 85 indi-[162 563] viduals and 20 Negroes. Lamari ag Moudi is the tribe's amrar. They were paying a tioussé of two mezoued of dates, a guerba [651] /waterskin/, and an empty mezoued. The Ikoutessen ordinarily sojourn in the Amguid region; they travel to the Sudan and the Tidikelt.

Formerly belonging to the Taïtoks, the Kel In Tounine now are under the Kel Rela. They are not numerous and live in the Igharghar region. The Kel In Tounine possess gardens in the Ajjers. They paid the Taïtoks, very irregularly, a [651] tioussé of six mezoued of dates and two sheep. They are guides for going in the direction of the Ajjers.

The Kel Ahnet, former imrads of the Taïtoks, at present [162 563] belong to the Kel Rela. This is a poor tribe of 125 Tuareg and 10 Negroes. They are nomads in the Ahnet, the Acedjerad, and the Adrar des Iforas. They are excellent guides for the Tanezrouft. They possess gardens at Abalessa, Tahart, Tit, and Tibeghim, and palm trees in the Ahnet.

The amrar is Daniel ag Chikkat. The Kel Ahnet trade between the Tidikelt and the Iforas.

[162] The Iouarouaren tribe is composed of only 47 individuals and have no Negroes. It nomadizes in the Acedjerad but resides mainly in the Tin-Zaouaten region. Its chief is Bahman ag Beuh. The Iouarouaren possess palm trees at Tibeghim; they have the reputation of being excellent hunters of addax antelopes. They formerly paid the Taïtoks a tioussé of a [651] mezoued of bechena /millet/ and two bottas of butter. They are guides for the Tanezrouft.

565 /55/ An imrad tribe of the Tédjéhé Mellet, the Kel Ohet
[162 includes 80 Tuareg and 20 Negroes. It is allied to the Kel
563] In Tounine and has many dealings with the Ajjers. The tribe's
amrar is Habib ag Ouhaggarène. Its members nomadize in the
eastern Tefedest and own gardens at Ohet and Dehine. The
[65] tioussé formerly was four mezoued of dates, rope, and guerbas.

The Kel Terrourrirt are imrads of the Tédjéhé Mellet.
[162 Their tribe is not numerous: 62 Tuareg and six Negroes. They
563] are very poor. They camp in the Amguid region and in the
Tassili des Adjjer and possess several gardens at In-Amguel.
[65] The amrar is Hadj Mohamed ag Salah. They were paying
four mezoued of dates, four sheep, rope, and guerbas. They
trade with the Tidikelt.

The Ibardjien are not Issakamaren. They are imrads of the
[162] Kel Rela. It is a tribe destined to die out; there are only 24
left. They reside in the Tazrouk and Ideles region. They
were remarkable hunters of wild sheep and had dogs trained for
this practice.

The presence in the Ahaggar of former soldiers, most of
them Chaamba, must be noted. They marry Tuareg women,
found families, and raise their children in the Tuareg customs.
They are fairly numerous in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

## The Maalmines. Inaden

565 Within Tuareg society are found artisans called
463 "maalmines" in Arabic, but whose Tamashek name is "inaden."
The masculine singular is "inade;" plural, "inaden." The
feminine singular is "tinat;" plural, "tinadin."

The maalmines make up a tribe whose members almost
always marry among themselves. They are related to the
maalmines of the Iforas and of the Aïr. Although very black
skinned, they do not have negroid characteristics. The origin
[174] of the maalmines is as obscure as that of the Tuareg tribes;
some think /56/ they are Jews who were captured by the Tuareg

565 /56 cont. / and who over a period of time have adopted
463 Tuareg ways (their specialization and their character lend
174 credence to this theory). Some maalmines say that they came to the Ahaggar in the time of the sultan Goma, having been separated from the Idenan tribe of which they were members. Others claim to have always belonged to the Tuareg confederation.

565 In the Ahaggar the maalmines include 17 men, about 20
463 women, and about 40 children. They have ten iklan.
[162] The men are many-sided craftsmen, often clever and fairly artistic; in view of the material they have to work with and the tools at their disposal, one may say that they are remarkable. The women work leather with skill and art. The maalmines are not grouped in tribes but form small families scattered in every corner of the Ahaggar. When a tribe, noble or imrad, needs some work done, it sends for a craftsman and provides him with animals for transporting himself and his equipment. He lives with the tribe during the time necessary for his task and is provided for by the tribe. When the work is done he is paid, according to how satisfactory it is considered, in goats, millet, milk, butter, even camels, but there is no fixed rate paid to the maalmines by the Tuareg. There is a different arrangement when they work for the harratin, who, not being so noble as the Tuareg, would not know how to reward good work with the proper generosity. They are therefore charged the following rate: for one new
[435] hoe (made from an old oil drum): five guessa /dishes/ of wheat or millet; for four rivets put in an old hoe, one guessa of grain; for a new axe the price used to be a goat or five guessa, but since the advent of the black market there is no accurate quotation.

435 For making jewelry, there is a special price fixed by
565 custom, even for the Tuareg; thus for bracelets and earrings
463 the Targui furnishes, for example, ten pieces of silver necessary for making two bracelets; the maalem keeps five

435 /56 cont./ for himself, or else the Targui pays him in actual
463 money the value of the five pieces.

565 /57/ The same price applies for rings and pendants. The inaden have an ill-defined position in Tuareg society; some
463 consider them inferior to the imrads, others place them be-
565 tween the nobles and the imrads. It is certain that the maalmines are proud and are far from suffering from an inferiority complex. They are very well acquainted with Tuareg customs, the country, and the people, and are, in brief, the custodians of certain traditions of art, or, it could be said, of culture.

The tinadin, women of the maalmines, work leather as do all Tuareg women, but with them it takes on the character of a profession. They are very skillful and artistic, and their specialty is making cases for the iremdan /a tool/, sheaths for knives, and saber scabbards called "tittar n'takouba."

## The Harratin

565 The harratin of the Ahaggar represent, as they do elsewhere in the Sahara, the sedentary element, chiefly agricultural.

The term designates, in the thought of the region, a caste in Tuareg society. When one questions a Kel Ahaggar about the ranking of the different castes, he places the nobles, ihaggarènes, first; then the vassals, imrads, making a distinction among them of the issakamaren, who are the lowest in the caste; then come the iklan (slaves, let us say, domestic ones) -- these iklan are Blacks, and their difference from the Tuareg is evident from their ethnic type.(1).

1. A parallel Moslem religious and maraboutic hierarchy exists: (Chorfa -- Zaoui -- Arabs -- Mozabites).

565 /57 cont./ The harratin, who are also Negroes, are ranked as low as the iklan by the Tuareg, who have a high degree of [563] racial prejudice.

However, there is a nuance: the "akli" (plural: "iklan") belongs to his master, the Targui; he cannot leave him, and, if he is no longer bought and sold because of the presence of the French, he considers himself the property of his master. The /58/ hartani is a free man; he may live where he wants to, do what work he will where he will; he makes contracts with the Tuareg and is dependent on them only in so far as his work is. Moreover, as a resident of the Ahaggar, he must observe the customs of the country.

[622] [631] He is under the authority of the village chief, who is also a hartani, responsible to the amenokal (1).

1. This ranking and this information concern the observance of custom and have nothing to do with French law, which is administered by the head of the annex and by the judicial authorities at Batna.

The harratin of the Ahaggar apparently have two possible origins. Some come from the oases of the Touat and the Tidikelt. This population movement has, it appears, always [166] existed. The number of these harratin varies; there is, in fact, a continual coming and going between the Ahaggar and the oases of the north, according with the dry and wet years.

The other harratin are iklan who have been freed by the Tuareg. The chief cause of this emancipation is the growing [567] poverty of the nobles and vassals, who no longer have sufficient resources to feed and clothe their domestics.

565 /58 cont./ These freed men are no happier for their rise in the caste system, for this liberty is often synonymous with complete destitution.

The economic difficulties resulting from the prohibition of raiding have done more to suppress slavery than law and reason.

174 565 What is to be said on the historic origins of the harratin as an ethnic type? We have already seen that there are two types of harratin.

The former Tuareg slaves are probably originally from the Sudan and the Niger, where they were bought or captured in raids.

The harratin from the Touat and the Tidikelt may have the same origin as the others, but one cannot dismiss the theory that they are descendants, more or less pure, /59/ of an ancient negroid people of the Sahara (1).

1. In this connection, it is useful to read the articles published in the Bulletins de liaison saharienne at Algiers. These were prepared by professors of the University of Algiers and by all the important persons who, in different capacities, have worked in the Sahara. (Editor: Commander Ferry. Administration of the Territories of the South: Government General of Algeria).

565 241 The harratin constitute a most interesting social element in the Ahaggar, because it is they who cultivate the rare productive plots and who furnish the workmen: masons, carpenters, and manual laborers. If they appear at first sight

565 /59 cont./ to possess few intellectual or moral qualities, they
241 are perhaps nonetheless readily adaptable.

## The Language

197 The Tuareg speak a Berber language. This language is certainly the strongest link which unites the scattered populations from the regs of the Tidikelt to the banks of the Niger; it is, more than the ethnic type, the element characteristic of these peoples. It is through the language that is maintained what may still be called "Tuareg culture," which survives in the traditions, mores, and superstitions.

This language, which is called "Tamahaq" in the Ahaggar and "Tamacheq" in the Sudan, has several dialects: that spoken by the Kel Ahaggar is called "Tahaggart," thus designated by the Kel Ajjers and the Taïtoks; in the Aïr it is called "Taïrt"; in the Adrar des Iforas, "Tadrak," and the dialect of the Aoullimiden is called "Taoullemmet."

These dialects are very similar to each other; a few local differences in pronunciation distinguish them, as well as certain idioms.

Tahaggart, the language of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, has been studied the most, chiefly in the noble tribes because, Father de Foucauld said, "the language is pure only as spoken by the nobles."

114 It is a complex language, rich and full of nuances, with a precise and difficult syntax. General Hanoteau succeeded, with the help of Tuareg captured during a battle, in writing a /60/ Tuareg grammar; this was the first formal study of Tamashek.

Dictionaries were compiled by Cid Kaoui and M. Masqueray, but the most remarkable work, which constitutes a summary, is the dictionary of Father de Foucauld. Father de Foucauld's grammar and the texts he has collected afford the best material for studying Tamashek.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Boy of the noble class, *Kel Tahabanat* on the Niger.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



●565 619 The true Tuareg in most groups fall into several classes as follows:—

*Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), or *Imajeren* (sing. *Amajer*). These two words designate the supreme Tuareg class which is generally referred to in literature as "nobility". The term *Ihaggaren* is used only among the Northern Tuareg, while *Imajeren* is employed in Ayr and also among Sudanese Tuareg. The two terms are synonymous, and so-called noble Tuareg are found in most Tuareg groups. However, the *Kel Geres* employ the term *Imajeren* for all true Tuareg. Among the *Kel Adrar* certain tribes claim to be noble, but though these tribes have very much the same position as noble tribes in Ahaggar and in Ayr, they are not recognized as true noble Tuareg by people of other groups.

*Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). This class is that of *Mrabetin* or marabuts, the religious class established after the introduction of Islam. In most Tuareg groups there are whole tribes of *Ineslemen* under the leadership of their own chiefs, but in Ahaggar there are only a few scattered families. The political position of the *Ineslemen* varies greatly from one group to another. Certain tribes in Ayr which are *Ineslemen* by origin have the same status as the true vassals to be mentioned below, while other *Ineslemen* tribes like the *Iforas* of the *Kel Aijer* have much the same status as noble Tuareg with the exception that they have no vassals. The *Ineslemen* perform religious duties connected with certain [793] rites of passage. Any Tuareg can acquire the position of *Aneslem* after training in reading the Koran and education in the divine laws under the tutorship of another *Aneslem* or marabut.

*Echchikhen* (sing. *Echchikh*). This word also refers to people of religious status, and is used almost synonymously with *Ineslemen*. Certain tribes of Ayr (Damergu) have a kind of noble status and possess vassals. The word does not have the meaning of *Echcherifen* (sing. *Echcherif*), which refers to descendants of the Prophet. Individual Tuareg families – particularly in noble tribes – often claim relationship with the Prophet.

*Isekkemaren* (sing. *Asekkemar*). A class which is found only in the two northern groups – particularly among the *Kel Ahaggar*. The *Isekkemaren* Tuareg descend from Arabs, or from unions between Arab men and Tuareg women. They are vassals who have a somewhat different status from that of true vassals, who are mentioned below.

*Iregenaten* (sing. *Aregenat*). This name is not always applied to people of a particular class. It is used as a proper name for one Ahaggar tribe which has its origin from mixed marriages between (noble) Tuareg women and Arabs. In most groups the term *Iregenaten* (*Iregenaten*) is applied to Tuareg descending from unions between noble Tuareg men and vassal women.

212 104 184 Fig. 2. The Tuareg alphabet (*tifinay*). The distinctions between Tuareg alphabets of Ahaggar and Ayr are less essential than appears from this list, for some differences are due to the fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg for certain letters prefer an edged form, the Ayr Tuareg a curved one. But both forms are known to all Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg normally write from the right to the left like the Arabs, while the Ayr Tuareg consider it correct to write the letters in vertical rows from bottom to top. It can be seen from the list that the Ahaggar Tuareg have an alphabet of 25 consonants while the Ayr Tuareg have only 21. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels with a dot, which may stand for any vowel. This simple vowel letter is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tagerit*, to the Ayr Tuareg as *tetemkit*. The dialect of the Ayr Tuareg is very little known and most Ayr words mentioned in this study have never been published previously. Even my collection of Ahaggar words seems to contain terms lacking in Foucauld's dictionaries. For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that generally used for geographical maps.

[text continues on p. 12]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



565 619 *Imrad* (sing. *Amerid*). People of this class are sometimes called "serfs" in literature, but the word "vassals" is also used. I prefer to use the latter term, but add that the word *Imrad* is most difficult to translate into an European language. The vassal class is represented in all groups with the exception of the *Kel Geres*. Among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden* the word *Kel Ulli* (sing. *Agg Ulli*) is used synonymously with *Imrad*. Among south-western Tuareg around Timbuktu the word *Daga* or *Dara* is also used to designate vassals. The *Imrad* class is by far the most numerous in most groups. The relationship between these vassals (*Imrad*) and the noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, *Imajeren*) forms the basis of most political systems which are described later (p. 393 ff.).

101 565 Members of the above-mentioned classes are true Tuareg, though the word *Ineslemen* is also used for marabuts of other peoples and for marabuts of various black-skinned castes found among the Tuareg. Among the Northern Tuareg all people of the above-mentioned classes with the exception of certain *Ineslemen* or marabuts are called *Imuhar* (sing. *Amahar*). The Ayr Tuareg have no such common term to designate the people known to us as *Tuareg*, but occasionally they use generically the word *Imajeren* though strictly speaking this term should be reserved for Tuareg of the supreme noble class.

101 The word *Tuareg* (sing. *Targi*) is never used by the Tuareg themselves, but by Arabs. Duveyrier claims it to be derived from an Arabic word of the root *terek* meaning "to abandon". The meaning of the word accordingly should be "those abandoned (by God)", and should refer to the fact that many Tuareg do not follow Islamic rules very strictly (Duveyrier 1864, p. 317 f.). The same explanation has also been given to me by an Arab of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe of Tidikelt. However, the origin of the word "*Tuareg*" is perhaps a different one:— It may be related to the word *Targa* (Ayr) or *Targa* (Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer), which name is used by the Tuareg to designate the part of the Sahara generally known to us by the Arabic word *Fezzan*. This is very likely, as we know from Arab authors of the Middle Ages that the word *Targa* or *Targa* was then used as a name for a very important Tuareg group living in that area and adjacent regions (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 83 f.; Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 534; Rodd 1926a, p. 273 f.).

142 144 The Tuareg are fair-skinned people who in certain regions and particularly in the south have mixed with Negroes. The Northern Tuareg are predominantly fair-skinned, and many of them are as "white" as Europeans though perhaps a little yellowish or brownish. It is difficult to determine their exact skin colour because they are burned and tanned by the sun and the hot wind characteristic of desert [291] climate. In addition, the Tuareg wear clothes dyed with indigo which comes off on the body, and they [518] rarely wash. When I lived among them my own skin-colour and that of the Tuareg were practically identical. Among the Ayr Tuareg there are also many fair-skinned people, but the Ayr Tuareg are more mixed with Negroes than the Northern Tuareg, and most *Kel Ewey* are predominantly negroid. Very mixed also are the *Kel Geres* and the same seems to hold for other Tuareg groups of the south. A few blond individuals have been recorded from the *Kel Ajjer* living around the oases of Rat and Radames, and they may be the offspring of unions between Tuareg women and caravan traders of the north (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 162 f.). The blond individuals met in Southern Ayr are the offspring [648] of the fairly numerous marriages between Frenchmen and Tuareg women, but it is claimed that a few years ago a very blond girl was born to parents of families which had never contracted marriages

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Fig. 3. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Iklan-en-tawsit* tribe.

Fig. 4. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

142 with the French. I have myself never seen a genuine blond Tuareg, but I have met a few albinos though
144 albinism seems to be rare. These observations agree with those of Lhote (1955a, p. 163). All the Tuareg
[143] I have seen had curly or straight black hair, and dark brown or almost black eyes. Many individuals
had fairly broad faces with protuding cheeks which gave them superficially a mongoloid appearance,
142 while others had features more like Mediterranean Europeans. In literature the Tuareg are generally
described as very tall people. I did not myself carry out anthropological measurements, but will not
hesitate to state that in my opinion a great many Tuareg are far from big. Very many adult men in the
groups I have visited were considerably shorter than myself (1.73 m). Tuareg men are generally dry
[147] and meagre, bearing the stamp of their roaming life in the desert. Their most outstanding quality is
[157] that of endurance and contempt of hunger and hardship. The appearance of Tuareg women is often
quite different – they tend to grow fat. This is probably to some extent due to the fact that married
826 women spend most of their life in the tents and get little physical exercise. But fatness is also a sign
832 of feminine beauty, and some women make a great effort to grow fat by drinking milk or eating
[261] certain fattening plants (cf. p. 177, 178). According to some Tuareg fat women symbolize wealth – large
flocks and herds, and much milk – but many Tuareg also say that they prefer fat women because they

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Fig. 5. Veiled vassal Tuareg. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

Fig. 6. Irrigation farmer of the *Iburelliten*, that is descendants of mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and Negroes. The man is patrilineally releated to the noble *Tuytok* tribe, matrilineally to slaves. Ahaggar, Amsel.

[144]

181 and there are indeed many Tuareg both in Ahaggar and in Ayr who wear Islamic amulets which are believed to make the wearers look "great and important". "Prestige" is constantly in the mind of all Tuareg who are much more sophisticated than other people living within their country.

181 Most true Tuareg are nomadic stock-breeders who will not engage in the strenuous work of irriga-
433 tion agriculture. The Tuareg will readily engage in any strenuous work connected with stock-breeding,
461 caravan trading, and in the past also in raiding expeditions, which were organized by people of the nobility, but agricultural work is generally much despised. However, there are in all groups certain families or tribes the members of which subsist predominantly by agriculture, and are nevertheless considered true Tuareg by pastoralists. These agricultural Tuareg will be mentioned in a later chapter,
564 and we shall now pass on to a brief description of various negroid castes and of other non-Tuareg
567 people living within the boundaries of Tuareg territory:—

*Iklan* (sing. *Akli*). These are the proper slaves who are very negroid. Nicolas believes that the word *Akli* (pl. *Iklan*) is in fact derived from a k-l root meaning "to be black" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189), but

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Fig. 7. Tuareg boy of the vassal tribe *Imezzureg* in Ayr.

564 567 Foucauld states that it does not refer to black skin-colour but only to membership of a particular caste (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 787). However, Tuareg slaves are Negroes taken during raids and warfare in the Sudan or bought from slave markets in Sudanese towns and cities. The Sudanese origin of slaves is also indicated by the Ahaggar word *Ibenheren* (sing. *Ébenher*), which term refers to a slave who speaks only a Sudanese language. It is frequently used by Northern Tuareg as an abuse of their [648] slaves, particularly of slave children. Among the Northern Tuareg slavery is still practised with the tacit consent of the French military administration. Most Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have slaves to take care of flocks and herds and to perform various domestic tasks. These slaves live in pastoral camps of the Tuareg, and in Ahaggar they have frequently told me that they felt superior to the black-skinned agriculturists though the latter largely descend from freed slaves. In the Southern [648] Tuareg groups slavery is officially abolished, perhaps because the Southern Tuareg are governed by civil administrators. But it seems as if the official abolition of slavery in the south was also a result of the Tuareg revolt against the French 1916–1917, and very few Ayr Tuareg have slaves nowadays. However, the manumission of slaves is not just a recent phenomenon due to European influence. Slaves have been freed long before the advent of French colonization at the beginning of our century. There are in the south whole groups of slaves who have been manumitted at an unknown date in the past, and these people are known among the Ayr Tuareg by the term *Irawélen* most of whom are nomadic stock-breeders culturally akin to true pastoral Tuareg. They are also known by the Hausa term *Buzu*, which term again corresponds to the Sonray word *Bélla*. This latter word, however, may sometimes refer also to people who are considered a kind of slaves by the Tuareg. Nicolas divides the freed slaves among the *Iwllemmeden* into three groups, viz. *Iklan-n-Egef*, *Irawelan*, and *Iderfan*. The two first groups comprise pastoralists also known as *Buzu*, or *Bélla*, while most members of the last

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



group are sedentary agriculturists (Nicolas 1950a, p. 190). In Ahaggar most freed slaves have become incorporated in the negroid caste now to be mentioned. 564 567

*Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*). This term designates the caste of agricultural Negroes known to the Arabs as *Harratin* (sing. *Hartani*). In Ahaggar this caste has a rather mixed origin. It did not exist in this 564

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**Fig. 8. Vassal woman with amulet cases and snail-shells hanging around her neck. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe.**

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



564 region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed*
[463] (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Ahaggar to cultivate
[567] gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaren*, or *Harratin*, like the
[191] immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual, speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahak*). The *Izeggaren* (*Harratin*) are generally less
[144] negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features.
[142] Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*) refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaren* does not seem to exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Rat oasis known as *Ikewweren* apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

[361] *Kel Ganet* (sing. *W' Ganet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ganet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-
[144] n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned
[565] europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ganet* have much the same position as Tuareg vassals (Imrad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ganet* immigrants, their status is rather
[567] like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ganet* may possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

564 *Ineden* (*Ineden* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Ened*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg
326 groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one. People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only
[162] a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the
564 blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna*
173 *Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963). A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Tementit in Tawat. At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.). 2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and
564 Adrar-n-Foras. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of
144 them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

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[184] Fig. 9. Vassal woman with her child straddling over the right hip. The Tuareg generally carry their children in this way though certain Ayr Tuareg have adopted the Sudanese fashion of carrying children on the back. Ahaggar, the *Afuk-en-tehld* tribe.

564 144 have expressed as their opinion that the blacksmiths originally constituted a fair-skinned Tuareg population who mixed with black-skinned Sudanese people like so many true Tuareg. It is interesting 564 198 that Tuareg blacksmiths have a peculiar language of their own known as *ténet*. This language has unfortunately never been studied. It is used by the blacksmiths mainly as a secret language spoken when they do not want other people to understand them, whereas blacksmiths use Tuareg (*tamachek*) as their family language. The Ayr Tuareg consider the *ténet*-language an invention of the blacksmiths.

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Fig. 12. Blacksmith woman. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

563 they more frequently refer to mulattoes as *Ichardamen* (sing. *Acharda*). Such mulattoes do not form any particular class or caste.

It is stated in almost all writings on the Tuareg that the offspring of mixed marriages will acquire the social status of their mothers, but though this may be theoretically true in some Tuareg groups actual conditions are more complicated. Among *Ineslemen* Tuareg and generally in southern Tuareg [564] groups there is a strong tendency to acknowledge patrilineal affiliation. In Ahaggar classes and castes [565] should ideally be matrilineal organizations. However, this is not always so. A man who descends from a vassal mother and a noble father will not become a true vassal. He will not have to perform any of the obligations characteristic of the vassal class, and to-day he is normally considered noble 563 though he cannot succed to chieftainship in his father's tribe. If a pastoral Tuareg marries a woman 591 of one of the black-skinned castes the children who grow up in the father's camp will frequently remain there as pastoralists and members of their father's tribe. Conversely children descending from a black-skinned father of an agricultural settlement and a fair-skinned pastoral woman will often remain in the settlement to practise agriculture even after their father's death. As to offspring of marriages between Tuareg men and slave women, they will continue to live in the father's tribe as pastoralists, and will frequently acquire the social position of the father as mentioned later in the description of Tuareg slavery. Mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and people of black-skinned castes constitute a minority. But it seems as if such marriages are on the increase.

101 All the above mentioned peolpe are Tuareg-speaking though part of the sedentary agriculturists of 563 Ahaggar (*Harratin*, or *Izeggaren*) have Arabic as their mother tongue. In Ahaggar there are also many [197] true Arabs – particularly at the administration centre of Tamanrasset. There are also Arabs at certain other villages in Ahaggar, and there are Arab pastoralists. They have largely mixed with the Tuareg, and certain Arab pastoralists such as the *Ahl Azzi* (*Kel Rezzi*) should be classed rather with Tuareg than with Arabs. There are also some Arabs in Ayr. There are Arab traders at Agadez, Iferwan, and Ingal, and there are a few Arab pastoralists who have mixed with pastoral Tuareg of Northern Ayr.

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their flocks, but it is, on the whole, inproper to show any interest in their animals. Some nomads will even claim that although they know all their goats by sight, they do not know, or never mention, the total number of their animals, as this is believed to bring bad luck. This belief is probably explained by the idea of the evil eye. To this may be added that it is difficult to judge the ownership of goats by merely watching the flock of a household which may also have animals grazing on other pastures.

According to official statistics for 1948, the average number of goats per household among the *Kel Ahaggar* is fifteen (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). This figure is probably derived from the tax lists, and it seems to be much too low – even when households of slaves and sedentary agriculturists are included. Lhote has stated that the number of goats per person, under ideal conditions, is 35–40. If they increase above this, the surplus is slaughtered or sold to the sedentary peoples of the oases (Lhote 1951a, p. 9). This latter figure for ownership of goats under ideal conditions is probably true for the more wealthy Tuareg of Ahaggar. Thus among the vassal Tuareg of the *Dag Rali* tribe many households are said to possess 100–200 goats, but this tribe is considered extremely rich in goats, and households of other tribes will not generally own so many animals. From rough calculations made in a great many camps of vassal Tuareg, and Tuareg of the *Isekkemaren* class, I estimate that households on an average possess 60–70 goats when pastures are not too badly developed, for it must be emphasized that the size of flocks changes with climatic conditions. For the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar I estimate, on the basis of calculations made at Amsel, Abalessa, and Tarhawhawt, that a household possesses on average 15–20 goats.

In good years the amount of milk products supplied by a flock of 60 goats is rather considerable. This is clear when we consider the fact that a goat, during the period of three to four months in autumn and early winter when pasture of annual plants is green, will yield up to two litres of milk every day. When annual pasture gets dry the milk yield decreases but milk is still comparatively plentiful and important for food all the winter. In summer, however, there is little milk for reasons already referred to, and in dry years goats, even in the cold season, yield little or no milk. The flocks decrease during such periods of drought and some nomads may even lose most of their animals. During my stay among the Tuareg of Ahnet and Ahaggar from November 1954 to April 1955, goats suffered much from lack of fodder. In many camps one or two goats died of hunger every day.

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot subsist entirely on goat-breeding because severe droughts occur frequently in their country. During drought-periods the goats are so to speak valueless as subsistence for the nomads. But it is remarkable that goats emaciated in consequence of severe drought quickly grow fat and start to yield milk once rain has fallen abundantly enough for the regeneration of pastures. In connection with this we shall point to another characteristic of goat-breeding: The animals have a very short gestation period, and the kids are fully grown for mating in one year. And as one goat may have four kids annually with free mating, a household, which has lost most animals during a drought, will be able very quickly to re-establish a flock large enough for its needs.

Goats are also highly important for the subsistence of the pastoral Tuareg of Ayr. I do not know of any statistic material about the size of flocks in this area, but for Tuareg of Kidal (Adrar-n-Foras) flocks are officially estimated at 74 goats and sheep per household (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 269), and this region is environmentally related to Southern Ayr. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that a household

[Text continues on p. 45]

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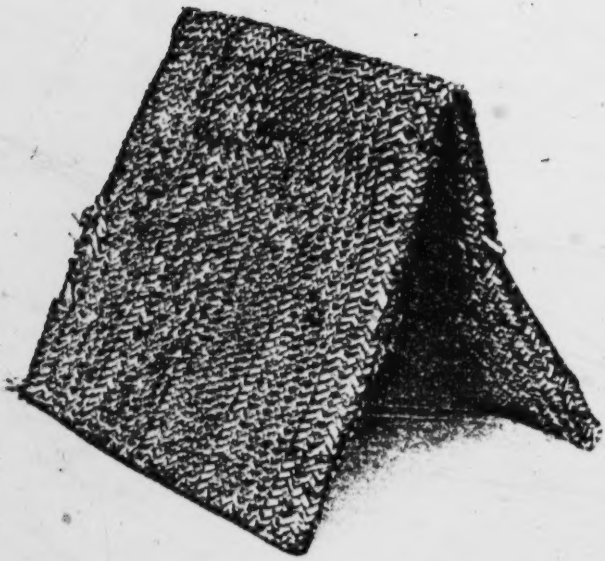

Fig. 66. Saddle cloth (*ɛselis*) made of dum palm matting. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m high in bent position (N.M. G. 6657).

*492 *ilgam* (Fig. 73–74) made of leather by the *Imeggedezen*. Camels may also be provided with a bell (*anayna*) attached to a neck-collar (Fig. 74b). The Ayr Tuareg also use bells for roaming bull-camels, as I have myself seen, and for rams and he-goats, but never for oxen.

*492 The camel is used for riding by Tuareg men, while many women never mount camels. Among the
562 Northern Tuareg most women of the true vassal class (*Imrad*, or *Kel Ulli*) only mount camels very
565 occasionally, when they sit behind the saddle of their husbands or close male relatives. Their proper riding animal is the donkey. Women of the *Isekkemaren* class more frequently mount camels which are the correct riding animals for women of the nobility (*Ihaggaren*). Noble women never ride donkeys.

In Ahaggar proper riding saddles for women are found only in noble tribes, in the *Iregenaten* tribe,
*492 and in tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. Such saddles are constructionally related to the transportation
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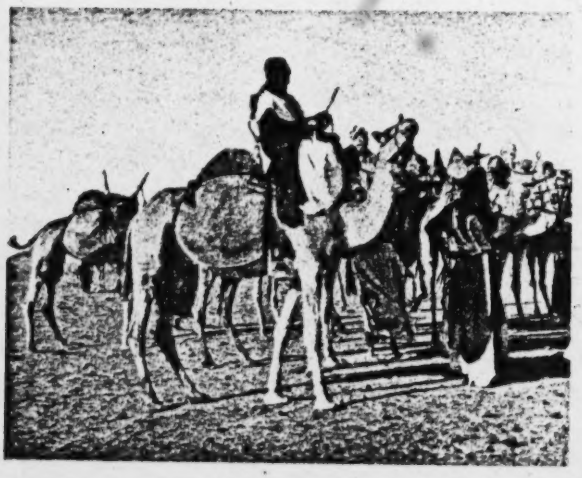

Fig. 68. Tuareg camel riders prepared for a camel-race. The fixed position of the saddles is secured by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren*) tied around the hind part of the camel. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*492 The saddle types just mentioned are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg and apparently also to
[562] other Tuareg of Ayr. Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group refer to these women's saddles as "Arab saddles", and when their women mount camels on festive occasions they do not use proper saddles but a kind of chair built up upon two very large cushions manufactured by the *Imeggedezen*, and stuffed with hay. The arrangement of this saddle-chair is complicated and it takes some hours to finish it. It is built as follows:— The two large cushions (*ésigen*, sing. *ésteg*) are placed on the camel's back in front and behind the hump. They support a superstructure known as *tésagaley* and made from various objects belonging to the tent in the following way:— (1) Two large and oblong skin-bags are stuffed with hay or old cotton pieces and each of them is wrapped with a coloured blanket to form an oblong parcel. (2) To stay these parcels a rolled bed mat (Fig. 212b) is tied horizontally to each of
[285] them, and they are laid parallel with each other on the ground. (3) A very long mat plaited from dum palm leaves is rolled up and wrapped into a coloured blanket or a coloured piece of cotton. It is bent into a U-form and thereupon attached to the two oblong parcels by means of cords. This superstructure is further covered with coloured blankets and pieces of cotton. It is placed upon the two large cushions and tied to them and fastened to the camel by means of cords and girths. When a woman rides in such a saddle-chair she sits behind the animal's hump so that she cannot reach the camel's neck with her feet. The back of the U-formed mat prevents her from falling backwards. The structure
*492 of the saddle-chair may be seen from the photographs (Figs. 76–77). It should be understood that a
562 saddle made in so difficult a manner is not used by the women except on festive occasions, such as
[409] travelling to attend a marriage or an Islamic feast. Apart from the very few noble women belonging
[565] to the two noble tribes within the *Kel Ferwan* group all women of this drum-group normally ride

[Text continues on p.92]

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As an illustration of camel terms given to animals in very special situations, I give the two following examples:— (1) A she-camel when driven out for grazing while its calf is tethered in the camp is known as *tamantak* to the Ahaggar Tuareg, as *tenteg* to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr; (2) A pack-camel when walking in a caravan is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *amekkalu*, while the corresponding term in Ayr seems to be *alaway*. 233 192 [492]*

For the size of herds the Ahaggar Tuareg have the following terms:— *tazegga* (a small herd of 20-40 camels and/or she-camels), *ahammal* (from very few animals up to about one hundred, the herd consisting mainly of male camels), *adyaw* (a very large herd comprising about one hundred animals at least, regardless of their sex). As far as my investigations go these terms are not known among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. They refer to a small number of camels as *imnas* (10 to 15 animals comprising male and/or female camels), while a bigger herd is known as *tollemin* (comprising male and/or female camels).

All the above-mentioned camel terms are with very few exceptions used exclusively for camels and not for other animals. Extensive vocabularies are found also for other domestic animals and for many aspects of stock-breeding, but the camel vocabulary is extremely large by comparison. This seems understandable as camels have a many-sided use to the Tuareg, and there can be no doubt that camel-terms like goat-terms are primarily a linguistic technique of practical value – a technique which enables the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. But this is evidently not the sole reason why the camel vocabulary is so extensive that a detailed description of all terms would necessitate an independant book on this subject. For the camel vocabulary is extremely large not only because of its practical value, but also because Tuareg interest in camels is not solely confined to their practical uses. This is intimated, I believe, by some of the peculiar terms mentioned and above all by the very many synonyms. [181]

Camels, in contrast to most domestic animals, have social functions among the Tuareg. It is true that bride-wealth in vassal tribes of the Northern Tuareg may be paid in goats (25–30 animals), but this is the case mainly among the *Kel Aijer* while most Ahaggar vassals will claim that bride-wealth should be paid in camels. The true vassals of Ahaggar give one to three camels for a wife, the payment being dependent upon the bride's tribe – in most tribes it is the custom to give only one camel, while two tribes will claim two and three camels respectively for their women. Among the Ayr vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group bride-wealth may be paid in cash, though the bride-wealth in these tribes is generally one camel as among most northern vassals. But the size of bride-wealth among the Ayr Tuareg is frequently discussed by representatives of the families, and it depends much upon the age, quality, and wealth of the bride. For very desired girls the payment may rise to two or three camels while for others the payment is only "two camel feet", that is a "half share in a camel"; it is said that even "one foot" is sometimes accepted as bride-wealth. This system of giving shares in camels may give rise to trouble between the persons who share the same animal. Among noble Tuareg, both in the north and in Ayr, bride-wealth can be paid only in camels. Among noble tribes of the Northern Tuareg the bride-wealth to be paid is fixed at seven camels, while among the few noble Tuareg now left in the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group the price, it is said, varies between ten and twenty camels. Camels given for bride-wealth are generally *ilusan* (sing. *alegges*) (fem. *tilusin*, sing. *taleggest*), 233 583 565● [578]

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233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 683 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

233 436 682

| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *tilgad*, or *chét awétay* | (one year old) | 10 | *tibeydegin* | (white) |
| 10 | *tilusin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *titlarin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *tekkenifadden* | (3 years old) | 10 | *tizeggerin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiruyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *tibhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chét essin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *tilemlarin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chét okkoz* | (6 years old) | 10 | *tizerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *timessedas* | (7 years old) | 10 | *timengelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chét tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 | *tikewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tireggamin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *tizerrafin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *tiwinarin* | (white cornea) |

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 565 524 232 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[text continues on p. 104]

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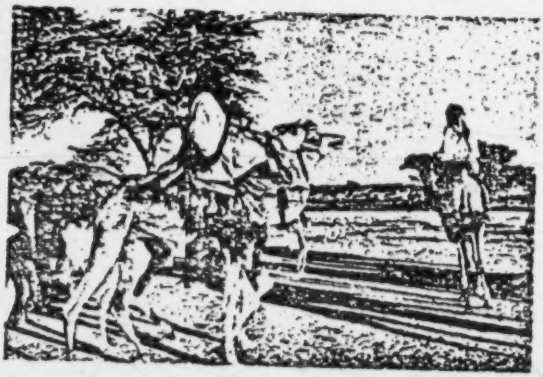

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afagag* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *hawdien*.

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Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

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Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

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In a ceremonial ride termed *ihgon* (*ihgan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasize is not so much on such

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



wild the Ayr Tuareg also know another type of snare, or rather lasso, which is also known as *tuṛumt*. 231
It consists of a long rope noosed at one end, but the loop in this case is thrown against the animal 224
by means of a short forked stick. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that this type of lasso is not widely found [171]
among them, and claim it is typical of and traditional for the pastoral Fulani, who use it to catch cows which are difficult to approach.

The wild donkeys caught for domestication are young animals, for very old ones cannot be tamed. 231
When an animal is caught by one of the above mentioned methods it is beaten a heavy blow between the ears so that it falls unconscious to the ground. It is thereupon given a rope around its mouth, for wild donkeys are fierce and have a dangerous bite, and is also tied with ropes around its legs so that it cannot run. When the animal comes to after the blow it is led to the camp where it is tethered. It remains tethered and fitted with hobble-ropes in the camp for one or two months during which period it gets a very brutal treatment. It is trained for riding by the men who mount it daily during [492]* this period of training (cf. Fig. 85) until it can be ridden as freely as domestic donkeys. The Tuareg say that not all donkeys survive the heavy blow on the head but that most of them do.

Donkeys constitute the important riding animal of all vassal women, and there are also some men 492* of the true vassal class who ride donkeys though most of them have riding camels. Donkeys are also [562] extremely important pack-animals. They are used by most Tuareg for the transportation of tents and [565]

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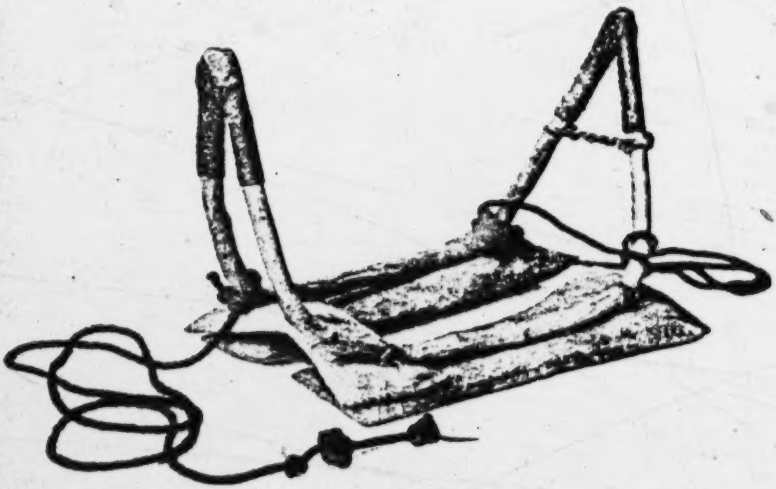

Fig. 86. Donkey saddle (*arukn*) of the type described in detail in the text (cf. p. 110). It is fixed to the animal by two cords of goat's hair: the girth (left), the cord passing under the tail (right). Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.585 m long, 0.360 broad. (N.M. G. 5246).

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*492 Tuareg. Some Ayr Tuareg use a kind of saddle for the transportation of water-bags. It consists of two pieces of wood with grooves to support the cords of the water-bags; it corresponds to the type of saddle described and depicted by Lhote from the *Iullemmeden* (Lhote 1947a, p. 114, 134) which type I have seen also among the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Kel Ataram* group. However, most Ayr Tuareg do not employ this device. They content themselves with a layer of thin green twigs placed on the donkey's back so that the cords of the water-bag, which hangs under the animal's belly, shall not hurt and gall. [484] This method is also sometimes used by Northern Tuareg. To transport the tent and its belongings during nomadic migrations, the Ayr Tuareg use one or two rolled-up mats of the tent-covering for saddle, while on trading expeditions to Damergu they place their skin-bags filled with millet directly on the donkey's back. Such bags (*alehu*) may also serve as a kind of saddle for luggage. When the Ayr Tuareg ride donkeys they sit on the naked back, on a blanket, or on a piece of matting. The Tuareg [171] never use bridle, bit, or rein for riding as do some people of the northernmost parts of the desert and the Atlas. They control their donkeys with a short stick and constantly beat them over the neck to keep up their speed. I have never seen them prick the animal's neck with a spiked stick as is frequently done in the Atlas and adjacent regions. Here many donkeys wear iron shoes which are also unknown among the Tuareg.

## HORSES

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231 Horses play a very small rôle with the Tuareg I have studied. There are very few horses in the Northern [171] Sahara where they are bred mainly by sedentary people who are able to feed their animals on barley, [565] millet, and other garden products. Some years ago there were a few horses in the noble *Kel Rela* tribe of Ahaggar, but nowadays there are no horses among pastoral Tuareg of this region, and in all Ahaggar

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Fig. 87. Hausa Negroes with their richly ornamented riding horses. Ayr, the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp. Colour- 231
terms are also used for dogs, and I have heard one Tuareg boy claim that he preferred dogs that were black and white. Adult people in general treat dogs differently, and they are frequently cruel to them [177] which may be due to Islamic influence which is on the increase among the Tuareg. Though the Tuareg may be cruel to their dogs they acknowledge that they are very "wise and intelligent". They say that the dogs are much like humans with the exception that they cannot speak. Therefore they should also be fed like humans, and they are given millet-porridge – with milk if the yield is abundant. The Tuareg kill their old and superfluous dogs by hanging them from a tree in a noosed rope, and they consider this method very effective.

## CATS

The domestic cat is found in many Tuareg camps. It is generally termed *muchch* which is Arabic by origin. I believe that domestic cats have been introduced to Tuareg countries later than the Arab [174] invasions and that they have been introduced by the Arabs. This is in agreement with Lagercrantz's statement that domestic cats in most parts of North Africa outside of Egypt are post-Arabian (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 65). Cats are allowed to live in tents and huts, and are well treated as among the Arabs. The Tuareg keep cats not only for pets to their children, but they much like to have them in their [136] camps as cats catch numerous scorpions and also attack snakes.

Among sedentary people of Ahaggar and particularly at Tamanrasset the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, or *tékenisit*) is sometimes kept in the house or within the courtyard as it hunts beetles and scorpions during the night. This custom of keeping tame hedgehogs is no doubt recently adopted from Europeans [177] living at Tamanrasset.

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Fig. 91. A true greyhound (*oaka*) patted by a negroid agriculturist of the *Kel Ganet*. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Uraven* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*233 Each of the three vegetational zones of Ahaggar has its advantages and disadvantages. If we consider
824 a good year when rain has fallen abundantly with a resultant regeneration of all fodder plants, the
137 *Atakor* zone has very excellent pasture. For the plains and the stony mountain slopes are then entirely
132 covered with annual plants which by the Tuareg are considered the very best fodder. The Tuareg also
133 claim that the upper mountain zone is preferable because of its cooler climate, which has a beneficial influence on the lactation of domestic animals. The disadvantage of the *Atakor* zone is the lack of acacias to which can be added the scarcity of fuel. The *Tarayin* zone possess characteristics of the *Atakor* zone and of the *Abada* zone. The *Abada* country is botanically very different from *Atakor*. It has annual pastures of great value when abundant rainfall has been experimented and it also has valuable pastures of perennial plants. With heavy rain the *Abada* country is excellent for stock-breeding, and fuel can be found everywhere. But the Abada country is hotter than are the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

If rain falls abundantly all over Ahaggar there is good pasture in all three zones. But rainfall is more frequent and heavier at high altitudes than in the *Abada* zone, so that *Atakor* normally has by far the best pasture of annual plants which spring up late in summer or in autumn. The *Abada* zone on the other hand has the very best pasture of perennial plants, notably acacias that grow around the lower parts of the valleys which are always flooded when it rains in the high mountains.

221 The fluctuations of plant development determine the nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg.
*233 A few tribes have their normal grazing grounds in *Atakor* (e.g., the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Kel Taẓulet*).
824 They camp in this zone at most seasons to let their goats and sheep feed on fresh and dry annual pasture.
[132] In dry years and during the hot summer season they may move to the *Tarayin* zone where there are perennial fodder plants, but they rarely camp in the *Abada* country. Many tribes have their normal grazing grounds in the *Abada* zone (e.g., the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, the *Ayt Lowayen*, the *Iheyawen Hada*, and the *Kel Ṛela*), but move to the *Atakor* when annual pasture is good in this region. They live in
[342] *Atakor* with tents and flocks when annual plants are green, while the rest of the year they camp in the *Abada* country to let their animals feed on acacias and other perennial species. Finally there are two tribes (*Tegehé-n-Efis* and *Iklan-en-tawsit*), the members of which camp in the *Abada* country all the year round even when rich annual pasture is found in *Atakor*. However, members of these tribes may send their camel herds to the *Atakor* zone, accompanied by herdsmen, while tents and flocks remain in the lower country.

221 With the exception of a few noble households which keep up their old tradition to subsist largely
*233 on camel's milk, the Ahaggar Tuareg do not keep their she-camels in Ahaggar unless there are excellent
● [568] pastures of annual plants in this area. They take their camels to pastures far away from Ahaggar,
[262] notably to the Tamesna region where they have their animals guarded by herdsmen who are frequently
[567] slaves. In very dry years there are very few camels in Ahaggar – just the animals needed for riding and transportation. It is in fact very easy to take camels to distant pastures, and it is most necessary to give these animals the utmost care as they are most valuable and their breeding is a very slow process
*233 (cf. p. 56). Goats do not need such excellent fodder as do camels. They can eat almost everything, but
731 in dry years goats may also suffer severely from lack of suitable fodder. This was the case in the year
[361] 1954/55 when I stayed in Ahnet and in Ahaggar. In the small camps of three to four tents each it was

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



428 sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mothers) while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal [114] kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar (and in Ayr) denied this.

428 643 Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group has no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however, [632] will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *éhéré wa n eṭṭebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group)", or *éhéré wa n butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

422 It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually, [858] and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may [553] own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions, e.g., on the naming day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong 422 to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should 592 serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic 422 unit of closely related stock-owners.

*233 All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar [114] Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite [578] to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks [602] so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual 422 ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which *233 time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark 565 their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe (the *Dag Ṛali*) donkeys are also branded with a redhot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar

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Fig. 100. Earmarks of the types used for goats and sheep among the Northern Tuareg. Ahaggar, the tribes *Dag Ɣali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*.

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● 565 never use earmarks for donkeys which are branded like their camels, and I believe that this rule also holds for the *Isekkemaren* Tuareg, though I do not know this to be true for tribes other than those of *Kel Terurit* and *Kel-I-n-tunin*.

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*233 The property brands of the Northern Tuareg are burned into the skin of the camel (donkey) by
[413] means of a redhot iron known as *éndel* (Figs. 102a–b), but if this implement is not available another piece of iron is used, e.g., the iron tripod for suspension of kettles and cooking pots. The brands are known as *ahwalen* (sing. *éhwel*), and there are a great many different ones which have their particular
422 names. These brands are frequently depicted in literature (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 629 f.; Lhote
*233 1955a, p. 235), and spoken of as "tribal brands". However, as property marks are patrilineally
614 inherited while tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, the members of the same
[582] tribe will possess more than one camel-brand. For marriages are contracted between different tribes, though some of these units are predominantly endogamous. Furthermore there are a few Tuareg who
[272] use different camel-brands for camels inherited from the father and the mother, as there are some who have adopted the mother's father's brand because their father's brand was believed to have brought
[613] bad luck in camel-breeding. For these reasons there are frequently more than one brand within a tribe, and individuals or small patrilineages generally add to their main brand (*éhwel*) a supplementary brand known as azezlu.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



brand known as *azezhu*. To illustrate all this I reproduce the camel-brands used within three tribes of Ahaggar (Fig. 101 a–c).

The term *tawsit*, which is the Tuareg word generally applied to the unit here called a tribe, seems to have the meaning of "a hand-root from which fingers issue". But the word may have other meanings, e.g., "a mat (*tésebert*) plaited from *afezu*-grass" (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1533). The latter meaning intimates something kept firmly together, while the word *tawsit* in its first sense seems to indicate a lineage structure. I have sometimes heard Tuareg indicate tribal relationship between two persons saying that they belong to the same hand (*afus*), or that they are of the same root (*éké*, that is the root of a tree). There are other words which are sometimes used for "tribe". One term is *tekkebilt*, another is *arref*, but the meaning of these words seems to be the more general one of "people" or "race". An interesting word, namely *hama*, which has the definite meaning of "mother's kin", is according to Foucauld also used synonymously with "tribe" (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 603), but according to information I have gathered in Ahaggar these two words are not entirely synonymous.

It is most remarkable that the Ahaggar Tuareg do not follow any particular rule for the naming of tribes. Some tribes are named after an ancestress (e.g., *Kel Rela* = *Kel Kella*, that is "people descending from the woman *Kella*"), while other tribes have avuncular names (e.g., *Téghé-n-Éfiz*, that is "the man *Éfiz*'s sister's children"). Both these principles intimate that the tribe is a matrilineal unit, but certain tribes have patrilineal names much like those of Arab tribes (e.g., *Deg Rali*, that is "sons of the man *Rali*"; *Ayt Lowayen*, that is "sons of the man *Lowayen*"). Reference to an ancestor is also made in another way (e.g., *Ikadeyen*, that is "those descending from the man *Kadi*"). In addition we have tribal names which seem to be a kind of nick-names (e.g., *Aghab-en-tehlé*, that is "the Achilles-tendon of *tehlé*" – the word *tehlé* being the name of a perennial plant (*Typha elephantina*), and we have geographical names (e.g., *Kel Ahnet*, that is "the people of the Ahnet country"; *Kel Tazulet*, that is "people of the Tazulet region", etc.).

Previously I have used the term "clan" for the Tuareg term *tawsit* in agreement with the fact that many people claim it to be a matrilineal unit (cf. Nicolaisen 1959). Thus the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* tribe say that they all descend from the woman *Kella*, who lived about seven generations ago and had a maternal female cousin *Sakina* (or *Skina*) who became the ancestress of the other prominent noble tribe in Ahaggar named *Taytok*.

The very numerous vassal tribe the *Aghab-en-tehlé* is also said by its members to constitute a matrilineal unit. They claim descent from a common ancestress and occasionally use the name *Téghé-n-Elinen* for their tribe. Actually the *Aghab-en-tehlé* tribe falls into three sub-tribes known as *Kel Tayhawhawt*, *Isendan*, and *Kel Arefsa*. They are said to be matrilineally related, but nobody is able to prove this genealogically, and among the *Isendan* there is a matrilineage of four generations which is matrilineally related to people of the *Ibettenaten* tribe and not to their fellow tribesmen.

Members of the important vassal tribe the *Deg Rali* will also frequently claim common matrilineal descent. However, they do not know the name of their proper ancestress. They say that they descend from a woman named *Takawa* who was also the ancestress of the vassal tribes known as *Ayt Lowayen* and *Kel Ahnet*. The *Deg Rali* tribe was founded by the man *Rali* who lived about seven generations ago. It falls into two halves known as the *Deg Rali* proper and the *Imezziliten*. Some Tuareg of the

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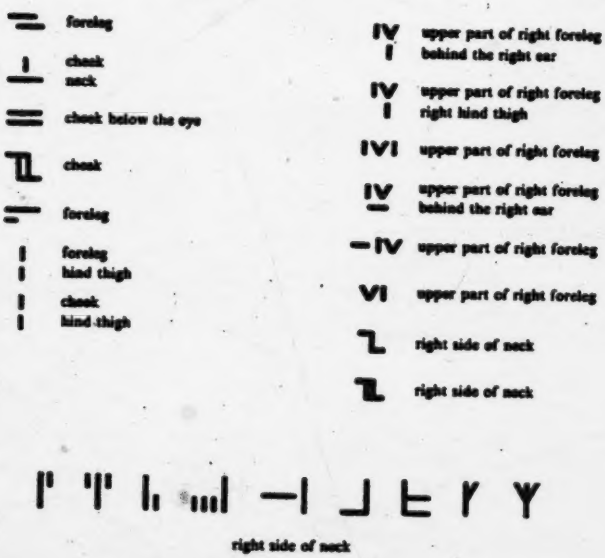


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Fig. 101 a–c. Camel-brands of three Ahaggar tribes.

a. Brands of the *Kel Ğela* tribe.

b. Brands of the *Ağah-en-tahlé* tribe. The main brand of this tribe is V called *temasort*. The brands ⌉ & ⌉ are due to intermarriage with the *Ikkan-en-tawsit* tribe where the principal brand is ⌉ called *ameslaf*.

c. Brands of the *Dag Ğali* tribe. The main brand characteristic of this tribe is | placed on the right side of the camel's neck. This brand was that used by the founder of the tribe named *Ğali* and to-day it forms part of most *Dag Ğali* brands which are always placed on the right side of the camel's neck. The *Dag Ğali* brands have individual names. [532] The last one is known as *tikkilt n ayalaf*, that is "the raven's foot".

*Dag Ğali* tribe may claim that these two halves are matrilineally related to one another, but also that they do not descend from sisters. It seems in fact as if these two halves stand in a cross-cousin relationship to one another, and it is in agreement with this that the *Dag Ğali* proper speak of the *Imessiliten* as "children of their mother's brother". The two halves in the past intermarried much though marriages between them are very rare nowadays. Thus in 1951 there were only two marriages between people of the two tribal halves.

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I believe that other tribes of Ahaggar have a structure similar to that of the *Dag Ğali*, but the structure of Tuareg tribes is extremely difficult to grasp because very few Tuareg know their genealogies more than three or four generations back. [114]

614 591 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 611 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one particular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 565 631 423 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 613 621 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names – generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

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221 many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading.
[241] Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess
[423] irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*). Some goat-camps may move their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date
[565] palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikechchemaden*) will also visit the oases
[245] of Silet and Tibeghin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are
* [233] harvested mainly by black-skinned *Ḥarratin* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar – mainly in Tamesna – and the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

423 The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in
311 individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds, or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied
614 the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*.
613 In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondance between sections and sub-areas in the
423 way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-areas, and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants (cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use
[428] these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are
[643] frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148–149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Ṛali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the *Amenukal*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group.

423 For the land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) paid to the *Amenukal* the tenants obtain the following rights
422 over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

[224] (3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

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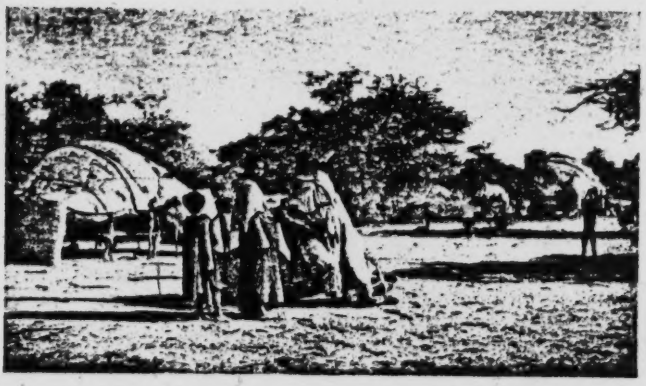

Fig. 109. A family camp of four mat-covered barrel-vaulted tents. Ayr, the *Igendéynen* tribe.

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* 233 donkeys by certain Ayr Tuareg are most interesting. Though such marks are used by many tribes there does not seem to be a great variety of them, and I have noted only the following marks:—

● [565] (1) *tallayt*, that is the tip of right ear cut off while a slit is cut into the left ear. This mark is said to be used by all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the members of the two tribes *Kel Akerra* and *Imezzureg*, who claim to be noble by origin, have an additional brand burned into the left hind thigh close to the animal's anus. This brand is called *ekomed*.

(2) two slits in the animal's left ear. Though different from the mark just mentioned it is said also [565] to be called *tallayt*. It is used by the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg (the *Irawatten*), and also by the negroid *Irawélen* who in the past were once slaves of the nobility.

(3) *tabelechchat*, that is one slit in the left ear. This mark is used by the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

[428] Though all property marks are patrilineally inherited it may happen in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, that a [77] Tuareg use two marks. For certain Tuareg will use the mother's father's mark for animals given them by their mother's family, other Tuareg have been brought up among matrilineal kinsmen whose mark they have adopted, and there are also people who have adopted their mother's family mark because they believed that their father's mark brought them bad luck in camel-breeding.

614 The Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group fall into a number of units which are known by the word *tawchit*. It seems to have much the same meaning as the word *tawsit* of Northern Tuareg dialect, but is also used to designate the so-called spiked wheel-trap. I call these units for tribes as they do not seem to correspond to unilateral descent groups. Many tribes have a tradition of their descent from a common ancestress, but though tribal members may know her name they are never able to connect her with their genealogies which are very badly known. To my knowledge there are no tribes of true Ayr Tuareg that are named after an ancestress or have avuncular names. The Ayr tribes have geographical names or are called after an ancestor to whom they are also unable to connect their [591] genealogies. It is possible that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in the past have followed the rules of residence

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outlined above from Ahaggar, with the exception that the Ayr Tuareg have never practised the one year's stay in the bride's family camp after marriage. To-day the *Kel Ferwan* tribes of Southern Ayr do not follow very strictly any particular rule of residence. There is a strong tendency to patrilocal residence, but a man will usually continue to live with kinsmen of the camp where he was brought up as a child. If a man has grown up with maternal relatives owing to the loss of his father as a boy, or because his mother and father have divorced, he may remain with matrilineal relatives. I believe that all tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group of Southern Ayr are bilateral kin groups. And if in the past these Tuareg practised the rules of residence outlined above from Ahaggar, the tribes have been bilateral units as there have always been many marriages contracted between people of different tribes. Two tribes of Ayr, namely the *Imezzureg* and the *Kel Akerra*, claim that they have intermarried regularly from very ancient times, because the father of the *Kel Akerra* tribe was the brother of the mother of the *Imezzureg* tribe, while the father of the *Imezzureg* was a cross-cousin of *Kel Akerra*'s mother. These two tribes possess their individual chiefs, but have always been very mixed. It seems as if chiefs were elected according to matrilineal rules in the past, but to-day it is claimed that a son of a deceased chief should be the first in line of succession (cf. p. 456 ff.).

In Southern Ayr camps of all possible tribes to-day live among each other. There are no grazing grounds or particular territories nowadays when everybody is free to go where he likes with flocks and herds. No Tuareg have particular rights over land, and ban on grazing within certain areas, as in Ahaggar, is unknown. This is said also to have been the case in the past. But in the times preceding the French occupation of Ayr, all vassal tribes had their particular territories which, according to Capot-Rey, were formerly marked by walls (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). I have not been able to confirm this, but the Tuareg told me that in the past tribal territories had frontiers marked out by river valleys or by natural objects such as large trees. The vassal tribes did not own these territories, which were allotted them by the drum-chief of the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe, the *Irawatten*. The traditional territories or grazing grounds of most *Kel Ferwan* tribes are indicated in the list on p. 423 ff.

At present there seem to be no sectional division of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes corresponding to the division into sections in Ahaggar. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg generally live in small camps comprising a few tents. These camps, which co-operate in stock-herding, do not generally exceed four or five tents inhabited by kinsmen who generally constitute an extended family, e.g., (1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children; (2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children; (3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children; (4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband. These small camps, as may be seen, are not based upon any particular rule of residence in agreement with what has been said of residence rules above. The households of a little camp of this kind will remain constantly together to co-operate not only in goat-herding, but generally in camel-breeding also. The labour for camel-herding and caravan trading is more easily provided for in Ayr than in Ahaggar. For camels are rarely taken to very distant grazing grounds, and caravan trading is often limited to expeditions to Damergu where the Tuareg fetch their millet. The Tuareg tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group living around Agadez have no true co-operative units apart from the small camps of up to four or five tents. Such small camps of extended families may temporarily join each other in a bigger camp during the

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361 *akasa* period when there is green annual pasture, but the large camps have no co-operative functions
621 and no particular leader. The small camps join together to form big camps because their members are linked to each other by bonds of kinship, and consequently like to come together.

361 Most of the year the Ayr Tuareg live in very small camps around wells, and certain camps remain
221 on almost the same spot throughout the year. However, most camps move about in the *akasa* period, and later, at the end of the rains, many camps move southwards and westwards to the salt plains of Azawar.

## DIVISION OF LABOUR IN STOCK-BREEDING

462 Before we consider other activities, we shall briefly describe the division of labour in stock-breeding according to sex.

462 In all Tuareg groups noble women do very little work. They engage in a few very esteemed crafts
565 such as embroidery, neat decoration of leather work, and in the north they cut ornamented milk-
[567] bowls from wood. The true domestic duties of a noble household are performed by slaves. This to some extent is also true of other social classes among the Northern Tuareg, while the Ayr Tuareg vassals have very few slaves nowadays. But even in vassal camps among the Northern Tuareg women
462 have their duties and engage in all kinds of domestic work, also in stock-breeding. In the two groups
*233 of Northern Tuareg the division of work in stock-breeding can be seen when one enters a tent of a
342 vassal camp:—
[568] One half of the tent (the left part) is occupied by the woman and contains such implements as are connected with tanning, leather-work, cooking, butter- and cheese-making, and generally all implements connected with the breeding of goats, sheep, and donkeys. The other half of the tent (the right part), occupied by the husband, contains saddles and all other objects connected with camels. The tending of goats, sheep, and donkeys is the task of women, while camel-breeding is the business of men.

462 Before initiation Tuareg boys may be occupied with herding goats, sheep, and donkeys, but when
*233 they have adopted the veil they should preferably take care of camels only. There are, however, a
[857] few occasions where men engage in tasks connected with goats and donkeys:—

Goats like any other animal can be killed only by adult men, who also undertake the skinning and partition of the meat.

Castration of he-goats and rams may be done by men, but it is said that it is also performed by women.

When goats suffer from certain diseases they may in a few very special cases be taken care of by men. Thus when a goat has broken a leg and wooden splints are applied to the fracture this is generally performed by the husband of the household to which the animal belongs.

When goats and sheep are lost in the desert they may be searched for by men mounted on camels.

On the whole there are not many situations where the assistance of men is needed in tending goats and sheep, and most men have so little to do with goat-breeding that they do not know the exact meaning of many colour terms for goats.

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462 Among Northern Tuareg vassals donkeys are tended by women, who use them for riding and
231 transportation over short distances. Tuareg men rarely ride donkeys, but the assistance of men is
[492] needed in connection with some of the tasks of donkey-breeding:—

It may become desirable to increase the stock of donkeys by catching wild animals as already described above. This is always done by men who also break-in the captured animals for riding. The assistance of men is also frequently needed for catching half-wild, though domesticated donkeys.

The marking of donkeys, castration, which is rarely performed, and the curing of diseases, which are also rare, are said to be tasks which should properly be carried out by men.

[565] Vassal women only tend camels when all men are absent from their camp.

The above rules of division of labour are in general also valid in Ayr among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. But there are in Ayr vassal Tuareg who have no camels and vassal men in Ayr frequently ride donkeys. The tending of cows in Ayr is mainly the work of women, who are also more familiar with cattle terms than are the men. – Among the *Kel Ewey* the skinning of goats and sheep, as well as the partition of the meat, are done by women.

428 In the Tuareg groups I have studied both men and women inherit camels, goats, sheep, and donkeys according to Islamic rules of inheritance.

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Fig. 110. The skinning of a gazelle placed upon straw of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ahaggar, the *Tayneq* tribe.

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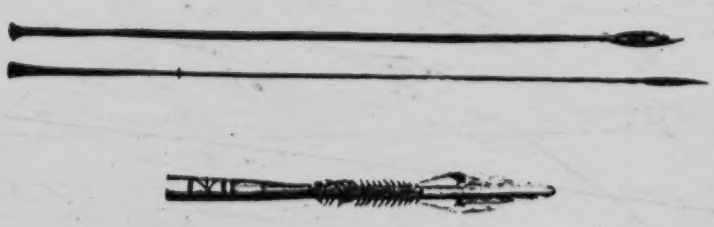

Fig. 112a–c. Tuareg spears.

a. Spear of the *tarda* type used for hunting. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 1.[illegible] m (N.M. G. 1.156).
b. Iron spear of the *allar* type which is mainly a war weapon. Ahaggar, Collected by [illegible]. Dimension 1.82 m (N.M. G. 1.155).
c. Iron point of the barbed Tebu lance (*tarda*) occasionally used by the Ayr Tuareg. Dimension: 0.265 m (N.M. G. 6619).

224 they are eagerly pursued by many rifle-owning nomads. Lhote estimates that in the year 1939 the Ahaggar Tuareg killed 300 barbary sheep by means of their traditional hunting methods, while in the winter season 1949–50 more than 200 animals were killed with rifles in the central parts of Ahaggar [432] (Lhote 1955a, p. 284). In 1954 the meat of one barbary sheep was sold for 4000 French francs, the [648] hide for 2000 francs. Though hunting of these animals is officially prohibited by the French, it *is* tacitly permitted and meat is frequently sold at the market place of Tamanrasset.

The traditional methods used mainly in hunting gazelle and barbary sheep are as follows:—

[411] (1) The spear (*tarda;* Fig. 112a) is nowadays used mainly by slaves, who never possess rifles. Before [562] rifles became common it was the typical hunting weapon of all vassal Tuareg. Hunting with the spear [565] takes place during the hottest time of the day, when the animals hide under rocks and trees to seek protection from the burning sun and the flies. It is then possible to creep very close to the game, and even the otherwise very shy barbary sheep can be taken in this way. When the hunter is close to the hiding place of a barbary sheep he claps his hand, and the animal rises, bewildered, and is then speared. In the past many barbary sheep were killed in this way, and it is said that a skilled and lucky hunter may even secure four or five animals in one day.

[171] (2) The use of stalking animals. Hunting by this method is used by some African stock-breeders (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 97 ff.). There is a detailed description of the use of camels trained for this purpose among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara (Harding King 1903, p. 171 ff.). As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not train their camels for stalking, but on journeys they frequently hide behind their animals to approach and kill gazelle. In this case the hunting weapon is normally a rifle. But the method is perhaps an ancient one and used also for other hunting weapons in the past, as game animals do not fear domestic animals among which they frequently graze in the desert. In fact, [172] the ancient use of stalking animals in Northern Africa is clearly substantiated by a rock engraving at

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224 on sandy ground. This same method is also used to catch asses or wild donkeys for domestication (cf. p. 108).

(7) It has been mentioned above (p. 108) that wild donkeys are also caught by driving them into closed valleys from which they cannot escape. As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not hunt proper game animals in this way, but the driving method is used in fishing as described below (cf. p. 164).

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*éfetaw*) (Fig. 113) connected with a noosed rope (*taṛant*) attached to a piece of wood (*aṡula*) is used to catch gazelle, barbary sheep, and donkeys. Such traps are easily and quickly manufactured by the Tuareg, and when they want to trap gazelle in this way they make a great many traps which are placed in the sand around young acacias upon which the animals feed. [43] The arrangement of the spiked wheel-trap is brilliantly illustrated in literature (cf. Lhote 1951a, photos p. 112-113; Brouin 1950, p. 454).

(9) A torsion trap (*tenḍerbat*) provided with a noosed rope is used particularly for barbary sheep. This trap is also depicted in literature (Lhote 1951a, p. 113; Mérite 1942, p. 185). The trap is rare in Ahaggar nowadays. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that the trap was introduced from Aḍraṛ-n-Foras. It is said to be unknown to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (cf. Fig. 114a).

[564] The Ahaggar Tuareg nowadays engage little in trapping in contrast to the negroid agriculturists [177] (the *Ḷarratin*), most of whom have steel traps (*elkhenlyet*) manufactured in Europe, or made by native blacksmiths on the European pattern. A few agriculturists have large steel traps to be used for gazelle, barbary sheep, and even for the big gazelle and antelope, but the common steel traps are small and are used mainly for hares (*émerwel*, fem. *témerweli*; *abekni*; *Lepus harteri*), jackals (*ébeggi*, *aggur*; *Thos aureus* sp.), and fennecs (*akhorhi*, *éṛechter*; *Fennecus zerda*). Still smaller traps are used for minor rodents (*éḍewi*; *Gerbillus gerbillus*?) (*akundar*; *Masoutiera* sp.) and for certain birds such as ravens [223] (*aṛaleṛ*, *tuslaft*; *Corvus ruficollis ruficollis*), pigeons (*akekkemaz*; *Columbia livia targia*), turtle-doves (*tédebirt*; *Streptopelia turtur haggara*), and sand grouse (*tékaḍewt*, *tédebirt*; *Pterocles* sp.).

Steel traps are now widely used, and traditional trapping methods for small animals and birds are therefore rarely resorted to. Among the *Kel Ajjer* small rodents are caught in snares (*asendi*) made of leather. Snares of this kind are known both to pastoral Tuareg and to sedentary agriculturists of Ganet and Ṛat. Among the latter there are also two different trap-systems used for small rodents, which in both systems are killed by a flat, heavy stone falling upon them. One of these traps is named *téselselt*. I do not know whether these traps exist in Ahaggar.

223 Small birds, including pigeons and turtle-doves, are caught in torsion traps by sedentary agri-
564 culturists of the oases. Traps of this kind, which are normally provided with a net (cf. Fig. 114b), are found in most oases of the Northern and Central Sahara, but I have never seen them in use among pastoral Tuareg. Pigeon, turtle-dove, sand grouse, and also partridge (*Alectoris barbara duprezi*) are caught in snares made of hair. Ten or twenty of these snares (*éṡefey*) are attached to a string so that several birds can be taken at the same time. Bird-snaring is practised mainly by sedentary agriculturists.

262 Sedentary agriculturists, slaves, and some vassal Tuareg are not squeamish. Even meat of beasts
565 and birds of prey is eaten by certain vassals, though such animals are unclean and inedible according to Islamic rules. The meat of fennecs, jackals, and a large eagle-like bird known as *tamikka* is eaten

[text continues on p. 162]

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Fig. 115. Negroid agriculturist (*Ḥartani*) with a hare caught in a steel-trap (*elkheniyet*) of European type. Ahaggar.

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by many people in vassal tribes, and jackal's meat is popular as it is considered an excellent remedy against fever (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 146). But there are also many Tuareg who refuse all types of game with the exception of such animals as gazelle, barbary sheep, and antelope. Some Tuareg consider hare's meat unlawful, but this, perhaps, is a conception introduced with Islam, for many people of the religious *Ineslemen* class claim that hare should not be eaten because their blood resembles that of menstruating women. The food taboos strictly followed by all noble Tuareg are older than Islam: they never eat birds, eggs, reptiles, and fish.

These rules are not traditional for vassal Tuareg, though some of them have adopted the taboos of the noble Tuareg.

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In Northern Tuareg areas two big lizzard types are found. One of them is called *aggezzeram* (*dabb* in Arabic; *Uromastix acanthinurus*). This is caught and eaten by slaves, agriculturists, and by many vassals. It is frequently taken by hand, but there is also a special implement (*taskumt*, *takoḍa*) consisting of a stick provided with an iron crook for catching lizzards hiding in holes and under rocks. When vassal Tuareg are able to catch a great many *agezzeram*-lizzards they cut them up and dry them for sale on their regular trading expeditions in autumn to the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. p. 210). The *agezzeram*-lizzard is said to be the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the negroid blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*), because the lizzard's tail resembles a file. I do not know whether the few blacksmiths found in Northern Tuareg country eat this lizzard, but do not think they do. The lizzard is not considered very delicious, and blacksmiths have emigrated from the south where it is not generally eaten.

The other edible lizzard is named *ayata* (*Varanus* sp.). It is much bigger than the *agezzeram*-lizzard just mentioned, and its meat is excellent according to the taste of most Europeans. But this big lizzard

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is refused by noble Tuareg and in general also by vassals. One reason for this is that the Tuareg have a myth saying that the *arata*-lizzard is the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the noble Tuareg. Some vassals claim that it is the ancestor of all true Tuareg, but this statement does not agree with mythology (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 61). However, this lizzard is eaten mainly by slaves and by certain agriculturists, though its meat is considered a remedy against snake-bite and scorpion stings (cf. Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.). The head of an *arata* is considered an excellent amulet against these poisonous animals (Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.), and the skin of this lizzard is not only utilized for the manufacture of amulet cases but also for small bags of various types (Fig. 116a).

Small animals are not necessarily killed with any particular hunting implement. The animals may be taken with the hand or killed with sticks and stones, as is the case with the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, *tékenisit*), which is eaten by some people, and with small rodents. Even hares can be taken with the hand when they hide in the grass or under rocks. The hunter may then approach the hare swinging one of his sandals over his head. This, it is said, makes the animals believe that it is hunted by a hawk or an eagle, and it will therefore remain stubbornly in its hiding place. Even gazelle are sometimes taken without any proper hunting weapon. Some Tuareg say that on journeys through the barren desert country in the summer they have met gazelle so exhausted from thirst that they could take these animals with their hands. Although this is rarely possible, I know Tuareg who have crept up to gazelle hiding from the sun in daytime and killed them with a stone. Finally it can be mentioned that the

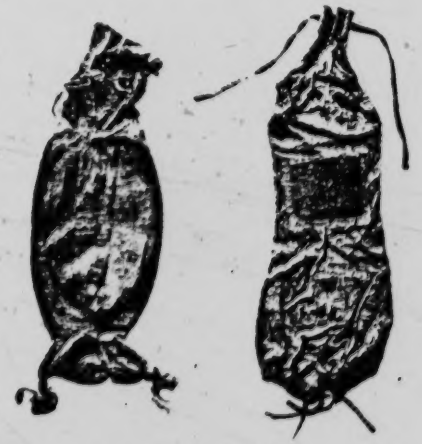

**Fig. 116a–b. Two small skin bags.**

**a. Skin bag (*abelbof n arata*) made from the skin of the big *arata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.). Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Tarhawhawt. Dimension: 0.325 m long. (N.M. G. 5834).**

**b. Skin bag (*abelbof n timerwelt*) made from hare-skin. Ahaggar, bought from *Harratin* at Tarhawhawt, manufactured in the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5833).**

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224 Tuareg are also aware of the use of poison. I have gathered no information about this myself, but [829] Lhote states that certain poisonous grain is used for the destruction of jackals and small rodents (Lhote 1951a, p. 43 f. & 132).

226 It is obvious that fishing cannot be an important industry to people of the Sahara, but fishing is practised in certain areas. One species of fish (*Clarias Lazera*) is found in a few permanent pools of Central Ahaggar, but it is particularly common in the numerous permanent ponds of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where there is also another, perch-like species. I have myself caught and eaten both species. Duveyrier states that there are three distinct species in Tasilé-n-Ajjer:— (1) *asoulmeh* (*asulmey*) (*Clarias Lazera*); (2) *isattafen* (*i-sefjefen*); (3) *imanan* (pl. *imenan*) (Duveyrier 1864, p. 227, 238). Fishing is described [262] by Duveyrier as follows: "Les poissons des lacs de Mihero donnent lieu à une pêche qui contribue [565] à l'alimentation des serfs riverains. A cet effet, ils creusent sur les bords des lacs de petits canaux étroits, aboutissant à des réservoirs dans lesquels les poissons viennent pour y chercher une nourriture qu'ils ne trouvent pas dans les profondeurs des lacs. Quand ils y sont entrés on renferme les conduits et on les prend" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 238 f.). Another fishing method is described by Lhote: "Ils construisent des espèces de fascines avec des tiges de mrokba ou des branches de tamarix, puis, entrant à plusieurs dans l'eau ils forment une espèce de barrage au moyen de ces fascines en les mettant bout à bout et les poussent ensuite doucement devant eux. Ils prennent bien soin de drainer le fond de sorte que le poisson soit systématiquement chassé. Lorsqu'ils arrivent près de la rive opposée à celle d'où ils sont partis, ils poussent rapidement par un dernier effort et éjectent le poison sur le sable ou ils le ramassent. Ils recommencent ce manège plusieurs fois jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient capturé la majorité des poissons" (Lhote 1951a, p. 53). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told about a third fishing method, namely the use of a piece of cotton (e.g., an old cotton shirt) attached to two poles. The cotton piece serves as a net over which the fish are fed. There seem to be no other fishing methods, as both the fish-hook and the harpoon are unknown.

## AYR

136 The Ayr Massif with adjacent plains is very rich in game in comparison with the true desert country inhabited by the Northern Tuareg. Barbary sheep (*éjital*; *Ammotragus lervia Angusi*) are common in the mountains and also south of the Massif around the cliff known as *Falaise de Tigeddi*. Gazelle (*achenkoal*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) (*énir*; *Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amellul*; *Addax nasomaculatus*), which are found in Northern Tuareg countries, are more abundant in Ayr where there are also bigger types of game, notably the oryx antelope (*ézem*; *Aegoryx algazel algazel*), and the giraffe (*amdeɣ*; *Giraffa camelopardalis*) which is found south and southwest of the Massif (e.g., around Ingal and Aderbissinat). The ostrich (*énhal*; *Struthio camelus*) is still very common in isolated regions of Ayr including the northern outskirts of the mountains, where I have seen flocks of more than twenty birds. There are in Ayr as mentioned above (p. 31) many bird species which are unknown or rare further north in the desert, e.g., the guinea fowl (*taylalt*; *Numida clappertoni clappertoni*) and a bustard species (*agayis*; *Choriotis arabs stieberi*). Game birds are extremely abundant in certain parts of Ayr. The birds come in amazing numbers to waterholes and open wells to drink in the evening at

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*ajako*. According to Foucauld a small annual edible plant growing in the Ahaggar Mountains at an altitude above 2000 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 712). Maire mentions this plant as unindentified (Maire 1933, p. 263).

Collecting is mainly the task of women, but males – particularly uninitiated boys and slaves – also participate. Seed-plants are generally harvested by rubbing the ears of the plants between the fingers, but the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle (*amreh*; Fig. 143 a–b) to be thrashed and winnowed like wheat and barley. Edible roots are frequently collected merely by hand. However, a digging stick (*élaweg*; Fig. 123) provided with an iron point is also used to dig up certain wild plants such as *akahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) and similar root plants. This digging stick is characteristic of vassal women who use it for many different purposes, e.g., to make holes for tent poles.

The very best among the above mentioned seed-plants is the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*). Its seeds are collected or harvested by certain Tuareg inhabiting the lower parts of Ahaggar, but are important particularly to the Tuareg living in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Within the Ahaggar Massif the most important seeds are those of *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). The right to collect these seeds is free to everybody, and Tuareg of the *Abada* zone may send their slaves to the *Atakor* zone to collect *tawit*-seeds in the mountain plateau of Asekrem. The species of *afezu* and *tawit* are sometimes protected by an ban on grazing for three and two months respectively in order that their seeds may grow ripe for collecting. The right to put a ban on grazing of the two species belongs to the Tuareg in whom territorial rights of a sub-area are vested (cf. p. 150). It is said that under very favourable conditions a single household may collect some hundred kilos of seeds of the two plants mentioned. This may seem rather impressive, but even in good years when milk is abundant collecting will not provide pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar with sufficient vegetable food, for seeds of wild plants are far less nourishing than are grains of wheat, barley, and millet. The collecting of wild plants important for food is as dependent on climatic conditions as is stock-breeding. In dry years, when domestic animals yield little or no milk at all, there will also be no wild seeds for collecting.

Fig. 127. Very small bag known as *élem* ("skin") made from a kid's scrotum (*tigassat*). The bag contains a piece of resin of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). This resin is eaten by the Tuareg as a remedy against stomachache. Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the piece of resin: 0.07 m long. (F.M. 149a–b).

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Fig. 130. Semi-wild date palms in the canyon-like Aharhar valley of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The palms are owned and harvested by pastoral Tuareg.

245 (Aharhar and Êherir) where "semi-wild" palms are abundant. These palms are owned by pastoral
[221] Tuareg of various tribes. Their dates are harvested in the autumn when Tuareg palm owners with
[342] their slaves live in straw-huts or huts covered with palm leaves situated among the palm trees.

Similar plantations of palm trees which are left to themselves most of the year are also found in
245 Ahaggar, notably at Silet-Tibeghin. Part of these palms are owned by members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe
423 (the sections of *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*) and by members of the very small tribe, the
[651] *Ikeckchemajen*. The palm-owners give as an annual payment to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar one bunch
of dates from all palms which have more than two bunches. The yield of another part of the palms
[565] belongs to the vassal tribe *Iklan-en-tawsit* (the sections *Kel Silet* and *Kel Tahaḥra*). For usufructs,
[651] members of these two sections make a collective annual payments to the *Amenukal* comprising four
245 bags of dates, twenty goats, two ropes of goat's hair, and five water bags. The dates are harvested by
[221] Tuareg of the above mentioned tribes in August-September. Harvesting is done with sickles and is
[492] finished in three to four weeks when the palm-owners return to their camps with dates packed in bags
and loaded on donkeys and camels. In harvesting their dates most Tuareg are assisted by black-
[564] skinned agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) of Abalessa who are given a certain amount of dates
[465] for their work. These agriculturists build the huts in which the palm-owners live during harvest (cf.
[463] p. 338 f.).

Fig. 164. Pail (*éṛir*) made from tinned brass by blacksmiths. It is used for storing butter to be used for food preparation in the tent. Pails of this type form part of the dowry in the *Dag Ḃali* tribe. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.155 m high, 0.230–0.235 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5820).

they perform a sacrifice, the idea of which seems to be an identification of the man and the killed animal. This idea appears most clearly at the sacrifice made on the occasion of the name-giving feast seven days after the birth of a child. A marabut, that is a Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class, and the father of the child stand close together with their faces towards Mecca while the animal to be sacrificed is kept to the ground. The marabut cuts the animal's throat and doing so cries out the name to be given to the child, and this name is thereupon repeated by the child's father. When the killing is performed in this way the knife (*elmusi* in Ahaggar; *ézegiz* in Ayr) and the cut across the throat are washed with water before skinning is undertaken. I have dealt with certain ideas of Tuareg sacrifice elsewhere, and have stated that on certain occasions they may sacrifice not to God but to the *Kel Asuf* spirits (Nicolaisen 1961, p. 122 f., 147 f.). But whatever may be the ideas attached to Tuareg sacrifices all animals, with the exception of the camel (cf. above p. 65), are killed by cutting their throat.

The methods of meat preparation are almost identical in Ayr and Ahaggar. The most common method everywhere is cooking in an earthen pot, known in Ahaggar as *ufrun*, *téṛirt*, *alekkin*, or *talekkint* according to its size and form, or in a metal pot (*éṛir*) of European origin. Such European pots are common everywhere in Tuareg camps, but earthen pots are still used though less durable, for earthen pots are cheap. Pots made of metal or copper, which are also known as *éṛir*, were also found among

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by blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*ameṛwan*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talak*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akralal, abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *teḍeft n ejewan*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Ajjuk-en-ehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

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A photograph illustrating a women making a bag from spun hair is reproduced by Lhote, who states 286
that bags of this nature are rarely manufactured nowadays and are made exclusively by a few noble 415*
women of the *Kel Rela* tribe (Lhote 1955a, p. 319 f., pl. XV p. 384). This statement does not agree 462
with information gathered by myself in Ahaggar, where I was told that bags were made from spun 565 ●
hair by Tuareg women of other tribes and notably by women of the *Isekkemaren* class. 114

In Ayr spinning of cotton is performed mainly to obtain sewing thread, which is considered superior 283
to European thread for sewing cotton clothes. To my knowledge most pastoral women do not spin [432]
their own cotton thread but buy it at the market of Agadez. However I have noted the existence of
simple cotton bows in a *Kel Tédalé* camp in the northern part of the Ayr Massif. The occurrence of [171]
the simple cotton bow among the Ayr Tuareg should no doubt be viewed in connection with the use [248]
of this implement in the Western Sudan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 260 ff.) from where the cotton plant [172]
has also been introduced.

Coiled basket-work plays an important part with the Tuareg, particularly the Northern Tuareg 285
who are experts in this technique which is related to sewing. A very primitive type of coiled basketry

[824]

Fig. 211. Basket (*alegutgut*) plaited from date palm leaves (*aguni*). The handle is of date palm bast (*azan*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abelessa. Dimension: 0.38 m high. (N.M. G. 5835).

[text continues on p. 269]

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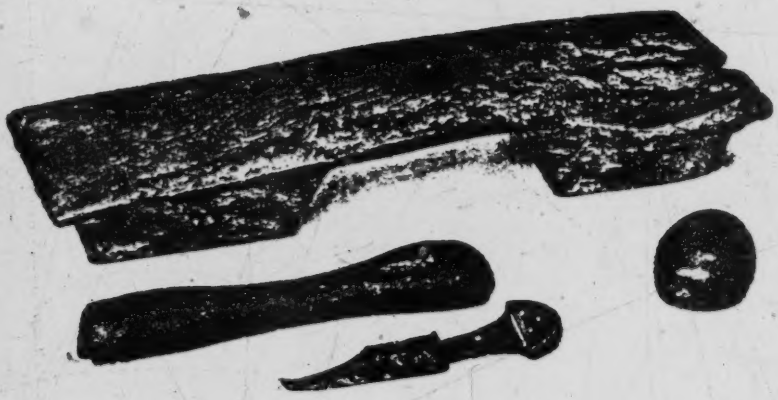

Fig. 219a–d. Implements used for skin and leather work in Ahaggar.

a. Wooden cutting board (*elkeyleb*). It is made from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). 0.480 m long. (N.M. G. 5867). [824]
b. Wooden implement (*asettenu*) for smoothing leather. Wood of the *taburak* tree. Dimension: 0.248 m long. (N.M. G. 5868).
c. Heavy black stone (*tazzet*) with level under side. Used for smoothing leather. Dimension: 0.079 × 0.061 m. (N.M. G. 5873).
d. Knife (*telmusit*). Dimension: 0.163 m long. (N.M. G. 5869).
Manufactured and used by blacksmiths in Ahaggar, Abalessa.

The vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar use hairy skin for the manufacture of certain receptacles other than water bags (cf. Figs. 111, 125). I have never seen hairy skin bags of this type in Ayr, and even in Ahaggar most skin bags are made from depilated skins. In Ahaggar the hair is removed from the hide by means of a plant known as *tachkat* (*Pergularia tomentosa*). A bundle of this plant is dipped into hot water and is rubbed against the inner side of the hide which is spread out over a large stone or a similar object. Even after one day the hair can then be removed by one or two women who pluck it with their fingers. In Ahaggar I have also been told by sedentary agriculturists that the hair can be removed by means of salt. The salt is placed upon the inner side of the hide and this treatment makes it possible to scrape away the hair by means of a knife or a stone. The Ayr Tuareg questioned about their methods of depilation place ashes from the fireplace on the inner side of the hide which after this treatment is covered with moistened sand for one day. After this treatment the hair is removed with a knife or simply with the fingers. 281 [565] ● [413] * [824]

The tannin generally used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr for articles other than water bags 281 824

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Fig. 228a–c.

a. A cylindrical hollowed piece of wood covered with leather. It is known as *tafendit* and serves to contain antimony (*tazult*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m long. (N.M. G. 5875).

[824] b. Cylindrical brass tube covered with ornamented leather. It is known as *faralu wa n tuka* and serves for the conservation of *tuka*, that is ashes of burned *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ashes of this grass are used by some Tuareg for chewing tobacco. It is said in Ahaggar that containers of this type are made exclusively by noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe, and that the containers should be worn only by noble Tuareg and not by vassals. The brass tube is always made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.265 m long (total length). (N.M. G. 5888).

[276] [462] [565]

c. A piece of cane covered with coloured leather and fringes of the same material. It is called *tafendit* and serves for the conservation of *tazult* (antimony). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.116 m. (N.M. G. 5267).

386 the south, or are obtained from plants grown by sedentary agriculturists. The technique of skin dyeing [281] as practised by the Tuareg nowadays cannot be considered an ancient one in Tuareg culture. Its [174] origin is probably to be looked for in the more developed civilizations of Northern Africa, and not in a nomadic culture like that of the Tuareg. Other dyeing methods known to the Tuareg may well be very ancient. I believe this to be true of the red ochre known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tameghoyt*,

[text continues on p. 286]

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292 ceremonial ridings as those described on p. 104 f. I have been informed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr that bandoleers were used exclusively for such purposes. Rodd depicts a rock-drawing from Timia in Ayr and believes that it perhaps represents a man wearing a bandoleer (Rood 1926a, p. 194, pl. 40 p. 305). This may be so, but I have been told by Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group that bandoleers were introduced among the Ayr Tuareg by the French when they formed the camel patrol made up of Tuareg from different Ayr tribes. However, my informants also claimed that the use of bandoleers for camel riders was an ancient custom in the north among the Ahaggar Tuareg, from where it was introduced to Ayr by the French. Informants of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer told me that the custom was traditional to noble Tuareg but not to vassals, though Tuareg of the vassal class also wear bandoleers nowadays.

291 Apart from the head-cloth (*ékerhey*) the following garments are typical of Northern Tuareg women:— (1) *tékamist*, that is a large and wide shirt of cotton, in form and cut identical with the man's shirt; (2) *asegbes*, a large piece of cotton used for a skirt or a petticoat; this is fixed tightly around the waist merely by folding it at the upper edge; (3) *tikest*, a large piece of cotton worn as a shawl over the shoulders and head, covering the head-cloth.

In addition to the head-cloth (*adalil*), which they frequently wear rolled up on the top of the head, Tuareg women of the *Kel Ferwan* group wear three main garments:— (1) *aftek*, a very short shirt of poncho cut. It is very akin to the shirt worn by Hausa-speaking women of Agadez, who use the words

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Fig. 237. Slave-boy wearing the loin-cloth depicted above Fig. 238. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-ishli* tribe.

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Fig. 238. Loin-cloth consisting of a piece of tanned and depilated goat-skin. It is known as *arḫaḫ* and is worn mainly by boys and young slaves. Dimension: 0.715 × 0.575 m. Ahaggar, the *Aḫah-en-sehli* tribe. (N.M. G. 5258).

291 *liga* or *tagua* for this garment piece; (2) *téri*, a large piece of cotton worn as a skirt wound around the waist in the same way as in the north; (3) *tesegbes*, a large piece of cotton used as a petticoat.

[114] Lhote has published some very interesting information on the dress of Tuareg women. Thus he mentions that certain women among Sudanese Tuareg wear a kind of shawl over the shoulders instead of a poncho shirt. I have myself seen this garment among pastoral Arabs south of Ayr and close to [562] Aderbissinat, but I have never seen it among the Tuareg. Still more interesting is Lhote's description of a skin skirt worn by slave women among the *Iwillemmeden* (Lhote 1955a, p. 308). This leather skirt, which is laced around the waist by means of a leather cord, is also recorded from the *Bélla* of Timbuktu by Dupuis-Yakouba (cf. Seabrook 1934, p. 251), and some skirts of the same type are conserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. One skirt among those found in the Paris museum (no. 33.78.9) comes from the Sudanese *Bélla*, and was collected in the region of Arawan by the "Expedition du [294] Hall" in 1945. It is made from several pieces of decorated leather sewn together with leather thread; its total length is about 0.70 m. Another skirt of the same type, but without a museum number, is perhaps of the same origin. In addition to these two skirts the Paris museum possesses three other leather skirts of the same type. They were collected by Lhote in 1939 among Tuareg living in the south-west. One of these skirts is from the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (mus. no. 41.19.846 & 847) while the two others [562] come from the *Kel Inteser* (mus. no. 41.19.846 & 847). The skirts are known as *elaraite* according [565] to the museum's card-index, where it is stated that they are worn by slave women, and it is added that similar leather skirts were worn by slave women and poor women of the vassal class among the

Ayr Tuareg up to the French occupation of Ayr

[Text continues on p. 296]

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492 [177] The large saddles for women (*akhawi*, *tkhawit*, *aragen*) (p. 88 f.) were most probably introduced by Arab pastoralists. These saddles are not known among all Tuareg. In the Northern Tuareg groups they are used in the noble class (*Ihaggaren*), in the *Isekkemaren* class, which seems to have relationship with Arabs (p. 10, 398 f.), and in the *Iregenaten* tribe which lives in Tamesna though it belongs to the group of Ahaggar Tuareg. Its members claim to descend patrilineally from Arabs, matrineally from noble Tuareg. Large women's saddles are also found among the Tuareg of Adrar-n-Foras, and there is a saddle of the *akhawi* type from this group in the ethnographical collection of the Neuchâtel Museum (no. 49.2.35). Women's saddles are also common among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*. They are described by Nicolas who mentions two types. One named *tahâwit* is perhaps constructionally different from the saddles of the north, while the other type termed *aruku* is constructionally related to riding saddles in Ahaggar, but is without the large wooden side-arches characteristic of certain northern saddles. However, saddles having arches like this are found among the *Deremchaka* Arabs who live in *Kel Dennek* territory (Nicolas 1950a, p. 178 Fig. 47a & e, pl. X p. 177). Light women's saddles resembling the Ahaggar *tkhawit* saddle without side-arches and known as *akhawi* was seen in the camp of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* Tuareg near Ayoru. Here I was told that the wooden structure is always manufactured by blacksmiths while its cover of ochre-coloured leather is made by Tuareg women who also make the little *afezu* mat placed over the structure and serving for seat. Such saddles [565] are found only in noble tribes of the *Western Iwllemmeden*, never among vassals. Women's saddles are unknown in Ayr where the Tuareg build a riding saddle upon large cushions (cf. p. 90), and they are apparently also unknown among the *Kel Geres*. The Ayr Tuareg speak of riding saddles known as *akhawi* or *tkhawit* as "Arab saddles", and these terms are also derived from Arabic. Lhote states that he has not seen the richly-decorated saddles known as *akhawi* outside of Ahaggar (Lhote 1947a, p. 142). Thus it seems that proper women's saddles have a limited distribution among the Tuareg. They occur mainly in certain classes of the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar*, and the *Iwllemmeden*. 492 171 In these areas they are apparently also used by Arabs. Somewhat related women's saddles are found among the Tebu. These saddles are described by Le Coeur who states that they are normally bought in Kanem (Le Coeur 1950, p. 60, 126). I think that this may perhaps indicate their origin as this region and adjacent parts of the Lake Tchad plains have a population of pastoralists of Arab descent. Various types of women's saddles occur among all Arab pastoralists of North Africa and the Arab peninsula – possibly with the exception of certain bedouin tribes of South-eastern Arabia. I do not know whether these saddles occur among the Beja, the Danakil, and the Somali. They are not mentioned in the literature I have consulted.

492 The pack saddle known as *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* (p. 76, Fig. 57) is not very common among the Northern Tuareg. It is unknown among the *Kel Ayr* and so far as I know also among the *Kel Geres*. It seems to be unknown also among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* where the same structure is used as a women's saddle as mentioned above (Nicolas 1950a, p. 178 Fig. 47e). I do not know if this saddle type occurs 492 171 in other Tuareg groups. It is found in the Lake Tchad region and Chudeau considers it typical of the sahelian zone (Chudeau 1909, p. 206; Capot-Rey 1946, p. 163). It is also mentioned by Nachtigal as the typical type of saddle of the Tebu (Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457), while the Tebu saddle described by Le Coeur and now preserved in the Musée de l'homme (no. 32.50.4) is slightly different from the

# Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg

In the introductory chapter on the Tuareg I mentioned that they fall into a number of main groups. 181
These groups or federations constitute the largest political units and are the following:— the *Kel* 642
*Ahaggar*, the *Kel Aijer*, the *Kel Adrar*, the *Kel Ayr*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*, and the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*. The federation of *Kel Tademakket* in the region of Timbuktu was subjected to the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* from about A.D. 1800 (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). In this chapter I attempt to outline the structure of some of the federations, and to consider certain problems connected with their historical development.

The two groups of Northern Tuareg which are so intimately related to one another, both culturally 173
and linguistically, formed originally one large political group under the command of the very powerful 642
noble tribe, the *Imenan* in the region of Ganet. It was not only considered noble to a very high degree, 614
but it was very highly estimated because of its supposed relationship to the Prophet. Many noble 565
Tuareg to-day, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, will claim themselves to be *Echcherifen* through relationship to the ancient *Imenan*, whose leader was the supreme chief of all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Aijer until about A.D. 1650 or somewhat later in the 17th century. The *Imenan* about that date [669]
lost their power owing to insurrections led by the powerful noble tribe, the *Uraren*. A Tuareg of this [643]
tribe killed the supreme chief named *Guma* and the leadership of the *Kel Aijer* now passed over to the chief of the *Uraren*.

The political system of the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century has been described in some detail 175
by Duveyrier with particular reference to the *Kel Aijer* among whom he lived in 1859 (cf. Duveyrier 64
1864). Among the authors who visited the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century Duveyrier is by far the most important, and his brief description of political organization is of particular value.

When the *Imenan* lost their supreme authority owing to the rising of the *Uraren*, they retained 643
their titles of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*), which are used for all descendants of the *Imenan*, their [614]
women even to-day being known as *Timenukalin* (sing. *Tamenukalt*). The chief of the *Imenan* was still "the *Amenukal*", a title used for supreme and independent chiefs of large political units. It is a word known to all Tuareg, and there have been some discussion about its proper meaning. The meaning according to Duveyrier is "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this interpretation is that generally followed by modern authors (e.g., Lhote 1955, p. 189; Blanguernon 1955, p. 47), though Foucauld does not go into the proper meaning of the word *Amenukal* but contents himself with the statement that it is the title of "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1213 f.). According to Prasse *Amenukal* is very probably a composit of

[p. 393]

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643 *amenu* + (*a*)*kal*, "*amenu* of the country". The first part may be the now extinct sing. of *Imenan*, the original meaning of which is unknown ("princes"?); this agrees with Foucauld's statement that normally *Amenukal* is used as sing. of *Imenan*, meaning *iyen daṛ-Menan*" = "one of the *Imenan* tribe" (Prasse, verbal information). My own view is that though the title may perhaps refer to *akal* [423] meaning "land" it is to be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". It is evident, as pointed out recently by Briggs, that an *Amenukal* as a supreme chief does not own the land in any ordinary sense, but rather owns it as a representative of the whole community (cf. Briggs 1958, p. 88). However, many Tuareg of the south do not connect the word *Amenukal* with "*akal*", and even in the past when the supreme *Amenukal* of the *Imenan* reigned over the Northern Tuareg, he apparently did not have the supreme command of the whole country. When Duveyrier stayed among the *Kel* 173 *Ajjer*, the country of these Tuareg was divided between certain noble tribes. This division was said 631 to have taken place in the following way:— The first Tuareg who settled in Tasilé-n-Ajjer were the 614 *Imenan* and the *Ifoṛas*, while other tribes immigrated at a later date. It happened one day in the past that the supreme chief of the *Imenan* summoned the noble women who had sons with rights of succession to chieftainship, and to each of these women he alloted a particular territory as their apanage. Thus the noble woman of the *Uraṛen* tribe was given the valley of Iṛarṛaren, while the noble woman of the *Imanṛasaten* tribe gained the valley of Tekhammalt (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 323). According to this popular account the land of the *Kel Ajjer* was divided between noble tribes even at a time when 175 the supreme chief of the *Imenan*, the *Amenukal*, was the supreme ruler of the *Kel Ajjer*. In Duveyrier's 631 days the important land-holding tribes among the *Kel Ajjer* seem to have been the *Imenan* in the 614 Tasilé around Ganet, the *Uraṛen* north of the Tasilé Mountains around the valley of Iṛarṛaren, the *Imanṛasaten* east of the *Uraṛen*, and finally the *Ifoṛas* who lived in the region south and southwest of Ṛadames. The *Ifoṛas* Tuareg were then, as to-day, held in high esteem because of their position [566] as *Ineslemen*. They also claimed themselves to be noble by origin. They had no vassals attached to them, but one of the *Ifoṛas* tribes had territorial rights around Ṛadames, and it had the right to dues [651] from all foreign caravans passing through the country. Other land-holding tribes possessed the same rights for their particular territories, and their members (i.e., apparently their chiefs) at certain seasons camped around the caravan roads leading through their country to collect dues from caravan [643] traders (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff., 359 ff.). The *Kel Ajjer* country in Duveyrier's days was divided between various noble tribes, and the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Ajjer group*, the chief of the *Uraṛen*, had no rights over the whole country as such.

565 The noble Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* had rights over certain vassal tribes which did not necessarily 614 live within the territory of the noble tribe to which they were attached. Duveyrier tells us so much 642 of this vassalage that it is possible to outline the main structure of this very interesting political institution.

The noble tribes which had particular rights over vassals were the *Uraṛen*, the *Imenan*, and the *Imanṛasaten*. The last-mentioned tribe remained loyal to the ancient rulers of the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Imenan*, to whom they constituted a sort of armed guard in the past. The *Imanṛasaten* were in opposition to the *Uraṛen* but the latter tribe was very powerful because of its direct authority over most vassal tribes. In all 17 vassal tribes or tribal sections were commanded by the *Uraṛen*, while the *Imenan*,

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had five vassal tribes, and the *Imanṛasaten* only three. Four tribes were divided between the *Uraṛen* and the *Imenan*, and one vassal tribe was divided between all three noble tribes.

The *Imenan* in Duveyrier's days comprised only five men who lived like sedentary Arabs at Ĝanet and Ṛat; they held the titles of *Imenukalen*, and their chief was "*the Amenukal*" who still possessed the drum (*eṭṭebel*) as the symbol of his former power. But the *Imenan* had no political power, and Duveyrier says that they were not allowed to summon their vassals to war. The true political leader of the *Kel Ajjer* was the chief of the *Uraṛen* with the title of *Amṛar*, but he was not the most important person. The practical leader of all Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer was the famous Tuareg known as *Akhenukhen*, whom Duveyrier called *Emir*. He had not accepted the position as *Amṛar* because this would have obliged him to give up his nomadic life and take up residence in a house. *Akhenukhen* held the supreme political and judical authority not only over the particular vassals of the *Uraṛen*, for all Ajjer Tuareg also submitted to his orders. However, we know from Duveyrier's description that the other noble tribes had the right to engage in raiding expeditions on their own behalf supported by their individual vassals, and it was not always easy for *Akhenukhen* to keep order. However, as leader of the bulk of the vassal tribes which were loyal to their master, he could retain the dominant position of the *Uraṛen* tribe, and in difficult judical problems he was aided and supported by the religious leaders of the *Ifoṛas* group.

The noble tribes of the *Kel Ajjer* were subdivided into tribal sections which had their particular vassals. It seems as if this division of vassalage was primarily an economic one. Thus the chief of the *Uraṛen* possessed the supreme political authority over all vassals attached to his tribe though he only had particular economic rights over part of them (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff. & Dubief 1956, p. 87). I revert to these important features of political systems among the Northern Tuareg in a more detailed account of political relations in Ahaggar.

## KEL AHAGGAR

The Ahaggar Tuareg became politically independent in the 17th century when the supreme chief *Guma* of the *Imenan* was killed and the power over the *Kel Ajjer* passed into the hands of the *Uraṛen*. The Ahaggar Tuareg may even then have obtained their own supreme chief, but we know almost nothing about this early period. The supreme chiefs of the Ahaggar Tuareg, who have the title of *Amenukal*, are known as far back as to about 1750 when the ruler was *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir*. During his reign the Ahaggar Tuareg became divided into three major groups centering around the noble tribes known as *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Tégehé Mellet*. These tribes divided the vassals between them. The *Taytoḳ* and the *Kel Ṛela* until then formed one single tribe, and their members even to-day claim to be matrilineally related as *ara-n-tañatin*, that is "persons descending from sisters", for the ancestress of the *Kel Ṛela*, by name *Kella*, and the ancestress of the *Taytoḳ*, whose name was *Sakina*, were in fact maternal cousins (cf. p. 140). The third noble tribe, *Tégehé Mellet*, to which vassals were allotted, is said to descend patrilineally from Arabs – perhaps from the *Chamba*. There were two other noble tribes among the Ahaggar Tuareg at this early date. One of them known

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173 as the *Ikadeyen* had no vassals and its members had apparently then as now a rather subordinate
565 position compared with other noble Tuareg. The noble tribe named *Kel-ahem-mellen*, which to-day
614 is of little importance and not very numerous, with some of its members settled in the oasis of
642 Inṛer in Tidikelt, seems to have had certain *Isekkemaren* tribes as its particular vassals, but they were later placed under the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Tégehé Mellet*. The *Isekkemaren*, as we shall see below, had a political status somewhat different from that of the true vassals known to the Northern Tuareg as *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad*. The division of the vassals of this group during the reign of *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir* between the three noble tribes of *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Tégehé Mellet* is most interesting. When the vassals were divided between the three noble units it led to a division of some of the vassal tribes. Thus the *Ayt Lowayen* was divided into two between the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Tégehé Mellet* while the tribe known as *Imessiliten* was divided into the *Dag Ṛali* for the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Kel Ahnet* for the *Taytoḳ*. It would have been easier to divide the vassals without splitting their tribes, but we may perhaps suggest that the tribes were split because they were already divided into groups of individual vassals under those who became independent noble tribes. When the division of vassals took place in the 18th century most went to the *Kel Ṛela*, but quite a number of tribes was also allotted to the *Taytoḳ*, while the *Tégehé Mellet* tribe received so few that it could never become politically important.

When the vassals were divided between the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Tégehé Mellet* these noble
634 tribes became united into a sort of federation known as *tégehé*. The three tribes with their vassals formed
534 so-called drum-groups or *eṭṭebelen* (sing. *eṭṭebel*) with chiefs who had as their insignia a large drum
[778] known as *eṭṭebel*. It was endowed with a particular mystic power; it should not be allowed to touch the ground and when the drum skin was worn, it had to be replaced by a famed warrior. The drum must be obeyed when beaten by the drum-chief to summon his subjects. The drum-chief was the supreme political and judical authority of a drum-group, and he could organize raids and wage war upon other groups. He also collected certain annual payments from his particular vassals. This was
631 true of the chiefs of all three drum-groups in Ahaggar. But within the federation of drum-groups
634 that of the *Kel Ṛela* held a prominent position. The drum-chiefs of the two other groups, the *Taytoḳ*
643 and the *Tégehé Mellet*, only possessed the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaṛen*), which word is that generally used for a chief among the *Kel Ahaggar*, while the chief of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group had the title of *Amenukal* as the chief of the whole *tégehé* federation. Within every drum-group the drum-chief would ceremoniously install all chiefs of vassal tribes but the two drum-chiefs of *Taytoḳ* and *Tégehé Mellet* were installed by the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* group. The *Amenukal* himself was installed in his
[565] office by a Tuareg from one of the *Isekkemaren* tribes of his own drum-group. When the *Amenukal* was installed, which ceremony nowadays takes place at Tamanṛaset, a Tuareg of the *Isekkemaren* class provided him with a large head-cloth. The installment ceremony, which is preserved to this day, was and is the same for any chief among the Ahaggar Tuareg. When a drum-chief was to install a vassal chief, the ceremony took place in the camp of the drum-chief, and when the *Amenukal* had to install drum-chiefs of the two other groups the installation took place in the *Amenukal* camp.

The supreme position of the *Amenukal* appears from the rules governing the installation of chiefs, but as already mentioned, the *Amenukal* could not concern himself in all matters of the two other

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## THE FEDERATION OF AHAGGAR TUAREG

(Size of tribes according to Lhote 1955a, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949.)

| | Noble tribes | | Vassal tribes | | *Isekkemaren* tribes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The *Kel Rela* Drum-Group | *Kel Rela* | 275 | *Dag Rali* | 386 | *Iheyawen Hada* | 253 |
| | To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble tribes, with the *Iforas* group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal tribes. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The *Kel Rela* women, like noble women of the *Uraren* (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and *Kel Ferwan* (Ayr), do not associate freely with people of other classes. | | *Ayt Lowayen* | 400 | *Kel Inger* | 176 |
| | | | *Aguh-en-tehlé* | 585 | *Kel Téfedest* | 61 |
| | | | *Relayddin* | 40 | *Kel Immidir* | 179 |
| | | | *Iklan-en-tawsit* | 500 | *Kel Tazulet* | 158 |
| | | | *Ibettenaten* | 129 | The *Isekkemaren* tribes descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble *Kel-ahem-melien* tribe. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the *Ulad Ba Hammu*, claims that they were originally their vassals. | |
| | | | *Iregenaten* | 435 | | |
| | | | These two tribes are not true vassals by origin. The *Ibettenaten* is said formerly to have had noble status and the *Iregenaten* descend matrilineally from the *Ibettenaten*, patrilineally from Arabs. | | | |

643 territorial chief over the country inhabited by the vassals of the *Kel Rela* drum-group. He had the
634 right to dues from caravans passing through the territory of that drum-group, while further west
[651] such dues were given to the chief of the *Taytok* drum-group. He had the right to land rents from the vassals of his groups, while land rents further west in the *Taytok* country belonged to the drum-chief of the *Taytok* group.

643 To-day the *Amenukal* holds a very strong position as chief of the whole country of Ahaggar, and
[640] his power has been much augmented because the French govern the country through him. In the past the position of the *Amenukal* was a less powerful one. All Tuareg say that he was then not particularly strong, and there are many examples of the vassals of his own drum-group showing disobedient
[565] to him. The *Amenukal* had to be elected, and, contrary to what is often stated in literature on the subject, he was not elected by the noble Tuareg of his own tribe, though they had a certain influence, but by his vassals who also had the right to dismiss an *Amenukal* if dissatisfied with him. The *Amenukal* lived like other Tuareg and his sole insignia was the drum which followed him on journeys and served to summon his vassals.

643 We have mentioned above (p. 148 ff.) that the *Amenukal* even to-day receives a land-rent (*ehéré-*
651 *n-amaḍal*) from all tenants of the sub-areas of vassal tribal territories, and the rules of payments and

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| | Noble tribes | Vassal tribes | *Isekkemaren* tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| The *Taytoḳ* Drum-Group | *Taytoḳ* 33<br>There are hardly any Tuareg of pure *Taytoḳ* stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief *Mokhammed ag Mokhammed* who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The *Taytoḳ* and their vassals frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past. | *Kel Ahnet* 127<br>*Iwerweren* 47<br>*Téġehé-n-Efis* 127<br>*Ikuṭṭisen* 84<br>*Ikechchemaḍen* (now mixed with the *Dag Ṛali* tribe of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group).<br>*Iṛechchumen*<br>A tribe patrilineally related to the noble *Taytoḳ*, matrilineally to the vassal tribe of *Kel Ahnet*. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals. | *Kel I-n-tunin* (about 20 tents in 1938). |
| The *Téġehé-Mellet* Drum-Group | *Téġehé Mellet* 33 | *Kel Turha* (part of the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group). | *Kel Terurit* 62<br>*Kel Uhet* 70 |
| Noble Tribes Without Vassals | *Kel-ahem-mellen* | The *Isekkemaren* tribes are said formerly to have been vassals of this tribe | |
| | *Ikadeyen* | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | |

rights have been outlined. These payments were also made to the *Amenukal* by people of his drum-group in the past, and then as now he received an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* from all vassal tribes. The size of such *tiwsé* payments in the past is unknown, but they have no doubt varied from one tribe to another as they do to-day. I describe in brief the *tiwsé* payments made by the two most important vassal tribes to illustrate this:— (1) The *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe is divided into three sub-tribes which make their *tiwsé* payments separately as follows: The *Kel Teṛhawhawt* sub-tribe gives 600 kgs of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kgs of butter. The man who brings this payment to the *Amenukal* is rewarded with 15 metres of cotton. The *Isandan* sub-tribe gives 300 kgs of millet

643 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man
651 bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Afefna* sub-tribe its collective
614 payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Rali* tribe pays *tiwsé* as follows:—
613 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads,
565 are given to the chief of the *Dag Rali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself.
In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*. –
All vassal tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Agenukal*, and this
also applies to the *Isekkemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwsé*, are in fact tokens of vassalage,
[634] and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as
drum-chief of the *Kel Rela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to
their particular drum-chiefs.

643 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his
634 drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war booty taken by his
565 vassals. This right was known as *abellag*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to
their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel*
*Rela* drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal
[614] kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in
the tribe to which the deseased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138).
As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief
[614] within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief
of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels
on the latter's death.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*eddiyet*)
634 among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151).
681 Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance,
[684] he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches
his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly
[682] the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth
paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the
[614] murderer. When the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had
to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny
his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid
he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain
man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid.
[683] For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and
[178] such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished
[648] by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he
had in the past.

178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

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619 him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were
721 frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal* were raided
643 by people of his drum-group, the *Amenukal* had the right to a tribute named *ennehet* which according to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amenukal*'s drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the *Amenukal* to whom they paid *tiwsé* for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347 f.).

634 The drum-group (*eṭṭebel*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The
[831] federation (*tégehé*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

634 It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship
565 (*tehandezzit*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there
571 were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is
614 true notably of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar.
[602] People of the *Dag Ṛali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group joke with the tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The word "*Isekkemaren*" means literally "people who lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg and true vassals, who say that the *Isekkemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals will joke with the *Isekkemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the
[602] vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Isekkemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally
[431] related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed between *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Isekkemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg come to the *Isekkemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the *Isekkemaren* visiting the *Aguh-en-tehlé*. The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relationship to the noble *Kel Ṛela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Ṛela* engage in sham-fights (*tebbillant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between the *Kel Ṛela* and the vassal *Aguh-en-telhé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between *Isekkemaren* and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Isekkemaren* tribes (*Iheyawen Hada, Kel Tazulet*) and the *Aguh-en-tehlé tribe*. Wedding feasts in these *Isekkemaren* tribes are most popular with young men of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Isekkemaren* girls. Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages, if any, while this was not so in the *Tayiok* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between

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noble Tuareg and vassals. It would seem as if these mixed marriages had a political function as they served to reinforce the solidarity within the drum-group in view of its opposition to the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group and the *Amenukal*. In consequence of these marriages the political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Tayṣak* drum-group was in the past much influenced by rules of kinship behaviour, and the payments due to the drum-chief from vassals were less comprehensive than in the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group.

634 565 571 614 [802]

*The Kel Ṛela* drum-group was divided into minor relationships between noble Tuareg and vassals. These relationships were known as *temaẓlayt*, that is literally "the root of the nail". They have almost ceased to exist, and consequently they are very difficult to describe. However, it is possible to outline their organization and main functions. They were structurally akin to the drum-group, as they were matrilineally organized. A noble Tuareg who had rights over certain vassals would be succeeded by a maternal Kinsman, and in a group of vassals right and obligations would equally follow matrilineal rules. A *temaẓlayt* relationship was a relationship between a small noble matrilineage with a particular leader and a larger matrilineage of vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class. The noble matrilineage that was attached to a definite group of vassals would not necessarily correspond with the matrilineal core within a section, for there were comparatively many noble Tuareg in the *Kel Ṛela* tribe who were leaders of *temaẓlayt* groups. This is shown by Benhazera's investigations, which took place at a time when the ancient political system of the Ahaggar Tuareg still retained most of its traditional functions. At that time there were at least ten noble Tuareg who were commanders of *temaẓlayt* groups (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.).

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There are certain traces of *temaẓlayt* organizations even to-day. The token of this relationship is the payment of an annual due known as *tiwsé* from a group of vassals to the *temaẓlayt* master.

Apparently some vassals who made *tiwsé* payments to a noble *temaẓlayt* master did not make this payment also to their drum-chief (the *Amenukal*). Thus to-day the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe makes an annual *tiwsé* payment to *Maṛli agg Amayas* of the *Kel Ṛela* section named *Inemba Kel-Emeṛṛi*, but gives no *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal Ḥay*, who belongs to the *Iboglan* section of the same tribe, though the land-rent (*ḍhéré-n-amaḍal*) is always paid to the *Amenukal*. I was also told by the *Kel Ṛela Khalifa* of Tamesna, who belonged to the *Iboglan* section, that he had the right to collect the *tiwsé* payment from the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, but as he was now living outside of Ahaggar this payment was made by the *Isandan* to the *Amenukal*. However, I believe that in the past most vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class made *tiwsé* payments both to their individual *temaẓlayt* masters and to the *Amenukal*. This would also seem to be in agreement with Foucauld's description of *temaẓlayt* relations (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1965).

A noble *temaẓlayt* master had no judicial authority over his individual vassals, and could not summon them to war and raiding against their will. These rights belonged to the drum-chief, consequently in the *Kel Ṛela* group, to the *Amenukal*. The obligations of a noble *temaẓlayt* master towards his vassals were mainly to protect them against raids by and exploitation of other noble Tuareg who formed a class of warriors and raiders roaming the country for enemies and for booty. A *temaẓlayt* master had the right to organize raids with the support of his vassals, if they were interested, and the vassals were also allowed to carry out raids on their own behalf, but in both cases half of the booty (*abellag*) taken by

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634 vassals was given to the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) and not to the *temazlayt* master. However, should
565 a vassal Tuareg have borrowed for raiding a riding camel from his *temazlayt* master or another noble
571 Tuareg, they received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty remaining when
613 one half had been given to the *Amenukal*.
721

The noble Tuareg possessed many advantages over their individual vassals. They could apparently
565 claim almost what they wanted for their subsistence, and frequently camped close to their vassals
571 who then were obliged to feed them, and when in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take such animals from their vassals (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). Similar information is given by Benhazera, but he states that the vassals in the past would not necessarily supply everything demanded by their noble lords (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The vassals were under a particular obligation to provide the noble Tuareg with goat-breeding products, and if they had milk yielding she-camels the noble Tuareg could claim these animals until milk-yielding stopped. But the vassals had also many advantages from the *temazlayt* relationships. They were not only protected by their lords. The noble Tuareg would leave behind the animals they could not take with them when roaming in the desert, and noble Tuareg never had much livestock with them in their camps. It was also of great importance to the vassals that they could use their masters camels for caravan trading. On the whole the system was not exclusively the exploitation of vassals by the noble Tuareg, and it can be added that the vassal Tuareg were always more numerous than the noble Tuareg, that the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) was elected by the vassals, and that he alone had judicial rights. The system was one of give and take to both classes involved, and there can be little doubt that it was well adapted to practical ecological conditions.

233 In Ahaggar, camels and goats are very complementary to each other. The camel supplies the Tuareg
433 with milk, but with very few other products, and the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-
[234] camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important
[262] as food, but it is not well-fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg kill camels to
[281] utilize their meat only when many people congregate, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, for tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the
[437] camels have little direct economic value. But for raiding in the past, camels were very valuable riding animals, and were then, as now, extremely important for caravan trading which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic rôle of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive
[234] part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese
[262] which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore, goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

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Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without 233
camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to 433
the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays, as in the past, base their economy mainly on camels and goats.
I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats and their [262]
vegetable food from caravan trading with the aid of camels.

Formerly, the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned 565
exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but 233
he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). It is, however, confirmed 422
by many Tuareg that the vassals originally had no camels, and that throughout the 19th century they 571
had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals, and even to-day goats and butter form part of the *tiwsé*-payments. The noble Tuareg, on the other hand, allowed their particular vassals to trade with their camels against the payment of a certain amount of vegetable food products which to-day also form part of most *tiwsé*-payments. They allowed their vassals also to have usufructs of such animals as could not be taken with them on their migrations. Noble Tuareg of to-day continue to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts of the vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they obtain part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops; this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. The noble Tuareg of to-day may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals, who can refuse any gift or [178]
service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are even noble Tuareg who wear amulets which are [288]
believed to induce vassals to donate the things required.

It would seem that the economic relationships forming the basis of the Tuareg political system in 174
the north would arise so to speak automatically from two distinct cultures which met each other in 565
the desert: a camel-breeding culture of a Berber-speaking people now known as the noble Tuareg, and a goat-breeding culture of an ancient Berber-speaking population which now constitutes the vassals.

Some Tuareg traditions seem to indicate that political systems based on class-division arose in this 173
way in the north, but we have to admit that other traditions contradict this. Below I attempt to 565
elucidate Tuareg history in Ahaggar by means of native traditions to which, for practical reasons, I allot definite numbers.

*Tradition A.* All Tuareg have a common origin as they descend from a woman named *Lemtuna*, who is also the ancestress of certain Berbers living around Radamas in Tripolitania. Most Berbers of Morocco descend from *Lemtuna*'s sister who became the ancestress of the *Beraber*. This tradition is widely known in Ahaggar.

*Tradition B.I.* This tradition is a very common explanation of the origin of the class-division in Ahaggar: Long ago two Islamic women of the *Beraber* immigrated to the oasis of Silet from Tafilelt in Morocco. One of these women named *Ti-n-Hinan* was noble while the other woman named *Takama*

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173 was the servant girl of *Ti-n-Hinan*. These two women settled in Ahaggar which was almost uninhabited.
565 But in the mountainous parts of the country there lived a pagan people named *Isebeten*, who were goat-breeders and hunters. *Ti-n-Hinan* settled at the oasis of Abalessa not far from Silet, and she was buried in a huge tomb close to Abalessa, while her servant-girl *Takama* was buried in a small tomb not far from the tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan*.

*Ti-n-Hinan* became the ancestress of the two noble tribes *Kel Rela* and *Taytok* who are matrilineally related. According to traditions collected by Benhazera, it seems as if two other noble tribes, namely *Kel-ahem-mellen* and *Tégehé Mellet* also descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* (Benhazera 1908, p. 90 ff.). This disagrees with my own information and also with that of Foucauld (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 536). The two latter tribes are said to be of different origin, while the noble Tuareg of the *Iwllemmeden* descend from *Ti-n-Hinan*'s younger brother.

*Takama* had two daughters, the elder of whom became the ancestress of the noble tribe *Ihadanaren* who now live mainly in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, though a few individuals camp in Ahaggar. The tribe is considered noble but has never had vassals. The younger daughter of *Takama* became the ancestress of the two vassal tribes the *Dag Rali* and the *Ayt Lowayen*, and also of the *Kel Ahnet* which was originally united with the *Dag Rali*.

The tradition of the descent of noble Tuareg and vassals from *Tin-n-Hinan* and *Takama* as outlined above is admitted as true among most Ahaggar Tuareg, though the vassals claim that *Takama* was the younger sister of *Ti-n-Hinan* and not her servant-girl. And they claim that the superior position of the noble tribes is due to this fact, as any person must always pay respect towards elder brothers and sisters.

The tradition is told in a somewhat expanded edition by Foucauld:— After the immigration of *Ti-n-Hinan* and *Takama* their descendants who then constituted the tribes of *Kel Rela*, *Dag Rali*, and *Ayt Lowayen* lived in Ahaggar alone for a very long time. They were very few in number and had no camels. They subsisted mainly by goat-breeding and hunting. They never travelled outside Ahaggar, and had no knowledge of other places such as Tidikelt, Ayr, and Adrar of the Iforas. It then happened that the two noble tribes *Kel-ahem-mellen* and *Tégehé Mellet* penetrated into Ahaggar. They conquered and burned down the agricultural settlement of Ennedid which was a centre of the *Dag Rali* tribe. The *Dag Rali* Tuareg then assembled at the village of Tahart to fight their invading enemies. They succeeded in killing most of the *Kel-ahem-mellen* and *Tégehé Mellet* Tuareg and took their camels. From then onwards the Ahaggar Tuareg became camel-breeders, began to travel outside of Ahaggar, and grew in number (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 536).

*Tradition B.II.* A variation of the tradition about the origin of the Ahaggar Tuareg from *Ti-n-Hinan* and *Takama* has been recorded by Lehureaux as follows:— *Ti-n-Hinan* came from Tafilelt to Ahaggar riding on a white camel and accompanied by her faithful companion *Takama* and a certain number of slaves. From their homeland, the country of the *Beraber*, they had brought with them many loads of dates and millet. But the road to Ahaggar was a very long one, and the caravan became seriously threatened by hunger. However, one day *Takama* discovered a great many ant hills, and assisted by the slave women she collected all the seeds which the ants had stored. *Takama* gave these seeds to *Ti-n-Hinan* who remained sitting on her camel as she was of noble descent. By means of these

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seeds the caravan was able to arrive in Ahaggar. In order to commemorate this event the *Dag Rali* and the *Kel Ahnet*, who descend from *Takama*, each year give a fixed tribute of seeds or dates to the noble Tuareg who descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* (cf. Lehureaux 1929; Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.).

The stories about the origin of certain noble Tuareg from *Ti-n-Hinan* and the descent of the oldest vassal clans from *Takama* are traditions which seem to be created to justify the class-division and the supremacy of the noble Tuareg. The events narrated in the two variations of this tradition are contradictory. According to the tradition quoted by Foucauld, the noble Tuareg descending from *Ti-n-Hinan* had no camels when they arrived in Ahaggar, whereas that recorded by Lehureaux states that their ancestress came to Ahaggar riding on a camel. As to this I may say that all noble Tuareg I have questioned have claimed that they have always been camel owners.

The *Ti-n-Hinan* traditions bear the stamp of myth and they seem to have originated among the noble Tuareg. It is an interesting fact that the tombs near Abalessa, which according to the tradition should contain the bodies of *Ti-n-Hinan* and *Takama*, at their excavation actually contained the skeletal remains of two europid women. The so-called tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan* is in fact not so much a tomb as an enormous fort built of stone and containing several graves. The building is about 26×24 metres but of irregular shape. Its height is estimated to have been about 4 metres. In the interior of the building there are *tifinar* inscriptions and engravings. Around the tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan* there are several small stone graves of the so-called "chouchet" type which contained skeletal remains of men, women, and children. About 200 metres from *Ti-n-Hinan*'s tomb there is a smaller tomb which appears to have been very simple and of the "chouchet" type. This according to tradition is, the tomb of *Takama*. There seem to be little doubt that the monument as well as its surrounding tombs are pre-Islamic. It is also very likely that it has been erected by Berber-speaking peoples, and it was perhaps used as a station for caravans crossing the Sahara from the Mediterranean to the Sudan. The archaeological finds show a mixture of Roman artifacts from the 4th century A.D., and Sudanese articles. Reygasse, who has described the fort and its finds in detail, has also collected a tradition in Ahaggar according to which the fort was erected by a *rumi* named *Joluta* who lived in Ahaggar somewhat before the introduction of Islam (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.). Though the *Ti-n-Hinan* monument was probably erected by a Berber-speaking people who dominated Ahaggar, we cannot be so sure that its founders were the ancestors of the noble Tuareg. We must again bear in mind that the *Ti-n-Hinan* tradition contains a strong mythical element, and that traditions and truth are often different things. To-day it is widely said in Ahaggar that *Ti-n-Hinan* is the ancestress of the noble Tuareg and the French. It seems that this tradition derives from a French non-commissioned officer. The Frenchman related it to please the Tuareg and to create a bond between the Tuareg and the French. At all events we cannot accept the *Ti-n-Hinan* tradition as truth, and will now consider certain other traditions regarding the origin of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

*Tradition C.I.* This tradition is in circulation mainly among the vassals. It is as follows:—

The oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were a people called *Isebeten* who are also mentioned in the B.I. tradition. They were pagans who lived in a very primitive fashion. They had no proper tents and natural caves in the mountains were their normal habitations. They subsisted mainly by hunting barbary sheep and by goat-breeding, and used donkeys as beasts of burden. Foucauld mentions a-

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173 565 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day. [172] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten* people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides, two men known as *Mokhammed ag-Kerku* and *Ĕmenni ag-Khedidda*, both members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* claim that their tribe descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten* formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Ṛali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten* were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and introduced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient *Isebeten* contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much [551] difficulty. For the word *Ĕsebet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending from the woman *Ĕsebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had [114] a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Ṛali* [428] tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a, p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 614 565 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are known by the name *Kel Ulli*, that is "the goat people", or by the name *Imṛad* which perhaps also refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *ereyd* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas [433] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly [224] important to the *Dag Ṛali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this ancient people.

173 565 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ*, said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Berber*, and that they were Islamic. The claim that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyound doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Isamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

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My arguments in favour of the theory that the noble tribes now dominant in Ahaggar are not the oldest noble Tuareg of that area are the following:— 174 565

(1) The small noble tribe *Ikadeyen*, which to-day comprises very few persons who live mainly as sedentary agriculturists around the cultivation centre of Tit in Ahaggar, is said to have lived in Ahaggar before the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes. Some Tuareg say that the *Ikadeyen* are as old in Ahaggar as the *Isebeten*, and it is most interesting that the *Dag Rali* Tuareg, who descend from the *Isebeten*, pay at each marriage in their tribe a tribute corresponding to 50 kilos of millet or dates to the *Ikadeyen*. This custom is quite unusual and it may perhaps point towards an ancient vassal relationship between the *Dag Rali* (descending from the *Isebeten*) and the *Ikadeyen*. If this is so the vassalage has apparently been different from that prevailing in Ahaggar nowadays and more akin to that of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr, where part of the bride-wealth is given to noble chiefs. It is interesting to note that the *Ikadeyen* Tuareg are said to be "only a little *Ihaggaren*", or to be "*Ihaggaren* but not true *Ihaggaren*". 571 614

(2) The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) as a term for the social class here referred to as "noble Tuareg", seems to be peculiar to the Northern Tuareg. In other Tuareg groups the so-called noble class is known by the term *Imajeren* (sing. *Amajer*), or related terms. Nicolas says that this term refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188 f.). The corresponding word in Northern Tuareg dialect is *Imuhar* (sing. *Amahar*), which is used for all true Tuareg including the vassals. It has generally been accepted that this word derived from the verb *aher* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318; Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674), but Prasse has recently informed me that it is a deformation of *amazir* known in Northern Berber as "free man; Berber". The Foucauld hypothesis that it should be a verbal adjective of *aher* must be discarded, the *h* of this verb being original (Prasse, verbal information) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 457–462). 174 565 [184]

The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) is different. According to the Tuareg it is just a name, and it is very possible that Foucauld is right in claiming that it is identical with the word *Hawwara*, which was the name of an ancient Berber-speaking population of North Africa (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533 f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory is pure speculation (Nicolas 1953b, p. 14). This, however, is not correct, as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds, as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *w* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *w* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

If we can consider *Hawwara* and *Ihaggaren* as identical words and thus assume a relationship between the dominant noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and the ancient Berber-speaking people known as *Hawwara*, we must look for further information about the latter people who are frequently mentioned in Arab historical documents of the Middle Ages. Ibn Khaldun in particular has written about the *Hawwara*, who are described as nomads and sedentary people who live mainly in the regions of Tunisia, Tripolitania, and Cyrenaica, though tribes belonging to the *Hawwara* groups are also found outside this area to the east and west. The *Hawwara*, according to Ibn Khaldun, came under Arab influence at a very early date, and were conquered by the Arabs as early as the 9th century A.D. In Ibn Khaldun's days the *Hawwara* people were entirely dominated by the Arabs and were the vassals of Arabs of the *Beni Sulaym* group. They spoke Arabic and were culturally indistinguishable from the Arabs. But according to Ibn Khaldun some of the pastoral *Hawwara* at very early date migrated 174 175 565

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174 southwards to settle close to the *Lemta* Tuareg. The *Hawwara* descent of these people is indicated by
175 their name *Heggar*. For the letter *w* in the name *Hawwara* has changed into a sort of *k* with a pro-
565 nunciation something between a soft and a guttural *k* (cf. Ibn Khaldun I, p. 275 ff.). Thus we see that the theory set forth by Foucauld about the connection between the *Hawwara* and the *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) was advanced much earlier by Ibn Khaldun.

It is interesting to note that though he recognizes a certain relationship between the *Hawwara* and the large Tuareg groups Ibn Khaldun does not as a rule mention the *Hawwara* as belonging to the veiled Tuareg. There are many different and contradicting genealogical views of the origin of the *Hawwara*. It seems as if Ibn Khaldun accepts the explanation given by Ibn Hazm: All Tuareg groups and the *Hawwara* descend from an ancestress named *Tizki*. But the *Hawwara* are not patrilineally related to these large Tuareg groups; they descend from *Hawwar* and through him from an ancestor named *Awrir* (cf. Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 169). It is remarkable that the word *Awrir*, which in the form of *Awrira* is also used by Ibn Khaldun as a name of a Berber tribe in the Fezzan, is identical with *Uraren* – the name of the principal noble tribe among the *Kel Ajjer* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

Of the other Tuareg groups Ibn Khaldun says that they have lived in the desert since immemorial times. The principal groups mentioned are:—

*Gedala* belonging to the large *Ṣanhaja* division. They lived in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Dwi-Ḥasan* of *Makil* root living around Sous in Southern Morocco.

*Lemtuna* and *Wenziga* in the desert south of the Arab tribes *Dwi-Manṣur* and *Dwi-Ubayd-Allah* – tribes of *Makil* root living in Morocco.

*Messufa* in the desert south of an Arab tribe named *Zorba* living in the central Maghreb.

*Lemta* living in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Riah* in Eastern Algeria (Zab, Bougie, Constantine).

*Targa* living in the desert south of the Arab tribe *Sulaym* in Ifrikia, that is Tunisia and adjacent parts of Tripolitania (cf. Ibn Khaldun II, p. 104 f.).

The country of the Northern Tuareg in Ibn Khaldun's days was inhabited by two main groups of Tuareg known as *Lemta* and *Targa*. This is confirmed by Leo Africanus who, however, states that the *Targa* live west of *Lemta* as opposed to Ibn Khaldun, who says that the *Lemta* formed the westermost group. The two groups, according to Leo, also occupy the country south of the present territory of Northern Tuareg so that Ayr belonged to the *Targa* group (cf. Leo Africanus p. 797 ff.) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 330 ff.). As to the *Hawwara* Berbers, they are mentioned by Leo in the original Italian edition as *Aoara*, in the English translation as *Haoari* or *Hacari*. They are not mentioned as forming part of the People of the Veil, but as tent-dwelling pastoral Moors living in the northern desert and speaking Arabic though corruptly (Leo Africanus p. 130 ff., note (14) p. 205 f.).

It is most interesting that the words *Targa* and *Lemta*, which have now disappeared as names of Tuareg groups, are mentioned not only by Arab authors but are also found on European Maps of North Africa from the 16th and the 17th centuries. We have the word *Targa* situated in the central or southern part of the Sahara on the *Africae Tabula Nova* of Ortelius (1570). We have the word *Targa* in the Northern Sahara and the word *Lempta* towards the south-east of it in the Central Sahara on the *Africae Nova Descriptio* of Blaeu (1665) (cf. Bovill 1958, maps III & IV p. 113 & 132), and we have both names occurring on a map produced by Dapper in the same century (cf. Dapper 1670, p. 1).

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We mentioned in the introductory chapter that the word "*Tuareg*" seems to be derived from the word "*Targa*" or *Tarġa*", which latter word nowadays is used for the desert country also known by the Arab word, the "Fezzan". Foucauld says that the word "*Tuareg*" to the Arabs of Tidikelt has two distinct meanings, namely (1) "noble Tuareg", and (2) "Tuareg of all classes". He also says that the Berber-speaking population of Tawat and Tidikelt use the word *Ilemtiyen* synonymously with the word "Tuareg" used by the Arabs of the same area, and that the name *Ilemtéyen* is used for a small tribe of Tuareg living in the *Kel Ajjer* territory (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533 f.). It is noteworthy that the *Ilemtéyen* tribe, which is not very numerous nowadays when its members live as sedentary agriculturists near Rat, is noble by descent, and I was told by the *Amenukal Bay* in Ahaggar that the *Ilemtéyen* tribe is not related to the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes but descends from an ancestor named *Lemta*.

In other words the following theory on the origin of the class division and the political systems among the Northern Tuareg might perhaps be justified:— We accept the tradition that the class-division originated as a result of an invasion of Berber-speaking camel-breeders, that these people introduced the camel into the Sahara, and became the first noble Tuareg in the North. These first noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tassilé-n-Ajjer belonged to the group *Lemta*. The noble Tuareg who to-day form the dominant noble tribes in the north came later; they descend from the *Hawwara* Berbers, who very early came under Arab and Islamic influence and took up grazing grounds in the country of the Northern Tuareg at a later date which cannot be fixed precisely.

## TUAREG INVASIONS INTO AYR

The connection between the Mediterranean and the Sudan by means of caravans through the Sahara is of very great, but unknown, age. Caravans have crossed the Sahara as far back as history reaches (cf. Bates 1914, p. 101 ff.; Bovill 1958, p. 24). At the beginning donkeys and oxen were probably used as beasts of burden, and the latter animals were employed also as draught animals for carriages, as were horses at a later date (cf. Lhote 1953a, p. 1138–1228). With the introduction of the camel, caravan trading through the desert was no doubt highly intensified. For although donkeys and also oxen can cross the Sahara in winter without much difficulty, camels are better suited to desert journeys.

The first Tuareg who came to Ayr may perhaps have been caravan traders attracted by the excellent gracing grounds of this country. When they arrived we do not know, but it seems possible to follow in broad outline the history of the Ayr Tuareg a thousand years back in time, and to distinguish between several invasions. However, it must be admitted that the invasions cannot be precisely dated and that our historical knowledge is on the whole most fragmentary. It is derived partly from oral tradition, partly from written historical sources, among which the so-called *Agadez Chronicle* is of particular value. It consists of various Arabic manuscripts in the care of the Sultan of Agadez. They have been published in translation and abstracts (Palmer 1910, 1928, 1936; Urvoy 1934). Several authors have made valuable contributions to the history of the Ayr Tuareg (Barth 1857–58, I; Rodd 1926a, 1926b, 1938; Palmer 1936; Urvoy 1936; Nicolas 1950a, 1950b). But there have been an excessive tendency to speculation upon the basis of superficial resemblances between tribal words.

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*Tribes of the Kel Ferwan Drum-Group*

1. *The Irawatten Group*

| Tribes | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Irawatten* | 350 | 58 | There are to-day very few pure noble Tuareg of this dominant noble tribe, as the members have intermarried with negroid peoples and with the *Kel Geres*. The pure noble house-holds number about ten. The chief is also the chief of the *Irawatten* group and the drum-chief of the whole *Kel Ferwan* group. | Télewa (western part) |
| *Kel Tédalé* (3 tribes) | 1300 | | They claim to be of noble descent. They are officially vassals of the *Irawatten*, but are nevertheless very independent politically. | Talak<br>Uraren<br>Zurika |
| *Kel Akerra* | 164 | 39 | Of noble descent with the *Ibararojiten* as their particular vassals. Intermarry frequently with the *Imezzureg* and with the *Kel Tédalé*. | Ti-n-Teburak |
| *Imezzureg* | 106 | 20 | Of noble descent and related to the *Kel Akerra* and the *Isakaranan* with whom they intermarry. | Terezzet |
| *Isakaranan* | 653 | 107 | Of noble descent and related to the *Kel Akerra* and the *Imezzureg*. | Ti-n-Tebezgin |
| *Igendéynen* A section of former slaves known as *Tindeku* is grouped together with this tribe. | 247 | 55 | Always close to the camp of the drum-chief as soldiers permanently under his command. | Burhal |
| *Iberdyanen* (2 tribes) | 621 | 97 | Living close to the noble *Irawatten* as their servants. | Gufat<br>Éknawen<br>Téwendegit |
| *Ikkoberen* | | | Living close to the noble *Irawatten* as their servants. | |
| *Ayt Uren* | 160 | | | Maramaru |
| *Idaléyen* | 218 | 67 | | Telhecham |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Ifadèyen* (2 tribes) | | Kurubobo<br>Imechchamelawen<br>Turuf<br>Beynabu<br>Ti-n-Dawin<br>Anyalen<br>Abalemma<br>Ékawél |
| *Elbaraten* | | Anwacher |
| *Ibararojiten* | Originally the particular vassals of the *Kel Akerra* tribe. | Imdegra |
| *Itagan* | Very few in number and without any tribal organization. They are placed directly under the drum-chief as his servants, and are considered a kind of "white slaves" to other *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. In the *Kel Faday* group there is a tribe of *Itagan* Tuareg. Their traditional homeland is said to be the region of Meneka in the country of the *Western Iwllemmeden*. | Ílelcg |
| *Iṛawélen* | Pastoral Negroes who in the remote past were slaves of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. Culturally they are akin to other Tuareg pastoralists, but they have no tribal organization and are placed directly under the drum-chief's command. | Tombalaga<br>Akadaney<br>Meygawey |

2. *The Kel Azel Group*

| Tribes | Number of Individuals (Nicolas 1950b) | & Households | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kel Azel* | 180 | 47 | Nowadays very few in number. It is said that there are only four households of pure noble origin. | Anoyaran<br>Tiṛezrin<br>Tafadek<br>Gufat |
| *Imezzuren* | 162 | 31 | | Tiṛezrin |

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kel Tésemt* | 237 | | Related to the *Imezzilalen* and the *Ikojjejiten* together with whom they are said to have constituted one tribe. | Assa and eastern part of Télewa 634 614 565 162 |
| *Imezzilalen* | | 27 | Related to the *Kel Tésemt*. | Assa and eastern part of Télewa |
| *Ikojjejiten* | | | A section of the *Imezzilalen*. | Afarak |
| *Ifokkar* | 42 | 12 | Related to the *Kel Tésemt*, the *Imezzilalen*, and the *Ikojjejiten*. | Eastern part of Télewa |
| *Ikankan* | 150 | | Said to have been the particular servants of the noble *Kel Azel*. | |
| *Ijakarkaren* | 203 | 41 | Said to be related to the *Igendéymen*. | Tafadek |
| *Iforas* (2 tribes) | 396 | 95 | They came to Ayr from Adrar of the Iforas about one hundred years ago. | Tédeyin |
| *Irawelen* | | | A certain number of these negroid pastoralists, who once in the past were slaves, is placed directly under the command of the chief of the *Kel Azel*. They have no tribal organization. They are probably included in the figure of the *Kel Azel* mentioned above. | |

To-day all Tuareg claim that a chief whether a drum-chief or a chief of a vassal tribe should be 634
succeeded by his son, and that a sister's son may inherit the position. These rules have not always been followed in the election of drum-chiefs in the *Kel Ferwan* group, for the drum-chiefs have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, and after the French occupation they have even elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble *Kel Ferwan*. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, 173
but the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their drum- 634
chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The names are known of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent are not remembered further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:—

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634 livestock of a murderer in reality was the property of the drum-chief. Apparently there has never
612 been any fixed size of blood-wealth among the *Kel Ferwan* in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara.

634 The token of vassalage among the *Kel Ferwan* was the payment of half of the bride-wealth to the noble lords so that the drum-chief received bride-wealth from his particular group of vassals, the
565 chief of the *Kel Azel* from his group. The two noble lords received other payments from their vassals.
651 They would inherit a camel on the death of an individual vassal, and they received certain annual payments known as *sadakat* or *tamesodek*. This fee in its origin was a religious one, and certain tribes such as the *Imezzureg*, the *Kel Akerra*, and the *Isakaranan* claim that in the past, as nowadays, they made this payment to the *Ineslemen* Tuareg and not to the noble chiefs. But true vassal tribes gave their *sadakat* or *tamesodek* to the two noble lords. The fees were collected on behalf of the lords by people of the *Echchikhen* and by negroid blacksmiths, who are very numerous in Ayr. There were definite rules for the payment of the *sadakat* fees which were computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example the payments for camel herds can here be mentioned:—

| Size of herd | *Sadakat* or *tamesodek* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels . . . . . | 2 goats |
| 15 camels . . . . . | 3 goats |
| 25 camels . . . . . | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels . . . . . | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels . . . . . | 2 full-grown camels |

The *Echchikhen* and the blacksmiths took the *sadakat* animals to the two noble lords, who gave some
432 of them to the collectors, themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at
235 the market of Agadez and most of the proceeds given to poor people by the noble lords, who would keep a small part for themselves.

634 The two noble lords, the drum-chief and the chief of the *Kel Azel*, had the right to parts of war-
721 booty taken by their vassals according to the following rules:—

565 (1) *témaggedaz*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the noble lords, the drum-chief or the chief of the *Kel Azel*. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g., riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the noble lords, while the other half should be given to their vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that only one seventh of the booty should go to the noble lord. The word *téfades* is said to have been used synonymously with *témaggedaz*.

(2) *téwit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the *Kel Ferwan* group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the noble lord would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A particular case is related of a group of *Iwilemmeden* Tuareg attacking a camp of *Kel Ferwan* vassals

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[illegible] directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made [illegible] prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his [illegible] the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Faday*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Imeggedezen* and even slaves. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *abubaz* (pl. *ibubazen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only

565 been told about two such marriages which seem to have been contracted in fairly recent times. I think
582 that the main reason why the noble Tuareg do not marry with their vassals is that such marriages
634 would tend to break down the structure of the political system, as the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many in-laws among vassals to whom the conduct would be institutional joking or avoidance. For in addition to true relatives by marriage there are numerous classificatory ones. This will become clear from the description of the rules of behaviour valid for relatives by marriage.

634 In spite of the application of the rules of joking relationship on a political level, troubles within
578 the drum-group were far from unknown. And it is remarkable that even between the related tribes
614 of *Irawatten* and *Kel Azel* there might be very severe quarrels. There was a latent opposition
565 between them which might occasionally lead to fighting between noble Tuareg of the two groups. The existence within the drum-group of another noble tribe, the *Kel Azel*, with a certain number of vassals was always a danger to the position of the drum-chief as a ruler of the whole [661] *Kel Ferwan* group. And noble Tuareg of the *Irawatten* tribe say that in the past it even happened that the drum-chief punished the *Kel Azel* very severely, not only taking all their livestock, but also burning [701] down their camps. The drum-chief was able to maintain his power over the whole *Kel Ferwan* group because most vassal tribes were placed directly under his command, and because these tribes camped around Agadez which was dominated by him.

The drum-chief also had trouble with another tribe of his group, the *Kel Akerra*. This tribe is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the *Ibararojiten* tribe. In the past the drum-chief assisted by vassals of the whole group imposed vassalage upon the *Kel Akerra*, who, however, refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the *Kel Akerra* to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the *Kel Akerra* tribe became small and insignificant. It is said that the tribes of *Imezzureg* and *Isakaranan*, who like the *Kel Akerra* are noble by origin, also did not give their bride-wealth to the drum-chief in the past. But the three tribes were vassals in the sense that they had to give part of their war-booty to the drum-chief and could not carry out raids on their own.

[701] A certain discord reigned within the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the drum-chief had the support of most tribes of vassals, who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups, but also quell internal
634 insurrections. However, the three northern tribes of *Kel Tédalé* were so numerous, so rich in camels,
614 and lived so remote from the rest of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes that the drum-chief could not maintain his power over them. They were only nominally part of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the *Kel Tédalé* paid no tribute to other chiefs (Joubert 1939, p. 246), though it is said in Ahaggar that in the past they paid an annual tribute to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. But the *Kel Tédalé* were politically independent of other groups in Ayr, which is also stated by Jean
565 (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim the *Kel Tédalé* to be true vassals of their
614 drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104; Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three tribes the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427). The *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg I met all emphasized

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their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by *Kel Ferwan* vassals who said that both 565
noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the *Kel Tédalé*. That some of them are noble by origin 614
seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the *Kel Tédalé* in part are related to the *Ihaḍanaren* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter tribe, though without vassals, is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

As to the origin of vassalage among the Ayr Tuareg, it is probable that this is due to the meeting 565
of distinct cultures based mainly on camel-breeding and goat-breeding. Rodd has some very interesting 233
remarks on the position of the vassals as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:— [174]
"One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances" (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd, however, also refers [567]
to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to mainly by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the particular camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. But I have been told by many Tuareg that there were in the past very few camels in vassal tribes, and though most Tuareg apparently hold the view that the vassals have always had camels, the Sultan *Umar* claims that originally they had none while the noble Tuareg have owned these animals since times immemorial. So it might seem as if the political system of the drum-group 174
in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, was founded upon a class division with its root in the meeting of distinct 565
pastoral cultures. It is a fact that certain vassal tribes were attached to their noble lords as a kind 634
of workers with the duty of performing such work as could not be done properly by negroid slaves. Among these tribes were the *Ikawkan* attached to the *Kel Azel*, and the *Iḳḳoberen* and the *Iberdyanen* attached to the *Irawatten*.

It is most likely that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg had vassals before they arrived in Ayr, for many true vassals hold that they have immigrated from the traditional homeland of their noble lords. However, there are in Ayr also certain tribes which have lost their noble status and become a kind of vassals owing to having been subdued in fairly recent wars.

## THE KEL GERES DRUM-GROUP

There is no class-division of so-called noble Tuareg and vassals among the *Kel Geres*. In this respect 642
they differ from most other Tuareg groups except for the *Kel Ewey* among whom a division into classes 565
of this kind has ceased to exist – probably because the *Kel Ewey* have mixed with the sedentary negroid population of the Ayr villages. In *Kel Ewey* certain tribes are more important than others, but

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there are no true vassals or *Imrad* though some *Kel Ewey* tribes are referred to in literature as vassals.

The lack of the important structural feature of vassalage among the *Kel Geres* may perhaps be explained in the following way:— The *Kel Geres* Tuareg lived originally in Ayr within much the same area as that now occupied by the *Kel Ewey*, and it is most likely that they had mixed very much with the sedentary Negroes as there are among the *Kel Geres* very many black-skinned and negroid Tuareg. It is very probable that the *Kel Geres* when living in Ayr led a semi-sedentary life, for it is said that they had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr in the 18th century owing to the pressure of the *Kel Ewey*. We may perhaps assume that this particular mode of livelihood was the reason why vassalage ceased to exist among the *Kel Geres*. When, in the 18th century, the *Kel Geres* were driven southwards into the Sudanese steppes and savannahs, they became ardent stock-breeders and adopted a political system much related to that of an ordinary Tuareg drum-group with the exception that they had no class-division.

Among the *Kel Geres*, all tribes of pastoral Tuareg are known as *Imajeren* but though they are not divided into classes these tribes are nevertheless not politically identical. The most important tribe is that called *Ti-temekkeret*. It is named after Anu-Mekkeren in Central Ayr where this tribe originally lived, and the *Kel Geres* drum-chief (*ettebel*) is always elected from this particular group. But the drum-chief is not elected by all adult people of his drum-group, but by members of three tribes, the *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar*. The members of these tribes alone can elect and dismiss a drum-chief entirely at their discretion. When they have elected a new drum-chief he is ceremoniously installed by a man of the *Anyegeren* tribe who wraps the large head-cloth around the chief's head. In all this the *Kel Geres* resemble the *Kel Ewey* among whom the *Anesta'det* is elected by the members of three important tribes.

The three tribes of *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar* are also politically very important in other respects for they consistute the nuclei of three sub-divisions of the *Kel Geres*. The chiefs of the three tribes have the title *Arolla* (pl. *Irollan*) and they are also the chiefs of certain other pastoral tribes which have individual chiefs with the title of *Amrar* (pl. *Imraren*). A certain number of people who are non-Tuareg by origin are placed under the authority of all tribal chiefs, e.g., *Irawélen* who are slaves manumitted in the past, *Ikenawen* who are professional potmakers, *Ineden* or blacksmiths, and *Iséfnen*, that is sedentary Hausa living in villages.

In addition to the tribe of the drum-chief and the three *Irollan* tribes, there is among the Kel Geres a fifth tribe which is politically very important, namely that known as *Exurmani*. It is a religious tribe of the so-called *Echchikhen* class, and its chief is known as *Echchikh* though he also bears the title of *Al-Kadi*. He acts as the adviser of the drum-chief in judicial and religious matters, and though he apparently possesses no direct authority over all *Kel Geres* he is very influential and greatly respected. The *Al-Kadi* or *Echchikh* is elected according to the traditional rules of succession acknowledged by the *Kel Geres*, a deceased chief being succeeded by his younger brother or by his son. But in contrast to all other chiefs, including the drum-chief, he cannot be dismissed when he is once elected. All religious tribes within the *Kel Geres* drum-group are placed directly under the authority of the *Al-Kadi* (*Echchikh*) of the *Exurmani* tribe. But the *sadakat* fees are made to the drum-chief and not to the Al-Kadi.

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the *Al-Kadi*. In this respect the position of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is similar to that of drum-chiefs among the Ayr Tuareg, and though the present drum-chief says that the *Kel Geres* were never divided into noble and vassal tribes, he nevertheless claims that part of any war-booty taken by *Kel Geres* Tuareg in the past should be given to the drum-chief who had the right to *témaggedaz* and *téwit* (cf. p. 428). The drum (*ettebel*) of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is akin to drums of other Tuareg chiefs. The drum must not touch the ground, but the drum-chief did not believe that its power would be spoilt were it to be touched by women.

## THE KEL ADRAR

The *Kel Adrar* are very superficially described in literature, but their political system has been outlined by Cortier. They constitute only one drum-group under the leadership of an *Amenukal* who is the possessor of the drum (*ettebel*). The class-division is rather similar to that of most other Tuareg groups. There are certain vassal tribes (*Imrad*) and certain noble tribes though the latter are not considered noble in the usual sense. They are known as proper *Iforas* Tuareg and they are to be grouped rather with the *Ineslemen* class than with the proper noble class termed *Ihaggaren* or *Imajeren*. However, their position within the drum-group is almost identical with that of noble Tuareg in other groups. The *Amenukal* is elected according to patrilineal rules being succeeded by his younger brothers and next by his sons, but the vassal tribes do not participate in the election. Within the drum-group there are many smaller divisions of noble families who have their individual vassals, so that from any vassal tribe there are always certain families living in the camp of a noble lord to work for him and to guard his domestic animals. A noble Tuareg can also claim what he wants from his particular vassals while on the other hand the vassals do not pay any fixed tribute to the noble chiefs, not even to the *Amenukal*. The power of the *Amenukal* is a very limited one, and his position is mainly determined by his personal qualities (cf. Cortier 1908, p. 274 ff.).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL DENNEK

The *Kel Dennek*, that is the *Eastern Iwllemmeden* around Tawa, have been described in detail by Nicolas who, however, is not very clear as to particulars. Apart from the class of *Ineslemen* the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg are divided into the classes of noble Tuareg (*Imazeren*) and vassal Tuareg (*Imrad*, or *Kel Ulli*). These vassal Tuareg are politically attached to four drum-groups (*ettebel*) in which the drum-chief is elected from a noble tribe according to patrilineal rules. One of these drum-groups has a leading position, as its chief with the title of *Amenukal-n-akal* is the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Dennek* group known as *tégezé*. In addition to his drum this supreme chief (*Amenukal-n-akal*) has a burgee or flag to be used in case of a holy war and on certain ceremonial occasions such as the installation of an *Amenukal*. This flag is made of silk and is green, blue, and red in colour. The title *Amenukal* is

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634 565 651 used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *ettebel* is reserved to those chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-akal*, have the right to an annual tribute known as *Ḥuse* (*chiwsé*) from their individual vassals, and it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaḳa* or *tamessadeḳ* must also be given to them, because the drum-chief is inseparable from his *Ḳadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasit* or *takote* (*takuté*), that is the 634 565 right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels. The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. – These are the [178] [642] main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579–586 & 1950a, p. 188–193, 201–209).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

642 The *Kel Ataram* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that 565 in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel* [614] *Ṭademaket* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchaṛ*) and vassals (*Imṛad*, sing *Ameṛid*, or *Daṛa*). The dominant noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with [567] Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Bélla*). They pay *tiwsé* to the noble Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals, but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All [614] tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amṛar*, but all important decisions are made [646] by the *myad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This 643 council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with warfare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of 642 565 the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position [614] (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). – To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:— Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Idnanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.

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The political supremacy of the nobility is founded upon conquest and has become hereditary, but this supremacy can be lost. If a vassal tribe conquers a noble tribe the rôles may change, and though this has not yet happened the principle is considered valid by all Tuareg. The vassals pay an annual tribute to the noble Tuareg. A noble Tuareg can take what he likes from a vassal, but his rights depend upon his strength, just as the tributes paid by vassals depend upon the strength of their noble lords. A noble tribe must protect its vassals against other noble tribes. Chiefs of both noble and vassal Tuareg tribes have the title of *Amenukal*, and this title is hereditary. The power of the supreme noble chief (the *Amenukal*) is such that he cannot kill obstinate subjects. But he can thrash them and even wound them, and he can seize their property. There may be more than one candidate when a chief is elected, and this may lead to severe quarrels and even to the division of the tribe (cf. Aymard 1911, p. 37 ff.).

Mangeot & Marty in their study of the Niger Tuareg mention that even in pre-European times certain tribes of vassal status had no particular duties towards noble tribes. They also state that the relationship between noble and vassal Tuareg was breaking down shortly after the French occupation of the country. The traditional *tiwsé* payments made by vassals to their noble lords differed much from one tribe to the other. Certain vassal tribes gave only one container with butter annually (Mangeot & Marty 1918, p. 258, 461). The chief *Amder* of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* informed that the *tiwsé* payments, which were abolished long ago, were always insignificant. They were made in goats and butter. The chief also said that originally the *Imrad* tribes had no camels.

## THE ORIGIN OF TUAREG POLITICAL SYSTEMS

We see from the description above that Tuareg political systems bear resemblances to one another in most groups. The largest political unit is the group under the leadership of a supreme chief, generally known as the *Amenukal*, or as *Amenukal-n-akal* in the *Iwllemmeden* groups where the title *Amenukal* is used also for minor chiefs. The *Amenukal* of a political group is also the chief of a so-called drum-group within the larger political group, though in Ayr the *Amenukal* is identical with the Sultan of Agadez. We may say that the political group known among the Northern Tuareg as *tégehé*, in the *Iwllemmeden* groups as *tégezé*, has a central government consisting of the *Amenukal*, his deputies, and a council. And it is clear that the *Amenukal* everywhere was considered the supreme chief with superior judicial rights and also the war-leader of the whole group. But the authority of an *Amenukal* was in all groups a very limited one, and quarrels between the various drum-groups of a federation were very common everywhere.

The most important political unit of Tuareg political systems was in fact the drum-group. Its chief was always a most important person. In most groups he was elected mainly by the vassals, and he was not an absolute monarch, though normally he could obtain the support of most vassals to quell internal insurrections. Within the drum-group the drum-chief was the highest judicial and military authority, and it was he who had to regulate all relations between noble and vassal Tuareg within the drum-group. Other noble Tuareg, e.g., the *temazlayt* masters, within the drum-group had no

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judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief, whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division, which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imrad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imrad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, donkeys are marked in both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirzemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found particularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

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and the manufacture of decorated leather-bags, camel-reins, etc., and decorated wooden milk-bowls, the noble women do extremely little work. 565 462

Among the *Kel Ajjer* we find some of the above-mentioned distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals. The traditional dwelling of many vassal Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer is the cylindrical hut (house) with a conical roof, though vassals in winter use skin-tents during nomadic migrations. Nowadays noble and vassal Tuareg alike live in straw-huts throughout the hot season. Barth, in his description of the *Kel Ajjer*, mentions that the vassals have no right to possess iron spears and swords (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257), but it is stated explicitly by Duveyrier that noble Tuareg and vassals have the same weapons – the shield included (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). There can be little doubt that Duveyrier's statement is true, and I have been told among all Tuareg that in the past noble and vassal Tuareg did not differ in regard to weapons. A distinction would also seem rather strange in view of the fact that Tuareg of both classes fought together. Barth says that noble Tuareg and vassals differ in dress, but he does not give details (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257). 565 342 565 411

As to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, both noble and vassal Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any cultural distinctions between them. Bride-wealth in both classes was paid in camels. We know that the Ayr vassals in the past were predominantly goat-breeders, like many Ayr vassals to-day, and it seems as if camel-breeding was once a privilege of the nobility in the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 431; cf. tradition on the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan*, p. 421). I have not been able to find differences between the two classes in regard to material culture and social organization. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group say that they never have had types of portable dwellings other than the barrel-vaulted mat tent, which traditionally belongs to the woman. 565

There is very little information about cultural distinctions between noble and vassal Tuareg in other groups. Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* the vassals apparently use the arched mat tent more frequently than do noble Tuareg, but this and the skin tent supported by vertical sticks carrying cross-bars are found in both classes (cf. Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372 f.; Gabus 1945, p. 361 & 1948a, p. 15 & 1948b, p. 16). Among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* the mat tent is used by certain noble Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f.). According to the chief *Ámder* women's riding saddles for camels (*akhawi*) among the *Kel Ataram* are found only in noble tribes. Vassal tribes of the *Kel Ataram* living close to the Niger even to-day practise matrilineal rules of inheritance and succession in contrast to noble tribes with rules of patrilineal succession and Koranic inheritance (cf. p. 457). [428]

Cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals are particularly prevalent in the two groups of Northern Tuareg, and it is significant that the traits characteristic of the noble class are also common among the *Iregenaten* who live in Tamesna. This tribe is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the *Ibettenaten* tribe, which claims noble descent, and Arab men. This explanation is found in literature (cf. Lhote 1955, p. 238 f.; Briggs 1958, p. 100) and has been confirmed to me by Tuareg of this tribe. It is interesting that some traits characteristic of the noble tribes among the Northern Tuareg are also found in tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The tribes of this latter class are said to be related to Arabs among whom we also find some of these traits. [171]

We do not know when the noble Tuareg in the northern groups adopted traits that are also found among Arab bedouins. One might perhaps venture the theory that some of them were introduced 177

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of Africa, Sachs says that they occur mainly in Islamic West Asia from where they were recently introduced to Europe and to India where terms for kettle-drums are derived from Arabic (Sachs 1923, p. 58 ff.; 1929, p. 247). Wieschhoff admits that the kettle-drums seem to have been introduced into India with Islam, but he concludes that the distribution of them in the Sudan and in North-east Africa indicates that this element belongs to the so-called North Erytrean Culture (cf. Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40 ff., map 29e). 534 171

I do not want to advance any theory about the introduction of kettle-drums into Africa, but it seems natural to consider the Tuareg drums known as *ettebel* as an Islamic trait. However we cannot be sure that the use of drums as insignia of chiefs is post-Islamic, for, as we have seen, the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in many parts of Africa. 534 174

The theory that the drums used by Tuareg chiefs are Islamic seems to agree with the fact that the custom of crowning chiefs among the Tuareg by means of a large turban or headcloth is no doubt also an Arab practice. The use of a turban to crown or install kings and supreme chiefs is rare in Africa south of the Sahara. The use of the turban for the kings of Dar Fur, Wadai, and Bornu is no doubt to be considered Islamic (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 68; Irstam 1944, p. 118), and there can also be little doubt that the use of a large turban at the installation of chiefs in Tibesti and Ennedi was originally introduced as a result of contact with the Arabs – particularly as this turban is known by the Arabic term *kadmul* (cf. Kronenberg 1958, p. 74 f.; Fuchs 1961, p. 52). 643 177 171

It is clear that Islam has greatly influenced Tuareg political organization. But we should also bear in mind that North Africa in pre-Islamic times was influenced by various high cultures which are generally known as *Old Mediterranean* (*Syrtic*) and *Young Sudanese* (*North Erytrean*). It is very possible that the first noble Tuareg who penetrated into the Sahara with their camels came from a country situated towards the East or the North-east, and we have seen that the Ayr Tuareg have traditions about their origin in these quarters (cf. p. 412 ff.). It might therefore seem natural to assume that certain traits which are grouped under the vaguely-defined *Young Sudanese Culture* have been introduced into the Sahara with the immigration of the first noble Tuareg. Lhote thinks that the sandal type known as *takalmi* was perhaps introduced from Egypt with Tuareg immigrations from that country (Lhote 1950d, p. 531). We cannot know this, but it is possible that the oldest camel-breeding nomads introduced into the Sahara certain elements of the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture*. 174

## TUAREG SLAVERY

It is very possible that the political system of the pastoral Tuareg has been greatly influenced by slavery in the sense that slavery made the noble Tuareg less dependent on their vassals. Throughout the 19th century slavery was important to fair-skinned pastoralists of all classes. In other respects it has had little effect on the changing political relations, for slaves do not constitute a class or a true caste; they are incorporated into Tuareg society on a kinship pattern. 567 565

Slavery is still extremely important in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer where the French military administration has done very little to abolish it. It is true that the slave-trade no longer exists, but 567 648

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be a very strict avoidance relationship between them. However, the slave-mother has no right to inherit (*tekachit*) the livestock left on the death of her Tuareg daughter, but a certain amount of stock will be given her under the designation of *elhakk*. The Tuareg girl will not inherit her slave-mother, nor will she have the right to a number of her animals. 567 608

The above examples indicate the main structural features of Tuareg slavery. Most important among them is the position of slaves as children of their masters, though it should be stated that the rules of behaviour between owner and slaves are not necessarily like those valid for parents and children. A young slave owner will not be rough with his old slaves, but will generally behave very kindly towards them, refraining from giving them orders in the way he would command his younger slaves. Age distinctions play a great rôle in relationships between Tuareg and their slaves, and a description of Tuareg slavery should not only outline its structure but also underline the fact that we cannot establish very fixed rules for the relationship between Tuareg and slaves, as it varies very much with individuals. Some slave-owners treat their very young slaves almost like their own children, while other slave-owners do not. Some Tuareg are constantly talking disparagingly about their slaves while outwardly appearing to be very kind to them. There are many facets of Tuareg slavery. 567

The position of slaves as children of their owners causes slaves to belong not only to particular families and family groups, but also to tribes and, in a certain sense, even to classes. I have often noticed this in Ahaggar where tribes within the same class frequently have an attitude towards each other which is described by the Tuareg word *inmeñharen*, that is "to have a feeling of envy or jealousy towards somebody". *Inmeñharen* is rather an attitude of reserve and outward respect than a kind of avoidance. People of tribes or sub-tribes which have *inmeñharen* relationships to one another will not visit each others' camps except on certain occasions when dressed in their best clothes, and they will then behave with the uttermost reservation and respect to each other. If two tribes have such a relationship to one another, it will normally also comprise their slaves, who will behave towards each other in the same fashion. If on the other hand two tribes have institutional joking with one another, as is the case with certain vassal tribes in relation to tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class, there will also be joking between their slaves. There seems to be a strong tendency for the slaves to behave towards each other in a manner corresponding to that of their master. 567 614

In spite of the kinship pattern on which the relationships of Tuareg slaves and slave-owners is based, it is most noteworthy that there is always latent joking between them, as there is between many different classes and castes in Tuareg society. On certain occasions a Tuareg slave owner will joke freely even with his young or older slaves, though he will never joke with his children who have to show their father the outmost respect (cf. p. 454). Such a joking relationship is still more common between Tuareg and slaves who are not attached to one another by possession bonds. But it never exists between Tuareg and slaves who are not already known to each other. 567 571

The noble Tuareg may also joke with slaves but seem less inclined to do so than Tuareg of other classes. Apart from that, the relationship between noble Tuareg and slaves does not deviate from the description presented above. Noble Tuareg can marry slave women though they cannot easily marry Tuareg women of the vassal class. This may seem rather strange, but is in fact not so unusual as it might seem. We have stated above (p. 429 f.) that the reason why noble Tuareg and vassals could not 565 567 64

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565 easily intermarry was to be looked for in the structure of the political system based upon the division
567 of society into noble and vassal classes. A marriage between nobles and vassals would apparently tend
64 to break down the political structure, but this would not be the case with a marriage between a noble Tuareg and a slave woman, for slaves are attached to the tribe of their masters as their "children" and play no part in political structure. Furthermore, if a noble Tuareg marries a slave-girl belonging to him, their children will also be able to adopt a noble status.

565 Unions, or more exactly concubinage, between Imrad and
[595] Negresses are very common.

[567] Imrad have the right to possess black slaves who are employed in household work and in keeping the herds.

114 Schirmer has said that the Ahaggar Imrad were sedentary peoples
241 entrusted with keeping the gardens; (1) he has committed an error,
565

1. Le Sahara, p. 298.

certainly because of erroneous information. This is all the more curious since Duveyrier had already defined exactly the position of the Imrad. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 334.

114 Duveyrier translated the word amrid by the word "serf," which
565 corresponds exactly to the Arab expression ra'aya, and also because
566 the ra'aya are subjects liable to forced labor and taxes, whom the marabouts are not allowed to possess by Moslem law. Duveyrier believed he was confirmed in his opinion because of the fact that the Inislimen of the Ajjer did not have the right to have Imrad. This is an error of interpretation. This Arabic term cannot be suitable under the circumstances, for the social class of the Tuareg Imrad has no equivalent among the Arabs.

We have preferred the term "vassals" which is more suitable
[651] in our minds, because the Imrad are not unconditionally subject to forced labor, they pay a perfectly defined vassalage fee, their
[643] chiefs participate in the election of the amenokal, and they them-
[657] selves own slaves.

/167/ Moreover, the term "vassals" has been adopted by Richer, Deniker, Verneau, etc.

181 and not caused by a state of laziness, for although they would not
565 consider working the land at any price, they would not mind traveling thousands of kilometers under often difficult and quite dangerous conditions to go pillage opposing tribes. Once back in camp, they intend to lead a life free from any material cares, shifting the burden to their vassals.

422 They entrust the keeping of the captured herds to the Imrad,
565 reclaiming the beasts from them when they need them and the necessary usufruct for their food. For themselves, they keep only
[231 mounts for war and for transporting household objects and are content
234] with small herds of goats with only the number of head strictly necessary to assure their daily milk needs. In the same way, they
[567] do not own many slaves of their own, for the latter would make so many months to feed, which they are wary of.

565 Although they rely on their Imrad for everything, they do not abuse them, for, as a Tuareg proverb says, "we must not kill the camel which feeds us," and their demands always take into account the wealth and the possibilities of the moment.

565 Every year the Imochar levy a vassalage tax called a tioussé
631 on the Imrad. This tax, fixed for each tribe, includes an annual
651 contribution of a certain number of head of livestock, loads of grain, miscellaneous items /160/ waterskins, tent stakes, etc.),
[643] tanned hides, butter, etc. In principal it is invariable and paid to the amenokal who disposes of it as he wishes, making allowances for the needs of the Imochar.

643 The amenokal leaves the animals which he levies under the
651 management of the Imrad, who furnish him the usufruct from them.

Individual rights of Imochar over Imrad do not exist in principal.
565 Actually they do exist when a man is the last representative of a
631 tribe and levies for himself the rights falling to his tribe.
651 On the other hand, some undertake to make small levies on the Imrad; the latter never refuse. And we must say in defense of the nobles that they treat their Imrad quite generously when a fortunate raid makes them temporarily well off.

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565 corresponds exactly to the Arab expression ra'aya, and also because
566 the ra'aya are subjects liable to forced labor and taxes, whom the marabouts are not allowed to possess by Moslem law. Duveyrier believed he was confirmed in his opinion because of the fact that the Inislimen of the Ajjer did not have the right to have Imrad. This is an error of interpretation. This Arabic term cannot be suitable under the circumstances, for the social class of the Tuareg Imrad has no equivalent among the Arabs.

We have preferred the term "vassals" which is more suitable
[651] in our minds, because the Imrad are not unconditionally subject to
[643] forced labor, they pay a perfectly defined vassalage fee, their
[657] chiefs participate in the election of the amenokal, and they themselves own slaves.

/167/ Moreover, the term "vassals" has been adopted by Richer, Deniker, Verneau, etc.

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote
[602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general-
[582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihăggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihăggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were
[643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores
[184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous
[567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar,
[582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

563 become sedentary, exists in the Sudan, in the Niafunké region.

563 There seems to be a category of low-class Iborelliten who are referred to as Irraouellan. Nicolas considers them former captives 567 who have been liberated. Chudeau reported an Irraouellan tribe, [727] whose members were said to be freedmen or descendants of former captives. He adds that the children of a Tuareg man and a slave are by law Irraouellan.

We shall add to these different definitions that in the Aïr a slave woman who marries a Tuareg becomes free as does her family, and the children born of her marriage are then called Ikalalen.

[184] Among the Kel-Ahaggar, we do not find any true Iborelliten or Irraouellan tribes, although there are men belonging to these social classes.

567 The Iklan. -- The Iklan (singular, Akli; feminine singular, Taklit) are the serfs, or slaves, of the Tuareg. The name Iklan [192 144] comes from the Tamashek root Kl, meaning "black being"; (2)

2. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

and indeed these people are foreign to the Tuareg race. They are Negroes of all origins, formerly captured in the Sudan and reduced to slavery by the Tuareg. They form a separate class, which is not a tribe, except when they are freed conditionally or completely. Then they are called Iklan-n-égef or Iderfan, depending on which is the case.

[144] They have founded a family among the Tuareg and given birth to a new race with the most diverse characteristics, from which the white element is not excluded.

[181] Slaves are employed in keeping the flocks, and in the household work of the camp; they share the life of their masters and from their contact with them have acquired an independent nature which makes them love the freedom of nomadism, so much so that it would now be difficult for them to resume the sedentary life of their Ancestors.

567 of their ancestors. Ahaggar slaves are perfectly adapted to the desert and possess physical qualities of sobriety much superior to those of their racial brothers /170/ in the Sudan, who have difficulty living there when they are transported from the Sudan.

The Akli is subject to forced labor at the will of his master. He owes all his work to his master and is his property, but he receives a few advantages and can use a few days of work a week for himself.

In the Ahaggar the Iklan are treated perfectly well by their masters, to whom they are quite attached. They share meals with them and sustain with an even temper the good or bad fortune which the camp enjoys. Their children are reared with those of the Tuareg and on the same footing.

They benefit from certain humanitarian rules which do credit to the Tuareg. Thus a slave who is too young or too old cannot be liberated and must be supported by his master.

[428] The Iklan are bequeathed as a heritage; they may be possessors of animals, whose usufruct they then have; but upon their death these animals fall to their masters and not to their own children.

The Imochar, Inislimen, and Imrad have all rights over their slaves. The latter cannot marry without their consent. Generally, 567 when there are a man slave and a woman slave in the same camp, 582 they are married to each other, and the man receives a goat which 583 he gives to his wife as a bride price. If the slave wants to seek a wife for himself and finds one in another camp, he receives nothing from his master and must find the means to pay his wife's bride price by himself; this bride price is commonly fixed at ten goats. The slaves put in charge of keeping the flocks and who are often absent from the camp because of their occupation usually do not [836] marry. "They take their pleasure where they find it," said Father de Foucauld.

565 The Tuareg often take slave women as concubines. There are 567 several advantages to this: first, they have no bride price to pay, 515

565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
567 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as
[428] his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can inherit from their father.

565 /171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with
833 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
558 not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that
[842] the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

867 The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
[838 other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found
679] for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed
[272] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves
304 first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not
234] hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former amenokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Amastan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or
567 when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally
685 does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense, the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice, according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

567 his property. In cases of this nature the two parties have usually
[685] come to an agreement beforehand.

The Iklan are responsible for introducing a quantity of words
[177 and new expressions into the Tamashek language, all of them
192] naturally of Sudanese origin. They have a very vulgar language and murder the language of their masters abominably, so that they make a real argot of it.

They have kept a great many characteristics of their folklore,
[536] which we /172/ find in their dances, the pantomimed scenes that they organize among themselves at the time of public rejoicing or of events in the family life of their masters.

Social evolution due to the French occupation will in an indefinite time bring about the disappearance of bondage, which we must explain does not have the inhumane nature that one might presume.

567 It would have been a blunder to immediately impose the
648 liberation of the Iklan, and it would have been contrary to their own interests. Attempts made in this direction in the Sudan have given deplorable results. Iklan liberated from one day to the next are unsettled in class; they cannot and do not want to go back to working the land and thus find it impossible to earn a living.

The disappearance of slavery will come about gradually and individually. It will occur slowly, but inexorably, and it will bring important social transformations among the Tuareg.

One can already observe this evolution among the Ioullimmiden, in Adrar, and particularly around Timbuktu where Imrad women occupy themselves from now on with grinding millet and doing the heavy housework, which was formerly left to the captives.

567 Iklan-n-Egef. -- Liberation of captives, furthermore, has always existed among the Tuareg in more or less attenuated forms.

It may have several causes, first of which is the excess of captives, which makes a great many useless mouths to feed. The Tuareg thus gave a halfway freedom to some of them whom they

567 charged with tending their flocks. These are the Iklan-n-Egef, or dune captives. In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Bella or Bouzou.

Secondly, captives may be liberated through generosity in return for services rendered; then they are called Iderfan.

The Bella, without being definitely freed, live freely, and the Tuareg let them earn their living the best they can. In addition to tending the flocks, many of them engage in small industries. They 463 gather up wood to sell in the urban centers, make charcoal /173/ for the same destination, and some women have become potters.

They are then organized in tribes and live like nomads in tents, just as the Tuareg, practicing endogamy, but remaining enfecffed to an Imochar or Imrad tribe. In case of a conflict they side wholeheartedly with their masters and participate in combats as foot soldiers armed with javelins.

Several of these tribes are known in the region of Timbuktu, among the Igouadaren and the Tenguéréguif, in the Gao region, among the Ioullimmiden, and among the Kel Dinnik (eastern Ioullimmiden) from the Tahoua region. There are none among the Ihaggaren, however.

In the Ahaggar there are no Iklan-n-Egef except in individual cases.

Iderfan. -- The word Iderfan comes from the root sederf: "to free (by amplification) one who is no longer able to render good service." (1)

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

In principal, one cannot get rid of a slave by freeing him if he is stricken by old age or slows down in his work.

Actually the case comes up from time to time, especially among the Sudanese Tuareg. But emancipation may be the result of a pious gesture on the part of the master. At other times, some

●567 have been freed as a group as a reward for some outstanding action. Nicolas mentions the present Tamjert fraction in the center of Tahoua who were freed after the battle of Izerwan where they had courageously resisted the Kel Ahaggar (1898). Many Iderfan go back to cultivation. They often live with the sedentary groups, with whom they join forces. They do small services for the latter, such as tending their flocks.

114 Nicolas likens them to the Harratines of the Kel Ahaggar. This
563 is only partially justified, for, although it is true that a few former
567 slaves work in the centers of cultivation of the Ahaggar, the majority of the Harratin are Negroes from the Tidikelt who freely came to get jobs among the Tuareg. Thus, we must not confuse the Harratin with the Iderfan.

567 As in the case of the Iklan-n-Egef, there are no Iderfan in the Ahaggar except in isolated cases.

564 The Enaden. -- The Enaden (singular, Enad) form the artisan class of the Tuareg. In the Sudan they are called /174/ garassa or gargassa, which is very probably of Sonrhaï origin.

[192] The word Enadan probably comes from enad, meaning "the other," extended to mean "those we don't talk about." (1) This is

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

because the Enaden form a closed caste, scorned and cursed by the Tuareg whose repulsion for manual labor is well known.

463 Their role is to manufacture anything the Tuareg may have need
564 of: weapons, wooden table utensils, tent pegs, mehari saddles, and harnessing articles.

In addition, they also willingly engage in the business of barber-
[757 surgeon, and with the little instruments they make they adroitly do
752] bloodletting, cupping, scarification, and other little operations of the same order, including tooth extraction. They are remunerated
[465] for their work when they work for tribes, or, if they are attached to a master, he has them entirely at his disposal.

564 The Enaden do not pay any vassalage dues. Socially, they [651] occupy a place halfway between the Imrad and the Iklan. In certain cases they can even possess captives, and many of them have [567] at their command an affluence unknown among the Imrad, and

[414 531 326]

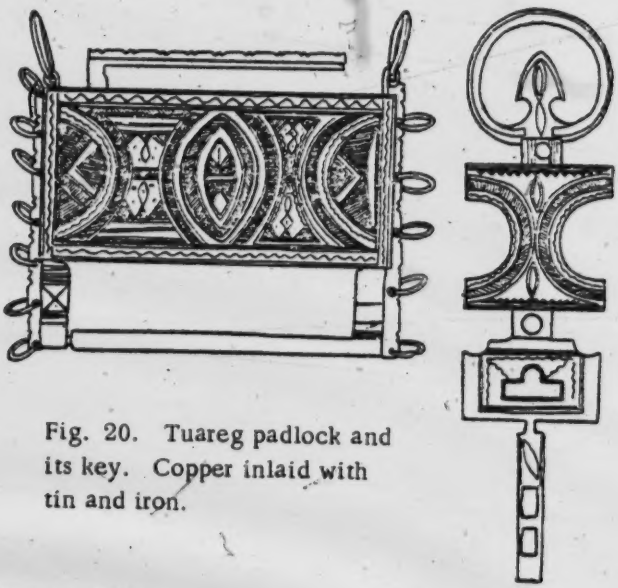

Fig. 20. Tuareg padlock and its key. Copper inlaid with tin and iron.

even among some Imochar.

/180/ Chapter 2

## Confederation of the Ahaggar

173 Oral traditions handed down among the northern Tuareg maintain that they originally came from the city of Es-Souq in Adrar des Iforas, known as Tademeka in ancient times, and equidistant from Timbuktu and In-Salah.

224 Among the Tuareg hunting is the business of a few men, a few
[463] specialists who have made it their profession; however, we see a
[567] large proportion of Iklan who seem to have more aptitude and more taste for hunting than their masters. There is certainly an atavistic character in this, a vestige of ancestral mores influenced by the original forest environment, where hunting was most often the basis of human activity. But it is nonetheless true that many Tuareg are very good hunters. The most renowned seem to be among the Issekkemâren and the Dăg Răli.

Hunting with hounds is the most popular. They hunt wild sheep
224 and gazelles with saluki-type greyhounds, who serve at the same
231 time as camp dogs /241/ for the Tuareg. These animals, who stand tall, belong to a race halfway between the Kabyle dog and the Berber saluki and must also possess jackal blood. They are particularly suited for running and have innate talent for hunting.

The hunter's job is to track down the animal, to succeed in
224 discovering him, either grazing or in his lair, and to set the dogs on him at the propitious moment when he does not expect it and at a suitable distance. An epic battle between the animal and the dogs sometimes results from this; often the battle necessitates the man's intervention, for example when there is a wild sheep which does not hesitate to confront its assailants. The hunter, who is
[411] usually armed with a long javeline with a wooden shaft, then tries to stick his weapon in the animal's body and kill it. When it is a question of gazelles, he only needs let the dogs alone. If they can catch it, the animal will be quickly neutralized by the powerful jaws of the saluki.

Beside the common hunting with hounds, the Tuareg engage in trapping, which is a lazy method of hunting. It is all the more appreciated in the Sahara because game is rare and wary, and a certain amount of luck is always involved in capturing it.

The Ihăggaren use two types of traps: traps with radial points and torsion traps in the shape of an arc.

682 assassin be returned to the victim's family. If he was not known,
628 however, the djema, or assembly of notables, designated a man
from the tribe to go make himself prisoner in his place. There is
[692] no example of the hostage's having been put to death in such a
[643] case. Serious cases were usually judged by the amenokal, who was
aided by four assessors, two taken from each side.

762 /296/ Suicide. -- Suicide is as rare as murder among the
Tuareg. When one occurs, the person who committed suicide is
[766] abandoned on the ground unburied, and the camp is moved and
abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the
Tuareg regard the suicide as if he had never existed and must
never speak of him again.

Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with
oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his
life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

[775] The soul of a suicide cannot find refuge and wanders forever.
It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and
people claim that they can hear it nearby in the evening and that
it makes so much noise that it is impossible to sleep.

[761] Death. -- The Tuareg do not fear death. When one of them
sees that he is dying, he gathers his relatives around him and gives
763 his last instructions. Then, according to the religious principles
which he may have neglected during his life but which he recalls
at the final moment, he pronounces the "Fatika /fatiha? Ed./" or
[29] if he does not have the strength for that, he raises the index finger
of his right hand and breathes his last.

764 The body is immediately washed in lukewarm water and
wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the
[567] slaves go to dig the grave on a neighboring high spot. The grave
is made of a little trench with two stages such as the Arabs use.
[482 The body is carried on a kind of stretcher ans taken to the burial
417] place, head first, by four men. It is then placed on its right side
with the face turned in the direction of Mecca.

721 When raids were led against Sudanese camps, they were as in-
727 terested in the Negroes and Negresses as they were in the camels.
567 The kidnappers kept some of them to serve as servants and sold the others on the markets of In-Salah and the Touat.

726 Once the booty was stolen, the raiders went by forced march to the point agreed upon in advance, where they rejoined the other group of meharists.

The raided people, on the other hand, organized themselves, but they did not try to overtake the raiders immediately and did not wear themselves out in vain pursuit. As the return route of the raiders was known, they tried to reach a well where they had to pass; if they were successful in arriving before them and cutting them off from water, the real combat began, this time fierce and often quite deadly.

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Fig. 55. Tuareg lance. The iron blade is decorated with copper inlays. The part where the hand is put is covered with leather, and a little leather loop placed behind is intended to hold the index finger which gives greater propulsion to the lance when it is thrown.

Hard pressed, the Tuareg formed in a square behind their camels and defended themselves under cover of their bucklers; /323/ when they saw it was impossible to take possession of the well, they abandoned their loot. The battle came to an end, and the raiders were rarely pursued. In the opposite camp, a certain number of men were left as sentries to guard against return offensives, and the others tried to gather up their animals and lead them back to the douar /encampment/.

727 When the raiding party was safe, the men divided up the booty in more or less equal parts, depending on each person's merits during the fight. But in some tribes, customs related to the tioussé demanded

565 well as for potential victims, alien camps or
233 caravans which they can raid themselves. The
463 vassals in their turn are responsible for the daily management and immediate protection of the flocks and herds, and also constitute an armed reserve that can be called up quickly in case a battle becomes imminent or the opportunity for a major raid presents itself. The
[567] slaves take care of the domestic service and household chores of the camps while their boys go out as shepherds to the flocks.

565 Thus it is clear that the Tuareg class system is a necessity of pastoral life in the Ahaggar;
642 for no pastoral community can survive there without nomadizing, and no community of
[182] nomads can survive without a rigidly formalized division of labor and authority similar to that embodied in the class system of the Tuareg. It now becomes clear also that the seemingly paradoxical combination, within the social framework, of rigidity during the period of a single adult lifetime and a relative fluidity over slightly longer periods still so short as to span often no more than a couple of generations and sometimes less, is not in fact a paradox at all. It merely reflects in simple functional terms the fact that extreme conditions call for an extreme response, that the framework within which the allocation of authority is made at various levels in the communal structure must be very firmly established but must also allow considerable freedom periodically in the choice of those who are to occupy critical positions of decision and command so as to avoid the danger of having such positions filled automatically by persons unfit to occupy them, a danger that could well be quickly fatal to the whole community.

And finally we see that Tuareg government really has nothing essential in common with the feudal system of mediæval Europe to which it has so often been confusingly compared.[9] In the last analysis authority resides in the vassals, for they can make and at least
[643] in theory break the mightiest of all the nobles, the Amenokal himself, and they can do all this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.

powerful neighbor in exchange for some specified kind of continuing or periodic service. Among the Tuareg the relationship between "noble" and "vassal" looks much the same at first glance, but this is an optical illusion, a case of merely superficial resemblance.

291 tract which otherwise suffer severely in an arid climate, even when the ambiant temperature is only moderately high. Thus it is clear that the teguelmoust does have a very real practical value, regardless of what the Tuareg may say; and it is clear also that the men who wear it need it far more than do their womenfolk who go without.

291 It is not true that Tuareg women of the
512 Ahaggar (fig. 48) are exposed to the rigors of their environment either as much or in the same way as are their menfolk. The men are
462 out and about a good deal of the time, riding here and there across the countryside on errands of one sort or another or on long journeys far away, while the women sit quietly in the shelter of their tents, gossiping, telling folk tales, doing fancy leatherwork, and teaching tribal lore and sometimes Tifinagh [11] to the children. Every family that is
[567] not miserably poor has at least two or three slaves to fetch and carry water, prepare the meals and do the other daily chores, so that the mistress of a normal Tuareg household in the Ahaggar has no need to take a single step outside her tent except when camp is moved, or to visit with her neighbors and to answer calls of nature.

291 Although it is true that Tuareg women
171 do not wear veils, it is also true that women of the other Saharan nomad tribes, Arabs included, seldom if ever wear veils either, except on the very rare occasions when they visit a sedentary settlement or town, and even then not always by any means. But Tuareg and other Saharan nomad women alike all draw a corner of the head shawl (or turban cloth) across the nose and mouth occasionally as a simple matter of physical protection, and this has the same practical effect as putting on a veil does.

291 All this data on the wearing of veils and going without them proves nothing, to be sure, but it does go to show that the Tuareg teguelmoust itself can have had a strictly utilitarian origin after all, as Blanguernon (1955, p. 99) implied, quite apart from the origin of the elaborate and rigid ceremonial
291 quality with which its use has become imbued.
177 As for the date at which the teguelmoust

[11] The Tuareg alphabetic script.

515 cal condition, and they appear to sweat much more, perhaps in part because nearly all of them persist in maintaining their European eating and drinking habits. There is a strong hint here that a systematic investigation of the relationship between diet and sweat loss in the Sahara might produce some very interesting and useful results.

When an Arab nomad of the northern Desert goes to town, the first thing he usually does is to head for the public baths and get himself thoroughly steamed and scrubbed all over, but the Ahaggar Tuareg almost never visit any town big enough to have public or even private baths. A few permanent waterholes and a number of seasonal ones are to be found, however, scattered thinly through most of the Ahaggar massif, and the Tuareg of the region make use of such pools occasionally, though perhaps not quite as often as do their cousins of the Aïr, of whom Rodd (1926, p. 163) wrote as follows: "In justice to my friends, I must admit that they washed their clothing, and especially their white trousers, very frequently, and when they washed their person, they did so very thoroughly from head to foot, with much rubbing and a prodigious splashing of volumes of water." The Tuareg of the Ahaggar, women as well as men, wash themselves with equal gusto when they wash at all, and this is not the kind of thing that one would expect of people who have any real dislike or fear of water as such.

And finally it should be noted that among Saharan peoples in general, including the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, bodily cleanliness seems to show a pretty uniform positive correlation with economic status, as it so often does elsewhere in the world.

**Racial Minorities, Parasitic Groups and Race**
567 **Mixture.** We have already gone far enough into the question of slavery in the Ahaggar so that not much remains to be said about it here beyond a brief summing up of the situation. The slaves are almost all Negro captives from the Sudan, or the descendants of such captives. They are chattels which can be bought, sold and inherited, and they do all the manual labor and housework around the camp and also acts as shepherds. A slave can seldom marry without the permission of his master, who usually advances the necessary

567 dowry. But slaves are well fed and cared for as a rule; they get two or three days off each week to look after their own affairs, their children are brought up with the children of their masters, and custom forbids the freeing of a slave who is either too old or too young to fend for himself. A slave may even have a few goats of his own, although when he dies they are not inherited by his family but revert to his master instead. Barth (1857a, vol. 1, p. 387) notes as a striking exception that he saw slaves hitched to a plow and driven with whips in the Auderas Valley, some 60 miles northwest of Agadès.

567 Female slaves are often taken as concubines by Tuareg men of the Ahaggar, who prize
595 them because they are less capricious and overbearing than Tuareg women are and "be-
[827] cause they have cool skins," a point which would bear further investigation with a skin temperature machine. The children of such unions are often recognized by their fathers but do not inherit from them, and, although free, they have a debased social standing little better than that of their slave forebears. Moussa ag Amastan, who was Amenokal of the Ahaggar from 1905 to 1921,[12] remained unmarried for over 50 years, during most of which time he lived with a bevy of Negro concubines and a young Tuareg girl, named Harendou, whom he had captured on a raid into the Niger Bend country (Benhazera, 1908, p. 142; Lhote, 1955, pp. 221–23). Although this case was exceptional, it was by no means unique.

567 The slaves of the nomadic Tuareg, like those of sedentary communities in the Sahara, seem to have no tribal or clan organizations, but they too have a strong feeling of corporate solidarity that finds expression now and then in nocturnal jamborees which are Sudanese in character.

The smiths of the Ahaggar present a fa-
326 miliar culture pattern that characterizes groups
171 of smiths and tinkers which, as we have seen, are to be found living among a whole series of nomadic peoples scattered all the way from Baluchistan through Arabia and on, southwest-

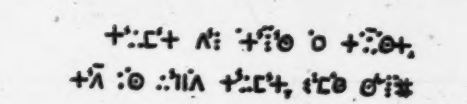
[217] [12] Lhote (1955, p. 220) gives the date of Moussa's death as 1920, the official genealogical table of the Ahaggar nobility, which is kept in the archives of the French Army post at Tamanrasset, gives it as 1921, and Foley (1930, p. 9) gives it as 1922. In 1956

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.

174 [714] [411] 194 212 174



[5397]

**The Bible in Tamahaq**

(*Ruth. Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

*"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."*

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

771 [10:] [932]

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

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Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

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claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the 291 302 386 515
Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been
sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga."

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" 177
plural "isefran" , and believe in their efficacy. 278
This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, [432 556]
for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his
purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees
that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very [648
willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly 757]
be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" 164
, gonorrhea, "talaoa'lt;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi"
; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef"

## Chapter XVII

### Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro 563 567
and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the [721]
Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which [439]
brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes
without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave 178
them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the 567
progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

4: Benhazera--29 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The negroes and negresses are well treated by the Tuareg, 563
who do not impose hard labor upon them. The negroes are pri- 567
marily busy with the flocks, which they drive to pasture and water. [233]
The negresses are concerned with the kitchen; they go after [357]
water and take care of the children.

[231
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Tuareg Watering their Sheep at the Tin Zaouaten Well

Negroes and negresses also gather the harvest of "toulloult" and "afezzou" grains, but this is more fun than work, for everyone takes part in it with them, in gay groups.

Many negroes eventually become the trusted men of their masters, who put them in charge of caravans or even of responsible missions. Thus, the amenokal Moussa had a trusted negro, Chernach, whom he regarded highly, for, he said, "I know that this man would have himself killed for me." Moreover, he gave him a gun, a spear, and a saber. /33/ These negroes are very happy and can consider themselves as freed.

Besides, there are few negroes who are not armed by their 411 563 masters with a "tar'da" (spear with a wooden shaft) and with a 567 "takouba" (saber), of which they are very proud. The best are 726 sent on raids, and it seems that they acquit themselves very well in combat.

As to the negresses, there are some who confine themselves 563 to attending to the care of the household and the tent, but there 567 are quite a few others who are raised to the dignity of con- 595 cubines. A noble Tuareg prefers to share his bed with a negress rather than to marry a "tamr'idt" (serf). He marries late, and when he decides to, he looks especially for a woman who, by her /34/ birth, will give his children future rights to command. The negress profits from this.

The negroes and negresses are not, as a rule, mistreated 563 by the Tuareg. Besides, if the case should arise, they know 567 how to use the following curious custom in use among the 685 Tuareg.

When a slave, negro or negress, becomes too unhappy with his master and wishes to become the slave of another master, he splits the ear of a child or a horse or hamstrings a mehari; in short, damages anything valuable that belongs to the master he wishes to have; then he stays beside his deed. Naturally, in reparation for the harm done, the negro is given in full possession to the injured master. There may be protest, if there was connivance between the slave and the master he wishes to have, and, in this case, the oath is deferred and the case [692] brought before a marabout or a cadi.

Thus the negress Tenoufek, who belonged to Semana, sister of Bika ag Moumou of the Kel Ahnet, slit the ear of a mare belonging to Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet. In reparation the negress was given to Sidi, with whom she still remains.

Another example: the negro of El Biodh ould Settafi of the Settaf, hamstrung two camels belonging to Ibedi ag Bassi of the Ir'echoumen. In reparation El Biodh had to give Ibedi the negro and a camel besides. /35/

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tarahamt)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of weels *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters.

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45, – Urvoy 1936, p. 198 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



634 565 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzoûren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had con-
[463] stantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly
[701] by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers and protectors.

Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals *(Imghad)*
114 565 614 as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:– "One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the
[422] camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible
[672] for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen
[567] both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much about this.

Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin:
174 565 614 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a, p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg have emigrated.

571 /48 cont./ Each tribe possessed slaves (iklan), bought or
564 captured in the Sudan. They lived with Tuareg families, carry-
[567] ing out domestic chores, tending goats, extracting salt, digging wells. These slave families were an integral part of the tribe and followed it in its moves.

The harratin were free or freed men, generally Negroes, often natives of the Touat, come to cultivate the arable lands of the Ahaggar. They worked under two contract systems, which are still in force and which we shall study further on.

## The Tribes

631 In the preceding chapter we saw that each noble tribe possessed imrads, or vassals. Each of these imrad tribes has a chief called "amrar," who rules the tribe according to custom. A tribe can be divided and subdivided. The tribe possesses a pasture region of its own, in which no other tribe may sojourn without a previous agreement with the amenokal, and that only in exceptional circumstances. The nobles may sojourn as they like on the lands of the vassals. The imrad tribes pay a due to the amenokal as a sign of their vassalage. This tax is called "tioussé." The payments are always in kind and in general are scrupulously discharged. This revenue enables the amenokal to uphold his rank suitably during the almost daily receptions, but it is not enough to cover the expenses of his command completely.

## /49/ The Nobles

565 The Kel Rela at present constitute the most important noble tribe of the Ahaggar. These nobles, called in Tamashek "ihaggarènes," are split into three subgroups: the iboglanes, the nembas, and the ikérémoïens. These subgroups are related and increasingly practice endogamy.

The Kel Rela are without doubt the handsomest specimens of the Tuareg type. Does this derive from the fact that they have

565 [563] /57 cont./ The harratin, who are also Negroes, are ranked as low as the iklan by the Tuareg, who have a high degree of racial prejudice.

However, there is a nuance: the "akli" (plural: "iklan") belongs to his master, the Targui; he cannot leave him, and, if he is no longer bought and sold because of the presence of the French, he considers himself the property of his master. The /58/ hartani is a free man; he may live where he wants to, do what work he will where he will; he makes contracts with the Tuareg and is dependent on them only in so far as his work is. Moreover, as a resident of the Ahaggar, he must observe the customs of the country.

[622] [631] He is under the authority of the village chief, who is also a hartani, responsible to the amenokal (1).

1. This ranking and this information concern the observance of custom and have nothing to do with French law, which is administered by the head of the annex and by the judicial authorities at Batna.

The harratin of the Ahaggar apparently have two possible origins. Some come from the oases of the Touat and the Tidikelt. This population movement has, it appears, always [166] existed. The number of these harratin varies; there is, in fact, a continual coming and going between the Ahaggar and the oases of the north, according with the dry and wet years.

The other harratin are iklan who have been freed by the Tuareg. The chief cause of this emancipation is the growing [567] poverty of the nobles and vassals, who no longer have sufficient resources to feed and clothe their domestics.

167 tion into Ayr many Tuareg of that region emigrated, and some of them settled as far away as Darfur
[649] where they and their descendants still live near El-Fasher. Another emigration took place after the
162 Tuareg revolt against the French in 1917. Many Tuareg of the *Kel Ayr* and the *Iwllemmeden* fled to Northern Nigeria to settle in villages and towns around Kano and Katsena. According to Rodd about 30.000 Ayr Tuareg fled to Nigeria after the revolt (Rodd 1926a, p. 361).

161 According to statistics for the period 1933–38 the total number of Tuareg living in the Algerian Sahara and to the south in the republics of Niger and Soudan is estimated by Lhote to be about 240.000.

162 They were divided among the main groups as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Kel Ahaggar* | 4.254 |
| *Kel Ajjer* | 1.508 |
| *Kel Adrar* | 4.223 |
| *Kel Ayr & Kel Geres* | 27.765 |
| *Iwllemmeden* | 161.160 |
| *Tengerregif* | 40.000 |

162 These figures need certain corrections. Thus the *Kel Ajjer* are more numerous than indicated by the
161 above figure, which does not include Tuareg of that group living in Libya. On the other hand the
[567] figure for *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg is much too high; it includes about 94.000 negroid slaves which should be deducted, as slaves are not included in the other figures. Nevertheless, Lhote believes that the actual number of free Tuareg is about 300.000 as the birth rate is on the increase. Thus statistics for 1950 indicate that there are 4.611 fairskinned Tuareg in Ahaggar (Lhote 1955a, p. 157). Nicolas assumes that there are about 500.000 Sudanese Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. Avertissement). This figure is, no doubt, too high. If we assume that there are in all 300.000 Tuareg, we find that the two northern groups *Kel Ajjer & Kel Ahaggar* living in the true desert country constitute about three per cent of the total Tuareg population.*

197 The Tuareg language is known as *tamahaḳ* in the two northern groups, *tamacheḳ* in the south. It has four main branches or dialects, namely 1) *tahaggart* spoken by the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*; 2) *tadraḳ* spoken by the Tuareg of *Adrar-n-Foras*; 3) *tayrt* spoken by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*; 4) *tawllemmet* spoken by the *Iwllemmeden* and other Sudanese Tuareg. Grammatically these four dialects are closely related, but there are important distinctions in pronunciation and vocabulary. The dialects are on the whole mutually intelligible.

212 The alphabet known as *tifinar* is known in all Tuareg groups. It is related to the ancient Libyan script. Several authors have stated that *tifinar* is not so widely known among the modern Tuareg as it was in the past. It is true that certain Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arabic alphabet, but it is very difficult even nowadays to find adult Tuareg who do not know their proper script which is also widely used for letters. This, anyway, is true of the Tuareg groups I have visited, and it must be added that I have never found any proof of the statement so frequently seen in literature that the alphabet is

* Considering the statistics for 1933–38 (240.000 ÷ 94.000) the total number of true Tuareg in 1950 would appear to be lower than 300.000.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 5. Veiled vassal Tuareg. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

Fig. 6. Irrigation farmer of the *Iburelliten*, that is descendants of mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and Negroes. The man is patrilineally releated to the noble *Taytok* tribe, matrilineally to slaves. Ahaggar, Amsel.

181 and there are indeed many Tuareg both in Ahaggar and in Ayr who wear Islamic amulets which are believed to make the wearers look "great and important". "Prestige" is constantly in the mind of all Tuareg who are much more sophisticated than other people living within their country.

181 Most true Tuareg are nomadic stock-breeders who will not engage in the strenuous work of irriga-
433 tion agriculture. The Tuareg will readily engage in any strenuous work connected with stock-breeding,
461 caravan trading, and in the past also in raiding expeditions, which were organized by people of the nobility, but agricultural work is generally much despised. However, there are in all groups certain families or tribes the members of which subsist predominantly by agriculture, and are nevertheless
564 considered true Tuareg by pastoralists. These agricultural Tuareg will be mentioned in a later chapter,
567 and we shall now pass on to a brief description of various negroid castes and of other non-Tuareg people living within the boundaries of Tuareg territory:—

*Iklan* (sing. *Akli*). These are the proper slaves who are very negroid. Nicolas believes that the word *Akli* (pl. *Iklan*) is in fact derived from a k-l root meaning "to be black" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189), but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 7. Tuareg boy of the vassal tribe *Imezzureg* in Ayr.

564 567 Foucauld states that it does not refer to black skin-colour but only to membership of a particular caste (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 787). However, Tuareg slaves are Negroes taken during raids and warfare in the Sudan or bought from slave markets in Sudanese towns and cities. The Sudanese origin of slaves is also indicated by the Ahaggar word *Ibenheren* (sing. *Ébenher*), which term refers to a slave who speaks only a Sudanese language. It is frequently used by Northern Tuareg as an abuse of their [648] slaves, particularly of slave children. Among the Northern Tuareg slavery is still practised with the tacit consent of the French military administration. Most Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have slaves to take care of flocks and herds and to perform various domestic tasks. These slaves live in pastoral camps of the Tuareg, and in Ahaggar they have frequently told me that they felt superior to the black-skinned agriculturists though the latter largely descend from freed slaves. In the Southern [648] Tuareg groups slavery is officially abolished, perhaps because the Southern Tuareg are governed by civil administrators. But it seems as if the official abolition of slavery in the south was also a result of the Tuareg revolt against the French 1916–1917, and very few Ayr Tuareg have slaves nowadays. However, the manumission of slaves is not just a recent phenomenon due to European influence. Slaves have been freed long before the advent of French colonization at the beginning of our century. There are in the south whole groups of slaves who have been manumitted at an unknown date in the past, and these people are known among the Ayr Tuareg by the term *Irawélen* most of whom are nomadic stock-breeders culturally akin to true pastoral Tuareg. They are also known by the Hausa term *Buzu*, which term again corresponds to the Sonray word *Bélla*. This latter word, however, may sometimes refer also to people who are considered a kind of slaves by the Tuareg. Nicolas divides the freed slaves among the *Iwllemmeden* into three groups, viz. *Iklan-n-Egef*, *Irawelan*, and *Iderfan*. The two first groups comprise pastoralists also known as *Buzu*, or *Bélla*, while most members of the last

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



group are sedentary agriculturists (Nicolas 1950a, p. 190). In Ahaggar most freed slaves have become incorporated in the negroid caste now to be mentioned. 564 567

*Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*). This term designates the caste of agricultural Negroes known to the Arabs as *Ḫarratin* (sing. *Ḫartani*). In Ahaggar this caste has a rather mixed origin. It did not exist in this 564

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Fig. 8. Vassal woman with amulet cases and snail-shells hanging around her neck. Ahaggar, the *Ajah-en-tahli* tribe.

564 region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed*
[463] (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Ahaggar to cultivate
[567] gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaren*, or *Ḥarratin*, like the
[191] immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual, speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahaḳ*). The *Izeggaren* (*Ḥarratin*) are generally less
[144] negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features.
[142] Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*) refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaren* does not seem to exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Rat oasis known as *Ikewweren* apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

[361] *Kel Ġanet* (sing. *W Ġanet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ġanet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-
[144] n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned
[565] europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ġanet* have much the same position as Tuareg vassals (Imrad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ġanet* immigrants, their status is rather
[567] like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ġanet* may possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

564 *Ineden* (*Ineḍen* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Êned*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg
326 groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one. People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only
[162] a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the
564 blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna*
173 *Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963). A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Tementiṭ in Tawat. At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.). 2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and
564 Adraṛ-n-Foṛas. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of
144 them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



But pastoralists of Arab descent are limited to a few scattered individuals or families in the Ayr area in contrast to the extended Sudanese country around the Niger, where whole pastoral tribes claim patrilineal descent from Arabs, while matrilineally most of them are Tuareg. 101 563

There are many other people within the extended country inhabited by the Tuareg. Very important in the south is a numerous population of Hausa-speaking Negroes. The so-called *Imeggedezen* (sing. *Ameggedez*) of Agadez speak Hausa which language is spoken by various other sedentary people of that region and further south. There are also a few Sonray-speaking people at Agadez, and Ingal further west is predominantly inhabited by Sonray-speakers known to the Ayr Tuareg as *Isawerren*. The Sonray, as is well known, are now found almost exclusively along the Niger, but Ayr was once conquered by the Sonray, and Barth describes Agadez as a Sonray-speaking city. [197]

In the south the pastoral Fulani are now invading the grazing grounds formerly reserved to and owned by the Tuareg. Camps of pastoral Fulani are frequently seen nowadays even as far north as the southern outskirts of the Ayr Massif around Agadez and Ingal. When grazing is good the Fulani may even move further north into the Talak plains with their herds of long-horned cattle. Many other people are frequently met in Tuareg country, e.g. the Tebu, and the Kanuri, who frequently come to Agadez. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are even a few individuals who descend from Tebu women.

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Fig. 13. Mother and son. Slaves of the Tuareg in Ayr.

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Fig. 17. A slave-boy takes kids out of the stone-enclosure (*afrar*) to let them suck. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tahlé* tribe.

*233 yielding decreases after mating. It is said that some goats yield milk in the whole period of gestation, while others have no milk whatever during most of that period.

The advantage of free mating is further reduced because goats, if mated too often, become emaciated, and for the northern breed their coat of long hair, so important to craft (cf. p. 263 ff.), will not develop fully. Added to this, kids born in the hot summer season will often be of inferior quality, as they suffer from heat and the lack of fresh annual plants during their period of growth. Again, the mother animals may yield so little milk in summer that it is not even sufficient for the nourishment of their kids.

The free mating of goats is not generally desirable, and therefore most Tuareg practise a system of regulation which varies with the qualities of pastures. If reproduction of the flock is badly needed it may happen that all goats are mated twice a year, but it is considered an ideal in good years to divide the animals into two parts which bring forth kids and yield milk at different seasons.

*233 In Ayr when the flock is divided into two parts to bring forth kids and yield milk at different seasons,
132 one part brings forth kids during the season of *akasa* when the pastures of annual plants are very
[137] rich, the other at the end of the winter season during the period known as *tabsit* at which time certain other plants germinate, and fruit-pods of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*), which are extremely good for fodder, fall to the ground. If kids are wanted for a flock during the season of *akasa*, which is the best season for the birth of kids, the goats are mated in winter. When all the she-goats have been covered, the penis of the he-goat is bound around the foreskin by means of a cord – a method which is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ákkan*, to the Northern Tuareg as *urun* (cf. Fig. 25). If kids are wanted for a flock in spring at the season of *tabsit*, mating stops with the binding of he-goats at the

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Fig. 23. Slave boy milking goats – a task which is normally performed by women. The milk-bowl is held in the left hand, and the milking is done with the right hand, while the goat's left hind leg is held fast beneath the right upper arm. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehli* tribe.

GOAT MILKING

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Fig. 24. Tuareg milkmaid milking a goat as described Fig. 23. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehli* tribe.

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*233 Each of the three vegetational zones of Ahaggar has its advantages and disadvantages. If we consider
824 a good year when rain has fallen abundantly with a resultant regeneration of all fodder plants, the
137 *Atakor* zone has very excellent pasture. For the plains and the stony mountain slopes are then entirely
122 covered with annual plants which by the Tuareg are considered the very best fodder. The Tuareg also
133 claim that the upper mountain zone is preferable because of its cooler climate, which has a beneficial influence on the lactation of domestic animals. The disadvantage of the *Atakor* zone is the lack of acacias to which can be added the scarcity of fuel. The *Tarayin* zone possess characteristics of the *Atakor* zone and of the *Abada* zone. The *Abada* country is botanically very different from *Atakor*. It has annual pastures of great value when abundant rainfall has been experimented and it also has valuable pastures of perennial plants. With heavy rain the *Abada* country is excellent for stock-breeding, and fuel can be found everywhere. But the Abada country is hotter than are the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

If rain falls abundantly all over Ahaggar there is good pasture in all three zones. But rainfall is more frequent and heavier at high altitudes than in the *Abada* zone, so that *Atakor* normally has by far the best pasture of annual plants which spring up late in summer or in autumn. The *Abada* zone on the other hand has the very best pasture of perennial plants, notably acacias that grow around the lower parts of the valleys which are always flooded when it rains in the high mountains.

221 The fluctuations of plant development determine the nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg.
*233 A few tribes have their normal grazing grounds in *Atakor* (e.g., the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Kel Tazulet*).
824 They camp in this zone at most seasons to let their goats and sheep feed on fresh and dry annual pasture.
[132] In dry years and during the hot summer season they may move to the *Tarayin* zone where there are perennial fodder plants, but they rarely camp in the *Abada* country. Many tribes have their normal grazing grounds in the *Abada* zone (e.g., the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, the *Ayt Lowayen*, the *Iheyawen Hada*, and the *Kel Ṛela*), but move to the *Atakor* when annual pasture is good in this region. They live in
[342] *Atakor* with tents and flocks when annual plants are green, while the rest of the year they camp in the *Abada* country to let their animals feed on acacias and other perennial species. Finally there are two tribes (*Tegehé-n-Efis* and *Iklan-en-tawsit*), the members of which camp in the *Abada* country all the year round even when rich annual pasture is found in *Atakor*. However, members of these tribes may send their camel herds to the *Atakor* zone, accompanied by herdsmen, while tents and flocks remain in the lower country.

221 With the exception of a few noble households which keep up their old tradition to subsist largely
*233 on camel's milk, the Ahaggar Tuareg do not keep their she-camels in Ahaggar unless there are excellent
[565] pastures of annual plants in this area. They take their camels to pastures far away from Ahaggar,
[262] notably to the Tamesna region where they have their animals guarded by herdsmen who are frequently
[567] slaves. In very dry years there are very few camels in Ahaggar – just the animals needed for riding and transportation. It is in fact very easy to take camels to distant pastures, and it is most necessary to give these animals the utmost care as they are most valuable and their breeding is a very slow process
*233 (cf. p. 56). Goats do not need such excellent fodder as do camels. They can eat almost everything, but
731 in dry years goats may also suffer severely from lack of suitable fodder. This was the case in the year
[36] 1954/55 when I stayed in Ahnet and in Ahaggar. In the small camps of three to four tents each it was

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Fig. 98. A slave watering goats by means of the leather bucket called *aga*. Water is drawn from a well and poured out into a hole dug in the clayey ground. The goat standing to the left is sheared – a token of the summer season. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*233 conditions, and herdsmen, who live with camelherds far away from camps and wells subsisting on
[272] camel's milk, do not consider water necessary. Should domestic animals have eaten salt or salty plants
[271] they are very eager for water even in winter. When I lived in Ahaggar with my camels during the winter 1954/55 they had rightly to be watered every ten days, but in regions where they fed mainly on saliferous plants they had to be watered more frequently. However, domestic animals must not be watered too often as this would make them slow and emaciated, and a camel must not be worked too hard the day after it has been watered.

312 Tuareg camps are always found around wells, pools, or other types of water places for which there
[361] is a large vocabulary. But the Tuareg never camp too close to water places where there is little pasture, many foreigners and consequently little peace. The distance from camp to water place varies, but is
[132] very frequently 1–3 kilometres. During the rainy season (*akasa*) water is very aundant all over Ayr, but outside this period conditions of water supply for human beings and livestock are more favourable
[415] in the north than in Ayr, where water most of the year must be drawn from wells. To raise water the Tuareg use a leather bucket known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aga* (Fig. 97–98). The water drawn for
[237] the animals is poured out into a hole dug in clayey soil, or into a hole covered with a piece of skin or leather known in Ahaggar as *tafarawt*. This skin is nowadays frequently substituted by canvas (cf. Fig. 99). Where water is scarce and must be drawn from narrow wells, as in Ayr during the summer
312 567 season, the watering of flocks and herds gives rise to frequent quarrels between pastoralists. For
[423] though the right to the use of wells is free to all there are many disputes and fights frequently

361 *akasa* period when there is green annual pasture, but the large camps have no co-operative functions
621 and no particular leader. The small camps join together to form big camps because their members are linked to each other by bonds of kinship, and consequently like to come together.

361 Most of the year the Ayr Tuareg live in very small camps around wells, and certain camps remain
221 on almost the same spot throughout the year. However, most camps move about in the *akasa* period, and later, at the end of the rains, many camps move southwards and westwards to the salt plains of Azawaq.

## DIVISION OF LABOUR IN STOCK-BREEDING

462 Before we consider other activities, we shall briefly describe the division of labour in stock-breeding according to sex.

462 In all Tuareg groups noble women do very little work. They engage in a few very esteemed crafts
565 such as embroidery, neat decoration of leather work, and in the north they cut ornamented milk-
[567] bowls from wood. The true domestic duties of a noble household are performed by slaves. This to some extent is also true of other social classes among the Northern Tuareg, while the Ayr Tuareg vassals have very few slaves nowadays. But even in vassal camps among the Northern Tuareg women have their duties and engage in all kinds of domestic work, also in stock-breeding. In the two groups
462 of Northern Tuareg the division of work in stock-breeding can be seen when one enters a tent of a
*233 vassal camp:—
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[566] One half of the tent (the left part) is occupied by the woman and contains such implements as are connected with tanning, leather-work, cooking, butter- and cheese-making, and generally all implements connected with the breeding of goats, sheep, and donkeys. The other half of the tent (the right part), occupied by the husband, contains saddles and all other objects connected with camels. The tending of goats, sheep, and donkeys is the task of women, while camel-breeding is the business of men.

462 Before initiation Tuareg boys may be occupied with herding goats, sheep, and donkeys, but when
*233 they have adopted the veil they should preferably take care of camels only. There are, however, a
[857] few occasions where men engage in tasks connected with goats and donkeys:—

Goats like any other animal can be killed only by adult men, who also undertake the skinning and partition of the meat.

Castration of he-goats and rams may be done by men, but it is said that it is also performed by women.

When goats suffer from certain diseases they may in a few very special cases be taken care of by men. Thus when a goat has broken a leg and wooden splints are applied to the fracture this is generally performed by the husband of the household to which the animal belongs.

When goats and sheep are lost in the desert they may be searched for by men mounted on camels.

On the whole there are not many situations where the assistance of men is needed in tending goats and sheep, and most men have so little to do with goat-breeding that they do not know the exact meaning of many colour terms for goats.

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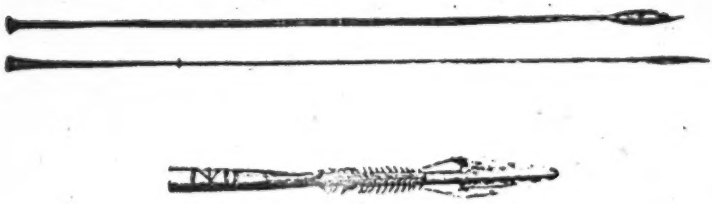

Fig. 112a–c. Tuareg spears.

a. Spear of the *tarda* type used for hunting. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 1.80 m (N.M. G. 1.156).
b. Iron spear of the *alloy* type which is mainly a war weapon. Ahaggar, Collected by Olufsen. Dimension 1.82 m (N.M. G. 1.155).
c. Iron point of the barbed Tebu lance (*tarda*) occasionally used by the Ayr Tuareg. Dimension: 0.265 m (N.M. G. 6619).

224 they are eagerly pursued by many rifle-owning nomads. Lhote estimates that in the year 1939 the Ahaggar Tuareg killed 300 barbary sheep by means of their traditional hunting methods, while in the winter season 1949–50 more than 200 animals were killed with rifles in the central parts of Ahaggar [432] (Lhote 1955a, p. 284). In 1954 the meat of one barbary sheep was sold for 4000 French francs, the [640] hide for 2000 francs. Though hunting of these animals is officially prohibited by the French, it *is* tacitly permitted and meat is frequently sold at the market place of Tamanraset.

The traditional methods used mainly in hunting gazelle and barbary sheep are as follows:—

[411] (1) The spear (*tarda*; Fig. 112a) is nowadays used mainly by slaves, who never possess rifles. Before [562] rifles became common it was the typical hunting weapon of all vassal Tuareg. Hunting with the spear [565] takes place during the hottest time of the day, when the animals hide under rocks and trees to seek protection from the burning sun and the flies. It is then possible to creep very close to the game, and even the otherwise very shy barbary sheep can be taken in this way. When the hunter is close to the hiding place of a barbary sheep he claps his hand, and the animal rises, bewildered, and is then speared. In the past many barbary sheep were killed in this way, and it is said that a skilled and lucky hunter may even secure four or five animals in one day.

[171] (2) The use of stalking animals. Hunting by this method is used by some African stock-breeders (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 97 ff.). There is a detailed description of the use of camels trained for this purpose among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara (Harding King 1903, p. 171 ff.). As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not train their camels for stalking, but on journeys they frequently hide behind their animals to approach and kill gazelle. In this case the hunting weapon is normally a rifle. But the method is perhaps an ancient one and used also for other hunting weapons in the past, as game animals do not fear domestic animals among which they frequently graze in the desert. In fact, [172] the ancient use of stalking animals in Northern Africa is clearly substantiated by a rock engraving at

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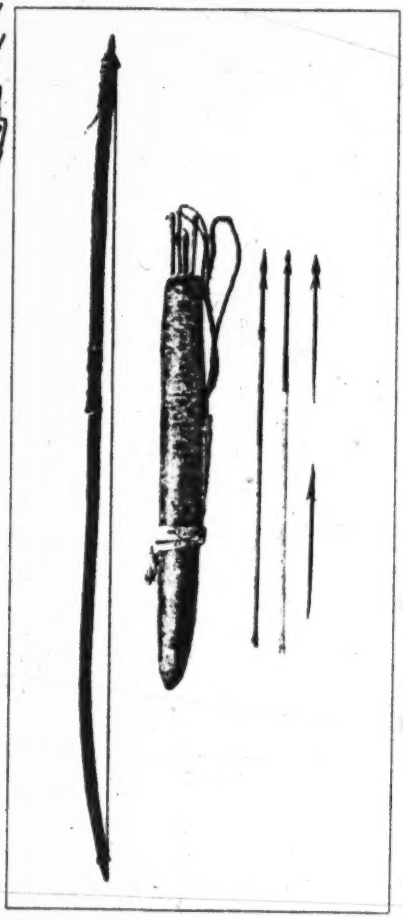

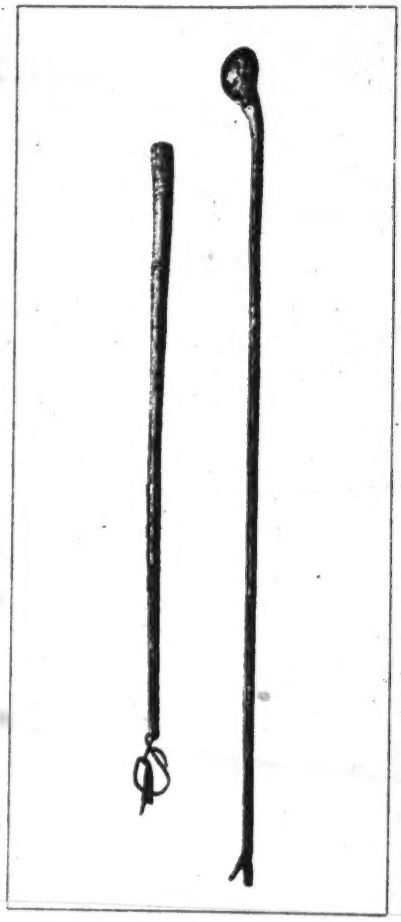

Fig. 119. Bow (*sagonzé*), arrows (*imeron*), and quiver (*éhomaren*) from the Hausa-speaking population living south of Ayr around Aderbissinat. The bow is made from wood of a tree called *édinen* and has a string of ox-hide. The arrows have shafts of wood or reed; their iron points are made by blacksmiths. The quiver is made from ox-hide with a plaster of cow's excreta applied to the inner side. Dimension of the bow: 1.20 m. (N.M. G. 6621).

[567]

Fig. 120. Tuareg clubs.

a. Wooden club (*aburi*). Dimension: 0.995 m long (N.M. G. 1.159). Ahaggar, Olufsen's Collection.

b. Wooden club. Used for weapon and for cattle-driving by Tuareg around Timbuktu. Made from a bough of *Combretum aculeatum*. Collected by O. Hagerup. Dimension: 1.39 m long. (N.M. G. 3086). All slaves I saw among the *Iwilemmeden* near Ayoru carried this weapon.

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*ajako*. According to Foucauld a small annual edible plant growing in the Ahaggar Mountains at an altitude above 2000 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 712). Maire mentions this plant as unindentified (Maire 1933, p. 263).

Collecting is mainly the task of women, but males – particularly uninitiated boys and slaves – also participate. Seed-plants are generally harvested by rubbing the ears of the plants between the fingers, but the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle (*amreh*; Fig. 143 a–b) to be thrashed and winnowed like wheat and barley. Edible roots are frequently collected merely by hand. However, a digging stick (*élaweg*; Fig. 123) provided with an iron point is also used to dig up certain wild plants such as *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) and similar root plants. This digging stick is characteristic of vassal women who use it for many different purposes, e.g., to make holes for tent poles.

The very best among the above mentioned seed-plants is the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*). Its seeds are collected or harvested by certain Tuareg inhabiting the lower parts of Ahaggar, but are important particularly to the Tuareg living in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Within the Ahaggar Massif the most important seeds are those of *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). The right to collect these seeds is free to everybody, and Tuareg of the *Abada* zone may send their slaves to the *Atakor* zone to collect *tawit*-seeds in the mountain plateau of Asekrem. The species of *afezu* and *tawit* are sometimes protected by an ban on grazing for three and two months respectively in order that their seeds may grow ripe for collecting. The right to put a ban on grazing of the two species belongs to the Tuareg in whom territorial rights of a sub-area are vested (cf. p. 150). It is said that under very favourable conditions a single household may collect some hundred kilos of seeds of the two plants mentioned. This may seem rather impressive, but even in good years when milk is abundant collecting will not provide pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar with sufficient vegetable food, for seeds of wild plants are far less nourishing than are grains of wheat, barley, and millet. The collecting of wild plants important for food is as dependent on climatic conditions as is stock-breeding. In dry years, when domestic animals yield little or no milk at all, there will also be no wild seeds for collecting.

Fig. 127. Very small bag known as *élem* ("skin") made from a kid's scrotum (*tigassatel*). The bag contains a piece of resin of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). This resin is eaten by the Tuareg as a remedy against stomachache. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the piece of resin: 0.07 m long. (F.M. 149a–b).

# Agriculture

In the present chapter are described the agricultural techniques as I know them from Ahaggar (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and from Ayr, and the economic role of agriculture to the subsistence of pastoral Tuareg is discussed. 241

## CULTIVATION WITHOUT ARTIFICIAL IRRIGATION

In the Sahara farming is almost exclusively based on artificial irrigation, and agriculture and stock-breeding are largely separated industries. Large-scale stock-breeding necessitates migrations, while irrigation agriculture must be practised by people who live on the same spot almost continuously. But nomadic stock-breeding and shifting cultivation are occupations which go well together at the borderland of steppe and desert in the north where nomads or semi-nomads sow wheat and barley. Lyon says that the bedouins of Tripolitania use a rude plough but more generally a hoe (Lyon 1821, p. 44). However, plough cultivation seems to predominate among the northern nomads nowadays. Shifting plough cultivation is an important subsidiary occupation for most northern nomads in an almost unbroken area between the Atlantic and the Nile or the Red Sea, but it does not penetrate very far into the true desert country. In Algeria I have not seen shifting cultivation practised further south than the oasis of Ghardaya, where nomads under favourable conditions of rainfall sow wheat and barley by means of a simple plough made of a forked piece of wood (Nicolaisen 1950, Fig. 9, p. 70; Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, pl. II,5 p. 47, Fig. 6 p. 54). West of Ghardaya the plough is known as far south as Tinduf and Beni Abbes, while it is known at Brak of Central Libya towards the east (cf. Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, map p. 40). Feilberg in one of his early works stated that the plough in Northern Africa is particularly attached to shifting cultivation as a sowing implement (Feilberg 1931, p. 199 ff.). This is in agrement with my own investigations in the Northern Sahara, and it is confirmed by the very remarkable study of Capot-Rey & Marçais, who state that the plough is not fitted irrigation agriculture of the Sahara because of the many fruit trees, notably date palm trees, and because of the whole complicated irrigation system (Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, p. 51; Feilberg 1931, p. 199). But there seems also to be another reason why the plough is found only in the Northern Sahara: It is particularly fitted for the sowing of wheat and barley, but less suitable for the sowing of millet and sorghum which are the most important cereals grown in the south (cf. Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, p. 51; Feilberg 1931, p. 201). Barth records that he saw a kind of plough at Auderas in Ayr. It was drawn by three slaves who were driven like oxen by their master (Barth 1857, I, p. 424). 433 241 171 [567]

[p. 183]

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tion that subsisted on agriculture. Most members of the *Kel Ewey* group are fairly negroid in appearance, and though some of them lead a nomadic life and subsist mainly on stock-breeding, the bulk of the *Kel Ewey* are sedentary agriculturists who have some livestock comprising goats, sheep, zebus, and sometimes camels also. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group there are very few sedentary agriculturists, though a few vassals have taken up irrigation agriculture in recent times. There are also agriculturists within the negroid group of the *Kel Ferwan* known as *Irawélen*. Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have gardens cultivated by their slaves, but this is not customary nowadays when slavery is of little importance in Ayr. Contracts between pastoral Tuareg and cultivators are said to have been unknown until recent times when a few pastoralists have made contracts with cultivators. There seem to be no fixed systems regulating such relationships, but it is said to be common for the cultivator and the Tuareg to divide crops equally between them.

Though agriculture could be practised in Ayr without artificial irrigation there are no rain-grown crops within the Massif nowadays. The *foggara* system is unknown, and irrigation is done by raising water from shallow wells. The system of a pole and bucket provided with a counterweight known in Ayr as *aseftan* has disappeared quite recently. It was used at many agricultural settlements of Ayr until a few years ago, and in parts of the country formed the only type of irrigation system at the time of the French occupation. One informant told me that in his boyhood about 35 years ago no other irrigation method was employed at Alarses, and this is in agreement with literature (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 322). At that time, however, the method of raising water from wells by animal traction (in Ayr *anu*, in Ahaggar *tanut*) was also practised at many settlements. It is unknown when it came to Ayr, but it is said to have been introduced from the north – probably from the regions of Fezzan and Tasilé-n-Ajjer from where the same system came to Ahaggar (cf. p. 187). It is now used at all settlements as the only type of irrigation system, and zebu-oxen are always used for traction. This was not so in the past when zebus were less common than to-day, and it is said that donkeys were then the common draught-animals. The irrigation of gardens is performed in much the same way as in Ahaggar. The water raised from the shallow well (*anu*) is led through a narrow canal (*ayelal*) to a large basin (*tisemt*) from where another canal (*duki*) leads to the garden (*afarag*), which is divided into a number of beds (*éfenral*).

Cereals form the most important crops in Ayr. The common winter crop is wheat (*elkama*; *Triticum vulgare*), but also barley (*Hordeum tetrastichum* var. *pallidum*) is very widely grown. One crop of these two cereals is taken every winter, and it is said that the period of growth is about five months; sowing is done in October, harvest in March. Cereals are also important for summer crops. Both millet (*énélé*; *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and sorghum (*abora*; *Sorghum caudatum*) are grown, and millet, as we have seen, has a very short period of growth – only about two months (cf. p. 184). But though millet is most important as food for agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike, it is not widely grown because it is difficult to protect it from the numerous small birds and because, it is said, millet grown in Ayr is of a quality inferior to that of the Sudanese type. Most of the millet eaten in Ayr is therefore imported from Damergu by pastoral Tuareg. By far the most important summer crop grown in Ayr is maize (*Zea mays*), which is known to the Tuareg as *abora maser*, that is "Egyptian sorghum" (*abora* = sorghum; *maser* = Egypt) (the name *maser* is also used to designate the white cotton used for garments

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175 721 added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was also fighting within these groups at intervals.

[648] [578] The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwllemmeden* and the Arab pastoralists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg frequently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

[437] Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite of these latent conditions of hostility.

175 437 Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays. They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter, cheese, and the like.

175 437 484 The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times, but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Hammu* who dominated the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays. [439] They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also [438] say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All [317] this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadror were not utilized in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then [361] [162] travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could not defend itself against raiders.

175 567 It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading [648] until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in [171] this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

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1888, p. 21 f.). Duveyrier says that among the *Kel Aljer* all noble Tuareg had slaves, while only some of the vassals were slave owners. He says that slaves were bought and sold in towns (Duveyrier 1864, p. 339). Information about the Tuareg slave trade is given by Richardson, who undertook his journeys mainly to collect material on slavery which is described throughout his journals. According to Richardson's descriptions there can be little doubt that the Tuareg engaged in the slave trade, but I think that perhaps his statements are tinged by his deep antiphathy to slavery (cf. Richardson 1848, I–II & 1853, I–II). It is most possible that the Tuareg slave caravans he mentions were organized by Arab merchants of Rat and Radames. The former engagement of pastoral Tuareg in the slave trade has also been mentioned by Lyon (Lyon 1821). 175 567 [114]

As to Tuareg caravan trade throughout the 19th century, we can add that all Tuareg tribes did not trade to the same extent. Within most groups there were certain tribes of particular classes which did not go in so much for warfare and raiding, but were keen traders. This was true of tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class in Ahaggar, and in Ahnet there were two Arab tribes allied with the drum-group of *Taytok*, namely the *Sekakna* and the *Mazil* who were responsible for the very important trade with Timbuktu (Bissuel 1888, p. 24). Among the *Kel Aljer* the *Iforas* tribes traded on a much larger scale than other tribes (Duveyrier 1864, p. 359 ff.). In Ayr the same was true of certain tribes of the *Kel Ewey* group. 175 437 184

However, throughout the 19th century all Tuareg, with the exception of those of the nobility, engaged in caravan trading which played a great part for the pastoralists, providing them with cereals and dates necessary for their subsistence. Already in this century certain pastoralists had taken up irrigation agriculture, and some of them practised a very primitive type of agriculture, but vegetable products were acquired mainly through caravan trading. 175 437 433

[text continues on p. 221]

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292 ceremonial ridings as those described on p. 104 f. I have been informed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr that bandoleers were used exclusively for such purposes. Rodd depicts a rock-drawing from Timia in Ayr and believes that it perhaps represents a man wearing a bandoleer (Rood 1926a, p. 194, pl. 40 [172] p. 305). This may be so, but I have been told by Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group that bandoleers [648] were introduced among the Ayr Tuareg by the French when they formed the camel patrol made up of Tuareg from different Ayr tribes. However, my informants also claimed that the use of bandoleers for camel riders was an ancient custom in the north among the Ahaggar Tuareg, from where it was [565] introduced to Ayr by the French. Informants of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer told me that the custom was traditional to noble Tuareg but not to vassals, though Tuareg of the vassal class also wear bandoleers nowadays.

291 Apart from the head-cloth (*ékerhey*) the following garments are typical of Northern Tuareg women:— (1) *tékamist*, that is a large and wide shirt of cotton, in form and cut identical with the man's shirt; (2) *asegbes*, a large piece of cotton used for a skirt or a petticoat; this is fixed tightly around the waist merely by folding it at the upper edge; (3) *tikest*, a large piece of cotton worn as a shawl over the shoulders and head, covering the head-cloth.

In addition to the head-cloth (*adalil*), which they frequently wear rolled up on the top of the head, Tuareg women of the *Kel Ferwan* group wear three main garments:— (1) *aftek*, a very short shirt of poncho cut. It is very akin to the shirt worn by Hausa-speaking women of Agadez, who use the words

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Fig. 237. Slave-boy wearing the loin-cloth depicted above Fig. 238. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe.

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Fig. 238. Loin-cloth consisting of a piece of tanned and depilated goat-skin. It is known as *arḡaḡ* and is worn mainly by boys and young slaves. Dimension: 0.715 × 0.575 m. Ahaggar, the *Aḡah-en-tehlé* tribe. (N.M. G. 5258).

291 *liga* or *tagua* for this garment piece; (2) *téri*, a large piece of cotton worn as a skirt wound around the waist in the same way as in the north; (3) *tesegbes*, a large piece of cotton used as a petticoat.

[114] Lhote has published some very interesting information on the dress of Tuareg women. Thus he mentions that certain women among Sudanese Tuareg wear a kind of shawl over the shoulders instead of a poncho shirt. I have myself seen this garment among pastoral Arabs south of Ayr and close to [567] Aderbissinat, but I have never seen it among the Tuareg. Still more interesting is Lhote's description of a skin skirt worn by slave women among the *Iwillemmeden* (Lhote 1955a, p. 308). This leather skirt, which is laced around the waist by means of a leather cord, is also recorded from the *Bélla* of Timbuktu by Dupuis-Yakouba (cf. Seabrook 1934, p. 251), and some skirts of the same type are conserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. One skirt among those found in the Paris museum (no. 33.78.9) comes from the Sudanese *Bélla*, and was collected in the region of Arawan by the "Expedition du [294] Hall" in 1945. It is made from several pieces of decorated leather sewn together with leather thread; its total length is about 0.70 m. Another skirt of the same type, but without a museum number, is perhaps of the same origin. In addition to these two skirts the Paris museum possesses three other leather skirts of the same type. They were collected by Lhote in 1939 among Tuareg living in the south-west. One of these skirts is from the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (mus. no. 41.19.845) while the two others [562] come from the *Kel Inteser* (mus. no. 41.19.846 & 847). The skirts are known as *elaraite* according [565] to the museum's card-index, where it is stated that they are worn by slave women, and it is added that similar leather skirts were worn by slave women and poor women of the vassal class among the Ayr Tuareg up to the French occupation of Ayr

[Text continues on p. 296]

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*342 281 shape. In Southern Tuareg groups the skin tents also vary much in size, but they tend to be larger. Thus it is stated by Nicolas that skin tents among the *Kel Dennek* measure up to one hundred square metres (Nicolas 1938, p. 54), and Lhote says that 80–150 skins are used for sheets of the very large tents of the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (Lhote 1947a, p. 100).

[804] The Tuareg themselves do not refer to the size of a tent by counting the number of skins, or by measuring. The size of a tent is indicated by reference to the number of skin rows in the longitudinal direction of the sheet, and these rows of skin are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *taṛda* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). I have myself seen extremely small tents having a sheet of only three *taṛda*, but a tent of normal size will generally have four or five such skin rows, and some even have six or [462] seven *taṛda*. Among the Northern Tuareg the sheet is manufactured in Tuareg camps by pastoral [562] women and their female slaves. Among the *Kel Dennek*, tent sheets are manufactured by women of [564] the blacksmith caste (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 155).

*342 285 A mat to be drawn around the lower part of the dwelling constitutes a very essential part of Tuareg skin tents. This mat is generally made from the stems of *afezu* (*afeẓu*) grass (*Panicum turgidum*) tied together with leather strips as already described. A tent mat at times is divided into two halves which are rolled up and placed at each of the narrow ends of the tent during hot weather so that currents [351] of air may pass through. When weather is cold and also when storms are raging, the Tuareg close their tents with these mats, which may also be drawn out to form a kind of low courtyard in front of the tent (cf. Figs. 267–269). The straw mat made from *afezu* stems tied to one another is known as *ẽseber* (pl. *isebran*) both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, while the name of a tent mat among the *Kel Dennek* is *šitek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154), or *chitek* according to our transcription system. Among the Northern Tuareg, tent mats are generally about one metre high, while varying much as to length. These mats very frequently serve as a kind of wind-screen leaning against poles,

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Fig. 267. Skin tent seen from the back. The shape of the sheet is most irregular. Ahaggar, the *Agub-en-tehlé* tribe.

[text continues on p. 364]

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their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by *Kel Ferwan* vassals who said that both 565
noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the *Kel Tédalé*. That some of them are noble by origin 614
seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the *Kel Tédalé* in part are related to the *Ihaḍanaren* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter tribe, though without vassals, is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

As to the origin of vassalage among the Ayr Tuareg, it is probable that this is due to the meeting 565
of distinct cultures based mainly on camel-breeding and goat-breeding. Rodd has some very interesting 233
remarks on the position of the vassals as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:— [174]
"One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances" (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rôdd, however, also refers [567]
to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to mainly by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the particular camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. But I have been told by many Tuareg that there were in the past very few camels in vassal tribes, and though most Tuareg apparently hold the view that the vassals have always had camels, the Sultan *Umar* claims that originally they had none while the noble Tuareg have owned these animals since times immemorial. So it might seem as if the political system of the drum-group 174
in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, was founded upon a class division with its root in the meeting of distinct 565
pastoral cultures. It is a fact that certain vassal tribes were attached to their noble lords as a kind 634
of workers with the duty of performing such work as could not be done properly by negroid slaves. Among these tribes were the *Ikawkan* attached to the *Kel Azel*, and the *Ikkoberen* and the *Iberdyanen* attached to the *Irawatten*.

It is most likely that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg had vassals before they arrived in Ayr, for many true vassals hold that they have immigrated from the traditional homeland of their noble lords. However, there are in Ayr also certain tribes which have lost their noble status and become a kind of vassals owing to having been subdued in fairly recent wars.

## THE KEL GERES DRUM-GROUP

There is no class-division of so-called noble Tuareg and vassals among the *Kel Geres*. In this respect 642
they differ from most other Tuareg groups except for the *Kel Ewey* among whom a division into classes 565
of this kind has ceased to exist – probably because the *Kel Ewey* have mixed with the sedentary negroid population of the Ayr villages. In *Kel Ewey* certain tribes are more important than others, but

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The title of Amenukal is

634 used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *ettebel* is reserved to those
565 chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-*
651 *akal*, have the right to an annual tribute known as *šiuse* (*chiwsé*) from their individual vassals, and it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaka* or *tamessadek* must also be given to them, because the drum-chief is inseparable from his *Kadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasit* or *takote* (*takuté*), that is the
634 right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain
565 delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels. The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. – These are the
[178] main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been
[642] no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579–586 & 1950a, p. 188–193, 201–209).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

642 The *Kel Ataram* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that
565 in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel*
[114] *Tademaket* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchar*) and vassals (*Imrad*, sing *Amerid*, or *Dara*). The dominant noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with
[567] Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Bélla*). They pay *tiwsé* to the noble Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals, but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All
[614] tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amrar*, but all important decisions are made
[646] by the *myad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This
643 council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with warfare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of
642 the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position
565 (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). – To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:—
[614] Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Idnanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.

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of Africa, Sachs says that they occur mainly in Islamic West Asia from where they were recently introduced to Europe and to India where terms for kettle-drums are derived from Arabic (Sachs 1923, p. 58 ff.; 1929, p. 247). Wieschhoff admits that the kettle-drums seem to have been introduced into India with Islam, but he concludes that the distribution of them in the Sudan and in North-east Africa indicates that this element belongs to the so-called North Erytrean Culture (cf. Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40 ff., map 29e).

I do not want to advance any theory about the introduction of kettle-drums into Africa, but it seems natural to consider the Tuareg drums known as *ettebel* as an Islamic trait. However we cannot be sure that the use of drums as insignia of chiefs is post-Islamic, for, as we have seen, the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in many parts of Africa.

The theory that the drums used by Tuareg chiefs are Islamic seems to agree with the fact that the custom of crowning chiefs among the Tuareg by means of a large turban or headcloth is no doubt also an Arab practice. The use of a turban to crown or install kings and supreme chiefs is rare in Africa south of the Sahara. The use of the turban for the kings of Dar Fur, Wadai, and Bornu is no doubt to be considered Islamic (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 68; Lestam 1944, p. 118), and there can also be little doubt that the use of a large turban at the installation of chiefs in Tibesti and Ennedi was originally introduced as a result of contact with the Arabs – particularly as this turban is known by the Arabic term *kadmul* (cf. Kronenberg 1958, p. 74 f.; Fuchs 1961, p. 52).

It is clear that Islam has greatly influenced Tuareg political organization. But we should also bear in mind that North Africa in pre-Islamic times was influenced by various high cultures which are generally known as *Old Mediterranean* (*Syrtic*) and *Young Sudanese* (*North Erytrean*). It is very possible that the first noble Tuareg who penetrated into the Sahara with their camels came from a country situated towards the East or the North-east, and we have seen that the Ayr Tuareg have traditions about their origin in these quarters (cf. p. 412 ff.). It might therefore seem natural to assume that certain traits which are grouped under the vaguely-defined *Young Sudanese Culture* have been introduced into the Sahara with the immigration of the first noble Tuareg. Lhote thinks that the sandal type known as *takalmi* was perhaps introduced from Egypt with Tuareg immigrations from that country (Lhote 1950d, p. 531). We cannot know this, but it is possible that the oldest camel-breeding nomads introduced into the Sahara certain elements of the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture*.

## TUAREG SLAVERY

It is very possible that the political system of the pastoral Tuareg has been greatly influenced by slavery in the sense that slavery made the noble Tuareg less dependent on their vassals. Throughout the 19th century slavery was important to fair-skinned pastoralists of all classes. In other respects it has had little effect on the changing political relations, for slaves do not constitute a class or a true caste; they are incorporated into Tuareg society on a kinship pattern.

Slavery is still extremely important in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer where the French military administration has done very little to abolish it. It is true that the slave-trade no longer exists, but

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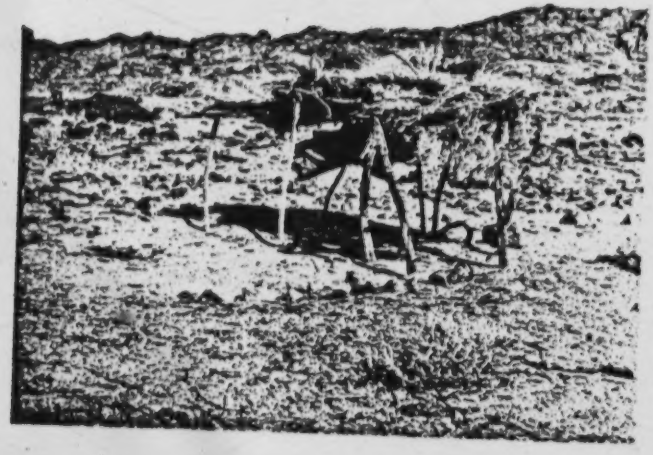

Fig. 290. Sun-shade built of branches and grass. It is the normal living quarters for slaves in Ahaggar and for a great part of the year it is more suitable to the climate than Tuareg skin tents. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

567 military administrators have tacitly admitted that slavery continues as an established institution.
648 According to a census of 1949, there are in Ahaggar 1552 slaves owned by 3960 pastoral Tuareg (cf.
[162] Lhote 1955a, p. 224 ff.), and in two tribes the number of slaves exceeds that of fair-skinned Tuareg, namely in the *Dag Rali* and in the *Kel Rela*. Most Ahaggar Tuareg have a few slaves in their camps, while in Ayr very few fair-skinned pastoralists have slaves nowadays. The civil administration of Ayr has done much to secure the abolishment of slavery, and it seems as if many slaves were manumitted
567 after the 1917 revolt. Slavery is actually almost devoid of economic importance in Ayr, while in Ahaggar
[184] it plays a great part in the maintenance of the economic system based upon camel-breeding outside Ahaggar and on caravan-trading.

The structural position of slavery is apparently very much the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. Slaves are their owners' property; they can no longer be traded, but even in pre-European days it was never usual to sell slaves from one's own camp. The slaves are still inherited within one and the same family, and until a few years ago it was the custom for a slave girl to form part of the bride-wealth. Despite everything this may perhaps be taken as an indication that slaves are not conspicuously well treated, and there are also examples of the corporal punishment of slaves. This may occur even to-day, the rule being that certain misdemeanours, for which the light-skinned Tuareg atone by paying a fine of domestic animals, may be punished in the case of slaves by a flogging on the order of senior chiefs.

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Fig. 291. Sun-shade built by slaves in Ayr on the same principle as the mat tents previously mentioned. The standing slave girl only wears a cotton skirt which sometimes in the south forms the sole dress of women. Ayr, the *Irawatten* tribe.

It is, however, rare for a slave to be punished in this way by his own master. Throughout the time I have lived among the Tuareg I have, for example, only noted two instances of corporal punishment, and both in a very mild form. It is also very normal in vassal camps for slave children and Tuareg children to play together, and a slave owner may treat his slave children in much the same way as his own. 567

There are several reasons why the Tuareg, practically speaking, never punish their slaves, and a very interesting custom may here be adduced. For if a slave is badly treated, he has always the recourse of changing masters by means of a system which is still in operation to this day. In Ahaggar the way thereby a slave can obtain his freedom from his master and become attached to another Tuareg is as follows:— When he sees a riding camel belonging to a Tuareg whose slave he wishes to be, he runs up to it and cuts a piece from one of its ears. In consequence of this the owner of the camel is obliged to take possession of the slave, whose actual and original owner can no longer make any claim to recover him. This custom may appear remarkable, but it is in fact a symbolic action with a deeper significance: to cut a piece from the ear of another man's camel is to damage it, and a Tuareg is responsible for the actions of his slaves. The "guilty" slave therefore falls to the lot of the owner of the camel as "compensation" for the "damage" done to his beast, and the original owner of the slave is bound to agree to this. It is an extreme loss of prestige for a Tuareg to lose his slave in this way, [558] and is a great mark of honour for the new master, who will receive his slave with favour and give him

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567 clothes and a camel with saddle; there will thus be an excellent relationship between master and slave. This method of cutting the ear of another man's riding camel to become his slave is also known to have been practised in Ayr. However, the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that among them a slave who wanted to become attached to another master would rather cut a slight slit in the ear of one of that man's children. The slave would thus become attached to the father of the "wounded" child.

In cases where a slave simply runs away, his master will always demand his return. But in Áhaggar, the senior chieftain, the *Amenukal*, may intervene on behalf of the slave if he learns that the runaway slave has been badly treated or is badly clothed. There are thus certain rules which serve to promote reasonably good conditions for the slaves. However, only under exceptional circumstances do they eat with their masters, and they normally live, not in tents, but in open windscreens or shades from the sun. In general, though, there is little difference between the way of life of the Tuareg and their slaves, and they wear fairly similar clothes and ornaments. The slaves also bear weapons, and in the old days, when camel-raiding and warfare formed, as it were, a part of the Tuareg economy, they often accompanied their masters on raids. If a Tuareg family owns a sufficiently large number of slaves they will often not only carry out much of the heavier household work but will also watch over the flocks and herds; and as herdsmen they often have a position of considerable influence, as they are better acquainted with the care of the various types of animals than are the Tuareg themselves. To all this may be added a custom of particular interest. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg each tribe owns [422] a particular portion of a beast so that from a slaughtered beast one tribe is entitled to a portion of the back, another to the heart, a third to the liver, and so on. The slaves have similar rights in such cases, being entitled to the neck and in some regions also to the tail and the feet. When a beast is slaughtered these portions must always be given to the slaves.

The slaves are thus not completely without rights. Nevertheless the ordinary rules of inheritance do not apply to them. If a slave is on good terms with his master, the latter will, in the course of years, give him a certain number of goats as his personal possession – which he may, for example, slaughter or sell as he wishes. But when a slave dies his children cannot inherit his flocks or any other of his possessions. Everything then will become the property of his master.

567 This is in agreement with the fact that slavery is organized upon a kinship pattern in the way that 608 slaves are normally the fictive children of their master, a man being the "father" of his slaves, while a female slave-owner will be their "mother", for slaves are always owned individually by pastoral Tuareg, and though the men are perhaps more frequently slave-owners than are women, slaves may be owned by pastoralists of both sexes. This position of slaves as "children" of the slave-owner means that the owner's brothers, sisters and parents are considered a kind of "parent" by his slaves. This again results in young slaves being considered a kind of "brother and sister" to the slave-owner's children and those of relatives of the slave-owner's generation. The organization of slavery on a kinship pattern can be demonstrated by means of the following examples:—

[583] (1) When a young slave marries it is the duty of the slave-owner as his "father" to pay the necessary amount of bride-wealth which will comprise a few goats – normally three to five animals – and this bride-wealth goes to the owner of the slave girl with whom the slave marries. A Tuareg women will as a slave-owner make and receive the payments connected with the marriages of her individual slaves in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner.

[Text continues on p. 444]

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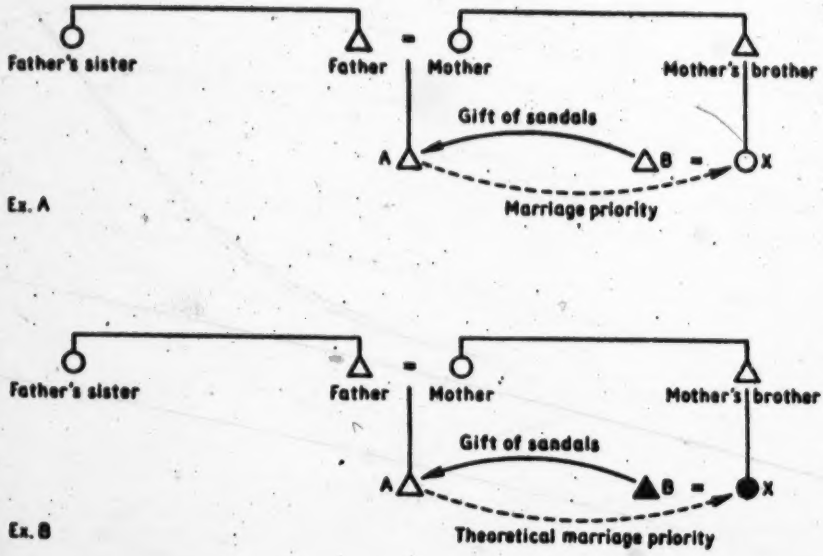


Fig. 292. Diagram illustrating how Tuareg slavery in Ahaggar is based upon kinship structure.

Ex. A. The Tuareg A has a sort of first-priority to marriage with his mother's brother's daughter X, who, however, marries B, who has no especial right to marry X. During the marriage ceremony B or one of his brothers must thus give a pair of sandals to A.

Ex. B. The slave-girl X belongs to A's mother's brother and is the latter's fictive daughter; she is therefore regarded as A's mother's brother's daughter, and A accordingly has first-priority to marriage with X. As a slave-girl, however, X will marry the slave B, but A will receive the gift of sandals, just as though X were his actual mother's brother's daughter.

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567 608 in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner. When a slave marries a slave girl the latter becomes the daughter-in-law of her husband's owner, and there will consequently be a kind of avoidance between these persons as between other relatives-in-law of different generations. In connection with slave-marriages it is of some interest to mention the following custom practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar:—

[582] [43] Among the Tuareg of Ahaggar a man has a certain marriage priority to his mother's brother's daughter according to rules which are outlined in the next chapter (p. 458 ff.). Therefore when a Tuareg's mother's brother's daughter marries somebody else the first man vill be entitled to a pair of sandals from the groom. In agreement with this custom a slave when marrying a slave-girl must give a pair of sandals to his wife's owner's ("father's") sister's son as explained in the diagram above (Fig. 292).

(2) The husband in a Tuareg pastoral family stands in the relationship of "father-in-law" (*adeggal*) to all slaves owned by his wife, while the wife is the "mother-in-law" (*tadeggalt*) of all slaves owned by her husband. Between these fictive relatives-in-law there is institutional avoidance which, however, is far less strictly observed than for true relatives by marriage of different generations. Owing to these rules a man must not or should not marry a slave girl owned by his divorced or deceased wife, just as it would be improper to marry a daughter-in-law.

(3) It is not forbidden for a man to marry a slave-girl whom he owns, even though she is considered his "daughter". This does not disagree with ordinary kinship-rules for a man is permitted to marry some of his classificatory daughters. If a man marries his own slave girl his children, among the Ayr Tuareg, would not be considered *Ichardanen* or *Iburelliten*, that is "mulattoes". They have the right to be considered true Tuareg or *Imajeren*, but in case of disagreements between a Tuareg of this type, and other people, they will call him by one of the terms used for "mulattoes", and may even call him "slave". If a man marries a slave girl who does not belong to him, his children of that marriage will [583] not become true Tuareg. But a Tuareg who wishes to marry a woman of slave status or a mulatto will attempt to secure the acknowledgment of his wife and her children as true Tuareg by the payment of a high bride-price. Thus a Tuareg of Ahaggar who married a mulatto girl gave for bride-wealth seven camels as is customary for noble Tuareg in the two northern groups, though the price according 554 to traditional rules should not exceed the value of one camel. It must be added that the position in Tuareg society of people who are not true Tuareg by origin depends greatly upon personal qualities. If a man is wise, rich, and generous, or if he is a marabut, all Tuareg will be ready to associate with him on equal terms even though he be predominantly negroid. I have noted several examples of this, and once met a very negroid nomad who was greatly respected by all Tuareg because he had once [584] killed seven goats in one day to entertain foreign guests. There are certain classes and castes in Tuareg [567] society. Formally it seems comparatively easy for children of mixed marriages of Tuareg and slaves to be considered Tuareg as slaves have a social position different from that of true black-skinned castes.

567 608 (4) If a slave woman has suckled a Tuareg girl or has taken a little fair-skinned Tuareg girl to her as her own, she will be recognized as the girl's true mother. And if the slave woman has children of her own they will be recognized as brothers and sisters of the little Tuareg girl. When the Tuareg girl later marries, her husband will be considered the true son-inlaw of her slave-mother and there will

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



be a very strict avoidance relationship between them. However, the slave-mother has no right to inherit (*tekachit*) the livestock left on the death of her Tuareg daughter, but a certain amount of stock will be given her under the designation of *elhakk*. The Tuareg girl will not inherit her slave-mother, nor will she have the right to a number of her animals.

The above examples indicate the main structural features of Tuareg slavery. Most important among them is the position of slaves as children of their masters, though it should be stated that the rules of behaviour between owner and slaves are not necessarily like those valid for parents and children. A young slave owner will not be rough with his old slaves, but will generally behave very kindly towards them, refraining from giving them orders in the way he would command his younger slaves. Age distinctions play a great rôle in relationships between Tuareg and their slaves, and a description of Tuareg slavery should not only outline its structure but also underline the fact that we cannot establish very fixed rules for the relationship between Tuareg and slaves, as it varies very much with individuals. Some slave-owners treat their very young slaves almost like their own children, while other slave-owners do not. Some Tuareg are constantly talking disparagingly about their slaves while outwardly appearing to be very kind to them. There are many facets of Tuareg slavery.

The position of slaves as children of their owners causes slaves to belong not only to particular families and family groups, but also to tribes and, in a certain sense, even to classes. I have often noticed this in Ahaggar where tribes within the same class frequently have an attitude towards each other which is described by the Tuareg word *inmeñhaṛen*, that is "to have a feeling of envy or jealousy towards somebody". *Inmeñhaṛen* is rather an attitude of reserve and outward respect than a kind of avoidance. People of tribes or sub-tribes which have *inmeñhaṛen* relationships to one another will not visit each others' camps except on certain occasions when dressed in their best clothes, and they will then behave with the uttermost reservation and respect to each other. If two tribes have such a relationship to one another, it will normally also comprise their slaves, who will behave towards each other in the same fashion. If on the other hand two tribes have institutional joking with one another, as is the case with certain vassal tribes in relation to tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class, there will also be joking between their slaves. There seems to be a strong tendency for the slaves to behave towards each other in a manner corresponding to that of their master.

In spite of the kinship pattern on which the relationships of Tuareg slaves and slave-owners is based, it is most noteworthy that there is always latent joking between them, as there is between many different classes and castes in Tuareg society. On certain occasions a Tuareg slave owner will joke freely even with his young or older slaves, though he will never joke with his children who have to show their father the outmost respect (cf. p. 454). Such a joking relationship is still more common between Tuareg and slaves who are not attached to one another by possession bonds. But it never exists between Tuareg and slaves who are not already known to each other.

The noble Tuareg may also joke with slaves but seem less inclined to do so than Tuareg of other classes. Apart from that, the relationship between noble Tuareg and slaves does not deviate from the description presented above. Noble Tuareg can marry slave women though they cannot easily marry Tuareg women of the vassal class. This may seem rather strange, but is in fact not so unusual as it might seem. We have stated above (p. 429 f.) that the reason why noble Tuareg and vassals could not

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



565 easily intermarry was to be looked for in the structure of the political system based upon the division
567 of society into noble and vassal classes. A marriage between nobles and vassals would apparently tend
64 to break down the political structure, but this would not be the case with a marriage between a noble Tuareg and a slave woman, for slaves are attached to the tribe of their masters as their "children" and play no part in political structure. Furthermore, if a noble Tuareg marries a slave-girl belonging to him, their children will also be able to adopt a noble status.

533 horsehair attached to the ends. During the music the player from
[237] time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum
[314] tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The amzad skins are often
decorated with painted motifs in very vivid colors, or else they
[532] are covered with tifinagh inscriptions indicating the name of the
owner and bearing love verses for the use of admirers.

Among the Ihaggaren violins are usually large, reaching as
much as 40 centimeters in diameter. In Sudanese tribes, on the
[171] other hand, they are much smaller, rarely exceeding 25 to 30
centimeters.

533 The amzad plays an important role among the Tuareg, who
really make a true cult of it. Young men go to listen to the girls
play it. After they are married, they love to hear their wives, who
charm in this way the empty hours of summer evenings. Not play-
533 ing the amzad is a punishment that the women inflict on the men,
626 and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives
593 or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no amzad,"
they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This
prospect was often sufficient to restore their courage and incite
them to go efface their defeat.

The ahal. -- At about the age of sixteen, boys and girls have
882 access to adult society and begin to participate in the ahal.
571 The word ahal means "meeting, conversation, interview," A
521 synonym for it is édéouenné. These musical and literary meetings
have a more or less peculiar nature, depending on whether or not
they are mixed with asri.

517 Asri, literally "to run with the bridle loose," means the practice
521 of some very free mores. To live in a state of asri is to exist under
571 conditions which permit one to practice loose mores. Those who
533 can be in a state of asri are pubescent boys and girls, widowers,
and divorced people of either sex.

These meetings take place near the camps in the shelter of
a wadi, but always out of the sight of old people and respectable
people of the tribe. They usually take place before the evening

517 meal, which is taken very late, and more rarely after the meal if
521 it is to entertain a stranger. Everyone sits in a circle. Each per-
571 son takes a place in the order of his arrival, in such a way as to
533 alternate men and women. When everyone has arrived, they elect a male president and a female president, whose job is to see that the usages and customs of the ahal are respected and, as a joke, /289/ to inflict forfeits on those who bring on themselves the recriminations of the others. Sometimes only a female president is elected, but never a male president alone.

The presence of several girls in a camp is often sufficient
[574] cause for organizing an ahal mixed with asri. The young men come from neighboring camps, always dressed in their dressy clothes. Some of them sometimes come hundreds of kilometers to attend a meeting where they know they will find pretty girls and pleasant distraction. Then one of those present plays the violin. The sourish, plaintive, monotonous sounds which come out of it are quite in harmony with the wild setting made by nature and man. The men accentuate the rhythm by singing "ho ho" on the beat and finally by a hummed accompaniment. And every-
[538 one jokes and tells broad stories, for the poetic part is often of a
522] very doubtful quality, if not made up of more or less vulgar repartee.

Then the violin is silent, and laughter bursts out on all sides.
[832] Men and women make very free contacts and rub noses which is the peculiar form of the Tuareg kiss. These meetings end very late at night, and everyone returns to his camp, not, however, without having made an appointment by a special language of hand gestures to finish these amorous love feasts in a more intimate way.

836 The mores of the girls are indeed very licentious, so much so that Father de Foucault stated that the word "virginity" did not exit in Tamashek. (1) "There is no question of keeping the girl

1. Dr. Vermale, Au Sahara pendant la guerre européenne /In the Sahara During the European War/, p. 172.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft 000
are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put 685
into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, [697]
while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:– pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment [177]
and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were [681]
in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel [643]
Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe 634
with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his [692]
power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with 565
the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relation- 571
ship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum- [634]
chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place 582
in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that 607
one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and [565]
their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory 607
in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

/46 cont./ Man

571 In order to understand Tuareg country well, it is necessary to examine the people from the ethnic point of view, in so far as this is possible, and also from the social and economic point of view.

A concise table will show the different ethnic groups, the social classes, and the economic specializations; it will facilitate a better understanding of the human relations.

A. Ethnic /groups/

571 563

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Whites : | Berbers | : Tuareg | Nobles<br>Imrads, except for the Issakamaren |
| | | Arabs | : Mozabites<br>: Chorfa<br>: Chaamba | |
| 2. | Blacks : | Iklan | : Sudanese | |
| | | Harratin | : Sudanese, Saharans | |
| 3. | Mixed : | Maalmines | : | |
| | | Issakamaren | : Arab - Tuareg | |
| | | Mixed Tuareg - Negro | | |

/47/

B. Social Organization

571 564

1. Tuareg
   1. Nobles (Ihaggarènes)
   2. Vassals (Imrads)
   3. Artisans (Inaden)
   4. Gardeners (Harratin)
   5. Domestics (Iklan)

2. Arabs
   Chorfa (holy men)
   Zaoui " "
   Chaamba
   Miscellaneous
   Mixed

3. Mozabites

/47 cont./

571 463

C. Economic Organization

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tuareg | : | Nomadic herdsmen |
| Arabs | : | Nomadic herdsmen and traders |
| Inaden | : | Artisans |
| Harratin | : | Cultivators, craftsmen, manual laborers |
| Iklan | : | Domestics of the Tuareg |
| Mozabites | : | Sedentary traders |
| Chorfa | : | Receive alms in exchange for their presence |
| Zaoui | : | id. |

571 619 643

At the beginning of the French occupation, the Tuareg people were in a stage of social evolution similar in many ways to our Middle Ages. The same system is still in force today, although cracks in it may be seen, caused by the French and Moslem presence. To speak only of the Kel Ahaggar, who are the only ones who concern us in this study, we see a confederation of tribes commanded by the "amenokal," who is elected for life. His title confers on him the ownership of the soil, amenokal meaning "owner of the land." He disposes of the territories of nomadization /terres de parcours/ and of the arable land as he wishes. In practice, this power is exercised according to custom and in a paternalistic fashion.

571 564

Among the tribes, a very rigid caste system exists. First, there are the noble tribes which formerly supplied the warriors; they undertook the protection of the confederation. They were rich with loot taken from /48/ neighboring confederations and from outside caravans, and from protection money paid by caravaneers who passed through Kel Ahaggar territory. Then, there are the imrad tribes -- we may call them vassals. More numerous and made up of camel herders and caravan guides, they could be called on to furnish reinforcements when an expedition ran into trouble or was larger than usual.

571 /48 cont./ Each tribe possessed slaves (iklan), bought or
564 captured in the Sudan. They lived with Tuareg families, carry-
[567] ing out domestic chores, tending goats, extracting salt, digging wells. These slave families were an integral part of the tribe and followed it in its moves.

The harratin were free or freed men, generally Negroes, often natives of the Touat, come to cultivate the arable lands of the Ahaggar. They worked under two contract systems, which are still in force and which we shall study further on.

## The Tribes

631 In the preceding chapter we saw that each noble tribe possessed imrads, or vassals. Each of these imrad tribes has a chief called "amrar," who rules the tribe according to custom. A tribe can be divided and subdivided. The tribe possesses a pasture region of its own, in which no other tribe may sojourn without a previous agreement with the amenokal, and that only in exceptional circumstances. The nobles may sojourn as they like on the lands of the vassals. The imrad tribes pay a due to the amenokal as a sign of their vassalage. This tax is called "tioussé." The payments are always in kind and in general are scrupulously discharged. This revenue enables the amenokal to uphold his rank suitably during the almost daily receptions, but it is not enough to cover the expenses of his command completely.

## /49/ The Nobles

565 The Kel Rela at present constitute the most important noble tribe of the Ahaggar. These nobles, called in Tamashek "ihaggarènes," are split into three subgroups: the iboglanes, the inembas, and the ikérémoïens. These subgroups are related and increasingly practice endogamy.

The Kel Rela are without doubt the handsomest specimens of the Tuareg type. Does this derive from the fact that they have

619 him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were
721 frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal* were raided
643 by people of his drum-group, the *Amenukal* had the right to a tribute named *ennehet* which according to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amenukal*'s drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the *Amenukal* to whom they paid *tiwsé* for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347 f.).

634 The drum-group (*eṭṭebel*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The
[831] federation (*téḡehé*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

634 It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship
565 (*tehandezzit*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there
571 were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is
614 true notably of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar.
[602] People of the *Dag Ṛali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group joke with the tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The word "*Isekkemaren*" means literally "people who lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg and true vassals, who say that the *Isekkemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals will joke with the *Isekkemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the
[602] vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Isekkemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally
[431] related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed between *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Isekkemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg come to the *Isekkemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the *Isekkemaren* visiting the *Aguh-en-tehlé*. The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relationship to the noble *Kel Ṛela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Ṛela* engage in sham-fights (*tebbillant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between the *Kel Ṛela* and the vassal *Aguh-en-telhé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between *Isekkemaren* and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Isekkemaren* tribes (*Iheyawen Hada, Kel Tazulet*) and the *Aguh-en-tehlé tribe*. Wedding feasts in these *Isekkemaren* tribes are most popular with young men of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Isekkemaren* girls. Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages, if any, while this was not so in the *Taytok* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



noble Tuareg and vassals. It would seem as if these mixed marriages had a political function as they served to reinforce the solidarity within the drum-group in view of its opposition to the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group and the *Amenukal*. In consequence of these marriages the political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group was in the past much influenced by rules of kinship behaviour, and the payments due to the drum-chief from vassals were less comprehensive than in the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group.

*The Kel Ṛela* drum-group was divided into minor relationships between noble Tuareg and vassals. These relationships were known as *temaẓlayt*, that is literally "the root of the nail". They have almost ceased to exist, and consequently they are very difficult to describe. However, it is possible to outline their organization and main functions. They were structurally akin to the drum-group, as they were matrilineally organized. A noble Tuareg who had rights over certain vassals would be succeeded by a maternal kinsman, and in a group of vassals right and obligations would equally follow matrilineal rules. A *temaẓlayt* relationship was a relationship between a small noble matrilineage with a particular leader and a larger matrilineage of vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class. The noble matrilineage that was attached to a definite group of vassals would not necessarily correspond with the matrilineal core within a section, for there were comparatively many noble Tuareg in the *Kel Ṛela* tribe who were leaders of *temaẓlayt* groups. This is shown by Benhazera's investigations, which took place at a time when the ancient political system of the Ahaggar Tuareg still retained most of its traditional functions. At that time there were at least ten noble Tuareg who were commanders of *temaẓlayt* groups (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.).

There are certain traces of *temaẓlayt* organizations even to-day. The token of this relationship is the payment of an annual due known as *tiwsé* from a group of vassals to the *temaẓlayt* master.

Apparently some vassals who made *tiwsé* payments to a noble *temaẓlayt* master did not make this payment also to their drum-chief (the *Amenukal*). Thus to-day the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe makes an annual *tiwsé* payment to *Maṛli agg Amayas* of the *Kel Ṛela* section named *Inembo Kel-Emeṛṛi*, but gives no *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal Bay*, who belongs to the *Iboglan* section of the same tribe, though the land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) is always paid to the *Amenukal*. I was also told by the *Kel Ṛela Khalifa* of Tamesna, who belonged to the *Iboglan* section, that he had the right to collect the *tiwsé* payment from the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, but as he was now living outside of Ahaggar this payment was made by the *Isandan* to the *Amenukal*. However, I believe that in the past most vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class made *tiwsé* payments both to their individual *temaẓlayt* masters and to the *Amenukal*. This would also seem to be in agreement with Foucauld's description of *temaẓlayt* relations (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1965).

A noble *temaẓlayt* master had no judicial authority over his individual vassals, and could not summon them to war and raiding against their will. These rights belonged to the drum-chief, consequently in the *Kel Ṛela* group, to the *Amenukal*. The obligations of a noble *temaẓlayt* master towards his vassals were mainly to protect them against raids by and exploitation of other noble Tuareg who formed a class of warriors and raiders roaming the country for enemies and for booty. A *temaẓlayt* master had the right to organize raids with the support of his vassals, if they were interested, and the vassals were also allowed to carry out raids on their own behalf, but in both cases half of the booty (*abellag*) taken by

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



634 vassals was given to the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) and not to the *temaẓlayt* master. However, should
565 a vassal Tuareg have borrowed for raiding a riding camel from his *temaẓlayt* master or another noble
571 Tuareg, they received a tribute also known as *abellaḡ*, comprising half of the booty remaining when
613 one half had been given to the *Amenukal*.
721

565 The noble Tuareg possessed many advantages over their individual vassals. They could apparently
571 claim almost what they wanted for their subsistence, and frequently camped close to their vassals who then were obliged to feed them, and when in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take such animals from their vassals (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). Similar information is given by Benhazera, but he states that the vassals in the past would not necessarily supply everything demanded by their noble lords (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The vassals were under a particular obligation to provide the noble Tuareg with goat-breeding products, and if they had milk yielding she-camels the noble Tuareg could claim these animals until milk-yielding stopped. But the vassals had also many advantages from the *temaẓlayt* relationships. They were not only protected by their lords. The noble Tuareg would leave behind the animals they could not take with them when roaming in the desert, and noble Tuareg never had much livestock with them in their camps. It was also of great importance to the vassals that they could use their masters camels for caravan trading. On the whole the system was not exclusively the exploitation of vassals by the noble Tuareg, and it can be added that the vassal Tuareg were always more numerous than the noble Tuareg, that the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) was elected by the vassals, and that he alone had judicial rights. The system was one of give and take to both classes involved, and there can be little doubt that it was well adapted to practical ecological conditions.

233 In Ahaggar, camels and goats are very complementary to each other. The camel supplies the Tuareg
433 with milk, but with very few other products and the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-
[234] camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important
[262] as food, but it is not well-fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg kill camels to
[281] utilize their meat only when many people congregate, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, for tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the
[437] camels have little direct economic value. But for raiding in the past, camels were very valuable riding animals, and were then, as now, extremely important for caravan trading which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic rôle of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive
[234] part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese
[262] which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore, goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

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Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without 233
camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to 433
the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays, as in the past, base their economy mainly on camels and goats.
I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats and their [262]
vegetable food from caravan trading with the aid of camels.

Formerly, the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned 565
exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but 233
he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). It is, however, confirmed 422
by many Tuareg that the vassals originally had no camels, and that throughout the 19th century they 571
had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals, and even to-day goats and butter form part of the *tiwsé*-payments. The noble Tuareg, on the other hand, allowed their particular vassals to trade with their camels against the payment of a certain amount of vegetable food products which to-day also form part of most *tiwsé*-payments. They allowed their vassals also to have usufructs of such animals as could not be taken with them on their migrations. Noble Tuareg of to-day continue to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts of the vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they obtain part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops; this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. The noble Tuareg of to-day may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals, who can refuse any gift or [178]
service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are even noble Tuareg who wear amulets which are [289]
believed to induce vassals to donate the things required.

It would seem that the economic relationships forming the basis of the Tuareg political system in 174
the north would arise so to speak automatically from two distinct cultures which met each other in 565
the desert: a camel-breeding culture of a Berber-speaking people now known as the noble Tuareg, and a goat-breeding culture of an ancient Berber-speaking population which now constitutes the vassals.

Some Tuareg traditions seem to indicate that political systems based on class-division arose in this 173
way in the north, but we have to admit that other traditions contradict this. Below I attempt to 565
elucidate Tuareg history in Ahaggar by means of native traditions to which, for practical reasons, I allot definite numbers.

*Tradition A.* All Tuareg have a common origin as they descend from a woman named *Lemtuna*, who is also the ancestress of certain Berbers living around Ṛadamas in Tripolitania. Most Berbers of Morocco descend from *Lemtuna*'s sister who became the ancestress of the *Beraber*. This tradition is widely known in Ahaggar.

*Tradition B.I.* This tradition is a very common explanation of the origin of the class-division in Ahaggar: Long ago two Islamic women of the *Beraber* immigrated to the oasis of Silet from Tafilelt in Morocco. One of these women named *Ti-n-Hinan* was noble while the other woman named *Takama*

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My arguments in favour of the theory that the noble tribes now dominant in Ahaggar are not the oldest noble Tuareg of that area are the following:— 174 565

(1) The small noble tribe *Ikadeyen*, which to-day comprises very few persons who live mainly as sedentary agriculturists around the cultivation centre of Tit in Ahaggar, is said to have lived in Ahaggar before the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes. Some Tuareg say that the *Ikadeyen* are as old in Ahaggar as the *Isebeten*, and it is most interesting that the *Dag Ṛali* Tuareg, who descend from the *Isebeten*, pay at each marriage in their tribe a tribute corresponding to 50 kilos of millet or dates to the *Ikadeyen*. This custom is quite unusual and it may perhaps point towards an ancient vassal relationship between the *Dag Ṛali* (descending from the *Isebeten*) and the *Ikadeyen*. If this is so the vassalage has apparently been different from that prevailing in Ahaggar nowadays and more akin to that of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr, where part of the bride-wealth is given to noble chiefs. It is interesting to note that the *Ikadeyen* Tuareg are said to be "only a little *Ihaggaren*", or to be "*Ihaggaren* but not true *Ihaggaren*". 571 614

(2) The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) as a term for the social class here referred to as "noble Tuareg", seems to be peculiar to the Northern Tuareg. In other Tuareg groups the so-called noble class is known by the term *Imajeren* (sing. *Amajer*), or related terms. Nicolas says that this term refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188 f.). The corresponding word in Northern Tuareg dialect is *Imuhar* (sing. *Amahar*), which is used for all true Tuareg including the vassals. It has generally been accepted that this word derived from the verb *aher* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318; Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674), but Prasse has recently informed me that it is a deformation of *amazir* known in Northern Berber as "free man; Berber". The Foucauld hypothesis that it should be a verbal adjective of *aher* must be discarded, the *h* of this verb being original (Prasse, verbal information) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 457–462). 174 565 184

The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) is different. According to the Tuareg it is just a name, and it is very possible that Foucauld is right in claiming that it is identical with the word *Hawwara*, which was the name of an ancient Berber-speaking population of North Africa (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533 f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory is pure speculation (Nicolas 1953b, p. 14). This, however, is not correct, as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds, as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *w* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *w* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

If we can consider *Hawwara* and *Ihaggaren* as identical words and thus assume a relationship between the dominant noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and the ancient Berber-speaking people known as *Hawwara*, we must look for further information about the latter people who are frequently mentioned in Arab historical documents of the Middle Ages. Ibn Khaldun in particular has written about the *Hawwara*, who are described as nomads and sedentary people who live mainly in the regions of Tunisia, Tripolitania, and Cyrenaica, though tribes belonging to the *Hawwara* groups are also found outside this area to the east and west. The *Hawwara*, according to Ibn Khaldun, came under Arab influence at a very early date, and were conquered by the Arabs as early as the 9th century A.D. In Ibn Khaldun's days the *Hawwara* people were entirely dominated by the Arabs and were the vassals of Arabs of the *Beni Sulaym* group. They spoke Arabic and were culturally indistinguishable from the Arabs. But according to Ibn Khaldun some of the pastoral *Hawwara* at very early date migrated 174 175 565

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placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made 634
four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his 721
part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. 565
He kept them there for about a month, when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted [227]
on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based 634
upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. 565
It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal [184]
tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were [423]
not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of 565
cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed be- 571
tween all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other 634
unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Faday*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and [564]
vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Imeggedezen* and even slaves. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the [601]
more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *abubaz* (pl. *ibubazen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This 565
statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only 582
634

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be a very strict avoidance relationship between them. However, the slave-mother has no right to inherit (*tekachit*) the livestock left on the death of her Tuareg daughter, but a certain amount of stock will be given her under the designation of *elhakk*. The Tuareg girl will not inherit her slave-mother, nor will she have the right to a number of her animals.

The above examples indicate the main structural features of Tuareg slavery. Most important among them is the position of slaves as children of their masters, though it should be stated that the rules of behaviour between owner and slaves are not necessarily like those valid for parents and children. A young slave owner will not be rough with his old slaves, but will generally behave very kindly towards them, refraining from giving them orders in the way he would command his younger slaves. Age distinctions play a great rôle in relationships between Tuareg and their slaves, and a description of Tuareg slavery should not only outline its structure but also underline the fact that we cannot establish very fixed rules for the relationship between Tuareg and slaves, as it varies very much with individuals. Some slave-owners treat their very young slaves almost like their own children, while other slave-owners do not. Some Tuareg are constantly talking disparagingly about their slaves while outwardly appearing to be very kind to them. There are many facets of Tuareg slavery.

The position of slaves as children of their owners causes slaves to belong not only to particular families and family groups, but also to tribes and, in a certain sense, even to classes. I have often noticed this in Ahaggar where tribes within the same class frequently have an attitude towards each other which is described by the Tuareg word *inmeñhaṛen*, that is "to have a feeling of envy or jealousy towards somebody". *Inmeñhaṛen* is rather an attitude of reserve and outward respect than a kind of avoidance. People of tribes or sub-tribes which have *inmeñhaṛen* relationships to one another will not visit each others' camps except on certain occasions when dressed in their best clothes, and they will then behave with the uttermost reservation and respect to each other. If two tribes have such a relationship to one another, it will normally also comprise their slaves, who will behave towards each other in the same fashion. If on the other hand two tribes have institutional joking with one another, as is the case with certain vassal tribes in relation to tribes of the *Isekkemaṛen* class, there will also be joking between their slaves. There seems to be a strong tendency for the slaves to behave towards each other in a manner corresponding to that of their master.

In spite of the kinship pattern on which the relationships of Tuareg slaves and slave-owners is based, it is most noteworthy that there is always latent joking between them, as there is between many different classes and castes in Tuareg society. On certain occasions a Tuareg slave owner will joke freely even with his young or older slaves, though he will never joke with his children who have to show their father the outmost respect (cf. p. 454). Such a joking relationship is still more common between Tuareg and slaves who are not attached to one another by possession bonds. But it never exists between Tuareg and slaves who are not already known to each other.

The noble Tuareg may also joke with slaves but seem less inclined to do so than Tuareg of other classes. Apart from that, the relationship between noble Tuareg and slaves does not deviate from the description presented above. Noble Tuareg can marry slave women though they cannot easily marry Tuareg women of the vassal class. This may seem rather strange, but is in fact not so unusual as it might seem. We have stated above (p. 429 f.) that the reason why noble Tuareg and vassals could not

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1926, p. 100 ff.), and they have been studied later within the same area by other anthropologists (cf. Schlesier 1956, p. 54 ff.). It is my impression that they are comparatively rare among the Tuareg because their social systems have mechanisms which serve to prevent conflicts: The system of cross-cousin marriage in connection with rules of joking, avoidance, and those which permit a man to take domestic animals not only from his father but also from his mother's brothers would seem to lessen conflicts which are latent in other matrilineal systems.

Functional studies would seem to constitute an important means to explain the historical development of social organization, but the functional method alone cannot help us, for it is evident that diffusion also plays a considerable part in the change of social systems as has been shown in this study of the Tuareg. Anthropology is not science in the ordinary sense of the word. People do not behave according to such fixed rules as those we call "natural laws". They have rules but these are not always followed very strictly, and I have shown above that social rules can change owing to diffusion and the adoption of new social traits. So-called primitive peoples do not always live in the functional world of modern anthropology, but they always live in a world of change and tradition. It is possible that the Northern Tuareg for centuries have practised marriages with a maternal cousin, though this type of marriage disagrees with their social system which favours cross-cousin marriage. As to the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg, we know that some of them adopted patrilineal succession owing to contact with the Arabs more than two hundred years ago. Nevertheless, these Tuareg have not adopted the entire social system of the Arabs, and even to-day there are matrilineal traits among them.

Tuareg culture cannot be understood by a mere functional analysis, for its creation is due to diffusion of traits from other cultures, and this seems to hold for all cultural aspects, including political systems and social organization. Consequently, I have tried to understand cultural development in the light of the methods of both functional and historical anthropology.

I hope that this study on Tuareg culture may be considered a contribution towards a more realistic historical method, and trust that my work may be of some value to others who take up the great problems connected with the history of North African culture. It may well be that some of the theories I have advanced or intimated will not survive when our knowledge of the Tuareg and North African cultures is increased, but I believe that a study of cultural development within limited areas will enable a far more realistic and detailed picture of cultural history to be created than has so far been the case.

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 562
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé,"
or tribute from the "imr'ad," or serfs. Not only is the son [611
noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless 565]
of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child,"
but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her
husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is 562
not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except [576]
as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi," over
her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, [574
etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances 431]
between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives
her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is [595]
the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" 562
•V] , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, 572
while she gives him something for his personal use. He is,
in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine
embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal
of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while
Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines
which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man [574]
who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in <u>flagrante delicto</u> can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

565
554 The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished
[302] than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing
[516] nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad
by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant
[195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words
foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of
appearance and language is even more perceptible among the
554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their
562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their
574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society.
Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well
[533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The
qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know-
[565] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather
articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know-
565 ing how to play the violin.
[83] Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part
513 of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the
[842] Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which
582 are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the
other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it,
[648] and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the
last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original
stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting it-
self to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could
bring it.

565 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class
[793 among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/
871 and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the
children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite
[651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

352

furniture. These objects are not numerous and reflect the primitive life led by the Tuareg.

On the left side of the tent is generally found the goatskin water bag, hung on two wooden stakes placed in a V-shape. An old piece of cloth often covers it to protect it from the sun. The waterskin is often empty, for the Tuareg are not very farsighted. When there is water, they drink; when /229/ they are out of it, they stay there waiting a half day until the Iklan get back from the well. [415 271]

Fig. 28.
Tent shovel.

[412]

[574]

When a traveler passes by, he is most generally assailed with demands for water, while he himself often hoped to find some in the camp.

In front of the door and close to all the tents is an enormous wooden mortar and its pestle, in which the servant girl crushes millet and dates. By searching a bit in the tent or in the shelter used as a kitchen, one may find two or three hemispheric wooden dishes destined to hold food and two or three conical bowls serving as drinking vessels. Hanging on one of the outer stakes of the tent are a wooden milking vessel, an esparto winnowing basket for sifting millet flour, serving at the same time as a dish cover, one or two little esparto mats which can serve the same purpose, and finally a few wooden spoons. Each mistress of a tent has a little 412 415 [357] [252] [285]

232 these saddle camels, one may not, therefore, refer to a particular breed /race/ adapted for speed, as one may commonly hear spoken of.

436 The camel has a well determined exchange value among the Tuareg. It is one of the bases for comparison in their commercial transactions.

233 Each tribe marks his animals with a particular sign, and /251/
422 the owners who have many camels also have their own signs, marked with a hot iron on one of the parts of the animal's body -- neck, cheek, or thigh.

The sheep. -- Sheep are raised only accessorily in the Ahaggar,
233 because grass is not abundant enough. But it occupies a large place
[137] in Sudanese animal husbandry.

[136] It is a very peculiar animal with short hair and a long tail. It stands tall, a characteristic which has won for it the name of Ovis
[174] longipes. The Tuareg certainly introduced it into West Africa. Zoologists never refer to it except as Tuareg sheep. Its antiquity in North Africa is well known. The ram of Ammon is pictured with its characteristic form, and it is also recognizable in the splendid rock drawings of Géryville and Tiout. It seems to descend from the Corsican wild sheep rather than from the Algerian wild sheep. Today it is an animal found exclusively in Tuareg camps of the Sudan or
574 in their area of influence.

262 Sheep is the dish served at great feasts, and its skin is used as
237 a ground rug, a blanket, or to make harnessing articles.

The goat. -- The goat is the mountain animal par excellence,
233 as frugal an eater as can be, resisting both cold and heat, and able to be content with the meagerest pastures. It is thus quite natural to find many of these goats among the Ihaggaren.

[136] /252/ The Ahaggar species is small with long black hair. In the Sudan it is different colors -- white and black, or red -- with
[232] short hair; it stands taller than the Ahaggar species and is often crossed with the dwarf female goat in the southern tribes.

136 The origin of the goat is less certain than that of the sheep. Very widespread all over the world, it must have been domesticated at

553 852 Naming the child. -- It is then that the child is named. A choice is made among several names by drawing straws. In the tribes of the Aïr, when there is a dispute over the choice of a name, each of the parties present brings a small goat and secretly gives it the preferred name. The mother, who does not know who has donated each goat, chooses the one she likes and has it slaughtered. [574] The child must then bear the name which had been given the goat for the occasion. Then a meal is served to the people of the camp [431] and to the guests, and a present is given to the marabout if one came.

[302] The same day the newborn's hair is cut for the first time, and the marabout places an amulet around his neck.

551 /284/ The names given to children are quite varied and sometimes very whimsical. They observe customs like those of the American Indians, and so the parents take into account certain fortuitous circumstances which surrounded the birth. We have seen a young girl who bore the name of Tédigrès, meaning "hail," because there was hail at the moment she came into the world. Others bear the names of animals such as Ǎnaba, the panther; Ǎbagui, the jackal; Acotey, the jerboa; Tinirt, the antelope; Ǎhenkatt, the gazelle, etc.

[177] Because of Arab influence, the Tuareg have adopted many names taken from the Bible and Arabized, e.g., Moussa from Moses, Firhoun from Pharaoh, Younès from Jonas, etc.

They also bear very ancient names which come to them through tradition and whose meaning and origin they are ignorant of: Akhamouk (masc.), Amastane (masc.), Yklou (masc.), Chékou (fem.), Tinguelous (fem.). (1)

1. This name may come from the Latin angelus.

From then on the child has his father's name joined to his and keeps it all his life. There are no family names and marriage does

meal, which is taken very late, and more rarely after the meal if it is to entertain a stranger. Everyone sits in a circle. Each person takes a place in the order of his arrival, in such a way as to alternate men and women. When everyone has arrived, they elect a male president and a female president, whose job is to see that the usages and customs of the ahal are respected and, as a joke, /289/ to inflict forfeits on those who bring on themselves the recriminations of the others. Sometimes only a female president is elected, but never a male president alone.

The presence of several girls in a camp is often sufficient cause for organizing an ahal mixed with asri. The young men come from neighboring camps, always dressed in their dressy clothes. Some of them sometimes come hundreds of kilometers to attend a meeting where they know they will find pretty girls and pleasant distraction. Then one of those present plays the violin. The sourish, plaintive, monotonous sounds which come out of it are quite in harmony with the wild setting made by nature and man. The men accentuate the rhythm by singing "ho ho" on the beat and finally by a hummed accompaniment. And everyone jokes and tells broad stories, for the poetic part is often of a very doubtful quality, if not made up of more or less vulgar repartee.

Then the violin is silent, and laughter bursts out on all sides. Men and women make very free contacts and rub noses which is the peculiar form of the Tuareg kiss. These meetings end very late at night, and everyone returns to his camp, not, however, without having made an appointment by a special language of hand gestures to finish these amorous love feasts in a more intimate way.

The mores of the girls are indeed very licentious, so much so that Father de Foucault stated that the word "virginity" did not exit in Tamashek. (1) "There is no question of keeping the girl

1. Dr. Vermale, Au Sahara pendant la guerre européenne /In the Sahara During the European War/, p. 172.

585 accompanied by her women relatives mounted on asses, leaves,
591 followed by the men on camel back, for her new home. There she
[592] is received by the chief and the old women.

While the married couple take refuge in their tent, the company carouses and dances. The festivities begin at sunset and do not end until dawn the next day, when all those present are exhausted.

593 The young women is then a member of her new family, which she will leave only in case of divorce or the death of her husband.
[594] In the meantime, she does not have the right to go visit her parents, but they may come to her camp.

562 Tuareg women keep a great deal of independence in marriage.
593 It is hard to tell whether they are faithful wives or whether they take advantage of their husbands' often prolonged absences to mis-
837 behave. According to some (Duveyrier) their conduct is exemplary; according to others (de Foucauld, Vermale) they leave much to be desired, and the wives continue to practice the light mores learned at the ahal. "Their unique preoccupation," says Dr. Vermale, "is love; having lovers is their only aim." It is certain that former lovers from the lovers' meetings continue to come visit the married women and to praise their charms in the ahal. But it must be explained that the husbands do not show jealousy, which would be in the worst taste, and that this courting seems quite Platonic. It is very difficult to ask questions on this subject, for the Tuareg are careful of their wives' reputations and maintain that they are above reproach.

As for the men, their conduct is proper in their camps, although some do not hesitate to make use of their women slaves. But when they go on caravans and arrive in the centers far from their country, they give free rein to their passion which a long abstinence has made more impetuous.

684 Adultery (aker) of women is often punished by death. The man does justice himself without anyone thinking to reproach him, killing the guilty parties by his own hand.

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 562
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé,"
or tribute from the "imr'ad," or serfs. Not only is the son [611
noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless 565]
of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child,"
but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her
husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is 562
not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except [576]
as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi," over
her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, [574
etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances 431]
between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives
her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is [595]
the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" 562
•V] , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, 572
while she gives him something for his personal use. He is,
in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine
embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal
of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while
Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines
which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

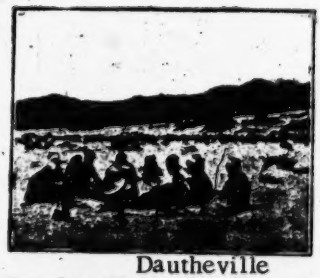
In the absence of her husband she may receive a man [574]
who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

The laws of hospitality, "amedjarou, " are observed as 574 among all Moslems. The guest, "amadjar, " is always well received.

## Chapter XVI

## Hygiene. Diseases

133
516



Dautheville
Dr. Dautheville in the Abezzou Wadi (White Tifedest)

We know that the Tuareg have a horror of water. They do 515 not wash themselves on the pretext that this would make them sick, but it is essentially because they are very sensitive to [151] cold. To say their prayers, they do not indulge in the pre- [782 scribed ablutions, even when they are at home and have water 788] at their disposal. They are content with "taïmoum" (an imitation of washing with sand), which they call "ettamine." The amenokal Moussa ag /31/ Amastane is the only Tuareg whom I have seen making his ablutions with water.

This is also doubtless due to the fact that the Tuareg like 241 to keep the tint of indigo, "sedjeni" ⵙⵉⵏⵉ , on their 302 skins, the result of wearing "chegga, " or blue cotton, which 386 515 runs a great deal and of which they make their clothes. They

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



565 Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Ṛela clan, but as he now lives outside of
614 Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

643 In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to
651 noble Kel Ṛela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Isekkemaren class, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Ṛela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139ff.).

643 Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known
651 as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the
579 Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *ennehet*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347f.).

The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was
565 also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg.
614 But the relation (*temaẓlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals
651 and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

233 In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another.
511 The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And
[234] the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food,
[262] but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar
[574] Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together,
[281] as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft,
[237] as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



222 *aremmud* (*Aristida plumosa & A. Adscensionis*). Tr. Seeds are edible.

262 *tulhult* (*Aristida pungens*). Tr. A perennial grass found in certain parts of Ahaggar and particularly
252 common further north (Ahnet, Immidir) and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Seeds are collected by men and women in the following manner:— The ears are cut with a sickle and placed in a piece of cotton (e.g., a cotton blanket known as *abror*). The ears are left for drying, and threshing is done by beating with a stick. The husks are winnowed as described for wheat and barley (cf. p. 206), and seeds are then stocked in *aĝera* (a skin-bag). According to Foucauld collecting may also be done by digging out the nests of ants as these small insects stock a great many *tulhult* seeds (Foucauld 1922, p. 29 f.). – The *tullult* seeds
[412] are used for bread and porridge, and are also eaten as *tébik* after pounding in a wooden millet mortar.

*lewliwen* (*Scirpus maritimus*). An annual plant having edible fruit in its roots (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1098).

*taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*). Tr., L.M. Young shoots are edible.

*izéyan* (*Asphodelus tenuifolius*). Tr., L.M. Eaten when vegetable food is scarce.

*telokat* (*Ficus salicifolia*). Tr. "Les fruits murs, de couleur rouge, sont tendres, un peu sucrés et comestibles" (Maire 1933, p. 76).

[574] *adamam* (*Osyris alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Its red fruits or berries are eaten as a relish. A bowl of berries is frequently offered to guests of Tuareg camps.

*tanesmimi* (*Rumex vesicarius & R. roseus*). Tr. Inedible according to Foucauld (Foucauld 1922, p. 85), while Foley states that leaves of this plant are eaten after boiling (Foley 1930, p. 42).

*tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual herb which is particularly common in the mountain of Asekrem. The small black seeds are collected in bowls or similar receptacles by rubbing the plants with the fingers. The seeds are ground into flour, which is very suitable for bread and porridge.

*aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*). Tr., L.M., U.M. Seeds and boiled leaves of this plant are eaten when vegetable food is very scarce.

*ébedébed* (*Boerhavia agglutinans & B. repens*). Tr. An annual plant with edible seeds.

*éhéyefyef* (*Aizoon canariense*). An annual plant resembling the *twuit* plant and particularly common in the upper mountain zone. Seeds are used for bread and *tébik*, but not for porridge.

*aĝar* (*Maerua crassifolia*). Tr., (L.M.). A tree yielding edible fruit.

*tadant* (*Boscia senegalensis*). A tree or bush which is extremely rare in Ahaggar where its edible fruit are consequently consumed very rarely.

*aggazit* (*Farsetia Hamiltonii*). Tr., L.M. A seed-plant.

*aherera* (*Alyssum libycum*). An annual plant which is rare in Ahaggar, while common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Eaten after boiling in water.

*azezzeĝa* (*Diplotaxis acris*). The plant is rare in Ahaggar. Its leaves are boiled and eaten.

*tanekfayt* (*Eruca sativa*). Tr., L.M. Leaves are eaten raw or boiled.

*tamaghé* (*Moricandia arvensis*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual plant – a kind of wild cabbage.

*ahwat* (*Schouwia purpurea*). Tr. An annual plant. "Les Touareg mangent la feuille cuite et essorée, sans sel. La plante jeune donne une salade assez analogue à la Roquette, quoique d'un goût moins agréable" (Maire 1933, p. 111).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



234
415*
291

Fig. 158. Woman churning butter by shaking the inflated churning-bag (*aḡiwir*) between her hands. Ahaggar, the *Aḡah-en-tehlé* tribe.

Meat (*isan*) is not a staple diet of the Tuareg. The Tuareg of Ayr consume more meat than the 262
Northern Tuareg, but even in the south it is not eaten daily. There are Ayr Tuareg who are reluctant
to kill their animals, and people who have much milk have very little need of meat. Meat is eaten by [574]
all Tuareg on certain festive occasions, whether social or (and) religious, and when camps are visited
by friends, certain relatives, and important guests. He-goats and rams, or barren goats and sheep, [231]
are the animals most commonly killed. The meat of sheep and rams is considered better than goat [232]
meat, and sheep are also highly esteemed for sacrifice. Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food 000



[text continues on p. 231]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



In literature there are tent descriptions which I have omitted in my survey of Tuareg tent structures, partly because the descriptions are unclear, and partly because they clearly indicate tents which are not erected according to any definite method (cf. Demoulin 1928, p. 159; Campbell 1928, p. 205; Bernard quoted by Laoust 1930, p. 225). 342*

Finally, I add that the sheet of skin is very commonly used for a kind of wind-screen among the Tuareg. Such wind-screens are of two types:— (1) The sheet is attached to three or four sticks buried in the ground. A wind-screen of this kind is depicted in Fig. 284a. It serves as a temporary shelter for visitors in a camp. (2) The sheet is supported by three or four sticks placed in one row with a long stick resting horizontally in their prongs. Such wind-screens are seen in Figs. 284 b-c. They are used by the members of a household in ordinary camps, and it is quite common to erect tents in this manner during seasons when rainfall is not expected. Indeed, many Ahaggar Tuareg use their skin tents only for a part of the year, for skin tents are not too well adapted to the burning hot desert climate. If possible, many Tuareg prefer to live in the shade of rocks and trees, and if efficient shade of this type is found the skin tents are generally not erected. But the Tuareg will then erect part of the wooden structure, namely the forked sticks carrying cross-bars, as these elements serve not only as supports of the sheet, but also for the suspension of skin bags and various domestic implements (cf. Fig. 106). [574] [182] [352]

Capot-Rey writes that the Tuareg skin tents are also less waterproof than mat tents (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 225), but this is not correct. During the rains, as we have seen, skin tents are preferred by many Tuareg who at other seasons live in mat tents, and we have also seen that many Ayr Tuareg will then cover their mat tents with skin. If skin tents were not well fitted for rain they would indeed be very badly adapted also to the Sudanese zone where they are widely found among the Tuareg. [114] [182]

There can be little doubt that the use of skin sheets is very old, for all over the world we find them used for portable dwellings among people at primitive subsistence levels. It is also substantiated by Feilberg that we have throughout the Near and Middle Easts isolated occurrences of skin tents, and that these seem to have been more common in these regions in the past. Feilberg mentions in particular the use of skin for tents among the Tuareg and among the Sluba of Central Arabia (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144). When Feilberg wrote his book on tent development in the Near and Middle East, a description of the structure of Sluba tents was not available. But later investigations have intimated that some skin tents of the Sluba do not seem to be structurally related to ordinary Tuareg skin tents, but rather constitute a kind of wind-screen (cf. Lundbæk 1962). I have mentioned above that the Ahaggar Tuareg also use their tent skins as wind-screens, but it is evident that structurally the normal skin tents in all Tuareg groups have nothing to do with wind-screens. 342* 171

It is possible that the use of skin for wind-screens is extremely old among the Tuareg, but there seem to be some evidence that plaited grass mats for covering the true tents are older. We have seen that among Tuareg who use mat tents (the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*), the inner layer of mats covering the dome-shaped top consists of *ćwerwer* mats made of plant stems tied together, and it has also been mentioned that certain arched tents among the *Kel Dennek* and the Sudanese *Bélla* are covered exclusively with mats produced on this principle. According to Duveyrier mats of straw were formerly used for tent covering among the Northern Tuareg, and it is possible that the *afezu* mats, which seem to constitute the walls of all Tuareg skin tents, may be considered a survival from tents 342* 174

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342
[574]

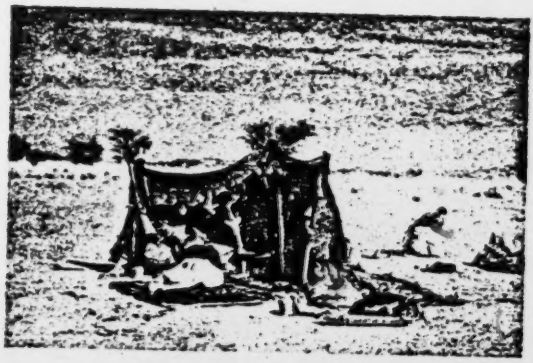


Fig. 284a. The skin sheet erected as a wind-screen for visitors. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

[291]

Fig. 284b. The sheet erected as wind-screen in a Tuareg camp. Ahaggar, the *Aghal-enteklé* tribe.

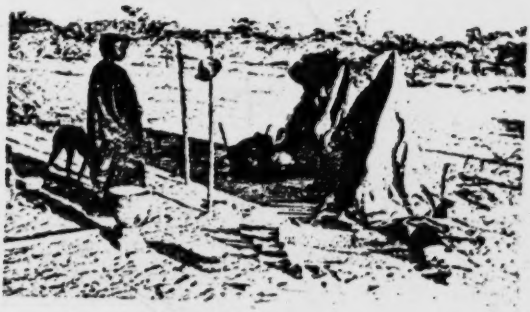


Fig. 284c. The sheet erected as wind-screen in a *Bélla* camp near Ayoru on the Niger.

laïkoum" (May the greeting be on you!). Silently he holds his 533 584 hand out to the woman in the Tuareg manner (that is to say, 832 holding his hand /8/ out open flat and sliding it over the open [576] hand of the woman), and he sits down, saying: "iselane" (What news?). If the woman answers: "elouane" (There is a lot), he begins to pay his court. The Tuareg are not very religious, and it sometimes happens that the woman asks such questions as: "Whom do you love more, God or me?"

The songs begin, and the imz'aden play the accompaniment. The men sing in snatches lines that they have composed on the charms of the ladies of their dreams, the feats that they have done, the raids in which they have taken part, or else satires on their enemies. The women extol courage. In general, a noble woman does not sing, but only plays the amz'ad.

There are three musical rhythms:

The "seyenine" rhythm, lively and quite fast, used among the Kel R'ela and the Taïtoq.

The "ahinena". rhythm, slow and drawn out like a chant, used especially among the Kel R'ela.

The "asaher'" rhythm, used among the Tuareg of the Azdjer /Azjer/ confederation.

Then there are simple games. The women elect a 524 "sultana," or queen; the men a "sultan," or king, who will 533 inflict the punishments incurred and will set the fines to be paid. 584 832 It is a context of wits. A man must be able to answer the questions asked. If, for example, to this question: "Whom do you like better, this one or that one?," he answers: "I prefer this one," he would be booed, would incur a punishment or pay a fine, and the woman who is preferred would be ridiculed by her companions, for one must not show preference openly but must answer, "I like them both."

Another kind of question: "What would you do if you found yourself in the following situation: /9/

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 562
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé, "
or tribute from the "imr'ad, " or serfs. Not only is the son [611
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but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
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which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

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who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

4: Benhazera--19 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter XI

### Death. Burial. Graves

If death ("tamettant" ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵜⵜⴰⵏⵜ ) takes place near an 764
"ar'erem" (village), burial is carried out at the cemetery. Otherwise, the deceased is buried where he died.

The corpse is washed with warm water, according to Moslem custom, and dressed in his shroud "tifit" ⵜⵉⴼⵉⵜ . Tolbas come to say the prayers of the dead. The grave "az'-ekka" ⴰⵣⵄⴻⴽⴽⴰ , plural "iz'ekouan" ⵉⵣⵄⴻⴽⴽⴰⵏ , is dug. The pit /23/ is one span and four fingers wide for, as among all Moslems, the corpse is laid on the right side, the face turned toward "kiblah" (the direction of Mecca). The depth is only 60 to 70 centimeters. It is covered with flat stones cemented with wet clay. They place markers ("chouahed" in Arabic, "ihalissen" ⵉⵀⴰⵍⵉⵙⵙⴻⵏ in Tamashek), that is, stones set on end: one at the head, one at the feet if it is a man; one at the head, two at the feet if it is a woman, parallel or perpendicular to the direction of the grave according to whether it is a man or a woman.

Then a circle of stones is made around the grave, with an opening for entry and exit, and to the east, opposite the door, is the place of prayer, according to the following plan. a

The expression of condolence used is the following: "iha ner' iran yalla ierhak, " which corresponds to the Arabic وقايك الله ويخلف علينا [576] and which means, "May God repay the loss which you and we have suffered. "

The visitor goes around the grave saying, "kel irkhem yalla (May God grant you mercy!), " says his prayer and leaves. [788]

A funeral feast is given for the tolbas and the poor. /24/

a [see p 20 --- ANALYST]

Earrings in the shape of large rings, "tizabbatine" 301 [55-6]
Rings, "tisseq," plural "tisser'ine"

Also, like the men, she wears amulets, "tira." [789]

Finally, in summer she wears a large parasol hat ("medols" 291 in Arabic), which she sometimes decorates with red wool and which is called "tili" (shade).

Concerning the veil: whence comes this use of the veil among the Tuareg? Even those involved do not know.

Sidi ag Keradji, however, gave me an explanation which 173 is quite without validity but shows the craze which the Tuareg 291 have to attribute an Arab origin to themselves. This is his story:

"At the caputre of Mecca, the Prophet Mohammed was mounted on a 'cidah' (female mehari). He had wrapped his head with his 'ihram' (a garment peculiar to the pilgrim who enters the sacred territory of Mecca). It is since this time that the Tuareg have worn the veil."

What is certain is that this is a very old custom, since Arabian writers have for several centuries called /39/ the Tuareg by the name of "Ahl-el-Litham," or "people of the veil."

Did they adopt this custom for utilitarian reasons, to pro- 173 tect their sight from the brilliance of the sun's rays and to 183 insure their eyes against the dust which rises from the sand? 291 To this question they reply in the negative. It is primarily, they say, a question of modesty and dignity. A Tuareg must never show his mouth, the door through which he introduces food into his body. That is shameful. Even at night he does not take off his veil. When he enters a camp foreign to his 183 tribe, he must lower his veil completely over his eyes so as 291 not to be suspected of having come to seduce. In meetings 576 he also veils himself completely, perhaps in order better to hide his feelings.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



826 832 get more sexual satisfaction from intercourse with them. "A fat woman is like a woman who has never known a man", they say. Some women are steatopygous though never to the same extent as women 142 among the Bushmen and the Hottentot. Very comprehensive studies of Tuareg physical anthropology 114 are lacking. Readers are referred to the chapter written by Lhote who has also published a brief bibliography of studies on this subject (Lhote 1955a, p. 158–170, 433), and to the recent and valuable publication by Briggs (Briggs 1958, p. 163 ff., 183 ff.).

291 The custom of Tuareg face veiling has attracted the curiosity of many scholars and travellers. Much has been written about the fact that Tuareg men wear a veil (*tagulmust* in Ahaggar, *tagulmust* in Ayr) while their women are unveiled in contrast to Arab custom. There have been given various explanations of the origin of the custom of Tuareg face veiling. Most authors refer it to hygienic conditions: the veil protects the face from sand and dust, and it prevents mouth, nose, and throat from drying up in hot weather. The fact is that the veil has the latter function, and Arab bedouins of the Sahara will also frequently veil their faces during journeys in the hot season. But the hygienic explanation is definitely not the reason why the Tuareg also veil themselves in many situations where face veiling is unpractical and unpleasant. Another explanation of the custom of face veiling is that the veil may perhaps have certain religious or magic functions. This explanation is apparently also insufficient. A [254] few Tuareg have claimed that the veil may yield protection from persons having an "evil eye" or an 291 "evil mouth" beliefs known in Ahaggar as *tehof*, in Ayr as *tugarchet*. But as I have stated elsewhere 576 (Nicolaisen 1957a, p. 112; 1961, p. 114) the proper function of face veiling seems to be a social one. [602] Many Tuareg will leave their face uncovered in family camps or on journeys, but they will always [604] cover mouth, nose, and brow in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) and in the presence of their parents-in-law (particularly their mothers-in-law). Towards such persons it is also considered very indecent to show one's legs. It has been overlooked by most authors that Tuareg women wear a head-cloth (*ékerhey* in Ahaggar, *akalil* in Ayr), which is similar to the veil worn by men in form and shape. The headcloth and the veil are properly made from Sudanese indigo cotton, and both the veil and the headcloth are therefore also known as *alechchu*. It is true that Tuareg women [602] do not veil their face by means of this headcloth in the same way as do the men. But in the presence [604] of foreigners (particularly foreign men) and towards fathers-in-law the women will draw their headcloth over their mouth (cf. Fig. 297a). The man's veil and the woman's headcloth have identical social functions which is also proved by the fact that young men and women adopt veil or headcloth at initiation (Ahaggar), or at marriage (Ayr). Both the veil and the headcloth are worn by people of various black-skinned castes of Tuareg country but the custom of face veiling seems to be more strictly observed among the true Tuareg.

181 The custom of face veiling is one characteristic of all Tuareg. Another quality peculiar to all Tuareg, and particularly to those of the noble class, is their "snobbishness" as it is frequently called by many Frenchmen living at Tamanrasset and Agadez. There are a great many things a Tuareg cannot do, and there are many situations in which he will have to act in a very special way if he is to be regarded as a man worthy of respect and prestige. Tuareg attitudes to etiquette are not easily described in words. Gait, gestures, and postures are all intended to express qualities of elegance, arrogance, refinement, and strength. Vanity with regard to dress and ornaments is another characteristic of all true Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



428 sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mothers) while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal [114] kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar (and in Ayr) denied this.

428 643 Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Rela* drum-group has no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however, [632] will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *éhéré wa n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group)", or *éhéré wa'n butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

422 It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually, [850] and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may [553] own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions, e.g., on the naming day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong 422 to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should 592 serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic 422 unit of closely related stock-owners.

*233 All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar [114] Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite ● [576] to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks [602] so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual 422 ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which *233 time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark 565 their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe (the *Dag Rali*) donkeys are also branded with a redhot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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516
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Fig. 234. Photograph illustrating the Tuareg cotton shirt open (left) and closed (right). The two Tuareg are playing a sort of draughts called *kerad*. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

291 with an opening for the head, and folded and sewn together at the lower part of the sides. The folded
294 piece of cotton may also be united at its lower parts by the insertion of a trapeze-like piece of cotton known as *tébanik*. The cotton shirt worn by most Tuareg men in Ayr is known as *teketket*, and is of the same poncho cut as the shirts mentioned above from Ahaggar.

All Tuareg men wear large and wide cotton trousers known as *ékerbey*. The cut of these trousers is the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A pair of trousers I wore when among the Ayr Tuareg is 1.10 m wide at the waist where they have a channel for the insertion of a leather cord (*tamennalt*) by means of which the trousers are laced up. The total length of the trouser legs is 1.06 m, so that the width is a little larger than the length. The trousers are sewn from three pieces of cotton. They consist of a front and back piece identically cut and sewn together at the sides; a third piece of cotton is inserted between the legs (Fig. 236).

291 The trousers are extremely large and loose. They are well-suited not only for the hot desert climate but also for camel riding. The Tuareg sometimes pull their trousers up over the knees so that they are entirely bare-legged. They do this, for instance, when they water domestic animals from wells and in various other situations where long trousers are embarassing. But they will never pull up their
[576] trousers in presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) or in the presence of parents-in-law
[608] (particularly mothers-in-law). For it is extremely shameful for a man to show himself bare-legged to persons to whom he must also not show his mouth, and the Tuareg express this fact by saying that "the veil and the trousers are brothers". In general, young boys wear a shirt of poncho type, in addition to which many of them also wear a leather loin-cloth (*arǵag* in Ahaggar) made of goat skin. Such loin-cloths are attached around the waist and drawn between the legs. They are worn by certain vassal boys and by young slaves almost up to the time of initiation and veil adoption, and trousers may be adopted at the same time as the veil. It seems as if the loin-cloth has also once been a traditional garment of grown men, for Rodd states that they sometimes wear a tanned skin around the loins below the trousers – more especially in bush country where burr grass is very prevalent (Rodd 1926a, p. 164).

[text continues on p. 292]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the 585
universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems 121
as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse
Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by tradi- [582]
tional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour
as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems 605
as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other
well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes
entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife 593
is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by 601
her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him
*amṛair* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people [576]
to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a
wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidā*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same
meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n*
*Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on 593
the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not
expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are
visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour
between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that 585
during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some
of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit
with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their 606
marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin 607
relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This
of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship
to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their
true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one
of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations
with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage
partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple
will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to
emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification 585
of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact 602
that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who
comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's
sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-

836 pure until her marriage, " said Dr. Vermale elsewhere. "Those are sentiments which the Tuareg do not understand. Thus, as soon as she is nubile, she goes to the ohal and it is not long before she is deflowered. Virginity does not exist and has no representative value in the eyes of the Tuareg. " (2) Indeed, the women are

2. Op. cit., p. 171.

more or less easy. Some give themselves to the first comer; others grant their favors to only a small group of friends. To grant them [839] only to a single person, however, would be judged in very bad •577] taste and a sign of perversion.

No one finds fault with their free mores, on the condition [554] that they let themselves be courted only by men of a social condition equal to their own. Some women let themselves be courted by slaves and that is considered a shame for them.

842 /290/ One may be astonished that unwed mothers are not more numerous with such dissolute mores. Contraception is com- [833] monly used, and, as Dr. Foley said, effusio seminis inter crura is probably the frequent conclusion of the nocturnal rendezvous after the ahal. (1) These restrictive measures must not be unre-

1. Moeurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar /Ahaggar Tuareg Mores and Medicine/, p. 56.

lated to the low birth rate of the Tuareg, and it is quite possible that the married Tuareg woman continues to practice them.

847 Bearing children out of wedlock and bastardy (agama) are the [848] object of public discredit. The Tuareg rarely practice abortion, but infanticides used to be quite numerous, and no one thought of being offended by them. When a woman finds herself pregnant

The ahal takes place very often. All that is needed is for 533
a group of men and women to be gathered together in a camp. 584
Often a man comes from a considerable distance to court the 832
girl of his choice. When the year is good, that is to say, when [361]
the rains have brought the pastures to life and the camels are
giving much milk, several camps are set up close to each other,
and the ahal begins right after sunset.

The men of the camps gather with those who have come
especially because some woman attracts them. The women
bring their "imz'aden" violins. All those attend the ahal who [602]
are not afraid to be in the presence of one of their relatives
to whom they owe respect, such as a father, uncle, older
brother, etc. Young girls, married women, divorcées or widows,
all attend the ahal.

[361]

Dautheville

Tuareg Troup at Amr'a (Black Tifedest)

Gallantry, "asri" ⚲ O ⊙ , is required, and jealousy [577]
strictly prohibited. Besides, this latter feeling is unknown [626]
among the Tuareg, and if one of them should think of show-
ing it, he would be booed and everyone would make fun of
him.

When a Tuareg arrives at the ahal near a woman whom
he wishes to court, he approaches her with his veil carefully
lowered and does not greet her with the usual "essalamou r'

which brings to our minds the idea of the serf attached to the 565
glebe and sold with the domain which he cultivated, but rather 631
as "client, bondsman, tributary."

In fact, if the amr'id pays the "tioussé," or tribute, to the noble, if he "lets him taste a little of what he has," according to his expression, if he is dependent on the noble, he nevertheless enjoys a freedom of action which the serf of the Middle Ages did not know. He has a right to the noble's protection if he is attacked, but he marches and fights with him [701]
armed with the same arms. In a raid he also shares with him [727]
and receives his portion of the loot, a portion which varies according to the tribe and which seems to have been fixed according to an ancient contract, in exchange for the protection granted.

And we will find the most convincing proof in the appoint- 565
ment of the amenokal. The imr'ad take part in this: it is 631
they who speak first and state whether they accept the new 643
amenokal, whether they have confidence in him, whether they promise /49/ faithfully to pay him the "tioussé." And he, on his part, promises to give them help and protection against all.

The noble makes it a point of honor to keep this promise. 558
It would be a shame, "el r'ar," according to his expression 565
(from the Arab word "el aâr" ,(ع)ار , not to avenge an insult 577 631
or an injury rendered to one who pays him the "tioussé."

## Chapter II

## The Tobol. Inheritance

Concerning the tobol. The "tobol" originally was a drum 202
made of a large gourd and covered with stretched hide, which 534
the chief of the tribe sounded to gather his clients /dependents/ 643
to tell them that pastures must be changed, etc. It was the 565
insignia of command.

878 Religious beliefs also interfere with Tuareg stock-breeding and create usages of an irrational kind.
[231] Thus the Tuareg, like other North African peoples, firmly believe in the mystic benevolent power,
[171] or benediction, known as *elbaraka*. This is a power that emenates from God. It is given by God to
[784] man and it cannot act unless certain taboos, or rather religious prescriptions, are followed. The bene-
[783] diction *elbaraka* is more than anything else hurt by impurity. Cleanness is an absolute necessity for this good force to be sustained in the same way that a man cannot approach God through prayer if
[841] he be unclean. Women are considered unclean during their periods of menstruation and cannot, there-
[262] fore, then pray to God. They are also forbidden to drink the milk of domestic animals which have very young kids, lambs, or calves, and they must not drink water which has been conserved in newly-made skin-bags. These taboos are maintained in order not to hurt the benediction given the animals
778 by bringing it into contact with impurity. For the same reason milk taken from animals which have
784 recently brought forth young should not be given to strangers – they might be unclean and harm the
234 *elbaraka*. It is also believed that soil is an impurity dangerous to *elbaraka*, and milk must never be spilt on the ground. Even when milk-bowls are cleaned with water, this liquid should be poured out upon plants or stones, and never be spilt on the ground. Should this be done, God will withdraw his *elbaraka* and the result will be severe periods of drought without milk. I have frequently heard Tuareg ascribe the lack of rain and the dry pasture – the lack of *elbaraka* – to the fact that somebody had spilt milk upon the ground. This had caused God to be angry and to withdraw his benediction. Some Tuareg have also said that *elbaraka* is harmed by a person who blows upon milk. When a man drinks milk he must not blow away impurities before drinking but must remove them by means of a piece of straw.
*233 In the two groups of Northern Tuareg and also in Ayr it is considered very disgraceful for a person
577 who watches the animals away from camp to drink milk directly from an animal's udder. Some Tuareg
272 say that a man when staying alone among milk-yielding animals should not utilize their milk even if he performs milking in the usual way. A person who breaks these rules is called *émenkes* or *émelked* among the Ahaggar Tuareg, *émekled* in Ayr. The Tuareg say that there are some people, and in particular many slaves, who do not follow this rule, and that they are despised if known to have broken it. When two or more people are alone with a herd or flock away from the camp they can freely utilize the animals' milk. And it is very normal for camel herdsmen to live with a herd of she-camels in isolated places for long periods. They then live almost exclusively on camel's milk taken from the herd they guard.

272 Certain usages connected with stock-breeding are rationally explained by the Tuareg. Thus when they heat milk by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221) put into the milking bowl, they claim that this is done in order that the milk shall not get dirty as would happen were it heated in an ordinary cooking
272 pot. Another custom which by other stock-breeders has been explained as being based upon magic,
262 namely the usage not to drink milk and eat meat at the same time, is also rationally explained by the Tuareg. They say that there is no taboo on taking these kinds of food together, but it is very unwise to do so because the mixture will act as a laxative and upset the stomach. Therefore, if a Tuareg has drunk much milk he will not eat meat shortly afterwards, and if he has eaten meat he will not take milk for some hours, though he may do so should ample water have been added to the milk. The
*233 Tuareg to my knowledge have no other special customs in connection with stock-breeding and milk
234 than there mentioned

643 This instrument is so representative of command in the eyes of the Tuareg that they often refer to the aménokal and all the tribes which he holds under his command as "tobol."

184 Among the eastern Ioullimmiden (Kel Dinnik), the aménokal always had a standard placed in his tent, which was taken out exceptionally for war or the enthroning of a new aménokal. It was in blue-green and red silk. (1)
643

1. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik /Notes on the Society and State of the Dinnik Tuareg/," Bulletin de l'Institut Français. Afrique noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, p. 586.

Among the Ihǎggaren, the tobol tribe, that is, the one from which the aménokal is always chosen, is the Kel Rela; however, the tobol has presumably changed hands over the centuries. The memory [173] of another chief-tribe, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, has remained, and thus the former Aménokal A'tarel was accustomed to saying that the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi formed the back (of the political organization of the Ihǎggaren), /while/ the Kel Rela, the Tǎitok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet /formed/ the sides, but that the back was weakening to the profit of the sides. (2) This modification was caused by the total

2. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs de l'Ahaggar, p. 107.

extinction of the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi.

578 The aménokal's role is chiefly that of a war chief. In normal
643 times he arbitrates the conflicts which set the tribes against one
692 another, and he has the power of life or death, in principle. His authority is often contested by the Imochar of his own tribe, who try

578 643 692 to arrogate rights over vassals for themselves. There are internal disputes of the sort: "Who made you a count? And who made you king?"

643 It is particularly in the relations with neighboring or foreign tribes that the amenokal's role takes on a more national aspect, yet his decisions do not have full authority unless they have been approved by an assembly of notables -- the arollan -- composed of the principal chiefs of fractions and nobles.

/157/ The amenokal lives like the other Tuareg, and there is no ceremony surrounding his person. All comers present themselves [644] at his tent with no more formality than that. There is no court or court etiquette.

534 Only the tobol, generally placed at the entrance to the tent, indicates the rank of the host.

643 This drum is in the shape of a hemisphere, hollowed out of a tree trunk and covered with a cowhide with the hair still on it. The hide is held by leather thongs with the hairy side up. It may be as much as 80 centimeters in diameter. Two leather handles on the sides are used to carry it. For gatherings, two men strike it alternately with a camelskin drumstick (imîtkar). Only the amenokal has the right to have it sounded, which he does only on the most important occasions. Upon his death, his brother or his caliph is entrusted with it until it can be given to his successor. The amenokal does not go [492] far without his drum, which is carried on a camel led by a trusted man; when he gives the order to beat the drum, another meharist /man mounted on a mehari, or fast dromedary/ approaches to take the other handle, and the two men march side by side, striking alternately. Any warrior who hears it is supposed to rally to the call and at the same time inform the people he meets. In case of war, [202] the beating tells whether they are dealing with foot soldiers or meharists, depending on whether there are one or two imîtkar.

[554] When the hide of the tobol is worn out, the most renowned warrior of the tribe is entrusted to replace it.

175 Moussa ag Ămâstan, Ăttici's cousin and great-grandson of Sidi Mohamed el Kheir by the latter's last daughter, Tar'aoussist, and by his grandmother Tiguent, was born about 1865 of a Kel Rela mother and an Ikerremoïen father. The latter, very acute in nature, had advised against the massacre of the Flatters mission, although it has been asserted that he participated in it.

Moussa was still young when his father died, and his uncle Ămdor brought him up. Ămdor lived with the Ifôra from the Adrar, and it is there that Moussa made the acquaintance of a very famous Kounta marabout, who had established his religious center at Teleya and must have had great influence on Moussa.

Later he always lived north of the Adrar, which permitted him to make raids among the Ioullimmiden, the Ifôra, the Idnân, the Kounta, and the Bérabiches, who finally paid him dues to secure peace. But Moussa ag Ămâstan never raided the poor or the weak, making himself their protector instead.

[578] When the Tăïtok were raided by the Kel Tădelé (from the A'ir) they accused Moussa of it; the animosity which still prevails between them dates from that day. Since his brother had been killed by the Ioullimmiden, he organized a raid composed of Kel Tădelé, /188/ Tăïtok, and Ifôra. En route, however, the Tăïtok pillaged the herds of the Kel Tădelé. Moussa was deeply angered by this conduct and did not hesitate to attack the Tăïtok to punish them and take back their loot. The Ihăggaren became indignant at this gesture and demanded that Moussa return the raided animals to the Tăïtok. He refused and withdrew to the home of the Ioullimmiden aménokal, Firhoun, where he worked to re-establish peace between his hosts and the Ihăggaren. He did the same with the Kel A'ir, which made it possible for the Issekkemâren and the Imrad to go to the Sudan on business, and did much to establish his fame.

Leaving the Sudanese camps, he then approached the Ahaggar and followed events closely.

631 For more than a century the life of the Kel Rela has consisted of
643 a constant struggle against the Taïtok. The latter, belligerent and
578 jealous, dreamed only of seizing the aménokalat of the Ahaggar, and the history of the Tuareg of this country is nothing but a long succession of wars where the two fractions were alternately /191/ successful, but where the Kel Rela always kept the advantage thanks to their numerical superiority. The account of these events may be found in the book of Mr. Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 99 ff.

[162] In the 1838 census the Kel Rela included 312 persons, 38 of them men. In 1905, according to Benhazéra, they numbered 55 to 60 tents.

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela at the beginning included only two tribes, the Dăg Râli and the Ăgouh-en-Tèhlé, as well as a large part of the Issekkemâren. Since then, other fractions have come to seek their protection or to assimilate themselves. Such is the case of the Aït-Loaïen and the Relaiddîn.

[651] The Imrad call the Kel Rela "the people who cost dearly," thereby making an allusion to the dues which they are obliged to pay them.

The Dăg Rali. -- The Dăg Râli form the principal fraction of the
[643] Kel Rela tobol, on whom the aménokal of the Ahaggar has always relied to enforce his rights, and without whom he would be nothing and could do nothing.

With the Kel Ăhnet, they originally formed the Imessîlîten tribe, and they were said to be the descendants of Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, the ancestor of the Kel Rela. They sprang from four sub-fractions: the Ikechchemâden, attached to the Taïtok tobol, the Imessîlîten, the Oulad Ir'dal, the Dăg Mertemek.

At the present time they are subdivided into: 1) Kel Tăhat, 2) Kel Tarahananet, 3) Kel Tămanrasset, 4) Kel Hirhâfok, 5) Kel Ărechchoum. To the Dăg Râli must be added a few individuals, today completely assimilated with them; they are descendants of

631 427 [175] The founding of Tamanrasset is attributed to them; it is said to be the work of the chief of the Issenda (Issendaten) fraction, Ilachen by name. This creation goes back some sixty years, but the irrigable lands were the property of the Ajjer. In the last few years, the Imanrassatên, who were the true proprietors of the cultivable lands at Tamanrasset, came several times to claim the rental price which was one ass or a sheep per year according to the place. But this claim was only payable if the owners presented themselves; the year not claimed was gained by the renter.

[651] 631 They often found themselves in conflict with the amênokal, because they made difficulties in paying the tiousee'.

They are subdivided into Kel Aguelella or Kel Tarhaouhaout, into Kel Rapsa or Kel Ezarounfat, and into Issendaten or Kel Tahifet.

631 173 [192] The Aït Loaien. -- The Aït Loaien get their name from the verb élouai, which means "to attach camels in Indian file." (1)

1. According to Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, p. 148.

Through their ancestor Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, they are said to be of the same origin as the Dag Râli and the Kel Ahnet. At the time of the division of the Imrad, it is said they were bestowed half upon the Inemba and half upon the Tégéhé Mellet. They are subdivided into Irayen (today extinct), Kel Torha or Dag Houa, and Aït Loaien proper.

631 [651] The Aït Loaien pay the tioussé to the family of the Téjéhé-n-agg-Ali, also called Kel Ahamellen (Kel Rela), and the Dag Houa group pays it to the Tégéhé Mellet.

[578] Formerly allied to the Imekkérressen of the Ajjer group by numerous marriages, they separated from them following disputes and the murder of one of them, the Tuareg Reskou /196/ ag Yahia, famous in all the Ahaggar. Since then, the Imekkérressen have settled in the Ajjer.

631 /211/ Originally from Es Souq in the Ădrar des Ifôras, they are mixed with the Ahl Azzi from In-Salah.

Without being Imrad of the Tăitok, properly speaking, they may be considered satellites of this tobol.

## Tobol of the Tégéhé-Mellet

173 631 The Tégéhé-Mellet make up the third and least important of the three Ahaggar tobol.

According to oral tradition, they are the descendants of Ti-n-Hînân through her daughter Tahenkat. More recently they are said to be descended from the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi. But according to another tradition they are of Chaamba origin, from the Oulad Messaoud tribe. More exactly, we are led to believe that some Oulad Messaoud men came to settle among them and founded families; for some, this would make their pure Imochar origin questionable. On the other hand, they married Kel-I-n-Toûnîn women, while Tégéhé Mellet women married Issekkemâren.

They obtained their independence at the same time as the Tăitok while Sidi Mohamed was amenokal, and were assigned a certain number of vassal tribes. Since then, however, they have played only a very unobtrusive part in the history of the Ahaggar, and the Tégéhé Mellet are on the way to disappearing.

631 According to Duveyrier, they had the reputation of bringing a conciliatory spirit into the often strained relations between the Ihăggaren [578] and the Ăjjer Tuareg. The geographical position that they occupied between the two opposing groups quite naturally drafted them for the role.

619 648 They were formerly a free tobol, and only with the French occupation were they placed under the guardianship of Moussa ag Ămastân.

Ser'ir ag Bedda, their amrar, protested for a long time and never stopped claiming his independence. In connection with this state of mind, many Tégéhé Mellet rebelled and left with the

622 ship, and so an undesirable heir-apparent can easily be passed over in favor of a less direct heir who is considered acceptable (Butaye, 1957).

614 The position of an Ahaggar Tuareg clan is not firmly fixed within the framework of the confederation. Component clans will sometimes break away from one tribe in times of adversity and attach themselves to another and more powerful tribe that is better able to protect them. In the old days vassal clans were sometimes swapped back and forth between noble clans, and so had their tribal allegiance changed for them more or less arbitrarily. At least one clan, the Ibotenaten, has been reduced from noble to vassal status, in this case by a crushing defeat suffered in the course of a blood feud. Thus the distribution of the various clans within the tribal framework of the confederation tends to change gradually [578] over the years, while internal tribal crises and intertribal warfare naturally accelerate the process.

[582] Marriage is usually although not always within the clan but outside the first degree of 614 cousinship and outside the camp community or fraction. A child of Tuareg parents inherits 611 rank and privileges through the mother, re- 428 gardless of whether she is a member of the father's clan or not; but the child is known as "Such-and-such, child of So-and-so," the parent thus referred to being the father, and inheritance of property follows Moslem law (*see* the Koran, iv, 12 and 175) which provides that a male heir shall receive twice as much as a female heir who is related to the deceased in the same degree. Today a Targui, asked to give his ancestry, will recite the list of male forebears in his father's line, although Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 321) tells us that in the 14th century descent was counted through the mother's brother, and a man's heirs were his sister's children rather than his own. Bates (1914, p. 112), citing Duveyrier (1864, p. 397), says that property acquired by force of arms used to be inherited by "the eldest son of the eldest sister of the deceased."

591 A newly married couple live in the camp of the bride's parents for about a year and then usually move over to a camp of the husband's people, but they sometimes settle permanently among the clansfolk of the bride if she and her

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 239]

[Pp. 236-238 not processed]



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291
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Fig. 24. Tuareg warriors of the Ahaggar in single combat. (Photograph by P. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

and gaiety, always on condition that the conversation does not take place in the presence of relatives to whom the Tuareg who is addressed owes respect. 521 562 602

The Tuareg woman intervenes effectively in quarrels between the men of her family and, in order to please her, reconciliation takes place. Thus it was thanks to Rakhma, sister of Moussa ag Amastane, that the latter became reconciled with his brother-in-law, Anaba ag Amellal. 562 [593 578]

In short, one may say that nothing is ever done or said among the Tuareg in which the influence of the woman is not found, always and everywhere, and this will be seen as the reading of this article continues. /14/

[291]

Dautheville
Tuareg Group in the Oued Ti-n-amadal Settafen (Tifedest).

## Chapter VI

## Proposal of Marriage

Proposal of marriage, "ibadrahen" I:OVⵏ , is governed by a definite rule of procedure. 584

The suitor for a woman's hand sends marabouts, if there are any, to her parents, or tolbas, or, lacking these, influential people who state his request.

The proposal must be known to all the relatives of the woman without exception; they must all be notified and

S: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
M525 Tuareg M525
Ahaggar
Air



paratively rich vegetation of Air contains species found also in Ahaggar, but 137
Ahaggar has Mediterranean plants including several saline species which do not thrive in Air, where there are tropical or Sudanese species unknown to Ahaggar.

Botanically Air is very closely connected with the Sudan, and the mountain 132
massif is within the Sudanese zone of summer rain. It is true that rain at the 137
northern outskirts of Air occasionally falls in winter and may then give rise to scattered pasture of annual plants, but these rains are of no real importance. The important rainfalls of Air occur in the period June–September, and particularly in July and August. As may be gathered from the description of botanical conditions, Air has a much bigger annual precipitation than has Ahaggar. Thus the village of Iferouan in Northern Air has 74 mm, while Agadez at the southern slopes of the massif has 1[illegible]0 mm. Precipitation will of course vary from one year to the other, but rain will always fall sufficiently for the spring of annual plants. This is the reason for a type of stock-breeding different from that of Ahaggar. In Air the [233]
Tuareg are richer in camels, they do not possess so many goats but are very rich in sheep, and most of them have zebus.

The climatic and botanical differences of Air and Ahaggar can be seen more 132
directly from the division of the year into seasons (fig. 2). Air has a summer and a 805
winter season between which there are two seasons termed *akasa* and *farat*. These two words as seasonal terms express the fact that rain and annual pastures in Air are recurrent events, as the word *akasa* literally means "green annual plants", and the word *farat* refers to "dry, annual plants". Both words are known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg but are by them not applied as seasonal terms, for in their country rain will not occur every year and may fall at most seasons.

Conditions for stock-breeding are very much better in Air than in Ahaggar, 233
but the latter country has a few superior qualities:– 1) Part of the year Ahaggar [132]
has a comparatively cool climate which is said to have a positive influence on the lactation of domestic animals. 2) In Ahaggar all over the country there are saline [135]
pastures which play an important part in stock-breeding – not because these plants [137]
are very nourishing but the animals do not thrive without salt. In Air saline plants are very rare and found mainly to the south and south-west of the massif where water and soil also contain salt. Many pastoralists will migrate to these regions [221]
shortly after the rains, while people who do not undertake such migrations feed their domestic animals with salt. Camels and cows have a particular need for fodder with a salt content. 3) Ahaggar has richer wells and a greater number of 312
permanent ponds than Air. This may seem rather peculiar as precipitation is much bigger in the south than in the north. In Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer some ponds may contain fish apparently unknown in Air. In the latter country there are a [136]
great many ponds or even small lakes during the rains but they dry out very quickly when rainfall ceases. Water in Air most of the year is drawn from wells many of which go dry during the hot season; this will frequently lead to quarrels [578]
between nomads.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The Ayr Tuareg say that the blacksmiths do not have *ténet* words for everything, but always use Tuareg words for certain objects and animals. It is in fact possible that the *ténet* language has been created by the blacksmiths to be used as a secret language. This explanation agrees excellently with the social position of blacksmiths. They make weapons, ornaments, household implements, and the like for the Tuareg. The Tuareg therefore consider them indispensable, and admire them for their skill. But this is only one aspect of the Tuareg attitude towards blacksmiths who are also looked down upon because of their obscure origin and their predominantly negroid appearance. Furthermore, blacksmiths are frequently wearisome to the Tuareg. They claim gifts from the Tuareg on every possible occasion, and if they are given nothing when they ask it is believed that they can do severe harm to the persons from whom a gift is claimed. For the blacksmiths possess a mystic power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama* or *tezma*. This mystic power has nothing to do with black magic. It comes into action automatically without any physical performance by the blacksmith if his demand is ignored. The *ettama* power is dangerous to children and to animals but not so much to adults. Children frequently fall ill with a swollen belly, while the effect on domestic animals is more severe and often causes their death. Though blacksmiths do not perform any physical act to put their mystic power into operation, they are nevertheless held responsible for damage ascribed to it by the Tuareg. This can be illustrated by the following example from Southern Ayr: — An Ayr Tuareg was on his way from Damergu to Ayr with a caravan of camels loaded with millet. One evening at dusk, when he was just about to lead his camels out for grazing at night, a blacksmith came to him to ask for a gift of millet. The Tuareg said that the blacksmith had better wait until next morning as it was already getting dark. The blacksmith went away, and shortly after his departure one of the Tuareg's camels fell ill and died. The Tuareg was convinced that the death of his camel was due to the blacksmith's *ettama* power, and therefore wanted revenge. He mounted a camel, pursued the blacksmith and killed him with an axe. This event happened only a few years ago. It illustrates how firmly many Tuareg believe in the evil *ettama* power of blacksmiths. In fact many Tuareg openly declare that they dislike and fear all blacksmiths. They do not like to associate with them except on festive occasions when blacksmiths frequently act as singers and musicians. The Tuareg never intermarry with people of the blacksmith caste, and even people of other negroid castes are reluctant to intermarry with blacksmiths. In Ahaggar a marriage may be contracted between blacksmiths and *Ḥarratin*, and in Ayr there are said to be a few marriages between blacksmiths and people of other negroid classes or castes. But on the whole the caste of blacksmiths (*Ineden*) can be characterized as endogamous. This is quite natural in view of the fact that blacksmiths possess the evil mystic power (*ettama*, or *tezma*), which I have described in more detail elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1961, pp. 134 f., 146).

Between fair-skinned, true Tuareg and other black-skinned castes but that of the blacksmiths, marriages are contracted now and then, and it seems as if mixed marriages of this type are becoming more and more numerous. In Ahaggar there are some marriages between Tuareg and women belonging to the castes of slaves (*Iklan*) or sedentary agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) and there are even marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg women and negroid men though such marriages are less frequent. Mixed marriages are even more frequent in Ayr. The offspring of such unions are known in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer as *Ibureliten* (*Abureli*). This word is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



As an illustration of camel terms given to animals in very special situations, I give the two following examples:— (1) A she-camel when driven out for grazing while its calf is tethered in the camp is known as *tamantak* to the Ahaggar Tuareg, as *tenteg* to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr; (2) A pack-camel when walking in a caravan is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *amekkalu*, while the corresponding term in Ayr seems to be *alaway*. 233 192 [482]

For the size of herds the Ahaggar Tuareg have the following terms:— *tazegga* (a small herd of 20-40 camels and/or she-camels), *ahammal* (from very few animals up to about one hundred, the herd consisting mainly of male camels), *adyaw* (a very large herd comprising about one hundred animals at least, regardless of their sex). As far as my investigations go these terms are not known among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. They refer to a small number of camels as *imnas* (10 to 15 animals comprising male and/or female camels), while a bigger herd is known as *tollemin* (comprising male and/or female camels).

All the above-mentioned camel terms are with very few exceptions used exclusively for camels and not for other animals. Extensive vocabularies are found also for other domestic animals and for many aspects of stock-breeding, but the camel vocabulary is extremely large by comparison. This seems understandable as camels have a many-sided use to the Tuareg, and there can be no doubt that camel-terms like goat-terms are primarily a linguistic technique of practical value – a technique which enables the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. But this is evidently not the sole reason why the camel vocabulary is so extensive that a detailed description of all terms would necessitate an independant book on this subject. For the camel vocabulary is extremely large not only because of its practical value, but also because Tuareg interest in camels is not solely confined to their practical uses. This is intimated, I believe, by some of the peculiar terms mentioned and above all by the very many synonyms. [181]

Camels, in contrast to most domestic animals, have social functions among the Tuareg. It is true that bride-wealth in vassal tribes of the Northern Tuareg may be paid in goats (25-30 animals), but this is the case mainly among the *Kel Ajjer* while most Ahaggar vassals will claim that bride-wealth should be paid in camels. The true vassals of Ahaggar give one to three camels for a wife, the payment being dependent upon the bride's tribe – in most tribes it is the custom to give only one camel, while two tribes will claim two and three camels respectively for their women. Among the Ayr vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group bride-wealth may be paid in cash, though the bride-wealth in these tribes is generally one camel as among most northern vassals. But the size of bride-wealth among the Ayr Tuareg is frequently discussed by representatives of the families, and it depends much upon the age, quality, and wealth of the bride. For very desired girls the payment may rise to two or three camels while for others the payment is only "two camel feet", that is a "half share in a camel"; it is said that even "one foot" is sometimes accepted as bride-wealth. This system of giving shares in camels may give rise to trouble between the persons who share the same animal. Among noble Tuareg, both in the north and in Ayr, bride-wealth can be paid only in camels. Among noble tribes of the Northern Tuareg the bride-wealth to be paid is fixed at seven camels, while among the few noble Tuareg now left in the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group the price, it is said, varies between ten and twenty camels. Camels given for bride-wealth are generally *ilusan* (sing. *aleggest*) (fem. *tilusin*, sing. *taleggest*). 233 583 565 [578] 233 583 601

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 98. A slave watering goats by means of the leather bucket called *aga*. Water is drawn from a well and poured out into a hole dug in the clayey ground. The goat standing to the left is sheared – a token of the summer season. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

*233 conditions, and herdsmen, who live with camelherds far away from camps and wells subsisting on
[272] camel's milk, do not consider water necessary. Should domestic animals have eaten salt or salty plants
[271] they are very eager for water even in winter. When I lived in Ahaggar with my camels during the winter 1954/55 they had rightly to be watered every ten days, but in regions where they fed mainly on saliferous plants they had to be watered more frequently. However, domestic animals must not be watered too often as this would make them slow and emaciated, and a camel must not be worked too hard the day after it has been watered.

312 Tuareg camps are always found around wells, pools, or other types of water places for which there
[361] is a large vocabulary. But the Tuareg never camp too close to water places where there is little pasture, many foreigners and consequently little peace. The distance from camp to water place varies, but is
[132] very frequently 1–3 kilometres. During the rainy season (*akasa*) water is very aundant all over Ayr, but outside this period conditions of water supply for human beings and livestock are more favourable
[415] in the north than in Ayr, where water most of the year must be drawn from wells. To raise water the Tuareg use a leather bucket known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aga* (Fig. 97–98). The water drawn for
[237] the animals is poured out into a hole dug in clayey soil, or into a hole covered with a piece of skin or leather known in Ahaggar as *taforawt*. This skin is nowadays frequently substituted by canvas (cf. Fig. 99). Where water is scarce and must be drawn from narrow wells, as in Ayr during the summer
312 567 season, the watering of flocks and herds gives rise to frequent quarrels between pastoralists. For
[423] though the right to the use of wells is free to all there are many disputes and fights frequently

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



start around wells. It may happen, for instance, that two men who draw water from the same well get the ropes of their leather buckets entangled. They will then start to quarrel and the result may be a fight with swords.

I conclude this chapter with a brief description of the signals used by the Tuareg for their domestic animals. As these animals do not have the same needs for food and water and are frequently mixed with each other in camps and around wells, it is only natural that the Tuareg have different signals to call, stop, or drive away their various types of domestic animals. I have noted these signals among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr:—

Signals to call domestic animals:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| goats . . . . . | *ay, ay* | |
| sheep . . . . . | a rolling sound | the three rolling sounds are somewhat different though resembling each other |
| cows . . . . . | a rolling sound | |
| camels . . . . . | a rolling sound | |
| donkeys . . . . . | *ahay, ahay* | |

Signals to stop animals:—

| | |
|---|---|
| goats . . . . . | *aw* |
| sheep, cows, camels . . . | *ôr* |
| donkeys . . . . . | *as* |

Signals to drive away animals:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| goats . . . . . | *ây* | pronounced emphatically |
| sheep, cows, camels . . . | *hey* | |
| donkeys . . . . . | *aheyt* | |

Fig. 99. Tuareg drawing water for camels which drink from a piece of canvas (*tafarawt*) placed over a hollow in the ground. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



614 591 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two [682] [672] tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is [428] valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in [565] vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed 614 by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one par- 613 ticular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Tarhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area 565 which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are 631 named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also 423 attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have [643] particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). [162] Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory [578] of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names – 613 generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections 621 within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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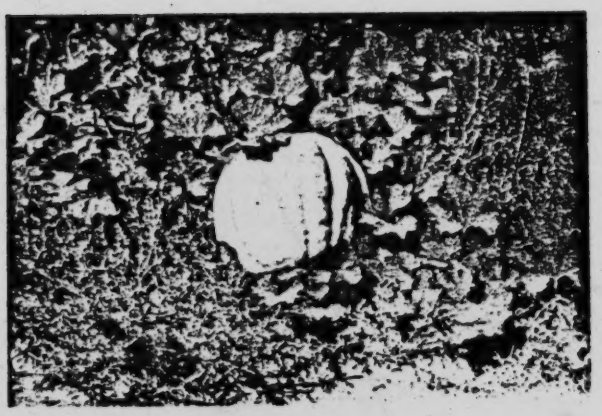

Fig. 141. The large gourd known as *kabaya* (*Cucurbita maxima*) growing close to the thorny fence (*afarag*) which term is also generally used to designate a garden. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

466 Tuareg garden owners have other obligations besides those listed under these three items, but these
625 obligations vary with the systems of contract of which there are three. One system is known as *khamast*
423 according to which the agriculturists gets only one fifth of the crops. This system is widely found in
241 North Africa but has disappeared in Ahaggar some years ago. It is said that it was abolished by the
[171] *Amenukal* because it very frequently gave rise to disputes between Tuareg garden owners and their
[578] cultivators. It is now replaced by two other systems, the *tilt* system allowing one third of the crops to the cultivator, and the *aril* system according to which crops are divided equally between the owner and the cultivator. This last system is that almost exclusively used in Ahaggar nowadays.

To revert to Tuareg obligations towards their cultivators, these obligations, in addition to those mentioned above, are as follows:—

(4) To hand over an amount of seed-corn (*tifest*) of wheat and barley according to the size of the garden plot and the system of contract. With a *khamast* agreement the Tuareg garden owner gives all seed-corn. With a *tilt* agreement half of the seed-corn is supplied by the owner, the other half by the cultivator who is then also allowed to cultivate a private garden. With an *aril* agreement half of the seed-corn is given by the garden owner, the other half by the cultivator who does not possess a private garden unless he is headman of a *foggara* (p. 196).

(5) To give an amount of food to the agriculturist during the cultivation period of six months. This payment is known as *tenafok*, and is fixed at 75 kilos of millet, barley, or dates when cultivation is done according to the *aril* system, while 150 kilos are given for cultivation according to agreements of the two systems *tilt* and *khamast*.

[434] The net profit to an agriculturist who cultivates for a Tuareg garden owner is lower than that gained by an agriculturist cultivating exclusively for his own private use. This will be seen more clearly from the calculations below where a garden with an annual yield of 700 kilos wheat and barley is considered:—

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



175 added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was
721 also fighting within these groups at intervals.

[648] The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwllemmeden* and the Arab pastor-
[578] alists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg frequently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

[437] Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite of these latent conditions of hostility.

175 Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the
437 Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays. They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter, cheese, and the like.

175 The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day
437 the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times,
484 but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Hammu* who dominated the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays.

[439] They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also

[438] say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All

[317] this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadror were not utilized in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to

[361] the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then
[162] travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could not defend itself against raiders.

175 It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts
567 of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading
[648] until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in
[17] this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Ṛali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916-17, the drum-group of the *Kel Ṛela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amṛar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* and *Taytoḳ* tribes might also receive *tiwsé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Adrar* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Tédalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given him a similar payment for protection.

565 been told about two such marriages which seem to have been contracted in fairly recent times. I think
582 that the main reason why the noble Tuareg do not marry with their vassals is that such marriages
634 would tend to break down the structure of the political system, as the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many in-laws among vassals to whom the conduct would be institutional joking or avoidance. For in addition to true relatives by marriage there are numerous classificatory ones. This will become clear from the description of the rules of behaviour valid for relatives by marriage.

634 In spite of the application of the rules of joking relationship on a political level, troubles within
578 the drum-group were far from unknown. And it is remarkable that even between the related tribes
614 of *Irawatten* and *Kel Azel* there might be very severe quarrels. There was a latent opposition
565 between them which might occasionally lead to fighting between noble Tuareg of the two groups. The existence within the drum-group of another noble tribe, the *Kel Azel*, with a certain number of vassals was always a danger to the position of the drum-chief as a ruler of the whole
[661] *Kel Ferwan* group. And noble Tuareg of the *Irawatten* tribe say that in the past it even happened that the drum-chief punished the *Kel Azel* very severely, not only taking all their livestock, but also burning
[701] down their camps. The drum-chief was able to maintain his power over the whole *Kel Ferwan* group because most vassal tribes were placed directly under his command, and because these tribes camped around Agadez which was dominated by him.

The drum-chief also had trouble with another tribe of his group, the *Kel Akerra*. This tribe is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the *Ibararojiten* tribe. In the past the drum-chief assisted by vassals of the whole group imposed vassalage upon the *Kel Akerra*, who, however, refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the *Kel Akerra* to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the *Kel Akerra* tribe became small and insignificant. It is said that the tribes of *Imezzureg* and *Isakaranan*, who like the *Kel Akerra* are noble by origin, also did not give their bride-wealth to the drum-chief in the past. But the three tribes were vassals in the sense that they had to give part of their war-booty to the drum-chief and could not carry out raids on their own.

[701] A certain discord reigned within the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the drum-chief had the support of most tribes of vassals, who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups, but also quell internal
634 insurrections. However, the three northern tribes of *Kel Tédalé* were so numerous, so rich in camels,
614 and lived so remote from the rest of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes that the drum-chief could not maintain his power over them. They were only nominally part of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the *Kel Tédalé* paid no tribute to other chiefs (Joubert 1939, p. 246), though it is said in Ahaggar that in the past they paid an annual tribute to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. But the *Kel Tédalé* were politically independent of other groups in Ayr, which is also stated by Jean
565 (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim the *Kel Tédalé* to be true vassals of their
614 drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104; Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three tribes the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427). The *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg I met all emphasized

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



1926, p. 100 ff.), and they have been studied later within the same area by other anthropologists (cf. Schlesier 1956, p. 54 ff.). It is my impression that they are comparatively rare among the Tuareg because their social systems have mechanisms which serve to prevent conflicts: The system of cross-cousin marriage in connection with rules of joking, avoidance, and those which permit a man to take domestic animals not only from his father but also from his mother's brothers would seem to lessen conflicts which are latent in other matrilineal systems.

Functional studies would seem to constitute an important means to explain the historical development of social organization, but the functional method alone cannot help us, for it is evident that diffusion also plays a considerable part in the change of social systems as has been shown in this study of the Tuareg. Anthropology is not science in the ordinary sense of the word. People do not behave according to such fixed rules as those we call "natural laws". They have rules but these are not always followed very strictly, and I have shown above that social rules can change owing to diffusion and the adoption of new social traits. So-called primitive peoples do not always live in the functional world of modern anthropology, but they always live in a world of change and tradition. It is possible that the Northern Tuareg for centuries have practised marriages with a maternal cousin, though this type of marriage disagrees with their social system which favours cross-cousin marriage. As to the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg, we know that some of them adopted patrilineal succession owing to contact with the Arabs more than two hundred years ago. Nevertheless, these Tuareg have not adopted the entire social system of the Arabs, and even to-day there are matrilineal traits among them.

Tuareg culture cannot be understood by a mere functional analysis, for its creation is due to diffusion of traits from other cultures, and this seems to hold for all cultural aspects, including political systems and social organization. Consequently, I have tried to understand cultural development in the light of the methods of both functional and historical anthropology.

I hope that this study on Tuareg culture may be considered a contribution towards a more realistic historical method, and trust that my work may be of some value to others who take up the great problems connected with the history of North African culture. It may well be that some of the theories I have advanced or intimated will not survive when our knowledge of the Tuareg and North African cultures is increased, but I believe that a study of cultural development within limited areas will enable a far more realistic and detailed picture of cultural history to be created than has so far been the case.

## Tobol of the Ta̭itok

631 The Ta̭itok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with
565 the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin,
[602] Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Ta̭itok.

According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin
[173] as the Imenân sultans; that is, descendants of Idris, and the other part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Aïr where the stock /souche/ still exists. (1)

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 322.

114 The Ta̭itok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Inifel in
631 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity
565 with the Iha̭ggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live; our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the A̭jjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of

2. Les Touareg de l'Ouest
/The Western Tuareg/, p. 18
(Algiers, 1888).

any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without
579 balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela
631 and the suzerainty of the amenokal of the Ahaggar. After the
643 division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the amenokalat,
[181] which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These
175 battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/ by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Ta̭itok are bound by numerous marriages and are all more or less cousins.

175 The dissensions began with respect to the Imrad tribes depend-
579 ing on the Kel Rela; they were shamelessly stolen by the Tăitok,
631 necessitating the intervention of the suzerains. The Tăitok, fewer
643 in number than the Kel Rela, got the worst of it most of the time, but that never prevented them from beginning again a short time later.

This was still the state of affairs at the end of the last century when Amenokal Ăttarel, a very peace-loving man, succeeded in bringing about a cessation of hostilities between the two rival tribes.

The chief of the Tăitok at that time, Sidi ag Kéradji, was the nephew of Ăttarel through his father; consequently, he was a Kel Rela, while he held the right to the Tăitok tobol from his mother. Ăttarel, as his uncle, strove to protect him from the Kel Rela as well as from some Tăitok elements whom this truce did not suit.

Sidi, feeling the situation escape him, renounced his tobol, believing that by so doing he was ensuring the safety of his wealth and his person in case hostilities broke out again. He took refuge in the Ahaggar with the Kel Rela.

But upon the death of Ăttarel, rivalry reawakened, and the Kel Rela begged Sidi to leave their camps. Where could he go when the Tăitok had only enemies?

Anarchy reigned everywhere, and the Kel I-n-Tounîn, Imrad of the Tăitok, took advantage of this to emancipate themselves. They appealed to the Ouraren, a noble Ăjjer tribe. Sidi resolved to settle among them, when Aziouel, a pretender to the tobol, was trying to seize it.

[81] Aziouel was the typical Tăitok, the typical desert looter, with cruel and unrestrained instincts. Captain Métois, former chief of the Annex of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, called him a "man of fine saber blows and abusive language, and in addition, a liar, thief, and traitor." He negotiated the surrender of the Tăitok, while Sidi ag
643 Kéradji was kept as amenokal.

175 Aziouel was guided by his taste for robbery to lead an enormous
631 raid in the Hodh in 1905, but he had a run of bad luck. Pushed
[82]

175 631 643 back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of the men, including Azioueł, died of thirst in the desert.

/204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

579 631 At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and [648] more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

[511] 631 651 Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ăgrar des Iforas, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis and Isoknâten of the Aïr.

[162 233] Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400 camels and about 1,000 goats.

175 631 648 During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his Imrad Kel I-n-Tounin. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops. He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

[423] Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastân.

233 721 The Tuareg are herders. It does not seem that they ever knew any other stage of civilization, except hunting which is the prelude to animal husbandry. But even by judicious use of pasturage they cannot own a great number of domestic animals, and in the last analysis herding falls into the background in their means of existence. Since the country could not feed them, they had to look elsewhere for what they lacked. They therefore looked to their sabers for the rest.

181 721 Like the majority of herders, the perpetually famished Tuareg are born warriors, because from time immemorial they have had to dispute the rich lands with the sedentary peoples. Their free life has made them independent and anarchistic. The wealth /215/ of others has not inspired any respect in them, but rather a sentiment of envy which no moral rule has been able to check. Pillage has thus been raised to the state of an institution, and the Tuareg have become masters of the trade.

721 [182] The raid, now a continual state of war with their neighbors, may be considered the principal social achievement of the Tuareg. And thus we may see the important role that the Ahaggar Mountains play; they are not only a refuge for life, but also a refuge for brigands who want to shelter themselves from the possible investigations of their victims.

579 627 The raid is organized, even ordered, pillage. It is an institution with its rules which the antagonists respect. Its simplest form is taking the neighbor's herds; once the deed is done, the raider makes a deal with him and compromises by giving him back a certain number of animals so that he can subsist, keeping for himself what is judged to be the surplus. The complicated form occurs when the attacked man defends himself or tries to take back his property. That can lead to pitched battles and, as a consequence, dead men. From that time on, it is fratricidal war which demands blood and which creates eternal hatred.

That was what the life of the Ahaggar Tuareg was before the French occupation.

579 In addition, they robbed caravans who happened into their country, hatefully ransoming 721 the voyagers. Sometimes they 727 went to empty the granaries of the sedentary people of the oases or the Sudanese villages, capturing Negroes and Negresses to [492] sett as slaves.

439 When peace reigned in their country, they willingly organized /218/ caravans to go to the Tidikelt or Touat oases and bring back dates, or else to the Sudan to get supplies of millet. They also made themselves the protectors of caravans [486] crossing their country, naturally making the caravaneer pay a consistently high duty in merchandise.

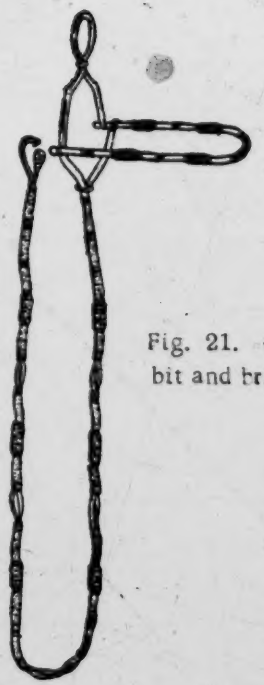

Fig. 21. Camel bit and bridle.

135 The Ahaggar has famous 182 salt mines in the region called 439 Amadror which lies to the east of the Tafedest massif in a large depression. They are an appreciable resource for the Ihaggaren, but manpower is needed to exploit them. Then, transportation and circulation demand a general state of peace in which the numerous [721] herds of pack camels can be protected from possible surprise attacks and raids. That is why the Amadror salt deposits remained unexploited for a long time before the French occupation, because of the state of perpetual war existing between Ahaggar Tuareg and Tassili Tuareg.

222 have made them the base of their diet; for this reason they were
262 nicknamed acridophages. The Nasamonians of Herodotus prepared them in the same way the Tuareg do, and the /236/ similar diets of the two peoples is perhaps not pure coincidence.

There are a few fish ponds in the Ahaggar, but the Imochar
226 and the Imrad do not eat the flesh of these animals; only the
262 Issekkemâren catch barbels and sometimes catfish, or rather they gather them up in the wadis after floods, for they do not know how to fish, properly speaking.

The sedentary peoples raise chickens, but the Tuareg do not
262 eat them either, since they consider the meat impure. The same interdict is extended to eggs. The only bird which is an exception is the ostrich. There are no longer any ostriches in the Sahara, but
[223] when the Ihaggaren go to the Sudan they capture them if they have the chance; in addition, they eat ostrich eggs cooked in the ashes.

Times of scarcity were sometimes experienced. They are rare
262 now that caravans can circulate freely, but they were much more
731 frequent when the state of war continued for a long time. The
224 Tuareg fell back on wild plants which do not generally enter into their diet: the young growths of tahlé (Typha elephantina), the
[824] leaves of the tanekfit (Eruca aurea) and the aramas (Atriplex halimus), the underground stems of the danoun (Cistanche lutea) which resembles asparagus, and many other plants of very dubious food value, which they ate to assuage their hunger. The state of famine can
[252] become so pronounced that they sometimes gather up old bones, grind them up, reduce them to flour, and make gruels of them. It
[504] goes without saying that it is during these periods that pillaging is at its height. People steal from camp to camp, from tribe to tribe, and everyone forgets his brother and his friend, thinking of only one thing -- survival by any means.

492
484 the pasturing place as rapidly as possible, and so they assure a strictly disciplined march for the caravan.

From this come the two systems of proceeding used respectively by the Arabs and the Tuareg.

486 /315/ Caravans which used to cross the country of the
643 Ihaggaren were obliged to place themselves under the latter's pro-
648 tection by paying a toll agreed upon in advance. The duty went to the amenokal, but protection was ensured only within the bounds of his authority, which quite often did not go beyond the limits of his own tribe. And so the caravaneer was subject to continual solicitations from the people living on the land he crossed, and it was often very difficult to escape them. A guide was sometimes placed at his disposal and received remuneration in kind.

When the boundary of the territory was reached, the pro-
[579] tection stopped there, and the greed of the Tuareg was so great that they sometimes did not hesitate to go pillage outside their territory the caravan they had just protected. This often brought on conflicts from tribe to neighboring tribe, but in the final analysis everything was settled at the expense of the caravaneer.

427 Sometimes the Tuareg rented out their camels. Some Tassili
492 tribes made a specialty out of transport between Ghademes and Ghat, while the Issekkemaren agreed to rent their animals between In-Salah and the Sudan. They derived considerable profits from this work.

As a result of these continual deductions in advance, the caravaneer could transport only goods whose trade was very remunerative.

484 Caravaneers have a custom of placing provisions needed for
674 their return in the rocks or in sheltered places. These provisions are left without a guard, and nobody would think of taking them.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



565 Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Ḋela clan, but as he now lives outside of
614 Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

643 In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to
651 noble Kel Ḋela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Ḋela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Iskkemaren class, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Ḋela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139ff.).

Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known
643 as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order
651 to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the
● 579 Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *ennehet*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347f.).

The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was
565 also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg.
614 But the relation (*tumaṣlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals
651 and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another.
233 The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And
511 the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little
[234] when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food,
[262] but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar
[574] Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft,
[281] as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only
[237] for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

174 to maintain, which others seized from them, and suzerains became
182 vassals. But in spite of these contingencies of war, the Tuareg
565 attach great importance to blood origins and always respect high-
[554, 727] born people, even though they may be their vanquished /adversaries/.

Thus, at the present time, the nobles of the Ahaggar and the
554 Xjjer may be seen to seek alliances with women of the fallen fraction
565 of the Imenan Sultans. This adds to the luster of their high origin
581 a certain character of religious nobility, which is much appreciated among Moslems.

000 Monogamy and matriarchy. -- To understand Tuareg society, one must remember two important facts, facts which are, moreover, not completely independent of each other, monogamy and matriarchy.

/151/ While the Tuareg are Moslems and have polygamous
174 peoples as neighbors, it is astonishing to note that they practice
562 monogamy. This is an evident indication that women occupy an
[595] important place in their society, in no way comparable to what they occupy among the Arabs. This was very striking to the first travelers who thought they saw traces of an ancient Christianity in the persistence of monogamy. This argument might be held if we did not know, on the other hand, that the social organization of the Tuareg rests on matriarchy, an ancient custom much earlier than the Christian era, which explains monogamy and the particularly high position of women.

Gautier writes on this subject: "It may be said that the Tuareg practice chivalrous gallantry; the expression is inadequate only because of the association it evokes. Our chivalry has a Christian origin; the respect of the Tuareg for women has much deeper and more remote reasons. It goes back to matriarchy, which is earlier than the notion of the state and even that of the family. It is a living witness of completely primordial humanity, a sentiment, if I may say so, of the quaternary age." (1)

1. La conquête du Sahara /The Conquest of the Sahara/, p. 33.

occurs quite often, but most generally on the initiative of the 586
wife, for the husband who gives notice of repudiation is bound to pay her the remainder due on the bride price, while when it is the wife who initiates the break by refusing herself to him and taking refuge with her parents, her husband owes her nothing.

Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and Kel Ahnet, could never keep a wife with him. He divorced very often. Each time he went back to his negresses, whom he held in high regard. Meanwhile, he tried to remarry ( he was [591
seventy to seventy-five years old), but it seems he had some 587]
difficulty, considering his matrimonial past. /19/

## Chapter IX

## Adultery

Adultery, in Tamashek "tikra" ⵜⵉⴽⵔⴰ (from the verb 837
"ouker" ⵓⴽⵔ , to steal), is certainly common. 684

The Tuareg may say that in a case of adultery they do not hesitate to kill the woman, but I asked them to cite me such a case which had occurred within the past several years, and they admitted that they could not cite any, adding that this was just because no act in flagrante delicto had ever been established. Others told me that many are satisfied to get [586]
divorced and that some even say no more about it.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



582 [778] Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it [581] [605] results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

605 606 221 Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance between children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown, the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two outwardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in [184] the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

601 The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8) which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and for certain matrilineal relatives. As clans, according to traditional rules, are groups 614 of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims the line of succession to be as follows:– 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Geres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims 614 that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that 643 this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

[p. 102, categor 116.—Analyst]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



(b) *Obligations of the bride's family*:— 602

The bride's family has to provide her with everything necessary for domestic life:— 583

1 mat tent (*ihen*) (cf. p. 350 ff., Figs. 265a–f).
1 bed (*iddabut*) (Fig. 212a).
2–3 bed mats (*isebran*) (Fig. 212b).
Further: skin-bags, eating bowls, spoons, cooking pots, etc. A certain number of domestic animals should also be included in the dowry of a bride.

It is clear that both in Ahaggar and in Ayr a marriage is connected with great expenses both for the groom's and the bride's families. In view of this it may seem important that cross-cousin marriage creates a fixed system of exchange between two families which have definite relations to one another. 584 602

When marriages are contracted the economic aspects are not considered most important by all Tuareg. Some Tuareg will let their daughters marry less wealthy people if they are considered good men. But to many, and I believe most, Tuareg the economic aspect of marriage is important, and it is generally said that it is more difficult for poor people to obtain a spouse than it is for wealthy people. A poor girl cannot so easily find a husband as a wealthy one, and wealthy girls can be married even though they are not very good-looking. 581

Normally, a widow will not have much difficulty in getting married again even though she has one or a few children, and the same holds good for a divorced woman. But it is most remarkable that, in Ahaggar, a widow cannot remarry if she has a half-grown son of 12–15 years old who is opposed to her marriage. If the boy is unwilling to let his widow mother marry, people will normally try to induce him to yield to his mother's wish by means of gifts. But if the boy refuses nothing more can be done, and the case cannot even be brought before the *Amenukal*. There may be several reasons for this particular custom, and the following two points should be noted:— (1) When the boy's mother remarries it may imply a shift of residence, as she will join her husband's camp and the boy would live with his mother. (2) The boy's inheritance rights are reduced when his mother remarries. This is evident when we consider the rules of inheritance described above p. 137 f. If his mother does not remarry the boy is the sole inheritor of her whole fortune. If his mother marries again her new husband and his children with the boy's mother will have important inheritance rights to her fortune, while the boy will have no right to inherit from his stepfather. 587

Inheritance rights in connection with rules of residence are facts which are considered important to most Tuareg when desirous of arranging marriages for their children. A woman cannot marry without her parents' consent, and a man who wants to marry will have to ask his parents and a great many other relatives of ascending generations, including his elder brothers. However, what really matters is the word given by his father. If the father agrees to his son's marriage there will not generally be any further complications about its realization. If the father disagrees there will be no marriage, though in Ahaggar a grown man can bring his case before the *Amenukal* should his father not allow him to marry the woman he wants (cf. p. 400 f.). 581 584

First marriages are frequently arranged by the parents (the father) and are not necessarily contracted with cross-cousins.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



582 with cross-cousins. There are very few relatives with whom marriage is strictly forbidden. A man must not marry a kinswoman of ascending generations, and he should not marry a woman who is his mother-in-law (daughter-in-law) from a previous marriage. With the exception of his own true sisters he is allowed to marry any kinswoman of his own generation, and in the first descending generation he can marry all women except his own daughters and daughters of his brothers and sisters.

582 In Ahaggar where the Tuareg practise a fixed system of patrilocal and matrilocal rules of residence,
591 cross-cousin marriages will imply shifts of residence which can be avoided by other types of marriage.
581 Many Ahaggar Tuareg prefer to arrange for their sons marriages with a mother's sister's daughter (that is a classificatory sister) or with her daughter (that is a classificatory sister's daughter). When the Tuareg thus marry directly into their own matrilineage there will be no shift of residence from one camp (tribe) to another, and children will have rights of inheritance and succession to kinsmen of the same local group. Marriage with a mother's sister's daughter or with her daughter is in fact better suited to rules of inheritance, succession, and residence than is marriage with a cross-cousin. I have met many Ahaggar Tuareg who claimed marriage with a mother's sister's daughter to be preferable to cross-cousin marriage, though they admitted that the latter was traditionally the preferred type.

582 My statistical material, which is not very comprehensive, seems to indicate that in Ahaggar marriages with a mother's sister's daughter and with her daughter are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins. This may be seen from the composition of 44 marriages contracted with kinswomen:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 3 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that marriage with a mother's sister's daughter or with her daughter is also practised among them, but that such marriages are not particularly common. This agrees with my statistical material which is very scarce also from the Ayr Tuareg:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 14 |
| No blood-relationship | 8 |
| Marriages total | 39 |

[178] These statistics are less valuable than those from Ahaggar, for they are collected mainly from tribes
582 living around Agadez where social customs tend to fall into disuse. However, cross-cousin marriages
591 are still very common in these tribes where there is a tendency to follow patrilocal rules of residence and patrilineal succession. The reason why the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg do not consider marriages with

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1954-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



women of their own matrilineage particularly suitable seems to be connected with these rules of residence and succession. Marriages with maternal kinswomen are clearly advantageous to the Ahaggar Tuareg, where residence is ultimately matrilocal, while such marriages in Ayr have no proper justification.

Tuareg kinship systems in Ahaggar and among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg seem to be adapted to cross-cousin marriage. Parallel cousins are termed brothers and sisters, while there is a particular term for cross-cousins and between them an institutional joking relationship which facilitates contact and marriage. The Tuareg seem to admit that one function of joking between cross-cousins is to promote marriages between them, and they say that in the period during which a man and a woman are in love with each other before marriage – a period which is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *téreijek* – there will always be joking between them even though the two persons are unrelated.

Joking relationship between cross-cousins has another function in addition to that of facilitating marriage. In the description of political systems it has been mentioned that joking plays a rôle in preventing conflicts between people of different classes and castes. When a man marries a cross-cousin, his cross-cousins will become brothers and sisters-in-law with whom joking continues, and there will always be joking with the brothers and sisters of a spouse unless a man marries a particular kinswoman (cf. p. 466). It is the rule that there is joking with brothers and sisters in-law who preferably are also one's cross-cousins so that this joking relationship should in such cases have existed even before marriage. I believe that this convention helps to restrict conflicts between a person and the spouse's family of his own generation, and that joking between in-laws of the same generation has much the same function as has avoidance between parents-in-law and sons and daughters-in-law. There can be no doubt that this type of avoidance is important to the maintenance of good relations between in-laws of different generations, the more so as the Tuareg explain their avoidance relationships by saying that it is only natural that avoidance is particularly strict between people of different sexes in the way that a man avoids his mother-in-law very strictly, a woman her father-in-law equally strictly, for a man has a particularly strong influence over his son, and a woman possesses a corresponding influence over her daughter; consequently conflicts between a man and his mother-in-law, and between a woman and her father-in-law can easily arise.

Radcliffe-Brown was the first to point out the identical functions of joking and avoidance. These outwardly such different types of behaviour both serve to prevent conflicts between in-laws (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56 ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). This theory is very important, and I believe that it is not only confirmed but augmented by the material I have brought back from the Tuareg. It is clear that conflicts cannot easily arise between two persons who avoid each other, and the same is true of two joking partners as when everything is permitted, it is difficult to quarrel. Morally, joking is considered a very good thing, and cross-cousins who do not like to joke much are in public opinion bad cross-cousins. However, the intensity of joking between cross-cousins depends very much on the age difference between the two if they belong to the same sex. There will always be much joking between cross-cousins of the same age, while cross-cousins of very different age will joke very little or not at all. With extreme difference in age, two male cross-cousins may even change their joking relationship into avoidance, though this does not seem to be normal.

565
554 The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished
[302] than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing
[516] nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad
by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant
[195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words
foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of
appearance and language is even more perceptible among the
554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their
562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their
574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society.
Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well
[533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The
qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know-
[566] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather
articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know-
565 ing how to play the violin.
[83] Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part
513] of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the
[842] Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which
● 582] are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the
other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it,
[648] and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the
last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original
stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting it-
self to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could
bring it.

565 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class
among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/
[793 and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the
871] children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite
[651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

565 from all vassalage taxes and are often the object of much respect
[651] and consideration wherever they go. Thus, in the Ahaggar, they are treated on an equal footing with the Imochar, and the latter
[582] sometimes accept marriages with them, while at the same time re-
[641] fusing to grant political rights to the children born of these unions.
[184] On the other hand, among the Ioullimmiden, the Imochar reject any alliance with them and make them pay a vassalage due. These
[582] /Inislimen/ of the Damergou, contrary to the rule, are considered nobles; they own Imrad and may wage war. Furthermore, they have made themselves noticed as the most bellicose among the Aïr tribes. Finally, those of the Adrar succeeded in forming a confederation after the Ioullimmiden abandoned the country; they have Imrad, but the Imochar from the other confederations do not want to regard them as their equals.

They are often referred to under the name of Ichériffen, or
[192] Chériffen, which comes from the Arab word sherif, meaning "noble," or, by extension, "descendant of the Prophet." But among the Tuareg, Ichériffen has a more specialized meaning and designates persons of a religious nature, without their necessarily being descendants of Mahomet.

The marabout tribes include the Ichériffen properly so called and the Ifôra.

This religious nature has various origins and qualities.

Some elements really number sherifs among their ancestors; such is the case of the Ifôra from the Adrar and certain Kel Es-Souq fractions. But opposed to them are others who have only an accidental religious character.

174 Concerning this, Commander Cauvet says that these marabout
565 tribes often appear to be noble collectivities, who were formerly
793 strong and became too weak to continue enjoying the rights and prestige of the strong. They declared themselves withdrawn from the business of arms and devoted to pious practices for love of God and Islam. "A tribe threatened with losing its preponderance,

565 Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of
[511] the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of
[177] prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting
631 matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs internally as they see fit, without intervention of the amenokal or the
[642] Imochar in their affairs.

162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps
565 because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by
721 their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often
[727] organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some
701 Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among
[714] the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded
631 in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for
[582] their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote
[602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general-
[582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihăggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihăggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were
[643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores
[184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous
[567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar,
[582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

563 and may be owners of slaves and herds. They sometimes seek
[582] matrimonial alliances with the Imrad, but the latter, who hold them in rather great contempt, most often refuse.

According to Nicolas, the Iborelliten might be captives of a
114 higher origin. (2) For de Foucauld, (3) Aborelli (plural, Ibourelliten)
563
[192]

2. Loc. cit., pp. 579-586.

3. Dictionnaire touareg-français /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, vol. I, p. 79.

designates a mulatto of a white man and a Negress, or inversely. In our opinion, it should be added that one of the parents is of Taureg origin; and we are all the more convinced that this trait is
[192] indispensable since de Foucauld elsewhere refers to the ordinary mulatto by the name of Achardan (plural, Ichardanen). (3)

3. Dictionnaire touareg-français /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, vol. I, p. 79.

We have gathered information in the regions of Tahoua and Gao, where éborelli refers to a child born of an Amajer and a non-captive Negress, or of a foreign woman. The Iborelliten are therefore mulattos born of mixed parentage, Tuareg and Negro.

563 As groups of Iborelliten we shall cite the Igdâlen of /169/ the Aïr and the Aboghelitè spoken of by Barth, (1) who were born of

1. Op. cit., vol. I, p. 204.

Tuareg mothers (Imochar, according to Barth) and Negro fathers. Another Iborelliten tribe, of Tuareg and Peul stock, said to have

567 of their ancestors. Ahaggar slaves are perfectly adapted to the desert and possess physical qualities of sobriety much superior to those of their racial brothers /170/ in the Sudan, who have difficulty living there when they are transported from the Sudan.

The Akli is subject to forced labor at the will of his master. He owes all his work to his master and is his property, but he receives a few advantages and can use a few days of work a week for himself.

In the Ahaggar the Iklan are treated perfectly well by their masters, to whom they are quite attached. They share meals with them and sustain with an even temper the good or bad fortune which the camp enjoys. Their children are reared with those of the Tuareg and on the same footing.

They benefit from certain humanitarian rules which do credit to the Tuareg. Thus a slave who is too young or too old cannot be liberated and must be supported by his master.

[428] The Iklan are bequeathed as a heritage; they may be possessors of animals, whose usufruct they then have; but upon their death these animals fall to their masters and not to their own children.

The Imochar, Inislimen, and Imrad have all rights over their slaves. The latter cannot marry without their consent. Generally, 567 when there are a man slave and a woman slave in the same camp, 582 they are married to each other, and the man receives a goat which 583 he gives to his wife as a bride price. If the slave wants to seek a wife for himself and finds one in another camp, he receives nothing from his master and must find the means to pay his wife's bride price by himself; this bride price is commonly fixed at ten goats. The slaves put in charge of keeping the flocks and who are often absent from the camp because of their occupation usually do not [836] marry. "They take their pleasure where they find it," said Father de Foucauld.

565 The Tuareg often take slave women as concubines. There are 567 several advantages to this: first, they have no bride price to pay, 515

and were enfeoffed to the Kounta tribe, or Dag-Ech-Cheich. The origin of the oldest known families goes back no more than two generations. They are the Ehellellou, who have left descendants, the Badahol and Mohamed /families/, today extinct, and the Rati whose descendants are now settled among the Taitok. 564

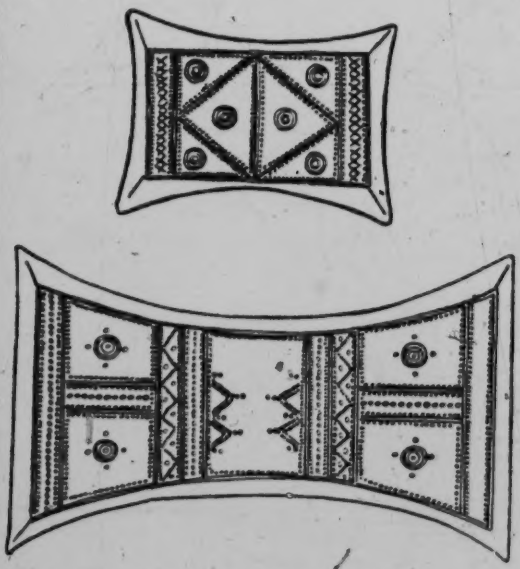

Fig. 19. Silver amulets worn by men on the crests of their hairdo.

At the time of Amenokal Attici (1899) there was a chief of the blacksmiths named Alamine whose role was to oversee and distribute the work and to reduce the newly captured blacksmiths from the Sudan to obedience. He also had judiciary power. 564 326 [301 789 531] [697]

Formerly endogamy was the general rule, but since the occupation it has been violated numerous times, and artisans often take their wives from the Harratin and the Eklan. 564 [582 177]

Their industry is limited to the fabrication of jewels, padlocks, knives, and a few wooden utensils. They are particularly occupied with repairing worn articles.

/179/ In the Sudan the Enaden are much more numerous. That is why industries there are found to be much more developed, even more so since more varied and more abundant raw materials are at their disposal. 564

175 in everything. Much less intelligent than Moussa, he was none the less a faithful chief who knew how to make himself respected.

He married twice and had seven children.

175 Meslah ag Ămayas is a second cousin of Ăkhamouk. He is a
643 grandson of the former amenokal Ăltarel and a second cousin of Mohamed ag Ourzig and Ăttici ag Ămellal. The tobol thus came down in the branch of Ămennaï, the third son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, for want of male descendants in the branch of Héguier. This follows the rules of matriarchal succession.

Although Moussa ag Ămastan's sister Rakhma, who married Ănaba ag Ămellal, brother of Amenokal Ăttici, left a son named Louki, he was bypassed by the Imochar as weak-minded.

651 The amenokal levies the tioussé on the Imrad and assimilated
[643] vassals. Some of them also pay dues /Fr. droits de redevance/ to the descendants of the old noble families. Thus the Dăg Răli pay an annual due to the Inemba Kel Tăhat, and the Ăit Loaïen to the Inemba Kel Emori. The latter levy four percent of the loads of grain brought back from the Sudan by the Ăit Loaïen.

[178 But these duties levied are tending to disappear gradually with
161] the extinction of the old Ahaggar families, some of which are no longer represented by more than a few individuals.

631 The Kel Rela tribe has been gathering strength in a singular way
644 for a century. It is all powerful by the number of its representatives, and matriarchy has only accentuated this situation. Indeed, since
[643] only Kel Rela women are capable of giving birth to an amenokal, young men from other noble tribes seek alliances with them,
[582] abandoning the women of their own tribe. This new blood has given the Kel Rela a certain physical vigor by preventing them from becoming impoverished through too close and too repeated inbred alliances.

631 The amrar of the Taïtok is named according to matriarchal rules, and his election must be approved by the chiefs of the Imrad tribes. However, it must be pointed out that since Amrar Salah the chiefs have succeeded from father to son upon several occasions.

101 The Taïtok sometimes give the name Ar'rerf Ahnet to /205/ their group, from the name of the region where they range most of the time and also from their Imrad. (1)

1. "Ar'rerf" corresponds here to "tobol." According to Nicolas, op. cit., "Agref," following his orthography, means small fraction.

631 565 [582] The Taïtok live on very good terms with their vassals, and the vassals, proud of being called Taïtok, espouse all the rivalries of their lords. Marriages between different castes are not uncommon, and many nobles have married Imrad women, which causes their children to lose political rights to the tobol. But the greater and greater extension of this custom will necessarily bring about modifications in the customary law of filiation, or else patriarchy will finally replace matriarchy.

[651] The Imrad pay a lump tiousse which is divided among the different Imochar. There is no longer any individual right /droit/ like that still found among the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

631 618 [161] Thieves to end all thieves, the Taïtok have still been able to keep alliances almost everywhere outside their country in the regions they have to cross to carry out their robberies; these alliances are military or protective. Thus, in order to keep from being robbed, the Sékakna and the Mazil, Arab tribes from the environs of Akabli who sometimes nomadized in the Adrar Ahnet, paid them a slight due. They were allied with the Fergoumoussen, an Imochar tribe from the Adrar, with the Tarat Mellet, the Kel Boujbiha, the Kel Arouan, the Tadjakant, the Arib, and the Kel Taoudeni. These

631 alliances give a glimpse of the scope of the Tăitok raids.
[648] The tobol of the Tăitok includes the Irechchoûmen, a little noble tribe which lost its rights to the tobol as a consequence of misalliances, the Kel Ăhnet, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, the Kel I-n-Toûnin, the Iouarouaren, the Ikouttissen, and the Ikechchemâden.

The Irechchoûmen. -- The Irechchoûmen, also called Iradjenaten (mixed blood), usually camp in the Ăhnet, going as high as Aoulef. The head of the family was Ibédi ag Bassi, who married a daughter of the Oulad Zenan (Aoulef Arabs) and had for sons-in-law Aziouel and Tacha ag Serada of the Tăitok, both dead as a result of raids. (2)

2. Azíouel's widow married Moussa ag Amastân, aménokal of the Ahaggar, in 1910.

[582] They are allies of the Tăitok through numerous marriages, and also of the Imrad Kel Ăhnet. They also marry with /206/ Arab
[643] women from the Touat, and these multiple misalliances have made them lose their right to the tobol.

[173] According to a tradition reported by Duveyrier, the Irechchoûmen originally came from Es Souq. Part of the tribe descends from the Edrissians, and others have the Ikadeien for their ancestors.

[162] They include only about ten tents, or 60 persons, at the present time.

The Kel Ăhnet. -- The Kel Ăhnet are of the same origin as the
[173] Dag Râli with whom they formerly made up the Imessiliten fraction. This schism occurred under the aménokalat of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, at the time of the distribution of the Imrad among the different noble tribes, and the Kel Ăhnet were bestowed upon the Tăitok.

They were among the first to come and surrender, and their chief, Badjeloud ag Maklia, came to In-Salah as early as 1902.

631 The Kel I-n-Toûnîn owe their name to the wadi near which they ordinarily nomadize in the Tăfedest massif. At the end of the last century they took advantage of the dissensions existing between the Tăitok and the Kel Rela as well as the internal strife of the
[651] Tăitok to free themselves of the latter. They moved to the Ăjjer, claiming kinship with them, but they pay them no taxes.

After their surrender to the French, the Tăitok reclaimed them, and General Laperrine agreed to their demand.

[649] They took a big part in the rebellion of 1916 and were the first to rise up, for they were under the direct influence of the Ăjjer.

Taking refuge in Fezzan at first, they set about combating us by launching raids against the fractions under our influence. Later they participated in the combat of Aïn el Hadjadj. Then they went to the Sudan, where they succeeded in taking with them a number of Tăitok, their Chief Amri among them, in spite of the efforts Moussa ag Ămastân made to keep them.

[162] They number about 20 tents which camp in the north of the Tăfedest massif and go up as high as the Ădrar Ifetessen on the foothills of Immîdir.

[582] They are allied to the Tégéhé Mellet by recent marriages.

Famous as good herders, they own about 100 camels and 300
[233 439] goats. They are also good caravaneers who trade on the markets of In Salah, Ghat, and Ghadames.

[241] They have a few gardens cultivated at Ideles and in the Tassili centers of cultivation.

[162] The Iouarouaren. -- The Iouarouaren form a little tribe of about 15 tents, which nomadizes with the Kel Ăhnet in the Adrar.

Some say they are natives of Aïr, others say of the Ăjjer.

173 /210/ When an Ăjjer (or Ifôras) woman had been taken prisoner
631 by the Aïr people, according to Sidi ag Kéradji it was Ămastân ag Ourzig, maternal uncle of Sidi, who paid her ransom and married her to a Kel Ăhnet; from this union sprang the Iouarouaren. (1)

631
[173]

1. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 177.

[582] They often camp near the Dăg Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Tăitok in their peregrinations.

[423] They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghîn, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given [233] to Moussa ag Ămastan. They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The tiousse paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a [651] bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemaden live mixed in with the Dăg Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Tăitok tobol.

[192] Their name means "the very ugly ones," from the Tamashek akechchemdh, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Ămastân.

[162] They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them [423] in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dăg Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dăg Râli.

[162] The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ăjjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeïen form a little tribe of some 15 [162] tents, whose camp lies near Tit and Tigeneouin.

847 under these circumstances, she usually goes to visit a relative and tries to hide her pregnancy. No one is taken in, but nobody says [756] anything. She goes to see a marabout who, for a rather high price, makes a few mysterious signs before the sinner, writes a few words in Arabic on a small board, washes the writing, and gathers the water in a gourd for the woman to drink. In case these practices are successful (?), a second sum identical to the first one is paid. [278] If not, the woman tries several mixtures, generally with a base of adjerdjir (Cassia abavata), and in case the results are still negative, the baby is simply strangled when it comes into the world. Although these mores are still more or less in force, they seem somewhat reduced by Islamization, and unnatural mothers are sometimes punished severely. [797 848]

174 The ahal seems to have existed in ancient North African Libyan tribes. Herodotus mentioned the community of women among the Nasamonians, and the ahal is, in fact, only a derived and evolved form of it, if one could call it evolved.

582 Marriage. -- With the existence of such easy mores, it is understandable that young men and women do not care to marry early. Women rarely marry before the age of twenty, and men, before thirty.

584 Although the girl is free with her body, as we have seen, she still needs her father's authorization to marry. On the other hand, [593] however, it is rare for a husband to be imposed on her or for her to be married before puberty, as is the custom among the Arabs.

/291/ Mates are chosen in the lovers' meetings which form a sort of trial marriage. The suitor must ask the young girl's father through one of his parents or through a religious person if there is one in the region.

[184] Among the Ihaggaren everyone is informed of the suit, but in Aïr this is not the case; there the mother and the family of the girl are informed only when everything is arranged. If the [587] woman has already been married, her father's permission is no longer necessary.

593 The very independent Tuareg woman has a very bad /294/ temper and in addition is often quite jealous. At the least misconduct by her husband, she goes home to her parents. She ignores conjugal rights only after material compensation. For his part, the man is violent, and that often provokes disagreement in the household.

582 Obstacles to marriage. -- The cases of obstacles to marriage are identical with those fixed by Moslem law. It is forbidden to marry one's near relations, one's nurse or the child of one's nurse, or a woman having been fed with the same milk as oneself.

Alliances between Imochar and Imrad are very rare, for the Imochar who marries a woman from the vassal class makes his children lose the rights attached to his rank.

Noble and vassal women are willing to unite with Arabs, especially if they are marabouts, always on the condition that they respect monogamy, conform to Tuareg mores, and promise to live in the woman's camp. Tuareg men very seldom marry Arab women.

586 Divorce. -- Separation does not exist, so to speak, among the Tuareg, who make use of divorce, but do not abuse it. It is allowed by the Koran and is not subject to opprobrium. A Tuareg woman may ask for a divorce, while an Arab woman may not. The woman instigates it much more often than the man. The reasons set forth by the wife are usually bad treatment by her husband, insufficient support, embezzlement of animals, misconduct (which is a more rare motive), and sometimes nonpayment of the balance of the bride price.

The man more commonly sets forth misconduct, his wife's sterility, dispute over the bride price of animals, incompatibility, and often misunderstanding between the wife and her parents-in-law.

A few diseases such as leprosy may be grounds for divorce.

Divorces seldom take place without difficulties, and if a wife wants to leave her husband, any motive is good. The act of

622 ship, and so an undesirable heir-apparent can easily be passed over in favor of a less direct heir who is considered acceptable (Butaye, 1957).

614 The position of an Ahaggar Tuareg clan is not firmly fixed within the framework of the confederation. Component clans will sometimes break away from one tribe in times of adversity and attach themselves to another and more powerful tribe that is better able to protect them. In the old days vassal clans were sometimes swapped back and forth between noble clans, and so had their tribal allegiance changed for them more or less arbitrarily. At least one clan, the Ibotenaten, has been reduced from noble to vassal status, in this case by a crushing defeat suffered in the course of a blood feud. Thus the distribution of the various clans within the tribal framework of the confederation tends to change gradually [578] over the years, while internal tribal crises and interribal warfare naturally accelerate the process.

●[582] Marriage is usually although not always within the clan but outside the first degree of
614 cousinship and outside the camp community
611 or fraction. A child of Tuareg parents inherits
428 rank and privileges through the mother, regardless of whether she is a member of the father's clan or not; but the child is known as "Such-and-such, child of So-and-so," the parent thus referred to being the father, and inheritance of property follows Moslem law (*see* the Koran, iv, 12 and 175) which provides that a male heir shall receive twice as much as a female heir who is related to the deceased in the same degree. Today a Targui, asked to give his ancestry, will recite the list of male forebears in his father's line, although Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 321) tells us that in the 14th century descent was counted through the mother's brother, and a man's heirs were his sister's children rather than his own. Bates (1914, p. 112), citing Duveyrier (1864, p. 397), says that property acquired by force of arms used to be inherited by "the eldest son of the eldest sister of the deceased."

591 A newly married couple live in the camp of the bride's parents for about a year and then usually move over to a camp of the husband's people, but they sometimes settle permanently among the clansfolk of the bride if she and her

591 husband are of different clans. A Tuareg camp is usually known, however, by the name of the highest ranking male member of the camp community. Children are normally brought up and continue to live among the group which their parents finally joined on a permanent basis, although boys are sometimes brought up by a maternal uncle. A widowed woman and her unmarried children are usually taken into the family circle of one of her brothers or married sons.

837 The question of moral laxity hardly con-
[835] cerns us here, for even if irregular sexual rela-
tions were as general among the ladies of the Ahaggar as some authors would have us believe, they are still confined as a rule to the kinship group of the clan or at least to that of the tribe. But even so we will do well to examine briefly a widespread popular misconception. In point of fact we can probably
[582] accept Blanguernon's (1955, p. 141) statement that a substantial majority of Tuareg ladies remain virgin until wed, even though the usual age at marriage is 20 to 25 for women and close to 30 for men. Monogamy is the uni-
586 versal rule and divorce is both unusual and
837 generally frowned on. Adultery is probably no more common than it is in most societies where husbands and wives are frequently separated for periods varying from a couple of days to several months. An injured husband
[684] theoretically has the right to kill both his wife and her lover if they are caught in the act, but in practice he usually repudiates his wife although he may decide to keep her regardless of her faults, in which case he appeals to the Amenokal who then fines the corespondent. The injured wife of an unfaithful husband simply packs up and goes back to her own people, unless she prefers to ignore the whole affair.

837 It has been said that Tuareg women of the Ahaggar, single or married, lend themselves freely to male friends and guests as a general rule, but this is certainly a myth. We get the impression that in this matter, and in others too, some authors have not only been influenced subconsciously by the conditioning of their own societies, but have also extrapolated hypothetical Tuareg behavior from behavior sometimes observed among the Tuareg when in contact with their new European rulers.

326 ward and then westward, across the North
[171] African hinterland to the shores of the Atlantic. The general description of this pattern, given above in chapter V under the sub-heading *Special Classes and Minority Groups* in the section on *Agricultural Centers*, leaves little more to add.

326 Smiths of the Ahaggar usually live in single
463 family units or small groups widely separated from each other (fig. 50). A few families follow Tuareg groups on their seasonal rounds, but the great majority remain sedentary most of the time in one agricultural center or another, and go out only now and then for a few weeks or months, to do a general repair and re-equipment job in the camps of some
[759] nomadic tribe or clan. The men work wood and metals and are also barber-surgeons, while the women specialize in fancy leatherwork and embroidery. In addition to these functions
[584] and those previously mentioned, both sexes of the smith community act as both go-betweens and spies in clandestine love affairs. They also engage in intertribal secret intelligence work. And a major Tuareg chief may sometimes have a smith as his most trusted counsellor and confidant.

326 The smiths usually dress as do the poorer
[291] Tuareg. The men all wear the teguelmoust but in a sloppy fashion, and they seem to have no qualms about exposing their mouths.
[582] They are endogamous and monogamous as a general rule, although a few have more than one wife and some of them marry Haratin or occasionally slaves. Ostensibly because of their lowly social status, but probably in fact more because of the fear of sorcery that they inspire, they come and go everywhere as they please, although always with a cringingly ingratiating manner. Even after one has come to know them fairly well they still give an impression of constant watchfulness and profoundly sycophantic tact of the deliciately oiled as opposed to the heavily greased variety. The smiths are the most perspicacious and cleverly adaptable of all Saharan peoples, for they have learned to live off and so outlive flamboyant warriors with their retinues and

[217] the author was so fortunate as to obtain a copy of the genealogical table in question, thanks to the very kind co-operation of Captain Roger Bret, Commandant of the *Annexe du Hoggar*, and Claude Blanguernon, Director of Nomad Schools.

648 100 years, for Marabout and Shorfa families
797 of the North often found it advantageous to move southward and attach themselves to Tuareg tribes or clans whom they then proceeded to stir up against the French and Italian newcomers. In this way the Koran became a kind of battle flag of local resistance to European penetration throughout the Sahara. The Camel Corps troops, who have long maintained order for the European rulers of the Desert, have always been recruited mainly from among Moslem Arab nomad tribes, notably the Chaamba, and their thinly scattered garrisons and outposts in the Tuareg country soon came to serve as centers for the continuing diffusion of Islamic doctrine. And finally it has
•[582] become less and less unusual for noble ladies of the Ahaggar to marry men of Arab Shorfa or Maraboutic families. Thus racial and religious penetration have marched hand-in-hand into the Tuareg country, following the path that leads through adversity to union in a common cause, and so to bed.

792 The basic relationship between the "living saints" and the warlike nomads of the Sahara Desert is clearly stated in the Old Testament, as Monod (1947, pp. 72–73) has pointed out with keen insight and inimitable wit. In Esau and Jacob he recognized the pastoral nomad warrior and the holy man of the Sahara, where Marabouts and Shorfa families used to parley instead of fighting and bought off raiders just as Esau bought off Jacob long ago (Genesis, 32). In Monod's words: "The Marabout's soul is in anguish at this extreme but inevitable generosity which he imposes on himself, but he would a thousand times rather have anguish in his soul than brought into his body in the shape of a sharp javelin ending its whistling flight between his shoulders. But there are times when the Marabout gets his revenge for the humiliating brutality of the warrior. The latter is indeed too simple not to be superstitious, and so, with the roles reversed, there comes a day when he in turn will tremble before the religious chief and implore the blessing of the sorcerer on his raids; for who would dare undertake such an expedition without the magic formulae and the amulet which will assure success for the enterprise and personal safety in combat? The man of God alone confers, and not without a price,

The men leave, the women go back into the tents, but 832
the fortunate ones who have succeeded by means of assiduous 836
courtship to touch the heart of their love, will soon come back secretly or will go to the place which has been appointed for them. Let us draw a veil!...

One might wonder what can become of the virtue of 585
young girls with such customs. Almost always it has gone up 836
in the air. But a Tuareg will not pay attention to this detail when it is a matter of getting married. He knows with what to be content: he has often profited by it. It is all the same to him.

The ahal is one of the reasons for late marriages among the 582
Tuareg. Marriage requires expenditures upon which one does 836
not decide until one has been able to acquire a little means, and that is why it is not unusual among the Tuareg to see men marry at the age of forty. With all he finds to entertain him, the Tuareg does not feel the need to get married. This does not mean that many do not marry around twenty-five, but in general a man marries quite late.

Farther on, in the little collection of songs, will appear 000
the qualities which a man must have in order to succeed at the ahal, as well as the kind of songs which are sung there. /Not translated./ /11/

## Chapter V

## The Role of the Woman in Tuareg Society

At every step one sees the influence of the woman in 562
Tuareg society. In Tuareg history, the inheritance, the life, the thought, and the behavior, everywhere her influence is felt.

In the matter of history, it is from her that the Tuareg 173
says he is descended. Thus the nobles of the Ahaggar will tell 562

their permission asked, even those who are far away. It would 584
be very bad to marry a young girl without the knowledge of one
of the members of her family.

Since a girl usually marries at twenty to twenty-five years, [582]
she is consulted. Even if she is a virgin and, as such, subject
to parental authority according to Moslem law, she is usually
not forced to marry against her will. If the case arises, she
has only to refuse herself to her husband, and he does not insist
but sends her back to her parents.

Just as among the Arabs, a woman who has already been [587]
married must give her consent.

## Chapter VII

## Marriage

Marriage, "adouben" 1□ V or "tedlout" +:V+ 585
has some quite curious features.

The proposal of marriage has been accepted. The day
of the wedding has been set. If a quite influential noble is [554]
getting married, the wedding /15/ will have many guests.
If it is an "amr'id" (serf), the celebration will be much simpler
and more private, but the ceremonies and songs will be the
same.

The men guests, mounted on their best meharis, arrayed
in their most beautiful clothes and finest arms, arrive at the
bride's camp where the wedding is to take place. The women
go to the bride's home with their "imz'aden" (violins) and
their "tobol" (drums).

If the women are poor they go there by donkey; if they [492
are rich they arrive by mehari, in their saddles which are 556
shaped like sedan chairs and of which we will find a description 562]
below.

Men's chorus:

Atelsimet ⵜⵍⵙⵉⵎⵉⵜ You will be clothed. 565 533 539

Women's chorus:

Nerdjih ⵏⵔⵊⵉⵀ We are afoot.

Men's chorus

Atar'ermet ⵜⵄⵔⵎⵉⵜ You will be mounted.

Then the bride and the women, addressing the groom, sing these two lines:

Outterir' inelli n isakan ⵓⵜⵜⵉⵔⵉⵔ ⵉⵏⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⵉⵙⴰⴽⴰⵏ

Essoufeq inelli n foudan ⵉⵙⵙⵓⴼⵉⵇ ⵉⵏⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⴼⵓⴷⴰⵏ

"I do not want any bechna (carried by) young camels.

"I prefer bechna (carried by) strong and solid camels, " meaning by this that she expects of her husband the deeds of a strong, brave man and not the behavior of a child. /18/

Then the bride enters the tent, and the guests withdraw 585 and go to feast.

For seven days the groom's food is provided by the bride's relatives. During this time the newlyweds do not leave their tent, but people go there to entertain and visit them.

Custom decrees that the newly weds live beside the wife's 591 parents for a year in order to give her time to get used to separation from them, which they call "az'alaï" ⴰⵣⵍⴰⵢ (from the verb "ez'li" ⴰⵣⵍⵉ , to separate).

Monogamy is the absolute rule. 595

We have said that the ahal is one of the reasons for late 582 marriages. Another reason lies in the fact that many Tuareg 595 are satisfied with Negro concubines.

## Chapter VIII

## Divorce

Divorce, in Tamashek "tellef" ⵜⵍⵍⵉⴼ or "ouloui" 586 ⵓⵍⵍⵓⵢ (from the verb "ellef" ⵍⵍⵉⴼ , to divorce),

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 250. 614 [127]

A clan is generally termed *tassit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan-membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg. [162] [196] [611]

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 13). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g., 621 596 [342]

1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season *(akasa)* and in the beginning of the following dry season *(ranat)* several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups. 221 361 621 [173]

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occured also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin – ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:– 582 614 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 13 |
| No blood-relationship between husband and wife | 8 |
| Marriages total | 38 |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



582 [778] Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it [581] results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally [605] cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

605 606 221 Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance between children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown, the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two outwardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in [184] the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8)[1] 601 which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and for certain matrilineal relatives. As clans, according to traditional rules, are groups 614 of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims the line of succession to be as follows:– 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Geres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims 614 that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that 643 this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

[1] [p. 102, categor 116.—Analyst]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft 000
are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put 685
into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, [697]
while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:– pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment [177]
and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were [681]
in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel [643]
Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe 634
with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his [692]
power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with 565
the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relation- 571
ship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum- [634]
chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place 582
in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that 607
one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and [565]
their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory 607
in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



*The Federation of Ahaggar Tuareg*

(Size of clans according to Lhote 1955, p. 225ff. from statistics of 1949)

| | Noble Clans | Vassal Clans | Iseḳḳemaren Clans |
|---|---|---|---|
| *The Kel Ṛela Drum-Group* | *Kel Ṛela* 275<br>To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble clans, with the Iforas group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal clans. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The Kel Ṛela women, like noble women of the Oraren (Tassili-n-Ajjer) and Kel Ferouan (Air), do not associate freely with people of other classes. | *Dag Ṛali* 386<br>*Ait Loaien* 400<br>*Agouh-en-Tehele* 585<br>*Ṛelaiddin* 40<br>*Iklan-en-Taousit* 500<br><br>*Ibettenaten* 129<br>*Iregenaten* 435<br><br>These two clans are not true vassals by origin. The Ibettenaten is said formerly to have had noble status and the Iregenaten descend matrilineally from the Ibettenaten, patrilineally from Arabs. | *Ihoiaouen Hada* 253<br>*Kel Inṛer* 176<br>*Kel Taḳedest* 61<br>*Kel Immidir* 179<br>*Kel Taẓoulet* 158<br><br>The Iseḳḳemaren clans descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble Kel Ehan Mellen clan. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the Ouled Ba Hamou, claims that they were originally their vassals. |
| *The Taitoḳ Drum-Group* | *Taitoḳ* 33<br>There are hardly any Tuareg of pure Taitoḳ stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief Mohamed ag Mohamed who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the Taitoḳ drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The Taitoḳ and their vassals will frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past. | *Kel Ahnet* 127<br>*Ieuarouaren* 47<br>*Teṭeḥe-n-Efis* 127<br>*Ikoutisen* 84<br>*Ikechchemaden*<br>(now mixed with the Dag Ṛali clan of the Kel Ṛela drum-group).<br><br>*Irechchoumen* – a clan patrilineally related to the noble Taitoḳ, matrilineally to the vassal clan of Kel Ahnet. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals. | *Kel I-n-Tounin*<br>(about 20 tents in 1938). |

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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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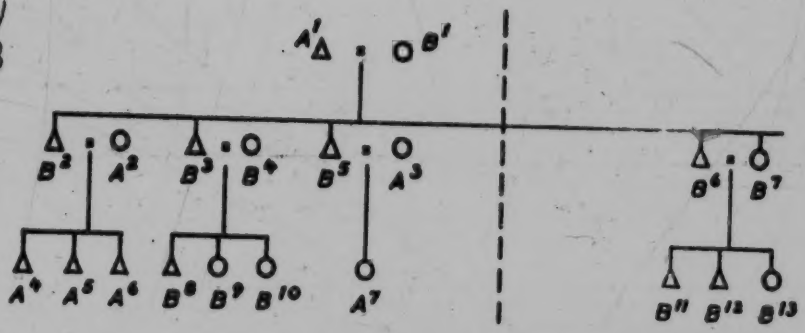


Fig. 10.–Illustration of the rule of residence for persons descending from a man of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan ($A^1$) and a woman of the Dag Rali clan ($B^1$).

People living with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan to which all A–persons belong.

At the death of $A^1$ of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan all persons will settle in the territory of the Dag Rali clan with maternal kinsmen of $B^1$, and they will remain there also after the death of $B^1$.

At the death of $B^2$ his wife $A^3$ and her children $A^4$ $A^5$ will go to her father or maternal kinsmen of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan as will be the case with $A^3$ and her child $A^7$ at the death of $B^4$. At the death of $B^3$ his wife $B^4$ and children $B^8$–$B^{10}$ will remain with the Dag Rali.

People living with the Dag Rali clan to which all B–persons belong.

If $B^6$ dies while $A^1$ is still alive, $B^6$ and her children $B^{11}$ $B^{13}$ will go back to the camp of $A^1$ in the Agouh-en-Tehele territory. After the death of $A^1$ they will return to the Dag Rali territory to join the camp of $B^2$, $B^3$, and $B^6$.

[614] [682] If for instance $B^6$ kills a man of a third clan (e.g. the Ait Loaien) the Agouh-en-Tehele and the Dag Rali clans are both responsible for the payment of blood-wealth as long as $A^1$ is alive and $B^6$ lives with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan. If $A^1$ has died and $B^6$ consequently lives with the Dag Rali, this latter clan alone will be responsible for the payment of blood-wealth.

582 The matrilineal and patrilineal rules applied among the Ahaggar Tuareg bring us to a consideration of marriage. In Ahaggar as in Air the traditional type of preferential mating no doubt is that with a cross-cousin, and cross-cousin marriage is symmetrical although a mother's brother's daughter is said to be the ideal spouse. This is not only stated by Tuareg particularly versed in their native customs. It is also proved by certain usages connected with marriage, and there are in fact many marriages of this type. But cross-cousin marriage although traditionally the preferential type of mating is apparently not the most common type of marriage. For many Tuareg claim that the very best is to marry a mother's sister's daughter (that is a classificatory sister), or a mother's sister's daughter's daughter (that is a classificatory sister's daughter). My statistical material, which is not very comprehensive, seems

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:– 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 8 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan 614
and eight in the three sub-clans of the Agouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the
sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up in [361]
minor camps of 2–7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family 621
which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals 476
are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big [596]
camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps [422]
consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within
the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a
distance of 50–400 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix.
When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable
grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company,
but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan
trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case
the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each
other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never [613]
correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five
generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands
according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or 622
section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative
of the section in relation to the clan chief *(Amɣar)*. These khalifas are not neces- [614]
sarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilin-
eal as it is for clan chiefs.

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8–9), but the [184]
rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between [601]
cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in 602
Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most
clans. [Text continues on p. 108]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The Ayr Tuareg say that the blacksmiths do not have *ténet* words for everything, but always use 564
Tuareg words for certain objects and animals. It is in fact possible that the *ténet* language has been 198
created by the blacksmiths to be used as a secret language. This explanation agrees excellently with
the social position of blacksmiths. They make weapons, ornaments, household implements, and the 564
like for the Tuareg. The Tuareg therefore consider them indispensable, and admire them for their
skill. But this is only one aspect of the Tuareg attitude towards blacksmiths who are also looked down [578]
upon because of their obscure origin and their predominantly negroid appearance. Furthermore,
blacksmiths are frequently wearisome to the Tuareg. They claim gifts from the Tuareg on every [431]
possible occasion, and if they are given nothing when they ask it is believed that they can do severe
harm to the persons from whom a gift is claimed. For the blacksmiths possess a mystic power known 564
to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama* or *tezma*. This mystic power has nothing to do with black magic. It comes 754
into action automatically without any physical performance by the blacksmith if his demand is ignored.
The *ettama* power is dangerous to children and to animals but not so much to adults. Children
frequently fall ill with a swollen belly, while the effect on domestic animals is more severe and often
causes their death. Though blacksmiths do not perform any physical act to put their mystic power
into operation, they are nevertheless held responsible for damage ascribed to it by the Tuareg. This
can be illustrated by the following example from Southern Ayr:— An Ayr Tuareg was on his way
from Damergu to Ayr with a caravan of camels loaded with millet. One evening at dusk, when he was
just about to lead his camels out for grazing at night, a blacksmith came to him to ask for a gift of
millet. The Tuareg said that the blacksmith had better wait until next morning as it was already
getting dark. The blacksmith went away, and shortly after his departure one of the Tuareg's camels
fell ill and died. The Tuareg was convinced that the death of his camel was due to the blacksmith's
*ettama* power, and therefore wanted revenge. He mounted a camel, pursued the blacksmith and killed
him with an axe. This event happened only a few years ago. It illustrates how firmly many Tuareg
believe in the evil *ettama* power of blacksmiths. In fact many Tuareg openly declare that they dislike 564
and fear all blacksmiths. They do not like to associate with them except on festive occasions when [578]
blacksmiths frequently act as singers and musicians. The Tuareg never intermarry with people of the
blacksmith caste, and even people of other negroid castes are reluctant to intermarry with blacksmiths.
In Ahaggar a marriage may be contracted between blacksmiths and *Ḥarratin*, and in Ayr there are
said to be a few marriages between blacksmiths and people of other negroid classes or castes. But on
the whole the caste of blacksmiths (*Ineden*) can be characterized as endogamous. This is quite natural
in view of the fact that blacksmiths possess the evil mystic power (*ettama*, or *tezma*), which I have [754]
described in more detail elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1961, pp. 134 f., 146).

Between fair-skinned, true Tuareg and other black-skinned castes but that of the blacksmiths, 563
marriages are contracted now and then, and it seems as if mixed marriages of this type are becoming 582
more and more numerous. In Ahaggar there are some marriages between Tuareg and women belonging
to the castes of slaves (*Iklan*) or sedentary agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) and there are even
marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg women and negroid men though such marriages are less
frequent. Mixed marriages are even more frequent in Ayr. The offspring of such unions are known in 563.
Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer as *Ibureliten* (*Aburelli*). This word is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but

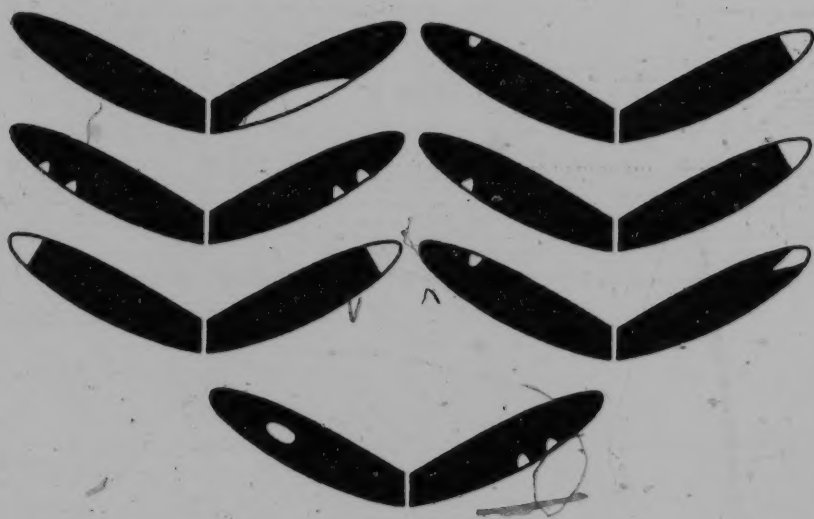

Fig. 100. Earmarks of the types used for goats and sheep among the Northern Tuareg. Ahaggar, the tribes *Dag Bali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*.

never use earmarks for donkeys which are branded like their camels, and I believe that this rule also holds for the *Isekkemoren* Tuareg, though I do not know this to be true for tribes other than those of *Kel Terurit* and *Kel-I-n-tunin*.

The property brands of the Northern Tuareg are burned into the skin of the camel (donkey) by means of a redhot iron known as *éndel* (Figs. 102a–b), but if this implement is not available another piece of iron is used, e.g., the iron tripod for suspension of kettles and cooking pots. The brands are known as *ahwalen* (sing. *éhwel*), and there are a great many different ones which have their particular names. These brands are frequently depicted in literature (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 629 f.; Lhote 1955a, p. 235), and spoken of as "tribal brands". However, as property marks are patrilineally inherited while tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, the members of the same tribe will possess more than one camel-brand. For marriages are contracted between different tribes, though some of these units are predominantly endogamous. Furthermore there are a few Tuareg who use different camel-brands for camels inherited from the father and the mother, as there are some who have adopted the mother's father's brand because their father's brand was believed to have brought bad luck in camel-breeding. For these reasons there are frequently more than one brand within a tribe, and individuals or small patrilineages generally add to their main brand (*éhwel*) a supplementary
brand known as azeglu.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



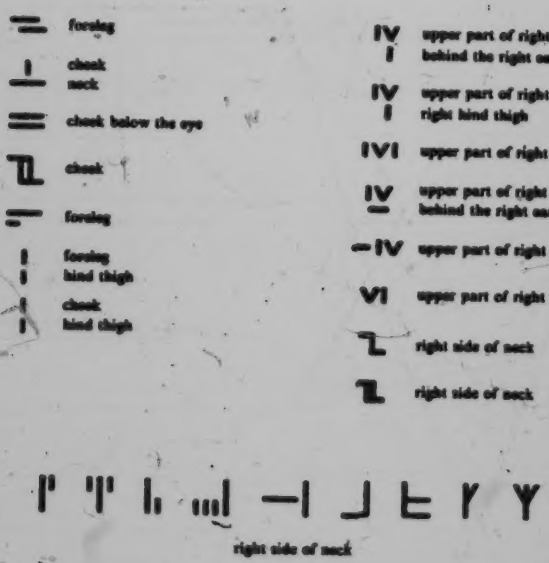


Fig. 101 a–c. Camel-brands of three Ahaggar tribes.

a. Brands of the *Kel Rele* tribe.

b. Brands of the *Aghab-en-tehle* tribe. The main brand of this tribe is V called *semmert*. The brands ⊥ & ⊥ are due to intermarriage with the *Ikian-en-tewait* tribe where the principal brand is ⊥ called *ameslaf*.

c. Brands of the *Dag Rali* tribe. The main brand characteristic of this tribe is | placed on the right side of the camel's neck. This brand was that used by the founder of the tribe named *Rali* and to-day it forms part of most *Dag Rali* brands which are always placed on the right side of the camel's neck. The *Dag Rali* brands have individual names. The last one is known as *tikkilt n ayalaf*, that is "the raven's foot".

*Dag Rali* tribe may claim that these two halves are matrilineally related to one another, but also that they do not descend from sisters. It seems in fact as if these two halves stand in a cross-cousin relationship to one another, and it is in agreement with this that the *Dag Rali* proper speak of the *Imessiliten* as "children of their mother's brother". The two halves in the past intermarried much though marriages between them are very rare nowadays. Thus in 1951 there were only two marriages between people of the two tribal halves.

I believe that other tribes of Ahaggar have a structure similar to that of the *Dag Rali*, but the structure of Tuareg tribes is extremely difficult to grasp because very few Tuareg know their genealogies more than three or four generations back.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



614 Many Tuareg claim that their tribe is an endogamous unit, but to-day there is no tribe that is
● 582 exclusively endogamous. All tribes intermarry more or less with people of other tribes. The most endogamous tribe is perhaps the *Dag Ṛali* of which the half known as the *Dag Ṛali* proper has contracted a few marriages with people of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe) while the other tribal half known as the *Imessiliten* has intermarried with the *Ikechchemaḍen* tribe.

591 The rules of residence are based upon both patrilineal and matrilineal principles as follows:—

(1) When the wedding ceremony is over the newly-married couple will stay one year in the camp of the wife's parents. This one year's stay in the camp of the wife's family has nothing to do with bridal service. Very frequently the husband does not live continuously with his wife throughout this period, but lives in his parents' camp and pays occasional visits to his wife. Some Tuareg say that the main reason for this one year's stay in the camp of the wife's family is due to the fact that about one year is needed to prepare tent, household implements, and the like for the newly-married couple (cf. p. 460 f., 472). The stay in the wife's family camp is not always strictly one year, but may be
[844] longer or shorter. But if the wife is pregnant she must leave her parents' camp to bear her child in the camp of the husband's family.

(2) After the one year's stay the couple will settle with the husband's father to remain with him as long as he is alive.

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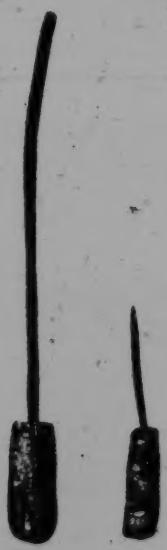

Fig. 102a–b. Hafted irons (*ándrí*, pl. *ándrían*) to burn property marks into the skin of camels and donkeys.

a. Camel iron. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. Dimension: 0.466 m. (N.M. G. 5251).

b Donkey iron. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. Dimension: 0.202 m. (N.M. G. 5250).

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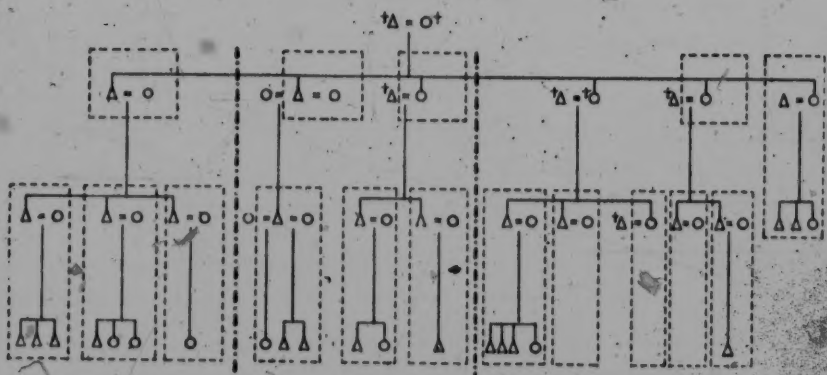

Fig. 104. The section camp of the *Kel Ageruen* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aguh-en-tehli*). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated Fig. 103. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Ayr whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

[591]

614 also the representative of the section towards the tribal chief, should preferably be elected. The members
613 of one section will frequently intermarry with members of another particular section, but members
621 of a section will generally marry into more than one particular section and sometimes into sections
[592] of foreign tribes.

613 When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are
621 split up into minor camps of 2–7 tents. These minor camps generally consist of an extended family
501 which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually
* owned and every tent or household is self-supporting – "it has its own churning bag and its own millet
592 bag", as the Tuareg put it. The section camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small goat-herding camps which constitute extended families, but the small camps within the section camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres
[476] between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small goat-herding camps of a section
[484] join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp of a section is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which tasks a goat-herding camp cannot spare the labour. Should the small goat-herding camps of a section be unable to remain together, they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A section camp is illustrated in
361 the diagram below (Fig. 105). The formation of such camps is not generally possible without annual
621 pasture, and section camps are particularly common in the *Dag Rali* tribe resident mainly in the
* 233

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



outlined above from Ahaggar, with the exception that the Ayr Tuareg have never practised the one year's stay in the bride's family camp after marriage. To-day the *Kel Ferwan* tribes of Southern Ayr do not follow very strictly any particular rule of residence. There is a strong tendency to patrilocal residence, but a man will usually continue to live with kinsmen of the camp where he was brought up as a child. If a man has grown up with maternal relatives owing to the loss of his father as a boy, or because his mother and father have divorced, he may remain with matrilineal relatives. I believe that all tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group of Southern Ayr are bilateral kin groups. And if in the past these Tuareg practised the rules of residence outlined above from Ahaggar, the tribes have been bilateral units as there have always been many marriages contracted between people of different tribes. Two tribes of Ayr, namely the *Imezzureg* and the *Kel Akerra*, claim that they have intermarried regularly from very ancient times, because the father of the *Kel Akerra* tribe was the brother of the mother of the *Imezzureg* tribe, while the father of the *Imezzureg* was a cross-cousin of *Kel Akerra*'s mother. These two tribes possess their individual chiefs, but have always been very mixed. It seems as if chiefs were elected according to matrilineal rules in the past, but to-day it is claimed that a son of a deceased chief should be the first in line of succession (cf. p. 456 ff.).

In Southern Ayr camps of all possible tribes to-day live among each other. There are no grazing grounds or particular territories nowadays when everybody is free to go where he likes with flocks and herds. No Tuareg have particular rights over land, and ban on grazing within certain areas, as in Ahaggar, is unknown. This is said also to have been the case in the past. But in the times preceding the French occupation of Ayr, all vassal tribes had their particular territories which, according to Capot-Rey, were formerly marked by walls (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). I have not been able to confirm this, but the Tuareg told me that in the past tribal territories had frontiers marked out by river valleys or by natural objects such as large trees. The vassal tribes did not own these territories, which were allotted them by the drum-chief of the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe, the *Irawatten*. The traditional territories or grazing grounds of most *Kel Ferwan* tribes are indicated in the list on p. 423 ff.

At present there seem to be no sectional division of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes corresponding to the division into sections in Ahaggar. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg generally live in small camps comprising a few tents. These camps, which co-operate in stock-herding, do not generally exceed four or five tents inhabited by kinsmen who generally constitute an extended family, e.g., (1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children; (2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children; (3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children; (4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband. These small camps, as may be seen, are not based upon any particular rule of residence in agreement with what has been said of residence rules above. The households of a little camp of this kind will remain constantly together to co-operate not only in goat-herding, but generally in camel-breeding also. The labour for camel-herding and caravan trading is more easily provided for in Ayr than in Ahaggar. For camels are rarely taken to very distant grazing grounds, and caravan trading is often limited to expeditions to Damergu where the Tuareg fetch their millet. The Tuareg tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group living around Agadez have no true co-operative units apart from the small camps of up to four or five tents. Such small camps of extended families may temporarily join each other in a bigger camp during the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*342 174 covered exclusively with straw mats. Tuareg skin tents may perhaps have originated from tents covered with grass-mats which had the dome-shaped top covered with a sheet of skin during the rains. At all events I assume that most Tuareg skin tents have developed from a type of barrel-vaulted dwelling, and it is most significant that rudiments of arch constructions occur in skin tents within all Tuareg groups.

The development of Tuareg tents is difficult to explain by mere reference to environment, and we should also try to take into consideration historical factors. I believe that tents with upright forked poles which carry horizontal cross-bars developed from a barrel-vaulted structure. I believe that this is indicated by the material presented above. Thus most or all barrel-vaulted dwellings among the Tuareg have at their narrow ends a pair of forked poles with a horizontal cross-bar placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction and parallel to the arch or the arches which are placed in the middle of the tent. We have also noted that we have tents of one central arch and two outer pairs of sticks with cross-bars covered with two semi-arches, and tents in which this middle arch is substituted by a pair of sticks carrying a cross-bar. It seems quite natural to consider all tents supported exclusively by pairs of sticks carrying horizontal cross-bars as deriving from barrel-vaulted dwellings. One would perhaps then be tempted to suppose that such an evolution took place in the true desert country, where it might seem easier to make tents from a certain number of sticks tied together than from curved arches. However, as far as our knowledge goes, an evolution of portable dwellings among the Tuareg from arched types to types exclusively consisting of cross-bars resting in forked sticks seems to have taken place outside of the proper desert country. All old Tuareg of Ahaggar admit that the common type of tent structure in their childhood was that of two arches, while these arches, they say, have [114] now been replaced by cross-bars resting in pronged poles. This agrees with the fact that Foucauld, who lived in Ahaggar from 1905 to 1916, does not mention tents of the cross-bar type which are now almost exclusively used by the Ahaggar Tuareg. According to Foucauld, Ahaggar tents fall into two main types, namely those supported by arches and those supported by T-shaped posts. When the structure made exclusively with forked poles and cross-bars was adopted we do not know, but I believe [114] that it may perhaps have taken place in the twenties. In any event there seems to be little doubt that they were common at the end of the twenties, for they are depicted by Moberg from his journey to *342 178 Ahaggar 1929-30 (cf. Moberg 1933, p. 59, 63, 65). The question now arises why the Ahaggar Tuareg gave up their arched dwellings, which are so extremely rare nowadays, and adopted the upright forked poles-crossbar structure? Lhote thinks that in Ahaggar there were perhaps the following reasons:—(1) The arched structure is better adapted to rain, but has become less useful owing to the increasing dryness of Ahaggar; (2) It is more difficult to procure the long roots of tamarisks for arches; (3) The arches used in ancient times were difficult to carry from camp to camp; (4) The structure consisting of cross-bars resting in forked poles may perhaps have been introduced owing to contact with the *Iullemmeden*, who use a similar type of tent-structure (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 42 f.; 1955a, p. 256). Of these arguments I find the last the most convincing, the more so as I have myself been informed that the tents of cross-bars resting on forked prongs have been introduced owing to contact with the Southern [582] Tuareg who have similar tents. One might perhaps assume that the tent was actually introduced owing to contact with the *Kel Adrar*, as the Ahaggar Tuareg have married women of that Tuareg group

[text continues on p. 388]

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*342 178 while to my knowledge they have never married women of the *Iwllemmeden*. Marriages seem to be of ●582 great importance for the diffusion of cultural traits among the Tuareg.

*342 174 182 It is clear that the use of T-shaped posts is not limited to particular environmental zones, for T-shaped posts are characteristic of certain Tuareg skin tents both in the true desert country and in southern regions of plains and savannahs. Furthermore, it seems as if this structure is found mainly among the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar*, and among the *Kel Dennek*, while outside these regions T-shaped posts are rare. Thus if we cannot explain the use and the distribution of T-shaped posts in skin tents from an analysis of environment, we may perhaps ascribe its present distribution to historical events.

*342 174 The most important characteristic of T-shaped posts is that they are not buried in the ground like all other poles and posts of Tuareg portable dwellings. They rest upon the surface, and if they sometimes penetrate two or three centimetres into the soil this is not to keep them upright but to prevent them from sliding. The fact that Tuareg T-shaped posts are not buried in the ground makes it unlikely that they are related to the T-shaped posts of permanent dwellings like those used in huts and houses of North Africa, and I believe that originally they came from a barrel-vaulted dwelling which had one of its arches supported by a post resting upon the surface. That an evolution of this kind is in fact possible is shown by Ferdinand's description of certain black tents among the Duranni nomads of Afghanistan. The middle arch of these tents is made from pieces of curved poles, namely two long pieces lashed to a shorter top piece, which is supported by a central post resting upon the surface of the ground. This is the normal structure of Duranni tents, but in summer and in spring nomads frequently content themselves with the erection of the middle part of the arch supported by the central post resting upon the surface. In other words, the Duranni nomads at certain seasons change their barrel-vaulted dwelling into a dwelling supported by T-shaped posts at a right angle to the longitudinal direction (cf. Ferdinand 1959, Fig. 7 p. 35). I think that this development is also perhaps responsible for the evolution of T-shaped tents among the Tuareg, but I do not believe that it took place among them. We have among the Tuareg no portable barrel-vaulted dwellings of arches supported by central posts. We find this principle in certain barrel-vaulted dwellings used among the *Kel Ewey* farmers of Ayr (cf. p. 347 ff.), but this barrel-vaulted hut originated from the Tuareg mat tent, which among the sedentary *Kel Ewey* adopted certain traits of the bee-hive hut.

*342 174 177 I think there is little doubt that a relationship exists between T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents and similar posts of North African black tents. This relationship was first suggested by Feilberg in his thesis on the black tent (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143), and I believe that it can be proved that such a relationship actually exists.

[184] Black tents are not generally used by the Tuareg. In the extreme north of the *Kel Aïr* territory a few Tuareg have adopted it owing to contact with Arab pastoralists. It is possible that there are also Tuareg with black tents in the extreme south-west of Tuareg country around Timbuktu. There are black tents in this region (Jackson 1820, p. 23; Barth 1857–58, IV, p. 474 ff.), and it seems as if some Tuareg there occasionally live in them (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). It is clear that the black tent is found within a large semi-circular belt enclosing Tuareg country from the Fezzan via Northern Sahara and the Atlas through Mauretania to Timbuktu (cf. Feilberg 1944, map II). It is also clear that there

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## THE FEDERATION OF AHAGGAR TUAREG

(Size of tribes according to Lhote 1955a, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949.)

| | Noble tribes | | Vassal tribes | | *Isekkemaren* tribes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The *Kel Rela* Drum-Group | *Kel Rela* | 275 | *Dag Rali* | 386 | *Iheyawen Hada* | 253 |
| | To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble tribes, with the *Iforas* group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal tribes. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The *Kel Rela* women, like noble women of the *Uraren* (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and *Kel Ferwan* (Ayr), do not associate freely with people of other classes. | | *Ayt Lowayen* | 400 | *Kel Inrer* | 176 |
| | | | *Aguh-en-tehlé* | 585 | *Kel Téfedest* | 61 |
| | | | *Relayddin* | 40 | *Kel Immidir* | 179 |
| | | | *Iklan-en-tawsit* | 500 | *Kel Tazulet* | 158 |
| | | | *Ibettenaten* | 129 | The *Isekkemaren* tribes descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble *Kel-ahem-mellen* tribe. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the *Ulad Ba Hammu*, claims that they were originally their vassals. | |
| | | | *Iregenaten* | 435 | | |
| | | | These two tribes are not true vassals by origin. The *Ibettenaten* is said formerly to have had noble status and the *Iregenaten* descend matrilineally from the *Ibettenaten*, patrilineally from Arabs. | | | |

643 territorial chief over the country inhabited by the vassals of the *Kel Rela* drum-group. He had the
634 right to dues from caravans passing through the territory of that drum-group, while further west
[65] such dues were given to the chief of the *Taytok* drum-group. He had the right to land rents from the vassals of his groups, while land rents further west in the *Taytok* country belonged to the drum-chief of the *Taytok* group.

643 To-day the *Amenukal* holds a very strong position as chief of the whole country of Ahaggar, and
[640] his power has been much augmented because the French govern the country through him. In the past the position of the *Amenukal* was a less powerful one. All Tuareg say that he was then not particularly strong, and there are many examples of the vassals of his own drum-group showing disobedient
[565] to him. The *Amenukal* had to be elected, and, contrary to what is often stated in literature on the subject, he was not elected by the noble Tuareg of his own tribe, though they had a certain influence, but by his vassals who also had the right to dismiss an *Amenukal* if dissatisfied with him. The *Amenukal* lived like other Tuareg and his sole insignia was the drum which followed him on journeys and served to summon his vassals.

643 We have mentioned above (p. 148 ff.) that the *Amenukal* even to-day receives a land-rent (*éhéré-*
651 *n-amadal*) from all tenants of the sub-areas of vassal tribal territories, and the rules of payments and

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| | Noble tribes | Vassal tribes | *Isekkemaren* tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| The *Taytok* Drum-Group | *Taytok* 33<br>There are hardly any Tuareg of pure *Taytok* stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief *Mokhammed ag Mokhammed* who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the *Taytok* drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The *Taytok* and their vassals frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past. | *Kel Ahnet* 127<br>*Iwerweren* 47<br>*Tégehé-n-Efis* 127<br>*Ikuffisen* 84<br>*Ikechchemaden* (now mixed with the *Dag Rali* tribe of the *Kel Rela* drum-group).<br>*Irechchumen*<br>A tribe patrilineally related to the noble *Taytok*, matrilineally to the vassal tribe of *Kel Ahnet*. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals. | *Kel I-n-tunin* (about 20 tents in 1938). |
| The *Tégehé-Mellet* Drum-Group | *Tégehé Mellet* 33 | *Kel Turha* (part of the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe of the *Kel Rela* drum-group). | *Kel Terurit* 62<br>*Kel Uhet* 70 |
| Noble Tribes Without Vassals | *Kel-ahem-mellen* | The *Isekkemaren* tribes are said formerly to have been vassals of this tribe | |
| | *Ikadeyen* | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | |

rights have been outlined. These payments were also made to the *Amenukal* by people of his drum-group in the past, and then as now he received an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* from all vassal tribes. The size of such *tiwsé* payments in the past is unknown, but they have no doubt varied from one tribe to another as they do to-day. I describe in brief the *tiwsé* payments made by the two most important vassal tribes to illustrate this:— (1) The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe is divided into three sub-tribes which make their *tiwsé* payments separately as follows: The *Kel Tarhawhawt* sub-tribe gives 600 kgs of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kgs of butter. The man who brings this payment to the *Amenukal* is rewarded with 15 metres of cotton. The *Isandan* sub-tribe gives 300 kgs of millet

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placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made 634
four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his 721
part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. 565
He kept them there for about a month, when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted [227]
on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based 634
upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. 565
It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal [184]
tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were 423
not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of 565
cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed be- 571
tween all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other 634
unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Faday*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and [564]
vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Buggedezen* and even slaves. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the [601]
more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *abubaz* (pl. *ibubazen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This 565
statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only 582
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565 been told about two such marriages which seem to have been contracted in fairly recent times. I think
582 that the main reason why the noble Tuareg do not marry with their vassals is that such marriages
634 would tend to break down the structure of the political system, as the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many in-laws among vassals to whom the conduct would be institutional joking or avoidance. For in addition to true relatives by marriage there are numerous classificatory ones. This will become clear from the description of the rules of behaviour valid for relatives by marriage.

634 In spite of the application of the rules of joking relationship on a political level, troubles within
578 the drum-group were far from unknown. And it is remarkable that even between the related tribes
614 of *Irawatten* and *Kel Azel* there might be very severe quarrels. There was a latent opposition
565 between them which might occasionally lead to fighting between noble Tuareg of the two groups. The existence within the drum-group of another noble tribe, the *Kel Azel*, with a certain number of vassals was always a danger to the position of the drum-chief as a ruler of the whole
[661] *Kel Ferwan* group. And noble Tuareg of the *Irawatten* tribe say that in the past it even happened that the drum-chief punished the *Kel Azel* very severely, not only taking all their livestock, but also burning
[701] down their camps. The drum-chief was able to maintain his power over the whole *Kel Ferwan* group because most vassal tribes were placed directly under his command, and because these tribes camped around Agadez which was dominated by him.

The drum-chief also had trouble with another tribe of his group, the *Kel Akerra*. This tribe is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the *Ibararojiten* tribe. In the past the drum-chief assisted by vassals of the whole group imposed vassalage upon the *Kel Akerra*, who, however, refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the *Kel Akerra* to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the *Kel Akerra* tribe became small and insignificant. It is said that the tribes of *Imezzurég* and *Isakaranan*, who like the *Kel Akerra* are noble by origin, also did not give their bride-wealth to the drum-chief in the past. But the three tribes were vassals in the sense that they had to give part of their war-booty to the drum-chief and could not carry out raids on their own.

[701] A certain discord reigned within the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the drum-chief had the support of most tribes of vassals, who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups, but also quell internal
634 insurrections. However, the three northern tribes of *Kel Tédalé* were so numerous, so rich in camels,
614 and lived so remote from the rest of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes that the drum-chief could not maintain his power over them. They were only nominally part of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the *Kel Tédalé* paid no tribute to other chiefs (Joubert 1939, p. 246), though it is said in Ahaggar that in the past they paid an annual tribute to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. But the *Kel Tédalé* were politically independent of other groups in Ayr, which is also stated by Jean
565 (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim the *Kel Tédalé* to be true vassals of their
614 drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104; Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three tribes the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427). The *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg I met all emphasized

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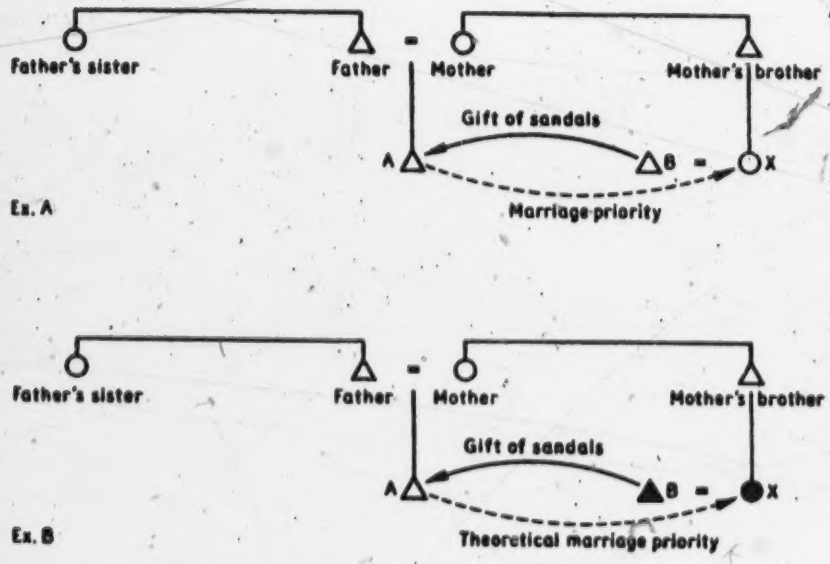


Fig. 292. Diagram illustrating how Tuareg slavery in Ahaggar is based upon kinship structure.

Ex. A. The Tuareg A has a sort of first-priority to marriage with his mother's brother's daughter X, who, however, marries B, who has no especial right to marry X. During the marriage ceremony B or one of his brothers must thus give a pair of sandals to A.

Ex. B. The slave-girl X belongs to A's mother's brother and is the latter's fictive daughter; she is therefore regarded as A's mother's brother's daughter, and A accordingly has first-priority to marriage with X. As a slave-girl, however, X will marry the slave B, but A will receive the gift of sandals, just as though X were his actual mother's brother's daughter.

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567 608 in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner. When a slave marries a slave girl the latter becomes the daughter-in-law of her husband's owner, and there will consequently be a kind of avoidance between these persons as between other relatives-in-law of different generations. In connection with slave-marriages it is of some interest to mention the following custom practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar:—

[582] [431] Among the Tuareg of Ahaggar a man has a certain marriage priority to his mother's brother's daughter according to rules which are outlined in the next chapter (p. 458 ff.). Therefore when a Tuareg's mother's brother's daughter marries somebody else the first man vill be entitled to a pair of sandals from the groom. In agreement with this custom a slave when marrying a slave-girl must give a pair of sandals to his wife's owner's ("father's") sister's son as explained in the diagram above (Fig. 292).

(2) The husband in a Tuareg pastoral family stands in the relationship of "father-in-law" (*adeggal*) to all slaves owned by his wife, while the wife is the "mother-in-law" (*tadeggalt*) of all slaves owned by her husband. Between these fictive relatives-in-law there is institutional avoidance which, however, is far less strictly observed than for true relatives by marriage of different generations. Owing to these rules a man must not or should not marry a slave girl owned by his divorced or deceased wife, just as it would be improper to marry a daughter-in-law.

(3) It is not forbidden for a man to marry a slave-girl whom he owns, even though she is considered his "daughter". This does not disagree with ordinary kinship-rules for a man is permitted to marry some of his classificatory daughters. If a man marries his own slave girl his children, among the Ayr Tuareg, would not be considered *Ichardanen* or *Iburelliten*, that is "mulattoes". They have the right to be considered true Tuareg or *Imajeren*, but in case of disagreements between a Tuareg of this type, and other people, they will call him by one of the terms used for "mulattoes", and may even call him "slave". If a man marries a slave girl who does not belong to him, his children of that marriage will [583] not become true Tuareg. But a Tuareg who wishes to marry a woman of slave status or a mulatto will attempt to secure the acknowledgment of his wife and her children as true Tuareg by the payment of a high bride-price. Thus a Tuareg of Ahaggar who married a mulatto girl gave for bride-wealth seven camels as is customary for noble Tuareg in the two northern groups, though the price according 554 to traditional rules should not exceed the value of one camel. It must be added that the position in Tuareg society of people who are not true Tuareg by origin depends greatly upon personal qualities. If a man is wise, rich, and generous, or if he is a marabut, all Tuareg will be ready to associate with him on equal terms even though he be predominantly negroid. I have noted several examples of this, and once met a very negroid nomad who was greatly respected by all Tuareg because he had once [564] killed seven goats in one day to entertain foreign guests. There are certain classes and castes in Tuareg [567] society. Formally it seems comparatively easy for children of mixed marriages of Tuareg and slaves to be considered Tuareg as slaves have a social position different from that of true black-skinned castes.

567 608 (4) If a slave woman has suckled a Tuareg girl or has taken a little fair-skinned Tuareg girl to her as her own, she will be recognized as the girl's true mother. And if the slave woman has children of her own they will be recognized as brothers and sisters of the little Tuareg girl. When the Tuareg girl later marries, her husband will be considered the true son-inlaw of her slave-mother and there will

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634 Nicolas says that a maternal cousin is the first in line of succession, not only among the Northern Tuareg,
643 but also among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). This, however, is not correct.
[114] I have been told by many Tuareg in Ahaggar that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies seem to intimate that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Ahaggar Tuareg, whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom, claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statement this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

591 The rules of residence have been outlined in a previous chapter (cf. p. 142 ff.), and I have mentioned
768 that in Ahaggar residence is based upon both the patrilocal and the matrilocal principle as follows:—
586 A man remains with his father after marriage, but after his father's death he joins the camp of his mother and her brothers to live with his matrilineal relatives. A woman after marriage moves to her husband's camp. At her husband's death she will return to her father's camp, and if her father be dead she will join the camp of her mother and her mother's brothers. In case of a divorced woman the same rule is observed, but the children of a divorced couple belong to the father, and stay in his camp as long as he is alive. After his death they belong to the camp where their mother lives. However, the Ahaggar Tuareg sometimes dispense with this rule in case husband and wife belong to different classes or castes (cf. p. 22). It may even happen that children of a dissolved marriage, where husband and wife come from the same class or caste, grow up with their mother – particularly if, when the divorce takes place, the children are so small that they need their mother's care. On the whole, however, the Ahaggar Tuareg follow the rules of residence indicated above, and we have already seen that these particular rules are strongly supported by the authority of the *Amenukal*. The same practise
[178] was perhaps once also followed by the Ayr Tuareg, but, as we have seen (p. 152 f.), in the *Kel Ferwan* group there is nowadays a strong tendency for a man to remain with his patrilineal kinsmen after his father's death. The rules of residence do not play a very important part to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg nowadays. The political unit of the drum-group has very little practical value, economic and political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals have disappeared, and there are no land rights to which certain individuals succeed.

● 582 In the light of what has been said so far about Tuareg social organization, we shall now consider their traditional rules of marriage. Preferential marriage is that with a cross-cousin; the very best is to marry a mother's brother's daughter, but father's sister's daughter is also considered a suitable choice. An exchange of spouse between two family groups is considered most excellent. It is thus considered ideal for brothers of family A to marry sisters of family B, for brothers of family B to marry sisters of family A.

If Ego marries a classificatory cross-cousin it seems preferably for him to marry one of his mother's
[433] family. This is intimated by a custom connected with marriage in Ahaggar:— At the beginning of the wedding ceremony a pair of sandals should be given to the man who does not marry the bride though traditionally possessing a sort of prior entitlement to do so. Such men are:— (1) the bride's father's sister's son; (2) the bride's father's mother's sister's daughter's son; (3) the bride's father's father's brother's daughter's son.

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The custom of giving sandal gifts to a cross-cousin of the bride is unknown among the *Kel Ferwan* 582
Tuareg, who also claim that cross-cousin marriage and particularly that with a true mother's brother's daughter is the best type of marriage. But though they consider such marriages ideal they admit that some cross-cousin marriages will not last long. For closely related cross-cousins have frequently grown 586
up together, and it is said that such cousins when they have married sometimes agree to dissolve their marriage on the ground that they feel like brother and sister so that there is no mutual attraction or love between them. This is only one of many reasons for divorce which is extremely common in all tribes of Ahaggar and Ayr. Briggs' statement from the Ahaggar Tuareg that divorce is both unusual [114]
and generally frowned upon is absolutely untrue (Briggs 1959, p. 86).

According to the Tuareg there are many reasons why a man should preferably marry a cross-cousin 582
and ideally a mother's brother's daughter. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg I have collected the following arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage:— (1) All people (that is, all Tuareg) descend from one and the same woman, and her sons and daughters consequently had to marry one another. Their offspring established cross-cousin marriage which has been the rule since then. (2) There are many stories told to confirm the contention that cross-cousin marriages are good, while other marriages are bad. There is, for example, the following legend:— Once upon a time the parents of a young Tuareg arranged for him to marry a cross-cousin. This Tuareg, however, was not in love with his cross-cousin but wanted to marry another woman with whom he had no kinship bonds. The result of all this was that he married both his cross-cousin and the other woman. After this it so happened that a heavy punishment was imposed on him by the Sultan. It could be atoned for in one of the following two ways: He could give all his livestock as a fine, or he could have one of his hands cut off. To make his choice he now asked his two wives whether they thought he should loose his hand or rather give away all his stock. The wife to whom he had no bonds of kinship considered that he should keep his animals and have his hand cut off, while his cross-cousin wife asked him to dispose of flock and herd to save his hand. He thus realized that it is best to marry a cross-cousin. (3) It is considered good to marry a cross-cousin because cross-cousins are always extremely good friends. (4) The institutional joking relationship between cross-cousins is considered an important institution in preventing conflicts between married partners. For though joking between two cross-cousins stops on marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between them prevents quarrels and adds to the stable relationship between husband and wife. (5) Cross-cousin marriage has an important economic function as it establishes a constant exchange of persons, goods, and livestock between two families.

The three latter arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage are also supported by the Ahaggar Tuareg. These arguments are very important and will now be discussed in some detail. There is no 605
doubt at all that cross-cousins of both sexes are extremely good friends. They do not joke just to annoy each other, and when joking they laugh and feel very pleased. Cross-cousins who have not seen each other for a considerable time are always pleased to meet. When doing so after a long separation they may make jocular remarks and gestures, but they will also be very kind to each other. They frequently address each other heartily as "cross-cousin", and male cousins will walk around hand in hand, while a woman will do her outmost to please a visiting male cousin. She will serve him the best possible [533]
food, will mend his clothes, and she will play her violin for him. Joking goes with intimate friendship, 582

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582 and the argument that cross-cousin marriage tends to prevent marital conflict is apparently a valid one. I return to his later, and now pass to the last argument that cross-cousin marriage possesses economic functions. To examine this point let us first consider the obligations of two families who intermarry.

## ECONOMIC OBLIGATIONS ON MARRIAGE IN AHAGGAR

602 (a) *Obligations of the groom and his family.*

583 (1) bride-wealth (*taggalt*) which varies according to the social class of the bride. For a noble woman and a woman of the *Ireḡenaten* tribe it is seven camels, while in most vassal tribes including the *Isekkemaren* bride-wealth comprises only one young camel (*alegges*). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe however two young camels constitute the traditional bride-price, while three camels are given at the marriage of a woman of the *Ibettenaten* tribe. In vassal tribes 25–30 goats can be given instead of one young camel. Bride-wealth is handed over to the bride's father, or, if the father is dead, normally to her elder brother. Bride-wealth animals belong to her father (or elder brother), but it is said that the offspring of bride-wealth animals should be given to the bride or to her children. On a man's first marriage bride-wealth animals are usually given by his father, but if he is divorced and wishes to remarry he will himself furnish the bride-wealth.

585 (2) a camel or a number of goats to be killed for wedding-food (*tardest*). In addition to what is given by the husband or his father, animals to be killed at a wedding may also be brought by visiting relatives.

(3) In noble tribes and among the *Ireḡenaten* the tent with its straw-mats are given by the husband and/or his relatives.

(4) Some time after marriage it is customary for the husband to give his wife a gift of animals according to his means – a few goats, one or two camels. This gift however remains in the husband's camp so that the animals serve the need of his household.

(5) It does not seem customary in Ahaggar for the groom to give his bride clothes and ornaments, though it is said that in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe the groom has to give his bride two silver bracelets known as *ihebḡan* (sing. *ahbeḡ*).

602 (b) *Obligations of the bride's family.*

583 To illustrate the obligations of the bride's family I list what is considered the proper outfit of the bride in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe as follows:—

1 skin tent (*éhakit*) with the necessary number of poles (cf. p. 364, Figs. 267 ff.).
2 tent mats (*isebran*, sing. *éseber*) plaited from the *afeẓu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) (cf. Figs. 267–269).
3 large decorated skin-bags (*iṛerḡan*, sing. *arreḡ*) used for storing personal belongings in the tent.
1 *ahaḡa*, a large container made of untanned camel-hide and used mainly for tanning (Fig. 213).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



582 with cross-cousins. There are very few relatives with whom marriage is strictly forbidden. A man must not marry a kinswoman of ascending generations, and he should not marry a woman who is his mother-in-law (daughter-in-law) from a previous marriage. With the exception of his own true sisters he is allowed to marry any kinswoman of his own generation, and in the first descending generation he can marry all women except his own daughters and daughters of his brothers and sisters.

582 In Ahaggar where the Tuareg practise a fixed system of patrilocal and matrilocal rules of residence,
591 cross-cousin marriages will imply shifts of residence which can be avoided by other types of marriage.
581 Many Ahaggar Tuareg prefer to arrange for their sons marriages with a mother's sister's daughter (that is a classificatory sister) or with her daughter (that is a classificatory sister's daughter). When the Tuareg thus marry directly into their own matrilineage there will be no shift of residence from one camp (tribe) to another, and children will have rights of inheritance and succession to kinsmen of the same local group. Marriage with a mother's sister's daughter or with her daughter is in fact better suited to rules of inheritance, succession, and residence than is marriage with a cross-cousin. I have met many Ahaggar Tuareg who claimed marriage with a mother's sister's daughter to be preferable to cross-cousin marriage, though they admitted that the latter was traditionally the preferred type.

582 My statistical material, which is not very comprehensive, seems to indicate that in Ahaggar marriages with a mother's sister's daughter and with her daughter are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins. This may be seen from the composition of 44 marriages contracted with kinswomen:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 3 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that marriage with a mother's sister's daughter or with her daughter is also practised among them, but that such marriages are not particularly common. This agrees with my statistical material which is very scarce also from the Ayr Tuareg:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 14 |
| No blood-relationship | 8 |
| Marriages total | 39 |

[178] These statistics are less valuable than those from Ahaggar, for they are collected mainly from tribes
582 living around Agadez where social customs tend to fall into disuse. However, cross-cousin marriages
591 are still very common in these tribes where there is a tendency to follow patrilocal rules of residence and patrilineal succession. The reason why the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg do not consider marriages with

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



women of their own matrilineage particularly suitable seems to be connected with these rules of residence and succession. Marriages with maternal kinswomen are clearly advantageous to the Ahaggar Tuareg, where residence is ultimately matrilocal, while such marriages in Ayr have no proper justification.

Tuareg kinship systems in Ahaggar and among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg seem to be adapted to cross-cousin marriage. Parallel cousins are termed brothers and sisters, while there is a particular term for cross-cousins and between them an institutional joking relationship which facilitates contact and marriage. The Tuareg seem to admit that one function of joking between cross-cousins is to promote marriages between them, and they say that in the period during which a man and a woman are in love with each other before marriage – a period which is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *térejjek* – there will always be joking between them even though the two persons are unrelated.

Joking relationship between cross-cousins has another function in addition to that of facilitating marriage. In the description of political systems it has been mentioned that joking plays a rôle in preventing conflicts between people of different classes and castes. When a man marries a cross-cousin, his cross-cousins will become brothers and sisters-in-law with whom joking continues, and there will always be joking with the brothers and sisters of a spouse unless a man marries a particular kinswoman (cf. p. 466). It is the rule that there is joking with brothers and sisters in-law who preferably are also one's cross-cousins so that this joking relationship should in such cases have existed even before marriage. I believe that this convention helps to restrict conflicts between a person and the spouse's family of his own generation, and that joking between in-laws of the same generation has much the same function as has avoidance between parents-in-law and sons and daughters-in-law. There can be no doubt that this type of avoidance is important to the maintenance of good relations between in-laws of different generations, the more so as the Tuareg explain their avoidance relationships by saying that it is only natural that avoidance is particularly strict between people of different sexes in the way that a man avoids his mother-in-law very strictly, a woman her father-in-law equally strictly, for a man has a particularly strong influence over his son, and a woman possesses a corresponding influence over her daughter; consequently conflicts between a man and his mother-in-law, and between a woman and her father-in-law can easily arise.

Radcliffe-Brown was the first to point out the identical functions of joking and avoidance. These outwardly such different types of behaviour both serve to prevent conflicts between in-laws (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56 ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). This theory is very important, and I believe that it is not only confirmed but augmented by the material I have brought back from the Tuareg. It is clear that conflicts cannot easily arise between two persons who avoid each other, and the same is true of two joking partners as when everything is permitted, it is difficult to quarrel. Morally, joking is considered a very good thing, and cross-cousins who do not like to joke much are in public opinion bad cross-cousins. However, the intensity of joking between cross-cousins depends very much on the age difference between the two if they belong to the same sex. There will always be much joking between cross-cousins of the same age, while cross-cousins of very different age will joke very little or not at all. With extreme difference in age, two male cross-cousins may even change their joking relationship into avoidance, though this does not seem to be normal.

582 In case of cross-cousins of different sex, the difference in age does not seem to diminish joking
604 between them, and it is most interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have an institutional joking
606 relationship in the case of a mother's brother's wife (cf. p. 455). This joking relationship, like that between cross-cousins and in-laws of the same generation, is definitely also a relationship of great friendship, and it has a very particular function in connection with cross-cousin marriage. For if a man marries the cross-cousin who is considered the best possible spouse, namely his mother's brother's daughter, it is evident that mother's brother's wife with whom he has a relationship of intense joking will become his mother-in-law. In other words:— When a man marries according to traditional rules he will acquire a reciprocal avoidance relationship to a woman with whom he had intense joking until marriage. So it seems as if joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife serves the purpose of preventing conflicts and creating a bond of friendship between a man and his future mother-in-law.
606 It can be added that the relationship between a man and his mother-in-law is normally one of great friendship, though they very often avoid each other to the extent that they never speak together. A son-in-law and a mother-in-law will frequently exchange gifts during visits to each others' camps, but will generally avoid each other in the way that a man visiting his mother-in-law's camp will stay at a distance of up to a hundred metres from her tent. The relationship of avoidance is somewhat different in case son-in-law and mother-in-law live together in the same camp, though they will always avoid each other to the extent that they talk extremely little to one another and never eat in each other's presence.

602 Joking and avoidance between Tuareg in-laws no doubt constitute a fixed system of behaviour
582 adapted to a particular marriage type, namely that with a cross-cousin — ideally with a mother's brother's daughter. If a man marries a woman with whom he has no blood relationship he will practise joking with his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and avoidance towards his parents-in-law. His behaviour towards all these in-laws will not differ from that he would adopt towards his in-laws if he were married to a cross-cousin. But if a man marries a kinswoman who is not his cross-cousin he will not always obtain relationships of joking and avoidance towards all in-laws. To illustrate this I mention the following examples from the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group:—

(1) If a man marries the daughter of a true cross-cousin he will not achieve any joking relations with his brothers and sisters-in-law. He will not avoid a cross-cousin who is his parent-in-law, but he will cease to joke with him or her. The same rule is probably valid for the cross-cousin's spouse, who will be a classificatory brother-in-law or a sister-in-law.

(2) If a man marries a daughter of a classificatory cross-cousin he may joke with his brothers and sisters-in-law, but there will be no avoidance relationships in regard to the parents-in-law.

(3) If a man marries the daughter of a classificatory child or a classificatory sister's child there will be joking with his brothers and sisters-in-law. I assume that in this case there will also be avoidance between a man and his parents-in-law.

(4) If a man marries a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter there will be no joking with his true brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, but there will be some avoidance towards the parents-in-law.

Joking, and to some extent also avoidance, are modes of behaviour which are particularly adapted
000 to cross-cousin marriage, or to marriages with foreign women. The same is perhaps the case with

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Middle East M1



M 582 583 [114] p. 168 ff.). I do not want to judge this theory as I have little personal knowledge of the North African Arabs who practise marriage with a paternal cousin. However, the argument that one of the chief functions of the bride-wealth is the confirmation of the social position of the children of a marriage, seems also valid for bride-wealth customs among people who practise preferential paternal cousin marriage, for it is clear that should a man marry a father's brother's daughter she will not have to change her social group after marriage. Furthermore, the fathers of the groom and the bride are brothers who among North African Arabs may own livestock and other types of property in common.

T 582 604 613 Tuareg cross-cousin marriage is symetrical, but the very best cross-cousin to marry is the true mother's brother's daughter. This would seem to agree with the very close relationship between a man and his mother's brother of the same matrilineage. A man has succession rights after his mother's brother, and many Tuareg say that the relationship between sister's son and mother's brother is as close as that between father and son. A man should do his outmost to defend his mother's brother, and it is very likely that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter has as its chief function the reinforcement of the matrilineage. It can here be added that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter will not easily lead to quarrels between the families of the married couple, because the fathers of the groom and the bride are cross-cousins and/or brothers-in-law, and consequently there is an institutional joking relationship between them.

We should perhaps explain Tuareg marriage with a mother's brother's daughter in the light of its importance for the reinforcement and maintenance of the matrilineage which has important social functions in Tuareg society. However, this marriage type does not exempt the groom or his family from paying bride-wealth.

T [171] It is interesting to note that among the South African Bantu, who give bride-wealth (*lobola*) at a marriage, the groom is expected to assist his parents-in-law whenever they need his help (Krige 1937, T 606 p. 113). This is also so among the Tuareg who claim that parents-in-law and sons-in-law should always support each other even if they be in-laws of dissolved marriages from which bride-wealth has not been claimed back. Indeed, some Tuareg consider it a very good thing to have contracted several marriages and thus to have obtained many in-laws who are expected to assist their son-in-law when he needs their help.

T 582 583 Finally, I add the statement of some Ahaggar Tuareg that bride-wealth payment is often considered less essential where a man has married a maternal cousin or her daughter because in that event husband and wife are maternal relatives who, in case maternal cousin marriage is practised within their T families, may be closely related also in the paternal line.

585 [193] Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the marriage is ratified by representatives of the groom and the bride before an *Aneslem*, that is to say a marabut. This may take place on the first day of the wedding ceremony, but it may as well be done days, weeks, or even months before the wedding takes place. The parents of the groom and the bride may have the marriage ratified even though their children do not want to be married. The wedding ceremonies in Ahaggar and Ayr differ slightly, but they are no doubt functionally identical.

In Ahaggar the marriage ceremony is briefly as follows:—

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by traditional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him *amṛar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidā*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established, owing to the cross-cousin relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



administrators settled in Ahaggar, the noble Tuareg under the leadership of the *Amenukal* are said to have claimed that the French should respect their ancient matrilineal organization. It seems as though such an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals was unknown in Ayr in pre-European times. Subsistence in Ayr is easier than in Ahaggar, and the noble Tuareg there were not so dependent upon their vassals for food as was the case in Ahaggar.

The fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg have conserved matrilineal rules in their social organization though influenced by Islam and the patrilineal Arabs for centuries, may perhaps explain why they have come to consider marriage with a mother's sister's daughter (or her daughter) as a better type of mating than cross-cousin marriage. Marriages with a classificatory sister (or sister's daughter) are, according to the Ahaggar Tuareg, not to be considered a recent phenomena, but have been practised for generations. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that these marriages are most suitable because they do not give rise to changes of residence for the children. It is very probable that such marriages, which do not harmonize with traditional kinship rules, indicate the transition towards fully-fledged patrilineal rules among the Northern Tuareg.

We have no knowledge about Tuareg social organization in pre-Islamic times, but there can be little doubt that matrilineal traits are very ancient, for they are mentioned by Ibn Batutah (cf. p. 457), and most Tuareg have traditions of their descent from an ancestress. Bates thinks that the Libyans of antiquity possessed a type of social organization which was partly or fully matrilineal, though he admits that indications of the existence of the matriarchate are strong, but not conclusive (Bates 1914, p. 111 f.). Gsell, on the contrary, thinks that the ancient Libyans did not have a social organization of a matrilineal type. They were patrilineal like most Northern Berbers of to-day (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 37 f.).

Baumann states that Tuareg matrilineal organization derives from the so-called Old Mediterranean Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 66). This is perhaps not the true explanation, for Frobenius is probably right in his statement that the Syrtic Culture was a high one which gained little influence among pastoralists, but became very important to sedentary people of North Africa and the Western Sudan (Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 11). On the other hand the theory advanced by Frobenius that the Tuareg matriarchate is an old Hamitic custom does not constitute a satisfactory explanation (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 238 f.; Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 5).

The history of Tuareg matriarchate has been analysed very recently by Murdock, who states that its origin can be explained in three distinct ways:— (1) The Tuareg may have preserved the matrilineate from a very early period of Berber culture, perhaps also reflected among the extinct Guanche of the Canary Islands. This, however, is not considered very probable, because matrilineal traits do not exist among the many other North African Berber tribes, and also because the present relative isolation of the Tuareg is historically recent, dating from the Hilalian Arab invasion. (2) The indigenous *Bélla* were characterized by avunculocal residence and matrilineal descent, and they transmitted these rules to the conquering Tuareg. This second theoretical possibility is discarded by Murdock on the ground that the *Bélla* were presumably akin to the Hausa peoples on the southern border of the Tuareg country, and the Hausa are strictly patrilineal. (3) The ancestral Tuareg, while still resident in Tripolitania, were patrilineal, like all other mainland Berbers, and the matrilineate was developed as an

567 of their ancestors. Ahaggar slaves are perfectly adapted to the desert and possess physical qualities of sobriety much superior to those of their racial brothers /170/ in the Sudan, who have difficulty living there when they are transported from the Sudan.

The Akli is subject to forced labor at the will of his master. He owes all his work to his master and is his property, but he receives a few advantages and can use a few days of work a week for himself.

In the Ahaggar the Iklan are treated perfectly well by their masters, to whom they are quite attached. They share meals with them and sustain with an even temper the good or bad fortune which the camp enjoys. Their children are reared with those of the Tuareg and on the same footing.

They benefit from certain humanitarian rules which do credit to the Tuareg. Thus a slave who is too young or too old cannot be liberated and must be supported by his master.

The Iklan are bequeathed as a heritage; they may be possessors
[428] of animals, whose usufruct they then have; but upon their death these animals fall to their masters and not to their own children.

The Imochar, Inislimen, and Imrad have all rights over their slaves. The latter cannot marry without their consent. Generally,
567 when there are a man slave and a woman slave in the same camp,
582 they are married to each other, and the man receives a goat which
583 he gives to his wife as a bride price. If the slave wants to seek a wife for himself and finds one in another camp, he receives nothing from his master and must find the means to pay his wife's bride price by himself; this bride price is commonly fixed at ten goats. The slaves put in charge of keeping the flocks and who are often absent from the camp because of their occupation usually do not
[836] marry. "They take their pleasure where they find it," said Father de Foucauld.

565 The Tuareg often take slave women as concubines. There are
567 several advantages to this: first, they have no bride price to pay,
595

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be
[584 is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and
565] less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats,
or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid
all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the
parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her
[562] property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses
[421] fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's
fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or
decreases.

584 As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the
marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times
a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter
[184] custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and
the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers
and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents,
where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During
the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé
does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then
takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company.
During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage
festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass
back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women,
[533] among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the
tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the
Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of
"aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to
[174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where
the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

4: Benhazera--13 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The celebration begins about one o'clock in the afternoon. The men saddle their meharis and the camel-back games, "iloudjan foull imnas" ⵍⵓⴷⵊⴰⵏ ⴼⵓⵍ ⵉⵎⵏⴰⵙ , will begin. The women gather, beat their tobol, sing and play the amz'ad to excite the riders. The latter, in groups of two or more, abandon themselves to a wild race on their meharis, which they throw into a gallop. 585 [541] [533]

During this time the bride, hidden at the home of her maternal aunt or a relative on the maternal side, must veil her eyes and not watch the games. If by mischance she should look at one of the riders, he would fall, and there would be an accident. [752]

As to the groom, he does not take part in the games. Mounted on a white mehari, "ebidedj" ⵉⴱⵉⴷⵊ , he is present beside one of his friends, but he must remain impassive, his face carefully veiled.

The games last until sunset.

At this point two "tolbas" and two friends of the groom go to find the bride's father, if she is still a virgin, or the woman herself if she has already been married, to ask him or her to name a representative. The groom is also asked to name his representative.

These two representatives meet with the tolbas and the friends, and the marriage is contracted. It is at this time that the bride price, /16/ "tagalt" ⵜⴰⴳⴰⵍⵜ , is set. For nobles it consists, as a rule, of seven camels; for imr'ad it may consist, depending on their means, of one camel or several sheep or goats. The groom pays part of the bride price: one or two camels if he is a noble; three or four sheep if he is an amr'id and if he is not rich; the rest he owes. The animals which have been paid have their throats cut and provide the wedding feast. Then the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran) is read to call divine blessing on the newlyweds. 583 585 [554] [782]

After the contract the women meet, the amz'ad is played for a moment, but the bed of the newlyweds must be prepared. 585

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*Agg Elkhar*, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [175] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals. [643]

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. 614 634 [431] [178]

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 651 [583]

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:– 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Teouit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar



scale raiding. He would discuss all important matters with vassal chiefs and with his noble deputies known as *Khalifas*. At present the Amenokal has three Khalifas two of whom live in his own camp, while the third is his representative in Tamesna, where many Tuareg of his drum-group live. 643 [645]

The Amenokal never had the right to part of the bride-wealth from marriages among his vassals, nor did he receive a camel at the death of a vassal as was customary for the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan in Air. The Amenokal still has the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief within his drum-group, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal clan, the Dag Rali, has the right to one of the Amenokal's riding camels on the latter's death. [583] [651] [428]

As the representative of the Kel Rela drum-group the Amenokal is in certain cases entitled to property owned individually by his subjects. When a person dies without children or paternal kinsmen, his fortune is divided into six parts one part of which goes to his mother (or his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts are given to the Amenokal. In case the deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, the whole fortune of livestock is taken over by the Amenokal. He, however, will not himself make any use of the animals, but will leave them in the clan to which the deceased person belonged. They will there be under the supervision of the clan chief, who also has usufructs of them. Animals taken over by the Amenokal in this way are known as *chere oua n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group"), or *chere oua n boutelma* ("the fortune of the public"). 428 643 [614] [422]

The vassal clans of the Kel Rela drum-group pay an annual tribute known as *tiouse* to the Amenokal. The size of this payment varies from one clan to another. It is normally collected by the clan chiefs who send it to the Amenokal, but the three subclans of the Agouh-en-Tehele pay their tiouse separately as follows:– 1) The Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan: 600 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kg of butter. The man who brings this payment to the Amenokal is rewarded with a gift of 15 metres of cotton. 2) The Isandan sub-clan: 300 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kg of butter. The man who brings this receives a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. 3) The Kel Rafsa sub-clan: Like the payments from the Isandan. 643 614 651

The whole Dag Rali clan pays its tiouse as follows:– 12 bags of millet corresponding to 6 camel-loads are given to the clan chief, who will send 10 bags to the Amenokal, and keep two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole clan gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the Amenokal.

One vassal clan, the Ait Ionien, does not make its tiouse payment to the Amenokal but to a Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Emori section of the Kel Rela. According to Lhote a certain family among the Dag Rali makes an annual payment to a noble Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Tahat section (Lhote 1955, p. 224). It is in fact possible that the Amenokal nowadays receives tiouse payments which ought to be made to other noble Tuareg. This I imply from the information from a man who told me that the Isandan sub-clan according to traditional rules should pay tiouse to a 565 614 643 651

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Aggar



173 is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to
565 be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain
[114] an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and
184 vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's
565 milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much import-
492 ance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble
[234] Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects,
184 and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:– 1) In noble
565 clans bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal clans one to three camels which may
[583] be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas
[422] true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Rali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble
[342] Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post – that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-
[614] breeding clan Iregenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed
[173] marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. – Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Iregenaten Tuareg met in Air.

342 Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently
184 referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. – Lhote

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



As an illustration of camel terms given to animals in very special situations, I give the two following examples:— (1) A she-camel when driven out for grazing while its calf is tethered in the camp is known as *tamantak* to the Ahaggar Tuareg, as *tenteg* to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr; (2) A pack-camel when walking in a caravan is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *amekkalu*, while the corresponding term in Ayr seems to be *alaway*. 233 192 [492]*

For the size of herds the Ahaggar Tuareg have the following terms:— *tazegga* (a small herd of 20-40 camels and/or she-camels), *ahammal* (from very few animals up to about one hundred, the herd consisting mainly of male camels), *adyaw* (a very large herd comprising about one hundred animals at least, regardless of their sex). As far as my investigations go these terms are not known among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. They refer to a small number of camels as *imnas* (10 to 15 animals comprising male and/or female camels), while a bigger herd is known as *tollemin* (comprising male and/or female camels).

All the above-mentioned camel terms are with very few exceptions used exclusively for camels and not for other animals. Extensive vocabularies are found also for other domestic animals and for many aspects of stock-breeding, but the camel vocabulary is extremely large by comparison. This seems understandable as camels have a many-sided use to the Tuareg, and there can be no doubt that camel-terms like goat-terms are primarily a linguistic technique of practical value – a technique which enables the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. But this is evidently not the sole reason why the camel vocabulary is so extensive that a detailed description of all terms would necessitate an independant book on this subject. For the camel vocabulary is extremely large not only because of its practical value, but also because Tuareg interest in camels is not solely confined to their practical uses. This is intimated, I believe, by some of the peculiar terms mentioned and above all by the very many synonyms. [181]

Camels, in contrast to most domestic animals, have social functions among the Tuareg. It is true that bride-wealth in vassal tribes of the Northern Tuareg may be paid in goats (25–30 animals), but this is the case mainly among the *Kel Ajjer* while most Ahaggar vassals will claim that bride-wealth should be paid in camels. The true vassals of Ahaggar give one to three camels for a wife, the payment being dependent upon the bride's tribe – in most tribes it is the custom to give only one camel, while two tribes will claim two and three camels respectively for their women. Among the Ayr vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group bride-wealth may be paid in cash, though the bride-wealth in these tribes is generally one camel as among most northern vassals. But the size of bride-wealth among the Ayr Tuareg is frequently discussed by representatives of the families, and it depends much upon the age, quality, and wealth of the bride. For very desired girls the payment may rise to two or three camels while for others the payment is only "two camel feet", that is a "half share in a camel"; it is said that even "one foot" is sometimes accepted as bride-wealth. This system of giving shares in camels may give rise to trouble between the persons who share the same animal. Among noble Tuareg, both in the north and in Ayr, bride-wealth can be paid only in camels. Among noble tribes of the Northern Tuareg the bride-wealth to be paid is fixed at seven camels, while among the few noble Tuareg now left in the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group the price, it is said, varies between ten and twenty camels. Camels given for bride-wealth are generally *ilusan* (sing. *alegges*) (fem. *tilusin*, sing. *taleggest*), 233 583 565 [578] 233 583 601

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 683 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

233 436 682

| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *tilgad*, or *chét awétay* | (one year old) | 10 | *tibeydegin* | (white) |
| 10 | *tilusin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *titlarin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *tekkenifaklen* | (3 years old) | 10 | *tizeggerin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiruyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *tibhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chét essin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *tilemlarin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chét okkoz* | (6 years old) | 10 | *tizerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *timessedas* | (7 years old) | 10 | *timengelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chét tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 | *tikewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tirégganin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *tizerrafin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *tiwinarin* | (white cornea) |

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 565 524 232 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[Text continues on p. 104]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



634 judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief,
565 whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

[422] In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to
[171] mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

642 In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division,
565 which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral
[173] camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imṛad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imṛad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

565 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar.
[262] Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter
[492] and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinc-
[583] tions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The
[233] noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, donkeys are marked in
[422] both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by
[342] the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirẓemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps
[293] connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among
[262] vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found partic-
[224] ularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and
[174] other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but
[233] the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks
[462] of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

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567 clothes and a camel with saddle; there will thus be an excellent relationship between master and slave. This method of cutting the ear of another man's riding camel to become his slave is also known to have been practised in Ayr. However, the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that among them a slave who wanted to become attached to another master would rather cut a slight slit in the ear of one of that man's children. The slave would thus become attached to the father of the "wounded" child.

In cases where a slave simply runs away, his master will always demand his return. But in Áhaggar, the senior chieftain, the *Amenukal*, may intervene on behalf of the slave if he learns that the runaway slave has been badly treated or is badly clothed. There are thus certain rules which serve to promote reasonably good conditions for the slaves. However, only under exceptional circumstances do they eat with their masters, and they normally live, not in tents, but in open windscreens or shades from the sun. In general, though, there is little difference between the way of life of the Tuareg and their slaves, and they wear fairly similar clothes and ornaments. The slaves also bear weapons, and in the old days, when camel-raiding and warfare formed, as it were, a part of the Tuareg economy, they often accompanied their masters on raids. If a Tuareg family owns a sufficiently large number of slaves they will often not only carry out much of the heavier household work but will also watch over the flocks and herds; and as herdsmen they often have a position of considerable influence, as they are better acquainted with the care of the various types of animals than are the Tuareg themselves. To all this may be added a custom of particular interest. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg each tribe owns [422] a particular portion of a beast so that from a slaughtered beast one tribe is entitled to a portion of the back, another to the heart, a third to the liver, and so on. The slaves have similar rights in such cases, being entitled to the neck and in some regions also to the tail and the feet. When a beast is slaughtered these portions must always be given to the slaves.

The slaves are thus not completely without rights. Nevertheless the ordinary rules of inheritance do not apply to them. If a slave is on good terms with his master, the latter will, in the course of years, give him a certain number of goats as his personal possession – which he may, for example, slaughter or sell as he wishes. But when a slave dies his children cannot inherit his flocks or any other of his possessions. Everything then will become the property of his master.

567 608 This is in agreement with the fact that slavery is organized upon a kinship pattern in the way that slaves are normally the fictive children of their master, a man being the "father" of his slaves, while a female slave-owner will be their "mother", for slaves are always owned individually by pastoral Tuareg, and though the men are perhaps more frequently slave-owners than are women, slaves may be owned by pastoralists of both sexes. This position of slaves as "children" of the slave-owner means that the owner's brothers, sisters and parents are considered a kind of "parent" by his slaves. This again results in young slaves being considered a kind of "brother and sister" to the slave-owner's children and those of relatives of the slave-owner's generation. The organization of slavery on a kinship pattern can be demonstrated by means of the following examples:—

[583] (1) When a young slave marries it is the duty of the slave-owner as his "father" to pay the necessary amount of bride-wealth which will comprise a few goats – normally three to five animals – and this bride-wealth goes to the owner of the slave girl with whom the slave marries. A Tuareg women will as a slave-owner make and receive the payments connected with the marriages of her individual slaves

[Text continues on p. 444] in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



567 608 in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner. When a slave marries a slave girl the latter becomes the daughter-in-law of her husband's owner, and there will consequently be a kind of avoidance between these persons as between other relatives-in-law of different generations. In connection with slave-marriages it is of some interest to mention the following custom practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar:—

[582] [431] Among the Tuareg of Ahaggar a man has a certain marriage priority to his mother's brother's daughter according to rules which are outlined in the next chapter (p. 458 ff.). Therefore when a Tuareg's mother's brother's daughter marries somebody else the first man vill be entitled to a pair of sandals from the groom. In agreement with this custom a slave when marrying a slave-girl must give a pair of sandals to his wife's owner's ("father's") sister's son as explained in the diagram above (Fig. 292).

(2) The husband in a Tuareg pastoral family stands in the relationship of "father-in-law" (*adeggal*) to all slaves owned by his wife, while the wife is the "mother-in-law" (*tadeggalt*) of all slaves owned by her husband. Between these fictive relatives-in-law there is institutional avoidance which, however, is far less strictly observed than for true relatives by marriage of different generations. Owing to these rules a man must not or should not marry a slave girl owned by his divorced or deceased wife, just as it would be improper to marry a daughter-in-law.

(3) It is not forbidden for a man to marry a slave-girl whom he owns, even though she is considered his "daughter". This does not disagree with ordinary kinship-rules for a man is permitted to marry some of his classificatory daughters. If a man marries his own slave girl his children, among the Ayr Tuareg, would not be considered *Ichardanen* or *Iburelliten*, that is "mulattoes". They have the right to be considered true Tuareg or *Imajeren*, but in case of disagreements between a Tuareg of this type, and other people, they will call him by one of the terms used for "mulattoes", and may even call him "slave". If a man marries a slave girl who does not belong to him, his children of that marriage will [583] not become true Tuareg. But a Tuareg who wishes to marry a woman of slave status or a mulatto will attempt to secure the acknowledgment of his wife and her children as true Tuareg by the payment of a high bride-price. Thus a Tuareg of Ahaggar who married a mulatto girl gave for bride-wealth seven camels as is customary for noble Tuareg in the two northern groups, though the price according 554 to traditional rules should not exceed the value of one camel. It must be added that the position in Tuareg society of people who are not true Tuareg by origin depends greatly upon personal qualities. If a man is wise, rich, and generous, or if he is a marabut, all Tuareg will be ready to associate with him on equal terms even though he be predominantly negroid. I have noted several examples of this, and once met a very negroid nomad who was greatly respected by all Tuareg because he had once [564] killed seven goats in one day to entertain foreign guests. There are certain classes and castes in Tuareg [567] society. Formally it seems comparatively easy for children of mixed marriages of Tuareg and slaves to be considered Tuareg as slaves have a social position different from that of true black-skinned castes.

567 608 (4) If a slave woman has suckled a Tuareg girl or has taken a little fair-skinned Tuareg girl to her as her own, she will be recognized as the girl's true mother. And if the slave woman has children of her own they will be recognized as brothers and sisters of the little Tuareg girl. When the Tuareg girl later marries, her husband will be considered the true son-inlaw of her slave-mother and there will

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582 and the argument that cross-cousin marriage tends to prevent marital conflict is apparently a valid one. I return to his later, and now pass to the last argument that cross-cousin marriage possesses economic functions. To examine this point let us first consider the obligations of two families who intermarry.

## ECONOMIC OBLIGATIONS ON MARRIAGE IN AHAGGAR

602 (a) *Obligations of the groom and his family.*

583 (1) bride-wealth (*taggalt*) which varies according to the social class of the bride. For a noble woman and a woman of the *Ireǧenaten* tribe it is seven camels, while in most vassal tribes including the *Isekkemaren* bride-wealth comprises only one young camel (*alegges*). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe however two young camels constitute the traditional bride-price, while three camels are given at the marriage of a woman of the *Ibettenaten* tribe. In vassal tribes 25–30 goats can be given instead of one young camel. Bride-wealth is handed over to the bride's father, or, if the father is dead, normally to her elder brother. Bride-wealth animals belong to her father (or elder brother), but it is said that the offspring of bride-wealth animals should be given to the bride or to her children. On a man's first marriage bride-wealth animals are usually given by his father, but if he is divorced and wishes to remarry he will himself furnish the bride-wealth.

585 (2) a camel or a number of goats to be killed for wedding-food (*tardest*). In addition to what is given by the husband or his father, animals to be killed at a wedding may also be brought by visiting relatives.

(3) In noble tribes and among the *Ireǧenaten* the tent with its straw-mats are given by the husband and/or his relatives.

(4) Some time after marriage it is customary for the husband to give his wife a gift of animals according to his means – a few goats, one or two camels. This gift however remains in the husband's camp so that the animals serve the need of his household.

(5) It does not seem customary in Ahaggar for the groom to give his bride clothes and ornaments, though it is said that in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe the groom has to give his bride two silver bracelets known as *ihebǧan* (sing. *ahbeǧ*).

602 (b) *Obligations of the bride's family.*

583 To illustrate the obligations of the bride's family I list what is considered the proper outfit of the bride in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe as follows:—

1 skin tent (*éhakit*) with the necessary number of poles (cf. p. 364, Figs. 267 ff.).
2 tent mats (*isebran*, sing. *éseber*) plaited from the *afeẓu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) (cf. Figs. 267–269).
3 large decorated skin-bags (*iṛerǧan*, sing. *aṛreǧ*) used for storing personal belongings in the tent.
1 *ahaǧa*, a large container made of untanned camel-hide and used mainly for tanning (Fig. 213).

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583

5 wooden eating bowls (*tiṛha*, sing. *taṛehut*) (Figs. 195a).
2 wooden milk-bowls (*ikassen*, sing. *akus*) (Fig. 21b).
1 earthen cooking pot (*téṛirt*) (Fig. 187a–b).
10 wooden spoons (*tisukalin*, sing. *tesukaḥ*) for eating millet porridge, bread, and the like (Fig. 191).
1 metal container (*éṛir*) used for storing butter (Fig. 164).
1 leather cushion (*eddefer*) stuffed with hay.
1 woven carpet (*ahwar*) to be used as a sitting-carpet in the tent, but also as a blanket. It has several colours but is predominantly red. It measures about 1.50×5.00 metres.
1 carpet or blanket (*tahwart*) of the same type, but smaller.
1 woven blanket (*tabroḳ*) which serves as a mantle in winter.
5–6 donkey-saddles (*irukan*, sing. *aruku*) (Fig. 86).
5–6 donkeys (*ihéḍan*).
10–40 goats (*ulli*) according to the means of the bride and her family.
1 slave (*akli*) or a slave-girl (*tiklit*) may also be given.

All these objects and the animals, which form part of the dowry, are primarily given by the bride's parents, but as the objects and the animals constitute a considerable fortune the parents cannot always provide the necessary dowry. It is customary therefore for close relatives to give a helping hand. Many of the dowry objects are made collectively by Tuareg women of the bride's camp (e.g., skin-bags and donkey-saddles) while other objects are obtained from the blacksmiths (wooden and metal containers, etc.). The skin tent and the tent mats are also often made by the women of the bride's camp.

The bride-wealth and other objects given by the groom and his family are less comprehensive and less valuable than the dowry given by the bride's family. The two bride-wealth camels given among the *Dag Ṛali* may sometimes be used by the bride's father to cope with some of the expenses connected with the raising of the dowry, but they do not cover his total expenses. However, if we consider a marriage of the ideal type, that is a man marrying his mother's brother's daughter, the bride's father will willingly help his sister's son who is to become his son-in-law, and the dowry will not be lost in the event of divorce, as the wife will then bring all dowry back with her to her father's camp. 602 583 [586]

## ECONOMIC OBLIGATIONS ON MARRIAGE IN AYR (KEL FERWAN)

**(a)** ***Obligations of the groom and his family.*** 602

(1) bride-wealth (*taggalt*) is not paid according to fixed rules as in the Northern Tuareg groups. The size of bride-wealth is always discussed. Thus it is said that virgins are valued higher than experienced women, and that bride-wealth is higher for a wealthy woman than for a poor one. In most *Kel Ferwan* tribes bride-wealth constitutes one to three camels, but poor people may accept even two camel feet (that is half part in a camel) as bride-wealth for their daughter. In noble tribes there is also no fixed size of bride-wealth which is said to vary from ten to twenty camels for a noble woman – the deceased 583

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



583 drum-chief *Agg-Elkhir*'s son, *Khejji*, gave twenty camels for his wife. In certain tribes living around Agadez bride-wealth is nowadays also paid in cash. At a man's first marriage bride-wealth is paid by his father and is given to the bride's father who can dispose of the camels at his discretion. In the *Kel Ferwan* group all bride-wealth must be handed over to the bride's father before marriage takes place.

(2) *tisrar*, that is a gift to the bride and a gift of food to her parents who arrange the wedding-feast. These gifts are given by the husband or his parents and comprise the following:—

[291] 15 metres of cotton for two outer skirts (sing. *téri*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for one under-skirt (*tesegbes*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for a woman's shirt (*aftek*) (cf. p. 293, Fig. 239a).
3 *ilechchan* (sing. *alechchu*), indigo-dyed pieces of cotton which serve as the headcloth (*adalil*) of a married woman (cf. p. 14, 293).
1–2 pairs of *iṛatimen* (sing. *éṛatem*), sandals of the *takalmi*-type (cf. p. 298, Fig. 242b).

[292] The amount of food to be given for the entertainment of wedding guests varies, but in general is estimated at 100–200 kgs millet (*énélé*), 10–15 litres of butter (*wiji*), and 5 litres of Sudanese honey (*tariwat*), plus an ox.

The gifts of cotton and food should be brought to the bride's father before marriage with the bride-wealth. The bride should not see the bride-wealth animals, nor should she see the gift of cotton until it has been made into her wedding clothes.

585 (3) The groom and his family have no obligations towards the bride and her family other than those mentioned above, but the groom is expected to give certain gifts to his wife after marriage:—

One gift is known as *timigint*. Before the bride is led into the wedding tent where the groom awaits her (cf. p. 474), the women who lead the veiled bride will claim a promise of *timigint* for the bride. On behalf of the groom one of his friends will promise to give the bride a gift – perhaps a camel – though there is no rule for the size of this gift. When the promise is given the women lead the bride into the tent. It is said that the groom is never forced later to give the *timigint* gift promised.

Some time after marriage the groom is expected to give his wife certain silver ornaments, notably the following:—

[301] *t'izabatin*, a pair of large ear-rings.
*ténélét*, a ring-formed pendant.
*zakkat*, the so-called Cross of Agadez, and the so-called Cross of Iferwan.
*tadnet* (perhaps not correctly spelled), a necklace.
*térewt* (pl. *téra*) *ta n tejekkot*, a silver ornament attached to the hair braid at the back of the head.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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(b) *Obligations of the bride's family*:—

The bride's family has to provide her with everything necessary for domestic life:— 583

1 mat tent (*éhen*) (cf. p. 350 ff., Figs. 265a–f).
1 bed (*tédabut*) (Fig. 212a).
2–3 bed mats (*tsebran*) (Fig. 212b).
Further: skin-bags, eating bowls, spoons, cooking pots, etc. A certain number of domestic animals should also be included in the dowry of a bride.

It is clear that both in Ahaggar and in Ayr a marriage is connected with great expenses both for the 584
groom's and the bride's families. In view of this it may seem important that cross-cousin marriage 602
creates a fixed system of exchange between two families which have definite relations to one another.

When marriages are contracted the economic aspects are not considered most important by all 581
Tuareg. Some Tuareg will let their daughters marry less wealthy people if they are considered good men. But to many, and I believe most, Tuareg the economic aspect of marriage is important, and it is generally said that it is more difficult for poor people to obtain a spouse than it is for wealthy people. A poor girl cannot so easily find a husband as a wealthy one, and wealthy girls can be married even though they are not very good-looking.

Normally, a widow will not have much difficulty in getting married again even though she has one 587
or a few children, and the same holds good for a divorced woman. But it is most remarkable that, in Ahaggar, a widow cannot remarry if she has a half-grown son of 12–15 years old who is opposed to her marriage. If the boy is unwilling to let his widow mother marry, people will normally try to induce him to yield to his mother's wish by means of gifts. But if the boy refuses nothing more can be done, and the case cannot even be brought before the *Amenukal*. There may be several reasons for this particular custom, and the following two points should be noted:— (1) When the boy's mother remarries it may imply a shift of residence, as she will join her husband's camp and the boy would live with his mother. (2) The boy's inheritance rights are reduced when his mother remarries. This is evident when we consider the rules of inheritance described above p. 137 f. If his mother does not remarry the boy is the sole inheritor of her whole fortune. If his mother marries again her new husband and his children with the boy's mother will have important inheritance rights to her fortune, while the boy will have no right to inherit from his stepfather.

Inheritance rights in connection with rules of residence are facts which are considered important 581
to most Tuareg when desirous of arranging marriages for their children. A woman cannot marry 584
without her parents' consent, and a man who wants to marry will have to ask his parents and a great many other relatives of ascending generations, including his elder brothers. However, what really matters is the word given by his father. If the father agrees to his son's marriage there will not generally be any further complications about its realization. If the father disagrees there will be no marriage, though in Ahaggar a grown man can bring his case before the *Amenukal* should his father not allow him to marry the woman he wants (cf. p. 400 f.).

First marriages are frequently arranged by the parents (the father) and are not necessarily contracted with cross-cousins.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 295. Tuareg women drumming and singing at a feast. The drum is a large mortar provided with a piece of goat-skin. Ahaggar, the *Aḡuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

The same is perhaps the case with

583 bride-wealth which does not constitute a proper purchase. The payment of bride-wealth may have an economic aspect, but its main function is most probably not a purely economic one.

583 586 848 What then is the function of bride-wealth? I believe that this question can be answered if we consider Tuareg feelings towards bride-wealth in case of divorce. If a man divorces his wife because she has committed adultery, he has the right to the return of his bride-wealth animals, but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that it is improper to claim the return of bride-wealth whatever the cause of the divorce, and the Ayr Tuareg consider it most disgraceful. It would be shameful, utterly improper in fact, if a dissolved marriage has been blessed with children. For children born of a marriage dissolved by the husband taking back his bride-wealth are very much like *anibu*, that is "a child born out of wedlock". Bonds of kinship in respect of illigitimate children are not socially recognized. These children are looked down upon even by their true kinsmen. Illigitimate children therefore have great difficulty in getting married, and this is also true of their mothers. Nobody wants to marry a woman who has children born out of wedlock, while a divorced woman having one or several children can easily get re-married.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Middle East M1



T 583 586 848 It would seem from all this that the main function of bride-wealth is to create a social bond between two families that intermarry, and is a sort of confirmation of the social rights of the children. When bride-wealth is not taken back at the dissolution of a marriage the marriage is not socially dissolved. When two people divorce they continue to have each other's relations as in-laws with whom they have joking and avoidance exactly as if they were still married, and the children continue to have their full rights within both families.

The fact that bride-wealth is the outward symbol of the persistence of in-law relations when a marriage is dissolved, discloses the true meaning of bride-wealth, which is more clearly understood when we consider that children of a dissolved marriage, provided the bride-wealth is not claimed back, will belong to the father as long as he is alive, and not to the mother. The mother and her family obtain no right to the children until their father has died. It is further stated by some Tuareg that a child of a dissolved marriage from which bride-wealth is taken back will have no right to inherit its father. Bride-wealth is a symbolic expression of the new bonds established between two families at a marriage, and it places children of this marriage in the father's family until his death, and secures their inheritance rights in respect of the father and his paternal kin. All this seems to agree with the fact that the Northern Tuareg vassals, who give bride-wealth in goats, do not always hand over all animals at a marriage. The full payment may be postponed for some years, but should be accomplished before the birth of a child.

T [171] The explanation I have given of the functional position of Tuareg bride-wealth would seem to be in agreement with Radcliffe-Brown's account of the functional position of the *lobola* payments of South Africa. Radcliffe-Brown says that one of the chief functions of *lobola* is to fix the social position of the children of a marriage. If the proper payment is made by a family, then the children of the woman who comes to them in exchange for the cattle belong to that family (Radcliffe-Brown 1952, p. 30). This is also stated by Krige (cf. Krige 1937, p. 113).

M 582 The functional position of Tuareg bride-wealth should perhaps also be viewed in the light of recent investigations on the function of bride-wealth in Middle Eastern societies, where preferential marriage is that to a father's brother's daughter. This preferential marriage type has been explained in different ways by different authors. Westermarck says that marriages with a father's brother's daughter are popular because they keep the property in the family, and especially popular in shereefian families, because they preserve the blood pure (Westermarck 1914, p. 53). The argument that marriage with a father's brother's daughter keeps property within the family has been recognized also by Granquist (cf. Granquist 1931, p. 78), and by many other anthropologists. But this argument is valid only when Koranic law is observed, which is not always the case (F. Barth 1954, p. 170; cf. Murphy & Kasdan 1959, p. 17).

Wellhausen observed that marriage with a paternal cousin served the purpose of strengthening the kinship tie within the family, and he believed that marriages contracted within a village had the function of solidifying relationships between its inmates (cf. Westermarck 1914, p. 56). Quite recently this viewpoint has been taken up and reformulated by F. Barth who states that marriage with a father's brother's daughter plays a prominent rôle in solidifying the minimal lineage as a corporate group in factional struggle (F. Barth 1954, p. 171), while Murphy and Kasdan, who refer to Barth's study

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M 582 583 [114] p. 168 ff.). I do not want to judge this theory as I have little personal knowledge of the North African Arabs who practise marriage with a paternal cousin. However, the argument that one of the chief functions of the bride-wealth is the confirmation of the social position of the children of a marriage, seems also valid for bride-wealth customs among people who practise preferential paternal cousin marriage, for it is clear that should a man marry a father's brother's daughter she will not have to change her social group after marriage. Furthermore, the fathers of the groom and the bride are brothers who among North African Arabs may own livestock and other types of property in common.

T 582 604 613 Tuareg cross-cousin marriage is symetrical, but the very best cross-cousin to marry is the true mother's brother's daughter. This would seem to agree with the very close relationship between a man and his mother's brother of the same matrilineage. A man has succession rights after his mother's brother, and many Tuareg say that the relationship between sister's son and mother's brother is as close as that between father and son. A man should do his outmost to defend his mother's brother, and it is very likely that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter has as its chief function the reinforcement of the matrilineage. It can here be added that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter will not easily lead to quarrels between the families of the married couple, because the fathers of the groom and the bride are cross-cousins and/or brothers-in-law, and consequently there is an institutional joking relationship between them.

We should perhaps explain Tuareg marriage with a mother's brother's daughter in the light of its importance for the reinforcement and maintenance of the matrilineage which has important social functions in Tuareg society. However, this marriage type does not exempt the groom or his family from paying bride-wealth.

T [171] It is interesting to note that among the South African Bantu, who give bride-wealth (*lobola*) at a marriage, the groom is expected to assist his parents-in-law whenever they need his help (Krige 1937, T 606 p. 113). This is also so among the Tuareg who claim that parents-in-law and sons-in-law should always support each other even if they be in-laws of dissolved marriages from which bride-wealth has not been claimed back. Indeed, some Tuareg consider it a very good thing to have contracted several marriages and thus to have obtained many in-laws who are expected to assist their son-in-law when he needs their help.

T 582 583 Finally, I add the statement of some Ahaggar Tuareg that bride-wealth payment is often considered less essential where a man has married a maternal cousin or her daughter because in that event husband and wife are maternal relatives who, in case maternal cousin marriage is practised within their families, may be closely related also in the paternal line.

T 585 [793] Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the marriage is ratified by representatives of the groom and the bride before an *Aneslem*, that is to say a marabut. This may take place on the first day of the wedding ceremony, but it may as well be done days, weeks, or even months before the wedding takes place. The parents of the groom and the bride may have the marriage ratified even though their children do not want to be married. The wedding ceremonies in Ahaggar and Ayr differ slightly, but they are no doubt functionally identical.

In Ahaggar the marriage ceremony is briefly as follows:—

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



585 young people of both sexes begin to drum and sing at a short distance from the wedding tent. They do that not only to amuse themselves but also to pay homage to the couple to be married. They continue to sing and drum until shortly before sunrise, when everybody leaves the place. Shortly afterwards the groom and the bride leave the wedding tent to walk back to their individual tents situated in opposite directions of the wedding place.

(5) In the morning at about ten or eleven o'clock the wedding tent is taken down to be erected again in a normal way at a short distance from the first place it was pitched. Care is taken that the sand-hill is left untouched; it is never touched by anybody and in time is obliterated by the wind. When the wedding tent is re-erected it is put up correctly like a normal tent with the sheet attached to twelve poles around the structure, and is provided with mats which are drawn around the lower part of the tent. However, the interior arrangement differs from that of a normal tent in that a long and very flat sand-hill known as *tuf-adebel* is made; it is very low in comparison with the first sand-hill known as *adebel*. This low sand-hill serves as the sitting place for the married couple, and is covered with coloured blankets.

(6) The veiled groom comes to the tent in the morning just before midday. He is accompanied by young men, but he is not now led by them, but walks in front of the procession. He enters the tent and sits down upon the low sand-hill. Friends and relations gather around him in the tent, but he avoids talking to them, or, if he does, then only in a low voice.

(7) In the afternoon the wedding guests arrange the ceremonial camel ride (*ilugan*) in front of the wedding tent so that the ride can be seen by the groom.

(8) Before the ceremonial ride ends at darkness, the veiled bride is led to the tent where she is placed by the side of the groom on the low sand-hill.

(9) The wedding guests sing, drum, and dance the whole night in front of the wedding tent.

(10) The guests leave the wedding place the next morning to return to their camps. If they have no avoidance relationships with the married couple, they will go to the wedding tent to say good-bye before they leave. The wedding feast is now over.

(11) The newly-married couple remain in the tent for seven days in all, during which period they leave the tent only to releave nature and preferably after darkness.

591 (12) When the seven days' stay is over the bride remains in her father's camp for about one year, and traditionally her husband should stay with her for that period. However, he will usually stay only part of this period in his wife's camp, returning frequently to the camp of his father. If the husband stays in the wife's father's camp for a year he has no obligations towards the members of the [583] camp. There is no bride service.

585 Among the Ayr Tuareg a wedding is known as *eduben*, or as *eben*, and these terms are identical with those used in Ahaggar. From the latter term we see that the tent plays an important part also in the wedding ceremony of the Ayr Tuareg, but there are ceremonial distinctions as will be seen from the following description:—

(1) On the first wedding day relatives and friends arrive at the wedding place at the camp of the bride's family. The wedding tent is already erected. This is done in the normal way with the exception that the entrance is at the narrow end turning southwards, while a normal tent is always entered from

[Text continues on p. 474]

000 tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has
586 177 adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

184 One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between
614 his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation. It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live.

[174] In their case we are confronted at the present time by a matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman
562 ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights,
[178] her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the
[611] man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many
[554] Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in
[584] matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on
[421] choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes, and even has a greater freedom of mores.

174 It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy among the Tuareg.

847 under these circumstances, she usually goes to visit a relative and tries to hide her pregnancy. No one is taken in, but nobody says [756] anything. She goes to see a marabout who, for a rather high price, makes a few mysterious signs before the sinner, writes a few words in Arabic on a small board, washes the writing, and gathers the water in a gourd for the woman to drink. In case these practices are successful (?), a second sum identical to the first one is paid. [278] If not, the woman tries several mixtures, generally with a base of adjerdjir (Cassia abavata), and in case the results are still negative, the baby is simply strangled when it comes into the world. Although these mores are still more or less in force, they seem some- [797] what reduced by Islamization, and unnatural mothers are some- 848 times punished severely.

174 The ahal seems to have existed in ancient North African Libyan tribes. Herodotus mentioned the community of women among the Nasamonians, and the ahal is, in fact, only a derived and evolved form of it, if one could call it evolved.

582 Marriage. -- With the existence of such easy mores, it is understandable that young men and women do not care to marry early. Women rarely marry before the age of twenty, and men, before thirty.

584 Although the girl is free with her body, as we have seen, she still needs her father's authorization to marry. On the other hand, [593] however, it is rare for a husband to be imposed on her or for her to be married before puberty, as is the custom among the Arabs.

/291/ Mates are chosen in the lovers' meetings which form a sort of trial marriage. The suitor must ask the young girl's father through one of his parents or through a religious person if there is one in the region.

[184] Among the Ihaggaren everyone is informed of the suit, but in Aïr this is not the case; there the mother and the family of the girl are informed only when everything is arranged. If the [587] woman has already been married, her father's permission is no longer necessary.

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be
[584 is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and
565] less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats, or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her
[562] property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses
[421] fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or decreases.

584 As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times
[184] a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents, where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company. During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women,
[533] among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of "aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to
[174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

326 ward and then westward, across the North
[171] African hinterland to the shores of the Atlantic. The general description of this pattern, given above in chapter V under the sub-heading *Special Classes and Minority Groups* in the section on *Agricultural Centers*, leaves little more to add.

326 Smiths of the Ahaggar usually live in single
463 family units or small groups widely separated from each other (fig. 50). A few families follow Tuareg groups on their seasonal rounds, but the great majority remain sedentary most of the time in one agricultural center or another, and go out only now and then for a few weeks or months, to do a general repair and re-equipment job in the camps of some nomadic tribe or clan. The men work wood
[759] and metals and are also barber-surgeons, while the women specialize in fancy leatherwork and embroidery. In addition to these functions
[584] and those previously mentioned, both sexes of the smith community act as both go-betweens and spies in clandestine love affairs. They also engage in intertribal secret intelligence work. And a major Tuareg chief may sometimes have a smith as his most trusted counsellor and confidant.

326 The smiths usually dress as do the poorer
[291] Tuareg. The men all wear the teguelmoust but in a sloppy fashion, and they seem to have no qualms about exposing their mouths.
[582] They are endogamous and monogamous as a general rule, although a few have more than one wife and some of them marry Haratin or occasionally slaves. Ostensibly because of their lowly social status, but probably in fact more because of the fear of sorcery that they inspire, they come and go everywhere as they please, although always with a cringingly ingratiating manner. Even after one has come to know them fairly well they still give an impression of constant watchfulness and profoundly sycophantic tact of the delicately oiled as opposed to the heavily greased variety. The smiths are the most perspicacious and cleverly adaptable of all Saharan peoples, for they have learned to live off and so outlive flamboyant warriors with their retinues and

[217] the author was so fortunate as to obtain a copy of the genealogical table in question, thanks to the very kind co-operation of Captain Roger Bret, Commandant of the *Annexe du Hoggar*, and Claude Blanguernon, Director of Nomad Schools.

As to the girl, a celebration is held as soon as she reaches 881
the age of puberty, that is to say, at the start of her menses,
in Tamashek /6/ "ba-n-amoud" ⵎⵏ ⵍ ⵎⵓⴷ (literally,
"cutting of prayer," since during her indisposition the woman [841]
is in a state of impurity and cannot pray). The young girl is [291]
dressed in her prettiest clothes, and on her head is placed a
black veil, "ikerhi" ⵉⴽⵔⵃⵉ , which falls on either side of
her face without hiding it. She also never leaves it off.

If her parents are well-to-do, she will learn to play the 883
amz'ad ⴰⵎⵣⴰⴷ , an instrument which has an important [556]
place in Tuareg life. It is a kind of violin with a single string 534
whose box is made of a large "kabouia," or a dried and
scooped-out gourd, covered with a stretched hide and pierced
with two holes, which is provided with a handle. The string
is made of horsehair, "az'iou" ⴰⵣⵉⵡ , as are the strings
of the bow, "tadjethé" ⵜⴰⴷⵊⵉⵜⵜⴰ , made of a stick bent into
an arc.

It is chiefly an instrument to accompany singing. The [533]
woman slides her fingers over the string without pressing,
while working the bow; she prolongs the final phrases, which
are drawn out.

If a young girl knows how to play, she may shine at the [832]
musical gatherings, where she will be courted.

## Chapter IV

## Musical Gatherings

A young man and a young girl often go to meet together, 533
and this occurs especially in those gatherings which, to be 584
accurate, we will if you permit call "musical gatherings," and 832
which the Tuareg call "ahal" ⵄⵃⵍ , plural "ihallen" /ⵉⵃⵍⵍⵏ.

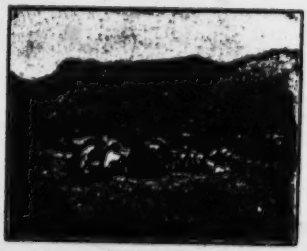
/7/

4: Benhazera--5 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The ahal takes place very often. All that is needed is for 533
a group of men and women to be gathered together in a camp. 584
Often a man comes from a considerable distance to court the 832
girl of his choice. When the year is good, that is to say, when [361]
the rains have brought the pastures to life and the camels are
giving much milk, several camps are set up close to each other,
and the ahal begins right after sunset.

The men of the camps gather with those who have come
especially because some woman attracts them. The women
bring their "imz'aden" violins. All those attend the ahal who [602]
are not afraid to be in the presence of one of their relatives
to whom they owe respect, such as a father, uncle, older
brother, etc. Young girls, married women, divorcées or widows,
all attend the ahal.

[361]



Dautheville

Tuareg Troup at Amr'a (Black Tifedest)

Gallantry, "asri" ⵄⵔⵉ , is required, and jealousy [577]
strictly prohibited. Besides, this latter feeling is unknown [626]
among the Tuareg, and if one of them should think of showing it, he would be booed and everyone would make fun of him.

When a Tuareg arrives at the ahal near a woman whom he wishes to court, he approaches her with his veil carefully lowered and does not greet her with the usual "essalamou r'

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[576]

laïkoum" (May the greeting be on you!). Silently he holds his hand out to the woman in the Tuareg manner (that is to say, holding his hand /8/ out open flat and sliding it over the open hand of the woman), and he sits down, saying: "iselane" (What news?). If the woman answers: "elouane" (There is a lot), he begins to pay his court. The Tuareg are not very religious, and it sometimes happens that the woman asks such questions as: "Whom do you love more, God or me?"

The songs begin, and the imz'aden play the accompaniment. The men sing in snatches lines that they have composed on the charms of the ladies of their dreams, the feats that they have done, the raids in which they have taken part, or else satires on their enemies. The women extol courage. In general, a noble woman does not sing, but only plays the amz'ad.

There are three musical rhythms:

The "seyenine" rhythm, lively and quite fast, used among the Kel R'ela and the Taïtoq.

The "ahinena". rhythm, slow and drawn out like a chant, used especially among the Kel R'ela.

The "asaher'" rhythm, used among the Tuareg of the Azdjer /Azjer/ confederation.

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Then there are simple games. The women elect a "sultana," or queen; the men a "sultan," or king, who will inflict the punishments incurred and will set the fines to be paid. It is a context of wits. A man must be able to answer the questions asked. If, for example, to this question: "Whom do you like better, this one or that one?," he answers: "I prefer this one," he would be booed, would incur a punishment or pay a fine, and the woman who is preferred would be ridiculed by her companions, for one must not show preference openly but must answer, "I like them both."

Another kind of question: "What would you do if you found yourself in the following situation: /9/

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[539]

"Tamott tekness
"Ehere iouof
"Tathett ter'tess
"Tir'irt touoss"

which means:

The woman who argues.
Flocks that scatter.
The she-ass that breaks her tether.
The pot that tips over.

In a joking way, to be a real wit, the man could answer: "If I should find myself in this situation, I would first gather the flock, I would re-tether the ass, I would put the pot back on the fire, and only then would I pay attention to the woman, " and there would be a chorus of indignant protests.

The woman makes it a point of honor to have as many admirers as possible. This is a proof that she is pretty and will not have trouble in getting married. 584 832

The ahal, begun after sunset, lasts quite late into the night, and the pale light that is shed by the stars allows shamelessness to have free rein. Although the married women joke and take part in the games, they behave themselves comparatively well. The others, however, may sit on the knees of their admirers. They kiss, but in a special way. Since the man must never uncover his mouth, he lowers his veil under his nose, and he piously smells the nose! of his loved one, who herself may kiss him. Even intimate handling (proh pudor! /oh, shame/) is allowed, which is never seen among the Arabs. 533 584 832

During these gatherings, when the amz'ad is played, it is listened to with great pleasure. This instrument has a way of exciting /10/ the Tuareg, who utter "Ouh! ouh!" as a sign of pleasure. They have even made a verb of it: isouhouh. [201]

But now is the time when the camels come from the pasture. They must be milked: that is the az'ouz'edj'ī'## (from ez'edj'ī'# , to milk). The women get up, and those present are given milk to drink. They will have to disperse. [272]

and gaiety, always on condition that the conversation does not take place in the presence of relatives to whom the Tuareg who is addressed owes respect. 521 562 602

The Tuareg woman intervenes effectively in quarrels between the men of her family and, in order to please her, reconciliation takes place. Thus it was thanks to Rakhma, sister of Moussa ag Amastane, that the latter became reconciled with his brother-in-law, Anaba ag Amellal. 562 [593 578]

In short, one may say that nothing is ever done or said among the Tuareg in which the influence of the woman is not found, always and everywhere, and this will be seen as the reading of this article continues. /14/

[291]

Dautheville
Tuareg Group in the Oued Ti-n-amadal Settafen (Tifedest).

## Chapter VI

## Proposal of Marriage

Proposal of marriage, "ibadrahen" ⵉⴱⴰⴷⵔⴰⵀⴻⵏ, is governed by a definite rule of procedure. 584

The suitor for a woman's hand sends marabouts, if there are any, to her parents, or tolbas, or, lacking these, influential people who state his request.

The proposal must be known to all the relatives of the woman without exception; they must all be notified and

their permission asked, even those who are far away. It would 584
be very bad to marry a young girl without the knowledge of one
of the members of her family.

Since a girl usually marries at twenty to twenty-five years, [582]
she is consulted. Even if she is a virgin and, as such, subject
to parental authority according to Moslem law, she is usually
not forced to marry against her will. If the case arises, she
has only to refuse herself to her husband, and he does not insist
but sends her back to her parents.

Just as among the Arabs, a woman who has already been [587]
married must give her consent.

## Chapter VII

## Marriage

Marriage, "adouben" 1□·V or "tedout" +:V+ 585
has some quite curious features.

The proposal of marriage has been accepted. The day
of the wedding has been set. If a quite influential noble is [554]
getting married, the wedding /15/ will have many guests.
If it is an "amr'id" (serf), the celebration will be much simpler
and more private, but the ceremonies and songs will be the
same.

The men guests, mounted on their best meharis, arrayed
in their most beautiful clothes and finest arms, arrive at the
bride's camp where the wedding is to take place. The women
go to the bride's home with their "imz'aden" (violins) and
their "tobol" (drums).

If the women are poor they go there by donkey; if they [492
are rich they arrive by mehari, in their saddles which are 556
shaped like sedan chairs and of which we will find a description 562]
below.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
692 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer.
643 The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
178 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
643 to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
Scale raiding.

526 /141 cont./ The young Tuareg dress very carefully, /142/ each showing great fastidiousness. The camel is decked out as richly as possible. Half of the riders line up about 50 meters from the tendi, and the other half at an equal distance on the other side of the tendi. The Tuareg ride from one line to the other in pairs; each Targui watches his bearing, holding himself straight but supple, makes his mount hold its head as high as possible and keeps it abreast of its neighbor, making it trot with the gait called senat-senat or kibarat.

Quitting this back-and-forth movement, a group of riders circles the tendi as close as possible to the women; one of the Tuareg seizes one of the singers' alechou and rides off furiously, whipping his mount. His friends chase him, trying to take the veil from him. The one who succeeds in recapturing it takes it back, as victor, to its owner. He is saluted with tarallélit (the you-you of the Moors). The ilougan lasts until nightfall.

[177] It must be noted that the tendi did not originate in the Ahaggar; it was imported from the Adrar des Iforas and from Tamesna.

• 584 A gathering native to the Ahaggar is the assihar. A great number of men and women gather around a famous woman imzad player. They listen to the violin, which begins the first measures of a familiar song, then a man or a woman begins to sing. Between songs conversations are held, and flirtations begin in the darkness, but within the strictest bounds of propriety.

When the assihar ends late at night, young men and women go off in small groups; this is the ahal. A woman escorted by two or three young men goes to sit by a bend in a wadi. Her companions speak to her aloud when the conversation is for all ears or very softly in the ear when there are confidences to make. One of them takes the young woman's hand and holds it in his; an old Targui said: "I once held the hand of the woman I desired for three straight nights, and for three days I did not eat."

584 /143/ There is a language of the hands which supplements the conversation of the ahal; here are several examples. Having taken the woman's hand with fingers interlocked, to place one's thumb against the end of her thumb means: "I desire you very much." To trace a circle in the palm of the hand, pressing the index finger in the center of the circle, is to ask for an intimate union. The woman thus solicited takes the hand of her suitor and traces a line with the back of her index finger going from the wrist toward the fingers, which means: "I refuse." But if having done this, she traces another one in the other direction, it means: "Leave with your friends and come back alone."

584 833 Once alone with his girl friend, the young Targui will continue to pay his court, sometimes platonic, often less so. Putting their faces together, nostril against nostril, they breathe together. This type of kiss is known for the mouth too but is little practiced. Manual caresses follow the kisses. The men often stop at this stage with virgins, for they know how to "recognize a virgin by her walk, her bearing, the firmness of her breasts, and the reflex of her Achilles tendon!" The Tuareg know other caresses which satisfy the senses but respect physical virginity.

838 It must be noted that homosexuality, male or female, is unknown among the Tuareg.

839 It is said that bestiality, although very rare, does exist; but supposedly it is practiced as a remedy for venereal diseases.

These sexual customs make it possible to understand the stability of the Tuareg, who, although Moslems, do not suffer from suppressed desires. Rape does not exist, and when a woman refuses a man, he never insists, nor will he show himself jealous of a more successful comrade. Let us add that they are absolutely discreet about their relations with women. It is in these manifestations of the intimate life that one sees the prestige enjoyed by the Tuareg woman.

584 /143 cont./ The day comes, rather late, toward the age of 25 generally, when the Targui thinks of getting married. He gets a member of his family to make the proposal. The messenger says to the /144/ father of the girl: "I would like a tent and an asaber." The father understands that his daughter is being asked in marriage by means of this metaphor. "Tidjera-ouet," he replies, to give his consent. Then begins the discussion of the bride price the suitor must give to the fiancée and of the amount of the gifts to the family. There is a scale of bride prices to be paid to the women, which vary according to the tribes they belong to.

To take a Kel Rela girl, seven female camels must be given to the young bride; a Dag Rali must receive three female camels; the other imrad get only one. The husband must furnish the tent. On the day of the marriage, a taleb /scribe/ or, in the absence of a taleb, the chief of the tribe records the husband's gifts, which are not necessarily made but which he recognizes as being owed.

585 Everything being in order, the marriage and the date of the ceremony are announced. An enormous meal, for which a camel and numerous goats have been slaughtered, is served to the guests. Tendi and ilougan continue without interruption.

At the spot where the young couple's tent will be put up, a large pile of sand is prepared. A woman of the bride's family sits on it, holding a club in her hands, then, lowering her head, rests her forehead on her joined hands. Two men take the half-rolled tent and throw it over the seated woman three times.

During the whole day, the bride-to-be stays in her parents' tent; the bridegroom talks to the old men of the camp and does not participate in the public merrymaking.

The tent of the future couple having been erected, the young man will spend a night in it alone, seated on the pile of sand, without sleeping; this tradition is particularly respected among the Kel Rela. The second night the girl will become

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



233 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for
583 brothers and sisters-in-law.
601

The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman
233 permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a
436 woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to
593 her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children
431 to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery
584 is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However,
684 these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*.
643 For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the
683 payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at
233 a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred
436 camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels
682 to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *tilgad*, or *chét awétay* | (one year old) | 10 | *tibeyuleğin* | (white) |
| 10 | *tilusin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *titlarin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *tekkenifadden* | (3 years old) | 10 | *tizeggerin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiruyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *tibhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chét ezzin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *tilemlarin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chét okkoz* | (6 years old) | 10 | *tizerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *timezzedas* | (7 years old) | 10 | *timenğelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chét tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 | *tikewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tirəggamin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *tizerrafin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *thrinarin* | (white cornea) |

233 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value,
822 and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours.
* 492 This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty
643 camels trained for riding.

233 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd
857 goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic
545 animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats
524 (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-
232 camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or
324 four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and
868 all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate
181 knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[Text continues on p. 104]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



602

(b) *Obligations of the bride's family*:—

The bride's family has to provide her with everything necessary for domestic life:— 583

1 mat tent (*ẽhen*) (cf. p. 350 ff., Figs. 265a–f).
1 bed (*téddabat*) (Fig. 212a).
2–3 bed mats (*isebran*) (Fig. 212b).
Further: skin-bags, eating bowls, spoons, cooking pots, etc. A certain number of domestic animals should also be included in the dowry of a bride.

It is clear that both in Ahaggar and in Ayr a marriage is connected with great expenses both for the 581
groom's and the bride's families. In view of this it may seem important that cross-cousin marriage 602
creates a fixed system of exchange between two families which have definite relations to one another.

When marriages are contracted the economic aspects are not considered most important by all 581
Tuareg. Some Tuareg will let their daughters marry less wealthy people if they are considered good men. But to many, and I believe most, Tuareg the economic aspect of marriage is important, and it is generally said that it is more difficult for poor people to obtain a spouse than it is for wealthy people. A poor girl cannot so easily find a husband as a wealthy one, and wealthy girls can be married even though they are not very good-looking.

Normally, a widow will not have much difficulty in getting married again even though she has one 587
or a few children, and the same holds good for a divorced woman. But it is most remarkable that, in Ahaggar, a widow cannot remarry if she has a half-grown son of 12–15 years old who is opposed to her marriage. If the boy is unwilling to let his widow mother marry, people will normally try to induce him to yield to his mother's wish by means of gifts. But if the boy refuses nothing more can be done, and the case cannot even be brought before the *Amenukal*. There may be several reasons for this particular custom, and the following two points should be noted:— (1) When the boy's mother remarries it may imply a shift of residence, as she will join her husband's camp and the boy would live with his mother. (2) The boy's inheritance rights are reduced when his mother remarries. This is evident when we consider the rules of inheritance described above p. 137 f. If his mother does not remarry the boy is the sole inheritor of her whole fortune. If his mother marries again her new husband and his children with the boy's mother will have important inheritance rights to her fortune, while the boy will have no right to inherit from his stepfather.

Inheritance rights in connection with rules of residence are facts which are considered important 581
to most Tuareg when desirous of arranging marriages for their children. A woman cannot marry 584
without her parents' consent, and a man who wants to marry will have to ask his parents and a great many other relatives of ascending generations, including his elder brothers. However, what really matters is the word given by his father. If the father agrees to his son's marriage there will not generally be any further complications about its realization. If the father disagrees there will be no marriage, though in Ahaggar a grown man can bring his case before the *Amenukal* should his father not allow him to marry the woman he wants (cf. p. 400 f.).

First marriages are frequently arranged by the parents (the father) and are not necessarily contracted
with cross-cousins.

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be
[584 is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and
565] less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats,
or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid
all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the
parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her
593 property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses
[562] fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's
[421] fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or
decreases.

As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the
584 marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times
a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter
[184] custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

●585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and
the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers
and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents,
where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During
the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé
does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then
takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company.
During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage
festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass
back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women,
among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the
[533] tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the
Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of
"aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to
[174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where
the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

585 A new tent is prepared with all the accessories -- mats, cords,
342 tent stakes -- also new. Inside on the left side is built a little sand mound, oval in shape, on which the consummation is to take place. Afterward, when the camp is forced to move, this edifice is respected and stays in place for several months.

585 On the seventh day, the girl's father has the marriage confirmed by a marabout. Then, in the evening the fiancée, who
[533] has stayed hidden all day at the home of a relative, is led amidst a procession of women playing tambourines to the nuptial tent, where the young man has preceded her.

The next day the young people gather in the tent of the newlyweds, as they do during the days of festivity which follow the marriage. This meeting is called tigedelsatin.

591 The newlyweds live in the camp of the girl's parents for a year. This institution of "service time" /temps de service/ is
[171] mentioned on several occasions in the Old Testament and was practiced by the Hebrews. It means that the fiancé must live with his future family, or quite near it, for a temporary or permanent period of time. This custom results in temporarily restricting the
[593] husband's authority and assuring that they become acquainted and that the young wife is well treated.

587 If the bride has already been married, she leaves for her
591 husband's camp on the seventh day, mounted on a camel and accompanied by her friends and her servants.

585 In the first case, new festivities are held a year later. The
591 men and women belonging to the husband's camp go one evening to the bride's camp and simulate an armed abduction. The meharists who have stealthily approached then rush into the midst of the tents and utter war cries, answered by the cries of terror of the camp women. They surround the tent of the young wife and claim her as belonging henceforth to their family.

/293/ This is the occasion for new gastronomic flights, and
[492] the next evening the young woman, wrapped in a big white shawl,

585 accompanied by her women relatives mounted on asses, leaves,
591 followed by the men on camel back, for her new home. There she
[592] is received by the chief and the old women.

While the married couple take refuge in their tent, the company carouses and dances. The festivities begin at sunset and do not end until dawn the next day, when all those present are exhausted.

593 The young women is then a member of her new family, which
[574] she will leave only in case of divorce or the death of her husband. In the meantime, she does not have the right to go visit her parents, but they may come to her camp.

562 Tuareg women keep a great deal of independence in marriage.
593 It is hard to tell whether they are faithful wives or whether they take advantage of their husbands' often prolonged absences to mis-
837 behave. According to some (Duveyrier) their conduct is exemplary; according to others (de Foucauld, Vermale) they leave much to be desired, and the wives continue to practice the light mores learned at the ahal. "Their unique preoccupation, " says Dr. Vermale, "is love; having lovers is their only aim. " It is certain that former lovers from the lovers' meetings continue to come visit the married women and to praise their charms in the ahal. But it must be explained that the husbands do not show jealousy, which would be in the worst taste, and that this courting seems quite Platonic. It is very difficult to ask questions on this subject, for the Tuareg are careful of their wives' reputations and maintain that they are above reproach.

As for the men, their conduct is proper in their camps, although some do not hesitate to make use of their women slaves. But when they go on caravans and arrive in the centers far from their country, they give free rein to their passion which a long abstinence has made more impetuous.

684 Adultery (aker) of women is often punished by death. The man does justice himself without anyone thinking to reproach him, killing the guilty parties by his own hand.

The men leave, the women go back into the tents, but 832
the fortunate ones who have succeeded by means of assiduous 836
courtship to touch the heart of their love, will soon come back secretly or will go to the place which has been appointed for them. Let us draw a veil!...

One might wonder what can become of the virtue of 585
young girls with such customs. Almost always it has gone up 836
in the air. But a Tuareg will not pay attention to this detail when it is a matter of getting married. He knows with what to be content: he has often profited by it. It is all the same to him.

The ahal is one of the reasons for late marriages among the 582
Tuareg. Marriage requires expenditures upon which one does 836
not decide until one has been able to acquire a little means, and that is why it is not unusual among the Tuareg to see men marry at the age of forty. With all he finds to entertain him, the Tuareg does not feel the need to get married. This does not mean that many do not marry around twenty-five, but in general a man marries quite late.

Farther on, in the little collection of songs, will appear 000
the qualities which a man must have in order to succeed at the ahal, as well as the kind of songs which are sung there. /Not translated./ /11/

## Chapter V

## The Role of the Woman in Tuareg Society

At every step one sees the influence of the woman in 562
Tuareg society. In Tuareg history, the inheritance, the life, the thought, and the behavior, everywhere her influence is felt.

In the matter of history, it is from her that the Tuareg 173
says he is descended. Thus the nobles of the Ahaggar will tell 562

their permission asked, even those who are far away. It would 584
be very bad to marry a young girl without the knowledge of one
of the members of her family.

Since a girl usually marries at twenty to twenty-five years, [582]
she is consulted. Even if she is a virgin and, as such, subject
to parental authority according to Moslem law, she is usually
not forced to marry against her will. If the case arises, she
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Just as among the Arabs, a woman who has already been [587]
married must give her consent.

## Chapter VII

## Marriage

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The proposal of marriage has been accepted. The day
of the wedding has been set. If a quite influential noble is [554]
getting married, the wedding /15/ will have many guests.
If it is an "amr'id" (serf), the celebration will be much simpler
and more private, but the ceremonies and songs will be the
same.

The men guests, mounted on their best meharis, arrayed
in their most beautiful clothes and finest arms, arrive at the
bride's camp where the wedding is to take place. The women
go to the bride's home with their "imz'aden" (violins) and
their "tobol" (drums).

If the women are poor they go there by donkey; if they [492
are rich they arrive by mehari, in their saddles which are 556
shaped like sedan chairs and of which we will find a description 562]
below.

4: Benhazera--13 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The celebration begins about one o'clock in the afternoon. The men saddle their meharis and the camel-back games, "iloudjan foull imnas" ⵍⵓⴷⵊⴰⵏ ⴼⵓⵍⵍ ⵉⵎⵏⴰⵙ , will begin. The women gather, beat their tobol, sing and play the amz'ad to excite the riders. The latter, in groups of two or more, abandon themselves to a wild race on their meharis, which they throw into a gallop. 585 [541] [533]

During this time the bride, hidden at the home of her maternal aunt or a relative on the maternal side, must veil her eyes and not watch the games. If by mischance she should look at one of the riders, he would fall, and there would be an accident. [752]

As to the groom, he does not take part in the games. Mounted on a white mehari, "ebidedj" ⵉⴱⵉⴷⵊ , he is present beside one of his friends, but he must remain impassive, his face carefully veiled.

The games last until sunset.

At this point two "tolbas" and two friends of the groom go to find the bride's father, if she is still a virgin, or the woman herself if she has already been married, to ask him or her to name a representative. The groom is also asked to name his representative.

These two representatives meet with the tolbas and the friends, and the marriage is contracted. It is at this time that the bride price, /16/ "tagalt" ⵜⴰⴳⴰⵍⵜ , is set. For nobles it consists, as a rule, of seven camels; for imr'ad it may consist, depending on their means, of one camel or several sheep or goats. The groom pays part of the bride price; one or two camels if he is a noble; three or four sheep if he is an amr'id and if he is not rich; the rest he owes. The animals which have been paid have their throats cut and provide the wedding feast. Then the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran) is read to call divine blessing on the newlyweds. 583 585 [554] [782]

After the contract the women meet, the amz'ad is played for a moment, but the bed of the newlyweds must be prepared. 585

The women get up and make a sort of mattress of sand or earth, 585
which is called "adebel" ⵍⵍ ⵓⵎⵏ and which is covered with
a haïk. Over it will be set the skin tent on two wooden arches,
"idjedjan" ⵉⵏⵏⵉⵏ , and the usual pegs.

But at this point the men intervene and seize the tent
cover. Two on one side and two on the other, they throw it [777]
back and forth three times, calling "Saoula iaoulit (throw and
send back)." This brings good fortune.

Then the tent is finally set up. The men lead the groom
to the tent. He is made to go around it three times; then he [777]
enters, taking care to put his right foot in first, again because
this brings good fortune.

The groom is in the tent with his friends. The women 585
then accompany the bride while singing: 533
539

"Bismillaten ar essa .ⵓⵓⵙⵏⵜⵏⵍⵍⵓⵓⵓ
"Se iz'ar isem n yalla .ⵍⵍⵣⵙⵏⵓⵓⵙⵏⵜⵏ
"Foull ilik ner' as tedoua".ⵏⵏⵍⵍⵙⵏⵜⵏⵙⵏⵏⵏⵍⵍⵙⵍⵍⵍ

Men's chorus:

Atelsimet ⵜⵍⵙⵉⵎⵉⵜ You will be clothed. 565 533 539

Women's chorus:

Nerdjih ⵏⵔⵜⵊⵉⵀ We are afoot.

Men's chorus

Atar'ermet ⵜⵄⵔⵎⵉⵜ You will be mounted.

Then the bride and the women, addressing the groom, sing these two lines:

Outterir' inelli n isakan ⵓⵜⵜⵔⵉⵔ ⵉⵏⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⵉⵙⴰⴽⴰⵏ

Essoufeq inelli n foudan ⵉⵙⵙⵓⴼⴽ ⵉⵏⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⴼⵓⴷⴰⵏ

"I do not want any bechna (carried by) young camels.

"I prefer bechna (carried by) strong and solid camels, " meaning by this that she expects of her husband the deeds of a strong, brave man and not the behavior of a child. /18/

Then the bride enters the tent, and the guests withdraw 585 and go to feast.

For seven days the groom's food is provided by the bride's relatives. During this time the newlyweds do not leave their tent, but people go there to entertain and visit them.

Custom decrees that the newly weds live beside the wife's 591 parents for a year in order to give her time to get used to separation from them, which they call "az'alat" ⴰⵣⵍⵍⴰⵜ (from the verb "ez'li" ⴰⵣⵍⵍⵉ , to separate).

Monogamy is the absolute rule. 595

We have said that the ahal is one of the reasons for late 582 marriages. Another reason lies in the fact that many Tuareg 595 are satisfied with Negro concubines.

## Chapter VIII

## Divorce

Divorce, in Tamashek "tellef" ⵜⵍⵍⵉⴼ or "oulouf" 586 ⵓⵍⵍⵓⴼ (from the verb "ellef" ⵍⵍⵉⴼ , to divorce).

584 /143 cont./ The day comes, rather late, toward the age of 25 generally, when the Targui thinks of getting married. He gets a member of his family to make the proposal. The messenger says to the /144/ father of the girl: "I would like a tent and an asaber." The father understands that his daughter is being asked in marriage by means of this metaphor. "Tidjera-ouet," he replies, to give his consent. Then begins the discussion of the bride price the suitor must give to the fiancée and of the amount of the gifts to the family. There is a scale of bride prices to be paid to the women, which vary according to the tribes they belong to.

To take a Kel Rela girl, seven female camels must be given to the young bride; a Dag Rali must receive three female camels; the other imrad get only one. The husband must furnish the tent. On the day of the marriage, a taleb /scribe/ or, in the absence of a taleb, the chief of the tribe records the husband's gifts, which are not necessarily made but which he recognizes as being owed.

585 Everything being in order, the marriage and the date of the ceremony are announced. An enormous meal, for which a camel and numerous goats have been slaughtered, is served to the guests. Tendi and ilougan continue without interruption.

At the spot where the young couple's tent will be put up, a large pile of sand is prepared. A woman of the bride's family sits on it, holding a club in her hands, then, lowering her head, rests her forehead on her joined hands. Two men take the half-rolled tent and throw it over the seated woman three times.

During the whole day, the bride-to-be stays in her parents' tent; the bridegroom talks to the old men of the camp and does not participate in the public merrymaking.

The tent of the future couple having been erected, the young man will spend a night in it alone, seated on the pile of sand, without sleeping; this tradition is particularly respected among the Kel Rela. The second night the girl will become

585 /144 cont./ his wife. Formerly there was a custom now lost: the pile of sand was kept in the tent for three nights, and the two spouses slept separated by the pile, custom saying: "The first night, this woman is your sister; the second, she is your mother; the third, she is your mother-in-law; the fourth, she becomes your wife." And the pile of sand was removed.

/145/ Before entering the nuptial tent, the husband must walk around it three times, and the young woman must do the same. She is led to her husband's tent by a group of women from her family. Along the path leading to the tent, the Tuareg women sing traditional refrains:

"Thanks to God, my daughter leaves me this night."
The mother-in-law greets her son-in-law, saying to him: "Offer beautiful things to my daughter so that the shadow that will protect her will be cast by silk. Of the ten camels of her bride price, one has a white head; have her mount the gentlest one, and all her family will gaze on her."

Upon approaching the young couple's tent, the train of women comes to the gathering of men who are talking to the husband. The women then sing: "Thanks to God, and thanks to him before he was even named." The girl's mother greets her son-in-law. "Men, let us pass, stand aside, or else we shall push you and you will fall down, for we possess the greatest force that can be imagined."

The men having withdrawn a little, the young woman gets ready to pass over the threshold of her tent; one of her relatives appears suddenly, takouba /sword/ in hand, and announces: "You will not go in that tent." The young woman must then give her naïls /sandals/ to the interrupter in order to finally acquire the right to be a wife.

Up until about midnight numerous friends stay to talk to the young married couple.

[591] The new husband must remain in his wife's camp a rather long time before he is able to move his tent at will or to take his wife to his parents' camp.

585 /145 cont./ Some tribes, in particular the Issakamaren, having adopted many Arab customs, observe the following custom on the day after the marriage: the husband who has not found his wife to be a virgin during the meal breaks the bone of a leg of meat, eats the marrow, blows through the inside, then sticks the two broken pieces in the couscous. In this way everyone knows the affront he has suffered. Later in life, when his wife becomes disagreeable, he will put his fist before his mouth and blow between the fingers, imitating his gesture of the first day. The woman, ashamed, will stop her recriminations. Following another custom less and less /146/ in use, the woman who has found her husband lacking in virility during the wedding night will crown him with her alechou /shawl/, thus showing to the world the impotence of her husband by considering him to be like a woman.

593 562 The woman holds a privileged position in Tuareg society. It is customary to say that the reason for this must lie in the matriarchal organization of the tribes.

Among the Tuareg today matriarchy survives only in a very attenuated form due to the presence of Islam. It must be noted that the woman is absolute mistress in the tent; she gives the orders to the children and the Negroes, and she organizes the daily life; but outside the tent the man commands; he decides on the camp moves, the departures of the caravans, the commercial transactions. The woman's opinion is always [611] taken into consideration; she is guardian of the traditions, and, if she does not possess what we may call civil rights, it is she who transmits them: a Targui will be a noble if his mother is a noble. The right of eligibility to the amenokalat /chiefship of the confederation of tribes/ is given by the women who are directly descended in the maternal line from the ancestor Kella. This transmission of rights by the women constitutes the originality of Tuareg society.

837 Powerful in her home, lived by her husband, respected, the young wife has every chance to be happy. It is rare that

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *ejaqay* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Iewdika*.

Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among nomads are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below:

Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will presents him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

In a ceremonial ride termed *ilugan* (*ilugan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 82b. Cf. text Fig. 82a.

qualities as strength and speed, but rather on elegance and sublimity. The riders sit straight in the saddles without watching the crowd of women, and the camels are ridden at a gentle trot (generally that known as *senat-senat*; cf. p. 99) with their heads drawn back. In this way the men may also ride their animals round the women in a circle as I have seen in Ayr (cf. Fig. 82).

Camels have important social functions among the Tuareg who take an interest in these animals far beyond their practical value. It may perhaps be useful to compare Tuareg interest in camels with Nuer interest in cattle so brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard. Nuer caress their animals, and there is a tendency for human beings and cattle to form, so to speak, a single community (Evans-Pritchard 1940, p. 16–50). This is not exactly true of Tuareg and camels. The Tuareg do not pat their camels which will not respond to caressing, and they do not live in very close contact with their animals, most of which frequently graze far away from the camp under the supervision of one or two herdsmen. But the Tuareg nevertheless have much the same feeling towards camels as Nuer have towards their cattle. They are very fond of their animals. They may abstain from camel's flesh because they are fond of camels and would feel very sick at heart when eating them. But though the Tuareg are fond of camels as such, they are delighted particularly at the sight of a very fine camel (*akemhur*; Ahaggar) and may even speak disparagingly of a badly built animal (*amugey*; Ahaggar). Fine camels add to the prestige of a man, while too many animals of poor build may even harm his reputation. When girls and young women praise camel-riders in their songs they praise those mounted on fine and richly-decorated animals. When camels are mentioned in poetry this may also be done as praise to their owners, as in a poem composed in honour of noble Tuareg of the *Uraren* (*Kel Aïjer*) of whom it is said that "their pack-camels have feet as large as a drum, and the loads they carry are like the crests of mountains" (Hanoteau 1896, p. 218). Such reference to pack-camels, however, seems to be rare in Tuareg poetry, while riding camels are frequently mentioned in connection with warfare and love. Riding camels have much the same esteemed position as had horses in Medieval Europe. Tuareg interest in camels is particularly focused on riding camels and there is a tendency towards identification

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Tent skins derive from domestic animals or from game animals. In older literature one can find a reference to Tuareg tents made of a sheet of camel skin (cf. Denham & Clapperton 1826, p. L). However, we have already seen that the Tuareg do not tan camel hides and they are not used for tent sheets. The Northern Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, zebu-calves, barbary sheep, antelope, and gazelle. Goat skin is most commonly used, skin of barbary sheep is considered the very best type of tent skin, while gazelle skin is rarely employed as it is very thin. According to Lhote, the *Kel Adrar* Tuareg generally use the skin of barbary sheep (Lhote 1947a, p. 108). The Ayr Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, and zebus. It is most possible that some Tuareg also use skin of game animals, but most Ayr Tuareg engage very little in hunting, though barbary sheep are very common in certain parts of the Massif. In the southern plains of the *Iwllemmeden* there are no barbary sheep. According to Nicolas, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* use for their tents the skin of sheep, goats, gazelle, and sometimes even the skin of ostriches, but they do not use zebu skin which becomes very hard and shrinks when heavily moistened during the rainy season (Nicolas 1938, p. 54 & 1950a, p. 155). The *Iwllemmeden* and their *Bélla* of the Ayoru region use the skin of goats and sheep for tent-sheets.

Tent skins are prepared in the same way as skins used for transportation bags, dress articles, and the like. They are depilated and tanned according to the methods described on p. 275 ff. After tanning they are treated with butter, and are thereupon soaked to be rubbed and coloured with red ochre, these treatments making the skins impervious to water. A tent sheet is always made of several pieces of skin which are sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl known as *tistent* (Ahaggar), or *éstan* (Ayr). The edges where the skins have to be sewn are made even with a knife, while the outer edges of the sheet are left largely unfashioned so that the circumference of the sheet is of very irregular shape with protruding patches of leg or neck skin. These patches of skin frequently serve for the attachment of the cords by means of which the sheet is suspended. When two pieces of skin are sewn together a narrow leather strip is inserted between their edges before sewing. Loose ends of leather thread hang down from the inner side of the sheet to serve as a kind of decoration, and in Ahaggar the tents are also frequently ornamented with hanging patches of leather with a carved decoration (cf. Fig. 182). On the whole the Tuareg of Ahaggar take a great interest in their tents. They like to have richly-decorated dwellings, and when a tent is made for a newly-married couple, the women do their outmost to make the sheet very beautiful. These aestethic feelings seem to be unknown in regard to other types of dwelling used among the Tuareg, including the mat tent, and I think that they are responsible for some Tuareg using skin tents even when other dwelling types would be more suitable. I believe this to be true, the more so as the skin tent among the Northern Tuareg plays a great part in the wedding ceremony, which is called *ðhen*, that is "a tent".

It is evident that the number of skins to be used for a sheet greatly varies; if a sheet is made from goat skins it may be estimated that a tent of normal size in Ahaggar comprises about 35–40 skins, but very large tents with sheets of 60–80 skins are found among rich noble Tuareg and also in the *Dag Rali* tribe. A tent from Ahaggar now in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen has a sheet sewn together from a great many skin patches, and it measures 4.00 × 3.85 metres (N.M., no. G.1; cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 139). This is perhaps to be considered a normal size of skin tents among the Ahaggar Tuareg, though the sheet is generally somewhat more rectangular in

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



582 and the argument that cross-cousin marriage tends to prevent marital conflict is apparently a valid one. I return to his later, and now pass to the last argument that cross-cousin marriage possesses economic functions. To examine this point let us first consider the obligations of two families who intermarry.

## ECONOMIC OBLIGATIONS ON MARRIAGE IN AHAGGAR

602 (a) *Obligations of the groom and his family.*

583 (1) bride-wealth (*taggalt*) which varies according to the social class of the bride. For a noble woman and a woman of the *Ireḡenaten* tribe it is seven camels, while in most vassal tribes including the *Isekkemaren* bride-wealth comprises only one young camel (*alegges*). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe however two young camels constitute the traditional bride-price, while three camels are given at the marriage of a woman of the *Ibettenaten* tribe. In vassal tribes 25–30 goats can be given instead of one young camel. Bride-wealth is handed over to the bride's father, or, if the father is dead, normally to her elder brother. Bride-wealth animals belong to her father (or elder brother), but it is said that the offspring of bride-wealth animals should be given to the bride or to her children. On a man's first marriage bride-wealth animals are usually given by his father, but if he is divorced and wishes to remarry he will himself furnish the bride-wealth.

585 (2) a camel or a number of goats to be killed for wedding-food (*tardest*). In addition to what is given by the husband or his father, animals to be killed at a wedding may also be brought by visiting relatives.

(3) In noble tribes and among the *Ireḡenaten* the tent with its straw-mats are given by the husband and/or his relatives.

(4) Some time after marriage it is customary for the husband to give his wife a gift of animals according to his means – a few goats, one or two camels. This gift however remains in the husband's camp so that the animals serve the need of his household.

(5) It does not seem customary in Ahaggar for the groom to give his bride clothes and ornaments, though it is said that in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe the groom has to give his bride two silver bracelets known as *ihebḡan* (sing. *ahbeḡ*).

602 (b) *Obligations of the bride's family.*

583 To illustrate the obligations of the bride's family I list what is considered the proper outfit of the bride in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe as follows:—

1 skin tent (*éhakit*) with the necessary number of poles (cf. p. 364, Figs. 267 ff.).
2 tent mats (*iṣebran*, sing. *éseber*) plaited from the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) (cf. Figs. 267–269).
3 large decorated skin-bags (*iṛerḡan*, sing. *aṛreḡ*) used for storing personal belongings in the tent.
1 *ahaḡa*, a large container made of untanned camel-hide and used mainly for tanning (Fig. 213).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



583 drum-chief *Agg-Elkhir*'s son, *Khejji*, gave twenty camels for his wife. In certain tribes living around Agadez bride-wealth is nowadays also paid in cash. At a man's first marriage bride-wealth is paid by his father and is given to the bride's father who can dispose of the camels at his discretion. In the *Kel Ferwan* group all bride-wealth must be handed over to the bride's father before marriage takes place.

(2) *tisrar*, that is a gift to the bride and a gift of food to her parents who arrange the wedding-feast. These gifts are given by the husband or his parents and comprise the following:—

[291]

15 metres of cotton for two outer skirts (sing. *téri*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for one under-skirt (*tesegbes*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for a woman's shirt (*aftek*) (cf. p. 293, Fig. 239a).
3 *ilechchan* (sing. *alechchu*), indigo-dyed pieces of cotton which serve as the headcloth (*adalil*) of a married woman (cf. p. 14, 293).
1–2 pairs of *iṛatimen* (sing. *éṛatem*), sandals of the *takalmi*-type (cf. p. 298, Fig. 242b).

[292] The amount of food to be given for the entertainment of wedding guests varies, but in general is estimated at 100–200 kgs millet (*énélé*), 10–15 litres of butter (*wiji*), and 5 litres of Sudanese honey (*tariwat*), plus an ox.

The gifts of cotton and food should be brought to the bride's father before marriage with the bride-wealth. The bride should not see the bride-wealth animals, nor should she see the gift of cotton until it has been made into her wedding clothes.

585 (3) The groom and his family have no obligations towards the bride and her family other than those mentioned above, but the groom is expected to give certain gifts to his wife after marriage:—

One gift is known as *timigint*. Before the bride is led into the wedding tent where the groom awaits her (cf. p. 474), the women who lead the veiled bride will claim a promise of *timigint* for the bride. On behalf of the groom one of his friends will promise to give the bride a gift – perhaps a camel – though there is no rule for the size of this gift. When the promise is given the women lead the bride into the tent. It is said that the groom is never forced later to give the *timigint* gift promised.

Some time after marriage the groom is expected to give his wife certain silver ornaments, notably the following:—

[301]

*t'izabatin*, a pair of large ear-rings.
*ténélét*, a ring-formed pendant.
*zakkat*, the so-called Cross of Agadez, and the so-called Cross of Iferwan.
*tadnet* (perhaps not correctly spelled), a necklace.
*térewt* (pl. *téra*) *ta n tejekkot*, a silver ornament attached to the hair braid at the back of the head.

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M 582 583 [114] p. 168 ff.). I do not want to judge this theory as I have little personal knowledge of the North African Arabs who practise marriage with a paternal cousin. However, the argument that one of the chief functions of the bride-wealth is the confirmation of the social position of the children of a marriage, seems also valid for bride-wealth customs among people who practise preferential paternal cousin marriage, for it is clear that should a man marry a father's brother's daughter she will not have to change her social group after marriage. Furthermore, the fathers of the groom and the bride are brothers who among North African Arabs may own livestock and other types of property in common.

T 582 604 613 Tuareg cross-cousin marriage is symetrical, but the very best cross-cousin to marry is the true mother's brother's daughter. This would seem to agree with the very close relationship between a man and his mother's brother of the same matrilineage. A man has succession rights after his mother's brother, and many Tuareg say that the relationship between sister's son and mother's brother is as close as that between father and son. A man should do his outmost to defend his mother's brother, and it is very likely that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter has as its chief function the reinforcement of the matrilineage. It can here be added that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter will not easily lead to quarrels between the families of the married couple, because the fathers of the groom and the bride are cross-cousins and/or brothers-in-law, and consequently there is an institutional joking relationship between them.

We should perhaps explain Tuareg marriage with a mother's brother's daughter in the light of its importance for the reinforcement and maintenance of the matrilineage which has important social functions in Tuareg society. However, this marriage type does not exempt the groom or his family from paying bride-wealth.

T [171] It is interesting to note that among the South African Bantu, who give bride-wealth (*lobola*) at a marriage, the groom is expected to assist his parents-in-law whenever they need his help (Krige 1937, T 606 p. 113). This is also so among the Tuareg who claim that parents-in-law and sons-in-law should always support each other even if they be in-laws of dissolved marriages from which bride-wealth has not been claimed back. Indeed, some Tuareg consider it a very good thing to have contracted several marriages and thus to have obtained many in-laws who are expected to assist their son-in-law when he needs their help.

T 582 583 Finally, I add the statement of some Ahaggar Tuareg that bride-wealth payment is often considered less essential where a man has married a maternal cousin or her daughter because in that event husband and wife are maternal relatives who, in case maternal cousin marriage is practised within their families, may be closely related also in the paternal line.

T 585 [193] Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the marriage is ratified by representatives of the groom and the bride before an *Aneslem*, that is to say a marabut. This may take place on the first day of the wedding ceremony, but it may as well be done days, weeks, or even months before the wedding takes place. The parents of the groom and the bride may have the marriage ratified even though their children do not want to be married. The wedding ceremonies in Ahaggar and Ayr differ slightly, but they are no doubt functionally identical.

In Ahaggar the marriage ceremony is briefly as follows:—

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



(1) The wedding is held close to the camp of the bride's family. A flat sandy place is selected for the ceremony. Relatives and guests from other tribes arrive at this place on the first day of the wedding feast. They are greeted by members of the bride's family, and are offered tea and food. Early in the afternoon the ceremonial ride termed *ilugan* is performed (cf. p. 104 f.). After darkness the guests gather at the wedding place to drum and sing, to play the violin, and slaves and certain vassals dance to the accompaniment of women, who sing and clap their hands. The party will continue in this way until about midnight when all music and singing ceases. – The ceremonial camel ride and the musical gatherings here described are not attended by the bride or the groom. At this juncture they are separated from each other in tents hidden from the wedding place and pitched in opposite directions. They sit in particular tents and both have their faces closely veiled. The groom wears several veils wrapped around his head and face allowing only a very narrow slit for the eyes. The bride is still more closely veiled by a piece of cotton around her head.

(2) When the guests have stopped making music shortly before midnight, preparations are made for the first ceremonial meeting of the bride and the groom at the sandy wedding place. Digging with potsherds, wooden and metal containers, and with their hands the women make a little sand-hill about one metre high and just big enough for two people to sit upon it. When this sand-hill, known as *adebel*, is erected, the wedding tent is brought to the ceremonial place with loud cheers, shrills, and drumming. The sheet of skin is to be suspended over the sand-hill, but before this is done a woman lies down upon the ceremonial hill with a pole in each of her hands. The tops of these poles she presses firmly against each other. While the woman lies thus, two men take up position on each side of the hill with the recumbent woman. They now throw the tent skin between them three times over the sand-hill and the woman. When this is done the tent is erected over the sand-hill in a very imperfect way the sheet resting upon the two poles buried in the ground in the front and upon a shorter pole at the back. The lower part of the skin-sheet is kept to the ground by means of sand and stones. A blanket (*ahwar*) is finally placed over the sand-hill, and most people now leave the wedding tent to fetch the groom and the bride.

(3) Shortly after the erection of the wedding tent the groom leaves his camp in the company of a great many young men. They lead the closely-veiled groom towards the wedding tent, and walk slowly, singing certain Koranic passages. Arrived at the ceremonial place the procession with the groom walks three times around the tent, keeping to the right, and the groom is then led into the tent where he sits down upon the sand-hill. The men squat around the tent to await the arrival of the bride. They talk now and then to the groom who does not reply, or does so in a very low voice.

(4) The bride comes to the wedding tent about half an hour or an hour later than the groom. She is led by a procession of young women, and she walks in the middle of the procession which proceeds with extremely small steps, giving the impression that it hardly moves at all. The young women of the procession lead the bride towards the tent with singing, drumming, and loud cheers and shrills. When they have arrived at the tent they walk around it with the bride three times, keeping to the left, and then stop before the entrance. They claim a pair of sandals for one of the bride's cross-cousins (cf. p. 443, 459); when the sandals have been handed over they lead the bride into the tent where she is placed upon the sand-hill behind the groom. The bride and the groom are thereupon left to themselves, while

575 young people of both sexes begin to drum and sing at a short distance from the wedding tent. They do that not only to amuse themselves but also to pay homage to the couple to be married. They continue to sing and drum until shortly before sunrise, when everybody leaves the place. Shortly afterwards the groom and the bride leave the wedding tent to walk back to their individual tents situated in opposite directions of the wedding place.

(5) In the morning at about ten or eleven o'clock the wedding tent is taken down to be erected again in a normal way at a short distance from the first place it was pitched. Care is taken that the sand-hill is left untouched; it is never touched by anybody and in time is obliterated by the wind. When the wedding tent is re-erected it is put up correctly like a normal tent with the sheet attached to twelve poles around the structure, and is provided with mats which are drawn around the lower part of the tent. However, the interior arrangement differs from that of a normal tent in that a long and very flat sand-hill known as *tuf-adebel* is made; it is very low in comparison with the first sand-hill known as *adebel*. This low sand-hill serves as the sitting place for the married couple, and is covered with coloured blankets.

(6) The veiled groom comes to the tent in the morning just before midday. He is accompanied by young men, but he is not now led by them, but walks in front of the procession. He enters the tent and sits down upon the low sand-hill. Friends and relations gather around him in the tent, but he avoids talking to them, or, if he does, then only in a low voice.

(7) In the afternoon the wedding guests arrange the ceremonial camel ride (*ilugan*) in front of the wedding tent so that the ride can be seen by the groom.

(8) Before the ceremonial ride ends at darkness, the veiled bride is led to the tent where she is placed by the side of the groom on the low sand-hill.

(9) The wedding guests sing, drum, and dance the whole night in front of the wedding tent.

(10) The guests leave the wedding place the next morning to return to their camps. If they have no avoidance relationships with the married couple, they will go to the wedding tent to say good-bye before they leave. The wedding feast is now over.

(11) The newly-married couple remain in the tent for seven days in all, during which period they leave the tent only to releave nature and preferably after darkness.

591 (12) When the seven days' stay is over the bride remains in her father's camp for about one year, and traditionally her husband should stay with her for that period. However, he will usually stay only part of this period in his wife's camp, returning frequently to the camp of his father. If the husband stays in the wife's father's camp for a year he has no obligations towards the members of the [583] camp. There is no bride service.

585 Among the Ayr Tuareg a wedding is known as *éduben*, or as *éhen*, and these terms are identical with those used in Ahaggar. From the latter term we see that the tent plays an important part also in the wedding ceremony of the Ayr Tuareg, but there are ceremonial distinctions as will be seen from the following description:—

(1) On the first wedding day relatives and friends arrive at the wedding place at the camp of the bride's family. The wedding tent is already erected. This is done in the normal way with the exception that the entrance is at the narrow end turning southwards, while a normal tent is always entered from

[Text continues on p. 474]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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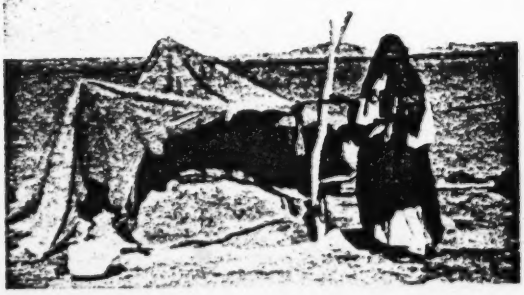

Fig. 297a–c. From a wedding ceremony.

a. A woman in front of the skin tent erected over the ceremonial sandhill (*adebel*) on which the couple to be married sit during the first wedding night.

b. The skin tent is removed from the ceremonial sandhill, which is left untouched.

c. The tent correctly erected with the married couple sitting upon the low sandhill (*ref-adebel*). The groom sits to the left of the central tent post, the bride to the right. Both groom and bride are veiled. Ahaggar, the *Ihryawen Hada* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



585 the broad side turning westwards. Inside the tent there is nothing beyond the large bed (*tédabut*) covered with mats and blankets.

(2) The wedding guests perform the ceremonial camel-ride (*ilugan*) in the afternoon and continue to sing, make music, and dance throughout the night.

[262] (3) The wedding feast continues the next day with the killing of an ox for the guests. On this day, early in the night (about nine o'clock), the groom comes to the wedding tent. He is closely veiled and walks in the middle of a large procession of men and some women. The procession walks slowly, the [533] women accompanying it shrilling and cheering. If the camp is situated close to Agadez the procession is led by professional musicians who on this occasion are on horseback. When the procession has arrived at the wedding tent the groom enters into it directly and without much formality, but does [564] so through the narrow end turning southwards. Some of his friends squat around him in the tent while a few blacksmiths drum and praise the groom in songs which also refer to the fact that the blacksmiths have arrived in order to transform the wedding into a great feast. When the groom has entered the tent most guests continue to dance and make music until about eleven o'clock, when the bride arrives.

(4) The bride is led towards the wedding tent by a procession of singing women who are not accompanied by musicians mounted on horses even if the camp is close to Agadez. The procession proceeds extremely slowly, and sometimes almost marks time. The women sing the praise of the veiled bride who walks in the middle of the procession behind a tall woman. The bride's hands are around the tall woman's waist, and she is hidden under a large piece of white cotton placed over the tall woman's shoulders and back. When the procession is close to the tent it is joined by many men and by the drumming blacksmiths who lead the procession to the wedding tent. Here the procession walks three times around the tent, stopping in front of the narrow entrance facing southwards. The women now claim the promise of a gift from the groom to his bride (cf. p. 462). When a gift has been promised the tall woman creeps into the tent with the bride clinging to her back. The bride is placed upon the bed together with the groom who is already sitting there, the mat at the southern end is drawn to and closed, and the bride and the groom are left alone. The wedding is now over, and the guests leave for their tents and camps.

(5) The bride and the groom now remain seven days in the tent. They leave it only to releave nature [591] and preferably after darkness. When this stay of seven days in the wedding tent is over, the newly-married couple immediately take up residence in the camp of the husband's father.

From the description of Tuareg wedding ceremonies above we see that they develop very slowly. This is particular so in Ahaggar, where the bride and the groom are brought together to be separated again before being finally united in the correctly erected tent. In Ayr the bride and the groom are brought together more directly, but do not meet until the second day of the wedding feast. They then have to enter the tent in an abnormal way – through the narrow southern end. The fact that the ceremony develops slowly and that the tent is not correctly erected are traits typical both of the Ahaggar and the Ayr Tuareg.

585 121 It is clear that the groom and the bride during the ceremony live so to speak outside the community. Tuareg wedding ceremonies are characteristic rites of passage and contain traits common to many

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by traditional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him *amṛar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidd*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



585 laws do not change to a very great extent. There will then already be a relationship of respect between
602 husband and wife, a respect relationship to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law which continues unchanged, and in Ayr the relationship to the mother-in-law does not switch from joking into avoidance. Tuareg wedding ceremonies correspond functionally with the traditional preferential marriage with
[584] cross-cousins. But the wedding ceremonies described are strictly followed at all Tuareg marriages except in the case of important marabuts, who dispense with most ceremonial traits, allowing no public gathering with camel-riding and music, and the groom and the bride enter the wedding tent without formalities.

5 Kinship systems, rules of kinship behaviour, the payment of bride-wealth, and wedding rites seem to be functionally adapted to cross-cousin marriage. All this seems to hold for the Tuareg of Ahaggar and also for those of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group in Ayr. However, we have also observed that there are certain differences in social organization in Ahaggar and Ayr. In both regions Koranic law is valid for inheritance. The rules of succession in Ayr have become predominantly patrilineal, but is matrilineal in Ahaggar. There is also little doubt that most *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg to-day follow patrilocal rules of residence. The Ayr Tuareg are predominantly patrilineal but have remnants of matri-
[587] lineal traits. I note in this connection that some Ayr Tuareg also claim that it is preferable to practise the levirate and the sororate in the way that a widow can marry her deceased husband's younger brother, a widower his deceased wife's younger sister. They hold that this is adopted from Islamic rules.

[601] In Ahaggar matrilineal rules still play a very great rôle as kinship terminology evinces for the term for "mother's brother" is used exclusively for people of the mother's family and mainly for such people of ascending generations who are matrilineally related to Ego – including very distant matrilineal kinsmen. We have also seen that tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and that matrilineal rules are valid for succession to territorial rights, for relations between noble Tuareg and vassals, and ultimately for residence.

105 Tuareg social organization has been submitted to change. Islamic influence has produced a pre-
177 dominantly patrilineal system among the Southern Tuareg, including the *Kel Geres* and the *Kel Ayr*, while among the Northern Tuareg matrilineal rules of succession and residence are still acknowledged.

105 It may perhaps seem rather odd that the Ayr Tuareg, like many Sudanese Tuareg, have been much
177 influenced by the patrilineal rules of Islam in their social organization, while the Ahaggar Tuareg
178 have been far less impressed by these rules in spite of having lived in intimate contact with Arabs
184 for generations, adopting many Arab cultural traits which are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. What is the reason for these distinctions in cultural change among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr? I believe that the answer may lie in the differences in political systems. In pre-European times there was in Ahaggar an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals within the drum-groups, several small noble families being linked with their individual groups of vassals. This relationship (*temazlayt*) was, as we have seen, predominantly an economic one, advantageous to both classes and not least to the noble Tuareg, who were much dependent upon their goat-breeding and caravan-trading vassals. There seem to be little doubt that, before the introduction of Islam, this relationship was organized on the basis of matrilineal rules. And it may perhaps have been very difficult to adopt patrilineal rules and to re-organize relations between noble Tuareg and vassals accordingly. When the first French

000 tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has
586 adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an
177 Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

184 One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes
which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between
614 his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation.
It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has
written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus
that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which
the Tuareg live.

[174] In their case we are confronted at the present time by a
matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman
562 ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights,
[178] her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the
[611] man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many
[554] Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's
position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in
[584] matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on
choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has
[421] free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes,
and even has a greater freedom of mores.

174 It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy
among the Tuareg.

517 may do this with more or less finesse, but his inspiration will stop there. Only work in leather and wood are definitely the achievement of the Ihaggaren, for they derive from ancient needs and the techniques have been preserved in their hands and not in those of the Enaden.

/282/ Book VI

Social Life

Ancient Cults, Religions, and Beliefs of the Tuareg

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Chapter 1

Social Life

842 We are now going to observe the Tuareg in the details of their social life.

Birth. -- When young people are married, it is seldom that the bonds of marriage are not soon strengthened by the birth of a child. [586] It is very bad form for a young couple not to have a child, and sterility of one of the partners is often a cause for divorce.

843 The pregnant Tuareg woman continues to see to the household tasks, surrounded by the respect of her associates.

844 When the time for delivery approaches, the woman has herself taken to her parents' camp, if she is not there already, for she will give birth in her husband's camp only in case of absolute necessity.

A tent is set up where the woman is installed. She is usually assisted by a midwife who massages her belly and makes sure that

593 The very independent Tuareg woman has a very bad /294/ temper and in addition is often quite jealous. At the least misconduct by her husband, she goes home to her parents. She restores conjugal rights only after material compensation. For his part, the man is violent, and that often provokes disagreement in the household.

582 Obstacles to marriage. -- The cases of obstacles to marriage are identical with those fixed by Moslem law. It is forbidden to marry one's near relations, one's nurse or the child of one's nurse, or a woman having been fed with the same milk as oneself.

Alliances between Imochar and Imrad are very rare, for the Imochar who marries a woman from the vassal class makes his children lose the rights attached to his rank.

Noble and vassal women are willing to unite with Arabs, especially if they are marabouts, always on the condition that they respect monogamy, conform to Tuareg mores, and promise to live in the woman's camp. Tuareg men very seldom marry Arab women.

586 Divorce. -- Separation does not exist, so to speak, among the Tuareg, who make use of divorce, but do not abuse it. It is allowed by the Koran and is not subject to opprobrium. A Tuareg woman may ask for a divorce, while an Arab woman may not. The woman instigates it much more often than the man. The reasons set forth by the wife are usually bad treatment by her husband, insufficient support, embezzlement of animals, misconduct (which is a more rare motive), and sometimes nonpayment of the balance of the bride price.

The man more commonly sets forth misconduct, his wife's sterility, dispute over the bride price of animals, incompatibility, and often misunderstanding between the wife and her parents-in-law.

A few diseases such as leprosy may be grounds for divorce.

Divorces seldom take place without difficulties, and if a wife wants to leave her husband, any motive is good. The act of

586 refusing herself is a case for divorce, but disgrace is then thrown on the woman, who is rarely able to remarry afterwards. The man has only to say to his wife, "I send you back to your parents," to break the marriage. But more /295/ often he hides what he is doing and sends his wife home to her family for a few days. He then delegates an old woman from his camp to announce the breaking of the marriage to the wife's parents.

If the husband has instigated the divorce, the bride price remains the property of the wife's parents, but in any case the children remain the property of the father.

587 The woman cannot remarry before three months and ten days.
587 This forced retirement for women, which is prescribed by the Koran, is called ettef or ellouddet in Tuareg language. The women themselves are called tannanleft during this period. When this period has ended, her parents and the people of her camp organize a little celebration to announce that the woman is resuming her life of "free mores."

587 Many women do not want to undergo this retirement, and to
587 escape it they shift the responsibility onto a tree called agar in
824 Tamashek (Maerua crassifolia). They address the tree as if it were a person and say to it: "Agar, relieve me of my retirement which weighs on me too much; take the burden upon yourself." They place at the foot of the tree, by way of an offering, some antimony powder, a little perfume, and a fragment of cloth, which symbolize the attributes of a woman in the state of agri. Then, without waiting any longer, they resume their life of free mores.

587 If the husband wishes to take his repudiated ~~wife back~~, a new marriage is necessary and a new bride price, smaller than the first, must be paid to the woman's parents.

Murder. -- Murder is rather rare among the Tuareg. It is
682 punished by retaliation when it was premeditated and by material
628 compensation in other cases. The vendetta, which was formerly common among the Tuareg, has disappeared, making way for the dia, or tax of blood. The custom sometimes demanded that the

591 husband are of different clans. A Tuareg camp is usually known, however, by the name of the highest ranking male member of the camp community. Children are normally brought up and continue to live among the group which their parents finally joined on a permanent basis, although boys are sometimes brought up by a maternal uncle. A widowed woman and her unmarried children are usually taken into the family circle of one of her brothers or married sons.

887 The question of moral laxity hardly con-
[835] cerns us here, for even if irregular sexual relations were as general among the ladies of the Ahaggar as some authors would have us believe, they are still confined as a rule to the kinship group of the clan or at least to that of the tribe. But even so we will do well to examine briefly a widespread popular misconception. In point of fact we can probably
[582] accept Blanguernon's (1955, p. 141) statement that a substantial majority of Tuareg ladies remain virgin until wed, even though the usual age at marriage is 20 to 25 for women and close to 30 for men. Monogamy is the uni-
586 versal rule and divorce is both unusual and
837 generally frowned on. Adultery is probably no more common than it is in most societies where husbands and wives are frequently separated for periods varying from a couple of days to several months. An injured husband
[684] theoretically has the right to kill both his wife and her lover if they are caught in the act, but in practice he usually repudiates his wife although he may decide to keep her regardless of her faults, in which case he appeals to the Amenokal who then fines the corespondent. The injured wife of an unfaithful husband simply packs up and goes back to her own people, unless she prefers to ignore the whole affair.

837 It has been said that Tuareg women of the Ahaggar, single or married, lend themselves freely to male friends and guests as a general rule, but this is certainly a myth. We get the impression that in this matter, and in others too, some authors have not only been influenced subconsciously by the conditioning of their own societies, but have also extrapolated hypothetical Tuareg behavior from behavior sometimes observed among the Tuareg when in contact with their new European rulers.

4: Benhazera--10 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

Men's chorus:

Atelsimet ⵜⵍⵙⵉⵎⵉⵜ You will be clothed.

Women's chorus:

Nerdjih ⵏⵉⵔⵊⵉⵀ We are afoot.

Men's chorus

Atar'ermet ⵜⵄⵔⵎⵉⵜ You will be mounted.

Then the bride and the women, addressing the groom, sing these two lines:

Outterir' inelli n isakan ⵓⵜⵜⵉⵔⵉ ⵏⵏⵉⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⵉⵙⴰⴽⴰⵏ

Essoufeq inelli n foudan ⵉⵙⵙⵓⴼⵉⵇ ⵏⵏⵉⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⴼⵓⴷⴰⵏ

"I do not want any bechna (carried by) young camels.

"I prefer bechna (carried by) strong and solid camels," meaning by this that she expects of her husband the deeds of a strong, brave man and not the behavior of a child. /18/

Then the bride enters the tent, and the guests withdraw and go to feast.

For seven days the groom's food is provided by the bride's relatives. During this time the newlyweds do not leave their tent, but people go there to entertain and visit them.

Custom decrees that the newly weds live beside the wife's parents for a year in order to give her time to get used to separation from them, which they call "az'alat" ⴰⵣⵍⴰⵍⴰⵜ (from the verb "ez'li" ⴰⵣⵍⵉ, to separate).

Monogamy is the absolute rule.

We have said that the ahal is one of the reasons for late marriages. Another reason lies in the fact that many Tuareg are satisfied with Negro concubines.

## Chapter VIII

## Divorce

Divorce, in Tamashek "tellef" ⵜⵍⵍⴰⴼ or "ouloul" ⵓⵍⵍⵓⵍ (from the verb "ellef" ⵍⵍⴰⴼ, to divorce),

occurs quite often, but most generally on the initiative of the 586
wife, for the husband who gives notice of repudiation is bound to pay her the remainder due on the bride price, while when it is the wife who initiates the break by refusing herself to him and taking refuge with her parents, her husband owes her nothing.

Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and Kel Ahnet, could never keep a wife with him. He divorced very often. Each time he went back to his negresses, whom he held in high regard. Meanwhile, he tried to remarry ( he was [581
seventy to seventy-five years old), but it seems he had some 587]
difficulty, considering his matrimonial past. /19/

## Chapter IX

## Adultery

Adultery, in Tamashek "tikra" O∴+ (from the verb 837
"ouker" O∴ , to steal), is certainly common. 684

The Tuareg may say that in a case of adultery they do not hesitate to kill the woman, but I asked them to cite me such a case which had occurred within the past several years, and they admitted that they could not cite any, adding that this was just because no act in flagrante delicto had ever been established. Others told me that many are satisfied to get [586]
divorced and that some even say no more about it.

837 /146 cont./ the husband deceives his wife, and if this happens it is far from her when, departed for the Sudan, he remains absent a long time. The Tuareg woman is faithful; those who take a lover are rare. If a husband knew his wife to be unfaithful, simply by hearsay, he could repudiate her, but in the case of flagrante delicto he could kill the guilty pair, or he [684] could bring the case to the attention of the amenokal, who would impose a fine. The deceived wife may leave her husband; in this case she returns to her family, taking her [586] belongings with her. Divorces are rather rare and very ill thought of.

761 Death is not regarded with terror, a whole framework of beliefs strongly colored with Islamism promise the Targui 775 future recompense in the other world. It /147/ seems that charity will be particularly rewarded and selfishness severely punished; the punishments described would be similar to the offense. Extensive investigations would be necessary to sift out all the beliefs concerning death; to distinguish between what is Moslem and what is properly Tuareg would prove to be very difficult.

764 When a death occurs in the tent, each member of the family maintains an attitude of what appears to be very great dignity to our Western eyes. Certainly, it happens that some people cry over the deceased, which is human, but custom would have the tears held back; a man, particularly, would know how to control himself sufficiently not to show his grief.

The body does not remain in the tent long; the women wash it if it is that of a woman; the men wash it in the other case. It is perfumed; its members are laid out in an attitude of rest; then it is wrapped in a shroud (tifit), which is sewed up. During these operations, the tomb has been dug following the Moslem custom. Only men escort the corpse to the grave. After having buried it in the tomb and covered it with earth, they put up stones to mark the place, and each man returns to his tent. There is neither song nor prayer.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



634 Nicolas says that a maternal cousin is the first in line of succession, not only among the Northern Tuareg,
643 but also among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). This, however, is not correct.
[114] I have been told by many Tuareg in Ahaggar that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies seem to intimate that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Ahaggar Tuareg, whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom, claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statement this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

591 The rules of residence have been outlined in a previous chapter (cf. p. 142 ff.), and I have mentioned
768 that in Ahaggar residence is based upon both the patrilocal and the matrilocal principle as follows:—
586 A man remains with his father after marriage, but after his father's death he joins the camp of his mother and her brothers to live with his matrilineal relatives. A woman after marriage moves to her husband's camp. At her husband's death she will return to her father's camp, and if her father be dead she will join the camp of her mother and her mother's brothers. In case of a divorced woman the same rule is observed, but the children of a divorced couple belong to the father, and stay in his camp as long as he is alive. After his death they belong to the camp where their mother lives. However, the Ahaggar Tuareg sometimes dispense with this rule in case husband and wife belong to different classes or castes (cf. p. 22). It may even happen that children of a dissolved marriage, where husband and wife come from the same class or caste, grow up with their mother – particularly if, when the divorce takes place, the children are so small that they need their mother's care. On the whole, however, the Ahaggar Tuareg follow the rules of residence indicated above, and we have already seen that these particular rules are strongly supported by the authority of the *Amenukal*. The same practise
[178] was perhaps once also followed by the Ayr Tuareg, but, as we have seen (p. 152 f.), in the *Kel Ferwan* group there is nowadays a strong tendency for a man to remain with his patrilineal kinsmen after his father's death. The rules of residence do not play a very important part to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg nowadays. The political unit of the drum-group has very little practical value, economic and political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals have disappeared, and there are no land rights to which certain individuals succeed.

582 In the light of what has been said so far about Tuareg social organization, we shall now consider their traditional rules of marriage. Preferential marriage is that with a cross-cousin; the very best is to marry a mother's brother's daughter, but father's sister's daughter is also considered a suitable choice. An exchange of spouse between two family groups is considered most excellent. It is thus considered ideal for brothers of family A to marry sisters of family B, for brothers of family B to marry sisters of family A.

If Ego marries a classificatory cross-cousin it seems preferably for him to marry one of his mother's
[43] family. This is intimated by a custom connected with marriage in Ahaggar:— At the beginning of the wedding ceremony a pair of sandals should be given to the man who does not marry the bride though traditionally possessing a sort of prior entitlement to do so. Such men are:— (1) the bride's father's sister's son; (2) the bride's father's mother's sister's daughter's son; (3) the bride's father's father's brother's daughter's son.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The custom of giving sandal gifts to a cross-cousin of the bride is unknown among the *Kel Ferwan* 582
Tuareg, who also claim that cross-cousin marriage and particularly that with a true mother's brother's daughter is the best type of marriage. But though they consider such marriages ideal they admit that some cross-cousin marriages will not last long. For closely related cross-cousins have frequently grown 586
up together, and it is said that such cousins when they have married sometimes agree to dissolve their marriage on the ground that they feel like brother and sister so that there is no mutual attraction or love between them. This is only one of many reasons for divorce which is extremely common in all tribes of Ahaggar and Ayr. Briggs' statement from the Ahaggar Tuareg that divorce is both unusual [114]
and generally frowned upon is absolutely untrue (Briggs 1959, p. 86).

According to the Tuareg there are many reasons why a man should preferably marry a cross-cousin 582
and ideally a mother's brother's daughter. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg I have collected the following arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage:— (1) All people (that is, all Tuareg) descend from one and the same woman, and her sons and daughters consequently had to marry one another. Their offspring established cross-cousin marriage which has been the rule since then. (2) There are many stories told to confirm the contention that cross-cousin marriages are good, while other marriages are bad. There is, for example, the following legend:— Once upon a time the parents of a young Tuareg arranged for him to marry a cross-cousin. This Tuareg, however, was not in love with his cross-cousin but wanted to marry another woman with whom he had no kinship bonds. The result of all this was that he married both his cross-cousin and the other woman. After this it so happened that a heavy punishment was imposed on him by the Sultan. It could be atoned for in one of the following two ways: He could give all his livestock as a fine, or he could have one of his hands cut off. To make his choice he now asked his two wives whether they thought he should loose his hand or rather give away all his stock. The wife to whom he had no bonds of kinship considered that he should keep his animals and have his hand cut off, while his cross-cousin wife asked him to dispose of flock and herd to save his hand. He thus realized that it is best to marry a cross-cousin. (3) It is considered good to marry a cross-cousin because cross-cousins are always extremely good friends. (4) The institutional joking relationship between cross-cousins is considered an important institution in preventing conflicts between married partners. For though joking between two cross-cousins stops on marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between them prevents quarrels and adds to the stable relationship between husband and wife. (5) Cross-cousin marriage has an important economic function as it establishes a constant exchange of persons, goods, and livestock between two families.

The three latter arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage are also supported by the Ahaggar 605
Tuareg. These arguments are very important and will now be discussed in some detail. There is no doubt at all that cross-cousins of both sexes are extremely good friends. They do not joke just to annoy each other, and when joking they laugh and feel very pleased. Cross-cousins who have not seen each other for a considerable time are always pleased to meet. When doing so after a long separation they may make jocular remarks and gestures, but they will also be very kind to each other. They frequently address each other heartily as "cross-cousin", and male cousins will walk around hand in hand, while a woman will do her outmost to please a visiting male cousin. She will serve him the best possible [533]
food, will mend his clothes, and she will play her violin for him. Joking goes with intimate friendship. 582

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5 wooden eating bowls (*tirha*, sing. *tarehat*) (Figs. 195a).
2 wooden milk-bowls (*ikazzen*, sing. *akuz*) (Fig. 21b).
1 earthen cooking pot (*téṛirt*) (Fig. 187a–b).
10 wooden spoons (*tinukalin*, sing. *tenukalt*) for eating millet porridge, bread, and the like (Fig. 191).
1 metal container (*éṛir*) used for storing butter (Fig. 164).
1 leather cushion (*eddefeṛ*) stuffed with hay.
1 woven carpet (*ahwar*) to be used as a sitting-carpet in the tent, but also as a blanket. It has several colours but is predominantly red. It measures about 1.50 × 5.00 metres.
1 carpet or blanket (*tahwart*) of the same type, but smaller.
1 woven blanket (*tabroḳ*) which serves as a mantle in winter.
5–6 donkey-saddles (*irukan*, sing. *aruku*) (Fig. 86).
5–6 donkeys (*ihéḍan*).
10–40 goats (*ulli*) according to the means of the bride and her family.
1 slave (*akli*) or a slave-girl (*taklit*) may also be given.

All these objects and the animals, which form part of the dowry, are primarily given by the bride's parents, but as the objects and the animals constitute a considerable fortune the parents cannot always provide the necessary dowry. It is customary therefore for close relatives to give a helping hand. Many of the dowry objects are made collectively by Tuareg women of the bride's camp (e.g., skin-bags and donkey-saddles) while other objects are obtained from the blacksmiths (wooden and metal containers, etc.). The skin tent and the tent mats are also often made by the women of the bride's camp.

The bride-wealth and other objects given by the groom and his family are less comprehensive and less valuable than the dowry given by the bride's family. The two bride-wealth camels given among the *Dag Ṛali* may sometimes be used by the bride's father to cope with some of the expenses connected with the raising of the dowry, but they do not cover his total expenses. However, if we consider a marriage of the ideal type, that is a man marrying his mother's brother's daughter, the bride's father will willingly help his sister's son who is to become his son-in-law, and the dowry will not be lost in the event of divorce, as the wife will then bring all dowry back with her to her father's camp. 602 583 [586]

## ECONOMIC OBLIGATIONS ON MARRIAGE IN AYR (KEL FERWAN)

(a) *Obligations of the groom and his family.* 602

(1) bride-wealth (*taggalt*) is not paid according to fixed rules as in the Northern Tuareg groups. The size of bride-wealth is always discussed. Thus it is said that virgins are valued higher than experienced women, and that bride-wealth is higher for a wealthy woman than for a poor one. In most *Kel Ferwan* tribes bride-wealth constitutes one to three camels, but poor people may accept even two camel feet (that is half part in a camel) as bride-wealth for their daughter. In noble tribes there is also no fixed size of bride-wealth which is said to vary from ten to twenty camels for a noble woman – the deceased 583

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Fig. 295. Tuareg women drumming and singing at a feast. The drum is a large mortar provided with a piece of goat-skin. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

The same is perhaps the case with

583 bride-wealth which does not constitute a proper purchase. The payment of bride-wealth may have an economic aspect, but its main function is most probably not a purely economic one.

583 What then is the function of bride-wealth? I believe that this question can be answered if we consider
586 Tuareg feelings towards bride-wealth in case of divorce. If a man divorces his wife because she has
848 committed adultery, he has the right to the return of his bride-wealth animals, but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that it is improper to claim the return of bride-wealth whatever the cause of the divorce, and the Ayr Tuareg consider it most disgraceful. It would be shameful, utterly improper in fact, if a dissolved marriage has been blessed with children. For children born of a marriage dissolved by the husband taking back his bride-wealth are very much like *anibu*, that is "a child born out of wedlock". Bonds of kinship in respect of illigitimate children are not socially recognized. These children are looked down upon even by their true kinsmen. Illigitimate children therefore have great difficulty in getting married, and this is also true of their mothers. Nobody wants to marry a woman who has children born out of wedlock, while a divorced woman having one or several children can easily get re-married.

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T 583 586 848 It would seem from all this that the main function of bride-wealth is to create a social bond between two families that intermarry, and is a sort of confirmation of the social rights of the children. When bride-wealth is not taken back at the dissolution of a marriage the marriage is not socially dissolved. When two people divorce they continue to have each other's relations as in-laws with whom they have joking and avoidance exactly as if they were still married, and the children continue to have their full rights within both families.

The fact that bride-wealth is the outward symbol of the persistence of in-law relations when a marriage is dissolved, discloses the true meaning of bride-wealth, which is more clearly understood when we consider that children of a dissolved marriage, provided the bride-wealth is not claimed back, will belong to the father as long as he is alive, and not to the mother. The mother and her family obtain no right to the children until their father has died. It is further stated by some Tuareg that a child of a dissolved marriage from which bride-wealth is taken back will have no right to inherit its father. Bride-wealth is a symbolic expression of the new bonds established between two families at a marriage, and it places children of this marriage in the father's family until his death, and secures their inheritance rights in respect of the father and his paternal kin. All this seems to agree with the fact that the Northern Tuareg vassals, who give bride-wealth in goats, do not always hand over all animals at a marriage. The full payment may be postponed for some years, but should be accomplished before the birth of a child.

T [171] The explanation I have given of the functional position of Tuareg bride-wealth would seem to be in agreement with Radcliffe-Brown's account of the functional position of the *lobola* payments of South Africa. Radcliffe-Brown says that one of the chief functions of *lobola* is to fix the social position of the children of a marriage. If the proper payment is made by a family, then the children of the woman who comes to them in exchange for the cattle belong to that family (Radcliffe-Brown 1952, p. 30). This is also stated by Krige (cf. Krige 1937, p. 113).

M 582 The functional position of Tuareg bride-wealth should perhaps also be viewed in the light of recent investigations on the function of bride-wealth in Middle Eastern societies, where preferential marriage is that to a father's brother's daughter. This preferential marriage type has been explained in different ways by different authors. Westermarck says that marriages with a father's brother's daughter are popular because they keep the property in the family, and especially popular in shereefian families, because they preserve the blood pure (Westermarck 1914, p. 53). The argument that marriage with a father's brother's daughter keeps property within the family has been recognized also by Granquist (cf. Granquist 1931, p. 78), and by many other anthropologists. But this argument is valid only when Koranic law is observed, which is not always the case (F. Barth 1954, p. 170; cf. Murphy & Kasdan 1959, p. 17).

Wellhausen observed that marriage with a paternal cousin served the purpose of strengthening the kinship tie within the family, and he believed that marriages contracted within a village had the function of solidifying relationships between its inmates (cf. Westermarck 1914, p. 56). Quite recently this viewpoint has been taken up and reformulated by F. Barth who states that marriage with a father's brother's daughter plays a prominent rôle in solidifying the minimal lineage as a corporate group in factional struggle (F. Barth 1954, p. 171), while Murphy and Kasdan, who refer to Barth's study

847 under these circumstances, she usually goes to visit a relative and tries to hide her pregnancy. No one is taken in, but nobody says [756] anything. She goes to see a marabout who, for a rather high price, makes a few mysterious signs before the sinner, writes a few words in Arabic on a small board, washes the writing, and gathers the water in a gourd for the woman to drink. In case these practices are successful (?), a second sum identical to the first one is paid. [278] If not, the woman tries several mixtures, generally with a base of adjerdjir (Cassia abavata), and in case the results are still negative, the baby is simply strangled when it comes into the world. Although these mores are still more or less in force, they seem some- [797] what reduced by Islamization, and unnatural mothers are some- 848 times punished severely.

174 The ahal seems to have existed in ancient North African Libyan tribes. Herodotus mentioned the community of women among the Nasamonians, and the ahal is, in fact, only a derived and evolved form of it, if one could call it evolved.

582 Marriage. -- With the existence of such easy mores, it is understandable that young men and women do not care to marry early. Women rarely marry before the age of twenty, and men, before thirty.

584 Although the girl is free with her body, as we have seen, she still needs her father's authorization to marry. On the other hand, [593] however, it is rare for a husband to be imposed on her or for her to be married before puberty, as is the custom among the Arabs.

/291/ Mates are chosen in the lovers' meetings which form a sort of trial marriage. The suitor must ask the young girl's father through one of his parents or through a religious person if there is one in the region.

[184] Among the Ihaggaren everyone is informed of the suit, but in Aïr this is not the case; there the mother and the family of the girl are informed only when everything is arranged. If the [587] woman has already been married, her father's permission is no longer necessary.

585 A new tent is prepared with all the accessories -- mats, cords,
342 tent stakes -- also new. Inside on the left side is built a little sand mound, oval in shape, on which the consummation is to take place. Afterward, when the camp is forced to move, this edifice is respected and stays in place for several months.

585 On the seventh day, the girl's father has the marriage confirmed by a marabout. Then, in the evening the fiancée, who
[533] has stayed hidden all day at the home of a relative, is led amidst a procession of women playing tambourines to the nuptial tent, where the young man has preceded her.

The next day the young people gather in the tent of the newlyweds, as they do during the days of festivity which follow the marriage. This meeting is called tigedelsatin.

591 The newlyweds live in the camp of the girl's parents for a year. This institution of "service time" /temps de service/ is
[171] mentioned on several occasions in the Old Testament and was practiced by the Hebrews. It means that the fiancé must live with his future family, or quite near it, for a temporary or permanent period of time. This custom results in temporarily restricting the
[593] husband's authority and assuring that they become acquainted and that the young wife is well treated.

● 587 If the bride has already been married, she leaves for her
591 husband's camp on the seventh day, mounted on a camel and accompanied by her friends and her servants.

585 In the first case, new festivities are held a year later. The
591 men and women belonging to the husband's camp go one evening to the bride's camp and simulate an armed abduction. The meharists who have stealthily approached then rush into the midst of the tents and utter war cries, answered by the cries of terror of the camp women. They surround the tent of the young wife and claim her as belonging henceforth to their family.

[492] /293/ This is the occasion for new gastronomic flights, and the next evening the young woman, wrapped in a big white shawl,

586 refusing herself is a case for divorce, but disgrace is then thrown on the woman, who is rarely able to remarry afterwards. The man has only to say to his wife, "I send you back to your parents," to break the marriage. But more /295/ often he hides what he is doing and sends his wife home to her family for a few days. He then delegates an old woman from his camp to announce the breaking of the marriage to the wife's parents.

If the husband has instigated the divorce, the bride price remains the property of the wife's parents, but in any case the children remain the property of the father.

587 The woman cannot remarry before three months and ten days.
587 This forced retirement for women, which is prescribed by the Koran, is called ettef or ellouddet in Tuareg language. The women themselves are called tannanleft during this period. When this period has ended, her parents and the people of her camp organize a little celebration to announce that the woman is resuming her life of "free mores."

587 Many women do not want to undergo this retirement, and to
587 escape it they shift the responsibility onto a tree called agar in
824 Tamashek (Maerua crassifolia). They address the tree as if it were a person and say to it: "Agar, relieve me of my retirement which weighs on me too much; take the burden upon yourself." They place at the foot of the tree, by way of an offering, some antimony powder, a little perfume, and a fragment of cloth, which symbolize the attributes of a woman in the state of asri. Then, without waiting any longer, they resume their life of free mores.

587 If the husband wishes to take his repudiated wife back, a new marriage is necessary and a new bride price, smaller than the first, must be paid to the woman's parents.

Murder. -- Murder is rather rare among the Tuareg. It is
682 punished by retaliation when it was premeditated and by material
628 compensation in other cases. The vendetta, which was formerly common among the Tuareg, has disappeared, making way for the dia, or tax of blood. The custom sometimes demanded that the

their permission asked, even those who are far away. It would 584
be very bad to marry a young girl without the knowledge of one
of the members of her family.

Since a girl usually marries at twenty to twenty-five years, [582]
she is consulted. Even if she is a virgin and, as such, subject
to parental authority according to Moslem law, she is usually
not forced to marry against her will. If the case arises, she
has only to refuse herself to her husband, and he does not insist
but sends her back to her parents.

Just as among the Arabs, a woman who has already been [587]
married must give her consent.

## Chapter VII

## Marriage

Marriage, "adouben" ⵏⵓⵎ or "tedout" ⵜⵉⵎⵜ 585
has some quite curious features.

The proposal of marriage has been accepted. The day
of the wedding has been set. If a quite influential noble is [554]
getting married, the wedding /15/ will have many guests.
If it is an "amr'id" (serf), the celebration will be much simpler
and more private, but the ceremonies and songs will be the
same.

The men guests, mounted on their best meharis, arrayed
in their most beautiful clothes and finest arms, arrive at the
bride's camp where the wedding is to take place. The women
go to the bride's home with their "imz'aden" (violins) and
their "tobol" (drums).

If the women are poor they go there by donkey; if they [492 556 562]
are rich they arrive by mehari, in their saddles which are
shaped like sedan chairs and of which we will find a description
below.

occurs quite often, but most generally on the initiative of the 586
wife, for the husband who gives notice of repudiation is bound
to pay her the remainder due on the bride price, while when
it is the wife who initiates the break by refusing herself to him
and taking refuge with her parents, her husband owes her
nothing.

Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and Kel
Ahnet, could never keep a wife with him. He divorced very
often. Each time he went back to his negresses, whom he held
in high regard. Meanwhile, he tried to remarry ( he was [581
seventy to seventy-five years old), but it seems he had some 587]
difficulty, considering his matrimonial past. /19/

## Chapter IX

## Adultery

Adultery, in Tamashek "tikra" ⵜⵉⴽⵔⴰ (from the verb 837
"ouker" ⵓⴽⵔ , to steal), is certainly common. 684

The Tuareg may say that in a case of adultery they do
not hesitate to kill the woman, but I asked them to cite me
such a case which had occurred within the past several years,
and they admitted that they could not cite any, adding that
this was just because no act in flagrante delicto had ever been
established. Others told me that many are satisfied to get [586]
divorced and that some even say no more about it.

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(b) *Obligations of the bride's family*:— 602

The bride's family has to provide her with everything necessary for domestic life:— 583

1 mat tent (*dhen*) (cf. p. 350 ff., Figs. 265a–f).
1 bed (*téklebut*) (Fig. 212a).
2–3 bed mats (*isebran*) (Fig. 212b).
Further: skin-bags, eating bowls, spoons, cooking pots, etc. A certain number of domestic animals should also be included in the dowry of a bride.

It is clear that both in Ahaggar and in Ayr a marriage is connected with great expenses both for the 581
groom's and the bride's families. In view of this it may seem important that cross-cousin marriage 602
creates a fixed system of exchange between two families which have definite relations to one another.

When marriages are contracted the economic aspects are not considered most important by all 581
Tuareg. Some Tuareg will let their daughters marry less wealthy people if they are considered good men. But to many, and I believe most, Tuareg the economic aspect of marriage is important, and it is generally said that it is more difficult for poor people to obtain a spouse than it is for wealthy people. A poor girl cannot so easily find a husband as a wealthy one, and wealthy girls can be married even though they are not very good-looking.

Normally, a widow will not have much difficulty in getting married again even though she has one 587
or a few children, and the same holds good for a divorced woman. But it is most remarkable that, in Ahaggar, a widow cannot remarry if she has a half-grown son of 12–15 years old who is opposed to her marriage. If the boy is unwilling to let his widow mother marry, people will normally try to induce him to yield to his mother's wish by means of gifts. But if the boy refuses nothing more can be done, and the case cannot even be brought before the *Amenukal*. There may be several reasons for this particular custom, and the following two points should be noted:— (1) When the boy's mother remarries it may imply a shift of residence, as she will join her husband's camp and the boy would live with his mother. (2) The boy's inheritance rights are reduced when his mother remarries. This is evident when we consider the rules of inheritance described above p. 137 f. If his mother does not remarry the boy is the sole inheritor of her whole fortune. If his mother marries again her new husband and his children with the boy's mother will have important inheritance rights to her fortune, while the boy will have no right to inherit from his stepfather.

Inheritance rights in connection with rules of residence are facts which are considered important 581
to most Tuareg when desirous of arranging marriages for their children. A woman cannot marry 584
without her parents' consent, and a man who wants to marry will have to ask his parents and a great many other relatives of ascending generations, including his elder brothers. However, what really matters is the word given by his father. If the father agrees to his son's marriage there will not generally be any further complications about its realization. If the father disagrees there will be no marriage, though in Ahaggar a grown man can bring his case before the *Amenukal* should his father not allow him to marry the woman he wants (cf. p. 400 f.).

First marriages are frequently arranged by the parents (the father) and are not necessarily contracted
with cross-cousins.

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585 laws do not change to a very great extent. There will then already be a relationship of respect between
602 husband and wife, a respect relationship to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law which continues unchanged, and in Ayr the relationship to the mother-in-law does not switch from joking into avoidance. Tuareg wedding ceremonies correspond functionally with the traditional preferential marriage with
[184] cross-cousins. But the wedding ceremonies described are strictly followed at all Tuareg marriages except in the case of important marabuts, who dispense with most ceremonial traits, allowing no public gathering with camel-riding and music, and the groom and the bride enter the wedding tent without formalities.

105 Kinship systems, rules of kinship behaviour, the payment of bride-wealth, and wedding rites seem to be functionally adapted to cross-cousin marriage. All this seems to hold for the Tuareg of Ahaggar and also for those of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group in Ayr. However, we have also observed that there are certain differences in social organization in Ahaggar and Ayr. In both regions Koranic law is valid for inheritance. The rules of succession in Ayr have become predominantly patrilineal, but is matrilineal in Ahaggar. There is also little doubt that most *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg to-day follow patrilocal rules of residence. The Ayr Tuareg are predominantly patrilineal but have remnants of matri-
[587] lineal traits. I note in this connection that some Ayr Tuareg also claim that it is preferable to practise the levirate and the sororate in the way that a widow can marry her deceased husband's younger brother, a widower his deceased wife's younger sister. They hold that this is adopted from Islamic rules.

[601] In Ahaggar matrilineal rules still play a very great rôle as kinship terminology evinces for the term for "mother's brother" is used exclusively for people of the mother's family and mainly for such people of ascending generations who are matrilineally related to Ego – including very distant matrilineal kinsmen. We have also seen that tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and that matrilineal rules are valid for succession to territorial rights, for relations between noble Tuareg and vassals, and ultimately for residence.

105 Tuareg social organization has been submitted to change. Islamic influence has produced a pre-
177 dominantly patrilineal system among the Southern Tuareg, including the *Kel Geres* and the *Kel Ayr*, while among the Northern Tuareg matrilineal rules of succession and residence are still acknowledged.

105 It may perhaps seem rather odd that the Ayr Tuareg, like many Sudanese Tuareg, have been much
177 influenced by the patrilineal rules of Islam in their social organization, while the Ahaggar Tuareg
178 have been far less impressed by these rules in spite of having lived in intimate contact with Arabs
184 for generations, adopting many Arab cultural traits which are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. What is the reason for these distinctions in cultural change among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr? I believe that the answer may lie in the differences in political systems. In pre-European times there was in Ahaggar an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals within the drum-groups, several small noble families being linked with their individual groups of vassals. This relationship (*temazlayt*) was, as we have seen, predominantly an economic one, advantageous to both classes and not least to the noble Tuareg, who were much dependent upon their goat-breeding and caravan-trading vassals. There seem to be little doubt that, before the introduction of Islam, this relationship was organized on the basis of matrilineal rules. And it may perhaps have been very difficult to adopt patrilineal rules and to re-organize relations between noble Tuareg and vassals accordingly. When the first French

586 refusing herself is a case for divorce, but disgrace is then thrown on the woman, who is rarely able to remarry afterwards. The man has only to say to his wife, "I send you back to your parents," to break the marriage. But more /295/ often he hides what he is doing and sends his wife home to her family for a few days. He then delegates an old woman from his camp to announce the breaking of the marriage to the wife's parents.

If the husband has instigated the divorce, the bride price remains the property of the wife's parents, but in any case the children remain the property of the father.

587 The woman cannot remarry before three months and ten days.
587 This forced retirement for women, which is prescribed by the Koran, is called ettef or ellouddet in Tuareg language. The women themselves are called tannanleft during this period. When this period has ended, her parents and the people of her camp organize a little celebration to announce that the woman is resuming her life of "free mores."

587 Many women do not want to undergo this retirement, and to
587 escape it they shift the responsibility onto a tree called agar in
824 Tamashek (Maerua crassifolia). They address the tree as if it were a person and say to it: "Agar, relieve me of my retirement which weighs on me too much; take the burden upon yourself." They place at the foot of the tree, by way of an offering, some antimony powder, a little perfume, and a fragment of cloth, which symbolize the attributes of a woman in the state of asri. Then, without waiting any longer, they resume their life of free mores.

587 If the husband wishes to take his repudiated wife back, a new marriage is necessary and a new bride price, smaller than the first, must be paid to the woman's parents.

Murder. -- Murder is rather rare among the Tuareg. It is
682 punished by retaliation when it was premeditated and by material
628 compensation in other cases. The vendetta, which was formerly common among the Tuareg, has disappeared, making way for the dia, or tax of blood. The custom sometimes demanded that the

174 Matriarchy, in fact, goes back to the times when primitive man had no exact notions on the causes of childbirth.

For, "it seems," Gautier continues, "that primitive man attributed all birth to parthenogenesis and could only imagine a conception which was immaculate. He saw no ineluctable connection between caressing and gestation. Although he practiced fertilization by instinct, he had no clear idea of this. The word 'father' had no sense for him, and consequently the children could only group themselves around the mother." (2)

2. La conquête du Sahara, p. 190.

On the other hand, since rules of marriage had not yet been established in that period, it was impossible to seek out paternity. It is from this state of things that filiation by the uterine branch is derived. With the totemic beliefs to be found in lower civilizations, the matrilocal system found still another reason for existence. It was linked with exogamy, preventing unions between the closest relatives and between people of different castes, and making incest impossible.

171 In certain primitive Australian groups, /152/ the study of which
601 helps us understand the evolution of societies, there is a system of kinship by classes of kin that is found among the Tuareg and the peoples of the Sudan. It was defined by Morgan, and groups in the first degree brothers, sisters, and cousins; in the second degree the father, mother, and their siblings; in the third degree the grandparents with their siblings, etc.

174 In matriarchy, the natural protector of the child is the brother of his mother. In the same way the obligation for the husband to live with his wife's family is connected with matriarchy. This
● 591 custom is practiced in the Ahaggar, where the husband must live
[851] one year in the camp of his parents-in-law, this time being shortened when the young wife has borne a child. When a woman becomes
768 the widow of a man who does not belong to her tribe, she rejoins her tribe and takes her children with her,

585 A new tent is prepared with all the accessories -- mats, cords,
342 tent stakes -- also new. Inside on the left side is built a little sand mound, oval in shape, on which the consummation is to take place. Afterward, when the camp is forced to move, this edifice is respected and stays in place for several months.

585 On the seventh day, the girl's father has the marriage confirmed by a marabout. Then, in the evening the fiancée, who
[533] has stayed hidden all day at the home of a relative, is led amidst a procession of women playing tambourines to the nuptial tent, where the young man has preceded her.

The next day the young people gather in the tent of the newlyweds, as they do during the days of festivity which follow the marriage. This meeting is called tigedelsatin.

591 The newlyweds live in the camp of the girl's parents for a year. This institution of "service time" /temps de service/ is
[171] mentioned on several occasions in the Old Testament and was practiced by the Hebrews. It means that the fiancé must live with his future family, or quite near it, for a temporary or permanent period of time. This custom results in temporarily restricting the
[593] husband's authority and assuring that they become acquainted and that the young wife is well treated.

587 If the bride has already been married, she leaves for her
591 husband's camp on the seventh day, mounted on a camel and accompanied by her friends and her servants.

585 In the first case, new festivities are held a year later. The
591 men and women belonging to the husband's camp go one evening to the bride's camp and simulate an armed abduction. The meharists who have stealthily approached then rush into the midst of the tents and utter war cries, answered by the cries of terror of the camp women. They surround the tent of the young wife and claim her as belonging henceforth to their family.

/293/ This is the occasion for new gastronomic flights, and
[492] the next evening the young woman, wrapped in a big white shawl,

585 accompanied by her women relatives mounted on asses, leaves,
591 followed by the men on camel-back, for her new home. There she
[592] is received by the chief and the old women.

While the married couple take refuge in their tent, the company carouses and dances. The festivities begin at sunset and do not end until dawn the next day, when all those present are exhausted.

593 The young women is then a member of her new family, which
[574] she will leave only in case of divorce or the death of her husband. In the meantime, she does not have the right to go visit her parents, but they may come to her camp.

562 Tuareg women keep a great deal of independence in marriage.
573 It is hard to tell whether they are faithful wives or whether they take advantage of their husbands' often prolonged absences to mis-
837 behave. According to some (Duveyrier) their conduct is exemplary; according to others (de Foucauld, Vermale) they leave much to be desired, and the wives continue to practice the light mores learned at the ahal. "Their unique preoccupation," says Dr. Vermale, "is love; having lovers is their only aim." It is certain that former lovers from the lovers' meetings continue to come visit the married women and to praise their charms in the ahal. But it must be explained that the husbands do not show jealousy, which would be in the worst taste, and that this courting seems quite Platonic. It is very difficult to ask questions on this subject, for the Tuareg are careful of their wives' reputations and maintain that they are above reproach.

As for the men, their conduct is proper in their camps, although some do not hesitate to make use of their women slaves. But when they go on caravans and arrive in the centers far from their country, they give free rein to their passion which a long abstinence has made more impetuous.

684 Adultery (aker) of women is often punished by death. The man does justice himself without anyone thinking to reproach him, killing the guilty parties by his own hand.

622 ship, and so an undesirable heir-apparent can easily be passed over in favor of a less direct heir who is considered acceptable (Butaye, 1957).

614 The position of an Ahaggar Tuareg clan is not firmly fixed within the framework of the confederation. Component clans will sometimes break away from one tribe in times of adversity and attach themselves to another and more powerful tribe that is better able to protect them. In the old days vassal clans were sometimes swapped back and forth between noble clans, and so had their tribal allegiance changed for them more or less arbitrarily. At least one clan, the Ibotenaten, has been reduced from noble to vassal status, in this case by a crushing defeat suffered in the course of a blood feud. Thus the distribution of the various clans within the tribal framework of the confederation tends to change gradually [578] over the years, while internal tribal crises and intertribal warfare naturally accelerate the process.

[582] Marriage is usually although not always within the clan but outside the first degree of 614 cousinship and outside the camp community or fraction. A child of Tuareg parents inherits 611 rank and privileges through the mother, re- 428 gardless of whether she is a member of the father's clan or not; but the child is known as "Such-and-such, child of So-and-so," the parent thus referred to being the father, and inheritance of property follows Moslem law (*see* the Koran, iv, 12 and 175) which provides that a male heir shall receive twice as much as a female heir who is related to the deceased in the same degree. Today a Targui, asked to give his ancestry, will recite the list of male forebears in his father's line, although Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 321) tells us that in the 14th century descent was counted through the mother's brother, and a man's heirs were his sister's children rather than his own. Bates (1914, p. 112), citing Duveyrier (1864, p. 397), says that property acquired by force of arms used to be inherited by "the eldest son of the eldest sister of the deceased."

● 591 A newly married couple live in the camp of the bride's parents for about a year and then usually move over to a camp of the husband's people, but they sometimes settle permanently among the clansfolk of the bride if she and her

591 husband are of different clans. A Tuareg camp is usually known, however, by the name of the highest ranking male member of the camp community. Children are normally brought up and continue to live among the group which their parents finally joined on a permanent basis, although boys are sometimes brought up by a maternal uncle. A widowed woman and her unmarried children are usually taken into the family circle of one of her brothers or married sons.

837 The question of moral laxity hardly con-
[835] cerns us here, for even if irregular sexual rela-
tions were as general among the ladies of the Ahaggar as some authors would have us believe, they are still confined as a rule to the kinship group of the clan or at least to that of the tribe. But even so we will do well to examine briefly a widespread popular misconception. In point of fact we can probably
[582] accept Blanguernon's (1955, p. 141) statement that a substantial majority of Tuareg ladies remain virgin until wed, even though the usual age at marriage is 20 to 25 for women and close to 30 for men. Monogamy is the uni-
586 versal rule and divorce is both unusual and
587 generally frowned on. Adultery is probably no more common than it is in most societies where husbands and wives are frequently separated for periods varying from a couple of days to several months. An injured husband
[684] theoretically has the right to kill both his wife and her lover if they are caught in the act, but in practice he usually repudiates his wife although he may decide to keep her regardless of her faults, in which case he appeals to the Amenokal who then fines the corespondent. The injured wife of an unfaithful husband simply packs up and goes back to her own people, unless she prefers to ignore the whole affair.

837 It has been said that Tuareg women of the Ahaggar, single or married, lend themselves freely to male friends and guests as a general rule, but this is certainly a myth. We get the impression that in this matter, and in others too, some authors have not only been influenced subconsciously by the conditioning of their own societies, but have also extrapolated hypothetical Tuareg behavior from behavior sometimes observed among the Tuareg when in contact with their new European rulers.

565 ference of the resulting oval is closed by the
614 Negro-Tuareg contact zone of the southern
101 Aïr. The Ahaggar massif lies at the center of
131 this oval refuge area: it is a Berber island, so to speak, whose broad beaches are continually swept by waves of the surrounding Arab sea and, along the southern and southeastern shores, by the negroid "Gulf Stream" of the Sudan.

565 There have probably never been many
174 Shorfa or Maraboutic families established in
563 the Ahaggar itself, although a few of them have lived there for a long time now. Arab Shorfa missionaries from Morocco first ar-
[797] rived probably in the 7th or early 8th century. They soon set up a theocratic dynasty, the Imenan, who ruled the Ahaggar and the Ajjer Tuareg as a single confederation until about 1650, when Goma, last of the Imenan "sultans," was murdered by Biska, a noble of the Oraghen tribe of Ajjer Tuareg. There followed a long period of anarchy and civil wars out of which finally arose, about the middle of the 18th century, the main framework of the Tuareg political structure which we now know. Descendants of immigrant Arab holy men are very few and scattered in the Ahaggar today, and their power has been reduced to no more than a faint shadow of what it used to be. People of this kind are much more numerous, united and powerful in the northeastern and southwestern corners of Tuareg territory, among the Ajjer and the Ifoghas of the Adrar, than they are in the region with which we are directly concerned at the moment. It is significant, however, that as recently as 1900 a Shorfa holy man exerted decisive influence in the electoral council of the Ahaggar confederation when that body found itself seriously divided over the choice of a new amenokal (Benhazera, 1908, p. 126).

We know that Arab blood has been seeping very gradually into the topmost level of the Tuareg aristocracy, for at least a century,
[591] through the occasional marriages of noble Tuareg women with Arab men. In all such cases residence is strictly matrilocal. Since
[611] rank is inherited through the mother, a son of this kind of union ranks as a Tuareg noble and can become a chief. Duveyrier (1864, pp. 22–23) describes the case of the Ajjer Tuareg governor of Ghat in 1861, whose father was

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

Men's chorus:

Atelsimet ⵜⵍⵙⵉⵎⵉⵜ You will be clothed. 565 533 539

Women's chorus:

Nerdjih ⵏⵔⵊⵉⵀ We are afoot.

Men's chorus

Atar'ermet ⵜⵄⵔⵎⵉⵜ You will be mounted.

Then the bride and the women, addressing the groom, sing these two lines:

Outterir' inelli n isakan ⵓⵜⵜⵔⵉⵔ ⵉⵏⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⵉⵙⴰⴽⴰⵏ

Essoufeq inelli n foudan ⵉⵙⵙⵓⴼⵉⵇ ⵉⵏⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⴼⵓⴷⴰⵏ

"I do not want any bechna (carried by) young camels.

"I prefer bechna (carried by) strong and solid camels, " meaning by this that she expects of her husband the deeds of a strong, brave man and not the behavior of a child. /18/

Then the bride enters the tent, and the guests withdraw 585 and go to feast.

For seven days the groom's food is provided by the bride's relatives. During this time the newlyweds do not leave their tent, but people go there to entertain and visit them.

Custom decrees that the newly weds live beside the wife's 591 parents for a year in order to give her time to get used to separation from them, which they call "az'alat" ⴰⵣⵍⴰⵜ (from the verb "ez'li" ⴰⵣⵍⵉ , to separate).

Monogamy is the absolute rule. 595

We have said that the ahal is one of the reasons for late 582 marriages. Another reason lies in the fact that many Tuareg 595 are satisfied with Negro concubines.

## Chapter VIII

## Divorce

Divorce, in Tamashek "tellef" ⵜⵍⵍⴼ or "oulouf" 586 ⵓⵍⵍⵓⴼ (from the verb "ellef" ⵍⵍⴼ , to divorce).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship 614
between all members of a clan termed *taousit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela
(275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived [162]
seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist [565]
of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to 613
be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numer- 614
ous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common
matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan.

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much 114
importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his 611
statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence [177]
from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult.

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are 611
identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arowi* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be [591]
described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered [428]
indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations [631]
towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg.

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children 428
inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other [422]
domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait [174]
that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage.

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people 614
of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the 591
territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he 768
will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



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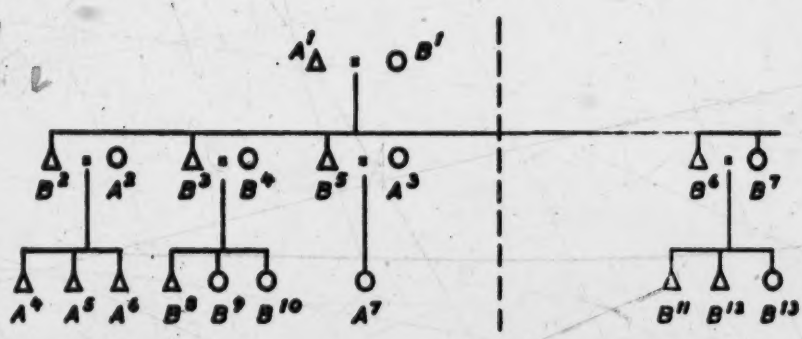


Fig. 10.–Illustration of the rule of residence for persons descending from a man of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan ($A^1$) and a woman of the Dag Rali clan ($B^1$).

People living with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan to which all A-persons belong.

At the death of $A^1$ of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan all persons will settle in the territory of the Dag Rali clan with maternal kinsmen of $B^1$, and they will remain there also after the death of $B^1$.

At the death of $B^2$ his wife $A^3$ and her children $A^4$ $A^5$ will go to her father or maternal kinsmen of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan as will be the case with $A^3$ and her child $A^7$ at the death of $B^3$. At the death of $B^3$ his wife $B^4$ and children $B^8$–$B^{10}$ will remain with the Dag Rali.

People living with the Dag Rali clan to which all B-persons belong.

If $B^3$ dies while $A^1$ is still alive, $B^3$ and her children $B^{11}$ $B^{13}$ will go back to the camp of $A^1$ in the Agouh-en-Tehele territory. After the death of $A^1$ they will return to the Dag Rali territory to join the camp of $B^2$, $B^3$, and $B^5$.

[614] [682] If for instance $B^3$ kills a man of a third clan (e.g. the Ait Loaien) the Agouh-en-Tehele and the Dag Rali clans are both responsible for the payment of blood-wealth as long as $A^1$ is alive and $B^3$ lives with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan. If $A^1$ has died and $B^3$ consequently lives with the Dag Rali, this latter clan alone will be responsible for the payment of blood-wealth.

582 The matrilineal and patrilineal rules applied among the Ahaggar Tuareg bring us to a consideration of marriage. In Ahaggar as in Air the traditional type of preferential mating no doubt is that with a cross-cousin, and cross-cousin marriage is symmetrical although a mother's brother's daughter is said to be the ideal spouse. This is not only stated by Tuareg particularly versed in their native customs. It is also proved by certain usages connected with marriage, and there are in fact many marriages of this type. But cross-cousin marriage although traditionally the preferential type of mating is apparently not the most common type of marriage. For many Tuareg claim that the very best is to marry a mother's sister's daughter (that is a classificatory sister), or a mother's sister's daughter's daughter (that is a classificatory sister's daughter). My statistical material, which is not very comprehensive, seems

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



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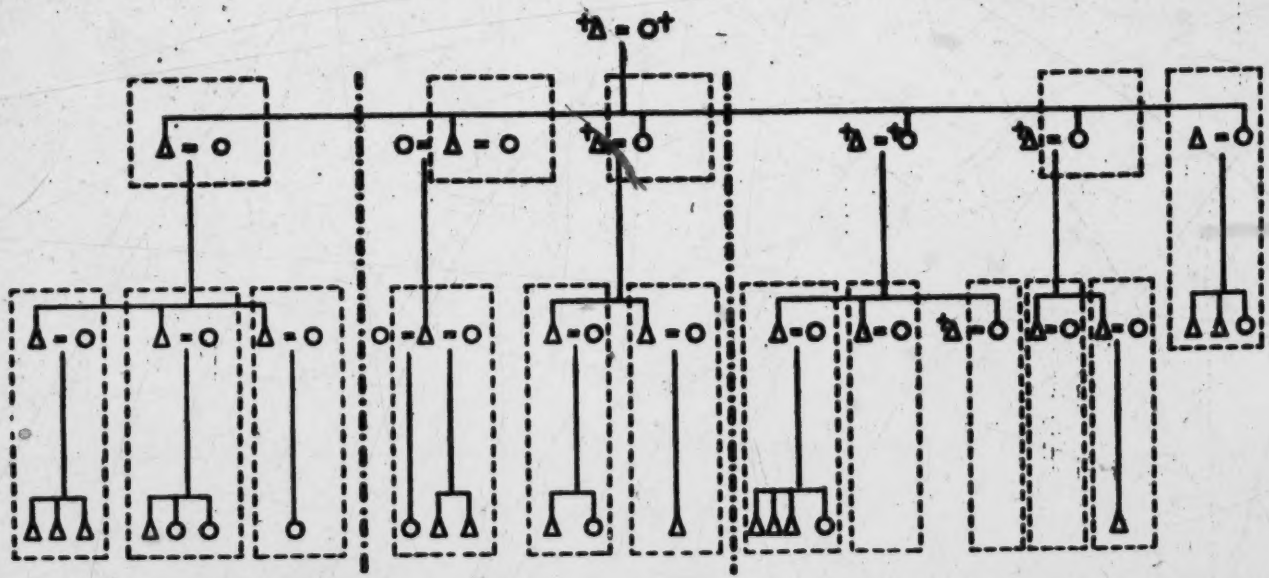

Fig. 11.–The section camp of the Kel Azernan (the Itandan sub-clan of the Aghah-en-Tebele clan). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. – The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated fig. 10. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Air whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
692 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer.
643 The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
178 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
643 to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
Scale raiding.

585 /144 cont./ his wife. Formerly there was a custom now lost: the pile of sand was kept in the tent for three nights, and the two spouses slept separated by the pile, custom saying: "The first night, this woman is your sister; the second, she is your mother; the third, she is your mother-in-law; the fourth, she becomes your wife." And the pile of sand was removed.

/145/ Before entering the nuptial tent, the husband must walk around it three times, and the young woman must do the same. She is led to her husband's tent by a group of women from her family. Along the path leading to the tent, the Tuareg women sing traditional refrains:

"Thanks to God, my daughter leaves me this night." The mother-in-law greets her son-in-law, saying to him: "Offer beautiful things to my daughter so that the shadow that will protect her will be cast by silk. Of the ten camels of her bride price, one has a white head; have her mount the gentlest one, and all her family will gaze on her."

Upon approaching the young couple's tent, the train of women comes to the gathering of men who are talking to the husband. The women then sing: "Thanks to God, and thanks to him before he was even named." The girl's mother greets her son-in-law. "Men, let us pass, stand aside, or else we shall push you and you will fall down, for we possess the greatest force that can be imagined."

The men having withdrawn a little, the young woman gets ready to pass over the threshold of her tent; one of her relatives appears suddenly, takouba /sword/ in hand, and announces: "You will not go in that tent." The young woman must then give her nalls /sandals/ to the interrupter in order to finally acquire the right to be a wife.

Up until about midnight numerous friends stay to talk to the young married couple.

[591] The new husband must remain in his wife's camp a rather long time before he is able to move his tent at will or to take his wife to his parents' camp.

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Fig. 12. Blacksmith woman. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

563 they more frequently refer to mulattoes as *Ichardanen* (sing. *Acharda*). Such mulattoes do not form any particular class or caste.

It is stated in almost all writings on the Tuareg that the offspring of mixed marriages will acquire the social status of their mothers, but though this may be theoretically true in some Tuareg groups actual conditions are more complicated. Among *Ineslemen* Tuareg and generally in southern Tuareg [564] groups there is a strong tendency to acknowledge patrilineal affiliation. In Ahaggar classes and castes [565] should ideally be matrilineal organizations. However, this is not always so. A man who descends from a vassal mother and a noble father will not become a true vassal. He will not have to perform any of the obligations characteristic of the vassal class, and to-day he is normally considered noble 563 though he cannot succed to chieftainship in his father's tribe. If a pastoral Tuareg marries a woman 591 of one of the black-skinned castes the children who grow up in the father's camp will frequently remain there as pastoralists and members of their father's tribe. Conversely children descending from a black-skinned father of an agricultural settlement and a fair-skinned pastoral woman will often remain in the settlement to practise agriculture even after their father's death. As to offspring of marriages between Tuareg men and slave women, they will continue to live in the father's tribe as pastoralists, and will frequently acquire the social position of the father as mentioned later in the description of Tuareg slavery. Mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and people of black-skinned castes constitute a minority. But it seems as if such marriages are on the increase.

101 All the above mentioned peolpe are Tuareg-speaking though part of the sedentary agriculturists of 563 Ahaggar (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) have Arabic as their mother tongue. In Ahaggar there are also many [197] true Arabs – particularly at the administration centre of Tamanrasset. There are also Arabs at certain other villages in Ahaggar, and there are Arab pastoralists. They have largely mixed with the Tuareg, and certain Arab pastoralists such as the *Ahl Azzi* (*Kel Ṛezzi*) should be classed rather with Tuareg than with Arabs. There are also some Arabs in Ayr. There are Arab traders at Agadez, Iferwan, and Ingal, and there are a few Arab pastoralists who have mixed with pastoral Tuareg of Northern Ayr.

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614 582 Many Tuareg claim that their tribe is an endogamous unit, but to-day there is no tribe that is exclusively endogamous. All tribes intermarry more or less with people of other tribes. The most endogamous tribe is perhaps the *Dag Ṛali* of which the half known as the *Dag Ṛali* proper has contracted a few marriages with people of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe) while the other tribal half known as the *Imessiliten* has intermarried with the *Ikechchemaḍen* tribe.

591 The rules of residence are based upon both patrilineal and matrilineal principles as follows:—

(1) When the wedding ceremony is over the newly-married couple will stay one year in the camp of the wife's parents. This one year's stay in the camp of the wife's family has nothing to do with bridal service. Very frequently the husband does not live continuously with his wife throughout this period, but lives in his parents' camp and pays occasional visits to his wife. Some Tuareg say that the main reason for this one year's stay in the camp of the wife's family is due to the fact that about one year is needed to prepare tent, household implements, and the like for the newly-married couple (cf. p. 460 f., 472). The stay in the wife's family camp is not always strictly one year, but may be [844] longer or shorter. But if the wife is pregnant she must leave her parents' camp to bear her child in the camp of the husband's family.

(2) After the one year's stay the couple will settle with the husband's father to remain with him as long as he is alive.

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Fig. 102a–b. Hafted irons (*índel*, pl. *índelen*) to burn property marks into the skin of camels and donkeys.

a. Camel iron. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. Dimension: 0.466 m. (N.M. G. 5251).

b Donkey iron. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. Dimension: 0.202 m. (N.M. G. 5250).

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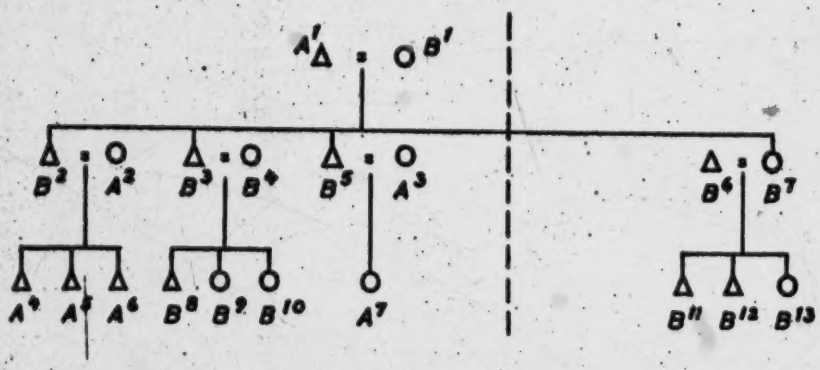


Fig. 103. Illustration of the rule of residence for persons descending from a man of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe ($A^1$) and a woman of the *Dag Rali* tribe ($B^1$). The *A*-people belong matrilineally to the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe, the *B*-people to the *Dag Rali*.

People living with the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

At the death of $A^1$ of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe all persons will settle in the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe with maternal kinsmen of $B^1$, and they will remain there also after the death of $B^1$.

At the death of $B^2$ his wife $A^2$ and her children $A^4$–$A^6$ will go to her father or maternal kinsmen of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe as will be the case with $A^3$ and her child $A^7$ at the death of $B^5$. At the death of $B^3$ his wife $B^4$ and children $B^8$–$B^{10}$ will remain with the *Dag Rali*.

People living with the *Dag Rali* tribe.

If $B^6$ dies while $A^1$ is still alive, $B^7$ and her children $B^{11}$–$B^{13}$ will go back to the camp of $A^1$ in the *Aguh-en-tehlé* territory. After the death of $A^1$ they will return to the *Dag Rali* to join the camp of $B^2$, $B^3$, and $B^5$. [768]

If for instance $B^3$ kills a man of a third tribe (e.g., the *Ayt Lowayen*) the *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Dag Rali* tribes are both responsible for the payment of blood-wealth as long as $A^1$ is alive and $B^3$ lives with the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. If $A^1$ has died and $B^3$ consequently lives with the *Dag Rali*, this latter tribe alone will be responsible for the payment of blood-wealth. [682] [672]

(3) After the death of the husband's father the couple will join the husband's matrilineal kinsmen (his mother's brothers) together with his mother should she still be alive.

(4) At the husband's death his wife and their children will move back to the wife's kinsmen. [768]

As may be seen from this complicated rule of residence, a single death may in fact give rise to a ange of territory and camp for a great many people. This is illustrated in Fig. 103 which depicts e rules of residence in the light of actual marriages between the two vassal tribes, *Dag Rali* and *uh-en-tehlé*.

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614 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member
591 of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with
[682] the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two
[672] tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a
611 tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is
[428] valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered
[565] indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed
614 by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one par-
613 ticular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area
565 which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are
631 named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also
423 attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aǧuh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have
[643] particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339).
[162] Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory
[578] of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names –
613 generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections
621 within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

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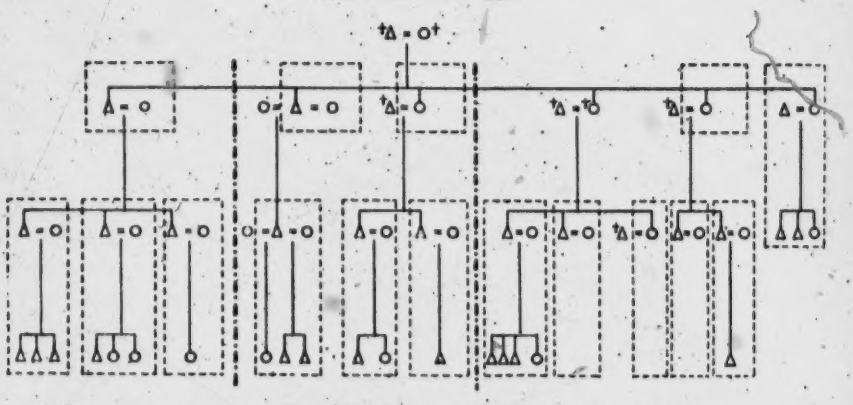

Fig. 105. The section camp of the *Kel Aperuen* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aghah-en-tehle*). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated Fig. 103. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Ayr whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

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614 also the representative of the section towards the tribal chief, should preferably be elected. The members
613 of one section will frequently intermarry with members of another particular section, but members
621 of a section will generally marry into more than one particular section and sometimes into sections
[582] of foreign tribes.

613 When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are
621 split up into minor camps of 2–7 tents. These minor camps generally consist of an extended family
596 which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually
*233 owned and every tent or household is self-supporting – "it has its own churning bag and its own millet
[592] bag", as the Tuareg put it. The section camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small goat-herding camps which constitute extended families, but the small camps within the section camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres
[476] between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small goat-herding camps of a section
[484] join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp of a section is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which tasks a goat-herding camp cannot spare the labour. Should the small goat-herding camps of a section be unable to remain together, they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A section camp is illustrated in
361 the diagram below (Fig. 105). The formation of such camps is not generally possible without annual
621 pasture, and section camps are particularly common in the *Dag Rali* tribe resident mainly in the
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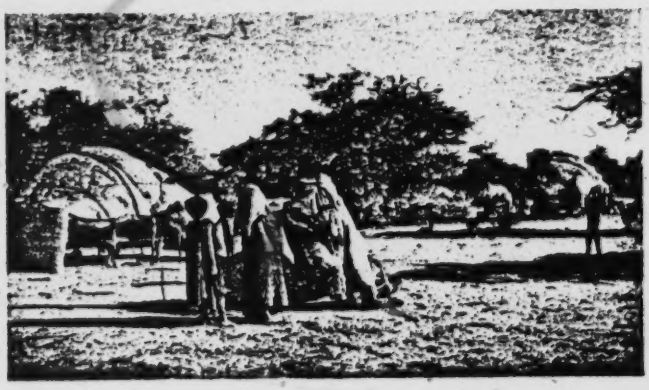

Fig. 109. A family camp of four mat-covered barrel-vaulted tents. Ayr, the *Iyendiyuen* tribe.

422 * 233 donkeys by certain Ayr Tuareg are most interesting. Though such marks are used by many tribes there does not seem to be a great variety of them, and I have noted only the following marks:—

[565] (1) *tallayt*, that is the tip of right ear cut off while a slit is cut into the left ear. This mark is said to be used by all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the members of the two tribes *Kel Akerra* and *Imezzureg*, who claim to be noble by origin, have an additional brand burned into the left hind thigh close to the animal's anus. This brand is called *ekomed*.

(2) two slits in the animal's left ear. Though different from the mark just mentioned it is said also [565] to be called *tallayt*. It is used by the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg (the *Irawatten*), and also by the negroid *Iyawélen* who in the past were once slaves of the nobility.

(3) *tabelechchat*, that is one slit in the left ear. This mark is used by the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

[428] Though all property marks are patrilineally inherited it may happen in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, that a [77] Tuareg use two marks. For certain Tuareg will use the mother's father's mark for animals given them by their mother's family, other Tuareg have been brought up among matrilineal kinsmen whose mark they have adopted, and there are also people who have adopted their mother's family mark because they believed that their father's mark brought them bad luck in camel-breeding.

614 The Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group fall into a number of units which are known by the word *tawchit*. It seems to have much the same meaning as the word *tawzit* of Northern Tuareg dialect, but is also used to designate the so-called spiked wheel-trap. I call these units for tribes as they do not seem to correspond to unilateral descent groups. Many tribes have a tradition of their descent from a common ancestress, but though tribal members may know her name they are never able to connect her with their genealogies which are very badly known. To my knowledge there are no tribes of true Ayr Tuareg that are named after an ancestress or have avuncular names. The Ayr tribes have geographical names or are called after an ancestor to whom they are also unable to connect their [591] genealogies. It is possible that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in the past have followed the rules of residence

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outlined above from Ahaggar, with the exception that the Ayr Tuareg have never practised the one year's stay in the bride's family camp after marriage. To-day the *Kel Ferwan* tribes of Southern Ayr do not follow very strictly any particular rule of residence. There is a strong tendency to patrilocal residence, but a man will usually continue to live with kinsmen of the camp where he was brought up as a child. If a man has grown up with maternal relatives owing to the loss of his father as a boy, or because his mother and father have divorced, he may remain with matrilineal relatives. I believe that all tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group of Southern Ayr are bilateral kin groups. And if in the past these Tuareg practised the rules of residence outlined above from Ahaggar, the tribes have been bilateral units as there have always been many marriages contracted between people of different tribes. Two tribes of Ayr, namely the *Imezzureg* and the *Kel Akerra*, claim that they have intermarried regularly from very ancient times, because the father of the *Kel Akerra* tribe was the brother of the mother of the *Imezzureg* tribe, while the father of the *Imezzureg* was a cross-cousin of *Kel Akerra*'s mother. These two tribes possess their individual chiefs, but have always been very mixed. It seems as if chiefs were elected according to matrilineal rules in the past, but to-day it is claimed that a son of a deceased chief should be the first in line of succession (cf. p. 456 ff.).

In Southern Ayr camps of all possible tribes to-day live among each other. There are no grazing grounds or particular territories nowadays when everybody is free to go where he likes with flocks and herds. No Tuareg have particular rights over land, and ban on grazing within certain areas, as in Ahaggar, is unknown. This is said also to have been the case in the past. But in the times preceding the French occupation of Ayr, all vassal tribes had their particular territories which, according to Capot-Rey, were formerly marked by walls (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). I have not been able to confirm this, but the Tuareg told me that in the past tribal territories had frontiers marked out by river valleys or by natural objects such as large trees. The vassal tribes did not own these territories, which were allotted them by the drum-chief of the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe, the *Irawatten*. The traditional territories or grazing grounds of most *Kel Ferwan* tribes are indicated in the list on p. 423 ff.

At present there seem to be no sectional division of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes corresponding to the division into sections in Ahaggar. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg generally live in small camps comprising a few tents. These camps, which co-operate in stock-herding, do not generally exceed four or five tents inhabited by kinsmen who generally constitute an extended family, e.g., (1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children; (2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children; (3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children; (4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband. These small camps, as may be seen, are not based upon any particular rule of residence in agreement with what has been said of residence rules above. The households of a little camp of this kind will remain constantly together to co-operate not only in goat-herding, but generally in camel-breeding also. The labour for camel-herding and caravan trading is more easily provided for in Ayr than in Ahaggar. For camels are rarely taken to very distant grazing grounds, and caravan trading is often limited to expeditions to Damergu where the Tuareg fetch their millet. The Tuareg tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group living around Agadez have no true co-operative units apart from the small camps of up to four or five tents. Such small camps of extended families may temporarily join each other in a bigger camp during the

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considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. 178 643
If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his [591]
father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*,
who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, [614]
and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Ṛali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over [528]
grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916–17, the [648]
drum-group of the *Kel Ṛela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him 643
to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in 642
case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always 645
obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the [634]
*Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe so that the central [614]
government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amṛar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute 619
known as *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg 651
of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* and *Taytoḳ* tribes might also receive *tiwsé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Adrar* gave annually a skin tent and [643]
a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Tédalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given
2. him a similar payment for protection.

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634 643 Nicolas says that a maternal cousin is the first in line of succession, not only among the Northern Tuareg, but also among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). This, however, is not correct. [114] I have been told by many Tuareg in Ahaggar that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies seem to intimate that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Ahaggar Tuareg, whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom, claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statement this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

591 768 586 The rules of residence have been outlined in a previous chapter (cf. p. 142 ff.), and I have mentioned that in Ahaggar residence is based upon both the patrilocal and the matrilocal principle as follows:— A man remains with his father after marriage, but after his father's death he joins the camp of his mother and her brothers to live with his matrilineal relatives. A woman after marriage moves to her husband's camp. At her husband's death she will return to her father's camp, and if her father be dead she will join the camp of her mother and her mother's brothers. In case of a divorced woman the same rule is observed, but the children of a divorced couple belong to the father, and stay in his camp as long as he is alive. After his death they belong to the camp where their mother lives. However, the Ahaggar Tuareg sometimes dispense with this rule in case husband and wife belong to different classes or castes (cf. p. 22). It may even happen that children of a dissolved marriage, where husband and wife come from the same class or caste, grow up with their mother – particularly if, when the divorce takes place, the children are so small that they need their mother's care. On the whole, however, the Ahaggar Tuareg follow the rules of residence indicated above, and we have already seen that these particular rules are strongly supported by the authority of the *Amenukal*. The same practise [178] was perhaps once also followed by the Ayr Tuareg, but, as we have seen (p. 152 f.), in the *Kel Ferwan* group there is nowadays a strong tendency for a man to remain with his patrilineal kinsmen after his father's death. The rules of residence do not play a very important part to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg nowadays. The political unit of the drum-group has very little practical value, economic and political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals have disappeared, and there are no land rights to which certain individuals succeed.

582 In the light of what has been said so far about Tuareg social organization, we shall now consider their traditional rules of marriage. Preferential marriage is that with a cross-cousin; the very best is to marry a mother's brother's daughter, but father's sister's daughter is also considered a suitable choice. An exchange of spouse between two family groups is considered most excellent. It is thus considered ideal for brothers of family A to marry sisters of family B, for brothers of family B to marry sisters of family A.

If Ego marries a classificatory cross-cousin it seems preferably for him to marry one of his mother's family. This is intimated by a custom connected with marriage in Ahaggar:— At the beginning of [43] the wedding ceremony a pair of sandals should be given to the man who does not marry the bride though traditionally possessing a sort of prior entitlement to do so. Such men are:— (1) the bride's father's sister's son; (2) the bride's father's mother's sister's daughter's son; (3) the bride's father's father's brother's daughter's son.

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582 with cross-cousins. There are very few relatives with whom marriage is strictly forbidden. A man must not marry a kinswoman of ascending generations, and he should not marry a woman who is his mother-in-law (daughter-in-law) from a previous marriage. With the exception of his own true sisters he is allowed to marry any kinswoman of his own generation, and in the first descending generation he can marry all women except his own daughters and daughters of his brothers and sisters.

582 In Ahaggar where the Tuareg practise a fixed system of patrilocal and matrilocal rules of residence,
591 cross-cousin marriages will imply shifts of residence which can be avoided by other types of marriage.
581 Many Ahaggar Tuareg prefer to arrange for their sons marriages with a mother's sister's daughter (that is a classificatory sister) or with her daughter (that is a classificatory sister's daughter). When the Tuareg thus marry directly into their own matrilineage there will be no shift of residence from one camp (tribe) to another, and children will have rights of inheritance and succession to kinsmen of the same local group. Marriage with a mother's sister's daughter or with her daughter is in fact better suited to rules of inheritance, succession, and residence than is marriage with a cross-cousin. I have met many Ahaggar Tuareg who claimed marriage with a mother's sister's daughter to be preferable to cross-cousin marriage, though they admitted that the latter was traditionally the preferred type.

582 My statistical material, which is not very comprehensive, seems to indicate that in Ahaggar marriages with a mother's sister's daughter and with her daughter are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins. This may be seen from the composition of 44 marriages contracted with kinswomen:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 3 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that marriage with a mother's sister's daughter or with her daughter is also practised among them, but that such marriages are not particularly common. This agrees with my statistical material which is very scarce also from the Ayr Tuareg:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 14 |
| No blood-relationship | 8 |
| Marriages total | 39 |

[17] These statistics are less valuable than those from Ahaggar, for they are collected mainly from tribes
582 living around Agadez where social customs tend to fall into disuse. However, cross-cousin marriages
591 are still very common in these tribes where there is a tendency to follow patrilocal rules of residence and patrilineal succession. The reason why the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg do not consider marriages with

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women of their own matrilineage particularly suitable seems to be connected with these rules of residence and succession. Marriages with maternal kinswomen are clearly advantageous to the Ahaggar Tuareg, where residence is ultimately matrilocal, while such marriages in Ayr have no proper justification.

Tuareg kinship systems in Ahaggar and among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg seem to be adapted to cross-cousin marriage. Parallel cousins are termed brothers and sisters, while there is a particular term for cross-cousins and between them an institutional joking relationship which facilitates contact and marriage. The Tuareg seem to admit that one function of joking between cross-cousins is to promote marriages between them, and they say that in the period during which a man and a woman are in love with each other before marriage – a period which is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *térejjek* – there will always be joking between them even though the two persons are unrelated.

Joking relationship between cross-cousins has another function in addition to that of facilitating marriage. In the description of political systems it has been mentioned that joking plays a rôle in preventing conflicts between people of different classes and castes. When a man marries a cross-cousin, his cross-cousins will become brothers and sisters-in-law with whom joking continues, and there will always be joking with the brothers and sisters of a spouse unless a man marries a particular kinswoman (cf. p. 466). It is the rule that there is joking with brothers and sisters in-law who preferably are also one's cross-cousins so that this joking relationship should in such cases have existed even before marriage. I believe that this convention helps to restrict conflicts between a person and the spouse's family of his own generation, and that joking between in-laws of the same generation has much the same function as has avoidance between parents-in-law and sons and daughters-in-law. There can be no doubt that this type of avoidance is important to the maintenance of good relations between in-laws of different generations, the more so as the Tuareg explain their avoidance relationships by saying that it is only natural that avoidance is particularly strict between people of different sexes in the way that a man avoids his mother-in-law very strictly, a woman her father-in-law equally strictly, for a man has a particularly strong influence over his son, and a woman possesses a corresponding influence over her daughter; consequently conflicts between a man and his mother-in-law, and between a woman and her father-in-law can easily arise.

Radcliffe-Brown was the first to point out the identical functions of joking and avoidance. These outwardly such different types of behaviour both serve to prevent conflicts between in-laws (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56 ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). This theory is very important, and I believe that it is not only confirmed but augmented by the material I have brought back from the Tuareg. It is clear that conflicts cannot easily arise between two persons who avoid each other, and the same is true of two joking partners as when everything is permitted, it is difficult to quarrel. Morally, joking is considered a very good thing, and cross-cousins who do not like to joke much are in public opinion bad cross-cousins. However, the intensity of joking between cross-cousins depends very much on the age difference between the two if they belong to the same sex. There will always be much joking between cross-cousins of the same age, while cross-cousins of very different age will joke very little or not at all. With extreme difference in age, two male cross-cousins may even change their joking relationship into avoidance, though this does not seem to be normal.

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575 young people of both sexes begin to drum and sing at a short distance from the wedding tent. They do that not only to amuse themselves but also to pay homage to the couple to be married. They continue to sing and drum until shortly before sunrise, when everybody leaves the place. Shortly afterwards the groom and the bride leave the wedding tent to walk back to their individual tents situated in opposite directions of the wedding place.

(5) In the morning at about ten or eleven o'clock the wedding tent is taken down to be erected again in a normal way at a short distance from the first place it was pitched. Care is taken that the sand-hill is left untouched; it is never touched by anybody and in time is obliterated by the wind. When the wedding tent is re-erected it is put up correctly like a normal tent with the sheet attached to twelve poles around the structure, and is provided with mats which are drawn around the lower part of the tent. However, the interior arrangement differs from that of a normal tent in that a long and very flat sand-hill known as *tuf-adebel* is made; it is very low in comparison with the first sand-hill known as *adebel*. This low sand-hill serves as the sitting place for the married couple, and is covered with coloured blankets.

(6) The veiled groom comes to the tent in the morning just before midday. He is accompanied by young men, but he is not now led by them, but walks in front of the procession. He enters the tent and sits down upon the low sand-hill. Friends and relations gather around him in the tent, but he avoids talking to them, or, if he does, then only in a low voice.

(7) In the afternoon the wedding guests arrange the ceremonial camel ride (*ilugan*) in front of the wedding tent so that the ride can be seen by the groom.

(8) Before the ceremonial ride ends at darkness, the veiled bride is led to the tent where she is placed by the side of the groom on the low sand-hill.

(9) The wedding guests sing, drum, and dance the whole night in front of the wedding tent.

(10) The guests leave the wedding place the next morning to return to their camps. If they have no avoidance relationships with the married couple, they will go to the wedding tent to say good-bye before they leave. The wedding feast is now over.

(11) The newly-married couple remain in the tent for seven days in all, during which period they leave the tent only to releave nature and preferably after darkness.

591 (12) When the seven days' stay is over the bride remains in her father's camp for about one year, and traditionally her husband should stay with her for that period. However, he will usually stay only part of this period in his wife's camp, returning frequently to the camp of his father. If the husband stays in the wife's father's camp for a year he has no obligations towards the members of the [583] camp. There is no bride service.

585 Among the Ayr Tuareg a wedding is known as *ehuben*, or as *ehen*, and these terms are identical with those used in Ahaggar. From the latter term we see that the tent plays an important part also in the wedding ceremony of the Ayr Tuareg, but there are ceremonial distinctions as will be seen from the following description:—

(1) On the first wedding day relatives and friends arrive at the wedding place at the camp of the bride's family. The wedding tent is already erected. This is done in the normal way with the exception that the entrance is at the narrow end turning southwards, while a normal tent is always entered from

[Text continues on p. 474]

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585 the broad side turning westwards. Inside the tent there is nothing beyond the large bed (*tédabut*) covered with mats and blankets.

(2) The wedding guests perform the ceremonial camel-ride (*ihugan*) in the afternoon and continue to sing, make music, and dance throughout the night.

[262] (3) The wedding feast continues the next day with the killing of an ox for the guests. On this day, early in the night (about nine o'clock), the groom comes to the wedding tent. He is closely veiled and walks in the middle of a large procession of men and some women. The procession walks slowly, the [533] women accompanying it shrilling and cheering. If the camp is situated close to Agadez the procession is led by professional musicians who on this occasion are on horseback. When the procession has arrived at the wedding tent the groom enters into it directly and without much formality, but does [564] so through the narrow end turning southwards. Some of his friends squat around him in the tent while a few blacksmiths drum and praise the groom in songs which also refer to the fact that the blacksmiths have arrived in order to transform the wedding into a great feast. When the groom has entered the tent most guests continue to dance and make music until about eleven o'clock, when the bride arrives.

(4) The bride is led towards the wedding tent by a procession of singing women who are not accompanied by musicians mounted on horses even if the camp is close to Agadez. The procession proceeds extremely slowly, and sometimes almost marks time. The women sing the praise of the veiled bride who walks in the middle of the procession behind a tall woman. The bride's hands are around the tall woman's waist, and she is hidden under a large piece of white cotton placed over the tall woman's shoulders and back. When the procession is close to the tent it is joined by many men and by the drumming blacksmiths who lead the procession to the wedding tent. Here the procession walks three times around the tent, stopping in front of the narrow entrance facing southwards. The women now claim the promise of a gift from the groom to his bride (cf. p. 462). When a gift has been promised the tall woman creeps into the tent with the bride clinging to her back. The bride is placed upon the bed together with the groom who is already sitting there, the mat at the southern end is drawn to and closed, and the bride and the groom are left alone. The wedding is now over, and the guests leave for their tents and camps.

(5) The bride and the groom now remain seven days in the tent. They leave it only to releave nature [591] and preferably after darkness. When this stay of seven days in the wedding tent is over, the newly-married couple immediately take up residence in the camp of the husband's father.

From the description of Tuareg wedding ceremonies above we see that they develop very slowly. This is particular so in Ahaggar, where the bride and the groom are brought together to be separated again before being finally united in the correctly erected tent. In Ayr the bride and the groom are brought together more directly, but do not meet until the second day of the wedding feast. They then have to enter the tent in an abnormal way – through the narrow southern end. The fact that the ceremony develops slowly and that the tent is not correctly erected are traits typical both of the Ahaggar and the Ayr Tuareg.

585 121 It is clear that the groom and the bride during the ceremony live so to speak outside the community. Tuareg wedding ceremonies are characteristic rites of passage and contain traits common to many

The tent is occupied by only one household, and each of the married couple has his own side. The man's side is to the left as one enters the door; there he keeps his mehari saddle, his weapons, and his bags of salt. To the right is the woman's place, where she keeps her bag of personal things, her saddle if she has one, the bags containing the food supplies, and the kitchen implements which she has charge of. 592 [422]

In summer when it is very hot, the Tuareg sometimes use straw huts, as much to save hides as to be a bit more comfortable. The leather tent, in fact, is made almost useless by the heat, and nomads often seek shelter during the heat of the day under neighboring trees when there are any or else in the rocks. 342 [184]

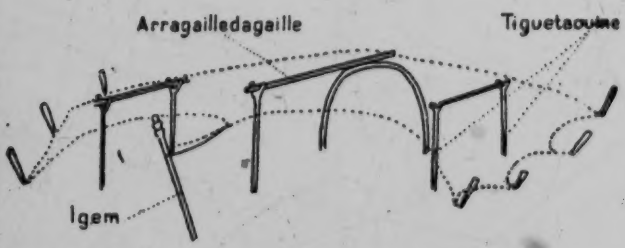


Fig. 26. Tent used by the Agouh-n-Tehlé. Sometimes the stake supporting the aragailledagaille may be replaced by a second arch. In some tribes, particularly among the Kel Ahnet, the arches were placed crosswise.

Captives never have tents. They build themselves little shelters with a few branches on which are hung scraps of leather or cloth. [727]

It falls entirely to the women to put up the tents. [462]

Granaries. -- One of the most characteristic facts of nomadic life is its lack of foresight in questions of food. For the most part, the nomad lives from one day to the next, following the seasons, without accumulating anything. This is somewhat the case for the Tuareg. Still, the Sahara is not a country where one can find supplies easily. 251 343

243 he generally carries with him in his migrations. Wheat raising
262 goes down to the Sudan as far as Timbuktu, Aïr, and a little north of Nigeria; but everywhere it has been introduced recently, due to the influence of the Arabs, who have not abandoned their traditional food.

Béchena is a food they adopted because of their exodus toward the Sudan; they are at the present time much closer to the Sudan than they are to North Africa from the point of view of material living conditions, that is, unless this plant formerly existed in a self-sown state in the Sahara, as Professor Chevalier has assumed, and was one of the principal food resources of its first inhabitants.

Fig. 29. Caravaneer's mortar and pestle.

By its agriculture and its production, the Sahara is completely Negro. Agricultural
177 241 methods, except for irrigation, /231/ are borrowed from the Sudanese, especially work with the hoe (daba), while North Africa mainly uses the plow which is unknown in the intertropical zone.

252 Béchena is eaten as a cooked flour porridge, as raw flour, or
262 mixed with liquids, water or milk.

Dates also play a large part in the diet of the Tuareg. Every year each family head organizes a little caravan to the Touat or Tidikelt to bring back two or three loads of poor-quality dried dates which are crushed with a pestle and eaten with camel's milk.

361 less and there is no immediate fear of a sudden downpour that might produce flash floods. Each tent is occupied by a single family unit
● 592 and there are almost never more than 5 or 6
361 tents at the most in any normal camp. In the camp of the Amenokal there are usually 15
644 to 20 tents or even more, and one sees no flocks nearby, but this is a wholly artificial situation made possible only by the fact that the Amenokal and his personal retinue receive most of their supplies by truck from the nearest French Army post, and so can live in a way that would be impossible in the Ahaggar under anything approaching normal conditions.

**Clothing, Cosmetics and Cleanliness.** In the old
291 days the Tuareg used to wear leather shirts that reached below the knee and were sometimes elaborately decorated with fringe. Monod (1947, p. 47) recalls that Herodotus (IV, 189) described Libyan women as wearing fringed garments of red leather some 2,500 years ago, and he adds that some Tuareg women of the Niger Bend country still do so. Lyon (1821, p. 110 and plates facing pp. 110 and 113) tells us that leather shirts were worn by many of the Tuareg who visited Mourzouk while he was there in 1819, but Duveyrier (1864, p. 406) found that they were already becoming scarce only 40 years later. The present writer has seen no leather clothing worn by anyone in the Ahaggar, although Benhazera (1908, p. 37) says that poor folk wore leather clothes there 50 years ago while Reygasse (1950, p. 97) states that leather shirts are still worn by some of the slaves and Capot-Rey (1953, p. 226) adds that they are often worn by smiths.

Another once characteristic article of Tuareg dress that has now gone largely out of use was the high, conical fezlike cap, made of soft red felt and worn sticking up through the middle of the turban, that Lyon (1821) saw at Mourzouk. Barth (1857a, vol. 1, p. 424, footnote) says that caps of this kind were "obnoxious to the" Tuareg "tribes of pure blood" in 1850 but this is probably either an error or a matter of local eccentricity, for they were still standard equipment in Duveyrier's time. They disappeared almost completely from the Ahaggar, however, in the course of the next 50 years or less although

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

The donkey carries the waterskins from the well to the [312] tent, and on its back is placed a packsaddle made of curved 492 pieces of wood bound together, which is called "eroukou."

Let us not forget the Tuareg's saddle, "terik," and if the master of the tent is well-to-do, his wife's saddle, "tekhaouit." /28/

The tent is divided in two: one side for the man and 342 the other for the woman. On the man's side are his saddle, 592 his arms, and the things used for eating. On the woman's side are her saddle, her "amz'ad," and the cooking utensils.

Custom decrees that the man choose the east part for his side, and the woman the west part.

A group of tents is called "amezar'" [illegible] , and [192] a single tent "ehan" [illegible] , plural "ehanan" [illegible] .

Dautheville

Tent of a Tedjehe-Mellet
at Amra (Black Tifedest)

## Chapter XV

## Food

The main meal takes place at noon and is called 264 "tarout" [illegible] . In the evening the Tuareg is

356
342 /89 cont. / awaits its ration of millet, but one never sees any
[394] disorder or rubbish. A camp may have been at a site for a few hours or for several months, but on the day of its departure there is never the least broken object left at the place; the Tuareg leave behind them neither domestic refuse nor any other mark of their presence.

342 The tent is occupied by the family in the most limited sense of the term. When a man marries he takes a tent and
[592] lives in it with his wife; children up to nine years of age stay with their parents, but after that they have their own tent.

In the agricultural centers the harratin lodge either in a zériba of tahli, made like that of the Tuareg, or in a house constructed with toubs or with stones held together with tin (clay). The house is covered with a coat of tin spread on a foundation of tahli supported by a framework of fersig or /90/ éthel branches; the roof is flat. The door generally opens toward the west, and there is a small opening to the east; this system protects the houses from the heat of the midday sun. Such a structure would be unhealthy in other climates; here it doesn't matter, the family lives outdoors. In winter everyone huddles together at night around a fire in the single room in order to keep as warm as possible, but all leave the house at sunrise. The floor of these houses is covered with fine gravel from the wadi, and this is changed fairly often. The vicinity of the hartani dwelling is much less clean than that of the Tuareg tent; ashes are scattered about and refuse dries in the sun.

000 Only Tamanrasset has houses used by Europeans. Toubs are always used to construct them, although recently atone plastered with tin has been tried for certain administration buildings. Up to now the lack of lime has hindered "hard" construction; attempts have been made to make lime from cipolin, but the cost per kilogram is nearly as high as for lime imported from Algiers.

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428 sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states [114] that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar (and in Ayr) denied this.

428 643 Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Rela* drum-group has no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however, [632] will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *éhéré wa n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group)", or *éhéré wa n' butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

422 It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually, [851] and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may [553] own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions, e.g., on the naming day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong 422 to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should 592 serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic 422 unit of closely related stock-owners.

*233 All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar [114] Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite [578] to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks [602] so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual 422 ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which *233 time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark 565 their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe (the *Dag Rali*) donkeys are also branded with a redhot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar

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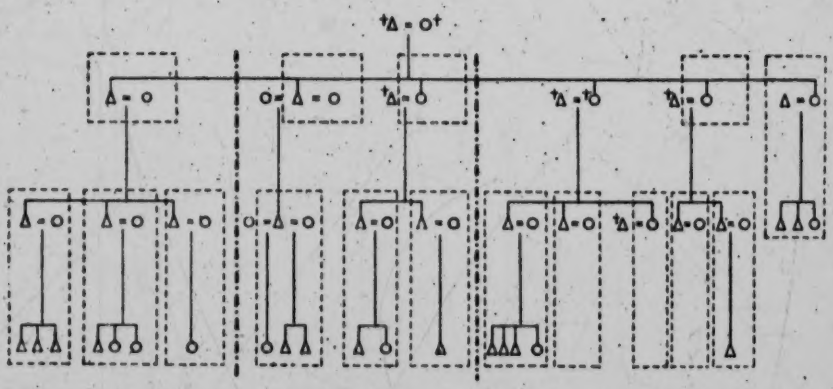

Fig. 105. The section camp of the *Kel Azrenen* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aguh-en-tehli*). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated Fig. 103. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Ayr whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

[591]

614 also the representative of the section towards the tribal chief, should preferably be elected. The members
613 of one section will frequently intermarry with members of another particular section, but members
621 of a section will generally marry into more than one particular section and sometimes into sections
[582] of foreign tribes.

613 When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are
621 split up into minor camps of 2–7 tents. These minor camps generally consist of an extended family
596 which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually
*233 owned and every tent or household is self-supporting – "it has its own churning bag and its own millet
[592] bag", as the Tuareg put it. The section camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or
four small goat-herding camps which constitute extended families, but the small camps within the
section camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres
[476] between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small goat-herding camps of a section
[484] join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because
kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp of a section is a co-operative
unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which tasks a goat-herding camp cannot spare the
labour. Should the small goat-herding camps of a section be unable to remain together, they camp so
close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A section camp is illustrated in
361 the diagram below (Fig. 105). The formation of such camps is not generally possible without annual
621 pasture, and section camps are particularly common in the *Dag Rali* tribe resident mainly in the
*233

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439 caravans of the south or by Ayr Tuareg who import more millet than they need for their own use.
437 But millet is cheaper in Damergu than at the Agadez market, and most Tuareg prefer to organize
[435] their own millet caravans with camels and donkeys as pack-animals. In Damergu most Ayr Tuareg
[492] get millet in exchange for livestock or they buy it for money. Their caravans are not always very large,
[476] for the Southern Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not organize their caravans co-operatively
[484] on the basis of kinship. Many individual households fetch their own millet with a few animals, and it
[592] is comparatively easy to do so as the millet growing country of Damergu is not very far away – the distance from Agadez to Tanut is only about 300 kilometres. The Ayr Tuareg do not have to engage in extensive trading expeditions to procure millet, and can buy millet very cheaply. A household, it
437 is said, does not have to sell a great many animals to secure the necessary supply of millet. Three or
439 four camel loads will cover the needs of most households, and this amount of millet can be acquired
435 for comparatively few animals – particularly if the animals vended are sheep, which have become
592 very expensive in recent times owing to the rapid increase of Europeans at Agadez. An extremely good
162 sheep or ram for slaughtering can bring in 2000 to 3000 West African francs, and a Tuareg household which buys millet in Damergu will need less than 10,000 francs to acquire the quantity necessary for a year. Thus the Ayr Tuareg can obtain their millet for a few sheep, and there are very few, if any, who do not posses this surplus, and it should be repeated that the increment of livestock is never stopped by drought periods as in the north. The extremely high price for sheep for butchering is a recent phenomena due to the increase of the French population. Fully-grown sheep or rams are expensive, and this is also the case with fowls, while goats are cheap. I believe we can estimate that a household would have to sell about 15 goats anually to obtain the amount of millet necessary for one year's consumption. However, there is little doubt that it has always been quite easy for the Tuareg of Southern Ayr to obtain the requisite amount of millet in exchange for livestock.

262 Millet and milk constitute the basic nourishment of the Ayr Tuareg, but they are very fond of an
[222] occasional change of food. And I believe that this is one important reason why the Ayr Tuareg, like those of Ahaggar, collect wild seeds even in years when grown cereals are abundant. For a change, the Ayr Tuareg are also extremely fond of dates which are not grown to any great extent in their own country. A few Ayr Tuareg own palms yielding dates of poor quality, and I think that a few house-
[439] holds also obtain some dates from Ingal. However, most dates eaten in Ayr are imported from the oasis of Bilma, situated in the very barren desert country between Ayr and Tibesti, about 700 kilometres north-east of Agadez.

437 The trade with Bilma is apparently an ancient one, and its foundation is salt which is of a very bad
439 quality compared with that mined at Amadror in the north. The rock-salt of Amadror is excellent
[317] for food, and though there is one good quality of Bilma salt that is used for food by the Tuareg of
[263] Ayr, most salt from Bilma contains much soil and other impurities. This impure salt is excellent for
[233] domestic animals which, in Ayr and further south where salt pastures do not exist, need a lot of salt. The Ayr Tuareg, and particularly those who do not visit the country of Azaouar at the end of the rains, need salt not only for their own food but also for their domestic animals. They obtain this from Bilma, which is visited by caravans in autumn or in the early winter. The inhabitants of Bilma, like other oases-dwellers, are in constant need of cereals and meat, and these products are imported

515 care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed [826] every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

751 For them the main question is protecting the different parts of the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the body is to that end.

291 302 They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired color.

302 [171] To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

515 [412] [824] The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth. They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed to form a brush. For this purpose they use irak branches (Salvadora persica) or palm jereed.

302 /258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring for the hair.

[593] 276 [181] [882] Young boys have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region. They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have themselves shaved completely.

534 horsehair attached to the ends. During the music the player from
[23] time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum
[314] tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The amzad skins are often
decorated with painted motifs in very vivid colors, or else they
[532] are covered with tifinagh inscriptions indicating the name of the
owner and bearing love verses for the use of admirers.

Among the Ihaggaren violins are usually large, reaching as
much as 40 centimeters in diameter. In Sudanese tribes, on the
[171] other hand, they are much smaller, rarely exceeding 25 to 30
centimeters.

The amzad plays an important role among the Tuareg, who
533 really make a true cult of it. Young men go to listen to the girls
play it. After they are married, they love to hear their wives, who
charm in this way the empty hours of summer evenings. Not play-
533 ing the amzad is a punishment that the women inflict on the men,
626 and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives
593 or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no amzad,"
they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This
prospect was often sufficient to restore their courage and incite
them to go efface their defeat.

The ahal. -- At about the age of sixteen, boys and girls have
882 access to adult society and begin to participate in the ahal.
571 The word ahal means "meeting, conversation, interview," A
521 synonym for it is édéouenné. These musical and literary meetings
have a more or less peculiar nature, depending on whether or not
they are mixed with asri.

517 Asri, literally "to run with the bridle loose," means the practice
521 of some very free mores. To live in a state of asri is to exist under
571 conditions which permit one to practice loose mores. Those who
533 can be in a state of asri are pubescent boys and girls, widowers,
and divorced people of either sex.

These meetings take place near the camps in the shelter of
a wadi, but always out of the sight of old people and respectable
people of the tribe. They usually take place before the evening

847 under these circumstances, she usually goes to visit a relative and tries to hide her pregnancy. No one is taken in, but nobody says [756] anything. She goes to see a marabout who, for a rather high price, makes a few mysterious signs before the sinner, writes a few words in Arabic on a small board, washes the writing, and gathers the water in a gourd for the woman to drink. In case these practices are successful (?), a second sum identical to the first one is paid. [278] If not, the woman tries several mixtures, generally with a base of adjerdjir (Cassia abavata), and in case the results are still negative, the baby is simply strangled when it comes into the world. Although these mores are still more or less in force, they seem some- [797] what reduced by Islamization, and unnatural mothers are some- 848 times punished severely.

The ahal seems to have existed in ancient North African 174 Libyan tribes. Herodotus mentioned the community of women among the Nasamonians, and the ahal is, in fact, only a derived and evolved form of it, if one could call it evolved.

Marriage. -- With the existence of such easy mores, it is 582 understandable that young men and women do not care to marry early. Women rarely marry before the age of twenty, and men, before thirty.

Although the girl is free with her body, as we have seen, she 584 still needs her father's authorization to marry. On the other hand, [593] however, it is rare for a husband to be imposed on her or for her to be married before puberty, as is the custom among the Arabs.

/291/ Mates are chosen in the lovers' meetings which form a sort of trial marriage. The suitor must ask the young girl's father through one of his parents or through a religious person if there is one in the region.

Among the Ihǎggaren everyone is informed of the suit, but [184] in Aïr this is not the case; there the mother and the family of the girl are informed only when everything is arranged. If the [587] woman has already been married, her father's permission is no longer necessary.

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and [584 565] less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats, or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses [562 421] fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or decreases.

584 As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter [184] custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents, where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company. During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women, among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the [533] tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of "aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to [174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

585 A new tent is prepared with all the accessories -- mats, cords,
342 tent stakes -- also new. Inside on the left side is built a little sand mound, oval in shape, on which the consummation is to take place. Afterward, when the camp is forced to move, this edifice is respected and stays in place for several months.

585 On the seventh day, the girl's father has the marriage confirmed by a marabout. Then, in the evening the fiancée, who
[533] has stayed hidden all day at the home of a relative, is led amidst a procession of women playing tambourines to the nuptial tent, where the young man has preceded her.

The next day the young people gather in the tent of the newlyweds, as they do during the days of festivity which follow the marriage. This meeting is called tigedelsatin.

591 The newlyweds live in the camp of the girl's parents for a year. This institution of "service time" /temps de service/ is
[171] mentioned on several occasions in the Old Testament and was practiced by the Hebrews. It means that the fiancé must live with his future family, or quite near it, for a temporary or permanent period of time. This custom results in temporarily restricting the
[593] husband's authority and assuring that they become acquainted and that the young wife is well treated.

587 If the bride has already been married, she leaves for her
591 husband's camp on the seventh day, mounted on a camel and accompanied by her friends and her servants.

In the first case, new festivities are held a year later. The
585 men and women belonging to the husband's camp go one evening
591 to the bride's camp and simulate an armed abduction. The meharists who have stealthily approached then rush into the midst of the tents and utter war cries, answered by the cries of terror of the camp women. They surround the tent of the young wife and claim her as belonging henceforth to their family.

/293/ This is the occasion for new gastronomic flights, and
[492] the next evening the young woman, wrapped in a big white shawl,

585 accompanied by her women relatives mounted on asses, leaves,
591 followed by the men on camel back, for her new home. There she
[592] is received by the chief and the old women.

While the married couple take refuge in their tent, the company carouses and dances. The festivities begin at sunset and do not end until dawn the next day, when all those present are exhausted.

593 The young women is then a member of her new family, which
[574] she will leave only in case of divorce or the death of her husband. In the meantime, she does not have the right to go visit her parents, but they may come to her camp.

562 Tuareg women keep a great deal of independence in marriage.
593 It is hard to tell whether they are faithful wives or whether they take advantage of their husbands' often prolonged absences to mis-
837 behave. According to some (Duveyrier) their conduct is exemplary, according to others (de Foucauld, Vermale) they leave much to be desired, and the wives continue to practice the light mores learned at the ahal. "Their unique preoccupation," says Dr. Vermale, "is love; having lovers is their only aim." It is certain that former lovers from the lovers' meetings continue to come visit the married women and to praise their charms in the ahal. But it must be explained that the husbands do not show jealousy, which would be in the worst taste, and that this courting seems quite Platonic. It is very difficult to ask questions on this subject, for the Tuareg are careful of their wives' reputations and maintain that they are above reproach.

As for the men, their conduct is proper in their camps, although some do not hesitate to make use of their women slaves. But when they go on caravans and arrive in the centers far from their country, they give free rein to their passion which a long abstinence has made more impetuous.

684 Adultery (aker) of women is often punished by death. The man does justice himself without anyone thinking to reproach him, killing the guilty parties by his own hand.

593 The very independent Tuareg woman has a very bad /294/ temper and in addition is often quite jealous. At the least misconduct by her husband, she goes home to her parents. She restores conjugal rights only after material compensation. For his part, the man is violent, and that often provokes disagreement in the household.

582 Obstacles to marriage. -- The cases of obstacles to marriage are identical with those fixed by Moslem law. It is forbidden to marry one's near relations, one's nurse or the child of one's nurse, or a woman having been fed with the same milk as oneself.

Alliances between Imochar and Imrad are very rare, for the Imochar who marries a woman from the vassal class makes his children lose the rights attached to his rank.

Noble and vassal women are willing to unite with Arabs, especially if they are marabouts, always on the condition that they respect monogamy, conform to Tuareg mores, and promise to live in the woman's camp. Tuareg men very seldom marry Arab women.

586 Divorce. -- Separation does not exist, so to speak, among the Tuareg, who make use of divorce, but do not abuse it. It is allowed by the Koran and is not subject to opprobrium. A Tuareg woman may ask for a divorce, while an Arab woman may not. The woman instigates it much more often than the man. The reasons set forth by the wife are usually bad treatment by her husband, insufficient support, embezzlement of animals, misconduct (which is a more rare motive), and sometimes nonpayment of the balance of the bride price.

The man more commonly sets forth misconduct, his wife's sterility, dispute over the bride price of animals, incompatibility, and often misunderstanding between the wife and her parents-in-law.

A few diseases such as leprosy may be grounds for divorce.

Divorces seldom take place without difficulties, and if a wife wants to leave her husband, any motive is good. The act of

837 There can be little doubt that the behavior patterns of the Tuareg on such occasions are often different from those which characterize them when they are among themselves.

We must not forget either that irregular sexual activities, before or after marriage, are all but impossible to conceal in the wide open spaces of a desert, whereas it is no trick at all to hide them among the blocks and skyscrapers of great cities like Paris and New York or even in such provincial capitals as Boston and Algiers. All things considered, it seems rather unlikely that sexual laxity is more common among the Ahaggar Tuareg than it is in the urban communities of western Europe and America, at least in cases where husbands and their wives are separated as often and for comparable periods of time.

593 A bride retains full title to all her personal
422 property including livestock, while the husband pays all the family expenses out of his own pocket although his wife may contribute if she feels so inclined. Women are treated
562 with the greatest respect and deference, but they can hold no office nor can they exercise any command beyond the very limited field of their own household affairs, nor can they appear in council or appoint speakers to represent them there. On very rare occasions a noble woman may intervene as an official peacemaker in a quarrel so serious that it might lead to a blood feud if allowed to go unchecked, and this can happen even in cases where the parties to the quarrel are not related to her by either blood or marriage, but only an older woman of very high rank and renowned for her intelligence, strength of character and diplomacy can ever play such a role.

The discerning reader will have noticed that
611 the picture we have just examined is full of gaping holes which cannot be filled in at present for lack of the necessary information. In spite of this we get a distinct impression of a double descent system as defined by Gibson (1956): "the utilization in one society of both patrilineal and matrilineal principles of affiliation resulting in two lineage systems crosscutting each other." Among the Ahaggar Tuareg the patrilineal descent system is "conjunctive" in that it provides channels of interaction between segments of a "disjunctive" matrilineal system which "divides the society

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 562
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé, "
or tribute from the "imr'ad, " or serfs. Not only is the son [611
noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless 565]
of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child, "
but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her
husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is 562
not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except [576]
as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi, " over
her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, [574
etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances 431]
between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives
her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is [595]
the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" 562
•V] , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, 572
while she gives him something for his personal use. He is,
in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine
embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal
of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while
Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines
which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man [574]
who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

and gaiety, always on condition that the conversation does not take place in the presence of relatives to whom the Tuareg who is addressed owes respect. 521 562 607

The Tuareg woman intervenes effectively in quarrels between the men of her family and, in order to please her, reconciliation takes place. Thus it was thanks to Rakhma, sister of Moussa ag Amastane, that the latter became reconciled with his brother-in-law, Anaba ag Amellal. 562 [593 578]

In short, one may say that nothing is ever done or said among the Tuareg in which the influence of the woman is not found, always and everywhere, and this will be seen as the reading of this article continues. /14/

[291]

Dautheville
Tuareg Group in the Oued Ti-n-amadal Settafen (Tifedest).

## Chapter VI

## Proposal of Marriage

Proposal of marriage, "ibadrahen" ⵉⴱⴰⴷⵔⴰⵀⴻⵏ, is governed by a definite rule of procedure. 584

The suitor for a woman's hand sends marabouts, if there are any, to her parents, or tolbas, or, lacking these, influential people who state his request.

The proposal must be known to all the relatives of the woman without exception; they must all be notified and

585 /145 cont./ Some tribes, in particular the Issakamaren, having adopted many Arab customs, observe the following custom on the day after the marriage: the husband who has not found his wife to be a virgin during the meal breaks the bone of a leg of meat, eats the marrow, blows through the inside, then sticks the two broken pieces in the couscous. In this way everyone knows the affront he has suffered. Later in life, when his wife becomes disagreeable, he will put his fist before his mouth and blow between the fingers, imitating his gesture of the first day. The woman, ashamed, will stop her recriminations. Following another custom less and less /146/ in use, the woman who has found her husband lacking in virility during the wedding night will crown him with her alechou /shawl/, thus showing to the world the impotence of her husband by considering him to be like a woman.

593 The woman holds a privileged position in Tuareg society.
562 It is customary to say that the reason for this must lie in the matriarchal organization of the tribes.

Among the Tuareg today matriarchy survives only in a very attenuated form due to the presence of Islam. It must be noted that the woman is absolute mistress in the tent; she gives the orders to the children and the Negroes, and she organizes the daily life; but outside the tent the man commands; he decides on the camp moves, the departures of the caravans, the commercial transactions. The woman's opinion is always
[611] taken into consideration; she is guardian of the traditions, and, if she does not possess what we may call civil rights, it is she who transmits them: a Targui will be a noble if his mother is a noble. The right of eligibility to the amenokalat /chiefship of the confederation of tribes/ is given by the women who are directly descended in the maternal line from the ancestor Kella. This transmission of rights by the women constitutes the originality of Tuareg society.

837 Powerful in her home, lived by her husband, respected, the young wife has every chance to be happy. It is rare that

000. /148 cont. / carried out in connection with one on the Tuareg. The atavistic fear of the Negroes before the imouhar renders them mute, and gaining their confidence is a long-range undertaking; to learn of their intimate life, their joys and sorrows, would require great patience.

Still, the original character of the Ahaggar lies in just this intimate fusion of two dissimilar ways of life: one will never really know this country without understanding both the Tuareg and the Negroes and realizing what the true feelings they have about each other are, beyond what we observe superficially each day.

NOTE. Forms of religions, according to Huxley, follow a psychological determinism according to which the superior monotheistic religions are supposedly discovered by "men of thought" and polytheistic religions by "men of action." It is reasonable to ask whether the Tuareg, who formerly were, above all, "men of action," did not, for that reason, conserve survivals from neolithic religious beliefs, /149/ and whether the French peace, suppressing their essential activity, did not give rise in them to a psychological current leading to meditation and favoring Islamization. For the presence of Arab marabout, chorfa, and tolba, however active they may be, is not sufficient to explain that religious current which tends to make Tuareg customs disappear.

Note on Tuareg Matriarchy

593
562

The Ahaggar, which constitutes a sort of ethnic preserve where a system that is still feudal reigns, presents a sociological curiosity: a survival of the matriarchal family. This matriarchy, undermined by the growing influence of Islam, is tending to disappear. It is well to deny certain false ideas which circulate about the Tuareg family: "The woman

593 /149 cont./ commands." "Tuareg hospitality is characterized
562 by promiscuity, a sort of traditional prostitution." The truth is entirely different. The origin of Tuareg matriarchy is certainly lost in neolithic customs; ignorance of the process of conception may have been the cause. This familial organization led to exogamy, which tends to disappear; incest is
[835] a crime more terrible than murder. Matriarchy is the guardian of the caste system: the duty of mutual assistance bestows on the warriors (nobles) part of the fruits of others' labor and
[548] gives them ownership of the land. Prostitution does not exist; monogamy is the rule; the woman is respected. "Maternal rights," as L.-G. Richard says, "consist rather of mutual obligations than of prerogatives or advantages." There is no female liberty, for the woman owes herself to her family; in fact, she exercises no rights whatsoever; she transmits them. A custom still practiced, characteristic of matriarchy, is the requirement for the young husband to live a certain time in his wife's camp.

177 Let us repeat that Islam little by little is destroying the
593 matriarchal customs, particularly insofar as succession is con-
622 cerned, for they are increasingly regulated by Moslem practices. Today, the chiefs even desire to leave their power to their sons.

/151/ VI

## Conclusion

The Ahaggar is, I believe, the most engaging part of the Sahara -- and I have conveyed neither the picturesqueness of the scenery, the attraction it has for travelers, nor the anguish it sometimes instills in certain souls, when from October to

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 604 604 643 683 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

233 436 682

| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *tilgad*, or *chét awétay* | (one year old) | 10 | *tibeydegin* | (white) |
| 10 | *tihuzin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *titlarin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *tekkenifadden* | (3 years old) | 10 | *tizeggerin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiruyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *tibhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chét essin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *tilemlarin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chét okkoz* | (6 years old) | 10 | *tizerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *timesseças* | (7 years old) | 10 | *timengelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chét tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 | *tikewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tirekkunin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *tizerrafin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *tiwinarin* | (white cornea) |

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 565 524 232 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[Text continues on p. 104]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by traditional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him *amrar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidd*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-

174 to maintain, which others seized from them, and suzerains became
182 vassals. But in spite of these contingencies of war, the Tuareg
565 attach great importance to blood origins and always respect high-
[554 727] born people, even though they may be their vanquished /adversaries/.

Thus, at the present time, the nobles of the Ahaggar and the
554 Xjjer may be seen to seek alliances with women of the fallen fraction
565 of the Imenan Sultans. This adds to the luster of their high origin
581 a certain character of religious nobility, which is much appreciated among Moslems.

000 Monogamy and matriarchy. -- To understand Tuareg society, one must remember two important facts, facts which are, moreover, not completely independent of each other, monogamy and matriarchy.

/151/ While the Tuareg are Moslems and have polygamous
174 peoples as neighbors, it is astonishing to note that they practice
562 monogamy. This is an evident indication that women occupy an
[545] important place in their society, in no way comparable to what they occupy among the Arabs. This was very striking to the first travelers who thought they saw traces of an ancient Christianity in the persistence of monogamy. This argument might be held if we did not know, on the other hand, that the social organization of the Tuareg rests on matriarchy, an ancient custom much earlier than the Christian era, which explains monogamy and the particularly high position of women.

Gautier writes on this subject: "It may be said that the Tuareg practice chivalrous gallantry; the expression is inadequate only because of the association it evokes. Our chivalry has a Christian origin; the respect of the Tuareg for women has much deeper and more remote reasons. It goes back to matriarchy, which is earlier than the notion of the state and even that of the family. It is a living witness of completely primordial humanity, a sentiment, if I may say so, of the quaternary age." (1)

1. La conquête du Sahara /The Conquest of the Sahara/, p. 33.

174 in the Sudan, the Sanhadja-Nounou, was governed by a woman named Bikoun-Kabi, whom the Sonrha'l /Songhai/ emperor Sonni-Ali had to conquer in order to seize her territory. Es-Sadi, author of the Tarik-es-Soudan, reports several facts of this kind.

The Islamization of the Berber tribes certainly had a part in the elimination of the custom. Women no longer play any official [562] political role in our times. But they have made themselves the guardians of ancestral customs and folklore, and their authority is [626] so strong that one /154/ can only quote the answer of a Tuareg to an Arab who admonished him upon the subject of Tuareg mores: "No one would dare do otherwise, for then no woman would look at us any longer."

162 The persistence of monogamy among the Tuareg is also favored 182 by the considerable excess of men found among them, an exceptional 515 fact and contrary to what we observe in other human groups.

The aménokal. -- Aménokal means in Tamashek "possessor of 643 the country" (from am, possessive prefix, and akal, "country").

[192] In the Ahaggar this title is conferred only upon the supreme chief reigning over a whole of noble, vassal, or assimilated tribes. [184] In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, it may be applied to heads of fractions, indeed even to mere camp chiefs.

The aménokal is designated according to hereditary rules deriving from the matriarchal system. He is always chosen, not only in the same tribe, but in the same line which one could compare to the clan. His domination, to be effective, must be sanctioned by the approval of the nobles to whom are joined for the occasion the chiefs of vassal tribes. For the latter, approval involves an agreement to pay tribute later.

Sometimes there are several pretenders to the title; perhaps a descendant of a formerly ousted family asserts his rights, or perhaps the natural heir is recognized incapable of leadership. This brings about a competition where hereditary rules are not always respected.

184 The Inislimen way of life is the same as that of the Tuareg.
565 They speak the same language and administer themselves with no
193 intervention from the Imochar. A few cases of polygamy have been
[631] observed among them. This is the result of their gradual Islamization,
[595] which favors the custom, and of patriarchy which was already in practice in some Sudanese tribes.

565 The Imrad. -- Imrad probably comes from the Tamashek root
[192] égeid, égeit, which means "kid," "little goat," and from the prefix
am indicating possession. In short, this means "possessors of goats."
[422] In fact, the Imrad formerly could own only goats, for the Imochar reserved the possession of camels for themselves.

Their nickname is Kel Oulli, which also means "goat people," a name which they prefer to Imrad, which is probably a bit degrading for them.

[631] /165/ They make up tribes enfeoffed to the Imochar and are their vassals.

The Imochar have a certain scorn for them and consider them people of low birth, not of the pure Tuareg race; the name Taouia Settefet, meaning "of black descent," is often applied to them. (1)

1. Among the Ioullimmiden they are referred to as Idinet.

173 Nothing indicates a racial inferiority of the Imrad to the Imochar,
565 however. If we want to interpret the old legends of the Ahaggar,
144 everything leads us to believe that the Imrad were in most instances the first occupants of the country, and the Imochar, who were the invaders, were conquerers who made themselves masters of the country by force. The crossbreeding with the blacks cannot be a decisive criterion, for many Imrad tribes are not physically more "Negroid" than the Imochar. It is also true that the Imrad are
[186] less rigorous than the Imochar in maintaining the integrity of old
[184] Tuareg customs. They have less greatness of soul and sentiment, as well as less ethnic pride.

565 Unions, or more exactly concubinage, between Imrad and
[595] Negresses are very common.

[567] Imrad have the right to possess black slaves who are employed in household work and in keeping the herds.

114 Schirmer has said that the Ahaggar Imrad were sedentary peoples
241 entrusted with keeping the gardens; (1) he has committed an error,
565

1. Le Sahara, p. 298.

certainly because of erroneous information. This is all the more curious since Duveyrier had already defined exactly the position of the Imrad. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 334.

114 Duveyrier translated the word amrid by the word "serf," which
565 corresponds exactly to the Arab expression ra'aya, and also because
566 the ra'aya are subjects liable to forced labor and taxes, whom the marabouts are not allowed to possess by Moslem law. Duveyrier believed he was confirmed in his opinion because of the fact that the Inislimen of the Ajjer did not have the right to have Imrad. This is an error of interpretation. This Arabic term cannot be suitable under the circumstances, for the social class of the Tuareg Imrad has no equivalent among the Arabs.

We have preferred the term "vassals" which is more suitable in our minds, because the Imrad are not unconditionally subject to
[651] forced labor, they pay a perfectly defined vassalage fee, their
[643] chiefs participate in the election of the amenokal, and they them-
[657] selves own slaves.

/167/ Moreover, the term "vassals" has been adopted by Richer, Deniker, Verneau, etc.

567 of their ancestors. Ahaggar slaves are perfectly adapted to the desert and possess physical qualities of sobriety much superior to those of their racial brothers /170/ in the Sudan, who have difficulty living there when they are transported from the Sudan.

The Akli is subject to forced labor at the will of his master. He owes all his work to his master and is his property, but he receives a few advantages and can use a few days of work a week for himself.

In the Ahaggar the Iklan are treated perfectly well by their masters, to whom they are quite attached. They share meals with them and sustain with an even temper the good or bad fortune which the camp enjoys. Their children are reared with those of the Tuareg and on the same footing.

They benefit from certain humanitarian rules which do credit to the Tuareg. Thus a slave who is too young or too old cannot be liberated and must be supported by his master.

The Iklan are bequeathed as a heritage; they may be possessors [428] of animals, whose usufruct they then have; but upon their death these animals fall to their masters and not to their own children.

The Imochar, Inislimen, and Imrad have all rights over their slaves. The latter cannot marry without their consent. Generally, 567 when there are a man slave and a woman slave in the same camp, 582 they are married to each other, and the man receives a goat which 583 he gives to his wife as a bride price. If the slave wants to seek a wife for himself and finds one in another camp, he receives nothing from his master and must find the means to pay his wife's bride price by himself; this bride price is commonly fixed at ten goats. The slaves put in charge of keeping the flocks and who are often absent from the camp because of their occupation usually do not [836] marry. "They take their pleasure where they find it," said Father de Foucauld.

565 The Tuareg often take slave women as concubines. There are 567 several advantages to this: first, they have no bride price to pay, 595

565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
567 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are
not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as
[428] his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can
inherit from their father.

565 /171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with
833 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
558 not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that
[842] the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

867 The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
[838 other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found
679] for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed
[272] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any
milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves
304 first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not
234] hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their
lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar
who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have
deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former amenokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa
ag Amastan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and
the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object
of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or
567 when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally
685 does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense,
the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear
of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes
henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the
same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the
slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice,
according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

567 dowry. But slaves are well fed and cared for as a rule; they get two or three days off each week to look after their own affairs, their children are brought up with the children of their masters, and custom forbids the freeing of a slave who is either too old or too young to fend for himself. A slave may even have a few goats of his own, although when he dies they are not inherited by his family but revert to his master instead. Barth (1857a, vol. 1, p. 387) notes as a striking exception that he saw slaves hitched to a plow and driven with whips in the Auderas Valley, some 60 miles northwest of Agadès.

567 Female slaves are often taken as concubines by Tuareg men of the Ahaggar, who prize
● 595 them because they are less capricious and overbearing than Tuareg women are and "be-
[827] cause they have cool skins," a point which would bear further investigation with a skin temperature machine. The children of such unions are often recognized by their fathers but do not inherit from them, and, although free, they have a debased social standing little better than that of their slave forebears. Moussa ag Amastan, who was Amenokal of the Ahaggar from 1905 to 1921,[18] remained unmarried for over 50 years, during most of which time he lived with a bevy of Negro concubines and a young Tuareg girl, named Harendou, whom he had captured on a raid into the Niger Bend country (Benhazera, 1908, p. 142; Lhote, 1955, pp. 221–23). Although this case was exceptional, it was by no means unique.

567 The slaves of the nomadic Tuareg, like those of sedentary communities in the Sahara, seem to have no tribal or clan organizations, but they too have a strong feeling of corporate solidarity that finds expression now and then in nocturnal jamborees which are Sudanese in character.

326 The smiths of the Ahaggar present a fa-
171 miliar culture pattern that characterizes groups of smiths and tinkers which, as we have seen, are to be found living among a whole series of nomadic peoples scattered all the way from Baluchistan through Arabia and on, southwest-

[217] [18] Lhote (1955, p. 220) gives the date of Moussa's death as 1920, the official genealogical table of the Ahaggar nobility, which is kept in the archives of the French Army post at Tamanrasset, gives it as 1921, and Foley (1930, p. 9) gives it as 1922. In 1956

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 562
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé,"
or tribute from the "imr'ad," or serfs. Not only is the son [611
noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless 565]
of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child,"
but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her
husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is 563
not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except [576]
as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi," over
her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, [574
etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances 431]
between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives
her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is [545]
the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" 562
. V ] , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, 572
while she gives him something for his personal use. He is,
in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine
embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal
of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while
Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines
which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man [574]
who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

Men's chorus:

Atelsimet ⵜⵍⵙⵉⵎⵉⵜ You will be clothed.

Women's chorus:

Nerdjih ⵏⵉⵔⵊⵉⵀ We are afoot.

Men's chorus

Atar'ermet ⵜⵄⵔⵎⵉⵜ You will be mounted.

Then the bride and the women, addressing the groom, sing these two lines:

Outterir' inelli n isakan ⵓⵜⵜⵉⵔⵉⵏ ⵉⵏⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⵉⵙⴰⴽⴰⵏ

Essoufeq inelli n foudan ⵉⵙⵙⵓⴼⵉⵇ ⵉⵏⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⴼⵓⴷⴰⵏ

"I do not want any bechna (carried by) young camels.

"I prefer bechna (carried by) strong and solid camels," meaning by this that she expects of her husband the deeds of a strong, brave man and not the behavior of a child. /18/

Then the bride enters the tent, and the guests withdraw and go to feast.

For seven days the groom's food is provided by the bride's relatives. During this time the newlyweds do not leave their tent, but people go there to entertain and visit them.

Custom decrees that the newly weds live beside the wife's parents for a year in order to give her time to get used to separation from them, which they call "az'alat" ⴰⵣⵄⴰⵍⴰⵜ (from the verb "ez'li" ⴰⵣⵄⵍⵉ, to separate).

Monogamy is the absolute rule.

We have said that the ahal is one of the reasons for late marriages. Another reason lies in the fact that many Tuareg are satisfied with Negro concubines.

## Chapter VIII

## Divorce

Divorce, in Tamashek "tellef" ⵜⵍⵍⵉⴼ or "oulout" ⵓⵍⵍⵓⵜ (from the verb "ellef" ⵉⵍⵍⵉⴼ, to divorce),

Besides, there are few negroes who are not armed by their 411
masters with a "tar'da" (spear with a wooden shaft) and with a 563
"takouba" (saber), of which they are very proud. The best are 567
sent on raids, and it seems that they acquit themselves very 726
well in combat.

As to the negresses, there are some who confine themselves 563
to attending to the care of the household and the tent, but there 567
are quite a few others who are raised to the dignity of con- 595
cubines. A noble Tuareg prefers to share his bed with a negress rather than to marry a "tamr'idt" (serf). He marries late, and when he decides to, he looks especially for a woman who, by her /34/ birth, will give his children future rights to command. The negress profits from this.

The negroes and negresses are not, as a rule, mistreated 563
by the Tuareg. Besides, if the case should arise, they know 567
how to use the following curious custom in use among the 685
Tuareg.

When a slave, negro or negress, becomes too unhappy with his master and wishes to become the slave of another master, he splits the ear of a child or a horse or hamstrings a mehari; in short, damages anything valuable that belongs to the master he wishes to have; then he stays beside his deed. Naturally, in reparation for the harm done, the negro is given in full possession to the injured master. There may be protest, if there was connivance between the slave and the master he wishes to have, and, in this case, the oath is deferred and the case [692] brought before a marabout or a cadi.

Thus the negress Tenoufek, who belonged to Semana, sister of Bika ag Moumou of the Kel Ahnet, slit the ear of a mare belonging to Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet. In reparation the negress was given to Sidi, with whom she still remains.

Another example: the negro of El Biodh ould Settafi of the Settaf, hamstrung two camels belonging to Ibedi ag Bassi of the Ir'echoumen. In reparation El Biodh had to give Ibedi the negro and a camel besides. /35/

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 250. 614 [127]

A clan is generally termed *tasusit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan-membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg. [162] [196] [611]

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 13). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g., 621 596 [342]

1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season *(akasa)* and in the beginning of the following dry season *(ṛaral)* several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups. 221 361 621 [173]

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occured also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin – ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:– 582 614 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 13 |
| No blood-relationship between husband and wife | 8 |
| Marriages total | 38 |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:– 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 3 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan and eight in the three sub-clans of the Agouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up in minor camps of 2–7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative of the section in relation to the clan chief *(Amrar)*. These khalifas are not necessarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilineal as it is for clan chiefs. 614 [361] 621 476 [596] [422] [613] 622 [614]

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8–9), but the rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most clans. [184] [601] 602

[Text continues on p. 108]

613
621
596
*233
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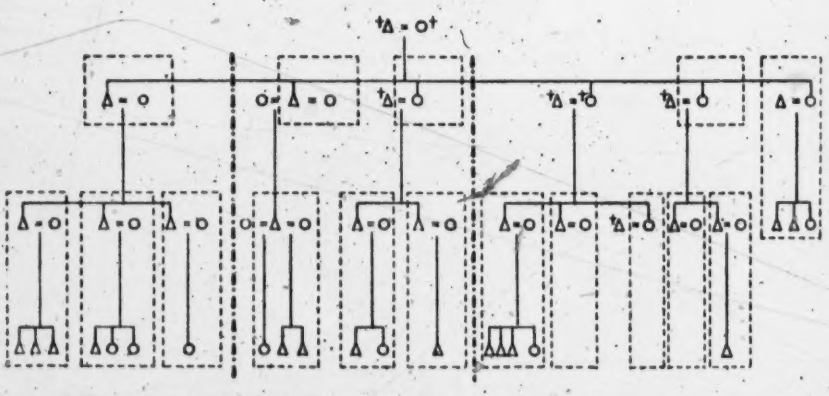

Fig. 105. The section camp of the *Kel Aperuen* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Agub-en-tehle*). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated Fig. 103. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Ayr whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

[591]

614 also the representative of the section towards the tribal chief, should preferably be elected. The members
613 of one section will frequently intermarry with members of another particular section, but members
621 of a section will generally marry into more than one particular section and sometimes into sections
[592] of foreign tribes.

613 When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are
621 split up into minor camps of 2–7 tents. These minor camps generally consist of an extended family
596 which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually
*233 owned and every tent or household is self-supporting – "it has its own churning bag and its own millet
[592] bag", as the Tuareg put it. The section camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small goat-herding camps which constitute extended families, but the small camps within the section camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres
[476] between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small goat-herding camps of a section
[484] join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp of a section is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which tasks a goat-herding camp cannot spare the labour. Should the small goat-herding camps of a section be unable to remain together, they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A section camp is illustrated in
361 the diagram below (Fig. 105). The formation of such camps is not generally possible without annual
621 pasture, and section camps are particularly common in the *Dag Rali* tribe resident mainly in the
*233

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



outlined above from Ahaggar, with the exception that the Ayr Tuareg have never practised the one 614
year's stay in the bride's family camp after marriage. To-day the *Kel Ferwan* tribes of Southern Ayr 591
do not follow very strictly any particular rule of residence. There is a strong tendency to patrilocal residence, but a man will usually continue to live with kinsmen of the camp where he was brought up as a child. If a man has grown up with maternal relatives owing to the loss of his father as a boy, or because his mother and father have divorced, he may remain with matrilineal relatives. I believe 614
that all tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group of Southern Ayr are bilateral kin groups. And if in the past 582
these Tuareg practised the rules of residence outlined above from Ahaggar, the tribes have been bilateral units as there have always been many marriages contracted between people of different tribes. Two tribes of Ayr, namely the *Imezzureg* and the *Kel Akerra*, claim that they have intermarried regularly from very ancient times, because the father of the *Kel Akerra* tribe was the brother of the mother of the *Imezzureg* tribe, while the father of the *Imezzureg* was a cross-cousin of *Kel Akerra*'s mother. These two tribes possess their individual chiefs, but have always been very mixed. It seems as if chiefs 614
were elected according to matrilineal rules in the past, but to-day it is claimed that a son of a deceased chief should be the first in line of succession (cf. p. 456 ff.).

In Southern Ayr camps of all possible tribes to-day live among each other. There are no grazing 614
grounds or particular territories nowadays when everybody is free to go where he likes with flocks 423
and herds. No Tuareg have particular rights over land, and ban on grazing within certain areas, as in [361]
Ahaggar, is unknown. This is said also to have been the case in the past. But in the times preceding [565]
the French occupation of Ayr, all vassal tribes had their particular territories which, according to Capot-Rey, were formerly marked by walls (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). I have not been able to confirm this, but the Tuareg told me that in the past tribal territories had frontiers marked out by river valleys or by natural objects such as large trees. The vassal tribes did not own these territories, which were [643]
allotted them by the drum-chief of the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe, the *Irawatten*. The traditional territories or grazing grounds of most *Kel Ferwan* tribes are indicated in the list on p. 423 ff.

At present there seem to be no sectional division of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes corresponding to the 614
division into sections in Ahaggar. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg generally live in small camps comprising 621
a few tents. These camps, which co-operate in stock-herding, do not generally exceed four or five tents [596]
inhabited by kinsmen who generally constitute an extended family, e.g., (1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children; (2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children; (3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children; (4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband. These small camps, [591]
as may be seen, are not based upon any particular rule of residence in agreement with what has been said of residence rules above. The households of a little camp of this kind will remain constantly [476]
together to co-operate not only in goat-herding, but generally in camel-breeding also. The labour for 233
camel-herding and caravan trading is more easily provided for in Ayr than in Ahaggar. For camels [484]
are rarely taken to very distant grazing grounds, and caravan trading is often limited to expeditions to Damergu where the Tuareg fetch their millet. The Tuareg tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group living around Agadez have no true co-operative units apart from the small camps of up to four or five tents. Such small camps of extended families may temporarily join each other in a bigger camp during the 361
621

174 Matriarchy, in fact, goes back to the times when primitive man had no exact notions on the causes of childbirth.

For, "it seems," Gautier continues, "that primitive man attributed all birth to parthenogenesis and could only imagine a conception which was immaculate. He saw no ineluctable connection between caressing and gestation. Although he practiced fertilization by instinct, he had no clear idea of this. The word 'father' had no sense for him, and consequently the children could only group themselves around the mother." (2)

2. La conquête du Sahara, p. 190.

On the other hand, since rules of marriage had not yet been established in that period, it was impossible to seek out paternity. It is from this state of things that filiation by the uterine branch is derived. With the totemic beliefs to be found in lower civilizations, the matrilocal system found still another reason for existence. It was linked with exogamy, preventing unions between the closest relatives and between people of different castes, and making incest impossible.

171 In certain primitive Australian groups, /152/ the study of which helps us understand the evolution of societies, there is a system of
601 kinship by classes of kin that is found among the Tuareg and the peoples of the Sudan. It was defined by Morgan, and groups in the first degree brothers, sisters, and cousins; in the second degree the father, mother, and their siblings; in the third degree the grandparents with their siblings, etc.

174 In matriarchy, the natural protector of the child is the brother of his mother. In the same way the obligation for the husband to live with his wife's family is connected with matriarchy. This
591 custom is practiced in the Ahaggar, where the husband must live
[651] one year in the camp of his parents-in-law, this time being shortened when the young wife has borne a child. When a woman becomes
768 the widow of a man who does not belong to her tribe, she rejoins her tribe and takes her children with her,

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *cfeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tagahant)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of weels *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters.

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 198ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



563 601 akin to the system in use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (fig. 8 9).

563 342 The material culture of the Air negroes is marked by both northern and southern traits. The most common type of dwelling is a beehive hut *(tatrami)*, which I have also seen south of Air in the savannah, while similar huts are unknown to the north in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. The huts are often placed within round enclosures which are possibly of Sudanese origin (cf. fig. 15). There are however other types of dwellings in the Air villages. Very common is a square straw hut *(techira)* with a slightly elevated saddle-roof. It is built by the men while the beehive hut is made by women, and both types are frequently used by one and the same household. This square hut differs constructionally from the straw huts used among settled agriculturists in the north. Also rather common is a barrel-vaulted hut *(ehen)* covered with mats (fig. 14). It has the same name and is of much the same construction as the movable huts or tents used by most pastoral Air Tuareg (fig. 5 & 13). It is built by women and seems to have been introduced by pastoral [462] women married to settled agriculturists. Finally there is in some villages a rectangular house *(tarachamt)* with a flat roof. It has very solid walls generally built from stones inserted in and covered with mud. It has various sub-types more elaborately described by Rodd, who considers these houses to be of northern origin (Rodd 1926a, p. 240ff.). They have most probably been introduced from Tassili-n-Ajjer 177 312 or the Fezzan from which regions came also the irrigation system now forming the basis of agriculture all over Air, namely the drawing of water from shallow wells *(anou)* by means of zebus. This system is extremely common in the Fezzan and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where, as mentioned, it was introduced also to Ahaggar. It is not known when it came to Air, but in many villages it has been adopted only very recently. Not so many years ago water for irrigation in most villages was apparently raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight *(aroudit)* (cf. Capot-Rey 1933, p. 322), but this method has now disappeared. It can be considered the oldest irrigation machine and it is no doubt [174] of very great age in Northern Africa including the Sudan. The method however 241 involves much strenuous work and in view of this it may seem quite natural that agriculture in Air was in the past also practised as shifting cultivation without any irrigation. Rodd states that in certain areas of Air rain-grown crops could be raised most years and that in the past a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I think this is correct. Certain crops as for instance millet has a very short period of growth; in Ahaggar (Abelessa) millet is sown in June-July and harvested in September, and it is said that it is not watered very much and never to the same extent as wheat grown in winter. It would no doubt be possible to grow millet in many parts of Air without artificial irrigation during the rains, and in fact millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation. But nowadays agri-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance between children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown, the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two outwardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8)[1] which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and for certain matrilineal relatives. As clans, according to traditional rules, are groups of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims the line of succession to be as follows:– 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Geres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492f.). Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151f., 463ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

[1] [p. 102, categor 116.—Analyst]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law *(alegges*, pl. *iwsen)*,
[601] or sisters-in-law *(taleggest*, pl. *tilousin)*, while the spouses of descendants of all
brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law *(aḍeggal*, pl. *iḍoulen)*, or
[606] daughters-in-law *(taḍeggalt*, pl. *teḍoulin)*. These terms are always used reciprocally,
and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized
634 his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the
614 members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble
565 origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged
to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is
[687] said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely
not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the
634 Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the
614 Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other
565 drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel
114 Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg
claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and
Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd
thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans
the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427) The Kel
Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation
was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg
are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems
to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related
to the Ihaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter
clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from
634 the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power
614 over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the
565 Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have
had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibararochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by
[558] vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who
however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-
chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission
and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-
wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel
Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief
[669] had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign
Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

●601

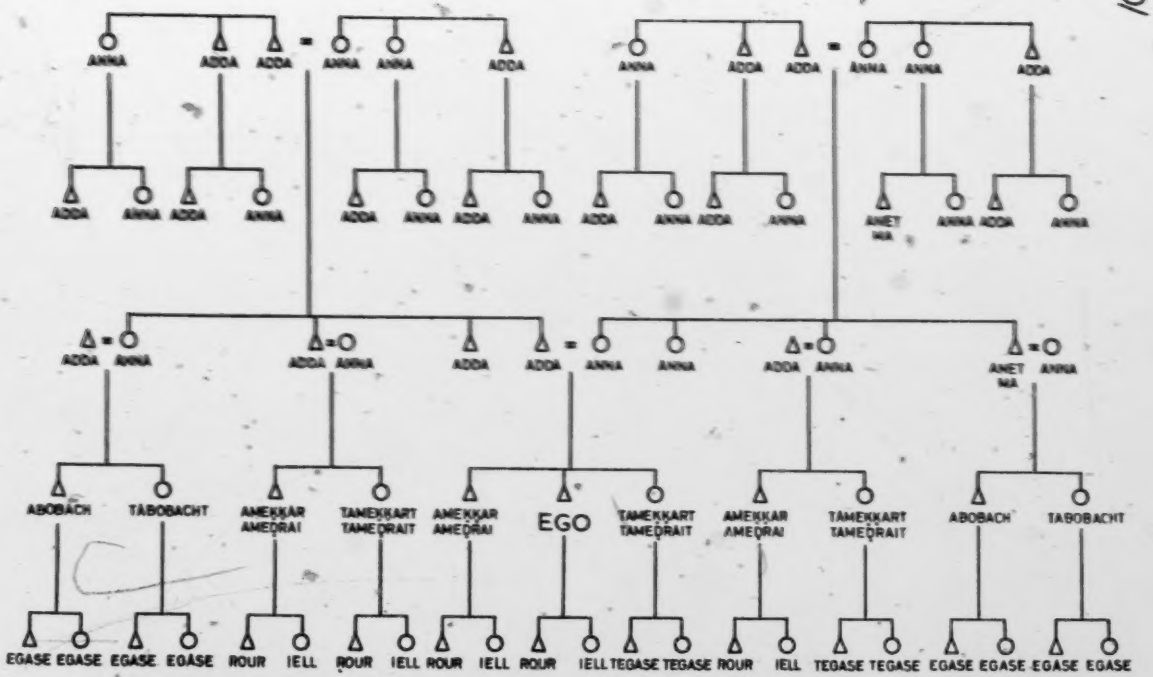


Fig. 8.–The kinship system of the Air Tuareg of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. Some of the kinship terms cannot be used without affixes of possesive pronouns. The meaning of the terms is as follows:– ADDA = father; ANNA = mother; ANET MA (correctly AÑET MA) = mother's brother; AMEKKAR (TAMEKKART) = elder brother (sister); AMEDRAI (TAMEDRAIT) = younger brother (sister); ABOBACH (TABOBACHT) = cross-cousin; ROUR = son; IELL = daughter; TEGASE = sister's child; EGASE = child of cross-cousin. Children of all persons termed ROUR, IELL, TEGASE, and EGASE are known as AJAOU = child's child. For EGO female TEGASE and EGASE are substituted with the terms for children (ROUR, IELL). Classificatory terms are not generally used for address, but children will address many kinsmen of ascending generations as "father" and "mother". Further information on Tuareg kinship is given fig. 9.

[p.102]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
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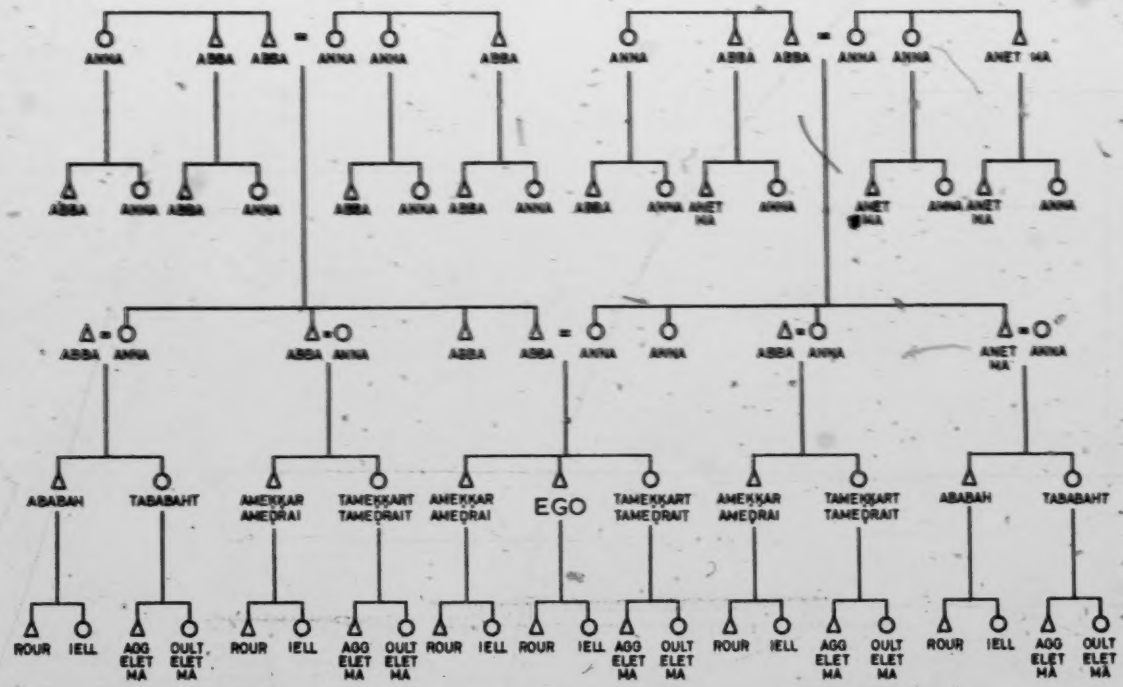


Fig. 9.–The kinship system of the Ahaggar Tuareg. ABBA = father; ANNA = mother; ANET MA (correctly AÑET MA) = mother's brother; AMEKKAR (TAMEKKART) = elder brother (sister); AMEDRAI (TAMEDRAIT) = younger brother (sister). ABABAH (TABABAHT) = cross-cousin; ROUR = son; IELL = daughter; AGG ELET MA (OULT ELET MA) = sister's son (daughter). Children of mother's male cousins and father's female cousins are classificatory cross-cousins to EGO, while children of mother's female cousins and father's male cousins are classificatory brothers and sisters. Descendants of persons termed ROUR and IELL are known as ROUR and IELL, descendants of AGG ELET MA (OULT ELET MA) as AG ELET MA (OULT ELET MA). For EGO female the terms AGG ELET MA (OULT ELET MA) are substituted with terms for children (ROUR, IELL).

Cp.103

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:- 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 5 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan 614
and eight in the three sub-clans of the Aṭouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the
sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up in [361]
minor camps of 2–7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family 621
which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals 476
are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big [596]
camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps [422]
consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within
the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a
distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix.
When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable
grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company,
but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan
trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case
the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each
other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never [613]
correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five
generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands
according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or 622
section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative
of the section in relation to the clan chief *(Amgar)*. These khalifas are not neces- [614]
sarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilin-
eal as it is for clan chiefs.

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8–9), but the [194]
rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between [601]
cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in 602
Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most
clans. [Text continues on p. 108]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



13 would emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically a certain dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

144 174 At present both fair-skinned europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most Negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern Negroes in the Fezzan constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the ancestors of the present Negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all Negroes of Ahaggar were apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid *Ḥarratin* then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. Another immigration of predominantly black-skinned and negroid agriculturists came from Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Ganet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the *Ḥarratin*. – Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Ayr by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Ayr originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese in regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Ayr were Negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that, before the Tuareg, Ayr was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45; Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Ayr* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the Massif, to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations seem to confirm these statements. All Tuareg-173 questioned about the history of Ayr have admitted that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the 192 country before the Tuareg, and in the Berber dialect spoken by these people there are a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of the *Kel Ewey* 601 group is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg and related to the 164 system is use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (Figs. 293–294).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



As an illustration of camel terms given to animals in very special situations, I give the two following examples:— (1) A she-camel when driven out for grazing while its calf is tethered in the camp is known as *tamanlak* to the Ahaggar Tuareg, as *tenieg* to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr; (2) A pack-camel when walking in a caravan is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *amekkalu*, while the corresponding term in Ayr seems to be *alaway*. 233 192 [492]*

For the size of herds the Ahaggar Tuareg have the following terms:— *tazegga* (a small herd of 20-40 camels and/or she-camels), *ahammal* (from very few animals up to about one hundred, the herd consisting mainly of male camels), *adyaw* (a very large herd comprising about one hundred animals at least, regardless of their sex). As far as my investigations go these terms are not known among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. They refer to a small number of camels as *imnas* (10 to 15 animals comprising male and/or female camels), while a bigger herd is known as *tollemin* (comprising male and/or female camels).

All the above-mentioned camel terms are with very few exceptions used exclusively for camels and not for other animals. Extensive vocabularies are found also for other domestic animals and for many aspects of stock-breeding, but the camel vocabulary is extremely large by comparison. This seems understandable as camels have a many-sided use to the Tuareg, and there can be no doubt that camel-terms like goat-terms are primarily a linguistic technique of practical value – a technique which enables the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. But this is evidently not the sole reason why the camel vocabulary is so extensive that a detailed description of all terms would necessitate an independant book on this subject. For the camel vocabulary is extremely large not only because of its practical value, but also because Tuareg interest in camels is not solely confined to their practical uses. This is intimated, I believe, by some of the peculiar terms mentioned and above all by the very many synonyms. [181]

Camels, in contrast to most domestic animals, have social functions among the Tuareg. It is true that bride-wealth in vassal tribes of the Northern Tuareg may be paid in goats (25–30 animals), but this is the case mainly among the *Kel Ajjer* while most Ahaggar vassals will claim that bride-wealth should be paid in camels. The true vassals of Ahaggar give one to three camels for a wife, the payment being dependent upon the bride's tribe – in most tribes it is the custom to give only one camel, while two tribes will claim two and three camels respectively for their women. Among the Ayr vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group bride-wealth may be paid in cash, though the bride-wealth in these tribes is generally one camel as among most northern vassals. But the size of bride-wealth among the Ayr Tuareg is frequently discussed by representatives of the families, and it depends much upon the age, quality, and wealth of the bride. For very desired girls the payment may rise to two or three camels while for others the payment is only "two camel feet", that is a "half share in a camel"; it is said that even "one foot" is sometimes accepted as bride-wealth. This system of giving shares in camels may give rise to trouble between the persons who share the same animal. Among noble Tuareg, both in the north and in Ayr, bride-wealth can be paid only in camels. Among noble tribes of the Northern Tuareg the bride-wealth to be paid is fixed at seven camels, while among the few noble Tuareg now left in the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group the price, it is said, varies between ten and twenty camels. Camels given for bride-wealth are generally *ilusan* (sing. *alegges*) (fem. *tilusin*, sing. *taleggest*). 233 583 565 [578] 233 583 601

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233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. 683 For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at 233 436 682 a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *ilgad*, or *chét awrtay* | (one year old) | 10 | *ilbeydeǧin* | (white) |
| 10 | *ilhusin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *ililarin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *teḳḳenifadden* | (3 years old) | 10 | *ilzeggerin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiruyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *ilbhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chét exsin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *ilemlarin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chét okkoz* | (6 years old) | 10 | *ilzerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *ilmezzedas* | (7 years old) | 10 | *ilmengelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chét tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 | *ilkewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tirrǧanin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *ilzerrafin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *ilwinarin* | (white cornea) |

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 545 524 237 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[Text continues on p. 104]

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placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made 634
four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his 721
part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. 565
He kept them there for about a month, when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted [727]
on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based 634
upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. 565
It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal [684]
tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were [423]
not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of 565
cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed be- 571
tween all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other 634
unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Faday*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and [564]
vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Imeggedezen* and even slaves. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the [601]
more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *abubaz* (pl. *ibubazen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This 565
statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only 582
634

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pay bride-wealth like sedentary Arabs or pastoral Tuareg, but should they not pay bride-wealth in animals like pastoral Tuareg but follow the custom of sedentary Arabs, they generally pay less than the Arabs. The *Harratin*, who have Arabic as their mother tongue, generally follow the Arab rules of social organization, while negroid agriculturists, who descend from Tuareg slaves and speak Tuareg, practise the rules of the Tuareg social system.

T 601

Tuareg kinship systems differ radically from the Arab system just mentioned. The Tuareg have many descriptive terms for relatives, but these are also grouped together under very few terms in classificatory systems which are somewhat different in the various Tuareg groups. However, it seems to be a main characteristic of most true Tuareg kinship systems that there are distinctive terms for cross-cousins and parallel cousins. Here I describe in some detail the kinship systems of the Ahaggar Tuareg and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr.

## AHAGGAR

Most relatives of ascending generations are known as "father" (*abba*) and "mother" (*anna*). But there is a particular term for "mother's brother" (*añet ma*), which is also used for certain other relatives of the mother's family, particularly for persons who are related to Ego in the maternal line. Thus the term *añet ma* is used for mother's mother's brother, for mother's mother's sister's son, and also for any older relatives matrilineally related to Ego, e.g., mother's mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's son. Two relatives of the mother's family are not necessarily matrilineally related to Ego, but are nevertheless termed *añet ma*, namely mother's mother's brother's son and mother's father's brother's son.

Relatives of Ego's own generation are known as "brothers and sisters", or as cross-cousins. Brothers and sisters can be referred to as *añaten* (sing. *aña*) and *tañatin* (sing. *welet ma*), but these terms are used mainly for composed descriptive terms, e.g., *aña n ti s em ma*, that is "mother's father's brother". Speaking of brothers and sisters the Ahaggar Tuareg will generally use terms which refer to age. There are terms for "elder brother" (*amekkar*) and "younger brother" (*amedray*), and similar terms for "elder sister" (*tamekkart*) and "younger sister" (*tamedrayt*). These terms are also used for true and distant parallel cousins, but the true age distinctions are then not the basis of terminology. If Ego's father's brother is older than Ego's father, father's brother's children will be "elder brothers and elder sisters" to Ego. Similarly, mother's sister's children will be "elder brothers and sisters" to Ego if their mother is older than Ego's mother. Distant parallel cousins are known as elder or younger brothers and sisters according to the same principle, the difference in age between grandparents determining whether they should be classified as "elder" or "younger". For true and distant parallel cousins there are additional terms which do not refer to age:— All true and distant parallel cousins of the mother's family are known as *ara n tañatin* ("children of sisters") or as *ara n tediden* ("children of women"), while true and distant parallel cousins of the father's family are called *ara n añaten* ("children of brothers") or *ara n midden* ("children of men").

Relatives of Ego's own generation who are not brothers or sisters are cross-cousins. Male cross-cousins are termed *ibubah* (sing. *ababah*) while female cross-cousins are known as *tibubah* (sing. *tababaht*). Cross-cousins comprise not only children of father's sisters and children of mother's



[text continues on p. 452]

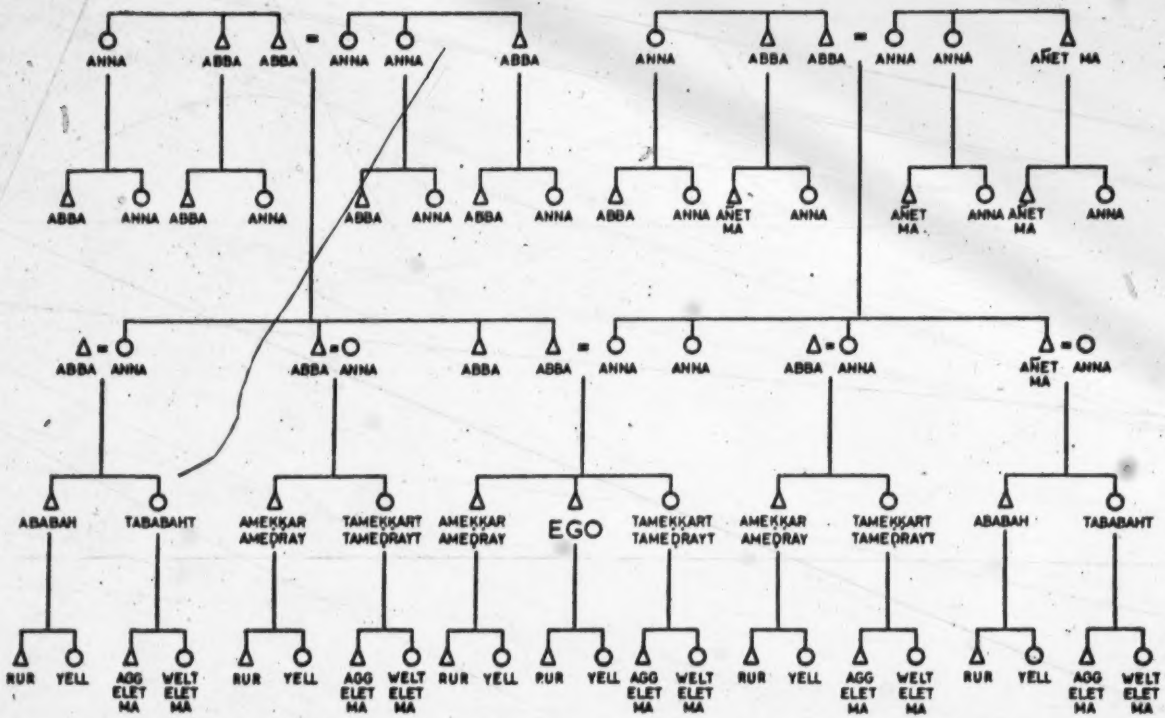


Fig. 293. The kinship system of the Ahaggar Tuareg for Ego male. For Ego female all relatives of descendent generations are "children".

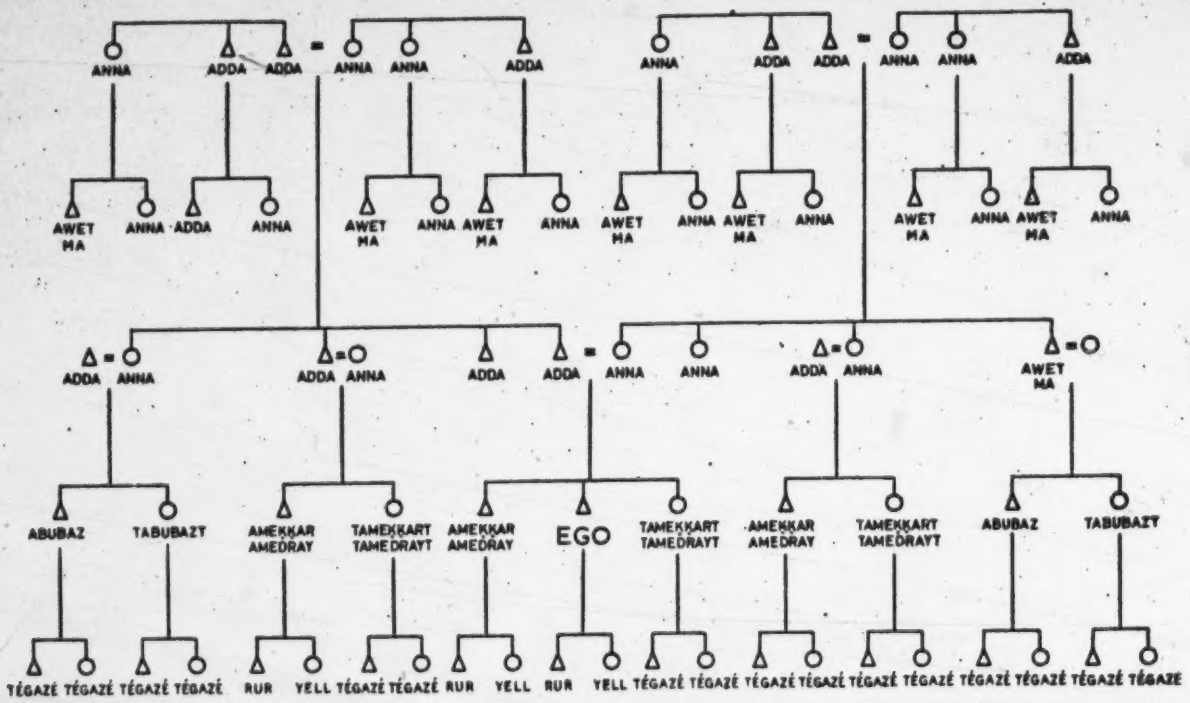


Fig. 294. The kinship system of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg (Ayr) for Ego male. All relatives of descendent generations are "children" to Ego female.

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601 brothers, but also all children of father's female cousins and all children of mother's male counsins.

For descending generations kinship terms are different for Ego male and Ego female. Ego male will call all children of his sisters and all children of his female cousins *agg elet ma* ("sister's son") or *welt elet ma* ("sister's daughter"), while all children of his brothers and all children of his male cousins will be called *rur* ("son") or *yell* ("daughter"). Descendants of persons known as *rur* (*yell*) are known as *rur* (*yell*), descendants of persons known as *agg elet ma* (*welt elet ma*) as *agg elet ma* (*welt elet ma*). Ego female has no "sister's children" but will call all relatives of descending generations *rur* ("son") or *yell* ("daughter"). – Collectively all relatives of the second descending generation are known as *iheyawen* (sing. *ahaya*) or *tiheyawin* (sing. *tahayawt*). This term can be used for descendants of more distant generations as indicated by the tribal name *Iheyawen Hada*, that is "descendants of *Hada*".

## AYR

[184] There are at least two distinct kinship systems in Ayr, both of which differ from that described above in the case of Ahaggar.

[171] The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg have a system related to that of the Hausa-speaking population of Agadez and further south. In *Kel Ewey* the terms for "brothers" and "sisters" are never used classificatorily. All parallel cousins and cross-cousins are known as *ibubazen* (sing. *abubaz*; fem. *tabubazt*), and children of all cousins are known as *tégazé*, which is used both for males and females. The *Kel Ewey*, in contrast to other Tuareg, do not make any distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins. As far as my knowledge goes all this applies only to the true *Kel Ewey* and not for such Tuareg groups as the *Kel Tamat* and the *Ikezkezen* who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey*.

The kinship system of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg comes close to the system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, but the two systems are not identical. The word *anna* ("mother") is used for all female relatives of ascending generations and also for spouses of such relatives, who are called *adda* ("father"). The term for "father" (*adda*) is applied to all grandfathers whether they are patrilineally or matrilineally related to Ego, to father's brothers, and to the husbands of father's sisters and mother's sisters. It is also applied to father's father's sons but not to other male cousins of Ego's father and mother, for all other male cousins of father and mother are termed *awet ma*, the word employed for "mother's brother". Thus the term *awet ma* is used for true mother's brothers and for most male relatives of the parents' generation, while it is never used for matrilineal kinsmen of the second ascending generation. The wives of all males termed *awet ma* are known as *tamtet n awet ma* ("mother's brother's wife") and not as *anna* ("mother").

The Kel Ferwan Tuareg do not use the term *aña* (pl. *añaten*) and welet ma (pl. *tañatin*) for brothers and sisters. When they talk about brothers and sisters without reference to age they use the terms for younger brother (*amedray*, pl. *imedrayen*) and younger sister (*tamedrayt*, pl. *timedrayin*). The term for "elder brother" and "elder sister" are identical with those used in Ahaggar, namely *amekkar* and *tamekkart*. Parallel cousins are called "elder brother" ("younger brother") and "elder sister" ("younger sister") according to the same rule as in Ahaggar. Should their father or mother be older

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than Ego's father or mother, they are considered "elder brothers and sisters". Apart from true brothers and sisters and true parallel cousins, Ego has as "brothers" and "sisters" only the father's father's brothers' sons' children. Whether they should be termed "elder" or "younger" depends upon the difference in age of their grandfathers. These relatives, like the father's brothers' children, are sometimes called *araw n midden* ("children of men") while the term *araw n tedidin* is sometimes used for children of mother's sisters. 601

The Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group have very few classificatory brothers and sisters. Children of the parents' cousins are cross-cousins with the exception of father's father's brothers' sons' children. In accordance with this we find that most relatives of the first descending generation are known to Ego male as "sister's son" or "sister's daughter" (*tégazé*), while Ego female will call all relatives of her first descending generation "son" (*rur*) or "daughter" (*yell*). She will also use these terms for all relatives of her second descending generation, while Ego male calls all children of *tégazé* relatives *égazé*. – Collectively, all relatives of the second descending generation are known to Ego male and female as *ayaw*.

Classificatory terms are used mainly for terms of reference and less frequently for address. However, grandparents and also their brothers and sisters are generally addressed "father" (*abba*, *adda*) and "mother" (*amma*). Many Tuareg also call their parents' brothers and sisters "father" and "mother", but personal names may also be employed when addressing these relatives, and are frequently used in the case of the parents' cousins. There is a common term of address which is used for all relatives of ascending generations if these relatives are much older than oneself. This term is *amṛar* (fem. *tamṛart*). It is a term of great respect and may be used to address parents-in-law (who rarely are addressed), and even for certain old people though they are not kinsmen. The word *amṛar* is further used as a title of a tribal chief. Kinsmen of one's own generation are generally called by name, though the term for cross-cousin is sometimes used to address cross-cousins in friendly conversation.

The words *ti* ("father") and *ma* ("mother") are not generally used for reference or address. They are employed mainly as descriptive terms, e.g., *ti s n ti s* ("his father's father"), *ma s n ti s* ("his father's mother").

Kinship terminology is different in Ahaggar and in Ayr but there are certain similarities which are even more remarkable for in-law terms. Both in Ayr and in Ahaggar brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are known as *ihusan* (sing. *alegges*) and *tihusin* (sing. *taleggest*), and Tuareg of both groups recognize as such (1) all spouses of true and classificatory brothers and sisters, (2) all spouses of true and classificatory cross-cousins. The terms for parents-in-law and children-in-law are also identical for the two groups; a son-in-law or a father-in-law is called *aḍeggal* (*adeggal* in Ayr) (pl. *iḍulan*), while the feminine form *taḍeggalt* (*tadeggalt* in Ayr) (pl. *tiḍulin*) is used for a mother-in-law or a daughter-in-law. These terms are also used classificatorily and, strictly speaking, a person has as children-in-law the spouses of all relatives called children or sister's children. Consequently parents-in-law comprise all persons called "father", "mother", and "mother's brother" by the spouse.

The Tuareg speak about their kinship relations in terms of a man. They divide all their consanguineous kinsmen into three groups known by the Tuareg terms for "back", "stomach", and "side". The

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601 Ahaggar Tuareg use the following terms for these three classes of kinsmen:— (1) *aruri* ("back") which term is used for relatives of the father's family its true meaning being a group of patrilineally related men; (2) *tésa* ("stomach") which is used for the mother's family with the correct meaning referring to a group of matrilineally related women; (3) *tégehé* ("side", correctly the place between the hips and the lower part of the chest). The proper meaning of this word is "persons descending from sisters and from their parallel female cousins in the maternal line", and is used to indicate the relationship between a man and his true and classificatory sisters' children. – The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr have similar terms with the same meaning:— (1) *aruri* ("back") for father's family; (2) *tédist* ("stomach") for mother's family – the word *tésa* in the Ayr dialect means "liver" and not stomach; (3) *tégazé* ("side") with the same meaning as *tégehé* in Ahaggar; the two words are identical, as the *ǵ* in Ayr is always substituted with a *g*, the *h* frequently with a *z* or *j*. This word in Ayr is used to designate all true and classificatory sister's children, while the Ahaggar Tuareg refer to these relatives by the terms *agg elet ma* and *welt elet ma*. The term *égazé* used by the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg for the children of true and classificatory sister's children is related to *tégazé*; it also refers to part of the side.

602 The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr largely follow the same rules of kinship behaviour. These are outlined below:—

(1) Respect must be shown to all consanguineous relatives of ascending generations, that is respect towards all relatives termed "father", "mother", and "mother's brother".

(2) Respect must be shown to all persons known as "elder brothers" and "elder sisters". Rules of conduct towards such kinsmen are identical with those mentioned above towards kinsmen of ascending generations. Thus a younger brother on a journey with his elder brother will carry out all work as if he was with his father or another kinsman of ascending generations. When with his elder brother he must not talk about any matter referring to sexual life. He must not even talk too much about the copulation of domestic animals, and he should not mention such words as *imẓad* and *tindé* – names of musical instruments used at nightly gatherings which may be accompanied by love-making. A man must not ask his elder brother for a gift, but should ask for anything he wants through a third person. When he wishes to marry, the permission of his elder brother should be asked like that of the father and other older relatives. When the father dies the elder brother takes over his position of authority. The identical rules of conduct towards a father (or older relative) and an elder brother can be clearly shown by the following example:— When I lived among the Tuareg I was incorporated in their [123] kinship organization which is the rule for persons who have no relatives among the people they live among. Once I was attached as a younger brother to a man much older than myself. When travelling together among other Tuareg my "elder brother" was occasionally asked: "Are you his father?", and when replying:— "No, I am his elder brother", the questioner would sometimes add:— "Now, there is his father". For classificatory elder brothers (and sisters) the same rules are valid, even though in this case the "elder brother" may in fact be considerably younger than his "younger brother".

605 (3) There is a joking relationship (*tehanḍezzit* in Ahaggar, *adélen* in Ayr) between all true and classificatory cross-cousins. This joking relationship allows free talk about sexual matters, and when cross-cousins tease each other they frequently refer to matters of sexual life, e.g., "You sleep with old slave women!", "You run after women like a donkey-stallion after a mare!" Teasing permits

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women of their own matrilineage particularly suitable seems to be connected with these rules of residence and succession. Marriages with maternal kinswomen are clearly advantageous to the Ahaggar Tuareg, where residence is ultimately matrilocal, while such marriages in Ayr have no proper justification. 582 591

Tuareg kinship systems in Ahaggar and among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg seem to be adapted to cross-cousin marriage. Parallel cousins are termed brothers and sisters, while there is a particular term for cross-cousins and between them an institutional joking relationship which facilitates contact and marriage. The Tuareg seem to admit that one function of joking between cross-cousins is to promote marriages between them, and they say that in the period during which a man and a woman are in love with each other before marriage – a period which is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *térejjek* – there will always be joking between them even though the two persons are unrelated. 601 605 581

Joking relationship between cross-cousins has another function in addition to that of facilitating marriage. In the description of political systems it has been mentioned that joking plays a rôle in preventing conflicts between people of different classes and castes. When a man marries a cross-cousin, his cross-cousins will become brothers and sisters-in-law with whom joking continues, and there will always be joking with the brothers and sisters of a spouse unless a man marries a particular kinswoman (cf. p. 466). It is the rule that there is joking with brothers and sisters in-law who preferably are also one's cross-cousins so that this joking relationship should in such cases have existed even before marriage. I believe that this convention helps to restrict conflicts between a person and the spouse's family of his own generation, and that joking between in-laws of the same generation has much the same function as has avoidance between parents-in-law and sons and daughters-in-law. There can be no doubt that this type of avoidance is important to the maintenance of good relations between in-laws of different generations, the more so as the Tuareg explain their avoidance relationships by saying that it is only natural that avoidance is particularly strict between people of different sexes in the way that a man avoids his mother-in-law very strictly, a woman her father-in-law equally strictly, for a man has a particularly strong influence over his son, and a woman possesses a corresponding influence over her daughter; consequently conflicts between a man and his mother-in-law, and between a woman and her father-in-law can easily arise. 602

Radcliffe-Brown was the first to point out the identical functions of joking and avoidance. These outwardly such different types of behaviour both serve to prevent conflicts between in-laws (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56 ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). This theory is very important, and I believe that it is not only confirmed but augmented by the material I have brought back from the Tuareg. It is clear that conflicts cannot easily arise between two persons who avoid each other, and the same is true of two joking partners as when everything is permitted, it is difficult to quarrel. Morally, joking is considered a very good thing, and cross-cousins who do not like to joke much are in public opinion bad cross-cousins. However, the intensity of joking between cross-cousins depends very much on the age difference between the two if they belong to the same sex. There will always be much joking between cross-cousins of the same age, while cross-cousins of very different age will joke very little or not at all. With extreme difference in age, two male cross-cousins may even change their joking relationship into avoidance, though this does not seem to be normal. 605

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by traditional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him *amṛar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidā*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



585 laws do not change to a very great extent. There will then already be a relationship of respect between
602 husband and wife, a respect relationship to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law which continues unchanged, and in Ayr the relationship to the mother-in-law does not switch from joking into avoidance. Tuareg wedding ceremonies correspond functionally with the traditional preferential marriage with
[184] cross-cousins. But the wedding ceremonies described are strictly followed at all Tuareg marriages except in the case of important marabuts, who dispense with most ceremonial traits, allowing no public gathering with camel-riding and music, and the groom and the bride enter the wedding tent without formalities.

105 Kinship systems, rules of kinship behaviour, the payment of bride-wealth, and wedding rites seem to be functionally adapted to cross-cousin marriage. All this seems to hold for the Tuareg of Ahaggar and also for those of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group in Ayr. However, we have also observed that there are certain differences in social organization in Ahaggar and Ayr. In both regions Koranic law is valid for inheritance. The rules of succession in Ayr have become predominantly patrilineal, but is matrilineal in Ahaggar. There is also little doubt that most *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg to-day follow patrilocal rules of residence. The Ayr Tuareg are predominantly patrilineal but have remnants of matri-
[587] lineal traits. I note in this connection that some Ayr Tuareg also claim that it is preferable to practise the levirate and the sororate in the way that a widow can marry her deceased husband's younger brother, a widower his deceased wife's younger sister. They hold that this is adopted from Islamic rules.

[601] In Ahaggar matrilineal rules still play a very great rôle as kinship terminology evinces for the term for "mother's brother" is used exclusively for people of the mother's family and mainly for such people of ascending generations who are matrilineally related to Ego – including very distant matrilineal kinsmen. We have also seen that tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and that matrilineal rules are valid for succession to territorial rights, for relations between noble Tuareg and vassals, and ultimately for residence.

105 Tuareg social organization has been submitted to change. Islamic influence has produced a pre-
177 dominantly patrilineal system among the Southern Tuareg, including the *Kel Geres* and the *Kel Ayr*, while among the Northern Tuareg matrilineal rules of succession and residence are still acknowledged.

105 It may perhaps seem rather odd that the Ayr Tuareg, like many Sudanese Tuareg, have been much
177 influenced by the patrilineal rules of Islam in their social organization, while the Ahaggar Tuareg
178 have been far less impressed by these rules in spite of having lived in intimate contact with Arabs
184 for generations, adopting many Arab cultural traits which are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. What is the reason for these distinctions in cultural change among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr? I believe that the answer may lie in the differences in political systems. In pre-European times there was in Ahaggar an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals within the drum-groups, several small noble families being linked with their individual groups of vassals. This relationship (*temazlayt*) was, as we have seen, predominantly an economic one, advantageous to both classes and not least to the noble Tuareg, who were much dependent upon their goat-breeding and caravan-trading vassals. There seem to be little doubt that, before the introduction of Islam, this relationship was organized on the basis of matrilineal rules. And it may perhaps have been very difficult to adopt patrilineal rules and to re-organize relations between noble Tuareg and vassals accordingly. When the first French

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote
[602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general-
[582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihǎggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihǎggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were
[643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores
[184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous
[567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar,
[582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

563 [651] Every year they pay the amenokal three loads of dates and three young goats.

[554] The Irréguénaten. -- The Irréguénaten, like the Issekkemâren, are assimilated vassals of a social rank superior to that of the Imrad.

They are of Tuareg mothers from the Ibettenâten tribe and Arab fathers from the Kounta tribe.

They are divided into two groups: 1) the Adrar Irréguénaten or Issettafénine Irréguénaten, who descended from a sherif of Gourara named Abdelmoumen, whose two sons Mouima and Inchelane married Ibettenâten women; 2) the Ahaggar Irréguénaten or Ihaggarénine Irréguénaten, who descended from the Dermachaka, an incorporated tribe of Kounta and Ibettenâten.

All of them nomadize in the northern Ădrar des Ifôras and the Timétrine and even push as far as Erg Chech. They also visit the Ăhnet and Tamasna.

This is a very rich tribe engaged in raising camels. The [233] Irréguénaten own more than 2, 300 camels, 350 cows, and more than 2, 350 goats and sheep.

[162] In 1908 they numbered 50 to 60 men, according to Benhazéra. The 1938 census raises the figure to 358 persons, 100 of them fighters.

[651] /202/ They pay the tioussé to the descendants of the Inemba and to the descendants of Si Mohamed ag Othman.

Although they associated with the Adrar Kounta, they main- [669] tained relations with the rebellious marabout Abidine, who took refuge among the Kel Ahnet. They probably even served him as spies, and the people of Ădrar des Ifôras held them in suspicion for a long time.

Their camel raising is very well known, and their wives are [28] [462] quite expert in leatherwork.

There are also Irréguénaten in the Niger loop, but they have [600] no bonds of kinship with the Ahaggar Irréguénaten.

## Tobol of the Taïtok

631 The Taïtok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with
565 the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin,
[602] Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Taïtok.

According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin
[173] as the Imenan sultans, that is, descendants of Idris, and the other part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Aïr where the stock /souche/ still exists. (1)

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 322.

114 The Taïtok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Inifel in
631 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity
565 with the Ihaggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live; our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the Ajjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of

2. Les Touareg de l'Ouest
/The Western Tuareg/, p. 18
(Algiers, 1888).

any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without
579 balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela
631 and the suzerainty of the amenokal of the Ahaggar. After the
643 division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the amenokalat,
[181] which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These
175 battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/ by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Taïtok are bound by numerous marriages and are all more or less cousins.

The ahal takes place very often. All that is needed is for 533
a group of men and women to be gathered together in a camp. 584
Often a man comes from a considerable distance to court the 832
girl of his choice. When the year is good, that is to say, when [361]
the rains have brought the pastures to life and the camels are giving much milk, several camps are set up close to each other, and the ahal begins right after sunset.

The men of the camps gather with those who have come especially because some woman attracts them. The women bring their "imz'aden" violins. All those attend the ahal who [602]
are not afraid to be in the presence of one of their relatives to whom they owe respect, such as a father, uncle, older brother, etc. Young girls, married women, divorcées or widows, all attend the ahal.

[361]

Dautheville

Tuareg Troup at Amr'a (Black Tifedest)

Gallantry, "asri" ξ O D , is required, and jealousy [577]
strictly prohibited. Besides, this latter feeling is unknown [626]
among the Tuareg, and if one of them should think of showing it, he would be booed and everyone would make fun of him.

When a Tuareg arrives at the ahal near a woman whom he wishes to court, he approaches her with his veil carefully lowered and does not greet her with the usual "essalamou r'

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

and gaiety, always on condition that the conversation does not take place in the presence of relatives to whom the Tuareg who is addressed owes respect. 521 562 607

The Tuareg woman intervenes effectively in quarrels between the men of her family and, in order to please her, reconciliation takes place. Thus it was thanks to Rakhma, sister of Moussa ag Amastane, that the latter became reconciled with his brother-in-law, Anaba ag Amellal. 562 [593 578]

In short, one may say that nothing is ever done or said among the Tuareg in which the influence of the woman is not found, always and everywhere, and this will be seen as the reading of this article continues. /14/

[291]

Dautheville
Tuareg Group in the Oued Ti-n-amadal Settafen (Tifedest).

## Chapter VI

## Proposal of Marriage

Proposal of marriage, "ibadrahen" ⵉⴱⴰⴷⵔⴰⵀⴻⵏ, is governed by a definite rule of procedure. 584

The suitor for a woman's hand sends marabouts, if there are any, to her parents, or tolbas, or, lacking these, influential people who state his request.

The proposal must be known to all the relatives of the woman without exception; they must all be notified and

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:– 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 3 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Ṛali clan and eight in the three sub-clans of the Agouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up in minor camps of 2–7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative of the section in relation to the clan chief *(Amyar)*. These khalifas are not necessarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilineal as it is for clan chiefs.

614 [361] 621 476 [596] [422] [613] 622 [614]

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8–9), but the rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most clans.

[184] [601] 602

[Text continues on p. 108]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



*Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Agouh-en-Tehele Clan.*

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafia).

| Tenants | Value of Sub-Arra | Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Agouh-en-Tehele, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tôles. | Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Daledge. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication. | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, Khalifa of the Ikenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds. | 3 goats |
| ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader. | Cultivation grounds at Iasgriouel and In Deledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 2 donkeys |
| DEINI, Chief of the Kel Rafia sub-clan. | No particular value. | No land-rent. |
| AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section. | Cultivation grounds at Tahlfet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Aserrnan section of the Isandan sub-clan. | Cultivation grounds at Tamanrasset. In the past wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaiddin now attached to the Agouh-en-Tehele clan. | Khoseni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaiddin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal. | |

621
427
614
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651
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423

clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Agouh-en-Tehele have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Isekkemaren class. Between the Agouh-en-Tehele and the Isekkemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Agouh-en-Tehele people come to the Isekkemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Isekkemaren visiting the Agouh-en-Tehele. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

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[431]
[602]

[Text continues on p. 110]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



428 sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

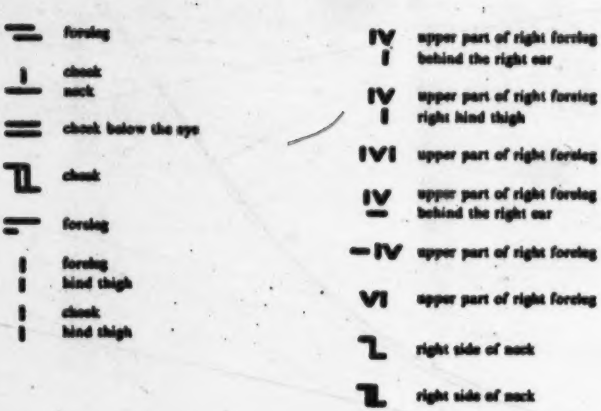
(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mothers) while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states [114] that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar (and in Ayr) denied this.

428 643 Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Rela* drum-group has no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however, [632] will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *éhéré wa n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group)", or *éhéré wa n butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

422 It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually, [858] and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may [553] own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions, e.g., on the naming day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong 422 to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should 592 serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic 422 unit of closely related stock-owners.

*233 All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar [114] Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite [576] to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks [602] so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual 422 ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which *233 time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark 565 their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe (the *Dag Rali*) donkeys are also branded with a redhot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar



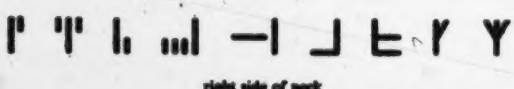




**Fig. 101 a–c. Camel-brands of three Ahaggar tribes.**

a. Brands of the *Kel Ḥeis* tribe.

b. Brands of the *Afuh-en-tahil* tribe. The main brand of this tribe is V called *temasert*. The brands ⌉ & ⌉ are due to intermarriage with the *Ikim-en-awalt* tribe where the principal brand is ⌉ called *emasiaf*.

c. Brands of the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. The main brand characteristic of this tribe is | placed on the right side of the camel's neck. This brand was that used by the founder of the tribe named *Ḥali* and to-day it forms part of most *Dag Ḥali* brands which are always placed on the right side of the camel's neck. The *Dag Ḥali* brands have individual names. The last one is known as *ellkitit n ayalag*, that is "the raven's foot".

*Dag Ḥali* tribe may claim that these two halves are matrilineally related to one another, but also that they do not descend from sisters. It seems in fact as if these two halves stand in a cross-cousin relationship to one another, and it is in agreement with this that the *Dag Ḥali* proper speak of the *Imezziliten* as "children of their mother's brother". The two halves in the past intermarried much though marriages between them are very rare nowadays. Thus in 1951 there were only two marriages between people of the two tribal halves.

I believe that other tribes of Ahaggar have a structure similar to that of the *Dag Ḥali*, but the structure of Tuareg tribes is extremely difficult to grasp because very few Tuareg know their genealogies more than three or four generations back.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



by the Tuareg of Ayr, the *Kel Geres*, and other Tuareg. The Tuareg obtain salt generally in exchange for millet, but they also bring with them dried meat, and meat from animals newly slaughtered; and although this meat is largely rotten when it arrives at Bilma it is easily sold to the oases dwellers who are yearning for meat. The oases dwellers have little to subsist upon but dates of which they have a surplus. This is purchased by the Tuareg, who get two loads of dates for one load of millet. The Bilma trade is less important nowadays than it was at the beginning of the century. In 1922 the Bilma caravans comprised about 7000 camels (Buchanan 1926, p. 83), while in 1908, when the trade was already decreasing, caravans numbered about 20,000 camels (Abadie 1927, p. 292). Caravans still go to Bilma to fetch salt and dates, but the salt trade is not so profitable to-day when Bilma salt can be bought fairly cheaply at Agadez, as the trucks bringing provisions from Agadez to the French administration and to the merchants of Bilma, take salt back with them when they return. The Ayr Tuareg do not organize their trading expeditions within family groups or sections as in Ahaggar. A Tuareg who does not want himself to go to Bilma may let a kinsman or a friend trade for him with his camels. The payment for this is a large loaf of salt which constitute one sixth or one seventh of a camel load.

The Ayr Tuareg do not generally obtain salt from the pits of Tegidda-n-tésemt though this place is not very far from the Massif to the west. They say that the Tegidda salt is not as good as Bilma's. The salt of Tegidda-n-tésemt is purchased mainly by the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* when visiting the regions around Ingal after the rains. Some of the *Kel Ayr* who live in the extreme north (the *Kel Tédalé*, and others) occasionally go to Amadror in the north to fetch salt which is taken down to the Sudanese towns and villages. In years when drought prevails in Ahaggar these Tuareg take their surplus of livestock to the market at Tamanrasset, for in dry years the provision of meat, butter, and cheese consumed in Ahaggar come mainly from Ayr and adjacent regions. When I stayed in Ahaggar in 1954–55 a great many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* came to Tamanrasset to sell camels, donkeys, sheep, goats, and zebus, and also brought with them large quantities of cow's butter and cheese. The route followed from Northern Ayr to Ahaggar runs via I-n-azawa and I-n-abeggi which are the only wells between the two mountain massifs. Water is very scarce and so is pasture, which is mainly limited to a scattered vegetation of annual plants; over very large areas there is no vegetation at all. It is easy to drive camels and donkeys through these regions, while more difficult for sheep, goats, and cattle. The zebus easily get cut hooves from walking on stony ground, while sheep and goats suffer much from thirst. In spite of this, all kinds of livestock can be driven through the barren desert from Ayr to Ahaggar, even as late as the month of March which is extremely hot in the barren desert country. The Tuareg frequently lose animals which die from thirst and hunger during the journey, but the trade is nevertheless extremely profitable as prices of livestock are high in Ahaggar in dry years, while prices of European goods such as tea, sugar, cotton, metal vessels, and the like are extremenly low compared with the prices asked for these goods in Ayr.

The Ayr Tuareg, though owning more livestock than the Tuareg of Ahaggar, have a certain demand of agricultural food products. These products are mainly grown outside of the Massif, for the farmers of Ayr grow little millet, very few dates, and part of the wheat grown in Ayr is exported to the oases of Ganet and Rat in the north. Though these vegetable products can be purchased at Agadez, it is profitable to fetch them where they are cheap, namely in the Sudan (millet) and in Bilma (dates). And

619 him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were
721 frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal* were raided
643 by people of his drum-group, the *Amenukal* had the right to a tribute named *ennehet* which according to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amenukal*'s drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the *Amenukal* to whom they paid *tiwsé* for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347 f.).

634 The drum-group (*eṭṭebel*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The
[631] federation (*téġehé*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

634 It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship
565 (*tehanḍeẓẓit*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there
571 were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is
614 true notably of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar.
[602] People of the *Dag Ṛali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group joke with the tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The word "*Isekkemaren*" means literally "people who lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg and true vassals, who say that the *Isekkemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals will joke with the *Isekkemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the
[602] vassal tribe *Aġuh-en-tehlé* and the *Isekkemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally
[431] related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed between *Aġuh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Isekkemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* Tuareg come to the *Isekkemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the *Isekkemaren* visiting the *Aġuh-en-tehlé*. The *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relationship to the noble *Kel Ṛela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Ṛela* engage in sham-fights (*tebbillant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between the *Kel Ṛela* and the vassal *Aġuh-en-telhé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between *Isekkemaren* and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Isekkemaren* tribes (*Iheyawen Hada, Kel Taẓulet*) and the *Aġuh-en-tehlé tribe*. Wedding feasts in these *Isekkemaren* tribes are most popular with young men of the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Isekkemaren* girls. Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages, if any, while this was not so in the *Taytok* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between

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noble Tuareg and vassals. It would seem as if these mixed marriages had a political function as they served to reinforce the solidarity within the drum-group in view of its opposition to the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group and the *Amenukal*. In consequence of these marriages the political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group was in the past much influenced by rules of kinship behaviour, and the payments due to the drum-chief from vassals were less comprehensive than in the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group. 634 565 571 614 [602]

*The Kel Ṛela* drum-group was divided into minor relationships between noble Tuareg and vassals. These relationships were known as *temaẓlayt*, that is literally "the root of the nail". They have almost ceased to exist, and consequently they are very difficult to describe. However, it is possible to outline their organization and main functions. They were structurally akin to the drum-group, as they were matrilineally organized. A noble Tuareg who had rights over certain vassals would be succeeded by a maternal kinsman, and in a group of vassals right and obligations would equally follow matrilineal rules. A *temaẓlayt* relationship was a relationship between a small noble matrilineage with a particular leader and a larger matrilineage of vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class. The noble matrilineage that was attached to a definite group of vassals would not necessarily correspond with the matrilineal core within a section, for there were comparatively many noble Tuareg in the *Kel Ṛela* tribe who were leaders of *temaẓlayt* groups. This is shown by Benhazera's investigations, which took place at a time when the ancient political system of the Ahaggar Tuareg still retained most of its traditional functions. At that time there were at least ten noble Tuareg who were commanders of *temaẓlayt* groups (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.). 634 565 571 613 [178]

There are certain traces of *temaẓlayt* organizations even to-day. The token of this relationship is the payment of an annual due known as *tiwsé* from a group of vassals to the *temaẓlayt* master.

Apparently some vassals who made *tiwsé* payments to a noble *temaẓlayt* master did not make this payment also to their drum-chief (the *Amenukal*). Thus to-day the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe makes an annual *tiwsé* payment to *Maṛli agg Amayas* of the *Kel Ṛela* section named *Inemba Kel-Emeṛri*, but gives no *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal Bay*, who belongs to the *Iboglan* section of the same tribe, though the land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) is always paid to the *Amenukal*. I was also told by the *Kel Ṛela Khalifa* of Tamesna, who belonged to the *Iboglan* section, that he had the right to collect the *tiwsé* payment from the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, but as he was now living outside of Ahaggar this payment was made by the *Isandan* to the *Amenukal*. However, I believe that in the past most vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class made *tiwsé* payments both to their individual *temaẓlayt* masters and to the *Amenukal*. This would also seem to be in agreement with Foucauld's description of *temaẓlayt* relations (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1965).

A noble *temaẓlayt* master had no judicial authority over his individual vassals, and could not summon them to war and raiding against their will. These rights belonged to the drum-chief, consequently in the *Kel Ṛela* group, to the *Amenukal*. The obligations of a noble *temaẓlayt* master towards his vassals were mainly to protect them against raids by and exploitation of other noble Tuareg who formed a class of warriors and raiders roaming the country for enemies and for booty. A *temaẓlayt* master had the right to organize raids with the support of his vassals, if they were interested, and the vassals were also allowed to carry out raids on their own behalf, but in both cases half of the booty (*abellaḳ*) taken by 634 565 571 613 721

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601 Ahaggar Tuareg use the following terms for these three classes of kinsmen:— (1) *aruri* ("back") which term is used for relatives of the father's family its true meaning being a group of patrilineally related men; (2) *tésa* ("stomach") which is used for the mother's family with the correct meaning referring to a group of matrilineally related women; (3) *tégehé* ("side", correctly the place between the hips and the lower part of the chest). The proper meaning of this word is "persons descending from sisters and from their parallel female cousins in the maternal line", and is used to indicate the relationship between a man and his true and classificatory sisters' children. – The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr have similar terms with the same meaning:— (1) *aruri* ("back") for father's family; (2) *tédist* ("stomach") for mother's family – the word *tésa* in the Ayr dialect means "liver" and not stomach; (3) *tégazé* ("side") with the same meaning as *tégehé* in Ahaggar; the two words are identical, as the *g* in Ayr is always substituted with a *g*, the *h* frequently with a *z* or *j*. This word in Ayr is used to designate all true and classificatory sister's children, while the Ahaggar Tuareg refer to these relatives by the terms *agg elet ma* and *welt elet ma*. The term *égazé* used by the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg for the children of true and classificatory sister's children is related to *tégazé*; it also refers to part of the side.

602 The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr largely follow the same rules of kinship behaviour. These are outlined below:—

(1) Respect must be shown to all consanguineous relatives of ascending generations, that is respect towards all relatives termed "father", "mother", and "mother's brother".

(2) Respect must be shown to all persons known as "elder brothers" and "elder sisters". Rules of conduct towards such kinsmen are identical with those mentioned above towards kinsmen of ascending generations. Thus a younger brother on a journey with his elder brother will carry out all work as if he was with his father or another kinsman of ascending generations. When with his elder brother he must not talk about any matter referring to sexual life. He must not even talk too much about the copulation of domestic animals, and he should not mention such words as *imzad* and *tindé* – names of musical instruments used at nightly gatherings which may be accompanied by love-making. A man must not ask his elder brother for a gift, but should ask for anything he wants through a third person. When he wishes to marry, the permission of his elder brother should be asked like that of the father and other older relatives. When the father dies the elder brother takes over his position of authority. The identical rules of conduct towards a father (or older relative) and an elder brother can be clearly shown by the following example:— When I lived among the Tuareg I was incorporated in their [123] kinship organization which is the rule for persons who have no relatives among the people they live among. Once I was attached as a younger brother to a man much older than myself. When travelling together among other Tuareg my "elder brother" was occasionally asked: "Are you his father?", and when replying:— "No, I am his elder brother", the questioner would sometimes add:— "Now, there is his father". For classificatory elder brothers (and sisters) the same rules are valid, even though in this case the "elder brother" may in fact be considerably younger than his "younger brother".

605 (3) There is a joking relationship (*tehanḍezzit* in Ahaggar, *adélen* in Ayr) between all true and classificatory cross-cousins. This joking relationship allows free talk about sexual matters, and when cross-cousins tease each other they frequently refer to matters of sexual life, e.g., "You sleep with old slave women!", "You run after women like a donkey-stallion after a mare!" Teasing permits

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any insolence, even the tearing away of a cross-cousin's veil in public. Insolence always incurs retaliation, and joking frequently gives rise to *tebbillant*, that is a sham-fight. A fight of this kind will normally end with the looting part running away with something belonging to his cousin. He gives this back only if he feels like it, for cross-cousins are allowed to take each other's things. The same type of joking exists between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law in Ahaggar and in Ayr. 605

(4) There is avoidance between parents-in-law and children-in-law in the way that a man avoids very strictly his mothers-in-law, a woman very strictly her fathers-in-law. This rule of conduct is valid for all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr. A man should not talk to his mother-in-law, and must never eat in her presence; he will avoid her tent, and if visiting her camp he will live at a distance of about one hundred metres from her. Similar rules hold for a woman and her father-in-law. Avoidance is less strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law, and there is generally very little avoidance between a woman and her daughter-in-law. 606

So far we have seen that the Tuareg of Ahaggar and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr follow the same rules of kinship behaviour. But there seems to be one important distinction between the two Tuareg groups. For in Ayr there is an institutional joking relationship (*adélen*) with the wives of mother's brothers including the spouses of the classificatory mother's brothers. This type of joking is similar to that of cross-cousins. The initiative for joking is taken by the mother's brother's wife who begins to tease her husband's sisters' children even when they are babies. The little children soon learn to retaliate and they quickly become those who take the initiative in joking and teasing. – I do not believe that this type of joking with a mother's brother's wife is practised in Ahaggar. It has been denied by informants, but it may perhaps be practised by members of certain tribes which originate in Ayr wherefrom they have immigrated to Ahaggar. Joking with a mother's brother's wife is also unknown in the *Iforas* tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These tribes arrived in Ayr about a hundred years ago from Adrar of the Iforas, where Tuareg have no joking relationship with a mother's brother's wife. 602 184 604

(5) We should mention as a characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour that it is considered the right of a man to take domestic animals from particular kinsmen. 602

In Ahaggar a man can take animals from his father, his father's father, his true mother's brothers, from certain classificatory mother's brothers (mother's mother's sister's son; mother's mother's brother, and the latter's son), from his mother's father, who is not a classificatory mother's brother by name, but it is said that he is much like a mother's brother to the person in question. In addition, cross-cousins, as mentioned above, can take each other's property.

In Ayr it is said that apart from his right to take domestic animals from his cross-cousins a man can also take animals from his parents and his true mother's brothers, though not allowed to take them from any of his classificatory mother's brothers.

I have enquired particularly among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr about this right to take animals from kinsmen. They said that if a man wants to take animals from a kinsman it is necessary for him to inform the "victim" about it through a third person shortly after he has done so. If he does not mention to somebody else that he has taken animals from one of his kinsmen, the act is considered a kind of ordinary theft. But if the "victim" is informed about the matter shortly after the animals have been taken, he can generally not complain about it, as this is considered very poor behaviour.

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602 However, the Tuareg say, a man can complain in very extreme cases when sons or sister's sons constantly take animals from him. I have met several Tuareg who have lost many animals taken by sons and sister's sons. One Tuareg had lost seven camels, taken by his oldest son, who had sold them. The Tuareg was very annoyed about this but he had not complained about it directly to his son. The old drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group was constantly complaining to me about his sisters' sons, who took his animals so that he could not leave so large a fortune to his son. He openly called his sisters' sons "thieves", but as far as I know he did not complain about it to them. I was also told in Ayr that the fact that a man could take animals from herds and flocks of his true mother's brothers would not normally lead to conflict between them. Some Ayr Tuareg said that they were as fond of their sisters' sons as they were of their own children. It can be added that if a man has taken many animals from a mother's brother the latter's son may perhaps be able to retaliate as he has the right to take belongings from this man, who is his cross-cousins.

(6) As the last characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour it may be mentioned that, among certain Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, it is normal for a man to inherit the kinship status of his parents on their death, in the way that he adopts their joking relationships with their classificatory cross-cousins, but he will never inherit a joking relationship with the true cross-cousins of his deceased father and mother.

The above-mentioned rules of kinship behaviour seem traditional to Tuareg social organization and very different from those considered valid among the Arabs. The social systems of Tuareg and 177 428 Arabs are on the whole most disssimilar, but nevertheless the Arabs and the Tuareg of to-day have exactly the same rules of inheritance which follow Koranic law. It is evident that these rules have been introduced among the Tuareg owing to contact with the Arabs who brought Islam to North Africa. It is very difficult to determine when the Tuareg adopted Islamic inheritance rules, and also to learn about their pre-Islamic inheritance system.

634 In regard to Tuareg rules of succession there can be no doubt that the matrilineal principle was 643 originally recognized in all groups, but the patrilineal principle has been introduced into certain groups owing to Arab influence. The Tuareg who have adopted patrilineal succession are notably the two groups of *Iwllemmeden*, the *Kel Adrar*, and Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class in various groups (cf. Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.; 1950a, p. 213). In fact we know that the *Iwlemmeden* adopted patrilineal succession as early as in the 17th century (cf. Richer 1924, p. 3, 52; Nicolas 1950a, p. 54 f.), and patrilineal succession is undoubtedly also of great age among the *Kel Adrar*, where the dominant tribes belong to the *Ineslemen* class. As to the two important groups of Southern Tuareg, the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, Nicolas states that succession among them is matrilineal, as it is in Ahaggar (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.), and matrilineal succession is also mentioned as traditional to the Ayr Tuareg by Rodd (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). I have not been able to confirm these statements 119 during my investigations among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. All people questioned in these two groups claimed that the proper successor to chieftainship would be the deceased chief's son, though it was admitted among the Ayr Tuareg that a sister's son might be elected chief if considered better fitted for this position than a son. It would be correct to state that both the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* to-day acknowledge the patrilineal principle of succession, but it is not quite certain when they

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582 and the argument that cross-cousin marriage tends to prevent marital conflict is apparently a valid one. I return to his later, and now pass to the last argument that cross-cousin marriage possesses economic functions. To examine this point let us first consider the obligations of two families who intermarry.

## ECONOMIC OBLIGATIONS ON MARRIAGE IN AHAGGAR

602 (a) *Obligations of the groom and his family.*

583 (1) bride-wealth (*taggalt*) which varies according to the social class of the bride. For a noble woman and a woman of the *Ireġenaten* tribe it is seven camels, while in most vassal tribes including the *Isekkemaren* bride-wealth comprises only one young camel (*alegges*). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe however two young camels constitute the traditional bride-price, while three camels are given at the marriage of a woman of the *Ibettenaten* tribe. In vassal tribes 25–30 goats can be given instead of one young camel. Bride-wealth is handed over to the bride's father, or, if the father is dead, normally to her elder brother. Bride-wealth animals belong to her father (or elder brother), but it is said that the offspring of bride-wealth animals should be given to the bride or to her children. On a man's first marriage bride-wealth animals are usually given by his father, but if he is divorced and wishes to remarry he will himself furnish the bride-wealth.

585 (2) a camel or a number of goats to be killed for wedding-food (*tardest*). In addition to what is given by the husband or his father, animals to be killed at a wedding may also be brought by visiting relatives.

(3) In noble tribes and among the *Ireġenaten* the tent with its straw-mats are given by the husband and/or his relatives.

(4) Some time after marriage it is customary for the husband to give his wife a gift of animals according to his means – a few goats, one or two camels. This gift however remains in the husband's camp so that the animals serve the need of his household.

(5) It does not seem customary in Ahaggar for the groom to give his bride clothes and ornaments, though it is said that in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe the groom has to give his bride two silver bracelets known as *ihebġan* (sing. *ahbeġ*).

602 (b) *Obligations of the bride's family.*

583 To illustrate the obligations of the bride's family I list what is considered the proper outfit of the bride in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe as follows:—

1 skin tent (*éhakit*) with the necessary number of poles (cf. p. 364, Figs. 267 ff.).
2 tent mats (*isebran*, sing. *éseber*) plaited from the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) (cf. Figs. 267–269).
3 large decorated skin-bags (*irerġan*, sing. *arreġ*) used for storing personal belongings in the tent.
1 *ahaġa*, a large container made of untanned camel-hide and used mainly for tanning (Fig. 213).

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5 wooden eating bowls (*tiṛha*, sing. *taṛehut*) (Figs. 195a).
2 wooden milk-bowls (*ikassen*, sing. *akus*) (Fig. 21b).
1 earthen cooking pot (*térirt*) (Fig. 187a–b).
10 wooden spoons (*tisukalin*, sing. *tesukalt*) for eating millet porridge, bread, and the like (Fig. 191).
1 metal container (*éṛir*) used for storing butter (Fig. 164).
1 leather cushion (*eddefeṛ*) stuffed with hay.
1 woven carpet (*ahwar*) to be used as a sitting-carpet in the tent, but also as a blanket. It has several colours but is predominantly red. It measures about 1.50 × 5.00 metres.
1 carpet or blanket (*tahwart*) of the same type, but smaller.
1 woven blanket (*tabroḳ*) which serves as a mantle in winter.
5–6 donkey-saddles (*irukan*, sing. *aruku*) (Fig. 86).
5–6 donkeys (*ihédan*).
10–40 goats (*ulli*) according to the means of the bride and her family.
1 slave (*akli*) or a slave-girl (*taklit*) may also be given.

All these objects and the animals, which form part of the dowry, are primarily given by the bride's parents, but as the objects and the animals constitute a considerable fortune the parents cannot always provide the necessary dowry. It is customary therefore for close relatives to give a helping hand. Many of the dowry objects are made collectively by Tuareg women of the bride's camp (e.g., skin-bags and donkey-saddles) while other objects are obtained from the blacksmiths (wooden and metal containers, etc.). The skin tent and the tent mats are also often made by the women of the bride's camp.

The bride-wealth and other objects given by the groom and his family are less comprehensive and less valuable than the dowry given by the bride's family. The two bride-wealth camels given among the *Dag Ṛali* may sometimes be used by the bride's father to cope with some of the expenses connected with the raising of the dowry, but they do not cover his total expenses. However, if we consider a marriage of the ideal type, that is a man marrying his mother's brother's daughter, the bride's father will willingly help his sister's son who is to become his son-in-law, and the dowry will not be lost in the event of divorce, as the wife will then bring all dowry back with her to her father's camp.

602 583 [586]

## ECONOMIC OBLIGATIONS ON MARRIAGE IN AYR (KEL FERWAN)

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(a) *Obligations of the groom and his family.*

(1) bride-wealth (*taggalt*) is not paid according to fixed rules as in the Northern Tuareg groups. The size of bride-wealth is always discussed. Thus it is said that virgins are valued higher than experienced women, and that bride-wealth is higher for a wealthy woman than for a poor one. In most *Kel Ferwan* tribes bride-wealth constitutes one to three camels, but poor people may accept even two camel feet (that is half part in a camel) as bride-wealth for their daughter. In noble tribes there is also no fixed size of bride-wealth which is said to vary from ten to twenty camels for a noble woman – the deceased

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(b) *Obligations of the bride's family*:— 602

The bride's family has to provide her with everything necessary for domestic life:— 583

1 mat tent (*éhen*) (cf. p. 350 ff., Figs. 265a–f).
1 bed (*tédabut*) (Fig. 212a).
2–3 bed mats (*tsebran*) (Fig. 212b).
Further: skin-bags, eating bowls, spoons, cooking pots, etc. A certain number of domestic animals should also be included in the dowry of a bride.

It is clear that both in Ahaggar and in Ayr a marriage is connected with great expenses both for the 584
groom's and the bride's families. In view of this it may seem important that cross-cousin marriage 602
creates a fixed system of exchange between two families which have definite relations to one another.

When marriages are contracted the economic aspects are not considered most important by all 581
Tuareg. Some Tuareg will let their daughters marry less wealthy people if they are considered good men. But to many, and I believe most, Tuareg the economic aspect of marriage is important, and it is generally said that it is more difficult for poor people to obtain a spouse than it is for wealthy people. A poor girl cannot so easily find a husband as a wealthy one, and wealthy girls can be married even though they are not very good-looking.

Normally, a widow will not have much difficulty in getting married again even though she has one 587
or a few children, and the same holds good for a divorced woman. But it is most remarkable that, in Ahaggar, a widow cannot remarry if she has a half-grown son of 12–15 years old who is opposed to her marriage. If the boy is unwilling to let his widow mother marry, people will normally try to induce him to yield to his mother's wish by means of gifts. But if the boy refuses nothing more can be done, and the case cannot even be brought before the *Amenukal*. There may be several reasons for this particular custom, and the following two points should be noted:— (1) When the boy's mother remarries it may imply a shift of residence, as she will join her husband's camp and the boy would live with his mother. (2) The boy's inheritance rights are reduced when his mother remarries. This is evident when we consider the rules of inheritance described above p. 137 f. If his mother does not remarry the boy is the sole inheritor of her whole fortune. If his mother marries again her new husband and his children with the boy's mother will have important inheritance rights to her fortune, while the boy will have no right to inherit from his stepfather.

Inheritance rights in connection with rules of residence are facts which are considered important 581
to most Tuareg when desirous of arranging marriages for their children. A woman cannot marry 584
without her parents' consent, and a man who wants to marry will have to ask his parents and a great many other relatives of ascending generations, including his elder brothers. However, what really matters is the word given by his father. If the father agrees to his son's marriage there will not generally be any further complications about its realization. If the father disagrees there will be no marriage, though in Ahaggar a grown man can bring his case before the *Amenukal* should his father not allow him to marry the woman he wants (cf. p. 400 f.).

First marriages are frequently arranged by the parents (the father) and are not necessarily contracted
with cross-cousins.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



women of their own matrilineage particularly suitable seems to be connected with these rules of residence and succession. Marriages with maternal kinswomen are clearly advantageous to the Ahaggar Tuareg, where residence is ultimately matrilocal, while such marriages in Ayr have no proper justification.

Tuareg kinship systems in Ahaggar and among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg seem to be adapted to cross-cousin marriage. Parallel cousins are termed brothers and sisters, while there is a particular term for cross-cousins and between them an institutional joking relationship which facilitates contact and marriage. The Tuareg seem to admit that one function of joking between cross-cousins is to promote marriages between them, and they say that in the period during which a man and a woman are in love with each other before marriage – a period which is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *térejjek* – there will always be joking between them even though the two persons are unrelated.

Joking relationship between cross-cousins has another function in addition to that of facilitating marriage. In the description of political systems it has been mentioned that joking plays a rôle in preventing conflicts between people of different classes and castes. When a man marries a cross-cousin, his cross-cousins will become brothers and sisters-in-law with whom joking continues, and there will always be joking with the brothers and sisters of a spouse unless a man marries a particular kinswoman (cf. p. 466). It is the rule that there is joking with brothers and sisters in-law who preferably are also one's cross-cousins so that this joking relationship should in such cases have existed even before marriage. I believe that this convention helps to restrict conflicts between a person and the spouse's family of his own generation, and that joking between in-laws of the same generation has much the same function as has avoidance between parents-in-law and sons and daughters-in-law. There can be no doubt that this type of avoidance is important to the maintenance of good relations between in-laws of different generations, the more so as the Tuareg explain their avoidance relationships by saying that it is only natural that avoidance is particularly strict between people of different sexes in the way that a man avoids his mother-in-law very strictly, a woman her father-in-law equally strictly, for a man has a particularly strong influence over his son, and a woman possesses a corresponding influence over her daughter; consequently conflicts between a man and his mother-in-law, and between a woman and her father-in-law can easily arise.

Radcliffe-Brown was the first to point out the identical functions of joking and avoidance. These outwardly such different types of behaviour both serve to prevent conflicts between in-laws (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56 ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). This theory is very important, and I believe that it is not only confirmed but augmented by the material I have brought back from the Tuareg. It is clear that conflicts cannot easily arise between two persons who avoid each other, and the same is true of two joking partners as when everything is permitted, it is difficult to quarrel. Morally, joking is considered a very good thing, and cross-cousins who do not like to joke much are in public opinion bad cross-cousins. However, the intensity of joking between cross-cousins depends very much on the age difference between the two if they belong to the same sex. There will always be much joking between cross-cousins of the same age, while cross-cousins of very different age will joke very little or not at all. With extreme difference in age, two male cross-cousins may even change their joking relationship into avoidance, though this does not seem to be normal.

582 In case of cross-cousins of different sex, the difference in age does not seem to diminish joking
604 between them, and it is most interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have as institutional joking
606 relationship in the case of a mother's brother's wife (cf. p. 455). This joking relationship, like that between cross-cousins and in-laws of the same generation, is definitely also a relationship of great friendship, and it has a very particular function in connection with cross-cousin marriage. For if a man marries the cross-cousin who is considered the best possible spouse, namely his mother's brother's daughter, it is evident that mother's brother's wife with whom he has a relationship of intense joking will become his mother-in-law. In other words:— When a man marries according to traditional rules he will acquire a reciprocal avoidance relationship to a woman with whom he had intense joking until marriage. So it seems as if joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife serves the purpose of preventing conflicts and creating a bond of friendship between a man and his future mother-in-law.
606 It can be added that the relationship between a man and his mother-in-law is normally one of great friendship, though they very often avoid each other to the extent that they never speak together. A son-in-law and a mother-in-law will frequently exchange gifts during visits to each others' camps, but will generally avoid each other in the way that a man visiting his mother-in-law's camp will stay at a distance of up to a hundred metres from her tent. The relationship of avoidance is somewhat different in case son-in-law and mother-in-law live together in the same camp, though they will always avoid each other to the extent that they talk extremely little to one another and never eat in each other's presence.

602 Joking and avoidance between Tuareg in-laws no doubt constitute a fixed system of behaviour
582 adapted to a particular marriage type, namely that with a cross-cousin — ideally with a mother's brother's daughter. If a man marries a woman with whom he has no blood relationship he will practise joking with his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and avoidance towards his parents-in-law. His behaviour towards all these in-laws will not differ from that he would adopt towards his in-laws if he were married to a cross-cousin. But if a man marries a kinswoman who is not his cross-cousin he will not always obtain relationships of joking and avoidance towards all in-laws. To illustrate this I mention the following examples from the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group:—

(1) If a man marries the daughter of a true cross-cousin he will not achieve any joking relations with his brothers and sisters-in-law. He will not avoid a cross-cousin who is his parent-in-law, but he will cease to joke with him or her. The same rule is probably valid for the cross-cousin's spouse, who will be a classificatory brother-in-law or a sister-in-law.

(2) If a man marries a daughter of a classificatory cross-cousin he may joke with his brothers and sisters-in-law, but there will be no avoidance relationships in regard to the parents-in-law.

(3) If a man marries the daughter of a classificatory child or a classificatory sister's child there will be joking with his brothers and sisters-in-law. I assume that in this case there will also be avoidance between a man and his parents-in-law.

(4) If a man marries a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter there will be no joking with his true brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, but there will be some avoidance towards the parents-in-law.

Joking, and to some extent also avoidance, are modes of behaviour which are particularly adapted
000 to cross-cousin marriage, or to marriages with foreign women. The same is perhaps the case with

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the 585
universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems 121
as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse
Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by tradi- [582]
tional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour
as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems 605
as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other
well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes
entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife 593
is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by 601
her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him
*amṛar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people [576]
to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a
wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidā*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same
meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n*
*Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on 593
the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not
expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are
visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour
between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that 585
during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some
of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit
with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their 606
marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin 607
relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This
of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship
to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their
true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one
of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations
with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage
partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple
will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to
emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification 585
of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact 602
that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who
comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's
sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-

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585 laws do not change to a very great extent. There will then already be a relationship of respect between
602 husband and wife, a respect relationship to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law which continues unchanged, and in Ayr the relationship to the mother-in-law does not switch from joking into avoidance. Tuareg wedding ceremonies correspond functionally with the traditional preferential marriage with
[184] cross-cousins. But the wedding ceremonies described are strictly followed at all Tuareg marriages except in the case of important marabuts, who dispense with most ceremonial traits, allowing no public gathering with camel-riding and music, and the groom and the bride enter the wedding tent without formalities.

105 Kinship systems, rules of kinship behaviour, the payment of bride-wealth, and wedding rites seem to be functionally adapted to cross-cousin marriage. All this seems to hold for the Tuareg of Ahaggar and also for those of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group in Ayr. However, we have also observed that there are certain differences in social organization in Ahaggar and Ayr. In both regions Koranic law is valid for inheritance. The rules of succession in Ayr have become predominantly patrilineal, but is matrilineal in Ahaggar. There is also little doubt that most *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg to-day follow patrilocal rules of residence. The Ayr Tuareg are predominantly patrilineal but have remnants of matri-
[587] lineal traits. I note in this connection that some Ayr Tuareg also claim that it is preferable to practise the levirate and the sororate in the way that a widow can marry her deceased husband's younger brother, a widower his deceased wife's younger sister. They hold that this is adopted from Islamic rules.
[601] In Ahaggar matrilineal rules still play a very great rôle as kinship terminology evinces for the term for "mother's brother" is used exclusively for people of the mother's family and mainly for such people of ascending generations who are matrilineally related to Ego – including very distant matrilineal kinsmen. We have also seen that tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and that matrilineal rules are valid for succession to territorial rights, for relations between noble Tuareg and vassals, and ultimately for residence.

105 Tuareg social organization has been submitted to change. Islamic influence has produced a pre-
177 dominantly patrilineal system among the Southern Tuareg, including the *Kel Geres* and the *Kel Ayr*, while among the Northern Tuareg matrilineal rules of succession and residence are still acknowledged.

105 It may perhaps seem rather odd that the Ayr Tuareg, like many Sudanese Tuareg, have been much
177 influenced by the patrilineal rules of Islam in their social organization, while the Ahaggar Tuareg
178 have been far less impressed by these rules in spite of having lived in intimate contact with Arabs
184 for generations, adopting many Arab cultural traits which are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. What is the reason for these distinctions in cultural change among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr? I believe that the answer may lie in the differences in political systems. In pre-European times there was in Ahaggar an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals within the drum-groups, several small noble families being linked with their individual groups of vassals. This relationship (*temazlayt*) was, as we have seen, predominantly an economic one, advantageous to both classes and not least to the noble Tuareg, who were much dependent upon their goat-breeding and caravan-trading vassals. There seem to be little doubt that, before the introduction of Islam, this relationship was organized on the basis of matrilineal rules. And it may perhaps have been very difficult to adopt patrilineal rules and to re-organize relations between noble Tuareg and vassals accordingly. When the first French

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any insolence, even the tearing away of a cross-cousin's veil in public. Insolence always incurs retaliation, and joking frequently gives rise to *tebbillant*, that is a sham-fight. A fight of this kind will normally end with the loofing part running away with something belonging to his cousin. He gives this back only if he feels like it, for cross-cousins are allowed to take each other's things. The same type of joking exists between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law in Ahaggar and in Ayr. 605

(4) There is avoidance between parents-in-law and children-in-law in the way that a man avoids very strictly his mothers-in-law, a woman very strictly her fathers-in-law. This rule of conduct is valid for all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr. A man should not talk to his mother-in-law, and must never eat in her presence; he will avoid her tent, and if visiting her camp he will live at a distance of about one hundred metres from her. Similar rules hold for a woman and her father-in-law. Avoidance is less strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law, and there is generally very little avoidance between a woman and her daughter-in-law. 606

So far we have seen that the Tuareg of Ahaggar and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr follow the same rules of kinship behaviour. But there seems to be one important distinction between the two Tuareg groups. For in Ayr there is an institutional joking relationship (*adélen*) with the wives of mother's brothers including the spouses of the classificatory mother's brothers. This type of joking is similar to that of cross-cousins. The initiative for joking is taken by the mother's brother's wife who begins to tease her husband's sisters' children even when they are babies. The little children soon learn to retaliate and they quickly become those who take the initiative in joking and teasing. – I do not believe that this type of joking with a mother's brother's wife is practised in Ahaggar. It has been denied by informants, but it may perhaps be practised by members of certain tribes which originate in Ayr wherefrom they have immigrated to Ahaggar. Joking with a mother's brother's wife is also unknown in the *Iforas* tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These tribes arrived in Ayr about a hundred years ago from Adrar of the Iforas, where Tuareg have no joking relationship with a mother's brother's wife. 602 184 604

(5) We should mention as a characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour that it is considered the right of a man to take domestic animals from particular kinsmen. 602

In Ahaggar a man can take animals from his father, his father's father, his true mother's brothers, from certain classificatory mother's brothers (mother's mother's sister's son; mother's mother's brother, and the latter's son), from his mother's father, who is not a classificatory mother's brother by name, but it is said that he is much like a mother's brother to the person in question. In addition, cross-cousins, as mentioned above, can take each other's property.

In Ayr it is said that apart from his right to take domestic animals from his cross-cousins a man can also take animals from his parents and his true mother's brothers, though not allowed to take them from any of his classificatory mother's brothers.

I have enquired particularly among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr about this right to take animals from kinsmen. They said that if a man wants to take animals from a kinsman it is necessary for him to inform the "victim" about it through a third person shortly after he has done so. If he does not mention to somebody else that he has taken animals from one of his kinsmen, the act is considered a kind of ordinary theft. But if the "victim" is informed about the matter shortly after the animals have been taken, he can generally not complain about it, as this is considered very poor behaviour.

582 In case of cross-cousins of different sex, the difference in age does not seem to diminish joking
604 between them, and it is most interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have an institutional joking
606 relationship in the case of a mother's brother's wife (cf. p. 455). This joking relationship, like that between cross-cousins and in-laws of the same generation, is definitely also a relationship of great friendship, and it has a very particular function in connection with cross-cousin marriage. For if a man marries the cross-cousin who is considered the best possible spouse, namely his mother's brother's daughter, it is evident that mother's brother's wife with whom he has a relationship of intense joking will become his mother-in-law. In other words:— When a man marries according to traditional rules he will acquire a reciprocal avoidance relationship to a woman with whom he had intense joking until marriage. So it seems as if joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife serves the purpose of preventing conflicts and creating a bond of friendship between a man and his future mother-in-law.
606 It can be added that the relationship between a man and his mother-in-law is normally one of great friendship, though they very often avoid each other to the extent that they never speak together. A son-in-law and a mother-in-law will frequently exchange gifts during visits to each others' camps, but will generally avoid each other in the way that a man visiting his mother-in-law's camp will stay at a distance of up to a hundred metres from her tent. The relationship of avoidance is somewhat different in case son-in-law and mother-in-law live together in the same camp, though they will always avoid each other to the extent that they talk extremely little to one another and never eat in each other's presence.

602 Joking and avoidance between Tuareg in-laws no doubt constitute a fixed system of behaviour
582 adapted to a particular marriage type, namely that with a cross-cousin — ideally with a mother's brother's daughter. If a man marries a woman with whom he has no blood relationship he will practise joking with his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and avoidance towards his parents-in-law. His behaviour towards all these in-laws will not differ from that he would adopt towards his in-laws if he were married to a cross-cousin. But if a man marries a kinswoman who is not his cross-cousin he will not always obtain relationships of joking and avoidance towards all in-laws. To illustrate this I mention the following examples from the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group:—

(1) If a man marries the daughter of a true cross-cousin he will not achieve any joking relations with his brothers and sisters-in-law. He will not avoid a cross-cousin who is his parent-in-law, but he will cease to joke with him or her. The same rule is probably valid for the cross-cousin's spouse, who will be a classificatory brother-in-law or a sister-in-law.

(2) If a man marries a daughter of a classificatory cross-cousin he may joke with his brothers and sisters-in-law, but there will be no avoidance relationships in regard to the parents-in-law.

(3) If a man marries the daughter of a classificatory child or a classificatory sister's child there will be joking with his brothers and sisters-in-law. I assume that in this case there will also be avoidance between a man and his parents-in-law.

(4) If a man marries a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter there will be no joking with his true brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, but there will be some avoidance towards the parents-in-law.

Joking, and to some extent also avoidance, are modes of behaviour which are particularly adapted
000 to cross-cousin marriage, or to marriages with foreign women. The same is perhaps the case with

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M 582 583 [114] p. 168 ff.). I do not want to judge this theory as I have little personal knowledge of the North African Arabs who practise marriage with a paternal cousin. However, the argument that one of the chief functions of the bride-wealth is the confirmation of the social position of the children of a marriage, seems also valid for bride-wealth customs among people who practise preferential paternal cousin marriage, for it is clear that should a man marry a father's brother's daughter she will not have to change her social group after marriage. Furthermore, the fathers of the groom and the bride are brothers who among North African Arabs may own livestock and other types of property in common.

T 582 604 613 Tuareg cross-cousin marriage is symetrical, but the very best cross-cousin to marry is the true mother's brother's daughter. This would seem to agree with the very close relationship between a man and his mother's brother of the same matrilineage. A man has succession rights after his mother's brother, and many Tuareg say that the relationship between sister's son and mother's brother is as close as that between father and son. A man should do his outmost to defend his mother's brother, and it is very likely that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter has as its chief function the reinforcement of the matrilineage. It can here be added that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter will not easily lead to quarrels between the families of the married couple, because the fathers of the groom and the bride are cross-cousins and/or brothers-in-law, and consequently there is an institutional joking relationship between them.

We should perhaps explain Tuareg marriage with a mother's brother's daughter in the light of its importance for the reinforcement and maintenance of the matrilineage which has important social functions in Tuareg society. However, this marriage type does not exempt the groom or his family from paying bride-wealth.

T [171] It is interesting to note that among the South African Bantu, who give bride-wealth (*lobola*) at a marriage, the groom is expected to assist his parents-in-law whenever they need his help (Krige 1937, T 606 p. 113). This is also so among the Tuareg who claim that parents-in-law and sons-in-law should always support each other even if they be in-laws of dissolved marriages from which bride-wealth has not been claimed back. Indeed, some Tuareg consider it a very good thing to have contracted several marriages and thus to have obtained many in-laws who are expected to assist their son-in-law when he needs their help.

T 582 583 Finally, I add the statement of some Ahaggar Tuareg that bride-wealth payment is often considered less essential where a man has married a maternal cousin or her daughter because in that event husband and wife are maternal relatives who, in case maternal cousin marriage is practised within their T families, may be closely related also in the paternal line.

588 [293] Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the marriage is ratified by representatives of the groom and the bride before an *Anesiem*, that is to say a marabut. This may take place on the first day of the wedding ceremony, but it may as well be done days, weeks, or even months before the wedding takes place. The parents of the groom and the bride may have the marriage ratified even though their children do not want to be married. The wedding ceremonies in Ahaggar and Ayr differ slightly, but they are no doubt functionally identical.

In Ahaggar the marriage ceremony is briefly as follows:—

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



582 Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there
[778] have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it
[581] results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally
[605] cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

605 Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with
606 joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance be-
221 tween children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown, the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two outwardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in
[184] the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8)[1]
601 which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and for certain matrilineal relatives. As clans, according to traditional rules, are groups
614 of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims the line of succession to be as follows:– 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Geres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims
614 that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that
643 this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

[1] [p. 102, categor 116.—Analyst]

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601 Ahaggar Tuareg use the following terms for these three classes of kinsmen:— (1) *aruri* ("back") which term is used for relatives of the father's family its true meaning being a group of patrilineally related men; (2) *tésa* ("stomach") which is used for the mother's family with the correct meaning referring to a group of matrilineally related women; (3) *tégehé* ("side", correctly the place between the hips and the lower part of the chest). The proper meaning of this word is "persons descending from sisters and from their parallel female cousins in the maternal line", and is used to indicate the relationship between a man and his true and classificatory sisters' children. – The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr have similar terms with the same meaning:— (1) *aruri* ("back") for father's family; (2) *tédist* ("stomach") for mother's family – the word *tésa* in the Ayr dialect means "liver" and not stomach; (3) *tégazé* ("side") with the same meaning as *tégehé* in Ahaggar; the two words are identical, as the *g* in Ayr is always substituted with a *g*, the *h* frequently with a *z* or *j*. This word in Ayr is used to designate all true and classificatory sister's children, while the Ahaggar Tuareg refer to these relatives by the terms *agg elet ma* and *welt elet ma*. The term *égazé* used by the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg for the children of true and classificatory sister's children is related to *tégazé*; it also refers to part of the side.

602 The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr largely follow the same rules of kinship behaviour. These are outlined below:—

(1) Respect must be shown to all consanguineous relatives of ascending generations, that is respect towards all relatives termed "father", "mother", and "mother's brother".

(2) Respect must be shown to all persons known as "elder brothers" and "elder sisters". Rules of conduct towards such kinsmen are identical with those mentioned above towards kinsmen of ascending generations. Thus a younger brother on a journey with his elder brother will carry out all work as if he was with his father or another kinsman of ascending generations. When with his elder brother he must not talk about any matter referring to sexual life. He must not even talk too much about the copulation of domestic animals, and he should not mention such words as *imzad* and *tindé* – names of musical instruments used at nightly gatherings which may be accompanied by love-making. A man must not ask his elder brother for a gift, but should ask for anything he wants through a third person. When he wishes to marry, the permission of his elder brother should be asked like that of the father and other older relatives. When the father dies the elder brother takes over his position of authority. The identical rules of conduct towards a father (or older relative) and an elder brother can be clearly shown by the following example:— When I lived among the Tuareg I was incorporated in their [123] kinship organization which is the rule for persons who have no relatives among the people they live among. Once I was attached as a younger brother to a man much older than myself. When travelling together among other Tuareg my "elder brother" was occasionally asked: "Are you his father?", and when replying:— "No, I am his elder brother", the questioner would sometimes add:— "Now, there is his father". For classificatory elder brothers (and sisters) the same rules are valid, even though in this case the "elder brother" may in fact be considerably younger than his "younger brother".

605 (3) There is a joking relationship (*tehandezzit* in Ahaggar, *adélen* in Ayr) between all true and classificatory cross-cousins. This joking relationship allows free talk about sexual matters, and when cross-cousins tease each other they frequently refer to matters of sexual life, e.g., "You sleep with old slave women!", "You run after women like a donkey-stallion after a mare!" Teasing permits

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



any insolence, even the tearing away of a cross-cousin's veil in public. Insolence always incurs retaliation, and joking frequently gives rise to *tebbillant*, that is a sham-fight. A fight of this kind will normally end with the looding part running away with something belonging to his cousin. He gives this back only if he feels like it, for cross-cousins are allowed to take each other's things. The same type of joking exists between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law in Ahaggar and in Ayr. 605

(4) There is avoidance between parents-in-law and children-in-law in the way that a man avoids very strictly his mothers-in-law, a woman very strictly her fathers-in-law. This rule of conduct is valid for all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr. A man should not talk to his mother-in-law, and must never eat in her presence; he will avoid her tent, and if visiting her camp he will live at a distance of about one hundred metres from her. Similar rules hold for a woman and her father-in-law. Avoidance is less strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law, and there is generally very little avoidance between a woman and her daughter-in-law. 606

So far we have seen that the Tuareg of Ahaggar and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr follow the same rules of kinship behaviour. But there seems to be one important distinction between the two Tuareg groups. For in Ayr there is an institutional joking relationship (*adélen*) with the wives of mother's brothers including the spouses of the classificatory mother's brothers. This type of joking is similar to that of cross-cousins. The initiative for joking is taken by the mother's brother's wife who begins to tease her husband's sisters' children even when they are babies. The little children soon learn to retaliate and they quickly become those who take the initiative in joking and teasing. – I do not believe that this type of joking with a mother's brother's wife is practised in Ahaggar. It has been denied by informants, but it may perhaps be practised by members of certain tribes which originate in Ayr wherefrom they have immigrated to Ahaggar. Joking with a mother's brother's wife is also unknown in the *Iforas* tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These tribes arrived in Ayr about a hundred years ago from Adrar of the Iforas, where Tuareg have no joking relationship with a mother's brother's wife. 602 184 604

(5) We should mention as a characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour that it is considered the right of a man to take domestic animals from particular kinsmen. 602

In Ahaggar a man can take animals from his father, his father's father, his true mother's brothers, from certain classificatory mother's brothers (mother's mother's sister's son; mother's mother's brother, and the latter's son), from his mother's father, who is not a classificatory mother's brother by name, but it is said that he is much like a mother's brother to the person in question. In addition, cross-cousins, as mentioned above, can take each other's property.

In Ayr it is said that apart from his right to take domestic animals from his cross-cousins a man can also take animals from his parents and his true mother's brothers, though not allowed to take them from any of his classificatory mother's brothers.

I have enquired particularly among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr about this right to take animals from kinsmen. They said that if a man wants to take animals from a kinsman it is necessary for him to inform the "victim" about it through a third person shortly after he has done so. If he does not mention to somebody else that he has taken animals from one of his kinsmen, the act is considered a kind of ordinary theft. But if the "victim" is informed about the matter shortly after the animals have been taken, he can generally not complain about it, as this is considered very poor behaviour.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The custom of giving sandal gifts to a cross-cousin of the bride is unknown among the *Kel Ferwan* 582
Tuareg, who also claim that cross-cousin marriage and particularly that with a true mother's brother's daughter is the best type of marriage. But though they consider such marriages ideal they admit that some cross-cousin marriages will not last long. For closely related cross-cousins have frequently grown 586
up together, and it is said that such cousins when they have married sometimes agree to dissolve their marriage on the ground that they feel like brother and sister so that there is no mutual attraction or love between them. This is only one of many reasons for divorce which is extremely common in all tribes of Ahaggar and Ayr. Briggs' statement from the Ahaggar Tuareg that divorce is both unusual [114]
and generally frowned upon is absolutely untrue (Briggs 1959, p. 86).

According to the Tuareg there are many reasons why a man should preferably marry a cross-cousin 582
and ideally a mother's brother's daughter. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg I have collected the following arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage:— (1) All people (that is, all Tuareg) descend from one and the same woman, and her sons and daughters consequently had to marry one another. Their offspring established cross-cousin marriage which has been the rule since then. (2) There are many stories told to confirm the contention that cross-cousin marriages are good, while other marriages are bad. There is, for example, the following legend:— Once upon a time the parents of a young Tuareg arranged for him to marry a cross-cousin. This Tuareg, however, was not in love with his cross-cousin but wanted to marry another woman with whom he had no kinship bonds. The result of all this was that he married both his cross-cousin and the other woman. After this it so happened that a heavy punishment was imposed on him by the Sultan. It could be atoned for in one of the following two ways: He could give all his livestock as a fine, or he could have one of his hands cut off. To make his choice he now asked his two wives whether they thought he should loose his hand or rather give away all his stock. The wife to whom he had no bonds of kinship considered that he should keep his animals and have his hand cut off, while his cross-cousin wife asked him to dispose of flock and herd to save his hand. He thus realized that it is best to marry a cross-cousin. (3) It is considered good to marry a cross-cousin because cross-cousins are always extremely good friends. (4) The institutional joking relationship between cross-cousins is considered an important institution in preventing conflicts between married partners. For though joking between two cross-cousins stops on marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between them prevents quarrels and adds to the stable relationship between husband and wife. (5) Cross-cousin marriage has an important economic function as it establishes a constant exchange of persons, goods, and livestock between two families.

The three latter arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage are also supported by the Ahaggar
Tuareg. These arguments are very important and will now be discussed in some detail. There is no 605
doubt at all that cross-cousins of both sexes are extremely good friends. They do not joke just to annoy each other, and when joking they laugh and feel very pleased. Cross-cousins who have not seen each other for a considerable time are always pleased to meet. When doing so after a long separation they may make jocular remarks and gestures, but they will also be very kind to each other. They frequently address each other heartily as "cross-cousin", and male cousins will walk around hand in hand, while a woman will do her outmost to please a visiting male cousin. She will serve him the best possible [533]
food, will mend his clothes, and she will play her violin for him. Joking goes with intimate friendship, 582

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



women of their own matrilineage particularly suitable seems to be connected with these rules of residence and succession. Marriages with maternal kinswomen are clearly advantageous to the Ahaggar Tuareg, where residence is ultimately matrilocal, while such marriages in Ayr have no proper justification.

Tuareg kinship systems in Ahaggar and among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg seem to be adapted to cross-cousin marriage. Parallel cousins are termed brothers and sisters, while there is a particular term for cross-cousins and between them an institutional joking relationship which facilitates contact and marriage. The Tuareg seem to admit that one function of joking between cross-cousins is to promote marriages between them, and they say that in the period during which a man and a woman are in love with each other before marriage – a period which is known to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg as *térejjek* – there will always be joking between them even though the two persons are unrelated.

Joking relationship between cross-cousins has another function in addition to that of facilitating marriage. In the description of political systems it has been mentioned that joking plays a rôle in preventing conflicts between people of different classes and castes. When a man marries a cross-cousin, his cross-cousins will become brothers and sisters-in-law with whom joking continues, and there will always be joking with the brothers and sisters of a spouse unless a man marries a particular kinswoman (cf. p. 466). It is the rule that there is joking with brothers and sisters in-law who preferably are also one's cross-cousins so that this joking relationship should in such cases have existed even before marriage. I believe that this convention helps to restrict conflicts between a person and the spouse's family of his own generation, and that joking between in-laws of the same generation has much the same function as has avoidance between parents-in-law and sons and daughters-in-law. There can be no doubt that this type of avoidance is important to the maintenance of good relations between in-laws of different generations, the more so as the Tuareg explain their avoidance relationships by saying that it is only natural that avoidance is particularly strict between people of different sexes in the way that a man avoids his mother-in-law very strictly, a woman her father-in-law equally strictly, for a man has a particularly strong influence over his son, and a woman possesses a corresponding influence over her daughter; consequently conflicts between a man and his mother-in-law, and between a woman and her father-in-law can easily arise.

Radcliffe-Brown was the first to point out the identical functions of joking and avoidance. These outwardly such different types of behaviour both serve to prevent conflicts between in-laws (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56 ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). This theory is very important, and I believe that it is not only confirmed but augmented by the material I have brought back from the Tuareg. It is clear that conflicts cannot easily arise between two persons who avoid each other, and the same is true of two joking partners as when everything is permitted, it is difficult to quarrel. Morally, joking is considered a very good thing, and cross-cousins who do not like to joke much are in public opinion bad cross-cousins. However, the intensity of joking between cross-cousins depends very much on the age difference between the two if they belong to the same sex. There will always be much joking between cross-cousins of the same age, while cross-cousins of very different age will joke very little or not at all. With extreme difference in age, two male cross-cousins may even change their joking relationship into avoidance, though this does not seem to be normal.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by traditional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him *amṛar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidd*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-

252 They may not heat camel's milk which has just been milked
825 under penalty of causing sickness to the animal which gave it.

264 Insofar as personal interdicts are concerned, there are none to speak of, for although men and women must not eat together, this is a custom rather than an interdict.

A married man must not eat with his parents-in-law, and the
[606] oldest son must not eat with his father. These are mainly marks of respect, perhaps traces of ancient practices of a religious nature.

/240/ Chapter 4

## Hunting and Fishing

080 We shall now say a few words on the industries allied to the problems of food, that is, on hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, and agriculture.

Hunting. -- In a country where fauna was at all dense, hunting
136 would have brought a not inconsiderable dietary supplement to the
174 Ihággaren. In the past it was very much esteemed in the Sahara. Many rock drawings and paintings prove this, for they depict hunting scenes which interpret the state of civilization of the men, their preoccupation, and at the same time the nature of the fauna, which has changed a great deal since then.

[132] Today, with the very advanced drying out of almost all the Saharian districts, the fauna has come out into the open and the
224 species likely to be usefully hunted are reduced to a few. Only gazelles and wild sheep are still hunted. We cannot mention the addax and oryx antelopes, for the former is in the process of becoming extinct in the Sahara, while the second is confined to the steppe zone. The hare and jackal may be accessorily added.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



582 Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there
[778] have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it
[581] results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally
[605] cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

605 Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with
606 joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance be-
221 tween children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown, the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two outwardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in
[184] the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8)[1]
601 which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and for certain matrilineal relatives. As clans, according to traditional rules, are groups
614 of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims the line of succession to be as follows:– 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Geres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims
614 that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that
643 this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

[1] [p.102, categor 116.—Analyst]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law *(alegges*, pl. *ilousan)*,
[601] or sisters-in-law *(taleggest*, pl. *tilousin)*, while the spouses of descendants of all
brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law *(aḍeggal*, pl. *iḍoulan)*, or
[606] daughters-in-law *(taḍeggalt*, pl. *teḍoulin)*. These terms are always used reciprocally, and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized
634 his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the
614 members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble
565 origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is
[687] said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the
634 Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the
614 Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other
565 drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel
114 Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427) The Kel Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related to the Ihaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from
634 the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power
614 over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the
565 Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibararochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by
[558] vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief
[669] had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



826 832 get more sexual satisfaction from intercourse with them. "A fat woman is like a woman who has never known a man", they say. Some women are steatopygous though never to the same extent as women among the Bushmen and the Hottentot. Very comprehensive studies of Tuareg physical anthropology are lacking. Readers are referred to the chapter written by Lhote who has also published a brief bibliography of studies on this subject (Lhote 1955a, p. 158–170, 433), and to the recent and valuable publication by Briggs (Briggs 1958, p. 163 ff., 183 ff.).

142 114

291 The custom of Tuareg face veiling has attracted the curiosity of many scholars and travellers. Much has been written about the fact that Tuareg men wear a veil (*tagulmust* in Ahaggar, *tagulmust* in Ayr) while their women are unveiled in contrast to Arab custom. There have been given various explanations of the origin of the custom of Tuareg face veiling. Most authors refer it to hygienic conditions: the veil protects the face from sand and dust, and it prevents mouth, nose, and throat from drying up in hot weather. The fact is that the veil has the latter function, and Arab bedouins of the Sahara will also frequently veil their faces during journeys in the hot season. But the hygienic explanation is definitely not the reason why the Tuareg also veil themselves in many situations where face veiling is unpractical and unpleasant. Another explanation of the custom of face veiling is that the veil may perhaps have certain religious or magic functions. This explanation is apparently also insufficient. A few Tuareg have claimed that the veil may yield protection from persons having an "evil eye" or an "evil mouth" – beliefs known in Ahaggar as *tehof*, in Ayr as *tagarchet*. But as I have stated elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1957a, p. 112; 1961, p. 114) the proper function of face veiling seems to be a social one. Many Tuareg will leave their face uncovered in family camps or on journeys, but they will always cover mouth, nose, and brow in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) and in the presence of their parents-in-law (particularly their mothers-in-law). Towards such persons it is also considered very indecent to show one's legs. It has been overlooked by most authors that Tuareg women wear a head-cloth (*ékerhey* in Ahaggar, *adalil* in Ayr), which is similar to the veil worn by men in form and shape. The headcloth and the veil are properly made from Sudanese indigo cotton, and both the veil and the headcloth are therefore also known as *alechchu*. It is true that Tuareg women do not veil their face by means of this headcloth in the same way as do the men. But in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign men) and towards fathers-in-law the women will draw their headcloth over their mouth (cf. Fig. 297a). The man's veil and the woman's headcloth have identical social functions which is also proved by the fact that young men and women adopt veil or headcloth at initiation (Ahaggar), or at marriage (Ayr). Both the veil and the headcloth are worn by people of various black-skinned castes of Tuareg country but the custom of face veiling seems to be more strictly observed among the true Tuareg.

[254] 291 576 [609] [606] [609] [606]

181 The custom of face veiling is one characteristic of all Tuareg. Another quality peculiar to all Tuareg, and particularly to those of the noble class, is their "snobbishness" as it is frequently called by many Frenchmen living at Tamanrasset and Agadez. There are a great many things a Tuareg cannot do, and there are many situations in which he will have to act in a very special way if he is to be regarded as a man worthy of respect and prestige. Tuareg attitudes to etiquette are not easily described in words. Gait, gestures, and postures are all intended to express qualities of elegance, arrogance, refinement, and strength. Vanity with regard to dress and ornaments is another characteristic of all true Tuareg.

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Fig. 234. Photograph illustrating the Tuareg cotton shirt open (left) and closed (right). The two Tuareg are playing a sort of draughts called *keroḍ*. Ahaggar, the *Aǧah-en-tehlé* tribe.

291 with an opening for the head, and folded and sewn together at the lower part of the sides. The folded
294 piece of cotton may also be united at its lower parts by the insertion of a trapeze-like piece of cotton known as *tébanik*. The cotton shirt worn by most Tuareg men in Ayr is known as *tekeiket*, and is of the same poncho cut as the shirts mentioned above from Ahaggar.

All Tuareg men wear large and wide cotton trousers known as *ékerbey*. The cut of these trousers is the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A pair of trousers I wore when among the Ayr Tuareg is 1.10 m wide at the waist where they have a channel for the insertion of a leather cord (*tamennalt*) by means of which the trousers are laced up. The total length of the trouser legs is 1.06 m, so that the width is a little larger than the length. The trousers are sewn from three pieces of cotton. They consist of a front and back piece identically cut and sewn together at the sides; a third piece of cotton is inserted between the legs (Fig. 236).

291 The trousers are extremely large and loose. They are well-suited not only for the hot desert climate but also for camel riding. The Tuareg sometimes pull their trousers up over the knees so that they are entirely bare-legged. They do this, for instance, when they water domestic animals from wells and in various other situations where long trousers are embarassing. But they will never pull up their
[576] trousers in presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) or in the presence of parents-in-law
[606] (particularly mothers-in-law). For it is extremely shameful for a man to show himself bare-legged to persons to whom he must also not show his mouth, and the Tuareg express this fact by saying that "the veil and the trousers are brothers". In general, young boys wear a shirt of poncho type, in addition to which many of them also wear a leather loin-cloth (*arǧaǧ* in Ahaggar) made of goat skin. Such loin-cloths are attached around the waist and drawn between the legs. They are worn by certain vassal boys and by young slaves almost up to the time of initiation and veil adoption, and trousers may be adopted at the same time as the veil. It seems as if the loin-cloth has also once been a traditional garment of grown men, for Rodd states that they sometimes wear a tanned skin around the loins below the trousers – more especially in bush country where burr grass is very prevalent (Rodd 1926a, p. 164).

[text continues on p. 292]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



any insolence, even the tearing away of a cross-cousin's veil in public. Insolence always incurs retaliation, and joking frequently gives rise to *tebbillant*, that is a sham-fight. A fight of this kind will normally end with the loosing part running away with something belonging to his cousin. He gives this back only if he feels like it, for cross-cousins are allowed to take each other's things. The same type of joking exists between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law in Ahaggar and in Ayr. 605

(4) There is avoidance between parents-in-law and children-in-law in the way that a man avoids very strictly his mothers-in-law, a woman very strictly her fathers-in-law. This rule of conduct is valid for all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr. A man should not talk to his mother-in-law, and must never eat in her presence; he will avoid her tent, and if visiting her camp he will live at a distance of about one hundred metres from her. Similar rules hold for a woman and her father-in-law. Avoidance is less strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law, and there is generally very little avoidance between a woman and her daughter-in-law. 606

So far we have seen that the Tuareg of Ahaggar and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr follow the same rules of kinship behaviour. But there seems to be one important distinction between the two Tuareg groups. For in Ayr there is an institutional joking relationship (*adélen*) with the wives of mother's brothers including the spouses of the classificatory mother's brothers. This type of joking is similar to that of cross-cousins. The initiative for joking is taken by the mother's brother's wife who begins to tease her husband's sisters' children even when they are babies. The little children soon learn to retaliate and they quickly become those who take the initiative in joking and teasing. – I do not believe that this type of joking with a mother's brother's wife is practised in Ahaggar. It has been denied by informants, but it may perhaps be practised by members of certain tribes which originate in Ayr wherefrom they have immigrated to Ahaggar. Joking with a mother's brother's wife is also unknown in the *Iforas* tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These tribes arrived in Ayr about a hundred years ago from Adrar of the Iforas, where Tuareg have no joking relationship with a mother's brother's wife. 602 184 604

(5) We should mention as a characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour that it is considered the right of a man to take domestic animals from particular kinsmen. 602

In Ahaggar a man can take animals from his father, his father's father, his true mother's brothers, from certain classificatory mother's brothers (mother's mother's sister's son; mother's mother's brother, and the latter's son), from his mother's father, who is not a classificatory mother's brother by name, but it is said that he is much like a mother's brother to the person in question. In addition, cross-cousins, as mentioned above, can take each other's property.

In Ayr it is said that apart from his right to take domestic animals from his cross-cousins a man can also take animals from his parents and his true mother's brothers, though not allowed to take them from any of his classificatory mother's brothers.

I have enquired particularly among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr about this right to take animals from kinsmen. They said that if a man wants to take animals from a kinsman it is necessary for him to inform the "victim" about it through a third person shortly after he has done so. If he does not mention to somebody else that he has taken animals from one of his kinsmen, the act is considered a kind of ordinary theft. But if the "victim" is informed about the matter shortly after the animals have been taken, he can generally not complain about it, as this is considered very poor behaviour.

582 In case of cross-cousins of different sex, the difference in age does not seem to diminish joking
604 between them, and it is most interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have an institutional joking
606 relationship in the case of a mother's brother's wife (cf. p. 455). This joking relationship, like that between cross-cousins and in-laws of the same generation, is definitely also a relationship of great friendship, and it has a very particular function in connection with cross-cousin marriage. For if a man marries the cross-cousin who is considered the best possible spouse, namely his mother's brother's daughter, it is evident that mother's brother's wife with whom he has a relationship of intense joking will become his mother-in-law. In other words:— When a man marries according to traditional rules he will acquire a reciprocal avoidance relationship to a woman with whom he had intense joking until marriage. So it seems as if joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife serves the purpose of preventing conflicts and creating a bond of friendship between a man and his future mother-in-law.
606 It can be added that the relationship between a man and his mother-in-law is normally one of great friendship, though they very often avoid each other to the extent that they never speak together. A son-in-law and a mother-in-law will frequently exchange gifts during visits to each others' camps, but will generally avoid each other in the way that a man visiting his mother-in-law's camp will stay at a distance of up to a hundred metres from her tent. The relationship of avoidance is somewhat different in case son-in-law and mother-in-law live together in the same camp, though they will always avoid each other to the extent that they talk extremely little to one another and never eat in each other's presence.

602 Joking and avoidance between Tuareg in-laws no doubt constitute a fixed system of behaviour
582 adapted to a particular marriage type, namely that with a cross-cousin – ideally with a mother's brother's daughter. If a man marries a woman with whom he has no blood relationship he will practise joking with his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and avoidance towards his parents-in-law. His behaviour towards all these in-laws will not differ from that he would adopt towards his in-laws if he were married to a cross-cousin. But if a man marries a kinswoman who is not his cross-cousin he will not always obtain relationships of joking and avoidance towards all in-laws. To illustrate this I mention the following examples from the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group:—

(1) If a man marries the daughter of a true cross-cousin he will not achieve any joking relations with his brothers and sisters-in-law. He will not avoid a cross-cousin who is his parent-in-law, but he will cease to joke with him or her. The same rule is probably valid for the cross-cousin's spouse, who will be a classificatory brother-in-law or a sister-in-law.

(2) If a man marries a daughter of a classificatory cross-cousin he may joke with his brothers and sisters-in-law, but there will be no avoidance relationships in regard to the parents-in-law.

(3) If a man marries the daughter of a classificatory child or a classificatory sister's child there will be joking with his brothers and sisters-in-law. I assume that in this case there will also be avoidance between a man and his parents-in-law.

(4) If a man marries a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter there will be no joking with his true brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, but there will be some avoidance towards the parents-in-law.

Joking, and to some extent also avoidance, are modes of behaviour which are particularly adapted
000 to cross-cousin marriage, or to marriages with foreign women. The same is perhaps the case with

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Middle East M1



M
582 p. 168 ff.). I do not want to judge this theory as I have little personal knowledge of the North African
583 Arabs who practise marriage with a paternal cousin. However, the argument that one of the chief
[114] functions of the bride-wealth is the confirmation of the social position of the children of a marriage, seems also valid for bride-wealth customs among people who practise preferential paternal cousin marriage, for it is clear that should a man marry a father's brother's daughter she will not have to change her social group after marriage. Furthermore, the fathers of the groom and the bride are brothers who among North African Arabs may own livestock and other types of property in common.

T
582 Tuareg cross-cousin marriage is symetrical, but the very best cross-cousin to marry is the true
604 mother's brother's daughter. This would seem to agree with the very close relationship between a
613 man and his mother's brother of the same matrilineage. A man has succession rights after his mother's brother, and many Tuareg say that the relationship between sister's son and mother's brother is as close as that between father and son. A man should do his outmost to defend his mother's brother, and it is very likely that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter has as its chief function the reinforcement of the matrilineage. It can here be added that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter will not easily lead to quarrels between the families of the married couple, because the fathers of the groom and the bride are cross-cousins and/or brothers-in-law, and consequently there is an institutional joking relationship between them.

We should perhaps explain Tuareg marriage with a mother's brother's daughter in the light of its importance for the reinforcement and maintenance of the matrilineage which has important social functions in Tuareg society. However, this marriage type does not exempt the groom or his family from paying bride-wealth.

T
[171] It is interesting to note that among the South African Bantu, who give bride-wealth (*lobola*) at a marriage, the groom is expected to assist his parents-in-law whenever they need his help (Krige 1937,
T
606 p. 113). This is also so among the Tuareg who clajm that parents-in-law and sons-in-law should always support each other even if they be in-laws of dissolved marriages from which bride-wealth has not been claimed back. Indeed, some Tuareg consider it a very good thing to have contracted several marriages and thus to have obtained many in-laws who are expected to assist their son-in-law when he needs their help.

T
582 Finally, I add the statement of some Ahaggar Tuareg that bride-wealth payment is often considered
583 less essential where a man has married a maternal cousin or her daughter because in that event husband and wife are maternal relatives who, in case maternal cousin marriage is practised within their families, may be closely related also in the paternal line.

T
585 Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the marriage is ratified by representatives of the groom and the bride
[793] before an *Aneslem*, that is to say a marabut. This may take place on the first day of the wedding ceremony, but it may as well be done days, weeks, or even months before the wedding takes place. The parents of the groom and the bride may have the marriage ratified even though their children do not want to be married. The wedding ceremonies in Ahaggar and Ayr differ slightly, but they are no doubt functionally identical.

In Ahaggar the marriage ceremony is briefly as follows:—

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the 585
universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems 121
as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse
Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by tradi- [582]
tional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour
as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems 605
as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other
well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes
entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife 593
is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by 601
her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him
*amṛar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people [576]
to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a
wife may also address her husband as *mai-giddi*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same
meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n*
*Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on 593
the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not
expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are
visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour
between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that 585
during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some
of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit
with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their 606 ●
marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin 607
relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This
of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship
to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their
true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one
of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations
with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage
partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple
will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to
emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification 585
of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact 602
that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who
comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's
sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft 600
are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put 685
into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, [697]
while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:– pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment [177]
and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were [681]
in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel [643]
Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe 634
with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his [692]
power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with 565
the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relation- 571
ship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum- [634]
chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place 582
in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that 607
one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and [565]
their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory 607
in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

5:Nicolaisen E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law *(alegges*, pl. *ilousan)*,
[601] or sisters-in-law *(taleggest*, pl. *tilousin)*, while the spouses of descendants of all
brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law *(aḍeggal*, pl. *iḍoulan)*, or
[606] daughters-in-law *(taḍeggalt*, pl. *teḍoulin)*. These terms are always used reciprocally, and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized
634 his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the
614 members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble
565 origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is
[687] said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the
634 Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the
614 Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other
565 drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel
114 Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. + Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427) The Kel Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related to the Iḥaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

634 The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from
614 the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power
565 over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibararochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by
[558] vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief
[669] had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by traditional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him *amrar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidá*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-

567 clothes and a camel with saddle; there will thus be an excellent relationship between master and slave. This method of cutting the ear of another man's riding camel to become his slave is also known to have been practised in Ayr. However, the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that among them a slave who wanted to become attached to another master would rather cut a slight slit in the ear of one of that man's children. The slave would thus become attached to the father of the "wounded" child.

In cases where a slave simply runs away, his master will always demand his return. But in Áhaggar, the senior chieftain, the *Amenukal*, may intervene on behalf of the slave if he learns that the runaway slave has been badly treated or is badly clothed. There are thus certain rules which serve to promote reasonably good conditions for the slaves. However, only under exceptional circumstances do they eat with their masters, and they normally live, not in tents, but in open windscreens or shades from the sun. In general, though, there is little difference between the way of life of the Tuareg and their slaves, and they wear fairly similar clothes and ornaments. The slaves also bear weapons, and in the old days, when camel-raiding and warfare formed, as it were, a part of the Tuareg economy, they often accompanied their masters on raids. If a Tuareg family owns a sufficiently large number of slaves they will often not only carry out much of the heavier household work but will also watch over the flocks and herds; and as herdsmen they often have a position of considerable influence, as they are better acquainted with the care of the various types of animals than are the Tuareg themselves. To all this may be added a custom of particular interest. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg each tribe owns [422] a particular portion of a beast so that from a slaughtered beast one tribe is entitled to a portion of the back, another to the heart, a third to the liver, and so on. The slaves have similar rights in such cases, being entitled to the neck and in some regions also to the tail and the feet. When a beast is slaughtered these portions must always be given to the slaves.

The slaves are thus not completely without rights. Nevertheless the ordinary rules of inheritance do not apply to them. If a slave is on good terms with his master, the latter will, in the course of years, give him a certain number of goats as his personal possession – which he may, for example, slaughter or sell as he wishes. But when a slave dies his children cannot inherit his flocks or any other of his possessions. Everything then will become the property of his master.

567 This is in agreement with the fact that slavery is organized upon a kinship pattern in the way that 568 slaves are normally the fictive children of their master, a man being the "father" of his slaves, while a female slave-owner will be their "mother", for slaves are always owned individually by pastoral Tuareg, and though the men are perhaps more frequently slave-owners than are women, slaves may be owned by pastoralists of both sexes. This position of slaves as "children" of the slave-owner means that the owner's brothers, sisters and parents are considered a kind of "parent" by his slaves. This again results in young slaves being considered a kind of "brother and sister" to the slave-owner's children and those of relatives of the slave-owner's generation. The organization of slavery on a kinship pattern can be demonstrated by means of the following examples:—

[583] (1) When a young slave marries it is the duty of the slave-owner as his "father" to pay the necessary amount of bride-wealth which will comprise a few goats – normally three to five animals – and this bride-wealth goes to the owner of the slave girl with whom the slave marries. A Tuareg women will as a slave-owner make and receive the payments connected with the marriages of her individual slaves in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner.

[text continues on p. 444]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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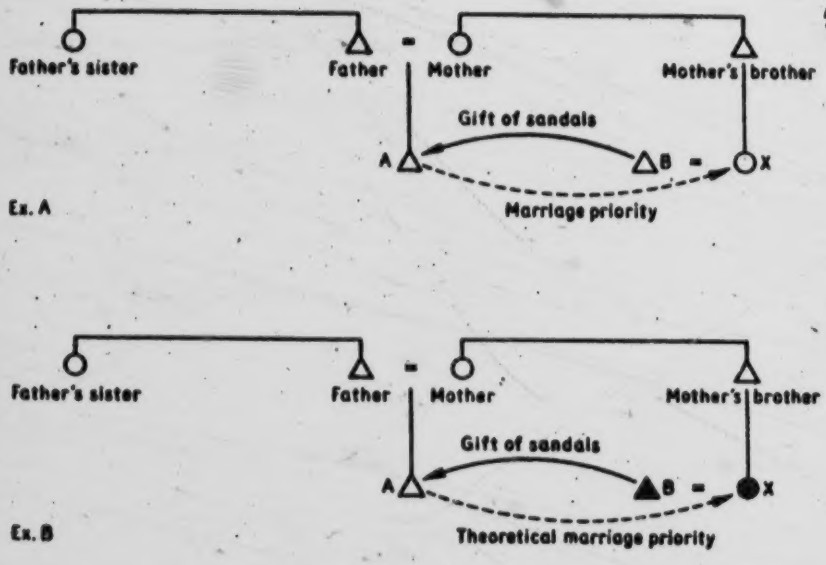


Fig. 292. Diagram illustrating how Tuareg slavery in Ahaggar is based upon kinship structure.

Ex. A. The Tuareg A has a sort of first-priority to marriage with his mother's brother's daughter X, who, however, marries B, who has no especial right to marry X. During the marriage ceremony B or one of his brothers must thus give a pair of sandals to A.

Ex. B. The slave-girl X belongs to A's mother's brother and is the latter's fictive daughter; she is therefore regarded as A's mother's brother's daughter, and A accordingly has first-priority to marriage with X. As a slave-girl, however, X will marry the slave B, but A will receive the gift of sandals, just as though X were his actual mother's brother's daughter.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



567 608 in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner. When a slave marries a slave girl the latter becomes the daughter-in-law of her husband's owner, and there will consequently be a kind of avoidance between these persons as between other relatives-in-law of different generations. In connection with slave-marriages it is of some interest to mention the following custom practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar:—

[582] [43] Among the Tuareg of Ahaggar a man has a certain marriage priority to his mother's brother's daughter according to rules which are outlined in the next chapter (p. 458 ff.). Therefore when a Tuareg's mother's brother's daughter marries somebody else the first man vill be entitled to a pair of sandals from the groom. In agreement with this custom a slave when marrying a slave-girl must give a pair of sandals to his wife's owner's ("father's") sister's son as explained in the diagram above (Fig. 292).

(2) The husband in a Tuareg pastoral family stands in the relationship of "father-in-law" (*adeggal*) to all slaves owned by his wife, while the wife is the "mother-in-law" (*tadeggalt*) of all slaves owned by her husband. Between these fictive relatives-in-law there is institutional avoidance which, however, is far less strictly observed than for true relatives by marriage of different generations. Owing to these rules a man must not or should not marry a slave girl owned by his divorced or deceased wife, just as it would be improper to marry a daughter-in-law.

(3) It is not forbidden for a man to marry a slave-girl whom he owns, even though she is considered his "daughter". This does not disagree with ordinary kinship-rules for a man is permitted to marry some of his classificatory daughters. If a man marries his own slave girl his children, among the Ayr Tuareg, would not be considered *Ichardanen* or *Iburelliten*, that is "mulattoes". They have the right to be considered true Tuareg or *Imajeren*, but in case of disagreements between a Tuareg of this type, and other people, they will call him by one of the terms used for "mulattoes", and may even call him "slave". If a man marries a slave girl who does not belong to him, his children of that marriage will [583] not become true Tuareg. But a Tuareg who wishes to marry a woman of slave status or a mulatto will attempt to secure the acknowledgment of his wife and her children as true Tuareg by the payment of a high bride-price. Thus a Tuareg of Ahaggar who married a mulatto girl gave for bride-wealth seven camels as is customary for noble Tuareg in the two northern groups, though the price according 554 to traditional rules should not exceed the value of one camel. It must be added that the position in Tuareg society of people who are not true Tuareg by origin depends greatly upon personal qualities. If a man is wise, rich, and generous, or if he is a marabut, all Tuareg will be ready to associate with him on equal terms even though he be predominantly negroid. I have noted several examples of this, and once met a very negroid nomad who was greatly respected by all Tuareg because he had once [564] killed seven goats in one day to entertain foreign guests. There are certain classes and castes in Tuareg [567] society. Formally it seems comparatively easy for children of mixed marriages of Tuareg and slaves to be considered Tuareg as slaves have a social position different from that of true black-skinned castes.

567 608 (4) If a slave woman has suckled a Tuareg girl or has taken a little fair-skinned Tuareg girl to her as her own, she will be recognized as the girl's true mother. And if the slave woman has children of her own they will be recognized as brothers and sisters of the little Tuareg girl. When the Tuareg girl later marries, her husband will be considered the true son-inlaw of her slave-mother and there will

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



be a very strict avoidance relationship between them. However, the slave-mother has no right to inherit (*tekachit*) the livestock left on the death of her Tuareg daughter, but a certain amount of stock will be given her under the designation of *elhakk*. The Tuareg girl will not inherit her slave-mother, nor will she have the right to a number of her animals.

The above examples indicate the main structural features of Tuareg slavery. Most important among them is the position of slaves as children of their masters, though it should be stated that the rules of behaviour between owner and slaves are not necessarily like those valid for parents and children. A young slave owner will not be rough with his old slaves, but will generally behave very kindly towards them, refraining from giving them orders in the way he would command his younger slaves. Age distinctions play a great rôle in relationships between Tuareg and their slaves, and a description of Tuareg slavery should not only outline its structure but also underline the fact that we cannot establish very fixed rules for the relationship between Tuareg and slaves, as it varies very much with individuals. Some slave-owners treat their very young slaves almost like their own children, while other slave-owners do not. Some Tuareg are constantly talking disparagingly about their slaves while outwardly appearing to be very kind to them. There are many facets of Tuareg slavery.

The position of slaves as children of their owners causes slaves to belong not only to particular families and family groups, but also to tribes and, in a certain sense, even to classes. I have often noticed this in Ahaggar where tribes within the same class frequently have an attitude towards each other which is described by the Tuareg word *inmeñhaṛen*, that is "to have a feeling of envy or jealousy towards somebody". *Inmeñhaṛen* is rather an attitude of reserve and outward respect than a kind of avoidance. People of tribes or sub-tribes which have *inmeñhaṛen* relationships to one another will not visit each others' camps except on certain occasions when dressed in their best clothes, and they will then behave with the uttermost reservation and respect to each other. If two tribes have such a relationship to one another, it will normally also comprise their slaves, who will behave towards each other in the same fashion. If on the other hand two tribes have institutional joking with one another, as is the case with certain vassal tribes in relation to tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class, there will also be joking between their slaves. There seems to be a strong tendency for the slaves to behave towards each other in a manner corresponding to that of their master.

In spite of the kinship pattern on which the relationships of Tuareg slaves and slave-owners is based, it is most noteworthy that there is always latent joking between them, as there is between many different classes and castes in Tuareg society. On certain occasions a Tuareg slave owner will joke freely even with his young or older slaves, though he will never joke with his children who have to show their father the outmost respect (cf. p. 454). Such a joking relationship is still more common between Tuareg and slaves who are not attached to one another by possession bonds. But it never exists between Tuareg and slaves who are not already known to each other.

The noble Tuareg may also joke with slaves but seem less inclined to do so than Tuareg of other classes. Apart from that, the relationship between noble Tuareg and slaves does not deviate from the description presented above. Noble Tuareg can marry slave women though they cannot easily marry Tuareg women of the vassal class. This may seem rather strange, but is in fact not so unusual as it might seem. We have stated above (p. 429 f.) that the reason why noble Tuareg and vassals could not

312 The question of water is fundamental in the formation of the
[361 camp, both for the choice of its location and for the number of tents
182] to be included.

Water is obviously a problem for all life; it plays a role in the location of our small European villages, but this role is still greater in desert countries where water is quite rare. The existence of watering places is not only necessary for human life but also for the life of the domestic animals.

137 To this primordial condition of the existence of a watering
182 place must be added the condition of pasture for the domestic
312 animals. Therefore, we see that the establishment of a camp among
361 the Ihaggaren is conditioned by two main factors whose character may vary in time, depending on the seasons and the abundance or scarcity of rain. But in the last analysis the pasture needs take precedence, for, generally speaking, pasture is even rarer than
137 water, since it can sometimes be completely lacking. This need
182 for pasture forces tribes to split up and camps to be dispersed in
361 order to exploit it rationally. The situation is such that there are
621 rarely more than five or six tents in each group. Only the amenokal's
[643] camp may number as many as 15 or 20 tents, but this is quite exceptional, involving the question of prestige and social order at the same time. Indeed, the amenokal supports a numerous family, his caliphs, his servants, etc. But this grouping around the chief is quite artificial, and the flocks which the people own are not with them but are /222/ spread out in the mountains, kept by Imrad or servants.

361 The camp is always established rather far from the watering
312 places, for it is preferable to be closer to the pastures. It is often five or six kilometers from water. The animals go there to drink every two or three days, and the people use the occasion to get
[482 their water supply, which will be carried in waterskins on their backs
492] or under the stomach of the asses. Tuareg, moreover, do not like
361 to settle near a watering place, for it is always a stopping point for
609 transients, and they avoid making their presence known to strangers.

361 When a state of war existed, concealment was a capital necessity
609 easy to understand. By atavism, it seems that they have taken the
[121] habit of always placing themselves in spots where they escape the investigation of indiscreet glances.

361 They set up their tents on valley terraces, and sometimes in a
[132] valley itself, if they do not have to fear the rains, which usually fall at the end of the summer.

221 Because of the need to seek out pastures, camps are continually
361 being moved. They stay from one to two weeks, depending on whether the grass has been revived by rains or whether it is dry. But these moves are never of any great distance, not exceeding seven or eight kilometers. If we take as an example the Dag Rali tribe which nomadizes in the western part of Koudia, we find the camps set up in the high mountain valleys, as high as 2,400 meters altitude, in summer. In winter, on the other hand, they settle on the slopes or in the low parts, seeking places sheltered from the wind. This, of course, is in a normal period of average pasture. But during the summer of 1940, following a long dry period, the Upper Koudia saw a great number of its watering places dry up, and vegetation was nonexistent, so to speak. Therefore, all the nomads took refuge in the low parts of the massif, in the Outoul, Eferer, and I-n-Amegel valleys where water was more abundant and where a trace of pasture still remained. At the beginning of September, the whole massif benefited from abundant rains. A week later, all the tents moved into the mountains in order to use the alpine pastures before winter and to save the lower valley grass for winter.

312 /223/ The watering places of Atakor are chiefly natural reservoirs (aguelmam) and springs flowing at ground level in the hollows of the valleys. In the middle part, there are mainly rédir (abankor), or little wells, dug less than one meter down in the soil to reach the water layer, which is often retained by rocky sills. These rédir are exhausted in time if rains do not come to renew the water accumulated in the sandy wadi bed. The lower part of the Ahaggar benefits from all the water trickling down from the high mountains

484 This was observed by Duveyrier, Captain de Bonnemain, and
674 Bou Derba on the Ouargla-Ghat itinerary. We have witnessed similar actions ourselves, but the goods stored in this way belonged to some Ihaggaren, and no one would have dared lay a hand on
[609] them. The thing is less safe in the case of a stranger's property.

When a camel dies en route, the load that it was carrying is left on the spot and put under public protection. The caravaneer is always certain to find his property, even six or eight months later. In this regard, it is well to say that the Tuareg, raiders though they must be, are not thieves. When a theft has been committed in their /316/ country, the guilty party is generally a Negro, but rarely a Tuareg of the white race.

439 What were the products transported? Manufactured goods, for the most part, generally made in Europe. There were fabrics and silks which the Tuareg and the Sudanese eagerly sought, and there were knickknacks, unmounted sword blades, sugar, and coffee
[177 272] (tea only recently made its appearance in the Sahara).

All these goods were resold or exchanged for ten times their value. On the return trip the caravaneers brought back ostrich plumes, gold dust, ivory, and little Negro girls and boys bought as slaves and resold for very high prices in the cities of Algeria. Leather was also the object of an intensive traffic, as well as medications of plant or animal (ostrich fat) origin which were part of the Sudanese pharmacopoeia and much appreciated by the Arabs.

177 Today, except for gold and ivory, which have become rare
439 and whose traffic is in the hands of Europeans, and except for the sale of slaves, which has been forbidden since the French
[486] occupation, trade has remained the same. But the routes have become free and the Tuareg can no longer count on their former profits. There was one resort left, that of making themselves caravaneers in their turn and using their many camels in that way. This is what they have done.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



826 832 get more sexual satisfaction from intercourse with them. "A fat woman is like a woman who has never known a man", they say. Some women are steatopygous though never to the same extent as women 142 114 among the Bushmen and the Hottentot. Very comprehensive studies of Tuareg physical anthropology are lacking. Readers are referred to the chapter written by Lhote who has also published a brief bibliography of studies on this subject (Lhote 1955a, p. 158–170, 433), and to the recent and valuable publication by Briggs (Briggs 1958, p. 163 ff., 183 ff.).

291 The custom of Tuareg face veiling has attracted the curiosity of many scholars and travellers. Much has been written about the fact that Tuareg men wear a veil (*tagulmust* in Ahaggar, *tagulmust* in Ayr) while their women are unveiled in contrast to Arab custom. There have been given various explanations of the origin of the custom of Tuareg face veiling. Most authors refer it to hygienic conditions: the veil protects the face from sand and dust, and it prevents mouth, nose, and throat from drying up in hot weather. The fact is that the veil has the latter function, and Arab bedouins of the Sahara will also frequently veil their faces during journeys in the hot season. But the hygienic explanation is definitely not the reason why the Tuareg also veil themselves in many situations where face veiling is unpractical and unpleasant. Another explanation of the custom of face veiling is that the veil may perhaps have certain religious or magic functions. This explanation is apparently also insufficient. A [254] few Tuareg have claimed that the veil may yield protection from persons having an "evil eye" or an "evil mouth" – beliefs known in Ahaggar as *tehof*, in Ayr as *tugarchet*. But as I have stated elsewhere 291 (Nicolaisen 1957a, p. 112; 1961, p. 114) the proper function of face veiling seems to be a social one. 576 Many Tuareg will leave their face uncovered in family camps or on journeys, but they will always [609] cover mouth, nose, and brow in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) and in the [606] presence of their parents-in-law (particularly their mothers-in-law). Towards such persons it is also considered very indecent to show one's legs. It has been overlooked by most authors that Tuareg women wear a head-cloth (*ékerhey* in Ahaggar, *adalil* in Ayr), which is similar to the veil worn by men in form and shape. The headcloth and the veil are properly made from Sudanese indigo cotton, and both the veil and the headcloth are therefore also known as *alechchu*. It is true that Tuareg women do not veil their face by means of this headcloth in the same way as do the men. But in the presence [609] of foreigners (particularly foreign men) and towards fathers-in-law the women will draw their head- [606] cloth over their mouth (cf. Fig. 297a). The man's veil and the woman's headcloth have identical social functions which is also proved by the fact that young men and women adopt veil or headcloth at initiation (Ahaggar), or at marriage (Ayr). Both the veil and the headcloth are worn by people of various black-skinned castes of Tuareg country but the custom of face veiling seems to be more strictly observed among the true Tuareg.

181 The custom of face veiling is one characteristic of all Tuareg. Another quality peculiar to all Tuareg, and particularly to those of the noble class, is their "snobbishness" as it is frequently called by many Frenchmen living at Tamanraset and Agadez. There are a great many things a Tuareg cannot do, and there are many situations in which he will have to act in a very special way if he is to be regarded as a man worthy of respect and prestige. Tuareg attitudes to etiquette are not easily described in words. Gait, gestures, and postures are all intended to express qualities of elegance, arrogance, refinement, and strength. Vanity with regard to dress and ornaments is another characteristic of all true Tuareg.

7: Nicolaisen MS25 Tuareg MS25

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[For an extensive list of the names of Tuareg political and other social groups or categories, including relevant page references, see category 116, pp. 534-37.]

000 tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has
586 177 adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

184 One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between
614 his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation. It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live.

[174] In their case we are confronted at the present time by a matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman
562 ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights,
[178] her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the
[611] man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many
[554] Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in
[584] matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has
[421] free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes, and even has a greater freedom of mores.

174 It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy among the Tuareg.

184 from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin.
643 The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions
[173] gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Ouliminden.

171 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out,
611 it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except
631 among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the
651 titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll. He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his
[644] appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/
[178] today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It
[644] benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum
[534 called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum, "
177 "cylinder of a drum. "
192]

622 ship, and so an undesirable heir-apparent can easily be passed over in favor of a less direct heir who is considered acceptable (Butaye, 1957).

614 The position of an Ahaggar Tuareg clan is not firmly fixed within the framework of the confederation. Component clans will sometimes break away from one tribe in times of adversity and attach themselves to another and more powerful tribe that is better able to protect them. In the old days vassal clans were sometimes swapped back and forth between noble clans, and so had their tribal allegiance changed for them more or less arbitrarily. At least one clan, the Ibotenaten, has been reduced from noble to vassal status, in this case by a crushing defeat suffered in the course of a blood feud. Thus the distribution of the various clans within the tribal framework of the confederation tends to change gradually [578] over the years, while internal tribal crises and intertribal warfare naturally accelerate the process.

[582] Marriage is usually although not always within the clan but outside the first degree of 614 cousinship and outside the camp community or fraction. A child of Tuareg parents inherits ● 611 rank and privileges through the mother, re- 428 gardless of whether she is a member of the father's clan or not; but the child is known as "Such-and-such, child of So-and-so," the parent thus referred to being the father, and inheritance of property follows Moslem law (*see* the Koran, iv, 12 and 175) which provides that a male heir shall receive twice as much as a female heir who is related to the deceased in the same degree. Today a Targui, asked to give his ancestry, will recite the list of male forebears in his father's line, although Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 321) tells us that in the 14th century descent was counted through the mother's brother, and a man's heirs were his sister's children rather than his own. Bates (1914, p. 112), citing Duveyrier (1864, p. 397), says that property acquired by force of arms used to be inherited by "the eldest son of the eldest sister of the deceased."

591 A newly married couple live in the camp of the bride's parents for about a year and then usually move over to a camp of the husband's people, but they sometimes settle permanently among the clansfolk of the bride if she and her

837 There can be little doubt that the behavior patterns of the Tuareg on such occasions are often different from those which characterize them when they are among themselves.

We must not forget either that irregular sexual activities, before or after marriage, are all but impossible to conceal in the wide open spaces of a desert, whereas it is no trick at all to hide them among the blocks and skyscrapers of great cities like Paris and New York or even in such provincial capitals as Boston and Algiers. All things considered, it seems rather unlikely that sexual laxity is more common among the Ahaggar Tuareg than it is in the urban communities of western Europe and America, at least in cases where husbands and their wives are separated as often and for comparable periods of time.

593 A bride retains full title to all her personal
422 property including livestock, while the husband pays all the family expenses out of his own pocket although his wife may contribute if she feels so inclined. Women are treated
562 with the greatest respect and deference, but they can hold no office nor can they exercise any command beyond the very limited field of their own household affairs, nor can they appear in council or appoint speakers to represent them there. On very rare occasions a noble woman may intervene as an official peacemaker in a quarrel so serious that it might lead to a blood feud if allowed to go unchecked, and this can happen even in cases where the parties to the quarrel are not related to her by either blood or marriage, but only an older woman of very high rank and renowned for her intelligence, strength of character and diplomacy can ever play such a role.

The discerning reader will have noticed that
● 611 the picture we have just examined is full of gaping holes which cannot be filled in at present for lack of the necessary information. In spite of this we get a distinct impression of a double descent system as defined by Gibson (1956): "the utilization in one society of both patrilineal and matrilineal principles of affiliation resulting in two lineage systems cross-cutting each other." Among the Ahaggar Tuareg the patrilineal descent system is "conjunctive" in that it provides channels of interaction between segments of a "disjunctive" matrilineal system which "divides the society

611 into separate corporate bodies," and so the situation in the Ahaggar appears to be the reverse of that which Gibson found among the cattle-raising Herero of Ngamiland, in southwestern Africa. The Tuareg descent system is like that of the Herero, however, in that "The present function is in terms of a wide range of kin-like relationships leading to economic co-operation and to intermarriage among persons unrelated patrilineally" (although rarely "of scattered origin"). "Double descent, therefore, permits a society such as the Herero," or the Tuareg as a whole, "highly fractured into scattered and politically independent local groups, to maintain cultural uniformity and social cohesion. . . . The segmentation of matri-clans . . . appears to be no more than a mechanism for limiting the wide extension of exogamy and special privilege to persons not too distantly related; it was quite likely a concomitant of an expanding population and the scattering of the tribe."

It is not unnatural to jump to the conclu-
121 sion, as Gautier (1935, pp. 33 and 109), Lhote
611 (1955, pp. 186–88) and others have done, that the ancestral Tuareg of ancient times were
[174] exclusively matrilineal and fully matriarchal as well, and that the patrilineal elements we find in modern Tuareg culture were acquired relatively recently through Moslem influence, but this is not necessarily so. The concept of double descent was stated for the first time by Rattray (1923, pp. 77–78) in his description of the pagan Ashanti of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), among whom "Inheritance and succession to authority follow the female line and the avunculate exists, but residence is patrilocal and the household consists of a patriarchal extended family" (Murdock, 1940, p. 557, paraphrasing Rattray), a situation which was probably characteristic of the pre-Islamic Tuareg as well. The Ashanti also have matri-sibs based on "blood" inherited in the maternal line, and patri-sibs based on "spirit" inherited through the father, and this again suggests that the basic concepts underlying the double descent systems of the Ashanti and Tuareg have much in common.

Gibson (1956, p. 137) seems inclined to think that the double descent systems of the Herero and of the southwestern Bantu in general evolved "as a whole," matrilineal and

611 patrilineal elements being present together in
121 a single complex from its beginning, and we have no good reason to suppose that this tentative assumption may not be equally applicable to the Tuareg. But we are hedged about with lack of information. We are faced here with yet another instance of the futility of empirical deduction unsupported by adequate field investigation of the culture concepts that lie at the root of our problem.

**Land Tenure and Tribute.** The Amenokal of
423 the Ahaggar is said to be "the owner of the
643 land" by virtue of his position as paramount chief of a warrior aristocracy. We are inclined to suspect, however, that this may be an oversimplification of the case, for the land of the various tribes that make up the Ahaggar confederation is apparently treated as basically communal property, the title to which is vested in each succeeding Amenokal as an executive trustee rather than as a proprietor. This brings out the very important point that the Amenokal of the Ahaggar Tuareg seems to be essentially a chief executive and not a true king or autocratic chief in the commonly accepted sense of those terms. And, theoretically at least, he can be forced out of office by popular demand. All things considered, his position is not so very different in fact from
643 that of the President of the United States.

622 The Amenokal and the noble tribal chiefs
565 under him collect tribute from those whose
[651] destinies they control, but they are also supposed to protect these people by force of arms when necessary. When the warriors of a noble
[721] clan go raiding they often take the men of one or more of their vassal clans along, and these vassals receive a substantial share of plunder if the raid is a success, but vassals also have an obligation to fight at the side of their noble masters in intertribal wars.

423 Each vassal clan holds exclusive pasturage
[565] rights to a definite territory upon which no one else may enter, without express permission of the Amenokal, excepting noble clans who are always free to use the pastures of their own vassals as and when they please. Some men also hold exclusive hunting rights to certain specified areas. Many Tuareg own garden plots in agricultural centers, and sometimes date palms and fruit trees of other kinds as well, all of which holdings are now par-

565 ference of the resulting oval is closed by the
614 Negro-Tuareg contact zone of the southern
101 Air. The Ahaggar massif lies at the center of
131 this oval refuge area: it is a Berber island, so to speak, whose broad beaches are continually swept by waves of the surrounding Arab sea and, along the southern and southeastern shores, by the negroid "Gulf Stream" of the Sudan.

565 There have probably never been many
174 Shorfa or Maraboutic families established in
563 the Ahaggar itself, although a few of them
[797] have lived there for a long time now. Arab Shorfa missionaries from Morocco first arrived probably in the 7th or early 8th century. They soon set up a theocratic dynasty, the Imenan, who ruled the Ahaggar and the Ajjer Tuareg as a single confederation until about 1650, when Goma, last of the Imenan "sultans," was murdered by Biska, a noble of the Oraghen tribe of Ajjer Tuareg. There followed a long period of anarchy and civil wars out of which finally arose, about the middle of the 18th century, the main framework of the Tuareg political structure which we now know. Descendants of immigrant Arab holy men are very few and scattered in the Ahaggar today, and their power has been reduced to no more than a faint shadow of what it used to be. People of this kind are much more numerous, united and powerful in the northeastern and southwestern corners of Tuareg territory, among the Ajjer and the Ifoghas of the Adrar, than they are in the region with which we are directly concerned at the moment. It is significant, however, that as recently as 1900 a Shorfa holy man exerted decisive influence in the electoral council of the Ahaggar confederation when that body found itself seriously divided over the choice of a new amenokal (Benhazera, 1908, p. 126).

We know that Arab blood has been seeping very gradually into the topmost level of the Tuareg aristocracy, for at least a century,
[591] through the occasional marriages of noble Tuareg women with Arab men. In all such cases residence is strictly matrilocal. Since
[611] rank is inherited through the mother, a son of this kind of union ranks as a Tuareg noble and can become a chief. Duveyrier (1864, pp. 22–23) describes the case of the Ajjer Tuareg governor of Ghat in 1861, whose father was

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.

174 [714] [414] 194 212 174

ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵀⴰⵇ ⵏⵉ ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵙⵙⴰⵏ ⵙ ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵏⴰⵏⵜ,
ⵜⴰⵏ ⵉⵙ ⵏⵏⵉⵏ ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵙⵙⴰⵏ, ⵉⵎⴰⵙ ⵙⵉⵏⵜ

[539]

The Bible in Tamahaq

(*Ruth Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

*"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."*

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

771 [101] [832]

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

567 611 565 567 [291]

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

177 533

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 562
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé, "
or tribute from the "imr'ad, " or serfs. Not only is the son [611
noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless 565]
of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child, "
but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her
husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is 562
not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except [576]
as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi, " over
her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, [574
etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances 431]
between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives
her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is [595]
the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" 562
.V] , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, 572
while she gives him something for his personal use. He is,
in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine
embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal
of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while
Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines
which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man [574]
who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

Concerning inheritance. We have seen that private inheritance is passed on to the natural heirs, according to the rules of Mohammedan law. As for political inheritance, that is to say, the right to the title of chief of a tobol and to the collection of the "tioussé," or tribute from the imr'ad, this is handed down according to special rules. [428] 611 631

Duveyrier has told us that these rights are handed down "to the oldest son of the oldest sister." I would never have dared to go on record as disagreeing with a statement from such an authority if I did not have complete assurance that the order of inheritance is not exactly that which Duveyrier indicated, and I will furnish proofs of this assurance in the chapter entitled "Genealogy" in the second book of this study /not translated/. [114]

I would therefore say that with the Tuareg when a tobol chief dies there are to succeed him: /51/

1. His brother (the oldest of those living, if there are several)
2. The oldest son of his maternal aunt
3. The oldest son of his oldest sister

This last one is only the third in line.

It is the ancestress, it is her daughters who hand down to their children the right to the "tobol." At present the Kel R'ela trace back their laws of inheritance and of access to the tobol to Kella, their ancestress, and the Taïtoq to Sakina, a contemporary of Kella and a collateral relative. [173]

The son follows the tobol of his mother. Thus, if the father belongs to the tobol of the Kel R'ela, for example, and the mother to the tobol of the Taïtoq, the son would belong to the tobol of his mother. This is what happened to Sidi ag Keradji, the present amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet, whose father was of the tobol of the Kel R'ela and whose mother was of the tobol of the Taïtoq. The same applies to Attici ag Amellal and his brother Anaba, whose father belonged to the tobol of the Tedjehé Mellet, and who /themselves/ at present belong to the tobol of the Kel R'ela.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
M825 Tuareg M825
Air



given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 250. 614 [27]

A clan is generally termed *tassit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan-membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg. [162] [196] [611]

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 13). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g., 621 596 [342]

1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season *(akasa)* and in the beginning of the following dry season *(ravat)* several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups. 221 361 621 [173]

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occured also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin – ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:– 582 614 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 13 |
| No blood-relationship between husband and wife | 8 |
| Marriages total | 38 |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air
Ahaggar



sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullemmeden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, p. 213; 1950c, p. 492f. – Richer 1924, p. 3, 52) an interesting matrilineal custom has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhazera (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Dubiéf has further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubiéf 1956, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes. In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *tawsit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Ṛela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Ṛali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Aḡouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan. 614 [162] [565] 613 614

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult. 114 611 [177]

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*awari* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. 611 [591] [428] [631]

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage. 428 [422] [174]

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use suth unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10. 614 591 768

585 /145 cont./ Some tribes, in particular the Issakamaren, having adopted many Arab customs, observe the following custom on the day after the marriage: the husband who has not found his wife to be a virgin during the meal breaks the bone of a leg of meat, eats the marrow, blows through the inside, then sticks the two broken pieces in the couscous. In this way everyone knows the affront he has suffered. Later in life, when his wife becomes disagreeable, he will put his fist before his mouth and blow between the fingers, imitating his gesture of the first day. The woman, ashamed, will stop her recriminations. Following another custom less and less /146/ in use, the woman who has found her husband lacking in virility during the wedding night will crown him with her alechou /shawl/, thus showing to the world the impotence of her husband by considering him to be like a woman.

593 The woman holds a privileged position in Tuareg society.
562 It is customary to say that the reason for this must lie in the matriarchal organization of the tribes.

Among the Tuareg today matriarchy survives only in a very attenuated form due to the presence of Islam. It must be noted that the woman is absolute mistress in the tent; she gives the orders to the children and the Negroes, and she organizes the daily life; but outside the tent the man commands; he decides on the camp moves, the departures of the caravans, the commercial transactions. The woman's opinion is always taken into consideration; she is guardian of the traditions, [611] and, if she does not possess what we may call civil rights, it is she who transmits them: a Targui will be a noble if his mother is a noble. The right of eligibility to the amenokalat /chiefship of the confederation of tribes/ is given by the women who are directly descended in the maternal line from the ancestor Kella. This transmission of rights by the women constitutes the originality of Tuareg society.

837 Powerful in her home, lived by her husband, respected, the young wife has every chance to be happy. It is rare that

# Social Aspects of Stock-Breeding

Pastoral Tuareg have (or had) important matrilineal traits of social organization and also patrilineal traits which have been adopted partly through contact with the Arabs from whom they have taken over the Islamic rules of inheritance. Koranic inheritance rules are followed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, but some social aspects of Tuareg stock-breeding differ in these two areas. 611 428 177

## AHAGGAR

I shall briefly describe the Koranic rules valid for inheritance of all kinds of individually owned property, e.g., livestock, material goods, and money, though most Tuareg do not regard money as something to be conserved. It is a main rule that children inherit their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as large as that allotted to a daughter. Important details of these rules can appropriately be illustrated with a few examples which I took down in Ahaggar:— 428

(1) A married couple having a son and a daughter. When the husband dies all his property is divided into eight parts of equal value. One of these parts is given to the widow, and the remaining seven parts are thereupon re-divided into three parts, two of which are allotted the son while one part is given to the daughter. When the widow dies her property is divided into three parts – two parts for her son, one part for her daughter.

(2) A married couple having a son and a daughter. The wife dies and her property is divided into four parts – one for the widower, another for the daughter, and two parts for the son. When the widower dies his property is divided into three parts – two parts for the son, one part for the daughter.

(3) A married couple having no children. At the death of the husband his property is divided into four parts. Only one of these parts is allotted to the widow, while the remaining three parts are taken over by individuals of the husband's family according to the rules mentioned below for inheritance from an unmarried man.

(4) A married couple having no children. At the wife's death her property is divided into two parts. One part is given to the widower, the other to the deceased wife's family.

(5) At the death of an unmarried man one sixth of his property is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), while the remainder is taken over by his father.

(6) An unmarried man who has lost his father, but has alive his father's father, a brother and a

[p. 137]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



422 *233 614 brand known as *aṣeṣlu*. To illustrate all this I reproduce the camel-brands used within three tribes of Ahaggar (Fig. 101 a–c).

614 192 The term *tawsit*, which is the Tuareg word generally applied to the unit here called a tribe, seems to have the meaning of "a hand-root from which fingers issue". But the word may have other meanings, e.g., "a mat (*téṣebert*) plaited from *aṣeṣu*-grass" (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1533). The latter meaning intimates something kept firmly together, while the word *tawsit* in its first sense seems to indicate a lineage structure. I have sometimes heard Tuareg indicate tribal relationship between two persons saying that they belong to the same hand (*afus*), or that they are of the same root (*éké*, that is the root of a tree). There are other words which are sometimes used for "tribe". One term is *teḳḳebilt*, another is *aṛṛef*, but the meaning of these words seems to be the more general one of "people" or "race". An interesting word, namely *hama*, which has the definite meaning of "mother's kin", is according to Foucauld also used synonymously with "tribe" (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 603), but according to information I have gathered in Ahaggar these two words are not entirely synonymous.

614 It is most remarkable that the Ahaggar Tuareg do not follow any particular rule for the naming of tribes. Some tribes are named after an ancestress (e.g., *Kel Ṛela* = *Kel Kella*, that is "people descending from the woman *Kella*"), while other tribes have avuncular names (e.g., *Téġehé-n-Efiz*, that is "the man *Efiz*'s sister's children"). Both these principles intimate that the tribe is a matrilineal unit, but certain tribes have patrilineal names much like those of Arab tribes (e.g., *Dag Ṛali*, that is "sons of the man *Ṛali*"; *Ayt Lowayen*, that is "sons of the man *Lowayen*"). Reference to an ancestor is also made in another way (e.g., *Ikadeyen*, that is "those descending from the man *Kadi*"). In addition we have tribal names which seem to be a kind of nick-names (e.g., *Aġub-en-tahlé*, that is "the Achilles-tendon of *tahlé*" – the word *tahlé* being the name of a perennial plant (*Typha elephantina*), and we have geographical names (e.g., *Kel Ahnet*, that is "the people of the Ahnet country"; *Kel Taṛalet*, that is "people of the Taṛalet region", etc.).

614 611 565 Previously I have used the term "clan" for the Tuareg term *tawsit* in agreement with the fact that many people claim it to be a matrilineal unit (cf. Nicolaisen 1959). Thus the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe say that they all descend from the woman *Kella*, who lived about seven generations ago and had a maternal female cousin *Sakina* (or *Skina*) who became the ancestress of the other prominent noble tribe in Ahaggar named *Taytoḳ*.

The very numerous vassal tribe the *Aġub-en-tahlé* is also said by its members to constitute a matrilineal unit. They claim descent from a common ancestress and occasionally use the name *Téġehé-n-Elkum* for their tribe. Actually the *Aġub-en-tahlé* tribe falls into three sub-tribes known as *Kel Taṛhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Aṛeṛfan*. They are said to be matrilineally related, but nobody is able to prove this genealogically, and among the *Isandan* there is a matrilineage of four generations which is matrilineally related to people of the *Ibettenaten* tribe and not to their fellow tribesmen. [613]

Members of the important vassal tribe the *Dag Ṛali* will also frequently claim common matrilineal descent. However, they do not know the name of their proper ancestress. They say that they descend from a woman named *Takama* who was also the ancestress of the vassal tribes known as *Ayt Lowayen* and *Kel Ahnet*. The *Dag Ṛali* tribe was founded by the man *Ṛali* who lived about seven generations ago. It falls into two halves known as the *Dag Ṛali* proper and the *Imazaliten*. Some Tuareg of the [613]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



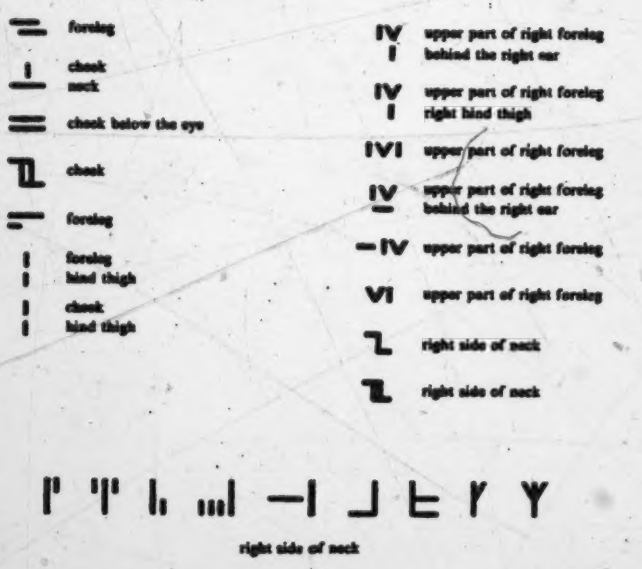


Fig. 101 a–c. Camel-brands of three Ahaggar tribes.

a. Brands of the *Kel Ḥele* tribe.

b. Brands of the *Aḡab-en-tahil* tribe. The main brand of this tribe is V called *temasert*. The brands ⊥ & ⊥ are due to intermarriage with the *Ikles-en-tawsit* tribe where the principal brand is ⊥ called *emeslaḡ*.

c. Brands of the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. The main brand characteristic of this tribe is | placed on the right side of the camel's neck. This brand was that used by the founder of the tribe named *Ḥali* and to-day it forms part of most *Dag Ḥali* brands which are always placed on the right side of the camel's neck. The *Dag Ḥali* brands have individual names. The last one is known as *tikkilt n ayalaḡ*, that is "the raven's foot".

*Dag Ḥali* tribe may claim that these two halves are matrilineally related to one another, but also that they do not descend from sisters. It seems in fact as if these two halves stand in a cross-cousin relationship to one another, and it is in agreement with this that the *Dag Ḥali* proper speak of the *Imezsiliten* as "children of their mother's brother". The two halves in the past intermarried much though marriages between them are very rare nowadays. Thus in 1951 there were only two marriages between people of the two tribal halves.

I believe that other tribes of Ahaggar have a structure similar to that of the *Dag Ḥali*, but the structure of Tuareg tribes is extremely difficult to grasp because very few Tuareg know their genealogies more than three or four generations back.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



614 591 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 611 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one particular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 565 631 423 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aǧuh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 613 621 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names – generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *taousit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan. 614 [162] [565] 613 614

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult. 114 611 [177]

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. 611 [591] [428] [631]

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage. 428 [422] [174]

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10. 614 591 768

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:– 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 3 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan 614
and eight in the three sub-clans of the Agouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the
sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up in [361]
minor camps of 2–7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family 621
which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals 476
are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big [596]
camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps [422]
consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within
the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a
distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix.
When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable
grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company,
but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan
trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case
the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each
other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never [613]
correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five
generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands
according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or 622
section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative
of the section in relation to the clan chief *(Amgar)*. These khalifas are not neces- [614]
sarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilin-
eal as it is for clan chiefs.

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8–9), but the [184]
rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between [601]
cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in 602
Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most
clans. [Text continues on p. 108]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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*Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Dag Rali Clan.*

(The clan is divided into two matrilineages: 1) the Dag Rali proper comprising most members of the Kel Tamanrasset and the Kel Terhananet sections, 2) the Imesiliten comprising most members of the Kel Hirhafok and the Kel Tiñhart sections.

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| Tenants | Name and Value of Sub-Area | Land-Rent to the Amenokal |
|---|---|---|
| DANGOCHI, Clan chief belonging to the Kel Tamanrasset section. Rights to this subarea is not necessarily vested in the chief. | ISEKRAM<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. – (For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant). | 2 goats |
| JERKIE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section. | TADJEMART<br>No particular value. | 2 water bags,<br>1 rope of goat's hair. |
| AMMA, of the Kel Terhananet section | ARECHCHOUM<br>No particular value. | 2 water bags,<br>1 rope of goat's hair. |
| KHABTE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section.<br>ARKASSEN, of the Kel Terhananet section. | IN DALADJ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep.<br>Wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| AFARAK, of the Kel Hirhafok section. | AKALARAREN<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. | Unknown |
| BOUSKEAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the Kel Tiñhart section. | TAHAT<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months. Domestic animals never graze in this area. | Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown). |
| DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet. | ABELESSA<br>A very extended area comprising the village of Abelessa and many other agricultural settlements. | No land-rent as the Amenokal receives dues from crops of every garden in this area. |
| DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet. Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections. | TAESSA<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep. – Domestic animals are never allowed to graze in this subarea, and barbary sheep are protected for three months every year. | 1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep) (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) is also given to Dangochi as clan chief). |

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 100. Earmarks of the types used for goats and sheep among the Northern Tuareg. Ahaggar, the tribes *Deg Ɣali* and *Afuh-en-tehlé*.

422
*233 never use earmarks for donkeys which are branded like their camels, and I believe that this rule also
565 holds for the *Isekkemaren* Tuareg, though I do not know this to be true for tribes other than those of
422 *Kel Teruriɣ* and *Kel-I-n-tunin*.
*233 The property brands of the Northern Tuareg are burned into the skin of the camel (donkey) by
[413] means of a redhot iron known as *éndel* (Figs. 102a–b), but if this implement is not available another piece of iron is used, e.g., the iron tripod for suspension of kettles and cooking pots. The brands are known as *ahwaken* (sing. *éhwel*), and there are a great many different ones which have their particular
422 names. These brands are frequently depicted in literature (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 629 f.; Lhote
*233 1955a, p. 235), and spoken of as "tribal brands". However, as property marks are patrilineally
614 inherited while tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, the members of the same tribe will possess more than one camel-brand. For marriages are contracted between different tribes,
[582] though some of these units are predominantly endogamous. Furthermore there are a few Tuareg who
[272] use different camel-brands for camels inherited from the father and the mother, as there are some who have adopted the mother's father's brand because their father's brand was believed to have brought bad luck in camel-breeding. For these reasons there are frequently more than one brand within a
[613] tribe, and individuals or small patrilineages generally add to their main brand (*éhwel*) a supplementary
brand known as azeɣlu.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



422 *233 614 brand known as *aṣeṣlu*. To illustrate all this I reproduce the camel-brands used within three tribes of Ahaggar (Fig. 101 a–c).

614 192 The term *tawsit*, which is the Tuareg word generally applied to the unit here called a tribe, seems to have the meaning of "a hand-root from which fingers issue". But the word may have other meanings, e.g., "a mat (*téṣabert*) plaited from *afezu*-grass" (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1533). The latter meaning intimates something kept firmly together, while the word *tawsit* in its first sense seems to indicate a lineage structure. I have sometimes heard Tuareg indicate tribal relationship between two persons saying that they belong to the same hand (*afus*), or that they are of the same root (*éké*, that is the root of a tree). There are other words which are sometimes used for "tribe". One term is *tekkebilt*, another is *ayref*, but the meaning of these words seems to be the more general one of "people" or "race". An interesting word, namely *hama*, which has the definite meaning of "mother's kin", is according to Foucauld also used synonymously with "tribe" (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 603), but according to information I have gathered in Ahaggar these two words are not entirely synonymous.

614 It is most remarkable that the Ahaggar Tuareg do not follow any particular rule for the naming of tribes. Some tribes are named after an ancestress (e.g., *Kel Ṛela* = *Kel Kella*, that is "people descending from the woman *Kella*"), while other tribes have avuncular names (e.g., *Téṛṛahé-n-Efis*, that is "the man *Éfis*'s sister's children"). Both these principles intimate that the tribe is a matrilineal unit, but certain tribes have patrilineal names much like those of Arab tribes (e.g., *Dag Ṛali*, that is "sons of the man *Ṛali*"; *Ayt Lowayen*, that is "sons of the man *Lowayen*"). Reference to an ancestor is also made in another way (e.g., *Ikadeyen*, that is "those descending from the man *Kadi*"). In addition we have tribal names which seem to be a kind of nick-names (e.g., *Aḍuh-en-tahlé*, that is "the Achilles-tendon of *tahlé*" – the word *tahlé* being the name of a perennial plant (*Typha elephantina*), and we have geographical names (e.g., *Kel Ahnet*, that is "the people of the Ahnet country"; *Kel Tazulet*, that is "people of the Tazulet region", etc.).

614 611 565 Previously I have used the term "clan" for the Tuareg term *tawsit* in agreement with the fact that many people claim it to be a matrilineal unit (cf. Nicolaisen 1959). Thus the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe say that they all descend from the woman *Kella*, who lived about seven generations ago and had a maternal female cousin *Sakina* (or *Skina*) who became the ancestress of the other prominent noble tribe in Ahaggar named *Tayaḥ*.

The very numerous vassal tribe the *Aḍuh-en-tahlé* is also said by its members to constitute a matrilineal unit. They claim descent from a common ancestress and occasionally use the name *Téṛṛahé-n-Ellimen* for their tribe. Actually the *Aḍuh-en-tahlé* tribe falls into three sub-tribes known as *Kel Taṛhawawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Aṛeṛfan*. They are said to be matrilineally related, but nobody is able to prove this genealogically, and among the *Isandan* there is a matrilineage of four generations which is matrilineally related to people of the *Ibettanaten* tribe and not to their fellow tribesmen. [613]

Members of the important vassal tribe the *Dag Ṛali* will also frequently claim common matrilineal descent. However, they do not know the name of their proper ancestress. They say that they descend from a woman named *Takama* who was also the ancestress of the vassal tribes known as *Ayt Lowayen* and *Kel Ahnet*. The *Dag Ṛali* tribe was founded by the man *Ṛali* who lived about seven generations ago. It falls into two halves known as the *Dag Ṛali* proper and the *Imezzilten*. Some Tuareg of the [613]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



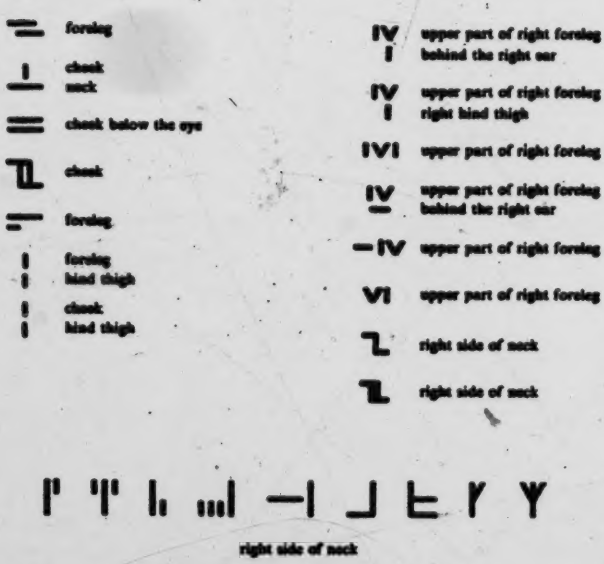


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Fig. 101 a–c. Camel-brands of three Ahaggar tribes.

a. Brands of the *Kel Ḫela* tribe.
b. Brands of the *Aḫuh-en-tahil* tribe. The main brand of this tribe is V called *temawert*. The brands ⌉ & ⌉ are due to intermarriage with the *Ikles-en-tawsit* tribe where the principal brand is ⌉ called *amezlaḫ*.
c. Brands of the *Dag Ḫali* tribe. The main brand characteristic of this tribe is | placed on the right side of the camel's neck. This brand was that used by the founder of the tribe named *Ḫali* and to-day it forms part of most *Dag Ḫali* brands which are always placed on the right side of the camel's neck. The *Dag Ḫali* brands have individual names. [532] The last one is known as *sikkili n ayuḫaḫ*, that is "the raven's foot".

*Dag Ḫali* tribe may claim that these two halves are matrilineally related to one another, but also that they do not descend from sisters. It seems in fact as if these two halves stand in a cross-cousin relationship to one another, and it is in agreement with this that the *Dag Ḫali* proper speak of the *Imezziliten* as "children of their mother's brother". The two halves in the past intermarried much though marriages between them are very rare nowadays. Thus in 1951 there were only two marriages between people of the two tribal halves. 614 611 565 613 ● 802 582

I believe that other tribes of Ahaggar have a structure similar to that of the *Dag Ḫali*, but the structure of Tuareg tribes is extremely difficult to grasp because very few Tuareg know their genealogies more than three or four generations back. [114]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



614 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member
591 of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two [682] tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should [672] pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a
611 tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is [428] valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in [565] vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one par-
614 ticular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali*
613 the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area
565 which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are
631 named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also
423 attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aǵuh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have [643] particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). [162] Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory [578] of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names –
613 generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections
621 within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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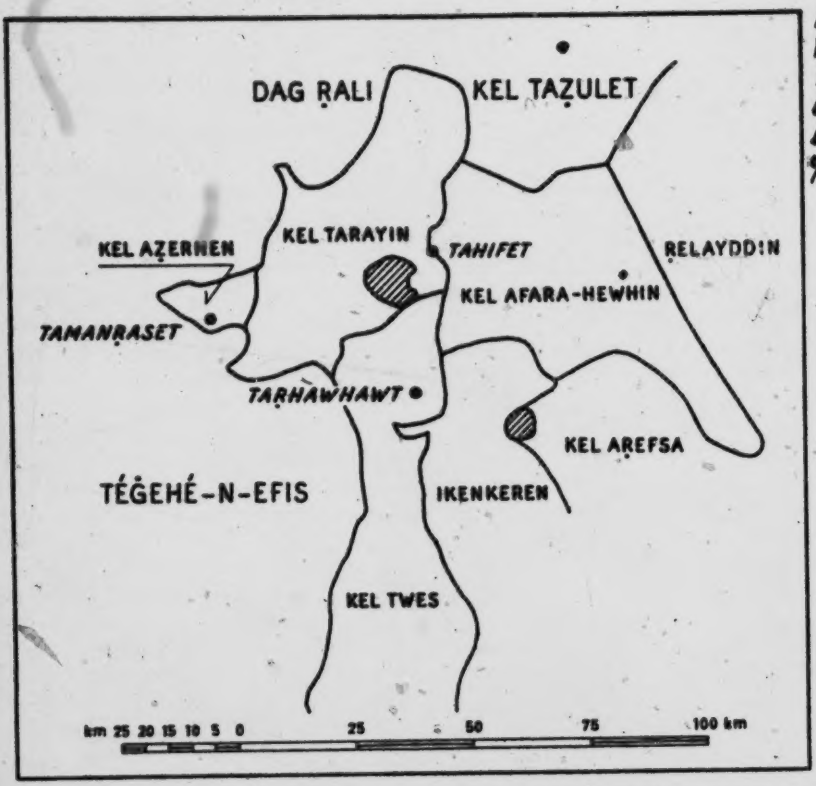


Fig. 104. Map showing the sub-areas of the territory of the *Aĝuh-en-tehlé* tribe. The sub-areas have no proper limits towards the south where the country changes into barren and uninhabited desert. The hatched areas are mountainous regions which are not considered parts of sub-areas. West of the *Aĝuh-en-tehlé* territory is the territory of the *Téĝehé-n-Éfis* tribe where two sections of the *Aĝuh-en-tehlé* have their normal grazing grounds. To the north are the territories of the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Kel Taẓulet* tribes. The *Kel Azernen* section frequently camps in the *Dag Ṛali* territory and intermarries with the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section of that tribe. To the east is the territory of the *Ṛelaydin* who are now considered part of the *Aĝuh-en-tehlé*. The *Aĝuh-en-tehlé* territory chiefly belongs to the *Abada* zone, but the northern parts of the two northernmost sub-areas are within the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

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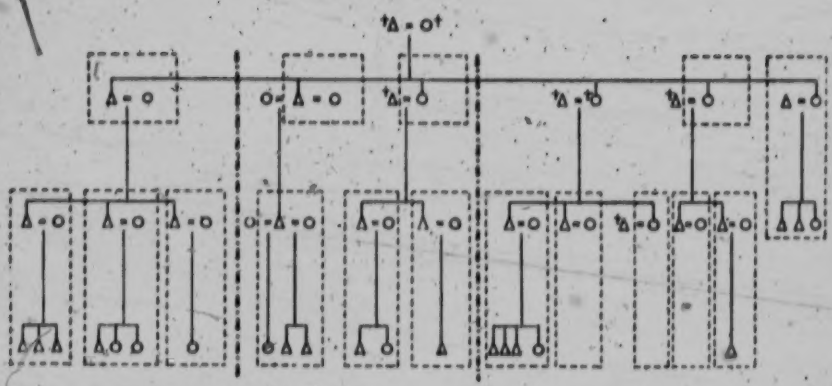

Fig. 105. The section camp of the *Kel Ajerram* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aguh-en-tehle*). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated Fig. 103. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Ayr whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

[591]

614 also the representative of the section towards the tribal chief, should preferably be elected. The members
613 of one section will frequently intermarry with members of another particular section, but members
621 of a section will generally marry into more than one particular section and sometimes into sections
[592] of foreign tribes.

613 When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are
621 split up into minor camps of 2–7 tents. These minor camps generally consist of an extended family
596 which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually
*233 owned and every tent or household is self-supporting – "it has its own churning bag and its own millet
[592] bag", as the Tuareg put it. The section camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small goat-herding camps which constitute extended families, but the small camps within the section camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small goat-herding camps of a section
[476] join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because
[484] kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp of a section is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which tasks a goat-herding camp cannot spare the labour. Should the small goat-herding camps of a section be unable to remain together, they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A section camp is illustrated in
361 the diagram below (Fig. 105). The formation of such camps is not generally possible without annual
621 pasture, and section camps are particularly common in the *Dag Rali* tribe resident mainly in the
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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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*Sub-areas of the territory of the Dag Ṛali* tribe

(The tribe is divided into two halves:— (1) the *Dag Ṛali* proper comprising the sections named *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*, (2) the *Imessiliten* comprising the two sections named *Kel Hérhafek* and *Kel Teñhart*)

| Tenants | Name and value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe and leader of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section | ISEKRAM<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant | 2 goats |
| YEḲI of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section | TAĠMART<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| AMMA of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | ARECHCHUM<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| KHABTÉ of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section<br>&<br>AKHASEN of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | I-N-DALAĠ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| AFAREḲ of the *Kel Hérhafek* section | AKAL-EREṚEN<br>Hunting of barbary sheep | Unknown |
| BUSKEYAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the *Kel Teñhart* section | TAHAT<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown) |
| [361] DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet* | ABALESSA<br>A very extended area comprising the village of Abalessa and other agricultural settlements | No land-rent as the *Amenukal* receives dues for every garden in this area |
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections of *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet* Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections | TEẒẒA<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | 1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep). (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) are also given to Danguchi as tribal chief) |

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



*Sub-areas of the territory of the Aguh-en-tahlé* tribe

(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named Kel *Taṛhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Aṛefsa*)

| Tenants | Value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA ALATOKH, chief of the *Aguh-en-tahlé*, chief of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*, leader of the section *Kel Twez* | Cultivation grounds at Taṛhawhawt and I-n-dalag<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys for domestication | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, *khalifa* (leader) of the *Ikenkeren* section of the sub-tribe Kel *Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Collecting of wild seeds | 3 goats |
| ABERGALI, *khalifa* of the *Kel Tarayin* section of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the *Kel Tarayin* section. No position as leader | Cultivation grounds at I-n-agriwal and I-n-dalag. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys | 2 donkeys |
| DEYNI, chief of the *Kel Aṛefsa* sub-tribe forming only one section | No particular value | No land-rent |
| AKAWALI, chief of the *Isandan* sub-tribe and leader of the *Kel Afaru-ke hin* section | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| HANU, *khalifa* of the *Kel Azernen* section of the *Isandan* sub-tribe | Cultivation grounds at Tamanṛaset<br>In the past wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, *khalifa* of the *Ṛelayddin* now attached to the *Aguh-en-tahlé* tribe | *Khoseni* is in command of the *Ṛelayddin* territory to which all members of the *Ṛelayddin* have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the *Amenukal* | |

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzuṛ*, while a small camp is called *ḍrêwen* or *tamezzuk*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100–200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *heregen* (or *amezzuṛ n heregen*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *aharagen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

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221 many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading.
[241] Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess
[423] irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*). Some goat-camps may move their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date
[565] palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikechchemaḍen*) will also visit the oases
[245] of Silet and Tibeghin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are
* [233] harvested mainly by black-skinned *Ḥarratin* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar – mainly in Tamesna – and the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

423 The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in
311 individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds, or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied
614 the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*.
613 In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondance between sections and sub-areas in the
423 way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-areas, and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants (cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use
[428] these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are
[643] frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148–149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Ṛali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the *Amenukal*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group.

423 For the land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) paid to the *Amenukal* the tenants obtain the following rights
422 over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

[224] (3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

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342
361

Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikshran*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasilé-n-Aljer, the *Kel Uhet* tribe (*Isekkemoren*).

423 422 224 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 148).

423 241 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dag Rali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Rali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

685 643 423 [428] [613] Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

[114]

## AYR

* 422 233 [428] The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark. However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *éjwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

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had five vassal tribes, and the *Imanṛasaten* only three. Four tribes were divided between the *Uraṛen* and the *Imenan*, and one vassal tribe was divided between all three noble tribes. 565 614 642

The *Imenan* in Duveyrier's days comprised only five men who lived like sedentary Arabs at Ganet and Ṛat; they held the titles of *Imenukalen*, and their chief was "the *Amenukal*" who still possessed the drum (*eṭṭebel*) as the symbol of his former power. But the *Imenan* had no political power, and Duveyrier says that they were not allowed to summon their vassals to war. The true political leader of the *Kel Ajjer* was the chief of the *Uraṛen* with the title of *Amṛar*, but he was not the most important person. The practical leader of all Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer was the famous Tuareg known as *Akhenukhen*, whom Duveyrier called *Emir*. He had not accepted the position as *Amṛar* because this would have obliged him to give up his nomadic life and take up residence in a house. *Akhenukhen* held the supreme political and judical authority not only over the particular vassals of the *Uraṛen*, for all Ajjer Tuareg also submitted to his orders. However, we know from Duveyrier's description that the other noble tribes had the right to engage in raiding expeditions on their own behalf supported by their individual vassals, and it was not always easy for *Akhenukhen* to keep order. However, as leader of the bulk of the vassal tribes which were loyal to their master, he could retain the dominant position of the *Uraṛen* tribe, and in difficult judical problems he was aided and supported by the religious leaders of the *Iforas* group. 643 614 721

The noble tribes of the *Kel Ajjer* were subdivided into tribal sections which had their particular vassals. It seems as if this division of vassalage was primarily an economic one. Thus the chief of the *Uraṛen* possessed the supreme political authority over all vassals attached to his tribe though he only had particular economic rights over part of them (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff. & Dubief 1956, p. 87). I revert to these important features of political systems among the Northern Tuareg in a more detailed account of political relations in Ahaggar. 565 614 613

## KEL AHAGGAR

The Ahaggar Tuareg became politically independent in the 17th century when the supreme chief *Guma* of the *Imenan* was killed and the power over the *Kel Ajjer* passed into the hands of the *Uraṛen*. The Ahaggar Tuareg may even then have obtained their own supreme chief, but we know almost nothing about this early period. The supreme chiefs of the Ahaggar Tuareg, who have the title of *Amenukal*, are known as far back as to about 1750 when the ruler was *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir*. During his reign the Ahaggar Tuareg became divided into three major groups centering around the noble tribes known as *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Tégehé Mellet*. These tribes divided the vassals between them. The *Taytoḳ* and the *Kel Ṛela* until then formed one single tribe, and their members even to-day claim to be matrilineally related as *aro-n-taḥatin*, that is "persons descending from sisters", for the ancestress of the *Kel Ṛela*, by name *Kella*, and the ancestress of the *Taytoḳ*, whose name was *Sakina*, were in fact maternal cousins (cf. p. 140). The third noble tribe, *Tégehé Mellet*, to which vassals were allotted, is said to descend patrilineally from Arabs – perhaps from the *Chomba*. There were two other noble tribes among the Ahaggar Tuareg at this early date. One of them known 173 614 642 565 614 642 173 565 614

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| | Noble tribes | Vassal tribes | *Isekkemaren* tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| The *Taytoḳ* Drum-Group | *Taytoḳ* 33<br>There are hardly any Tuareg of pure *Taytoḳ* stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief *Mokhammed ag Mokhammed* who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The *Taytoḳ* and their vassals frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past. | *Kel Ahmet* 127<br>*Iwerweren* 47<br>*Téġehé-n-Efis* 127<br>*Ikuṭṭisen* 84<br>*Ikechchemaḍen* (now mixed with the *Dag Ṛali* tribe of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group).<br>*Iṛechchumen*<br>A tribe patrilineally related to the noble *Taytoḳ*, matrilineally to the vassal tribe of *Kel Ahmet*. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals. | *Kel I-n-tunin* (about 20 tents in 1938). |
| The *Téġehé-Mellet* Drum-Group | *Téġehé Mellet* 33 | *Kel Turka* (part of the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group). | *Kel Terurit* 62<br>*Kel Uhet* 70 |
| Noble Tribes Without Vassals | *Kel-ahem-mellen* | The *Isekkemaren* tribes are said formerly to have been vassals of this tribe | |
| | *Ikadeyen* | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | |

rights have been outlined. These payments were also made to the *Amenukal* by people of his drum-group in the past, and then as now he received an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* from all vassal tribes. The size of such *tiwsé* payments in the past is unknown, but they have no doubt varied from one tribe to another as they do to-day. I describe in brief the *tiwsé* payments made by the two most important vassal tribes to illustrate this:— (1) The *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe is divided into three sub-tribes which make their *tiwsé* payments separately as follows: The *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe gives 600 kgs of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kgs of butter. The man who brings this payment to the *Amenukal* is rewarded with 15 metres of cotton. The *Isandan* sub-tribe gives 300 kgs of millet

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643 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man
651 bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Arefsa* sub-tribe its collective
614 payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Rali* tribe pays *tiwsé* as follows:—
613 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads,
565 are given to the chief of the *Dag Rali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*. – All vassal tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Amenukal*, and this also applies to the *Isekkemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwsé*, are in fact tokens of vassalage,
[634] and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as drum-chief of the *Kel Rela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to their particular drum-chiefs.

643 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his
634 drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war booty taken by his
565 vassals. This right was known as *abellag*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel Rela* drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal
[614] kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in the tribe to which the deseased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138). As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief
[614] within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels on the latter's death.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*edduiyet*)
634 among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151).
681 Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance,
[684] he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly
[682] the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth
[614] paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. When the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid.
[683] For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and
[178] such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished
[648] by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he had in the past.

178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

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noble Tuareg and vassals. It would seem as if these mixed marriages had a political function as they served to reinforce the solidarity within the drum-group in view of its opposition to the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group and the *Amenukal*. In consequence of these marriages the political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group was in the past much influenced by rules of kinship behaviour, and the payments due to the drum-chief from vassals were less comprehensive than in the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group. 634 565 571 614 [102]

*The Kel Ṛela* drum-group was divided into minor relationships between noble Tuareg and vassals. These relationships were known as *temaẓlayt*, that is literally "the root of the nail". They have almost ceased to exist, and consequently they are very difficult to describe. However, it is possible to outline their organization and main functions. They were structurally akin to the drum-group, as they were matrilineally organized. A noble Tuareg who had rights over certain vassals would be succeeded by a maternal kinsman, and in a group of vassals right and obligations would equally follow matrilineal rules. A *temaẓlayt* relationship was a relationship between a small noble matrilineage with a particular leader and a larger matrilineage of vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class. The noble matrilineage that was attached to a definite group of vassals would not necessarily correspond with the matrilineal core within a section, for there were comparatively many noble Tuareg in the *Kel Ṛela* tribe who were leaders of *temaẓlayt* groups. This is shown by Benhazera's investigations, which took place at a time when the ancient political system of the Ahaggar Tuareg still retained most of its traditional functions. At that time there were at least ten noble Tuareg who were commanders of *temaẓlayt* groups (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.). 634 565 571 613 [178]

There are certain traces of *temaẓlayt* organizations even to-day. The token of this relationship is the payment of an annual due known as *tiwsé* from a group of vassals to the *temaẓlayt* master.

Apparently some vassals who made *tiwsé* payments to a noble *temaẓlayt* master did not make this payment also to their drum-chief (the *Amenukal*). Thus to-day the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe makes an annual *tiwsé* payment to *Maṛli agg Amayas* of the *Kel Ṛela* section named *Inemba Kel-Emeṛṛi*, but gives no *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal Bay*, who belongs to the *Iboglan* section of the same tribe, though the land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) is always paid to the *Amenukal*. I was also told by the *Kel Ṛela Khalifa* of Tamesna, who belonged to the *Iboglan* section, that he had the right to collect the *tiwsé* payment from the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aḡub-en-tehlé*, but as he was now living outside of Ahaggar this payment was made by the *Isandan* to the *Amenukal*. However, I believe that in the past most vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class made *tiwsé* payments both to their individual *temaẓlayt* masters and to the *Amenukal*. This would also seem to be in agreement with Foucauld's description of *temaẓlayt* relations (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1965).

A noble *temaẓlayt* master had no judicial authority over his individual vassals, and could not summon them to war and raiding against their will. These rights belonged to the drum-chief, consequently in the *Kel Ṛela* group, to the *Amenukal*. The obligations of a noble *temaẓlayt* master towards his vassals were mainly to protect them against raids by and exploitation of other noble Tuareg who formed a class of warriors and raiders roaming the country for enemies and for booty. A *temaẓlayt* master had the right to organize raids with the support of his vassals, if they were interested, and the vassals were also allowed to carry out raids on their own behalf, but in both cases half of the booty (*abellaḡ*) taken by 634 565 571 613 721

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634 vassals was given to the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) and not to the *temaẓlayt* master. However, should
565 a vassal Tuareg have borrowed for raiding a riding camel from his *temaẓlayt* master or another noble
571 Tuareg, they received a tribute also known as *abellaḡ*, comprising half of the booty remaining when
613 one half had been given to the *Amenukal*.
721

The noble Tuareg possessed many advantages over their individual vassals. They could apparently
565 claim almost what they wanted for their subsistence, and frequently camped close to their vassals
571 who then were obliged to feed them, and when in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take such animals from their vassals (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). Similar information is given by Benhazera, but he states that the vassals in the past would not necessarily supply everything demanded by their noble lords (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The vassals were under a particular obligation to provide the noble Tuareg with goat-breeding products, and if they had milk yielding she-camels the noble Tuareg could claim these animals until milk-yielding stopped. But the vassals had also many advantages from the *temaẓlayt* relationships. They were not only protected by their lords. The noble Tuareg would leave behind the animals they could not take with them when roaming in the desert, and noble Tuareg never had much livestock with them in their camps. It was also of great importance to the vassals that they could use their masters camels for caravan trading. On the whole the system was not exclusively the exploitation of vassals by the noble Tuareg, and it can be added that the vassal Tuareg were always more numerous than the noble Tuareg, that the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) was elected by the vassals, and that he alone had judicial rights. The system was one of give and take to both classes involved, and there can be little doubt that it was well adapted to practical ecological conditions.

233 In Ahaggar, camels and goats are very complementary to each other. The camel supplies the Tuareg
433 with milk, but with very few other products, and the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-
[234] camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important
[262] as food, but it is not well-fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg kill camels to
[281] utilize their meat only when many people congregate, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, for tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the
[437] camels have little direct economic value. But for raiding in the past, camels were very valuable riding animals, and were then, as now, extremely important for caravan trading which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic rôle of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive
[234] part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese
[262] which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore, goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

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M
582 p. 168 ff.). I do not want to judge this theory as I have little personal knowledge of the North African
583 Arabs who practise marriage with a paternal cousin. However, the argument that one of the chief
[114] functions of the bride-wealth is the confirmation of the social position of the children of a marriage, seems also valid for bride-wealth customs among people who practise preferential paternal cousin marriage, for it is clear that should a man marry a father's brother's daughter she will not have to change her social group after marriage. Furthermore, the fathers of the groom and the bride are brothers who among North African Arabs may own livestock and other types of property in common.

T
582 Tuareg cross-cousin marriage is symetrical, but the very best cross-cousin to marry is the true
604 mother's brother's daughter. This would seem to agree with the very close relationship between a
613 man and his mother's brother of the same matrilineage. A man has succession rights after his mother's brother, and many Tuareg say that the relationship between sister's son and mother's brother is as close as that between father and son. A man should do his outmost to defend his mother's brother, and it is very likely that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter has as its chief function the reinforcement of the matrilineage. It can here be added that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter will not easily lead to quarrels between the families of the married couple, because the fathers of the groom and the bride are cross-cousins and/or brothers-in-law, and consequently there is an institutional joking relationship between them.

We should perhaps explain Tuareg marriage with a mother's brother's daughter in the light of its importance for the reinforcement and maintenance of the matrilineage which has important social functions in Tuareg society. However, this marriage type does not exempt the groom or his family from paying bride-wealth.

T
[171] It is interesting to note that among the South African Bantu, who give bride-wealth (*lobola*) at a
T marriage, the groom is expected to assist his parents-in-law whenever they need his help (Krige 1937,
606 p. 113). This is also so among the Tuareg who claim that parents-in-law and sons-in-law should always support each other even if they be in-laws of dissolved marriages from which bride-wealth has not been claimed back. Indeed, some Tuareg consider it a very good thing to have contracted several marriages and thus to have obtained many in-laws who are expected to assist their son-in-law when he needs their help.

T
582 Finally, I add the statement of some Ahaggar Tuareg that bride-wealth payment is often considered
583 less essential where a man has married a maternal cousin or her daughter because in that event husband and wife are maternal relatives who, in case maternal cousin marriage is practised within their families, may be closely related also in the paternal line.

T
585 Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the marriage is ratified by representatives of the groom and the bride
[793] before an *Aneslem*, that is to say a marabut. This may take place on the first day of the wedding ceremony, but it may as well be done days, weeks, or even months before the wedding takes place. The parents of the groom and the bride may have the marriage ratified even though their children do not want to be married. The wedding ceremonies in Ahaggar and Ayr differ slightly, but they are no doubt functionally identical.

In Ahaggar the marriage ceremony is briefly as follows:—

000 tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has
586 177 adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

184 One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between
614 his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation. It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live.

[174] In their case we are confronted at the present time by a
562 matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman
[178] ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights, her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the
[611] man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many
[554] Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in
[584] matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has
[421] free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes, and even has a greater freedom of mores.

174 It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy among the Tuareg.

565 three main classes, the Tuareg nobles (fig. 46) and vassals (fig. 47) and the Negro slaves.

565 Rank seems to be essentially a quality of the clan rather than of the individual, for the
●614 Tuareg commonly speak of "noble clans" and "vassal clans," and, when one is in doubt about
[554] a person's social status, one does not ask what his rank is but what clan he belongs to. The "tobol,"[6] the symbol of precedence, is clan property and belongs to no particular family, although it is kept by the chief of the premier clan of a tribe as the symbol of his authority.

619 The Ahaggar confederation comprises three tribes, the Kel Rela, the Tégéhé Mellet and the
614 Taïtoq, each headed by a noble clan which gives its name to the tribe as a whole[7] (figs. 25, 26, *b* and 27). Noble clans by definition outrank vassal clans, so that the chief of a noble Ahaggar clan is usually chief of his tribe as well. The noble clans and their dependent vassal clans with them are arranged in an order of precedence, and so the chief of the premier
[643] clan (the *Kel Rela*) is also chief of the Kel Rela tribe and paramount chief (*Amenokal*) of the Ahaggar confederation.

614 It is men who govern at all levels of Ahaggar society. Among the Tuareg a tribal chief is
622 chosen from the premier clan of the tribe by
562 a clan council made up of the male heads of households, but he must be confirmed in office by a council of male representatives of all the component clans of his tribe because his tenure depends materially on the willingness of these clans to pay him tribute. For the same reason, the final confirmation of an amenokal rests with a council made up of male representatives of all the clans in the whole confederation. Tribal chiefs also act as judges, and an amenokal is the chief justice of his confederation.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary in the female line,[8] but within fairly broad and seemingly rather indefinite limits of degree of relation-

thereabouts, but this succession may not have been thought of as brother-to-brother inheritance after all. It seems perhaps more likely that the successor in such a case is looked on as an heir of the former chief's mother rather than of the former chief himself. Ancient Egyptian records, cited by Bates (1914, p. 112), tell of at least one Libyan chief who was succeeded by his younger brother in preference to his son. It would be a waste of time for us to try to explain the few early cases of father-to-son inheritance that have been reported because the circumstances surrounding them are not at all clear.

622 ship, and so an undesirable heir-apparent can easily be passed over in favor of a less direct heir who is considered acceptable (Butaye, 1957).

614 The position of an Ahaggar Tuareg clan is not firmly fixed within the framework of the confederation. Component clans will sometimes break away from one tribe in times of adversity and attach themselves to another and more powerful tribe that is better able to protect them. In the old days vassal clans were sometimes swapped back and forth between noble clans, and so had their tribal allegiance changed for them more or less arbitrarily. At least one clan, the Ibotenaten, has been reduced from noble to vassal status, in this case by a crushing defeat suffered in the course of a blood feud. Thus the distribution of the various clans within the tribal framework of the confederation tends to change gradually [578] over the years, while internal tribal crises and intertribal warfare naturally accelerate the process.

[582] Marriage is usually although not always within the clan but outside the first degree of 614 cousinship and outside the camp community 611 or fraction. A child of Tuareg parents inherits rank and privileges through the mother, re- 428 gardless of whether she is a member of the father's clan or not; but the child is known as "Such-and-such, child of So-and-so," the parent thus referred to being the father, and inheritance of property follows Moslem law (*see* the Koran, iv, 12 and 175) which provides that a male heir shall receive twice as much as a female heir who is related to the deceased in the same degree. Today a Targui, asked to give his ancestry, will recite the list of male forebears in his father's line, although Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 321) tells us that in the 14th century descent was counted through the mother's brother, and a man's heirs were his sister's children rather than his own. Bates (1914, p. 112), citing Duveyrier (1864, p. 397), says that property acquired by force of arms used to be inherited by "the eldest son of the eldest sister of the deceased."

591 A newly married couple live in the camp of the bride's parents for about a year and then usually move over to a camp of the husband's people, but they sometimes settle permanently among the clansfolk of the bride if she and her

326 grubbing gardeners alike. They have turned their status as "untouchables" to their own advantage and so remain untouched.

326 Physically the smiths of the Ahaggar cover
142 the whole range of human variation between the Bush Negro type on the one hand and the Berber variety of Mediterranean on the other, but they seem to fall mostly within a highly variable category characterized in general by "European" features combined with a yellowish brown or occasionally coppery skin, thickish lips, and curly or frizzled hair. They are lean in build as a rule, but seem softer and less wiry than the more active Tuareg (fig. 57, *a*).

326 And this brings us to another exasperating
174 blank in our picture of Saharan peoples. The smiths of the Ahaggar claim to have come from the Adrar n Ifoghas and to be related to the families of smiths who live there now, and Benhazera (1908, pp. 221 and 223) reproduced an old Arabic text which states that "the smiths and the Fulani have the same mother." Cline (1937, p. 141) maintained that the art of smelting iron was introduced into the western Sudan by "camel-riding Berbers" from the North, across the Sahara. But no one really has any idea where the smiths of the Ahaggar actually did come from or when, where and from whom they first learned their trade. No one, so far as the present writer knows, has ever published measurements or blood group classifications of a single one of them, and no one seems to have found out anything to speak of about their social organization or even their kinship terminology. Not a dozen photographs of their faces are available to students. Why? Simply because the Tuareg are spectacularly romantic while the smiths are not.[13] The smiths of the Ahaggar and of the Sahara as a whole have suffered the same fate that the Spanish gypsies might have suffered had George Borrow not been
614 born, and, like the Spanish gypsies, they are disappearing fast.

565 A number of vassal clans of the Ahaggar
173 confederation are said to be of Arab or mixed

[13] Here the author has laid himself wide open to
[114] a very embarrassing question. "Why," he seems to hear the frustrated reader ask, "haven't you done something to fill this aching void yourself since you find it so distressing?" The author's time in the field has been severely limited by the exigencies of writing this preliminary survey, and recently by political

565 173 614 Arab and Tuareg ancestry. Benhazera (1908, pp. 90, 102 and 222–23), Lhote (1955, pp. 234–36) and Blanguernon (1955, pp. 52–55) all agree in lumping most of them together in a special almost tribelike class known as the Issoquamaren, but they do not agree entirely on just which clans should be included in this group. According to Benhazera the Issoquamaren once claimed descent from a woman purchased in the Adrar n Ifoghas country by Arab invaders who came there straight from Mecca about the middle of the 7th century A.D., and he adds that they are thought to have moved northward to the Touat early in the 12th century. The first part of this tale is very characteristic of the marginal Arab schools of historical fiction, or fictional history if you prefer, which are often no more reliable than is the modern school of lecturers who tell us, for example, that the Tuareg are descendants of veteran crusaders who came to the Ahaggar from the Levant. This parallel that spans the centuries is funny, to be sure, but there is much more in it than just an amusing concidence. It is a striking illustration of the fact that uncritical minds, Moslem and Christian alike, are always deeply moved by thoughts of the past glories of their race and of "that old time religion." We must never forget the dangers of grotesque misinterpretation that result from the action of this powerful subconscious force. Most of the Saharan peoples who have been converted to Islam stubbornly insist against all sense and reason that they are of Arabian Moslem origin.

According to Lhote (1955, p. 236) the Issoquamaren are believed to be the descendants of Arab fathers and Tuareg mothers of the Tademaït region, whence they were recruited as mercenaries by the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, but Blanguernon (1955, p. 52) holds that they are descended from a group of Arab tribes of the Tidikelt and the Touat who were defeated and then assimilated by the Ahaggar Tuareg in the 18th century or possibly before. The Issoquamaren have been thought by some to enjoy a social status superior, at least in

[114] unrest as well, and so he has had to resign himself to filling in small but important gaps in relatively complete pictures rather than run a serious risk of getting bogged down for months or doing only a superficial job in attempting to reconstruct pictures whose main outlines even are as yet unknown.

565 theory, to that of ordinary vassals (Lhote,
173 1955, p. 236), but in fact they are looked
614 down upon as greatly inferior to Tuareg vassal clans (Blanguernon, 1955, p. 52). Although the Issoquamaren clans and fractions have been parceled out among various tribes of the Ahaggar confederation, they still seem to retain some remnants of the social structure of a single and united tribe. Since the Issoquamaren have become rich in camels, they have regained in practical power and influence most of what they once lost in hierarchical prestige.

[131] The Irreguenaten are based on the Tamesna region south of the Ahaggar, and nomadize from there northwestward across the Adrar n Ifoghas sometimes even as far as the Erg Chech (pronounced *Shesh*). They are believed to have sprung from a series of marriages between Gouraran and Kounta Arab men and Tuareg women of the Ibotenaten clan. The descendants of these unions became so numerous and so very rich, in camels and in slaves, that they were finally able to establish a separate clan of their own. Although they are included in the vassal category, they enjoy a nebulous but well-recognized position of precedence in relation to most of the other Tuareg vassal clans.

The Irreguenaten constitute a matri-clan subdivided into two patri-clans, the Haggarenin and the Settafnin, which are based on supposed descent from two ancestral Arab groups, one of them thought to have been of Shorfa stock. And this is very interesting as an example of a matrilineal clan structure that has been effectively split into two patrilineal clans while still remaining basically a unit in the matrilineal terms of Tuareg social and politico-economic organization and, to a great extent, in terms of its own internal economic organization too.

565 It will be noted that the partly Arab clans
614 of the Ahaggar Tuareg confederation live for
101 the most part outside the Ahaggar proper,
131 and are distributed in an arc that curves around its southwestern, western and northwestern borders. The northwestern extremity of this arc continues curving eastward, then southeastward and finally on southward around the territory of the Ajjer Tuareg confederation. The southern gap in the circum-

565 ference of the resulting oval is closed by the
614 Negro-Tuareg contact zone of the southern
101 Aïr. The Ahaggar massif lies at the center of
131 this oval refuge area: it is a Berber island, so to speak, whose broad beaches are continually swept by waves of the surrounding Arab sea and, along the southern and southeastern shores, by the negroid "Gulf Stream" of the Sudan.

565 There have probably never been many
174 Shorfa or Maraboutic families established in
563 the Ahaggar itself, although a few of them
[797] have lived there for a long time now. Arab Shorfa missionaries from Morocco first arrived probably in the 7th or early 8th century. They soon set up a theocratic dynasty, the Imenan, who ruled the Ahaggar and the Ajjer Tuareg as a single confederation until about 1650, when Goma, last of the Imenan "sultans," was murdered by Biska, a noble of the Oraghen tribe of Ajjer Tuareg. There followed a long period of anarchy and civil wars out of which finally arose, about the middle of the 18th century, the main framework of the Tuareg political structure which we now know. Descendants of immigrant Arab holy men are very few and scattered in the Ahaggar today, and their power has been reduced to no more than a faint shadow of what it used to be. People of this kind are much more numerous, united and powerful in the northeastern and southwestern corners of Tuareg territory, among the Ajjer and the Ifoghas of the Adrar, than they are in the region with which we are directly concerned at the moment. It is significant, however, that as recently as 1900 a Shorfa holy man exerted decisive influence in the electoral council of the Ahaggar confederation when that body found itself seriously divided over the choice of a new amenokal (Benhazera, 1908, p. 126).

We know that Arab blood has been seeping very gradually into the topmost level of the Tuareg aristocracy, for at least a century,
[591] through the occasional marriages of noble Tuareg women with Arab men. In all such cases residence is strictly matrilocal. Since
[611] rank is inherited through the mother, a son of this kind of union ranks as a Tuareg noble and can become a chief. Duveyrier (1864, pp. 22–23) describes the case of the Ajjer Tuareg governor of Ghat in 1861, whose father was

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*Tuareg Invasions into Air.*

174 The connection between the Mediterranean and the Sudan by means of caravans through the Sahara is of very great but unknown age. Caravans have crossed the Sahara as far back as historical knowledge reaches (cf. Bates 1914, p. 101 ff. – Gsell 1920–28, I–VIII – Bovill 1958, p. 24). At the beginning donkeys and oxen were probably used as beasts of burden and the latter animals were employed also as draught animals for carriages as were horses at a later date (cf. Lhote 1953, p. 1138–1228). With the introduction of the camel, caravan trading through the desert was no doubt highly intensified. For although donkeys and also oxen can cross the Sahara in winter without much difficulty camels are better suited to desert journeys.

The first Tuareg who came to Air may have been caravan traders attracted by the excellent grazing grounds of this country. When they arrived we do not know but it seems possible to follow in broad outline the history of the Air Tuareg a thousand years back in time and to distinguish between several invasions. It must be admitted that these cannot be precisely dated and that our historical knowledge is on the whole very fragmentary. It is derived partly from oral traditions, partly [127] from written historical sources among which the so-called Agadez Chronicle is of particular value. It consists of various Arabic manuscripts in the care of the Sultan [114] of Agadez. They have been published in translation and abstracts (Palmer 1910; 1928; 1936. – Urvoy 1934). Several authors have made valuable contributions to the history of the Air Tuareg (Barth 1857, I. – Rodd 1926a, 1926b, 1938. – Palmer 1936. – Urvoy 1936. – Nicolas 1950a; 1950b), but to my mind the best general account is given by Urvoy whom I follow in outline.

As early as the 7th century A.D. extensive migrations of pastoral Berbers including the two important tribal groups of Lemta and Zaraoua passed through the desert. The Lemta settled around the Niger and gave rise to the Sonrai Empire, while the Zaraoua reached the Lake Tchad country where the state of Kanem-Bornou was created. At this time pastoral Berbers also arrived in Air where new states were created. The name of one of them is known, namely the Hausa state of Gober or Gobir which existed in Air up to the 12th century A.D.

New invasions took place in the following centuries. The ancestors of the clans of Igdalen (now in Tegama and Damergou south of the massif) and Iberkhoreen (now in Azaoua north of Tahoua) have probably immigrated before the year 1000 A.D. as may also be the case of the Kel Tamgak clan in Northern Air.

As mentioned the excellent grazing grounds of Air were probably the reason for the first Tuareg invasions. From the 11th century A.D. another factor seems to have been responsible, namely the arrival in North Africa of the Arab bedouins of Beni Hilal and Beni Soleim. Nomads of the latter group invaded the Tuareg countries of Tripolitania and Fezzan (Ibn Khaldoun, I, p. 134 ff.) with the result that Tuareg clans migrated southwards to Air. Among them was a group of seven [614] clans (Itesen, Ijadaranein, Ifadalen, Tamakou'at, Tamaga'azellet, Iza'aran, and

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



Ibrazouen) descending from daughters of one and the same mother. The Itesen clan had as its particular ancestress the oldest daughter. The clans were united into a federation also named the Itesen, as its supreme chief known as the *Aromboless* was elected from this clan. The Itesen group settled in Central Air, where for a long time it held an extremely powerful position. At a certain date a group named Immikitan was separated from the Itesen federation to form an independent or semi-independent political unit with its own chief by the title of *Emokki*. Tuareg of the Itesen-stock including the Immikitan are nowadays very few in number and mainly live in the savannah south of the massif where most of them took refuge owing to wars with later immigrants. Two of the oldest clans mentioned still exist, namely the Ifadalen in Damergou, and the Iza'aran partly in Damergou, partly in Air.

According to tradition the Itesen Tuareg came from the oasis of Aouidjila (Aujila) in Libya, and we may assume that they have immigrated from Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan or adjacent parts of the northern desert. The group of Tuareg known as the Kel Geres is said to have come also from Aouidjila. They invaded Air at a time between the 12th and the 14th century.

At the end of the 14th century both the Kel Geres and the Itesen came under the pressure of Tuareg invaders known as the Kel Ooui who are said to have had Aouidjila as their original homeland like the Itesen and the Kel Geres. They fought these two groups and in particular the Kel Geres who left Air finally in the 18th century to take up grazing grounds in the region of Madoua of the Nigerian borderlands. There were originally seven clans of Kel Ooui Tuareg, and five of them still exist. Like the Itesen and other Tuareg they claim descent from a common ancestress. The Kel Ooui pastoralists have largely mixed with the negroid village population also now known as Kel Ooui. Barth mentions that the true Kel Ooui clans are related to the very powerful clan of Oraren of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 372).

At the same time as the Kel Ooui, or somewhat later, a clan or a group of clans known as the Kel Ferouan came to Air from the north. Their name is derived from the village of Iferouan (Kel Ferouan = "the people of Iferouan") but they were nevertheless true nomads roaming the northern parts of Air until the 17th century when they moved southwards to live around the city of Agadez. There are different traditions about their origin. One mentioned by Urvoy claims Egypt as their home-land; this probably implies immigration from or via Tripolitania (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). Barth says they are related to the Oraren clan (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). According to my own investigations they claim to have lived originally in Ahaggar as close kinsmen to the dominating Kel Rela clan of that region. Some Kel Ferouan Tuareg will even go so far as to hold that even after their arrival in Air they continued to intermarry with the Kel Rela of Ahaggar. According to Nicolas their ancestress in named Tadaouelt (Tadawelt) (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474), while I have been told her name was Sabenas.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*Clans of the Kel Ferouan Drum-Group*

(Clans which are not separated by horizontal lines are said to be related to each other. – The two former clans of the list are the only true noble clans of the group).

162
614
631

| Clans | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kel Ferouan (Irasouattan) | 350 | 58 | There are to-day very few Tuareg of these two noble clans, and it is said that even in the past they were very few. | Teloua (western part) |
| Kel Azel | 180 | 47 | | Aniegen |
| Ijakarkaren | 203 | 41 | Attached to the Kel Azel. Close to the camp of the the drum-chief as soldiers permanently under his command. | Tafadek |
| Igendianen | 247 | 55 | | Borhal |
| Ikhabban? | | | | |
| Iberdianen (2 clans) | 621 | 97 | Living close to the noble Kel Ferouan as servants. | Goufat Teouendegit Eknaouen |
| Irobouren | | | Living close to the noble Kel Ferouan as servants. | |
| Imezzouren | 160 | 31 | Attached to the Kel Azel. | Tirweren |
| Ikaoukan | 150 | | Attached to the Kel Azel. | |
| Iforas (2 clans) | 396 | 95 | Attached to the Kel Azel. | Tedein |
| Ikochechiten | | | A section of the Immezzilalen. Attached to the Kel Azel. | Afarak |
| Imezzoureg | 106 | 20 | | Terazet |
| Idaleyen | 218 | 67 | | Telhechame |
| Ait Oren | 180 | | | Maramaro |
| Immezzilalen | | 27 | | Teloua (eastern part) Asa |
| Kel Tresent | 237 | | | Teloua (eastern part) Asa |
| Ikkhar | 42 | 18 | | |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



162
614
631

| Clans | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ifadeyen (8 clans) | | | | Kouroulbobo<br>Imechamedouan<br>Toroof<br>Beinabo |
| Igetofen | | | | Ti-n-Daouine<br>Amialen<br>Abdemma<br>Ekaouel |
| Irsouelen | | | | Tomboalaga<br>Akadamei<br>Meigaouei |
| Elbaraten | | | | Omouachor |
| Itagan | | | | Eleleg |
| Isakaranen | 653 | 107 | | Ti-n-Telezgin |
| Kel Tedale (3 clans) | 1300 | | They may be noble by origin. | Talak<br>Ouraeme<br>Zoumika |
| Kel Akarra | 164 | 39 | Said to be of noble origin and to have had the Ibararochiten clan as their particular vassals. | Ti-n-Telisrak |
| Ibararochchiten | | | Said to have been the particular vassals of the Kel Akarra clan. | Eudegra |

175 grounds round Agadez in the 17th century, and were probably called to this
642 region by a Sultan who needed them to keep order in the country. The actual
643 power then passed into the hands of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief.

### *The Kel Ferouan Tuareg.*

114 Lists of clans which belong to the Kel Ferouan drum-group have already been
614 published. Jean has fourteen clans in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427f. – Abadie 1927, p. 391f.), while Nicolas refers twenty-two clans to the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f., 480). My own list comes
614 close to that of Nicolas but contains a few additional names which however may
127 refer to sections of the other clans. In my list I have indicated the relationship
162 between the clans and their traditional grazing grounds. I have not been able to
[631] get precise particulars about the size of clans, and I therefore quote the figures

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 250. 614 [127]

A clan is generally termed *tassit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan-membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg. [162] [196] [611]

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 13). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g., 621 596 [342]

1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season *(akasa)* and in the beginning of the following dry season *(rawat)* several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups. 221 361 621 [173]

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occured also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin – ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:– 582 614 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 13 |
| No blood-relationship between husband and wife | 8 |
| Marriages total | 38 |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



582 Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there
[778] have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it
[581] results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally
[605] cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

605 Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with
606 joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance be-
221 tween children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown, the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two outwardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in
[184] the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8)[1]
601 which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and for certain matrilineal relatives. As clans, according to traditional rules, are groups
614 of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims the line of succession to be as follows:– 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Geres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492f.). Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims
614 that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that
643 this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151f., 463ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

[1] [p. 482, categor 116.—Analyst]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
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sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullemmeden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, p. 213; 1950c, p. 492f. – Richer 1924, p. 3, 52) an interesting matrilineal custom has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhazera (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Dubiéf has further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubiéf 1956, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes. In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25 (
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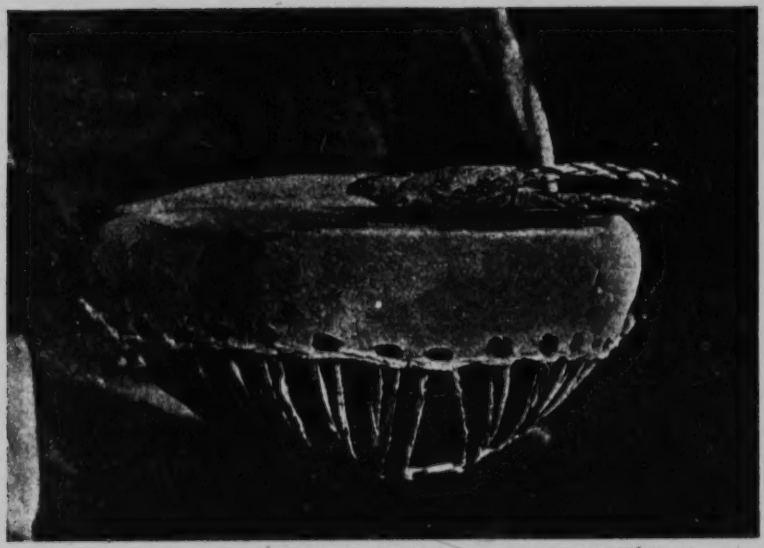

Fig. 6.–The drum which is the only insignia of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. Similar drums are found in all Tuareg groups.

614 past, as nowadays, the proper successor to chieftainship was the deceased chief's son. This rule of succession is no doubt due to Islamic influence which, as mentioned, [174] has introduced patrilineal succession among the Ioullemmeden Tuareg and also in various clans of the religious class of *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). I think there can be no doubt that succession among the Air Tuareg was originally matrilineal and that most possibly a sister's son was considered the proper successor to chieftainship.

### *The Political System of the Kel Ferouan.*

634 The important noble clans of the Kel Ferouan drum-group, namely the true Kel [614] Ferouan (or Iraouatten) and the Kel Azel, are said to be matrilineally related, as [173] the ancestress of the Kel Azel was a woman of the Kel Ferouan clan. She married, tradition says, an Arab who was killed at her own request.

The chief of the noble Kel Ferouan clan had the only drum of the whole group [202] of which he was the supreme chief. The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal clans but also by the noble Kel Azel. 778 The drum, which may still be seen in the camp of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, is 534 made of wood and covered with skin (fig. 6). It is believed that it has a mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced the man charged with this task would do it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
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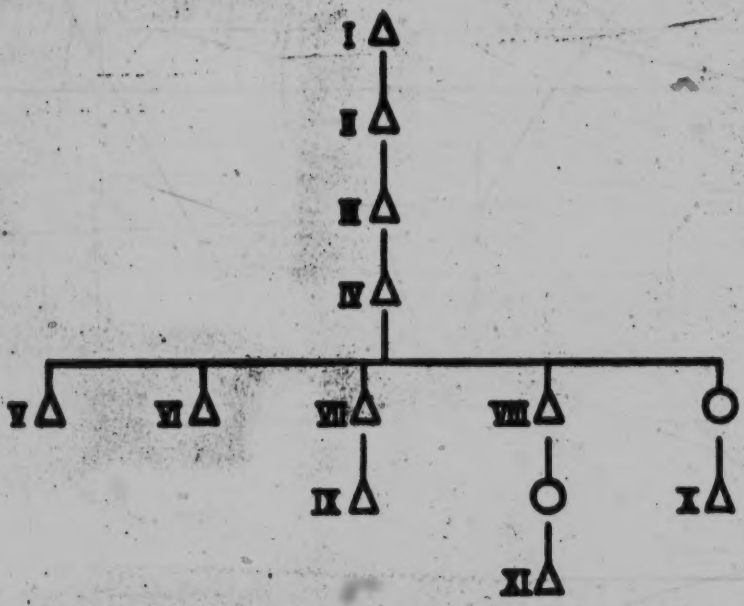


Fig. 7.–Succession of drum-chiefs in the small drum-group of Echchikhen living in Damergou south of the Air Massif.

blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. 778 534

Matrilineally related to the Kel Ferouan are also the Echchikhen clan of Damergou, as its ancestress was a noble woman from the Kel Ferouan. But patrilineally the Echchikhen seem to be related to Iforas Tuareg of religious status. The chief of the Echchikhen has a drum of his own as he has the right over a few vassal clans of Damergou, namely the Imasoren, Khamedan, Ekanaouen, and Iraouelen – clans said to be poor and in part subsisting as hunters. Among the Echchikhen I was able to collect a list of drumchiefs who have been chosen mainly according to the patrilineal principle (fig. 7). A new chief of the drum-group had just been elected, and he had no ties of kinship with the Echchikhen. He belonged to the Kel Geres group, and the prominent noble Echchikhen Tuareg were very sorry and infuriated about his election, as they wanted a man from their own clan to take over the leadership of the whole drum-group. But they could do nothing about it as the chief can be elected only by his vassals. 634 [614]

This same principle is and was valid for the election of drum-chiefs in the Kel Ferouan group – they have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, who after the French occupation have also elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble Kel Ferouan clan. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, but the noble Kel Ferouan unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their [177] 173 634

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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*Agg Elkher*, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [75] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that [643] in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals.

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little [431] authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal [178] chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. 614 634

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 651 [583]

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:– 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Teouit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law *(alegges*, pl. *ilousan)*,
[601] or sisters-in-law *(tàleggest*, pl. *tilousin)*, while the spouses of descendants of all
brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law *(aḍeggal*, pl. *iḍoulan)*, or
[606] daughters-in-law *(taḍeggalt*, pl. *teḍoulin)*. These terms are always used reciprocally, and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized
634 his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the
●614 members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble
565 origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is
[687] said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the
634 Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the
614 Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other
565 drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel
114 Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427) The Kel Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related to the Ihaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from
634 the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power
614 over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the
565 Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibararochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by
[558] vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief
[669] had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air



It is said that in the 19th century all Tuareg groups of Air and adjacent regions paid an annual tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as follows:– 634 651

| | |
|---|---|
| Kel Ooui | 50 Tuareg veils |
| Kel Fadei | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| Echchikhen | two groups each giving 3 oryx hides |
| Kel Geres | 1 horse with a saddle |
| Ioullemmeden | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| Kel Allekot | 150 kg of millet |
| Damergou<br>Katsena | An amount of millet |

The Tuareg name for these payments is *toouse* meaning "annual tribute". The present drum-chief says that this tribute was given by the groups because all land belonged to the Kel Ferouan group. I think that the correctness of this is perhaps to be doubted, and that there may be other possible explanations:– 1) The payments may at some remote date have been made to the Sultan (Amenokal), but later collected by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became more important or, more possibly 2) they may have been given to the drum-chief for protection. Thus annual duties, termed *tiouse* by the Northern Tuareg, were formerly given by foreign Tuareg groups to mighty chiefs of Ahaggar to avoid raids (cf. p. 119). [423] [174]

The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim that in the remote past the whole drum-group of Kel Fadei including its noble clan paid bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as his vassals. This vassalship of the Kel Fadei is said to have ceased in the following way:– The Kel Ferouan drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a Kel Fadei camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the Kel Fadei camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the Kel Fadei. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the Kel Fadei so that after a time he could return safely to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the Kel Fadei Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan. 173

The political system of the Kel Ferouan group may be characterized as simple, all political rights resting in the hands of the drum-chief. He had no particular ministers or deputies, but he would discuss important matters with noble Tuareg of his camp and with the chiefs of vassal clans. 634

It has been mentioned above that the Kel Akarra clan in the past had one 634 614

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



634 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the
565 noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzouren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had con-
[463] stantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly
[701] by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers and protectors.

Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals *(Imghad)*
114 as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:– "One of the functions
565 of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for
614 long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the
[422] camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible
[672] for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen
[567] both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much about this.

Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin:
174 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air
565 from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of
614 noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a, p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg have emigrated.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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*The Federation of Ahaggar Tuareg*

(Size of clans according to Lhote 1955, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949)

| | Noble Clans | Vassal Clans | Iseḳḳemaren Clans |
|---|---|---|---|
| *The Kel Ṛela Drum-Group* | *Kel Ṛela* 275<br>To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble clans, with the Ifoṛas group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal clans. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The Kel Ṛela women, like noble women of the Oraṛen (Tassili-n-Ajjer) and Kel Ferouan (Air), do not associate freely with people of other classes. | *Dag Ṛali* 386<br>*Ait Loaïn* 400<br>*Aṛoub-en-Tahela* 385<br>*Ṛelaiddin* 40<br>*Iklan-en-Taousit* 500<br><br>*Ibettenaten* 129<br>*Ireḡenaten* 435<br><br>These two clans are not true vassals by origin. The Ibettenaten is said formerly to have had noble status and the Ireḡenaten descend matrilineally from the Ibettenaten, patrilineally from Arabs. | *Ihsiouen Hada* 253<br>*Kel Inṛer* 176<br>*Kel Tafedest* 61<br>*Kel Immidir* 179<br>*Kel Tazoulet* 158<br><br>The Iseḳḳemaren clans descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble Kel Ehan Mellen clan. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the Ouled Ba Hamou, claims that they were originally their vassals. |
| *The Taitoḳ Drum-Group* | *Taitoḳ* 33<br>There are hardly any Tuareg of pure Taitoḳ stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief Mohamed ag Mohamed who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the Taitoḳ drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The Taitoḳ and their vassals will frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past. | *Kel Ahnet* 127<br>*Iouarouaren* 47<br>*Tegehe-n-Eḳi* 127<br>*Ikoutisen* 84<br>*Ikechchemaden*<br>(now mixed with the Dag Ṛali clan of the Kel Ṛela drum-group).<br><br>*Iṛechchoumen* – a clan patrilineally related to the noble Taitoḳ, matrilineally to the vassal clan of Kel Ahnet. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals. | *Kel I-n-Tounin*<br>(about 20 tents in 1938). |

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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
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162
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| | Noble Clans | Vassal Clans | Isekkemaren Clans |
|---|---|---|---|
| *The Tegehe-Mellet Drum-Group* | *Tegehe Mellet* 33 | *Kel Tarka* (part of the Ait Loaien clan of the Kel Rela drum-group). | *Kel Tawarit* 60<br>*Kel Oubet* 70 |
| *Noble Clans Without Vassals* | *Kel Ehan Mellen* | The Isekkemaren clans are said formerly to have been vassals of this clan. | |
| | *Ikadeien* | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | |

### *The Kel Rela Drum-Group in Ahaggar.*

[161] The Ahaggar Tuareg according to statistics from 1950 number 4,611 individuals
565 (Lhote 1955, p. 157) and comprise 26 clans. In addition to the noble class termed
614 *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), and the vassal class termed *Imrad*, (sing. *Amrid*) or *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), there is also a class termed *Isekkemaren* (sing. *Asekkemar*), who can be considered vassals of a somewhat different status. The religious class *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*) is in Ahaggar represented by a few families without clan organization.

614 There are five noble clans but only three of them have vassals. There are in
565 other words three drum-groups *(eggebel*, pl. *eggebelen)*, namely those of Kel Rela,
634 Taitok, and Tegehe Mellet. The Kel Rela group is by far the most important, and its chief with the title of Amenokal is the supreme head of all three groups which
643 constitute a sort of federation named *tegehe*. In rare cases when the Tuareg of Ahaggar joined forces against foreign Tuareg groups, e.g. the Tuareg of Tassili-n-
[701] Ajjer, the Amenokal was the war-leader of all three drum-groups. But in the past he had often little authority over the two other drum-groups. For long periods of the 19th century he had severe troubles with the Taitok, who had acquired a practically independent position, and it seems as if he had no rights over the land inhabited by the Taitok drum-group. The Amenokal as well as the two other drum-chiefs *(Amrar*, pl. *Imrarren)* were elected by the vassals of their respective
[565] drum-groups. It is true that the members of the noble clan had a certain influence,
[614] but – contrary to former opinions on the matter – they did not have any direct voice in elections. The Amenokal was and is ceremoniously installed by a Tuareg of the Isekkemaren class who provides him with a new veil or turban. The two other
634 drum-chiefs should be installed in this way by the Amenokal, who also undertook the installation of all vassal chiefs within his own drum-group. The installment of vassal chiefs within the two other drum-groups were undertaken by their respective drum-chiefs. In the present chapter I shall describe the drum-group of the Kel Rela in some detail.

[Text continues on p. 104]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *taousit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan. 614 [162] [565] 613 614

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult. 114 611 [177]

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. 611 [591] [428] [631]

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage. 428 [422] [174]

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10. 614 591 768

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



591
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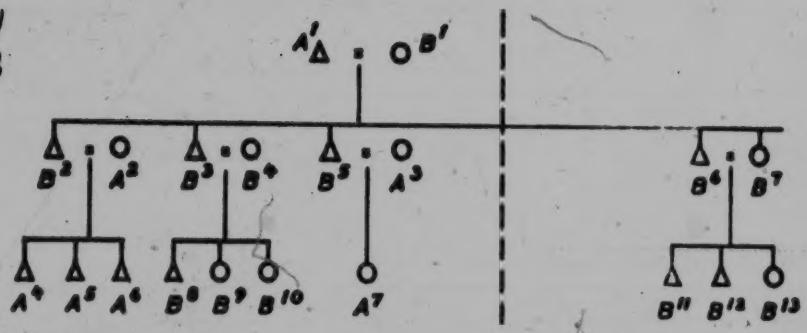


Fig. 10.–Illustration of the rule of residence for persons descending from a man of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan ($A^1$) and a woman of the Dag Rali clan ($B^1$).

People living with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan to which all A-persons belong.

At the death of $A^1$ of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan all persons will settle in the territory of the Dag Rali clan with maternal kinsmen of $B^1$, and they will remain there also after the death of $B^1$.

At the death of $B^2$ his wife $A^2$ and her children $A^4$ $A^5$ will go to her father or maternal kinsmen of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan as will be the case with $A^3$ and her child $A^7$ at the death of $B^5$. At the death of $B^9$ his wife $B^6$ and children $B^8$–$B^{10}$ will remain with the Dag Rali.

People living with the Dag Rali clan to which all B-persons belong.

If $B^9$ dies while $A^1$ is still alive, $B^9$ and her children $B^{11}$ $B^{12}$ will go back to the camp of $A^1$ in the Agouh-en-Tehele territory. After the death of $A^1$ they will return to the Dag Rali territory to join the camp of $B^2$, $B^5$, and $B^9$.

[614] [682] If for instance $B^9$ kills a man of a third clan (e.g. the Ait Loaien) the Agouh-en-Tehele and the Dag Rali clans are both responsible for the payment of blood-wealth as long as $A^1$ is alive and $B^9$ lives with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan. If $A^1$ has died and $B^9$ consequently lives with the Dag Rali, this latter clan alone will be responsible for the payment of blood-wealth.

582 The matrilineal and patrilineal rules applied among the Ahaggar Tuareg bring us to a consideration of marriage. In Ahaggar as in Air the traditional type of preferential mating no doubt is that with a cross-cousin, and cross-cousin marriage is symmetrical although a mother's brother's daughter is said to be the ideal spouse. This is not only stated by Tuareg particularly versed in their native customs. It is also proved by certain usages connected with marriage, and there are in fact many marriages of this type. But cross-cousin marriage although traditionally the preferential type of mating is apparently not the most common type of marriage. For many Tuareg claim that the very best is to marry a mother's sister's daughter (that is a classificatory sister), or a mother's sister's daughter's daughter (that is a classificatory sister's daughter). My statistical material, which is not very comprehensive, seems

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to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:- 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 8 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan 614 and eight in the three sub-clans of the Agouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up in [361] minor camps of 2–7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals 621 are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big 476 camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps [596] consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within [422] the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never [613] correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or 622 section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative of the section in relation to the clan chief *(Amyar)*. These khalifas are not necessarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilineal as it is for clan chiefs. [614]

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8–9), but the [184] rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between [601] cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in 602 Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most clans.

[Text continues on p. 108]

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*Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Aǵouh-en-Tehele Clan.*

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafia).

| Tenants | Value of Sub-Area | Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Aǵouh-en-Tehele, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tôles. | Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Daledge. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication. | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, Khalifa of the Ikenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds. | 3 goats |
| ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader. | Cultivation grounds at Inagriouel and In Deledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 2 donkeys |
| DEINI, Chief of the Kel Rafia sub-clan. | No particular value. | No land-rent. |
| AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section. | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Asernan section of the Isandan sub-clan. | Cultivation grounds at Tamanrasset. In the past wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaiddin now attached to the Aǵouh-en-Tehele clan. | Khoseni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaiddin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal. | |

clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Aǵouh-en-Tehele have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Isekkemaren class. Between the Aǵouh-en-Tehele and the Isekkemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Aǵouh-en-Tehele people come to the Isekkemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Isekkemaren visiting the Aǵouh-en-Tehele. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

[Text continues on p. 110]

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*Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Dag Rali Clan.*

(The clan is divided into two matrilineages: 1) the Dag Rali proper comprising most members of the Kel Tamanrasset and the Kel Terhananet sections, 2) the Imesiliten comprising most members of the Kel Hirhafok and the Kel Tiñhart sections.

614
427
651
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613

| Tenants | Name and Value of Sub-Area | Land-Rent to the Amenokal |
|---|---|---|
| DANGOCHI, Clan chief belonging to the Kel Tamanrasset section. Rights to this subarea is not necessarily vested in the chief. | ISEKRAM<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. – (For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant). | 2 goats |
| JERKIE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section. | TADJEMART<br>No particular value. | 2 water bags.<br>1 rope of goat's hair. |
| AMMA, of the Kel Terhananet section | ARECHCHOUM<br>No particular value. | 2 water bags.<br>1 rope of goat's hair. |
| KHABTE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section.<br>ARKASSEN, of the Kel Terhananet section. | IN DALADJ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep.<br>Wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| AFARAK, of the Kel Hirhafok section. | AKALARAREN<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. | Unknown |
| BOUSKEAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the Kel Tiñhart section. | TAHAT<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months. Domestic animals never graze in this area. | Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown). |
| DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet. | ABELESSA<br>A very extended area comprising the village of Abelessa and many other agricultural settlements. | No land-rent as the Amenokal receives dues from crops of every garden in this area. |
| DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet. Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections. | TAESSA<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep. – Domestic animals are never allowed to graze in this subarea, and barbary sheep are protected for three months every year. | 1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep) (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) is also given to Dangochi as clan chief). |

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It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1955, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1959, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Rali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent *(ehare-n-amerdal)* paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:–

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. – Foley 1930, p. 43f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Rali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatos.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.

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[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
643 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation
692 of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer.
643 The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
178 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
643 to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
Scale raiding.

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scale raiding. He would discuss all important matters with vassal chiefs and with his noble deputies known as *Khalifas*. At present the Amenokal has three Khalifas two of whom live in his own camp, while the third is his representative in Tamesna, where many Tuareg of his drum-group live. 643 [645]

The Amenokal never had the right to part of the bride-wealth from marriages among his vassals, nor did he receive a camel at the death of a vassal as was customary for the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan in Air. The Amenokal still has the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief within his drum-group, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal clan, the Dag Ḃali, has the right to one of the Amenokal's riding camels on the latter's death. [583] [651] [428]

As the representative of the Kel Ḃela drum-group the Amenokal is in certain cases entitled to property owned individually by his subjects. When a person dies without children or paternal kinsmen, his fortune is divided into six parts one part of which goes to his mother (or his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts are given to the Amenokal. In case the deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, the whole fortune of livestock is taken over by the Amenokal. He, however, will not himself make any use of the animals, but will leave them in the clan to which the deceased person belonged. They will there be under the supervision of the clan chief, who also has usufructs of them. Animals taken over by the Amenokal in this way are known as *ehere oua n eḃebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group"), or *ehere oua n boutelma* ("the fortune of the public"). 428 643 [614] [422]

The vassal clans of the Kel Ḃela drum-group pay an annual tribute known as *tiouse* to the Amenokal. The size of this payment varies from one clan to another. It is normally collected by the clan chiefs who send it to the Amenokal, but the three subclans of the Agouh-en-Tehele pay their tiouse separately as follows:– 1) The Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan: 600 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kg of butter. The man who brings this payment to the Amenokal is rewarded with a gift of 15 metres of cotton. 2) The Isandan sub-clan: 300 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kg of butter. The man who brings this receives a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. 3) The Kel Rafia sub-clan: Like the payments from the Isandan. 643 614 651

The whole Dag Ḃali clan pays its tiouse as follows:– 12 bags of millet corresponding to 6 camel-loads are given to the clan chief, who will send 10 bags to the Amenokal, and keep two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole clan gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the Amenokal.

One vassal clan, the Ait Loaien, does not make its tiouse payment to the Amenokal but to a Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Emori section of the Kel Ḃela. According to Lhote a certain family among the Dag Ḃali makes an annual payment to a noble Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Tahat section (Lhote 1955, p. 224). It is in fact possible that the Amenokal nowadays receives tiouse payments which ought to be made to other noble Tuareg. This I imply from the information from a man who told me that the Isandan sub-clan according to traditional rules should pay tiouse to a 565 614 643 651

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565 Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Ḋela clan, but as he now lives outside of
614 Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

643 In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to
651 noble Kel Ḋela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Ḋela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Iśekkemaren clan, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Ḋela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139ff.).

643 Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known
651 as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the
579 Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *ennehel*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347f.).

The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was
565 also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg.
614 But the relation (*temaẓlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals
651 and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another.
233 The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And
511 the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little
[234] when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food,
[262] but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar
[574] Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft,
[281] as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only
[237] for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

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173 is recognized by many vassal Tuareg, but they claim their ancestress Takama to
565 be Ti-n-Hinan's younger sister and not her servant.

The other tradition, told mainly among vassals, claims that the oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were the Isebeten just mentioned. They were goat-breeders and hunters in the mountains, and also bred donkeys. Some Tuareg say that the Isebeten had no tents, but lived in mountain caves. From these pagan Berber-speaking people descend the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The noble clans came to the country at a much later date. They introduced the camel which made them masters of the country. They conquered the Isebeten, and made them their vassals.

I agree with Foucauld, quoted above, that the latter tradition may contain
[114] an important element of historical truth. It explains the origin of vassalship in a logical way, and is in agreement with our linguistic analysis and the fact that vassals in the past were mainly goat-breeders who had no right to possess camels.

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and
184 vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's
565 milk, while vassals although they may be rich in camels will ascribe much import-
492 ance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble
[234] Tuareg will use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, while such saddles are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women will not generally mount camels but donkeys which are never mounted by noble women.

184 Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects,
565 and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:– 1) In noble
[583] clans bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal clans one to three camels which may be substituted with goats. Among vassals of Tassili-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. 2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas
[422] true vassals use earmarks for donkeys as for goats. Though in one vassal clan, the Dag Rali, donkeys are marked in both ways. 3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. 4) The noble
[342] Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post – that is a post on the top of which is placed a very short crossbar to support the sheet of skins sewn together. Although such posts may occasionally be used in vassal tents, they are said to be specific to the tents used by noble Tuareg.

These characteristics of noble Tuareg in Ahaggar are found also in the camel-
[614] breeding clan Iregenaten of Tamesna. This clan is said to descend from mixed
[173] marriages between Tuareg women of the Ibettenaten clan, said to be of noble origin, and Arab men. This is stated in literature (Lhote 1955, p. 238f. – Briggs 1958, p. 100) and confirmed to me by Iregenaten Tuareg met in Air.

342 Various sub-types of Tuareg skin tents with T-shaped posts are frequently
184 referred to in literature on the Northern Tuareg (Feilberg 1944, p. 139ff. – Lhote

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



422
*233

Fig. 100. Earmarks of the types used for goats and sheep among the Northern Tuareg. Ahaggar, the tribes *Dag Ṣali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*.

422
*233 never use earmarks for donkeys which are branded like their camels, and I believe that this rule also
565 holds for the *Iseḳkemaren* Tuareg, though I do not know this to be true for tribes other than those of *Kel Terurit* and *Kel-l-n-tunin*.

422
*233 The property brands of the Northern Tuareg are burned into the skin of the camel (donkey) by
[413] means of a redhot iron known as *éndel* (Figs. 102a–b), but if this implement is not available another piece of iron is used, e.g., the iron tripod for suspension of kettles and cooking pots. The brands are known as *ahwalen* (sing. *éhwel*), and there are a great many different ones which have their particular
422 names. These brands are frequently depicted in literature (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 629 f.; Lhote
*233 1955a, p. 235), and spoken of as "tribal brands". However, as property marks are patrilineally
● 614 inherited while tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, the members of the same tribe will possess more than one camel-brand. For marriages are contracted between different tribes,
[512] though some of these units are predominantly endogamous. Furthermore there are a few Tuareg who
[772] use different camel-brands for camels inherited from the father and the mother, as there are some who have adopted the mother's father's brand because their father's brand was believed to have brought bad luck in camel-breeding. For these reasons there are frequently more than one brand within a
[613] tribe, and individuals or small patrilineages generally add to their main brand (*éhwel*) a supplementary brand known as azeḳlu.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



brand known as *ayezlu*. To illustrate all this I reproduce the camel-brands used within three tribes of Ahaggar (Fig. 101 a–c).

The term *tawsit*, which is the Tuareg word generally applied to the unit here called a tribe, seems to have the meaning of "a hand-root from which fingers issue". But the word may have other meanings, e.g., "a mat (*tésebert*) plaited from *afezu*-grass" (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1533). The latter meaning intimates something kept firmly together, while the word *tawsit* in its first sense seems to indicate a lineage structure. I have sometimes heard Tuareg indicate tribal relationship between two persons saying that they belong to the same hand (*afus*), or that they are of the same root (*éké*, that is the root of a tree). There are other words which are sometimes used for "tribe". One term is *tekkebilt*, another is *ayref*, but the meaning of these words seems to be the more general one of "people" or "race". An interesting word, namely *hama*, which has the definite meaning of "mother's kin", is according to Foucauld also used synonymously with "tribe" (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 603), but according to information I have gathered in Ahaggar these two words are not entirely synonymous.

It is most remarkable that the Ahaggar Tuareg do not follow any particular rule for the naming of tribes. Some tribes are named after an ancestress (e.g., *Kel Rela* = *Kel Kella*, that is "people descending from the woman *Kella*"), while other tribes have avuncular names (e.g., *Téfghé-n-Efis*, that is "the man *Efis*'s sister's children"). Both these principles intimate that the tribe is a matrilineal unit, but certain tribes have patrilineal names much like those of Arab tribes (e.g., *Dag Rali*, that is "sons of the man *Rali*"; *Ayt Lowayen*, that is "sons of the man *Lowayen*"). Reference to an ancestor is also made in another way (e.g., *Ikadeyen*, that is "those descending from the man *Kadi*"). In addition we have tribal names which seem to be a kind of nick-names (e.g., *Aghab-en-tehlé*, that is "the Achilles-tendon of *tehlé*" – the word *tehlé* being the name of a perennial plant (*Typha elephantina*), and we have geographical names (e.g., *Kel Ahnet*, that is "the people of the Ahnet country"; *Kel Tazulet*, that is "people of the Tazulet region", etc.).

Previously I have used the term "clan" for the Tuareg term *tawsit* in agreement with the fact that many people claim it to be a matrilineal unit (cf. Nicolaisen 1959). Thus the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* tribe say that they all descend from the woman *Kella*, who lived about seven generations ago and had a maternal female cousin *Sakina* (or *Skina*) who became the ancestress of the other prominent noble tribe in Ahaggar named *Taytok*.

The very numerous vassal tribe the *Aghab-en-tehlé* is also said by its members to constitute a matrilineal unit. They claim descent from a common ancestress and occasionally use the name *Téfghé-n-Elimen* for their tribe. Actually the *Aghab-en-tehlé* tribe falls into three sub-tribes known as *Kel Tarhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Ayrefen*. They are said to be matrilineally related, but nobody is able to prove this genealogically, and among the *Isandan* there is a matrilineage of four generations which is matrilineally related to people of the *Ibettenaten* tribe and not to their fellow tribesmen.

Members of the important vassal tribe the *Dag Rali* will also frequently claim common matrilineal descent. However, they do not know the name of their proper ancestress. They say that they descend from a woman named *Takama* who was also the ancestress of the vassal tribes known as *Ayt Lowayen* and *Kel Ahnet*. The *Dag Rali* tribe was founded by the man *Rali* who lived about seven generations ago. It falls into two halves known as the *Dag Rali* proper and the *Imezzilliten*. Some Tuareg of the

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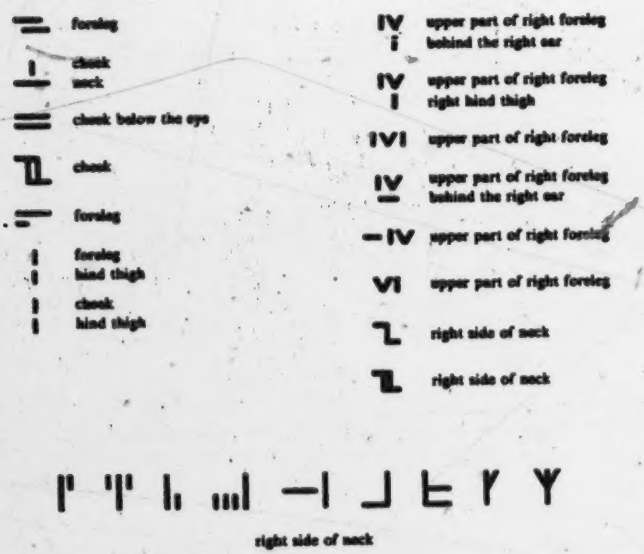


Fig. 101 a–c. Camel-brands of three Ahaggar tribes.

a. Brands of the *Kel Ḥeis* tribe.
b. Brands of the *Aḫsh-en-tehli* tribe. The main brand of this tribe is V called *amasort*. The brands ⊥ & ⊥ are due to intermarriage with the *Ikisn-en-tawsit* tribe where the principal brand is ⊥ called *ameslaḫ*.
c. Brands of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. The main brand characteristic of this tribe is | placed on the right side of the camel's neck. This brand was that used by the founder of the tribe named *Ṛali* and to-day it forms part of most *Dag Ṛali* brands which are always placed on the right side of the camel's neck. The *Dag Ṛali* brands have individual names. The last one is known as *tikkili n ayaleg*, that is "the raven's foot".

*Dag Ṛali* tribe may claim that these two halves are matrilineally related to one another, but also that they do not descend from sisters. It seems in fact as if these two halves stand in a cross-cousin relationship to one another, and it is in agreement with this that the *Dag Ṛali* proper speak of the *Imessiliten* as "children of their mother's brother". The two halves in the past intermarried much though marriages between them are very rare nowadays. Thus in 1951 there were only two marriages between people of the two tribal halves.

I believe that other tribes of Ahaggar have a structure similar to that of the *Dag Ṛali*, but the structure of Tuareg tribes is extremely difficult to grasp because very few Tuareg know their genealogies more than three or four generations back.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



614 582 Many Tuareg claim that their tribe is an endogamous unit, but to-day there is no tribe that is exclusively endogamous. All tribes intermarry more or less with people of other tribes. The most endogamous tribe is perhaps the *Dag Ṛali* of which the half known as the *Dag Ṛali* proper has contracted a few marriages with people of the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe) while the other tribal half known as the *Imessiliten* has intermarried with the *Ikechchemaḍen* tribe.

591 The rules of residence are based upon both patrilineal and matrilineal principles as follows:—

(1) When the wedding ceremony is over the newly-married couple will stay one year in the camp of the wife's parents. This one year's stay in the camp of the wife's family has nothing to do with bridal service. Very frequently the husband does not live continuously with his wife throughout this period, but lives in his parents' camp and pays occasional visits to his wife. Some Tuareg say that the main reason for this one year's stay in the camp of the wife's family is due to the fact that about one year is needed to prepare tent, household implements, and the like for the newly-married couple (cf. p. 460 f., 472). The stay in the wife's family camp is not always strictly one year, but may be [844] longer or shorter. But if the wife is pregnant she must leave her parents' camp to bear her child in the camp of the husband's family.

(2) After the one year's stay the couple will settle with the husband's father to remain with him as long as he is alive.

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Fig. 102a–b. Hafted irons (*ándel*, pl. *ándeles*) to burn property marks into the skin of camels and donkeys.

a. Camel iron. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. Dimension: 0.466 m. (N.M. G. 5251).

b Donkey iron. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. Dimension: 0.202 m. (N.M. G. 5250).

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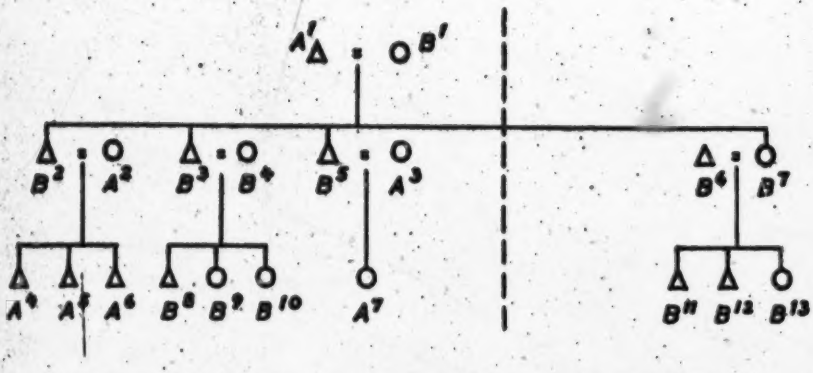


Fig. 103. Illustration of the rule of residence for persons descending from a man of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe ($A^1$) and a woman of the *Dag Rali* tribe ($B^1$). The *A*-people belong matrilineally to the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe, the *B*-people to the *Dag Rali*.

People living with the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

At the death of $A^1$ of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe all persons will settle in the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe with maternal kinsmen of $B^1$, and they will remain there also after the death of $B^1$.

At the death of $B^2$ his wife $A^2$ and her children $A^4$–$A^6$ will go to her father or maternal kinsmen of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe as will be the case with $A^3$ and her child $A^7$ at the death of $B^3$. At the death of $B^3$ his wife $B^4$ and children $B^8$–$B^{10}$ will remain with the *Dag Rali*.

People living with the *Dag Rali* tribe.

If $B^6$ dies while $A^1$ is still alive, $B^7$ and her children $B^{11}$–$B^{13}$ will go back to the camp of $A^1$ in the *Aguh-en-tehlé* territory. After the death of $A^1$ they will return to the *Dag Rali* to join the camp of $B^2$, $B^3$, and $B^5$. [768]

If for instance $B^3$ kills a man of a third tribe (e.g., the *Ayt Lowayen*) the *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Dag Rali* tribes are both responsible for the payment of blood-wealth as long as $A^1$ is alive and $B^3$ lives with the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. If $A^1$ has died and $B^3$ consequently lives with the *Dag Rali*, this latter tribe alone will be responsible for the payment of blood-wealth. [682] [672]

(3) After the death of the husband's father the couple will join the husband's matrilineal kinsmen (his mother's brothers) together with his mother should she still be alive.

(4) At the husband's death his wife and their children will move back to the wife's kinsmen. [768]

As may be seen from this complicated rule of residence, a single death may in fact give rise to a change of territory and camp for a great many people. This is illustrated in Fig. 103 which depicts the rules of residence in the light of actual marriages between the two vassal tribes, *Dag Rali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*.

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614 591 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two [682] [672] tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 691 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is [428] valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in [565] vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one par- 614 613 ticular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 565 631 423 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aǵuh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have [643] particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). [162] Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory [578] of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 613 621 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names – generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aǵuh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



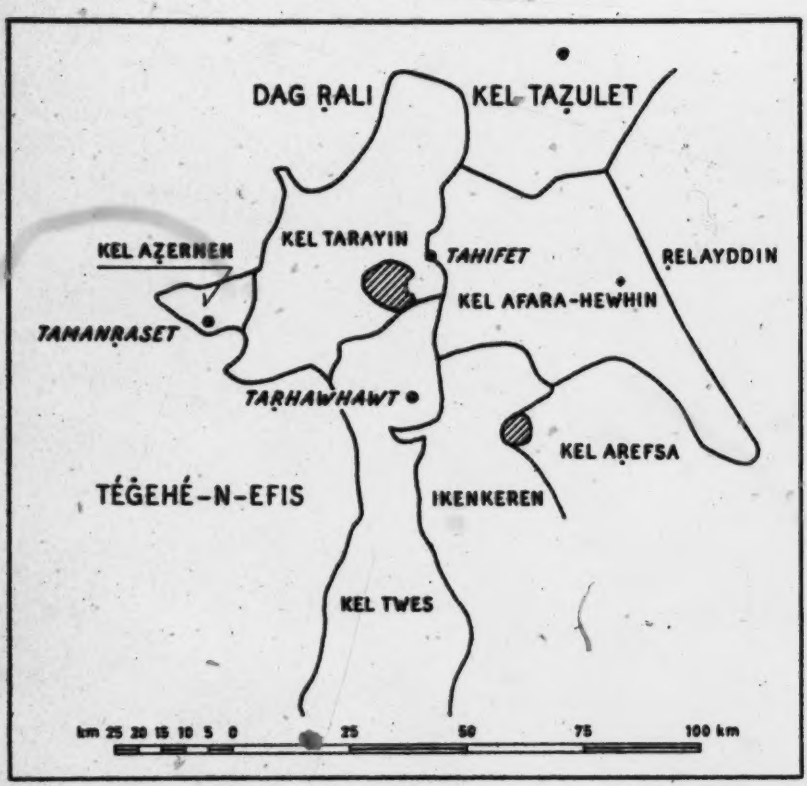


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Fig. 104. Map showing the sub-areas of the territory of the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe. The sub-areas have no proper limits towards the south where the country changes into barren and uninhabited desert. The hatched areas are mountainous regions which are not considered parts of sub-areas. West of the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* territory is the territory of the *Téġehé-n-Efis* tribe where two sections of the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* have their normal grazing grounds. To the north are the territories of the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Kel Taẓulet* tribes. The *Kel Aẓernen* section frequently camps in the *Dag Ṛali* territory and intermarries with the *Kel Tamaṛaset* section of that tribe. To the east is the territory of the *Ṛelayddin* who are now considered part of the *Aġuh-en-tehlé*. The *Aġuh-en-tehlé* territory chiefly belongs to the *Abada* zone, but the northern parts of the two northernmost sub-areas are within the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

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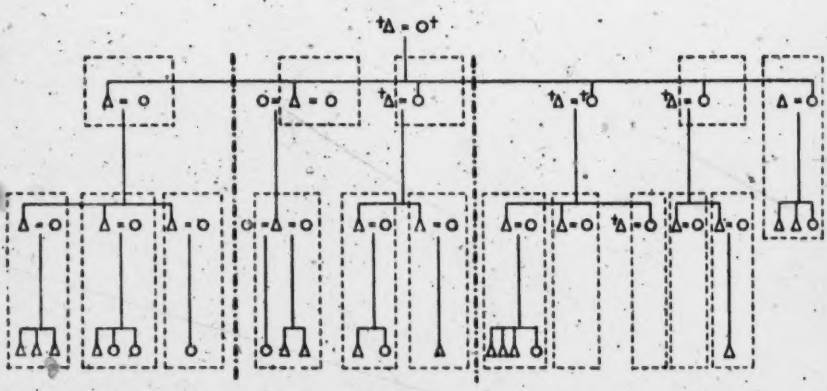

Fig. 105. The section camp of the *Kel Azernen* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aguh-en-tehli*). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated Fig. 103. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Ayr whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

[591]

614 also the representative of the section towards the tribal chief, should preferably be elected. The members
613 of one section will frequently intermarry with members of another particular section, but members
621 of a section will generally marry into more than one particular section and sometimes into sections
[582] of foreign tribes.

613 When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are
621 split up into minor camps of 2–7 tents. These minor camps generally consist of an extended family
596 which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually
*233 owned and every tent or household is self-supporting – "it has its own churning bag and its own millet
[592] bag", as the Tuareg put it. The section camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small goat-herding camps which constitute extended families, but the small camps within the section camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres
[476] between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small goat-herding camps of a section
[484] join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp of a section is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which tasks a goat-herding camp cannot spare the labour. Should the small goat-herding camps of a section be unable to remain together, they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A section camp is illustrated in
361 the diagram below (Fig. 105). The formation of such camps is not generally possible without annual
621 pasture, and section camps are particularly common in the *Dag Rali* tribe resident mainly in the
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*Sub-areas of the territory of the Dag Ṛali* tribe

(The tribe is divided into two halves:— (1) the *Dag Ṛali* proper comprising the sections named *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*, (2) the *Imezsillten* comprising the two sections named *Kel Hérhafek* and *Kel Teñhart*)

| Tenants | Name and value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe and leader of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section | ISEKRAM<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant | 2 goats |
| YEḲI of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section | TAGMART<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| AMMA of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | AṚECHCHUM<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| KHABTÊ of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section<br>&<br>AKHASEN of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | I-N-DALAĠ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| AFAREḲ of the *Kel Hérhafek* section | AKAL-EREREN<br>Hunting of barbary sheep | Unknown |
| BUSKEYAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the *Kel Teñhart* section | TAHAT<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown) |
| [361] DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet* | ABALESSA<br>A very extended area comprising the village of Abalessa and other agricultural settlements | No land-rent as the *Amenukal* receives dues for every garden in this area |
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections of *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet* Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections | TEẒẒA<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | 1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep). (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) are also given to Danguchi as tribal chief) |

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*Sub-areas of the territory of the Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe

(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named Kel *Taṛhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Aṛefsa*)

| Tenants | Value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA ALATOKH, chief of the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé*, chief of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*, leader of the section *Kel Twes* | Cultivation grounds at Taṛhawhawt and I-n-dalaǧ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys for domestication | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, *khalifa* (leader) of the *Ikenkeren* section of the sub-tribe Kel *Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Collecting of wild seeds | 3 goats |
| ABERGALI, *khalifa* of the *Kel Tarayin* section of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the *Kel Tarayin* section. No position as leader | Cultivation grounds at I-n-aǧriwal and I-n-dalaǧ. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys | 2 donkeys |
| DEYNI, chief of the *Kel Aṛefsa* sub-tribe forming only one section | No particular value | No land-rent |
| AKAWALI, chief of the *Isandan* sub-tribe and leader of the *Kel Afara-he hin* section | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| HANU, *khalifa* of the *Kel Azernen* section of the *Isandan* sub-tribe | Cultivation grounds at Tamanṛaset<br>In the past wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, *khalifa* of the *Ṛelayddin* now attached to the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe | *Khoseni* is in command of the *Ṛelayddin* territory to which all members of the *Ṛelayddin* have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the *Amenukal* | |

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzaṛ*, while a small camp is called *éṛéwen* or *tamezzaḳ*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100–200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *hereǧen* (or *amezzaṛ n hereǧen*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *aharaǧen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading. Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Ḫarratin* (*Izeggaren*). Some goat-camps may move their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikechchemaden*) will also visit the oases of Silet and Tibeghin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are harvested mainly by black-skinned *Ḫarratin* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar – mainly in Tamesna – and the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds, or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondance between sections and sub-areas in the way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-areas, and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants (cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148–149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Ṛali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the *Amenukal*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group.

For the land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) paid to the *Amenukal* the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

(3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

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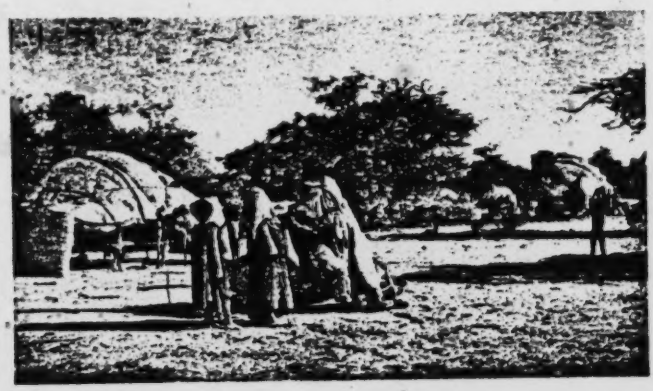

Fig. 109. A family camp of four mat-covered barrel-vaulted tents. Ayr, the *Iguddyuen* tribe.

422 donkeys by certain Ayr Tuareg are most interesting. Though such marks are used by many tribes
*233 there does not seem to be a great variety of them, and I have noted only the following marks:—

[565] (1) *tallayt*, that is the tip of right ear cut off while a slit is cut into the left ear. This mark is said to be used by all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the members of the two tribes *Kel Akerra* and *Imezzureg*, who claim to be noble by origin, have an additional brand burned into the left hind thigh close to the animal's anus. This brand is called *ekomed*.

(2) two slits in the animal's left ear. Though different from the mark just mentioned it is said also
[565] to be called *tallayt*. It is used by the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg (the *Irawatten*), and also by the negroid *Irawélen* who in the past were once slaves of the nobility.

(3) *tabelechchat*, that is one slit in the left ear. This mark is used by the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

[428] Though all property marks are patrilineally inherited it may happen in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, that a
[77] Tuareg use two marks. For certain Tuareg will use the mother's father's mark for animals given them by their mother's family, other Tuareg have been brought up among matrilineal kinsmen whose mark they have adopted, and there are also people who have adopted their mother's family mark because they believed that their father's mark brought them bad luck in camel-breeding.

● 614 The Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group fall into a number of units which are known by the word *tawchit*. It seems to have much the same meaning as the word *tawsit* of Northern Tuareg dialect, but is also used to designate the so-called spiked wheel-trap. I call these units for tribes as they do not seem to correspond to unilateral descent groups. Many tribes have a tradition of their descent from a common ancestress, but though tribal members may know her name they are never able to connect her with their genealogies which are very badly known. To my knowledge there are no tribes of true Ayr Tuareg that are named after an ancestress or have avuncular names. The Ayr tribes have geographical names or are called after an ancestor to whom they are also unable to connect their
[591] genealogies. It is possible that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in the past have followed the rules of residence

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outlined above from Ahaggar, with the exception that the Ayr Tuareg have never practised the one year's stay in the bride's family camp after marriage. To-day the *Kel Ferwan* tribes of Southern Ayr do not follow very strictly any particular rule of residence. There is a strong tendency to patrilocal residence, but a man will usually continue to live with kinsmen of the camp where he was brought up as a child. If a man has grown up with maternal relatives owing to the loss of his father as a boy, or because his mother and father have divorced, he may remain with matrilineal relatives. I believe that all tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group of Southern Ayr are bilateral kin groups. And if in the past these Tuareg practised the rules of residence outlined above from Ahaggar, the tribes have been bilateral units as there have always been many marriages contracted between people of different tribes. Two tribes of Ayr, namely the *Imezzureg* and the *Kel Akerra*, claim that they have intermarried regularly from very ancient times, because the father of the *Kel Akerra* tribe was the brother of the mother of the *Imezzureg* tribe, while the father of the *Imezzureg* was a cross-cousin of *Kel Akerra*'s mother. These two tribes possess their individual chiefs, but have always been very mixed. It seems as if chiefs were elected according to matrilineal rules in the past, but to-day it is claimed that a son of a deceased chief should be the first in line of succession (cf. p. 456 ff.).

In Southern Ayr camps of all possible tribes to-day live among each other. There are no grazing grounds or particular territories nowadays when everybody is free to go where he likes with flocks and herds. No Tuareg have particular rights over land, and ban on grazing within certain areas, as in Ahaggar, is unknown. This is said also to have been the case in the past. But in the times preceding the French occupation of Ayr, all vassal tribes had their particular territories which, according to Capot-Rey, were formerly marked by walls (Capot-Rey 1953a; p. 265). I have not been able to confirm this, but the Tuareg told me that in the past tribal territories had frontiers marked out by river valleys or by natural objects such as large trees. The vassal tribes did not own these territories, which were allotted them by the drum-chief of the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe, the *Irawatten*. The traditional territories or grazing grounds of most *Kel Ferwan* tribes are indicated in the list on p. 423 ff.

At present there seem to be no sectional division of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes corresponding to the division into sections in Ahaggar. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg generally live in small camps comprising a few tents. These camps, which co-operate in stock-herding, do not generally exceed four or five tents inhabited by kinsmen who generally constitute an extended family, e.g., (1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children; (2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children; (3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children; (4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband. These small camps, as may be seen, are not based upon any particular rule of residence in agreement with what has been said of residence rules above. The households of a little camp of this kind will remain constantly together to co-operate not only in goat-herding, but generally in camel-breeding also. The labour for camel-herding and caravan trading is more easily provided for in Ayr than in Ahaggar. For camels are rarely taken to very distant grazing grounds, and caravan trading is often limited to expeditions to Damergu where the Tuareg fetch their millet. The Tuareg tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group living around Agadez have no true co-operative units apart from the small camps of up to four or five tents. Such small camps of extended families may temporarily join each other in a bigger camp during the

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appointed by the Tuareg garden owners and is rewarded by a garden of his own for his responsibility in supervising all co-operative work. The unit of agriculturists co-operating at the same *foggara* may or may not correspond to an extended family. The agriculturists co-operating on any large *foggara* irrigating ten or twelve gardens frequently represent two or three distinct families which are not linked to each other by kinship bonds. The cultivators of a *foggara* comprising nine gardens at Taṛhawhawt belong to three distinct, unrelated families. This is quite natural in view of the fact that contracts between the Tuareg and the cultivators are made individually.

There may also be no kinship bonds between the pastoral Tuareg who have gardens at the same foggara, and there are even Tuareg who own two or three gardens situated in widely separated river valleys of Ahaggar. But Tuareg garden owners of the same foggara frequently belong to the same tribe or even to the same tribal section. When a garden-owning Tuareg dies, his garden will generally pass to somebody within his family, but there seems to be no fixed rules governing the transference of gardens.

The individual contract between a Tuareg garden owner and his cultivator is made for a period of six months – the period of growth for wheat and barley. The agriculturist is responsible for all garden work, and the Tuareg garden owner has the following obligations:—

(1) To supply his cultivator with a hoe every year, or every two years in case a very good hoe is given.

(2) To pay for repairs of the *foggara* system, or for the digging of a new *foggara*. This payment is known as *almarsor* and consists of two kilos of cereals or dates every working day until water reaches the garden.

(3) To pay for the making of garden beds. This payment is known as *éhéré n egalab*, and is made only once as long as the garden remains on the same spot. When a garden is moved after a period of three or four years the payment must be made again. It varies with the size of the garden and the quality of its soil; in general it consists of 15–25 kilos of cereals.

Fig. 140. Millet (*éadlé*) of very high growth. It is said that this particular millet type was introduced to Ahaggar from the south – possibly from Ayr. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

# Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg

In the introductory chapter on the Tuareg I mentioned that they fall into a number of main groups. 181
These groups or federations constitute the largest political units and are the following:— the *Kel* 642
*Ahaggar*, the *Kel Aijer*, the *Kel Adrar*, the *Kel Ayr*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek*, and the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram*. The federation of *Kel Tademekket* in the region of Timbuktu was subjected to the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* from about A.D. 1800 (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). In this chapter I attempt to outline the structure of some of the federations, and to consider certain problems connected with their historical development.

The two groups of Northern Tuareg which are so intimately related to one another, both culturally 173
and linguistically, formed originally one large political group under the command of the very powerful 642
noble tribe, the *Imenan* in the region of Ganet. It was not only considered noble to a very high degree, 614
but it was very highly estimated because of its supposed relationship to the Prophet. Many noble 565
Tuareg to-day, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, will claim themselves to be *Echcherifen* through relationship to the ancient *Imenan*, whose leader was the supreme chief of all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer until about A.D. 1650 or somewhat later in the 17th century. The *Imenan* about that date [669]
lost their power owing to insurrections led by the powerful noble tribe, the *Uraren*. A Tuareg of this [643]
tribe killed the supreme chief named *Guma* and the leadership of the *Kel Aijer* now passed over to the chief of the *Uraren*.

The political system of the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century has been described in some detail 175
by Duveyrier with particular reference to the *Kel Aijer* among whom he lived in 1859 (cf. Duveyrier 64
1864). Among the authors who visited the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century Duveyrier is by far the most important, and his brief description of political organization is of particular value.

When the *Imenan* lost their supreme authority owing to the rising of the *Uraren*, they retained 643
their titles of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*), which are used for all descendants of the *Imenan*, their [614]
women even to-day being known as *Timenukalin* (sing. *Tamenukalt*). The chief of the *Imenan* was still "the *Amenukal*", a title used for supreme and independent chiefs of large political units. It is a word known to all Tuareg, and there have been some discussion about its proper meaning. The meaning according to Duveyrier is "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this interpretation is that generally followed by modern authors (e.g., Lhote 1955, p. 189; Blanguernon 1955, p. 47), though Foucauld does not go into the proper meaning of the word *Amenukal* but contents himself with the statement that it is the title of "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1213 f.). According to Prasse *Amenukal* is very probably a composit of

[p. 393]

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643 *amenu* + (*a*)*kal*, "*amenu* of the country". The first part may be the now extinct sing. of *Imenan*, the original meaning of which is unknown ("princes"?); this agrees with Foucauld's statement that normally *Amenukal* is used as sing. of *Imenan*, meaning *iyen daɣ-Menan*" = "one of the *Imenan* tribe" (Frasse, verbal information). My own view is that though the title may perhaps refer to *akal* [423] meaning "land" it is to be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". It is evident, as pointed out recently by Briggs, that an *Amenukal* as a supreme chief does not own the land in any ordinary sense, but rather owns it as a representative of the whole community (cf. Briggs 1958, p. 88). However, many Tuareg of the south do not connect the word *Amenukal* with "*akal*", and even in the past when the supreme *Amenukal* of the *Imenan* reigned over the Northern Tuareg, he apparently did not have the supreme command of the whole country. When Duveyrier stayed among the *Kel*
173 *Ajjer*, the country of these Tuareg was divided between certain noble tribes. This division was said
631 to have taken place in the following way:— The first Tuareg who settled in Tasilé-n-Ajjer were the
614 *Imenan* and the *Ifoɣas*, while other tribes immigrated at a later date. It happened one day in the past that the supreme chief of the *Imenan* summoned the noble women who had sons with rights of succession to chieftainship, and to each of these women he alloted a particular territory as their apanage. Thus the noble woman of the *Uraɣen* tribe was given the valley of Iɣarɣaren, while the noble woman of the *Imanɣasaten* tribe gained the valley of Tekhammalt (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 323). According to this popular account the land of the *Kel Ajjer* was divided between noble tribes even at a time when
175 the supreme chief of the *Imenan*, the *Amenukal*, was the supreme ruler of the *Kel Ajjer*. In Duveyrier's
631 days the important land-holding tribes among the *Kel Ajjer* seem to have been the *Imenan* in the
614 Tasilé around Ganet, the *Uraɣen* north of the Tasilé Mountains around the valley of Iɣarɣaren, the *Imanɣasaten* east of the *Uraɣen*, and finally the *Ifoɣas* who lived in the region south and southwest [565] of Ṛadames. The *Ifoɣas* Tuareg were then, as to-day, held in high esteem because of their position as *Ineslemen*. They also claimed themselves to be noble by origin. They had no vassals attached to them, but one of the *Ifoɣas* tribes had territorial rights around Ṛadames, and it had the right to dues [651] from all foreign caravans passing through the country. Other land-holding tribes possessed the same rights for their particular territories, and their members (i.e., apparently their chiefs) at certain seasons camped around the caravan roads leading through their country to collect dues from caravan [643] traders (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff., 359 ff.). The *Kel Ajjer* country in Duveyrier's days was divided between various noble tribes, and the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Ajjer group*, the chief of the *Uraɣen*, had no rights over the whole country as such.

565 The noble Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* had rights over certain vassal tribes which did not necessarily
614 live within the territory of the noble tribe to which they were attached. Duveyrier tells us so much
642 of this vassalage that it is possible to outline the main structure of this very interesting political institution.

The noble tribes which had particular rights over vassals were the *Uraɣen*, the *Imenan*, and the *Imanɣasaten*. The last-mentioned tribe remained loyal to the ancient rulers of the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Imenan*, to whom they constituted a sort of armed guard in the past. The *Imanɣasaten* were in opposition to the *Uraɣen* but the latter tribe was very powerful because of its direct authority over most vassal tribes. In all 17 vassal tribes or tribal sections were commanded by the *Uraɣen*, while the *Imenan*,

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had five vassal tribes, and the *Imanrasaten* only three. Four tribes were divided between the *Uraren* and the *Imenan*, and one vassal tribe was divided between all three noble tribes.

The *Imenan* in Duveyrier's days comprised only five men who lived like sedentary Arabs at Ganet and Ṛat; they held the titles of *Imenukalen*, and their chief was "*the Amenukal*" who still possessed the drum (*eṭṭebel*) as the symbol of his former power. But the *Imenan* had no political power, and Duveyrier says that they were not allowed to summon their vassals to war. The true political leader of the *Kel Ajjer* was the chief of the *Uraren* with the title of *Amṛar*, but he was not the most important person. The practical leader of all Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer was the famous Tuareg known as *Akhenukhen*, whom Duveyrier called *Emir*. He had not accepted the position as *Amṛar* because this would have obliged him to give up his nomadic life and take up residence in a house. *Akhenukhen* held the supreme political and judical authority not only over the particular vassals of the *Uraren*, for all Ajjer Tuareg also submitted to his orders. However, we know from Duveyrier's description that the other noble tribes had the right to engage in raiding expeditions on their own behalf supported by their individual vassals, and it was not always easy for *Akhenukhen* to keep order. However, as leader of the bulk of the vassal tribes which were loyal to their master, he could retain the dominant position of the *Uraren* tribe, and in difficult judical problems he was aided and supported by the religious leaders of the *Iforas* group.

The noble tribes of the *Kel Ajjer* were subdivided into tribal sections which had their particular vassals. It seems as if this division of vassalage was primarily an economic one. Thus the chief of the *Uraren* possessed the supreme political authority over all vassals attached to his tribe though he only had particular economic rights over part of them (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff. & Dubief 1956, p. 87). I revert to these important features of political systems among the Northern Tuareg in a more detailed account of political relations in Ahaggar.

## KEL AHAGGAR

The Ahaggar Tuareg became politically independent in the 17th century when the supreme chief *Guma* of the *Imenan* was killed and the power over the *Kel Ajjer* passed into the hands of the *Uraren*. The Ahaggar Tuareg may even then have obtained their own supreme chief, but we know almost nothing about this early period. The supreme chiefs of the Ahaggar Tuareg, who have the title of *Amenukal*, are known as far back as to about 1750 when the ruler was *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir*. During his reign the Ahaggar Tuareg became divided into three major groups centering around the noble tribes known as *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Tégehé Mellet*. These tribes divided the vassals between them. The *Taytoḳ* and the *Kel Ṛela* until then formed one single tribe, and their members even to-day claim to be matrilineally related as *aro-n-tañatin*, that is "persons descending from sisters", for the ancestress of the *Kel Ṛela*, by name *Kella*, and the ancestress of the *Taytoḳ*, whose name was *Sakina*, were in fact maternal cousins (cf. p. 140). The third noble tribe, *Tégehé Mellet*, to which vassals were allotted, is said to descend patrilineally from Arabs – perhaps from the *Chamba*. There were two other noble tribes among the Ahaggar Tuareg at this early date. One of them known

173 as the *Ikadeyen* had no vassals and its members had apparently then as now a rather subordinate
565 position compared with other noble Tuareg. The noble tribe named *Kel-ahem-mellen*, which to-day
614 is of little importance and not very numerous, with some of its members settled in the oasis of
642 Inṛer in Tidikelt, seems to have had certain *Isekkemaren* tribes as its particular vassals, but they were later placed under the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Téǵehé Mellet*. The *Isekkemaren*, as we shall see below, had a political status somewhat different from that of the true vassals known to the Northern Tuareg as *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad*. The division of the vassals of this group during the reign of *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir* between the three noble tribes of *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Téǵehé Mellet* is most interesting. When the vassals were divided between the three noble units it led to a division of some of the vassal tribes. Thus the *Ayt Lowayen* was divided into two between the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Téǵehé Mellet* while the tribe known as *Imessiliten* was divided into the *Dag Ṛali* for the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Kel Ahnet* for the *Taytoḳ*. It would have been easier to divide the vassals without splitting their tribes, but we may perhaps suggest that the tribes were split because they were already divided into groups of individual vassals under those who became independent noble tribes. When the division of vassals took place in the 18th century most went to the *Kel Ṛela*, but quite a number of tribes was also allotted to the *Taytoḳ*, while the *Téǵehé Mellet* tribe received so few that it could never become politically important.

When the vassals were divided between the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Téǵehé Mellet* these noble tribes became united into a sort of federation known as *téǵehé*. The three tribes with their vassals formed
634 so-called drum-groups or *eṭṭebelen* (sing. *eṭṭebel*) with chiefs who had as their insignia a large drum
534 known as *eṭṭebel*. It was endowed with a particular mystic power; it should not be allowed to touch
278 the ground and when the drum skin was worn, it had to be replaced by a famed warrior. The drum must be obeyed when beaten by the drum-chief to summon his subjects. The drum-chief was the supreme political and judical authority of a drum-group, and he could organize raids and wage war upon other groups. He also collected certain annual payments from his particular vassals. This was
631 true of the chiefs of all three drum-groups in Ahaggar. But within the federation of drum-groups
634 that of the *Kel Ṛela* held a prominent position. The drum-chiefs of the two other groups, the *Taytoḳ*
643 and the *Téǵehé Mellet*, only possessed the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaṛen*), which word is that generally used for a chief among the *Kel Ahaggar*, while the chief of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group had the title of *Amenukal* as the chief of the whole *téǵehé* federation. Within every drum-group the drum-chief would ceremoniously install all chiefs of vassal tribes but the two drum-chiefs of *Taytoḳ* and *Téǵehé Mellet* were installed by the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* group. The *Amenukal* himself was installed in his office by a Tuareg from one of the *Isekkemaren* tribes of his own drum-group. When the *Amenukal*
565 was installed, which ceremony nowadays takes place at Tamanṛaset, a Tuareg of the *Isekkemaren* class provided him with a large head-cloth. The installment ceremony, which is preserved to this day, was and is the same for any chief among the Ahaggar Tuareg. When a drum-chief was to install a vassal chief, the ceremony took place in the camp of the drum-chief, and when the *Amenukal* had to install drum-chiefs of the two other groups the installation took place in the *Amenukal*'s camp.

The supreme position of the *Amenukal* appears from the rules governing the installation of chiefs, but as already mentioned, the *Amenukal* could not concern himself in all matters of the two other

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## THE FEDERATION OF AHAGGAR TUAREG

(Size of tribes according to Lhote 1955a, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949.)

| | Noble tribes | | Vassal tribes | | *Isekkemaren* tribes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The *Kel Ṛela* Drum-Group | *Kel Ṛela* | 275 | *Dag Ṛali* | 386 | *Iheyawen Hada* | 253 |
| | To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble tribes, with the *Ifoyas* group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal tribes. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The *Kel Ṛela* women, like noble women of the *Urayen* (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and *Kel Ferwan* (Ayr), do not associate freely with people of other classes. | | *Ayt Lowayen* | 400 | *Kel Inṛer* | 176 |
| | | | *Aguh-en-tehlé* | 585 | *Kel Têfedest* | 61 |
| | | | *Ṛelayddin* | 40 | *Kel Immidir* | 179 |
| | | | *Iklan-en-tawsit* | 500 | *Kel Tazulet* | 158 |
| | | | *Ibettenaten* | 129 | The *Isekkemaren* tribes descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble *Kel-ahem-mellen* tribe. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu*, claims that they were originally their vassals. | |
| | | | *Ireḡenaten* | 435 | | |
| | | | These two tribes are not true vassals by origin. The *Ibettenaten* is said formerly to have had noble status and the *Ireḡenaten* descend matrilineally from the *Ibettenaten*, patrilineally from Arabs. | | | |

643 territorial chief over the country inhabited by the vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group. He had the
634 right to dues from caravans passing through the territory of that drum-group, while further west
[651] such dues were given to the chief of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group. He had the right to land rents from the vassals of his groups, while land rents further west in the *Taytoḳ* country belonged to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ* group.

643 To-day the *Amenukal* holds a very strong position as chief of the whole country of Ahaggar, and
[642] his power has been much augmented because the French govern the country through him. In the past the position of the *Amenukal* was a less powerful one. All Tuareg say that he was then not particularly strong, and there are many examples of the vassals of his own drum-group showing disobedient
[565] to him. The *Amenukal* had to be elected, and, contrary to what is often stated in literature on the subject, he was not elected by the noble Tuareg of his own tribe, though they had a certain influence, but by his vassals who also had the right to dismiss an *Amenukal* if dissatisfied with him. The *Amenukal* lived like other Tuareg and his sole insignia was the drum which followed him on journeys and served to summon his vassals.

643 We have mentioned above (p. 148 ff.) that the *Amenukal* even to-day receives a land-rent (*ḥéré-*
651 *n-amaḍal*) from all tenants of the sub-areas of vassal tribal territories, and the rules of payments and

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| | Noble tribes | Vassal tribes | *Isekkemaren* tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| The *Taytoḳ* Drum-Group | *Taytoḳ* 33<br>There are hardly any Tuareg of pure *Taytoḳ* stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief *Mokhammed ag Mokhammed* who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The *Taytoḳ* and their vassals frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past. | *Kel Ahnet* 127<br>*Iwerweren* 47<br>*Tégehé-n-Efis* 127<br>*Ikuffisen* 84<br>*Ikechchemaḳen*<br>(now mixed with the *Dag Ṛali* tribe of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group).<br>*Irechchumen*<br>A tribe patrilineally related to the noble *Taytoḳ*, matrilineally to the vassal tribe of *Kel Ahnet*. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals. | *Kel I-n-tunin*<br>(about 20 tents in 1938). |
| The *Tégehé-Mellet* Drum-Group | *Tégehé Mellet* 33 | *Kel Turha*<br>(part of the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group). | *Kel Terurit* 62<br>*Kel Uhet* 70 |
| Noble Tribes Without Vassals | *Kel-ahem-mellen* | The *Isekkemaren* tribes are said formerly to have been vassals of this tribe | |
| | *Ikadeyen* | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | |

rights have been outlined. These payments were also made to the *Amenukal* by people of his drum-group in the past, and then as now he received an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* from all vassal tribes. The size of such *tiwsé* payments in the past is unknown, but they have no doubt varied from one tribe to another as they do to-day. I describe in brief the *tiwsé* payments made by the two most important vassal tribes to illustrate this:— (1) The *Aḳub-en-tehlé* tribe is divided into three sub-tribes which make their *tiwsé* payments separately as follows: The *Kel Tayhawhawt* sub-tribe gives 600 kgs of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kgs of butter. The man who brings this payment to the *Amenukal* is rewarded with 15 metres of cotton. The *Isandan* sub-tribe gives 300 kgs of millet

643 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man
651 bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Arefsa* sub-tribe its collective
614 payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Rali* tribe pays *tiwsé* as follows:—
613 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads,
565 are given to the chief of the *Dag Rali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*. – All vassal tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Amenukal*, and this also applies to the *Isekkemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwsé*, are in fact tokens of vassalage,
[634] and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as drum-chief of the *Kel Rela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to their particular drum-chiefs.

643 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his
634 drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war booty taken by his
565 vassals. This right was known as *abellag*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel Rela* drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal
[614] kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in the tribe to which the deseased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138). As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief
[614] within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels on the latter's death.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*ekkliyet*)
634 among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151).
681 Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance,
[684] he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly
[682] the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth
[614] paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. When the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid.
[683] For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and
[178] such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished
[648] by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he had in the past.

178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Ṛali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916–17, the drum-group of the *Kel Ṛela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amṛar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* and *Taytoḳ* tribes might also receive *tiwsé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Adṛar* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Tédalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given him a similar payment for protection.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal* were raided by people of his drum-group, the *Amenukal* had the right to a tribute named *ennehet* which according to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amenukal*'s drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the *Amenukal* to whom they paid *tiwsé* for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347 f.).

The drum-group (*eṭṭebel*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The federation (*tégehé*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship (*tehanḍeẓẓit*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is true notably of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar. People of the *Dag Ṛali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group joke with the tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The word "*Isekkemaren*" means literally "people who lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg and true vassals, who say that the *Isekkemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals will joke with the *Isekkemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Isekkemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed between *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Isekkemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg come to the *Isekkemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the *Isekkemaren* visiting the *Aguh-en-tehlé*. The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relationship to the noble *Kel Ṛela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Ṛela* engage in sham-fights (*tebbillant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between the *Kel Ṛela* and the vassal *Aguh-en-telhé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between *Isekkemaren* and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Isekkemaren* tribes (*Iheyawen Hada, Kel Taẓulet*) and the *Aguh-en-tehlé tribe*. Wedding feasts in these *Isekkemaren* tribes are most popular with young men of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Isekkemaren* girls. Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages, if any, while this was not so in the *Taytok* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between

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noble Tuareg and vassals. It would seem as if these mixed marriages had a political function as they served to reinforce the solidarity within the drum-group in view of its opposition to the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group and the *Amenukal*. In consequence of these marriages the political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Taytok* drum-group was in the past much influenced by rules of kinship behaviour, and the payments due to the drum-chief from vassals were less comprehensive than in the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group. 634 565 571 614 [602]

*The Kel Ṛela* drum-group was divided into minor relationships between noble Tuareg and vassals. These relationships were known as *temaẓlayt*, that is literally "the root of the nail". They have almost ceased to exist, and consequently they are very difficult to describe. However, it is possible to outline their organization and main functions. They were structurally akin to the drum-group, as they were matrilineally organized. A noble Tuareg who had rights over certain vassals would be succeeded by a maternal kinsman, and in a group of vassals right and obligations would equally follow matrilineal rules. A *temaẓlayt* relationship was a relationship between a small noble matrilineage with a particular leader and a larger matrilineage of vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class. The noble matrilineage that was attached to a definite group of vassals would not necessarily correspond with the matrilineal core within a section, for there were comparatively many noble Tuareg in the *Kel Ṛela* tribe who were leaders of *temaẓlayt* groups. This is shown by Benhazera's investigations, which took place at a time when the ancient political system of the Ahaggar Tuareg still retained most of its traditional functions. At that time there were at least ten noble Tuareg who were commanders of *temaẓlayt* groups (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.). 634 565 571 613 [178]

There are certain traces of *temaẓlayt* organizations even to-day. The token of this relationship is the payment of an annual due known as *tiwsé* from a group of vassals to the *temaẓlayt* master.

Apparently some vassals who made *tiwsé* payments to a noble *temaẓlayt* master did not make this payment also to their drum-chief (the *Amenukal*). Thus to-day the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe makes an annual *tiwsé* payment to *Maṛli agg Amayas* of the *Kel Ṛela* section named *Inemba Kel-Emeṛṛi*, but gives no *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal Bay*, who belongs to the *Iboglan* section of the same tribe, though the land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) is always paid to the *Amenukal*. I was also told by the *Kel Ṛela Khalifa* of Tamesna, who belonged to the *Iboglan* section, that he had the right to collect the *tiwsé* payment from the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, but as he was now living outside of Ahaggar this payment was made by the *Isandan* to the *Amenukal*. However, I believe that in the past most vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class made *tiwsé* payments both to their individual *temaẓlayt* masters and to the *Amenukal*. This would also seem to be in agreement with Foucauld's description of *temaẓlayt* relations (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1965).

A noble *temaẓlayt* master had no judicial authority over his individual vassals, and could not summon them to war and raiding against their will. These rights belonged to the drum-chief, consequently in the *Kel Ṛela* group, to the *Amenukal*. The obligations of a noble *temaẓlayt* master towards his vassals were mainly to protect them against raids by and exploitation of other noble Tuareg who formed a class of warriors and raiders roaming the country for enemies and for booty. A *temaẓlayt* master had the right to organize raids with the support of his vassals, if they were interested, and the vassals were also allowed to carry out raids on their own behalf, but in both cases half of the booty (*abellag*) taken by 634 565 571 613 721

173 tradition according to which some of the *Isebeten* formerly engaged in agriculture in Ahaggar (Fou-
565 cauld 1951-52, II, p. 535). The *Isebeten* spoke a Tuareg dialect different from that spoken to-day.
[172] Numerous prehistoric survivals draw attention to the mode of livelihood of the ancient *Isebeten* people. A huge tomb at the foot of the Asekrem mountain is said to contain the remains of their supreme chief, *Akkar*, and the Tuareg say that the large stone pestles (cf. Fig. 200) commonly found in Ahaggar, were used by the *Isebeten*. The existence of the *Isebeten* in Ahaggar is a fact, besides, two men known as *Mokhammed ag-Kerku* and *Êmenni ag-Khedidda*, both members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe, are said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten*. Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* claim that their tribe descends from the *Isebeten*, or is very closely related to it, so that the ancient population of *Isebeten* formed the ancestral tribe of the oldest vassals *Dag Ṛali* (*Kel Ahnet*) and *Ayt Lowayen*. These *Isebeten* were conquered by the ancestors of the noble Tuareg who came to Ahaggar at a later date and introduced the camel.

It is striking that this tradition about the origin of the oldest Ahaggar vassals from the ancient *Isebeten* contains no mythical elements, and I believe that it holds an element of truth, the more so as it explains the origin of the class division in a quite natural way. Dr. Vycichl has tried to connect the word *Isebeten* with the name of a Libyan tribe *I-s-b-t-u* mentioned in Egyptian accounts, according to which the tribe was exterminated by Rameses III (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 145). However, there is no reason to speculate about the name in this way, as it can be explained more naturally without much
[551] difficulty. For the word *Ésebet* is very frequently used as a personal name of women in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe so that it would seem natural to interpret the name *Isebeten* as "a group of people descending from the woman *Ésebet*". If this interpretation is correct it would seem that the ancient *Isebeten* had a system of matrilineal succession. Lhote has stated that certain hunting territories in the *Dag Ṛali*
[114] tribe are inherited in the paternal line by people who descend from the ancient *Isebeten* (Lhote 1955a,
[428] p. 144 f.) but this is not in agreement with my own investigations, which show that the two men said to descend patrilineally from the *Isebeten* have no rights over hunting-territories.

174 The cultural features said to have been characteristic of the ancient *Isebeten* are to a large extent
614 conserved even nowadays in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. These vassals, like other true vassals of Ahaggar, are
565 known by the name *Kel Ulli*, that is "the goat people", or by the name *Imrad* which perhaps also refers to goat-breeding for, according to Nicolas, the word is related to *ereyd* meaning "a kid" (Nicolas
[433] 1950a, p. 189). We can add that even to-day the subsistence activities of the true vassals centre mainly around goat-breeding, with hunting and collecting as subsidiary occupations. Hunting is particularly
[224] important to the *Dag Ṛali*, descendants of the *Isebeten* and living within the same territory as did this ancient people.

173 As to the arrival of the noble Tuareg, comprising the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ*, said to descend from
565 *Ti-n-Hinan*, there is some evidence that they did not constitute the oldest noble Tuareg settling in Ahaggar. The tradition of their descent from *Ti-n-Hinan* claims that these noble Tuareg came from Tidikelt in Morocco, that they descended from the *Beraber*, and that they were Islamic. The claim that they were Islamic cannot be easily reconciled with the view that their ancestress was buried in the large tomb or fort at Abalessa, for this huge building is beyound doubt pre-Islamic. I think it possible that the tribes said to descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* were Isamic when they immigrated to Ahaggar.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



My arguments in favour of the theory that the noble tribes now dominant in Ahaggar are not the oldest noble Tuareg of that area are the following:— 174 565

(1) The small noble tribe *Ikadeyen*, which to-day comprises very few persons who live mainly as sedentary agriculturists around the cultivation centre of Tit in Ahaggar, is said to have lived in Ahaggar before the *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes. Some Tuareg say that the *Ikadeyen* are as old in Ahaggar as the *Isebeten*, and it is most interesting that the *Dag Rali* Tuareg, who descend from the *Isebeten*, pay at each marriage in their tribe a tribute corresponding to 50 kilos of millet or dates to the *Ikadeyen*. This custom is quite unusual and it may perhaps point towards an ancient vassal relationship between the *Dag Rali* (descending from the *Isebeten*) and the *Ikadeyen*. If this is so the vassalage has apparently been different from that prevailing in Ahaggar nowadays and more akin to that of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr, where part of the bride-wealth is given to noble chiefs. It is interesting to note that the *Ikadeyen* Tuareg are said to be "only a little *Ihaggaren*", or to be "*Ihaggaren* but not true *Ihaggaren*". 571 614

(2) The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) as a term for the social class here referred to as "noble Tuareg", seems to be peculiar to the Northern Tuareg. In other Tuareg groups the so-called noble class is known by the term *Imajeren* (sing. *Amajer*), or related terms. Nicolas says that this term refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188 f.). The corresponding word in Northern Tuareg dialect is *Imuhar* (sing. *Amahar*), which is used for all true Tuareg including the vassals. It has generally been accepted that this word derived from the verb *aher* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318; Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674), but Prasse has recently informed me that it is a deformation of *amazir* known in Northern Berber as "free man; Berber". The Foucauld hypothesis that it should be a verbal adjective of *aher* must be discarded, the *h* of this verb being original (Prasse, verbal information) (cf. also Rodd 1926a, p. 457–462). 174 565 [184]

The word *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*) is different. According to the Tuareg it is just a name, and it is very possible that Foucauld is right in claiming that it is identical with the word *Hawwara*, which was the name of an ancient Berber-speaking population of North Africa (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533 f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory is pure speculation (Nicolas 1953b, p. 14). This, however, is not correct, as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds, as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *w* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *w* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

If we can consider *Hawwara* and *Ihaggaren* as identical words and thus assume a relationship between the dominant noble Tuareg of Ahaggar and the ancient Berber-speaking people known as *Hawwara*, we must look for further information about the latter people who are frequently mentioned in Arab historical documents of the Middle Ages. Ibn Khaldun in particular has written about the *Hawwara*, who are described as nomads and sedentary people who live mainly in the regions of Tunisia, Tripolitania, and Cyrenaica, though tribes belonging to the *Hawwara* groups are also found outside this area to the east and west. The *Hawwara*, according to Ibn Khaldun, came under Arab influence at a very early date, and were conquered by the Arabs as early as the 9th century A.D. In Ibn Khaldun's days the *Hawwara* people were entirely dominated by the Arabs and were the vassals of Arabs of the *Beni Sulaym* group. They spoke Arabic and were culturally indistinguishable from the Arabs. But according to Ibn Khaldun some of the pastoral *Hawwara* at very early date migrated 174 175 565

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



## THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has
614 fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie
[114] 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore
[162] quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared,
634 and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when
648 the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to
121 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr,
634 where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were
115 most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

173 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*,
614 and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above
634 (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

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**Fig. 283. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.**

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



according to which the ancestresses of the two noble tribes came from *Awjila* together with a third sister, who became the ancestress of the *Iberdyanen*. This story runs as follows:— 173 614 634

The three sisters left their original homeland of Awjila riding on bull-camels. One night when the girls were not very far from Iferwan and the three sisters had gone to sleep, the eldest, named *Sabenas*, awoke before her two sisters and removed the hobble-ropes from their riding camels which disappeared in the desert. Thus the only riding camel left was *Sabenas'*, and when the sisters arrived at Iferwan she alone rode on a bull-camel while her two younger sisters were walking. At Iferwan there was then a mighty chief named *Azeṛezzer*. When the girls arrived there he asked them who they were, and *Sabenas* said that one of the two girls who travelled on foot was her sister, but not her true sister, while the other girl was her *tameṛit* or vassal. The supreme chief *Azeṛezzer* was very eager to marry *Sabenas* as she rode on a bull-camel and consequently was of noble birth. *Sabenas* agreed to marry him on the condition that bride-wealth should be paid in land. And it was agreed that she should have for bride-wealth as much land as she could ride through on her camel at a stretch. She rode off from Iferwan and her camel did not get tired until she was close to Tagedufat south of the Massif. Here *Sabenas* dismounted and threw her stick towards the south. The stick fell down at the well of Tagedufat, and *Sabenas* now had the right to all country ranging from Iferwan in the north to the well of Tagedufat situated in the southern plains. This vast territory has since then been owned by the descendants of *Sabenas* who are the true noble *Kel Ferwan* or *Irawatten*. But the Tuareg of this tribe claim that they have since then greatly augmented their territory so that they are the true owners also of the land south of the Massif as far as Tessawa, which is very close to the frontier of Northern Nigeria.

The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past all Tuareg groups within the *Kel Ferwan* territory and a few other groups of Tuareg and negroid sedentary people paid an annual tribute known as *tewsé* to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. This annual tribute was calculated as follows:— 173 631 634 651

137 342 634

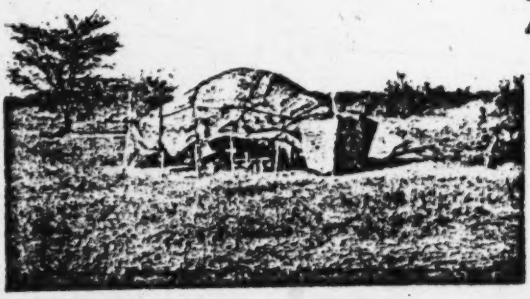

Fig. 289. Mat tent of the B.1.b type inhabited by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace, containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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|---|---|
| *Kel Ewey* . . . . . | 50 Tuareg veils of indigo cotton |
| *Kel Faday* . . . . . | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Echchikhen* . . . . . | two small drum-groups in Damergu each giving 3 oryx hides, as their vassals were mainly hunters |
| *Kel Geres* . . . . . | 1 horse with a saddle |
| *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* . . . | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Kel Allekot* . . . . . | 150 kg of millet |
| *Damergu & Katsena* . . . . . | An amount of millet |

Most of these groups, it is said, paid the annual tribute known as *tewsé* because the land belonged to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. But the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg did not pay an annual tribute for this reason but because they were subdued in wars. It is much to be doubted that these annual tributes were paid regularly to the drum-chief by such warlike groups as the *Kel Dennek* and the *Kel Faday*, who frequently joined forces against the *Kel Ferwan*. As to the *Kel Faday*, the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they were formerly the vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They say that in the remote past the whole drum-group of the *Kel Faday*, including its noble tribe, paid bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief as a token of vassalage, which is said to have ceased in the following way:— The *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a *Kel Faday* camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the *Kel Faday* camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the *Kel Faday*. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the *Kel Faday* so that after a time he could return to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the *Kel Faday* Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan*.

634 The drum-chief had as an insignia of his political power over all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg a large drum
534 known as *ettebel* (or *ayezu*). The word *ettebel* was, and is, used not only as a name of the drum but
778 also as a name of the drum-group and the drum-chief whose title of address is *ettebel*, or "drum". This drum had a sacred or mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced, the man charged with this task would perform it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. We see that connected with the drum were certain taboos equivalent to those which are believed to maintain the mystic power of *elbaraka*.

634 The drum-chief had the only drum of the *Kel Ferwan* group of which he was the supreme chief.
202 The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal tribes but also by the
[614] noble *Kel Azel*. The chief of the *Kel Azel* had the title of *amṛar* or *aṛolla* like all other tribal chiefs, but he was addressed *ettebel* although he did not have the right to a drum.

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*Tribes of the Kel Ferwan Drum-Group*

1. *The Irawatten Group*

| Tribes | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Irawatten* | 350 | 58 | There are to-day very few pure noble Tuareg of this dominant noble tribe, as the members have intermarried with negroid peoples and with the *Kel Geres*. The pure noble house-holds number about ten. The chief is also the chief of the *Irawatten* group and the drum-chief of the whole *Kel Ferwan* group. | Télewa (western part) |
| *Kel Tédalé* (3 tribes) | 1300 | | They claim to be of noble descent. They are officially vassals of the *Irawatten*, but are nevertheless very independent politically. | Talak<br>Uraren<br>Zurika |
| *Kel Akerra* | 164 | 39 | Of noble descent with the *Ibararojiten* as their particular vassals. Intermarry frequently with the *Imezzureg* and with the *Kel Tédalé*. | Ti-n-Teburak |
| *Imezzureg* | 106 | 20 | Of noble descent and related to the *Kel Akerra* and the *Isakaranan* with whom they intermarry. | Terezzet |
| *Isakaranan* | 653 | 107 | Of noble descent and related to the *Kel Akerra* and the *Imezzureg*. | Ti-n-Tebezgin |
| *Igendéynen* A section of former slaves known as *Tindeku* is grouped together with this tribe. | 247 | 55 | Always close to the camp of the drum-chief as soldiers permanently under his command. | Burhal |
| *Iberdyanen* (2 tribes) | 621 | 97 | Living close to the noble *Irawatten* as their servants. | Gufat<br>Éknawen<br>Téwendegit |
| *Iḳḳoberen* | | | Living close to the noble *Irawatten* as their servants. | |
| *Ayt Uren* | 160 | | | Maramaru |
| *Idaléyen* | 218 | 67 | | Telhecham |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Ifadèyen* (2 tribes) | | Kurubobo<br>Imechchamelawen<br>Turuf<br>Beynabu<br>Ti-n-Duwin<br>Anyalen<br>Abalemma<br>Ékawél |
| *Elbaraten* | | Anwacher |
| *Ibararojiten* | Originally the particular vassals of the *Kel Akerra* tribe. | Endegra |
| *Itagan* | Very few in number and without any tribal organization. They are placed directly under the drum-chief as his servants, and are considered a kind of "white slaves" to other *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. In the *Kel Faday* group there is a tribe of *Itagan* Tuareg. Their traditional homeland is said to be the region of Meneka in the country of the *Western Iwllemmeden*. | Éleleg |
| *Iṛawélen* | Pastoral Negroes who in the remote past were slaves of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. Culturally they are akin to other Tuareg pastoralists, but they have no tribal organization and are placed directly under the drum-chief's command. | Tombalaga<br>Akadaney<br>Meygawey |

2. *The Kel Azel Group*

| Tribes | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kel Azel* | 180 | 47 | Nowadays very few in number. It is said that there are only four households of pure noble origin. | Anoyaran<br>Tiṛezrin<br>Tafadek<br>Gufat |
| *Imezzuren* | 162 | 31 | | Tiṛezrin |

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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kel Tésemt* | 237 | | Related to the *Imezzilalen* and the *Ikojjejiten* together with whom they are said to have constituted one tribe. | Assa and eastern part of Télewa |
| *Imezzilalen* | | 27 | Related to the *Kel Tésemt*. | Assa and eastern part of Télewa |
| *Ikojjejiten* | | | A section of the *Imezzilalen*. | Afarak |
| *Ifokkar* | 42 | 12 | Related to the *Kel Tésemt*, the *Imezzilalen*, and the *Ikojjejiten*. | Eastern part of Télewa |
| *Ikenkan* | 150 | | Said to have been the particular servants of the noble *Kel Azel*. | |
| *Ijakarkaren* | 203 | 41 | Said to be related to the *Igendéynen*. | Tafadek |
| *Iforas* (2 tribes) | 396 | 95 | They came to Ayr from Adrar of the Iforas about one hundred years ago. | Tédeyin |
| *Iguwéhen* | | | A certain number of these negroid pastoralists, who once in the past were slaves, is placed directly under the command of the chief of the *Kel Azel*. They have no tribal organization. They are probably included in the figure of the *Kel Azel* mentioned above. | |

To-day all Tuareg claim that a chief whether a drum-chief or a chief of a vassal tribe should be succeeded by his son, and that a sister's son may inherit the position. These rules have not always been followed in the election of drum-chiefs in the *Kel Ferwan* group, for the drum-chiefs have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, and after the French occupation they have even elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble *Kel Ferwan*. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, but the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The names are known of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent are not remembered further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:—

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565 been told about two such marriages which seem to have been contracted in fairly recent times. I think
582 that the main reason why the noble Tuareg do not marry with their vassals is that such marriages
634 would tend to break down the structure of the political system, as the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many in-laws among vassals to whom the conduct would be institutional joking or avoidance. For in addition to true relatives by marriage there are numerous classificatory ones. This will become clear from the description of the rules of behaviour valid for relatives by marriage.

634 In spite of the application of the rules of joking relationship on a political level, troubles within
578 the drum-group were far from unknown. And it is remarkable that even between the related tribes
614 of *Irawatten* and *Kel Azel* there might be very severe quarrels. There was a latent opposition
565 between them which might occasionally lead to fighting between noble Tuareg of the two groups. The existence within the drum-group of another noble tribe, the *Kel Azel*, with a certain number of vassals was always a danger to the position of the drum-chief as a ruler of the whole
[661] *Kel Ferwan* group. And noble Tuareg of the *Irawatten* tribe say that in the past it even happened that the drum-chief punished the *Kel Azel* very severely, not only taking all their livestock, but also burning
[701] down their camps. The drum-chief was able to maintain his power over the whole *Kel Ferwan* group because most vassal tribes were placed directly under his command, and because these tribes camped around Agadez which was dominated by him.

The drum-chief also had trouble with another tribe of his group, the *Kel Akerra*. This tribe is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the *Ibararojiten* tribe. In the past the drum-chief assisted by vassals of the whole group imposed vassalage upon the *Kel Akerra*, who, however, refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the *Kel Akerra* to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the *Kel Akerra* tribe became small and insignificant. It is said that the tribes of *Imezzureg* and *Isakaranan*, who like the *Kel Akerra* are noble by origin, also did not give their bride-wealth to the drum-chief in the past. But the three tribes were vassals in the sense that they had to give part of their war-booty to the drum-chief and could not carry out raids on their own.

[701] A certain discord reigned within the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the drum-chief had the support of most tribes of vassals, who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups, but also quell internal
634 insurrections. However, the three northern tribes of *Kel Tédalé* were so numerous, so rich in camels,
614 and lived so remote from the rest of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes that the drum-chief could not maintain his power over them. They were only nominally part of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the *Kel Tédalé* paid no tribute to other chiefs (Joubert 1939, p. 246), though it is said in Ahaggar that in the past they paid an annual tribute to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. But the *Kel Tédalé* were politically independent of other groups in Ayr, which is also stated by Jean
565 (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim the *Kel Tédalé* to be true vassals of their
614 drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104; Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three tribes the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427). The *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg I met all emphasized

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their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by *Kel Ferwan* vassals who said that both 565
noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the *Kel Tédalé*. That some of them are noble by origin 614
seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the *Kel Tédalé* in part are related to the *Ihaḍanaren* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter tribe, though without vassals, is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

As to the origin of vassalage among the Ayr Tuareg, it is probable that this is due to the meeting 565
of distinct cultures based mainly on camel-breeding and goat-breeding. Rodd has some very interesting 233
remarks on the position of the vassals as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:— [174]
"One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances" (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd, however, also refers [567]
to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to mainly by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the particular camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. But I have been told by many Tuareg that there were in the past very few camels in vassal tribes, and though most Tuareg apparently hold the view that the vassals have always had camels, the Sultan *Umar* claims that originally they had none while the noble Tuareg have owned these animals since times immemorial. So it might seem as if the political system of the drum-group 174
in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, was founded upon a class division with its root in the meeting of distinct 565
pastoral cultures. It is a fact that certain vassal tribes were attached to their noble lords as a kind 634
of workers with the duty of performing such work as could not be done properly by negroid slaves. Among these tribes were the *Ikawkan* attached to the *Kel Azel*, and the *Iḳḳobereñ* and the *Iberdyanen* attached to the *Irawatten*.

It is most likely that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg had vassals before they arrived in Ayr, for many true vassals hold that they have immigrated from the traditional homeland of their noble lords. However, there are in Ayr also certain tribes which have lost their noble status and become a kind of vassals owing to having been subdued in fairly recent wars.

## THE KEL GERES DRUM-GROUP

There is no class-division of so-called noble Tuareg and vassals among the *Kel Geres*. In this respect 642
they differ from most other Tuareg groups except for the *Kel Ewey* among whom a division into classes 565
of this kind has ceased to exist – probably because the *Kel Ewey* have mixed with the sedentary negroid population of the Ayr villages. In *Kel Ewey* certain tribes are more important than others, but

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642 565 there are no true vassals or *Imrad* though some *Kel Ewey* tribes are referred to in literature as vassals.

174 642 565 [144] The lack of the important structural feature of vassalage among the *Kel Geres* may perhaps be explained in the following way:— The *Kel Geres* Tuareg lived originally in Ayr within much the same area as that now occupied by the *Kel Ewey*, and it is most likely that they had mixed very much with the sedentary Negroes as there are among the *Kel Geres* very many black-skinned and negroid Tuareg. It is very probable that the *Kel Geres* when living in Ayr led a semi-sedentary life, for it is said that they had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr in the 18th century owing to the pressure of the *Kel Ewey*. We may perhaps assume that this particular mode of livelihood was the reason why vassalage ceased to exist among the *Kel Geres*. When, in the 18th century, the *Kel Geres* were driven southwards into the Sudanese steppes and savannahs, they became ardent stock-breeders and adopted a political system much related to that of an ordinary Tuareg drum-group with the exception that they had no class-division.

614 642 643 Among the *Kel Geres*, all tribes of pastoral Tuareg are known as *Imajeren* but though they are not divided into classes these tribes are nevertheless not politically identical. The most important tribe is that called *Ti-temekkeret*. It is named after Anu-Mekkeren in Central Ayr where this tribe originally lived, and the *Kel Geres* drum-chief (*ettebel*) is always elected from this particular group. But the drum-chief is not elected by all adult people of his drum-group, but by members of three tribes, the *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar*. The members of these tribes alone can elect and dismiss a drum-chief entirely at their discretion. When they have elected a new drum-chief he is ceremoniously installed by a man of the *Anyegeren* tribe who wraps the large head-cloth around the chief's head. In all this the *Kel Geres* resemble the *Kel Ewey* among whom the *Anestafidet* is elected by the members of three important tribes.

The three tribes of *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar* are also politically very important in other respects for they consistute the nuclei of three sub-divisions of the *Kel Geres*. The chiefs of the three tribes have the title *Arolla* (pl. *Irollan*) and they are also the chiefs of certain other pastoral tribes which have individual chiefs with the title of *Amrar* (pl. *Imraren*). A certain number of people who [563] are non-Tuareg by origin are placed under the authority of all tribal chiefs, e.g., *Irawélen* who are slaves manumitted in the past, *Ikenawen* who are professional potmakers, *Ineden* or blacksmiths, and *Itéfnen*, that is sedentary Hausa living in villages.

614 642 645 In addition to the tribe of the drum-chief and the three *Irollan* tribes, there is among the Kel Geres a fifth tribe which is politically very important, namely that known as *Eurmani*. It is a religious tribe of the so-called *Echchikhen* class, and its chief is known as *Echchikh* though he also bears the title of *Al-Kadi*. He acts as the adviser of the drum-chief in judicial and religious matters, and though he apparently possesses no direct authority over all *Kel Geres* he is very influential and greatly respected. The *Al-Kadi* or *Echchikh* is elected according to the traditional rules of succession acknowledged by the *Kel Geres*, a deceased chief being succeeded by his younger brother or by his son. But in contrast to all other chiefs, including the drum-chief, he cannot be dismissed when he is once elected. All religious tribes within the *Kel Geres* drum-group are placed directly under the authority of the *Al-Kadi* (*Echchikh*) of the *Eurmani* tribe. But the *sadakat* fees are made to the drum-chief and not to the Al-Kadi.

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The title of Amenukal is

634 used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *ettebel* is reserved to those
565 chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-*
651 *akal*, have the right to an annual tribute known as *šiuse* (*chiwsé*) from their individual vassals, and it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaḳa* or *tamessadeḳ* must also be given to them, because the drum-chief is inseparable from his *Ḳadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasit* or *takote* (*takuté*), that is the
634 right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain
565 delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels. The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. – These are the
[178] main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been
[642] no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579–586 & 1950a, p. 188–193, 201–209).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

642 The *Kel Ataram* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that
565 in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel*
[114] *Tademaket* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchaṛ*) and vassals (*Imṛad*, sing *Ameṛid*, or *Daṛa*). The most noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with
[567] Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Béilla*). They pay *tiwsé* to the noble Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals, but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All
[614] tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amṛar*, but all important decisions are made
[646] by the *myad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This
643 council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with warfare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of
642 the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position
565 (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). – To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:—
[614] Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Iḋnanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.

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The political supremacy of the nobility is founded upon conquest and has become hereditary, but 642
this supremacy can be lost. If a vassal tribe conquers a noble tribe the rôles may change, and though 565
this has not yet happened the principle is considered valid by all Tuareg. The vassals pay an annual tribute to the noble Tuareg. A noble Tuareg can take what he likes from a vassal, but his rights depend upon his strength, just as the tributes paid by vassals depend upon the strength of their noble lords. A noble tribe must protect its vassals against other noble tribes. Chiefs of both noble and vassal [644]
Tuareg tribes have the title of *Amenukal*, and this title is hereditary. The power of the supreme noble 643
chief (the *Amenukal*) is such that he cannot kill obstinate subjects. But he can thrash them and even wound them, and he can seize their property. There may be more than one candidate when a chief is elected, and this may lead to severe quarrels and even to the division of the tribe (cf. Aymard 1911, p. 37 ff.).

Mangeot & Marty in their study of the Niger Tuareg mention that even in pre-European times 642
certain tribes of vassal status had no particular duties towards noble tribes. They also state that the 565
relationship between noble and vassal Tuareg was breaking down shortly after the French occupation [178]
of the country. The traditional *tiwsé* payments made by vassals to their noble lords differed much from one tribe to the other. Certain vassal tribes gave only one container with butter annually (Mangeot & Marty 1918, p. 258, 461). The chief *Amder* of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* informed that the *tiwsé* payments, which were abolished long ago, were always insignificant. They were made in goats and butter. The chief also said that originally the *Imrad* tribes had no camels.

## THE ORIGIN OF TUAREG POLITICAL SYSTEMS

We see from the description above that Tuareg political systems bear resemblances to one another 642
in most groups. The largest political unit is the group under the leadership of a supreme chief, generally 631
known as the *Amenukal*, or as *Amenukal-n-akal* in the *Iwillemmeden* groups where the title *Amenukal* 643
is used also for minor chiefs. The *Amenukal* of a political group is also the chief of a so-called drum-group within the larger political group, though in Ayr the *Amenukal* is identical with the Sultan of Agadez. We may say that the political group known among the Northern Tuareg as *tégehé*, in the *Iwillemmeden* groups as *tégezé*, has a central government consisting of the *Amenukal*, his deputies, and a council. And it is clear that the *Amenukal* everywhere was considered the supreme chief with superior judicial rights and also the war-leader of the whole group. But the authority of an *Amenukal* was in all groups a very limited one, and quarrels between the various drum-groups of a federation were very common everywhere.

The most important political unit of Tuareg political systems was in fact the drum-group. Its chief 634
was always a most important person. In most groups he was elected mainly by the vassals, and he was not an absolute monarch, though normally he could obtain the support of most vassals to quell internal insurrections. Within the drum-group the drum-chief was the highest judicial and military authority, and it was he who had to regulate all relations between noble and vassal Tuareg within the drum-group. Other noble Tuareg, e.g., the *temaẓiayt* masters, within the drum-group had no [565]

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be a very strict avoidance relationship between them. However, the slave-mother has no right to 567
inherit (*tekachit*) the livestock left on the death of her Tuareg daughter, but a certain amount of stock 608
will be given her under the designation of *elhakk*. The Tuareg girl will not inherit her slave-mother, nor will she have the right to a number of her animals.

The above examples indicate the main structural features of Tuareg slavery. Most important among them is the position of slaves as children of their masters, though it should be stated that the rules of behaviour between owner and slaves are not necessarily like those valid for parents and children. A 567
young slave owner will not be rough with his old slaves, but will generally behave very kindly towards them, refraining from giving them orders in the way he would command his younger slaves. Age distinctions play a great rôle in relationships between Tuareg and their slaves, and a description of Tuareg slavery should not only outline its structure but also underline the fact that we cannot establish very fixed rules for the relationship between Tuareg and slaves, as it varies very much with individuals. Some slave-owners treat their very young slaves almost like their own children, while other slave-owners do not. Some Tuareg are constantly talking disparagingly about their slaves while outwardly appearing to be very kind to them. There are many facets of Tuareg slavery.

The position of slaves as children of their owners causes slaves to belong not only to particular 587
families and family groups, but also to tribes and, in a certain sense, even to classes. I have often noticed 614
this in Ahaggar where tribes within the same class frequently have an attitude towards each other which is described by the Tuareg word *inmeñharen*, that is "to have a feeling of envy or jealousy towards somebody". *Inmeñharen* is rather an attitude of reserve and outward respect than a kind of avoidance. People of tribes or sub-tribes which have *inmeñharen* relationships to one another will not visit each others' camps except on certain occasions when dressed in their best clothes, and they will then behave with the uttermost reservation and respect to each other. If two tribes have such a relationship to one another, it will normally also comprise their slaves, who will behave towards each other in the same fashion. If on the other hand two tribes have institutional joking with one another, as is the case with certain vassal tribes in relation to tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class, there will also be joking between their slaves. There seems to be a strong tendency for the slaves to behave towards each other in a manner corresponding to that of their master.

In spite of the kinship pattern on which the relationships of Tuareg slaves and slave-owners is based, 567
it is most noteworthy that there is always latent joking between them, as there is between many different 571
classes and castes in Tuareg society. On certain occasions a Tuareg slave owner will joke freely even with his young or older slaves, though he will never joke with his children who have to show their father the outmost respect (cf. p. 454). Such a joking relationship is still more common between Tuareg and slaves who are not attached to one another by possession bonds. But it never exists between Tuareg and slaves who are not already known to each other.

The noble Tuareg may also joke with slaves but seem less inclined to do so than Tuareg of other 565
classes. Apart from that, the relationship between noble Tuareg and slaves does not deviate from the 567
description presented above. Noble Tuareg can marry slave women though they cannot easily marry 64
Tuareg women of the vassal class. This may seem rather strange, but is in fact not so unusual as it might seem. We have stated above (p. 429 f.) that the reason why noble Tuareg and vassals could not

631 /211/ Originally from Es Souq in the Ădrar des Ifôras, they are mixed with the Ahl Azzi from In-Salah.

Without being Imrad of the Tăitok, properly speaking, they may be considered satellites of this tobol.

## Tobol of the Tégéhé-Mellet

173 631 The Tégéhé-Mellet make up the third and least important of the three Ahaggar tobol.

According to oral tradition, they are the descendants of Ti-n-Hînân through her daughter Tahenkat. More recently they are said to be descended from the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi. But according to another tradition they are of Chaamba origin, from the Oulad Messaoud tribe. More exactly, we are led to believe that some Oulad Messaoud men came to settle among them and founded families; for some, this would make their pure Imochar origin questionable. On the other hand, they married Kel-I-n-Toûnîn women, while Tégéhé Mellet women married Issekkemâren.

They obtained their independence at the same time as the Tăitok while Sidi Mohâmed was aménokal, and were assigned a certain number of vassal tribes. Since then, however, they have played only a very unobtrusive part in the history of the Ahaggar, and the Tégéhé Mellet are on the way to disappearing.

631 According to Duveyrier, they had the reputation of bringing a conciliatory spirit into the often strained relations between the Ihăggaren [578] and the Ăjjer Tuareg. The geographical position that they occupied between the two opposing groups quite naturally drafted them for the role.

619 They were formerly a free tobol, and only with the French occupation were they placed under the guardianship of Moussa ag Ămastân.

648 Ser'ir ag Bedda, their amrar, protested for a long time and never stopped claiming his independence. In connection with this state of mind, many Tégéhé Mellet rebelled and left with the

619 Kel-I-n-Toûnîn Imrad rather than accept the supremacy of Moussa
648 ag Ămastân and the Kel Rela. For a long time they kept up the agitation, encouraged by the former Aménokal Attici ag Ămellal, and they were one of the causes of our difficulties with the Ăjjer.

619 It is now a small tribe of about 15 tents nomadizing near
[162] Ămegid, the Ounane, the Eguéré, and /212/ Tiramar. Its strength comes especially from its vassals, who could not be more turbulent.
[669] They probably participated in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and Attici and Ănaba ag Ămellal, the leaders of the drama, belonged to that fraction.

The Tégéhé-Mellet have no Imrad properly speaking, but several Issekkemâren fractions are enfeoffed to them.

The Kel Terourirt. -- The Kel Terourirt are Issekkemâren and nomadize northeast of the Ahaggar near Tiramar, Tahihaout,
[162] Ounane, the Eguéré, and the Garet ed Djenoun. They number 25 tents at the moment:

[669] During the 1916 events, they followed the Kel Ouhet and the Kel I-n-Toûnîn in rebelling.

[651] They pay the amrar of the Tégéhé Mellet a tioussé which annually adds up to four bags of dates and four goats.

The Kel Ouhet. -- Like the Kel Térourirt, the Kel Ouhet are Issekkemâren. They are subdivided into several small fractions: the Kel Raris, the Dăg-Khamaya, and the Dăg Iknân. In all there are
[162] about 40 tents (51 persons in the 1938 census, 23 of them men).

They camp in the northern part of the Tăfedest massif and go as far as Amegid and into the Igharghar Valley.

[233] They own a number of camels and frequently visit the markets
[439] of the Tidikelt and Ghat.

Some of them have left the Ahaggar and now live in the Ăjjer.

The Kel Torha. -- The Kel Torha, or Dăg Houa, are Aït Loaien and their small fraction is in the process of disappearing. Although they live with the Aït Loaien who belong to the Kel Rela tobol,
[651] they pay the annual tioussé of a mézoued of dates to the Tégéhé-Mellet.

101 country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote,
166 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the
131 latest major episodes in a general southwestward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

631 The military administrative unit known as the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds fairly closely to the present normal range of [101] the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabit- [161] ants in 1950), and supports a total native population of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

162 Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

197 The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

619 **Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these are divided into tribes which are subdivided 565 into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] * A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

551 † Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in as many different ways as are the geographical names
104 of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

622 * A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

565 three main classes, the Tuareg nobles (fig. 46) and vassals (fig. 47) and the Negro slaves.

565 Rank seems to be essentially a quality of the clan rather than of the individual, for the
614 Tuareg commonly speak of "noble clans" and "vassal clans," and, when one is in doubt about
[554] a person's social status, one does not ask what his rank is but what clan he belongs to. The "tobol,"[6] the symbol of precedence, is clan property and belongs to no particular family, although it is kept by the chief of the premier clan of a tribe as the symbol of his authority.

619 The Ahaggar confederation comprises three tribes, the Kel Rela, the Tégéhé Mellet and the
614 Taïtoq, each headed by a noble clan which gives its name to the tribe as a whole[7] (figs. 25, 26, *b* and 27). Noble clans by definition outrank vassal clans, so that the chief of a noble Ahaggar clan is usually chief of his tribe as well. The noble clans and their dependent vassal clans with them are arranged in an order of precedence, and so the chief of the premier
[643] clan (the *Kel Rela*) is also chief of the Kel Rela tribe and paramount chief (*Amenokal*) of the Ahaggar confederation.

614 It is men who govern at all levels of Ahaggar society. Among the Tuareg a tribal chief is
622 chosen from the premier clan of the tribe by
562 a clan council made up of the male heads of households, but he must be confirmed in office by a council of male representatives of all the component clans of his tribe because his tenure depends materially on the willingness of these clans to pay him tribute. For the same reason, the final confirmation of an amenokal rests with a council made up of male representatives of all the clans in the whole confederation. Tribal chiefs also act as judges, and an amenokal is the chief justice of his confederation.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary in the female line,[8] but within fairly broad and seemingly rather indefinite limits of degree of relation-

thereabouts, but this succession may not have been thought of as brother-to-brother inheritance after all. It seems perhaps more likely that the successor in such a case is looked on as an heir of the former chief's mother rather than of the former chief himself. Ancient Egyptian records, cited by Bates (1914, p. 112), tell of at least one Libyan chief who was succeeded by his younger brother in preference to his son. It would be a waste of time for us to try to explain the few early cases of father-to-son inheritance that have been reported because the circumstances surrounding them are not at all clear.

/47 cont./

571 463 C. Economic Organization

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tuareg | : | Nomadic herdsmen |
| Arabs | : | Nomadic herdsmen and traders |
| Inaden | : | Artisans |
| Harratin | : | Cultivators, craftsmen, manual laborers |
| Iklan | : | Domestics of the Tuareg |
| Mozabites | : | Sedentary traders |
| Chorfa | : | Receive alms in exchange for their presence |
| Zaoui | : | id. |

571 619 643 At the beginning of the French occupation, the Tuareg people were in a stage of social evolution similar in many ways to our Middle Ages. The same system is still in force today, although cracks in it may be seen, caused by the French and Moslem presence. To speak only of the Kel Ahaggar, who are the only ones who concern us in this study, we see a confederation of tribes commanded by the "amenokal," who is elected for life. His title confers on him the ownership of the soil, amenokal meaning "owner of the land." He disposes of the territories of nomadization /terres de parcours/ and of the arable land as he wishes. In practice, this power is exercised according to custom and in a paternalistic fashion.

571 564 Among the tribes, a very rigid caste system exists. First, there are the noble tribes which formerly supplied the warriors; they undertook the protection of the confederation. They were rich with loot taken from /48/ neighboring confederations and from outside caravans, and from protection money paid by caravaneers who passed through Kel Ahaggar territory. Then, there are the imrad tribes -- we may call them vassals. More numerous and made up of camel herders and caravan guides, they could be called on to furnish reinforcements when an expedition ran into trouble or was larger than usual.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



565 The true Tuareg in most groups fall into several classes as follows:—

619 *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), or *Imajeren* (sing. *Amajer*). These two words designate the supreme Tuareg class which is generally referred to in literature as "nobility". The term *Ihaggaren* is used only among the Northern Tuareg, while *Imajeren* is employed in Ayr and also among Sudanese Tuareg. The two terms are synonymous, and so-called noble Tuareg are found in most Tuareg groups. However, the *Kel Geres* employ the term *Imajeren* for all true Tuareg. Among the *Kel Adrar* certain tribes claim to be noble, but though these tribes have very much the same position as noble tribes in Ahaggar and in Ayr, they are not recognized as true noble Tuareg by people of other groups.

*Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). This class is that of *Mrabetin* or marabuts, the religious class established after the introduction of Islam. In most Tuareg groups there are whole tribes of *Ineslemen* under the leadership of their own chiefs, but in Ahaggar there are only a few scattered families. The political position of the *Ineslemen* varies greatly from one group to another. Certain tribes in Ayr which are *Ineslemen* by origin have the same status as the true vassals to be mentioned below, while other *Ineslemen* tribes like the *Iforas* of the *Kel Aijer* have much the same status as noble Tuareg with the exception that they have no vassals. The *Ineslemen* perform religious duties connected with certain [793] rites of passage. Any Tuareg can acquire the position of *Aneslem* after training in reading the Koran and education in the divine laws under the tutorship of another *Aneslem* or marabut.

*Echchikhen* (sing. *Echchikh*). This word also refers to people of religious status, and is used almost synonymously with *Ineslemen*. Certain tribes of Ayr (Damergu) have a kind of noble status and possess vassals. The word does not have the meaning of *Echcherifen* (sing. *Echcherif*), which refers to descendants of the Prophet. Individual Tuareg families – particularly in noble tribes – often claim relationship with the Prophet.

*Isekkemaren* (sing. *Asekkemar*). A class which is found only in the two northern groups – particularly among the *Kel Ahaggar*. The *Isekkemaren* Tuareg descend from Arabs, or from unions between Arab men and Tuareg women. They are vassals who have a somewhat different status from that of true vassals, who are mentioned below.

*Iregenaten* (sing. *Aregenat*). This name is not always applied to people of a particular class. It is used as a proper name for one Ahaggar tribe which has its origin from mixed marriages between (noble) Tuareg women and Arabs. In most groups the term *Iregenaten* (*Iregenaten*) is applied to Tuareg descending from unions between noble Tuareg men and vassal women.

212 Fig. 2. The Tuareg alphabet (*tifinar*). The distinctions between Tuareg alphabets of Ahaggar and Ayr are less essential than appears from this list, for some differences are due to the fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg for certain letters prefer an edged form, the Ayr Tuareg a curved one. But both forms are known to all Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg normally
104 write from the right to the left like the Arabs, while the Ayr Tuareg consider it correct to write the letters in vertical
184 rows from bottom to top. It can be seen from the list that the Ahaggar Tuareg have an alphabet of 23 consonants while the Ayr Tuareg have only 21. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels with a dot, which may stand for any vowel. This simple vowel letter is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tagrelit*, to the Ayr Tuareg as *tesemakit*. The dialect of the Ayr Tuareg is very little known and most Ayr words mentioned in this study have never been published previously. Even my collection of Ahaggar words seems to contain terms lacking in Foucauld's dictionaries. For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that generally used for geographical maps.

[text continues on p. 12]

565 619 *Imrad* (sing. *Amerid*). People of this class are sometimes called "serfs" in literature, but the word "vassals" is also used. I prefer to use the latter term, but add that the word *Imrad* is most difficult to translate into an European language. The vassal class is represented in all groups with the exception of the *Kel Geres*. Among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iullemmeden* the word *Kel Ulli* (sing. *Agg Ulli*) is used synonymously with *Imrad*. Among south-western Tuareg around Timbuktu the word *Duga* or *Dura* is also used to designate vassals. The *Imrad* class is by far the most numerous in most groups. The relationship between these vassals (*Imrad*) and the noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, *Imajeren*) forms the basis of most political systems which are described later (p. 393 ff.).

101 565 Members of the above-mentioned classes are true Tuareg, though the word *Ineslemen* is also used for marabuts of other peoples and for marabuts of various black-skinned castes found among the Tuareg. Among the Northern Tuareg all people of the above-mentioned classes with the exception of certain *Ineslemen* or marabuts are called *Imuhar* (sing. *Amahar*). The Ayr Tuareg have no such common term to designate the people known to us as *Tuareg*, but occasionally they use generically the word *Imajeren* though strictly speaking this term should be reserved for Tuareg of the supreme noble class.

101 The word *Tuareg* (sing. *Targi*) is never used by the Tuareg themselves, but by Arabs. Duveyrier claims it to be derived from an Arabic word of the root *terek* meaning "to abandon". The meaning of the word accordingly should be "those abandoned (by God)", and should refer to the fact that many Tuareg do not follow Islamic rules very strictly (Duveyrier 1864, p. 317 f.). The same explanation has also been given to me by an Arab of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe of Tidikelt. However, the origin of the word "*Tuareg*" is perhaps a different one: – It may be related to the word *Targa* (Ayr) or *Turga* (Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer), which name is used by the Tuareg to designate the part of the Sahara generally known to us by the Arabic word *Fezzan*. This is very likely, as we know from Arab authors of the Middle Ages that the word *Targa* or *Turga* was then used as a name for a very important Tuareg group living in that area and adjacent regions (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 83 f.; Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 534; Rodd 1926a, p. 273 f.).

142 144 The Tuareg are fair-skinned people who in certain regions and particularly in the south have mixed with Negroes. The Northern Tuareg are predominantly fair-skinned, and many of them are as "white" as Europeans though perhaps a little yellowish or brownish. It is difficult to determine their exact skin colour because they are burned and tanned by the sun and the hot wind characteristic of desert climate. In addition, the Tuareg wear clothes dyed with indigo which comes off on the body, and they [391] [510] rarely wash. When I lived among them my own skin-colour and that of the Tuareg were practically identical. Among the Ayr Tuareg there are also many fair-skinned people, but the Ayr Tuareg are more mixed with Negroes than the Northern Tuareg, and most *Kel Ewey* are predominantly negroid. Very mixed also are the *Kel Geres* and the same seems to hold for other Tuareg groups of the south. A few blond individuals have been recorded from the *Kel Ajjer* living around the oases of Rat and Radames, and they may be the offspring of unions between Tuareg women and caravan traders of the north (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 162 f.). The blond individuals met in Southern Ayr are the offspring [648] of the fairly numerous marriages between Frenchmen and Tuareg women, but it is claimed that a few years ago a very blond girl was born to parents of families which had never contracted marriages

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Ṛali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916–17, the drum-group of the *Kel Ṛela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amṛar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* and *Taytoḳ* tribes might also receive *tiwsé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Adṛar* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Téḍalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given him a similar payment for protection.

619 him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were
721 frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal* were raided
643 by people of his drum-group, the *Amenukal* had the right to a tribute named *ennehet* which according to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amenukal*'s drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the *Amenukal* to whom they paid *tiwsé* for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347 f.).

634 The drum-group (*eṭṭebel*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The
[831] federation (*téġehé*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

634 It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship
565 (*tehanḍeẓẓit*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there
571 were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is
614 true notably of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar.
[602] People of the *Dag Ṛali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group joke with the tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The word "*Isekkemaren*" means literally "people who lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg and true vassals, who say that the *Isekkemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals will joke with the *Isekkemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the
[602] vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Isekkemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally
[431] related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed between *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Isekkemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg come to the *Isekkemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the *Isekkemaren* visiting the *Aguh-en-tehlé*. The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relationship to the noble *Kel Ṛela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Ṛela* engage in sham-fights (*tebbillant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between the *Kel Ṛela* and the vassal *Aguh-en-telhé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between *Isekkemaren* and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Isekkemaren* tribes (*Iheyawen Hada, Kel Tazulet*) and the *Aguh-en-tehlé tribe*. Wedding feasts in these *Isekkemaren* tribes are most popular with young men of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Isekkemaren* girls. Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages, if any, while this was not so in the *Taytok* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between

439 cotton clothes, and Sudanese-made lithams /veils/. Then after
484 two months of rest spent in the Sudan, during which time the camels revel in the rich pasture, they all set out again for the Ahaggar, where they arrive from January on. February and March see them leave again for the Tidikelt or Touat. At that time they take only a few camels and exchange the excess manufactured articles which they collected in the Sudan and trade dried mutton for dates. This trip lasts an average of two months, and toward the end of April everyone is back in the Ahaggar, as a rule. There is a rest of a few weeks, and everyone thinks about the next salt campaign he is going to have to prepare.

Thus we see a complete caravan cycle which, by itself, could allow the Tuareg a normal life. But as we have said, it implies a
[461] state of peace which was previously the exception, as well as an amount of work to be furnished which is not always in harmony with the warlike tastes of the Imochar.

224 Hunting supplies some employment for the Tuareg, as does gathering. But both of them are only uncertain pastimes, without
221 much profit. The life of the Tuareg may thus be summed up in a few lines: basic animal husbandry doubled by brigandage raised to the state of an institution, and accessorily by some caravaneering. Now we shall see the domestic life of the Tuareg.

/221/

## Chapter 2

## Dwellings

361 The camp. -- The camp is the traditional Tuareg form of
● 621 habitation; it is connected with nomadism which always implies animal husbandry. It includes a certain number of people gathered together under a patriarchal authority by very close bonds of kinship.

312 The question of water is fundamental in the formation of the
[361 camp, both for the choice of its location and for the number of tents
182] to be included.

Water is obviously a problem for all life; it plays a role in the location of our small European villages, but this role is still greater in desert countries where water is quite rare. The existence of watering places is not only necessary for human life but also for the life of the domestic animals.

137 To this primordial condition of the existence of a watering
182 place must be added the condition of pasture for the domestic
312 animals. Therefore, we see that the establishment of a camp among
361 the Ihaggaren is conditioned by two main factors whose character may vary in time, depending on the seasons and the abundance or scarcity of rain. But in the last analysis the pasture needs take precedence, for, generally speaking, pasture is even rarer than
137 water, since it can sometimes be completely lacking. This need
182 for pasture forces tribes to split up and camps to be dispersed in
361 order to exploit it rationally. The situation is such that there are
621 rarely more than five or six tents in each group. Only the aménokal's
[643] camp may number as many as 15 or 20 tents, but this is quite exceptional, involving the question of prestige and social order at the same time. Indeed, the aménokal supports a numerous family, his caliphs, his servants, etc. But this grouping around the chief is quite artificial, and the flocks which the people own are not with them but are /222/ spread out in the mountains, kept by Imrad or servants.

The camp is always established rather far from the watering
361 places, for it is preferable to be closer to the pastures. It is often
312 five or six kilometers from water. The animals go there to drink every two or three days, and the people use the occasion to get
[482 their water supply, which will be carried in waterskins on their backs
492] or under the stomach of the asses. Tuareg, moreover, do not like
361 to settle near a watering place, for it is always a stopping point for
609 transients, and they avoid making their presence known to strangers.

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| | 1911 | 1938 |
|---|---|---|
| T-i-n-Ǎmenser . . . . . | 36 | temporarily abandoned |
| Tifert . . . . . | 50 | " " |
| Essélésékin . . . . . | 30 | |
| T-i-n-Târâbin . . . . . | 15 | abandoned |

166
621
[648]

These figures bring out the weakening of some centers to the advantage of others. Thus, a number of cultivators from Tarahouhaout (where the French post was formerly located) came to settle at Tamanrasset, and the group of little centers in the outskirts of Ǎbalessa, Iglen, Tǎfarit, etc., has absorbed the groups from other abandoned centers like Tifert, Essélésékin, Ilâman, Tarahananet, etc.

[241
312]

Together these centers number about 400 gardens and 80 feggaguir.

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The wheat harvested is partly consumed by the cultivators and chiefly intended for export; it is exchanged at the Touat for dates. The total harvests in the Ahaggar corresponds to only one -fifth of the needs of its inhabitants, even in good years.

621
433

There are fifteen agricultural centers exploited in the Ahaggar: Tamanrasset, Tǎrhaouahout, Tahifet, Tǎzerouk, Ideles, Ǎbalessa, Hirhafok, Iglen, I-n-Amegel, T-i-n-Ǎmenser, Amsel, Tigeneouin, Talan-Tedit, Mertoûtek, and Esseléséкine.

[166]

In addition there are twenty-two other centers which have been abandoned for some years as a result of dryness or lack of manpower: Aït oklane, Ǎdenek, Ǎmrah, Ǎbezou, Ǎglil, Bloûmet, Déhine, Dar Mouli, Ennedid, Innezal, Ilâman, In Ǎmertek, Ilafok, Outoul, Ouhet, Souaïka, T-i-n-Târabin, Touakin, Teberbert, Tarahananet, Tahart, and Joraf.

233 tents, where a few camps live permanently, filling the function of
361 shepherds for the people remaining in the Ahaggar.

At the same time, then, there is nomadism and transhumance.

Definitions of the two kinds of life are as follows: there is nomadism when the tribe accompanies the moving livestock, and transhumance when the flocks are accompanied only by shepherds. And so we see that it is not possible to link the Tuareg to one category or the other, but that they engage in the two kinds of life, even in a mixed system in some instances. Quite often, in fact, the goats are pastured in the Ahaggar with a few shepherds, while the women stay in the mountains, and all the men are in the Sudan with the camels.

/255/ The migrations of these little herds of goats recall the moving of flocks which Vidal de la Blache has described as "mountain transhumance," that is, the camps move regularly from the summer pastures located on the peaks to the winter pastures in the
[132] plain. These moves cannot be as regular as they are in our country, in view of the irregularity of the rains.

It may thus be said that the Ahaggar Tuareg are small nomads by the short range of the moves of their camps, but that they are, on the other hand, great transhumants.

## Rules Concerning Passage and Nomadization With Flocks

423 The lands over which the tribes range are fixed by the amenokal
643 to whom the land appertains. The origin of the tiousse comes
651 partly from the pasture rights which he grants.

Each tribe is proprietor of its land, with full and exclusive
423 enjoyment of it. Others can come settle among the tribe only with
● 621 the authorization of the tribe's amrar, but the right of way, including the right to water flocks, is secured for everyone.

These rules may be modified in periods of great dryness or in periods following plentiful rains.

423 When pasture is scarce as the result of a long dry period, an
621 understanding is reached between the different tribal chiefs, and
311 one of them may authorize the other's tribe to come nomadize on his territory, on the condition, of course, that they not do any damage, mutilate the trees, or engage in hunting.

185 When a region has been abundantly favored by rain, the amrar
423 decrees the land forbidden -- ganent. No one can go there, in-
621 cluding the people of the tribe. This measure is designed to protect
311 young growths from the teeth of the animals and let the pasture grow to maturity. A few weeks later the interdiction is raised, the land is free, and anyone, without distinction, may profit from it, always conforming, of course, to the jurisdiction /sic/ concerning the protection of trees and to the hunting interdiction.

423 Animals straying on the land of a neighboring tribe are /256/
621 returned to their owners without the intervention of any sanction.
685 But when a flock is surprised on ganent land, the owner is fined one head of livestock -- one goat if it is a flock of goats, one sheep if it is a flock of sheep, one camel if it is a herd of camels.

A branch cut by a member of a neighboring tribe entails a fine
[185] of one goat or one sheep. This rule is not often applied, however, for the Tuareg have little respect for the protection of trees.

/257/ Chapter 7

## Care of the Body and Bodily Habits

515 Cleanliness and care of the body. -- In a country where water is scarce, it is natural that the people are not inclined to wash every day. The Tuareg, through living in the desert far from wells, have lost the habit of washing themselves. It is not that they despise

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 250. 614 127

A clan is generally termed *tawsit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg. 162 196 611

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 13). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g., 621 596 342

1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season *(akasa)* and in the beginning of the following dry season *(ravat)* several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups. 221 361 621 173

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occured also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin – ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:– 582 614 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 13 |
| No blood-relationship between husband and wife | 8 |
| Marriages total | 38 |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:- 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 3 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan 614
and eight in the three sub-clans of the Agouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the
sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up in [361]
minor camps of 2–7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family 621
which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals 476
are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big [596]
camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps [422]
consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never [613]
correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or 622
section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative of the section in relation to the clan chief *(Amyar)*. These khalifas are not necessarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilineal as it is for clan chiefs. [614]

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8–9), but the [184]
rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between [601]
cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in 602
Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most clans.

[Text continues on p. 108]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



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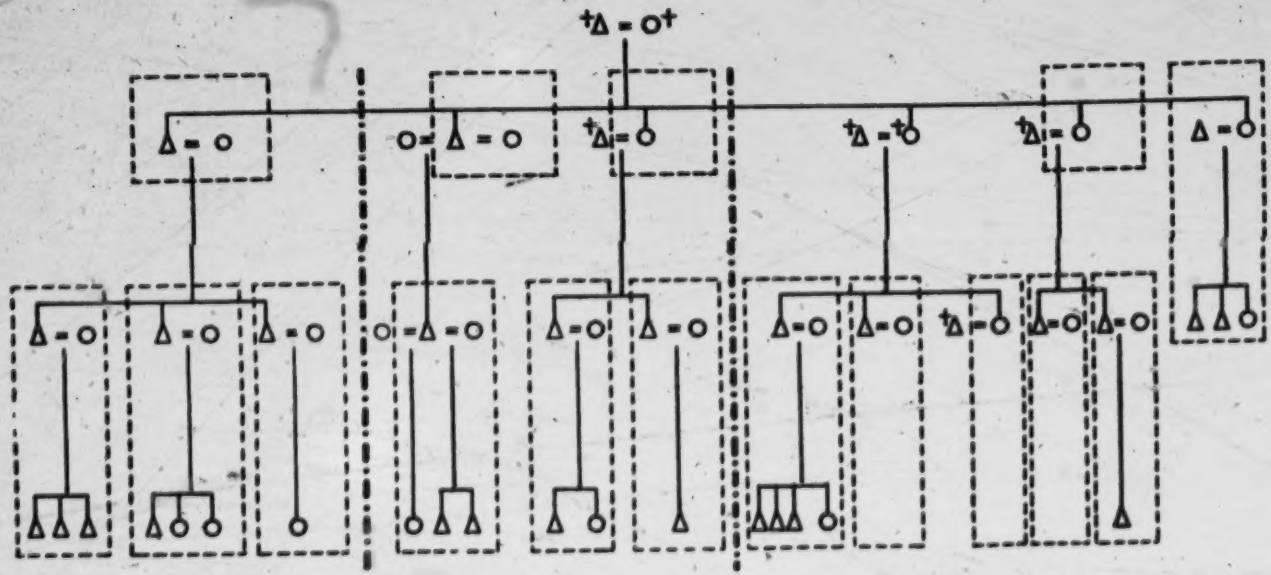

Fig. 11.–The section camp of the Kel Azernan (the Isandan sub-clan of the Aghouh-en-Tebele clan). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. – The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated fig. 10. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Air whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



*Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Aǵouh-en-Tehele Clan.*

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafia).

| Tenants | Value of Sub-Area | Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Aǵouh-en-Tehele, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tôles. | Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Daledge. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication. | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, Khalifa of the Ikenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds. | 3 goats |
| ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader. | Cultivation grounds at Inagriouel and In Deledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 2 donkeys |
| DEINI, Chief of the Kel Rafia sub-clan. | No particular value. | No land-rent. |
| AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section. | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Azernan section of the Isandan sub-clan. | Cultivation grounds at Tamanrasset. In the past wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaiddin now attached to the Aǵouh-en-Tehele clan. | Khoseni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaiddin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal. | |

621
427
614
283
651
224
423.

clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Aǵouh-en-Tehele have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Isekkemaren class. Between the Aǵouh-en-Tehele and the Isekkemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Aǵouh-en-Tehele people come to the Isekkemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Isekkemaren visiting the Aǵouh-en-Tehele. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

000
565
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[431]
[602]

[Text continues on p. 110]

565 /51 cont./ The most important agricultural centers belong-
621 ing to the Adjouh n'Téhélé are Tarhaouaout, In Dalag, and Tahifet. There are several subgroups: the Isanden in the Isernan region; the Kel Rafsa, Tahifet region; the Relaïdine, Tin-Tarabin region; and the Kel Hagalella to the south of Tamanrasset. The tribe's amrar is Samaalatokh ag Mansouri.
[651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is approximately the same as that paid by the Dag Rali.

565 The Adjouh n'Téhélé have an open character; they are gay
[157] and like to joke, but they have the reputation of being quick tempered and irascible.

The Aït Loen tribe is, like the preceding ones, an imrad tribe of the Kel Rela. It is descended from Takamat. These Tuareg are nomads in the eastern Atakor and sometimes penetrate into Ajjers territory. Their most important center is Tin-
[491] Tarabin. There are no roads going into the territory of this tribe, so their tents are rarely visited.

[162 There are about 500 Aït Loen; they possess 620 black
563] servants. The Kel Torha, Kel Anahef, and Kel Telerteba are the three subgroups of the tribe, whose chief is El Ralen ag
[651] Nissoran. Their tioussé is about four mezoued of dates to the Kel Rela and one mezoued of dates paid by the Kel Torha to the Tédjéhé Mellet.

The Aït Loen are experienced guides for going to the Ajjers and Ténéré regions.

[162 The Iklan Taoussit number about 600, served by 650
563] Negroes. They are nomads in the Tahelra, the Silet region, the Amded and Tekouiat wadis, and in the northern part of the Adrar des Iforas. They formerly belonged to the Imenanes, which accounts for their name, which means "servant of the tribe."
[651] Their tioussé is on the order of four mezoued of millet, two bottas of butter, and six milch goats. Dali ag Akoumaris is the tribe's amrar. The subgroup of the tribe which sojourns almost continually in the Tin-Zaouaten region has Khadida for chief.

241 /76 cont./ In connection with the conditions of life in the agricultural centers, I shall reproduce here an extract from notes taken in 1949 during a tour I made in the company of the doctor at Tamanrasset. This year of 1949 was particularly dry and came on the heels of four long dry years.

"After having walked five hours since leaving the Tilokatine wadi, where we spent the night, we came in view of a charming little oasis situated in the Outoul wadi, which
241 has cut a bed through basalt rocks, columns of which are
●621 seen along the banks. This was the agricultural center of Tahart.

[162 "There are 63 inhabitants, of whom 17 are children --
164] suffering from trachoma and conjunctivitis. Two foggaras serve to irrigate the gardens, as well as two wells with water drawn by oxen. The output of the foggaras is diminishing; the harratin have tried digging other wells at the head of the foggara, but they found large blocks of stone at a depth of three meters which prevented them from reaching the water table. A long and wearying work, with primitive means.

"There are about 100 palm trees, which give small, meager dates. Nearly all of the trees are encumbered with djebars; these harratin have no idea whatsoever of how to cultivate palm trees. Those trees that now produce grew from pits haphazardly cast in a garden.

"The only winter crops are wheat and barley; no turnips, no carrots, no beans, no other vegetables that could tide them over in the period between the millet and the wheat crops and that would permit them to let the cereal ripen.

"At this time nearly all the harratin are eating green barley and young tahli shoots.

"A brief calculation will show how insufficiently these cultivators are fed, although they do very hard work in a hard climate:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Year 1948. | Yield of wheat for Tahart | 1, 500 kilograms |
| | Yield of millet for Tahart | 300 kilograms |
| | | 1, 800 kilograms |

241 /77/ or 1, 800 kilograms of grain to divide 63 times during
621 365 days, giving scarcely 100 grams a day per person, to which we may add three or four meals of meat per year.

"This year a green louse menaces the grain harvest; in summer a sort of 'mosquito' attacks the millet."

To complete these observations, one must add to the food listed for the harratin the very sweet tea they drink whenever they can, and it must be noted that this year 1949 was particularly bad.

If the wheat, set amid the arid mountains, gives an air of opulence to the village, the cultivator well knows that the production will be insufficient and that the fifth part of it coming to him is already pledged to Mozabite merchants to pay for the different purchases of the year. What to do? Go on farming, for such is life. This stubborn work to coax a little wheat from a hostile soil is most touching and merits a better success; but it would be necessary to educate these Negroes, and that is another story.

[361] Certain of these centers are temporary; the harratin abandon them when the soil is exhausted or when the water is no longer sufficient for irrigation; others are always occupied and under cultivation. The harratin merely cultivate smaller areas during dry years. In the permanent centers, the gardens have fruit trees.

In the appendix is the list of the principal agricultural centers of the Ahaggar.

## Animal Raising

233 A land of nomads, the Ahaggar is a region of extensive animal raising. The pastures grow according to the chance of rainfall, and the Tuareg use them with due regard to the growth of the grass. The irregularity of the annual rains obliges the Kel Ahaggar to drive the majority of their camel herd to Sudanese territory, so that about 7, 500 camels graze

301 /183 cont./ Tisabatin: The tisabatin are ear pendants, simple rings of silver whose diameter is about ten centimeters; two tisabatin weigh 120 grams.

Teraout: large silver triangle worn on the chest; the hidden side is made of iron.

Ahbedj (plural: ihebdjen): The women always wear two. They are bracelets, the most popular type of which has the form of a simple ring with an opening. The two ends are polyhedral and are decorated with geometrical designs.

Tissegouar: silver pendants for the temples.

The Tuareg do not use gold; silver alone is used to make jewelry and the amulet cases called teraout.

The men wear smaller rings than the women.

/185/ VII

## List of Agricultural Centers

103 Abalessa (altitude: 850 meters).
361 This was the largest agricultural center before our arrival
•621 in the Ahaggar; since then, Tamanrasset has surpassed Abalessa.

Abalessa is located 100 kilometers west of Tamanrasset in the Ibarras wadi at the confluence of the Abalessa wadi, which receives the waters of the Tit, Outoul, Tiffert, and Iglène wadis.

The population consists of more than a thousand harratin.

The cultivable surface is 150 hectares during favorable years; generally, the crops cover 80 hectares.

The owners of the gardens are some Kel Rela, Taïtok, Dag Rali, and Iklan Taoussit.

There are 11 foggara, the longest and deepest in the Ahaggar; some reach six kilometers in length, and the head wells are eight to ten meters deep.

103 /185 cont./ Approximately 300 palms grow freely or
361 nearly so; almost all have grown from nuts, and half are
621 dokkar (males)

Abalessa has a bordj /a small fort or solidly constructed house/ and an infirmary.

The tumulus of Tin-Hinan is located two kilometers from the bordj in the Tiffert wadi.

Centers of the Tiffert wadi.

Tounin Akourin.

A small center seven kilometers upstream from Abalessa. Two foggara and a tanout.

/186/ The amenokal has his permanent camp near gardens that he owns.

Tiffert Foulani.

Five kilometers upstream from Abalessa. Three foggara. There are about 30 palms. An active center, it is owned by the local harratin. Here is the residence of Si Ahmed Foulani, a well-known taleb /scribe/, who plays the role of cadi for the Tuareg.

Tiffert Tahtani.

Three kilometers upstream from Abalessa. Three foggara. Active and permanent center. Small village constructed of toub, overlooking some 40 palms.

Tin-Tazarouk.

One kilometer from Abalessa on the trail to Silet. One foggara. Zériba. Large quantity of diss (a large grass).

Centers of the Outoul wadi.

Outoul.

A long-abandoned center which is being revived; located between the old and new trails to In-Salah, 20 kilometers from Tamanrasset. Five foggara, two of them upstream. Several fruit trees.

Tahart.

Eighteen kilometers downstream from Outoul. Three foggara and one tanout. Owners: Taïtok and Tédjéhé n'Néfi.

103 /186 cont. / About 100 palms, numerous fig trees and
361 vines. A tiggert with abundant tahli. Very picturesque site.
621 Assileskine (altitude: 960 meters).

Center located six kilometers downstream from Tahart. Often abandoned. Owners: Taïtok. Three foggara, about 30 residents. Vines and several young palms. Rock drawings near the zéribas.

Ennedid (altitude: 914 meters).

Four kilometers downstream from Assileskine in a gorge at the confluence of the Outoul wadi. About 60 residents, nearly 100 palsm. Owners: Kel Rela, Dag Rali, and Iklan Taoussit. Very pretty site.

/187/ Centers of the Tit wadi.

Tit (altitude: 1, 127 meters).

Located in the Tit wadi, 50 kilometers from Tamanrasset. Fairly important center, more than 100 residents, houses of toub and zeribas. About 30 palms, numerous fig trees, and enormous vines. At this time, four foggara. Very important site for rock drawings.

Tin-Emensar.

Ten kilometers downstream from Tit. Abandoned center.

Dar Mouli.

Three kilometers downstream from Tin-Emensar, a small garden is cultivated. Site of an annual celebration where the Tuareg gather for the ziara of Moulay Abderrahmane.

Centers of the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tamanrasset (altitude: 1, 470 meters).

Fort Laperrine, administrative headquarters of the Ahaggar.

The military bordj was constructed in 1919 and used in 1920 after the abandoning of Tarahouaout.

In 1920, Tamanrasset had 40 residents. It was a small, unimportant center with three foggara; a few rare éthel and fersig lined the wadi.

103 /187 cont. / The French occupation created out of nothing
361 the built-up area which became a road center after the
621 creation of automobile roads from Tamanrasset toward In-Salah and Algiers;

from Tamanrasset toward Agadès and Fort Lamy;

from Tamanrasset toward Tin-Zaouaten and Gao.

Secondary roads of local or tourist interest were later opened:

from Tamanrasset to Djanet by way of Idelès and Serouanout;

from Tamanrasset to Idelès by way of Tarahouaout, Tahifet;

from Tamanrasset to In-Azaoua (not completed);

from Tamanrasset to the Asekrem massif by way of the Iilamane peak (tourist);

from Tamanrasset to the Asekrem massif by way of the
[491] Imalaoulaouen guelta and the Akarakar. This road, finished in 1952, makes it possible to circle around the high peaks of the Atakor; it /188/ completes the one mentioned just before. Its route, laid out by the head of the Tamanrasset annex, provides maximum protection against the rains; it discloses a succession of splendid panoramas and ends at the foot of the Asekrem plateau after having crossed the strangest assortment of peaks imaginable. This road is prolonged in the direction of the Issakarassen guelta, then will continue toward the Hirafok agricultural center to end in the Tefedest.

[439] Arab and Mozabite merchants very quickly installed themselves at Tamanrasset, offering merchandise coming from Tell and buying wheat, millet, and butter from the Tuareg, making usurious loans, in a word, draining away the Tuareg's small supply of cash to direct it toward the Mzab.

The houses are built for the most part on the right bank of the wadi in the nonirrigable areas. Tamanrasset has no local color whatsoever, but the red tint of the exterior plastering, the cleanliness and charm of the streets shaded by éthel and adorned by geraniums, produce a pleasing over-all

103 /188 cont./ effect. An admirable and almost unique thing
361 in the Ahaggar is the circle of mountains which surrounds the
621 village; from the south bank of the wadi the view at sunrise or sunset is sensational.

At the present time Tamanrasset has some 20 foggara and a dozen tanout. The owners of the foggara are: the commune, some Adjouh n'Téhélé, some Tédjéhé n'Néfis, some harratin, and some merchants. The foggara are from four to five kilometers long. The gardens extend nearly six kilometers from the ksar /former fortified village/ of the Adriane to the ksar of Teggert. The cultivated area is about 70 hectares, counting the gardens of the small center of Tihegouine three kilometers downstream, watered by a foggara.

The commune owns a magnificent garden where all sorts of fruit trees are tried; it sets an example for the local gardeners. Many European houses have a small garden irrigated by foggara or by well.

The present population is about 2, 000 residents. This enormous growth in population presents a terrible /189/ water problem. It appears that an agricultural center in the Ahaggar cannot grow indefinitely without considering hydraulic works.

103 Tamanrasset, although favored from the point of view of
361 water resources, is a proof of what could be attempted in the
621 other agricultural centers if the French could advise the
648 harratin and furnish them examples.

The French population is divided in the following way:

A captain, annex head, administrator of the commune.

Two or three officer assistants.

Secretaries.

A school. Seven teachers, three of them nomads.

An observatory of global physics. Three physicists.

A telecommunications service. Four radio operators, two weather men.

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/189 cont. / A branch of the Company of Tropical Transportation.

An auxiliary postal receipts office.

A hotel.

A few retired persons at Tamanrasset without occupation.

From the military point of view, Tamanrasset is generally the base for a company of the camel corps. Units of the Saharan Engineer corps maintain the road from In-Salah to Tamanrasset and Agadez.

The French population totals about 120 persons; this number is subject to frequent fluctuations.

The number of Mozabite and Arab merchants, including their families, comes to about 100 individuals.

There are about 1, 900 harratin, an approximate figure, for many gardeners come and go from one agricultural center to another.

It is impossible to speak of Tamanrasset without thinking of General Laperrine and Father de Foucauld. The body of the general rests at Tamanrasset near the tomb where the priest was buried after his tragic death. The bordj where Father de Foucauld lived during the last years of his life is a tourist attraction; it is also possible to visit the hermitage built by the Father on the wadi's left bank.

/190/ Near the village of Adriane are found the tombs of Moussa ag Amastane, the Laperrine's amenokal friend, and of Dassine, the famous poetess.

In the house which was Moussa ag Amastane's, the maalmines, artisans of the Tuareg tribes, work.

Tamanrasset, administrative center, a necessary stop on the road from French West Africa and from French East Africa, is also an airplane stop destined to become more and more important.

Tourism tends to conquer the Ahaggar; the Touring Club of France has organized excursion caravans for several years. Scientists from all fields, enlightened travelers,

103 /190 cont. / mountain climbers in quest of virgin peaks, are
361 attracted to the still little-known country. For all of them
62 Tamanrasset is a departure base but not a place to linger.
[648]

Tissenaouine

In the Tissenaouine wadi at its confluence with the Tamanrasset wadi. One foggara belonging to a hartani. Very well-cultivated garden.

Tagrambaît

In the Tamanrasset wadi, 15 kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Three foggara, well-cultivated gardens. Little possibility for growth.

Amsel (altitude: 1, 180 meters)

Located in the Amsel wadi a little before its confluence with the Tamanrasset wadi, about 30 kilometers south of Tamanrasset.

The owners of the gardens are the Adjouh n'Téhélé and the Tédjéhé n'Néfis. The gardens are located upstream and downstream from the tiggert, a veritable stream of running water where abundant tahli grow. Six foggara and three tanout. There are about 60 residents. The cultivable surface totals 30 hectares; there would be possibilities for extending the center downstream. Several fruit trees.

Intnérin

In the Tamanrasset wadi seven kilometers south of Amsel. Tiggert and numerous tahli. Two foggara. Unimportant /191/ center, with no possibility for growth. Boxed-in, very hot valley.

Idikel

In the Tamanrasset wadi 15 kilometers south of Amsel. Difficult to reach by auto. Three foggara and two tanout. Large amount of cultivable land but endangered by the big floods of the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tiguenouine

In the Tamanrasset wadi seven kilometers south of Tamanrasset. A large amount of tahli at the Amelalouline tiggert. Three foggara, abundant water.

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/191 cont. / Centers located on the In-Azaoua road

Izerzi

Fifteen kilometers south of Tamanrasset in the Izerzi wadi. A long-abandoned center revived in 1952.

Talan Téhédit

A long-abandoned center 20 kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Cultivated since 1951. Abundant water. Tiggert, tahli. Garden owners: Adjouh n'Téhéle and Tédjéhé n'Néfis. Three foggara and two tanout. Possibility for growth.

Ifok

Thirty kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Running water, tiggert, tahli. The gardens are upstream and downstream from the tiggert. Two foggara and three tanout. A frequently abandoned center.

Region of the Atakor

Ilaman (altitude: 2, 000 meters).

Highest center in the Ahaggar. Abandoned for a long time, traces of nine former foggara.

At the present time the village of Ilaman has a dozen residents. One foggara and two tanout are in operation. The Dag Rali own the gardens; their millet silos give the village a curious appearance.

Terhénanet (altitude: 1, 950 meters)

Located in the Terhénanet wadi on the edge of the Taessa massif. /192/ Like the village of Ilaman the village of Terhenanet is at the side of the road leading to the Asekrem. A small guelta is found downstream from the gardens. An unimportant center: about ten residents, two living foggara, four dead ones.

Centers of the southeastern Atakor

Tarahouaout (altitude: 1, 317 meters) -- (Fort Motylinski)

Located in the Tarahouaout wadi 80 kilometers from Tamanrasset by the automobile road. It was the administrative

103 /192 cont. / capital of the Ahaggar from 1908 to 1921. One
361 may see the old bordj overlooking the wadi, as well as old
621 houses at the foot of the cliff.

An important center, it is the fief of the Adjouh n'Téhélé tribe. Fifty-two hectares are cultivable, irrigated by ten foggara. There are numerous tanout. Fruit trees are in decline but there are still fig trees, apricot trees, and vines.

[172] Numerous pre-Islamic tombs are evidence of a very ancient occupation of this water point. Three rock-drawing sites exist on ridges downstream from the bordj.

Six kilometers downstream from the gardens, an enormous stand of tahli announces the entrance to very narrow gorges, in which one may follow over a distance of ten kilometers a veritable stream connecting a string of guelta. This is perhaps the most important permanent flow of water in the Ahaggar.

In-Dalag (altitude: 1, 450 meters)

Located in the In-Dalag wadi, this very important center extends over a length of 15 kilometers. The water table is fed by waters running from the southeast of the Atakor and from the Ahélégheg djebel. The Adjouh n'Téhélé own the gardens. In dry periods this center is partly abandoned, as well as the small villages downstream: Tehi n'Oudi, Tin-Tsoumar, Tabarakaten, In-Tinsi, In-Tolouline.

There are five foggara at In-Dalag. Downstream from the cultivated centers gorges are found where great numbers of tahli grow.

/193/ Tahifet

An important center located in the wadi of the same name 50 kilometers north of Tarhaouaout. The Adjouh n'Téhélé are owners of the gardens. The cultivable surface comes to 22 hectares; there are eight foggara. Six kilometers downstream from the gardens is a tiggert surrounded by a large amount of spontaneous vegetation. The site is very picturesque.

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/193 cont. / Centers of the northern Atakor

Ideles

Very important center in the Tarouda wadi, overlooked by the Adrar Tadéraz. The village is located on the automobile road from Tamanrasset to Djanet 265 kilometers from Tamanrasset. The village consists of a bordj and an infirmary, as well as numerous stone houses. The residents, who number about 300, were originally from the Tidikelt. The ruins of an old ksar may be seen.

The gardens belong to the Kel Rela, the Dag Rali, the Kel Tazolé, and the Kel Amguid. The cultivable area amounts to about 40 hectares, irrigated by eight foggara and about ten tanout. About 300 palm trees are fairly well cared for; there are also numerous fig trees and vines.

Amenselane

Very small center six kilometers from Ideles. One foggara. Numerous tahli near the tiggert.

Tazerouk

A center which used to be very important but whose cultivable land is often carried off in pieces during big floods. Located 188 kilometers from Tamanrasset by the Ideles automobile road. The population is made up of freed Negroes who own the gardens but whose laziness has jeopardized this favored oasis. The altitude is 1, 896 meters; two wheat harvests per year are possible. The cultivable area amounts to 45 hectares, with hardly half of it sown. Enormous, untended fig trees grow, /194/ as well as very many peach trees and apricot trees. The summer climate at Tazerouk is the most pleasant in the Ahaggar.

In the wadis which end at Tazerouk, agricultural centers are established during the rainy years; these are: Sellemaï, Ihebert, Teberbert, Taouakim, Tin-Ezzar.

Tizzeit

Unimportant center, long abandoned, now cultivated, located on the camel trail from Ideles to Tazerouk. Land

103 /194 cont./ belongs to the Ibardjien, an ancient tribe on the
361 way to extinction, redoubtable mountaineers and clever hunters
621 of wild sheep. Alkaline spring, tanout. Vines, fig trees, and numerous palms.

Tin-Founès

Abandoned center located on the Amadror road; numerous untended palms.

Hirafok (altitude: 1, 510 meters)

Located in the Hirafok wadi, on the automobile road from Tamanrasset to Ideles. The gardens run lengthwise and are well tended. Twenty-four hectares of cultivable land irrigated by five foggara and five tanout. A few fig trees. A bordj is constructed by the side of the road. The wadi valley is fairly well wooded; there is a tiggert downstream.

Im-Amguel (altitude: 1, 037 meters)

Large agricultural center located in the In-Amguel wadi on the road from Tamanrasset to In-Salah, 144 kilometers from Tamanrasset. A bordj and an infirmary. Four hundred residents. Ten foggara water well-tended gardens. There are some 100 palm trees, half of which are dokkar. Vines, fig trees, apricot trees, peach trees. Poultry.

Ifrok

Upstream from In-Amguel on the automobile road from Ideles. A center long abandoned, now cultivated. One foggara. The wadi is very well wooded.

Tasakimt

An abandoned center located between Ideles and Tazerouk. One tiggert upstream from which existed a foggara and four /195/ tanout. Abundant vegetation consisting of fersig and oleander.

Centers of the Tefedest

Mertoutek

A center in decline. There now exist two living foggara compared to ten before. Altitude: 1, 450 meters. Located in

103 /195 cont./ the Mertoutek wadi, to the east of the Tefedest,
361 260 kilometers from Tamanrasset. A few fruit trees. Im-
●621 portant rock-drawing sites (Coche-Chasseloup-Laubat, Lelubre and M. Cousin sites).

In-Amertek

Abandoned center downstream from Mertoutek.

Ohet

Abandoned center to the northwest of the Tefedest. Two dead foggara. Land belonging to the Tédjéhé Mellet.

Adenek

Abandoned center in the Adenek wadi at the confluence of the Dehine wadi. Land belonging to the Kel Tefedest. There still remain a few fig trees and vines.

Abezzou

Abandoned center, land belonging to the Kel In-Rhar and Eouen n'Hada. Only a few zéribas and traces of guemoun are evidence of former cultivation.

Dehine

Center located six kilometers north of Mertoutek. Abandoned. There remain a few palms and fig trees as reminders of a former prosperity.

Other agricultural centers

Silet (altitude: 775 meters)

Located 151 kilometers from Tamanrasset on the road to Tin-Zaouaten. The Silet wadi forms a large basin which receives the waters of the Tahelra. There is a very shallow water table, which makes it possible for palms to grow without irrigation. There are about 6, 000 palms which receive practically /196/ no care. Artificial fecundation is rarely practiced. This palm grove was created about 200 years ago by Arabs from the Tidikelt. The owners of the palms are some Kel Rela, Iklan Taoussit, and Dag Rali. An attempt to establish a palm grove has been made by the Annex with djebars of Téguezza.

103 /196 cont. / Some ten residents live at Silet and cultivate
361 small gardens irrigated by three foggara. A bordj. Ruins of
621 an old Arab fort. Numerous pre-Islamic tombs.

Tibeghim

Five kilometers from Silet. Small palm grove in a semi-wild state, which gives it a very picturesque appearance. The palms belong to the Kel Rela and the Iklan Taoussit.

A'ltoklane

Center located in the Sersouf wadi 40 kilometers south of Tazerouk. Long abandoned, now cultivated. Far from the automobile roads, this center is rarely visited. The cultivable area is great.

Tin-Tarabin

In the Tin-Tarabin wadi, away from the automobile roads, this center is rarely visited. Abandoned, then revived a short time ago. This center could prosper, for the cultivable area is large.

Tadjmout

Located on the road from Tamanrasset to In-Salah in the intra-tassili depression of the Mouydir tassili. A few gardens belonging to the Kel Immidir. Palm trees (about 100 grow freely in the gorge one kilometer from the road).

Izghan -- Izeghaf -- Djoraf

Abaondoned centers in the interior of the tassili massif. Numerous palms belonging to the Kel Immidir and the Kel Ahnet. These sites are never visited and remain unknown to all.

Tin-Teredjine

Upstream in the Teredjine wadi (In-Guezzam road). Tiggert, abundant water, abandoned garden. Tomatoes /197/ grow without being cared for. An Adjouh n'Téhélé family gathers them from time to time.

Inroudiden

In the Tahelra massif (south of Tiffert), in the Inozzorou wadi, a tributary of the Tinef. Owners: Iklan Taoussit. Unimportant.

Isernan and Sédéouen

During rainy years, gardens are established upstream from the tiggert in these two wadis, tributaries of the In-Dalag wadi.

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614 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member
591 of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two
[482] tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should
[472] pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a
611 tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is
[428] valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in
[565] vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed
614 by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one par-
613 ticular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area
565 which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are
631 named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also
423 attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have
[643] particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339).
[162] Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory
[578] of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names –
613 generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections
621 within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4-6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

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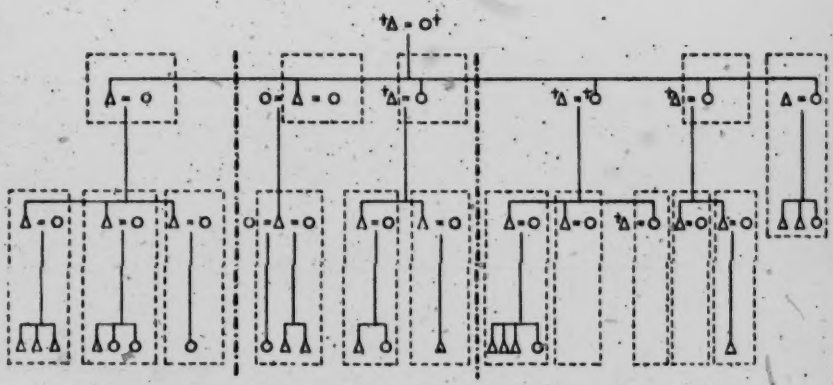

Fig. 105. The section camp of the *Kel Ayernen* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aguh-en-tehli*). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated Fig. 103. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Ayr whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

[591]

614 also the representative of the section towards the tribal chief, should preferably be elected. The members
613 of one section will frequently intermarry with members of another particular section, but members
621 of a section will generally marry into more than one particular section and sometimes into sections
[592] of foreign tribes.

613 When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are
621 split up into minor camps of 2–7 tents. These minor camps generally consist of an extended family
596 which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually
*233 owned and every tent or household is self-supporting – "it has its own churning bag and its own millet
[592] bag", as the Tuareg put it. The section camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small goat-herding camps which constitute extended families, but the small camps within the section camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres
[476] between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small goat-herding camps of a section
[484] join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp of a section is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which tasks a goat-herding camp cannot spare the labour. Should the small goat-herding camps of a section be unable to remain together, they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A section camp is illustrated in
361 the diagram below (Fig. 105). The formation of such camps is not generally possible without annual
621 pasture, and section camps are particularly common in the *Dag Rali* tribe resident mainly in the
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Fig. 106. A small goat-herding camp of three related households. The inmates have not erected their skin tents, but have their luggage and their household utensils hanging upon posts (left). In the hot daytime the people live in the shade of the rock (right). Ahaggar (the *Atakor* zone), the *Dag Rali* tribe (the *Kel Tamanraset* section).

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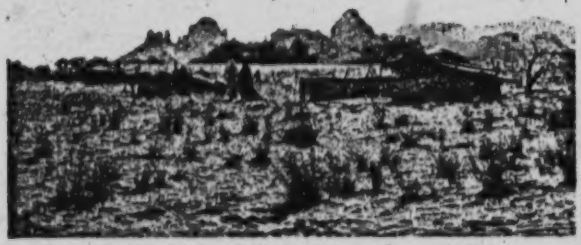

Fig. 107. A camp of four skin tents. Tasili-n-Ajjer, the *Uraren* tribe.

361 *Atakor* zone. In this area kin groups of five or six generations, comprising about twenty tents, may
621 form a section camp for long periods. Thus I was told that all members of the *Kel Tamanraset* section
*233 camped together in the same place for eight months of the year 1952. Among the Tuareg, who have their grazing grounds mainly in the *Aboda* country, section camps are not so easily formed as annual pasture springs up less frequently. People of such tribes as the *Iklan-en-tawsit*, the *Tégehé-n-Efis*, and part of the *Agub-en-tehlé* tribe, generally live in goat-camps, which are often smaller than those of the *Dag Rali* tribe of the *Atakor* region. Where goats feed mainly on acacias it is not possible to keep
[829] such large flocks together as when grazing consists of fresh or dry annual plants. Acacia leaves are very important for fodder and their fruit-pods are still more valuable, but the trees grow scattered and consequently fodder is not so concentrated. We see again how stock-breeding among the Ahaggar Tuareg is an industry adapted to environment. The size of camps is determined by natural conditions.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



outlined above from Ahaggar, with the exception that the Ayr Tuareg have never practised the one year's stay in the bride's family camp after marriage. To-day the *Kel Ferwan* tribes of Southern Ayr do not follow very strictly any particular rule of residence. There is a strong tendency to patrilocal residence, but a man will usually continue to live with kinsmen of the camp where he was brought up as a child. If a man has grown up with maternal relatives owing to the loss of his father as a boy, or because his mother and father have divorced, he may remain with matrilineal relatives. I believe that all tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group of Southern Ayr are bilateral kin groups. And if in the past these Tuareg practised the rules of residence outlined above from Ahaggar, the tribes have been bilateral units as there have always been many marriages contracted between people of different tribes. Two tribes of Ayr, namely the *Imezzureg* and the *Kel Akerra*, claim that they have intermarried regularly from very ancient times, because the father of the *Kel Akerra* tribe was the brother of the mother of the *Imezzureg* tribe, while the father of the *Imezzureg* was a cross-cousin of *Kel Akerra*'s mother. These two tribes possess their individual chiefs, but have always been very mixed. It seems as if chiefs were elected according to matrilineal rules in the past, but to-day it is claimed that a son of a deceased chief should be the first in line of succession (cf. p. 456 ff.).

In Southern Ayr camps of all possible tribes to-day live among each other. There are no grazing grounds or particular territories nowadays when everybody is free to go where he likes with flocks and herds. No Tuareg have particular rights over land, and ban on grazing within certain areas, as in Ahaggar, is unknown. This is said also to have been the case in the past. But in the times preceding the French occupation of Ayr, all vassal tribes had their particular territories which, according to Capot-Rey, were formerly marked by walls (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). I have not been able to confirm this, but the Tuareg told me that in the past tribal territories had frontiers marked out by river valleys or by natural objects such as large trees. The vassal tribes did not own these territories, which were allotted them by the drum-chief of the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe, the *Irawatten*. The traditional territories or grazing grounds of most *Kel Ferwan* tribes are indicated in the list on p. 423 ff.

At present there seem to be no sectional division of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes corresponding to the division into sections in Ahaggar. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg generally live in small camps comprising a few tents. These camps, which co-operate in stock-herding, do not generally exceed four or five tents inhabited by kinsmen who generally constitute an extended family, e.g., (1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children; (2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children; (3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children; (4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband. These small camps, as may be seen, are not based upon any particular rule of residence in agreement with what has been said of residence rules above. The households of a little camp of this kind will remain constantly together to co-operate not only in goat-herding, but generally in camel-breeding also. The labour for camel-herding and caravan trading is more easily provided for in Ayr than in Ahaggar. For camels are rarely taken to very distant grazing grounds, and caravan trading is often limited to expeditions to Damergu where the Tuareg fetch their millet. The Tuareg tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group living around Agadez have no true co-operative units apart from the small camps of up to four or five tents. Such small camps of extended families may temporarily join each other in a bigger camp during the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



361 *akasa* period when there is green annual pasture, but the large camps have no co-operative functions
621 and no particular leader. The small camps join together to form big camps because their members are linked to each other by bonds of kinship, and consequently like to come together.

361 Most of the year the Ayr Tuareg live in very small camps around wells, and certain camps remain
221 on almost the same spot throughout the year. However, most camps move about in the *akasa* period, and later, at the end of the rains, many camps move southwards and westwards to the salt plains of Azawaq.

## DIVISION OF LABOUR IN STOCK-BREEDING

462 Before we consider other activities, we shall briefly describe the division of labour in stock-breeding according to sex.

462 In all Tuareg groups noble women do very little work. They engage in a few very esteemed crafts
565 such as embroidery, neat decoration of leather work, and in the north they cut ornamented milk-
[567] bowls from wood. The true domestic duties of a noble household are performed by slaves. This to some extent is also true of other social classes among the Northern Tuareg, while the Ayr Tuareg vassals have very few slaves nowadays. But even in vassal camps among the Northern Tuareg women have their duties and engage in all kinds of domestic work, also in stock-breeding. In the two groups
462 of Northern Tuareg the division of work in stock-breeding can be seen when one enters a tent of a
*233 vassal camp:—
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[566] One half of the tent (the left part) is occupied by the woman and contains such implements as are connected with tanning, leather-work, cooking, butter- and cheese-making, and generally all implements connected with the breeding of goats, sheep, and donkeys. The other half of the tent (the right part), occupied by the husband, contains saddles and all other objects connected with camels. The tending of goats, sheep, and donkeys is the task of women, while camel-breeding is the business of men.

462 Before initiation Tuareg boys may be occupied with herding goats, sheep, and donkeys, but when
*233 they have adopted the veil they should preferably take care of camels only. There are, however, a
[567] few occasions where men engage in tasks connected with goats and donkeys:—

Goats like any other animal can be killed only by adult men, who also undertake the skinning and partition of the meat.

Castration of he-goats and rams may be done by men, but it is said that it is also performed by women.

When goats suffer from certain diseases they may in a few very special cases be taken care of by men. Thus when a goat has broken a leg and wooden splints are applied to the fracture this is generally performed by the husband of the household to which the animal belongs.

When goats and sheep are lost in the desert they may be searched for by men mounted on camels.

On the whole there are not many situations where the assistance of men is needed in tending goats and sheep, and most men have so little to do with goat-breeding that they do not know the exact meaning of many colour terms for goats.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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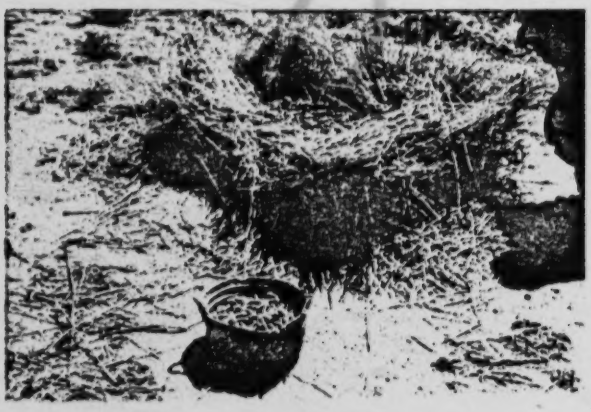

Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tezennut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*énéll*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Akl Azzi* Arabs.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
173 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers
[563] though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of
162 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isawerren*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
563 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
433 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
245 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
221
463

Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
162 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula-
144 tion that subsisted on agriculture.
433
[174]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



houses I saw at Djelfa in the Sahara Atlas. Further south in the true desert, and also in adjacent parts of the Sudan, mud houses have flat roofs. We see that mud houses are not limited to any particular environmental zone, and as a matter of fact they occur in the Sudanese zone even though they are not particularly well fitted for its climate. This fact has been emphasized by Capot-Rey who believes it an indication that mud houses have been imported from other regions (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 231 f.). 342* 171

There are two distinct types of mud houses in the Sahara. The common type is that built of sun-dried bricks. It is found in many oases and also in Sudanese towns and cities, including Agadez, where some houses are decorated with reliefs or paintings on the facades – a custom which to my knowledge is unknown further north in the desert. The other type of mud house is constructionally rather different from that built of sun-dried bricks. It is built of cones or balls of mud piled upon each other before they are dried in the sun. The distribution of such constructions is unknown. They are mentioned by Nicolas from Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt (Nicolas 1938, p. 67), and I have myself seen houses built in this way at these two towns. In Ayr there are very few mud houses built of sun-dried bricks except in Agadez, Ingal, and Tegidda-n-tésemt. In Ahaggar there are mud houses at Tamanrasset and at Abalessa, but these dwellings are not common at other cultivation centres where most people have other dwelling types.

A.2. *Houses built of stones and mud.* 342*

Solid houses of this type occur in certain Ayr villages (e.g., Awderas). In some houses the rather heavy walls are built of mud into which the stones have been inserted, while the walls of other houses appear to be built of stones kept together by a thin layer of mud between them. In this latter case mud balls may substitute for stones, as mentioned by Rodd (Rodd 1926a, p. 238 ff.). The Ayr houses can be rectangular or square. Some houses have two or three rooms (cf. Fig. 246), but very few of the houses seem to be inhabited. The houses always have flat roofs in which wooden drain pipes are inserted. They do not generally have a closed courtyard at the front as have Arab mud houses.

Houses built of stones and mud are also found in certain villages of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer and are inhabited to-day by agriculturists. In Abalessa they are mixed with true mud houses, the settlement being divided into four quarters as follows:— (1) *Arakayna* which is inhabited by black-skinned agriculturists known as *Ikewweren* who are said to have immigrated from Tasilé-n-Ajjer. (2) *Bukhelfa* which is inhabited mainly by agriculturists whose ancestors were Tuareg slaves in Ahaggar. (3) *Éfeli-n-Dag Rali* mainly inhabited by agriculturists (*Harratin*) who have immigrated from Tidikelt. (4) *Tindar* which is inhabited exclusively by agriculturists of Tidikelt. The two first village quarters are situated close to each other and have houses built of stone and mud in contrast to the two last quarters which are inhabited by Arabic-speaking *Harratin* who live in true mud houses of the Arab type. [62] [162]

A.3. *Houses with dry walls.*

In Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in Ayr I have seen a few house ruins with walls of stones, but I was not able to judge whether the stones were originally kept together by thin layers of clay or similar material.

174 It seems to have existed in ancient times among all the Hamites. Frobenius sees traces of it in traditional customs which leave the raising of the tent to the women and give them a monopoly on leatherwork. These singular characteristics reveal the primordial nature of the sentiment of life among the Hamites. (1)

1. In Jenson, "Les orbes culturels de l'Afrique /Culture Spheres of Africa/, " L'Afrique, Cahiers d'art, 1931.

428 554 622 Among the Ihaggaren, the wife wills her social and political rights to her children. These are particularly important when it is a question of the succession of a chief. Political filiation of the first degree is made to the brother; in the second degree to the eldest son of the maternal aunt; in the third degree, to the eldest son of the eldest sister, which constitutes a guarantee for blood descent in the line of chiefs.

184 622 The Ioullimmiden /Aulliminden/ do not practice political succession according to matriarchal rules. The explorer Barth has even reported that they consider this custom shameful "and show that the chief has little confidence in his wife's virtue." (2)

2. Voyages et découvertes en Afrique /Travels and Discoveries in Africa/, vol. I, p. 205.

174 Though command is now the privilege of the men, it is not impossible that in the past women were invested with power. We have evidence of it in the story of the Berber queen, Kahéna, who for a long time resisted the Arab invaders who were trying to conquer Aurès in the eighth century. The legend of Ti-n-Hinan, maternal ancestor of the Ihaggaren Tuareg, leads us to believe that the woman was their queen. In 1475, a Berber fraction settled

631 781 [794] The Dăg Râli are the most pious people in the Ahaggar. The majority of them are affiliated with the order of the Tijanyyah, although some of them adhere to the Sanusiyyah and the order of the Qādiriyyah; these affiliations seem to be purely formal, however, for, with a few exceptions, they do not follow the rites of these religious orders.

797 The activity of Father de Foucauld was particularly effective in this tribe. Because of his installation at Tamanrasset and later at his hermitage at Ăsekrem, Father de Foucauld was in constant contact with the Dăg Râli. At first they were mistrustful of him, but they were not long in coming to him, and they were the first beneficiaries of his good deeds, for the Father went to them, caring for the sick and rendering them many services.

[622] Their chief, Ouksem ag Ourar, was a short, stocky man of average intelligence, but very crafty, especially when it was a question of material interest for him or even that of his people. /193/ He saw the benefit that he could draw from this getting together. Little by little the priest did his best to conquer him and win his affection, and he supported his interests with the authorities of Fort Motylinski. Thus, a few months later, Ouksem was completely won over.

[648] Ouksem gained a certain importance with the authorities, which made him proud and which he knew he owed to Father de Foucauld.

622 631 797 [648] Later on he was a good help in the pacification of the Ahaggar. During the dissidence of 1915, he showed himself very eager to please us, which made Father de Foucauld write to General Laperrine: "Ouksem, chief of the Dăg Râli, could not be better; he does not cease to make progress. It is evident that he is bent not only on being faithful, but on showing his fidelity in a dazzling way by his attitude." He did nothing without asking the Father's advice, and he followed this advice by creating a garden at the Ilâman wadi in order to use the waters which descended from the mountain. [777] This garden was established, and to flatter this meritorious effort which was an example, Ouksem received the Medal of Agricultural Merit, a unique feat in the annals of the Tuareg even up to the present

622 631 717 time. Unfortunately the garden was abandoned after Father de Foucauld was gone.

Although it is difficult to imagine, Father de Foucauld had even thought of Ouksem ag Ourar as a possible amenokal, against all Tuareg social rules.

But what remains of all that? The dead are quickly forgotten among the Tuareg, and although Ouksem may recall from time to time that the marabout was his good friend, it is to be presumed that he, no more than his Dăg Râli, understood the devotion and the affection which was to cost the life of the hermit in the Sahara.

631 The Ikechchemâden, whom we have mentioned previously, have always lived near the Dăg Râli, with whom they used to form only a single tribe. Upon the distribution of the Imrad, they became the vassals of the Tăîtok, but they remained with the Dăg Râli and contracted numerous unions with them so that it is difficult to tell them apart. And so, in 1907, they asked to be attached to the tobol of the Kel Rela.

173 631 The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. -- The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé form the most important Imrad tribe in the Ahaggar after the Dăg Râli. They are said to have formerly nomadized in the neighborhood of In /194/ Gall in Aïr and have emigrated into the Ahaggar because of the demands of the Sultan of Agadez on whom they originally depended. The latter had polygamous mores and each year demanded of them a young and pretty virgin. Tired of this custom, which was contrary to Tuareg mores, they left the country and came to place themselves under the protection of the amenokal of the Kel Rela, Younès, the son (?) of Kella (ca. 1700). (The version reported by Mr. Benhazéra says "son of Mohamed el Kheir.")

Before coming to seek protection from the Ihăggaren, they belonged to the tribe of the Tégéhé-n-Élimen, a name by which they are still called sometimes. One fraction of this tribe remained in Aïr and bears the name of Ir'Alaman or Kel Rapsa. They were the ones chiefly responsible for founding the Ghat oasis.

101 country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote,
166 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the
131 latest major episodes in a general southwest-
ward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

The military administrative unit known as
631 the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds fairly closely to the present normal range of
[101] the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabit-
[161] ants in 1950), and supports a total native population of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

Accurate population figures for nomadic
162 peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a
197 form of Senhadjan Berber.

**Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided
619 into confederations as we have seen, and these are divided into tribes which are subdivided
565 into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] [a] A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

[b] Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in
551 as many different ways as are the geographical names
104 of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

● 622 [c] A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

565 three main classes, the Tuareg nobles (fig. 46) and vassals (fig. 47) and the Negro slaves.

Rank seems to be essentially a quality of the 565 clan rather than of the individual, for the 614 Tuareg commonly speak of "noble clans" and "vassal clans," and, when one is in doubt about [554] a person's social status, one does not ask what his rank is but what clan he belongs to. The "tobol,"[6] the symbol of precedence, is clan property and belongs to no particular family, although it is kept by the chief of the premier clan of a tribe as the symbol of his authority.

The Ahaggar confederation comprises three 619 tribes, the Kel Rela, the Tégéhé Mellet and the 614 Taïtoq, each headed by a noble clan which gives its name to the tribe as a whole[7] (figs. 25, 26, *b* and 27). Noble clans by definition outrank vassal clans, so that the chief of a noble Ahaggar clan is usually chief of his tribe as well. The noble clans and their dependent vassal clans with them are arranged in an order of precedence, and so the chief of the premier [643] clan (the *Kel Rela*) is also chief of the Kel Rela tribe and paramount chief (*Amenokal*) of the Ahaggar confederation.

It is men who govern at all levels of Ahaggar 614 society. Among the Tuareg a tribal chief is ●622 chosen from the premier clan of the tribe by 562 a clan council made up of the male heads of households, but he must be confirmed in office by a council of male representatives of all the component clans of his tribe because his tenure depends materially on the willingness of these clans to pay him tribute. For the same reason, the final confirmation of an amenokal rests with a council made up of male representatives of all the clans in the whole confederation. Tribal chiefs also act as judges, and an amenokal is the chief justice of his confederation.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary in the female line,[8] but within fairly broad and seemingly rather indefinite limits of degree of relation-

thereabouts, but this succession may not have been thought of as brother-to-brother inheritance after all. It seems perhaps more likely that the successor in such a case is looked on as an heir of the former chief's mother rather than of the former chief himself. Ancient Egyptian records, cited by Bates (1914, p. 112), tell of at least one Libyan chief who was succeeded by his younger brother in preference to his son. It would be a waste of time for us to try to explain the few early cases of father-to-son inheritance that have been reported because the circumstances surrounding them are not at all clear.

622 ship, and so an undesirable heir-apparent can easily be passed over in favor of a less direct heir who is considered acceptable (Butaye, 1957).

614 The position of an Ahaggar Tuareg clan is not firmly fixed within the framework of the confederation. Component clans will sometimes break away from one tribe in times of adversity and attach themselves to another and more powerful tribe that is better able to protect them. In the old days vassal clans were sometimes swapped back and forth between noble clans, and so had their tribal allegiance changed for them more or less arbitrarily. At least one clan, the Ibotenaten, has been reduced from noble to vassal status, in this case by a crushing defeat suffered in the course of a blood feud. Thus the distribution of the various clans within the tribal framework of the confederation tends to change gradually [578] over the years, while internal tribal crises and intertribal warfare naturally accelerate the process.

[582] Marriage is usually although not always within the clan but outside the first degree of 614 cousinship and outside the camp community 611 or fraction. A child of Tuareg parents inherits rank and privileges through the mother, re- 428 gardless of whether she is a member of the father's clan or not; but the child is known as "Such-and-such, child of So-and-so," the parent thus referred to being the father, and inheritance of property follows Moslem law (*see* the Koran, iv, 12 and 175) which provides that a male heir shall receive twice as much as a female heir who is related to the deceased in the same degree. Today a Targui, asked to give his ancestry, will recite the list of male forebears in his father's line, although Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 321) tells us that in the 14th century descent was counted through the mother's brother, and a man's heirs were his sister's children rather than his own. Bates (1914, p. 112), citing Duveyrier (1864, p. 397), says that property acquired by force of arms used to be inherited by "the eldest son of the eldest sister of the deceased."

591 A newly married couple live in the camp of the bride's parents for about a year and then usually move over to a camp of the husband's people, but they sometimes settle permanently among the clansfolk of the bride if she and her

611 patrilineal elements being present together in
a single complex from its beginning, and we
121 have no good reason to suppose that this tenta-
tive assumption may not be equally applicable
to the Tuareg. But we are hedged about with
lack of information. We are faced here with
yet another instance of the futility of empiri-
cal deduction unsupported by adequate field
investigation of the culture concepts that lie
at the root of our problem.

**Land Tenure and Tribute.** The Amenokal of
423 the Ahaggar is said to be "the owner of the
643 land" by virtue of his position as paramount
chief of a warrior aristocracy. We are inclined
to suspect, however, that this may be an over-
simplification of the case, for the land of the
various tribes that make up the Ahaggar con-
federation is apparently treated as basically
communal property, the title to which is
vested in each succeeding Amenokal as an ex-
ecutive trustee rather than as a proprietor.
This brings out the very important point that
the Amenokal of the Ahaggar Tuareg seems
to be essentially a chief executive and not a
true king or autocratic chief in the commonly
accepted sense of those terms. And, theoreti-
cally at least, he can be forced out of office
by popular demand. All things considered, his
position is not so very different in fact from
643 that of the President of the United States.

622 The Amenokal and the noble tribal chiefs
565 under him collect tribute from those whose
[651] destinies they control, but they are also sup-
posed to protect these people by force of arms
when necessary. When the warriors of a noble
[721] clan go raiding they often take the men of one
or more of their vassal clans along, and these
vassals receive a substantial share of plunder
if the raid is a success, but vassals also have
an obligation to fight at the side of their noble
masters in intertribal wars.

Each vassal clan holds exclusive pasturage
423 rights to a definite territory upon which no
[565] one else may enter, without express permission
of the Amenokal, excepting noble clans who
are always free to use the pastures of their
own vassals as and when they please. Some
men also hold exclusive hunting rights to
certain specified areas. Many Tuareg own
garden plots in agricultural centers, and some-
times date palms and fruit trees of other kinds
as well, all of which holdings are now par-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:– 582

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 3 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan 614
and eight in the three sub-clans of the Agouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the
sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up in [361]
minor camps of 2–7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family 621
which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals 476
are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big [596]
camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps [422]
consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never [613]
correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or 622
section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative of the section in relation to the clan chief *(Amyar)*. These khalifas are not necessarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilineal as it is for clan chiefs. [614]

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8–9), but the [184]
rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between [601]
cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in 602
Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most clans.

[Text continues on p. 108]

565 /57 cont./ The harratin, who are also Negroes, are ranked
[563] as low as the iklan by the Tuareg, who have a high degree of racial prejudice.

However, there is a nuance: the "akli" (plural: "iklan") belongs to his master, the Targui; he cannot leave him, and, if he is no longer bought and sold because of the presence of the French, he considers himself the property of his master. The /58/ hartani is a free man; he may live where he wants to, do what work he will where he will; he makes contracts with the Tuareg and is dependent on them only in so far as his work is. Moreover, as a resident of the Ahaggar, he must observe the customs of the country.

[622] He is under the authority of the village chief, who is also
[631] a hartani, responsible to the amenokal (1).

1. This ranking and this information concern the observance of custom and have nothing to do with French law, which is administered by the head of the annex and by the judicial authorities at Batna.

The harratin of the Ahaggar apparently have two possible origins. Some come from the oases of the Touat and the Tidikelt. This population movement has, it appears, always
[166] existed. The number of these harratin varies; there is, in fact, a continual coming and going between the Ahaggar and the oases of the north, according with the dry and wet years.

The other harratin are iklan who have been freed by the Tuareg. The chief cause of this emancipation is the growing
[567] poverty of the nobles and vassals, who no longer have sufficient resources to feed and clothe their domestics.

593 /149 cont./ commands." "Tuareg hospitality is characterized
562 by promiscuity, a sort of traditional prostitution." The truth is entirely different. The origin of Tuareg matriarchy is certainly lost in neolithic customs; ignorance of the process of conception may have been the cause. This familial organization led to exogamy, which tends to disappear; incest is
[635] a crime more terrible than murder. Matriarchy is the guardian of the caste system: the duty of mutual assistance bestows on the warriors (nobles) part of the fruits of others' labor and
[548] gives them ownership of the land. Prostitution does not exist; monogamy is the rule; the woman is respected. "Maternal rights," as L.-G. Richard says, "consist rather of mutual obligations than of prerogatives or advantages." There is no female liberty, for the woman owes herself to her family; in fact, she exercises no rights whatsoever; she transmits them. A custom still practiced, characteristic of matriarchy, is the requirement for the young husband to live a certain time in his wife's camp.

Let us repeat that Islam little by little is destroying the
177 matriarchal customs, particularly insofar as succession is con-
593 cerned, for they are increasingly regulated by Moslem practices.
● 622 Today, the chiefs even desire to leave their power to their sons.

/151/ VI

## Conclusion

000 The Ahaggar is, I believe, the most engaging part of the Sahara -- and I have conveyed neither the picturesqueness of the scenery, the a action it has for travelers, nor the anguish it sometimes instills in certain souls, when from October to

534 horsehair attached to the ends. During the music the player from
[237] time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum
[314] tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The amzad skins are often
decorated with painted motifs in very vivid colors, or else they
[532] are covered with tifinagh inscriptions indicating the name of the
owner and bearing love verses for the use of admirers.

Among the Ihaggaren violins are usually large, reaching as
much as 40 centimeters in diameter. In Sudanese tribes, on the
[171] other hand, they are much smaller, rarely exceeding 25 to 30
centimeters.

533 The amzad plays an important role among the Tuareg, who
really make a true cult of it. Young men go to listen to the girls
play it. After they are married, they love to hear their wives, who
charm in this way the empty hours of summer evenings. Not play-
533 ing the amzad is a punishment that the women inflict on the men,
626 and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives
593 or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no amzad,"
they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This
prospect was often sufficient to restore their courage and incite
them to go efface their defeat.

882 The ahal. -- At about the age of sixteen, boys and girls have
access to adult society and begin to participate in the ahal.

571 The word ahal means "meeting, conversation, interview." A
521 synonym for it is édéouenné. These musical and literary meetings
have a more or less peculiar nature, depending on whether or not
they are mixed with asri.

517 Asri, literally "to run with the bridle loose," means the practice
521 of some very free mores. To live in a state of asri is to exist under
571 conditions which permit one to practice loose mores. Those who
533 can be in a state of asri are pubescent boys and girls, widowers,
and divorced people of either sex.

These meetings take place near the camps in the shelter of
a wadi, but always out of the sight of old people and respectable
people of the tribe. They usually take place before the evening

174 in the Sudan, the Sanhadja-Nounou, was governed by a woman named Bikoun-Kabi, whom the Sonrhaï /Songhai/ emperor Sonni-Ali had to conquer in order to seize her territory. Es-Sadi, author of the Tarik-es-Soudan, reports several facts of this kind.

The Islamization of the Berber tribes certainly had a part in the elimination of the custom. Women no longer play any official [562] political role in our times. But they have made themselves the guardians of ancestral customs and folklore, and their authority is [626] so strong that one /154/ can only quote the answer of a Tuareg to an Arab who admonished him upon the subject of Tuareg mores: "No one would dare do otherwise, for then no woman would look at us any longer."

162 The persistence of monogamy among the Tuareg is also favored 182 by the considerable excess of men found among them, an exceptinnal 545 fact and contrary to what we observe in other human groups.

The aménokal. -- Aménokal means in Tamashek "possessor of 643 the country" (from am, possessive prefix, and akal, "country").

[192] In the Ahaggar this title is conferred only upon the supreme chief reigning over a whole of noble, vassal, or assimilated tribes. [184] In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, it may be applied to heads of fractions, indeed even to mere camp chiefs.

The aménokal is designated according to hereditary rules deriving from the matriarchal system. He is always chosen, not only in the same tribe, but in the same line which one could compare to the clan. His domination, to be effective, must be sanctioned by the approval of the nobles to whom are joined for the occasion the chiefs of vassal tribes. For the latter, approval involves an agreement to pay tribute later.

Sometimes there are several pretenders to the title; perhaps a descendant of a formerly ousted family asserts his rights, or perhaps the natural heir is recognized incapable of leadership. This brings about a competition where hereditary rules are not always respected.

564 The Tuareg, who heartily scorn them because of their obscure origin and servile profession, recognize their good qualities and are happy to profit from them. They also fear them a good deal, for [754] they credit them with supernatural powers of sorcery and magic. Possessors of fire, mistreating the earth and the minerals by beating them, they are placed in a world apart, inhabited by the genii with whom they are likely to enter into relations. Although the Moslem [751] marabouts willingly sell amulets, which the Tuareg prize, the latter do not hesitate, in case of need, to ask the Enaden for amulets in preference.

The Enaden are still more despised because they have no moral principles and willingly serve as spies and traitors; they spy on the Iklan and the wives of their masters and also act as go-between for [837] lovers. Like the jesters in our Middle Ages, they have the right to go anywhere, including among the women. Everyone finds this natural, for this is a right which is all but acknowledged.

Sometimes they take part in raids, and they are reputed to fight [726] bravely, although no one wants to stay beside them during combat, since they seem to possess talismans so powerful that javelins directed toward them deviate /175/ from their route and are apt to strike those [626] nearby. The Tuareg never kill an Enad, for this brings misfortune and the Enad might take revenge from beyond the tomb.

In Sudanese tribes they are called ag'gou (plural, ag'gouten) and 184 sometimes play the part of jesters (griot). Some are musicians and 564 storytellers. This role is not widespread, but it happens that the amenokal of the Tenguéréguif, Chéboun, has several griots attached to his person. They avenge themselves on people who are not [626] generous enough to them by making satirical songs against them to which the Tuareg are often very sensitive.

They are willing to do anything to earn a bit of money, which 564 they spend as fast as they get it. A blacksmith always has his debts, 436 but people give him credit for they know that he will be shrewd 454 enough to repay them one day.

4: Benhazera--5 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The ahal takes place very often. All that is needed is for 533
a group of men and women to be gathered together in a camp. 584
Often a man comes from a considerable distance to court the 832
girl of his choice. When the year is good, that is to say, when [361]
the rains have brought the pastures to life and the camels are
giving much milk, several camps are set up close to each other,
and the ahal begins right after sunset.

The men of the camps gather with those who have come
especially because some woman attracts them. The women
bring their "imz'aden" violins. All those attend the ahal who [602]
are not afraid to be in the presence of one of their relatives
to whom they owe respect, such as a father, uncle, older
brother, etc. Young girls, married women, divorcées or widows,
all attend the ahal.

[361]

Dautheville

Tuareg Troup at Amr'a (Black Tifedest)

Gallantry, "asri" ⵙⵓ , is required, and jealousy [577]
strictly prohibited. Besides, this latter feeling is unknown [626]
among the Tuareg, and if one of them should think of showing it, he would be booed and everyone would make fun of him.

When a Tuareg arrives at the ahal near a woman whom he wishes to court, he approaches her with his veil carefully lowered and does not greet her with the usual "essalamou r'

233 721 The Tuareg are herders. It does not seem that they ever knew any other stage of civilization, except hunting which is the prelude to animal husbandry. But even by judicious use of pasturage they cannot own a great number of domestic animals, and in the last analysis herding falls into the background in their means of existence. Since the country could not feed them, they had to look elsewhere for what they lacked. They therefore looked to their sabers for the rest.

181 721 Like the majority of herders, the perpetually famished Tuareg are born warriors, because from time immemorial they have had to dispute the rich lands with the sedentary peoples. Their free life has made them independent and anarchistic. The wealth /215/ of others has not inspired any respect in them, but rather a sentiment of envy which no moral rule has been able to check. Pillage has thus been raised to the state of an institution, and the Tuareg have become masters of the trade.

721 [182] The raid, now a continual state of war with their neighbors, may be considered the principal social achievement of the Tuareg. And thus we may see the important role that the Ahaggar Mountains play; they are not only a refuge for life, but also a refuge for brigands who want to shelter themselves from the possible investigations of their victims.

579 627 The raid is organized, even ordered, pillage. It is an institution with its rules which the antagonists respect. Its simplest form is taking the neighbor's herds; once the deed is done, the raider makes a deal with him and compromises by giving him back a certain number of animals so that he can subsist, keeping for himself what is judged to be the surplus. The complicated form occurs when the attacked man defends himself or tries to take back his property. That can lead to pitched battles and, as a consequence, dead men. From that time on, it is fratricidal war which demands blood and which creates eternal hatred.

That was what the life of the Ahaggar Tuareg was before the French occupation.

586 refusing herself is a case for divorce, but disgrace is then thrown on the woman, who is rarely able to remarry afterwards. The man has only to say to his wife, "I send you back to your parents," to break the marriage. But more /295/ often he hides what he is doing and sends his wife home to her family for a few days. He then delegates an old woman from his camp to announce the breaking of the marriage to the wife's parents.

If the husband has instigated the divorce, the bride price remains the property of the wife's parents, but in any case the children remain the property of the father.

587 The woman cannot remarry before three months and ten days.
587 This forced retirement for women, which is prescribed by the Koran, is called ettef or ellouddet in Tuareg language. The women themselves are called tannanleft during this period. When this period has ended, her parents and the people of her camp organize a little celebration to announce that the woman is resuming her life of "free mores."

587 Many women do not want to undergo this retirement, and to
587 escape it they shift the responsibility onto a tree called agar in
824 Tamashek (Maerua crassifolia). They address the tree as if it were a person and say to it: "Agar, relieve me of my retirement which weighs on me too much; take the burden upon yourself." They place at the foot of the tree, by way of an offering, some antimony powder, a little perfume, and a fragment of cloth, which symbolize the attributes of a woman in the state of asri. Then, without waiting any longer, they resume their life of free mores.

587 If the husband wishes to take his repudiated wife back, a new marriage is necessary and a new bride price, smaller than the first, must be paid to the woman's parents.

Murder. -- Murder is rather rare among the Tuareg. It is
682 punished by retaliation when it was premeditated and by material
628 compensation in other cases. The vendetta, which was formerly common among the Tuareg, has disappeared, making way for the dia, or tax of blood. The custom sometimes demanded that the

682 assassin be returned to the victim's family. If he was not known,
628 however, the djema, or assembly of notables, designated a man
from the tribe to go make himself prisoner in his place. There is
[692] no example of the hostage's having been put to death in such a
[643] case. Serious cases were usually judged by the amenokal, who was
aided by four assessors, two taken from each side.

762 /296/ Suicide. -- Suicide is as rare as murder among the
Tuareg. When one occurs, the person who committed suicide is
[766] abandoned on the ground unburied, and the camp is moved and
abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the
Tuareg regard the suicide as if he had never existed and must
never speak of him again.

Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with
oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his
life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

[775] The soul of a suicide cannot find refuge and wanders forever.
It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and
people claim that they can hear it nearby in the evening and that
it makes so much noise that it is impossible to sleep.

[761] Death. -- The Tuareg do not fear death. When one of them
sees that he is dying, he gathers his relatives around him and gives
763 his last instructions. Then, according to the religious principles
which he may have neglected during his life but which he recalls
at the final moment, he pronounces the "Fatika /fatiha? Ed./" or
[29] if he does not have the strength for that, he raises the index finger
of his right hand and breathes his last.

764 The body is immediately washed in lukewarm water and
wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the
[567] slaves go to dig the grave on a neighboring high spot. The grave
is made of a little trench with two stages such as the Arabs use.
[482 The body is carried on a kind of stretcher ans taken to the burial
417] place, head first, by four men. It is then placed on its right side
with the face turned in the direction of Mecca.

more chivalrous Imochar and a few rare Imrad try to oppose this, but in warlike escapades the Iklan and people with few morals are often more numerous than the others.

Abuses of women always called for vengeance, which the adversaries usually received before long. Acts of this kind were enough to raise up entire tribes against one another. And so, in the Sudan, the exactions of Marabout Abidine's people on the Kel Ádrar Tuareg, at the time of the murder of their amenokal Safikroum in 1912, made irreconcilable enemies of these two fractions.

At the beginning of the French occupation, when lieutenants Cottenest and Guilho-Lohan carried out their reconnaissance missions in the Ahaggar, they found women abandoned in the camps by their husbands. The good care which was taken of them made it easier to make peaceful contact later with the Ihaggaren.

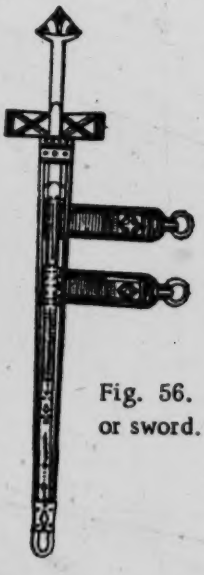

Fig. 56. The tacouba, or sword.

Tuareg weapons include iron lances, javelins with wooden staff, swords, daggers, and a buckler.

/325/ Even before the French occupation the Tuareg knew how to use firearms and possessed a certain number of guns. They were for the most part projectile weapons or archaic models of the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
692 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
●628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer.
643 The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French administration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had
692 in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
178 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
643 to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
Scale raiding.

7: Nicolaisen MS25 Tuareg MS25

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● 63
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[For an extensive list of the names of Tuareg political and other social groups or categories, including relevant page references, see category 116, pp. 534-37.]

184 from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin.
643 The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions
[173] gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out,
611 it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except
● 631 among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the
651 titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll. He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his
[644] appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/
[178] today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It
[644] benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum
[534 called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum, "
177 "cylinder of a drum. "
192]

643 644 The aménokal generally has one or two caliphs charged with taking his place or representing him with the fractions.

The amrar. -- Each tribe, called taousit, has its amrar, who, ●631 like the aménokal, is chosen according to matriarchal rules.

Amrar, in Tamashek, [192] means "the old," "the respectable," "the ancient," /158/ and by extension, [643 534] "possessor of wisdom." It is the equivalent of the Arab word "sheik."

Fig. 16. The tobol, symbol of the aménokal's command, with its "imîtkar."

The amrar is the intermediary between the people of his tribe and the aménokal. He transmits orders from the latter and sees that they are carried out. He collects the tioussé intended for the aménokal from the Imrad and sets the share that each is to pay. He settles minor disputes between the people of his tribe and fixes the pasturing zone to be used by each camp.

He takes part in the vote which sanctions the election of the aménokal and at the arollan, which discusses major decisions concerning the life of the confederation.

In a confederation subject to an aménokal, a grouping which the Ahaggar Tuareg also call tégéhé, there may be several tobol, that is, several suzerain tribes, each with its vassals. The name taousit, making double use of the word for tribe, is sometimes used to designate the whole whose chief also bears the name of amrar among the Ihǎggaren and agoalla among the Kel Aïr /Asben/.

The amrar has no characteristic symbol of command, at least [171] among the Ihǎggaren. In certain Sudanese tribes, many formerly had a drum analogous to that of the aménokal.

565 192 The Imochar. -- The Imochar (singular, Amacher) form the aristocratic class. This word means "man of dominant stock

565 /Fr. race/, " "aristocrat," and not "noble" as some have written.
[192] This would be said elli (plural, illellan) in Tamashek. (1)

1. Cf. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik, " Bulletin de l'Institut Français, Afrique Noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, pp. 579-586.

192 In Sudanese dialects, amacher, by transposition into local
197 phonetics, becomes amajer (plural, imajeuren). As we have already said, it is easy to find in these names the old Berber root amazir, which formerly referred to certain Libyan peoples and which still exists in the name of a considerable Berber fraction in Morocco.

The Imochar, who hold the political rights, are the real masters
565 of the country. All of them claim to be of sherif origin, more or
[173] less descendants of the Prophet; however, this claim has no solid foundation, except the desire to assume a high birth affiliating them to Islamism and its founder a long time back, but this is not true.

/159/ Among themselves, the Tuareg refer to men of old nobility and old stock /Fr. race/ as loumet.

565 All the Imochar are essentially warriors. They owe their high
701 social position to the saber, and they know no other occupation than
●631 war and raiding. Their role as suzerain makes them parasites of the vassal classes, and they used to constitute a scourge to caravans
[181 crossing their country. Their way of life has always been pillage,
461] and in their eyes manual labor is a disgrace which only slaves can accept.

181 Covering the desert on their camels, fighting, risking death in
565 faraway escapades -- that is what the life of a man of noble blood, who intends to remain one, must be. They take their vassals on their escapades and save part of the booty for them, by right of participation. Scorn for manual labor is a class prejudice with them

181 and not caused by a state of laziness, for although they would not
565 consider working the land at any price, they would not mind traveling thousands of kilometers under often difficult and quite dangerous conditions to go pillage opposing tribes. Once back in camp, they intend to lead a life free from any material cares, shifting the burden to their vassals.

They entrust the keeping of the captured herds to the Imrad,
422 reclaiming the beasts from them when they need them and the
565 necessary usufruct for their food. For themselves, they keep only
[231 mounts for war and for transporting household objects and are content
234] with small herds of goats with only the number of head strictly necessary to assure their daily milk needs. In the same way, they
[567] do not own many slaves of their own, for the latter would make so many months to feed, which they are wary of.

565 Although they rely on their Imrad for everything, they do not abuse them, for, as a Tuareg proverb says, "we must not kill the camel which feeds us," and their demands always take into account the wealth and the possibilities of the moment.

565 Every year the Imochar levy a vassalage tax called a tioussé
●631 on the Imrad. This tax, fixed for each tribe, includes an annual
651 contribution of a certain number of head of livestock, loads of grain, miscellaneous items /160/ waterskins, tent stakes, etc.),
[643] tanned hides, butter, etc. In principal it is invariable and paid to the amenokal who disposes of it as he wishes, making allowances for the needs of the Imochar.

643 The amenokal leaves the animals which he levies under the
651 management of the Imrad, who furnish him the usufruct from them.

Individual rights of Imochar over Imrad do not exist in principal.
565 Actually they do exist when a man is the last representative of a
631 tribe and levies for himself the rights falling to his tribe.
651 On the other hand, some undertake to make small levies on the Imrad; the latter never refuse. And we must say in defense of the nobles that they treat their Imrad quite generously when a fortunate raid makes them temporarily well off.

565 In exchange for the rights of suzerainty which the Imochar exer-
631 cise over the Imrad, they owe the latter absolute protection, defend their interests each time that they are threatened, and endeavor to obtain reparation if they are pillaged by an opposing tribe.

The Imochar spend lavishly as great lords and have kept this
177 mania in spite of the change in regime brought by the French peace.
631 Their way of living like parasites has taken away any idea of fore-
565 sight, and because of this they are more often in want than well off.
511 In fact, the first consequence of the French occupation was to stop the state of war and the pillaging, which deprived the Imochar of their principal resources. They became poor people, while the Imrad, as herd-owners, saw their wealth increase and become stabilized. This social disturbance could have had serious consequences, but the Imrad did not totally abandon the Imochar, despite the opportunity which was offered them to emancipate themselves from their ancestral guardianship. Perhaps we can be glad of this, for one might wonder what the material situation of the Imochar would have been and, consequently, their state of mind with regard to us.

The terms "black Tuareg" and "white Tuareg" have often been
291 used to designate the Imochar and the Imrad. "In the north, "
565 Seligman says, "the nobles have black veils and the subjects white
178 ones." (1) This distinction in dress does not exist today, when the

1. Les races de l'Afrique, p. 129.

Tuareg indiscriminately wear black or white veils according to their taste and wealth. /161/ It is possible that the Imrad formerly could not obtain indigo veils, always considered a luxury item, and had to be content with ordinary cotton veils; that would explain the division into black and white Tuareg.

According to Duveyrier, the white Tuareg, "Touareg-el-biodh, " were probably the Oulad Ba Hamou, Arabs of the region of In-Salah. They took from the Tuareg the habit of wearing veils, but in white instead of dark indigo.

174 its rank, or even its class as a result of events of war or of too fre-
565 quent or too strong splits, sometimes decides to declare itself /163/
793 marabout. Piety is not indispensable for this; the tribe need only stop pillaging its neighbors and bearing arms. If some of them display the appearances of pious Moslems, learn a bit of the Koran, and wear beads, particularly if they can refer to some Arab ancestor, who formerly took refuge in the tribe, they succeed in being classed as marabouts after a certain time." (1)

1. Commander Cauvet,
Les noms des tribus Touaregs
/Names of Tuareg Tribes/,
p. 10.

565 In tribes which really practice their religion in a more serious
793 way than most of the Tuareg, he continues, there is surely an instillation of foreign blood, sometimes Semitic and often earlier
[144] than the Arab invasion. Without discussing here the reasons on which Commander Cauvet stands in speaking of the infusion of
[142] Semitic blood into the Ichériffen, we shall recall what we have already said, that we were strongly struck to find persons of a Semitic appearance, particularly marked in the old man, among the Ichériffen from the region of Gao and the Kel Es-Souq of Mohamed Ouguinat.

The explorer Duveyrier, who lived for a long time among the
565 northern Ifôra, considered them former nobles "who had abdicated
631 any political role in the administration of the confederation in
793 order to conquer a greater religious authority, necessary in a society where justice is represented by no power." (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 132.

He attributed to them a great moral and religious activity. It is true that certain Ifôra chiefs, like Sheik Othman who was one of

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
●631 authority over the Ihăggaren and the Kel Ăjjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifŏra were pillaged themselves upon several occasions by the Ihăggaren and forced to seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

The influence of the Inislimen on the Ihăggaren and the Kel
[797] Ăjjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact, they are generally quite ignorant.

[554] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving, they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and disapproved of the belligerent action of the Ihăggaren against us, in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tăademaket
565 and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.
797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to
[648] become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifŏra was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tăademeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents. They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721 Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
181] refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
701 other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Chériffen are divided into ordinary Chériffen and warrior Chériffen.

184 565 793 [631] [595] The Inislimen way of life is the same as that of the Tuareg. They speak the same language and administer themselves with no intervention from the Imochar. A few cases of polygamy have been observed among them. This is the result of their gradual Islamization, which favors the custom, and of patriarchy which was already in practice in some Sudanese tribes.

565 [192] [422] The Imrad. -- Imrad probably comes from the Tamashek root égeid, égeit, which means "kid," "little goat," and from the prefix am indicating possession. In short, this means "possessors of goats." In fact, the Imrad formerly could own only goats, for the Imochar reserved the possession of camels for themselves.

Their nickname is Kel Oulli, which also means "goat people," a name which they prefer to Imrad, which is probably a bit degrading for them.

[631] /165/ They make up tribes enfeoffed to the Imochar and are their vassals.

The Imochar have a certain scorn for them and consider them people of low birth, not of the pure Tuareg race; the name Taouia Settefet, meaning "of black descent," is often applied to them. (1)

1. Among the Ioullimmiden they are referred to as Idinet.

173 565 144 Nothing indicates a racial inferiority of the Imrad to the Imochar, however. If we want to interpret the old legends of the Ahaggar, everything leads us to believe that the Imrad were in most instances the first occupants of the country, and the Imochar, who were the invaders, were conquerers who made themselves masters of the country by force. The crossbreeding with the blacks cannot be a decisive criterion, for many Imrad tribes are not physically more "Negroid" than the Imochar. It is also true that the Imrad are [186] less rigorous than the Imochar in maintaining the integrity of old [184] Tuareg customs. They have less greatness of soul and sentiment, as well as less ethnic pride.

565 Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of
[511] the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of
[177] prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting
matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs
●631 internally as they see fit, without intervention of the amenokal or the
[642] Imochar in their affairs.

162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps
565 because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were
721 often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often
[722] organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some
701 Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among
[714] the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded
631 in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for
[582] their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation; but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote
[602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general-
[582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihaggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihaggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
●631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were
[643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores
[184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous
[567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar,
[582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

173 Sultan Goma was killed about 1650, and the independence of the Ahaggar tribes dates from that epoch. They profited from this event and from the Ouraren-Imanrassâten struggle to free themselves from the yoke of the imenân.

The Ahaggar nobles formed only a single tribe in the beginning, the Kel Ehan Mellen tribe divided into fourteen fractions, which, according to pasture needs, split off and detached themselves from the original branch. The Kel Ehan Mellen probably lived in the Tidikelt in primitive times, whence they were chased by the Arab invasion. At the present time all that remains of them are the Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the Kel Ehan Mellen-ouan-Taghert.

At one time, one of these extinct tribes, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, was in power in the Ahaggar, but it gradually became weaker and weaker through misalliances, to the advantage of the present tribes of the Kel Réla, the Tâïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet, who gradually absorbed the other fractions.

Among the Kel Réla today we find the last elements of the three tribes mentioned who descended from the Kel Ehan-Mellen.

The Kel Réla, Tâïtok, and Tégéhé-Mellet each enjoyed the most complete independence. However, through political inheritances, the Kel Réla became the most important and the holders of the tobol.

Later, about 1755, profiting from the weakness of Aménokal Salah (called Mokhamed el Khir), the Tâïtok and Tégéhé-Mellet obtained a distribution of the Imrad tribes among the three groups, at the same time still recognizing the authority of the aménokal. But the Tâïtok, in spite of these considerable advantages, were dissatisfied and wanted to seize the tobol from the Ihaggaren, which set off a series of internal struggles with their Kel Réla cousins.

175 /182/ When the Ahaggar Tuareg surrendered to France, the
631 Tâïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet were organized as free tobol, and
643 their chiefs bore the title of aménokal, although recognizing at the
648 same time the authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Amâstan, who had just been enthroned by the French. Azioueł,

175 the Taïtok chief, and Ser'ir ag Bedda, the chief of the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet, accepted this vassalage without question, but later on they
643 raised endless difficulties. This policy, which had been initiated to
648 reinforce the authority of Moussa ag Amastan, caused us several disappointments. As early as 1910, Captain Niéger, Adjutant Commander of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, interpreted the dissidence of two Imrad tribes, the Ait Loaien and the Kel-i-n-Tounin, as the beginning of serious complications.

We were able to measure his perspicacity during the revolt of 1916-1918, and the misunderstanding between the Kel Réla and Taïtok still persists today. But since the Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet participated in the revolt of 1916-1918 and their chiefs did not live up to the confidence which had been placed in them, they were placed under the direct authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, with the title of amrar.

## Tobol of the Kel Rela

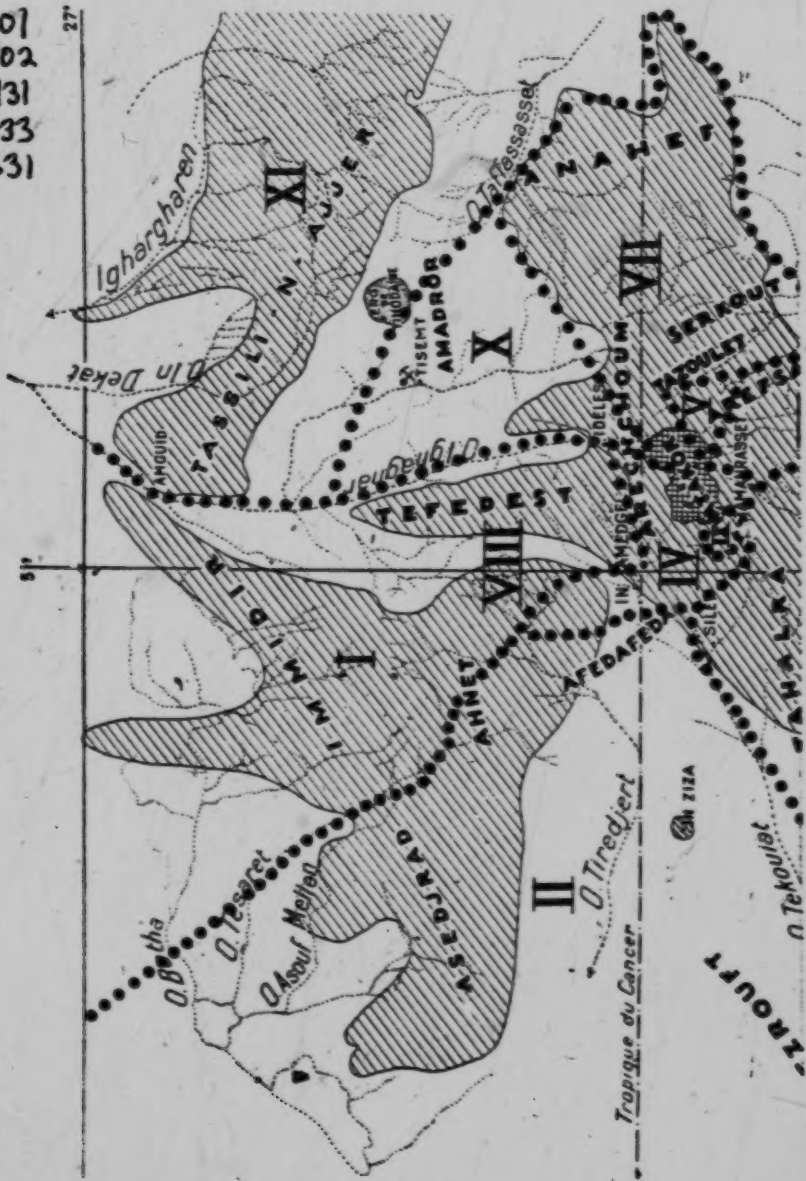
631 The tobol of the Kel Rela is the most important in the Ahaggar,
643 and its chief is at the same time the aménokal of the confederation.

It is formed by a certain number of noble families, several of
565 which have been reduced to one or two tents. They are the Inemba,
631 the Iboglan, the Ikerremlen, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the
643 Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal; all of whom are entitled to the tobol, and the Kembiden, the Oulad el Goute, the Oulad Amechaoui, and the Oulad Ibra, who lost their right to the tobol through misalliances.

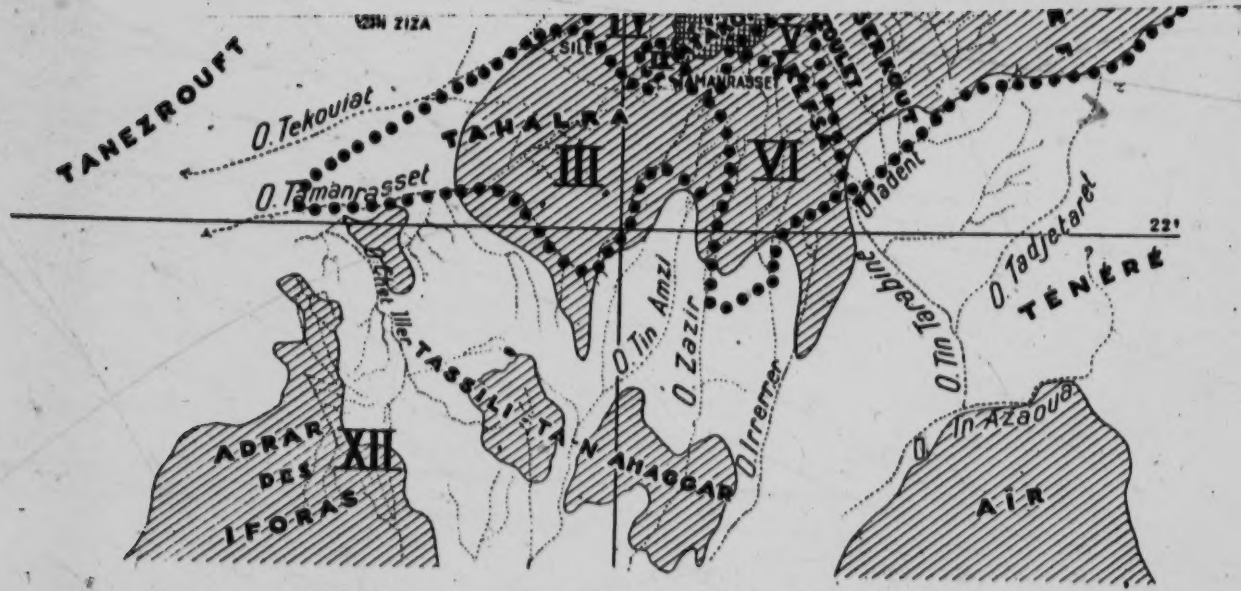
Legend recounts that the Kel Rela nobles were descended from a
173 woman by the name of Ti-n-Hinan, who came from the Tafilalet with her servant Takamat. Then her people bore the name of Kel Ehan Mellen (meaning "white-tent peoples") as opposed to another tribe, the Issetafenine, "black-tent peoples," who were the ancestors of the Ioullimmiden.

Later the dominant fraction was the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, /183/ which was that fraction of the former Aménokal Sidi, and which was composed of the Kel Rela, the Taïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet.

1: Lhote--41a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25



1: Lhote--41b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25




Map IV. Areas of nomadization of Ahaggar tribes.

I. Issekkemâren.
S. f. Kel In-Rhar'
Kel Amgid
Kel Tâledest
Kel Imnîdir
Ihéiaouea-Hâda
Isselamaten
Kel I-n-Tounîn
Kel Terourirt

II. Tâitok et Kel Ahnet

III. Ikechchemâden
Iklan-en-Tâoussit
Tégéhé-n-Efis

IV. Dâg-Râli
Ibettenâten
Irréguénaten

V. Kel Tazoûlet

VI. Agouh-en Tehlé

VII. Ait Loaien

VIII. Tégéhé-Mellet

IX. Ikâdeien

X. Zone of salt marshes open to all tribes, but owned by the Aménokal.

XI. Ajjer Tuareg

XII. Zone of exceptional nomadization of the Ibettenâten, Irreguenaten, Ikadeien, and Kel Ahnet.

Scale: 1/5, 000, 000.

175 in everything. Much less intelligent than Moussa, he was none the less a faithful chief who knew how to make himself respected.

He married twice and had seven children.

175 Meslah ag Ămayas is a second cousin of Ăkhamouk. He is a
643 grandson of the former Amĕnokal Ăltarel and a second cousin of Mohamed ag Ourzig and Ăttici ag Ămellal. The tobol thus came down in the branch of Ămennaï, the third son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, for want of male descendants in the branch of Hĕguier. This follows the rules of matriarchal succession.

Although Moussa ag Ămastan's sister, Rakhma, who married Ănaba ag Ămellal, brother of Amĕnokal Ăttici, left a son named Louki, he was bypassed by the Imochar as weak-minded.

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651 The amĕnokal levies the tioussé on the Imrad and assimilated
[643] vassals. Some of them also pay dues /Fr. droits de redevance/ to the descendants of the old noble families. Thus the Dăg Ra'li pay an annual due to the Inemba Kel Tăhat, and the A'lt Loa'len to the Inemba Kel Emori. The latter levy four percent of the loads of grain brought back from the Sudan by the A'lt Loa'len.

[178 But these duties levied are tending to disappear gradually with
161] the extinction of the old Ahaggar families, some of which are no longer represented by more than a few individuals.

631 The Kel Rela tribe has been gathering strength in a singular way
644 for a century. It is all powerful by the number of its representatives, and matriarchy has only accentuated this situation. Indeed, since
[643] only Kel Rela women are capable of giving birth to an amĕnokal, young men from other noble tribes seek alliances with them,
[582] abandoning the women of their own tribe. This new blood has given the Kel Rela a certain physical vigor by preventing them from becoming impoverished through too close and too repeated inbred alliances.

631 643 578 For more than a century the life of the Kel Rela has consisted of a constant struggle against the Taïtok. The latter, belligerent and jealous, dreamed only of seizing the aménokalat of the Ahaggar, and the history of the Tuareg of this country is nothing but a long succession of wars where the two fractions were alternately /191/ successful, but where the Kel Rela always kept the advantage thanks to their numerical superiority. The account of these events may be found in the book of Mr. Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 99 ff.

[162] In the 1838 census the Kel Rela included 312 persons, 38 of them men. In 1905, according to Benhazéra, they numbered 55 to 60 tents.

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela at the beginning included only two tribes, the Dăg Râli and the Ăgouh-en-Tèhlé, as well as a large part of the Issekkemâren. Since then, other fractions have come to seek their protection or to assimilate themselves. Such is the case of the Aït-Loaïen and the Relaiddîn.

[651] The Imrad call the Kel Rela "the people who cost dearly," thereby making an allusion to the dues which they are obliged to pay them.

The Dăg Rali. -- The Dăg Râli form the principal fraction of the [643] Kel Rela tobol, on whom the aménokal of the Ahaggar has always relied to enforce his rights, and without whom he would be nothing and could do nothing.

With the Kel Ăhnet, they originally formed the Imessîlîten tribe, and they were said to be the descendants of Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, the ancestor of the Kel Rela. They sprang from four sub-fractions: the Ikechchemâden, attached to the Taïtok tobol, the Imessîlîten, the Oulad Ir'dal, the Dăg Mertemek.

At the present time they are subdivided into: 1) Kel Tăhat, 2) Kel Tarahananet, 3) Kel Tămanrasset, 4) Kel Hirhâfok, 5) Kel Ărechchoum. To the Dăg Râli must be added a few individuals, today completely assimilated with them; they are descendants of

631 a very ancient tribe, the Isbeten, who were the autochthons of the Ahaggar and whom the Dăg Rali would have found in Ăkakor when they came to settle there.

After the battle at Tit where they lost more than 100 fighters, the Dăg Râli still numbered 60 warriors. The 1938 census gives 1, 090 persons, 334 of them men, including the Iklan. This increase is quite rare among the Tuareg and reflects their wealth and the improvement of their living conditions since the French occupation.

[161] [177] [511]

They nomadize in the western part of the Koudia, which is their absolute fief where no other fraction is admitted.

/192/ On the east, the boundaries of the lands over which they range are fixed by the right bank of the Tamanrasset wadi and the Interkadène wadi as far as Ideles; on the south by the southern zone of the Tahalra as far as Tin Dahar; on the west by In Eker; and on the north by the line from In Eker to Hirhafok to Ideles.

631 651 The Dăg Râli pay a tribute of ten bags of dates or sorghum to the aménokal; in addition, each family which sends a caravan to the Sudan pays him a small bag of sorghum. If the pastures are good, they add several "botta" of melted butter and the milk of twenty ewes. In the case of a successful raid, they pay the nobles half of the ewes.

631 233 556 439 The Dăg Râli are now the richest people in the Ahaggar. They own more than 1, 200 goats and more than 1, 000 camels. Thanks to their beasts of burden, they can take many very remunerative caravans to the Sudan and to the Tidikelt. They hold in common escheated flocks which are called Edjeré-n-boutelma. When the pastures are insufficient to feed all their livestock, they entrust their camels to the Irréguénaten who graze them on the Saharo-Sudanese border.

631 241 423 Since they are very open-minded, they were in favor of cultivation in the centers of the Ahaggar, and at the present time they possess lands at Ilâman, Tarahananet, Tamanrasset, Abălessa, Iglen, Tăfârit, I-n-Ămegel, and Silet, which Negroes cultivate for them. The aménokal has granted them a certain number of palm trees in the Silet oasis which formerly belonged to the Tăitok.

631 781 [794] The Dăg Râli are the most pious people in the Ahaggar. The majority of them are affiliated with the order of the Tijanyyah, although some of them adhere to the Sanusiyyah and the order of the Qādiriyyah; these affiliations seem to be purely formal, however, for, with a few exceptions, they do not follow the rites of these religious orders.

797 The activity of Father de Foucauld was particularly effective in this tribe. Because of his installation at Tamanrasset and later at his hermitage at Ăsekrem, Father de Foucauld was in constant contact with the Dăg Râli. At first they were mistrustful of him, but they were not long in coming to him, and they were the first beneficiaries of his good deeds, for the Father went to them, caring for the sick and rendering them many services.

[622] Their chief, Ouksem ag Ourar, was a short, stocky man of average intelligence, but very crafty, especially when it was a question of material interest for him or even that of his people. /193/ He saw the benefit that he could draw from this getting together. Little by little the priest did his best to conquer him and win his affection, and he supported his interests with the authorities of Fort Motylinski. Thus, a few months later, Ouksem was completely won over.

[648] Ouksem gained a certain importance with the authorities, which made him proud and which he knew he owed to Father de Foucauld.

622 631 797 [648] Later on he was a good help in the pacification of the Ahaggar. During the dissidence of 1915, he showed himself very eager to please us, which made Father de Foucauld write to General Laperrine: "Ouksem, chief of the Dăg Râli, could not be better; he does not cease to make progress. It is evident that he is bent not only on being faithful, but on showing his fidelity in a dazzling way by his attitude." He did nothing without asking the Father's advice, and he followed this advice by creating a garden at the Ilâman wadi in order to use the waters which descended from the mountain. This [777] garden was established, and to flatter this meritorious effort which was an example, Ouksem received the Medal of Agricultural Merit, a unique feat in the annals of the Tuareg even up to the present

622 631 717 time. Unfortunately the garden was abandoned after Father de Foucauld was gone.

Although it is difficult to imagine, Father de Foucauld had even thought of Ouksem ag Ourar as a possible aménokal, against all Tuareg social rules.

But what remains of all that? The dead are quickly forgotten among the Tuareg, and although Ouksem may recall from time to time that the marabout was his good friend, it is to be presumed that he, no more than his Dăg Râli, understood the devotion and the affection which was to cost the life of the hermit in the Sahara.

631 The Ikechchemâden, whom we have mentioned previously, have always lived near the Dăg Râli, with whom they used to form only a single tribe. Upon the distribution of the Imrad, they became the vassals of the Tăîtok, but they remained with the Dăg Râli and contracted numerous unions with them so that it is difficult to tell them apart. And so, in 1907, they asked to be attached to the tobol of the Kél Rela.

173 631 The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. -- The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé form the most important Imrad tribe in the Ahaggar after the Dăg Râli. They are said to have formerly nomadized in the neighborhood of In /194/ Gall in A'ir and have emigrated into the Ahaggar because of the demands of the Sultan of Agadez on whom they originally depended. The latter had polygamous mores and each year demanded of them a young and pretty virgin. Tired of this custom, which was contrary to Tuareg mores, they left the country and came to place themselves under the protection of the aménokal of the Kel Rela, Younès, the son (?) of Kella (ca. 1700). (The version reported by Mr. Benhazéra says "son of Mohamed el Khein.")

Before coming to seek protection from the Ihăggaren, they belonged to the tribe of the Tégéhé-ni-Élimen, a name by which they are still called sometimes. One fraction of this tribe remained in A'ir and bears the name of Ir'Alaman or Kel Rapsa. They were the ones chiefly responsible for founding the Ghat oasis.

173 Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé means "reed people." Legend has it that they
631 were forced to eat the roots of that plant during their flight from the Aïr. Their chief was then a man of Herculean size named Assékal ag Louka; the legend says that his feet were so big that when his pursuers saw the footprints, they preferred to abandon the chase.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé claim to be originally from Mecca where their remote ancestor received a camel from the Prophet. He was supposed to drink only the milk of the camel, but he committed the sin of killing it. Therefore, they had to flee, and after long years of wandering, they settled in Aïr.

At the time when the Imrad were divided up (1750), they were part of the Issandaten. The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé went to the Kel Rela, and the other fraction, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, went to the Tăitok.

631 The land over which they range borders on that of the Dăg Râli. It goes from Tamanrasset to Ourchi wadi, then from the Koudia as far as Afrahouhine and Tamaghine.

[651] They pay a tribute to the aménokal, the same size as that of the Dăg Râli, but they do not share captured goats and sheep with him.

They are currently allied with the Dăg Râli and the Relaiddîn.

They took sides against us in the battle of Tit where they had
[648 about ten men killed. During the insurrection of 1916-1918, they
669] rose up, and their women even seized thirty mehari /dromedaries/ belonging to the meharist company at Fort Motylinski. On the other hand, they did not take part in the revolt directly and were the first to ask for mercy.

[161] /195/ Totaling 60 men in 1905, the tribe numbers about 150 persons at the present time.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé own nearly a thousand camels, which they
[233] graze on the Saharo-Sudanese borders, and 1,200 to 1,400 goats.
[651] Every year they pay a tribute to the amenokal of 12 bags of dates, 6 pots of butter, and the usufruct of 10 goats. Most of the cultivated
[423] land and the foggara of Tarhaouaout and Tahifet belongs to them,
[241] and they have gardens at Ămsel, Tamanrasset, and Talan-Tédit.

631 427 [175] The founding of Tamanrasset is attributed to them; it is said to be the work of the chief of the Issenda (Issendaten) fraction, Ilachen by name. This creation goes back some sixty years, but the irrigable lands were the property of the Ajjer. In the last few years, the Imanrassatên, who were the true proprietors of the cultivable lands at Tamanrasset, came several times to claim the rental price which was one ass or a sheep per year according to the place. But this claim was only payable if the owners presented themselves; the year not claimed was gained by the renter.

[651] 631 They often found themselves in conflict with the amênokal, because they made difficulties in paying the tiousee.

They are subdivided into Kel Aguelella or Kel Tarhaouhaout, into Kel Rapsa or Kel Ezarounfat, and into Issendaten or Kel Tahifet.

631 173 [192] The Aït Loaien. -- The Aït Loaien get their name from the verb élouai, which means "to attach camels in Indian file." (1)

1. According to Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, p. 148.

Through their ancestor Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, they are said to be of the same origin as the Dag Râli and the Kel Ahnet. At the time of the division of the Imrad, it is said they were bestowed half upon the Inemba and half upon the Tégéhé Mellet. They are subdivided into Irayen (today extinct), Kel Torha or Dag Houa, and Aït Loaien proper.

631 [651] The Aït Loaien pay the tioussé to the family of the Téjéhé-n-agg-Ali, also called Kel Ahamellen (Kel Rela), and the Dag Houa group pays it to the Tégéhé Mellet.

[578] Formerly allied to the Imekkérressen of the Ajjer group by numerous marriages, they separated from them following disputes and the murder of one of them, the Tuareg Reskou /196/ ag Yahia, famous in all the Ahaggar. Since then, the Imekkérressen have settled in the Ajjer.

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Ǎrokam, Serouanout, and in the Ǎnahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[233] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are [241 423] their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

631 669 They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the Ihéaouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up [797] the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 The Aït Loaieh form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which [181] must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[651] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokal.

The Relaiddîn. -- The Relaiddîn probably came from Aïr, like the Ǎgouh-en-Tǎhlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162 651] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tioussé to the Iboglân.

This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 [177 233] camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1, 500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

631 /197/ They do own a few gardens at Tazerouk, Ti-n-Tarabine, Aïtoklane, and Sersouf, but all lie fallow.

[669] During the revolt, they left the Agouh-en-Tehle in dissent, but they soon surrendered, for their position between the Ahaggar and the Ajjer always put them at the mercy of raids by the latter.

[651] The Relaiddin pay an annual tribute of two loads of grain, a pot of butter, and a goat to the aménokal.

[162] To the Relaiddin must be added a small fraction on its way toward disappearing; they are the Kel Bardjen, of undetermined origin.

[674] Numbering some ten warriors, they are recognized as inveterate robbers, always encroaching on the nomadic territories of others. Bardjen is located between Tazerouk, Imerera, and Ideles. The

[423] territory of the Kel Bardjen was probably marked off about 1750 and

[212] defined by monoliths, some of which bear tifinagh characters.

The Ibettenaten. -- The Ibettenaten are not "Imrad," properly speaking. According to Benhazera, this tribe was formerly noble. They were probably subjugated by the Kel Rela following the murder of an Amacher /singular of Imochar, the aristocratic class. Ed./ committed by one of them. Since then, they pay the tioussé to the

[651] aménokal.

The Ibettenaten probably descended from Kel Afella Ifora on the maternal side and from Tidikelt Arabs on the paternal side.

631 About thirty tents are nomads in the Sudan near Bou Djbiha, but they go up as far as Taoudart and In Ouzal in the Adrar des Iforas,

162 following the pasture grounds. Fifteen other tents enfeoffed to the Kel Fadel camp in Aïr.

They number 160 persons, 62 of them men, in the 1938 census.

631 They are entirely herders, making very few caravans and owning

233 no cultivated lands. They have very fine pasture grounds at their disposal. They own about 800 camels, 1,000 sheep, and (a rare thing, but quite in keeping with their area of nomadization) nearly 100 cows.

631 They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since
[669] they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaïa.

565 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tăousit, still called
644 Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they
631 made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be
[184] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion
[241] to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and
[162] they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[231] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tăhaïra, and in the region of Silet-Ăbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers
[241 423] of Tîgeneouin, Ăbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm grove at Tibeghîn, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is
563 synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and
631 Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hâda
Kel In Rhar'
Kel Tăfedest
Kel Immîdir
Kel Tăzoûlet
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Téroûrirt
Kel Ouhet

563 They are not vassals like the Irréguénaten and the Ibettenâten,
●631 but are incorporated.

563 According to a tradition reported by Dr. Richer, (1) the
173

1. Les Oulliminden, p. 71.

Issekkemâren are the descendants of the family of the Sagmara, pointed out in the Ădrar des Iforas and in the region of Gao by El Bekri. They were driven back by the Sonrhai invasion and came to take refuge among the northern Tuareg while a small fraction remained in the south in the environs /199/ of Timbuktu and today has a marabout character.

Although they are more Islamized than the other tribes, they are
[797] nonetheless Tuaregized in the sense that they follow Tuareg customs
197] and speak Tamashek. Many of them speak Arabic fluently, either
[648] because of their origin or because of their constant relations with the Tidikelt.

173 At the time of the division of the Imrad, some tribes were be-
563 stowed upon the Kel Rela, others on the Tăntok and the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet. The tribes attached to the Kel Rela are the Ihéiaouen Hâda, the Kel Immîdir, the Kel Tăzoûlet, the Kel Tăfedest, and the Kel In Rhar'.

563 They are all great caravaneers who trade a great deal on the
439 Tidikelt markets. They own a large number of camels and their
484 camel raising is particularly renowned.
233 The Iheiaouen Hada. -- The Iheiaouen Hada, also called Oulad
563 Elias or Ihéiaouen-n-Temounent, are said to be descended from an
[173] Arab woman who was seized at Touat. The word Iheiaouen means in Tamashek "the grandsons of . . . ," so that we must conclude that the people of this tribe are the descendants of a woman named Ada.

They nomadize in the Tăfedest massif near Ădenek, Abezou, In Takoufi, Eguelougal, and Tidessi. During dry periods they lead
[221] their camels to the Saharo-Sudanese borders in the neighborhood of the Tamaïa well.

Tobol of the Tăitok

631 565 The Tăitok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

[602] They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin, Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Tăitok.

[173] According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin as the Imenan sultans, that is, descendants of Idris, and the other part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Aïr where the stock /souche/ still exists. (1)

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 322.

114 631 565 The Tăitok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Inifel in 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity with the Ihăggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live; our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the Ăjjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of

2. Les Touareg de l'Ouest
/The Western Tuareg/, p. 18
(Algiers, 1888).

any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

579 631 643 [181] 175 They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela and the suzerainty of the amenokal of the Ahaggar. After the division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the amenokalat, which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/ by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Tăitok are bound by numerous marriages and are all more or less cousins.

175 The dissensions began with respect to the Imrad tribes depend-
579 ing on the Kel Rela; they were shamelessly stolen by the Tăitok,
631 necessitating the intervention of the suzerains. The Tăitok, fewer
643 in number than the Kel Rela, got the worst of it most of the time, but that never prevented them from beginning again a short time later.

This was still the state of affairs at the end of the last century when Aménokal Ăltarel, a very peace-loving man, succeeded in bringing about a cessation of hostilities between the two rival tribes.

The chief of the Tăitok at that time, Sidi ag Kéradji, was the nephew of Ăltarel through his father; consequently, he was a Kel Rela, while he held the right to the Tăitok tobol from his mother. Ăltarel, as his uncle, strove to protect him from the Kel Rela as well as from some Tăitok elements whom this truce did not suit.

Sidi, feeling the situation escape him, renounced his tobol, believing that by so doing he was ensuring the safety of his wealth and his person in case hostilities broke out again. He took refuge in the Ahaggar with the Kel Rela.

But upon the death of Ăltarel, rivalry reawakened, and the Kel Rela begged Sidi to leave their camps. Where could he go when the Tăitok had only enemies?

Anarchy reigned everywhere, and the Kel I-n-Toûnîn, Imrad of the Tăitok, took advantage of this to emancipate themselves. They appealed to the Oûraren, a noble Ăjjer tribe. Sidi resolved to settle among them, when Aziouel, a pretender to the tobol, was trying to seize it.

[81] Aziouel was the typical Tăitok, the typical desert looter, with cruel and unrestrained instincts. Captain Métois, former chief of the Annex of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, called him a "man of fine saber blows and abusive language, and in addition, a liar, thief, and traitor." He negotiated the surrender of the Tăitok, while Sidi ag
643 Kéradji was kept as aménokal.

175 Aziouel was guided by his taste for robbery to lead an enormous
631 raid in the Hodh in 1905, but he had a run of bad luck. Pushed
[82]

175 631 643 back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of the men, including Azioueł, died of thirst in the desert.

/204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

579 631 At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and [648] more and more tend to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

[511] 631 651 Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ădrar des Iforas, the Tégéhé-n-Éfis and Isoknâten of the Aïr.

[233] Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400 camels and about 1, 000 goats.

175 631 648 During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his Imrad Kel I-n-Tounin. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops, He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

[423] Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastân.

631 The amrar of the Ťaitok is named according to matriarchal rules, and his election must be approved by the chiefs of the Imrad tribes. However, it must be pointed out that since Amrar Salah the chiefs have succeeded from father to son upon several occasions.

101 The Ťaitok sometimes give the name Ar'rerf Ăhnet to /205/ their group, from the name of the region where they range most of the time and also from their Imrad. (1)

1. "Ar'rerf" corresponds here to "tobol." According to Nicolas, op. cit., "Agref," following his orthography, means small fraction.

631 565 [582] The Ťaitok live on very good terms with their vassals, and the vassals, proud of being called Ťaitok, espouse all the rivalries of their lords. Marriages between different castes are not uncommon, and many nobles have married Imrad women, which causes their children to lose political rights to the tobol. But the greater and greater extension of this custom will necessarily bring about modifications in the customary law of filiation, or else patriarchy will finally replace matriarchy.

[651] The Imrad pay a lump tiousse which is divided among the different Imochar. There is no longer any individual right /droit/ like that still found among the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

631 648 [161] Thieves to end all thieves, the Ťaitok have still been able to keep alliances almost everywhere outside their country in the regions they have to cross to carry out their robberies; these alliances are military or protective. Thus, in order to keep from being robbed, the Sékakna and the Mazil, Arab tribes from the environs of Ăkabli who sometimes nomadized in the Ădrar Ăhnet, paid them a slight due. They were allied with the Fergoumoussen, an Imochar tribe from the Adrăr, with the Tarat Mellet, the Kel Boujbiha, the Kel Arouan, the Tadjakant, the Arib, and the Kel Taoudeni. These

631 alliances give a glimpse of the scope of the Tăitok raids.
[648] The tobol of the Tăitok includes the Irechchoûmen, a little noble tribe which lost its rights to the tobol as a consequence of misalliances, the Kel Ăhnet, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, the Kel I-n-Toûnin, the Iouarouaren, the Ikouttissen, and the Ikechchemâden.

The Irechchoûmen. -- The Irechchoûmen, also called Iradjenaten (mixed blood), usually camp in the Ăhnet, going as high as Aoulef. The head of the family was Ibédi ag Bassi, who married a daughter of the Oulad Zenan (Aoulef Arabs) and had for sons-in-law Aziouel and Tacha ag Serada of the Tăitok, both dead as a result of raids. (2)

2. Aziouel's widow married Moussa ag Amastân, aménokal of the Ahaggar, in 1910.

[582] They are allies of the Tăitok through numerous marriages, and also of the Imrad Kel Ăhnet. They also marry with /206/ Arab
[643] women from the Touat, and these multiple misalliances have made them lose their right to the tobol.

[173] According to a tradition reported by Duveyrier, the Irechchoûmen originally came from Es Souq. Part of the tribe descends from the Edrissians, and others have the Ikadeien for their ancestors.

[162] They include only about ten tents, or 60 persons, at the present time.

The Kel Ăhnet. -- The Kel Ăhnet are of the same origin as the
[173] Dag Râli with whom they formerly made up the Imessiliten fraction. This schism occurred under the aménokalat of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, at the time of the distribution of the Imrad among the different noble tribes, and the Kel Ăhnet were bestowed upon the Tăitok.

They were among the first to come and surrender, and their chief, Badjeloud ag Maklia, came to In-Salah as early as 1902.

631 Taken away from the Ťaitok and made free, they were put back under their command in 1909.

631 131 They nomadize from Silet to Reggan and Aoulef. The land over which they range includes all of the Ǩdrar Ǎhnet, the Ǎseg'rad, and part of the Immidir. The boundaries which separate them from the Issekkemâren are as follows: Tin Tir'atimine and Tagemout (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the northeast; Arak wadi as far as Amsir, and Méniet (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the east, by the In Rabir well; they have at their disposal all the mountainous part on the south, including In Ziza and Nahalet, that is, the whole region bordering on the Tanezrouft and bounded on the east by Ouallen, the last watering place before the Tanezrouft; to the north by the Ǎsouf Mellen wadi.

[132] In dry years they descend to the Sudan in the region of In Abangarit-In Gall and Tamaťa. They camp near the Ťaitok in the Ǩdrar Tazerzaťt, where they escape the control of the Algerian and Sudanese authorities.

They formerly exploited a sebkha in the In Méraguen wadi.

631 [162] In 1905 they were a group of 35 to 40 tents. In the 1938 census, they numbered no more than 58 persons, 21 of them men.

[181 721] Rather pugnacious by nature, they always accompany the Ťaitok on their expeditions and share the loot with them in equal parts.

[669] During the World War, they stayed in the Ǎhnet and /207/ took part in the revolt only individually by supplying the rebels, willingly or by force. Only at the end of 1917, under the influence of Ǎjjer elements, did they rise up and pillage in Ǩdrar and at Ǎkabli.

[181 795] They are rather unreligious; they follow the Malekite rite, and some are members of the Tijaniyyah order. They profess great respect for the marabouts and willingly receive them in their camps. At the beginning of the conflict the agitator Abidine of [669] the Timbuktu Kounta, took refuge among them; he had led the struggle against us in Timbuktu for a long time.

173 Let us add that the Kel Ăhnet claim to be of Beraber origin
631 through Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hînân. But the Tăitok say that it is not known where they come from, except that they must have inhabited the Ahaggar long before the arrival of Ti-n-Hînân.

631 The Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis. -- The Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis are of the same origin as the Tégéhé-n-Elîmen.

They used to nomadize in Aïr and had to leave that country as a result of the murder of the sultan who wanted to force them to pay too heavy a tax. Efis was their chief, and it is he who decided to leave. The descendants of these families thenceforth bore his name.

They formed only a single tribe with the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. When Mohamed el Kheir was aménokal, the Tégéhé-n-Elîmen came to ask protection from the Ihăggaren -- some say this was under Mohamed el Kheir's grandson, Younès.

During the war which put the Kel Rela and the Tăitok in conflict, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis took refuge on the Aïr borders. Afterwards, they returned for the most part, but some ten tents remained in the Sudan.

162 In 1905, they numbered about 30 tents; in the 1938 census there
233 were 164 persons, 51 of them men. They own 80 camels, and 250
241 goats. They are the proprietors of cultivated lands at Tîgenouin,
423 Amsel, Ăbalessa, and Tahart. They also see to the cultivation of gardens at Tamanrasset, which have belonged to the Imekkeresen (an Imrad tribe of the Ajjer Tassili) for a long time. By rights they should pay the latter a due, but it is never asked for.

They nomadize in the Tahalra (southwest of Koudia) and migrate on the parallel Amsel, Tîgeneouin, Tâmaïa. The line of demarcation separating their area from /208/ that of the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé is formed by the Tamanrasset wadi.

They were bestowed upon the Tăitok at the time of the distribution of the Imrad, and they have followed their suzerains in all their affairs.

173 The Kel I-n-Toûnîn. -- The Kel I-n-Toûnîn are Issekkemâren. They were given to the Tăitok under Sidi's aménokalat (1755) when the Kel Rela tobol was split up, while the Kel Ouhet and the Kel Téroûrirt were given to the Tégéhé Mellet.

1: Lhote--66c E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 M525 Tuareg M525

422
233
631

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| KEL RELA | or | on the right cheek, on the right front. | KEL N-TOÛNÎNE | // | on the neck. |
| DÃB RALÎ | | crossing the neck, at the right. | TÃÎTOK | or | at the right front, on the cheek. |
| ÂJOUH-EN-TÊHLÉ | or | on the right front, on the neck, to the right. | KEL ÃHNET | | on the neck, to the right. |
| ÎKLÂN-EN-TÃOUSÎT | | at the top of the right thigh. | TÉGÉHÉ-N-ÉFIS | | on the right cheek. |
| KEL TÃZOÛLET | + | on the neck, to the right. | ÎROUAROUAREN | | on the right cheek. |
| KEL ÎN RHAR' | | on the right thigh. | ÎKOUTTÎSEN | or | on the neck. |
| RELAÎDÎN | IV | on the neck. | TÉGÉHÉ MELLET | | on the right cheek. |
| ÎHEAOUEN HADA | +I | on the right thigh. | ÎRECHCHOÛMEN | | |
| KEL ÎMMÎDIR | | on the right thigh. | KEL OHET | | on the right thigh. |
| KEL TÃFEDEST | — | on the right thigh. | ÎKERREMOÎEN | | |
| KEL AMGUÎD | | on the right thigh. | ÎNEMBA | | |
| ÃÎT LOAÎEN | or | on the right cheek. | TÉGÉHÉ-N-AG-ALÎ | | |
| ÎRRÉGUÉNATEN | or | on the neck, to the right, on the right cheek. | TÉGÉHÉ-N-OU-GIDI | | |
| KEL TEROÛRÎRT | | on the neck. | ÎBOGLÂN | | |
| ÎBETTENÂTEN | | on the right cheek. | | | |

Table of the brands applied to camels in the different Ahaggar tribes.

631 The Kel I-n-Toûnîn owe their name to the wadi near which they ordinarily nomadize in the Tăfedest massif. At the end of the last century they took advantage of the dissensions existing between the Tăitok and the Kel Rela as well as the internal strife of the
[651] Tăitok to free themselves of the latter. They moved to the Ăjjer, claiming kinship with them, but they pay them no taxes.

After their surrender to the French, the Tăitok reclaimed them, and General Laperrine agreed to their demand.

[669] They took a big part in the rebellion of 1916 and were the first to rise up, for they were under the direct influence of the Ăjjer.

Taking refuge in Fezzan at first, they set about combating us by launching raids against the fractions under our influence. Later they participated in the combat of Aïn el Hadjadj. Then they went to the Sudan, where they succeeded in taking with them a number of Tăitok, their Chief Amri among them, in spite of the efforts Moussa ag Ămastân made to keep them.

[162] They number about 20 tents which camp in the north of the Tăfedest massif and go up as high as the Ădrar Ifetessen on the foothills of Immîdir.

[512] They are allied to the Tégéhé Mellet by recent marriages.

Famous as good herders, they own about 100 camels and 300
[233 439] goats. They are also good caravaneers who trade on the markets of In Salah, Ghat, and Ghadames.

[241] They have a few gardens cultivated at Ideles and in the Tassili centers of cultivation.

[162] The Iouarouaren. -- The Iouarouaren form a little tribe of about 15 tents, which nomadizes with the Kel Ăhnet in the Adrar.

Some say they are natives of Aïr, others say of the Ăjjer.

173 /210/ When an Ăjjer (or Ifôras) woman had been taken prisoner
631 by the Aïr people, according to Sidi ag Kéradji, it was Ămastân ag Ourzig, maternal uncle of Sidi, who paid her ransom and married her to a Kel Ăhnet; from this union sprang the Iouarouaren. (1)

•631
[173]

1. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 177.

[582] They often camp near the Dăg Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Tăitok in their peregrinations.

[423] They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghîn, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given [233] to Moussa ag Ămastan. They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The tiousse paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a [651] bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemaden live mixed in with the Dăg Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Tăitok tobol.

Their name means "the very ugly ones," from the Tamashek [192] akechchemdh, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Ămastân.

[162] They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them [423] in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dăg Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dăg Râli.

[162] The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ăjjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeien form a little tribe of some 15 [162] tents, whose camp lies near Tit and Tigeneouin.

631 /211/ Originally from Es Souq in the Ădrar des Ifôras, they are mixed with the Ahl Azzi from In-Salah.

Without being Imrad of the Tăitok, properly speaking, they may be considered satellites of this tobol.

## Tobol of the Tégéhé-Mellet

173 631 The Tégéhé-Mellet make up the third and least important of the three Ahaggar tobol.

According to oral tradition, they are the descendants of Ti-n-Hînân through her daughter Tahenkat. More recently they are said to be descended from the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi. But according to another tradition they are of Chaamba origin, from the Oulad Messaoud tribe. More exactly, we are led to believe that some Oulad Messaoud men came to settle among them and founded families; for some, this would make their pure Imochar origin questionable. On the other hand, they married Kel-I-n-Tounîn women, while Tégéhé Mellet women married Issekkemâren.

They obtained their independence at the same time as the Tăitok while Sidi Mohamed was amenokal, and were assigned a certain number of vassal tribes. Since then, however, they have played only a very unobtrusive part in the history of the Ahaggar, and the Tégéhé Mellet are on the way to disappearing.

631 According to Duveyrier, they had the reputation of bringing a conciliatory spirit into the often strained relations between the Ihăggaren [578] and the Ăjjer Tuareg. The geographical position that they occupied between the two opposing groups quite naturally drafted them for the role.

They were formerly a free tobol, and only with the French 619 occupation were they placed under the guardianship of Moussa ag Ămastân. 648 Ser'ir ag Bedda, their amrar, protested for a long time and never stopped claiming his independence. In connection with this state of mind, many Tégéhé Mellet rebelled and left with the

631 It will be noted that there are no marabout tribes in the divers
793 Ahaggar tobol. The Ifôra who nomadize in the Témaçinine (Fort Flatters) region are completely independent. They maintain amicable relations with the Ihǎggaren and the Kel Ǎjjer, but these relations are very few and far between and have no political or religious character. They do not send any chaplains among the Ihǎggaren. Their chief has settled at the little zāwiyah of Témaçinine, near which his ancestors are buried, and where he enjoys great /213/
578 repute. All the Tuareg, Ihǎggaren or Ǎjjer, who pass near this
788 place never fail to stop and pay a visit to the sheik and go pray on the tomb of Si Othman, a famous saint of this marabout lineage.

This zāwiyah is affiliated with the Tijaniyyah brotherhood.

There are several marabouts who live in the midst of the Ihǎggaren camps, but all of them are of Arab origin and none of them are Ifôras.

631 The Ifôras are under the administrative control of the Ǎjjer annex, and politically they are much more a part of the Kel Ǎjjer than of the Ihǎggaren.

They are subdivided into three fractions:

Ifôras-oui-n-Oukkîren

Ifôras-oui-n-Egdad

Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel

The first two, who are of sherif descent, were in the habit of espousing the cause of the Ouraren, while the third was attached to the Imenân sultans.

114 Duveyrier said that the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel were provided with
533 drums and continued to constitute the court and the music corps
631 of the fallen sultans; he concludes by saying that their role is limited to making noise. (1) Now the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel have never been

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 361.

musicians, but their name, which can be confusing, means "those who are attached to the aménokal," just as Iklân-en-Tǎousit (of the Ahaggar) means "servant of the tribe or of the group of tribes

114 forming the tobol" and, by extension, "servant of the tobol."
533 At the present time these three fractions number about 150
631 people.
[162] We call attention to them here only as a reminder.

Book V

Material Life

Chapter 1

Living Conditions Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

133 The Ahaggar, as we have already said, is a mountain refuge. We do not know why the Tuareg have continued to live there when they could have found much better countries to the south where they could have had a much easier life. Perhaps we should attribute this to attachment to the country or, quite simply, to an ancient state of things which forced them to take refuge against their will in the middle of the rocks.

13 A superficial examination shows that the Ahaggar is a very poor
[511] country with negligible resources, which imposes a living standard
[312] lower than the average. The pasture reserves are calculated, as are the water reserves. The subsoil possesses nothing, or almost nothing, which is marketable, except a little salt. Consequently, the possibilities for life there are quite limited. For the inhabitants to live, then, they must have recourse to outside resources.

country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote, 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the latest major episodes in a general southwestward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

The military administrative unit known as the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds fairly closely to the present normal range of the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabitants in 1950), and supports a total native population of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

**Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these are divided into tribes which are subdivided into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] [8] A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

[7] Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in as many different ways as are the geographical names of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

[8] A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

unnecessary to review this matter after him. I want to limit [114]
myself simply to noting some observations which I was able 565
to make in the course of my stay among the Tuareg of the
Ahaggar confederation.

First of all, the striking thing is that at the end of a short period of contact, one can easily guess if one is in the presence of a noble or of an amr'id. His look, his walk, his carriage, his features (if the veil is lifted to the forehead), an indefinable something, all lead correctly to the conclusion that the Tuareg before you is really a noble. However, in the course of palavers im'rad, many of whom are rich, often come as well dressed as the nobles. But their features are less fine, their bearing less easy, their look less assured, and one thinks, "This is an amr'id."

Furthermore, the Tuareg will tell you, "An amr'id may /48/ act well, dress in fine clothes, and bear fine arms, but he is still 'iamir'ed, '" that is to say, "he lacks something," [196]
and it is from this verb that they have derived the name amr'id, plural imr'ad.

Should it be thought that the imr'ad are a less pure race 173
than the nobles because of long-ago crossings with the Negro 174
race? The sheik Ben Djellas states that the mother of the 565
Issoqqamaren (an imr'ad tribe of the Ahaggar) was bought by the first inhabitants of Es-Souk. On the other hand, we will see how the Adjouh-n-Taheli and the Tedjehé-n-Efis came from Aïr to place themselves under the protection of the noble Kel R'ela and Taïtoq.

Should the admitted differences be attributed to the state of subjection and dependence in which the imr'ad have been for a long time in relation to the nobles? I would be tempted to accept this second hypothesis as more in line with the facts of history.

And from what I have seen and ascertained, I cannot 565
bring myself to translate the word "amr'id" as "serf," a word 631

which brings to our minds the idea of the serf attached to the 565
glebe and sold with the domain which he cultivated, but rather 631
as "client, bondsman, tributary."

In fact, if the amr'id pays the "tioussé," or tribute, to the noble, if he "lets him taste a little of what he has," according to his expression, if he is dependent on the noble, he nevertheless enjoys a freedom of action which the serf of the Middle Ages did not know. He has a right to the noble's protection if he is attacked, but he marches and fights with him [701]
armed with the same arms. In a raid he also shares with him [727]
and receives his portion of the loot, a portion which varies according to the tribe and which seems to have been fixed according to an ancient contract, in exchange for the protection granted.

And we will find the most convincing proof in the appoint- 565
ment of the amenokal. The imr'ad take part in this: it is 631
they who speak first and state whether they accept the new 643
amenokal, whether they have confidence in him, whether they promise /49/ faithfully to pay him the "tioussé." And he, on his part, promises to give them help and protection against all.

The noble makes it a point of honor to keep this promise. 558
It would be a shame, "el r'ar," according to his expression 565
(from the Arab word "el aâr" ,ولا , not to avenge an insult 577 631
or an injury rendered to one who pays him the "tioussé."

## Chapter II

## The Tobol. Inheritance

Concerning the tobol. The "tobol" originally was a drum 202
made of a large gourd and covered with stretched hide, which 534
the chief of the tribe sounded to gather his clients /dependents/ 643
to tell them that pastures must be changed, etc. It was the 565
insignia of command.

Duveyrier has told us that the Imanan (Cheurfa) sultans 534
entrusted their tobols to a marabout tribe, the Ifor'as-oui-n- 565
Tobol. This practice is maintained: noble chiefs pretend to keep the tobols with them, but they do not use them any more.

It is said that the nobles have access to the tobols because 534
some day, according to the law of inheritance practiced among 565
the Tuareg, they or their descendants may have the hope of 643
obtaining the tobol, that is, the right to rule.

On the other hand, it is said that a noble has lost his rights [558]
to the tobol if, through a misalliance, his children are no longer of a pure noble line /race/. For example, the Kembiben, the Oulad El Goute, and the Oulad Ibra (among the Kel R'ela of the Ahaggar) can no longer hope to have the right to rule, to the tobol. Similarly, the son of a noble and a "tamr'idt" (feminine /50/ of "amr'id") is an amr'id and loses all right to the tobol which his father had.

From this first meaning, the word "tobol" ended by mean- 534
ing the group of nobles and imr'ad tribes who answered the call 565
of the tobol, and one might, for example, say, "The tobol 631
of the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe) includes such-and-such imr'ad tribes, " or again, "A certain proportion of imr'ad makes up the tobol of the noble Kel R'ela."

The word "tobol" is certainly not of Tamashek origin, but [192]
definitely Arabic. In fact, "tobol" طبل in literary Arabic means: 1) drum, 2) kettledrum, 3) tribute, tax; and in order to say "I do not know who that man is, " the early Arabs said, ما ادري اي الطبل هو I do not know of what tobol he is" (1).

1. Arab-French dictionary by
A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski.

Thus I believe that this usage was introduced by the early [174
Arabs who, in the first century after the hegira, pushed their 797]
conquest through the country inhabited by the Tuareg in order to convert them to Islamism.

Concerning inheritance. We have seen that private in- [428]
heritance is passed on to the natural heirs, according to the 611
rules of Mohammedan law. As for political inheritance, that 631
is to say, the right to the title of chief of a tobol and to the collection of the "tioussé," or tribute from the imr'ad, this is handed down according to special rules.

Duveyrier has told us that these rights are handed down [114]
"to the oldest son of the oldest sister." I would never have dared to go on record as disagreeing with a statement from such an authority if I did not have complete assurance that the order of inheritance is not exactly that which Duveyrier indicated, and I will furnish proofs of this assurance in the chapter entitled "Genealogy" in the second book of this study /not translated/.

I would therefore say that with the Tuareg when a tobol chief dies there are to succeed him: /51/

1. His brother (the oldest of those living, if there are several)
2. The oldest son of his maternal aunt
3. The oldest son of his oldest sister

This last one is only the third in line.

It is the ancestress, it is her daughters who hand down
to their children the right to the "tobol." At present the Kel [173]
R'ela trace back their laws of inheritance and of access to the tobol to Kella, their ancestress, and the Ta'ltoq to Sakina, a contemporary of Kella and a collateral relative.

The son follows the tobol of his mother. Thus, if the father belongs to the tobol of the Kel R'ela, for example, and the mother to the tobol of the Ta'ltoq, the son would belong to the tobol of his mother. This is what happened to Sidi ag Keradji, the present amenokal of the Ta'ltoq and the Kel Ahnet, whose father was of the tobol of the Kel R'ela and whose mother was of the tobol of the Ta'ltoq. The same applies to Attici ag Amellal and his brother Anaba, whose father belonged to the tobol of the Tedjehé Mellet, and who /themselves/ at present belong to the tobol of the Kel R'ela.

4: Benhazera--45 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter III

### The Amenokal. The Amr'ar

The northern Tuareg, after the downfall of the Imanan sultan, who held absolute rule over them, regained their independence. Then two confederations were formed: that of the Azdjer and that of the Ahaggar, each including several noble tribes. /52/ 173 631

We will see later ("Origin of the Tuareg" /not translated/) that among the Berbers several tribes often formed a confederation under the supreme rule of a single chief and that the right to rule belonged specifically to certain tribes who held a kind of supremacy over the others. And this is what we will find again. Among the Azdjer the tribe that held this kind of supremacy was that of the Orar'en; among the Ahaggar, it was that of the Kel R'ela. The amenokal of the Ahaggar was always chosen from the tobol of the Kel R'ela. 631 643

The title of amenokal, although subject primarily to the laws of heredity which we have mentioned, had to be ratified by the delegates of the nobles of all the tribes and by those of the imr'ad of all fractions of the confederation. The inheritance must be confirmed by election, and this agrees well with the democratic spirit of all the Berbers and with all that is known of their history and of the theories introduced to them by Kharijism, of which they were adherents. 643

As we have said, the imr'ad had to speak first, to say if they would accept the amenokal designated by heredity, and agree to pay him the "tiousse." The nobles spoke later. The discussion was open and an agreement was reached. Sometimes it was not reached. We saw an example of this at the death of the amenokal of the Ahaggar, Attar'el ag Biska, in 1900. The law of heredity called Mokhammed ag Ourzig as amenokal, but the latter, opposed by the imr'ad and the majority of the nobles, was not elected and saw his rival, Attici ag Amellal, preferred. [565]

The amenokal, who at first had supreme command, later 643
had to yield some power to the benefit of some chiefs and to 642
give them special "tobols" with some amr'id tribes, which
did not pay the tioussé to him but paid it to the chiefs of the
new "tobols." This was a source of continual arguments and [668]
wars (see the historical section, Book Two /not translated/),
and one thinks in spite of oneself of, "Who made you a count?"
and the answer, "Who made you king?" /53/

Before the French occupation of the Saharan Oases, each tobol had its own independant life, and the amenokal, or supreme chief, did not interfere in any way in the internal government of the "tobols." He only intervened, with the agreement of the djemaâ, to straighten out disagreements which might arise between tribes or to call to arms all tribes of the confederation against a common enemy, as during the war between Azdjer and Ahaggar.

The chief of each "tobol," of each noble tribe, or of 631
each imr'ad fraction, all indiscriminately bore the title of 643
"amr'ar" , which means primarily "old man," like the Arab word "cheikh," all the meanings of which it carries. Thus, the chief of the tobol of the Taïtoq bore the title of amr'ar. For reasons of a political nature, the title of amenokal was conferred on him, which brings to two the number of amenokal of the Ahaggar confederation.

Thus the amenokal was the supreme chief of the confederation, and at the same time chief of his "tobol," while the amr'ar was the chief of a less important "tobol" of an imr'ad tribe.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



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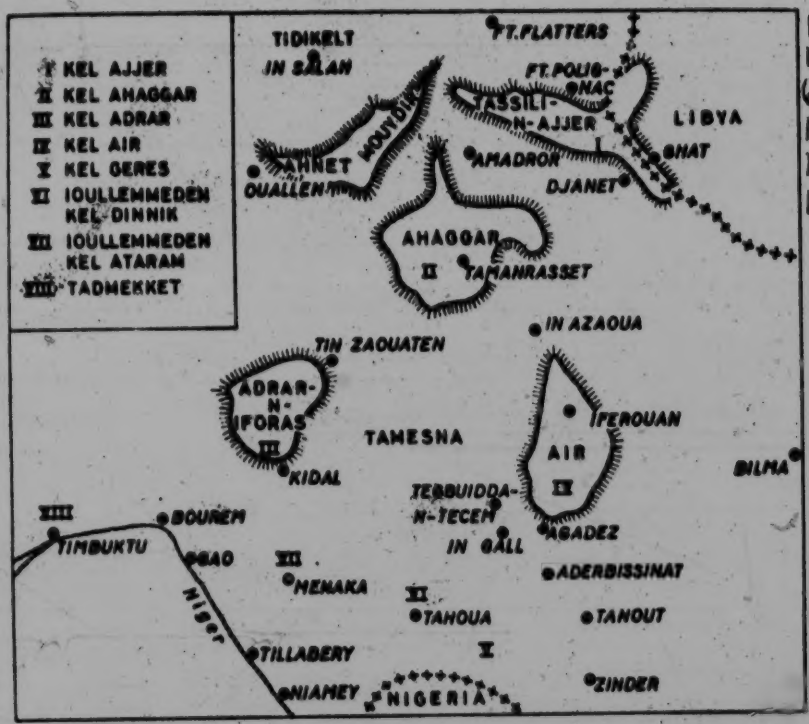


Fig. 1.–Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg, who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups as mentioned in the text are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. – The Tadmekket Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Ioullemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 160 kilometres.

those surviving, although emaciated, will quickly recover as soon as the rainfall starts again. In addition it is often very difficult to take goats through the barren desert country south of Ahaggar without severe loss. With camels, which are also very important domestic animals, things are different. Camels make a great demand on fodder, they are very valuable, can be sold for rather high prices in the oases, and they have a very slow increment compared with goats. For these reasons it is necessary or desirable to keep herds of camels in the south when pastures are dry in Ahaggar, and camels can be taken through the barren desert country without much difficulty. In dry years many Ahaggar Tuareg have their camel-herds in Tamesna, about 500 kilometres from the camps in Ahaggar, and there are even nomads who keep their she-camels constantly in these regions, where the animals are guarded by herdsmen whose are frequently slaves.

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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



175 p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have had only
643 very short periods of reign.

Although the Sultan had but little real power he had a high prestige and was very rich. He had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, as men-
[651] tioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, p. 828f.), and he was also entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade. But the Sultan had under his direct command only the negroid populations of Agadez and the villages of In Gall and Teguidda-n-Tecem. The people of Agadez, said to be members of the religious *Inesiemen* class, have never paid any tribute to the Sultan, whereas he received annual payments from the two villages mentioned. All other people of Air apparently had no fixed economic obligations to the Sultan.

The Sultan had the direct jurisdiction over the negroes under his command. He was the arbitrator and supreme judge in disagreements between the different Tuareg groups to be mentioned below. But he could not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels.

As we have seen the dominant Tuareg group at the establishment of the Sultanry was the Itesen most of whom left the massif long before the arrival of the French. We have also seen that the Kel Geres owing to wars with the Kel Ooui in the 18th century went southwards to the Nigerian borderlands where they became politically independent. In the 19th century the important political groups of the Air Sultanry were the following:–

The Kel Ooui occupying the eastern and most mountaineous parts of the
162 massif. According to figures given by Nicolas for clans and villages of the Kel Ooui
175 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 465ff.) their total number seems now to be about 8000.

The Kel Tamat including the Ikaakasan. The group judged by the figures for
● 631 some of the clans (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471f.) has about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the Kel Ooui. Contrary to the two following groups they were placed under the authority of the supreme Kel Ooui chief, the *Anastafidet*.

The Kel Fadet in the region of In Gall. Their total number according to Nicolas is 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The Kel Ferouan comprising clans in the western parts of the massif including the region of Agadez, and also south of the massif towards Damergou. They number about 5000.

The Kel Ooui group was for periods of the past very important politically. But
175 its political system apparently differed from that of other Tuareg groups which
184 may be explained by the fact that a large number of them were settled agri-
565 culturists. The other Tuareg groups mentioned, on the contrary, were made up exclusively of pastoralists who roamed in the lower parts of the massif and the adjacent plains. In these groups there were two important classes which seem to have been of little importance among the Kel Ooui. The two classes in literature
175 are known as "noble Tuareg" *(Imacheren* sing. *Amacher)* and "vassal Tuareg"
565 *(Imrad,* sing. *Amrid)*. The vassal class in all groups was more numerous than that
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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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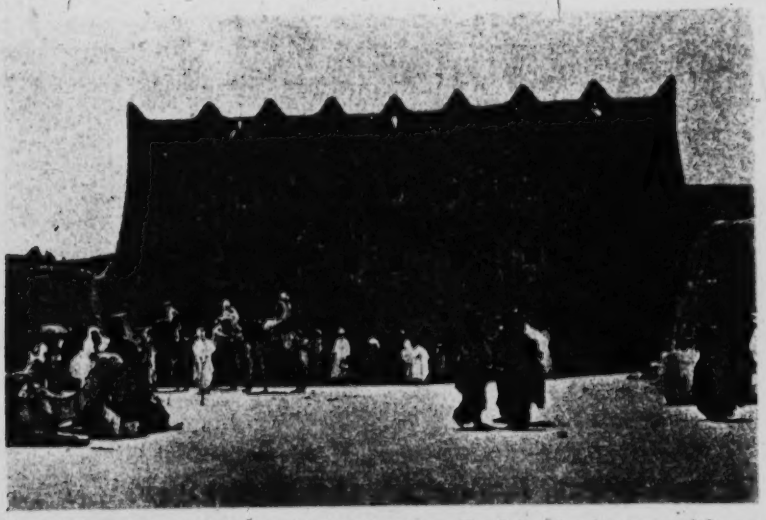

[533] Fig. 4.–The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. – The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing [534] various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

175 of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief
565 had as his sole insignia a drum named *ettebel*, or *arazou*. The name of the drum
●631 *ettebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is adressed by this very word, and *ettebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command. I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat, the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs. There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikben of Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

175 The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but
643 they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:– From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission was given by the Kel Ooui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461f.). Jean who gives a more [114] detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of election (Jean 1909, p. 159ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*Clans of the Kel Ferouan Drum-Group*

(Clans which are not separated by horizontal lines are said to be related to each other. – The two former clans of the list are the only true noble clans of the group).

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| Clans | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kel Ferouán (Iraouattan) | 350 | 58 | There are to-day very few Tuareg of these two noble clans, and it is said that even in the past they were very few. | Teloua (western part) |
| Kel Azel | 180 | 47 | | Aniegen |
| Ijakarkaren | 203 | 41 | Attached to the Kel Azel. Close to the camp of the the drum-chief as soldiers permanently under his command. | Tafadek |
| Igendianen | 247 | 55 | | Borhal |
| Ikhabban? | | | | |
| Iberdianen (2 clans) | 621 | 97 | Living close to the noble Kel Ferouan as servants. | Goufat Teouendegit Eknaouen |
| Irobouren | | | Living close to the noble Kel Ferouan as servants. | |
| Imezzouren | 162 | 31 | Attached to the Kel Azel. | Tirreren |
| Ikaoukan | 150 | | Attached to the Kel Azel. | |
| Iforas (2 clans) | 396 | 95 | Attached to the Kel Azel. | Tedein |
| Ikochechiten | | | A section of the Immezzilalen. Attached to the Kel Azel. | Afarak |
| Imezzoureg | 106 | 20 | | Terazet |
| Idaleyen | 218 | 67 | | Telhechame |
| Ait Oren | 180 | | | Maramaro |
| Immezzilalen | | 27 | | Teloua (eastern part) Asaa |
| Kel Tesemi | 237 | | | Teloua (eastern part) Asaa |
| Ifoghar | 42 | 12 | | |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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| Clans | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ifadeyen (2 clans) | | | Kouroubobo<br>Inechamekouan<br>Toroufi<br>Beinabo |
| Igetofen | | | Ti-n-Daouine<br>Anialen<br>Abelemma<br>Ekaouel |
| Iraouelen | | | Tombalaga<br>Akadanci<br>Meigatouri |
| Elbaraten | | | Onouachor |
| Itagan | | | Eleleg |
| Isakaranen | 653 107 | | Ti-n-Telezgin |
| Kel Tedale (3 clans) | 1300 | They may be noble by origin. | Talak<br>Ourarene<br>Zourika |
| Kel Akarra | 164 39 | Said to be of noble origin and to have had the Ibararochiten clan as their particular vassals. | Ti-n-Teborak |
| Ibararochchiten | | Said to have been the particular vassals of the Kel Akarra clan. | Endegra |

175 grounds round Agadez in the 17th century, and were probably called to this
642 region by a Sultan who needed them to keep order in the country. The actual
643 power then passed into the hands of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief.

### *The Kel Ferouan Tuareg.*

114 Lists of clans which belong to the Kel Ferouan drum-group have already been
614 published. Jean has fourteen clans in his list (Jean 1909, p. 194), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427f. – Abadie 1927, p. 391f.), while Nicolas refers twenty-two clans to the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f., 480). My own list comes
614 close to that of Nicolas but contains a few additional names which however may
127 refer to sections of the other clans. In my list I have indicated the relationship
162 between the clans and their traditional grazing grounds. I have not been able to
[631] get precise particulars about the size of clans, and I therefore quote the figures

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



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### *The Federation of Ahaggar Tuareg*

(Size of clans according to Lhote 1955, p. 223 ff. from statistics of 1949)

| | Noble Clans | Vassal Clans | Iseḳḳemaren Clans |
|---|---|---|---|
| *The Kel Rela Drum-Group* | *Kel Rela* 275<br>To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble clans, with the Iforas group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal clans. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The Kel Rela women, like noble women of the Oraren (Tassili-n-Ajjer) and Kel Ferouan (Air), do not associate freely with people of other classes. | *Dag Rali* 386<br>*Ait Loaim* 400<br>*Agoub-en-Tehele* 585<br>*Relaiddin* 40<br>*Iklan-en-Taousit* 500<br><br>*Ibettenaten* 129<br>*Iregenaten* 435<br><br>These two clans are not true vassals by origin. The Ibettenaten is said formerly to have had noble status and the Iregenaten descend matrilineally from the Ibettenaten, patrilineally from Arabs. | *Ihriaouen Hada* 253<br>*Kel Inger* 176<br>*Kel Tafodest* 61<br>*Kel Immidir* 179<br>*Kel Tazoulet* 158<br><br>The Iseḳḳemaren clans descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble Kel Ehan Mellen clan. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the Ouled Ba Hamou, claims that they were originally their vassals. |
| *The Taitoḳ Drum-Group* | *Taitoḳ* 33<br>There are hardly any Tuareg of pure Taitoḳ stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief Mohamed ag Mohamed who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1934 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the Taitoḳ drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The Taitoḳ and their vassals will frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past. | *Kel Ahnet* 127<br>*Iouarouaren* 47<br>*Tegehe-n-Efis* 127<br>*Ikoutisen* 84<br>*Ikechchemaden*<br>(now mixed with the Dag Rali clan of the Kel Rela drum-group).<br><br>*Ifechchoumen* – a clan patrilineally related to the noble Taitoḳ, matrilineally to the vassal clan of Kel Ahnet. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals. | *Kel I-n-Tounin*<br>(about 20 tents in 1938). |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



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| | Noble Clans | | Vassal Clans | Iseḳḳemaren Clans | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The Teḡehe-Mellet Drum-Group* | *Teḡehe Mellet* | 33 | *Kel Tarka* (part of the Ait Lonira clan of the Kel Ṛela drum-group). | *Kel Tawarit* | 60 |
| | | | | *Kel Ouhet* | 70 |
| *Noble Clans Without Vassals* | *Kel Ehan Mellen* | | The Iseḳḳemaren clans are said formerly to have been vassals of this clan. | | |
| | *Ikadeien* | | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | | |

### *The Kel Ṛela Drum-Group in Ahaggar.*

[161] The Ahaggar Tuareg according to statistics from 1950 number 4,611 individuals
565 (Lhote 1955, p. 157) and comprise 26 clans. In addition to the noble class termed
614 *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), and the vassal class termed *Imrad*, (sing. *Amrid*) or *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), there is also a class termed *Iseḳḳemaren* (sing. *Aseḳḳemar*), who can be considered vassals of a somewhat different status. The religious class *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*) is in Ahaggar represented by a few families without clan organization.

614 There are five noble clans but only three of them have vassals. There are in
565 other words three drum-groups *(eṭṭebel*, pl. *eṭṭebelen)*, namely those of Kel Ṛela,
634 Taitoḳ, and Teḡehe Mellet. The Kel Ṛela group is by far the most important, and its chief with the title of Amenokal is the supreme head of all three groups which
643 constitute a sort of federation named *teḡehe*. In rare cases when the Tuareg of Ahaggar joined forces against foreign Tuareg groups, e.g. the Tuareg of Tassili-n-
[701] Ajjer, the Amenokal was the war-leader of all three drum-groups. But in the past he had often little authority over the two other drum-groups For long periods of the 19th century he had severe troubles with the Taitoḳ, who had acquired a practically independent position, and it seems as if he had no rights over the land inhabited by the Taitoḳ drum-group. The Amenokal as well as the two other drum-chiefs *(Amṛar*, pl. *Imṛaren)* were elected by the vassals of their respective
[565] drum-groups. It is true that the members of the noble clan had a certain influence,
[614] but – contrary to former opinions on the matter – they did not have any direct voice in elections. The Amenokal was and is ceremoniously installed by a Tuareg of the Iseḳḳemaren class who provides him with a new veil or turban. The two other
634 drum-chiefs should be installed in this way by the Amenokal, who also undertook the installation of all vassal chiefs within his own drum-group. The installment of vassal chiefs within the two other drum-groups were undertaken by their respective drum-chiefs. In the present chapter I shall describe the drum-group of the Kel Ṛela in some detail.

[Text continues on p. 104]

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Ahaggar



The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *taousit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Ṛela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Ṛali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Aṭouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan. 614 [162] [565] 613 614

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult. 114 611 [177]

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. 611 [591] [428] [631]

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage. 428 [422] [174]

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10. 614 591 768

571 /48 cont./ Each tribe possessed slaves (iklan), bought or
564 captured in the Sudan. They lived with Tuareg families, carry-
[567] ing out domestic chores, tending goats, extracting salt, digging wells. These slave families were an integral part of the tribe and followed it in its moves.

The harratin were free or freed men, generally Negroes, often natives of the Touat, come to cultivate the arable lands of the Ahaggar. They worked under two contract systems, which are still in force and which we shall study further on.

## The Tribes

•631 In the preceding chapter we saw that each noble tribe possessed imrads, or vassals. Each of these imrad tribes has a chief called "amrar," who rules the tribe according to custom. A tribe can be divided and subdivided. The tribe possesses a pasture region of its own, in which no other tribe may sojourn without a previous agreement with the amenokal, and that only in exceptional circumstances. The nobles may sojourn as they like on the lands of the vassals. The imrad tribes pay a due to the amenokal as a sign of their vassalage. This tax is called "tioussé." The payments are always in kind and in general are scrupulously discharged. This revenue enables the amenokal to uphold his rank suitably during the almost daily receptions, but it is not enough to cover the expenses of his command completely.

## /49/ The Nobles

565 The Kel Rela at present constitute the most important noble tribe of the Ahaggar. These nobles, called in Tamashek "ihaggarènes," are split into three subgroups: the iboglanes, the inembas, and the ikérémoïens. These subgroups are related and increasingly practice endogamy.

The Kel Rela are without doubt the handsomest specimens of the Tuareg type. Does this derive from the fact that they have

565 /51 cont. / The Iklan Taoussit are /52/ the Tuareg who consume the most afazzou seeds ( Panicum turgidum).

There are very few Tédjéhé n'Néfis: 98 Tuareg and 120 Negroes. This tribe, like the preceding one, is imrad of the Kel Rela but formerly belonged to the Taïtoks. The Tédjéhé n'Néfis are related to the Adjouh n'Téhélé and like them were originally from the Aïr. Their camps are generally in the Tamanrasset wadi, downstream from the village, mostly near the gardens of Tidjenouine. The chief of the tribe is Ad Noumen ag Khadida. [162 563]

The Ibotenaten tribe, comprising 128 individuals served by 153 Blacks, is enfeoffed to the Kel Rela without being truly imrad. It is said that an Ibotenaten once killed a noble Ahaggar. The tribe was beaten by the Kel Rela and condemned to pay a tribute. [162 563]

The Ibotenaten are rich camel raisers. They live permanently in the Tamesna, benefitting from the annual rains which make this region fertile. Ould Brika is the tribe's amrar.

The Irreguenaten number 434 and have 600 Negroes. Normally they reside in the Tamesna, but they nomadize toward the Iforas and even the Timétrine region. Their name means "mixture of Arabs and Tuareg." They are allies of the Ibotenaten. Rich camel raisers, the members of this tribe are essentially nomads; they possess no agricultural center. They are the best guides to the Tassili n'Ahaggar. [162 563]

The name Issakamaren designates a group of tribes of Arabic origin which were raided in the Touat and the Tidikelt about the eighteenth century by the Kel Ahaggar. The Issakamaren speak Arabic and Tamashek, but their customs have become those of the Tuareg. They are incorporated in the Tuareg confederation and are treated as imrads, although with a slight nuance of inferiority in the caste system. Their pasture regions are situated on the periphery of the central massif. [631]

The Kel in Khar tribe includes 176 individuals and 50 Negroes. /53/ They are nomads in the eastern part of the Tefedest and trade in the Tin-Zaouaten region. [162 563]

565 /57 cont./ The harratin, who are also Negroes, are ranked as low as the iklan by the Tuareg, who have a high degree of [563] racial prejudice.

However, there is a nuance: the "akli" (plural: "iklan") belongs to his master, the Targui; he cannot leave him, and, if he is no longer bought and sold because of the presence of the French, he considers himself the property of his master. The /58/ hartani is a free man; he may live where he wants to, do what work he will where he will; he makes contracts with the Tuareg and is dependent on them only in so far as his work is. Moreover, as a resident of the Ahaggar, he must observe the customs of the country.

He is under the authority of the village chief, who is also [622] [631] a hartani, responsible to the amenokal (1).

1. This ranking and this information concern the observance of custom and have nothing to do with French law, which is administered by the head of the annex and by the judicial authorities at Batna.

The harratin of the Ahaggar apparently have two possible origins. Some come from the oases of the Touat and the Tidikelt. This population movement has, it appears, always [166] existed. The number of these harratin varies; there is, in fact, a continual coming and going between the Ahaggar and the oases of the north, according with the dry and wet years.

The other harratin are iklan who have been freed by the Tuareg. The chief cause of this emancipation is the growing [567] poverty of the nobles and vassals, who no longer have sufficient resources to feed and clothe their domestics.

423 /67 cont. / interest in planting trees that he cannot keep. A constant effort at arboriculture cannot be hoped for since the gardener may change frequently, and the successor of a tree planter may be ignorant or unscrupulous and is free to let the planting fail.

423 Besides the cultivated land, the land through which routes pass has great importance in the Ahaggar. The whole of the
•631 territory of the Kel Ahaggar has always been divided among
486 the different Tuareg tribes. Strictly applied oral regulations define the rights and servitudes of a tribe concerning its land.

1) Passage through and watering on the lands of a tribe is the right of other Tuareg.

2) No one may sojourn on the lands of a tribe without the consent of that tribe's chief.

3) Whoever follows travelers' routes through land belonging to a tribe is responsible for any damage caused by him or his animals to the trees, wells, foggaras, gardens, and game. Here are several penalties: one goat for a broken tree branch;
[685] one sheep for damage caused /68/ by a poorly watched herd; a camel for damage caused by camels; part or all of any game killed. When a camel runs away, the owner is not responsible; he must even be told and helped. It is forbidden to put animals in a pasture where plants have not attained maximum growth.

4) The amenokal may sometimes authorize tribes to sojourn on the lands of a certain tribe, in case there is an abundance of pasturage on these lands.

The servitudes of the tribes are the normal consequence of their nomadic life, but the rights concerning the land passed through bring to light a characteristic of the Tuareg: their love of the land. These nomads, who should seek the most abundant pastures, whose every interest calls them toward the Sudan, remain attached to their soil. They observe regulations suitable for sedentary peoples.

648 Let us note that there is no agricultural exploitation directed by Europeans in the Ahaggar. The principal reason for this abstention is the meager yield to be expected; the reduction

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Fig. 30. Young zebu ox with *ikembar*, that is cuts made with a knife on the bridge of the animal's nose, and with a cord (*asabar*) placed through the nostrils. Ayr, sedentary *Kel Ewey* Tuareg near Agadez.

(2) *tabellut*, that is a small pronged stick about 40 centimetres long placed through the nostrils of the calf which is thus prevented from reaching its mother's udder (Fig. 31). (3) *ikemban*, that is two small pointed sticks crossing each other and attached over the calf's nosebridge. When the calf tries to suck it hurts the udder of the mother cow which will kick the calf away. I have only seen this device once in Southern Ayr, and I am not quite sure that the term mentioned is correctly spelled, as I did not take it down in *tifinaṛ*. (4) *akimbab*, that is a muzzle. It is not in general use among the Ayr Tuareg though they know of it. It is in current use among the Tuareg of the plains west of the Massif (Tamesna) [184] where I have seen it among the *Ireġenaten* Tuareg, who politically belong to the *Kel Ṛela* drum- [231] group of Ahaggar (Fig. 32). I have seen the same device also known as *akimbab* among the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Western Iwllemmeden*. Similar muzzles are used among the *Iwllemmeden* around Meneka (Musée de l'homme, nos. 36.44.50 & 41.19. 1111–1114) and also among the Tuareg of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas (Musée de Neuchâtel, no. 49.2.39). – These are the weaning devices used in Ayr, the method most commonly applied being that known as *tabellut*, the small pronged stick passed through the calf's nostrils.

234 Cow's milk is drunk fresh, added to food, or made into butter and cheese according to methods [262] described in a later chapter. The Tuareg say that an extremely good milch-cow yields up to seven litres of milk a day. This agrees with Doutressoulle's statement that cows of the *Azawaṛ* breed yield six to eight litres daily at the beginning of their lactation period, while at the end of this period the daily

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614 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member
591 of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with
[682] the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two
[672] tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a
611 tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is
[429] valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered
[565] indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed
614 by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one par-
613 ticular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Tarhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area
565 which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are
631 named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also
423 attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have
[643] particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339).
[162] Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory
[578] of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names –
613 generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections
621 within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

643 *amenu* + (*a*)*kal*, "*amenu* of the country". The first part may be the now extinct sing. of *Imenan*, the original meaning of which is unknown ("princes"?); this agrees with Foucauld's statement that normally *Amenukal* is used as sing. of *Imenan*, meaning *iyen daṛ-Menan*" = "one of the *Imenan* tribe" (Prasse, verbal information). My own view is that though the title may perhaps refer to *akal* [423] meaning "land" it is to be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". It is evident, as pointed out recently by Briggs, that an *Amenukal* as a supreme chief does not own the land in any ordinary sense, but rather owns it as a representative of the whole community (cf. Briggs 1958, p. 88). However, many Tuareg of the south do not connect the word *Amenukal* with "*akal*", and even in the past when the supreme *Amenukal* of the *Imenan* reigned over the Northern Tuareg, he apparently did not have the supreme command of the whole country. When Duveyrier stayed among the *Kel* 173 *Ajjer*, the country of these Tuareg was divided between certain noble tribes. This division was said 631 to have taken place in the following way:— The first Tuareg who settled in Tasilé-n-Ajjer were the 614 *Imenan* and the *Iforas*, while other tribes immigrated at a later date. It happened one day in the past that the supreme chief of the *Imenan* summoned the noble women who had sons with rights of succession to chieftainship, and to each of these women he alloted a particular territory as their apanage. Thus the noble woman of the *Uraṛen* tribe was given the valley of Iṛarṛaren, while the noble woman of the *Imanṛasaten* tribe gained the valley of Tekhammalt (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 323). According to this popular account the land of the *Kel Ajjer* was divided between noble tribes even at a time when 175 the supreme chief of the *Imenan*, the *Amenukal*, was the supreme ruler of the *Kel Ajjer*. In Duveyrier's 631 days the important land-holding tribes among the *Kel Ajjer* seem to have been the *Imenan* in the 614 Tasilé around Ganet, the *Uraṛen* north of the Tasilé Mountains around the valley of Iṛarṛaren, the *Imanṛasaten* east of the *Uraṛen*, and finally the *Iforas* who lived in the region south and southwest [565] of Ṛadames. The *Iforas* Tuareg were then, as to-day, held in high esteem because of their position as *Ineslemen*. They also claimed themselves to be noble by origin. They had no vassals attached to them, but one of the *Iforas* tribes had territorial rights around Ṛadames, and it had the right to dues [651] from all foreign caravans passing through the country. Other land-holding tribes possessed the same rights for their particular territories, and their members (i.e., apparently their chiefs) at certain seasons camped around the caravan roads leading through their country to collect dues from caravan [643] traders (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff., 359 ff.). The *Kel Ajjer* country in Duveyrier's days was divided between various noble tribes, and the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Ajjer group*, the chief of the *Uraṛen*, had no rights over the whole country as such.

565 The noble Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* had rights over certain vassal tribes which did not necessarily 614 live within the territory of the noble tribe to which they were attached. Duveyrier tells us so much 642 of this vassalage that it is possible to outline the main structure of this very interesting political institution.

The noble tribes which had particular rights over vassals were the *Uraṛen*, the *Imenan*, and the *Imanṛasaten*. The last-mentioned tribe remained loyal to the ancient rulers of the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Imenan*, to whom they constituted a sort of armed guard in the past. The *Imanṛasaten* were in opposition to the *Uraṛen* but the latter tribe was very powerful because of its direct authority over most vassal tribes. In all 17 vassal tribes or tribal sections were commanded by the *Uraṛen*, while the *Imenan*,

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173 as the *Ikadeyen* had no vassals and its members had apparently then as now a rather subordinate
565 position compared with other noble Tuareg. The noble tribe named *Kel-ahem-mellen*, which to-day
614 is of little importance and not very numerous, with some of its members settled in the oasis of
642 Inṛer in Tidikelt, seems to have had certain *Isekkemaren* tribes as its particular vassals, but they were later placed under the *Kel Ṛela* the *Taytok*, and the *Tégehé Mellet*. The *Isekkemaren*, as we shall see below, had a political status somewhat different from that of the true vassals known to the Northern Tuareg as *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad*. The division of the vassals of this group during the reign of *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir* between the three noble tribes of *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytok*, and *Tégehé Mellet* is most interesting. When the vassals were divided between the three noble units it led to a division of some of the vassal tribes. Thus the *Ayt Lowayen* was divided into two between the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Tégehé Mellet* while the tribe known as *Imessiliten* was divided into the *Dag Ṛali* for the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Kel Ahnet* for the *Taytok*. It would have been easier to divide the vassals without splitting their tribes, but we may perhaps suggest that the tribes were split because they were already divided into groups of individual vassals under those who became independent noble tribes. When the division of vassals took place in the 18th century most went to the *Kel Ṛela*, but quite a number of tribes was also allotted to the *Taytok*, while the *Tégehé Mellet* tribe received so few that it could never become politically important.

When the vassals were divided between the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytok*, and the *Tégehé Mellet* these noble
634 tribes became united into a sort of federation known as *tégehé*. The three tribes with their vassals formed
[534] so-called drum-groups or *eṭṭebelen* (sing. *eṭṭebel*) with chiefs who had as their insignia a large drum
[778] known as *eṭṭebel*. It was endowed with a particular mystic power; it should not be allowed to touch the ground and when the drum skin was worn, it had to be replaced by a famed warrior. The drum must be obeyed when beaten by the drum-chief to summon his subjects. The drum-chief was the supreme political and judical authority of a drum-group, and he could organize raids and wage war upon other groups. He also collected certain annual payments from his particular vassals. This was
● 631 true of the chiefs of all three drum-groups in Ahaggar. But within the federation of drum-groups
634 that of the *Kel Ṛela* held a prominent position. The drum-chiefs of the two other groups, the *Taytok*
643 and the *Tégehé Mellet*, only possessed the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaren*), which word is that generally used for a chief among the *Kel Ahaggar*, while the chief of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group had the title of *Amenukal* as the chief of the whole *tégehé* federation. Within every drum-group the drum-chief would ceremoniously install all chiefs of vassal tribes but the two drum-chiefs of *Taytok* and *Tégehé Mellet* were installed by the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* group. The *Amenukal* himself was installed in his office by a Tuareg from one of the *Isekkemaren* tribes of his own drum-group. When the *Amenukal*
[565] was installed, which ceremony nowadays takes place at Tamanṛaset, a Tuareg of the *Isekkemaren* class provided him with a large head-cloth. The installment ceremony, which is preserved to this day, was and is the same for any chief among the Ahaggar Tuareg. When a drum-chief was to install a vassal chief, the ceremony took place in the camp of the drum-chief, and when the *Amenukal* had to install drum-chiefs of the two other groups the installation took place in the *Amenukal*'s camp.

The supreme position of the *Amenukal* appears from the rules governing the installation of chiefs, but as already mentioned, the *Amenukal* could not concern himself in all matters of the two other

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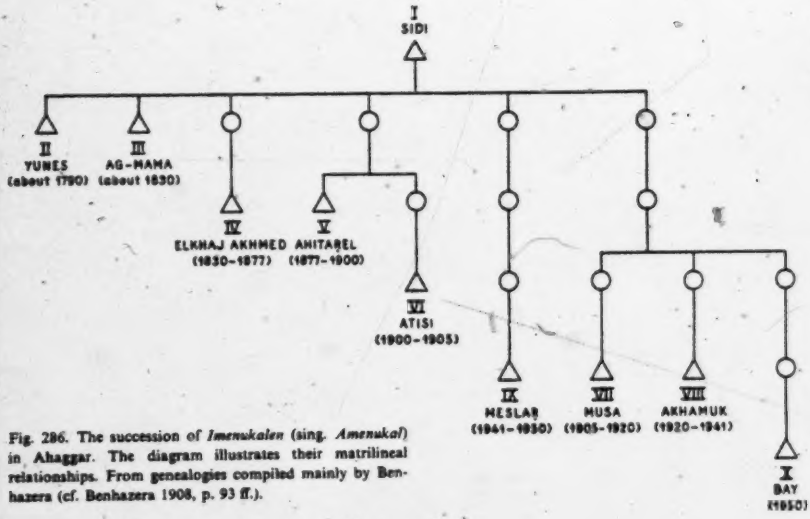


Fig. 286. The succession of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in Ahaggar. The diagram illustrates their matrilineal relationships. From genealogies compiled mainly by Benhazera (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 93 ff.).

drum-groups. The drum-chiefs alone were responsible for the election of vassal chiefs within their 631
groups. The two other drum-groups were largely independent of the *Amenukal*, though the latter 634
was considered the supreme judge in all matters which involved the whole federation, as he was the 643
supreme war leader when the three groups united to fight other groups. It seems as if the *Amenukal* also had a certain religious prestige, and even to-day he goes to the Cherif of Issilessekin once every summer to ask the Cherif to intercede for him with Allah that the rain may fall and the she-camels be fruitful (cf. Morel 1947, p. 129). But the position of the *Amenukal* was very far from that of a divine king. Throughout the 19th century there were long periods in which the two other drum-groups cared very little for the *Amenukal*'s authority, and the *Taytoḳ* and the *Kel Ṛela*, though related to each other, were for long periods engaged in mutual quarrels.

In discussing the position of the *Amenukal* as the supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg, we come 643
to the question whether he was the true owner or commander of the whole country inhabited by the 634
three drum-groups. On this question I have gathered much conflicting information. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* group, including the *Amenukal*, claim that in the past as at the present day the *Amenukal* had rights over the whole country of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while certain other Tuareg, including some old vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* group, say that the two other drum-groups possessed their own territories, the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ* holding all rights over the country of Ahnet with adjacent sections of the western lowland of Ahaggar where some of the *Taytoḳ* vassals lived. I believe that this latter explanation is true and that throughout the 19th century the *Amenukal* was only the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal* were raided by people of his drum-group, the *Amenukal* had the right to a tribute named *ennehet* which according to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amenukal*'s drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the *Amenukal* to whom they paid *tiwsé* for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347 f.).

The drum-group (*eṭṭebel*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The federation (*téġehé*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship (*tehanḍeẓẓit*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is true notably of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar. People of the *Dag Ṛali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group joke with the tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The word "*Isekkemaren*" means literally "people who lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg and true vassals, who say that the *Isekkemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals will joke with the *Isekkemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Isekkemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed between *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Isekkemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg come to the *Isekkemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the *Isekkemaren* visiting the *Aguh-en-tehlé*. The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relationship to the noble *Kel Ṛela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Ṛela* engage in sham-fights (*tebbillant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between the *Kel Ṛela* and the vassal *Aguh-en-telhé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between *Isekkemaren* and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Isekkemaren* tribes (*Ikeyawen Hada, Kel Tazulet*) and the *Aguh-en-tehlé tribe*. Wedding feasts in these *Isekkemaren* tribes are most popular with young men of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Isekkemaren* girls. Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages, if any, while this was not so in the *Tayiok* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between

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173 Talak. This tradition is acknowledged as true by certain Tuareg of Ayr, but all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg
643 claim that the Sultan has never had any right over the country of Ayr. They state that his Tuareg
[639] title of *Amenukal* has nothing to do with *akal* (i.e. "the land"), and that the country of Ayr from the remote past until now has been owned by the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 421). However,
175 if we turn to the information given on this subject by the *Agadez Chronicle*, we learn that until the
643 establishment of the Sultanry it had been customary for the powerful noble tribes to claim a tax of
651 horses from the caravans which passed their particular territories. The first Sultan of Ayr sent a letter to learned people of an Islamic country to ask whether such taxes were lawful or unlawful. And he was answered that these taxes were to be considered good because those who received the taxes protected the very important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo. The taxes should therefore be collected by the Sultan who again should give them to the Tuareg (Urvoy 1934, p. 155). Before the arrival of the French the Sultan had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, which is mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, 828 f.), and he was entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade and to annual taxes from the sedentary Negroes of Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

643 The tradition which says that the Sultan descend patrilineally from the Sultan of Constantinople and matrilineally from a slave woman clearly indicates the position of the Sultan in Tuareg society. The Sultan is looked down upon by fair-skinned Tuareg because of his black skin, but he is also endowed with prestige because of his supposed descendance from the Sultan of Constantinople.

643 A certain *elbaraka* or benediction is ascribed to him, and all people who want to greet the Sultan
778 must remove their sandals. The Sultan is always buried in his palace at Agadez, and it is said that
[766] if he was buried outside there would be a great risk that his subjects would dig up his skeleton to use
[765] part of it for amulets. It is also said that the Sultan preserves a part of the skeleton of his predecessor for amulets. This must be viewed in connection with the particular power of *elbaraka* attached to the Sultan, and it is important to note that the Sultan is believed to possess an unusual power of fertility, which is secured and maintained until his death by means of certain medicines acquired from the Sudan. Thus it seems as though the Sultan possesses some of the qualities of the Sudanese divine
175 kings, but in practice he has little power. The *Agadez Chronicle* refers to Sultans who acted as war
643 leaders of all Ayr Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Ayr it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of pastoral Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have only reigned for very short periods.

● 631 Although the Sultan is the supreme chief of all Ayr Tuareg, he does not have the same relationship
634 to all Tuareg groups, for many of them are placed directly under the supreme chief of the *Kel Ewey*
641 group known as the *Anestafidet*. The *Anestafidet* originally lived at Asodey in Central Ayr, but he now lives in Agadez where he holds a prominent position as a chief. Like most *Kel Ewey* he is black-skinned and related to the Hausa population of the Southlands, where he lives for a part of the year with the important task of organizing the trade between Ayr and the south. The *Anestafidet* has always been closely attached to the sedentary Hausa of the Southlands, and is said to have part of his family living at a small village named Blanko between Tanut and Zinder. A new *Anestafidet* may even be elected

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from the members of this village. The particular connection between the *Anestafidet* and the sedentary 631
peoples of the Sudan is very natural in view of the fact that the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg nowadays, as in the 634
past, engage much in caravan trading with the south. The name of *Anestafidet* is derived from the [648]
tribe *Kel Tafidet* – one of the noble *Kel Ewey* tribes which immigrated to Ayr about the 14th century A.D. The *Anestafidet* has always been a very important chief, and the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, though very mixed with the ancient sedentary population of Ayr Negroes, were for periods in the past very important politically. To-day the *Anestafidet* is the most important chief of Ayr after the Sultan, and [266]
it is said that, like a deceased Sultan, a deceased *Anestafidet* should be buried in his house. The *Anesta-* [533]
*fidet* is treated with respect by all Ayr Tuareg, who take off their sandals when greeting him, and at the beginning of the holy Friday (that is on Thursday night) the professional musicians of Agadez, when they have made music at the Sultan's palace, go to *Anestafidet*'s residence and then to the ministers of the Sultan.

The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, who live predominantly in and around the villages of the eastern and most mountainous part of the Ayr Massif, form the majority of the people placed directly under the command of the *Anestafidet*. According to figures given by Nicolas for tribes and villages of the *Kel Ewey* [162]
their total number seems now to be about 8000 (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 465 ff.). But placed under the *Anestafidet* are also the pastoral Tuareg group known as *Kel Tamat*. Formerly it had its own drum-chief (*ettebel*) who was also the supreme chief of the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg. The group of *Kel Tamat*, [162]
with the *Ikezkezen*, judged by the figures for some of the tribes (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 471 f.), comprise nowadays about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the true *Kel Ewey*.

The *Kel Tamat* do not form a drum-group nowadays. In the past their drum-chief was elected by tribes within the drum-group, but he had to be installed ceremoniously by the *Anestafidet* who presented him with a large headcloth. All people of the *Anestafidet* have to recognize him as their supreme judicial authority. But the *Anestafidet*, who is elected by people of the ancient noble *Kel Ewey* tribes, is submitted to the authority of the Sultan who also installs the *Anestafidet* ceremoniously.

Most Ayr Tuareg who are not placed under the *Anestafidet* are collectively referred to as the *Kel* 631
*Amenukal*, that is "the people of the *Amenukal* (or Sultan)". Most of these people are pastoralists 634
though some sedentary or semi-sedentary people are also placed in the Sultan's group. The important 643
Tuareg groups placed directly under the Sultan are the following:—

The *Itesen* with the *Immikitan* most of whom left the Massif long before the arrival of the French. In the past both groups formed politically very important drum-groups, and though they were very few in number throughout the 19th century they were nevertheless politically important, as without them a Sultan could not be elected and installed.

The *Kel Faday* in the region of Ingal consist of a noble tribe and eleven tribes of vassals. The *Kel Faday* constituted throughout the 19th century a politically important drum-group though it was very small. Their total number according to Nicolas is now 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The *Kel Ferwan* comprise tribes in the western parts of the Massif including the regions of Agadez, [162]
and also south of the Massif in Damergu. They number about 5000.

The *Kel Geres* Tuareg live in the Southlands around Madawa most of the year but visit Southern 631
Ayr west of Agadez in the rainy season (cf. p. 7, 431 f.). Properly speaking they are not now recognized 643

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631 as Ayr Tuareg and are politically independent. Nevertheless they still consider the Sultan of Agadez
643 as their proper *Amenukal*. They are very rich and numerous, comprising a great many tribes. Their
[169] political system differs from that of most other Tuareg. I outline its structure later in this chapter.

634 The drum-chiefs of the *Itesen*, the *Imonikitan*, the *Kel Faday*, and the *Kel Ferwan* have to be rec-
643 ognized and ceremoniously installed by the Sultan. The ceremony should traditionally take place at the Sultan's palace of Agadez, but to-day it is performed at the French Administration Centre. The main feature of the ceremony is the wrapping of a large head-cloth around the elected chief's head by the Sultan. The Sultan, on the other hand, is elected and installed by the chiefs of above-mentioned groups and by the *Anestafidet* as the representative of the *Kel Ewey*. But the chiefs do not take the same part in the election of a Sultan, and it is noteworthy that the *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan*, who throughout the 19th century were extremely powerful and warlike, apparently do not play any rôle in the instalment ceremony.

The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:— From his private room in the palace (Fig. 288) the Sultan is led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the *Itesen* and the *Kel Geres* ask him to sit down upon a bed made of ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he is not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission is given by the *Kel Ewey* (Barth 1857, I, p. 461 f.). Jean, who gives a more detailed account, says that the *Kel Geres* do not participate, and have no voice in the election (Jean 1909, p. 159 ff.). I have myself been told during my visit to the *Kel Geres* drum-chief that the *Kel Geres*, represented by their drum-chief, previously took part in the election of the Sultan. As to the position of the powerful drum-groups of *Kel Faday* and *Kel Ferwan*, people of the latter group frequently claim that they alone could elect a Sultan, and I have been told by *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg that a Sultan should be installed in the way that the supreme chiefs of the *Itesen* and the *Imonikitan* take the Sultan by his hands and lead him to a sheepskin where he sits down to receive the large head-cloth from the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group. However, it seems as if the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief does not traditionally play any part in the instalment ceremony.

631 In the 19th century the Sultan was the arbitrator and the supreme judge in disagreements between
634 the different Tuareg groups whose supreme chiefs should be installed by the Sultan. But he could
643 not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels. The *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs did not always pay much respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation of Ayr the *Kel Faday* even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of Ingal (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was much afraid that the *Kel Faday* would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the *Iwilemmeden* (Barth 1857 58, I, p. 478). As to the *Kel Ferwan*, their chief was the most prominent leader of all Ayr. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103 f.) and it is repeated over and over again by all Tuareg of Ayr to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and he thinks that the *Kel Ferwan* originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or *Amenukal* was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This
[173] agrees with information I have gathered among the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group. It is however most difficult to judge the value of these traditions as it is difficult to reconstruct political life in pre-European times. All Tuareg try to glorify their own political rôle in the past, and this is particularly true of the noble Kel Ferwan Tuareg.

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Fig. 287. Musicians of the Sultan of Ayr marching through Agadez. In the front a man blowing a clarinet-like instrument, in the background the drummers mounted on camels and beating two drums each. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

631 true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. They are nowadays without much power and prestige, whereas
634 the Sultan, owing to the French, has augmented his power greatly. Many *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg speak
643 disparagingly about the Sultan, and the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* named *Agg-Elkhir* called him
178 openly a slave and did not take off his sandals in the Sultan's presence.

643 There can be little doubt that the man who was elected the Sultan of all Ayr people at the beginning
642 of the 15th century very quickly became a Sultan not of Ayr, but of Agadez. A state organization like that of the Ayr Sultanry could not function in a Tuareg society characterized by warlike pastoral groups, and the Sultan would have to be dismissed or else recognize the authority of the strongest pastoral group which, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century was the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

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according to which the ancestresses of the two noble tribes came from *Awjila* together with a third sister, who became the ancestress of the *Iberdyanen*. This story runs as follows:— 173 614

The three sisters left their original homeland of Awjila riding on bull-camels. One night when the girls were not very far from Iferwan and the three sisters had gone to sleep, the eldest, named *Sabenas*, awoke before her two sisters and removed the hobble-ropes from their riding camels which disappeared in the desert. Thus the only riding camel left was *Sabenas*', and when the sisters arrived at Iferwan she alone rode on a bull-camel while her two younger sisters were walking. At Iferwan there was then a mighty chief named *Azeyezzer*. When the girls arrived there he asked them who they were, and *Sabenas* said that one of the two girls who travelled on foot was her sister, but not her true sister, while the other girl was her *tameyit* or vassal. The supreme chief *Azeyezzer* was very eager to marry *Sabenas* as she rode on a bull-camel and consequently was of noble birth. *Sabenas* agreed to marry him on the condition that bride-wealth should be paid in land. And it was agreed that she should have for bride-wealth as much land as she could ride through on her camel at a stretch. She rode off from Iferwan and her camel did not get tired until she was close to Tagedufat south of the Massif. Here *Sabenas* dismounted and threw her stick towards the south. The stick fell down at the well of Tagedufat, and *Sabenas* now had the right to all country ranging from Iferwan in the north to the well of Tagedufat situated in the southern plains. This vast territory has since then been owned by the descendants of *Sabenas* who are the true noble *Kel Ferwan* or *Irawatten*. But the Tuareg of this tribe claim that they have since then greatly augmented their territory so that they are the true owners also of the land south of the Massif as far as Tessawa, which is very close to the frontier of Northern Nigeria.

The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past all Tuareg groups within the *Kel Ferwan* territory and a few other groups of Tuareg and negroid sedentary people paid an annual tribute known as *tewad* to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. This annual tribute was calculated as follows:— 173 631 634 651

137 342 634

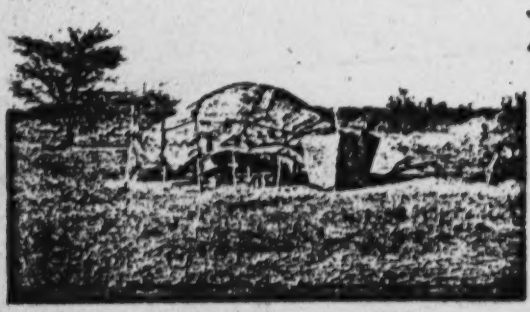

Fig. 289. Mat tent of the B.1.b type inhabited by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace, containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of *Aázrbiniast* at the end of rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats.

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|---|---|
| *Kel Ewey* . . . . . | 50 Tuareg veils of indigo cotton |
| *Kel Faday* . . . . . | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Echchikhen* . . . . . | two small drum-groups in Damergu each giving 3 oryx hides, as their vassals were mainly hunters |
| *Kel Gerer* . . . . . | 1 horse with a saddle |
| *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* . . . | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Kel Allekot* . . . . . | 150 kg of millet |
| *Damergu & Katsena* . . . . . | An amount of millet |

Most of these groups, it is said, paid the annual tribute known as *tewsé* because the land belonged to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. But the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg did not pay an annual tribute for this reason but because they were subdued in wars. It is much to be doubted that these annual tributes were paid regularly to the drum-chief by such warlike groups as the *Kel Dennek* and the *Kel Faday*, who frequently joined forces against the *Kel Ferwan*. As to the *Kel Faday*, the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they were formerly the vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They say that in the remote past the whole drum-group of the *Kel Faday*, including its noble tribe, paid bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief as a token of vassalage, which is said to have ceased in the following way:— The *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a *Kel Fáday* camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the *Kel Faday* camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the *Kel Faday*. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the *Kel Faday* so that after a time he could return to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the *Kel Faday* Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan*.

634 The drum-chief had as an insignia of his political power over all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg a large drum
534 known as *ettebel* (or *ayezu*). The word *ettebel* was, and is, used not only as a name of the drum but
778 also as a name of the drum-group and the drum-chief whose title of address is *ettebel*, or "drum". This drum had a sacred or mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced, the man charged with this task would perform it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. We see that connected with the drum were certain taboos equivalent to those which are believed to maintain the mystic power of *elbaraka*.

634 The drum-chief had the only drum of the *Kel Ferwan* group of which he was the supreme chief.
202 The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal tribes but also by the
[614] noble *Kel Azel*. The chief of the *Kel Azel* had the title of *amyar* or *ayolla* like all other tribal chiefs, but he was addressed *ettebel* although he did not have the right to a drum.

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together at the French administration post of Agadez, there were two candidates for the office, namely *Bukha* and *Khejji*. Present at the election were the French *Commandant de Cercle*, the Sultan, and other important chiefs. The Sultan requested all men to elect *Bukha* (because *Khejji*'s father *Agg-Elkhir* had scoffed at the Sultan and publicly had called him a slave). Therefore, when the *Commandant* asked the *Kel Ferwan* men to divide into two groups according to whether they wished *Bukha* or *Khejji*, the group of men voting for *Khejji* numbered only four or five men. *Bukha* was thus elected and the Sultan presented him with a large head-cloth and declared him the new *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief.

From what has been said above about the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs it is evident that the drum-chief was elected by the vassals who constitute the majority of the group. But it is very doubtful whether in the past it was normal for a Sultan to advise the vassals to elect a particular Tuareg for drum-chief. For though the drum-chief should then also be installed and recognized by the Sultan, the latter was not strong enough to meddle in the affairs of the drum-group. There are even some noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who claim that in the past the drum-chief should be installed not by the Sultan, but by a vassal Tuareg of the drum-group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But most vassals hold that the drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that in the past, when dissatisfied with a drum-chief, they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him.

In all internal matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge, but it seems as if the chief of the *Kel Azel* who was installed by the drum-chief had almost similar judicial rights over his particular vassals. However, any case occurring within the whole *Kel Ferwan* group could be brought before the drum-chief, who in difficult cases would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez, or the *Echchikhen*. Punishments for thefts are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put into jail (*takormut*) in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:— pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of remaining standing. A few old people remember that they have seen this method of punishment practised in Agadez. Punitive measures like imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law, and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* was in fact the true master of Ayr, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison and may also have imposed capital punishment on thieves. Proper theft seems to have been very rare among pastoral Tuareg in the past, but to-day camel-thieves are extremely common in all groups. Some Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any camel thieves who were hanged like dogs.

All members of the *Kel Ferwan* group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities (*édeyet*) were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen had the right to blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man, whose kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Some Tuareg will claim that the

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The political supremacy of the nobility is founded upon conquest and has become hereditary, but 642
this supremacy can be lost. If a vassal tribe conquers a noble tribe the rôles may change, and though 565
this has not yet happened the principle is considered valid by all Tuareg. The vassals pay an annual tribute to the noble Tuareg. A noble Tuareg can take what he likes from a vassal, but his rights depend upon his strength, just as the tributes paid by vassals depend upon the strength of their noble lords. A noble tribe must protect its vassals against other noble tribes. Chiefs of both noble and vassal [642]
Tuareg tribes have the title of *Amenukal*, and this title is hereditary. The power of the supreme noble 643
chief (the *Amenukal*) is such that he cannot kill obstinate subjects. But he can thrash them and even wound them, and he can seize their property. There may be more than one candidate when a chief is elected, and this may lead to severe quarrels and even to the division of the tribe (cf. Aymard 1911, p. 37 ff.).

Mangeot & Marty in their study of the Niger Tuareg mention that even in pre-European times 642
certain tribes of vassal status had no particular duties towards noble tribes. They also state that the 565
relationship between noble and vassal Tuareg was breaking down shortly after the French occupation [178]
of the country. The traditional *tiwsé* payments made by vassals to their noble lords differed much from one tribe to the other. Certain vassal tribes gave only one container with butter annually (Mangeot & Marty 1918, p. 258, 461). The chief *Amdeŋ* of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* informed that the *tiwsé* payments, which were abolished long ago, were always insignificant. They were made in goats and butter. The chief also said that originally the *Impad* tribes had no camels.

## THE ORIGIN OF TUAREG POLITICAL SYSTEMS

We see from the description above that Tuareg political systems bear resemblances to one another 642
in most groups. The largest political unit is the group under the leadership of a supreme chief, generally 631
known as the *Amenukal*, or as *Amenukal-n-akal* in the *Iwllemmeden* groups where the title *Amenukal* 643
is used also for minor chiefs. The *Amenukal* of a political group is also the chief of a so-called drum-group within the larger political group, though in Ayr the *Amenukal* is identical with the Sultan of Agadez. We may say that the political group known among the Northern Tuareg as *tékehi*, in the *Iwllemmeden* groups as *tégezé*, has a central government consisting of the *Amenukal*, his deputies, and a council. And it is clear that the *Amenukal* everywhere was considered the supreme chief with superior judicial rights and also the war-leader of the whole group. But the authority of an *Amenukal* was in all groups a very limited one, and quarrels between the various drum-groups of a federation were very common everywhere.

The most important political unit of Tuareg political systems was in fact the drum-group. Its chief 634
was always a most important person. In most groups he was elected mainly by the vassals, and he was not an absolute monarch, though normally he could obtain the support of most vassals to quell internal insurrections. Within the drum-group the drum-chief was the highest judicial and military authority, and it was he who had to regulate all relations between noble and vassal Tuareg within the drum-group. Other noble Tuareg, e.g., the *temazlayt* masters, within the drum-group had no [565]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



428 sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mothers) while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states [114] that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar (and in Ayr) denied this.

428 643 Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Rela* drum-group has no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however, [632] will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *éhéré wa n eṭṭebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group)", or *éhéré wa n butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

422 It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually, and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may [858] [553] own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions, e.g., on the naming day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong 422 to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should 592 serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic unit of closely related stock-owners.

422 *233 All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar [114] Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite [576] to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks [602] so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which 422 *233 time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark 565 their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe (the *Dag Rali*) donkeys are also branded with a redhot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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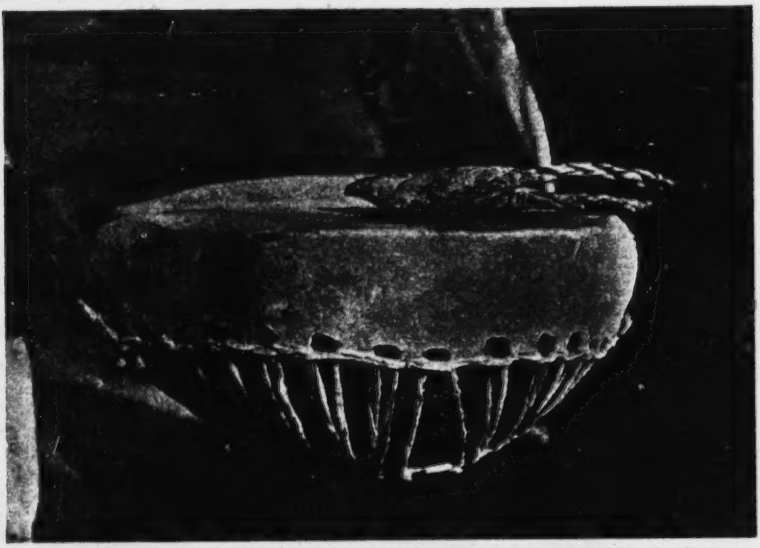

Fig. 6.–The drum which is the only insignia of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. Similar drums are found in all Tuareg groups.

614 past, as nowadays, the proper successor to chieftainship was the deceased chief's son. This rule of succession is no doubt due to Islamic influence which, as mentioned, [174] has introduced patrilineal succession among the Ioullemmeden Tuareg and also in various clans of the religious class of *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). I think there can be no doubt that succession among the Air Tuareg was originally matrilineal and that most possibly a sister's son was considered the proper successor to chieftainship.

### *The Political System of the Kel Ferouan.*

634 The important noble clans of the Kel Ferouan drum-group, namely the true Kel [614] Ferouan (or Iraouatten) and the Kel Azel, are said to be matrilineally related, as [173] the ancestress of the Kel Azel was a woman of the Kel Ferouan clan. She married, tradition says, an Arab who was killed at her own request.

The chief of the noble Kel Ferouan clan had the only drum of the whole group [202] of which he was the supreme chief. The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal clans but also by the noble Kel Azel. 778 The drum, which may still be seen in the camp of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, is 534 made of wood and covered with skin (fig. 6). It is believed that it has a mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced the man charged with this task would do it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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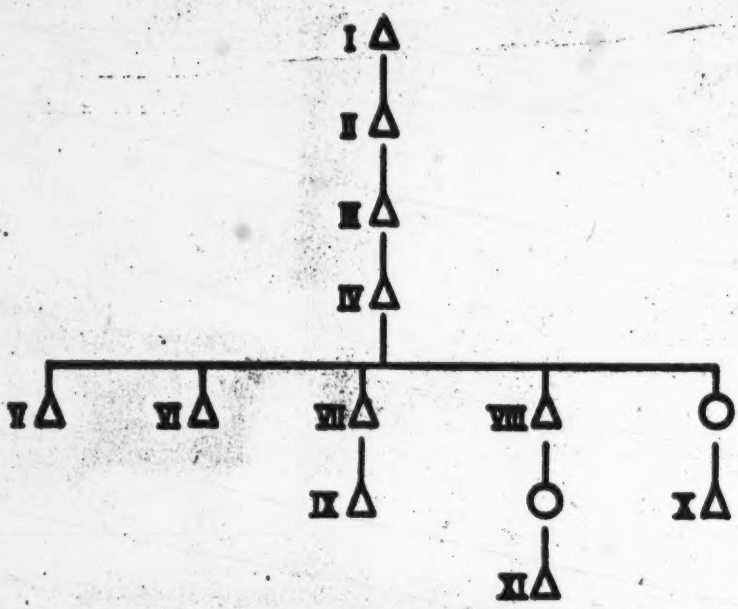


Fig. 7.–Succession of drum-chiefs in the small drum-group of Echchikhen living in Damergou south of the Air Massif.

blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. 778 534

Matrilineally related to the Kel Ferouan are also the Echchikhen clan of Damergou, as its ancestress was a noble woman from the Kel Ferouan. But patrilineally the Echchikhen seem to be related to Iforas Tuareg of religious status. The chief of the Echchikhen has a drum of his own as he has the right over a few vassal clans of Damergou, namely the Imasoren, Khamedan, Ekanaouen, and Iraouelen – clans said to be poor and in part subsisting as hunters. Among the Echchikhen I was able to collect a list of drumchiefs who have been chosen mainly according to the patrilineal principle (fig. 7). A new chief of the drum-group had just been elected, and he had no ties of kinship with the Echchikhen. He belonged to the Kel Geres group, and the prominent noble Echchikhen Tuareg were very sorry and infuriated about his election, as they wanted a man from their own clan to take over the leadership of the whole drum-group. But they could do nothing about it as the chief can be elected only by his vassals. 634 614]

This same principle is and was valid for the election of drum-chiefs in the Kel Ferouan group – they have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, who after the French occupation have also elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble Kel Ferouan clan. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, but the noble Kel Ferouan unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their [177] 173 634

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



173 drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group
634 until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The present drum-chief and his brother know the names of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent chiefs are not known further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:–

*Sabenas,* the ancestress of the noble clan and the first ruler of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

*Amenokal,* the elder son of Sabenas.

*Mohammed Aman,* the younger brother of Amenokal.

*Elkarebi,* the brother of Mohammed Aman.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:–

*Boboker,* who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan and was of pure noble origin.

*Ṛali,* who was the younger brother of Boboker. He was drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years and to have died about 30 years ago. He was considered a very skillful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the Kel Ferouan drum-group with profound respect. Ṛali's tomb is
769 south of the massif somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. On Ṛali's death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in which I had the opportunity to partic-
[782] ipate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief and eaten close to the tomb. Later there was a prayer led by the chief, who thereupon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the
[177] deceased chief. – Ancestral worship of this type is most probably no traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. Tuareg are generally afraid of deceased persons and will avoid their tombs.

*Mohammed,* who belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan through his mother, while
175 his father came from the Ifoṛas. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals.
634 Apparently he was no close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief, Ṛali.

*Ouanarli,* who had no bonds of kinship with the Kel Ferouan clan. His father belonged to the religious and in Tuareg opinion very holy clan of Kel Es Souk. He was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

*Afanou,* who belonged to the Echchikhen. He died after one year's reign.

*Koutia,* who was of noble Kel Ferouan stock being the son of Ṛali's younger brother.

*Agg Elkher,* of pure noble origin being the son of Ṛali's daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected. He is the present drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan group.

*Azerhar,* who was the son of Ṛali.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*Agg Elkher*, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [175] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that [643] in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals.

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little [431] authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal [178] chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. 614 634

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 651 [583]

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:- 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Teouit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



634 particular case is related of a group of Ioullemmeden Tuareg attacking a camp of
727 Kel Ferouan vassals who made a counterattack and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, then they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

[565] 3) *Ekachchadi*, that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without
[721] the permission of their drum-chief. In this case the drum-chief would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals who were not allowed to engage in warfare on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

The drum-chief had other income from his subjects who paid him an annual
634 fee termed *sadaḳa*. This fee, it is said, was paid not only by vassals but also by noble
651 households of the Kel Azel clan. The sadaḳa fees were collected on behalf of the
565 drum-chief by people of the Echchikhen and by negroid blacksmiths, who form a particular and rather numerous caste. There were definite rules for the payment of sadaḳa. It was computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example can here be mentioned the payments for camel herds:–

| *Size of Herd.* | *Sada a.* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels | 2 goats |
| 15 camels | 3 goats |
| 25 camels | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels | 2 full-grown camels. |

The Echchikhen and the blacksmiths took the sadaḳa animals to the drum-chief. He gave some of them to the collectors who were themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of
[735] the proceeds given to poor people by the drum-chief, who would keep a small part for himself.

The drum-chief had the supreme jurisdiction over his group. In all internal
634 matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge. In difficult
692 cases he would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez or the Echchikhen. All members of the Kel Ferouan group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities *(edeiet)* were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen
682 had the right of blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection.
[696] But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man whose
184 kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Apparently there has never been any
682 fixed size of blood-wealth among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab Tribes of The Sahara.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:– pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg. 000 685 [697] [177] [681] [643]

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relationship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. 634 [692] 565 571 [634]

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and 582 607 [565] 607

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law *(alegges*, pl. *ilousan)*,
[601] or sisters-in-law *(taleggest*, pl. *tilousin)*, while the spouses of descendants of all
brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law *(aḍeggal*, pl. *iḍoulan)*, or
[606] daughters-in-law *(taḍeggalt*, pl. *teḍoulin)*. These terms are always used reciprocally,
and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized
634 his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the
614 members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble
565 origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged
to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is
[687] said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely
not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the
634 Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the
614 Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other
565 drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel
114 Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg
claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and
Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd
thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans
the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427) The Kel
Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation
was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg
are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems
to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related
to the Iḥaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter
clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from
634 the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power
614 over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the
565 Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have
had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibararochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by
[558] vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who
however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-
chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission
and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-
wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel
Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief
[669] had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign
Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



It is said that in the 19th century all Tuareg groups of Air and adjacent regions paid an annual tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as follows:– 634 651

| | |
|---|---|
| Kel Ooui | 50 Tuareg veils |
| Kel Fadei | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| Echchikhen | two groups each giving 3 oryx hides |
| Kel Geres | 1 horse with a saddle |
| Ioullemmeden | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| Kel Allekot | 150 kg of millet |
| Damergou<br>Katsena | An amount of millet |

The Tuareg name for these payments is *toouse* meaning "annual tribute". The present drum-chief says that this tribute was given by the groups because all land [423] belonged to the Kel Ferouan group. I think that the correctness of this is perhaps to be doubted, and that there may be other possible explanations:– 1) The payments may at some remote date have been made to the Sultan (Amenokal), but [174] later collected by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became more important or, more possibly 2) they may have been given to the drum-chief for protection. Thus annual duties, termed *tioue* by the Northern Tuareg, were formerly given by foreign Tuareg groups to mighty chiefs of Ahaggar to avoid raids (cf. p. 113).

The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim that in the remote past the whole drum-group of Kel Fadei including its noble clan paid bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan 173 drum-chief as his vassals. This vassalship of the Kel Fadei is said to have ceased in the following way:– The Kel Ferouan drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a Kel Fadei camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the Kel Fadei camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the Kel Fadei. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the Kel Fadei so that after a time he could return safely to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the Kel Fadei Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan.

The political system of the Kel Ferouan group may be characterised as simple, 634 all political rights resting in the hands of the drum-chief. He had no particular ministers or deputies, but he would discuss important matters with noble Tuareg of his camp and with the chiefs of vassal clans.

It has been mentioned above that the Kel Akarra clan in the past had one 634 614

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Aír



634 565 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzouren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had constantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Ibrrdianen and Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers and protectors.

[463] [701]

Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals *(Imghad)* as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:– "One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much about this.

114 565 614 [422] [672] [567]

Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin. 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a, p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg have emigrated.

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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



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| | Noble Clans | | Vassal Clans | Isekkemaren Clans | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The Tegehe-Mellet Drum-Group* | *Tegehe Mellet* | 35 | *Kel Tarha* (part of the Ait Loaiten clan of the Kel Rela drum-group). | *Kel Tawarit*<br>*Kel Oubri* | 60<br>70 |
| *Noble Clans Without Vassals* | *Kel Khan Mellen* | | The Isekkemaren clans are said formerly to have been vassals of this clan. | | |
| | *Ikadeien* | | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tin. | | |

### *The Kel Rela Drum-Group in Ahaggar.*

[161] The Ahaggar Tuareg according to statistics from 1950 number 4,611 individuals
565 (Lhote 1953, p. 157) and comprise 26 clans. In addition to the noble class termed
614 *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), and the vassal class termed *Imrad*, (sing. *Amrid*) or *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), there is also a class termed *Isekkemaren* (sing. *Asekkemar*), who can be considered vassals of a somewhat different status. The religious class *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*) is in Ahaggar represented by a few families without clan organization.

614 There are five noble clans but only three of them have vassals. There are in
565 other words three drum-groups *(ettebel*, pl. *ettebelen)*, namely those of Kel Rela,
634 Taitok, and Tegehe Mellet. The Kel Rela group is by far the most important, and its chief with the title of Amenokal is the supreme head of all three groups which
643 constitute a sort of federation named *tegehe*. In rare cases when the Tuareg of Ahaggar joined forces against foreign Tuareg groups, e.g. the Tuareg of Tassili-n-
[701] Ajjer, the Amenokal was the war-leader of all three drum-groups. But in the past he had often little authority over the two other drum-groups For long periods of the 19th century he had severe troubles with the Taitok, who had acquired a practically independent position, and it seems as if he had no rights over the land inhabited by the Taitok drum-group. The Amenokal as well as the two other drum-chiefs *(Amrar*, pl. *Imraren)* were elected by the vassals of their respective
[565] drum-groups. It is true that the members of the noble clan had a certain influence,
[614] but – contrary to former opinions on the matter – they did not have any direct voice in elections. The Amenokal was and is ceremoniously installed by a Tuareg of the Isekkemaren class who provides him with a new veil or turban. The two other
634 drum-chiefs should be installed in this way by the Amenokal, who also undertook the installation of all vassal chiefs within his own drum-group. The installment of vassal chiefs within the two other drum-groups were undertaken by their respective drum-chiefs. In the present chapter I shall describe the drum-group of the Kel Rela in some detail.

[Text continues on p. 104]

or a large chopping knife of European origin; (4) Holes are dug with one of the implements mentioned 342*
in front of the bed and behind it, and the curved wooden pieces forming the arches are placed in these holes and are lashed together at their upper ends. These holes are 0.30–0.35 m deep; (5) Holes of the [284]
same depth are dug for the vertical sticks which support the cross-bars at both sides of the arches, the cross-bars being attached to the vertical sticks by means of cords; (6) A long cord is wound around the high middle arch so that the cord forms tight loops along the upper part of the arch; (7) The slender semi-arches, each consisting of two rods, are placed in the loops of the middle arch from both ends; (8) The thick ends of these rods are attached to the cross-bars with cords; (9) The upper ends of these rods are attached to each other to form semi-arches, and the wooden structure is now finished; (10) Two mats of the *ewerwer* type, which form the inner layer of the roof, are laid over the semi-arches; [285]
(11) Dum palm mats of oval shape are placed upon these mats; (12) A long and narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent following its longitudinal direction; (13) The mats are fastened to the wooden structure by means of a cord running over the high central arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction of the dwelling; (14) An oval dum palm mat is placed on each side of the high central arch, and these two mats are fastened to the wooden structure with cords attached to the two lower middle arches; (15) A long narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent along the high middle arch at a right angle to the longitudinal direction; (16) All mats covering the upper structure of the tent are finally fastened by means of a cord system running all over the roof and attached to the horizontal cross-bars and the lower parts of the arches; (17) The long narrow dum palm mat is drawn around the lower part of the tent if considered necessary.

The mat tent is normally erected as here described, but all women do not erect their tents exactly 342*
in the order mentioned. The work seems to be very easy to the women who measure no distances. 461
They seem to carry out their work automatically. I have not been able to control the amount of time needed for one or two women to erect a mat tent of the type mentioned, for the women are frequently interrupted in their work by many other household duties, by their crying babies, or by visitors from other camps, but I believe that one woman can erect this elaborate tent structure in about half an hour.

There are some mat tents which are slightly different in structure from the above-mentioned tent. 342*
These are mentioned below:—

B.1.b. Tents which are larger and have a more elaborate structure. Such tents are rare and are found mainly in the camps of chiefs. They may have four or five arches and a larger number of semi-arches than other tents. I have seen very large tents in the camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and [634]
the largest tent I have seen was that of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief. It contained two large beds and measured about 6.00 × 3.50 m; it was over two metres high at the middle arch.

Mat tents of a less elaborate structure are not so rare. The following types can be mentioned:—

B.1.c. A tent structurally identical with B.1.a with the exception that it has only two arches which are of equal height. These arches are then both known by the term *tekkekkewatin* (sing. *tekkekkewat*). Tents of this type with only two arches seem to be common among the *Iforas* tribes of Southern Ayr.

B.1.d. A tent with two slender arches of equal height, secured in an erect position by means of cords from the middle of the arches to the middle of the horizontal cross-bars. This is not a common [184]
type, and I have seen only one such dwelling in a vassal camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

[text continues on p. 356]

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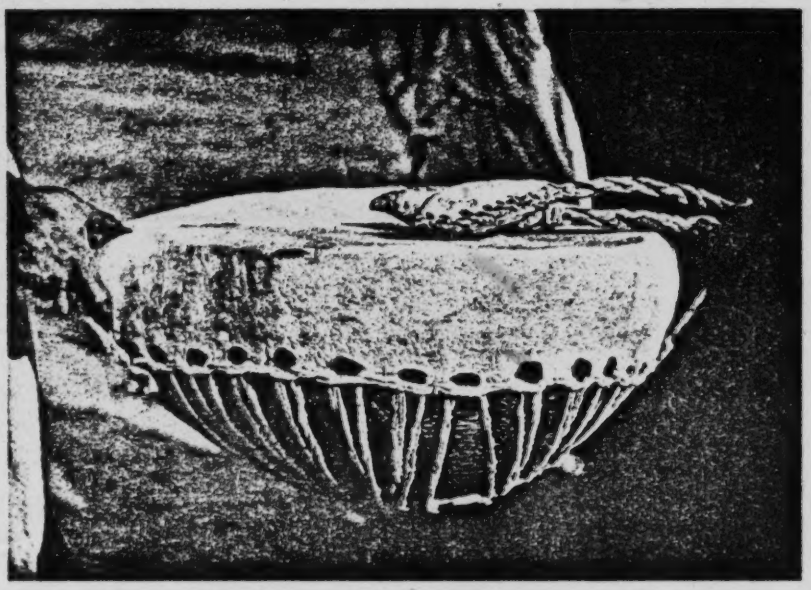

Fig. 285. The drum (*ettebel*) which is the only insignia of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. Similar drums are found in other Tuareg groups.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



173 as the *Ikadeyen* had no vassals and its members had apparently then as now a rather subordinate
566 position compared with other noble Tuareg. The noble tribe named *Kel-ahem-mellen*, which to-day
614 is of little importance and not very numerous, with some of its members settled in the oasis of
642 Inṛer in Tidikelt, seems to have had certain *Isekkemaren* tribes as its particular vassals, but they were later placed under the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Téġehé Mellet*. The *Isekkemaren*, as we shall see below, had a political status somewhat different from that of the true vassals known to the Northern Tuareg as *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad*. The division of the vassals of this group during the reign of *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir* between the three noble tribes of *Kel Ṛela, Taytoḳ*, and *Téġehé Mellet* is most interesting. When the vassals were divided between the three noble units it led to a division of some of the vassal tribes. Thus the *Ayt Lowayen* was divided into two between the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Téġehé Mellet* while the tribe known as *Imessiliten* was divided into the *Dag Ṛali* for the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Kel Ahnet* for the *Taytoḳ*. It would have been easier to divide the vassals without splitting their tribes, but we may perhaps suggest that the tribes were split because they were already divided into groups of individual vassals under those who became independent noble tribes. When the division of vassals took place in the 18th century most went to the *Kel Ṛela*, but quite a number of tribes was also allotted to the *Taytoḳ*, while the *Téġehé Mellet* tribe received so few that it could never become politically important.

When the vassals were divided between the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Téġehé Mellet* these noble
634 tribes became united into a sort of federation known as *téġehé*. The three tribes with their vassals formed
[534] so-called drum-groups or *eṭṭebelen* (sing. *eṭṭebel*) with chiefs who had as their insignia a large drum
[778] known as *eṭṭebel*. It was endowed with a particular mystic power; it should not be allowed to touch the ground and when the drum skin was worn, it had to be replaced by a famed warrior. The drum must be obeyed when beaten by the drum-chief to summon his subjects. The drum-chief was the supreme political and judical authority of a drum-group, and he could organize raids and wage war upon other groups. He also collected certain annual payments from his particular vassals. This was
631 true of the chiefs of all three drum-groups in Ahaggar. But within the federation of drum-groups
634 that of the *Kel Ṛela* held a prominent position. The drum-chiefs of the two other groups, the *Taytoḳ*
643 and the *Téġehé Mellet*, only possessed the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaṛen*), which word is that generally used for a chief among the *Kel Ahaggar*, while the chief of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group had the title of *Amenukal* as the chief of the whole *téġehé* federation. Within every drum-group the drum-chief would ceremoniously install all chiefs of vassal tribes but the two drum-chiefs of *Taytoḳ* and *Téġehé Mellet* were installed by the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* group. The *Amenukal* himself was installed in his
[565] office by a Tuareg from one of the *Isekkemaren* tribes of his own drum-group. When the *Amenukal* was installed, which ceremony nowadays takes place at Tamanṛaset, a Tuareg of the *Isekkemaren* class provided him with a large head-cloth. The installment ceremony, which is preserved to this day, was and is the same for any chief among the Ahaggar Tuareg. When a drum-chief was to install a vassal chief, the ceremony took place in the camp of the drum-chief, and when the *Amenukal* had to install drum-chiefs of the two other groups the installation took place in the *Amenukal*'s camp.

The supreme position of the *Amenukal* appears from the rules governing the installation of chiefs, but as already mentioned, the *Amenukal* could not concern himself in all matters of the two other

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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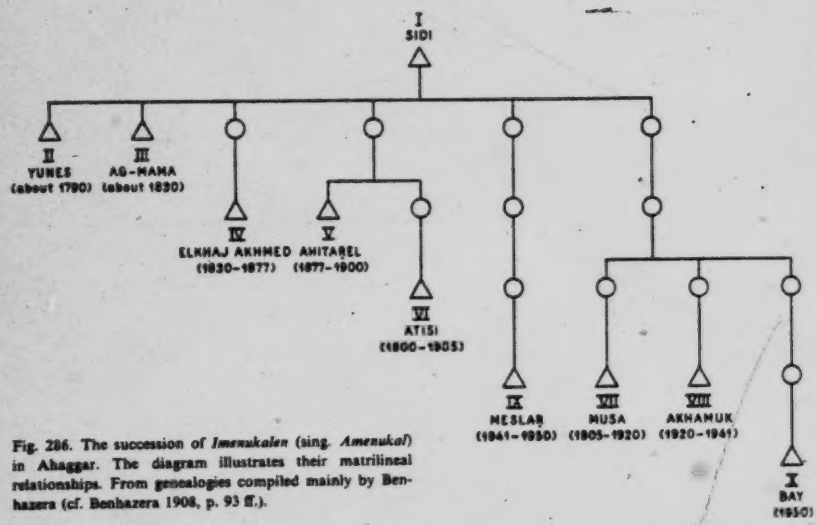


Fig. 286. The succession of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in Ahaggar. The diagram illustrates their matrilineal relationships. From genealogies compiled mainly by Benhazera (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 93 ff.).

drum-groups. The drum-chiefs alone were responsible for the election of vassal chiefs within their 631
groups. The two other drum-groups were largely independent of the *Amenukal*, though the latter 634
was considered the supreme judge in all matters which involved the whole federation, as he was the 643
supreme war leader when the three groups united to fight other groups. It seems as if the *Amenukal* also had a certain religious prestige, and even to-day he goes to the Cherif of Issilessekin once every summer to ask the Cherif to intercede for him with Allah that the rain may fall and the she-camels be fruitful (cf. Morel 1947, p. 129). But the position of the *Amenukal* was very far from that of a divine king. Throughout the 19th century there were long periods in which the two other drum-groups cared very little for the *Amenukal*'s authority, and the *Taytoḳ* and the *Kel Ṛela*, though related to each other, were for long periods engaged in mutual quarrels.

In discussing the position of the *Amenukal* as the supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg, we come 643
to the question whether he was the true owner or commander of the whole country inhabited by the 634
three drum-groups. On this question I have gathered much conflicting information. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* group, including the *Amenukal*, claim that in the past as at the present day the *Amenukal* had rights over the whole country of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while certain other Tuareg, including some old vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* group, say that the two other drum-groups possessed their own territories, the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ* holding all rights over the country of Ahnet with adjacent sections of the western lowland of Ahaggar where some of the *Taytoḳ* vassals lived. I believe that this latter explanation is true and that throughout the 19th century the *Amenukal* was only the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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## THE FEDERATION OF AHAGGAR TUAREG

(Size of tribes according to Lhote 1955a, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949.)

| | Noble tribes | | Vassal tribes | | *Isekkemaren* tribes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The *Kel Rela* Drum-Group | *Kel Rela* | 275 | *Dag Rali* | 386 | *Iheyawen Hoda* | 253 |
| | To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble tribes, with the *Iforas* group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal tribes. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The *Kel Rela* women, like noble women of the *Uraren* (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and *Kel Ferwan* (Ayr), do not associate freely with people of other classes. | | *Ayt Lowayen* | 400 | *Kel Inrer* | 176 |
| | | | *Aguh-en-tehlé* | 585 | *Kel Téfedest* | 61 |
| | | | *Relayddin* | 40 | *Kel Immidir* | 179 |
| | | | *Iklan-en-tawsit* | 500 | *Kel Tazulet* | 158 |
| | | | *Ibettenaten* | 129 | The *Isekkemaren* tribes descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble *Kel-ahem-mellen* tribe. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the *Ulad Ba Hammu*, claims that they were originally their vassals. | |
| | | | *Iregenaten* | 435 | | |
| | | | These two tribes are not true vassals by origin. The *Ibettenaten* is said formerly to have had noble status and the *Iregenaten* descend matrilineally from the *Ibettenaten*, patrilineally from Arabs. | | | |

643 territorial chief over the country inhabited by the vassals of the *Kel Rela* drum-group. He had the
634 right to dues from caravans passing through the territory of that drum-group, while further west
[651] such dues were given to the chief of the *Taytok* drum-group. He had the right to land rents from the vassals of his groups, while land rents further west in the *Taytok* country belonged to the drum-chief of the *Taytok* group.

643 To-day the *Amenukal* holds a very strong position as chief of the whole country of Ahaggar, and
[646] his power has been much augmented because the French govern the country through him. In the past the position of the *Amenukal* was a less powerful one. All Tuareg say that he was then not particularly strong, and there are many examples of the vassals of his own drum-group showing disobedient
[565] to him. The *Amenukal* had to be elected, and, contrary to what is often stated in literature on the subject, he was not elected by the noble Tuareg of his own tribe, though they had a certain influence, but by his vassals who also had the right to dismiss an *Amenukal* if dissatisfied with him. The *Amenukal* lived like other Tuareg and his sole insignia was the drum which followed him on journeys and served to summon his vassals.

643 We have mentioned above (p. 148 ff.) that the *Amenukal* even to-day receives a land-rent (*ehéré-*
651 *n-amadal*) from all tenants of the sub-areas of vassal tribal territories, and the rules of payments and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



| | Noble tribes | Vassal tribes | *Isekkemaren* tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| The *Taytoḳ* Drum-Group | *Taytoḳ* 33<br>There are hardly any Tuareg of pure *Taytoḳ* stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief *Mokhammed ag Mokhammed* who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The *Taytoḳ* and their vassals frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past. | *Kel Ahnet* 127<br>*Iwerweren* 47<br>*Téṭehé-n-Efis* 127<br>*Ikuṭṭisen* 84<br>*Ikechchemaḍen* (now mixed with the *Dag Ṛali* tribe of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group).<br>*Iṛechchumen*<br>A tribe patrilineally related to the noble *Taytoḳ*, matrilineally to the vassal tribe of *Kel Ahnet*. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals. | *Kel I-n-tunin* (about 20 tents in 1938). |
| The *Téṭehé-Mellet* Drum-Group | *Téṭehé Mellet* 33 | *Kel Turha* (part of the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group). | *Kel Terurit* 62<br>*Kel Uhet* 70 |
| Noble Tribes Without Vassals | *Kel-ahem-mellen* | The *Isekkemaren* tribes are said formerly to have been vassals of this tribe | |
| | *Ikadeyen* | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | |

rights have been outlined. These payments were also made to the *Amenukal* by people of his drum-group in the past, and then as now he received an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* from all vassal tribes. The size of such *tiwsé* payments in the past is unknown, but they have no doubt varied from one tribe to another as they do to-day. I describe in brief the *tiwsé* payments made by the two most important vassal tribes to illustrate this:— (1) The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe is divided into three sub-tribes which make their *tiwsé* payments separately as follows: The *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe gives 600 kgs of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kgs of butter. The man who brings this payment to the *Amenukal* is rewarded with 15 metres of cotton. The *Isandan* sub-tribe gives 300 kgs of millet

643 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man
651 bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Arefsa* sub-tribe its collective
614 payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Rali* tribe pays *tiwsé* as follows:—
613 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads,
565 are given to the chief of the *Dag Rali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*. - All vassal tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Amenukal*, and this also applies to the *Isekkemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwsé*, are in fact tokens of vassalage, [634] and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as drum-chief of the *Kel Rela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to their particular drum-chiefs.

643 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his
634 drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war booty taken by his
565 vassals. This right was known as *abellaq*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel Rela* drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal [614] kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in the tribe to which the deseased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138). As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief [614] within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels on the latter's death.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*eddiyet*)
634 among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151).
681 Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance, [684] he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly [682] the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth [614] paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. When the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid. [683] For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and [178] such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished [648] by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he had in the past.

178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Rali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916–17, the drum-group of the *Kel Rela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Rela* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amrar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Rela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* and *Taytoḳ* tribes might also receive *tiwsé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Adrar* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Téhalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given him a similar payment for protection.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



619 him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were
721 frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal* were raided
643 by people of his drum-group, the *Amenukal* had the right to a tribute named *ennehet* which according to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amenukal*'s drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the *Amenukal* to whom they paid *tiwsé* for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347 f.).

634 The drum-group (*eṭṭebel*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The
[431] federation (*tégehé*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

634 It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship
565 (*tehandezzit*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there
571 were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is
614 true notably of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar.
[602] People of the *Dag Ṛali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group joke with the tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The word "*Isekkemaren*" means literally "people who lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg and true vassals, who say that the *Isekkemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals will joke with the *Isekkemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the
[602] vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Isekkemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally
[431] related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed between *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Isekkemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg come to the *Isekkemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the *Isekkemaren* visiting the *Aguh-en-tehlé*. The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relationship to the noble *Kel Ṛela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Ṛela* engage in sham-fights (*tebbillant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between the *Kel Ṛela* and the vassal *Aguh-en-telhé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between *Isekkemaren* and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Isekkemaren* tribes (*Iheyawen Hada, Kel Tazulet*) and the *Aguh-en-tehlé tribe*. Wedding feasts in these *Isekkemaren* tribes are most popular with young men of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Isekkemaren* girls. Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages, if any, while this was not so in the *Taytok* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



noble Tuareg and vassals. It would seem as if these mixed marriages had a political function as they served to reinforce the solidarity within the drum-group in view of its opposition to the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group and the *Amenukal*. In consequence of these marriages the political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Taytok* drum-group was in the past much influenced by rules of kinship behaviour, and the payments due to the drum-chief from vassals were less comprehensive than in the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group. 634 565 571 614 [602]

*The Kel Ṛela* drum-group was divided into minor relationships between noble Tuareg and vassals. These relationships were known as *temazḥayt*, that is literally "the root of the nail". They have almost ceased to exist, and consequently they are very difficult to describe. However, it is possible to outline their organization and main functions. They were structurally akin to the drum-group, as they were matrilineally organized. A noble Tuareg who had rights over certain vassals would be succeeded by a maternal kinsman, and in a group of vassals right and obligations would equally follow matrilineal rules. A *temazḥayt* relationship was a relationship between a small noble matrilineage with a particular leader and a larger matrilineage of vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class. The noble matrilineage that was attached to a definite group of vassals would not necessarily correspond with the matrilineal core within a section, for there were comparatively many noble Tuareg in the *Kel Ṛela* tribe who were leaders of *temazḥayt* groups. This is shown by Benhazera's investigations, which took place at a time when the ancient political system of the Ahaggar Tuareg still retained most of its traditional functions. At that time there were at least ten noble Tuareg who were commanders of *temazḥayt* groups (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.). 634 565 571 613 [778]

There are certain traces of *temazḥayt* organizations even to-day. The token of this relationship is the payment of an annual due known as *tiwsé* from a group of vassals to the *temazḥayt* master.

Apparently some vassals who made *tiwsé* payments to a noble *temazḥayt* master did not make this payment also to their drum-chief (the *Amenukal*). Thus to-day the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe makes an annual *tiwsé* payment to *Maṛli agg Amayas* of the *Kel Ṛela* section named *Inamba Kel-Emṛṛi*, but gives no *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal Bay*, who belongs to the *Iboglan* section of the same tribe, though the land-rent (*ehirí-n-amaḍal*) is always paid to the *Amenukal*. I was also told by the *Kel Ṛela Khalifa* of Tamesna, who belonged to the *Iboglan* section, that he had the right to collect the *tiwsé* payment from the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Afuh-en-tehlé*, but as he was now living outside of Ahaggar this payment was made by the *Isandan* to the *Amenukal*. However, I believe that in the past most vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class made *tiwsé* payments both to their individual *temazḥayt* masters and to the *Amenukal*. This would also seem to be in agreement with Foucauld's description of *temazḥayt* relations (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1965).

A noble *temazḥayt* master had no judicial authority over his individual vassals, and could not summon them to war and raiding against their will. These rights belonged to the drum-chief, consequently in the *Kel Ṛela* group, to the *Amenukal*. The obligations of a noble *temazḥayt* master towards his vassals were mainly to protect them against raids by and exploitation of other noble Tuareg who formed a class of warriors and raiders roaming the country for enemies and for booty. A *temazḥayt* master had the right to organize raids with the support of his vassals, if they were interested, and the vassals were also allowed to carry out raids on their own behalf, but in both cases half of the booty (*abellag*) taken by 634 565 571 613 721

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



634 565 571 613 721 vassals was given to the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) and not to the *temaẓlayt* master. However, should a vassal Tuareg have borrowed for raiding a riding camel from his *temaẓlayt* master or another noble Tuareg, they received a tribute also known as *abellaḡ*, comprising half of the booty remaining when one half had been given to the *Amenukal*.

565 571 The noble Tuareg possessed many advantages over their individual vassals. They could apparently claim almost what they wanted for their subsistence, and frequently camped close to their vassals who then were obliged to feed them, and when in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take such animals from their vassals (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). Similar information is given by Benhazera, but he states that the vassals in the past would not necessarily supply everything demanded by their noble lords (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The vassals were under a particular obligation to provide the noble Tuareg with goat-breeding products, and if they had milk yielding she-camels the noble Tuareg could claim these animals until milk-yielding stopped. But the vassals had also many advantages from the *temaẓlayt* relationships. They were not only protected by their lords. The noble Tuareg would leave behind the animals they could not take with them when roaming in the desert, and noble Tuareg never had much livestock with them in their camps. It was also of great importance to the vassals that they could use their masters camels for caravan trading. On the whole the system was not exclusively the exploitation of vassals by the noble Tuareg, and it can be added that the vassal Tuareg were always more numerous than the noble Tuareg, that the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) was elected by the vassals, and that he alone had judicial rights. The system was one of give and take to both classes involved, and there can be little doubt that it was well adapted to practical ecological conditions.

233 433 [234] [262] In Ahaggar, camels and goats are very complementary to each other. The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products, and the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important as food, but it is not well-fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg kill camels to [281] utilize their meat only when many people congregate, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, for tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the [437] camels have little direct economic value. But for raiding in the past, camels were very valuable riding animals, and were then, as now, extremely important for caravan trading which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

[234] [262] The economic rôle of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore, goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



173 Talak. This tradition is acknowledged as true by certain Tuareg of Ayr, but all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg
643 claim that the Sultan has never had any right over the country of Ayr. They state that his Tuareg
[634] title of *Amenukal* has nothing to do with *akal* (i.e. "the land"), and that the country of Ayr from the remote past until now has been owned by the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 421). However,
175 if we turn to the information given on this subject by the *Agadez Chronicle*, we learn that until the
643 establishment of the Sultanry it had been customary for the powerful noble tribes to claim a tax of
651 horses from the caravans which passed their particular territories. The first Sultan of Ayr sent a letter to learned people of an Islamic country to ask whether such taxes were lawful or unlawful. And he was answered that these taxes were to be considered good because those who received the taxes protected the very important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo. The taxes should therefore be collected by the Sultan who again should give them to the Tuareg (Urvoy 1934, p. 155). Before the arrival of the French the Sultan had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, which is mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, 828 f.), and he was entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade and to annual taxes from the sedentary Negroes of Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

643 The tradition which says that the Sultan descend patrilineally from the Sultan of Constantinople and matrilineally from a slave woman clearly indicates the position of the Sultan in Tuareg society. The Sultan is looked down upon by fair-skinned Tuareg because of his black skin, but he is also endowed with prestige because of his supposed descendance from the Sultan of Constantinople.

643 A certain *elbaraka* or benediction is ascribed to him, and all people who want to greet the Sultan
778 must remove their sandals. The Sultan is always buried in his palace at Agadez, and it is said that
[766] if he was buried outside there would be a great risk that his subjects would dig up his skeleton to use
[765] part of it for amulets. It is also said that the Sultan preserves a part of the skeleton of his predecessor for amulets. This must be viewed in connection with the particular power of *elbaraka* attached to the Sultan, and it is important to note that the Sultan is believed to possess an unusual power of fertility, which is secured and maintained until his death by means of certain medicines acquired from the Sudan. Thus it seems as though the Sultan possesses some of the qualities of the Sudanese divine
175 kings, but in practice he has little power. The *Agadez Chronicle* refers to Sultans who acted as war
643 leaders of all Ayr Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Ayr it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of pastoral Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have only reigned for very short periods.

631 Although the Sultan is the supreme chief of all Ayr Tuareg, he does not have the same relationship
634 to all Tuareg groups, for many of them are placed directly under the supreme chief of the *Kel Ewey*
648 group known as the *Anestafidet*. The *Anestafidet* originally lived at Asodey in Central Ayr, but he now lives in Agadez where he holds a prominent position as a chief. Like most *Kel Ewey* he is black-skinned and related to the Hausa population of the Southlands, where he lives for a part of the year with the important task of organizing the trade between Ayr and the south. The *Anestafidet* has always been closely attached to the sedentary Hausa of the Southlands, and is said to have part of his family living at a small village named Blanko between Tanut and Zinder. A new *Anestafidet* may even be elected

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



from the members of this village. The particular connection between the *Anestafidet* and the sedentary peoples of the Sudan is very natural in view of the fact that the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg nowadays, as in the past, engage much in caravan trading with the south. The name of *Anestafidet* is derived from the tribe *Kel Tafidet* – one of the noble *Kel Ewey* tribes which immigrated to Ayr about the 14th century A.D. The *Anestafidet* has always been a very important chief, and the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, though very mixed with the ancient sedentary population of Ayr Negroes, were for periods in the past very important politically. To-day the *Anestafidet* is the most important chief of Ayr after the Sultan, and it is said that, like a deceased Sultan, a deceased *Anestafidet* should be buried in his house. The *Anestafidet* is treated with respect by all Ayr Tuareg, who take off their sandals when greeting him, and at the beginning of the holy Friday (that is on Thursday night) the professional musicians of Agadez, when they have made music at the Sultan's palace, go to *Anestafidet*'s residence and then to the ministers of the Sultan.

The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, who live predominantly in and around the villages of the eastern and most mountainous part of the Ayr Massif, form the majority of the people placed directly under the command of the *Anestafidet*. According to figures given by Nicolas for tribes and villages of the *Kel Ewey* their total number seems now to be about 8000 (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 465 ff.). But placed under the *Anestafidet* are also the pastoral Tuareg group known as *Kel Tamat*. Formerly it had its own drum-chief (*ettebel*) who was also the supreme chief of the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg. The group of *Kel Tamat*, with the *Ikezkezen*, judged by the figures for some of the tribes (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 471 f.), comprise nowadays about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the true *Kel Ewey*.

The *Kel Tamat* do not form a drum-group nowadays. In the past their drum-chief was elected by tribes within the drum-group, but he had to be installed ceremoniously by the *Anestafidet* who presented him with a large headcloth. All people of the *Anestafidet* have to recognize him as their supreme judicial authority. But the *Anestafidet*, who is elected by people of the ancient noble *Kel Ewey* tribes, is submitted to the authority of the Sultan who also installs the *Anestafidet* ceremoniously.

Most Ayr Tuareg who are not placed under the *Anestafidet* are collectively referred to as the *Kel Amenukal*, that is "the people of the *Amenukal* (or Sultan)". Most of these people are pastoralists though some sedentary or semi-sedentary people are also placed in the Sultan's group. The important Tuareg groups placed directly under the Sultan are the following:—

The *Itesen* with the *Immikitan* most of whom left the Massif long before the arrival of the French. In the past both groups formed politically very important drum-groups, and though they were very few in number throughout the 19th century they were nevertheless politically important, as without them a Sultan could not be elected and installed.

The *Kel Faday* in the region of Ingal consist of a noble tribe and eleven tribes of vassals. The *Kel Faday* constituted throughout the 19th century a politically important drum-group though it was very small. Their total number according to Nicolas is now 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The *Kel Ferwan* comprise tribes in the western parts of the Massif including the regions of Agadez, and also south of the Massif in Dumergu. They number about 5000.

The *Kel Geres* Tuareg live in the Southlands around Madawa most of the year but visit Southern Ayr west of Agadez in the rainy season (cf. p. 7, 431 f.). Properly speaking they are not now recognized

631 as Ayr Tuareg and are politically independent. Nevertheless they still consider the Sultan of Agadez
643 as their proper *Amenukal*. They are very rich and numerous, comprising a great many tribes. Their
[189] political system differs from that of most other Tuareg. I outline its structure later in this chapter.

634 The drum-chiefs of the *Itésen*, the *Immikitan*, the *Kel Faday*, and the *Kel Ferwan* have to be rec-
643 ognized and ceremoniously installed by the Sultan. The ceremony should traditionally take place at the Sultan's palace of Agadez, but to-day it is performed at the French Administration Centre. The main feature of the ceremony is the wrapping of a large head-cloth around the elected chief's head by the Sultan. The Sultan, on the other hand, is elected and installed by the chiefs of above-mentioned groups and by the *Anestafidet* as the representative of the *Kel Ewey*. But the chiefs do not take the same part in the election of a Sultan, and it is noteworthy that the *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan*, who throughout the 19th century were extremely powerful and warlike, apparently do not play any rôle in the instalment ceremony.

The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:— From his private room in the palace (Fig. 288) the Sultan is led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres* ask him to sit down upon a bed made of ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he is not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission is given by the *Kel Ewey* (Barth 1857, I, p. 461 f.). Jean, who gives a more detailed account, says that the *Kel Geres* do not participate, and have no voice in the election (Jean 1909, p. 159 ff.). I have myself been told during my visit to the *Kel Geres* drum-chief that the *Kel Geres*, represented by their drum-chief, previously took part in the election of the Sultan. As to the position of the powerful drum-groups of *Kel Faday* and *Kel Ferwan*, people of the latter group frequently claim that they alone could elect a Sultan, and I have been told by *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg that a Sultan should be installed in the way that the supreme chiefs of the *Itésen* and the *Immikitan* take the Sultan by his hands and lead him to a sheepskin where he sits down to receive the large head-cloth from the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group. However, it seems as if the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief does not traditionally play any part in the instalment ceremony.

631 In the 19th century the Sultan was the arbitrator and the supreme judge in disagreements between
634 the different Tuareg groups whose supreme chiefs should be installed by the Sultan. But he could
643 not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels. The *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs did not always pay much respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation of Ayr the *Kel Faday* even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of Ingal (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was much afraid that the *Kel Faday* would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the *Iwilhommeden* (Barth 1857 58, I, p. 478). As to the *Kel Ferwan*, their chief was the most prominent leader of all Ayr. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103 f.) and it is repeated over and over again by all Tuareg of Ayr to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and he thinks that the *Kel Ferwan* originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or *Amenukal* was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This
[123] agrees with information I have gathered among the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group. It is however most difficult to judge the value of these traditions as it is difficult to reconstruct political life in pre-European times. All Tuareg try to glorify their own political rôle in the past, and this is particularly true of the noble Kel Ferwan Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 287. Musicians of the Sultan of Ayr marching through Agadez. In the front a man blowing a clarinet-like instrument, in the background the drummers mounted on camels and beating two drums each. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

631 true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. They are nowadays without much power and prestige, whereas
634 the Sultan, owing to the French, has augmented his power greatly. Many *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg speak
643 disparagingly about the Sultan, and the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* named *Agg-Elkhir* called him
[178] openly a slave and did not take off his sandals in the Sultan's presence.

643 There can be little doubt that the man who was elected the Sultan of all Ayr people at the beginning
642 of the 15th century very quickly became a Sultan not of Ayr, but of Agadez. A state organization like that of the Ayr Sultanry could not function in a Tuareg society characterized by warlike pastoral groups, and the Sultan would have to be dismissed or else recognize the authority of the strongest pastoral group which, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century was the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



## THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has
614 fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie
[114] 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore
[162] quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared,
634 and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when
648 the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to
121 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr,
634 where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were
115 most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

173 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*,
614 and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above
634 (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

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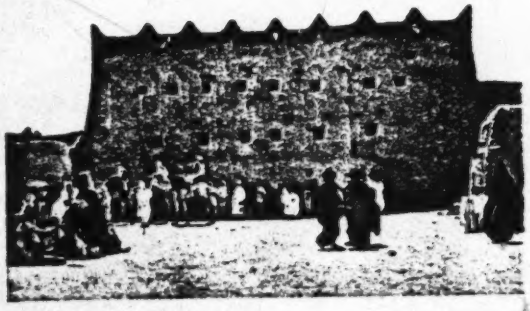

**Fig. 288. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.**

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according to which the ancestresses of the two noble tribes came from *Awjila* together with a third sister, who became the ancestress of the *Iberdyanen*. This story runs as follows:— 173 614 634

The three sisters left their original homeland of Awjila riding on bull-camels. One night when the girls were not very far from Iferwan and the three sisters had gone to sleep, the eldest, named *Sabenas*, awoke before her two sisters and removed the hobble-ropes from their riding camels which disappeared in the desert. Thus the only riding camel left was *Sabenas'*, and when the sisters arrived at Iferwan she alone rode on a bull-camel while her two younger sisters were walking. At Iferwan there was then a mighty chief named *Azeṛezzer*. When the girls arrived there he asked them who they were, and *Sabenas* said that one of the two girls who travelled on foot was her sister, but not her true sister, while the other girl was her *tameṛit* or vassal. The supreme chief *Azeṛezzer* was very eager to marry *Sabenas* as she rode on a bull-camel and consequently was of noble birth. *Sabenas* agreed to marry him on the condition that bride-wealth should be paid in land. And it was agreed that she should have for bride-wealth as much land as she could ride through on her camel at a stretch. She rode off from Iferwan and her camel did not get tired until she was close to Tagedufat south of the Massif. Here *Sabenas* dismounted and threw her stick towards the south. The stick fell down at the well of Tagedufat, and *Sabenas* now had the right to all country ranging from Iferwan in the north to the well of Tagedufat situated in the southern plains. This vast territory has since then been owned by the descendants of *Sabenas* who are the true noble *Kel Ferwan* or *Irawatten*. But the Tuareg of this tribe claim that they have since then greatly augmented their territory so that they are the true owners also of the land south of the Massif as far as Tessawa, which is very close to the frontier of Northern Nigeria.

The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past all Tuareg groups within the *Kel Ferwan* territory and a few other groups of Tuareg and negroid sedentary people paid an annual tribute known as *tewsé* to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. This annual tribute was calculated as follows:— 173 631 634 651

137 342 634

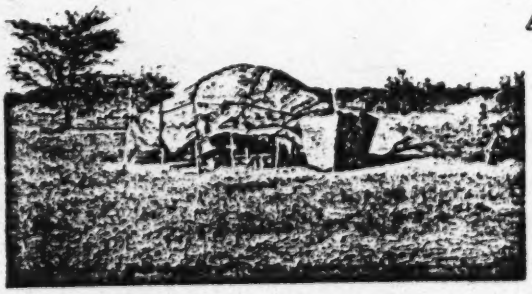

**Fig. 229. Mat tent of the B.1.b type inhabited by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace, containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats.**

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| | |
|---|---|
| *Kel Ewey* . . . . . | 50 Tuareg veils of indigo cotton |
| *Kel Faday* . . . . . | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Echchikhen* . . . . . | two small drum-groups in Damergu each giving 3 oryx hides, as their vassals were mainly hunters |
| *Kel Geres* . . . . . | 1 horse with a saddle |
| *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* . . . | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Kel Allekot* . . . . . | 150 kg of millet |
| *Damergu & Katsena* . . . . . | An amount of millet |

Most of these groups, it is said, paid the annual tribute known as *tewsé* because the land belonged to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. But the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg did not pay an annual tribute for this reason but because they were subdued in wars. It is much to be doubted that these annual tributes were paid regularly to the drum-chief by such warlike groups as the *Kel Dennek* and the *Kel Faday*, who frequently joined forces against the *Kel Ferwan*. As to the *Kel Faday*, the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they were formerly the vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They say that in the remote past the whole drum-group of the *Kel Faday*, including its noble tribe, paid bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief as a token of vassalage, which is said to have ceased in the following way:— The *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a *Kel Faday* camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the *Kel Faday* camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the *Kel Faday*. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the *Kel Faday* so that after a time he could return to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the *Kel Faday* Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan*.

634 The drum-chief had as an insignia of his political power over all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg a large drum
534 known as *ettebel* (or *ayezu*). The word *ettebel* was, and is, used not only as a name of the drum but
778 also as a name of the drum-group and the drum-chief whose title of address is *ettebel*, or "drum". This drum had a sacred or mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced, the man charged with this task would perform it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. We see that connected with the drum were certain taboos equivalent to those which are believed to maintain the mystic power of *elbaraka*.

634 The drum-chief had the only drum of the *Kel Ferwan* group of which he was the supreme chief.
202 The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal tribes but also by the
[614] noble *Kel Azel*. The chief of the *Kel Azel* had the title of *amyar* or *ayolla* like all other tribal chiefs, but he was addressed *ettebel* although he did not have the right to a drum.

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*Tribes of the Kel Ferwan Drum-Group*

1. *The Irawatten Group*

| Tribes | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Irawatten* | 350 | 58 | There are to-day very few pure noble Tuareg of this dominant noble tribe, as the members have intermarried with negroid peoples and with the *Kel Geres*. The pure noble house-holds number about ten. The chief is also the chief of the *Irawatten* group and the drum-chief of the whole *Kel Ferwan* group. | Télewa (western part) |
| *Kel Tédalé* (3 tribes) | 1300 | | They claim to be of noble descent. They are officially vassals of the *Irawatten*, but are nevertheless very independent politically. | Talaḳ<br>Uraren<br>Zurika |
| *Kel Akerra* | 164 | 39 | Of noble descent with the *Ibararojiten* as their particular vassals. Intermarry frequently with the *Imezzureg* and with the *Kel Tédalé*. | Ti-n-Teburaḳ |
| *Imezzureg* | 106 | 20 | Of noble descent and related to the *Kel Akerra* and the *Isakaranan* with whom they intermarry. | Terezzet |
| *Isakaranan* | 653 | 107 | Of noble descent and related to the *Kel Akerra* and the *Imezzureg*. | Ti-n-Tebezgin |
| *Igendéynen* A section of former slaves known as *Tindeku* is grouped together with this tribe. | 247 | 55 | Always close to the camp of the drum-chief as soldiers permanently under his command. | Burhal |
| *Iberdyanen* (2 tribes) | 621 | 97 | Living close to the noble *Irawatten* as their servants. | Gufat<br>Éknawen<br>Téwendegit |
| *Iḳḳoberen* | | | Living close to the noble *Irawatten* as their servants. | |
| *Ayt Uṛen* | 160 | | | Maramaru |
| *Idaléyen* | 218 | 67 | | Telhecham |

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|---|---|---|
| *Ifadèyen* (2 tribes) | | Kurubobo<br>Imechchamelawen<br>Turuf<br>Beynabu<br>Ti-n-Dawin<br>Anyalen<br>Abalemma<br>Ékawél |
| *Elharaten* | | Anwacher |
| *Ibararojiten* | Originally the particular vassals of the *Kel Akerra* tribe. | Endegra |
| *Itagan* | Very few in number and without any tribal organization. They are placed directly under the drum-chief as his servants, and are considered a kind of "white slaves" to other *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. In the *Kel Faday* group there is a tribe of *Itagan* Tuareg. Their traditional homeland is said to be the region of Meneka in the country of the *Western Iwllemmeden*. | Éleleg |
| *Irawélen* | Pastoral Negroes who in the remote past were slaves of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. Culturally they are akin to other Tuareg pastoralists, but they have no tribal organization and are placed directly under the drum-chief's command. | Tombalaga<br>Akadaney<br>Meygawey |

2. *The Kel Azel Group*

| Tribes | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kel Azel* | 180 | 47 | Nowadays very few in number. It is said that there are only four households of pure noble origin. | Anoyaran<br>Tiṛezrin<br>Tafadek<br>Gufat |
| *Imezzuren* | 162 | 31 | | Tiṛezrin |

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| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kel Tésemt* | 237 | | Related to the *Imezzilalen* and the *Ikojjejiten* together with whom they are said to have constituted one tribe. | Assa and eastern part of Télewa | 634 614 565 162 |
| *Imezzilalen* | | 27 | Related to the *Kel Tésemt*. | Assa and eastern part of Télewa | |
| *Ikojjejiten* | | | A section of the *Imezzilalen*. | Afarak | |
| *Ifokkar* | 42 | 12 | Related to the *Kel Tésemt*, the *Imezzilalen*, and the *Ikojjejiten*. | Eastern part of Télewa | |
| *Ikamkam* | 150 | | Said to have been the particular servants of the noble *Kel Azel*. | | |
| *Ijakarkaren* | 203 | 41 | Said to be related to the *Igendéymen*. | Tafadek | |
| *Iforas* (2 tribes) | 396 | 95 | They came to Ayr from Adrar of the Iforas about one hundred years ago. | Tédeyin | |
| *Irawéken* | | | A certain number of these negroid pastoralists, who once in the past were slaves, is placed directly under the command of the chief of the *Kel Azel*. They have no tribal organization. They are probably included in the figure of the *Kel Azel* mentioned above. | | |

To-day all Tuareg claim that a chief whether a drum-chief or a chief of a vassal tribe should be 634
succeeded by his son, and that a sister's son may inherit the position. These rules have not always been followed in the election of drum-chiefs in the *Kel Ferwan* group, for the drum-chiefs have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, and after the French occupation they have even elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble *Kel Ferwan*. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, 173
but the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their drum- 634
chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The names are known of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent are not remembered further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:—

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173 *Sabenas*, the ancestress of the noble *Kel Ferwan* and the first ruler of the drum-group. Her drum
634 was made of iron, they say.

*Amenukal*, the eldest son of *Sabenas*.

*Mokhammed Aman*, the younger brother of *Amenukal*.

*Elkarebi*, the younger brother of *Mokhammed Aman*.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:—

*Bubeker*, who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe.

*Ṛali*, who was the younger brother of *Bubeker*. He was the reigning drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years. He was considered a very skilful and wise chief, and is
[269] remembered by all Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group with profound respect. *Ṛali*'s tomb is south of the Massif, somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps.
634 On *Ṛali*'s death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in
769 which I had the opportunity to participate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief, who there-
[282] upon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the deceased chief. Ancestral worship of this type is most probably not a traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. It should be noted in this context that *Ṛali* was considered a member of the *Echcherifen*, the descendants of the Prophet, through relationship to the *Imenan* (cf. p. 393 ff.).
173 *Mokhammed*, who belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* through his mother, while his father came from
634 the *Iforas*. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. Apparently he was not a close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief *Ṛali*.

*Wanarli*, who had no bonds of kinship with the *Kel Ferwan*. His father belonged to the religious, and, in Tuareg opinion, very holy tribe of *Kel es Suk*. He was very strict with the vassals of his drum-group, and he would never take his food in their company, though other drum-chiefs seem to have been less severe. It is probably for this very reason that he was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

*Afanu*, who belonged to the *Echchikhen*. He died after one year's reign.

*Kutiya*, who was of noble *Kel Ferwan* stock, being the son of *Ṛali*'s younger brother.

*Agg-Elkhir*, of pure noble origin being the son of *Ṛali*'s daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected.

*Azeṛor*, who was the son of *Ṛali*.

634 *Agg-Elkhir*, in his second period of reign. He was the reigning drum-chief during my stay in Ayr 1955. He was then very old, and the French considered his son *Khejji* the actual representative of the drum-group.

*Bukha*, who is the newly-elected drum-chief. He is the son of *Azeṛor* and the grand-son of the renowned chief *Ṛali*, who was the mother's brother of the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir*. Consequently *Bukha* is a classificatory sister's son of *Agg-Elkhir* (cf. p. 451, Fig. 294). Before the election took place very many Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group had wanted the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir* to be succeeded by his son *Khejji*. On the day of election, when all adult men of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group came

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together at the French administration post of Agadez, there were two candidates for the office, namely *Bukha* and *Khejji*. Present at the election were the French *Commandant de Cercle*, the Sultan, and other important chiefs. The Sultan requested all men to elect *Bukha* (because *Khejji*'s father *Agg-Elkhir* had scoffed at the Sultan and publicly had called him a slave). Therefore, when the *Commandant* asked the *Kel Ferwan* men to divide into two groups according to whether they wished *Bukha* or *Khejji*, the group of men voting for *Khejji* numbered only four or five men. *Bukha* was thus elected and the Sultan presented him with a large head-cloth and declared him the new *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief.

From what has been said above about the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs it is evident that the drum-chief was elected by the vassals who constitute the majority of the group. But it is very doubtful whether in the past it was normal for a Sultan to advise the vassals to elect a particular Tuareg for drum-chief. For though the drum-chief should then also be installed and recognized by the Sultan, the latter was not strong enough to meddle in the affairs of the drum-group. There are even some noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who claim that in the past the drum-chief should be installed not by the Sultan, but by a vassal Tuareg of the drum-group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But most vassals hold that the drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that in the past, when dissatisfied with a drum-chief, they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him.

In all internal matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge, but it seems as if the chief of the *Kel Azel* who was installed by the drum-chief had almost similar judicial rights over his particular vassals. However, any case occurring within the whole *Kel Ferwan* group could be brought before the drum-chief, who in difficult cases would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez, or the *Echchikhen*. Punishments for thefts are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put into jail (*takormut*) in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:— pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of remaining standing. A few old people remember that they have seen this method of punishment practised in Agadez. Punitive measures like imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law, and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* was in fact the true master of Ayr, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison and may also have imposed capital punishment on thieves. Proper theft seems to have been very rare among pastoral Tuareg in the past, but to-day camel-thieves are extremely common in all groups. Some Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any camel thieves who were hanged like dogs.

All members of the *Kel Ferwan* group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities (*édeyet*) were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen had the right to blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man, whose kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Some Tuareg will claim that the

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634 682 livestock of a murderer in reality was the property of the drum-chief. Apparently there has never been any fixed size of blood-wealth among the *Kel Ferwan* in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara.

634 565 651 The token of vassalage among the *Kel Ferwan* was the payment of half of the bride-wealth to the noble lords so that the drum-chief received bride-wealth from his particular group of vassals, the chief of the *Kel Azel* from his group. The two noble lords received other payments from their vassals. They would inherit a camel on the death of an individual vassal, and they received certain annual payments known as *sadakat* or *tamesodek*. This fee in its origin was a relipious one, and certain tribes such as the *Imezzureg*, the *Kel Akerra*, and the *Isakaranan* claim that in the past, as nowadays, they made this payment to the *Ineslemen* Tuareg and not to the noble chiefs. But true vassal tribes gave their *sadakat* or *tamesodek* to the two noble lords. The fees were collected on behalf of the lords by people of the *Echchikhen* and by negroid blacksmiths, who are very numerous in Ayr. There were definite rules for the payment of the *sadakat* fees which were computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example the payments for camel herds can here be mentioned:—

| Size of herd | *Sadakat* or *tamesodek* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels . . . . . | 2 goats |
| 15 camels . . . . . | 3 goats |
| 25 camels . . . . . | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels . . . . . | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels . . . . . | 2 full-grown camels |

The *Echchikhen* and the blacksmiths took the *sadakat* animals to the two noble lords, who gave some of them to the collectors, themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at 432 the market of Agadez and most of the proceeds given to poor people by the noble lords, who would 735 keep a small part for themselves.

634 721 565 The two noble lords, the drum-chief and the chief of the *Kel Azel*, had the right to parts of war-booty taken by their vassals according to the following rules:—

(1) *témaggedaz*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the noble lords, the drum-chief or the chief of the *Kel Azel*. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g., riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the noble lords, while the other half should be given to their vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that only one seventh of the booty should go to the noble lord. The word *téfades* is said to have been used synonymously with *témaggedaz*.

(2) *téwit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the *Kel Ferwan* group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the noble lord would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A particular case is related of a group of *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg attacking a camp of *Kel Ferwan* vassals

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placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Faday*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Imeggedezen* and even slaves. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *abubuz* (pl. *ihubuzen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only

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565 been told about two such marriages which seem to have been contracted in fairly recent times. I think
582 that the main reason why the noble Tuareg do not marry with their vassals is that such marriages
634 would tend to break down the structure of the political system, as the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many in-laws among vassals to whom the conduct would be institutional joking or avoidance. For in addition to true relatives by marriage there are numerous classificatory ones. This will become clear from the description of the rules of behaviour valid for relatives by marriage.

634 In spite of the application of the rules of joking relationship on a political level, troubles within
578 the drum-group were far from unknown. And it is remarkable that even between the related tribes
614 of *Irawatten* and *Kel Azel* there might be very severe quarrels. There was a latent opposition
565 between them which might occasionally lead to fighting between noble Tuareg of the two groups. The existence within the drum-group of another noble tribe, the *Kel Azel*, with a certain number of vassals was always a danger to the position of the drum-chief as a ruler of the whole
[661] *Kel Ferwan* group. And noble Tuareg of the *Irawatten* tribe say that in the past it even happened that the drum-chief punished the *Kel Azel* very severely, not only taking all their livestock, but also burning
[701] down their camps. The drum-chief was able to maintain his power over the whole *Kel Ferwan* group because most vassal tribes were placed directly under his command, and because these tribes camped around Agadez which was dominated by him.

The drum-chief also had trouble with another tribe of his group, the *Kel Akerra*. This tribe is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the *Ibararojiten* tribe. In the past the drum-chief assisted by vassals of the whole group imposed vassalage upon the *Kel Akerra*, who, however, refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the *Kel Akerra* to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the *Kel Akerra* tribe became small and insignificant. It is said that the tribes of *Imezzureg* and *Isakaranan*, who like the *Kel Akerra* are noble by origin, also did not give their bride-wealth to the drum-chief in the past. But the three tribes were vassals in the sense that they had to give part of their war-booty to the drum-chief and could not carry out raids on their own.

[701] A certain discord reigned within the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the drum-chief had the support of most tribes of vassals, who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups, but also quell internal
634 insurrections. However, the three northern tribes of *Kel Tédalé* were so numerous, so rich in camels,
614 and lived so remote from the rest of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes that the drum-chief could not maintain his power over them. They were only nominally part of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the *Kel Tédalé* paid no tribute to other chiefs (Joubert 1939, p. 246), though it is said in Ahaggar that in the past they paid an annual tribute to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. But the *Kel Tédalé* were politically independent of other groups in Ayr, which is also stated by Jean
565 (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim the *Kel Tédalé* to be true vassals of their
614 drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104; Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three tribes the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427). The *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg I met all emphasized

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their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by *Kel Ferwan* vassals who said that both 565
noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the *Kel Tédalé*. That some of them are noble by origin 614
seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the *Kel Tédalé* in part are related to the *Ihaḍanaren* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter tribe, though without vassals, is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

As to the origin of vassalage among the *Ayr Tuareg*, it is probable that this is due to the meeting 565
of distinct cultures based mainly on camel-breeding and goat-breeding. Rodd has some very interesting 233
remarks on the position of the vassals as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:— [174]
"One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances" (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rôdd, however, also refers [567]
to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to mainly by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the particular camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. But I have been told by many Tuareg that there were in the past very few camels in vassal tribes, and though most Tuareg apparently hold the view that the vassals have always had camels, the Sultan *Umar* claims that originally they had none while the noble Tuareg have owned these animals since times immemorial. So it might seem as if the political system of the drum-group 174
in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, was founded upon a class division with its root in the meeting of distinct 565
pastoral cultures. It is a fact that certain vassal tribes were attached to their noble lords as a kind 634
of workers with the duty of performing such work as could not be done properly by negroid slaves. Among these tribes were the *Ikewkan* attached to the *Kel Azel*, and the *Ikkoberen* and the *Iberdyanen* attached to the *Irewatten*.

It is most likely that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg had vassals before they arrived in Ayr, for many true vassals hold that they have immigrated from the traditional homeland of their noble lords. However, there are in Ayr also certain tribes which have lost their noble status and become a kind of vassals owing to having been subdued in fairly recent wars.

## THE KEL GERES DRUM-GROUP

There is no class-division of so-called noble Tuareg and vassals among the *Kel Geres*. In this respect 642
they differ from most other Tuareg groups except for the *Kel Ewey* among whom a division into classes 565
of this kind has ceased to exist – probably because the *Kel Ewey* have mixed with the sedentary negroid population of the Ayr villages. In *Kel Ewey* certain tribes are more important than others, but

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the *Al-Ḳadi*. In this respect the position of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is similar to that of drum-chiefs among the Ayr Tuareg, and though the present drum-chief says that the *Kel Geres* were never divided into noble and vassal tribes, he nevertheless claims that part of any war-booty taken by *Kel Geres* Tuareg in the past should be given to the drum-chief who had the right to *témaggedez* and *tiwit* (cf. p. 428). The drum (*ettebel*) of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is akin to drums of other Tuareg chiefs. The drum must not touch the ground, but the drum-chief did not believe that its power would be spoilt were it to be touched by women.

## THE KEL ADṚAR

The *Kel Adṛar* are very superficially described in literature, but their political system has been outlined by Cortier. They constitute only one drum-group under the leadership of an *Amenukal* who is the possessor of the drum (*ettebel*). The class-division is rather similar to that of most other Tuareg groups. There are certain vassal tribes (*Imṛad*) and certain noble tribes though the latter are not considered noble in the usual sense. They are known as proper *Ifoṛas* Tuareg and they are to be grouped rather with the *Inesleman* class than with the proper noble class termed *Ihaggaren* or *Imajeṛen*. However, their position within the drum-group is almost identical with that of noble Tuareg in other groups. The *Amenukal* is elected according to patrilineal rules being succeeded by his younger brothers and next by his sons, but the vassal tribes do not participate in the election. Within the drum-group there are many smaller divisions of noble families who have their individual vassals, so that from any vassal tribe there are always certain families living in the camp of a noble lord to work for him and to guard his domestic animals. A noble Tuareg can also claim what he wants from his particular vassals while on the other hand the vassals do not pay any fixed tribute to the noble chiefs, not even to the *Amenukal*. The power of the *Amenukal* is a very limited one, and his position is mainly determined by his personal qualities (cf. Cortier 1908, p. 274 ff.).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN ḲEL DENNEK

The *Kel Dennek*, that is the *Eastern Iwllemmeden* around Tawa, have been described in detail by Nicolas who, however, is not very clear as to particulars. Apart from the class of *Inesleman* the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg are divided into the classes of noble Tuareg (*Imazeṛen*) and vassal Tuareg (*Imṛad*, or *Kel Ulli*). These vassal Tuareg are politically attached to four drum-groups (*ettebel*) in which the drum-chief is elected from a noble tribe according to patrilineal rules. One of these drum-groups has a leading position, as its chief with the title of *Amenukal-n-akal* is the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Dennek* group known as *téganâ*. In addition to his drum this supreme chief (*Amenukal-n-akal*) has a burgee or flag to be used in case of a holy war and on certain ceremonial occasions such as the installation of an *Amenukal*. This flag is made of silk and is green, blue, and red in colour. The title *Amenukal* is

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The title of Amenukal is

634 used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *ettebel* is reserved to those
565 chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-*
651 *akal*, have the right to an annual tribute known as *šiuse* (*chiwsé*) from their individual vassals, and it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaḳa* or *tamessadeḳ* must also be given to them, because the drum-chief is inseparable from his *Ḳadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasit* or *takote* (*takuté*), that is the
634 right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain
565 delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels. The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. – These are the
[178] main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been
[642] no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579–586 & 1950a, p. 188–193, 201–209).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

642 The *Kel Aturâm* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that
565 in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel*
[114] *Tademaket* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchar*) and vassals (*Imrad*, sing *Amerid*, or *Dara*). The dominant noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with
[567] Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Bélla*). They pay *tiwsé* to the noble Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals, but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All
[614] tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amrar*, but all important decisions are made
[646] by the *myad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This
643 council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with warfare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of
642 the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position
565 (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). – To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:—
[614] Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Idnanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.

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The political supremacy of the nobility is founded upon conquest and has become hereditary, but this supremacy can be lost. If a vassal tribe conquers a noble tribe the rôles may change, and though this has not yet happened the principle is considered valid by all Tuareg. The vassals pay an annual tribute to the noble Tuareg. A noble Tuareg can take what he likes from a vassal, but his rights depend upon his strength, just as the tributes paid by vassals depend upon the strength of their noble lords. A noble tribe must protect its vassals against other noble tribes. Chiefs of both noble and vassal Tuareg tribes have the title of *Amenukal*, and this title is hereditary. The power of the supreme noble chief (the *Amenukal*) is such that he cannot kill obstinate subjects. But he can thrash them and even wound them, and he can seize their property. There may be more than one candidate when a chief is elected, and this may lead to severe quarrels and even to the division of the tribe (cf. Aymard 1911, p. 37 ff.).

Mangsot & Marty in their study of the Niger Tuareg mention that even in pre-European times certain tribes of vassal status had no particular duties towards noble tribes. They also state that the relationship between noble and vassal Tuareg was breaking down shortly after the French occupation of the country. The traditional *tiwsé* payments made by vassals to their noble lords differed much from one tribe to the other. Certain vassal tribes gave only one container with butter annually (Mangeot & Marty 1918, p. 258, 461). The chief *Amdeŋ* of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* informed that the *tiwsé* payments, which were abolished long ago, were always insignificant. They were made in goats and butter. The chief also said that originally the *Imrad* tribes had no camels.

## THE ORIGIN OF TUAREG POLITICAL SYSTEMS

We see from the description above that Tuareg political systems bear resemblances to one another in most groups. The largest political unit is the group under the leadership of a supreme chief, generally known as the *Amenukal*, or as *Amenukal-n-akal* in the *Iwllemmeden* groups where the title *Amenukal* is used also for minor chiefs. The *Amenukal* of a political group is also the chief of a so-called drum-group within the larger political group, though in Ayr the *Amenukal* is identical with the Sultan of Agadez. We may say that the political group known among the Northern Tuareg as *tégehé*, in the *Iwllemmeden* groups as *tégezé*, has a central government consisting of the *Amenukal*, his deputies, and a council. And it is clear that the *Amenukal* everywhere was considered the supreme chief with superior judicial rights and also the war-leader of the whole group. But the authority of an *Amenukal* was in all groups a very limited one, and quarrels between the various drum-groups of a federation were very common everywhere.

The most important political unit of Tuareg political systems was in fact the drum-group. Its chief was always a most important person. In most groups he was elected mainly by the vassals, and he was not an absolute monarch, though normally he could obtain the support of most vassals to quell internal insurrections. Within the drum-group the drum-chief was the highest judicial and military authority, and it was he who had to regulate all relations between noble and vassal Tuareg within the drum-group. Other noble Tuareg, e.g., the *temazlayt* masters, within the drum-group had no

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judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief, whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division, which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imṛad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imṛad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, donkeys are marked in both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirzemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found particularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

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177 with the immigration of the noble *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes which were, perhaps, related to the northern *Hawwara* Berbers. These may have influenced also the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg who possess some of the traits common to Northern Tuareg and Arabs. The *Hawwara* tribes came under Arab influence at very early stage, and they may have adopted Arab traits before they migrated southwards to settle close to the veiled *Lemta* (cf. p. 409 f.).

64 It is evident that the origin of pastoral political systems dates back to pre-Islamic times, but it is
177 also very clear that political organization has been much influenced by Islam and the Arabs. With Islam and the Arabs came into political life such important classes as the *Ineslemen*, the *Echchikhen*, and the *Ichcherifen*, which has made the political organization more complex. Also introduced with Islam was the *sadakat* fee, which in its origin was a purely religious payment. It is also clear that the
[682] rules of blood-wealth payment among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 102) were introduced with Islam, for the Arabs of Northern Sahara, like the Northern Tuareg, give one hundred she-camels for a slain man, and the same payment is fixed by learned Islamic jurists (cf. Schram-Nielsen 1945, p. 58 f.). These rules of blood-wealth payment do not seem to have been accepted among the Ayr Tuareg where there was no fixed amount of camels to be paid for a homicide. Finally the title *Khalifa* given to tribal deputies was doubtless introduced with Islam and the Arabs. This title is used among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*.

634 The problems connected with the origin of the drum-group, the most important political group,
534 are very complicated. It is well known that the drum plays an important part as an insignia of kings
171 and other supreme chiefs over large parts of Africa. The distribution of the drum as an insignia of kings and chiefs has been studied in some detail by Schilde and Wieschhoff, and later by Irstam (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 117 ff.; Wieschhoff 1933, p. 119 ff., map 34; Irstam 1944; p. 28, 101 ff.). Wieschhoff points out that the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in Africa, and that it mainly has this particular function in state organizations of the so-called Erytrean Cultures.

634 The drum which constitutes the insignia of a Tuareg drum-chief is known as *ettebel* or *effebel*. In
634 all Tuareg groups this word is also used for "drum-group", and among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* it is also a title of drum-chiefs. The word *ettebel* is undoubtedly derived from the Arabic word *tobol* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1922), which is also sometimes used for Tuareg drums as it is for drums of chiefs among the Western Moors (Dubié 1947, p. 173). Formerly, the Sultan of the Fezzan also had a drum which according to Lyon was known as *tubbel*. Lyon never saw a drum of this kind but he says that they are found in all towns south of Murzuk (Lyon 1821, p. 248 f.). The drums used by Tuareg chiefs are always of a very particular form, generally known to anthropologists as "the kettle-drum", and this particular drum among the Tuareg is never used by persons other than the chiefs. For ordinary music the Tuareg have other drum types or use a wooden mortar suspended by a piece of skin. It is most interesting that the so-called kettle-drum is a very late type among the many kinds of drums found in Africa.

534 In regard to the distribution of kettle-drums in Africa, Sachs says that they are found in Islamic
171 North Africa, in the Sudan, and in North-East Africa (Sachs 1929, p. 247). According to Wieschhoff kettle-drums have a more limited distribution being found only in the Sudan and in North-East Africa including Ethiopia (Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40, map 29e). As to the distribution of kettle-drums outside

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602 However, the Tuareg say, a man can complain in very extreme cases when sons or sister's sons constantly take animals from him. I have met several Tuareg who have lost many animals taken by sons and sister's sons. One Tuareg had lost seven camels, taken by his oldest son, who had sold them. The Tuareg was very annoyed about this but he had not complained about it directly to his son. The old drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group was constantly complaining to me about his sisters' sons, who took his animals so that he could not leave so large a fortune to his son. He openly called his sisters' sons "thieves", but as far as I know he did not complain about it to them. I was also told in Ayr that the fact that a man could take animals from herds and flocks of his true mother's brothers would not normally lead to conflict between them. Some Ayr Tuareg said that they were as fond of their sisters' sons as they were of their own children. It can be added that if a man has taken many animals from a mother's brother the latter's son may perhaps be able to retaliate as he has the right to take belongings from this man, who is his cross-cousins.

(6) As the last characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour it may be mentioned that, among certain Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, it is normal for a man to inherit the kinship status of his parents on their death, in the way that he adopts their joking relationships with their classificatory cross-cousins, but he will never inherit a joking relationship with the true cross-cousins of his deceased father and mother.

The above-mentioned rules of kinship behaviour seem traditional to Tuareg social organization and very different from those considered valid among the Arabs. The social systems of Tuareg and 177 Arabs are on the whole most disssimilar, but nevertheless the Arabs and the Tuareg of to-day have 428 exactly the same rules of inheritance which follow Koranic law. It is evident that these rules have been introduced among the Tuareg owing to contact with the Arabs who brought Islam to North Africa. It is very difficult to determine when the Tuareg adopted Islamic inheritance rules, and also to learn about their pre-Islamic inheritance system.

●634 In regard to Tuareg rules of succession there can be no doubt that the matrilineal principle was 643 originally recognized in all groups, but the patrilineal principle has been introduced into certain groups owing to Arab influence. The Tuareg who have adopted patrilineal succession are notably the two groups of *Iwilemmeden*, the *Kel Adrar*, and Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class in various groups (cf. Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.; 1950a, p. 213). In fact we know that the *Iwilemmeden* adopted patrilineal succession as early as in the 17th century (cf. Richer 1924, p. 3, 52; Nicolas 1950a, p. 54 f.), and patrilineal succession is undoubtedly also of great age among the *Kel Adrar*, where the dominant tribes belong to the *Ineslemen* class. As to the two important groups of Southern Tuareg, the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, Nicolas states that succession among them is matrilineal, as it is in Ahaggar (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.), and matrilineal succession is also mentioned as traditional to the Ayr Tuareg by Rodd (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). I have not been able to confirm these statements 119 during my investigations among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. All people questioned in these two groups claimed that the proper successor to chieftainship would be the deceased chief's son, though it was admitted among the Ayr Tuareg that a sister's son might be elected chief if considered better fitted for this position than a son. It would be correct to state that both the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* to-day acknowledge the patrilineal principle of succession, but it is not quite certain when they

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adopted this rule. There can be little doubt that it was introduced among them owing to contact with other people, perhaps with the *Ineslemen* Tuareg. The *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, like other Tuareg, once in the past followed matrilineal rules of succession, for this is proved by history and tradition.

It is frequently stated in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the sister's son is the first in the line of succession. As early as Ibn Batutah it is mentioned that among a Southern Tuareg people known as *Mesufa* a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegidda-n-edrar immediately south of the Ayr Massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). Rodd states concerning Ayr that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and refers to the fact that this rule has often been followed at the election of sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). According to Barth, a sister's son was preferred as chief in Ayr and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 374 f.). In the case of the Tuareg of Ghat (Ṛat) (Tasilé-n-Ajjer), Richardson states that the chiefs and sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65 f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have Duveyrier's statement that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship, but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397 ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg), a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). Most *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg have long ago adopted patrilineal succession and Ḳoranic rules of inheritance, but matrilineal traits are found in certain tribes of the *Kel Ataram* group. Gaalon states that the Tuareg of the Cercle de Dori (within the Niger Bend) even follow matrilineal rules of inheritance in the way that a deceased man's sister's son comes first in the line of inheritors. A woman will not generally possess any big fortune – apart from the dowry which on her death goes back to her parents or their family (Gaalon 1939, p. 232). An interesting matrilineal custom is also mentioned from the *Kel Ataram* by Feral. He states that property considered indivisible is still inherited by a sister's son in certain vassal tribes around Gao (Feral 1955, p. 21 f.). During my visit to camps of *Bélla* and noble Tuareg near Ayoru on the Niger I was also able to collect evidence to the existence of matrilineal traits in the *Kel Ataram* group. *Bélla* men informed me that a powerful sister's son among the *Imṛad* or vassal tribes would be able to inherit his mother's brother, and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Tahabanat* tribe claimed that vassals even to-day practise matrilineal inheritance the sister's son being the intestate successor. But all other pastoralists in the region of Ayoru but the vassals follow patrilineal rules of succession and Ḳoranic rules of inheritance.

We see that a sister's son even to-day may have inheritance rights among the South-western Tuareg, and the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors for several Tuareg groups. However, there are also in literature statements that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed in the case of the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97 f.), by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152 f., II, p. 916 f.), and by Lhote, who refers to Benhazera's statement (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Furthermore, Dubief has explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Dubief 1956, p. 89), and

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634 643 [114] Nicolas says that a maternal cousin is the first in line of succession, not only among the Northern Tuareg, but also among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). This, however, is not correct. I have been told by many Tuareg in Ahaggar that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies seem to intimate that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Ahaggar Tuareg, whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom, claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statement this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

591 768 586 The rules of residence have been outlined in a previous chapter (cf. p. 142 ff.), and I have mentioned that in Ahaggar residence is based upon both the patrilocal and the matrilocal principle as follows:— A man remains with his father after marriage, but after his father's death he joins the camp of his mother and her brothers to live with his matrilineal relatives. A woman after marriage moves to her husband's camp. At her husband's death she will return to her father's camp, and if her father be dead she will join the camp of her mother and her mother's brothers. In case of a divorced woman the same rule is observed, but the children of a divorced couple belong to the father, and stay in his camp as long as he is alive. After his death they belong to the camp where their mother lives. However, the Ahaggar Tuareg sometimes dispense with this rule in case husband and wife belong to different classes or castes (cf. p. 22). It may even happen that children of a dissolved marriage, where husband and wife come from the same class or caste, grow up with their mother – particularly if, when the divorce takes place, the children are so small that they need their mother's care. On the whole, however, the Ahaggar Tuareg follow the rules of residence indicated above, and we have already seen that these particular rules are strongly supported by the authority of the *Amenukal*. The same practise [178] was perhaps once also followed by the Ayr Tuareg, but, as we have seen (p. 152 f.), in the *Kel Ferwan* group there is nowadays a strong tendency for a man to remain with his patrilineal kinsmen after his father's death. The rules of residence do not play a very important part to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg nowadays. The political unit of the drum-group has very little practical value, economic and political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals have disappeared, and there are no land rights to which certain individuals succeed.

582 In the light of what has been said so far about Tuareg social organization, we shall now consider their traditional rules of marriage. Preferential marriage is that with a cross-cousin; the very best is to marry a mother's brother's daughter, but father's sister's daughter is also considered a suitable choice. An exchange of spouse between two family groups is considered most excellent. It is thus considered ideal for brothers of family A to marry sisters of family B, for brothers of family B to marry sisters of family A.

If Ego marries a classificatory cross-cousin it seems preferably for him to marry one of his mother's [43] family. This is intimated by a custom connected with marriage in Ahaggar:— At the beginning of the wedding ceremony a pair of sandals should be given to the man who does not marry the bride though traditionally possessing a sort of prior entitlement to do so. Such men are:— (1) the bride's father's sister's son; (2) the bride's father's mother's sister's daughter's son; (3) the bride's father's father's brother's daughter's son.

# Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg

In the introductory chapter on the Tuareg I mentioned that they fall into a number of main groups. 181
These groups or federations constitute the largest political units and are the following:— the *Kel* 642
*Ahaggar*, the *Kel Aijer*, the *Kel Adrar*, the *Kel Ayr*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek*, and the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram*. The federation of *Kel Taidemaket* in the region of Timbuktu was subjected to the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* from about A.D. 1800 (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). In this chapter I attempt to outline the structure of some of the federations, and to consider certain problems connected with their historical development.

The two groups of Northern Tuareg which are so intimately related to one another, both culturally 173
and linguistically, formed originally one large political group under the command of the very powerful 642
noble tribe, the *Imenan* in the region of Ganet. It was not only considered noble to a very high degree, 614
but it was very highly estimated because of its supposed relationship to the Prophet. Many noble 565
Tuareg to-day, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, will claim themselves to be *Echcherifen* through relationship to the ancient *Imenan*, whose leader was the supreme chief of all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer until about A.D. 1650 or somewhat later in the 17th century. The *Imenan* about that date [669]
lost their power owing to insurrections led by the powerful noble tribe, the *Uraren*. A Tuareg of this [643]
tribe killed the supreme chief named *Guma* and the leadership of the *Kel Aijer* now passed over to the chief of the *Uraren*.

The political system of the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century has been described in some detail 175
by Duveyrier with particular reference to the *Kel Aijer* among whom he lived in 1859 (cf. Duveyrier 64
1864). Among the authors who visited the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century Duveyrier is by far the most important, and his brief description of political organization is of particular value.

When the *Imenan* lost their supreme authority owing to the rising of the *Uraren*, they retained 643
their titles of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*), which are used for all descendants of the *Imenan*, their [614]
women even to-day being known as *Timenukalin* (sing. *Tamenukalt*). The chief of the *Imenan* was still "the *Amenukal*", a title used for supreme and independent chiefs of large political units. It is a word known to all Tuareg, and there have been some discussion about its proper meaning. The meaning according to Duveyrier is "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this interpretation is that generally followed by modern authors (e.g., Lhote 1955, p. 189; Blanguernon 1955, p. 47), though Foucauld does not go into the proper meaning of the word *Amenukal* but contents himself with the statement that it is the title of "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1213 f.). According to Prasse *Amenukal* is very probably a composit of

[p. 393]

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177 with the immigration of the noble *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes which were, perhaps, related to the northern *Hawwara* Berbers. These may have influenced also the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg who possess some of the traits common to Northern Tuareg and Arabs. The *Hawwara* tribes came under Arab influence at very early stage, and they may have adopted Arab traits before they migrated southwards to settle close to the veiled *Lemta* (cf. p. 409 f.).

84 It is evident that the origin of pastoral political systems dates back to pre-Islamic times, but it is
177 also very clear that political organization has been much influenced by Islam and the Arabs. With Islam and the Arabs came into political life such important classes as the *Ineslemen*, the *Echchikhen*, and the *Ichcherifen*, which has made the political organization more complex. Also introduced with Islam was the *sadakat* fee, which in its origin was a purely religious payment. It is also clear that the
[682] rules of blood-wealth payment among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 102) were introduced with Islam, for the Arabs of Northern Sahara, like the Northern Tuareg, give one hundred she-camels for a slain man, and the same payment is fixed by learned Islamic jurists (cf. Schram-Nielsen 1945, p. 58 f.). These rules of blood-wealth payment do not seem to have been accepted among the Ayr Tuareg where there was no fixed amount of camels to be paid for a homicide. Finally the title *Khalifa* given to tribal deputies was doubtless introduced with Islam and the Arabs. This title is used among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*.

634 The problems connected with the origin of the drum-group, the most important political group,
534 are very complicated. It is well known that the drum plays an important part as an insignia of kings
171 and other supreme chiefs over large parts of Africa. The distribution of the drum as an insignia of kings and chiefs has been studied in some detail by Schilde and Wieschhoff, and later by Irstam (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 117 ff.; Wieschhoff 1933, p. 119 ff., map 34; Irstam 1944; p. 28, 101 ff.). Wieschhoff points out that the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in Africa, and that it mainly has this particular function in state organizations of the so-called Erytrean Cultures.

634 The drum which constitutes the insignia of a Tuareg drum-chief is known as *ettebel* or *ettebel*. In
634 all Tuareg groups this word is also used for "drum-group", and among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* it is also a title of drum-chiefs. The word *ettebel* is undoubtedly derived from the Arabic word *tobol* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1922), which is also sometimes used for Tuareg drums as it is for drums of chiefs among the Western Moors (Dubié 1947, p. 173). Formerly, the Sultan of the Fezzan also had a drum which according to Lyon was known as *tubbel*. Lyon never saw a drum of this kind but he says that they are found in all towns south of Murzuk (Lyon 1821, p. 248 f.). The drums used by Tuareg chiefs are always of a very particular form, generally known to anthropologists as "the kettle-drum", and this particular drum among the Tuareg is never used by persons other than the chiefs. For ordinary music the Tuareg have other drum types or use a wooden mortar suspended by a piece of skin. It is most interesting that the so-called kettle-drum is a very late type among the many kinds of drums found in Africa.

534 In regard to the distribution of kettle-drums in Africa, Sachs says that they are found in Islamic
171 North Africa, in the Sudan, and in North-East Africa (Sachs 1929, p. 247). According to Wieschhoff kettle-drums have a more limited distribution being found only in the Sudan and in North-East Africa including Ethiopia (Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40, map 29e). As to the distribution of kettle-drums outside

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be a very strict avoidance relationship between them. However, the slave-mother has no right to 567
inherit (*tekachit*) the livestock left on the death of her Tuareg daughter, but a certain amount of stock 608
will be given her under the designation of *elhakk*. The Tuareg girl will not inherit her slave-mother, nor will she have the right to a number of her animals.

The above examples indicate the main structural features of Tuareg slavery. Most important among them is the position of slaves as children of their masters, though it should be stated that the rules of behaviour between owner and slaves are not necessarily like those valid for parents and children. A 567
young slave owner will not be rough with his old slaves, but will generally behave very kindly towards them, refraining from giving them orders in the way he would command his younger slaves. Age distinctions play a great rôle in relationships between Tuareg and their slaves, and a description of Tuareg slavery should not only outline its structure but also underline the fact that we cannot establish very fixed rules for the relationship between Tuareg and slaves, as it varies very much with individuals. Some slave-owners treat their very young slaves almost like their own children, while other slave-owners do not. Some Tuareg are constantly talking disparagingly about their slaves while outwardly appearing to be very kind to them. There are many facets of Tuareg slavery.

The position of slaves as children of their owners causes slaves to belong not only to particular 567
families and family groups, but also to tribes and, in a certain sense, even to classes. I have often noticed 614
this in Ahaggar where tribes within the same class frequently have an attitude towards each other which is described by the Tuareg word *inmeñhaṛen*, that is "to have a feeling of envy or jealousy towards somebody". *Inmeñhaṛen* is rather an attitude of reserve and outward respect than a kind of avoidance. People of tribes or sub-tribes which have *inmeñhaṛen* relationships to one another will not visit each others' camps except on certain occasions when dressed in their best clothes, and they will then behave with the uttermost reservation and respect to each other. If two tribes have such a relationship to one another, it will normally also comprise their slaves, who will behave towards each other in the same fashion. If on the other hand two tribes have institutional joking with one another, as is the case with certain vassal tribes in relation to tribes of the *Iseḳḳemaren* class, there will also be joking between their slaves. There seems to be a strong tendency for the slaves to behave towards each other in a manner corresponding to that of their master.

In spite of the kinship pattern on which the relationships of Tuareg slaves and slave-owners is based, 567
it is most noteworthy that there is always latent joking between them, as there is between many different 571
classes and castes in Tuareg society. On certain occasions a Tuareg slave owner will joke freely even with his young or older slaves, though he will never joke with his children who have to show their father the outmost respect (cf. p. 454). Such a joking relationship is still more common between Tuareg and slaves who are not attached to one another by possession bonds. But it never exists between Tuareg and slaves who are not already known to each other.

The noble Tuareg may also joke with slaves but seem less inclined to do so than Tuareg of other 565
classes. Apart from that, the relationship between noble Tuareg and slaves does not deviate from the 567
description presented above. Noble Tuareg can marry slave women though they cannot easily marry 64
Tuareg women of the vassal class. This may seem rather strange, but is in fact not so unusual as it might seem. We have stated above (p. 429 f.) that the reason why noble Tuareg and vassals could not

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



565 easily intermarry was to be looked for in the structure of the political system based upon the division
567 of society into noble and vassal classes. A marriage between nobles and vassals would apparently tend
● 64 to break down the political structure, but this would not be the case with a marriage between a noble Tuareg and a slave woman, for slaves are attached to the tribe of their masters as their "children" and play no part in political structure. Furthermore, if a noble Tuareg marries a slave-girl belonging to him, their children will also be able to adopt a noble status.

565 from all vassalage taxes and are often the object of much respect
[651] and consideration wherever they go. Thus, in the Ahaggar, they
are treated on an equal footing with the Imochar, and the latter
[582] sometimes accept marriages with them, while at the same time re-
[641] fusing to grant political rights to the children born of these unions.
On the other hand, among the Ioullimmiden, the Imochar reject
[184] any alliance with them and make them pay a vassalage due. These
/Inislimen/ of the Damergou, contrary to the rule, are considered
[582] nobles; they own Imrad and may wage war. Furthermore, they
have made themselves noticed as the most bellicose among the Aïr
tribes. Finally, those of the Adrar succeeded in forming a con-
federation after the Ioullimmiden abandoned the country; they have
Imrad, but the Imochar from the other confederations do not want
to regard them as their equals.

They are often referred to under the name of Ichériffen, or
[192] Chériffen, which comes from the Arab word sherif, meaning "noble,"
or, by extension, "descendant of the Prophet." But among the
Tuareg, Ichériffen has a more specialized meaning and designates
persons of a religious nature, without their necessarily being
descendants of Mahomet.

The marabout tribes include the Ichériffen properly so called
and the Ifôra.

This religious nature has various origins and qualities.

Some elements really number sherifs among their ancestors;
such is the case of the Ifôra from the Adrar and certain Kel Es-Souq
fractions. But opposed to them are others who have only an acci-
dental religious character.

174 Concerning this, Commander Cauvet says that these marabout
565 tribes often appear to be noble collectivities, who were formerly
793 strong and became too weak to continue enjoying the rights and
prestige of the strong. They declared themselves withdrawn from
the business of arms and devoted to pious practices for love of
God and Islam. "A tribe threatened with losing its preponderance,

565 Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of
[511] the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of
[177] prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting
631 matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs internally as they see fit, without intervention of the amenokal or the
[642] Imochar in their affairs.

162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps
565 because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by
721 their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often
[727] organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some
701 Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among
[714] the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded
631 in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for
[582] their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

565 well as for potential victims, alien camps or
233 caravans which they can raid themselves. The
463 vassals in their turn are responsible for the daily management and immediate protection of the flocks and herds, and also constitute an armed reserve that can be called up quickly in case a battle becomes imminent or the opportunity for a major raid presents itself. The
[567] slaves take care of the domestic service and household chores of the camps while their boys go out as shepherds to the flocks.

565 Thus it is clear that the Tuareg class system is a necessity of pastoral life in the Ahaggar;
●642 for no pastoral community can survive there without nomadizing, and no community of
[182] nomads can survive without a rigidly formalized division of labor and authority similar to that embodied in the class system of the Tuareg. It now becomes clear also that the seemingly paradoxical combination, within the social framework, of rigidity during the period of a single adult lifetime and a relative fluidity over slightly longer periods still so short as to span often no more than a couple of generations and sometimes less, is not in fact a paradox at all. It merely reflects in simple functional terms the fact that extreme conditions call for an extreme response, that the framework within which the allocation of authority is made at various levels in the communal structure must be very firmly established but must also allow considerable freedom periodically in the choice of those who are to occupy critical positions of decision and command so as to avoid the danger of having such positions filled automatically by persons unfit to occupy them, a danger that could well be quickly fatal to the whole community.

And finally we see that Tuareg government really has nothing essential in common with the feudal system of mediæval Europe to which it has so often been confusingly compared.[9] In the last analysis authority resides in the vassals, for they can make and at least
[643] in theory break the mightiest of all the nobles, the Amenokal himself, and they can do all this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.

powerful neighbor in exchange for some specified kind of continuing or periodic service. Among the Tuareg the relationship between "noble" and "vassal" looks much the same at first glance, but this is an optical illusion, a case of merely superficial resemblance.

565 this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.
642 Ancient Egyptian records tell of a Libyan chieftain, Meryey who was peacefully deposed and replaced by a younger brother following a disastrous defeat in battle (Bates, 1914, pp. 114–15, 218 and 221). It is some of the vassal clans that are the biggest numerically and also the richest on a *per capita* basis; and if vassal clansmen pay tribute to their noble "masters" it is only because they choose to do so, because they find it in their interest to keep the nobles on their payroll so to speak. Thus the Tuareg government of the Ahaggar is in fact a kind of republic and not a real monarchy or true military aristocratic autocracy at all.

232 **Livestock.** Herds of camels and flocks of hairy sheep and goats constitute the bulk of the capital investment and so form the primary basis of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar. The quantity and composition of the total livestock investment has been variously estimated, but the following rough approximations are probably not far from the true figures: camels—12,000, sheep—2,000, goats—20,000, donkeys—5,000 and cattle (zebus)—300 or thereabouts. Donkeys, as we have seen, are unproductive
[231] except as beasts of burden, and the cattle are so few as to be of negligible importance. Only some 4,500 camels are actually kept in the Ahaggar while the rest are put out to pasture in the Tamesna region on the northern edge of the Sudan, roughly half way between the Aïr and the Niger Bend. Most of the sheep too are pastured outside the Ahaggar proper, mainly in the country around Tin Zaouaten, southwest of the Ahaggar and northwest of the Tamesna.

235 The Haratin of the Ahaggar keep chickens, but only the eggs are eaten as a rule. The
262 Tuareg eat neither eggs, fowl nor fish, but we will discuss this further in the section on *Nomad Diet* in the following chapter.

232 It has been said that the Tuareg have no special breed of riding camels but that likely looking animals are picked out early and given special training for use as mounts. The fact remains, however, that the young of famous stud camels are always the preferred choice, and these animals are specially marked shortly after birth. The method of marking consists of pinching up three small folds of skin in a row, about 2 to 3 inches apart, along

The amenokal, who at first had supreme command, later 643
had to yield some power to the benefit of some chiefs and 642
give them special "tobols" with some amr'id tribes, which
did not pay the tiousse to him but paid it to the chiefs of the
new "tobols." This was a source of continual arguments and [668]
wars (see the historical section, Book Two /not translated/),
and one thinks in spite of oneself of, "Who made you a count?"
and the answer, "Who made you king?" /53/

Before the French occupation of the Saharan Oases, each
tobol had its own independant life, and the amenokal, or
supreme chief, did not interfere in any way in the internal
government of the "tobols." He only intervened, with the
agreement of the djemaa, to straighten out disagreements
which might arise between tribes or to call to arms all tribes
of the confederation against a common enemy, as during the
war between Azdjer and Ahaggar.

The chief of each "tobol," of each noble tribe, or of 631
each imr'ad fraction, all indiscriminately bore the title of 643
"amr'ar" , which means primarily "old man,"
like the Arab word "cheikh," all the meanings of which it
carries. Thus, the chief of the tobol of the Taïtoq bore the
title of amr'ar. For reasons of a political nature, the title
of amenokal was conferred on him, which brings to two the
number of amenokal of the Ahaggar confederation.

Thus the amenokal was the supreme chief of the confed-
eration, and at the same time chief of his "tobol," while the
amr'ar was the chief of a less important "tobol" of an imr'ad
tribe.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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Fig. 5.–Mat-covered tent typical of the pastoral Air Tuareg. The tent in this photograph is inhabited by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the Kel Ferouan drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of the rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered trees and bushes of thorny acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats. [643] [137]

Kel Ooui formed the important political units of Air. The Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan at the establishment of the Sultanry had not yet arrived or lived at the northern outskirts of the massif. 175 643

In the 19th century the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan paid very little respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation the Kel Fadei even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of In Gall (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was afraid that the Kel Fadei would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the Ioullemmeden (Barth 1857, I, p. 478). As for the Kel Ferouan their chief was the most prominent leader of all Air. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103f.) and it is told over and over again by all Air Tuareg to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, and he thinks that the Kel Ferouan originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or Amenokal was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This agrees with informations I have gathered among the noble Kel Ferouan, who will also claim that their clan came to Air before all other Tuareg. The truth however seems to be that they had originally nothing to do with the Sultanry. They took up grazing [114]

175 642 643

[text continues on p. 87]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



162
614
631

| Clans | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ifadeyen (2 clans) | | | | Kouroulobo<br>Inechamelouan<br>Toroof<br>Beinabo |
| Igetofen | | | | Ti-n-Daouine<br>Anialen<br>Abdemma<br>Ekaouel |
| Iraourlen | | | | Tombalaga<br>Akadanei<br>Meigaouei |
| Elbaraten | | | | Onomachor |
| Itagan | | | | Eleleg |
| Isakaranen | 653 | 107 | | Ti-n-Telezgin |
| Kel Tedale (3 clans) | 1900 | | They may be noble by origin. | Talak<br>Ourarene<br>Zourika |
| Kel Akarra | 164 | 39 | Said to be of noble origin and to have had the Ibararochiten clan as their particular vassals. | Ti-n-Teborak |
| Ibararochchiten | | | Said to have been the particular vassals of the Kel Akarra clan. | Emdegra |

175 grounds round Agadez in the 17th century, and were probably called to this
642 region by a Sultan who needed them to keep order in the country. The actual
643 power then passed into the hands of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief.

### *The Kel Ferouan Tuareg.*

114 Lists of clans which belong to the Kel Ferouan drum-group have already been
614 published. Jean has fourteen clans in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427f. – Abadie 1927, p. 391f.), while Nicolas refers twenty-two clans to the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f., 480). My own list comes
614 close to that of Nicolas but contains a few additional names which however may
127 refer to sections of the other clans. In my list I have indicated the relationship
162 between the clans and their traditional grazing grounds. I have not been able to
[631] get precise particulars about the size of clans, and I therefore quote the figures

# Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg

In the introductory chapter on the Tuareg I mentioned that they fall into a number of main groups. These groups or federations constitute the largest political units and are the following:— the *Kel Ahaggar*, the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Adrar*, the *Kel Ayr*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*, and the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*. The federation of *Kel Tuareket* in the region of Timbuktu was subjected to the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* from about A.D. 1800 (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). In this chapter I attempt to outline the structure of some of the federations, and to consider certain problems connected with their historical development.

The two groups of Northern Tuareg which are so intimately related to one another, both culturally and linguistically, formed originally one large political group under the command of the very powerful noble tribe, the *Imenan* in the region of Ganet. It was not only considered noble to a very high degree, but it was very highly estimated because of its supposed relationship to the Prophet. Many noble Tuareg to-day, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, will claim themselves to be *Echcherifen* through relationship to the ancient *Imenan*, whose leader was the supreme chief of all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer until about A.D. 1650 or somewhat later in the 17th century. The *Imenan* about that date lost their power owing to insurrections led by the powerful noble tribe, the *Uraren*. A Tuareg of this tribe killed the supreme chief named *Guma* and the leadership of the *Kel Ajjer* now passed over to the chief of the *Uraren*.

The political system of the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century has been described in some detail by Duveyrier with particular reference to the *Kel Ajjer* among whom he lived in 1859 (cf. Duveyrier 1864). Among the authors who visited the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century Duveyrier is by far the most important, and his brief description of political organization is of particular value.

When the *Imenan* lost their supreme authority owing to the rising of the *Uraren*, they retained their titles of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*), which are used for all descendants of the *Imenan*, their women even to-day being known as *Timenukalin* (sing. *Tamenukalt*). The chief of the *Imenan* was still "the *Amenukal*", a title used for supreme and independent chiefs of large political units. It is a word known to all Tuareg, and there have been some discussion about its proper meaning. The meaning according to Duveyrier is "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this interpretation is that generally followed by modern authors (e.g., Lhote 1955, p. 189; Blanguernon 1955, p. 47), though Foucauld does not go into the proper meaning of the word *Amenukal* but contents himself with the statement that it is the title of "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1213 f.). According to Prasse *Amenukal* is very probably a composit of

643 *amenu* + (*a*)*kal*, "*amenu* of the country". The first part may be the now extinct sing. of *Imenan*, the original meaning of which is unknown ("princes"?); this agrees with Foucauld's statement that normally *Amenukal* is used as sing. of *Imenan*, meaning *iyen daṛ-Menan*" = "one of the *Imenan* tribe" (Prasse, verbal information). My own view is that though the title may perhaps refer to *akal* [423] meaning "land" it is to be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". It is evident, as pointed out recently by Briggs, that an *Amenukal* as a supreme chief does not own the land in any ordinary sense, but rather owns it as a representative of the whole community (cf. Briggs 1958, p. 88). However, many Tuareg of the south do not connect the word *Amenukal* with "*akal*", and even in the past when the supreme *Amenukal* of the *Imenan* reigned over the Northern Tuareg, he apparently did not have the supreme command of the whole country. When Duveyrier stayed among the *Kel* 173 *Ajjer*, the country of these Tuareg was divided between certain noble tribes. This division was said 631 to have taken place in the following way:— The first Tuareg who settled in Tasilé-n-Ajjer were the 614 *Imenan* and the *Ifoṛas*, while other tribes immigrated at a later date. It happened one day in the past that the supreme chief of the *Imenan* summoned the noble women who had sons with rights of succession to chieftainship, and to each of these women he alloted a particular territory as their apanage. Thus the noble woman of the *Uraṛen* tribe was given the valley of Iṛarṛaren, while the noble woman of the *Imanṛasaten* tribe gained the valley of Tekhammalt (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 323). According to this popular account the land of the *Kel Ajjer* was divided between noble tribes even at a time when 175 the supreme chief of the *Imenan*, the *Amenukal*, was the supreme ruler of the *Kel Ajjer*. In Duveyrier's 631 days the important land-holding tribes among the *Kel Ajjer* seem to have been the *Imenan* in the 614 Tasilé around Ganet, the *Uraṛen* north of the Tasilé Mountains around the valley of Iṛarṛaren, the *Imanṛasaten* east of the *Uraṛen*, and finally the *Ifoṛas* who lived in the region south and southwest [565] of Ṛadames. The *Ifoṛas* Tuareg were then, as to-day, held in high esteem because of their position as *Ineslemen*. They also claimed themselves to be noble by origin. They had no vassals attached to them, but one of the *Ifoṛas* tribes had territorial rights around Ṛadames, and it had the right to dues [631] from all foreign caravans passing through the country. Other land-holding tribes possessed the same rights for their particular territories, and their members (i.e., apparently their chiefs) at certain seasons camped around the caravan roads leading through their country to collect dues from caravan [643] traders (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff., 359 ff.). The *Kel Ajjer* country in Duveyrier's days was divided between various noble tribes, and the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Ajjer group*, the chief of the *Uraṛen*, had no rights over the whole country as such.

565 The noble Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* had rights over certain vassal tribes which did not necessarily 614 live within the territory of the noble tribe to which they were attached. Duveyrier tells us so much 642 of this vassalage that it is possible to outline the main structure of this very interesting political institution.

The noble tribes which had particular rights over vassals were the *Uraṛen*, the *Imenan*, and the *Imanṛasaten*. The last-mentioned tribe remained loyal to the ancient rulers of the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Imenan*, to whom they constituted a sort of armed guard in the past. The *Imanṛasaten* were in opposition to the *Uraṛen* but the latter tribe was very powerful because of its direct authority over most vassal tribes. In all 17 vassal tribes or tribal sections were commanded by the *Uraṛen*, while the *Imenan*,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



had five vassal tribes, and the *Imanṛasaten* only three. Four tribes were divided between the *Uraṛen* and the *Imenan*, and one vassal tribe was divided between all three noble tribes.

The *Imenan* in Duveyrier's days comprised only five men who lived like sedentary Arabs at Ganet and Ṛat; they held the titles of *Imenukalen*, and their chief was "*the Amenukal*" who still possessed the drum (*eṭṭebel*) as the symbol of his former power. But the *Imenan* had no political power, and Duveyrier says that they were not allowed to summon their vassals to war. The true political leader of the *Kel Ajjer* was the chief of the *Uraṛen* with the title of *Amṛar*, but he was not the most important person. The practical leader of all Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer was the famous Tuareg known as *Akhenukhen*, whom Duveyrier called *Emir*. He had not accepted the position as *Amṛar* because this would have obliged him to give up his nomadic life and take up residence in a house. *Akhenukhen* held the supreme political and judical authority not only over the particular vassals of the *Uraṛen*, for all Ajjer Tuareg also submitted to his orders. However, we know from Duveyrier's description that the other noble tribes had the right to engage in raiding expeditions on their own behalf supported by their individual vassals, and it was not always easy for *Akhenukhen* to keep order. However, as leader of the bulk of the vassal tribes which were loyal to their master, he could retain the dominant position of the *Uraṛen* tribe, and in difficult judical problems he was aided and supported by the religious leaders of the *Iforas* group.

The noble tribes of the *Kel Ajjer* were subdivided into tribal sections which had their particular vassals. It seems as if this division of vassalage was primarily an economic one. Thus the chief of the *Uraṛen* possessed the supreme political authority over all vassals attached to his tribe though he only had particular economic rights over part of them (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff. & Dubief 1956, p. 87). I revert to these important features of political systems among the Northern Tuareg in a more detailed account of political relations in Ahaggar.

## KEL AHAGGAR

The Ahaggar Tuareg became politically independent in the 17th century when the supreme chief *Guma* of the *Imenan* was killed and the power over the *Kel Ajjer* passed into the hands of the *Uraṛen*. The Ahaggar Tuareg may even then have obtained their own supreme chief, but we know almost nothing about this early period. The supreme chiefs of the Ahaggar Tuareg, who have the title of *Amenukal*, are known as far back as to about 1750 when the ruler was *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir*. During his reign the Ahaggar Tuareg became divided into three major groups centering around the noble tribes known as *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytok*, and *Tégehé Mellet*. These tribes divided the vassals between them. The *Taytok* and the *Kel Ṛela* until then formed one single tribe, and their members even to-day claim to be matrilineally related as *ara-n-tañatin*, that is "persons descending from sisters", for the ancestress of the *Kel Ṛela*, by name *Kella*, and the ancestress of the *Taytok*, whose name was *Sakina*, were in fact maternal cousins (cf. p. 140). The third noble tribe, *Tégehé Mellet*, to which vassals were allotted, is said to descend patrilineally from Arabs – perhaps from the *Chamba*. There were two other noble tribes among the Ahaggar Tuareg at this early date. One of them known

173 as the *Ikadeyen* had no vassals and its members had apparently then as now a rather subordinate
565 position compared with other noble Tuareg. The noble tribe named *Kel-ahem-mellen*, which to-day
614 is of little importance and not very numerous, with some of its members settled in the oasis of
642 Inṛer in Tidikelt, seems to have had certain *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes as its particular vassals, but they were later placed under the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Téġehé Mellet*. The *Iseḳḳemaren*, as we shall see below, had a political status somewhat different from that of the true vassals known to the Northern Tuareg as *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad*. The division of the vassals of this group during the reign of *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir* between the three noble tribes of *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Téġehé Mellet* is most interesting. When the vassals were divided between the three noble units it led to a division of some of the vassal tribes. Thus the *Ayt Lowayen* was divided into two between the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Téġehé Mellet* while the tribe known as *Imessiliten* was divided into the *Dag Ṛali* for the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Kel Ahnet* for the *Taytoḳ*. It would have been easier to divide the vassals without splitting their tribes, but we may perhaps suggest that the tribes were split because they were already divided into groups of individual vassals under those who became independent noble tribes. When the division of vassals took place in the 18th century most went to the *Kel Ṛela*, but quite a number of tribes was also allotted to the *Taytoḳ*, while the *Téġehé Mellet* tribe received so few that it could never become politically important.

When the vassals were divided between the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Téġehé Mellet* these noble
634 tribes became united into a sort of federation known as *téġehé*. The three tribes with their vassals formed
534 so-called drum-groups or *eṭṭebelen* (sing. *eṭṭebel*) with chiefs who had as their insignia a large drum
[778] known as *eṭṭebel*. It was endowed with a particular mystic power; it should not be allowed to touch the ground and when the drum skin was worn, it had to be replaced by a famed warrior. The drum must be obeyed when beaten by the drum-chief to summon his subjects. The drum-chief was the supreme political and judical authority of a drum-group, and he could organize raids and wage war upon other groups. He also collected certain annual payments from his particular vassals. This was
631 true of the chiefs of all three drum-groups in Ahaggar. But within the federation of drum-groups
634 that of the *Kel Ṛela* held a prominent position. The drum-chiefs of the two other groups, the *Taytoḳ*
643 and the *Téġehé Mellet*, only possessed the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaṛen*), which word is that generally used for a chief among the *Kel Ahaggar*, while the chief of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group had the title of *Amenukal* as the chief of the whole *téġehé* federation. Within every drum-group the drum-chief would ceremoniously install all chiefs of vassal tribes but the two drum-chiefs of *Taytoḳ* and *Téġehé Mellet* were installed by the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* group. The *Amenukal* himself was installed in his
[565] office by a Tuareg from one of the *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes of his own drum-group. When the *Amenukal* was installed, which ceremony nowadays takes place at Tamanṛaset, a Tuareg of the *Iseḳḳemaren* class provided him with a large head-cloth. The installment ceremony, which is preserved to this day, was and is the same for any chief among the Ahaggar Tuareg. When a drum-chief was to install a vassal chief, the ceremony took place in the camp of the drum-chief, and when the *Amenukal* had to install drum-chiefs of the two other groups the installation took place in the *Amenukal*'s camp.

The supreme position of the *Amenukal* appears from the rules governing the installation of chiefs, but as already mentioned, the *Amenukal* could not concern himself in all matters of the two other

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## THE FEDERATION OF AHAGGAR TUAREG

(Size of tribes according to Lhote 1955a, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949.)

| | Noble tribes | Vassal tribes | *Isekkemaren* tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| The *Kel Ṛela* Drum-Group | *Kel Ṛela* 275<br>To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble tribes, with the *Iforas* group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal tribes. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The *Kel Ṛela* women, like noble women of the *Uraren* (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and *Kel Ferwan* (Ayr), do not associate freely with people of other classes. | *Dag Ṛali* 386<br>*Ayr Lowayen* 400<br>*Aguh-en-tehlé* 585<br>*Ṛelayddin* 40<br>*Iklan-en-tawsit* 500<br>*Ibettenaten* 129<br>*Ireḡenaten* 435<br>These two tribes are not true vassals by origin. The *Ibettenaten* is said formerly to have had noble status and the *Ireḡenaten* descend matrilineally from the *Ibettenaten*, patrilineally from Arabs. | *Iheyawen Hada* 253<br>*Kel Inṛer* 176<br>*Kel Téfedest* 61<br>*Kel Immidir* 179<br>*Kel Tazulet* 158<br>The *Isekkemaren* tribes descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble *Kel-ahem-mellen* tribe. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the *Ulad Ba Hammu*, claims that they were originally their vassals. |

643 territorial chief over the country inhabited by the vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group. He had the
634 right to dues from caravans passing through the territory of that drum-group, while further west
[65] such dues were given to the chief of the *Taytok* drum-group. He had the right to land rents from the vassals of his groups, while land rents further west in the *Taytok* country belonged to the drum-chief of the *Taytok* group.

643 To-day the *Amenukal* holds a very strong position as chief of the whole country of Ahaggar, and
[44] his power has been much augmented because the French govern the country through him. In the past the position of the *Amenukal* was a less powerful one. All Tuareg say that he was then not particularly strong, and there are many examples of the vassals of his own drum-group showing disobedient
[565] to him. The *Amenukal* had to be elected, and, contrary to what is often stated in literature on the subject, he was not elected by the noble Tuareg of his own tribe, though they had a certain influence, but by his vassals who also had the right to dismiss an *Amenukal* if dissatisfied with him. The *Amenukal* lived like other Tuareg and his sole insignia was the drum which followed him on journeys and served to summon his vassals.

643 We have mentioned above (p. 148 ff.) that the *Amenukal* even to-day receives a land-rent (*ehéré-*
651 *n-amaḍal*) from all tenants of the sub-areas of vassal tribal territories, and the rules of payments and

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| | Noble tribes | Vassal tribes | *Isekkemaren* tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| The *Taytok* Drum-Group | *Taytok* 33<br>There are hardly any Tuareg of pure *Taytok* stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief *Mokhammed ag Mokhammed* who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the *Taytok* drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The *Taytok* and their vassals frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past. | *Kel Ahnet* 127<br>*Iwerweren* 47<br>*Tégehé-n-Efis* 127<br>*Ikuffisen* 84<br>*Ikechchemaden* (now mixed with the *Dag Rali* tribe of the *Kel Rela* drum-group).<br>*Irechchumen*<br>A tribe patrilineally related to the noble *Taytok*, matrilineally to the vassal tribe of *Kel Ahnet*. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals. | *Kel I-n-tunin* (about 20 tents in 1938). |
| The *Tégehé-Mellet* Drum-Group | *Tégehé Mellet* 33 | *Kel Turha* (part of the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe of the *Kel Rela* drum-group). | *Kel Terurit* 62<br>*Kel Uhet* 70 |
| Noble Tribes Without Vassals | *Kel-ahem-mellen* | The *Isekkemaren* tribes are said formerly to have been vassals of this tribe | |
| | *Ikadeyen* | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | |

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rights have been outlined. These payments were also made to the *Amenukal* by people of his drum-group in the past, and then as now he received an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* from all vassal tribes. The size of such *tiwsé* payments in the past is unknown, but they have no doubt varied from one tribe to another as they do to-day. I describe in brief the *tiwsé* payments made by the two most important vassal tribes to illustrate this:— (1) The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe is divided into three sub-tribes which make their *tiwsé* payments separately as follows: The *Kel Tarhawhawt* sub-tribe gives 600 kgs of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kgs of butter. The man who brings this payment to the *Amenukal* is rewarded with 15 metres of cotton. The *Isandan* sub-tribe gives 300 kgs of millet

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considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Ṛali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916–17, the drum-group of the *Kel Ṛela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amṛar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* and *Taytoḳ* tribes might also receive *tiwsé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Adṛar* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Tédalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given him a similar payment for protection.

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Fig. 287. Musicians of the Sultan of Ayr marching through Agadez. In the front a man blowing a clarinet-like instrument, in the background the drummers mounted on camels and beating two drums each. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

631 true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. They are nowadays without much power and prestige, whereas
634 the Sultan, owing to the French, has augmented his power greatly. Many *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg speak
643 disparagingly about the Sultan, and the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* named *Agg-Elkhir* called him
178 openly a slave and did not take off his sandals in the Sultan's presence.

643 There can be little doubt that the man who was elected the Sultan of all Ayr people at the beginning
642 of the 19th century very quickly became a Sultan not of Ayr, but of Agadez. A state organization like that of the Ayr Sultanry could not function in a Tuareg society characterized by warlike pastoral groups, and the Sultan would have to be dismissed or else recognize the authority of the strongest pastoral group which, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century was the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

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their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by *Kel Ferwan* vassals who said that both 565
noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the *Kel Tédalé*. That some of them are noble by origin 614
seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the *Kel Tédalé* in part are related to the *Ihaḍanaren* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter tribe, though without vassals, is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

As to the origin of vassalage among the Ayr Tuareg, it is probable that this is due to the meeting 565
of distinct cultures based mainly on camel-breeding and goat-breeding. Rodd has some very interesting 233
remarks on the position of the vassals as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:— [174]
"One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances" (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rôdd, however, also refers [567]
to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to mainly by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the particular camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. But I have been told by many Tuareg that there were in the past very few camels in vassal tribes, and though most Tuareg apparently hold the view that the vassals have always had camels, the Sultan *Umar* claims that originally they had none while the noble Tuareg have owned these animals since times immemorial. So it might seem as if the political system of the drum-group 174
in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, was founded upon a class division with its root in the meeting of distinct 565
pastoral cultures. It is a fact that certain vassal tribes were attached to their noble lords as a kind 634
of workers with the duty of performing such work as could not be done properly by negroid slaves. Among these tribes were the *Ikawkan* attached to the *Kel Azel*, and the *Iḳḳoberen* and the *Iberdyanen* attached to the *Irawatten*.

It is most likely that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg had vassals before they arrived in Ayr, for many true vassals hold that they have immigrated from the traditional homeland of their noble lords. However, there are in Ayr also certain tribes which have lost their noble status and become a kind of vassals owing to having been subdued in fairly recent wars.

## THE KEL GERES DRUM-GROUP

There is no class-division of so-called noble Tuareg and vassals among the *Kel Geres*. In this respect 642
they differ from most other Tuareg groups except for the *Kel Ewey* among whom a division into classes 565
of this kind has ceased to exist – probably because the *Kel Ewey* have mixed with the sedentary negroid population of the Ayr villages. In *Kel Ewey* certain tribes are more important than others, but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



642 565 there are no true vassals or *Imrad* though some *Kel Ewey* tribes are referred to in literature as vassals.

174 642 565 [144] The lack of the important structural feature of vassalage among the *Kel Geres* may perhaps be explained in the following way:— The *Kel Geres* Tuareg lived originally in Ayr within much the same area as that now occupied by the *Kel Ewey*, and it is most likely that they had mixed very much with the sedentary Negroes as there are among the *Kel Geres* very many black-skinned and negroid Tuareg. It is very probable that the *Kel Geres* when living in Ayr led a semi-sedentary life, for it is said that they had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr in the 18th century owing to the pressure of the *Kel Ewey*. We may perhaps assume that this particular mode of livelihood was the reason why vassalage ceased to exist among the *Kel Geres*. When, in the 18th century, the *Kel Geres* were driven southwards into the Sudanese steppes and savannahs, they became ardent stock-breeders and adopted a political system much related to that of an ordinary Tuareg drum-group with the exception that they had no class-division.

614 642 643 Among the *Kel Geres*, all tribes of pastoral Tuareg are known as *Imajeren* but though they are not divided into classes these tribes are nevertheless not politically identical. The most important tribe is that called *Ti-temekkeret*. It is named after Anu-Mekkeren in Central Ayr where this tribe originally lived, and the *Kel Geres* drum-chief (*ettebel*) is always elected from this particular group. But the drum-chief is not elected by all adult people of his drum-group, but by members of three tribes, the *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar*. The members of these tribes alone can elect and dismiss a drum-chief entirely at their discretion. When they have elected a new drum-chief he is ceremoniously installed by a man of the *Anyegeren* tribe who wraps the large head-cloth around the chief's head. In all this the *Kel Geres* resemble the *Kel Ewey* among whom the *Anestafidet* is elected by the members of three important tribes.

The three tribes of *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar* are also politically very important in other respects for they consistute the nuclei of three sub-divisions of the *Kel Geres*. The chiefs of the three tribes have the title *Arolla* (pl. *Irollan*) and they are also the chiefs of certain other pastoral tribes which have individual chiefs with the title of *Amrar* (pl. *Imraren*). A certain number of people who [563] are non-Tuareg by origin are placed under the authority of all tribal chiefs, e.g., *Irawélen* who are slaves manumitted in the past, *Ikenawen* who are professional potmakers, *Ineden* or blacksmiths, and *Inéfnen*, that is sedentary Hausa living in villages.

614 642 645 In addition to the tribe of the drum-chief and the three *Irollan* tribes, there is among the Kel Geres a fifth tribe which is politically very important, namely that known as *Ezurmani*. It is a religious tribe of the so-called *Echchikhen* class, and its chief is known as *Echchikh* though he also bears the title of *Al-Kadi*. He acts as the adviser of the drum-chief in judicial and religious matters, and though he apparently possesses no direct authority over all *Kel Geres* he is very influential and greatly respected. The *Al-Kadi* or *Echchikh* is elected according to the traditional rules of succession acknowledged by the *Kel Geres*, a deceased chief being succeeded by his younger brother or by his son. But in contrast to all other chiefs, including the drum-chief, he cannot be dismissed when he is once elected. All religious tribes within the *Kel Geres* drum-group are placed directly under the authority of the *Al-Kadi* (*Echchikh*) of the *Ezurmani* tribe. But the *sadakat* fees are made to the drum-chief and not to the Al-Kadi.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



the *Al-Kadi*. In this respect the position of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is similar to that of drum-chiefs among the Ayr Tuareg, and though the present drum-chief says that the *Kel Geres* were never divided into noble and vassal tribes, he nevertheless claims that part of any war-booty taken by *Kel Geres* Tuareg in the past should be given to the drum-chief who had the right to *témaggedaz* and *téwit* (cf. p. 428). The drum (*ettebel*) of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is akin to drums of other Tuareg chiefs. The drum must not touch the ground, but the drum-chief did not believe that its power would be spoilt were it to be touched by women.

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## THE KEL ADRAR

The *Kel Adrar* are very superficially described in literature, but their political system has been outlined by Cortier. They constitute only one drum-group under the leadership of an *Amenukal* who is the possessor of the drum (*ettebel*). The class-division is rather similar to that of most other Tuareg groups. There are certain vassal tribes (*Imrad*) and certain noble tribes though the latter are not considered noble in the usual sense. They are known as proper *Iforas* Tuareg and they are to be grouped rather with the *Ineslemen* class than with the proper noble class termed *Ihaggaren* or *Imajeren*. However, their position within the drum-group is almost identical with that of noble Tuareg in other groups. The *Amenukal* is elected according to patrilineal rules being succeeded by his younger brothers and next by his sons, but the vassal tribes do not participate in the election. Within the drum-group there are many smaller divisions of noble families who have their individual vassals, so that from any vassal tribe there are always certain families living in the camp of a noble lord to work for him and to guard his domestic animals. A noble Tuareg can also claim what he wants from his particular vassals while on the other hand the vassals do not pay any fixed tribute to the noble chiefs, not even to the *Amenukal*. The power of the *Amenukal* is a very limited one, and his position is mainly determined by his personal qualities (cf. Cortier 1908, p. 274 ff.).

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## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL DENNEK

The *Kel Dennek*, that is the *Eastern Iwllemmeden* around Tawa, have been described in detail by Nicolas who, however, is not very clear as to particulars. Apart from the class of *Ineslemen* the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg are divided into the classes of noble Tuareg (*Imazeren*) and vassal Tuareg (*Imrad*, or *Kel Ulli*). These vassal Tuareg are politically attached to four drum-groups (*ettebel*) in which the drum-chief is elected from a noble tribe according to patrilineal rules. One of these drum-groups has a leading position, as its chief with the title of *Amenukal-n-akal* is the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Dennek* group known as *tégezé*. In addition to his drum this supreme chief (*Amenukal-n-akal*) has a burgee or flag to be used in case of a holy war and on certain ceremonial occasions such as the installation of an *Amenukal*. This flag is made of silk and is green, blue, and red in colour. The title *Amenukal* is

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The title of Amenukal is

634 used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *ettebel* is reserved to those
565 chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-*
651 *akal*, have the right to an annual tribute known as *šiuse* (*chiwsé*) from their individual vassals, and it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaḳa* or *tamessadeḳ* must also be given to them, because the drum-chief is inseparable from his *Ḳadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasit* or *takote* (*takuté*), that is the
634 right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain
565 delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels. The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. – These are the
[178] main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been
[642] no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579–586 & 1950a, p. 188–193, 201–209).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

642 The *Kel Ataram* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that
565 in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel*
[114] *Tademaket* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchaṛ*) and vassals (*Imṛad*, sing *Ameṛid*, or *Daṛa*). The dominant noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with
[567] Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Béllа*). They pay *tiwsé* to the noble Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals, but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All
[614] tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amṛar*, but all important decisions are made
[646] by the *myad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This
643 council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with warfare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of
642 the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position
565 (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). – To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:—
[614] Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Idnanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.

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The political supremacy of the nobility is founded upon conquest and has become hereditary, but 642
this supremacy can be lost. If a vassal tribe conquers a noble tribe the rôles may change, and though 565
this has not yet happened the principle is considered valid by all Tuareg. The vassals pay an annual tribute to the noble Tuareg. A noble Tuareg can take what he likes from a vassal, but his rights depend upon his strength, just as the tributes paid by vassals depend upon the strength of their noble lords. A noble tribe must protect its vassals against other noble tribes. Chiefs of both noble and vassal [644]
Tuareg tribes have the title of *Amenukal*, and this title is hereditary. The power of the supreme noble 643
chief (the *Amenukal*) is such that he cannot kill obstinate subjects. But he can thrash them and even wound them, and he can seize their property. There may be more than one candidate when a chief is elected, and this may lead to severe quarrels and even to the division of the tribe (cf. Aymard 1911, p. 37 ff.).

Mangeot & Marty in their study of the Niger Tuareg mention that even in pre-European times 642
certain tribes of vassal status had no particular duties towards noble tribes. They also state that the 565
relationship between noble and vassal Tuareg was breaking down shortly after the French occupation [178]
of the country. The traditional *tiwsé* payments made by vassals to their noble lords differed much from one tribe to the other. Certain vassal tribes gave only one container with butter annually (Mangeot & Marty 1918, p. 258, 461). The chief *Amdeṛ* of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* informed that the *tiwsé* payments, which were abolished long ago, were always insignificant. They were made in goats and butter. The chief also said that originally the *Imṛad* tribes had no camels.

## THE ORIGIN OF TUAREG POLITICAL SYSTEMS

We see from the description above that Tuareg political systems bear resemblances to one another 642
in most groups. The largest political unit is the group under the leadership of a supreme chief, generally 631
known as the *Amenukal*, or as *Amenukal-n-akal* in the *Iwllemmeden* groups where the title *Amenukal* 643
is used also for minor chiefs. The *Amenukal* of a political group is also the chief of a so-called drum-group within the larger political group, though in Ayr the *Amenukal* is identical with the Sultan of Agadez. We may say that the political group known among the Northern Tuareg as *tégehé*, in the *Iwllemmeden* groups as *tégezé*, has a central government consisting of the *Amenukal*, his deputies, and a council. And it is clear that the *Amenukal* everywhere was considered the supreme chief with superior judicial rights and also the war-leader of the whole group. But the authority of an *Amenukal* was in all groups a very limited one, and quarrels between the various drum-groups of a federation were very common everywhere.

The most important political unit of Tuareg political systems was in fact the drum-group. Its chief 634
was always a most important person. In most groups he was elected mainly by the vassals, and he was not an absolute monarch, though normally he could obtain the support of most vassals to quell internal insurrections. Within the drum-group the drum-chief was the highest judicial and military authority, and it was he who had to regulate all relations between noble and vassal Tuareg within the drum-group. Other noble Tuareg, e.g., the *temaẓlayt* masters, within the drum-group had no [565]

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634 judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief,
565 whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

[422] In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to
[171] mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

642 In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division,
565 which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral
[173] camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imrad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imrad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

565 Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar.
[262] Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter
[492] and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinc-
[583] tions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The
[233] noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, donkeys are marked in
[422] both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by
[342] the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirzemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps
[293] connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among
[262] vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found partic-
[224] ularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and
[174] other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but
[233] the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks
[462] of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

174 in the Sudan, the Sanhadja-Nounou, was governed by a woman named Bikoun-Kabi, whom the Sonrhaï /Songhai/ emperor Sonni-Ali had to conquer in order to seize her territory. Es-Sadi, author of the Tarik-es-Soudan, reports several facts of this kind.

The Islamization of the Berber tribes certainly had a part in the elimination of the custom. Women no longer play any official [562] political role in our times. But they have made themselves the guardians of ancestral customs and folklore, and their authority is [626] so strong that one /154/ can only quote the answer of a Tuareg to an Arab who admonished him upon the subject of Tuareg mores: "No one would dare do otherwise, for then no woman would look at us any longer."

162 The persistence of monogamy among the Tuareg is also favored 182 by the considerable excess of men found among them, an exceptinnal 515 fact and contrary to what we observe in other human groups.

The aménokal. -- Aménokal means in Tamashek "possessor of 643 the country" (from am, possessive prefix, and akal, "country").

[192] In the Ahaggar this title is conferred only upon the supreme chief reigning over a whole of noble, vassal, or assimilated tribes. [184] In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, it may be applied to heads of fractions, indeed even to mere camp chiefs.

The aménokal is designated according to hereditary rules deriving from the matriarchal system. He is always chosen, not only in the same tribe, but in the same line which one could compare to the clan. His domination, to be effective, must be sanctioned by the approval of the nobles to whom are joined for the occasion the chiefs of vassal tribes. For the latter, approval involves an agreement to pay tribute later.

Sometimes there are several pretenders to the title; perhaps a descendant of a formerly ousted family asserts his rights, or perhaps the natural heir is recognized incapable of leadership. This brings about a competition where hereditary rules are not always respected.

643 According to the rules cited above, the political succession of an aménokal goes in the first degree to his brother; in the second degree, that is, if he has no brother, to his first cousin, the eldest son of his maternal aunt; and in the third degree, to the eldest son of his eldest sister. In fact, this is what comes out of the genealogical [114] study of the Ahaggar chiefs made by Mr. Benhazéra, (1) modifying

1. Six mois dans l'Ahaggar /Six Months in the Ahaggar/.

the order indicated by Duveyrier who attributed the succession to the eldest son of the eldest sister. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord /The Northern Tuareg/, p. 397.

For reasons we do not know, these rules have not always been followed. Thus, Aménokal Younès succeeded his /155/ father Mohamed el Khir, and Aménokal Ăitarel /succeeded/ his cousin El Khadj Akhmed, even though the latter had closer relatives. More recently, upon the death of Aménokal Akhamouk, his second cousin Meslah was named to replace him, although he had a first cousin, son of the sister of the former Aménokal Moussa ag Ămâstan, who was removed from command because of incompetence.

184 643 Among the Tenguériguif /Tehgeredief/, chiefs are chosen alternately from two lateral lines descended from the same chief, Ikhmed. Thus the deceased aménokal can never be succeeded by his brother, but by a second or third cousin, who is not necessarily taken from the uterine branch. The nomination of the aménokal is submitted to an assembly of notables for their approval, just as among the Ihăggaren.

Among the Ioullimmiden, since Aménokal Our Ilmet (1650-1715), out of fourteen chiefs who succeeded one another, we note six successions from father to son, two from brother to brother, two

184 from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin.
643 The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions
[173] gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out,
611 it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except
631 among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the
651 titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll. He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his
[644] appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/
[178] today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It
[644] benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum
[534 called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum, "
177 "cylinder of a drum."
192]

643 This instrument is so representative of command in the eyes of the Tuareg that they often refer to the aménokal and all the tribes which he holds under his command as "tobol."

184 643 Among the eastern Ioullimmiden (Kel Dinnik), the aménokal always had a standard placed in his tent, which was taken out exceptionally for war or the enthroning of a new aménokal. It was in blue-green and red silk. (1)

1. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik /Notes on the Society and State of the Dinnik Tuareg/," Bulletin de l'Institut Français. Afrique noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, p. 586.

Among the Ihaggaren, the tobol tribe, that is, the one from which the aménokal is always chosen, is the Kel Rela; however, the tobol has presumably changed hands over the centuries. The memory [173] of another chief-tribe, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, has remained, and thus the former Aménokal Attarel was accustomed to saying that the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi formed the back (of the political organization of the Ihaggaren), /while/ the Kel Rela, the Taitok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet /formed/ the sides, but that the back was weakening to the profit of the sides. (2) This modification was caused by the total

2. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs de l'Ahaggar, p. 107.

extinction of the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi.

578 643 692 The aménokal's role is chiefly that of a war chief. In normal times he arbitrates the conflicts which set the tribes against one another, and he has the power of life or death, in principle. His authority is often contested by the Imochar of his own tribe, who try-

578 to arrogate rights over vassals for themselves. There are internal
643 disputes of the sort: "Who made you a count? And who made you
692 king?"

It is particularly in the relations with neighboring or foreign
643 tribes that the amenokal's role takes on a more national aspect, yet his decisions do not have full authority unless they have been approved by an assembly of notables -- the arollan -- composed of the principal chiefs of fractions and nobles.

/157/ The amenokal lives like the other Tuareg, and there is no ceremony surrounding his person. All comers present themselves
[644] at his tent with no more formality than that. There is no court or court etiquette.

Only the tobol, generally placed at the entrance to the tent,
534 indicates the rank of the host.

643 This drum is in the shape of a hemisphere, hollowed out of a tree trunk and covered with a cowhide with the hair still on it. The hide is held by leather thongs with the hairy side up. It may be as much as 80 centimeters in diameter. Two leather handles on the sides are used to carry it. For gatherings, two men strike it alternately with a camelskin drumstick (imîtkar). Only the amenokal has the right to have it sounded, which he does only on the most important occasions. Upon his death, his brother or his caliph is entrusted with it until it can be given to his successor. The amenokal does not go
[492] far without his drum, which is carried on a camel led by a trusted man; when he gives the order to beat the drum, another meharist /man mounted on a mehari, or fast dromedary/ approaches to take the other handle, and the two men march side by side, striking alternately. Any warrior who hears it is supposed to rally to the call and at the same time inform the people he meets. In case of war,
[202] the beating tells whether they are dealing with foot soldiers or meharists, depending on whether there are one or two imîtkar.

When the hide of the tobol is worn out, the most renowned
[554] warrior of the tribe is entrusted to replace it.

643 644 The aménokal generally has one or two caliphs charged with taking his place or representing him with the fractions.

The amrar. -- Each tribe, called taousit, has its amrar, who, 631 like the aménokal, is chosen according to matriarchal rules.

Amrar, in Tamashek, [192] means "the old," "the respectable," "the ancient," /158/ and by extension, [643 534] "possessor of wisdom." It is the equivalent of the Arab word "sheik."

Fig. 16. The tobol, symbol of the aménokal's command, with its "imîtkar."

The amrar is the intermediary between the people of his tribe and the aménokal. He transmits orders from the latter and sees that they are carried out. He collects the tioussé intended for the aménokal from the Imrad and sets the share that each is to pay. He settles minor disputes between the people of his tribe and fixes the pasturing zone to be used by each camp.

He takes part in the vote which sanctions the election of the aménokal and at the arollan, which discusses major decisions concerning the life of the confederation.

In a confederation subject to an aménokal, a grouping which the Ahaggar Tuareg also call tégéhé, there may be several tobol, that is, several suzerain tribes, each with its vassals. The name taousit, making double use of the word for tribe, is sometimes used to designate the whole whose chief also bears the name of amrar among the Ihaggaren and agoalla among the Kel Aïr /Asben/.

The amrar has no characteristic symbol of command, at least [171] among the Ihaggaren. In certain Sudanese tribes, many formerly had a drum analogous to that of the aménokal.

565 192 The Imochar. -- The Imochar (singular, Amacher) form the aristocratic class. This word means "man of dominant stock

181 and not caused by a state of laziness, for although they would not
565 consider working the land at any price, they would not mind traveling thousands of kilometers under often difficult and quite dangerous conditions to go pillage opposing tribes. Once back in camp, they intend to lead a life free from any material cares, shifting the burden to their vassals.

They entrust the keeping of the captured herds to the Imrad,
422 reclaiming the beasts from them when they need them and the
565 necessary usufruct for their food. For themselves, they keep only
[231 mounts for war and for transporting household objects and are content
234] with small herds of goats with only the number of head strictly necessary to assure their daily milk needs. In the same way, they
[567] do not own many slaves of their own, for the latter would make so many months to feed, which they are wary of.

565 Although they rely on their Imrad for everything, they do not abuse them, for, as a Tuareg proverb says, "we must not kill the camel which feeds us," and their demands always take into account the wealth and the possibilities of the moment.

565 Every year the Imochar levy a vassalage tax called a tioussé
631 on the Imrad. This tax, fixed for each tribe, includes an annual
651 contribution of a certain number of head of livestock, loads of grain, miscellaneous items /160/ waterskins, tent stakes, etc.), tanned hides, butter, etc. In principal it is invariable and paid to
[643] the amenokal who disposes of it as he wishes, making allowances for the needs of the Imochar.

643 The amenokal leaves the animals which he levies under the
651 management of the Imrad, who furnish him the usufruct from them.

Individual rights of Imochar over Imrad do not exist in principal.
565 Actually they do exist when a man is the last representative of a
631 tribe and levies for himself the rights falling to his tribe.
651 On the other hand, some undertake to make small levies on the Imrad; the latter never refuse. And we must say in defense of the nobles that they treat their Imrad quite generously when a fortunate raid makes them temporarily well off.

565 Unions, or more exactly concubinage, between Imrad and
[595] Negresses are very common.

[567] Imrad have the right to possess black slaves who are employed in household work and in keeping the herds.

114 Schirmer has said that the Ahaggar Imrad were sedentary peoples
241 entrusted with keeping the gardens; (1) he has committed an error,
565

1. Le Sahara, p. 298.

certainly because of erroneous information. This is all the more curious since Duveyrier had already defined exactly the position of the Imrad. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 334.

114 Duveyrier translated the word amrid by the word "serf," which
565 corresponds exactly to the Arab expression ra'aya, and also because
566 the ra'aya are subjects liable to forced labor and taxes, whom the marabouts are not allowed to possess by Moslem law. Duveyrier believed he was confirmed in his opinion because of the fact that the Inislimen of the Ajjer did not have the right to have Imrad. This is an error of interpretation. This Arabic term cannot be suitable under the circumstances, for the social class of the Tuareg Imrad has no equivalent among the Arabs.

We have preferred the term "vassals" which is more suitable
[651] in our minds, because the Imrad are not unconditionally subject to forced labor, they pay a perfectly defined vassalage fee, their
[643] chiefs participate in the election of the amenokal, and they them-
[657] selves own slaves.

/167/ Moreover, the term "vassals" has been adopted by Richer, Deniker, Verneau, etc.

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote
[602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general-
[582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihăggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihăggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were
[643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores
[184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous
[567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar,
[582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

173 Sultan Goma was killed about 1650, and the independence of the Ahaggar tribes dates from that epoch. They profited from this event and from the Ouraren-Imanrassâten struggle to free themselves from the yoke of the Imenân.

The Ahaggar nobles formed only a single tribe in the beginning, the Kel Ehan Mellen tribe divided into fourteen fractions, which, according to pasture needs, split off and detached themselves from the original branch. The Kel Ehan Mellen probably lived in the Tidikelt in primitive times, whence they were chased by the Arab invasion. At the present time all that remains of them are the Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the Kel Ehan Mellen-ouan-Taghert.

At one time, one of these extinct tribes, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, was in power in the Ahaggar, but it gradually became weaker and weaker through misalliances, to the advantage of the present tribes of the Kel Réla, the Taïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet, who gradually absorbed the other fractions.

Among the Kel Réla today we find the last elements of the three tribes mentioned who descended from the Kel Ehan-Mellen.

The Kel Réla, Taïtok, and Tégéhé-Mellet each enjoyed the most complete independence. However, through political inheritances, the Kel Réla became the most important and the holders of the tobol.

Later, about 1755, profiting from the weakness of Aménokal Salah (called Mokhamed el Khir), the Taïtok and Tégéhé-Mellet obtained a distribution of the Imrad tribes among the three groups, at the same time still recognizing the authority of the aménokal. But the Taïtok, in spite of these considerable advantages, were dissatisfied and wanted to seize the tobol from the Ihaggaren, which set off a series of internal struggles with their Kel Réla cousins.

175 /182/ When the Ahaggar Tuareg surrendered to France, the
631 Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet were organized as free tobol, and
643 their chiefs bore the title of aménokal, although recognizing at the
648 same time the authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Amâstan, who had just been enthroned by the French. Azioueł,

175 the Taïtok chief, and Ser'ir ag Bedda, the chief of the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet, accepted this vassalage without question, but later on they
643 raised endless difficulties. This policy, which had been initiated to
648 reinforce the authority of Moussa ag Amastan, caused us several disappointments. As early as 1910, Captain Niéger, Adjutant Commander of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, interpreted the dissidence of two Imrad tribes, the Ait Loaien and the Kel-i-n-Tounin, as the beginning of serious complications.

We were able to measure his perspicacity during the revolt of 1916-1918, and the misunderstanding between the Kel Réla and Taïtok still persists today. But since the Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet participated in the revolt of 1916-1918 and their chiefs did not live up to the confidence which had been placed in them, they were placed under the direct authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, with the title of amrar.

## Tobol of the Kel Rela

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela is the most important in the Ahaggar,
643 and its chief is at the same time the aménokal of the confederation.

It is formed by a certain number of noble families, several of
565 which have been reduced to one or two tents. They are the Inemba,
631 the Iboglan, the Ikerremlen, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the
643 Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal; all of whom are entitled to the tobol, and the Kembiden, the Oulad el Goute, the Oulad Amechaoui, and the Oulad Ibra, who lost their right to the tobol through misalliances.

173 Legend recounts that the Kel Rela nobles were descended from a woman by the name of Ti-n-Hinan, who came from the Tafilalet with her servant Takamat. Then her people bore the name of Kel Ehan Mellen (meaning "white-tent peoples") as opposed to another tribe, the Issetafenine, "black-tent peoples," who were the ancestors of the Ioullimmiden.

Later the dominant fraction was the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, /183/ which was that fraction of the former Aménokal Sidi, and which was composed of the Kel Rela, the Taïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet.

175 previous ten days, was accused of having poisoned him. He was made to swear on the Koran, but he swore that he had no hand in the death of Moussa and was set free.

A marabout from the zāwiyah /monastery --ed./ of Teleya, Sidi Mohamed ben Badi, a mqaddam delegated by the great religious leader of the Kounta, Bey el Bekkay, was present at the death of [787] Moussa. He claimed to have been sent by Bey, to whom the death of Moussa ag Ǎmastan had been revealed in a dream.

This assertion did much to dissipate the doubt in people's minds, at the same time as it increased the reputation of the marabout from Teleya as a "saint."

A few days later, the djemaa met and named as a replacement [649 648] Akhamouk ag Yema, informing the authorities by the following letter:

30 December 1920

"Glory to the one God.

"On the part of your friend Boukhelil ben Douka to your Lordship the honorable Captain Depommier, head of the dependency of In-Salah and the Ahaggar. May salvation be yours.

"I have the honor to inform you that our father, Moussa ag Ǎmâstan, is dead, may God bless him.

"We, the Kébar Tuareg nobles, have met with the Kébar of the Imrad. Without any exception, we have accepted Ǎkhammouk ag Yéma to replace Moussa. Be well assured that while Moussa was alive, we entrusted to him all the affairs with which he was charged in dealing with the French military authority.

[647] "I would have you know that today we shall make all possible efforts to serve the French government in good faith as before, and even better, and we shall do in good part all that we can do."

Ǎkhamouk ag Yema was the first cousin of Moussa ag Ǎmâstan, the eldest son of the latter's maternal aunt. Through his mother he descended from the Inemba. He was a childhood companion of /190/ Moussa, undergoing his cousin's influence and following him

175 in everything. Much less intelligent than Moussa, he was none the less a faithful chief who knew how to make himself respected.

He married twice and had seven children.

175 Meslah ag Ămayas is a second cousin of Ăkhamouk. He is a
643 grandson of the former Amĕnokal Ăltarel and a second cousin of Mohamed ag Ourzig and Ăttici ag Ămellal. The tobol thus came down in the branch of Ămennaï, the third son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, for want of male descendants in the branch of Hĕguier. This follows the rules of matriarchal succession.

Although Moussa ag Ămastan's sister, Rakhma, who married Ănaba ag Ămellal, brother of Amĕnokal Ăttici, left a son named Louki, he was bypassed by the Imochar as weak-minded.

651 The amĕnokal levies the tioussé on the Imrad and assimilated
[643] vassals. Some of them also pay dues /Fr. droits de redevance/ to the descendants of the old noble families. Thus the Dăg Ra'li pay an annual due to the Inemba Kel Tăhat, and the A'lt Loa'len to the Inemba Kel Emori. The latter levy four percent of the loads of grain brought back from the Sudan by the A'lt Loa'len.

[178 But these duties levied are tending to disappear gradually with
161] the extinction of the old Ahaggar families, some of which are no longer represented by more than a few individuals.

631 The Kel Rela tribe has been gathering strength in a singular way
644 for a century. It is all powerful by the number of its representatives, and matriarchy has only accentuated this situation. Indeed, since
[643] only Kel Rela women are capable of giving birth to an amĕnokal, young men from other noble tribes seek alliances with them,
[582] abandoning the women of their own tribe. This new blood has given the Kel Rela a certain physical vigor by preventing them from becoming impoverished through too close and too repeated inbred alliances.

631 For more than a century the life of the Kel Rela has consisted of
●643 a constant struggle against the Taïtok. The latter, belligerent and
578 jealous, dreamed only of seizing the aménokalat of the Ahaggar, and the history of the Tuareg of this country is nothing but a long succession of wars where the two fractions were alternately /191/ successful, but where the Kel Rela always kept the advantage thanks to their numerical superiority. The account of these events may be found in the book of Mr. Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 99 ff.

[162] In the 1838 census the Kel Rela included 312 persons, 38 of them men. In 1905, according to Benhazéra, they numbered 55 to 60 tents.

The tobol of the Kel Rela at the beginning included only two
631 tribes, the Dăg Râli and the Ăgouh-en-Tèhlé, as well as a large part of the Issekkemâren. Since then, other fractions have come to seek their protection or to assimilate themselves. Such is the case of the Aït-Loaïen and the Relaiddîn.

[65] The Imrad call the Kel Rela "the people who cost dearly," thereby making an allusion to the dues which they are obliged to pay them.

The Dăg Rali. -- The Dăg Râli form the principal fraction of the
[643] Kel Rela tobol, on whom the aménokal of the Ahaggar has always relied to enforce his rights, and without whom he would be nothing and could do nothing.

With the Kel Ăhnet, they originally formed the Imessîlîten tribe, and they were said to be the descendants of Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, the ancestor of the Kel Rela. They sprang from four sub-fractions: the Ikechchemâden, attached to the Taïtok tobol, the Imessîlîten, the Oulad Ir'dal, the Dăg Mertemek.

At the present time they are subdivided into: 1) Kel Tăhat, 2) Kel Tarahananet, 3) Kel Tămanrasset, 4) Kel Hirhâfok, 5) Kel Ărechchoum. To the Dăg Râli must be added a few individuals, today completely assimilated with them; they are descendants of

## Tobol of the Taïtok

631 565 The Taïtok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

[602] They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin, Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Taïtok.

[173] According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin as the Imenan sultans, that is, descendants of Idris, and the other part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Aïr where the stock /souche/ still exists. (1)

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 322.

114 631 565 The Taïtok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Inifel in 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity with the Ihaggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live; our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the Ajjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of

2. Les Touareg de l'Ouest
/The Western Tuareg/, p. 18
(Algiers, 1888).

any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

579 631 643 [181] 175 They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela and the suzerainty of the amenokal of the Ahaggar. After the division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the amenokalat, which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/ by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Taïtok are bound by numerous marriages and are all more or less cousins.

175 The dissensions began with respect to the Imrad tribes depend-
579 ing on the Kel Rela; they were shamelessly stolen by the Ta̓itok,
631 necessitating the intervention of the suzerains. The Ta̓itok, fewer
643 in number than the Kel Rela, got the worst of it most of the time, but that never prevented them from beginning again a short time later.

This was still the state of affairs at the end of the last century when Amenokal A̓ttarel, a very peace-loving man, succeeded in bringing about a cessation of hostilities between the two rival tribes.

The chief of the Ta̓itok at that time, Sidi ag Kéradji, was the nephew of A̓ttarel through his father; consequently, he was a Kel Rela, while he held the right to the Ta̓itok tobol from his mother. A̓ttarel, as his uncle, strove to protect him from the Kel Rela as well as from some Ta̓itok elements whom this truce did not suit.

Sidi, feeling the situation escape him, renounced his tobol, believing that by so doing he was ensuring the safety of his wealth and his person in case hostilities broke out again. He took refuge in the Ahaggar with the Kel Rela.

But upon the death of A̓ttarel, rivalry reawakened, and the Kel Rela begged Sidi to leave their camps. Where could he go when the Ta̓itok had only enemies?

Anarchy reigned everywhere, and the Kel I-n-Tounin, Imrad of the Ta̓itok, took advantage of this to emancipate themselves. They appealed to the Ouraren, a noble A̓jjer tribe. Sidi resolved to settle among them, when Aziouel, a pretender to the tobol, was trying to seize it.

[81] Aziouel was the typical Ta̓itok, the typical desert looter, with cruel and unrestrained instincts. Captain Métois, former chief of the Annex of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, called him a "man of fine saber blows and abusive language, and in addition, a liar, thief, and traitor." He negotiated the surrender of the Ta̓itok, while Sidi ag
643 Kéradji was kept as amenokal.
175 Aziouel was guided by his taste for robbery to lead an enormous
631 raid in the Hodh in 1905, but he had a run of bad luck. Pushed
[82]

175 back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of
631 the men, including Azioueł, died of thirst in the desert.
643 /204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

579 At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the
631 suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and
[648] more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

[511] Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of
631 their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the
651 nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ădrar des Ifôras, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis and Isoknâten of the Aïr.

[162 Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400
239] camels and about 1, 000 goats.

During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at
175 first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave
631 us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his
648 Imrad Kel I-n-Tounîn. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops, He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of
[423] Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastân.

631 alliances give a glimpse of the scope of the Tăitok raids.
[648] The tobol of the Tăitok includes the Irechchoûmen, a little noble tribe which lost its rights to the tobol as a consequence of misalliances, the Kel Ăhnet, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, the Kel I-n-Toûnin, the Iouarouaren, the Ikouttissen, and the Ikechchemâden.

The Irechchoûmen. -- The Irechchoûmen, also called Iradjenaten (mixed blood), usually camp in the Ăhnet, going as high as Aoulef. The head of the family was Ibédi ag Bassi, who married a daughter of the Oulad Zenaga (Aoulef Arabs) and had for sons-in-law Aziouel and Tacha ag Serada of the Tăitok, both dead as a result of raids. (2)

2. Aziouel's widow married Moussa ag Amastân, aménokal of the Ahaggar, in 1910.

[582] They are allies of the Tăitok through numerous marriages, and also of the Imrad Kel Ăhnet. They also marry with /206/ Arab
[643] women from the Touat, and these multiple misalliances have made them lose their right to the tobol.

[173] According to a tradition reported by Duveyrier, the Irechchoûmen originally came from Es Souq. Part of the tribe descends from the Edrissians, and others have the Ikadeien for their ancestors.

[162] They include only about ten tents, or 60 persons, at the present time.

The Kel Ăhnet. -- The Kel Ăhnet are of the same origin as the
[173] Dag Râli with whom they formerly made up the Imessiliten fraction. This schism occurred under the aménokalat of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, at the time of the distribution of the Imrad among the different noble tribes, and the Kel Ăhnet were bestowed upon the Tăitok.

They were among the first to come and surrender, and their chief, Badjeloud ag Maklia, came to In-Salah as early as 1902.

312 The question of water is fundamental in the formation of the
[361 camp, both for the choice of its location and for the number of tents
182] to be included.

Water is obviously a problem for all life; it plays a role in the location of our small European villages, but this role is still greater in desert countries where water is quite rare. The existence of watering places is not only necessary for human life but also for the life of the domestic animals.

137 To this primordial condition of the existence of a watering
182 place must be added the condition of pasture for the domestic
312 animals. Therefore, we see that the establishment of a camp among
361 the Ihaggaren is conditioned by two main factors whose character may vary in time, depending on the seasons and the abundance or scarcity of rain. But in the last analysis the pasture needs take precedence, for, generally speaking, pasture is even rarer than
137 water, since it can sometimes be completely lacking: This need
182 for pasture forces tribes to split up and camps to be dispersed in
361 order to exploit it rationally. The situation is such that there are
621 rarely more than five or six tents in each group. Only the amenokal's
[643] camp may number as many as 15 or 20 tents, but this is quite exceptional, involving the question of prestige and social order at the same time. Indeed, the amenokal supports a numerous family, his caliphs, his servants, etc. But this grouping around the chief is quite artificial, and the flocks which the people own are not with them but are /222/ spread out in the mountains, kept by Imrad or servants.

The camp is always established rather far from the watering
361 places, for it is preferable to be closer to the pastures. It is often
312 five or six kilometers from water. The animals go there to drink every two or three days, and the people use the occasion to get
[482 their water supply, which will be carried in waterskins on their backs
492] or under the stomach of the asses. Tuareg, moreover, do not like
361 to settle near a watering place, for it is always a stopping point for
609 transients, and they avoid making their presence known to strangers.

251 Thus, they are forced to keep supplies on hand, /226/ but it is a
343 limited stock, consisting of two or three bags of sorghum or dates which are transported each time the camp is moved. It is customary, when supplies are more considerable, to leave them in the rocks of the mountains in spots known to the people of the tribe. These granaries (ekaham) allow them to travel lighter and at the same time put supplies in safe places. In case camps are raided they make a sufficient food reserve so that the people are not driven to starvation.

Some tribes which have gardens in the centers of cultivation
184 often have food deposits there; they are stored for a whole family
343 group. Thus the Dag Rali have stores in the Koudia, at Ilaman,
423 Tarahananet, Abalessa, etc., where they entrust the care of their
251 goods to their local representatives. These centers have secret granaries; they are scarcely used these days, but they were used before the French occupation for reasons of safety in case of raids. We have seen hiding places of this kind at Tit and at Bloumet, and there are probably some at Tazerouk and Ideles. They consist of cellars dug in the soil at ground level and hidden from the eyes of passers-by. Merchandise was thus protected from men and rodents.

171 While we are on the subject, let us add that granaries dug in rock are common among all Berbers. Today they may still be seen in Morocco and among the Chaouia /Shawia/ of Aurès. This custom seems to have been common in Mediterranean countries, in Syria, and especially in Palestine where it was already reported in Biblical times.

343 The Akhamouk amenokal was the only person who had real
643 granaries. He had three or four of them constructed of stone bound
251 with clay using the Sudanese technique. They were placed at the top of a rocky crest on the left bank of the Abalessa wadi, near the place where his camp was most often established.

513 Sleeping arrangements. -- Bedding includes only one or two
[56] sheepskins sewn together, or more rarely a rug among the rich people.

513 No one has a bed except the aménokal, who owns one of the Hausa
[352 type; this model has also been adopted in a certain number /227/
177 of Kel Oui /Owey/ camps. (1) The man and woman each sleep on
643]

1. Contrary to what has been said, the bed is not Tuareg but Hausa. Its use is spread among the sedentary people of Aïr, Damergou, and Sokoto, and it is made by Hausa smiths.

his or her own side of the tent, the boys with their father and the girls with their mother.

354 There are no cradles for babies among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and young children are placed on a skin or on blankets. Sometimes a hemispheric wicker frame is put over them and covered with a cloth to cut off the light or protect them from sandstorms.

The Kel Aïr and the Tenguéréguif have little cradles which are suspended from the top of the tent.

354 Fire. -- In front of each tent there is a hearth, generally made of three stones. It is not intended for cooking purposes, but rather for warmth in the evening after the sun has gone down when all the people gather in the shelter of the asaber, which is unrolled in an arc in front of the tent. The flame warms up hearts and
[272 bodies and synthesizes family and friendship. Sometimes a container of water is placed on the three stones to heat in order to make tea.

343 The cooking fire is set apart, generally some three or four
354 meters from the tent, in the shelter of a little stone wall in order to protect it from the wind.

We have not been able to find any myth on the origin of fire
372 among the Tuareg. According to them it was created by God,
773 who gave it to man to cook food. Iblis (Satan) wanted to seize the secret of how it was made, and God punished him by creating

262 237 The ass is never eaten, and its skin is not used.

The horse. -- The horse is not a Saharian animal. In 1929 233 there were four horses in the Ahaggar belonging to the amenokal. [643] Today there are about twenty of them belonging to the members of 644 his family or to the notables of his camp.

This is an expensive luxury, for these animals must be fed with [184] barley, and there is not enough barley for the people themselves. 262 It tends to replace the camel for the Sudanese Tuareg.

/254/ The zebu. -- A few years ago the amenokal owned a [648] small herd of zebus which he had had sent from the Sudan. This [137] animal is not raised in the Ahaggar proper, and it could not be, for lack of appropriate pasture.

[312] The zebus serve in the agricultural centers by drawing water. They are furnished to the tenant farmer by the proprietor of the land, [427] and they are very poorly fed on hardship rations of hay and grass, or else they are put in rush pastures, which are generally plentiful in the agricultural centers.

[438] When the animal is tired, the owner exchanges him if that is at all possible. The privations which the zebus must undergo bring about their death in a relatively short span of time, and so in the Ahaggar it is a question of keeping them alive rather than raising them. In any case, they never follow the camps in their moves and never live near them.

361 When we talked about the camp, we told how the search for 136 pasture directed its location.

Insofar as animal husbandry properly speaking is concerned, we 233 observe that the small animals -- sheep, goats, and asses -- always 361 stay in the Ahaggar and move with the camp.

As for camels, this is not the case; they are often put out to pasture far from the tents, watched only by a few shepherds. The majority are even kept in the Sudan 800 kilometers from their owners'

293 tents, where a few camps live permanently, filling the function of
361 shepherds for the people remaining in the Ahaggar.

At the same time, then, there is nomadism and transhumance. Definitions of the two kinds of life are as follows: there is nomadism when the tribe accompanies the moving livestock, and transhumance when the flocks are accompanied only by shepherds. And so we see that it is not possible to link the Tuareg to one category or the other, but that they engage in the two kinds of life, even in a mixed system in some instances. Quite often, in fact, the goats are pastured in the Ahaggar with a few shepherds, while the women stay in the mountains, and all the men are in the Sudan with the camels.

/255/ The migrations of these little herds of goats recall the moving of flocks which Vidal de la Blache has described as "mountain transhumance," that is, the camps move regularly from the summer pastures located on the peaks to the winter pastures in the [132] plain. These moves cannot be as regular as they are in our country, in view of the irregularity of the rains.

It may thus be said that the Ahaggar Tuareg are small nomads by the short range of the moves of their camps, but that they are, on the other hand, great transhumants.

## Rules Concerning Passage and Nomadization With Flocks

423 The lands over which the tribes range are fixed by the amenokal
643 to whom the land appertains. The origin of the tioussé comes
651 partly from the pasture rights which he grants.

Each tribe is proprietor of its land, with full and exclusive
423 enjoyment of it. Others can come settle among the tribe only with
621 the authorization of the tribe's amrar, but the right of way, including the right to water flocks, is secured for everyone.

These rules may be modified in periods of great dryness or in periods following plentiful rains.

682 assassin be returned to the victim's family. If he was not known,
628 however, the djema, or assembly of notables, designated a man
from the tribe to go make himself prisoner in his place. There is
[692] no example of the hostage's having been put to death in such a
[643] case. Serious cases were usually judged by the amenokal, who was
aided by four assessors, two taken from each side.

762 /296/ Suicide. -- Suicide is as rare as murder among the
Tuareg. When one occurs, the person who committed suicide is
[766] abandoned on the ground unburied, and the camp is moved and
abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the
Tuareg regard the suicide as if he had never existed and must
never speak of him again.

Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with
oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his
life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

[775] The soul of a suicide cannot find refuge and wanders forever.
It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and
people claim that they can hear it nearby in the evening and that
it makes so much noise that it is impossible to sleep.

[761] Death. -- The Tuareg do not fear death. When one of them
sees that he is dying, he gathers his relatives around him and gives
763 his last instructions. Then, according to the religious principles
which he may have neglected during his life but which he recalls
at the final moment, he pronounces the "Fatika /fatiha? Ed. /" or
[29] if he does not have the strength for that, he raises the index finger
of his right hand and breathes his last.

764 The body is immediately washed in lukewarm water and
wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the
[567] slaves go to dig the grave on a neighboring high spot. The grave
is made of a little trench with two stages such as the Arabs use.
[482 The body is carried on a kind of stretcher ans taken to the burial
417] place, head first, by four men. It is then placed on its right side
with the face turned in the direction of Mecca.

492 484 the pasturing place as rapidly as possible, and so they assure a strictly disciplined march for the caravan.

From this come the two systems of proceeding used respectively by the Arabs and the Tuareg.

486 /315/ Caravans which used to cross the country of the Ihaggaren were obliged to place themselves under the latter's protection by paying a toll agreed upon in advance. The duty went to the amenokal, but protection was ensured only within the bounds of his authority, which quite often did not go beyond the limits of his own tribe. And so the caravaneer was subject to continual solicitations from the people living on the land he crossed, and it was often very difficult to escape them. A guide was sometimes placed at his disposal and received remuneration in kind.

643 648

When the boundary of the territory was reached, the protection stopped there, and the greed of the Tuareg was so great that they sometimes did not hesitate to go pillage outside their territory the caravan they had just protected. This often brought on conflicts from tribe to neighboring tribe, but in the final analysis everything was settled at the expense of the caravaneer.

[579]

427 492 Sometimes the Tuareg rented out their camels. Some Tassili tribes made a specialty out of transport between Ghademes and Ghat, while the Issekkemaren agreed to rent their animals between In-Salah and the Sudan. They derived considerable profits from this work.

As a result of these continual deductions in advance, the caravaneer could transport only goods whose trade was very remunerative.

484 679 Caravaneers have a custom of placing provisions needed for their return in the rocks or in sheltered places. These provisions are left without a guard, and nobody would think of taking them.

177 In the last few years a number of notables, including the
492 amenokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the
643 Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them
133 to avoid rocks.

101 The Ihaggaren never travel on zebus and never use them for
492 transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

/321/ Chapter 2

## War and Raiding

721 The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

182 When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those
221 present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were
361 most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to
721 spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

727 Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not
426 own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case
714

565 three main classes, the Tuareg nobles (fig. 46) and vassals (fig. 47) and the Negro slaves.

Rank seems to be essentially a quality of the
565 clan rather than of the individual, for the
614 Tuareg commonly speak of "noble clans" and "vassal clans," and, when one is in doubt about
[554] a person's social status, one does not ask what his rank is but what clan he belongs to. The "tobol,"[6] the symbol of precedence, is clan property and belongs to no particular family, although it is kept by the chief of the premier clan of a tribe as the symbol of his authority.

The Ahaggar confederation comprises three
619 tribes, the Kel Rela, the Tégéhé Mellet and the
614 Taitoq, each headed by a noble clan which gives its name to the tribe as a whole[7] (figs. 25, 26, *b* and 27). Noble clans by definition outrank vassal clans, so that the chief of a noble Ahaggar clan is usually chief of his tribe as well. The noble clans and their dependent vassal clans with them are arranged in an order of precedence, and so the chief of the premier
● [643] clan (the *Kel Rela*) is also chief of the Kel Rela tribe and paramount chief (*Amenokal*) of the Ahaggar confederation.

It is men who govern at all levels of Ahaggar
614 society. Among the Tuareg a tribal chief is
622 chosen from the premier clan of the tribe by
562 a clan council made up of the male heads of households, but he must be confirmed in office by a council of male representatives of all the component clans of his tribe because his tenure depends materially on the willingness of these clans to pay him tribute. For the same reason, the final confirmation of an amenokal rests with a council made up of male representatives of all the clans in the whole confederation. Tribal chiefs also act as judges, and an amenokal is the chief justice of his confederation.

Chieftainship is hereditary in the female
622 line,[8] but within fairly broad and seemingly rather indefinite limits of degree of relation-

thereabouts, but this succession may not have been thought of as brother-to-brother inheritance after all. It seems perhaps more likely that the successor in such a case is looked on as an heir of the former chief's mother rather than of the former chief himself. Ancient Egyptian records, cited by Bates (1914, p. 112), tell of at least one Libyan chief who was succeeded by his younger brother in preference to his son. It would be a waste of time for us to try to explain the few early cases of father-to-son inheritance that have been reported because the circumstances surrounding them are not at all clear.

611 patrilineal elements being present together in
121 a single complex from its beginning, and we have no good reason to suppose that this tentative assumption may not be equally applicable to the Tuareg. But we are hedged about with lack of information. We are faced here with yet another instance of the futility of empirical deduction unsupported by adequate field investigation of the culture concepts that lie at the root of our problem.

**Land Tenure and Tribute.** The Amenokal of
423 the Ahaggar is said to be "the owner of the
643 land" by virtue of his position as paramount chief of a warrior aristocracy. We are inclined to suspect, however, that this may be an oversimplification of the case, for the land of the various tribes that make up the Ahaggar confederation is apparently treated as basically communal property, the title to which is vested in each succeeding Amenokal as an executive trustee rather than as a proprietor. This brings out the very important point that the Amenokal of the Ahaggar Tuareg seems to be essentially a chief executive and not a true king or autocratic chief in the commonly accepted sense of those terms. And, theoretically at least, he can be forced out of office by popular demand. All things considered, his position is not so very different in fact from
643 that of the President of the United States.

622 The Amenokal and the noble tribal chiefs
565 under him collect tribute from those whose
[651] destinies they control, but they are also supposed to protect these people by force of arms when necessary. When the warriors of a noble
[721] clan go raiding they often take the men of one or more of their vassal clans along, and these vassals receive a substantial share of plunder if the raid is a success, but vassals also have an obligation to fight at the side of their noble masters in intertribal wars.

Each vassal clan holds exclusive pasturage
423 rights to a definite territory upon which no
[565] one else may enter, without express permission of the Amenokal, excepting noble clans who are always free to use the pastures of their own vassals as and when they please. Some men also hold exclusive hunting rights to certain specified areas. Many Tuareg own garden plots in agricultural centers, and sometimes date palms and fruit trees of other kinds as well, all of which holdings are now par-

565 well as for potential victims, alien camps or
233 caravans which they can raid themselves. The
463 vassals in their turn are responsible for the daily management and immediate protection of the flocks and herds, and also constitute an armed reserve that can be called up quickly in case a battle becomes imminent or the opportunity for a major raid presents itself. The
[567] slaves take care of the domestic service and household chores of the camps while their boys go out as shepherds to the flocks.

Thus it is clear that the Tuareg class system
565 is a necessity of pastoral life in the Ahaggar;
642 for no pastoral community can survive there without nomadizing, and no community of
[182] nomads can survive without a rigidly formalized division of labor and authority similar to that embodied in the class system of the Tuareg. It now becomes clear also that the seemingly paradoxical combination, within the social framework, of rigidity during the period of a single adult lifetime and a relative fluidity over slightly longer periods still so short as to span often no more than a couple of generations and sometimes less, is not in fact a paradox at all. It merely reflects in simple functional terms the fact that extreme conditions call for an extreme response, that the framework within which the allocation of authority is made at various levels in the communal structure must be very firmly established but must also allow considerable freedom periodically in the choice of those who are to occupy critical positions of decision and command so as to avoid the danger of having such positions filled automatically by persons unfit to occupy them, a danger that could well be quickly fatal to the whole community.

And finally we see that Tuareg government really has nothing essential in common with the feudal system of mediæval Europe to which it has so often been confusingly compared.[9] In the last analysis authority resides in the vassals, for they can make and at least
[643] in theory break the mightiest of all the nobles, the Amenokal himself, and they can do all this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.

powerful neighbor in exchange for some specified kind of continuing or periodic service. Among the Tuareg the relationship between "noble" and "vassal" looks much the same at first glance, but this is an optical illusion, a case of merely superficial resemblance.

565 an Arab merchant from the Touat, Leblanc
563 (1946, table facing p. 40) mentions an heir to
an Ajjer Tuareg chieftainship whose father
174 was an Arab, and the son of a Maraboutic Arab from Ouargla is at present one of the potential heirs to the paramount chieftainship of the Ahaggar confederation.

The question of Tuareg mixture with the Teda has been discussed above, in the section dealing with the latter group.

771 Although the Tuareg of the Ahaggar still retain much of the pre-Islamic magico-religious practices and doctrine of their animistic ancestors, they are all Moslems now, at least nominally, but are not very pious as a rule. It has been said that the Tuareg once had a Berber translation of the Koran, in the 8th and 9th centuries (Benhazera, 1908, p. 57), but it was long ago destroyed or lost (if indeed such a text ever did exist) in the course of a religious reform movement. The annual
[796] Moslem fast, during the month of Ramdhan, is not very generally observed, although in the middle of the 14th century Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338) noted that the Ahaggar Tuareg suspended raiding operations during this period.

The religious order of the Tidjani used to
794 count an overwhelming majority of the Ahaggar Tuareg among its followers, but the Senoussi have built up a substantial following in the region during the last 70 years or so, much aided in this by Tuareg who passed through Senoussi territory on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Very few Tuareg from the Ahag-
778 gar have been to Mecca in recent times, although Lyon (1821, pp. 101–102) saw a single group of roughly 350 of them pass through Mourzouk on their way there in May, 1819 (before the Senoussi order was founded). The
643 Amenokal, Mecca pilgrim or not, has usually been the local model of formal piety. Bey ag
771 Akhamouk, the present Amenokal of the Ahaggar, is an unusually good example of this, as was Moussa ag Amastan in the early years of the present century. There are indications that in ancient times Tuareg chieftains may have been vested with religious as well as temporal primacy (Bates, 1914, p. 117).

The European conquest of the Sahara Des-
648 ert has done much to stimulate the Islamiza-
797 tion of the Tuareg in general during the last

because of the lack of vowels, the "tifinagh" are guessed rather 212
than read, and this system of writing has remained quite primitive.

However, among the Ahaggar Tuareg some know how to [177
read and write Arabic, especially the Issoqqamaren, almost all 191]

[291
643]

The Amenokal Sidi ag Keradji Reading the Address of a Letter Sent to Him.

of whom understand Arabic because of their frequent relations with the Tidikelt, where they must have lived for a long time (1). It is the same for the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet, many

1. See section on history /not translated/.

of whom speak Arabic. /43/

Knowledge of the "tifinagh" is rather a diversion for the Tuareg than a useful study. They like to try to decipher inscriptions or to show you, on the sand, the exact orthography of a word.

which brings to our minds the idea of the serf attached to the 565
glebe and sold with the domain which he cultivated, but rather 631
as "client, bondsman, tributary."

In fact, if the amr'id pays the "tioussé," or tribute, to the noble, if he "lets him taste a little of what he has," according to his expression, if he is dependent on the noble, he nevertheless enjoys a freedom of action which the serf of the Middle Ages did not know. He has a right to the noble's protection if he is attacked, but he marches and fights with him [701]
armed with the same arms. In a raid he also shares with him [727]
and receives his portion of the loot, a portion which varies according to the tribe and which seems to have been fixed according to an ancient contract, in exchange for the protection granted.

And we will find the most convincing proof in the appoint- 565
ment of the amenokal. The imr'ad take part in this: it is 631
they who speak first and state whether they accept the new 643
amenokal, whether they have confidence in him, whether they promise /49/ faithfully to pay him the "tioussé." And he, on his part, promises to give them help and protection against all.

The noble makes it a point of honor to keep this promise. 558
It would be a shame, "el r'ar," according to his expression 565
(from the Arab word "el aâr" العار, not to avenge an insult 577 631
or an injury rendered to one who pays him the "tioussé."

## Chapter II

## The Tobol. Inheritance

Concerning the tobol. The "tobol" originally was a drum 202
made of a large gourd and covered with stretched hide, which 534
the chief of the tribe sounded to gather his clients /dependents/ 643
to tell them that pastures must be changed, etc. It was the 565
insignia of command.

4: Benhazera--43G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Duveyrier has told us that the Imanan (Cheurfa) sultans 534
entrusted their tobols to a marabout tribe, the Ifor'as-oui-n- 565
Tobol. This practice is maintained: noble chiefs pretend to
keep the tobols with them, but they do not use them any more.

It is said that the nobles have access to the tobols because 534
some day, according to the law of inheritance practiced among 565
the Tuareg, they or their descendants may have the hope of 643
obtaining the tobol, that is, the right to rule.

On the other hand, it is said that a noble has lost his rights [558]
to the tobol if, through a misalliance, his children are no
longer of a pure noble line /race/. For example, the
Kembiben, the Oulad El Goute, and the Oulad Ibra (among
the Kel R'ela of the Ahaggar) can no longer hope to have the
right to rule, to the tobol. Similarly, the son of a noble and
a "tamr'idt" (feminine /50/ of "amr'id") is an amr'id and
loses all right to the tobol which his father had.

From this first meaning, the word "tobol" ended by mean- 534
ing the group of nobles and imr'ad tribes who answered the call 565
of the tobol, and one might, for example, say, "The tobol 631
of the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe) includes such-and-such imr'ad
tribes, " or again, "A certain proportion of imr'ad makes up
the tobol of the noble Kel R'ela. "

The word "tobol" is certainly not of Tamashek origin, but [192]
definitely Arabic. In fact, "tobol" طبل in literary Arabic
means: 1) drum, 2) kettledrum, 3) tribute, tax; and in
order to say "I do not know who that man is, " the early Arabs
said, ما ادري اي الطبل هو I do not know of what tobol he is" (1).

1. Arab-French dictionary by
A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski.

Thus I believe that this usage was introduced by the early [174
Arabs who, in the first century after the hegira, pushed their 797]
conquest through the country inhabited by the Tuareg in order
to convert them to Islamism.

## Chapter III

### The Amenokal. The Amr'ar

The northern Tuareg, after the downfall of the Imanan sultan, who held absolute rule over them, regained their independence. Then two confederations were formed: that of the Azdjer and that of the Ahaggar, each including several noble tribes. /52/ 173 631

We will see later ("Origin of the Tuareg" /not translated/) that among the Berbers several tribes often formed a confederation under the supreme rule of a single chief and that the right to rule belonged specifically to certain tribes who held a kind of supremacy over the others. And this is what we will find again. Among the Azdjer the tribe that held this kind of supremacy was that of the Orar'en; among the Ahaggar, it was that of the Kel R'ela. The amenokal of the Ahaggar was always chosen from the tobol of the Kel R'ela. 631 643

The title of amenokal, although subject primarily to the laws of heredity which we have mentioned, had to be ratified by the delegates of the nobles of all the tribes and by those of the imr'ad of all fractions of the confederation. The inheritance must be confirmed by election, and this agrees well with the democratic spirit of all the Berbers and with all that is known of their history and of the theories introduced to them by Kharijism, of which they were adherents. 643

As we have said, the imr'ad had to speak first, to say if they would accept the amenokal designated by heredity, and agree to pay him the "tioussé." The nobles spoke later. The discussion was open and an agreement was reached. Sometimes it was not reached. We saw an example of this at the death of the amenokal of the Ahaggar, Attar'el ag Biska, in 1900. The law of heredity called Mokhammed ag Ourzig as amenokal, but the latter, opposed by the imr'ad and the majority of the nobles, was not elected and saw his rival, Attici ag Amellal, preferred. [565]

The amenokal, who at first had supreme command, later 643
had to yield some power to the benefit of some chiefs and 642
give them special "tobols" with some amr'id tribes, which
did not pay the tiousse to him but paid it to the chiefs of the
new "tobols." This was a source of continual arguments and [668]
wars (see the historical section, Book Two /not translated/),
and one thinks in spite of oneself of, "Who made you a count?"
and the answer, "Who made you king?" /53/

Before the French occupation of the Saharan Oases, each
tobol had its own independant life, and the amenokal, or
supreme chief, did not interfere in any way in the internal
government of the "tobols." He only intervened, with the
agreement of the djemaâ, to straighten out disagreements
which might arise between tribes or to call to arms all tribes
of the confederation against a common enemy, as during the
war between Azdjer and Ahaggar.

The chief of each "tobol," of each noble tribe, or of 631
each imr'ad fraction, all indiscriminately bore the title of 643
"amr'ar" , which means primarily "old man,"
like the Arab word "cheikh," all the meanings of which it
carries. Thus, the chief of the tobol of the Taïtoq bore the
title of amr'ar. For reasons of a political nature, the title
of amenokal was conferred on him, which brings to two the
number of amenokal of the Ahaggar confederation.

Thus the amenokal was the supreme chief of the confed-
eration, and at the same time chief of his "tobol," while the
amr'ar was the chief of a less important "tobol" of an imr'ad
tribe.

edible, and considering also that there is a very fine palm at 245
Abalessa (which could become a splendid oasis since there is
no lack of water), one may ask if the creation of an oasis of
palms in the Ahaggar might not be tried with success. But the [438]
Ahl Azzi and all the inhabitants of the Tidikelt, who live
entirely on the sale of their dates to the Tuareg, have persuaded

[361]

Haratine Gourbi at Ideles
(Koudia)

the latter to the contrary, that the climate of their country is
not suited to growing palms. Besides, the Ahaggar do not in [185]
the least wish to undertake plantations from which one could
expect no profit for several years, and they prefer to stay with
growing wheat, barley, and bechna, which pay at once.

The Amenokal Moussa ag Amastane, realizing that the era 643
of raids will soon be ended forever, sees that it will be necessary 185
to demand from the soil the means of subsistence which raids 176
formerly procured. So he has announced his intention of having
a foggara dug at "Endid" and of having gardens made there,
and his example will very probably be followed. This is an
undertaking which will certainly be encouraged and supported,
and which shows the slow evolution which is beginning to take
place among the Tuareg, in the best interests of peace and
civilization.

St Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*The Sultanry of Air.*

The Agadez Chronicle referred to above gives an interesting description of the establishment of the Air Sultanry in 1403 A.D. Before that time, it is said, a growing anarchy reigned all over the country, and the Arombolou, supreme chief of the Itesen, therefore took the initiative to elect a Sultan to act as an arbitrator among the various groups of Tuareg. 175

According to tradition representatives of the Itesen clans were sent to the Sultan of Constantinople to persuade one of his sons to become the first Sultan of Air. After eight years' absence the deputation returned with a slave who became the ruler over the Air people. This peculiar story as stated by Urvoy is not mentioned in the Agadez Chronicle nor in any other written account (Urvoy 1936, p. 162), and I shall add to this that although even nowadays it is told all over Air, there are many Tuareg who consider it spurious. Actually we do not know from which country the Sultan came nor can we know if he was in fact a slave. But according to the Tuareg all known Sultans have been black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office. 173 643

Although the Sultanry was created by the initiative of the Itesen, the Sultan was also recognized by the Kel Geres who then lived in Air, by the Kel Ooui, and later by other Tuareg groups. At first he had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chamane from where he moved to Agadez which was founded at the middle of the 15th century A.D. as a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Air (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 102, 364f., 409. – Urvoy 1936, p. 164). To the Tuareg the Sultan is known by the title *Amenokal* – a word used for supreme chiefs by most Tuareg. The meaning of this word is not exactly clear. Foucauld does not discuss its origin but only identifies its meaning as "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1213f.). According to Duveyrier *Amenokal* means literally "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this meaning is also ascribed to the word by Lhote (Lhote 1955, p. 189) and Blanguernon (Blanguernon 1955, p. 47). It is my own view that although there can be no doubt that *Amenokal* is connected with *akal* meaning "land", it may perhaps be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". 643 114

In practise the Sultan had little power. The Agadez Chronicle refers to Sultans who acted as war leaders of all Air Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Air it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, 175 643

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



175 p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have had only very short periods of reign.

643 Although the Sultan had but little real power he had a high prestige and was very rich. He had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, as mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, p. 828f.), and he was also entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade. But the Sultan had under his direct command only the negroid populations of Agadez and the villages of In Gall and Teguidda-n-Tecem. The people of Agadez, said to be members of the religious *Ineslemen* class, have never paid any tribute to the Sultan, whereas he received annual payments from the two villages mentioned. All other people of Air apparently had no fixed economic obligations to the Sultan.

[651]

The Sultan had the direct jurisdiction over the negroes under his command. He was the arbitrator and supreme judge in disagreements between the different Tuareg groups to be mentioned below. But he could not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels.

As we have seen the dominant Tuareg group at the establishment of the Sultanry was the Itesen most of whom left the massif long before the arrival of the French. We have also seen that the Kel Geres owing to wars with the Kel Ooui in the 18th century went southwards to the Nigerian borderlands where they became politically independent. In the 19th century the important political groups of the Air Sultanry were the following:–

The Kel Ooui occupying the eastern and most mountaineous parts of the
162 massif. According to figures given by Nicolas for clans and villages of the Kel Ooui
175 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 465ff.) their total number seems now to be about 8000.

631 The Kel Tamat including the Ikaskazan. The group judged by the figures for some of the clans (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471f.) has about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the Kel Ooui. Contrary to the two following groups they were placed under the authority of the supreme Kel Ooui chief, the *Anastafidet*.

The Kel Fadei in the region of In Gall. Their total number according to Nicolas is 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The Kel Ferouan comprising clans in the western parts of the massif including the region of Agadez, and also south of the massif towards Damergou. They number about 5000.

175 The Kel Ooui group was for periods of the past very important politically. But
184 its political system apparently differed from that of other Tuareg groups which may be explained by the fact that a large number of them were settled agri-
565 culturists. The other Tuareg groups mentioned, on the contrary, were made up exclusively of pastoralists who roamed in the lower parts of the massif and the adjacent plains. In these groups there were two important classes which seem to have been of little importance among the Kel Ooui. The two classes in literature
175 are known as "noble Tuareg" *(Imacheren* sing. *Amacher)* and "vassal Tuareg"
565 *(Imrad,* sing. *Amrid)*. The vassal class in all groups was more numerous than that
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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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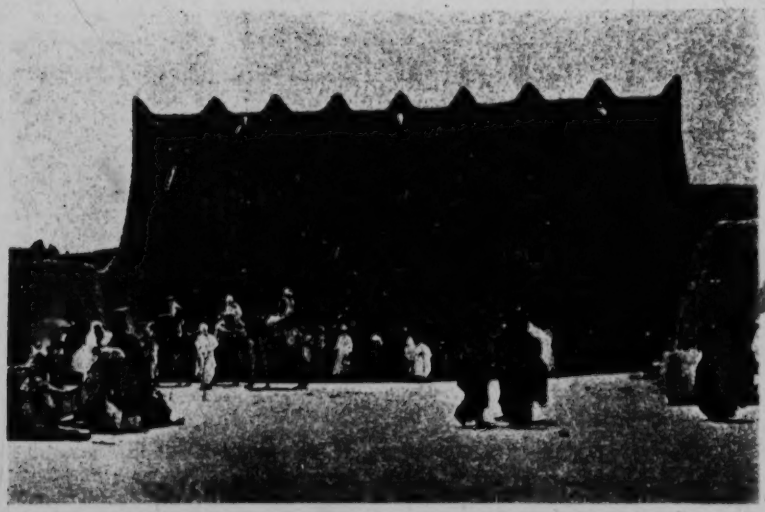

[533] Fig. 4.–The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. – The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing [534] various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

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of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief had as his sole insignia a drum named *ettebel*, or *arazou*. The name of the drum *ettebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is adressed by this very word, and *ettebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command. I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat, the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs. There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikhen of Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

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The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:– From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission was given by the Kel Ooui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461f.). Jean who gives a more [114] detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of election (Jean 1909, p. 159ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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Fig. 5.–Mat-covered tent typical of the pastoral Air Tuareg. The tent in this photograph is inhabited by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the Kel Ferouan drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of the rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered trees and bushes of thorny acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats. [643] [137]

Kel Ooui formed the important political units of Air. The Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan at the establishment of the Sultanry had not yet arrived or lived at the northern outskirts of the massif. 175 643

In the 19th century the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan paid very little respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation the Kel Fadei even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of In Gall (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was afraid that the Kel Fadei would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the Ioullemmeden (Barth 1857, I, p. 478). As for the Kel Ferouan their chief was the most prominent leader of all Air. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103f.) and it is told over and over again by all Air Tuareg to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, and he thinks that the Kel Ferouan originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or Amenokal was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This agrees with informations I have gathered among the noble Kel Ferouan, who will also claim that their clan came to Air before all other Tuareg. The truth however seems to be that they had originally nothing to do with the Sultanry. They took up grazing 175 642 643 [114]

[text continues on p. 87]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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| Clans | Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b) | | Notes | Traditional Grazing Grounds |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ifadeyen (2 clans) | | | | Kouroubobo<br>Imerchamekouan<br>Toroui<br>Beinabo |
| Igetofen | | | | Ti-n-Daouine<br>Anialen<br>Abdemma<br>Ekaouel |
| Iraouelen | | | | Tombalaga<br>Akadanci<br>Meigaouci |
| Elbaraten | | | | Onouachor |
| Itagan | | | | Eleleg |
| Isakaranen | 653 | 107 | | Ti-n-Tebezgin |
| Kel Tedale (3 clans) | 1300 | | They may be noble by origin. | Talak<br>Ourarene<br>Zourika |
| Kel Akarra | 164 | 39 | Said to be of noble origin and to have had the Ibararochiten clan as their particular vassals. | Ti-n-Teborak |
| Ibararochchiten | | | Said to have been the particular vassals of the Kel Akarra clan. | Emdegra |

175 grounds round Agadez in the 17th century, and were probably called to this
642 region by a Sultan who needed them to keep order in the country. The actual
643 power then passed into the hands of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief.

### *The Kel Ferouan Tuareg.*

114 Lists of clans which belong to the Kel Ferouan drum-group have already been
614 published. Jean has fourteen clans in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f. – Abadie 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas refers twenty-two clans to the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes
614 close to that of Nicolas but contains a few additional names which however may
127 refer to sections of the other clans. In my list I have indicated the relationship
162 between the clans and their traditional grazing-grounds. I have not been able to
[631] get precise particulars about the size of clans, and I therefore quote the figures

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



582 Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there
[773] have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it
[581] results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally
[605] cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

605 Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with
606 joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance be-
221 tween children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown, the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two outwardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in
[184] the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8)[1]
601 which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and for certain matrilineal relatives. As clans, according to traditional rules, are groups
614 of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims the line of succession to be as follows:– 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Geres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims
614 that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that
643 this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 451 f., 463 ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

[1] [p. 102, categor 116. – Analyst]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air
Ahaggar



sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullemmeden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, p. 213; 1950c, p. 492f. – Richer 1924, p. 3, 52) an interesting matrilineal custom has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhazera (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Dubiéf has further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubiéf 1956, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes. In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*Agg Elkher*, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [175] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that [643] in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals.

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little [431] authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal [178] chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. 614 634

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 654 [583]

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:– 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Tesuit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft 000
are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put 685
into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, [697]
while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:– pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment [177]
and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were [681]
in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel [643]
Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe 634
with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his [692]
power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with 565
the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relation- 571
ship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum- [634]
chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place 582
in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that 607
one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and [565]
their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory 607
in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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| | Noble Class | | Vassal Class | Isekkemaren Class | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The Tegehe-Mellet Drum-Group* | *Tegehe Mellet* | 33 | *Kel Tarka* (part of the Ait Lemkren clan of the Kel Rela drum-group). | *Kel Tawarit* | 60 |
| | | | | *Kel Oahet* | 70 |
| *Noble Clans Without Vassals* | *Kel Ehen Mellen* | | The Isekkemaren class are said formerly to have been vassals of this clan. | | |
| | *Ikadeien* | | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation center of Tit. | | |

### *The Kel Rela Drum-Group in Ahaggar.*

[161] The Ahaggar Tuareg according to statistics from 1950 number 4,611 individuals
565 (Lhote 1955, p. 157) and comprise 26 clans. In addition to the noble class termed
614 *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), and the vassal class termed *Imrad*, (sing. *Amrid*) or *Kel Ouilli* (sing. *Agg Ouilli*), there is also a class termed *Isekkemaren* (sing. *Asekkemar*), who can be considered vassals of a somewhat different status. The religious class *Imelmen* (sing. *Amelem*) is in Ahaggar represented by a few families without clan organization.

614 There are five noble clans but only three of them have vassals. There are in
565 other words three drum-groups *(ettebel*, pl. *ettebelen)*, namely those of Kel Rela,
634 Taitok, and Tegehe Mellet. The Kel Rela group is by far the most important, and its chief with the title of Amenokal is the supreme head of all three groups which
● 643 constitute a sort of federation named *tegehe*. In rare cases when the Tuareg of Ahaggar joined forces against foreign Tuareg groups, e.g. the Tuareg of Tassili-n-
[701] Ajjer, the Amenokal was the war-leader of all three drum-groups. But in the past he had often little authority over the two other drum-groups. For long periods of the 19th century he had severe troubles with the Taitok, who had acquired a practically independent position, and it seems as if he had no rights over the land inhabited by the Taitok drum-group. The Amenokal as well as the two other drum-chiefs *(Amgar*, pl. *Imgaren)* were elected by the vassals of their respective
[565] drum-groups. It is true that the members of the noble clan had a certain influence,
[614] but – contrary to former opinions on the matter – they did not have any direct voice in elections. The Amenokal was and is ceremoniously installed by a Tuareg of the Isekkemaren class who provides him with a new veil or turban. The two other
634 drum-chiefs should be installed in this way by the Amenokal, who also undertook the installation of all vassal chiefs within his own drum-group. The installment of vassal chiefs within the two other drum-groups were undertaken by their respective drum-chiefs. In the present chapter I shall describe the drum-group of the Kel Rela in some detail.

[Text continues on p. 104]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
692 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer.
643 The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
178 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
643 to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abeilag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
Scale raiding.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



scale raiding. He would discuss all important matters with vassal chiefs and with his noble deputies known as *Khalifas*. At present the Amenokal has three Khalifas two of whom live in his own camp, while the third is his representative in Tamesna, where many Tuareg of his drum-group live. 643 [645]

The Amenokal never had the right to part of the bride-wealth from marriages among his vassals, nor did he receive a camel at the death of a vassal as was customary for the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan in Air. The Amenokal still has the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief within his drum-group, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal clan, the Dag Ḃali, has the right to one of the Amenokal's riding camels on the latter's death. [583] [651] [428]

As the representative of the Kel Ḃela drum-group the Amenokal is in certain cases entitled to property owned individually by his subjects. When a person dies without children or paternal kinsmen, his fortune is divided into six parts one part of which goes to his mother (or his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts are given to the Amenokal. In case the deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, the whole fortune of livestock is taken over by the Amenokal. He, however, will not himself make any use of the animals, but will leave them in the clan to which the deceased person belonged. They will there be under the supervision of the clan chief, who also has usufructs of them. Animals taken over by the Amenokal in this way are known as *ehere oua n ettebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group"), or *ehere oua n boutelma* ("the fortune of the public"). 428 643 [614] [422]

The vassal clans of the Kel Ḃela drum-group pay an annual tribute known as *tiouse* to the Amenokal. The size of this payment varies from one clan to another. It is normally collected by the clan chiefs who send it to the Amenokal, but the three subclans of the Agouh-en-Tehele pay their tiouse separately as follows:– 1) The Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan: 600 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kg of butter. The man who brings this payment to the Amenokal is rewarded with a gift of 15 metres of cotton. 2) The Isandan sub-clan: 300 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kg of butter. The man who brings this receives a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. 3) The Kel Rafia sub-clan: Like the payments from the Isandan. 643 614 651

The whole Dag Ḃali clan pays its tiouse as follows:– 12 bags of millet corresponding to 6 camel-loads are given to the clan chief, who will send 10 bags to the Amenokal, and keep two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole clan gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the Amenokal.

One vassal clan, the Ait Loaien, does not make its tiouse payment to the Amenokal but to a Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Emori section of the Kel Ḃela. According to Lhote a certain family among the Dag Ḃali makes an annual payment to a noble Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Tahat section (Lhote 1955, p. 224). It is in fact possible that the Amenokal nowadays receives tiouse payments which ought to be made to other noble Tuareg. This I imply from the information from a man who told me that the Isandan sub-clan according to traditional rules should pay tiouse to a 565 614 643 651

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



565 Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Ḍela clan, but as he now lives outside of
614 Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

643 In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to
651 noble Kel Ḍela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Ḍela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Iskkemaren class, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Ḍela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139ff.).

643 Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known
651 as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the
579 Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *emehet*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347f.).

The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was
565 also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg.
614 But the relation (*temaḍlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals
651 and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another.
233 The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And
511 the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little
[234] when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food,
[262] but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar
[574] Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft,
[281] as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only
[237] for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



565 651 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The [178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are [789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals, but these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility [721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also [422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these animals.

The master of a temażlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids, but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the [643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellaǥ* or half of the booty taken by all vassals [727] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for [426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also known as *abellaǥ*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been given to the Amenokal. The temażlait-masters were apparently without any judicial [692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller units within the drum-group – the temażlait-relations – were predominantly economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit, the drum-group.

### *The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.*

565 192 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheren* (sing. *Amacheŋ*), but correctly this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohaŋ* (sing. *Amahaŋ*). It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb *ahaŋ* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that this latter word is identical with *Hooaara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

/47 cont. //

571 463 C. Economic Organization

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tuareg | : | Nomadic herdsmen |
| Arabs | : | Nomadic herdsmen and traders |
| Inadem | : | Artisans |
| Harratin | : | Cultivators, craftsmen, manual laborers |
| Iklan | : | Domestics of the Tuareg |
| Mozabites | : | Sedentary traders |
| Chorfa | : | Receive alms in exchange for their presence |
| Zaoui | : | id. |

571 619 643 At the beginning of the French occupation, the Tuareg people were in a stage of social evolution similar in many ways to our Middle Ages. The same system is still in force today, although cracks in it may be seen, caused by the French and Moslem presence. To speak only of the Kel Ahaggar, who are the only ones who concern us in this study, we see a confederation of tribes commanded by the "amenokal," who is elected for life. His title confers on him the ownership of the soil, amenokal meaning "owner of the land." He disposes of the territories of nomadization /terres de parcours/ and of the arable land as he wishes. In practice, this power is exercised according to custom and in a paternalistic fashion.

571 564 Among the tribes, a very rigid caste system exists. First, there are the noble tribes which formerly supplied the warriors; they undertook the protection of the confederation. They were rich with loot taken from /48/ neighboring confederations and from outside caravans, and from protection money paid by caravaneers who passed through Kel Ahaggar territory. Then, there are the imrad tribes -- we may call them vassals. More numerous and made up of camel herders and caravan guides, they could be called on to furnish reinforcements when an expedition ran into trouble or was larger than usual.

439 /66 cont./ girls. The return of the millet caravans is the major event of the year. It is estimated that the millet imported from the Sudan constitutes two-thirds of the Tuareg's food. Once in the Ahaggar, the millet is stored in silos made of clay bricks, based on rock slabs so as to be protected from termites. These constructions, neither cylindrical nor conical, are a curious sight standing near the camps or the villages. The owners are sometimes absent, but no one tries to steal what could easily be taken.

## Agriculture

423 The chief characteristic of the land system in the Ahaggar is that the amenokal is, by virtue of his office, the sole owner [643] of the land.

Whoever wants to drill a foggara must first ask permission [651] of the amenokal and must pay him a tax of ten kilograms of wheat per garden.

The garden is the unit of cultivation. One foggara irrigates from /67/ six to ten gardens. Any other surface unit would have no meaning since the size of the cultivated plot depends on the flow of the foggara, which varies according to the year and to the different agricultural centers. At Tamanrasset a foggara waters 3.80 hectares; at Tit, 3.30 hectares; at Ideles, 4.0 hectares. A garden's area, then, varies from 40 to 60 ares. The wheat harvest may amount to 400 kilograms per hectare; the tax in that case is about one- [651] fortieth of the harvest. Whether the owner of the garden is a Targui or a hartani, the tax (mek) is paid to the amenokal.

Trees planted in the gardens remain the property of the amenokal, for they are attached to the ground.

This inalienable possession of the land by the amenokal has enabled the Tuareg to conserve the rare cultivable lands in the Ahaggar. The force of their tribal custom saves them from their individual lack of foresight. Unfortunately, this right of the amenokal retards agricultural evolution and the maximum productive use of the lands of the Ahaggar, because the cultivator can never own the land he works. He has no

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 683 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

233 436 682

| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *tilgad*, or *chét awétay* | (one year old) | 10 | *tibeydegin* | (white) |
| 10 | *tihusin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *titlarin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *tekkenifadlen* | (3 years old) | 10 | *tizeggerin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiruyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *tibhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chét essin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *tilemlarin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chét okkoz* | (6 years old) | 10 | *tizerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *timessedas* | (7 years old) | 10 | *timengelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chét tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 | *tikewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tiregganin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *tizerrafin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *tiwinarin* | (white cornea) |

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 565 524 237 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[Text continues on p. 104]

428 sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mothers) while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states [114] that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar (and in Ayr) denied this.

428 Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Rela* drum-group has 643 no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however, [632] will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *éhéré wa n eṭṭebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group)", or *éhéré wa n butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

422 It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually, [858] and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may [553] own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions, e.g., on the naming day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong 422 to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should 592 serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic 422 unit of closely related stock-owners.

*233 All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar [114] Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite [576] to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks [602] so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual 422 ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which *233 time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark 565 their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe (the *Dag Rali*) donkeys are also branded with a redhot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



614 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member
591 of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a
611 tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed
614 by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one par-
613 ticular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area
565 which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are
631 named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also
423 attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing ground for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names –
613 generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections
621 within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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*Sub-areas of the territory of the Dag Rali* tribe

(The tribe is divided into two halves:— (1) the *Dag Rali* proper comprising the sections named *Kel Tamanraset* and *Kel Terhenanet*, (2) the *Imesiliten* comprising the two sections named *Kel Hérhafek* and *Kel Teñhart*)

| Tenants | Name and value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe and leader of the *Kel Tamanraset* section | ISEKRAM<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant | 2 goats |
| YEKI of the *Kel Tamanraset* section | TAGMART<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| AMMA of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | ARECHCHUM<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| KHABTÉ of the *Kel Tamanraset* section<br>&<br>AKHASEN of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | I-N-DALAG<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| AFAREK of the *Kel Hérhafek* section | AKAL-EREKEN<br>Hunting of barbary sheep | Unknown |
| BUSKEYAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the *Kel Teñhart* section | TAHAT<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown) |
| [361] DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections *Kel Tamanraset* and *Kel Terhenanet* | ABALESSA<br>A very extended area comprising the village of Abaessa and other agricultural settlements | No land-rent as the *Amenukal* receives dues for every garden in this area |
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections of *Kel Tamanraset* and *Kel Terhenanet* Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections | TEZZA<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annualy. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | 1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep). (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) are also given to Danguchi as tribal chief) |

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



***Sub-areas of the territory of the Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe**

**(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named Kel *Taṛhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Aṛefsa*)**

| Tenants | Value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA ALATOKH, chief of the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, chief of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*, leader of the section *Kel Twes* | Cultivation grounds at Taṛhawhawt and I-n-dalaǧ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys for domestication | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, *khalifa* (leader) of the *Akenkeren* section of the sub-tribe Kel *Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Collecting of wild seeds | 3 goats |
| ABERĠALI, *khalifa* of the *Kel Tarayin* section of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the *Kel Tarayin* section. No position as leader | Cultivation grounds at I-n-aǧriwal and I-n-dalaǧ. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys | 2 donkeys |
| DEYNI, chief of the *Kel Aṛefsa* sub-tribe forming only one section | No particular value | No land-rent |
| AKAWALI, chief of the *Isandan* sub-tribe and leader of the *Kel Afaru-he hin* section | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| HANU, *khalifa* of the *Kel Azernan* section of the *Isandan* sub-tribe | Cultivation grounds at Tamanṛaset<br>In the past wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, *khalifa* of the *Ṛelayddin* now attached to the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe | *Khoseni* is in command of the *Ṛelayddin* territory to which all members of the *Ṛelayddin* have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the *Amenukal* | |

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzaṛ*, while a small camp is called *ṛréwen* or *tamezzaḳ*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100–200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *hereges* (or *amezzaṛ n hereges*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *aharagen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

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221 many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading.
[241] Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess
423 irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*). Some goat-camps may move their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date
[565] palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikechchemaden*) will also visit the oases
[245] of Silet and Tibeghin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are
* [233] harvested mainly by black-skinned *Ḥarratin* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar – mainly in Tamesna – and the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

423 The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in
311 individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds, or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied
614 the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*.
613 In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondance between sections and sub-areas in the
423 way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-areas, and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants (cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a
[428] maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148–149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Ṛali* and
● [643] *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the *Amenukal*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group.

423 For the land-rent (*ehéré-n-amaḥal*) paid to the *Amenukal* the tenants obtain the following rights
422 over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

[224] (3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

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Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikehan*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasilit-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhet* tribe (*Iwikkemaren*).

423 422 224 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 148).

423 241 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dag Rali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Rali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

685 643 Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant 423 [428] dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally [613] the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary [114] sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

## AYR

422 * 233 The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property [428] marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark. However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *éjwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and [113] Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

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outlined above from Ahaggar, with the exception that the Ayr Tuareg have never practised the one year's stay in the bride's family camp after marriage. To-day the *Kel Ferwan* tribes of Southern Ayr do not follow very strictly any particular rule of residence. There is a strong tendency to patrilocal residence, but a man will usually continue to live with kinsmen of the camp where he was brought up as a child. If a man has grown up with maternal relatives owing to the loss of his father as a boy, or because his mother and father have divorced, he may remain with matrilineal relatives. I believe that all tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group of Southern Ayr are bilateral kin groups. And if in the past these Tuareg practised the rules of residence outlined above from Ahaggar, the tribes have been bilateral units as there have always been many marriages contracted between people of different tribes. Two tribes of Ayr, namely the *Imezzureg* and the *Kel Akerra*, claim that they have intermarried regularly from very ancient times, because the father of the *Kel Akerra* tribe was the brother of the mother of the *Imezzureg* tribe, while the father of the *Imezzureg* was a cross-cousin of *Kel Akerra*'s mother. These two tribes possess their individual chiefs, but have always been very mixed. It seems as if chiefs were elected according to matrilineal rules in the past, but to-day it is claimed that a son of a deceased chief should be the first in line of succession (cf. p. 456 ff.).

In Southern Ayr camps of all possible tribes to-day live among each other. There are no grazing grounds or particular territories nowadays when everybody is free to go where he likes with flocks and herds. No Tuareg have particular rights over land, and ban on grazing within certain areas, as in Ahaggar, is unknown. This is said also to have been the case in the past. But in the times preceding the French occupation of Ayr, all vassal tribes had their particular territories which, according to Capot-Rey, were formerly marked by walls (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). I have not been able to confirm this, but the Tuareg told me that in the past tribal territories had frontiers marked out by river valleys or by natural objects such as large trees. The vassal tribes did not own these territories, which were allotted them by the drum-chief of the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe, the *Irawatten*. The traditional territories or grazing grounds of most *Kel Ferwan* tribes are indicated in the list on p. 423 ff.

At present there seem to be no sectional division of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes corresponding to the division into sections in Ahaggar. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg generally live in small camps comprising a few tents. These camps, which co-operate in stock-herding, do not generally exceed four or five tents inhabited by kinsmen who generally constitute an extended family, e.g., (1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children; (2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children; (3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children; (4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband. These small camps, as may be seen, are not based upon any particular rule of residence in agreement with what has been said of residence rules above. The households of a little camp of this kind will remain constantly together to co-operate not only in goat-herding, but generally in camel-breeding also. The labour for camel-herding and caravan trading is more easily provided for in Ayr than in Ahaggar. For camels are rarely taken to very distant grazing grounds, and caravan trading is often limited to expeditions to Damergu where the Tuareg fetch their millet. The Tuareg tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group living around Agadez have no true co-operative units apart from the small camps of up to four or five tents. Such small camps of extended families may temporarily join each other in a bigger camp during the

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# Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg

In the introductory chapter on the Tuareg I mentioned that they fall into a number of main groups. These groups or federations constitute the largest political units and are the following:— the *Kel Ahaggar*, the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Adrar*, the *Kel Ayr*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwilemmeden Kel Dennek*, and the *Iwilemmeden Kel Ataram*. The federation of *Kel Tademekket* in the region of Timbuktu was subjected to the *Iwilemmeden Kel Ataram* from about A.D. 1800 (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). In this chapter I attempt to outline the structure of some of the federations, and to consider certain problems connected with their historical development.

The two groups of Northern Tuareg which are so intimately related to one another, both culturally and linguistically, formed originally one large political group under the command of the very powerful noble tribe, the *Imenan* in the region of Ganet. It was not only considered noble to a very high degree, but it was very highly estimated because of its supposed relationship to the Prophet. Many noble Tuareg to-day, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, will claim themselves to be *Echcherifen* through relationship to the ancient *Imenan*, whose leader was the supreme chief of all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tassilé-n-Ajjer until about A.D. 1650 or somewhat later in the 17th century. The *Imenan* about that date lost their power owing to insurrections led by the powerful noble tribe, the *Uraren*. A Tuareg of this tribe killed the supreme chief named *Guma* and the leadership of the *Kel Ajjer* now passed over to the chief of the *Uraren*.

The political system of the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century has been described in some detail by Duveyrier with particular reference to the *Kel Ajjer* among whom he lived in 1859 (cf. Duveyrier 1864). Among the authors who visited the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century Duveyrier is by far the most important, and his brief description of political organization is of particular value.

When the *Imenan* lost their supreme authority owing to the rising of the *Uraren*, they retained their titles of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*), which are used for all descendants of the *Imenan*, their women even to-day being known as *Timenukalin* (sing. *Tamenukalt*). The chief of the *Imenan* was still "the *Amenukal*", a title used for supreme and independent chiefs of large political units. It is a word known to all Tuareg, and there have been some discussion about its proper meaning. The meaning according to Duveyrier is "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this interpretation is that generally followed by modern authors (e.g., Lhote 1955, p. 189; Blanguernon 1955, p. 47), though Foucauld does not go into the proper meaning of the word *Amenukal* but contents himself with the statement that it is the title of "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1213 f.). According to Prasse *Amenukal* is very probably a composit of

[p. 393]

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643 *amenu* + (*a*)*kal*, "*amenu* of the country". The first part may be the now extinct sing. of *Imenan*, the original meaning of which is unknown ("princes"?); this agrees with Foucauld's statement that normally *Amenukal* is used as sing. of *Imenan*, meaning *iyen daṛ-Menan*" = "one of the *Imenan* tribe" (Prasse, verbal information). My own view is that though the title may perhaps refer to *akal* [423] meaning "land" it is to be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". It is evident, as pointed out recently by Briggs, that an *Amenukal* as a supreme chief does not own the land in any ordinary sense, but rather owns it as a representative of the whole community (cf. Briggs 1958, p. 88). However, many Tuareg of the south do not connect the word *Amenukal* with "*akal*", and even in the past when the supreme *Amenukal* of the *Imenan* reigned over the Northern Tuareg, he apparently did not have the supreme command of the whole country. When Duveyrier stayed among the *Kel*
173 *Ajjer*, the country of these Tuareg was divided between certain noble tribes. This division was said
631 to have taken place in the following way:— The first Tuareg who settled in Tasilé-n-Ajjer were the
614 *Imenan* and the *Ifoṛas*, while other tribes immigrated at a later date. It happened one day in the past that the supreme chief of the *Imenan* summoned the noble women who had sons with rights of succession to chieftainship, and to each of these women he alloted a particular territory as their apanage. Thus the noble woman of the *Uraṛen* tribe was given the valley of Iṛarṛaren, while the noble woman of the *Imanṛasaten* tribe gained the valley of Tekhammalt (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 323). According to this popular account the land of the *Kel Ajjer* was divided between noble tribes even at a time when
175 the supreme chief of the *Imenan*, the *Amenukal*, was the supreme ruler of the *Kel Ajjer*. In Duveyrier's
631 days the important land-holding tribes among the *Kel Ajjer* seem to have been the *Imenan* in the
614 Tasilé around Ganet, the *Uraṛen* north of the Tasilé Mountains around the valley of Iṛarṛaren, the *Imanṛasaten* east of the *Uraṛen*, and finally the *Ifoṛas* who lived in the region south and southwest of Ṛadames. The *Ifoṛas* Tuareg were then, as to-day, held in high esteem because of their position [565] as *Ineslemen*. They also claimed themselves to be noble by origin. They had no vassals attached to them, but one of the *Ifoṛas* tribes had territorial rights around Ṛadames, and it had the right to dues [651] from all foreign caravans passing through the country. Other land-holding tribes possessed the same rights for their particular territories, and their members (i.e., apparently their chiefs) at certain seasons camped around the caravan roads leading through their country to collect dues from caravan [643] traders (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff., 359 ff.). The *Kel Ajjer* country in Duveyrier's days was divided between various noble tribes, and the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Ajjer group*, the chief of the *Uraṛen*, had no rights over the whole country as such.

565 The noble Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* had rights over certain vassal tribes which did not necessarily
614 live within the territory of the noble tribe to which they were attached. Duveyrier tells us so much
642 of this vassalage that it is possible to outline the main structure of this very interesting political institution.

The noble tribes which had particular rights over vassals were the *Uraṛen*, the *Imenan*, and the *Imanṛasaten*. The last-mentioned tribe remained loyal to the ancient rulers of the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Imenan*, to whom they constituted a sort of armed guard in the past. The *Imanṛasaten* were in opposition to the *Uraṛen* but the latter tribe was very powerful because of its direct authority over most vassal tribes. In all 17 vassal tribes or tribal sections were commanded by the *Uraṛen*, while the *Imenan*,

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had five vassal tribes, and the *Imanrasaten* only three. Four tribes were divided between the *Uraren* and the *Imenan*, and one vassal tribe was divided between all three noble tribes.

The *Imenan* in Duveyrier's days comprised only five men who lived like sedentary Arabs at Ganet and Rat; they held the titles of *Imenukalen*, and their chief was "*the Amenukal*" who still possessed the drum (*ettebel*) as the symbol of his former power. But the *Imenan* had no political power, and Duveyrier says that they were not allowed to summon their vassals to war. The true political leader of the *Kel Ajjer* was the chief of the *Uraren* with the title of *Amrar*, but he was not the most important person. The practical leader of all Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer was the famous Tuareg known as *Akhenukhen*, whom Duveyrier called *Emir*. He had not accepted the position as *Amrar* because this would have obliged him to give up his nomadic life and take up residence in a house. *Akhenukhen* held the supreme political and judical authority not only over the particular vassals of the *Uraren*, for all Ajjer Tuareg also submitted to his orders. However, we know from Duveyrier's description that the other noble tribes had the right to engage in raiding expeditions on their own behalf supported by their individual vassals, and it was not always easy for *Akhenukhen* to keep order. However, as leader of the bulk of the vassal tribes which were loyal to their master, he could retain the dominant position of the *Uraren* tribe, and in difficult judical problems he was aided and supported by the religious leaders of the *Iforas* group.

The noble tribes of the *Kel Ajjer* were subdivided into tribal sections which had their particular vassals. It seems as if this division of vassalage was primarily an economic one. Thus the chief of the *Uraren* possessed the supreme political authority over all vassals attached to his tribe though he only had particular economic rights over part of them (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff. & Dubief 1956, p. 87). I revert to these important features of political systems among the Northern Tuareg in a more detailed account of political relations in Ahaggar.

## KEL AHAGGAR

The Ahaggar Tuareg became politically independent in the 17th century when the supreme chief *Gumu* of the *Imenan* was killed and the power over the *Kel Ajjer* passed into the hands of the *Uraren*. The Ahaggar Tuareg may even then have obtained their own supreme chief, but we know almost nothing about this early period. The supreme chief of the Ahaggar Tuareg, who have the title of *Amenukal*, are known as far back as to about 1700 when the ruler was *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir*. During his reign the Ahaggar Tuareg became divided into three major groups centering around the noble tribes known as *Kel Rela*, *Taytok*, and *Tégehé Mellet*. These tribes divided the vassals between them. The *Taytok* and the *Kel Rela* until then formed one single tribe, and their members even to-day claim to be matrilineally related as *ara-n-tallatin*, that is "persons descending from sisters", for the ancestress of the *Kel Rela*, by name *Kella*, and the ancestress of the *Taytok*, whose name was *Sakma*, were in fact maternal cousins (cf. p. 140). The third noble tribe, *Tégehé Mellet*, to which vassals were allotted, is said to descend patrilineally from Arabs – perhaps from the *Chamba*. There were two other noble tribes among the Ahaggar Tuareg at this early date. One of them known

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173 as the *Ikadeyen* had no vassals and its members had apparently then as now a rather subordinate
565 position compared with other noble Tuareg. The noble tribe named *Kel-ahem-mellen*, which to-day
614 is of little importance and not very numerous, with some of its members settled in the oasis of
642 Inṛer in Tidikelt, seems to have had certain *Isekkemaren* tribes as its particular vassals, but they were later placed under the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Tégehé Mellet*. The *Isekkemaren*, as we shall see below, had a political status somewhat different from that of the true vassals known to the Northern Tuareg as *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad*. The division of the vassals of this group during the reign of *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir* between the three noble tribes of *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Tégehé Mellet* is most interesting. When the vassals were divided between the three noble units it led to a division of some of the vassal tribes. Thus the *Ayt Lowayen* was divided into two between the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Tégehé Mellet* while the tribe known as *Imesiliten* was divided into the *Dag Ṛali* for the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Kel Ahnet* for the *Taytoḳ*. It would have been easier to divide the vassals without splitting their tribes, but we may perhaps suggest that the tribes were split because they were already divided into groups of individual vassals under those who became independent noble tribes. When the division of vassals took place in the 18th century most went to the *Kel Ṛela*, but quite a number of tribes was also allotted to the *Taytoḳ*, while the *Tégehé Mellet* tribe received so few that it could never become politically important.

When the vassals were divided between the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Tégehé Mellet* these noble tribes became united into a sort of federation known as *tégehé*. The three tribes with their vassals formed
634 so-called drum-groups or *ettebelen* (sing. *ettebel*) with chiefs who had as their insignia a large drum
[534] known as *ettebel*. It was endowed with a particular mystic power; it should not be allowed to touch
[778] the ground and when the drum skin was worn, it had to be replaced by a famed warrior. The drum must be obeyed when beaten by the drum-chief to summon his subjects. The drum-chief was the supreme political and judical authority of a drum-group, and he could organize raids and wage war upon other groups. He also collected certain annual payments from his particular vassals. This was
631 true of the chiefs of all three drum-groups in Ahaggar. But within the federation of drum-groups
634 that of the *Kel Ṛela* held a prominent position. The drum-chiefs of the two other groups, the *Taytoḳ*
643 and the *Tégehé Mellet*, only possessed the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaren*), which word is that generally used for a chief among the *Kel Ahaggar*, while the chief of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group had the title of *Amenukal* as the chief of the whole *tégehé* federation. Within every drum-group the drum-chief would ceremoniously install all chiefs of vassal tribes but the two drum-chiefs of *Taytoḳ* and *Tégehé Mellet* were installed by the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* group. The *Amenukal* himself was installed in his office by a Tuareg from one of the *Isekkemaren* tribes of his own drum-group. When the *Amenukal*
[565] was installed, which ceremony nowadays takes place in Tamanṛaset, a Tuareg of the *Isekkemaren* class provided him with a large head-cloth. The installment ceremony, which is preserved to this day, was and is the same for any chief among the Ahaggar Tuareg. When a drum-chief was to install a vassal chief, the ceremony took place in the camp of the drum-chief, and when the *Amenukal* had to install drum-chiefs of the two other groups the installation took place in the *Amenukal*'s camp.

The supreme position of the *Amenukal* appears from the rules governing the installation of chiefs, but as already mentioned, the *Amenukal* could not concern himself in all matters of the two other

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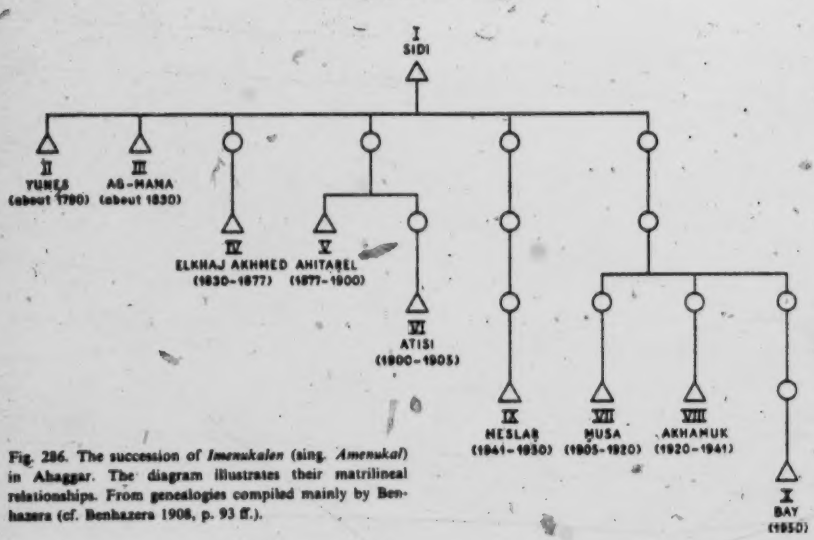


Fig. 286. The succession of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in Ahaggar. The diagram illustrates their matrilineal relationships. From genealogies compiled mainly by Benhazera (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 93 ff.).

drum-groups. The drum-chiefs alone were responsible for the election of vassal chiefs within their 631
groups. The two other drum-groups were largely independent of the *Amenukal*, though the latter 634
was considered the supreme judge in all matters which involved the whole federation, as he was the 643
supreme war leader when the three groups united to fight other groups. It seems as if the *Amenukal* also had a certain religious prestige, and even to-day he goes to the Cherif of Issilessekin once every summer to ask the Cherif to intercede for him with Allah that the rain may fall and the she-camels be fruitful (cf. Morel 1947, p. 129). But the position of the *Amenukal* was very far from that of a divine king. Throughout the 19th century there were long periods in which the two other drum-groups cared very little for the *Amenukal*'s authority, and the *Taytoḳ* and the *Kel Ṛela*, though related to each other, were for long periods engaged in mutual quarrels.

In discussing the position of the *Amenukal* as the supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg, we come 643
to the question whether he was the true owner or commander of the whole country inhabited by the 634
three drum-groups. On this question I have gathered much conflicting information. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* group, including the *Amenukal*, claim that in the past as at the present day the *Amenukal* had rights over the whole country of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while certain other Tuareg, including some old vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* group, say that the two other drum-groups possessed their own territories, the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ* holding all rights over the country of Ahnet with adjacent sections of the western lowland of Ahaggar where some of the *Taytoḳ* vassals lived. I believe that this latter explanation is true and that throughout the 19th century the *Amenukal* was only the

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162
565
582
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642

## THE FEDERATION OF AHAGGAR TUAREG

(Size of tribes according to Lhote 1955a, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949.)

| | Noble tribes | | Vassal tribes | | *Isekkemaren* tribes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The *Kel Rela* Drum-Group | *Kel Rela* | 275 | *Dag Rali* | 386 | *Iheyawen Hada* | 253 |
| | To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble tribes, with the *Iforas* group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal tribes. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The *Kel Rela* women, like noble women of the *Uraren* (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and *Kel Ferwan* (Ayr), do not associate freely with people of other classes. | | *Ayt Lowayen* | 400 | *Kel Inper* | 176 |
| | | | *Aguh-en-tehlé* | 585 | *Kel Téfedest* | 61 |
| | | | *Relayddin* | 40 | *Kel Immidir* | 179 |
| | | | *Iklan-en-tawsit* | 500 | *Kel Tazulet* | 158 |
| | | | *Ibettenaten* | 129 | The *Isekkemaren* tribes descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble *Kel-ahem-mellen* tribe. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the *Ulad Ba Hammu*, claims that they were originally their vassals. | |
| | | | *Ireganaten* | 435 | | |
| | | | These two tribes are not true vassals by origin. The *Ibettenaten* is said formerly to have had noble status and the *Ireganaten* descend matrilineally from the *Ibettenaten*, patrilineally from Arabs. | | | |

643 territorial chief over the country inhabited by the vassals of the *Kel Rela* drum-group. He had the
634 right to dues from caravans passing through the territory of that drum-group, while further west
[651] such dues were given to the chief of the *Taytok* drum-group. He had the right to land rents from the vassals of his groups, while land rents further west in the *Taytok* country belonged to the drum-chief of the *Taytok* group.

643 To-day the *Amenukal* holds a very strong position as chief of the whole country of Ahaggar, and
[642] his power has been much augmented because the French govern the country through him. In the past the position of the *Amenukal* was a less powerful one. All Tuareg say that he was then not particularly strong, and there are many examples of the vassals of his own drum-group showing disobedient
[565] to him. The *Amenukal* had to be elected, and, contrary to what is often stated in literature on the subject, he was not elected by the noble Tuareg of his own tribe, though they had a certain influence, but by his vassals who also had the right to dismiss an *Amenukal* if dissatisfied with him. The *Amenukal* lived like other Tuareg and his sole insignia was the drum which followed him on journeys and served to summon his vassals.

643 We have mentioned above (p. 148 ff.) that the *Amenukal* even to-day receives a land-rent (*éhéré-*
651 *n-amadal*) from all tenants of the sub-areas of vassal tribal territories, and the rules of payments and

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| | Noble tribes | Vassal tribes | *Isekkemaren* tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| The *Taytoḳ* Drum-Group | *Taytoḳ* 33<br>There are hardly any Tuareg of pure *Taytoḳ* stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief *Mokhammed ag Mokhammed* who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The *Taytoḳ* and their vassals frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past. | *Kel Ahnet* 127<br>*Iwerweren* 47<br>*Téġehé-n-Efis* 127<br>*Ikuffisen* 84<br>*Ikechchemaḍen* (now mixed with the *Dag Ṛali* tribe of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group).<br>*Irechchumen*<br>A tribe patrilineally related to the noble *Taytoḳ*, matrilineally to the vassal tribe of *Kel Ahnet*. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals. | *Kel I-n-tunin* (about 20 tents in 1938). |
| The *Téġehé-Mellet* Drum-Group | *Téġehé Mellet* 33 | *Kel Turha* (part of the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group). | *Kel Terurit* 62<br>*Kel Uḥet* 70 |
| Noble Tribes Without Vassals | *Kel-ahem-mellen* | The *Isekkemaren* tribes are said formerly to have been vassals of this tribe | |
| | *Ikadeyen* | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | |

rights have been outlined. These payments were also made to the *Amenukal* by people of his drum-group in the past, and then as now he received an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* from all vassal tribes. The size of such *tiwsé* payments in the past is unknown, but they have no doubt varied from one tribe to another as they do to-day. I describe in brief the *tiwsé* payments made by the two most important vassal tribes to illustrate this:— (1) The *Aġub-en-tehlé* tribe is divided into three sub-tribes which make their *tiwsé* payments separately as follows: The *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe gives 600 kgs of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kgs of butter. The man who brings this payment to the *Amenukal* is rewarded with 15 metres of cotton. The *Isandan* sub-tribe gives 300 kgs of millet

643 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man
651 bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Arefsa* sub-tribe its collective
614 payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Rali* tribe pays *tiwsé* as follows:—
613 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads,
565 are given to the chief of the *Dag Rali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*. – All vassal tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Amenukal*, and this also applies to the *Isekkemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwsé*, are in fact tokens of vassalage,
[634] and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as drum-chief of the *Kel Rela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to their particular drum-chiefs.

643 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his
634 drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war booty taken by his
565 vassals. This right was known as *abellag*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel Rela* drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal
[614] kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in the tribe to which the deseased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138). As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief
[614] within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels on the latter's death.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*ekhiyet*)
634 among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151).
681 Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance,
[684] he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly
[682] the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth
[614] paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. When the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid.
[683] For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and
[178] such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished
[648] by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he had in the past.

178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

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considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Ṛali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916–17, the drum-group of the *Kel Ṛela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amṛar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* and *Taytoḳ* tribes might also receive *tiwsé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Adṛar* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Télalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given him a similar payment for protection.

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619 him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were
721 frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal* were raided
643 by people of his drum-group, the *Amenukal* had the right to a tribute named *ennehet* which according to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amenukal*'s drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the *Amenukal* to whom they paid *tiwsé* for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347 f.).

634 The drum-group (*eṭṭebel*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The
[831] federation (*tégehé*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

634 It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship
565 (*tehandezzit*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there
571 were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is
614 true notably of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar.
[602] People of the *Dag Ṛali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group joke with the tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The word "*Isekkemaren*" means literally "people who lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg and true vassals, who say that the *Isekkemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals will joke with the *Isekkemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the
[602] vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Isekkemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally
[431] related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed between *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Isekkemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg come to the *Isekkemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the *Isekkemaren* visiting the *Aguh-en-tehlé*. The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relationship to the noble *Kel Ṛela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Ṛela* engage in sham-fights (*tebbillant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between the *Kel Ṛela* and the vassal *Aguh-en-telhé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between *Isekkemaren* and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Isekkemaren* tribes (*Iheyawen Hada, Kel Tazulet*) and the *Aguh-en-tehlé tribe*. Wedding feasts in these *Isekkemaren* tribes are most popular with young men of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Isekkemaren* girls. Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages, if any, while this was not so in the *Taytok* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between

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173 Tuareg traditions of origins must always be regarded with some suspicion. It is well known that all over Northern Africa numerous Arabs and Berbers claim relationship with the Prophet and his family. Most of these traditions seem to be mere fakes, and they have been omitted in this brief account of Tuareg history in Ayr. This does not mean, of course, that we can rely on the above traditions which are very often contradictory. An obvious case is that of the *Kel Ferwan*. There are traditions giving Awjila as their homeland, and I have very frequently been told that they came from Ahaggar as close kinsmen of the *Kel Ṛela*. I do not think this latter tradition contains much historical truth though it may reflect political relations of the past. The *Kel Ferwan* apparently were on quite good terms with the *Kel Ṛela* of Ahaggar whom they admired because of their power. The *Kel Ṛela* had many quarrels with the *Taytoḳ* and also with the *Kel Faday*, and the latter Tuareg again were enemies of the *Kel Ferwan*. As the *Kel Faday*, perhaps for political reasons, claimed themselves related to the *Taytoḳ* it may have been quite natural for the *Kel Ferwan* (the most important tribe in Ayr) to claim relationship to the *Kel Ṛela* (the most important tribe of Ahaggar).

It is often said in Ayr that the dominant noble tribes of most Tuareg groups are related to one another through daughters of the same mother. The Sultan says that there were originally six sisters who became the ancestress of the following noble Tuareg:— The *Kel Ferwan*, the *Kel Faday*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Itésen*, the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Imanṛasaten*. The *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg, on the other hand, have no relationship to these Tuareg but according to the Sultan are "children of the *Kel Asuf* spirits". The story of the descent of the important noble Tuareg of Ayr from a certain number of sisters is told in variations within the different tribes and groups. People of the *Kel Ferwan* group exclude the *Kel Faday* and claim that once in the past the noble *Kel Faday* tribe was a vassal tribe of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and people of the vassal tribes *Kel Akerra*, *Imezzureg*, *Isakaranan*, and *Kel Tédalé*, the members of which claim noble descent, hold that they descend from a daughter of the ancestress of the important noble Tuareg tribes.

We can never rely on oral traditions of origin which have important political functions, but oral traditions may contain some historical verity. Most traditions mentioned point to a north-eastern origin of the Ayr Tuareg – to Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and to the oasis of Awjila. It is also interesting that there are more general traditions, according to which all Ayr Tuareg ultimately came from a country named *Elbarbar* situated towards the east. In support of these traditions we can refer to the fact that the most important northern trade road from Ayr leads to the oasis of Ṛat, to Tripolitania, and the Fezzan. In the past the important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo went over Gao, Agadez, Ṛat, Murzuk, Awjila, and Siwa.

## THE SULTANRY OF AYR

175 *The Agadez Chronicle* referred to above gives an interesting description of the establishment of the
643 Ayr Sultanry in 1405 A.D. Before that time, it is said, a growing anarchy reigned all over the country, and the *Ayumbulu*, supreme chief of the *Itésen* federation, therefore took the initiative in electing a Sultan to act as an arbitrator among the various groups of Tuareg.

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According to the *Agadez Chronicle* five tribes of the *Itésen* went out to discover a Sultan. They found him in a country written in translations *Arim Sotafan* (Palmer 1936, p. 55) or *A'arem-Cattafane* (Urvoy 1934, p. 154). The meaning of this word – correctly written *Arrem Settefen* – is "black town". This seems to indicate that the first Sultan came from a Sudanese state, and it is stated by all Tuareg that all known Sultans of Agadez have been black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives, the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office. 175 643

The fact that the Sultan of Agadez has four ministers like most kings of Sudanese states (cf. Frobenius, Atlas Africanus, H.3; Baumann 1940, p. 58) may perhaps point to a connection between the establishment of the Ayr Sultanry and the Sudan, and this seems also to be intimated in the *Agadez Chronicle*. Nevertheless, the popular tradition about the origin of the Ayr Sultanry goes against this assumption. For it is told all over Ayr, both among Tuareg and the so-called *Imeggedezen*, that the first Sultan of Agadez came from Constantinople. This tradition, which is not mentioned in the *Agadez Chronicle*, is also claimed to be true by the present Sultan of Agadez. He says that the *Itésen* tribes, or representatives from these tribes, went to Constantinople to ask the Sultan to give them one of his sons as the first Sultan over Ayr. The Sultan of Constantinople had three fair-skinned wives who all refused to let their sons go to Ayr with the deputation. But he also had four black-skinned wives or concubines and the first of them who was asked to let her son become the Sultan over Ayr agreed. So it happened that the deputation of *Itésen* Tuareg returned to Agadez with their first Sultan who patrilineally is descended from the Sultan of Constantinople, matrilineally from a slave woman. There are some people who claim this tradition to be spurious, but it is admitted by most people as a true account of the origin of the Ayr Sultanry. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg it is claimed that the Sultan was fetched by people of the *Kel Ferwan* group, or that the *Itésen* deputation was sent out to fetch the Sultan on the initiative of the *Kel Ferwan* group. This variation of the tradition is also recognized by the present Sultan. [645] 173 643

In the *Agadez Chronicle* we are told that the Sultan at first had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chaman from where he moved to Agadez which seem to have been founded as a city at the middle of the 15th century A.D., a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Ayr (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 102, 364 f., 409; Urvoy 1936, p. 164). 175 643 [103]

The present Sultan *Umar*, who has reigned since 1919, says that the first Sultan who came to Ayr had the great task to learn the Ayr Tuareg good manners of living. Before the establishment of the Sultanry the whole country of Ayr had been dominated by the *Izran* (of the Lake Tchad region) who had claimed as their annual tribute a young girl from all Tuareg tribes of Ayr. When the first Sultan arrived the Tuareg lived like donkeys in the rocks. They had extremely bad manners, and there were even people who married with their sisters. The Sultan taught them good manners and brought justice and order to the country. He was the true owner of the land from the northern outskirts of Ayr to the region of Madawa where the *Kel Geres* Tuareg now live. He divided the land between the main groups of Tuareg, and allotted to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who lived around Tafadek a large part of Ayr up to 173 643

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173 Talak. This tradition is acknowledged as true by certain Tuareg of Ayr, but all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg
643 claim that the Sultan has never had any right over the country of Ayr. They state that his Tuareg
[634] title of *Amenukal* has nothing to do with *akal* (i.e. "the land"), and that the country of Ayr from the remote past until now has been owned by the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 421). However,
175 if we turn to the information given on this subject by the *Agadez Chronicle*, we learn that until the
643 establishment of the Sultanry it had been customary for the powerful noble tribes to claim a tax of
651 horses from the caravans which passed their particular territories. The first Sultan of Ayr sent a letter to learned people of an Islamic country to ask whether such taxes were lawful or unlawful. And he was answered that these taxes were to be considered good because those who received the taxes protected the very important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo. The taxes should therefore be collected by the Sultan who again should give them to the Tuareg (Urvoy 1934, p. 155). Before the arrival of the French the Sultan had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, which is mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, 828 f.), and he was entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade and to annual taxes from the sedentary Negroes of Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

643 The tradition which says that the Sultan descend patrilineally from the Sultan of Constantinople and matrilineally from a slave woman clearly indicates the position of the Sultan in Tuareg society. The Sultan is looked down upon by fair-skinned Tuareg because of his black skin, but he is also endowed with prestige because of his supposed descendance from the Sultan of Constantinople.

643 A certain *elbaraka* or benediction is ascribed to him, and all people who want to greet the Sultan
778 must remove their sandals. The Sultan is always buried in his palace at Agadez, and it is said that
[766] if he was buried outside there would be a great risk that his subjects would dig up his skeleton to use
[765] part of it for amulets. It is also said that the Sultan preserves a part of the skeleton of his predecessor for amulets. This must be viewed in connection with the particular power of *elbaraka* attached to the Sultan, and it is important to note that the Sultan is believed to possess an unusual power of fertility, which is secured and maintained until his death by means of certain medicines acquired from the Sudan. Thus it seems as though the Sultan possesses some of the qualities of the Sudanese divine
175 kings, but in practice he has little power. The *Agadez Chronicle* refers to Sultans who acted as war
643 leaders of all Ayr Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Ayr it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of pastoral Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have only reigned for very short periods.

631 Although the Sultan is the supreme chief of all Ayr Tuareg, he does not have the same relationship
634 to all Tuareg groups, for many of them are placed directly under the supreme chief of the *Kel Ewey*
640 group known as the *Anestafidet*. The *Anestafidet* originally lived at Asodey in Central Ayr, but he now lives in Agadez where he holds a prominent position as a chief. Like most *Kel Ewey* he is black-skinned and related to the Hausa population of the Southlands, where he lives for a part of the year with the important task of organizing the trade between Ayr and the south. The *Anestafidet* has always been closely attached to the sedentary Hausa of the Southlands, and is said to have part of his family living at a small village named Blanko between Tanut and Zinder. A new *Anestafidet* may even be elected

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



from the members of this village. The particular connection between the *Anestafidet* and the sedentary peoples of the Sudan is very natural in view of the fact that the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg nowadays, as in the past, engage much in caravan trading with the south. The name of *Anestafidet* is derived from the tribe *Kel Tafidet* – one of the noble *Kel Ewey* tribes which immigrated to Ayr about the 14th century A.D. The *Anestafidet* has always been a very important chief, and the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, though very mixed with the ancient sedentary population of Ayr Negroes, were for periods in the past very important politically. To-day the *Anestafidet* is the most important chief of Ayr after the Sultan, and it is said that, like a deceased Sultan, a deceased *Anestafidet* should be buried in his house. The *Anestafidet* is treated with respect by all Ayr Tuareg, who take off their sandals when greeting him, and at the beginning of the holy Friday (that is on Thursday night) the professional musicians of Agadez, when they have made music at the Sultan's palace, go to *Anestafidet*'s residence and then to the ministers of the Sultan.

The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, who live predominantly in and around the villages of the eastern and most mountainous part of the Ayr Massif, form the majority of the people placed directly under the command of the *Anestafidet*. According to figures given by Nicolas for tribes and villages of the *Kel Ewey* their total number seems now to be about 8000 (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 465 ff.). But placed under the *Anestafidet* are also the pastoral Tuareg group known as *Kel Tamat*. Formerly it had its own drum-chief (*ettebel*) who was also the supreme chief of the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg. The group of *Kel Tamat*, with the *Ikezkezen*, judged by the figures for some of the tribes (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 471 f.), comprise nowadays about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the true *Kel Ewey*.

The *Kel Tamat* do not form a drum-group nowadays. In the past their drum-chief was elected by tribes within the drum-group, but he had to be installed ceremoniously by the *Anestafidet* who presented him with a large headcloth. All people of the *Anestafidet* have to recognize him as their supreme judicial authority. But the *Anestafidet*, who is elected by people of the ancient noble *Kel Ewey* tribes, is submitted to the authority of the Sultan who also installs the *Anestafidet* ceremoniously.

Most Ayr Tuareg who are not placed under the *Anestafidet* are collectively referred to as the *Kel Amenukal*, that is "the people of the *Amenukal* (or Sultan)". Most of these people are pastoralists though some sedentary or semi-sedentary people are also placed in the Sultan's group. The important Tuareg groups placed directly under the Sultan are the following:—

The *Itesen* with the *Immikitan* most of whom left the Massif long before the arrival of the French. In the past both groups formed politically very important drum-groups, and though they were very few in number throughout the 19th century they were nevertheless politically important, as without them a Sultan could not be elected and installed.

The *Kel Faday* in the region of Ingal consist of a noble tribe and eleven tribes of vassals. The *Kel Faday* constituted throughout the 19th century a politically important drum-group though it was very small. Their total number according to Nicolas is now 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The *Kel Ferwan* comprise tribes in the western parts of the Massif including the regions of Agadez, and also south of the Massif in Dumergu. They number about 5000.

The *Kel Geres* Tuareg live in the Southlands around Madawa most of the year but visit Southern Ayr west of Agadez in the rainy season (cf. p. 7, 431 f.). Properly speaking they are not now recognized

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



631 as Ayr Tuareg and are politically independent. Nevertheless they still consider the Sultan of Agadez
643 as their proper *Amenukal*. They are very rich and numerous, comprising a great many tribes. Their
[189] political system differs from that of most other Tuareg. I outline its structure later in this chapter.

634 The drum-chiefs of the *Itésen*, the *Immikitan*, the *Kel Faday*, and the *Kel Ferwan* have to be rec-
643 ognized and ceremoniously installed by the Sultan. The ceremony should traditionally take place at the Sultan's palace of Agadez, but to-day it is performed at the French Administration Centre. The main feature of the ceremony is the wrapping of a large head-cloth around the elected chief's head by the Sultan. The Sultan, on the other hand, is elected and installed by the chiefs of above-mentioned groups and by the *Anestafidet* as the representative of the *Kel Ewey*. But the chiefs do not take the same part in the election of a Sultan, and it is noteworthy that the *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan*, who throughout the 19th century were extremely powerful and warlike, apparently do not play any rôle in the instalment ceremony.

The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:— From his private room in the palace (Fig. 288) the Sultan is led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres* ask him to sit down upon a bed made of ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he is not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission is given by the *Kel Ewey* (Barth 1857, I, p. 461 f.). Jean, who gives a more detailed account, says that the *Kel Geres* do not participate, and have no voice in the election (Jean 1909, p. 159 ff.). I have myself been told during my visit to the *Kel Geres* drum-chief that the *Kel Geres*, represented by their drum-chief, previously took part in the election of the Sultan. As to the position of the powerful drum-groups of *Kel Faday* and *Kel Ferwan*, people of the latter group frequently claim that they alone could elect a Sultan, and I have been told by *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg that a Sultan should be installed in the way that the supreme chiefs of the *Itésen* and the *Immikitan* take the Sultan by his hands and lead him to a sheepskin where he sits down to receive the large head-cloth from the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group. However, it seems as if the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief does not traditionally play any part in the instalment ceremony.

631 In the 19th century the Sultan was the arbitrator and the supreme judge in disagreements between
634 the different Tuareg groups whose supreme chiefs should be installed by the Sultan. But he could
643 not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels. The *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs did not always pay much respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation of Ayr the *Kel Faday* even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of Ingal (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was much afraid that the *Kel Faday* would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the *Iwlkemmeden* (Barth 1857 58, I, p. 478). As to the *Kel Ferwan*, their chief was the most prominent leader of all Ayr. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103 f.) and it is repeated over and over again by all Tuareg of Ayr to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and he thinks that the *Kel Ferwan* originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or *Amenukal* was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This
[173] agrees with information I have gathered among the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group. It is however most difficult to judge the value of these traditions as it is difficult to reconstruct political life in pre-European times. All Tuareg try to glorify their own political rôle in the past, and this is particularly true of the noble Kel Ferwan Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 287. Musicians of the Sultan of Ayr marching through Agadez. In the front a man blowing a clarinet-like instrument, in the background the drummers mounted on camels and beating two drums each. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

631 true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. They are nowadays without much power and prestige, whereas
634 the Sultan, owing to the French, has augmented his power greatly. Many *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg speak
643 disparagingly about the Sultan, and the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* named *Agg-Elkhir* called him
[178] openly a slave and did not take off his sandals in the Sultan's presence.

643 There can be little doubt that the man who was elected the Sultan of all Ayr people at the beginning
642 of the 15th century very quickly became a Sultan not of Ayr, but of Agadez. A state organization like that of the Ayr Sultanry could not function in a Tuareg society characterized by warlike pastoral groups, and the Sultan would have to be dismissed or else recognize the authority of the strongest pastoral group which, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century was the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



## THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has
614 fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie
[114] 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore
[162] quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared,
634 and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when
648 the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to
121 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr,
634 where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were
115 most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

173 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*,
614 and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above
634 (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

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Fig. 288. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



together at the French administration post of Agadez, there were two candidates for the office, namely *Bukha* and *Khejji*. Present at the election were the French *Commandant de Cercle*, the Sultan, and other important chiefs. The Sultan requested all men to elect *Bukha* (because *Khejji*'s father *Agg-Elkhir* had scoffed at the Sultan and publicly had called him a slave). Therefore, when the *Commandant* asked the *Kel Ferwan* men to divide into two groups according to whether they wished *Bukha* or *Khejji*, the group of men voting for *Khejji* numbered only four or five men. *Bukha* was thus elected and the Sultan presented him with a large head-cloth and declared him the new *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief.

From what has been said above about the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs it is evident that the drum-chief was elected by the vassals who constitute the majority of the group. But it is very doubtful whether in the past it was normal for a Sultan to advise the vassals to elect a particular Tuareg for drum-chief. For though the drum-chief should then also be installed and recognized by the Sultan, the latter was not strong enough to meddle in the affairs of the drum-group. There are even some noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who claim that in the past the drum-chief should be installed not by the Sultan, but by a vassal Tuareg of the drum-group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But most vassals hold that the drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that in the past, when dissatisfied with a drum-chief, they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him.

In all internal matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge, but it seems as if the chief of the *Kel Azel* who was installed by the drum-chief had almost similar judicial rights over his particular vassals. However, any case occurring within the whole *Kel Ferwan* group could be brought before the drum-chief, who in difficult cases would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez, or the *Echchikhen*. Punishments for thefts are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put into jail (*takormut*) in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:— pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of remaining standing. A few old people remember that they have seen this method of punishment practised in Agadez. Punitive measures like imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law, and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* was in fact the true master of Ayr, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison and may also have imposed capital punishment on thieves. Proper theft seems to have been very rare among pastoral Tuareg in the past, but to-day camel-thieves are extremely common in all groups. Some Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any camel thieves who were hanged like dogs.

All members of the *Kel Ferwan* group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities (*édeyet*) were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen had the right to blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man, whose kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Some Tuareg will claim that the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



there are no true vassals or *Imrad* though some *Kel Ewey* tribes are referred to in literature as vassals.

The lack of the important structural feature of vassalage among the *Kel Geres* may perhaps be explained in the following way:— The *Kel Geres* Tuareg lived originally in Ayr within much the same area as that now occupied by the *Kel Ewey*, and it is most likely that they had mixed very much with the sedentary Negroes as there are among the *Kel Geres* very many black-skinned and negroid Tuareg. It is very probable that the *Kel Geres* when living in Ayr led a semi-sedentary life, for it is said that they had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr in the 18th century owing to the pressure of the *Kel Ewey*. We may perhaps assume that this particular mode of livelihood was the reason why vassalage ceased to exist among the *Kel Geres*. When, in the 18th century, the *Kel Geres* were driven southwards into the Sudanese steppes and savannahs, they became ardent stock-breeders and adopted a political system much related to that of an ordinary Tuareg drum-group with the exception that they had no class-division.

Among the *Kel Geres*, all tribes of pastoral Tuareg are known as *Imajeren* but though they are not divided into classes these tribes are nevertheless not politically identical. The most important tribe is that called *Ti-temekkeret*. It is named after Anu-Mekkeren in Central Ayr where this tribe originally lived, and the *Kel Geres* drum-chief (*ettebel*) is always elected from this particular group. But the drum-chief is not elected by all adult people of his drum-group, but by members of three tribes, the *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar*. The members of these tribes alone can elect and dismiss a drum-chief entirely at their discretion. When they have elected a new drum-chief he is ceremoniously installed by a man of the *Anyegeren* tribe who wraps the large head-cloth around the chief's head. In all this the *Kel Geres* resemble the *Kel Ewey* among whom the *Anestafidet* is elected by the members of three important tribes.

The three tribes of *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar* are also politically very important in other respects for they consistute the nuclei of three sub-divisions of the *Kel Geres*. The chiefs of the three tribes have the title *Arolla* (pl. *Irollan*) and they are also the chiefs of certain other pastoral tribes which have individual chiefs with the title of *Amrar* (pl. *Imraren*). A certain number of people who are non-Tuareg by origin are placed under the authority of all tribal chiefs, e.g., *Irawélen* who are slaves manumitted in the past, *Ikenawen* who are professional potmakers, *Ineden* or blacksmiths, and *Itéfnen*, that is sedentary Hausa living in villages.

In addition to the tribe of the drum-chief and the three *Irollan* tribes, there is among the Kel Geres a fifth tribe which is politically very important, namely that known as *Ezurmani*. It is a religious tribe of the so-called *Echchikhen* class, and its chief is known as *Echchikh* though he also bears the title of *Al-Kadi*. He acts as the adviser of the drum-chief in judicial and religious matters, and though he apparently possesses no direct authority over all *Kel Geres* he is very influential and greatly respected. The *Al-Kadi* or *Echchikh* is elected according to the traditional rules of succession acknowledged by the *Kel Geres*, a deceased chief being succeeded by his younger brother or by his son. But in contrast to all other chiefs, including the drum-chief, he cannot be dismissed when he is once elected. All religious tribes within the *Kel Geres* drum-group are placed directly under the authority of the *Al-Kadi* (*Echchikh*) of the *Ezurmani* tribe. But the *sadakat* fees are made to the drum-chief and not to the Al-Kadi.

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the *Al-Kadi*. In this respect the position of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is similar to that of drum-chiefs among the Ayr Tuareg, and though the present drum-chief says that the *Kel Geres* were never divided into noble and vassal tribes, he nevertheless claims that part of any war-booty taken by *Kel Geres* Tuareg in the past should be given to the drum-chief who had the right to *témaggedaz* and *téwti* (cf. p. 428). The drum (*ettebel*) of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is akin to drums of other Tuareg chiefs. The drum must not touch the ground, but the drum-chief did not believe that its power would be spoilt were it to be touched by women.

## THE KEL ADRAR

The *Kel Adrar* are very superficially described in literature, but their political system has been outlined by Cortier. They constitute only one drum-group under the leadership of an *Amenukal* who is the possessor of the drum (*ettebel*). The class-division is rather similar to that of most other Tuareg groups. There are certain vassal tribes (*Imrad*) and certain noble tribes though the latter are not considered noble in the usual sense. They are known as proper *Iforas* Tuareg and they are to be grouped rather with the *Ineslemen* class than with the proper noble class termed *Ihaggaren* or *Imajeren*. However, their position within the drum-group is almost identical with that of noble Tuareg in other groups. The *Amenukal* is elected according to patrilineal rules being succeeded by his younger brothers and next by his sons, but the vassal tribes do not participate in the election. Within the drum-group there are many smaller divisions of noble families who have their individual vassals, so that from any vassal tribe there are always certain families living in the camp of a noble lord to work for him and to guard his domestic animals. A noble Tuareg can also claim what he wants from his particular vassals while on the other hand the vassals do not pay any fixed tribute to the noble chiefs, not even to the *Amenukal*. The power of the *Amenukal* is a very limited one, and his position is mainly determined by his personal qualities (cf. Cortier 1908, p. 274 ff.).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL DENNEK

The *Kel Dennek*, that is the *Eastern Iwllemmeden* around Tawa, have been described in detail by Nicolas who, however, is not very clear as to particulars. Apart from the class of *Ineslemen* the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg are divided into the classes of noble Tuareg (*Imazeren*) and vassal Tuareg (*Imrad*, or *Kel Ulli*). These vassal Tuareg are politically attached to four drum-groups (*ettebel*) in which the drum-chief is elected from a noble tribe according to patrilineal rules. One of these drum-groups has a leading position, as its chief with the title of *Amenukal-n-akal* is the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Dennek* group known as *tégezé*. In addition to his drum this supreme chief (*Amenukal-n-akal*) has a burgee or flag to be used in case of a holy war and on certain ceremonial occasions such as the installation of an *Amenukal*. This flag is made of silk and is green, blue, and red in colour. The title *Amenukal* is

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The title of Amenukal is

634 used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *ettebel* is reserved to those
565 chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-*
651 *akal*, have the right to an annual tribute known as *fiuse* (*chiwsé*) from their individual vassals, and it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaḳa* or *tamessadeḳ* must also be given to them, because the drum-chief is inseparable from his *Ḳadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasit* or *takote* (*takuté*), that is the
634 right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain
565 delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels. The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. – These are the
[178] main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been
[642] no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579–586 & 1950a, p. 188–193, 201–209).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

642 The *Kel Ataram* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that
565 in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel*
[114] *Tademaket* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchaṛ*) and vassals (*Imṛad*, sing *Ameṛid*, or *Daṛa*). The dominant noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with
[567] Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Bélla*). They pay *tiwsé* to the noble Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals, but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All
[614] tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amṛar*, but all important decisions are made
[648] by the *myad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This
643 council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with warfare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of
642 the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position
565 (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). – To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:—
[614] Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Iḥanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.

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The political supremacy of the nobility is founded upon conquest and has become hereditary, but 642
this supremacy can be lost. If a vassal tribe conquers a noble tribe the rôles may change, and though 565
this has not yet happened the principle is considered valid by all Tuareg. The vassals pay an annual tribute to the noble Tuareg. A noble Tuareg can take what he likes from a vassal, but his rights depend upon his strength, just as the tributes paid by vassals depend upon the strength of their noble lords. A noble tribe must protect its vassals against other noble tribes. Chiefs of both noble and vassal [614]
Tuareg tribes have the title of *Amenukal*, and this title is hereditary. The power of the supreme noble 643
chief (the *Amenukal*) is such that he cannot kill obstinate subjects. But he can thrash them and even wound them, and he can seize their property. There may be more than one candidate when a chief is elected, and this may lead to severe quarrels and even to the division of the tribe (cf. Aymard 1911, p. 37 ff.).

Mangeot & Marty in their study of the Niger Tuareg mention that even in pre-European times 642
certain tribes of vassal status had no particular duties towards noble tribes. They also state that the 565
relationship between noble and vassal Tuareg was breaking down shortly after the French occupation [178]
of the country. The traditional *tiwsé* payments made by vassals to their noble lords differed much from one tribe to the other. Certain vassal tribes gave only one container with butter annually (Mangeot & Marty 1918, p. 258, 461). The chief *Amdeṛ* of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* informed that the *tiwsé* payments, which were abolished long ago, were always insignificant. They were made in goats and butter. The chief also said that originally the *Imṛad* tribes had no camels.

## THE ORIGIN OF TUAREG POLITICAL SYSTEMS

We see from the description above that Tuareg political systems bear resemblances to one another 642
in most groups. The largest political unit is the group under the leadership of a supreme chief, generally 631
known as the *Amenukal*, or as *Amenukal-n-akal* in the *Iwllemmeden* groups where the title *Amenukal* 643
is used also for minor chiefs. The *Amenukal* of a political group is also the chief of a so-called drum-group within the larger political group, though in Ayr the *Amenukal* is identical with the Sultan of Agadez. We may say that the political group known among the Northern Tuareg as *tégehé*, in the *Iwllemmeden* groups as *tégezé*, has a central government consisting of the *Amenukal*, his deputies, and a council. And it is clear that the *Amenukal* everywhere was considered the supreme chief with superior judicial rights and also the war-leader of the whole group. But the authority of an *Amenukal* was in all groups a very limited one, and quarrels between the various drum-groups of a federation were very common everywhere.

The most important political unit of Tuareg political systems was in fact the drum-group. Its chief 634
was always a most important person. In most groups he was elected mainly by the vassals, and he was not an absolute monarch, though normally he could obtain the support of most vassals to quell internal insurrections. Within the drum-group the drum-chief was the highest judicial and military authority, and it was he who had to regulate all relations between noble and vassal Tuareg within the drum-group. Other noble Tuareg, e.g., the *temazlayt* masters, within the drum-group had no [565]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



of Africa, Sachs says that they occur mainly in Islamic West Asia from where they were recently introduced to Europe and to India where terms for kettle-drums are derived from Arabic (Sachs 1923, p. 58 ff.; 1929, p. 247). Wieschhoff admits that the kettle-drums seem to have been introduced into India with Islam, but he concludes that the distribution of them in the Sudan and in North-east Africa indicates that this element belongs to the so-called North Erytrean Culture (cf. Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40 ff., map 29e). 534 171

I do not want to advance any theory about the introduction of kettle-drums into Africa, but it seems natural to consider the Tuareg drums known as *ettebel* as an Islamic trait. However we cannot be sure that the use of drums as insignia of chiefs is post-Islamic, for, as we have seen, the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in many parts of Africa. 534 174

The theory that the drums used by Tuareg chiefs are Islamic seems to agree with the fact that the custom of crowning chiefs among the Tuareg by means of a large turban or headcloth is no doubt also an Arab practice. The use of a turban to crown or install kings and supreme chiefs is rare in Africa south of the Sahara. The use of the turban for the kings of Dar Fur, Wadai, and Bornu is no doubt to be considered Islamic (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 68; Irstam 1944, p. 118), and there can also be little doubt that the use of a large turban at the installation of chiefs in Tibesti and Ennedi was originally introduced as a result of contact with the Arabs – particularly as this turban is known by the Arabic term *kadmul* (cf. Kronenberg 1958, p. 74 f.; Fuchs 1961, p. 52). 643 177 171

It is clear that Islam has greatly influenced Tuareg political organization. But we should also bear in mind that North Africa in pre-Islamic times was influenced by various high cultures which are generally known as *Old Mediterranean* (*Syrtic*) and *Young Sudanese* (*North Erytrean*). It is very possible that the first noble Tuareg who penetrated into the Sahara with their camels came from a country situated towards the East or the North-east, and we have seen that the Ayr Tuareg have traditions about their origin in these quarters (cf. p. 412 ff.). It might therefore seem natural to assume that certain traits which are grouped under the vaguely-defined *Young Sudanese Culture* have been introduced into the Sahara with the immigration of the first noble Tuareg. Lhote thinks that the sandal type known as *takalmi* was perhaps introduced from Egypt with Tuareg immigrations from that country (Lhote 1950d, p. 531). We cannot know this, but it is possible that the oldest camel-breeding nomads introduced into the Sahara certain elements of the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture*. 174

## TUAREG SLAVERY

It is very possible that the political system of the pastoral Tuareg has been greatly influenced by slavery in the sense that slavery made the noble Tuareg less dependent on their vassals. Throughout the 19th century slavery was important to fair-skinned pastoralists of all classes. In other respects it has had little effect on the changing political relations, for slaves do not constitute a class or a true caste; they are incorporated into Tuareg society on a kinship pattern. 567 565

Slavery is still extremely important in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer where the French military administration has done very little to abolish it. It is true that the slave-trade no longer exists, but 567 648

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



602 However, the Tuareg say, a man can complain in very extreme cases when sons or sister's sons constantly take animals from him. I have met several Tuareg who have lost many animals taken by sons and sister's sons. One Tuareg had lost seven camels, taken by his oldest son, who had sold them. The Tuareg was very annoyed about this but he had not complained about it directly to his son. The old drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group was constantly complaining to me about his sisters' sons, who took his animals so that he could not leave so large a fortune to his son. He openly called his sisters' sons "thieves", but as far as I know he did not complain about it to them. I was also told in Ayr that the fact that a man could take animals from herds and flocks of his true mother's brothers would not normally lead to conflict between them. Some Ayr Tuareg said that they were as fond of their sisters' sons as they were of their own children. It can be added that if a man has taken many animals from a mother's brother the latter's son may perhaps be able to retaliate as he has the right to take belongings from this man, who is his cross-cousins.

(6) As the last characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour it may be mentioned that, among certain Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, it is normal for a man to inherit the kinship status of his parents on their death, in the way that he adopts their joking relationships with their classificatory cross-cousins, but he will never inherit a joking relationship with the true cross-cousins of his deceased father and mother.

The above-mentioned rules of kinship behaviour seem traditional to Tuareg social organization and very different from those considered valid among the Arabs. The social systems of Tuareg and 177 428 Arabs are on the whole most dissimilar, but nevertheless the Arabs and the Tuareg of to-day have exactly the same rules of inheritance which follow Koranic law. It is evident that these rules have been introduced among the Tuareg owing to contact with the Arabs who brought Islam to North Africa. It is very difficult to determine when the Tuareg adopted Islamic inheritance rules, and also to learn about their pre-Islamic inheritance system.

634 In regard to Tuareg rules of succession there can be no doubt that the matrilineal principle was originally recognized in all groups, but the patrilineal principle has been introduced into certain 643 groups owing to Arab influence. The Tuareg who have adopted patrilineal succession are notably the two groups of *Iwilemmeden*, the *Kel Adrar*, and Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class in various groups (cf. Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.; 1950a, p. 213). In fact we know that the *Iwilemmeden* adopted patrilineal succession as early as in the 17th century (cf. Richer 1924, p. 3, 52; Nicolas 1950a, p. 54 f.), and patrilineal succession is undoubtedly also of great age among the *Kel Adrar*, where the dominant tribes belong to the *Ineslemen* class. As to the two important groups of Southern Tuareg, the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Gerez*, Nicolas states that succession among them is matrilineal, as it is in Ahaggar (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.), and matrilineal succession is also mentioned as traditional to the Ayr Tuareg by Rodd (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). I have not been able to confirm these statements 119 during my investigations among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Gerez*. All people questioned in these two groups claimed that the proper successor to chieftainship would be the deceased chief's son, though it was admitted among the Ayr Tuareg that a sister's son might be elected chief if considered better fitted for this position than a son. It would be correct to state that both the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Gerez* to-day acknowledge the patrilineal principle of succession, but it is not quite certain when they

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



adopted this rule. There can be little doubt that it was introduced among them owing to contact with other people, perhaps with the *Ineslemen* Tuareg. The *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, like other Tuareg, once in the past followed matrilineal rules of succession, for this is proved by history and tradition.

It is frequently stated in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the sister's son is the first in the line of succession. As early as Ibn Batutah it is mentioned that among a Southern Tuareg people known as *Mesufa* a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegidda-n-edrar immediately south of the Ayr Massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). Rodd states concerning Ayr that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and refers to the fact that this rule has often been followed at the election of sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). According to Barth, a sister's son was preferred as chief in Ayr and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 374 f.). In the case of the Tuareg of Ghat (Ṛat) (Tasilé-n-Ajjer), Richardson states that the chiefs and sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65 f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have Duveyrier's statement that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship, but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397 ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg), a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). Most *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg have long ago adopted patrilineal succession and Ḳoranic rules of inheritance, but matrilineal traits are found in certain tribes of the *Kél Ataram* group. Gaalon states that the Tuareg of the Cercle de Dori (within the Niger Bend) even follow matrilineal rules of inheritance in the way that a deceased man's sister's son comes first in the line of inheritors. A woman will not generally possess any big fortune – apart from the dowry which on her death goes back to her parents or their family (Gaalon 1939, p. 232). An interesting matrilineal custom is also mentioned from the *Kel Ataram* by Feral. He states that property considered indivisible is still inherited by a sister's son in certain vassal tribes around Gao (Feral 1955, p. 21 f.). During my visit to camps of *Bélla* and noble Tuareg near Ayoru on the Niger I was also able to collect evidence to the existence of matrilineal traits in the *Kel Ataram* group. *Bélla* men informed me that a powerful sister's son among the *Imṛad* or vassal tribes would be able to inherit his mother's brother, and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Tahabanat* tribe claimed that vassals even to-day practise matrilineal inheritance the sister's son being the intestate successor. But all other pastoralists in the region of Ayoru but the vassals follow patrilineal rules of succession and Ḳoranic rules of inheritance.

We see that a sister's son even to-day may have inheritance rights among the South-western Tuareg, and the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors for several Tuareg groups. However, there are also in literature statements that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed in the case of the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97 f.), by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152 f., II, p. 916 f.), and by Lhote, who refers to Benhazera's statement (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Furthermore, Dubief has explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Dubief 1956, p. 89), and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



634 643 [114] Nicolas says that a maternal cousin is the first in line of succession, not only among the Northern Tuareg, but also among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). This, however, is not correct. I have been told by many Tuareg in Ahaggar that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies seem to intimate that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Ahaggar Tuareg, whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom, claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statement this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

591 768 586 The rules of residence have been outlined in a previous chapter (cf. p. 142 ff.), and I have mentioned that in Ahaggar residence is based upon both the patrilocal and the matrilocal principle as follows:— A man remains with his father after marriage, but after his father's death he joins the camp of his mother and her brothers to live with his matrilineal relatives. A woman after marriage moves to her husband's camp. At her husband's death she will return to her father's camp, and if her father be dead she will join the camp of her mother and her mother's brothers. In case of a divorced woman the same rule is observed, but the children of a divorced couple belong to the father, and stay in his camp as long as he is alive. After his death they belong to the camp where their mother lives. However, the Ahaggar Tuareg sometimes dispense with this rule in case husband and wife belong to different classes or castes (cf. p. 22). It may even happen that children of a dissolved marriage, where husband and wife come from the same class or caste, grow up with their mother – particularly if, when the divorce takes place, the children are so small that they need their mother's care. On the whole, however, the Ahaggar Tuareg follow the rules of residence indicated above, and we have already seen that these particular rules are strongly supported by the authority of the *Amenukal*. The same practise [178] was perhaps once also followed by the Ayr Tuareg, but, as we have seen (p. 152 f.), in the *Kel Ferwan* group there is nowadays a strong tendency for a man to remain with his patrilineal kinsmen after his father's death. The rules of residence do not play a very important part to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg nowadays. The political unit of the drum-group has very little practical value, economic and political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals have disappeared, and there are no land rights to which certain individuals succeed.

582 In the light of what has been said so far about Tuareg social organization, we shall now consider their traditional rules of marriage. Preferential marriage is that with a cross-cousin; the very best is to marry a mother's brother's daughter, but father's sister's daughter is also considered a suitable choice. An exchange of spouse between two family groups is considered most excellent. It is thus considered ideal for brothers of family A to marry sisters of family B, for brothers of family B to marry sisters of family A.

If Ego marries a classificatory cross-cousin it seems preferably for him to marry one of his mother's [433] family. This is intimated by a custom connected with marriage in Ahaggar:— At the beginning of the wedding ceremony a pair of sandals should be given to the man who does not marry the bride though traditionally possessing a sort of prior entitlement to do so. Such men are:— (1) the bride's father's sister's son; (2) the bride's father's mother's sister's daughter's son; (3) the bride's father's father's brother's daughter's son.

184 from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin.
643 The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions
[173] gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out,
611 it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except
631 among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the
643 titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one
651 reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll. He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his
[644] appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/
[178] today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It
[644] benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum
643 called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum, "
[534 177 192] "cylinder of a drum."

578 643 692 to arrogate rights over vassals for themselves. There are internal disputes of the sort: "Who made you a count? And who made you king?"

643 It is particularly in the relations with neighboring or foreign tribes that the aménokal's role takes on a more national aspect, yet his decisions do not have full authority unless they have been approved by an assembly of notables -- the arollan -- composed of the principal chiefs of fractions and nobles.

/157/ The aménokal lives like the other Tuareg, and there is no ceremony surrounding his person. All comers present themselves [644] at his tent with no more formality than that. There is no court or court etiquette.

534 Only the tobol, generally placed at the entrance to the tent, indicates the rank of the host.

643 This drum is in the shape of a hemisphere, hollowed out of a tree trunk and covered with a cowhide with the hair still on it. The hide is held by leather thongs with the hairy side up. It may be as much as 80 centimeters in diameter. Two leather handles on the sides are used to carry it. For gatherings, two men strike it alternately with a camelskin drumstick (imîtkar). Only the aménokal has the right to have it sounded, which he does only on the most important occasions. Upon his death, his brother or his caliph is entrusted with it until it can be given to his successor. The aménokal does not go [492] far without his drum, which is carried on a camel led by a trusted man; when he gives the order to beat the drum, another meharist /man mounted on a mehari, or fast dromedary/ approaches to take the other handle, and the two men march side by side, striking alternately. Any warrior who hears it is supposed to rally to the call and at the same time inform the people he meets. In case of war, [202] the beating tells whether they are dealing with foot soldiers or meharists, depending on whether there are one or two imîtkar.

[554] When the hide of the tobol is worn out, the most renowned warrior of the tribe is entrusted to replace it.

643 The aménokal generally has one or two caliphs charged with taking
644 his place or representing him with the fractions.

The amrar. -- Each tribe, called taousit, has its amrar, who,
631 like the aménokal, is chosen according to matriarchal rules.

Amrar, in Tamashek,
[192] means "the old," "the respectable," "the ancient," /158/ and by extension,
[643 534] "possessor of wisdom." It is the equivalent of the Arab word "sheik."

Fig. 16. The tobol, symbol of the aménokal's command, with its "imitkar."

The amrar is the intermediary between the people of his tribe and the aménokal. He transmits orders from the latter and sees that they are carried out. He collects the tioussé intended for the aménokal from the Imrad and sets the share that each is to pay. He settles minor disputes between the people of his tribe and fixes the pasturing zone to be used by each camp.

He takes part in the vote which sanctions the election of the aménokal and at the arollan, which discusses major decisions concerning the life of the confederation.

In a confederation subject to an aménokal, a grouping which the Ahaggar Tuareg also call tégéhé, there may be several tobol, that is, several suzerain tribes, each with its vassals. The name taousit, making double use of the word for tribe, is sometimes used to designate the whole whose chief also bears the name of amrar among the Ihaggaren and agoalla among the Kel Aïr /Asben/.

The amrar has no characteristic symbol of command, at least
[171] among the Ihaggaren. In certain Sudanese tribes, many formerly had a drum analogous to that of the aménokal.

The Imochar. -- The Imochar (singular, Amacher) form the
565 192 aristocratic class. This word means "man of dominant stock

565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
567 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as
[428] his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can inherit from their father.

565 /171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with
833 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
558 not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that
[842] the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

567 The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
[838 other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found
679] for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed
[272] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves
304 first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not
234] hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former aménokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Ǎmǎstan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

567 A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or
685 when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense, the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice, according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

564 We must acknowledge that the
[153] Enaden often have very open minds and are gifted with an intelligence higher than the average of the ma-
564 jority of the Tuareg. That is why
644 they have sometimes filled trusted posts with the principal chiefs, who have used them as emissaries or interpreters, indeed even as
[152] counselors.

Thus, at the time of the Hourst mission in 1896, Madidou, amenokal of the Ioullimmiden, officially delegated one of them to Gao to deal with the French officer.

564 The Enaden live either in camp
361 groups or in isolated tents or even individually; they are attached to a chief or a tribe.

Although they are foreign to
564 the Tuareg race, they still enter into the components of the great family of veiled men, for the lives /176/ of the two groups are often intermingled. They speak Tamashek,
[198] more specifically a special dialect, tenet, which they alone understand and which is a bit secret in nature. This dialect is unknown in the Ahaggar.

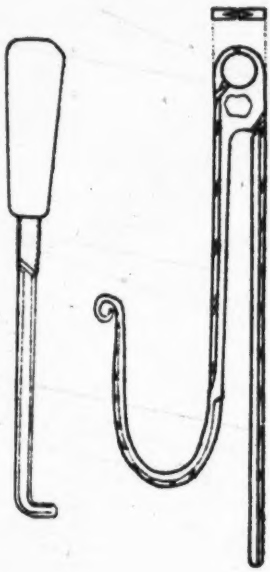


Fig. 17. Forceps for extracting teeth and instrument used for laying bare the roots.

[173] Legend attributes to them a common ancester named Tamamenet, and all of their fractions are supposed to have originated in Adrar des Iforas. Their true origin is as obscure as
[174] can be; we are apt to say that they are descendants of the Jews who formerly lived at the Touat, in the Tamentit oasis, from which they

175 in everything. Much less intelligent than Moussa, he was none the less a faithful chief who knew how to make himself respected.

He married twice and had seven children.

175 643 Meslah ag Ămayas is a second cousin of Ăkhamouk. He is a grandson of the former Amĕnokal Ăltarel and a second cousin of Mohamed ag Ourzig and Ăttici ag Ămellal. The tobol thus came down in the branch of Ămennaï, the third son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, for want of male descendants in the branch of Hĕguier. This follows the rules of matriarchal succession.

Although Moussa ag Ămastan's sister, Rakhma, who married Ănaba ag Ămellal, brother of Amĕnokal Ăttici, left a son named Louki, he was bypassed by the Imochar as weak-minded.

651 [643] The amĕnokal levies the tioussé on the Imrad and assimilated vassals. Some of them also pay dues /Fr. droits de redevance/ to the descendants of the old noble families. Thus the Dăg Ra'li pay an annual due to the Inemba Kel Tăhat, and the A'lt Loa'len to the Inemba Kel Emori. The latter levy four percent of the loads of grain brought back from the Sudan by the A'lt Loa'len.

[178 161] But these duties levied are tending to disappear gradually with the extinction of the old Ahaggar families, some of which are no longer represented by more than a few individuals.

631 644 [643] [582] The Kel Rela tribe has been gathering strength in a singular way for a century. It is all powerful by the number of its representatives, and matriarchy has only accentuated this situation. Indeed, since only Kel Rela women are capable of giving birth to an amĕnokal, young men from other noble tribes seek alliances with them, abandoning the women of their own tribe. This new blood has given the Kel Rela a certain physical vigor by preventing them from becoming impoverished through too close and too repeated inbred alliances.

631 They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since
[669] they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaïa.

565 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tăousit, still called
644 Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they
631 made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be
[184] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion
[241] to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and
[162] they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[231] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tăhalra, and in the region of Silet-Ăbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers
[24] of Tîgeneouin, Ăbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm
423 grove at Tibeghîn, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is
563 synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and
631 Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hâda
Kel In Rhar'
Kel Tăfedest
Kel Immîdir
Kel Tăzoûlet
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Téroûrirt
Kel Ouhet

262
237 The ass is never eaten, and its skin is not used.

233 The horse. -- The horse is not a Saharian animal. In 1929 there were four horses in the Ahaggar belonging to the aménokal. [643] Today there are about twenty of them belonging to the members of ●644 his family or to the notables of his camp.

[184 This is an expensive luxury, for these animals must be fed with barley, and there is not enough barley for the people themselves. 262] It tends to replace the camel for the Sudanese Tuareg.

/254/ The zebu. -- A few years ago the aménokal owned a [648] small herd of zebus which he had had sent from the Sudan. This [137] animal is not raised in the Ahaggar proper, and it could not be, for lack of appropriate pasture.

[312] The zebus serve in the agricultural centers by drawing water. They are furnished to the tenant farmer by the proprietor of the land, [427] and they are very poorly fed on hardship rations of hay and grass, or else they are put in rush pastures, which are generally plentiful in the agricultural centers.

[438] When the animal is tired, the owner exchanges him if that is at all possible. The privations which the zebus must undergo bring about their death in a relatively short span of time, and so in the Ahaggar it is a question of keeping them alive rather than raising them. In any case, they never follow the camps in their moves and never live near them.

361
136 When we talked about the camp, we told how the search for pasture directed its location.

233
361 Insofar as animal husbandry properly speaking is concerned, we observe that the small animals -- sheep, goats, and asses -- always stay in the Ahaggar and move with the camp.

As for camels, this is not the case; they are often put out to pasture far from the tents, watched only by a few shepherds. The majority are even kept in the Sudan 800 kilometers from their owners'

361 less and there is no immediate fear of a sudden downpour that might produce flash floods. Each tent is occupied by a single family unit
592 and there are almost never more than 5 or 6
361 tents at the most in any normal camp. In the camp of the Amenokal there are usually 15
644 to 20 tents or even more, and one sees no flocks nearby, but this is a wholly artificial situation made possible only by the fact that the Amenokal and his personal retinue receive most of their supplies by truck from the nearest French Army post, and so can live in a way that would be impossible in the Ahaggar under anything approaching normal conditions.

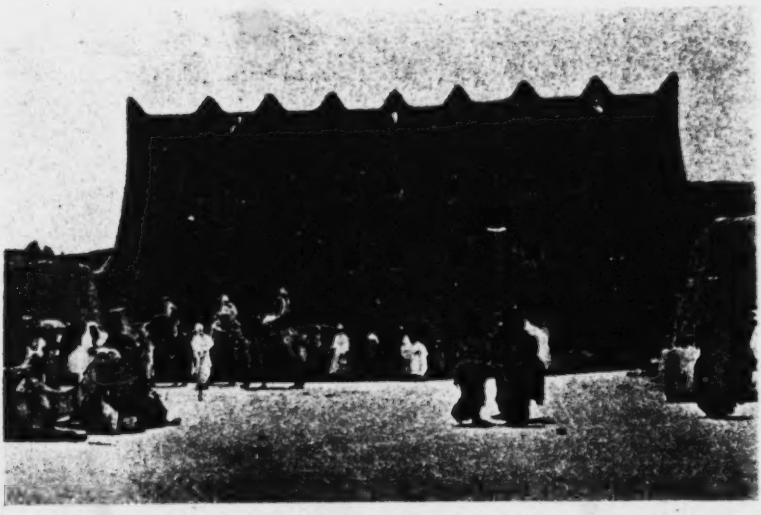
**Clothing, Cosmetics and Cleanliness.** In the old
291 days the Tuareg used to wear leather shirts that reached below the knee and were sometimes elaborately decorated with fringe. Monod (1947, p. 47) recalls that Herodotus (IV, 189) described Libyan women as wearing fringed garments of red leather some 2,500 years ago, and he adds that some Tuareg women of the Niger Bend country still do so. Lyon (1821, p. 110 and plates facing pp. 110 and 113) tells us that leather shirts were worn by many of the Tuareg who visited Mourzouk while he was there in 1819, but Duveyrier (1864, p. 406) found that they were already becoming scarce only 40 years later. The present writer has seen no leather clothing worn by anyone in the Ahaggar, although Benhazera (1908, p. 37) says that poor folk wore leather clothes there 50 years ago while Reygasse (1950, p. 97) states that leather shirts are still worn by some of the slaves and Capot-Rey (1953, p. 226) adds that they are often worn by smiths.

Another once characteristic article of Tuareg dress that has now gone largely out of use was the high, conical fezlike cap, made of soft red felt and worn sticking up through the middle of the turban, that Lyon (1821) saw at Mourzouk. Barth (1857a, vol. 1, p. 424, footnote) says that caps of this kind were "obnoxious to the" Tuareg "tribes of pure blood" in 1850 but this is probably either an error or a matter of local eccentricity, for they were still standard equipment in Duveyrier's time. They disappeared almost completely from the Ahaggar, however, in the course of the next 50 years or less although

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



492
644



[533] Fig. 4.–The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. – The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing [534] various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

175 of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief
565 had as his sole insignia a drum named *ettebel*, or *arazou*. The name of the drum
631 *ettebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is adressed by this very word, and *ettebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command. I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat, the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs. There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikhen of Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

175 The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but
643 they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:– From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission was given by the Kel Ooui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461f.). Jean who gives a more [114] detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of election (Jean 1909, p. 159ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



scale raiding. He would discuss all important matters with vassal chiefs and with his noble deputies known as *Khalifas*. At present the Amenokal has three Khalifas two of whom live in his own camp, while the third is his representative in Tamesna, where many Tuareg of his drum-group live. 643 [645]

The Amenokal never had the right to part of the bride-wealth from marriages among his vassals, nor did he receive a camel at the death of a vassal as was customary for the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan in Air. The Amenokal still has the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief within his drum-group, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal clan, the Dag Ṛali, has the right to one of the Amenokal's riding camels on the latter's death. [583] [651] [428]

As the representative of the Kel Ṛela drum-group the Amenokal is in certain cases entitled to property owned individually by his subjects. When a person dies without children or paternal kinsmen, his fortune is divided into six parts one part of which goes to his mother (or his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts are given to the Amenokal. In case the deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, the whole fortune of livestock is taken over by the Amenokal. He, however, will not himself make any use of the animals, but will leave them in the clan to which the deceased person belonged. They will there be under the supervision of the clan chief, who also has usufructs of them. Animals taken over by the Amenokal in this way are known as *ehere oua n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group"), or *ehere oua n boutelma* ("the fortune of the public"). 428 643 [614] [422]

The vassal clans of the Kel Ṛela drum-group pay an annual tribute known as *tiouse* to the Amenokal. The size of this payment varies from one clan to another. It is normally collected by the clan chiefs who send it to the Amenokal, but the three subclans of the Agouh-en-Tehele pay their tiouse separately as follows:– 1) The Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan: 600 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kg of butter. The man who brings this payment to the Amenokal is rewarded with a gift of 15 metres of cotton. 2) The Isandan sub-clan: 300 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kg of butter. The man who brings this receives a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. 3) The Kel Rafsa sub-clan: Like the payments from the Isandan. 643 614 651

The whole Dag Ṛali clan pays its tiouse as follows:– 12 bags of millet corresponding to 6 camel-loads are given to the clan chief, who will send 10 bags to the Amenokal, and keep two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole clan gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the Amenokal.

One vassal clan, the Ait Loaien, does not make its tiouse payment to the Amenokal but to a Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Emori section of the Kel Ṛela. According to Lhote a certain family among the Dag Ṛali makes an annual payment to a noble Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Tahat section (Lhote 1955, p. 224). It is in fact possible that the Amenokal nowadays receives tiouse payments which ought to be made to other noble Tuareg. This I imply from the information from a man who told me that the Isandan sub-clan according to traditional rules should pay tiouse to a 565 614 643 651

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. 128 643
If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Rali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916–17, the drum-group of the *Kel Rela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order. [591] [614] [578] [648]

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Rela* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amrar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief. 643 642 645 [634] [614]

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytok*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Rela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytok*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* and *Taytok* tribes might also receive *tiwsé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Adrar* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Tédalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given him a similar payment for protection. 619 651 [643]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



According to the *Agadez Chronicle* five tribes of the *Itésen* went out to discover a Sultan. They found him in a country written in translations *Arim Sotafan* (Palmer 1936, p. 55) or *A'arem-Cattafane* (Urvoy 1934, p. 154). The meaning of this word – correctly written *Arrem Settefen* – is "black town". This seems to indicate that the first Sultan came from a Sudanese state, and it is stated by all Tuareg that all known Sultans of Agadez have been Black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives, the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office. 175 643

The fact that the Sultan of Agadez has four ministers like most kings of Sudanese states (cf. Frobenius, Atlas Africanus, H.3; Baumann 1940, p. 58) may perhaps point to a connection between the establishment of the Ayr Sultanry and the Sudan, and this seems also to be intimated in the *Agadez Chronicle*. Nevertheless, the popular tradition about the origin of the Ayr Sultanry goes against this assumption. For it is told all over Ayr, both among Tuareg and the so-called *Imeggedezen*, that the first Sultan of Agadez came from Constantinople. This tradition, which is not mentioned in the *Agadez Chronicle*, is also claimed to be true by the present Sultan of Agadez. He says that the *Itésen* tribes, or representatives from these tribes, went to Constantinople to ask the Sultan to give them one of his sons as the first Sultan over Ayr. The Sultan of Constantinople had three fair-skinned wives who all refused to let their sons go to Ayr with the deputation. But he also had four black-skinned wives or concubines and the first of them who was asked to let her son become the Sultan over Ayr agreed. So it happened that the deputation of *Itésen* Tuareg returned to Agadez with their first Sultan who patrilineally is descended from the Sultan of Constantinople, matrilineally from a slave woman. There are some people who claim this tradition to be spurious, but it is admitted by most people as a true account of the origin of the Ayr Sultanry. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg it is claimed that the Sultan was fetched by people of the *Kel Ferwan* group, or that the *Itésen* deputation was sent out to fetch the Sultan on the initiative of the *Kel Ferwan* group. This variation of the tradition is also recognized by the present Sultan. [645] 173 643

In the *Agadez Chronicle* we are told that the Sultan at first had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chaman from where he moved to Agadez which seem to have been founded as a city at the middle of the 15th century A.D., a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Ayr (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 102, 364 f., 409; Urvoy 1936, p. 164). 175 643 [103]

The present Sultan *Umar*, who has reigned since 1919, says that the first Sultan who came to Ayr had the great task to learn the Ayr Tuareg good manners of living. Before the establishment of the Sultanry the whole country of Ayr had been dominated by the *Izyan* (of the Lake Tchad region) who had claimed as their annual tribute a young girl from all Tuareg tribes of Ayr. When the first Sultan arrived the Tuareg lived like donkeys in the rocks. They had extremely bad manners, and there were even people who married with their sisters. The Sultan taught them good manners and brought justice and order to the country. He was the true owner of the land from the northern outskirts of Ayr to the region of Madawa where the *Kel Geres* Tuareg now live. He divided the land between the main groups of Tuareg, and allotted to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who lived around Tafadek a large part of Ayr up to 173 643

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



there are no true vassals or *Imrad* though some *Kel Ewey* tribes are referred to in literature as vassals.

The lack of the important structural feature of vassalage among the *Kel Geres* may perhaps be explained in the following way:— The *Kel Geres* Tuareg lived originally in Ayr within much the same area as that now occupied by the *Kel Ewey*, and it is most likely that they had mixed very much with the sedentary Negroes as there are among the *Kel Geres* very many black-skinned and negroid Tuareg. It is very probable that the *Kel Geres* when living in Ayr led a semi-sedentary life, for it is said that they had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr in the 18th century owing to the pressure of the *Kel Ewey*. We may perhaps assume that this particular mode of livelihood was the reason why vassalage ceased to exist among the *Kel Geres*. When, in the 18th century, the *Kel Geres* were driven southwards into the Sudanese steppes and savannahs, they became ardent stock-breeders and adopted a political system much related to that of an ordinary Tuareg drum-group with the exception that they had no class-division.

Among the *Kel Geres*, all tribes of pastoral Tuareg are known as *Imajeren* but though they are not divided into classes these tribes are nevertheless not politically identical. The most important tribe is that called *Ti-temekkeret*. It is named after Anu-Mekkeren in Central Ayr where this tribe originally lived, and the *Kel Geres* drum-chief (*ettebel*) is always elected from this particular group. But the drum-chief is not elected by all adult people of his drum-group, but by members of three tribes, the *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar*. The members of these tribes alone can elect and dismiss a drum-chief entirely at their discretion. When they have elected a new drum-chief he is ceremoniously installed by a man of the *Anyegeren* tribe who wraps the large head-cloth around the chief's head. In all this the *Kel Geres* resemble the *Kel Ewey* among whom the *Anestafidet* is elected by the members of three important tribes.

The three tribes of *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar* are also politically very important in other respects for they consistute the nuclei of three sub-divisions of the *Kel Geres*. The chiefs of the three tribes have the title *Aṛolla* (pl. *Iṛollan*) and they are also the chiefs of certain other pastoral tribes which have individual chiefs with the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaren*). A certain number of people who are non-Tuareg by origin are placed under the authority of all tribal chiefs, e.g., *Iṛawélen* who are slaves manumitted in the past, *Ikenawen* who are professional potmakers, *Ineden* or blacksmiths, and *Itéfnen*, that is sedentary Hausa living in villages.

In addition to the tribe of the drum-chief and the three *Iṛollan* tribes, there is among the Kel Geres a fifth tribe which is politically very important, namely that known as *Eṛuṛmani*. It is a religious tribe of the so-called *Echchikhen* class, and its chief is known as *Echchikh* though he also bears the title of *Al-Ḳadi*. He acts as the adviser of the drum-chief in judicial and religious matters, and though he apparently possesses no direct authority over all *Kel Geres* he is very influential and greatly respected. The *Al-Ḳadi* or *Echchikh* is elected according to the traditional rules of succession acknowledged by the *Kel Geres*, a deceased chief being succeeded by his younger brother or by his son. But in contrast to all other chiefs, including the drum-chief, he cannot be dismissed when he is once elected. All religious tribes within the *Kel Geres* drum-group are placed directly under the authority of the *Al-Ḳadi* (*Echchikh*) of the *Eṛuṛmani* tribe. But the *sadakat* fees are made to the drum-chief and not to the Al-Ḳadi.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The title of Amenukal is

634 used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *ettebel* is reserved to those
565 chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-*
651 *akal*, have the right to an annual tribute known as *fiuse* (*chiwsé*) from their individual vassals, and it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaḳa* or *tamessadeḳ* must also be given to them, because the drum-chief is inseparable from his *Ḳadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasit* or *takote* (*takuté*), that is the
634 right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain
565 delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels. The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. – These are the
[178] main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been
[642] no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579–586 & 1950a, p. 188–193, 201–209).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

642 The *Kel Ataram* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that
565 in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel*
[114] *Tademaket* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchar*) and vassals (*Imrad*, sing *Amerid*, or *Dara*). The dominant noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with
[567] Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Bélla*). They pay *tiwsé* to the noble Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals, but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All
[614] tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amrar*, but all important decisions are made
[646] by the *mvad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This
643 council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with warfare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of
642 the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position
565 (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). – To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:—
[614] Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Idnanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.

565 554 [302] [516] The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant [195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of appearance and language is even more perceptible among the 554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their 562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their 574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society. Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well [533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know- [515] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know- ing how to play the violin.

565 [83] 513] Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the [842] Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which 582] are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it, [648] and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting itself to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could bring it.

565 [793 871] The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/ and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite [651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Ihaggaren and the Kel Ajjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifora were pillaged themselves upon several occasions by the Ihaggaren and forced to seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

The influence of the Inislimen on the Ihaggaren and the Kel
[797] Ajjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact, they are generally quite ignorant.

[554] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving, they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and disapproved of the belligerent action of the Ihaggaren against us, in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tademaket
565 and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.
797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to
[648] become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifora was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tademeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents. They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721 Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
181] refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
701 other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Chériffen are divided into ordinary Chériffen and warrior Chériffen.

567 his property. In cases of this nature the two parties have usually
[685] come to an agreement beforehand.

The Iklan are responsible for introducing a quantity of words
[177 and new expressions into the Tamashek language, all of them
192] naturally of Sudanese origin. They have a very vulgar language and murder the language of their masters abominably, so that they make a real argot of it.

They have kept a great many characteristics of their folklore,
[536] which we /172/ find in their dances, the pantomimed scenes that they organize among themselves at the time of public rejoicing or of events in the family life of their masters.

Social evolution due to the French occupation will in an indefinite time bring about the disappearance of bondage, which we must explain does not have the inhumane nature that one might presume.

567 It would have been a blunder to immediately impose the
648 liberation of the Iklan, and it would have been contrary to their own interests. Attempts made in this direction in the Sudan have given deplorable results. Iklan liberated from one day to the next are unsettled in class; they cannot and do not want to go back to working the land and thus find it impossible to earn a living.

The disappearance of slavery will come about gradually and individually. It will occur slowly, but inexorably, and it will bring important social transformations among the Tuareg.

One can already observe this evolution among the Ioullimmiden, in Adrar, and particularly around Timbuktu where Imrad women occupy themselves from now on with grinding millet and doing the heavy housework, which was formerly left to the captives.

567 Iklan-n-Egef. -- Liberation of captives, furthermore, has always existed among the Tuareg in more or less attenuated forms.

It may have several causes, first of which is the excess of captives, which makes a great many useless mouths to feed. The Tuareg thus gave a halfway freedom to some of them whom they

173 Sultan Goma was killed about 1650, and the independence of the Ahaggar tribes dates from that epoch. They profited from this event and from the Ouraren-Imanrassâten struggle to free themselves from the yoke of the Imenân.

The Ahaggar nobles formed only a single tribe in the beginning, the Kel Ehan Mellen tribe divided into fourteen fractions, which, according to pasture needs, split off and detached themselves from the original branch. The Kel Ehan Mellen probably lived in the Tidikelt in primitive times, whence they were chased by the Arab invasion. At the present time all that remains of them are the Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the Kel Ehan Mellen-ouan-Taghert.

At one time, one of these extinct tribes, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, was in power in the Ahaggar, but it gradually became weaker and weaker through misalliances, to the advantage of the present tribes of the Kel Réla, the Taïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet, who gradually absorbed the other fractions.

Among the Kel Réla today we find the last elements of the three tribes mentioned who descended from the Kel Ehan-Mellen.

The Kel Réla, Taïtok, and Tégéhé-Mellet each enjoyed the most complete independence. However, through political inheritances, the Kel Réla became the most important and the holders of the tobol.

Later, about 1755, profiting from the weakness of Aménokal Salah (called Mokhamed el Khir), the Taïtok and Tégéhé-Mellet obtained a distribution of the Imrad tribes among the three groups, at the same time still recognizing the authority of the aménokal. But the Taïtok, in spite of these considerable advantages, were dissatisfied and wanted to seize the tobol from the Ihaggaren, which set off a series of internal struggles with their Kel Réla cousins.

175 /182/ When the Ahaggar Tuareg surrendered to France, the
631 Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet were organized as free tobol, and
643 their chiefs bore the title of aménokal, although recognizing at the
648 same time the authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Amâstan, who had just been enthroned by the French. Azioueł,

175 the Taïtok chief, and Ser'ir ag Bedda, the chief of the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet, accepted this vassalage without question, but later on they
643 raised endless difficulties. This policy, which had been initiated to
648 reinforce the authority of Moussa ag Amâstan, caused us several disappointments. As early as 1910, Captain Niéger, Adjutant Commander of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, interpreted the dissidence of two Imrad tribes, the Ait Loaien and the Kel-i-n-Toûnîn, as the beginning of serious complications.

We were able to measure his perspicacity during the revolt of 1916-1918, and the misunderstanding between the Kel Réla and Taïtok still persists today. But since the Taïtok and the Tégéhé-Mellet participated in the revolt of 1916-1918 and their chiefs did not live up to the confidence which had been placed in them, they were placed under the direct authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, with the title of amrar.

## Tobol of the Kel Rela

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela is the most important in the Ahaggar,
643 and its chief is at the same time the aménokal of the confederation.

It is formed by a certain number of noble families, several of
565 which have been reduced to one or two tents. They are the Inemba,
631 the Iboglân, the Ikerremîen, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the
643 Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal; all of whom are entitled to the tobol, and the Kembiden, the Oulad el Goute, the Oulad Amechaoui, and the Oulad Ibra, who lost their right to the tobol through misalliances.

173 Legend recounts that the Kel Rela nobles were descended from a woman by the name of Ti-n-Hînân, who came from the Tafilalet with her servant Takamat. Then her people bore the name of Kel Ehan Mellen (meaning "white-tent peoples") as opposed to another tribe, the Issetafenine, "black-tent peoples," who were the ancestors of the Ioullimmiden.

Later the dominant fraction was the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sîdi, /183/ which was that fraction of the former Aménokal Sidi, and which was composed of the Kel Rela, the Taïtok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet.

175 previous ten days, was accused of having poisoned him. He was made to swear on the Koran, but he swore that he had no hand in the death of Moussa and was set free.

A marabout from the zāwiyah /monastery --ed./ of Teleya, Sidi Mohamed ben Badi, a mkaddam delegated by the great religious leader of the Kounta, Bey el Bekkay, was present at the death of [787] Moussa. He claimed to have been sent by Bey, to whom the death of Moussa ag Ǎmastan had been revealed in a dream.

This assertion did much to dissipate the doubt in people's minds, at the same time as it increased the reputation of the marabout from Teleya as a "saint."

A few days later, the djemaa met and named as a replacement [643] Akhamouk ag Yema, informing the authorities by the following [648] letter:

30 December 1920

"Glory to the one God.

"On the part of your friend Boukhelil ben Douka to your Lordship the honorable Captain Depommier, head of the dependency of In-Salah and the Ahaggar. May salvation be yours.

"I have the honor to inform you that our father, Moussa ag Ǎmâstan, is dead, may God bless him.

"We, the Kébar Tuareg nobles, have met with the Kébar of the Imrad. Without any exception, we have accepted Ǎkhammouk ag Yéma to replace Moussa. Be well assured that while Moussa was alive, we entrusted to him all the affairs with which he was charged in dealing with the French military authority.

[642] "I would have you know that today we shall make all possible efforts to serve the French government in good faith as before, and even better, and we shall do in good part all that we can do."

Ǎkhamouk ag Yema was the first cousin of Moussa ag Ǎmâstan, the eldest son of the latter's maternal aunt. Through his mother he descended from the Inemba. He was a childhood companion of /190/ Moussa, undergoing his cousin's influence and following him

631 781 [794] The Dăg Râli are the most pious people in the Ahaggar. The majority of them are affiliated with the order of the Tijanyyah, although some of them adhere to the Sanusiyyah and the order of the Qādiriyyah; these affiliations seem to be purely formal, however, for, with a few exceptions, they do not follow the rites of these religious orders.

797 The activity of Father de Foucauld was particularly effective in this tribe. Because of his installation at Tamanrasset and later at his hermitage at Ăsekrem, Father de Foucauld was in constant contact with the Dăg Râli. At first they were mistrustful of him, but they were not long in coming to him, and they were the first beneficiaries of his good deeds, for the Father went to them, caring for the sick and rendering them many services.

[622] Their chief, Ouksem ag Ourar, was a short, stocky man of average intelligence, but very crafty, especially when it was a question of material interest for him or even that of his people. /193/ He saw the benefit that he could draw from this getting together. Little by little the priest did his best to conquer him and win his affection, and he supported his interests with the authorities of Fort Motylinski. Thus, a few months later, Ouksem was completely won over.

[648] Ouksem gained a certain importance with the authorities, which made him proud and which he knew he owed to Father de Foucauld.

622 631 797 [648] Later on he was a good help in the pacification of the Ahaggar. During the dissidence of 1915, he showed himself very eager to please us, which made Father de Foucauld write to General Laperrine: "Ouksem, chief of the Dăg Râli, could not be better; he does not cease to make progress. It is evident that he is bent not only on being faithful, but on showing his fidelity in a dazzling way by his attitude." He did nothing without asking the Father's advice, and he followed this advice by creating a garden at the Ilâman wadi in order to use the waters which descended from the mountain. This garden was established, and to flatter this meritorious effort which was an example, Ouksem received the Medal of Agricultural Merit, a unique feat in the annals of the Tuareg even up to the present

173 Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé means "reed people." Legend has it that they
631 were forced to eat the roots of that plant during their flight from the Aïr. Their chief was then a man of Herculean size named Assékal ag Louka; the legend says that his feet were so big that when his pursuers saw the footprints, they preferred to abandon the chase.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé claim to be originally from Mecca where their remote ancestor received a camel from the Prophet. He was supposed to drink only the milk of the camel, but he committed the sin of killing it. Therefore, they had to flee, and after long years of wandering, they settled in Aïr.

At the time when the Imrad were divided up (1750), they were part of the Issandaten. The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé went to the Kel Rela, and the other fraction, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, went to the Tăïtok.

631 The land over which they range borders on that of the Dăg Râli. It goes from Tamanrasset to Ourchi wadi, then from the Koudia as far as Afrahouhine and Tamaghine.

[651] They pay a tribute to the amĕnokal, the same size as that of the Dăg Râli, but they do not share captured goats and sheep with him.

They are currently allied with the Dăg Râli and the Relaiddîn.

They took sides against us in the battle of Tit where they had
648 about ten men killed. During the insurrection of 1916-1918, they
669 rose up, and their women even seized thirty mehari /dromedaries/ belonging to the meharist company at Fort Motylinski. On the other hand, they did not take part in the revolt directly and were the first to ask for mercy.

[161] /195/ Totaling 60 men in 1905, the tribe numbers about 150 persons at the present time.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé own nearly a thousand camels, which they
[233] graze on the Saharo-Sudanese borders, and 1,200 to 1,400 goats.
[651] Every year they pay a tribute to the amenokal of 12 bags of dates, 6 pots of butter, and the usufruct of 10 goats. Most of the cultivated
[123] land and the foggara of Tarhaouaout and Tahifet belongs to them,
[241] and they have gardens at Ămsel, Tamanrasset, and Talan-Tédit.

631 They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since
[669] they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaïa.

565 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tăousit, still called
644 Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they
631 made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be
[184] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion
[241] to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and
[162] they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[231] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tăhalra, and in the region of Silet-Ăbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers
[241 of Tîgeneouin, Ăbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm
423] grove at Tibeghîn, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is
563 synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and
631 Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hâda
Kel In Rhar'
Kel Tăfedest
Kel Immîdir
Kel Tăzoûlet
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Téroûrirt
Kel Ouhet

563 They are not vassals like the Irréguénaten and the Ibettenâten,
631 but are incorporated.

563 According to a tradition reported by Dr. Richer, (1) the
173

1. Les Oulliminden, p. 71.

Issekkemâren are the descendants of the family of the Sagmara, pointed out in the Ádrar des Iforas and in the region of Gao by El Bekri. They were driven back by the Sonrhai invasion and came to take refuge among the northern Tuareg while a small fraction remained in the south in the environs /199/ of Timbuktu and today has a marabout character.

Although they are more Islamized than the other tribes, they are
[799] nonetheless Tuaregized in the sense that they follow Tuareg customs
197 and speak Tamashek. Many of them speak Arabic fluently, either
● [648] because of their origin or because of their constant relations with the Tidikelt.

173 At the time of the division of the Imrad, some tribes were be-
563 stowed upon the Kel Rela, others on the Tâitok and the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet. The tribes attached to the Kel Rela are the Ihéiaouen Hâda, the Kel Immîdir, the Kel Tâzoûlet, the Kel Tâfedest, and the Kel In Rhar'.

563 They are all great caravaneers who trade a great deal on the
439 Tidikelt markets. They own a large number of camels and their
484 camel raising is particularly renowned.
233

The Iheiaouen Hada. -- The Iheiaouen Hada, also called Oulad
563 Elias or Ihéiaouen-n-Temounent, are said to be descended from an
[173] Arab woman who was seized at Touat. The word Iheiaouen means in Tamashek "the grandsons of . . . ," so that we must conclude that the people of this tribe are the descendants of a woman named Ada.

They nomadize in the Tâfedest massif near Ádenek, Abezou, In Takoufi, Eguelougal, and Tidessi. During dry periods they lead
[221] their camels to the Saharo-Sudanese borders in the neighborhood of the Tamaïa well.

175 631 643 back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of the men, including Aziouel, died of thirst in the desert.

/204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

579 631 At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and [648] more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

[511] 631 651 Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ăadrar des Iforas, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis and Isoknâten of the Aïr.

[162 233] Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400 camels and about 1,000 goats.

175 631 648 During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his Imrad Kel I-n-Tounin. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops. He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

[423] Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastân.

631 The amrar of the Ťăitok is named according to matriarchal rules, and his election must be approved by the chiefs of the Imrad tribes. However, it must be pointed out that since Amrar Salah the chiefs have succeeded from father to son upon several occasions.

101 The Ťăitok sometimes give the name Ar'rerf Ăhnet to /205/ their group, from the name of the region where they range most of the time and also from their Imrad. (1)

1. "Ar'rerf" corresponds here to "tobol." According to Nicolas, op. cit., "Agref," following his orthography, means small fraction.

631 565 [582] The Ťăitok live on very good terms with their vassals, and the vassals, proud of being called Ťăitok, espouse all the rivalries of their lords. Marriages between different castes are not uncommon, and many nobles have married Imrad women, which causes their children to lose political rights to the tobol. But the greater and greater extension of this custom will necessarily bring about modifications in the customary law of filiation, or else patriarchy will finally replace matriarchy.

[651] The Imrad pay a lump tioussé which is divided among the different Imochar. There is no longer any individual right /droit/ like that still found among the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

631 648 [101] Thieves to end all thieves, the Ťăitok have still been able to keep alliances almost everywhere outside their country in the regions they have to cross to carry out their robberies; these alliances are military or protective. Thus, in order to keep from being robbed, the Sékakna and the Mazil, Arab tribes from the environs of Ăkabli who sometimes nomadized in the Ăđrar Ăhnet, paid them a slight due. They were allied with the Fergoumoussen, an Imochar tribe from the Adrăr, with the Tarat Mellet, the Kel Boujbiha, the Kel Arouan, the Tadjakant, the Arib, and the Kel Taoudeni. These

631 alliances give a glimpse of the scope of the Tăitok raids.

[648] The tobol of the Tăitok includes the Irechchoûmen, a little noble tribe which lost its rights to the tobol as a consequence of misalliances, the Kel Ăhnet, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, the Kel I-n-Toûnin, the Iouarouaren, the Ikouttissen, and the Ikechchemâden.

The Irechchoûmen. -- The Irechchoûmen, also called Iradjenaten (mixed blood), usually camp in the Ăhnet, going as high as Aoulef. The head of the family was Ibédi ag Bassi, who married a daughter of the Oulad Zenan (Aoulef Arabs) and had for sons-in-law Azioueł and Tacha ag Serada of the Tăitok, both dead as a result of raids. (2)

2. Azioueł's widow married Moussa ag Amastân, aménokal of the Ahaggar, in 1910.

[582] They are allies of the Tăitok through numerous marriages, and also of the Imrad Kel Ăhnet. They also marry with /206/ Arab [643] women from the Touat, and these multiple misalliances have made them lose their right to the tobol.

[173] According to a tradition reported by Duveyrier, the Irechchoûmen originally came from Es Souq. Part of the tribe descends from the Edrissians, and others have the Ikadeien for their ancestors.

[162] They include only about ten tents, or 60 persons, at the present time.

The Kel Ăhnet. -- The Kel Ăhnet are of the same origin as the [173] Dag Râli with whom they formerly made up the Imessiliten fraction. This schism occurred under the aménokalat of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, at the time of the distribution of the Imrad among the different noble tribes, and the Kel Ăhnet were bestowed upon the Tăitok.

They were among the first to come and surrender, and their chief, Badjeloud ag Maklia, came to In-Salah as early as 1902.

631 /211/ Originally from Es Souq in the Ădrar des Ifôras, they are mixed with the Ahl Azzi from In-Salah.

Without being Imrad of the Tăitok, properly speaking, they may be considered satellites of this tobol.

## Tobol of the Tégéhé-Mellet

173 The Tégéhé-Mellet make up the third and least important of the three Ahaggar tobol.

631 According to oral tradition, they are the descendants of Ti-n-Hînân through her daughter Tahenkat. More recently they are said to be descended from the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi. But according to another tradition they are of Chaamba origin, from the Oulad Messaoud tribe. More exactly, we are led to believe that some Oulad Messaoud men came to settle among them and founded families; for some, this would make their pure Imochar origin questionable. On the other hand, they married Kel-I-n-Toûnîn women, while Tégéhé Mellet women married Issekkemâren.

They obtained their independence at the same time as the Tăitok while Sidi Mohâmed was amenokal, and were assigned a certain number of vassal tribes. Since then, however, they have played only a very unobtrusive part in the history of the Ahaggar, and the Tégéhé Mellet are on the way to disappearing.

631 According to Duveyrier, they had the reputation of bringing a conciliatory spirit into the often strained relations between the Ihăggaren [578] and the Ăjjer Tuareg. The geographical position that they occupied between the two opposing groups quite naturally drafted them for the role.

619 They were formerly a free tobol, and only with the French occupation were they placed under the guardianship of Moussa ag Ămastân.

●648 Ser'ir ag Bedda, their amrar, protested for a long time and never stopped claiming his independence. In connection with this state of mind, many Tégéhé Mellet rebelled and left with the

619 Kel-I-n-Toûnîn Imrad rather than accept the supremacy of Moussa
648 ag Ămastân and the Kel Rela. For a long time they kept up the agitation, encouraged by the former Amenokal Attici ag Ămellal, and they were one of the causes of our difficulties with the Ăjjer.

619 It is now a small tribe of about 15 tents nomadizing near
[162] Ămegid, the Ounane, the Eguéré, and /212/ Tiramar. Its strength comes especially from its vassals, who could not be more turbulent.
[669] They probably participated in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and Attici and Ăanaba ag Ămellal, the leaders of the drama, belonged to that fraction.

The Tégéhé-Mellet have no Imrad properly speaking, but several Issekkemâren fractions are enfeoffed to them.

The Kel Terourirt. -- The Kel Terourirt are Issekkemâren and nomadize northeast of the Ahaggar near Tiramar, Tahihaout,
[162] Ounane, the Eguéré, and the Garet ed Djenoun. They number 25 tents at the moment:

[669] During the 1916 events, they followed the Kel Ouhet and the Kel I-n-Toûnîn in rebelling.

[651] They pay the amrar of the Tégéhé Mellet a tioussé which annually adds up to four bags of dates and four goats.

The Kel Ouhet. -- Like the Kel Térourirt, the Kel Ouhet are Issekkemâren. They are subdivided into several small fractions: the Kel Raris, the Dăg-Khamaya, and the Dăg Iknân. In all there are
[162] about 40 tents (51 persons in the 1938 census, 23 of them men).

They camp in the northern part of the Tăfedest massif and go as far as Amegid and into the Igharghar Valley.

[233] They own a number of camels and frequently visit the markets
[439] of the Tidikelt and Ghat.

Some of them have left the Ahaggar and now live in the Ăjjer.

The Kel Torha. -- The Kel Torha, or Dăg Houa, are Aït Loaien and their small fraction is in the process of disappearing. Although they live with the Aït Loaien who belong to the Kel Rela tobol,
[651] they pay the annual tioussé of a mézoued of dates to the Tégéhé-Mellet.

224 The administration fortunately has decided to confiscate these
[411 weapons.
648]

It is very difficult to get an exact idea of the number of animals killed annually by hunters. But we believe we are close to accurate in giving the figure 300. Thus we say that hunting holds a very small place in Ahaggar Tuareg economy.

226 Fishing: -- Fishing is not done by the Tuareg for the reasons
[184] we have given. Only the Issekkemâren and the Iklan engage in it. They fish when the pond water is very low. In the Tassili they dig little ditches on the lower side at water level, leading to little reservoirs where the fish find refuge and are then surely caught.

[251] When fishing has been fruitful, the Issekkemâren dry the fish to keep them for periods of scarcity.

/244/ Chapter 5

## Agriculture

241 The Ahaggar Tuareg have never attached more than a very secondary importance to agriculture. Their nomadic turn of mind is at the opposite pole from land ownership and still more from exploiting it, which implies sedentary life. There are, however, a number of centers of cultivation in their country; they are of undeniable interest and could be extended more widely if improper legislation did not hinder their development.

177 The creation of most of these centers of cultivation does not
go back more than a century. It was accomplished under the in-
241 fluence of Arab groups settled in the Ahaggar. Only the Silet and Tibeghîn oases are much older and probably date from the time of the Imanan sultans who had brought into the Ahaggar some

the proportion of one to four. After several dry years some agricultural centers must be completely abandoned. This was the case of Tit, Attoklane, Tahart, Dar-Mouli, etc., in the last few years.

In 1940, 555 hectares of land were seeded. This is the figure for a good year, which can occasionally be surpassed but can also be reduced by more than half.

The population of the agricultural centers, which was 1, 310 people in 1916, was 2, 280 in 1938, which denotes a great effort made in favor of agriculture. This could be realized thanks only to the state of peace due to the French occupation.

Here are the figures for each of the principal centers, according to the archives of the Tamanrasset post (1):

1. Florimond report, 1938.

| | 1911 | 1938 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tamanrasset | 150 | 686 | |
| Abalessa | 272 | 250 | |
| I-n-Amgel | 180 | 206 | |
| Iglen | | 168 | |
| Ideles | 70 | 160 | |
| Tazerouk | 150 | 148 | |
| Tit | 75 | 98 | had to leave for other centers after the summer of 1938. |
| Tarhaouhaout | 140 | 91 | |
| Amsel | 90 | 66 | |
| Tahifet | | 39 | |
| /248/ Tigeneouin | 25 | 23 | |
| Mertoutek | | 60 | |
| Hirhafok | | 80 | |
| Haman | 10 | | |

162
103

| | 1911 | 1938 |
|---|---|---|
| T-i-n-Ămenser . . . . . | 36 | temporarily abandoned |
| Tifert . . . . . | 50 | " " |
| Essélésékin . . . . . | 30 | |
| T-i-n-Târâbin . . . . . | 15 | abandoned |

166 These figures bring out the weakening of some centers to the
621 advantage of others. Thus, a number of cultivators from
Tarahouhaout (where the French post was formerly located) came
[648] to settle at Tamanrasset, and the group of little centers in the
outskirts of Ăbalessa, Iglen, Tăfarit, etc., has absorbed the groups
from other abandoned centers like Tifert, Essélésékin, Ilâman,
Tarahananet, etc.

[241 Together these centers number about 400 gardens and 80
312] feggaguir.

262 The wheat harvested is partly consumed by the cultivators and
439 chiefly intended for export; it is exchanged at the Touat for dates.
433 The total harvests in the Ahaggar corresponds to only one -fifth of
the needs of its inhabitants, even in good years.

621 There are fifteen agricultural centers exploited in the Ahaggar:
433 Tamanrasset, Tărhaouahout, Tahifet, Tăzerouk, Ideles, Ăbalessa,
Hirhafok, Iglen, I-n-Amegel, T-i-n-Ămenser, Amsel, Tigeneouin,
Talan-Tedit, Mertoûtek, and Esseléséкine.

[166] In addition there are twenty-two other centers which have
been abandoned for some years as a result of dryness or lack of
manpower: Aïtoklane, Ădenek, Ămrah, Ăbezou, Ăglil, Bloûmet,
Déhine, Dar Mouli, Ennedid, Innezal, Ilâman, In Ămertek, Ilafok,
Outoul, Ouhet, Souaïka, T-i-n-Târabin, Touakin, Teberbert,
Tarahananet, Tahart, and Joraf.

797 sometimes the Koran as an amulet, but that they had kept its fatalism. (1) Many authors also take pleasure in pointing out

1. Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, p. 388.

their more than superficial polish in matters of Islamism.

781 In spite of all this, we must not exaggerate the degree of
797 irreligion of the Tuareg. Since the French occupation, the
177 action of marabouts who cross the country trading is growing
648 slowly but surely. The state of lethargy into which the suppression of their life of brigandage has thrown them is gradually pushing them toward religion, and it is becoming more and more common
[517 to see young nobles kill time by reciting in front of a small
565] Koran board.

771 Superstition is very strong in them. They have not succeeded in breaking away from their ancient beliefs, and they wear a
[789] quantity of amulets which are often pagan in origin (jackal's foot, lizard's head, hyena skin, etc.).

[776] One observes certain noble families /307/ that, along with orthodox saints, invoke mysterious personages who can only be ancient minor gods they never got rid of. (1) In the old legends

1. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara, in Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

of the Ahaggar, Father de Foucauld has found the names of some of them: Tamâres, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Ouerdaz, Noulana, Radès. The Ihaggaren used to call on them to make their wishes come
[177 true, but today these personages have fallen into oblivion, and
782] only a few old people still remember their names. (2)

2. In Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

487 When one speaks of a caravan trail, one must banish the idea of a route more or less arranged to facilitate traffic. The Saharian trails are simply marked on the ground by the tracks which the camels make, passing there in the same place for centuries. In the Ahaggar they look like a long, light ribbon running through the middle of the black rocks. The trail may be made up of two, three, or six ribbons which run parallel to each other, depending on its importance and the lay of the land.

Trails always follow the sides of valleys, naturally linking one well to the other and passing from one valley to another through the most accessible passes. They are never marked out. Of course in some places there are a few redjem, a kind of pile of pebbles to mark the passes or the nearness of certain wells, but these are rare and on the whole recently constructed, for the Ihaggaren have always strived to hide the routes through their country from strangers.

In sandy places and in regolith terrain where the ground is always more or less transformed by the action of the wind, the trail often becomes invisible, and the caravan must then trust to the knowledge of a guide or a man who has already traveled over the road several times and knows it.

Secondary trails. -- There are within the Ahaggar numerous secondary trails which are used for local needs. They all go from one well to another. All the agricultural centers are connected by a network of well-marked trails which are easy to follow without any great knowledge of the country. There are also pasture trails, little routes marked by the repeated trampling of goats going from one valley to the other and winding around the mountains; the animals follow them every day. This network is unbelievably extensive, and one might say that every mountain and every plateau is furrowed by several of these little paths. /314/ They are to be found in the most inaccessible and barest places, which shows that the Ahaggar used to be traversed in all directions,

492 484 the pasturing place as rapidly as possible, and so they assure a strictly disciplined march for the caravan.

From this come the two systems of proceeding used respectively by the Arabs and the Tuareg.

486 643 648 /315/ Caravans which used to cross the country of the Ihaggaren were obliged to place themselves under the latter's protection by paying a toll agreed upon in advance. The duty went to the amenokal, but protection was ensured only within the bounds of his authority, which quite often did not go beyond the limits of his own tribe. And so the caravaneer was subject to continual solicitations from the people living on the land he crossed, and it was often very difficult to escape them. A guide was sometimes placed at his disposal and received remuneration in kind.

When the boundary of the territory was reached, the protection stopped there, and the greed of the Tuareg was so great that they sometimes did not hesitate to go pillage outside their territory the caravan they had just protected. This often brought on conflicts from tribe to neighboring tribe, but in the final analysis everything was settled at the expense of the caravaneer.

[579]

427 492 Sometimes the Tuareg rented out their camels. Some Tassili tribes made a specialty out of transport between Ghademes and Ghat, while the Issekkemaren agreed to rent their animals between In-Salah and the Sudan. They derived considerable profits from this work.

As a result of these continual deductions in advance, the caravaneer could transport only goods whose trade was very remunerative.

484 679 Caravaneers have a custom of placing provisions needed for their return in the rocks or insheltered places. These provisions are left without a guard, and nobody would think of taking them.

439 [439] Sheep trading, which has grown greatly in these last few years, is largely carried on by barter. It is especially done by Arab caravaneers from the Touat who go to the Sudan with dates, tobacco, fabrics, and blankets, which they exchange not in the markets but in the camps. Tuareg from the Adrar des Iforas and Kounta Arabs also do the opposite and take their sheep to the Tidikelt and Touat.

439 435 In 1939 the sale price of sheep on the market at In-Salah was from 75 to 100 francs. The purchase price in the Sudan varied from 35 to 45 francs, but as we said, barter was most often the basis for all transactions.

And so for a camel that they received the Adrar Tuareg gave 120 sheep. One sheep alone was exchanged for 12 or 15 cubits of cloth or /317/ 10 guêcâa of dates. A dokkali, a large blanket from the Touat which the Tuareg hold in high esteem, was worth 10 sheep in the Sudan and 7 in the Adrar.

436 [177] The camel served as a basis of exchange. The Tuareg have never used money, although they did accept the Maria Theresa dollar which circulated in the Sudan and the Turkish livre which was widespread in Tripolitania. Sudanese tribes negotiated with toukourdi, the band of material serving as a veil, and with kori [825] (Cypraea moneta), a little seashell native to the Indian Ocean.

648 439 Since the French occupation we have seen a certain number of native merchants settle at Tamanrasset, the administrative capital of the Ahaggar. They are for the most part Mozabites and a few Arabs from Metlili who have constructed shops and have merchandise sent them by their correspondents in the Algerian Tell.

This recent state of affairs tends to grow more and more [305] extensive, and the postal agency at Tamanrasset records several million transactions every year.

727 that the Amrid paid part of it to the Imochar. The lender of arms or meharis was compensated in his turn, and that part of the booty was called abellag.

726 The Tuareg had the reputation of acting treacherously in battle and not always following the rules of chivalry for Saharian war.

In battle a man who threw himself at the feet of his conqueror and touched his clothes placed himself under his protection and 727 had a right to live; but the Tuareg did not always value this rule and often killed their prisoners.

When a tribe had been pillaged illegally, that is, when there had been no previous acts of hostility authorizing reprisal, a delegation of warriors from that tribe came to the opposing camp to try to negotiate for the return of the captures. This is what the Arabs call the myad, a term which has been adopted by the Tuareg. There again the Tuareg did not always show themselves to be very chivalrous, and they often savagely massacred the defenseless ambassadors.

726 During wars and raids, women enjoy the rare privilege of 562 being respected by the combatants. During the operations of the French occupation, men were often seen fleeing the camps, abandoning the women /324/ and children to the conquerors. [648] This conduct has often caused the Tuareg to be accused of cowardice. This was a false intepretation of the facts, for the Tuareg acted that way prompted by the immunity which women enjoyed.

184 It is shameful during a raid to forget this rule of protection 726 and do violence to women, strip them of their clothes, or 562 penetrate into their tents. The infractions committed were often the acts of unscrupulous persons without honor. Most of the Imrad and Iklan, it appears, are in the habit of stripping women of their clothes and their jewels, going so far as to leave them completely nude, and it even happens that they rape them. The

more chivalrous Imochar and a few rare Imrad try to oppose this, but in warlike escapades the Iklan and people with few morals are often more numerous than the others.

Abuses of women always called for vengeance, which the adversaries usually received before long. Acts of this kind were enough to raise up entire tribes against one another. And so, in the Sudan, the exactions of Marabout Abidine's people on the Kel Adrar Tuareg, at the time of the murder of their amenokal Safikroum in 1912, made irreconcilable enemies of these two fractions.

At the beginning of the French occupation, when lieutenants Cottenest and Guilho-Lohan carried out their reconnaissance missions in the Ahaggar, they found women abandoned in the camps by their husbands. The good care which was taken of them made it easier to make peaceful contact later with the Ihaggaren.

Fig. 56. The tacouba, or sword.

Tuareg weapons include iron lances, javelins with wooden staff, swords, daggers, and a buckler.

/325/ Even before the French occupation the Tuareg knew how to use firearms and possessed a certain number of guns. They were for the most part projectile weapons or archaic models of the

565 an Arab merchant from the Touat, Leblanc
563 (1946, table facing p. 40) mentions an heir to
174 an Ajjer Tuareg chieftainship whose father was an Arab, and the son of a Maraboutic Arab from Ouargla is at present one of the potential heirs to the paramount chieftainship of the Ahaggar confederation.

The question of Tuareg mixture with the Teda has been discussed above, in the section dealing with the latter group.

771 Although the Tuareg of the Ahaggar still retain much of the pre-Islamic magico-religious practices and doctrine of their animistic ancestors, they are all Moslems now, at least nominally, but are not very pious as a rule. It has been said that the Tuareg once had a Berber translation of the Koran, in the 8th and 9th centuries (Benhazera, 1908, p. 57), but it was long ago destroyed or lost (if indeed such a text ever did exist) in the course of a religious reform movement. The annual
[796] Moslem fast, during the month of Ramdhan, is not very generally observed, although in the middle of the 14th century Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338) noted that the Ahaggar Tuareg suspended raiding operations during this period.

The religious order of the Tidjani used to
794 count an overwhelming majority of the Ahaggar Tuareg among its followers, but the Senoussi have built up a substantial following in the region during the last 70 years or so, much aided in this by Tuareg who passed through Senoussi territory on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Very few Tuareg from the Ahag-
778 gar have been to Mecca in recent times, although Lyon (1821, pp. 101–102) saw a single group of roughly 150 of them pass through Mourzouk on their way there in May, 1819 (before the Senoussi order was founded). The
643 Amenokal, Mecca pilgrim or not, has usually
771 been the local model of formal piety. Bey ag Akhamouk, the present Amenokal of the Ahaggar, is an unusually good example of this, as was Moussa ag Amastan in the early years of the present century. There are indications that in ancient times Tuareg chieftains may have been vested with religious as well as temporal primacy (Bates, 1914, p. 117).

648 The European conquest of the Sahara Des-
797 ert has done much to stimulate the Islamization of the Tuareg in general during the last

648 797 100 years, for Marabout and Shorfa families of the North often found it advantageous to move southward and attach themselves to Tuareg tribes or clans whom they then proceeded to stir up against the French and Italian newcomers. In this way the Koran became a kind of battle flag of local resistance to European penetration throughout the Sahara. The Camel Corps troops, who have long maintained order for the European rulers of the Desert, have always been recruited mainly from among Moslem Arab nomad tribes, notably the Chaamba, and their thinly scattered garrisons and outposts in the Tuareg country soon came to serve as centers for the continuing diffusion of Islamic doctrine. And finally it has [582] become less and less unusual for noble ladies of the Ahaggar to marry men of Arab Shorfa or Maraboutic families. Thus racial and religious penetration have marched hand-in-hand into the Tuareg country, following the path that leads through adversity to union in a common cause, and so to bed.

792 The basic relationship between the "living saints" and the warlike nomads of the Sahara Desert is clearly stated in the Old Testament, as Monod (1947, pp. 72–73) has pointed out with keen insight and inimitable wit. In Esau and Jacob he recognized the pastoral nomad warrior and the holy man of the Sahara, where Marabouts and Shorfa families used to parley instead of fighting and bought off raiders just as Esau bought off Jacob long ago (Genesis, *32*). In Monod's words: "The Marabout's soul is in anguish at this extreme but inevitable generosity which he imposes on himself, but he would a thousand times rather have anguish in his soul than brought into his body in the shape of a sharp javelin ending its whistling flight between his shoulders. But there are times when the Marabout gets his revenge for the humiliating brutality of the warrior. The latter is indeed too simple not to be superstitious, and so, with the roles reversed, there comes a day when he in turn will tremble before the religious chief and implore the blessing of the sorcerer on his raids; for who would dare undertake such an expedition without the magic formulae and the amulet which will assure success for the enterprise and personal safety in combat? The man of God alone confers, and not without a price,

3: Holiday J-5 (ca.1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



# THE TUAREG OF THE AHAGGAR

by

GEOFFREY HOLIDAY

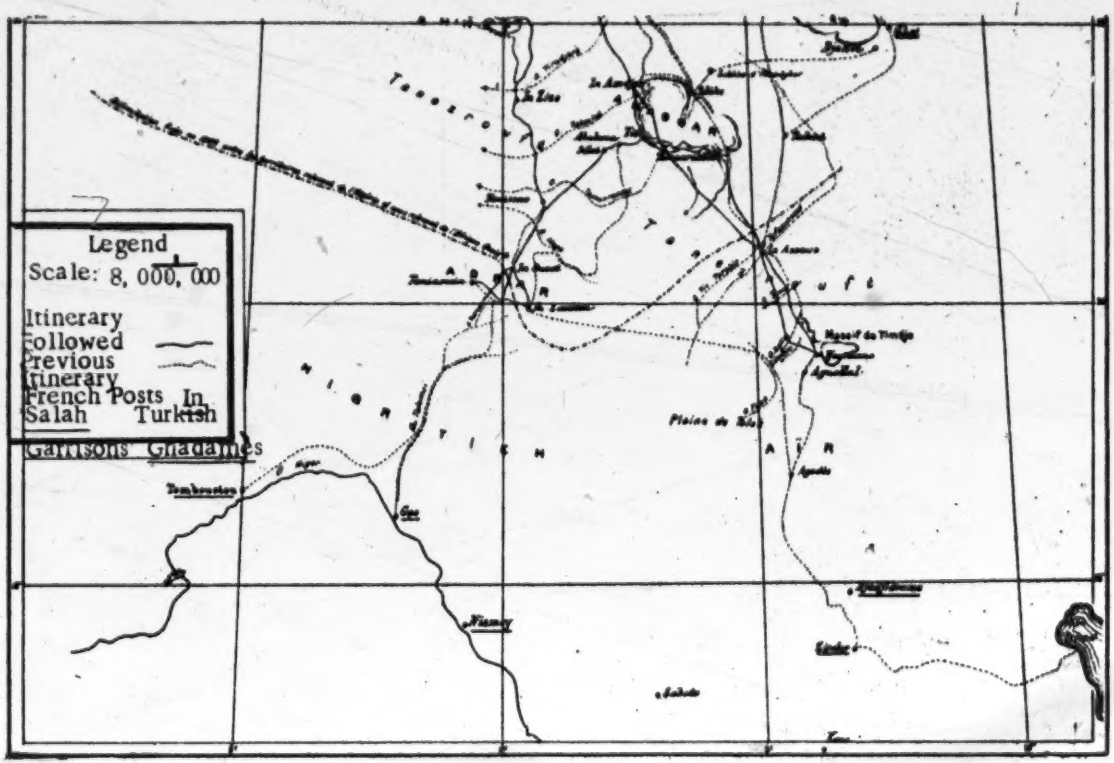
131 The Ahaggar region of the Sahara desert, with its administrative headquarters at Tamanrasset (Fort Laperrine) provides an almost exact geographical centre for the territory inhabited by the Tuareg; the nomadic tribes of the "blue veil". At the northernmost point is In Salah and to the south, Agadez. Eastward there is Djanet in the Tassili des Ajjer and the western boundary is formed, perhaps, by the line of the Tanezrouft. [361] Within this area the Tuareg wander from oasis to oasis or, in the case of a few, dwell peaceably in the shadow of the French towns and outposts that mainly owe their location to the existence of water tempered by administrative and strategic factors.

177 186 The Tuareg would appear, at first glance, to be one of the few remaining peoples of the world possessing a culture of their own that is entirely free of influences, direct or indirect. Some among the tribes still believe that the desert is the world, inhabited admittedly by many different kinds of people, but the world nevertheless. This is the extreme view, obviously not shared by those who have travelled on the great caravan routes as far south as Kano or to Timbucktu and the Niger. It may not be the view of [648] the younger generations who, to an increasing extent, are benefiting by the primary education facilities inaugurated by the French administrators; particularly in Algeria where the Ahaggar region lies at the foot of the Territoires du Sud: a knowledge of the French language does not necessarily bring about a lessening of superstitions or a widening of perspectives. One is always faced with the parallel of the farmer (who should have known better) and the ostrich: 'There ain't no such animal!' Nevertheless, from this aspect the influences are so few as to be negligible and are more likely to come from the varied genre of the official and semi-official indigenous population gathered together under the Tricolour at the towns and outposts of the region than from direct contact with the European. The Tuareg are almost the exception that proves the rule of man's gregariousness, though, naturally enough, they are gregarious in that they possess very strong tribal instincts.

291 751 As a tribe the Tuareg have very marked characteristics that immediately set them aside from any other social group in what may be termed loosely north Africa. To begin with, the men are seldom seen unveiled: the women, who can be very beautiful, never cover their faces although, often they will wear a head covering, presumably as protection against sun and sand. The men, however, do not wear the veil solely as protection against the elements. Discounting those few who have become soldiers under the French flag, a Tuareg man—or, more properly, a Targui—assumes the veil on approaching manhood and wears it continuously, even for eating and drinking. He unveils to no one, not even in the sanctuary of his tent alone, let alone in the presence of his wife. This veil wound low round his forehead and across the bridge of his nose covers the mouth, ears and nostrils. Since the other openings of his body are concealed by his robes he has complete protection against evil spirits entering and taking control—and this is the key to why the veil is worn. To protect his eyesight against the Evil One amulets are worn from a chain round the neck and doubtless also such amulets provide a measure of safety in battle.

174 The origins of the Tuareg tribe are particularly interesting in that they have as yet to be definitely established. Their antecedents go back anything between 600 and a 1,000 years and it is supposed that they are an offshoot of the Berber Arabs, driven into the desert during one of the many invasions of the Tel, the fertile coastal belts of Algeria and Morocco, that continued up to the 13th century when the Moors became really established on the Barbary coast. Likewise, the Berbers with their light skins and blue

4: Benhazera--Ill C-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar




Lithographic printer, A. Jourdan, Algiers

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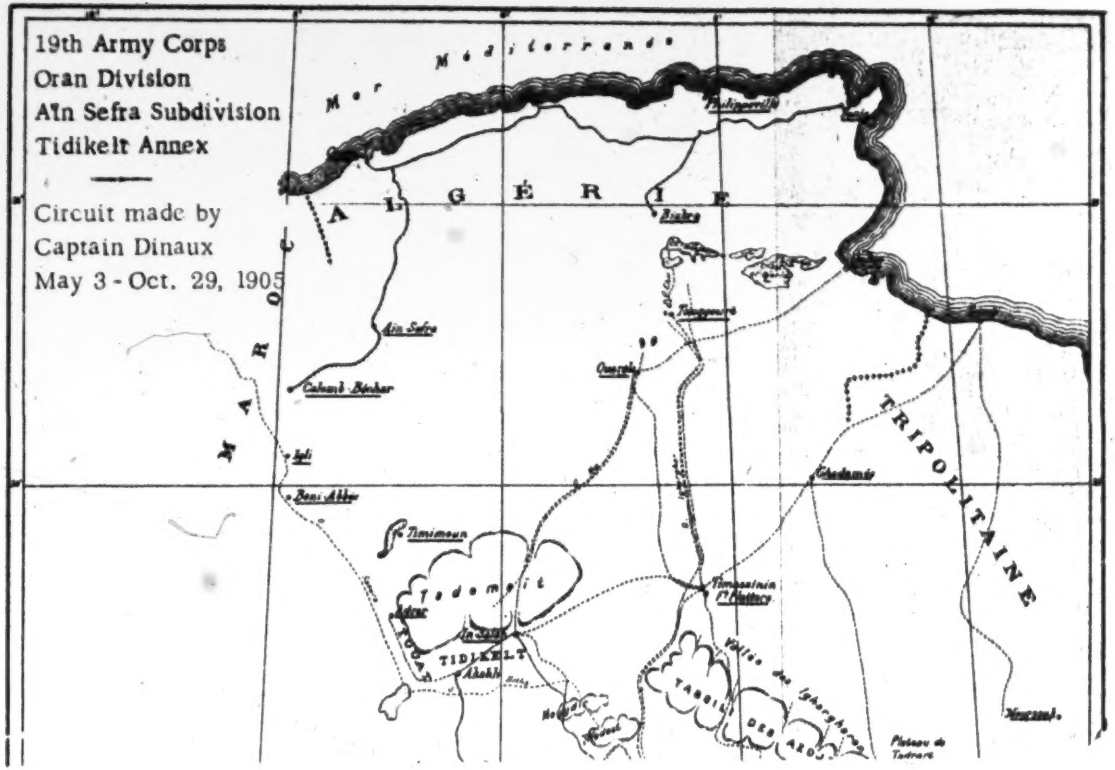
4: Benhazera--iv G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the 291 302 Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been 386 515 sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga."

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵓⵙⴼⴰⵔ 177 plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⵔⴰⵏ , and believe in their efficacy. 278 This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, [432 556] for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very [648 willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly 757] be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" 164 ...ⵅⵜ , gonorrhea, "talaoa'lt;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ⵜⵙⵎⴷⵀⵉ : and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴽⵎⵓ-ⵏ-ⵉⵔ'ⵉⴼ .

## Chapter XVII

## Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro 563 567 and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the [721] Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which [439] brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave 178 them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the 567 progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

4: Benhazera--48 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

I saw a camp of Iouarouaren (an imr'ad fraction of the 166
Taïtoq tobol), established near the tents of Taïtoq nobles, move 651
in order to settle farther away. They had come from the Tidikelt with dates and other produce, and the noble women were continually coming to beg something at the imr'ad camp. So their chief In Chikadh gave the signal to leave and said that this was in order to put an end to the importunities of the nobles. /55/

## Chapter V

### The Raid. The Loot. Its Restitution

The raid is the life of the Tuareg. He needs it. Here it 648
is that he, the noble especially, seeks part of his means of 721
subsistence. The favorite raids used to be those made against the Sudan, the Aïr, and the Niger, because of the negros and negresses who were captured. But the Tuareg is well aware now that French authority surrounds him on all sides, to the north and to the south, and that that system has ended. This is one of the reasons that make him regret his surrender.

The Chaânba were as predatory and as independent as the Tuareg. They also raided continually. Since their surrender, it is known what a considerable change has taken place, and we have every reason to believe that this will happen among the Tuareg under our influence.

Usually when a tribe has been raided, unless a state of war 728
has been declared, it sends a deputation, a "miâad," to demand from the djemâa of the raiding tribe the loot which was taken from them. The envoys must make their mounts kneel before the tents of the notables of the djemâa and beg for restitution.

They use camel hair to make rope. They are fond of 237 283 camel meat, and it is they who supply the markets of the 262 439 Tidikelt with it.

There are very few cattle in the Ahaggar, barely thirty, 233 and almost all these belong to Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane, 492 of Tazerouk. They are used to draw water from the wells [312] into the ar'erems. The pasture is scanty, and besides the cattle easily wear out their hooves on the rocks and stones.

In the Koudia, because of the cold which prevails there 233 and the high altitude, there are many small turrets of dry 343 stones, /65/ empty inside, in which the Tuareg confine lambs and kids at night to shelter them from the cold.

The Ahaggar do not have a large number of meharis, and 233 they do not like to sell them, especially the good ones. Among [435] themselves, to set the value of a mehari, they say, "Such a mehari is worth two, three, or four camels." All their meharis are trained to start at a gallop. The Tuareg has great patience with the training of his mehari and never mistreats it. He confines himself to persuading it by voice and foot, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Tuareg mehari is much more silent than the Arab mehari.

The foundation of the pastures of the Ahaggar is aremmas 137 (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae). This plant is quite laxative. 233 So when the year is bad and drought prevails, the Ahaggar are found emigrating toward the Adhar'. There are fine pastures of "had" (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolaceae) in the south of Tin R'arhou, but there is no water. Moussa ag Amastane /66/ [312 intends to have wells dug there and has requested our help and 648] advice for this purpose.

As a rule the Tuareg let their camels out to pasture with- 233 out herders, and they find them again at the well or by tracking, unless they entrust the herding to children or negroes.

/67/ A young camel is called "abal" without designating 192 its age. A camel in general is called "amadjour," plural 233 "imoudjar," or else "amiss," plural "imnass." A female is

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
692 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-
643 wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer. The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
178 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
643 to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Ṛela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
scale raiding.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



1947, p. 38f., phot. 13, p. 33, p. 117. – Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247ff. – Moberg 1927, photographs p. 229 & 257). Among the Southern Tuareg T-shaped posts are used in Air, where, according to my inquiries, they are found notably among the Kel Tedale, the Ikaskazan, and the Kel Fadei – Tuareg who have immigrated fairly recently from the North and are noble or predominantly noble by origin. Air tents with T-shaped posts are published by Lhote and Chudeau (Lhote 1947, fig. 4 p. 39, photo 50 p. 81. – Chudeau 1909, pl. VIII p. 62). T-shaped posts are also said to occur among the Kel Geres, and they are common in skin tents of the Kel Dinnik (Eastern Ioullemmeden) from where detailed descriptions are given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1938, p. 54ff.; 1950a, p. 153ff., p. VIII.). For other Southern Tuareg there seem to be no reliable information on the use of T-shaped posts in skin tents. 342 184

The central T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin tents may probably be considered as related to similar posts in certain black tents (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143). This is interesting particularly when viewed in connection with Feilberg's theory that there may perhaps be a certain connection between the black tent and the one-humped camel or dromedary because of approximately similar distributions, and because camels and black tents seem to have arrived in North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Feilberg 1944, p. 117, 225ff.) – a view which has also been accepted by Hatt (Hatt 1944–45, p. 260). Obviously a theory connecting camels and black tents in Northern Africa fits very well with our assumption that the camel was introduced to Ahaggar by noble Tuareg among whom we also find the use of central T-shaped posts characteristic of certain black tents. Accordingly we have to test two theories:– 1) The theory that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin-tents are in fact derived from similar constructions of black tents, and 2) the theory that camels and black tents are historically connected in Northern Africa. 171 342 233 [174]

I think it can be proved that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are derived from similar elements in black tents, and my arguments are the following:– 171 342

1) The Tuareg live in contact with Arab pastoralists who have black tents. It is stated in literature that black tents are common among the Northern Tuareg (Zeltner 1914, p. 364. – Campbell 1928, p. 247), but this is not correct. It is true, however, as already mentioned by Duveyrier, that black tents are used by some Northern Tuareg (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403f.). But as far as my knowledge goes they occur only among the northernmost Kel Ajjer, the Iforas clans, who belong to the religious Ineslemen class and by some Tuareg are claimed to be noble. Black tents seem to be used occasionally in the south by Tuareg who live in close contact with Arabs. But these Tuareg apparently use black tents only when travelling, and not in ordinary camps (Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). Black tents are thus adopted by a few Tuareg, and many Tuareg of the north and the south-west have contact with Arab and Moorish black tent dwellers. [648] [114]

2) The Iforas Tuareg just mentioned use T-shaped posts both in black tents

6:Blanguernon--2 Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

/11/ I

## The Ahaggar

131 The Ahaggar annex, whose administrative seat is Tamanrasset, covers an area of about 375, 000 square kilometers. It is bounded approximately by 1° and 8° east longitude and 19° and 27° north latitude. The exact boundaries are shown on the 1/1, 000, 000-scale map of the Sahara.

The Tropic of Cancer cuts the territory of the annex into two almost equal parts.

A glance at the quadrilateral in the 1/1, 000, 000-scale map shows an immense system of mountains, bounded on the north by the absolutely sterile plain, the Tidikelt, and on the southeast and west by the strictly desert plateaus of the Ténéré and the Tanezrouft.

It seems that the Ahaggar, isolated by its girdle of deserts, became a natural reserve, a world apart from the Sahara, aging alone and preserving some of its original character.

Its location relates the Ahaggar to the Sudan; the vegetation proves it and the population bears traces of it.

After having been a break between Algeria and Black Africa before the French occupation, the Ahaggar is now becoming a link between them.

175 Less than 70 years ago the Ahaggar was completely unknown. The existence of the /12/ Tuareg was merely suspected from
●648 tales told by the Arabs, tales full of error and lacking objectivity.

The advance into Tuareg country was provoked by repeated acts of pillage and destruction by the "blue" men, fierce, independent, and warlike.

The few dates to be found in the appendix show that the French advance into the country was slow and always marked by that humanity which, despite several attacks launched by the Tuareg, never ceased to be the constant concern of all the leaders.

423 /67 cont./ interest in planting trees that he cannot keep. A constant effort at arboriculture cannot be hoped for since the gardener may change frequently, and the successor of a tree planter may be ignorant or unscrupulous and is free to let the planting fail.

Besides the cultivated land, the land through which routes
423 pass has great importance in the Ahaggar. The whole of the
631 territory of the Kel Ahaggar has always been divided among
486 the different Tuareg tribes. Strictly applied oral regulations define the rights and servitudes of a tribe concerning its land.

1) Passage through and watering on the lands of a tribe is the right of other Tuareg.

2) No one may sojourn on the lands of a tribe without the consent of that tribe's chief.

3) Whoever follows travelers' routes through land belonging to a tribe is responsible for any damage caused by him or his animals to the trees, wells, foggaras, gardens, and game. Here are several penalties: one goat for a broken tree branch;
[685] one sheep for damage caused /68/ by a poorly watched herd; a camel for damage caused by camels; part or all of any game killed. When a camel runs away, the owner is not responsible; he must even be told and helped. It is forbidden to put animals in a pasture where plants have not attained maximum growth.

4) The amenokal may sometimes authorize tribes to sojourn on the lands of a certain tribe, in case there is an abundance of pasturage on these lands.

The servitudes of the tribes are the normal consequence of their nomadic life, but the rights concerning the land passed through bring to light a characteristic of the Tuareg: their love of the land. These nomads, who should seek the most abundant pastures, whose every interest calls them toward the Sudan, remain attached to their soil. They observe regulations suitable for sedentary peoples.

● 648 Let us note that there is no agricultural exploitation directed by Europeans in the Ahaggar. The principal reason for this abstention is the meager yield to be expected; the reduction

648 /68 cont./ of the underground water level, which often results in the abandonment of a site, does not permit a costly installation. About ten years ago, a former sergeant-major of the Sahara corps settled at Tiguenouine, a small center 70 kilometers south of Tamanrasset; he quickly gave up his idea of farming and became a nomad. Another Frenchman, a retired soldier, nomadizes in the Tin-Zaouaten region; he leads a life like the Tuareg, and his herds prosper.

Officials reside at Tamanrasset, lodged in administration quarters which sometimes have a small garden for family use. The community maintains a large garden where experiments in farming and arboriculture are carried out.

241 The Tuareg, as we said, are the only landowners; let us now see how they utilize their lands. As in all countries under Moslem influence, the method of agriculture is the "khamassa," with certain local variations. The khammès usually is a hartani,/69/ a Negro originally from the Tidikelt or a freed slave.

The agricultural system in the Ahaggar is supported by the foggara, which should water six to eight gardens. The proprietor of the foggara, generally a Targui, engages one khammes per garden. He will look among the harratin of the village for gardeners who will come to terms with him. An
241 oral contract is made between the proprietor and the khammès,
675 before witnesses. This contract may be summarized thus:

The proprietor agrees, first of all, to provide the land, which he has rented from the amenokal. He must also provide his gardener with water from the foggara he has had dug, with a "mesaha" (hoe), and with the necessary seed. In addition, the proprietor must clear the land at his own expense and must see to the improvement of the soil. He must advance the hartani food in the amount of 60 guessa of millet per year.

In exchange, the khammès undertakes the work in the fields, the threshing, and the upkeep of the foggara.

As "salary" he collects a fifth of the harvest. He also receives the fallen and gleaned ears, the harvest from ten

103 /188 cont./ effect. An admirable and almost unique thing
361 in the Ahaggar is the circle of mountains which surrounds the
621 village; from the south bank of the wadi the view at sunrise or sunset is sensational.

At the present time Tamanrasset has some 20 foggara and a dozen tanout. The owners of the foggara are: the commune, some Adjouh n'Téhélé, some Tédjéhé n'Néfis, some harratin, and some merchants. The foggara are from four to five kilometers long. The gardens extend nearly six kilometers from the ksar /former fortified village/ of the Adriane to the ksar of Teggert. The cultivated area is about 70 hectares, counting the gardens of the small center of Tihegouine three kilometers downstream, watered by a foggara.

The commune owns a magnificent garden where all sorts of fruit trees are tried; it sets an example for the local gardeners. Many European houses have a small garden irrigated by foggara or by well.

The present population is about 2,000 residents. This enormous growth in population presents a terrible /189/ water problem. It appears that an agricultural center in the Ahaggar cannot grow indefinitely without considering hydraulic works.

103 Tamanrasset, although favored from the point of view of
361 water resources, is a proof of what could be attempted in the
621 other agricultural centers if the French could advise the
648 harratin and furnish them examples.

The French population is divided in the following way:

A captain, annex head, administrator of the commune.

Two or three officer assistants.

Secretaries.

A school. Seven teachers, three of them nomads.

An observatory of global physics. Three physicists.

A telecommunications service. Four radio operators, two weather men.

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/189 cont. / A branch of the Company of Tropical Transportation.

An auxiliary postal receipts office.

A hotel.

A few retired persons at Tamanrasset without occupation.

From the military point of view, Tamanrasset is generally the base for a company of the camel corps. Units of the Saharan Engineer corps maintain the road from In-Salah to Tamanrasset and Agadez.

The French population totals about 120 persons; this number is subject to frequent fluctuations.

The number of Mozabite and Arab merchants, including their families, comes to about 100 individuals.

There are about 1, 900 harratin, an approximate figure, for many gardeners come and go from one agricultural center to another.

It is impossible to speak of Tamanrasset without thinking of General Laperrine and Father de Foucauld. The body of the general rests at Tamanrasset near the tomb where the priest was buried after his tragic death. The bordj where Father de Foucauld lived during the last years of his life is a tourist attraction; it is also possible to visit the hermitage built by the Father on the wadi's left bank.

/190/ Near the village of Adriane are found the tombs of Moussa ag Amastane, the Laperrine's amenokal friend, and of Dassine, the famous poetess.

In the house which was Moussa ag Amastane's, the maalmines, artisans of the Tuareg tribes, work.

Tamanrasset, administrative center, a necessary stop on the road from French West Africa and from French East Africa, is also an airplane stop destined to become more and more important.

Tourism tends to conquer the Ahaggar; the Touring Club of France has organized excursion caravans for several years. Scientists from all fields, enlightened travelers,

103 /190 cont./ mountain climbers in quest of virgin peaks, are
361 attracted to the still little-known country. For all of them
62 Tamanrasset is a departure base but not a place to linger.
[148]

Tissenaouine

In the Tissenaouine wadi at its confluence with the Tamanrasset wadi. One foggara belonging to a hartani. Very well-cultivated garden.

Tagrambaît

In the Tamanrasset wadi, 15 kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Three foggara, well-cultivated gardens. Little possibility for growth.

Amsel (altitude: 1, 180 meters)

Located in the Amsel wadi a little before its confluence with the Tamanrasset wadi, about 30 kilometers south of Tamanrasset.

The owners of the gardens are the Adjouh n'Téhélé and the Tédjéhé n'Néfis. The gardens are located upstream and downstream from the tiggert, a veritable stream of running water where abundant tahli grow. Six foggara and three tanout. There are about 60 residents. The cultivable surface totals 30 hectares; there would be possibilities for extending the center downstream. Several fruit trees.

Intnérin

In the Tamanrasset wadi seven kilometers south of Amsel. Tiggert and numerous tahli. Two foggara. Unimportant /191/ center, with no possibility for growth. Boxed-in, very hot valley.

Idikel

In the Tamanrasset wadi 15 kilometers south of Amsel. Difficult to reach by auto. Three foggara and two tanout. Large amount of cultivable land but endangered by the big floods of the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tiguenouine

In the Tamanrasset wadi seven kilometers south of Tamanrasset. A large amount of tahli at the Amelalouline tiggert. Three foggara, abundant water.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



167 tion into Ayr many Tuareg of that region emigrated, and some of them settled as far away as Darfur where they and their descendants still live near El Fasher. Another emigration took place after the 349 Tuareg revolt against the French in 4917. Many Tuareg of the *Kel Ayr* and the *Iwillemmeden* fled to 162 Northern Nigeria to settle in villages and towns around Kano and Katsena. According to Rodd about 30.000 Ayr Tuareg fled to Nigeria after the revolt (Rodd 1926a, p. 361).

161 According to statistics for the period 1933–38 the total number of Tuareg living in the Algerian Sahara and to the south in the republics of Niger and Soudan is estimated by Lhote to be about 240.000.

162 They were divided among the main groups as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Kel Ahaggar* | 4.254 |
| *Kel Ajjer* | 1.508 |
| *Kel Adrar* | 4.223 |
| *Kel Ayr & Kel Geres* | 27.765 |
| *Iwillemmeden* | 161.160 |
| *Tengerregif* | 40.000 |

162 These figures need certain corrections. Thus the *Kel Ajjer* are more numerous than indicated by the 161 above figure, which does not include Tuareg of that group living in Libya. On the other hand the 567 figure for *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg is much too high; it includes about 94.000 negroid slaves which should be deducted, as slaves are not included in the other figures. Nevertheless, Lhote believes that the actual number of free Tuareg is about 300.000 as the birth rate is on the increase. Thus statistics for 1950 indicate that there are 4.611 fairskinned Tuareg in Ahaggar (Lhote 1955a, p. 157). Nicolas assumes that there are about 500.000 Sudanese Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. Avertissement). This figure is, no doubt, too high. If we assume that there are in all 300.000 Tuareg, we find that the two northern groups *Kel Ajjer & Kel Ahaggar* living in the true desert country constitute about three per cent of the total Tuareg population.*

197 The Tuareg language is known as *tamahaq* in the two northern groups, *tamachek* in the south. It has four main branches or dialects, namely 1) *tahaggart* spoken by the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*; 2) *tadraq* spoken by the Tuareg of *Adrar-n-Foras*; 3) *tayrt* spoken by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*; 4) *tawllemmet* spoken by the *Iwillemmeden* and other Sudanese Tuareg. Grammatically these four dialects are closely related, but there are important distinctions in pronunciation and vocabulary. The dialects are on the whole mutually intelligible.

212 The alphabet known as *tifinar* is known in all Tuareg groups. It is related to the ancient Libyan script. Several authors have stated that *tifinar* is not so widely known among the modern Tuareg as it was in the past. It is true that certain Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arabic alphabet, but it is very difficult even nowadays to find adult Tuareg who do not know their proper script which is also widely used for letters. This, anyway, is true of the Tuareg groups I have visited, and it must be added that I have never found any proof of the statement so frequently seen in literature that the alphabet is

* Considering the statistics for 1933–38 (240.000 ÷ 94.000) the total number of true Tuareg in 1950 would appear to be lower than 300.000.

565 619 *Imrad* (sing. *Amerid*). People of this class are sometimes called "serfs" in literature, but the word "vassals" is also used. I prefer to use the latter term, but add that the word *Imrad* is most difficult to translate into an European language. The vassal class is represented in all groups with the exception of the *Kel Gerres*. Among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwillemmeden* the word *Kel Ulli* (sing. *Agg Ulli*) is used synonymously with *Imrad*. Among south-western Tuareg around Timbuktu the word *Daga* or *Daga* is also used to designate vassals. The *Imrad* class is by far the most numerous in most groups. The relationship between these vassals (*Imrad*) and the noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, *Imajeren*) forms the basis of most political systems which are described later (p. 393 ff.).

101 565 Members of the above-mentioned classes are true Tuareg, though the word *Ineslemen* is also used for marabuts of other peoples and for marabuts of various black-skinned castes found among the Tuareg. Among the Northern Tuareg all people of the above-mentioned classes with the exception of certain *Ineslemen* or marabuts are called *Imuhar* (sing. *Amuhar*). The Ayr Tuareg have no such common term to designate the people known to us as *Tuareg*, but occasionally they use generically the word *Imajeren* though strictly speaking this term should be reserved for Tuareg of the supreme noble class.

101 The word *Tuareg* (sing. *Targi*) is never used by the Tuareg themselves, but by Arabs. Duveyrier claims it to be derived from an Arabic word of the root *terek* meaning "to abandon". The meaning of the word accordingly should be "those abandoned (by God)", and should refer to the fact that many Tuareg do not follow Islamic rules very strictly (Duveyrier 1864, p. 317 f.). The same explanation has also been given to me by an Arab of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe of Tidikelt. However, the origin of the word "*Tuareg*" is perhaps a different one: – It may be related to the word *Targa* (Ayr) or *Targa* (Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer), which name is used by the Tuareg to designate the part of the Sahara generally known to us by the Arabic word *Fezzan*. This is very likely, as we know from Arab authors of the Middle Ages that the word *Targa* or *Targa* was then used as a name for a very important Tuareg group living in that area and adjacent regions (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 83 f.; Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 534; Rodd 1926a, p. 273 f.).

142 144 The Tuareg are fair-skinned people who in certain regions and particularly in the south have mixed with Negroes. The Northern Tuareg are predominantly fair-skinned, and many of them are as "white" as Europeans though perhaps a little yellowish or brownish. It is difficult to determine their exact skin colour because they are burned and tanned by the sun and the hot wind characteristic of desert climate. In addition, the Tuareg wear clothes dyed with indigo which comes off on the body, and they rarely wash. When I lived among them my own skin-colour and that of the Tuareg were practically identical. Among the Ayr Tuareg there are also many fair-skinned people, but the Ayr Tuareg are more mixed with Negroes than the Northern Tuareg, and most *Kel Ewey* are predominantly negroid. Very mixed also are the *Kel Geres* and the same seems to hold for other Tuareg groups of the south. A few blond individuals have been recorded from the *Kel Ajjer* living around the oases of Rat and Radames, and they may be the offspring of unions between Tuareg women and caravan traders of the north (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 162 f.). The blond individuals met in Southern Ayr are the offspring of the fairly numerous marriages between Frenchmen and Tuareg women, but it is claimed that a few years ago a very blond girl was born to parents of families which had never contracted marriages

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 7. Tuareg boy of the vassal tribe *Imezhureg* in Ayr.

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Foucauld states that it does not refer to black skin-colour but only to membership of a particular caste (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 787). However, Tuareg slaves are Negroes taken during raids and warfare in the Sudan or bought from slave markets in Sudanese towns and cities. The Sudanese origin of slaves is also indicated by the Ahaggar word *Ibenheren* (sing. *Ébenher*), which term refers to a slave who speaks only a Sudanese language. It is frequently used by Northern Tuareg as an abuse of their slaves, particularly of slave children. Among the Northern Tuareg slavery is still practised with the tacit consent of the French military administration. Most Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have slaves to take care of flocks and herds and to perform various domestic tasks. These slaves live in pastoral camps of the Tuareg, and in Ahaggar they have frequently told me that they felt superior to the black-skinned agriculturists though the latter largely descend from freed slaves. In the Southern Tuareg groups slavery is officially abolished, perhaps because the Southern Tuareg are governed by civil administrators. But it seems as if the official abolition of slavery in the south was also a result of the Tuareg revolt against the French 1916–1917, and very few Ayr Tuareg have slaves nowadays. However, the manumission of slaves is not just a recent phenomenon due to European influence. Slaves have been freed long before the advent of French colonization at the beginning of our century. There are in the south whole groups of slaves who have been manumitted at an unknown date in the past, and these people are known among the Ayr Tuareg by the term *Irawélen* most of whom are nomadic stock-breeders culturally akin to true pastoral Tuareg. They are also known by the Hausa term *Buzu*, which term again corresponds to the Sonray word *Béllа*. This latter word, however, may sometimes refer also to people who are considered a kind of slaves by the Tuareg. Nicolas divides the freed slaves among the *Iwllemmeden* into three groups, viz. *Iklan-n-Egef*, *Irawelan*, and *Iderfan*. The two first groups comprise pastoralists also known as *Buzu*, or *Béllа*, while most members of the last

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Fig. 47. The *akalu* rope noosed around the lower jaw of a pack-camel and prevented from loosening by the insertion of a small stick. Ayr, *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg.

*492 721 played an important part for all Tuareg. Raiding expeditions were carried out to gain all kinds of booty, but camels were the main objective, and it was difficult to carry off other kinds of domestic animals over long distances. Thus camels were the main cause of raiding and also the means by which 721 raiding expeditions were carried out. In Ahaggar large scale raiding stopped long ago with the advent 175 of the French at the beginning of our century, though it recovered again during the revolt of 1916–17. This was also true of Ayr, but it seems as if raiding in and around this Massif continued still later 685 (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 187 ff. & Buchanan 1921, p. 209 ff.). Nowadays raiding has ceased everywhere among the Tuareg, but theft of camels has been on the increase in the south. There are many camel thieves among the Ayr Tuareg, for it is very easy to steal grazing camels during the night and to lead them to some distant market and sell them. The Tuareg claim that in pre-European times there were [640] hardly any camel thieves in Ayr as such persons were punished very severely. They say that the theft of camels became normal with the French who have great difficulty in proving the guilt of thieves.

[text continues on p. 70]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



685 One of the principal tasks of the Ayr camel patrol consists in hunting down camel thieves to take
●648 them to Agadez and prove their guilt. Most Tuareg sympathize with this judicial work of the French but claim that it is too ineffective.

232 The Tuareg still take a very great interest in the breeding of riding camels, and extremely good
*492 riding animals are occasionally sold for a price equal to that paid for five or six normal camels. When
[835] a calf is born they at once recognize whether it will be well fitted for riding or not, for there are certain basic characteristics of riding camels. Ideally they should have a relatively short body, be deep-chested, and of high stature with small feet and slender limbs. For pack-camels they prefer heavy and strong animals with very large feet. Both for riding and for transportation they prefer bulls or castrated animals. Geldings are calmer than bull-camels which are often very fierce and dangerous when she-camels are on heat. Rutting bull-camels may even attack people, and they will fight each other – sometimes with the result that one of them is bitten to death. But there is another reason for castration. For bull-camels which have not been allowed to mate freely with she-camels are generally not very difficult to handle. Castration makes bull-camels stronger and more enduring as they more easily grow fat and get larger humps than non-castrated animals. Castration is never carried out until the bull-camel is fully grown, and both in Ahaggar and in Ayr castration is performed comparatively late when the animals are about five or six years old, or later. Many bull-camels are castrated at an age of ten or eleven years.

*233 She-camels are not generally used for riding and transportation, but are reserved for breeding.
*492 But some Tuareg may use their she-camels even for extensive trading expeditions, and there are Tuareg who prefer to ride she-camels because of their smoother walk. If a Tuareg has a very good she-camel as a riding animal he may even desire to prevent it from mating by the insertion of a very small pebble into the uterus of the she-camel which will then not be able to mate until the pebble is removed. However,

Fig. 50. The headgear known as *akeskabba*. The upper iron shackle resting upon the bridge of the nose is called *akeskabba*, the lower shackle to be tightened against the chin is known as *amadri*. The two shackles are connected with a rein of ornamented leather, the other end of which is fastened to the nostril ring (*tighmar*). Ahaggar, the *Ikkar-en-tawsit* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*492 that it is manufactured by pastoral Tuareg of these regions and not by blacksmiths, though the latter
[564] may also make such saddles for their own use. The wooden structure is made of two cross-bars, which
[412] are natural prongs fashioned with knife and axe, and these two cross-bars are lashed to each other at their lower ends, or are connected with each other by means of two sticks crossing each other at
[124] the two sides. A wreath of slender roots of *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) covered with a network of dum
[283] palm rope may serve as a saddle seat, which can also be covered with a piece of matting plaited from
[285] the leaves of the dum palm tree. This very simple saddle may perhaps be considered the prototype of the more developed riding saddles of the *térik* and *tahyast* types.

All the above-mentioned types of riding saddles are placed in front of the camel's hump and rest upon two to four saddle cloths, the number depending upon their quality and also upon the nutritional condition of the animal. Two saddle-cloths are considered enough for a fat camel while four should be applied to a very thin one. Saddle cloths are frequently called *ésatfar* (Ayr) or *asetfer* (Ahaggar), but this name is in fact used for everything placed upon the back of an animal to protect it against galling from the luggage and/or the saddle. Saddle cloths for camels are properly termed *éselis* (Ayr)
[286] and *ameslaḳ* (Ahaggar). Both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr saddle cloths are generally made of cotton, but they are also made from dum palm matting and a piece of leather among the Ayr Tuareg (Figs. 66–67). The riding saddles are fixed to the camel by a single girth known as *ahayif*
[237] (Ahaggar) or *azuw* (Ayr). In the north such girths are normally made from goat-hair while the Ayr Tuareg use plaited leather (goat-skin). Girths in both regions are frequently furnished with a very
[541] large tassel hanging down from the right side of the camel (Fig. 69). On rare occasions when the Tuareg
[648] ride their camels with all possible speed, e.g., at the annual camel races organized by the French administration, the riders often secure the position of their saddles by means of a long cord (*ihuéweren* among the Northern Tuareg) tied around the hind part of the camel as shown by the photograph Fig. 68.

The camel rider sits in the saddle cross-leged with his feet resting upon the camel's neck. To accelerate the speed of his riding animal he pushes one of his feet against its neck in step with the rocking gait
*492 peculiar to camels. A whip (*alekkoḍ*) also belongs to the equipment of the rider. Most whips have a
237 single lash made from a twisted strip of hide, but whips provided with two lashes of hide attached to a wooden handle are also found and are common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Figs. 70a–b). The whips used in the north are said to be made from camel's hide soaked in water; the raw hide is twisted and kept in this position until it is dry. The Ayr Tuareg say that camel's hide is not well fitted for whips, which among them are manufactured from the raw hide of a newly-killed ox. A piece of this hide is twisted and left to dry as in the north. The handle of the one-lash whip is made of cotton wrapped around the upper part of the lash and covered with coloured goat-skin.

*492 The Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular implement to hasten the speed of riding camels. It is described in literature notably by Foucauld. It consists of a slender iron rod 0.35–0.50 metres long, fixed into a wooden handle. It has a small crook much like that of a staple and is used for scratching the animal and thus to incite it to greater speed. It is called *azalla*, or *asekred* (Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 856 & IV, p. 1960). I have never seen this peculiar implement among the Tuareg.

*492 A camel rider's equipment comprises various types of skin bags of which the most common is a
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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525
Fulani M511



The most dangerous African cattle disease is the rinderpest. It is known to have entered Egypt in the year 1884 from the regions around the Black Sea, and about 1890, or somewhat later, it came to Eastern Africa and to the Sudan. Rinderpest is nowadays widely found in Africa but it is rare or unknown in Northern Tuareg countries. Rinderpest is apparently very rare in the Ayr Massif and it occurs mainly south of the Massif in savannah country. The Tuareg have no remedy against this disease. It is stated by St. Croix that the Fulani of Northern Nigeria once deliberately exposed their cattle to mild rinderpest to make them immune from this disease in its more severe and dangerous form. However, this method did not work and the Fulani gave up further experiments of this kind. It is also mentioned by St. Croix that the Fulani practise a kind of vaccination against cattle pleuro-pneumonia and that this is done as follows:— A piece of infected lung is put into milk for two to three days and thereupon placed into a small opening cut under the nose-skin of the animal. The method is claimed to be effective (St. Croix 1944, p. 24 f.). Vaccination methods are also known to some of the Southern Tuareg, e.g. the *Iwillemmeden*. These people vaccinate human beings against small-pox by inserting the pus of this disease into wounds cut with a knife (Aymard 1911, p. 108), and they also vaccinate their cattle against cattle pleuro-pneumonia ("peripneumonie bovine"). They do this in much the same way as described above for the Fulani:— An infected piece of lung is placed in sour milk or in the soil for a few days, and is thereupon inserted under the skin of the forehead. Nicolas describes the method as dangerous because the infection attacks the whole forehead and also the nose-bone (Nicolas 1950a, p. 133), but two veterinary surgeons who practised among the *Iwillemmeden* of Tawa told me that they considered this kind of vaccination effective. The method is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg of the Massif where this contagious lung-disease is unknown or very rare.

I have no great knowledge of the contagious diseases in the Tuareg groups I have studied, but such diseases seem to occur comparatively rarely, and there is no veterinary surgeon attached to the French administration of Northern Tuareg countries. There is one veterinary surgeon in Agadez, but his most important field of work lies outside of the mountain massif to the south.

Among the *Kel Fewan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr I have been told about two contagious diseases which, when they occur, may give rise to very heavy losses. One of these diseases is known to the Tuareg as *chonga*. It attacks only cows, which die very quickly, but if cattle suffering from the disease are ritually killed their meat is nevertheless considered edible. One Tuareg told me that some years ago about thirty cattle of his camp died in one day from an attack of *chonga*.

The other contagious disease I have recorded from Southern Ayr is called *sendert*. It attacks sheep and goats, and I collected the following notes about it:— The blood penetrates the animal's flesh which becomes quite red. If sheep or goats suffer from *sendert* and are ritually killed for eating, very great care must be taken in the preparation of the meat. It must be boiled until it contains no blood, and must not be eaten until it is cold and dry. It is said that if these precautions are not taken the people who eat meat from animals suffering from *sendert* will themselves become attacked by the disease, with the result that blood and pus may penetrate the skin at any part of the body. They say that a man who has eaten unboiled meat of an animal suffering from this disease with consequent infection is treated in the following way:— A species of ant more venomous than the normal small

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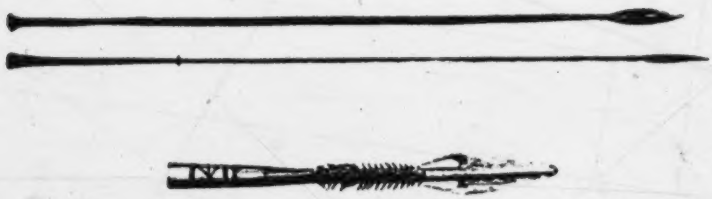

Fig. 112a–c. Tuareg spears.

a. Spear of the *tarda* type used for hunting. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 1.80 m (N.M. G. 1.156).
b. Iron spear of the *allor* type which is mainly a war weapon. Ahaggar, Collected by Olufsen. Dimension 1.82 m (N.M. G. 1.155).
c. Iron point of the barbed Tebu lance (*tarde*) occasionally used by the Ayr Tuareg. Dimension: 0.265 m (N.M. G. 6619).

224 they are eagerly pursued by many rifle-owning nomads. Lhote estimates that in the year 1939 the Ahaggar Tuareg killed 300 barbary sheep by means of their traditional hunting methods, while in the winter season 1949–50 more than 200 animals were killed with rifles in the central parts of Ahaggar [432] (Lhote 1955a, p. 284). In 1954 the meat of one barbary sheep was sold for 4000 French francs, the [648] hide for 2000 francs. Though hunting of these animals is officially prohibited by the French, it *is* tacitly permitted and meat is frequently sold at the market place of Tamanrasset.

The traditional methods used mainly in hunting gazelle and barbary sheep are as follows:—

[411] (1) The spear (*tarda;* Fig. 112a) is nowadays used mainly by slaves, who never possess rifles. Before [562] rifles became common it was the typical hunting weapon of all vassal Tuareg. Hunting with the spear [565] takes place during the hottest time of the day, when the animals hide under rocks and trees to seek protection from the burning sun and the flies. It is then possible to creep very close to the game, and even the otherwise very shy barbary sheep can be taken in this way. When the hunter is close to the hiding place of a barbary sheep he claps his hand, and the animal rises, bewildered, and is then speared. In the past many barbary sheep were killed in this way, and it is said that a skilled and lucky hunter may even secure four or five animals in one day.

[171] (2) The use of stalking animals. Hunting by this method is used by some African stock-breeders (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 97 ff.). There is a detailed description of the use of camels trained for this purpose among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara (Harding King 1903, p. 171 ff.). As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not train their camels for stalking, but on journeys they frequently hide behind their animals to approach and kill gazelle. In this case the hunting weapon is normally a rifle. But the method is perhaps an ancient one and used also for other hunting weapons in the past, as game animals do not fear domestic animals among which they frequently graze in the desert. In fact, [172] the ancient use of stalking animals in Northern Africa is clearly substantiated by a rock engraving at

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175 721 added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was also fighting within these groups at intervals.

[648] [378] The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwllemmeden* and the Arab pastoralists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg frequently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

[437] Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite of these latent conditions of hostility.

175 437 Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays. They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter, cheese, and the like.

175 437 484 The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times, but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* who dominated the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays. [439] They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also [438] say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All [317] this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadror were not utilized in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then [361] [162] travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could not defend itself against raiders.

175 567 It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading [648] until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in [171] this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

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those of Tasilé-n-Ajjer and the *Kel Geres*. I have been informed by *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg of the *Kel Dennek* group, whom I met in Ayr, that they live on millet to much the same extent as the Ayr Tuareg, and that some of them have gardens cultivated by negroid agriculturists. For the *Kel Dennek* it is expressively stated by Nicolas that they cannot live on milk, that they kill comparatively few of their animals, and that they largely live on cereals obtained not only by collecting. Some of the Tuareg mentioned by Nicolas are described as semi-nomads (Nicolas 1950a, p. 145 ff.). Among the Southern Tuareg living further west in the Sudanese savannahs (the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram*), agricultural products are very important to the pastoralists who may possess gardens along the banks of the Niger, these gardens being cultivated by the *Bélla* (Aymard 1911, p. 117; Miner 1953, p. 60 ff.).

Nowadays there are no Tuareg who subsist without agricultural products, a few of them (the *Kel Ajjer*) practise a primitive type of agriculture in the river valleys, and within all groups there seem to be Tuareg who have turned to irrigation farming as their most important occupation. In the following section I discuss briefly the subject of Tuareg economy in the past.

## TUAREG ECONOMY IN THE PAST

Tuareg culture was not profoundly altered by the advent of European military administration around the beginning of the present century. Their traditional material culture has persisted largely unchanged up to the present day. The major change has been the abolition of warfare and consequently the breakdown of the traditional political system, but the abolition of warfare also led to important changes in the organization of caravan trading.

Raiding expeditions were carried out in some Tuareg groups even after the arrival of the Europeans, who established small garrisons in the oases and had camel patrols roaming the country as they have nowadays. Buchanan thus describes a raid carried out by Ahaggar Tuareg against the Ayr village of Timia in the year 1920 (Buchanan 1921, p. 207 ff.), and raids have not been entirely unknown in Ayr even later, though the raiders have then been severely handicapped by the establishment of the French wireless stations which enabled the camel patrols of different areas to communicate with each other (Rodd 1926a, p. 188). Raiding have nowadays stopped, but before the European penetration and conquest it was so to speak an industry to be mentioned with other subsistence activities.

The Ahaggar Tuareg were known as prominent raiders and warriors in the past. The two dominent chiefdoms within the group of Ahaggar Tuareg, the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ*, frequently raided the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg and the Arabs living north of Timbuktu, as these southern pastoralists were very rich in livestock and in slaves. Some of these Tuareg and Arabs even paid fixed dues to chiefs of the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Taytoḳ* in order that they should not be raided by Tuareg of these groups. However, these annual payments did not safeguard against raiding (cf. p. 401 f.). It seems as if the south-bound raiding expeditions were mainly profitable to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who could not so easily be raided in return by the Southern Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg also raided other neighbouring pastoralists such as the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the powerful Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* with whom they had frequent and very serious quarrels; these people raided the Ahaggar Tuareg in return. It can be

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292 ceremonial ridings as those described on p. 104 f. I have been informed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr that bandoleers were used exclusively for such purposes. Rodd depicts a rock-drawing from Timia in Ayr and believes that it perhaps represents a man wearing a bandoleer (Rood 1926a, p. 194, pl. 40 p. 305). This may be so, but I have been told by Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group that bandoleers were introduced among the Ayr Tuareg by the French when they formed the camel patrol made up of Tuareg from different Ayr tribes. However, my informants also claimed that the use of bandoleers for camel riders was an ancient custom in the north among the Ahaggar Tuareg, from where it was introduced to Ayr by the French. Informants of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer told me that the custom was traditional to noble Tuareg but not to vassals, though Tuareg of the vassal class also wear bandoleers nowadays.

[172] [648] [565]

291 Apart from the head-cloth (*ékerhey*) the following garments are typical of Northern Tuareg women:— (1) *tékamist*, that is a large and wide shirt of cotton, in form and cut identical with the man's shirt; (2) *asegbes*, a large piece of cotton used for a skirt or a petticoat; this is fixed tightly around the waist merely by folding it at the upper edge; (3) *tikest*, a large piece of cotton worn as a shawl over the shoulders and head, covering the head-cloth.

In addition to the head-cloth (*adalil*), which they frequently wear rolled up on the top of the head, Tuareg women of the *Kel Ferwan* group wear three main garments:— (1) *aftek*, a very short shirt of poncho cut. It is very akin to the shirt worn by Hausa-speaking women of Agadez, who use the words

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Fig. 237. Slave-boy wearing the loin-cloth depicted above Fig. 238. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

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# Tuareg Culture, History, and African Culture complexes

In the preceding Chapters I have mentioned most cultural traits connected with Tuareg subsistence activities. In this Chapter I attempt to view some of these traits in the light of history and the historical theories which have found their expression in the establishment of African culture complexes. I wish to emphasize at the very beginning that this investigation must omit some important traits of Tuareg culture as there is no historical information about them and because good descriptions of stock-breeding techniques are lacking in the case of most pastoralists of Africa and Asia. Consequently it is very difficult to compare in great detail Tuareg culture with other pastoral cultures. 121

## TUAREG CULTURE AND HISTORY

True historical sources which elucidate the development of African cultures are very scanty and cover only a very short period. We know that most African cultures in recent times have been much influenced by Europeans and their culture, and that some cultures were changed fundamentally at an earlier period owing to Arab migrations and the introduction of Islam. We know that North Africa during antiquity was strongly influenced by Romans and Greeks, and still earlier by the Phoenicians. We possess from North Africa a few valuable written records from olden times and from Egypt we have earlier historical documents which help us to understand certain aspects of cultural evolution. 175 177

The occupation of Ahaggar and Ayr by the French has led to a growing cultural influence from Islam and the Arabs. Ahaggar was conquered by Arab soldiers under the command of French officers, and even nowadays a very large number of Arabs serve in the camel patrols of Ahaggar with Tuareg camel riders. Some of these Arab soldiers marry Tuareg women, and many of them settle in Ahaggar when they have retired from military service. Other Arabs and Arabic-speaking *Harratin* of Tidikelt have immigrated after the French occupation of the country. The number of people who speak Arabic as their mother tongue is not doubt increasing, and Arabic is understood and even spoken by many Tuareg men though generally unknown to Tuareg women. Added to this, the Arabs have acquired a high prestige not only on account of Islam but also because Arabic has been adopted as the main language of the administration in Ahaggar. The officers who act as administrators in Ahaggar speak and write Arabic while with rare exceptions they do not know the Tuareg language. For all these reasons certain cultural traits of the Arabs have been introduced into Ahaggar after the French occupation. [648] [167] [197] [191] [829]

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177 Arab cultural traits have played a less important part in Ayr, where there are very few Arabs apart
162 from the merchants living at Agadez. The Arabs in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, have a certain religious prestige
189 but I have also heard Tuareg say that they did not like Arabs much because of their bad manners, and mainly because the Arabs talk too much and lack the peculiar type of quiet reservation characteristic of so many Tuareg. It seems as if the French administrators of Ayr have been responsible for the introduction of certain Arab cultural traits, but they have not made Arabic an official language
191 of the administration. Apart from the marabuts there are very few Ayr Tuareg who have some knowledge of Arabic. The French administration of Ayr, belonging to the former territory of French
148 West Africa, has led to the immigration of many Sudanese people of negroid type. Clerks and lower
167 officials working in Agadez have mainly come from Dahomey.

175 The Arabs and Islam came to North Africa at a very early date. The first invasion of Arabs took
177 place in the 7th century A.D. and brought Islam and traits of Oriental town-dwelling civilization into a narrow belt of North Africa along the Mediterranean. There is an Arab tradition according
173 to which the first followers of Mohammed came to Central Sahara and to the Tuareg as early as the 7th century, but there is also a tradition among the Ahaggar Tuareg saying that Islam was introduced among them by a marabut of the Almoravids (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 347 f.). It is very possible that certain Tuareg groups of the extreme north were influenced by Islam and the Arabs after the first invasion, but more important was the second invasion of the 11th century when the Northern Sahara was occupied by Arab bedouins from Egypt and, ultimately, from Arabia. This so-called *Hilalian Invasion* comprised various large tribal groups:— (1) the *Beni Sulaim* (or *B. Soliman*) who settled in Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and in the adjacent parts of Algerian Sahara where some of the present *Chambu* Arabs claim descent from this tribal group; (2) the *Beni Hilal* who settled further west in the Sahara south of Algerian and Moroccan Atlas; the important Arab tribe *Ulad Bu Ḥammu* of Tidikelt claim descent from this Hilalian group; (3) the smaller tribal group named *Makil*; this followed the *Beni Hilal* but occupied grazing grounds further west in the desert country of Morocco.
175 These tribal groups largely influenced the Tuareg, and there seems to be little doubt that many Tuareg
648 pastoralists were driven southwards owing to the invasion of Arab nomads, who settled in Tripolitania and the Fezzan. But these Arab pastoralists could not everywhere defeat the pastoral Tuareg. In Ibn Khaldun's day the frontier dividing the Arab bedouins from pastoral Tuareg followed mainly the great belt of sand-hills running from east to west in the Northern Sahara. Now and then the Arabs carried out raids against the Tuareg, but Ibn Khaldun says that the Arab raiders were always attacked by the Tuareg and suffered severe losses (Ibn Khaldun I p. 191, II p. 104 f.). The penetration of Arab pastoral groups into the Central Sahara is outlined by Capot-Rey who states (1) that the Berber tribes inhabiting Tripolitania, Tunisia, and adjacent regions were quickly Arabized, (2) that the Western Tuareg of Mauritania were conquered more recently by the *Makil* Arabs, (3) that elsewhere in the Sahara the Tuareg were not only able to defend most of their territory, but also to assimilate certain Arab tribes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 191 f.). This latter statement is correct. Contact between Arabs and Tuareg has also led to the adoption of Tuareg cultural traits by many Arab pastoralists, and even the very powerful Arab tribe, the *Ulad Bu Ḥammu* of Tidikelt, lived in pre-European times very much like the Tuareg in leather tents and dressed like the Tuareg. Various Arab tribes of the Sudan

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are also very akin to the Tuareg in culture, but have preserved some Arab traits of material culture and their traditional social organization in addition to their language, though they also know *tamachek*. We are here concerned only with traits adopted into Tuareg culture from contact with the Arabs. 175 648

In the description of Tuareg culture I have already pointed out many cultural traits due to Arab influence. I have mentioned such traits in connection with food-preparation (p. 232, 237 ff, 247 ff) and dress (p. 303 f.). I have also mentioned the introduction of cultivation methods and cultivated plants owing to contact with Arabs and the Arabic-speaking *Harratin* (p. 186 ff.), and I have stated that it seems as if new types or new breeds of domestic animals were introduced to North Africa by the invading Arabs. Cats and domestic pigeons seem to be post-Arabian in the Sahara (p. 115 f.), the true grey-hound came to Tuareg country with the Arabs, who also introduced the particular horse-breed known as the *Aryen* type (p. 113). Doutressoulle relates a native tradition to the effect that this breed came to the Begzen Mountains with Arabs of Tripolitania (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238 f., 242). Horses of this breed are introduced to Ayr from the north even to-day, but as far as I know the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* do not use the Arab type of saddle or the very broad stirrups typical of the northern horse-riding Arabs. They generally use very narrow stirrups for the insertion of one or two toes. These stirrups were possibly introduced to the Western Sudan with the Dongolawi breed. It came from Upper Egypt at the end for the 13th century A.D. when the *Djoheyna* Arabs immigrated (Mauny 1961, p. 283). 177 [192]

I have mentioned above (p. 54 ff.) that there are two main types of camels among the Northern Tuareg:— (1) a northern Arab breed (*marroki*) characterized by heavy stature and a thick covering of wool, and (2) a southern breed more slenderly built and with little or no wool – a breed which is typical to the Tuareg. Medieval Arab authors have stated that the Tuareg possessed camels of a particular breed well fitted for riding (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 70, 105; Edrisi, p. 11, 67 f., 144 f.; Leo Africanus p. 940 f.). The division of camels into two distinct types of the above characteristics can be traced elsewhere in Northern Africa, where the heavy woolly breed is found mainly in the north and particularly among Arabs, while the slender non-woolly breed is common among such pastoralists as the Tuareg, the Moors of Mauretania (who are largely of Tuareg stock and have a great many Berber words in their camel vocabulary, according to Monteil 1952), the Tebu, and the Beja tribes around the Nile (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 79 ff.; Doutressoulle 1947, p. 272 ff.; Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415 f.; Murray 1935, p. 92 ff.). The distinction between the two main types cannot apparently be explained by the different environmental conditions, for they frequently live within the same type of environment, and the northern *marroki* type is found particularly among Arabs, and not only among the Arabs of the northern desert. *Marroki*-like camels seem to exist among such Arab tribes as the *Kunta* and the *Berabich* north of the Niger Bend in the Azawad desert (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 273), among the camel-breeding Arabs of the Lake Tchad region, and among Arab pastoralists of the former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan – particularly among the Kababish (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 80 ff., 83 f.). There seem to be little doubt that the *marroki* camel came to North Africa with the Arabs and it is then natural to investigate whether they also introduced particular cultural traits connected with camel-breeding. It is relatively easy to take up such an investigation with reference to particular saddle types, because they are frequently described and depicted in literature. 233 [175] 233 171 [174] [127]

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## THE FEDERATION OF AHAGGAR TUAREG

(Size of tribes according to Lhote 1955a, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949.)

| | Noble tribes | | Vassal tribes | | *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The *Kel Ṛela* Drum-Group | *Kel Ṛela* | 275 | *Dag Ṛali* | 386 | *Iheyawen Hada* | 253 |
| | To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble tribes, with the *Iforas* group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal tribes. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The *Kel Ṛela* women, like noble women of the *Uraṛen* (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and *Kel Ferwan* (Ayr), do not associate freely with people of other classes. | | *Ayt Lowayen* | 400 | *Kel Inṛer* | 176 |
| | | | *Aḡub-en-tehlé* | 585 | *Kel Téfedest* | 61 |
| | | | *Ṛelayddin* | 40 | *Kel Immidir* | 179 |
| | | | *Iklan-en-tawsit* | 500 | *Kel Tazulet* | 158 |
| | | | *Ibettenaten* | 129 | The *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble *Kel-ahem-mellen* tribe. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu*, claims that they were originally their vassals. | |
| | | | *Ireḡenaten* | 435 | | |
| | | | These two tribes are not true vassals by origin. The *Ibettenaten* is said formerly to have had noble status and the *Ireḡenaten* descend matrilineally from the *Ibettenaten*, patrilineally from Arabs. | | | |

643 territorial chief over the country inhabited by the vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group. He had the
634 right to dues from caravans passing through the territory of that drum-group, while further west
[651] such dues were given to the chief of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group. He had the right to land rents from the vassals of his groups, while land rents further west in the *Taytoḳ* country belonged to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ* group.

643 To-day the *Amenukal* holds a very strong position as chief of the whole country of Ahaggar, and
[644] his power has been much augmented because the French govern the country through him. In the past the position of the *Amenukal* was a less powerful one. All Tuareg say that he was then not particularly strong, and there are many examples of the vassals of his own drum-group showing disobedient
[565] to him. The *Amenukal* had to be elected, and, contrary to what is often stated in literature on the subject, he was not elected by the noble Tuareg of his own tribe, though they had a certain influence, but by his vassals who also had the right to dismiss an *Amenukal* if dissatisfied with him. The *Amenukal* lived like other Tuareg and his sole insignia was the drum which followed him on journeys and served to summon his vassals.

643 We have mentioned above (p. 148 ff.) that the *Amenukal* even to-day receives a land-rent (*éhéré-*
651 *n-amaḍal*) from all tenants of the sub-areas of vassal tribal territories, and the rules of payments and

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643 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man
651 bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Arefsa* sub-tribe its collective
614 payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Rali* tribe pays *tiwsé* as follows:—
613 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads,
565 are given to the chief of the *Dag Rali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*. – All vassal tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Amenukal*, and this also applies to the *Isekkemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwsé*, are in fact tokens of vassalage,
[634] and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as drum-chief of the *Kel Rela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to their particular drum-chiefs.

643 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his
634 drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war booty taken by his
565 vassals. This right was known as *abellag*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel Rela* drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal
[614] kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in the tribe to which the deseased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138). As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief
[614] within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels on the latter's death.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*eklîyet*)
634 among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151).
681 Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance,
[684] he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly
[682] the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth
[614] paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. When the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid.
[683] For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and
[178] such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished
[648] by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he had in the past.

178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

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considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Ṛali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916–17, the drum-group of the *Kel Ṛela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amṛar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* and *Taytoḳ* tribes might also receive *tiwsé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Aḍraṛ* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Tédalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given

*him a similar payment for protection.*

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



seeds the caravan was able to arrive in Ahaggar. In order to commemorate this event the *Dag Rali* and the *Kel Ahnet*, who descend from *Takama*, each year give a fixed tribute of seeds or dates to the noble Tuareg who descend from *Ti-n-Hinan* (cf. Lehureaux 1929; Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.). 173 565

The stories about the origin of certain noble Tuareg from *Ti-n-Hinan* and the descent of the oldest vassal class from *Takama* are traditions which seem to be created to justify the class-division and the supremacy of the noble Tuareg. The events narrated in the two variations of this tradition are contradictory. According to the tradition quoted by Foucauld, the noble Tuareg descending from *Ti-n-Hinan* had no camels when they arrived in Ahaggar, whereas that recorded by Lehureaux states that their ancestress came to Ahaggar riding on a camel. As to this I may say that all noble Tuareg I have questioned have claimed that they have always been camel owners.

The *Ti-n-Hinan* traditions bear the stamp of myth and they seem to have originated among the noble Tuareg. It is an interesting fact that the tombs near Abalessa, which according to the tradition should contain the bodies of *Ti-n-Hinan* and *Takama*, at their excavation actually contained the skeletal remains of two europid women. The so-called tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan* is in fact not so much a tomb as an enormous fort built of stone and containing several graves. The building is about 26 × 24 metres but of irregular shape. Its height is estimated to have been about 4 metres. In the interior of the building there are *tifinaq* inscriptions and engravings. Around the tomb of *Ti-n-Hinan* there are several small stone graves of the so-called "chouchet" type which contained skeletal remains of men, women, and children. About 200 metres from *Ti-n-Hinan*'s tomb there is a smaller tomb which appears to have been very simple and of the "chouchet" type. This according to tradition is the tomb of *Takama*. There seem to be little doubt that the monument as well as its surrounding tombs are pre-Islamic. It is also very likely that it has been erected by Berber-speaking peoples, and it was perhaps used as a station for caravans crossing the Sahara from the Mediterranean to the Sudan. The archaeological finds show a mixture of Roman artifacts from the 4th century A.D., and Sudanese articles. Reygasse, who has described the fort and its finds in detail, has also collected a tradition in Ahaggar according to which the fort was erected by a *rumi* named *Joluta* who lived in Ahaggar somewhat before the introduction of Islam (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.). Though the *Ti-n-Hinan* monument was probably erected by a Berber-speaking people who dominated Ahaggar, we cannot be so sure that its founders were the ancestors of the noble Tuareg. We must again bear in mind that the *Ti-n-Hinan* tradition contains a strong mythical element, and that traditions and truth are often different things. To-day it is widely said in Ahaggar that *Ti-n-Hinan* is the ancestress of the noble Tuareg and the French. It seems that this tradition derives from a French non-commissioned officer. The Frenchman related it to please the Tuareg and to create a bond between the Tuareg and the French. At all events we cannot accept the *Ti-n-Hinan* tradition as truth, and will now consider certain other traditions regarding the origin of the Ahaggar Tuareg. 172 173 173 [40]

*Tradition C.I.* This tradition is in circulation mainly among the vassals. It is as follows:— 173

The oldest inhabitants of Ahaggar were a people called *Isebeten* who are also mentioned in the B.I. tradition. They were pagans who lived in a very primitive fashion. They had no proper tents and natural caves in the mountains were their normal habitations. They subsisted mainly by hunting barbary sheep and by goat-breeding, and used donkeys as beasts of burden. Foucauld mentions a 565

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173 Talak. This tradition is acknowledged as true by certain Tuareg of Ayr, but all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg
643 claim that the Sultan has never had any right over the country of Ayr. They state that his Tuareg
[634] title of *Amenukal* has nothing to do with *akal* (i.e. "the land"), and that the country of Ayr from the remote past until now has been owned by the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 421). However,
175 if we turn to the information given on this subject by the *Agadez Chronicle*, we learn that until the
643 establishment of the Sultanry it had been customary for the powerful noble tribes to claim a tax of
651 horses from the caravans which passed their particular territories. The first Sultan of Ayr sent a letter to learned people of an Islamic country to ask whether such taxes were lawful or unlawful. And he was answered that these taxes were to be considered good because those who received the taxes protected the very important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo. The taxes should therefore be collected by the Sultan who again should give them to the Tuareg (Urvoy 1934, p. 155). Before the arrival of the French the Sultan had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, which is mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, 828 f.), and he was entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade and to annual taxes from the sedentary Negroes of Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

643 The tradition which says that the Sultan descend patrilineally from the Sultan of Constantinople and matrilineally from a slave woman clearly indicates the position of the Sultan in Tuareg society. The Sultan is looked down upon by fair-skinned Tuareg because of his black skin, but he is also endowed with prestige because of his supposed descendance from the Sultan of Constantinople.

643 A certain *elbaraka* or benediction is ascribed to him, and all people who want to greet the Sultan
772 must remove their sandals. The Sultan is always buried in his palace at Agadez, and it is said that
[766] if he was buried outside there would be a great risk that his subjects would dig up his skeleton to use
[765] part of it for amulets. It is also said that the Sultan preserves a part of the skeleton of his predecessor for amulets. This must be viewed in connection with the particular power of *elbaraka* attached to the Sultan, and it is important to note that the Sultan is believed to possess an unusual power of fertility, which is secured and maintained until his death by means of certain medicines acquired from the Sudan. Thus it seems as though the Sultan possesses some of the qualities of the Sudanese divine
175 kings, but in practice he has little power. The *Agadez Chronicle* refers to Sultans who acted as war
643 leaders of all Ayr Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Ayr it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of pastoral Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have only reigned for very short periods.

631 Although the Sultan is the supreme chief of all Ayr Tuareg, he does not have the same relationship
634 to all Tuareg groups, for many of them are placed directly under the supreme chief of the *Kel Ewey*
● 648 group known as the *Anestafidet*. The *Anestafidet* originally lived at Asodey in Central Ayr, but he now lives in Agadez where he holds a prominent position as a chief. Like most *Kel Ewey* he is black-skinned and related to the Hausa population of the Southlands, where he lives for a part of the year with the important task of organizing the trade between Ayr and the south. The *Anestafidet* has always been closely attached to the sedentary Hausa of the Southlands, and is said to have part of his family living at a small village named Blanko between Tanut and Zinder. A new *Anestafidet* may even be elected

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from the members of this village. The particular connection between the *Anestafidet* and the sedentary 631
peoples of the Sudan is very natural in view of the fact that the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg nowadays, as in the 634
past, engage much in caravan trading with the south. The name of *Anestafidet* is derived from the [648]
tribe *Kel Tafidet* – one of the noble *Kel Ewey* tribes which immigrated to Ayr about the 14th century A.D. The *Anestafidet* has always been a very important chief, and the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, though very mixed with the ancient sedentary population of Ayr Negroes, were for periods in the past very important politically. To-day the *Anestafidet* is the most important chief of Ayr after the Sultan, and [266]
it is said that, like a deceased Sultan, a deceased *Anestafidet* should be buried in his house. The *Anesta-* [533]
*fidet* is treated with respect by all Ayr Tuareg, who take off their sandals when greeting him, and at the beginning of the holy Friday (that is on Thursday night) the professional musicians of Agadez, when they have made music at the Sultan's palace, go to *Anestafidet*'s residence and then to the ministers of the Sultan.

The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, who live predominantly in and around the villages of the eastern and most mountainous part of the Ayr Massif, form the majority of the people placed directly under the command of the *Anestafidet*. According to figures given by Nicolas for tribes and villages of the *Kel Ewey* [162]
their total number seems now to be about 8000 (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 465 ff.). But placed under the *Anestafidet* are also the pastoral Tuareg group known as *Kel Tamat*. Formerly it had its own drum-chief (*ettebel*) who was also the supreme chief of the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg. The group of *Kel Tamat*, with the *Ikezkezen*, judged by the figures for some of the tribes (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 471 f.), comprise [162]
nowadays about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the true *Kel Ewey*.

The *Kel Tamat* do not form a drum-group nowadays. In the past their drum-chief was elected by tribes within the drum-group, but he had to be installed ceremoniously by the *Anestafidet* who presented him with a large headcloth. All people of the *Anestafidet* have to recognize him as their supreme judicial authority. But the *Anestafidet*, who is elected by people of the ancient noble *Kel Ewey* tribes, is submitted to the authority of the Sultan who also installs the *Anestafidet* ceremoniously.

Most Ayr Tuareg who are not placed under the *Anestafidet* are collectively referred to as the *Kel* 631
*Amenukal*, that is "the people of the *Amenukal* (or Sultan)". Most of these people are pastoralists 634
though some sedentary or semi-sedentary people are also placed in the Sultan's group. The important 643
Tuareg groups placed directly under the Sultan are the following:—

The *Itesen* with the *Immikitan* most of whom left the Massif long before the arrival of the French. In the past both groups formed politically very important drum-groups, and though they were very few in number throughout the 19th century they were nevertheless politically important, as without them a Sultan could not be elected and installed.

The *Kel Faday* in the region of Ingal consist of a noble tribe and eleven tribes of vassals. The *Kel Faday* constituted throughout the 19th century a politically important drum-group though it was very small. Their total number according to Nicolas is now 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The *Kel Ferwan* comprise tribes in the western parts of the Massif including the regions of Agadez, [162]
and also south of the Massif in Damergu. They number about 5000.

The *Kel Geres* Tuareg live in the Southlands around Madawa most of the year but visit Southern 631
Ayr west of Agadez in the rainy season (cf. p. 7, 431 f.). Properly speaking they are not now recognized 643

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



## THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has
614 fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie
[114] 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore
[162] quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared,
634 and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when
● 648 the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to
121 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr,
634 where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were
115 most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

173 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatan*,
614 and the *Kel Asel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above
634 (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatan*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Asel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

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Fig. 288. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including these drummers indicated on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



of Africa, Sachs says that they occur mainly in Islamic West Asia from where they were recently introduced to Europe and to India where terms for kettle-drums are derived from Arabic (Sachs 1923, p. 58 ff.; 1929, p. 247). Wieschhoff admits that the kettle-drums seem to have been introduced into India with Islam, but he concludes that the distribution of them in the Sudan and in North-east Africa indicates that this element belongs to the so-called North Erytrean Culture (cf. Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40 ff., map 29e). 534 171

I do not want to advance any theory about the introduction of kettle-drums into Africa, but it seems natural to consider the Tuareg drums known as *ettebel* as an Islamic trait. However we cannot be sure that the use of drums as insignia of chiefs is post-Islamic, for, as we have seen, the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in many parts of Africa. 534 174

The theory that the drums used by Tuareg chiefs are Islamic seems to agree with the fact that the custom of crowning chiefs among the Tuareg by means of a large turban or headcloth is no doubt also an Arab practice. The use of a turban to crown or install kings and supreme chiefs is rare in Africa south of the Sahara. The use of the turban for the kings of Dar Fur, Wadai, and Bornu is no doubt to be considered Islamic (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 68; Irstam 1944, p. 118), and there can also be little doubt that the use of a large turban at the installation of chiefs in Tibesti and Ennedi was originally introduced as a result of contact with the Arabs – particularly as this turban is known by the Arabic term *kadnul* (cf. Kronenberg 1958, p. 74 f.; Fuchs 1961, p. 52). 643 177 171

It is clear that Islam has greatly influenced Tuareg political organization. But we should also bear in mind that North Africa in pre-Islamic times was influenced by various high cultures which are generally known as *Old Mediterranean* (*Syrtic*) and *Young Sudanese* (*North Erytrean*). It is very possible that the first noble Tuareg who penetrated into the Sahara with their camels came from a country situated towards the East or the North-east, and we have seen that the Ayr Tuareg have traditions about their origin in these quarters (cf. p. 412 ff.). It might therefore seem natural to assume that certain traits which are grouped under the vaguely-defined *Young Sudanese Culture* have been introduced into the Sahara with the immigration of the first noble Tuareg. Lhote thinks that the sandal type known as *takalmi* was perhaps introduced from Egypt with Tuareg immigrations from that country (Lhote 1950d, p. 531). We cannot know this, but it is possible that the oldest camel-breeding nomads introduced into the Sahara certain elements of the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture*. 174

## TUAREG SLAVERY

It is very possible that the political system of the pastoral Tuareg has been greatly influenced by slavery in the sense that slavery made the noble Tuareg less dependent on their vassals. Throughout the 19th century slavery was important to fair-skinned pastoralists of all classes. In other respects it has had little effect on the changing political relations, for slaves do not constitute a class or a true caste; they are incorporated into Tuareg society on a kinship pattern. 567 565

Slavery is still extremely important in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer where the French military administration has done very little to abolish it. It is true that the slave-trade no longer exists, but 567 648

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Fig. 290. Sun-shade built of branches and grass. It is the normal living quarters for slaves in Ahaggar and for a great part of the year it is more suitable to the climate than Tuareg skin tents. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

567 military administrators have tacitly admitted that slavery continues as an established institution.
648 According to a census of 1949, there are in Ahaggar 1552 slaves owned by 3960 pastoral Tuareg (cf.
[162] Lhote 1955a, p. 224 ff.), and in two tribes the number of slaves exceeds that of fair-skinned Tuareg, namely in the *Dag Rali* and in the *Kel Rela*. Most Ahaggar Tuareg have a few slaves in their camps, while in Ayr very few fair-skinned pastoralists have slaves nowadays. The civil administration of Ayr has done much to secure the abolishment of slavery, and it seems as if many slaves were manumitted
567 after the 1917 revolt. Slavery is actually almost devoid of economic importance in Ayr, while in Ahaggar
[184] it plays a great part in the maintenance of the economic system based upon camel-breeding outside Ahaggar and on caravan-trading.

The structural position of slavery is apparently very much the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. Slaves are their owners' property; they can no longer be traded, but even in pre-European days it was never usual to sell slaves from one's own camp. The slaves are still inherited within one and the same family, and until a few years ago it was the custom for a slave girl to form part of the bride-wealth. Despite everything this may perhaps be taken as an indication that slaves are not conspicuously well treated, and there are also examples of the corporal punishment of slaves. This may occur even to-day, the rule being that certain misdemeanours, for which the light-skinned Tuareg atone by paying a fine of domestic animals, may be punished in the case of slaves by a flogging on the order of senior chiefs.

184 from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin.
643 The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions
gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet,
[173] the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out,
611 it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except
631 among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the
651 titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll.
[644] He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

[178] There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/
[644] today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum
[534 177 192] called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum," "cylinder of a drum."

181 and not caused by a state of laziness, for although they would not
565 consider working the land at any price, they would not mind traveling thousands of kilometers under often difficult and quite dangerous conditioms to go pillage opposing tribes. Once back in camp, they intend to lead a life free from any material cares, shifting the burden to their vassals.

422 They entrust the keeping of the captured herds to the Imrad,
565 reclaiming the beasts from them when they need them and the necessary usufruct for their food. For themselves, they keep only
[231 mounts for war and for transporting household objects and are content
234] with small herds of goats with only the number of head strictly necessary to assure their daily milk needs. In the same way, they
[567] do not own many slaves of their own, for the latter would make so many months to feed, which they are wary of.

565 Although they rely on their Imrad for everything, they do not abuse them, for, as a Tuareg proverb says, "we must not kill the camel which feeds us," and their demands always take into account the wealth and the possibilities of the moment.

566 Every year the Imochar levy a vassalage tax called a tioussé
631 on the Imrad. This tax, fixed for each tribe, includes an annual
651 contribution of a certain number of head of livestock, loads of grain, miscellaneous items /160/ waterskins, tent stakes, etc.),
[643 tanned hides, butter, etc. In principal it is invariable and paid to the amenokal who disposes of it as he wishes, making allowances for the needs of the Imochar.

643 The amenokal leaves the animals which he levies under the
651 management of the Imrad, who furnish him the usufruct from them.

Individual rights of Imochar over Imrad do not exist in principal.
565 Actually they do exist when a man is the last representative of a
631 tribe and levies for himself the rights falling to his tribe.
651 On the other hand, some undertake to make small levies on the Imrad; the latter never refuse. And we must say in defense of the nobles that they treat their Imrad quite generously when a fortunate raid makes them temporarily well off.

565 554 [302] [516] The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant [195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of appearance and language is even more perceptible among the 554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their 562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their 574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society. Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well [633] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know- [565] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know- ing how to play the violin.

565 [83] 513] Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the [842] Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which 582] are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it, [648] and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting itself to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could bring it.

565 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/ [793 and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the 87] children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite [651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

565 from all vassalage taxes and are often the object of much respect
[691] and consideration wherever they go. Thus, in the Ahaggar, they are treated on an equal footing with the Imochar, and the latter
[582] sometimes accept marriages with them, while at the same time re-
[641] fusing to grant political rights to the children born of these unions.
[184] On the other hand, among the Ioullimmiden, the Imochar reject any alliance with them and make them pay a vassalage due. These
[582] /Inislimen/ of the Damergou, contrary to the rule, are considered nobles; they own Imrad and may wage war. Furthermore, they have made themselves noticed as the most bellicose among the Aïr tribes. Finally, those of the Adrar succeeded in forming a confederation after the Ioullimmiden abandoned the country; they have Imrad, but the Imochar from the other confederations do not want to regard them as their equals.

They are often referred to under the name of Ichériffen, or
[192] Chériffen, which comes from the Arab word sherif, meaning "noble," or, by extension, "descendant of the Prophet." But among the Tuareg, Ichériffen has a more specialized meaning and designates persons of a religious nature, without their necessarily being descendants of Mahomet.

The marabout tribes include the Ichériffen properly so called and the Ifôra.

This religious nature has various origins and qualities.

Some elements really number sherifs among their ancestors; such is the case of the Ifôra from the Adrar and certain Kel Es-Souq fractions. But opposed to them are others who have only an accidental religious character.

174 Concerning this, Commander Cauvet says that these marabout
565 tribes often appear to be noble collectivities, who were formerly
793 strong and became too weak to continue enjoying the rights and prestige of the strong. They declared themselves withdrawn from the business of arms and devoted to pious practices for love of God and Islam. "A tribe threatened with losing its preponderance,

565 Unions, or more exactly concubinage, between Imrad and
[595] Negresses are very common.

Imrad have the right to possess black slaves who are employed
[567] in household work and in keeping the herds.

Schirmer has said that the Ahaggar Imrad were sedentary peoples
114 entrusted with keeping the gardens; (1) he has committed an error,
241
565

1. Le Sahara, p. 298.

certainly because of erroneous information. This is all the more curious since Duveyrier had already defined exactly the position of the Imrad. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 334.

114 Duveyrier translated the word amrid by the word "serf," which
565 corresponds exactly to the Arab expression ra'aya, and also because
566 the ra'aya are subjects liable to forced labor and taxes, whom the marabouts are not allowed to possess by Moslem law. Duveyrier believed he was confirmed in his opinion because of the fact that the Inislimen of the Ajjer did not have the right to have Imrad. This is an error of interpretation. This Arabic term cannot be suitable under the circumstances, for the social class of the Tuareg Imrad has no equivalent among the Arabs.

We have preferred the term "vassals" which is more suitable
[651] in our minds, because the Imrad are not unconditionally subject to
[643] forced labor, they pay a perfectly defined vassalage fee, their
[657] chiefs participate in the election of the amenokal, and they themselves own slaves.

/167/ Moreover, the term "vassals" has been adopted by Richer, Deniker, Verneau, etc.

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote
[602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general-
[582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihǎggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihǎggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were
[643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
●651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores
[184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous
[567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar,
[582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

564 The Enaden do not pay any vassalage dues. Socially, they [651] occupy a place halfway between the Imrad and the Iklan. In certain cases they can even possess captives, and many of them have [567] at their command an affluence unknown among the Imrad, and

[414 531 326]

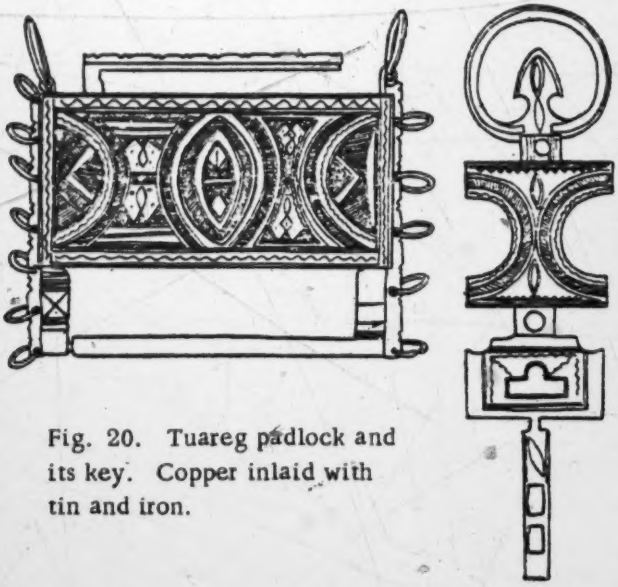

Fig. 20. Tuareg padlock and its key. Copper inlaid with tin and iron.

even among some Imochar.

/180/ Chapter 2

Confederation of the Ahaggar

173 Oral traditions handed down among the northern Tuareg maintain that they originally came from the city of Es-Souq in Adrar des Iforas, known as Tademeka in ancient times, and equidistant from Timbuktu and In-Salah.

175 in everything. Much less intelligent than Moussa, he was none the less a faithful chief who knew how to make himself respected.

He married twice and had seven children.

175 Meslah ag Amayas is a second cousin of Akhamouk. He is a
643 grandson of the former Aménokal Altarel and a second cousin of Mohamed ag Ourzig and Attici ag Amellal. The tobol thus came down in the branch of Amennaï, the third son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, for want of male descendants in the branch of Héguier. This follows the rules of matriarchal succession.

Although Moussa ag Amastan's sister, Rakhma, who married Anaba ag Amellal, brother of Aménokal Attici, left a son named Louki, he was bypassed by the Imochar as weak-minded.

•651 The aménokal levies the tioussé on the Imrad and assimilated
[643] vassals. Some of them also pay dues /Fr. droits de redevance/ to the descendants of the old noble families. Thus the Dag Rali pay an annual due to the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Alt Loalen to the Inemba Kel Emori. The latter levy four percent of the loads of grain brought back from the Sudan by the Alt Loalen.

[178 But these duties levied are tending to disappear gradually with
161] the extinction of the old Ahaggar families, some of which are no longer represented by more than a few individuals.

631 The Kel Rela tribe has been gathering strength in a singular way
644 for a century. It is all powerful by the number of its representatives,
[643] and matriarchy has only accentuated this situation. Indeed, since only Kel Rela women are capable of giving birth to an aménokal, young men from other noble tribes seek alliances with them,
[582] abandoning the women of their own tribe. This new blood has given the Kel Rela a certain physical vigor by preventing them from becoming impoverished through too close and too repeated inbred alliances.

631 For more than a century the life of the Kel Rela has consisted of
643 a constant struggle against the Taïtok. The latter, belligerent and
578 jealous, dreamed only of seizing the aménokalat of the Ahaggar, and the history of the Tuareg of this country is nothing but a long succession of wars where the two fractions were alternately /191/ successful, but where the Kel Rela always kept the advantage thanks to their numerical superiority. The account of these events may be found in the book of Mr. Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 99 ff.

[162] In the 1838 census the Kel Rela included 312 persons, 38 of them men. In 1905, according to Benhazéra, they numbered 55 to 60 tents.

The tobol of the Kel Rela at the beginning included only two
631 tribes, the Dăg Râli and the Ăgouh-en-Tèhlé, as well as a large part of the Issekkemâren. Since then, other fractions have come to seek their protection or to assimilate themselves. Such is the case of the Aït-Loaïen and the Relaiddin.

[651] The Imrad call the Kel Rela "the people who cost dearly," thereby making an allusion to the dues which they are obliged to pay them.

The Dăg Rali. -- The Dăg Râli form the principal fraction of the
[643] Kel Rela tobol, on whom the aménokal of the Ahaggar has always relied to enforce his rights, and without whom he would be nothing and could do nothing.

With the Kel Ăhnet, they originally formed the Imessîlîten tribe, and they were said to be the descendants of Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, the ancestor of the Kel Rela. They sprang from four sub-fractions: the Ikechchemâden, attached to the Taïtok tobol, the Imessîlîten, the Oulad Ir'dal, the Dăg Mertemek.

At the present time they are subdivided into: 1) Kel Tăhat, 2) Kel Tarahananet, 3) Kel Tămanrasset, 4) Kel Hirhâfok, 5) Kel Ărechchoum. To the Dăg Râli must be added a few individuals, today completely assimilated with them; they are descendants of

631 a very ancient tribe, the Isbeten, who were the autochthons of the Ahaggar and whom the Dăg Rali would have found in Ătakor when they came to settle there.

After the battle at Tit where they lost more than 100 fighters, the Dăg Râli still numbered 60 warriors. The 1938 census gives 1,090 [161] persons, 334 of them men, including the Iklan. This increase is quite [M7] rare among the Tuareg and reflects their wealth and the improvement [511] of their living conditions since the French occupation.

They nomadize in the western part of the Koudia, which is their absolute fief where no other fraction is admitted.

/192/ On the east, the boundaries of the lands over which they range are fixed by the right bank of the Tamanrasset wadi and the Interkadène wadi as far as Ideles; on the south by the southern zone of the Tahalra as far as Tin Dahar; on the west by In Eker; and on the north by the line from In Eker to Hirhafok to Ideles.

631 The Dăg Râli pay a tribute of ten bags of dates or sorghum to the 651 amenokal; in addition, each family which sends a caravan to the Sudan pays him a small bag of sorghum. If the pastures are good, they add several "botta" of melted butter and the milk of twenty ewes. In the case of a successful raid, they pay the nobles half of the ewes.

631 The Dăg Râli are now the richest people in the Ahaggar. They 233 own more than 1,200 goats and more than 1,000 camels. Thanks to 556 their beasts of burden, they can take many very remunerative caravans 439 to the Sudan and to the Tidikelt. They hold in common escheated flocks which are called Edjeré-n-boutelma. When the pastures are insufficient to feed all their livestock, they entrust their camels to the Irréguénaten who graze them on the Saharo-Sudanese border.

631 Since they are very open-minded, they were in favor of cultivation 241 in the centers of the Ahaggar, and at the present time they possess 423 lands at Ilâman, Tarahananet, Tamanrasset, Abălessa, Iglen, Tăfârit, I-n-Ămegel, and Silet, which Negroes cultivate for them. The amenokal has granted them a certain number of palm trees in the Silet oasis which formerly belonged to the Tăitok.

173 Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé means "reed people." Legend has it that they
631 were forced to eat the roots of that plant during their flight from the Aïr. Their chief was then a man of Herculean size named Assékal ag Louka; the legend says that his feet were so big that when his pursuers saw the footprints, they preferred to abandon the chase.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé claim to be originally from Mecca where their remote ancestor received a camel from the Prophet. He was supposed to drink only the milk of the camel, but he committed the sin of killing it. Therefore, they had to flee, and after long years of wandering, they settled in Aïr.

At the time when the Imrad were divided up (1750), they were part of the Issandaten. The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé went to the Kel Rela, and the other fraction, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, went to the Taïtok.

631 The land over which they range borders on that of the Dăg Râli. It goes from Tamanrasset to Ourchi wadi, then from the Koudia as far as Afrahouhine and Tamaghine.

[651] They pay a tribute to the amenokal, the same size as that of the Dăg Râli, but they do not share captured goats and sheep with him. They are currently allied with the Dăg Râli and the Relaiddîn.

They took sides against us in the battle of Tit where they had
[648] about ten men killed. During the insurrection of 1916-1918, they
669] rose up, and their women even seized thirty mehari /dromedaries/ belonging to the meharist company at Fort Motylinski. On the other hand, they did not take part in the revolt directly and were the first to ask for mercy.

[161] /195/. Totaling 60 men in 1905, the tribe numbers about 150 persons at the present time.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé own nearly a thousand camels, which they
[233] graze on the Saharo-Sudanese borders, and 1,200 to 1,400 goats.
[651] Every year they pay a tribute to the amenokal of 12 bags of dates, 6 pots of butter, and the usufruct of 10 goats. Most of the cultivated
[423] land and the foggara of Tarhaouaout and Tahifet belongs to them,
[241] and they have gardens at Ămsel, Tamanrasset, and Talan-Tédit.

631 427 [175] The founding of Tamanrasset is attributed to them; it is said to be the work of the chief of the Issenda (Issendaten) fraction, Ilachen by name. This creation goes back some sixty years, but the irrigable lands were the property of the Ajjer. In the last few years, the Imanrassatên, who were the true proprietors of the cultivable lands at Tamanrasset, came several times to claim the rental price which was one ass or a sheep per year according to the place. But this claim was only payable if the owners presented themselves; the year not claimed was gained by the renter.

[651] 631 They often found themselves in conflict with the aménokal, because they made difficulties in paying the tiousee.

They are subdivided into Kel Aguelella or Kel Tarhaouhaout, into Kel Rapsa or Kel Ezarounfat, and into Issendaten or Kel Tahifet.

631 173 [192] The Aït Loaien. -- The Aït Loaien get their name from the verb élouai, which means "to attach camels in Indian file." (1)

1. According to Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, p. 148.

Through their ancestor Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, they are said to be of the same origin as the Dag Râli and the Kel Ahnet. At the time of the division of the Imrad, it is said they were bestowed half upon the Inemba and half upon the Tégéhé Mellet. They are subdivided into Irayen (today extinct), Kel Torha or Dag Houa, and Aït Loaien proper.

631 [651] The Aït Loaien pay the tioussé to the family of the Téjéhé-n-agg-Ali, also called Kel Ahamellen (Kel Rela), and the Dag Houa group pays it to the Tégéhé Mellet.

[578] Formerly allied to the Imekkérressen of the Ajjer group by numerous marriages, they separated from them following disputes and the murder of one of them, the Tuareg Reskou /196/ ag Yahia, famous in all the Ahaggar. Since then, the Imekkérressen have settled in the Ajjer.

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Ẋrokam, Serouanout, and in the Ẋnahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[233] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are [241 423] their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

631 669 They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the Ihéaouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up [797] the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 The Af't Loaien form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which [181] must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[651] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the amenokal.

The Relaiddin. -- The Relaiddin probably came from Aïr, like the Ẋgouh-en-Tehlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162 651] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tioussé to the Iboglan.

This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 [177 233] camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1, 500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

631 /197/ They do own a few gardens at Tazerouk, Ti-n-Tarabine, Attoklane, and Sersouf, but all lie fallow.

[669] During the revolt, they left the Agouh-en-Tehlé in dissent, but they soon surrendered, for their position between the Ahaggar and the Ajjer always put them at the mercy of raids by the latter.

[651] The Relaiddin pay an annual tribute of two loads of grain, a pot of butter, and a goat to the amenokal.

[162] To the Relaiddin must be added a small fraction on its way toward disappearing; they are the Kel Bardjen, of undetermined origin. [674] Numbering some ten warriors, they are recognized as inveterate robbers, always encroaching on the nomadic territories of others. Bardjen is located between Tazerouk, Imerera, and Ideles. The [423] territory of the Kel Bardjen was probably marked off about 1750 and [212] defined by monoliths, some of which bear tifinagh characters.

The Ibettenaten. -- The Ibettenaten are not "Imrad," properly speaking. According to Benhazera, this tribe was formerly noble. They were probably subjugated by the Kel Rela following the murder of an Amacher /singular of Imochar, the aristocratic class. Ed./ committed by one of them. Since then, they pay the tioussé to the [651] amenokal.

The Ibettenaten probably descended from Kel Afella Ifora on the maternal side and from Tidikelt Arabs on the paternal side.

631 About thirty tents are nomads in the Sudan near Bou Djbiha, but 162 they go up as far as Taoudart and In Ouzal in the Adrar des Iforas, following the pasture grounds. Fifteen other tents enfeoffed to the Kel Fadel camp in Air.

They number 160 persons, 62 of them men, in the 1938 census.

631 They are entirely herders, making very few caravans and owning 233 no cultivated lands. They have very fine pasture grounds at their disposal. They own about 800 camels, 1,000 sheep, and (a rare thing, but quite in keeping with their area of nomadization) nearly 100 cows.

563 [162] They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elias, Oulad Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

[233] They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout, [423 241] which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and manpower. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism [795 798] /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

[669] In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Tăfedest.

/200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by [173] Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

[162] Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Tăfedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

[233] Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head. [241 423] They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them entirely, and at I-n-Ămegal, Déhine, and Ăbézou.

[795] Like the Ihéiaouen Hăda, they are mostly affiliated with the Tijaniyyah sect.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us, which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

[224] They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

[65] The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the aménokal six bags of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Tăfedest. -- The Kel Tăfedest or Kel Tégatoufé (or ant [162] people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

563 They nomadize near the Garet ed Djenoun, the Ăseksem, Ămegid, and the Ădrar Torha; they own about 300 goats and 30 [233] camels. (1938 census, as opposed to 600 goats and 200 camels in 1905.)

[241 423] They are the owners of a few gardens in the Tăfedest.

[795] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah order.

[65] The Kel Tăfedest annually pay the amenokal four loads of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Immîdir. -- The Kel Immîdir, or Kel Mouydir, are still called Iheiaouen-n-Tin-Emma. They are of the same origin as the Iheiaouen Hâda and the Kel Tazoulé.

[162] They are subdivided into Kel Terahart and Kel Raris and include about 50 people. They nomadize in the Immîdir massif toward Joraf and Tagmout and have areas for nomadization between Ifetessen and In Eker.

[233 464] They are poor people who own about 20 camels and 250 goats. Very good merchants and excellent caravaneers, they hire themselves out to camel owners to provide for their needs.

[162] /201/ The Isselamaten must be added to the Kel Immidir. They are a small fraction of about 15 tents which lives with them and nomadize near Aneserfa, Ărak, Ahohor, Tagemout, and Tiredjert.

The Kel Tazoûlet. -- The Kel Tazoûlet or Dăg el Mesk camp in the Tăzoûlet region and near Tăzerouk. They number about 225 [162 233] people and own 285 camels and more than 2,000 goats. They dryness of the region which they inhabit forces them to take refuge in the [132] Sudan when there are no rains in the Ahaggar.

[241 423] They possess gardens at Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine, and at Tăzerouk.

[669] They were in contact with the Aït Loaien and followed the latter in revolt, participating with them in the battles of Tit and the Ilaman wadi.

[795 798] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah. Four or five of their number have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

563 [651] Every year they pay the aménokal three loads of dates and three young goats.

[554] The Irréguénaten. -- The Irréguénaten, like the Issekkemâren, are assimilated vassals of a social rank superior to that of the Imrad.

They are of Tuareg mothers from the Ibettenâten tribe and Arab fathers from the Kounta tribe.

They are divided into two groups: 1) the Adrar Irréguénaten or Issettafénine Irréguénaten, who descended from a sherif of Gourara named Abdelmoumen, whose two sons Mouima and Inchelane married Ibettenâten women; 2) the Ahaggar Irréguénaten or Ihaggarénine Irréguénaten, who descended from the Dermachaka, an incorporated tribe of Kounta and Ibettenâten.

All of them nomadize in the northern Ădrar des Ifôras and the Timétrine and even push as far as Erg Chech. They also visit the Ăhnet and Tamasna.

[233] This is a very rich tribe engaged in raising camels. The Irréguénaten own more than 2, 300 camels, 350 cows, and more than 2, 350 goats and sheep.

[162] In 1908 they numbered 50 to 60 men, according to Benhazéra. The 1938 census raises the figure to 358 persons, 100 of them fighters.

[651] /202/ They pay the tioussé to the descendants of the Inemba and to the descendants of Si Mohamed ag Othman.

[669] Although they associated with the Adrar Kounta, they maintained relations with the rebellious marabout Abidine, who took refuge among the Kel Ahnet. They probably even served him as spies, and the people of Ădrar des Ifôras held them in suspicion for a long time.

[28] 461 Their camel raising is very well known, and their wives are quite expert in leatherwork.

[600] There are also Irréguénaten in the Niger loop, but they have no bonds of kinship with the Ahaggar Irréguénaten.

175 back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of
631 the men, including Azlouel, died of thirst in the desert.
643 /204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

579 At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the
631 suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and
[648] more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

[511] Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of
631 their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the
●651 nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ădrar des Iforas, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis and Isoknâten of the Aïr.

[162 Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400
239] camels and about 1, 000 goats.

During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at
175 first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave
631 us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his
648 Imrad Kel I-n-Tounin. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops. He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of
[473] Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastân.

631 The amrar of the Taitok is named according to matriarchal rules, and his election must be approved by the chiefs of the Imrad tribes. However, it must be pointed out that since Amrar Salah the chiefs have succeeded from father to son upon several occasions.

101 The Taitok sometimes give the name Ar'rerf Ahnet to /205/ their group, from the name of the region where they range most of the time and also from their Imrad. (1)

1. "Ar'rerf" corresponds here to "tobol." According to Nicolas, op. cit., "Agref," following his orthography, means small fraction.

631 565 [582] The Taitok live on very good terms with their vassals, and the vassals, proud of being called Taitok, espouse all the rivalries of their lords. Marriages between different castes are not uncommon, and many nobles have married Imrad women, which causes their children to lose political rights to the tobol. But the greater and greater extension of this custom will necessarily bring about modifications in the customary law of filiation, or else patriarchy will finally replace matriarchy.

[651] The Imrad pay a lump tioussé which is divided among the different Imochar. There is no longer any individual right /droit/ like that still found among the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

681 648 [101] Thieves to end all thieves, the Taitok have still been able to keep alliances almost everywhere outside their country in the regions they have to cross to carry out their robberies; these alliances are military or protective. Thus, in order to keep from being robbed, the Sékakna and the Mazil, Arab tribes from the environs of Akabli who sometimes nomadized in the Adrar Ahnet, paid them a slight due. They were allied with the Fergoumoussen, an Imochar tribe from the Adrar, with the Tarat Mellet, the Kel Boujbiha, the Kel Arouan, the Tadjakant, the Arib, and the Kel Taoudeni. These

631 The Kel I-n-Toûnîn owe their name to the wadi near which they ordinarily nomadize in the Tafedest massif. At the end of the last century they took advantage of the dissensions existing between the Taitok and the Kel Rela as well as the internal strife of the
[651] Taitok to free themselves of the latter. They moved to the Ajjer, claiming kinship with them, but they pay them no taxes.

After their surrender to the French, the Taitok reclaimed them, and General Laperrine agreed to their demand.

[69] They took a big part in the rebellion of 1916 and were the first to rise up, for they were under the direct influence of the Ajjer.

Taking refuge in Fezzan at first, they set about combating us by launching raids against the fractions under our influence. Later they participated in the combat of Aïn el Hadjadj. Then they went to the Sudan, where they succeeded in taking with them a number of Taitok, their Chief Amri among them, in spite of the efforts Moussa ag Amastân made to keep them.

[162] They number about 20 tents which camp in the north of the Tafedest massif and go up as high as the Adrar Ifetessen on the foothills of Immîdir.

[512] They are allied to the Tégéhé Mellet by recent marriages.

Famous as good herders, they own about 100 camels and 300
[233 439] goats. They are also good caravaneers who trade on the markets of In Salah, Ghat, and Ghadames.

[241] They have a few gardens cultivated at Ideles and in the Tassili centers of cultivation.

[162] The Iouarouaren. -- The Iouarouaren form a little tribe of about 15 tents, which nomadizes with the Kel Ahnet in the Adrar.

Some say they are natives of Aïr, others say of the Ajjer.

173 /210/ When an Ajjer (or Ifôras) woman had been taken prisoner by the Aïr people, according to Sidi ag Kéradji, it was Amastân
631 ag Ourzig, maternal uncle of Sidi, who paid her ransom and married her to a Kel Ahnet; from this union sprang the Iouarouaren. (1)

631
[175]

1. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 177.

[582] They often camp near the Dǎg Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Tǎitok in their peregrinations.

[423] They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghîn, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given [233] to Moussa ag Ǎmastân. They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The tioussé paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a [651] bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemaden live mixed in with the Dǎg Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Tǎitok tobol.

[192] Their name means "the very ugly ones," from the Tamashek akechchemdh, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Ǎmastân.

[162] They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them [423] in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dǎg Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dǎg Râli.

[162] The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ǎjjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeïen form a little tribe of some 15 [162] tents, whose camp lies near Tit and Tigeneouin.

619 Kel-I-n-Tounîn Imrad rather than accept the supremacy of Moussa
648 ag Ămastân and the Kel Rela. For a long time they kept up the agitation, encouraged by the former Aménokal Attici ag Ămellal, and they were one of the causes of our difficulties with the Ăjjer.

619 It is now a small tribe of about 15 tents nomadizing near
[162] Ămegid, the Ounane, the Eguéré, and /212/ Tiramar. Its strength comes especially from its vassals, who could not be more turbulent.
[669] They probably participated in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and Attici and Ănaba ag Ămellal, the leaders of the drama, belonged to that fraction.

The Tégéhé-Mellet have no Imrad properly speaking, but several Issekkemâren fractions are enfeoffed to them.

The Kel Terourirt. -- The Kel Terourirt are Issekkemâren and nomadize northeast of the Ahaggar near Tiramar, Tahihaout,
[162] Ounane, the Eguéré, and the Garet ed Djenoun. They number 25 tents at the moment:

[669] During the 1916 events, they followed the Kel Ouhet and the Kel I-n-Tounîn in rebelling.

[651] They pay the amrar of the Tégéhé Mellet a tioussé which annually adds up to four bags of dates and four goats.

The Kel Ouhet. -- Like the Kel Térourirt, the Kel Ouhet are Issekkemâren. They are subdivided into several small fractions: the Kel Raris, the Dăg-Khamaya, and the Dăg Iknân. In all there are
[162] about 40 tents (51 persons in the 1938 census, 23 of them men).

They camp in the northern part of the Tăfedest massif and go as far as Amegid and into the Igharghar Valley.

[233] They own a number of camels and frequently visit the markets
[439] of the Tidikelt and Ghat.

Some of them have left the Ahaggar and now live in the Ăjjer.

The Kel Torha. -- The Kel Torha, or Dăg Houa, are Aït Loaien and their small fraction is in the process of disappearing. Although they live with the Aït Loaien who belong to the Kel Rela tobol,
[651] they pay the annual tioussé of a mézoued of dates to the Tégéhé-Mellet.

177 marabouts from the Touat who brought with them the system of
241 irrigation by foggara. The Tuareg later grasped the advantage they could gain from multiplying these centers, and so, at the moment of the French occupation, more than forty centers were being exploited.

423 The enjoyment of land appertains to the people who first culti-
241 vated it. Land of itself appertains to the amenokal, but he leases it out and in return levies an annual tax -- mesk -- on the harvest, in
[427 the amount of four guessa of wheat, or about 10 kilograms per garden.
65] The land may thus have as proprietors Imochar or Imrad, indeed Enaden, but Iklan may not hold gardens.

Gardens are not cultivated by their proprietors but by Negro
241 tenant farmers, natives of the Touat or Tidikelt, who are called
427 harratin (singular hartani). An arrangement is worked out between them and the proprietors on the following terms: the proprietor furnishes the hartani two loads of millet a year for his sustenance,
[312] seeds, a hoe, and then pays for digging /245/ the wells of the foggara. Once the foggara has been dug, the hartani is responsible for keeping it up. He sows, waters, harvests, threshes the grain, and keeps one-fifth of the harvest. Furthermore, he has the right to sow on his own account in the irrigation canals and to cultivate several beds of vegetables.

[311] Centers of cultivation are set up on the terraces of valleys when
312 they are wide enough and have old alluvial deposits. The feggaguir
[241 /plural of foggara -- translator/ of the Ahaggar have nothing in common with those of the Tidikelt or those in the Saoura oasis, which pipe water to the gardens from great distances, from the geological faults where it is retained. In the Ahaggar rain water collects in the wadi beds and is stored under the sand. The feggaguir are therefore dug in the wadi bed and seek water at distances varying from one to seven kilometers. The wadi presents a certain slope, and it is necessary to bring the water gradually to the same level or to a level slightly higher than that of the gardens. The feggaguir

233 tents, where a few camps live permanently, filling the function of
361 shepherds for the people remaining in the Ahaggar.

At the same time, then, there is nomadism and transhumance.

Definitions of the two kinds of life are as follows: there is nomadism when the tribe accompanies the moving livestock, and transhumance when the flocks are accompanied only by shepherds. And so we see that it is not possible to link the Tuareg to one category or the other, but that they engage in the two kinds of life, even in a mixed system in some instances. Quite often, in fact, the goats are pastured in the Ahaggar with a few shepherds, while the women stay in the mountains, and all the men are in the Sudan with the camels.

/255/ The migrations of these little herds of goats recall the moving of flocks which Vidal de la Blache has described as "mountain transhumance," that is, the camps move regularly from the summer pastures located on the peaks to the winter pastures in the
[192] plain. These moves cannot be as regular as they are in our country, in view of the irregularity of the rains.

It may thus be said that the Ahaggar Tuareg are small nomads by the short range of the moves of their camps, but that they are, on the other hand, great transhumants.

## Rules Concerning Passage and Nomadization With Flocks

423 The lands over which the tribes range are fixed by the amenokal
643 to whom the land appertains. The origin of the tiousse comes
651 partly from the pasture rights which he grants.

Each tribe is proprietor of its land, with full and exclusive
423 enjoyment of it. Others can come settle among the tribe only with
621 the authorization of the tribe's amrar, but the right of way, including the right to water flocks, is secured for everyone.

These rules may be modified in periods of great dryness or in periods following plentiful rains.

611 patrilineal elements being present together in
121 a single complex from its beginning, and we have no good reason to suppose that this tentative assumption may not be equally applicable to the Tuareg. But we are hedged about with lack of information. We are faced here with yet another instance of the futility of empirical deduction unsupported by adequate field investigation of the culture concepts that lie at the root of our problem.

423 **Land Tenure and Tribute.** The Amenokal of
643 the Ahaggar is said to be "the owner of the land" by virtue of his position as paramount chief of a warrior aristocracy. We are inclined to suspect, however, that this may be an oversimplification of the case, for the land of the various tribes that make up the Ahaggar confederation is apparently treated as basically communal property, the title to which is vested in each succeeding Amenokal as an executive trustee rather than as a proprietor. This brings out the very important point that the Amenokal of the Ahaggar Tuareg seems to be essentially a chief executive and not a true king or autocratic chief in the commonly accepted sense of those terms. And, theoretically at least, he can be forced out of office by popular demand. All things considered, his position is not so very different in fact from
643 that of the President of the United States.

622 The Amenokal and the noble tribal chiefs
565 under him collect tribute from those whose
[631] destinies they control, but they are also supposed to protect these people by force of arms when necessary. When the warriors of a noble
[721] clan go raiding they often take the men of one or more of their vassal clans along, and these vassals receive a substantial share of plunder if the raid is a success, but vassals also have an obligation to fight at the side of their noble masters in intertribal wars.

423 Each vassal clan holds exclusive pasturage
[565] rights to a definite territory upon which no one else may enter, without express permission of the Amenokal, excepting noble clans who are always free to use the pastures of their own vassals as and when they please. Some men also hold exclusive hunting rights to certain specified areas. Many Tuareg own garden plots in agricultural centers, and sometimes date palms and fruit trees of other kinds as well, all of which holdings are now par-

423 celed out to Haratin sharecroppers although some of them used to be worked by slaves. Since ownership of land is never outright in [427] any case, each leaseholder must pay rent in one form or another to someone or other at least once a year.

565 Vassal clans usually pay annual tribute to their tribal chiefs or to the Amenokal, or 651 both. This tribute includes such things as dates, millet, congealed melted butter, baby camels, sheep, goats and manufactured articles of various kinds, a share of all merchandise imported by the clan as well as a share of the profits from any caravan commerce they may have, and about half of any booty they may capture in independent raids. Each vassal family used to contribute towards the upkeep of a particular noble family, and the nobles in their turn, men and women alike, were constantly begging from their vassals who could hardly afford to refuse them. But if this begging became unbearable, the vassals would sometimes pull up stakes and move quietly out of reach of their noble parasites.

● 651 Lhote (1955, pp. 190–91) says that all adult males, potential warriors that is, of the Ahaggar confederation, were supposed to pay an annual head tax of 5 francs (then worth about 4 cents) each to the Amenokal as recently as 1948. Hunters annually paid in mouflon for exclusive local hunting rights. After each harvest each Hartani would pay a third of a bushel (more or less) of grain to the Amenokal for each garden plot that he worked, in addition to a share of the produce which he paid to the local leaseholder. But much of this fiscal system has fallen into disuse in re- 651 cent years, for the Amenokal together with 178 his whole camp is now supported almost entirely by the French Government, which also contributes free grain weekly to many of the poorer Haratin. Once more it is the middle class, the vassal Tuareg and the lesser nobles in this case, who suffer most severely from the stresses of cultural change.

**Tuareg Economy and the Roots of the Class** 233 **System.** All Saharan nomads live primarily off their livestock, and livestock lives off pastur- 137 age. There are two main kinds of pasture in the Sahara, the permanent growth of wiry yellowish grass, little woody shrubs and thorny bushes that one finds scattered very thinly

## Chapter IV

## The Tioussé

We know that the "tiousse" is the tribute that the imr'ad must pay to the nobles in exchange for the protection which they receive. 651

This "tioussé" is of two kinds: the first is that which is paid to the chief of the tobol, who may at the same time be the amenokal. This "tioussé" is fairly well fixed, but it varies /54/ nevertheless according to whether the year is good or bad. It is usually paid in autumn, after the date harvest in the oases of the Touat or of the Tidikelt. It may consist of a certain amount of dates or bechna, camel calves, sheep, melted butter, etc., a share of what is brought back by the imr'ad who go in caravans, or finally a share of the loot taken by the imr'ad on raids.

In some fractions, a few groups do not pay the "tioussé" to the chief of the tobol, but to a noble of some ancient tribe, extinct today, which had formerly acquired a small fief, for example, the fraction of the Aït-Loaïn (of the tobol of the Kel R'ela).

There is, as a result, an amazing complexity in which, nevertheless, the Tuareg find their way.

The other kind of "tioussé" is that to which the imr'ad are daily subjected. Each of them and each family among them knows that the maintenance of such-or-such a noble devolves upon them, and he continually comes to beg something. Sometimes the amr'd gives; at other times he gives less. When the noble knows that an amr'id has returned from a caravan and has brought good things, dates for example, he comes and demands his share.

I saw a camp of Iouarouaren (an imr'ad fraction of the Taïtoq tobol), established near the tents of Taïtoq nobles, move in order to settle farther away. They had come from the Tidikelt with dates and other produce, and the noble women were continually coming to beg something at the imr'ad camp. So their chief In Chikadh gave the signal to leave and said that this was in order to put an end to the importunities of the nobles. /55/ 166 651

## Chapter V

### The Raid. The Loot. Its Restitution

The raid is the life of the Tuareg. He needs it. Here it is that he, the noble especially, seeks part of his means of subsistence. The favorite raids used to be those made against the Sudan, the Aïr, and the Niger, because of the negros and negresses who were captured. But the Tuareg is well aware now that French authority surrounds him on all sides, to the north and to the south, and that that system has ended. This is one of the reasons that make him regret his surrender. 648 721

The Chaânba were as predatory and as independent as the Tuareg. They also raided continually. Since their surrender, it is known what a considerable change has taken place, and we have every reason to believe that this will happen among the Tuareg under our influence.

Usually when a tribe has been raided, unless a state of war has been declared, it sends a deputation, a "miâad," to demand from the djemâa of the raiding tribe the loot which was taken from them. The envoys must make their mounts kneel before the tents of the notables of the djemâa and beg for restitution. 728

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



175 p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have had only very short periods of reign.

643 Although the Sultan had but little real power he had a high prestige and was very rich. He had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, as mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, p. 828f.), and he was also entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade. But the Sultan had under his direct command only the negroid populations of Agadez and the villages of In Gall and Teguidda-n-Tecem. The people of Agadez, said to be members of the religious *Ineslemen* class, have never paid any tribute to the Sultan, whereas he received annual payments from the two villages mentioned. All other people of Air apparently had no fixed economic obligations to the Sultan.

[651]

The Sultan had the direct jurisdiction over the negroes under his command. He was the arbitrator and supreme judge in disagreements between the different Tuareg groups to be mentioned below. But he could not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels.

As we have seen the dominant Tuareg group at the establishment of the Sultanry was the Itesen most of whom left the massif long before the arrival of the French. We have also seen that the Kel Geres owing to wars with the Kel Ooui in the 18th century went southwards to the Nigerian borderlands where they became politically independent. In the 19th century the important political groups of the Air Sultanry were the following:–

The Kel Ooui occupying the eastern and most mountaineous parts of the
162 massif. According to figures given by Nicolas for clans and villages of the Kel Ooui
175 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 465ff.) their total number seems now to be about 8000.

631 The Kel Tamat including the Ikaskazan. The group judged by the figures for some of the clans (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471f.) has about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the Kel Ooui. Contrary to the two following groups they were placed under the authority of the supreme Kel Ooui chief, the *Anastafidet*.

The Kel Fadei in the region of In Gall. Their total number according to Nicolas is 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The Kel Ferouan comprising clans in the western parts of the massif including the region of Agadez, and also south of the massif towards Damergou. They number about 5000.

The Kel Ooui group was for periods of the past very important politically. But
175 its political system apparently differed from that of other Tuareg groups which
184 may be explained by the fact that a large number of them were settled agri-
565 culturists. The other Tuareg groups mentioned, on the contrary, were made up exclusively of pastoralists who roamed in the lower parts of the massif and the adjacent plains. In these groups there were two important classes which seem to have been of little importance among the Kel Ooui. The two classes in literature
175 are known as "noble Tuareg" *(Imacheren* sing. *Amacher)* and "vassal Tuareg"
565 *(Imrad*, sing. *Amrid)*. The vassal class in all groups was more numerous than that
631

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*Agg Elkhar*, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [175] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that [643] in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals.

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little [431] authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. [178] 614 634

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 651 [583]

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:– 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Teouit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



634 727 particular case is related of a group of Ioullemmeden Tuareg attacking a camp of Kel Ferouan vassals who made a counterattack and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, then they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

[565] [721] 3) *Ekachchadi*, that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their drum-chief. In this case the drum-chief would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals who were not allowed to engage in warfare on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

634 651 565 The drum-chief had other income from his subjects who paid him an annual fee termed *sadaḳa*. This fee, it is said, was paid not only by vassals but also by noble households of the Kel Azel clan. The sadaḳa fees were collected on behalf of the drum-chief by people of the Echchikhen and by negroid blacksmiths, who form a particular and rather numerous caste. There were definite rules for the payment of sadaḳa. It was computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example can here be mentioned the payments for camel herds:–

| *Size of Herd.* | *Sada a.* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels | 2 goats |
| 15 camels | 3 goats |
| 25 camels | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels | 2 full-grown camels. |

The Echchikhen and the blacksmiths took the sadaḳa animals to the drum-chief. He gave some of them to the collectors who were themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of [735] the proceeds given to poor people by the drum-chief, who would keep a small part for himself.

634 692 The drum-chief had the supreme jurisdiction over his group. In all internal matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge. In difficult cases he would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez or the Echchikhen. All members of the Kel Ferouan group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities *(edriet)* were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen had the right of blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. 682 [696] But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man whose 184 kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Apparently there has never been any 682 fixed size of blood-wealth among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg in contrast to the two

Groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab Tribes of The Sahara.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



It is said that in the 19th century all Tuareg groups of Air and adjacent regions paid an annual tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as follows:– 634 651

| | |
|---|---|
| Kel Ooui | 50 Tuareg veils |
| Kel Fadei | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| Echchikhen | two groups each giving 3 oryx hides |
| Kel Geres | 1 horse with a saddle |
| Ioullemmeden | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| Kel Allekot | 150 kg of millet |
| Damergou<br>Katsena | An amount of millet |

The Tuareg name for these payments is *tissus* meaning "annual tribute". The present drum-chief says that this tribute was given by the groups because all land belonged to the Kel Ferouan group. I think that the correctness of this is perhaps to be doubted, and that there may be other possible explanations:– 1) The payments may at some remote date have been made to the Sultan (Amenokal), but later collected by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became more important or, more possibly 2) they may have been given to the drum-chief for protection. Thus annual duties, termed *tissus* by the Northern Tuareg, were formerly given by foreign Tuareg groups to mighty chiefs of Ahaggar to avoid raids (cf. p. 113). [423] [174]

The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim that in the remote past the whole drum-group of Kel Fadei including its noble clan paid bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as his vassals. This vassalship of the Kel Fadei is said to have ceased in the following way:– The Kel Ferouan drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a Kel Fadei camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the Kel Fadei camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the Kel Fadei. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the Kel Fadei so that after a time he could return safely to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the Kel Fadei Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan. 173

The political system of the Kel Ferouan group may be characterised as simple, all political rights resting in the hands of the drum-chief. He had no particular ministers or deputies, but he would discuss important matters with noble Tuareg of his camp and with the chiefs of vassal clans. 634

It has been mentioned above that the Kel Akarra clan in the past had one 634 614

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



*Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Agouh-en-Tehele Clan.*

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafia).

| Tenants | Value of Sub-Area | Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Agouh-en-Tehele, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tôles. | Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Daledge. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication. | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, Khalifa of the Ikenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds. | 3 goats |
| ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader. | Cultivation grounds at Inagriouel and In Deledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 2 donkeys |
| DEINI, Chief of the Kel Rafia sub-clan. | No particular value. | No land-rent. |
| AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section. | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Aserman section of the Isandan sub-clan. | Cultivation grounds at Tamanrasset. In the past wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaiddin now attached to the Agouh-en-Tehele clan. | Khoseni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaiddin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal. | |

621 427 614 283 651 224 423.

clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Agouh-en-Tehele have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Isekkemaren class. Between the Agouh-en-Tehele and the Isekkemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Agouh-en-Tehele people come to the Isekkemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Isekkemaren visiting the Agouh-en-Tehele. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

000 565 614 [431] [602]

[Text continues on p. 110]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



*Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Dag Rali Clan.*

(The clan is divided into two matrilineages: 1) the Dag Rali proper comprising most members of the Kel Tamanrasset and the Kel Terhananet sections, 2) the Imesiliten comprising most members of the Kel Hirhafok and the Kel Tiñhart sections.

614
427
651
224
613

| Tenanu | Name and Value of Sub-Area | Land-Rent to the Amenokal |
|---|---|---|
| DANGOCHI, Clan chief belonging to the Kel Tamanrasset section. Rights to this subarea is not necessarily vested in the chief. | ISEKRAM<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. – (For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant). | 2 goats |
| JERKIE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section. | TADJEMART<br>No particular value. | 2 water bags, 1 rope of goat's hair. |
| AMMA, of the Kel Terhananet section | ARECHCHOUM<br>No particular value. | 2 water bags, 1 rope of goat's hair. |
| KHABTE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section.<br>ARKASSEN, of the Kel Terhananet section. | IN DALADJ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep.<br>Wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| AFARAK, of the Kel Hirhafok section. | AKALARAREN<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. | Unknown |
| BOUSKEAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the Kel Tiñhart section. | TAHAT<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months. Domestic animals never graze in this area. | Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown). |
| DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet. | ABELESSA<br>A very extended area comprising the village of Abelessa and many other agricultural settlements. | No land-rent as the Amenokal receives dues from crops of every garden in this area. |
| DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet. Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections. | TAESSA<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep. – Domestic animals are never allowed to graze in this subarea, and barbary sheep are protected for three months every year. | 1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep) (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) is also given to Dangochi as clan chief). |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1955, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Rali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent *(share-n-amrdal)* paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:-

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. – Foley 1930, p. 43f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Rali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatos.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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scale raiding. He would discuss all important matters with vassal chiefs and with his noble deputies known as *khalifas*. At present the Amenokal has three Khalifas two of whom live in his own camp, while the third is his representative in Tamesna, where many Tuareg of his drum-group live. 643 [645]

The Amenokal never had the right to part of the bride-wealth from marriages among his vassals, nor did he receive a camel at the death of a vassal as was customary for the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan in Air. The Amenokal still has the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief within his drum-group, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal clan, the Dag Ḃali, has the right to one of the Amenokal's riding camels on the latter's death. [583] [651] [428]

As the representative of the Kel Ḃela drum-group the Amenokal is in certain cases entitled to property owned individually by his subjects. When a person dies without children or paternal kinsmen, his fortune is divided into six parts one part of which goes to his mother (or his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts are given to the Amenokal. In case the deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, the whole fortune of livestock is taken over by the Amenokal. He, however, will not himself make any use of the animals, but will leave them in the clan to which the deceased person belonged. They will there be under the supervision of the clan chief, who also has usufructs of them. Animals taken over by the Amenokal in this way are known as *ehere oua n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group"), or *ehere oua n boutelma* ("the fortune of the public"). 428 643 [614] [422]

The vassal clans of the Kel Ḃela drum-group pay an annual tribute known as *tiouse* to the Amenokal. The size of this payment varies from one clan to another. It is normally collected by the clan chiefs who send it to the Amenokal, but the three subclans of the Agouh-en-Tehele pay their tiouse separately as follows:– 1) The Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan: 600 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kg of butter. The man who brings this payment to the Amenokal is rewarded with a gift of 15 metres of cotton. 2) The Isandan sub-clan: 300 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kg of butter. The man who brings this receives a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. 3) The Kel Rafsa sub-clan: Like the payments from the Isandan. 643 614 651

The whole Dag Ḃali clan pays its tiouse as follows:– 12 bags of millet corresponding to 6 camel-loads are given to the clan chief, who will send 10 bags to the Amenokal, and keep two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole clan gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the Amenokal.

One vassal clan, the Ait Loaien, does not make its tiouse payment to the Amenokal but to a Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Emori section of the Kel Ḃela. According to Lhote a certain family among the Dag Ḃali makes an annual payment to a noble Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Tahat section (Lhote 1955, p. 224). It is in fact possible that the Amenokal nowadays receives tiouse payments which ought to be made to other noble Tuareg. This I imply from the information from a man who told me that the Isandan sub-clan according to traditional rules should pay tiouse to a 565 614 643 651

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



565 Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Rela clan, but as he now lives outside of
614 Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

643 In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to
651 noble Kel Rela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Rela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Isekkemaren class, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Rela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139ff.).

643 Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known
651 as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the
579 Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *ennehet*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347f.).

565 The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was
614 also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg.
651 But the relation (*temaẓlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

233 In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another.
511 The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And
[234] the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food,
[262] but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar
[574] Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together,
[281] as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft,
[237] as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food. 233 511 [492] [439]

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like. [262] [281] [291] [283]

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Ṣela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temażlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. [422] [565] [114] 565 651 [421] [431]

S: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



565 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance,
651 to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The
[178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are
[789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals. but these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility
[721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also
[422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these animals.

The master of a temażlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids, but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the
[643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellag* or half of the booty taken by all vassals
[727] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for
[426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been given to the Amenokal. The temażlait-masters were apparently without any judicial
[692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller units within the drum-group – the temażlait-relations – were predominantly economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit, the drum-group.

### *The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.*

565 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately
192 open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheren* (sing. *Amacher*), but correctly this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohar* (sing. *Amahar*). It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb *ahr* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that this latter word is identical with *Hoouara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

565 /50 cont. / Atakor and the Arechchoum are their pasture regions. It is a tribe of rich camel and goat raisers.

[162 563] It is the most important imrad tribe under the Kel Rela; there are about 390, served by nearly 400 Negroes. The Dag Rali are stubborn mountaineers, a little narrow minded. They [147] are remarkably resistant to fatigue when they walk in their rough country. Let us also note their adaptation to the cold of December, January, and February; the camps are generally situated at an average altitude of 2, 000 meters. The Tuareg [291 132] are clothed in two cotton gandurahs and are quite often wrapped in a "dokali"; they bear cold which drops as low as -12° in the tent toward five in the morning.

The tribe's amrar is Akroud ag Ama (1). The handsomest

1. Died in 1952.

tents belong to the Dag Rali, and the men are renowned as hunters of wild sheep.

[651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is about 12 mezoued /leather grain sacks/ of dates, eight bottas /bottles/ of butter, the loan of 12 ewes for milk, and ten goats for slaughtering.

Several subgroups may be seen within the Dag Rali, named mainly according to the regions they inhabit: Kel Arechchoumi, /sic/ and the Ikhechemaden, who formerly were imrads of the Ta'ltoks.

[162 563] The most numerous imrad tribe is the Adjouh n'Téhélé. It includes approximately 590 individuals and more than 750 Negro domestics. Although imrads, the Adjouh n'Téhélé are regarded as different by the nobles. Toward the eighteenth century, this tribe, which was living in the A'ir at the time, came of its own accord to incorporate itself into the Kel Ahaggar. This was done to escape the exactions /51/ of the sultan of Agadez, who each year demanded a virgin as a sign of vassalage. This tribe's territory of nomadization extends to the east and south of those of the Dag Rali.

565 621 /51 cont./ The most important agricultural centers belonging to the Adjouh n'Téhélé are Tarhaouaout, In Dalag, and Tahifet. There are several subgroups: the Isanden in the Isernan region; the Kel Rafsa, Tahifet region; the Relaïdine, Tin-Tarabin region; and the Kel Hagalella to the south of Tamanrasset. The tribe's amrar is Samaalatokh ag Mansouri. [651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is approximately the same as that paid by the Dag Rali.

565 [157] The Adjouh n'Téhélé have an open character; they are gay and like to joke, but they have the reputation of being quick tempered and irascible.

The Aït Loen tribe is, like the preceding ones, an imrad tribe of the Kel Rela. It is descended from Takamat. These Tuareg are nomads in the eastern Atakor and sometimes penetrate into Ajjers territory. Their most important center is Tin-Tarabin. [491] There are no roads going into the territory of this tribe, so their tents are rarely visited.

[162 563] There are about 500 Aït Loen; they possess 620 black servants. The Kel Torha, Kel Anahef, and Kel Telerteba are the three subgroups of the tribe, whose chief is El Ralen ag Nissoran. [651] Their tioussé is about four mezoued of dates to the Kel Rela and one mezoued of dates paid by the Kel Torha to the Tédjéhé Mellet.

The Aït Loen are experienced guides for going to the Ajjers and Ténéré regions.

[162 563] The Iklan Taoussit number about 600, served by 650 Negroes. They are nomads in the Tahelra, the Silet region, the Amded and Tekouiat wadis, and in the northern part of the Adrar des Iforas. They formerly belonged to the Imenanes, which accounts for their name, which means "servant of the tribe." [651] Their tioussé is on the order of four mezoued of millet, two bottas of butter, and six milch goats. Dali ag Akoumaris is the tribe's amrar. The subgroup of the tribe which sojourns almost continually in the Tin-Zaouaten region has Khadida for chief.

565 /53 cont./ The Mertoutek center belongs to them, and they possess gardens at Dehine and Abezzou.

The tioussé is set at one young camel and a mezoued of [651] dates. The chief of the tribe is Ikharis ag Akcham. They are rich camel raisers and are excellent guides to the Tefedest and the Amadror.

[162 563] The Kel Amguid number about 88 and possess 9 Blacks. They are related to other subgroups of the Issakamaren. They range over the region of Amguid, the Igharghar, and the Tefedest. The Kel Amguid have gardens at Adenek, Mertoutek, and [651] Ideles. They pay a tioussé of four mezoued of dates, an assaber /mat for the tents/, and a young camel. Kelli ag Khabouba is the chief of the tribe.

[162 563] Imrads of the Kel Rela, the Kel Tazolé number 60 Tuareg and 60 Negroes. They possess an important camel herd and nomadize in the region of Tazerouk, chiefly to the east of that center.

The chief of the tribe is El Mamoun ag el Hadj Baba. Tazerouk is their center, and the small neighboring centers [651] belong to them. Their tioussé is three mezoued of dates, three lambs, and a four-year-old camel.

The Kel Tazolé conduct caravans in the directions of Ghat and the Tidikelt. They exchange millet in Aïr.

[162 563] The Eouen n'Hada number 241 individuals and 90 Negroes. They are nomads in the Tefedest, the Ifetessen, and sometimes in the Selbourak wadi. Tadjemout is their agricultural [651] center. They pay the amenokal a tioussé of three mezoued of grain, a young camel, and a rug.

The Eouen n'Hada, whose amrar is Nassamou ag Elias, are guides for the Immidir.

[162 563] The Kel Immidir are around 170 individuals; they have 45 black servants. This tribe nomadizes particularly in the tassili, region of Arak, the Ifetessen, and the Rharis.

[651] They own the palms at Tadjemout and the Djoraf. This tioussé amounts to six mezoued of dates and a rug. The amrar

565 /54/ is Sidi Rali ag el Hadj Mohamed. The Kel Immidir are caravaneers going toward Ghat and the Tidikelt.

The Kel Tefedest tribe is poor: for 61 Tuareg, it has only [162 563] 11 Negroes. Allied to the Kel Tazolé and the Kel Immidir, it nomadizes in the Tefedest and the Immidir. The Kel Tefedest formerly possessed gardens in an abandoned center near In-Amguel (Adjelil). Their tioussé is four mezoued of dates and [651] a young camel. The amrar of the tribe is Ikkan ag Magamed.

The Ikoutessen are very poor and few in number: 85 indi- [162 563] viduals and 20 Negroes. Lamari ag Moudi is the tribe's amrar. They were paying a tioussé of two mezoued of dates, a guerba [651] /waterskin/, and an empty mezoued. The Ikoutessen ordinarily sojourn in the Amguid region; they travel to the Sudan and the Tidikelt.

Formerly belonging to the Taïtoks, the Kel In Tounine now are under the Kel Rela. They are not numerous and live in the Igharghar region. The Kel In Tounine possess gardens in the Ajjers. They paid the Taïtoks, very irregularly, a [651] tioussé of six mezoued of dates and two sheep. They are guides for going in the direction of the Ajjers.

The Kel Ahnet, former imrads of the Taïtoks, at present [162 563] belong to the Kel Rela. This is a poor tribe of 125 Tuareg and 10 Negroes. They are nomads in the Ahnet, the Acedjerad, and the Adrar des Iforas. They are excellent guides for the Tanezrouft. They possess gardens at Abalessa, Tahart, Tit, and Tibeghim, and palm trees in the Ahnet.

The amrar is Daniel ag Chikkat. The Kel Ahnet trade between the Tidikelt and the Iforas.

[162] The Iouarouaren tribe is composed of only 47 individuals and have no Negroes. It nomadizes in the Acedjerad but resides mainly in the Tin-Zaouaten region. Its chief is Bahman ag Beuh. The Iouarouaren possess palm trees at Tibeghim; they have the reputation of being excellent hunters of addax antelopes. They formerly paid the Taïtoks a tioussé of a [651] mezoued of bechena /millet/ and two bottas of butter. They are guides for the Tanezrouft.

565 /55/ An imrad tribe of the Tédjéhé Mellet, the Kel Ohet
[162 563] includes 80 Tuareg and 20 Negroes. It is allied to the Kel In Tounine and has many dealings with the Ajjers. The tribe's amrar is Habib ag Ouhaggarène. Its members nomadize in the eastern Tefedest and own gardens at Ohet and Dehine. The
[651] tioussé formerly was four mezoued of dates, rope, and guerbas.

The Kel Terrourrirt are imrads of the Tédjéhé Mellet.
[162 563] Their tribe is not numerous: 62 Tuareg and six Negroes. They are very poor. They camp in the Amguid region and in the Tassili des Adjjer and possess several gardens at In-Amguel.
[651] The amrar is Hadj Mohamed ag Salah. They were paying four mezoued of dates, four sheep, rope, and guerbas. They trade with the Tidikelt.

The Ibardjien are not Issakamaren. They are imrads of the
[162] Kel Rela. It is a tribe destined to die out; there are only 24 left. They reside in the Tazrouk and Ideles region. They were remarkable hunters of wild sheep and had dogs trained for this practice.

The presence in the Ahaggar of former soldiers, most of them Chaamba, must be noted. They marry Tuareg women, found families, and raise their children in the Tuareg customs. They are fairly numerous in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

## The Maalmines. Inaden

565 Within Tuareg society are found artisans called
463 "maalmines" in Arabic, but whose Tamashek name is "inaden." The masculine singular is "inade;" plural, "inaden." The feminine singular is "tinat;" plural, "tinadin."

The maalmines make up a tribe whose members almost always marry among themselves. They are related to the maalmines of the Iforas and of the Aïr. Although very black skinned, they do not have negroid characteristics. The origin
[174] of the maalmines is as obscure as that of the Tuareg tribes; some think /56/ they are Jews who were captured by the Tuareg

439 /66 cont./ girls. The return of the millet caravans is the major event of the year. It is estimated that the millet imported from the Sudan constitutes two-thirds of the Tuareg's food. Once in the Ahaggar, the millet is stored in silos made of clay bricks, based on rock slabs so as to be protected from termites. These constructions, neither cylindrical nor conical, are a curious sight standing near the camps or the villages. The owners are sometimes absent, but no one tries to steal what could easily be taken.

## Agriculture

423 [643] The chief characteristic of the land system in the Ahaggar is that the amenokal is, by virtue of his office, the sole owner of the land.

[651] Whoever wants to drill a foggara must first ask permission of the amenokal and must pay him a tax of ten kilograms of wheat per garden.

The garden is the unit of cultivation. One foggara irrigates from /67/ six to ten gardens. Any other surface unit would have no meaning since the size of the cultivated plot depends on the flow of the foggara, which varies according to the year and to the different agricultural centers. At Tamanrasset a foggara waters 3.80 hectares; at Tit, 3.30 hectares; at Ideles, 4.0 hectares. A garden's area, then, varies from 40 to 60 ares. The wheat harvest may amount to 400 kilograms per hectare; the tax in that case is about one-
[651] fortieth of the harvest. Whether the owner of the garden is a Targui or a hartani, the tax (mek) is paid to the amenokal.

Trees planted in the gardens remain the property of the amenokal, for they are attached to the ground.

This inalienable possession of the land by the amenokal has enabled the Tuareg to conserve the rare cultivable lands in the Ahaggar. The force of their tribal custom saves them from their individual lack of foresight. Unfortunately, this right of the amenokal retards agricultural evolution and the maximum productive use of the lands of the Ahaggar, because the cultivator can never own the land he works. He has no

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*Sub-areas of the territory of the Dag Rali* tribe

(The tribe is divided into two halves:— (1) the *Dag Rali* proper comprising the sections named *Kel Tamanraset* and *Kel Terhenanet*, (2) the *Imessiliten* comprising the two sections named *Kel Hérhafek* and *Kel Teñhart*)

| Tenants | Name and value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe and leader of the *Kel Tamanraset* section | ISEKRAM<br>Hunting of barbary sheep. For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant | 2 goats |
| YEKI of the *Kel Tamanraset* section | TAĞMART<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| AMMA of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | ARECHCHUM<br>No particular value | 2 water bags<br>1 rope of goat's hair |
| KHABTÉ of the *Kel Tamanraset* section<br>&<br>AKHASEN of the *Kel Terhenanet* section | I-N-DALAĞ<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| AFAREK of the *Kel Hérhafek* section | AKAL-EREREN<br>Hunting of barbary sheep | Unknown |
| BUSKEYAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the *Kel Teñhart* section | TAHAT<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown) |
| [361] DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections *Kel Tamanraset* and *Kel Terhenanet* | ABALESSA<br>A very extended area comprising the village of Abalessa and other agricultural settlements | No land-rent as the *Amenukal* receives dues for every garden in this area |
| DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections of *Kel Tamanraset* and *Kel Terhenanet* Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections | TEZZA<br>Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area | 1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep). (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) are also given to Danguchi as tribal chief) |

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*Sub-areas of the territory of the Aguh-en-tahlé* tribe
(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named Kel *Taṛhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Aṛefsu*)

| Tenants | Value of sub-area | Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal* |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA ALATOKH, chief of the *Aguh-en-tahlé*, chief of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*, leader of the section *Kel Twez* | Cultivation grounds at Taṛhawhawt and I-n-dalag<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys for domestication | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, *khalifa* (leader) of the *Ikenkeren* section of the sub-tribe Kel *Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Collecting of wild seeds | 3 goats |
| ABERGALI, *khalifa* of the *Kel Tarayin* section of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt* | Hunting of barbary sheep | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the *Kel Tarayin* section. No position as leader | Cultivation grounds at I-n-agriwal and I-n-dalag. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys | 2 donkeys |
| DEYNI, chief of the *Kel Aṛefsa* sub-tribe forming only one section | No particular value | No land-rent |
| AKAWALI, chief of the *Isandan* sub-tribe and leader of the *Kel Afara-ke hin* section | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet<br>Hunting of barbary sheep<br>Wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| HANU, *khalifa* of the *Kel Azernan* section of the *Isandan* sub-tribe | Cultivation grounds at Tamanṛaset<br>In the past wild donkeys | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, *khalifa* of the *Ṛelayddin* now attached to the *Aguh-en-tahlé* tribe | *Khoseni* is in command of the *Ṛelayddin* territory to which all members of the *Ṛelayddin* have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the *Amenukal* | |

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzaṛ*, while a small camp is called *ṛéwen* or *tamezzaḳ*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100–200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *heregen* (or *amezzaṛ n heregen*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *aharagen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

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Fig. 130. Semi-wild date palms in the canyon-like Aharhar valley of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The palms are owned and harvested by pastoral Tuareg.

245 (Aharhar and Êherir) where "semi-wild" palms are abundant. These palms are owned by pastoral
[221] Tuareg of various tribes. Their dates are harvested in the autumn when Tuareg palm owners with
[342] their slaves live in straw-huts or huts covered with palm leaves situated among the palm trees.

Similar plantations of palm trees which are left to themselves most of the year are also found in
245 Ahaggar, notably at Silet-Tibeghin. Part of these palms are owned by members of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe
423 (the sections of *Kel Tamanrasset* and *Kel Terhenanet*) and by members of the very small tribe, the
[651] *Ikechchemaḍen*. The palm-owners give as an annual payment to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar one bunch
[565] of dates from all palms which have more than two bunches. The yield of another part of the palms
[651] belongs to the vassal tribe *Iklan-en-tawsit* (the sections *Kel Silet* and *Kel Tahalṛa*). For usufructs, members of these two sections make a collective annual payments to the *Amenukal* comprising four
245 bags of dates, twenty goats, two ropes of goat's hair, and five water bags. The dates are harvested by
[221] Tuareg of the above mentioned tribes in August-September. Harvesting is done with sickles and is
[492] finished in three to four weeks when the palm-owners return to their camps with dates packed in bags
[564] and loaded on donkeys and camels. In harvesting their dates most Tuareg are assisted by black-
[465] skinned agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) of Abalessa who are given a certain amount of dates
[463] for their work. These agriculturists build the huts in which the palm-owners live during harvest (cf. p. 338 f.).

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of this yield he gives 10 kilos to the Amenukal, or to the 243
Tuareg who has territorial rights (cf. p. 151), while the yield of one garden bed – that is about other [65] [362]
ten kilos – is given to a blacksmith who in return mends hoes and other agricultural implements. The
necessary amount of seed-corn, comprising about 50 kilos, should also be withdrawn from the winter
crop yield so that his total net profit is about 630 kilos of wheat and barley. To this amount of cereals 241
can be added the yield of summer crops (millet, sorghum, maize, tomatoes, and other vegetables) for

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Fig. 138a–c. Grown cereals from Ahaggar.
a. Millet (*ánfif*) (*Pennisetum typhoideum*). b. Two types of sorghum (*aborz*, *safsaf*).
c. Maize (*aqqafif*) (*Zea mays*).

643 *amenu* + (*a*)*kal*, "*amenu* of the country". The first part may be the now extinct sing. of *Imenan*, the original meaning of which is unknown ("princes"?); this agrees with Foucauld's statement that normally *Amenukal* is used as sing. of *Imenan*, meaning *iyen daṛ-Menan*" = "one of the *Imenan* tribe" (Prasse, verbal information). My own view is that though the title may perhaps refer to *akal* [423] meaning "land" it is to be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". It is evident, as pointed out recently by Briggs, that an *Amenukal* as a supreme chief does not own the land in any ordinary sense, but rather owns it as a representative of the whole community (cf. Briggs 1958, p. 88). However, many Tuareg of the south do not connect the word *Amenukal* with "*akal*", and even in the past when the supreme *Amenukal* of the *Imenan* reigned over the Northern Tuareg, he apparently did not have the supreme command of the whole country. When Duveyrier stayed among the *Kel* 173 *Ajjer*, the country of these Tuareg was divided between certain noble tribes. This division was said 631 to have taken place in the following way:— The first Tuareg who settled in Tasilé-n-Ajjer were the 614 *Imenan* and the *Iforas*, while other tribes immigrated at a later date. It happened one day in the past that the supreme chief of the *Imenan* summoned the noble women who had sons with rights of succession to chieftainship, and to each of these women he alloted a particular territory as their apanage. Thus the noble woman of the *Uraṛen* tribe was given the valley of Iṛarṛaren, while the noble woman of the *Imanṛasaten* tribe gained the valley of Tekhammalt (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 323). According to this popular account the land of the *Kel Ajjer* was divided between noble tribes even at a time when 175 the supreme chief of the *Imenan*, the *Amenukal*, was the supreme ruler of the *Kel Ajjer*. In Duveyrier's 631 days the important land-holding tribes among the *Kel Ajjer* seem to have been the *Imenan* in the 614 Tasilé around Ganet, the *Uraṛen* north of the Tasilé Mountains around the valley of Iṛarṛaren, the *Imanṛasaten* east of the *Uraṛen*, and finally the *Iforas* who lived in the region south and southwest [565] of Ṛadames. The *Iforas* Tuareg were then, as to-day, held in high esteem because of their position as *Ineslemen*. They also claimed themselves to be noble by origin. They had no vassals attached to them, but one of the *Iforas* tribes had territorial rights around Ṛadames, and it had the right to dues ● [651] from all foreign caravans passing through the country. Other land-holding tribes possessed the same rights for their particular territories, and their members (i.e., apparently their chiefs) at certain seasons camped around the caravan roads leading through their country to collect dues from caravan [643] traders (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff., 359 ff.). The *Kel Ajjer* country in Duveyrier's days was divided between various noble tribes, and the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Ajjer group*, the chief of the *Uraṛen*, had no rights over the whole country as such.

565 The noble Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* had rights over certain vassal tribes which did not necessarily 614 live within the territory of the noble tribe to which they were attached. Duveyrier tells us so much 642 of this vassalage that it is possible to outline the main structure of this very interesting political institution.

The noble tribes which had particular rights over vassals were the *Uraṛen*, the *Imenan*, and the *Imanṛasaten*. The last-mentioned tribe remained loyal to the ancient rulers of the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Imenan*, to whom they constituted a sort of armed guard in the past. The *Imanṛasaten* were in opposition to the *Uraṛen* but the latter tribe was very powerful because of its direct authority over most vassal tribes. In all 17 vassal tribes or tribal sections were commanded by the *Uraṛen*, while the *Imenan*,

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## THE FEDERATION OF AHAGGAR TUAREG

(Size of tribes according to Lhote 1955a, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949.)

| | Noble tribes | | Vassal tribes | | *Isekkemaren* tribes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The *Kel Ṛela* Drum-Group | *Kel Ṛela* | 275 | *Dag Ṛali* | 386 | *Iheyawen Hada* | 253 |
| | To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble tribes, with the *Iforas* group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal tribes. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The *Kel Ṛela* women, like noble women of the *Uraṛen* (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and *Kel Ferwan* (Ayr), do not associate freely with people of other classes. | | *Ayt Lowayen* | 400 | *Kel Inṛer* | 176 |
| | | | *Aguh-en-tehlé* | 585 | *Kel Téfedest* | 61 |
| | | | *Ṛelayddin* | 40 | *Kel Immidir* | 179 |
| | | | *Iklan-en-tawsit* | 500 | *Kel Tazulet* | 158 |
| | | | *Ibettenaten* | 129 | The *Isekkemaren* tribes descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble *Kel-ahem-mellen* tribe. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu*, claims that they were originally their vassals. | |
| | | | *Ireḡenaten* | 435 | | |
| | | | These two tribes are not true vassals by origin. The *Ibettenaten* is said formerly to have had noble status and the *Ireḡenaten* descend matrilineally from the *Ibettenaten*, patrilineally from Arabs. | | | |

643 territorial chief over the country inhabited by the vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group. He had the
634 right to dues from caravans passing through the territory of that drum-group, while further west
[651] such dues were given to the chief of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group. He had the right to land rents from the vassals of his groups, while land rents further west in the *Taytoḳ* country belonged to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ* group.

643 To-day the *Amenukal* holds a very strong position as chief of the whole country of Ahaggar, and
[644] his power has been much augmented because the French govern the country through him. In the past the position of the *Amenukal* was a less powerful one. All Tuareg say that he was then not particularly strong, and there are many examples of the vassals of his own drum-group showing disobedient
[565] to him. The *Amenukal* had to be elected, and, contrary to what is often stated in literature on the subject, he was not elected by the noble Tuareg of his own tribe, though they had a certain influence, but by his vassals who also had the right to dismiss an *Amenukal* if dissatisfied with him. The *Amenukal* lived like other Tuareg and his sole insignia was the drum which followed him on journeys and served to summon his vassals.

643 We have mentioned above (p. 148 ff.) that the *Amenukal* even to-day receives a land-rent (*éhéré-*
651 *n-amaḍal*) from all tenants of the sub-areas of vassal tribal territories, and the rules of payments and

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| | Noble tribes | Vassal tribes | *Isekkemaren* tribes |
|---|---|---|---|
| The *Taytok* Drum-Group | *Taytok* 33<br>There are hardly any Tuareg of pure *Taytok* stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief *Mokhammed ag Mokhammed* who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the *Taytok* drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The *Taytok* and their vassals frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past. | *Kel Ahnet* 127<br>*Iwerweren* 47<br>*Tégehé-n-Efis* 127<br>*Ikuttisen* 84<br>*Ikechchemaden* (now mixed with the *Dag Rali* tribe of the *Kel Rela* drum-group).<br>*Irechchumen*<br>A tribe patrilineally related to the noble *Taytok*, matrilineally to the vassal tribe of *Kel Ahnet*. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals. | *Kel I-n-tunin* (about 20 tents in 1938). |
| The *Tégehé-Mellet* Drum-Group | *Tégehé Mellet* 33 | *Kel Turka* (part of the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe of the *Kel Rela* drum-group). | *Kel Terurit* 62<br>*Kel Uhet* 70 |
| Noble Tribes Without Vassals | *Kel-ahem-mellen* | The *Isekkemaren* tribes are said formerly to have been vassals of this tribe | |
| | *Ikadeyen* | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | |

rights have been outlined. These payments were also made to the *Amenukal* by people of his drum-group in the past, and then as now he received an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* from all vassal tribes. The size of such *tiwsé* payments in the past is unknown, but they have no doubt varied from one tribe to another as they do to-day. I describe in brief the *tiwsé* payments made by the two most important vassal tribes to illustrate this:— (1) The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe is divided into three sub-tribes which make their *tiwsé* payments separately as follows: The *Kel Tayhawhawt* sub-tribe gives 600 kgs of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kgs of butter. The man who brings this payment to the *Amenukal* is rewarded with 15 metres of cotton. The *Isandan* sub-tribe gives 300 kgs of millet

643 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man
651 bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Afefsa* sub-tribe its collective
614 payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Rali* tribe pays *tiwsé* as follows:—
613 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads,
565 are given to the chief of the *Dag Rali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*. – All vassal tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Amenukal*, and this also applies to the *Isekkemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwsé*, are in fact tokens of vassalage,
[634] and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as drum-chief of the *Kel Rela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to their particular drum-chiefs.

643 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his
634 drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war booty taken by his
565 vassals. This right was known as *abellaq*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel Rela* drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal
[614] kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in the tribe to which the deseased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138). As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief
[614] within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels on the latter's death.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*eddiyet*)
634 among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151).
681 Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance,
[684] he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly
[682] the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the
[614] murderer. When the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid.
[683] For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and
[178] such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished
[640] by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he had in the past.

178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

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considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can décide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Rali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916–17, the drum-group of the *Kel Rela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Rela* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amrar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Rela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* and *Taytoḳ* tribes might also receive *tiwsé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Adrar* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Tédalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given him a similar payment for protection.

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173 Talak. This tradition is acknowledged as true by certain Tuareg of Ayr, but all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg
643 claim that the Sultan has never had any right over the country of Ayr. They state that his Tuareg
[634] title of *Amenukal* has nothing to do with *akal* (i.e. "the land"), and that the country of Ayr from the remote past until now has been owned by the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 421). However,
175 if we turn to the information given on this subject by the *Agadez Chronicle*, we learn that until the
643 establishment of the Sultanry it had been customary for the powerful noble tribes to claim a tax of
651 horses from the caravans which passed their particular territories. The first Sultan of Ayr sent a letter to learned people of an Islamic country to ask whether such taxes were lawful or unlawful. And he was answered that these taxes were to be considered good because those who received the taxes protected the very important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo. The taxes should therefore be collected by the Sultan who again should give them to the Tuareg (Urvoy 1934, p. 155). Before the arrival of the French the Sultan had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, which is mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, 828 f.), and he was entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade and to annual taxes from the sedentary Negroes of Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

643 The tradition which says that the Sultan descend patrilineally from the Sultan of Constantinople and matrilineally from a slave woman clearly indicates the position of the Sultan in Tuareg society. The Sultan is looked down upon by fair-skinned Tuareg because of his black skin, but he is also endowed with prestige because of his supposed descendance from the Sultan of Constantinople.

643 A certain *elbaraka* or benediction is ascribed to him, and all people who want to greet the Sultan
772 must remove their sandals. The Sultan is always buried in his palace at Agadez, and it is said that
[766] if he was buried outside there would be a great risk that his subjects would dig up his skeleton to use
[765] part of it for amulets. It is also said that the Sultan preserves a part of the skeleton of his predecessor for amulets. This must be viewed in connection with the particular power of *elbaraka* attached to the Sultan, and it is important to note that the Sultan is believed to possess an unusual power of fertility, which is secured and maintained until his death by means of certain medicines acquired from the Sudan. Thus it seems as though the Sultan possesses some of the qualities of the Sudanese divine
175 kings, but in practice he has little power. The *Agadez Chronicle* refers to Sultans who acted as war
643 leaders of all Ayr Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Ayr it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of pastoral Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have only reigned for very short periods.

631 Although the Sultan is the supreme chief of all Ayr Tuareg, he does not have the same relationship
634 to all Tuareg groups, for many of them are placed directly under the supreme chief of the *Kel Ewey*
648 group known as the *Anestafidet*. The *Anestafidet* originally lived at Asodey in Central Ayr, but he now lives in Agadez where he holds a prominent position as a chief. Like most *Kel Ewey* he is black-skinned and related to the Hausa population of the Southlands, where he lives for a part of the year with the important task of organizing the trade between Ayr and the south. The *Anestafidet* has always been closely attached to the sedentary Hausa of the Southlands, and is said to have part of his family living at a small village named Blanko between Tanut and Zinder. A new *Anestafidet* may even be elected

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



according to which the ancestresses of the two noble tribes came from *Awjila* together with a third sister, who became the ancestress of the *Iberdpanen*. This story runs as follows:— 173 614 634

The three sisters left their original homeland of Awjila riding on bull-camels. One night when the girls were not very far from Iferwan and the three sisters had gone to sleep, the eldest, named *Sabenas*, awoke before her two sisters and removed the hobble-ropes from their riding camels which disappeared in the desert. Thus the only riding camel left was *Sabenas'*, and when the sisters arrived at Iferwan she alone rode on a bull-camel while her two younger sisters were walking. At Iferwan there was then a mighty chief named *Azeyezzer*. When the girls arrived there he asked them who they were, and *Sabenas* said that one of the two girls who travelled on foot was her sister, but not her true sister, while the other girl was her *tameyit* or vassal. The supreme chief *Azeyezzer* was very eager to marry *Sabenas* as she rode on a bull-camel and consequently was of noble birth. *Sabenas* agreed to marry him on the condition that bride-wealth should be paid in land. And it was agreed that she should have for bride-wealth as much land as she could ride through on her camel at a stretch. She rode off from Iferwan and her camel did not get tired until she was close to Tagedufat south of the Massif. Here *Sabenas* dismounted and threw her stick towards the south. The stick fell down at the well of Tagedufat, and *Sabenas* now had the right to all country ranging from Iferwan in the north to the well of Tagedufat situated in the southern plains. This vast territory has since then been owned by the descendants of *Sabenas* who are the true noble *Kel Ferwan* or *Irawatten*. But the Tuareg of this tribe claim that they have since then greatly augmented their territory so that they are the true owners also of the land south of the Massif as far as Tessawa, which is very close to the frontier of Northern Nigeria.

The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past all Tuareg groups within the *Kel Ferwan* territory and a few other groups of Tuareg and negroid sedentary people paid an annual tribute known as *tewal* to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. This annual tribute was calculated as follows:— 173 631 634 651

137 342 634

Fig. 289. Mat tent of the R.l.b type inhabited by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



173
631
634
651

| | |
|---|---|
| *Kel Ewey* | 50 Tuareg veils of indigo cotton |
| *Kel Faday* | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Echchikhen* | two small drum-groups in Damergu each giving 3 oryx hides, as their vassals were mainly hunters |
| *Kel Geres* | 1 horse with a saddle |
| *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwilemmeden* | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Kel Allakot* | 150 kg of millet |
| *Damergu & Katsena* | An amount of millet |

Most of these groups, it is said, paid the annual tribute known as *tewsé* because the land belonged to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. But the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg did not pay an annual tribute for this reason but because they were subdued in wars. It is much to be doubted that these annual tributes were paid regularly to the drum-chief by such warlike groups as the *Kel Dennek* and the *Kel Faday*, who frequently joined forces against the *Kel Ferwan*. As to the *Kel Faday*, the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they were formerly the vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They say that in the remote past the whole drum-group of the *Kel Faday*, including its noble tribe, paid bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief as a token of vassalage, which is said to have ceased in the following way:— The *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a *Kel Faday* camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the *Kel Faday* camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the *Kel Faday*. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the *Kel Faday* so that after a time he could return to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the *Kel Faday* Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan*.

634 The drum-chief had as an insignia of his political power over all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg a large drum
534 known as *ettebel* (or *ayezu*). The word *ettebel* was, and is, used not only as a name of the drum but
778 also as a name of the drum-group and the drum-chief whose title of address is *ettebel*, or "drum". This drum had a sacred or mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced, the man charged with this task would perform it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. We see that connected with the drum were certain taboos equivalent to those which are believed to maintain the mystic power of *elbaraka*.

634 The drum-chief had the only drum of the *Kel Ferwan* group of which he was the supreme chief.
202 The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal tribes but also by the
[614] noble *Kel Azel*. The chief of the *Kel Azel* had the title of *amyar* or *ayolla* like all other tribal chiefs, but he was addressed *ettebel* although he did not have the right to a drum.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS



634 livestock of a murderer in reality was the property of the drum-chief. Apparently there has never
682 been any fixed size of blood-wealth among the *Kel Ferwan* in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara.

634 The token of vassalage among the *Kel Ferwan* was the payment of half of the bride-wealth to the
565 noble lords so that the drum-chief received bride-wealth from his particular group of vassals, the chief of the *Kel Azel* from his group. The two noble lords received other payments from their vassals.
651 They would inherit a camel on the death of an individual vassal, and they received certain annual payments known as *sadakat* or *tamesodek*. This fee in its origin was a religious one, and certain tribes such as the *Imezzureg*, the *Kel Akerra*, and the *Isakaranan* claim that in the past, as nowadays, they made this payment to the *Ineslemen* Tuareg and not to the noble chiefs. But true vassal tribes gave their *sadakat* or *tamesodek* to the two noble lords. The fees were collected on behalf of the lords by people of the *Echchikhen* and by negroid blacksmiths, who are very numerous in Ayr. There were definite rules for the payment of the *sadakat* fees which were computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example the payments for camel herds can here be mentioned:—

| Size of herd | *Sadakat* or *tamesodek* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels . . . . . | 2 goats |
| 15 camels . . . . . | 3 goats |
| 25 camels . . . . . | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels . . . . . | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels . . . . . | 2 full-grown camels |

The *Echchikhen* and the blacksmiths took the *sadakat* animals to the two noble lords, who gave some
432 of them to the collectors, themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at
735 the market of Agadez and most of the proceeds given to poor people by the noble lords, who would keep a small part for themselves.

634 The two noble lords, the drum-chief and the chief of the *Kel Azel*, had the right to parts of war-
721 booty taken by their vassals according to the following rules:—

565 (1) *témaggedaz*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the noble lords, the drum-chief or the chief of the *Kel Azel*. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g., riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the noble lords, while the other half should be given to their vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that only one seventh of the booty should go to the noble lord. The word *téfades* is said to have been used synonymously with *témaggedaz*.

(2) *téwit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the *Kel Ferwan* group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the noble lord would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A particular case is related of a group of *Iwilemmeden* Tuareg attacking a camp of *Kel Ferwan* vassals

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The title of Amenukal is

634 used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *ettebel* is reserved to those
565 chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-*
651 *akal*, have the right to an annual tribute known as *Ituse* (*chiwsé*) from their individual vassals, and it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaka* or *tamessadek* must also be given to them, because the drum-chief is inseparable from his *Kadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasit* or *takote* (*takuté*), that is the
634 right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain
565 delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels. The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. – These are the
[178] main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been
[642] no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579–586 & 1950a, p. 188–193, 201–209).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

642 The *Kel Ataram* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that
565 in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel*
[114] *Tademaket* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchar*) and vassals (*Imrad*, sing *Amerid*, or *Dara*). The dominant noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with
[567] Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Bélla*). They pay *tiwsé* to the noble Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals, but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All
[614] tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amrar*, but all important decisions are made
[646] by the *myad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This
643 council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with warfare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of
642 the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position
565 (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). – To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:—
[614] Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Idnanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.

565 Unions, or more exactly concubinage, between Imrad and
[595] Negresses are very common.

Imrad have the right to possess black slaves who are employed
[567] in household work and in keeping the herds.

Schirmer has said that the Ahaggar Imrad were sedentary peoples
114 entrusted with keeping the gardens; (1) he has committed an error,
241
565

1. Le Sahara, p. 298.

certainly because of erroneous information. This is all the more
serious since Duveyrier had already defined exactly the position of
the Imrad. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord,
p. 334.

114 Duveyrier translated the word amrid by the word "serf," which
565 corresponds exactly to the Arab expression ra'aya, and also because
566 the ra'aya are subjects liable to forced labor and taxes, whom the
marabouts are not allowed to possess by Moslem law. Duveyrier
believed he was confirmed in his opinion because of the fact that
the Inislimen of the Ajjer did not have the right to have Imrad. This
is an error of interpretation. This Arabic term cannot be suitable
under the circumstances, for the social class of the Tuareg Imrad
has no equivalent among the Arabs.

We have preferred the term "vassals" which is more suitable
in our minds, because the Imrad are not unconditionally subject to
[651] forced labor, they pay a perfectly defined vassalage fee, their
[643] chiefs participate in the election of the amenokal, and they them-
[657] selves own slaves.

/167/ Moreover, the term "vassals" has been adopted by
Richer, Deniker, Verneau, etc.

565 been told about two such marriages which seem to have been contracted in fairly recent times. I think
582 that the main reason why the noble Tuareg do not marry with their vassals is that such marriages
634 would tend to break down the structure of the political system, as the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many in-laws among vassals to whom the conduct would be institutional joking or avoidance. For in addition to true relatives by marriage there are numerous classificatory ones. This will become clear from the description of the rules of behaviour valid for relatives by marriage.

634 In spite of the application of the rules of joking relationship on a political level, troubles within
578 the drum-group were far from unknown. And it is remarkable that even between the related tribes
614 of *Irawatten* and *Kel Azel* there might be very severe quarrels. There was a latent opposition
565 between them which might occasionally lead to fighting between noble Tuareg of the two groups. The existence within the drum-group of another noble tribe, the *Kel Azel*, with a certain number of vassals was always a danger to the position of the drum-chief as a ruler of the whole
[661] *Kel Ferwan* group. And noble Tuareg of the *Irawatten* tribe say that in the past it even happened that the drum-chief punished the *Kel Azel* very severely, not only taking all their livestock, but also burning
[701] down their camps. The drum-chief was able to maintain his power over the whole *Kel Ferwan* group because most vassal tribes were placed directly under his command, and because these tribes camped around Agadez which was dominated by him.

The drum-chief also had trouble with another tribe of his group, the *Kel Akerra*. This tribe is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the *Ibararojiten* tribe. In the past the drum-chief assisted by vassals of the whole group imposed vassalage upon the *Kel Akerra*, who, however, refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the *Kel Akerra* to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the *Kel Akerra* tribe became small and insignificant. It is said that the tribes of *Imezzureg* and *Isakaranan*, who like the *Kel Akerra* are noble by origin, also did not give their bride-wealth to the drum-chief in the past. But the three tribes were vassals in the sense that they had to give part of their war-booty to the drum-chief and could not carry out raids on their own.

[701] A certain discord reigned within the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the drum-chief had the support of most tribes of vassals, who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups, but also quell internal
634 insurrections. However, the three northern tribes of *Kel Tédalé* were so numerous, so rich in camels,
614 and lived so remote from the rest of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes that the drum-chief could not maintain his power over them. They were only nominally part of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the *Kel Tédalé* paid no tribute to other chiefs (Joubert 1939, p. 246), though it is said in Ahaggar that in the past they paid an annual tribute to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. But the *Kel Tédalé* were politically independent of other groups in Ayr, which is also stated by Jean
565 (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim the *Kel Tédalé* to be true vassals of their
614 drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104; Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three tribes the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427). The *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg I met all emphasized

The amenokal, who at first had supreme command, later 643
had to yield some power to the benefit of some chiefs and to 642
give them special "tobols" with some amr'id tribes, which
did not pay the tioussé to him but paid it to the chiefs of the
new "tobols." This was a source of continual arguments and [668]
wars (see the historical section, Book Two /not translated/),
and one thinks in spite of oneself of, "Who made you a count?"
and the answer, "Who made you king?" /53/

Before the French occupation of the Saharan Oases, each tobol had its own independant life, and the amenokal, or supreme chief, did not interfere in any way in the internal government of the "tobols." He only intervened, with the agreement of the djemaâ, to straighten out disagreements which might arise between tribes or to call to arms all tribes of the confederation against a common enemy, as during the war between Azdjer and Ahaggar.

The chief of each "tobol," of each noble tribe, or of 631
each imr'ad fraction, all indiscriminately bore the title of 643
"amr'ar" , which means primarily "old man,"
like the Arab word "cheikh," all the meanings of which it carries. Thus, the chief of the tobol of the Ta'ttoq bore the title of amr'ar. For reasons of a political nature, the title of amenokal was conferred on him, which brings to two the number of amenokal of the Ahaggar confederation.

Thus the amenokal was the supreme chief of the confederation, and at the same time chief of his "tobol," while the amr'ar was the chief of a less important "tobol" of an imr'ad tribe.

173 Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé means "reed people." Legend has it that they
631 were forced to eat the roots of that plant during their flight from the Aïr. Their chief was then a man of Herculean size named Assékal ag Louka; the legend says that his feet were so big that when his pursuers saw the footprints, they preferred to abandon the chase.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé claim to be originally from Mecca where their remote ancestor received a camel from the Prophet. He was supposed to drink only the milk of the camel, but he committed the sin of killing it. Therefore, they had to flee, and after long years of wandering, they settled in Aïr.

At the time when the Imrad were divided up (1750), they were part of the Issandaten. The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé went to the Kel Rela, and the other fraction, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, went to the Taïtok.

631 The land over which they range borders on that of the Dăg Râli. It goes from Tamanrasset to Ourchi wadi, then from the Koudia as far as Afrahouhine and Tamaghine.

[651] They pay a tribute to the aménokal, the same size as that of the Dăg Râli, but they do not share captured goats and sheep with him.

They are currently allied with the Dăg Râli and the Relaiddîn.

They took sides against us in the battle of Tit where they had
[648 about ten men killed. During the insurrection of 1916-1918, they
rose up, and their women even seized thirty mehari /dromedaries/
• 669] belonging to the meharist company at Fort Motylinski. On the other hand, they did not take part in the revolt directly and were the first to ask for mercy.

[161] /195/ Totaling 60 men in 1905, the tribe numbers about 150 persons at the present time.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé own nearly a thousand camels, which they
[233] graze on the Saharo-Sudanese borders, and 1,200 to 1,400 goats.
[651] Every year they pay a tribute to the amenokal of 12 bags of dates, 6 pots of butter, and the usufruct of 10 goats. Most of the cultivated
[423 land and the foggara of Tarhaouaout and Tahifet belongs to them,
241] and they have gardens at Ămsel, Tamanrasset, and Talan-Tédit.

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Ǎrokam, Serouanout, and in the Ǎnahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[233] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are [241 423] their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

631 They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the •669 Iheaouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up [797] the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 The Aït Loaien form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which [181] must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[651] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokal.

The Relaiddîn. -- The Relaiddîn probably came from Aïr, like the Ǎgouh-en-Tehlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162 651] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tiousse to the Iboglân.

This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 [177 233] camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1, 500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

631 /197/ They do own a few gardens at Tazerouk, Ti-n-Tarabine, Aïtoklane, and Sersouf, but all lie fallow.

[669] During the revolt, they left the Agouh-en-Tehlé in dissent, but they soon surrendered, for their position between the Ahaggar and the Ajjer always put them at the mercy of raids by the latter.

[651] The Relaiddin pay an annual tribute of two loads of grain, a pot of butter, and a goat to the aménokal.

[162] To the Relaiddin must be added a small fraction on its way toward disappearing; they are the Kel Bardjen, of undetermined origin. [674] Numbering some ten warriors, they are recognized as inveterate robbers, always encroaching on the nomadic territories of others. Bardjen is located between Tazerouk, Imerera, and Ideles. The [423] territory of the Kel Bardjen was probably marked off about 1750 and [212] defined by monoliths, some of which bear tifinagh characters.

The Ibettenaten. -- The Ibettenaten are not "Imrad," properly speaking. According to Benhazéra, this tribe was formerly noble. They were probably subjugated by the Kel Rela following the murder of an Amacher /singular of Imochar, the aristocratic class. Ed./ committed by one of them. Since then, they pay the tioussé to the [651] aménokal.

The Ibettenaten probably descended from Kel Afella Iforas on the maternal side and from Tidikelt Arabs on the paternal side.

631 About thirty tents are nomads in the Sudan near Bou Djbiha, but 162 they go up as far as Taoudart and In Ouzal in the Adrar des Iforas, following the pasture grounds. Fifteen other tents enfeoffed to the Kel Fadél camp in Aïr.

They number 160 persons, 62 of them men, in the 1938 census.

631 They are entirely herders, making very few caravans and owning 233 no cultivated lands. They have very fine pasture grounds at their disposal. They own about 800 camels, 1,000 sheep, and (a rare thing, but quite in keeping with their area of nomadization) nearly 100 cows.

631 They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since
[669] they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaïa.

565 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tăousit, still called
644 Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they
631 made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be
[184] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion
[241] to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and
[162] they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[23] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tăhalra, and in the region of Silet-Ăbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers
[24] of Tîgeneouin, Ăbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm
423 grove at Tibeghîn, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is
563 synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and
631 Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hâda
Kel In Rhar'
Kel Tăfedest
Kel Immîdir
Kel Tăzoûlet
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Téroûrirt
Kel Ouhet

563 They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elias, Oulad
[162] Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

[233] They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout,
[423 which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and man-
241] power. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism
[795 /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims
798] who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

[669] In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Tăfedest.

/200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by
[173] Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

[162] Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Tăfedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

[233] Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head.
[241 They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them
423] entirely, and at I-n-Ămegal, Déhine, and Ăbézou.

Like the Ihéiaouen Hâda, they are mostly affiliated with the
[795] Tijaniyyah sect.

During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us,
[669] which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

[224] They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the aménokal six bags of dates and
[65] a young camel.

The Kel Tăfedest. -- The Kel Tăfedest or Kel Tégatoufé (or ant
[162] people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

563 They nomadize near the Garet ed Djenoun, the Ăseksem, Ămegid, and the Ădrar Torha; they own about 300 goats and 30 [233] camels. (1938 census, as opposed to 600 goats and 200 camels in 1905.)

[241 423] They are the owners of a few gardens in the Tăfedest.

They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah order.

[795] The Kel Tăfedest annually pay the amenokal four loads of dates [65] and a young camel.

The Kel Immîdir. -- The Kel Immîdir, or Kel Mouydir, are still called Iheiaouen-n-Tin-Emma. They are of the same origin as the Iheiaouen Hâda and the Kel Tazoulé.

[162] They are subdivided into Kel Terahart and Kel Raris and include about 50 people. They nomadize in the Immîdir massif toward Joraf and Tagmout and have areas for nomadization between Ifetessen and In Eker.

[233 464] They are poor people who own about 20 camels and 250 goats. Very good merchants and excellent caravaneers, they hire themselves out to camel owners to provide for their needs.

/201/ The Isselamaten must be added to the Kel Immidir. They [162] are a small fraction of about 15 tents which lives with them and nomadize near Aneserfa, Ărak, Ahohor, Tagemout, and Tiredjert.

The Kel Tazoûlet. -- The Kel Tazoûlet or Dăg el Mesk camp in the Tăzoûlet region and near Tăzerouk. They number about 225 [162 233] people and own 285 camels and more than 2,000 goats. They dryness of the region which they inhabit forces them to take refuge in the [132] Sudan when there are no rains in the Ahaggar.

[241 423] They possess gardens at Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine, and at Tăzerouk.

1 [669] They were in contact with the Aït Loaien and followed the latter in revolt, participating with them in the battles of Tit and the Ilaman wadi.

[795 798] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah. Four or five of their number have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

563 [651] Every year they pay the aménokal three loads of dates and three young goats.

[554] The Irréguénaten. -- The Irréguénaten, like the Issekkemâren, are assimilated vassals of a social rank superior to that of the Imrad.

They are of Tuareg mothers from the Ibettenâten tribe and Arab fathers from the Kounta tribe.

They are divided into two groups: 1) the Adrar Irréguénaten or Issettafénine Irréguénaten, who descended from a sherif of Gourara named Abdelmoumen, whose two sons Mouima and Inchelane married Ibettenâten women; 2) the Ahaggar Irréguénaten or Ihaggarénine Irréguénaten, who descended from the Dermachaka, an incorporated tribe of Kounta and Ibettenâten.

All of them nomadize in the northern Ădrar des Ifôras and the Timétrine and even push as far as Erg Chech. They also visit the Ăhnet and Tamasna.

This is a very rich tribe engaged in raising camels. The [233] Irréguénaten own more than 2, 300 camels, 350 cows, and more than 2, 350 goats and sheep.

[162] In 1908 they numbered 50 to 60 men, according to Benhazéra. The 1938 census raises the figure to 358 persons, 100 of them fighters.

[651] /202/ They pay the tioussé to the descendants of the Inemba and to the descendants of Si Mohamed ag Othman.

Although they associated with the Adrar Kounta, they main- [669] tained relations with the rebellious marabout Abidine, who took refuge among the Kel Ahnet. They probably even served him as spies, and the people of Ădrar des Ifôras held them in suspicion for a long time.

[28] [462] Their camel raising is very well known, and their wives are quite expert in leatherwork.

There are also Irréguénaten in the Niger loop, but they have [602] no bonds of kinship with the Ahaggar Irréguénaten.

631 Taken away from the Ťaitok and made free, they were put back under their command in 1909.

631 131 They nomadize from Silet to Reggan and Aoulef. The land over which they range includes all of the Ǧdrar Ǧhnet, the Ǧseg'rad, and part of the Immidir. The boundaries which separate them from the Issekkemâren are as follows: Tin Tir'atimine and Tagemout (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the northeast; Arak wadi as far as Amsir, and Méniet (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the east, by the In Rabir well; they have at their disposal all the mountainous part on the south, including In Ziza and Nahalet, that is, the whole region bordering on the Tanezrouft and bounded on the east by Ouallen, the last watering place before the Tanezrouft; to the north by the Ǧsouf Mellen wadi.

[132] In dry years they descend to the Sudan in the region of In Abangarit-In Gall and Tamaïa. They camp near the Ťaitok in the Ǧdrar Tazerzaït, where they escape the control of the Algerian and Sudanese authorities.

They formerly exploited a sebkha in the In Méraguen wadi.

631 [162] In 1905 they were a group of 35 to 40 tents. In the 1938 census, they numbered no more than 58 persons, 21 of them men.

[181 721] Rather pugnacious by nature, they always accompany the Ťaitok on their expeditions and share the loot with them in equal parts.

[669] During the World War, they stayed in the Ǧhnet and /207/ took part in the revolt only individually by supplying the rebels, willingly or by force. Only at the end of 1917, under the influence of Ǧjjer elements, did they rise up and pillage in Ǧdrar and at Ǧkabli.

[181 795] They are rather unreligious; they follow the Malekite rite, and some are members of the Tijaniyyah order. They profess great respect for the marabouts and willingly receive them in their camps. At the beginning of the conflict the agitator Abidine of the Timbuktu Kounta, took refuge among them; he had led the struggle against us in Timbuktu for a long time. [669]

631 The Kel I-n-Toûnîn owe their name to the wadi near which they ordinarily nomadize in the Tăfedest massif. At the end of the last century they took advantage of the dissensions existing between the Tăitok and the Kel Rela as well as the internal strife of the [651] Tăitok to free themselves of the latter. They moved to the Ăjjer, claiming kinship with them, but they pay them no taxes.

After their surrender to the French, the Tăitok reclaimed them, and General Laperrine agreed to their demand.

They took a big part in the rebellion of 1916 and were the [669] first to rise up, for they were under the direct influence of the Ăjjer.

Taking refuge in Fezzan at first, they set about combating us by launching raids against the fractions under our influence. Later they participated in the combat of Aïn el Hadjadj. Then they went to the Sudan, where they succeeded in taking with them a number of Tăitok, their Chief Amri among them, in spite of the efforts Moussa ag Ămastân made to keep them.

[162] They number about 20 tents which camp in the north of the Tăfedest massif and go up as high as the Ădrar Ifetessen on the foothills of Immîdir.

[582] They are allied to the Tégéhé Mellet by recent marriages.

Famous as good herders, they own about 100 camels and 300 [233 439] goats. They are also good caravaneers who trade on the markets of In Salah, Ghat, and Ghadames.

[241] They have a few gardens cultivated at Ideles and in the Tassili centers of cultivation.

[162] The Iouarouaren. -- The Iouarouaren form a little tribe of about 15 tents, which nomadizes with the Kel Ăhnet in the Adrar.

Some say they are natives of Aïr, others say of the Ăjjer.

173 /210/ When an Ăjjer (or Ifôras) woman had been taken prisoner by the Aïr people, according to Sidi ag Kéradji, it was Ămastân 631 ag Ourzig, maternal uncle of Sidi, who paid her ransom and married her to a Kel Ăhnet; from this union sprang the Iouarouaren. (1)

631
[175]

1. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 177.

[582] They often camp near the Dăg Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Tăitok in their peregrinations.

[423] They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghîn, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given [233] to Moussa ag Ămastan. They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The tioussé paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a [65] bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemaden live mixed in with the Dăg Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Tăitok tobol.

[192] Their name means "the very ugly ones," from the Tamashek akechchemdh, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Ămastân.

[162] They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

[423] They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dăg Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dăg Râli.

[162] The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ăjjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

[162] The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeïen form a little tribe of some 15 tents, whose camp lies near Tit and Tigeneouin.

619 Kel-I-n-Tounîn Imrad rather than accept the supremacy of Moussa
648 ag Amastân and the Kel Rela. For a long time they kept up the agitation, encouraged by the former Amenokal Attici ag Amellal, and they were one of the causes of our difficulties with the Ajjer.

619 It is now a small tribe of about 15 tents nomadizing near
[162] Amegid, the Ounane, the Eguéré, and /212/ Tiramar. Its strength comes especially from its vassals, who could not be more turbulent.
[669] They probably participated in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and Attici and Anaba ag Amellal, the leaders of the drama, belonged to that fraction.

The Tégéhé-Mellet have no Imrad properly speaking, but several Issekkemâren fractions are enfeoffed to them.

The Kel Terourirt. -- The Kel Terourirt are Issekkemâren and nomadize northeast of the Ahaggar near Tiramar, Tahihaout,
[162] Ounane, the Eguéré, and the Garet ed Djenoun. They number 25 tents at the moment.

[669] During the 1916 events, they followed the Kel Ouhet and the Kel I-n-Tounîn in rebelling.

[651] They pay the amrar of the Tégéhé Mellet a tioussé which annually adds up to four bags of dates and four goats.

The Kel Ouhet. -- Like the Kel Térourirt, the Kel Ouhet are Issekkemâren. They are subdivided into several small fractions: the Kel Raris, the Dag-Khamaya, and the Dag Iknân. In all there are
[162] about 40 tents (51 persons in the 1938 census, 23 of them men).

They camp in the northern part of the Tafedest massif and go as far as Amegid and into the Igharghar Valley.

[233] They own a number of camels and frequently visit the markets
[439] of the Tidikelt and Ghat.

Some of them have left the Ahaggar and now live in the Ajjer.

The Kel Torha. -- The Kel Torha, or Dag Houa, are Aït Loaien and their small fraction is in the process of disappearing. Although they live with the Aït Loaien who belong to the Kel Rela tobol,
[651] they pay the annual tioussé of a mézoued of dates to the Tégéhé-Mellet.

[197] Abd Allah Ed-Djafar, a lieutenant of Sidi Okba ben Nafi (died in
[173] 683), whose two companions died near a little Hirhafok village, at Tiokine exactly, where their tombs are still the objects of veneration to a certain degree.

In legends the natives even claim that Sidi Okba was killed by a Tuareg (Koceilata), thus confusing their history with that of the people from Aurès and the Kounta Dag Ech Cheikh who call themselves the descendants of Sidi Okba. This explains the ancestral hate which exists between them and the Tuareg. It has, however, been proved that Sidi Okba ben Nafi never penetrated into the Sahara, although perhaps it is a question of a confusion of names or a homonym.

[172] In addition to the Tiokine tombs, there is the rock inscription painted on the ceiling of a grotto at T-i-m-missao which testifies to the passage of the first Islamizers. This was pointed out for the first time by Duveyrier and followed up by Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, pp. 205-208. Since then, this inscription has been the subject of a detailed study by Th. Monod, Journal des Africanistes, vol. VIII, part 1, 1938, pp. 83-95.

[177] We must not believe that the Tuareg adopted Islamism right away, for although they accepted the Koran as a guide to their religious faith, they gave up nothing of their mores or their former pagan customs. The Arabs even claim that they apostasized as much as fourteen times, and they still consider them very lukewarm Moslems today. Furthermore, they probably belonged for a long time to the heretical sect of Wahabis, with whom they [169] were allied; this was just another way of rebelling against the conquerors.

771 The religious lukewarmness of the Tuareg is such that they do
781 not always profess great respect for marabouts and very few of them
[788] make the pilgrimage to Mecca. When Duveyrier made his trip to Ghat (1860) there were some thirty pilgrims among the northern Tuareg (1); at the present time there are probably only three men

1. Op. cit., p. 413.

among the Ihăggaren who can be honored with the title of El Hadj.

But this tepidity does not always exclude fanaticism. Barth already mentioned that he had to face it during his trip and that he was assailed by questions and had to discuss different religious dogmas with some Tuareg; he extricated himself from this by a perfect knowledge of the Koran and of Moslem mores. /306/ Their
[669 religious ignorance makes them, at the same time, easy instru-
773] ments in the hands of marabouts who have often profited from this to stir up hate for the Christians and to push them into a holy war, as was the case for the revolts of 1915 - 1916 - 1917. In spite of the bitter failures which resulted, their confidence in their thaumaturgy was not at all diminished.

871 At the present time there are several Koranic schools in the
783 Ahaggar conducted by Arab marabouts and set up in the agricultural centers. They are mainly attended by Harratin children, for Tuareg children, who stay in their parent's camps, cannot go to them because they are too far away. A marabout family, originally from Cheurfa d'Aoulef (Tidikelt) settled in the Ahaggar some forty years ago and enjoys a great veneration. Not long ago it was fixed in the little center of Dar-Mouli, where it enhanced the value of the place, but as a result of the dryness of the spot it was moved to Esselissekine. There each year a great alms feast takes place,
[796 and all the Ahaggar Tuareg come. Its present chief, Moulay el
[554] Ouafi ben Moulay abd Allah is an example of piety, although still quite young, and he is surrounded by great respect.

797 In speaking of the Islamization of the Tuareg, Henri Basset said that the latter had taken almost nothing from Islam, except

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law *(aleggas*, pl. *ilousan)*,
[601] or sisters-in-law *(taleggest*, pl. *tilousin)*, while the spouses of descendants of all
brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law *(aḍeggal*, pl. *iḍoulan)*, or
[606] daughters-in-law *(taḍeggalt*, pl. *teḍoulin)*. These terms are always used reciprocally,
and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized
634 his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the
614 members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble
565 origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged
to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is
[687] said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely
not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the
634 Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the
614 Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other
565 drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel
114 Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg
claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and
Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd
thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans
the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427) The Kel
Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation
was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg
are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems
to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related
to the Ihaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter
clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from
634 the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power
614 over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the
565 Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have
had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibarawochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by
[558] vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who
however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-
chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission
and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-
wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel
Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief
[669] had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign
Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

# Political Systems of Pastoral Tuareg

In the introductory chapter on the Tuareg I mentioned that they fall into a number of main groups. 181
These groups or federations constitute the largest political units and are the following:— the *Kel* 642
*Ahaggar*, the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Adrar*, the *Kel Ayr*, the *Kel Geres*, the *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek*, and the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram*. The federation of *Kel Tadenakket* in the region of Timbuktu was subjected to the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* from about A.D. 1800 (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). In this chapter I attempt to outline the structure of some of the federations, and to consider certain problems connected with their historical development.

The two groups of Northern Tuareg which are so intimately related to one another, both culturally 173
and linguistically, formed originally one large political group under the command of the very powerful 642
noble tribe, the *Imenan* in the region of Ganet. It was not only considered noble to a very high degree, 614
but it was very highly estimated because of its supposed relationship to the Prophet. Many noble 565
Tuareg to-day, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, will claim themselves to be *Echcherifen* through relationship to the ancient *Imenan*, whose leader was the supreme chief of all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer until about A.D. 1650 or somewhat later in the 17th century. The *Imenan* about that date [669]
lost their power owing to insurrections led by the powerful noble tribe, the *Uraren*. A Tuareg of this [643]
tribe killed the supreme chief named *Guma* and the leadership of the *Kel Ajjer* now passed over to the chief of the *Uraren*.

The political system of the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century has been described in some detail 175
by Duveyrier with particular reference to the *Kel Ajjer* among whom he lived in 1859 (cf. Duveyrier 64
1864). Among the authors who visited the Northern Tuareg in the 19th century Duveyrier is by far the most important, and his brief description of political organization is of particular value.

When the *Imenan* lost their supreme authority owing to the rising of the *Uraren*, they retained 643
their titles of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*), which are used for all descendants of the *Imenan*, their [614]
women even to-day being known as *Timenukalin* (sing. *Tamenukalt*). The chief of the *Imenan* was still "the *Amenukal*", a title used for supreme and independent chiefs of large political units. It is a word known to all Tuareg, and there have been some discussion about its proper meaning. The meaning according to Duveyrier is "the owner of the land" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 331), and this interpretation is that generally followed by modern authors (e.g., Lhote 1955, p. 189; Blanguernon 1955, p. 47), though Foucauld does not go into the proper meaning of the word *Amenukal* but contents himself with the statement that it is the title of "a chief who is not subjected to any other chief" (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1213 f.). According to Prasse *Amenukal* is very probably a composit of

[p. 393]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



634 565 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzouren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had con-
[463] stantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly
[701] by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers and protectors.

Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals *(Imghad)*
114 as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:– "One of the functions
565 of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for
614 long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the
[422] camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible
[672] for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p. 141f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen
[567] both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much about this.

Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin:
174 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air
565 from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of
614 noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a, p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg have emigrated.

591
614

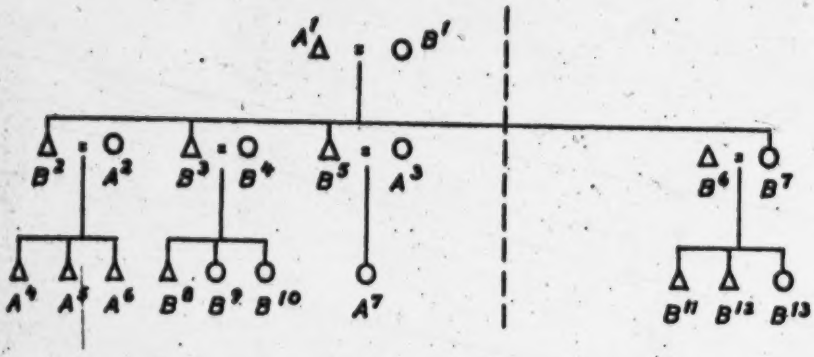


Fig. 103. Illustration of the rule of residence for persons descending from a man of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe ($A^1$) and a woman of the *Dag Rali* tribe ($B^1$). The *A*-people belong matrilineally to the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe, the *B*-people to the *Dag Rali*.

People living with the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

At the death of $A^1$ of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe all persons will settle in the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe with maternal kinsmen of $B^1$, and they will remain there also after the death of $B^1$.

At the death of $B^2$ his wife $A^2$ and her children $A^4$–$A^6$ will go to her father or maternal kinsmen of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe as will be the case with $A^3$ and her child $A^7$ at the death of $B^5$. At the death of $B^3$ his wife $B^4$ and children $B^8$–$B^{10}$ will remain with the *Dag Rali*.

People living with the *Dag Rali* tribe.

If $B^6$ dies while $A^1$ is still alive, $B^7$ and her children $B^{11}$–$B^{13}$ will go back to the camp of $A^1$ in the *Aguh-en-tehlé* territory. After the death of $A^1$ they will return to the *Dag Rali* to join the camp of $B^2$, $B^3$, and $B^5$. [768]

If for instance $B^3$ kills a man of a third tribe (e.g., the *Ayt Lawayen*) the *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Dag Rali* tribes are both responsible for the payment of blood-wealth as long as $A^1$ is alive and $B^3$ lives with the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. If $A^1$ has died and $B^3$ consequently lives with the *Dag Rali*, this latter tribe alone will be responsible for the payment of blood-wealth. [682] [672]

(3) After the death of the husband's father the couple will join the husband's matrilineal kinsmen (his mother's brothers) together with his mother should she still be alive.

(4) At the husband's death his wife and their children will move back to the wife's kinsmen. [768]

As may be seen from this complicated rule of residence, a single death may in fact give rise to a change of territory and camp for a great many people. This is illustrated in Fig. 103 which depicts the rules of residence in the light of actual marriages between the two vassal tribes, *Dag Rali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



614 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member
591 of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with
[65] the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two
[672] tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a
611 tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is
[428] valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered
[565] indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed
614 by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one par-
613 ticular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area
565 which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are
631 named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also
423 attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have
[643] particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339).
[162] Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory
[578] of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names –
613 generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections
621 within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
567 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as
[428] his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can inherit from their father.

565 /171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with
833 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
558 not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that
[842] the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

567 The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
[838 other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found
679] for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed
[272] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves
[304 first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not
234] hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former amenokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Amastan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

567 A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or
when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally
685 does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense, the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice, according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

631 /197/ They do own a few gardens at Tazerouk, Ti-n-Tarabine, Attoklane, and Sersouf, but all lie fallow.

[669] During the revolt, they left the Agouh-en-Tehlé in dissent, but they soon surrendered, for their position between the Ahaggar and the Ajjer always put them at the mercy of raids by the latter.

[651] The Relaiddin pay an annual tribute of two loads of grain, a pot of butter, and a goat to the aménokal.

[162] To the Relaiddin must be added a small fraction on its way toward disappearing; they are the Kel Bardjen, of undetermined origin.

[674] Numbering some ten warriors, they are recognized as inveterate robbers, always encroaching on the nomadic territories of others. Bardjen is located between Tazerouk, Imerera, and Ideles. The

[423] territory of the Kel Bardjen was probably marked off about 1750 and

[212] defined by monoliths, some of which bear tifinagh characters.

The Ibettenaten. -- The Ibettenaten are not "Imrad," properly speaking. According to Benhazéra, this tribe was formerly noble. They were probably subjugated by the Kel Rela following the murder of an Amacher /singular of Imochar, the aristocratic class. Ed./ committed by one of them. Since then, they pay the tioussé to the

[651] aménokal.

The Ibettenaten probably descended from Kel Afella Iforas on the maternal side and from Tidikelt Arabs on the paternal side.

631 About thirty tents are nomads in the Sudan near Bou Djbiha, but

162 they go up as far as Taoudart and In Ouzal in the Adrar des Iforas, following the pasture grounds. Fifteen other tents enfeoffed to the Kel Fadéi camp in Air.

They number 160 persons, 62 of them men, in the 1938 census.

631 They are entirely herders, making very few caravans and owning

233 no cultivated lands. They have very fine pasture grounds at their disposal. They own about 800 camels, 1,000 sheep, and (a rare thing, but quite in keeping with their area of nomadization) nearly 100 cows.

492 484 the pasturing place as rapidly as possible, and so they assure a strictly disciplined march for the caravan.

From this come the two systems of proceeding used respectively by the Arabs and the Tuareg.

486 643 648 /315/ Caravans which used to cross the country of the Ihaggaren were obliged to place themselves under the latter's protection by paying a toll agreed upon in advance. The duty went to the amenokal, but protection was ensured only within the bounds of his authority, which quite often did not go beyond the limits of his own tribe. And so the caravaneer was subject to continual solicitations from the people living on the land he crossed, and it was often very difficult to escape them. A guide was sometimes placed at his disposal and received remuneration in kind.

When the boundary of the territory was reached, the pro- [579] tection stopped there, and the greed of the Tuareg was so great that they sometimes did not hesitate to go pillage outside their territory the caravan they had just protected. This often brought on conflicts from tribe to neighboring tribe, but in the final analysis everything was settled at the expense of the caravaneer.

427 492 Sometimes the Tuareg rented out their camels. Some Tassili tribes made a specialty out of transport between Ghademes and Ghat, while the Issekkemaren agreed to rent their animals between In-Salah and the Sudan. They derived considerable profits from this work.

As a result of these continual deductions in advance, the caravaneer could transport only goods whose trade was very remunerative.

484 679 Caravaneers have a custom of placing provisions needed for their return in the rocks or in sheltered places. These provisions are left without a guard, and nobody would think of taking them.

484 This was observed by Duveyrier, Captain de Bonnemain, and
674 Bou Derba on the Ouargla-Ghat itinerary. We have witnessed similar actions ourselves, but the goods stored in this way belonged to some Ihaggaren, and no one would have dared lay a hand on
[609] them. The thing is less safe in the case of a stranger's property.

When a camel dies en route, the load that it was carrying is left on the spot and put under public protection. The caravaneer is always certain to find his property, even six or eight months later. In this regard, it is well to say that the Tuareg, raiders though they must be, are not thieves. When a theft has been committed in their /316/ country, the guilty party is generally a Negro, but rarely a Tuareg of the white race.

439 What were the products transported? Manufactured goods, for the most part, generally made in Europe. There were fabrics and silks which the Tuareg and the Sudanese eagerly sought, and there were knickknacks, unmounted sword blades, sugar, and coffee
[177 272] (tea only recently made its appearance in the Sahara).

All these goods were resold or exchanged for ten times their value. On the return trip the caravaneers brought back ostrich plumes, gold dust, ivory, and little Negro girls and boys bought as slaves and resold for very high prices in the cities of Algeria. Leather was also the object of an intensive traffic, as well as medications of plant or animal (ostrich fat) origin which were part of the Sudanese pharmacopoeia and much appreciated by the Arabs.

177 Today, except for gold and ivory, which have become rare
439 and whose traffic is in the hands of Europeans, and except for the sale of slaves, which has been forbidden since the French
[486] occupation, trade has remained the same. But the routes have become free and the Tuareg can no longer count on their former profits. There was one resort left, that of making themselves caravaneers in their turn and using their many camels in that way. This is what they have done.

648 /68 cont./ of the underground water level, which often results in the abandonment of a site, does not permit a costly installation. About ten years ago, a former sergeant-major of the Sahara corps settled at Tiguenouine, a small center 70 kilometers south of Tamanrasset; he quickly gave up his idea of farming and became a nomad. Another Frenchman, a retired soldier, nomadizes in the Tin-Zaouaten region; he leads a life like the Tuareg, and his herds prosper.

Officials reside at Tamanrasset, lodged in administration quarters which sometimes have a small garden for family use. The community maintains a large garden where experiments in farming and arboriculture are carried out.

241 The Tuareg, as we said, are the only landowners; let us now see how they utilize their lands. As in all countries under Moslem influence, the method of agriculture is the "khamassa," with certain local variations. The khammès usually is a hartani,/69/ a Negro originally from the Tidikelt or a freed slave.

The agricultural system in the Ahaggar is supported by the foggara, which should water six to eight gardens. The proprietor of the foggara, generally a Targui, engages one khammes per garden. He will look among the harratin of the village for gardeners who will come to terms with him. An
241 oral contract is made between the proprietor and the khammès,
675 before witnesses. This contract may be summarized thus:

The proprietor agrees, first of all, to provide the land, which he has rented from the amenokal. He must also provide his gardener with water from the foggara he has had dug, with a "mesaha" (hoe), and with the necessary seed. In addition, the proprietor must clear the land at his own expense and must see to the improvement of the soil. He must advance the hartani food in the amount of 60 guessa of millet per year.

In exchange, the khammès undertakes the work in the fields, the threshing, and the upkeep of the foggara.

As "salary" he collects a fifth of the harvest. He also receives the fallen and gleaned ears, the harvest from ten

241 /69 cont. / "guemouns" /plots/ situated near the majen (clay
675 basins), and the wheat and barley sown in the séguias
/irrigation ditches/ which belong to him.

In addition, the wheat found mixed with the dust of the threshing ground belongs to him by right, as well as the staw and several vegetables that are grown. Lastly, if the flow of the foggara slackens and new wells must be dug upstream, the khammès is paid three guessa of wheat per well dug.

In case of disputes between the proprietors and the khammès,
[692] the palavers are held in the presence of the chief of the tribe (on the Tuareg side) and the chief of the village (on the harratin side). The amenokal intervenes upon appeal, but rarely, for these contracts fixed by custom are, in general, scrupulously observed.

The Targui has limited confidence in the honesty of his khammès, an opinion often justified, for the hartani deliberately pushes over ears of grain so he may have them by his gleaning rights. The proprietor does not have the magnanimity of Boaz. Therefore, when harvest time comes, he installs himself /70/ and all his family near his garden in order to make sure that the operations are properly carried out. The khammès must furnish food for the Targui, a heavy burden for the former. That is the custom, which also holds that in case the Targui is prevented from coming, the hartani pays a due of 25 kilograms of wheat to guarantee this right of sojourn.

Another type of contract exists called "aril" in Tamashek and "nous" (half) in Arabic. The net harvest is divided into two equal parts, taking into account the following provisions:

The proprietor Targui must furnish the land rented from the amenokal, a foggara, and a hoe. He provides half of the seed and advances 25 kilograms of wheat, which will be paid back at harvest time; he pays for enriching the land (tiksal= virgin land). The gardener hartani, for his part, agrees to furnish half of the seed and one year of work.

241 /70 cont./ This /second/ contract system would appeal
675 very much to the Tuareg, carefree by nature, improvident, and rarely possessing the necessary grain for the loans to the khammès. However, it is very little favored by the harratin, who prefer to have the advance of millet furnished by the proprietor under the first contract system, the right to the personal guemouns and to the gleanings, not counting the little daily thefts.

It is quite evident that these are Draconian contracts for the cultivators, who merely exist and are at the mercy of a bad harvest. The Targui may, thanks to his herds and to barter, survive several lean years, but the hartani cannot. It it not unusual to see the latter get through the period between the depletion of the winter reserves and the new wheat harvest by eating crushed date pits, young shoots of tahli, and sometimes even barley and wheat in the blade.

241 Land is seeded according to the amount of water available.
311 When the output of the foggara is low, the cultivated area is restricted. It even happens, after several dry years, that the water table in the wadi shrinks to the point of disappearing. The gardens are then abandoned, the agricultural center deserted. The /71/ cultivators withdraw to a more favored village. When the rains bring up the water levels again, the dead centers may be worked once more.

241 The land is almost never manured in the Ahaggar. A system of preparing the land called "tiksal" in Tamashek is preferred. Each year the hartani gathers a clayey soil from a slope near the gardens. He carries this back, basket by basket, and spreads a thin layer on each guemoun. This virgin soil reinvigorates the cultivated land, which is quickly exhausted because of the irrigation; it contains almost no humus or limestone.

Sometimes, when the distance is not too great, the gardener brings the soil from an old root system of a dead fersig /tamarisk/ or tahla, the only humus to be found.

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241 appointed by the Tuareg garden owners and is rewarded by a garden of his own for his responsibility
312 in supervising all co-operative work. The unit of agriculturists co-operating at the same *foggara* may
461 or may not correspond to an extended family. The agriculturists co-operating on any large *foggara*
476 irrigating ten or twelve gardens frequently represent two or three distinct families which are not linked to each other by kinship bonds. The cultivators of a *foggara* comprising nine gardens at Taḥawhawt
[675] belong to three distinct, unrelated families. This is quite natural in view of the fact that contracts between the Tuareg and the cultivators are made individually.

423 There may also be no kinship bonds between the pastoral Tuareg who have gardens at the same foggara, and there are even Tuareg who own two or three gardens situated in widely separated river
[614] valleys of Ahaggar. But Tuareg garden owners of the same foggara frequently belong to the same tribe
[428] or even to the same tribal section. When a garden-owning Tuareg dies, his garden will generally pass to somebody within his family, but there seems to be no fixed rules governing the transference of gardens.

466 The individual contract between a Tuareg garden owner and his cultivator is made for a period of
675 six months – the period of growth for wheat and barley. The agriculturist is responsible for all garden
423 work, and the Tuareg garden owner has the following obligations:—
241 (1) To supply his cultivator with a hoe every year, or every two years in case a very good hoe is given.

(2) To pay for repairs of the *foggara* system, or for the digging of a new *foggara*. This payment is known as *almarsor* and consists of two kilos of cereals or dates every working day until water reaches the garden.

(3) To pay for the making of garden beds. This payment is known as *éhéré n egalab*, and is made only once as long as the garden remains on the same spot. When a garden is moved after a period of three or four years the payment must be made again. It varies with the size of the garden and the quality of its soil; in general it consists of 15–25 kilos of cereals.

243

Fig. 140. Millet (*éwéli*) of very high growth. It is said that this particular millet type was introduced to Ahaggar from the south – possibly from Ayr. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

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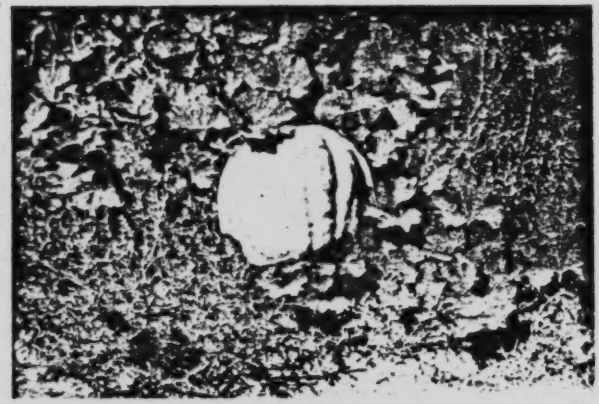

Fig. 141. The large gourd known as *kabuya* (*Cucurbita maxima*) growing close to the thorny fence (*afaraḑ*) which term is also generally used to designate a garden. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

466 625 423 241 [17] [570] Tuareg garden owners have other obligations besides those listed under these three items, but these obligations vary with the systems of contract of which there are three. One system is known as *khamast* according to which the agriculturists gets only one fifth of the crops. This system is widely found in North Africa but has disappeared in Ahaggar some years ago. It is said that it was abolished by the *Amenukal* because it very frequently gave rise to disputes between Tuareg garden owners and their cultivators. It is now replaced by two other systems, the *tilt* system allowing one third of the crops to the cultivator, and the *aṛil* system according to which crops are divided equally between the owner and the cultivator. This last system is that almost exclusively used in Ahaggar nowadays.

To revert to Tuareg obligations towards their cultivators, these obligations, in addition to those mentioned above, are as follows:—

(4) To hand over an amount of seed-corn (*iéfest*) of wheat and barley according to the size of the garden plot and the system of contract. With a *khamast* agreement the Tuareg garden owner gives all seed-corn. With a *tilt* agreement half of the seed-corn is supplied by the owner, the other half by the cultivator who is then also allowed to cultivate a private garden. With an *aṛil* agreement half of the seed-corn is given by the garden owner, the other half by the cultivator who does not possess a private garden unless he is headman of a *foggara* (p. 196).

(5) To give an amount of food to the agriculturist during the cultivation period of six months. This payment is known as *temafok*, and is fixed at 75 kilos of millet, barley, or dates when cultivation is done according to the *aṛil* system, while 150 kilos are given for cultivation according to agreements of the two systems *tilt* and *khamast*.

[434] The net profit to an agriculturist who cultivates for a Tuareg garden owner is lower than that gained by an agriculturist cultivating exclusively for his own private use. This will be seen more clearly from the calculations below where a garden with an annual yield of 700 kilos wheat and barley is considered:—

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| | *Cultivator* | | *Tuareg Garden Owner* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The khamast system* | Receipts | Expenditure | Receipts | Expenditure |
| The *khamast* division | 140 kg | | 560 kg | |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg |
| Seed-corn | | | | 50 kg |
| Food given to the cultivator | 150 kg | | | 150 kg |
| | 290 kg | 10 kg | 560 kg | 210 kg |
| Net profit | 280 kg | | 350 kg | |
| *The tilt system* | | | | |
| The tilt division | 233 kg | | 466 kg | |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg |
| Seed-corn | | 25 kg | | 25 kg |
| Food given to the cultivator | 150 kg | | | 150 kg |
| | 383 kg | 35 kg | 466 kg | 185 kg |
| Net profit | 348 kg | | 281 kg | |
| *The aril system* | | | | |
| The *aril* division | 350 kg | | 350 kg | |
| Land rent | | 5 kg | | 5 kg |
| Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith | | 5 kg | | 5 kg |
| Seed-corn | | 25 kg | | 25 kg |
| Food given to the cultivator | 75 kg | | | 75 kg |
| | 425 kg | 35 kg | 350 kg | 110 kg |
| Net profit | 390 kg | | 240 kg | |

A few notes should be added to these calculations of receipts and expenditure in the three systems. Thus the profit of the cultivator in all three systems is somewhat bigger than is indicated. The hoe is given by the Tuareg garden owner, who must also make certain payments for irrigation work and for the making of new garden beds as mentioned above. The garden owner's net profit in kilogrammes is consequently somewhat lower than indicated, but it should be mentioned that payments made by a Tuareg garden owner are hardly ever made in wheat and barley, but mainly in millet and dates which are less valuable, particularly so because the pastoral Tuareg acquire millet and dates at very low prices during their caravan expeditions (cf. p. 209 ff.). Therefore, the profit made by a Tuareg garden owner cannot so easily be given in kilogrammes of agricultural food products. It is evident that all three systems are profitable to the Tuareg, and it is clear that an agriculturist who cultivates a garden entirely on his own behalf is better off than an agriculturist who works for the Tuareg. It is also evident that to the agriculturist the *khamast* system is less profitable than the *tilt* system, which again is less profitable than the *aril* system. With the abolishment of the *khamast* system the agriculturists now

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Air



groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft 000
are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put 685
into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, [697]
while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:– pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment [177]
and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were [681]
in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel [643]
Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe 634
with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his [692]
power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with 565
the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relation- 571
ship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum- [634]
chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place 582
in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that 607
one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and [565]
their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory 607
in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

643 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man
651 bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Arefsa* sub-tribe its collective
614 payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Rali* tribe pays *tiwsé* as follows:—
613 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads,
565 are given to the chief of the *Dag Rali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*. – All vassal tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Amenukal*, and this also applies to the *Isekkemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwsé*, are in fact tokens of vassalage, [634] and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as drum-chief of the *Kel Rela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to their particular drum-chiefs.

643 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his
634 drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war booty taken by his
565 vassals. This right was known as *abellaq*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel Rela* drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal [614] kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in the tribe to which the deseased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138). As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief [614] within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels on the latter's death.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*ehliyet*)
634 among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151).
681 Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance, [684] he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly [682] the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth [614] paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. When the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid. [683] For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and [178] such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished [648] by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he had in the past.

178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



together at the French administration post of Agadez, there were two candidates for the office, namely *Bukha* and *Khejji*. Present at the election were the French *Commandant de Cercle*, the Sultan, and other important chiefs. The Sultan requested all men to elect *Bukha* (because *Khejji*'s father *Agg-Elkhir* had scoffed at the Sultan and publicly had called him a slave). Therefore, when the *Commandant* asked the *Kel Ferwan* men to divide into two groups according to whether they wished *Bukha* or *Khejji*, the group of men voting for *Khejji* numbered only four or five men. *Bukha* was thus elected and the Sultan presented him with a large head-cloth and declared him the new *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. 634 [643]

From what has been said above about the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs it is evident that the drum-chief was elected by the vassals who constitute the majority of the group. But it is very doubtful whether in the past it was normal for a Sultan to advise the vassals to elect a particular Tuareg for drum-chief. For though the drum-chief should then also be installed and recognized by the Sultan, the latter was not strong enough to meddle in the affairs of the drum-group. There are even some noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who claim that in the past the drum-chief should be installed not by the Sultan, but by a vassal Tuareg of the drum-group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But most vassals hold that the drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that in the past, when dissatisfied with a drum-chief, they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. 634 643

In all internal matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge, but it seems as if the chief of the *Kel Azel* who was installed by the drum-chief had almost similar judicial rights over his particular vassals. However, any case occurring within the whole *Kel Ferwan* group could be brought before the drum-chief, who in difficult cases would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez, or the *Echchikhen*. Punishments for thefts are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put into jail (*takormut*) in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:— pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of remaining standing. A few old people remember that they have seen this method of punishment practised in Agadez. Punitive measures like imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law, and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* was in fact the true master of Ayr, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison and may also have imposed capital punishment on thieves. Proper theft seems to have been very rare among pastoral Tuareg in the past, but to-day camel-thieves are extremely common in all groups. Some Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any camel thieves who were hanged like dogs. 631 634 692 685 [681] [634]

All members of the *Kel Ferwan* group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities (*édeyet*) were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen had the right to blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man, whose kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Some Tuareg will claim that the 634 682 [681]

586 refusing herself is a case for divorce, but disgrace is then thrown on the woman, who is rarely able to remarry afterwards. The man has only to say to his wife, "I send you back to your parents," to break the marriage. But more /295/ often he hides what he is doing and sends his wife home to her family for a few days. He then delegates an old woman from his camp to announce the breaking of the marriage to the wife's parents.

If the husband has instigated the divorce, the bride price remains the property of the wife's parents, but in any case the children remain the property of the father.

587 The woman cannot remarry before three months and ten days.
587 This forced retirement for women, which is prescribed by the Koran, is called ettef or ellouddet in Tuareg language. The women themselves are called tannanleft during this period. When this period has ended, her parents and the people of her camp organize a little celebration to announce that the woman is resuming her life of "free mores."

587 Many women do not want to undergo this retirement, and to
587 escape it they shift the responsibility onto a tree called agar in
824 Tamashek (Maerua crassifolia). They address the tree as if it were a person and say to it: "Agar, relieve me of my retirement which weighs on me too much; take the burden upon yourself." They place at the foot of the tree, by way of an offering, some antimony powder, a little perfume, and a fragment of cloth, which symbolize the attributes of a woman in the state of asri. Then, without waiting any longer, they resume their life of free mores.

587 If the husband wishes to take his repudiated wife back, a new marriage is necessary and a new bride price, smaller than the first, must be paid to the woman's parents.

682 Murder. -- Murder is rather rare among the Tuareg. It is
628 punished by retaliation when it was premeditated and by material compensation in other cases. The vendetta, which was formerly common among the Tuareg, has disappeared, making way for the dia, or tax of blood. The custom sometimes demanded that the

682 assassin be returned to the victim's family. If he was not known,
628 however, the djema, or assembly of notables, designated a man
from the tribe to go make himself prisoner in his place. There is
[682] no example of the hostage's having been put to death in such a
[643] case. Serious cases were usually judged by the amenokal, who was
aided by four assessors, two taken from each side.

762 /296/ Suicide. -- Suicide is as rare as murder among the
Tuareg. When one occurs, the person who committed suicide is
[766] abandoned on the ground unburied, and the camp is moved and
abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the
Tuareg regard the suicide as if he had never existed and must
never speak of him again.

Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with
oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his
life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

[775] The soul of a suicide cannot find refuge and wanders forever.
It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and
people claim that they can hear it nearby in the evening and that
it makes so much noise that it is impossible to sleep.

[761] Death. -- The Tuareg do not fear death. When one of them
sees that he is dying, he gathers his relatives around him and gives
763 his last instructions. Then, according to the religious principles
which he may have neglected during his life but which he recalls
at the final moment, he pronounces the "Fatika /fatiha? Ed./" or
[29] if he does not have the strength for that, he raises the index finger
of his right hand and breathes his last.

764 The body is immediately washed in lukewarm water and
wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the
[567] slaves go to dig the grave on a neighboring high spot. The grave
is made of a little trench with two stages such as the Arabs use.
[483] The body is carried on a kind of stretcher ans taken to the burial
417 place, head first, by four men. It is then placed on its right side
with the face turned in the direction of Mecca,

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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sister's son is first in the line of succession. Already Ibn Batutah mentions that among a southern Tuareg people known as the Mesoufa a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegguida-n-Adrar immediately south of the Air massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). According to Barth a sister's son was preferred as chief in Air and in Tassili-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857, I, p. 374f.). For the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tassili-n-Ajjer) Richardson states that chiefs and Sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have the statement of Duveyrier that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg) a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). From the Ioullemmeden Tuareg who long ago have adopted patrilineal succession (Nicolas 1950a, p. 213; 1950c, p. 492f. – Richer 1924, p. 3, 52) an interesting matrilineal custom has been described by Feral. He states that in certain Tuareg clans round Gao property considered indivisible is still inherited by the sister's son (Feral 1955, p. 21f.). Thus Rodd's statement about the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors, but there is also in literature information to confirm the statement of Nicolas, that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed for the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97f.), Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152f., II, p. 916f.), and by Lhote, who refers to the statement of Benhazera (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Dubiéf has further explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Dubiéf 1956, p. 89).

In Ahaggar I have been told by many Tuareg that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies prove that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Tuareg whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statements this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg have not followed any particular rule of succession in recent times. For in most clans there is now very little prestige attached to chieftainship, and chiefs are said to have much trouble with the collecting of taxes. In many vassal clans chiefs are changed very frequently as qualified people often refuse election or retire after a few years. Many Air Tuareg whom I asked about the rule of succession in the past all agreed that the sister's son had the right to succeed; they never referred to rights of maternal cousins, and claimed that in the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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634 727 particular case is related of a group of Ioullemmeden Tuareg attacking a camp of Kel Ferouan vassals who made a counterattack and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, then they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

[565] [721] 3) *Ekachchadi*, that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their drum-chief. In this case the drum-chief would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals who were not allowed to engage in warfare on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

The drum-chief had other income from his subjects who paid him an annual 634 fee termed *sadaḳa*. This fee, it is said, was paid not only by vassals but also by noble 651 households of the Kel Azel clan. The sadaḳa fees were collected on behalf of the 565 drum-chief by people of the Echchikhen and by negroid blacksmiths, who form a particular and rather numerous caste. There were definite rules for the payment of sadaḳa. It was computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example can here be mentioned the payments for camel herds:–

| *Size of Herd.* | *Sada a.* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels | 2 goats |
| 15 camels | 3 goats |
| 25 camels | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels | 2 full-grown camels. |

The Echchikhen and the blacksmiths took the sadaḳa animals to the drum-chief. He gave some of them to the collectors who were themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of [735] the proceeds given to poor people by the drum-chief, who would keep a small part for himself.

The drum-chief had the supreme jurisdiction over his group. In all internal 634 matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge. In difficult 692 cases he would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez or the Echchikhen. All members of the Kel Ferouan group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities *(edeist)* were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen 682 had the right of blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. [696] But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man whose 184 kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Apparently there has never been any 682 fixed size of blood-wealth among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg in contrast to the two

Groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab Tribes of The Sahara.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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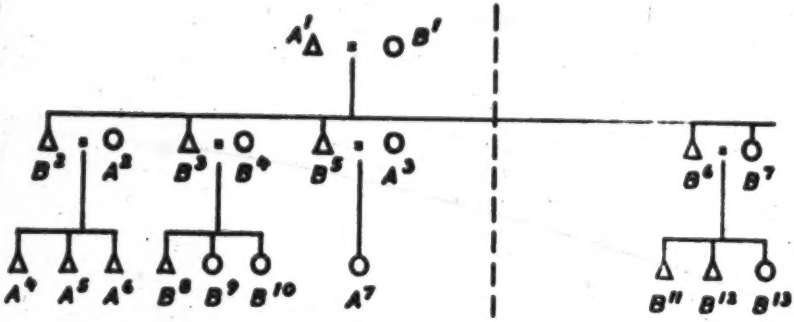


Fig. 10.–Illustration of the rule of residence for persons descending from a man of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan ($A^1$) and a woman of the Dag Rali clan ($B^1$).

People living with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan to which all A–persons belong.

At the death of $A^1$ of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan all persons will settle in the territory of the Dag Rali clan with maternal kinsmen of $B^1$, and they will remain there also after the death of $B^1$.

At the death of $B^2$ his wife $A^2$ and her children $A^4$ $A^5$ will go to her father or maternal kinsmen of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan as will be the case with $A^3$ and her child $A^7$ at the death of $B^3$. At the death of $B^5$ his wife $B^6$ and children $B^8$–$B^{10}$ will remain with the Dag Rali.

People living with the Dag Rali clan to which all B persons belong.

If $B^2$ dies while $A^1$ is still alive, $B^2$ and her children $B^{11}$ $B^{13}$ will go back to the camp of $A^1$ in the Agouh-en-Tehele territory. After the death of $A^1$ they will return to the Dag Rali territory to join the camp of $B^2$, $B^3$, and $B^5$.

[614] [682] If for instance $B^5$ kills a man of a third clan (e.g. the Ait Loaien) the Agouh-en-Tehele and the Dag Rali clans are both responsible for the payment of blood-wealth as long as $A^1$ is alive and $B^5$ lives with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan. If $A^1$ has died and $B^5$ consequently lives with the Dag Rali, this latter clan alone will be responsible for the payment of blood-wealth.

582 The matrilineal and patrilineal rules applied among the Ahaggar Tuareg bring us to a consideration of marriage. In Ahaggar as in Air the traditional type of preferential mating no doubt is that with a cross-cousin, and cross-cousin marriage is symmetrical although a mother's brother's daughter is said to be the ideal spouse. This is not only stated by Tuareg particularly versed in their native customs. It is also proved by certain usages connected with marriage, and there are in fact many marriages of this type. But cross-cousin marriage although traditionally the preferential type of mating is apparently not the most common type of marriage. For many Tuareg claim that the very best is to marry a mother's sister's daughter (that is a classificatory sister), or a mother's sister's daughter's daughter (that is a classificatory sister's daughter). My statistical material, which is not very comprehensive, seems

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
692 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-
643 wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer. The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
178 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
643 to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
scale raiding.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*.

683 For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at

233 436 682 a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *tilgad*, or *chét awétay* | (one year old) | 10 | *tibeydegin* | (white) |
| 10 | *tihusin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *titlarin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *teḳḳenifodden* | (3 years old) | 10 | *tizeggerin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiruyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *tibhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chét essin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *tilemlarin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chét okkoz* | (6 years old) | 10 | *tizerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *timessedas* | (7 years old) | 10 | *timengelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chét tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 | *tikewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tireggunin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *tizerrafin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *tiwinarin* | (white cornea) |

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 545 524 237 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[Text continues on p. 104]

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Fig. 94. Tuareg operating a camel's foreleg with a knife. Northern Ayr, the *Kel Tédalé*.

492 from the constant friction against the sand, and it may become necessary to provide the animals with leather shoes, that is pieces of ox-skin sewn around the hoofs. These leather shoes are known to [113] the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tissal* (sing. *tasselt*). Their appearance is excellently depicted by Lhote (Lhote 1951 b, photographs p. 224).

232 824 (5) Medical treatment which forms an important part of Tuareg veterinary knowledge. I have mentioned in the description of camel diseases the use of certain plants for the external treatment of scabies. The Tuareg also use various plants for drugs. Seeds of certain annual plants are mixed with milk and given to goats and sheep which suffer from stomach-diseases. Leaves of various plants are also considered laxatives. The Tuareg know many drugs made from wild plants, and they are aware that there are several wild plants that are dangerous to domestic animals. A very dangerous venomous plant is *élel* (*Nerium oleander*) which is extremely common in the higher parts of Ahaggar. It contains a kind of strychnine, and camels which eat *Nerium* leaves will die from this poison. The Tuareg say that camels bred and born in Ahaggar know the plant to be dangerous. These camels do not eat the *Nerium* leaves but others introduced to Ahaggar from the south may do so. To prevent camels from eating *Nerium* leaves the Tuareg put a leaf of the plant into their nostrils, or burn *Nerium* leaves so that the smoke and the scent of the plant enter the animal's nostrils. In this way camels come to loathe it. There are, according to Foucauld, other venomous plants in Ahaggar, e.g. *awrhed* (*Perralderia coronopifolia*), *arenked* (*Leptadenia heterophylla*, and/or *Cocculus pendulus*) which are fatal to goats and sheep (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1524 & IV, p. 1647; Maire 1933, p. 230, 236). The species [682] known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*) is very venomous for human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies.

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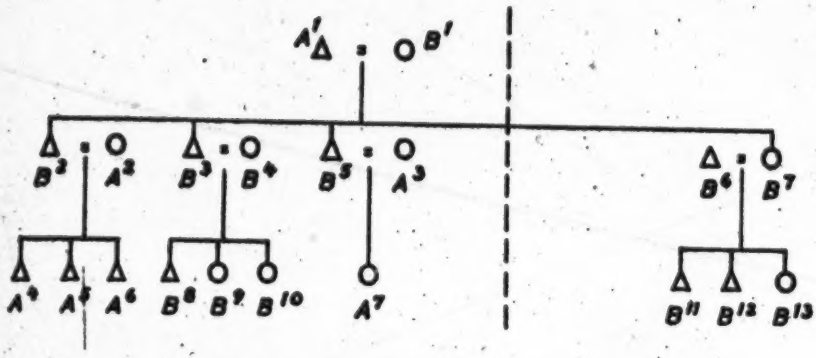


Fig. 103. Illustration of the rule of residence for persons descending from a man of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe ($A^1$) and a woman of the *Dag Ṣali* tribe ($B^1$). The *A*-people belong matrilineally to the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe, the *B*-people to the *Dag Ṣali*.

People living with the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

At the death of $A^1$ of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe all persons will settle in the territory of the *Dag Ṣali* tribe with maternal kinsmen of $B^1$, and they will remain there also after the death of $B^1$.

At the death of $B^2$ his wife $A^2$ and her children $A^4$–$A^6$ will go to her father or maternal kinsmen of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe as will be the case with $A^3$ and her child $A^7$ at the death of $B^5$. At the death of $B^3$ his wife $B^4$ and children $B^8$–$B^{10}$ will remain with the *Dag Ṣali*.

People living with the *Dag Ṣali* tribe.

If $B^6$ dies while $A^1$ is still alive, $B^7$ and her children $B^{11}$–$B^{13}$ will go back to the camp of $A^1$ in the *Aguh-en-tehlé* territory. After the death of $A^1$ they will return to the *Dag Ṣali* to join the camp of $B^2$, $B^3$, and $B^5$. [768]

If for instance $B^3$ kills a man of a third tribe (e.g., the *Ayt Lowayen*) the *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Dag Ṣali* tribes are both responsible for the payment of blood-wealth as long as $A^1$ is alive and $B^3$ lives with the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. If $A^1$ has died and $B^3$ consequently lives with the *Dag Ṣali*, this latter tribe alone will be responsible for the payment of blood-wealth. [682] [672]

(3) After the death of the husband's father the couple will join the husband's matrilineal kinsmen (his mother's brothers) together with his mother should she still be alive.

(4) At the husband's death his wife and their children will move back to the wife's kinsmen. [768]

As may be seen from this complicated rule of residence, a single death may in fact give rise to a change of territory and camp for a great many people. This is illustrated in Fig. 103 which depicts the rules of residence in the light of actual marriages between the two vassal tribes, *Dag Ṣali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*.

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614 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member
591 of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with
[682] the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two
672 tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a
611 tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is
[428] valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered
[565] indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed
614 by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one par-
613 ticular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Tarhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area
565 which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are
631 named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also
423 attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have
[643] particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339).
[162] Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory
[578] of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names –
613 generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections
621 within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

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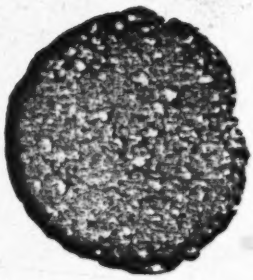

Fig. 126. A cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries (*Osyris alba*). The fresh berries are pounded in the large mortar (*iindé*) or are crushed between two stones to be formed into pieces of cheese form to be dried. This cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries is used by Tuareg women as a kind of face ointment against sun burn, pimples, and the like. They apply this ointment to the face as follows:— A little milk is poured upon a stone, the cheese-like mass of berries is rubbed against it, and the mixture of milk and berries is thereupon rubbed into the skin of the face with the fingers. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.075 m. (N.M. G. 5279a).

222
262 *enag* (*Leptadenia pyrotechnica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

[272] *tañhart* (*Mentha longifolia*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

*awit*, generally known by the collective name *awihat* (*Salvia Chudaei*). Tr., (L.M.). An annual plant used as an aromatic for tea.

[824] [442] *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*). Tr. This plant is extremely venomous for human beings, though not for animals. In the past it was used by the Tuareg as a poison for enemies. Members of La Mission Flatters (1880–81) were poisoned by the Tuareg using poison of this plant inserted into dates presented to the expedition. "La plante, absorbée à petite dose, aurait la propriété de faire [261] engraisser. Les femmes du Tidikelt l'emploient dans ce but, en en faisant cuire une petite quantité dans de l'eau avec de la farine et de la graisse; elles laissent réduire et absorbent la bouillie obtenue, puis se couvrent pour transpirer (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 192).

222 *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots. After drying the roots are
262 pounded in a large millet mortar to be used for bread which is much esteemed by the Tuareg. "Cette
252 plante est recoltée jeune par les indigènes, puis placée dans le sable sous une couche de *drinn* (*Aristida pungens*) jusqu'à noircissement et dessication. Le produit sec est moulu et utilisé dans l'alimentation (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 196).

*éfetekehi* (*Orobanche aegyptiaca* & *O. cernua*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots.

*tamzellit* (*Orobanche sp.*). Tr. Very rare. A plant yielding edible roots.

*teğellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). Tr. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

*alked* (*Cucumis pustulatus*). Tr. Rare. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

[263] *takkilt* (*Cotula cinerea*). Tr. "Les Touareg utilisent cette plante comme condiment, principalement pour la viande qui commence à se gâter" (Maire 1933, p. 209).

*idherğğelé* (*Artemisia judaica* ssp. *sahariensis*). Tr., (L.M.). "Cette plante, comme le *Myrtus Nivellei*, [439] est récoltée en grande quantité, séchée et exportée au Soudan, où elle est employée comme aromate et condiment" (Maire 1933, p. 212).

[272] *sézzeré* (*Artemisia herba alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

643 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man
651 bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Arefsa* sub-tribe its collective
614 payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Rali* tribe pays *tiwsé* as follows:—
613 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads,
565 are given to the chief of the *Dag Rali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*.—All vassal tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Amenukal*, and this also applies to the *Isekkemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwsé*, are in fact tokens of vassalage,
[634] and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as drum-chief of the *Kel Rela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to their particular drum-chiefs.

643 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his
634 drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war booty taken by his
565 vassals. This right was known as *abellag*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel Rela* drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal
[614] kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in the tribe to which the deseased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138). As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief
[614] within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels on the latter's death.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*ekkiyet*)
634 among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151).
681 Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance,
[684] he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly
[682] the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth
[614] paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. When the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid.
[683] For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and
[178] such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished
[648] by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he had in the past.

178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

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together at the French administration post of Agadez, there were two candidates for the office, namely 634
*Bukha* and *Khejji*. Present at the election were the French *Commandant de Cercle*, the Sultan, and
other important chiefs. The Sultan requested all men to elect *Bukha* (because *Khejji*'s father *Agg-* [643]
*Elkhir* had scoffed at the Sultan and publicly had called him a slave). Therefore, when the *Commandant*
asked the *Kel Ferwan* men to divide into two groups according to whether they wished *Bukha* or
*Khejji*, the group of men voting for *Khejji* numbered only four or five men. *Bukha* was thus elected
and the Sultan presented him with a large head-cloth and declared him the new *Kel Ferwan* drum-
chief.

From what has been said above about the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs it is evident that the drum-chief 634
was elected by the vassals who constitute the majority of the group. But it is very doubtful whether 643
in the past it was normal for a Sultan to advise the vassals to elect a particular Tuareg for drum-chief.
For though the drum-chief should then also be installed and recognized by the Sultan, the latter was
not strong enough to meddle in the affairs of the drum-group. There are even some noble *Kel Ferwan*
Tuareg who claim that in the past the drum-chief should be installed not by the Sultan, but by a vassal
Tuareg of the drum-group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his
head. But most vassals hold that the drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and
that in the past, when dissatisfied with a drum-chief, they would ask permission of the Sultan to
dismiss him.

In all internal matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge, but it seems as 631
if the chief of the *Kel Azel* who was installed by the drum-chief had almost similar judicial rights over 634
his particular vassals. However, any case occurring within the whole *Kel Ferwan* group could be 692
brought before the drum-chief, who in difficult cases would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez, or the
*Echchikhen*. Punishments for thefts are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen 685
previously was put into jail (*takormut*) in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands
was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the
market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:— pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits,
under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of
remaining standing. A few old people remember that they have seen this method of punishment
practised in Agadez. Punitive measures like imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt [681]
foreign to traditional Tuareg law, and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As
the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* was in fact the true master of Ayr, including the city of Agadez, [634]
he may have made use of the prison and may also have imposed capital punishment on thieves. Proper
theft seems to have been very rare among pastoral Tuareg in the past, but to-day camel-thieves are
extremely common in all groups. Some Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any camel
thieves who were hanged like dogs.

All members of the *Kel Ferwan* group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities (*ideyet*) 634
were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen had the right to blood- 682
revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. But if the family of the person killed con- [681]
sented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of
the slain man, whose kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Some Tuareg will claim that the

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634 livestock of a murderer in reality was the property of the drum-chief. Apparently there has never
612 been any fixed size of blood-wealth among the *Kel Ferwan* in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara.

634 The token of vassalage among the *Kel Ferwan* was the payment of half of the bride-wealth to the
565 noble lords so that the drum-chief received bride-wealth from his particular group of vassals, the chief of the *Kel Azel* from his group. The two noble lords received other payments from their vassals.
651 They would inherit a camel on the death of an individual vassal, and they received certain annual payments known as *sadakat* or *tamesodek*. This fee in its origin was a religious one, and certain tribes such as the *Imezzureg*, the *Kel Akerra*, and the *Isakaranan* claim that in the past, as nowadays, they made this payment to the *Ineslemien* Tuareg and not to the noble chiefs. But true vassal tribes gave their *sadakat* or *tamesodek* to the two noble lords. The fees were collected on behalf of the lords by people of the *Echchikhen* and by negroid blacksmiths, who are very numerous in Ayr. There were definite rules for the payment of the *sadakat* fees which were computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example the payments for camel herds can here be mentioned:—

| Size of herd | *Sadakat* or *tamesodek* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels . . . . . | 2 goats |
| 15 camels . . . . . | 3 goats |
| 25 camels . . . . . | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels . . . . . | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels . . . . . | 2 full-grown camels |

The *Echchikhen* and the blacksmiths took the *sadakat* animals to the two noble lords, who gave some
432 of them to the collectors, themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at
735 the market of Agadez and most of the proceeds given to poor people by the noble lords, who would keep a small part for themselves.

634 The two noble lords, the drum-chief and the chief of the *Kel Azel*, had the right to parts of war-
721 booty taken by their vassals according to the following rules:—
565 (1) *témuggedaz*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the noble lords, the drum-chief or the chief of the *Kel Azel*. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g., riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the noble lords, while the other half should be given to their vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that only one seventh of the booty should go to the noble lord. The word *téfades* is said to have been used synonymously with *témuggedaz*.

(2) *téwit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the *Kel Ferwan* group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the noble lord would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A particular case is related of a group of *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg attacking a camp of *Kel Ferwan* vassals

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177 with the immigration of the noble *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes which were, perhaps, related to the northern *Hawwara* Berbers. These may have influenced also the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg who possess some of the traits common to Northern Tuareg and Arabs. The *Hawwara* tribes came under Arab influence at very early stage, and they may have adopted Arab traits before they migrated southwards to settle close to the veiled *Lemta* (cf. p. 409 f.).

64 It is evident that the origin of pastoral political systems dates back to pre-Islamic times, but it is
177 also very clear that political organization has been much influenced by Islam and the Arabs. With Islam and the Arabs came into political life such important classes as the *Ineslemen*, the *Echchikhen*, and the *Ichcherifen*, which has made the political organization more complex. Also introduced with Islam was the *sadakat* fee, which in its origin was a purely religious payment. It is also clear that the
[682] rules of blood-wealth payment among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 102) were introduced with Islam, for the Arabs of Northern Sahara, like the Northern Tuareg, give one hundred she-camels for a slain man, and the same payment is fixed by learned Islamic jurists (cf. Schram-Nielsen 1945, p. 58 f.). These rules of blood-wealth payment do not seem to have been accepted among the Ayr Tuareg where there was no fixed amount of camels to be paid for a homicide. Finally the title *Khalifa* given to tribal deputies was doubtless introduced with Islam and the Arabs. This title is used among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*.

634 The problems connected with the origin of the drum-group, the most important political group,
534 are very complicated. It is well known that the drum plays an important part as an insignia of kings
171 and other supreme chiefs over large parts of Africa. The distribution of the drum as an insignia of kings and chiefs has been studied in some detail by Schilde and Wieschhoff, and later by Irstam (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 117 ff.; Wieschhoff 1933, p. 119 ff., map 34; Irstam 1944; p. 28, 101 ff.). Wieschhoff points out that the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in Africa, and that it mainly has this particular function in state organizations of the so-called Erytrean Cultures.

634 The drum which constitutes the insignia of a Tuareg drum-chief is known as *ettebel* or *eṭṭebel*. In
634 all Tuareg groups this word is also used for "drum-group", and among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* it is also a title of drum-chiefs. The word *ettebel* is undoubtedly derived from the Arabic word *tobol* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1922), which is also sometimes used for Tuareg drums as it is for drums of chiefs among the Western Moors (Dubié 1947, p. 173). Formerly, the Sultan of the Fezzan also had a drum which according to Lyon was known as *tubbel*. Lyon never saw a drum of this kind but he says that they are found in all towns south of Murzuk (Lyon 1821, p. 248 f.). The drums used by Tuareg chiefs are always of a very particular form, generally known to anthropologists as "the kettle-drum", and this particular drum among the Tuareg is never used by persons other than the chiefs. For ordinary music the Tuareg have other drum types or use a wooden mortar suspended by a piece of skin. It is most interesting that the so-called kettle-drum is a very late type among the many kinds of drums found in Africa.

534 In regard to the distribution of kettle-drums in Africa, Sachs says that they are found in Islamic
171 North Africa, in the Sudan, and in North-East Africa (Sachs 1929, p. 247). According to Wieschhoff kettle-drums have a more limited distribution being found only in the Sudan and in North-East Africa including Ethiopia (Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40, map 29e). As to the distribution of kettle-drums outside

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233 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for
583 brothers and sisters-in-law.
601

The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman
233 permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a
436 woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to
593 her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children
431 to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery
584 is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However,
684 these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*.
643 For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the
693 payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same
payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at
233 a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred
436 camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels
682 to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *tilgad*, or *chét awétay* | (one year old) | 10 | *tiberydegin* | (white) |
| 10 | *tihusin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *titlarin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *tekkenifadden* | (3 years old) | 10 | *tizeggerin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiruyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *tibhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chét essin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *tilemlarin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chét okkuz* | (6 years old) | 10 | *tizerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *timessedas* | (7 years old) | 10 | *timengelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chét tahali* | (8 years old) | 10 | *tikewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tireggawin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *tizerrafin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *tiwinarin* | (white cornea) |

233 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value,
822 and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours.
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857 goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic
565 animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats
524 (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-
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324 four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and
868 all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate
181 knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[text continues on p. 104]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



643 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man
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[614] within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels on the latter's death.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*eddiyet*)
634 among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151).
681 Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance,
[684] he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly
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[178] such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished
[648] by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he had in the past.

178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

585 accompanied by her women relatives mounted on asses, leaves,
591 followed by the men on camel back, for her new home. There she
[592] is received by the chief and the old women.

While the married couple take refuge in their tent, the company carouses and dances. The festivities begin at sunset and do not end until dawn the next day, when all those present are exhausted.

593 The young women is then a member of her new family, which
[594] she will leave only in case of divorce or the death of her husband. In the meantime, she does not have the right to go visit her parents, but they may come to her camp.

592 Tuareg women keep a great deal of independence in marriage.
593 It is hard to tell whether they are faithful wives or whether they take advantage of their husbands' often prolonged absences to mis-
887 behave. According to some (Duveyrier) their conduct is exemplary; according to others (de Foucauld, Vermale) they leave much to be desired, and the wives continue to practice the light mores learned at the ahal. "Their unique preoccupation," says Dr. Vermale, "is love; having lovers is their only aim." It is certain that former lovers from the lovers' meetings continue to come visit the married women and to praise their charms in the ahal. But it must be explained that the husbands do not show jealousy, which would be in the worst taste, and that this courting seems quite Platonic. It is very difficult to ask questions on this subject, for the Tuareg are careful of their wives' reputations and maintain that they are above reproach.

As for the men, their conduct is proper in their camps, although some do not hesitate to make use of their women slaves. But when they go on caravans and arrive in the centers far from their country, they give free rein to their passion which a long abstinence has made more impetuous.

684 Adultery (aker) of women is often punished by death. The man does justice himself without anyone thinking to reproach him, killing the guilty parties by his own hand.

591 husband are of different clans. A Tuareg camp is usually known, however, by the name of the highest ranking male member of the camp community. Children are normally brought up and continue to live among the group which their parents finally joined on a permanent basis, although boys are sometimes brought up by a maternal uncle. A widowed woman and her unmarried children are usually taken into the family circle of one of her brothers or married sons.

837 The question of moral laxity hardly concerns us here, for even if irregular sexual rela-
[835] tions were as general among the ladies of the Ahaggar as some authors would have us believe, they are still confined as a rule to the kinship group of the clan or at least to that of the tribe. But even so we will do well to examine briefly a widespread popular misconception. In point of fact we can probably
[582] accept Blanguernon's (1955, p. 141) statement that a substantial majority of Tuareg ladies remain virgin until wed, even though the usual age at marriage is 20 to 25 for women and close to 30 for men. Monogamy is the uni-
586 versal rule and divorce is both unusual and
837 generally frowned on. Adultery is probably no more common than it is in most societies where husbands and wives are frequently separated for periods varying from a couple of days to several months. An injured husband
[684] theoretically has the right to kill both his wife and her lover if they are caught in the act, but in practice he usually repudiates his wife although he may decide to keep her regardless of her faults, in which case he appeals to the Amenokal who then fines the corespondent. The injured wife of an unfaithful husband simply packs up and goes back to her own people, unless she prefers to ignore the whole affair.

837 It has been said that Tuareg women of the Ahaggar, single or married, lend themselves freely to male friends and guests as a general rule, but this is certainly a myth. We get the impression that in this matter, and in others too, some authors have not only been influenced subconsciously by the conditioning of their own societies, but have also extrapolated hypothetical Tuareg behavior from behavior sometimes observed among the Tuareg when in contact with their new European rulers.

occurs quite often, but most generally on the initiative of the 586
wife, for the husband who gives notice of repudiation is bound to pay her the remainder due on the bride price, while when it is the wife who initiates the break by refusing herself to him and taking refuge with her parents, her husband owes her nothing.

Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and Kel Ahnet, could never keep a wife with him. He divorced very often. Each time he went back to his negresses, whom he held in high regard. Meanwhile, he tried to remarry ( he was [581
seventy to seventy-five years old), but it seems he had some 587]
difficulty, considering his matrimonial past. /19/

## Chapter IX

## Adultery

Adultery, in Tamashek "tikra" ⵜⵉⴽⵔⴰ (from the verb 837
"ouker" ⵓⴽⵔ , to steal), is certainly common. 684

The Tuareg may say that in a case of adultery they do not hesitate to kill the woman, but I asked them to cite me such a case which had occurred within the past several years, and they admitted that they could not cite any, adding that this was just because no act in flagrante delicto had ever been established. Others told me that many are satisfied to get [586]
divorced and that some even say no more about it.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
692 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer.
643 The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
178 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
643 to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
scale raiding.

837 /146 cont./ the husband deceives his wife, and if this happens it is far from her when, departed for the Sudan, he remains absent a long time. The Tuareg woman is faithful; those who take a lover are rare. If a husband knew his wife to be unfaithful, simply by hearsay, he could repudiate her, but in the case of flagrante delicto he could kill the guilty pair, or he [684] could bring the case to the attention of the amenokal, who would impose a fine. The deceived wife may leave her husband; in this case she returns to her family, taking her [586] belongings with her. Divorces are rather rare and very ill thought of.

761 Death is not regarded with terror, a whole framework of beliefs strongly colored with Islamism promise the Targui 775 future recompense in the other world. It /147/ seems that charity will be particularly rewarded and selfishness severely punished; the punishments described would be similar to the offense. Extensive investigations would be necessary to sift out all the beliefs concerning death; to distinguish between what is Moslem and what is properly Tuareg would prove to be very difficult.

764 When a death occurs in the tent, each member of the family maintains an attitude of what appears to be very great dignity to our Western eyes. Certainly, it happens that some people cry over the deceased, which is human, but custom would have the tears held back; a man, particularly, would know how to control himself sufficiently not to show his grief.

The body does not remain in the tent long; the women wash it if it is that of a woman; the men wash it in the other case. It is perfumed; its members are laid out in an attitude of rest; then it is wrapped in a shroud (tifit), which is sewed up. During these operations, the tomb has been dug following the Moslem custom. Only men escort the corpse to the grave. After having buried it in the tomb and covered it with earth, they put up stones to mark the place, and each man returns to his tent. There is neither song nor prayer.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 683 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

233 436 682

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
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233 857 565 524 237 324 868 81 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

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178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
567 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are
not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as
[428] his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can
inherit from their father.

565 /171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with
833 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
558 not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that
[842] the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

667 The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
[838 other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found
679] for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed
[272] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any
milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves
304 first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not
234] hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their
lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar
who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have
deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former aménokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa
ag Ămăstan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and
the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object
of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or
567 when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally
● 685 does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense,
the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear
of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes
henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the
same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the
slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice,
according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

567 his property. In cases of this nature the two parties have usually
[685] come to an agreement beforehand.

The Iklan are responsible for introducing a quantity of words
[177 and new expressions into the Tamashek language, all of them
192] naturally of Sudanese origin. They have a very vulgar language and murder the language of their masters abominably, so that they make a real argot of it.

They have kept a great many characteristics of their folklore,
[536] which we /172/ find in their dances, the pantomimed scenes that they organize among themselves at the time of public rejoicing or of events in the family life of their masters.

Social evolution due to the French occupation will in an indefinite time bring about the disappearance of bondage, which we must explain does not have the inhumane nature that one might presume.

567 It would have been a blunder to immediately impose the
liberation of the Iklan, and it would have been contrary to their own
648 interests. Attempts made in this direction in the Sudan have given deplorable results. Iklan liberated from one day to the next are unsettled in class; they cannot and do not want to go back to working the land and thus find it impossible to earn a living.

The disappearance of slavery will come about gradually and individually. It will occur slowly, but inexorably, and it will bring important social transformations among the Tuareg.

One can already observe this evolution among the Ioullimmiden, in Adrar, and particularly around Timbuktu where Imrad women occupy themselves from now on with grinding millet and doing the heavy housework, which was formerly left to the captives.

567 Iklan-n-Egef. -- Liberation of captives, furthermore, has always existed among the Tuareg in more or less attenuated forms.

It may have several causes, first of which is the excess of captives, which makes a great many useless mouths to feed. The Tuareg thus gave a halfway freedom to some of them whom they

423 When pasture is scarce as the result of a long dry period, an
621 understanding is reached between the different tribal chiefs, and
311 one of them may authorize the other's tribe to come nomadize on his territory, on the condition, of course, that they not do any damage, mutilate the trees, or engage in hunting.

When a region has been abundantly favored by rain, the amrar
185 decrees the land forbidden -- ganent. No one can go there, in-
423 cluding the people of the tribe. This measure is designed to protect
621 young growths from the teeth of the animals and let the pasture
311 grow to maturity. A few weeks later the interdiction is raised, the land is free, and anyone, without distinction, may profit from it, always conforming, of course, to the jurisdiction /sic/ concerning the protection of trees and to the hunting interdiction.

Animals straying on the land of a neighboring tribe are /256/
423 returned to their owners without the intervention of any sanction.
621 But when a flock is surprised on ganent land, the owner is fined one
685 head of livestock -- one goat if it is a flock of goats, one sheep if it is a flock of sheep, one camel if it is a herd of camels.

A branch cut by a member of a neighboring tribe entails a fine
[185] of one goat or one sheep. This rule is not often applied, however, for the Tuareg have little respect for the protection of trees.

/257/ Chapter 7

## Care of the Body and Bodily Habits

515 Cleanliness and care of the body. -- In a country where water is scarce, it is natural that the people are not inclined to wash every day. The Tuareg, through living in the desert far from wells, have lost the habit of washing themselves. It is not that they despise

Besides, there are few negroes who are not armed by their 411 563 masters with a "tar'da" (spear with a wooden shaft) and with a 567 "takouba" (saber), of which they are very proud. The best are 726 sent on raids, and it seems that they acquit themselves very well in combat.

As to the negresses, there are some who confine themselves 563 to attending to the care of the household and the tent, but there 567 are quite a few others who are raised to the dignity of con- 595 cubines. A noble Tuareg prefers to share his bed with a negress rather than to marry a "tamr'idt" (serf). He marries late, and when he decides to, he looks especially for a woman who, by her /34/ birth, will give his children future rights to command. The negress profits from this.

The negroes and negresses are not, as a rule, mistreated 563 by the Tuareg. Besides, if the case should arise, they know 567 how to use the following curious custom in use among the 685 Tuareg.

When a slave, negro or negress, becomes too unhappy with his master and wishes to become the slave of another master, he splits the ear of a child or a horse or hamstrings a mehari; in short, damages anything valuable that belongs to the master he wishes to have; then he stays beside his deed. Naturally, in reparation for the harm done, the negro is given in full possession to the injured master. There may be protest, if there was connivance between the slave and the master he wishes to have, and, in this case, the oath is deferred and the case [692] brought before a marabout or a cadi.

Thus the negress Tenoufek, who belonged to Semana, sister of Bika ag Mourou of the Kel Ahnet, slit the ear of a mare belonging to Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet. In reparation the negress was given to Sidi, with whom she still remains.

Another example: the negro of El Biodh ould Settafi of the Settaf, hamstrung two camels belonging to Ibedi ag Bassi of the Ir'echoumen. In reparation El Biodh had to give Ibedi the negro and a camel besides. /35/

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft 000
are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put 685
into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, [697]
while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:– pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment [177]
and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were [681]
in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel [643]
Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe 634
with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should [692]
also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with 565
the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relation- 571
ship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum-
chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have [634]
already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place 582
in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that 607
one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and [565]
their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory 607
in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1955, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Bali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent *(ehare-n-amerdal)* paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:–

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. – Foley 1930, p. 43f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Bali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatos.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.

5:Nicolaisen E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
692 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer.
643 The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
178 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
643 to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Ṛela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
scale raiding.

423 /67 cont. / interest in planting trees that he cannot keep. A constant effort at arboriculture cannot be hoped for since the gardener may change frequently, and the successor of a tree planter may be ignorant or unscrupulous and is free to let the planting fail.

Besides the cultivated land, the land through which routes
423 pass has great importance in the Ahaggar. The whole of the
631 territory of the Kel Ahaggar has always been divided among
486 the different Tuareg tribes. Strictly applied oral regulations define the rights and servitudes of a tribe concerning its land.

1) Passage through and watering on the lands of a tribe is the right of other Tuareg.

2) No one may sojourn on the lands of a tribe without the consent of that tribe's chief.

3) Whoever follows travelers' routes through land belonging to a tribe is responsible for any damage caused by him or his animals to the trees, wells, foggaras, gardens, and game. Here are several penalties: one goat for a broken tree branch;
[685] one sheep for damage caused /68/ by a poorly watched herd; a camel for damage caused by camels; part or all of any game killed. When a camel runs away, the owner is not responsible; he must even be told and helped. It is forbidden to put animals in a pasture where plants have not attained maximum growth.

4) The amenokal may sometimes authorize tribes to sojourn on the lands of a certain tribe, in case there is an abundance of pasturage on these lands.

The servitudes of the tribes are the normal consequence of their nomadic life, but the rights concerning the land passed through bring to light a characteristic of the Tuareg: their love of the land. These nomads, who should seek the most abundant pastures, whose every interest calls them toward the Sudan, remain attached to their soil. They observe regulations suitable for sedentary peoples.

648 Let us note that there is no agricultural exploitation directed by Europeans in the Ahaggar. The principal reason for this abstention is the meager yield to be expected; the reduction

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Fig. 47. The *akala* rope noosed around the lower jaw of a pack-camel and prevented from loosening by the insertion of a small stick. Ayr. *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg.

*492 played an important part for all Tuareg. Raiding expeditions were carried out to gain all kinds of
721 booty, but camels were the main objective, and it was difficult to carry off other kinds of domestic animals over long distances. Thus camels were the main cause of raiding and also the means by which
721 raiding expeditions were carried out. In Ahaggar large scale raiding stopped long ago with the advent
175 of the French at the beginning of our century, though it recovered again during the revolt of 1916–17. This was also true of Ayr, but it seems as if raiding in and around this Massif continued still later
●685 (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 187 ff. & Buchanan 1921, p. 209 ff.). Nowadays raiding has ceased everywhere among the Tuareg, but theft of camels has been on the increase in the south. There are many camel thieves among the Ayr Tuareg, for it is very easy to steal grazing camels during the night and to lead them to some distant market and sell them. The Tuareg claim that in pre-European times there were
[640] hardly any camel thieves in Ayr as such persons were punished very severely. They say that the theft of camels became normal with the French who have great difficulty in proving the guilt of thieves.

[text continues on p. 70]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



685 640 One of the principal tasks of the Ayr camel patrol consists in hunting down camel thieves to take them to Agadez and prove their guilt. Most Tuareg sympathize with this judicial work of the French but claim that it is too ineffective.

232 * 492 [835] The Tuareg still take a very great interest in the breeding of riding camels, and extremely good riding animals are occasionally sold for a price equal to that paid for five or six normal camels. When a calf is born they at once recognize whether it will be well fitted for riding or not, for there are certain basic characteristics of riding camels. Ideally they should have a relatively short body, be deep-chested, and of high stature with small feet and slender limbs. For pack-camels they prefer heavy and strong animals with very large feet. Both for riding and for transportation they prefer bulls or castrated animals. Geldings are calmer than bull-camels which are often very fierce and dangerous when she-camels are on heat. Rutting bull-camels may even attack people, and they will fight each other – sometimes with the result that one of them is bitten to death. But there is another reason for castration. For bull-camels which have not been allowed to mate freely with she-camels are generally not very difficult to handle. Castration makes bull-camels stronger and more enduring as they more easily grow fat and get larger humps than non-castrated animals. Castration is never carried out until the bull-camel is fully grown, and both in Ahaggar and in Ayr castration is performed comparatively late when the animals are about five or six years old, or later. Many bull-camels are castrated at an age of ten or eleven years.

* 233 * 492 She-camels are not generally used for riding and transportation, but are reserved for breeding. But some Tuareg may use their she-camels even for extensive trading expeditions, and there are Tuareg who prefer to ride she-camels because of their smoother walk. If a Tuareg has a very good she-camel as a riding animal he may even desire to prevent it from mating by the insertion of a very small pebble into the uterus of the she-camel which will then not be able to mate until the pebble is removed. However,

Fig. 50. The headgear known as *akeskobbu*. The upper iron shackle resting upon the bridge of the nose is called *akeskobbu*, the lower shackle to be tightened against the chin is known as *amadel*. The two shackles are connected with a rein of ornamented leather, the other end of which is fastened to the nostril ring (*tigemi*). Ahaggar, the *Ikloa-en-tawsit* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



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Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikebran*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasili-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhet* tribe (*Ineḥḥemaren*).

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224 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 148).

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241 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dag Rali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Rali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

●685 Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity
643 falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the
423 violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant
[428] dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally
[613] the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary
[114] sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

## AYR

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233 The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property
[428] marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark. However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *ejwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the
[113] *Iwilemmeden Kel Denek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



together at the French administration post of Agadez, there were two candidates for the office, namely *Bukha* and *Khejji*. Present at the election were the French *Commandant de Cercle*, the Sultan, and other important chiefs. The Sultan requested all men to elect *Bukha* (because *Khejji*'s father *Agg-Elkhir* had scoffed at the Sultan and publicly had called him a slave). Therefore, when the *Commandant* asked the *Kel Ferwan* men to divide into two groups according to whether they wished *Bukha* or *Khejji*, the group of men voting for *Khejji* numbered only four or five men. *Bukha* was thus elected and the Sultan presented him with a large head-cloth and declared him the new *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief.

From what has been said above about the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs it is evident that the drum-chief was elected by the vassals who constitute the majority of the group. But it is very doubtful whether in the past it was normal for a Sultan to advise the vassals to elect a particular Tuareg for drum-chief. For though the drum-chief should then also be installed and recognized by the Sultan, the latter was not strong enough to meddle in the affairs of the drum-group. There are even some noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who claim that in the past the drum-chief should be installed not by the Sultan, but by a vassal Tuareg of the drum-group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But most vassals hold that the drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that in the past, when dissatisfied with a drum-chief, they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him.

In all internal matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge, but it seems as if the chief of the *Kel Azel* who was installed by the drum-chief had almost similar judicial rights over his particular vassals. However, any case occurring within the whole *Kel Ferwan* group could be brought before the drum-chief, who in difficult cases would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez, or the *Echchikhen*. Punishments for thefts are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put into jail (*takormat*) in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:— pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of remaining standing. A few old people remember that they have seen this method of punishment practised in Agadez. Punitive measures like imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law, and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* was in fact the true master of Ayr, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison and may also have imposed capital punishment on thieves. Proper theft seems to have been very rare among pastoral Tuareg in the past, but to-day camel-thieves are extremely common in all groups. Some Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any camel thieves who were hanged like dogs.

All members of the *Kel Ferwan* group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities (*ddeyet*) were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen had the right to blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man, whose kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Some Tuareg will claim that the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law *(alegges*, pl. *ilousan)*,
[601] or sisters-in-law *(taleggest*, pl. *tilousin)*, while the spouses of descendants of all
brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law *(aḍeggal*, pl. *iḍoulan)*, or
[606] daughters-in-law *(taḍeggalt*, pl. *teḍoulin)*. These terms are always used reciprocally, and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized
634 his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the
614 members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble
565 origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is
[687] said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the
634 Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the
614 Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other
565 drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel
114 Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427) The Kel Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related to the Ihaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from
634 the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power
614 over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the
565 Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibararochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by
[558] vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief
[669] had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

643 This instrument is so representative of command in the eyes of the Tuareg that they often refer to the aménokal and all the tribes which he holds under his command as "tobol."

184 Among the eastern Ioullimmiden (Kel Dinnik), the aménokal
643 always had a standard placed in his tent, which was taken out exceptionally for war or the enthroning of a new aménokal. It was in blue-green and red silk. (1)

1. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik /Notes on the Society and State of the Dinnik Tuareg/," Bulletin de l'Institut Français. Afrique noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, p. 586.

Among the Ihǎggaren, the tobol tribe, that is, the one from which the aménokal is always chosen, is the Kel Rela; however, the tobol has presumably changed hands over the centuries. The memory
[173] of another chief-tribe, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, has remained, and thus the former Aménokal Altarel was accustomed to saying that the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi formed the back (of the political organization of the Ihǎggaren), /while/ the Kel Rela, the Tǎitok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet /formed/ the sides, but that the back was weakening to the profit of the sides. (2) This modification was caused by the total

2. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs de l'Ahaggar, p. 107.

extinction of the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi.

578 The aménokal's role is chiefly that of a war chief. In normal
643 times he arbitrates the conflicts which set the tribes against one
692 another, and he has the power of life or death, in principle. His authority is often contested by the Imochar of his own tribe, who try

578 to arrogate rights over vassals for themselves. There are internal
643 disputes of the sort: "Who made you a count? And who made you
692 king?"

643 It is particularly in the relations with neighboring or foreign tribes that the amenokal's role takes on a more national aspect, yet his decisions do not have full authority unless they have been approved by an assembly of notables -- the arollan -- composed of the principal chiefs of fractions and nobles.

/157/ The amenokal lives like the other Tuareg, and there is no ceremony surrounding his person. All comers present themselves [644] at his tent with no more formality than that. There is no court or court etiquette.

534 Only the tobol, generally placed at the entrance to the tent, indicates the rank of the host.

643 This drum is in the shape of a hemisphere, hollowed out of a tree trunk and covered with a cowhide with the hair still on it. The hide is held by leather thongs with the hairy side up. It may be as much as 80 centimeters in diameter. Two leather handles on the sides are used to carry it. For gatherings, two men strike it alternately with a camelskin drumstick (imîtkar). Only the amenokal has the right to have it sounded, which he does only on the most important occasions. Upon his death, his brother or his caliph is entrusted with it until it can be given to his successor. The amenokal does not go [492] far without his drum, which is carried on a camel led by a trusted man; when he gives the order to beat the drum, another meharist /man mounted on a mehari, or fast dromedary/ approaches to take the other handle, and the two men march side by side, striking alternately. Any warrior who hears it is supposed to rally to the call and at the same time inform the people he meets. In case of war, [202] the beating tells whether they are dealing with foot soldiers or meharists, depending on whether there are one or two imîtkar.

[554] When the hide of the tobol is worn out, the most renowned warrior of the tribe is entrusted to replace it.

and were enfeoffed to the Kounta tribe, or Dag-Ech-Cheich. The origin of the oldest known families goes back no more than two generations. They are the Ehellellou, who have left descendants, the Badahol and Mohamed /families/, today extinct, and the Rati whose descendants are now settled among the Taitok. 564

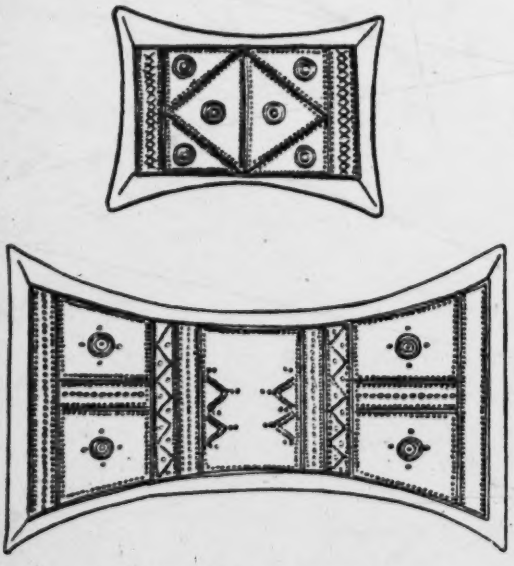

Fig. 19. Silver amulets worn by men on the crests of their hairdo.

At the time of Amenokal Attici (1899) there was a chief of the blacksmiths named Alamine whose role was to oversee and distribute the work and to reduce the newly captured blacksmiths from the Sudan to obedience. He also had judiciary power. 564 326 [301 789 331] [692]

Formerly endogamy was the general rule, but since the occupation it has been violated numerous times, and artisans often take their wives from the Harratin and the Eklan. 564 [582 177]

Their industry is limited to the fabrication of jewels, padlocks, knives, and a few wooden utensils. They are particularly occupied with repairing worn articles.

/179/ In the Sudan the Enaden are much more numerous. That is why industries there are found to be much more developed, even more so since more varied and more abundant raw materials are at their disposal. 564

682 assassin be returned to the victim's family. If he was not known,
628 however, the djema, or assembly of notables, designated a man
from the tribe to go make himself prisoner in his place. There is
[692] no example of the hostage's having been put to death in such a
[643] case. Serious cases were usually judged by the amenokal, who was
aided by four assessors, two taken from each side.

762 /296/ Suicide. -- Suicide is as rare as murder among the
Tuareg. When one occurs, the person who committed suicide is
[766] abandoned on the ground unburied, and the camp is moved and
abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the
Tuareg regard the suicide as if he had never existed and must
never speak of him again.

Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with
oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his
life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

[775] The soul of a suicide cannot find refuge and wanders forever.
It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and
people claim that they can hear it nearby in the evening and that
it makes so much noise that it is impossible to sleep.

[761] Death. -- The Tuareg do not fear death. When one of them
sees that he is dying, he gathers his relatives around him and gives
763 his last instructions. Then, according to the religious principles
which he may have neglected during his life but which he recalls
at the final moment, he pronounces the "Fatika /fatiha? Ed./" or
[29] if he does not have the strength for that, he raises the index finger
of his right hand and breathes his last.

764 The body is immediately washed in lukewarm water and
wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the
[567] slaves go to dig the grave on a neighboring high spot. The grave
is made of a little trench with two stages such as the Arabs use.
[482] The body is carried on a kind of stretcher ans taken to the burial
417 place, head first, by four men. It is then placed on its right side
with the face turned in the direction of Mecca.

Besides, there are few negroes who are not armed by their 411 563 masters with a "tar'da" (spear with a wooden shaft) and with a 567 "takouba" (saber), of which they are very proud. The best are 726 sent on raids, and it seems that they acquit themselves very well in combat.

As to the negresses, there are some who confine themselves 563 to attending to the care of the household and the tent, but there 567 are quite a few others who are raised to the dignity of con- 595 cubines. A noble Tuareg prefers to share his bed with a negress rather than to marry a "tamr'idt" (serf). He marries late, and when he decides to, he looks especially for a woman who, by her /34/ birth, will give his children future rights to command. The negress profits from this.

The negroes and negresses are not, as a rule, mistreated 563 by the Tuareg. Besides, if the case should arise, they know 567 how to use the following curious custom in use among the 685 Tuareg.

When a slave, negro or negress, becomes too unhappy with his master and wishes to become the slave of another master, he splits the ear of a child or a horse or hamstrings a mehari; in short, damages anything valuable that belongs to the master he wishes to have; then he stays beside his deed. Naturally, in reparation for the harm done, the negro is given in full possession to the injured master. There may be protest, if there was connivance between the slave and the master he wishes to have, and, in this case, the oath is deferred and the case [692] brought before a marabout or a cadi.

Thus the negress Tenoufek, who belonged to Semana, sister of Bika ag Moumou of the Kel Ahnet, slit the ear of a mare belonging to Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet. In reparation the negress was given to Sidi, with whom she still remains.

Another example: the negro of El Biodh ould Settafi of the Settaf, hamstrung two camels belonging to Ibedi ag Bassi of the Ir'echoumen. In reparation El Biodh had to give Ibedi the negro and a camel besides. /35/

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



634 particular case is related of a group of Ioullemmeden Tuareg attacking a camp of
727 Kel Ferouan vassals who made a counterattack and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, then they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

[565] 3) *Ekachchadi*, that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without
[721] the permission of their drum-chief. In this case the drum-chief would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals who were not allowed to engage in warfare on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

The drum-chief had other income from his subjects who paid him an annual
634 fee termed *sadaḳa*. This fee, it is said, was paid not only by vassals but also by noble
651 households of the Kel Azel clan. The sadaḳa fees were collected on behalf of the
565 drum-chief by people of the Echchikhen and by negroid blacksmiths, who form a particular and rather numerous caste. There were definite rules for the payment of sadaḳa. It was computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example can here be mentioned the payments for camel herds:–

| *Size of Herd.* | *Sada a.* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels | 2 goats |
| 15 camels | 3 goats |
| 25 camels | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels | 2 full-grown camels. |

The Echchikhen and the blacksmiths took the sadaḳa animals to the drum-chief. He gave some of them to the collectors who were themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of
[735] the proceeds given to poor people by the drum-chief, who would keep a small part for himself.

The drum-chief had the supreme jurisdiction over his group. In all internal
634 matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge. In difficult
692 cases he would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez or the Echchikhen. All members of the Kel Ferouan group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities *(edriet)* were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen
682 had the right of blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection.
[696] But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man whose
184 kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Apparently there has never been any
682 fixed size of blood-wealth among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab Tribes of The Sahara.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft 000
are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put 685
into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, [697]
while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:– pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment [177]
and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were [681]
in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel [643]
Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe 634
with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his [692]
power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with 565
the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relation- 571
ship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum- [634]
chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place 582
in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that 607
one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and [565]
their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory 607
in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1955, p. 279). Killian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Killian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Rali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group. 114 423 614 [233] [224] [222] [241] [427] [651]

For the land-rent *(share-n-amerdal)* paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:– 423

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months. 427 [222]

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. – Foley 1930, p. 43f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109). [224] [114]

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Rali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatos. [651]

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures. 685 [692]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation
692 of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer.
643 The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
178 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
643 to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
Scale raiding.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



565 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance,
651 to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The
[178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are
[789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals, but these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility
[721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also
[422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these animals.

The master of a temażlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids, but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the
[643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellag* or half of the booty taken by all vassals
[727] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for
[426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been given to the Amenokal. The temażlait-masters were apparently without any judicial
[692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller units within the drum-group – the temażlait-relations – were predominantly economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit, the drum-group.

### *The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.*

565 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately
192 open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheren* (sing. *Amacher*), but correctly this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohar* (sing. *Amahar*). It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb *ahar* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that this latter word is identical with *Hoouara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

241 /69 cont./ "guemouns" /plots/ situated near the majen (clay
675 basins), and the wheat and barley sown in the séguias /irrigation ditches/ which belong to him.

In addition, the wheat found mixed with the dust of the threshing ground belongs to him by right, as well as the staw and several vegetables that are grown. Lastly, if the flow of the foggara slackens and new wells must be dug upstream, the khammès is paid three guessa of wheat per well dug.

In case of disputes between the proprietors and the khammès, [692] the palavers are held in the presence of the chief of the tribe (on the Tuareg side) and the chief of the village (on the harratin side). The amenokal intervenes upon appeal, but rarely, for these contracts fixed by custom are, in general, scrupulously observed.

The Targui has limited confidence in the honesty of his khammès, an opinion often justified, for the hartani deliberately pushes over ears of grain so he may have them by his gleaning rights. The proprietor does not have the magnanimity of Boaz. Therefore, when harvest time comes, he installs himself /70/ and all his family near his garden in order to make sure that the operations are properly carried out. The khammès must furnish food for the Targui, a heavy burden for the former. That is the custom, which also holds that in case the Targui is prevented from coming, the hartani pays a due of 25 kilograms of wheat to guarantee this right of sojourn.

Another type of contract exists called "aril" in Tamashek and "nous" (half) in Arabic. The net harvest is divided into two equal parts, taking into account the following provisions:

The proprietor Targui must furnish the land rented from the amenokal, a foggara, and a hoe. He provides half of the seed and advances 25 kilograms of wheat, which will be paid back at harvest time; he pays for enriching the land (tiksal= virgin land). The gardener hartani, for his part, agrees to furnish half of the seed and one year of work.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



together at the French administration post of Agadez, there were two candidates for the office, namely 634
*Bukha* and *Khejji*. Present at the election were the French *Commandant de Cercle*, the Sultan, and
other important chiefs. The Sultan requested all men to elect *Bukha* (because *Khejji*'s father *Agg-* [643]
*Elkhir* had scoffed at the Sultan and publicly had called him a slave). Therefore, when the *Commandant*
asked the *Kel Ferwan* men to divide into two groups according to whether they wished *Bukha* or
*Khejji*, the group of men voting for *Khejji* numbered only four or five men. *Bukha* was thus elected
and the Sultan presented him with a large head-cloth and declared him the new *Kel Ferwan* drum-
chief.

From what has been said above about the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs it is evident that the drum-chief 634
was elected by the vassals who constitute the majority of the group. But it is very doubtful whether 643
in the past it was normal for a Sultan to advise the vassals to elect a particular Tuareg for drum-chief.
For though the drum-chief should then also be installed and recognized by the Sultan, the latter was
not strong enough to meddle in the affairs of the drum-group. There are even some noble *Kel Ferwan*
Tuareg who claim that in the past the drum-chief should be installed not by the Sultan, but by a vassal
Tuareg of the drum-group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his
head. But most vassals hold that the drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and
that in the past, when dissatisfied with a drum-chief, they would ask permission of the Sultan to
dismiss him.

In all internal matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge, but it seems as 631
if the chief of the *Kel Azel* who was installed by the drum-chief had almost similar judicial rights over 634
his particular vassals. However, any case occurring within the whole *Kel Ferwan* group could be 692
brought before the drum-chief, who in difficult cases would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez, or the
*Echchikhen*. Punishments for thefts are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen 685
previously was put into jail (*takormut*) in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands
was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the
market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:— pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits,
under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of
remaining standing. A few old people remember that they have seen this method of punishment
practised in Agadez. Punitive measures like imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt [681]
foreign to traditional Tuareg law, and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As
the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* was in fact the true master of Ayr, including the city of Agadez, [634]
he may have made use of the prison and may also have imposed capital punishment on thieves. Proper
theft seems to have been very rare among pastoral Tuareg in the past, but to-day camel-thieves are
extremely common in all groups. Some Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any camel
thieves who were hanged like dogs.

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were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen had the right to blood- 682
revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. But if the family of the person killed con- [681]
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| 100 camels | 2 full-grown camels. |

The Echchikhen and the blacksmiths took the sadaḳa animals to the drum-chief. He gave some of them to the collectors who were themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of
[735] the proceeds given to poor people by the drum-chief, who would keep a small part for himself.

The drum-chief had the supreme jurisdiction over his group. In all internal
634 matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge. In difficult
692 cases he would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez or the Echchikhen. All members of the Kel Ferouan group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities *(edniet)* were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen
682 had the right of blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection.
[696] But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man whose
184 kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Apparently there has never been any
682 fixed size of blood-wealth among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg in contrast to the two
Groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab Tribes of The Sahara.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft 000
are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put 685
into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, [697]
while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:– pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment [177]
and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were [681]
in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel [643]
Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe 634
with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his [692]
power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with 565
the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relation- 571
ship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum- [634]
chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve.

It [illegible] that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place 582
in t[illegible] This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that 607
one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and [565]
their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory 607
in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

565 /Fr. race/, " "aristocrat, " and not "noble" as some have written.
[M2] This would be said elli (plural, illellan) in Tamashek. (1)

1. Cf. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik, " Bulletin de l'Institut Français, Afrique Noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, pp. 579-586.

192 In Sudanese dialects, amacher, by transposition into local
197 phonetics, becomes amajer (plural, imajeuren). As we have already said, it is easy to find in these names the old Berber root amazir, which formerly referred to certain Libyan peoples and which still exists in the name of a considerable Berber fraction in Morocco.

565 The Imochar, who hold the political rights, are the real masters
[M3] of the country. All of them claim to be of sherif origin, more or less descendants of the Prophet; however, this claim has no solid foundation, except the desire to assume a high birth affiliating them to Islamism and its founder a long time back, but this is not true.

/159/ Among themselves, the Tuareg refer to men of old nobility and old stock /Fr. race/ as loumet.

565 All the Imochar are essentially warriors. They owe their high
701 social position to the saber, and they know no other occupation than
631 war and raiding. Their role as suzerain makes them parasites of the vassal classes, and they used to constitute a scourge to caravans
[181 crossing their country. Their way of life has always been pillage,
461] and in their eyes manual labor is a disgrace which only slaves can accept.

181 Covering the desert on their camels, fighting, risking death in
565 faraway escapades -- that is what the life of a man of noble blood, who intends to remain one, must be. They take their vassals on their escapades and save part of the booty for them, by right of participation. Scorn for manual labor is a class prejudice with them

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Ihăggaren and the Kel Ăjjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifŏra were pillaged themselves upon several occasions by the Ihăggaren and forced to seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

The influence of the Inislimen on the Ihăggaren and the Kel
[797] Ăjjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact, they are generally quite ignorant.

[554] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving, they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and disapproved of the belligerent action of the Ihăggaren against us, in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tăademaket
565 and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.
797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to
[648] become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifŏra was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tăademeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents. They are found all over Tuareg country.

[724 Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
181] refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
● 701] other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Chériffen are divided into ordinary Chériffen and warrior Chériffen.

565 Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of
[511] the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of
[177] prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting
631 matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs
[642] internally as they see fit, without intervention of the amenokal or the Imochar in their affairs.

162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps
565 because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by
721 their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often
[727] organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some
701 Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among
[714] the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded
631 in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for
[582] their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

563 There are also important tribes in the Sudan who bear the name of Daoussak. They are generally considered /168/ Imrad, but actually the Daoussak were probably former Ioullimmiden shepherds who were not authorized to carry the lance and take part in combats. They tend to give themselves a certain marabout air, and they multiply the Koranic schools in their camps.

Iborelliten. -- We can rank among assimilated vassals still other free tribes, quite little known until now, who bear the name of Iborelliten (singular, Aborelli).

They speak the Tamashek language and on the surface are in no way different from the Tuareg in the midst of whom they live. In some confederations they form very distinct tribes, depending in general only on the direct authority of the chief of the confederation; such tribes are those of the A'ir who are under the command of the anastafidet of the Kel-Oui. (1)

1. The Kel-Af'r are divided into Kel-Gerès and Kel-Oui, placed under the authority of the Sultan of Agadez. The Kel-Oui, probably of Oraren /Ouraren?, see below p. 37./ origin, have mixed enormously with the sedentary Hausa. Because of that they have diminished in the eyes of their racial brothers, who now consider them Negroes. They have a peculiar organization, and their chief bears the name of anastafidet.

They are more or less colored depending on the group, and some are as white as the Tuareg. They intermarry among themselves

which brings to our minds the idea of the serf attached to the 565
glebe and sold with the domain which he cultivated, but rather 631
as "client, bondsman, tributary."

In fact, if the amr'id pays the "tioussé," or tribute, to the noble, if he "lets him taste a little of what he has," according to his expression, if he is dependent on the noble, he nevertheless enjoys a freedom of action which the serf of the Middle Ages did not know. He has a right to the noble's protection if he is attacked, but he marches and fights with him [701]
armed with the same arms. In a raid he also shares with him [727]
and receives his portion of the loot, a portion which varies according to the tribe and which seems to have been fixed according to an ancient contract, in exchange for the protection granted.

And we will find the most convincing proof in the appoint- 565
ment of the amenokal. The imr'ad take part in this: it is 631
they who speak first and state whether they accept the new 643
amenokal, whether they have confidence in him, whether they promise /49/ faithfully to pay him the "tioussé." And he, on his part, promises to give them help and protection against all.

The noble makes it a point of honor to keep this promise. 558
It would be a shame, "el r'ar," according to his expression 565
(from the Arab word "el aâr" العار , not to avenge an insult 577
or an injury rendered to one who pays him the "tioussé." 631

## Chapter II

## The Tobol. Inheritance

Concerning the tobol. The "tobol" originally was a drum 202
made of a large gourd and covered with stretched hide, which 534
the chief of the tribe sounded to gather his clients /dependents/ 643
to tell them that pastures must be changed, etc. It was the 565
insignia of command.

As a rule, an amicable solution is finally reached, but the 728
part of the loot which is returned to the deputation is always
far less than that which was taken. The Tuareg say, "Alaï
ouala," that is, "the restitution is never complete."

It may also happen that the raiders refuse to return anything. 721
The raided tribe, if it [701]
considers itself too weak, 728
solicits the support of
another tribe with which
it has good relations, and
then there is fighting. /56/

When caravans of 484
traders have been raided, 486
since these caravans have 721
usually placed themselves
under the protection of
noble tribes to which they
pay dues, the controversy
is settled between the pro-
tecting tribe and the
raiders' tribe.

[411]

Dautheville
Tuareg Shield

In the Ahaggar it seems that the old amenokal, Aïtar'el, 728
established the restitution of loot taken from caravans protected
by the Azdjer in the following manner:

1. Complete restitution of the pack camels taken from the caravans

2. For each load of merchandise taken, one "amadjour" camel for each man who took part in the raid and rode a mehari of his own

3. One "aleggues" (a young camel of three years) or a half-grown camel for each man who borrowed or hired the mehari which he rode in the raid.

The arms of a Tuareg and the harness for his mount have 114
been described in detail by Duveyrier, and there is no need to
review them here. /57/

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*Agg Elkhar*, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [175] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals. [643]

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. 614 634 [431] [178]

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 651 [583]

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:– 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Teouit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



634 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the
565 noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzouren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had con-
[463] stantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly
[701] by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers and protectors.

Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals *(Imghad)*
114 as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:– "One of the functions
565 of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for
614 long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the
[422] camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible
[672] for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen
[567] both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much about this.

Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin.
174 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air
565 from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of
614 noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a, p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg have emigrated.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



162
565
614
631

| | Noble Clans | | Vassal Clans | Iseḫḫemaren Clans | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The Teḫehe-Mellet Drum-Group* | *Teḫehe Mellet* | 33 | *Kel Tarka* (part of the Ait Lemirn clan of the Kel Ḫela drum-group). | *Kel Tawarit* | 60 |
| | | | | *Kel Oubet* | 70 |
| *Noble Clans Without Vassals* | *Kel Ehen Mellen* | | The Iseḫḫemaren clans are said formerly to have been vassals of this clan. | | |
| | *Ikadeien* | | Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit. | | |

### *The Kel Ḫela Drum-Group in Ahaggar.*

[161] The Ahaggar Tuareg according to statistics from 1950 number 4,611 individuals
565 (Lhote 1955, p. 157) and comprise 26 clans. In addition to the noble class termed
614 *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), and the vassal class termed *Imrad*, (sing. *Amrid*) or *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), there is also a class termed *Iseḫḫemaren* (sing. *Aseḫḫemar*), who can be considered vassals of a somewhat different status. The religious class *Inaslemen* (sing. *Anaslem*) is in Ahaggar represented by a few families without clan organization.

614 There are five noble clans but only three of them have vassals. There are in
565 other words three drum-groups *(effebel*, pl. *effebelen)*, namely those of Kel Ḫela,
634 Taitoḳ, and Teḫehe Mellet. The Kel Ḫela group is by far the most important, and its chief with the title of Amenokal is the supreme head of all three groups which
643 constitute a sort of federation named *teḫehe*. In rare cases when the Tuareg of Ahaggar joined forces against foreign Tuareg groups, e.g. the Tuareg of Tassili-n-
[701] Ajjer, the Amenokal was the war-leader of all three drum-groups. But in the past he had often little authority over the two other drum-groups. For long periods of the 19th century he had severe troubles with the Taitoḳ, who had acquired a practically independent position, and it seems as if he had no rights over the land inhabited by the Taitoḳ drum-group. The Amenokal as well as the two other drum-chiefs *(Amyar*, pl. *Imyaren)* were elected by the vassals of their respective
[565] drum-groups. It is true that the members of the noble clan had a certain influence,
[614] but – contrary to former opinions on the matter – they did not have any direct voice in elections. The Amenokal was and is ceremoniously installed by a Tuareg of the Iseḫḫemaren class who provides him with a new veil or turban. The two other
634 drum-chiefs should be installed in this way by the Amenokal, who also undertook the installation of all vassal chiefs within his own drum-group. The installment of vassal chiefs within the two other drum-groups were undertaken by their respective drum-chiefs. In the present chapter I shall describe the drum-group of the Kel Ḫela in some detail.

[Text continues on p. 104]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or
section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole
clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep
in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants
of sub-areas.

As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
643 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation
692 of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a
man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the
seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-
643 wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer.
The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to
accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part
from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and
fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had
178 in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
643 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending
from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the
Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal
kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of
his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his
advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have
shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
•[701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellaǵ* comprising half
of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
scale raiding.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



565 582 634 been told about two such marriages which seem to have been contracted in fairly recent times. I think that the main reason why the noble Tuareg do not marry with their vassals is that such marriages would tend to break down the structure of the political system, as the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many in-laws among vassals to whom the conduct would be institutional joking or avoidance. For in addition to true relatives by marriage there are numerous classificatory ones. This will become clear from the description of the rules of behaviour valid for relatives by marriage.

634 578 614 565 In spite of the application of the rules of joking relationship on a political level, troubles within the drum-group were far from unknown. And it is remarkable that even between the related tribes of *Irawatten* and *Kel Azel* there might be very severe quarrels. There was a latent opposition between them which might occasionally lead to fighting between noble Tuareg of the two groups. The existence within the drum-group of another noble tribe, the *Kel Azel*, with a certain number of vassals was always a danger to the position of the drum-chief as a ruler of the whole [661] *Kel Ferwan* group. And noble Tuareg of the *Irawatten* tribe say that in the past it even happened that the drum-chief punished the *Kel Azel* very severely, not only taking all their livestock, but also burning [701] down their camps. The drum-chief was able to maintain his power over the whole *Kel Ferwan* group because most vassal tribes were placed directly under his command, and because these tribes camped around Agadez which was dominated by him.

The drum-chief also had trouble with another tribe of his group, the *Kel Akerra*. This tribe is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the *Ibararojiten* tribe. In the past the drum-chief assisted by vassals of the whole group imposed vassalage upon the *Kel Akerra*, who, however, refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the *Kel Akerra* to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the *Kel Akerra* tribe became small and insignificant. It is said that the tribes of *Imezzureg* and *Isakaranan*, who like the *Kel Akerra* are noble by origin, also did not give their bride-wealth to the drum-chief in the past. But the three tribes were vassals in the sense that they had to give part of their war-booty to the drum-chief and could not carry out raids on their own.

[701] A certain discord reigned within the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the drum-chief had the support of most tribes of vassals, who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups, but also quell internal 634 insurrections. However, the three northern tribes of *Kel Tédalé* were so numerous, so rich in camels, 614 and lived so remote from the rest of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes that the drum-chief could not maintain his power over them. They were only nominally part of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the *Kel Tédalé* paid no tribute to other chiefs (Joubert 1939, p. 246), though it is said in Ahaggar that in the past they paid an annual tribute to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. But the *Kel Tédalé* were politically independent of other groups in Ayr, which is also stated by Jean 565 (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim the *Kel Tédalé* to be true vassals of their 614 drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104; Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three tribes the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427). The *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg I met all emphasized

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[51] the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of
[177] prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

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631 matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs internally as they see fit, without intervention of the amenokal or the
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721 their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often
[727] organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

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701 Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among
[714] the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

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631 in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for
[582] their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

177 In the last few years a number of notables, including the
492 aménokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the
643 Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them
133 to avoid rocks.

101 The Ihaggaren never travel on zebus and never usé them for
492 transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

/321/ Chapter 2

## War and Raiding

721 The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

182 When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those
221 present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were
361 most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to
721 spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

727 Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not
426 own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case
714

727 of captures, however, he had to give half of the captured animals
714 to the lender. In case of failure and death of the camel, he did
426 not have to reimburse him.

721 The men met, discussed the planned expedition, and uttered
726 a ritual formula (narhal allar) which bound them together for the duration of the expedition, during which time they were to give mutual assistance to one another.

Then they named a chief who was not necessarily an Amajer /sing. of Imochar - Ed. / but a man renowned for his courage, his /322/ suitability, and his experience on expeditions of this kind. Then the group left, preceded by scouts.

726 All baggage was left behind. Everyone mounted on camel back, taking only the bare necessities for the road, for it was necessary to go quite fast and try to keep the animals in good condition. Before sunrise, the raid was already on its way, and the rapid pace was maintained without stopping until evening. The men ate only
[262 a few dates at noon, did not take their siestas, and ate a meal
264] only in the evening -- all was sacrificed to the speed of the march, which was the key to success.

Nearing their goal, the raiders forced their march even more if that were possible, and they often divided into two parties; one was entrusted with seizing the animals and bringing them to a specified point, the other created a diversion in the enemy camps to sidetrack them.

The surprised enemy was attacked with gunshots by a few men
[411] deployed as riflemen, while meharists swooped down on them, hurled their javelins, and then soon came to hand-to-hand fighting. The people who were attacked, for their part, tried to find out the strength of the assailants, and depending on the case they retreated or themselves attacked.

In spite of this martial deployment and the vigor of the attack, these combats were not very deadly, in general, and did not always cause deaths.

Lefaucheux type. But their prices were high for Tuareg pocket- 411
books, and it was difficult to procure powder and bullets, which 439
made firearms uncommon and often the prerogative of the chiefs. 554

Tuareg weapons vary according to the circumstances. The
Imochar carries the arms he likes: they include the sword 184
(tacouba), which is the 411
weapon par excellence 565
of the nobles; the iron
lance (allar') carried by
nobles and vassals;
javelins with iron shoulder [531]
and point and wooden
staff (tarda), which are
set aside for vassals and
slaves; and the forearm
dagger (télak) provided
with a leather ring so that
it may be hung from the
wrist. In the Sudan slaves
also carry wooden clubs
(tabouri), heavy branches
with a knot at one end.

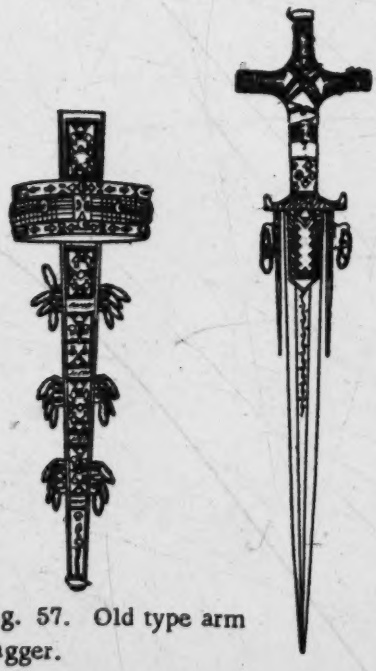


Fig. 57. Old type arm dagger.

The Tuareg have only
one defensive weapon,
the buckler (ahrer) which
is made of oryx antelope
skin. It was generally the prerogative of the nobles, and only
they had the right to carry it. It recalls the coat of arms by its [531]
shape and the ideology which surrounds it; the decorative motifs
which it bears have a magic character.

The Tuareg are adroit fencers, fighting hand /326/ to hand 411
with their swords while protecting themselves with their bucklers, 714
which cover their bodies and which they handle with a great deal
of dexterity in spite of the volume and weight. The sword cuts

411 and, if it is of good quality, it is liable to split a buckler in two.
714 The hand is protected by a little rectangular iron guard which gives the shape of a cross to the upper part of the sword.

114 Duveyrier, the explorer, noted that the Tuareg used the bow.
411 We have not found this weapon among them, nor any evidence as to what it used to be used for.

[714 281]

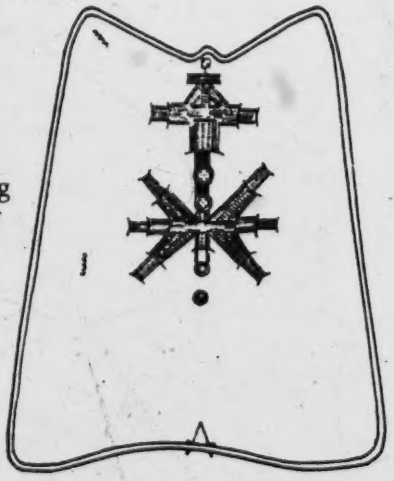


Fig. 58. Tuareg buckler made of oryx antelope skin.

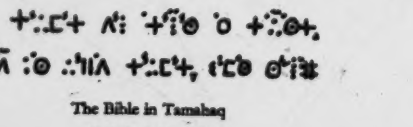
411 All of these weapons have become very archaic in view of the arrival of rapid-firing weapons. The Ahaggar Imochar still [554] hold to their sword, which they always wear over their shoulders, and which seems to be used more to indicate their social rank than for warring action. In the Sudan almost all the Tuareg still carry lances, and some of them carry forearm daggers. In Aïr one may still see a buckler hung from the saddle of a mehari. But in a few years all these objects will be good for filling trophy cases.

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.

174 [714] [411] 194 212 177



[539]

**The Bible in Tamahaq**

(*Ruth. Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

*"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."*

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

771 [101] [932]

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Aménokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

567 611 565 567 [291]

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

177 533

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Ihăggaren and the Kel Ăjjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifŏra were pillaged themselves upon several occasions by the Ihăggaren and forced to seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

The influence of the Inislimen on the Ihăggaren and the Kel
[797] Ăjjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact, they are generally quite ignorant.

[554] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving, they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and disapproved of the belligerent action of the Ihăggaren against us, in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tăde maket
565 and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.
797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable
[648] enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifŏra was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tăde meka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents. They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721] Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
[181] refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
701 other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Chériffen are divided into ordinary Chériffen and warrior Chériffen.

565 Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of
[51] the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of
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[582] their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

175 The dissensions began with respect to the Imrad tribes depend-
579 ing on the Kel Rela; they were shamelessly stolen by the Taïtok,
631 necessitating the intervention of the suzerains. The Taïtok, fewer
643 in number than the Kel Rela, got the worst of it most of the time, but that never prevented them from beginning again a short time later.

This was still the state of affairs at the end of the last century when Aménokal Ahtarel, a very peace-loving man, succeeded in bringing about a cessation of hostilities between the two rival tribes.

The chief of the Taïtok at that time, Sidi ag Kéradji, was the nephew of Ahtarel through his father; consequently, he was a Kel Rela, while he held the right to the Taïtok tobol from his mother. Ahtarel, as his uncle, strove to protect him from the Kel Rela as well as from some Taïtok elements whom this truce did not suit.

Sidi, feeling the situation escape him, renounced his tobol, believing that by so doing he was ensuring the safety of his wealth and his person in case hostilities broke out again. He took refuge in the Ahaggar with the Kel Rela.

But upon the death of Ahtarel, rivalry reawakened, and the Kel Rela begged Sidi to leave their camps. Where could he go when the Taïtok had only enemies?

Anarchy reigned everywhere, and the Kel I-n-Toûnîn, Imrad of the Taïtok, took advantage of this to emancipate themselves. They appealed to the Ouraren, a noble Ajjer tribe. Sidi resolved to settle among them, when Aziouel, a pretender to the tobol, was trying to seize it.

[181] Aziouel was the typical Taïtok, the typical desert looter, with cruel and unrestrained instincts. Captain Métois, former chief of the Annex of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, called him a "man of fine saber blows and abusive language, and in addition, a liar, thief, and traitor." He negotiated the surrender of the Taïtok, while Sidi ag
643 Kéradji was kept as aménokal.
175 Aziouel was guided by his taste for robbery to lead an enormous
631 raid in the Hodh in 1905, but he had a run of bad luck. Pushed
[21]

631 Taken away from the Ťaitok and made free, they were put back under their command in 1909.

631 131 They nomadize from Silet to Reggan and Aoulef. The land over which they range includes all of the Ǎdrar Ǎhnet, the Ǎseg'rad, and part of the Immidir. The boundaries which separate them from the Issekkemaren are as follows: Tin Tir'atimine and Tagemout (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the northeast; Arak wadi as far as Amsir, and Méniet (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the east, by the In Rabir well; they have at their disposal all the mountainous part on the south, including In Ziza and Nahalet, that is, the whole region bordering on the Tanezrouft and bounded on the east by Ouallen, the last watering place before the Tanezrouft; to the north by the Ǎsouf Mellen wadi.

[132] In dry years they descend to the Sudan in the region of In Abangarit-In Gall and Tamaťa. They camp near the Ťaitok in the Ǎdrar Tazerzaťt, where they escape the control of the Algerian and Sudanese authorities.

They formerly exploited a sebkha in the In Méraguen wadi.

631 In 1905 they were a group of 35 to 40 tents. In the 1938 census, [162] they numbered no more than 58 persons, 21 of them men.

Rather pugnacious by nature, they always accompany the [181 72] Ťaitok on their expeditions and share the loot with them in equal parts.

During the World War, they stayed in the Ǎhnet and /207/ [669] took part in the revolt only individually by supplying the rebels, willingly or by force. Only at the end of 1917, under the influence of Ǎjjer elements, did they rise up and pillage in Ǎdrar and at Ǎkabli.

[181 795] They are rather unreligious; they follow the Malekite rite, and some are members of the Tijaniyyah order. They profess great respect for the marabouts and willingly receive them in their camps. At the beginning of the conflict the agitator Abidine of [669] the Timbuktu Kounta, took refuge among them; he had led the struggle against us in Timbuktu for a long time.

233 The Tuareg are herders. It does not seem that they ever knew
721 any other stage of civilization, except hunting which is the prelude to animal husbandry. But even by judicious use of pasturage they cannot own a great number of domestic animals, and in the last analysis herding falls into the background in their means of existence. Since the country could not feed them, they had to look elsewhere for what they lacked. They therefore looked to their sabers for the rest.

181 Like the majority of herders, the perpetually famished Tuareg
721 are born warriors, because from time immemorial they have had to dispute the rich lands with the sedentary peoples. Their free life has made them independent and anarchistic. The wealth /215/ of others has not inspired any respect in them, but rather a sentiment of envy which no moral rule has been able to check. Pillage has thus been raised to the state of an institution, and the Tuareg have become masters of the trade.

721 The raid, now a continual state of war with their neighbors, may be considered the principal social achievement of the Tuareg.
[182] And thus we may see the important role that the Ahaggar Mountains play; they are not only a refuge for life, but also a refuge for brigands who want to shelter themselves from the possible investigations of their victims.

579 The raid is organized, even ordered, pillage. It is an institu-
627 tion with its rules which the antagonists respect. Its simplest form is taking the neighbor's herds; once the deed is done, the raider makes a deal with him and compromises by giving him back a certain number of animals so that he can subsist, keeping for himself what is judged to be the surplus. The complicated form occurs when the attacked man defends himself or tries to take back his property. That can lead to pitched battles and, as a consequence, dead men. From that time on, it is fratricidal war which demands blood and which creates eternal hatred.

That was what the life of the Ahaggar Tuareg was before the French occupation.

579 In addition, they robbed caravans who happened into their country, hatefully ransoming the voyagers. Sometimes they 721 727 went to empty the granaries of the sedentary people of the oases or the Sudanese villages, captur- [492] ing Negroes and Negresses to sett as slaves.

439 When peace reigned in their country, they willingly organized /218/ caravans to go to the Tidikelt or Touat oases and bring back dates, or else to the Sudan to get supplies of millet. They also made themselves the protectors of caravans [486] crossing their country, naturally making the caravaneer pay a consistently high duty in merchandise.

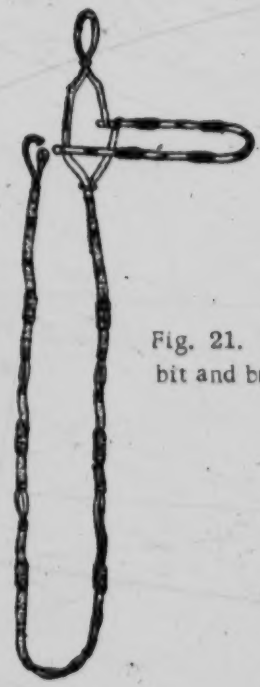

Fig. 21. Camel bit and bridle.

135 The Ahaggar has famous salt mines in the region called 182 Amadror which lies to the east of 439 the Tafedest massif in a large depression. They are an appreciable resource for the Ihaggaren, but manpower is needed to exploit them. Then, transportation and circulation demand a general state of peace in which the numerous [721] herds of pack camels can be protected from possible surprise attacks and raids. That is why the Amadror ~~salt~~ deposits remained unexploited for a long time before the French occupation, because of the state of perpetual war existing between Ahaggar Tuareg and Tassili Tuareg.

361 When a state of war existed, concealment was a capital necessity
609 easy to understand. By atavism, it seems that they have taken the
[72] habit of always placing themselves in spots where they escape the
investigation of indiscreet glances.

361 They set up their tents on valley terraces, and sometimes in a
[132] valley itself, if they do not have to fear the rains, which usually fall
at the end of the summer.

221 Because of the need to seek out pastures, camps are continually
361 being moved. They stay from one to two weeks, depending on
whether the grass has been revived by rains or whether it is dry. But
these moves are never of any great distance, not exceeding seven
or eight kilometers. If we take as an example the Dag Rali tribe
which nomadizes in the western part of Koudia, we find the camps
set up in the high mountain valleys, as high as 2,400 meters
altitude, in summer. In winter, on the other hand, they settle on
the slopes or in the low parts, seeking places sheltered from the wind.
This, of course, is in a normal period of average pasture. But
during the summer of 1940, following a long dry period, the Upper
Koudia saw a great number of its watering places dry up, and
vegetation was nonexistent, so to speak. Therefore, all the nomads
took refuge in the low parts of the massif, in the Outoul, Eferer,
and I-n-Amegel valleys where water was more abundant and where
a trace of pasture still remained. At the beginning of September,
the whole massif benefited from abundant rains. A week later, all
the tents moved into the mountains in order to use the alpine pastures
before winter and to save the lower valley grass for winter.

312 /223/ The watering places of Ätakor are chiefly natural reser-
voirs (aguelmam) and springs flowing at ground level in the hollows
of the valleys. In the middle part, there are mainly rédir (abankor),
or little wells, dug less than one meter down in the soil to reach
the water layer, which is often retained by rocky sills. These
rédir are exhausted in time if rains do not come to renew the water
accumulated in the sandy wadi bed. The lower part of the Ahaggar
benefits from all the water trickling down from the high mountains

177 In the last few years a number of notables, including the
492 amenokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the
643 Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them
133 to avoid rocks.

101 The Ihaggaren never travel on zebus and never use them for
492 transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

/321/

## Chapter 2

## War and Raiding

721 The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

182 When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those
221 present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were
361 most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to
721 spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

727 Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not
426 own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case
714

727 714 426 of captures, however, he had to give half of the captured animals to the lender. In case of failure and death of the camel, he did not have to reimburse him.

721 726 The men met, discussed the planned expedition, and uttered a ritual formula (narhal allar) which bound them together for the duration of the expedition, during which time they were to give mutual assistance to one another.

Then they named a chief who was not necessarily an Amajer /sing. of Imochar - Ed. / but a man renowned for his courage, his /322/ suitability, and his experience on expeditions of this kind. Then the group left, preceded by scouts.

726 All baggage was left behind. Everyone mounted on camel back, taking only the bare necessities for the road, for it was necessary to go quite fast and try to keep the animals in good condition. Before sunrise, the raid was already on its way, and the rapid pace was maintained without stopping until evening. The men ate only [262 264] a few dates at noon, did not take their siestas, and ate a meal only in the evening -- all was sacrificed to the speed of the march, which was the key to success.

Nearing their goal, the raiders forced their march even more if that were possible, and they often divided into two parties; one was entrusted with seizing the animals and bringing them to a specified point, the other created a diversion in the enemy camps to sidetrack them.

[411] The surprised enemy was attacked with gunshots by a few men deployed as riflemen, while meharists swooped down on them, hurled their javelins, and then soon came to hand-to-hand fighting. The people who were attacked, for their part, tried to find out the strength of the assailants, and depending on the case they retreated or themselves attacked.

In spite of this martial deployment and the vigor of the attack, these combats were not very deadly, in general, and did not always cause deaths.

721 When raids were led against Sudanese camps, they were as in-
727 terested in the Negroes and Negresses as they were in the camels.
527 The kidnappers kept some of them to serve as servants and sold the others on the markets of In-Salah and the Touat.

726 Once the booty was stolen, the raiders went by forced march to the point agreed upon in advance, where they rejoined the other group of meharists.

The raided people, on the other hand, organized themselves, but they did not try to overtake the raiders immediately and did not wear themselves out in vain pursuit. As the return route of the raiders was known, they tried to reach a well where they had to pass; if they were successful in arriving before them and cutting them off from water, the real combat began, this time fierce and often quite deadly.

411
531
326
281

Fig. 55. Tuareg lance. The iron blade is decorated with copper inlays. The part where the hand is put is covered with leather, and a little leather loop placed behind is intended to hold the index finger which gives greater propulsion to the lance when it is thrown.

Hard pressed, the Tuareg formed in a square behind their camels and defended themselves under cover of their bucklers; /323/ when they saw it was impossible to take possession of the well, they abandoned their loot. The battle came to an end, and the raiders were rarely pursued. In the opposite camp, a certain number of men were left as sentries to guard against return offensives, and the others tried to gather up their animals and lead them back to the douar /encampment/.

727 When the raiding party was safe, the men divided up the booty in more or less equal parts, depending on each person's merits during the fight. But in some tribes, customs related to the tioussé demanded

more chivalrous Imochar and a few rare Imrad try to oppose this, but in warlike escapades the Iklan and people with few morals are often more numerous than the others.

Abuses of women always called for vengeance, which the adversaries usually received before long. Acts of this kind were enough to raise up entire tribes against one another. And so, in the Sudan, the exactions of Marabout Abidine's people on the Kel Adrar Tuareg, at the time of the murder of their aménokal Safikroum in 1912, made irreconcilable enemies of these two fractions.

At the beginning of the French occupation, when lieutenants Cottenest and Guilho-Lohan carried out their reconnaissance missions in the Ahaggar, they found women abandoned in the camps by their husbands. The good care which was taken of them made it easier to make peaceful contact later with the Ihaggaren.

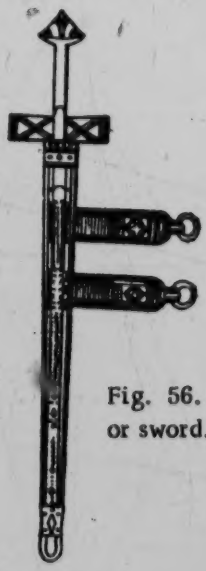

Fig. 56. The tacouba, or sword.

Tuareg weapons include iron lances, javelins with wooden staff, swords, daggers, and a buckler.

/325/ Even before the French occupation the Tuareg knew how to use firearms and possessed a certain number of guns. They were for the most part projectile weapons or archaic models of the

611 patrilineal elements being present together in
121 a single complex from its beginning, and we have no good reason to suppose that this tentative assumption may not be equally applicable to the Tuareg. But we are hedged about with lack of information. We are faced here with yet another instance of the futility of empirical deduction unsupported by adequate field investigation of the culture concepts that lie at the root of our problem.

423 **Land Tenure and Tribute.** The Amenokal of
643 the Ahaggar is said to be "the owner of the land" by virtue of his position as paramount chief of a warrior aristocracy. We are inclined to suspect, however, that this may be an oversimplification of the case, for the land of the various tribes that make up the Ahaggar confederation is apparently treated as basically communal property, the title to which is vested in each succeeding Amenokal as an executive trustee rather than as a proprietor. This brings out the very important point that the Amenokal of the Ahaggar Tuareg seems to be essentially a chief executive and not a true king or autocratic chief in the commonly accepted sense of those terms. And, theoretically at least, he can be forced out of office by popular demand. All things considered, his position is not so very different in fact from
643 that of the President of the United States.

622 The Amenokal and the noble tribal chiefs
565 under him collect tribute from those whose
[651] destinies they control, but they are also supposed to protect these people by force of arms when necessary. When the warriors of a noble
[721] clan go raiding they often take the men of one or more of their vassal clans along, and these vassals receive a substantial share of plunder if the raid is a success, but vassals also have an obligation to fight at the side of their noble masters in intertribal wars.

423 Each vassal clan holds exclusive pasturage
[565] rights to a definite territory upon which no one else may enter, without express permission of the Amenokal, excepting noble clans who are always free to use the pastures of their own vassals as and when they please. Some men also hold exclusive hunting rights to certain specified areas. Many Tuareg own garden plots in agricultural centers, and sometimes date palms and fruit trees of other kinds as well, all of which holdings are now par-

439 and its focus is now strictly local as far as the Tuareg are concerned.

Salt and dates were once traded in the Niger Bend country for camels, sheep, millet and rice, and camels, sheep and goatskins used to be traded to Ghadamès in exchange for swords, richly embroidered cloaks, dates, tea and sugar. Ghadamès is still an important center for the production of metal utensils and occasionally weapons.

**Protection.** Aside from their own trading ac-
439 tivities, the Tuareg used to control caravan
486 trade in general over a very wide area, and this was the third corner post of their economy. Barth (1857, vol. 1, p. 238), writing a century ago, tells us that in his day the Amenokal of the Ahaggar, Guémama, controlled all trade routes between Mourzouk and Timbuctoo, and it seems likely that this situation already dated back over a considerable period. The Ahaggar Tuareg used to control all trade in the southwestern Sahara as far west as Ouadane and southward into northern Nigeria at least as early as the beginning of the 15th century, but their grip on much of this area, and notably on the salt trade of the southwestern Desert, was broken by the Moroccans at the end of the 16th century, and the Tuareg never seem to have extended it again much beyond Aoulef in the Northwest or southwestward beyond Timbuctoo.

The mechanism of control was based on the furnishing of guides and armed escorts to caravans passing through areas under Tuareg domination, and for these services there was a fairly uniform customary scale of charges based on the estimated value of a caravan's cargo and the reputed wealth of the owners. Caravan leaders sometimes failed to agree on the figure to be paid and proceeded on their own, while big caravans occasionally brought guides and guards along with them and small ones now and then tried to slip through unobserved. The Tuareg, however, succeeded in making such expedients unprofitable in most cases by themselves raiding reluctant customers along the road. Thus a highly profitable protection racket was maintained for several centuries before the period of European domination.

**Raiding.** The fourth economic corner post
● 721 of the Ahaggar Tuareg was raiding pure and

721 simple, and this activity can be divided into two main types according to the chief object in view. Raiding for booty was practised irregularly but fairly often, especially in times of hardship or in connection with intertribal feuds. Sneak attacks by small bands who lifted livestock and then promptly fled with it were typical. Slave raiding was practised on a fairly regular basis. In the nomad camps of the
727 Ahaggar the number of Negro domestic servants is usually about equal to the number of Tuareg present, and this labor force used to be replenished when necessary by raids on Negro villages in the desert fringe of the Sudan and occasionally even on Tuareg camps in the Aïr, Tamesna and Adrar n Ifoghas regions. The present writer knows a mulatto freedwoman who was taken in this way from the Aïr some 40 years ago, and has long been happily settled at Tamanrasset; and she is by no means an exception. Thus raiding, the fourth corner post of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar, was primarily a mechanism designed to keep the supply of livestock, both animal and human, at a satisfactory level in an area where the environment caused a steady normal decrease in the local supply.

**Economic Summary.** We have seen that pas-
177 toralism was the central column and crop
182 shares, trading, protection and raiding the four corner posts of the economic structure of the Ahaggar Tuareg. With the coming of European domination the last two pillars were kicked away, the third buckled and bent to a mere fraction of its former height, and the roof fell in along three sides and part of the fourth. The Ahaggar Tuareg presumably never lived a life of ease—no pastoralist can in such a rigorous environment—but their greatest perils used to be those of warfare. These dangers have been removed completely by the new European rulers of the area, and yet the Tuareg of the Ahaggar as a whole are undoubtedly in worse economic shape today than they have ever been before. Their old
182 culture, whatever some may think of it on the basis of modern European standards, was remarkably well adapted to conditions in their chosen homeland. The destruction of two of its five main supports and the progressive weakening of a third have thrown their economic structure so seriously out of balance that the whole edifice is obviously doomed,

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga." 291 302 386 515

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵓⵙⴼⴰⵔ plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⵔⴰⵏ, and believe in their efficacy. This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing. 177 278 [432 556]

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly be very well received by the Tuareg. [648 757]

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" ⵜⴰⵣⵣⴰⵇ, gonorrhea, "talaoa'ⵜ;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ⵜⵙⵎⴷⵀⵉ; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴽⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔⵄⴼ. 164

## Chapter XVII

## Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have. 563 567 [721]

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense. [439]

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished. 178 567

I saw a camp of Iouarouaren (an imr'ad fraction of the 166
Taïtoq tobol), established near the tents of Taïtoq nobles, move 651
in order to settle farther away. They had come from the Tidikelt with dates and other produce, and the noble women were continually coming to beg something at the imr'ad camp. So their chief In Chikadh gave the signal to leave and said that this was in order to put an end to the importunities of the nobles. /55/

## Chapter V

### The Raid. The Loot. Its Restitution

The raid is the life of the Tuareg. He needs it. Here it 648
is that he, the noble especially, seeks part of his means of 721
subsistence. The favorite raids used to be those made against the Sudan, the Aïr, and the Niger, because of the negros and negresses who were captured. But the Tuareg is well aware now that French authority surrounds him on all sides, to the north and to the south, and that that system has ended. This is one of the reasons that make him regret his surrender.

The Chaânba were as predatory and as independent as the Tuareg. They also raided continually. Since their surrender, it is known what a considerable change has taken place, and we have every reason to believe that this will happen among the Tuareg under our influence.

Usually when a tribe has been raided, unless a state of war 728
has been declared, it sends a deputation, a "miaâd," to demand from the djemaâ of the raiding tribe the loot which was taken from them. The envoys must make their mounts kneel before the tents of the notables of the djemaâ and beg for restitution.

As a rule, an amicable solution is finally reached, but the 728
part of the loot which is returned to the deputation is always
far less than that which was taken. The Tuareg say, "Alaï
ouala," that is, "the restitution is never complete."

It may also happen that the raiders refuse to return anything. 721

[411]

Dautheville
Tuareg Shield

The raided tribe, if it [701]
considers itself too weak, 728
solicits the support of
another tribe with which
it has good relations, and
then there is fighting. /56/

When caravans of 484
traders have been raided, 486
since these caravans have 721
usually placed themselves
under the protection of
noble tribes to which they
pay dues, the controversy
is settled between the pro-
tecting tribe and the
raiders' tribe.

In the Ahaggar it seems that the old amenokal, Aïtar'el, 728
established the restitution of loot taken from caravans protected
by the Azdjer in the following manner:

1. Complete restitution of the pack camels taken from
the caravans

2. For each load of merchandise taken, one "amadjour"
camel for each man who took part in the raid and rode a mehari
of his own

3. One "aleggues" (a young camel of three years) or a
half-grown camel for each man who borrowed or hired the
mehari which he rode in the raid.

The arms of a Tuareg and the harness for his mount have 114
been described in detail by Duveyrier, and there is no need to
review them here. /57/

## Chapter Vi

## War

This is a big word to use for a series of fights, raids, and 721
battles without great losses, but I still cannot find another to describe, for example, the struggle which engaged the two confederations of the Azdjer and of the Ahaggar and which lasted almost three years, with long intermissions.

No description could give a more accurate idea of it than the detailed account of this struggle which was told to me and which may be read later in the chapter dealing with the history of the Ahaggar /not translated/.

## Chapter VII

## Religion. Marabouts. The Fast. Religious Orders

The Tuareg, taken as a whole, are not at all religious. 779
This is due first to the fact that almost none know Arabic and 771
consequently the Koran, which may not be translated. Be- 795
sides, it is known that the Tuareg, like all Berbers, espoused the doctrines of Kharijism in the eighth and ninth centuries of our era, and that it has taken a long time to guide them back to orthodoxy.

During this period, Salih, son of Tarif, put out a Koran in 795
the Berber language, which was destroyed at the time of the 797
repression, and we will see that the Tuareg have kept among their superstitions "survivals" of the teachings of this Salih.

An example will illustrate well the present state of mind of the Tuareg from the religious point of view: /58/

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



634 particular case, related of a group of Ioullemmeden Tuareg attacking a camp of
727 Kel Ferouan vassals who made a counterattack and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, then they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

[565] 3) *Ekachchadi,* that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without
[721] the permission of their drum-chief. In this case the drum-chief would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals who were not allowed to engage in warfare on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

The drum-chief had other income from his subjects who paid him an annual
634 fee termed *sadaḳa.* This fee, it is said, was paid not only by vassals but also by noble
651 households of the Kel Azel clan. The sadaḳa fees were collected on behalf of the
565 drum-chief by people of the Echchikhen and by negroid blacksmiths, who form a particular and rather numerous caste. There were definite rules for the payment of sadaḳa. It was computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example can here be mentioned the payments for camel herds:–

| *Size of Herd.* | *Sadaḳa.* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels | 2 goats |
| 15 camels | 3 goats |
| 25 camels | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels | 2 full-grown camels. |

The Echchikhen and the blacksmiths took the sadaḳa animals to the drum-chief. He gave some of them to the collectors who were themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of
[735] the proceeds given to poor people by the drum-chief, who would keep a small part for himself.

The drum-chief had the supreme jurisdiction over his group. In all internal
634 matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge. In difficult
692 cases he would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez or the Echchikhen. All members of the Kel Ferouan group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities *(edeiet)* were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen
682 had the right of blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection.
[696] But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man whose
184 kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Apparently there has never been any
682 fixed size of blood-wealth among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab Tribes of The Sahara.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
L 423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
643 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation
692 of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer.
643 The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had
178 in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
643 to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
Scale raiding.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



565 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance,
651 to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The
[178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are
[789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals, but these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility
[721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also
[422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these animals.

The master of a temażlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids, but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the
[643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellag* or half of the booty taken by all vassals
[727] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for
[426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been given to the Amenokal. The temażlait-masters were apparently without any judicial
[692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller units within the drum-group – the temażlait-relations – were predominantly economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit, the drum-group.

### *The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.*

565 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately
192 open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheren* (sing. *Amacher*), but correctly this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohar* (sing. *Amahar*). It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb *ahar* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that this latter word is identical with *Hoouara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



dominating an extensive area of North Africa and particularly in Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and adjacent regions before the Arab invasion of the 11th century A.D. This theory was set forth already by Ibn Khaldoun, who says that *Hoouara* has changed into *Heggar* (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory has no other foundation but mere speculation (Nicolas 1953, p. 14). This, however, is not correct as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *ou* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *ou* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533). 565 192 [114] [194]

The term used in Air for vassal Tuareg is *Imrad* (sing. *Amrid*), a word which seems to be known to all Tuareg. Foucauld gives no particular explanation of its meaning (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1233f.). Nicolas claims the word related to *ayrid*, literally meaning "a kid" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189). If this explanation given by Nicolas is correct, *Imrad* refers to goat-breeding. So does another term for vassals used more frequently among the Northern Tuareg and the Ioullemmeden, namely *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), which means literally "the goat people". In Air this word is never used as a term for the vassal class, but only as a proper name for one particular vassal clan attached to the Ikaskazan.

One of the terms for vassals and maybe both terms are thus connected with goat-breeding, while one of the terms for noble Tuareg seems to refer to raiding, which among the Tuareg was intimately connected with camel-breeding. Camels were not only the means by which raiding was carried out, but they were also the main object of raiding expeditions as they could be abducted very quickly from foreign camps. So we may perhaps see from some of the terms used for vassal and noble Tuareg that the two classes originated from the meeting of two distinct cultures, a goat-breeding and a camel-breeding culture. And we have already seen that in the past the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar were in particular camel-breeders, the vassals breeders of goats and donkeys. [233] [721] [174] [233]

The Ahaggar Tuareg – in contrast to the Tuareg of Air – have traditions about the origin of the class system. References to these traditions are common in literature (Benhasera 1908, p. 89ff. – Reygasse 1930, p. 88. – Foucauld 1951 – 52, II, p. 533ff. – Lhote 1955, p. 215ff. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 99f.). There are in fact two conflicting traditions, but some Tuareg will nevertheless acknowledge both. It seems, however, as if one tradition had its origin among the nobility, the other among vassals. The tradition which originated in the noble class says that the dominant noble clans of Ahaggar had a woman named Ti-n-Hinan as their ancestress. She immigrated to Ahaggar from Tafilelt in Morocco together with her servant girl named Takama, who became the ancestress of the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The two women were both Islamic and belonged to the Beraber tribes. They found the country uninhabited except for the higher parts of the massif, where a pagan people named the Isebeten lived. This tradition 173 565

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Fig. 46. A resting she-camel with the colour name *tawinaj*. The colour term of the young she-camel standing in the back-ground is *tenilt*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

In Ayr the Tuareg do not use camel's hide in their crafts, but give it to the blacksmiths who use it for lashing, or to people who manufacture beds from ribs of palm leaves (cf. Fig. 257). The Northern Tuareg use camel-skin for the manufacture of a few household implements and also use it for lashing (cf. p. 84, 110, 222, 270 f. & Figs. 70, 86, 132a–b, 161a–d, 162, 213). But even in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer the skin of camels is little used compared with the skin of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep. 237 364 352 824

When employed in craft, camel's hide is normally used raw and unprepared after soaking in water, but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that for certain purposes the hide is treated with salt. In literature there are many statements about the tanning of camel's hide. Thus it is stated by Cauvet that the hide is tanned with plant material in Algeria, and Cauvet also quotes Duveyrier's statement that the Northern Tuareg tan camel's hide to use it for tents and various other implements (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 714 ff.). I very much doubt the correctness of this, as all Tuareg asked about it have stated that the hide of camels is not fitted for proper tanning. Camel's hide is therefore of very limited use to the Tuareg, and the same is the case with camel's hair or wool. Tuareg camels in Ayr have very little wool, and among the Northern Tuareg most animals have less wool than Arab camels of the Northern Sahara. The Northern Tuareg pluck a little wool with the hands or cut it off with a knife. It is spun into cords to be used for certain minor objects, notably for the manufacture of the plaited pouch (*abegu*) to prevent the suckling of calves (p. 62, Fig. 41) and for the particular cord (*asayus*) tied around the foreleg of camels to keep them in a reclining position (p. 72, Fig. 45a). Mixed with goat's hair the wool is also used for a kind of primitive weaving (p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b). 281 114 237 283 286

Camels are very important to the Tuareg as pack-animals for the caravan expeditions which will be mentioned in a later chapter when other means of subsistence have been described. 492* 504

In the past camels were also extremely valuable as riding animals on raiding expeditions which 492* 721

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Fig. 47. The *akalo* rope noosed around the lower jaw of a pack-camel and prevented from loosening by the insertion of a small stick. Ayr, *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg.

*492 played an important part for all Tuareg. Raiding expeditions were carried out to gain all kinds of
721 booty, but camels were the main objective, and it was difficult to carry off other kinds of domestic animals over long distances. Thus camels were the main cause of raiding and also the means by which
721 raiding expeditions were carried out. In Ahaggar large scale raiding stopped long ago with the advent
175 of the French at the beginning of our century, though it recovered again during the revolt of 1916–17. This was also true of Ayr, but it seems as if raiding in and around this Massif continued still later
685 (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 187 ff. & Buchanan 1921, p. 209 ff.). Nowadays raiding has ceased everywhere among the Tuareg, but theft of camels has been on the increase in the south. There are many camel thieves among the Ayr Tuareg, for it is very easy to steal grazing camels during the night and to lead them to some distant market and sell them. The Tuareg claim that in pre-European times there were
[640] hardly any camel thieves in Ayr as such persons were punished very severely. They say that the theft of camels became normal with the French who have great difficulty in proving the guilt of thieves.

[text continues on p. 70]

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those of Tasilé-n-Ajjer and the *Kel Geres*. I have been informed by *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg of the *Kel Dennek* group, whom I met in Ayr, that they live on millet to much the same extent as the Ayr Tuareg, and that some of them have gardens cultivated by negroid agriculturists. For the *Kel Dennek* it is expressively stated by Nicolas that they cannot live on milk, that they kill comparatively few of their animals, and that they largely live on cereals obtained not only by collecting. Some of the Tuareg mentioned by Nicolas are described as semi-nomads (Nicolas 1950a, p. 145 ff.). Among the Southern Tuareg living further west in the Sudanese savannahs (the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram*), agricultural products are very important to the pastoralists who may possess gardens along the banks of the Niger, these gardens being cultivated by the *Bélla* (Aymard 1911, p. 117; Miner 1953, p. 60 ff.).

Nowadays there are no Tuareg who subsist without agricultural products, a few of them (the *Kel Ajjer*) practise a primitive type of agriculture in the river valleys, and within all groups there seem to be Tuareg who have turned to irrigation farming as their most important occupation. In the following section I discuss briefly the subject of Tuareg economy in the past.

## TUAREG ECONOMY IN THE PAST

Tuareg culture was not profoundly altered by the advent of European military administration around the beginning of the present century. Their traditional material culture has persisted largely unchanged up to the present day. The major change has been the abolition of warfare and consequently the breakdown of the traditional political system, but the abolition of warfare also led to important changes in the organization of caravan trading.

Raiding expeditions were carried out in some Tuareg groups even after the arrival of the Europeans, who established small garrisons in the oases and had camel patrols roaming the country as they have nowadays. Buchanan thus describes a raid carried out by Ahaggar Tuareg against the Ayr village of Timia in the year 1920 (Buchanan 1921, p. 207 ff.), and raids have not been entirely unknown in Ayr even later, though the raiders have then been severely handicapped by the establishment of the French wireless stations which enabled the camel patrols of different areas to communicate with each other (Rodd 1926a, p. 188). Raiding have nowadays stopped, but before the European penetration and conquest it was so to speak an industry to be mentioned with other subsistence activities.

The Ahaggar Tuareg were known as prominent raiders and warriors in the past. The two dominent chiefdoms within the group of Ahaggar Tuareg, the *Kel Rela* and the *Taytok*, frequently raided the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg and the Arabs living north of Timbuktu, as these southern pastoralists were very rich in livestock and in slaves. Some of these Tuareg and Arabs even paid fixed dues to chiefs of the *Kel Rela* and the *Taytok* in order that they should not be raided by Tuareg of these groups. However, these annual payments did not safeguard against raiding (cf. p. 401 f.). It seems as if the south-bound raiding expeditions were mainly profitable to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who could not so easily be raided in return by the Southern Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg also raided other neighbouring pastoralists such as the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the powerful Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Hammu* with whom they had frequent and very serious quarrels; these people raided the Ahaggar Tuareg in return. It can be

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175 added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was
721 also fighting within these groups at intervals.

[648] The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwllemmeden* and the Arab pastor-
[378] alists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg frequently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

[437] Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite of these latent conditions of hostility.

175 Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the
437 Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays. They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter, cheese, and the like.

175 The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day
437 the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times,
484 but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* who dominated the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays.

[439] They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also
[438] say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All
[317] this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadror were not utilized in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to
[361] the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then
162 travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could not defend itself against raiders.

175 It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts
567 of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading
[648] until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in
[17] this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

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had five vassal tribes, and the *Imanrasasen* only three. Four tribes were divided between the *Urarren* and the *Imenan*, and one vassal tribe was divided between all three noble tribes. 565 614 642

The *Imenan* in Duveyrier's days comprised only five men who lived like sedentary Arabs at Ganet and Rat; they held the titles of *Imenukalen*, and their chief was "*the Amenukal*" who still possessed the drum (*ettebel*) as the symbol of his former power. But the *Imenan* had no political power, and Duveyrier says that they were not allowed to summon their vassals to war. The true political leader of the *Kel Ajjer* was the chief of the *Urarren* with the title of *Amrar*, but he was not the most important person. The practical leader of all Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer was the famous Tuareg known as *Akhenukhen*, whom Duveyrier called *Emir*. He had not accepted the position as *Amrar* because this would have obliged him to give up his nomadic life and take up residence in a house. *Akhenukhen* held the supreme political and judical authority not only over the particular vassals of the *Urarren*, for all Ajjer Tuareg also submitted to his orders. However, we know from Duveyrier's description that the other noble tribes had the right to engage in raiding expeditions on their own behalf supported by their individual vassals, and it was not always easy for *Akhenukhen* to keep order. However, as leader of the bulk of the vassal tribes which were loyal to their master, he could retain the dominant position of the *Urarren* tribe, and in difficult judical problems he was aided and supported by the religious leaders of the *Iforas* group. 643 614 721

The noble tribes of the *Kel Ajjer* were subdivided into tribal sections which had their particular vassals. It seems as if this division of vassalage was primarily an economic one. Thus the chief of the *Urarren* possessed the supreme political authority over all vassals attached to his tribe though he only had particular economic rights over part of them (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff. & Dubief 1956, p. 87). I revert to these important features of political systems among the Northern Tuareg in a more detailed account of political relations in Ahaggar. 565 614 613

## KEL AHAGGAR

The Ahaggar Tuareg became politically independent in the 17th century when the supreme chief *Guma* of the *Imenan* was killed and the power over the *Kel Ajjer* passed into the hands of the *Urarren*. The Ahaggar Tuareg may even then have obtained their own supreme chief, but we know almost nothing about this early period. The supreme chiefs of the Ahaggar Tuareg, who have the title of *Amenukal*, are known as far back as to about 1750 when the ruler was *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir*. During his reign the Ahaggar Tuareg became divided into three major groups centering around the noble tribes known as *Kel Rela*, *Taytok*, and *Tégehé Mellet*. These tribes divided the vassals between them. The *Taytok* and the *Kel Rela* until then formed one single tribe, and their members even to-day claim to be matrilineally related as *ara-n-tañatin*, that is "persons descending from sisters", for the ancestress of the *Kel Rela*, by name *Kella*, and the ancestress of the *Taytok*, whose name was *Sakina*, were in fact maternal cousins (cf. p. 140). The third noble tribe, *Tégehé Mellet*, to which vassals were allotted, is said to descend patrilineally from Arabs – perhaps from the *Chamba*. There were two other noble tribes among the Ahaggar Tuareg at this early date. One of them known 173 614 642 643 173 565 614 642

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619 him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were
721 frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal* were raided
643 by people of his drum-group, the *Amenukal* had the right to a tribute named *emmehet* which according to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amenukal*'s drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the *Amenukal* to whom they paid *tiwsé* for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347 f.).

634 The drum-group (*eṭṭebel*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The
[431] federation (*téġehé*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

634 It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship
565 (*tehandezzit*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there
571 were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is
514 true notably of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar.
[602] People of the *Dag Ṛali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group joke with the tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The word "*Isekkemaren*" means literally "people who lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg and true vassals, who say that the *Isekkemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals will joke with the *Isekkemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the
[602] vassal tribe *Aġuh-en-tehlé* and the *Isekkemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally
[431] related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed between *Aġuh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Isekkemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* Tuareg come to the *Isekkemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the *Isekkemaren* visiting the *Aġuh-en-tehlé*. The *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relationship to the noble *Kel Ṛela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Ṛela* engage in sham-fights (*tebellant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between the *Kel Ṛela* and the vassal *Aġuh-en-tehlé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between *Isekkemaren* and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Isekkemaren* tribes (*Iheyawen Hada, Kel Tazulet*) and the *Aġuh-en-tehlé tribe*. Wedding feasts in these *Isekkemaren* tribes are most popular with young men of the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Isekkemaren* girls. Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages, if any, while this was not so in the *Taytok* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between

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noble Tuareg and vassals. It would seem as if these mixed marriages had a political function as they served to reinforce the solidarity within the drum-group in view of its opposition to the *Kel Rela* drum-group and the *Amenukal*. In consequence of these marriages the political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Taysoḳ* drum-group was in the past much influenced by rules of kinship behaviour, and the payments due to the drum-chief from vassals were less comprehensive than in the *Kel Rela* drum-group. 634 565 571 614 [802]

*The Kel Rela* drum-group was divided into minor relationships between noble Tuareg and vassals. These relationships were known as *temazḳayt*, that is literally "the root of the nail". They have almost ceased to exist, and consequently they are very difficult to describe. However, it is possible to outline their organization and main functions. They were structurally akin to the drum-group, as they were matrilineally organized. A noble Tuareg who had rights over certain vassals would be succeeded by a maternal kinsman, and in a group of vassals right and obligations would equally follow matrilineal rules. A *temazḳayt* relationship was a relationship between a small noble matrilineage with a particular leader and a larger matrilineage of vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class. The noble matrilineage that was attached to a definite group of vassals would not necessarily correspond with the matrilineal core within a section, for there were comparatively many noble Tuareg in the *Kel Rela* tribe who were leaders of *temazḳayt* groups. This is shown by Benhazera's investigations, which took place at a time when the ancient political system of the Ahaggar Tuareg still retained most of its traditional functions. At that time there were at least ten noble Tuareg who were commanders of *temazḳayt* groups (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.). 634 565 571 613 [778]

There are certain traces of *temazḳayt* organizations even to-day. The token of this relationship is the payment of an annual due known as *tiwsé* from a group of vassals to the *temazḳayt* master.

Apparently some vassals who made *tiwsé* payments to a noble *temazḳayt* master did not make this payment also to their drum-chief (the *Amenukal*). Thus to-day the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe makes an annual *tiwsé* payment to *Maṛli agg Amayas* of the *Kel Rela* section named *Inemba Ḳel-Emeyri*, but gives no *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal Bay*, who belongs to the *Iboglan* section of the same tribe, though the land-rent (*ékéré-n-amaḍal*) is always paid to the *Amenukal*. I was also told by the *Kel Rela Khalifa* of Tamesna, who belonged to the *Iboglan* section, that he had the right to collect the *tiwsé* payment from the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, but as he now was living outside of Ahaggar this payment was made by the *Isandan* to the *Amenukal*. However, I believe that in the past most vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad* class made *tiwsé* payments both to their individual *temazḳayt* masters and to the *Amenukal*. This would also seem to be in agreement with Foucauld's description of *temazḳayt* relations (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1965).

A noble *temazḳayt* master had no judicial authority over his individual vassals, and could not summon them to war and raiding against their will. These rights belonged to the drum-chief, consequently in the *Kel Rela* group, to the *Amenukal*. The obligations of a noble *temazḳayt* master towards his vassals were mainly to protect them against raids by and exploitation of other noble Tuareg who formed a class of warriors and raiders roaming the country for enemies and for booty. A *temazḳayt* master had the right to organize raids with the support of his vassals, if they were interested, and the vassals were also allowed to carry out raids on their own behalf, but in both cases half of the booty (*abellag*) taken by 634 565 571 613 721

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634 vassals was given to the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) and not to the *temaẓlayt* master. However, should
565 a vassal Tuareg have borrowed for raiding a riding camel from his *temaẓlayt* master or another noble
571 Tuareg, they received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty remaining when
613 one half had been given to the *Amenukal*.
721

565 The noble Tuareg possessed many advantages over their individual vassals. They could apparently
571 claim almost what they wanted for their subsistence, and frequently camped close to their vassals who then were obliged to feed them, and when in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take such animals from their vassals (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). Similar information is given by Benhazera, but he states that the vassals in the past would not necessarily supply everything demanded by their noble lords (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The vassals were under a particular obligation to provide the noble Tuareg with goat-breeding products, and if they had milk yielding she-camels the noble Tuareg could claim these animals until milk-yielding stopped. But the vassals had also many advantages from the *temaẓlayt* relationships. They were not only protected by their lords. The noble Tuareg would leave behind the animals they could not take with them when roaming in the desert, and noble Tuareg never had much livestock with them in their camps. It was also of great importance to the vassals that they could use their masters camels for caravan trading. On the whole the system was not exclusively the exploitation of vassals by the noble Tuareg, and it can be added that the vassal Tuareg were always more numerous than the noble Tuareg, that the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) was elected by the vassals, and that he alone had judicial rights. The system was one of give and take to both classes involved, and there can be little doubt that it was well adapted to practical ecological conditions.

233 In Ahaggar, camels and goats are very complementary to each other. The camel supplies the Tuareg
433 with milk, but with very few other products, and the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-
[234] camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important
[262] as food, but it is not well-fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg kill camels to
[281] utilize their meat only when many people congregate, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, for tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the
[437] camels have little direct economic value. But for raiding in the past, camels were very valuable riding animals, and were then, as now, extremely important for caravan trading which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic rôle of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive
[234] part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese
[262] which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore, goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

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634 livestock of a murderer in reality was the property of the drum-chief. Apparently there has never
682 been any fixed size of blood-wealth among the *Kel Ferwan* in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara.

634 The token of vassalage among the *Kel Ferwan* was the payment of half of the bride-wealth to the
565 noble lords so that the drum-chief received bride-wealth from his particular group of vassals, the chief of the *Kel Azel* from his group. The two noble lords received other payments from their vassals.
651 They would inherit a camel on the death of an individual vassal, and they received certain annual payments known as *sadakat* or *tamesodek*. This fee in its origin was a religious one, and certain tribes such as the *Imezzureg*, the *Kel Akerra*, and the *Isakaranan* claim that in the past, as nowadays, they made this payment to the *Ineslemen* Tuareg and not to the noble chiefs. But true vassal tribes gave their *sadakat* or *tamesodek* to the two noble lords. The fees were collected on behalf of the lords by people of the *Echchikhen* and by negroid blacksmiths, who are very numerous in Ayr. There were definite rules for the payment of the *sadakat* fees which were computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example the payments for camel herds can here be mentioned:—

| Size of herd | *Sadakat* or *tamesodek* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels . . . . . | 2 goats |
| 15 camels . . . . . | 3 goats |
| 25 camels . . . . . | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels . . . . . | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels . . . . . | 2 full-grown camels |

The *Echchikhen* and the blacksmiths took the *sadakat* animals to the two noble lords, who gave some
802 of them to the collectors, themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at
735 the market of Agadez and most of the proceeds given to poor people by the noble lords, who would keep a small part for themselves.

634 The two noble lords, the drum-chief and the chief of the *Kel Azel*, had the right to parts of war-
721 booty taken by their vassals according to the following rules:—
565 (1) *témuggedaz*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the noble lords, the drum-chief or the chief of the *Kel Azel*. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g., riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the noble lords, while the other half should be given to their vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that only one seventh of the booty should go to the noble lord. The word *téfaded* is said to have been used synonymously with *témuggedaz*.

(2) *téwit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the *Kel Ferwan* group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the noble lord would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A particular case is related of a group of *Iwlkemmeden* Tuareg attacking a camp of *Kel Ferwan* vassals

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made 634
four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his 721
part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. 565
He kept them there for about a month, when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted [722]
on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based 634
upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. 565
It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal [184]
tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were [423]
not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of 565
cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed be- 571
tween all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other 634
unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Faday*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and [564]
vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Imeggedezen* and even *slaves*. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the [601]
more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *abubaz* (pl. *ibubazen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This 565
statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only 582
634

564 The Tuareg, who heartily scorn them because of their obscure origin and servile profession, recognize their good qualities and are happy to profit from them. They also fear them a good deal, for [754] they credit them with supernatural powers of sorcery and magic. Possessors of fire, mistreating the earth and the minerals by beating them, they are placed in a world apart, inhabited by the genii with whom they are likely to enter into relations. Although the Moslem [751] marabouts willingly sell amulets, which the Tuareg prize, the latter do not hesitate, in case of need, to ask the Enaden for amulets in preference.

The Enaden are still more despised because they have no moral principles and willingly serve as spies and traitors; they spy on the Iklan and the wives of their masters and also act as go-between for [837] lovers. Like the jesters in our Middle Ages, they have the right to go anywhere, including among the women. Everyone finds this natural, for this is a right which is all but acknowledged.

Sometimes they take part in raids, and they are reputed to fight [726] bravely, although no one wants to stay beside them during combat, since they seem to possess talismans so powerful that javelins directed toward them deviate /175/ from their route and are apt to strike those [626] nearby. The Tuareg never kill an Enad, for this brings misfortune and the Enad might take revenge from beyond the tomb.

In Sudanese tribes they are called ag'gou (plural, ag'gouten) and 184 sometimes play the part of jesters (griot). Some are musicians and 564 storytellers. This role is not widespread, but it happens that the amenokal of the Tenguéréguif, Chéboun, has several griots attached to his person. They avenge themselves on people who are not [626] generous enough to them by making satirical songs against them to which the Tuareg are often very sensitive.

They are willing to do anything to earn a bit of money, which 564 they spend as fast as they get it. A blacksmith always has his debts, 436 but people give him credit for they know that he will be shrewd 454 enough to repay them one day.

727 of captures, however, he had to give half of the captured animals
714 to the lender. In case of failure and death of the camel, he did
426 not have to reimburse him.

721 The men met, discussed the planned expedition, and uttered
726 a ritual formula (narhal allar) which bound them together for the duration of the expedition, during which time they were to give mutual assistance to one another.

Then they named a chief who was not necessarily an Amajer /sing. of Imochar - Ed. / but a man renowned for his courage, his /322/ suitability, and his experience on expeditions of this kind. Then the group left, preceded by scouts.

726 All baggage was left behind. Everyone mounted on camel back, taking only the bare necessities for the road, for it was necessary to go quite fast and try to keep the animals in good condition. Before sunrise, the raid was already on its way, and the rapid pace was maintained without stopping until evening. The men ate only
[262 a few dates at noon, did not take their siestas, and ate a meal
264] only in the evening -- all was sacrificed to the speed of the march, which was the key to success.

Nearing their goal, the raiders forced their march even more if that were possible, and they often divided into two parties; one was entrusted with seizing the animals and bringing them to a specified point, the other created a diversion in the enemy camps to sidetrack them.

The surprised enemy was attacked with gunshots by a few men
[411] deployed as riflemen, while meharists swooped down on them, hurled their javelins, and then soon came to hand-to-hand fighting. The people who were attacked, for their part, tried to find out the strength of the assailants, and depending on the case they retreated or themselves attacked.

In spite of this martial deployment and the vigor of the attack, these combats were not very deadly, in general, and did not always cause deaths.

721 When raids were led against Sudanese camps, they were as in-
727 terested in the Negroes and Negresses as they were in the camels.
527 The kidnappers kept some of them to serve as servants and sold the others on the markets of In-Salah and the Touat.

726 Once the booty was stolen, the raiders went by forced march to the point agreed upon in advance, where they rejoined the other group of meharists.

The raided people, on the other hand, organized themselves, but they did not try to overtake the raiders immediately and did not wear themselves out in vain pursuit. As the return route of the raiders was known, they tried to reach a well where they had to pass; if they were successful in arriving before them and cutting them off from water, the real combat began, this time fierce and often quite deadly.

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531
326
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Fig. 55. Tuareg lance. The iron blade is decorated with copper inlays. The part where the hand is put is covered with leather, and a little leather loop placed behind is intended to hold the index finger which gives greater propulsion to the lance when it is thrown.

Hard pressed, the Tuareg formed in a square behind their camels and defended themselves under cover of their bucklers; /323/ when they saw it was impossible to take possession of the well, they abandoned their loot. The battle came to an end, and the raiders were rarely pursued. In the opposite camp, a certain number of men were left as sentries to guard against return offensives, and the others tried to gather up their animals and lead them back to the douar /encampment/.

727 When the raiding party was safe, the men divided up the booty in more or less equal parts, depending on each person's merits during the fight. But in some tribes, customs related to the tiousse demanded

727 that the Amrid paid part of it to the Imochar. The lender of arms or meharis was compensated in his turn, and that part of the booty was called abellag.

726 The Tuareg had the reputation of acting treacherously in battle and not always following the rules of chivalry for Saharian war.

In battle a man who threw himself at the feet of his conqueror and touched his clothes placed himself under his protection and
727 had a right to live; but the Tuareg did not always value this rule and often killed their prisoners.

When a tribe had been pillaged illegally, that is, when there had been no previous acts of hostility authorizing reprisal, a delegation of warriors from that tribe came to the opposing camp to try to negotiate for the return of the captures. This is what the Arabs call the myad, a term which has been adopted by the Tuareg. There again the Tuareg did not always show themselves to be very chivalrous, and they often savagely massacred the defenseless ambassadors.

726 During wars and raids, women enjoy the rare privilege of
562 being respected by the combatants. During the operations of the French occupation, men were often seen fleeing the camps, abandoning the women /324/ and children to the conquerors.
[648] This conduct has often caused the Tuareg to be accused of cowardice. This was a false intepretation of the facts, for the Tuareg acted that way prompted by the immunity which women enjoyed.

184 It is shameful during a raid to forget this rule of protection
726 and do violence to women, strip them of their clothes, or
562 penetrate into their tents. The infractions committed were often the acts of unscrupulous persons without honor. Most of the Imrad and Iklan, it appears, are in the habit of stripping women of their clothes and their jewels, going so far as to leave them completely nude, and it even happens that they rape them. The

more chivalrous Imochar and a few rare Imrad try to oppose this, but in warlike escapades the Iklan and people with few morals are often more numerous than the others.

Abuses of women always called for vengeance, which the adversaries usually received before long. Acts of this kind were enough to raise up entire tribes against one another. And so, in the Sudan, the exactions of Marabout Abidine's people on the Kel Ádrar Tuareg, at the time of the murder of their amenokal Safikroum in 1912, made irreconcilable enemies of these two fractions.

At the beginning of the French occupation, when lieutenants Cottenest and Guilho-Lohan carried out their reconnaissance missions in the Ahaggar, they found women abandoned in the camps by their husbands. The good care which was taken of them made it easier to make peaceful contact later with the Ihaggaren.

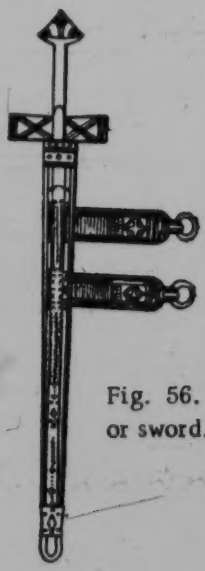

Fig. 56. The tacouba, or sword.

Tuareg weapons include iron lances, javelins with wooden staff, swords, daggers, and a buckler.

/325/ Even before the French occupation the Tuareg knew how to use firearms and possessed a certain number of guns. They were for the most part projectile weapons or archaic models of the

4: Benhazera--10 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

Besides, there are few negroes who are not armed by their 411
masters with a "tar'da" (spear with a wooden shaft) and with a 563
"takouba" (saber), of which they are very proud. The best are 567
sent on raids, and it seems that they acquit themselves very 726
well in combat.

As to the negresses, there are some who confine themselves 563
to attending to the care of the household and the tent, but there 567
are quite a few others who are raised to the dignity of con- 595
cubines. A noble Tuareg prefers to share his bed with a negress rather than to marry a "tamr'idt" (serf). He marries late, and when he decides to, he looks especially for a woman who, by her /34/ birth, will give his children future rights to command. The negress profits from this.

The negroes and negresses are not, as a rule, mistreated 563
by the Tuareg. Besides, if the case should arise, they know 567
how to use the following curious custom in use among the 685
Tuareg.

When a slave, negro or negress, becomes too unhappy with his master and wishes to become the slave of another master, he splits the ear of a child or a horse or hamstrings a mehari; in short, damages anything valuable that belongs to the master he wishes to have; then he stays beside his deed. Naturally, in reparation for the harm done, the negro is given in full possession to the injured master. There may be protest, if there was connivance between the slave and the master he wishes to have, and, in this case, the oath is deferred and the case [692]
brought before a marabout or a cadi.

Thus the negress Tenoufek, who belonged to Semana, sister of Bika ag Moumou of the Kel Ahnet, slit the ear of a mare belonging to Sidi ag Keradi, the amenokal of the Ta'ltoq and the Kel Ahnet. In reparation the negress was given to Sidi, with whom she still remains.

Another example: the negro of El Biodh ould Settafi of the Settaf, hamstrung two camels belonging to Ibedi ag Bassi of the Ir'echoumen. In reparation El Biodh had to give Ibedi the negro and a camel besides. /35/

174 to maintain, which others seized from them, and suzerains became
182 vassals. But in spite of these contingencies of war, the Tuareg
565 attach great importance to blood origins and always respect high-
[554 727] born people, even though they may be their vanquished /adversaries/.

Thus, at the present time, the nobles of the Ahaggar and the
554 Xjjer may be seen to seek alliances with women of the fallen fraction
565 of the Imenan Sultans. This adds to the luster of their high origin
581 a certain character of religious nobility, which is much appreciated among Moslems.

000 Monogamy and matriarchy. -- To understand Tuareg society, one must remember two important facts, facts which are, moreover, not completely independent of each other, monogamy and matriarchy.

/151/ While the Tuareg are Moslems and have polygamous
174 peoples as neighbors, it is astonishing to note that they practice
562 monogamy. This is an evident indication that women occupy an
[595] important place in their society, in no way comparable to what they occupy among the Arabs. This was very striking to the first travelers who thought they saw traces of an ancient Christianity in the persistence of monogamy. This argument might be held if we did not know, on the other hand, that the social organization of the Tuareg rests on matriarchy, an ancient custom much earlier than the Christian era, which explains monogamy and the particularly high position of women.

Gautier writes on this subject: "It may be said that the Tuareg practice chivalrous gallantry; the expression is inadequate only because of the association it evokes. Our chivalry has a Christian origin; the respect of the Tuareg for women has much deeper and more remote reasons. It goes back to matriarchy, which is earlier than the notion of the state and even that of the family. It is a living witness of completely primordial humanity, a sentiment, if I may say so, of the quaternary age." (1)

1. La conquête du Sahara /The Conquest of the Sahara/, p. 33.

565 Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of
[511] the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of
[177] prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting
631 matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs
[642] internally as they see fit, without intervention of the amenokal or the Imochar in their affairs.

162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps
565 because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were
721 often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often
[727] organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some
701 Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among
[714] the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded
631 in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel ~~Gossi~~ /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for
[582] their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

563 become sedentary, exists in the Sudan, in the Niafunké region.

There seems to be a category of low-class Iborelliten who are 563 referred to as Irraouellan. Nicolas considers them former captives 567 who have been liberated. Chudeau reported an Irraouellan tribe, [727] whose members were said to be freedmen or descendants of former captives. He adds that the children of a Tuareg man and a slave are by law Irraouellan.

We shall add to these different definitions that in the Aïr a slave woman who marries a Tuareg becomes free as does her family, and the children born of her marriage are then called Ikalalen.

[184] Among the Kel-Ahaggar, we do not find any true Iborelliten or Irraouellan tribes, although there are men belonging to these social classes.

567 The Iklan. -- The Iklan (singular, Akli; feminine singular, Taklit) are the serfs, or slaves, of the Tuareg. The name Iklan [192 144] comes from the Tamashek root Kl, meaning "black being"; (2)

2. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

and indeed these people are foreign to the Tuareg race. They are Negroes of all origins, formerly captured in the Sudan and reduced to slavery by the Tuareg. They form a separate class, which is not a tribe, except when they are freed conditionally or completely. Then they are called Iklan-n-égef or Iderfan, depending on which is the case.

[144] They have founded a family among the Tuareg and given birth to a new race with the most diverse characteristics, from which the white element is not excluded.

[181] Slaves are employed in keeping the flocks, and in the household work of the camp; they share the life of their masters and from their contact with them have acquired an independent nature which makes them love the freedom of nomadism, so much so that it would now be difficult for them to resume the sedentary life of their Ancestors.

174 564 were chased by Arab marabouts at the end of the fifteenth century. It is plausible that a number of Jews from Tamentit, particularly those practicing the crafts of jeweler or blacksmith, very respected professions among the Tuareg, found refuge with them. Perhaps the Tuareg received a new artistic influence through them. Their knowledge /177/ of fire [30] [531] and treatment of ores must have permitted the introduction of a larger scale of iron industry among the Tuareg, as well as the use of metal instruments which certainly could not have been very developed before that time; in general, the techniques of the nomadic shepherds was limited to leather and wood. There is no doubt of the artistic relationship between Tamentit jewelry and the Jewish goldsmith's work from North [17] Africa, on the one hand, and the goldsmith's craft now in vogue among the Tuareg, on the other; this can justify the opinion that part of the Enaden are of Israelite origin. But Sudanese elements have also contributed to the physical formation of the group. We must see the peculiar Tuareg art, at the same time heavy in its forms and delicate in detail, through this heteroclite mixture.

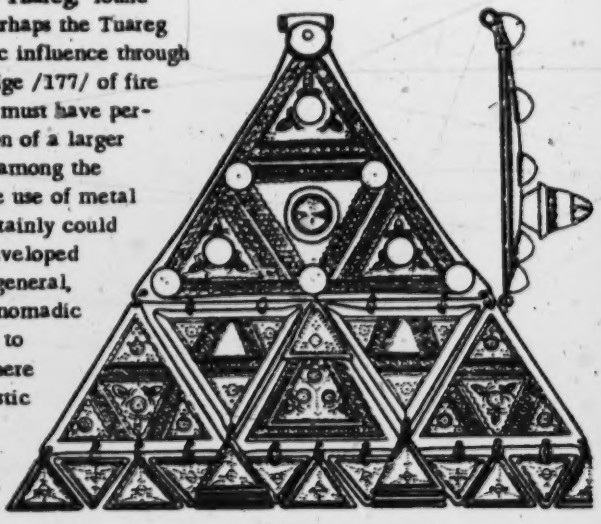

Fig. 18. Silver pendant worn around the neck by Ahaggar women. In the composition are found the triangular motifs common to Kabyle art and to some Berber tribes from Atlas.

564 [527] The Enaden of the Ahaggar are few in number. They include five or six families who recently settled in the country following raids on them by the Ihaggaren. /178/ Most of them are natives of Adrar des Iforas

579 In addition, they robbed caravans who happened into their country, hatefully ransoming the voyagers. Sometimes they 721 727 went to empty the granaries of the sedentary people of the oases or the Sudanese villages, capturing Negroes and Negresses to [492] sett as slaves.

When peace reigned in 439 their country, they willingly organized /218/ caravans to go to the Tidikelt or Touat oases and bring back dates, or else to the Sudan to get supplies of millet. They also made themselves the protectors of caravans crossing their country, naturally [486] making the caravaneer pay a consistently high duty in merchandise.

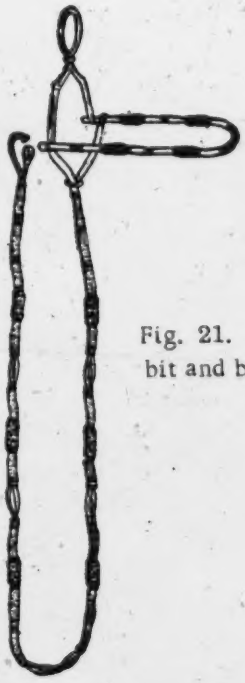

Fig. 21. Camel bit and bridle.

The Ahaggar has famous 135 salt mines in the region called 182 Amadror which lies to the east of 439 the Tafedest massif in a large depression. They are an appreciable resource for the Ihaggaren, but manpower is needed to exploit them. Then, transportation and circulation demand a general state of peace in which the numerous herds of pack camels can be protected from possible surprise attacks [721] and raids. That is why the Amadror salt deposits remained unexploited for a long time before the French occupation, because of the state of perpetual war existing between Ahaggar Tuareg and Tassili Tuareg.

The tent is occupied by only one household, and each of the married couple has his own side. The man's side is to the left as one enters the door; there he keeps his mehari saddle, his weapons, and his bags of salt. To the right is the woman's place, where she keeps her bag of personal things, her saddle if she has one, the bags containing the food supplies, and the kitchen implements which she has charge of. 592 [422]

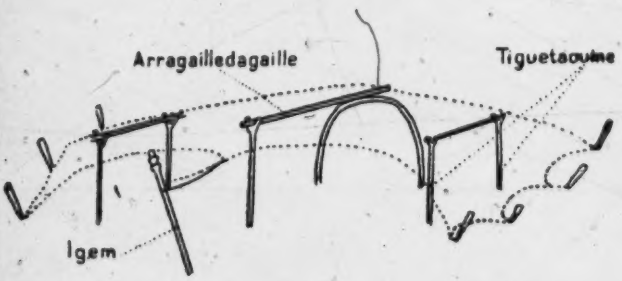


Fig. 26. Tent used by the Agouh-n-Tehlé. Sometimes the stake supporting the aragailledagaille may be replaced by a second arch. In some tribes, particularly among the Kel Ahnet, the arches were placed crosswise.

In summer when it is very hot, the Tuareg sometimes use straw huts, as much to save hides as to be a bit more comfortable. The leather tent, in fact, is made almost useless by the heat, and nomads often seek shelter during the heat of the day under neighboring trees when there are any or else in the rocks. 342 [184]

Captives never have tents. They build themselves little shelters with a few branches on which are hung scraps of leather or cloth. [727]

It falls entirely to the women to put up the tents. [462]

Granaries. -- One of the most characteristic facts of nomadic life is its lack of foresight in questions of food. For the most part, the nomad lives from one day to the next, following the seasons, without accumulating anything. This is somewhat the case for the Tuareg. Still, the Sahara is not a country where one can find supplies easily. 251 343

264 Before the French occupation the Tuareg as a general rule had only one meal a day, in the evening, after milking the animals. During the day they contented themselves with drinking a little milk.

252 262 The national dish of the Tuareg is asink, which is a porridge of millet cooked in water and moistened with butter or whey. This meal is especially popular in winter and during the entire cold season. During the very hot months, they prefer a beverage of water or whey in which they throw millet flour, diluted sometimes with dry cheese or powdered dates. This is alakoh. Dates are also eaten /237/ in summer, ground and mixed with water or milk.

252 When the Tuareg kill a sheep, they prepare the intestines which they enclose inside the stomach. After having tied the two extremities of the stomach, they put it on a bed of ashes to cook. This way of cooking, which is the one most commonly used by hunters, is called abatoul. Meats are prepared boiled or cooked under the ashes. Those that are boiled are particularly the ones which were previously dried (wild sheep, gazelle, sometimes sheep). In this case, they are first crushed between two stones, for they are as hard as wood; the meat is then spread in pieces on a dish of asink.

The Tuareg do not prepare roast meat over embers, but they place it under the ashes. When they want to cook a whole sheep, they open it in two and then put it under the ashes, taking care to turn it once during the roasting.

252 262 For great occasions -- religious festivals, marriages, or receptions for prominent guests -- the Tuareg butcher young camels. They serve them with a couscous of coarse-grained wheat.

The domestic animals slaughtered are goats, sheep, camels, and cattle when there are any. They do not eat horses, asses, or dogs.

[727] Cooking is done by the captives, close by the masters' tents.

264 Men take their meals by themselves and receive the food first. Women and children eat in their turn, and the Iklan receive the rest.

177 In the last few years a number of notables, including the
492 amenokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the
643 Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them
133 to avoid rocks.

101 The Ihaggaren never travel on zebus and never use them for
492 transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

/321/

## Chapter 2

## War and Raiding

721 The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

182 When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those
221 present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were
361 most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to
721 spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

727 Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not
426 own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case
714

727 of captures, however, he had to give half of the captured animals
714 to the lender. In case of failure and death of the camel, he did
426 not have to reimburse him.

724 The men met, discussed the planned expedition, and uttered
726 a ritual formula (narhal allar) which bound them together for the duration of the expedition, during which time they were to give mutual assistance to one another.

Then they named a chief who was not necessarily an Amajer /sing. of Imochar - Ed. / but a man renowned for his courage, his /322/ suitability, and his experience on expeditions of this kind. Then the group left, preceded by scouts.

726 All baggage was left behind. Everyone mounted on camel back, taking only the bare necessities for the road, for it was necessary to go quite fast and try to keep the animals in good condition. Before sunrise, the raid was already on its way, and the rapid pace was maintained without stopping until evening. The men ate only
[262 a few dates at noon, did not take their siestas, and ate a meal
264] only in the evening -- all was sacrificed to the speed of the march, which was the key to success.

Nearing their goal, the raiders forced their march even more if that were possible, and they often divided into two parties; one was entrusted with seizing the animals and bringing them to a specified point, the other created a diversion in the enemy camps to sidetrack them.

The surprised enemy was attacked with gunshots by a few men
[411] deployed as riflemen, while meharists swooped down on them, hurled their javelins, and then soon came to hand-to-hand fighting. The people who were attacked, for their part, tried to find out the strength of the assailants, and depending on the case they retreated or themselves attacked.

In spite of this martial deployment and the vigor of the attack, these combats were not very deadly, in general, and did not always cause deaths.

721 When raids were led against Sudanese camps, they were as in-
727 terested in the Negroes and Negresses as they were in the camels.
567 The kidnappers kept some of them to serve as servants and sold the others on the markets of In-Salah and the Touat.

726 Once the booty was stolen, the raiders went by forced march to the point agreed upon in advance, where they rejoined the other group of meharists.

The raided people, on the other hand, organized themselves, but they did not try to overtake the raiders immediately and did not wear themselves out in vain pursuit. As the return route of the raiders was known, they tried to reach a well where they had to pass; if they were successful in arriving before them and cutting them off from water, the real combat began, this time fierce and often quite deadly.

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326
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Fig. 55. Tuareg lance. The iron blade is decorated with copper inlays. The part where the hand is put is covered with leather, and a little leather loop placed behind is intended to hold the index finger which gives greater propulsion to the lance when it is thrown.

Hard pressed, the Tuareg formed in a square behind their camels and defended themselves under cover of their bucklers; /323/ when they saw it was impossible to take possession of the well, they abandoned their loot. The battle came to an end, and the raiders were rarely pursued. In the opposite camp, a certain number of men were left as sentries to guard against return offensives, and the others tried to gather up their animals and lead them back to the douar /encampment/.

727 When the raiding party was safe, the men divided up the booty in more or less equal parts, depending on each person's merits during the fight. But in some tribes, customs related to the tioussé demanded

727 that the Amrid paid part of it to the Imochar. The lender of arms or meharis was compensated in his turn, and that part of the booty was called abellag.

726 The Tuareg had the reputation of acting treacherously in battle and not always following the rules of chivalry for Saharian war.

In battle a man who threw himself at the feet of his conqueror and touched his clothes placed himself under his protection and
727 had a right to live; but the Tuareg did not always value this rule and often killed their prisoners.

When a tribe had been pillaged illegally, that is, when there had been no previous acts of hostility authorizing reprisal, a delegation of warriors from that tribe came to the opposing camp to try to negotiate for the return of the captures. This is what the Arabs call the myad, a term which has been adopted by the Tuareg. There again the Tuareg did not always show themselves to be very chivalrous, and they often savagely massacred the defenseless ambassadors.

726 During wars and raids, women enjoy the rare privilege of
562 being respected by the combatants. During the operations of the French occupation, men were often seen fleeing the camps, abandoning the women /324/ and children to the conquerors.
[648] This conduct has often caused the Tuareg to be accused of cowardice. This was a false intepretation of the facts, for the Tuareg acted that way prompted by the immunity which women enjoyed.

184 It is shameful during a raid to forget this rule of protection
726 and do violence to women, strip them of their clothes, or
562 penetrate into their tents. The infractions committed were often the acts of unscrupulous persons without honor. Most of the Imrad and Iklan, it appears, are in the habit of stripping women of their clothes and their jewels, going so far as to leave them completely nude, and it even happens that they rape them. The

721 simple, and this activity can be divided into two main types according to the chief object in view. Raiding for booty was practised irregularly but fairly often, especially in times of hardship or in connection with intertribal feuds. Sneak attacks by small bands who lifted livestock and then promptly fled with it were typical. Slave raiding was practised on a fairly regular basis. In the nomad camps of the
727 Ahaggar the number of Negro domestic servants is usually about equal to the number of Tuareg present, and this labor force used to be replenished when necessary by raids on Negro villages in the desert fringe of the Sudan and occasionally even on Tuareg camps in the Aïr, Tamesna and Adrar n Ifoghas regions. The present writer knows a mulatto freedwoman who was taken in this way from the Aïr some 40 years ago, and has long been happily settled at Tamanrasset; and she is by no means an exception. Thus raiding, the fourth corner post of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar, was primarily a mechanism designed to keep the supply of livestock, both animal and human, at a satisfactory level in an area where the environment caused a steady normal decrease in the local supply.

Economic Summary. We have seen that pas-
177 toralism was the central column and crop shares, trading, protection and raiding the four
182 corner posts of the economic structure of the Ahaggar Tuareg. With the coming of European domination the last two pillars were kicked away, the third buckled and bent to a mere fraction of its former height, and the roof fell in along three sides and part of the fourth. The Ahaggar Tuareg presumably never lived a life of ease—no pastoralist can in such a rigorous environment—but their greatest perils used to be those of warfare. These dangers have been removed completely by the new European rulers of the area, and yet the Tuareg of the Ahaggar as a whole are undoubtedly in worse economic shape today than they have ever been before. Their old
182 culture, whatever some may think of it on the basis of modern European standards, was remarkably well adapted to conditions in their chosen homeland. The destruction of two of its five main supports and the progressive weakening of a third have thrown their economic structure so seriously out of balance that the whole edifice is obviously doomed,

which brings to our minds the idea of the serf attached to the 565
glebe and sold with the domain which he cultivated, but rather 631
as "client, bondsman, tributary."

In fact, if the amr'id pays the "tioussé," or tribute, to the noble, if he "lets him taste a little of what he has," according to his expression, if he is dependent on the noble, he nevertheless enjoys a freedom of action which the serf of the Middle Ages did not know. He has a right to the noble's protection if he is attacked, but he marches and fights with him [701]
armed with the same arms. In a raid he also shares with him [727]
and receives his portion of the loot, a portion which varies according to the tribe and which seems to have been fixed according to an ancient contract, in exchange for the protection granted.

And we will find the most convincing proof in the appoint- 565
ment of the amenokal. The imr'ad take part in this: it is 631
they who speak first and state whether they accept the new 643
amenokal, whether they have confidence in him, whether they promise /49/ faithfully to pay him the "tioussé." And he, on his part, promises to give them help and protection against all.

The noble makes it a point of honor to keep this promise. 558
It would be a shame, "el r'ar," according to his expression 565
(from the Arab word "el aâr" ار ال , not to avenge an insult 577 631
or an injury rendered to one who pays him the "tioussé."

## Chapter II

### The Tobol. Inheritance

Concerning the tobol. The "tobol" originally was a drum 202
made of a large gourd and covered with stretched hide, which 534
the chief of the tribe sounded to gather his clients /dependents/ 643
to tell them that pastures must be changed, etc. It was the 565
insignia of command.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



*Agg Elkhar*, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [75] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals. [643]

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. 614 634 [431] [178]

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 651 [583]

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:– 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Tesuit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



634 particular case is related of a group of Ioullemmeden Tuareg attacking a camp of
727 Kel Ferouan vassals who made a counterattack and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, then they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

[565] 3) *Ekachchadi*, that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without
[721] the permission of their drum-chief. In this case the drum-chief would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals who were not allowed to engage in warfare on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

The drum-chief had other income from his subjects who paid him an annual
634 fee termed *sadaka*. This fee, it is said, was paid not only by vassals but also by noble
651 households of the Kel Azel clan. The sadaka fees were collected on behalf of the
565 drum-chief by people of the Echchikhen and by negroid blacksmiths, who form a particular and rather numerous caste. There were definite rules for the payment of sadaka. It was computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example can here be mentioned the payments for camel herds:–

| *Size of Herd.* | *Sada a.* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels | 2 goats |
| 15 camels | 3 goats |
| 25 camels | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels | 2 full-grown camels. |

The Echchikhen and the blacksmiths took the sadaka animals to the drum-chief. He gave some of them to the collectors who were themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of
[735] the proceeds given to poor people by the drum-chief, who would keep a small part for himself.

The drum-chief had the supreme jurisdiction over his group. In all internal
634 matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge. In difficult
692 cases he would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez or the Echchikhen. All members of the Kel Ferouan group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities *(edziet)* were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen
682 had the right of blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection.
[696] But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man whose
184 kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Apparently there has never been any
682 fixed size of blood-wealth among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab Tribes of The Sahara.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
643 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation
692 of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer.
643 The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had
178 in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go
643 to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[591] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Ṛela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellaḡ* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
Scale raiding.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



565 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance,
651 to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The
[178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are
[789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to give the things wanted.

It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals, but
565 these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility
[721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also
[422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these animals.

The master of a temażlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids, but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the
[643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellag* or half of the booty taken by all vassals
[727] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for
[426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been given to the Amenokal. The temażlait-masters were apparently without any judicial
[692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller units within the drum-group – the temażlait-relations – were predominantly economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit, the drum-group.

### *The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.*

565 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately
192 open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheren* (sing. *Amacher*), but correctly this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohar* (sing. *Amahar*). It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb *aher* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that this latter word is identical with *Hoouara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made 634
four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his 721
part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. 565
He kept them there for about a month, when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted [727]
on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based 634
upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. 565
It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal [684]
tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were [423]
not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of 565
cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed be- 571
tween all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other 634
unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Faday*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and [564]
vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Imuggedezen* and even slaves. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the [601]
more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *abubaz* (pl. *ibubazen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This 565
statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only 582
634

I saw a camp of Iouarouaren (an imr'ad fraction of the Taïtoq tobol), established near the tents of Taïtoq nobles, move in order to settle farther away. They had come from the Tidikelt with dates and other produce, and the noble women were continually coming to beg something at the imr'ad camp. So their chief In Chikadh gave the signal to leave and said that this was in order to put an end to the importunities of the nobles. /55/ 166 651

## Chapter V

### The Raid. The Loot. Its Restitution

The raid is the life of the Tuareg. He needs it. Here it is that he, the noble especially, seeks part of his means of subsistence. The favorite raids used to be those made against the Sudan, the Aïr, and the Niger, because of the negros and negresses who were captured. But the Tuareg is well aware now that French authority surrounds him on all sides, to the north and to the south, and that that system has ended. This is one of the reasons that make him regret his surrender. 648 721

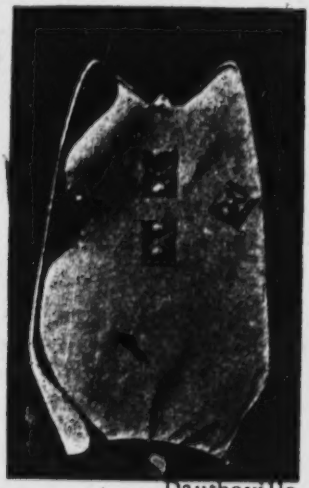
The Chaânba were as predatory and as independent as the Tuareg. They also raided continually. Since their surrender, it is known what a considerable change has taken place, and we have every reason to believe that this will happen among the Tuareg under our influence.

Usually when a tribe has been raided, unless a state of war has been declared, it sends a deputation, a "miâad," to demand from the djemâa of the raiding tribe the loot which was taken from them. The envoys must make their mounts kneel before the tents of the notables of the djemâa and beg for restitution. 728

As a rule, an amicable solution is finally reached, but the 728
part of the loot which is returned to the deputation is always
far less than that which was taken. The Tuareg say, "Alal
ouala," that is, "the restitution is never complete."

It may also happen that the raiders refuse to return anything. 721
The raided tribe, if it [701]
considers itself too weak, 728
solicits the support of
another tribe with which
it has good relations, and
then there is fighting. /56/

[411]



Dautheville
Tuareg Shield

When caravans of 484
traders have been raided, 486
since these caravans have 721
usually placed themselves
under the protection of
noble tribes to which they
pay dues, the controversy
is settled between the pro-
tecting tribe and the
raiders' tribe.

In the Ahaggar it seems that the old amenokal, Aïtar'el, 728
established the restitution of loot taken from caravans protected
by the Azdjer in the following manner:

1. Complete restitution of the pack camels taken from the caravans

2. For each load of merchandise taken, one "amadjour" camel for each man who took part in the raid and rode a mehari of his own

3. One "aleggues" (a young camel of three years) or a half-grown camel for each man who borrowed or hired the mehari which he rode in the raid.

The arms of a Tuareg and the harness for his mount have 114
been described in detail by Duveyrier, and there is no need to
review them here. /57/

824
222

To make up this deficiency in graminaceae, the Tuareg have recourse to products of gathering.

After a rain the captives and the Imrad women gather the seeds of certain plants which grow in the Ahaggar valleys. They are the afasso (Panicum turgidum F.) and the oulloul (Aristida pungens D.). But the size of the yield varies with the abundance of rain, and one may say that most of the time it is quite /233/ uncertain. This is not the case in the Sudan, where the Iklan gather whole bags of wild seeds, particularly cram-cram (Cenchrus echinatus), every year.

Fig. 31. Little leather flask used as a butter container.

To be sure, there are a few wild berries in the Ahaggar, such as those from the jujube tree (Zizyphus lotus D.) and the téborak (Balanites aegyptiaca). In case of famine the Tuareg fall back on other seeds, such as those of the colocynth, the Acacia tortillis, etc. However, all these plants play only a secondary role in the Tuareg diet.

The Tuareg have at their disposal milk from their camels, goats, and ewes. They drink it either whole or diluted with water, either fresh or sour.

The luxury of drinking whole milk is reserved for young mothers and children. Adults generally drink fresh milk morning and

222 have made them the base of their diet; for this reason they were
262 nicknamed acridophages. The Nasamonians of Herodotus prepared them in the same way the Tuareg do, and the /236/ similar diets of the two peoples is perhaps not pure coincidence.

There are a few fish ponds in the Ahaggar, but the Imochar
226 and the Imrad do not eat the flesh of these animals; only the
262 Issekkemâren catch barbels and sometimes catfish, or rather they gather them up in the wadis after floods, for they do not know how to fish, properly speaking.

The sedentary peoples raise chickens, but the Tuareg do not
262 eat them either, since they consider the meat impure. The same interdict is extended to eggs. The only bird which is an exception is the ostrich. There are no longer any ostriches in the Sahara, but
[223] when the Ihaggaren go to the Sudan they capture them if they have the chance; in addition, they eat ostrich eggs cooked in the ashes.

Times of scarcity were sometimes experienced. They are rare
262 now that caravans can circulate freely, but they were much more
731 frequent when the state of war continued for a long time. The
224 Tuareg fell back on wild plants which do not generally enter into their diet: the young growths of tahlé (Typha elephantina), the
[824] leaves of the tanekfit (Eruca aurea) and the aramas (Atriplex halimus), the underground stems of the danoun (Cistanche lutea) which resembles asparagus, and many other plants of very dubious food value, which they ate to assuage their hunger. The state of famine can
[252] become so pronounced that they sometimes gather up old bones, grind them up, reduce them to flour, and make gruels of them. It
[579] goes without saying that it is during these periods that pillaging is at its height. People steal from camp to camp, from tribe to tribe, and everyone forgets his brother and his friend, thinking of only one thing -- survival by any means.

the proportion of one to four. After several dry years some agricultural centers must be completely abandoned. This was the case of Tit, Attoklane, Tahart, Dar-Mouli, etc., in the last few years.

In 1940, 555 hectares of land were seeded. This is the figure for a good year, which can occasionally be surpassed but can also be reduced by more than half.

The population of the agricultural centers, which was 1, 310 people in 1916, was 2, 280 in 1938, which denotes a great effort made in favor of agriculture. This could be realized thanks only to the state of peace due to the French occupation.

Here are the figures for each of the principal centers, according to the archives of the Tamanrasset post (1):

1. Florimond report, 1938.

| | 1911 | 1938 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tamanrasset | 150 | 686 | |
| Abalessa | 272 | 250 | |
| I-n-Amgel | 180 | 206 | |
| Iglen | | 168 | |
| Ideles | 70 | 160 | |
| Tazerouk | 150 | 148 | |
| Tit | 75 | 98 | had to leave for other centers after the summer of 1938. |
| Tarhaouhaout | 140 | 91 | |
| Amsel | 90 | 66 | |
| Tahifet | | 39 | |
| /248/ Tigeneouin | 25 | 23 | |
| Mertoutek | | 60 | |
| Hirhafok | | 80 | |
| Ilaman | 10 | | |

278 of trust. Every time they take a caravan down south, they purchase
[439] many drugs, either for their personal use or to resell in their country or at In-Salah.

164 There are not many diseases in the Ahaggar. The country is relatively healthy because of its very dry climate /261/ and the bracing action of the sun, which at the same time destroys microbic germs. Moreover, this is very fortunate, for with the small amount of hygiene practiced by the Tuareg it would be impossible to fight disease. It may also be true that this absence of hygiene stems from the fact that the Tuareg have not had to see the necessity of it.

[165 The Ahaggar people die of old age or of war wounds. Of course,
731] there are sometimes epidemics capable of doing damage, but they are rare because of the isolation of the camps. The great distances which separate one from the other are a natural defense against mass contagions. These epidemics always come through the medium
[361] of the caravaneers or the people who return from the Sudan, where they have stayed among sedentary people. We may mention small-pox, very common in the Sudan, which sometimes works great ravages in the tribes. Typhus, spread by lice, may decimate a whole tribe in a few days, and it is not uncommon among the Tuareg. But these two diseases are the exception when they are reported in
[751] the Ahaggar. When a man returning from the Sudan is stricken with one of them, his case is reported by messengers long before his arrival, and the sick man is systematically isolated.

753 The Tuareg under the circumstances recognize the state of contagion, but they do not see the causes of disease. According to
[571] them, it is caused by the action of bad genii. As good Moslems, they pretend not to believe in these genii, but in reality most of the talismans they wear on their persons are intended to protect them from these. To obtain them, they go to the marabouts or to men
[156] with a reputation for their knowledge of the occult sciences; these sorcerers are known as amekelléou.

162 /109 cont./ here the cause of the greater proportion of men
165 to women.
847 The most widespread disease in the Ahaggar is undoubtedly malaria, most often contracted in Sudanese territory and
164 spread in the Ahaggar, where anopheles are numerous in the agricultural centers and at all the permanent or temporary water points. Professor Rémy of the faculty at Nancy has found them in the Tarahouaout tiggert /outflow of water/, at the In-Ezzebib guelta /pool/; the doctor, Captain Galan, has collected them in the Afilal guelta at an altitude of nearly 2, 000 meters.

Pneumonia and its pulmonary complications wreak the most havoc among the Tuareg; this is due to the winter cold, which is ill borne in too thin clothes.

[131] In 1949 an epidemic of measles took on the aspect of a catastrophe through its pulmonary consequences.

Venereal diseases are very common among the harratin, rarer among the Tuareg.

A distressing disease of the agricultural centers is trachoma, aggravated by every type of conjunctivitis transmitted by the flies that swarm and cluster around the /110/ eyes of children. The Tuareg seem immune to diseases of the eyes; they rarely have trachoma.

Smallpox, once so common and so feared, has practically disappeared, thanks to systematic vaccination. It was an unusual event to see two Tuareg return from the Sudan in April, 1951 covered with smallpox eruptions.

Tuberculosis does not seem to have appeared; skin tests made at the Tamanrasset school are negative for children born in the Ahaggar. There seems to be no manifestation of cancer.

Although the Tuareg are abundantly provided with lice, above all in the winter, as are the harratin, a case of typhus has never been known. Typhoid is unknown, as are diphtheria, tetanus, and poliomyelitis.

# Introduction

This book is the result of several years' study of North African pastoralism. My interest in this subject began under climatic conditions rather different from those of North Africa. In the winter 1945–46 I journied on skis through Northern Sweden, Finland, and the Norwegian Finmark. For about three months I lived among the Lapps, and, watching the techniques of reindeer-breeding, I became very interested in the problems connected with the history and evolution of stock-breeding. Shortly after my return from this trip I began to study anthropology in the University of Copenhagen under Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith, and as the main subject of the degree of M.Sc. acquired in summer 1950, I chose pastoral cultures of the Near and Middle East. I had already then made two short journeys to North Africa. 114 121

(1) In summer 1947 I spent about three months in Central Algeria to investigate Arab nomads in the steppes of the High Plateau and the adjacent parts of the Sahara. I travelled around the towns of Djelfa, Zenina, Aflu, Laghwat, and Ghardaya. I had little money at my disposal and could never afford to engage native assistants or to have a horse or a mule for riding and transportation. I walked through the barren steppes and deserts carrying as my main luggage several bottles filled with water. This journey was certainly not easy, and at its end I suffered very badly from malaria. Nevertheless, I managed to get into contact with camps of nomadic tribes such as the *Ulad Nail*, the *Larba*, and the *Sait Otba*, and for shorter periods I followed them during their migrations towards the south. I also contacted certain semi-nomadic tribes living around Aflu in Djebel Amour of the Sahara Atlas. I did not, however, understand Arabic, and the nomads, who were rather shy and suspicious of Europeans, generally had no knowledge of French. It is evidently most difficult to collect ethnographical material under such circumstances. And if I had not received the very kind assistance of French administrators and officers, of native Arab caids, and of Arabs who had formerly served in the French Army, I should indeed have acquired nothing. The year 1947 followed upon a long period of drought which had caused severe losses to all nomads. Many of them had lost all their livestock, and famine occurred all over pastoral Algeria. The consequences of the drought when at its worst can be illustrated by the following example:— Arriving at Aflu in the Djebel Amour, I discovered a small camp the tents of which apparently belonged to a type constructionally different from those used among Central Algerian nomads. I went to the camp where I was told that it belonged to semi-nomads of the *Adjaletes* and *Ulad Sidi Brahim* tribes. They all suffered extremely from famine, and entering the first tent I found three dying children under filthy rugs. I now concentrated upon the problems connected with this dreadful disaster which seemed to prove the insufficiency of pure pastoralism in the barren countries of North Africa. 114 122 731 [121]

[p. 1]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*233 their flocks, but it is, on the whole, inproper to show any interest in their animals. Some nomads will 128 even claim that although they know all their goats by sight, they do not know, or never mention, the [172] total number of their animals, as this is believed to bring bad luck. This belief is probably explained by the idea of the evil eye. To this may be added that it is difficult to judge the ownership of goats by merely watching the flock of a household which may also have animals grazing on other pastures.

*233 According to official statistics for 1948, the average number of goats per household among the *Kel Ahaggar* is fifteen (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). This figure is probably derived from the tax lists, and it seems to be much too low – even when households of slaves and sedentary agriculturists are included. Lhote has stated that the number of goats per person, under ideal conditions, is 35–40. If they increase above this, the surplus is slaughtered or sold to the sedentary peoples of the oases (Lhote 1951a, p. 9). This latter figure for ownership of goats under ideal conditions is probably true for the *233 more wealthy Tuareg of Ahaggar. Thus among the vassal Tuareg of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe many house- 565 hold are said to possess 100–200 goats, but this tribe is considered extremely rich in goats, and households of other tribes will not generally own so many animals. From rough calculations made in a great many camps of vassal Tuareg, and Tuareg of the *Isekkemaren* class, I estimate that households on an average possess 60–70 goats when pastures are not too badly developed, for it must be emphasized that the size of flocks changes with climatic conditions. For the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar I estimate, on the basis of calculations made at Amsel, Abalessa, and Taṛhawhawt, that a household possesses on average 15–20 goats.

234 In good years the amount of milk products supplied by a flock of 60 goats is rather considerable. This is clear when we consider the fact that a goat, during the period of three to four months in autumn and early winter when pasture of annual plants is green, will yield up to two litres of milk every day. When annual pasture gets dry the milk yield decreases but milk is still comparatively plentiful [272] and important for food all the winter. In summer, however, there is little milk for reasons already *233 referred to, and in dry years goats, even in the cold season, yield little or no milk. The flocks decrease during such periods of drought and some nomads may even lose most of their animals. During my stay among the Tuareg of Ahnet and Ahaggar from November 1954 to April 1955, goats suffered much from lack of fodder. In many camps one or two goats died of hunger every day.

*233 The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot subsist entirely on goat-breeding because severe droughts occur 731 frequently in their country. During drought-periods the goats are so to speak valueless as subsistence for the nomads. But it is remarkable that goats emaciated in consequence of severe drought quickly grow fat and start to yield milk once rain has fallen abundantly enough for the regeneration of pastures. In connection with this we shall point to another characteristic of goat-breeding: The animals have a very short gestation period, and the kids are fully grown for mating in one year. And as one goat may have four kids annually with free mating, a household, which has lost most animals during a drought, will be able very quickly to re-establish a flock large enough for its needs.

*233 Goats are also highly important for the subsistence of the pastoral Tuareg of Ayr. I do not know of any statistic material about the size of flocks in this area, but for Tuareg of Kidal (Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas) flocks are officially estimated at 74 goats and sheep per household (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 269), and this region is environmentally related to Southern Ayr. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that a household

[Text continues on p. 45]

*233 Each of the three vegetational zones of Ahaggar has its advantages and disadvantages. If we consider
824 a good year when rain has fallen abundantly with a resultant regeneration of all fodder plants, the
137 *Atakor* zone has very excellent pasture. For the plains and the stony mountain slopes are then entirely
132 covered with annual plants which by the Tuareg are considered the very best fodder. The Tuareg also
133 claim that the upper mountain zone is preferable because of its cooler climate, which has a beneficial influence on the lactation of domestic animals. The disadvantage of the *Atakor* zone is the lack of acacias to which can be added the scarcity of fuel. The *Tarayin* zone possess characteristics of the *Atakor* zone and of the *Abada* zone. The *Abada* country is botanically very different from *Atakor*. It has annual pastures of great value when abundant rainfall has been experimented and it also has valuable pastures of perennial plants. With heavy rain the *Abada* country is excellent for stock-breeding, and fuel can be found everywhere. But the Abada country is hotter than are the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

If rain falls abundantly all over Ahaggar there is good pasture in all three zones. But rainfall is more frequent and heavier at high altitudes than in the *Abada* zone, so that *Atakor* normally has by far the best pasture of annual plants which spring up late in summer or in autumn. The *Abada* zone on the other hand has the very best pasture of perennial plants, notably acacias that grow around the lower parts of the valleys which are always flooded when it rains in the high mountains.

221 The fluctuations of plant development determine the nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg.
*233 A few tribes have their normal grazing grounds in *Atakor* (e.g., the *Dag Rali* and the *Kel Tazulet*).
824 They camp in this zone at most seasons to let their goats and sheep feed on fresh and dry annual pasture.
[132] In dry years and during the hot summer season they may move to the *Tarayin* zone where there are perennial fodder plants, but they rarely camp in the *Abada* country. Many tribes have their normal grazing grounds in the *Abada* zone (e.g., the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, the *Ayt Lowayen*, the *Iheyawen Hada*, and the *Kel Rela*), but move to the *Atakor* when annual pasture is good in this region. They live in
[342] *Atakor* with tents and flocks when annual plants are green, while the rest of the year they camp in the *Abada* country to let their animals feed on acacias and other perennial species. Finally there are two tribes (*Tegehé-n-Efis* and *Iklan-en-tawsit*), the members of which camp in the *Abada* country all the year round even when rich annual pasture is found in *Atakor*. However, members of these tribes may send their camel herds to the *Atakor* zone, accompanied by herdsmen, while tents and flocks remain in the lower country.

221 With the exception of a few noble households which keep up their old tradition to subsist largely
*233 on camel's milk, the Ahaggar Tuareg do not keep their she-camels in Ahaggar unless there are excellent
[568] pastures of annual plants in this area. They take their camels to pastures far away from Ahaggar,
[262] notably to the Tamesna region where they have their animals guarded by herdsmen who are frequently
[567] slaves. In very dry years there are very few camels in Ahaggar – just the animals needed for riding and transportation. It is in fact very easy to take camels to distant pastures, and it is most necessary to give these animals the utmost care as they are most valuable and their breeding is a very slow process
*233 (cf. p. 56). Goats do not need such excellent fodder as do camels. They can eat almost everything, but
●231 in dry years goats may also suffer severely from lack of suitable fodder. This was the case in the year
[36] 1954/55 when I stayed in Ahnet and in Ahaggar. In the small camps of three to four tents each it was

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*233 normal every day to loose one or two goats which died of hunger. The goats were too thin to be mated,
● 231 and even in winter there was no milk, or so little, that it was all consumed by small children. In spite of these very severe conditions most Ahaggar Tuareg stayed in Ahaggar with their flocks which subsisted on dry perennial plants and annual plants that were two years old. Conditions were extremely bad in
221 the region of Ahnet, and about half of the Ahnet Tuareg left their country to go southwards with
*233 their camps and goats, to the regions of Ti-n-ẓawaten. In severe drought periods some Tuareg may
731 move their camps far outside of Ahaggar, but even then most of them will remain in their native country for extensive goat migrations are difficult and cannot be realized without a loss of the meagre animals. Most Tuareg therefore prefer to remain and to avoid the strenuous journey connected with these migrations. They may loose many animals during a drought, but they know that sooner or later rainfall will occur so that pastures will regenerate quickly to let the animals grow fat to yield milk and to be mated. The increment of goats is extremely quick in comparison with that of camels.

*233 Stock-breeding conditions are on the whole not very favourable in Ahaggar, but pastoral Tuareg
731 of this region have developed an economic system which secures their existence even in very bad years of extreme drought.

137 In the introductory description of Tuareg environment it was stated that the Ayr Massif and the
*233 surrounding plains have far better possibilities of stock-breeding than Northern Tuareg countries. The broad river valleys of Ayr are very rich in persistent plants which also grow on slopes and in depressions outside the valleys, and the spring of annual pastures is an annually recurrent event. One
132 informant told me that there had not been any drought in the Agadez region throughout the many
*233 years the French had reigned over Ayr. At an unknown date in the past, it is said, a very severe drought persisted in the country for a period of seven years, and the Tuareg who had many goats and sheep fed these animals on charcoal. Since then rain has fallen every year and though more

*233

Fig. 96. Tuareg feeding his riding camel with boiled tea leaves which are considered excellent fodder for camels. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe.

9*

262
The nobles eat better, at least those who are well-to-do. 243
In the Ahaggar especially they own cultivated land in the 556
"ar'erems" (villages), where they grow wheat, "ired," barley, 565 423
"timzin," and bechna, "inelli"; but usually they sell their 438

[137]

Dautheville

Trees Called "Ahatés" (Acacia Albida) at the Tillemas of the Tesght Wadi (Koudia).

wheat and barley to the natives of the Tidikelt and are content with bechna, of which they are very fond. They claim that [824]
bechna is less heating to the stomach than wheat or barley.

The rich allow themselves the luxury of drinking tea, but 272
tea and sugar are very expensive, and they do not misuse them. 556
On the other hand, they do not hesitate to beg for them shame- 263
lessly.

When the year is bad anything seems good to the poor to 222
assure their subsistence. In such years one sees them eating 262
/30/ "berdi," or "taheli," (Typha angustifolia, Typhaceae); 735
ground carob seeds of "talhas," or gum trees, which they call 252
"tahaha" • ⁝⁝ + ; "tanékfa'it (Diplotaxis duveyrierana, Cruciferae); fruit of the "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica), which they steep to take out the bitterness; and even leaves of the "aremmas" (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae), which they boil.

In short, nature keeps food resources for them which prevents even the poorest from dying of hunger.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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634 particular case is related of a group of Ioullemmeden Tuareg attacking a camp of
727 Kel Ferouan vassals who made a counterattack and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, then they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

[565] 3) *Ekachchadi*, that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without
[721] the permission of their drum-chief. In this case the drum-chief would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals who were not allowed to engage in warfare on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

The drum-chief had other income from his subjects who paid him an annual
634 fee termed *sadaḳa*. This fee, it is said, was paid not only by vassals but also by noble
651 households of the Kel Azel clan. The sadaḳa fees were collected on behalf of the
565 drum-chief by people of the Echchikhen and by negroid blacksmiths, who form a particular and rather numerous caste. There were definite rules for the payment of sadaḳa. It was computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example can here be mentioned the payments for camel herds:–

| *Size of Herd.* | *Sadaḳa.* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels | 2 goats |
| 15 camels | 3 goats |
| 25 camels | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels | 2 full-grown camels. |

The Echchikhen and the blacksmiths took the sadaḳa animals to the drum-chief. He gave some of them to the collectors who were themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of
[735] the proceeds given to poor people by the drum-chief, who would keep a small part for himself.

The drum-chief had the supreme jurisdiction over his group. In all internal
634 matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge. In difficult
692 cases he would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez or the Echchikhen. All members of the Kel Ferouan group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities *(edeiet)* were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen
682 had the right of blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection.
[696] But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man whose
184 kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Apparently there has never been any
682 fixed size of blood-wealth among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab Tribes of The Sahara.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



634 livestock of a murderer in reality was the property of the drum-chief. Apparently there has never
682 been any fixed size of blood-wealth among the *Kel Ferwan* in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara.

634 The token of vassalage among the *Kel Ferwan* was the payment of half of the bride-wealth to the
565 noble lords so that the drum-chief received bride-wealth from his particular group of vassals, the chief of the *Kel Azel* from his group. The two noble lords received other payments from their vassals.
651 They would inherit a camel on the death of an individual vassal, and they received certain annual payments known as *sadakat* or *tamesodek*. This fee in its origin was a religious one, and certain tribes such as the *Imezzureg*, the *Kel Akerra*, and the *Isakaranan* claim that in the past, as nowadays, they made this payment to the *Ineslemen* Tuareg and not to the noble chiefs. But true vassal tribes gave their *sadakat* or *tamesodek* to the two noble lords. The fees were collected on behalf of the lords by people of the *Echchikhen* and by negroid blacksmiths, who are very numerous in Ayr. There were definite rules for the payment of the *sadakat* fees which were computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example the payments for camel herds can here be mentioned:—

| Size of herd | *Sadakat* or *tamesodek* |
|---|---|
| 10 camels . . . . . | 2 goats |
| 15 camels . . . . . | 3 goats |
| 25 camels . . . . . | 1 young camel |
| 50 camels . . . . . | 1 full-grown camel |
| 100 camels . . . . . | 2 full-grown camels |

The *Echchikhen* and the blacksmiths took the *sadakat* animals to the two noble lords, who gave some
[682] of them to the collectors, themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at
[786] the market of Agadez and most of the proceeds given to poor people by the noble lords, who would keep a small part for themselves.

634 The two noble lords, the drum-chief and the chief of the *Kel Azel*, had the right to parts of war-
721 booty taken by their vassals according to the following rules:—
565 (1) *témaggedaz*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the noble lords, the drum-chief or the chief of the *Kel Azel*. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g., riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the noble lords, while the other half should be given to their vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that only one seventh of the booty should go to the noble lord. The word *téfiales* is said to have been used synonymously with *témaggedaz*.

(2) *téwit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the *Kel Ferwan* group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the noble lord would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A particular case is related of a group of *Iwilemmeden* Tuareg attacking a camp of *Kel Ferwan* vassals

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies. However, this plant does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, p. 192). One plant (*itheréggelé*) (*Artemisia judaica*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten venomous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for domestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe they have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings (Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be understood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil mouth (*tehoj* in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as *ettama* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding camels in Ayr:— Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order that their riding animal may not stumble.

564 The Tuareg, who heartily scorn them because of their obscure origin and servile profession, recognize their good qualities and are happy to profit from them. They also fear them a good deal, for [754] they credit them with supernatural powers of sorcery and magic. Possessors of fire, mistreating the earth and the minerals by beating them, they are placed in a world apart, inhabited by the genii with whom they are likely to enter into relations. Although the Moslem [751] marabouts willingly sell amulets, which the Tuareg prize, the latter do not hesitate, in case of need, to ask the Enaden for amulets in preference.

The Enaden are still more despised because they have no moral principles and willingly serve as spies and traitors; they spy on the Iklan and the wives of their masters and also act as go-between for [837] lovers. Like the jesters in our Middle Ages, they have the right to go anywhere, including among the women. Everyone finds this natural, for this is a right which is all but acknowledged.

Sometimes they take part in raids, and they are reputed to fight [726] bravely, although no one wants to stay beside them during combat, since they seem to possess talismans so powerful that javelins directed toward them deviate /175/ from their route and are apt to strike those [626] nearby. The Tuareg never kill an Enad, for this brings misfortune and the Enad might take revenge from beyond the tomb.

In Sudanese tribes they are called ag'gou (plural, ag'gouten) and 184 sometimes play the part of jesters (griot). Some are musicians and 564 storytellers. This role is not widespread, but it happens that the amenokal of the Tenguéréguif, Chéboun, has several griots attached to his person. They avenge themselves on people who are not [626] generous enough to them by making satirical songs against them to which the Tuareg are often very sensitive.

They are willing to do anything to earn a bit of money, which 564 they spend as fast as they get it. A blacksmith always has his debts, 426 but people give him credit for they know that he will be shrewd 454 enough to repay them one day.

515 care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed [824] every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

751 For them the main question is protecting the different parts of the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the body is to that end.

291 302 They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired color.

302 [171] To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

515 [412] [824] The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth. They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed to form a brush. For this purpose they use irak branches (Salvadora persica) or palm jereed.

302 /258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring for the hair.

[593] 276 [184] [90] Young boys have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region. They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have themselves shaved completely.

302 The women also wear their hair braided in a number of plaits which hang beside the temples. They coif each other, and since the job requires many hours, it is done only once or twice a month. [412] They begin by untangling the hair by means of a small comb, at the same time filling the hair with sand and wood ashes. Next they [515] proceed to delouse it, for each Tuareg head of hair generally harbors a whole little world of insects. Then the hairdresser separates the hair into bunches, using a small knife, soaks it with water and butter, and braids it, either in large braids so that there are three or four hanging on each side, or in many small braids. [751] They smear their hair with butter for no other reason than to protect it against the sun and especially against the dry air which makes it brittle.

Fig. 35. Tooth brush of irak wood with its leather case.

The men let their beards grow, but they almost always shave their mustaches or cut them very short so /259/ that they do not get in the way under the veils which cover the lower part of their faces.

Men and women shave the pubis.

[754] After dressing the hair or shaving, the Tuareg always bury their hair or down, for fear that people who wish them harm might get hold of them and take them to some sorcerer who could use them to make fearful evil spells.

302 751 Men and women make rings around their eyes with kohl; they put it not only on the eyebrows, but especially at the roots of the eyelashes. They do this for medical purposes, for they attribute [164] to kohl the ability to protect them against eye maladies, in particular against ophthalmia which strikes many of them.

[826] The Tuareg appreciate the long, narrow hands of people who do no manual labor. They do not take any particular [412] care of them and are [531] satisfied merely to cut [212] their nails rather short. As they do for hair, they bury the scraps so that no one can take them.

Fig. 36. Hairdressing knife, bearing the name of the artisan who made it in tifinagh characters.

304 [171] Tattooing. -- Make-up. -- Unlike the Kabyle and the Berbers, the Tuareg are not tattooed. This detail, which may seem insignificant, nevertheless indicates that the relationship of these different human groups is not nearly as close as one might believe, since there are such appreciable differences in mores.

184 304 Some women blue their gums and sometimes their lips by tattooing them, but this custom is particularly prevalent in the Sudanese tribes of the Timbuktu region.

302 [751] On the other hand, make-up is used on a large scale among Tuareg women. They put red ocher on their faces to protect the skin from the /260/ sun. For aesthetic reasons they also blue their [517] lips and around their mouths with indigo.

302 For festive occasions, some women bear paintings on their faces, white or ocher dots above the bridge of the nose, under the [517] cheeks, and on their chins. These paintings have only an aesthetic nature, or so it seems.

304 75 All Tuareg, men and women, have two or three small linear scars on their foreheads and temples, and the indigo from their clothing which is often inlaid there gives them the appearance of tattoos. They are incisions made for medico-magic reasons when [855] the children are very young to protect them from headaches and convulsions.

[856] It also seems that this custom contributes to make them strong and making them walk very early. (1)

1. De Foucauld, Textes en prose /Prose Texts/, p. 64.

757 Medicine and surgery. -- If we now turn our attention to medicine and surgery among the Tuareg, we shall observe that their knowledge is not very extensive and has nothing singular about it.

753 In their minds the Tuareg classify sickness in two categories: those which are the result of an external action, visible and determinable, and those whose origin cannot be explained by any causal link. The former are treated with appropriate medical treatments, the latter by magic procedures.

757 The medical procedures, which belong rather to surgery, are clearly empirical. A few of them serve for a quantity of ills. They chiefly include bleeding and applying heat. In bleeding, the operator relieves congestion in the diseased part; in applying heat, he limits the pain, at the same time relieving congestion.

278 [577] The Ihaggaren have a whole stock of drugs which they borrowed from the Sudanese. These are roots, plants, and seeds which grow in the Sudan and in which the Tuareg have a great deal

278 of trust. Every time they take a caravan down south, they purchase
[439] many drugs, either for their personal use or to resell in their country or at In-Salah.

164 There are not many diseases in the Ahaggar. The country is relatively healthy because of its very dry climate /261/ and the bracing action of the sun, which at the same time destroys microbic germs. Moreover, this is very fortunate, for with the small amount of hygiene practiced by the Tuareg it would be impossible to fight disease. It may also be true that this absence of hygiene stems from the fact that the Tuareg have not had to see the necessity of it.

[165 The Ahaggar people die of old age or of war wounds. Of course,
731] there are sometimes epidemics capable of doing damage, but they are rare because of the isolation of the camps. The great distances which separate one from the other are a natural defense against mass contagions. These epidemics always come through the medium
[361] of the caravaneers or the people who return from the Sudan, where they have stayed among sedentary people. We may mention smallpox, very common in the Sudan, which sometimes works great ravages in the tribes. Typhus, spread by lice, may decimate a whole tribe in a few days, and it is not uncommon among the Tuareg. But these two diseases are the exception when they are reported in
[751] the Ahaggar. When a man returning from the Sudan is stricken with one of them, his case is reported by messengers long before his arrival, and the sick man is systematically isolated.

753 The Tuareg under the circumstances recognize the state of contagion, but they do not see the causes of disease. According to
[771] them, it is caused by the action of bad genii. As good Moslems, they pretend not to believe in these genii, but in reality most of the talismans they wear on their persons are intended to protect them from these. To obtain them, they go to the marabouts or to men
[756] with a reputation for their knowledge of the occult sciences; these sorcerers are known as amekellé̂ou.

[172] 301 layers /271/ dating from that epoch. Its origin must be sought there, and it is now nothing more than a Neolithic vestige.

A number of little cases which the Tuareg wear suspended around the neck and resting on the chest may be considered ornaments. [531] They are little leather cases -- decorated, painted or embroidered, or even stamped in relief -- and they contain various little instruments. [415] Thus, there are mirror cases, needle cases, razor cases, scissor cases, toothbrush cases, etc., and little wallets in which the Tuareg put what they prize most -- money, a /strike-a-light/ steel box and its flint, or tobacco.

/272/ They also wear 301 751 quantities of amulets in leather or metal cases on their chests, their arms, or their hair. But [178] this custom, religious in origin, has evolved in the direction of ornamentation, for many of these amulet cases contain nothing.

Fig. 42. Needle case of worked leather, with knife slits and embroidery. The background is red; the ornamental painting, black; the embroidery, red and green cotton.

301 Female jewelry is much richer and more varied. It is [328] all made of silver; gold jewelry is never seen among [828] the Tuareg. They maintain 777 that gold is unlucky for the possessor and that this metal corrupts people.

844 the child is in a good position; she also rolls her on the ground to put the child in place if need be, but she never makes a vaginal exploration.

845 If the birth does not go normally, the midwife may ask the [75] marabout's help. The latter comes and stands outside the tent, giving verbal advice but never intervening personally; he cannot go near the parturient woman.

844 To give birth the woman squats down on her knees and braces herself on the center stake of the tent. Generally /283/ the baby falls on a layer of fine sand which has been prepared for that purpose. The midwife immediately cuts the umbilical cord, washes the baby in warm water, and makes him cry by pinching him to make sure he is alive. Then the mother takes him, puts a bit of her milk in [85] his nostrils, stretches his nose so that it will be long and narrow, and presses his head between her hands to give it an elongated shape. [174] This custom is certainly a vestige of cranial deformation, which is no longer practiced among the Tuareg but which was formerly common among the Egyptians.

As soon as the father learns of the birth of the baby, he has a sheep butchered and sends it to the wife's camp. The sheep is meant 846 to feed her and the people who have assisted her. The woman is made to absorb a great deal of meat bouillon. Sometimes the new mother gets up two or three days after confinement.

851 The birth of a boy is welcomed with more joy than that of a girl. [842] In the first case, all the people, men and women, come to con- [562] gratulate the mother, but if it is a girl only the women come to see her. During this visit the women often put yellow ocher under [751] their eyes and around their mouths to keep away the bad genii which are always supposed to prowl around in tents where a newborn baby has just arrived.

846 On the seventh day after the birth, the woman returns to her husbands camp, accompanied by the women of her family and her brothers, if she has any. The father then sees his child for the first time.

291 Tuareg. It is all very puzzling and mysterious indeed.

Tuareg women wear either a short cotton skirt that reaches just below the knees or a pair of baggy trousers, like those of the men but shorter. Like the men they usually wear a white gandoura with a blue one over it, but the under one at least is sewed farther up the sides leaving open arm slits only 1½ to 2 feet long. The costume is topped off with a shawl and a head scarf of indigo blue cotton cloth, the first measuring roughly 9 feet by 6 and the second about 4 by 2 feet as a rule. Lightweight woolen shawls, measuring as much as 10 feet by 6½ and white or darkish pink in color, used to be worn on festive occasions but have practically disappeared in recent years. Lhote (1955, p. 107) says that Tuareg women sometimes wrap goatskins around their shoulders in wintertime. Straw hats with very high conical crowns and enormously wide, floppy brims, made of narrow interwoven strips of palm fronds, were always worn in summertime by women of rank, especially when on a journey, but these too have almost completely disappeared. We have already seen that Tuareg women never wear a veil, which is just as well since many of them are extremely good-looking, but they often drape a fold of the head shawl loosely across the nose and mouth when sitting out in the open or riding on the trail, simply as a matter of physical protection. Young unmarried Tuareg women and girls are inclined to be overcome with giggles when strange foreigners arrive in the camp, and then they hide their faces with a corner of the shawl or whatever piece of clothing is most handy, just as little girls do everywhere in the world.

Tuareg women sometimes plaster their fore-
302 heads and cheeks with mudpacks of red or yellow ocher, and smear their mouths with indigo and the region of the eyes with black pigment made of powdered antimony or charcoal mixed with grease. This lurid make-up
● [751] gives fairly good protection against sun and wind, and the Tuareg consider it very beautiful as well although to our eyes it makes the wearer look absolutely frightful. Men also use black pigment around the eye openings,
291 especially on gala occasions.

439 The reader will have noticed that the

291 Tuareg attach considerable importance to
[439] indigo blue cotton cloth, a product which they get from the Sudan. This material is commonly known as "chegga" (pronounced *shegga*), and the most archaic and highly prized variety is made of a multitude of long strips about an inch wide sewn tightly together. The cloth itself, of very ordinary quality, is so heavily impregnated with crude indigo as to be literally stiff with it. A brand new piece looks black when seen at a distance or in a poor light, but in bright sunlight it is a dark purplish blue with a coppery sheen like that of cheap carbon paper; and the indigo dye comes off on your fingers at the slightest touch, just as the ink on carbon paper does but much more so.

302 Obviously, anyone who wears clothes made of such material is soon stained with indigo from head to foot, and the Tuareg even rub it into their skins on purpose. Women often smear it on their foreheads, cheeks and temples and around their mouths by way of make-up. The
●[751] Tuareg claim that indigo not only protects human skin from the direct effects of sun and wind but also lubricates it and so prevents cracking, and they are quite right, at least up to a point. If the Tuareg wash themselves only
[515] very rarely, it is partly to preserve the accumulated protective coating of indigo, the humble practical value of which has been
[554] gradually enhanced by an ever-increasing value of prestige that has risen in proportion to the rising cost of indigo-dyed cloth. A dirty looking, bluish skin is admired by the Tuareg just as much as a rich golden tan is admired in midwinter by the business men and women of New England and New York.

515 It should be noted that in the Sahara Desert proper one can go unwashed for long periods without either feeling or looking noticeably dirty. The air is so dry that perspiration usually evaporates instantly upon reaching the surface of the skin, and so it is unusual for anyone to sweat visibly. Most of the nomadic
[147] natives are in excellent physical condition in that they are very lean and wiry, and so they sweat relatively little in any case. Thus it is extremely rare to meet one who has any perceptible body odor at all, regardless of whether he looks clean or not. White foreigners are seldom in anywhere near as good physi-

3: Holiday J-5 (ca.1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



# THE TUAREG OF THE AHAGGAR

by

GEOFFREY HOLIDAY

131 The Ahaggar region of the Sahara desert, with its administrative headquarters at Tamanrasset (Fort Laperrine) provides an almost exact geographical centre for the territory inhabited by the Tuareg; the nomadic tribes of the "blue veil". At the northernmost point is In Salah and to the south, Agadez. Eastward there is Djanet in the Tassili des Ajjer and the western boundary is formed, perhaps, by the line of the Tanezrouft. [361] Within this area the Tuareg wander from oasis to oasis or, in the case of a few, dwell peaceably in the shadow of the French towns and outposts that mainly owe their location to the existence of water tempered by administrative and strategic factors.

177 186 The Tuareg would appear, at first glance, to be one of the few remaining peoples of the world possessing a culture of their own that is entirely free of influences, direct or indirect. Some among the tribes still believe that the desert is the world, inhabited admittedly by many different kinds of people, but the world nevertheless. This is the extreme view, obviously not shared by those who have travelled on the great caravan routes as far south as Kano or to Timbucktu and the Niger. It may not be the view of [648] the younger generations who, to an increasing extent, are benefiting by the primary education facilities inaugurated by the French administrators; particularly in Algeria where the Ahaggar region lies at the foot of the Territoires du Sud: a knowledge of the French language does not necessarily bring about a lessening of superstitions or a widening of perspectives. One is always faced with the parallel of the farmer (who should have known better) and the ostrich: 'There ain't no such animal!' Nevertheless, from this aspect the influences are so few as to be negligible and are more likely to come from the varied genre of the official and semi-official indigenous population gathered together under the Tricolour at the towns and outposts of the region than from direct contact with the European. The Tuareg are almost the exception that proves the rule of man's gregariousness, though, naturally enough, they are gregarious in that they possess very strong tribal instincts.

291 751 As a tribe the Tuareg have very marked characteristics that immediately set them aside from any other social group in what may be termed loosely north Africa. To begin with, the men are seldom seen unveiled: the women, who can be very beautiful, never cover their faces although, often they will wear a head covering, presumably as protection against sun and sand. The men, however, do not wear the veil solely as protection against the elements. Discounting those few who have become soldiers under the French flag, a Tuareg man—or, more properly, a Targui—assumes the veil on approaching manhood and wears it continuously, even for eating and drinking. He unveils to no one, not even in the sanctuary of his tent alone, let alone in the presence of his wife. This veil wound low round his forehead and across the bridge of his nose covers the mouth, ears and nostrils. Since the other openings of his body are concealed by his robes he has complete protection against evil spirits entering and taking control—and this is the key to why the veil is worn. To protect his eyesight against the Evil One amulets are worn from a chain round the neck and doubtless also such amulets provide a measure of safety in battle.

174 The origins of the Tuareg tribe are particularly interesting in that they have as yet to be definitely established. Their antecedents go back anything between 600 and a 1,000 years and it is supposed that they are an offshoot of the Berber Arabs, driven into the desert during one of the many invasions of the Tel, the fertile coastal belts of Algeria and Morocco, that continued up to the 13th century when the Moors became really established on the Barbary coast. Likewise, the Berbers with their light skins and blue

754 /113 cont./ women chase it, beating the air with scarves and reciting secret words. They act as if they were mad-women.

The borbor is incorporated into couscous, which, it is said, may be turned with a hand taken from a dead person, but I have had few confirmations of that practice. The borbor is administered by throwing it in the path the victim should take, if it is impossible to make him eat it.

Whether intended as philter or poison, borbor differs very little in its composition; only the quantities must differ.

When a woman wishes the death of a rival, she has another process at her disposition. Having managed to obtain some menstrual blood of the enemy, she goes to a taleb /public scribe/ who specializes in magic; the latter wraps the blood in a paper or rag on which he writes sacred words; he then throws the package into a permanent séguia /irrigation canal/. As long as the seguia flows, the blood of the rival will flow, and she will die of this hemorrhage.

There is an antidote for borbor called "bottal," a blackish substance that one throws on embers and whose emanations counteract the effects of borbor.

824 754 Two plants must be mentioned here which, without being fatal, cause momentary insanity, according to the Tuareg: first, "afeleleh" ("bettina" in Arabic), black henbane, (the antidote consists of gulping down camel meat or, better, /114/ camel fat); second, "bourzig," taken by women who want to gain weight, but which taken in strong doses induces temporary madness during which the victim spouts out an endless succession of words which she does not remember later.

754 Magic operations are most varied, and everyone can expect each day to be the victim of them. The Negroes are haunted by this fear; the Tuareg do not seem to be worried [751] by these magic maneuvers. However, everyone wears "tera," protective charms issued by the taleb; thus the Moslem religion, more or less deformed, fights against magic or, sometimes, collaborates with it.

844 /119 cont. / advise her. The waters are rapidly absorbed by the sand, which is replaced; then, naturally, without any help from the matrons, the infant emerges to lie on a bed of clean sand, his first cradle. During the delivery, it is good form for the woman to hide her suffering.

[184] /120/ In the noble tribes, with the Kel Rela in particular, the woman who begins to feel birth pains leaves the camp and goes into a sufficiently sheltered ravine, where the sand is very clean. She makes the delivery alone, taking the position noted above, then returns to the camp, holding her baby in her arms. She does not show the least trace of joy at the compliments of the other women. I spoke of this custom of the nobles to a vassal woman, who said to me: "It is true that the nobles do this, but it just swagger." The word she used might better be translated "affectation."

The baby, after being washed, is wrapped in a cotton cloth, preferably an old chèche /a long scarf/, and then laid on a rug near its mother.

846 853 For three days the baby will be given goat's milk with a small spoon, and only at the end of this time will the young mother nurse it. If the mother does not have enough milk, the infant is brought up on goat's milk, unless a woman of the camp can nurse the baby.

846 The new mother rests for seven days and receives no man, except for her near relatives, but nearly all the women get up from bed from the second day on. In the noble tribes most under the influence of Islam, the women observe a retreat of 40 days.

846 751 The newly delivered woman affords a particularly defenseless prey for the Kel es Souf. In order to protect herself and her infant against the attempts of the genii, she burns taharadjellé in the tent and goes outside the asaber /that is, outside the mats which line the tent and encircle the space before the tent/ only when armed with a knife, which, it seems, is very effective against evis spells. On the subject of superstition, it

846 /120 cont./ is said that a woman will never again bear children
751 if, during a delivery, she turns the foetal pouch inside out. Another cause of sterility is being hit by the tail of a uran.

845 Deliveries generally take place very well, but there are accidents, the percentage of which is not known; either the infant dies or puerperal fever is contracted. The Tuareg are completely powerless against such accidents resulting from childbirth.

852 /121/ On the seventh day of his life, the infant receives
553 his name, the occasion for a celebration to which all the close relatives are invited. A great meal is served, followed by tendi and ilougan. It is an honor to be the godfather and to give the infant its name; this honor is paid for in gifts (alouf). When several persons are candidates for the position of being the godfather, the winner is chosen by drawing straws.

854 As do all the mothers of the world, the Tuareg woman coddles her baby, covers it with caresses, is touched to hear it cry, and sings it to sleep: "O hare, bring slumber, my baby won't sleep." As soon as he can walk, the infant gets to know the camp; he wanders around the tents, plays with the black servants near the fire, learns to talk, and remains very attached to his mother, who, day after day, teaches him the customs. The daily observation of the customs makes the child very obedient and very respectful.

857 At about the age of five, the young imrad Targui beings
868 to follow his brothers or sisters as they tend the goats. The young nobles follow their Negro shepherd. The child thus learns to know his country, the paths, the plants, the animals, and their habits. An old servant will point to a track on the sand and say: "Here's your father's camel, and this track is that of the female camel that just gave birth."

During his comings and goings across the pastures, the desert life engraves itself on his memory. He notes the track of the gazelle on the sand and that of the cheetah in pursuit. "Look," says the old slave, "in spite of the slyness of the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



group are sedentary agriculturists (Nicolas 1950a, p. 190). In Ahaggar most freed slaves have become incorporated in the negroid caste now to be mentioned. 564 567

*Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*). This term designates the caste of agricultural Negroes known to the Arabs as *Harratin* (sing. *Hartani*). In Ahaggar this caste has a rather mixed origin. It did not exist in this 564

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Fig. 8. Vassal woman with amulet cases and snail-shells hanging around her neck. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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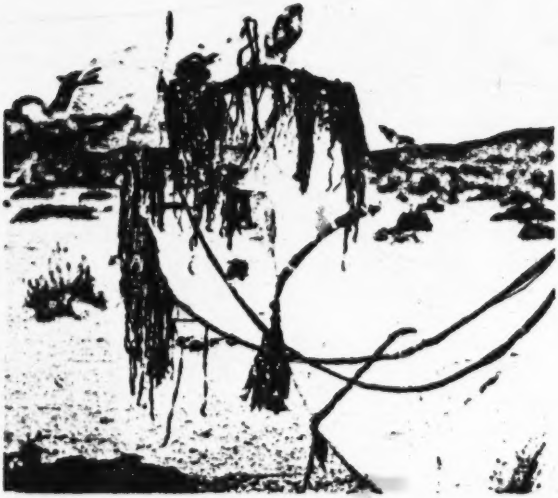

Fig. 52. The *akeskabbu* shakles connected with a leather rein richly decorated with fringes of the same material. This headgear is now in the National Museum (N.M. G. 5192). Hanging around the camel's neck is also a neck collar (*takawt*) with a brass bell (*anayna*) which is also now in the National Museum (N.M. G. 5191) (cf. Fig. 74b). Below the brass bell is an amulet case fixed to a piece of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

*233 *492 camels and for other animals which are difficult to control (Fig. 48). Such halters are known by the term *amerar* among the Ayr Tuareg. Certain camels which are difficult to catch even when hobbled during grazing constantly wear a halter provided with a short rope hanging down from the head – a device applied to many fierce bull-camels (Fig. 56).

*492 To break-in young riding camels the Tuareg frequently use a double rein one end of which is tied around the animal's head to serve as a halter while the other end is noosed around the lower jaw according to the method generally used for pack-camels and described above. But for trained riding [237] camels the nomads normally content themselves with the use of a single rein (generally known as *tarant* in Ahaggar, in Ayr as *trézem*) plaited of goatskin or goat's hair and attached to a copper ring [564] (*tiğemt* in Ahaggar) inserted in the right nostril of the camel (cf. Fig. 43). This is done by the blacksmiths who also manufacture a very special headgear (*akeskabbu*, or *taryet* in Ahaggar) for riding camels which are difficult to control. The rider when using such a head-gear has a double rein one end of which is attached to a nostril ring (*tiğemt*) while the other end is connected with two iron shackles known as *akeskabbu* (*taryet*) and *amadel*. When the rider pulls the right rein the camel is pulled at the nostril ring, but when he pulls the left rein the two iron shackles are tightened around the bridge of the nose and the lower jaw of the animal. The system is illustrated Figs. 50–52. Black- [326] smiths also make very elaborate halters of this type to be used mainly as an ornament of riding camels [531] on festive occasions. In such cases the halter as well as the rein are richly decorated with coloured

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525
Fulani M511



The most dangerous African cattle disease is the rinderpest. It is known to have entered Egypt in the year 1884 from the regions around the Black Sea, and about 1890, or somewhat later, it came to Eastern Africa and to the Sudan. Rinderpest is nowadays widely found in Africa but it is rare or unknown in Northern Tuareg countries. Rinderpest is apparently very rare in the Ayr Massif and it occurs mainly south of the Massif in savannah country. The Tuareg have no remedy against this disease. It is stated by St. Croix that the Fulani of Northern Nigeria once deliberately exposed their cattle to mild rinderpest to make them immune from this disease in its more severe and dangerous form. However, this method did not work and the Fulani gave up further experiments of this kind. It is also mentioned by St. Croix that the Fulani practise a kind of vaccination against cattle pleuro-pneumonia and that this is done as follows:— A piece of infected lung is put into milk for two to three days and thereupon placed into a small opening cut under the nose-skin of the animal. The method is claimed to be effective (St. Croix 1944, p. 24 f.). Vaccination methods are also known to some of the Southern Tuareg, e.g. the *Iwillemmeden*. These people vaccinate human beings against small-pox by inserting the pus of this disease into wounds cut with a knife (Aymard 1911, p. 108), and they also vaccinate their cattle against cattle pleuro-pneumonia ("peripneumonie bovine"). They do this in much the same way as described above for the Fulani:— An infected piece of lung is placed in sour milk or in the soil for a few days, and is thereupon inserted under the skin of the forehead. Nicolas describes the method as dangerous because the infection attacks the whole forehead and also the nose-bone (Nicolas 1950a, p. 133), but two veterinary surgeons who practised among the *Iwillemmeden* of Tawa told me that they considered this kind of vaccination effective. The method is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg of the Massif where this contagious lung-disease is unknown or very rare.

I have no great knowledge of the contagious diseases in the Tuareg groups I have studied, but such diseases seem to occur comparatively rarely, and there is no veterinary surgeon attached to the French administration of Northern Tuareg countries. There is one veterinary surgeon in Agadez, but his most important field of work lies outside of the mountain massif to the south.

Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr I have been told about two contagious diseases which, when they occur, may give rise to very heavy losses. One of these diseases is known to the Tuareg as *changa*. It attacks only cows, which die very quickly, but if cattle suffering from the disease are ritually killed their meat is nevertheless considered edible. One Tuareg told me that some years ago about thirty cattle of his camp died in one day from an attack of *changa*.

The other contagious disease I have recorded from Southern Ayr is called *tandert*. It attacks sheep and goats, and I collected the following notes about it:— The blood penetrates the animal's flesh which becomes quite red. If sheep or goats suffer from *tandert* and are ritually killed for eating, very great care must be taken in the preparation of the meat. It must be boiled until it contains no blood, and must not be eaten until it is cold and dry. It is said that if these precautions are not taken the people who eat meat from animals suffering from *tandert* will themselves become attacked by the disease, with the result that blood and pus may penetrate the skin at any part of the body. They say that a man who has eaten unboiled meat of an animal suffering from this disease with consequent infection is treated in the following way:— A species of ant more venomous than the normal small

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poision their enemies. However, this plant does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, p. 192). One plant (*itheréggelé*) (*Artemisia judaica*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten venomous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for domestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe they have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings (Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be understood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil mouth (*tehot* in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as *effanna* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding camels in Ayr:— Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order that their riding animal may not stumble.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



is refused by noble Tuareg and in general also by vassals. One reason for this is that the Tuareg have a myth saying that the *ayata*-lizzard is the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the noble Tuareg. Some vassals claim that it is the ancestor of all true Tuareg, but this statement does not agree with mythology (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 61). However, this lizzard is eaten mainly by slaves and by certain agriculturists, though its meat is considered a remedy against snake-bite and scorpion stings (cf. Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.). The head of an *ayata* is considered an excellent amulet against these poisonous animals (Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.), and the skin of this lizzard is not only utilized for the manufacture of amulet cases but also for small bags of various types (Fig. 116a).

Small animals are not necessarily killed with any particular hunting implement. The animals may be taken with the hand or killed with sticks and stones, as is the case with the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, *tékenisit*), which is eaten by some people, and with small rodents. Even hares can be taken with the hand when they hide in the grass or under rocks. The hunter may then approach the hare swinging one of his sandals over his head. This, it is said, makes the animals believe that it is hunted by a hawk or an eagle, and it will therefore remain stubbornly in its hiding place. Even gazelle are sometimes taken without any proper hunting weapon. Some Tuareg say that on journeys through the barren desert country in the summer they have met gazelle so exhausted from thirst that they could take these animals with their hands. Although this is rarely possible, I know Tuareg who have crept up to gazelle hiding from the sun in daytime and killed them with a stone. Finally it can be mentioned that the

**Fig. 116a–b. Two small skin bags.**

**a. Skin bag (*abelbof a ayata*) made from the skin of the big *ayata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.). Ahaggar, *Ḫarratin* of Taṛhawhawt. Dimension: 0.325 m long. (N.M. G. 5834).**

**b. Skin bag (*abelbof a timerwelt*) made from hare-skin. Ahaggar, bought from *Ḫarratin* at Taṛhawhawt, manufactured in the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5833).**

by blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*ameywan*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talaḳ*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akrulal, abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *taḳḳît n ejenna*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Aghâ-en-ankâl* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 169).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



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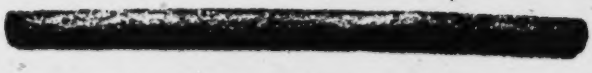

Fig. 200. Néolithic stone pestle. From Olufsen's collection. The Tuareg of Ahaggar say that these pestles were made by the ancient *Isebeten* people. Dimension: 0.81 m long, 0.045–0.050 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.46).

301
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Fig. 201. A stone amulet (*amerwan*) made by a Tuareg woman of a brown and white stone like that depicted. Ahaggar, the *Aghal-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the amulet: 0.025 m in diameter. (F.M. 176).

The pottery made in

323 [53] Ahaggar is plain and usually without any kind of ornamentation. But I have brought home from Abalessa a piece of a pot decorated with pricks in much the same way as are the prehistoric potsherds frequently found in caves in the Ahaggar Mountains. The pot in question was made by a woman from Abalessa. The pots to be burned are covered with wood, and small pieces of wood are also placed within them. Burning takes place in the evening when there is not too much wind, and the pots are removed next morning. After burning, the pots assume a red colour, but all pots that have [114] been used over the fire for some time become black. I have myself never attended the manufacturing [13] of pottery in Ahaggar, and readers are referred to a study by Lhote for more detailed information [437] (Lhote 1947b, p. 145–154). Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar acquire most of their earthen pots from sedentary agriculturists of their own country, but they also buy some pots of superior quality during trading expeditions to the Sudan (Fig. 192).

[462] In Ayr, pottery is manufactured by sedentary women of Agadez and probably also by women of the sedentary *Kel Ewey* of certain Ayr villages. No true pastoralists seem to make pots, which in Ayr are manufactured according to techniques related to those from Ahaggar (cf. Lhote 1950c, p. 507–512).

[text continues on p. 260]

567 have been freed as a group as a reward for some outstanding action. Nicolas mentions the present Tamjert fraction in the center of Tahoua who were freed after the battle of Izerwan where they had courageously resisted the Kel Ahaggar (1898). Many Iderfan go back to cultivation. They often live with the sedentary groups, with whom they join forces. They do small services for the latter, such as tending their flocks.

114 Nicolas likens them to the Harratines of the Kel Ahaggar. This
563 is only partially justified, for, although it is true that a few former
567 slaves work in the centers of cultivation of the Ahaggar, the majority of the Harratin are Negroes from the Tidikelt who freely came to get jobs among the Tuareg. Thus, we must not confuse the Harratin with the Iderfan.

567 As in the case of the Iklan-n-Egef, there are no Iderfan in the Ahaggar except in isolated cases.

564 The Enaden. -- The Enaden (singular, Enad) form the artisan class of the Tuareg. In the Sudan they are called /174/ garassa or gargassa, which is very probably of Sonrhaï origin.

[192] The word Enadan probably comes from enad, meaning "the other," extended to mean "those we don't talk about." (1) This is

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

because the Enaden form a closed caste, scorned and cursed by the Tuareg whose repulsion for manual labor is well known.

463 Their role is to manufacture anything the Tuareg may have need
564 of: weapons, wooden table utensils, tent pegs, mehari saddles, and harnessing articles.

In addition, they also willingly engage in the business of barber-
[757 surgeon, and with the little instruments they make they adroitly do
752] bloodletting, cupping, scarification, and other little operations of the same order, including tooth extraction. They are remunerated
[465] for their work when they work for tribes, or, if they are attached to a master, he has them entirely at his disposal.

564 We must acknowledge that the
[153] Enaden often have very open minds and are gifted with an intelligence higher than the average of the ma-
564 jority of the Tuareg. That is why
644 they have sometimes filled trusted posts with the principal chiefs, who have used them as emissaries or interpreters, indeed even as
[152] counselors.

Thus, at the time of the Hourst mission in 1896, Madidou, amenokal of the Ioullimmiden, officially delegated one of them to Gao to deal with the French officer.

564 The Enaden live either in camp
361 groups or in isolated tents or even individually; they are attached to a chief or a tribe.

Although they are foreign to
564 the Tuareg race, they still enter into the components of the great family of veiled men, for the lives /176/ of the two groups are often intermingled. They speak Tamashek,
[198] more specifically a special dialect, tenet, which they alone understand and which is a bit secret in nature. This dialect is unknown in the Ahaggar.

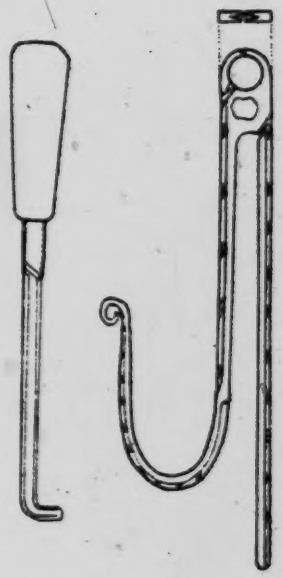

Fig. 17. Forceps for extracting teeth and instrument used for laying bare the roots.

[173] Legend attributes to them a common ancestor named Tamamenet, and all of their fractions are supposed to have originated in Adrar des Iforas. Their true origin is as obscure as
[174] can be; we are apt to say that they are descendants of the Jews who formerly lived at the Touat, in the Tamentit oasis, from which they

755 When a bad genie is supposed to inhabit a person's body, people gather together and make a frightful uproar around him, accompanied by the tom-tom. The object of this is to put him in a trance so that the genie finally becomes frightened and decides to go away. [233] They use the same method for camels who are sometimes stricken with nervous difficulties.

A few years ago, a noble Ahaggar woman was subject to epileptic seizures. She had hallucinations and said she was possessed by an evil genie which she saw and felt in her. And so, each time the seizure occured, the people of her camp engaged in their /262/ habitual demonstrations. One day she got it into her head to get rid of her guest and slit her throat to allow him to leave. She wounded herself so badly that her life was in great danger for a long time afterwards. Scarcely had she recovered, however, when she had another attack and slit her throat a second time.

759 The surgery of the Kel Ahaggar is as elementary as their 752 medicine. First let us say that there are no surgeons among them, no more than there are persons known for their medical knowledge. Medicine and surgery are everybody's business; the knowledge that they possess is everybody's domain, and each Tuareg is able to care for himself or for the people in his camp. For surgical operations, nevertheless, the Enaden are called upon by preference, 752 since they are generally more adroit than the others. They usually 413 have small instruments that they make themselves -- forceps, instruments for baring the neck of teeth, scarificator, cupping glasses, tonsil cutters, etc. -- and with which they operate quite skillfully.

They have been very aptly compared to our barber-surgeons of days gone by. (1)

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1. Dr. Foley, Moeurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar /Mores and Medicine among the Ahaggar Tuareg/, p. 85.

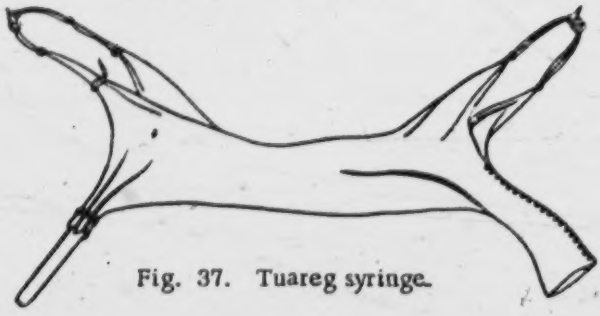

Fig. 37. Tuareg syringe.

752 The warlike and eventful life of the Tuareg exposes them to
[278] many wounds or accidents. They care for war wounds by sprinkling the wound with sugar or smearing it with plasters of vegetable origin, chopped leaves of the Zizyptus lotus, or ground resin of the Balsamodron africanum. Sometimes they pour butter on it, and if the wound is infected they apply plasters of butter and ashes of aferegak (Chrozophora brocchiana).

But we have been able to observe that the use of this ash was of no great efficacy, that the wounds took a very long time to heal, and that in many cases they preferred to call on a European doctor.

Fractures are cared for with absolutely the same methods as those used by our European doctors. The fractured member, after being set, is coated with a flour plaster, furnished with a little cushion of goat hair, and braced by means of splints made of wooden boards attached to a sheepskin and kept in place by leather cords.

/263/ We have never seen any amputation among the Tuareg, and we do not know whether or not they know how to do it.

757 The Tuareg also know the use of enemas. The apparatus is
413 made of a sheep's bone, one end of which has been rounded and
287

4: Benhazera--13 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The celebration begins about one o'clock in the afternoon. The men saddle their meharis and the camel-back games, "iloudjan foulli imnas" ⵍⵓⴷⵊⴰⵏ ⴼⵓⵍⵍⵉ ⵉⵎⵏⴰⵙ , will begin. The women gather, beat their tobol, sing and play the amz'ad to excite the riders. The latter, in groups of two or more, abandon themselves to a wild race on their meharis, which they throw into a gallop. 585 [541] [533]

During this time the bride, hidden at the home of her maternal aunt or a relative on the maternal side, must veil her eyes and not watch the games. If by mischance she should look at one of the riders, he would fall, and there would be an accident. [752]

As to the groom, he does not take part in the games. Mounted on a white mehari, "ebidedj" ⵉⴱⵉⴷⵊ , he is present beside one of his friends, but he must remain impassive, his face carefully veiled.

The games last until sunset.

At this point two "tolbas" and two friends of the groom go to find the bride's father, if she is still a virgin, or the woman herself if she has already been married, to ask him or her to name a representative. The groom is also asked to name his representative.

These two representatives meet with the tolbas and the friends, and the marriage is contracted. It is at this time that the bride price, /16/ "tagalt" ⵜⴰⴳⴰⵍⵜ , is set. For nobles it consists, as a rule, of seven camels; for imr'ad it may consist, depending on their means, of one camel or several sheep or goats. The groom pays part of the bride price: one or two camels if he is a noble; three or four sheep if he is an amr'id and if he is not rich; the rest he owes. The animals which have been paid have their throats cut and provide the wedding feast. Then the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran) is read to call divine blessing on the newlyweds. 583 585 [554] [782]

After the contract the women meet, the amz'ad is played for a moment, but the bed of the newlyweds must be prepared. 585

291 /100 cont. / The layers of leather may be a centimeter thick; the sewing of the leather with large stitches permits decoration. A long thong connects the leather buckles sewn on the sole and is tied over the instep. The elegant footwear is the "ighatimen."

293 A description of the Targui's apparel must include all of the objects he wears including weapons.

The "taralabt" is a leather wallet hung from the neck. An ingenious system of grooved closings keeps it from opening; it is always black and artistically decorated with yellow, green, or red stitching. Numerous inside pockets serve to hold the mirror, the "tazolt" (eye blacking, sometimes kept in a special case), the "chemma" (chewing tobacco), the "kelbou" (natron used to make tobacco milder), personal papers, and sometimes money.

Amulets called "tera" hang from the neck by a leather string; these are small leather rectangles containing either papers written by a taleb /public scribe/ or magic products protecting against sickness, the Kel es Souf /genii/, and misfortune in general. Each Targui is abundantly provided with tera, which make his life bearable.

293 /101/ The "iremdan" ("menguech" in Arabic) is an in-
●752 dispensable instrument; it consists of a cutting blade, an awl,
296 and small pincers (something like eyebrow tweezers) These blades pivot around an axis; a ring makes it possible for the iremdan to be hung, but it is often carried in a special case. This tool is in turn a surgeon's kit for pulling tahla thorns from the soles of the feet and a cobbler's tool for repairing nalls /sandals/. A Targui never undertakes a trip without his iremdan.

301 We have already mentioned the "abidj," or polished stone bracelet. The "tissak" is a small silver ring without artistic value. The key to the Tuareg padlock, which is often suspended on the chest, is a much prized ornament.

411 No Targui undertakes an important trip without his "takouba," the sword worn at the side which gives that

164 /110 cont. / The country then is sufficiently free of serious
114 diseases; one scourge, however, must be noted: malnutrition, described and well studied by the doctor, Captain Galan, in a publication of the Pasteur Institute of Algeria: Contribution à l'étude du problème alimentaire au Hoggar /Contribution to the Study of the Nutrition Problem in the Ahaggar/.

757 The Tuareg and the Negroes are beginning to like
278 European medication and are coming more frequently to the infirmary; they value above all aspirin, quinine (which is becoming a generic term for all pills), and penicillin. They remain faithful to their pharmacopoeia, chiefly based on plants, of which here are several examples:

Pulmonary diseases: strong pimento and rellachem /see Appendix, Flora/ are specifics; for pleurisy, one must melt camel fat with the ta'noust (fruit of the acacia), eat it as hot as possible, and constrict one's chest with a rope.

For the stomach, butter mixed with tahist.

In cases of diarrhea, takamezout is the sovereign remedy, taken in tea or eaten in leaf form. This takamezout has a great reputation among the Tuareg: it comprises, they say, 40 remedies, but will not heal broken legs.

Constipation is vanquished by adjardjar and taharadjelle. Headaches have no remedy, yet tea is /111/ to be taken in preference to anything else. The liver is treated with ihemhad taken in milk. The victim of ganglions at the groin or under the armpit may easily make them disappear by rubbing them lightly with saliva very early in the morning; another method, more efficient, consists of heating goat dung and placing it on the nails of the affected member.

[752] For an open wound, make a plaster with milk and powdered tassa.

Rheumatism is easily treated; a sort of well is dug, one meter in diameter and 1.50 meters deep, the patient gets in it, a cover is put on the well, and the patient is given an infusion of otaq to make him sleep. A spring called In-Ahadja exists which is supposed to be equally as good in treating rheumatism.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 95. A Tuareg feeding his riding camel with *afezz* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Many Tuareg feed their riding animals with stems of this perennial grass – partly to obtain a docile camel for riding, partly to change its fodder which consists largely of acacias and annual plants. The photograph is taken near Agadez at the *akasa* season. Annual plants grow between trees and bushes (*afagag*, *Acacia Raddiana*; *ibezgin*, *Salvadora persica*; *tadent*, *Boscia senegalensis*). Ayr, the *Inakaranen* tribe.

234 than those mentioned. Thus they can use any kind of receptacle for milk and milking, and they do
48 not clean their milk-bowls with urine as is normal among certain East African stock-breeders, and,
237 perhaps, also among certain of the Fulani living south of Ayr. The taste of urine is detested by the
262 Tuareg, who know this taste all too well as the water drawn from pools and wells is frequently flavoured
237 with urine and the excrement of domestic animals. Nor is camel urine used by Tuareg women for
302 hairdressing as is done among the Arabs, but it is said that it may have a medical value in curing
752 wounds. The custom of drinking blood has been mentioned above (p. 122 f.) and will be described later (p. 235).

*233 The Tuareg apparently have comparatively few superstitious usages in stock-breeding, which is
232 mainly to be considered rational. We have seen that stock-breeding is adapted to environment, and we have also mentioned that there are veterinary methods which doubtless have their origin in considerable knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of domestic animals. This knowledge forms one corner-stone of rational stock-breeding, and another is the very detailed knowledge of botany. In
*233 Ahaggar there are more than 600 different plant species for which the Tuareg have particular names,
824 though a few related species are sometimes known by one and the same name. Every Tuareg know about the ecological conditions of these plants, and he knows exactly their fodder value for domestic animals. He knows that certain plants form excellent fodder for all domestic animals, but he is also well aware that the different types of stock have different needs, so that certain plant species are valuable for camels, other species for other domestic animals.

231 The Tuareg are occasionally cruel to donkeys, and to dogs, but they take the greatest care of all other domestic animals to ensure their wellbeing and reproduction. Women bring acacia pods or tender annual plants to kids, lambs, and calves, and to sick animals which remain in the camp. On
44 long trading expeditions, when the camels have little time for grazing, some Tuareg will walk along
*233

302 For festive occasions, some women bear paintings on their faces, white or ocher dots above the bridge of the nose, under the [517] cheeks, and on their chins. These paintings have only an aesthetic nature, or so it seems.

304 751 All Tuareg, men and women, have two or three small linear scars on their foreheads and temples, and the indigo from their clothing which is often inlaid there gives them the appearance of tattoos. They are incisions made for medico-magic reasons when [855] the children are very young to protect them from headaches and convulsions.

[856] It also seems that this custom contributes to make them strong and making them walk very early. (1)

1. De Foucauld, Textes en prose /Prose Texts/, p. 64.

757 Medicine and surgery. -- If we now turn our attention to medicine and surgery among the Tuareg, we shall observe that their knowledge is not very extensive and has nothing singular about it.

● 753 In their minds the Tuareg classify sickness in two categories: those which are the result of an external action, visible and determinable, and those whose origin cannot be explained by any causal link. The former are treated with appropriate medical treatments, the latter by magic procedures.

757 The medical procedures, which belong rather to surgery, are clearly empirical. A few of them serve for a quantity of ills. They chiefly include bleeding and applying heat. In bleeding, the operator relieves congestion in the diseased part; in applying heat, he limits the pain, at the same time relieving congestion.

278 [577] The Ihaggaren have a whole stock of drugs which they borrowed from the Sudanese. These are roots, plants, and seeds which grow in the Sudan and in which the Tuareg have a great deal

278 of trust. Every time they take a caravan down south, they purchase
[439] many drugs, either for their personal use or to resell in their country or at In-Salah.

164 There are not many diseases in the Ahaggar. The country is relatively healthy because of its very dry climate /261/ and the bracing action of the sun, which at the same time destroys microbic germs. Moreover, this is very fortunate, for with the small amount of hygiene practiced by the Tuareg it would be impossible to fight disease. It may also be true that this absence of hygiene stems from the fact that the Tuareg have not had to see the necessity of it.

[165 The Ahaggar people die of old age or of war wounds. Of course,
731] there are sometimes epidemics capable of doing damage, but they are rare because of the isolation of the camps. The great distances which separate one from the other are a natural defense against mass contagions. These epidemics always come through the medium
[361] of the caravaneers or the people who return from the Sudan, where they have stayed among sedentary people. We may mention small-pox, very common in the Sudan, which sometimes works great ravages in the tribes. Typhus, spread by lice, may decimate a whole tribe in a few days, and it is not uncommon among the Tuareg. But these two diseases are the exception when they are reported in
[751] the Ahaggar. When a man returning from the Sudan is stricken with one of them, his case is reported by messengers long before his arrival, and the sick man is systematically isolated.

•753 The Tuareg under the circumstances recognize the state of contagion, but they do not see the causes of disease. According to
[771] them, it is caused by the action of bad genii. As good Moslems, they pretend not to believe in these genii, but in reality most of the talismans they wear on their persons are intended to protect them from these. To obtain them, they go to the marabouts or to men
[756] with a reputation for their knowledge of the occult sciences; these sorcerers are known as amekelléou.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525
Fulani M511



The most dangerous African cattle disease is the rinderpest. It is known to have entered Egypt in the year 1884 from the regions around the Black Sea, and about 1890, or somewhat later, it came to Eastern Africa and to the Sudan. Rinderpest is nowadays widely found in Africa but it is rare or unknown in Northern Tuareg countries. Rinderpest is apparently very rare in the Ayr Massif and it occurs mainly south of the Massif in savannah country. The Tuareg have no remedy against this disease. It is stated by St. Croix that the Fulani of Northern Nigeria once deliberately exposed their cattle to mild rinderpest to make them immune from this disease in its more severe and dangerous form. However, this method did not work and the Fulani gave up further experiments of this kind. It is also mentioned by St. Croix that the Fulani practise a kind of vaccination against cattle pleuro-pneumonia and that this is done as follows:— A piece of infected lung is put into milk for two to three days and thereupon placed into a small opening cut under the nose-skin of the animal. The method is claimed to be effective (St. Croix 1944, p. 24 f.). Vaccination methods are also known to some of the Southern Tuareg, e.g. the *Iwillemmeden*. These people vaccinate human beings against small-pox by inserting the pus of this disease into wounds cut with a knife (Aymard 1911, p. 108), and they also vaccinate their cattle against cattle pleuro-pneumonia ("peripneumonie bovine"). They do this in much the same way as described above for the Fulani:— An infected piece of lung is placed in sour milk or in the soil for a few days, and is thereupon inserted under the skin of the forehead. Nicolas describes the method as dangerous because the infection attacks the whole forehead and also the nose-bone (Nicolas 1950a, p. 133), but two veterinary surgeons who practised among the *Iwillemmeden* of Tawa told me that they considered this kind of vaccination effective. The method is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg of the Massif where this contagious lung-disease is unknown or very rare.

I have no great knowledge of the contagious diseases in the Tuareg groups I have studied, but such diseases seem to occur comparatively rarely, and there is no veterinary surgeon attached to the French administration of Northern Tuareg countries. There is one veterinary surgeon in Agadez, but his most important field of work lies outside of the mountain massif to the south.

Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr I have been told about two contagious diseases which, when they occur, may give rise to very heavy losses. One of these diseases is known to the Tuareg as *changa*. It attacks only cows, which die very quickly, but if cattle suffering from the disease are ritually killed their meat is nevertheless considered edible. One Tuareg told me that some years ago about thirty cattle of his camp died in one day from an attack of *changa*.

The other contagious disease I have recorded from Southern Ayr is called *tandert*. It attacks sheep and goats, and I collected the following notes about it:— The blood penetrates the animal's flesh which becomes quite red. If sheep or goats suffer from *tandert* and are ritually killed for eating, very great care must be taken in the preparation of the meat. It must be boiled until it contains no blood, and must not be eaten until it is cold and dry. It is said that if these precautions are not taken the people who eat meat from animals suffering from *tandert* will themselves become attacked by the disease, with the result that blood and pus may penetrate the skin at any part of the body. They say that a man who has eaten unboiled meat of an animal suffering from this disease with consequent infection is treated in the following way:— A species of ant more venomous than the normal small

232
233

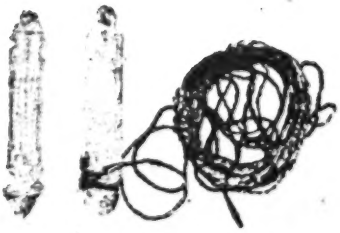

Fig. 92. Wooden splints (*tafasast*, pl. *tifesasin*) applied to broken legs of sheep and goats by means of a long thin cord of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimensions of wooden splints: about 0.12 m. (F.M. 282).

232 (2) Operation with a knife. Such operations are often very simple. Thus I have once seen sheep with swollen throats and ears which were scratched with a knife to let out some water-like pus, but I do not know the name of this disease. The knife is used for many different operations some of which have been mentioned above. It is also used for bleeding which plays a great part in Tuareg veterinary [257] practise. Bleeding is applied to humans and to domestic animals as a treatment for various diseases. [258] The Tuareg may bleed individuals and animals bitten by snakes or stung by scorpions, but bleeding is used for many different diseases, as the Tuareg believe that these can be removed away with bad blood which is considered their cause. Bleeding is practised with camels. Thus in summer camels are frequently bled because they get slow and tired owing to *azni* (*ahni*), that is congestion due to heat-apoplexy, and a she-camel will normally be bled two or three hours after it has brought forth a calf. I frequently attended the bleeding of camels among the Ayr Tuareg where the method is as follows:— The camel is forced to stand upright while its head is turned downwards by a man (or a woman) who grasps the head firmly at the upper lip with one hand and pulls at a rope fixed to the animal's lower jaw with the other. A rope is tied around the camel's neck close to its chest so that the neck vein can contain as much blood as possible. The neck vein in this way will swell with blood particularly close to the animal's head at a place known to the Tuareg as *abayoy*. A slice about two centimetres long is cut in this place with a small sharp knife, and immediately blood will flow from the neck vein in a thin but powerful squirt. Shortly after bleeding has started the rope tied around the animal's neck is loosened, but blood is allowed to flow for several minutes, and I believe that at least two or three litres of blood is tapped. When the operation is to end the animal's head is raised, the skin around the wound is pressed together with two fingers, and bleeding immediately ceases. Once blood has started to flow from the camel it does not protest at the operation which is illustrated by the photograph Fig. 93. When a camel has been bled it will normally rest for a few hours before it starts eating again. When Tuareg get lost in the desert and lack water, they bleed their camels and

172 The so-called *Tomb of Ti-n-Hinan*, an enormous fort at Abalessa in Ahaggar dating back to the 4th century A.D., has dry walls (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 88 ff.; Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 95).

*342 Any solid house of the above mentioned types is known to the Tuareg as *tarahant* (Ahaggar) or
[173] *tarajant* (Ayr). Pastoral Tuareg do not like to live in houses, and some of them believe that they may contract an illness if they stay too long in a house (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 221).

*342 Capot-Rey thinks that mud houses with terraces were introduced into the Sudan with the Arabs
174 (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 231 f.), while Engeström and Le Moal hold them to be pre-Islamic (Engeström 1959, p.64–69; Le Moal 1960, p. 202). I believe that houses built of sun-dried bricks are post-Islamic in Tuareg countries. This agrees with Nicolas' statement that there are two Hausa words which are generally used for sun-dried bricks, and both words are derived from Arabic (Nicolas 1938, p. 67). Furthermore, houses constructed in this way are not very common in the Southern Sahara except in towns and cities. In Ahaggar there were apparently no houses built of sun-dried bricks until the beginning of the French occupation when the immigration of Tidikelt Arabs increased.

Houses built of balls of mud piled upon each other before sun-drying are no doubt pre-Islamic (cf. Nicolas 1938, p. 67), and we know that this is also true of houses built of stones and mud. They are still widely found in the Sahara and constituted an important dwelling type in ancient towns and cities including Ghana. Capot-Rey thinks that houses built predominantly of stone were introduced to the Sahara and the Sudan by Berber tribes of the north, and that these houses have to some extent displaced the straw-huts of the Negroes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 233). A connection between the stone houses of the Sahara and the immigration of Berbers is also claimed by Rodd, who thinks that the oldest type of solid houses in Ayr (the "A-type" according to Rodd's division) was built of stone and came to Ayr with the *Itésen* Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 244 ff.). I myself was frequently told by Tuareg of Ayr that originally there was a very close association between the *Itésen* Tuareg and stone houses, and various ruins of houses built of stone or predominantly of stone are ascribed to the *Itésen*. Ruins
[173] at Tegidda-n-tagayt of small rectangular houses and a ruin at the same place of a large fort or walled enclosure, measuring about 35 × 35 metres, are said by modern Tuareg to derive from the ancient *Itésen* Tuareg who according to native tradition were among the early Tuareg immigrants (cf. p. 412).

*342 It seems that houses built predominantly of stone are of very great age in the northern parts of the
172 Sahara, including Tasilé-n-Ajjer. At Êherir, situated in the latter mountain massif, there are house-ruins with walls of stones kept together by a thin layer of clay or similar material. It has been suggested that these constructions may reach back to antiquity and be due to Roman influence (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 87).

*342 Though solid houses built of stone seem to be very ancient in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, it would seem that
172 all types of solid houses were introduced into Ahaggar in late pre-Islamic times. For the oldest houses
174 ruins of Ahaggar, apart from the *Tomb of Ti-n-Hinan*, show walls of stones united with mud at Silef, and seem to derive from Arab marabuts who lived there during the reign of the *Imenan* (cf. p. 393).

*342 There are also house-ruins, probably of the same age, at Tit (Lhote 1955a, p. 87, 286). Apart from these
174 ruins the Tuareg of Ahaggar say there were no solid houses in Ahaggar until about a hundred years

564 The Tuareg, who heartily scorn them because of their obscure origin and servile profession, recognize their good qualities and are happy to profit from them. They also fear them a good deal, for [754] they credit them with supernatural powers of sorcery and magic. Possessors of fire, mistreating the earth and the minerals by beating them, they are placed in a world apart, inhabited by the genii with whom they are likely to enter into relations. Although the Moslem [751] marabouts willingly sell amulets, which the Tuareg prize, the latter do not hesitate, in case of need, to ask the Enaden for amulets in preference.

The Enaden are still more despised because they have no moral principles and willingly serve as spies and traitors; they spy on the Iklan and the wives of their masters and also act as go-between for [837] lovers. Like the jesters in our Middle Ages, they have the right to go anywhere, including among the women. Everyone finds this natural, for this is a right which is all but acknowledged.

Sometimes they take part in raids, and they are reputed to fight [726] bravely, although no one wants to stay beside them during combat, since they seem to possess talismans so powerful that javelins directed toward them deviate /175/ from their route and are apt to strike those [626] nearby. The Tuareg never kill an Enad, for this brings misfortune and the Enad might take revenge from beyond the tomb.

In Sudanese tribes they are called ag'gou (plural, ag'gouten) and 184 sometimes play the part of jesters (griot). Some are musicians and 564 storytellers. This role is not widespread, but it happens that the amenokal of the Tenguéréguif, Chéboun, has several griots attached to his person. They avenge themselves on people who are not [626] generous enough to them by making satirical songs against them to which the Tuareg are often very sensitive.

564 They are willing to do anything to earn a bit of money, which 436 they spend as fast as they get it. A blacksmith always has his debts, 454 but people give him credit for they know that he will be shrewd enough to repay them one day.

302 The women also wear their hair braided in a number of plaits which hang beside the temples. They coif each other, and since the job requires many hours, it is done only once or twice a month. [412] They begin by untangling the hair by means of a small comb, at the same time filling the hair with sand and wood ashes. Next they [515] proceed to delouse it, for each Tuareg head of hair generally harbors a whole little world of insects. Then the hairdresser separates the hair into bunches, using a small knife, soaks it with water and butter, and braids it, either in large braids so that there are three or four hanging on each side, or in many small braids. [751] They smear their hair with butter for no other reason than to protect it against the sun and especially against the dry air which makes it brittle.

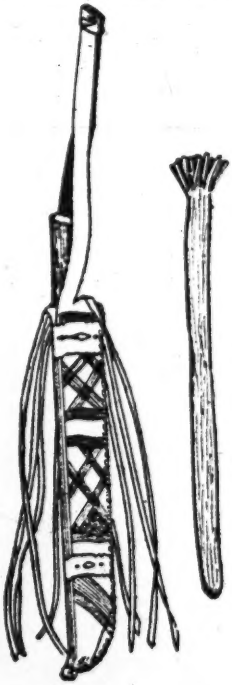

Fig. 35. Tooth brush of irak wood with its leather case.

The men let their beards grow, but they almost always shave their mustaches or cut them very short so /259/ that they do not get in the way under the veils which cover the lower part of their faces.

Men and women shave the pubis.

[754] After dressing the hair or shaving, the Tuareg always bury their hair or down, for fear that people who wish them harm might get hold of them and take them to some sorcerer who could use them to make fearful evil spells.

773 had asked God to escape a raid which was coming to pillage her
778 camp. After the raid had passed, however, God kept the women
782 in the state of stone in spite of their entreaties, and it was so that life might be returned to them that the Tuareg came to leave different objects every time they passed near the tomb. The worship
[174] of the Tibaradines is certainly a trace of pre-Islamic and perhaps Neolithic beliefs which must have been deformed through the centuries. One of the statuettes represents a cow and is clearly related to the one found at Silet.

771 The remains of totemism are still affirmed by food taboos.
262 The nobles refuse to eat fish or bird flesh, as well as birds' eggs; only the ostrich escapes this interdiction. On the other hand, a
[825 legend even reports that the uran, or great sand lizard, is the
773] maternal uncle of all the Tuareg.

Some trees are also the object of worship. The Maerua
824 crassifolia which the Tuareg call agar is supposed to be inhabited by a genie which they chase away by striking the tree with stones every time they want to get in its shade. As we have already pointed out, repudiated women who do not wish to stay in the prescribed retirement as imposed by custom and want to take up the state of free living, rely on the tree to take over this retirement which bothers them so much.

●754 Sorcery. -- Divination. -- Besides these more or less religious beliefs the Tuareg practice sorcery, divination, and the interpretation of dreams.

Some men, often blacksmiths, are known as sorcerors and make potions intended to cast spells; these are generally made of animal skins /309/ and are given to people who wish to cast a spell
[825] on someone, with the intention of taking him by surprise. The uran lizard plays a large part in the making of these sorceries.

787 Divination, practiced especially by women, is done in several ways and always aims to ask news of absent ones.

We have already mentioned divination through tombs. There is also what the Tuareg call tachilet (the viper). It is done either

There are also lucky or unlucky days. The lucky days, 777
those which are recommended for starting on a journey, are [484]
Friday after prayer, Saturday morning, and Monday. /63/
For the lucky day of the month one first counts 2 from the
index finger and, coming back to the index finger, 7, 12,
17, 22, 27.

The unlucky days are Sunday and Wednesday.

The Tuareg also believe in the evil eye, "tahott." 754

An eclipse is the sun's raid on the moon, and vice versa. 821

Finally, there is a very curious custom of which Duveyrier 769
has spoken, which is that of consulting old graves. Usually 787
it is the women who go to consult them. They dress well
and must avoid having on themselves anything of iron or steel,
even a needle. They lie down near the grave, and the
"zabbar" (ogre) inhabiting the grave appears to them in the
form of a giant with eyes as large as a camel's, and gives
them the answers they want. They are consulted especially
in order to get news of absent ones, people gone on a raid
or in a caravan, from whom there has been no news.

## Chapter IX

### Stock Raising. Flocks

Camels, sheep, and goats constitute the chief resource 233
of the Tuareg, as of all nomads. Camels especially are the
object of all their care, since these give them the greatest
service. They rely greatly on camels, ewes, and goats be- [234]
cause of the milk, of which they drink a great deal, and melted
butter, "oudi," which they make.

They use all the hides: those of camels for sandals, 237
containers for butter, watering troughs, etc.; those of sheep 281
or goats for waterskins and the manufacture of tents, leather
clothes, etc. /64/

Many legends circulate about blacksmiths. They say that 326
because they work with iron and fire, they will go into the fire 565
of hell. They are scorned, first because they devote themselves
to a manual craft, a disgrace in the eyes of a Tuareg, and
secondly because it is said that they are of Negro origin. It is
also claimed that they were pagans and that their conversion
to Islamism is not sincere. They are also taken for sorcerers. [754]
The sheik Ben Djellas (see the Appendix /not translated/) says
of them: "Blacksmiths hate God and his Prophet, and they
betray God and his Prophet." Their ancestor was called
Tamamenet.

The blacksmith does not belong to any tribe. He goes
where he pleases, wherever he finds work. Sometimes he goes
to war, and he is said to fight well, but a noble Tuareg will not
cross swords with him.

In the Ahaggar a blacksmith is called "mr'allem," variation 326
of the Arab "maalem." However, there is a word in Tamashek [192]
for him, "inedh," plural "inedhane," but it is not used. /73/

At Tamanrasset I was shown many ancient graves (of the [764]
"chouchat" shape) which, it seems, were the burial places of
a tribe of blacksmiths said to have been massacred and died of
starvation a very long time ago.

The gardens of the Ahaggar "ar'erems" are worked by the 241
Harratine of the Touat and the Tidilkelt, who bring their tools 312
with them. It is they also who dig the "foggaras," or covered 565
wells, and all the tools that they use come from the Saharan Oases.

## Chapter XII

### Agriculture. Ar'erems

While in all of the Ahnet no trace of agriculture is to be 241
found, however small, because of the scarcity of wells, whose 361
312

757 /111 cont./ Jackal meat, eaten with decoctions of
278 rellachem for three days, is the best remedy for gonorrhea; cloves will aid in the healing.

Jackal meat is also used to cure syphilis, but in addition in the morning one must drink milk in which colocynth has been soaked; while this milk is being drunk, skewers of fat to be eaten afterward are cooked; clear soup is drunk during the entire day. After three days small, white granulations are seen in the stools, indicating the success of the treatment.

Smallpox formerly was treated in a sufficiently efficacious manner by digging a hole in the sand and heating it as if to make méchoui /roasted sheep/, although not so hot; the patient then lay in the hole and was covered with sand. After that there was nothing to do but wait.

The treatment for measles requires the patient to be kept warm, while eating hare, gazelle, or wild sheep meat.

Toothaches cannot last when treated as follows: fill the mouth with onion seeds, ouzouaz, wheat, and salt; keep these medicaments in the closed mouth for half an hour. When adolescents break out in pimples, which disfigure them, it is essential that /112/ onion seeds be burned and the smoke inhaled, which, it is said, makes all the worms leave immediately. Around a boil, apply a paste made of milk and powdered tanzet (a kind of Sudanese bean).

## Magic Rites

789 This is a very difficult subject to treat, for the secrets
754 are jealously guarded by those who possess them and want to profit from them, or are carefully hidden by those who know them in a disinterested fashion but who lack confidence in their questioner or fear reprisals.

The Ahaggar, situated at the frontiers of Islam and the black world, is without doubt impregnated with magic customs; the superficial Islamism of the population, which retains an

789
754 /112 cont. / underlying belief in genii, often not avowed but present, lends itself admirably to secret magic rites.

754 However, it seems that the Tuareg, although very superstitious, do not use maleficent spells, a specialty of the women of the Tidikelt, the Ajjers, and the Sudan. The most famous of the evil spells is the "borbor," chiefly the work of the Negresses.

The borbor acts in two ways: either it tends to poison an individual that one wants out of the way, or it serves simply to diminish the forces of someone one wants revenge against or that one wants to attract (in the last case, it acts something like a love potion). In any case the borbor produces its effects only over a long period of time; it is personal and is prepared for a specific purpose; to be effective, it must be administered cunningly.

It appears to be impossible to obtain an exact recipe for borbor. Here are the chief ingredients that enter into its composition; the proportioning is determined by a specialist.

The basic ingredient seems to be the brain of someone recently dead; it must be sought at night in a cemetery. The story is told of a woman who, having wanted to steal the brain of a recently deceased marabout, was found dead, struck down /113/ by the power of the defunct, and clutching in her clenched hand scraps of her theft.

Once obtained, the excipient is kept in a vase so that the elements effective for a given individual may be added. The list of these is long; let us mention all the external secretions of the intended victim: sweat, preferably from under the armpit; tears; earwax; urine; blood (preferably menstrual); semen. Also collected are hair, nail clippings, dirt from the arms and nails, soil walked on with the bare feet. All or part of these ingredients are added to the excipient, mixed, then cooked. This diabolic cooking is done at night by two initiated women, entirely nude. After a certain time, the pot rises in the air and revolves in the closed room; the

754 /113 cont./ women chase it, beating the air with scarves and reciting secret words. They act as if they were madwomen.

The borbor is incorporated into couscous, which, it is said, may be turned with a hand taken from a dead person, but I have had few confirmations of that practice. The borbor is administered by throwing it in the path the victim should take, if it is impossible to make him eat it.

Whether intended as philter or poison, borbor differs very little in its composition; only the quantities must differ.

When a woman wishes the death of a rival, she has another process at her disposition. Having managed to obtain some menstrual blood of the enemy, she goes to a taleb /public scribe/ who specializes in magic; the latter wraps the blood in a paper or rag on which he writes sacred words; he then throws the package into a permanent séguia /irrigation canal/. As long as the seguia flows, the blood of the rival will flow, and she will die of this hemorrhage.

There is an antidote for borbor called "bottal," a blackish substance that one throws on embers and whose emanations counteract the effects of borbor.

824 754 Two plants must be mentioned here which, without being fatal, cause momentary insanity, according to the Tuareg: first, "afeleleh" ("bettina" in Arabic), black henbane, (the antidote consists of gulping down camel meat or, better, /114/ camel fat); second, "bourzig," taken by women who want to gain weight, but which taken in strong doses induces temporary madness during which the victim spouts out an endless succession of words which she does not remember later.

754 Magic operations are most varied, and everyone can expect each day to be the victim of them. The Negroes are haunted by this fear; the Tuareg do not seem to be worried [751] by these magic maneuvers. However, everyone wears "tera," protective charms issued by the taleb; thus the Moslem religion, more or less deformed, fights against magic or, sometimes, collaborates with it.

754 /114 cont./ Belief in the evil eye is shared by the Negroes and the Tuareg: certain persons may by their words cause the worst calamities, induce illness, provoke accidents, make animals die. Happily, there are other persons who have the opposite power and who, by approaching a sleeper and placing a hand near his face, give him strength and luck for the day.

[777 83] In general women are carriers of bad luck in the morning; however, if an intimate lets her sex be glimpsed before a morning departure, luck will smile on the hunter.

Of one who has the evil eye, it is said in Tamashek; "illé tahot."

[777 776] Who gives that good or bad luck carried by an individual and which may sometimes emanate from him? The reply to this question is: God, for, after all, these people are Moslems; but each one is persuaded that the genii, the Kel es Souf, as the Tuareg say, are agents of this suprahuman life. The Kel es Souf constitute a people of spirits invisible during the day, but who may appear to humans at night in the most varied forms. At nightfall comes the most favorable moment for the exploits of the Kel es Souf. All manifestations of natural forces are attributed to these genii: whirlwinds, echoes, floods of the wadi, cave-ins, a spontaneous fire in the dry grass. On the contrary, the mirage ("eillel") is not the work of the Kel es Souf.

/115/ He who hears or sees one of these genii is always troubled; he may become ill and even insane, for, if there are indifferent Kel es Souf (very few, however), there are no good ones. It is because of this that one must know how to protect oneself against them; this is ordinarily done by invoking God, by carrying talismans, and by always having an iron object with oneself.

The Kel es Souf like certain places and reside there in preference to others: deep ravines, in which they shower atones on the unfortunate humans who venture there, and caves, in

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826 get more sexual satisfaction from intercourse with them. "A fat woman is like a woman who has never
832 known a man", they say. Some women are steatopygous though never to the same extent as women
142 among the Bushmen and the Hottentot. Very comprehensive studies of Tuareg physical anthropology
114 are lacking. Readers are referred to the chapter written by Lhote who has also published a brief bibliography of studies on this subject (Lhote 1955a, p. 158-170, 433), and to the recent and valuable publication by Briggs (Briggs 1958, p. 163 ff., 183 ff.).

291 The custom of Tuareg face veiling has attracted the curiosity of many scholars and travellers. Much has been written about the fact that Tuareg men wear a veil (*tagulmust* in Ahaggar, *tagulmust* in Ayr) while their women are unveiled in contrast to Arab custom. There have been given various explanations of the origin of the custom of Tuareg face veiling. Most authors refer it to hygienic conditions: the veil protects the face from sand and dust, and it prevents mouth, nose, and throat from drying up in hot weather. The fact is that the veil has the latter function, and Arab bedouins of the Sahara will also frequently veil their faces during journeys in the hot season. But the hygienic explanation is definitely not the reason why the Tuareg also veil themselves in many situations where face veiling is unpractical and unpleasant. Another explanation of the custom of face veiling is that the veil may perhaps have certain religious or magic functions. This explanation is apparently also insufficient. A
[254] few Tuareg have claimed that the veil may yield protection from persons having an "evil eye" or an
291 "evil mouth" - beliefs known in Ahaggar as *tehof*, in Ayr as *tugarchet*. But as I have stated elsewhere
576 (Nicolaisen 1957a, p. 112; 1961, p. 114) the proper function of face veiling seems to be a social one.
[609] Many Tuareg will leave their face uncovered in family camps or on journeys, but they will always
[604] cover mouth, nose, and brow in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) and in the presence of their parents-in-law (particularly their mothers-in-law). Towards such persons it is also considered very indecent to show one's legs. It has been overlooked by most authors that Tuareg women wear a head-cloth (*ékerhey* in Ahaggar, *adalil* in Ayr), which is similar to the veil worn by men in form and shape. The headcloth and the veil are properly made from Sudanese indigo cotton, and both the veil and the headcloth are therefore also known as *alechchu*. It is true that Tuareg women do not veil their face by means of this headcloth in the same way as do the men. But in the presence
[609] of foreigners (particularly foreign men) and towards fathers-in-law the women will draw their head-
[604] cloth over their mouth (cf. Fig. 297a). The man's veil and the woman's headcloth have identical social functions which is also proved by the fact that young men and women adopt veil or headcloth at initiation (Ahaggar), or at marriage (Ayr). Both the veil and the headcloth are worn by people of various black-skinned castes of Tuareg country but the custom of face veiling seems to be more strictly observed among the true Tuareg.

181 The custom of face veiling is one characteristic of all Tuareg. Another quality peculiar to all Tuareg, and particularly to those of the noble class, is their "snobbishness" as it is frequently called by many Frenchmen living at Tamanrasset and Agadez. There are a great many things a Tuareg cannot do, and there are many situations in which he will have to act in a very special way if he is to be regarded as a man worthy of respect and prestige. Tuareg attitudes to etiquette are not easily described in words. Gait, gestures, and postures are all intended to express qualities of elegance, arrogance, refinement, and strength. Vanity with regard to dress and ornaments is another characteristic of all true Tuareg.

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The Ayr Tuareg say that the blacksmiths do not have *ténet* words for everything, but always use 564
Tuareg words for certain objects and animals. It is in fact possible that the *ténet* language has been 198
created by the blacksmiths to be used as a secret language. This explanation agrees excellently with
the social position of blacksmiths. They make weapons, ornaments, household implements, and the 564
like for the Tuareg. The Tuareg therefore consider them indispensable, and admire them for their
skill. But this is only one aspect of the Tuareg attitude towards blacksmiths who are also looked down [578]
upon because of their obscure origin and their predominantly negroid appearance. Furthermore,
blacksmiths are frequently wearisome to the Tuareg. They claim gifts from the Tuareg on every [431]
possible occasion, and if they are given nothing when they ask it is believed that they can do severe
harm to the persons from whom a gift is claimed. For the blacksmiths possess a mystic power known 564
to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama* or *tezma*. This mystic power has nothing to do with black magic. It comes 754
into action automatically without any physical performance by the blacksmith if his demand is ignored.
The *ettama* power is dangerous to children and to animals but not so much to adults. Children
frequently fall ill with a swollen belly, while the effect on domestic animals is more severe and often
causes their death. Though blacksmiths do not perform any physical act to put their mystic power
into operation, they are nevertheless held responsible for damage ascribed to it by the Tuareg. This
can be illustrated by the following example from Southern Ayr: — An Ayr Tuareg was on his way
from Damergu to Ayr with a caravan of camels loaded with millet. One evening at dusk, when he was
just about to lead his camels out for grazing at night, a blacksmith came to him to ask for a gift of
millet. The Tuareg said that the blacksmith had better wait until next morning as it was already
getting dark. The blacksmith went away, and shortly after his departure one of the Tuareg's camels
fell ill and died. The Tuareg was convinced that the death of his camel was due to the blacksmith's
*ettama* power, and therefore wanted revenge. He mounted a camel, pursued the blacksmith and killed
him with an axe. This event happened only a few years ago. It illustrates how firmly many Tuareg
believe in the evil *ettama* power of blacksmiths. In fact many Tuareg openly declare that they dislike 564
and fear all blacksmiths. They do not like to associate with them except on festive occasions when [578]
blacksmiths frequently act as singers and musicians. The Tuareg never intermarry with people of the
blacksmith caste, and even people of other negroid castes are reluctant to intermarry with blacksmiths.
In Ahaggar a marriage may be contracted between blacksmiths and *Ḥarratin*, and in Ayr there are
said to be a few marriages between blacksmiths and people of other negroid classes or castes. But on
the whole the caste of blacksmiths (*Inɛden*) can be characterized as endogamous. This is quite natural [754]
in view of the fact that blacksmiths possess the evil mystic power (*ettama*, or *tezma*), which I have
described in more detail elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1961, pp. 134 f., 146).

Between fair-skinned, true Tuareg and other black-skinned castes but that of the blacksmiths, 563
marriages are contracted now and then, and it seems as if mixed marriages of this type are becoming 582
more and more numerous. In Ahaggar there are some marriages between Tuareg and women belonging
to the castes of slaves (*Iklan*) or sedentary agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) and there are even
marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg women and negroid men though such marriages are less
frequent. Mixed marriages are even more frequent in Ayr. The offspring of such unions are known in 563.
Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer as *Iburelliten* (*Aburelli*). This word is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but

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human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies. However, this plant does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, p. 192). One plant (*itheréggelé*) (*Artemisia judaica*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten venomous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for domestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe they have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings (Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be understood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil mouth (*tehoj* in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as *ettama* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding camels in Ayr:— Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order that their riding animal may not stumble.

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411 p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *ifezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals – there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as 524 though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Ineslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Koran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely 171 wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing 114 poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these 172 people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

224 Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. To- 184 day true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Tamgak* or *Imedderaren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Rali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting 31 that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals withing two hunting territories where barbary sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting 224 825 that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

| Age | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . . | *awhim* | *tawhimt* |
| Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . . | *ahyar* | *tahyart* |
| Fully grown animal . . . . . | *ahenkod* | *tahenkot* |

224 Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—

754 (1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's 777 nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

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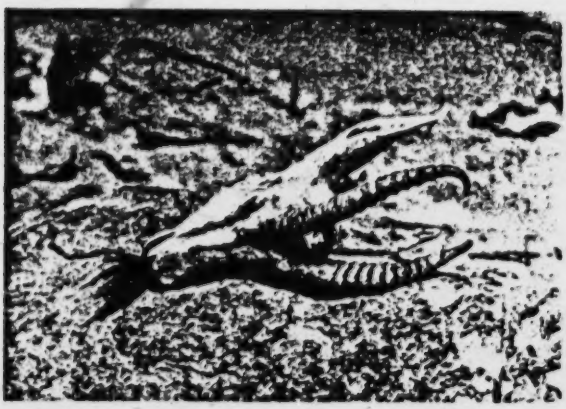

Fig. 122. Gazelle's head with the black tail-tuft inserted into one of the nostrils as a remedy against the mystic evil power called *ettama* (*tezma*). Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

This custom is believed to afford protection against the mystical power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama*, or *tezma* – an evil power possessed by certain Tuareg and by all blacksmiths (cf. p. 21). A person who possesses this evil power may, if he does not receive part of the booty, spoil the hunter's luck when seeing the killed gazelle. The tail-tuft put into the animal's nostril eliminates this risk.

(2) When a hunter returns to his camp with booty he should not show the killed game to other people, and if asked about the results of his hunting trip he should deny that he has had any luck. This custom is also explained as being a protection against the evil power *ettama* (*tezma*) just mentioned.

(3) When a man leaves his camp for a hunting trip he must not talk about it, nor must it be mentioned by other people. This belief has its root in the conception of the "evil mouth" (the "evil eye") known in Ayr as *tugarchet*, in Ahaggar as *tehoj*.

(4) If a hunter has given meat from his killed game to another man, the latter should not praise it. This belief is due to the belief in the "evil mouth" – the belief that a man's luck can be spoiled by praise.

224 777 (5) In a *Dag Rali* camp I have noticed that a piece of bone of a barbary sheep was conserved in a skin bag. I was told that this was done in order that the hunter might have good luck in his future hunting of barbary sheep.

[P28] (6) Certain omens bring good luck in hunting as well as in other projects, e.g., to walk between two black ravens (Ayr), or to see two black ravens (Ahaggar); to see a jackal; to see the hawk called *ahullam*; to see three gazelles.

224 787 (7) The Tuareg have various methods of divination some of which are frequently used in connection with hunting. The hunter will frequently enquire into the result of a planned hunting trip by means of a method known in Ahaggar as *igehan*, in Ayr as *igazan*. In brief the method is practised as follows:— The diviner presses his thumb or his forefinger quickly into the sand to make two rows of holes close to each other. He does not know ahead how many holes he has made in the two rows. He counts

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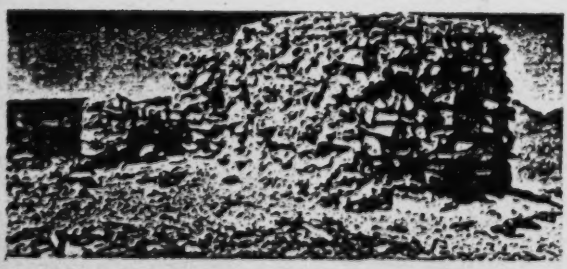
them. They are lined and covered with mats as in Ahaggar, and though they may be used for the 251
storage of wild seeds they are mainly used for grown cereals and are generally found in or close to 343
gardens. Grain silos built of stones and mud – the *tarassana* type of Ahaggar – are said to occur among the *Kel Ewey* but I have never seen such storerooms in their villages, nor have I met the typical African storeroom built of straw and resting upon poles until south of the Massif in Damergu where they are used by shifting cultivators. Large earthenware containers shaped like cooking pots are used [415] to store vegetable products (cereals) in certain villages, particularly at Iferwan. Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr have the underground storerooms for the preservation of surplus grain and other vegetable products. Cereals to be consumed in the camps (notably millet) are kept in large skin-bags resting [415] upon poles that they may not be damaged by white ants. The Ahaggar Tuareg also preserve cereals in their tents in skin-bags.

Irrigation agriculture is a strenuous task, but it is less influenced by climatic conditions than all 241
other occupations practised in the Sahara. The farmers are not exposed to the same disasters of drought [461] periods as are pastoral Tuareg in the north, though it is said that rain is a direct blessing also to irrigated crops. But cultivated plants are exposed to certain dangers, e.g., locusts, and crops do not always thrive as they should. Bad luck in agricultural activities may in the opinion of the farmers be due to [272] some mystical power or other. It may arise from incorrect treatment of cereals and dates so that they [278] lose their *albaraka*. Menstruating women, as mentioned above, are dangerous to vegetable food, and [841] this is also true of the fire, for which reason one should never throw date kernels into the flames. The [754] farmers also fear that their crops may suffer damage from the attack of the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and particularly from the attack of the malignant force attached to the "evil eye" or the "evil mouth". To protect [237] their crops the farmers frequently use amulets such as broken pots and skulls of domestic animals (notably of donkeys), which are considered an effective means against the "evil eye" and the "evil mouth" (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 133 f., 160).



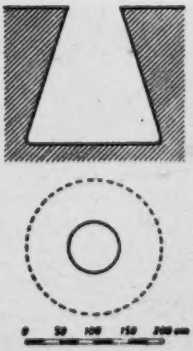



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Fig. 145. Grain silos of the *tarassana* type built of stones and mud. Ahaggar, Abalessa.
Fig. 146. Cross section of a subterranean storeroom for cereals, and the like (*ḏgrad*). Dimensions according to Foucauld: 2.00 m–2.50 m deep, 2.00 m in diameter at the bottom, 0.75 m in diameter at the surface (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 459 f.).

[text continues on p. 209]

755 When a bad genie is supposed to inhabit a person's body, people gather together and make a frightful uproar around him, accompanied by the tom-tom. The object of this is to put him in a trance so that the genie finally becomes frightened and decides to go away. [233] They use the same method for camels who are sometimes stricken with nervous difficulties.

A few years ago, a noble Ahaggar woman was subject to epileptic seizures. She had hallucinations and said she was possessed by an evil genie which she saw and felt in her. And so, each time the seizure occured, the people of her camp engaged in their /262/ habitual demonstrations. One day she got it into her head to get rid of her guest and slit her throat to allow him to leave. She wounded herself so badly that her life was in great danger for a long time afterwards. Scarcely had she recovered, however, when she had another attack and slit her throat a second time.

759 752 The surgery of the Kel Ahaggar is as elementary as their medicine. First let us say that there are no surgeons among them, no more than there are persons known for their medical knowledge. Medicine and surgery are everybody's business; the knowledge that they possess is everybody's domain, and each Tuareg is able to care for himself or for the people in his camp. For surgical operations, nevertheless, the Enaden are called upon by preference, 752 since they are generally more adroit than the others. They usually 413 have small instruments that they make themselves -- forceps, instruments for baring the neck of teeth, scarificator, cupping glasses, tonsil cutters, etc. -- and with which they operate quite skillfully.

They have been very aptly compared to our barber-surgeons of days gone by. (1)

1777 Some Tuareg scrupulously practice fasting, and the different
785 Moslem holidays are now followed punctually. But along with that
795 they keep the ahal, monogamy, and matriarchy.

774 Pagan survivals. -- Ten centuries of Islamism have not completely rid the Tuareg of their former beliefs. They still believe in the existence of an animated world peopled by elements acting visibly or invisibly, living in minerals, vegetables, water, etc. To be sure, these beliefs are growing blurred, dwindling and losing their intensity, but the Tuareg still live with them, even going so far as to practice certain rites, just as in the country in France.

Their belief in supernatural matter is more than we could possibly imagine. They believe in genii (ahinnen or imdounen) who
776 inhabit the mountains, springs, steep places, and some trees. They
[755] protect themselves from them by numerous talismans, which they beg from the marabouts, or by the practice of exorcizing. The women are even more credulous than the men on this point. They
768 consult the dead by going to pray on their tombs and ask them news
787 of those who are absent.

778 Petrographic cults are still very much alive among the Tuareg.
782 They believe that some stones are haunted, and to gain the good will of the spirits they place votive offerings in the form of pebbles nearby. Therefore, at the crossing of some mountain passes and some unavoidable paths one often finds enormous piles of stones imitating tumuli, or else many little piles placed on both sides of some camel trails. Some ancient tombs are the object of a quite peculiar worship, for example the one discovered at Tazerouk a few /308/ years ago by Captain Niéger. This tomb, on which lay several stone statuettes, polished axes, and numerous Neolithic objects, was still visited in recent years until the time when it was excavated by the French. The Tuareg deny this, of course, but the discovery of objects placed there recently (fragments of cloth,
773 beads, etc.) proves it. The stone statues represented the Tibaradines,
778 that is, "the maidens." They were supposedly a highborn woman
782 and her servant who were turned into stone because the mistress

278 of trust. Every time they take a caravan down south, they purchase
[439] many drugs, either for their personal use or to resell in their country or at In-Salah.

164 There are not many diseases in the Ahaggar. The country is relatively healthy because of its very dry climate /261/ and the bracing action of the sun, which at the same time destroys microbic germs. Moreover, this is very fortunate, for with the small amount of hygiene practiced by the Tuareg it would be impossible to fight disease. It may also be true that this absence of hygiene stems from the fact that the Tuareg have not had to see the necessity of it.

[165 The Ahaggar people die of old age or of war wounds. Of course,
731] there are sometimes epidemics capable of doing damage, but they are rare because of the isolation of the camps. The great distances which separate one from the other are a natural defense against mass contagions. These epidemics always come through the medium
[361] of the caravaneers or the people who return from the Sudan, where they have stayed among sedentary people. We may mention small-pox, very common in the Sudan, which sometimes works great ravages in the tribes. Typhus, spread by lice, may decimate a whole tribe in a few days, and it is not uncommon among the Tuareg. But these two diseases are the exception when they are reported in
[751] the Ahaggar. When a man returning from the Sudan is stricken with one of them, his case is reported by messengers long before his arrival, and the sick man is systematically isolated.

753 The Tuareg under the circumstances recognize the state of contagion, but they do not see the causes of disease. According to
[771] them, it is caused by the action of bad genii. As good Moslems, they pretend not to believe in these genii, but in reality most of the talismans they wear on their persons are intended to protect them from these. To obtain them, they go to the marabouts or to men
[756] with a reputation for their knowledge of the occult sciences; these sorcerers are known as amekelléou.

844 the child is in a good position; she also rolls her on the ground to put the child in place if need be, but she never makes a vaginal exploration.

845 If the birth does not go normally, the midwife may ask the [75] marabout's help. The latter comes and stands outside the tent, giving verbal advice but never intervening personally; he cannot go near the parturient woman.

844 To give birth the woman squats down on her knees and braces herself on the center stake of the tent. Generally /283/ the baby falls on a layer of fine sand which has been prepared for that purpose. The midwife immediately cuts the umbilical cord, washes the baby in warm water, and makes him cry by pinching him to make sure he is alive. Then the mother takes him, puts a bit of her milk in [85] his nostrils, stretches his nose so that it will be long and narrow, and presses his head between her hands to give it an elongated shape. [174] This custom is certainly a vestige of cranial deformation, which is no longer practiced among the Tuareg but which was formerly common among the Egyptians.

As soon as the father learns of the birth of the baby, he has a sheep butchered and sends it to the wife's camp. The sheep is meant 846 to feed her and the people who have assisted her. The woman is made to absorb a great deal of meat bouillon. Sometimes the new mother gets up two or three days after confinement.

The birth of a boy is welcomed with more joy than that of a girl. 851 In the first case, all the people, men and women, come to con- [842] gratulate the mother, but if it is a girl only the women come to [852] see her. During this visit the women often put yellow ocher under [751] their eyes and around their mouths to keep away the bad genii which are always supposed to prowl around in tents where a newborn baby has just arrived.

846 On the seventh day after the birth, the woman returns to her husbands camp, accompanied by the women of her family and her brothers, if she has any. The father then sees his child for the first time.

847 under these circumstances, she usually goes to visit a relative and tries to hide her pregnancy. No one is taken in, but nobody says [754] anything. She goes to see a marabout who, for a rather high price, makes a few mysterious signs before the sinner, writes a few words in Arabic on a small board, washes the writing, and gathers the water in a gourd for the woman to drink. In case these practices are successful (?), a second sum identical to the first one is paid. [278] If not, the woman tries several mixtures, generally with a base of adjerdjir (Cassia abavata), and in case the results are still negative, the baby is simply strangled when it comes into the world. Although these mores are still more or less in force, they seem some- [797] what reduced by Islamization, and unnatural mothers are some- 848 times punished severely.

174 The ahal seems to have existed in ancient North African Libyan tribes. Herodotus mentioned the community of women among the Nasamonians, and the ahal is, in fact, only a derived and evolved form of it, if one could call it evolved.

582 Marriage. -- With the existence of such easy mores, it is understandable that young men and women do not care to marry early. Women rarely marry before the age of twenty, and men, before thirty.

584 Although the girl is free with her body, as we have seen, she still needs her father's authorization to marry. On the other hand, [593] however, it is rare for a husband to be imposed on her or for her to be married before puberty, as is the custom among the Arabs.

/291/ Mates are chosen in the lovers' meetings which form a sort of trial marriage. The suitor must ask the young girl's father through one of his parents or through a religious person if there is one in the region.

[184] Among the Ihaggaren everyone is informed of the suit, but in Aïr this is not the case; there the mother and the family of the girl are informed only when everything is arranged. If the [587] woman has already been married, her father's permission is no longer necessary.

567 have been freed as a group as a reward for some outstanding action. Nicolas mentions the present Tamjert fraction in the center of Tahoua who were freed after the battle of Izerwan where they had courageously resisted the Kel Ahaggar (1898). Many Iderfan go back to cultivation. They often live with the sedentary groups, with whom they join forces. They do small services for the latter, such as tending their flocks.

114 Nicolas likens them to the Harratines of the Kel Ahaggar. This
563 is only partially justified, for, although it is true that a few former
567 slaves work in the centers of cultivation of the Ahaggar, the majority of the Harratin are Negroes from the Tidikelt who freely came to get jobs among the Tuareg. Thus, we must not confuse the Harratin with the Iderfan.

567 As in the case of the Iklan-n-Egef, there are no Iderfan in the Ahaggar except in isolated cases.

564 The Enaden. -- The Enaden (singular, Enad) form the artisan class of the Tuareg. In the Sudan they are called /174/ garassa or gargassa, which is very probably of Sonrhaï origin.

[192] The word Enadan probably comes from enad, meaning "the other," extended to mean "those we don't talk about." (1) This is

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

because the Enaden form a closed caste, scorned and cursed by the Tuareg whose repulsion for manual labor is well known.

463 Their role is to manufacture anything the Tuareg may have need
564 of: weapons, wooden table utensils, tent pegs, mehari saddles, and harnessing articles.

[757 In addition, they also willingly engage in the business of barber-
752] surgeon, and with the little instruments they make they adroitly do bloodletting, cupping, scarification, and other little operations of the same order, including tooth extraction. They are remunerated
[465] for their work when they work for tribes, or, if they are attached to a master, he has them entirely at his disposal.

264 The Tuareg use spoons. The use of this implement is peculiar
[415] to them, for their Arab or Negro neighbors eat with their hands.
The custom must be related to the wearing of the veil, which they
do not take off to eat and which prevents them from putting their
[182 291] hands full of food to their mouths. They carry food to their mouths
while slightly holding up the ends of their veils.

[271] For beverages they drink only water, whether it is clean or
272 polluted, and milk.

For half a century they have had the habit of drinking green tea in the Arab manner; they aromatize it with mint or some perfumed plants of the Ahaggar, /238/ chih (Artemisia herba alba) in particular. Coffee, which was formerly much used by them, is now
[757 78] taken mainly as a medication to calm violent coughs or stomach aches.

276 If we now seek consumer goods taken as stimulants or narcotics, we see that the Tuareg know only tobacco, which they chew or take as snuff.

Smoking is not one of their customs. The young men who are
[177] in contact with the French like to beg a cigarette, but it is simply in the spirit of imitation.

Duveyrier, however, has said that the Tuareg smoke. Was this,
114 perhaps, the fashion among the Tuareg who visited Ghat? Before
276 him Barth wrote that all riverain people living along the Niger loved to smoke. "It is very seldom that they leave their pretty little clay pipes, and all the Rouma, like the Tuareg, cover their mouths when smoking, so that all one sees is a pipe bowl coming out of the shawl which covers the face." (1)

1. Voyage en Afrique, vol. IV, p. 137.

302 For festive occasions, some women bear paintings on their faces, white or ocher dots above the bridge of the nose, under the [517] cheeks, and on their chins. These paintings have only an aesthetic nature, or so it seems.

304 75 All Tuareg, men and women, have two or three small linear scars on their foreheads and temples, and the indigo from their clothing which is often inlaid there gives them the appearance of tattoos. They are incisions made for medico-magic reasons when [855] the children are very young to protect them from headaches and convulsions.

[856] It also seems that this custom contributes to make them strong and making them walk very early. (1)

1. De Foucauld, Textes en prose /Prose Texts/, p. 64.

757 Medicine and surgery. -- If we now turn our attention to medicine and surgery among the Tuareg, we shall observe that their knowledge is not very extensive and has nothing singular about it.

753 In their minds the Tuareg classify sickness in two categories: those which are the result of an external action, visible and determinable, and those whose origin cannot be explained by any causal link. The former are treated with appropriate medical treatments, the latter by magic procedures.

757 The medical procedures, which belong rather to surgery, are clearly empirical. A few of them serve for a quantity of ills. They chiefly include bleeding and applying heat. In bleeding, the operator relieves congestion in the diseased part; in applying heat, he limits the pain, at the same time relieving congestion.

278 [177] The Ihaggaren have a whole stock of drugs which they borrowed from the Sudanese. These are roots, plants, and seeds which grow in the Sudan and in which the Tuareg have a great deal

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1. Dr. Foley, Moeurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar /Mores and Medicine among the Ahaggar Tuareg/, p. 85.

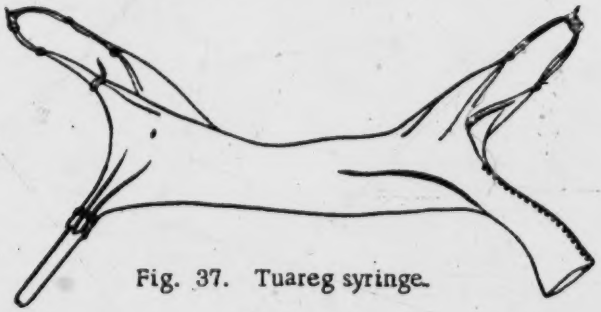

Fig. 37. Tuareg syringe.

752 The warlike and eventful life of the Tuareg exposes them to
[278] many wounds or accidents. They care for war wounds by sprinkling the wound with sugar or smearing it with plasters of vegetable origin, chopped leaves of the Zizyptus lotus, or ground resin of the Balsamodron africanum. Sometimes they pour butter on it, and if the wound is infected they apply plasters of butter and ashes of aferegak (Chrozophora brocchiana).

But we have been able to observe that the use of this ash was of no great efficacy, that the wounds took a very long time to heal, and that in many cases they preferred to call on a European doctor.

Fractures are cared for with absolutely the same methods as those used by our European doctors. The fractured member, after being set, is coated with a flour plaster, furnished with a little cushion of goat hair, and braced by means of splints made of wooden boards attached to a sheepskin and kept in place by leather cords.

/263/ We have never seen any amputation among the Tuareg, and we do not know whether or not they know how to do it.

757 The Tuareg also know the use of enemas. The apparatus is
413 made of a sheep's bone, one end of which has been rounded and
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757 polished and whose other end is inserted in a small goatskin water
[413 bottle which holds the liquid to be injected. During the operation
237] one presses on the bag so as to make the liquid penetrate, while
the patient has his head down and his feet attached to a tree. The
[278] enema is generally composed of water, butter, and ground afasso
roots. When it is a question of giving an enema to a young child,
[855] the mother fills her mouth with water and, putting her lips against
the anus, blows the liquid with all her might.

/264/ Chapter 8

Dress. Adornment.

291 Clothing. -- The portrait of the Tuareg is now well known. Draped in a long, dark-colored blouse, belted at the waist, and with his head surrounded by a black veil placed in the shape of a haumier /?/, he makes a silhouette as majestic as it is mysterious
[492] when he is mounted on his slender mehari. Hanging from the saddle, as well known as the man, is the broad antelopeskin buckler.

The Tuareg, even though they are poor, are very natty. Although they have only sordid rags, they always are able to wear them with good taste and to keep a proud and dignified attitude under all circumstances.

The costume for men is the same in all confederations. It is made up of: 1) a very full pair of trousers, drawn in at the waist by a cord of braided leather; the leg is nipped in at the instep /sic/ and blouses over it so that it sometimes drags the ground; 2) a big, very full blouse, formed of a rectangular-shaped piece of cloth, sewn by a stitch at the four corners, and provided with an opening in the middle to let the head go through; it descends to the knees

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the 291 302 Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been 386 515 sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga."

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵓⵙⴼⴰⵔ 177 plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⵔⴰⵏ , and believe in their efficacy. 278 This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, [432 for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his 556] purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very [648 willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly 757] be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" 164 ⵜⴰⵣⵣⴰⵇ , gonorrhea, "talaoalt;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ⵜⵙⵎⴷⵀⵉ ; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴽⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔⵄⴼ .

## Chapter XVII

## Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro 563 567 and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the [721] Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which [439] brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave 178 them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the 567 progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

164 /110 cont. / The country then is sufficiently free of serious
114 diseases; one scourge, however, must be noted: malnutrition, described and well studied by the doctor, Captain Galan, in a publication of the Pasteur Institute of Algeria: Contribution à l'étude du problème alimentaire au Hoggar /Contribution to the Study of the Nutrition Problem in the Ahaggar/.

757 The Tuareg and the Negroes are beginning to like
278 European medication and are coming more frequently to the infirmary; they value above all aspirin, quinine (which is becoming a generic term for all pills), and penicillin. They remain faithful to their pharmacopoeia, chiefly based on plants, of which here are several examples:

Pulmonary diseases: strong pimento and rellachem /see Appendix, Flora/ are specifics; for pleurisy, one must melt camel fat with the talnoust (fruit of the acacia), eat it as hot as possible, and constrict one's chest with a rope.

For the stomach, butter mixed with tahist.

In cases of diarrhea, takamezout is the sovereign remedy, taken in tea or eaten in leaf form. This takamezout has a great reputation among the Tuareg: it comprises, they say, 40 remedies, but will not heal broken legs.

Constipation is vanquished by adjardjar and taharadjellé. Headaches have no remedy, yet tea is /111/ to be taken in preference to anything else. The liver is treated with ihemhad taken in milk. The victim of ganglions at the groin or under the armpit may easily make them disappear by rubbing them lightly with saliva very early in the morning; another method, more efficient, consists of heating goat dung and placing it on the nails of the affected member.

[752] For an open wound, make a plaster with milk and powdered tassa.

Rheumatism is easily treated; a sort of well is dug, one meter in diameter and 1.50 meters deep, the patient gets in it, a cover is put on the well, and the patient is given an infusion of ofaq to make him sleep. A spring called In-Ahadja exists which is supposed to be equally as good in treating rheumatism.

757 /111 cont./ Jackal meat, eaten with decoctions of
278 reliachem for three days, is the best remedy for gonorrhea; cloves will aid in the healing.

Jackal meat is also used to cure syphilis, but in addition in the morning one must drink milk in which colocynth has been soaked; while this milk is being drunk, skewers of fat to be eaten afterward are cooked; clear soup is drunk during the entire day. After three days small, white granulations are seen in the stools, indicating the success of the treatment.

Smallpox formerly was treated in a sufficiently efficacious manner by digging a hole in the sand and heating it as if to make méchoui /roasted sheep/, although not so hot; the patient then lay in the hole and was covered with sand. After that there was nothing to do but wait.

The treatment for measles requires the patient to be kept warm, while eating hare, gazelle, or wild sheep meat.

Toothaches cannot last when treated as follows: fill the mouth with onion seeds, ouzouaz, wheat, and salt; keep these medicaments in the closed mouth for half an hour. When adolescents break out in pimples, which disfigure them, it is essential that /112/ onion seeds be burned and the smoke inhaled, which, it is said, makes all the worms leave immediately. Around a boil, apply a paste made of milk and powdered tanzet (a kind of Sudanese bean).

## Magic Rites

789 This is a very difficult subject to treat, for the secrets
754 are jealously guarded by those who possess them and want to profit from them, or are carefully hidden by those who know them in a disinterested fashion but who lack confidence in their questioner or fear reprisals.

The Ahaggar, situated at the frontiers of Islam and the black world, is without doubt impregnated with magic customs; the superficial Islamism of the population, which retains an

*492 household goods during nomadic migrations, and are employed daily in all camps to carry water in skin-
[415] bags from wells and waterholes to the tents. They are very strong animals considering their low stature,
[312] and good pack-donkeys can carry up to one hundred kilograms even for very long trips. Donkeys
[262] are occasionally used for long journeys by the Northern Tuareg, and many Ayr Tuareg use them to
[484] fetch provisions of millet around Tanut in Damergu. Caravans of donkeys are frequently observed
[174] in these regions, and one even sees mixed caravans of donkeys and camels. There can be no doubt that before the introduction of the camel the donkey was still more important for riding and transportation than is the case nowadays. This is clearly demonstrated by historical material from Egypt and adjacent regions (cf. Erman 1922, p. 518 f., 529, 592 f., 636).

231 It has already been mentioned that donkey's meat and skin are not utilized nowadays by the Tuareg.
[262] The same is true of mare's milk which, however, is used as a remedy against a kind of cough known
[257] to the Ayr Tuareg as *khamkham*. There is no regulation of mating for donkeys which in many ways are semi-domesticated animals. In Ayr male donkeys are never castrated, while the Ahaggar Tuareg say they castrate such stallions as constantly run after the mares and in this way cause too much trouble. The Tuareg also have no methods to prevent foals from sucking, while a method of this kind is sometimes applied by sedentary people in and around Agadez. This method known as *éfinjar* consists in the cutting of the nostrils of half-grown foals so that they cannot suck pregnant mares. Both stallions
*492 and mares are used for riding and transportation, but female animals are much preferred for these purposes. Mares are used almost exclusively for the transportation of water-bags hanging under the animals, as the bags might be squirted by stallions' urine.

The Northern Tuareg saddle their donkeys, using the same saddle type for riding and for transpor-
[462] tation (Fig. 86). This is known as *aruku* and is manufactured by the women in the following way:—
[824] Two fresh boughs of the *tahunek*-tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) are heated, or slightly burned, over the fire.
[322] The boughs are thereupon barked and bent into the curved form wanted, and are then kept in this position by cords. After drying for a few days the boughs will remain in their curved form, and the cords
[237] are untied. The boughs are then cut up and their ends are connected by two pieces of camel's hide
[412] soaked in water, and sewn together by means of a large iron needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (cf. Fig. 220b) and a thread which is also cut from camel's hide. The wooden saddle frame is attached to three
[237] cushions. These cushions are generally made of goat-skin or sheep-skin stuffed with hay or with date
[412] palm bast, but may also be plaited from leaves of the date palm tree. Cushions made from goat-skin are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of the little awl known as *tistent* (cf. Fig. 218a). The two long cushions resting lengthwise upon the animals back are known as *tastek*, and the small cushion resting over the animal's back close to its shoulders is called *tafelledut*. The saddle is fixed to the donkey by two girths consisting of cords made of goat-hair. One of these cords (*tahmechart*) passes under the tail, the other (*ahayif*) is tied around the chest of the animal. This saddle type is well fitted for the transportation of burdens and in particular of water-bags, the cords of which are attached to the pommels. When the saddle is used for riding it is frequently covered with a blanket or a piece of cloth. Saddles of this type are found in all camps of the Northern Tuareg, and Lhote states that they are also found in Adrar-n-Foras and in Ayr (Lhote 1947a, p. 120). This may be so, but I have myself never seen them in the latter region where they are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan*

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525
Fulani M511



The most dangerous African cattle disease is the rinderpest. It is known to have entered Egypt in the year 1884 from the regions around the Black Sea, and about 1890, or somewhat later, it came to Eastern Africa and to the Sudan. Rinderpest is nowadays widely found in Africa but it is rare or unknown in Northern Tuareg countries. Rinderpest is apparently very rare in the Ayr Massif and it occurs mainly south of the Massif in savannah country. The Tuareg have no remedy against this disease. It is stated by St. Croix that the Fulani of Northern Nigeria once deliberately exposed their cattle to mild rinderpest to make them immune from this disease in its more severe and dangerous form. However, this method did not work and the Fulani gave up further experiments of this kind. It is also mentioned by St. Croix that the Fulani practise a kind of vaccination against cattle pleuro-pneumonia and that this is done as follows:— A piece of infected lung is put into milk for two to three days and thereupon placed into a small opening cut under the nose-skin of the animal. The method is claimed to be effective (St. Croix 1944, p. 24 f.). Vaccination methods are also known to some of the Southern Tuareg, e.g. the *Iwillemmeden*. These people vaccinate human beings against small-pox by inserting the pus of this disease into wounds cut with a knife (Aymard 1911, p. 108), and they also vaccinate their cattle against cattle pleuro-pneumonia ("peripneumonie bovine"). They do this in much the same way as described above for the Fulani:— An infected piece of lung is placed in sour milk or in the soil for a few days, and is thereupon inserted under the skin of the forehead. Nicolas describes the method as dangerous because the infection attacks the whole forehead and also the nose-bone (Nicolas 1950a, p. 133), but two veterinary surgeons who practised among the *Iwillemmeden* of Tawa told me that they considered this kind of vaccination effective. The method is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg of the Massif where this contagious lung-disease is unknown or very rare.

I have no great knowledge of the contagious diseases in the Tuareg groups I have studied, but such diseases seem to occur comparatively rarely, and there is no veterinary surgeon attached to the French administration of Northern Tuareg countries. There is one veterinary surgeon in Agadez, but his most important field of work lies outside of the mountain massif to the south.

Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr I have been told about two contagious diseases which, when they occur, may give rise to very heavy losses. One of these diseases is known to the Tuareg as *chawa*. It attacks only cows, which die very quickly, but if cattle suffering from the disease are ritually killed their meat is nevertheless considered edible. One Tuareg told me that some years ago about thirty cattle of his camp died in one day from an attack of *chawa*.

The other contagious disease I have recorded from Southern Ayr is called *tandert*. It attacks sheep and goats, and I collected the following notes about it:— The blood penetrates the animal's flesh which becomes quite red. If sheep or goats suffer from *tandert* and are ritually killed for eating, very great care must be taken in the preparation of the meat. It must be boiled until it contains no blood, and must not be eaten until it is cold and dry. It is said that if these precautions are not taken the people who eat meat from animals suffering from *tandert* will themselves become attacked by the disease, with the result that blood and pus may penetrate the skin at any part of the body. They say that a man who has eaten unboiled meat of an animal suffering from this disease with consequent infection is treated in the following way:— A species of ant more venomous than the normal small

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



ants is collected and put into the millet mortar and pounded. The pounded mass of ants is then placed on the affected individual at the spot where blood and pus have penetrated the skin. The disease is characterized as very dangerous for human beings as blood and pus may emerge at any place of the body, and can, for instance, destroy an eye. The Ayr Tuareg say that they have no remedy against *tandert* when it affects their sheep and goats. The disease *tandert* can hardly be anything but anthrax. According to information from the veterinary surgeon Niels Grunnet much indicates that the contagious disease *changa* is also anthrax.

Foucauld has recorded a few contagious stock-diseases from Ahaggar:— *tarut*, a lung disease affecting cattle, goats, and camels. The lungs are filled with pus, and the animals die in four to ten days. *tehareyet*, a disease attacking sheep and goats which will die with yellow entrails. *wełhet*, a contagious disease attacking jackals, dogs and related animals which will die quickly. It is not the true rabies. *talekmet*, apparently a kind of scrofula which affects the udders of female domestic animals. These do not necessarily die from the disease but their udders may wither (Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1558, 1663, III, p. 1509, 1044). Dr. Grunnet has informed me that *tarut* could be the pulmonary form of *pasteurellosis* also called *haemorrhagic septicaemia*, while *wełhet* may very well be distemper. The *talekmet* disease according to Dr. Grunnet is not easy to identify by the present information, but three conditions are possible:— 1) cow pox, 2) *actinomycosis* of the udder, and 3) *mastitis*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, like the Ayr Tuareg, do not seem to have any remedies against such contagious diseases which incidentally are rare. But there are many other stock-diseases and treatments for them.

The Ayr Tuareg have mentioned to me about thirty different names of camel diseases. The description of these diseases was frequently difficult to understand, and I noted only the following names:—

*azwi*, that is a disease of congestion due to heat-apoplexy which is cured by bleeding with a knife or with tobacco powder put into the camel's eyes.

*tadawak*, an eye disease cured by cutting around the eyes and by the insertion of salt.

*tchilchal*, a nose disease cured in the following way:— The handle of a wooden spoon is put up through the nostril to pierce the septum, and heated butter is poured into the animal's nose.

*bufidan*, a diseases which gives the camel a swollen and inflamed head. A cure is effected by cutting with a knife and by burning.

*tana*, a kind of chill which causes pregnant she-camels to miscarry. There is no good remedy for it, but it is normal practice to pour water over the affected animal.

*lefwad*, a paralysis of the hind thighs of camels. The affected animals cannot stand up. The only remedy is a very difficult operation:— A vein is opened in the hind thigs to let out a great quantity of blood. Bleeding is stopped again by sewing together the cuts, which are finally treated with fire.

*tihayak*, a disease which prevents the pregnancy of mated she-camels. The remedy for this consists in cutting slices around the vagina and under the tail so that blood flows. After this operation, which I have frequently attended, it is said that she-camels will become pregnant when mated.

*anaex*, a disease which prevents the pregnancy of she-camels. It is treated by putting the hand and the arm deeply into the anus of the camel. I have seen it performed once, and in this particular case the she-camel became pregnant shortly afterwards. According to Dr. Grunnet this disease is very probably *corpus luteum* which is squeezed out of the ovary by the manipulation.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



A chest disease for which the Ayr Tuareg have no particular name. It is cured by cutting two rows of small slices through the animal's skin at both sides of the fore thighs so that blood flows. 233* 232

*awarez*, that is swelling of the foot caused by an acacia-thorn or other pointed object. The remedy is to remove the thorn by means of knife and awl and then burn the upper side of the foot with a red-hot iron.

*sefadi*, that is wounds on the camel's back caused by galling of the saddle and the loads. Very many camels have such wounds which are treated by pressing out the pus, by cutting, and by burning.

*ajawad*, that is scabies (*Sarcoptes scabiei* var. *Camelí*) which is extremely common. The Tuareg living around Agadez treat it in two distinct ways:— (1) an animal bone is crushed in a large mortar and the pounded mass is put into a cooking pot to be heated over the fire. A black liquid with a consistency like that of liquid butter comes out of the bone-substance after heating. It is rubbed into the skin of the infected animal. (2) Fruit of the *aborak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*) are put into a cooking [824] pot to be heated over the fire. A black liquid comes out of the fruits after heating. This is rubbed into the skin.

Camels in Africa are considered to suffer from only three major infectious diseases (*anthrax*, *pasteurellosis*, *trypanosomiasis*), but several types of local infections can be met with. 233*

I believe that camel diseases of Ayr and Ahaggar are not very different, but I have not collected [914] much material on the subject in the north. I give a few additional examples from Ahaggar: *adder*, that is a bunion close to the junction of leg and body of camels. The bunion is produced by rubbing of the fore thigh against the chest during walking, and some camels suffer from such bunions during long journeys. I do not know if there is any treatment for it. *gelek*, that is the swelling of camels which have drunk too much water after the consumption of salty plants; this swelling disappears by itself. *ireleŋwahen*, a nose disease which attack camels and goats. The nostrils are filled with pus so that the animals have difficulty in breathing. The treatment is burning. *ameŋwaz*, swelling of the feet which are washed with hot water. *toza*, a chest disease considered contagious. The animals lose their appetite. The remedy is burning. Dr. Grunnet thinks that it could be an oedematous form of *pasteurellosis* (*haemorrhagic septicaemia*). – For scabies the Ahaggar Tuareg seem to know several treatments. They use pounded leaves of *ahoyyaŋ* (*Cleome arabica*) and of *teluhut* (*Capparis spinosa*) added to sour milk and rubbed into the camel's skin. According to Maire, who has made use of information from Voinot, there are other treatments for scabies, namely the use of ashes of the *aferegak* plant (*Chrozophora Brocchiana*), tar extracted from the *azawa* tree (*Tamarix gallica* ssp. *nilotica*), charcoal of *turha* (*Calotropis procera*) which is pounded and mixed with butter, seeds of *teŋellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*) which are boiled into a black oil called *akaka* (cf. Maire 1933, p. 145, 156, 172, 200). Congestion due to heat-apoplexy (*ahni*) is cured as mentioned in the case of the Ayr Tuareg. 233* 232 232 824

From the above description of camel diseases and their treatment it will be seen that the Tuareg know several types of veterinary methods. In brief the veterinary techniques can be summarized under the following five items:— 232

(1) Treatment by the hand, e.g., *Corpus luteum* which is squeezed out of the ovary by the manipulation (cf. *sanez*, p. 120), and massage treatments which the Tuareg practise with human beings and with domestic animals. [257]

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Fig. 92. Wooden splints (*tafasast*, pl. *tifesasin*) applied to broken legs of sheep and goats by means of a long thin cord of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ali* tribe. Dimensions of wooden splints: about 0.12 m. (F.M. 282).

232 (2) Operation with a knife. Such operations are often very simple. Thus I have once seen sheep with swollen throats and ears which were scratched with a knife to let out some water-like pus, but I do not know the name of this disease. The knife is used for many different operations some of which have been mentioned above. It is also used for bleeding which plays a great part in Tuareg veterinary [257] practise. Bleeding is applied to humans and to domestic animals as a treatment for various diseases. [258] The Tuareg may bleed individuals and animals bitten by snakes or stung by scorpions, but bleeding is used for many different diseases, as the Tuareg believe that these can be removed away with bad blood which is considered their cause. Bleeding is practised with camels. Thus in summer camels are frequently bled because they get slow and tired owing to *azni* (*ahni*), that is congestion due to heat-apoplexy, and a she-camel will normally be bled two or three hours after it has brought forth a calf. I frequently attended the bleeding of camels among the Ayr Tuareg where the method is as follows:— The camel is forced to stand upright while its head is turned downwards by a man (or a woman) who grasps the head firmly at the upper lip with one hand and pulls at a rope fixed to the animal's lower jaw with the other. A rope is tied around the camel's neck close to its chest so that the neck vein can contain as much blood as possible. The neck vein in this way will swell with blood particularly close to the animal's head at a place known to the Tuareg as *abayor*. A slice about two centimetres long is cut in this place with a small sharp knife, and immediately blood will flow from the neck vein in a thin but powerful squirt. Shortly after bleeding has started the rope tied around the animal's neck is loosened, but blood is allowed to flow for several minutes, and I believe that at least two or three litres of blood is tapped. When the operation is to end the animal's head is raised, the skin around the wound is pressed together with two fingers, and bleeding immediately ceases. Once blood has started to flow from the camel it does not protest at the operation which is illustrated by the photograph Fig. 93. When a camel has been bled it will normally rest for a few hours before it starts eating again. When Tuareg get lost in the desert and lack water, they bleed their camels and

When Tuareg get lost in the desert and lack water, they bleed their camels and 261
drink the blood (cf. p. 235). In situations of great distress they may also kill their camels in order to obtain the water supply conserved in the animal's stomach.

(3) Treatment by burning. Wounds are cauterized by means of a redhot iron known as *tamak* 232
(Ayr), or *tasterkemt* (Ahaggar). Burning with a redhot iron is also practised for camels with swollen feet as already described (p. 121). It is also common to burn a line around wounds or other sites of disease in order that it shall not spread, and burning is even practised for internal diseases, as is the case with the *toza*-disease of camels (p. 121). Redhot irons are, on the whole, used particularly for camels. Wounds of sheep and goats, e.g., wounds from jackal bites, are cauterized by means of glowing camel dung. Certain stomach diseases, such as types of tympanites, are cured by a bunch of flaming grass swept under the animal's belly. I have seen this practised with donkeys which, like horses, may suffer from a kind of tympanites known in Ahaggar as *tahagd*.

(4) Instruments and bandages. Enema should be mentioned under this heading. It is known in 232
Ahaggar as *sebegiwen*, and is applied to humans and to animals by means of a funnel or by a special 757
apparatus made from a piece of hollow cane connected with a skin-bag. I never had the opportunity [113]
to see this apparatus, which is depicted by Lhote who also gives some information about the use of enemas with human beings (Lhote 1955a, p. 303, Fig. 36). He mentions that an enema is also given by a mother to her little children by blowing water into the anus with her mouth. I have seen this done to children in Ahaggar, but I do not know whether this method is practised with animals also. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the Tuareg apply wooden splints to their domestic animals with broken 232
legs. I have seen this device only in Ahaggar where wooden splints are known as *tifesasin* (sing. *tafasast*). They are used for sheep and goats (Fig. 92), and, by the sedentary agriculturists, also for cows. The wooden splints applied to goats are sometimes replaced by a leather bandage solidly tied [237]
around the broken leg. I mention under this heading that camels bred and born in stony or mountainous 492
countries cannot always stand the long journeys through plain and sandy deserts. Their feet suffer

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Fig. 93. Tuareg bleeding a camel at the place of the neck vein known as *abayor*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

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Fig. 115. Negroid agriculturist (*Ḥartani*) with a hare caught in a steel-trap (*elkhemiyet*) of European type. Ahaggar.

262 by many people in vassal tribes, and jackal's meat is popular as it is considered an excellent remedy
565 against fever (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 146). But there are also many Tuareg who refuse all types of game
[757] with the exception of such animals as gazelle, barbary sheep, and antelope. Some Tuareg consider hare's meat unlawful, but this, perhaps, is a conception introduced with Islam, for many people of the religious *Ineslemen* class claim that hare should not be eaten because their blood resembles that of menstruating women. The food taboos strictly followed by all noble Tuareg are older than Islam: they never eat birds, eggs, reptiles, and fish.

These rules are not traditional for vassal Tuareg, though some of them have adopted the taboos of the noble Tuareg.

224 In Northern Tuareg areas two big lizzard types are found. One of them is called *aggezzeram* (*dobb*
564 in Arabic; *Uromastix acanthinurus*). This is caught and eaten by slaves, agriculturists, and by many
565 vassals. It is frequently taken by hand, but there is also a special implement (*taskumt*, *takoḍa*) consisting
262 of a stick provided with an iron crook for catching lizzards hiding in holes and under rocks. When
[432] vassal Tuareg are able to catch a great many *agezzeram*-lizzards they cut them up and dry them for
[444] sale on their regular trading expeditions in autumn to the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. p. 210).
The *agezzeram*-lizzard is said to be the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the negroid blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*), because the lizzard's tail resembles a file. I do not know whether the few blacksmiths found in Northern Tuareg country eat this lizzard, but do not think they do. The lizzard is not considered very delicious, and blacksmiths have emigrated from the south where it is not generally eaten.

The other edible lizzard is named *arata* (*Varanus* sp.). It is much bigger than the *agezzeram*-lizzard just mentioned, and its meat is excellent according to the taste of most Europeans. But this big lizzard

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



is refused by noble Tuareg and in general also by vassals. One reason for this is that the Tuareg have a myth saying that the *ayato*-lizzard is the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the noble Tuareg. Some vassals claim that it is the ancestor of all true Tuareg, but this statement does not agree with mythology (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 61). However, this lizzard is eaten mainly by slaves and by certain agriculturists, though its meat is considered a remedy against snake-bite and scorpion stings (cf. Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.). The head of an *ayata* is considered an excellent amulet against these poisonous animals (Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.), and the skin of this lizzard is not only utilized for the manufacture of amulet cases but also for small bags of various types (Fig. 116a). 224 565 564 262 257 257 237

Small animals are not necessarily killed with any particular hunting implement. The animals may be taken with the hand or killed with sticks and stones, as is the case with the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, *tékenisit*), which is eaten by some people, and with small rodents. Even hares can be taken with the hand when they hide in the grass or under rocks. The hunter may then approach the hare swinging one of his sandals over his head. This, it is said, makes the animals believe that it is hunted by a hawk or an eagle, and it will therefore remain stubbornly in its hiding place. Even gazelle are sometimes taken without any proper hunting weapon. Some Tuareg say that on journeys through the barren desert country in the summer they have met gazelle so exhausted from thirst that they could take these animals with their hands. Although this is rarely possible, I know Tuareg who have crept up to gazelle hiding from the sun in daytime and killed them with a stone. Finally it can be mentioned that the 224 262

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Fig. 116a–b. Two small skin bags.

a. Skin bag (*abelbof n ayata*) made from the skin of the big *ayata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.). Ahaggar, *Ḥarratin* of Taṛhawhawt. Dimension: 0.325 m long. (N.M. G. 5834).

b. Skin bag (*abelbof n timerwelt*) made from hare-skin. Ahaggar, bought from *Ḥarratin* at Taṛhawhawt, manufactured in the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5833).

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*abellengad* (*Reseda villosa*). Tr., L.M., U.M. Seeds of this plant are edible, but of bad taste – according to Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 65. 222 262

*abser* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Tr., (L.M.). Fruits are collected mainly for goat fodder, but are eaten by human beings when vegetable food is scarce. The fruit is then crushed into flour. The resin of this acacia is also edible. 252

*tamat* (*Acacia seyal*). Tr. The resin (*taymwst*) is edible. I believe it is used mainly as a remedy against stomachache. This is perhaps also true of the resin of the *abser*-acacia mentioned above. [757]

*ahtes* (*Acacia albida*). Tr., L.M. "La gousse est même comestible pour l'homme" (Maire 1933, p. 120).

*ténefé* (*Tephrosia leptostachya*). Tr. "Les Touareg mélangent cette plante desséchée au thé vert" (Maire 1933, p. 125). [272]

*lagul* (*Alhagi maurorum*). Unknown in Ahaggar, but found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. "Les racines tuberisées sont mangées par les indigènes (Killian)" (Maire 1933, p. 131).

*alora* (*Peganum Harmala*). Tr., L.M., U.M. An annual seed-plant. Seeds are used for *tébik*.

*taburak* (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruits which are macerated in water to remove the bitter taste.

*tedjoq* (spelling according to Maire 1933, p. 241) (*Pistacia atlantica*). L.M. Very rare according to Maire (1933, p. 148). According to my own observations the fruit of this tree is eaten by Arab pastoralists (e.g., *Ulad Nail*) of the so-called *daya* region south of the Sahara Atlas. It is possible that it is also eaten by the Tuareg. [171]

*tahulek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*). Tr., L.M. A tree having edible fruit.

*téhak* (*Salvadora persica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

*tabakat* (*Ziziphus lotus* var. *Saharae*). Tr. The berries are crushed and mixed with millet flour.

*azawa* (*Tamarix gallica*). Tr., L.M. "La manne produits par ces arbres est receuillié par les indigènes qui l'emploient comme matière sucrante. (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 156).

*tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*). Tr. "Les rameaux mannifères sont employés pour sucrer l'eau" (Maire 1933, p. 159). [263]

*tafeltast* (*Myrtus Nivellii*). (Tr.), L.M. "Les rameaux de ce Myrte sont récoltés par les Touareg, desséchés et exportés par sac entiers au Soudan et au Mzab, avec *l'Artemisia judaica* ssp. *sahariensis*. Ces deux plantes sont utilisées comme médicaments et comme condiments" (Maire 1933, p. 162). [439] [757] [263]

*awkal* (*Cynomorium coccineum*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots which are dried and ground into flour (cf. Maire 1933, p. 163).

*aséyar* (*Anethum graveolens*). (Tr.), L.M., U.M. An annual plant. Its seeds are used as a spice and for adding to tea. [272]

*tekmezzut* (*Teucrium Pollium*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant used for adding to tea.

*élel* (*Nerium Oleander*). Tr., L.M. This plant is extremely venomous particularly so for camels, which die from eating its leaves. "La cendre de bois de *Nerium* est employée par les femmes du Tidikelt pour se faire engraisser. A cet effet elles mélangent un peu de cette cendre avec des dattes pilées et du beurre, puis absorbent ce mélange dans du leben" (Maire 1933, p. 170). [261]

*arellachchem* (*Solenostemma oleifoleum*). Tr. A perennial plant. Its leaves are used as a substitute for tea. [272]

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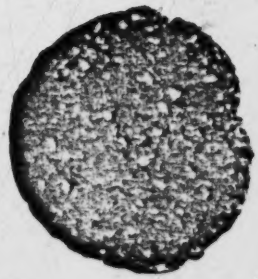

Fig. 126. A cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries (*Osyris alba*). The fresh berries are pounded in the large mortar (*tindé*) or are crushed between two stones to be formed into pieces of cheese form to be dried. This cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries is used by Tuareg women as a kind of face ointment against sun burn, pimples, and the like. They apply this ointment to the face as follows:— A little milk is poured upon a stone, the cheese-like mass of berries is rubbed against it, and the mixture of milk and berries is thereupon rubbed into the skin of the face with the fingers. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.075 m. (N.M. G. 5279a).

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262 *enag* (*Leptadenia pyrotechnica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

[272] *tañhart* (*Mentha longifolia*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

*awit*, generally known by the collective name *awihat* (*Salvia Chudaei*). Tr., (L.M.). An annual plant used as an aromatic for tea.

[824] [482] *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*). Tr. This plant is extremely venomous for human beings, though not for animals. In the past it was used by the Tuareg as a poison for enemies. Members of La Mission Flatters (1880–81) were poisoned by the Tuareg using poison of this plant inserted into dates presented to the expedition. "La plante, absorbée à petite dose, aurait la propriété de faire [261] engraisser. Les femmes du Tidikelt l'emploient dans ce but, en en faisant cuire une petite quantité dans de l'eau avec de la farine et de la graisse; elles laissent réduire et absorbent la bouillie obtenue, puis se couvrent pour transpirer (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 192).

222 *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots. After drying the roots are
262 pounded in a large millet mortar to be used for bread which is much esteemed by the Tuareg. "Cette
252 plante est recoltée jeune par les indigènes, puis placée dans le sable sous une couche de *drinn* (*Aristida pungens*) jusqu'à noircissement et dessication. Le produit sec est moulu et utilisé dans l'alimentation (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 196).

*éfetekchi* (*Orobanche aegyptiaca* & *O. cernua*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots.

*tamzellit* (*Orobanche sp.*). Tr. Very rare. A plant yielding edible roots.

*tegellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). Tr. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

*alked* (*Cucumis pustulatus*). Tr. Rare. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

[263] *takkilt* (*Cotula cinerea*). Tr. "Les Touareg utilisent cette plante comme condiment, principalement pour la viande qui commence à se gâter" (Maire 1933, p. 209).

[439] *téhereggelé* (*Artemisia judaica* ssp. *sahariensis*). Tr., (L.M.). "Cette plante, comme le *Myrtus Nivellei*, est récoltée en grande quantité, séchée et exportée au Soudan, où elle est employée comme aromate et condiment" (Maire 1933, p. 212).

[272] *zézzeré* (*Artemisia herba alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

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*ajako*. According to Foucauld a small annual edible plant growing in the Ahaggar Mountains at an altitude above 2000 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 712). Maire mentions this plant as unindentified (Maire 1933, p. 263).

Collecting is mainly the task of women, but males – particularly uninitiated boys and slaves – also participate. Seed-plants are generally harvested by rubbing the ears of the plants between the fingers, but the *tulhult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle (*amreh*; Fig. 143 a–b) to be thrashed and winnowed like wheat and barley. Edible roots are frequently collected merely by hand. However, a digging stick (*élawet*; Fig. 123) provided with an iron point is also used to dig up certain wild plants such as *ahakel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) and similar root plants. This digging stick is characteristic of vassal women who use it for many different purposes, e.g., to make holes for tent poles.

The very best among the above mentioned seed-plants is the *tulhult* grass (*Aristida pungens*). Its seeds are collected or harvested by certain Tuareg inhabiting the lower parts of Ahaggar, but are important particularly to the Tuareg living in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Within the Ahaggar Massif the most important seeds are those of *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). The right to collect these seeds is free to everybody, and Tuareg of the *Abada* zone may send their slaves to the *Atakor* zone to collect *tawit*-seeds in the mountain plateau of Asekrem. The species of *afezu* and *tawit* are sometimes protected by an ban on grazing for three and two months respectively in order that their seeds may grow ripe for collecting. The right to put a ban on grazing of the two species belongs to the Tuareg in whom territorial rights of a sub-area are vested (cf. p. 150). It is said that under very favourable conditions a single household may collect some hundred kilos of seeds of the two plants mentioned. This may seem rather impressive, but even in good years when milk is abundant collecting will not provide pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar with sufficient vegetable food, for seeds of wild plants are far less nourishing than are grains of wheat, barley, and millet. The collecting of wild plants important for food is as dependent on climatic conditions as is stock-breeding. In dry years, when domestic animals yield little or no milk at all, there will also be no wild seeds for collecting.

Fig. 127. Very small bag known as *élem* ("skin") made from a kid's scrotum (*tigassaf*). The bag contains a piece of resin of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). This resin is eaten by the Tuareg as a remedy against stomachache. Ahaggar, the *Ajuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension of the piece of resin: 0.07 m long. (F.M. 149a–b).

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Fig. 224. Decorated skin bag (*abelhoḍ*) for the conservation of tea leaves. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.25 m long. (F.M. 151).

Fig. 225. Skin bag known as *alegwegat* (pl. *alegwiguten*). The specimen depicted is an old bag which shows that the bottom consists of a bowl plaited in coiled technique and covered with leather. New bags of this type are ornamented with leather fringes. These bags are used for the transportation of tea glasses, sugar, and the like. The correct name of such bags according to some Tuareg is *eggebankob* (pl. *eggebankobben*). Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.33 m high. (F.M. 80).

413 used to burn marks of property into camels and donkeys. The large awl may also be employed for
[321] wood and horn work after heating in the fire. Horn or bone material, however, plays a little part to
[757] the Tuareg. A horn implement common to all Tuareg is that depicted Fig. 230; it is used for sucking
out blood of sick persons after bleeding and is widely known in the Sahara. Arm rings (sing. *ewekí*)
237 made of horn are worn by many adult men among the *Kel Aljer*, but are rare in Ahaggar. Among the
[301]

[text continues on p. 282]

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Fig. 229. Tobacco bag (*abelbed*) with the bottom made from the scrotum of a goat. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.22 m deep. (F.M. 94).

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Fig. 230. Piece of ox-horn (*tanfi*) to suck out blood of bled persons. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.09 m. (F.M. 148).

755 When a bad genie is supposed to inhabit a person's body, people gather together and make a frightful uproar around him, accompanied by the tom-tom. The object of this is to put him in a trance so that the genie finally becomes frightened and decides to go away.
[233] They use the same method for camels who are sometimes stricken with nervous difficulties.

A few years ago, a noble Ahaggar woman was subject to epileptic seizures. She had hallucinations and said she was possessed by an evil genie which she saw and felt in her. And so, each time the seizure occured, the people of her camp engaged in their /262/ habitual demonstrations. One day she got it into her head to get rid of her guest and slit her throat to allow him to leave. She wounded herself so badly that her life was in great danger for a long time afterwards. Scarcely had she recovered, however, when she had another attack and slit her throat a second time.

759 The surgery of the Kel Ahaggar is as elementary as their
752 medicine. First let us say that there are no surgeons among them, no more than there are persons known for their medical knowledge. Medicine and surgery are everybody's business; the knowledge that they possess is everybody's domain, and each Tuareg is able to care for himself or for the people in his camp. For surgical operations, nevertheless, the Enaden are called upon by preference,
752 since they are generally more adroit than the others. They usually
413 have small instruments that they make themselves -- forceps, instruments for baring the neck of teeth, scarificator, cupping glasses, tonsil cutters, etc. -- and with which they operate quite skillfully.

They have been very aptly compared to our barber-surgeons of days gone by. (1)

326 ward and then westward, across the North
African hinterland to the shores of the Atlan-
[171] tic. The general description of this pattern,
given above in chapter V under the sub-heading *Special Classes and Minority Groups* in the section on *Agricultural Centers*, leaves little more to add.

Smiths of the Ahaggar usually live in single
326 family units or small groups widely separated
463 from each other (fig. 50). A few families follow Tuareg groups on their seasonal rounds, but the great majority remain sedentary most of the time in one agricultural center or another, and go out only now and then for a few weeks or months, to do a general repair and re-equipment job in the camps of some
[759] nomadic tribe or clan. The men work wood and metals and are also barber-surgeons, while the women specialize in fancy leatherwork and embroidery. In addition to these functions
[584] and those previously mentioned, both sexes of the smith community act as both go-betweens and spies in clandestine love affairs. They also engage in intertribal secret intelligence work. And a major Tuareg chief may sometimes have a smith as his most trusted counsellor and confidant.

The smiths usually dress as do the poorer
326 Tuareg. The men all wear the teguelmoust
[291] but in a sloppy fashion, and they seem to have no qualms about exposing their mouths.
[582] They are endogamous and monogamous as a general rule, although a few have more than one wife and some of them marry Haratin or occasionally slaves. Ostensibly because of their lowly social status, but probably in fact more because of the fear of sorcery that they inspire, they come and go everywhere as they please, although always with a cringingly ingratiating manner. Even after one has come to know them fairly well they still give an impression of constant watchfulness and profoundly sycophantic tact of the delicately oiled as opposed to the heavily greased variety. The smiths are the most perspicacious and cleverly adaptable of all Saharan peoples, for they have learned to live off and so outlive flamboyant warriors with their retinues and

[217] the author was so fortunate as to obtain a copy of the genealogical table in question, thanks to the very kind co-operation of Captain Roger Bret, Commandant of the *Annexe du Hoggar*, and Claude Blanguernon, Director of Nomad Schools.

682 assassin be returned to the victim's family. If he was not known,
628 however, the djema, or assembly of notables, designated a man
from the tribe to go make himself prisoner in his place. There is
[692] no example of the hostage's having been put to death in such a
[643] case. Serious cases were usually judged by the amenokal, who was
aided by four assessors, two taken from each side.

762 /296/ Suicide. -- Suicide is as rare as murder among the
Tuareg. When one occurs, the person who committed suicide is
[766] abandoned on the ground unburied, and the camp is moved and
abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the
Tuareg regard the suicide as if he had never existed and must
never speak of him again.

Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with
oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his
life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

[775] The soul of a suicide cannot find refuge and wanders forever.
It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and
people claim that they can hear it nearby in the evening and that
it makes so much noise that it is impossible to sleep.

[761] Death. -- The Tuareg do not fear death. When one of them
sees that he is dying, he gathers his relatives around him and gives
763 his last instructions. Then, according to the religious principles
which he may have neglected during his life but which he recalls
at the final moment, he pronounces the "Fatika /fatiha? Ed./" or
[29] if he does not have the strength for that, he raises the index finger
of his right hand and breathes his last.

764 The body is immediately washed in lukewarm water and
wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the
[567] slaves go to dig the grave on a neighboring high spot. The grave
is made of a little trench with two stages such as the Arabs use.
[483 The body is carried on a kind of stretcher ans taken to the burial
417] place, head first, by four men. It is then placed on its right side
with the face turned in the direction of Mecca.

764 A marabout or a literate man reads the Moslem prayer, and the men, standing behind him with their hands coupled and open at chest height, repeat it with him. Women do not participate in the burial.

Modern Tuareg tombs have stone markers (chouabed), one at the feet and one at the head for men, one at the head and two at the feet for women. They are oval in shape and the mound is slightly dome-shaped. They usually have stones around them, forming a gully with a forward part open to the east. One often finds wooden stakes or tent stakes stuck into the two ends of the grave, as well as large balls of hyaline quartz which, /297/ according to the Tuareg, were used to rub the body of the dead man before burying him. In many places where there are hyenas, as in the Sudan, the tomb is generally covered over with thorny branches to prevent them from digging up the dead man.

After the burial the persons who came for the occasion present their condolences to the family. The family has a meal served for them in memory of the deceased.

768 The dead man's clothing are given to the marabout or to the person who washed him.

Then camp is immediately broken, and the people never return to camp at that place.

765 Mourning does exist among the Tuareg. It lasts only a short time for the man who has lost his wife. For three days he stays shut up in his tent. During this time the ahal and all rejoicings are forbidden in the camp. For the wife who has lost her husband, mourning is a real retreat which lasts four months and ten days, during which time she must not appear in public. The end of the retreat is marked by a little ceremony: the women of the camp take the widow to see the sunrise, present her with an open book of piety, and show her some salt.

761 The Tuareg never bewail the death of a person, and condolences often have the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you loved is now in the paradise of God."

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abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the
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Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with
oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his
life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

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It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and
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wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the
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Modern Tuareg tombs have stone markers (chouabed), one at the feet and one at the head for men, one at the head and two at the feet for women. They are oval in shape and the mound is slightly dome-shaped. They usually have stones around them, forming a gully with a forward part open to the east. One often finds wooden stakes or tent stakes stuck into the two ends of the grave, as well as large balls of hyaline quartz which, /297/ according to the Tuareg, were used to rub the body of the dead man before burying him. In many places where there are hyenas, as in the Sudan, the tomb is generally covered over with thorny branches to prevent them from digging up the dead man.

After the burial the persons who came for the occasion present their condolences to the family. The family has a meal served for them in memory of the deceased.

768 The dead man's clothing are given to the marabout or to the person who washed him.

Then camp is immediately broken, and the people never return to camp at that place.

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4: Benhazera--19 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter XI

### Death. Burial. Graves

If death ("tamettant" ⵜⵎⵜⵜ ) takes place near an 764
"ar'erem" (village), burial is carried out at the cemetery. Otherwise, the deceased is buried where he died.

The corpse is washed with warm water, according to Moslem custom, and dressed in his shroud "tifit" ⵜⵉⵜ . Tolbas come to say the prayers of the dead. The grave "az'-ekka" ⴰⵣⵄⴰⴽⴽⴰ , plural "iz'ekouan" ⵉⵣⵄⴰⴽⴽⴰⵏ , is dug. The pit /23/ is one span and four fingers wide for, as among all Moslems, the corpse is laid on the right side, the face turned toward "kiblah" (the direction of Mecca). The depth is only 60 to 70 centimeters. It is covered with flat stones cemented with wet clay. They place markers ("chouahed" in Arabic, "ihalissen" ⵉⵀⴰⵍⵉⵙⵙⵏ in Tamashek), that is, stones set on end: one at the head, one at the feet if it is a man; one at the head, two at the feet if it is a woman, parallel or perpendicular to the direction of the grave according to whether it is a man or a woman.

Then a circle of stones is made around the grave, with an opening for entry and exit, and to the east, opposite the door, is the place of prayer, according to the following plan. a

The expression of condolence used is the following: "iha [576]
ner' irah yalla ierhak, " which corresponds to the Arabic وعليك
الله يخلف علينا and which means, "May God repay the loss which you and we have suffered. "

The visitor goes around the grave saying, "kel irkhem [788]
yalla (May God grant you mercy!), " says his prayer and leaves.

A funeral feast is given for the tolbas and the poor. /24/

a [see p 20 --- ANALYST]

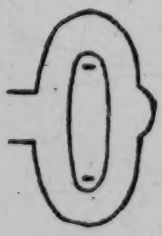
## Chapter XII

## Mourning

Mourning, "oudhouf" ⵓⴷⵃⵓⴼ , does not have 765
any very outstanding features for a man.

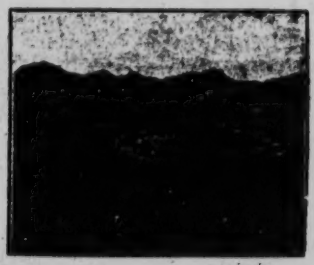
In general a man must stay shut in his tent for three days.

The widow goes into mourning and remains in mourning for four months and ten days. She must hide her hair [302]
with a black veil and not comb it for the duration of her mourning; enclose her feet in high footgear instead of the usual sandals; withdraw her hands from view or show only their tips. In short, as in "Miss Helyett":




Plan

[764]



Dautheville
Tuareg Grave in the
Teddeqqirt Wadi (Immidir)

To show none of those charms
Which would give arms
To the wicked liar.

Many legends circulate about blacksmiths. They say that 326
because they work with iron and fire, they will go into the fire 565
of hell. They are scorned, first because they devote themselves to a manual craft, a disgrace in the eyes of a Tuareg, and secondly because it is said that they are of Negro origin. It is also claimed that they were pagans and that their conversion to Islamism is not sincere. They are also taken for sorcerers. [754]
The sheik Ben Djellas (see the Appendix /not translated/) says of them: "Blacksmiths hate God and his Prophet, and they betray God and his Prophet." Their ancestor was called Tamamenet.

The blacksmith does not belong to any tribe. He goes where he pleases, wherever he finds work. Sometimes he goes to war, and he is said to fight well, but a noble Tuareg will not cross swords with him.

In the Ahaggar a blacksmith is called "mr'allem," variation 326
of the Arab "maalem." However, there is a word in Tamashek [192]
for him, "inedh," plural "inedhane," but it is not used. /73/

At Tamanrasset I was shown many ancient graves (of the [764]
"chouchat" shape) which, it seems, were the burial places of a tribe of blacksmiths said to have been massacred and died of starvation a very long time ago.

The gardens of the Ahaggar "ar'erems" are worked by the 241
Harratine of the Touat and the Tidilkelt, who bring their tools 312
with them. It is they also who dig the "foggaras," or covered 565
wells, and all the tools that they use come from the Saharan Oases.

## Chapter XII

### Agriculture. Ar'erems

While in all of the Ahnet no trace of agriculture is to be 241
found, however small, because of the scarcity of wells, whose 361
312

241 Usually, there are six khammès per field, and each of
312 them has a right to water for one night and one day. The water, brought from the foggara, spreads into the "madjens," or reservoirs, as on the oases, there to be divided among the gardens by means of saguias, or irrigation canals.

6764]

Herhafok Region

In the Left Foreground an Ancient
Grave in the Chouchat Form
(Koudia)

241 The khammès receives as his pay:

1. A fifth of the crop
2. The barley which he sowed in the irrigation canals
3. A load of wheat in winter and a half load in summer, for his personal consumption.

245 In the Ahaggar there are also small oases of palms which were planted by no one knows whom, for example, at Tibedjehine and at Silet (Ahaggar), at Djor'raf, Tafarakrak,
[423] and Teguift (Immidir). The Tuareg who own them leave them untended and are satisfied to go and gather the dates when they choose. These palms, which get no care, also have a great mass of dry djerids hanging to the ground, which makes it very difficult to climb them. Perhaps this is to prevent theft of the dates? /76/

From the fact that these palms, even though not cared for, produce dates which, if not of good quality, are still quite

4: Benhazera--67 G-5(1905), 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter XIII

### Ancient Graves. Upright Stones

Ancient graves. Almost everywhere, in the Ahnet, Adhar', Ahaggar, Immidir, and even on the banks of the wadis that cross Tanezrouft, are found many ancient graves shaped either like a truncated cone, or "chouchat," or like a little turret, or "bazina," like those found everywhere in North Africa. 172 764

I saw one, however, at Tamanrasset (right next to the grave of the Tamenokalt Taber'ourt oult Akhalakham of the Imanan) which had a special shape. It was a pile of stones in the shape of a rectangular parallelepiped, four meters long by one meter wide, and one meter high.

The Tuareg say that these graves, which they call "adebni," plural "idebnane" (a word which seems to be derived from the Arab word "beni," building), are those of the "Izabbaren" ⵉⵣⴱⴰⵔⵏ . Then, too, this word in Tamashek means "ogres" and in the singular is "zabbar" ⵣⴰⴱⴰⵔ , "ogre." The Ahaggar and the Taïtoq refuse to admit that these were perhaps their ancestors at the time of paganism who had graves of this kind. "The Izabbaren," they say, "have nothing in common with us. They are not our ancestors." It was for this reason that Professor Gautier could explore some of these graves without opposition on their part. 172 173 764 [192]

Meanwhile, there is also another kind of grave which still has a circular shape but with the "chouahed," or markers, customary with all Moslems, while the "chouchat," or "bazina," graves are without them. This kind of grave is more unusual. It seems to be a form intermediary between the "Izabbaren" graves and the present graves. 172 764

On the other hand, the Tuareg will show you the grave of Tin /78/ Hinane, the ancestress from whom they claim to be descended, which is located at the junction of the Tefirt wadi 172 173 764

and the Abalessa wadi. Now, this grave has the shape of an 172
enormous circular wall and is surrounded by other graves of the 173
"chouchat" shape which are those of Tin Hinane's servants. 764
Beside her grave is that of Takamat, the woman whom the Kel Ahnet claim as their ancestress. All these graves resemble those of the "izabbaren" so closely as to be confusing. Why do the Tuareg disclaim these while they acknowledge those of Tin Hinane, Takamat, and their servants?

We saw in the chapter "Superstitions, Beliefs" that the 769
Tuareg go to consult the Izzabaren graves to obtain news 787
those absent.

In the Tafidjiq wadi (about four hours' walk from Ideles) there is a grave which is the object of great veneration on the

[342]

Harratine Huts at Ideles
(Koudia)

part of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is that of Adjadj Alemine [797
(probably the missionary who converted them to Islamism; see 174]
the chapter on the origin of the Tuareg /not translated/). The Ahaggar say that this Adjadj Alemine was a marabout, a saint, and they call on him in their prayers when they are in trouble or grief, as the Arabs, under the same circumstances, call on Sidi Abdelkader el Djillali. I have not seen his grave, but I was told that it has "chouahed" like all Moslem graves.

Upright stones. Following the directions of the guide 172
Deguemma ag Chikat of the Adjouh-n-Taheli, I found, in the Koudia of the Ahaggar, a place where there was a collection of some ten upright stones of which only one remained /79/

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7:Ni[illegible]en E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



173 634 *Sabenas*, the ancestress of the noble *Kel Ferwan* and the first ruler of the drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

*Amenukal*, the eldest son of *Sabenas*.

*Mokhammed Aman*, the younger brother of *Amenukal*.

*Elkarebi*, the younger brother of *Mokhammed Aman*.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:—

*Bubeker*, who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe.

*Ṛali*, who was the younger brother of *Bubeker*. He was the reigning drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years. He was considered a very skilful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group with profound respect. *Ṛali*'s tomb is south of the Massif, somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. On *Ṛali*'s death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in which I had the opportunity to participate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief, who thereupon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the deceased chief. Ancestral worship of this type is most probably not a traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. It should be noted in this context that *Ṛali* was considered a member of the *Echcherifen*, the descendants of the Prophet, through relationship to the *Imenan* (cf. p. 393 ff.).

[269] 634 769 [282]

173 634 *Mokhammed*, who belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* through his mother, while his father came from the *Ifoṛas*. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. Apparently he was not a close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief *Ṛali*.

*Wanarli*, who had no bonds of kinship with the *Kel Ferwan*. His father belonged to the religious, and, in Tuareg opinion, very holy tribe of *Kel es Suk*. He was very strict with the vassals of his drum-group, and he would never take his food in their company, though other drum-chiefs seem to have been less severe. It is probably for this very reason that he was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

*Afanu*, who belonged to the *Echchikhen*. He died after one year's reign.

*Kutiya*, who was of noble *Kel Ferwan* stock, being the son of *Ṛali*'s younger brother.

*Agg-Elkhir*, of pure noble origin being the son of *Ṛali*'s daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected.

*Azeṛor*, who was the son of *Ṛali*.

634 *Agg-Elkhir*, in his second period of reign. He was the reigning drum-chief during my stay in Ayr 1955. He was then very old, and the French considered his son *Khejji* the actual representative of the drum-group.

*Bukha*, who is the newly-elected drum-chief. He is the son of *Azeṛor* and the grand-son of the renowned chief *Ṛali*, who was the mother's brother of the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir*. Consequently *Bukha* is a classificatory sister's son of *Agg-Elkhir* (cf. p. 451, Fig. 294). Before the election took place very many Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group had wanted the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir* to be succeeded by his son *Khejji*. On the day of election, when all adult men of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group came

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Then camp is immediately broken, and the people never return to camp at that place.

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761 The Tuareg never bewail the death of a person, and condolences often have the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you loved is now in the paradise of God."

## Chapter XII

## Mourning

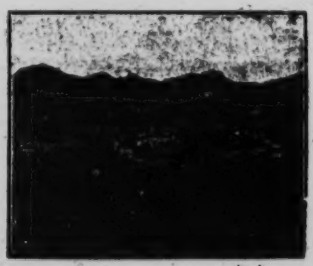
Mourning, "oudhouf" ⵓⴷⵃⵓⴼ , does not have 765 any very outstanding features for a man.

In general a man must stay shut in his tent for three days.

The widow goes into mourning and remains in mourning for four months and ten days. She must hide her hair [302] with a black veil and not comb it for the duration of her mourning; enclose her feet in high footgear instead of the usual sandals; withdraw her hands from view or show only their tips. In short, as in "Miss Helyett":

Plan

[764]



Dautheville
Tuareg Grave in the
Teddeqqirt Wadi (Immidir)

To show none of those charms
Which would give arms
To the wicked liar.

At the end of mourning, the women of the camp lead the 765
widow out to see the sunrise; the Koran is held open before
her and she is made to look at salt. Upon her return, she may
dress as before and make herself pretty. A collection is taken [768]
up for her. /25/

## Chapter XIII

### Inheritance. Succession

Inheritance, "takasit" +⊡∴+ , (from the verb 428
"ekkous," to inherit) is of two kinds: political inheritance,
if I may so express it, and private inheritance.

The first is the right to command and to the collection of
the "tioussé," or tribute from the "im'ad." This is handed
down according to the laws of inheritance of which we will
speak later.

As to private inheritance, it is collected by the natural
heirs according to Moslem laws of rights, which means that the
son has a right to an amount double that of the daughter. The
animals left as inheritance are assessed and are divided ac-
cording to this assessment. These shares are then chosen by
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## Chapter XIV

### The Home. The Tent

All the tents of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar confederation 281
are made of the hides, "ilmaouen" |:⊐|| , of goats or sheep, 342

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Lhote describes the skin-stockings (*abuheg*) used among the Ahaggar Tuareg as having a very particular cut, so that the first toe is separated from the other toes in order that the stocking may be worn with sandals. The following description of Tuareg skin-stockings is additionally given:— "Cette chaussette monte un peu plus haut que les chaussures européennes à tiges et se lace de même au moyen d'un lacet de peau. Il y a une petite languette et la jonction empeignetige est renforcée par une rondelle de peau fixée par une couture. La semelle est une simple peau de filali qui serait vite usée si l'on marchait directement dessus. *L'abuâheg* est fait en peau de mouton ou en peau de gazelle tannée, et souvent avec des chutes de mauvaise qualité. Les peaux sont ordinairement teintes en noire et la rondelle de renforcement en vert. Mais il y en a aussi qui sont faites en filali rouge de bonne qualité. Le prix de ces dernières est plus élevé et elles sont généralement faites sur commande. On trouve sur le marché d'Agadez, des *tbodhegen* qui sont l'oeuvre des artisans cordonniers de cette ville. Nous n'en avons jamais vu faire chez les Touareg du Nord, qui les font aujourd'hui confectionner par des artisans de Tamanrasset et s'en procurent également à Agadez. De même, nous n'en avons jamais vu porter chez les Ioullimiden de Ménéka ou chez les Tenguéréguifs. Les gens d'In Salah et de Djanet la connaissent ainsi que les Chaamba" (Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). According to Lhote, just quoted, *abouheg* (*abuheg*) is described by Foley not as stockings, but as boots, which form part of the ceremonial equipment of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while Foureau (1894, p. 203) says that wealthy Tuareg among the *Kel Aïr* wear boots made of soft leather and manufactured at Radames, Rat, and in Ayr. These boots according to Foureau have a separate space for the first toe in order that they may be worn with sandals, and as claimed by Lhote, they are not true boots, but skin-stockings (cf. Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). Duveyrier also speaks of the use of soft leather boots known as *ibôhadjen* sometimes worn by chiefs (Duveyrier 1864, p. 407), and in the case of the *Iwilemmeden Kel Dennek* Nicolas mentions the use of a type of boots ("la botte de cavalier") known as *abûzag* (pl. *ibuzâgen*) (Ar. *imâg*) (Nicolas 1950a p. 174).

Foucauld speaks of *abuheg* as a type of soft leather boots, but he mentions that this same word is also used for knitted stocking. Such stocking are also known by the feminine form *tabuhek*, though the proper meaning of this latter word is "slipper". Slippers are worn by a few men and women in winter, and a woman frequently wears them during the period of isolation (4 months and ten days) after her husband's death. According to Foucauld the leather boots (*abuheg*) are never worn by women but only by a very few men (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 36). It is a great pity that the authors who refer to the use of soft leather boots or stockings have reproduced no illustration which clearly indicates their cut. But fortunately there is a pair of leather stockings in the collection of the Ethnographical Museum at Neuchâtel. There can be little doubt that this garment serves as a stocking and not as a boot, for it has a separate space for the first toe which would be meaningless if not worn with sandals. The leather stocking is made from three pieces of leather:— (1) A sole or rather a bottom piece which is bent slightly up over the foot, notably at the heel; (2) A piece of leather covering the instep and sewn to the forepart of the bottom piece; (3) A piece of leather forming the leg and sewn to the instep and bottom pieces. It is interesting that all three pieces are of the same type of leather and that the bottom piece resembles that of moccasins.

The sort of slipper termed *tabuhek* by Foucauld and worn by both sexes, is identical with leather slippers or shoes provided with a distinct sole. These shoes seem to be of Arab origin, and I have

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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643 claim that the Sultan has never had any right over the country of Ayr. They state that his Tuareg
[634] title of *Amenukal* has nothing to do with *akal* (i.e. "the land"), and that the country of Ayr from the remote past until now has been owned by the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 421). However,
175 if we turn to the information given on this subject by the *Agadez Chronicle*, we learn that until the
643 establishment of the Sultanry it had been customary for the powerful noble tribes to claim a tax of
651 horses from the caravans which passed their particular territories. The first Sultan of Ayr sent a letter to learned people of an Islamic country to ask whether such taxes were lawful or unlawful. And he was answered that these taxes were to be considered good because those who received the taxes protected the very important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo. The taxes should therefore be collected by the Sultan who again should give them to the Tuareg (Urvoy 1934, p. 155). Before the arrival of the French the Sultan had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, which is mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, 828 f.), and he was entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade and to annual taxes from the sedentary Negroes of Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

643 The tradition which says that the Sultan descend patrilineally from the Sultan of Constantinople and matrilineally from a slave woman clearly indicates the position of the Sultan in Tuareg society. The Sultan is looked down upon by fair-skinned Tuareg because of his black skin, but he is also endowed with prestige because of his supposed descendance from the Sultan of Constantinople.

643 A certain *elbaraka* or benediction is ascribed to him, and all people who want to greet the Sultan
778 must remove their sandals. The Sultan is always buried in his palace at Agadez, and it is said that
[766] if he was buried outside there would be a great risk that his subjects would dig up his skeleton to use
[765] part of it for amulets. It is also said that the Sultan preserves a part of the skeleton of his predecessor for amulets. This must be viewed in connection with the particular power of *elbaraka* attached to the Sultan, and it is important to note that the Sultan is believed to possess an unusual power of fertility, which is secured and maintained until his death by means of certain medicines acquired from the Sudan. Thus it seems as though the Sultan possesses some of the qualities of the Sudanese divine
175 kings, but in practice he has little power. The *Agadez Chronicle* refers to Sultans who acted as war
643 leaders of all Ayr Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Ayr it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of pastoral Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have only reigned for very short periods.

631 Although the Sultan is the supreme chief of all Ayr Tuareg, he does not have the same relationship
634 to all Tuareg groups, for many of them are placed directly under the supreme chief of the *Kel Ewey*
648 group known as the *Anestafidet*. The *Anestafidet* originally lived at Asodey in Central Ayr, but he now lives in Agadez where he holds a prominent position as a chief. Like most *Kel Ewey* he is black-skinned and related to the Hausa population of the Southlands, where he lives for a part of the year with the important task of organizing the trade between Ayr and the south. The *Anestafidet* has always been closely attached to the sedentary Hausa of the Southlands, and is said to have part of his family living at a small village named Blanko between Tanut and Zinder. A new *Anestafidet* may even be elected

682 assassin be returned to the victim's family. If he was not known,
628 however, the djema, or assembly of notables, designated a man
from the tribe to go make himself prisoner in his place. There is
[692] no example of the hostage's having been put to death in such a
[643] case. Serious cases were usually judged by the amenokal, who was
aided by four assessors, two taken from each side.

762 /296/ Suicide. -- Suicide is as rare as murder among the
Tuareg. When one occurs, the person who committed suicide is
[766] abandoned on the ground unburied, and the camp is moved and
abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the
Tuareg regard the suicide as if he had never existed and must
never speak of him again.

Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with
oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his
life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

[775] The soul of a suicide cannot find refuge and wanders forever.
It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and
people claim that they can hear it nearby in the evening and that
it makes so much noise that it is impossible to sleep.

[761] Death. -- The Tuareg do not fear death. When one of them
sees that he is dying, he gathers his relatives around him and gives
763 his last instructions. Then, according to the religious principles
which he may have neglected during his life but which he recalls
at the final moment, he pronounces the "Fatika /fatiha? Ed./" or
[29] if he does not have the strength for that, he raises the index finger
of his right hand and breathes his last.

764 The body is immediately washed in lukewarm water and
wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the
[567] slaves go to dig the grave on a neighboring high spot. The grave
is made of a little trench with two stages such as the Arabs use.
[483 The body is carried on a kind of stretcher ans taken to the burial
417] place, head first, by four men. It is then placed on its right side
with the face turned in the direction of Mecca.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



from the members of this village. The particular connection between the *Anestafidet* and the sedentary 631
peoples of the Sudan is very natural in view of the fact that the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg nowadays, as in the 634
past, engage much in caravan trading with the south. The name of *Anestafidet* is derived from the [648]
tribe *Kel Tafidet* – one of the noble *Kel Ewey* tribes which immigrated to Ayr about the 14th century A.D. The *Anestafidet* has always been a very important chief, and the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, though very mixed with the ancient sedentary population of Ayr Negroes, were for periods in the past very important politically. To-day the *Anestafidet* is the most important chief of Ayr after the Sultan, and [746]
it is said that, like a deceased Sultan, a deceased *Anestafidet* should be buried in his house. The *Anestafidet* is treated with respect by all Ayr Tuareg, who take off their sandals when greeting him, and at the [533]
beginning of the holy Friday (that is on Thursday night) the professional musicians of Agadez, when they have made music at the Sultan's palace, go to *Anestafidet*'s residence and then to the ministers of the Sultan.

The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, who live predominantly in and around the villages of the eastern and most mountainous part of the Ayr Massif, form the majority of the people placed directly under the command of the *Anestafidet*. According to figures given by Nicolas for tribes and villages of the *Kel Ewey* [162]
their total number seems now to be about 8000 (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 465 ff.). But placed under the *Anestafidet* are also the pastoral Tuareg group known as *Kel Tamat*. Formerly it had its own drum-chief (*ettebel*) who was also the supreme chief of the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg. The group of *Kel Tamat*, [162]
with the *Ikezkezen*, judged by the figures for some of the tribes (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 471 f.), comprise nowadays about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the true *Kel Ewey*.

The *Kel Tamat* do not form a drum-group nowadays. In the past their drum-chief was elected by tribes within the drum-group, but he had to be installed ceremoniously by the *Anestafidet* who presented him with a large headcloth. All people of the *Anestafidet* have to recognize him as their supreme judicial authority. But the *Anestafidet*, who is elected by people of the ancient noble *Kel Ewey* tribes, is submitted to the authority of the Sultan who also installs the *Anestafidet* ceremoniously.

Most Ayr Tuareg who are not placed under the *Anestafidet* are collectively referred to as the *Kel* 631
*Amenukal*, that is "the people of the *Amenukal* (or Sultan)". Most of these people are pastoralists 634
though some sedentary or semi-sedentary people are also placed in the Sultan's group. The important 643
Tuareg groups placed directly under the Sultan are the following:—

The *Itesen* with the *Immikitan* most of whom left the Massif long before the arrival of the French. In the past both groups formed politically very important drum-groups, and though they were very few in number throughout the 19th century they were nevertheless politically important, as without them a Sultan could not be elected and installed.

The *Kel Faday* in the region of Ingal consist of a noble tribe and eleven tribes of vassals. The *Kel Faday* constituted throughout the 19th century a politically important drum-group though it was very small. Their total number according to Nicolas is now 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The *Kel Ferwan* comprise tribes in the western parts of the Massif including the regions of Agadez, [162]
and also south of the Massif in Dumergu. They number about 5000.

The *Kel Geres* Tuareg live in the Southlands around Madawa most of the year but visit Southern 631
Ayr west of Agadez in the rainy season (cf. p. 7, 431 f.). Properly speaking they are not now recognized 643

174 Matriarchy, in fact, goes back to the times when primitive man had no exact notions on the causes of childbirth.

For, "it seems," Gautier continues, "that primitive man attributed all birth to parthenogenesis and could only imagine a conception which was immaculate. He saw no ineluctable connection between caressing and gestation. Although he practiced fertilization by instinct, he had no clear idea of this. The word 'father' had no sense for him, and consequently the children could only group themselves around the mother." (2)

2. La conquête du Sahara, p. 190.

On the other hand, since rules of marriage had not yet been established in that period, it was impossible to seek out paternity. It is from this state of things that filiation by the uterine branch is derived. With the totemic beliefs to be found in lower civilizations, the matrilocal system found still another reason for existence. It was linked with exogamy, preventing unions between the closest relatives and between people of different castes, and making incest impossible.

171 In certain primitive Australian groups, /152/ the study of which
601 helps us understand the evolution of societies, there is a system of kinship by classes of kin that is found among the Tuareg and the peoples of the Sudan. It was defined by Morgan, and groups in the first degree brothers, sisters, and cousins; in the second degree the father, mother, and their siblings; in the third degree the grandparents with their siblings, etc.

174 In matriarchy, the natural protector of the child is the brother of his mother. In the same way the obligation for the husband to live with his wife's family is connected with matriarchy. This
591 custom is practiced in the Ahaggar, where the husband must live
[851] one year in the camp of his parents-in-law, this time being shortened when the young wife has borne a child. When a woman becomes
● 768 the widow of a man who does not belong to her tribe, she rejoins her tribe and takes her children with her,

764 A marabout or a literate man reads the Moslem prayer, and the men, standing behind him with their hands coupled and open at chest height, repeat it with him. Women do not participate in the burial.

Modern Tuareg tombs have stone markers (chouabed), one at the feet and one at the head for men, one at the head and two at the feet for women. They are oval in shape and the mound is slightly dome-shaped. They usually have stones around them, forming a gully with a forward part open to the east. One often finds wooden stakes or tent stakes stuck into the two ends of the grave, as well as large balls of hyaline quartz which, /297/ according to the Tuareg, were used to rub the body of the dead man before burying him. In many places where there are hyenas, as in the Sudan, the tomb is generally covered over with thorny branches to prevent them from digging up the dead man.

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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *tawsit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan. 614 [162] [565] 613 614

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult. 114 611 [177]

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. 611 [591] [428] [631]

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage. 428 [422] [174]

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10. 614 591 768

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



591
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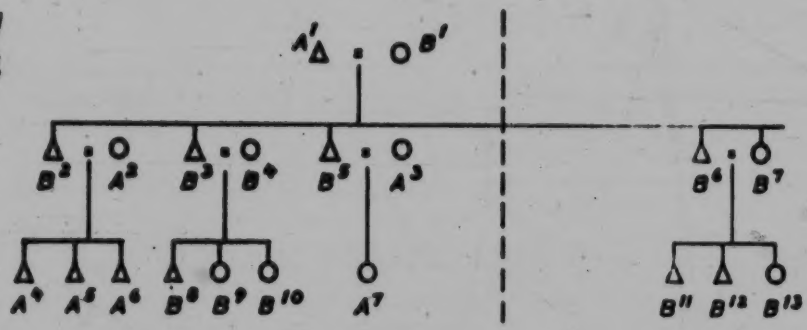


Fig. 10.–Illustration of the rule of residence for persons descending from a man of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan ($A^1$) and a woman of the Dag Rali clan ($B^1$).

People living with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan to which all A-persons belong.

At the death of $A^1$ of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan all persons will settle in the territory of the Dag Rali clan with maternal kinsmen of $B^1$, and they will remain there also after the death of $B^1$.

At the death of $B^8$ his wife $A^3$ and her children $A^4$ $A^5$ will go to her father or maternal kinsmen of the Agouh-en-Tehele clan as will be the case with $A^6$ and her child $A^7$ at the death of $B^9$. At the death of $B^9$ his wife $B^4$ and children $B^8$–$B^{10}$ will remain with the Dag Rali.

People living with the Dag Rali clan to which all B-persons belong.

If $B^9$ dies while $A^1$ is still alive, $B^7$ and her children $B^{11}$ $B^{12}$ will go back to the camp of $A^1$ in the Agouh-en-Tehele territory. After the death of $A^1$ they will return to the Dag Rali territory to join the camp of $B^3$, $B^5$, and $B^6$.

[614] [682] If for instance $B^8$ kills a man of a third clan (e.g. the Ait Loaien) the Agouh-en-Tehele and the Dag Rali clans are both responsible for the payment of blood-wealth as long as $A^1$ is alive and $B^8$ lives with the Agouh-en-Tehele clan. If $A^1$ has died and $B^8$ consequently lives with the Dag Rali, this latter clan alone will be responsible for the payment of blood-wealth.

582 The matrilineal and patrilineal rules applied among the Ahaggar Tuareg bring us to a consideration of marriage. In Ahaggar as in Air the traditional type of preferential mating no doubt is that with a cross-cousin, and cross-cousin marriage is symmetrical although a mother's brother's daughter is said to be the ideal spouse. This is not only stated by Tuareg particularly versed in their native customs. It is also proved by certain usages connected with marriage, and there are in fact many marriages of this type. But cross-cousin marriage although traditionally the preferential type of mating is apparently not the most common type of marriage. For many Tuareg claim that the very best is to marry a mother's sister's daughter (that is a classificatory sister), or a mother's sister's daughter's daughter (that is a classificatory sister's daughter). My statistical material, which is not very comprehensive, seems

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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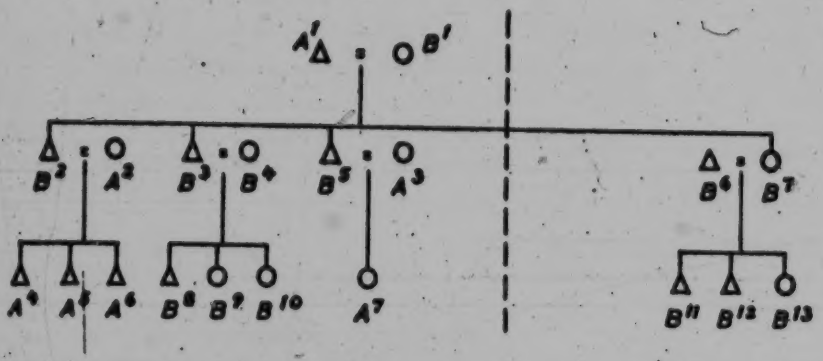



Fig. 103. Illustration of the rule of residence for persons descending from a man of the *Aghh-en-tehlé* tribe ($A^1$) and a woman of the *Dag Rali* tribe ($B^1$). The *A*-people belong matrilineally to the *Aghh-en-tehlé* tribe, the *B*-people to the *Dag Rali*.

People living with the *Aghh-en-tehlé* tribe.

At the death of $A^1$ of the *Aghh-en-tehlé* tribe all persons will settle in the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe with maternal kinsmen of $B^1$, and they will remain there also after the death of $B^1$.

At the death of $B^2$ his wife $A^2$ and her children $A^4$–$A^6$ will go to her father or maternal kinsmen of the *Aghh-en-tehlé* tribe as will be the case with $A^3$ and her child $A^7$ at the death of $B^3$. At the death of $B^3$ his wife $B^4$ and children $B^8$–$B^{10}$ will remain with the *Dag Rali*.

People living with the *Dag Rali* tribe.

If $B^6$ dies while $A^1$ is still alive, $B^7$ and her children $B^{11}$–$B^{13}$ will go back to the camp of $A^1$ in the *Aghh-en-tehlé* territory. After the death of $A^1$ they will return to the *Dag Rali* to join the camp of $B^2$, $B^3$, and $B^5$. [768]

If for instance $B^3$ kills a man of a third tribe (e.g., the *Ayt Lawayen*) the *Aghh-en-tehlé* and the *Dag Rali* tribes are both responsible for the payment of blood-wealth as long as $A^1$ is alive and $B^3$ lives with the *Aghh-en-tehlé* tribe. If $A^1$ has died and $B^3$ consequently lives with the *Dag Rali*, this latter tribe alone will be responsible for the payment of blood-wealth. [682] [672]

(3) After the death of the husband's father the couple will join the husband's matrilineal kinsmen (his mother's brothers) together with his mother should she still be alive.

(4) At the husband's death his wife and their children will move back to the wife's kinsmen. [768]

As may be seen from this complicated rule of residence, a single death may in fact give rise to a change of territory and camp for a great many people. This is illustrated in Fig. 103 which depicts the rules of residence in the light of actual marriages between the two vassal tribes, *Dag Rali* and *Aghh-en-tehlé*.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



634 643 [114] Nicolas says that a maternal cousin is the first in line of succession, not only among the Northern Tuareg, but also among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). This, however, is not correct. I have been told by many Tuareg in Ahaggar that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies seem to intimate that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Ahaggar Tuareg, whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom, claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statement this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

591 768 586 The rules of residence have been outlined in a previous chapter (cf. p. 142 ff.), and I have mentioned that in Ahaggar residence is based upon both the patrilocal and the matrilocal principle as follows:— A man remains with his father after marriage, but after his father's death he joins the camp of his mother and her brothers to live with his matrilineal relatives. A woman after marriage moves to her husband's camp. At her husband's death she will return to her father's camp, and if her father be dead she will join the camp of her mother and her mother's brothers. In case of a divorced woman the same rule is observed, but the children of a divorced couple belong to the father, and stay in his camp as long as he is alive. After his death they belong to the camp where their mother lives. However, the Ahaggar Tuareg sometimes dispense with this rule in case husband and wife belong to different classes or castes (cf. p. 22). It may even happen that children of a dissolved marriage, where husband and wife come from the same class or caste, grow up with their mother – particularly if, when the divorce takes place, the children are so small that they need their mother's care. On the whole, however, the Ahaggar Tuareg follow the rules of residence indicated above, and we have already seen that these particular rules are strongly supported by the authority of the *Amenukal*. The same practise [178] was perhaps once also followed by the Ayr Tuareg, but, as we have seen (p. 152 f.), in the *Kel Ferwan* group there is nowadays a strong tendency for a man to remain with his patrilineal kinsmen after his father's death. The rules of residence do not play a very important part to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg nowadays. The political unit of the drum-group has very little practical value, economic and political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals have disappeared, and there are no land rights to which certain individuals succeed.

582 In the light of what has been said so far about Tuareg social organization, we shall now consider their traditional rules of marriage. Preferential marriage is that with a cross-cousin; the very best is to marry a mother's brother's daughter, but father's sister's daughter is also considered a suitable choice. An exchange of spouse between two family groups is considered most excellent. It is thus considered ideal for brothers of family A to marry sisters of family B, for brothers of family B to marry sisters of family A.

If Ego marries a classificatory cross-cousin it seems preferably for him to marry one of his mother's [43] family. This is intimated by a custom connected with marriage in Ahaggar:— At the beginning of the wedding ceremony a pair of sandals should be given to the man who does not marry the bride though traditionally possessing a sort of prior entitlement to do so. Such men are:— (1) the bride's father's sister's son; (2) the bride's father's mother's sister's daughter's son; (3) the bride's father's father's brother's daughter's son.

841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
842 a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[788] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
[782] pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the
769 creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout
[431] an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
846 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.
431 Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
862 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his
854 stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
[184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimmiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This
[171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are some-
[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
[826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
851] Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517] ennobles the woman.

1777 Some Tuareg scrupulously practice fasting, and the different
7785 Moslem holidays are now followed punctually. But along with that
7795 they keep the ahal, monogamy, and matriarchy.

7774 Pagan survivals. -- Ten centuries of Islamism have not completely rid the Tuareg of their former beliefs. They still believe in the existence of an animated world peopled by elements acting visibly or invisibly, living in minerals, vegetables, water, etc. To be sure, these beliefs are growing blurred, dwindling and losing their intensity, but the Tuareg still live with them, even going so far as to practice certain rites, just as in the country in France.

Their belief in supernatural matter is more than we could possibly imagine. They believe in genii (ahinnen or imdounen) who
7776 inhabit the mountains, springs, steep places, and some trees. They
[7755] protect themselves from them by numerous talismans, which they beg from the marabouts, or by the practice of exorcizing. The women are even more credulous than the men on this point. They
7768 consult the dead by going to pray on their tombs and ask them news
7787 of those who are absent.

7778 Petrographic cults are still very much alive among the Tuareg.
7782 They believe that some stones are haunted, and to gain the good will of the spirits they place votive offerings in the form of pebbles nearby. Therefore, at the crossing of some mountain passes and some unavoidable paths one often finds enormous piles of stones imitating tumuli, or else many little piles placed on both sides of some camel trails. Some ancient tombs are the object of a quite peculiar worship, for example the one discovered at Tazerouk a few /308/ years ago by Captain Niéger. This tomb, on which lay several stone statuettes, polished axes, and numerous Neolithic objects, was still visited in recent years until the time when it was excavated by the French. The Tuareg deny this, of course, but the discovery of objects placed there recently (fragments of cloth,
7773 beads, etc.) proves it. The stone statues represented the Tibaradines,
7778 that is, "the maidens." They were supposedly a highborn woman
7782 and her servant who were turned into stone because the mistress

There are also lucky or unlucky days. The lucky days, 777
those which are recommended for starting on a journey, are [484]
Friday after prayer, Saturday morning, and Monday. /63/
For the lucky day of the month one first counts 2 from the
index finger and, coming back to the index finger, 7, 12,
17, 22, 27.

The unlucky days are Sunday and Wednesday.

The Tuareg also believe in the evil eye, "tahott." 754

An eclipse is the sun's raid on the moon, and vice versa. 821

Finally, there is a very curious custom of which Duveyrier 769
has spoken, which is that of consulting old graves. Usually 787
it is the women who go to consult them. They dress well
and must avoid having on themselves anything of iron or steel,
even a needle. They lie down near the grave, and the
"zabbar" (ogre) inhabiting the grave appears to them in the
form of a giant with eyes as large as a camel's, and gives
them the answers they want. They are consulted especially
in order to get news of absent ones, people gone on a raid
or in a caravan, from whom there has been no news.

## Chapter IX

### Stock Raising. Flocks

Camels, sheep, and goats constitute the chief resource 233
of the Tuareg, as of all nomads. Camels especially are the
object of all their care, since these give them the greatest
service. They rely greatly on camels, ewes, and goats be- [234]
cause of the milk, of which they drink a great deal, and melted
butter, "oudi," which they make.

They use all the hides: those of camels for sandals, 237
containers for butter, watering troughs, etc.; those of sheep 281
or goats for waterskins and the manufacture of tents, leather
clothes, etc. /64/

and the Abalessa wadi. Now, this grave has the shape of an enormous circular wall and is surrounded by other graves of the "chouchat" shape which are those of Tin Hinane's servants. Beside her grave is that of Takamat, the woman whom the Kel Ahnet claim as their ancestress. All these graves resemble those of the "izabbaren" so closely as to be confusing. Why do the Tuareg disclaim these while they acknowledge those of Tin Hinane, Takamat, and their servants? 172 173 764

We saw in the chapter "Superstitions, Beliefs" that the Tuareg go to consult the Izzabaren graves to obtain news of those absent. 769 787

In the Tafidjiq wadi (about four hours' walk from Ideles) there is a grave which is the object of great veneration on the

[342]

Harratine Huts at Ideles
(Koudia)

part of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is that of Adjadj Alemine (probably the missionary who converted them to Islamism; see the chapter on the origin of the Tuareg /not translated/). The Ahaggar say that this Adjadj Alemine was a marabout, a saint, and they call on him in their prayers when they are in trouble or grief, as the Arabs, under the same circumstances, call on Sidi Abdelkader el Djillali. I have not seen his grave, but I was told that it has "chouahed" like all Moslem graves. [797 174]

Upright stones. Following the directions of the guide Deguemma ag Chikat of the Adjouh-n-Taheli, I found, in the Koudia of the Ahaggar, a place where there was a collection of some ten upright stones of which only one remained /79/ 172

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



173 634 drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The present drum-chief and his brother know the names of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent chiefs are not known further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:–

*Sabenas,* the ancestress of the noble clan and the first ruler of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

*Amenokal,* the elder son of Sabenas.

*Mohammed Aman,* the younger brother of Amenokal.

*Elkarebi,* the brother of Mohammed Aman.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:–

*Boboker,* who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan and was of pure noble origin.

*Rali,* who was the younger brother of Boboker. He was drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years and to have died about 30 years ago. He was considered a very skillful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the Kel Ferouan drum-group with profound respect. Rali's tomb is 769 south of the massif somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. On Rali's death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in which I had the opportunity to partic- [782] ipate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief and eaten close to the tomb. Later there was a prayer led by the chief, who thereupon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the [177] deceased chief. – Ancestral worship of this type is most probably no traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. Tuareg are generally afraid of deceased persons and will avoid their tombs.

*Mohammed,* who belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan through his mother, while 175 his father came from the Iforas. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. 634 Apparently he was no close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief, Rali.

*Ouanarli,* who had no bonds of kinship with the Kel Ferouan clan. His father belonged to the religious and in Tuareg opinion very holy clan of Kel Es Souk. He was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

*Afanou,* who belonged to the Echchikhen. He died after one year's reign.

*Koutia,* who was of noble Kel Ferouan stock being the son of Rali's younger brother.

*Agg Elkher,* of pure noble origin being the son of Rali's daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected. He is the present drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan group.

*Azerkor,* who was the son of Rali.

173 *Sabenas*, the ancestress of the noble *Kel Ferwan* and the first ruler of the drum-group. Her drum
634 was made of iron, they say.

*Amenukal*, the eldest son of *Sabenas*.

*Mokhammed Aman*, the younger brother of *Amenukal*.

*Elkarebi*, the younger brother of *Mokhammed Aman*.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:—

*Bubeker*, who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe.

*Ṛali*, who was the younger brother of *Bubeker*. He was the reigning drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years. He was considered a very skilful and wise chief, and is
[269] remembered by all Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group with profound respect. *Ṛali*'s tomb is south of the Massif, somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps.
634 On *Ṛali*'s death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in
● 269 which I had the opportunity to participate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief, who there-
[282] upon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the deceased chief. Ancestral worship of this type is most probably not a traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. It should be noted in this context that *Ṛali* was considered a member of the *Echcherifen*, the descendants of the Prophet, through relationship to the *Imenan* (cf. p. 393 ff.).

173 *Mokhammed*, who belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* through his mother, while his father came from
634 the *Iforas*. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. Apparently he was not a close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief *Ṛali*.

*Wanarli*, who had no bonds of kinship with the *Kel Ferwan*. His father belonged to the religious, and, in Tuareg opinion, very holy tribe of *Kel es Suk*. He was very strict with the vassals of his drum-group, and he would never take his food in their company, though other drum-chiefs seem to have been less severe. It is probably for this very reason that he was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

*Afanu*, who belonged to the *Echchikhen*. He died after one year's reign.

*Kutiya*, who was of noble *Kel Ferwan* stock, being the son of *Ṛali*'s younger brother.

*Agg-Elkhir*, of pure noble origin being the son of *Ṛali*'s daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected.

*Azeṛor*, who was the son of *Ṛali*.

634 *Agg-Elkhir*, in his second period of reign. He was the reigning drum-chief during my stay in Ayr 1955. He was then very old, and the French considered his son *Khejji* the actual representative of the drum-group.

*Bukha*, who is the newly-elected drum-chief. He is the son of *Azeṛor* and the grand-son of the renowned chief *Ṛali*, who was the mother's brother of the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir*. Consequently *Bukha* is a classificatory sister's son of *Agg-Elkhir* (cf. p. 451, Fig. 294). Before the election took place very many Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group had wanted the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir* to be succeeded by his son *Khejji*. On the day of election, when all adult men of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group came

278 of trust. Every time they take a caravan down south, they purchase
[439] many drugs, either for their personal use or to resell in their country or at In-Salah.

164 There are not many diseases in the Ahaggar. The country is relatively healthy because of its very dry climate /261/ and the bracing action of the sun, which at the same time destroys microbic germs. Moreover, this is very fortunate, for with the small amount of hygiene practiced by the Tuareg it would be impossible to fight disease. It may also be true that this absence of hygiene stems from the fact that the Tuareg have not had to see the necessity of it.

[165 The Ahaggar people die of old age or of war wounds. Of course,
731] there are sometimes epidemics capable of doing damage, but they are rare because of the isolation of the camps. The great distances which separate one from the other are a natural defense against mass contagions. These epidemics always come through the medium
[361] of the caravaneers or the people who return from the Sudan, where they have stayed among sedentary people. We may mention small-pox, very common in the Sudan, which sometimes works great ravages in the tribes. Typhus, spread by lice, may decimate a whole tribe in a few days, and it is not uncommon among the Tuareg. But these two diseases are the exception when they are reported in
[751] the Ahaggar. When a man returning from the Sudan is stricken with one of them, his case is reported by messengers long before his arrival, and the sick man is systematically isolated.

753 The Tuareg under the circumstances recognize the state of contagion, but they do not see the causes of disease. According to
[771] them, it is caused by the action of bad genii. As good Moslems, they pretend not to believe in these genii, but in reality most of the talismans they wear on their persons are intended to protect them from these. To obtain them, they go to the marabouts or to men
[756] with a reputation for their knowledge of the occult sciences; these sorcerers are known as amekelléou.

•771 They are little versed in the religion and are incapable of reading the Koran, with the exception of a few men among the Tăitok, [773 212] for example, or in the Sudanese tribe of the Kel es Souq. There are very few marabouts among them, and those who are there, with a few exceptions, live there in a spirit more mercenary than anything else. Among the Tuareg there are no imam or mufti, and [346] /305/ mosques are reduced to simple prayer places formed of an alignment of stones.

[781] Many Tuareg do not follow the prescriptions of the Koran, and a few years ago some chiefs relied on the marabouts "to make their prayers for them!" Those who practice do it ostentatiously. 795 A great number are affiliated with religious orders, but they are 175 usually ignorant of the meaning of the rites. Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the brotherhood of the Tijaniyyah was powerful among them. The majority of the people that the explorer Foureau met during his voyages in the Tassili were members, but he points out that there were also a few Qādiriyyah. Chief In Guéddassen and a certain number of nobles of the Ghat region were Senusi /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. So long as the Oulad Sidi Cheikh, who were the most important groups of the Tijaniyyah, fought France, the majority of the Tuareg remained attached to that brotherhood, but afterwards many of them adopted Senusism. The principal representatives of the Tijaniyyah in Tuareg country were the Tassili Ifôra, whose zāwiyah of Témaçinine had been founded by one of them, El Hadj el Foki. His son Moussa acquired very great renown as a holy man, and so his tomb, located near the little palm grove, is honored by all the northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg of the Ădrar des Ifôras are affiliated with the Qādiriyyah and received the ouerd from Cheikh Bay, a former Kounta marabout from Teleya; he died a few years ago, and his renown extends over the whole Sahara. Among the Ioullimmiden, some tribes are Qādiriyyah (Kel es Souq) and others Tijaniyyah (Daoussahak).

771 The religious lukewarmness of the Tuareg is such that they do
781 not always profess great respect for marabouts and very few of them
[788] make the pilgrimage to Mecca. When Duveyrier made his trip to Ghat (1860) there were some thirty pilgrims among the northern Tuareg (1); at the present time there are probably only three men

1. Op. cit., p. 413.

among the Ihaggaren who can be honored with the title of El Hadj.

But this tepidity does not always exclude fanaticism. Barth already mentioned that he had to face it during his trip and that he was assailed by questions and had to discuss different religious dogmas with some Tuareg; he extricated himself from this by a perfect knowledge of the Koran and of Moslem mores. /306/ Their
[669 religious ignorance makes them, at the same time, easy instru-
773] ments in the hands of marabouts who have often profited from this to stir up hate for the Christians and to push them into a holy war, as was the case for the revolts of 1915 - 1916 - 1917. In spite of the bitter failures which resulted, their confidence in their thaumaturgy was not at all diminished.

871 At the present time there are several Koranic schools in the
783 Ahaggar conducted by Arab marabouts and set up in the agricultural centers. They are mainly attended by Harratin children, for Tuareg children, who stay in their parent's camps, cannot go to them because they are too far away. A marabout family, originally from Cheurfa d'Aoulef (Tidikelt) settled in the Ahaggar some forty years ago and enjoys a great veneration. Not long ago it was fixed in the little center of Dar-Mouli, where it enhanced the value of the place, but as a result of the dryness of the spot it was moved to Esselissekine. There each year a great alms feast takes place,
[796] and all the Ahaggar Tuareg come. Its present chief, Moulay el
[554] Ouafi ben Moulay abd Allah is an example of piety, although still quite young, and he is surrounded by great respect.

797 In speaking of the Islamization of the Tuareg, Henri Basset said that the latter had taken almost nothing from Islam, except

797 sometimes the Koran as an amulet, but that they had kept its fatalism. (1) Many authors also take pleasure in pointing out

1. Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, p. 388.

their more than superficial polish in matters of Islamism.

781 In spite of all this, we must not exaggerate the degree of
797 irreligion of the Tuareg. Since the French occupation, the
177 action of marabouts who cross the country trading is growing
648 slowly but surely. The state of lethargy into which the suppression of their life of brigandage has thrown them is gradually pushing them toward religion, and it is becoming more and more common
[517 to see young nobles kill time by reciting in front of a small
565] Koran board.

•771 Superstition is very strong in them. They have not succeeded
[789] in breaking away from their ancient beliefs, and they wear a quantity of amulets which are often pagan in origin (jackal's foot, lizard's head, hyena skin, etc.).

[776] One observes certain noble families /307/ that, along with orthodox saints, invoke mysterious personages who can only be ancient minor gods they never got rid of. (1) In the old legends

1. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara, in Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

of the Ahaggar, Father de Foucauld has found the names of some of them: Tamâres, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Querdaz, Noulana, Radès. The Ihaggaren used to call on them to make their wishes come
[177 true, but today these personages have fallen into oblivion, and
982] only a few old people still remember their names. (2)

2. In Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

773 had asked God to escape a raid which was coming to pillage her
778 camp. After the raid had passed, however, God kept the women
782 in the state of stone in spite of their entreaties, and it was so that life might be returned to them that the Tuareg came to leave different objects every time they passed near the tomb. The worship
[174] of the Tibaradines is certainly a trace of pre-Islamic and perhaps Neolithic beliefs which must have been deformed through the centuries. One of the statuettes represents a cow and is clearly related to the one found at Silet.

771 The remains of totemism are still affirmed by food taboos.
262 The nobles refuse to eat fish or bird flesh, as well as birds' eggs; only the ostrich escapes this interdiction. On the other hand, a
[825 legend even reports that the uran, or great sand lizard, is the
773] maternal uncle of all the Tuareg.

Some trees are also the object of worship. The Maerua
824 crassifolia which the Tuareg call agar is supposed to be inhabited by a genie which they chase away by striking the tree with stones every time they want to get in its shade. As we have already pointed out, repudiated women who do not wish to stay in the prescribed retirement as imposed by custom and want to take up the state of free living, rely on the tree to take over this retirement which bothers them so much.

754 Sorcery. -- Divination. -- Besides these more or less religious beliefs the Tuareg practice sorcery, divination, and the interpretation of dreams.

Some men, often blacksmiths, are known as sorcerors and make potions intended to cast spells; these are generally made of animal skins /309/ and are given to people who wish to cast a spell on someone, with the intention of taking him by surprise. The
[825] uran lizard plays a large part in the making of these sorceries.

787 Divination, practiced especially by women, is done in several ways and always aims to ask news of absent ones.

We have already mentioned divination through tombs. There is also what the Tuareg call tachilet (the viper). It is done either

565 an Arab merchant from the Touat, Leblanc
563 (1946, table facing p. 40) mentions an heir to
174 an Ajjer Tuareg chieftainship whose father was an Arab, and the son of a Maraboutic Arab from Ouargla is at present one of the potential heirs to the paramount chieftainship of the Ahaggar confederation.

The question of Tuareg mixture with the Teda has been discussed above, in the section dealing with the latter group.

● 771 Although the Tuareg of the Ahaggar still retain much of the pre-Islamic magico-religious practices and doctrine of their animistic ancestors, they are all Moslems now, at least nominally, but are not very pious as a rule. It has been said that the Tuareg once had a Berber translation of the Koran, in the 8th and 9th centuries (Benhazera, 1908, p. 57), but it was long ago destroyed or lost (if indeed such a text ever did exist) in the course of a religious reform movement. The annual
[796] Moslem fast, during the month of Ramdhan, is not very generally observed, although in the middle of the 14th century Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338) noted that the Ahaggar Tuareg suspended raiding operations during this period.

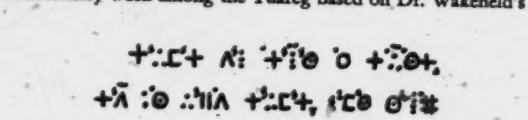
The religious order of the Tidjani used to
794 count an overwhelming majority of the Ahaggar Tuareg among its followers, but the Senoussi have built up a substantial following in the region during the last 70 years or so, much aided in this by Tuareg who passed through Senoussi territory on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Very few Tuareg from the Ahag-
778 gar have been to Mecca in recent times, although Lyon (1821, pp. 101–102) saw a single group of roughly 150 of them pass through Mourzouk on their way there in May, 1819 (before the Senoussi order was founded). The
643 Amenokal, Mecca pilgrim or not, has usually been the local model of formal piety. Bey ag
771 Akhamouk, the present Amenokal of the Ahaggar, is an unusually good example of this, as was Moussa ag Amastan in the early years of the present century. There are indications that in ancient times Tuareg chieftains may have been vested with religious as well as temporal primacy (Bates, 1914, p. 117).

The European conquest of the Sahara Des-
648 ert has done much to stimulate the Islamiza-
797 tion of the Tuareg in general during the last

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.



The Bible in Tamahaq

(*Ruth Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

*"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."*

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

## Chapter Vi

## War

This is a big word to use for a series of fights, raids, and 721
battles without great losses, but I still cannot find another to describe, for example, the struggle which engaged the two confederations of the Azdjer and of the Ahaggar and which lasted almost three years, with long intermissions.

No description could give a more accurate idea of it than the detailed account of this struggle which was told to me and which may be read later in the chapter dealing with the history of the Ahaggar /not translated/.

## Chapter VII

## Religion. Marabouts. The Fast. Religious Orders

The Tuareg, taken as a whole, are not at all religious. 779
This is due first to the fact that almost none know Arabic and 771
consequently the Koran, which may not be translated. Be- 795
sides, it is known that the Tuareg, like all Berbers, espoused the doctrines of Kharijism in the eighth and ninth centuries of our era, and that it has taken a long time to guide them back to orthodoxy.

During this period, Salih, son of Tarif, put out a Koran in 795
the Berber language, which was destroyed at the time of the 797
repression, and we will see that the Tuareg have kept among their superstitions "survivals" of the teachings of this Salih.

An example will illustrate well the present state of mind of the Tuareg from the religious point of view: /58/

I was told in the Ahaggar that youths may not say their 561
prayers in the presence of women for, in the course of genu- 562
flections and prostrations, they have to show their posteriors, 782
which is very "shocking"! On the other hand, old men can 834
pray before women without being indecent.

Many, besides, in order to say their prayers place them- 782
selves behind the imam (either an Arabian taleb or a Tuareg 788
who knows a little Arabic), and they make their genuflections, 793
saying, "Allahou akber" (God is the greatest) every time they
hear it said by the imam. That is all of their prayer.

There were many who told me that they did not observe 785
the fast of Ramadan, among others Badjloud, the amr'ar of 771
the Kel Ahnet. On the other hand, the Issoqqamaren
(fractions who have long been in contact with the Arabs and
still are) are more religious, and they all observe the fast.

Among the Ahaggar Tuareg there are, nevertheless, some 792
truly religious men, but they are known and pointed out and
pass for marabouts, for example, Moussa ag Amastane, Beketa
ag Ibrahim, and the Oulad El Mir'da and Oulad Mokhammed ag
Sadik.

Although the Tuareg is not religious, he nevertheless
has great respect for the marabouts whom he naively admires,
always on condition that these marabouts do not interfere with
him. Thus the marabout Beketa ag Ibrahim stated that the
dates coming from the Tidikelt, recently occupied by the
French, were forbidden by the religion. He changed his mind
later. But now, every time that he goes to ask an amr'id for
dates, the latter comments that they came from the Tidikelt
and are therefore forbidden by the religion, and Beketa answers,
"No. All that is over now," and accepts the dates.

Religious orders are quite widespread, especially among
the Issoqqamaren. Going by caravan to the Tidikelt or the
Touat, the Ahaggar have joined the order of the Tijaniyyah,
which numbers most of its adherents among them, and that
of the Qadiriyyah. Others (usually they all are those who have

made the pilgrimage /59/ to Mecca), have joined the order 792
of the Senusi /Sanusiyyah. Ed./ on their way to Djer'boub.

But I doubt whether this affiliation is really sincere. All the members do not want to wear their beads around their necks, but keep them in their pockets or in their luggage while they are traveling. They say that if they wear them openly they would be accused of wanting to seduce women! Finally, they are not allowed to wear them any time that they do a reprehensible deed, that they have relations, even with their lawful wives, etc.

On the other hand, having remained naive and super- 789
stitious, they all believe in the efficacy of amulets, "tira," with which they are covered. There are even some who hang them on the necks of their meharis.

At each new moon the Tuareg says his prayer. His hands 782
open like a book, he looks at the evening star and expresses 788
the wish that he may be alive at the next moon.

At the feast of Mouloud (birth of the Prophet), they hold out their hands, saying, "Asarouf" (pardon), in order to have their sins forgiven. But if there is no taleb in the tribe to remind them of the exact date, they forget and do not think of it.

## Chapter VIII

## Superstitions. Beliefs

The Tuareg are very superstitious. Everywhere they see 771
genii and demons, in the mountains, in the trees, in water- 776
skins, etc.

Thus, in camp they do not want to go to bed beside water-
skins or ashes, because of the genii, "alhinen" /|⁞|| , /60/
or ghosts, "kel esouf" ⵜⵍⵙⵓⴼ (people of the void), who
live there.

When they want to stretch out at the foot of the tree called "el yatil" in Arabic and "tadjart" ⊕ⵜⵜ in Tamashek (a kind of acacia), which is inhabited by jinn, they must first wound it with a stone, and stones are always to be found at the foot of these trees. One can also see the wounds made in the bark. 776 824 789

The "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica) is also a haunted tree. If one wants to rest under its shade, it is first necessary to break seven of the tree's thorns.

There are also "kel esouf" in the place where an animal has had its throat cut. 776

Mount Oudane is haunted, as are many others. [823]

These superstitions are probably survivals of their old religion, before their conversion to Islamism. Like them, "The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period worshipped jinn, or genii. The deserts and mountains where one sometimes gets lost for entire weeks are full of beings of this kind.... They can do much harm and much good.... They live in rocks, trees, or statues. Each tribe, or sometimes a group of tribes, had its special jinni; its rock, its tree, its own image, before which an appointed family carried out priestly duties" (1). 174 771 776

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 5 and 6.

The Tuareg have many other superstitions. Thus nobles would never kill a "uran" (varanus), which in Tamashek is called "ar'ata" •+⁝ , and a fortiori would not eat it. Sidi ag Keradji and Azioueł ag Ser'ada told me that the uran is the maternal uncle of the Tuareg, and Sidi told me the following legend: "Seven nobles had killed a camel belonging to Sidna Nouh (Hoah). Among them there was a noble Tuareg. To punish them God changed them, one into an uran, another into a jackal, a third into a chameleon, etc. /61/ The uran was the noble Tuareg. The camel that was killed is now in the sky: it is the Great Bear. The Polar Star, 'Bel Hadi', is its head." 565 825 773 784 [821]

787 /117 cont./ She goes to a "debni," a pre-Islamic tomb, lies down on the stones, and says the following words: "Imeguedda enkerguedda," the meaning of which is not known. Putting her ear to the stones, she may hear the news, certainly transmitted by the Kel es Souf. The debni speaks briefly, three times only, and it is not permitted to ask it questions.

The other process requires the sacrifice of a goat. The grass in its stomach is taken out and is made into one or several balls. When night falls the woman goes to a flat place away from all human presence; she throws the balls as far as possible, then lies on the ground and puts her ear against it. If the Kel es Souf are favorably disposed, the news arrives as briefly, but as precisely, as in the preceding method. This process is called "tizomitin." Methods exist to question Fate. They are called "idjehan" and consist of making dots on the sand whose exact number one does not know. The technique differs according to the manner of making the dots. It is something like the card game of patience, for the responses are either "yes" or "no." Some Tuareg know another method to obtain more varied answers, but the apprenticeship for this is long.

241 There are other superstitions, such as that which calls for putting old cooking pots, or else the jaw of an ass, on view in a wheat field in order to have a good harvest. Let us also [262] mention the Negresses' custom of eating cat's thighs in the month of March in order to gain weight.

All of these beliefs should be collected, but that would require long, patient work, which could not be carried out except in a climate of confidence.

•771 /118/ One may say that the Ahaggar still lives in a world of magic despite the presence of Islam. This fear of spirits, which seems childish to an Occidental, is very real. "Imagination," Fraser says, "knows how to act on man with as much effect as does gravity, and may kill him with the same certitude as would a dose of prussic acid." The

77 /118 cont./ inexplicable repugnance shown by the Tuareg for certain foods or for certain behavior is nothing other than a manifestation of taboos designed to protect them against the spiritual forces loosed by the persons or things in their surroundings.

Perhaps it would be fruitful to study the customs of the Tuareg world in the light of the philosophy of the forces whose principles are set forth by the Reverend Father Tempels in his Philosophie bantoue /Bantu Philosophy/.

//119/ V

## Life of the Individual

128 In closing this survey of the Ahaggar it is well to look briefly at the activities engaged in by the Targui from the day of his birth to that of his death. In following the natural course of a life, we may understand better than from more detailed studies of a particular phase the essence of the life of an individual within a tribe, insofar as it is possible to separate what is individual from what is tribal.

844 The young Targui makes his entry into the world in the tent, upon a rug of clean sand from the nearest wadi, sand which is, as we know, practically sterile, the heat destroying all microbes. Before giving birth, the young mother has followed the advice of her aunt or mother; she has walked up and down small hills ever since the first pains in order to "allow the infant to get well placed." As the pains increase, the young woman, now back in the tent, kneels on the sand, buttocks resting on the heels, and knees spread very wide apart; with raised arms she grasps two ropes which hang from the tent stakes. Two women hold her by the waist, encourage her,

173 Another fraction, the Ikerromoïen, was formed meanwhile. The ancestor of this tribe, named Akerromoï, was of guérissouten origin from Aïr, and had married a noble Ahaggar woman, daughter of the tobol; their most famous descendant was Aménokal Moussa ag Amâstan.

As for the Iboglân, their ancestor is a man called Khatita, brother of Sakal, the chief of the Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal. He had married a Kel Réla woman.

The Tégéhé-n-ăgg-Ali gave birth to the Inemba, and their name disappeared with the last men of that old tribe.

According to legends gathered among the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, Ti-n-Hînân had seven daughters, three of whom had children who were the forefathers of the present tribes. The first engendered the Iboglân and the Inemba; the second, the Ikerremoïen and the Kel Ehan Mellen; the third, the Kel Rela, the Tăltok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet.

Let us interpret the legend by saying that descendants of the three daughters of Ti-n-Hînân are found in the different tribes mentioned.

173 According to another legend current in the Ahaggar and reported by Mr. Benhazera, (1) Ti-n-Hînân had three female descendants

1. Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 92.

who were the ancestors of the three principal noble families of the Ahaggar; we do not know how many generations separated them. They are:

Tinirt, the antelope, who was the ancestor of the Inemba

Tahenkat, the gazelle, who was the ancestor of the Kel Rela

Tamerouelt, the doe rabbit or female of the hare, who was the ancestor of the Iboglân

The Kel Rela (alteration of the word Kella) owe their right to the tobol to Kella, a descendant of Tahenkat, who was married to Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir.

513 No one has a bed except the amenokal, who owns one of the Hausa
[352 177 643] type; this model has also been adopted in a certain number /227/ of Kel Oui /Owey/ camps. (1) The man and woman each sleep on

1. Contrary to what has been said, the bed is not Tuareg but Hausa. Its use is spread among the sedentary people of Aïr, Damergou, and Sokoto, and it is made by Hausa smiths.

his or her own side of the tent, the boys with their father and the girls with their mother.

854 There are no cradles for babies among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and young children are placed on a skin or on blankets. Sometimes a hemispheric wicker frame is put over them and covered with a cloth to cut off the light or protect them from sandstorms.

The Kel Aïr and the Tenguéréguif have little cradles which are suspended from the top of the tent.

354 Fire. -- In front of each tent there is a hearth, generally made of three stones. It is not intended for cooking purposes, but rather for warmth in the evening after the sun has gone down when all the people gather in the shelter of the asaber, which is unrolled in an arc in front of the tent. The flame warms up hearts and
[272] bodies and synthesizes family and friendship. Sometimes a container of water is placed on the three stones to heat in order to make tea.

343 The cooking fire is set apart, generally some three or four
354 meters from the tent, in the shelter of a little stone wall in order to protect it from the wind.

We have not been able to find any myth on the origin of fire
372 among the Tuareg. According to them it was created by God,
773 who gave it to man to cook food. Iblis (Satan) wanted to seize the secret of how it was made, and God punished him by creating

773 the tortures of hell. Iblis, however, communicated his secret to
372 the blacksmiths, who since that time have known how to use it for metalworking.

The Tuareg used to obtain fire by friction, using a board of
372 torha (callotropis procera) and a branch of hardwood; they caught
[824] the spark on a tuft of silk from the fruit of the callotropis and blew on it until they got a flame, which required about a minute. They have kept this practice and still use it occasionally.

Today they find matches sold by /228/ Tamanrasset merchants,
[439 but they all have tinderboxes
177] with flint and a bent piece of iron.

They do not keep up the
[415 fire. They carry it from
439] one tent to the other in a fragment of an old gourd or sometimes hold a glowing ember in their hands without burning themselves.

Fig. 27: Ahaggar Tuareg dish, imported from Hausa country.

[237 When they want to transport
484] it long distances, they use camel-dung embers.

The Tuareg commonly
[237] use the excrement of camels and goats as fuel. In the high
[137] mountains, wood is quite rare, but in the lower parts of the Koudia old acacia or éthel /atle? Ed. / stumps are to be found. They never
[824] use the wood of the callotropis, which is the devil's tree and makes muffled noises when it is burned.

Basalt blocks are never used to make the hearth, since they be-
[823] lieve that basalt is possessed by genii and will explode violently when heated.

352 Furniture. -- We have briefly described the objects furnishing the parts of the tent reserved for the husband and wife. To these must be added a certain number of objects which make up the

771 The religious lukewarmness of the Tuareg is such that they do
78/ not always profess great respect for marabouts and very few of them
[188] make the pilgrimage to Mecca. When Duveyrier made his trip to Ghat (1860) there were some thirty pilgrims among the northern Tuareg (1); at the present time there are probably only three men

1. Op. cit., p. 413.

among the Ihăggaren who can be honored with the title of El Hadj.

But this tepidity does not always exclude fanaticism. Barth already mentioned that he had to face it during his trip and that he was assailed by questions and had to discuss different religious dogmas with some Tuareg; he extricated himself from this by a perfect knowledge of the Koran and of Moslem mores. /306/ Their
[669 religious ignorance makes them, at the same time, easy instru-
● 773] ments in the hands of marabouts who have often profited from this to stir up hate for the Christians and to push them into a holy war, as was the case for the revolts of 1915 - 1916 - 1917. In spite of the bitter failures which resulted, their confidence in their thaumaturgy was not at all diminished.

871 At the present time there are several Koranic schools in the
783 Ahaggar conducted by Arab marabouts and set up in the agricultural centers. They are mainly attended by Harratin children, for Tuareg children, who stay in their parent's camps, cannot go to them because they are too far away. A marabout family, originally from Cheurfa d'Aoulef (Tidikelt) settled in the Ahaggar some forty years ago and enjoys a great veneration. Not long ago it was fixed in the little center of Dar-Mouli, where it enhanced the value of the place, but as a result of the dryness of the spot it was moved to Esselissekine. There each year a great alms feast takes place,
[716] and all the Ahaggar Tuareg come. Its present chief, Moulay el
[559] Ouafi ben Moulay abd Allah is an example of piety, although still quite young, and he is surrounded by great respect.

797 In speaking of the Islamization of the Tuareg, Henri Basset said that the latter had taken almost nothing from Islam, except

177 Some Tuareg scrupulously practice fasting, and the different
785 Moslem holidays are now followed punctually. But along with that
795 they keep the ahal, monogamy, and matriarchy.

774 Pagan survivals. -- Ten centuries of Islamism have not completely rid the Tuareg of their former beliefs. They still believe in the existence of an animated world peopled by elements acting visibly or invisibly, living in minerals, vegetables, water, etc. To be sure, these beliefs are growing blurred, dwindling and losing their intensity, but the Tuareg still live with them, even going so far as to practice certain rites, just as in the country in France.

Their belief in supernatural matter is more than we could possibly imagine. They believe in genii (ahinnen or imdounen) who
776 inhabit the mountains, springs, steep places, and some trees. They
[055] protect themselves from them by numerous talismans, which they beg from the marabouts, or by the practice of exorcizing. The women are even more credulous than the men on this point. They
768 consult the dead by going to pray on their tombs and ask them news
787 of those who are absent.

778 Petrographic cults are still very much alive among the Tuareg.
782 They believe that some stones are haunted, and to gain the good will of the spirits they place votive offerings in the form of pebbles nearby. Therefore, at the crossing of some mountain passes and some unavoidable paths one often finds enormous piles of stones imitating tumuli, or else many little piles placed on both sides of some camel trails. Some ancient tombs are the object of a quite peculiar worship, for example the one discovered at Tazerouk a few /308/ years ago by Captain Niéger. This tomb, on which lay several stone statuettes, polished axes, and numerous Neolithic objects, was still visited in recent years until the time when it was excavated by the French. The Tuareg deny this, of course, but the discovery of objects placed there recently (fragments of cloth,
773 beads, etc.) proves it. The stone statues represented the Tibaradines,
778 that is, "the maidens." They were supposedly a highborn woman
782 and her servant who were turned into stone because the mistress

773 had asked God to escape a raid which was coming to pillage her
778 camp. After the raid had passed, however, God kept the women
782 in the state of stone in spite of their entreaties, and it was so that life might be returned to them that the Tuareg came to leave different objects every time they passed near the tomb. The worship
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[825] on someone, with the intention of taking him by surprise. The uran lizard plays a large part in the making of these sorceries.

787 Divination, practiced especially by women, is done in several ways and always aims to ask news of absent ones.

We have already mentioned divination through tombs. There is also what the Tuareg call tachilet (the viper). It is done either

They have no numbers, and they do not use the Arabic 802
numbers. They prefer to make holes in the sand, and by this rather long process succeed in figuring just the same. A Tuareg, moreover, cannot talk for five minutes without emphasizing his recitation with dots or lines on the sand. If he is asked, "How many days' march are there between this point and that one, " he cannot answer any number without marking on the ground as many dots as there are days in his answer.

A Tuareg who has been made to sit on the ground on a [516
blanket, before he begins to talk raises the edges of the 521]
blanket /44/ so as to indulge in his favorite occupation. Certainly if he were transported to France, into a well-waxed apartment, he would be very unhappy and would quickly ask for sand or earth so as to be able to draw his dots and lines.

But this custom has its use when one wishes to have an 487
idea of the road one must travel. The Tuareg who, like all 823
nomads, has a very accurate sense of direction, will draw an over-all map of the route to be followed, with the wadis and landmarks which would be met.

The Tuareg do not have words in their language to denote 177
the days of the week. Those that they use have been borrowed 192
from the Arabic and changed. 805

On the other hand, for their months they have kept some truly Tamashek names, while others are definitely taken from the Arabic. Thus:

1. "Tamessedek, " corresponding to Muharram and which seems to be derived from the Arabic "sedeq" صدق, "to give alms." It is said that this name means "zekkat" زكاة, or "legal alms."

2. "Talilt tassettafet" (corresponding to Safar). This 773
means "the black month." Here is why this month is so 776
called: "Sidna Slimane (Solomon) was in command of the 805
genii and demons. One day when he was standing leaning on his cane, the "djinns" (genii) told a termite to eat out the bottom of the cane. The termite did the job so well that the

cane broke at the bottom, and poor Solomon fell over, all 773
fours in the air, and was killed in his fall. His death was the 776
signal of liberty for the genii and demons, who spread through- 805
out the world, precisely in that month which was later called
the "black month."

3. "Talilt tarer'ert," that is, the "yellow month," 177
(corresponding to Rabia I, or Mouloud, the month of the 805
Prophet's birth), so called, it is said, because it is lighted,
صفر by the birth of the Prophet. /45/

4. "Aouhim oua izzaren," that is, "the first Aouhim," 805
(corresponding to Rabia II). Aouhim means "fawn of a gazelle."
This is also the name of a star. [821]

5. "Aouhim oua ilkamen," that is, "the next Aouhim,"
(corresponding to Jumada I).

6. "Sarat" (corresponding to Jumada II). The Tuareg
have been unable to give me any explanation of this name.

7. "Tin tineslimine," that is, "the month of the
marabouts," (corresponding to Rajab). In the time of the
Kharijite doctrine, the Ramadan was put back to the month
Rajab, and it is known that the Tuareg espoused this doctrine
(1).

1. See Essai sur l'Histoire de
l'Islamisme /Essay on the History
of Islamism/ by Dozy.

8. "Amezzehel," that is "he who runs," (from the root
"zehel," to run), thus named because it has only 29 days and
it precedes the arrival of Ramadan. It corresponds to Shaban.

9. "Azzoum," that is, "the fast" (corresponding to the [177
month of Ramadan), a name taken from the Arabic word 192]
الصوم "essoum," the fast.

10. "Tessessi," that is, "act of drinking" or "libations,"
because one may drink after the fast. It corresponds to
Shawwal, the month in which the feast called "Aïd Ser'ir"
takes place.

When they want to stretch out at the foot of the tree called "el yatil" in Arabic and "tadjart" ⊕ⵜⵜ in Tamashek (a kind of acacia), which is inhabited by jinn, they must first wound it with a stone, and stones are always to be found at the foot of these trees. One can also see the wounds made in the bark. 776 824 789

The "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica) is also a haunted tree. If one wants to rest under its shade, it is first necessary to break seven of the tree's thorns.

There are also "kel esouf" in the place where an animal has had its throat cut. 776

Mount Oudane is haunted, as are many others. [823]

These superstitions are probably survivals of their old religion, before their conversion to Islamism. Like them, "The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period worshipped jinn, or genii. The deserts and mountains where one sometimes gets lost for entire weeks are full of beings of this kind.... They can do much harm and much good.... They live in rocks, trees, or statues. Each tribe, or sometimes a group of tribes, had its special jinni; its rock, its tree, its own image, before which an appointed family carried out priestly duties" (1). 174 771 776

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 5 and 6.

The Tuareg have many other superstitions. Thus nobles would never kill a "uran" (varanus), which in Tamashek is called "ar'ata" • ⵜ⁝ , and a fortiori would not eat it. Sidi ag Keradji and Aziouel ag Ser'ada told me that the uran is the maternal uncle of the Tuareg, and Sidi told me the following legend: "Seven nobles had killed a camel belonging to Sidna Nouh (Hoah). Among them there was a noble Tuareg. To punish them God changed them, one into an uran, another into a jackal, a third into a chameleon, etc. /61/ The uran was the noble Tuareg. The camel that was killed is now in the sky: it is the Great Bear. The Polar Star, 'Bel Hadi', is its head." 565 825 773 784 [821]

Should one see here some agreement with what we have 114
read in Dozy, or might the uran have been a "totem" among 825
the Tuareg, as among the Redskins of America?

Nobles do not eat the "dobb" (star lizard) either, which 262
is called "aguezzeram" in Tamashek. As a reason for this 565
abstinence, they quoted me these two lines of nine syllables: 825

Our ekcher' aguezzeram idit [539]
Iladhou ichchaden ilir'it.

This means:

"I do not eat the aguezzeram because it smells bad and has a rough skin" (1).

1. Iladhou is put instead of "ili adhou." Similarly, ilir'it is put for "ili ir'it." Ir'it, plural ir'ten, means hide (of beef, camel, etc.).

Finally, they firmly refuse to eat chickens and eggs, and chickens are found nowhere among the Tuareg, except among [231] some "harratine" /Haratin/ Arabs of the Ahaggar villages. They claim that this abstinence dates back for a long time. Aziouel ag Ser'ada when pressed ended by telling me that it was because chickens seek their food in manure. In the Niger, according to a study by officer-interpreter Merle, the French are called egg eaters. But I believe that the following is the 262
real reason for this abstention: The Tuareg, like all the 565
Berbers, had embraced Kharijism. Among the chiefs who took 825
part in the insurrection of the Kharwarij /plural of Kharijite. 773
Ed./ was Tarif, who made the first invasion into Spain (the city of Tarifa still bears his name). His son Salih, or Salah, claimed to be a prophet and composed a new Koran. Elijah, or Elias, son of /62/ the latter, openly remained Moslem, and it was only Salih's grandson, Jonah, or Younes, (end of the eighth century), who spread the new doctrine, which was a much modified Islamism. According to one of the precepts of

this doctrine, the scholar Dozy tells us: "There was no muezzin, 262
or crier, to call to prayer; people were governed by the crow 565
of the rooster; so no one, except in case of dire necessity, 825
might kill roosters or hens or eat eggs" (1). 773

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme,
by R. Dozy, pages 348 and 349.
Neither mosques nor muezzins are [171]
found in Tuareg country. See also
l'Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale
/History of North Africa/, by E.
Mercier, pages 228 and 255. Volume 1.

Legends and stories are also known on the subject of 773
Ahmamellen and his nephew Elias. Hanoteau told them to us. 823
At Tamanrasset (Ahaggar) the Tuareg showed us a curious
breech in a large "gara" that bounds the horizon to the east.
They call it "Tiouit-n-Elias" (Elias' cut), and they say that
Elias made this breech with one stroke of the "takouba." The
piece removed, an enormous rock, lodged in a wadi three kilo-
meters from there, and we were shown it in passing. The
breech has also been named "Elias' Breech."

Elias is the Arabic translation of Elijah, and Younes that of [551]
Jonah. These two proper names are still used among the Tuareg. [174]
Might there not be a relationship between this Elias and Elijah,
son of Salih?

The Tuareg say that Ahmamellen was a man of extraordinary 174
size and strength, and that he was the equal of an army. Might 773
it have been Salih himself who claimed to be a prophet, then
disappeared in the east after having told his followers that he
was the Mahdi and that he would come back to fill the world
with justice when the seventh king should be mounted on the
throne?

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



582 Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there
[778] have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it
[581] results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally
[605] cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

605 Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with
606 joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance be-
221 tween children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown, the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two outwardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in
[184] the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8)[1]
601 which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and for certain matrilineal relatives. As clans, according to traditional rules, are groups
614 of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims the line of succession to be as follows:– 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Geres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492f.). Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims
614 that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that
643 this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151f., 463ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

[1] [p. 102, categor 116.—Analyst]

133 /16 cont./ solidified almost immediately, a little like toothpaste leaving the tube when it is slightly squeezed. The usual volcanic cone is very restricted; the attention is drawn only by the vertical or spiral columns constituting the peaks.

Sometimes immense tabular mountains, such as the Adrar In Taraf'n or the Adriane, bear witness to the volume of the volcanic flows, and their different planes seem to indicate the contour lines.

One also sees, towering over the immense plateaus covered with lava, veritable fortresses of stone that give the most curious effect in twilight; the Aounahampt, the Akarakar, and the Takouft are the most characteristic of this type. This is the domain of wild sheep.

The Tuareg were impressed by this strange relief. The Ilamane, so pure andmajestic, rising in state, facing south in the middle of an amphitheater of splendidly hued mountains, might have been, in their legends, a god whose praises were sung by the granite organs all around it. But this warrior people, little concerned with religious subjects, imagined a love story which caused a quarrel.

133 Several kilometers west of the Ilamane are two mountains; the northernmost one, massive in form, is named Amdjer -- 773 which, the legend says, was a man; the other, with a pointed summit, is named Tararat -- and Tararat was a woman.

Amdjer and Tararat loved each other. It came about that Ilamane also fell in love with Tararat. This passion was not, of course, well received by Amdjer, who reproached Ilamane. The latter, very violent by nature, struck Amdjer with his spear. Amdjer defended himself vigorously, fetching his attacker two mighty saber blows which completely convinced Ilamane that he shouldn't dispute Tararat with such a rival.... Since that time Amdjer and Tararat have been /17/ united by a chain, and the spear thrust which wounded the mountain is still visible; a spring flows from it as evidence that the wound has not yet healed. Ilamane, on each side of his summit, proudly bears the

133 /17 cont./ two gashes from the saber blows, a souvenir from
773 his youth of a duel of giants.

Some time after that incident, the peace of the Ahaggar was again disturbed. Ilamane fell in love with Tahat, who was a woman, but there was another suitor named Ti Hiyène. Fearing this rival and wiser by experience, Ilamane left the place where he had always been and settled down very close to Tahat, where he has remained ever since. Vexed at feeling himself scorned by Tahat, Ti Hiyène resolved to flee from the Ahaggar and go seek his fortune toward the Adrar des Iforas. He then left, going by way of the Amded wadi. Now, in the Amded wadi there was a mountain named Eheri. Eheri was brave, though peaceable. He respected the customs, and it did not seem proper to him that a mountain of the Ahaggar should thus leave his country for what was, all in all, a rather trifling reason. He left his place and planted himself squarely in the path of the runaway in order to bar the way. Ti Hiyène, informed of Eheri's gesture, doubtless learned his lesson, for he settled upstream, near the well of Tin-Dahar.

Since that time one may admire the Ilamane, fortunate conqueror, rising in state before the Tahat, and one may see his first site in the form of an immense circular crater which forms a depression to the west of the Ilamane wadi. Near the Amded wadi, a similar crater marks the former residence of Eheri. These circular depressions have long been enigmas to geologists.

"And the location of Ti Hiyène?" I asked Marly ag Amayas, who related this legend to me in detail. "Nobody knows it," he answered, "and this is understandable: when a man decides to leave after thinking it over, he moves quietly, thinking of his plans, and leaves no trace, while he who acts from sudden passion goes abruptly and leaves a deep mark on the ground."

133 A network of wadis separates these different summits, forming /18/ drops of from 800 to 1,000 meters. The upper valleys of these wadis are young and have a V form, true canyons out through the lava fields (Tarhoumout wadi). None of these wadis

776 /115 cont./ the depths of which are seen their strange lights. The In-Tafeute guelta is peopled with genii; the Amadror saltworks abound with Kel es Souf, who make an infernal racket at night, breaking the salt, hewing blocks, robbing all sleep from the people who have come to work and who the next morning see no sign of this nocturnal activity. Certain high places, of which the most famous is Garet el Djenoun, are also favorite haunts of all this invisible world.

It is said that in former times some particularly powerful men were on friendly terms with the Kel es Souf, who had a language of their own. Two ways used by the genii to count up to ten are still told:

| First way: | Second way: |
|---|---|
| 1 -- Djoukhien | Dienana |
| 2 -- Djouressin | Dessinena |
| 3 -- Djettar | Makarkada |
| 4 -- Djettouri | Matezoua |
| 5 -- Alendiez | Souraten |
| 6 -- Indiez | Souratalni |
| 7 -- Hamalou | Tiguemelguemal |
| 8 -- Fellali | Teguedtassa |
| 9 -- Terra | Nougomelli |
| 10 -- Feck | Nourobelli |

The misadventures of humans with the Kel es Souf are extremely numerous. Any Targui who has a little confidence in you /116/ will tell you of his and, excited by the subject, will relate those of others. There are classic tales, such as that of Titi.

•773 Titi was a shrewd Targui who one night arrived at a wadi wooded with tabrakat. Dismounting from his camel at the place he intended to pass the night, he saw a woman. He greeted her and began to unsaddle his mount. As he unloaded a sack, the woman took it from him and placed it on the ground. He went to look for wood, and she went with him to help; he lighted his fire, she stirred the coals, this solicitude

773 /116 cont./ and this imitation of his gestures disturbed Titi, who guessed that this woman with the abundant hair was a Kel es Souf. He prepared his millet flat cake, and the woman repeated each of his movements. At that point Titi, seizing a firebrand, quickly ran the nonburning end through his hair; the woman imitated him but used the wrong end; her hair caught fire, she fled screaming, rolled on the ground, and rubbed against the trees, which caught fire. And ever since this adventure of long ago, one can see the remains of the tabrakat burned by the Kel es Souf in the Ouriren wadi.

Another Targui, when night was falling, spied the fire of a camp in a ravine toward which he directed himself. Hardly had he descended from his camel, when he was invited to eat. As he was very hungry, he shortened the customary salutations. Having sat down on a magnificent rug, he observed that the people were dressed as Tuareg, to be sure, but he could not determine their caste nor find any resemblance to anyone he knew. All of this seemed strange to him, but the strangest was to see the asink served in a golden terahout. He understood at once that this was a camp of the Kel es Souf. He seized the dish, bounded to his camel, which fortunately had not been unsaddled, and fled into the night. When he felt he had gone far enough, he wanted to look at the fabulous dish. Alas! It had disappeared, which proved to him that he had been the victim of the Kel es Souf.

787 Instances of clairvoyance are common with the Tuareg; this is chiefly the province of the women. It is related that during the raids of yesteryear certain Tuareg women knew /117/ the outcome of a combat which took place more than 400 kilometers away; a wife would see her husband wounded, a sister learned of the death of her brother, and the news would be verified upon the return of the warriors. This distant clairvoyance is still practiced today. Here are the two ways of going about it. At nightfall the woman endowed with this power washes herself meticulously and puts on her finest clothes.

1777 Some Tuareg scrupulously practice fasting, and the different
7785 Moslem holidays are now followed punctually. But along with that
7795 they keep the ahal, monogamy, and matriarchy.

Pagan survivals. -- Ten centuries of Islamism have not com-
7774 pletely rid the Tuareg of their former beliefs. They still believe in the existence of an animated world peopled by elements acting visibly or invisibly, living in minerals, vegetables, water, etc. To be sure, these beliefs are growing blurred, dwindling and losing their intensity, but the Tuareg still live with them, even going so far as to practice certain rites, just as in the country in France.

Their belief in supernatural matter is more than we could possibly imagine. They believe in genii (ahinnen or imdounen) who
7776 inhabit the mountains, springs, steep places, and some trees. They
[7755] protect themselves from them by numerous talismans, which they beg from the marabouts, or by the practice of exorcizing. The women are even more credulous than the men on this point. They
7768 consult the dead by going to pray on their tombs and ask them news
7787 of those who are absent.

Petrographic cults are still very much alive among the Tuareg.
7778 They believe that some stones are haunted, and to gain the good
7782 will of the spirits they place votive offerings in the form of pebbles nearby. Therefore, at the crossing of some mountain passes and some unavoidable paths one often finds enormous piles of stones imitating tumuli, or else many little piles placed on both sides of some camel trails. Some ancient tombs are the object of a quite peculiar worship, for example the one discovered at Tazerouk a few /308/ years ago by Captain Niéger. This tomb, on which lay several stone statuettes, polished axes, and numerous Neolithic objects, was still visited in recent years until the time when it was excavated by the French. The Tuareg deny this, of course, but the discovery of objects placed there recently (fragments of cloth,
7773 beads, etc.) proves it. The stone statues represented the Tibaradines,
7778 that is, "the maidens." They were supposedly a highborn woman
7782 and her servant who were turned into stone because the mistress

682 assassin be returned to the victim's family. If he was not known,
628 however, the djema, or assembly of notables, designated a man
from the tribe to go make himself prisoner in his place. There is
[692] no example of the hostage's having been put to death in such a
[643] case. Serious cases were usually judged by the amenokal, who was
aided by four assessors, two taken from each side.

762 /296/ Suicide. -- Suicide is as rare as murder among the
Tuareg. When one occurs, the person who committed suicide is
[766] abandoned on the ground unburied, and the camp is moved and
abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the
Tuareg regard the suicide as if he had never existed and must
never speak of him again.

Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with
oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his
life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

[775] The soul of a suicide cannot find refuge and wanders forever.
It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and
people claim that they can hear it nearby in the evening and that
it makes so much noise that it is impossible to sleep.

[761] Death. -- The Tuareg do not fear death. When one of them
sees that he is dying, he gathers his relatives around him and gives
763 his last instructions. Then, according to the religious principles
which he may have neglected during his life but which he recalls
at the final moment, he pronounces the "Fatika /fatiha? Ed. /" or
[29] if he does not have the strength for that, he raises the index finger
of his right hand and breathes his last.

764 The body is immediately washed in lukewarm water and
wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the
[567] slaves go to dig the grave on a neighboring high spot. The grave
is made of a little trench with two stages such as the Arabs use.
[482] The body is carried on a kind of stretcher ans taken to the burial
417 place, head first, by four men. It is then placed on its right side
with the face turned in the direction of Mecca.

837 /146 cont./ the husband deceives his wife, and if this happens it is far from her when, departed for the Sudan, he remains absent a long time. The Tuareg woman is faithful; those who take a lover are rare. If a husband knew his wife to be unfaithful, simply by hearsay, he could repudiate her, but in the case of flagrante delicto he could kill the guilty pair, or he [584] could bring the case to the attention of the amenokal, who would impose a fine. The deceived wife may leave her husband; in this case she returns to her family, taking her [586] belongings with her. Divorces are rather rare and very ill thought of.

761 Death is not regarded with terror, a whole framework of beliefs strongly colored with Islamism promise the Targui •775 future recompense in the other world. It /147/ seems that charity will be particularly rewarded and selfishness severely punished; the punishments described would be similar to the offense. Extensive investigations would be necessary to sift out all the beliefs concerning death; to distinguish between what is Moslem and what is properly Tuareg would prove to be very difficult.

764 When a death occurs in the tent, each member of the family maintains an attitude of what appears to be very great dignity to our Western eyes. Certainly, it happens that some people cry over the deceased, which is human, but custom would have the tears held back; a man, particularly, would know how to control himself sufficiently not to show his grief.

The body does not remain in the tent long; the women wash it if it is that of a woman; the men wash it in the other case. It is perfumed; its members are laid out in an attitude of rest; then it is wrapped in a shroud (tifit), which is sewed up. During these operations, the tomb has been dug following the Moslem custom. Only men escort the corpse to the grave. After having buried it in the tomb and covered it with earth, they put up stones to mark the place, and each man returns to his tent. There is neither song nor prayer.

797 sometimes the Koran as an amulet, but that they had kept its fatalism. (1) Many authors also take pleasure in pointing out

1. Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, p. 388.

their more than superficial polish in matters of Islamism.

781 In spite of all this, we must not exaggerate the degree of
797 irreligion of the Tuareg. Since the French occupation, the
177 action of marabouts who cross the country trading is growing
648 slowly but surely. The state of lethargy into which the suppression of their life of brigandage has thrown them is gradually pushing them toward religion, and it is becoming more and more common
[517 to see young nobles kill time by reciting in front of a small
565] Koran board.

771 Superstition is very strong in them. They have not succeeded in breaking away from their ancient beliefs, and they wear a
[789] quantity of amulets which are often pagan in origin (jackal's foot, lizard's head, hyena skin, etc.).

• [776] One observes certain noble families /307/ that, along with orthodox saints, invoke mysterious personages who can only be ancient minor gods they never got rid of. (1) In the old legends

1. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara, in Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

of the Ahaggar, Father de Foucauld has found the names of some of them: Tamâres, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Ouerdaz, Noulana, Radès. The Ihaggaren used to call on them to make their wishes come
[177 true, but today these personages have fallen into oblivion, and
782] only a few old people still remember their names. (2)

2. In Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

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785 Moslem holidays are now followed punctually. But along with that
795 they keep the ahal, monogamy, and matriarchy.

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782 and her servant who were turned into stone because the mistress

They have no numbers, and they do not use the Arabic 802
numbers. They prefer to make holes in the sand, and by this rather long process succeed in figuring just the same. A Tuareg, moreover, cannot talk for five minutes without emphasizing his recitation with dots or lines on the sand. If he is asked, "How many days' march are there between this point and that one, " he cannot answer any number without marking on the ground as many dots as there are days in his answer.

A Tuareg who has been made to sit on the ground on a [516
blanket, before he begins to talk raises the edges of the 521]
blanket /44/ so as to indulge in his favorite occupation. Certainly if he were transported to France, into a well-waxed apartment, he would be very unhappy and would quickly ask for sand or earth so as to be able to draw his dots and lines.

But this custom has its use when one wishes to have an 487
idea of the road one must travel. The Tuareg who, like all 823
nomads, has a very accurate sense of direction, will draw an over-all map of the route to be followed, with the wadis and landmarks which would be met.

The Tuareg do not have words in their language to denote 177
the days of the week. Those that they use have been borrowed 192
from the Arabic and changed. 805

On the other hand, for their months they have kept some truly Tamashek names, while others are definitely taken from the Arabic. Thus:

1. "Tamessedek, " corresponding to Muharram and which seems to be derived from the Arabic "sedeq" صدق "to give alms. " It is said that this name means "zekkat" زكاة , or "legal alms. "

2. "Talilt tassettafet" (corresponding to Safar). This 773
means "the black month. " Here is why this month is so 776
called: "Sidna Slimane (Solomon) was in command of the 805
genii and demons. One day when he was standing leaning on his cane, the "djinns" (genii) told a termite to eat out the bottom of the cane. The termite did the job so well that the

cane broke at the bottom, and poor Solomon fell over, all 773
fours in the air, and was killed in his fall. His death was the 776
signal of liberty for the genii and demons, who spread through- 805
out the world, precisely in that month which was later called the "black month."

3. "Talilt tarer'ert," that is, the "yellow month," 177
(corresponding to Rabia I, or Mouloud, the month of the 805
Prophet's birth), so called, it is said, because it is lighted,
منوّر by the birth of the Prophet. /45/

4. "Aouhim oua izzaren," that is, "the first Aouhim," 805
(corresponding to Rabia II). Aouhim means "fawn of a gazelle."
This is also the name of a star. [821]

5. "Aouhim oua ilkamen," that is, "the next Aouhim," (corresponding to Jumada I).

6. "Sarat" (corresponding to Jumada II). The Tuareg have been unable to give me any explanation of this name.

7. "Tin tineslimine," that is, "the month of the marabouts," (corresponding to Rajab). In the time of the Kharijite doctrine, the Ramadan was put back to the month Rajab, and it is known that the Tuareg espoused this doctrine (1).

1. See Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme /Essay on the History of Islamism/ by Dozy.

8. "Amezzehel," that is "he who runs," (from the root "zehel," to run), thus named because it has only 29 days and it precedes the arrival of Ramadan. It corresponds to Shaban.

9. "Azzoum," that is, "the fast" (corresponding to the [177
month of Ramadan), a name taken from the Arabic word 192]
الصوم "essoum," the fast.

10. "Tessessi," that is, "act of drinking" or "libations," because one may drink after the fast. It corresponds to Shawwal, the month in which the feast called "A'id Ser'ir" takes place.

made the pilgrimage /59/ to Mecca), have joined the order 792
of the Senusi /Sanusiyyah. Ed./ on their way to Djer'boub.

But I doubt whether this affiliation is really sincere. All the members do not want to wear their beads around their necks, but keep them in their pockets or in their luggage while they are traveling. They say that if they wear them openly they would be accused of wanting to seduce women! Finally, they are not allowed to wear them any time that they do a reprehensible deed, that they have relations, even with their lawful wives, etc.

On the other hand, having remained naive and super- 789
stitious, they all believe in the efficacy of amulets, "tira," with which they are covered. There are even some who hang them on the necks of their meharis.

At each new moon the Tuareg says his prayer. His hands 782
open like a book, he looks at the evening star and expresses 788
the wish that he may be alive at the next moon.

At the feast of Mouloud (birth of the Prophet), they hold out their hands, saying, "Asarouf" (pardon), in order to have their sins forgiven. But if there is no taleb in the tribe to remind them of the exact date, they forget and do not think of it.

## Chapter VIII

### Superstitions. Beliefs

The Tuareg are very superstitious. Everywhere they see 771
genii and demons, in the mountains, in the trees, in water- 776
skins, etc.

Thus, in camp they do not want to go to bed beside water-
skins or ashes, because of the genii, "alhinen" /\ ⁝ ||, /60/
or ghosts, "kel esouf" ][⊙|| ·⁝ (people of the void), who
live there.

4: Benhazera--53 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

When they want to stretch out at the foot of the tree called "el yatil" in Arabic and "tadjart" ⊕ⵜⵜ in Tamashek (a kind of acacia), which is inhabited by jinn, they must first wound it with a stone, and stones are always to be found at the foot of these trees. One can also see the wounds made in the bark. 776 824 789

The "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica) is also a haunted tree. If one wants to rest under its shade, it is first necessary to break seven of the tree's thorns.

There are also "kel esouf" in the place where an animal has had its throat cut. 776

Mount Oudane is haunted, as are many others. [823]

These superstitions are probably survivals of their old religion, before their conversion to Islamism. Like them, "The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period worshipped jinn, or genii. The deserts and mountains where one sometimes gets lost for entire weeks are full of beings of this kind.... They can do much harm and much good.... They live in rocks, trees, or statues. Each tribe, or sometimes a group of tribes, had its special jinni; its rock, its tree, its own image, before which an appointed family carried out priestly duties" (1). 174 771 776

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 5 and 6.

The Tuareg have many other superstitions. Thus nobles would never kill a "uran" (varanus), which in Tamashek is called "ar'ata" •+⁝ , and a fortiori would not eat it. Sidi ag Keradji and Azioueł ag Ser'ada told me that the uran is the maternal uncle of the Tuareg, and Sidi told me the following legend: "Seven nobles had killed a camel belonging to Sidna Nouh (Hoah). Among them there was a noble Tuareg. To punish them God changed them, one into an uran, another into a jackal, a third into a chameleon, etc. /61/ The uran was the noble Tuareg. The camel that was killed is now in the sky: it is the Great Bear. The Polar Star, 'Bel Hadi', is its head." 565 825 773 784 [821]

754 /114 cont./ Belief in the evil eye is shared by the Negroes and the Tuareg: certain persons may by their words cause the worst calamities, induce illness, provoke accidents, make animals die. Happily, there are other persons who have the opposite power and who, by approaching a sleeper and placing a hand near his face, give him strength and luck for the day.

[777 83] In general women are carriers of bad luck in the morning; however, if an intimate lets her sex be glimpsed before a morning departure, luck will smile on the hunter.

Of one who has the evil eye, it is said in Tamashek; "illé tahot."

[777] 776 Who gives that good or bad luck carried by an individual and which may sometimes emanate from him? The reply to this question is: God, for, after all, these people are Moslems; but each one is persuaded that the genii, the Kel es Souf, as the Tuareg say, are agents of this suprahuman life. The Kel es Souf constitute a people of spirits invisible during the day, but who may appear to humans at night in the most varied forms. At nightfall comes the most favorable moment for the exploits of the Kel es Souf. All manifestations of natural forces are attributed to these genii: whirlwinds, echoes, floods of the wadi, cave-ins, a spontaneous fire in the dry grass. On the contrary, the mirage ("eillel") is not the work of the Kel es Souf.

/115/ He who hears or sees one of these genii is always troubled; he may become ill and even insane, for, if there are indifferent Kel es Souf (very few, however), there are no good ones. It is because of this that one must know how to protect oneself against them; this is ordinarily done by invoking God, by carrying talismans, and by always having an iron object with oneself.

The Kel es Souf like certain places and reside there in preference to others: deep ravines, in which they shower atones on the unfortunate humans who venture there, and caves, in

776 /115 cont./ the depths of which are seen their strange lights. The In-Tafeute guelta is peopled with genii; the Amadror saltworks abound with Kel es Souf, who make an infernal racket at night, breaking the salt, hewing blocks, robbing all sleep from the people who have come to work and who the next morning see no sign of this nocturnal activity. Certain high places, of which the most famous is Garet el Djenoun, are also favorite haunts of all this invisible world.

It is said that in former times some particularly powerful men were on friendly terms with the Kel es Souf, who had a language of their own. Two ways used by the genii to count up to ten are still told:

| First way: | Second way: |
|---|---|
| 1 -- Djoukhien | Dienana |
| 2 -- Djouressin | Dessinena |
| 3 -- Djettar | Makarkada |
| 4 -- Djettouri | Matezoua |
| 5 -- Alendiez | Souraten |
| 6 -- Indiez | Souratalni |
| 7 -- Hamalou | Tiguemelguemal |
| 8 -- Fellali | Teguedtassa |
| 9 -- Terra | Nougomelli |
| 10 -- Feck | Nourobelli |

The misadventures of humans with the Kel es Souf are extremely numerous. Any Targui who has a little confidence in you /116/ will tell you of his and, excited by the subject, will relate those of others. There are classic tales, such as that of Titi.

773 Titi was a shrewd Targui who one night arrived at a wadi wooded with tabrakat. Dismounting from his camel at the place he intended to pass the night, he saw a woman. He greeted her and began to unsaddle his mount. As he unloaded a sack, the woman took it from him and placed it on the ground. He went to look for wood, and she went with him to help; he lighted his fire, she stirred the coals, this solicitude

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



224 the number of holes in each row and makes a special sign in the sand for even and uneven numbers.
787 There are four possibilities of different signs:— (1) A sign called *tezli* if there is an uneven number of holes in both rows; (2) A sign known as *ékilli* if there is an even number of holes in both rows; (3) A sign, *eggur*, if the number of holes is uneven in the right row, but even in the left row; (4) A sign, *tamayit*, if the number of holes is even in the right row, but uneven in the left. The diviner makes two rows of holes six times successively. Each time he makes one of the mentioned signs according to the distribution of holes, and the result of his divination depends upon the character of the signs and their relative position to each other (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 151 f.). – The Tuareg have other methods of divination which are perhaps also used to predict the result of planned hunting trips. They also know to take omens from the shoulder-blades of wild and domestic animals. When a hunter has killed
[262] a gazelle he will often keep the shoulder-blades for himself, and having eaten the meat he will take omens of future happenings from the structure of these bones. Such shoulder-blades will not be thrown to the dogs – they are hidden under rocks and stones (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 150 f.).

224 Some of the above mentioned usages and beliefs have been mentioned also by Lhote (Lhote 1951a, p. 180 f.), who has noted a few other customs connected with hunting:—

[825] (8) If a hunter kills a snake he will get nothing. (A particular snake species known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *émegel* is never killed, as it is considered "sacred" and is referred to as a "marabut").

(9) If two men hunt together, but separate to meet later, the man who comes upon the other must not receive food from him.

(10) Handling the skin of game animals one must not put fingers into a bullet hole. This would cause bad shooting or accidents on future hunting trips, and the rule is observed even with tanned skin.

A few other superstitious usages have been recorded from Ahaggar by Captain Florimond (Rapport Annuel. Ouargla 1940). They are here quoted from Lhote 1951a, p. 181 f.:—

(11) Hunters of the *Dag Ṛali* take omens from the breaking of sandal straps in the pursuit of barbary sheep. If the straps passing between the toes break the hunter will kill a male, while he will get a female animal if the side-straps break.

● [776] (12) When Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* (*Dag Ṛali*) leave for a hunting trip they put a stone or pebble on their heads and utter an invocation to hunting spirits which is rapidly repeated ten times.

(13) When *Dag Ṛali* Tuareg set out hunting they take with them a stone from a pre-Islamic tomb. When game is seen they throw this stone far away crying at their dogs: "Go! What you kill shall be *ḥallal* and lawful!"

[777] (14) When a barbary sheep has been killed by people hunting with dogs, the head of the animal is cut off and thrown on the fire while the following words are uttered:— "The smell from the burned skin of the head of the barbary sheep shall forever flatter the hunter's nostrils so that he may have good luck in future hunting also!" Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* will add:— "I have taken you from the *Kel Asuf* and I have taken only the blessing they have sold you that you may soon be followed by your peer!"

(15) At the partition of killed game the meat must be handled with slow motions. If not, the dogs will lose their fierceness.

(16) It is believed that a hunter should fix a burning piece of wood in the soil by the fire in which

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



his game has been prepared. If this wooden piece is removed by another hunter he will spoil all the 224
hunting luck of the first hunter, who will then have to find the offender and spit three times between [223]
his shoulders in order to regain the lost hunting luck. If he does not find the offender he will give all his hunting dogs the following treatment:— Black powder is set on fire, and one ear of every dog is held close to the burning powder so that the dog will cry as loudly as possible. The same treatment is applied to the dogs in case anybody has handled the meat of game with rapid motions.

There can be little doubt that some of these superstitious usages are pre-Islamic, and it seems as [226]
though there is a certain connection between hunting rites and the *Kel Asuf* spirits corresponding to the *jinns* of the Arabs. This is also quite natural in view of the fact that these pre-Islamic spirits are believed mainly to inhabit the isolated areas preferred by game animals (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 125 ff.).

Game animals should always be killed ritually by cutting the throat like domestic animals (cf. p. 231). If an animal is killed by a rifle bullet, its throat is cut as quickly as possible, but the Tuareg say that even an animal killed in this way die "slowly" and that its death is not accomplished until the throat is cut. If a knife is lacking the Tuareg sometimes use a stone to beat open the throat of birds such as pigeon and guinea fowl.

[text continues on p. 175]

[172] 301 layers /271/ dating from that epoch. Its origin must be sought there, and it is now nothing more than a Neolithic vestige.

A number of little cases which the Tuareg wear suspended around the neck and resting on the chest may be considered ornaments. [531] They are little leather cases -- decorated, painted or embroidered, or even stamped in relief -- and they contain various little instruments. [415] Thus, there are mirror cases, needle cases, razor cases, scissor cases, toothbrush cases, etc., and little wallets in which the Tuareg put what they prize most -- money, a /strike-a-light/ steel box and its flint, or tobacco.

/272/ They also wear 301 75 quantities of amulets in leather or metal cases on their chests, their arms, or their hair. But [178] this custom, religious in origin, has evolved in the direction of ornamentation, for many of these amulet cases contain nothing.

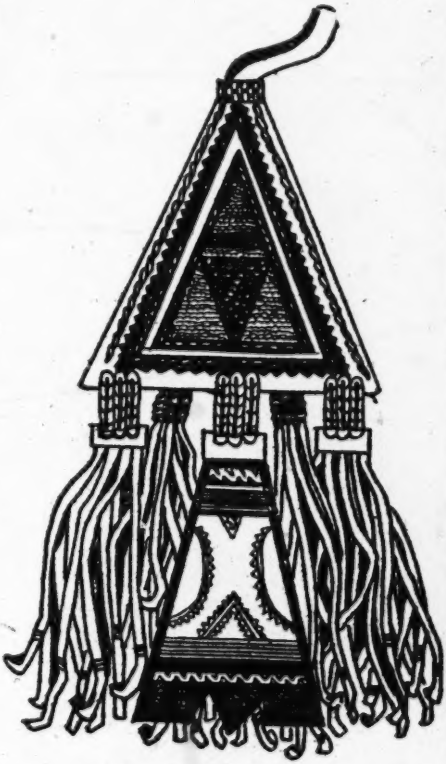

Fig. 42. Needle case of worked leather, with knife slits and embroidery. The background is red; the ornamental painting, black; the embroidery, red and green cotton.

301 Female jewelry is much richer and more varied. It is [328] all made of silver; gold jewelry is never seen among [223] the Tuareg. They maintain [777] that gold is unlucky for the possessor and that this metal corrupts people.

The women get up and make a sort of mattress of sand or earth, 585
which is called "adebel" ⵍⵍ ⵓⵍⵎ and which is covered with a haïk. Over it will be set the skin tent on two wooden arches, "idjedjan" ⵉ ⵉⵏ ⵉⵏ , and the usual pegs.

But at this point the men intervene and seize the tent cover. Two on one side and two on the other, they throw it [777] back and forth three times, calling "Saoula iaoulit (throw and send back)." This brings good fortune.

Then the tent is finally set up. The men lead the groom to the tent. He is made to go around it three times; then he [777] enters, taking care to put his right foot in first, again because this brings good fortune.

The groom is in the tent with his friends. The women 585
then accompany the bride while singing: 533
539

"Bismillaten ar essa .ⵓⵙⵎⵉⵍⵍⴰⵜⵏ ⴰⵔ ⵉⵙⵙⴰ
"Se iz'ar isem n yalla .ⵙⴻ ⵉⵣⵔⴰⵔ ⵉⵙⵎ ⵏ ⵢⴰⵍⵍⴰ
"Foull ilik ner' as tedoua".ⴼⵓⵍⵍ ⵉⵍⵉⴽ ⵏⴻⵔⵔ ⴰⵙ ⵜⴷⵓⴰ

which means:

"In the name of God on them up to seven times,
"Preceding the name of God,
"On our daughter who left in the evening (for her husband's home)." /17/

A few meters from the tent the son of the bride's maternal 585
aunt comes forward and wants to hold the bride back, telling 431
her: "I will not let you leave before receiving my gift, my sandals. Aouid ir'atimen (give me my sandals)." The groom or his friends then pass him a pair of sandals which were set aside for this purpose or, lacking these, another gift.

Then the women in chorus ask questions to which the men 585
reply in chorus: 533
539

Women's chorus:

Nellouz ⵏⵍⵍⵓⵣ We are hungry.

Men's chorus:

Atekchimet ⵜⴰⴽⵛⵉⵎⵉⵜ You will eat.

Women's chorus:

Ner'loul ⵏⵔⵍⵓⵍ We are naked.

There are also lucky or unlucky days. The lucky days, 777
those which are recommended for starting on a journey, are [484]
Friday after prayer, Saturday morning, and Monday. /63/
For the lucky day of the month one first counts 2 from the
index finger and, coming back to the index finger, 7, 12,
17, 22, 27.

The unlucky days are Sunday and Wednesday.

The Tuareg also believe in the evil eye, "tahott." 754

An eclipse is the sun's raid on the moon, and vice versa. 821

Finally, there is a very curious custom of which Duveyrier 769
has spoken, which is that of consulting old graves. Usually 787
it is the women who go to consult them. They dress well
and must avoid having on themselves anything of iron or steel,
even a needle. They lie down near the grave, and the
"zabbar" (ogre) inhabiting the grave appears to them in the
form of a giant with eyes as large as a camel's, and gives
them the answers they want. They are consulted especially
in order to get news of absent ones, people gone on a raid
or in a caravan, from whom there has been no news.

## Chapter IX

### Stock Raising. Flocks

Camels, sheep, and goats constitute the chief resource 233
of the Tuareg, as of all nomads. Camels especially are the
object of all their care, since these give them the greatest
service. They rely greatly on camels, ewes, and goats be- [234]
cause of the milk, of which they drink a great deal, and melted
butter, "oudi," which they make.

They use all the hides: those of camels for sandals, 237
containers for butter, watering troughs, etc.; those of sheep 281
or goats for waterskins and the manufacture of tents, leather
clothes, etc. /64/

233/78 cont. / "maroki." The Sudan camel is the largest, generally has /79/ a light coat, is strong and fast; when it is very fat, its hump becomes high; it must have plenty of nourishment and fares badly on poor pasturage. When it is in good shape, it can carry 200 kilograms of merchandise.

The Ahaggar camel is smaller but always has a nice bearing; its coat may be light, but many of these camels are dark. When it is fat, its hump does not rise much but overflows on the sides; a more frugal eater than the Sudan camel, it can get along on meager pastures. If it runs more slowly, it climbs better; its feet become overheated on the sand but will hold up on jagged pebbles. It cannot carry more than about 150 kilograms.

There are not many maroki in the Ahaggar. It is smaller than the others but much stronger; in comparason with them it seems awkward. It requires abundant food, but in exchange can carry up to 300 kilograms. Generally dark colored, the maroki has a thick coat.

233 192 The Tuareg vocabulary to designate the camel is rich, a proof of the interest in the animal. The generic term is "amis," "imenas" in the plural. "Amadjor" is also generic but is used in the sense of: "camel seen in the distance but not identified." The plural is "imoudjar." The female camel is called "talemt" (plural: "tillemin"); "timetirout" (plural: "timetterouin") means "pregnant camel." The newborn camel is called "aoura"; at one year it is called "ag aouatey"; at two years, "allogues"; three years, "akanafoud"; four years (the teeth begin to grow but do not emerge), "aralter"; five years (two teeth), "ag essin"; six years (four teeth), "ag okkoz"; seven years (six teeth), "Ammessedis"; eight years (two canines), "aoutahallat"; adult and old camels intermingle so that a Targui is incapable of saying how old camels live to be; some die young, some old, but the Targui never gives an opinion as to age, for that could be bad luck.

[777]

754 /114 cont./ Belief in the evil eye is shared by the Negroes and the Tuareg: certain persons may by their words cause the worst calamities, induce illness, provoke accidents, make animals die. Happily, there are other persons who have the opposite power and who, by approaching a sleeper and placing a hand near his face, give him strength and luck for the day.

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The Kel es Souf like certain places and reside there in preference to others: deep ravines, in which they shower atones on the unfortunate humans who venture there, and caves, in

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human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies. However, this plant does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, p. 192). One plant (*tehereggelé*) (*Artemisia judaica*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten venomous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for domestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe they have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings (Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be understood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil mouth (*tehoṭ* in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as *effuma* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding camels in Ayr:— Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order that their riding animal may not stumble.

422
*233

Fig. 100. Earmarks of the types used for goats and sheep among the Northern Tuareg. Ahaggar, the tribes *Deg Ball* and *Aguh-en-srhlf*.

422
*233 never use earmarks for donkeys which are branded like their camels, and I believe that this rule also
565 holds for the *Isekkemaren* Tuareg, though I do not know this to be true for tribes other than those of *Kel Terurit* and *Kel-I-n-tunin*.

422
*233 The property brands of the Northern Tuareg are burned into the skin of the camel (donkey) by
[413] means of a redhot iron known as *éndel* (Figs. 102a–b), but if this implement is not available another piece of iron is used, e.g., the iron tripod for suspension of kettles and cooking pots. The brands are known as *ahwalen* (sing. *éhwel*), and there are a great many different ones which have their particular
422 names. These brands are frequently depicted in literature (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 629 f.; Lhote
*233 1955a, p. 235), and spoken of as "tribal brands". However, as property marks are patrilineally
614 inherited while tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, the members of the same
[582] tribe will possess more than one camel-brand. For marriages are contracted between different tribes, though some of these units are predominantly endogamous. Furthermore there are a few Tuareg who
[277] use different camel-brands for camels inherited from the father and the mother, as there are some who have adopted the mother's father's brand because their father's brand was believed to have brought bad luck in camel-breeding. For these reasons there are frequently more than one brand within a
[613] tribe, and individuals or small patrilineages generally add to their main brand (*éhwel*) a supplementary
brand known as azeglu.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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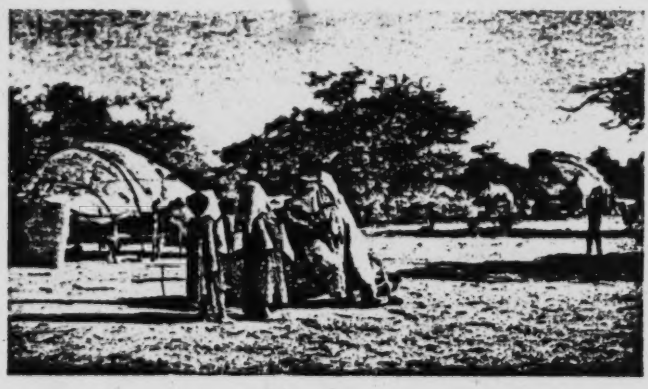

Fig. 109. A family camp of four mat-covered barrel-vaulted tents. Ayr, the *Igwadéynen* tribe.

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*233 donkeys by certain Ayr Tuareg are most interesting. Though such marks are used by many tribes there does not seem to be a great variety of them, and I have noted only the following marks:—

[565] (1) *tallayt*, that is the tip of right ear cut off while a slit is cut into the left ear. This mark is said to be used by all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the members of the two tribes *Kel Akerra* and *Imezzureg*, who claim to be noble by origin, have an additional brand burned into the left hind thigh close to the animal's anus. This brand is called *ekomed*.

(2) two slits in the animal's left ear. Though different from the mark just mentioned it is said also [565] to be called *tallayt*. It is used by the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg (the *Irawatten*), and also by the negroid *Irawélen* who in the past were once slaves of the nobility.

(3) *tabelechchat*, that is one slit in the left ear. This mark is used by the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who are politically attached to the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg.

[428] Though all property marks are patrilineally inherited it may happen in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, that a Tuareg use two marks. For certain Tuareg will use the mother's father's mark for animals given them [77] by their mother's family, other Tuareg have been brought up among matrilineal kinsmen whose mark they have adopted, and there are also people who have adopted their mother's family mark because they believed that their father's mark brought them bad luck in camel-breeding.

614 The Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group fall into a number of units which are known by the word *tawchit*. It seems to have much the same meaning as the word *tawzit* of Northern Tuareg dialect, but is also used to designate the so-called spiked wheel-trap. I call these units for tribes as they do not seem to correspond to unilateral descent groups. Many tribes have a tradition of their descent from a common ancestress, but though tribal members may know her name they are never able to connect her with their genealogies which are very badly known. To my knowledge there are no tribes of true Ayr Tuareg that are named after an ancestress or have avuncular names. The Ayr tribes have geographical names or are called after an ancestor to whom they are also unable to connect their [591] genealogies. It is possible that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in the past have followed the rules of residence

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 111. Skin bag of *ttchchikwat* type made from a jackal's skin. The Ahaggar Tuareg believe that people who conserve their money in a skin bag of this kind will have good luck in trading. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.63 m (F.M. 283).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



411 p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a; p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *ifezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals – there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as [524] though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Ineslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Koran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely [171] wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing [114] poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these [172] people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

224 Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. To-[184] day true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Tamgak* or *Imedderaren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Rali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting [311] that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals withing two hunting territories where barbary sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting 224 825 that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

| Age | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . . | *awhim* | *tawhimt* |
| Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . . | *ahyar* | *tahyart* |
| Fully grown animal . . . . . | *ahenkod* | *tahenkot* |

224 Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—
754 (1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's
777 nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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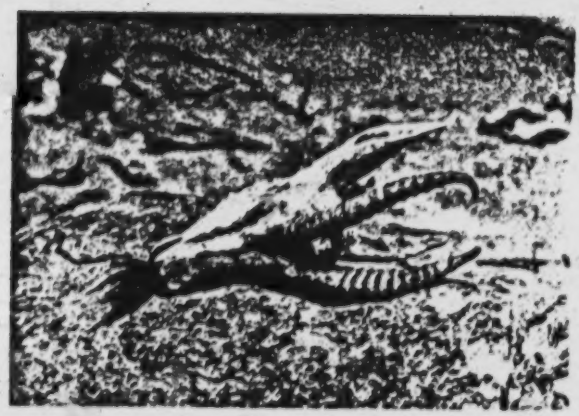


Fig. 122. Gazelle's head with the black tail-tuft inserted into one of the nostrils as a remedy against the mystic evil power called *ettama* (*tezma*). Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

This custom is believed to afford protection against the mystical power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama*, or *tezma* – an evil power possessed by certain Tuareg and by all blacksmiths (cf. p. 21). A person who possesses this evil power may, if he does not receive part of the booty, spoil the hunter's luck when seeing the killed gazelle. The tail-tuft put into the animal's nostril eliminates this risk.

(2) When a hunter returns to his camp with booty he should not show the killed game to other people, and if asked about the results of his hunting trip he should deny that he has had any luck. This custom is also explained as being a protection against the evil power *ettama* (*tezma*) just mentioned.

(3) When a man leaves his camp for a hunting trip he must not talk about it, nor must it be mentioned by other people. This belief has its root in the conception of the "evil mouth" (the "evil eye") known in Ayr as *tagarchu*, in Ahaggar as *tehoj*.

(4) If a hunter has given meat from his killed game to another man, the latter should not praise it. This belief is due to the belief in the "evil mouth" – the belief that a man's luck can be spoiled by praise.

224 (5) In a *Dag Rali* camp I have noticed that a piece of bone of a barbary sheep was conserved in a
777 skin bag. I was told that this was done in order that the hunter might have good luck in his future hunting of barbary sheep.

[828] (6) Certain omens bring good luck in hunting as well as in other projects, e.g., to walk between two black ravens (Ayr), or to see two black ravens (Ahaggar); to see a jackal; to see the hawk called *ahallam*; to see three gazelles.

224 (7) The Tuareg have various methods of divination some of which are frequently used in connection
777 with hunting. The hunter will frequently enquire into the result of a planned hunting trip by means of a method known in Ahaggar as *igehan*, in Ayr as *igaran*. In brief the method is practised as follows:— The diviner presses his thumb or his forefinger quickly into the sand to make two rows of holes close to each other. He does not know ahead how many holes he has made in the two rows. He counts

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



224 the number of holes in each row and makes a special sign in the sand for even and uneven numbers.
287 There are four possibilities of different signs:— (1) A sign called *tezli* if there is an uneven number of holes in both rows; (2) A sign known as *ehlli* if there is an even number of holes in both rows; (3) A sign, *eggar*, if the number of holes is uneven in the right row, but even in the left row; (4) A sign, *tamayit*, if the number of holes is even in the right row, but uneven in the left. The diviner makes two rows of holes six times successively. Each time he makes one of the mentioned signs according to the distribution of holes, and the result of his divination depends upon the character of the signs and their relative position to each other (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 151 f.). – The Tuareg have other methods of divination which are perhaps also used to predict the result of planned hunting trips. They also know to take omens from the shoulder-blades of wild and domestic animals. When a hunter has killed
[262] a gazelle he will often keep the shoulder-blades for himself, and having eaten the meat he will take omens of future happenings from the structure of these bones. Such shoulder-blades will not be thrown to the dogs – they are hidden under rocks and stones (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 150 f.).

224 Some of the above mentioned usages and beliefs have been mentioned also by Lhote (Lhote 1951a, p. 180 f.), who has noted a few other customs connected with hunting:—

[225] (8) If a hunter kills a snake he will get nothing. (A particular snake species known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ámegel* is never killed, as it is considered "sacred" and is referred to as a "marabut").

(9) If two men hunt together, but separate to meet later, the man who comes upon the other must not receive food from him.

(10) Handling the skin of game animals one must not put fingers into a bullet hole. This would cause bad shooting or accidents on future hunting trips, and the rule is observed even with tanned skin.

A few other superstitious usages have been recorded from Ahaggar by Captain Florimond (Rapport Annuel. Ouargla 1940). They are here quoted from Lhote 1951a, p. 181 f.:—

(11) Hunters of the *Dag Rali* take omens from the breaking of sandal straps in the pursuit of barbary sheep. If the straps passing between the toes break the hunter will kill a male, while he will get a female animal if the side-straps break.

[776] (12) When Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* (*Dag Rali*) leave for a hunting trip they put a stone or pebble on their heads and utter an invocation to hunting spirits which is rapidly repeated ten times.

(13) When *Dag Rali* Tuareg set out hunting they take with them a stone from a pre-Islamic tomb. When game is seen they throw this stone far away crying at their dogs: "Go! What you kill shall be *hallal* and lawful!"

[777] (14) When a barbary sheep has been killed by people hunting with dogs, the head of the animal is cut off and thrown on the fire while the following words are uttered:— "The smell from the burned skin of the head of the barbary sheep shall forever flatter the hunter's nostrils so that he may have good luck in future hunting also!" Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* will add:— "I have taken you from the *Kel Azuf* and I have taken only the blessing they have sold you that you may soon be followed by your peer!"

(15) At the partition of killed game the meat must be handled with slow motions. If not, the dogs will lose their fierceness.

(16) It is believed that a hunter should fix a burning piece of wood in the soil by the fire in which

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



his game has been prepared. If this wooden piece is removed by another hunter he will spoil all the hunting luck of the first hunter, who will then have to find the offender and spit three times between his shoulders in order to regain the lost hunting luck. If he does not find the offender he will give all his hunting dogs the following treatment:— Black powder is set on fire, and one ear of every dog is held close to the burning powder so that the dog will cry as loudly as possible. The same treatment is applied to the dogs in case anybody has handled the meat of game with rapid motions. 224 [277]

There can be little doubt that some of these superstitious usages are pre-Islamic, and it seems as though there is a certain connection between hunting rites and the *Kel Asuf* spirits corresponding to the *jinns* of the Arabs. This is also quite natural in view of the fact that these pre-Islamic spirits are believed mainly to inhabit the isolated areas preferred by game animals (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 125 ff.). [276]

Game animals should always be killed ritually by cutting the throat like domestic animals (cf. p. 231). If an animal is killed by a rifle bullet, its throat is cut as quickly as possible, but the Tuareg say that even an animal killed in this way die "slowly" and that its death is not accomplished until the throat is cut. If a knife is lacking the Tuareg sometimes use a stone to beat open the throat of birds such as pigeon and guinea fowl.

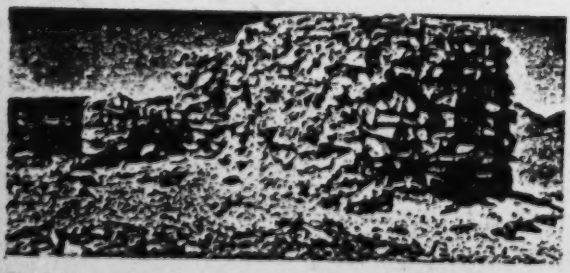
[text continues on p. 175]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



them. They are lined and covered with mats as in Ahaggar, and though they may be used for the 251
storage of wild seeds they are mainly used for grown cereals and are generally found in or close to 343
gardens. Grain silos built of stones and mud – the *tarassana* type of Ahaggar – are said to occur among the *Kel Ewey* but I have never seen such storerooms in their villages, nor have I met the typical African storeroom built of straw and resting upon poles until south of the Massif in Damergu where they are used by shifting cultivators. Large earthenware containers shaped like cooking pots are used [415]
to store vegetable products (cereals) in certain villages, particularly at Iferwan. Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr have the underground storerooms for the preservation of surplus grain and other vegetable products. Cereals to be consumed in the camps (notably millet) are kept in large skin-bags resting [415]
upon poles that they may not be damaged by white ants. The Ahaggar Tuareg also preserve cereals in their tents in skin-bags.

Irrigation agriculture is a strenuous task, but it is less influenced by climatic conditions than all 241
other occupations practised in the Sahara. The farmers are not exposed to the same disasters of drought [461]
periods as are pastoral Tuareg in the north, though it is said that rain is a direct blessing also to irrigated crops. But cultivated plants are exposed to certain dangers, e.g., locusts, and crops do not always thrive as they should. Bad luck in agricultural activities may in the opinion of the farmers be due to [277]
some mystical power or other. It may arise from incorrect treatment of cereals and dates so that they [278]
lose their *elburaka*. Menstruating women, as mentioned above, are dangerous to vegetable food, and [641]
this is also true of the fire, for which reason one should never throw date kernels into the flames. The farmers also fear that their crops may suffer damage from the attack of the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and partic- [754]
ularly from the attack of the malignant force attached to the "evil eye" or the "evil mouth". To protect their crops the farmers frequently use amulets such as broken pots and skulls of domestic animals [237]
(notably of donkeys), which are considered an effective means against the "evil eye" and the "evil mouth" (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 133 f., 160).



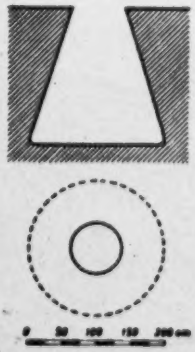



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Fig. 145. Grain silos of the *tarassana* type built of stones and mud. Ahaggar, Abalessa.
Fig. 146. Cross section of a subterranean storeroom for cereals, and the like (*dgend*). Dimensions according to Foucauld: 2.00 m–2.50 m deep, 2.00 m in diameter at the bottom, 0.75 m in diameter at the surface (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 459 f.).

[text continues on p. 209]

631 It will be noted that there are no marabout tribes in the divers
793 Ahaggar tobol. The Ifôra who nomadize in the Témaçinine (Fort Flatters) region are completely independent. They maintain amicable relations with the Ihǎggaren and the Kel Ǎjjer, but these relations are very few and far between and have no political or religious character. They do not send any chaplains among the Ihǎggaren. Their chief has settled at the little zāwiyah of Témaçinine, near which his ancestors are buried, and where he enjoys great /213/
[D78 repute. All the Tuareg, Ihǎggaren or Ǎjjer, who pass near this
788] place never fail to stop and pay a visit to the sheik and go pray on the tomb of Si Othman, a famous saint of this marabout lineage.

This zāwiyah is affiliated with the Tijaniyyah brotherhood.

There are several marabouts who live in the midst of the Ihǎggaren camps, but all of them are of Arab origin and none of them are Ifôras.

631 The Ifôras are under the administrative control of the Ǎjjer annex, and politically they are much more a part of the Kel Ǎjjer than of the Ihǎggaren.

They are subdivided into three fractions:

Ifôras-oui-n-Oukkîren

Ifôras-oui-n-Egdad

Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel

The first two, who are of sherif descent, were in the habit of espousing the cause of the Ofîraren, while the third was attached to the Imenân sultans.

114 Duveyrier said that the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel were provided with
533 drums and continued to constitute the court and the music corps
631 of the fallen sultans; he concludes by saying that their role is limited to making noise. (1) Now the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel have never been

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 361.

musicians, but their name, which can be confusing, means "those who are attached to the amênokal," just as Iklân-en-Tǎousit (of the Ahaggar) means "servant of the tribe or of the group of tribes

177 Some Tuareg scrupulously practice fasting, and the different
785 Moslem holidays are now followed punctually. But along with that
795 they keep the ahal, monogamy, and matriarchy.

774 Pagan survivals. -- Ten centuries of Islamism have not completely rid the Tuareg of their former beliefs. They still believe in the existence of an animated world peopled by elements acting visibly or invisibly, living in minerals, vegetables, water, etc. To be sure, these beliefs are growing blurred, dwindling and losing their intensity, but the Tuareg still live with them, even going so far as to practice certain rites, just as in the country in France.

Their belief in supernatural matter is more than we could possibly imagine. They believe in genii (ahinnen or imdounen) who
776 inhabit the mountains, springs, steep places, and some trees. They
[755] protect themselves from them by numerous talismans, which they beg from the marabouts, or by the practice of exorcizing. The women are even more credulous than the men on this point. They
768 consult the dead by going to pray on their tombs and ask them news
787 of those who are absent.

•778 Petrographic cults are still very much alive among the Tuareg.
782 They believe that some stones are haunted, and to gain the good will of the spirits they place votive offerings in the form of pebbles nearby. Therefore, at the crossing of some mountain passes and some unavoidable paths one often finds enormous piles of stones imitating tumuli, or else many little piles placed on both sides of some camel trails. Some ancient tombs are the object of a quite peculiar worship, for example the one discovered at Tazerouk a few /308/ years ago by Captain Niéger. This tomb, on which lay several stone statuettes, polished axes, and numerous Neolithic objects, was still visited in recent years until the time when it was excavated by the French. The Tuareg deny this, of course, but the discovery of objects placed there recently (fragments of cloth,
773 beads, etc.) proves it. The stone statues represented the Tibaradines,
778 that is, "the maidens." They were supposedly a highborn woman
782 and her servant who were turned into stone because the mistress

773 had asked God to escape a raid which was coming to pillage her
●778 camp. After the raid had passed, however, God kept the women
782 in the state of stone in spite of their entreaties, and it was so that life might be returned to them that the Tuareg came to leave different objects every time they passed near the tomb. The worship
[174] of the Tibaradines is certainly a trace of pre-Islamic and perhaps Neolithic beliefs which must have been deformed through the centuries. One of the statuettes represents a cow and is clearly related to the one found at Silet.

771 The remains of totemism are still affirmed by food taboos.
262 The nobles refuse to eat fish or bird flesh, as well as birds' eggs; only the ostrich escapes this interdiction. On the other hand, a
[825 legend even reports that the uran, or great sand lizard, is the
773] maternal uncle of all the Tuareg.

Some trees are also the object of worship. The Maerua
824 crassifolia which the Tuareg call agar is supposed to be inhabited by a genie which they chase away by striking the tree with stones every time they want to get in its shade. As we have already pointed out, repudiated women who do not wish to stay in the prescribed retirement as imposed by custom and want to take up the state of free living, rely on the tree to take over this retirement which bothers them so much.

754 Sorcery. -- Divination. -- Besides these more or less religious beliefs the Tuareg practice sorcery, divination, and the interpretation of dreams.

Some men, often blacksmiths, are known as sorcerors and make potions intended to cast spells; these are generally made of animal skins /309/ and are given to people who wish to cast a spell
[825] on someone, with the intention of taking him by surprise. The uran lizard plays a large part in the making of these sorceries.

787 Divination, practiced especially by women, is done in several ways and always aims to ask news of absent ones.

We have already mentioned divination through tombs. There is also what the Tuareg call tachilet (the viper). It is done either

565 an Arab merchant from the Touat, Leblanc
563 (1946, table facing p. 40) mentions an heir to
174 an Ajjer Tuareg chieftainship whose father was an Arab, and the son of a Maraboutic Arab from Ouargla is at present one of the potential heirs to the paramount chieftainship of the Ahaggar confederation.

The question of Tuareg mixture with the Teda has been discussed above, in the section dealing with the latter group.

771 Although the Tuareg of the Ahaggar still retain much of the pre-Islamic magico-religious practices and doctrine of their animistic ancestors, they are all Moslems now, at least nominally, but are not very pious as a rule. It has been said that the Tuareg once had a Berber translation of the Koran, in the 8th and 9th centuries (Benhazera, 1908, p. 57), but it was long ago destroyed or lost (if indeed such a text ever did exist) in the course of a religious reform movement. The annual
[796] Moslem fast, during the month of Ramdhan, is not very generally observed, although in the middle of the 14th century Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338) noted that the Ahaggar Tuareg suspended raiding operations during this period.

The religious order of the Tidjani used to
794 count an overwhelming majority of the Ahaggar Tuareg among its followers, but the Senoussi have built up a substantial following in the region during the last 70 years or so, much aided in this by Tuareg who passed through Senoussi territory on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Very few Tuareg from the Ahag-
778 gar have been to Mecca in recent times, although Lyon (1821, pp. 101–102) saw a single group of roughly 150 of them pass through Mourzouk on their way there in May, 1819 (before the Senoussi order was founded). The
643 Amenokal, Mecca pilgrim or not, has usually been the local model of formal piety. Bey ag
771 Akhamouk, the present Amenokal of the Ahaggar, is an unusually good example of this, as was Moussa ag Amastan in the early years of the present century. There are indications that in ancient times Tuareg chieftains may have been vested with religious as well as temporal primacy (Bates, 1914, p. 117).

The European conquest of the Sahara Des-
648 ert has done much to stimulate the Islamiza-
797 tion of the Tuareg in general during the last

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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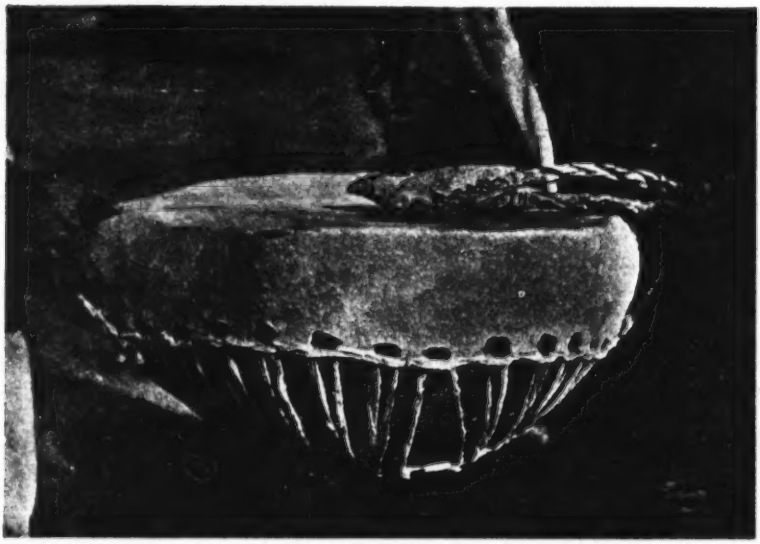

Fig. 6.–The drum which is the only insignia of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. Similar drums are found in all Tuareg groups.

614 past, as nowadays, the proper successor to chieftainship was the deceased chief's son. This rule of succession is no doubt due to Islamic influence which, as mentioned, [174] has introduced patrilineal succession among the Ioullemmeden Tuareg and also in various clans of the religious class of *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). I think there can be no doubt that succession among the Air Tuareg was originally matrilineal and that most possibly a sister's son was considered the proper successor to chieftainship.

### *The Political System of the Kel Ferouan.*

634 The important noble clans of the Kel Ferouan drum-group, namely the true Kel [614] Ferouan (or Iraouatten) and the Kel Azel, are said to be matrilineally related, as [173] the ancestress of the Kel Azel was a woman of the Kel Ferouan clan. She married, tradition says, an Arab who was killed at her own request.

The chief of the noble Kel Ferouan clan had the only drum of the whole group [202] of which he was the supreme chief. The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal clans but also by the noble Kel Azel. 778 The drum, which may still be seen in the camp of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, is 534 made of wood and covered with skin (fig. 6). It is believed that it has a mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced the man charged with this task would do it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



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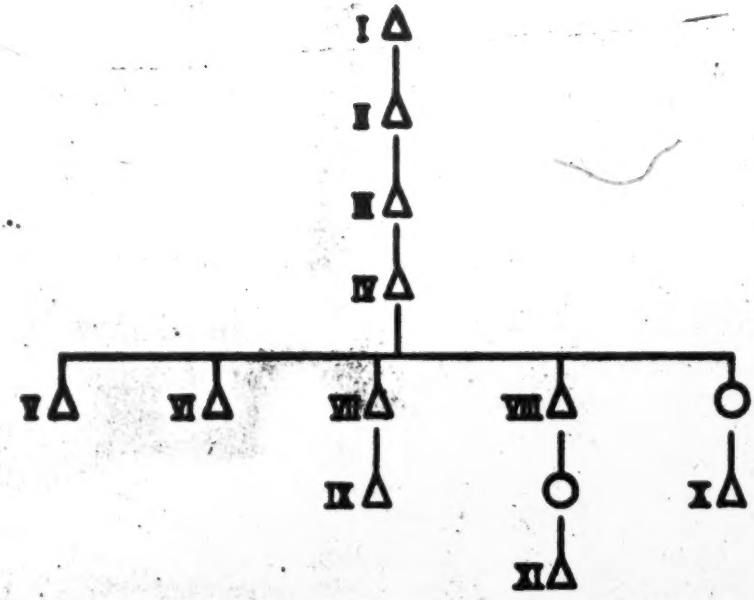



Fig. 7.–Succession of drum-chiefs in the small drum-group of Echchikhen living in Damergou south of the Air Massif.

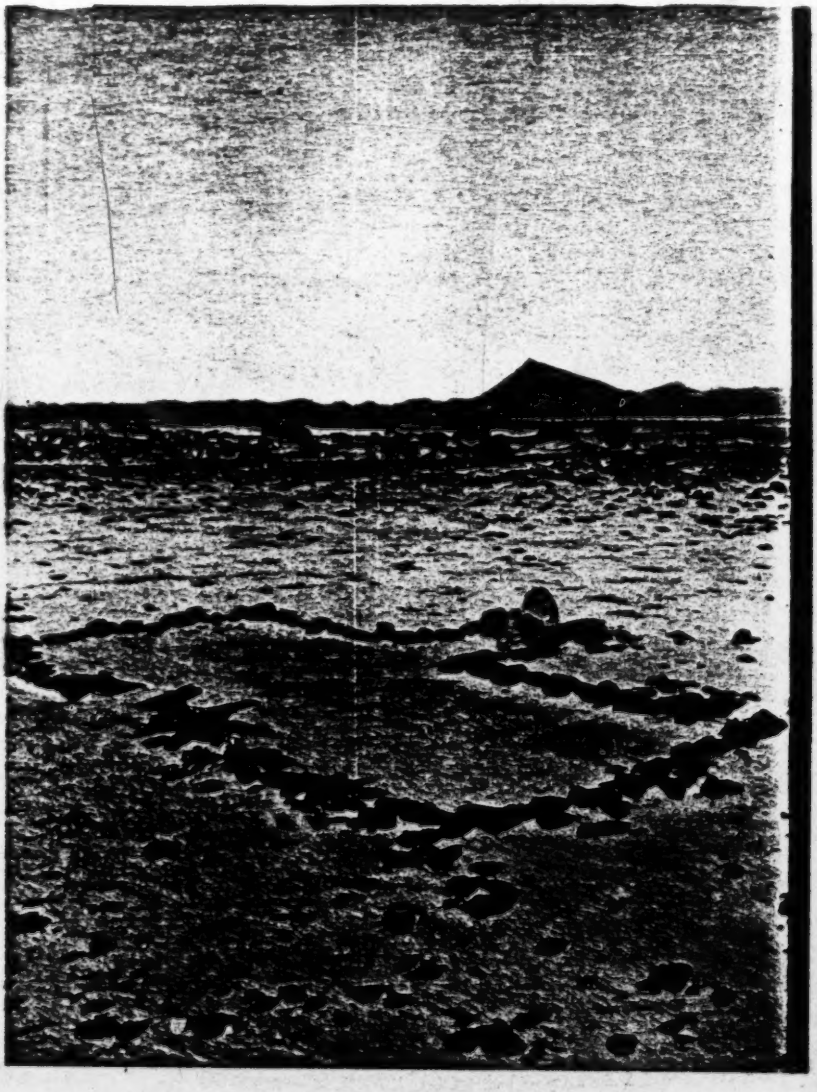
blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, 778 534 and that it must never be touched by women.

Matrilineally related to the Kel Ferouan are also the Echchikhen clan of Damergou, as its ancestress was a noble woman from the Kel Ferouan. But patrilineally 634 the Echchikhen seem to be related to Iforas Tuareg of religious status. The chief [614] of the Echchikhen has a drum of his own as he has the right over a few vassal clans of Damergou, namely the Imasoren, Khamedan, Ekanaouen, and Iraouelen – clans said to be poor and in part subsisting as hunters. Among the Echchikhen I was able to collect a list of drumchiefs who have been chosen mainly according to the patrilineal principle (fig. 7). A new chief of the drum-group had just been elected, and he had no ties of kinship with the Echchikhen. He belonged to the Kel Geres group, and the prominent noble Echchikhen Tuareg were very sorry and infuriated about his election, as they wanted a man from their own clan to take over the leadership of the whole drum-group. But they could do nothing about it as the chief can be elected only by his vassals.

This same principle is and was valid for the election of drum-chiefs in the Kel Ferouan group – they have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, who [177] after the French occupation have also elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble Kel Ferouan clan. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, 173 but the noble Kel Ferouan unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their 634

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

778



48. A Tuareg mosque.

[p. 236]

778 Religious beliefs also interfere with Tuareg stock-breeding and create usages of an irrational kind.
23 Thus the Tuareg, like other North African peoples, firmly believe in the mystic benevolent power,
171 or benediction, known as *elbaraka*. This is a power that emenates from God. It is given by God to
784 man and it cannot act unless certain taboos, or rather religious prescriptions, are followed. The bene-
783 diction *elbaraka* is more than anything else hurt by impurity. Cleanness is an absolute necessity for this good force to be sustained in the same way that a man cannot approach God through prayer if
841 he be unclean. Women are considered unclean during their periods of menstruation and cannot, there-
262 fore, then pray to God. They are also forbidden to drink the milk of domestic animals which have very young kids, lambs, or calves, and they must not drink water which has been conserved in newly-made skin-bags. These taboos are maintained in order not to hurt the benediction given the animals
778 by bringing it into contact with impurity. For the same reason milk taken from animals which have
784 recently brought forth young should not be given to strangers – they might be unclean and harm the
234 *elbaraka*. It is also believed that soil is an impurity dangerous to *elbaraka*, and milk must never be spilt on the ground. Even when milk-bowls are cleaned with water, this liquid should be poured out upon plants or stones, and never be spilt on the ground. Should this be done, God will withdraw his *elbaraka* and the result will be severe periods of drought without milk. I have frequently heard Tuareg ascribe the lack of rain and the dry pasture – the lack of *elbaraka* – to the fact that somebody had spilt milk upon the ground. This had caused God to be angry and to withdraw his benediction. Some Tuareg have also said that *elbaraka* is harmed by a person who blows upon milk. When a man drinks milk he must not blow away impurities before drinking but must remove them by means of a piece of straw.
*233 In the two groups of Northern Tuareg and also in Ayr it is considered very disgraceful for a person
577 who watches the animals away from camp to drink milk directly from an animal's udder. Some Tuareg
272 say that a man when staying alone among milk-yielding animals should not utilize their milk even if he performs milking in the usual way. A person who breaks these rules is called *émenkes* or *émelded* among the Ahaggar Tuareg, *émelded* in Ayr. The Tuareg say that there are some people, and in particular many slaves, who do not follow this rule, and that they are despised if known to have broken it. When two or more people are alone with a herd or flock away from the camp they can freely utilize the animals' milk. And it is very normal for camel herdsmen to live with a herd of she-camels in isolated places for long periods. They then live almost exclusively on camel's milk taken from the herd they guard.

272 Certain usages connected with stock-breeding are rationally explained by the Tuareg. Thus when they heat milk by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221) put into the milking bowl, they claim that this is done in order that the milk shall not get dirty as would happen were it heated in an ordinary cooking
272 pot. Another custom which by other stock-breeders has been explained as being based upon magic,
262 namely the usage not to drink milk and eat meat at the same time, is also rationally explained by the Tuareg. They say that there is no taboo on taking these kinds of food together, but it is very unwise to do so because the mixture will act as a laxative and upset the stomach. Therefore, if a Tuareg has drunk much milk he will not eat meat shortly afterwards, and if he has eaten meat he will not take milk for some hours, though he may do so should ample water have been added to the milk. The
*233 Tuareg to my knowledge have no other special customs in connection with stock-breeding and milk
234 than there mentioned

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 .MS25 Tuareg MS25



## AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND THE PRESERVATION OF CROPS

241/ The hoe forms the basic agricultural implement in Ahaggar and in Ayr. The type of hoe used in
412 Ahaggar is known as *agelhim*, and it is akin to that in general use among irrigation farmers of the northern oases. It has a very large and heavy iron head provided with a ring for the shaft. I believe that this type of hoe is particularly fitted for irrigation work, but it does not seem to be in general use in Ayr. I have seen it at Iferwan in Northern Ayr where agriculturists have much contact with Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but I have not seen it further south in the Massif where it seems to be unknown. The common type of hoe in Ayr is different; it is named *tagumit* and is hafted by means of a tongue (Fig.
[171] 143d). The same type of hoe is widely distributed in Africa south of the Sahara, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest type of iron hoe within the continent (cf. Feilberg 1934, p. 228–278).

241 The hoe is used for agricultural work in general, for digging irrigation canals, making garden beds, and for the preparation of the soil. The hoe is not used for sowing cereals. Sowing in Ayr is known as *anabal* and is performed in the following way:— As many seeds as can be kept between the first and second fingers are pressed a little into the soil, and water is led into the garden beds immediately after sowing. I have myself never watched sowing, but I was told in Ayr that it was frequently done
[278] by old women. I think that this is probably connected with the belief in the mystic power known as
[841] *elbaraka* so characteristic of all North African peoples. For cereals contain this mystic power, which can be spoiled by unclean women. It is considered harmful to the *elbaraka* blessing if cereals are handled by menstruating women (cf. Westermarck 1926, I, p. 230). The hoe is used for weeding,
241 but the agriculturists of Ayr also have a special implement for this particular task. This is known as
412 *elgeehwad* and consists of a curved semi-circular iron blade hafted to a short wooden handle by means of a tongue (Fig. 143e). The semi-circular blade is sharpened at its outer and convex side which is pushed against the roots of weeds.

243 Various methods are used for the harvesting of crops. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer wheat and
[412] barley are always harvested by means of a sickle (*amreh*) (Fig. 143a–b). The sickle in Ayr is known as *elgeehwad*, like the weeding implement mentioned above. It is not used for harvesting crops, but for the cutting of annual grasses to be stored for fodder (Fig. 143f). In Ayr both wheat and barley are
245 harvested by drawing the straws from the ground with the hands. In Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer sickles are also used for harvesting dates, while the date-growing agriculturists of Ayr use another method. They do not cut the bunches, but proceed in the following way:— When dates begin to ripen they enclose every bunch in a plaited pouch to protect the fruit from the ravens and other birds. The dates are harvested one by one when they are ripe, while those not yet fully ripe are left to be harvested later. Harvest is done in this manner about once a week until all dates have become ripe. Maize in Ayr
243 is harvested by drawing the plant from the ground with the hand, and this work is normally facilitated by loosening the soil around the roots by means of the hoe. I do not know how maize is harvested in Ahaggar, where this plant is not so widely grown as in Ayr. Everywhere among agricultural people of Ahaggar and Ayr millet and sorghum are cut with a knife (Ahaggar, *elmusi*; Ayr, *ezegiz*) (Figs. 171–172)

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



them. They are lined and covered with mats as in Ahaggar, and though they may be used for the 251
storage of wild seeds they are mainly used for grown cereals and are generally found in or close to 343
gardens. Grain silos built of stones and mud – the *tarassana* type of Ahaggar – are said to occur among the *Kel Ewey* but I have never seen such storerooms in their villages, nor have I met the typical African storeroom built of straw and resting upon poles until south of the Massif in Damergu where they are used by shifting cultivators. Large earthenware containers shaped like cooking pots are used [415] to store vegetable products (cereals) in certain villages, particularly at Iferwan. Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr have the underground storerooms for the preservation of surplus grain and other vegetable products. Cereals to be consumed in the camps (notably millet) are kept in large skin-bags resting [415] upon poles that they may not be damaged by white ants. The Ahaggar Tuareg also preserve cereals in their tents in skin-bags.

Irrigation agriculture is a strenuous task, but it is less influenced by climatic conditions than all 241
other occupations practised in the Sahara. The farmers are not exposed to the same disasters of drought [461]
periods as are pastoral Tuareg in the north, though it is said that rain is a direct blessing also to irrigated crops. But cultivated plants are exposed to certain dangers, e.g., locusts, and crops do not always thrive as they should. Bad luck in agricultural activities may in the opinion of the farmers be due to [272] some mystical power or other. It may arise from incorrect treatment of cereals and dates so that they [278] lose their *elbaraka*. Menstruating women, as mentioned above, are dangerous to vegetable food, and [841] this is also true of the fire, for which reason one should never throw date kernels into the flames. The [754] farmers also fear that their crops may suffer damage from the attack of the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and particularly from the attack of the malignant force attached to the "evil eye" or the "evil mouth". To protect [237] their crops the farmers frequently use amulets such as broken pots and skulls of domestic animals (notably of donkeys), which are considered an effective means against the "evil eye" and the "evil mouth" (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 133 f., 160).

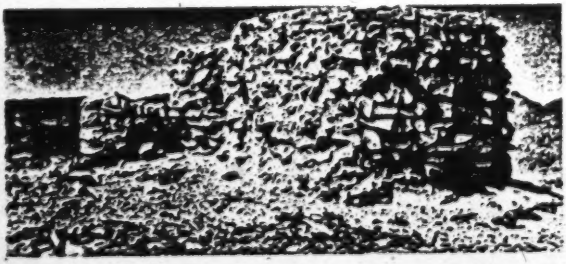
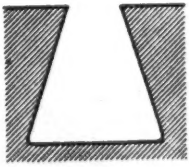


Fig. 145. Grain silos of the *tarassana* type built of stones and mud. Ahaggar, Abalessa.



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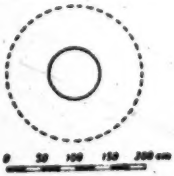


Fig. 146. Cross section of a subterranean storeroom for cereals, and the like (*légend*). Dimensions according to Foucauld: 2.00 m–2.50 m deep, 2.00 m in diameter at the bottom, 0.75 m in diameter at the surface (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 459 f.).

[Text continues on p. 209]

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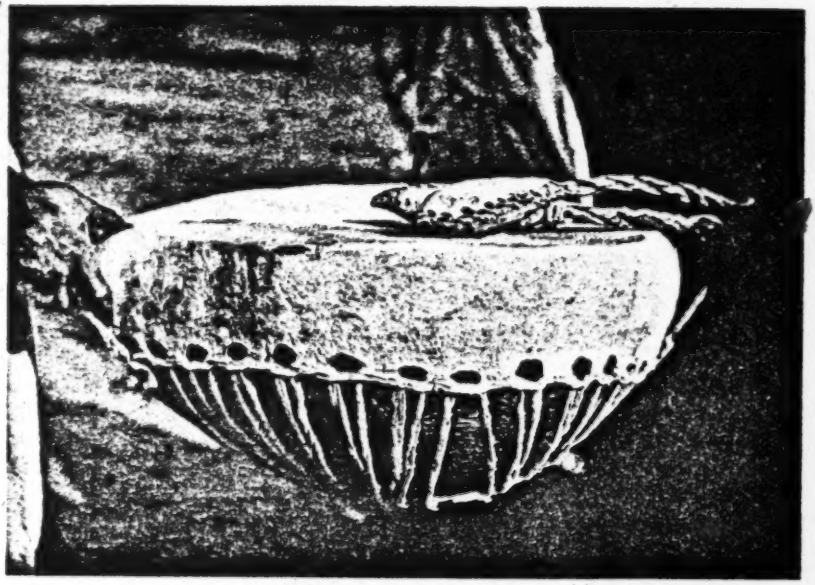

Fig. 285. The drum (*essebel*) which is the only insignia of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. Similar drums are found in other Tuareg groups.

173 as the *Ikadeyen* had no vassals and its members had apparently then as now a rather subordinate
565 position compared with other noble Tuareg. The noble tribe named *Kel-ahem-mellen*, which to-day
614 is of little importance and not very numerous, with some of its members settled in the oasis of
642 Inṛer in Tidikelt, seems to have had certain *Isekkemaren* tribes as its particular vassals, but they were later placed under the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Tégehé Mellet*. The *Isekkemaren*, as we shall see below, had a political status somewhat different from that of the true vassals known to the Northern Tuareg as *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad*. The division of the vassals of this group during the reign of *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir* between the three noble tribes of *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Tégehé Mellet* is most interesting. When the vassals were divided between the three noble units it led to a division of some of the vassal tribes. Thus the *Ayt Lowayen* was divided into two between the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Tégehé Mellet* while the tribe known as *Imessiliten* was divided into the *Dag Ṛali* for the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Kel Ahnet* for the *Taytoḳ*. It would have been easier to divide the vassals without splitting their tribes, but we may perhaps suggest that the tribes were split because they were already divided into groups of individual vassals under those who became independent noble tribes. When the division of vassals took place in the 18th century most went to the *Kel Ṛela*, but quite a number of tribes was also allotted to the *Taytoḳ*, while the *Tégehé Mellet* tribe received so few that it could never become politically important.

When the vassals were divided between the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Tégehé Mellet* these noble
634 tribes became united into a sort of federation known as *tégehé*. The three tribes with their vassals formed
534 so-called drum-groups or *eṭṭebelen* (sing. *eṭṭebel*) with chiefs who had as their insignia a large drum
[778] known as *eṭṭebel*. It was endowed with a particular mystic power; it should not be allowed to touch the ground and when the drum skin was worn, it had to be replaced by a famed warrior. The drum must be obeyed when beaten by the drum-chief to summon his subjects. The drum-chief was the supreme political and judical authority of a drum-group, and he could organize raids and wage war upon other groups. He also collected certain annual payments from his particular vassals. This was
631 true of the chiefs of all three drum-groups in Ahaggar. But within the federation of drum-groups
634 that of the *Kel Ṛela* held a prominent position. The drum-chiefs of the two other groups, the *Taytoḳ*
643 and the *Tégehé Mellet*, only possessed the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaṛen*), which word is that generally used for a chief among the *Kel Ahaggar*, while the chief of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group had the title of *Amenukal* as the chief of the whole *tégehé* federation. Within every drum-group the drum-chief would ceremoniously install all chiefs of vassal tribes but the two drum-chiefs of *Taytoḳ* and *Tégehé Mellet* were installed by the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* group. The *Amenukal* himself was installed in his
[565] office by a Tuareg from one of the *Isekkemaren* tribes of his own drum-group. When the *Amenukal* was installed, which ceremony nowadays takes place at Tamanṛaset, a Tuareg of the *Isekkemaren* class provided him with a large head-cloth. The installment ceremony, which is preserved to this day, was and is the same for any chief among the Ahaggar Tuareg. When a drum-chief was to install a vassal chief, the ceremony took place in the camp of the drum-chief, and when the *Amenukal* had to install drum-chiefs of the two other groups the installation took place in the *Amenukal*'s camp.

The supreme position of the *Amenukal* appears from the rules governing the installation of chiefs, but as already mentioned, the *Amenukal* could not concern himself in all matters of the two other

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



173 Talak. This tradition is acknowledged as true by certain Tuareg of Ayr, but all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg
643 claim that the Sultan has never had any right over the country of Ayr. They state that his Tuareg
[634] title of *Amenukal* has nothing to do with *akal* (i.e. "the land"), and that the country of Ayr from the remote past until now has been owned by the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 421). However,
175 if we turn to the information given on this subject by the *Agadez Chronicle*, we learn that until the
643 establishment of the Sultanry it had been customary for the powerful noble tribes to claim a tax of
651 horses from the caravans which passed their particular territories. The first Sultan of Ayr sent a letter to learned people of an Islamic country to ask whether such taxes were lawful or unlawful. And he was answered that these taxes were to be considered good because those who received the taxes protected the very important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo. The taxes should therefore be collected by the Sultan who again should give them to the Tuareg (Urvoy 1934, p. 155). Before the arrival of the French the Sultan had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, which is mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, 828 f.), and he was entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade and to annual taxes from the sedentary Negroes of Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

643 The tradition which says that the Sultan descend patrilineally from the Sultan of Constantinople and matrilineally from a slave woman clearly indicates the position of the Sultan in Tuareg society. The Sultan is looked down upon by fair-skinned Tuareg because of his black skin, but he is also endowed with prestige because of his supposed descendance from the Sultan of Constantinople.

643 A certain *elbaraka* or benediction is ascribed to him, and all people who want to greet the Sultan
778 must remove their sandals. The Sultan is always buried in his palace at Agadez, and it is said that
[766] if he was buried outside there would be a great risk that his subjects would dig up his skeleton to use
[765] part of it for amulets. It is also said that the Sultan preserves a part of the skeleton of his predecessor for amulets. This must be viewed in connection with the particular power of *elbaraka* attached to the Sultan, and it is important to note that the Sultan is believed to possess an unusual power of fertility, which is secured and maintained until his death by means of certain medicines acquired from the Sudan. Thus it seems as though the Sultan possesses some of the qualities of the Sudanese divine
175 kings, but in practice he has little power. The *Agadez Chronicle* refers to Sultans who acted as war
643 leaders of all Ayr Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Ayr it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of pastoral Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have only reigned for very short periods.

631 Although the Sultan is the supreme chief of all Ayr Tuareg, he does not have the same relationship
634 to all Tuareg groups, for many of them are placed directly under the supreme chief of the *Kel Ewey*
648 group known as the *Anestafidet*. The *Anestafidet* originally lived at Asodey in Central Ayr, but he now lives in Agadez where he holds a prominent position as a chief. Like most *Kel Ewey* he is black-skinned and related to the Hausa population of the Southlands, where he lives for a part of the year with the important task of organizing the trade between Ayr and the south. The *Anestafidet* has always been closely attached to the sedentary Hausa of the Southlands, and is said to have part of his family living at a small village named Blanko between Tanut and Zinder. A new *Anestafidet* may even be elected

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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|---|---|
| *Kel Ewey* | 50 Tuareg veils of indigo cotton |
| *Kel Faday* | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Echchikhen* | two small drum-groups in Damergu each giving 3 oryx hides, as their vassals were mainly hunters |
| *Kel Geres* | 1 horse with a saddle |
| *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* | 1 she-camel, 1 riding camel |
| *Kel Allekot* | 150 kg of millet |
| *Damergu & Katsena* | An amount of millet |

Most of these groups, it is said, paid the annual tribute known as *tewsé* because the land belonged to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. But the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg did not pay an annual tribute for this reason but because they were subdued in wars. It is much to be doubted that these annual tributes were paid regularly to the drum-chief by such warlike groups as the *Kel Dennek* and the *Kel Faday*, who frequently joined forces against the *Kel Ferwan*. As to the *Kel Faday*, the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they were formerly the vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They say that in the remote past the whole drum-group of the *Kel Faday*, including its noble tribe, paid bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief as a token of vassalage, which is said to have ceased in the following way:— The *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a *Kel Faday* camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the *Kel Faday* camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the *Kel Faday*. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the *Kel Faday* so that after a time he could return to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the *Kel Faday* Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan*.

634 The drum-chief had as an insignia of his political power over all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg a large drum
534 known as *ettebel* (or *arezu*). The word *ettebel* was, and is, used not only as a name of the drum but
778 also as a name of the drum-group and the drum-chief whose title of address is *ettebel*, or "drum". This drum had a sacred or mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced, the man charged with this task would perform it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. We see that connected with the drum were certain taboos equivalent to those which are believed to maintain the mystic power of *elbaraka*.

634 The drum-chief had the only drum of the *Kel Ferwan* group of which he was the supreme chief.
202 The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal tribes but also by the
[614] noble *Kel Azel*. The chief of the *Kel Azel* had the title of *amrar* or *arolla* like all other tribal chiefs, but he was addressed *ettebel* although he did not have the right to a drum.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



the *Al-Ḳadi*. In this respect the position of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is similar to that of drum-chiefs among the Ayr Tuareg, and though the present drum-chief says that the *Kel Geres* were never divided into noble and vassal tribes, he nevertheless claims that part of any war-booty taken by *Kel Geres* Tuareg in the past should be given to the drum-chief who had the right to *témaggedaz* and *téwit* (cf. p. 428). The drum (*ettebel*) of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is akin to drums of other Tuareg chiefs. The drum must not touch the ground, but the drum-chief did not believe that its power would be spoilt were it to be touched by women.

## THE KEL ADRAR

The *Kel Adrar* are very superficially described in literature, but their political system has been outlined by Cortier. They constitute only one drum-group under the leadership of an *Amenukal* who is the possessor of the drum (*ettebel*). The class-division is rather similar to that of most other Tuareg groups. There are certain vassal tribes (*Imrad*) and certain noble tribes though the latter are not considered noble in the usual sense. They are known as proper *Iforas* Tuareg and they are to be grouped rather with the *Ineslemen* class than with the proper noble class termed *Ihaggaren* or *Imajeren*. However, their position within the drum-group is almost identical with that of noble Tuareg in other groups. The *Amenukal* is elected according to patrilineal rules being succeeded by his younger brothers and next by his sons, but the vassal tribes do not participate in the election. Within the drum-group there are many smaller divisions of noble families who have their individual vassals, so that from any vassal tribe there are always certain families living in the camp of a noble lord to work for him and to guard his domestic animals. A noble Tuareg can also claim what he wants from his particular vassals while on the other hand the vassals do not pay any fixed tribute to the noble chiefs, not even to the *Amenukal*. The power of the *Amenukal* is a very limited one, and his position is mainly determined by his personal qualities (cf. Cortier 1908, p. 274 ff.).

## THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL DENNEK

The *Kel Dennek*, that is the *Eastern Iwllemmeden* around Tawa, have been described in detail by Nicolas who, however, is not very clear as to particulars. Apart from the class of *Ineslemen* the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg are divided into the classes of noble Tuareg (*Imazeren*) and vassal Tuareg (*Imrad*, or *Kel Ulli*). These vassal Tuareg are politically attached to four drum-groups (*ettebel*) in which the drum-chief is elected from a noble tribe according to patrilineal rules. One of these drum-groups has a leading position, as its chief with the title of *Amenukal-n-akal* is the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Dennek* group known as *tégezé*. In addition to his drum this supreme chief (*Amenukal-n-akal*) has a burgee or flag to be used in case of a holy war and on certain ceremonial occasions such as the installation of an *Amenukal*. This flag is made of silk and is green, blue, and red in colour. The title *Amenukal* is

## Chapter Vi

### War

This is a big word to use for a series of fights, raids, and 721
battles without great losses, but I still cannot find another to describe, for example, the struggle which engaged the two confederations of the Azdjer and of the Ahaggar and which lasted almost three years, with long intermissions.

No description could give a more accurate idea of it than the detailed account of this struggle which was told to me and which may be read later in the chapter dealing with the history of the Ahaggar /not translated/.

## Chapter VII

### Religion. Marabouts. The Fast. Religious Orders

The Tuareg, taken as a whole, are not at all religious. 779
This is due first to the fact that almost none know Arabic and 771
consequently the Koran, which may not be translated. Be- 795
sides, it is known that the Tuareg, like all Berbers, espoused the doctrines of Kharijism in ~~the eighth~~ and ninth centuries of our era, and that it has taken a long time to guide them back to orthodoxy.

During this period, Salih, son of Tarif, put out a Koran in 795
the Berber language, which was destroyed at the time of the 797
repression, and we will see that the Tuareg have kept among their superstitions "survivals" of the teachings of this Salih.

An example will illustrate well the present state of mind of the Tuareg from the religious point of view: /58/

631 The Dag Rali are the most pious people in the Ahaggar. The
●781 majority of them are affiliated with the order of the Tijanyyah, al-
[794] though some of them adhere to the Sanusiyyah and the order of the Qādiriyyah; these affiliations seem to be purely formal, however, for, with a few exceptions, they do not follow the rites of these religious orders.

797 The activity of Father de Foucauld was particularly effective in this tribe. Because of his installation at Tamanrasset and later at his hermitage at Asekrem, Father de Foucauld was in constant contact with the Dag Rali. At first they were mistrustful of him, but they were not long in coming to him, and they were the first beneficiaries of his good deeds, for the Father went to them, caring for the sick and rendering them many services.

[622] Their chief, Ouksem ag Ourar, was a short, stocky man of average intelligence, but very crafty, especially when it was a question of material interest for him or even that of his people. /193/ He saw the benefit that he could draw from this getting together. Little by little the priest did his best to conquer him and win his affection, and he supported his interests with the authorities of Fort Motylinski. Thus, a few months later, Ouksem was completely won over.

[648] Ouksem gained a certain importance with the authorities, which made him proud and which he knew he owed to Father de Foucauld.

622 Later on he was a good help in the pacification of the Ahaggar.
631 During the dissidence of 1915, he showed himself very eager to please
797 us, which made Father de Foucauld write to General Laperrine:
[648] "Ouksem, chief of the Dag Rali, could not be better; he does not cease to make progress. It is evident that he is bent not only on being faithful, but on showing his fidelity in a dazzling way by his attitude." He did nothing without asking the Father's advice, and he followed this advice by creating a garden at the Ilaman wadi in
[777] order to use the waters which descended from the mountain. This garden was established, and to flatter this meritorious effort which was an example, Ouksem received the Medal of Agricultural Merit, a unique feat in the annals of the Tuareg even up to the present

771 They are little versed in the religion and are incapable of reading the Koran, with the exception of a few men among the Tăitok, [793 for example, or in the Sudanese tribe of the Kel es Souq. There 212] are very few marabouts among them, and those who are there, with a few exceptions, live there in a spirit more mercenary than anything else. Among the Tuareg there are no imam or mufti, and [346] /305/ mosques are reduced to simple prayer places formed of an alignment of stones.

[781] Many Tuareg do not follow the prescriptions of the Koran, and a few years ago some chiefs relied on the marabouts "to make their prayers for them!" Those who practice do it ostentatiously. 795 A great number are affiliated with religious orders, but they are 175 usually ignorant of the meaning of the rites. Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the brotherhood of the Tijaniyyah was powerful among them. The majority of the people that the explorer Foureau met during his voyages in the Tassili were members, but he points out that there were also a few Qādiriyyah. Chief In Guéddassen and a certain number of nobles of the Ghat region were Senusi /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. So long as the Oulad Sidi Cheikh, who were the most important groups of the Tijaniyyah, fought France, the majority of the Tuareg remained attached to that brotherhood, but afterwards many of them adopted Senusism. The principal representatives of the Tijaniyyah in Tuareg country were the Tassili Ifôra, whose zāwiyah of Témaçinine had been founded by one of them, El Hadj el Foki. His son Moussa acquired very great renown as a holy man, and so his tomb, located near the little palm grove, is honored by all the northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg of the Ăḍrar des Ifôras are affiliated with the Qādiriyyah and received the ouerd from Cheikh Bay, a former Kounta marabout from Teleya; he died a few years ago, and his renown extends over the whole Sahara. Among the Ioullimmiden, some tribes are Qādiriyyah (Kel es Souq) and others Tijaniyyah (Daoussahak).

The religious lukewarmness of the Tuareg is such that they do not always profess great respect for marabouts and very few of them make the pilgrimage to Mecca. When Duveyrier made his trip to Ghat (1860) there were some thirty pilgrims among the northern Tuareg (1); at the present time there are probably only three men

1. Op. cit., p. 413.

among the Ihăggaren who can be honored with the title of El Hadj.

But this tepidity does not always exclude fanaticism. Barth already mentioned that he had to face it during his trip and that he was assailed by questions and had to discuss different religious dogmas with some Tuareg; he extricated himself from this by a perfect knowledge of the Koran and of Moslem mores. /306/ Their religious ignorance makes them, at the same time, easy instruments in the hands of marabouts who have often profited from this to stir up hate for the Christians and to push them into a holy war, as was the case for the revolts of 1915 - 1916 - 1917. In spite of the bitter failures which resulted, their confidence in their thaumaturgy was not at all diminished.

At the present time there are several Koranic schools in the Ahaggar conducted by Arab marabouts and set up in the agricultural centers. They are mainly attended by Harratin children, for Tuareg children, who stay in their parent's camps, cannot go to them because they are too far away. A marabout family, originally from Cheurfa d'Aoulef (Tidikelt) settled in the Ahaggar some forty years ago and enjoys a great veneration. Not long ago it was fixed in the little center of Dar-Mouli, where it enhanced the value of the place, but as a result of the dryness of the spot it was moved to Esselissekine. There each year a great alms feast takes place, and all the Ahaggar Tuareg come. Its present chief, Moulay el Ouafi ben Moulay abd Allah is an example of piety, although still quite young, and he is surrounded by great respect.

In speaking of the Islamization of the Tuareg, Henri Basset said that the latter had taken almost nothing from Islam, except

797 sometimes the Koran as an amulet, but that they had kept its fatalism. (1) Many authors also take pleasure in pointing out

1. Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, p. 388.

their more than superficial polish in matters of Islamism.

781 In spite of all this, we must not exaggerate the degree of
797 irreligion of the Tuareg. Since the French occupation, the
777 action of marabouts who cross the country trading is growing
648 slowly but surely. The state of lethargy into which the suppression of their life of brigandage has thrown them is gradually pushing them toward religion, and it is becoming more and more common
[517 to see young nobles kill time by reciting in front of a small
565] Koran board.

771 Superstition is very strong in them. They have not succeeded in breaking away from their ancient beliefs, and they wear a
[789] quantity of amulets which are often pagan in origin (jackal's foot, lizard's head, hyena skin, etc.).

[776] One observes certain noble families /307/ that, along with orthodox saints, invoke mysterious personages who can only be ancient minor gods they never got rid of. (1) In the old legends

1. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara, in Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

of the Ahaggar, Father de Foucauld has found the names of some of them: Tamâres, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Ouerdaz, Noulana, Radès. The Ihaggaren used to call on them to make their wishes come
[777 true, but today these personages have fallen into oblivion, and
782] only a few old people still remember their names. (2)

2. In Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
842 a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[789] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old
[782 tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
769 pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout
[431] an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
846 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.
431

Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
862 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his
854 stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
[184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimmiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This
[171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are some-
[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
[826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
851 Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517] ennobles the woman.

764 A marabout or a literate man reads the Moslem prayer, and the men, standing behind him with their hands coupled and open at chest height, repeat it with him. Women do not participate in the burial.

Modern Tuareg tombs have stone markers (chouabed), one at the feet and one at the head for men, one at the head and two at the feet for women. They are oval in shape and the mound is slightly dome-shaped. They usually have stones around them, forming a gully with a forward part open to the east. One often finds wooden stakes or tent stakes stuck into the two ends of the grave, as well as large balls of hyaline quartz which, /297/ according to the Tuareg, were used to rub the body of the dead man before burying him. In many places where there are hyenas, as in the Sudan, the tomb is generally covered over with thorny branches to prevent them from digging up the dead man.

After the burial the persons who came for the occasion present their condolences to the family. The family has a meal served for them in memory of the deceased.

768 The dead man's clothing are given to the marabout or to the person who washed him.

Then camp is immediately broken, and the people never return to camp at that place.

765 Mourning does exist among the Tuareg. It lasts only a short time for the man who has lost his wife. For three days he stays shut up in his tent. During this time the ahal and all rejoicings are forbidden in the camp. For the wife who has lost her husband, mourning is a real retreat which lasts four months and ten days, during which time she must not appear in public. The end of the retreat is marked by a little ceremony: the women of the camp take the widow to see the sunrise, present her with an open book of piety, and show her some salt.

761 The Tuareg never bewail the death of a person, and condolences often have the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you loved is now in the paradise of God."

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177 Some Tuareg scrupulously practice fasting, and the different
785 Moslem holidays are now followed punctually. But along with that
795 they keep the ahal, monogamy, and matriarchy.

774 Pagan survivals. -- Ten centuries of Islamism have not completely rid the Tuareg of their former beliefs. They still believe in the existence of an animated world peopled by elements acting visibly or invisibly, living in minerals, vegetables, water, etc. To be sure, these beliefs are growing blurred, dwindling and losing their intensity, but the Tuareg still live with them, even going so far as to practice certain rites, just as in the country in France.

Their belief in supernatural matter is more than we could possibly imagine. They believe in genii (ahinnen or imdounen) who
776 inhabit the mountains, springs, steep places, and some trees. They
[755] protect themselves from them by numerous talismans, which they beg from the marabouts, or by the practice of exorcizing. The women are even more credulous than the men on this point. They
768 consult the dead by going to pray on their tombs and ask them news
787 of those who are absent.

778 Petrographic cults are still very much alive among the Tuareg.
782 They believe that some stones are haunted, and to gain the good will of the spirits they place votive offerings in the form of pebbles nearby. Therefore, at the crossing of some mountain passes and some unavoidable paths one often finds enormous piles of stones imitating tumuli, or else many little piles placed on both sides of some camel trails. Some ancient tombs are the object of a quite peculiar worship, for example the one discovered at Tazerouk a few /308/ years ago by Captain Niéger. This tomb, on which lay several stone statuettes, polished axes, and numerous Neolithic objects, was still visited in recent years until the time when it was excavated by the French. The Tuareg deny this, of course, but the discovery of objects placed there recently (fragments of cloth,
773 beads, etc.) proves it. The stone statues represented the Tibaradines,
778 that is, "the maidens." They were supposedly a highborn woman
782 and her servant who were turned into stone because the mistress

773 had asked God to escape a raid which was coming to pillage her
778 camp. After the raid had passed, however, God kept the women
782 in the state of stone in spite of their entreaties, and it was so that life might be returned to them that the Tuareg came to leave different objects every time they passed near the tomb. The worship
[174] of the Tibaradines is certainly a trace of pre-Islamic and perhaps Neolithic beliefs which must have been deformed through the centuries. One of the statuettes represents a cow and is clearly related to the one found at Silet.

771 The remains of totemism are still affirmed by food taboos.
262 The nobles refuse to eat fish or bird flesh, as well as birds' eggs; only the ostrich escapes this interdiction. On the other hand, a
[825 legend even reports that the uran, or great sand lizard, is the
773] maternal uncle of all the Tuareg.

Some trees are also the object of worship. The Maerua
824 crassifolia which the Tuareg call agar is supposed to be inhabited by a genie which they chase away by striking the tree with stones every time they want to get in its shade. As we have already pointed out, repudiated women who do not wish to stay in the prescribed retirement as imposed by custom and want to take up the state of free living, rely on the tree to take over this retirement which bothers them so much.

754 Sorcery. -- Divination. -- Besides these more or less religious beliefs the Tuareg practice sorcery, divination, and the interpretation of dreams.

Some men, often blacksmiths, are known as sorcerors and make potions intended to cast spells; these are generally made of animal skins /309/ and are given to people who wish to cast a spell
[825] on someone, with the intention of taking him by surprise. The uran lizard plays a large part in the making of these sorceries.

787 Divination, practiced especially by women, is done in several ways and always aims to ask news of absent ones.

We have already mentioned divination through tombs. There is also what the Tuareg call tachilet (the viper). It is done either

4: Benhazera--13 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The celebration begins about one o'clock in the afternoon. The men saddle their meharis and the camel-back games, "iloudjan foull imnas" ⵍⵍⵓⴷⵊⴰⵏ ⴼⵓⵍⵍ ⵉⵎⵏⴰⵙ , will begin. The women gather, beat their tobol, sing and play the amz'ad to excite the riders. The latter, in groups of two or more, abandon themselves to a wild race on their meharis, which they throw into a gallop. 585 [541] [533]

During this time the bride, hidden at the home of her maternal aunt or a relative on the maternal side, must veil her eyes and not watch the games. If by mischance she should look at one of the riders, he would fall, and there would be an accident. [752]

As to the groom, he does not take part in the games. Mounted on a white mehari, "ebidedj" ⵉⴱⵉⴷⵊ , he is present beside one of his friends, but he must remain impassive, his face carefully veiled.

The games last until sunset.

At this point two "tolbas" and two friends of the groom go to find the bride's father, if she is still a virgin, or the woman herself if she has already been married, to ask him or her to name a representative. The groom is also asked to name his representative.

These two representatives meet with the tolbas and the friends, and the marriage is contracted. It is at this time that the bride price, /16/ "tagalt" ⵜⴳⴰⵍⵜ , is set. For nobles it consists, as a rule, of seven camels; for imr'ad it may consist, depending on their means, of one camel or several sheep or goats. The groom pays part of the bride price: one or two camels if he is a noble; three or four sheep if he is an amr'id and if he is not rich; the rest he owes. The animals which have been paid have their throats cut and provide the wedding feast. Then the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran) is read to call divine blessing on the newlyweds. 583 585 [554] [782]

After the contract the women meet, the amz'ad is played for a moment, but the bed of the newlyweds must be prepared. 585

4: Benhazera--27 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The laws of hospitality, "amedjarou," are observed as 574
among all Moslems. The guest, "amadjar," is always well
received.

## Chapter XVI

## Hygiene. Diseases

133
516

Dautheville
Dr. Dautheville in the Abezzou
Wadi (White Tifedest)

We know that the Tuareg have a horror of water. They do 515
not wash themselves on the pretext that this would make them
sick, but it is essentially because they are very sensitive to [151]
cold. To say their prayers, they do not indulge in the pre- [782
scribed ablutions, even when they are at home and have water 788]
at their disposal. They are content with "ta'moum" (an
imitation of washing with sand), which they call "ettamine."
The amenokal Moussa ag /31/ Amastane is the only Tuareg
whom I have seen making his ablutions with water.

This is also doubtless due to the fact that the Tuareg like 291
to keep the tint of indigo, "sedjeni" ⵙⵉⴷⵊⵉⵏⵉ, on their 302
skins, the result of wearing "chegga," or blue cotton, which 386
runs a great deal and of which they make their clothes. They 515

4: Benhazera--51 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

I was told in the Ahaggar that youths may not say their 561
prayers in the presence of women for, in the course of genu- 562
flections and prostrations, they have to show their posteriors, 782
which is very "shocking"! On the other hand, old men can 834
pray before women without being indecent.

Many, besides, in order to say their prayers place them- 782
selves behind the imam (either an Arabian taleb or a Tuareg 788
who knows a little Arabic), and they make their genuflections, 793
saying, "Allahou akber" (God is the greatest) every time they
hear it said by the imam. That is all of their prayer.

There were many who told me that they did not observe 785
the fast of Ramadan, among others Badjloud, the amr'ar of 771
the Kel Ahnet. On the other hand, the Issoqqamaren
(fractions who have long been in contact with the Arabs and
still are) are more religious, and they all observe the fast.

Among the Ahaggar Tuareg there are, nevertheless, some 792
truly religious men, but they are known and pointed out and
pass for marabouts, for example, Moussa ag Amastane, Beketa
ag Ibrahim, and the Oulad El Mir'da and Oulad Mokhammed ag
Sadik.

Although the Tuareg is not religious, he nevertheless
has great respect for the marabouts whom he naively admires,
always on condition that these marabouts do not interfere with
him. Thus the marabout Beketa ag Ibrahim stated that the
dates coming from the Tidikelt, recently occupied by the
French, were forbidden by the religion. He changed his mind
later. But now, every time that he goes to ask an amr'id for
dates, the latter comments that they came from the Tidikelt
and are therefore forbidden by the religion, and Beketa answers,
"No. All that is over now," and accepts the dates.

Religious orders are quite widespread, especially among
the Issoqqamaren. Going by caravan to the Tidikelt or the
Touat, the Ahaggar have joined the order of the Tijaniyyah,
which numbers most of its adherents among them, and that
of the Qadiriyyah. Others (usually they all are those who have

made the pilgrimage /59/ to Mecca), have joined the order 792
of the Senusi /Sanusiyyah. Ed. / on their way to Djer'boub.

But I doubt whether this affiliation is really sincere. All the members do not want to wear their beads around their necks, but keep them in their pockets or in their luggage while they are traveling. They say that if they wear them openly they would be accused of wanting to seduce women! Finally, they are not allowed to wear them any time that they do a reprehensible deed, that they have relations, even with their lawful wives, etc.

On the other hand, having remained naive and super- 789
stitious, they all believe in the efficacy of amulets, "tira, " with which they are covered. There are even some who hang them on the necks of their meharis.

At each new moon the Tuareg says his prayer. His hands 782
open like a book, he looks at the evening star and expresses 788
the wish that he may be alive at the next moon.

At the feast of Mouloud (birth of the Prophet), they hold out their hands, saying, "Asarouf" (pardon), in order to have their sins forgiven. But if there is no taleb in the tribe to remind them of the exact date, they forget and do not think of it.

## Chapter VIII

### Superstitions. Beliefs

The Tuareg are very superstitious. Everywhere they see 771
genii and demons, in the mountains, in the trees, in water- 776
skins, etc.

Thus, in camp they do not want to go to bed beside water-skins or ashes, because of the genii, "alhinen" ⵍⵃⵉⵏⵏ , /60/
or ghosts, "kel esouf" ⵇⵍ ⵙⵓⴼ (people of the void), who live there.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



173 drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group
634 until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The present drum-chief and his brother know the names of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent chiefs are not known further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:–

*Sabenas,* the ancestress of the noble clan and the first ruler of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

*Amenokal,* the elder son of Sabenas.

*Mohammed Aman,* the younger brother of Amenokal.

*Elkarebi,* the brother of Mohammed Aman.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:–

*Boboker,* who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan and was of pure noble origin.

*Ṛali,* who was the younger brother of Boboker. He was drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years and to have died about 30 years ago. He was considered a very skillful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the Kel Ferouan drum-group with profound respect. Ṛali's tomb is
769 south of the massif somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. On Ṛali's death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in which I had the opportunity to partic-
[782] ipate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief and eaten close to the tomb. Later there was a prayer led by the chief, who thereupon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the
[177] deceased chief. – Ancestral worship of this type is most probably no traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. Tuareg are generally afraid of deceased persons and will avoid their tombs.

*Mohammed,* who belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan through his mother, while
175 his father came from the Iforas. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals.
634 Apparently he was no close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief, Ṛali.

*Ouanarli,* who had no bonds of kinship with the Kel Ferouan clan. His father belonged to the religious and in Tuareg opinion very holy clan of Kel Es Souk. He was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

*Afanou,* who belonged to the Echchikhen. He died after one year's reign.

*Koutia,* who was of noble Kel Ferouan stock being the son of Ṛali's younger brother.

*Agg Elkher,* of pure noble origin being the son of Ṛali's daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected. He is the present drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan group.

*Azerhar,* who was the son of Ṛali.

*233

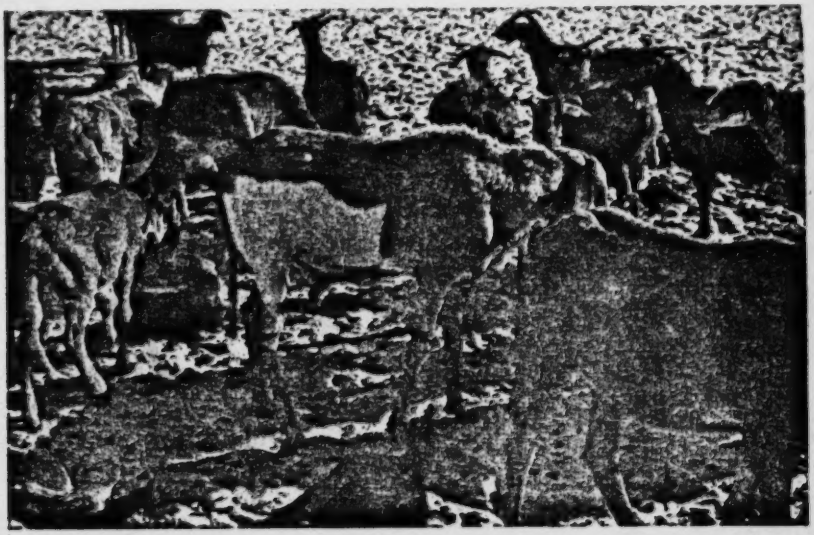

Fig. 25. Ram prevented from mating by means of a cord (*ayau*) tied around the foreskin of the penis and also around the scrotum. A longitudinal hobble-rope (*amakus*) also serves to prevent copulation.
Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terarit* tribe.

[435] the price of sheep for slaughtering is very high compared with the price of goats. Sheep are also con-
[282] sidered the proper animals for Islamic sacrifices, and it should be added that sheepskin is considered
[237] very suitable for the manufacture of certain articles (cf. p. 288 & p. 298; Figs. 232, 240).

[825] The Tuareg say that sheep are more "stupid" or less "intelligent" than goats. Sheep do not respond to their names, they get more easily lost during grazing, and they do not return to the camp by themselves. It is difficult to herd sheep if there are no goats in the flock. Among the Tuareg, as elsewhere in North Africa, sheep and goats are normally mixed in one flock. The goats then always march at the head of the flock, obeying the orders of the herdsman, while the sheep follow behind. It may happen, however, that goats and sheep become divided during grazing, as goats march too quickly for sheep to follow them, while on long journeys sheep show more endurance than goats.

The techniques of sheep-breeding are largely identical with those of goat-breeding mentioned above.
234 It should be observed, however, that goats can be milked without any difficulty whether they have kids or not, while this is not always so with sheep. It is said that they are more easily milked when they have lambs. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr I have noted more than once that a good milch-sheep which had lost its lamb was given another lamb belonging to a sheep yielding less milk.

*233 Sheep can lamb until an age of seven or eight years, but it is considered appropriate to kill them for

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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415*
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Fig. 158. Woman churning butter by shaking the inflated churning-bag (*aḡiwir*) between her hands. Ahaggar, the *Aḡuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

Meat (*isan*) is not a staple diet of the Tuareg. The Tuareg of Ayr consume more meat than the Northern Tuareg, but even in the south it is not eaten daily. There are Ayr Tuareg who are reluctant to kill their animals, and people who have much milk have very little need of meat. Meat is eaten by all Tuareg on certain festive occasions, whether social or (and) religious, and when camps are visited by friends, certain relatives, and important guests. He-goats and rams, or barren goats and sheep, are the animals most commonly killed. The meat of sheep and rams is considered better than goat meat, and sheep are also highly esteemed for sacrifice. Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food 262 [874] [231] [N2]

[text continues on p. 231]

415 *
326
251

**Fig. 164. Pail (*éṭér*) made from tinned brass by blacksmiths. It is used for storing butter to be used for food preparation in the tent. Pails of this type form part of the dowry in the *Dag Rali* tribe. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.155 m high, 0.230–0.235 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5820).**

Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food 231

they perform a sacrifice, the idea of which seems to be an identification of the man and the killed animal. 782
This idea appears most clearly at the sacrifice made on the occasion of the name-giving feast seven 825
days after the birth of a child. A marabut, that is a Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class, and the father of 553
the child stand close together with their faces towards Mecca while the animal to be sacrified is kept 782
to the ground. The marabut cuts the animal's throat and doing so cries out the name to be given to [565]
the child, and this name is thereupon repeated by the child's father. When the killing is performed in [112]
this way the knife (*elmusi* in Ahaggar; *ázegiz* in Ayr) and the cut across the throat are washed with
water before skinning is undertaken. I have dealt with certain ideas of Tuareg sacrifice elsewhere, 114
and have stated that on certain occasions they may sacrifice not to God but to the *Kel Asuf* spirits 782
(Nicolaisen 1961, p. 122 f., 147 f.). But whatever may be the ideas attached to Tuareg sacrifices all 231
animals, with the exception of the camel (cf. above p. 65), are killed by cutting their throat.

The methods of meat preparation are almost identical in Ayr and Ahaggar. The most common 252
method everywhere is cooking in an earthen pot, known in Ahaggar as *ufrun*, *téṛirt*, *alekkin*, or *talekkint* 415 *
according to its size and form, or in a metal pot (*éṛir*) of European origin. Such European pots are [77]
common everywhere in Tuareg camps, but earthen pots are still used though less durable, for earthen
pots are cheap. Pots made of metal or copper, which are also known as *éṛir*, were also found among

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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782
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Fig. 170. Sacrificing a goat at the naming ceremony called *isnawen*. A marabut and the child's father keep the animal firmly to the ground. They stand with their faces towards Mekka and the camp of the new-born child. The marabut cuts the animal's throat simultaneously crying out loudly the child's name which is thereupon loudly repeated by the father. Ayr, the *Igendéynen* tribe.

4/2 *Morratin* (*Izeggaren*) of Tidikelt, and it is now also found in Tuareg camps (Fig. 182), where it is
252 less frequent than the above-mentioned saddle quern. The handmill was entirely unknown among the Ajjer Tuareg during my visit to Tasilé-n-Ajjer in 1952. The Tuareg who possess handmills obtain them from the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar (Tamanraset). – When saddle querns or handmills are used, a piece of cotton or skin (*asentel* in Ahaggar) is always placed under the grinding stones to catch the flour (Figs. 180, 182).

262 The Tuareg have many different vegetable dishes. The most important are bread, porridge, gruel, and various mixed beverages.

[252] Bread is a prominent dish for all Northern Tuareg who bake it mainly from wheat flour. Wheat bread has been my ordinary dish among all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Lhote states that

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



173 634 *Sabenas*, the ancestress of the noble *Kel Ferwan* and the first ruler of the drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

*Amenukal*, the eldest son of *Sabenas*.

*Mokhammed Aman*, the younger brother of *Amenukal*.

*Elkarebi*, the younger brother of *Mokhammed Aman*.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:—

*Bubeker*, who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe.

*Rali*, who was the younger brother of *Bubeker*. He was the reigning drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years. He was considered a very skilful and wise chief, and is [269] remembered by all Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group with profound respect. *Rali*'s tomb is south of the Massif, somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. 634 On *Rali*'s death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in 269 which I had the opportunity to participate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief, who there- [202] upon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the deceased chief. Ancestral worship of this type is most probably not a traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. It should be noted in this context that *Rali* was considered a member of the *Echcherifen*, the descendants of the Prophet, through relationship to the *Imenan* (cf. p. 393 ff.).

173 634 *Mokhammed*, who belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* through his mother, while his father came from the *Iforas*. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. Apparently he was not a close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief *Rali*.

*Wanarli*, who had no bonds of kinship with the *Kel Ferwan*. His father belonged to the religious, and, in Tuareg opinion, very holy tribe of *Kel es Suk*. He was very strict with the vassals of his drum-group, and he would never take his food in their company, though other drum-chiefs seem to have been less severe. It is probably for this very reason that he was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

*Afous*, who belonged to the *Echchikhen*. He died after one year's reign.

*Kutiya*, who was of noble *Kel Ferwan* stock, being the son of *Rali*'s younger brother.

*Agg-Elkhir*, of pure noble origin being the son of *Rali*'s daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected.

*Azeyor*, who was the son of *Rali*.

634 *Agg-Elkhir*, in his second period of reign. He was the reigning drum-chief during my stay in Ayr 1955. He was then very old, and the French considered his son *Khejji* the actual representative of the drum-group.

*Bakha*, who is the newly-elected drum-chief. He is the son of *Azeyor* and the grand-son of the renowned chief *Rali*, who was the mother's brother of the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir*. Consequently *Bakha* is a classificatory sister's son of *Agg-Elkhir* (cf. p. 451, Fig. 294). Before the election took place very many Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group had wanted the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir* to be succeeded by his son *Khejji*. On the day of election, when all adult men of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group came

551 not bring about any substitution of names for either sex. If the father's name is Mohamed, one would say Anaba ag (son of) Mohamed, or Chékou oult (daughter of) Mohamed. Nominal filiation is therefore patrilinear.

Nicknames are numerous in the Ahaggar. Father de Foucauld tells us that "they are sometimes proper names of persons different from the one already received, sometimes names recalling a physical peculiarity or an event, sometimes meaningless names. A great many people have no nicknames. Among those who do have them, some accept them and others are insulted by them. Sometimes nicknames are temporary, known only to a few intimate friends and quickly forgotten. Sometimes they become so attached to the person that he is never referred to in any other way and his real name falls into oblivion." (2)

2. Dictionnaire abrégé Touareg-Français des noms propres /Short Tuareg-French Dictionary of Proper Names/, p. xv.

842 Conception and nursing. -- As for conception, the Tuareg see in it nothing but the will of God. However, they also establish the causal relationship of sexual intercourse and do not discuss the possibility that a woman can conceive without contact with a man. The existence and role of spermatozoa are unknown, but the Tuareg /285/ recognize the action of the seminal liquid and women practice spraying as a contraceptive measure. Professor [114] Gautier has even spoken of a primitive douche. This apparatus is not known by Tuareg women, and Gautier surely must have confused it with the enema.

841 Menstruation (iba-n-amoud) begins between the ages of thirteen [145] and fifteen years for Tuareg girls and causes them great fright. While they are indisposed they make no intimate toilet and often take no precautions to absorb the flow, which spots their clothing. [183] They also abstain from making prayers as if they were in a state of impurity.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



778 Religious beliefs also interfere with Tuareg stock-breeding and create usages of an irrational kind.
[23] Thus the Tuareg, like other North African peoples, firmly believe in the mystic benevolent power,
[171] or benediction, known as *elbaraka*. This is a power that emenates from God. It is given by God to
[784] man and it cannot act unless certain taboos, or rather religious prescriptions, are followed. The bene-
[783] diction *elbaraka* is more than anything else hurt by impurity. Cleanness is an absolute necessity for this good force to be sustained in the same way that a man cannot approach God through prayer if
[841] he be unclean. Women are considered unclean during their periods of menstruation and cannot, there-
[262] fore, then pray to God. They are also forbidden to drink the milk of domestic animals which have very young kids, lambs, or calves, and they must not drink water which has been conserved in newly-made skin-bags. These taboos are maintained in order not to hurt the benediction given the animals
778 by bringing it into contact with impurity. For the same reason milk taken from animals which have
784 recently brought forth young should not be given to strangers – they might be unclean and harm the
234 *elbaraka*. It is also believed that soil is an impurity dangerous to *elbaraka*, and milk must never be spilt on the ground. Even when milk-bowls are cleaned with water, this liquid should be poured out upon plants or stones, and never be spilt on the ground. Should this be done, God will withdraw his *elbaraka* and the result will be severe periods of drought without milk. I have frequently heard Tuareg ascribe the lack of rain and the dry pasture – the lack of *elbaraka* – to the fact that somebody had spilt milk upon the ground. This had caused God to be angry and to withdraw his benediction. Some Tuareg have also said that *elbaraka* is harmed by a person who blows upon milk. When a man drinks milk he must not blow away impurities before drinking but must remove them by means of a piece of straw.
*233 In the two groups of Northern Tuareg and also in Ayr it is considered very disgraceful for a person
577 who watches the animals away from camp to drink milk directly from an animal's udder. Some Tuareg
272 say that a man when staying alone among milk-yielding animals should not utilize their milk even if he performs milking in the usual way. A person who breaks these rules is called *émenkes* or *émelked* among the Ahaggar Tuareg, *émelked* in Ayr. The Tuareg say that there are some people, and in particular many slaves, who do not follow this rule, and that they are despised if known to have broken it. When two or more people are alone with a herd or flock away from the camp they can freely utilize the animals' milk. And it is very normal for camel herdsmen to live with a herd of she-camels in isolated places for long periods. They then live almost exclusively on camel's milk taken from the herd they guard.

272 Certain usages connected with stock-breeding are rationally explained by the Tuareg. Thus when they heat milk by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221) put into the milking bowl, they claim that this is done in order that the milk shall not get dirty as would happen were it heated in an ordinary cooking
272 pot. Another custom which by other stock-breeders has been explained as being based upon magic,
262 namely the usage not to drink milk and eat meat at the same time, is also rationally explained by the Tuareg. They say that there is no taboo on taking these kinds of food together, but it is very unwise to do so because the mixture will act as a laxative and upset the stomach. Therefore, if a Tuareg has drunk much milk he will not eat meat shortly afterwards, and if he has eaten meat he will not take milk for some hours, though he may do so should ample water have been added to the milk. The
*233 Tuareg to my knowledge have no other special customs in connection with stock-breeding and milk
234 then there mentioned

4: Benhazera--53 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

When they want to stretch out at the foot of the tree called "el yatil" in Arabic and "tadjart" ⊕ⵜⵜ in Tamashek (a kind of acacia), which is inhabited by jinn, they must first wound it with a stone, and stones are always to be found at the foot of these trees. One can also see the wounds made in the bark. 776 824 789

The "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica) is also a haunted tree. If one wants to rest under its shade, it is first necessary to break seven of the tree's thorns.

There are also "kel esouf" in the place where an animal has had its throat cut. 776

Mount Oudane is haunted, as are many others. [823]

These superstitions are probably survivals of their old religion, before their conversion to Islamism. Like them, "The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period worshipped jinn, or genii. The deserts and mountains where one sometimes gets lost for entire weeks are full of beings of this kind.... They can do much harm and much good.... They live in rocks, trees, or statues. Each tribe, or sometimes a group of tribes, had its special jinni; its rock, its tree, its own image, before which an appointed family carried out priestly duties" (1). 174 771 776

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 5 and 6.

The Tuareg have many other superstitions. Thus nobles would never kill a "uran" (varanus), which in Tamashek is called "ar'ata" • ⵜ⁝ , and a fortiori would not eat it. Sidi ag Keradji and Aziouel ag Ser'ada told me that the uran is the maternal uncle of the Tuareg, and Sidi told me the following legend: "Seven nobles had killed a camel belonging to Sidna Nouh (Hoah). Among them there was a noble Tuareg. To punish them God changed them, one into an uran, another into a jackal, a third into a chameleon, etc. /61/ The uran was the noble Tuareg. The camel that was killed is now in the sky: it is the Great Bear. The Polar Star, 'Bel Hadi', is its head." 565 825 773 784 [821]

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*233 Tuareg to my knowledge have no other special customs in connection with stock-breeding and milk
234 than there mentioned

177 Some Tuareg scrupulously practice fasting, and the different
785 Moslem holidays are now followed punctually. But along with that
795 they keep the ahal, monogamy, and matriarchy.

774 Pagan survivals. -- Ten centuries of Islamism have not completely rid the Tuareg of their former beliefs. They still believe in the existence of an animated world peopled by elements acting visibly or invisibly, living in minerals, vegetables, water, etc. To be sure, these beliefs are growing blurred, dwindling and losing their intensity, but the Tuareg still live with them, even going so far as to practice certain rites, just as in the country in France.

Their belief in supernatural matter is more than we could possibly imagine. They believe in genii (ahinnen or imdounen) who
776 inhabit the mountains, springs, steep places, and some trees. They
[755] protect themselves from them by numerous talismans, which they beg from the marabouts, or by the practice of exorcizing. The women are even more credulous than the men on this point. They
768 consult the dead by going to pray on their tombs and ask them news
787 of those who are absent.

778 Petrographic cults are still very much alive among the Tuareg.
782 They believe that some stones are haunted, and to gain the good will of the spirits they place votive offerings in the form of pebbles nearby. Therefore, at the crossing of some mountain passes and some unavoidable paths one often finds enormous piles of stones imitating tumuli, or else many little piles placed on both sides of some camel trails. Some ancient tombs are the object of a quite peculiar worship, for example the one discovered at Tazerouk a few /308/ years ago by Captain Niéger. This tomb, on which lay several stone statuettes, polished axes, and numerous Neolithic objects, was still visited in recent years until the time when it was excavated by the French. The Tuareg deny this, of course, but the discovery of objects placed there recently (fragments of cloth,
773 beads, etc.) proves it. The stone statues represented the Tibaradines,
778 that is, "the maidens." They were supposedly a highborn woman
782 and her servant who were turned into stone because the mistress

I was told in the Ahaggar that youths may not say their 561
prayers in the presence of women for, in the course of genu- 562
flections and prostrations, they have to show their posteriors, 782
which is very "shocking"! On the other hand, old men can 834
pray before women without being indecent.

Many, besides, in order to say their prayers place them- 782
selves behind the imam (either an Arabian taleb or a Tuareg 788
who knows a little Arabic), and they make their genuflections, 793
saying, "Allahou akber" (God is the greatest) every time they
hear it said by the imam. That is all of their prayer.

There were many who told me that they did not observe 785
the fast of Ramadan, among others Badjloud, the amr'ar of 771
the Kel Ahnet. On the other hand, the Issoqqamaren
(fractions who have long been in contact with the Arabs and
still are) are more religious, and they all observe the fast.

Among the Ahaggar Tuareg there are, nevertheless, some 792
truly religious men, but they are known and pointed out and
pass for marabouts, for example, Moussa ag Amastane, Beketa
ag Ibrahim, and the Oulad El Mir'da and Oulad Mokhammed ag
Sadik.

Although the Tuareg is not religious, he nevertheless
has great respect for the marabouts whom he naively admires,
always on condition that these marabouts do not interfere with
him. Thus the marabout Beketa ag Ibrahim stated that the
dates coming from the Tidikelt, recently occupied by the
French, were forbidden by the religion. He changed his mind
later. But now, every time that he goes to ask an amr'id for
dates, the latter comments that they came from the Tidikelt
and are therefore forbidden by the religion, and Beketa answers,
"No. All that is over now," and accepts the dates.

Religious orders are quite widespread, especially among
the Issoqqamaren. Going by caravan to the Tidikelt or the
Touat, the Ahaggar have joined the order of the Tijaniyyah,
which numbers most of its adherents among them, and that
of the Qādiriyyah. Others (usually they all are those who have

836 /141 cont./ as are the other customs; there is one very
864 interesting one, the respect for the Tuareg girl. Contrary to a commonly held opinion, the young girl about to be married is always a virgin (physically) among the nobles and nearly always one among the imrads.

839 In their first youth, the Tuareg behave as do all the children of the world; they practice solitary masturbation, girls and boys using procedures characteristic of the country.
786 The first amorous relations between Tuareg girls and boys take place after celebrations. It is well to describe these celebrations, for accounts of the famous "courts of love" have been much exaggerated.

We have seen that the Tuareg organize a tendi on the
[534] occasion of a family ceremony. The tendi takes its name from the instrument used, the large wooden mortar over which is stretched a skin which has been dampened previously. The women gather around the tendi, and one or two beat out traditional rhythms on the skin, which resonates dully. One of the women chants an endless series of couplets while her companions mark the measure by clapping hands and take up the refrain in chorus. The songs evoke past combats as well as recent events; they vaunt the merits of a camel or those of a person; some are improvised. Widows, divorced women, and young girls take part in the tendi, but married women, with the permission of their husbands, also go. A woman leaves the tendi if one of her parents approaches it.

The songs continue, accompanied by the tom-tom; the men then come to sit behind the singers, listen, and also sing. Each hugs his female companion next to him, but hardly passes the limits of a public flirtation. The tendi continues late into the night while the old people sleep in the tents.

In the daytime the tendi is the indispensable accompani-
526 ment of the ilougan, which may be defined as "a tournament on camel back."

175 previous ten days, was accused of having poisoned him. He was made to swear on the Koran, but he swore that he had no hand in the death of Moussa and was set free.

A marabout from the zāwiyah /monastery --ed./ of Teleya, Sidi Mohamed ben Badi, a mkaddam delegated by the great religious leader of the Kounta, Bey el Bekkay, was present at the death of [787] Moussa. He claimed to have been sent by Bey, to whom the death of Moussa ag Ǎmastan had been revealed in a dream.

This assertion did much to dissipate the doubt in people's minds, at the same time as it increased the reputation of the marabout from Teleya as a "saint."

A few days later, the djemaa met and named as a replacement [643 648] Akhamouk ag Yema, informing the authorities by the following letter:

30 December 1920

"Glory to the one God.

"On the part of your friend Boukhelil ben Douka to your Lordship the honorable Captain Depommier, head of the dependency of In-Salah and the Ahaggar. May salvation be yours.

"I have the honor to inform you that our father, Moussa ag Ǎmâstan, is dead, may God bless him.

"We, the Kébar Tuareg nobles, have met with the Kébar of the Imrad. Without any exception, we have accepted Ǎkhammouk ag Yéma to replace Moussa. Be well assured that while Moussa was alive, we entrusted to him all the affairs with which he was charged in dealing with the French military authority.

[648] "I would have you know that today we shall make all possible efforts to serve the French government in good faith as before, and even better, and we shall do in good part all that we can do."

Ǎkhamouk ag Yema was the first cousin of Moussa ag Ǎmâstan, the eldest son of the latter's maternal aunt. Through his mother he descended from the Inemba. He was a childhood companion of /190/ Moussa, undergoing his cousin's influence and following him

Some Tuareg scrupulously practice fasting, and the different Moslem holidays are now followed punctually. But along with that they keep the ahal, monogamy, and matriarchy.

Pagan survivals. -- Ten centuries of Islamism have not completely rid the Tuareg of their former beliefs. They still believe in the existence of an animated world peopled by elements acting visibly or invisibly, living in minerals, vegetables, water, etc. To be sure, these beliefs are growing blurred, dwindling and losing their intensity, but the Tuareg still live with them, even going so far as to practice certain rites, just as in the country in France.

Their belief in supernatural matter is more than we could possibly imagine. They believe in genii (ahinnen or imdounen) who inhabit the mountains, springs, steep places, and some trees. They protect themselves from them by numerous talismans, which they beg from the marabouts, or by the practice of exorcizing. The women are even more credulous than the men on this point. They consult the dead by going to pray on their tombs and ask them news of those who are absent.

Petrographic cults are still very much alive among the Tuareg. They believe that some stones are haunted, and to gain the good will of the spirits they place votive offerings in the form of pebbles nearby. Therefore, at the crossing of some mountain passes and some unavoidable paths one often finds enormous piles of stones imitating tumuli, or else many little piles placed on both sides of some camel trails. Some ancient tombs are the object of a quite peculiar worship, for example the one discovered at Tazerouk a few /308/ years ago by Captain Niéger. This tomb, on which lay several stone statuettes, polished axes, and numerous Neolithic objects, was still visited in recent years until the time when it was excavated by the French. The Tuareg deny this, of course, but the discovery of objects placed there recently (fragments of cloth, beads, etc.) proves it. The stone statues represented the Tibaradines, that is, "the maidens." They were supposedly a highborn woman and her servant who were turned into stone because the mistress

773 had asked God to escape a raid which was coming to pillage her
778 camp. After the raid had passed, however, God kept the women
782 in the state of stone in spite of their entreaties, and it was so that life might be returned to them that the Tuareg came to leave different objects every time they passed near the tomb. The worship
[174] of the Tibaradines is certainly a trace of pre-Islamic and perhaps Neolithic beliefs which must have been deformed through the centuries. One of the statuettes represents a cow and is clearly related to the one found at Silet.

771 The remains of totemism are still affirmed by food taboos.
262 The nobles refuse to eat fish or bird flesh, as well as birds' eggs; only the ostrich escapes this interdiction. On the other hand, a
[825 legend even reports that the uran, or great sand lizard, is the
773] maternal uncle of all the Tuareg.

Some trees are also the object of worship. The Maerua
824 crassifolia which the Tuareg call agar is supposed to be inhabited by a genie which they chase away by striking the tree with stones every time they want to get in its shade. As we have already pointed out, repudiated women who do not wish to stay in the prescribed retirement as imposed by custom and want to take up the state of free living, rely on the tree to take over this retirement which bothers them so much.

754 Sorcery. -- Divination. -- Besides these more or less religious beliefs the Tuareg practice sorcery, divination, and the interpretation of dreams.

Some men, often blacksmiths, are known as sorcerors and make potions intended to cast spells; these are generally made of animal skins /309/ and are given to people who wish to cast a spell
[825] on someone, with the intention of taking him by surprise. The uran lizard plays a large part in the making of these sorceries.

787 Divination, practiced especially by women, is done in several ways and always aims to ask news of absent ones.

We have already mentioned divination through tombs. There is also what the Tuareg call tachilet (the viper). It is done either

787 with a mirror or else with a lizard, which are questioned following different forms and which must answer the questions asked.

Dreams are interpreted in different ways. If a man dreams of black, it is a bad sign; of white, he will receive money; of dates, some one around him or he himself will be wounded; of a viper, some one will cast an evil spell on him, etc. (1)

1. Cf. Vermale, op. cit., pp. 185 and 186.

We shall add that the Tuareg also believe in omens and interpret the unexpected presence of animals, crows, gazelles, and sparrows. Certain days or certain months, certain even or uneven numbers, are considered good or bad omens.

/310/

# Book VII

## Relations With the Outside World

### Chapter 1

### Trade, Caravans, Caravan Trails, and Transport

As far back as one goes into the past, one notices that the Sahara has always played the role of bridge between North Africa and Africa below the equator, and that there has never been a watertight bulkhead erected between the two regions.

The North Africans have always given their attention to the wealth of the Sudan. We have several proofs of this, among others the periplus of the Carthagenian Hanno, who was instructed to explore the African coast west of the Pillars of Hercules, and the voyage of the three young Nasamononians who tried to cross the desert in the time of Herodotus.

There are also lucky or unlucky days. The lucky days, 777
those which are recommended for starting on a journey, are [484]
Friday after prayer, Saturday morning, and Monday. /63/
For the lucky day of the month one first counts 2 from the
index finger and, coming back to the index finger, 7, 12,
17, 22, 27.

The unlucky days are Sunday and Wednesday.

The Tuareg also believe in the evil eye, "tahott." 754

An eclipse is the sun's raid on the moon, and vice versa. 821

Finally, there is a very curious custom of which Duveyrier 769
has spoken, which is that of consulting old graves. Usually 787
it is the women who go to consult them. They dress well
and must avoid having on themselves anything of iron or steel,
even a needle. They lie down near the grave, and the
"zabbar" (ogre) inhabiting the grave appears to them in the
form of a giant with eyes as large as a camel's, and gives
them the answers they want. They are consulted especially
in order to get news of absent ones, people gone on a raid
or in a caravan, from whom there has been no news.

## Chapter IX

### Stock Raising. Flocks

Camels, sheep, and goats constitute the chief resource 233
of the Tuareg, as of all nomads. Camels especially are the
object of all their care, since these give them the greatest
service. They rely greatly on camels, ewes, and goats be- [234]
cause of the milk, of which they drink a great deal, and melted
butter, "oudi," which they make.

They use all the hides: those of camels for sandals, 237
containers for butter, watering troughs, etc.; those of sheep 281
or goats for waterskins and the manufacture of tents, leather
clothes, etc. /64/

and the Abalessa wadi. Now, this grave has the shape of an 172
enormous circular wall and is surrounded by other graves of the 173
"chouchat" shape which are those of Tin Hinane's servants. 764
Beside her grave is that of Takamat, the woman whom the Kel Ahnet claim as their ancestress. All these graves resemble those of the "izabbaren" so closely as to be confusing. Why do the Tuareg disclaim these while they acknowledge those of Tin Hinane, Takamat, and their servants?

We saw in the chapter "Superstitions, Beliefs" that the 769
Tuareg go to consult the Izzabaren graves to obtain news of 787
those absent.

In the Tafidjiq wadi (about four hours' walk from Ideles) there is a grave which is the object of great veneration on the

[342]

Harratine Huts at Ideles
(Koudia)

part of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is that of Adjadj Alemine [797
(probably the missionary who converted them to Islamism; see 174]
the chapter on the origin of the Tuareg /not translated/). The Ahaggar say that this Adjadj Alemine was a marabout, a saint, and they call on him in their prayers when they are in trouble or grief, as the Arabs, under the same circumstances, call on Sidi Abdelkader el Djillali. I have not seen his grave, but I was told that it has "chouahed" like all Moslem graves.

Upright stones. Following the directions of the guide 172
Deguemma ag Chikat of the Adjouh-n-Taheli, I found, in the Koudia of the Ahaggar, a place where there was a collection of some ten upright stones of which only one remained /79/

773/116 cont./ and this imitation of his gestures disturbed Titi, who guessed that this woman with the abundant hair was a Kel es Souf. He prepared his millet flat cake, and the woman repeated each of his movements. At that point Titi, seizing a firebrand, quickly ran the nonburning end through his hair; the woman imitated him but used the wrong end; her hair caught fire, she fled screaming, rolled on the ground, and rubbed against the trees, which caught fire. And ever since this adventure of long ago, one can see the remains of the tabrakat burned by the Kel es Souf in the Ouriren wadi.

Another Targui, when night was falling, spied the fire of a camp in a ravine toward which he directed himself. Hardly had he descended from his camel, when he was invited to eat. As he was very hungry, he shortened the customary salutations. Having sat down on a magnificent rug, he observed that the people were dressed as Tuareg, to be sure, but he could not determine their caste nor find any resemblance to anyone he knew. All of this seemed strange to him, but the strangest was to see the asink served in a golden terahout. He understood at once that this was a camp of the Kel es Souf. He seized the dish, bounded to his camel, which fortunately had not been unsaddled, and fled into the night. When he felt he had gone far enough, he wanted to look at the fabulous dish. Alas! It had disappeared, which proved to him that he had been the victim of the Kel es Souf.

•787 Instances of clairvoyance are common with the Tuareg; this is chiefly the province of the women. It is related that during the raids of yesteryear certain Tuareg women knew /117/ the outcome of a combat which took place more than 400 kilometers away; a wife would see her husband wounded, a sister learned of the death of her brother, and the news would be verified upon the return of the warriors. This distant clairvoyance is still practiced today. Here are the two ways of going about it. At nightfall the woman endowed with this power washes herself meticulously and puts on her finest clothes.

787 /117 cont./ She goes to a "debni," a pre-Islamic tomb, lies down on the stones, and says the following words: "Imeguedda enkerguedda," the meaning of which is not known. Putting her ear to the stones, she may hear the news, certainly transmitted by the Kel es Souf. The debni speaks briefly, three times only, and it is not permitted to ask it questions.

The other process requires the sacrifice of a goat. The grass in its stomach is taken out and is made into one or several balls. When night falls the woman goes to a flat place away from all human presence; she throws the balls as far as possible, then lies on the ground and puts her ear against it. If the Kel es Souf are favorably disposed, the news arrives as briefly, but as precisely, as in the preceding method. This process is called "tizomitin." Methods exist to question Fate. They are called "idjehan" and consist of making dots on the sand whose exact number one does not know. The technique differs according to the manner of making the dots. It is something like the card game of patience, for the responses are either "yes" or "no." Some Tuareg know another method to obtain more varied answers, but the apprenticeship for this is long.

241 There are other superstitions, such as that which calls for putting old cooking pots, or else the jaw of an ass, on view in a wheat field in order to have a good harvest. Let us also [262] mention the Negresses' custom of eating cat's thighs in the month of March in order to gain weight.

All of these beliefs should be collected, but that would require long, patient work, which could not be carried out except in a climate of confidence.

771 /118/ One may say that the Ahaggar still lives in a world of magic despite the presence of Islam. This fear of spirits, which seems childish to an Occidental, is very real. "Imagination," Fraser says, "knows how to act on man with as much effect as does gravity, and may kill him with the same certitude as would a dose of prussic acid." The

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



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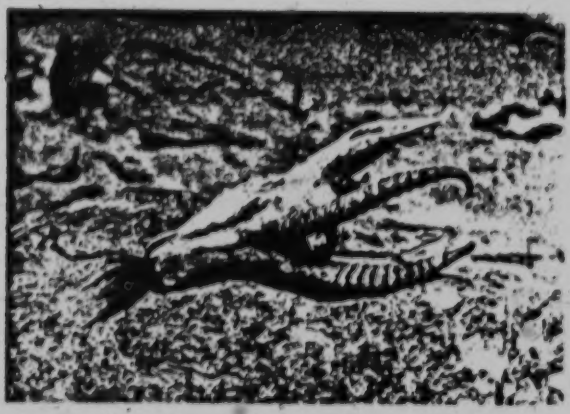


Fig. 122. Gazelle's head with the black tail-tuft inserted into one of the nostrils as a remedy against the mystic evil power called *ettama* (*tezma*). Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

This custom is believed to afford protection against the mystical power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama*, or *tezma* – an evil power possessed by certain Tuareg and by all blacksmiths (cf. p. 21). A person who possesses this evil power may, if he does not receive part of the booty, spoil the hunter's luck when seeing the killed gazelle. The tail-tuft put into the animal's nostril eliminates this risk.

(2) When a hunter returns to his camp with booty he should not show the killed game to other people, and if asked about the results of his hunting trip he should deny that he has had any luck. This custom is also explained as being a protection against the evil power *ettama* (*tezma*) just mentioned.

(3) When a man leaves his camp for a hunting trip he must not talk about it, nor must it be mentioned by other people. This belief has its root in the conception of the "evil mouth" (the "evil eye") known in Ayr as *tagarchet*, in Ahaggar as *tehoj*.

(4) If a hunter has given meat from his killed game to another man, the latter should not praise it. This belief is due to the belief in the "evil mouth" – the belief that a man's luck can be spoiled by praise.

224 777 (5) In a *Dag Rali* camp I have noticed that a piece of bone of a barbary sheep was conserved in a skin bag. I was told that this was done in order that the hunter might have good luck in his future hunting of barbary sheep.

[P28] (6) Certain omens bring good luck in hunting as well as in other projects, e.g., to walk between two black ravens (Ayr), or to see two black ravens (Ahaggar); to see a jackal; to see the hawk called *ahallam*; to see three gazelles.

224 777 (7) The Tuareg have various methods of divination some of which are frequently used in connection with hunting. The hunter will frequently enquire into the result of a planned hunting trip by means of a method known in Ahaggar as *ighekas*, in Ayr as *igazas*. In brief the method is practised as follows:— The diviner presses his thumb or his forefinger quickly into the sand to make two rows of holes close to each other. He does not know ahead how many holes he has made in the two rows. He counts

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



224 the number of holes in each row and makes a special sign in the sand for even and uneven numbers.
787 There are four possibilities of different signs:— (1) A sign called *tezli* if there is an uneven number of holes in both rows; (2) A sign known as *ehlli* if there is an even number of holes in both rows; (3) A sign, *eggar*, if the number of holes is uneven in the right row, but even in the left row; (4) A sign, *tamayit*, if the number of holes is even in the right row, but uneven in the left. The diviner makes two rows of holes six times successively. Each time he makes one of the mentioned signs according to the distribution of holes, and the result of his divination depends upon the character of the signs and their relative position to each other (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 151 f.). – The Tuareg have other methods of divination which are perhaps also used to predict the result of planned hunting trips. They also know to take omens from the shoulder-blades of wild and domestic animals. When a hunter has killed
[262] a gazelle he will often keep the shoulder-blades for himself, and having eaten the meat he will take omens of future happenings from the structure of these bones. Such shoulder-blades will not be thrown to the dogs – they are hidden under rocks and stones (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 150 f.).

224 Some of the above mentioned usages and beliefs have been mentioned also by Lhote (Lhote 1951 a, p. 180 f.), who has noted a few other customs connected with hunting:—

[825] (8) If a hunter kills a snake he will get nothing. (A particular snake species known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *émegel* is never killed, as it is considered "sacred" and is referred to as a "marabut").

(9) If two men hunt together, but separate to meet later, the man who comes upon the other must not receive food from him.

(10) Handling the skin of game animals one must not put fingers into a bullet hole. This would cause bad shooting or accidents on future hunting trips, and the rule is observed even with tanned skin.

A few other superstitious usages have been recorded from Ahaggar by Captain Florimond (Rapport Annuel. Ouargla 1940). They are here quoted from Lhote 1951 a, p. 181 f.:—

(11) Hunters of the *Dag Rali* take omens from the breaking of sandal straps in the pursuit of barbary sheep. If the straps passing between the toes break the hunter will kill a male, while he will get a female animal if the side-straps break.

[776] (12) When Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* (*Dag Rali*) leave for a hunting trip they put a stone or pebble on their heads and utter an invocation to hunting spirits which is rapidly repeated ten times.

(13) When *Dag Rali* Tuareg set out hunting they take with them a stone from a pre-Islamic tomb. When game is seen they throw this stone far away crying at their dogs: "Go! What you kill shall be *hallal* and lawful!"

[777] (14) When a barbary sheep has been killed by people hunting with dogs, the head of the animal is cut off and thrown on the fire while the following words are uttered:— "The smell from the burned skin of the head of the barbary sheep shall forever flatter the hunter's nostrils so that he may have good luck in future hunting also!" Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* will add:— "I have taken you from the *Kel Asuf* and I have taken only the blessing they have sold you that you may soon be followed by your peer!"

(15) At the partition of killed game the meat must be handled with slow motions. If not, the dogs will lose their fierceness.

(16) It is believed that a hunter should fix a burning piece of wood in the soil by the fire in which

563 [162] They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elias, Oulad Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

[233] They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout, [423 241] which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and manpower. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism [795 798] /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

[669] In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Tăfedest.

/200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by [173] Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

[162] Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Tăfedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

[233] Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head. [241 423] They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them entirely, and at I-n-Ămegal, Déhine, and Ăbézou.

[795] Like the Ihéiaouen Hăda, they are mostly affiliated with the Tijaniyyah sect.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us, which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

[227] They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

[65] The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the amenokal six bags of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Tăfedest. -- The Kel Tăfedest or Kel Tégatoufé (or ant [162] people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

563 They nomadize near the Garet ed Djenoun, the Ăseksem, Ămegid, and the Ădrar Torha; they own about 300 goats and 30 [233] camels. (1938 census, as opposed to 600 goats and 200 camels in 1905.)

[241 423] They are the owners of a few gardens in the Tăfedest.

They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah order.

[795] The Kel Tăfedest annually pay the amenokal four loads of dates [651] and a young camel.

The Kel Immîdir. -- The Kel Immîdir, or Kel Mouydir, are still called Iheiaouen-n-Tin-Emma. They are of the same origin as the Iheiaouen Hâda and the Kel Tazoulé.

[162] They are subdivided into Kel Terahart and Kel Raris and include about 50 people. They nomadize in the Immîdir massif toward Joraf and Tagmout and have areas for nomadization between Ifetessen and In Eker.

[233 464] They are poor people who own about 20 camels and 250 goats. Very good merchants and excellent caravaneers, they hire themselves out to camel owners to provide for their needs.

/201/ The Isselamaten must be added to the Kel Immidir. They [162] are a small fraction of about 15 tents which lives with them and nomadize near Aneserfa, Ărak, Ahohor, Tagemout, and Tiredjert.

The Kel Tazoûlet. -- The Kel Tazoûlet or Dăg el Mesk camp in the Tăzoûlet region and near Tăzerouk. They number about 225 [162 233] people and own 285 camels and more than 2,000 goats. They dryness of the region which they inhabit forces them to take refuge in the [132] Sudan when there are no rains in the Ahaggar.

[241 423] They possess gardens at Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine, and at Tăzerouk.

They were in contact with the Aït Loaien and followed the latter [669] in revolt, participating with them in the battles of Tit and the Ilaman wadi.

[795 798] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah. Four or five of their number have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

631 It will be noted that there are no marabout tribes in the divers
793 Ahaggar tobol. The Ifôra who nomadize in the Témaçinine (Fort Flatters) region are completely independent. They maintain amicable relations with the Ihaggaren and the Kel Ajjer, but these relations are very few and far between and have no political or religious character. They do not send any chaplains among the Ihaggaren. Their chief has settled at the little zāwiyah of Témaçinine, near which his ancestors are buried, and where he enjoys great /213/
578 repute. All the Tuareg, Ihaggaren or Ajjer, who pass near this
788 place never fail to stop and pay a visit to the sheik and go pray on the tomb of Si Othman, a famous saint of this marabout lineage.

This zāwiyah is affiliated with the Tijaniyyah brotherhood.

There are several marabouts who live in the midst of the Ihaggaren camps, but all of them are of Arab origin and none of them are Ifôras.

631 The Ifôras are under the administrative control of the Ajjer annex, and politically they are much more a part of the Kel Ajjer than of the Ihaggaren.

They are subdivided into three fractions:

Ifôras-oui-n-Oukkîren

Ifôras-oui-n-Egdad

Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel

The first two, who are of sherif descent, were in the habit of espousing the cause of the Ouraren, while the third was attached to the Imenân sultans.

114 Duveyrier said that the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel were provided with
533 drums and continued to constitute the court and the music corps
631 of the fallen sultans; he concludes by saying that their role is limited to making noise. (1) Now the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel have never been

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 361.

musicians, but their name, which can be confusing, means "those who are attached to the amenokal," just as Iklân-en-Taousit (of the Ahaggar) means "servant of the tribe or of the group of tribes

771 The religious lukewarmness of the Tuareg is such that they do
781 not always profess great respect for marabouts and very few of them
[788] make the pilgrimage to Mecca. When Duveyrier made his trip to Ghat (1860) there were some thirty pilgrims among the northern Tuareg (1); at the present time there are probably only three men

1. Op. cit., p. 413.

among the Ihăggaren who can be honored with the title of El Hadj.

But this tepidity does not always exclude fanaticism. Barth already mentioned that he had to face it during his trip and that he was assailed by questions and had to discuss different religious dogmas with some Tuareg; he extricated himself from this by a perfect knowledge of the Koran and of Moslem mores. /306/ Their
[669 religious ignorance makes them, at the same time, easy instru-
773] ments in the hands of marabouts who have often profited from this to stir up hate for the Christians and to push them into a holy war, as was the case for the revolts of 1915 - 1916 - 1917. In spite of the bitter failures which resulted, their confidence in their thaumaturgy was not at all diminished.

871 At the present time there are several Koranic schools in the
713 Ahaggar conducted by Arab marabouts and set up in the agricultural centers. They are mainly attended by Harratin children, for Tuareg children, who stay in their parent's camps, cannot go to them because they are too far away. A marabout family, originally from Cheurfa d'Aoulef (Tidikelt) settled in the Ahaggar some forty years ago and enjoys a great veneration. Not long ago it was fixed in the little center of Dar-Mouli, where it enhanced the value of the place, but as a result of the dryness of the spot it was moved to Esselissekine. There each year a great alms feast takes place,
[796] and all the Ahaggar Tuareg come. Its present chief, Moulay el
[554] Ouafi ben Moulay abd Allah is an example of piety, although still quite young, and he is surrounded by great respect.

797 In speaking of the Islamization of the Tuareg, Henri Basset said that the latter had taken almost nothing from Islam, except

4: Benhazera--1 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Book One

The Tuareg in their Private and Public Life

Part One

The Tuareg in their Private Life

Chapter I

Birth. Childhood

In Tamashek, birth is called "tiouit" 1?1. There is no 844
special observance to note concerning the birth of a child
among the Tuareg. However, there is greater joy if it is a [842]
boy. People come to congratulate the parents and, seven days 851
later, the latter serve a more or less lavish feast, depending
on their means, the feast being preceded by the recitation of
the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran). Those present who do [788]
not know Arabic limit themselves during this recitation to
holding their open hands together like a book. It is on this [533]
day that the child is given its name.

On this subject, I think I should note that especially 551
among the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe of the Ahaggar), many [565]
children were given the names of wild beasts or animals.

Examples of Men's Names

Amellal, addax, meha /?/
Abeggui, jackal
Amayas, cheetah
Akhou, wild animal

4: Benhazera--19 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter XI

## Death. Burial. Graves

If death ("tamettant" ⵜⵎⵜⵜ ) takes place near an 764
"ar'erem" (village), burial is carried out at the cemetery. Otherwise, the deceased is buried where he died.

The corpse is washed with warm water, according to Moslem custom, and dressed in his shroud "tifit" ⵜⵉⵜ .
Tolbas come to say the prayers of the dead. The grave "az'-ekka" ⴰⵣⵄⴰⴽⴽⴰ , plural "iz'ekouan" ⵉⵣⵄⴰⴽⴽⵡⴰⵏ , is dug. The pit /23/ is one span and four fingers wide for, as among all Moslems, the corpse is laid on the right side, the face turned toward "kiblah" (the direction of Mecca). The depth is only 60 to 70 centimeters. It is covered with flat stones cemented with wet clay. They place markers ("chouahed" in Arabic, "ihalissen" ⵉⵀⴰⵍⵉⵙⵙⵏ in Tamashek), that is, stones set on end: one at the head, one at the feet if it is a man; one at the head, two at the feet if it is a woman, parallel or perpendicular to the direction of the grave according to whether it is a man or a woman.

Then a circle of stones is made around the grave, with an opening for entry and exit, and to the east, opposite the door, is the place of prayer, according to the following plan. a

The expression of condolence used is the following: "iha ner' irah yalla ierhak, " which corresponds to the Arabic وجايك الله يخلف علينا and which means, "May God repay the loss which you and we have suffered. " [576]

The visitor goes around the grave saying, "kel irkhem yalla (May God grant you mercy!), " says his prayer and leaves. [788]

A funeral feast is given for the tolbas and the poor. /24/

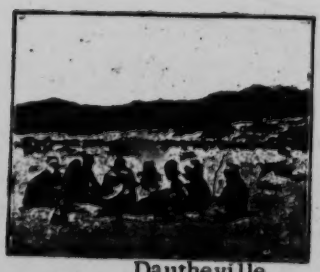
a [see p 20 --- ANALYST]

The laws of hospitality, "amedjarou," are observed as 574
among all Moslems. The guest, "amadjar," is always well
received.

## Chapter XVI

## Hygiene. Diseases

133
516



Dautheville
Dr. Dautheville in the Abezzou
Wadi (White Tifedest)

We know that the Tuareg have a horror of water. They do 515
not wash themselves on the pretext that this would make them
sick, but it is essentially because they are very sensitive to [151]
cold. To say their prayers, they do not indulge in the pre- [782
scribed ablutions, even when they are at home and have water 788]
at their disposal. They are content with "talmoum" (an
imitation of washing with sand), which they call "ettamine."
The amenokal Moussa ag /31/ Amastane is the only Tuareg
whom I have seen making his ablutions with water.

This is also doubtless due to the fact that the Tuareg like 241
to keep the tint of indigo, "sedjeni" ⵙⵉⵏⵉ , on their 302
skins, the result of wearing "chegga," or blue cotton, which 386
runs a great deal and of which they make their clothes. They 515

4: Benhazera--51 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

I was told in the Ahaggar that youths may not say their 561
prayers in the presence of women for, in the course of genu- 562
flections and prostrations, they have to show their posteriors, 782
which is very "shocking"! On the other hand, old men can 834
pray before women without being indecent.

Many, besides, in order to say their prayers place them- 782
selves behind the imam (either an Arabian taleb or a Tuareg 788
who knows a little Arabic), and they make their genuflections, 793
saying, "Allahou akber" (God is the greatest) every time they
hear it said by the imam. That is all of their prayer.

There were many who told me that they did not observe 785
the fast of Ramadan, among others Badjloud, the amr'ar of 771
the Kel Ahnet. On the other hand, the Issoqqamaren
(fractions who have long been in contact with the Arabs and
still are) are more religious, and they all observe the fast.

Among the Ahaggar Tuareg there are, nevertheless, some 792
truly religious men, but they are known and pointed out and
pass for marabouts, for example, Moussa ag Amastane, Beketa
ag Ibrahim, and the Oulad El Mir'da and Oulad Mokhammed ag
Sadik.

Although the Tuareg is not religious, he nevertheless
has great respect for the marabouts whom he naively admires,
always on condition that these marabouts do not interfere with
him. Thus the marabout Beketa ag Ibrahim stated that the
dates coming from the Tidikelt, recently occupied by the
French, were forbidden by the religion. He changed his mind
later. But now, every time that he goes to ask an amr'id for
dates, the latter comments that they came from the Tidikelt
and are therefore forbidden by the religion, and Beketa answers,
"No. All that is over now, " and accepts the dates.

Religious orders are quite widespread, especially among
the Issoqqamaren. Going by caravan to the Tidikelt or the
Touat, the Ahaggar have joined the order of the Tijaniyyah,
which numbers most of its adherents among them, and that
of the Qādiriyyah. Others (usually they all are those who have

made the pilgrimage /59/ to Mecca), have joined the order 792
of the Senusi /Sanusiyyah. Ed./ on their way to Djer'boub.

But I doubt whether this affiliation is really sincere. All the members do not want to wear their beads around their necks, but keep them in their pockets or in their luggage while they are traveling. They say that if they wear them openly they would be accused of wanting to seduce women! Finally, they are not allowed to wear them any time that they do a reprehensible deed, that they have relations, even with their lawful wives, etc.

On the other hand, having remained naive and super- 789
stitious, they all believe in the efficacy of amulets, "tira," with which they are covered. There are even some who hang them on the necks of their meharis.

At each new moon the Tuareg says his prayer. His hands 782
open like a book, he looks at the evening star and expresses 788
the wish that he may be alive at the next moon.

At the feast of Mouloud (birth of the Prophet), they hold out their hands, saying, "Asarouf" (pardon), in order to have their sins forgiven. But if there is no taleb in the tribe to remind them of the exact date, they forget and do not think of it.

## Chapter VIII

### Superstitions. Beliefs

The Tuareg are very superstitious. Everywhere they see 771
genii and demons, in the mountains, in the trees, in water- 776
skins, etc.

Thus, in camp they do not want to go to bed beside water-
skins or ashes, because of the genii, "alhinen" /ⵍⵃⵉⵏⵏ, /60/
or ghosts, "kel esouf" ⵇⵍ ⵙⵓⴼ (people of the void), who
live there.

and were enfeoffed to the Kounta tribe, or Dag-Ech-Cheich. The origin of the oldest known families goes back no more than two generations. They are the Ehellellou, who have left descendants, the Badahol and Mohamed /families/, today extinct, and the Rati whose descendants are now settled among the Taitok. 564

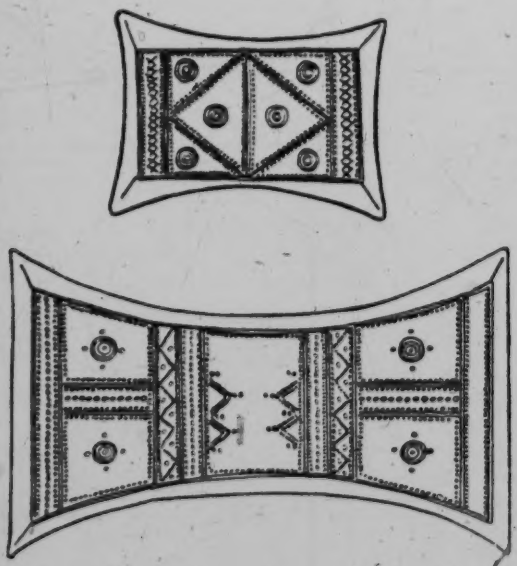


Fig. 19. Silver amulets worn by men on the crests of their hairdo.

At the time of Amenokal Attici (1899) there was a chief of the blacksmiths named Alamine whose role was to oversee and distribute the work and to reduce the newly captured blacksmiths from the Sudan to obedience. He also had judiciary power. 564 326 [301 789 331] [692]

Formerly endogamy was the general rule, but since the occupation it has been violated numerous times, and artisans often take their wives from the Harratin and the Eklan. 564 [582 177]

Their industry is limited to the fabrication of jewels, padlocks, knives, and a few wooden utensils. They are particularly occupied with repairing worn articles.

/179/ In the Sudan the Enaden are much more numerous. That is why industries there are found to be much more developed, even more so since more varied and more abundant raw materials are at their disposal. 564

841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
842 a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[788] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old
[782 tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
769] pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout
[431] an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
846 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.
431 Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
862 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

854 In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
[184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimmiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This
[171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are some-
[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
[826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
85 Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517] ennobles the woman.

787 sometimes the Koran as an amulet, but that they had kept its fatalism. (1) Many authors also take pleasure in pointing out

1. Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, p. 388.

their more than superficial polish in matters of Islamism.

781 In spite of all this, we must not exaggerate the degree of
797 irreligion of the Tuareg. Since the French occupation, the
777 action of marabouts who cross the country trading is growing
648 slowly but surely. The state of lethargy into which the suppression of their life of brigandage has thrown them is gradually pushing them toward religion, and it is becoming more and more common
[517 565] to see young nobles kill time by reciting in front of a small Koran board.

771 Superstition is very strong in them. They have not succeeded in breaking away from their ancient beliefs, and they wear a
[789] quantity of amulets which are often pagan in origin (jackal's foot, lizard's head, hyena skin, etc.).

[776] One observes certain noble families /307/ that, along with orthodox saints, invoke mysterious personages who can only be ancient minor gods they never got rid of. (1) In the old legends

1. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara, in Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

of the Ahaggar, Father de Foucauld has found the names of some of them: Tamâres, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Ouerdaz, Noulana, Radès. The Ihaggaren used to call on them to make their wishes come
[777 782] true, but today these personages have fallen into oblivion, and only a few old people still remember their names. (2)

2. In Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

Finally, they wear around their necks thick cords of red 291
or green silk or braided wool, which they call "el mejdoud" 789
and which are used to suspend a Koran, a book dealing with cabalistic matter, or amulets.

Amulets (everyone has some) are worn on the back or on 789
the chest. They are enclosed in a leather or metal sheath. I saw one Tuareg who had some twenty that he wore, all gathered together, on his chest.

Finally, they are shod with large flat sandals from the Aïr, 291
"ir'atimen" ⵉⵔⵄⵜⵉⵎⵉⵏ, or with leather sandals made on [439]
the spot and called "imerkaden" ⵉⵎⵔⴽⴰⴷⵏ.

Let us not forget the arm bracelet "ahbedj" ⴰⵀⴱⴷⵊ, 301
plural "ihebdjan" ⵉⵀⴱⴷⵊⵏ, like a snake, which, they 789
say, gives strength to the biceps when one strikes a blow.

At rather important meetings and palavers, the richest 292
come dressed in burnooses bought at Ghat and decorated on [556]
the shoulders with attractive silver embroidery. Sometimes it also happens that if the burnoose has no embroidery, the owner prefers to wear it inside out, so as to display the yellow and green silk lining which decorates the edge and lower corner of the burnoose. Where will vanity stop?

The burnoose is not put on, but just put over the shoulders.

Some poor Tuareg are dressed in clothes of tanned leather. 291
/38/ 556

The woman's dress consists chiefly of:

A sort of skirt, called "asedjebes"
A shirt with sleeves, "takammist"
A woolen haïk, "abrour'"
A veil placed on her head, "ikerhi"

According to her means, she wears the following jewelry: 301
556

Silver bracelets, "ihebdjan-oui-n-azerouf"
Glass bracelets, "tahouka," plural "tahoukaouin"
Glass-bead bracelets, "denguela," plural "denguelaten"
Blacelets of the horns of goats or gazelles, made in two halves which are encased one in the other with copper and which are called "iouakane"

Earrings in the shape of large rings, "tizabbatine" 301 [55-6]
Rings, "tisseq," plural "tisser'ine"

Also, like the men, she wears amulets, "tira." [789]

Finally, in summer she wears a large parasol hat ("medols" 291 in Arabic), which she sometimes decorates with red wool and which is called "tili" (shade).

Concerning the veil: whence comes this use of the veil among the Tuareg? Even those involved do not know.

Sidi ag Keradji, however, gave me an explanation which 173 is quite without validity but shows the craze which the Tuareg 291 have to attribute an Arab origin to themselves. This is his story:

"At the caputre of Mecca, the Prophet Mohammed was mounted on a 'cidah' (female mehari). He had wrapped his head with his 'ihram' (a garment peculiar to the pilgrim who enters the sacred territory of Mecca). It is since this time that the Tuareg have worn the veil."

What is certain is that this is a very old custom, since Arabian writers have for several centuries called /39/ the Tuareg by the name of "Ahl-el-Litham," or "people of the veil."

Did they adopt this custom for utilitarian reasons, to pro- 173 tect their sight from the brilliance of the sun's rays and to 183 insure their eyes against the dust which rises from the sand? 291 To this question they reply in the negative. It is primarily, they say, a question of modesty and dignity. A Tuareg must never show his mouth, the door through which he introduces food into his body. That is shameful. Even at night he does not take off his veil. When he enters a camp foreign to his 183 tribe, he must lower his veil completely over his eyes so as 291 not to be suspected of having come to seduce. In meetings 576 he also veils himself completely, perhaps in order better to hide his feelings.

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or ghosts, "kel esouf" ][⊙|| ·: (people of the void), who live there.

When they want to stretch out at the foot of the tree called "el yatil" in Arabic and "tadjart" ⊕ⵜⵜ in Tamashek (a kind of acacia), which is inhabited by jinn, they must first wound it with a stone, and stones are always to be found at the foot of these trees. One can also see the wounds made in the bark. 776 824 789

The "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica) is also a haunted tree. If one wants to rest under its shade, it is first necessary to break seven of the tree's thorns.

There are also "kel esouf" in the place where an animal has had its throat cut. 776

Mount Oudane is haunted, as are many others. [823]

These superstitions are probably survivals of their old religion, before their conversion to Islamism. Like them, "The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period worshipped jinn, or genii. The deserts and mountains where one sometimes gets lost for entire weeks are full of beings of this kind.... They can do much harm and much good.... They live in rocks, trees, or statues. Each tribe, or sometimes a group of tribes, had its special jinni; its rock, its tree, its own image, before which an appointed family carried out priestly duties" (1). 174 771 776

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 5 and 6.

The Tuareg have many other superstitions. Thus nobles would never kill a "uran" (varanus), which in Tamashek is called "ar,'ata" • ⵜ⁝ , and a fortiori would not eat it. Sidi ag Keradji and Aziouel ag Ser'ada told me that the uran is the maternal uncle of the Tuareg, and Sidi told me the following legend: "Seven nobles had killed a camel belonging to Sidna Nouh (Hoah). Among them there was a noble Tuareg. To punish them God changed them, one into an uran, another into a jackal, a third into a chameleon, etc. /61/ The uran was the noble Tuareg. The camel that was killed is now in the sky: it is the Great Bear. The Polar Star, 'Bel Hadi', is its head." 565 825 773 784 [821]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



565 651 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The [178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are [789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals, but these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility [721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also [422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these animals.

The master of a temażlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids, but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the [643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellaɣ* or half of the booty taken by all vassals [727] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for [426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also known as *abellaɣ*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been given to the Amenokal. The temażlait-masters were apparently without any judicial [692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller units within the drum-group – the temażlait-relations – were predominantly economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit, the drum-group.

### *The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.*

565 192 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheren* (sing. *Amacher*), but correctly this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohar* (sing. *Amahar*). It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb *aher* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that this latter word is identical with *Hoouara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

757 /111 cont./ Jackal meat, eaten with decoctions of
278 rellachem for three days, is the best remedy for gonorrhea; cloves will aid in the healing.

Jackal meat is also used to cure syphilis, but in addition in the morning one must drink milk in which colocynth has been soaked; while this milk is being drunk, skewers of fat to be eaten afterward are cooked; clear soup is drunk during the entire day. After three days small, white granulations are seen in the stools, indicating the success of the treatment.

Smallpox formerly was treated in a sufficiently efficacious manner by digging a hole in the sand and heating it as if to make méchoui /roasted sheep/, although not so hot; the patient then lay in the hole and was covered with sand. After that there was nothing to do but wait.

The treatment for measles requires the patient to be kept warm, while eating hare, gazelle, or wild sheep meat.

Toothaches cannot last when treated as follows: fill the mouth with onion seeds, ouzouaz, wheat, and salt; keep these medicaments in the closed mouth for half an hour. When adolescents break out in pimples, which disfigure them, it is essential that /112/ onion seeds be burned and the smoke inhaled, which, it is said, makes all the worms leave immediately. Around a boil, apply a paste made of milk and powdered tanzet (a kind of Sudanese bean).

## Magic Rites

789 This is a very difficult subject to treat, for the secrets
754 are jealously guarded by those who possess them and want to profit from them, or are carefully hidden by those who know them in a disinterested fashion but who lack confidence in their questioner or fear reprisals.

The Ahaggar, situated at the frontiers of Islam and the black world, is without doubt impregnated with magic customs; the superficial Islamism of the population, which retains an

789
754 /112 cont. / underlying belief in genii, often not avowed but present, lends itself admirably to secret magic rites.

754 However, it seems that the Tuareg, although very superstitious, do not use maleficent spells, a specialty of the women of the Tidikelt, the Ajjers, and the Sudan. The most famous of the evil spells is the "borbor," chiefly the work of the Negresses.

The borbor acts in two ways: either it tends to poison an individual that one wants out of the way, or it serves simply to diminish the forces of someone one wants revenge against or that one wants to attract (in the last case, it acts something like a love potion). In any case the borbor produces its effects only over a long period of time; it is personal and is prepared for a specific purpose; to be effective, it must be administered cunningly.

It appears to be impossible to obtain an exact recipe for borbor. Here are the chief ingredients that enter into its composition; the proportioning is determined by a specialist.

The basic ingredient seems to be the brain of someone recently dead; it must be sought at night in a cemetery. The story is told of a woman who, having wanted to steal the brain of a recently deceased marabout, was found dead, struck down /113/ by the power of the defunct, and clutching in her clenched hand scraps of her theft.

Once obtained, the excipient is kept in a vase so that the elements effective for a given individual may be added. The list of these is long; let us mention all the external secretions of the intended victim: sweat, preferably from under the armpit; tears; earwax; urine; blood (preferably menstrual); semen. Also collected are hair, nail clippings, dirt from the arms and nails, soil walked on with the bare feet. All or part of these ingredients are added to the excipient, mixed, then cooked. This diabolic cooking is done at night by two initiated women, entirely nude. After a certain time, the pot rises in the air and revolves in the closed room; the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without 233
camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to 433
the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays, as in the past, base their economy mainly on camels and goats.
I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats and their [262]
vegetable food from caravan trading with the aid of camels.

Formerly, the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned 565
exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but 233
he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). It is, however, confirmed 422
by many Tuareg that the vassals originally had no camels, and that throughout the 19th century they 571
had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals, and even to-day goats and butter form part of the *tiwsé*-payments. The noble Tuareg, on the other hand, allowed their particular vassals to trade with their camels against the payment of a certain amount of vegetable food products which to-day also form part of most *tiwsé*-payments. They allowed their vassals also to have usufructs of such animals as could not be taken with them on their migrations. Noble Tuareg of to-day continue to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts of the vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they obtain part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops; this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. The noble Tuareg of to-day may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals, who can refuse any gift or [178]
service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are even noble Tuareg who wear amulets which are [289]
believed to induce vassals to donate the things required.

It would seem that the economic relationships forming the basis of the Tuareg political system in 174
the north would arise so to speak automatically from two distinct cultures which met each other in 565
the desert: a camel-breeding culture of a Berber-speaking people now known as the noble Tuareg, and a goat-breeding culture of an ancient Berber-speaking population which now constitutes the vassals.

Some Tuareg traditions seem to indicate that political systems based on class-division arose in this 173
way in the north, but we have to admit that other traditions contradict this. Below I attempt to 565
elucidate Tuareg history in Ahaggar by means of native traditions to which, for practical reasons, I allot definite numbers.

*Tradition A.* All Tuareg have a common origin as they descend from a woman named *Lemtuna*, who is also the ancestress of certain Berbers living around Ṛadamas in Tripolitania. Most Berbers of Morocco descend from *Lemtuna*'s sister who became the ancestress of the *Beraber*. This tradition is widely known in Ahaggar.

*Tradition B.1.* This tradition is a very common explanation of the origin of the class-division in Ahaggar: Long ago two Islamic women of the *Beraber* immigrated to the oasis of Silet from Tafilelt in Morocco. One of these women named *Ti-n-Hinan* was noble while the other woman named *Takama*

648 100 years, for Marabout and Shorfa families
797 of the North often found it advantageous to move southward and attach themselves to Tuareg tribes or clans whom they then proceeded to stir up against the French and Italian newcomers. In this way the Koran became a kind of battle flag of local resistance to European penetration throughout the Sahara. The Camel Corps troops, who have long maintained order for the European rulers of the Desert, have always been recruited mainly from among Moslem Arab nomad tribes, notably the Chaamba, and their thinly scattered garrisons and outposts in the Tuareg country soon came to serve as centers for the continuing diffusion of Islamic doctrine. And finally it has
[582] become less and less unusual for noble ladies of the Ahaggar to marry men of Arab Shorfa or Maraboutic families. Thus racial and religious penetration have marched hand-in-hand into the Tuareg country, following the path that leads through adversity to union in a common cause, and so to bed.

792 The basic relationship between the "living saints" and the warlike nomads of the Sahara Desert is clearly stated in the Old Testament, as Monod (1947, pp. 72–73) has pointed out with keen insight and inimitable wit. In Esau and Jacob he recognized the pastoral nomad warrior and the holy man of the Sahara, where Marabouts and Shorfa families used to parley instead of fighting and bought off raiders just as Esau bought off Jacob long ago (Genesis, 32). In Monod's words: "The Marabout's soul is in anguish at this extreme but inevitable generosity which he imposes on himself, but he would a thousand times rather have anguish in his soul than brought into his body in the shape of a sharp javelin ending its whistling flight between his shoulders. But there are times when the Marabout gets his revenge for the humiliating brutality of the warrior. The latter is indeed too simple not to be superstitious, and so, with the roles reversed, there comes a day when he in turn will tremble before the religious chief and implore the blessing of the sorcerer on his raids; for who would dare undertake such an expedition without the magic formulae and the amulet which will assure success for the enterprise and personal safety in combat? The man of God alone confers, and not without a price,

792 the power that is entrusted to him; and the man of the sword pays. It is indeed his turn."
000 As a typical example of a nomad warrior buying the benediction of a holy man, Monod cites the transaction between Abram and Melchizedek, "the priest of the most high God" (Genesis, *14:* 18–20), and he reconstructs the scene in imaginative but wholly convincing detail drawn from his long experience among desert nomad tribes. After Melchizedek had invoked the blessing of God on Abram, the latter said: "How much will that be?" "Nay, my lord is joking," replied Melchizedek, "It's free, I *give* my blessing; I *give* it to him." And Abram bowed down and said (thinking that after all if the blessing wasn't paid for it might not work, and knowing only too well moreover what his interlocutor meant by "gift"): "Harken unto me: I give the price of the blessing and of the amulets for my camels; accept it of me." And Melchizedek answered him: "Let not my lord be vexed, and may he harken unto me: I do not sell him power, I give it to him. But if in return he chooses to bring me the tenth part of all that is his, what is that between us?" And Abram understood, "And he gave him tithes of all" (Genesis, *14:* 20).[14] Nothing could be more characteristic of desert nomads and revealing of the basic relationship between them and holy men in the Sahara Desert and elsewhere.

105 **Summary.** The Tuareg of the Ahaggar are a diversified pastoral nomadic group who live in a very arid mountainous massif, an environment that requires extreme mobility.

Their social organization seems to be based on essentially matrilineal and patriarchal extended and joint family clans which are grouped into tribes that form a confederation. There are two main social classes, commonly referred to as "nobles" and "vassals," and rank, which embodies the right of succession to authority, is inherited in the female line, but a new chief can take and hold office only by consent of a general council of all male heads of families or clans who come under his control. This is doubtless because the clans that are strongest in terms of material wealth and fighting manpower as well are in the

[14] The King James Version of the Old Testament does not make quite clear just who gave tithes to whom, but Knox (1948, p. 18), in his translation of

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prayers in the presence of women for, in the course of genu- 562
flections and prostrations, they have to show their posteriors, 782
which is very "shocking"! On the other hand, old men can 834
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selves behind the imam (either an Arabian taleb or a Tuareg 788
who knows a little Arabic), and they make their genuflections, 793
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the fast of Ramadan, among others Badjloud, the amr'ar of 771
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still are) are more religious, and they all observe the fast.

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truly religious men, but they are known and pointed out and
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ag Ibrahim, and the Oulad El Mir'da and Oulad Mokhammed ag
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him. Thus the marabout Beketa ag Ibrahim stated that the
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Religious orders are quite widespread, especially among
the Issoqqamaren. Going by caravan to the Tidikelt or the
Touat, the Ahaggar have joined the order of the Tijaniyyah,
which numbers most of its adherents among them, and that
of the Qadiriyyah. Others (usually they all are those who have

made the pilgrimage /59/ to Mecca), have joined the order 792
of the Senusi /Sanusiyyah. Ed./ on their way to Djer'boub.

But I doubt whether this affiliation is really sincere. All the members do not want to wear their beads around their necks, but keep them in their pockets or in their luggage while they are traveling. They say that if they wear them openly they would be accused of wanting to seduce women! Finally, they are not allowed to wear them any time that they do a reprehensible deed, that they have relations, even with their lawful wives, etc.

On the other hand, having remained naive and super- 789
stitious, they all believe in the efficacy of amulets, "tira," with which they are covered. There are even some who hang them on the necks of their meharis.

At each new moon the Tuareg says his prayer. His hands 782
open like a book, he looks at the evening star and expresses 788
the wish that he may be alive at the next moon.

At the feast of Mouloud (birth of the Prophet), they hold out their hands, saying, "Asarouf" (pardon), in order to have their sins forgiven. But if there is no taleb in the tribe to remind them of the exact date, they forget and do not think of it.

## Chapter VIII

### Superstitions. Beliefs

The Tuareg are very superstitious. Everywhere they see 771
genii and demons, in the mountains, in the trees, in water- 776
skins, etc.

Thus, in camp they do not want to go to bed beside water-
skins or ashes, because of the genii, "alhinen" /|⁞|| , /60/
or ghosts, "kel esouf" ⵍⵇⵓⵍ ⵙⵓⴼ (people of the void), who
live there.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



342
417

Fig. 15.–Beehive huts within a round enclosure at the village of Iferouan in Northern Air. The construction seen on this photograph consists of arches made from lashed bundles of slender sticks fastened to poles embedded in the ground. Horizontal sticks are fastened to the arches which are supported by a central forked post with a short crossbar placed on its top. For a detailed description of this construction see Foureau 1905, III, p. 885 f. Beehive huts in Air are also made from boughs embedded in the ground and tied together at the top without a central post.

174 camel-breeding. The camel is known to have been very common in Tripolitania in the 4th century A.D. It was introduced to this region a few centuries before that 233 time, and it was known in Egypt about the year 500 B.C. It is therefore probable that the camel was introduced into the Central Sahara even prior to the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. Camel-breeding seems to have certain traits in common with pastoral cow-breeding, and the oldest camel-breeders of Northern Africa may have lived in tents or huts of arch construction – most possibly in so-called barrel-vaulted dwellings, which appear to have been extremely common in Northern Africa throughout Antiquity (cf. Le Coeur 1937. – Feilberg 1944, p. 202 f.).

174 The T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are apparently historically related to similar posts of Arab black tents in Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and [342] Eastern Libya. Considering the fact that T-shaped posts among the Northern [565] Tuareg are claimed to be characteristic of the noble class, there may be a certain connection between noble Tuareg of the North and Arabs. I have mentioned above [184] that in the North the term for noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, sing. *Ahaggar*) is different [792] from the term used in other Tuareg groups (*Imachayen*, sing. *Amachay*). I have also

565 554 [302] [516] The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant [195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of appearance and language is even more perceptible among the 554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their 562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their 574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society. Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well [633] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know- [565] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know- ing how to play the violin.

565 [83] 513] Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which [842] 582] are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it, [648] and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting itself to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could bring it.

565 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/ [793 871] and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite [651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

565 from all vassalage taxes and are often the object of much respect
[651] and consideration wherever they go. Thus, in the Ahaggar, they are treated on an equal footing with the Imochar, and the latter
[582] sometimes accept marriages with them, while at the same time re-
[641] fusing to grant political rights to the children born of these unions.
[184] On the other hand, among the Ioullimmiden, the Imochar reject any alliance with them and make them pay a vassalage due. These
[582] /Inislimen/ of the Damergou, contrary to the rule, are considered nobles; they own Imrad and may wage war. Furthermore, they have made themselves noticed as the most bellicose among the Aïr tribes. Finally, those of the Adrar succeeded in forming a confederation after the Ioullimmiden abandoned the country; they have Imrad, but the Imochar from the other confederations do not want to regard them as their equals.

They are often referred to under the name of Ichériffen, or
[192] Chériffen, which comes from the Arab word sherif, meaning "noble," or, by extension, "descendant of the Prophet." But among the Tuareg, Ichériffen has a more specialized meaning and designates persons of a religious nature, without their necessarily being descendants of Mahomet.

The marabout tribes include the Ichériffen properly so called and the Ifôra.

This religious nature has various origins and qualities.

Some elements really number sherifs among their ancestors; such is the case of the Ifôra from the Adrar and certain Kel Es-Souq fractions. But opposed to them are others who have only an accidental religious character.

174 Concerning this, Commander Cauvet says that these marabout
565 tribes often appear to be noble collectivities, who were formerly
● 793 strong and became too weak to continue enjoying the rights and prestige of the strong. They declared themselves withdrawn from the business of arms and devoted to pious practices for love of God and Islam. "A tribe threatened with losing its preponderance,

174 its rank, or even its class as a result of events of war or of too fre-
565 quent or too strong splits, sometimes decides to declare itself /163/
793 marabout. Piety is not indispensable for this; the tribe need only stop pillaging its neighbors and bearing arms. If some of them display the appearances of pious Moslems, learn a bit of the Koran, and wear beads, particularly if they can refer to some Arab ancestor, who formerly took refuge in the tribe, they succeed in being classed as marabouts after a certain time." (1)

1. Commander Cauvet,
Les noms des tribus Touaregs
/Names of Tuareg Tribes/,
p. 10.

565 In tribes which really practice their religion in a more serious
793 way than most of the Tuareg, he continues, there is surely an instillation of foreign blood, sometimes Semitic and often earlier
[144] than the Arab invasion. Without discussing here the reasons on which Commander Cauvet stands in speaking of the infusion of
[142] Semitic blood into the Ichériffen, we shall recall what we have already said, that we were strongly struck to find persons of a Semitic appearance, particularly marked in the old man, among the Ichériffen from the region of Gao and the Kel Es-Souq of Mohamed Ouguinat.

The explorer Duveyrier, who lived for a long time among the
565 northern Ifôra, considered them former nobles "who had abdicated
631 any political role in the administration of the confederation in
793 order to conquer a greater religious authority, necessary in a society where justice is represented by no power." (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 132.

He attributed to them a great moral and religious activity. It is true that certain Ifôra chiefs, like Sheik Othman who was one of

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Ihaggaren and the Kel Ajjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifora were pillaged themselves upon several occasions by the Ihaggaren and forced to seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

The influence of the Inislimen on the Ihaggaren and the Kel
[797] Ajjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact, they are generally quite ignorant.

[554] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving, they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and disapproved of the belligerent action of the Ihaggaren against us, in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tademaket
565 and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.
797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to
[648] become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifora was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tademeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents. They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721 Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
181] refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
701] other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Chériffen are divided into ordinary Chériffen and warrior Chériffen.

184 The Inislimen way of life is the same as that of the Tuareg.
565 They speak the same language and administer themselves with no
193 intervention from the Imochar. A few cases of polygamy have been
[631] observed among them. This is the result of their gradual Islamization,
[595] which favors the custom, and of patriarchy which was already in practice in some Sudanese tribes.

565 The Imrad. -- Imrad probably comes from the Tamashek root
[192] égeid, égeit, which means "kid," "little goat," and from the prefix
am indicating possession. In short, this means "possessors of goats."
[422] In fact, the Imrad formerly could own only goats, for the Imochar reserved the possession of camels for themselves.

Their nickname is Kel Oulli, which also means "goat people," a name which they prefer to Imrad, which is probably a bit degrading for them.

[631] /165/ They make up tribes enfeoffed to the Imochar and are their vassals.

The Imochar have a certain scorn for them and consider them people of low birth, not of the pure Tuareg race; the name Taouia Settefet, meaning "of black descent," is often applied to them. (1)

1. Among the Ioullimmiden they are referred to as Idinet.

173 Nothing indicates a racial inferiority of the Imrad to the Imochar,
565 however. If we want to interpret the old legends of the Ahaggar,
144 everything leads us to believe that the Imrad were in most instances the first occupants of the country, and the Imochar, who were the invaders, were conquerers who made themselves masters of the country by force. The crossbreeding with the blacks cannot be a decisive criterion, for many Imrad tribes are not physically more
[186] "Negroid" than the Imochar. It is also true that the Imrad are
[184] less rigorous than the Imochar in maintaining the integrity of old Tuareg customs. They have less greatness of soul and sentiment, as well as less ethnic pride.

563 There are also important tribes in the Sudan who bear the name of Daoussak. They are generally considered /168/ Imrad, but actually the Daoussak were probably former Ioullimmiden shepherds who were not authorized to carry the lance and take part in combats. They tend to give themselves a certain marabout air, and they multiply the Koranic schools in their camps.

[174] [701] [793]

Iborelliten. -- We can rank among assimilated vassals still other free tribes, quite little known until now, who bear the name of Iborelliten (singular, Aborelli).

They speak the Tamashek language and on the surface are in no way different from the Tuareg in the midst of whom they live. In some confederations they form very distinct tribes, depending in general only on the direct authority of the chief of the confederation; such tribes are those of the Aïr who are under the command of the anastafidet of the Kel-Oui. (1)

1. The Kel-Aïr are divided into Kel-Gerès and Kel-Oui, placed under the authority of the Sultan of Agadez. The Kel-Oui, probably of Oraren /Ouraren?, see below p. 37./ origin, have mixed enormously with the sedentary Hausa. Because of that they have diminished in the eyes of their racial brothers, who now consider them Negroes. They have a peculiar organization, and their chief bears the name of anastafidet.

They are more or less colored depending on the group, and some are as white as the Tuareg. They intermarry among themselves

631 It will be noted that there are no marabout tribes in the divers
•793 Ahaggar tobol. The Ifôra who nomadize in the Témaçinine (Fort Flatters) region are completely independent. They maintain amicable relations with the Ihaggaren and the Kel Ajjer, but these relations are very few and far between and have no political or religious character. They do not send any chaplains among the Ihaggaren. Their chief has settled at the little zāwiyah of Témaçinine, near which his ancestors are buried, and where he enjoys great /213/
[D78 repute. All the Tuareg, Ihaggaren or Ajjer, who pass near this
D88] place never fail to stop and pay a visit to the sheik and go pray on the tomb of Si Othman, a famous saint of this marabout lineage.

This zāwiyah is affiliated with the Tijaniyyah brotherhood.

There are several marabouts who live in the midst of the Ihaggaren camps, but all of them are of Arab origin and none of them are Ifôras.

631 The Ifôras are under the administrative control of the Ajjer annex, and politically they are much more a part of the Kel Ajjer than of the Ihaggaren.

They are subdivided into three fractions:

Ifôras-oui-n-Oukkiren

Ifôras-oui-n-Egdad

Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel

The first two, who are of sherif descent, were in the habit of espousing the cause of the Ouraren, while the third was attached to the Imenân sultans.

114 Duveyrier said that the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel were provided with
533 drums and continued to constitute the court and the music corps
631 of the fallen sultans; he concludes by saying that their role is limited to making noise. (1) Now the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel have never been

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 361.

musicians, but their name, which can be confusing, means "those who are attached to the amenokal," just as Iklân-en-Taousit (of the Ahaggar) means "servant of the tribe or of the group of tribes

764 A marabout or a literate man reads the Moslem prayer, and the men, standing behind him with their hands coupled and open at chest height, repeat it with him. Women do not participate in the burial.

Modern Tuareg tombs have stone markers (chouabed), one at the feet and one at the head for men, one at the head and two at the feet for women. They are oval in shape and the mound is slightly dome-shaped. They usually have stones around them, forming a gully with a forward part open to the east. One often finds wooden stakes or tent stakes stuck into the two ends of the grave, as well as large balls of hyaline quartz which, /297/ according to the Tuareg, were used to rub the body of the dead man before burying him. In many places where there are hyenas, as in the Sudan, the tomb is generally covered over with thorny branches to prevent them from digging up the dead man.

After the burial the persons who came for the occasion present their condolences to the family. The family has a meal served for them in memory of the deceased.

768 The dead man's clothing are given to the marabout or to the person who washed him.

Then camp is immediately broken, and the people never return to camp at that place.

765 Mourning does exist among the Tuareg. It lasts only a short time for the man who has lost his wife. For three days he stays shut up in his tent. During this time the ahal and all rejoicings are forbidden in the camp. For the wife who has lost her husband, mourning is a real retreat which lasts four months and ten days, during which time she must not appear in public. The end of the retreat is marked by a little ceremony: the women of the camp take the widow to see the sunrise, present her with an open book of piety, and show her some salt.

761 The Tuareg never bewail the death of a person, and condolences often have the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you loved is now in the paradise of God."

771 They are little versed in the religion and are incapable of reading the Koran, with the exception of a few men among the Taitok, [783] for example, or in the Sudanese tribe of the Kel es Souq. There 212 are very few marabouts among them, and those who are there, with a few exceptions, live there in a spirit more mercenary than anything else. Among the Tuareg there are no imam or mufti, and [346] /305/ mosques are reduced to simple prayer places formed of an alignment of stones.

[781] Many Tuareg do not follow the prescriptions of the Koran, and a few years ago some chiefs relied on the marabouts "to make their prayers for them!" Those who practice do it ostentatiously. 795 A great number are affiliated with religious orders, but they are 175 usually ignorant of the meaning of the rites. Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the brotherhood of the Tijaniyyah was powerful among them. The majority of the people that the explorer Foureau met during his voyages in the Tassili were members, but he points out that there were also a few Qādiriyyah. Chief In Guéddassen and a certain number of nobles of the Ghat region were Senusi /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. So long as the Oulad Sidi Cheikh, who were the most important groups of the Tijaniyyah, fought France, the majority of the Tuareg remained attached to that brotherhood, but afterwards many of them adopted Senusism. The principal representatives of the Tijaniyyah in Tuareg country were the Tassili Ifôra, whose zāwiyah of Témaçinine had been founded by one of them, El Hadj el Foki. His son Moussa acquired very great renown as a holy man, and so his tomb, located near the little palm grove, is honored by all the northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg of the Ydrar des Ifôras are affiliated with the Qādiriyyah and received the ouerd from Cheikh Bay, a former Kounta marabout from Teleya; he died a few years ago, and his renown extends over the whole Sahara. Among the Ioullimmiden, some tribes are Qādiriyyah (Kel es Souq) and others Tijaniyyah (Daoussahak).

77/ The religious lukewarmness of the Tuareg is such that they do
78/ not always profess great respect for marabouts and very few of them
[788] make the pilgrimage to Mecca. When Duveyrier made his trip to Ghat (1860) there were some thirty pilgrims among the northern Tuareg (1); at the present time there are probably only three men

1. Op. cit., p. 413.

among the Ihaggaren who can be honored with the title of El Hadj.

But this tepidity does not always exclude fanaticism. Barth already mentioned that he had to face it during his trip and that he was assailed by questions and had to discuss different religious dogmas with some Tuareg; he extricated himself from this by a perfect knowledge of the Koran and of Moslem mores. /306/ Their
[669 religious ignorance makes them, at the same time, easy instru-
773] ments in the hands of marabouts who have often profited from this to stir up hate for the Christians and to push them into a holy war, as was the case for the revolts of 1915 - 1916 - 1917. In spite of the bitter failures which resulted, their confidence in their thaumaturgy was not at all diminished.

87/ At the present time there are several Koranic schools in the
773 Ahaggar conducted by Arab marabouts and set up in the agricultural centers. They are mainly attended by Harratin children, for Tuareg children, who stay in their parent's camps, cannot go to them because they are too far away. A marabout family, originally from Cheurfa d'Aoulef (Tidikelt) settled in the Ahaggar some forty years ago and enjoys a great veneration. Not long ago it was fixed in the little center of Dar-Mouli, where it enhanced the value of the place, but as a result of the dryness of the spot it was moved to Esselissekine. There each year a great alms feast takes place,
[796] and all the Ahaggar Tuareg come. Its present chief, Moulay el
[554] Ouafi ben Moulay abd Allah is an example of piety, although still quite young, and he is surrounded by great respect.

797 In speaking of the Islamization of the Tuareg, Henri Basset said that the latter had taken almost nothing from Islam, except

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flections and prostrations, they have to show their posteriors, 782
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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



565 The true Tuareg in most groups fall into several classes as follows:—
619 *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), or *Imajeren* (sing. *Amajer*). These two words designate the supreme Tuareg class which is generally referred to in literature as "nobility". The term *Ihaggaren* is used only among the Northern Tuareg, while *Imajeren* is employed in Ayr and also among Sudanese Tuareg. The two terms are synonymous, and so-called noble Tuareg are found in most Tuareg groups. However, the *Kel Geres* employ the term *Imajeren* for all true Tuareg. Among the *Kel Adrar* certain tribes claim to be noble, but though these tribes have very much the same position as noble tribes in Ahaggar and in Ayr, they are not recognized as true noble Tuareg by people of other groups.

*Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). This class is that of *Mrabetin* or marabuts, the religious class established after the introduction of Islam. In most Tuareg groups there are whole tribes of *Ineslemen* under the leadership of their own chiefs, but in Ahaggar there are only a few scattered families. The political position of the *Ineslemen* varies greatly from one group to another. Certain tribes in Ayr which are *Ineslemen* by origin have the same status as the true vassals to be mentioned below, while other *Ineslemen* tribes like the *Iforas* of the *Kel Aijer* have much the same status as noble Tuareg with the exception that they have no vassals. The *Ineslemen* perform religious duties connected with certain
[793] rites of passage. Any Tuareg can acquire the position of *Aneslem* after training in reading the Koran and education in the divine laws under the tutorship of another *Aneslem* or marabut.

*Echchikhen* (sing. *Echchikh*). This word also refers to people of religious status, and is used almost synonymously with *Ineslemen*. Certain tribes of Ayr (Damergu) have a kind of noble status and possess vassals. The word does not have the meaning of *Echcherifen* (sing. *Echcherif*), which refers to descendants of the Prophet. Individual Tuareg families – particularly in noble tribes – often claim relationship with the Prophet.

*Isekkemaren* (sing. *Asekkemar*). A class which is found only in the two northern groups – particularly among the *Kel Ahaggar*. The *Isekkemaren* Tuareg descend from Arabs, or from unions between Arab men and Tuareg women. They are vassals who have a somewhat different status from that of true vassals, who are mentioned below.

*Iregenaten* (sing. *Aregenat*). This name is not always applied to people of a particular class. It is used as a proper name for one Ahaggar tribe which has its origin from mixed marriages between (noble) Tuareg women and Arabs. In most groups the term *Iregenaten* (*Iregenaten*) is applied to Tuareg descending from unions between noble Tuareg men and vassal women.

212 Fig. 2. The Tuareg alphabet (*tifinay*). The distinctions between Tuareg alphabets of Ahaggar and Ayr are less essential
104 than appears from this list, for some differences are due to the fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg for certain letters prefer
184 an edged form, the Ayr Tuareg a curved one. But both forms are known to all Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg normally write from the right to the left like the Arabs, while the Ayr Tuareg consider it correct to write the letters in vertical rows from bottom to top. It can be seen from the list that the Ahaggar Tuareg have an alphabet of 25 consonants while the Ayr Tuareg have only 21. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels with a dot, which may stand for any vowel. This simple vowel letter is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tayerit*, to the Ayr Tuareg as *tejemakit*. The dialect of the Ayr Tuareg is very little known and most Ayr words mentioned in this study have never been published previously. Even my collection of Ahaggar words seems to contain terms lacking in Foucauld's dictionaries. For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that generally used for geographical maps.

[text continues on p. 12]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Middle East M1



M
582 p. 168 ff.). I do not want to judge this theory as I have little personal knowledge of the North African
583 Arabs who practise marriage with a paternal cousin. However, the argument that one of the chief
[114] functions of the bride-wealth is the confirmation of the social position of the children of a marriage, seems also valid for bride-wealth customs among people who practise preferential paternal cousin marriage, for it is clear that should a man marry a father's brother's daughter she will not have to change her social group after marriage. Furthermore, the fathers of the groom and the bride are brothers who among North African Arabs may own livestock and other types of property in common.

T
582 Tuareg cross-cousin marriage is symetrical, but the very best cross-cousin to marry is the true
604 mother's brother's daughter. This would seem to agree with the very close relationship between a
613 man and his mother's brother of the same matrilineage. A man has succession rights after his mother's brother, and many Tuareg say that the relationship between sister's son and mother's brother is as close as that between father and son. A man should do his outmost to defend his mother's brother, and it is very likely that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter has as its chief function the reinforcement of the matrilineage. It can here be added that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter will not easily lead to quarrels between the families of the married couple, because the fathers of the groom and the bride are cross-cousins and/or brothers-in-law, and consequently there is an institutional joking relationship between them.

We should perhaps explain Tuareg marriage with a mother's brother's daughter in the light of its importance for the reinforcement and maintenance of the matrilineage which has important social functions in Tuareg society. However, this marriage type does not exempt the groom or his family from paying bride-wealth.

T
[171] It is interesting to note that among the South African Bantu, who give bride-wealth (*lobola*) at a
T marriage, the groom is expected to assist his parents-in-law whenever they need his help (Krige 1937,
606 p. 113). This is also so among the Tuareg who claim that parents-in-law and sons-in-law should always support each other even if they be in-laws of dissolved marriages from which bride-wealth has not been claimed back. Indeed, some Tuareg consider it a very good thing to have contracted several marriages and thus to have obtained many in-laws who are expected to assist their son-in-law when he needs their help.

T
582 Finally, I add the statement of some Ahaggar Tuareg that bride-wealth payment is often considered
583 less essential where a man has married a maternal cousin or her daughter because in that event husband and wife are maternal relatives who, in case maternal cousin marriage is practised within their families, may be closely related also in the paternal line.

T
585 Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the marriage is ratified by representatives of the groom and the bride
[173] before an *Aneslem*, that is to say a marabut. This may take place on the first day of the wedding ceremony, but it may as well be done days, weeks, or even months before the wedding takes place. The parents of the groom and the bride may have the marriage ratified even though their children do not want to be married. The wedding ceremonies in Ahaggar and Ayr differ slightly, but they are no doubt functionally identical.

In Ahaggar the marriage ceremony is briefly as follows:—

631 781 [794] The Dăg Râli are the most pious people in the Ahaggar. The majority of them are affiliated with the order of the Tijanyyah, although some of them adhere to the Sânusiyyah and the order of the Qādiriyyah; these affiliations seem to be purely formal, however, for, with a few exceptions, they do not follow the rites of these religious orders.

797 The activity of Father de Foucauld was particularly effective in this tribe. Because of his installation at Tamanrasset and later at his hermitage at Ăsekrem, Father de Foucauld was in constant contact with the Dăg Râli. At first they were mistrustful of him, but they were not long in coming to him, and they were the first beneficiaries of his good deeds, for the Father went to them, caring for the sick and rendering them many services.

[622] Their chief, Ouksem ag Ourar, was a short, stocky man of average intelligence, but very crafty, especially when it was a question of material interest for him or even that of his people. /193/ He saw the benefit that he could draw from this getting together. Little by little the priest did his best to conquer him and win his affection, and he supported his interests with the authorities of Fort Motylinski. Thus, a few months later, Ouksem was completely won over.

[648] Ouksem gained a certain importance with the authorities, which made him proud and which he knew he owed to Father de Foucauld.

622 631 797 [648] Later on he was a good help in the pacification of the Ahaggar. During the dissidence of 1915, he showed himself very eager to please us, which made Father de Foucauld write to General Laperrine: "Ouksem, chief of the Dăg Râli, could not be better; he does not cease to make progress. It is evident that he is bent not only on being faithful, but on showing his fidelity in a dazzling way by his attitude." He did nothing without asking the Father's advice, and he followed this advice by creating a garden at the Ilâman wadi in order to use the waters which descended from the mountain. This garden was established, and to flatter this meritorious effort which was an example, Ouksem received the Medal of Agricultural Merit, a unique feat in the annals of the Tuareg even up to the present

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791 tion of the Tuareg in general during the last

563 [162] They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elias, Oulad Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

[233] They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout, [423 241] which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and manpower. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism [795 798] /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

[669] In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Tăfedest.

/200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by [173] Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

[162] Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Tăfedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

[233] Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head. [241 423] They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them entirely, and at I-n-Ămegal, Déhine, and Ăbézou.

[795] Like the Ihéiaouen Hăda, they are mostly affiliated with the Tijaniyyah sect.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us, which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

[224] They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

[65] The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the aménokal six bags of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Tăfedest. -- The Kel Tăfedest or Kel Tégatoufé (or ant [162] people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

563 They nomadize near the Garet ed Djenoun, the Ăseksem, Ămegid, and the Ădrar Torha; they own about 300 goats and 30 [233] camels. (1938 census, as opposed to 600 goats and 200 camels in 1905.)

[241 423] They are the owners of a few gardens in the Tăfedest.

They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah order.

[795] The Kel Tăfedest annually pay the amenokal four loads of dates [65] and a young camel.

The Kel Immîdir. -- The Kel Immîdir, or Kel Mouydir, are still called Ihéiaouen-n-Tin-Emma. They are of the same origin as the Ihéiaouen Hâda and the Kel Tazoulé.

[162] They are subdivided into Kel Terahart and Kel Raris and include about 50 people. They nomadize in the Immîdir massif toward Joraf and Tagmout and have areas for nomadization between Ifetessen and In Eker.

[233 464] They are poor people who own about 20 camels and 250 goats. Very good merchants and excellent caravaneers, they hire themselves out to camel owners to provide for their needs.

/201/ The Isselamaten must be added to the Kel Immidir. They [162] are a small fraction of about 15 tents which lives with them and nomadize near Aneserfa, Ărak, Ahohor, Tagemout, and Tiredjert.

The Kel Tazoûlet. -- The Kel Tazoûlet or Dăg el Mesk camp in the Tăzoûlet region and near Tăzerouk. They number about 225 [162 233] people and own 285 camels and more than 2,000 goats. They dryness of the region which they inhabit forces them to take refuge in the [132] Sudan when there are no rains in the Ahaggar.

[241 423] They possess gardens at Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine, and at Tăzerouk.

They were in contact with the Aït Loaien and followed the latter [669] in revolt, participating with them in the battles of Tit and the Ilaman wadi.

[795 798] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah. Four or five of their number have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

631 Taken away from the Ťaitok and made free, they were put back under their command in 1909.

631 131 They nomadize from Silet to Reggan and Aoulef. The land over which they range includes all of the Ǎdrar Ǎhnet, the Ǎseg'rad, and part of the Immidir. The boundaries which separate them from the Issekkemâren are as follows: Tin Tir'atimine and Tagemout (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the northeast; Arak wadi as far as Amsir, and Méniet (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the east, by the In Rabir well; they have at their disposal all the mountainous part on the south, including In Ziza and Nahalet, that is, the whole region bordering on the Tanezrouft and bounded on the east by Ouallen, the last watering place before the Tanezrouft; to the north by the Ǎsouf Mellen wadi.

[132] In dry years they descend to the Sudan in the region of In Abangarit-In Gall and Tamaťa. They camp near the Ťaitok in the Ǎdrar Tazerzaťt, where they escape the control of the Algerian and Sudanese authorities.

They formerly exploited a sebkha in the In Méraguen wadi.

631 [162] In 1905 they were a group of 35 to 40 tents. In the 1938 census, they numbered no more than 58 persons, 21 of them men.

[181 721] Rather pugnacious by nature, they always accompany the Ťaitok on their expeditions and share the loot with them in equal parts.

[669] During the World War, they stayed in the Ǎhnet and /207/ took part in the revolt only individually by supplying the rebels, willingly or by force. Only at the end of 1917, under the influence of Ǎjjer elements, did they rise up and pillage in Ǎdrar and at Ǎkabli.

[181 795] They are rather unreligious; they follow the Malekite rite, and some are members of the Tijaniyyah order. They profess great respect for the marabouts and willingly receive them in their camps. At the beginning of the conflict the agitator Abidine of [669] the Timbuktu Kounta, took refuge among them; he had led the struggle against us in Timbuktu for a long time.

771 They are little versed in the religion and are incapable of reading the Koran, with the exception of a few men among the Tăitok, [793 212] for example, or in the Sudanese tribe of the Kel es Souq. There are very few marabouts among them, and those who are there, with a few exceptions, live there in a spirit more mercenary than anything else. Among the Tuareg there are no imam or mufti, and [346] /305/ mosques are reduced to simple prayer places formed of an alignment of stones.

[781] Many Tuareg do not follow the prescriptions of the Koran, and a few years ago some chiefs relied on the marabouts "to make their prayers for them!" Those who practice do it ostentatiously. ●795 A great number are affiliated with religious orders, but they are 175 usually ignorant of the meaning of the rites. Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the brotherhood of the Tijaniyyah was powerful among them. The majority of the people that the explorer Foureau met during his voyages in the Tassili were members, but he points out that there were also a few Qādiriyyah. Chief In Guéddassen and a certain number of nobles of the Ghat region were Senusi /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. So long as the Oulad Sidi Cheikh, who were the most important groups of the Tijaniyyah, fought France, the majority of the Tuareg remained attached to that brotherhood, but afterwards many of them adopted Senusism. The principal representatives of the Tijaniyyah in Tuareg country were the Tassili Ifôra, whose zāwiyah of Témaçinine had been founded by one of them, El Hadj el Foki. His son Moussa acquired very great renown as a holy man, and so his tomb, located near the little palm grove, is honored by all the northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg of the Ăhrar des Ifôras are affiliated with the Qādiriyyah and received the ouerd from Cheikh Bay, a former Kounta marabout from Teleya; he died a few years ago, and his renown extends over the whole Sahara. Among the Ioullimmiden, some tribes are Qādiriyyah (Kel es Souq) and others Tijaniyyah (Daoussahak).

177 Some Tuareg scrupulously practice fasting, and the different
785 Moslem holidays are now followed punctually. But along with that
795 they keep the ahal, monogamy, and matriarchy.

774 Pagan survivals. -- Ten centuries of Islamism have not completely rid the Tuareg of their former beliefs. They still believe in the existence of an animated world peopled by elements acting visibly or invisibly, living in minerals, vegetables, water, etc. To be sure, these beliefs are growing blurred, dwindling and losing their intensity, but the Tuareg still live with them, even going so far as to practice certain rites, just as in the country in France.

Their belief in supernatural matter is more than we could possibly imagine. They believe in genii (ahinnen or imdounen) who
776 inhabit the mountains, springs, steep places, and some trees. They
[755] protect themselves from them by numerous talismans, which they beg from the marabouts, or by the practice of exorcizing. The women are even more credulous than the men on this point. They
768 consult the dead by going to pray on their tombs and ask them news
787 of those who are absent.

778 Petrographic cults are still very much alive among the Tuareg.
782 They believe that some stones are haunted, and to gain the good will of the spirits they place votive offerings in the form of pebbles nearby. Therefore, at the crossing of some mountain passes and some unavoidable paths one often finds enormous piles of stones imitating tumuli, or else many little piles placed on both sides of some camel trails. Some ancient tombs are the object of a quite peculiar worship, for example the one discovered at Tazerouk a few /308/ years ago by Captain Niéger. This tomb, on which lay several stone statuettes, polished axes, and numerous Neolithic objects, was still visited in recent years until the time when it was excavated by the French. The Tuareg deny this, of course, but the discovery of objects placed there recently (fragments of cloth,
773 beads, etc.) proves it. The stone statues represented the Tibaradines,
778 that is, "the maidens." They were supposedly a highborn woman
782 and her servant who were turned into stone because the mistress

## Chapter Vi

### War

This is a big word to use for a series of fights, raids, and 721
battles without great losses, but I still cannot find another to describe, for example, the struggle which engaged the two confederations of the Azdjer and of the Ahaggar and which lasted almost three years, with long intermissions.

No description could give a more accurate idea of it than the detailed account of this struggle which was told to me and which may be read later in the chapter dealing with the history of the Ahaggar /not translated/.

## Chapter VII

### Religion. Marabouts. The Fast. Religious Orders

The Tuareg, taken as a whole, are not at all religious. 779
This is due first to the fact that almost none know Arabic and 771
consequently the Koran, which may not be translated. Be- 795
sides, it is known that the Tuareg, like all Berbers, espoused the doctrines of Kharijism in the eighth and ninth centuries of our era, and that it has taken a long time to guide them back to orthodoxy.

During this period, Salih, son of Tarif, put out a Koran in 795
the Berber language, which was destroyed at the time of the 797
repression, and we will see that the Tuareg have kept among their superstitions "survivals" of the teachings of this Salih.

An example will illustrate well the present state of mind of the Tuareg from the religious point of view: /58/

77/ The religious lukewarmness of the Tuareg is such that they do
78/ not always profess great respect for marabouts and very few of them
[788] make the pilgrimage to Mecca. When Duveyrier made his trip to Ghat (1860) there were some thirty pilgrims among the northern Tuareg (1); at the present time there are probably only three men

1. Op. cit., p. 413.

among the Ihǎggaren who can be honored with the title of El Hadj.

But this tepidity does not always exclude fanaticism. Barth already mentioned that he had to face it during his trip and that he was assailed by questions and had to discuss different religious dogmas with some Tuareg; he extricated himself from this by a perfect knowledge of the Koran and of Moslem mores. /306/ Their
[669] religious ignorance makes them, at the same time, easy instru-
773] ments in the hands of marabouts who have often profited from this to stir up hate for the Christians and to push them into a holy war, as was the case for the revolts of 1915 - 1916 - 1917. In spite of the bitter failures which resulted, their confidence in their thaumaturgy was not at all diminished.

87/ At the present time there are several Koranic schools in the
783 Ahaggar conducted by Arab marabouts and set up in the agricultural centers. They are mainly attended by Harratin children, for Tuareg children, who stay in their parent's camps, cannot go to them because they are too far away. A marabout family, originally from Cheurfa d'Aoulef (Tidikelt) settled in the Ahaggar some forty years ago and enjoys a great veneration. Not long ago it was fixed in the little center of Dar-Mouli, where it enhanced the value of the place, but as a result of the dryness of the spot it was moved to Esselissekine. There each year a great alms feast takes place,
[716] and all the Ahaggar Tuareg come. Its present chief, Moulay el
[559] Ouafi ben Moulay abd Allah is an example of piety, although still quite young, and he is surrounded by great respect.

797 In speaking of the Islamization of the Tuareg, Henri Basset said that the latter had taken almost nothing from Islam, except

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563 (1946, table facing p. 40) mentions an heir to
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# Tuareg Time Reckoning

Tuareg time reckoning is mainly based upon the position of the celestial bodies in relation to the earth. Some Tuareg know the twelve months of the Julian Calendar, but most of them are only aware of a few of these names, some of which have acquired the meaning of definite agricultural activities (cf. Fig. 139). When the Tuareg divide the year into twelve months they normally use the system of the Islamic lunar calendar. The names of the twelve lunar months in the northern dialect are the following:— *azum* (Ar. *ramḍan*), *tésesé* (Ar. *feṭer*), *gir muhden* (Ar. *du elḳada*), *tafaské* (Ar. *du elhajja*), *tameszedek* (Ar. *ḳchura*), *tallit seṭṭefet* (Ar. *ṣefer*), *tallit ereṛet* (Ar. *rebiḥ awl*), *awhim wa yezzaren* (Ar. *rebiḥ tani*), *awhim wa ilkemen* (Ar. *jumad awl*), *sarat* (Ar. *jumad tani*), *ti n meslemin* (Ar. *rejeb*), *émezzihel* (Ar. *chaban*) (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 982 ff.). These names, known to all Tuareg, would appear to indicate that the lunar calendar among the Tuareg was introduced before Islam. The division of the week into seven days was apparently introduced with Islam for their names are clearly derived from Arabic. They seem to be known to all Tuareg, but play no important part in practical time reckoning. To indicate events that will take place within a few days the Tuareg will say to-morrow, the day after to-morrow, in three days, and so on.

The lunar calendar plays a certain rôle to the Tuareg as it fixes all important religious feasts, and among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg it is normal for the members of a camp to count the succession of lunar years which are named after the place where the camp was situated during the religious feast of *tafaské*. Accordingly there is no definite system of year reckoning common to all Ayr Tuareg, who do not know the Islamic numbers of the years A. H. However, the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg will sometimes talk about *awétay wa-n-Kawchen*, that is "the year when the Ayr Tuareg revolted against the French under the leadership of Kawchen" (1917) and *awétay wa-n-étran*, that is "the year when shooting stars were extraordinarily abundant" (perhaps about 25 years ago).

To the Ahaggar Tuareg the word *awétay* is used in two different ways. It may be used for a lunar year, but it is most frequently used in the sense of "a period between two midwinters", so that the year among the Northern Tuareg is normally to be understood as "a solar year the exact beginning and end of which cannot be stated". Among the Ahaggar Tuareg each such year has its proper name given after the most important event within the year, e.g., the death or the election of an *Amenukal*, the occurrence of good pasture of a particular annual plant, the year of famine, etc. For years of pre-European times the occurrence of raids and warfare also serve as names of years. It may happen that two tribes do not use the same name for a year, but there is a remarkable tendency towards a uniform calendar system for all Ahaggar. The chronology of years is not known equally well by all

[p. 488 is blank]

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Ihaggaren and the Kel Ajjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifora were pillaged themselves upon several occasions by the Ihaggaren and forced to seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

The influence of the Inislimen on the Ihaggaren and the Kel
[797] Ajjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact, they are generally quite ignorant.

[554] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving, they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and disapproved of the belligerent action of the Ihaggaren against us, in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tademaket
565 and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.
797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to
[648] become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifora was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tademeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents. They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721] Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
[181] refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
701 other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Cheriffen are divided into ordinary Cheriffen and warrior Cheriffen.

631 781 [794] The Dăg Rāli are the most pious people in the Ahaggar. The majority of them are affiliated with the order of the Tijanyyah, although some of them adhere to the Sanusiyyah and the order of the Qādiriyyah; these affiliations seem to be purely formal, however, for, with a few exceptions, they do not follow the rites of these religious orders.

797 The activity of Father de Foucauld was particularly effective in this tribe. Because of his installation at Tamanrasset and later at his hermitage at Ăsekrem, Father de Foucauld was in constant contact with the Dăg Rāli. At first they were mistrustful of him, but they were not long in coming to him, and they were the first beneficiaries of his good deeds, for the Father went to them, caring for the sick and rendering them many services.

[622] Their chief, Ouksem ag Ourar, was a short, stocky man of average intelligence, but very crafty, especially when it was a question of material interest for him or even that of his people. /193/ He saw the benefit that he could draw from this getting together. Little by little the priest did his best to conquer him and win his affection, and he supported his interests with the authorities of Fort Motylinski. Thus, a few months later, Ouksem was completely won over.

[648] Ouksem gained a certain importance with the authorities, which made him proud and which he knew he owed to Father de Foucauld.

622 631 797 [648] Later on he was a good help in the pacification of the Ahaggar. During the dissidence of 1915, he showed himself very eager to please us, which made Father de Foucauld write to General Laperrine: "Ouksem, chief of the Dăg Rāli, could not be better; he does not cease to make progress. It is evident that he is bent not only on being faithful, but on showing his fidelity in a dazzling way by his attitude." He did nothing without asking the Father's advice, and he followed this advice by creating a garden at the Ilāman wadi in order to use the waters which descended from the mountain. This garden was established, and to flatter this meritorious effort which was an example, Ouksem received the Medal of Agricultural Merit, a unique feat in the annals of the Tuareg even up to the present

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time. Unfortunately the garden was abandoned after Father de Foucauld was gone.

Although it is difficult to imagine, Father de Foucauld had even thought of Ouksem ag Ourar as a possible amenokal, against all Tuareg social rules.

But what remains of all that? The dead are quickly forgotten among the Tuareg, and although Ouksem may recall from time to time that the marabout was his good friend, it is to be presumed that he, no more than his Dăg Râli, understood the devotion and the affection which was to cost the life of the hermit in the Sahara.

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The Ikechchemâden, whom we have mentioned previously, have always lived near the Dăg Râli, with whom they used to form only a single tribe. Upon the distribution of the Imrad, they became the vassals of the Tăîtok, but they remained with the Dăg Râli and contracted numerous unions with them so that it is difficult to tell them apart. And so, in 1907, they asked to be attached to the tobol of the Kel Rela.

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The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. -- The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé form the most important Imrad tribe in the Ahaggar after the Dăg Râli. They are said to have formerly nomadized in the neighborhood of In /194/ Gall in A'ir and have emigrated into the Ahaggar because of the demands of the Sultan of Agadez on whom they originally depended. The latter had polygamous mores and each year demanded of them a young and pretty virgin. Tired of this custom, which was contrary to Tuareg mores, they left the country and came to place themselves under the protection of the amenokal of the Kel Rela, Younès, the son (?) of Kella (ca. 1700). (The version reported by Mr. Benhazéra says "son of Mohamed el Kheir.")

Before coming to seek protection from the Ihăggaren, they belonged to the tribe of the Tégéhé-n-Élimen, a name by which they are still called sometimes. One fraction of this tribe remained in A'ir and bears the name of Ir'Alaman or Kel Rapsa. They were the ones chiefly responsible for founding the Ghat oasis.

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Ẋrokam, Serouanout, and in the Ẋnahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[233] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are [241 423] their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

631 669 They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the Iheaouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up [797] the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 The Aït Loaien form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which [181] must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[65] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokal.

The Relaiddin. -- The Relaiddin probably came from Aïr, like the Ẋgouh-en-Tehlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162 651] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tioussé to the Iboglan.

This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 [177 233] camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1, 500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

563 They are not vassals like the Irréguénaten and the Ibettenâten,
631 but are incorporated.

563 According to a tradition reported by Dr. Richer, (1) the
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1. Les Oulliminden, p. 71.

Issekkemâren are the descendants of the family of the Sagmara, pointed out in the Ádrar des Iforas and in the region of Gao by El Bekri. They were driven back by the Sonrhai invasion and came to take refuge among the northern Tuareg while a small fraction remained in the south in the environs /199/ of Timbuktu and today has a marabout character.

Although they are more Islamized than the other tribes, they are
[797] nonetheless Tuaregized in the sense that they follow Tuareg customs
197 and speak Tamashek. Many of them speak Arabic fluently, either
[648] because of their origin or because of their constant relations with the Tidikelt.

173 At the time of the division of the Imrad, some tribes were be-
563 stowed upon the Kel Rela, others on the Tâitok and the Tégéhé-
631 Mellet. The tribes attached to the Kel Rela are the Ihéiaouen Hâda, the Kel Immîdir, the Kel Tâzoûlet, the Kel Tâfedest, and the Kel In Rhar'.

563 They are all great caravaneers who trade a great deal on the
439 Tidikelt markets. They own a large number of camels and their
484 camel raising is particularly renowned.
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The Iheiaouen Hada. -- The Iheiaouen Hada, also called Oulad
563 Elias or Ihéiaouen-n-Temounent, are said to be descended from an
[173] Arab woman who was seized at Touat. The word Iheiaouen means in Tamashek "the grandsons of . . . ," so that we must conclude that the people of this tribe are the descendants of a woman named Ada.

They nomadize in the Tâfedest massif near Ádenek, Abezou, In Takoufi, Éguelougal, and Tidessi. During dry periods they lead
[221] their camels to the Saharo-Sudanese borders in the neighborhood of the Tamaïa well.

847 under these circumstances, she usually goes to visit a relative and tries to hide her pregnancy. No one is taken in, but nobody says [754] anything. She goes to see a marabout who, for a rather high price, makes a few mysterious signs before the sinner, writes a few words in Arabic on a small board, washes the writing, and gathers the water in a gourd for the woman to drink. In case these practices are successful (?), a second sum identical to the first one is paid. [278] If not, the woman tries several mixtures, generally with a base of adjerdjir (Cassia abavata), and in case the results are still negative, the baby is simply strangled when it comes into the world. Although these mores are still more or less in force, they seem some- [797] what reduced by Islamization, and unnatural mothers are some- 848 times punished severely.

174 The ahal seems to have existed in ancient North African Libyan tribes. Herodotus mentioned the community of women among the Nasamonians, and the ahal is, in fact, only a derived and evolved form of it, if one could call it evolved.

582 Marriage. -- With the existence of such easy mores, it is understandable that young men and women do not care to marry early. Women rarely marry before the age of twenty, and men, before thirty.

584 Although the girl is free with her body, as we have seen, she still needs her father's authorization to marry. On the other hand, [593] however, it is rare for a husband to be imposed on her or for her to be married before puberty, as is the custom among the Arabs.

/291/ Mates are chosen in the lovers' meetings which form a sort of trial marriage. The suitor must ask the young girl's father through one of his parents or through a religious person if there is one in the region.

[184] Among the Ihaggaren everyone is informed of the suit, but in Aïr this is not the case; there the mother and the family of the girl are informed only when everything is arranged. If the [587] woman has already been married, her father's permission is no longer necessary.

1: Lhote--159 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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# Chapter 2

## Ancient Cults, Religions, and Beliefs of the Tuareg

797 The Tuareg are Moslem today, but their conversion to Islam is very superficial and relatively recent. Although, like all new converts, they strive to hide their former beliefs, it is nonetheless true that these beliefs have left still visible traces among them. For a few years they have made a point of honor of calling themselves good disciples of the Prophet, and they have even tried to claim a sherif origin. Thus it is very difficult to obtain the least enlightenment on their former religion from them.

What were these ancient beliefs? Idolatry or fetishism? On this subject we can only interpret some facts which will always remain very vague, for, as Gautier says, the Tuareg are Islamized enough to have lost all curiosity about their own pre-Islam past.

172 Prehistoric and protohistoric cults. -- If we closely examine the rock drawings and paintings discovered in the Central Sahara in the last few years, we find a certain number of elements which can give us an idea of the beliefs of these ancient inhabitants. Perhaps there is no connection between the latter and the Tuareg, which is probable, but it can also be granted that there were common points of contact down through the centuries which have left traces in the different peoples who inhabited the regions we are interested in.

In the precameline drawings, earlier than the bovid period, the totemic nature is brought out by several persons with zoomorphic heads (dog, mastiff) and false tails; they recall the representation of the old gods of ancient Egypt and at the same time the ritual disguises still used among African Negroes. They may be either appropriate disguises used for hunting in order to be able /299/ to approach game more easily, or else they are persons wearing masks

114 "The conversion of these new peoples spread the influence of the
175 church or the empire quite deeply into the interior of Africa. But was it solid? Religious propaganda was for a long time one of the favorite forms of Byzantine expansion. It follows from this that the conversions which it caused were especially political and were made without previous instruction in the catechism, consequently without conviction on the part of the converts. It lasted, alas, only as long as political interest remained in agreement with personal interests." (2)

2. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. II., p. 72.

The Arab author Ibn Khaldoun said in the fourteenth century, while speaking of the Islamization of the Sanhadja Berbers, that this pagan people had never adopted the Christian religion.

Thus it seems probable that the Tuareg were never Christians.
[531] Nothing in their present mores betrays the least trace of it. The cross found on the bucklers, weapons, saddle articles, and jewelry has no typically Christian character; it is a decorative motif to be found in ornamentation used among peoples who have nothing to do with Christianity. Only the Latin words introduced into the
[192 Tamashek language may indicate /303/ that the Tuareg must have
174] been in more or less distant relations with the Christian peoples, but they cannot vouch for the early Christianization of the Tuareg by themselves alone.

175 Judaism. -- Although Christianity certainly no more than grazed the North African Berbers and by repercussion the Saharian
● 797 nomads, it is perhaps quite different with Judaism. Indeed, the Jews settled early in North Africa, where paganism was then professed, and they made many adepts among the Berber peoples. Entire tribes were converted, and when Christianity came to take root in its turn, it found before it numerous groups, both Judaic and Judaized. The position of the followers of Israel was

175 continually strengthened by the constant arrival of new subjects
797 from Egypt. Therefore, a few years later under the Byzantine Empire, their influence was so great, in the cultural as well as in the political sphere, that it offended the established authorities, and Emperor Justinian undertook to drive them out. Many of them fled to the interior of the continent and even took refuge in the Sahara, where they formed numerous active communities. So it is that a Jewish state was formed at the Touat, as we have already pointed out.

When the Arabs appeared in their turn in North Africa, they also found many Jewish groups there. This was the occasion for violent persecutions and a new exodus, and many Israelite communities were forced to embrace Islamism.

In the fifteenth century there were still some Jews in the Sahara. They disappeared as Israelites under the pressure of the Moslem conquerors who abhorred them, and they must have merged with the peoples of the Niger loop.

[174] It seems that the tribes who gathered around Kahéna to defend the independence of the Berbers were Judaized. The very name of the heroine of Aurès -- Kahéna -- sounds Jewish, and could come from the Hebrew cohen (priest) which would mean "the priestess."

Father Mesnage has pointed out that several fractions of the Haouara /hawara/ were Judaized, particularly the Herreneha, who today live northeast of Aurès. (1)

1. Le Christianisme en Afrique, vol. III, pp. 95-107.

We have remarked elsewhere that the Jewish type was found
[173 /304/ in some Tuareg groups of the Niger loop, that the star of
53[] Solomon often decorated articles they used, and that legend attributes a Jewish origin to their artisans.

797 Islamism. -- According to Arab tales, the Islamization of the
173 Tuareg, and of the Ahaggar Tuareg in particular, was led by

[197] Abd Allah Ed-Djafar, a lieutenant of Sidi Okba ben Nafi (died in
173 683), whose two companions died near a little Hirhafok village, at Tiokine exactly, where their tombs are still the objects of veneration to a certain degree.

In legends the natives even claim that Sidi Okba was killed by a Tuareg (Koceilata), thus confusing their history with that of the people from Aurès and the Kounta Dag Ech Cheikh who call themselves the descendants of Sidi Okba. This explains the ancestral hate which exists between them and the Tuareg. It has, however, been proved that Sidi Okba ben Nafi never penetrated into the Sahara, although perhaps it is a question of a confusion of names or a homonym.

[172] In addition to the Tiokine tombs, there is the rock inscription painted on the ceiling of a grotto at T-i-m-missao which testifies to the passage of the first Islamizers. This was pointed out for the first time by Duveyrier and followed up by Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, pp. 205-208. Since then, this inscription has been the subject of a detailed study by Th. Monod, Journal des Africanistes, vol. VIII, part 1, 1938, pp. 83-95.

[177] We must not believe that the Tuareg adopted Islamism right away, for although they accepted the Koran as a guide to their religious faith, they gave up nothing of their mores or their former pagan customs. The Arabs even claim that they apostasized as much as fourteen times, and they still consider them very lukewarm Moslems today. Furthermore, they probably belonged
[169] for a long time to the heretical sect of Wahabis, with whom they were allied; this was just another way of rebelling against the conquerors.

771 The religious lukewarmness of the Tuareg is such that they do
781 not always profess great respect for marabouts and very few of them
[788] make the pilgrimage to Mecca. When Duveyrier made his trip to Ghat (1860) there were some thirty pilgrims among the northern Tuareg (1); at the present time there are probably only three men

1. Op. cit., p. 413.

among the Ihaggaren who can be honored with the title of El Hadj.

But this tepidity does not always exclude fanaticism. Barth already mentioned that he had to face it during his trip and that he was assailed by questions and had to discuss different religious dogmas with some Tuareg; he extricated himself from this by a perfect knowledge of the Koran and of Moslem mores. /306/ Their
[669 religious ignorance makes them, at the same time, easy instru-
773] ments in the hands of marabouts who have often profited from this to stir up hate for the Christians and to push them into a holy war, as was the case for the revolts of 1915 - 1916 - 1917. In spite of the bitter failures which resulted, their confidence in their thaumaturgy was not at all diminished.

871 At the present time there are several Koranic schools in the
783 Ahaggar conducted by Arab marabouts and set up in the agricultural centers. They are mainly attended by Harratin children, for Tuareg children, who stay in their parent's camps, cannot go to them because they are too far away. A marabout family, originally from Cheurfa d'Aoulef (Tidikelt) settled in the Ahaggar some forty years ago and enjoys a great veneration. Not long ago it was fixed in the little center of Dar-Mouli, where it enhanced the value of the place, but as a result of the dryness of the spot it was moved to Esselissekine. There each year a great alms feast takes place,
[794 and all the Ahaggar Tuareg come. Its present chief, Moulay el
[554 Ouafi ben Moulay abd Allah is an example of piety, although still quite young, and he is surrounded by great respect.

•797 In speaking of the Islamization of the Tuareg, Henri Basset said that the latter had taken almost nothing from Islam, except

797 sometimes the Koran as an amulet, but that they had kept its fatalism. (1) Many authors also take pleasure in pointing out

1. Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, p. 388.

their more than superficial polish in matters of Islamism.

781 In spite of all this, we must not exaggerate the degree of
797 irreligion of the Tuareg. Since the French occupation, the
777 action of marabouts who cross the country trading is growing
648 slowly but surely. The state of lethargy into which the suppression of their life of brigandage has thrown them is gradually pushing them toward religion, and it is becoming more and more common
[517 to see young nobles kill time by reciting in front of a small
565] Koran board.

771 Superstition is very strong in them. They have not succeeded
in breaking away from their ancient beliefs, and they wear a
[789] quantity of amulets which are often pagan in origin (jackal's foot, lizard's head, hyena skin, etc.).

[776] One observes certain noble families /307/ that, along with orthodox saints, invoke mysterious personages who can only be ancient minor gods they never got rid of. (1) In the old legends

1. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara, in Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

of the Ahaggar, Father de Foucauld has found the names of some of them: Tamâres, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Ouerdaz, Noulana, Radès. The Iḫaggaren used to call on them to make their wishes come
[177 true, but today these personages have fallen into oblivion, and
782] only a few old people still remember their names. (2)

2. In Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

565 ference of the resulting oval is closed by the
614 Negro-Tuareg contact zone of the southern
101 Air. The Ahaggar massif lies at the center of
131 this oval refuge area: it is a Berber island, so to speak, whose broad beaches are continually swept by waves of the surrounding Arab sea and, along the southern and southeastern shores, by the negroid "Gulf Stream" of the Sudan.

565 There have probably never been many
174 Shorfa or Maraboutic families established in
563 the Ahaggar itself, although a few of them have lived there for a long time now. Arab Shorfa missionaries from Morocco first ar-
[797] rived probably in the 7th or early 8th century. They soon set up a theocratic dynasty, the Imenan, who ruled the Ahaggar and the Ajjer Tuareg as a single confederation until about 1650, when Goma, last of the Imenan "sultans," was murdered by Biska, a noble of the Oraghen tribe of Ajjer Tuareg. There followed a long period of anarchy and civil wars out of which finally arose, about the middle of the 18th century, the main framework of the Tuareg political structure which we now know. Descendants of immigrant Arab holy men are very few and scattered in the Ahaggar today, and their power has been reduced to no more than a faint shadow of what it used to be. People of this kind are much more numerous, united and powerful in the northeastern and southwestern corners of Tuareg territory, among the Ajjer and the Ifoghas of the Adrar, than they are in the region with which we are directly concerned at the moment. It is significant, however, that as recently as 1900 a Shorfa holy man exerted decisive influence in the electoral council of the Ahaggar confederation when that body found itself seriously divided over the choice of a new amenokal (Benhazera, 1908, p. 126).

We know that Arab blood has been seeping very gradually into the topmost level of the Tuareg aristocracy, for at least a century,
[591] through the occasional marriages of noble Tuareg women with Arab men. In all such cases residence is strictly matrilocal. Since
[611] rank is inherited through the mother, a son of this kind of union ranks as a Tuareg noble and can become a chief. Duveyrier (1864, pp. 22–23) describes the case of the Ajjer Tuareg governor of Ghat in 1861, whose father was

565 an Arab merchant from the Touat, Leblanc
563 (1946, table facing p. 40) mentions an heir to
an Ajjer Tuareg chieftainship whose father
174 was an Arab, and the son of a Maraboutic
Arab from Ouargla is at present one of the
potential heirs to the paramount chieftainship
of the Ahaggar confederation.

The question of Tuareg mixture with the Teda has been discussed above, in the section dealing with the latter group.

771 Although the Tuareg of the Ahaggar still retain much of the pre-Islamic magico-religious practices and doctrine of their animistic ancestors, they are all Moslems now, at least nominally, but are not very pious as a rule. It has been said that the Tuareg once had a Berber translation of the Koran, in the 8th and 9th centuries (Benhazera, 1908, p. 57), but it was long ago destroyed or lost (if indeed such a text ever did exist) in the course of a religious reform movement. The annual
[796] Moslem fast, during the month of Ramdhan, is not very generally observed, although in the middle of the 14th century Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338) noted that the Ahaggar Tuareg suspended raiding operations during this period.

The religious order of the Tidjani used to
794 count an overwhelming majority of the Ahaggar Tuareg among its followers, but the Senoussi have built up a substantial following in the region during the last 70 years or so, much aided in this by Tuareg who passed through Senoussi territory on the pilgrimage to Mecca. Very few Tuareg from the Ahag-
778 gar have been to Mecca in recent times, although Lyon (1821, pp. 101–102) saw a single group of roughly 150 of them pass through Mourzouk on their way there in May, 1819 (before the Senoussi order was founded). The
643 Amenokal, Mecca pilgrim or not, has usually been the local model of formal piety. Bey ag
771 Akhamouk, the present Amenokal of the Ahaggar, is an unusually good example of this, as was Moussa ag Amastan in the early years of the present century. There are indications that in ancient times Tuareg chieftains may have been vested with religious as well as temporal primacy (Bates, 1914, p. 117).

The European conquest of the Sahara Des-
648 ert has done much to stimulate the Islamiza-
797 tion of the Tuareg in general during the last

648 100 years, for Marabout and Shorfa families
797 of the North often found it advantageous to move southward and attach themselves to Tuareg tribes or clans whom they then proceeded to stir up against the French and Italian newcomers. In this way the Koran became a kind of battle flag of local resistance to European penetration throughout the Sahara. The Camel Corps troops, who have long maintained order for the European rulers of the Desert, have always been recruited mainly from among Moslem Arab nomad tribes, notably the Chaamba, and their thinly scattered garrisons and outposts in the Tuareg country soon came to serve as centers for the continuing diffusion of Islamic doctrine. And finally it has
[582] become less and less unusual for noble ladies of the Ahaggar to marry men of Arab Shorfa or Maraboutic families. Thus racial and religious penetration have marched hand-in-hand into the Tuareg country, following the path that leads through adversity to union in a common cause, and so to bed.

792 The basic relationship between the "living saints" and the warlike nomads of the Sahara Desert is clearly stated in the Old Testament, as Monod (1947, pp. 72–73) has pointed out with keen insight and inimitable wit. In Esau and Jacob he recognized the pastoral nomad warrior and the holy man of the Sahara, where Marabouts and Shorfa families used to parley instead of fighting and bought off raiders just as Esau bought off Jacob long ago (Genesis, 32). In Monod's words: "The Marabout's soul is in anguish at this extreme but inevitable generosity which he imposes on himself, but he would a thousand times rather have anguish in his soul than brought into his body in the shape of a sharp javelin ending its whistling flight between his shoulders. But there are times when the Marabout gets his revenge for the humiliating brutality of the warrior. The latter is indeed too simple not to be superstitious, and so, with the roles reversed, there comes a day when he in turn will tremble before the religious chief and implore the blessing of the sorcerer on his raids; for who would dare undertake such an expedition without the magic formulae and the amulet which will assure success for the enterprise and personal safety in combat? The man of God alone confers, and not without a price,

Duveyrier has told us that the Imanan (Cheurfa) sultans 534
entrusted their tobols to a marabout tribe, the Ifor'as-oui-n- 565
Tobol. This practice is maintained: noble chiefs pretend to keep the tobols with them, but they do not use them any more.

It is said that the nobles have access to the tobols because 534
some day, according to the law of inheritance practiced among 565
the Tuareg, they or their descendants may have the hope of 643
obtaining the tobol, that is, the right to rule.

On the other hand, it is said that a noble has lost his rights [558]
to the tobol if, through a misalliance, his children are no longer of a pure noble line /race/. For example, the Kembiben, the Oulad El Goute, and the Oulad Ibra (among the Kel R'ela of the Ahaggar) can no longer hope to have the right to rule, to the tobol. Similarly, the son of a noble and a "tamr'idt" (feminine /50/ of "amr'id") is an amr'id and loses all right to the tobol which his father had.

From this first meaning, the word "tobol" ended by mean- 534
ing the group of nobles and imr'ad tribes who answered the call 565
of the tobol, and one might, for example, say, "The tobol 631
of the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe) includes such-and-such imr'ad tribes, " or again, "A certain proportion of imr'ad makes up the tobol of the noble Kel R'ela."

The word "tobol" is certainly not of Tamashek origin, but [192]
definitely Arabic. In fact, "tobol" طبل in literary Arabic means: 1) drum, 2) kettledrum, 3) tribute, tax; and in order to say "I do not know who that man is, " the early Arabs said, ما ادري اي الطبل هو I do not know of what tobol he is" (1).

1. Arab-French dictionary by
A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski.

Thus I believe that this usage was introduced by the early [174
Arabs who, in the first century after the hegira, pushed their 797]
conquest through the country inhabited by the Tuareg in order to convert them to Islamism.

## Chapter Vi

## War

This is a big word to use for a series of fights, raids, and 721
battles without great losses, but I still cannot find another to describe, for example, the struggle which engaged the two confederations of the Azdjer and of the Ahaggar and which lasted almost three years, with long intermissions.

No description could give a more accurate idea of it than the detailed account of this struggle which was told to me and which may be read later in the chapter dealing with the history of the Ahaggar /not translated/.

## Chapter VII

## Religion. Marabouts. The Fast. Religious Orders

The Tuareg, taken as a whole, are not at all religious. 779
This is due first to the fact that almost none know Arabic and 771
consequently the Koran, which may not be translated. Be- 795
sides, it is known that the Tuareg, like all Berbers, espoused the doctrines of Kharijism in the eighth and ninth centuries of our era, and that it has taken a long time to guide them back to orthodoxy.

During this period, Salih, son of Tarif, put out a Koran in 795
the Berber language, which was destroyed at the time of the 797
repression, and we will see that the Tuareg have kept among their superstitions "survivals" of the teachings of this Salih.

An example will illustrate well the present state of mind of the Tuareg from the religious point of view: /58/

and the Abalessa wadi. Now, this grave has the shape of an 172
enormous circular wall and is surrounded by other graves of the 173
"chouchat" shape which are those of Tin Hinane's servants. 764
Beside her grave is that of Takamat, the woman whom the Kel Ahnet claim as their ancestress. All these graves resemble those of the "izabbaren" so closely as to be confusing. Why do the Tuareg disclaim these while they acknowledge those of Tin Hinane, Takamat, and their servants?

We saw in the chapter "Superstitions, Beliefs" that the 769
Tuareg go to consult the Izzabaren graves to obtain news of 787
those absent.

In the Tafidjiq wadi (about four hours' walk from Ideles) there is a grave which is the object of great veneration on the

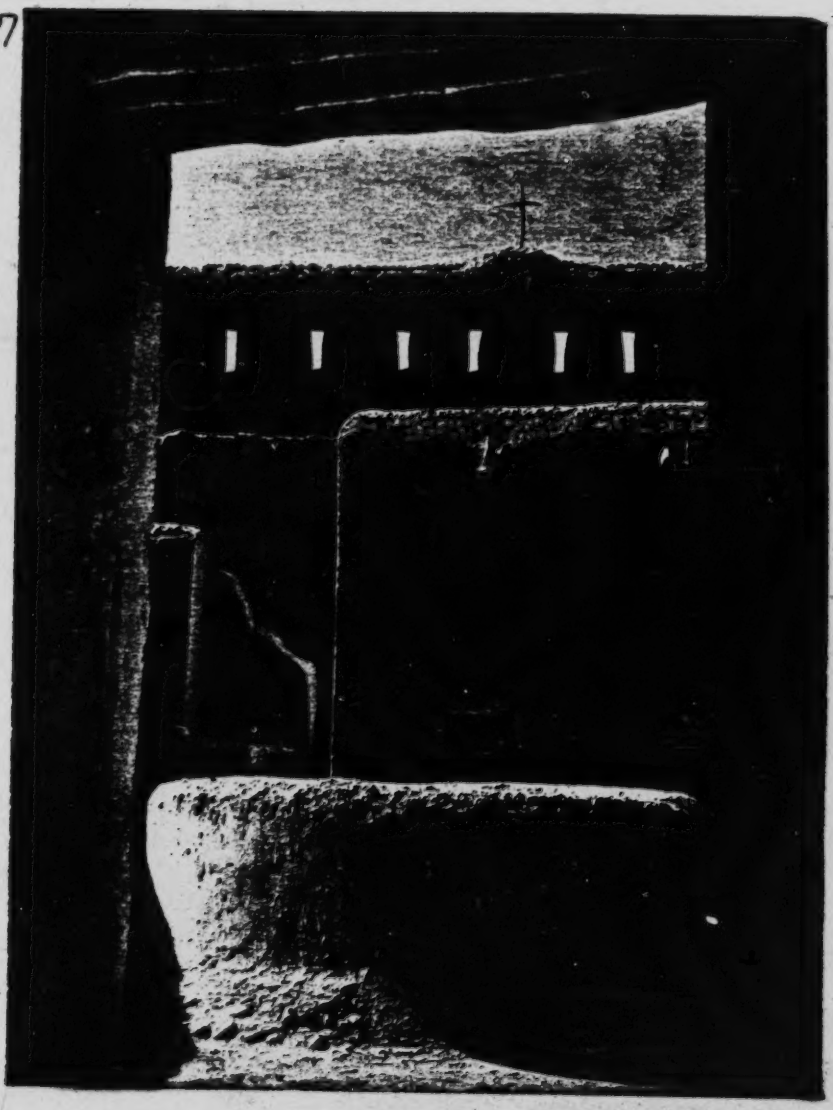
[342]

Harratine Huts at Ideles
(Koudia)

part of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is that of Adjadj Alemine [797
(probably the missionary who converted them to Islamism; see 174]
the chapter on the origin of the Tuareg /not translated/). The Ahaggar say that this Adjadj Alemine was a marabout, a saint, and they call on him in their prayers when they are in trouble or grief, as the Arabs, under the same circumstances, call on Sidi Abdelkader el Djillali. I have not seen his grave, but I was told that it has "chouahed" like all Moslem graves.

Upright stones. Following the directions of the guide 172
Deguemma ag Chikat of the Adjouh-n-Taheli, I found, in the Koudia of the Ahaggar, a place where there was a collection of some ten upright stones of which only one remained /79/

797



56. Father de Foucauld's bordj.

[p. 246]

They have no numbers, and they do not use the Arabic 802
numbers. They prefer to make holes in the sand, and by this rather long process succeed in figuring just the same. A Tuareg, moreover, cannot talk for five minutes without emphasizing his recitation with dots or lines on the sand. If he is asked, "How many days' march are there between this point and that one, " he cannot answer any number without marking on the ground as many dots as there are days in his answer.

A Tuareg who has been made to sit on the ground on a [516
blanket, before he begins to talk raises the edges of the 521]
blanket /44/ so as to indulge in his favorite occupation. Certainly if he were transported to France, into a well-waxed apartment, he would be very unhappy and would quickly ask for sand or earth so as to be able to draw his dots and lines.

But this custom has its use when one wishes to have an 487
idea of the road one must travel. The Tuareg who, like all 823
nomads, has a very accurate sense of direction, will draw an over-all map of the route to be followed, with the wadis and landmarks which would be met.

The Tuareg do not have words in their language to denote 177
the days of the week. Those that they use have been borrowed 192
from the Arabic and changed. 805

On the other hand, for their months they have kept some truly Tamashek names, while others are definitely taken from the Arabic. Thus:

1. "Tamessedek, " corresponding to Muharram and which seems to be derived from the Arabic "sedeq" صدق "to give alms." It is said that this name means "zekkat" ⵣⴽⵉ , or "legal alms."

2. "Talilt tassettafet" (corresponding to Safar). This 773
means "the black month." Here is why this month is so 776
called: "Sidna Slimane (Solomon) was in command of the 805
genii and demons. One day when he was standing leaning on his cane, the "djinns" (genii) told a termite to eat out the bottom of the cane. The termite did the job so well that the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



433 439 in the Sudan for such articles as camel saddles, sandals, swords, millet mortars, indigo cotton, earthenware pots, and the like. The Tuareg may also buy quantities of butter and cheese for sale to the sedentary people of Tidikelt and for their own use in dry years.

The Sudanese trade constitutes the great stabilizing factor in the economy of pastoral Tuareg of [262] Ahaggar. In return for the valuable rock-salt, pastoral Tuareg obtain the bulk of their agricultural food products (millet), butter and cheese for their own consumption in dry years, many important artefacts and notably their camel saddles and their millet mortars. They also get a surplus of millet and goods for investment in their Ahaggar gardens and for selling to the sedentary people of the Tidikelt oases.

There are certain Tuareg who do not engage in the Sudanese salt trade, notably those living in Ahnet; and these Tuareg nowadays have no irrigated gardens either. They acquire their necessary vegetable food products from Tidikelt (dates) and from Abalessa and Tamanrasset (wheat). They buy these vegetable products with their surplus of goats, sheep, camels, butter and cheese, and an occasional [511] barbary sheep. In a good year they can meet their needs of food in this way, but it is most difficult for them to subsist in dry years; and it may happen that two dry years come in succession. When I [114] stayed among the Ahnet Tuareg in 1954–55, all camps visited were very short of food, while the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif who engage much in the salt trade (the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé*) possessed what they needed of wheat, barley, dates, and millet.

[314] To-day there is a rather important market at Tamanrasset where many Tuareg sell surplus livestock, and where they can also buy cereals and dates. But it is always profitable to sell livestock and meat [435] in the Tidikelt oases where meat, butter and cheese are very expensive articles. Dates are cheap in these 000 oases, European goods and woven blankets are also cheaper than at Tamanrasset. The trading expedi-

804 322 177

Fig. 150. Wooden measure (*muda*) which contains one kilo of cereals, or the like. The Tuareg have adopted the kilogramme into their own weight system. The proper Tuareg unit is the *tasiwa* which, according to Foucauld, corresponds to three kilogrammes (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1160), but nowadays the Ahaggar Tuareg count one *tasiwa* as equal to two kilogrammes and a half. The Tuareg have wooden or metal measures of *tasiwa* size, and there are also larger measures to be used for grain, dates, and the like. For units smaller than *muda* the Tuareg sometimes use a wooden measure called *tanakat* which holds half a kilogramme. Smaller quantities are measured with the hand held half open, and it is recognized in Ahaggar that one *tasiwa* corresponds to 99 handfuls. In Ayr it is very common to use a little plaited bowl (*tefakemi*) as the smallest unit of measurement. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.125 m in diameter at the rim. (F.M. 168).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



*342 281 shape. In Southern Tuareg groups the skin tents also vary much in size, but they tend to be larger. Thus it is stated by Nicolas that skin tents among the *Kel Dennek* measure up to one hundred square metres (Nicolas 1938, p. 54), and Lhote says that 80–150 skins are used for sheets of the very large tents of the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (Lhote 1947a, p. 100).

[204] The Tuareg themselves do not refer to the size of a tent by counting the number of skins, or by measuring. The size of a tent is indicated by reference to the number of skin rows in the longitudinal direction of the sheet, and these rows of skin are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tayda* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). I have myself seen extremely small tents having a sheet of only three *tayda*, but a tent of normal size will generally have four or five such skin rows, and some even have six or [462] seven *tayda*. Among the Northern Tuareg the sheet is manufactured in Tuareg camps by pastoral [562] women and their female slaves. Among the *Kel Dennek*, tent sheets are manufactured by women of [564] the blacksmith caste (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 155).

*342 285 A mat to be drawn around the lower part of the dwelling constitutes a very essential part of Tuareg skin tents. This mat is generally made from the stems of *afezu* (*afezu*) grass (*Panicum turgidum*) tied together with leather strips as already described. A tent mat at times is divided into two halves which are rolled up and placed at each of the narrow ends of the tent during hot weather so that currents [351] of air may pass through. When weather is cold and also when storms are raging, the Tuareg close their tents with these mats, which may also be drawn out to form a kind of low courtyard in front of the tent (cf. Figs. 267–269). The straw mat made from *afezu* stems tied to one another is known as *éseber* (pl. *isebran*) both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, while the name of a tent mat among the *Kel Dennek* is *šitek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154), or *chitek* according to our transcription system. Among the Northern Tuareg, tent mats are generally about one metre high, while varying much as to length. These mats very frequently serve as a kind of wind-screen leaning against poles,

*342 281 133

Fig. 267. Skin tent seen from the back. The shape of the sheet is most irregular. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehli* tribe.

[text continues on p. 364]

They have no numbers, and they do not use the Arabic 802
numbers. They prefer to make holes in the sand, and by this rather long process succeed in figuring just the same. A Tuareg, moreover, cannot talk for five minutes without emphasizing his recitation with dots or lines on the sand. If he is asked, "How many days' march are there between this point and that one, " he cannot answer any number without marking on the ground as many dots as there are days in his answer.

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called: "Sidna Slimane (Solomon) was in command of the 805
genii and demons. One day when he was standing leaning on his cane, the "djinns" (genii) told a termite to eat out the bottom of the cane. The termite did the job so well that the

cane broke at the bottom, and poor Solomon fell over, all 773
fours in the air, and was killed in his fall. His death was the 776
signal of liberty for the genii and demons, who spread through- 805
out the world, precisely in that month which was later called
the "black month."

3. "Talilt tarer'ert," that is, the "yellow month," 177
(corresponding to Rabia I, or Mouloud, the month of the 805
Prophet's birth), so called, it is said, because it is lighted,
منوّر by the birth of the Prophet. /45/

4. "Aouhim oua izzaren," that is, "the first Aouhim," 805
(corresponding to Rabia II). Aouhim means "fawn of a gazelle."
This is also the name of a star. [821]

5. "Aouhim oua ilkamen," that is, "the next Aouhim,"
(corresponding to Jumada I).

6. "Sarat" (corresponding to Jumada II). The Tuareg have been unable to give me any explanation of this name.

7. "Tin tineslimine," that is, "the month of the marabouts," (corresponding to Rajab). In the time of the Kharijite doctrine, the Ramadan was put back to the month Rajab, and it is known that the Tuareg espoused this doctrine (1).

1. See Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme /Essay on the History of Islamism/ by Dozy.

8. "Amezzehel," that is "he who runs," (from the root "zehel," to run), thus named because it has only 29 days and it precedes the arrival of Ramadan. It corresponds to Shaban.

9. "Azzoum," that is, "the fast" (corresponding to the [177
month of Ramadan), a name taken from the Arabic word 192]
الصوم "essoum," the fast.

10. "Tessessi," that is, "act of drinking" or "libations," because one may drink after the fast. It corresponds to Shawwal, the month in which the feast called "Aïd Ser'ir" takes place.

11. "Djer mouhaden," that is, "between prayers," because it comes between the feasts. It corresponds to Zu'lkadah. 805

12. "Tafaski," that is, "the sacrifice." It corresponds to Zu'lhijjah, in which the feast called "Aïd el Kebir," also called by the Arabs "Aïd el Adha" عيد الأضحى, or "feast of sacrifices," takes place. [177]

There is no book in Tamashek, at least that is what was told me. However, the secretary of the amenokal Moussa /46/ ag Amastane informed me that there was, at the Ahaggar, a book written in the Tamashek language, but with Arabic characters, which was the translation of a work on law of which Ibn Achir was the author (1). 177 213

1. This book is at present in the possession of someone called Salakh ag Meguemmed of the Isoqqamaren. /47/

## Part Two

## The Tuareg in their Public Life

### Chapter I

### Nobles and Imr'ad

Duveyrier has described so well the characteristics which distinguish a noble from an amr'id (1) that I think it 114 565

1. Les Touareg du Nord /The Northern Tuareg/, pages 331 to 335.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



paratively rich vegetation of Air contains species found also in Ahaggar, but 137
Ahaggar has Mediterranean plants including several saline species which do not thrive in Air, where there are tropical or Sudanese species unknown to Ahaggar.

Botanically Air is very closely connected with the Sudan, and the mountain 132
massif is within the Sudanese zone of summer rain. It is true that rain at the 137
northern outskirts of Air occasionally falls in winter and may then give rise to scattered pasture of annual plants, but these rains are of no real importance. The important rainfalls of Air occur in the period June-September, and particularly in July and August. As may be gathered from the description of botanical conditions, Air has a much bigger annual precipitation than has Ahaggar. Thus the village of Iferouan in Northern Air has 74 mm, while Agadez at the southern slopes of the massif has 179 mm. Precipitation will of course vary from one year to the other, but rain will always fall sufficiently for the spring of annual plants. This is the reason for a type of stock-breeding different from that of Ahaggar. In Air the [233]
Tuareg are richer in camels, they do not possess so many goats but are very rich in sheep, and most of them have zebus.

The climatic and botanical differences of Air and Ahaggar can be seen more 132
directly from the division of the year into seasons (fig. 2). Air has a summer and a 805
winter season between which there are two seasons termed *akasa* and *rarat*. These two words as seasonal terms express the fact that rain and annual pastures in Air are recurrent events, as the word *akasa* literally means "green annual plants", and the word *rarat* refers to "dry annual plants". Both words are known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg but are by them not applied as seasonal terms, for in their country rain will not occur every year and may fall at most seasons.

Conditions for stock-breeding are very much better in Air than in Ahaggar, 233
but the latter country has a few superior qualities:– 1) Part of the year Ahaggar [132]
has a comparatively cool climate which is said to have a positive influence on the lactation of domestic animals. 2) In Ahaggar all over the country there are saline [135]
pastures which play an important part in stock-breeding – not because these plants [137]
are very nourishing but the animals do not thrive without salt. In Air saline plants are very rare and found mainly to the south and south-west of the massif where water and soil also contain salt. Many pastoralists will migrate to these regions [221]
shortly after the rains, while people who do not undertake such migrations feed their domestic animals with salt. Camels and cows have a particular need for fodder with a salt content. 3) Ahaggar has richer wells and a greater number of 312
permanent ponds than Air. This may seem rather peculiar as precipitation is much bigger in the south than in the north. In Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer some ponds may contain fish apparently unknown in Air. In the latter country there are a [136]
great many ponds or even small lakes during the rains but they dry out very quickly when rainfall ceases. Water in Air most of the year is drawn from wells many of which go dry during the hot season; this will frequently lead to quarrels [578]
between nomads.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air



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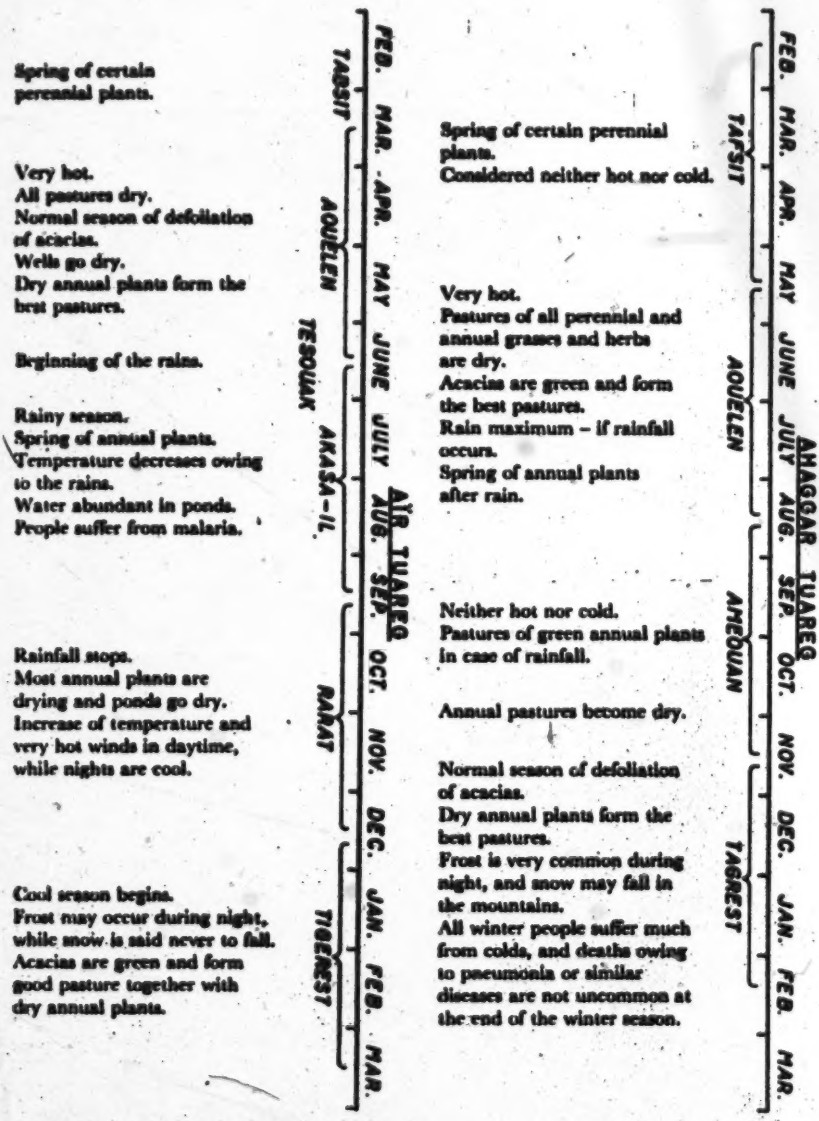


[164]
[164]

Fig. 2.–Division of the year into seasons among the Tuareg of Air and Ahaggar. Climatic and botanical characteristics are indicated. (The proper spelling of *tagerest* (tigerest) is *tagerest*, (tigerest) while *ramat* should be written *ramat*).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



The climatic and botanical differences between Ayr and Ahaggar can be seen directly from Tuareg division of the year into four seasons each having a duration of about three months. Ayr has a summer season and a winter season between which there are two seasons termed *akasa* (sometimes also called *él*, or *érafit*) and *ṛarat*. These two words as seasonal terms indicate that rain and annual vegetation in Ayr are recurrent events. For the word *akasa* literally means "green annual plants" while the word *ṛarat* refers to "dry annual plants". The season *ṛarat*, most of which is extremely dry, is followed by the winter season *tigrest* where rain does not fall, though the northern outskirts of Ayr sometimes have a little rain at this season. The transitional period between winter and summer known as *tabsit* is not considered a main season, but it is frequently mentioned by the Tuareg because certain perennial plants germinate at that time of the year. The summer season *éwilen* is extremely hot and rainless. It is the season of defoliation for acacias and various other perennial plants which change their leaves – generally in the way that they do not loose all leaves at one and the same time. Therefore, even in summer most acacias have some green leaves, though in certain places where rain has not fallen abundantly acacias may loose all their leaves in summer. In certain unfavourable regions outside of the Ayr Massif, acacias may even be without green leaves for a few years, but such trees become verdant again with heavy rainfalls. Scattered barren acacias are found mainly to the north of the Massif. The Tuareg say that acacias can survive an extremely long period of drought during which they are entirely dry. But they normally become green again when rainfalls start. The beginning of the rains is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *t'ézewek*.

In Ahaggar the Tuareg reckon with a summer season named *éwilen* and a winter season called *taǧrest*. These two seasons are separated by the autumn known as *amewan* and the spring termed *tafsit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg know the words *akasa* and *ṛarat*, but do not employ them for seasonal terms because rain and annual pasture do not recur annually in their country. The summer season *éwilen* is extremely hot, but it is not the proper season of defoliation for acacias, which under favourable conditions are green in summer and defoliate in winter. The autumn *amewan* which follows upon the summer is characterized by less hot temperatures and gradually changes into *taǧrest* (winter) when frost is extremely common during night, and snow falls in the mountains. This cold winter season is followed by the spring *tafsit* when many perennial plants germinate.

As will be seen from this description of the year in Ayr and Ahaggar these two countries differ much in regard to climate and plant development. Within each of the two areas there are climatical and botanical zones which are very different.

The Ahaggar Mountains, according to Maire, fall into three distinct zones of vegetation:— 1) *A Tropical Zone* up to 1700–1800 metres above sea level. 2) *A Lower Mediterranean Zone* between 1800 and 2300–2400 metres above sea level. 3) An *Upper Mediterranean Zone* from about 2400 metres up to 2918 metres which is the extreme altitude of Ahaggar (cf. Maire 1933 & 1940; Lhote 1955, p. 41 f.). This division of the Ahaggar Mountains into zones of vegetation by a learned botanist seems to correspond largely with the division of the mountains into three distinct zones by the Tuareg. These three Tuareg zones and their characteristic perennial plants are the following:—

1) *Abada*, the lower parts of Ahaggar where perennial plants are abundant along the broad river valleys. Trees are very important the main species being various acacias (*abser*, *Acacia Raddiana* &

[text continues on p. 31]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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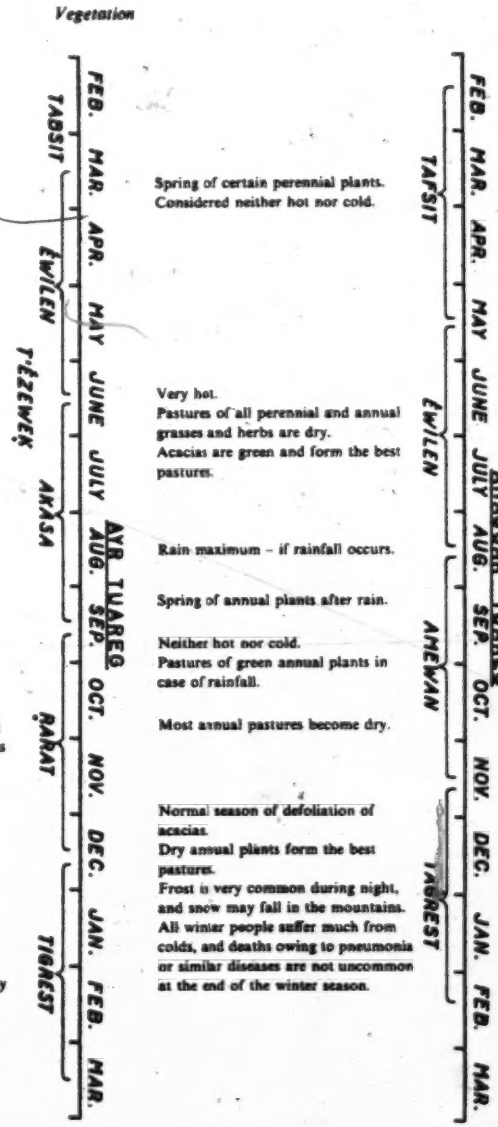


Fig. 14. Division of the year into seasons among the Tuareg of Ayr and Ahaggar. Climatic and botanical characteristics are indicated. The *akasa* season is also known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ef* and *ifgfi*.

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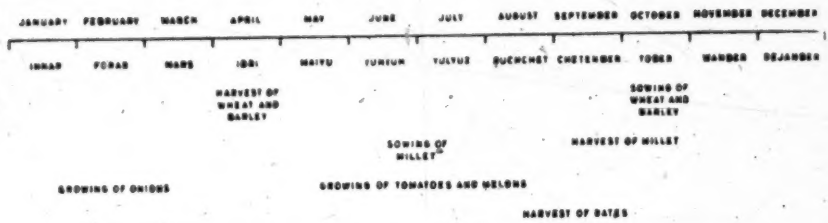


Fig. 139. Horticultural calendar from Ahaggar.

The Tuareg and the negroid agriculturists have a lunar calendar of twelve months corresponding to the Arab calendar, but a lunar calendar has no practical value for the indication of seasonal agricultural activities. The Julian Calendar is known to some people of Ahaggar as well as to other Berbers of the Sahara and the Atlas. Tuareg names of Julian months are given above. Very few people in Ahaggar know the exact beginning and the end of the twelve Julian months, but a few names are used as seasonal terms: *innar* "midwinter", *mars* = "beginning of spring", *ibri* "early harvest" (of wheat and barley), *maiyu* "beginning of summer", *tober* = "late harvest" (millet).

241 which no definite figures can be given, while the yield of fruit trees growing in the garden plot does
[423] not necessarily belong to the agriculturist. These trees frequently belong to pastoral Tuareg.

433 I think it can be estimated that an agricultural household with its own garden produce about a
262 thousand kilos of vegetables food products annually for its private use. We can add that though the members of an agricultural household live mainly on vegetable food products they also acquire a certain amount of food from livestock, which normally comprises a few goats and sheep, and perhaps one or two zebus. Conditions of stock-breeding are not always favourable to people who live continuously on the same spot, but it is advantageous to the agriculturists of Ahaggar, who live close to valleys with some pasture, that they are able to feed their animals on green garden products when pasture is badly developed and thus avoid the disaster of a drought. It is also an advantage to most agriculturists that they do not have to water their animals which can drink freely from the irrigation canals. The agriculturists can kill a few goats or sheep annually, they obtain milk and a little butter
[239] to be used mainly as a sauce for bread and porridge, and they make cheese of the *awles* type (cf. p. 224), but they never make cheese from fresh milk as do many pastoral Tuareg when milk is abundant. The agriculturists also breed fowls and pigeons, and some of them have an important meat supply from hunting with steel-traps (hares, jackals, fennecs, and ravens). Collecting, on the other hand, is of little or no value to irrigation farmers of Ahaggar.

241 The economic position of agriculturists who work without any particular obligations towards
466 pastoral Tuareg is tolerably good. It is less favourable to those who grow winter crops also on behalf
[423] of the Tuareg, as do most cultivators. Some of them irrigate the garden plot with water raised from
[511] wells by oxen which may belong to the cultivator or to the Tuareg. But most agriculturists who work
241 for the pastoral Tuareg irrigate by means of *foggara*. It is very strenuous work to dig a *foggara* canal,
312 and co-operation is needed not only for this but also for the maintenance of the whole irrigation system.
466 The gardens are individually tended by the agriculturists, who co-operate in the *foggara* work under
476 the leadership of a headman known as *amrar n efeli*, that is "chief of the *foggara*". This headman is

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



433
262
805

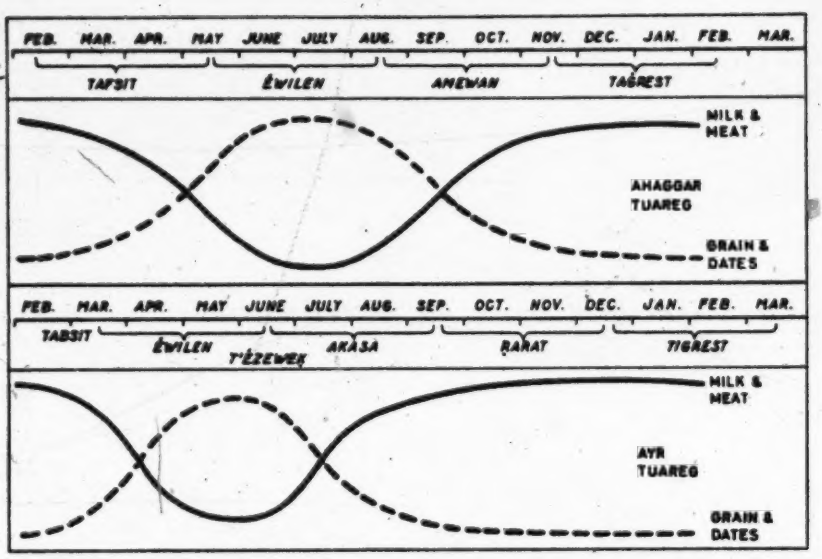


Fig. 151. The relative importance throughout the year of food derived from stock-breeding and vegetable products mainly comprising agricultural products. The curves describe conditions in good years for wealthy families. However, milk (and meat) is less important to most Ayr families than indicated in the diagram which covers a household making use of the particular type of annual pasture which remains green throughout winter, notably *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*) *adrylal* (*Astragalus Vogelli*), and *tagallet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). – This diagram should be compared with Fig. 14 where climatic and botanical changes throughout the year are outlined.

[511]
[824]

433 it is remunerative to buy an extra supply of millet in Damergu and to exchange it for dates and salt
439 at Bilma. Caravan trading is a source of profit to the Ayr Tuareg, but most of them ultimately acquire their agricultural food products in exchange for stock and stock-breeding products. Very few of them mine salt at Amadror, and most of them obtain salt in return for millet bought for domestic animals in Damergu, or for meat of domestic animals butchered in Ayr. The Tuareg cannot easily subsist without agricultural products but they can obtain them in exchange for their livestock.

233 We see again that conditions of stock-breeding are very favourable in Ayr in comparison with those
166 of Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where frequent drought periods make it difficult for the Tuareg to
[184] exist. It is easily understandable that the favourable grazing conditions of Ayr have caused many Tuareg of the north to migrate southwards. These migrations take place even to-day and have gone
433 on for centuries (cf. p. 411 ff.). However, even in Ayr it is most difficult to subsist without cultivated
262 cereals (millet), and we must do away with the myth that pastoralists of North Africa live entirely on milk and meat from their animals – they do not. This is true for all Tuareg I have visited, including

# Tuareg Time Reckoning

Tuareg time reckoning is mainly based upon the position of the celestial bodies in relation to the earth. Some Tuareg know the twelve months of the Julian Calendar, but most of them are only aware of a few of these names, some of which have acquired the meaning of definite agricultural activities (cf. Fig. 139). When the Tuareg divide the year into twelve months they normally use the system of the Islamic lunar calendar. The names of the twelve lunar months in the northern dialect are the following:— *azum* (Ar. *ramḍan*), *tésesé* (Ar. *ʃefer*), *ǧir muhden* (Ar. *du elḳada*), *tafaské* (Ar. *du elḥajja*), *tamessedek* (Ar. *ɑchura*), *tallit seʃʃefet* (Ar. *ʂefer*), *tallit ereret* (Ar. *rebiɑ awl*), *awhim wa yezzaren* (Ar. *rebiɑ tani*), *awhim wa ilkemen* (Ar. *jumad awl*), *sarat* (Ar. *jumad tani*), *ti n tneslemin* (Ar. *rejeb*), *émezzihel* (Ar. *chaban*) (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 982 ff.). These names, known to all Tuareg [174] would appear to indicate that the lunar calendar among the Tuareg was introduced before Islam. The division of the week into seven days was apparently introduced with Islam for their names are [177] clearly derived from Arabic. They seem to be known to all Tuareg, but play no important part in practical time reckoning. To indicate events that will take place within a few days the Tuareg will say to-morrow, the day after to-morrow, in three days, and so on.

The lunar calendar plays a certain rôle to the Tuareg as it fixes all important religious feasts, and [179] among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg it is normal for the members of a camp to count the succession of lunar years which are named after the place where the camp was situated during the religious feast of *tafaské*. Accordingly there is no definite system of year reckoning common to all Ayr Tuareg, who do not know the Islamic numbers of the years A. H. However, the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg will sometimes talk about *awétay wa-n-Kawchen*, that is "the year when the Ayr Tuareg revolted against the French under the leadership of Kawchen" (1917) and *awétay wa-n-éiran*, that is "the year when shooting stars were extraordinarily abundant" (perhaps about 25 years ago).

To the Ahaggar Tuareg the word *awétay* is used in two different ways. It may be used for a lunar year, but it is most frequently used in the sense of "a period between two midwinters", so that the year among the Northern Tuareg is normally to be understood as "a solar year the exact beginning and end of which cannot be stated". Among the Ahaggar Tuareg each such year has its proper name given after the most important event within the year, e.g., the death or the election of an *Amenukal*, the occurrence of good pasture of a particular annual plant, the year of famine, etc. For years of pre-European times the occurrence of raids and warfare also serve as names of years. It may happen that two tribes do not use the same name for a year, but there is a remarkable tendency towards a uniform calendar system for all Ahaggar. The chronology of years is not known equally well by all

[p. 488 is blank]

[p 489]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



805 Tuareg. Some people are able to reckon only five or ten years back in time, but there are also Tuareg who can count many years back so that they can determine the exact age of most members of their household. The chronology of Ahaggar years has been studied by Foucauld, who gives the names from 1860 to 1906, and a remarkable study has been published by Dubief (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1538 ff.; Dubief 1942). In later studies on the chronology of the years among the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, Dubief has shown that there is no uniform calendar for the *Kel Ajjer*. The *Uraren*, the *Imanrasaten*, and the *Iforas* have their particular chronologies (cf. Dubief 1948, 1950, 1956). In addition to these chronologies for larger groups of Tuareg comprising several tribes, there are also special chronologies for individual tribes referring to events within these units.

[114]

To indicate future events the Tuareg may use the lunar calendar and refer to a particular day (night) of a particular month. They normally count in nights but to indicate the length of a journey they will frequently count in days. The sub-divisions of the day among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr are mentioned in the list below:—

(1) The early morning before sunrise, when one begins to see but does not see very clearly. It is a very short period known in Ahaggar as *ahokhak*, in Ayr as *dengelwak*.

(2) The period from sunrise until 1½–2 hours later during which the sun is low and the heat not very trying. This is known in Ahaggar as *agedelsit semmidet*, in Ayr as *arora*.

(3) The period when the sun is getting high in the heavens. People will now avoid the sun and rest in the shade. The name of this period, which corresponds to late morning or forenoon, is in Ahaggar *agedelsit tekkuset*, in Ayr *agedelchit*.

(4) The period when the sun is very high. It comprises a certain period before and after midday, and is known as *tarut* (Ahaggar) and *terut* (Ayr).

(5) The early afternoon which begins around two o'clock. It is called *tazerrahat* in Ahaggar, *tézzar* in Ayr.

(6) The late afternoon from about four o'clock until sunset is known as *azellewaz* in Ahaggar and as *takkes* in Ayr.

(7) The period of dusk which is known as *almez* and *almez*, respectively.

For the night the divisions are few and less clear, and it seems as if they are based mainly upon normal activities such as eating time, bed time, and the time of the early morning when it is considered preferable to set out upon a journey.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies. However, this plant 232
does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, 824
p. 192). One plant (*téhereggelé*) (*Artemisia judaica*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten venomous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for do- 232
mestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen 825
limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine 232
mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe 232
that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult 114
for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of 231
their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of 815
Tasilé-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. [192]
It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe they have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings 75
(Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be under- [13]
stood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil 231
mouth (*tehoj* in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as 754
*effuma* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection 751
against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used 233*
particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals [751]
from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a [754]
donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding [772]
camels in Ayr:— Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order [825]
that their riding animal may not stumble.

cane broke at the bottom, and poor Solomon fell over, all 773
fours in the air, and was killed in his fall. His death was the 776
signal of liberty for the genii and demons, who spread through- 805
out the world, precisely in that month which was later called
the "black month."

3. "Talilt tarer'ert," that is, the "yellow month," 177
(corresponding to Rabia I, or Mouloud, the month of the 805
Prophet's birth), so called, it is said, because it is lighted,
منوّر by the birth of the Prophet. /45/

4. "Aouhim oua izzaren," that is, "the first Aouhim," 805
(corresponding to Rabia II). Aouhim means "fawn of a gazelle."
This is also the name of a star. [821]

5. "Aouhim oua ilkamen," that is, "the next Aouhim,"
(corresponding to Jumada I).

6. "Sarat" (corresponding to Jumada II). The Tuareg
have been unable to give me any explanation of this name.

7. "Tin tineslimine," that is, "the month of the
marabouts," (corresponding to Rajab). In the time of the
Kharijite doctrine, the Ramadan was put back to the month
Rajab, and it is known that the Tuareg espoused this doctrine
(1).

1. See Essai sur l'Histoire de
l'Islamisme /Essay on the History
of Islamism/ by Dozy.

8. "Amezzehel," that is "he who runs," (from the root
"zehel," to run), thus named because it has only 29 days and
it precedes the arrival of Ramadan. It corresponds to Shaban.

9. "Azzoum," that is, "the fast" (corresponding to the [177
month of Ramadan), a name taken from the Arabic word 192]
الصوم "essoum," the fast.

10. "Tessessi," that is, "act of drinking" or "libations,"
because one may drink after the fast. It corresponds to
Shawwal, the month in which the feast called "A'id Ser'ir"
takes place.

When they want to stretch out at the foot of the tree called "el yatil" in Arabic and "tadjart" ⊕ⵜⵜ in Tamashek (a kind of acacia), which is inhabited by jinn, they must first wound it with a stone, and stones are always to be found at the foot of these trees. One can also see the wounds made in the bark. 776 824 789

The "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica) is also a haunted tree. If one wants to rest under its shade, it is first necessary to break seven of the tree's thorns.

There are also "kel esouf" in the place where an animal has had its throat cut. 776

Mount Oudane is haunted, as are many others. [823]

These superstitions are probably survivals of their old religion, before their conversion to Islamism. Like them, "The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period worshipped jinn, or genii. The deserts and mountains where one sometimes gets lost for entire weeks are full of beings of this kind.... They can do much harm and much good.... They live in rocks, trees, or statues. Each tribe, or sometimes a group of tribes, had its special jinni; its rock, its tree, its own image, before which an appointed family carried out priestly duties" (1). 174 771 776

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 5 and 6.

The Tuareg have many other superstitions. Thus nobles would never kill a "uran" (varanus), which in Tamashek is called "ar'ata" •ⵜⵏ, and a fortiori would not eat it. Sidi ag Keradji and Azioueł ag Ser'ada told me that the uran is the maternal uncle of the Tuareg, and Sidi told me the following legend: "Seven nobles had killed a camel belonging to Sidna Nouh (Hoah). Among them there was a noble Tuareg. To punish them God changed them, one into an uran, another into a jackal, a third into a chameleon, etc. /61/ The uran was the noble Tuareg. The camel that was killed is now in the sky: it is the Great Bear. The Polar Star, 'Bel Hadi', is its head." 565 825 773 784 [821]

There are also lucky or unlucky days. The lucky days, 777
those which are recommended for starting on a journey, are [484]
Friday after prayer, Saturday morning, and Monday. /63/
For the lucky day of the month one first counts 2 from the
index finger and, coming back to the index finger, 7, 12,
17, 22, 27.

The unlucky days are Sunday and Wednesday.

The Tuareg also believe in the evil eye, "tahott." 754

An eclipse is the sun's raid on the moon, and vice versa. 821

Finally, there is a very curious custom of which Duveyrier 769
has spoken, which is that of consulting old graves. Usually 787
it is the women who go to consult them. They dress well
and must avoid having on themselves anything of iron or steel,
even a needle. They lie down near the grave, and the
"zabbar" (ogre) inhabiting the grave appears to them in the
form of a giant with eyes as large as a camel's, and gives
them the answers they want. They are consulted especially
in order to get news of absent ones, people gone on a raid
or in a caravan, from whom there has been no news.

## Chapter IX

### Stock Raising. Flocks

Camels, sheep, and goats constitute the chief resource 233
of the Tuareg, as of all nomads. Camels especially are the
object of all their care, since these give them the greatest
service. They rely greatly on camels, ewes, and goats be- [234]
cause of the milk, of which they drink a great deal, and melted
butter, "oudi," which they make.

They use all the hides: those of camels for sandals, 237
containers for butter, watering troughs, etc.; those of sheep 281
or goats for waterskins and the manufacture of tents, leather
clothes, etc. /64/

132 /20 cont./ year as in /21/ 1943: 108.5 millimeters of rainfall; when, on the contrary, atmospheric conditions prevent the Sudanese tornadoes and the Atlantic winds from approaching the Ahaggar, there is a dry year as in 1945: 28 millimeters of rainfall, or as in 1949: 9 millimeters.

In view of the insufficient number of meteorological stations and of the enormous distances which separate them, it is impossible to follow the evolution of the cloud systems or to predict periodic rains.

At Tamanrasset the winds are fairly regular; in the morning the prevailing winds range from east to northeast, and in the evening from west-southwest to west-northwest.

In winter the prevailing winds bringing rain are mostly from the northwest, coming from Moroccan depressions.

In summer the rains come with southwest winds, probably originating in Sudanese cyclones.

Sandstorms are not seen, but there are rare dust storms, particularly in March.

In calm weather, or even during violent winds, whirlwinds occur. There have been different theories advanced to account for them, but for the time being the question is still open. The Tuareg have their opinion as to the cause of the whirlwinds; they are manifestations of genii, the Tuareg say. Here, moreover, is a story proving them right:

132 821

One sunny afternoon a Tuareg woman (others have told me that it was a Negress) was gathering wood in the ravine of Itharentidjarnin when a violent whirlwind materialized about 100 meters away. The dust began to revolve, describing an almost perfect circle, then mounted vertically, turning faster and faster. When the dust column had reached a great height, the whirlwind began to move. It started slowly, hesitating about which direction to take. Finally, it moved southward, spinning, rolling from side to side, and whistling cheerfully. The woman, entranced by this spectacle, showed her delight by loudly crying, "You-you." The whirlwind approached her, tossed her some gold, and thanked her for being merry, for, the whirlwind said, "One of us is being married."

132 /22/ The elders of the camp, to whom the woman related
821 this adventure, said it was really the first time that the Kel es Souf had ever been agreeable.

Some time later the same woman, at the same place, saw a similar whirlwind. Hoping to be rewarded again by the genii, she saluted the whirlwind with gay "you-you" cries as it passed. She had cause to rue this; she was seized, swept from the ground, whirled to an unbelievable height, then abruptly let go to crash on the ground. As she fell, the Kel es Souf told her: "We are in the funeral procession of one of our kind; this is your punishment for mocking us." The woman was found with all her limbs broken. She told her story and died.

132 The climate of Tamanrasset, which at first seems agreeable because of the mild temperature, is enervating in the long run; this is agreed to by everyone who has lived there a certain length of time. Intellectual work is very tiring. Father de Foucauld tried to settle down at the top of the Asekrem, but found he couldn't work there as hard as he could elsewhere. The extreme nervousness that seizes men, and particularly women, after a long stay is also noticeable. What causes these troubles? Doubtless they are due to the combined effects of the altitude and the extreme dryness of the air. Some ascribe them to magnetic effects, and others blame radiations. (1) In point

132
133

1. I once made a curious observation: two years ago I was collecting different rocks, which I tested with a Geiger counter. I marked on each rock the number of "clicks" per minute. One morning I wanted to test my samples. All my rocks were more radioactive by 25 "clicks." By chance, I was

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. 683 For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. 233 436 682 In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *tilgad*, or *chét awétay* | (one year old) | 10 | *tibeydegin* | (white) |
| 10 | *tilusin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *titlaṛin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *teḳḳenifadden* | (3 years old) | 10 | *tizeggeṛin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiruyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *tibhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chét essin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *tilemlaṛin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chét okkaz* | (6 years old) | 10 | *tizerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *timessedas* | (7 years old) | 10 | *timengelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chét tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 | *tikewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tiregganin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *tizerṛafin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *tiwinaṛin* | (white cornea) |

233 822 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 565 524 232 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[text continues on p. 104]

237 Ayr Tuareg a piece of ram's horn may serve as an amulet case attached around the upper arm. Horns
*[415] of barbary sheep are used for butter containers among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 223; Fig. 165), who sometimes use a piece of pointed gazelle horn for daubing antimony around the eye.

281 The Ahaggar women cut skin and leather with a small knife (*telmusit*), and a piece of wood (*asettenu*)
462 and/or a stone (*taẓẓet*) are used for smoothing the skin which is then placed upon a particular wooden
[413] board (*elkeyleb*) (cf. Figs. 219a–d). The Ayr Tuareg do not make so much refined skin work. Women
*[445] among the Northern Tuareg conserve their implements for skin and leather work in a particular bag (*askagen*) which is made from leather attached to a bottom piece of horn (*isek*) (Figs. 220a–g).
[53] Northern Tuareg women take a great interest in their skin and leather artifacts, which are richly decorated with fringes and hanging tassels, and with geometric designs in different colours. I have
386 noted the following colours among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer:—
●822 (1) *haba*, indigo which is introduced from the south in the form of balls.

(2) *tawnkent*, which is also known as *tafidet* and *tanezezzeft* according to Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1934. It is a yellowish mineral which yields an entirely black colour frequently seen on ornamented skin bags. The mineral according to the Ahaggar Tuareg is introduced from the south, while the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer claim that they obtain their minerals of this type from Serdeles north-east of Rat. – A black colour which is also known as *tawnkent* is said to be made by the Tuareg of Ahaggar in the following way:— Pieces of iron are put into water contained in some small receptacle, usually a tea glass. This receptacle containing water and iron pieces is covered with a bowl or a similar object in order that the sun light cannot penetrate. After a few days the water turns into a black colour to be used for skin dyeing.

(3) *semenio*, a green colour derived from a mineral or a powder introduced from the south. According to some Tuareg this green colour is also made by means of a vegetable powder introduced from the north, from the region of Mzab.

(4) *khodarbas*, a powder which yields a green colour. It is said to be introduced from the south (from Tawa) and to derive from a tree known as *tafnit*.

[824] (5) *errumman*, the fruit of the pomegranate tree known as *terrummant* (*Punica Granatum*). It is used with a white mineral (alum), known as *azref n Tawat*, and introduced from In Salah. Parts of the pomegranate fruit and of this mineral are mixed with water to be used for a yellow or yellow-brown dye which is applied to many decorated skin bags for ground colour.

(6) *temesaruak*, a mineral introduced from the north (Mzab). It produces a yellow colour.

[243] (7) *herkl*, a reddish brown colour obtained from a particular type of sorghum known as *tullak* grown in the cultivation centres of Ahaggar.

(8) *tédersé*, a white colour obtained by placing the skin for about three days in a container with fresh milk to which a little salt is added. – Among Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told that a white colour is also obtained from a kind of powder introduced from the Sudan.

386 Before use these above mentioned colours or dyeing materials are generally dissolved in water
[63] contained in a tea glass. When they are employed for the very fine geometric designs of leather bags they are daubed with a small knife known as *telmusit* (Fig. 219b).

[439] It is interesting that most dyes used by the Northern Tuareg are introduced from the north or from the south,

[Text continues on p. 284]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



Lhote describes the skin-stockings (*abuheg*) used among the Ahaggar Tuareg as having a very particular cut, so that the first toe is separated from the other toes in order that the stocking may be worn with sandals. The following description of Tuareg skin-stockings is additionally given:— "Cette chaussette monte un peu plus haut que les chaussures européennes à tiges et se lace de même au moyen d'un lacet de peau. Il y a une petite languette et la jonction empeignetige est renforcée par une rondelle de peau fixée par une couture. La semelle est une simple peau de filali qui serait vite usée si l'on marchait directement dessus. *L'abaûheg* est fait en peau de mouton ou en peau de gazelle tannée, et souvent avec des chutes de mauvaise qualité. Les peaux sont ordinairement teintes en noire et la rondelle de renforcement en vert. Mais il y en a aussi qui sont faites en filali rouge de bonne qualité. Le prix de ces dernières est plus élevé et elles sont généralement faites sur commande. On trouve sur le marché d'Agadez, des *iboûhegen* qui sont l'oeuvre des artisans cordonniers de cette ville. Nous n'en avons jamais vu faire chez les Touareg du Nord, qui les font aujourd'hui confectionner par des artisans de Tamanrasset et s'en procurent également à Agadez. De même, nous n'en avons jamais vu porter chez les Ioullimiden de Ménéka ou chez les Tenguéréguifs. Les gens d'In Salah et de Djanet la connaissent ainsi que les Chaamba" (Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). According to Lhote, just quoted, *abouheg* (*abuheg*) is described by Foley not as stockings, but as boots, which form part of the ceremonial equipment of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while Foureau (1894, p. 203) says that wealthy Tuareg among the *Kel Aïr* wear boots made of soft leather and manufactured at Radames, Rat, and in Ayr. These boots according to Foureau have a separate space for the first toe in order that they may be worn with sandals, and as claimed by Lhote, they are not true boots, but skin-stockings (cf. Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). Duveyrier also speaks of the use of soft leather boots known as *ibôhadjen* sometimes worn by chiefs (Duveyrier 1864, p. 407), and in the case of the *Iwellemmeden Kel Dennek* Nicolas mentions the use of a type of boots ("la botte de cavalier") known as *abûzag* (pl. *ibuzâgen*) (Ar. *tmâg*) (Nicolas 1950a p. 174).

Foucauld speaks of *abuheg* as a type of soft leather boots, but he mentions that this same word is also used for knitted stocking. Such stocking are also known by the feminine form *tabûhek*, though the proper meaning of this latter word is "slipper". Slippers are worn by a few men and women in winter, and a woman frequently wears them during the period of isolation (4 months and ten days) after her husband's death. According to Foucauld the leather boots (*abuheg*) are never worn by women but only by a very few men (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 36). It is a great pity that the authors who refer to the use of soft leather boots or stockings have reproduced no illustration which clearly indicates their cut. But fortunately there is a pair of leather stockings in the collection of the Ethnographical Museum at Neuchâtel. There can be little doubt that this garment serves as a stocking and not as a boot, for it has a separate space for the first toe which would be meaningless if not worn with sandals. The leather stocking is made from three pieces of leather:— (1) A sole or rather a bottom piece which is bent slightly up over the foot, notably at the heel; (2) A piece of leather covering the instep and sewn to the forepart of the bottom piece; (3) A piece of leather forming the leg and sewn to the instep and bottom pieces. It is interesting that all three pieces are of the same type of leather and that the bottom piece resembles that of moccasins.

The sort of slipper termed *tabuhek* by Foucauld and worn by both sexes, is identical with leather slippers or shoes provided with a distinct sole. These shoes seem to be of Arab origin, and I have

773 the tortures of hell. Iblis, however, communicated his secret to
372 the blacksmiths, who since that time have known how to use it for metalworking.

The Tuareg used to obtain fire by friction, using a board of
372 torha (callotropis procera) and a branch of hardwood; they caught
[824] the spark on a tuft of silk from the fruit of the callotropis and blew on it until they got a flame, which required about a minute. They have kept this practice and still use it occasionally.

Today they find matches sold by /228/ Tamanrasset merchants,
[439 but they all have tinderboxes
177] with flint and a bent piece of iron.

They do not keep up the
[415 fire. They carry it from
439] one tent to the other in a fragment of an old gourd or sometimes hold a glowing ember in their hands without burning themselves.

Fig. 27. Ahaggar Tuareg dish, imported from Hausa country.

[237 When they want to transport
484] it long distances, they use camel-dung embers.

The Tuareg commonly
[237] use the excrement of camels and goats as fuel. In the high
[135] mountains, wood is quite rare, but in the lower parts of the Koudia old acacia or éthel /atle? Ed. / stumps are to be found. They never
[824] use the wood of the callotropis, which is the devil's tree and makes muffled noises when it is burned.

Basalt blocks are never used to make the hearth, since they be-
[823] lieve that basalt is possessed by genii and will explode violently when heated.

352 Furniture. -- We have briefly described the objects furnishing the parts of the tent reserved for the husband and wife. To these must be added a certain number of objects which make up the

[172] 301 layers /271/ dating from that epoch. Its origin must be sought there, and it is now nothing more than a Neolithic vestige.

A number of little cases which the Tuareg wear suspended around the neck and resting on the chest may be considered ornaments. [531] They are little leather cases -- decorated, painted or embroidered, or even stamped in relief -- and they contain various little instruments. [415] Thus, there are mirror cases, needle cases, razor cases, scissor cases, toothbrush cases, etc., and little wallets in which the Tuareg put what they prize most -- money, a /strike-a-light/ steel box and its flint, or tobacco.

/272/ They also wear 301 751 quantities of amulets in leather or metal cases on their chests, their arms, or their hair. But [178] this custom, religious in origin, has evolved in the direction of ornamentation, for many of these amulet cases contain nothing.

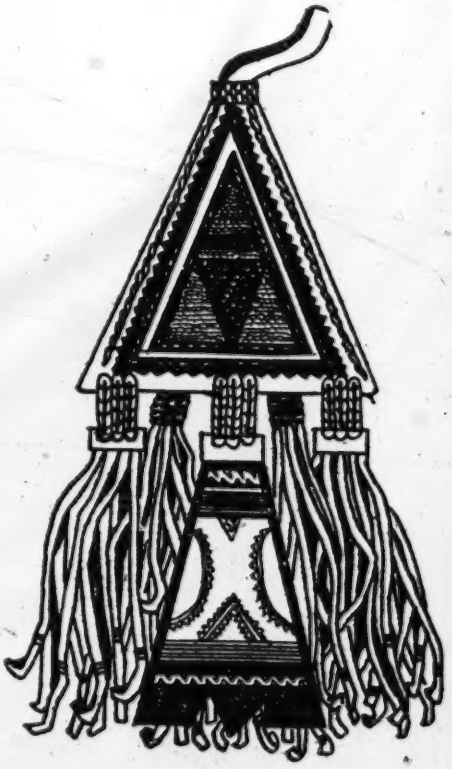

Fig. 42. Needle case of worked leather, with knife slits and embroidery. The background is red; the ornamental painting, black; the embroidery, red and green cotton.

301 Female jewelry is much richer and more varied. It is [328] all made of silver; gold jewelry is never seen among the Tuareg. They maintain [223 777] that gold is unlucky for the possessor and that this metal corrupts people.

4: Benhazera--38 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

They have no numbers, and they do not use the Arabic 802
numbers. They prefer to make holes in the sand, and by this rather long process succeed in figuring just the same. A Tuareg, moreover, cannot talk for five minutes without emphasizing his recitation with dots or lines on the sand. If he is asked, "How many days' march are there between this point and that one," he cannot answer any number without marking on the ground as many dots as there are days in his answer.

A Tuareg who has been made to sit on the ground on a [516
blanket, before he begins to talk raises the edges of the 521]
blanket /44/ so as to indulge in his favorite occupation. Certainly if he were transported to France, into a well-waxed apartment, he would be very unhappy and would quickly ask for sand or earth so as to be able to draw his dots and lines.

But this custom has its use when one wishes to have an 487
idea of the road one must travel. The Tuareg who, like all 823
nomads, has a very accurate sense of direction, will draw an over-all map of the route to be followed, with the wadis and landmarks which would be met.

The Tuareg do not have words in their language to denote 177
the days of the week. Those that they use have been borrowed 192
from the Arabic and changed. 805

On the other hand, for their months they have kept some truly Tamashek names, while others are definitely taken from the Arabic. Thus:

1. "Tamessedek," corresponding to Muharram and which seems to be derived from the Arabic "sedeq" صدق "to give alms." It is said that this name means "zekkat" زكاة, or "legal alms."

2. "Talilt tassettafet" (corresponding to Safar). This 773
means "the black month." Here is why this month is so 776
called: "Sidna Slimane (Solomon) was in command of the 805
genii and demons. One day when he was standing leaning on his cane, the "djinns" (genii) told a termite to eat out the bottom of the cane. The termite did the job so well that the

When they want to stretch out at the foot of the tree called "el yatil" in Arabic and "tadjart" ⊕ⵜⵜ in Tamashek (a kind of acacia), which is inhabited by jinn, they must first wound it with a stone, and stones are always to be found at the foot of these trees. One can also see the wounds made in the bark. 776 824 789

The "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica) is also a haunted tree. If one wants to rest under its shade, it is first necessary to break seven of the tree's thorns.

There are also "kel esouf" in the place where an animal has had its throat cut. 776

Mount Oudane is haunted, as are many others. [823]

These superstitions are probably survivals of their old religion, before their conversion to Islamism. Like them, "The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period worshipped jinn, or genii. The deserts and mountains where one sometimes gets lost for entire weeks are full of beings of this kind.... They can do much harm and much good.... They live in rocks, trees, or statues. Each tribe, or sometimes a group of tribes, had its special jinni; its rock, its tree, its own image, before which an appointed family carried out priestly duties" (1). 174 771 776

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 5 and 6.

The Tuareg have many other superstitions. Thus nobles would never kill a "uran" (varanus), which in Tamashek is called "ar'ata" •+⁝ , and a fortiori would not eat it. Sidi ag Keradji and Aziouel ag Ser'ada told me that the uran is the maternal uncle of the Tuareg, and Sidi told me the following legend: "Seven nobles had killed a camel belonging to Sidna Nouh (Hoah). Among them there was a noble Tuareg. To punish them God changed them, one into an uran, another into a jackal, a third into a chameleon, etc. /61/ The uran was the noble Tuareg. The camel that was killed is now in the sky: it is the Great Bear. The Polar Star, 'Bel Hadi', is its head." 565 825 773 784 [821]

this doctrine, the scholar Dozy tells us: "There was no muezzin, 262
or crier, to call to prayer; people were governed by the crow 565
of the rooster; so no one, except in case of dire necessity, 825
might kill roosters or hens or eat eggs" (1). 773

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 348 and 349. Neither mosques nor muezzins are found in Tuareg country. See also l'Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale /History of North Africa/, by E. Mercier, pages 228 and 255. Volume 1. [171]

Legends and stories are also known on the subject of 773
Ahmamellen and his nephew Elias. Hanoteau told them to us. 823
At Tamanrasset (Ahaggar) the Tuareg showed us a curious breech in a large "gara" that bounds the horizon to the east. They call it "Tiouit-n-Elias" (Elias' cut), and they say that Elias made this breech with one stroke of the "takouba." The piece removed, an enormous rock, lodged in a wadi three kilometers from there, and we were shown it in passing. The breech has also been named "Elias' Breech."

Elias is the Arabic translation of Elijah, and Younes that of [551]
Jonah. These two proper names are still used among the Tuareg. [174]
Might there not be a relationship between this Elias and Elijah, son of Salih?

The Tuareg say that Ahmamellen was a man of extraordinary 174
size and strength, and that he was the equal of an army. Might 773
it have been Salih himself who claimed to be a prophet, then disappeared in the east after having told his followers that he was the Mahdi and that he would come back to fill the world with justice when the seventh king should be mounted on the throne?

539 /137 cont./ under the eyes of the bandits, who regarded with stupefaction the man who, having hewn a piece out of the mountain, defied them from the vantage point of the breach.

Thus ends this story of Elias. Others concerning this hero must exist, but they are buried in men's memories.

One may still admire Elias' exploit: the breach in the [823] Adriane is a landmark of Tamanrasset, and the boulder that was hewn from the mountain rests eight kilometers from there in the In-Zaouen wadi, where it has remained planted, a reminder of the hero's valor.

852 Thus, observing nature, listening to the old stories, the
304 young Targui grows up and forms his opinions. At the age of six or seven years, he undergoes circumcision: "agadam." The relatives gather for a big meal on this occasion.

857 From the women, the young boy learns to sew cloth and
868 leather. He makes toys from old rags; these are usually camels in stylized forms, sometimes having real artistic value. Toy in hand, he races with his comrades to see whose camel is the swiftest. Girls and boys alike make dolls dressed in the Tuareg style; they play camp, paying visits, drinking tea, and striking camp. The young boys carve greatly stylized camels on flat stones or on goat jawbones cut in two.

A favorite amusement consists in mounting an ass and making it gallop, which is not accomplished without numerous falls in the beginning. However, it is the camel which haunts the child; his father has /138/ already let him ride for a circle around the camp, but the little boy wants to be master of his own mount, to guide it across the fallen rocks of the nearby mountain, then to break into a fast trot on the plateau bordering the wadi but not beyond, for he would be seen from the camp and would risk a severe scolding for having taken a camel to amuse himself. Nevertheless, his parents know how it is, for they did the same thing themselves when they were young, but the "canoun" must be applied.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



traditional Tuareg dwellings having been introduced by contact with the Arabs who use black tents. I believe this to be the most reasonable explanation, and I think that at all events there is one important factor which points to a connection between T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin-tents and similar posts in Arab black tents:— Where T-shaped posts are known to be a traditional type of dwelling, as is the case among the Northern Tuareg and the *Kel Denneк*, skin tents are always placed with the broad entrance side towards the south, which is also the tent orientation of the adjacent Northern Arabs with black tents. Where barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats form the predominant type of portable dwelling the orientation is different. This, anyway, is the case with the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* who live almost exclusively in barrel-vaulted mat tents which have the broad entrance side turned westwards. This difference in orientation can hardly be accidental. It rather points to a historical connection between the Tuareg groups who possess T-shaped structures and the Northern Arabs who own black tents. It may also be added that both among the Northern Arabs and the Northern Tuareg it is customary to divide the tent into two parts the left (western) one being reserved for the woman, the right (eastern) part for her husband.

Finally, the theory I have advanced about the origin of Tuareg T-shaped posts in skin tents seems to be substantiated by the distributions of other cultural traits mentioned in the previous chapter, for certain traits which seem to have been introduced by the Arabs, e.g., Arab riding saddles for women, seem to occur mainly where T-shaped posts are prevalent.

342* 174 177 [823]

[text continues on p. 393]

773 the tortures of hell. Iblis, however, communicated his secret to
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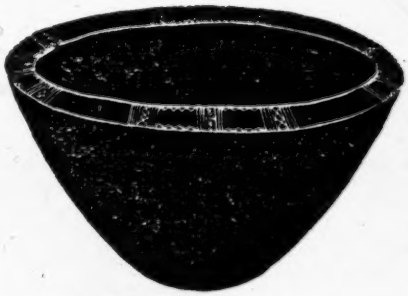

Fig. 27. Ahaggar Tuareg dish, imported from Hausa country.

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The Tuareg commonly
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824 222

To make up this deficiency in graminaceae, the Tuareg have recourse to products of gathering.

After a rain the captives and the Imrad women gather the seeds [262] of certain plants which grow in the Ahaggar valleys. They are the afasso (Panicum turgidum F.) and the oulloul (Aristida pungens D.). But the size of the yield varies with the abundance of rain, and one may say that most of the time it is quite /233/ uncertain. [237 281 415 234] This is not the case in the Sudan, where the Iklan gather whole bags of wild seeds, particularly cram-cram (Cenchrus echinatus), every year.

Fig. 31. Little leather flask used as a butter container.

To be sure, there are a few wild berries in the Ahaggar, such as those from the jujube tree (Zizyphus lotus D.) and the téborak (Balanites aegyptiaca). [731] In case of famine the Tuareg fall back on other seeds, such as those of the colocynth, the Acacia tortillis, etc. [262] However, all these plants play only a secondary role in the Tuareg diet.

The Tuareg have at their disposal milk from their camels, 272 goats, and ewes. They drink it either whole or diluted with water, either fresh or sour.

The luxury of drinking whole milk is reserved for young [264] mothers and children. Adults generally drink fresh milk morning and

222 have made them the base of their diet; for this reason they were
262 nicknamed acridophages. The Nasamonians of Herodotus prepared them in the same way the Tuareg do, and the /236/ similar diets of the two peoples is perhaps not pure coincidence.

There are a few fish ponds in the Ahaggar, but the Imochar
226 and the Imrad do not eat the flesh of these animals; only the
262 Issekkemâren catch barbels and sometimes catfish, or rather they gather them up in the wadis after floods, for they do not know how to fish, properly speaking.

The sedentary peoples raise chickens, but the Tuareg do not
262 eat them either, since they consider the meat impure. The same interdict is extended to eggs. The only bird which is an exception is the ostrich. There are no longer any ostriches in the Sahara, but
[223] when the Ihăggaren go to the Sudan they capture them if they have the chance; in addition, they eat ostrich eggs cooked in the ashes.

Times of scarcity were sometimes experienced. They are rare
262 now that caravans can circulate freely, but they were much more
731 frequent when the state of war continued for a long time. The
224 Tuareg fell back on wild plants which do not generally enter into their diet: the young growths of tahlé (Typha elephantina), the
[824] leaves of the tanekfit (Eruca aurea) and the aramas (Atriplex halimus), the underground stems of the danoun (Cistanche lutea) which resembles asparagus, and many other plants of very dubious food value, which they ate to assuage their hunger. The state of famine can
[252] become so pronounced that they sometimes gather up old bones, grind them up, reduce them to flour, and make gruels of them. It
[579] goes without saying that it is during these periods that pillaging is at its height. People steal from camp to camp, from tribe to tribe, and everyone forgets his brother and his friend, thinking of only one thing -- survival by any means.

515 care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed [826] every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

751 For them the main question is protecting the different parts of the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the body is to that end.

291 302 They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired color.

302 To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their [171] limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

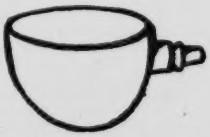
515 The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth. They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal [412] and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed to form a brush. For this purpose they use irak branches (Salvadora [324] persica) or palm jereed.

/258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring 302 for the hair.

Young boys have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed [543] by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer 276 them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region. [184] They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a [88] certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have themselves shaved completely.

Wood furnishes containers for food, drinking vessels, milking 322
vessels, mortars, pestles, tent stakes, crosspieces and boards for making saddles. The Ahaggar does not have more than five or six species of woods which can be worked, and the articles, very simply are much less varied than in the Sudanese tribes.

All Ahaggar women, noble or vassal, know how to tan, re- 281
move hair from, sew, decorate, and embroider leather. They are 462
able to make a waterskin needed to carry water, prepare skins to make tents, and manufacture bags for transporting food and personal objects. They have all become so expert in these labors that it is



[415
862]

Fig. 47. Amoula, a little wooden "bottle" for young children to drink from.

difficult to find any other peoples in the world who possess such a developed leather craft.

The scarcity of vegetable materials in the Ahaggar is one of [137
the reasons why the use of esparto is relatively restricted. Only the 285
stems of a graminacea common in the wadies (Panicum turgidum) [824]
are used to make mats -- large enclosing mats which surround the tent, sleeping mats, mats for covering plates.

/278/ The stems are bound by little leather thongs, and the [283]
combination of graminacea and leather is extremely effective; it [531]
allows very regular geometric decorations at the same time as a very solid work.

There are no esparto vans among the Tuareg. The women 291
use palm-leaf vans and hats, but these articles are the work of the 415
Harratin from the little palm groves of Silet, Ideles, and Abalessa. 438

586 refusing herself is a case for divorce, but disgrace is then thrown on the woman, who is rarely able to remarry afterwards. The man has only to say to his wife, "I send you back to your parents," to break the marriage. But more /295/ often he hides what he is doing and sends his wife home to her family for a few days. He then delegates an old woman from his camp to announce the breaking of the marriage to the wife's parents.

If the husband has instigated the divorce, the bride price remains the property of the wife's parents, but in any case the children remain the property of the father.

587 The woman cannot remarry before three months and ten days.
587 This forced retirement for women, which is prescribed by the Koran, is called ettef or ellouddet in Tuareg language. The women themselves are called tannanleft during this period. When this period has ended, her parents and the people of her camp organize a little celebration to announce that the woman is resuming her life of "free mores."

587 Many women do not want to undergo this retirement, and to
587 escape it they shift the responsibility onto a tree called agar in
824 Tamashek (Maerua crassifolia). They address the tree as if it were a person and say to it: "Agar, relieve me of my retirement which weighs on me too much; take the burden upon yourself." They place at the foot of the tree, by way of an offering, some antimony powder, a little perfume, and a fragment of cloth, which symbolize the attributes of a woman in the state of asri. Then, without waiting any longer, they resume their life of free mores.

587 If the husband wishes to take his repudiated wife back, a new marriage is necessary and a new bride price, smaller than the first, must be paid to the woman's parents.

Murder. -- Murder is rather rare among the Tuareg. It is
682 punished by retaliation when it was premeditated and by material
628 compensation in other cases. The vendetta, which was formerly common among the Tuareg, has disappeared, making way for the dia, or tax of blood. The custom sometimes demanded that the

773 had asked God to escape a raid which was coming to pillage her
778 camp. After the raid had passed, however, God kept the women
782 in the state of stone in spite of their entreaties, and it was so that life might be returned to them that the Tuareg came to leave different objects every time they passed near the tomb. The worship
[174] of the Tibaradines is certainly a trace of pre-Islamic and perhaps Neolithic beliefs which must have been deformed through the centuries. One of the statuettes represents a cow and is clearly related to the one found at Silet.

771 The remains of totemism are still affirmed by food taboos.
260 The nobles refuse to eat fish or bird flesh, as well as birds' eggs; only the ostrich escapes this interdiction. On the other hand, a
[825 legend even reports that the uran, or great sand lizard, is the
773] maternal uncle of all the Tuareg.

Some trees are also the object of worship. The Maerua
● 824 crassifolia which the Tuareg call agar is supposed to be inhabited by a genie which they chase away by striking the tree with stones every time they want to get in its shade. As we have already pointed out, repudiated women who do not wish to stay in the prescribed retirement as imposed by custom and want to take up the state of free living, rely on the tree to take over this retirement which bothers them so much.

754 Sorcery. -- Divination. -- Besides these more or less religious beliefs the Tuareg practice sorcery, divination, and the interpretation of dreams.

Some men, often blacksmiths, are known as sorcerors and make potions intended to cast spells; these are generally made of animal skins /309/ and are given to ~~people who~~ wish to cast a spell on someone, with the intention of taking him by surprise. The
[825] uran lizard plays a large part in the making of these sorceries.

787 Divination, practiced especially by women, is done in several ways and always aims to ask news of absent ones.

We have already mentioned divination through tombs. There is also what the Tuareg call tachilet (the viper). It is done either

tanned and sewed together. The assemblage of these hides [281]
constitutes the cover, the essential part of the tent, and is 342
called "ehakit" ⵜⴰⵀⴰⴽⵉⵜ .

The tent is supported by a central master beam called
"tamankaït" ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵏⴽⴰⵉⵜ .

A pole, "idjem" ⵉⵊⵉⵎ , is placed at the entrance
of the tent and is flanked right and left by poles called
"madar'en" ⵎⴰⴷⴰⵔⵉⵏ . /26/

Other poles are used to hold up the edges: these are the
"tissedass" ⵜⵉⵙⵙⴷⴰⵙ . The little pegs that hold the tent
to the ground are called "tisselitaï" ⵜⵉⵙⵍⵉⵜⴰⵏ . Some-
times bows are also used, called "adjedjou" ⴰⵊⵊⵓ ,
plural "idjedjan" ⵉⵊⵊⵉⵏ .

The tent is surrounded by mats of "afezzou" ⴰⴼⵣⵣⵓ [285
(Panicum turgidum, Graminaceae), called "asabar" ⴰⵙⴰⴱⴰⵔ 824]
plural "isebran" ⵉⵙⴰⴱⵔⴰⵏ , which are pulled back in the
day and drawn close at night, to close the tent.

In the tent one finds first that which concerns water, that 352
is, waterskins, "abeïor'" ⴰⴱⵉⵢⵓⵔ , plural "ibiyar'" 415
ⵉⴱⵉⵢⵓⵔ , hung on forked sticks, "tidjettaouin" ⵜⵉⵊⵊⴰⵡⵉⵏ .
They are filled by means of a funnel, "asegueffi" ⴰⵙⴳⵓⴼⴼⵉ ,
plural "isegueffa" ⵉⵙⴳⵓⴼⴼⴰ . To water the camels, the 231
Tuareg use troughs of hide supported by hoops at the top and
called "tafaraout" ⵜⴰⴼⴰⵔⴰⵡⵜ , plural "tiferouin" ⵜⵉⴼⴰⵔⵡⵉⵏ .
They also use these troughs for the harvest of "toulloult" grain 243
(Arthraterum pungens, Graminaceae) or of "afezzou" (Panicum
turgidum, Graminaceae).

For milk and butter, they have a waterskin for milk, 415
"tanouart" ⵜⴰⵏⵡⴰⵔⵜ , plural "tinouarin" ⵜⵉⵏⵡⴰⵔⵉⵏ , and
a kind of porous water jug made of a hollowed gourd and called
"az'enou" ⴰⵣⵉⵏⵓ . To ladle the milk, serve it or pour it,
they use a wooden vessel with one handle called "asoukal"
ⴰⵙⵓⴽⴰⵍ . To store and transport melted butter, "oudi," they
have waterskins of various shapes, the most common being the
one called "tahattint" ⵜⴰⵀⴰⵜⵜⵉⵏⵜ , but they also sometimes [281]
use the tanned hide of a camel's thigh. /27/

To feed young camels and lambs, they use a kind of 231
nursing bottle of wood shaped like a cup equipped with a tube. 415
This utensil is called "ar'alala" .

For dishes, one finds in the tent wooden bowls of all sizes, 415
called "akous" , plural "ikassen" ,
large wooden dishes, "tar'elalt" , and smaller dishes
used as plates and called "tar'ehout" , plural
"tireha" . To ladle milk or gruel, the Tuareg use
a large ladle, "temoulat" , plural "timoulatin"

[361]

Dautheville

Tuareg Camp at Tazerouk

, and for eating they have ordinary wooden spoons
called "tesoukalt" , plural "tsoukaline" .

To separate the grains of "toulloult" and "afezzou" from 252
their hulls, they use small trays of afezzou called "tissiit" 415
, plural "tissiin" .

They also use a great deal the wooden mortar, "akabar" 415
, with its pestle, "ihar'en" .

Finally, they have hide sacks to hold dates or grains, which 281
they call "adjera" , plural "idjerouen" 415

All the above utensils are made of the wood of the 415
"teborak" (Balanites aegyptiaca, Simaroubaceae) and of the 824
abser', or "tamat," (Acacia arabica).

262
The nobles eat better, at least those who are well-to-do. 243
In the Ahaggar especially they own cultivated land in the 556
"ar'erems" (villages), where they grow wheat, "ired," barley, 565 423
"timzin," and bechna, "inelli"; but usually they sell their 438

[137]

Dautheville

Trees Called "Ahatés" (Acacia Albida) at the Tillemas of the Tessht Wadi (Koudia).

wheat and barley to the natives of the Tidikelt and are content with bechna, of which they are very fond. They claim that [824] bechna is less heating to the stomach than wheat or barley.

The rich allow themselves the luxury of drinking tea, but 272
tea and sugar are very expensive, and they do not misuse them. 556
On the other hand, they do not hesitate to beg for them shame- 263
lessly.

When the year is bad anything seems good to the poor to 222
assure their subsistence. In such years one sees them eating 262
/30/ "berdi," or "taheli," (Typha angustifolia, Typhaceae); 735
ground carob seeds of "talhas," or gum trees, which they call 252
"tahaha" ⁝⁝⁝

When they want to stretch out at the foot of the tree called "el yatil" in Arabic and "tadjart" ⊕ⵜ+ in Tamashek (a kind of acacia), which is inhabited by jinn, they must first wound it with a stone, and stones are always to be found at the foot of these trees. One can also see the wounds made in the bark. 776 824 789

The "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica) is also a haunted tree. If one wants to rest under its shade, it is first necessary to break seven of the tree's thorns.

There are also "kel esouf" in the place where an animal has had its throat cut. 776

Mount Oudane is haunted, as are many others. [823]

These superstitions are probably survivals of their old religion, before their conversion to Islamism. Like them, "The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period worshipped jinn, or genii. The deserts and mountains where one sometimes gets lost for entire weeks are full of beings of this kind.... They can do much harm and much good.... They live in rocks, trees, or statues. Each tribe, or sometimes a group of tribes, had its special jinni; its rock, its tree, its own image, before which an appointed family carried out priestly duties" (1). 174 771 776

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 5 and 6.

The Tuareg have many other superstitions. Thus nobles would never kill a "uran" (varanus), which in Tamashek is called "ar'ata" • +⁝ , and a fortiori would not eat it. Sidi ag Keradji and Aziouel ag Ser'ada told me that the uran is the maternal uncle of the Tuareg, and Sidi told me the following legend: "Seven nobles had killed a camel belonging to Sidna Nouh (Hoah). Among them there was a noble Tuareg. To punish them God changed them, one into an uran, another into a jackal, a third into a chameleon, etc. /61/ The uran was the noble Tuareg. The camel that was killed is now in the sky: it is the Great Bear. The Polar Star, 'Bel Hadi', is its head." 565 825 773 784 [821]

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361

output is only enough to water the flocks, in the Ahaggar, on the contrary, a mountainous country where there is some water everywhere, a number of small villages called "ar'erem" ⵄⵔⵔⵉⵎ, plural "ir'ermane" ⵉⵄⵔⵔⵉⵎⵏ, have been built.

Since the Tuareg, nobles or imr'ad, dislike all manual work, these villages could not have been built without the indispensible help of the Harratine of the Touat and the Tidikelt, whom the Tuareg call "Izeggar'en" ⵉⵣⵖⵔⵄⵏ, meaning "mulattoes." Everything was made by the latter: the wells, /74/ "tounine," which are used for irrigation, as at Tazerouk; the "foggaras," or covered wells, "ifelane," and their irrigation canals as at Abalessa, Tit, and Tamanrasset; the fitting up of springs, as at Tadjemout. The Harratine made the gardens and became khammes of the Tuareg, landowners. They settled in these villages and there built huts of "diss" (Imperata cylindrica) or of "berdi" (Typha angustifolia) and little houses of baked earth.

312
565
361
463
342
824

The Harratine grow wheat, barley, and bechna in these gardens. These are the three essential crops, to which they add some vegetables: onions, kabouyas, or gourds, watermelons, and "guerroum" (a kind of long melon which is eaten green, like a cucumber, before it is ripe). Finally, at Tit they /75/ have planted some fine fig trees and a vine which yields a grape that seems delicious at this latitude. Similarly, at Abalessa, there are some vine slips and a fine palm.

241

Ideles (Koudia)

The gardens, or rather the fields, are enclosed by a hedge to prevent the depredations of the camels that graze free at night. But there are some that do not have this protective barrier, and the Harratine are forced to stand guard at night, turn, and turn about, lighting fires to drive the camels away from the crops.

754 /113 cont./ women chase it, beating the air with scarves and reciting secret words. They act as if they were madwomen.

The borbor is incorporated into couscous, which, it is said, may be turned with a hand taken from a dead person, but I have had few confirmations of that practice. The borbor is administered by throwing it in the path the victim should take, if it is impossible to make him eat it.

Whether intended as philter or poison, borbor differs very little in its composition; only the quantities must differ.

When a woman wishes the death of a rival, she has another process at her disposition. Having managed to obtain some menstrual blood of the enemy, she goes to a taleb /public scribe/ who specializes in magic; the latter wraps the blood in a paper or rag on which he writes sacred words; he then throws the package into a permanent séguia /irrigation canal/. As long as the seguia flows, the blood of the rival will flow, and she will die of this hemorrhage.

There is an antidote for borbor called "bottal," a blackish substance that one throws on embers and whose emanations counteract the effects of borbor.

824 754 Two plants must be mentioned here which, without being fatal, cause momentary insanity, according to the Tuareg: first, "afeleleh" ("bettina" in Arabic), black henbane, (the antidote consists of gulping down camel meat or, better, /114/ camel fat); second, "bourzig," taken by women who want to gain weight, but which taken in strong doses induces temporary madness during which the victim spouts out an endless succession of words which she does not remember later.

754 Magic operations are most varied, and everyone can expect each day to be the victim of them. The Negroes are haunted by this fear; the Tuareg do not seem to be worried [751] by these magic maneuvers. However, everyone wears "tera," protective charms issued by the taleb; thus the Moslem religion, more or less deformed, fights against magic or, sometimes, collaborates with it.

/175 cont./

103 Arak wadi
312 Gourdane wadi
Tadjmout wadi
Tiratimine wadi
Tibratine wadi
Takoula wadi
Takoumbaret wadi
Asabaï wadi
Amguid region, slope of the Igharghar:
et Tarara wadi
Hesses wadi
Rharis wadi
El Mahek wadi
Teghert wadi
Hamsa wadi
In-Herreki wadi

Region east of the Serkout massif:

This part of the Ahaggar is very little known; the wadis are tributaries of the Tafassasset wadi.

/177/ V

Flora

| 137 Tamahaq Name | Arabic Name | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|
| 824 | | |
| Ahtès | | Acacia albida. Rare. |
| Aliou | | Olea laperrini. In the high mountains. |
| Adjiar | El Iatim | Argan tree (?). Hardwood, pasturage for camels, edible berries. |

/177 cont./

137 824

| Tamahaq Name | Arabic Name | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|
| Azaoua | Fersig | Tamarix gallica. Good pasturage. Khecba for roofing, zéribas. |
| Taberkat | Ethel | Softwood, used for bowls and spoons, salty pasturage; the fruit colors leather red. |
| Tamat | Tahala | Acacia seyal. Good pasturage, hardwood. |
| Absaq | Tahla | Acacia tortilis. Good pasturage, hardwood. |
| Teborak | Techat | Banalites aegypticae. Used for common objects; edible fruit, cough remedy. |
| Tihok | Irak | Shrub, softwood, used for cleaning teeth. |
| Telothat | | Firewood. |
| Tedjert | Tedjert | Acacia eburnea. Seeds used in tanning; thorns; nails for rahla /camel's saddle/. |
| Tezzeit | Nakhla | Palm. |
| Thora | Kranka | Callotropis proscera. Wood for rahla; the sap causes ophthalmia. |
| Tehounek | Jeddari | Found in the Atakor. Firewood; used for tanning guerba /waterskins/. |
| Assellouf | Elhelhab | |
| Tarkat | | Fruit which tastes like grapes, size of a jujube. |
| Edjaq | | Hardwood, used to make rosary beads. |

6:Blanguernon--164 Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

/178/

137 Spontaneous Flora -- Herbaceous Vegetation -- Pasturage

824

| Tamashek Name | Arabic Name | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Tiberimt | Lemmet | Pasturage for asses, to a small extent for goats, tastes like celery (umbelliferous). |
| 2. Ennedam | | Acheb /pasturage/ plant. |
| 3. Tamadi | | Acheb plant. |
| 4. Tamedout | | Acheb plant. |
| 5. Azrem | Merkad | Acheb plant. |
| 6. Ourroug | Errega | Acheb plant. |
| 7. Tahaout | Rguig | Acheb plant. |
| 8. Tahnetnet | Tafsa | Perennial plant. |
| 9. Afessour | Cherelk | Acheb plant. |
| 10. Tanesmimet | Hamoued | Acheb plant; acid. |
| 11. Afazzou | Morakba | Panicum turgidum. Seeds eaten by the Tuareg; used, with straw, for making wind-breaking mats (asaber). |
| 12. Akalouad | Jonc | Typha augustifolia. For goats. |
| 13. Akecheker | | Thorny plant. Permanent pasturage. |
| 14. Adrilal | | Astralague prolixus. A sort of wild pea, very good pasturage. |
| 15. Alemmoz | Nçi | Aristida ascencionnis. Very good pasturage, in the zone of the peripheral trench after the rains. |
| 16. Telemmoust | Sfar | Very good pasturage. Zone: same as above. |
| 17. Aslak | Habalia | Acheb plant. Héliotropium ondulatum. |

/178 cont./

137
824

| Tamashek Name | Arabic Name | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|
| 18. Imatelli | | Acheb plant. |
| 19. Askaf | Damrane | Traganum midatum. Very scarce in the Ahaggar, region of Tiffert. |
| 20. Tadjemaît | Njem | Couch grass, near water points, mediocre pasturage. |
| 21. Affelleleh | Bettina | Henbane. C uses madness for two or three days; its smoke is somniferous. |
| 22. Aressou | Arta | Good pasturage. |
| 23. Amateltel | | Climbing plant, particularly on acacias, the size of a vine. Good pasturage. |
| 24. Atarzim | Ghardek | Lotus of the Lotophagi (?) according to Duveyrier. |
| 25. Alaouat | Gergir | Very good pasturage. In the large wadis after floods. Peripheral trench and Iforas. |
| 26. Aremmas | Guettaf | Atriplex alimus. Laxative, very salty, mediocre pasturage. |
| 27. Tabakat | Sedra | Jujube tree, Zizyphus lotus. Average pasturage, except for asses. /179/ |
| 28. Almès | Guesba | Reed. |
| 29. | Defla | Oleander (poison, except for goats and gazelles). |
| 30. Tedjellit | Coloquinte | Colocynth. Gazelles, goats, asses. |
| 31. Alagoz | Hadjia | Sweet colocynth, edible. |
| 32. Aftezza | Chebrok | Zilla macroptera. Very good pasturage. |

/179 cont./

137
824

| Tamashek Name | Arabic Name | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|
| 33. Issin | Djell | Fairly good pasturage. |
| 34. Rellachem | | Grows in the mountains, scarce, remedy for gonorrhea and cough. |
| 35. Tahara | Hâdd | Cornulaca monacantha. Very good winter pasturage, poor in the summer. |
| 36. Ana | Merkh | Ginista saharae, broom. Very good pasturage. |
| 37. Tadjerdjert | | Purgative. Fairly good pasturage. |
| 38. Tahiart | Tinhart | In the seguias /irrigation canals/ of the agricultural centers, used to perfume tea. |
| 39. Tahli | Berdi | Formium tenax. Type of large reed which grows near the tiggerts /natural outflows of water/; pasturage for goats. In times of scarcity, the heart is eaten. |
| 40. Taïberou | Bouzaka | Poison, rare (Atakor). No antidote. |
| 41. Tassa | Elbaguel | Mediocre pasturage. |
| 42. Tanatfert | Ghatassa | Makes milk bitter. |
| 43. Toulloult | Drinn | Aristida pugens. Very good pasturage, seed edible in same way as that of afazzou (three parts to one of wheat). |
| 44. Teferiest | Tesskra | Thistle, scarce, good pasturage. |
| 45. Takamezout | Chedengoura | Only in the Atakor. Sure cure for dysentery; yields 14 remedies. |

/179 cont./

| 137 Tamashek Name | Arabic Name | Miscellaneous Observations |
|---|---|---|
| 46. Zezeri | Zahta | Atakor. Is put in tea. |
| 47. Tihéréguéli | Chih' | Perfumes tea, remedy for colic. |
| 48. Amiou | N'gouth | Good pasturage. |
| 49. Tamadjéhi | Kroumt | Very good pasturage. |
| 50. Tatalt | Elgouzah | Good pasturage. |
| 51. Otaq | Mrenza | Mixed with crushed dates, fattens women. Bad odor. |
| 52. Tedjourt | Hallala | Remedy for gastric troubles. |
| 53. Terfes | Terfes | A sort of truffle. |
| 54. Aliouen | Denoun | A sort of large asparagus. |

/181/

## VI

## Tools

412 Here is a list of tools used by the maalmine; many of them are made by the users:

Tisadh: double-pocketed bellows.

Abaracha: piece of wood 50 x 20 x 6 centimeters, serving as support for an iron mass used as an anvil.

Tehount: iron mass 6 x 6 x 15 centimeters used as an anvil.

Afadis: hammer.

Tafadist: small hammer.

Irendan: tongs.

Takadimt: adz.
Tataout: chisel for wood.
Tadouft: ax.
} Neolithic-type hafting.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



415

[323]
[322]

Fig. 21 a–b. Milk-bowls (*akus*, pl. *ikassen*) which are used for milking and for milk drinking.

[184] a. A bowl made of burned clay like an ordinary earthen pot. These bowls are never used by pastoral Tuareg but by a few sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar who also manufacture them. Ahaggar, Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.120 m high with an upper diameter of 0.187 m. (N.M. G. 5821).

[824] [463] [184] b. A bowl cut of the wood of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*). It is made by a blacksmith, but certain Tuareg women cut similar bowls which are common in all camps of pastoral Northern Tuareg. Such milk-bowls are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Agah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.102 m high with an upper diameter of 0.199 m. (N.M. G. 5199).

416
531

Fig. 22. Calabash of a type which is used occasionally for milking in Ahaggar. It is called *atekkas* (*wa n akh*) or *asekkas* (*wa n tazek*), that is "calabash for milk, or "calabash for milking". Introduced to Ahaggar from the south and bought at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.110 m high with an upper diameter of 0.195–0.203 m. (N.M. G. 5823).

p. 93 ff.), and this seems to be true partly also of the so-called Watusi-cattle and related breeds, which have been mixed with zebu-cattle and therefore frequently have well developed humps (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 10 ff.; Faulkner & Epstein 1957, p. 148 ff.; Johsi, McLaughlin & Phillips 1957, p. 146, 178, 259). 233* 171

Adametz believes that zebus were introduced into Africa from Northern India about 2000 B.C. (Adametz 1920, p. 10 ff.). Nowadays Zebus no doubt form the most important types of cattle in Africa, and Tuareg cattle are of the zebu type. The West African zebus fall into a number of sub-breeds described in detail by Doutressoulle. The zebu type found in Ayr and adjacent regions and also introduced into Northern Tuareg country is known as the *Azawar* breed (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 102 ff.). In Southern Ayr, which nowadays has a fairly large population of pastoral Fulani, a particular type of zebu is also very common. This zebu is characterized by very high stature and extremely long horns often resembling the form of a lyre (Fig. 27). This breed is named Borodji, Bororo, or M'Bororo. The Fulani zebu is esteemed by certain Ayr Tuareg because of its fatter milk, but it is claimed that its meat is not so delicious as that of their own cattle. 233* 174 262

Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer do not breed cattle (zebus), which do not thrive in their barren countries where pastures of annual plants do not regenerate annually. An attempt to breed zebus among the pastoral Ahaggar Tuareg some years ago failed, and zebus are nowadays found only among settled agriculturists who use these animals as draught-animals at irrigation wells (p. 189; Fig. 132 a–b). A few agriculturists also have cows to raise calves, and to utilize their milk. It is comparatively easy for settled agriculturists of Ahaggar to keep cattle. In dry years, and when pasture is scarce and dry in the hot season, cattle can be fed on vegetables and the straw of certain plants grown in the garden. It can also be mentioned that many agriculturists live in the very broad river valleys of lower Ahaggar where water is not very deep under the sand, and at some agricultural settlements there are even permanent springs. In such places (e.g., the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel) there are even in dry years fresh grazing of a few permanent plants suited to cattle, notably the four following species:— *tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*), *tésengelt* (*Saccharum Ravennae*), *ilegga* (sing. *aleggi*) (*Scirpus Holoschoenus*), and *taysest* (*Eragrostis bipinnata*). The regeneration of these plants is not dependent upon annual rainfall, for the soil is always sufficiently humid for their annual regeneration. Therefore it is very common in Ahaggar (e.g., at Abalessa and at Amsel) to burn down the old dry plants late in winter so that new fresh plants can germinate in spring. This method of renewing pasture by the burning down of old dry plants is not generally possible in desert countries. In Ahaggar it is practised only for the four above mentioned species within very limited humid areas, and the method is said to be entirely unknown in Ayr. 361 137 724

The Ahaggar agriculturists who possess oxen very frequently use these animals for riding, sitting on the hind part of the animals which are kept under control by means of a rein (*tazerkit*) placed through their nostrils, or by means of a halter. No saddle is used apart from a casual piece of cotton, or a blanket (Fig. 28). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer, it is said, the settled farmers have no cows but only bulls and oxen to be used at irrigation wells, and these animals are not used for riding as in Ahaggar. 492

The zebus found in the settlements of northern agriculturists are all introduced from the south where conditions for ox-breeding are much more favourable. Many, and perhaps most, northern zebus have come from Ayr from which region they are still introduced to Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



yield decreases to about two litres (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 104). It should be added that, as for other domestic animals, the daily yield of milk depends very much on the conditions of pastures, and cows always yield little milk when pastures are dry – even at the beginning of their lactation period. 234

Bulls are frequently castrated two or three years old to be used for riding and transportation. Oxen are used for this purpose particularly among the Tuareg of the plains towards the south and west, while most pastoralists of the Massif almost exclusively use donkeys and camels. Oxen are ridden without a saddle. The rider sits on the back of the animal which is covered with a blanket or a piece of cotton as in Ahaggar. The animals have a cord (*asabar*) placed through their nostrils, but plaited halters (*amerar*) are also used for riding oxen. 492 [232] [184]

The Tuareg have terms to cover the age and sex of their cattle, and they also have a certain number of colour terms; but they say that there are very few colour terms for cattle (about ten terms according to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group). They explain this lack of colour terms by the fact that cattle did not play any important rôle to their subsistence in the past. Cattle do not respond to their names, but some of them will come to the camp on the utterance of a certain cry (cf. p. 135). 233* 192 [433] [178]

233* [283] →

Fig. 31. Zebu calf with a pronged stick (*tabellat*) put through its nostrils to prevent sucking. Ayr, the *Isokaranan* tribe.
Fig. 32. Muzzle (*akimbab*) to wean zebu calves. The muzzle is made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*) which form a frame covered with cords of *tamat* bast and with cotton strips. It is fastened to the head of a calf with a piece of cord plaited of goat's hair, and the attachment is done in such a way that the calf can graze without difficulty though it cannot suck. Tamesna, Ahaggar Tuareg of the *Iregenaten* tribe. Dimension: 0.17–0.19 m high. (N. M. G. 6661). [824]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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824
564

Fig. 37. Wooden milk-bowl (*akabar*) of the type used in Ayr not only for she-camels but also for cows, sheep, and goats. It is carved out of wood of the *turza* tree (*turha* in Ahaggar) (*Calotropis procera*) by a blacksmith. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.285 m high. (N.M. G. 6662).

[237]

Fig. 38. Wooden milk-bowl (*akabar*) of the type used for she-camels in Ahaggar. It was introduced to Ahaggar from the south where it was made by an Ayr blacksmith from wood of the *turha* tree (*Calotropis procera*). The cracked brim is mended with a piece of raw camel hide. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.240 m high. (N.M. G. 5822).

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37–38) and milks only with one hand, but the milk-bowl may also be held by a woman or a boy so that both milkers have two hands free. If men are absent from the camp, milking may be done by women though properly this is the task of grown men. Certain she-camels are very difficult to milk so that milking should be done as quickly as possible. If a she-camel is very restless and therefore difficult to milk it is customary to bend up its right foreleg and attach it in this bent position to its left foreleg before milking is done. This method is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the term *ésemmetil* (cf. Fig. 35). 234 [462]

The Tuareg have various devices to prevent camel calves from drinking more than their proper share of milk. In Ayr and also among the Ahaggar Tuareg of the Tamesna region it is common to keep the young calves tethered by means of a particular cord (*téimdit*) fastened to the calf's forelegs (Fig. 39–40). The calf is not allowed to follow its mother during grazing, and in the night when all she-camels rest in the camp they are kept lying on the ground so that the calves cannot suck them. When young calves are tethered in the camp they are fed on fresh annual plants collected for them by the Tuareg. When calves grow older and plant food constitutes their most important nourishment, 233* [224]

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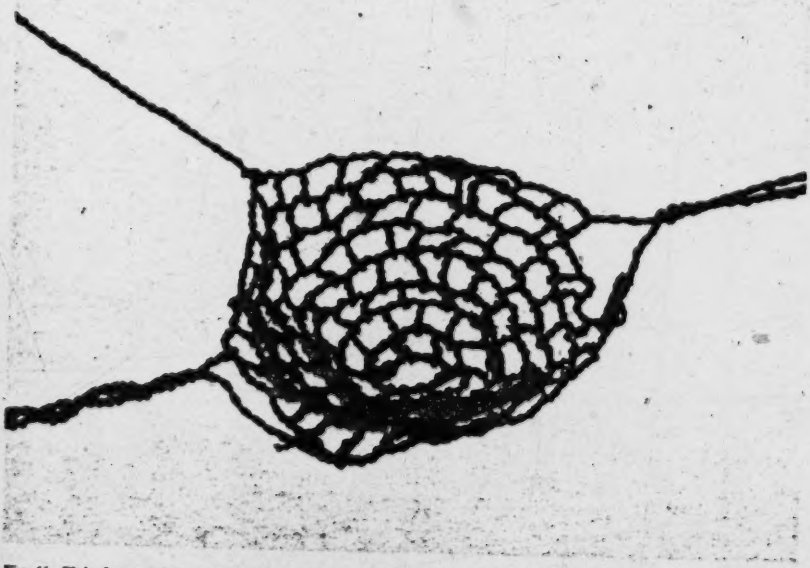

Fig. 41. Plaited pouch (*abegu*) to prevent the sucking of camel calves. It is made of goat's hair, and it has three cords for attachment to the hind part of the she-camel so that the pouch covers the udder. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the three cords: 1.19, 1.05, and 0.97 m. (N.M. G. 5198).

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bridge of the nose of a calf, so that it hurts its mother when it tries to suck (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 359). – 233*
(3) *akimbab*, that is a plaited muzzle which allows the calf to graze, but prevents it from sucking. I have been told both in Ahaggar and Ayr that such muzzles are used for camel calves, but apparently they do not constitute a normal weaning method. – (4) *asrdres* or *amera* are said to be synonymous terms for the weaning method generally adopted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. The method is as follows:— The upper lip of the calf is pierced on both sides of the harelip so characteristic of all camels. A piece of thin root of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) is drawn through these holes so [324] that the ends of the root protude at both sides, and a knot is made at both ends that the root will not fall out. These knots hurt the udder of a she-camel when the calf starts to suck, but this is not the real idea of the device. For the root-piece keeps the pierced holes open and the calf is therefore unable to suck at all.

A she-camel may yield about ten litres of milk at the beginning of its lactation period, but at the 234
end of this period it does not yield more than two or three litres even with good grazing. The yield is always dependent on grazing conditions. Thus during my stay in Ahnet and Ahaggar 1954–55, a Tuareg who owned about twenty she-camels acquired only two litres of milk a day in all from these animals. But conditions of camel-breeding are much better in Ayr and in the southern plains where [433] she-camels are tolerably good milk-yielders most of the year, and camel's milk is therefore very im- [272] portant to some pastoralists of these regions. Camel's milk is drunk and not generally used for food in other ways. It is much esteemed by all Tuareg, who claim that it possesses a particular power and gives strength. It is never stored in the shape of butter or cheese. The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr [262] never eat camel's butter which they consider possesses a poor taste, and, besides, it is very difficult to churn. They make butter of camel's milk only when butter of milk from other domestic animals is [302] lacking for the greasing of the hair. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr butter is then churned by the men in a rather peculiar way:— A skin bag containing an amount of camel's milk is attached to the riding [415] saddle of a camel which is then ridden at very fast speed for some time. But even with this method, it is said, camel's milk gives very little butter, and it is also definitely stated that the milk cannot be used for cheese-making. These Tuareg statements seem to be confirmed by analyses of veterinaries, [114] who claim camel's milk to contain very little casein, and it has been proved difficult to separate butter from camel's milk (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 707 ff.).

She-camels can mate and yield milk until an age of about 25, and their average length of life is 233*
estimated by the Tuareg at about 30 years. But pastoral Tuareg do not generally keep their camels until they die a natural death. In Ayr I was told that she-camels more than twenty years old should be sold or killed. Most Tuareg sell their old camels in the oases of the Central or Northern Sahara [432] where a large population of sedentary farmers is constantly yearning for meat. Very few camels are [366] killed by the butchers of Agadez, where meat from oxen, sheep, and goats is always available and [262] fairly cheap, but a great many old camels are slaughtered at the market places of the oases further north.

Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr very rarely kill their own camels to eat them. They will slaughter a camel 262
which suffers from some severe disease as all animals dying by accident or from disease are unlawful to eat. However, there are also some Ayr Tuareg who will never eat camel's meat. They say that they would feel very sick at heart were they to do so, and some Tuareg even say that they would vomit [261]

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Fig. 45a–e. Hobble-ropes for camels.

a. The *aayan* rope to be tied around the forleg of a camel to keep it lying down. This rope is made of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the stick 0.128 m (N.M. G. 5195).

b. Hobble-rope (*téffari*) made of dum palm leaves. Ayr, *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. Dimension: 0.43 m. (doubled). (N.M. G. 6609).

c. Hobble-rope (*téffari*) made of raw ox-hide. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 1.03 m. (N.M. G. 5196).

d. Hobble-rope (*téffari*) newly-made of date palm bast. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.60 m. (doubled). (N. M. G. 5197).

e. Hobble-rope (*téffari*) made of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 1.16 m. (N.M. G. 5194).

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Fig. 46. A resting she-camel with the colour name *tawinak*. The colour term of the young she-camel standing in the back-ground is *ténilt*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

In Ayr the Tuareg do not use camel's hide in their crafts, but give it to the blacksmiths who use it for lashing, or to people who manufacture beds from ribs of palm leaves (cf. Fig. 257). The Northern Tuareg use camel-skin for the manufacture of a few household implements and also use it for lashing (cf. p. 84, 110, 222, 270 f. & Figs. 70, 86, 132a–b, 161a–d, 162, 213). But even in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer the skin of camels is little used compared with the skin of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep. 237 564 352 824

When employed in craft, camel's hide is normally used raw and unprepared after soaking in water, but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that for certain purposes the hide is treated with salt. In literature there are many statements about the tanning of camel's hide. Thus it is stated by Cauvet that the hide is tanned with plant material in Algeria, and Cauvet also quotes Duveyrier's statement that the Northern Tuareg tan camel's hide to use it for tents and various other implements (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 714 ff.). I very much doubt the correctness of this, as all Tuareg asked about it have stated that the hide of camels is not fitted for proper tanning. Camel's hide is therefore of very limited use to the Tuareg, and the same is the case with camel's hair or wool. Tuareg camels in Ayr have very little wool, and among the Northern Tuareg most animals have less wool than Arab camels of the Northern Sahara. The Northern Tuareg pluck a little wool with the hands or cut it off with a knife. It is spun into cords to be used for certain minor objects, notably for the manufacture of the plaited pouch (*abegu*) to prevent the suckling of calves (p. 62, Fig. 41) and for the particular cord (*asarun*) tied around the foreleg of camels to keep them in a reclining position (p. 72, Fig. 45a). Mixed with goat's hair the wool is also used for a kind of primitive weaving (p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b). 281 114 237 283 286

Camels are very important to the Tuareg as pack-animals for the caravan expeditions which will be mentioned in a later chapter when other means of subsistence have been described. 492* 494

In the past camels were also extremely valuable as riding animals on raiding expeditions which 492* 721

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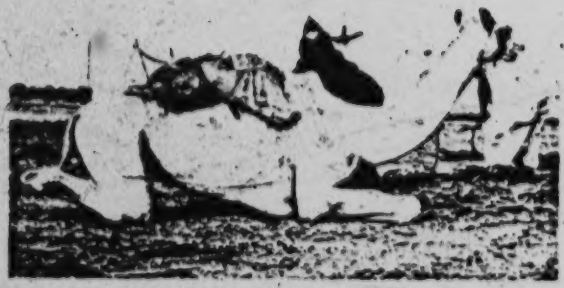

Fig. 53. Pack camel with the saddle consisting of two skin-bags (*imaytalen*) stuffed with hay. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Fig. 54. A skin bag (*amaytal*, pl. *imaytalen*) of the type used for pack-saddle. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: ca. 0.80 m. (N.M. G. 6658).

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leather fringes (cf. Fig. 52). Some very elaborate halters are found in the Musée de l'homme (Nos. 5.66.5; 30.61.228; 95.46.3; D $\frac{AA}{A}$ 42; D $\frac{AA}{A}$ 25).

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Foucauld describes a peculiar method for leading camels, as follows:— A little wooden stick (*aḡula*) is stuck into the skin between the chin and the lower jaw of the animal, and the lead is attached to this stick. The method is practised with camels which have no nostril ring and cannot be led by means of a rope attached around their lower jaw (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 426). I have seen this peculiar method practised once in Ahaggar.

Pack-camels are rarely used without some type of saddle, but it happens that camels are used for water-transportation from the well to the camp without a saddle. The waterbags are then hung over the animal's back, their cords resting upon a layer of straw or sprays. In Ahaggar, and more so in Ayr, it is also common instead of a proper saddle to use two skin-bags filled with grain, straw, or the like to form cushions. One of these is placed before, the other behind the hump so that the cords of luggage bags can rest upon them (cf. Fig. 53–54). These cushions are known as *imaytalen* (sing. *amaytal*), and they may serve as a pack-saddle even on long journeys, though the Tuareg in general use proper saddles on trading expeditions.

[17] Pack-saddles of the Northern Tuareg correspond to saddles found among the Arabs of the Sahara. The common type is that known to the Arabs as *ḫawiyya* or *ḥiddǧe*, and called *ɛlaki* by the Northern [324] Tuareg. It consists of a wooden frame (*ɛlaki*) generally made from pieces of palm leaf ribs (Fig. 55). [284] It is made up of two crossbars placed close to each other, each of them being composed of two short and slightly curved pieces of palm leaves' ribs lashed together at the top with raw camel-hide. The

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pair of cross-bars is connected with four short sticks of the same material, each being lashed with hide horizontally to the crossbars. This frame is generally manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt, who also make the large cushion (*tihekam*) of date palm bast to which the saddle-frame is attached with cords. On rare occasions the Tuareg also have saddle-frames of wood (*taharekkat*, that is *Tamarix aphylla*) made by the blacksmiths on the same pattern, and they may also use cushions of hay stuffed into a piece of matting. The *élaki*-saddle is used in the following way:— The short, looped cords of the loading bags rest upon the wooden frame in front of the camel's hump and on the rear part of the saddle-cushion. A bunch of grass or date palm bast (*aselki*) is placed under the loading cords that they may not gall the back of the camel. In addition to the proper camel-load divided into two halves (e.g., two large bags) there are frequently many smaller objects to be transported, and these are then attached to the wooden saddle-frame. The *élaki*-saddle normally rests loosely upon the camel's back, but it may be fixed to the animal's back by a girth (*ahayif*). It is also occasionally

492* [563] [824] [864]

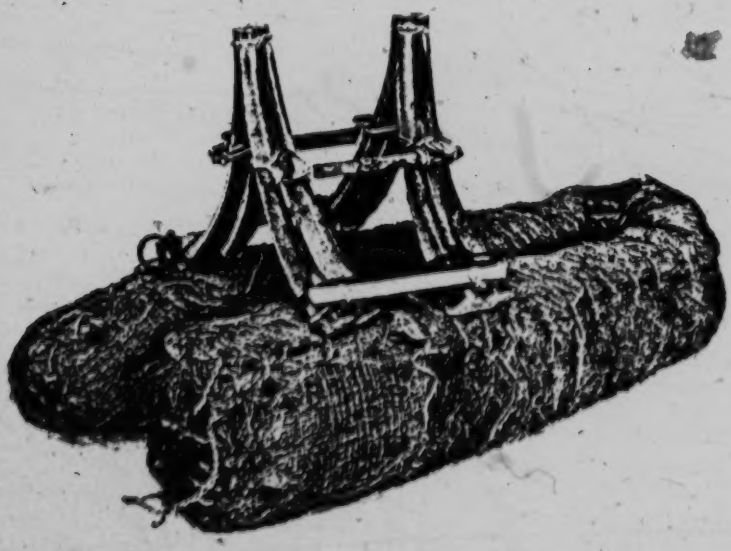

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Fig. 55. The *élaki* pack saddle consisting of a saddle frame attached to a U-formed cushion made of date palm bast: The saddle frame made of palm fronds lashed with raw hide. It is called *élaki*, or *ervas en élaki*. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.34 m high. (F.M. 191).
The saddle cushion of date palm bast. It is called *tihekam*. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset. Dimension: 1.50 m long. (F.M. 192).

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Fig. 63a. Riding saddle of the *sehyast* type. The saddle is made of wood of the *tarha* tree (*Calotropis procera*) which is often used for riding saddles. The wooden frame is lashed with strips of raw hide and covered with depilated ox-hide which is coloured with the dyes known as *berki*, *temesrarak*, and *tawakeni* (cf. p. 282). Bought in Ahaggar, manufactured in Adrar-n-Foras, or in Ayr. Dimension: 0.55 m high, 0.51 m broad. (N.M. G. 5189).

*492 that it is manufactured by pastoral Tuareg of these regions and not by blacksmiths, though the latter
[564] may also make such saddles for their own use. The wooden structure is made of two cross-bars, which
[412] are natural prongs fashioned with knife and axe, and these two cross-bars are lashed to each other at their lower ends, or are connected with each other by means of two sticks crossing each other at
[824] the two sides. A wreath of slender roots of *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) covered with a network of dum
[283] palm rope may serve as a saddle seat, which can also be covered with a piece of matting plaited from
[285] the leaves of the dum palm tree. This very simple saddle may perhaps be considered the prototype of the more developed riding saddles of the *térik* and *tahyast* types.

All the above-mentioned types of riding saddles are placed in front of the camel's hump and rest upon two to four saddle cloths, the number depending upon their quality and also upon the nutritional condition of the animal. Two saddle-cloths are considered enough for a fat camel while four should be applied to a very thin one. Saddle cloths are frequently called *ésatfar* (Ayr) or *asetfer* (Ahaggar), but this name is in fact used for everything placed upon the back of an animal to protect it against galling from the luggage and/or the saddle. Saddle cloths for camels are properly termed *éselis* (Ayr)
[286] and *ameslak* (Ahaggar). Both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr saddle cloths are generally made of cotton, but they are also made from dum palm matting and a piece of leather among the Ayr Tuareg (Figs. 66–67). The riding saddles are fixed to the camel by a single girth known as *ahayif*
[237] (Ahaggar) or *azaw* (Ayr). In the north such girths are normally made from goat-hair while the Ayr Tuareg use plaited leather (goat-skin). Girths in both regions are frequently furnished with a very
[541] large tassel hanging down from the right side of the camel (Fig. 69). On rare occasions when the Tuareg
[648] ride their camels with all possible speed, e.g., at the annual camel races organized by the French administration, the riders often secure the position of their saddles by means of a long cord (*ihwéneren* among the Northern Tuareg) tied around the hind part of the camel as shown by the photograph Fig. 68.

The camel rider sits in the saddle cross-leged with his feet resting upon the camel's neck. To accelerate the speed of his riding animal he pushes one of his feet against its neck in step with the rocking gait
*492 peculiar to camels. A whip (*alekkaf*) also belongs to the equipment of the rider. Most whips have a
237 single lash made from a twisted strip of hide, but whips provided with two lashes of hide attached to a wooden handle are also found and are common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Figs. 70a–b). The whips used in the north are said to be made from camel's hide soaked in water; the raw hide is twisted and kept in this position until it is dry. The Ayr Tuareg say that camel's hide is not well fitted for whips, which among them are manufactured from the raw hide of a newly-killed ox. A piece of this hide is twisted and left to dry as in the north. The handle of the one-lash whip is made of cotton wrapped around the upper part of the lash and covered with coloured goat-skin.

*492 The Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular implement to hasten the speed of riding camels. It is described in literature notably by Foucauld. It consists of a slender iron rod 0.35–0.50 metres long, fixed into a wooden handle. It has a small crook much like that of a staple and is used for scratching the animal and thus to incite it to greater speed. It is called *azallu*, or *asekred* (Foucauld 1951 52. II, p. 856 & IV, p. 1960). I have never seen this peculiar implement among the Tuareg.

*492 A camel rider's equipment comprises various types of skin bags of which the most common is a
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Fig. 64. Riding saddle of the type known as *kanarki* or *delobi*. It is made of two forked boughs of *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*) connected with sticks and the seat. The latter is made of slender roots (sing. *tikdwi*) of the afagag *acacia* (*Acacia Raddiana*). These slender roots are bent into a circle, are covered with cotton or similar material, and a kind of net is made of dum palm rope within the circle. Ayr, *Imezgedrzen*. Dimension: 0.49 m high. (N.M. G. 6656).

*492 household goods during nomadic migrations, and are employed daily in all camps to carry water in skin-
[445] [312] bags from wells and waterholes to the tents. They are very strong animals considering their low stature,
and good pack-donkeys can carry up to one hundred kilograms even for very long trips. Donkeys
[262] are occasionally used for long journeys by the Northern Tuareg, and many Ayr Tuareg use them to
[484] fetch provisions of millet around Tanut in Dumergu. Caravans of donkeys are frequently observed
in these regions, and one even sees mixed caravans of donkeys and camels. There can be no doubt
[174] that before the introduction of the camel the donkey was still more important for riding and transportation than is the case nowadays. This is clearly demonstrated by historical material from Egypt and adjacent regions (cf. Erman 1922, p. 518 f., 529, 592 f., 636).

231 It has already been mentioned that donkey's meat and skin are not utilized nowadays by the Tuareg.
[262] The same is true of mare's milk which, however, is used as a remedy against a kind of cough known
[257] to the Ayr Tuareg as *khamkham*. There is no regulation of mating for donkeys which in many ways are semi-domesticated animals. In Ayr male donkeys are never castrated, while the Ahaggar Tuareg say they castrate such stallions as constantly run after the mares and in this way cause too much trouble. The Tuareg also have no methods to prevent foals from sucking, while a method of this kind is sometimes applied by sedentary people in and around Agadez. This method known as *éfinjar* consists in the cutting of the nostrils of half-grown foals so that they cannot suck pregnant mares. Both stallions
*492 and mares are used for riding and transportation, but female animals are much preferred for these purposes. Mares are used almost exclusively for the transportation of water-bags hanging under the animals, as the bags might be squirted by stallions' urine.

The Northern Tuareg saddle their donkeys, using the same saddle type for riding and for transpor-
[462] tation (Fig. 86). This is known as *aruku* and is manufactured by the women in the following way:—
[824] Two fresh boughs of the *tahunek*-tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) are heated, or slightly burned, over the fire.
[322] The boughs are thereupon barked and bent into the curved form wanted, and are then kept in this position by cords. After drying for a few days the boughs will retain their curved form, and the cords are untied. The boughs are then cut up and their ends are connected by two pieces of camel's hide
[237] [412] soaked in water, and sewn together by means of a large iron needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (cf. Fig. 220b) and a thread which is also cut from camel's hide. The wooden saddle frame is attached to three
[237] cushions. These cushions are generally made of goat-skin or sheep-skin stuffed with hay or with date palm bast, but may also be plaited from leaves of the date palm tree. Cushions made from goat-skin
[412] are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of the little awl known as *tistent* (cf. Fig. 218a). The two long cushions resting lengthwise upon the animals back are known as *tastek*, and the small cushion resting over the animal's back close to its shoulders is called *tafelledut*. The saddle is fixed to the donkey by two girths consisting of cords made of goat-hair. One of these cords (*tidmechart*) passes under the tail, the other (*ahayif*) is tied around the chest of the animal. This saddle type is well fitted for the transportation of burdens and in particular of water-bags, the cords of which are attached to the pommels. When the saddle is used for riding it is frequently covered with a blanket or a piece of cloth. Saddles of this type are found in all camps of the Northern Tuareg, and Lhote states that they are also found in Adrar-n-Foras and in Ayr (Lhote 1947a, p. 120). This may be so, but I have myself never seen them in the latter region where they are unknown to the *Kel Ferwan*

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A chest disease for which the Ayr Tuareg have no particular name. It is cured by cutting two rows of small slices through the animal's skin at both sides of the fore thighs so that blood flows. 233* 232

*awaras*, that is swelling of the foot caused by an acacia-thorn or other pointed object. The remedy is to remove the thorn by means of knife and awl and then burn the upper side of the foot with a red-hot iron.

*tafadé*, that is wounds on the camel's back caused by galling of the saddle and the loads. Very many camels have such wounds which are treated by pressing out the pus, by cutting, and by burning.

*ajawad*, that is scabies (*Sarcoptes scabiei* var. *Camelí*) which is extremely common. The Tuareg living around Agadez treat it in two distinct ways:— (1) an animal bone is crushed in a large mortar and the pounded mass is put into a cooking pot to be heated over the fire. A black liquid with a consistency like that of liquid butter comes out of the bone-substance after heating. It is rubbed into the skin of the infected animal. (2) Fruit of the *aborak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*) are put into a cooking pot to be heated over the fire. A black liquid comes out of the fruits after heating. This is rubbed into the skin. [824]

Camels in Africa are considered to suffer from only three major infectious diseases (*anthrax*, *pasteurellosis*, *trypanosomiasis*), but several types of local infections can be met with. 233*

I believe that camel diseases of Ayr and Ahaggar are not very different, but I have not collected much material on the subject in the north. I give a few additional examples from Ahaggar: *adder*, that is a bunion close to the junction of leg and body of camels. The bunion is produced by rubbing of the fore thigh against the chest during walking, and some camels suffer from such bunions during long journeys. I do not know if there is any treatment for it. *ǵelek*, that is the swelling of camels which have drunk too much water after the consumption of salty plants; this swelling disappears by itself. *krelenrwahen*, a nose disease which attack camels and goats. The nostrils are filled with pus so that the animals have difficulty in breathing. The treatment is burning. *amerwas*, swelling of the feet which are washed with hot water. *toza*, a chest disease considered contagious. The animals lose their appetite. The remedy is burning. Dr. Grunnet thinks that it could be an oedematous form of *pasteurellosis* (*haemorrhagic septicaemia*). – For scabies the Ahaggar Tuareg seem to know several treatments. They use pounded leaves of *ahoyyar* (*Cleome arabica*) and of *telulut* (*Capparis spinosa*) added to sour milk and rubbed into the camel's skin. According to Maire, who has made use of information from Voinot, there are other treatments for scabies, namely the use of ashes of the *aferegak* plant (*Chrozophora Brocchiana*), tar extracted from the *azawa* tree (*Tamarix gallica* ssp. *nilotica*), charcoal of *turha* (*Calotropis procera*) which is pounded and mixed with butter, seeds of *tegellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*) which are boiled into a black oil called *akaha* (cf. Maire 1933, p. 145, 156, 172, 200). Congestion due to heat-apoplexy (*ahni*) is cured as mentioned in the case of the Ayr Tuareg. [14] 233* 232 232 824

From the above description of camel diseases and their treatment it will be seen that the Tuareg know several types of veterinary methods. In brief the veterinary techniques can be summarized under the following five items:— 232

(1) Treatment by the hand, e.g., *Corpus luteum* which is squeezed out of the ovary by the manipulation (cf. *sanes*, p. 120), and massage treatments which the Tuareg practise with human beings and with domestic animals. [257]

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Fig. 94. Tuareg operating a camel's foreleg with a knife. Northern Ayr, the *Kel Tédalé*.

492 from the constant friction against the sand, and it may become necessary to provide the animals with leather shoes, that is pieces of ox-skin sewn around the hoofs. These leather shoes are known to [113] the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tissal* (sing. *tasselt*). Their appearance is excellently depicted by Lhote (Lhote 1951b, photographs p. 224).

232 (5) Medical treatment which forms an important part of Tuareg veterinary knowledge. I have 824 mentioned in the description of camel diseases the use of certain plants for the external treatment of scabies. The Tuareg also use various plants for drugs. Seeds of certain annual plants are mixed with milk and given to goats and sheep which suffer from stomach-diseases. Leaves of various plants are also considered laxatives. The Tuareg know many drugs made from wild plants, and they are aware that there are several wild plants that are dangerous to domestic animals. A very dangerous venomous plant is *élel* (*Nerium oleander*) which is extremely common in the higher parts of Ahaggar. It contains a kind of strychnine, and camels which eat *Nerium* leaves will die from this poison. The Tuareg say that camels bred and born in Ahaggar know the plant to be dangerous. These camels do not eat the *Nerium* leaves but others introduced to Ahaggar from the south may do so. To prevent camels from eating *Nerium* leaves the Tuareg put a leaf of the plant into their nostrils, or burn *Nerium* leaves so that the smoke and the scent of the plant enter the animal's nostrils. In this way camels come to loathe it. There are, according to Foucauld, other venomous plants in Ahaggar, e.g. *awrhed* (*Perralderia coronopifolia*), *arenked* (*Leptadenia heterophylla*, and/or *Cocculus pendulus*) which are fatal to goats and sheep (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1524 & IV, p. 1647; Maire 1933, p. 230, 236). The species [682] known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*) is very venomous for human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies. However, this plant does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, p. 192). One plant (*itheréggelé*) (*Artemisia judaica*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten venomous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for domestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe they have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings (Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be understood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil mouth (*tehoj* in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as *ellama* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding camels in Ayr:— Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order that their riding animal may not stumble.

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Fig. 93. A Tuareg feeding his riding camel with *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Many Tuareg feed their riding animals with stems of this perennial grass – partly to obtain a docile camel for riding, partly to change its fodder which consists largely of acacias and annual plants. The photograph is taken near Agadez at the *akasa* season. Annual plants grow between trees and bushes (*afagag*, *Acacia Raddiana*; *ibezzin*, *Salvadora persica*; *tadent*, *Boscia senegalensis*). Ayr, the *Isakaranan* tribe.

234 than those mentioned. Thus they can use any kind of receptacle for milk and milking, and they do
[4/5] not clean their milk-bowls with urine as is normal among certain East African stock-breeders, and,
[237] perhaps, also among certain of the Fulani living south of Ayr. The taste of urine is detested by the
262 Tuareg, who know this taste all too well as the water drawn from pools and wells is frequently flavoured
237 with urine and the excrement of domestic animals. Nor is camel urine used by Tuareg women for
302 hairdressing as is done among the Arabs, but it is said that it may have a medical value in curing
252 wounds. The custom of drinking blood has been mentioned above (p. 122 f.) and will be described later (p. 235).

*233 The Tuareg apparently have comparatively few superstitious usages in stock-breeding, which is
232 mainly to be considered rational. We have seen that stock-breeding is adapted to environment, and we have also mentioned that there are veterinary methods which doubtless have their origin in considerable knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of domestic animals. This knowledge forms one corner-stone of rational stock-breeding, and another is the very detailed knowledge of botany. In
*233 Ahaggar there are more than 600 different plant species for which the Tuareg have particular names,
824 though a few related species are sometimes known by one and the same name. Every Tuareg know about the ecological conditions of these plants, and he knows exactly their fodder value for domestic animals. He knows that certain plants form excellent fodder for all domestic animals, but he is also well aware that the different types of stock have different needs, so that certain plant species are valuable for camels, other species for other domestic animals.

231 The Tuareg are occasionally cruel to donkeys, and to dogs, but they take the greatest care of all other domestic animals to ensure their wellbeing and reproduction. Women bring acacia pods or tender annual plants to kids, lambs, and calves, and to sick animals which remain in the camp. On
484 long trading expeditions, when the camels have little time for grazing, some Tuareg will walk along
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the caravan and feed the animals with annual grasses, and a camel-rider, when he meets plants considered excellent for fodder, will stop for a while to let his riding camel eat them.

Saliferous plants are highly important to all types of livestock, and camels and sheep in particular need much salt nourishment. In Ahaggar there are certain plants of this kind almost everywhere, and the following species serve as fodder:— *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*), *issin* (*Salsola foetida*), *tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*), and *azawa* (*Tamarix gallica* and related species). *Aramas* in particular is very important. It is found almost everywhere within the Ahaggar Massif and at all altitudes. Benhazera states that *aramas* forms the most important fodder plant of Ahaggar (Benhazera 1908, p. 65), but this is not quite correct. It is most important because of its salt content as domestic animals do not thrive without salt, but the saliferous plants mentioned are very little nourishing for most domestic animals, and if the animals constantly eat such plants they become very thin. The most nourishing fodder plants of Ahaggar are tender annual species which spring up after abundant rainfalls. These plants are collectively known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *akasa*; they comprise many different species and those considered most excellent for fodder are: *tageruft* (*Tribulus terrester*), *adreylal* (*Astragalus* sp.), *taymast* (*Echium humile*), *azren* (*Monsonia heliotropioides* & *M. nivea*), *tamaghé* (*Moricandia arvensis*), and *tanesmimt* (*Rumex vesicarius* & *R. roseus*). To these annual fodder plants can be added another important annual species, namely *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*) which grows in the lower parts of Northern Tuareg countries. It is apparently not so common and important to the Northern Tuareg who live in and around the mountainous massifs, though it is a common and very valuable fodder for domestic animals of the Ahaggar Tuareg who live towards the south in the plains of Tamesna. It is one of the best fodder plants for camels and is also fairly good for sheep, while less valuable for other types of livestock. Annual plants may germinate over a large part of the year in Ahaggar, but as rainfall is most common late in summer (June, July, August) the best annual pasture will spring up at this period, and under very favourable conditions the plants may keep fresh and green for up to four months. When annual plants wither they are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ṛurat* (*ṛurat n akasa*). Such dry annual plants have lost much of their fodder value, but they are important for fodder even at this stage. The perennial species which are most important for fodder have their optimal value at particular stages of their development at particular seasons. Important are the perennial grasses known to the Tuareg as *tulluli* (*Aristida pungens*) and *afeẓu* (*Panicum turgidum*). The *tulluli* grass is extremely common in the Northern Sahara, and it forms perhaps the basic fodder plant among the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. It is also common in Ahnet and in the other mountain massifs surrounding Ahaggar to the north, but it is not found in the mountain massif proper of Ahaggar where most Tuareg live. The grass grows at Abalessa where cattle, goats, and sheep of the sedentary farmers feed upon it. The *tulluli* grass is valuable when green in winter, and hay of this grass is used for camel fodder on caravan expeditions to Tidikelt. The Tuareg cut it with a sickle and take it with them on the journey to the northern oases, because there is normally little vegetation on the road and no pasture around the oases where the Tuareg remain to trade for several days. The *afeẓu* grass is extremely common in the lower parts of Ahaggar and is found in practically all river valleys. It is valuable for fodder when green after rain, but it is of little value when withered. There are other perennial herbs and grasses which are eaten by domestic animals, but herbs and grasses are

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not the most important perennial fodder plants for goats and camels as the very best fodder plants of this kind are acacia trees, notably the species of *tamat* (*Acacia seyal*) and *abser* (*Acacia Raddiana*) which are, perhaps, the most common trees in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Massif. In Ahaggar the acacias defoliate in winter, and they are then not very nourishing fodder, though they do not apparently loose all leaves at one and the same time. Very nourishing are the fruits or pods of the two acacia species mentioned. They are eaten by all domestic animals.

The most valuable fodder plants in Ahaggar consist of annual plants and the acacias, with the addition of saliferous plants. The tender annual plants are those considered most nourishing for animals. The annual plants may spring up everywhere at all altitudes, but the three vegetational zones of Ahaggar do not possess exactly the same species, and there are still greater distinctions between the perennial species found within these zones, which as fodder areas have the following main characteristics:—

(1) *Abada*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Annual fodder-plants* . . . . . | *tageruft* (*Tribulus terrester*) |
| | *taynast* (*Echium humile*) |
| | *adreylal* (*Astragalus* sp.) |
| *Perennial fodder-plants* . . . . . | *tulluli* (*Aristidà pungens*) |
| | *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) |
| | *abser* (*Acacia Raddiana*) |
| | *tamat* (*Acacia seyal*) |
| *Saliferous plants* . . . . . | *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*) |
| | *issin* (*Salsola foetida*) |
| | *tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*) |
| | *azawa* (*Tamarix gallica* and related species) |

(2) *Tarayin*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Annual fodder-plants* . . . . . | *tageruft* (*Tribulus terrester*) |
| | *taynast* (*Echium humile*) |
| | *tamaghé* (*Moricandia arvensis*) |
| | *azren* (*Monsonia heliotropioides* & *M. nivea*) |
| *Perennial fodder-plants* . . . . . | *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) Scarce |
| | *abser* (*Acacia Raddiana*) – |
| | *tamat* (*Acacia seyal*) – |
| *Saliferous plants* . . . . . | *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*) |
| | *azawa* (*Tamarix gallica* and related species) |

(3) *Atakor*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Annual fodder-plants* . . . . . | *tageruft* (*Tribulus terrester*) |
| | *tamaghé* (*Moricandia arvensis*) |
| | *tanesmimt* (*Rumex vesicarius* & *R. roseus*) |
| *Perennial fodder-plants* . . . . . | They are scarce and of little value |
| *Saliferous plants* . . . . . | *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*) |

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*233 Each of the three vegetational zones of Ahaggar has its advantages and disadvantages. If we consider
●824 a good year when rain has fallen abundantly with a resultant regeneration of all fodder plants, the
137 *Atakor* zone has very excellent pasture. For the plains and the stony mountain slopes are then entirely
132 covered with annual plants which by the Tuareg are considered the very best fodder. The Tuareg also
133 claim that the upper mountain zone is preferable because of its cooler climate, which has a beneficial influence on the lactation of domestic animals. The disadvantage of the *Atakor* zone is the lack of acacias to which can be added the scarcity of fuel. The *Tarayin* zone possess characteristics of the *Atakor* zone and of the *Abada* zone. The *Abada* country is botanically very different from *Atakor*. It has annual pastures of great value when abundant rainfall has been experimented and it also has valuable pastures of perennial plants. With heavy rain the *Abada* country is excellent for stock-breeding, and fuel can be found everywhere. But the Abada country is hotter than are the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

If rain falls abundantly all over Ahaggar there is good pasture in all three zones. But rainfall is more frequent and heavier at high altitudes than in the *Abada* zone, so that *Atakor* normally has by far the best pasture of annual plants which spring up late in summer or in autumn. The *Abada* zone on the other hand has the very best pasture of perennial plants, notably acacias that grow around the lower parts of the valleys which are always flooded when it rains in the high mountains.

221 The fluctuations of plant development determine the nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg.
*233 A few tribes have their normal grazing grounds in *Atakor* (e.g., the *Dag Rali* and the *Kel Tazulet*).
824 They camp in this zone at most seasons to let their goats and sheep feed on fresh and dry annual pasture.
[132] In dry years and during the hot summer season they may move to the *Tarayin* zone where there are perennial fodder plants, but they rarely camp in the *Abada* country. Many tribes have their normal grazing grounds in the *Abada* zone (e.g., the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, the *Ayt Lowayen*, the *Iheyawen Haila*, and the *Kel Rela*), but move to the *Atakor* when annual pasture is good in this region. They live in
[342] *Atakor* with tents and flocks when annual plants are green, while the rest of the year they camp in the *Abada* country to let their animals feed on acacias and other perennial species. Finally there are two tribes (*Tegehé-n-Efis* and *Iklan-en-tawsit*), the members of which camp in the *Abada* country all the year round even when rich annual pasture is found in *Atakor*. However, members of these tribes may send their camel herds to the *Atakor* zone, accompanied by herdsmen, while tents and flocks remain in the lower country.

221 With the exception of a few noble households which keep up their old tradition to subsist largely
*233 on camel's milk, the Ahaggar Tuareg do not keep their she-camels in Ahaggar unless there are excellent
[56] pastures of annual plants in this area. They take their camels to pastures far away from Ahaggar,
[262] notably to the Tamesna region where they have their animals guarded by herdsmen who are frequently
[56] slaves. In very dry years there are very few camels in Ahaggar – just the animals needed for riding and transportation. It is in fact very easy to take camels to distant pastures, and it is most necessary to give these animals the utmost care as they are most valuable and their breeding is a very slow process
*233 (cf. p. 56). Goats do not need such excellent fodder as do camels. They can eat almost everything, but
731 in dry years goats may also suffer severely from lack of suitable fodder. This was the case in the year
[36] 1954/55 when I stayed in Ahnet and in Ahaggar. In the small camps of three to four tents each it was

*132 233 abundantly in one year than another there has always been rain enough to allow the annual pastures to spring up.

*233 824 In Ayr there are three species of trees or bushes which remain green all the year round, viz. *ébezgin* (*Salvadora persica*), *tadent* (*Boscia senegalensis*), and *turza* (*Calotropis procera*). They are extremely common, and the two first species play a certain role for fodder during the hot and dry summer season (*éwilen*), but dry annual plants then constitute the best fodder for all domestic animals. The annual plants comprise various species; around Agadez they are mainly grasses, but the small thorny seed-plant *ageruf* (*Tribulus terrester*) is also very important. These tender plants spring up shortly after the rains but they wither even before rainfall stops at the beginning of the *ṛarat* season. The perennial fodder plants are of little value in the hot season. The *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*), which is extremely common everywhere, germinates at the beginning of the rains and is dry and contains little nourishment in summer. Acacias form very important fodder plants for camels and goats, but they are also of little value at this season when they defoliate. The two most important acacias are *afagag* (*abser* in Ahaggar) (*Acacia Raddiana*) and *tamat* (*Acacia flava*). The *afagag* acacia germinates shortly after the first rains (*akasa*) and has its highest fodder value in the season of *ṛarat* when the fruit pods fall to the ground providing excellent fodder for all domestic animals. The *tamat*-acacia starts germinating somewhat later and its fruit pods, which are equally important for fodder, do not fall until the beginning of the season known as *tabsit*, at which period the fruit pods of the *agar* tree (*Maerua crassifolia*) also fall. For southern Ayr it can be said that grazing conditions are tolerably good most of the year. They are extremely good when annual plants are green during the period of *akasa*, and they are bad in summer (*éwilen*) when the lactation of domestic animals is low.

Grazing conditions within the Ayr Massif are much more favourable than in Ahaggar, but one thing is lacking:— There are very few saliferous plants. Thus, for instance, there are very few tamarisks (*temeyut* = *Tamarix aphylla*; *azawa* = *Tamarix gallica*), which are found only within limited areas of the Massif; species of *Salsola* are very rare, and the very important saliferous plant, known to the Northern Tuareg as *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*), is not found within the Massif. The Ayr Tuareg therefore have to feed their animals with salty earth which can be dug in certain parts of Ayr, or with Bilma salt, which plays an enormous part for most stock-breeders of Ayr and adjacent regions. The Ayr Tuareg cannot so easily take their flocks and herds to salt pastures as can the Northern Tuareg. But there is south and southwest of the Ayr Massif a narrow belt of salt-containing soil and water. This region is known to the Tuareg as *Azawar* because of its particular reddish soil. With this particular type of soil, well water and pools will contain some salt, as do most plants, and many Tuareg of the Ayr Massif migrate to the *Azawar* country at the end of the rains to allow their animals to benefit from the salt-content of the water and plants there. There is another reason why some Ayr Tuareg, who have their normal grazing areas within the Massif, migrate south and westwards into the plains, namely the appearance in these regions of a small annual plant known as *emchéken* (*Ipomoea verticillata*). The Ayr Tuareg consider it one of the very best fodder plants for camels, goats, and sheep, but claim it to be less valuable for cattle and donkeys. – At the end of the rains the Ayr Tuareg who migrate to the *Azawar* country camp among pastoralists of different and distant regions. At this season most *Kel Geres* Tuareg migrate northwards to camp around Tegidda-n-edrar and Tegidda-n-

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221 *233 824 tagayt, while the *Iwllemmieden Kel Dennek* at this period will camp around Ingal. Many Southern Tuareg leave the savannah country to avoid its heavy rainfalls and stock-diseases to let their animals benefit from the salty water and plants in the *Azawaq* country.

133 162 137 In the country west of the Ayr Massif, the Tamesna Plains, there is in addition to the Ayr Tuareg a numerous population of Ahaggar Tuareg who live constantly in these regions. These plains are botanically different from the mountains. Perennial vegetation is scarce though there are some *tamat*-acacias (*Acacia flava*), but there is a very rich vegetation of annual plants of great importance to *233 824 domestic animals. Among these plants can be mentioned *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*), which is very valuable for camels and also good for sheep, *adreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tagellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). The two latter plants are valuable as fodder for all domestic animals. It is noteworthy that these three species of annual plants last longer than other annual species. They do not wither at the beginning of the *ṛarat*-season, but remain fresh and green all through the winter until about *tabsit*.

It is evident that Tuareg knowledge of botany is extremely comprehensive, and that they use this knowledge to make stock-breeding as rational as possible. They may perhaps not be so rational in protecting pastures, for they cut acacias' boughs to feed the kids resting in the camps, and it is most possible that they also overgraze certain pastures. However, the grazing grounds are very vast in comparison with the number of pastoralists, and I believe that overgrazing and arboreal devastation take place mainly around villages and towns where the flocks of sedentary people graze continuously in the same area. In Ahaggar the valuable fodder plants and plants which are important for collecting are often protected for two or three months in order that they may become fully developed (cf. p. 150, 179).

*233 The Tuareg take great care that their animals do not lack water. It is true that camels and also donkeys can do without water for many days even in summer, but at this season camels should preferably be watered every two or three days, and goats are always watered every two days when the weather is hot. In winter the animals are not watered so often, and this is true particularly if the animals feed on fresh annual plants. Camels can do without water even for weeks and months under such favourable

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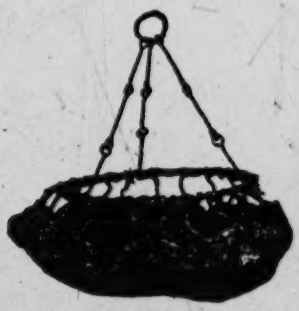

Fig. 97. The leather bucket known as *aḍu* to the Northern Tuareg. The leather is tied to an iron ring made by blacksmiths. Collected in Ahaggar by Otufam. Dimension of the iron ring: 0.275 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.51).

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Fig. 106. A small goat-herding camp of three related households. The inmates have not erected their skin tents, but have their luggage and their household utensils hanging upon posts (left). In the hot daytime the people live in the shade of the rock (right). Ahaggar (the *Atakor* zone), the *Dag Ṛali* tribe (the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section).

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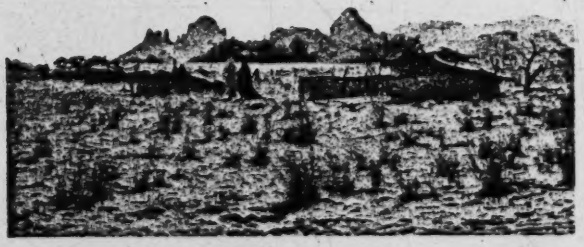

Fig. 107. A camp of four skin tents. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Urapen* tribe.

361 *Atakor* zone. In this area kin groups of five or six generations, comprising about twenty tents, may
621 form a section camp for long periods. Thus I was told that all members of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section
*233 camped together in the same place for eight months of the year 1952. Among the Tuareg, who have their grazing grounds mainly in the *Abada* country, section camps are not so easily formed as annual pasture springs up less frequently. People of such tribes as the *Iklan-en-tawsit*, the *Tégehé-n-Efiz*, and part of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe, generally live in goat-camps, which are often smaller than those of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe of the *Atakor* region. Where goats feed mainly on acacias it is not possible to keep
● [824] such large flocks together as when grazing consists of fresh or dry annual plants. Acacia leaves are very important for fodder and their fruit-pods are still more valuable, but the trees grow scattered and consequently fodder is not so concentrated. We see again how stock-breeding among the Ahaggar Tuareg is an industry adapted to environment. The size of camps is determined by natural conditions.

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Wan Abu (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) from the pre-historic cattle-breeding period ("periode bovine"). The picture 224 shows a hunter armed with a bow and hiding behind an ox (?) which is provided with a lead held in /72 the left hand. The hunter approaches an ostrich and perhaps also giraffes and gazelles which are also depicted. This rock engraving was discovered by Lhote, who believes that the stalking animal depicted is an antelope (cf. Lhote 1958, Fig. 69 p. 147, p. 264).

(3) Hunting in disguise. True hunters do not use their ordinary dress of indigo or white colours 224 during a hunt as it is seen by game animals at a great distance. The hunters use preferably a shirt and [292] a head-cloth of yellow-brown colours which resemble the colours of sand and dry plants. I do not know whether other types of disguise are known. It is very likely (cf. Ayr Tuareg below p. 166).

(4) Hunting from artificial hiding-places. The use of artificial hiding-places consisting of walls built of stone is mentioned by Foucauld, who does not explain their use. They are known as *timuyal* (sing. *tamayilt*) (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1179).

(5) Hunting with dogs. Greyhounds and greyhound-like dogs are used in hunting barbary sheep. The dogs surround the animal and prevent it to escaping, so that it can be killed by a hunter with a spear. There are very few greyhounds among the Ahaggar Tuareg, but slender greyhound-like dogs [231] are fairly common (cf. p. 114 f.). The true greyhounds may succeed in running down gazelle, and I was told among the *Kel Ajjer* that greyhound are trained not to kill the game but to bite its legs, and then to return to their master to lead him to the ferociously-bitten animal so that he can kill it ritually. However, most Tuareg dogs are not able to run down adult gazelle. Occasionally they catch young animals of which they are allowed to eat such entrails as are not eaten by the Tuareg. Dogs can more easily catch hares. It is said that some dogs are trained to bring caught hares alive to their masters, but most dogs are not too well fed and therefore eat on the spot the hares they catch.

(6) Riding camels are sometimes used for the running down of game animals. Gazelle can be taken in this way only if they are wounded, and barbary sheep normally graze in mountains inaccessible to camels. But it happens that barbary sheep descend into sandy plains to feed on certain annual plants, and can then easily be taken by camel riders as they get very exhausted when they have to run quickly

[824]

Fig. 113. The spiked wheel-trap (*ifetaw*) connected with a noosed rope (*iqaut*) attached to a stick. The wheel is made from straw of the *afeza* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) bent into circular form. Small pointed sticks (*iğulan*, sing. *ağula*) are inserted into the straw circle and fixed to it by means of bast of the *absey* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*) which is wrapped around the straw-wheel and the pointed sticks. The noosed rope is made from date palm bast, but frequently it is also made from *absey* bast. The small pointed sticks are made from twigs of the *azawa* tamarisk (*Tamarix gallica*). Ahaggar, the *Ağah-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension of the wheel: about 0.20 m (F.M. 141a–b).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



224 Tuareg are also aware of the use of poison. I have gathered no information about this myself, but [824] Lhote states that certain poisonous grain is used for the destruction of jackals and small rodents (Lhote 1951a, p. 43 f. & 132).

226 It is obvious that fishing cannot be an important industry to people of the Sahara, but fishing is practised in certain areas. One species of fish (*Clarias Lazera*) is found in a few permanent pools of Central Ahaggar, but it is particularly common in the numerous permanent ponds of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where there is also another, perch-like species. I have myself caught and eaten both species. Duveyrier states that there are three distinct species in Tasilé-n-Ajjer:— (1) *asoulmeh* (*asulmey*) (*Clarias Lazera*); (2) *isattafen* (*i-seḫḫefen*); (3) *imanan* (pl. *imenan*) (Duveyrier 1864, p. 227, 238). Fishing is described [262] [565] by Duveyrier as follows: "Les poissons des lacs de Mihero donnent lieu à une pêche qui contribue à l'alimentation des serfs riverains. A cet effet, ils creusent sur les bords des lacs de petits canaux étroits, aboutissant à des réservoirs dans lesquels les poissons viennent pour y chercher une nourriture qu'ils ne trouvent pas dans les profondeurs des lacs. Quand ils y sont entrés on renferme les conduits et on les prend" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 238 f.). Another fishing method is described by Lhote: "Ils construisent des espèces de fascines avec des tiges de mrokba ou des branches de tamarix, puis, entrant à plusieurs dans l'eau ils forment une espèce de barrage au moyen de ces fascines en les mettant bout à bout et les poussent ensuite doucement devant eux. Ils prennent bien soin de drainer le fond de sorte que le poisson soit systématiquement chassé. Lorsqu'ils arrivent près de la rive opposée à celle d'où ils sont partis, ils poussent rapidement par un dernier effort et éjectent le poison sur le sable ou ils le ramassent. Ils recommencent ce manège plusieurs fois jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient capturé la majorité des poissons" (Lhote 1951a, p. 53). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told about a third fishing method, namely the use of a piece of cotton (e.g., an old cotton shirt) attached to two poles. The cotton piece serves as a net over which the fish are fed. There seem to be no other fishing methods, as both the fish-hook and the harpoon are unknown.

## AYR

136 The Ayr Massif with adjacent plains is very rich in game in comparison with the true desert country inhabited by the Northern Tuareg. Barbary sheep (*éjital*; *Ammotragus lervia Angusi*) are common in the mountains and also south of the Massif around the cliff known as *Falaise de Tigeddi*. Gazelle (*achenkod*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) (*énir*; *Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amellul*; *Addax nasomaculatus*), which are found in Northern Tuareg countries, are more abundant in Ayr where there are also bigger types of game, notably the oryx antelope (*ézem*; *Aegoryx algazel algazel*), and the giraffe (*amdeṛ*; *Giraffa camelopardalis*) which is found south and southwest of the Massif (e.g., around Ingal and Aderbissinat). The ostrich (*énhal*; *Struthio camelus*) is still very common in isolated regions of Ayr including the northern outskirts of the mountains, where I have seen flocks of more than twenty birds. There are in Ayr as mentioned above (p. 31) many bird species which are unknown or rare further north in the desert, e.g., the guinea fowl (*taylalt*; *Numida clappertoni clapperioni*) and a bustard species (*agayis*; *Choriotis arabs stieberi*). Game birds are extremely abundant in certain parts of Ayr. The birds come in amazing numbers to waterholes and open wells to drink in the evening at

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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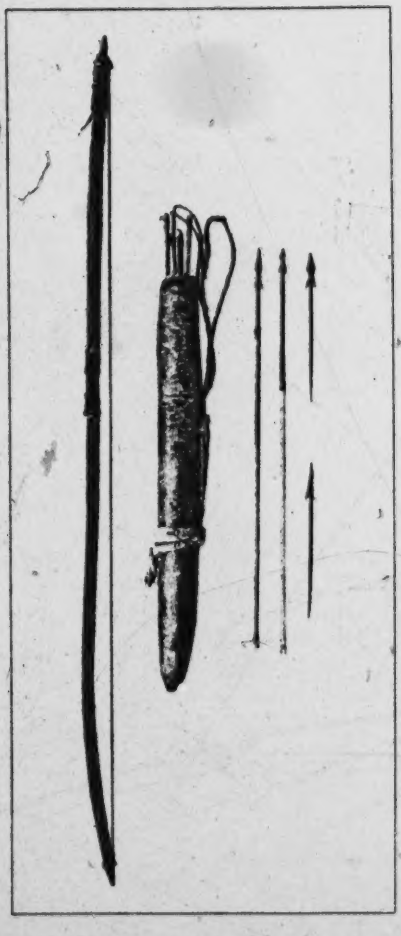

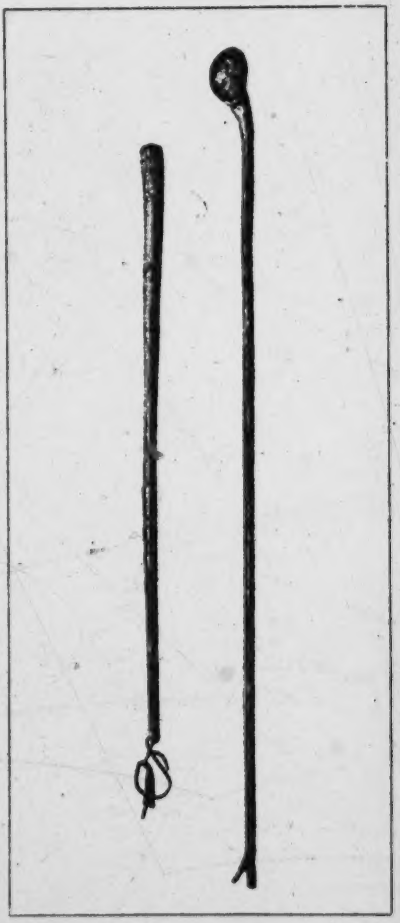

Fig. 119. Bow (*iaganzi*), arrows (*imeras*), and quiver (*ehamaven*) from the Hausa-speaking population living south of Ayr around Aderbissinat. The bow is made from wood of a tree called *ddinew* and has a string of ox-hide. The arrows have shafts of wood or reed; their iron points are made by blacksmiths. The quiver is made from ox-hide with a plaster of cow's excreta applied to the inner side. Dimension of the bow: 1.20 m. (N.M. G. 6621).

[567]

Fig. 120. Tuareg clubs.

a. Wooden club (*aburi*). Dimension: 0.995 m long. (N.M. G. 1.159). Ahaggar, Olufsen's Collection.

b. Wooden club. Used for weapon and for cattle-driving by Tuareg around Timbuktu. Made from a bough of *Combretum aculeatum*. Collected by O. Hagerup. Dimension: 1.39 m long. (N.M. G. 3086). All slaves I saw among the *Iwilimmeden* near Ayoru carried this weapon.

# Collecting

In this chapter on collecting such edible plants are mentioned as play a part in Tuareg nourishment. 222
Wild plants are also collected for other purposes. Many species are important to craft or have a medicinal 824
value. Some of these latter species are mentioned elsewhere in this study.

## EDIBLE PLANTS OF THE AHAGGAR AREA

Wild plants which yield edible fruits, seeds, stems, or roots in Ahaggar comprise more than fifty 222
different species. But the importance of collecting should not be judged from this, as all these plants [262]
are never found within the same area, and most are eaten only occasionally as a kind of relish or when
agricultural food (wheat, barley, millet, dates) is lacking. I have supplemented my own list of edible [114]
plants with important information from Maire's study of Ahaggar botany (Maire 1933 & 1940). In
my list the letters Tr., L.M., and U.M. stand for Maire's botanical zones, namely the Tropical Zone, [137]
the Lower Mediterranean Zone, and the Upper Mediterranean Zone. The following edible plants
are collected in Ahaggar and adjacent regions:—

*tirfas* (sing. *tarfest*) (*Terfezia ovalispora*). Tr., L.M. A fungus which, according to Maire, lives on 222
the roots of *Helianthemum Lippii* & *H. ellipticum* known to the Tuareg of Ahaggar as *urrug* (Maire 262
1933, p. 22, 159 et suiv.). This white fungus, which is frequently termed *tirfas n urrug* by the Tuareg, 252
is prepared for eating together with various other dishes. It is frequently added to the so-called kus-kus.

*tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*) Tr. Roots and certain lower parts of the stem are eaten raw or boiled. When vegetable food is scarce they are also pounded or ground into flour.

*akeywod* (*Typha australis*) Tr., L.M. Roots of this plant are ground into flour.

*tésehgelt* (*Saccharum Ravennae*). Tr., L.M. "Cette plante ... laisse très souvent exsuder un liquide sucré qui se concrète en masses plus ou moins cristallisées; les Tuareg utilisent ce sucre" (Maire 1933, p. 54).

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). Tr. A perennial grass extremely common in the lower valleys of Ahaggar. Seeds are collected in receptacles (e.g., *ahaga*, Fig. 213) by beating the ears of the grass with a stick. The seeds are not suitable for bread, but are esteemed for porridge and *tébik*, that is seeds pounded in the mortar and eaten without further preparation. Ashes of this grass contain soda and are often [276]
mixed with tobacco for chewing.

[p. 175]

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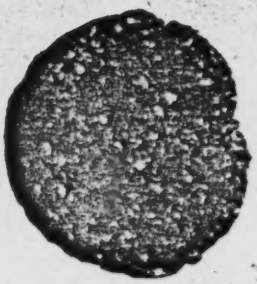

Fig. 126. A cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries (*Osyris alba*). The fresh berries are pounded in the large mortar (*tindé*) or are crushed between two stones to be formed into pieces of cheese form to be dried. This cheese-like mass of *adamam* berries is used by Tuareg women as a kind of face ointment against sun burn, pimples, and the like. They apply this ointment to the face as follows:— A little milk is poured upon a stone, the cheese-like mass of berries is rubbed against it, and the mixture of milk and berries is thereupon rubbed into the skin of the face with the fingers. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.075 m. (N.M. G. 5279a).

222
262 *enag* (*Leptadenia pyrotechnica*). Tr. A tree with edible fruit.

[272] *tañhart* (*Mentha longifolia*). Tr., L.M. An annual plant. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

*awit*, generally known by the collective name *awihat* (*Salvia Chudaei*). Tr., (L.M.). An annual plant used as an aromatic for tea.

[824] [482] *éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*). Tr. This plant is extremely venomous for human beings, though not for animals. In the past it was used by the Tuareg as a poison for enemies. Members of La Mission Flatters (1880–81) were poisoned by the Tuareg using poison of this plant inserted into dates presented to the expedition. "La plante, absorbée à petite dose, aurait la propriété de faire [261] engraisser. Les femmes du Tidikelt l'emploient dans ce but, en en faisant cuire une petite quantité dans de l'eau avec de la farine et de la graisse; elles laissent réduire et absorbent la bouillie obtenue, puis se couvrent pour transpirer (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 192).

222
262 *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots. After drying the roots are pounded in a large millet mortar to be used for bread which is much esteemed by the Tuareg. "Cette
252 plante est recoltée jeune par les indigènes, puis placée dans le sable sous une couche de *drinn* (*Aristida pungens*) jusqu'à noircissement et dessication. Le produit sec est moulu et utilisé dans l'alimentation (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 196).

*éfetekchi* (*Orobanche aegyptiaca* & *O. cernua*). Tr., L.M. A plant yielding edible roots.

*tamzellit* (*Orobanche sp.*). Tr. Very rare. A plant yielding edible roots.

*teğellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). Tr. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

*alked* (*Cucumis pustulatus*). Tr. Rare. Seeds are eaten after boiling and drying.

[263] *takkilt* (*Cotula cinerea*). Tr. "Les Touareg utilisent cette plante comme condiment, principalement pour la viande qui commence à se gâter" (Maire 1933, p. 209).

*téhereggelé* (*Artemisia judaica* ssp. *saharienses*). Tr., (L.M.). "Cette plante, comme le *Myrtus Nivellei*, [439] est récoltée en grande quantité, séchée et exportée au Soudan, où elle est employée comme aromate et condiment" (Maire 1933, p. 212).

[272] *zézzeré* (*Artemisia herba alba*). (Tr.), L.M. Used as an aromatic for adding to tea.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



*ejako*. According to Foucauld a small annual edible plant growing in the Ahaggar Mountains at an altitude above 2000 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 712). Maire mentions this plant as unindentified (Maire 1933, p. 263).

Collecting is mainly the task of women, but males – particularly uninitiated boys and slaves – also participate. Seed-plants are generally harvested by rubbing the ears of the plants between the fingers, but the *tulhult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle (*amreh*; Fig. 143 a–b) to be thrashed and winnowed like wheat and barley. Edible roots are frequently collected merely by hand. However, a digging stick (*ilawet*; Fig. 123) provided with an iron point is also used to dig up certain wild plants such as *ehihel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) and similar root plants. This digging stick is characteristic of vassal women who use it for many different purposes, e.g., to make holes for tent poles.

The very best among the above mentioned seed-plants is the *tulhult* grass (*Aristida pungens*). Its seeds are collected or harvested by certain Tuareg inhabiting the lower parts of Ahaggar, but are important particularly to the Tuareg living in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Within the Ahaggar Massif the most important seeds are those of *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). The right to collect these seeds is free to everybody, and Tuareg of the *Abada* zone may send their slaves to the *Atakor* zone to collect *tawit*-seeds in the mountain plateau of Asekrem. The species of *afezu* and *tawit* are sometimes protected by an ban on grazing for three and two months respectively in order that their seeds may grow ripe for collecting. The right to put a ban on grazing of the two species belongs to the Tuareg in whom territorial rights of a sub-area are vested (cf. p. 150). It is said that under very favourable conditions a single household may collect some hundred kilos of seeds of the two plants mentioned. This may seem rather impressive, but even in good years when milk is abundant collecting will not provide pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar with sufficient vegetable food, for seeds of wild plants are far less nourishing than are grains of wheat, barley, and millet. The collecting of wild plants important for food is as dependent on climatic conditions as is stock-breeding. In dry years, when domestic animals yield little or no milk at all, there will also be no wild seeds for collecting.

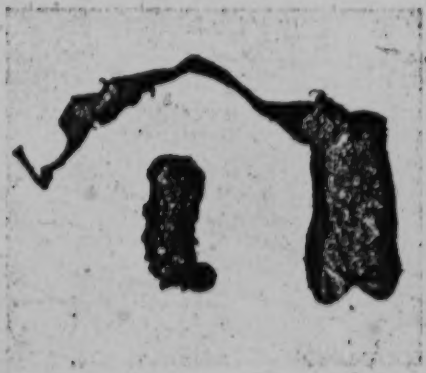

Fig. 127. Very small bag known as *ilem* ("skin") made from a kid's scrotum (*tiganasit*). The bag contains a piece of resin of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). This resin is eaten by the Tuareg as a remedy against stomachache. Ahaggar, the *Ajjer-n-tehli* tribe. Dimension of the piece of resin: 0.07 m long. (F.M. 149a–b).

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222 Even in good years it may happen that edible seed-plants are eaten by locusts before they become
[134] ripe for collecting. Collecting is of secondary importance to the Tuareg of Ahaggar though to most
[433] pastoralists it is more important than hunting.

## AYR

134 We have seen that Ayr has better grazing grounds and more game than Ahaggar, and it is only
137 natural that this southern area is also a more favourable one for the collecting of wild plants. Never-
222 theless, it seems as if collecting is not so important to the Ayr Tuareg who have more livestock for
[433] which millet and wheat can be obtained without much difficulty. The number of edible plants utilized in Ayr is probably a very large one. Thus it is said that certain *Kel Ewey* Tuareg collect many different plants, but my inquiries into the methods and the value of collecting were limited to Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group of Southern Ayr where the following species are collected for food:—

222 *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Pods of this acacia are dried and, after pounding in a large millet mortar,
262 mixed with milk to be eaten or drunk like the Tuareg dish known as *arejira* (cf. p. 245 f.).

252 *ebezgin* (*Salvadora persica*). Fruit is eaten without any preparation.

*tadent* (*Boaria senegalensis*). Berries are pounded in the millet mortar to obtain the limpid juice which is added to porridge.

[124] *tamayt* (*Hyphaene thebaica*). The dum palm, which is of extreme importance for the handicraft of the Ayr Tuareg, is also valuable as food. The young nuts are opened with a knife and the kernels are eaten. The old nuts have an edible outer coating which is eaten by children and even by adults when they are hungry. These old nuts are also pounded in the millet mortar together with seeds of *agerruf*, cf. below.

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). This perennial grass is very abundant all over Ayr. Collecting of its seeds is done by rubbing the ears of the grass between the hands to allow the seeds to fall into a plaited bowl. Seeds are pounded in a millet mortar to be used for porridge.

*ichiben*, that is seeds of an annual grass – apparently identical with *Panicum longiflorum* and/or *P. pianum*. The seeds are collected in two different ways: – (1) If the ripe seeds have fallen to the ground they are swept together with a bunch of straw. (2) The ears are cut with a knife to be threshed by pounding in a millet mortar. – The seeds are highly esteemed, being collected to a greater extent than seeds of other wild plants. The seeds are used particularly for porridge, but also for certain other dishes such as *arejira* (cf. p. 245 f.).

*ichit* (*Eragrostis* sap.). A grass yielding red seeds collected in the following way: – The ears are beaten with the hands so that the seeds fall into a plaited bowl. The seeds are used only for porridge.

*wajeg* (*Cenchrus cathartieus* & *C. Priouri*). Annual seed-plants with thorny seeds. The dry plants are beaten with a stick and the fallen seeds are collected in a heap to be threshed with a stick. The seeds are pounded in a millet mortar for porridge.

*agerruf* (*Tribulus terrester*). An annual plant with thorny seeds which are collected as just described for the *wajeg* plants. The seeds are pounded in a millet mortar to be eaten without further preparation

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Fig. 136. Irrigation of a young wheat-plot. The canal ridges are opened with a hoe in order to let water penetrate into the garden beds. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 282). Maize (*Zea mays*) is also grown as a summer crop in some of the cultivation centres; it is called *engafuld*, or *engafulé masri* (masri = Egyptian) because it is said to have been introduced from Egypt.

Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum*) are grown mainly in summer and constitute a very important crop. The ripe fruit is sliced and left to dry on a layer of straw in the garden. They are crushed and pounded and are added to various dishes, e.g., the so-called kuskus (*keskesu*, cf. p. 247). Various types of melons and gourds are also grown in summer, e.g., the water melon (*talegezt*; *Colocynthis Citrullus*), a type of ordinary melon known as *itakelt* or *tazenut* (*Cucurbita* sp.) which is frequently sliced and dried in the same way as tomatoes, and a kind of large gourd (*kabuya*; *Cucurbita maxima*). Certain other vegetables are grown in most gardens, notably various kinds of onions (*iskert*, *Allium sativum*; *ifeleli*, *Allium cepa*) and a kind of beans known as *tadellak*. A few plants are grown as spices, e.g., saffron (*tanemlt*, *Crocus sativus*), red pebber (*chitta*, *Capsicum annum*), or for tea-admixture, e.g., the mint (*imerner*, *Mentha piperita* var.) and a plant known as *lahabok* which is said to have been introduced from the Sudan. Two very poisonous plants are also grown in certain gardens of Ahaggar, namely *ifelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*), which also grows wild in the lower country (cf. p. 178), and *burzig* (*Datura Stramonium*) (cf. Maire 1933, I, p. 191 f.). Foucauld mentions two other plants grown for their medicinal value (*ibedliwen*, *Trigonella foenumgraecum*; *tikammin*) (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 33 & II, p. 812). A kind of wild salad (*tamaghé*) is also grown in the gardens according to Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1170). Potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum*) are now grown in some of the mountain oases – mainly for selling to Europeans at Tamanrasset. Among other cultivated plants found in the gardens of Ahaggar mention can be made of the following species after Maire:—

*Lepidium sativum*, *Brassica Rapa* & *B. oleracea* (*aharet*), *Linum usitatissimum* (*ilateld*, or *anarka*), *Medicago sativa*, *Pisum arvense* (*demchi*), *Vicia Faba*, *Lens culinaris* (*elredes*), *Vigna catjang*, *Coriu*

?:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



there will be one entirely dry year throughout, during which stock-breeding products have little or no value as food, and in such years of dry pasture there will also be very few wild plants to collect. Hunting, which plays little part for most Tuareg nowadays, is also of little value in an entirely dry year when many game animals die or migrate to other regions with more favourable pasture. It would seem obvious for pastoral Tuareg to do the same and to take their animals to grazing grounds outside of Ahaggar – particularly to the southern plains where pasture is normally better than in their own country. We have seen that most Ahaggar Tuareg in bad years have their she-camels far from Ahaggar in the Tamesna plains or in the country north of Adrar-n-Foras. We have also mentioned that, under very severe conditions, camps of Ahaggar and Ahnet may move to these southern regions with their flocks, though extensive goat-migrations are not always profitable. But most Tuareg remain in Ahaggar even in very dry years with their camps and flocks. Some of the animals will die, and none of them can be mated so that the flocks may rapidly decrease. During such years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg live so to speak exclusively on agricultural food products of which they get only a part from their gardens grown by sedentary agriculturists (the *Harratin*, or *Izzegaren*). It is mainly through caravan trading that the Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their vegetable food products. Their two important trading expeditions to the Tidikelt oases and to the Sudan are carried out anually for the main purpose of acquiring dates and millet.

Trading with the Tidikelt oases (Awlef and In Salah) is based mainly upon a surplus of goats, camels, butter and cheese, and on dried meat. But many Tuareg who obtain large amounts of millet from the Sudanese trading expedition also sell part of their wheat grown in their own gardens in Ahaggar, and Sudanese articles bought during their south-bound trading expedition. In a dry year some Tuareg may choose not to visit the Tidikelt area as they have too small a surplus for trading. The south-bound caravans, on the other hand, are rarely prevented from going as their main trading object is rock-salt of an excellent quality mined at Amadror north-east of the Ahaggar Massif. Both north-bound and south-bound caravans will set off in autumn when the hottest season has come to an end, that is at the end of September or at the beginning of October.

The caravan route from Tamanrasset in Ahaggar to In Salah in Tidikelt is about 750 kilometres, and the route is rather difficult because pasture is normally lacking for three to four days of the journey. Most Tuareg who cross this part of the desert therefore bring with them large supplies of the dried *tulluli*-grass (*Aristida pungens*), which also serves as fodder for the pack-camels during the stay in the oases around which there is little pasture. The journey takes about twenty days in each direction, and the north-bound caravans return to Ahaggar again already in December or in January. The traders return with their camels loaded with dates of which a part may be re-sold in Ahaggar (Tamanrasset), but they also buy European cotton and other European articles, which are cheaper in the north, and woollen blankets woven by sedentary people of the northern oases.

The south-bound caravans are very extensive. The towns visited in the south are Agadez, Tawa, Tanut, and Zinder. The distance from Tamanrasset to Zinder is, as the crow flies, about 1200 kilometres, while the distance from Tamanrasset to Amadror, where salt is mined, is about 300 kilometres. In total the caravan journey from Ahaggar to Zinder and back again for many Tuareg amounts to more than 3000 kilometres. The south-bound caravans are organized as follows:— Slaves take the

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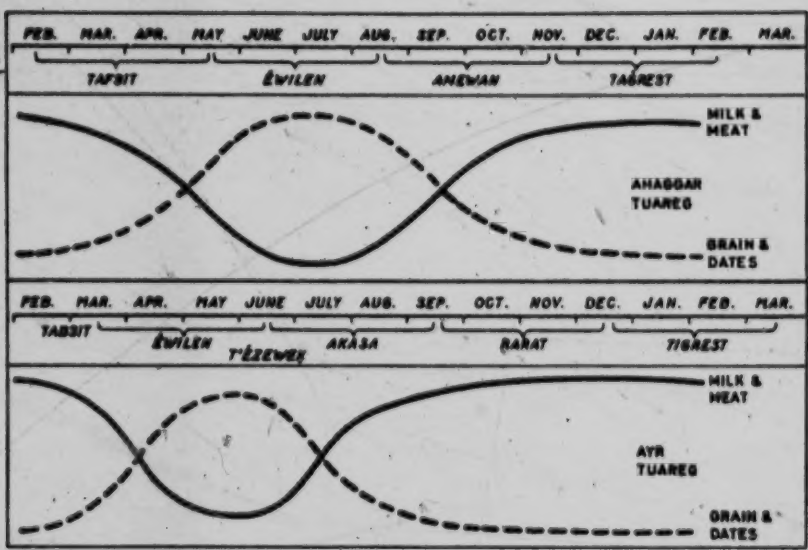


Fig. 151. The relative importance throughout the year of food derived from stock-breeding and vegetable products mainly comprising agricultural products. The curves describe conditions in good years for wealthy families. However, milk (and meat) is less important to most Ayr families than indicated in the diagram which covers a household making use of the particular type of annual pasture which remains green throughout winter, notably *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea ssp. Schimperi*) *adrykal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *ingellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). – This diagram should be compared with Fig. 14 where climatic and botanical changes throughout the year are outlined.

[511]
[824]

433 it is remunerative to buy an extra supply of millet in Damergu and to exchange it for dates and salt
439 at Bilma. Caravan trading is a source of profit to the Ayr Tuareg, but most of them ultimately acquire their agricultural food products in exchange for stock and stock-breeding products. Very few of them mine salt at Amadror, and most of them obtain salt in return for millet bought for domestic animals in Damergu, or for meat of domestic animals butchered in Ayr. The Tuareg cannot easily subsist without agricultural products but they can obtain them in exchange for their livestock.

233 We see again that conditions of stock-breeding are very favourable in Ayr in comparison with those
166 of Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where frequent drought periods make it difficult for the Tuareg to
[184] exist. It is easily understandable that the favourable grazing conditions of Ayr have caused many Tuareg of the north to migrate southwards. These migrations take place even to-day and have gone
433 on for centuries (cf. p. 411 ff.). However, even in Ayr it is most difficult to subsist without cultivated
262 cereals (millet), and we must do away with the myth that pastoralists of North Africa live entirely on milk and meat from their animals – they do not. This is true for all Tuareg I have visited, including

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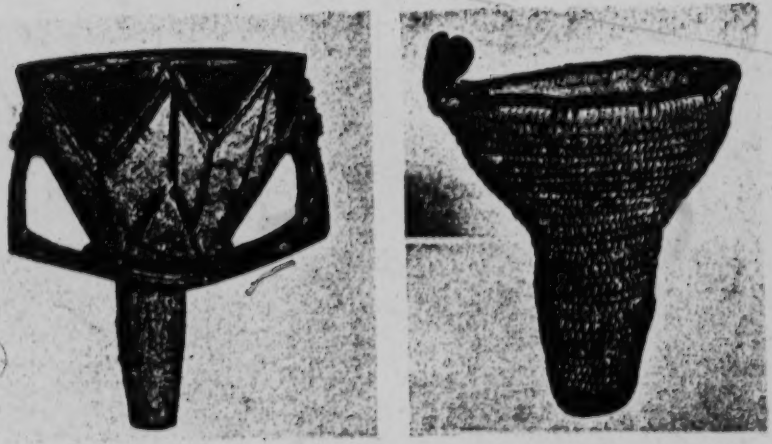

Fig. 153a–b. Tuareg funnels (*ásaqefi*, pl. *izaqefa*) which are used for milk, butter, and for other liquids.
a. Wooden funnel ornamented by burning. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (F.M. 240).
b. Funnel plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) with the rim reinforced with leather. Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.135 m high. (F.M. 243).

234 *4/15 In Ahaggar the method of churning butter is as follows:— Milk of the morning yield is put into a skin bag (*ámesesley*) (Figs. 156–157) to remain in this bag until next morning when churning takes place. During the hot season the *ámesesley*, filled with milk, is placed in the shade of the tent in daytime, while in winter it is placed in sunshine, or close to the fire. Some milk of the evening yield is sometimes added to the morning milk in the *ámesesley*. Before churning the milk thus soured is poured into the proper churning bag (*aḡiwir*, *tanwart*) which is inflated and shaken. Churning bags may vary in size; when there is little milk to be churned a little bag is used and shaking is done holding it in the hands (Fig. 158). When milk is very plentiful, butter is sometimes churned in larger bags (*anwar*), which at one end is attached to a pole, while shaking is done by pulling the other end of the bag with one or both hands. When the milk is shaken in this way it forms small white balls of butter which are removed from the churning bag with a wooden spoon (Fig. 191) when water has been added. This white butter (*udi wa mellen*, or *tesendut*) is occasionally used for food without further preparation, but this is not normal, for newly-churned butter is generally put into an earthen pot (*éṛṛirt*, or *ufrau*) (Figs. 186, 187a–b) together with parts of an annual plant known as *ayneznis* (*Chamaydophora pubescens*) (Fig. 160) to be heated over the fire. Some Tuareg also add meal of dried dates, or of horns of barbary sheep. After heating, butter (*udi*) assumes a dark yellow colour. It is stored in containers made of camel's hide (*tahattint*, *anaḡen*, *aṛaḥha*) (Figs. 161–162), or in Sudanese calabashes (*azzau*) (Figs. 163a–b). A particular metal pail (*éṛṛir*) (Fig. 164) manufactured by native blacksmiths is also used for butter in Ahaggar,

[412] [262] [824] 251 *4/15 [824]

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butter in Ahaggar, and butter reserved for greasing the hair is frequently kept in a large horn (*tsek*) of barbary sheep (Fig. 165).

The Ayr Tuareg make butter (*wijil*) in much the same way as the Northern Tuareg. For churning they use a skin bag (*amour*), or a calabash (*azemu*), and they say that they prefer skin bags in winter, and calabashes in the hot season. Butter is heated or boiled immediately after churning, but the Ayr Tuareg do not add parts of plants, date flour, or the like. In Ayr butter is not churned as regularly as in the north. It is used mainly for cooking meat of thin animals, for a sauce which may be used for millet porridge instead of milk (cf. p. 243 f.), and for greasing the hair. Among the Northern Tuareg butter is added to many different dishes and particularly to bread, which is eaten almost daily by many people. In years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg get their butter from Ayr (cf. p. 212, 215), and the Ayr Tuareg make much butter for export in such circumstances. They churn most butter from cow's

Fig. 154a–c.

a. Wooden funnel. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ball* tribe. Dimension: 0.146 m high. (N.M. G. 5203).
b. Funnel consisting of a piece of calabash which derives from the south. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ball* tribe. Dimension: 0.131 m high. (N.M. G. 5202).
c. Wooden funnel with a strap of cord of goat's hair. Made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.175 m high. (N.M. G. 1.150).

All wooden funnels are cut from wood of the *tahawakkar* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*).

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Tuareg but also by the southern groups and by Arab pastoralists of the Sahara; it is also known in the Atlas, and is on the whole widely distributed in Northern Africa. This type of cheese is known to the Northern Tuareg as *takammart* and it is manufactured as follows:— Fresh milk is heated and then poured into a large wooden bowl (*e.g.; taréhat*) (Figs. 195a–b). The milk is curdled into a mass of cheese by means of a rennet (*akammar*) consisting of the abomasum of kids that have never tasted anything but milk. The curdled mass of cheese is pressed with the hands and with a piece of straw-mat (*éseber*) in order that the liquids may separate. The mass of cheese is formed into small rectangular pieces of cheese which are left on the little straw-mat for about one day. They are then removed to be dried finally on a platform (*tahaga, tafalkat*) made of branches. 234 [171] [415]* [215] [417]

Cheese made from fresh milk is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tekemmart*; it is manufactured to very great extent and much in the same fashion as just described from Ahaggar. The abomasum of little kids or lambs to be used for rennet is named *tedéraut*, and the Ayr Tuareg add parts of an annual plant known as *ekochmaren* (*Caralluma Mouretii*) in order that the milk may curdle quickly. The Ayr Tuareg also use little mats plaited from stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) to press and form the rectangular pieces of cheese; the Ayr Tuareg make mats (*tésebert*) (Fig. 168) particularly for this purpose, while the Ahaggar Tuareg generally use an old piece of a tent mat (*éseber*). In Ayr the rectangular pieces of cheese are dried on bunches of hay placed in trees (acacias), or on the top of the mat-covered tents. [424] [215]

The *takammart* or *tekemmart* type of cheese made from fresh milk is in high esteem as food among all pastoralists of the Sahara. It is generally eaten when newly-made and soft, though it may also be stored. The Ahaggar Tuareg make this type of cheese only when milk is plentiful, while the Ayr Tuareg manufacture it most of the year though the main season of cheese-making is the season of *akasa*. 262 251 234 221

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Fig. 136. Skin bag of the *dumuky* type used to sour milk before churning. Ahaggar, the *Ajjab-en-ahid* tribe. Dimensions: 0.37 m high. (F.M. 170).

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Fig. 159. Calabash (*azem*) of the type used by Ayr Tuareg for milk and for churning butter. It is provided with a wooden stopper and a handle plaited from goat-skin. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.30 m. (N.M, G. 6664).

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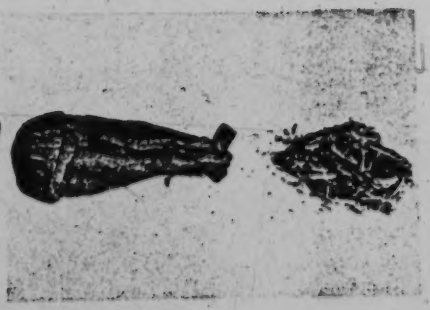

Fig. 160. Skin bag (*ebelhaf*) containing parts of the annual plant *ayuzzuz* (*Chlamydophora pubescens*) which are added to butter before heating in an earthen pot. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension: the skin bag is about 0.15 m long. (F.M. 153).

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up with small strips of fat. The pieces of liver covered with fat are put on a slender iron or 252
wooden rod to be roasted slightly over the fire. This dish is known to all Tuareg by the Arabic word [177]
*chuefif*. It was introduced among the Northern Tuareg by the Arabs, but is not widely known among the Ayr Tuareg.

This brief description of Tuareg meat preparation can adequately be supplemented by a reference 252
to two peculiar dishes:— (1) A dish known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *talebeggat*. It consists of meat 262
which after boiling or roasting is pounded in a large mortar and frequently served with liquid butter. This dish is also known to the Ayr Tuareg. (2) A dish which is described from Ahaggar by Foucauld 252
under the name *ahaggor*. It consists of untanned skin which is eaten in case of hunger after the following 261
preparation:— Untanned skin from household implements, shields, and the like is roasted under the ashes, and is thereupon pounded into small pieces. These are eaten without any further preparation, or after boiling. (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 73).

Like other North African peoples the Tuareg dry meat of domestic animals and of game. The people 251
of Ayr know three distinct drying methods, namely (1) *tweson*, that is meat which is boiled until it is free of blood; it is dried in the shade; (2) *tikelsin*, uncooked meat cut into pieces to be dried on a string in the shade; (3) *kules*, uncooked meat cut into strips which are dried for some time to be treated with salt and various spices. This last method is not practised among the Tuareg of Ayr, but by sedentary people of Agadez and by Negroes further south in Damergu. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally boil or roast the meat before drying; meat roasted in the ashes according to the *abgul* method and thereupon dried is known as *takasa*. I do not know whether the Ahaggar Tuareg also practise the [125]
method of drying raw meat like the Ayr Tuareg, but the dried *agezzeram* lizzards which they take to Tidikelt on trading expeditions, are dried uncooked. Furthermore, the method of drying raw meat [171]
is known elsewhere in the Northern Sahara, and I have myself seen it practised among the Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

I conclude the description of Tuareg meat preparation with a brief note on the use of blood of living 272

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Fig. 166. Wooden double-vessel (*asaw*) to contain water and butter for greasing the hair. Similar containers with a third vessel for fine-grained sand are also found among the Tuareg. Made by blacksmith from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Geometrical ornaments are produced by burning with a hot iron. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.241 m long. (N.M. G. 5880).

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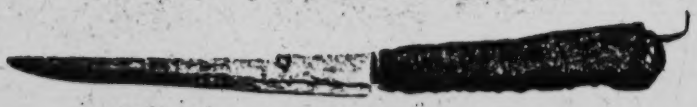

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Fig. 171. Ordinary meat-knife (*elmost*) of the type used among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Its broken handle is mended with hide of barbary sheep sewn with leather thread. Ahaggar, the *Deg Ball* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m (total length). (F.M. 249).
All knives are manufactured by blacksmiths.

wheat bread is eaten particularly during migrations and on trading expeditions, or in periods when 262
butter is rare (Lhote 1955a, p. 262). This statement disagrees with my own experience. Wheat bread [114]
is an ordinary diet of many Northern Tuareg. Bread is also baked from barley and from certain wild [224]
seeds (notably *tawit*, *Chenopodium Vulvaria*; *éhéyefyef*, *Aizoon canariense*; *tullult*, *Aristida pungens*)
and wild roots (*ahahel*, *Cistanche Phelypaea*), while millet and sorghum are considered less suitable
for baking. Seeds are generally prepared for baking by grinding them into flour by saddle querns or 282
handmills. In Northern Tuareg country there are two types of bread which have been introduced as [172]
a result of contact with Arabs or the Arabic-speaking *Harratin*. One type is named *elfetat* and is baked

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Fig. 172a–b. Meat knives.
a. Knife (*dzegiz*) of Tebu type to be carried in its sheath around the upper arm. These knives are sometimes used in Ayr. Agadez. Dimension: 0.370 m. (total length). (N.M. G. 6620a–b).
b. Knife (*dzegiz*) of the double-edged type normally used in Ayr. The *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.377 m (total length). N.M. G. 6665a–b).

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Fig. 177. The large millet mortar (*tindi*) with its heavy wooden pestle (*ikeyen*). It is used almost daily for pounding millet in the camps and it is used also to pound other cereals, dates, and even meat. Mortars of this type are manufactured in Southern Tuareg country by blacksmiths. The specimen depicted is made of wood from a tree growing in the Sudan and known to the Northern Tuareg as *tuyia*. Introduced to Ahaggar from Zinder, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension of the mortar: 0.445 m high, 0.299 m in diameter at the rim. Dimension of the pestle: 1.255 m long. N.M. G. 5224a–b.

Fig. 178. Little mortar (*tindi*) with a short wooden pestle (*ikeyen*). Manufactured from wood of *absay* (*Acacia Raddiana*) by a blacksmith of Tamanrasset. Ahaggar, *Hawatia of* Tarhawhawt. Dimension of the mortar: 0.230–0.235 m high, 0.170–0.180 m in diameter at the rim. Dimension of the pestle: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5838a–b).

It is called *ikanef* and is baked in the following manner:— The millet flour is mixed with juice of *tadent*-berries (i.e., berries of *Boscia senegalensis*) and also with certain medicines unknown to my informants who said they were of Sudanese origin. This mixture is made into a solid dough with a very small content of water, and is baked in the sand where it is covered with hot sand, ashes, and embers in the same way as the bread type known as *tagella* (*tagella* in the north).

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bowl and the plaited tray just described, and the flour is shaken into the large wooden bowl (*elkada*; Fig. 195b) while the unpounded seeds remain in the plaited receptacles. (3) The small amount of seeds which have not yet been turned into flour is put back into the mortar, a little water is again added, and pounding is resumed for five to ten minutes. Most seeds are now turned into flour which is placed in the wooden bowl by shaking the plaited receptacles. (4) The seeds which are not yet pounded after this treatment are replaced in the mortar to be pounded for two or three minutes without the addition of water. The flour produced is shaken into the wooden bowl. (5) What remains unpounded is replaced in the mortar to be pounded without water for two or three minutes, and the flour obtained is shaken into the wooden bowl. (6) The flour is put into the large cooking pot (*ériir*) which has been boiling with water during pounding. (7) An extremely small quantity of flour derived from a final pounding is added to the pot after cooking for about five minutes. (8) During cooking the porridge is stirred with a wooden stick known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aserwi* (Fig. 188). 252 [4/15]* [1/2]

Millet porridge (*eshik*, or *echink*) is of heavy consistency and is normally eaten with milk by means of spoons. But if milk is lacking or is scarce, the Tuareg also add various types of sauces such as the following which is made by many Ayr Tuareg:—Leaves of certain plants (*abezey*, *Cassia tora*; *malokhiya*, *Corchorus tridens*; *kuka*, a large tree growing in the Sudan) or seeds of a plant known as *ékabewa* (*Corchorus olitorius*) are put into a large mortar to be pounded together with onions, dried tomatoes, 262 252 [324]

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Fig. 180. Tuareg woman grinding wheat on the simple saddle quern (*tekaat*). The saddle quern is placed upon a piece of skin (leather) called *asentel* which receives the flour. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ali* tribe.

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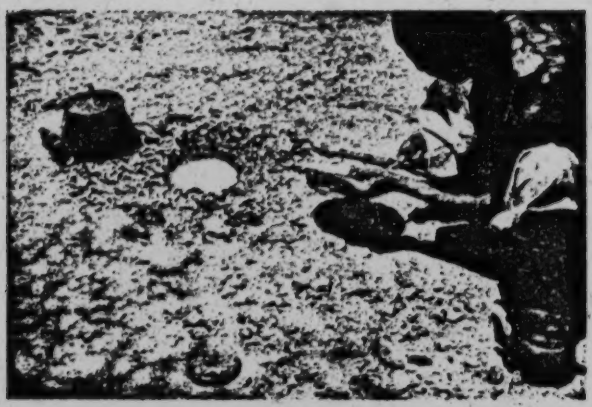

Fig. 183. Baking a *taghelle* bread. The gruel-dough before it is covered with sand, ashes, and embers. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

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Fig. 184. Plaited tray (*téseyt*) which serves to winnow grain and flour but is used also for a cover of milk-bowls and eating bowls. Made according to the technique of coiled basketry by Tuareg woman. The plaiting material is straw of *taloggit* (*Juncus maritimus*). Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.333–0.343 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5824).

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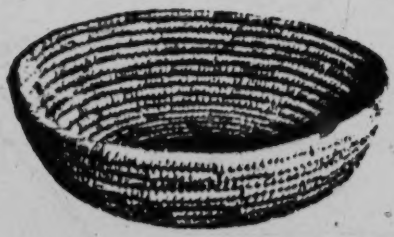

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Fig. 185. Tray or bowl (*takeyka* – perhaps not correctly spelled). It is used for winnowing, and it serves as an eating bowl and a drinking bowl as this container is watertight. Coiled basketry of date palm leaves (*afum*). Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ḥali* tribe. Dimension: 0.205 m in diameter. (F.M. 263).

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Fig. 186. Pot (*takekkiar*) with a single handle. Manufactured by *Ḥarratin* women in Ahaggar, the *Aguhen-tahli* tribe. Dimension: 0.18 m high. (F.M. 172).

in a mortar with a little water to a soft dough to which a little cheese, butter, or milk is added before 262
eating. If a large quantity of milk is added this dish is known as *tarkit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, as men- 252
tioned (p. 167), also pound dried dates with locusts to make a dish eaten by women who wish to grow fat. [261]

The Arabs and the Arabic-speaking agriculturists of Tidikelt (the *Ḥarratin*) have introduced among 262
the Northern Tuareg the well-known North African dish generally called kuskus. The dish is known [172]
to the Tuareg as *keskesu* which is also Arabic by origin. But this dish is not the staple diet among [171]
the Northern Tuareg that it is among the Arabs and the Berbers of the Atlas. It is eaten mainly on festive occasions, and there are many Tuareg women who even to-day do not know how to prepare it. The *keskesu* dish is preferably made from wheat flour, though barley flour may also be used. The 252
cereals are ground with hand-mills or quern stones (saddle querns), and the flour is rolled into very

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Fig. 187a–b. Earthen cooking pots manufactured by *Ḥarratin* women in Ahaggar.
a. Pot (*ṭājirt*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasst. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (N.M. G. 5841).
b. Pot (*alekkin*). Ahaggar, *Ḥarratin* of Taṛhawhawt. Dimension: 0.174 m high. (N.M. G. 5304).

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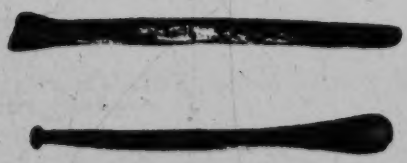

Fig. 188a–b. Simple ladles of the *asersi* type used for stirring millet porridge. Made by Tuareg women from wood of *ahaṛ* (*Acacia Raddiana*).
a. Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-ashli* tribe. Dimension: 0.382 m long. (N.M. G. 5211).
b. Ahaggar, the *Ikeyawen Hada* tribe. Dimension: 0.415 m long. (N.M. G. 5846).

252 small balls with a diameter of up to five milimetres. The balls are put into a special earthen, wooden,
*[415] or plaited bowl (*ṣemba*, or *denfu*; Fig. 189) which has a number of small holes in the bottom. This receptacle is placed on the top of a cooking pot containing meat and/or vegetables to be boiled in water for a soup. The small flour balls are thus steamed by the boiling soup in the cooking pot. Like

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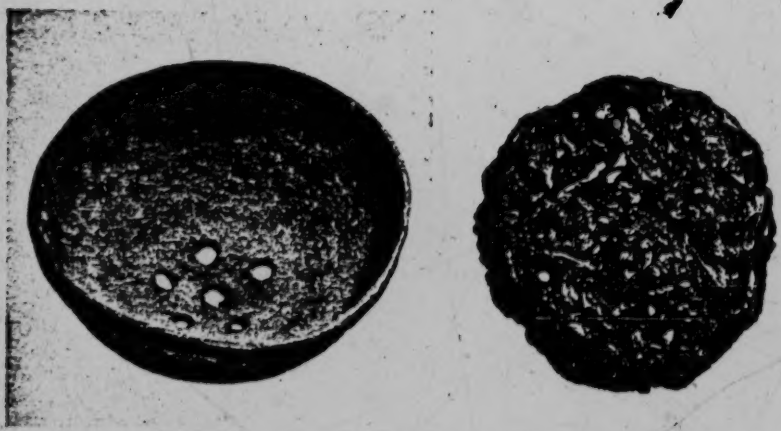

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Fig. 189. Earthen jar (*denfu*, or *denbo*) of the particular type used for the preparation of *keskesu*. Ahaggar, *Harrâtin* of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.16 m high, 0.30 m in diameter. (F.M. 215).

Fig. 190. A kind of cake (*tarfat*) made of onions and dates which are mixed and pressed. Such cakes are made in Tidikelt but are sold at Tamanrasset by Arab merchants. They are pounded in the mortar or are crushed between two stones before cooking. Dimension: 0.10 m. (N.M. G. 5847a).

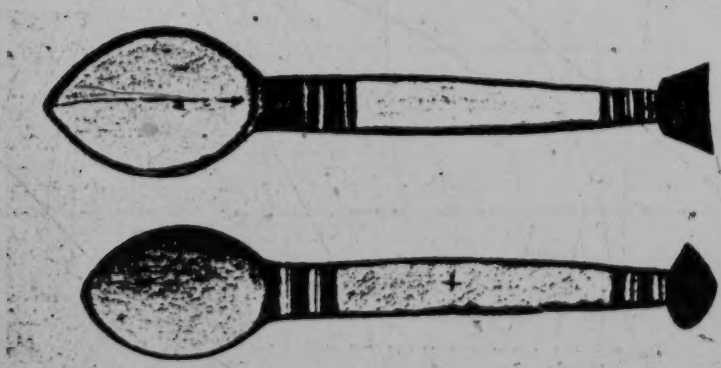

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Fig. 191. Wooden spoons (*tesukalt*, pl. *tisukalin*) cut by blacksmiths from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tebbi* and the *Dag Rali* tribes. Dimension: ca. 0.26–0.28 m. (F.M.).

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Fig. 194a–c. Bowl-like ladles from Ahaggar and Ayr. They are used mainly for eating liquid dishes – in particular for the dish known as *ayshara* (Ahaggar) or *ayejira* (Ayr).

a. Ladle (*samulai*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *sabarak* tree (*Balanitis aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.285 m long, 0.110–0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5845).

b. Ladle (*samulai*). Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.330 m long. (N.M. G. 6631).

c. Ladle-like bowl (*assar*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *sabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. This ladle-like bowl was not used for food but for conservation of fine-grained sand used for hair-dressing together with water and butter. Dimension: 0.330 m long, 0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5879).

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264 frequently consisting of bread or porridge eaten rather late at night. The Ayr Tuareg have related terms for their meals:— (1) *tegimgimt* which is a prepared meal eaten late in the morning. (2) *témekkelewt* which is the prepared meal taken at midday. (3) *temegint*, late evening meal which is the main [272] meal in Ayr, as in Ahaggar. In addition to these meals there is a very light meal taken with tea immidiately after rising. It is known as *elfetur*.

[511] Incidentally there are Tuareg who do not have food enough to eat three times a day.

During times when Tuareg subsist exclusively on milk they have no regular meals. The amount [484] of milk needed to support life is very great, and it is drunk slowly during the day. On extensive journeys when the camels cross the barren deserts, the Tuareg also do not have regular meals as they do in their camps.

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Fig. 195a. Wooden eating bowl (*ayeḥar*) made by Ayr blacksmith. Ahaggar, the *Ifuh-en-tahli* tribe. Dimension: 0.095 m high, 0.253 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5212).

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Fig. 195b. Wooden eating bowl (*alkadi*) manufactured by blacksmith from wood of the *ruyis* tree and provided with an iron handle. Ayr, blacksmiths of Damergu. Dimension: 0.43 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 6632).

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Fig. 196a–c. Plaited bowls in coiled technique. They serve as eating bowls for little children and are known as *tafakawt* (pl. *tifakam*).

a. Plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.036 m high, 0.100 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5215).

b. Plaited from straw of *taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*) by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ralt* tribe. Dimension: 0.043 m high, 0.102 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5214).

c. Plaited from straw by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.105 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5844).

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Fig. 197. Small calabash (*tafakawt*) which serves as eating bowl for little children. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.055 m high, 0.095 m in diameter. (F.M. 145).

# Crafts

Tuareg crafts clearly disclose traits belonging to distinct cultural levels. This may be seen from a brief description of the methods of fire-making. 372 [174]

Matches are in ordinary use nowadays, but they are used economically not only because they cost money but also because many Tuareg live far away from towns or trading posts where matches can be obtained. The embers of a fire smoulder for a very long time, and when the Tuareg want to light a fire they normally find embers under the ashes where their fire has been. Glowing wood is carried from one tent to another on a fragment of calabashes or earthen pots, and some Tuareg even take fire with them in this way during nomadic migrations. If a new fire has to be lit and matches are not available, most Tuareg use the well-known method of fire-making by means of flint and steel. This method is widely resorted to in Northern Africa even to-day, and is practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar as follows:— The curved piece of steel (*énefed*) is placed over the three middle fingers of the right hand. It is struck against a small piece of flint (*tafarast*) held between the first and second fingers of the left hand together with a small piece of lighting material which may be a small piece of cotton cloth. However, the best lighting material (*tajjert*) is a piece of wood of *teferyast* (*Echinops Bovei*), which has been boiled and thereupon beaten into a fibrous mass with a stone. The Tuareg keep this lighting material in a particular leather bag (*tarallabt*) together with the steel and one or two pieces of flint (Fig. 198). Lighting material according to Maire is also made from a plant named *térahit* (*Traganum nudatum*) (Maire 1933, p. 82). The spark produced by striking the steel against the flint causes the lighting material to glow, and after blowing on it or swinging it in the air, it is placed under a small bunch of hay which burst into flame after further heavy blowing. The use of flint and steel is not a very difficult method of fire-making, and I have used it myself on journeys when matches had come to an end. [171] [324] [415] [324]

The Tuareg do not generally use more primitive methods of fire-making nowadays. But they know an ancient method of making fire by rubbing a piece of hard wood (*agar* in Ahaggar, *agar* in Ayr; *Maerua crassifolia*) against a piece of soft wood (*turha* in Ahaggar, *turza* in Ayr; *Calotropis procera*). By this process they produce by hand rubbing a glowing dust which is brought into flame by means of lighting material and hay as described above. One of my informants among the Ayr Tuareg had produced fire according to this method. Lhote states that the method is at times used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar, where the hard ribs of date palm leaves are also used for starting a fire by rubbing (Lhote 1955a, p. 258). [324]

Stone materials play a very little part in Tuareg crafts. Natural stones are used occasionally as 412 [324]

[p. 255]

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Fig. 198. Flint (*tafarast*), steel (*ineufad*), and lighting material (*tafferi*). The lighting material, which is conserved in a leather bag (*tayalisbi*), is made from wood of *tafdryast* (*Echinops Bovei*). Ahaggar, the *Ajjab-en-tahli* tribe. Dimension of the steel 0.065 m long. (F.M. 154a–d).

412 tools, e.g., for hammering tent pegs into the ground, for rope making as described below, for separating the hide from the body when skinning a barbary sheep, and for crushing rock-salt, red pebber, dried tomatoes, tobacco, and the like. We have seen above that the Tuareg saddle querns used for grinding cereals are natural stones of a particular form and size, and that they are used for grinding without any particular fashioning, though sometimes treated with a hard stone or a piece of iron to make the [324] grinding surface more rugged and effective. The handmill is never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg (cf. p. 214 ff., Figs. 179–182).

412 172 Prehistoric quern stones and stone pestles are found in many regions of the Central Sahara and these ancient implements, I was told, are sometimes used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar for grinding and pounding (Fig. 200). The Tuareg also use the numerous neolithic stone axes (Fig. 199) as whetstones for iron knives. These axes are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tadefi n ejenna*, that is "the axe of the rain (or the thunder)", and all Tuareg believe that they have fallen from the sky during heavy storms.

301 Stone material is still used for certain Tuareg ornaments, and notably for the well-known arm-ring (*ahleg* in Ahaggar, *ewekt* in Ayr) which is worn by most adult men and also by some boys. These rings are sometimes mentioned in literature as a weapon, but they are not well fitted for this owing [564] to their fragility. Most arm-rings are made from soft stone such as serpentine, and are manufactured by blacksmiths (Ineden)

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



206a-d). The ordinary axe (*tafeft*) is used by all Tuareg who may also possess small adzes (*tet-* 322
*tawt*), used mainly by women for the manufacturing of domestic implements such as spoons and 412
milking bowls. These implements manufactured by Tuareg women are generally inferior in quality 412
to those made by the blacksmiths, though certain noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe make wooden milking bowls that are said to be superior to those of the blacksmiths. In Ayr, Tuareg women engage very little in wood-working, and the Ayr Tuareg are on the whole less skilled in crafts than are the Tuareg of Ahaggar.

Pastoral Tuareg are experts in rope making. Ropes made from various materials play an important 283
part for the Tuareg for hobbling domestic animals, for fastening burdens transported on camels, as reins, for the erection of tents, and for a great many other purposes. Incidentally the Tuareg make substitutes for ropes in a very simple way. Thus if a man comes upon a camel which he wishes to take [224]
back to camp and has no rope or rein to lead it by he makes a lead from three or four pieces of palm leaf, or the like, attached to each other. It is stated by Maire that the Ahaggar Tuareg make simple

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Fig. 206a-b. Earthen pots made by the sedentary *Imeggedesen* of Agadez.
a. A water jar with two spouts. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedesen* as *gelgelei*. It is used by this latter people but never by pastoral Tuareg. Dimension: 0.30 m high. (N.M. G. 6635).
b. Earthen jar used for water and also for cooking. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ekyiat or ikekin*, to the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedesen* as *tukunfya or tuke*. Dimension: 0.285 m high. (N.M. G. 6634).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 205. Painted earthen pot (*ákanwa*) manufactured by the professional potmakers called *ikenawen*. Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.32 m high. (N.M. G. 6636).

283 hobble ropes from straws of the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) (Maire 1933, p. 62). For the manufacture
824 of proper ropes the Tuareg may employ the bark of trees. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr they use the bark of *Acacia Raddiana* (*abser* in Ahaggar, *afagag* in Ayr) for this purpose (Fig. 113). These ropes are made after much the same method as that used for the Ahaggar ropes of date palm bast (*asan*)
283 and those of dum palm leaves made in Ayr. Ropes of this kind are always made by men, who, when
462 making ropes from date palm bast, proceed in the following way:— Pieces of bast are soaked in water contained in a receptacle. They are thereupon torn into small strips about 20–30 cms long. These strips are rolled and twisted between the hands, and are kept in this rolled position under the foot until sufficient numbers of strips are available for the rope to be made. The ends of two rolled strips are then placed between the first and the second toes, and the strips are twisted together between the hands. New strips are added and twisted in this fashion until a suitable length of two twisted rows of strips has been made. This length is thereupon stretched over one of the feet, doubled, and twisted between the hands. It [illegible]ally hammered with a stone while resting on another stone or upon the bottom of a large mortar which is frequently used for support. The Ahaggar Tuareg make their hobble ropes in this way (Fig. 207), and the Ayr Tuareg apply the same technique to ropes made from strips of dum palm leaves which are also soaked in water before twisting. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr this method may also be used for the manufacture of leather cords (Figs. 43, 73a).

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Fig. 207. Tuareg making a hobble-rope (*ifgart*) of date palm bast (*asan*). Ahaggar, the *Kel Ḥezi*.

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Fig. 208. The manufacture of a cord of goat's hair: (1) the hair (*ihefiles*) is spun around a little stick (*aseggelem*). (2) The spun hair is trebled and twisted into a thread known as *tamarkit*, or *tamagit*, between two sticks (*iseggelem*, sing. *aseggelem*). (3) The finished cord (*ahellum*) which is made by trebling the *tamagit* thread. Ahaggar, the *Aghal-en-tahlt* tribe. Dimension of the *aseggelem* stick to the left: 0.41 m long. (F.M. 74, 120, 122).

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Fig. 210a–b. Two coiled baskets provided with lids.

[462] a. *sakhalit*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*afum*) and reinforced with coloured leather (goat-skin). Manufactured by women of the sedentary *Kel Ror* in Tasilî-n-Ajjer, bought from blacksmiths at Tamanrasset in Ahaggar. Dimension: 0.13 m high. (F.M. 227).

b. *adebun*, basket plaited from pieces of palm leaves (*afum*). It is ornamented with coloured leather thread and with woollen yarn. Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abelessa. Dimension: 0.205 m high. (N.M. G. 5837a–b).

283 This stick, which is held in the right hand, is turned around its own axes while the hair taken out from the mass with the left hand is occasionally moistened with water or with spittle. The stick upon which the hair is spun is known as *aseggelem*. I have noted in Ahaggar that a length of 50–60 metres of spun hair can be made in about twenty minutes. Such a lenght of spun hair is trebled and attached to two sticks also known as *aseggelem* (pl. *iseggelam*). It is twisted together by two women each holding one of the sticks, and may be conserved for some time before it is finally made into a rope by further trebling and twisting (cf. Fig. 208). Certain cords to be used in connection with riding camels (e.g., reins) are not twisted in the above manner, but are plaited (cf. Fig. 51). The spun hair is used for the manufacture of certain objects without twisting (cf. Fig. 167a–b). Lhote states that the hair growing on the knees and neck of barbary sheep is also used for spinning (Lhote 1955a, p. 319).

[237] The Northern Tuareg spin camel's hair or wool (*teḍuft*) which is used for very few purposes (cf.
[286] p. 67). But camel's hair is sometimes mixed with goat's hair to be spun for thread used for a primitive type of weaving; true weaving is an unknown craft among the Tuareg while important to Arab pastor-
288 alists of the Northern Sahara. The Tuareg type of primitive weaving with spun hair is carried out
* [415] with no other implement but the hand; it is used for small transportation bags known as *tirrar* (sing.
[114] *téreirt*), a word, according to Foucauld, derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776) (cf. Fig. 209a–b). I have myself never had the opportunity to see how weaving of this type is done.

7:Nicolaisen E.-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



A photograph illustrating a women making a bag from spun hair is reproduced by Lhote, who states that bags of this nature are rarely manufactured nowadays and are made exclusively by a few noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe (Lhote 1955a, p. 319 f., pl. XV p. 384). This statement does not agree with information gathered by myself in Ahaggar, where I was told that bags were made from spun hair by Tuareg women of other tribes and notably by women of the *Iselemaren* class.

In Ayr spinning of cotton is performed mainly to obtain sewing thread, which is considered superior to European thread for sewing cotton clothes. To my knowledge most pastoral women do not spin their own cotton thread but buy it at the market of Agadez. However I have noted the existence of simple cotton bows in a *Kel Tédalé* camp in the northern part of the Ayr Massif. The occurrence of the simple cotton bow among the Ayr Tuareg should no doubt be viewed in connection with the use of this implement in the Western Sudan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 260 ff.) from where the cotton plant has also been introduced.

Coiled basket-work plays an important part with the Tuareg, particularly the Northern Tuareg who are experts in this technique which is related to sewing. A very primitive type of coiled basketry

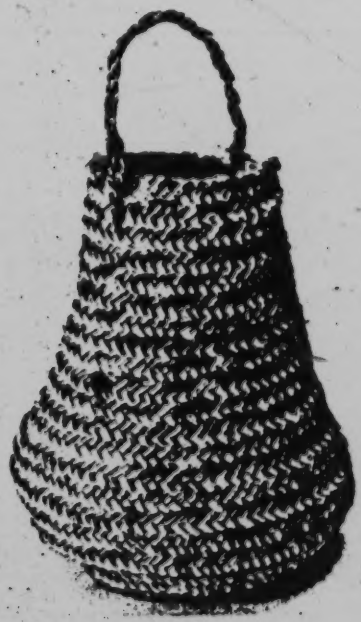

Fig. 211. Basket (*alaguegue*) plaited from date palm leaves (*aghum*). The handle is of date palm bast (*asan*). Ahaggar, blacksmith at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.38 m high. (N.M.G. 3839).

[text continues on p. 269]

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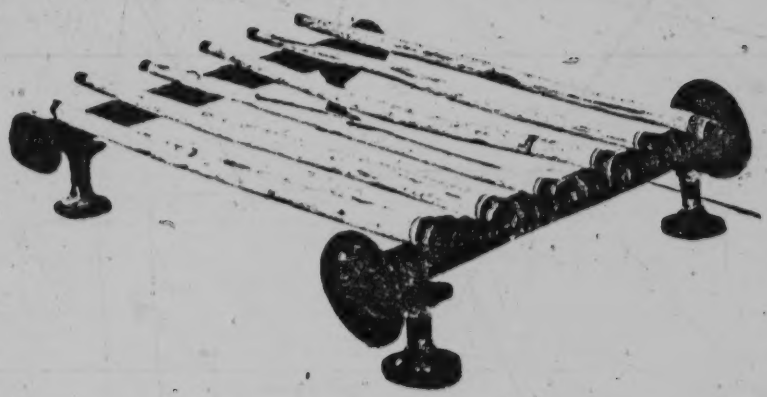

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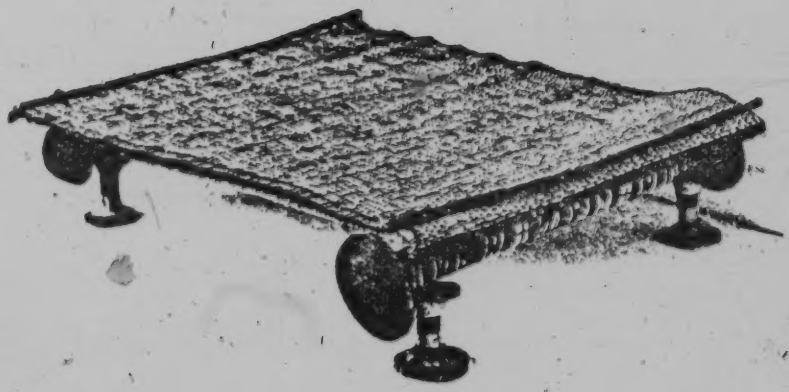

Fig. 212a-b. The large wooden bed (*tédabut*) which is used by all pastoral Ayr Tuareg.

a. The wooden skeleton consisting of the following parts:— (1) Four wooden legs (*tésetkelt*, pl. *tisetkal*). (2) Two horizontal cross-beams (*tabatukat*, pl. *tibatukatin*) carved into the shape of a disc at their ends. (3) Six horizontal poles (*afasas*, pl. *ifesasen*) resting in shallow grooves of the horizontal cross-beams. These poles are made from wood of a tree called *koriya*; this type of wood is also used for the heavy cross-beam seen in the front, while the hindmost cross-beam is made of wood called *tereza*.

b. The wooden skeleton covered with two mats (*tébert*, pl. *tisebrin*) of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). The stems of this grass are tied together with leather strips. Beds are frequently covered with three mats. Dimension of the bed: ca. 1.70×1.36×0.21 m. (N.M. G. 6640a–o).

may be seen in Fig. 167a–b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*ilstent*) (Fig. 218a). 285 [413]

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a–c, 210a–b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*éstan*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices. [184] [432] [366]

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among ~~the Kel Ayr~~. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*aḍum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*alegutguten*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig 220b). This basket type (*tésenit*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals. [824] [413] [342] [184] [413] [171] [415] *

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éxeber* or *téxebert* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents, and they are manufactured by many women among the *Kel Ahaggar* (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers, and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*téldabut*) (Fig. 212a–b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Igdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south. [824] [351] [462] [352] [563] [462] [342] [438]

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitues the most important craft in the 281

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as *ahaga* (Fig. 213). Such tanning receptacles are made in the following way among the Ahaggar Tuareg:— A slender bough of the *tahanak* tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) is bent and fixed into a circular form, and a piece of camel's hide soaked in water is attached to this frame. Sand and pebbles are thereupon placed upon the hide within the frame, which is lifted upwards by means of cords fastened to it and to the bough of a tree. This is done to produce the bowl-like form of the receptacle which is left filled with sand and pebbles and attached to the tree for a few days. Thus it is dried by the sun, and thereafter it will become very hard and keep the desired bowl-like form. Certain butter-containers made from raw camel hide are manufactured on the same principle, the entrance to such containers being made by the insertion of a piece of wood around which the upper part of the piece of hide is firmly attached. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar also use camel's hide for the manufacture of a long rope (*akhamil*), which is used for drawing water from wells by means of oxen when the *tamu* system of irrigation (Fig. 132a–b) is employed. A rope of this kind is made from strips of soaked hide twisted together and hammered between stones to be left for drying in the sun. It is also said that camel's hide in the north is used for sandals of a particular type, while the Ayr Tuareg may use raw oxe-hide for sandals (cf. p. 301). The Ayr Tuareg may also employ raw oxe-hide for the manufacture of ropes and cords, and for camel whips. The hides of camels and oxen are known to the Tuareg by the common term *éyit* and they seem to possess certain qualities in common.

281 [824] [48]* [283] [294]

The hide of such animals as goats, sheep, gazelle, barbary sheep is never used untanned among the Tuareg, and they may tan the hide of oxen and various other animals.

The Tuareg use a particular method for tanning goat-skin to be used for water-bags (*abayor*) (Figs. 215–217). I have watched this, particularly in Ahaggar, where a water-bag is prepared in the following way:— The animal is killed in the normal way of cutting its throat, and is then so skinned that the hide comes off almost entire. This is done by making the following openings with the knife: the head is cut off, cuts are made around the lower part of all four feet, and on the inner side of the

[415]* [231]

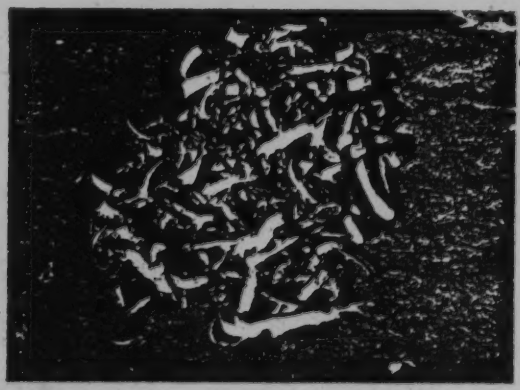

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Fig. 214. Tannin consisting of bark (*ilker*) of the *tamat* acakia (*Acacia seyal*) which is used for tanning water bags. The bark is left upon a piece of rock for drying. Ahaggar, the *Aghab-en-tahit* tribe.

[Text continues on p. 273]

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Fig. 216. Water bag (*abayor*). Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. (N.M.).

hind thighs over the animal's anus. This latter opening is made big enough for the skin to be drawn 281
off the body forwards over the neck. When the hide is removed and has been cleaned by scraping with
a knife, it is ready for tanning, which is done as follows:— The openings made on all four legs are [413]
closed simply by tieing the leg skin into knots, while the opening made on the inner side of the hind
thighs is sewn together with straw by means of the awl (*tistent*) (Fig. 218a), the anus opening being
closed with a cord tied around it. The hide is now closed except at the neck opening. It is filled with [824]
a mixture of water and bark (*tiñet*) of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*), and the neck-opening is there-
upon closed with a cord tied around it. The hide, which now forms a closed bag filled with bark and
water, is placed in the shade of the tent for seven to ten days to be turned and shaken every day. The
mixture of bark and water is thereupon poured out, the cuts sewn together or tied with knots are
reopened, the inner side of the hide is cleaned and treated with butter, and the openings are closed
again in a more solid fashion, the large hind opening being closed with strips of cotton placed over
the incision and sewn together with leather thread by means of the awl. A water bag prepared in
this way will very often contain reddish water, as the *tamat* bark yields a red colour, but nevertheless
all Tuareg consider bark of the *tamat* acacia as the very best tannin for water bags. Bark of *abser* [824]
(*afagag* in Ayr) (*Acacia Raddiana*) and also bark of *tahamak* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) may be used for tanning
water bags. Water bags are, with very rare exceptions, made from hairy skin because they keep the
water cool and fresh. The large open irrigation pail (*aga*) is made from skin tanned with bark like [415] *
water bags, but to my knowledge bark tanning among the Tuareg is not employed for other articles.



[text continues on p. 275]

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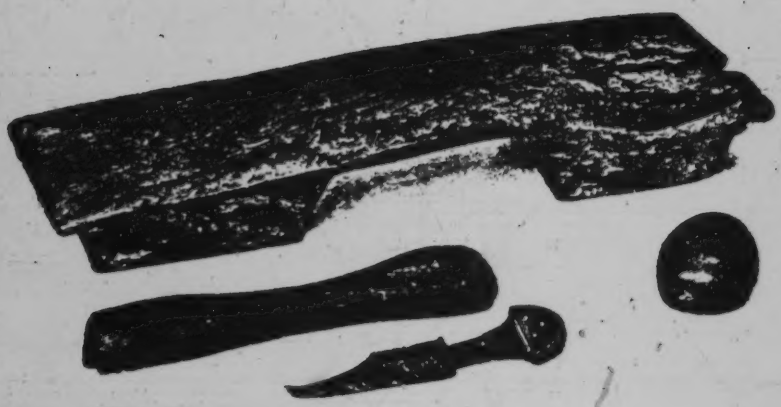

Fig. 219a–d. Implements used for skin and leather work in Ahaggar.

a. Wooden cutting board (*elkeylab*). It is made from wood of the *tabwak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). 0.480 m long. (N.M. G. 5867). [824]

b. Wooden implement (*asettema*) for smoothing leather. Wood of the *tabwak* tree. Dimension: 0.248 m long. (N.M. G. 5868).

c. Heavy black stone (*tagzai*) with level under side. Used for smoothing leather. Dimension: 0.079 × 0.061 m. (N.M. G. 5873).

d. Knife (*telmasit*). Dimension: 0.163 m long. (N.M. G. 5869).
Manufactured and used by blacksmiths in Ahaggar, Abalessa.

The vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar use hairy skin for the manufacture of certain receptacles other than water bags (cf. Figs. 111, 125). I have never seen hairy skin bags of this type in Ayr, and even in Ahaggar most skin bags are made from depilated skins. In Ahaggar the hair is removed from the hide by means of a plant known as *tachkat* (*Pergularia tomentosa*). A bundle of this plant is dipped into hot water and is rubbed against the inner side of the hide which is spread out over a large stone or a similar object. Even after one day the hair can then be removed by one or two women who pluck it with their fingers. In Ahaggar I have also been told by sedentary agriculturists that the hair can be removed by means of salt. The salt is placed upon the inner side of the hide and this treatment makes it possible to scrape away the hair by means of a knife or a stone. The Ayr Tuareg questioned about their methods of depilation place ashes from the fireplace on the inner side of the hide which after this treatment is covered with moistened sand for one day. After this treatment the hair is removed with a knife or simply with the fingers. 281 [565] [415]* [824]

The tannin generally used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr for articles other than water bags 281 824

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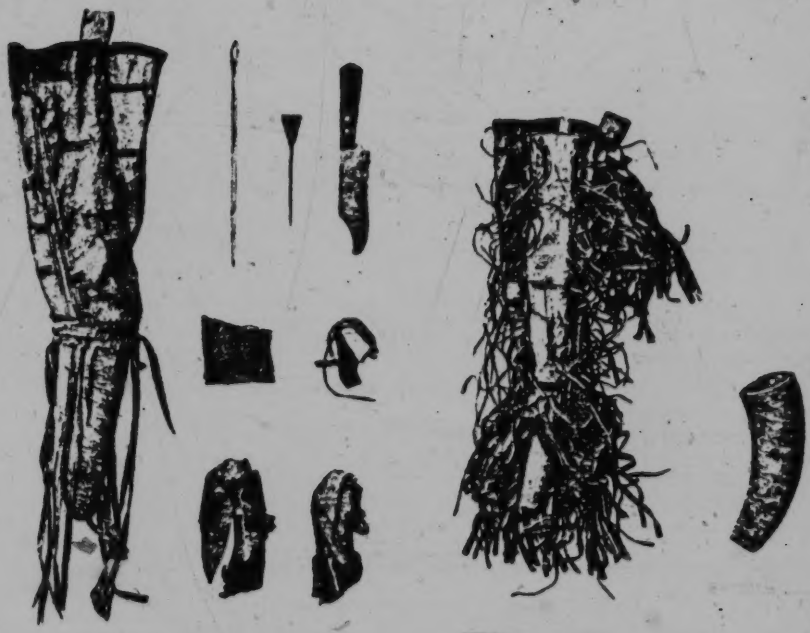

Fig. 220a–g. Sewing bags and their contents.

a. Sewing bag (*askagen*) made of decorated leather sewn to a piece of hollow ox-horn which constitutes the bottom of the bag. Dimension: 0.415 m long. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ilali* tribe. – In the bag were the objects b–e.
b. Large sewing needle (*tassgla*, or *tassabla*).
c. Sewing awl (*tistent*).
d. Leather knife (*selmusit*).
e. Four pieces of leather (*izzeman*) for repairs. (N.M. G. 5225a–e).
f. Sewing bag (*askagen*) of the above-mentioned type but richly decorated with leather fringes. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of I-n-dalag. Dimension: 0.335 m long. (N.M. G. 5241).
g. Ox horn (*isek*) cut for bottom of sewing bag (*askagen*). Ahaggar, *Harratin*. Dimension: 0.136 m long. (N.M. G. 5228).

281 824 is fruit of the *taggart* acacia (*Acacia scorpioides*) which is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tiggart*. The fruit is pounded into a kind of flour or powder which is mixed with water in the large tanning receptacle made from camel hide (Ahaggar) or in a large wooden or enameled receptacle (Ayr). For tannin the Ahaggar Tuareg also use leaves of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). These are collected as follows: a large bough is cut off the acacia, and is left to dry in a clean, sandy place. When the bough and its leaves have been dried by the sun for some time, the bough is beaten with a stick so that the leaves

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



fall to the ground where they are collected. They are conserved dry until tanning takes place when they are pounded in the large mortar and mixed with water in the tanning receptacle. The Ahaggar Tuareg may also use galls of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*) (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 885 & Maire 1933, p. 159) and fruit of the *tedjoq* tree (*Pistacia atlantica*) (Maire 1933, p. 149). 281 824

In addition to treatment with these vegetable tannins the skin is also treated with butter or rubbed with fatty substances, such as a piece of the brain of a slaughtered animal. These are the main features of skin tanning which in Ahaggar takes place in the following way:— (1) The hairy or depilated hide is placed in the tannin receptacle which contains one of the above-mentioned vegetable tannins mixed with water. The hide remains in this receptacle for one or two days if fruit of the *taggart* acacia is used, while three or four days will be necessary using *tamat* leaves known as *ala*. The hide in the receptacle is daily rubbed between the hands in order that the tannin may penetrate well into it. (2) When the hide is removed from the receptacle it is washed with cold water and thereupon dried in the shade. 281

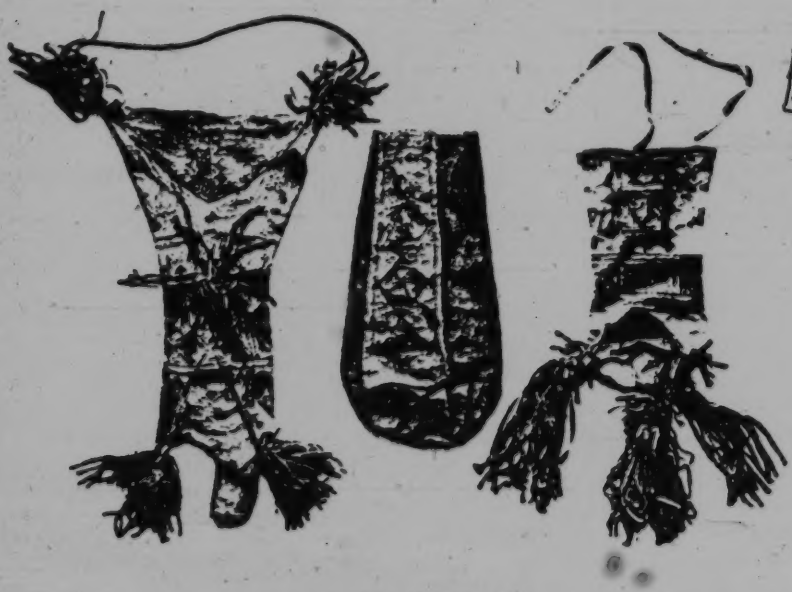

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Fig. 221 a–c. Skin bags.

a. Bag of *ténhéfkwat* type. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.45 m long. (N.M. G. 1.134).
b. Bag known as *ebelbeg*. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.36 m long. (N.M. G. 5239).
c. Bag of *ténhéfkwat* type. Ahaggar, probably manufactured by Ahaggar Tuareg af Tamesna. Dimension: 0.30 m long – without fringes. (N.M. G. 5219).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



237 Ayr Tuareg a piece of ram's horn may serve as an amulet case attached around the upper arm. Horns
*[415] of barbary sheep are used for butter containers among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 223; Fig. 165), who sometimes use a piece of pointed gazelle horn for daubing antimony around the eye.

281 The Ahaggar women cut skin and leather with a small knife (*telmusit*), and a piece of wood (*asettenu*)
462 and/or a stone (*tazzet*) are used for smoothing the skin which is then placed upon a particular wooden
[443] board (*elkeyleb*) (cf. Figs. 219a–d). The Ayr Tuareg do not make so much refined skin work. Women
*[445] among the Northern Tuareg conserve their implements for skin and leather work in a particular bag (*askagen*) which is made from leather attached to a bottom piece of horn (*isek*) (Figs. 220a–g).

[531] Northern Tuareg women take a great interest in their skin and leather artifacts, which are richly decorated with fringes and hanging tassels, and with geometric designs in different colours. I have
386 noted the following colours among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer:—
822 (1) *baba*, indigo which is introduced from the south in the form of balls.

(2) *tawnkent*, which is also known as *tafidet* and *tanezzeft* according to Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1934. It is a yellowish mineral which yields an entirely black colour frequently seen on ornamented skin bags. The mineral according to the Ahaggar Tuareg is introduced from the south, while the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer claim that they obtain their minerals of this type from Serdeles north-east of Rat. – A black colour which is also known as *tawnkent* is said to be made by the Tuareg of Ahaggar in the following way:— Pieces of iron are put into water contained in some small receptacle, usually a tea glass. This receptacle containing water and iron pieces is covered with a bowl or a similar object in order that the sun light cannot penetrate. After a few days the water turns into a black colour to be used for skin dyeing.

(3) *semento*, a green colour derived from a mineral or a powder introduced from the south. According to some Tuareg this green colour is also made by means of a vegetable powder introduced from the north, from the region of Mzab.

(4) *khodarbas*, a powder which yields a green colour. It is said to be introduced from the south (from Tawa) and to derive from a tree known as *tafnit*.

● [524] (5) *errummun*, the fruit of the pomegranate tree known as *terrummont* (*Punica Granatum*). It is used with a white mineral (alum), known as *azref n Tawat*, and introduced from In Salah. Parts of the pomegranate fruit and of this mineral are mixed with water to be used for a yellow or yellow-brown dye which is applied to many decorated skin bags for ground colour.

(6) *temesaruak*, a mineral introduced from the north (Mzab). It produces a yellow colour.

[243] (7) *herki*, a reddish brown colour obtained from a particular type of sorghum known as *tallak* grown in the cultivation centres of Ahaggar.

(8) *tékersé*, a white colour obtained by placing the skin for about three days in a container with fresh milk to which a little salt is added. – Among Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told that a white colour is also obtained from a kind of powder introduced from the Sudan.

386 Before use these above mentioned colours or dyeing materials are generally dissolved in water
[531] contained in a tea glass. When they are employed for the very fine geometric designs of leather bags they are daubed with a small knife known as *telmusit* (Fig. 219b).

[439] It is interesting that most dyes used by the Northern Tuareg are introduced from the north or from the south,

[Text continues on p. 284]

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Fig. 228a–c.

a. A cylindrical hollowed piece of wood covered with leather. It is known as *tafendit* and serves to contain antimony (*tazult*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m long. (N.M. G. 5875).

b. Cylindrical brass tube covered with ornamented leather. It is known as *faralu wa n tuka* and serves for the conservation of *tuka*, that is ashes of burned *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ashes of this grass are used by some Tuareg for chewing tobacco. It is said in Ahaggar that containers of this type are made exclusively by noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe, and that the containers should be worn only by noble Tuareg and not by vassals. The brass tube is always made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.265 m long (total length). (N.M. G. 5888).

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c. A piece of cane covered with coloured leather and fringes of the same material. It is called *tafendit* and serves for the conservation of *tazult* (antimony). Ahaggar, the *Aghah-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.116 m. (N.M. G. 5267).

386 the south, or are obtained from plants grown by sedentary agriculturists. The technique of skin dyeing
[28] as practized by the Tuareg nowadays cannot be considered an ancient one in Tuareg culture. Its
[174] origin is probably to be looked for in the more developed civilizations of Northern Africa, and not in a nomadic culture like that of the Tuareg. Other dyeing methods known to the Tuareg may well be very ancient. I believe this to be true of the red ochre known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tamegheyt*,

[text continues on p. 286]

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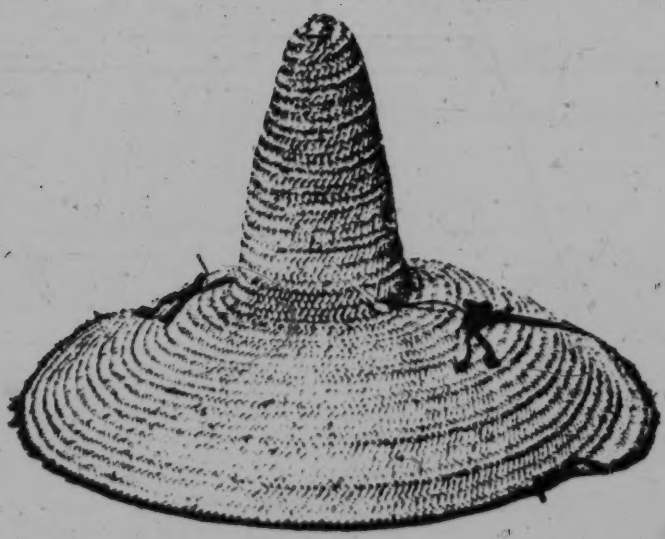

Fig. 231. Woman's straw-hat (*idit*) plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*ajum*). Ahaggar, the *Dag Ali* tribe; manufactured at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.565 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5276).

386 to the Ayr Tuareg as *tamezgoyt*. It is found both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, and is used for dyeing tent-skins (cf. p. 361).

281 A number of the most common skin bags and similar objects of decorated leather work made by
462 Tuareg women in Ahaggar are reproduced in Figs. 220–229.

* [465] Though the pastoral Tuareg women in the north are excellent leather workers they find their superiors
[564] in the blacksmiths women and those of the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Women of these sedentary negroid groups provide pastoral Tuareg with leather objects like sword-sheaths, amulet cases, leather purses, large saddle bags, cushions, and the like (cf. Figs. 72a, 76, 121a–b, 172a–b, 190).

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Each row of forked poles has a lath resting horizontally in the prongs. This lath is called *ɛseger* (pl. *ɛagw*). 342*

Two rows of boughs are fixed to the laths as a base for the roof covering. These boughs are known as *ibezaren* (no sing.). They rest with one end upon the central lath, the other end upon one of the outer laths. As the row of forked poles which carry the central lath is frequently somewhat higher than the two outer rows, the *ibezaren* boughs may be fixed in a somewhat sloping position and thus form a slightly elevated saddle roof which is covered with various kinds of plant material (e.g., palm leaves).

The walls of the hut consist of slender vertical sticks fixed in the ground and surrounded by simple mats (*asuki*) made from the stems of the *afezu*-grass (*Panicum turgidum*). The huts have only one door-opening which is generally made at one of the narrow ends. [324]

The *téjiwa* hut is frequently a very spacious one, and in general it is so high that a grown man can easily stand upright in it. The poles used for the hut are rather heavy and the structure is built by the men, while most other dwellings used among the Tuareg are erected by women. [342]

A.5.b. The square or rectangular hut found among sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer is called *ékeber* (pl. *ikebraw*). In Tasilé-n-Ajjer similar huts are also used by certain pastoral Tuareg, though their huts generally are round and provided with a conical roof (cf. A.6, p. 335 ff.). In Ahaggar square or rectangular straw-huts are not generally used by pastoralists, though they may be found among certain noble Tuareg when they camp in the lower country where building material is available.

Most huts are almost square and in size up to about 6 × 6 metres so that they are generally somewhat bigger than the *téjiwa* hut just mentioned. One hut seen in Tasilé-n-Ajjer had a structure very much like that of a *téjiwa* hut with a slightly elevated saddle-back roof. The *ékeber* hut of Northern Tuareg country usually has 9 forked poles buried solidly in the soil, forming three rows of poles

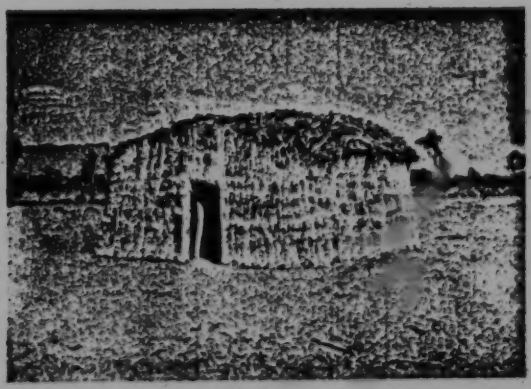

Fig. 249b. The *téjiwa* hut structure covered with mats a few days later. Ayr, Iferwan.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



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[824]

Fig. 250. A square *ákeber* hut covered with bulrush. Ahaggar, Amsel.

parallel to each other. The middle pole of the central row of poles is somewhat higher than all the other poles, connected with each other by means of laths resting in the prongs to form a square frame, which may be supported by one or two subsidiary forked poles if considered necessary. Slender boughs or laths are fastened to the horizontal laths and to the top of the forked central pole, and other slender boughs are placed over them to form the foundation of the roof-covering which consists of plant material. If bulrush is available this material is preferred, but hay of various grasses is also used. The walls of the hut are generally covered with the same material as the roof. If walls are covered with bulrush its very long stems are placed vertically around the hut-frame and attached to it by means of one or two horizontal bands of the same material (cf. Fig. 250). If hay of grasses (e.g., *tulhult*; *Aristida pungens*) is employed for wall covering it is necessary to insert boughs or sticks leaning against the square frame to support the bunches of hay which are kept to the wooden structure by means of cords. I was told by old people of Ahaggar that the square *ákeber* hut was introduced to Ahaggar with the immigration of the *Kel Ganet*. This is very likely, for I have seen identical huts at the oasis of Ganet and also among some pastoral Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Some huts have only one entrance which is placed at the middle of one of the walls, but huts may also have two openings sited opposite to each other to provide a current of air. The door-openings can be closed by means of a shutter made from bulrush, grass-stems, or palm material. The square *ákeber* hut is generally so high that grown people can stand upright within it.

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Huts akin to the square *ákeber* hut of Northern Tuareg country seem to have a rather wide distribution in adjacent parts of North Africa. They are used in the Fezzan from where they have been described in some detail by Scarin and Despois (Scarin 1934, I, p. 110 ff. Despois 1946, p. 80 ff., pl. XIX–XXI). It is possible that some huts of the *ákeber* type also occur at El Golea in the north of Algerian Sahara (Collection Photographique du Musée de l'homme, 34.1019.222), at Ksar El Azoudj of Oued Zousfana south of Monts des Ksours of the Sahara Atlas (Collection Photographique du

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Fig. 255. A half-finished beehive hut (*aṭṛam*). Its main structure consists of boughs fixed in the ground and tied to each other at the top. The hut is surrounded by a mat made from *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ayr, Iferwan.

camp for some time. But even in this case it seems as if beehive huts are rare, and I have only seen one deserted hut of this type among pastoralists.

A.8.b. A beehive hut structurally close to the above-mentioned *aṭṛam*, used among pastoralists, is also found among sedentary people of Ayr, particularly among farmers of the *Kel Ewey* group. The structure consists of bent boughs lashed together at their tops, but between these boughs heavier sticks are fixed in the ground and slender rods are horizontally attached to the bent boughs and the sticks to support a simple grass mat drawn around the hut. This may perhaps be seen from the photograph Fig. 255 which shows an almost finished hut of this type. However, the beehive hut used by most Ayr farmers has a more elaborate structure which will now be described.

A.8.c. The beehive hut generally seen in Ayr is called *taṭṛamt*. Its basic elements are four arches, termed *igegan* (sing. *egegu*), made from slender rods lashed together with strips of dum palm leaves. [824] The slender rods may be the midribs of date palm leaves, but rods of *ébezgin* (*Salvadora persica*) are generally preferred for arches. Two arches made in this way are placed parallel to each other and with a very short distance between them. They are not buried in the ground, but are fastened to short heavy poles (*isekan*, sing. *asekru*) fixed solidly in the ground. The two other arches, which are fastened to similar poles and placed parallel to one another, cross the first pair of arches at a right angle.

In addition to these four arches there are four semi-arches, also made from bundles of lashed rods

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



– The curved pieces 342*

lashed together to form arches are manufactured by the Ayr women, or are imported from the south by the *Kel Geres* Tuareg when they visit Ayr at the end of the rains. The arches manufactured by the Ayr women are made from the very long horizontal roots (*tékéwt*) of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*). Pieces of root of suitable size are placed over an open fire for a while, and are thereupon bent into the desired curve which is secured by cords. When the root pieces thus treated become dry they will retain their curved form; the cords are then untied and the root pieces fashioned with a knife. However, wooden arches imported by the *Kel Geres* are used by many Ayr Tuareg who claim that these arches are superior to their own. They are said to be manufactured from boughs (or roots?) of a tree known as *tarmumiya*, which does not grow in Ayr but in the *Kel Geres* country.

(2) Parallel to the three arches there are two pairs of cross-bars supported by vertical sticks, a pair being placed at both sides of the arches to form the narrow sides of the dwelling. These cross-bars are termed *izgar* (sing. *éseger*). They are sometimes made by blacksmiths, and are then provided with various ornaments including a little discus-like thickening carved at the middle of the bar. In fairly large tents each cross-bar is supported by four vertical sticks, the two middle ones of which are generally forked, while the two outer sticks are somewhat higher and attached to the cross-bar with cords. All these vertical sticks, including the outer ones which have no prongs, are termed *tigettewin* (sing. *tégettewt*). In smaller tents there are only two or three sticks supporting the cross-bar. The vertical sticks used to support the cross-bars are normally very simple. Sticks of the very light *turza* tree (*Calotropis procera*) are preferred.

(3) Over this skeleton of arches and cross-bars supported by vertical sticks are placed a number of slender curved rods which are termed *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*). These rods are made from acacia roots, as described above, or are rods of the *tarmumiya* tree imported from the south. These rods form semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the tent. Each of these semi-arches consists of two identical rods fastened to the horizontal cross-bars at their thick end, while at their thin ends they are lashed together and fastened to the true arches. There is always a considerable number of these slender semi-arches, normally about ten.

The Ayr Tuareg use the following types of mats to cover the upper part of the dome-shaped structure:— *iwerweren* (sing. *éwerwer*), the mats made from plant stems tied to each other with leather thread (cf. p. 350); *itfal* (sing. *ésefel*), mats of an oval shape plaited from dum palm leaves; *asalemamas*, a long narrow piece of mat made from dum palm leaves. In addition there is the term *érell* which designates the long narrow mat plaited from dum palm leaves surrounding the lower part of the tent structure. In very hot weather this mat is omitted so that currents of air may pass through the dwelling, while the tent is closed when it is cold, or during storms. A tent as that described has a dome-shaped or barrel-vaulted superstructure, the ground-plan being almost rectangular. A tent of normal size will measure about 3.00×4.50 m with a height of 1.80 to 1.90 m.

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The mat tent is erected by one or two Tuareg women in the following way:—

(1) The ground is cleared; (2) The large wooden bed (*tédabut*), which is used everywhere in the south, is placed upon the ground to facilitate measuring; (3) Two large pronged posts, which serve to carry woman's riding cushions and various large skin bags, are placed behind the bed and fixed into holes dug by means of some iron implement, e.g., the cooking tripod, the broad end of a lance,

[text continues on p. 353]

182 *342 suitable natural boughs are abundant. There are advantages and disadvantages in mat tents as well as in skin tents. During the very hot season the mat tent is by far the best type of dwelling; it is comparatively high and the mat covering is not heated to any great extent by the sun. During the [132] rainy season the mat tent is less practical than the skin tent. Rain may fall so heavily and abundantly that it penetrates the mat covering, and even if it does not it will be necessary to remove all mats after a heavy shower in order to dry them in the sun. The skin tent is normally erected quicker than the mat tent, it protects efficiently against rain, but is, on the other hand, most unpleasant during the hot season. [124] It does not seem possible to explain the distribution of mat tents and skin tents on purely geographical grounds, but it seems as though the mat tent is used mainly where dum palm leaves for plaiting are available. Where the dum palm disappears, the mat tent tends to disappear also, though mat tents, as we have seen, may be provided with a covering of *éwerwer* type (p. 350 f.). Outside of the dum palm area most Tuareg have skin tents for portable dwellings. Within the dum palm area mat tents and skin tents are mixed in certain regions, and it has been seen that certain Tuareg use mat tents during the very hot season before the rains, but adopt skin tents when the rains start. This seem to [237] indicate clearly the advantage and the disadvantage of the two dwelling types. But the advantages of both dwellings can be obtained in another way, namely by placing a sheet of skin over the top of the mat tent in the rainy season. This is actually done by many Tuareg. I was told that the *Kel Faday* Tuareg around Ingal very frequently cover their mat tents with skin during the rainy season, and remove the skin again when the rains are over. It is perhaps this to which Rodd refers in a brief note on Tuareg tents in Ayr (Rodd 1926a, p. 212), and we may be sure that the usage is a very ancient one in these regions, for it is mentioned already by Ibn Batutah in reference to the *Bardamah*, who are stated to be nomads that frequently move their camps (cf. Ibn Batutah IV, p. 437). The custom of covering mat tents with a sheet of skin has also been noted in the case of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg by Barth (Barth 1857-58, I, p. 597 f.). It is very possible that it is still more widely known in Southern Tuareg groups, as it allows in an easy way the advantages of both types of dwellings.

B.2. *Skin Tents.*

*342 184 Skin tents are used by Tuareg in all groups, though there is some doubt as to the use of skin tents among the *Kel Geres*. I have myself previously stated that they have skin tents (Nicolaisen 1959, p. 118), this statement being based on information gathered in Ayr 1955. Lhote also mention that some *Kel Geres* use skin tents, while other pastoralists in this group own mat-covered tents (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 79, phot. 51 p. 80-81). But when I visited the camp of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief in 1959 he claimed that the *Kel Geres* always live in mat tents. As to the *Kel Ayr*, skin tents are very rare among them. In all other Tuareg groups skin tents play a very important role. They constitute so to speak the only kind of portable dwellings among the Northern Tuareg and the *Kel Adrar*, and they form the most common type of tent also in the two groups of *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. Zeltner says that the dividing line between skin tents and mat tents in Southern Tuareg country follows the Paris Meridian (Zeltner 1914a, p. 364), but there is in fact no true dividing line between these dwelling types, which are sometimes used by the same people at different seasons, and the two tent types are sometimes combined into one, as mat tents may be covered with skin throughout the rainy season.

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Fig. 270. An arched barrel-vaulted tent covered with a sheet of skin. In the background two arched mat tents. In the foreground to the left two cotton bows. Ayr, the *Kel Tédalé* tribe.

*342 true structure, and structurally there is a great diversity of tent types. It seems as if these tent structures can be divided into a few main groups which I shall describe in detail.

B.2.a. *Skin tents of arch construction.*

Tents which have one or more arches, generally placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction are widely found in Tuareg country. They are in fact more common than appears from the literature which has been so far published on Tuareg culture. The wide distribution of this particular structure in skin tents is interesting, the more so as it is related to the structure of mat tents. There are the following types of arch structures:—

B.2.a.1. This tent was seen in a camp of the *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg of North-western Ayr. It is known that skin tents are found among them (cf. Joubert 1939, p. 252 f.), but they have never been described. The Ayr Tuareg say that in the past many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* lived in skin tents which, however, are less common among them nowadays. This agrees with my own experience. I have visited several [114] *Kel Tédalé* camps, but I have only seen the skin tent here mentioned. This was found in a camp of [361] three tents, the two others being ordinary mat tents. The skin tent I saw in this camp was also of the normal structure used for mat tents in Ayr, though shorter. The lower part was partly covered, not by a mat plaited from dum palm leaves, but by an *afezu* mat.

[221] B.2.a.2. Under this heading I describe two identical tents seen in a camp of *Ireḡenaten* Tuareg who belong to the Ahaggar federation but have their traditional grazing grounds west of the Ayr [361] Massif in the Tamesna Plains. The camp was actually situated in the region between Tegidda-n-tésemt [137] and I-n-abanṭerit, where perennial vegetation is extremely scarce and mainly comprises scattered *tamat* acacias (*Acacia flava*). The camp visited had eight skin tents among which were the two of arch construction as follows:—

[824] Both tents were very small, and their wooden structure was made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*). In the middle of the tent and at right angles to its longitudinal direction there was an

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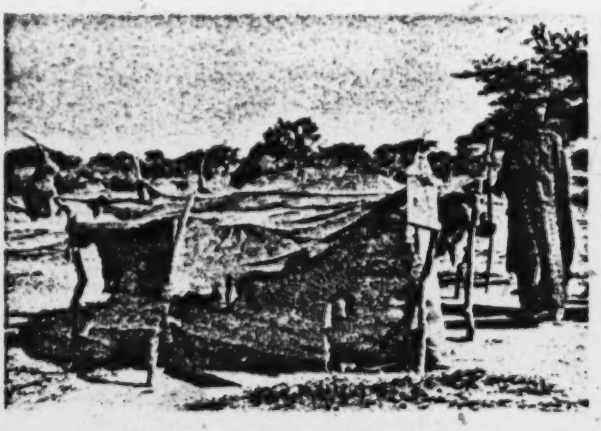

Fig. 272. Skin tent of the B.2.a.3. type belonging to *Kel Dennek* blacksmiths camping in Ayr near Agadez.

*342 of its ground area. The blacksmiths said that in their homeland at Twa only very small tents had central arches, while large tents had central T-shaped posts, but this latter structure could not be used in small tents because of the very large wooden bed. Tents of this type have not been described by Nicolas from the *Kel Dennek*, and various people who know this area have told me that they have never seen there tents of arch construction.

B.2.a.4. The tent type to be described is of arch construction. It was formerly very common in Ahaggar, but is extremely rare nowadays. The sheet of skin rests upon two arches placed parallel to each other at right angles to the longitudinal direction, and upon two horizontal cross-bars each lying on a pair of forked sticks. These wooden elements are normally made of the *tabarekkat* tree (*Tamarix aphylla*), the arches being manufactured from its roots which are heated over the fire and attached with cords in their bent position, as has already been described from the Ayr Tuareg, who make arches of acacia roots for mat tents in this way (cf. p. 351). But the arches used in Ahaggar are made from one piece of root each, and not from two pieces lashed together as in Ayr. The arches thus made are known as *iǧeǧan* (sing. *aǧeǧu*), but the term *tiheknin* (sing. *téhakent*) is generally used by vassals of the tribes *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* and *Dag Rali*. Though the arches are made from a single piece of root they may be fairly large, and two arches which are now in the Musée de l'homme in Paris have, according to Lhote, a diameter of 1.70 metres (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 43; Musée de l'homme, Coll. H. Lhote 1941). The cross-bars horizontally placed at both sides of the arches are called *ireǧeraǧaten* (sing. *areǧaraǧa*), and the forked sticks which support them *tiǧeffewin* (*tiǧeffewt*). Foucauld states that the two horizontal cross-bars resting upon forked poles do not properly belong to the tent structure, so that the sheet is supported only by the two arches which are placed parallel to each other at a distance of about 1.50 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 f.). These two arches are also mentioned by Benhazera without any reference to horizontal cross-bars (Benhazera 1908, p. 26). However, my

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investigations seem to prove that the cross-bars with their upright forked poles form part of the structure, but the sheet may not always be supported by the cross-bars, as the suspension of the sheet in hot weather may be so elevated that the sheet rests only upon the arches which are somewhat higher than the cross-bars. Traditionally, the sheet is attached to the system of twelve poles mentioned above (cf. p. 364). 342*

B.2.a.5. This tent, used in Ahaggar, is made up of the same structural elements as the above mentioned type, but the two arches are placed parallel to the longitudinal direction and at right angles to the two outer cross-bars. The Tuareg claim that this type is not a traditional structure. The arches, they say, should traditionally be placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction and not parallel to it. I have only seen one tent of this type, namely in the *Amenukal's* camp close to Abalessa. The two arches in this case were not made of tamarix roots but of slender palm-fronds lashed together with cords. The arches were about 1.10 m high and 0.90 m in width (cf. Fig. 273).

The following two tents used by the Ahaggar Tuareg are hybrid types which seem to be used mainly in the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe where I have seen a few:

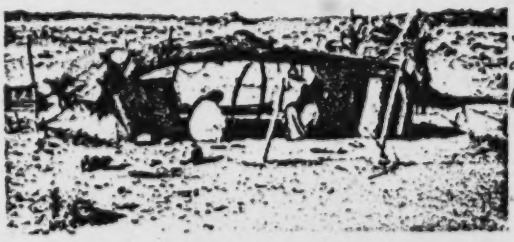

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Fig. 273. Skin tent of the B.2.a.5. type. Ahaggar, the *Kel Rela* tribe.

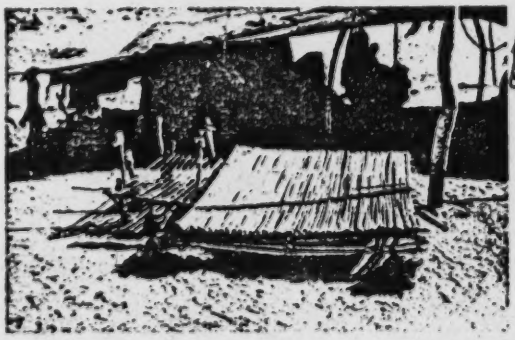

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Fig. 274. A close-up of the above tent (Fig. 273). In the foreground are beds for a married couple and a child. Such beds made of palm leaves' ribs are rare among pastoral Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Kel Rela* tribe.

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upon this structure is attached to poles fixed in the ground at the sides (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 84 ff., 123 ff., 154 f., photographs Nos. 59–65, p. 96–97). 342*

B.2.f.2. This type, described from the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* by Lhote, is similar to the above-mentioned type but has four pairs of forked sticks provided with cross-bars. The two middle pairs of uprights are somewhat higher than the two outer pairs. This structure is used for particularly large tents among the Western *Iwllemmeden* (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 85).

Lhote says that the above-mentioned two types of structure are also found among the Kel Adrar (Lhote 1947a, p. 108 f.) and this would also seem quite natural in view of the fact that these Tuareg once formed part of the *Iwllemmeden* group. Cortier says that the *Kel Adrar* have tent structures of uprights with horizontal cross-bars (Cortier 1908, p. 327 f.). I have myself been told by Iforas Tuareg whom I met in Ahaggar that they possess tent structures similar to those commonly used in Ahaggar nowadays, and these Ahaggar tents resemble those described from the *Iwllemmeden* by Lhote. I shall now describe these structural types of Ahaggar.

B.2.f.3. This tent, which has three pairs of uprights carrying horizontal cross-bars, has been frequently described and depicted in literature. A most valuable description, with many photographs showing the wooden structure, has been published by Lhote in his book on Tuareg tents (Lhote 1947a, p. 34 ff., photographs Nos. 1, 5, 7, 8, 13, 20, 27, 36, 37). The structure is also described by the same author in his general work on the Ahaggar Tuareg (Lhote 1955a, Fig. 22 p. 254). I present my own [122] observations from Ahaggar, where I have lived in such tents over extremely long periods. A tent which I measured among the noble *Kel Rela* may be taken as an example of the normal structure of this type. It was made from boughs of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*) which is generally [124] used for wooden tent structures in the north. The boughs had a diameter of about 0.05–0.07 m, the upright poles being somewhat thicker than the horizontal cross-bars. The three pairs of uprights had small prongs to which the cross-bars were firmly attached by cords of goat hair. The cross-bars were slightly curved, as is normal for this structure. All three cross-bars are called *ireğerağaten* (sing. *areğarağa*). The two pairs of outer poles are termed *tiğeffewin* (sing. *téğeffewt*), while the middle pair of uprights are called *iğetten* (sing. *ağet*). Lhote gives the name *tamankayt* to the middle pair of sticks [114] (cf. Lhote 1955a, Fig. 22 p. 254), but this is not correct as the term *tamankayt* is used properly for a central T-shaped post to be described in the next section. The sheet rests upon the structure of uprights with their cross-bars, and pieces of old cotton are normally wrapped around the place where the cross-bars rest in the prongs in order that the sheet may not be galled by the prongs. It should be noted that the cross-bars are lashed separately to their uprights, and not by longitudinal cords as among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*. A piece of cord is tied around the end of a cross-bar and around one of the prongs of its uprights, and is then drawn along the cross-bar to be tied around its other end resting in the prong. All upright poles are fixed in holes dug 0.30–0.50 m deep in the ground, like the holes for the outer poles to which the sheet is fastened with cords of goat hair.

B.2.f.4. This tent differs from that just described in that it has two equally high pairs of uprights in the middle of the tent. These middle uprights (*iğetten*) are higher than the two pairs of outer uprights (*tiğeffewin*). There are in other words four parallel pairs of uprights carrying cross-bars which are frequently slightly curved as in the above-mentioned structure. This structure, with an additional pair

# Fodder Plants of Ahaggar

The most valuable fodder plants in Ahaggar are mentioned in the lists below where my own material has been supplemented with information collected by Maire and published in his valuable study of vegetation of the Central Sahara (Maire 1933 & 1940). The abridgements *Tr.*, *L.M.*, and *U.M.* refer to Maire's botanical zones:— the *Tropical Zone*, the *Lower Mediterranean Zone*, and the *Upper Mediterranean Zone*, while the letters *a*, *b*, and *p* stand for "annual", "biennial", and "perennial" plants. 824 [227]

## FODDER PLANTS OF CAMELS, SHEEP, AND GOATS

*tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*). Tr. p. Young shoots eaten by sheep and goats. Generally not eaten by camels. Maire gives similar information (Maire 1933, p. 52).

*ebestew* (*Imperata cylindrica*). Tr., L.M. p. Not much eaten by camels (Maire 1933, p. 54).

*ezereg* (*Rottboellia hirsuta*). Tr. p. "Excellent pâturage en hiver, tant pour les chameaux que pour les ovins, caprins et autres herbivores (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 54).

*téberinu* (*Andropogon laniger*). Tr., L.M. p. "Cette plante est mangée par les chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 55).

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). Tr., L.M. p. Very important fodder plant for all animals – particularly when green. The green grass is cut by the Tuareg who give it to their riding camels resting in the camp. – "La plante est un élément important de la nourriture des chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 58).

*talenfezut* (*Pennisetum dichotomum*). Tr. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 57). "Cette plante est mangée par tous les herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 58).

*arenumud* (*Aristida plumosa*). Tr. a. & p. According to Gram perennial (Gram 1935, p. 54), according to Maire generally annual in the Central Sahara, while perennial in the Northern Sahara (Maire 1933, p. 61). An important fodder plant for all animals. – "Elle constitue un excellent fourrage pour les chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 61).

*tullult* (*Aristida pungens*). Tr. p. Found in lower parts of the tropical zone, particularly on the northern outskirts of Ahaggar (including Ahnet) and in Tassilé-n-Ajjer. A very important fodder plant for all domestic animals. The Tuareg cut it green, or dry, to use it as fodder for their camels on caravan journeys through barren desert country (e.g., on journeys from Ahaggar to Tidikelt). – "Elle constitue, particulièrement au moment de la floraison, un excellent fourrage pour les chameaux et les autres herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 62). [484]

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824 *taḡamayt*, or *aharay* (*Danthonia Forskahlei*). Tr., L.M. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 55). An excellent fodder plant for all animals. – "Excellente nourriture pour les chameaux et les autres herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 65).

*taḡamayt*, or *awkraz* (*Cynodon Dactylon*). Tr., L.M., U.M. p. Fodder value like *Danthonia Forskahlei* (cf. Maire 1933, p. 65).

*taysest*, or *tagsest* (*Eragrostis bipinnata*). Tr., L.M. b. or p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 55). Fodder plant of little value. – According to Maire very little eaten by camels (Maire 1933, p. 67).

*tahalema* (*Schismus calycinus*). Tr., L.M. a. "Excellente nourriture pour les moutons, les chèvres et les chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 69).

*tanesmimt* (*Rumex vesicarius*). Tr., L.M., U.M. a. Particularly common in Atakor. An extremely valuable fodder plant. – "La plante est mangée par les herbivores . . ." (Maire 1933, p. 78).

*aresu* (*Calligonum comosum*). Tr. p. "Cette arbuste constitue un excellent pâturage pour les chameaux, surtout lorsqu'il est en fleurs. Il est, par contre, peu apprécié des autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 79).

*tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). L.M., U.M. a Eaten by all animals.

*aggawit* (*Chenopodium murale*). Tr., L.M., U.M. a? Eaten by all animals.

*aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*). Tr., L.M., U.M. p. Eaten by all animals. The plant is saliferous, but not very nourishing. Because of its salt content it is particularly valuable for camels. – "La plante est mangée par les chameaux et les autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 81).

*uhas* (*Bassia muricata*). Tr., L.M. a. (p.) (cf. Gram 1935, p. 39). "Bon paturage pour les chameaux et autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 81).

*tirbar* (*Suaeda vermiculata*). Lower desert country. a. "Cette plante est peu appréciée des chameaux, elle leur donne des coliques lorsqu'ils l'absorbent à jeun. Elle est également peu mangée par les moutons et les chèvres (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 82).

*tassak* (*Nucularia Perrini*). Tr. p., evergreen. "Cette plante est appréciée des chameaux, beaucoup moins des autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 82).

*térahit* (*Traganum nudatum*). Tr. p. "Plante très appréciée des chameaux, beaucoup moins des autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 82).

*issin* (*Salsola foetida*). Tr. p., evergreen. This plant is important for its salt content, but is not considered very nourishing. It is eaten particularly by camels. – "Cette plante est mangée par les chameaux, mais fort peu par les autres herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 84).

*tasa*, or *bender* (*Anabasis articulata*). Tr., L.M. p., bush. Eaten by camels, sheep, and goats. – "Cette plante est mangée par les chameaux; mais elle est peu appréciée des autres herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 85).

*tahara* (*Cornulaca monocantha*). Tr. p. Very appreciated by camels. – "Cette plante est mangée par les chameaux, qui en sont très friands; elle est, par contre, à peu près complètement délaissée par les autres herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 85).

*témekerkizt* (*Aerva tomentosa*). Tr., (L.M.) p., evergreen. "Cette plante est peu mangée par les chameaux; mais elle est appréciée des moutons et des chèvres. . . . (Voinot). – Cette plante est mangée par les zébus et les chèvres; les chameaux n'en veulent pas (Duprez)" (Maire 1933, p. 87).

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*aḡenesnes* (*Glaucium corniculatum*). L.M., U.M. a. "Ainsi nommé parceque, quand les chameaux en mangent, ils restent ensuite qlq. heures dans l'incapacité de boire ni de manger" (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 464).

*ahoyyar* (*Cleome arabica*). Tr., L.M. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 36 f.). "Les chameaux refusent cette plante et les chèvres et moutons n'en mangent que très peu (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 99).

*tadant* (*Boscia senegalensis*). Tr., very rare in Ahaggar, p., bush or tree. Eaten by camels.

*aslar* (*Morettia canescens*). Tr., L.M. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 48 f.). Excellent fodder plant for camels, sheep, and goats. – "Excellente nourriture pour les chameaux et les autres herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 102).

*ur temes* (*Farsetia aegyptiaca*). Tr., L.M., U.M. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 47). "Plante appréciée des chameaux et autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 103).

*echchengedid* (*Farsetia ramossisima*). Tr., L.M. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 47). "Plante appréciée des chameaux et autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 104).

*aggasit* (*Farsetia Hamiltonii*). Tr., L.M. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 47). "Plante très appréciée des chameaux et des autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 105).

*elmaruget* (*Malcomia aegyptiaca*). Tr., L.M. a. (& p.?) (cf. Gram 1935, p. 48). According to Maire the ssp. *longisiliqua* is annual in the Central Sahara, perennial in the Northern Sahara. "Plante très appréciée des chameaux et des autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 105 f.).

*éris* (*Sisymbrium Reboudianum*). Tr., L.M., U.M. "Elle est mangée par les chameaux, les moutons et les chèvres" (Maire 1933, p. 106).

*azezzeta* (*Diplotaxis acris*). Very rare in Ahaggar. "Plante appréciée par les chameaux et autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 107).

*tanekfayt* (*Eruca sativa*). Tr., L.M. a. Eaten by camels, sheep, and goats. – "Plante appréciée des chameaux et autres herbivores;" (Maire 1933, p. 108).

*érak* (*Savignya parviflora*). Not mentioned from Ahaggar, while found in the Northern Sahara. – "Plante appréciée des chameaux et des autres herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 109).

*tamaghé* (*Moricandia arvensis*). L.M., U.M. a. According to Gram perennial under favourable conditions (Gram 1935, p. 49). Very common in Atakor. The Tuareg consider it one of their very best fodder plants, and it is eaten by camels, sheep, and goats. – "Cette plante est un excellent aliment pour les chameaux; elle est moins appréciée par les autres herbivores domestiques" (Maire 1933, p. 109).

*alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea*). Tr. a. An extremely important fodder plant to camels. It is also appreciated by sheep, but less so by goats. – "Plante très appréciée des chameaux, beaucoup moins des autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 111).

*aftezzen* (*Zilla spinosa*). Tr., L.M., U.M. p. Foucauld states this plant to be annual (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 373), while according to Gram it seems to be perennial (Gram 1935, p. 50). I have myself seen it in flower even in extremely dry years, and the Tuareg claim it to be perennial. It is eaten by camels, sheep, and goats. – "Excellent aliment pour les chameaux et autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 112).

*aferhalar* (*Crambe Kralikii*). Tr., L.M., U.M. a. Eaten by camels, sheep, and goats. – "Excellent aliment pour les chameaux et les autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 113).

*ummum* (*Cayluseа canescens*). Tr., L.M. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 68). "l'*oummoum* a une odeur

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824 désagréable qui se communique au lait des an. qui le mangent" (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1204).

*abser* (*Acacia Raddiana*). Tr., (L.M.) defoliating, summer-green. One of the basic fodder plants. The thorny shoots are eagerly eaten by camels, while goats highly appreciate very young shoots and leaves. Sheep do not feed properly upon acacias, but they eat the fallen fruit-pods which are very nourishing for domestic animals. Fruit-pods are collected as fodder for animals resting in the camps, and branches are frequently cut so that the kids easily can get at this valuable food. – "Les chameaux et autres herbivores mangent les feuilles de cet arbre, malgré la présence des épines stipulaires. Aussi trouve-t-on très souvent au pied des arbres de nombreuses branches coupées par les indigènes pour l'alimentation de leur bêtes. Les fruits constituent une nourriture particulièrement reconstituante pour les chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 119).

*tamat* (*Acacia seyal*). Tr., defoliating, summer-green. A very valuable fodder plant like the acacia just mentioned and possessing the same value. – "Les feuilles et les fruits de l'*A. seyal* ont la même valeur nutritive, pour les animaux, que ceux de l'*A. Raddiana*" (Maire 1933, p. 120).

*ahtes* (*Acacia albida*). Tr., defoliating, summer-green. Rare compared with the two above-mentioned acacias, and therefore less important for fodder. – "Les feuilles et les fruits sont mangés par les herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 120).

*afarfar* (*Crotalaria Saharae*). Tr. p., evergreen. "Les chameaux, les moutons, chèvres et ânes mangent cette plante mais pas en grande quantité. Elle passe pour lactogène (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 121).

*éhezes* (*Trigonella anguina*). Tr., L.M. a. "Bon aliment pour tous les herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 123).

*tachekerut* (*Medicago laciniata*). Tr., L.M., U.M. a. Valuable for camels, sheep, and goats. – "Bon aliment pour tous les herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 123).

*tareda* (*Psoralea plicata*). Tr. a. "Cette plante est très appréciée par tous les herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 125).

*tenefé*, or *amarseros* (*Tephrosia leptostachya*). Tr. p. "Les chameaux et autres herbivores la mangent" (Maire 1933, p. 125).

*adreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii* & *A. eremophilus*). Tr., L.M. a. One of the most important fodder plants for camels, goats, and sheep in Ahaggar – particularly to Tuareg living in the lower parts of the country. *A. Vogelii*: "Ces plantes sont appréciées par tous les herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 126). *A. eremophilus*: "Bon aliment pour tous les herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 131).

*ékechchekir* (*Astragalus pseudotrigonus*). Tr. Annual according to Foucauld (1951–52, II, p. 741), while perennial and evergreen according to Gram (1935, p. 64). – "Cette plante est très appréciée par les ânes, beaucoup moins par les chameaux, les moutons et les chèvres (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 128).

*ésker* (*Astragalus corrugatus*). Tr., L.M. a. "Bon aliment pour tous les herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 130).

*lagul* (*Alhagi maurorum*). Tasilé-n-Ajjer. "Bon aliment pour les herbivores. . . . (Kilian)" (Maire 1933, p. 131).

*azren* (*Monsonia heliotropioides* & *M. nivea*). Tr., (L.M.) a. Excellent fodder plant for camels, sheep, and goats. One of the best fodder plants of Ahaggar. According to the Tuareg it is annual, but Gram states that he found a few perennial plants of the latter species *M. nivea* (Gram 1935, p. 53).

*afezzur* (*Fagonia Bruguieri*). Tr., L.M. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 73). "Cette plante est mangée, malgré

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ses épines, par les chameaux, les chèvres, les moutons, les gazelles et les bovins. . . . (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 139). 824

*tageruft* (*Tribulus terrester*). Tr. a. An extremely valuable fodder plant to camels, sheep, and goats. – "Tous les Tribulus sont très appréciés des chameaux et autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 143).

*aboryal*, or *tamettereylalt* (*Tribulus alatus & T. macropterus*). Tr. a. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 75). Valuable fodder plants for camels, sheep and goats.

*tellakh* (*Euphorbia granulata*). Tr., (L.M.) a. (& p.) (cf. Gram 1935, p. 52). "La plante est mangée par les gazelles, les chèvres et les moutons. . . . (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 146).

*téhak* (*Salvadora persica*). Tr., evergreen tree or bush. Eaten by camels. – "Les rameaux feuillés sont mangés par les chameaux;" (Maire 1933, p. 150).

*azawa* (*Tamarix gallica*). Tr., L.M., evergreen tree or bush. The leaves are not very nourishing, but are saliferous for which reason the plant has some value as fodder.

*tabarekkat* (*Tamarix aphylla*). Tr., evergreen tree. The leaves contain salt and are eaten to some extent by domestic animals.

*tahawet* (*Helianthemum Lippii*). Tr., L.M. p., evergreen.

*urrug* (*Helianthemum ellipticum*). Tr., L.M. Annual according to Foucauld (1951–52, III, p. 1588). – "Ces deux *Helianthemum* sont très appréciés des chameaux et autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 160).

*tattayt* (*Pituranthos scoparius*). Tr., L.M., U.M. p. In my notes I have this plant among the fodder plants of camels, sheep, and goats. According to Maire it is venomous:— "Ces plantes sont toxiques pour la plupart des herbivores; cependant les chameaux en mangent un peu quand ils n'ont pas autre chose à se mettre sous la dent" (Maire 1933, p. 163).

*tazenfela* (*Limoniastrum Guyonianum*). Rare in the Central Sahara, and apparently unknown in Ahaggar (cf. Maire 1933, p. 166). – "Cette plante est peu appréciée des chameaux et autres herbivores, sauf au moment de sa floraison; les inflorescences sont alors broutées avidement" (Maire 1933, p. 166).

*sellef* (*Periploca laevigata*). Tr., L.M. ". . . ; peu brouté par les herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 170).

*arellachchem* (*Solenostemma oleifoleum*). Tr. p., bush. Of very little value for fodder. – "La plante est très peu broutée par les herbivores; toutefois les moutons en mangent un peu (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 171).

*tachkat* (*Pergularia tomentosa*). Tr., L.M. p., evergreen. – ". . . peu brouté par les herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 172).

*tahenna* (*Heliotropium undulatum*). Tr., L.M. Foucauld has it as annual (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 612), while according to Gram it is perennial and evergreen (Gram 1935, p. 34). – "Cette plante est un excellent aliment pour les chameaux et les autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 177).

*alkah* (*Trichodesma africanum*). Tr., L.M. a. (& p.) (cf. Gram 1935, 35). – "Excellent aliment pour les chameaux et les autres herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 178).

*aginest* (*Moltkia callosa*). Tr. p., evergreen (cf. Gram 1935, p. 35). According to Maire frequently annual in the Central Sahara (Maire 1933, p. 179). "C'est un des aliments préférés des chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 179).

*taynast* (*Echium humile*). Tr., L.M. a. One of the very best fodder plants of Ahaggar. Valuable to all animals.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



824 *érir*, or *tenat* (*Lavandula coronopifolia*). Tr. p., evergreen (cf. Gram 1935, p. 59). – "Cette Lavande (arabe: *sejert-el-aroui*) est mangée par tous les herbivores, mais elle est particulièrement appréciée par les Mouflons (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 182).

*awit*, also known by its collective name *awihat* (*Salvia Chudaei*). Tr., L.M. I have noted it as a fodder plant for camels, sheep, and goats. – "Cette plante est mangée par les chèvres et les moutons, mais non par les chameaux" (Maire 1933, p. 187).

*takmezzut* (*Teucrium polium*). Tr., L.M. Foucauld states it to be an annual plant (Foucauld 1951–52, p. 821), while it is perennial according to Gram's investigations in Mouydir (Immidir) (Gram 1935, p. 60). The Tuareg have informed me that the plant can be found in certain river valleys all the year round, and even in dry years. The plant is eaten by camels, sheep, and goats.

*éfelehleh* (*Hyoscyamus muticus* ssp. *falezlez*). Tr. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 71). – "La plante n'est pas toxique pour les bestiaux, qu'elle fait engraisser;" (Maire 1933, p. 192).

*agerwa* (*Antirrhinum ramosissimum*). Tr. – "... broutée par les herbivores, ..." (Maire 1933, p. 195).

*anaddam* (*Plantago ciliata*). Tr., L.M., U.M. a. Eaten by domestic animals. – "Plante très appréciée des herbivores" (Maire 1933, p. 199).

*tanefirt* (*Pulicaria crispa*). Tr., (L.M.) perennial according to Foucauld (1951–52, III, p. 1304). Important fodder plant of camels, sheep, and goats. – "La plante est mangée par les chameaux et les autres herbivores domestiques (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 207).

*taméyot* (*Asteriscus graveolens*). Tr., L.M., U.M. p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 42). Important fodder plant of camels, sheep, and goats. – "Plante très appréciée des chameaux et autres herbivores (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 208).

*téhatit* (*Pentzia Monodiana*). L.M., U.M. p. Important fodder plant of camels, sheep, and goats.

*téhereggelé* (*Artemisia judaica*). Tr., (L.M.) p., evergreen. Eaten by camels, and possibly also by sheep and goats. When camels eat too much of this plant they may contract a stomach disease, but the plant is also considered a remedy for intestinal worms.

*zézzeré* (*Artemisia herba-alba*). (Tr.), L.M. p., evergreen. Eaten by camels, sheep, and goats.

*teféryast* (*Echinops Bovei*). Tr., L.M. p. – "Cette plante est mangée par les chameaux, les ânes, les moutons et les chèvres (Voinot)" (Maire 1933, p. 215).

*ahu* (?). a. "...; il est un bon pâturage pour les chameaux et les chèvres, mais il donne au lait une odeur d'ail" (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 500).

*ajako* (?). a. "ressemble un peu à la luzerne, mais est plus petite qu'elle; est comestible pour les p. et les an.; se trouve dans l'Ah, mais seulement aux altitudes supérieures à 2.000 mètres" (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 712).

## FODDER PLANTS VERY APPRECIATED BY DONKEYS

*téberimi* (*Andropogon laniger* & *Panicum Parlatorei*). Tr., L.M., p.

*tésengelt* (*Saccharum Ravennae*). Tr., L.M. p.

*afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*). Tr., (L.M.) p.

*aremmud* (*Artistida plumosa*). Tr. p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 54).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



824

*taḡamayt* (*Danthonia Forskalei*). Tr., L.M. a. & p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 55).
*taḡamayt* (*Cynodon Dactylon*). Tr., L.M., U.M. p.? (cf. Gram 1935, p. 55).
*taysest* (*Eragrostis bipinnata*). Tr., L.M. biennial (cf. Gram 1935, p. 55).
*térakob* (*Grewia populifolia*). Tr. p.
*awkal* (*Cynomorium cocceineum*). Tr., L.M.
*tahhart* (*Mentha longifolia*). Tr., L.M. a.
*ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*). Tr., L.M.
*teḡellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). Tr., (a.), p. (cf. Gram 1935, p. 50).
*alked* (*Cucumis pustulatus*). Tr.
*tanetfirt* (*Publicaria crispa*). Tr., (L.M.) p. (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1304).
*taḡuk* (*Artemisia campestris*). Tr., L.M., U.M. p., evergreen?.

In my early notes on donkeys' fodder plants I have three names which I have not been able to identify – due to the fact that I did not then take Tuareg words down in *tifinar*. The three names are *aharowa* (? = *aharay*; *Aristida* sp. & *Danthonia Forskalei*), *anador* (? = *annaddam*; *Plantago ciliata*), and *terforgit*, or rather *terfukkit*.

Maire mentions that the plant known as *ekechchekir* (*Astragalus pseudotrigonus*), Tr. p., evergreen (cf. Gram 1935, p. 64), is very appreciated by donkeys, but less so by camels, sheep, and goats (Maire 1933, p. 128).

## FODDER PLANTS EATEN PARTICULARLY BY ZEBUS

*tahlé* (*Typha elephantina*). Tr. p.
*akeywod* (*Typha australis*). Tr., L.M. p.
*tésengelt* (*Saccharum Ravennae*). Tr., L.M. p.
*aremmud* (*Aristida plumosa*). Tr. p.
*taremmut* (*Aristida* sp.). According to Maire (1933) this name has the same meaning as that just mentioned above, while I have been told by the Tuareg that *aremmud* is as high as barley, while *taremmut* is much lower.
*ézeng* (*Cyperus laevigatus*). Tr. p.
*ilegga* (*Scirpus Holoschoenus*). Tr., L.M. p.
*taleggit* (*Juncus maritimus*). Tr., L.M. p.
*aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*). Tr., L.M., U.M. p.
*izzin* (*Salsola foetida*). Tr. p., evergreen.
*taysest* (*Eragrostis bipinnata*). Tr., L.M. biennial (cf. Gram 1935, p. 55).

The plants *aramas* and *izzin* are important to zebus mainly for their salt content. It will be noted that the species here mentioned as fodder plants of zebu oxen are mainly perennial plants. Many of them demand humid soil, which is found close to most agricultural settlements where oxen are bred by agriculturists. Most of these peoples have only one to three oxen which generally graze tethered near the village. The oxen thus do not benefit much from the rich annual pastures in years of abundant rainfall, but, on the other hand, they are fed with garden-grown plants, as are donkeys of sedentary peoples. 824 231

[114] 276 For his part, Commander Cauvet, in describing Tuareg clothing, said that men kept their pipes and tobacco in the pocket of their big blouses.

Thus all these testimonies coming from such trustworthy travelers tried to make us believe that the Tuareg are pipe smokers. For our part, we have never seen any.

On the other hand, they are very fond of chewing tobacco, and their wives also practice this custom, so that they finally have a deformation of the lower lip caused by the craze they have of stowing the quid between the gum and lower lip.

Tobacco is not cultivated in the Ahaggar; it is imported from [439] the Touat by the Arabs. The Sudanese Tuareg get it from the sedentary peoples of the Niger or through caravaneers from Upper Dahomey. They generally add a few natron crystals to it to take away the acridity, or else the ashes of graminaceae which play the same role as natron.

177 276 Many Nigerian Tuareg have formed the habit of chewing kola nuts; this is a powerful stimulant which the Negroes use a good deal. A few Ihaggaren /239/ indulge in this practice when they go to the Sudan, but they have not introduced it into their everyday mores and never use kola when they are in their own country.

262 The Tuareg are subject to a rather large number of dietary interdicts. First, like Moslems, they may eat only meats from ritually butchered animals. They must abstain from eating the [273] meat of pigs and wart hogs and from drinking fermented drinks which are harīm. The meat of fowls--except the ostrich -- and fish is also forbidden and considered impure. But these are customs which go back before Islam. They also may not eat the [825] meat of the uran, because this lizard is considered to be the descendant of their maternal uncle.

252 They may not heat camel's milk which has just been milked
825 under penalty of causing sickness to the animal which gave it.

264 Insofar as personal interdicts are concerned, there are none to speak of, for although men and women must not eat together, this is a custom rather than an interdict.

[606] A married man must not eat with his parents-in-law, and the oldest son must not eat with his father. These are mainly marks of respect, perhaps traces of ancient practices of a religious nature.

/240/ Chapter 4

## Hunting and Fishing

080 We shall now say a few words on the industries allied to the problems of food, that is, on hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, and agriculture.

136 Hunting. -- In a country where fauna was at all dense, hunting would have brought a not inconsiderable dietary supplement to the
174 Ihággaren. In the past it was very much esteemed in the Sahara. Many rock drawings and paintings prove this, for they depict hunting scenes which interpret the state of civilization of the men, their preoccupation, and at the same time the nature of the fauna, which has changed a great deal since then.

[132] Today, with the very advanced drying out of almost all the Saharian districts, the fauna has come out into the open and the
224 species likely to be usefully hunted are reduced to a few. Only gazelles and wild sheep are still hunted. We cannot mention the addax and oryx antelopes, for the former is in the process of becoming extinct in the Sahara, while the second is confined to the steppe zone. The hare and jackal may be accessorily added.

773 had asked God to escape a raid which was coming to pillage her
778 camp. After the raid had passed, however, God kept the women
782 in the state of stone in spite of their entreaties, and it was so that life might be returned to them that the Tuareg came to leave different objects every time they passed near the tomb. The worship
[174] of the Tibaradines is certainly a trace of pre-Islamic and perhaps Neolithic beliefs which must have been deformed through the centuries. One of the statuettes represents a cow and is clearly related to the one found at Silet.

771 The remains of totemism are still affirmed by food taboos.
262 The nobles refuse to eat fish or bird flesh, as well as birds' eggs; only the ostrich escapes this interdiction. On the other hand, a
[825 legend even reports that the uran, or great sand lizard, is the
773] maternal uncle of all the Tuareg.

Some trees are also the object of worship. The Maerua
824 crassifolia which the Tuareg call agar is supposed to be inhabited by a genie which they chase away by striking the tree with stones every time they want to get in its shade. As we have already pointed out, repudiated women who do not wish to stay in the prescribed retirement as imposed by custom and want to take up the state of free living, rely on the tree to take over this retirement which bothers them so much.

754 Sorcery. -- Divination. -- Besides these more or less religious beliefs the Tuareg practice sorcery, divination, and the interpretation of dreams.

Some men, often blacksmiths, are known as sorcerors and make potions intended to cast spells; these are generally made of animal skins /309/ and are given to people who wish to cast a spell on someone, with the intention of taking him by surprise. The
[825] uran lizard plays a large part in the making of these sorceries.

787 Divination, practiced especially by women, is done in several ways and always aims to ask news of absent ones.

We have already mentioned divination through tombs. There is also what the Tuareg call tachilet (the viper). It is done either

489 [437] Sheep trading, which has grown greatly in these last few years, is largely carried on by barter. It is especially done by Arab caravaneers from the Touat who go to the Sudan with dates, tobacco, fabrics, and blankets, which they exchange not in the markets but in the camps. Tuareg from the Adrar des Iforas and Kounta Arabs also do the opposite and take their sheep to the Tidikelt and Touat.

439 435 In 1939 the sale price of sheep on the market at In-Salah was from 75 to 100 francs. The purchase price in the Sudan varied from 35 to 45 francs, but as we said, barter was most often the basis for all transactions.

And so for a camel that they received the Adrar Tuareg gave 120 sheep. One sheep alone was exchanged for 12 or 15 cubits of cloth or /317/ 10 guêcâa of dates. A dokkali, a large blanket from the Touat which the Tuareg hold in high esteem, was worth 10 sheep in the Sudan and 7 in the Adrar.

436 [177] The camel served as a basis of exchange. The Tuareg have never used money, although they did accept the Maria Theresa dollar which circulated in the Sudan and the Turkish livre which was widespread in Tripolitania. Sudanese tribes negotiated with toukourdi, the band of material serving as a veil, and with kori (Cypraea moneta), a little seashell native to the Indian Ocean. [825]

648 439 Since the French occupation we have seen a certain number of native merchants settle at Tamanrasset, the administrative capital of the Ahaggar. They are for the most part Mozabites and a few Arabs from Metlili who have constructed shops and have merchandise sent them by their correspondents in the Algerian Tell.

This recent state of affairs tends to grow more and more extensive, and the postal agency at Tamanrasset records several million transactions every year. [305]

4: Benhazera--53 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

When they want to stretch out at the foot of the tree called "el yatil" in Arabic and "tadjart" ⊕ⵜ+ in Tamashek (a kind of acacia), which is inhabited by jinn, they must first wound it with a stone, and stones are always to be found at the foot of these trees. One can also see the wounds made in the bark. 776 824 789

The "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica) is also a haunted tree. If one wants to rest under its shade, it is first necessary to break seven of the tree's thorns.

There are also "kel esouf" in the place where an animal has had its throat cut. 776

Mount Oudane is haunted, as are many others. [823]

These superstitions are probably survivals of their old religion, before their conversion to Islamism. Like them, "The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period worshipped jinn, or genii. The deserts and mountains where one sometimes gets lost for entire weeks are full of beings of this kind.... They can do much harm and much good.... They live in rocks, trees, or statues. Each tribe, or sometimes a group of tribes, had its special jinni; its rock, its tree, its own image, before which an appointed family carried out priestly duties" (1). 174 771 776

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 5 and 6.

The Tuareg have many other superstitions. Thus nobles would never kill a "uran" (varanus), which in Tamashek is called "ar'ata" • +⁝ , and a fortiori would not eat it. Sidi ag Keradji and Aziouel ag Ser'ada told me that the uran is the maternal uncle of the Tuareg, and Sidi told me the following legend: "Seven nobles had killed a camel belonging to Sidna Nouh (Hoah). Among them there was a noble Tuareg. To punish them God changed them, one into an uran, another into a jackal, a third into a chameleon, etc. /61/ The uran was the noble Tuareg. The camel that was killed is now in the sky: it is the Great Bear. The Polar Star, 'Bel Hadi', is its head." 565 825 773 784 [821]

Should one see here some agreement with what we have 114
read in Dozy, or might the uran have been a "totem" among 825
the Tuareg, as among the Redskins of America?

Nobles do not eat the "dobb" (star lizard) either, which 262
is called "aguezzeram" in Tamashek. As a reason for this 565
abstinence, they quoted me these two lines of nine syllables: 825

Our ekcher' aguezzeram idit [539]
Iladhou ichchaden ilir'it.

This means:

"I do not eat the aguezzeram because it smells bad and has a rough skin" (1).

1. Iladhou is put instead of "ili adhou." Similarly, ilir'it is put for "ili ir'it." Ir'it, plural ir'ten, means hide (of beef, camel, etc.).

Finally, they firmly refuse to eat chickens and eggs, and chickens are found nowhere among the Tuareg, except among [231]
some "harratine" /Haratin/ Arabs of the Ahaggar villages. They claim that this abstinence dates back for a long time. Azioueel ag Ser'ada when pressed ended by telling me that it was because chickens seek their food in manure. In the Niger, according to a study by officer-interpreter Merle, the French are called egg eaters. But I believe that the following is the 262
real reason for this abstention: The Tuareg, like all the 565
Berbers, had embraced Kharijism. Among the chiefs who took 825
part in the insurrection of the Kharwarij /plural of Kharijite. 773
Ed./ was Tarif, who made the first invasion into Spain (the city of Tarifa still bears his name). His son Salih, or Salah, claimed to be a prophet and composed a new Koran. Elijah, or Elias, son of /62/ the latter, openly remained Moslem, and it was only Salih's grandson, Jonah, or Younes, (end of the eighth century), who spread the new doctrine, which was a much modified Islamism. According to one of the precepts of

this doctrine, the scholar Dozy tells us: "There was no muezzin, 262
or crier, to call to prayer; people were governed by the crow 565
of the rooster; so no one, except in case of dire necessity, 825
might kill roosters or hens or eat eggs" (1). 773

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme,
by R. Dozy, pages 348 and 349.
Neither mosques nor muezzins are [171]
found in Tuareg country. See also
l'Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale
/History of North Africa/, by E.
Mercier, pages 228 and 255. Volume 1.

Legends and stories are also known on the subject of 773
Ahmamellen and his nephew Elias. Hanoteau told them to us. 823
At Tamanrasset (Ahaggar) the Tuareg showed us a curious
breech in a large "gara" that bounds the horizon to the east.
They call it "Tiouit-n-Elias" (Elias' cut), and they say that
Elias made this breech with one stroke of the "takouba." The
piece removed, an enormous rock, lodged in a wadi three kilo-
meters from there, and we were shown it in passing. The
breech has also been named "Elias' Breech.".

Elias is the Arabic translation of Elijah, and Younes that of [551]
Jonah. These two proper names are still used among the Tuareg. [174]
Might there not be a relationship between this Elias and Elijah,
son of Salih?

The Tuareg say that Ahmamellen was a man of extraordinary 174
size and strength, and that he was the equal of an army. Might 773
it have been Salih himself who claimed to be a prophet, then
disappeared in the east after having told his followers that he
was the Mahdi and that he would come back to fill the world
with justice when the seventh king should be mounted on the
throne?

S: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25



114 174 233 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau apparaissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe, il semble qu'au VII° siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227).

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chameliers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui fait leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the 175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the 101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions: 233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 168ff.).

It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature 175 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding 233 (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. – Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. – Leo Africanus p. 940f.). To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly 171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is 233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds apparently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415f. – Murray 1935, p. 92ff. – Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the [177] true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black [342] tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. – Herskovits 1926. – Kroll 1928). The common [462] traits seem to be the following:– 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is [825] done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their [538] breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently characterised by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925-30, I-II).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925–30, I–II). 3) As mentioned (p. 119) camel's milk is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly also among the Kel Aïjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors (Monteil 1952, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. 4) All Tuareg and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf to deceive the mother animal during milking – for camels like cows will not generally yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or butter as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. – Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of riding camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg, and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East Africa have the same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection with camel-breeding (Monteil 1952, p. 103).

171 234 [302] [262] 171 237 325 [261] 171 233 [825] 171 233 422

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts like those of Aïr are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullemmeden, and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country – in particular those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. – Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156f. – Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f., 597f., V, p. 201. – Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. –

171 174 233 342 184 342

136 /33/ Near the water points, numerous insect-eating birds seek nourishment. Let us mention in particular a gray swallow which lives the year round in the Ahaggar, and a charming black and white bird, the moula-moula, which is considered [825] a messenger by the Tuareg and which accompanies travelers, rapidly becoming very tame.

At Tamanrasset, Bengalis (mange-mil /literally: "eat-millet"/), imported from Agadez, breed rapidly and populate the gardens, which they ornament with their red plumage.

Crows are seen almost everywhere. Vultures soar very high, so high, say the Tuareg, that the sun burns their head feathers, and when an animal dies in the desert, the rapacious birds arrive mysteriously from "nowhere."

Falcons and buzzards circle over the pasturelands in search of food.

Reptiles abound in the Ahaggar. Snakes and vipers live in and around the wadis, burrowing among the clumps of thorny vegetation and tree roots. The Tuareg fear everything that crawls. Several types of vipers (tachilt) live in the Ahaggar; some are gray, others tawny (horned) or spotted. One may encounter, but rather rarely, a sort of cobra called hench-lefel. Some snakes grow to be more than a meter long.

Lizards of all sizes live in the most desolate places. One kind, small, sand-colored, flees terrified at the approach of man in the wadis and on the regs.

The dob prefers rocky places. With its large, spiked tail, this animal has an antediluvian aspect. It plays a very important part in Tuareg stories. Children play with it as with [262] a toy. Its flesh, considered edible, is far from tasty.

The uran, a large gray lizard, possesses a redoubtable weapon in its long, flexible tail. The Tuareg call it their [825] maternal uncle and ascribe to it dauntless courage. It is said that the uran attacks nobles but /34/ refuses to fight Negroes; [262] the latter eat the flesh of the uran, having no kinship tie with it.

136 /34 cont. / A green lizard with a red head is often glimpsed on the rocks: this is the materter. It seems to be saying a continual prayer, nodding its head up and down. The Tuareg [825] claim that its bite is fatal but are contradicted by zoologists on this point.

Large numbers of toads live in the irrigation ditches; tadpoles are found in nearly all water points.

The large gueltas /pools/ such as Issakarassène, Afilal, Amguid, Arak, etc., contain fish: barbus sahari. These barbels run the risk of disappearing during violent floods.

Some water points, at Tamanrasset in particular, are stocked with gambusia, useful for eating mosquito larvae. Some say that the In-Outer guelta, situated upstream in the Tit wadi, once was inhabited by a crocodile. This claim is not to be rejected a priori if one considers the discoveries made in the Ajjers /Adjjer/ of "residual" animals.

Insects are clearly the most important of the Ahaggar's fauna. They are found everywhere, even in places which seem totally devoid of life.

Beetles are the region's largest insects; they leave orderly little dotted tracks on the sand. A green beetle, the zembabar, looks truly ornamental.

The ankokar, a large poisonous wasp which frequents the vicinity of water points, inflicts dangerous stings; the Tuareg fear it and say that several stings may cause death.

Ordinary flies are the best adapted animals in the Ahaggar, as in all the Sahara. They swarm at agricultural centers, where they are carriers of eye diseases. When one halts on a barren reg, it is a surprise to find oneself surrounded by a cloud of flies, come from heaven known where.

Butterflies fly around the gardens and pastures; moths describe thousands of ellipses around the lamps.

/35/ Ants of all sizes, ticks, mantes, dragon flies, mosquitoes, termites, and many other small insects fly and

492 /96 cont./ The man, when he is elegantly turned out -- and all the Tuareg want to be elegant when on camel back -- has a "djebira" (a large sack made in the Sudan) with splendid decorations in leather, dominated by whites and delicate greens. To save wear and tear on the decorations, the djebira is always carried inside out, but is turned right again upon approaching a camp.

The linen is put in a large dyed-leather bag decorated with lines: the "echchekoua," which is padlocked. The "tchekouat" ("dabia" in Arabic) is smaller, the "tesoufra" holds milk and is not decorated, for the dyes are not fast to moisture. Tea and sugar are kept in small sacks called "etfadoul."

The "tarik" ("rahla" in Arabic) adorns the corner of the tent reserved for the man. The camel saddle is well known; there are several types: the "tamzak," made in the Sudan and the most prized by the Tuareg, is ornamented with designs in green leather and has a characteristic cantle, the back of which is fixed with a whole system of metalwork. The "akoka" is also a good tarik, respectable enough to ride on; its black /97/ and red colors make it more subdued; it is also supposed to be sturdier. The "ta'ast" has no cross in front; it is made of decorated wood and is very solid; it is suitable for training the animals, but an elegant man does not use it for traveling. In order to protect the camel, the tarik is placed on two or three small square rugs, the "sadfar," measuring about 50 centimeters; they have bands of blue and white cloth forming geometric motifs; they are lightly padded with old cloth.

To adorn the camel, the Tuareg place a rug called "taouart" on the seat of the saddle; the rug comes from either Fezzan or Ghardaïa. The saddle girth (ha'if) is as heavy as possible. The "rezama" (Arabic) ("tarant" in Tamashek), which is used to guide the animal, is made of plaited leather [825] ornamented with colored thongs; it is said that a tarant made from hyena hide makes the animal go faster.

857 /121 cont./ cheetah, which was working forward at a crawl,
868 the gazelle sensed its presence and leaped away. Here is where the cheetah pounced, see how deep the prints are; he leaped five times but could not catch the gazelle, which was a large male." The young Targui raises his head and shows his joy in learning that the gazelle was saved, for after his lightninglike leaps the cheetah could not outrun the gazelle. "But you," says the slave, "when you have a rifle, you will approach the gazelle as the cheetah did, against the wind, and you will not miss him.

"These pretty patterns on the dune are the work of the khanfous. /122/ This morning he went back in his hole under that rock. Be careful in lifting the stone, for the khanfous often is the slave of the scorpion; it is even said that he is the scorpion's father. Be careful when you see that track there, it was made by the viper; let's follow it.... Here's where it ends in that cluster of chabrok. Get a rock," the old servant says, "I'm going to set the brush on fire." The chabrok crackles as it blazes, and soon the hiss of the reptile is heard as it leaves its hole, numbed. The child strikes; this is his first hunt.

In this way the desert reveals its secrets each day. That green line ending in a red point there on the rock is "matarter," the poisonous lizard. He nods his head up and down, as if he were saying a prayer to the sun. He must not be touched, for his bite is like lightning. The large dob, covered with scales, whose enormous tail is armed with spikes, will be a toy for the child who catches it, provided he is not bitten, for the dob never lets go, and the finger would have to be amputated. If by luck the young Targui has captured a female, he can eat her eggs, a treat for the children. "The stomach of the dob was full of water," he remarks to his slave. "That
[825] is because it's Friday, and the dob only drinks on Friday," says the latter. "Even if there is no water about, even if it doesn't rain, each Friday God sends the dob his ration. When

857 /122 cont. / you want to keep a dob to play with the next day,
868 tie him with a cord, but never put him in a sack that has held dates or sugar, for he would die."

857 Living in constant contact with nature, the young Targui
868 comes to know its secrets; each of his observations teaches
825 him; he is curious about everything that lives and moves about him. His slave, who follows him, protects him, and loves him as a father, explains everything he sees with the words and images of a simple soul, embellishing the old themes of the country. "The black and white bird following us, flying from rock to bush, is 'moula-moula.' You must not kill him, because he brings good luck to those he escorts; besides, he is a messenger -- each time he comes close to you and cheeps, he wants /123/ to tell you a friend is coming, or warn you about losing something, or alert you against a viper crawling toward you. 'Moula-moula' knows all, and he tells it to men, but you must understand his language; there are many in the Ahaggar who understand his messages. You must learn to speak 'moula-moula.'

"The other day you were afraid when you heard the huff of that big lizard you wanted to catch to play with as with a dob; it was a uran. It has a thin tail, but it is more dangerous than the big tail of the dob. When a uran lashes a man, the mark stays in his flesh forever, and it is not good for a Targui to capture a uran, for it is said that a uran was the uncle of the first mother of the Tuareg. That is why it gets mad when one of its own people makes fun of it. On the other hand, it is afraid of the Negroes and runs from us, because it knows that we eat it. Don't try to catch a uran; I once knew a Targui who wanted to go against the custom. It was a summer day in the middle of the Tanezrouft; he caught a uran, put a cord around its neck, and tied it to his camel. He got down and let go the bridle of his mount -- for what reason, I do not know -- and at that moment the uran lashed the camel with its tail, making it trot off at great speed. Still whipping, the

857 /123 cont. / uran made the camel run until it fell completely
868 exhausted and refused to budge. The man almost died of
825 thirst while following the tracks of his animal. When he found it the first thing he did, even before drinking, was to let the uran go."

855 Upon re-entering the tent at night, tired from running about during the day, his imagination full of his discoveries, the child settles down in front of the fire, whose flames execute a marvelous dance for him. His eyes close as Venus, "she who sold her father to have beauty," sinks on the horizon.
[264] This does not please the mother; the child must eat, and one eats late in the tent, for the slaves must milk the camels and goats before making supper. She awakens her son, draws him to her, covering him with a dokkali to protect him from the cool of the night, and then begins to tell tales of the past.

/124/ These stories, which make up Tuareg folklore,
539 tend to disappear. Many young people do not know them; one must ask the old Tuareg men, those who miss the days of the raids, or, preferably, the women, who in all ages have been the keepers of tradition.

Some of these stories are fables peopled by the animals of the Ahaggar or the Sudan; sometimes they express a moral, but that is rare. Others are amazing tales in which monsters and genii harass men; often a hero succeeds in vanquishing them. These stories are very long; they contain instruction in the customs, and I think they bear a message from distant ancestors. This message, sometimes stylized, truncated, or embellished by the oral transmission, deserves to be studied; in order to do this, as many as possible of these tales should be collected before they are forgotten.

Here is the story of the jackal and the dob, as it was told to me by one of my pupils, a Targui of noble stock.

539 /128 cont./

The Negress and the Three "Tahenchit" (1)

1. The Tuareg tahenchit designates the cynhyena -- Tycaon pictus. This is a ferocious animal which hunts in packs and will attack men and sometimes lions.

One day a Negress left her village to gather wood. She had finished gathering her fagots when she saw three ferocious and hungry tahenchit running in her direction. Dropping her wood and calling on God, the Negress scrambled up the nearest tree. Scratched by the thorns of this saving tamat, she regarded the three wild beasts which, with foaming muzzles, besieged the tree. The day passed, and night fell. The beasts seemed to be asleep, and the Negress was very sleepy herself, but each time she dozed off she nearly fell. What had to happen, happened; she went to sleep, then fell. In falling, she screamed, and then screamed louder still upon landing on the ground in the middle of the tahenchit.

"Take your shares, " she cried, hiding her head in her arms.

But the tahenchit, frightened by her cries and the noise of the fall, fled toward the desert. The Negress did the same toward the village.

• 825 The tahenchit is feared by the Tuareg who go to the Sudan; the animal does not inhabit the Ahaggar at present. The Augières-Draper mission of 1927-1928 found one on the border of the Tanezrouft near Timissao. The ferocity of these animals is hard to believe. The Tuareg tell of one of

825 /128 cont./ their men who was surprised by a pack of cynhyenas and who took refuge in a tree, where he feared a long siege. Knowing the voracity of the tahenchit, he cut his finger and let the blood fall on one of the beasts. In a very short time, the pack fell on the one /129/ that received the drops of blood and tried to tear him to pieces. The attacked beast fled, pursued by all the pack. The Targui got out of this difficult situation thanks to his knowledge of the habits of the desert beasts.

539 Here is another story, which proves that it is well to be armed in all circumstances.

## The Two Brothers and the Lion

It is said that there were once two brothers, still living in their parents' tent, who were united by a rare affection for each other. Nearly old enough to marry, they often went to pay court to the girls of neighboring camps. They showed themselves to be true Tuareg from the tendi to the ahal /gatherings where young people of both sexes meet/.

One evening one of them went out alone, dressed in his best finery and armed with his spear. As the camp he was to visit was quite nearby, he left on foot.

After having walked for a good hour, he realized that the camp he was looking for had moved. At the camp site, a lion wandered about in search of food.

Upon seeing the man, the beast became frightened, then roared and leaped. The Targui, quick on the defense, hurled his spear and pierced the lion's front and back left paws. Despite being hobbled by the spear, the lion struck the man with his good paw, killed him, and tore him to shreds.

The next morning the other Targui began to worry when he saw that his brother had not returned. He carefully armed himself, taking his spear, his shield, and his takouba /sword/, and set out to follow the tracks.

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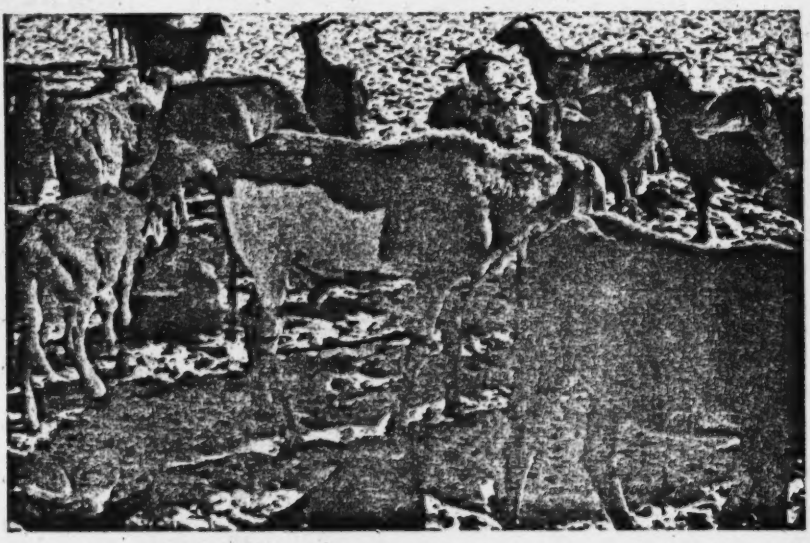

Fig. 23. Ram prevented from mating by means of a cord (*ayaw*) tied around the foreskin of the penis and also around the scrotum. A longitudinal hobble-rope (*amakus*) also serves to prevent copulation.
Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Terurit* tribe.

[435] the price of sheep for slaughtering is very high compared with the price of goats. Sheep are also con-
[782] sidered the proper animals for Islamic sacrifices, and it should be added that sheepskin is considered
[237] very suitable for the manufacture of certain articles (cf. p. 288 & p. 298; Figs. 232, 240).

[825] The Tuareg say that sheep are more "stupid" or less "intelligent" than goats. Sheep do not respond to their names, they get more easily lost during grazing, and they do not return to the camp by themselves. It is difficult to herd sheep if there are no goats in the flock. Among the Tuareg, as elsewhere in North Africa, sheep and goats are normally mixed in one flock. The goats then always march at the head of the flock, obeying the orders of the herdsman, while the sheep follow behind. It may happen, however, that goats and sheep become divided during grazing, as goats march too quickly for sheep to follow them, while on long journeys sheep show more endurance than goats.

The techniques of sheep-breeding are largely identical with those of goat-breeding mentioned above.
234 It should be observed, however, that goats can be milked without any difficulty whether they have kids or not, while this is not always so with sheep. It is said that they are more easily milked when they have lambs. Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr I have noted more than once that a good milch-sheep which had lost its lamb was given another lamb belonging to a sheep yielding less milk.

*233 Sheep can lamb until an age of seven or eight years, but it is considered appropriate to kill them for

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human beings, and in the past was used by the Tuareg to poison their enemies. However, this plant does not seem to be venomous for domestic animals which grow fat from eating it (cf. Maire 1933, p. 192). One plant (*itheréggelé*) (*Artemisia judaica*) is said to have an intermediate position: When camels eat its green shoots they may contract entrail diseases, but the plant is also considered a remedy for entrail worms. Domestic animals which have eaten venomous plants are generally treated with liquid butter which is poured into their mouths. Venomous animals are also very dangerous for domestic animals, notably scorpions and snakes which abound everywhere. The treatment of swollen limbs caused by snake bites or scorpion stings is sometimes bleeding, but the Northern Tuareg also consider it effective to give the affected animal fat from a female barbary sheep and to place a little fat over the place where the animal has been bitten or stung. Under this heading of veterinary medicine mention must finally be made of the fact that tobacco is considered to possess curative qualities in the case of certain diseases. When camels get tired and slow owing to congestion during the hot summer season the Tuareg consider it an excellent remedy to put, as mentioned above, powdered tobacco leaves in the animals' eyes. This was frequently practised with my own camels, and it seems to me that the method is efficacious.

It is evident that many veterinary methods among those mentioned above are effective, and I believe that Tuareg veterinary methods are largely to be considered rational. It is a true that it is most difficult for an anthropologist without any veterinary training to judge objectively the value of all treatments of stock-diseases. But French veterinary surgeons I consulted at Agadez held the view that the Tuareg methods they knew of were effective, though in specific cases of disease they could do better than the Tuareg, and one veterinary surgeon admitted that the Tuareg knew far more about camel-diseases than did modern veterinaries. It can be added that the Tuareg possess an anatomical knowledge of their animals which is no less than astonishing. Apoggi has noted 43 terms used by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer to describe the exterior parts of a camel (Apoggi 1933), and this list is not complete. It goes without saying that the Tuareg also have a large vocabulary for internal organs which they know in detail from slaughtering. And I believe they have a fairly good knowledge of physiology.

I have elsewhere given some information of Tuareg medical methods applied to human beings (Nicolaisen 1961; cf. also Humann 1933), and I have stated that Tuareg medicine cannot be understood entirely without reference to religious and magic beliefs. This is to some extent also true of their veterinary methods. But as far as I know there are many medical methods based on magic and religious ideas which are applied solely to human beings. This may seem quite natural.

Domestic animals may run the risk of being attacked by evil forces such as the evil eye and the evil mouth (*tehof* in Ahaggar; *tugarchet* in Ayr), the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and the mystic power known as *ettama* or *tezma* in Ayr (cf. p. 21), and valuable animals may carry Islamic amulets as a protection against these evils. I have seen such amulets carried by a few rams and he-goats, but they are used particularly for camels, and I believe that most camel amulets are meant to protect the animals from the evil eye (the evil mouth). Against this malignant force camels may also be provided with a donkey's hoof hung around the neck as an amulet. Another non-Islamic amulette is used for riding camels in Ayr:— Some Tuareg of this region hang the foot of a turtle around the camel's neck in order that their riding animal may not stumble.

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is refused by noble Tuareg and in general also by vassals. One reason for this is that the Tuareg have a myth saying that the *arata*-lizzard is the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the noble Tuareg. Some vassals claim that it is the ancestor of all true Tuareg, but this statement does not agree with mythology (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 61). However, this lizzard is eaten mainly by slaves and by certain agriculturists, though its meat is considered a remedy against snake-bite and scorpion stings (cf. Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.). The head of an *arata* is considered an excellent amulet against these poisonous animals (Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.), and the skin of this lizzard is not only utilized for the manufacture of amulet cases but also for small bags of various types (Fig. 116a).

Small animals are not necessarily killed with any particular hunting implement. The animals may be taken with the hand or killed with sticks and stones, as is the case with the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, *tékenisit*), which is eaten by some people, and with small rodents. Even hares can be taken with the hand when they hide in the grass or under rocks. The hunter may then approach the hare swinging one of his sandals over his head. This, it is said, makes the animals believe that it is hunted by a hawk or an eagle, and it will therefore remain stubbornly in its hiding place. Even gazelle are sometimes taken without any proper hunting weapon. Some Tuareg say that on journeys through the barren desert country in the summer they have met gazelle so exhausted from thirst that they could take these animals with their hands. Although this is rarely possible, I know Tuareg who have crept up to gazelle hiding from the sun in daytime and killed them with a stone. Finally it can be mentioned that the

**Fig. 116a–b. Two small skin bags.**

**a. Skin bag (*abelhof a arata*) made from the skin of the big *arata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.). Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Tarhawhawt. Dimension: 0.325 m long. (N.M. G. 5834).**

**b. Skin bag (*abelhof a timerwelt*) made from hare-skin. Ahaggar, bought from *Harratin* at Tarhawhawt, manufactured in the *Afuk-ex-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5833).**

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411 p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *éfezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals – there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as [524] though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Ineslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Koran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely [171] wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing [114] poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120 b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these [17] people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

224 Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. To- [184] day true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Tamgak* or *Imeddeleren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Rali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting [31] that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals withing two hunting territories where barbary sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting 224 825 that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

| Age | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . . | *awhim* | *tawhimt* |
| Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . . | *ahyar* | *tahyart* |
| Fully grown animal . . . . . | *ahenkoḍ* | *tahenkoṭ* |

224 Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—
764 (1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's
777 nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

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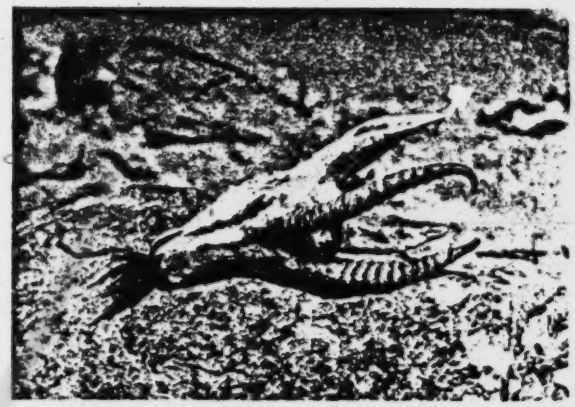

Fig. 122. Gazelle's head with the black tail-tuft inserted into one of the nostrils as a remedy against the mystic evil power called *ettama* (*tezma*). Tasilê-n-Ajjer.

This custom is believed to afford protection against the mystical power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama*, or *tezma* – an evil power possessed by certain Tuareg and by all blacksmiths (cf. p. 21). A person who possesses this evil power may, if he does not receive part of the booty, spoil the hunter's luck when seeing the killed gazelle. The tail-tuft put into the animal's nostril eliminates this risk.

(2) When a hunter returns to his camp with booty he should not show the killed game to other people, and if asked about the results of his hunting trip he should deny that he has had any luck. This custom is also explained as being a protection against the evil power *ettama* (*tezma*) just mentioned.

(3) When a man leaves his camp for a hunting trip he must not talk about it, nor must it be mentioned by other people. This belief has its root in the conception of the "evil mouth" (the "evil eye") known in Ayr as *tugarchet*, in Ahaggar as *tehoj*.

(4) If a hunter has given meat from his killed game to another man, the latter should not praise it. This belief is due to the belief in the "evil mouth" – the belief that a man's luck can be spoiled by praise.

224 777 (5) In a *Dag Rali* camp I have noticed that a piece of bone of a barbary sheep was conserved in a skin bag. I was told that this was done in order that the hunter might have good luck in his future hunting of barbary sheep.

[P25] (6) Certain omens bring good luck in hunting as well as in other projects, e.g., to walk between two black ravens (Ayr), or to see two black ravens (Ahaggar); to see a jackal; to see the hawk called *ahullam*; to see three gazelles.

224 787 (7) The Tuareg have various methods of divination some of which are frequently used in connection with hunting. The hunter will frequently enquire into the result of a planned hunting trip by means of a method known in Ahaggar as *igehan*, in Ayr as *igazan*. In brief the method is practised as follows:— The diviner presses his thumb or his forefinger quickly into the sand to make two rows of holes close to each other. He does not know ahead how many holes he has made in the two rows. He counts

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224 the number of holes in each row and makes a special sign in the sand for even and uneven numbers.
787 There are four possibilities of different signs:— (1) A sign called *tezli* if there is an uneven number of holes in both rows; (2) A sign known as *éléli* if there is an even number of holes in both rows; (3) A sign, *eggur*, if the number of holes is uneven in the right row, but even in the left row; (4) A sign, *tamayit*, if the number of holes is even in the right row, but uneven in the left. The diviner makes two rows of holes six times successively. Each time he makes one of the mentioned signs according to the distribution of holes, and the result of his divination depends upon the character of the signs and their relative position to each other (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 151 f.). – The Tuareg have other methods of divination which are perhaps also used to predict the result of planned hunting trips. They also know to take omens from the shoulder-blades of wild and domestic animals. When a hunter has killed
[262] a gazelle he will often keep the shoulder-blades for himself, and having eaten the meat he will take omens of future happenings from the structure of these bones. Such shoulder-blades will not be thrown to the dogs – they are hidden under rocks and stones (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 150 f.).

224 Some of the above mentioned usages and beliefs have been mentioned also by Lhote (Lhote 1951a, p. 180 f.), who has noted a few other customs connected with hunting:—

[825] (8) If a hunter kills a snake he will get nothing. (A particular snake species known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *émegel* is never killed, as it is considered "sacred" and is referred to as a "marabut").

(9) If two men hunt together, but separate to meet later, the man who comes upon the other must not receive food from him.

(10) Handling the skin of game animals one must not put fingers into a bullet hole. This would cause bad shooting or accidents on future hunting trips, and the rule is observed even with tanned skin.

A few other superstitious usages have been recorded from Ahaggar by Captain Florimond (Rapport Annuel. Ouargla 1940). They are here quoted from Lhote 1951a, p. 181 f.:—

(11) Hunters of the *Dag Ṛali* take omens from the breaking of sandal straps in the pursuit of barbary sheep. If the straps passing between the toes break the hunter will kill a male, while he will get a female animal if the side-straps break.

[776] (12) When Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* (*Dag Ṛali*) leave for a hunting trip they put a stone or pebble on their heads and utter an invocation to hunting spirits which is rapidly repeated ten times.

(13) When *Dag Ṛali* Tuareg set out hunting they take with them a stone from a pre-Islamic tomb. When game is seen they throw this stone far away crying at their dogs: "Go! What you kill shall be *ḥallal* and lawful!"

[777] (14) When a barbary sheep has been killed by people hunting with dogs, the head of the animal is cut off and thrown on the fire while the following words are uttered:— "The smell from the burned skin of the head of the barbary sheep shall forever flatter the hunter's nostrils, so that he may have good luck in future hunting also!" Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* will add:— "I have taken you from the *Kel Asuf* and I have taken only the blessing they have sold you that you may soon be followed by your peer!"

(15) At the partition of killed game the meat must be handled with slow motions. If not, the dogs will lose their fierceness.

(16) It is believed that a hunter should fix a burning piece of wood in the soil by the fire in which

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**Fig. 164. Pail (*éṛir*) made from tinned brass by blacksmiths. It is used for storing butter to be used for food preparation in the tent. Pails of this type form part of the dowry in the *Dag Rali* tribe. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.155 m high, 0.230–0.235 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5820).**

Whenever the Tuareg kill an animal for food 231
they perform a sacrifice, the idea of which seems to be an identification of the man and the killed animal. 782
This idea appears most clearly at the sacrifice made on the occasion of the name-giving feast seven 825
days after the birth of a child. A marabut, that is a Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class, and the father of 553
the child stand close together with their faces towards Mecca while the animal to be sacrified is kept 782
to the ground. The marabut cuts the animal's throat and doing so cries out the name to be given to [565]
the child, and this name is thereupon repeated by the child's father. When the killing is performed in [442]
this way the knife (*elmusi* in Ahaggar; *ézegiz* in Ayr) and the cut across the throat are washed with
water before skinning is undertaken. I have dealt with certain ideas of Tuareg sacrifice elsewhere, 114
and have stated that on certain occasions they may sacrifice not to God but to the *Kel Asuf* spirits 782
(Nicolaisen 1961, p. 122 f., 147 f.). But whatever may be the ideas attached to Tuareg sacrifices all 231
animals, with the exception of the camel (cf. above p. 65), are killed by cutting their throat.

The methods of meat preparation are almost identical in Ayr and Ahaggar. The most common 252
method everywhere is cooking in an earthen pot, known in Ahaggar as *ufrun*, *téṛirt*, *alekkin*, or *talekkint* 415 *
according to its size and form, or in a metal pot (*éṛir*) of European origin. Such European pots are [77]
common everywhere in Tuareg camps, but earthen pots are still used though less durable, for earthen
pots are cheap. Pots made of metal or copper, which are also known as *éṛir*, were also found among

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



up with small strips of fat. The pieces of liver covered with fat are put on a slender iron or 252
wooden rod to be roasted slightly over the fire. This dish is known to all Tuareg by the Arabic word [177]
*ehnefef*. It was introduced among the Northern Tuareg by the Arabs, but is not widely known among the Ayr Tuareg.

This brief description of Tuareg meat preparation can adequately be supplemented by a reference 252
to two peculiar dishes:— (1) A dish known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *taleberrat*. It consists of meat 262
which after boiling or roasting is pounded in a large mortar and frequently served with liquid butter. This dish is also known to the Ayr Tuareg. (2) A dish which is described from Ahaggar by Foucauld 252
under the name *ebangor*. It consists of untanned skin which is eaten in case of hunger after the following 261
preparation:— Untanned skin from household implements, shields, and the like is roasted under the ashes, and is thereupon pounded into small pieces. These are eaten without any further preparation, or after boiling. (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 73).

Like other North African peoples the Tuareg dry meat of domestic animals and of game. The people 251
of Ayr know three distinct drying methods, namely (1) *tweson*, that is meat which is boiled until it is free of blood; it is dried in the shade; (2) *tikelsin*, uncooked meat cut into pieces to be dried on a string in the shade; (3) *kulez*, uncooked meat cut into strips which are dried for some time to be treated with salt and various spices. This last method is not practised among the Tuareg of Ayr, but by sedentary people of Agadez and by Negroes further south in Damergu. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally boil or roast the meat before drying; meat roasted in the ashes according to the *ebanul* method and thereupon dried is known as *takasa*. I do not know whether the Ahaggar Tuareg also practise the [P25] method of drying raw meat like the Ayr Tuareg, but the dried *agezzerom* lizzards which they take to Tidikelt on trading expeditions, are dried uncooked. Furthermore, the method of drying raw meat [171] is known elsewhere in the Northern Sahara, and I have myself seen it practised among the Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

I conclude the description of Tuareg meat preparation with a brief note on the use of blood of living 272

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Fig. 166. Wooden double-vessel (*azaz*) to contain water and butter for greasing the hair. Similar containers with a third vessel for fine-grained sand are also found among the Tuareg. Made by blacksmith from wood of the *tabarak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Geometrical ornaments are produced by burning with a hot iron. Ahaggar, *Akl Azzi* Arabs at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.241 m long. (N.M. G. 5880).

[text continues on p. 235]

515 care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed [824] every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

751 For them the main question is protecting the different parts of the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the body is to that end.

291 302 They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired color.

302 [171] To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

515 The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth. They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal [412] and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed [824] to form a brush. For this purpose they use irak branches (Salvadora persica) or palm jereed.

302 /258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring for the hair.

Young boys have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed [513] by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer 276 them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region. [184] They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a [98] certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have themselves shaved completely.

302 751 Men and women make rings around their eyes with kohl; they put it not only on the eyebrows, but especially at the roots of the eyelashes. They do this for medical purposes, for they attribute [164] to kohl the ability to protect them against eye maladies, in particular against ophthalmia which strikes many of them.

[326] The Tuareg appreciate the long, narrow hands of people who do no manual labor. They do not take any particular [412 531] care of them and are satisfied merely to cut 212 their nails rather short. As they do for hair, they bury the scraps so that no one can take them.

Fig. 36. Hairdressing knife, bearing the name of the artisan who made it in tifinagh characters.

304 [171] Tattooing. -- Make-up. -- Unlike the Kabyle and the Berbers, the Tuareg are not tattooed. This detail, which may seem insignificant, nevertheless indicates that the relationship of these different human groups is not nearly as close as one might believe, since there are such appreciable differences in mores.

184 304 Some women blue their gums and sometimes their lips by tattooing them, but this custom is particularly prevalent in the Sudanese tribes of the Timbuktu region.

302 On the other hand, make-up is used on a large scale among Tuareg women. They put red ocher on their faces to protect the [751] skin from the /260/ sun. For aesthetic reasons they also blue their [517] lips and around their mouths with indigo.

174 heads of human figures. It seems, under the circumstances, that
291 there was a taboo against representing facial characteristics.

Can the substitution of zoomorphic heads in the human figures drawn at a very early epoch on the Tassili-n-Ajjer rocks, springing from totemic beliefs, also contribute to explaining the origin of the veil? This is a permissible hypothesis.

291 What is certain is that, at the present time, it is shameful for
●826 a Tuareg to show his mouth and that the veil is the principal part of his dress. When he goes to draw water from a well, he will take off his gandurah and rull up the bottom of his trousers to be more comfortable, but he will take care that his veil is always in place.

Wearing the litham /veil/ -- or tiguelmoust -- includes an
291 entire ritual which implies the existence of beliefs whose details have escaped us, because the Tuareg themselves no longer elucidate its meaning.

The style of wearing the veil and of placing the different parts
184 on the head may differ from one tribe to another, and there are
291 local modes which some prefer by personal taste. And so, in recent years, the young men of the Ahaggar adopted the style of wearing the veil used by the Kel Férouan from the Aïr. This, moreover, earned them harsh criticism from the elders of their tribe.

156 /267/ But apart from these different ways of placing the veil
291 according to local or personal modes, the shape and knack make it more or less elegant. There is also a veil psychology, and when one knows a man, the way his veil is fixed may indicate his state of mind -- the reserved, modest way used when he presents himself in a camp where there are women; the elegant, studied manner for going to lover's meetings; the haughty manner of a warrior conscious of his importance; and the whimsical air of the Imrad or the swaggering slave. There is also the jovial, good-natured fellow's style of wearing the veil loosely and sloppily, and the disorderly style of the unstable, easily irritated man.

841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
842 a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[188] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old
[782] tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
769 pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout
[431] an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
846 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.
431

Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
862 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his
854 stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
[184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimmiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This
[171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are some-
[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
[85] Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517 ennobles the woman.

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Fig. 3. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Iklan-en-tawsit* tribe.

Fig. 4. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

142 with the French. I have myself never seen a genuine blond Tuareg, but I have met a few albinos though
144 albinism seems to be rare. These observations agree with those of Lhote (1955a, p. 163). All the Tuareg
[143] I have seen had curly or straight black hair, and dark brown or almost black eyes. Many individuals
had fairly broad faces with protuding cheeks which gave them superficially a mongoloid appearance,
142 while others had features more like Mediterranean Europeans. In literature the Tuareg are generally
described as very tall people. I did not myself carry out anthropological measurements, but will not
hesitate to state that in my opinion a great many Tuareg are far from big. Very many adult men in the
groups I have visited were considerably shorter than myself (1.73 m). Tuareg men are generally dry
[147] and meagre, bearing the stamp of their roaming life in the desert. Their most outstanding quality is
[157] that of endurance and contempt of hunger and hardship. The appearance of Tuareg women is often
quite different – they tend to grow fat. This is probably to some extent due to the fact that married
826 women spend most of their life in the tents and get little physical exercise. But fatness is also a sign
832 of feminine beauty, and some women make a great effort to grow fat by drinking milk or eating
[261] certain fattening plants (cf. p. 177, 178). According to some Tuareg fat women symbolize wealth – large
flocks and herds, and much milk – but many Tuareg also say that they prefer fat women because they

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



826 832 get more sexual satisfaction from intercourse with them. "A fat woman is like a woman who has never known a man", they say. Some women are steatopygous though never to the same extent as women among the Bushmen-and the Hottentot. Very comprehensive studies of Tuareg physical anthropology are lacking. Readers are referred to the chapter written by Lhote who has also published a brief bibliography of studies on this subject (Lhote 1955a, p. 158–170, 433), and to the recent and valuable publication by Briggs (Briggs 1958, p. 163 ff., 183 ff.).

291 The custom of Tuareg face veiling has attracted the curiosity of many scholars and travellers. Much has been written about the fact that Tuareg men wear a veil (*tagulmust* in Ahaggar, *tagulmust* in Ayr) while their women are unveiled in contrast to Arab custom. There have been given various explanations of the origin of the custom of Tuareg face veiling. Most authors refer it to hygienic conditions: the veil protects the face from sand and dust, and it prevents mouth, nose, and throat from drying up in hot weather. The fact is that the veil has the latter function, and Arab bedouins of the Sahara will also frequently veil their faces during journeys in the hot season. But the hygienic explanation is definitely not the reason why the Tuareg also veil themselves in many situations where face veiling is unpractical and unpleasant. Another explanation of the custom of face veiling is that the veil may perhaps have certain religious or magic functions. This explanation is apparently also insufficient. A [254] few Tuareg have claimed that the veil may yield protection from persons having an "evil eye" or an "evil mouth" – beliefs known in Ahaggar as *tehof*, in Ayr as *tugarchet*. But as I have stated elsewhere 291 (Nicolaisen 1957a, p. 112; 1961, p. 114) the proper function of face veiling seems to be a social one. 576 Many Tuareg will leave their face uncovered in family camps or on journeys, but they will always [609] cover mouth, nose, and brow in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) and in the [606] presence of their parents-in-law (particularly their mothers-in-law). Towards such persons it is also considered very indecent to show one's legs. It has been overlooked by most authors that Tuareg women wear a head-cloth (*ékerhey* in Ahaggar, *akalil* in Ayr), which is similar to the veil worn by men in form and shape. The headcloth and the veil are properly made from Sudanese indigo cotton, and both the veil and the headcloth are therefore also known as *alechchu*. It is true that Tuareg women do not veil their face by means of this headcloth in the same way as do the men. But in the presence [609] of foreigners (particularly foreign men) and towards fathers-in-law the women will draw their head- [606] cloth over their mouth (cf. Fig. 297a). The man's veil and the woman's headcloth have identical social functions which is also proved by the fact that young men and women adopt veil or headcloth at initiation (Ahaggar), or at marriage (Ayr). Both the veil and the headcloth are worn by people of various black-skinned castes of Tuareg country but the custom of face veiling seems to be more strictly observed among the true Tuareg.

181 The custom of face veiling is one characteristic of all Tuareg. Another quality peculiar to all Tuareg, and particularly to those of the noble class, is their "snobbishness" as it is frequently called by many Frenchmen living at Tamanrasset and Agadez. There are a great many things a Tuareg cannot do, and there are many situations in which he will have to act in a very special way if he is to be regarded as a man worthy of respect and prestige. Tuareg attitudes to etiquette are not easily described in words. Gait, gestures, and postures are all intended to express qualities of elegance, arrogance, refinement, and strength. Vanity with regard to dress and ornaments is another characteristic of all true Tuareg.

567 dowry. But slaves are well fed and cared for as a rule; they get two or three days off each week to look after their own affairs, their children are brought up with the children of their masters, and custom forbids the freeing of a slave who is either too old or too young to fend for himself. A slave may even have a few goats of his own, although when he dies they are not inherited by his family but revert to his master instead. Barth (1857a, vol. 1, p. 387) notes as a striking exception that he saw slaves hitched to a plow and driven with whips in the Auderas Valley, some 60 miles northwest of Agadès.

567 Female slaves are often taken as concubines by Tuareg men of the Ahaggar, who prize
595 them because they are less capricious and overbearing than Tuareg women are and "be-
[827] cause they have cool skins," a point which would bear further investigation with a skin temperature machine. The children of such unions are often recognized by their fathers but do not inherit from them, and, although free, they have a debased social standing little better than that of their slave forebears. Moussa ag Amastan, who was Amenokal of the Ahaggar from 1905 to 1921,[12] remained unmarried for over 50 years, during most of which time he lived with a bevy of Negro concubines and a young Tuareg girl, named Harendou, whom he had captured on a raid into the Niger Bend country (Benhazera, 1908, p. 142; Lhote, 1955, pp. 221–23). Although this case was exceptional, it was by no means unique.

567 The slaves of the nomadic Tuareg, like those of sedentary communities in the Sahara, seem to have no tribal or clan organizations, but they too have a strong feeling of corporate solidarity that finds expression now and then in nocturnal jamborees which are Sudanese in character.

326 The smiths of the Ahaggar present a fa-
171 miliar culture pattern that characterizes groups of smiths and tinkers which, as we have seen, are to be found living among a whole series of nomadic peoples scattered all the way from Baluchistan through Arabia and on, southwest-

[217] [12] Lhote (1955, p. 220) gives the date of Moussa's death as 1920, the official genealogical table of the Ahaggar nobility, which is kept in the archives of the French Army post at Tamanrasset, gives it as 1921, and Foley (1930, p. 9) gives it as 1922. In 1956

7: Nicolaisen MS25 Tuareg MS25

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[For an extensive list of the names of Tuareg political and other social groups or categories, including relevant page references, see category 116, pp. 534-37.]

292 seen them worn by a few Tuareg men in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The fact that they are worn by
177 women during their period of isolation after the husband's death, a custom introduced with Islam, also indicates that these boots are connected with Islamic culture and thus with the Arabs.

[129] The Arabs possess a great religious prestige with the Tuareg, and are responsible for the introduction of many articles of dress among them. Some Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arab *gandura* of kaftan cut as a substitute for their traditional poncho shirt, and many Tuareg nowadays wear the Arab type of headcloth instead of the traditional veil. The burnus (*abernuh*) is also worn by some
[171] Northern Tuareg in winter. This garment is widely used by Berbers and Arabs further north in Northern Africa. It is not traditional to the Tuareg who may have adopted it from contact with the Arabs.

# Tuareg Culture, History, and African Culture complexes

In the preceding Chapters I have mentioned most cultural traits connected with Tuareg subsistence activities. In this Chapter I attempt to view some of these traits in the light of history and the historical theories which have found their expression in the establishment of African culture complexes. I wish to emphasize at the very beginning that this investigation must omit some important traits of Tuareg culture as there is no historical information about them and because good descriptions of stock-breeding techniques are lacking in the case of most pastoralists of Africa and Asia. Consequently it is very difficult to compare in great detail Tuareg culture with other pastoral cultures. 121

## TUAREG CULTURE AND HISTORY

True historical sources which elucidate the development of African cultures are very scanty and cover only a very short period. We know that most African cultures in recent times have been much influenced by Europeans and their culture, and that some cultures were changed fundamentally at an earlier period owing to Arab migrations and the introduction of Islam. We know that North Africa during antiquity was strongly influenced by Romans and Greeks, and still earlier by the Phoenicians. We possess from North Africa a few valuable written records from olden times and from Egypt we have earlier historical documents which help us to understand certain aspects of cultural evolution. 175 177

The occupation of Ahaggar and Ayr by the French has led to a growing cultural influence from Islam and the Arabs. Ahaggar was conquered by Arab soldiers under the command of French officers, and even nowadays a very large number of Arabs serve in the camel patrols of Ahaggar with Tuareg camel riders. Some of these Arab soldiers marry Tuareg women, and many of them settle in Ahaggar when they have retired from military service. Other Arabs and Arabic-speaking *Harratin* of Tidikelt have immigrated after the French occupation of the country. The number of people who speak Arabic as their mother tongue is not doubt increasing, and Arabic is understood and even spoken by many Tuareg men though generally unknown to Tuareg women. Added to this, the Arabs have acquired a high prestige not only on account of Islam but also because Arabic has been adopted as the main language of the administration in Ahaggar. The officers who act as administrators in Ahaggar speak and write Arabic while with rare exceptions they do not know the Tuareg language. For all these reasons certain cultural traits of the Arabs have been introduced into Ahaggar after the French occupation. [48] [67] [97] [97] [229]

[p.305]

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554 The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished
[302] than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing
[516] nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad
by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant
[195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words
foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of
appearance and language is even more perceptible among the
554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their
562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their
574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society.
Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well
[533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The
qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know-
[566] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather
articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know-
565 ing how to play the violin.
[83] Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part
513] of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the
[842 Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which
582] are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the
other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it,
[648] and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the
last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original
stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting it-
self to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could
bring it.

565 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class
among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/
[793 and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the
87] children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite
[651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

754 /114 cont./ Belief in the evil eye is shared by the Negroes and the Tuareg: certain persons may by their words cause the worst calamities, induce illness, provoke accidents, make animals die. Happily, there are other persons who have the opposite power and who, by approaching a sleeper and placing a hand near his face, give him strength and luck for the day.

[777 In general women are carriers of bad luck in the morning;
● 83] however, if an intimate lets her sex be glimpsed before a morning departure, luck will smile on the hunter.

Of one who has the evil eye, it is said in Tamashek; "illé tahot."

[777 Who gives that good or bad luck carried by an individual
776 and which may sometimes emanate from him? The reply to this question is: God, for, after all, these people are Moslems; but each one is persuaded that the genii, the Kel es Souf, as the Tuareg say, are agents of this suprahuman life. The Kel es Souf constitute a people of spirits invisible during the day, but who may appear to humans at night in the most varied forms. At nightfall comes the most favorable moment for the exploits of the Kel es Souf. All manifestations of natural forces are attributed to these genii: whirlwinds, echoes, floods of the wadi, cave-ins, a spontaneous fire in the dry grass. On the contrary, the mirage ("eillel") is not the work of the Kel es Souf.

/115/ He who hears or sees one of these genii is always troubled; he may become ill and even insane, for, if there are indifferent Kel es Souf (very few, however), there are no good ones. It is because of this that one must know how to protect oneself against them; this is ordinarily done by invoking God, by carrying talismans, and by always having an iron object with oneself.

The Kel es Souf like certain places and reside there in preference to others: deep ravines, in which they shower atones on the unfortunate humans who venture there, and caves, in

[177] Cloth garments have certainly been used only recently among
291 the Tuareg; they used to wear leather clothing. A few Ahaggar
174 Iklan still wear these knee-length blouses with fringes over the chest, sides, and sleeves. Evidences of these leather clothes are still to be found among captives from the Sudan and the Timbuktu region. They wear skirts tight at the waist, dyed half red and half yellow, and decorated with multicolored fringes. In Aïr little girls still wear /270/ a kind of small leather apron, and little boys, little leather trousers.

These seem to be the ancestral clothes of the Tuareg. The description of the dress of Libyan women which Herodotus has given us corresponds in all details to the leather dress used in the Timbuktu region, and some rock drawings of the Tassili are the very image of the small leather tunic of the Koudia Iklan.

Ornaments. Jewelry. -- The coquetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg is
● 832 a most remarkable thing and quite unexpected among people who live under such primitive conditions and whose natural instincts must lead them first of all toward the spirit of self-preservation and material preoccupations. However, it reflects their rather superficial
[181] life, their light mores, and that pleasurable existence which the nobles intend to lead.

And so the Tuareg sacrifice everything to their coquetry, depriving themselves of food and parting with some of their goods in order to procure lustrous clothes, multicolored ribbons to set off the brilliancy of their coiffure, and amulet boxes which are carried more for aesthetic than religious reasons.

301 Women conform to the same faults and know no rest until they
832 have a certain number of jewels with which to adorn themselves.

For men, adornment consists of a few jewels, especially cases for amulets. As regards jewelry, they wear only one or two silver rings on their fingers, a heavy and coarse kind of ring, either plain or slightly twisted. In addition they wear a stone ring above the elbow.

517 meal, which is taken very late, and more rarely after the meal if
521 it is to entertain a stranger. Everyone sits in a circle. Each per-
571 son takes a place in the order of his arrival, in such a way as to
533 alternate men and women. When everyone has arrived, they elect a male president and a female president, whose job is to see that the usages and customs of the ahal are respected and, as a joke, /289/ to inflict forfeits on those who bring on themselves the recriminations of the others. Sometimes only a female president is elected, but never a male president alone.

The presence of several girls in a camp is often sufficient
[574] cause for organizing an ahal mixed with asri. The young men come from neighboring camps, always dressed in their dressy clothes. Some of them sometimes come hundreds of kilometers to attend a meeting where they know they will find pretty girls and pleasant distraction. Then one of those present plays the violin. The sourish, plaintive, monotonous sounds which come out of it are quite in harmony with the wild setting made by nature and man. The men accentuate the rhythm by singing "ho ho" on the beat and finally by a hummed accompaniment. And every-
[538 one jokes and tells broad stories, for the poetic part is often of a
525] very doubtful quality, if not made up of more or less vulgar repartee.

Then the violin is silent, and laughter bursts out on all sides.
[832] Men and women make very free contacts and rub noses which is the peculiar form of the Tuareg kiss. These meetings end very late at night, and everyone returns to his camp, not, however, without having made an appointment by a special language of hand gestures to finish these amorous love feasts in a more intimate way.

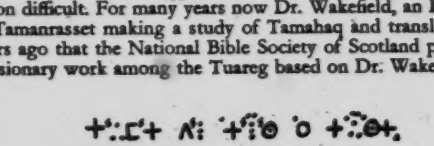
836 The mores of the girls are indeed very licentious, so much so that Father de Foucault stated that the word "virginity" did not exit in Tamashek. (1) "There is no question of keeping the girl

1. Dr. Vermale, Au Sahara pendant la guerre européenne /In the Sahara During the European War/, p. 172.

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.



The Bible in Tamahaq

(*Ruth Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

*"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."*

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

As to the girl, a celebration is held as soon as she reaches 881
the age of puberty, that is to say, at the start of her menses,
in Tamashek /6/ "ba-n-amoud" ⵎⵓⵏⴰⵎⵓⴷ (literally,
"cutting of prayer," since during her indisposition the woman [841]
is in a state of impurity and cannot pray). The young girl is [291]
dressed in her prettiest clothes, and on her head is placed a
black veil, "ikerhi" ⵉⴽⵔⵃⵉ, which falls on either side of
her face without hiding it. She also never leaves it off.

If her parents are well-to-do, she will learn to play the 883
amz'ad ⴰⵎⵣⴰⴷ, an instrument which has an important [556]
place in Tuareg life. It is a kind of violin with a single string 534
whose box is made of a large "kabouia," or a dried and
scooped-out gourd, covered with a stretched hide and pierced
with two holes, which is provided with a handle. The string
is made of horsehair, "az'iou" ⴰⵣⵉⵡ, as are the strings
of the bow, "tadjethé" ⵜⴰⵊⵉⵜⵜⴰ, made of a stick bent into
an arc.

It is chiefly an instrument to accompany singing. The [533]
woman slides her fingers over the string without pressing,
while working the bow; she prolongs the final phrases, which
are drawn out.

If a young girl knows how to play, she may shine at the [832]
musical gatherings, where she will be courted.

## Chapter IV

## Musical Gatherings

A young man and a young girl often go to meet together, 533
and this occurs especially in those gatherings which, to be 584
accurate, we will if you permit call "musical gatherings," and 832
which the Tuareg call "ahal" ⵄⴰⵀⴰⵍ, plural "ihallen" ⵉⵀⴰⵍⵍⴰⵏ

/7/

4: Benhazera--5 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The ahal takes place very often. All that is needed is for 533
a group of men and women to be gathered together in a camp. 584
Often a man comes from a considerable distance to court the 832
girl of his choice. When the year is good, that is to say, when [361]
*the rains have brought the pastures to life and the camels are*
giving much milk, several camps are set up close to each other,
and the ahal begins right after sunset.

The men of the camps gather with those who have come
especially because some woman attracts them. The women
bring their "imz'aden" violins. All those attend the ahal who [602]
are not afraid to be in the presence of one of their relatives
to whom they owe respect, such as a father, uncle, older
brother, etc. Young girls, married women, divorcées or widows,
all attend the ahal.

[361]

Dautheville

Tuareg Troup at Amr'a (Black Tifedest)

Gallantry, "asri" ⵙⵔⵉ , is required, and jealousy [577]
strictly prohibited. Besides, this latter feeling is unknown [626]
among the Tuareg, and if one of them should think of showing it, he would be booed and everyone would make fun of him.

When a Tuareg arrives at the ahal near a woman whom he wishes to court, he approaches her with his veil carefully lowered and does not greet her with the usual "essalamou r'

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[576]

laïkoum" (May the greeting be on you!). Silently he holds his hand out to the woman in the Tuareg manner (that is to say, holding his hand /8/ out open flat and sliding it over the open hand of the woman), and he sits down, saying: "iselane" (What news?). If the woman answers: "elouane" (There is a lot), he begins to pay his court. The Tuareg are not very religious, and it sometimes happens that the woman asks such questions as: "Whom do you love more, God or me?"

The songs begin, and the imz'aden play the accompaniment. The men sing in snatches lines that they have composed on the charms of the ladies of their dreams, the feats that they have done, the raids in which they have taken part, or else satires on their enemies. The women extol courage. In general, a noble woman does not sing, but only plays the amz'ad.

There are three musical rhythms:

The "seyenine" rhythm, lively and quite fast, used among the Kel R'ela and the Taïtoq.

The "ahinena" rhythm, slow and drawn out like a chant, used especially among the Kel R'ela.

The "asaher'" rhythm, used among the Tuareg of the Azdjer /Azjer/ confederation.

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Then there are simple games. The women elect a "sultana," or queen; the men a "sultan," or king, who will inflict the punishments incurred and will set the fines to be paid. It is a context of wits. A man must be able to answer the questions asked. If, for example, to this question: "Whom do you like better, this one or that one?," he answers: "I prefer this one," he would be booed, would incur a punishment or pay a fine, and the woman who is preferred would be ridiculed by her companions, for one must not show preference openly but must answer, "I like them both."

Another kind of question: "What would you do if you found yourself in the following situation: /9/

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[539]

"Tamott tekness
"Eheré iouof
"Tathett ter'tess
"Tir'irt touoss"

which means:

The woman who argues.
Flocks that scatter.
The she-ass that breaks her tether.
The pot that tips over.

In a joking way, to be a real wit, the man could answer: "If I should find myself in this situation, I would first gather the flock, I would re-tether the ass, I would put the pot back on the fire, and only then would I pay attention to the woman, " and there would be a chorus of indignant protests.

The woman makes it a point of honor to have as many admirers as possible. This is a proof that she is pretty and will not have trouble in getting married. 584 832

The ahal, begun after sunset, lasts quite late into the night, and the pale light that is shed by the stars allows shamelessness to have free rein. Although the married women joke and take part in the games, they behave themselves comparatively well. The others, however, may sit on the knees of their admirers. They kiss, but in a special way. Since the man must never uncover his mouth, he lowers his veil under his nose, and he piously smells the nose! of his loved one, who herself may kiss him. Even intimate handling (proh pudor! /oh, shame/) is allowed, which is never seen among the Arabs. 533 584 832

During these gatherings, when the amz'ad is played, it is listened to with great pleasure. This instrument has a way of exciting /10/ the Tuareg, who utter "Ouh! ouh!" as a sign of pleasure. They have even made a verb of it: isouhouh. [201]

But now is the time when the camels come from the pasture. They must be milked: that is the az'ouz'edj (from ez'edj , to milk). The women get up, and those present are given milk to drink. They will have to disperse. [272]

The men leave, the women go back into the tents, but 832
the fortunate ones who have succeeded by means of assiduous 836
courtship to touch the heart of their love, will soon come back
secretly or will go to the place which has been appointed for
them. Let us draw a veil!...

One might wonder what can become of the virtue of 585
young girls with such customs. Almost always it has gone up 836
in the air. But a Tuareg will not pay attention to this detail
when it is a matter of getting married. He knows with what
to be content: he has often profited by it. It is all the same
to him.

The ahal is one of the reasons for late marriages among the 582
Tuareg. Marriage requires expenditures upon which one does 836
not decide until one has been able to acquire a little means,
and that is why it is not unusual among the Tuareg to see men
marry at the age of forty. With all he finds to entertain him,
the Tuareg does not feel the need to get married. This does
not mean that many do not marry around twenty-five, but in
general a man marries quite late.

Farther on, in the little collection of songs, will appear 000
the qualities which a man must have in order to succeed at the
ahal, as well as the kind of songs which are sung there. /Not
translated./ /11/

## Chapter V

## The Role of the Woman in Tuareg Society

At every step one sees the influence of the woman in 562
Tuareg society. In Tuareg history, the inheritance, the life,
the thought, and the behavior, everywhere her influence is
felt.

In the matter of history, it is from her that the Tuareg 173
says he is descended. Thus the nobles of the Ahaggar will tell 562

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 3. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Ikkes-en-tewsit* tribe.

Fig. 4. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

142 with the French. I have myself never seen a genuine blond Tuareg, but I have met a few albinos though
144 albinism seems to be rare. These observations agree with those of Lhote (1955a, p. 163). All the Tuareg
[143] I have seen had curly or straight black hair, and dark brown or almost black eyes. Many individuals had fairly broad faces with protuding cheeks which gave them superficially a mongoloid appearance,
142 while others had features more like Mediterranean Europeans. In literature the Tuareg are generally described as very tall people. I did not myself carry out anthropological measurements, but will not hesitate to state that in my opinion a great many Tuareg are far from big. Very many adult men in the groups I have visited were considerably shorter than myself (1.73 m). Tuareg men are generally dry
[147] and meagre, bearing the stamp of their roaming life in the desert. Their most outstanding quality is
[167] that of endurance and contempt of hunger and hardship. The appearance of Tuareg women is often quite different – they tend to grow fat. This is probably to some extent due to the fact that married
826 women spend most of their life in the tents and get little physical exercise. But fatness is also a sign
832 of feminine beauty, and some women make a great effort to grow fat by drinking milk or eating
[261] certain fattening plants (cf. p. 177, 178). According to some Tuareg fat women symbolize wealth – large flocks and herds, and much milk – but many Tuareg also say that they prefer fat women because they

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



826 get more sexual satisfaction from intercourse with them. "A fat woman is like a woman who has never
832 known a man", they say. Some women are steatopygous though never to the same extent as women
142 among the Bushmen and the Hottentot. Very comprehensive studies of Tuareg physical anthropology
114 are lacking. Readers are referred to the chapter written by Lhote who has also published a brief bibliography of studies on this subject (Lhote 1955a, p. 158–170, 433), and to the recent and valuable publication by Briggs (Briggs 1958, p. 163 ff., 183 ff.).

291 The custom of Tuareg face veiling has attracted the curiosity of many scholars and travellers. Much has been written about the fact that Tuareg men wear a veil (*tagulmust* in Ahaggar, *tagulmust* in Ayr) while their women are unveiled in contrast to Arab custom. There have been given various explanations of the origin of the custom of Tuareg face veiling. Most authors refer it to hygienic conditions: the veil protects the face from sand and dust, and it prevents mouth, nose, and throat from drying up in hot weather. The fact is that the veil has the latter function, and Arab bedouins of the Sahara will also frequently veil their faces during journeys in the hot season. But the hygienic explanation is definitely not the reason why the Tuareg also veil themselves in many situations where face veiling is unpractical and unpleasant. Another explanation of the custom of face veiling is that the veil may perhaps have certain religious or magic functions. This explanation is apparently also insufficient. A
[254] few Tuareg have claimed that the veil may yield protection from persons having an "evil eye" or an
291 "evil mouth" – beliefs known in Ahaggar as *tehof*, in Ayr as *tagarchet*. But as I have stated elsewhere
576 (Nicolaisen 1957a, p. 112; 1961, p. 114) the proper function of face veiling seems to be a social one.
[609] Many Tuareg will leave their face uncovered in family camps or on journeys, but they will always
[606] cover mouth, nose, and brow in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) and in the presence of their parents-in-law (particularly their mothers-in-law). Towards such persons it is also considered very indecent to show one's legs. It has been overlooked by most authors that Tuareg women wear a head-cloth (*ekerhey* in Ahaggar, *aklil* in Ayr), which is similar to the veil worn by men in form and shape. The headcloth and the veil are properly made from Sudanese indigo cotton, and both the veil and the headcloth are therefore also known as *alechchu*. It is true that Tuareg women
[609] do not veil their face by means of this headcloth in the same way as do the men. But in the presence
[606] of foreigners (particularly foreign men) and towards fathers-in-law the women will draw their headcloth over their mouth (cf. Fig. 297a). The man's veil and the woman's headcloth have identical social functions which is also proved by the fact that young men and women adopt veil or headcloth at initiation (Ahaggar), or at marriage (Ayr). Both the veil and the headcloth are worn by people of various black-skinned castes of Tuareg country but the custom of face veiling seems to be more strictly observed among the true Tuareg.

181 The custom of face veiling is one characteristic of all Tuareg. Another quality peculiar to all Tuareg, and particularly to those of the noble class, is their "snobbishness" as it is frequently called by many Frenchmen living at Tamanrasset and Agadez. There are a great many things a Tuareg cannot do, and there are many situations in which he will have to act in a very special way if he is to be regarded as a man worthy of respect and prestige. Tuareg attitudes to etiquette are not easily described in words. Gait, gestures, and postures are all intended to express qualities of elegance, arrogance, refinement, and strength. Vanity with regard to dress and ornaments is another characteristic of all true Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *ofagag* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Iguwilen*.

Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among animals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle cloths, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

In a ceremonial ride termed *ihgen* (*ihgan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



catching wild donkeys in the mountains around the valley of Anu Meḳḳeren. The method is not used for proper game animals. 224

(7) A pulling and a throwing snare are both known as *tuṛunt*. They are said not to be used for hunting, though commonly employed to catch wild donkeys and domestic animals which have gone astray; cf. p. 108 f.

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*tawchit*) provided with a noosed rope (*tuṛunt*) attached to a stick. This is used for gazelle and bigger game animals in isolated places rarely visited by representatives of the administration. According to Buchanan, the spiked wheel-trap is used for ostriches in the plains south of Ayr (Buchanan 1921, p. 117 ff.). Large traps of this type are also used for giraffe by certain hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 453).

(9) The torsion trap (*tenderbat*) akin to that of Ahaggar. It is used for big game animals, notably for barbary sheep.

(10) Snares (*tazek*, pl. *t'izagin*) made from strips of dum palm leaves are used for guinea fowl and other edible birds. They are generally set near water where birds come to drink. Little boys of the negroid *Imeggedezen* of Agadez also make snares of hair to catch small birds (Fig. 118). [223] [857]

These are the hunting methods known to the Ayr Tuareg, who do not engage much in hunting with the exception of the *Kel Tamgak* mentioned above. Most Ayr Tuareg refuse the small types of game and beasts of prey, and reject not only the *aṛata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.), but also the smaller lizzard known in Ahaggar as *aggezzeram*, in Ayr as *emekkechchu* (*Uromastix acanthinurus*), though it is claimed that the latter is eaten among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The two lizzards do not play any part to Tuareg mythology – the *aṛata* lizzard is greatly detested by the Ayr Tuareg who kill it with stones or sticks, whenever possible. The Ayr Tuareg, including those of noble descent, have no taboos about birds and eggs, and many pastoral Tuareg collect guinea fowl eggs late in summer after the rains. There are a few animals not mentioned above which are considered edible among the Ayr Tuareg, e.g., the tortoise (*afaras*) which is found in the plains south of the Massif. With the exception of the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg the people of Ayr do not collect locusts (*tahwalt* in Ahaggar, *achwal* in Ayr). Locusts are eaten by all people of the two Northern Tuareg groups. The animals are roasted in the ashes or are boiled in a cooking pot to be pounded in the large mortar together with dried dates. This dish is very esteemed by the women who say that it is fattening and in this way adds to their beauty. 262 [262] [832]

Certain weapons have not been mentioned above because they either cannot be considered proper hunting weapons, or because it is doubtful whether they exist among the Tuareg or not. 411 [114]

Traditional Tuareg arms comprise an iron lance (*allaṛ*), a sword (*takuba*), and a dagger (*iélek*) carried in a sheath fastened to the left arm. The iron lance may serve as a hunting weapon, and this is true also of the sword. Thus the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group said that wild animals were occasionally killed with the sword, and they claimed that two Tuareg of the past had killed lions with this weapon.

The bow (Ahaggar, *taṛayyé* or *taḡaḥḥé*; Ayr, *taganzé*) and arrows (Ahaggar, *imurren*, sing. *amor*, or *tinassabin*, sing. *tanassabi*; Ayr, *imeran*, sing. *amer*) are not traditional Tuareg weapons. Nowadays very ineffective bows and arrows are used as toys by little Tuareg boys, but they are never used by [524]

[text continues on p. 169]

565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
567 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as
[428] his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can inherit from their father.

565 /171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with
833 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
558 not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that
[842] the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

867 The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
[838 other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found
679] for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed
[272] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves
[304 first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not
234] hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former amenokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Amastan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

567 A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally
685 does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense, the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice, according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

836 pure until her marriage, " said Dr. Vermale elsewhere. "Those are sentiments which the Tuareg do not understand. Thus, as soon as she is nubile, she goes to the ohal and it is not long before she is deflowered. Virginity does not exist and has no representative value in the eyes of the Tuareg. " (2) Indeed, the women are

2. Op. cit., p. 171.

more or less easy. Some give themselves to the first comer; others grant their favors to only a small group of friends. To grant them [839 577] only to a single person, however, would be judged in very bad taste and a sign of perversion.

No one finds fault with their free mores, on the condition [554] that they let themselves be courted only by men of a social condition equal to their own. Some women let themselves be courted by slaves and that is considered a shame for them.

842 /290/ One may be astonished that unwed mothers are not more numerous with such dissolute mores. Contraception is commonly used, and, as Dr. Foley said, effusio seminis inter crura is [833] probably the frequent conclusion of the nocturnal rendezvous after the ahal. (1) These restrictive measures must not be unre-

1. Moeurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar /Ahaggar Tuareg Mores and Medicine/, p. 56.

lated to the low birth rate of the Tuareg, and it is quite possible that the married Tuareg woman continues to practice them.

847 Bearing children out of wedlock and bastardy (agama) are the [848] object of public discredit. The Tuareg rarely practice abortion, but infanticides used to be quite numerous, and no one thought of being offended by them. When a woman finds herself pregnant

584 /143/ There is a language of the hands which supplements the conversation of the ahal; here are several examples. Having taken the woman's hand with fingers interlocked, to place one's thumb against the end of her thumb means: "I desire you very much." To trace a circle in the palm of the hand, pressing the index finger in the center of the circle, is to ask for an intimate union. The woman thus solicited takes the hand of her suitor and traces a line with the back of her index finger going from the wrist toward the fingers, which means: "I refuse." But if having done this, she traces another one in the other direction, it means: "Leave with your friends and come back alone."

584 833 Once alone with his girl friend, the young Targui will continue to pay his court, sometimes platonic, often less so. Putting their faces together, nostril against nostril, they breathe together. This type of kiss is known for the mouth too but is little practiced. Manual caresses follow the kisses. The men often stop at this stage with virgins, for they know how to "recognize a virgin by her walk, her bearing, the firmness of her breasts, and the reflex of her Achilles tendon!" The Tuareg know other caresses which satisfy the senses but respect physical virginity.

838 It must be noted that homosexuality, male or female, is unknown among the Tuareg.

839 It is said that bestiality, although very rare, does exist; but supposedly it is practiced as a remedy for venereal diseases.

These sexual customs make it possible to understand the stability of the Tuareg, who, although Moslems, do not suffer from suppressed desires. Rape does not exist, and when a woman refuses a man, he never insists, nor will he show himself jealous of a more successful comrade. Let us add that they are absolutely discreet about their relations with women. It is in these manifestations of the intimate life that one sees the prestige enjoyed by the Tuareg woman.

841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
842 a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[788] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
[782] pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the
769 creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout
[431] an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
846 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
●834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.
431 Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
862 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his
854 stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
[184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimmiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This
[171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are some-
[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
85[illegible] Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517 ennobles the woman.

I was told in the Ahaggar that youths may not say their 561
prayers in the presence of women for, in the course of genu- 562
flections and prostrations, they have to show their posteriors, 787
which is very "shocking"! On the other hand, old men can 834
pray before women without being indecent.

Many, besides, in order to say their prayers place them- 782
selves behind the imam (either an Arabian taleb or a Tuareg 788
who knows a little Arabic), and they make their genuflections, 793
saying, "Allahou akber" (God is the greatest) every time they
hear it said by the imam. That is all of their prayer.

There were many who told me that they did not observe 785
the fast of Ramadan, among others Badjloud, the amr'ar of 771
the Kel Ahnet. On the other hand, the Issoqqamaren
(fractions who have long been in contact with the Arabs and
still are) are more religious, and they all observe the fast.

Among the Ahaggar Tuareg there are, nevertheless, some 792
truly religious men, but they are known and pointed out and
pass for marabouts, for example, Moussa ag Amastane, Beketa
ag Ibrahim, and the Oulad El Mir'da and Oulad Mokhammed ag
Sadik.

Although the Tuareg is not religious, he nevertheless
has great respect for the marabouts whom he naively admires,
always on condition that these marabouts do not interfere with
him. Thus the marabout Beketa ag Ibrahim stated that the
dates coming from the Tidikelt, recently occupied by the
French, were forbidden by the religion. He changed his mind
later. But now, every time that he goes to ask an amr'id for
dates, the latter comments that they came from the Tidikelt
and are therefore forbidden by the religion, and Beketa answers,
"No. All that is over now, " and accepts the dates.

Religious orders are quite widespread, especially among
the Issoqqamaren. Going by caravan to the Tidikelt or the
Touat, the Ahaggar have joined the order of the Tijaniyyah,
which numbers most of its adherents among them, and that
of the Qādiriyyah. Others (usually they all are those who have

591 husband are of different clans. A Tuareg camp is usually known, however, by the name of the highest ranking male member of the camp community. Children are normally brought up and continue to live among the group which their parents finally joined on a permanent basis, although boys are sometimes brought up by a maternal uncle. A widowed woman and her unmarried children are usually taken into the family circle of one of her brothers or married sons.

837 The question of moral laxity hardly concerns us here, for even if irregular sexual rela-
[835] tions were as general among the ladies of the Ahaggar as some authors would have us believe, they are still confined as a rule to the kinship group of the clan or at least to that of the tribe. But even so we will do well to examine briefly a widespread popular misconception. In point of fact we can probably
[582] accept Blanguernon's (1955, p. 141) statement that a substantial majority of Tuareg ladies remain virgin until wed, even though the usual age at marriage is 20 to 25 for women and close to 30 for men. Monogamy is the uni-
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837 It has been said that Tuareg women of the Ahaggar, single or married, lend themselves freely to male friends and guests as a general rule, but this is certainly a myth. We get the impression that in this matter, and in others too, some authors have not only been influenced subconsciously by the conditioning of their own societies, but have also extrapolated hypothetical Tuareg behavior from behavior sometimes observed among the Tuareg when in contact with their new European rulers.

593 /149 cont./ commands." "Tuareg hospitality is characterized
562 by promiscuity, a sort of traditional prostitution." The truth is entirely different. The origin of Tuareg matriarchy is certainly lost in neolithic customs; ignorance of the process of conception may have been the cause. This familial organization led to exogamy, which tends to disappear; incest is
[835] a crime more terrible than murder. Matriarchy is the guardian of the caste system: the duty of mutual assistance bestows on the warriors (nobles) part of the fruits of others' labor and
[548] gives them ownership of the land. Prostitution does not exist; monogamy is the rule; the woman is respected. "Maternal rights," as L.-G. Richard says, "consist rather of mutual obligations than of prerogatives or advantages." There is no female liberty, for the woman owes herself to her family; in fact, she exercises no rights whatsoever; she transmits them. A custom still practiced, characteristic of matriarchy, is the requirement for the young husband to live a certain time in his wife's camp.

177 Let us repeat that Islam little by little is destroying the
593 matriarchal customs, particularly insofar as succession is con-
622 cerned, for they are increasingly regulated by Moslem practices. Today, the chiefs even desire to leave their power to their sons.

/151/ VI

## Conclusion

000 The Ahaggar is, I believe, the most engaging part of the Sahara -- and I have conveyed neither the picturesqueness of the scenery, the attraction it has for travelers, nor the anguish it sometimes instills in certain souls, when from October to

567 of their ancestors. Ahaggar slaves are perfectly adapted to the desert and possess physical qualities of sobriety much superior to those of their racial brothers /170/ in the Sudan, who have difficulty living there when they are transported from the Sudan.

The Akli is subject to forced labor at the will of his master. He owes all his work to his master and is his property, but he receives a few advantages and can use a few days of work a week for himself.

In the Ahaggar the Iklan are treated perfectly well by their masters, to whom they are quite attached. They share meals with them and sustain with an even temper the good or bad fortune which the camp enjoys. Their children are reared with those of the Tuareg and on the same footing.

They benefit from certain humanitarian rules which do credit to the Tuareg. Thus a slave who is too young or too old cannot be liberated and must be supported by his master.

[428] The Iklan are bequeathed as a heritage; they may be possessors of animals, whose usufruct they then have; but upon their death these animals fall to their masters and not to their own children.

The Imochar, Inislimen, and Imrad have all rights over their slaves. The latter cannot marry without their consent. Generally, 567 when there are a man slave and a woman slave in the same camp, 582 they are married to each other, and the man receives a goat which 583 he gives to his wife as a bride price. If the slave wants to seek a wife for himself and finds one in another camp, he receives nothing from his master and must find the means to pay his wife's bride price by himself; this bride price is commonly fixed at ten goats. The slaves put in charge of keeping the flocks and who are often absent from the camp because of their occupation usually do not [836] marry. "They take their pleasure where they find it," said Father de Foucauld.

565 The Tuareg often take slave women as concubines. There are 567 several advantages to this: first, they have no bride price to pay, 595

517 meal, which is taken very late, and more rarely after the meal if
521 it is to entertain a stranger. Everyone sits in a circle. Each per-
571 son takes a place in the order of his arrival, in such a way as to
533 alternate men and women. When everyone has arrived, they elect a male president and a female president, whose job is to see that the usages and customs of the ahal are respected and, as a joke, /289/ to inflict forfeits on those who bring on themselves the recriminations of the others. Sometimes only a female president is elected, but never a male president alone.

The presence of several girls in a camp is often sufficient
[574] cause for organizing an ahal mixed with asri. The young men come from neighboring camps, always dressed in their dressy clothes. Some of them sometimes come hundreds of kilometers to attend a meeting where they know they will find pretty girls and pleasant distraction. Then one of those present plays the violin. The sourish, plaintive, monotonous sounds which come out of it are quite in harmony with the wild setting made by nature and man. The men accentuate the rhythm by singing "ho ho" on the beat and finally by a hummed accompaniment. And every-
[538 one jokes and tells broad stories, for the poetic part is often of a
522] very doubtful quality, if not made up of more or less vulgar repartee.

Then the violin is silent, and laughter bursts out on all sides.
[832] Men and women make very free contacts and rub noses which is the peculiar form of the Tuareg kiss. These meetings end very late at night, and everyone returns to his camp, not, however, without having made an appointment by a special language of hand gestures to finish these amorous love feasts in a more intimate way.

● 836 The mores of the girls are indeed very licentious, so much so that Father de Foucault stated that the word "virginity" did not exit in Tamashek. (1) "There is no question of keeping the girl

1. Dr. Vermale, Au Sahara pendant la guerre européenne /In the Sahara During the European War/, p. 172.

836 pure until her marriage," said Dr. Vermale elsewhere. "Those are sentiments which the Tuareg do not understand. Thus, as soon as she is nubile, she goes to the ohal and it is not long before she is deflowered. Virginity does not exist and has no representative value in the eyes of the Tuareg." (2) Indeed, the women are

2. Op. cit., p. 171.

more or less easy. Some give themselves to the first comer; others grant their favors to only a small group of friends. To grant them [839 577] only to a single person, however, would be judged in very bad taste and a sign of perversion.

[554] No one finds fault with their free mores, on the condition that they let themselves be courted only by men of a social condition equal to their own. Some women let themselves be courted by slaves and that is considered a shame for them.

842 /290/ One may be astonished that unwed mothers are not more numerous with such dissolute mores. Contraception is com- [833] monly used, and, as Dr. Foley said, effusio seminis inter crura is probably the frequent conclusion of the nocturnal rendezvous after the ahal. (1) These restrictive measures must not be unre-

1. Moeurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar /Ahaggar Tuareg Mores and Medicine/, p. 56.

lated to the low birth rate of the Tuareg, and it is quite possible that the married Tuareg woman continues to practice them.

847 Bearing children out of wedlock and bastardy (agama) are the [848] object of public discredit. The Tuareg rarely practice abortion, but infanticides used to be quite numerous, and no one thought of being offended by them. When a woman finds herself pregnant

The men leave, the women go back into the tents, but 832
the fortunate ones who have succeeded by means of assiduous 836
courtship to touch the heart of their love, will soon come back secretly or will go to the place which has been appointed for them. Let us draw a veil!...

One might wonder what can become of the virtue of 585
young girls with such customs. Almost always it has gone up 836
in the air. But a Tuareg will not pay attention to this detail when it is a matter of getting married. He knows with what to be content: he has often profited by it. It is all the same to him.

The ahal is one of the reasons for late marriages among the 582
Tuareg. Marriage requires expenditures upon which one does 836
not decide until one has been able to acquire a little means, and that is why it is not unusual among the Tuareg to see men marry at the age of forty. With all he finds to entertain him, the Tuareg does not feel the need to get married. This does not mean that many do not marry around twenty-five, but in general a man marries quite late.

Farther on, in the little collection of songs, will appear 000
the qualities which a man must have in order to succeed at the ahal, as well as the kind of songs which are sung there. /Not translated./ /11/

## Chapter V

## The Role of the Woman in Tuareg Society

At every step one sees the influence of the woman in 562
Tuareg society. In Tuareg history, the inheritance, the life, the thought, and the behavior, everywhere her influence is felt.

In the matter of history, it is from her that the Tuareg 173
says he is descended. Thus the nobles of the Ahaggar will tell 562

861 /140 cont./ The child has never been able to have his way in his parents' camp; he has always had to bow to the canouns; if, by chance, he was disobedient, his parents did not hesitate to use corporal punishment -- a few slaps, nothing more; for a more serious fault or for the repetition of an offense, he would find himself tied up like a young goat and condemned to stay in the tent. However, punishments are the exception; a word, a look, suffices. It is not at all good, the Tuareg say, to beat children too much. This training gives the young Targui a proud character, an acute sense of
181 his dignity, and a sometimes disquieting reserve. Absolute obedience to custom makes it necessary to lead a moral life which is perhaps more rigid than a religion could make it. To know a Targui and to predict his behavior is very difficult for a Frenchman, who must sort out what is individual from what comes from the constraint exercised by Tuareg society and then must take into account the coloring that Islam gives to the whole.

836 Soon the time comes when the young Targui may go to the tendi and ahals. It is necessary to say here a few words on sexual problems.

Certain stories have greatly exaggerated the freedom of morals among the Tuareg. The training of the boys, which keeps them very often out of the company of adults, and that of the girls, which ties them to their mother and obliges them to be modest, does not predispose to license.

836 There is no sexual education properly speaking; for a very long time the young girl is ignorant of everything con-
864 cerning conception. Casually, thanks to an older girl companion, she learns the essentials of intimate relations between men and women. The young man is initiated much sooner, for he may easily leave the camp; enlightened by his comrades, he wastes no time in starting an affair with a Negress of the neighborhood. The sexual customs are transmitted in conversations /141/ among the young Tuareg and are observed

836 /141 cont./ as are the other customs; there is one very
864 interesting one, the respect for the Tuareg girl. Contrary to a commonly held opinion, the young girl about to be married is always a virgin (physically) among the nobles and nearly always one among the imrads.

839 In their first youth, the Tuareg behave as do all the children of the world; they practice solitary masturbation, girls and boys using procedures characteristic of the country.
786 The first amorous relations between Tuareg girls and boys take place after celebrations. It is well to describe these celebrations, for accounts of the famous "courts of love" have been much exaggerated.

We have seen that the Tuareg organize a tendi on the
[534] occasion of a family ceremony. The tendi takes its name from the instrument used, the large wooden mortar over which is stretched a skin which has been dampened previously. The women gather around the tendi, and one or two beat out traditional rhythms on the skin, which resonates dully. One of the women chants an endless series of couplets while her companions mark the measure by clapping hands and take up the refrain in chorus. The songs evoke past combats as well as recent events; they vaunt the merits of a camel or those of a person; some are improvised. Widows, divorced women, and young girls take part in the tendi, but married women, with the permission of their husbands, also go. A woman leaves the tendi if one of her parents approaches it.

The songs continue, accompanied by the tom-tom; the men then come to sit behind the singers, listen, and also sing. Each hugs his female companion next to him, but hardly passes the limits of a public flirtation. The tendi continues late into the night while the old people sleep in the tents.

In the daytime the tendi is the indispensable accompani-
526 ment of the ilougan, which may be defined as "a tournament on camel back."

564 The Tuareg, who heartily scorn them because of their obscure origin and servile profession, recognize their good qualities and are happy to profit from them. They also fear them a good deal, for [754] they credit them with supernatural powers of sorcery and magic. Possessors of fire, mistreating the earth and the minerals by beating them, they are placed in a world apart, inhabited by the genii with [751] whom they are likely to enter into relations. Although the Moslem marabouts willingly sell amulets, which the Tuareg prize, the latter do not hesitate, in case of need, to ask the Enaden for amulets in preference.

The Enaden are still more despised because they have no moral principles and willingly serve as spies and traitors; they spy on the Iklan and the wives of their masters and also act as go-between for [837] lovers. Like the jesters in our Middle Ages, they have the right to go anywhere, including among the women. Everyone finds this natural, for this is a right which is all but acknowledged.

Sometimes they take part in raids, and they are reputed to fight [726] bravely, although no one wants to stay beside them during combat, since they seem to possess talismans so powerful that javelins directed toward them deviate /175/ from their route and are apt to strike those [626] nearby. The Tuareg never kill an Enad, for this brings misfortune and the Enad might take revenge from beyond the tomb.

In Sudanese tribes they are called ag'gou (plural, ag'gouten) and 184 sometimes play the part of jesters (griot). Some are musicians and 564 storytellers. This role is not widespread, but it happens that the amenokal of the Tenguéréguif, Chéboun, has several griots attached to his person. They avenge themselves on people who are not [626] generous enough to them by making satirical songs against them to which the Tuareg are often very sensitive.

They are willing to do anything to earn a bit of money, which 564 they spend as fast as they get it. A blacksmith always has his debts, 426 but people give him credit for they know that he will be shrewd 454 enough to repay them one day.

585 accompanied by her women relatives mounted on asses, leaves,
591 followed by the men on camel back, for her new home. There she
[592] is received by the chief and the old women.

While the married couple take refuge in their tent, the company carouses and dances. The festivities begin at sunset and do not end until dawn the next day, when all those present are exhausted.

593 The young women is then a member of her new family, which
[594] she will leave only in case of divorce or the death of her husband. In the meantime, she does not have the right to go visit her parents, but they may come to her camp.

562 Tuareg women keep a great deal of independence in marriage.
593 It is hard to tell whether they are faithful wives or whether they take advantage of their husbands' often prolonged absences to mis-
837 behave. According to some (Duveyrier) their conduct is exemplary; according to others (de Foucauld, Vermale) they leave much to be desired, and the wives continue to practice the light mores learned at the ahal. "Their unique preoccupation," says Dr. Vermale, "is love; having lovers is their only aim." It is certain that former lovers from the lovers' meetings continue to come visit the married women and to praise their charms in the ahal. But it must be explained that the husbands do not show jealousy, which would be in the worst taste, and that this courting seems quite Platonic. It is very difficult to ask questions on this subject, for the Tuareg are careful of their wives' reputations and maintain that they are above reproach.

As for the men, their conduct is proper in their camps, although some do not hesitate to make use of their women slaves. But when they go on caravans and arrive in the centers far from their country, they give free rein to their passion which a long abstinence has made more impetuous.

684 Adultery (aker) of women is often punished by death. The man does justice himself without anyone thinking to reproach him, killing the guilty parties by his own hand.

591 husband are of different clans. A Tuareg camp is usually known, however, by the name of the highest ranking male member of the camp community. Children are normally brought up and continue to live among the group which their parents finally joined on a permanent basis, although boys are sometimes brought up by a maternal uncle. A widowed woman and her unmarried children are usually taken into the family circle of one of her brothers or married sons.

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[835] cerns us here, for even if irregular sexual relations were as general among the ladies of the Ahaggar as some authors would have us believe, they are still confined as a rule to the kinship group of the clan or at least to that of the tribe. But even so we will do well to examine briefly a widespread popular misconception. In point of fact we can probably
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837 generally frowned on. Adultery is probably no more common than it is in most societies where husbands and wives are frequently separated for periods varying from a couple of days to several months. An injured husband
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837 There can be little doubt that the behavior patterns of the Tuareg on such occasions are often different from those which characterize them when they are among themselves.

We must not forget either that irregular sexual activities, before or after marriage, are all but impossible to conceal in the wide open spaces of a desert, whereas it is no trick at all to hide them among the blocks and skyscrapers of great cities like Paris and New York or even in such provincial capitals as Boston and Algiers. All things considered, it seems rather unlikely that sexual laxity is more common among the Ahaggar Tuareg than it is in the urban communities of western Europe and America, at least in cases where husbands and their wives are separated as often and for comparable periods of time.

593 A bride retains full title to all her personal
422 property including livestock, while the husband pays all the family expenses out of his own pocket although his wife may contribute if she feels so inclined. Women are treated
562 with the greatest respect and deference, but they can hold no office nor can they exercise any command beyond the very limited field of their own household affairs, nor can they appear in council or appoint speakers to represent them there. On very rare occasions a noble woman may intervene as an official peacemaker in a quarrel so serious that it might lead to a blood feud if allowed to go unchecked, and this can happen even in cases where the parties to the quarrel are not related to her by either blood or marriage, but only an older woman of very high rank and renowned for her intelligence, strength of character and diplomacy can ever play such a role.

The discerning reader will have noticed that
611 the picture we have just examined is full of gaping holes which cannot be filled in at present for lack of the necessary information. In spite of this we get a distinct impression of a double descent system as defined by Gibson (1956): "the utilization in one society of both patrilineal and matrilineal principles of affiliation resulting in two lineage systems crosscutting each other." Among the Ahaggar Tuareg the patrilineal descent system is "conjunctive" in that it provides channels of interaction between segments of a "disjunctive" matrilineal system which "divides the society

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of 173
Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to 562
arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor
in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down 428
through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds 562
the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé, "
or tribute from the "imr'ad, " or serfs. Not only is the son [611
noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless 565]
of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child, "
but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his
mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her
husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is 562
not customarily allowed in Moslem countries. [171]

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except [576]
as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi, " over
her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, [574
etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances 431]
between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives
her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is [595]
the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" 562
.V] , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, 572
while she gives him something for his personal use. He is,
in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine
embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal
of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while
Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines
which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man [574]
who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the
husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only [837
adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband. 593]

occurs quite often, but most generally on the initiative of the 586
wife, for the husband who gives notice of repudiation is bound to pay her the remainder due on the bride price, while when it is the wife who initiates the break by refusing herself to him and taking refuge with her parents, her husband owes her nothing.

Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and Kel Ahnet, could never keep a wife with him. He divorced very often. Each time he went back to his negresses, whom he held in high regard. Meanwhile, he tried to remarry ( he was [581
seventy to seventy-five years old), but it seems he had some 587]
difficulty, considering his matrimonial past. /19/

## Chapter IX

## Adultery

Adultery, in Tamashek "tikra". O·:+ (from the verb 837
"ouker" O ·: , to steal), is certainly common. 684

The Tuareg may say that in a case of adultery they do not hesitate to kill the woman, but I asked them to cite me such a case which had occurred within the past several years, and they admitted that they could not cite any, adding that this was just because no act in flagrante delicto had ever been established. Others told me that many are satisfied to get [586]
divorced and that some even say no more about it.

585 /145 cont./ Some tribes, in particular the Issakamaren, having adopted many Arab customs, observe the following custom on the day after the marriage: the husband who has not found his wife to be a virgin during the meal breaks the bone of a leg of meat, eats the marrow, blows through the inside, then sticks the two broken pieces in the couscous. In this way everyone knows the affront he has suffered. Later in life, when his wife becomes disagreeable, he will put his fist before his mouth and blow between the fingers, imitating his gesture of the first day. The woman, ashamed, will stop her recriminations. Following another custom less and less /146/ in use, the woman who has found her husband lacking in virility during the wedding night will crown him with her alechou /shawl/, thus showing to the world the impotence of her husband by considering him to be like a woman.

593 562 The woman holds a privileged position in Tuareg society. It is customary to say that the reason for this must lie in the matriarchal organization of the tribes.

Among the Tuareg today matriarchy survives only in a very attenuated form due to the presence of Islam. It must be noted that the woman is absolute mistress in the tent; she gives the orders to the children and the Negroes, and she organizes the daily life; but outside the tent the man commands; he decides on the camp moves, the departures of the caravans, the commercial transactions. The woman's opinion is always taken into consideration; she is guardian of the traditions, [611] and, if she does not possess what we may call civil rights, it is she who transmits them: a Targui will be a noble if his mother is a noble. The right of eligibility to the amenokalat /chiefship of the confederation of tribes/ is given by the women who are directly descended in the maternal line from the ancestor Kella. This transmission of rights by the women constitutes the originality of Tuareg society.

837 Powerful in her home, lived by her husband, respected, the young wife has every chance to be happy. It is rare that

837 /146 cont./ the husband deceives his wife, and if this happens it is far from her when, departed for the Sudan, he remains absent a long time. The Tuareg woman is faithful; those who take a lover are rare. If a husband knew his wife to be unfaithful, simply by hearsay, he could repudiate her, but in the case of flagrante delicto he could kill the guilty pair, or he [684] could bring the case to the attention of the amenokal, who would impose a fine. The deceived wife may leave her husband; in this case she returns to her family, taking her [586] belongings with her. Divorces are rather rare and very ill thought of.

761 Death is not regarded with terror, a whole framework of beliefs strongly colored with Islamism promise the Targui 775 future recompense in the other world. It /147/ seems that charity will be particularly rewarded and selfishness severely punished; the punishments described would be similar to the offense. Extensive investigations would be necessary to sift out all the beliefs concerning death; to distinguish between what is Moslem and what is properly Tuareg would prove to be very difficult.

764 When a death occurs in the tent, each member of the family maintains an attitude of what appears to be very great dignity to our Western eyes. Certainly, it happens that some people cry over the deceased, which is human, but custom would have the tears held back; a man, particularly, would know how to control himself sufficiently not to show his grief.

The body does not remain in the tent long; the women wash it if it is that of a woman; the men wash it in the other case. It is perfumed; its members are laid out in an attitude of rest; then it is wrapped in a shroud (tifit), which is sewed up. During these operations, the tomb has been dug following the Moslem custom. Only men escort the corpse to the grave. After having buried it in the tomb and covered it with earth, they put up stones to mark the place, and each man returns to his tent. There is neither song nor prayer.

565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
567 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are
not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as
[428] his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can
inherit from their father.

565 /171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with
833 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
568 not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that
[842] the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

867 The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
[838 other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found
679] for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed
[272] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any
milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves
[304 first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not
234] hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their
lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar
who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have
deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former amenokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa
ag Amastan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and
the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object
of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or
567 when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally
685 does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense,
the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear
of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes
henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the
same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the
slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice,
according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

584 /143/ There is a language of the hands which supplements the conversation of the ahal; here are several examples. Having taken the woman's hand with fingers interlocked, to place one's thumb against the end of her thumb means: "I desire you very much." To trace a circle in the palm of the hand, pressing the index finger in the center of the circle, is to ask for an intimate union. The woman thus solicited takes the hand of her suitor and traces a line with the back of her index finger going from the wrist toward the fingers, which means: "I refuse." But if having done this, she traces another one in the other direction, it means: "Leave with your friends and come back alone."

584 833 Once alone with his girl friend, the young Targui will continue to pay his court, sometimes platonic, often less so. Putting their faces together, nostril against nostril, they breathe together. This type of kiss is known for the mouth too but is little practiced. Manual caresses follow the kisses. The men often stop at this stage with virgins, for they know how to "recognize a virgin by her walk, her bearing, the firmness of her breasts, and the reflex of her Achilles tendon!" The Tuareg know other caresses which satisfy the senses but respect physical virginity.

● 838 It must be noted that homosexuality, male or female, is unknown among the Tuareg.

839 It is said that bestiality, although very rare, does exist; but supposedly it is practiced as a remedy for venereal diseases.

These sexual customs make it possible to understand the stability of the Tuareg, who, although Moslems, do not suffer from suppressed desires. Rape does not exist, and when a woman refuses a man, he never insists, nor will he show himself jealous of a more successful comrade. Let us add that they are absolutely discreet about their relations with women. It is in these manifestations of the intimate life that one sees the prestige enjoyed by the Tuareg woman.

836 pure until her marriage," said Dr. Vermale elsewhere. "Those are sentiments which the Tuareg do not understand. Thus, as soon as she is nubile, she goes to the ohal and it is not long before she is deflowered. Virginity does not exist and has no representative value in the eyes of the Tuareg." (2) Indeed, the women are

2. Op. cit., p. 171.

more or less easy. Some give themselves to the first comer; others grant their favors to only a small group of friends. To grant them [839 577] only to a single person, however, would be judged in very bad taste and a sign of perversion.

No one finds fault with their free mores, on the condition [554] that they let themselves be courted only by men of a social condition equal to their own. Some women let themselves be courted by slaves and that is considered a shame for them.

842 /290/ One may be astonished that unwed mothers are not more numerous with such dissolute mores. Contraception is com- [833] monly used, and, as Dr. Foley said, effusio seminis inter crura is probably the frequent conclusion of the nocturnal rendezvous after the ahal. (1) These restrictive measures must not be unre-

1. Moeurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar /Ahaggar Tuareg Mores and Medicine/, p. 56.

lated to the low birth rate of the Tuareg, and it is quite possible that the married Tuareg woman continues to practice them.

847 Bearing children out of wedlock and bastardy (agama) are the [848] object of public discredit. The Tuareg rarely practice abortion, but infanticides used to be quite numerous, and no one thought of being offended by them. When a woman finds herself pregnant

836 /141 cont./ as are the other customs; there is one very
864 interesting one, the respect for the Tuareg girl. Contrary to a commonly held opinion, the young girl about to be married is always a virgin (physically) among the nobles and nearly always one among the imrads.

●839 In their first youth, the Tuareg behave as do all the children of the world; they practice solitary masturbation, girls and boys using procedures characteristic of the country.
786 The first amorous relations between Tuareg girls and boys take place after celebrations. It is well to describe these celebrations, for accounts of the famous "courts of love" have been much exaggerated.

We have seen that the Tuareg organize a tendi on the
[534] occasion of a family ceremony. The tendi takes its name from the instrument used, the large wooden mortar over which is stretched a skin which has been dampened previously. The women gather around the tendi, and one or two beat out traditional rhythms on the skin, which resonates dully. One of the women chants an endless series of couplets while her companions mark the measure by clapping hands and take up the refrain in chorus. The songs evoke past combats as well as recent events; they vaunt the merits of a camel or those of a person; some are improvised. Widows, divorced women, and young girls take part in the tendi, but married women, with the permission of their husbands, also go. A woman leaves the tendi if one of her parents approaches it.

The songs continue, accompanied by the tom-tom; the men then come to sit behind the singers, listen, and also sing. Each hugs his female companion next to him, but hardly passes the limits of a public flirtation. The tendi continues late into the night while the old people sleep in the tents.

In the daytime the tendi is the indispensable accompani-
526 ment of the ilougan, which may be defined as "a tournament on camel back."

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551 not bring about any substitution of names for either sex. If the father's name is Mohamed, one would say Anaba ag (son of) Mohamed, or Chékou oult (daughter of) Mohamed. Nominal filiation is therefore patrilinear.

Nicknames are numerous in the Ahaggar. Father de Foucauld tells us that "they are sometimes proper names of persons different from the one already received, sometimes names recalling a physical peculiarity or an event, sometimes meaningless names. A great many people have no nicknames. Among those who do have them, some accept them and others are insulted by them. Sometimes nicknames are temporary, known only to a few intimate friends and quickly forgotten. Sometimes they become so attached to the person that he is never referred to in any other way and his real name falls into oblivion." (2)

2. Dictionnaire abrégé Touareg-Français des noms propres /Short Tuareg-French Dictionary of Proper Names/, p. xv.

842 Conception and nursing. -- As for conception, the Tuareg see in it nothing but the will of God. However, they also establish the causal relationship of sexual intercourse and do not discuss the possibility that a woman can conceive without contact with a man. The existence and role of spermatozoa are unknown, but the Tuareg /285/ recognize the action of the seminal liquid and women practice spraying as a contraceptive measure. Professor [114] Gautier has even spoken of a primitive douche. This apparatus is not known by Tuareg women, and Gautier surely must have confused it with the enema.

841 Menstruation (iba-n-amoud) begins between the ages of thirteen [145] and fifteen years for Tuareg girls and causes them great fright. While they are indisposed they make no intimate toilet and often take no precautions to absorb the flow, which spots their clothing. [183] They also abstain from making prayers as if they were in a state of impurity.

841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
842 a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[788] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old
[782] tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
769 pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout
[431] an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
846 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.
431 Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
862 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his
854 stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
[184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimmiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This
[171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are some-
[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
[826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
85] Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517] ennobles the woman.

As to the girl, a celebration is held as soon as she reaches 881
the age of puberty, that is to say, at the start of her menses,
in Tamashek /6/ "ba-n-amoud" ⵎⵓⵏⴰⵎⵓⴷ (literally,
"cutting of prayer," since during her indisposition the woman [847]
is in a state of impurity and cannot pray). The young girl is [291]
dressed in her prettiest clothes, and on her head is placed a
black veil, "ikerhi" ⵉⴽⵔⵃⵉ, which falls on either side of
her face without hiding it. She also never leaves it off.

If her parents are well-to-do, she will learn to play the 883
amz'ad ⴰⵎⵣⴰⴷ, an instrument which has an important [556]
place in Tuareg life. It is a kind of violin with a single string 534
whose box is made of a large "kabouia," or a dried and
scooped-out gourd, covered with a stretched hide and pierced
with two holes, which is provided with a handle. The string
is made of horsehair, "az'iou" ⴰⵣⵉⵡ, as are the strings
of the bow, "tadjethé" ⵜⴰⵊⵉⵜⵜⴰ, made of a stick bent into
an arc.

It is chiefly an instrument to accompany singing. The [533]
woman slides her fingers over the string without pressing,
while working the bow; she prolongs the final phrases, which
are drawn out.

If a young girl knows how to play, she may shine at the [832]
musical gatherings, where she will be courted.

## Chapter IV

## Musical Gatherings

A young man and a young girl often go to meet together, 533
and this occurs especially in those gatherings which, to be 584
accurate, we will if you permit call "musical gatherings," and 832
which the Tuareg call "ahal" ⵄⴰⵀⴰⵍ, plural "ihallen" ⵉⵀⴰⵍⵍⴰⵏ.

/7/

878 Religious beliefs also interfere with Tuareg stock-breeding and create usages of an irrational kind.
[231] Thus the Tuareg, like other North African peoples, firmly believe in the mystic benevolent power,
[171] or benediction, known as *elbaraka*. This is a power that emenates from God. It is given by God to
[784] man and it cannot act unless certain taboos, or rather religious prescriptions, are followed. The bene-
[783] diction *elbaraka* is more than anything else hurt by impurity. Cleanness is an absolute necessity for
[841] this good force to be sustained in the same way that a man cannot approach God through prayer if
[262] he be unclean. Women are considered unclean during their periods of menstruation and cannot, there-
fore, then pray to God. They are also forbidden to drink the milk of domestic animals which have very
young kids, lambs, or calves, and they must not drink water which has been conserved in newly-
made skin-bags. These taboos are maintained in order not to hurt the benediction given the animals
778 by bringing it into contact with impurity. For the same reason milk taken from animals which have
784 recently brought forth young should not be given to strangers – they might be unclean and harm the
234 *elbaraka*. It is also believed that soil is an impurity dangerous to *elbaraka*, and milk must never be
spilt on the ground. Even when milk-bowls are cleaned with water, this liquid should be poured out
upon plants or stones, and never be spilt on the ground. Should this be done, God will withdraw his
*elbaraka* and the result will be severe periods of drought without milk. I have frequently heard Tuareg
ascribe the lack of rain and the dry pasture – the lack of *elbaraka* – to the fact that somebody had spilt
milk upon the ground. This had caused God to be angry and to withdraw his benediction. Some Tuareg
have also said that *elbaraka* is harmed by a person who blows upon milk. When a man drinks milk
he must not blow away impurities before drinking but must remove them by means of a piece of straw.
*233 In the two groups of Northern Tuareg and also in Ayr it is considered very disgraceful for a person
577 who watches the animals away from camp to drink milk directly from an animal's udder. Some Tuareg
272 say that a man when staying alone among milk-yielding animals should not utilize their milk even if
he performs milking in the usual way. A person who breaks these rules is called *émenkes* or *émelded*
among the Ahaggar Tuareg, *émelded* in Ayr. The Tuareg say that there are some people, and in
particular many slaves, who do not follow this rule, and that they are despised if known to have
broken it. When two or more people are alone with a herd or flock away from the camp they can
freely utilize the animals' milk. And it is very normal for camel herdsmen to live with a herd of she-
camels in isolated places for long periods. They then live almost exclusively on camel's milk taken
from the herd they guard.

272 Certain usages connected with stock-breeding are rationally explained by the Tuareg. Thus when
they heat milk by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221) put into the milking bowl, they claim that this is
done in order that the milk shall not get dirty as would happen were it heated in an ordinary cooking
272 pot. Another custom which by other stock-breeders has been explained as being based upon magic,
262 namely the usage not to drink milk and eat meat at the same time, is also rationally explained by the
Tuareg. They say that there is no taboo on taking these kinds of food together, but it is very unwise
to do so because the mixture will act as a laxative and upset the stomach. Therefore, if a Tuareg has
drunk much milk he will not eat meat shortly afterwards, and if he has eaten meat he will not take
milk for some hours, though he may do so should ample water have been added to the milk. The
*233 Tuareg to my knowledge have no other special customs in connection with stock-breeding and milk
234 than there mentioned

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



## AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND THE PRESERVATION OF CROPS

241/412 The hoe forms the basic agricultural implement in Ahaggar and in Ayr. The type of hoe used in Ahaggar is known as *agelhim*, and it is akin to that in general use among irrigation farmers of the northern oases. It has a very large and heavy iron head provided with a ring for the shaft. I believe that this type of hoe is particularly fitted for irrigation work, but it does not seem to be in general use in Ayr. I have seen it at Iferwan in Northern Ayr where agriculturists have much contact with Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but I have not seen it further south in the Massif where it seems to be unknown. The common type of hoe in Ayr is different; it is named *tagumit* and is hafted by means of a tongue (Fig. [171] 143d). The same type of hoe is widely distributed in Africa south of the Sahara, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest type of iron hoe within the continent (cf. Feilberg 1934, p. 228–278).

241 The hoe is used for agricultural work in general, for digging irrigation canals, making garden beds, and for the preparation of the soil. The hoe is not used for sowing cereals. Sowing in Ayr is known as *anabal* and is performed in the following way:— As many seeds as can be kept between the first and second fingers are pressed a little into the soil, and water is led into the garden beds immediately after sowing. I have myself never watched sowing, but I was told in Ayr that it was frequently done by old women. I think that this is probably connected with the belief in the mystic power known as [278] [841] *elbaraka* so characteristic of all North African peoples. For cereals contain this mystic power, which can be spoiled by unclean women. It is considered harmful to the *elbaraka* blessing if cereals are handled by menstruating women (cf. Westermarck 1926, I, p. 230). The hoe is used for weeding, 241/412 but the agriculturists of Ayr also have a special implement for this particular task. This is known as *elgechwal* and consists of a curved semi-circular iron blade hafted to a short wooden handle by means of a tongue (Fig. 143e). The semi-circular blade is sharpened at its outer and convex side which is pushed against the roots of weeds.

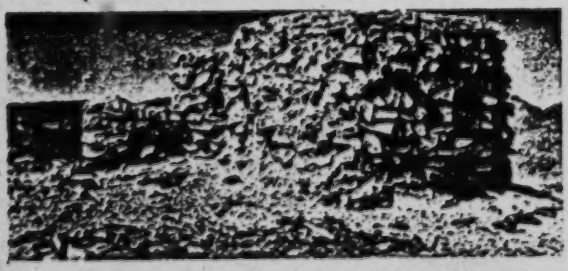
243/414 Various methods are used for the harvesting of crops. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer wheat and barley are always harvested by means of a sickle (*amreh*) (Fig. 143a–b). The sickle in Ayr is known as *elgechwal*, like the weeding implement mentioned above. It is not used for harvesting crops, but for the cutting of annual grasses to be stored for fodder (Fig. 143f). In Ayr both wheat and barley are 245 harvested by drawing the straws from the ground with the hands. In Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer sickles are also used for harvesting dates, while the date-growing agriculturists of Ayr use another method. They do not cut the bunches, but proceed in the following way:— When dates begin to ripen they enclose every bunch in a plaited pouch to protect the fruit from the ravens and other birds. The dates are harvested one by one when they are ripe, while those not yet fully ripe are left to be harvested later. Harvest is done in this manner about once a week until all dates have become ripe. Maize in Ayr 243 is harvested by drawing the plant from the ground with the hand, and this work is normally facilitated by loosening the soil around the roots by means of the hoe. I do not know how maize is harvested in Ahaggar, where this plant is not so widely grown as in Ayr. Everywhere among agricultural people of Ahaggar and Ayr millet and sorghum are cut with a knife (Ahaggar, *elmusi*; Ayr, *ezegiz*) (Figs. 171–172)

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



them. They are lined and covered with mats as in Ahaggar, and though they may be used for the 251
storage of wild seeds they are mainly used for grown cereals and are generally found in or close to 343
gardens. Grain silos built of stones and mud – the *tarassana* type of Ahaggar – are said to occur among the *Kel Ewey* but I have never seen such storerooms in their villages, nor have I met the typical African storeroom built of straw and resting upon poles until south of the Massif in Damergu where they are used by shifting cultivators. Large earthenware containers shaped like cooking pots are used [415] to store vegetable products (cereals) in certain villages, particularly at Iferwan. Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr have the underground storerooms for the preservation of surplus grain and other vegetable products. Cereals to be consumed in the camps (notably millet) are kept in large skin-bags resting [415] upon poles that they may not be damaged by white ants. The Ahaggar Tuareg also preserve cereals in their tents in skin-bags.

Irrigation agriculture is a strenuous task, but it is less influenced by climatic conditions than all 241
other occupations practised in the Sahara. The farmers are not exposed to the same disasters of drought [461] periods as are pastoral Tuareg in the north, though it is said that rain is a direct blessing also to irrigated crops. But cultivated plants are exposed to certain dangers, e.g., locusts, and crops do not always thrive as they should. Bad luck in agricultural activities may in the opinion of the farmers be due to [272] some mystical power or other. It may arise from incorrect treatment of cereals and dates so that they [228] lose their *elbaraka*. Menstruating women, as mentioned above, are dangerous to vegetable food, and [891] this is also true of the fire, for which reason one should never throw date kernels into the flames. The farmers also fear that their crops may suffer damage from the attack of the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and partic- [754] ularly from the attack of the malignant force attached to the "evil eye" or the "evil mouth". To protect their crops the farmers frequently use amulets such as broken pots and skulls of domestic animals [237] (notably of donkeys), which are considered an effective means against the "evil eye" and the "evil mouth" (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 133 f., 160).



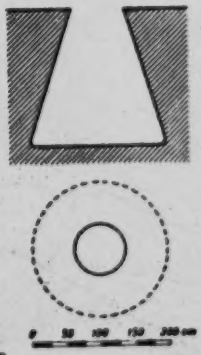



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Fig. 145. Grain silos of the *tarassana* type built of stones and mud. Ahaggar, Abalessa.
Fig. 146. Cross section of a subterranean storeroom for cereals, and the like (*ifend*). Dimensions according to Foucauld: 2.00 m–2.50 m deep, 2.00 m in diameter at the bottom, 0.75 m in diameter at the surface (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 459 f.).

[text continues on p. 209]

565 554 [302] [516] The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant [195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of appearance and language is even more perceptible among the 554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their 562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their 574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society. Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well [533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know- [565] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know- ing how to play the violin.

565 [83] 513] Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently, unions which [842] 582] are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it, [648] and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting itself to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could bring it.

565 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/ [793 871] and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite [651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
567 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are
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833 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
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867 The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
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679] for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

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[272] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any
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234] hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their
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who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have
deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former amenokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa
ag Amastan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and
the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object
of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

567 A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or
when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally
685 does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense,
the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear
of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes
henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the
same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the
slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice,
according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

517 may do this with more or less finesse, but his inspiration will stop there. Only work in leather and wood are definitely the achievement of the Ihaggaren, for they derive from ancient needs and the techniques have been preserved in their hands and not in those of the Enaden.

/282/ Book VI

Social Life

Ancient Cults, Religions, and Beliefs of the Tuareg

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846 On the seventh day after the birth, the woman returns to her husband's camp, accompanied by the women of her family and her brothers, if she has any. The father then sees his child for the first time.

551 not bring about any substitution of names for either sex. If the father's name is Mohamed, one would say Anaba ag (son of) Mohamed, or Chékou oult (daughter of) Mohamed. Nominal filiation is therefore patrilinear.

Nicknames are numerous in the Ahaggar. Father de Foucauld tells us that "they are sometimes proper names of persons different from the one already received, sometimes names recalling a physical peculiarity or an event, sometimes meaningless names. A great many people have no nicknames. Among those who do have them, some accept them and others are insulted by them. Sometimes nicknames are temporary, known only to a few intimate friends and quickly forgotten. Sometimes they become so attached to the person that he is never referred to in any other way and his real name falls into oblivion." (2)

2. Dictionnaire abrégé Touareg-Français des noms propres /Short Tuareg-French Dictionary of Proper Names/, p. xv.

•842 Conception and nursing. -- As for conception, the Tuareg see in it nothing but the will of God. However, they also establish the causal relationship of sexual intercourse and do not discuss the possibility that a woman can conceive without contact with a man. The existence and role of spermatozoa are unknown, but the Tuareg /285/ recognize the action of the seminal liquid and women practice spraying as a contraceptive measure. Professor [114] Gautier has even spoken of a primitive douche. This apparatus is not known by Tuareg women, and Gautier surely must have confused it with the enema.

841 Menstruation (iba-n-amoud) begins between the ages of thirteen [145] and fifteen years for Tuareg girls and causes them great fright. While they are indisposed they make no intimate toilet and often take no precautions to absorb the flow, which spots their clothing. [783] They also abstain from making prayers as if they were in a state of impurity.

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843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

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After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
846 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.
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Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
862 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his
854 stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
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At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This
[171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are some-
[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
851 Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517 ennobles the woman.

836 pure until her marriage," said Dr. Vermale elsewhere. "Those are sentiments which the Tuareg do not understand. Thus, as soon as she is nubile, she goes to the ohal and it is not long before she is deflowered. Virginity does not exist and has no representative value in the eyes of the Tuareg." (2) Indeed, the women are

2. Op. cit., p. 171.

more or less easy. Some give themselves to the first comer; others grant their favors to only a small group of friends. To grant them [839 577] only to a single person, however, would be judged in very bad taste and a sign of perversion.

[554] No one finds fault with their free mores, on the condition that they let themselves be courted only by men of a social condition equal to their own. Some women let themselves be courted by slaves and that is considered a shame for them.

•842 /290/ One may be astonished that unwed mothers are not more numerous with such dissolute mores. Contraception is com- [833] monly used, and, as Dr. Foley said, effusio seminis inter crura is probably the frequent conclusion of the nocturnal rendezvous after the ahal. (1) These restrictive measures must not be unre-

1. Moeurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar /Ahaggar Tuareg Mores and Medicine/, p. 56.

lated to the low birth rate of the Tuareg, and it is quite possible that the married Tuareg woman continues to practice them.

847 Bearing children out of wedlock and bastardy (agama) are the [848] object of public discredit. The Tuareg rarely practice abortion, but infanticides used to be quite numerous, and no one thought of being offended by them. When a woman finds herself pregnant

4: Benhazera--1 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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Part One

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77 /118 cont./ inexplicable repugnance shown by the Tuareg for certain foods or for certain behavior is nothing other than a manifestation of taboos designed to protect them against the spiritual forces loosed by the persons or things in their surroundings.

Perhaps it would be fruitful to study the customs of the Tuareg world in the light of the philosophy of the forces whose principles are set forth by the Reverend Father Tempels in his Philosophie bantoue /Bantu Philosophy/.

/119/ V

## Life of the Individual

128 In closing this survey of the Ahaggar it is well to look briefly at the activities engaged in by the Targui from the day of his birth to that of his death. In following the natural course of a life, we may understand better than from more detailed studies of a particular phase the essence of the life of an individual within a tribe, insofar as it is possible to separate what is individual from what is tribal.

● 844 The young Targui makes his entry into the world in the tent, upon a rug of clean sand from the nearest wadi, sand which is, as we know, practically sterile, the heat destroying all microbes. Before giving birth, the young mother has followed the advice of her aunt or mother; she has walked up and down small hills ever since the first pains in order to "allow the infant to get well placed." As the pains increase, the young woman, now back in the tent, kneels on the sand, buttocks resting on the heels, and knees spread very wide apart; with raised arms she grasps two ropes which hang from the tent stakes. Two women hold her by the waist, encourage her,

844 /119 cont. / advise her. The waters are rapidly absorbed by the sand, which is replaced; then, naturally, without any help from the matrons, the infant emerges to lie on a bed of clean sand, his first cradle. During the delivery, it is good form for the woman to hide her suffering.

[184] /120/ In the noble tribes, with the Kel Rela in particular, the woman who begins to feel birth pains leaves the camp and goes into a sufficiently sheltered ravine, where the sand is very clean. She makes the delivery alone, taking the position noted above, then returns to the camp, holding her baby in her arms. She does not show the least trace of joy at the compliments of the other women. I spoke of this custom of the nobles to a vassal woman, who said to me: "It is true that the nobles do this, but it just swagger." The word she used might better be translated "affectation."

The baby, after being washed, is wrapped in a cotton cloth, preferably an old chèche /a long scarf/, and then laid on a rug near its mother.

846 853 For three days the baby will be given goat's milk with a small spoon, and only at the end of this time will the young mother nurse it. If the mother does not have enough milk, the infant is brought up on goat's milk, unless a woman of the camp can nurse the baby.

846 The new mother rests for seven days and receives no man, except for her near relatives, but nearly all the women get up from bed from the second day on. In the noble tribes most under the influence of Islam, the women observe a retreat of 40 days.

846 751 The newly delivered woman affords a particularly defenseless prey for the Kel es Souf. In order to protect herself and her infant against the attempts of the genii, she burns taharadjellé in the tent and goes outside the asaber /that is, outside the mats which line the tent and encircle the space before the tent/ only when armed with a knife, which, it seems, is very effective against evis spells. On the subject of superstition, it

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



614 582 Many Tuareg claim that their tribe is an endogamous unit, but to-day there is no tribe that is exclusively endogamous. All tribes intermarry more or less with people of other tribes. The most endogamous tribe is perhaps the *Dag Ṛali* of which the half known as the *Dag Ṛali* proper has contracted a few marriages with people of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe) while the other tribal half known as the *Imessiliten* has intermarried with the *Ikechchemaḍen* tribe.

591 The rules of residence are based upon both patrilineal and matrilineal principles as follows:—

(1) When the wedding ceremony is over the newly-married couple will stay one year in the camp of the wife's parents. This one year's stay in the camp of the wife's family has nothing to do with bridal service. Very frequently the husband does not live continuously with his wife throughout this period, but lives in his parents' camp and pays occasional visits to his wife. Some Tuareg say that the main reason for this one year's stay in the camp of the wife's family is due to the fact that about one year is needed to prepare tent, household implements, and the like for the newly-married couple (cf. p. 460 f., 472). The stay in the wife's family camp is not always strictly one year, but may be [844] longer or shorter. But if the wife is pregnant she must leave her parents' camp to bear her child in the camp of the husband's family.

(2) After the one year's stay the couple will settle with the husband's father to remain with him as long as he is alive.

413 422 *233

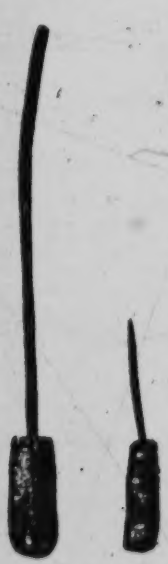

Fig. 102a–b. Hafted irons (*ẓadel*, pl. *ẓadelen*) to burn property marks into the skin of camels and donkeys.

a. Camel iron. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. Dimension: 0.466 m. (N.M. G. 5251).

b Donkey iron. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ṛali* tribe. Dimension: 0.202 m. (N.M. G. 5250).

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846 /120 cont./ is said that a woman will never again bear children
751 if, during a delivery, she turns the foetal pouch inside out. Another cause of sterility is being hit by the tail of a uran.

845 Deliveries generally take place very well, but there are accidents, the percentage of which is not known; either the infant dies or puerperal fever is contracted. The Tuareg are completely powerless against such accidents resulting from childbirth.

852 /121/ On the seventh day of his life, the infant receives
553 his name, the occasion for a celebration to which all the close relatives are invited. A great meal is served, followed by tendi and ilougan. It is an honor to be the godfather and to give the infant its name; this honor is paid for in gifts (alouf). When several persons are candidates for the position of being the godfather, the winner is chosen by drawing straws.

854 As do all the mothers of the world, the Tuareg woman coddles her baby, covers it with caresses, is touched to hear it cry, and sings it to sleep: "O hare, bring slumber, my baby won't sleep." As soon as he can walk, the infant gets to know the camp; he wanders around the tents, plays with the black servants near the fire, learns to talk, and remains very attached to his mother, who, day after day, teaches him the customs. The daily observation of the customs makes the child very obedient and very respectful.

857 At about the age of five, the young imrad Targui beings
868 to follow his brothers or sisters as they tend the goats. The young nobles follow their Negro shepherd. The child thus learns to know his country, the paths, the plants, the animals, and their habits. An old servant will point to a track on the sand and say: "Here's your father's camel, and this track is that of the female camel that just gave birth."

During his comings and goings across the pastures, the desert life engraves itself on his memory. He notes the track of the gazelle on the sand and that of the cheetah in pursuit. "Look," says the old slave, "in spite of the slyness of the

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[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
85 Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517 ennobles the woman.

844 /119 cont. / advise her. The waters are rapidly absorbed by the sand, which is replaced; then, naturally, without any help from the matrons, the infant emerges to lie on a bed of clean sand, his first cradle. During the delivery, it is good form for the woman to hide her suffering.

[184] /120/ In the noble tribes, with the Kel Rela in particular, the woman who begins to feel birth pains leaves the camp and goes into a sufficiently sheltered ravine, where the sand is very clean. She makes the delivery alone, taking the position noted above, then returns to the camp, holding her baby in her arms. She does not show the least trace of joy at the compliments of the other women. I spoke of this custom of the nobles to a vassal woman, who said to me: "It is true that the nobles do this, but it just swagger." The word she used might better be translated "affectation."

The baby, after being washed, is wrapped in a cotton cloth, preferably an old chèche /a long scarf/, and then laid on a rug near its mother.

846 853 For three days the baby will be given goat's milk with a small spoon, and only at the end of this time will the young mother nurse it. If the mother does not have enough milk, the infant is brought up on goat's milk, unless a woman of the camp can nurse the baby.

846 The new mother rests for seven days and receives no man, except for her near relatives, but nearly all the women get up from bed from the second day on. In the noble tribes most under the influence of Islam, the women observe a retreat of 40 days.

846 751 The newly delivered woman affords a particularly defenseless prey for the Kel es Souf. In order to protect herself and her infant against the attempts of the genii, she burns taharadjellé in the tent and goes outside the asaber /that is, outside the mats which line the tent and encircle the space before the tent/ only when armed with a knife, which, it seems, is very effective against evis spells. On the subject of superstition, it

846 /120 cont./ is said that a woman will never again bear children
751 if, during a delivery, she turns the foetal pouch inside out. Another cause of sterility is being hit by the tail of a uran.

845 Deliveries generally take place very well, but there are accidents, the percentage of which is not known; either the infant dies or puerperal fever is contracted. The Tuareg are completely powerless against such accidents resulting from childbirth.

852 /121/ On the seventh day of his life, the infant receives
553 his name, the occasion for a celebration to which all the close relatives are invited. A great meal is served, followed by tendi and ilougan. It is an honor to be the godfather and to give the infant its name; this honor is paid for in gifts (alouf). When several persons are candidates for the position of being the godfather, the winner is chosen by drawing straws.

854 As do all the mothers of the world, the Tuareg woman coddles her baby, covers it with caresses, is touched to hear it cry, and sings it to sleep: "O hare, bring slumber, my baby won't sleep." As soon as he can walk, the infant gets to know the camp; he wanders around the tents, plays with the black servants near the fire, learns to talk, and remains very attached to his mother, who, day after day, teaches him the customs. The daily observation of the customs makes the child very obedient and very respectful.

857 At about the age of five, the young imrad Targui beings
868 to follow his brothers or sisters as they tend the goats. The young nobles follow their Negro shepherd. The child thus learns to know his country, the paths, the plants, the animals, and their habits. An old servant will point to a track on the sand and say: "Here's your father's camel, and this track is that of the female camel that just gave birth."

During his comings and goings across the pastures, the desert life engraves itself on his memory. He notes the track of the gazelle on the sand and that of the cheetah in pursuit. "Look," says the old slave, "in spite of the slyness of the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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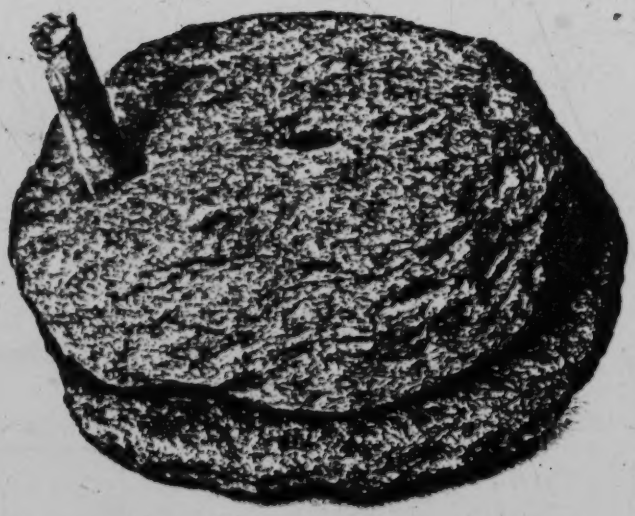

Fig. 181. A hand-mill (*asirt*) manufactured by blacksmith of Tamanrasset and used at that village by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs. Dimension: 0.52 m in diameter (upper stone), 0.32 m in diameter (lower stone). (N.M. G. 5840a–b).

262 and red pepper which is much esteemed by the Tuareg, but not always available. The pounded flour
252 of these vegetables is boiled with water and butter and thus turned into a kind of thick sauce which is poured out over the porridge to be eaten.

The porridge type known as *esink* or *echink* can be made from other seeds besides millet. Porridge made from barley, which is then also pounded in the mortar, is highly esteemed by the Tuareg who also use various wild seeds and roots for this dish. Plants utilized for porridge are mentioned above in the description of collecting (p. 175 ff.). Porridge is also made from dried dates pounded in the millet mortar; this dish is common among the Northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg have a particular type of porridge which I have never tasted. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *barela*, and is made from pounded seeds of various cultivated plants (wheat, barley, maize, or millet). The seeds are pounded in the mortar but their husks or pods are not removed by winnowing. Otherwise the preparation of this dish is similar to that of ordinary porridge.

262 The Ahaggar Tuareg distinguish between very thick porridge called *tawaway* and very thin porridge
846 or thick gruel known as *aliwa*. The latter dish is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the same name, and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



among them it is eaten in particular by women during the first seven days after the birth of a child, 262
that is during the period from birth to the name-giving ceremony known as *imawen*. It is considered 846
dangerous for a woman to eat too much vegetable food during this period, while meat is believed to make her recover quickly after birth. The same diet is followed by young boys after their circumcision 262
until their wounds have healed. These dietetic rules no doubt have their root in [illegible]gical beliefs. 304

All Tuareg esteem liquid or semi-liquid dishes which are consumed mainly during the very hot 262
season. A very common dish of this type is that named *aṛejira* (Ayr) or *aṛehara* (Ahaggar). It is made from flour of millet, sorghum, dates, and crushed cheese mixed with water, the main substance being pounded millet. The dish is served in a large wooden bowl or in a calabash, and is eaten and drunk [412] by means of a large wooden ladle called *tamulat* (Fig. 194a–b). This liquid dish is a substitute for [251] milk during the hot season when milk is scarce, and it is frequently used for food on journeys, in which case it is transported in the form of dough-like balls to be dissolved in water just before eating.

The terms *aṛejira* and *aṛehara* are used for various liquid or semi-liquid dishes, or beverages, for which the Tuareg have particular names according to their composition. Dates are less important for liquid dishes in Ayr than among the Northern Tuareg to whom dates form an important part of food. Very important in the north is a dish known as *talekessat*; it is made from dried dates pounded [252]

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Fig. 182. Tuareg women turning a hand-mill (*azzir*). In the foreground a woman shaking flour into a wooden bowl. Note the ornamented patches of leather hanging down from the tent sheet. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

[text continues on p. 247]

836 pure until her marriage," said Dr. Vermale elsewhere. "Those are sentiments which the Tuareg do not understand. Thus, as soon as she is nubile, she goes to the ohal and it is not long before she is deflowered. Virginity does not exist and has no representative value in the eyes of the Tuareg." (2) Indeed, the women are

2. Op. cit., p. 171.

more or less easy. Some give themselves to the first comer; others grant their favors to only a small group of friends. To grant them [839 577] only to a single person, however, would be judged in very bad taste and a sign of perversion.

No one finds fault with their free mores, on the condition [554] that they let themselves be courted only by men of a social condition equal to their own. Some women let themselves be courted by slaves and that is considered a shame for them.

842 /290/ One may be astonished that unwed mothers are not more numerous with such dissolute mores. Contraception is com- [833] monly used, and, as Dr. Foley said, effusio seminis inter crura is probably the frequent conclusion of the nocturnal rendezvous after the ahal. (1) These restrictive measures must not be unre-

1. Moeurs et médecine des Touaregs de l'Ahaggar /Ahaggar Tuareg Mores and Medicine/, p. 56.

lated to the low birth rate of the Tuareg, and it is quite possible that the married Tuareg woman continues to practice them.

847 Bearing children out of wedlock and bastardy (agama) are the [848] object of public discredit. The Tuareg rarely practice abortion, but infanticides used to be quite numerous, and no one thought of being offended by them. When a woman finds herself pregnant

847 under these circumstances, she usually goes to visit a relative and tries to hide her pregnancy. No one is taken in, but nobody says
[754] anything. She goes to see a marabout who, for a rather high price, makes a few mysterious signs before the sinner, writes a few words in Arabic on a small board, washes the writing, and gathers the water in a gourd for the woman to drink. In case these practices are successful (?), a second sum identical to the first one is paid.
[278] If not, the woman tries several mixtures, generally with a base of adjerdjir (Cassia abavata), and in case the results are still negative, the baby is simply strangled when it comes into the world. Although these mores are still more or less in force, they seem some-
[797 848] what reduced by Islamization, and unnatural mothers are sometimes punished severely.

174 The ahal seems to have existed in ancient North African Libyan tribes. Herodotus mentioned the community of women among the Nasamonians, and the ahal is, in fact, only a derived and evolved form of it, if one could call it evolved.

582 Marriage. -- With the existence of such easy mores, it is understandable that young men and women do not care to marry early. Women rarely marry before the age of twenty, and men, before thirty.

584 Although the girl is free with her body, as we have seen, she still needs her father's authorization to marry. On the other hand,
[593] however, it is rare for a husband to be imposed on her or for her to be married before puberty, as is the custom among the Arabs.

/291/ Mates are chosen in the lovers' meetings which form a sort of trial marriage. The suitor must ask the young girl's father through one of his parents or through a religious person if there is one in the region.

[184] Among the Ihaggaren everyone is informed of the suit, but in Aïr this is not the case; there the mother and the family of the girl are informed only when everything is arranged. If the
[587] woman has already been married, her father's permission is no longer necessary.

161 /108 cont./ cited above. The birth rate is not very high, but it is greater than the low death rate. Infant mortality is practically impossible to verify.

In 1948 there were 1, 028 men counted for 1, 202 women,
162 which would seem tosupport the widespread opinion that relative to other peoples there are more men than women among the Tuareg. One must be careful, however, not to make this type of affirmation without having previously examined all the causes that may produce such a state of affairs. It is almost certain that the Tuareg control their birth rate. The
162 chief of the tribe may forbid births or may recommend them
847 according to the number of members of the tribe. This measure seems wise in a country which can scarcely support the existing population. The situation is such as it would be if the Tuareg had found, empirically, the ideal number of individuals able to be supported by their soil and were wise enough to try to maintain this number.

The men interrogated on this subject avoided the question, saying that this concerns their women and that they do not know the methods employed. The women are equally reticent, not to say mute.

/109/ Some of them claim to abort by drinking decoctions of plants. The French doctors know the qualities of these plants and think that this medication would be insufficient to produce the desired effect. By being patient, I was able to learn a method which, although dangerous, should be effective; I got this information from only one woman and have never been able to confirm it, as it is difficult to touch on these subjects directly. The women supposedly use a probe that they make from a "stone" called "azarif" ("cheb" in Arabic), which is of alum; they make this the size of a slate pencil.
162 This probe dissolves after having produced a mechanical effect.
165 It is likely that many women fall victim to these maneuvers,
847 for in questioning the Tuareg one discovers a rather high female mortality rate at a relatively young age. Perhaps we may see

162 /109 cont./ here the cause of the greater proportion of men
165 to women.

●847 The most widespread disease in the Ahaggar is undoubtedly malaria, most often contracted in Sudanese territory and
164 spread in the Ahaggar, where anopheles are numerous in the agricultural centers and at all the permanent or temporary water points. Professor Rémy of the faculty at Nancy has found them in the Tarahouaout tiggert /outflow of water/, at the In-Ezzebib guelta /pool/; the doctor, Captain Galan, has collected them in the Afilal guelta at an altitude of nearly 2,000 meters.

Pneumonia and its pulmonary complications wreak the most havoc among the Tuareg; this is due to the winter cold, which is ill borne in too thin clothes.

[73] In 1949 an epidemic of measles took on the aspect of a catastrophe through its pulmonary consequences.

Venereal diseases are very common among the harratin, rarer among the Tuareg.

A distressing disease of the agricultural centers is trachoma, aggravated by every type of conjunctivitis transmitted by the flies that swarm and cluster around the /110/ eyes of children. The Tuareg seem immune to diseases of the eyes; they rarely have trachoma.

Smallpox, once so common and so feared, has practically disappeared, thanks to systematic vaccination. It was an unusual event to see two Tuareg return from the Sudan in April, 1951 covered with smallpox eruptions.

Tuberculosis does not seem to have appeared; skin tests made at the Tamanrasset school are negative for children born in the Ahaggar. There seems to be no manifestation of cancer.

Although the Tuareg are abundantly provided with lice, above all in the winter, as are the harratin, a case of typhus has never been known. Typhoid is unknown, as are diphtheria, tetanus, and poliomyelitis.

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 295. Tuareg women drumming and singing at a feast. The drum is a large mortar provided with a piece of goat-skin. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tahlt* tribe.

The same is perhaps the case with

583 bride-wealth which does not constitute a proper purchase. The payment of bride-wealth may have an economic aspect, but its main function is most probably not a purely economic one.

583 What then is the function of bride-wealth? I believe that this question can be answered if we consider
586 Tuareg feelings towards bride-wealth in case of divorce. If a man divorces his wife because she has
848 committed adultery, he has the right to the return of his bride-wealth animals, but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that it is improper to claim the return of bride-wealth whatever the cause of the divorce, and the Ayr Tuareg consider it most disgraceful. It would be shameful, utterly improper in fact, if a dissolved marriage has been blessed with children. For children born of a marriage dissolved by the husband taking back his bride-wealth are very much like *ashu*, that is "a child born out of wedlock". Bonds of kinship in respect of illigitimate children are not socially recognized. These children are looked down upon even by their true kinsmen. Illigitimate children therefore have great difficulty in getting married, and this is also true of their mothers. Nobody wants to marry a woman who has children born out of wedlock, while a divorced woman having one or several children can easily get re-married.

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Middle East M1



T 583 586 848 It would seem from all this that the main function of bride-wealth is to create a social bond between two families that intermarry, and is a sort of confirmation of the social rights of the children. When bride-wealth is not taken back at the dissolution of a marriage the marriage is not socially dissolved. When two people divorce they continue to have each other's relations as in-laws with whom they have joking and avoidance exactly as if they were still married, and the children continue to have their full rights within both families.

The fact that bride-wealth is the outward symbol of the persistence of in-law relations when a marriage is dissolved, discloses the true meaning of bride-wealth, which is more clearly understood when we consider that children of a dissolved marriage, provided the bride-wealth is not claimed back, will belong to the father as long as he is alive, and not to the mother. The mother and her family obtain no right to the children until their father has died. It is further stated by some Tuareg that a child of a dissolved marriage from which bride-wealth is taken back will have no right to inherit its father. Bride-wealth is a symbolic expression of the new bonds established between two families at a marriage, and it places children of this marriage in the father's family until his death, and secures their inheritance rights in respect of the father and his paternal kin. All this seems to agree with the fact that the Northern Tuareg vassals, who give bride-wealth in goats, do not always hand over all animals at a marriage. The full payment may be postponed for some years, but should be accomplished before the birth of a child.

T [171] The explanation I have given of the functional position of Tuareg bride-wealth would seem to be in agreement with Radcliffe-Brown's account of the functional position of the *lobola* payments of South Africa. Radcliffe-Brown says that one of the chief functions of *lobola* is to fix the social position of the children of a marriage. If the proper payment is made by a family, then the children of the woman who comes to them in exchange for the cattle belong to that family (Radcliffe-Brown 1952, p. 30). This is also stated by Krige (cf. Krige 1937, p. 113).

M 582 The functional position of Tuareg bride-wealth should perhaps also be viewed in the light of recent investigations on the function of bride-wealth in Middle Eastern societies, where preferential marriage is that to a father's brother's daughter. This preferential marriage type has been explained in different ways by different authors. Westermarck says that marriages with a father's brother's daughter are popular because they keep the property in the family, and especially popular in shereefian families, because they preserve the blood pure (Westermarck 1914, p. 53). The argument that marriage with a father's brother's daughter keeps property within the family has been recognized also by Granquist (cf. Granquist 1931, p. 78), and by many other anthropologists. But this argument is valid only when Koranic law is observed, which is not always the case (F. Barth 1954, p. 170; cf. Murphy & Kasdan 1959, p. 17).

Wellhausen observed that marriage with a paternal cousin served the purpose of strengthening the kinship tie within the family, and he believed that marriages contracted within a village had the function of solidifying relationships between its inmates (cf. Westermarck 1914, p. 56). Quite recently this viewpoint has been taken up and reformulated by F. Barth who states that marriage with a father's brother's daughter plays a prominent rôle in solidifying the minimal lineage as a corporate group in factional struggle (F. Barth 1954, p. 171), while Murphy and Kasdan, who refer to Barth's study

174 Matriarchy, in fact, goes back to the times when primitive man had no exact notions on the causes of childbirth.

For, "it seems," Gautier continues, "that primitive man attributed all birth to parthenogenesis and could only imagine a conception which was immaculate. He saw no ineluctable connection between caressing and gestation. Although he practiced fertilization by instinct, he had no clear idea of this. The word 'father' had no sense for him, and consequently the children could only group themselves around the mother." (2)

2. La conquête du Sahara, p. 190.

On the other hand, since rules of marriage had not yet been established in that period, it was impossible to seek out paternity. It is from this state of things that filiation by the uterine branch is derived. With the totemic beliefs to be found in lower civilizations, the matrilocal system found still another reason for existence. It was linked with exogamy, preventing unions between the closest relatives and between people of different castes, and making incest impossible.

171 In certain primitive Australian groups, /152/ the study of which
601 helps us understand the evolution of societies, there is a system of kinship by classes of kin that is found among the Tuareg and the peoples of the Sudan. It was defined by Morgan, and groups in the first degree brothers, sisters, and cousins; in the second degree the father, mother, and their siblings; in the third degree the grandparents with their siblings, etc.

174 In matriarchy, the natural protector of the child is the brother of his mother. In the same way the obligation for the husband to live with his wife's family is connected with matriarchy. This
591 custom is practiced in the Ahaggar, where the husband must live
[85] one year in the camp of his parents-in-law, this time being shortened when the young wife has borne a child. When a woman becomes
768 the widow of a man who does not belong to her tribe, she rejoins her tribe and takes her children with her.

844 the child is in a good position; she also rolls her on the ground to put the child in place if need be, but she never makes a vaginal exploration.

845 If the birth does not go normally, the midwife may ask the [75] marabout's help. The latter comes and stands outside the tent, giving verbal advice but never intervening personally; he cannot go near the parturient woman.

844 To give birth the woman squats down on her knees and braces herself on the center stake of the tent. Generally /283/ the baby falls on a layer of fine sand which has been prepared for that purpose. The midwife immediately cuts the umbilical cord, washes the baby in warm water, and makes him cry by pinching him to make sure he is alive. Then the mother takes him, puts a bit of her milk in [85] his nostrils, stretches his nose so that it will be long and narrow, and presses his head between her hands to give it an elongated shape. [174] This custom is certainly a vestige of cranial deformation, which is no longer practiced among the Tuareg but which was formerly common among the Egyptians.

As soon as the father learns of the birth of the baby, he has a sheep butchered and sends it to the wife's camp. The sheep is meant 846 to feed her and the people who have assisted her. The woman is made to absorb a great deal of meat bouillon. Sometimes the new mother gets up two or three days after confinement.

851 The birth of a boy is welcomed with more joy than that of a girl. In the first case, all the people, men and women, come to con- [842] gratulate the mother, but if it is a girl only the women come to [852] see her. During this visit the women often put yellow ocher under their eyes and around their mouths to keep away the bad genii which [751] are always supposed to prowl around in tents where a newborn baby has just arrived.

846 On the seventh day after the birth, the woman returns to her husband's camp, accompanied by the women of her family and her brothers, if she has any. The father then sees his child for the first time.

841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
842 a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[788] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old
[782] tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
769 pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout
[431] an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
846 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.
431

Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
862 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his
854 stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
[184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimmiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This
[171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are some-
[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

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[826] the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
[851] Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517 ennobles the woman.

4: Benhazera--1 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Book One

The Tuareg in their Private and Public Life

Part One

The Tuareg in their Private Life

Chapter I

Birth. Childhood

In Tamashek, birth is called "tiouit" +?+. There is no 844
special observance to note concerning the birth of a child
among the Tuareg. However, there is greater joy if it is a [842]
boy. People come to congratulate the parents and, seven days 851
later, the latter serve a more or less lavish feast, depending
on their means, the feast being preceded by the recitation of
the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran). Those present who do [788]
not know Arabic limit themselves during this recitation to
holding their open hands together like a book. It is on this [533]
day that the child is given its name.

On this subject, I think I should note that especially 551
among the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe of the Ahaggar), many [565]
children were given the names of wild beasts or animals.

Examples of Men's Names

Amellal, addax, meha /?/
Abeggui, jackal
Amayas, cheetah
Akhou, wild animal

553 852 Naming the child. -- It is then that the child is named. A choice is made among several names by drawing straws. In the tribes of the Aïr, when there is a dispute over the choice of a name, each of the parties present brings a small goat and secretly gives it the preferred name. The mother, who does not know who has donated each goat, chooses the one she likes and has it slaughtered. [574] The child must then bear the name which had been given the goat for the occasion. Then a meal is served to the people of the camp [431] and to the guests, and a present is given to the marabout if one came.

[302] The same day the newborn's hair is cut for the first time, and the marabout places an amulet around his neck.

551 /284/ The names given to children are quite varied and sometimes very whimsical. They observe customs like those of the American Indians, and so the parents take into account certain fortuitous circumstances which surrounded the birth. We have seen a young girl who bore the name of Tédigrès, meaning "hail," because there was hail at the moment she came into the world. Others bear the names of animals such as Ănaba, the panther; Ăbagui, the jackal; Acotey, the jerboa; Tinirt, the antelope; Ăhenkatt, the gazelle, etc.

[177] Because of Arab influence, the Tuareg have adopted many names taken from the Bible and Arabized, e.g., Moussa from Moses, Firhoun from Pharaoh, Younès from Jonas, etc.

They also bear very ancient names which come to them through tradition and whose meaning and origin they are ignorant of: Akhamouk (masc.), Amastane (masc.), Yklou (masc.), Chékou (fem.), Tinguelous (fem.). (1)

1. This name may come from the Latin angelus.

From then on the child has his father's name joined to his and keeps it all his life. There are no family names and marriage does

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852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
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868 the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
857 which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
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291 ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good ad-
[431] vice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

4: Benhazera--3 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter II

## Circumcision

In Tamashek, "azemhoud-n-baradhen" (circumcision of children) from the verb "ezmahad" , to circumcise. 304 852

There is no set age for circumcision; generally it is carried out after the age of five.

The operator is summoned to the amazar' (douar), and all the people present take part in the operation, carried out as follows:

The operator holds the foreskin with a bit of "saâf" (djerid or palm leaf) and cuts it with a well-sharpened knife. To cicatrize the wound, it is dusted with leaves of atle (Tamarix articulata) and skins of dried pomegranates ground to powder. Then it is washed with camel urine, and all painful contact is avoided by means of splints held by strings fastened behind the back. [278] [237]

Then there is a feast: a sheep's throat is cut, and it is eaten by the guests.

## Chapter III

## Puberty

In Tamashek, "tamendjott" . As soon as he is of an age to fast, that is to say, as soon as he has reached puberty, the boy begins to wear the "tidjelmoust" veil which he will never leave off thereafter. 882 291

846 /120 cont./ is said that a woman will never again bear children
751 if, during a delivery, she turns the foetal pouch inside out. Another cause of sterility is being hit by the tail of a uran.

845 Deliveries generally take place very well, but there are accidents, the percentage of which is not known; either the infant dies or puerperal fever is contracted. The Tuareg are completely powerless against such accidents resulting from childbirth.

852 /121/ On the seventh day of his life, the infant receives
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854 As do all the mothers of the world, the Tuareg woman coddles her baby, covers it with caresses, is touched to hear it cry, and sings it to sleep: "O hare, bring slumber, my baby won't sleep." As soon as he can walk, the infant gets to know the camp; he wanders around the tents, plays with the black servants near the fire, learns to talk, and remains very attached to his mother, who, day after day, teaches him the customs. The daily observation of the customs makes the child very obedient and very respectful.

857 At about the age of five, the young imrad Targui beings
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During his comings and goings across the pastures, the desert life engraves itself on his memory. He notes the track of the gazelle on the sand and that of the cheetah in pursuit. "Look," says the old slave, "in spite of the slyness of the

539 /137 cont./ under the eyes of the bandits, who regarded with stupefaction the man who, having hewn a piece out of the mountain, defied them from the vantage point of the breach.

Thus ends this story of Elias. Others concerning this hero must exist, but they are buried in men's memories.

One may still admire Elias' exploit: the breach in the [823] Adriane is a landmark of Tamanrasset, and the boulder that was hewn from the mountain rests eight kilometers from there in the In-Zaouen wadi, where it has remained planted, a reminder of the hero's valor.

852 Thus, observing nature, listening to the old stories, the 304 young Targui grows up and forms his opinion. At the age of six or seven years, he undergoes circumcision: "agadam." The relatives gather for a big meal on this occasion.

857 From the women, the young boy learns to sew cloth and leather. He makes toys from old rags; these are usually camels 868 in stylized forms, sometimes having real artistic value. Toy in hand, he races with his comrades to see whose camel is the swiftest. Girls and boys alike make dolls dressed in the Tuareg style; they play camp, paying visits, drinking tea, and striking camp. The young boys carve greatly stylized camels on flat stones or on goat jawbones cut in two.

A favorite amusement consists in mounting an ass and making it gallop, which is not accomplished without numerous falls in the beginning. However, it is the camel which haunts the child; his father has /138/ already let him ride for a circle around the camp, but the little boy wants to be master of his own mount, to guide it across the fallen rocks of the nearby mountain, then to break into a fast trot on the plateau bordering the wadi but not beyond, for he would be seen from the camp and would risk a severe scolding for having taken a camel to amuse himself. Nevertheless, his parents know how it is, for they did the same thing themselves when they were young, but the "canoun" must be applied.

841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
842 a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[788] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old
[782] tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
769 pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout
[431] an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
846 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.
431

Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
662 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his
854 stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
[184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimmiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This
[171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are some-
[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
857 Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517 ennobles the woman.

844 /119 cont. / advise her. The waters are rapidly absorbed by the sand, which is replaced; then, naturally, without any help from the matrons, the infant emerges to lie on a bed of clean sand, his first cradle. During the delivery, it is good form for the woman to hide her suffering.

[184] /120/ In the noble tribes, with the Kel Rela in particular, the woman who begins to feel birth pains leaves the camp and goes into a sufficiently sheltered ravine, where the sand is very clean. She makes the delivery alone, taking the position noted above, then returns to the camp, holding her baby in her arms. She does not show the least trace of joy at the compliments of the other women. I spoke of this custom of the nobles to a vassal woman, who said to me: "It is true that the nobles do this, but it just swagger." The word she used might better be translated "affectation."

The baby, after being washed, is wrapped in a cotton cloth, preferably an old chèche /a long scarf/, and then laid on a rug near its mother.

846 For three days the baby will be given goat's milk with a
853 small spoon, and only at the end of this time will the young mother nurse it. If the mother does not have enough milk, the infant is brought up on goat's milk, unless a woman of the camp can nurse the baby.

846 The new mother rests for seven days and receives no man, except for her near relatives, but nearly all the women get up from bed from the second day on. In the noble tribes most under the influence of Islam, the women observe a retreat of 40 days.

846 The newly delivered woman affords a particularly defense-
751 less prey for the Kel es Souf. In order to protect herself and her infant against the attempts of the genii, she burns taharadjellé in the tent and goes outside the asaber /that is, outside the mats which line the tent and encircle the space before the tent/ only when armed with a knife, which, it seems, is very effective against evis spells. On the subject of superstition, it

513 No one has a bed except the aménokal, who owns one of the Hausa
[352 177 643] type; this model has also been adopted in a certain number /227/ of Kel Oui /Owey/ camps. (1) The man and woman each sleep on

1. Contrary to what has been said, the bed is not Tuareg but Hausa. Its use is spread among the sedentary people of Aïr, Damergou, and Sokoto, and it is made by Hausa smiths.

his or her own side of the tent, the boys with their father and the girls with their mother.

•854 There are no cradles for babies among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and young children are placed on a skin or on blankets. Sometimes a hemispheric wicker frame is put over them and covered with a cloth to cut off the light or protect them from sandstorms.

The Kel Aïr and the Tenguéréguif have little cradles which are suspended from the top of the tent.

354 Fire. -- In front of each tent there is a hearth, generally made of three stones. It is not intended for cooking purposes, but rather for warmth in the evening after the sun has gone down when all the people gather in the shelter of the asaber, which is unrolled in an arc in front of the tent. The flame warms up hearts and [272] bodies and synthesizes family and friendship. Sometimes a container of water is placed on the three stones to heat in order to make tea.

343 The cooking fire is set apart, generally some three or four
354 meters from the tent, in the shelter of a little stone wall in order to protect it from the wind.

We have not been able to find any myth on the origin of fire
372 among the Tuareg. According to them it was created by God,
773 who gave it to man to cook food. Iblis (Satan) wanted to seize the secret of how it was made, and God punished him by creating

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[517] ennobles the woman.

551

Anr'eroubou, lion
Ahar, lion
Eknissi, hedgehog /4/
Akouti, rat
Amadjour, camel
Amder', giraffe, etc.

Examples of Women's Names
Tamerouelt, hare
Tahenkatt, gazelle
Tinirt, mohr antelope
Tamer'ouant, cowrie shell
Tadar'ine, grains (of wheat, barley, etc.)

In the course of this study there will be found many proper names of men and women which might give rise to interesting comparisons with names used among other Berber tribes of North Africa.

The Tuareg child is brought up heedlessly, with the 854
negresses' children. It is chiefly the negress who takes care of him. He lives out-of-doors, often quite naked or hardly dressed, and his body is toughened early. During the nursing period the negress makes a kind of hammock out of an old haik, the two ends of which are fastened to tree branches or to the tent pegs, and this kind of cradle is called "taoulioula" (from the verb "eouilaouel" , to swing).

While he is still very young, barely seven years old, the 857
child is employed as a shepherd and acquits himself very well at his task.

Then, as soon as possible, he is perched on a mehari [492
(racing camel), for he must know his regular mount thoroughly. 868]
Young Harendou, an orphan of the Aoulimmiden /Aulliminden/, taken in by Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal of the Ahaggar, was already an excellent meharist at the age of ten. At his side he wore a "takouba" (saber) larger than himself of which he was very proud. /5/

291 /103 cont./ occasions. The "ra'ki" is another veil, as large as the tabarikant and made of wool, but white; it is also very rare.

The Tuareg woman does not wear a sarroil but a kind of knee-length skirt, a simple piece of cloth tied around the waist, called "assedjebès." Young girls begin wearing assedjebès when they are nubile.

The woman wear ighatimen for footgear, carry tera, and all have a taralabt slightly different from that of the men. The iremdan is often carried without a case. In winter the tabrok (dokkali) is also a feminine garment.

[854] All of the young children are naked; later they put on the blue gandurah; the boys have a sarroil toward the age of eight or nine. At about fifteen, they begin to wear the veil.

## Food

262 The Tuareg are particularly frugal eaters, and their condition of life does not predispose them to a finely prepared cuisine. Tuareg food has nothing about it to flatter the tastes of a gourmet. The few /104/ dishes palatable for a Frenchman have been borrowed from the Arabs and will not be mentioned here. [177]

The basic elements of the Tuareg diet are: millet, milk, and dates. Millet (enelé) comes from the Sudan or is harvested in the Ahaggar as a summer crop; the latter, whose grain is smaller, is better liked but is insufficient in quantity.

252 Millet (the "bechena" of the Arabs) is crushed with a pestle and winnowed to keep only the white flour. This flour is sometimes eaten just as it is after crushing: this is the "tibik" used on the trail by the hurrying cameleer, and it is sometimes used even in camp.

Also called tibik is a more complicated preparation: millet is crushed, winnowed, then washed and put in a tarahout. Heated pebbles are buried in the grain until it become slightly cooked or rather roasted. The progress of the

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6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MA25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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38. Young Targui and his black servant at Ideles.

[p. 226]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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[184] Fig. 9. Vassal woman with her child straddling over the right hip. The Tuareg generally carry their children in this way though certain Ayr Tuareg have adopted the Sudanese fashion of carrying children on the back. Ahaggar, the *Agub-en-tehlé* tribe.

544 have expressed as their opinion that the blacksmiths originally constituted a fair-skinned Tuareg
144 population who mixed with black-skinned Sudanese people like so many true Tuareg. It is interesting
564 that Tuareg blacksmiths have a peculiar language of their own known as *ténet*. This language has
198 unfortunately never been studied. It is used by the blacksmiths mainly as a secret language spoken when they do not want other people to understand them, whereas blacksmiths use Tuareg (*tamachek*) as their family language. The Ayr Tuareg consider the *ténet*-language an invention of the blacksmiths.

302 For festive occasions, some women bear paintings on their faces, white or ocher dots above the bridge of the nose, under the [517] cheeks, and on their chins. These paintings have only an aesthetic nature, or so it seems.

304 751 All Tuareg, men and women, have two or three small linear scars on their foreheads and temples, and the indigo from their clothing which is often inlaid there gives them the appearance of tattoos. They are incisions made for medico-magic reasons when [855] the children are very young to protect them from headaches and convulsions.

[856] It also seems that this custom contributes to make them strong and making them walk very early. (1)

1. De Foucauld, Textes en prose /Prose Texts/, p. 64.

757 Medicine and surgery. -- If we now turn our attention to medicine and surgery among the Tuareg, we shall observe that their knowledge is not very extensive and has nothing singular about it.

753 In their minds the Tuareg classify sickness in two categories: those which are the result of an external action, visible and determinable, and those whose origin cannot be explained by any causal link. The former are treated with appropriate medical treatments, the latter by magic procedures.

757 The medical procedures, which belong rather to surgery, are clearly empirical. A few of them serve for a quantity of ills. They chiefly include bleeding and applying heat. In bleeding, the operator relieves congestion in the diseased part; in applying heat, he limits the pain, at the same time relieving congestion.

278 [177] The Ihaggaren have a whole stock of drugs which they borrowed from the Sudanese. These are roots, plants, and seeds which grow in the Sudan and in which the Tuareg have a great deal

757 polished and whose other end is inserted in a small goatskin water
[413 bottle which holds the liquid to be injected. During the operation
237] one presses on the bag so as to make the liquid penetrate, while
the patient has his head down and his feet attached to a tree. The
[278] enema is generally composed of water, butter, and ground afasso
roots. When it is a question of giving an enema to a young child,
[855] the mother fills her mouth with water and, putting her lips against
the anus, blows the liquid with all her might.

/264/ Chapter 8

Dress. Adornment.

291 Clothing. -- The portrait of the Tuareg is now well known.
Draped in a long, dark-colored blouse, belted at the waist, and with
his head surrounded by a black veil placed in the shape of a
haumier /?/, he makes a silhouette as majestic as it is mysterious
[1192] when he is mounted on his slender mehari. Hanging from the
saddle, as well known as the man, is the broad antelopeskin buckler.

The Tuareg, even though they are poor, are very natty. Although they have only sordid rags, they always are able to wear them with good taste and to keep a proud and dignified attitude under all circumstances.

The costume for men is the same in all confederations. It is made up of: 1) a very full pair of trousers, drawn in at the waist by a cord of braided leather; the leg is nipped in at the instep /sic/ and blouses over it so that it sometimes drags the ground; 2) a big, very full blouse, formed of a rectangular-shaped piece of cloth, sewn by a stitch at the four corners, and provided with an opening in the middle to let the head go through; it descends to the knees

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852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
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[431] ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good advice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

857 /123 cont. / uran made the camel run until it fell completely
868 exhausted and refused to budge. The man almost died of
825 thirst while following the tracks of his animal. When he found it the first thing he did, even before drinking, was to let the uran go."

855 Upon re-entering the tent at night, tired from running about during the day, his imagination full of his discoveries, the child settles down in front of the fire, whose flames execute a marvelous dance for him. His eyes close as Venus, "she who sold her father to have beauty," sinks on the horizon.
[264] This does not please the mother; the child must eat, and one eats late in the tent, for the slaves must milk the camels and goats before making supper. She awakens her son, draws him to her, covering him with a dokkali to protect him from the cool of the night, and then begins to tell tales of the past.

/124/ These stories, which make up Tuareg folklore,
539 tend to disappear. Many young people do not know them; one must ask the old Tuareg men, those who miss the days of the raids, or, preferably, the women, who in all ages have been the keepers of tradition.

Some of these stories are fables peopled by the animals of the Ahaggar or the Sudan; sometimes they express a moral, but that is rare. Others are amazing tales in which monsters and genii harass men; often a hero succeeds in vanquishing them. These stories are very long; they contain instruction in the customs, and I think they bear a message from distant ancestors. This message, sometimes stylized, truncated, or embellished by the oral transmission, deserves to be studied; in order to do this, as many as possible of these tales should be collected before they are forgotten.

Here is the story of the jackal and the dob, as it was told to me by one of my pupils, a Targui of noble stock.

1: Lhote--66a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Plate XI

The inside of a tent. The baggage is hung from the tent poles. Very young children play on the ground, where a thick layer of fine sand has been placed.

Kel Ahaggar women, especially the Imrad women, often ride on the backs of asses. One of them has just met two friends, with whom she is exchanging news on the maharists who have gone far away.

302 For festive occasions, some women bear paintings on their faces, white or ocher dots above the bridge of the nose, under the [517] cheeks, and on their chins. These paintings have only an aesthetic nature, or so it seems.

304 All Tuareg, men and women, have two or three small linear 751 scars on their foreheads and temples, and the indigo from their clothing which is often inlaid there gives them the appearance of tattoos. They are incisions made for medico-magic reasons when [855] the children are very young to protect them from headaches and convulsions.

[856] It also seems that this custom contributes to make them strong and making them walk very early. (1)

1. De Foucauld, Textes en prose /Prose Texts/, p. 64.

757 Medicine and surgery. -- If we now turn our attention to medicine and surgery among the Tuareg, we shall observe that their knowledge is not very extensive and has nothing singular about it.

753 In their minds the Tuareg classify sickness in two categories: those which are the result of an external action, visible and determinable, and those whose origin cannot be explained by any causal link. The former are treated with appropriate medical treatments, the latter by magic procedures.

757 The medical procedures, which belong rather to surgery, are clearly empirical. A few of them serve for a quantity of ills. They chiefly include bleeding and applying heat. In bleeding, the operator relieves congestion in the diseased part; in applying heat, he limits the pain, at the same time relieving congestion.

278 The Ihaggaren have a whole stock of drugs which they [177] borrowed from the Sudanese. These are roots, plants, and seeds which grow in the Sudan and in which the Tuareg have a great deal

844 the child is in a good position; she also rolls her on the ground to put the child in place if need be, but she never makes a vaginal exploration.

845 If the birth does not go normally, the midwife may ask the [751] marabout's help. The latter comes and stands outside the tent, giving verbal advice but never intervening personally; he cannot go near the parturient woman.

844 To give birth the woman squats down on her knees and braces herself on the center stake of the tent. Generally /283/ the baby falls on a layer of fine sand which has been prepared for that purpose. The midwife immediately cuts the umbilical cord, washes the baby in warm water, and makes him cry by pinching him to make sure he is alive. Then the mother takes him, puts a bit of her milk in [856] his nostrils, stretches his nose so that it will be long and narrow, and presses his head between her hands to give it an elongated shape. [174] This custom is certainly a vestige of cranial deformation, which is no longer practiced among the Tuareg but which was formerly common among the Egyptians.

As soon as the father learns of the birth of the baby, he has a sheep butchered and sends it to the wife's camp. The sheep is meant 846 to feed her and the people who have assisted her. The woman is made to absorb a great deal of meat bouillon. Sometimes the new mother gets up two or three days after confinement.

851 The birth of a boy is welcomed with more joy than that of a girl. [842] In the first case, all the people, men and women, come to con- [852] gratulate the mother, but if it is a girl only the women come to see her. During this visit the women often put yellow ocher under [751] their eyes and around their mouths to keep away the bad genii which are always supposed to prowl around in tents where a newborn baby has just arrived.

846 On the seventh day after the birth, the woman returns to her husband's camp, accompanied by the women of her family and her brothers, if she has any. The father then sees his child for the first time.

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
[412 an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
302] period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of Tagant and Hodh.

291 Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
855 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
[556] girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated for either the boy or girl.

The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
868 the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
● 857 which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
[162] milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
[212] Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
[145] when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
291 father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
[131] ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good advice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

551

Anr'eroubou, lion
Ahar, lion
Eknissi, hedgehog /4/
Akouti, rat
Amadjour, camel
Amder', giraffe, etc.

Examples of Women's Names
Tameroueit, hare
Tahenkatt, gazelle
Tinirt, mohr antelope
Tamer'ouant, cowrie shell
Tadar'ine, grains (of wheat, barley, etc.)

In the course of this study there will be found many proper names of men and women which might give rise to interesting comparisons with names used among other Berber tribes of North Africa.

The Tuareg child is brought up heedlessly, with the negresses' children. It is chiefly the negress who takes care of him. He lives out-of-doors, often quite naked or hardly dressed, and his body is toughened early. During the nursing period the negress makes a kind of hammock out of an old haik, the two ends of which are fastened to tree branches or to the tent pegs, and this kind of cradle is called "taouliouia" (from the verb "eouilaouel" , to swing). 854

While he is still very young, barely seven years old, the child is employed as a shepherd and acquits himself very well at his task. 857

Then, as soon as possible, he is perched on a mehari (racing camel), for he must know his regular mount thoroughly. [492 868] Young Harendou, an orphan of the Aoulimmiden /Aulliminden/, taken in by Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal of the Ahaggar, was already an excellent meharist at the age of ten. At his side he wore a "takouba" (saber) larger than himself of which he was very proud. /5/

4: Benhazera--17G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter X

## Games

Children play a game with a ball, "tekerikera", O·:O·:+, which they hit with curved sticks /20/ ("iggaten tekerikera, " they hit the ball). Two camps are formed and the ball must be made to go into the opposing camp. 526 857

But their greatest amusement is to make out of clay little sticks and stones, all kinds of animals and people, which they call "isounar" O|⊙ . Thus they make a mehari with its saddle, a camel with its young, a horse, etc., or they may make a mehari with a man on it, "aknar" O|·: , or a woman in her bassour, "taknart" ⊕|·:+ ; here are a bride and groom. These young sculptors, it seems, are very skillful. 524 532 857

Sometimes they hang a swing, "taoulioula", ||:||:+ , on a tree. 524 857

291 411 526

Armed Conflict between Aziouel and Tacha
(Taïtoq Tuareg) (First Stage)

846 /120 cont./ is said that a woman will never again bear children
751 if, during a delivery, she turns the foetal pouch inside out. Another cause of sterility is being hit by the tail of a uran.

845 Deliveries generally take place very well, but there are accidents, the percentage of which is not known; either the infant dies or puerperal fever is contracted. The Tuareg are completely powerless against such accidents resulting from childbirth.

852 /121/ On the seventh day of his life, the infant receives
553 his name, the occasion for a celebration to which all the close relatives are invited. A great meal is served, followed by tendi and ilougan. It is an honor to be the godfather and to give the infant its name; this honor is paid for in gifts (alouf). When several persons are candidates for the position of being the godfather, the winner is chosen by drawing straws.

854 As do all the mothers of the world, the Tuareg woman coddles her baby, covers it with caresses, is touched to hear it cry, and sings it to sleep: "O hare, bring slumber, my baby won't sleep." As soon as he can walk, the infant gets to know the camp; he wanders around the tents, plays with the black servants near the fire, learns to talk, and remains very attached to his mother, who, day after day, teaches him the customs. The daily observation of the customs makes the child very obedient and very respectful.

857 At about the age of five, the young imrad Targui beings
868 to follow his brothers or sisters as they tend the goats. The young nobles follow their Negro shepherd. The child thus learns to know his country, the paths, the plants, the animals, and their habits. An old servant will point to a track on the sand and say: "Here's your father's camel, and this track is that of the female camel that just gave birth."

During his comings and goings across the pastures, the desert life engraves itself on his memory. He notes the track of the gazelle on the sand and that of the cheetah in pursuit. "Look," says the old slave, "in spite of the slyness of the

857 868 /121 cont./ cheetah, which was working forward at a crawl, the gazelle sensed its presence and leaped away. Here is where the cheetah pounced, see how deep the prints are; he leaped five times but could not catch the gazelle, which was a large male." The young Targui raises his head and shows his joy in learning that the gazelle was saved, for after his lightninglike leaps the cheetah could not outrun the gazelle. "But you," says the slave, "when you have a rifle, you will approach the gazelle as the cheetah did, against the wind, and you will not miss him.

"These pretty patterns on the dune are the work of the khanfous. /122/ This morning he went back in his hole under that rock. Be careful in lifting the stone, for the khanfous often is the slave of the scorpion; it is even said that he is the scorpion's father. Be careful when you see that track there, it was made by the viper; let's follow it.... Here's where it ends in that cluster of chabrok. Get a rock," the old servant says, "I'm going to set the brush on fire." The chabrok crackles as it blazes, and soon the hiss of the reptile is heard as it leaves its hole, numbed. The child strikes; this is his first hunt.

In this way the desert reveals its secrets each day. That green line ending in a red point there on the rock is "matarter," the poisonous lizard. He nods his head up and down, as if he were saying a prayer to the sun. He must not be touched, for his bite is like lightning. The large dob, covered with scales, whose enormous tail is armed with spikes, will be a toy for the child who catches it, provided he is not bitten, for the dob never lets go, and the finger would have to be amputated. If by luck the young Targui has captured a female, he can eat her eggs, a treat for the children. "The stomach of the dob was full of water," he remarks to his slave. "That [825] is because it's Friday, and the dob only drinks on Friday," says the latter. "Even if there is no water about, even if it doesn't rain, each Friday God sends the dob his ration. When

857 /122 cont. / you want to keep a dob to play with the next day,
868 tie him with a cord, but never put him in a sack that has held dates or sugar, for he would die."

857 Living in constant contact with nature, the young Targui
868 comes to know its secrets; each of his observations teaches
825 him; he is curious about everything that lives and moves about him. His slave, who follows him, protects him, and loves him as a father, explains everything he sees with the words and images of a simple soul, embellishing the old themes of the country. "The black and white bird following us, flying from rock to bush, is 'moula-moula.' You must not kill him, because he brings good luck to those he escorts; besides, he is a messenger -- each time he comes close to you and cheeps, he wants /123/ to tell you a friend is coming, or warn you about losing something, or alert you against a viper crawling toward you. 'Moula-moula' knows all, and he tells it to men, but you must understand his language; there are many in the Ahaggar who understand his messages. You must learn to speak 'moula-moula.'

"The other day you were afraid when you heard the huff of that big lizard you wanted to catch to play with as with a dob; it was a uran. It has a thin tail, but it is more dangerous than the big tail of the dob. When a uran lashes a man, the mark stays in his flesh forever, and it is not good for a Targui to capture a uran, for it is said that a uran was the uncle of the first mother of the Tuareg. That is why it gets mad when one of its own people makes fun of it. On the other hand, it is afraid of the Negroes and runs from us, because it knows that we eat it. Don't try to catch a uran; I once knew a Targui who wanted to go against the custom. It was a summer day in the middle of the Tanezrouft; he caught a uran, put a cord around its neck, and tied it to his camel. He got down and let go the bridle of his mount -- for what reason, I do not know -- and at that moment the uran lashed the camel with its tail, making it trot off at great speed. Still whipping, the

857 /123 cont. / uran made the camel run until it fell completely
868 exhausted and refused to budge. The man almost died of
825 thirst while following the tracks of his animal. When he found it the first thing he did, even before drinking, was to let the uran go."

855 Upon re-entering the tent at night, tired from running about during the day, his imagination full of his discoveries, the child settles down in front of the fire, whose flames execute a marvelous dance for him. His eyes close as Venus, "she who sold her father to have beauty," sinks on the horizon.
[264] This does not please the mother; the child must eat, and one eats late in the tent, for the slaves must milk the camels and goats before making supper. She awakens her son, draws him to her, covering him with a dokkali to protect him from the cool of the night, and then begins to tell tales of the past.

/124/ These stories, which make up Tuareg folklore,
539 tend to disappear. Many young people do not know them; one must ask the old Tuareg men, those who miss the days of the raids, or, preferably, the women, who in all ages have been the keepers of tradition.

Some of these stories are fables peopled by the animals of the Ahaggar or the Sudan; sometimes they express a moral, but that is rare. Others are amazing tales in which monsters and genii harass men; often a hero succeeds in vanquishing them. These stories are very long; they contain instruction in the customs, and I think they bear a message from distant ancestors. This message, sometimes stylized, truncated, or embellished by the oral transmission, deserves to be studied; in order to do this, as many as possible of these tales should be collected before they are forgotten.

Here is the story of the jackal and the dob, as it was told to me by one of my pupils, a Targui of noble stock.

539 /137 cont. / under the eyes of the bandits, who regarded with stupefaction the man who, having hewn a piece out of the mountain, defied them from the vantage point of the breach.

Thus ends this story of Elias. Others concerning this hero must exist, but they are buried in men's memories.

One may still admire Elias' exploit: the breach in the [823] Adriane is a landmark of Tamanrasset, and the boulder that was hewn from the mountain rests eight kilometers from there in the In-Zaouen wadi, where it has remained planted, a reminder of the hero's valor.

852 Thus, observing nature, listening to the old stories, the 304 young Targui grows up and forms his opinion. At the age of six or seven years, he undergoes circumcision: "agadam." The relatives gather for a big meal on this occasion.

857 From the women, the young boy learns to sew cloth and leather. He makes toys from old rags; these are usually camels 868 in stylized forms, sometimes having real artistic value. Toy in hand, he races with his comrades to see whose camel is the swiftest. Girls and boys alike make dolls dressed in the Tuareg style; they play camp, paying visits, drinking tea, and striking camp. The young boys carve greatly stylized camels on flat stones or on goat jawbones cut in two.

A favorite amusement consists in mounting an ass and making it gallop, which is not accomplished without numerous falls in the beginning. However, it is the camel which haunts the child; his father has /138/ already let him ride for a circle around the camp, but the little boy wants to be master of his own mount, to guide it across the fallen rocks of the nearby mountain, then to break into a fast trot on the plateau bordering the wadi but not beyond, for he would be seen from the camp and would risk a severe scolding for having taken a camel to amuse himself. Nevertheless, his parents know how it is, for they did the same thing themselves when they were young, but the "canoun" must be applied.

857 /138 cont./ When, by chance, the camp is near a guelta, the child may frolic in the water, the favorite summer sport.

If two large camps are near each other, joint games very
857 soon are organized. Sometimes a kind of hockey is played
526 with a leather ball stuffed with goat's hair. The ball is hit with a cudgel taken from a tahla; sometimes, to the delight of the spectators, hand-to-hand fights break out, with the first of the two antagonists to fall to the ground being declared the loser. As the children get excited, veritable battles take place between the two camps; it is war. Sticks and stones enter the game; trickery and force are used. The battle stops at night or when the first child is hurt, but custom requires that nothing be said to the parents, above all nothing of the origin of an injury; the child who did that would lose his honor, and parents are so slow to understand!

857 The little girl prepares for her task as mistress of the house at the side of her mother. She sews in collaboration with the
868 women, who never work individually. She is taught how to cut fine leather thongs and how to plait them; while she works she is taught the traditions of which she must be the fierce guardian later on, as she often will have to recall them to the men, who, always on the move, have a tendency, through lack of use, to forget the true Tuareg "canouns."

During their play, the children learn tifinagh writing
868 from the older ones; they trace words in the sand, then phrases. But it is in the evening before bed that their mother will give more precise lessons in spelling the words they have acquired. Thus, gradually, /139/ the child learns to read and write his language; he will never have great facility in it, but that is due to the difficulty of the method of writing.

868 Every Targui knows the mnemonic aid for remembering
211 the letters of the tifinagh alphabet; it is the following phrase: "Fatimata oult Oghanis, tagueltenit mraou issen edssedis; tedjehenet ouart thouadis," which may be translated: "Fatimata, daughter of Oghanis, whose bride price (to be paid) is 16

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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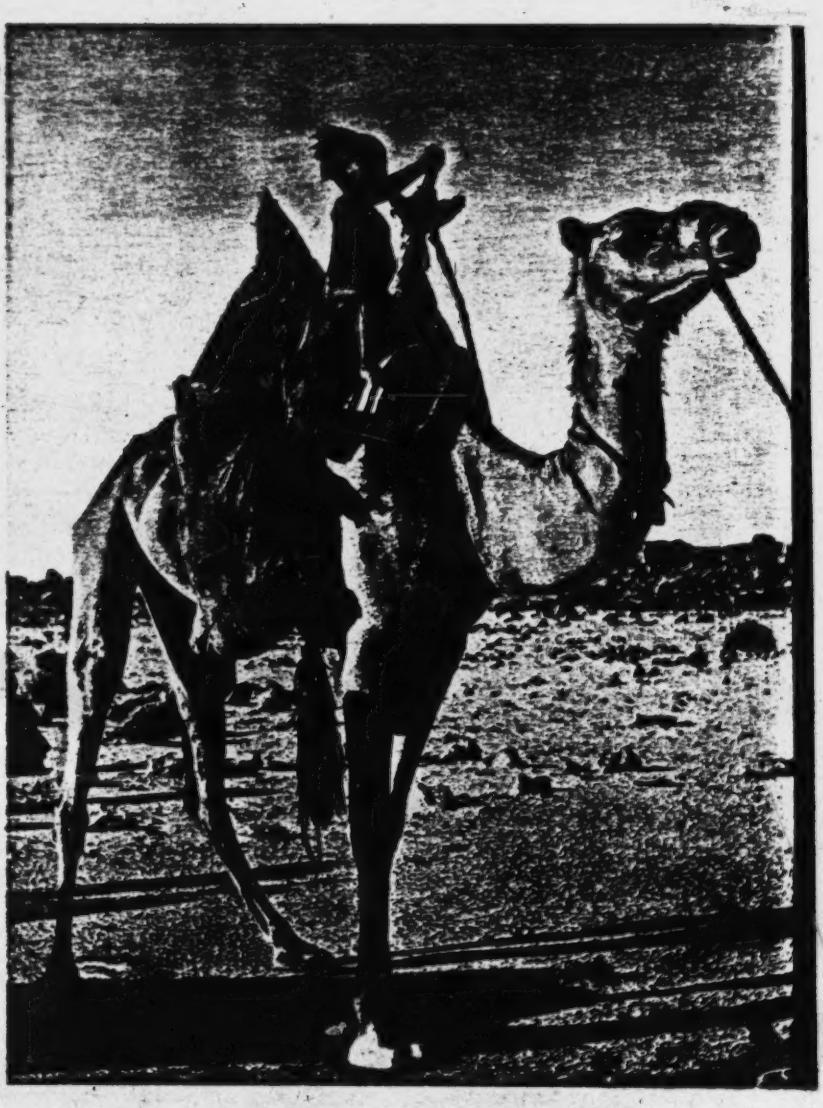

44. An infant Targui plays among the Dag Rali.

[p. 232]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 683 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer; while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

233 436 682

| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *tilgad*, or *chét awétay* | (one year old) | 10 | *tibeydegin* | (white) |
| 10 | *tilusin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *titlarin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *tekkenifadden* | (3 years old) | 10 | *tizeggerin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiruyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *tibhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chét exsin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *tilemlarin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chét okkoz* | (6 years old) | 10 | *tizerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *timesseḍas* | (7 years old) | 10 | *timengelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chét tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 | *tikewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tireggamin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *tizerrafin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *tiwinarin* | (white cornea) |

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 565 524 237 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[Text continues on p. 104]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 80. Tuareg boy with his toy camels of cut stones. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

Fig. 81. Tuareg boy playing camel-riding on a rock. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ahnet* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525



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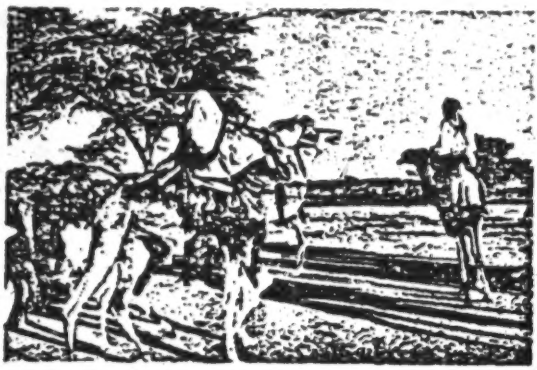

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afagay* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Iyawiken*.

●857 Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-
233 games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain
[524] domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from
[565] cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among
vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

884 Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton
[291] used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-
[291] cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the
[411] young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle
*[492] it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is
[817] now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both
[132] sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and
*[492] the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love.
[565] The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered
[533] qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they
[431] will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured
[531] skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle cloths, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

526 In a ceremonial ride termed *ihajan* (*ihagan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other
*492 feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their
695 own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where
[512] the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented
[533] camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



361 621 *akasa* period when there is green annual pasture, but the large camps have no co-operative functions and no particular leader. The small camps join together to form big camps because their members are linked to each other by bonds of kinship, and consequently like to come together.

361 221 Most of the year the Ayr Tuareg live in very small camps around wells, and certain camps remain on almost the same spot throughout the year. However, most camps move about in the *akasa* period, and later, at the end of the rains, many camps move southwards and westwards to the salt plains of Azawaq.

## DIVISION OF LABOUR IN STOCK-BREEDING

462 Before we consider other activities, we shall briefly describe the division of labour in stock-breeding according to sex.

462 565 [567] In all Tuareg groups noble women do very little work. They engage in a few very esteemed crafts such as embroidery, neat decoration of leather work, and in the north they cut ornamented milk-bowls from wood. The true domestic duties of a noble household are performed by slaves. This to some extent is also true of other social classes among the Northern Tuareg, while the Ayr Tuareg vassals have very few slaves nowadays. But even in vassal camps among the Northern Tuareg women have their duties and engage in all kinds of domestic work, also in stock-breeding. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg the division of work in stock-breeding can be seen when one enters a tent of a vassal camp:—

462 *233 942 [565]

One half of the tent (the left part) is occupied by the woman and contains such implements as are connected with tanning, leather-work, cooking, butter- and cheese-making, and generally all implements connected with the breeding of goats, sheep, and donkeys. The other half of the tent (the right part), occupied by the husband, contains saddles and all other objects connected with camels. The tending of goats, sheep, and donkeys is the task of women, while camel-breeding is the business of men.

462 *233 [857] Before initiation Tuareg boys may be occupied with herding goats, sheep, and donkeys, but when they have adopted the veil they should preferably take care of camels only. There are, however, a few occasions where men engage in tasks connected with goats and donkeys:—

Goats like any other animal can be killed only by adult men, who also undertake the skinning and partition of the meat.

Castration of he-goats and rams may be done by men, but it is said that it is also performed by women.

When goats suffer from certain diseases they may in a few very special cases be taken care of by men. Thus when a goat has broken a leg and wooden splints are applied to the fracture this is generally performed by the husband of the household to which the animal belongs.

When goats and sheep are lost in the desert they may be searched for by men mounted on camels.

On the whole there are not many situations where the assistance of men is needed in tending goats and sheep, and most men have so little to do with goat-breeding that they do not know the exact meaning of many colour terms for goats.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



catching wild donkeys in the mountains around the valley of Anu Mekkeren. The method is not used for proper game animals. 224

(7) A pulling and a throwing snare are both known as *tuṛuni*. They are said not to be used for hunting, though commonly employed to catch wild donkeys and domestic animals which have gone astray; cf. p. 108 f.

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*tawchit*) provided with a noosed rope (*tuṛuni*) attached to a stick. This is used for gazelle and bigger game animals in isolated places rarely visited by representatives of the administration. According to Buchanan, the spiked wheel-trap is used for ostriches in the plains south of Ayr (Buchanan 1921, p. 117 ff.). Large traps of this type are also used for giraffe by certain hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 453).

(9) The torsion trap (*tenderbat*) akin to that of Ahaggar. It is used for big game animals, notably for barbary sheep.

(10) Snares (*tazek*, pl. *t'izagin*) made from strips of dum palm leaves are used for guinea fowl and other edible birds. They are generally set near water where birds come to drink. Little boys of the negroid *Imeggedezen* of Agadez also make snares of hair to catch small birds (Fig. 118). [223] [257]

These are the hunting methods known to the Ayr Tuareg, who do not engage much in hunting with the exception of the *Kel Tamgak* mentioned above. Most Ayr Tuareg refuse the small types of game and beasts of prey, and reject not only the *aṛata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.), but also the smaller lizzard known in Ahaggar as *aggezzeram*, in Ayr as *emekkechchu* (*Uromastix acanthinurus*), though it is claimed that the latter is eaten among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The two lizzards do not play any part in Tuareg mythology – the *aṛata* lizzard is greatly detested by the Ayr Tuareg who kill it with stones or sticks whenever possible. The Ayr Tuareg, including those of noble descent, have no taboos about birds and eggs, and many pastoral Tuareg collect guinea fowl eggs late in summer after the rains. There are a few animals not mentioned above which are considered edible among the Ayr Tuareg, e.g., the tortoise (*aṛaras*) which is found in the plains south of the Massif. With the exception of the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg the people of Ayr do not collect locusts (*tahwalt* in Ahaggar, *achwal* in Ayr). Locusts are eaten by all people of the two Northern Tuareg groups. The animals are roasted in the ashes or are boiled in a cooking pot to be pounded in the large mortar together with dried dates. This dish is very esteemed by the women who say that it is fattening and in this way adds to their beauty. 262 [252] [832]

Certain weapons have not been mentioned above because they either cannot be considered proper hunting weapons, or because it is doubtful whether they exist among the Tuareg or not. 411 [114]

Traditional Tuareg arms comprise an iron lance (*allaṛ*), a sword (*takuba*), and a dagger (*téleḳ*) carried in a sheath fastened to the left arm. The iron lance may serve as a hunting weapon, and this is true also of the sword. Thus the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group said that wild animals were occasionally killed with the sword, and they claimed that two Tuareg of the past had killed lions with this weapon.

The bow (Ahaggar, *taṛayyé* or *taḡaḥḥé*; Ayr, *taganzé*) and arrows (Ahaggar, *imurren*, sing. *amor*, or *tinassabin*, sing. *tanassabi*; Ayr, *imeran*, sing. *amer*) are not traditional Tuareg weapons. Nowadays very ineffective bows and arrows are used as toys by little Tuareg boys, but they are never used by [524]

[text continues on p. 169]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



428 sister, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the death of the unmarried man one sixth of his fortune is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), and the remaining parts are collected and re-divided into three parts, two of which are given to the brother, one to the sister.

(7) An unmarried man who has lost his father but has alive his father's father, his father's brother, and his mother (or his mother's mother). At the unmarried man's death his fortune is divided into six parts, one of which is given to his mother (or to his mother's mothers) while the remaining five parts go to his father's father.

Patrilineal rules predominate in the system of inheritance. With the exception of the mother (or the mother's mother), who inherits one sixth, no matrilineal relative can inherit a deceased person. If a deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, all property left is inherited by patrilineal kinsmen, and even very remote relatives in the paternal line have inheritance rights. Bissuel states [114] that sisters' children can inherit (Bissuel 1888, p. 110), but the Tuareg I have asked in Ahaggar (and in Ayr) denied this.

428 643 Furthermore, it is claimed in Ahaggar that if a deceased person of the *Kel Rela* drum-group has no patrilineal relatives alive, his fortune is taken over by the *Amenukal* with the exception of one sixth in case the mother or the mother's mother of the deceased person is alive. The *Amenukal*, however, [632] will not keep livestock thus inherited for himself, but will leave it in the tribe to which the deceased person belonged, and the animals will be under the supervision of the tribal chief who has usufructs of them. Livestock thus inherited by the *Amenukal* is known as *éhéré wa n eṭṭebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group)", or *éhéré wa n butelma* ("the fortune of the public"); cf. p. 400).

422 It appears from the rules of inheritance just mentioned that domestic animals are owned individually, and almost everybody among the Tuareg is a stock-owner. Even little children (boys and girls) may [858] own a few animals which are given them by their parents and their close relatives on various occasions, [553] e.g., on the naming day seven days after birth. The offspring of these domestic animals also belong 422 to the children who own them, but milk, butter, meat, and the like derived from the animals should 592 serve the needs of the household to which the children belong. Within the household the husband and his wife also have their individual animals. Husband and wife can freely kill or sell the animals they own without asking permission of each other, but the meat and the money acquired from sold animals should serve the benefit of all members of the same household. A household forms an economic 422 unit of closely related stock-owners.

*233 All Northern Tuareg use ear-marks, cut with a knife, for their goats and sheep. There are a great many types of cuts which have particular names. I have noted some of these marks among the Ahaggar [114] Tuareg (Fig. 100). But I did not investigate this subject in great detail as it is considered very impolite [576] to ask a man about ownership of goats (cf. p. 41 f.). The cuts illustrated Fig. 100 are all family marks [602] so that each mark is used by several patrilineally related persons. But though the Tuareg know their goats and sheep by sight a small and not very deep cut is frequently added to indicate individual 422 ownership. The earmarks are preferably cut when kids and lambs are weaned (cf. p. 37) at which *233 time superfluous male animals should also be castrated (cf. p. 118). All true vassals of Ahaggar mark 565 their donkeys with earmarks similar to those used for goats and sheep, though in one vassal tribe (the *Dag Ṛali*) donkeys are also branded with a redhot iron, like camels. The noble Tuareg of Ahaggar

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
[412 collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with
302] an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of
Tagant and Hodh.

291 Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
855 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
[556] girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear
trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From
that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while
the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated for either the boy or girl.

868 The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
857 the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
[462] which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of
this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then
fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games
between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet
stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly
speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a
camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
[212] Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they
are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
[145] when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
291 father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
[431] ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good advice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

861 /140 cont./ The child has never been able to have his way in his parents' camp; he has always had to bow to the canouns; if, by chance, he was disobedient, his parents did not hesitate to use corporal punishment -- a few slaps, nothing more; for a more serious fault or for the repetition of an offense, he would find himself tied up like a young goat and condemned to stay in the tent. However, punishments are the exception; a word, a look, suffices. It is not at all good, the Tuareg say, to beat children too much. This training gives the young Targui a proud character, an acute sense of
181 his dignity, and a sometimes disquieting reserve. Absolute obedience to custom makes it necessary to lead a moral life which is perhaps more rigid than a religion could make it. To know a Targui and to predict his behavior is very difficult for a Frenchman, who must sort out what is individual from what comes from the constraint exercised by Tuareg society and then must take into account the coloring that Islam gives to the whole.

836 Soon the time comes when the young Targui may go to the tendi and ahals. It is necessary to say here a few words on sexual problems.

Certain stories have greatly exaggerated the freedom of morals among the Tuareg. The training of the boys, which keeps them very often out of the company of adults, and that of the girls, which ties them to their mother and obliges them to be modest, does not predispose to license.

836 There is no sexual education properly speaking; for a very long time the young girl is ignorant of everything con-
864 cerning conception. Casually, thanks to an older girl companion, she learns the essentials of intimate relations between men and women. The young man is initiated much sooner, for he may easily leave the camp; enlightened by his comrades, he wastes no time in starting an affair with a Negress of the neighborhood. The sexual customs are transmitted in conversations /141/ among the young Tuareg and are observed

Wood furnishes containers for food, drinking vessels, milking vessels, mortars, pestles, tent stakes, crosspieces and boards for making saddles. The Ahaggar does not have more than five or six species of woods which can be worked, and the articles, very simply shaped, are much less varied than in the Sudanese tribes. 322

All Ahaggar women, noble or vassal, know how to tan, remove hair from, sew, decorate, and embroider leather. They are able to make a waterskin needed to carry water, prepare skins to make tents, and manufacture bags for transporting food and personal objects. They have all become so expert in these labors that it is 281 462

Fig. 47. Amoula, a little wooden "bottle" for young children to drink from. [415 862]

difficult to find any other peoples in the world who possess such a developed leather craft.

The scarcity of vegetable materials in the Ahaggar is one of the reasons why the use of esparto is relatively restricted. Only the stems of a graminacea common in the wadies (Panicum turgidum) are used to make mats -- large enclosing mats which surround the tent, sleeping mats, mats for covering plates. [137] 285 [824]

/278/ The stems are bound by little leather thongs, and the combination of graminacea and leather is extremely effective; it allows very regular geometric decorations at the same time as a very solid work. [283] [531]

There are no esparto vans among the Tuareg. The women use palm-leaf vans and hats, but these articles are the work of the Harratin from the little palm groves of Silet, Ideles, and Abalessa. 291 416 438

841 The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted
843 discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find
842 a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear
[788] next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old
[782 tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's
769] pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout
[431] an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her
846 husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband
834 makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.
431

Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half
●862 years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his
854 stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light,
[184] and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimmiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This
[171] method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are some-
[853] times quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes
[826 the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the
851] Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which
517] ennobles the woman.

861 /140 cont./ The child has never been able to have his way in his parents' camp; he has always had to bow to the canouns; if, by chance, he was disobedient, his parents did not hesitate to use corporal punishment -- a few slaps, nothing more; for a more serious fault or for the repetition of an offense, he would find himself tied up like a young goat and condemned to stay in the tent. However, punishments are the exception; a word, a look, suffices. It is not at all good, the Tuareg say, to beat children too much. This training gives the young Targui a proud character, an acute sense of
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836 /141 cont./ as are the other customs; there is one very
●864 interesting one, the respect for the Tuareg girl. Contrary to a commonly held opinion, the young girl about to be married is always a virgin (physically) among the nobles and nearly always one among the imrads.

839 In their first youth, the Tuareg behave as do all the children of the world; they practice solitary masturbation, girls and boys using procedures characteristic of the country.
786 The first amorous relations between Tuareg girls and boys take place after celebrations. It is well to describe these celebrations, for accounts of the famous "courts of love" have been much exaggerated.

We have seen that the Tuareg organize a tendi on the
[534] occasion of a family ceremony. The tendi takes its name from the instrument used, the large wooden mortar over which is stretched a skin which has been dampened previously. The women gather around the tendi, and one or two beat out traditional rhythms on the skin, which resonates dully. One of the women chants an endless series of couplets while her companions mark the measure by clapping hands and take up the refrain in chorus. The songs evoke past combats as well as recent events; they vaunt the merits of a camel or those of a person; some are improvised. Widows, divorced women, and young girls take part in the tendi, but married women, with the permission of their husbands, also go. A woman leaves the tendi if one of her parents approaches it.

The songs continue, accompanied by the tom-tom; the men then come to sit behind the singers, listen, and also sing. Each hugs his female companion next to him, but hardly passes the limits of a public flirtation. The tendi continues late into the night while the old people sleep in the tents.

In the daytime the tendi is the indispensable accompani-
526 ment of the ilougan, which may be defined as "a tournament on camel back."

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[145] father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
291 ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good ad-
[431] vice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

881 From this day on the boy enters into the class of men. He
884 may go to war and attend the ahal.

●868 Education of girls is hardly more interesting. At six or seven, the little girl begins to see to household duties, participating in cleaning the tent and making meals, etc. A little later she learns to weave mats, work little copper articles, and spin goat hair.

[534] Musical and literary education for young girls is very much esteemed among the Tuareg and [212] most particularly among the Imochar. Little girls learn to write tifinagh letters and play the amzad, a sort of small one-stringed violin which brightens up the dull evenings of the Tuareg.

Fig. 53. Amzad, or one-stringed violin of Ahaggar Tuareg women, and its bow.

534 The amzad is made
237 of half a hollowed-out and dried gourd, over which a goatskin or uran /lizard/ skin has been stretched, attached by cords (in the Ahaggar) or little acacia thorns (in the Aïr). The skin is pierced by one or two holes to increase the resonance. The handle is made of a stick which penetrates into one side of the gourd through a hole and is secured at the other side by a point, or else it may go through that side too. The string is formed of several pieces of horsehair separated from the skin by a little bridge made of two small pieces of wood tied together crosswise. The bow (taganhé) forms an arc with

551

Anr'eroubou, lion
Ahar, lion
Ekníssi, hedgehog /4/
Akouti, rat
Amadjour, camel
Amder', giraffe, etc.

Examples of Women's Names
Tamerouelt, hare
Tahenkatt, gazelle
Tinirt, mohr antelope
Tamer'ouant, cowrie shell
Tadar'ine, grains (of wheat, barley, etc.)

In the course of this study there will be found many proper names of men and women which might give rise to interesting comparisons with names used among other Berber tribes of North Africa.

The Tuareg child is brought up heedlessly, with the negresses' children. It is chiefly the negress who takes care of him. He lives out-of-doors, often quite naked or hardly dressed, and his body is toughened early. During the nursing period the negress makes a kind of hammock out of an old haïk, the two ends of which are fastened to tree branches or to the tent pegs, and this kind of cradle is called "taoulioula" (from the verb "eouilaouel" , to swing). 854

While he is still very young, barely seven years old, the child is employed as a shepherd and acquits himself very well at his task. 857

Then, as soon as possible, he is perched on a mehari (racing camel), for he must know his regular mount thoroughly. Young Harendou, an orphan of the Aoulimmiden /Aulliminden/, taken in by Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal of the Ahaggar, was already an excellent meharist at the age of ten. At his side he wore a "takouba" (saber) larger than himself of which he was very proud. /5/ [492 868]

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

846 /120 cont./ is said that a woman will never again bear children
751 if, during a delivery, she turns the foetal pouch inside out. Another cause of sterility is being hit by the tail of a uran.

845 Deliveries generally take place very well, but there are accidents, the percentage of which is not known; either the infant dies or puerperal fever is contracted. The Tuareg are completely powerless against such accidents resulting from childbirth.

852 /121/ On the seventh day of his life, the infant receives
553 his name, the occasion for a celebration to which all the close relatives are invited. A great meal is served, followed by tendi and ilougan. It is an honor to be the godfather and to give the infant its name; this honor is paid for in gifts (atouf). When several persons are candidates for the position of being the godfather, the winner is chosen by drawing straws.

854 As do all the mothers of the world, the Tuareg woman coddles her baby, covers it with caresses, is touched to hear it cry, and sings it to sleep: "O hare, bring slumber, my baby won't sleep." As soon as he can walk, the infant gets to know the camp; he wanders around the tents, plays with the black servants near the fire, learns to talk, and remains very attached to his mother, who, day after day, teaches him the customs. The daily observation of the customs makes the child very obedient and very respectful.

857 At about the age of five, the young imrad Targui beings
● 868 to follow his brothers or sisters as they tend the goats. The young nobles follow their Negro shepherd. The child thus learns to know his country, the paths, the plants, the animals, and their habits. An old servant will point to a track on the sand and say: "Here's your father's camel, and this track is that of the female camel that just gave birth."

During his comings and goings across the pastures, the desert life engraves itself on his memory. He notes the track of the gazelle on the sand and that of the cheetah in pursuit. "Look," says the old slave, "in spite of the slyness of the

857 /121 cont./ cheetah, which was working forward at a crawl,
868 the gazelle sensed its presence and leaped away. Here is where the cheetah pounced, see how deep the prints are; he leaped five times but could not catch the gazelle, which was a large male." The young Targui raises his head and shows his joy in learning that the gazelle was saved, for after his lightninglike leaps the cheetah could not outrun the gazelle. "But you," says the slave, "when you have a rifle, you will approach the gazelle as the cheetah did, against the wind, and you will not miss him.

"These pretty patterns on the dune are the work of the khanfous. /122/ This morning he went back in his hole under that rock. Be careful in lifting the stone, for the khanfous often is the slave of the scorpion; it is even said that he is the scorpion's father. Be careful when you see that track there, it was made by the viper; let's follow it.... Here's where it ends in that cluster of chabrok. Get a rock," the old servant says, "I'm going to set the brush on fire." The chabrok crackles as it blazes, and soon the hiss of the reptile is heard as it leaves its hole, numbed. The child strikes; this is his first hunt.

In this way the desert reveals its secrets each day. That green line ending in a red point there on the rock is "matarter," the poisonous lizard. He nods his head up and down, as if he were saying a prayer to the sun. He must not be touched, for his bite is like lightning. The large dob, covered with scales, whose enormous tail is armed with spikes, will be a toy for the child who catches it, provided he is not bitten, for the dob never lets go, and the finger would have to be amputated. If by luck the young Targui has captured a female, he can eat her eggs, a treat for the children. "The stomach of the dob was full of water," he remarks to his slave. "That
[825] is because it's Friday, and the dob only drinks on Friday," says the latter. "Even if there is no water about, even if it doesn't rain, each Friday God sends the dob his ration. When

857 /122 cont. / you want to keep a dob to play with the next day,
868 tie him with a cord, but never put him in a sack that has held dates or sugar, for he would die."

857 Living in constant contact with nature, the young Targui
868 comes to know its secrets; each of his observations teaches
825 him; he is curious about everything that lives and moves about him. His slave, who follows him, protects him, and loves him as a father, explains everything he sees with the words and images of a simple soul, embellishing the old themes of the country. "The black and white bird following us, flying from rock to bush, is 'moula-moula.' You must not kill him, because he brings good luck to those he escorts; besides, he is a messenger -- each time he comes close to you and cheeps, he wants /123/ to tell you a friend is coming, or warn you about losing something, or alert you against a viper crawling toward you. 'Moula-moula' knows all, and he tells it to men, but you must understand his language; there are many in the Ahaggar who understand his messages. You must learn to speak 'moula-moula.'

"The other day you were afraid when you heard the huff of that big lizard you wanted to catch to play with as with a dob; it was a uran. It has a thin tail, but it is more dangerous than the big tail of the dob. When a uran lashes a man, the mark stays in his flesh forever, and it is not good for a Targui to capture a uran, for it is said that a uran was the uncle of the first mother of the Tuareg. That is why it gets mad when one of its own people makes fun of it. On the other hand, it is afraid of the Negroes and runs from us, because it knows that we eat it. Don't try to catch a uran; I once knew a Targui who wanted to go against the custom. It was a summer day in the middle of the Tanezrouft; he caught a uran, put a cord around its neck, and tied it to his camel. He got down and let go the bridle of his mount -- for what reason, I do not know -- and at that moment the uran lashed the camel with its tail, making it trot off at great speed. Still whipping, the

857 /123 cont./ uran made the camel run until it fell completely
868 exhausted and refused to budge. The man almost died of
825 thirst while following the tracks of his animal. When he found it the first thing he did, even before drinking, was to let the uran go."

855 Upon re-entering the tent at night, tired from running about during the day, his imagination full of his discoveries, the child settles down in front of the fire, whose flames execute a marvelous dance for him. His eyes close as Venus, "she who sold her father to have beauty," sinks on the horizon.
[264] This does not please the mother; the child must eat, and one eats late in the tent, for the slaves must milk the camels and goats before making supper. She awakens her son, draws him to her, covering him with a dokkali to protect him from the cool of the night, and then begins to tell tales of the past.

/124/ These stories, which make up Tuareg folklore,
539 tend to disappear. Many young people do not know them; one must ask the old Tuareg men, those who miss the days of the raids, or, preferably, the women, who in all ages have been the keepers of tradition.

Some of these stories are fables peopled by the animals of the Ahaggar or the Sudan; sometimes they express a moral, but that is rare. Others are amazing tales in which monsters and genii harass men; often a hero succeeds in vanquishing them. These stories are very long; they contain instruction in the customs, and I think they bear a message from distant ancestors. This message, sometimes stylized, truncated, or embellished by the oral transmission, deserves to be studied; in order to do this, as many as possible of these tales should be collected before they are forgotten.

Here is the story of the jackal and the dob, as it was told to me by one of my pupils, a Targui of noble stock.

539 /137 cont./ under the eyes of the bandits, who regarded with stupefaction the man who, having hewn a piece out of the mountain, defied them from the vantage point of the breach.

Thus ends this story of Elias. Others concerning this hero must exist, but they are buried in men's memories.

One may still admire Elias' exploit: the breach in the [823] Adriane is a landmark of Tamanrasset, and the boulder that was hewn from the mountain rests eight kilometers from there in the In-Zaouen wadi, where it has remained planted, a reminder of the hero's valor.

852 Thus, observing nature, listening to the old stories, the young Targui grows up and forms his opinion. At the age of 304 six or seven years, he undergoes circumcision: "agadam." The relatives gather for a big meal on this occasion.

857 From the women, the young boy learns to sew cloth and leather. He makes toys from old rags; these are usually camels ●868 in stylized forms, sometimes having real artistic value. Toy in hand, he races with his comrades to see whose camel is the swiftest. Girls and boys alike make dolls dressed in the Tuareg style; they play camp, paying visits, drinking tea, and striking camp. The young boys carve greatly stylized camels on flat stones or on goat jawbones cut in two.

A favorite amusement consists in mounting an ass and making it gallop, which is not accomplished without numerous falls in the beginning. However, it is the camel which haunts the child; his father has /138/ already let him ride for a circle around the camp, but the little boy wants to be master of his own mount, to guide it across the fallen rocks of the nearby mountain, then to break into a fast trot on the plateau bordering the wadi but not beyond, for he would be seen from the camp and would risk a severe scolding for having taken a camel to amuse himself. Nevertheless, his parents know how it is, for they did the same thing themselves when they were young, but the "canoun" must be applied.

857 /138 cont./ When, by chance, the camp is near a guelta, the child may frolic in the water, the favorite summer sport.

If two large camps are near each other, joint games very
857 soon are organized. Sometimes a kind of hockey is played
526 with a leather ball stuffed with goat's hair. The ball is hit with a cudgel taken from a tahla; sometimes, to the delight of the spectators, hand-to-hand fights break out, with the first of the two antagonists to fall to the ground being declared the loser. As the children get excited, veritable battles take place between the two camps; it is war. Sticks and stones enter the game; trickery and force are used. The battle stops at night or when the first child is hurt, but custom requires that nothing be said to the parents, above all nothing of the origin of an injury; the child who did that would lose his honor, and parents are so slow to understand!

857 The little girl prepares for her task as mistress of the house at the side of her mother. She sews in collaboration with the
● 868 women, who never work individually. She is taught how to cut fine leather thongs and how to plait them; while she works she is taught the traditions of which she must be the fierce guardian later on, as she often will have to recall them to the men, who, always on the move, have a tendency, through lack of use, to forget the true Tuareg "canouns."

During their play, the children learn tifinagh writing
868 from the older ones; they trace words in the sand, then phrases. But it is in the evening before bed that their mother will give more precise lessons in spelling the words they have acquired. Thus, gradually, /139/ the child learns to read and write his language; he will never have great facility in it, but that is due to the difficulty of the method of writing.

Every Targui knows the mnemonic aid for remembering
868 the letters of the tifinagh alphabet; it is the following phrase:
211 "Fatimata oult Oghanis, tagueltenit mraou issen edssedis; tedjehenet ouart thouadis," which may be translated: "Fatimata, daughter of Oghanis, whose bride price (to be paid) is 16

868 /139 cont./ horses; no one may touch her ribs." As a matter
[211] of fact, many of the letters are not found in this phrase, but it is a good enough reminder.

Among the imrads the young boy, from the age of ten, accompanies his father to the Sudan or to the Amadror saltworks. In this way, little by little, he acquires knowledge of the trail. The noble remains at camp longer; by listening to the discussions of his elders he becomes acquainted with the art of command.

884 Gradually, the young Targui begins to wear the veil, at first using an old chèche /scarf/, which he tries to arrange in the proper fashion. At the age of fifteen he will put on the taguelmoust /blue veil/ for good during a celebration; he
[431] will take part in an ilougan /tournament/ mounted on his own camel, the gift of his godfather, or on a borrowed animal.

On this occasion he receives gifts, a takouba /sword/, a taguelmoust, or a takamist /a kind of gandurah worn on festive occasions/. He is now a young man. The girl officially takes
[881] her alechou /shawl/ at the time of puberty; she also receives gifts: the alechou, clothes. She is made much of. Now she is considered to be a woman. Until now she did not speak before the men, maintaining a shy attitude; now there is an end to that, everyone obliges her to talk and to conduct herself as a lady of the house.

Boys and girls who have assumed the taguelmoust and the alechou may thenceforth attend meetings of the adults, but they do not speak except when asked a question.

The occupations of the young people are practically the same as those of the adults. The girls help with cleaning the tent, mend clothes, and make leather bags; among the imrads, they milk the cows.

/140/ The young man begins to travel alone and tends the camels. If he still amuses himself by fighting with his friends, he no longer fences with the takouba, a practice in former times.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 604 643 683 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

233 436 682

| | *Age* | | | *Colour* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | *tilgad*, or *chét awétay* | (one year old) | 10 | *tibeydegin* | (white) |
| 10 | *tihusin* | (2 years old) | 10 | *titlaqin* | (mahogany) |
| 10 | *tekkenifadden* | (3 years old) | 10 | *tizeggerin* | (reddish) |
| 10 | *tiruyar* | (4 years old) | 10 | *tibhawin* | (reddish brown) |
| 10 | *chét ezzin* | (5 years old) | 10 | *tilemlarin* | (grey) |
| 10 | *chét okkoz* | (6 years old) | 10 | *tizerifin* | (metallic grey) |
| 10 | *timesseglas* | (7 years old) | 10 | *timengelin* | (dark grey) |
| 10 | *chét tahalt* | (8 years old) | 10 | *tikewelin* | (black) |
| 20 | *tireggamin* | (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old) | 10 | *tizerrafin* | (piebald) |
| | | | 10 | *tiwinarin* | (white cornea) |

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 565 524 232 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[text continues on p. 104]

304 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or
852 four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or
azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced
[412 collectively. The cutting instrument used is a little knife with
302] an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing
period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of
Tagant and Hodh.

291 Children go around naked until they are five or six years old,
855 depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little
[556] girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear
trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From
that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while
the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated for either the boy or girl.

868 The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching
857 the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels,
which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to
[462] milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of
this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then
fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games
between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet
stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly
speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar
869 Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a
camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the
[212] Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they
are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
[145] when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the
291 father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
[431] ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good advice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

565
554 The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished
[302] than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing
[516] nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad
by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant
[195] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words
foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of
appearance and language is even more perceptible among the
554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their
562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their
574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society.
Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well
[533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The
qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know-
[565] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather
articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know-
ing how to play the violin.

565
[83] Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part
513] of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the
[842] Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which
582] are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the
other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it,
[648] and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the
last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original
stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting it-
self to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could
bring it.

565 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class
among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/
[793 and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the
87] children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite
[651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

771 The religious lukewarmness of the Tuareg is such that they do
781 not always profess great respect for marabouts and very few of them
[788] make the pilgrimage to Mecca. When Duveyrier made his trip to Ghat (1860) there were some thirty pilgrims among the northern Tuareg (1); at the present time there are probably only three men

1. Op. cit., p. 413.

among the Ihaggaren who can be honored with the title of El Hadj.

But this tepidity does not always exclude fanaticism. Barth already mentioned that he had to face it during his trip and that he was assailed by questions and had to discuss different religious dogmas with some Tuareg; he extricated himself from this by a perfect knowledge of the Koran and of Moslem mores. /306/ Their
[669] religious ignorance makes them, at the same time, easy instru-
773] ments in the hands of marabouts who have often profited from this to stir up hate for the Christians and to push them into a holy war, as was the case for the revolts of 1915 - 1916 - 1917. In spite of the bitter failures which resulted, their confidence in their thaumaturgy was not at all diminished.

871 At the present time there are several Koranic schools in the
773 Ahaggar conducted by Arab marabouts and set up in the agricultural centers. They are mainly attended by Harratin children, for Tuareg children, who stay in their parent's camps, cannot go to them because they are too far away. A marabout family, originally from Cheurfa d'Aoulef (Tidikelt) settled in the Ahaggar some forty years ago and enjoys a great veneration. Not long ago it was fixed in the little center of Dar-Mouli, where it enhanced the value of the place, but as a result of the dryness of the spot it was moved to Esselissekine. There each year a great alms feast takes place,
[796] and all the Ahaggar Tuareg come. Its present chief, Moulay el
[554] Ouafi ben Moulay abd Allah is an example of piety, although still quite young, and he is surrounded by great respect.

797 In speaking of the Islamization of the Tuareg, Henri Basset said that the latter had taken almost nothing from Islam, except

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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55a. Nomadic school in the camp of the amenokal.

[p. 244] [left - see p. 245]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

872
212

55b. [p. 245] [Right-see p. 244]

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● 881 /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen
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291 father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional
[431] ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good advice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

From this day on the boy enters into the class of men. He may go to war and attend the ahal.

Education of girls is hardly more interesting. At six or seven, the little girl begins to see to household duties, participating in cleaning the tent and making meals, etc. A little later she learns to weave mats, work little copper articles, and spin goat hair.

Musical and literary education for young girls is very much esteemed among the Tuareg and most particularly among the Imochar. Little girls learn to write tifinagh letters and play the amzad, a sort of small one-stringed violin which brightens up the dull evenings of the Tuareg.

Fig. 53. Amzad, or one-stringed violin of Ahaggar Tuareg women, and its bow.

The amzad is made of half a hollowed-out and dried gourd, over which a goatskin or uran /lizard/ skin has been stretched, attached by cords (in the Ahaggar) or little acacia thorns (in the Aïr). The skin is pierced by one or two holes to increase the resonance. The handle is made of a stick which penetrates into one side of the gourd through a hole and is secured at the other side by a point, or else it may go through that side too. The string is formed of several pieces of horsehair separated from the skin by a little bridge made of two small pieces of wood tied together crosswise. The bow (taganhé) forms an arc with

As to the girl, a celebration is held as soon as she reaches 881
the age of puberty, that is to say, at the start of her menses,
in Tamashek /6/ "ba-n-amoud" ⵎⵓⵏⴰⵎⵓⴷ (literally,
"cutting of prayer, " since during her indisposition the woman [841]
is in a state of impurity and cannot pray). The young girl is [291]
dressed in her prettiest clothes, and on her head is placed a
black veil, "ikerhi" ⵉⴽⵔⵃⵉ , which falls on either side of
her face without hiding it. She also never leaves it off.

If her parents are well-to-do, she will learn to play the 883
amz'ad ⴰⵎⵣⴰⴷ , an instrument which has an important [556]
place in Tuareg life. It is a kind of violin with a single string 534
whose box is made of a large "kabouia, " or a dried and
scooped-out gourd, covered with a stretched hide and pierced
with two holes, which is provided with a handle. The string
is made of horsehair, "az'iou" ⵉⵣⵉⵡ , as are the strings
of the bow, "tadjelhé" ⵜⴰⴷⵊⵍⵃⵉ , made of a stick bent into
an arc.

It is chiefly an instrument to accompany singing. The [533]
woman slides her fingers over the string without pressing,
while working the bow; she prolongs the final phrases, which
are drawn out.

If a young girl knows how to play, she may shine at the [832]
musical gatherings, where she will be courted.

## Chapter IV

## Musical Gatherings

A young man and a young girl often go to meet together, 533
and this occurs especially in those gatherings which, to be 584
accurate, we will if you permit call "musical gatherings, " and 832
which the Tuareg call "ahal" ⵄⵃⵍ , plural "ihallen" ⵉⵃⵍⵍⵏ.

/7/

868 /139 cont./ horses; no one may touch her ribs." As a matter
[211] of fact, many of the letters are not found in this phrase, but it is a good enough reminder.

Among the imrads the young boy, from the age of ten, accompanies his father to the Sudan or to the Amadror saltworks. In this way, little by little, he acquires knowledge of the trail. The noble remains at camp longer; by listening to the discussions of his elders he becomes acquainted with the art of command.

884 Gradually, the young Targui begins to wear the veil, at first using an old chèche /scarf/, which he tries to arrange in the proper fashion. At the age of fifteen he will put on the taguelmoust /blue veil/ for good during a celebration; he
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On this occasion he receives gifts, a takouba /sword/, a taguelmoust, or a takamist /a kind of gandurah worn on festive occasions/. He is now a young man. The girl officially takes
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Boys and girls who have assumed the taguelmoust and the alechou may thenceforth attend meetings of the adults, but they do not speak except when asked a question.

The occupations of the young people are practically the same as those of the adults. The girls help with cleaning the tent, mend clothes, and make leather bags; among the imrads, they milk the cows.

/140/ The young man begins to travel alone and tends the camels. If he still amuses himself by fighting with his friends, he no longer fences with the takouba, a practice in former times.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg M525



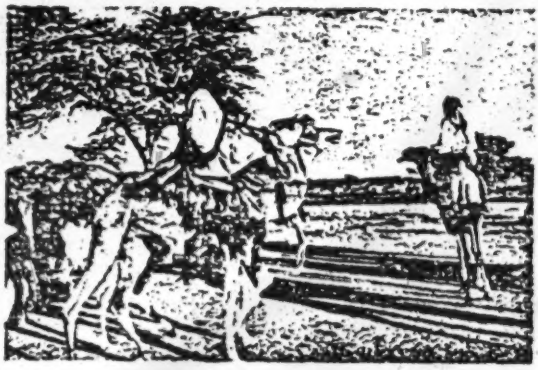

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afagay* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Ayrwelen*.

Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

In a ceremonial ride termed *shafan* (*slagan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

534 horsehair attached to the ends. During the music the player from
[23] time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum
[314] tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The amzad skins are often
decorated with painted motifs in very vivid colors, or else they
[532] are covered with tifinagh inscriptions indicating the name of the
owner and bearing love verses for the use of admirers.

Among the Ihaggaren violins are usually large, reaching as
much as 40 centimeters in diameter. In Sudanese tribes, on the
[171] other hand, they are much smaller, rarely exceeding 25 to 30
centimeters.

533 The amzad plays an important role among the Tuareg, who
really make a true cult of it. Young men go to listen to the girls
play it. After they are married, they love to hear their wives, who
charm in this way the empty hours of summer evenings. Not play-
533 ing the amzad is a punishment that the women inflict on the men,
626 and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives
593 or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no amzad,"
they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This
prospect was often sufficient to restore their courage and incite
them to go efface their defeat.

882 The ahal. -- At about the age of sixteen, boys and girls have
access to adult society and begin to participate in the ahal.

571 The word ahal means "meeting, conversation, interview." A
521 synonym for it is édéouenné. These musical and literary meetings
have a more or less peculiar nature, depending on whether or not
they are mixed with asri.

517 Asri, literally "to run with the bridle loose," means the practice
521 of some very free mores. To live in a state of asri is to exist under
571 conditions which permit one to practice loose mores. Those who
533 can be in a state of asri are pubescent boys and girls, widowers,
and divorced people of either sex.

These meetings take place near the camps in the shelter of
a wadi, but always out of the sight of old people and respectable
people of the tribe. They usually take place before the evening

4: Benhazera--3 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

## Chapter II

## Circumcision

In Tamashek, "azemhoud-n-baradhen" (circumcision of children) ⵏ ⵓⵎⵀⵓⴷ from the verb "ezmahad" ⵣⵎⵀⴰⴷ, to circumcise. 304 852

There is no set age for circumcision; generally it is carried out after the age of five.

The operator is summoned to the amazar' (douar), and all the people present take part in the operation, carried out as follows:

The operator holds the foreskin with a bit of "saâf" (djerid or palm leaf) and cuts it with a well-sharpened knife. To cicatrize the wound, it is dusted with leaves of atle (Tamarix articulata) and skins of dried pomegranates ground to powder. [278] Then it is washed with camel urine, and all painful contact is avoided by means of splints held by strings fastened behind the back. [237]

Then there is a feast: a sheep's throat is cut, and it is eaten by the guests.

## Chapter III

## Puberty

In Tamashek, "tamendjott" ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵏⵊⵓⵜ. As soon as he is of an age to fast, that is to say, as soon as he has reached puberty, the boy begins to wear the "tidjelmoust" ⵜⵉⵊⵍⵎⵓⵙⵜ veil which he will never leave off thereafter. 882 291

As to the girl, a celebration is held as soon as she reaches 881
the age of puberty, that is to say, at the start of her menses,
in Tamashek /6/ "ba-n-amoud" ⵎⵓⵏⴰⵎⵓⴷ (literally,
"cutting of prayer," since during her indisposition the woman [841]
is in a state of impurity and cannot pray). The young girl is [291]
dressed in her prettiest clothes, and on her head is placed a
black veil, "ikerhi" ⵉⴽⵔⵃⵉ, which falls on either side of
her face without hiding it. She also never leaves it off.

If her parents are well-to-do, she will learn to play the 883
amz'ad ⴰⵎⵣⴰⴷ, an instrument which has an important [556]
place in Tuareg life. It is a kind of violin with a single string 534
whose box is made of a large "kabouia," or a dried and
scooped-out gourd, covered with a stretched hide and pierced
with two holes, which is provided with a handle. The string
is made of horsehair, "az'iou" ⵉⵣⵉⵡ, as are the strings
of the bow, "tadjeïhé" ⵜⴰⴷⵊⵉⵃⵉ, made of a stick bent into
an arc.

It is chiefly an instrument to accompany singing. The [533]
woman slides her fingers over the string without pressing,
while working the bow; she prolongs the final phrases, which
are drawn out.

If a young girl knows how to play, she may shine at the [832]
musical gatherings, where she will be courted.

## Chapter IV

## Musical Gatherings

A young man and a young girl often go to meet together, 533
and this occurs especially in those gatherings which, to be 584
accurate, we will if you permit call "musical gatherings," and 832
which the Tuareg call "ahal" ⵄⴰⵀⴰⵍ, plural "ihallen" ⵉⵀⴰⵍⵍⴰⵏ.

/7/

881 From this day on the boy enters into the class of men. He
884 may go to war and attend the ahal.

868 Education of girls is hardly more interesting. At six or seven, the little girl begins to see to household duties, participating in cleaning the tent and making meals, etc. A little later she learns to weave mats, work little copper articles, and spin goat hair.

[534] Musical and literary education for young girls is very much esteemed among the Tuareg and [212] most particularly among the Imochar. Little girls learn to write tifinagh letters and play the amzad, a sort of small one-stringed violin which brightens up the dull evenings of the Tuareg.

Fig. 53. Amzad, or one-stringed violin of Ahaggar Tuareg women, and its bow.

534 The amzad is made
237 of half a hollowed-out and dried gourd, over which a goatskin or uran /lizard/ skin has been stretched, attached by cords (in the Ahaggar) or little acacia thorns (in the Aïr). The skin is pierced by one or two holes to increase the resonance. The handle is made of a stick which penetrates into one side of the gourd through a hole and is secured at the other side by a point, or else it may go through that side too. The string is formed of several pieces of horsehair separated from the skin by a little bridge made of two small pieces of wood tied together crosswise. The bow (taganhé) forms an arc with

868 /139 cont./ horses; no one may touch her ribs." As a matter
[211] of fact, many of the letters are not found in this phrase, but it is a good enough reminder.

Among the imrads the young boy, from the age of ten, accompanies his father to the Sudan or to the Amadror saltworks. In this way, little by little, he acquires knowledge of the trail. The noble remains at camp longer; by listening to the discussions of his elders he becomes acquainted with the art of command.

• 884 Gradually, the young Targui begins to wear the veil, at first using an old chèche /scarf/, which he tries to arrange in the proper fashion. At the age of fifteen he will put on the taguelmoust /blue veil/ for good during a celebration; he
[431] will take part in an ilougan /tournament/ mounted on his own camel, the gift of his godfather, or on a borrowed animal.

On this occasion he receives gifts, a takouba /sword/, a taguelmoust, or a takamist /a kind of gandurah worn on festive occasions/. He is now a young man. The girl officially takes
[881] her alechou /shawl/ at the time of puberty; she also receives gifts: the alechou, clothes. She is made much of. Now she is considered to be a woman. Until now she did not speak before the men, maintaining a shy attitude; now there is an end to that, everyone obliges her to talk and to conduct herself as a lady of the house.

Boys and girls who have assumed the taguelmoust and the alechou may thenceforth attend meetings of the adults, but they do not speak except when asked a question.

The occupations of the young people are practically the same as those of the adults. The girls help with cleaning the tent, mend clothes, and make leather bags; among the imrads, they milk the cows.

/140/ The young man begins to travel alone and tends the camels. If he still amuses himself by fighting with his friends, he no longer fences with the takouba, a practice in former times.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



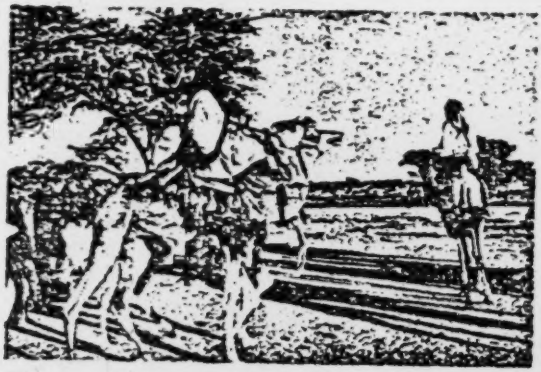

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afagag* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Iferwiken*.

Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

In a ceremonial ride termed *ihgon* (*ihagan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

515 care given to the body, but they find washing completely useless and even disastrous to health. They even claim that if they washed [204] every day they would become ill. Their argument is that daily ablutions of the limbs make the skin scale off.

751 For them the main question is protecting the different parts of the body from the rigors of the sun. All the care that they give the body is to that end.

291 302 They are in the habit of wearing clothing of material heavily dyed with indigo which comes off on the skin, giving it a dark-blue color. Far from trying to remove this dye by washing, they become prouder of themselves as the layer of blue becomes thicker. They rub their limbs and faces with new materials to obtain the desired color.

302 [171] To make their skin softer and more brilliant they smear their limbs with a fatty substance, butter or animal fat. This custom is also adopted by Sudanese Negroes and the desert Arabs.

515 The Tuareg pay the most attention to the mouth and teeth. They rinse out their mouths with a lot of water after each meal [112] and brush their teeth with little branches which have one end chewed to form a brush. For this purpose they use irak branches (Salvadora [124] persica) or palm jereed.

302 /258/ The men and women are very fastidious about caring for the hair.

Young boys have their heads shaved except for a crest or tuft of hair left on the top. Men wear long braided hair, with a little halo shaved on the front of the head. They have their hair dressed [593 by their sisters or their female friends, in return for which they offer 276] them a bit of tobacco. The hair styles vary from region to region. [184] They may include a greater or lesser number of braids; the braids may hang down in back or be lifted to the top of the head. At a [982] certain age, when the hair begins to get grey, the men have themselves shaved completely.